Manichaean Psalms and Other Writings

"Since I went forth into the darkness . . . I bear up beneath a burden which is not my own. I am in the midst of my enemies, the beasts surrounding me; the burden which I bear is of the powers and principalities. They burned in their wrath, they rose up against me, they ran to [scatter] me like sheep that have no shepherd. Matter *(hyle)* and her sons divided me up amongst them, they burnt me in their fire, they gave me a bitter likeness. The strangers with whom I mixed, me they know not; they tasted my sweetness, they desired to keep me with them. I was life to them, but they were death to me; I bore up beneath them, they wore me as a garment upon them. I am in everything, I bear the skies, I am the foundation, I support the earths, I am the light that shines forth, that gives joy to souls. I am the life of the world; I am the milk that is in all trees; I am the sweet water that is beneath the sons of Matter . . . as the sphere turns hurrying round, as [the sun receives] the refined part of life."

(Psalm 246, *Coptic Psalm-Book*)

"The man who has suffered wrong—lo, the protection of the judge, let him hasten unto it. He whom grief has killed, he on whom anger has leapt, he for whom lust has soiled the whiteness of his clothes, he for whom obduracy stole away the sweetness of his heart, he whom folly made mock of and took away his wisdom, he for whom the devouring fire allied with his enemies, doing him harm, he whom overweening pride deceived and tumbled to the ground—lo, the judge has sat down, he calls out the name of him who has been wronged. . . He knows how to forgive him that shall sin and repent. He makes reckoning with none that shall come to him and implore him. But the double-minded man—him he forgives not."

(*Psalm-Book* 45.14–31)

"Subdue the leader of the darkness who has seized me. The care of my poor body has made me drunk in its drunkenness. Its demolitions and constructions have taken my mind from me. Its plantings and its uprootings, they stir up trouble for me. Its fire, its lust, they trick me daily. Its begetting and destroying bind to me a recompense. Many are the labors that I suffered while I was in this dark house. Thou, therefore, my true light, enlighten me within. Set me up, for I have tumbled down, and help me with thee to the height. Be not far from me, O Physician that hast the medicines of life . . . do thou heal me of the grievous wound of lawlessness."

(*Psalm-Book* 152.13–23)

In one Coptic psalm, the deity Call brings to the Primordial Man news of the triumph of light over darkness by means of the snare provided by the five elements consumed by evil: "Lo, we have laid waste the land of darkness: we are waiting for thee with the garland. We have bought the dens of the hungry ones, we took their land for five loaves"

(*Psalm-Book* 201.23)

"Guide my eyes that they look no evil look. Guide my ears that they hear not a [. . .] word. Guide my nostrils that they smell not the stink of lust. Guide my mouth that it utter no slander. Guide for me my hands that they serve not Satan. Guide for me my heart that it do no evil at all. Guide for me my spirit in the midst of the stormy sea. Guide my New Man for it [wears the] mighty image. Guide my feet that they walk not in the way of error. Guide my soul that [. . .] sin."

(*Psalm-Book* 150.23–31)

"[A] table *(trapeza)* has been set in the house, a table was set in [the house for] souls that they might not wander, that they might not wander, [that] souls might not be wiped out and destroyed in the world, whose desire is great. . . . O man in whose hands is the richness, why wilt thou slumber in this sleep? Wherefore wilt thou not divide for thyself the night into three parts and sleep for one, and watch for one, and ruminate *(setbe)* with the rumination of the living for one?"

(*Psalm-Book* 221–22)

"You who sing, O Elect, shall find eternal life. Purify the light self so that it in turn will save you. Sing the wonderful song "In health, peace and confidence." "The light-lute (?) of souls" sing happily and sweetly. Blow the happiness-giving trumpet "Gather the souls for salvation." Very joyful are the children of god at this delightful vocal melody. Speak "holy, holy"; call out "amen, amen." Recite "The Light Wisdom"; respond (with) "The Pure Response." "The True Word of Life" releases the captive one from its bondage. With one voice the one who sings and the one who has the response truly praise. Awe, precept and prohibition burn into every limb. Separate [. . .] the pious departed [. . .] light."

("Song of the Living Self", Middle-Persian, M 7.I.R.i.1ff)

"Come (is) this bound self, gathered from every direction; from sky and earth-womb and from all creation."[1]

(Song of the Living Self, M 6650/T II D 173c,1.R.1–V.9)

[1] With reference to the light particles contained in the food brought to the Elect (Manichaean monks and nuns) for distillation through consumption, digestion and prayer/contemplation.

"[O] Father, O Mind of Light, come and wear me [until] I have recited the woe of the Son of Man. [My] Lord Jesus, come and wear me until I purify the [body (?)] of the First Man."[2]

(*Psalm-Book* 162.22–26)

"You are the two-edged axe with which they cut the bitter root. You are the [. . .] that is in the hand of the Maiden, which was thrust into the heart of the enemy. You are the first ship (?) of the first warrior, wherein they caught the thieves that rebelled. You are the first weapon of the first hero, which was brandished behind the foe that arose. . . . [How great] is your fortitude, O Daughter of Wisdom: for you have not yet wearied, watching over the enemy."

(*Psalm-Book* 162.31–163.13)

"For you the ships are waiting on high that they may draw you up and take you to the Light. Behold, the Perfect Man is stretched out [in the middle of] the world, that you may walk in him and receive [your] unfading [garlands]. Behold, the five Porters are spread over the world that your heart may not suffer and that you may cast the burden from off you. [Behold, the] Righteous Ones will illumine you; behold, the forgiveness of sins of the Catechumens of the faith. [Behold], the medicine-chest of the physician will heal your wounds; behold the knowledge and wisdom will put your clothes upon you. [Walk], therefore, in joy, drawn to the Land of Light, sealed with your seal and with your unfading garlands. Walk also in gladness: your sufferings have passed today; behold, the harbor of peace—you have moored in it. Glory to this alms-offering and to them that purify it, and to them that redeem it, the Catechumens of the Faith."[3]

(Psalm-Book 163.14–30)

"You buy me like slaves from thieves, and you fear and implore me as (you do) lords. You select me from the world like disciples for the Righteous, and you show me reverence as (you do) masters. You smite and hurt me like enemies, and you save and revive me like friends. But my parents are strong and able to show you manifold gratitude. And as a reward for one fast day, they give to you eternal happiness. And they send gods before you

[2] a) First Man=reconstituted unity of all light-substance gathered together at the end of the cosmic distillation process;
b) New Man=dominance of a person's light-substance over his dark-substance, by means of asceticism, truthfulness, patience etc.
c) New Man=Mind of Light=Jesus, since all light-substance is the same, present in all, one, single and homogenous—broken apart only through its mixture with darkness.
d) Totality of light in its mixed state=Living Self=Perfect Man

[3] Catechumens: term used in both early Christianity and Manichaeism; in the former it designates people training to be admitted as laypeople of the Christian faith (learning about the articles of faith, meaning of rituals etc.) In Manichaeism it simply referred to the non-monastic followers of the faith.

in order to send the share which is yours through me. And the share (is for) the toil and sorrow which you bear and suffer on my account."[4]

(*Recitation of the Living Self,* M 95.R.1–14.)

"I am the fire that Zarathustra built; and which he bade the righteous to build. . . From the seven consecrated, sweet-smelling fires, bring to me, the fire, purified fuel. Bring clean firewood and delicate and fragrant incense. Kindle me with knowledge, and give me clean oblation. I am the water to which it is proper to give the water-oblation, so that I may become strong. . . . I am the lamb which [. . .] called to Zarathustra."[5]

(M 95.V.1–16)

"Your great battlefield (is) like that of the god Ohrmizd (the Primordial Man), and your collection of treasure like that of the chariots of light (the sun and moon); moreover, this Living Self which (is) in flesh and tree you are able to save from Az."[6]

(M 42.V.ii.6–14)

"To you I will speak, my captive self, remember your home. . . . Remember the devouring . . . that bit you asunder and devoured you in hunger. . . . Remember the hard primordial battle and the many wars you had with the powers of darkness. . . . Remember the trembling, the weeping, and the grief that you had at that time, when the Father (the Primordial Man) went up on high."[7]

(M 33.R.ii.21ff)

"*All the hindered and unhindered bodies and natures* (hsing)
Have for long sadly sunk into the sea of birth and death
Their limbs and articulations scattered in the three realms
Pray gather and restore them to soar above the myriad things."

(Chinese Hymnscroll, 52)

[4] With reference to the fact that we always abuse and mistreat the Living Self both in ourselves and every other thing, yet at the same time it is paid homage as the very stuff of salvation itself.
[5] The speaking voice is that of the Living Self. Zoroastrian sacrificial rites are here given a (retroactive) Manichaean meaning.
[6] Az: a Persian term which translates as "desire", but can stand also for "passion", "lust", "greed", "anger", "concupiscence"; in hymns, personified as the mother of demons and/or the chief weapon used by darkness against light. Here, the Living Self is the addressee.
[7] That is, the breaking apart of light-substance by the assault of darkness at the beginning.

"*Know and observe the five great Buddhas of Light.*
Why have they come from the Father's side into this world?
Know clearly that they have suffered for no sins of their own
And that the good and clever beings will be extracted from the devils' den."[8]

(Chinese Hymnscroll, 244)

"To you will I pray, virtuous god, Living Self, gift from the Father. Blessed, blessed be you, light self; in health ascend to your own home. Delighted power, chosen greatness, strong power, intelligent and wise: all light gods for your sake [. . .] the Elect strive so that you may truly be exalted. . . . This anguish, persecution and hardship which you experience, who is able to teach it? The merciful illuminator, blessed lord, strong and noble, beneficent Mar Mani. Always will we bless that divine glory which has shown salvation to you, light self."

(M 1.440 and M 496a.R.2)

"Again I proclaim to you, doers of good deeds, brothers of light, apply your minds to think solely on the weighing of the wondrous bodies. Be each of you as a courageous and wise ship captain, to ferry across these wave-tossed exiles. They are the precious treasure of the Venerable of Light: bear them all off the sea with your bodies as ships. Like diligent physicians, cut out their painful boils and sores; for they have long suffered, hoping for deliverance and protection. Be compassionate, each of you, in receiving the truth, and quickly return them to the Lord precisely according to their number. This noble clan has been wave-tossed for untold years now: quickly dispatch them back to their homeland, the place of peace and joy. The upright, correct, and radiant ones with all the marks intact: extract them soon from the storehouse of greed and desire; seek out [these] rare treasures in the midst of the dark, deep sea of suffering, and quickly lift them up to the King of Nirvana and Purity. Pull out the grievously wounded, remove their ulcerous sores; wash and bathe [these] bright pearls, remove them from filth. For the law says that all wondrous offerings that are received are to be restored in proper purity to their original lord. For they are nothing other than the flesh and blood of Jesus, which may be taken freely by whoever is fit to receive them. But if one should act falsely, with a betraying heart, then Jesus himself would be powerless and there would be no escape."[9]

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[8] Buddhas of Light: reference to the Five Sons of the Living Spirit, the one who, in the mythological representation, tried to arrange the mixture of light and dark in such a way that the very existence of the world would eventually lead to the (re-)separation of the two; alternatively, the five pieces of armor which the Primordial Man sacrificed in the first conflict with the darkness as a deliberate tactic to avoid further losses and ensure long-term victory.

[9] Again, in reference to the light contained in food brought to the Elect for ritual consumption.

(*Praise of the Five Lights*, Chinese Hymnscroll, 249–54)

"*They* [i.e. Five Lights=Living Self] *are the wonderful forms of the essence and flower of the world*
Who support and hold various things, many heavens and earths
Who are the bodies and lives of all sentient beings
All who see with eyes, and who hear voices with ears
Who can create bodily strength from bones and articulations
And can make all beings and races which grow and feed,
Who speak many languages of different tongues
Who also make many tunes of different notes
Who are also the broad and great light of the mind and knowledge
. . . . . .
All the wisdom and kindness of the benevolent person
All the language and eloquence of a rhetorician
. . . . . .
Who also make the world thriving, abundant, and ripe
And are the various shoots of grasses and trees."

(Chinese Hymnscroll, 236–42)

"Honor as a guest the gods' child at the divine meal. Prepare the kindly abode; show the road to the light. Make every limb complete in the five, seven and twelve. These are the seven bright jewels which truly are the lands of life. By those powers live every world and all soul-possessing things. They are like a lamp in a house which in the dark shines light. . . . A hall has been found, O righteous Elect and dutiful Auditors. Prepare the self for purification and this true, holy mystery keep"[10]

(M 7.I.R.ii.45ff)

"You who sing, O Elect, shall find eternal life. Purify the light self so that it in turn will save you."

(M 7.R.i.5–8)

[10] The Living Self asks to be well-received at the ritual meal.

"I worship and glorify the great Father of Lights from pure thought. With a guileless word you have been glorified and honoured: You and your majesty and the wholly blessed aeons. For you in glory have perfected their foundation. Your power and glory 10 and your light and word and your majesty and the aeons of affirmation and all your counsel have been glorified. For you are God, the foundation of every grace and life and truth.

I worship and glorify all gods, all angels, all splendours, all luminaries, all powers: Those which are from the great and glorious f(ath)er, those which subsist in his holiness, 20 and in his light are nourished, purified from all darkness and malignance. I worship and glorify the great powers, the enlightening angels: Those, having advanced by their own wisdom and having subjected the darkness and its remorseless powers which were prepared to fight with the ruler of all; these are those who created heaven and earth and bound in them all the substance of contempt.

I worship and glorify the offspring of the greatness, the enlightening mind, king (and) Christ: The one who came forth from the outer aeons into the upper creation, and from that to this lower creation; and having incomparably announced his wisdom and the ineffable mysteries to people on earth, and having displayed to the entire universe the way of truth, and having preached with all voices, and having distinguished truth from the lie and light from darkness and good from evil and the just from the wicked. From you every 50 grace has become known to the universe, and life together with truth to every tribe has been interpreted with all voices. He himself has become for living souls the redeemer from the obligation of the inimical bonds.

I worship and glorify the living God, virtuous and true: The one who, by his own power, raised up all things, this arrangement above and below.

I worship and glorify the great luminaries, both the sun and the moon and the virtuous powers in them: Which by wisdom conquer the opponents and enlighten the entire 65 arrangement, and of all observe and judge the world and conduct the victorious souls into the great aeon of light.

(Side ii) I worship and glorify the five great lights: Through which
the entire universe came into existence, and through which heaven and earth (and through which (?)) by participation power and beauty and soul and life are present in all. And without these the universe could not exist.

I worship and glorify all gods, all angels, the living and pure: Who support this whole creation with the permission of the great and virtuous light, who rules over all those (now) singing (these) hymns.

I worship and glorify all the enlightening angels: Who dominate the totality of the universe, and subject all demons and all evil, shielding righteousness and guarding it from

the wicked demons and growing the good in it.

I worship and glorify all the righteous: Those who escape from all evil, those who both have existed before, exist now, are coming into existence and are ready to come into existence because they have recognised truth and all preeminence; the chaste and firm, in order that all those whom I have worshipped and glorified and invoked may assist me and bless me with favour and may deliver me from every bond and all constraint and oppression and every reincarnation, and provide me with access to the great aeon of light which all the wise and upright in knowledge hope to attain, where peace and the purest of the good rule, where there is no perception of evil but ambrosia 120 and eternal life are present, where all the inhabitants are without any need and experience neither death nor corruption.

Blessed be he who prays this prayer frequently, or at least on the third day, with a pure heart and forthright speech, asking for 130 forgiveness of
sins committed.

The Prayer of the Emanations is ended.

(*Prayer of the Emanations*, discovered at El-Kharab, Egypt, 1992, dating from 4th century A.D.)

"*. . .* spirit of endurance come to us,
let endurance endure and let us bear up that we may
. . . endurance.
. . . the First Man, he was sent out to the fight,
and endurance came to him.
He left his land of light behind him, he went out to the land of
darkness
and endurance came to him.
He left also his people behind him, he went out to the field *. . .*
and endurance came to him.
. . . of the gods, he came to the border of the man-eaters.
Endurance
. . . in the midst of the *. . .* ,5 he came that he might raise it (?)
Endurance
. . . the angels, he came to the rampart (?) of the robbers.
Endurance
…, he gave them as food to the beasts,
Endurance
. . . they going forth, knowing that they would fall into trouble.
Endurance
. . not a need which came upon them.

Endurance
. . . to trouble until they saved the *. . .*
Endurance
. . . also are the enduring ones at this time.
Let (…)
The five weight-carriers that support the weight of the enemy.
Endurance
They are the five sons of the father, the Living Spirit.
Endurance
. . . that bears up, that comes from the heights to the depths.
Endurance
I therefore too have endured the things which he suffered before
today.
he was thrown into a basket and hung outside the wall;
all these things he suffered, he did not weary, he did not flinch;
he left the open court of the lord, knowing that *. . .*
Thecla[11], the lover of God, who was made to go up on the fire:
she received the sign of the cross, she walked into the fire
rejoicing;
yet was she not ashamed, naked in the midst of the crowd;
she was thrown to the bears, the lions were let loose to her;
she was bound to the bulls, the seals were let loose to her;
all these things that she suffered, she did not flinch, she did
not . . them;
a crown it is that she desires, it is purity for which she fights.
The blessed Drusiane also, she also suffered the same:
fourteen days imprisoned like her master, her apostle.
Maximilla and Aristobula, on them was great torture inflicted:
what need for them to suffer these things, it is purity for which
they fight.
All the godly that there have been, male, female, all have suffered;
down to the glorious one, the apostle Mani the living.
Our lord Manichaios himself also was made to drink the cup:
he received the likeness of them all, he fulfilled all their signs.
How many of his disciples also received the likeness of their fathers?
We also, my brethren, have our part of suffering:
we shall join with them in the suffering and rest in their rest;
the covenant of our father, the profit and the loss are divided

[11] Early Christian martyr (1st century), died in the Colosseum. Related in *The Acts of Paul and Thecla*.

between us;
we are true sons, the heirs of their fathers;
There is nothing that is free from suffering that will rest in the end:
the very seed also that is sown, unless it dies, finds not the way to live,
but by its death it lives and gives life also.
Let us make ourselves strong also, my brethren; for lo, the rest has
reached us, that we may receive the blessing of all whereof we have spoken,
and dwell with one another in the glorious land of light,
with no foe and no enemy and no adversary from henceforth,
but it is peace and joy and life eternal.
Lo, this is the end of the psalm of endurance.

Glory and honour to our lord, our light, Mani the living, who
endured to the end, and his holy Elect, and the soul of Maria."
(*Psalm-Book 2*. 141.1–143.34 ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted I. Gardner)[12]

"O soul, know this great sign,
that this is the sign of the remission of your sins.
This visible *bema*,
the word set it before you,
that he might sow in you through what is visible
the remembrance of the hidden judgment,
which you have forgotten since the day
when you drank the water of madness.

O soul...

Lo, there has come to you the grace of the day of joy,
do for your part reveal without fear all your sins today;
and be mindful of your end, and prepare yourself in your works,
for the *bema*[13] of wisdom moves you concerning it.

Paul, the glorious one, bears witness, saying unto you:
'The *bema* of Christ, in it there is no respect of persons;

[12] Part of the category called "psalms of the wanderers".
[13] Greek for "high seat" or "throne"; also "seat of judgement" and the like. Here, it refers to an empty raised seat on a dais with 5 steps representing the Five Lights, which lay at the center of the Bema Feast, the Manichaean equivalent of Easter, when Mani's death (and consequent return to the realm of light) was celebrated. It was also called his martyrdom and, metaphorically, as his "crucifiction", though he died in prison.

whether we will or not, we shall all receive this (evaluation).
This too is what the *bema* silently proclaims.

The wanton hours of wickedness, rule entirely over them,
(the ceaseless fire) of foul lust;
and do you (forsake) wrath and envy and sadness,
also the (other) bitter (bonds) of wickedness, loose them today.

(May) the judge see you keeping these commandments,
(and may he) honour you and give you life;
complete forgiveness will he bestow on you,
come therefore and walk on these holy steps.

May the *bema* become for you a landing-place of your days,
a place of cleansing of your life, a chest filled with teaching,
a ladder to the heights, a counting-balance of your deeds;
and as you see the likeness of these things in the *bema*, bless it.

Say unto it: 'You are blessed, great instrument of the word,
upright *bema* of the great judge,
the seat of the fathers of light that are far removed from error,
foundation of the sweet victory, full of wisdom.

Hail, *bema* of victory, true sign of our city,
joyous shining crown of the souls that are victorious;
but judgment and condemnation of sinners.
Hail, *bema* of the mind of the holy scriptures.

Every tree today has become new again.
Lo, the roses have spread their beauty abroad,
for the bond has been severed that does harm to the leaves;
do you also sever the chains and the bond of our sins.

All the air is luminous, the sphere glitters today,
even the earth puts forth blossom, the waves of the sea are still;
for the gloomy winter has passed that is full of trouble,
let us too escape from the iniquity of evil.

Forgive the sins of they that know your mystery,

to whom there has been revealed the knowledge of the
secrets of the exalted one,
through the wholesome wisdom wherein there is no error,
of the holy church of the Paraclete[14], our father.

The joy-filled treasure of the glorious spirit,
give it as a present to us and extend it unto us all,
and wash us in joy and . . .
his drops also that will wash the . . .

Glory to thee, our father Manichaios, the glorious one,
(the joy of) the gods, . . . , the entire remission of sins,
the preaching of life, the ambassador of they that are on high;
glory to your *bema*, your seat that gives . . .

May also the soul of Maria have access to your mercy, my master."
(*Psalm-Book* 7.11–9.1)

"Mariam, Mariam, know me: do not touch me.
(Stem) the tears of your eyes and know me that I am your master:
Only touch me not, for I have not yet seen the face of my Father.

Your god was not stolen away, according to the thoughts of your
littleness:
Your god did not die, rather he mastered death.
I am not the gardener. I have given, I have received the . . . , I appeared
(not) to you:
Until I saw your tears and your grief . . . for me.

Cast this sadness away from you and do this service:
Be a messenger for me to these wandering orphans.
Make haste rejoicing, and go unto the eleven:
You shall find them gathered together on the bank of the Jordan.

[14] Greek meaning "comforter", "helper" or, more loosely, "advocate" and "friend", in reference to John 14;16: "And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you forever." Christians take this as meaning the Holy Spirit, who is believed by them to have descended on the 50th day after the resurrection of Christ; Mani proclaimed that the verse pointed to himself, whom the Father of Light (=Primordial/First Man) had sent as the final apostle to humanity, "the Seal of the Prophets"—a title which Muhammad later took for himself.

The traitor persuaded them to be fishermen as they were at first,
and to lay down their nets with which they caught men unto life.

Say to them, 'Arise, let us go, it is your brother that calls you.
If they scorn my brotherhood, say to them, 'It is your master.'
If they disregard my mastership, say to them, 'It is your Lord.'
Use all skill and advice until you have brought the sheep to the
shepherd.

If you see that their wits are gone, draw Simon Peter unto you:
Say to him, 'Remember what I uttered between you and me.'
'Remember what I said between you and me in the Mount of Olives:
"I have something to say, I have none to whom to say it." '

Rabbi, my master, I will serve your commandment in the
joy of my whole heart.
I will not give rest to my heart, I will not give sleep to my eyes,
I will not give rest to my feet until I have brought the sheep
to the fold.

Glory to Mariam, because she listened to her master:
She served his commandment in the joy of her whole heart.
(Glory and) victory to the soul of the blessed Maria."

(*Psalm-Book 2.* 187.2–36)

"Come to me, my kinsman, the light, my guide.
. . . my soul, bear up: you have your saviour:[15]
(your) defence is Christ, for he will receive you into his kingdom.
Since I went forth into the darkness I was given a water to drink
which . . . me;
I bear up beneath a burden which is not my own.
I am in the midst of my enemies, the beasts surrounding me;
the burden which I bear is of the powers and principalities.

They blazed in their wrath, they rose up against me,
they ran to . . . me, like sheep that have no shepherd.
Matter and her sons divided me up amongst them,

[15] From here on, the Living Self speaks

they burnt me in their fire, they gave me a bitter likeness.

The strangers with whom I mixed, me they know not;
they tasted my sweetness, they desired to keep me with them.
I was life to them, but they were death to me;
I bore up beneath them, they wore me as a garment upon them.
I am in everything, I bear the skies, I am the foundation, I
support the earths,
I am the light that shines forth, that gives joy to souls.
I am the life of the world, I am the milk that is in all trees,
I am the sweet water that is beneath the sons of matter.

. . . I went forth to the . . .
. . . the aeons . . . they sent me forth to the . . .
I will bear up under these things until I fulfill the will of my father;
the First Man is my father, the one who perfected his struggle.
Lo, the darkness I have subdued;
lo, the fire of the demons I have extinguished.
The sphere turns quickly,
while the lights purify the life.[16]

O soul, raise your eyes to the heights, and you see your form:
lo, the mother, you have reached her; lo, your fathers, they call upon you.
Go aboard your ships of light and receive your glorious crown;
and return to your kingdom and rejoice with all the aeons.

Glory and honour to our lord Mani the living,
(and his) holy elect; and the soul of the blessed (Maria)."

(*Psalm-Book* 2. 54.7–55.15)

"(With) our holy voice we glorify the Mind:
(for if he) lodges with us we give holy fruit."
(O) father, o Light Mind, come and wear me,
(until) I have recited the woe of the son of man.

(My) lord Jesus, come and wear me,
until I purify the body of the First Man.
O compassion of glory, daughter of the Father of the Lights,

[16] Here ends the speech of the Living Self.

. . . all, none knows your honour.
. . . make music, children only of the Paraclete,

they that have . . . you, . . . weeping daily for your wounds.
You are the two-edged axe,
wherewith they cut the bitter root.

You are the . . . that is in the hand of the virgin,
which was thrust into the heart of the enemy.
You are the first ship (?) of the first warrior,
wherein they caught the thieves that rebelled.

You are the first weapon of the first hero,
which was brandished behind the foe that arose.
(You are the) church of the father, the First Man;
(you are the) vineyard of the first husbandman.

You are the eye of plenty that came with the abundance,
until it had closed the eyes of the malignant ones.
(How great) is your fortitude, o daughter of wisdom:
for you have not yet wearied, watching over the enemy.
For you the ships are waiting on high,
that they may draw you up and take you to the light.
Lo, the Perfect Man is stretched out (in the middle of) the universe,
that you may walk in him and receive (your) unfading
(crowns).
Lo, the five porters are spread over the world,
that your heart may not suffer and that you may cast the burden
from off you.
(Lo, the) righteous will illumine you;
lo, the forgiveness of sins of the catechumens of the faith.

(Lo,) the medicine-chest of the physician will heal your wounds;
lo, the knowledge and the wisdom will put your clothes upon
you.

(Walk,) therefore, in joy, drawn to the land of light,
sealed with your seal and with your unfading crowns.
Walk also in gladness: your sufferings have passed today;
lo, the harbour of peace: you have moored in it.

Glory to this compassion and to them that purify it,
and to them that save it, the catechumens of the faith.

Peace and rest be there to the soul (of the) blessed Maria, Theona.
(*In Praise of the Mind, Psalm-Book* 2.162.21–163.32)

"Jesus my true guard, may you guard me: first-born
of the Father of the Lights, may you guard me.
(You) are the living wine, the child of the true vine.
Give us to drink a living wine from your vine.
In the midst of the sea, Jesus, guide me.
Do not abandon us that the waves may not seize us.
When I utter your name over the sea it stills its waves.
Who will not rejoice when the sun is about to rise on him?
You are a perfect day, being like unto your Father in the heavens.
(You) invite us: you have broached for us a (new) wine.
They that drink your wine, their heart rejoices in it.
They are drunk with your love and gladness is spread over
their . . .
They think of them that are on high, and arm themselves to fight
against the dragon.
The word of God is sweet when it finds ears to hear it.
It lodges not in a mind that is shut, it makes not its
way to a shrine that is polluted.
It lodges with the maidens and dwells in the heart of the
continent.
They with whom it lodges: its grace spreads over them.
They gird up their loins and arm themselves to fight with the dragon.
This name 'Jesus': a grace surrounds it.
Your burden is light for him that can bear it.
How great a lover of man you are, o Jesus, the first rose of the Father.
How kindly you are . . . the kindly one of the gods.
When I think of you, my lord, great is the fear that surrounds me.
When I would glorify you, I find not to whom I should liken you.
When I seek you I find you within illumining me.

Perhaps I too am worthy to (hear) the divine call.
. . . myself to you, fair is your glory in my mouth, my lord.
The ship of Jesus has come to port, laden with crowns
and lush palms.
It is Jesus who steers it, he will put in for us until we embark.
The holy ones are they whom he takes, the maidens are they
whom he *. . .*
Let us also make ourselves pure that we may make our
voyage *. . .*
The ship of Jesus will make its way up to the heights.
It will bring its cargo to the shore and return for them
that are left behind.
They are the *. . .* that are spread in the deceit of life.
He will *. . .* bring them to the harbour of the immortals.
(It is laden with) crowns and lush palms forever and ever.
(Victory) and rest be there to the soul of Maria."

(*Psalm-Book* 2.151.4–152.9)

"*. . .* for ever, even the Father, the King of *. . .*
. . .
our own *. . .* is the Holy Spirit.
(The Father) of Greatness is the Father,
the *. . .* (of the) sufferer is the Son *. . .*
. . . of life is the Holy Spirit.

(A) raiser of the dead is the Father,
a conqueror himself of death is the Son,
a gatherer (?) of his own is the Holy Spirit.
A hidden one from everlasting is the Father,
the word that appears is the Son,

the . . . is the Holy Spirit.
An intellectual intelligence entire is the Father,
but a stranger to the world is the Son,
the path of the aeons is the Holy Spirit.

A perfect rich one is the Father,
the proclamation of the hidden things is the Son,
the silence of them that . . . is the Holy Spirit.

He that has power over the universe is the Father,
he that . . . the Father is the Son,
the light of the aeons is the Holy Spirit.

The Father rejoices always,
the Son also makes music to the Father,
but his is wisdom entire, even the Holy Spirit.

May we ourselves generate love towards the Father,
the faith which is in us towards the Son,
the fear of our heart towards the Holy Spirit.

The seal of the mouth for the sign of the Father,
the peace of the hands for the sign of the Son,
the purity of virginity for the sign of the Holy Spirit.

Pious love for the sign of the Father,
the knowledge of wisdom for the sign of the Son,
the fulfilment of the commandments for the sign of the Holy Spirit.

The light that is on high is the Father,
the power of God that supports the totality is the Son,
the wisdom that looks forth is the Holy Spirit.
Jesus, the tree of life, is the father;
the fruit, the Light Mind, is the son;
the Virgin, this sweet one, is the holy spirit.

Jesus, the glorious, is the father,
the blessed Light Mind is the son,
the Virgin of Light is the holy spirit.
Let us pray then, my brethren, that we may find the Father,
and fast daily that we may find the Son,
and discipline our life that we may find the Holy Spirit.

Let us seal our mouth that we may find the Father,
and seal our hands that we may find the Son,
and guard our purity that we may find the Holy Spirit.

Glory to our lord Mani the living through the Father,

honour to his Elect through the Son,
blessing to his catechumens through the Holy Spirit.

Victory and salvation may there be through them to the soul of the blessed Maria."
(*In Praise of the Trinity, Psalm-Book* 2.115.4–116.23)

"Beneficient and glorious Jesus Buddha, raise (your) great compassion and forgive our sins! Listen to these words of suffering and pain, and deliver us from this poisoned sea of fire![17]"
(Chinese Hymnscroll, 29)

"We wish you would still the huge waves of the sea of fire! Through the curtain of dark clouds and dark mist let the sun of Great Law[18] shine everywhere, that our hearts and soul may be always bright and pure!"
(Chinese Hymnscroll, 32)

"We should resolutely choose and peacefully concentrate on the gate of true teaching, (we must) diligently seek for nirvana to cross the sea of fire!"[19]
(Chinese Hymnscroll, 85)

"Thus this body of flesh, which is also called the Old Man [contrast: New Man], is nothing but bone, sinew, vein, flesh, skin, hatred, fury, anger, ignorance and greed, gluttony, lust. These twelve together constitute the body, and thus resemble the lightless realm without beginning."[20]
(Chinese Manichaean Treatise, 66-68, modified)

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[17] In a Hindu or Buddhist context, expressions such as "sea of fire", "poisonous ocean", etc. refer to samsara, that is, the continuous cycle of repeated suffering caused by transmigration through the various realms as human, animal, divine, semi-divine. ghostly or hellish beings. Manichaeans took it over and used it to designate the entrapment of light-substance in and by its opposite.

[18] This is the usual translation for the word "dharma", meaning at the same time "law" and "truth" (as in both "the right thing to do" and "the truth about the world"; compare the ancient Egyptian "ma'at". The parallel is precise). In a Manichaean context, it designates Manichaean doctrine and practice.

[19] Chinese Buddhism, at the time when Manichaeism was first introduced to China by Sogdian mercenaries in the 9th century C.E., held a definition of nirvana as being non-distinct from samsara, following Nagarjuna's 2nd-century C.E. position, found in his "Fundamental Verses on the Middle Way" (Sanskrit: "Mula-madhiamika-karika"). Needless to say, Manichaeans held precisely the opposite view, using the term "nirvana" to designate the state of separation between light and darkness and the peace to which the re-unification of all light-substance shall lead.

[20] That is to say, the unreformed body (not brought under proper discipline) is the equivalent of the realm of darkness in miniature.

"The sign of that perfect Catechumen is this: You find his wife in the house with him being handled by him like a stranger. His house, moreover, is reckoned by him like an inn; and he says, "I dwell in a house for rent for (some) days and months." His family and kinsmen are reckoned by him (as) it is necessary (for) men who are strangers, adhering to him, walking with him in the road, as he [. . .] they will separate from him, and every [possession of] gold and silver and vessels of [value in the] house, they become like loaned items to him; [he] accepts them, and he is served through them, (and) afterwards he gives [them to] their owner. He does not place his trust in them, nor his treasure. He has plucked out his thought from the world; he has placed his [heart] in the holy church. At all times his thought is placed upon God. But that which surpasses all these things is the guardianship and the care and the love of the holy ones which exist in him. He guards the church in the manner of [his] house, even more than his house. He places his whole treasure in the Electi and the Electae. For this is that which [the] savior pronounced through the mouth of his apostle: "From today those who have a wife, let them become like those who do not; those who buy as if they do not buy; those who rejoice as if they do not rejoice; those who weep as if they do not weep; those who [find] profit in this world as if they do not take advantage." These are the ones who [. . .] come, the ones who [. . .] were sent; and they were sent because of these perfect Catechumens who are released from this single body, and they go to them, to the height, resembling the Elect in their citizenship. This is the sign of those Catechumens who do not come to a body (again)."

(*Kephalaion*[21] *91,* 228.22–229.20)

[21] An extensive treatment of Manichaean topics, in the form of a dialogue between "Mani" and an enquiring monk. Written after Mani's death, due to a need felt by Manichaeans to elucidate points left unclear in Mani's own writings; the Greek "Kephalaia" translates as "headings" or "chapters".

Competing Narratives between Nomadic People and their Sedentary Neighbours

Studia uralo-altaica 53

Redigunt
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Contents

István Zimonyi
Preface 7

Augustí Alemany
A Prosopographical Approach to Medieval Eurasian Nomads (II) 11

Tatiana A. Anikeeva
Geography in the Epic Folklore of the Oghuz Turks 37

Ákos Bertalan Apatóczky
Changes of Ethnonyms in the Sino-Mongol Bilingual Glossaries
from the Yuan to the Qing Era 45

Chen Hao
Competing Narratives:
A Comparative Study of Chinese Sources with the Old Turkic Inscriptions 59

Edina Dallos
A Possible Source of 'Tengrism' 67

Andrei Denisov
Scythia as the Image of a Nomadic Land on Medieval Maps 73

Szabolcs Felföldi
Personal Hygiene and Bath Culture in the World of the Eurasian Nomads 85

Bruno Genito
An Archaeology of the Nomadic Groups of the Eurasian Steppes between
Europe and Asia. Traditional Viewpoint and New Research Perspectives 95

Zsolt Hunyadi
Military-religious Orders and the Mongols around the Mid-13th Century 111

Éva Kincses-Nagy
The Islamization of the Legend of the Turks: The Case of *Oghuznāma* 125

Irina Konovalova
Cumania in the System of Trade Routes of Eastern Europe in the 12th Century ... 137

Nikolay N. Kradin
Some Aspects of Xiongnu History in Archaeological Perspective 149

Valéria Kulcsár – Eszter Istvánovits
New Results in the Research on the Hun Age in the Great Hungarian Plain.
Some Notes on the Social Stratification of Barbarian Society 167

Ma Xiaolin
The Mongols' *tuq* 'standard' in Eurasia, 13th–14th Centuries 183

Enrico Morano
Manichaean Sogdian Cosmogonical Texts in Manichaean Script 195

Maya Petrova
On the Methodology of the Reconstruction of the Ways of Nomadic Peoples 217

Katalin Pintér-Nagy
The Tether and the Sling in the Tactics of the Nomadic People 223

Alexander V. Podossinov
Nomads of the Eurasian Steppe and Greeks of the Northern Black Sea Region:
Encounter of Two Great Civilisations in Antiquity and Early Middle Ages 237

Szabolcs József Polgár
The Character of the Trade between the Nomads and their
Settled Neighbours in Eurasia in the Middle Ages 253

Mirko Sardelić
Images of Eurasian Nomads in European Cultural Imaginary
in the Middle Ages 265

Dan Shapira
An Unknown Jewish Community of the Golden Horde 281

Jonathan Karam Skaff
The Tomb of Pugu Yitu (635–678) in Mongolia:
Tang-Turkic Diplomacy and Ritual 295

Richárd Szántó
Central Asia in the Cosmography of Anonymous of Ravenna 309

Katalin Tolnai – Zsolt Szilágyi – András Harmath
Khitan Landscapes from a New Perspective.
Landscape Archaeology Research in Mongolia 317

Kürşat Yıldırım
Some Opinions on the Role of the Mohe 靺鞨 People in the Cultural
and Ethnical Relationships between Tungusic, Turkic and Mongolian Peoples 327

Ákos Zimonyi
Did Jordanes Read Hippocrates?
The Impact of Climatic Factors on Nomads in the *Getica* of Jordanes 333

István Zimonyi
The Eastern Magyars of the Muslim Sources in the 10th Century 347

Manichaean Sogdian Cosmogonical Texts in Manichaean Script

Enrico Morano
Turin/Berlin

Sogdian was one of the most important Central Asian Iranian languages, with a vast body of literature to be put on a par with Middle Persian and Parthian. As it was once the commercial language throughout Central Asia (Transoxania), it soon became the lingua franca of Chinese and Iranian traders along the Silk Road. Therefore the spoken language of the Manichaeans in Central Asia, as far as they were Iranians, was Sogdian; the illiterate Elect, and of course the Hearers, generally understood only Sogdian; the majority of the Manichaeans in the Turfan region consisted of Sogdians. For that reason many important Manichaean works, including those written by Mani himself, were translated into Sogdian, from Parthian or from Middle Persian. The present paper gives a survey of the Sogdian fragments in Manichaean script[1] of the Berlin Turfan Collection[2] which deal with cosmogony.

Ms 1: M178 = MIK III 4990 (Pl. 1–2)

This Sogdian bifolio, written on fine leather in outstanding calligraphy in Manichaean script is not only the best preserved Manichaean text ever found, but it is also one of the most elaborate accounts of Manichaean cosmogony. Müller published some excerpts in his pioneering work of 1904, when Sogdian was still not recognised, and a proper edition of this important text had to wait some 44 years, until Henning fully published it. "Between the first folio (description of paradise) and the second (firmaments) three or even four double-folios, i.e. twelve or sixteen pages, may be missing (darkness, attack, first man, mixture, second creation, redemption of first man). The headlines do not give the contents of the pages, but are pieces of a continuous text which ran from the first page of the book to the last. Apparently this was the most elaborate account of all."[3]

1 A working catalogue of these texts is found in Morano 2007 and a codicological survey of the same texts in Morano 2018.

2 I am very grateful to the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften and to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz for allowing me to study and publish their texts. Thanks are also due to all the staff of the Akademienvorhaben Turfanforschung for their kind help and hospitality at their Institute. Nicholas Sims-Williams [NSW] has kindly accepted to read a first draft of the article and gave me invaluable remarks, saving me from some misreadings or misinterpretations. Needless to say, any shortcoming is mine.

3 Henning 1948: 306–307.

This text was published in Henning 1948, with an English translation and ample commentary [black and white photo in Weber 2000 pl. 149–150].

Ms 2: M548 + M704
M108 + M5928 [T II D 140] (Pl. 3)

Two joined fragments form the upper part of a page, completing the headline in the verso and the first three lines on both sides. The following lines are incomplete, and the rest of the page is lost, either torn off or worm-eaten. Henning (1948: 317) published the fragment M548 inverting the recto and verso sides, not considering that the margin of that fragment was in fact the outer, not the inner margin (present in the joining fragment M 704). The text deals with the construction of the Heavens and Gates by the Living Spirit and the Mother of Light from the demons' skin, bones, flesh, veins, sinews and tendons (recto) and the fashioning of thresholds, bazaars, rows, and 360 stalls in the firmament (verso), roughly corresponding to the lines 94–105 of the Cosmogonical Fragment (M178) mentioned above as published by Henning.

Two other unpublished fragments, evidently from the same manuscript as the joined fragments above, but from a different page, join together and give another portion of the text of this "different recension [...] of the story of the world."[4]

M108 + M5928 [T II D 140]

Part of a sheet with an outer margin, but no complete lines. Same manuscript as M548+. The small fragment M5928 joins directly to the lower part of M108, adding and completing a few lines. Text similar to M178. In particular it is described how the earthly substance came down from the demons' blood, bones, sinews, skin and flesh, how the demons were bound in the firmaments, imprisoned in Bazaars, Rows, and Stalls, and the creation of the 8 earths, 3 moats and 40 angels who hold the skies (recto), and the purification of the light particles through ascension to the moon, where Jesus receives them (verso).

The fragments measure 6.3 x 5.6 cm (M108) and 4.6 x 4 (M5968), joined together 8.8 x 6.1 cm. Space between the lines 1 cm, outer margin 1.7 cm. Cf. Henning 1948: 316 on (99–100).

All these texts, with photographs of the edited fragments, are fully published in Morano forthcoming.

Ms 3: Fragments from a manuscript on cosmogony and rules for Elect and Hearers (Pl. 4)

M110+M120, M247.

Three fragments, one double folio and two other incomplete pages from the same manuscript bear parts of a miscellaneous book with a section on cosmogony

4 Henning 1948: 316.

followed by a section on rules for Elect and Hearers in the monasteries. What follows is a possible order of the pages dealing with cosmogony:

First section: Cosmogony. 1st page: M110/I/R/

Cosmogony: the battle and the work done by God Xurmezd with his 5 sons and the help of Call and Answer

M110/I/V/

Secondly: Call and Answer imprison and bind all the demons who were fed in Hell. Thirdly: Call and Answer …

2nd page: M247/R/

Fourthly: Living Spirit makes a new creation in the midst of the fight against the demons. Fifthly …

M247/V/

A lightning flashed, and a terrible thunder(?) broke out(?); as if a big mountainside and a rock (?) fell into the deep water. The demons were scared…

3rd page: M110/II/+M120/R/

Beautiful, pure Paradise versus the darkness of Hell. God Xurmezd and the Elements with Call and Answer descend to the earth.

Second section: first page: M110/II/+M120/V/

End of the cosmogonic section: *colophon with name of the patron.* Second [section]: explanation of the religion. Rules for the Elect and the Hearers: the Elect may dwell in the house of the hearers, while the Hearers cannot dwell in monasteries with all their wordly possessions and wives, sons and slaves.

This section resumes in another fragment from the same manuscript, **M144**.

All these texts will be published in a forthcoming article by F. Dragoni and E. Morano (Dragoni & Morano forthcoming).

Ms 4: Various fragments from a cosmogonical book

While I was preparing my 'Working Catalogue of the Berlin Sogdian fragments in Manichaean script'[5] I came across several fragments of different shapes and measures, all unpublished, which are from a single manuscript, apparently a book on cosmogony. The manuscript is written in a clear, particular, cursive bold Manichaean script. Although no entire page has been preserved, by joining some fragments together, the greater part of three sheets can be reconstructed.

Each page had at least 17 lines, but possibly more: the most complete fragment, M5701+, has 17 incomplete lines as well as vertical red lines delimiting both

5 Morano 2007.

margins. The edges appear to have been cut off with a sharp tool, as there are regular, linear tear marks above and below. M264a on the other hand preserves the upper part of the sheet, with the first 8 lines, and both ruled margins, and again the edges are cut off regularly. A third almost complete page of the manuscript, M141+, has 17 incomplete lines, but no margins and the upper cut seems to be linear and regular like in the other two sheets. We know the original width of the inner margin from M 6291, an internal fragment of a double sheet, and from M5991: it was 1.75 cm. The outer margin is known from M485b: it was 2.5 cm. From the same manuscript there are in the Berlin collection several smaller fragments which I was not able to join, or to assign, to any other fragment.

The following lists all the fragments from the same manuscript I found in the Berlin Turfan collection:

> M141+M6795, M264a, M485b, M5701+6796+2308, M5991, M6067, M6099, M6099a (not described in Boyce 1960), M6100, M6291, M6790, M6800.

A full edition of all the fragments from this manuscript is in preparation, and it will be published soon, together with a philological and linguistic commentary. Here I propose a preliminary edition of the three most extensive fragments, dealing with the Father of Greatness, the supreme Manichaean deity, the creation of the world by the Living Spirit, and the birth of Adam with a description of his body.

I. The Father of Greatness

M264a (pl. 5–6)

Upper part of the sheet, with 8 lines fairly complete. Part of both margins preserved, delimited regularly by red lines. The lower part of the page is partly torn off, only the initial/final characters of the lines are preserved. At least one line at the end is missing.

12.4 x 12.2 cm.

In this page the Father of Greatness, called *rwxšn'γrδmncyk 'xšywnyy βγyy* "the Lord God of the Paradise of Light", is exalted above the other gods, and said to be different from the other gods in seven things. Of these, only the first (he is, and has always been, immortal and permanent, while the other gods were created and blessed by him), the fourth (he is the father of all the gods, and they are all his sons) and the fifth (he is brighter than all the gods) are complete, the second (he is more exalted than all gods ...) the third (... he knows past, present and future), the sixth and the seventh being only partly preserved.

/R/

/1/[....ʿ](y)nyy (III) (ʾ..)[.....] (.yk/x..ʾ..) /2/ s(fry)tyt ○○ ʾʾfrytyt ○○ ʾt[y](y) nyjtyṭ /3/ xnd(t) (○)○ {blank} ○○ ʾrtyy (x)w(n)[yy](h̲) /4/ rwxšnʾγrδmncyk ʾxšywnyy βγyy pr /5/ VII zngʾn ʾʾc ○○ cn sʾt βγyštyh̲ /6/ nyʾzngstr wmʾt ○○ I pr nwšʾkyʾ ʾtyh̲ /7/ ʾʾs[tn](k)yʾ [○](○) (w)ʾnw ʾtyy rʾmndt n(w)[šy](yh̲) /8/ (wmʾ)[t ʾtyy ʾ]ʾstnyy ○○ cn ʾʾδʾh̲ /9/ sfrytyy ʾtyh̲ [ʾ](ʾ)frytyy nyy xcyh̲ (○○) /10/ pʾrwtyy pʾ(r)[ykt βγyš](t) cn wny(h̲) /11/ βyksʾr s(f)[rytyt ʾtyy ʾʾfry](tyt)[wmʾtnd] /12/ ○○ ○○ δβ[tyk 18–20] /13/ cn sʾt β(γ)[yšty 18–20] /14/ ptrštr x(c)[yh̲ 18–20] /15/ xyδ [20–22] /16/ pt(r)[štr 20–22]

/V/

/1/ cyndr βyk c(w) ʾ(st)yy ○○ c(w) βw(t)kʾ[m pr] /2/ bywn γrβt(y) ʾtyh̲ (p)tz(ʾ)nd ○○ ○○ /3/ IIIImyk (x)[y](δ) ʾxšywnyy βγyy wnyy sʾt /4/ βγyštyy ptryy xcyy ○○ ʾtyy xww wyšʾnd /5/ sʾt wnyy ʾʾjwnd xndt ○○ sʾt xyδ /6/ ʾxšywnyy βγyy sʾr nmʾc βrynyt γwβnyt /7/ (ʾ)t[y](h̲) ʾʾfrynyt xndt ○○ ○○ (p)ncmyk /8/ xyδ ʾxšywnyy βγyy rwxš[nyʾ]k (cn) sʾt /9/ βγyštyy wʾf[yy](δ rw)xšndry(y) xcyy ○○ cʾnw /10/ [my](š)yy βγ(y)[y rwxšndryy](c)[n] sʾt ʾstʾrytyy /11/ [xcy ○○] ○○ [VImyk β](γy)štyy wʾfryδ /12/ [22–23](m) rwγ(n)[y]xsʾ /13/ [22–23](.) ○○ VIImyk /14/ [22–23]pʾrγztr ʾtyy /15/ [23–25](p)tkʾrʾh̲ /16/ [26–28](y) cn

Translation

/**R**/1/ [...]these 3 [...] /2/ are created, blessed and emanated. /3/ {*blank*} And he, /4/ the Lord God of the Light Paradise, in /5/ 7 sorts of things was /6/ different from all the Gods. Firstly in immortality and /7/ permanence. For he has always been immortal /8/ [and] permanent. By anyone /9/ he is not created and blessed, /10/ but the oth[er gods] out of him /11/ [were] creat[ed and bless]ed. /12/ Se[condly: ...] /13/ than all the God[s ...] /14/ is more exalted [...] /15/ this/these [...] /16/ exa[lted]

/**V**/1/ inside (and) outside what it is, what it will be, /2/ he foreseeingly knows and understands. /3/ Fourthly. The Lord God is the father /4/ of all the Gods. And they /5/ are all his sons. To that same /6/ Lord God they are all bringing honour, praise /7/ and blessing. Fifthly. /8/ The Lord God is as much brigh[ter] than all /9/ the Gods, as /10/ the [S]un God[is brighter]than all the stars. /11/ [Sixthly ... than all the]gods, so much /12/ [...]oil, musk(?) /13/ [...] Seventhly /14/ [...]more excellent and /15/ [...] appearance /16/ [...] than

II. How the Living Spirit Divided the World

M5701 [T II 116]+M6796 [T II K]+M2308 (pl. 7–8)

Almost an entire page in length, cut regularly with a sharp tool at the top and bottom and through the internal margin, where the red ruling line is preserved. Only half-lines are preserved. 12.5 x 8 cm.

The text in this page describes how the Living Spirit created the walls and ditches and divided the world into four parts with Mount Sumeru in the middle, and four mountains as frontier guards of the world. He then separated, accordingly, the sky upwards and day and night.

/R/

/1/ xndt ○○ ○○ [....] xww tβ[tyy 8–10] /2/ δʾt pr pδkwyy [XX] XX XX (β)[rywr fsʾx βwt] /3/ ○○ ○○ ʾtyy xww jʾr ʾʾ[11–12] /4/ XX XX XX βrywr fsʾ(x)[12–13] /5/ cywyδyy βystr [15–17] /6/ [f]s[ʾx] (p)r pδkwyy [15–17] /7/ [pr](kn)yy pδkwyy C[βrywr fsʾx ....] /8/ ○○ ○○ ʾtyy štyk[15–17] /9/ XX XX [XX] βrywr fnsʾ(x)[12–14] /10/ ʾ(ʾp) prkn pr pδk[wyy 14–16] /11/ βrywr fsʾx xcyy ○○ [14–16] /12/ mzyx δ[ʾ](t) kyy wyspw(w)[14–16] /13/ δʾrt skwn ○○ ○○ ʾtyy (..)[13–14] /14/ XX XX XX XX βrywr fnsʾx x**c**yy [○○ ○○] /15/ ʾ[○○ ptsʾr wʾδ jy**w**ndy(y) (IIII)[yxwʾk] /16/ mnβxš ○○ cn smwt(**r**)ʾ cyndr(p)ʾr ○○ [....] /17/ xwrsncyk ʾfcmbδ (ʾtyḫ x)wrtxyz[cyk]

/V/

/1/ [cn pʾškyrʾnc](y)k ʾtyy (n)[ymy](δ)cyk fcmbδ /2/ [13–14 ○○] ○○ ʾt[yy] pr myδʾn smyr /3/ [ɣryy 9–10](c)y IIII ʾfcmbδyy yxwʾk /4/ [15–16](sm)yr ɣryy pδyʾḫ cn /5/ [16–18](.) ptysʾc ○○ ○○ /6/ [18–20]kyrʾn ○○ ʾwnw cw /7/ [18–20](.) ○○ ○○ ʾrty[ḫ] /8/ [18–20]βrzkwyy ʾtyy pδkwyy /9/ [15–16 f](s)ʾxyt xnd ○○ ○○ ʾrty /10/ [15–16]ʾ ○○ cn xwrsnyy kww /11/ [xwrtxyz sʾr](cn) smyr ɣrʾ xww ʾwrδpʾr /12/ [14–15] IIII ɣryy cn s(m)yr ɣrʾ /13/ [8–10](cy ʾ)fcmbδyy wmʾndyy pʾšʾy /14/ [6–7](.)ʾtyy ○○ cʾnw ʾskyy smʾnyy /15/ [4–5 ʾn](βy)ndʾnd ○○ ʾrtyy cʾδr xʾ ɣrtʾ /16/ [....](s)yʾk δʾrʾnd ○○ ʾtyy xww ○○ myδ ʾtyḫ /17/ [xʾ xš](p)ʾ yxwnng β[w](t) ○○ ○○ ʾrtyy xʾ myδ

Translation

/**R**/1/ are. [...] he se[aled(?) ...] /2/ a wall with the width of 60 [myriad parasang]. /3/ And the poison [...] /4/ 60 myriad parasang [...] /5/ outside that [...] /6/ parasang in width [...] /7/ of the ditch the width 100 [myriad parasang(?)]. /8/ And the third[ditch (?)... is] /9/ 60 myriad parasang [...] /10/ [...]water is a ditch with the wid[th ...of ...] /11/ myriad parasang. [...] /12/ great wall that all [...] /13/ holds. And [...] /14/ is 80 myriad parasang

[...] /15/ and moreover the Living Spirit divided 4[parts.] /16/ Inside the Ocean [...] /17/ the eastern world and the west[ern]

/**V**/1/ [from the north]ern and the southern world 2/ A[nd] in the middle [...] (Mount) Sumeru /3/ [...] 4 parts of the world /4/ [...] at the foot of Mount Sumeru from /5/ [...]he fixed. /6/ [...] regions. This [is] what /7/ [...]. And [...] /8/ [...]length and width /9/ [...]are [... para]sang(?). And /10/ [...]. From East to /11/ [West]from Mount Sumeru /12/ the 4 mountains of the farther side [...] from Mount Sumeru /13/ [...] he threw [...] of the frontier guard of the world. /14/ [...] While above in the sky /15/ they[6] follow (one another) and below the mountains /16/ hold [them in] shadow. Thus the day and /17/ [the] night are separated. And the day. . .

Commentary

/R/1, ff./ cf. the Middle Persian cosmogonical fragments M98 and M99,[7] in particular M99/I/R/10–17 ʾwd zmyg ʿyw wzrg ʾwd ʿstbr pd dwʾzdẖ dr ○ ʿy hmbdyc ʾsmʾnʾn dr ○○ ○○ʾwd ʾbr hm zmyq pyrʾmwn chʾr prysp ʾwd sẖ pʾrgyn kyrd ○ ʾwd pd hʾn ʿy ʾndrwn pʾrgyn dywʾn ʾndr przyd "And he made one great and strong earth with twelve Gates which correspond to the gates of heaven. And above this same earth he built in circuit four walls and three moats, and in that (which is) the inner moat he imprisoned the demons."[8] *Šābuhragān*, 272 (M535+/V/8/):[9] [hʾ]n sẖ pʾ(r)gyn ʿy [zh]ryn ṭʾryn "those three poisonous dark ditches".

III. Adam

M141+6795 (pl. 9–10)

The fragment contains 17 lines, none of them complete, of text, and, like M5701+, is cut regularly with a sharp tool above, below and through one margin. The margins are not preserved, but there are faint traces of the ruling red vertical line of one margin. The two fragments are joined and glassed together. 11.9 x 9.8 cm.

The text consists of the description of the birth of Adam, born to the two archdemons Šaklun and Pēsus, after they had devoured 80 thousand abortions and copulated,[10] followed by an explanation (*xwyckʾwyy*) of the body of Adam. This text is very difficult and, as far as I know, has no parallels in known Manichaean literature. Therefore, I am giving here a preliminary edition of the text with only a few notes for the understanding of difficult or unknown words.

6 I.e. the sun and the moon?
7 Hutter 1992: 8–26.
8 Cf. Jackson 1932: 34 ff.
9 MacKenzie 1979: 515.
10 On the Manichaean myth of the birth of Adam see Sundermann 1994, 45–46.

/R/

/1/ mzy(x) ɣrkw(s)[y 16–18] /2/ (.)ywʾncyy c(x)[r? 16–18] /3/ (p)syy tʾwʾn(d)[yy ...](δ)ʾn (β)[12–14] /4/ (w)ytwr ʾtyšyy xʾ tmb(ʾ)[r 11–13] /5/ [○]○ ○○ ʾtyẖ pr [XX XX] XX XX [zʾr pjwkty] /6/ mʾ(j)yy xww ʾʾδʾm ○○ (ʾty)šyy (xw)[4–5] /7/ tmbʾr cn pšʾkt δy[w](z)ʾktyy ○○ ʾ(t)[yšyy] /8/ xww rwʾn cn pnc mrδ(ʾ)spndyy (z)[ʾwryy] /9/ ʾktwδʾrt ○○ jwʾn ○○ zʾwr ○○ rwxšny(ʾ)[k ○○] /10/ kršnʾwtyʾ ○○ ʾtyẖ βwδ [○○ 5–6] /11/ ʾstkyy ○○ pδδ(y)ʾ ○○ rʾk ○○ yʾt[yẖ ○○] /12/ crm ○○ xwrnyy ○○ mɣzyy ○○ ʾ[6–7] /13/ ɣwnʾyy cyndr βstwδʾrt (○)[○ .... kyn ○○] /14/ ypʾk ○○ ʾʾβrxsyy ○○ t[ʾ](f)[[11]...] (pr)[6–8] /15/ mndɣrβʾkyʾ δwn γ(wr)s [12–14] /16/ cw pr[12] sʾr pʾšyt wʾ[st 14–16] /17/ (x)ʾ ʾʾ(z) ʾβrxs(y)y ʾtyẖ [12–14]

/V/

/1/ [20]ẖ w(βʾt) /2/ [20]nʾm ○○ p(r) /3/ [11–12](ʾʾδʾm mʾ)nwk βwt ○○ (○)[○]/4/ [8–10 xwyc]kʾwyy wʾnw βwt ○○ kt mnʾnd(y) /5/ [6–7](k)[..](.)ʾ(ry.) [...]r myšyy βɣyy kršn ○○ (○)[○] /6/ [ʾty]yẖ (wn)[y] wyδʾsyɣwny ʾʾδc p(r) /7/ [6–7] ʾfcmb[δ](y) ○○ cn mʾtyy ʾtyẖ /8/ [6–7]ptrʾ s(y)ɣtr ○○ ○○ ʾtyy ʾδʾmyy /9/ [tmbʾ]ryy ptrʾz ○○ zʾr II C wβʾz wmʾt ○(○) /10/ [6–7 ʾt]y ryn(c)k ʾnkwšṭ nwʾ fnsʾx /11/ [wmʾt ○○ ʾ](r)tyšyy cn tmbʾr βyksʾr IIII /12/ [8–10]ʾy rwxšnyʾk ʾrδyfʾskwn ○○ /13/ [12–14 ʾ](r)tyẖ tym wʾnw /14/ [10–12](t) (cʾnw) šklwn ʾty pysws /15/ [7–8 pjwqt]xwrtδʾrʾnd ○○ ʾtyẖ II /16/ [12–14 ɣndʾ]kty(y) pckwyryy prštyt /17/ [10–12 ʾʾyw]štyt (wmʾtʾnd) ○○ ʾtyẖ

Translation

/**R**/1/ the big mountainside[...] /2/ demonish(?) whe[el? ...] /3/ strong sheep/enquiry(?) [...] /4/ until his body [...] /5/ And from the 80 [thousand abortions (?)] /6/ Adam was born. His [...] /7/ body from the offspring of the demons abortions, [and his] /8/ soul from the elements p[ower (?)] /9/ (she=Āz) has made: life strength brightness /10/ beauty and perfume [...] /11/ [as] bones nerves vein flesh[...] /12/ skin blood marrow [and] /13/ hair she bound inside[13] [... hatred,] /14/ anger, lust, [... vehemence] /15/ ignorance with around(?) [...] /16/ on top guardians she pl[aced(?)...] /17/ the Āz dissoluteness and [...] {lines missing?}

11 Cf. *tʾβ-nʾk* (in Sogdian script) 'angry', see DMT III.2: 189a. Here perhaps a substantive formed on the root *tʾp-* meaning something like 'act of being inflamed with anger, vehemence, irascibility'? In SLN 42b there is a lacuna between *ryzh* and *mntɣrβʾkyh*. The corresponding list in the Chinese Traité (214) is 窓憎 "Hatred", 嗔恚 "Irascibility", 婬慾 "Lewdness", 忿怒 "Anger" and 愚癡 "Foolishness", see Lieu & Mikkelsen 2017: 55.

12 Sic, mistake for *cwpr*.

13 I.e. in the body.

/**V**/1/ [...] may be /2/ [...]name. In/to /3/ [...]Adam is similar. /4/ [... explan]ation is thus: similar(?) /5/ [...] [...] the beauty of the Sun God. /6/ [An]d he [had] something wonderful in /7/ [...]world. From the mother and /8/ [...]father more beautiful. Adam's /9/ body's dimension was 200 thousand fathoms /10/ and his little finger nine parasang /11/ [...] and from his body outwards 4 /12/ [...] brightness shone. /13/ [...] and thus again /14/ [...]when Šaklūn and Pēsūs /15/ [...] ate [the abortions]. And in fear of the 2 /16/ [... e]vil ones having run away[14] /17/ [... were exci]ted(?). And

Commentary

/R/1/ On *γrkwsy* "mountainside", see Reck 2009: 388.

/R/2/ The word *(.)ywʾncyy*, although clearly legible, is difficult to interpret. If the first letter is *δ*, then *δywʾncyy* could be the feminine adjective or noun derived from *δyw*, "demon"; *c(x)[* emend *cx[r* "wheel" or *cxʾt* "fighting, contenders"?

/V/5/ *myšyy βγyy kršn*, cf. M7800/II/R/5ff.[15] ʾtyy myδ[ry β](γyy) qšn /6/ wšyʾ ʾkṭwδʾ(r)n(d) (m)ʾγʾz(nd ṭkwšʾṭ) "and they remembered the beauty of the Sun God; they began to look out for him".

/V/14–15/ *(cw) šklwn ʾty pysws [...]xwrtδʾrʾnd*: cf. M7800/II/V/12–19/[16] ʾrtyy IIII βrywr pjwwk ww šklwn xwrtδʾrt ʾtyy IIII βrywr xʾ pysws ʾrty I δβtyʾ ʾpryw pcywznd ʾrty wʾnw wʾβnd kt mʾncyk šmʾrʾ kw myšyyβγw sʾr δʾryym wʾnw kt xwny ky cn mʾx ʾʾjyʾt kww βγyštt "And Šaklūn devoured forty thousand abortions, and Pēsūs forty thousand. And they copulated with each other, and thus they said: 'The intentional thought, we have it towards the Sun God, so that what will be born from us [will resemble] the gods".

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DMT III.2 = Sims-Williams, N. & D. Durkin-Meisterernst 2012.

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14 *pršt-* is the expected past stem of Man. Sogd. **pryj*, Christian Sogd. *pryž* "to flee, escape, run away". As an intr. verb, the pp. should mean "having run away, running away" [NSW].

15 Sundermann 1994: 45.

16 Sundermann 1994: 45–46.

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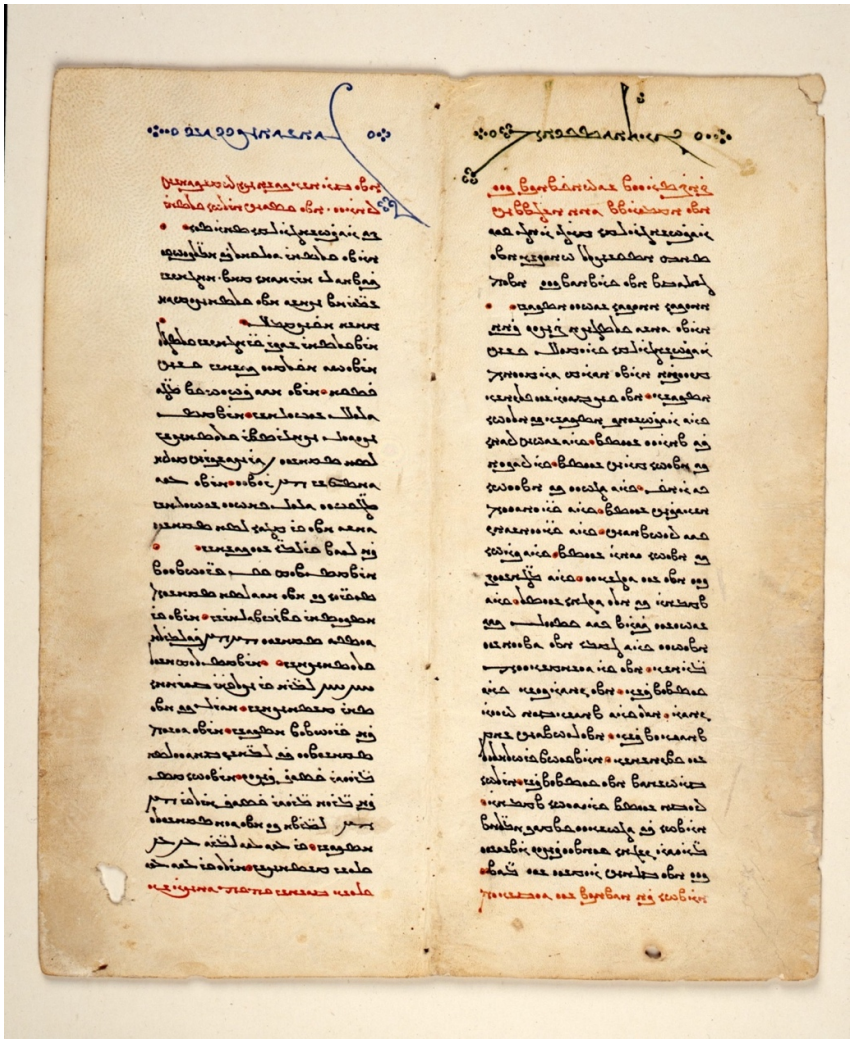
SLN = Sundermann 1992.

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Plate 1



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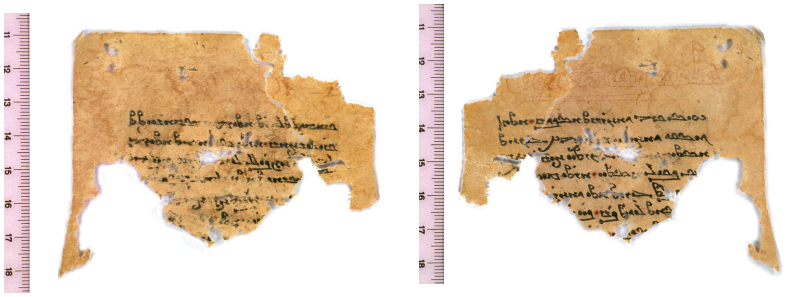
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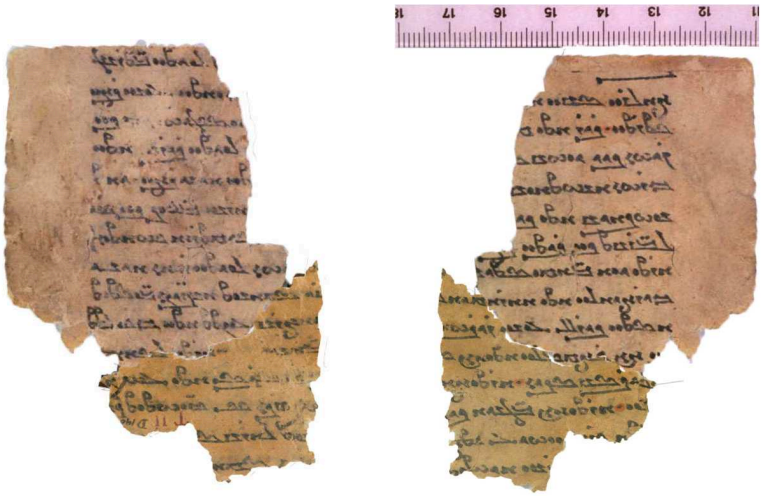


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Plate 3



M548 + M704 (montage)



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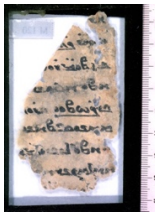
Plate 4



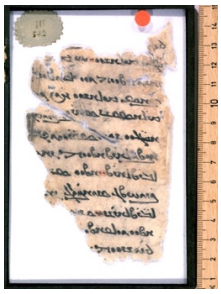


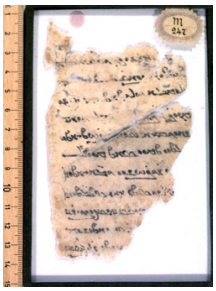
M110





M120

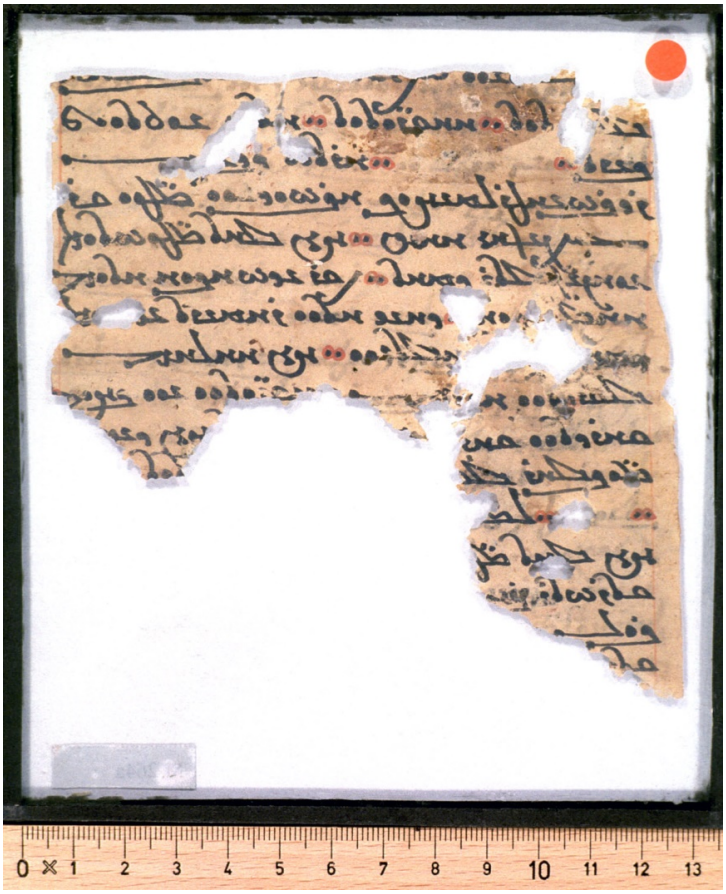




M247

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Plate 5



M264a recto

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Plate 6



M264a verso

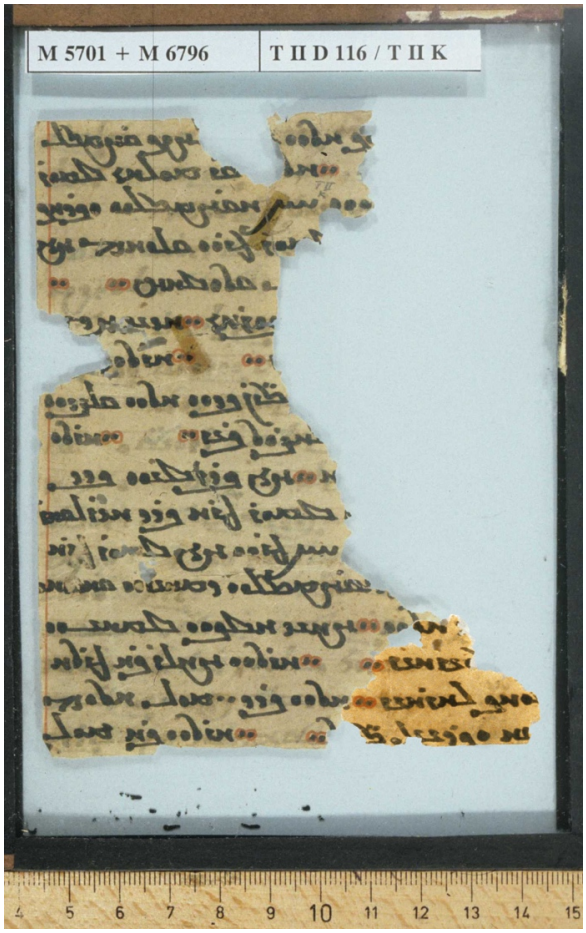
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Plate 7



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Plate 9



M141+6795 recto

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Plate 10



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Pentadic Redaction in the Manichaean *Kephalaia*

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ix
Abbreviations xi

PART I

PENTADIC REDACTION IN THE MANICHAEAN *KEPHALAIA*

Introduction 3
Number and Religion in Antiquity 3
The Manichaean Love of Numbers 5
Out of Obscurity 6
The *Kephalaia* and Its Compilers 7
Canon and Tradition 13

Chapter One. Basic Ontological Patterning 21
The Two Trees and the Five Limbs 21

Chapter Two. Theological Patterning I: Light-Realm 25
The Faces of the Father 25
The Many Sons of Man 29
Cosmic Parallelism 36
Fathers of Greatness 42

Chapter Three. Theological Patterning II: Dark-Realm 51
The Evolution of Evil 51
King(s) of Darkness 54
Astrological Polemic 62

Chapter Four. Other Forms Of Patterning 69
Soteriological Patterning 69
Ethical Patterning 72
Ecclesiological Patterning 74

Polemical Patterning 75
Aetiological Patterning 76

Conclusions and Implications 79
Scholastic Redaction 79
Adversity and Persecution 85
Missionary Expansion 88
Why five? 89
Who was responsible? 90

PART II

TRANSLATIONS FROM *THE KEPHALAIA OF THE TEACHER* [BERLIN CODEX]

Note on Translations 95

Chapter 2: The Second, on the Parable of the Tree 97
Chapter 3: The Interpretation of Happiness, Wisdom, and Power; what they mean 103
Chapter 4: On the Four Great Days, which are brought forth from one another; along with the Four Nights 105
Chapter 6: On the Five Storehouses that have poured forth from the Land of Darkness from the Beginning; the Five Rulers, the Five Spirits, the Five Bodies, (and) the Five Tastes 108
Chapter 7: The Seventh, on the Five Fathers 112
Chapter 9: The Interpretation of the (Sign of) Peace, what it means; the Right Hand, the Kiss, the Adoration 115
Chapter 10: On the Meaning of the Fourteen [Great] Aeons, about which Sethel spoke in [his] prayer 120
Chapter 12: On the Meaning of the Five Words which are proclaimed *mntparapehout* in the Cosmos 122
Chapter 13: On the Five Saviours, Resurrectors of the Dead, along with the Five Resurrections 124
Chapter 14: The Meaning of the Silence, the Fast, [the Peace], the Day, [and] the Rest; what they mean 125
Chapter 15: [On the] … Five [Parts] … World of 127
Chapter 16: [On the Five] Greatnesses which have [come] out against the Darkness 129

Chapter 18: [On the Five] Wars [which the] Sons of Light waged with [the Sons] of Darkness 135
Chapter 19: On the Five Releases: what they mean 138
Chapter 20: The Chapter on the Name of the Fathers 141
Chapter 21: On the Father of Greatness, how he is established and defined 142
Chapter 24: [On the Times ...] 143
Chapter 25: On the Five [Fathers: from which Limbs they have come] 149
Chapter 27: On the Five Forms which exist in the Archon{s} of Darkness 150
Chapter 33: On the Five Things that he constructed with the Hard Bodies of the Archons 152
Chapter 37: On the Three Zones 153
Chapter 38: On the Light-Mind, the Apostles, and the Saints 154
Chapter 39: On the Three Days and the Two Deaths 166
Chapter 48: On the Conduits(?) 169
Chapter 57: On the Generation of Adam 174
Chapter 65b: (On the Five Qualities of the Sun) 177
Chapter 68: On Fire 178
Chapter 69: On the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Stars 179
Chapter 70: On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos 182
Chapter 91: On the Catechumen, who is saved in a single body 187
Chapter 95: The Apostle asks his Disciples: What does cloud mean? 193
Chapter 100: On the Dragon, the one with Fourteen heads; what is it and 197
Chapter 103: On the Five Wonderworks that the Light-Mind reveals to the Elect 199
Chapter 104: On Food: that it is appointed to Five Products in the Human Body 200
Chapter 107: On the Kind of Speech that 201
Chapter 111: On the Four Qualities that are found in the Eye, and the Fifth, which is hidden in them, to what they belong 202
Chapter 112b: (On the Five Things Revealed by Jesus) 203
Chapter 137: On the Five Types of Brotherhood that are distinguished from one another 205
Chapter 146: The Old Man has Five Foods to live on, the New Man has Five Others 207

Chapter 148: On the Five Books, that they belong to Five Fathers 209
Chapter 165: Envy exists in Five Forms 210
Chapter 176: On Spiritual Transition in Five(?) Forms and that through which the Church changes 212
Chapter 189: [On the Five Temptations] 218
Chapter 191: There are Five Properties in the Image of our Apostle, symbolizing the Five Light Fathers 220
Chapter 193: The Evil One has [Five Properties]; the Good One has [Five other Properties] 222

Appendix. Theodore Bar Khonai's Résumé of the Manichaean Myth (Annotated Translation) 223

Works Cited 231
General Index 237
Index of Modern Authors 241

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NB: An earlier version of "Chapter 2: Faces of the Father" has been published in *Vigiliae Christianae* 61 (2007): 470–477, while an earlier version of portions of "Chapter 2: Cosmic Parallelism" appeared as "Rhetorica manichaica: A Rhetorical Analysis of *Kephalaia* Chapter 38, 'On the Light-Mind, the Apostles, and the Saints'" in *Coptica-Gnostica-Manichaica: Mélanges offerts à Wolf-Peter Funk* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval / Louvain: Éditions Peeters, 2006), 731–741.

ABBREVIATIONS

Medinet Madi Codices

1 Ke	*Kephalaia* vol. 1: "*Kephalaia of the Teacher*" (Polotsky/Böhlig/Funk)
2 Ke	*Kephalaia* vol. 2: "*Kephalaia of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani*" (unpublished; for overview see Funk, "Reconstruction")
1 Ps	*Psalm-Book* part 1 (unpublished)
2 Ps	*Psalm-Book* part 2 (Allberry/Richter/Wurst)
Hom	*Homilies* (Polotsky)
Ep	*Epistles* (unpublished)
Acts	*Acts* (unpublished)
Syn	*Synaxeis* (unpublished)
A&C	Funk. *Kephalaia I: Addenda & Corrigenda* (unpublished)

PART I

PENTADIC REDACTION IN THE MANICHAEAN *KEPHALAIA*

INTRODUCTION

Number and Religion in Antiquity

The role played by numbers in religion is largely unexplored territory. This is due, in part, to the fact that such patterns, if they exist, tend to become so embedded into the collective consciousness of the community that rarely is any exegetical effort expended reflecting on their origins or implications. Jews and Christians, for example, do not tend to inquire as to why there are *ten* commandments and not twelve, why there are *twelve* tribes of Israel and not twenty, or why Jesus, when he wanted to feed a crowd of his hearers, used only *five* loaves and *two* fish. Similarly, Muslims might not be inclined to question why *five* daily prayers are required, instead of *six*, or why the Qurʾān contains 114 *surahs* instead of 141. After all, does it really matter that Buddha only came up with *four* noble truths, instead of eight? In many instances, the presence of such numbers may be considered of little consequence, although in other cases they could carry a great deal of theological weight. For instance, few contemporary Christians may wonder why they are taught to conceive of God as a *trinity* and not a quaternity, or for that matter, a pentad. Such formulations are typically taken as "givens" that have come to form an integral part of a particular tradition's symbolic language. But this does not mean that explanations do not sometimes exist and cannot, therefore, be sought. Numerical aspects of religion just simply are not seen as generating sufficient interest to require sustained attention. Besides, it is not as though "mainstream" religious discourses are brimming over with numerological speculations. The average reader of a standard scriptural text, be it the Tanakh, the New Testament, or the Qurʾān, is not going to be struck by an over-abundance of numerical formulations. Thus, it is not surprising that such a phenomenon goes relatively unnoticed.

The apparent lack of interest among the faithful today does not mean that the use of numbers as part of religious and theological discourse was never a matter of concern or debate. For instance, the use

of numbers in theological and exegetical contexts became particularly controversial for the early church during the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE. Irenaeus, in particular, criticized the practice of *gematria*, that is, calculations based on the numerical value of Greek or Hebrew letters, by his Valentinian opponents as arbitrary and without scriptural foundation. The bishop of Lyons also criticized what he perceived to be the arbitrary selection of biblical numbers in order to fit a particular theological system due to the fact that the scriptures contain such a wide variety of numbers and numerical patterns (*Adversus haereses*, 2.24.3), especially involving *three*, *seven*, *twelve*, and *forty*. Irenaeus cited, for instance, Valentinian exegesis of the thirty years before Jesus' ministry as a representation of the thirty ethereal aeons of the Pleroma (*Adversus haereses*, 1.1.3), while the passion of the twelfth aeon was considered to be an allusion to the betrayal of Christ by Judas (*Adversus haereses*, 1.3.3).

It would seem, however, that, in spite of the decidedly negative reactions of some, there was a certain ambivalence about the meaning and significance of numbers in the early Christian tradition. It is clear from the amount of attention given to the question by Irenaeus that the mixture of mathematics and numerical speculation with theology was viewed by church authorities as a significant problem. Yet while heresiological writers sought to discourage the construction of elaborate theological systems using numeric series or patterns, other more philosophically inclined authors such as Clement of Alexandria and Augustine reflected gladly on the harmony and perfection that they perceived in biblical numbers.

As we can see, while numbers may not figure prominently in "mainstream" (that is, orthodox) religious discourse, faith traditions that are typically seen as existing on the fringes of orthodoxy are far more likely to make creative, even audacious, use of numbers in their efforts to communicate and interpret sacred messages. While the early fathers of the church polemically engaged their Gnostic adversaries over this issue, a similar dynamic would be played out in Rabbinic Judaism and Islam, in their reactions to Kabbalistic and Ismaeli modes of discourse, which also displayed an equally profound interest in numbers and numeric patterns. Added to this group must be the great underdogs of religious history—the people whom we have come to label as *Manichaeans*.

The Manichaean Love of Numbers

The followers of the 3rd-century CE Babylonian prophet known as "Mani the Living" (from the Syriac epithet *Mani hiyya*) inherited a vivid story from their highly imaginative master. What is remarkable for the purposes of this study is the prominent role played by numbers and numeric patterns within the basic frame of that story. In brief, Mani proclaimed that before the creation of the cosmos, two opposing powers existed in relative equilibrium. In the heavens dwelt the Father of Greatness, lord of the eternally blessed realm of light, tranquility, and peace, while far below in the depths a fierce and sinister King of Darkness brooded in his chaos. This balance was upset when the King of Darkness caught a glimpse of the light-realm and sent out an invasion force of his demonic powers. In response, the Father sent his only son, known as *First* Man, into battle along with *five* elemental powers as his armour. Tragically, the First Man was defeated and his armour devoured by the powers of darkness. Fortunately, a rescue operation was mounted when the Father called forth his consort, the Living Spirit, who in addition to retrieving First Man, commissioned *Five* Sons to build the universe out of the slain bodies of the dark powers. In this way, a vast and intricate machinery was put into place to purify the light substance that had been imprisoned in the darkness during the First Man's initial fall. The Father then sent a *third* envoy, the Messenger, along with *twelve* virgins (although other accounts describe only a single virgin), to finish the counter attack and set the cosmic machinery in motion. Unfortunately, a final counter stroke was accomplished by a pair of demons, Ashaqlūn and Namrael, who fashioned the first human couple, Adam and Eve, on the basis of the *Third* Messenger's image, thus condemning human beings to a legacy of ignorance and death. In his wisdom, however, the Father commissioned Jesus, in celestial form, to plant the seed of gnosis in Adam and his kin. Thus begins the Manichaean version of primordial history.

This summary, based on the 9th-century Syriac account of Theodore bar Khonai, illuminates the general contours of the Manichaean creation myth, as Mani himself is likely to have conceived it. What is interesting to note are the basic numerical structures underpinning such a colourful tale. This means that the general Manichaean infatuation with numbers must have its origins in Mani's own predilection for such expressions. As can be imagined, this imaginative use of numerically coloured mythology was met with scorn and ridicule

by the movement's critics, especially mainstream Christians and Muslims, who thought such mythological language violated the basic rules of philosophical dialectic. Yet, in spite of the best efforts of religious leaders and sometimes governments throughout the centuries to stamp them out, the Manichaeans continue to re-emerge from extinction in some most unexpected places.

Out of Obscurity

While European scholars and church historians long knew of the Manichaean "heresy" from anti-heretical writings and Augustine's notorious association with them, a number of things happened in the 19th and 20th centuries to bring them back to light. First, European scholars and orientalists began to notice Manichaeans cropping up in various medieval Muslim authors, such as al-Nadīm and al-Biruni, which provided important evidence as to persistent Manichaean presence in the medieval Muslim world.[1] Next, at the turn of the 20th century, European expeditions uncovered masses of textual fragments and scrolls left behind by Manichaeans at various locales in Central Asia. Most famously, the texts from Turfan (in western China) contain a huge number of mutilated Manichaean texts in a wide variety of obscure Iranian and Turkish dialects. Shortly after, yet another sensational find occurred in 1929 with the discovery of a collection of Coptic codices in Egypt, near the town of Medinet Madi, containing still more original Manichaean writings—writings much earlier than the fragments recovered from Turfan.

One of the things that enabled the identification of these texts as Manichaean was the fact that Carl Schmidt, the scholar who first inspected the codices, had just been reading the proofs of a colleague's edition of Epiphanius' *Panarion*, and was struck by the name of one of the codices—*Kephalaia*—which reminded him of a text described in the heresiologist's exposé of the Manichaeans.[2] This discovery inaugurated what appeared to be a new and promising era in Manichaean studies. After some initial progress, however, war broke out in Europe and publication stalled for several decades. This has meant that most of this

[1] Ries, *Les études manichéennes*, 67–118.
[2] Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 6.

material remained largely unexplored by scholars of Late Antiquity—which brings us to the current study.

The text that jogged the memory of Carl Schmidt is, now that substantial portions of it have been published, striking for another reason, namely, the extensive (some might say obsessive) use of numbers and numeric patterns as a means of expressing Manichaean theological discourse. What is more remarkable is the degree to which the number *five* plays a predominant role in the vast majority of these expressions. This phenomenon, most prominent in the first half of volume one, has gone unexplored[3] and unexplained. In large part, this is due to the fact that the *Kephalaia* presents itself as a record of Mani's discourses to his inner circle. Few have questioned the legitimacy of this presentation and this has led to the erroneous assumption that the prevalence of numbers in the text can easily be attributed to Mani's direct influence. This study aims to correct this error by demonstrating that the use of numeric patterns in the *Kephalaia* far outstrips what is known or can reasonably be assumed about Mani's own mode of expression. We shall see that the use of pentads and five-part numeric patterns in the *Kephalaia* reveals important traces of how Manichaean traditions were transmitted, received, and redacted in response to a variety of internal and external concerns of the text's creators and their community.

The Kephalaia *and Its Compilers*

In spite of the fact that substantial portions of the *Kephalaia* have been edited and published for over half a century,[4] its form and function have remained generally misunderstood. Since these initial publica-

[3] While Michel Tardieu pointed out the importance of five as a basic classification tool in Manichaeism (*Le manichéisme*, 107), few have followed his lead. A superficial index of five-part series from Manichaean sources was given by Ström ("Le chiffre cinq," 333–338), in comparison with other traditions, while in the same volume Couliano suggested that all pentads were based on the demonization of the planets ("The Counterfeit Spirit," 53–58). See also, Lévy ("A propos de la pentade et du dualisme manichéens," 493–500).

[4] The Manichaean *Kephalaia* exist in two Coptic codices discovered near the Egyptian town of Medinet Madi in 1929. The first codex (Berlin codex P. 15 996 or Berlin Kephalaia codex) is entitled "The Kephalaia of the Teacher" (abbreviated 1 Ke), while the second codex (Codex C or Dublin Kephalaia codex) is entitled "The Kephalaia of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani" (2 Ke). For a recent account of the discovery of these manuscripts see Robinson, "The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi:

tions, even some of the most influential scholars have succumbed to the temptation to regard the *Kephalaia* either as a record of Mani's actual discourses[5] and teachings,[6] or as a systematic[7] (albeit secondary) presentation of the "main points" of Manichaean theology. In reality, however, the work is neither. It should not be seen as a record of the *ipsissima verba* of Mani himself, nor should it be viewed as a *summa*[8] of Manichaean theology. Instead, it can be more accurately described as representing the emergence or evolution of a scholastic, interpretive tradition, ostensibly rooted in an authoritative oral tradition analogous to those which led to the compilation of the Jewish Talmudic and Islamic Hadith traditions.

While the *Kephalaia* (literally the "Chapter-book")[9] may present itself as a record of Manichaean oral tradition based on Mani's discourses

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1929–1989," 19–62. Much of the Berlin *Kephalaia* codex was published by Polotsky and Böhlig (1940 and 1966), while the remainder is being published by Funk (1999, 2000, and forthcoming). For a recent account of the characteristics, content, and reconstruction of the *Kephalaia* codices, see Funk, "The Reconstruction of the Manichaean *Kephalaia*," 143–159. The Dublin Kephalaia codex is included in Giversen's 1987 facsimile edition, although it is not (to my knowledge) currently being edited.

[5] See Schmidt, *Ein Mani-Fund*, 23. Also, Lieu, for instance, talks about *Kephalaia* chapters as "extant discourses of Mani" (*Manichaeism in the Roman Empire*, 177). While the enthusiasm of scholars for finding the authentic voice of Mani in such a text is understandable, somewhat more unsettling is the way in which the *Kephalaia*, as a primary source for Manichaeism, is sometimes simply pillaged by scholars for prooftexts in support of particular readings and hypotheses, with little or no attention paid to the chapter context from which such references are taken.

[6] Widengren spoke about "Mani's teaching, as set down in the *Kephalaia*" (*Mani and Manichaeism*, 69), while Ort characterized the *Kephalaia* as "a summary of Mani's doctrines based on his own writings" (*Mani*, 23).

[7] Even Tardieu, in spite of the incredible balance and control of his *Que sais-je* volume, seems to indulge in a slight excess of rhetoric when he characterizes the *Kephalaia* as "une véritable *summa theologica* du manichéisme" based on Mani's *logia* (*Le manichéisme*, 66–67). Similarly, Koenen characterized the *Kephalaia* as a "dogmatic textbook" ("How Dualistic is Mani's Dualism?", 3).

[8] In its existing form, it does not appear to be structured with the same degree of deliberation as other systematic theological treatises from the period, such as Origen's *De principiis*.

[9] This would seem to be the best way to translate the title (Funk, *personal communication*), although common usage prevents us from going that far. Nevertheless, I cannot help wonder whether the intended title is *Kephalaia of the Teacher* or simply just *The Teacher* (or in the case of volume two—*The Wisdom of My Lord Mani*), although evidence from both the Coptic *Homilies* (18.6) and the *Acta Archelai* 62 would seem to support the traditional interpretation of the page headings. As for the identification of individual chapters in this study, I have opted for *chapter* instead of *kephalaion*, a technical term which, though correct, has no real benefit and tends to obscure the unique character of each textual unit.

to his inner circle,[10] it is essentially the product of later theological developments and elaborations that seek to respond to a wide array of specific questions, many of which appear to be rooted in ambiguities found in the canon. Typically (although not always), a chapter opens with Mani being questioned by one of his disciples about a specific point of doctrine or interpretation. This means that one of the primary aims sought by the compilers of this massive work was clarity. While Mani is famous for having recorded his teaching in a series of self-consciously canonical writings intended to definitively replace all previous revelations, the questions that are asked by the disciples give the distinct impression that Mani left many "loose ends" that needed to be resolved.[11] Thus, the *Kephalaia* appears to be a deliberate attempt to deal with some of these issues within an artificially constructed context of Mani's "apostolic authority,"[12] since at the close of the *Kephalaia*'s "prologue" Mani is depicted as extolling his disciples to record the wisdom he imparted to them (1 Ke 9.5–6)—a strange command from someone who was supposed to have provided a definitive and unambiguous record of his revelation. In other words, if Mani had indeed clearly and definitively explained all the subtleties of his vision, then there should have been no need to create such an extensive corpus of secondary literature that seeks to address such a wide array of problems. We might even say that the *Kephalaia* constitutes a sort of *addenda et corrigenda* for Manichaean canonical tradition.

Still, in a more formal way, there are aspects of the *Kephalaia* that allow for its comparison with at least two genres of ancient literature. First, the fact that it exists as a collection of "chapters" (literally, Greek: κεφάλαια) on a variety of theological topics means that it could be compared to certain forms of ancient *Capitaliteratur*, which aimed at the collection of teachings from a spiritual teacher for the purposes of meditation.[13] A classical example of such literature is Epictetus' *Manual* (*Encheiridion*), which is essentially a collection of discourse on miscellaneous topics not unlike those found in the *Kephalaia*, such as *On friendship* (2.22), *On those who plead sickness* (3.5), or *What solitude is; and what*

[10] Funk, "Reconstruction," 151.

[11] In fact, surviving fragments from Mani's writings do indicate that some of them, such as the *Book of Mysteries*, were largely incidental in nature, while others, such as the work(s) known to Titus of Bostra, Theodoret, and Severus seem to have been more generalized, with less attention paid to fixed structures and detail.

[12] Funk, "Reconstruction," 152.

[13] Ivanka, "ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΑ," 285–291.

a solitary person (3.13). During the late-antique period, such literature became particularly popular among monks and ascetics,[14] so it is not inconceivable that ascetically minded Manichaeans would have been interested in producing a work of this sort. The use, however, of the *Kephalaia* as a source of meditative discourses would seem to have more to do with how it was read during later periods than how it was formed.

The second genre with which the *Kephalaia* bears a somewhat closer resemblance, and which speaks more to its compositional origins, is the *erotapokrisis*, or "question-and-answer" literature, that became popular among Jewish and Christian exegetes during the first centuries of the Common Era. This genre, which Claudio Zamagni has described as "un genre très élastique," was a form of secondary literature used primarily for the exegesis and elucidation of canonical texts (be they Jewish, Christian, or pagan), although such works often contained apologetic, didactic, or polemical overtones.[15] In general, the *erotapokrisis* takes as its most basic form a three- part structure consisting of 1) preface/prologue, 2) questions and answers, and 3) postscript/colophon.[16] According to this basic set of criteria, the *Kephalaia* could be classified as part of the *erotapokritic* genre, especially if its primary aim was the explication of ambiguities found within canonical Manichaean tradition.[17]

While such characteristics may allow us to identify the function and literary genre of the text, there are other internal indicators that enable us to situate its compilers within a general historical and geographic frame. I choose to call the creators of this text *compilers*, since it seems clear to me that it is the work of a variety of hands, be they authors, editors, or redactors. But some sense of who these individuals might have been can be gleaned from the sorts of things they wrote about. For instance, we find in the *Kephalaia* references to important figures from the Judaeo-Christian tradition, such as Adam, Enosh, Eve, Jesus, Judas, Noah, Paul, Sem, and Sethel. This is not surprising given the fact that Mani was raised in a Judaeo-Christian sect known as the Elchasaites and later styled himself, even in his letters, as an "Apostle of Jesus Christ." What is somewhat more striking, are the vague and somewhat shadowy allusions to Zarathustra and Buddha, figures little known west

[14] Ivanka, 286–287.
[15] Zamagni, "Une introduction," 7–24.
[16] Zamagni, "Une introduction," 24.
[17] The order of the questions does not necessarily need to reflect the progression of the text being commented on (Bussières, "Conclusions," 185).

of Persia, but considered by Mani to be two of his key prophetic forerunners. We also find references to rival religious groups such as "Baptists" (i.e., Mandaeans), Christians, Jews, Magi, and Nazoreans, most of whom would have been found in Mesopotamia. In terms of geography, the *Kephalaia* makes allusion to places throughout the Ancient Near East such as Adiabene, Babylon, Ctesiphon, Mesene, Parthia, Persia, Susiana, Tigris, although India is also mentioned. In addition, various ethnic groups largely from the same region are mentioned, such as Assyrians, Axumites, Babylonians, Indians, Medes, Parthians, Persians, Romans, as well as important political figures such as Ardashir, Artabanus, Hystaspes, and Shapur. Such allusions seem to indicate a social world rooted in a (predominantly) Judaeo-Christian milieu, likely originating in Mesopotamia during the late 3rd century CE.[18] This is precisely the context that Peter Brown rightly emphasized in his important 1969 article, "The Diffusion of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire." According to Brown, the early history of Manichaeism is firmly rooted in the history of the Syriac speaking belt that crossed the frontiers of both Sassanian Iran and Rome.[19] These early Manichaeans, it seems, were caught between two "reactionary states,"[20] both of which were closing ranks and attempting to consolidate imperial cultures that had less and less room for religious innovation and variety. Thus, in both cases Manichaeans were compelled to respond to external pressures such as persecution and martyrdom as well as internal pressures of group solidarity, doctrinal cohesion, and missionary expansion. One less obvious facet of this response, I will suggest, was the extensive use of numeric patterns as evidenced by the *Kephalaia*.

Yet given the fact that internal evidence appears to indicate a Mesopotamian milieu, how did the *Kephalaia* end up in Upper Egypt and recorded in Coptic, a language far removed from the Syriac used primarily by Mani and his earliest disciples? To address this problem, we may endeavour to propose a hypothetical reconstruction of the *Kephalaia*'s textual history and transmission. First, as we might imagine, come the oral and (especially) written teachings of Mani in Syriac. Mani is, in fact, practically unique in religious history for the care he took to

[18] Other indices (smaller in number) indicate specifically Egyptian providence, such as references to the months Parmouthi and Paophi in *Kephalaia Chapter* 1, although these are largely superficial.

[19] Brown, "Diffusion," 93.

[20] Brown, "Diffusion," 97.

record his own prophetic message in writing, something he harshly criticized his predecessors for not doing. Second, we might imagine the oral and written transmission and interpretation of Mani's teachings by disciples from his inner circle, such as Sisinnios, Kustaios, and Adda in Syriac, if we presume that they came from a similar sociocultural background, but probably to some extent this transmission happened also in Greek.[21] Next, we might suppose that some of this material was organized and composed into "proto-*Kephalaia*," examples of which have been recently discovered elsewhere in Egypt, at the Dakhleh Oasis (ancient Kellis). This was probably done by other disciples and missionaries moving west towards and into Egypt, using Syriac (even just liturgically), Greek,[22] and eventually Coptic as their means of communication. Finally, we might suppose the translation, redaction, and collection of what came to be an enormous amount of *Kephalaia* material into large volumes, such as those found at Medinet Madi,[23]

[21] Funk has asked whether it is possible that a "patristic" tradition developed at a very early stage in the western branch of the Manichaean movement; a tradition with apostolic authority independent of the Manichaean canon. See Funk, "Reconstruction," 152. A document such as the *Cologne Mani Codex*, with its various sections attributed to authoritative individuals such as Salmaios, Baraies (or Barhaies), Timotheos, Innaios, Kustaios, etc., certainly points in this direction, as does the *Acts* codex, which has a similar structure (Funk, *personal communication*).

[22] The issue of original source language has been described as a "vexed question for all the Manichaean texts in Coptic" (See Franzmann "Syriac-Coptic Bilinguals," 115). The debate around this issue, however, is frequently affected by the desire to see in these texts a more primitive stratum than is actually there. To be sure, there are elements from the texts that reveal at least an *interest* in some kind of Syriac sources, as is witnessed also by the Syriac-Coptic translation exercises recently discovered at Kellis (T. Kell. Syr. / Copt. 1; T. Kell. Syr. / Copt. 2) (Gardner, *Kellis Literary Texts*, 101). While these texts have raised the possibility (at least) that the translation process in Egypt could have been more direct, they are by no means the "smoking gun" that they are so often made out to be. After all, as Gardner points out, it is hard to imagine the translator not knowing any Greek, especially since Greek Manichaean texts of considerable literary sophistication have also been found at Kellis (not to mention the *Cologne Mani Codex*, also presumably from Egypt). But, even though it appears textually possible to demonstrate some direct influence, or at least colouring, of Syriac on Coptic Manichaean texts, the question that is never asked is whether or not it is *sociologically* possible for highly literate (and no doubt indigenous) Coptic speaking translators to work directly from Syriac sources without Greek playing some sort of intermediary role either orally or by means of written texts.

[23] The existing *Kephalaia* codices seem to represent two volumes from two different "editions" of the same work (Funk, *personal communication*). The first codex, titled "The Kephalaia of the Teacher," may constitute volume one of its edition, while the second codex, titled "The Kephalaia of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani" may represent volume two of its (separate) edition.

exclusively in Coptic. As such, the traditions, as well as the carriers of these traditions, which led to the composition and production of the *Kephalaia*, would have traversed at least two distinct (yet often overlapping) socio-cultural settings: late 3rd century CE Mesopotamia and late 3rd–4th century CE Egypt.[24] This movement would have been precipitated both by the "built-in" missionary impulse of the religion as well as the persecution of Manichaeans following the executions of Mani and his successor, Sisinnios. Although the temporal division between these two settings is ambiguous, an argument could be made that the most pertinent social setting falls somewhere between the second and third stages of evolution, as outlined above.

Canon and Tradition

Having established the apparent form and function of the text, as well as gaining a general impression of its most likely context and creators, we can now pose the main question addressed by this study: why were the *Kephalaia* compilers so enthusiastic in their use of five-part patterns in particular? Part of the answer lies in the recognition of the already stated contradiction between Mani's well-known insistence on the importance of his own written revelation and the very existence of a work that purports to add to this revelation. Obviously the compilers felt compelled to work something out for themselves. However, before we can get a sense of exactly what they were up to we ought to dispense with another assumption commonplace in scholarly treatments of Manichaeism, namely that Mani's own teaching was highly systematized and unambiguous. In some ways, this assumption was reinforced by the discovery of the *Kephalaia*, which, in combination with the other assumption that it represents Mani's actual discourses, gives the impression of a highly systematic world-view. This second assumption, founded on the first, has resulted in a serious error.

In spite of the fact that the major part of Mani writings have been either lost or, at best, shattered into fragments by the rage of heresiologists and the ravages of time, it is nevertheless possible to form a

[24] There is evidence of Manichaeans in Egypt as early as ca. 280 (Letter of Theonas of Alexandria, P. Rylands 469) and ca. 290 (Alexander of Lycopolis). See Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 112. As for what shape Manichaeism may have taken in Palestine, we have no real *direct* evidence like we have for Egypt.

general idea of their content and style.[25] For instance, the 10th-century Bagdad bookseller and encyclopaedist, al-Nadīm, recorded that

> Mani wrote seven books, one in Farsi (i.e., Perisan) and six in Syriac, the language of Syria. Among them are *The Book of Secrets* (i.e. *The Book of Mysteries*), which contains (a number of) chapters, (including) 'An account of the Daysaniyya (i.e., the followers of Bardaisan of Edessa)', 'The testimony of Yastasif on the Beloved', 'The testimony of … about himself given to Ya 'qub', 'The son of the widow' (who according to Mani was the anointed and crucified one, crucified by the Jews), 'The testimony of Jesus about himself as given in Judaea', 'The commencement of the testimony of al-Yamin as given after his victory', 'The seven spirits', 'The discourse on the four transient spirits', 'Laughter', 'The testimony of Adam regarding Jesus', 'The fall from religion', 'The discourse of the Daysaniyya on the soul and body', 'Refutation of the Daysanites on the soul of life', 'The three trenches', 'The preservation of the World', 'The three days', 'The prophets', (and) 'The resurrection' (trans. Laffan).[26]

Similarly, he stated that Mani wrote *Epistles* on a variety of topics such as "The Two Sources," "The Eminent Ones," "The Great Epistle of India," "The Epistle of Kaskar," and "The Garden."[27] In this way, we can see that canonical works such as the *Book of Mysteries* and the *Epistles*,[28] seem to have been more incidental in orientation, dealing with a seemingly miscellaneous set of doctrinal, polemical, and pastoral issues, while other works such as the *Treasure of Life* and the (unidentified) source(s) used by Titus of Bostra, Theodoret, and Severus of Antioch provide only generalized presentations of Manichaean theology. This is to say that several of them appear to have lacked the rigid structuring and systematization so apparent in the *Kephalaia*, not to mention the compilers' obsession with pentads.

Of all the fragments from canonical writings preserved in Syriac, Greek, Coptic, Latin, Middle Persian, and Arabic, only seven contain traces of Mani's own use of pentadic series. These are: 1) fragments from *Shabuhragan* (presumably composed mid-3rd century CE),[29] 2) pas-

[25] Tardieu provides one of the most concise accounts of canonical writings in *Le manichéisme*, 43–61. See also the (somewhat idiosyncratic) selection of fragments in Gardner and Lieu's *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 151–175.

[26] Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 155.

[27] Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 165. A number of epistles found in this list are attributed to early disciples.

[28] Somewhat clearer, however, is the apparent near absence of doctrinal content from the Medinet Madi and Kellis codices of Mani's *Epistles* (Funk and Gardner, *forthcoming*).

[29] MacKenzie, "Mani's *Šābuhragān*," 83–141. See also those fragments (M 98/99 and

sages of *The Living Gospel* (presumably composed mid- to late- 3rd century CE) from the (unedited) Coptic *Synaxeis* Codex, 3) fragments from the *Book of Giants* (presumably composed mid- to late- 3rd century CE)[30] 4) Mani's *Epistles* (presumably composed mid- to late- 3rd century CE) 5) citations by Ephraim the Syrian (early 4th century CE),[31] 6) citations by the Nestorian scholar Theodore bar Khonai (8th century CE),[32] and 7) the article on Mani in al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (10th century CE).[33] What these sources reveal, as far as we can tell, is a very limited *explicit* use of pentads. Those that can be identified include:

The Five Limbs

Perhaps the most important of all Manichaean pentads, the "Five *shekinahs*" (ܫܟܝܢܗ) (Theodore bar Khonai 313.17 [Scher]) (that is, the "presences" or "dwellings" of God) later become known in Graeco-Coptic tradition as the "Five Limbs"[34] and constitute an ideal set of intellectual faculties possessed by a wide variety of entities, namely 1) Mind, 2) Thought, 3) Insight, 4) Counsel, and 5) Consideration.

The Five Elements

Of equal importance are what Mani termed the "Five *ziwanē*" (ܙܝܘܢܐ)—the "shining gods"—(Ephraim, 235 [Reeves]; Theodore bar Khonai,

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7980–7984) attributed to *Shabuhragan* by Hutter (*Manis kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte*; trans. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, 225).

[30] Henning, "The Book of Giants," 52–74 [115–137].

[31] Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 217–288. Reeves' assertion, however, that Ephraim is "the most important textual witness to the earliest forms of Manichaean discourse" (218) is somewhat misleading, especially when he characterizes what is preserved as "Mani-citations" (220). To be sure the use of the Syriac particle *lam* ܠܡ is a convincing indicator that some verbatim citations are preserved. In the majority of cases, however, statements are introduced by "as they say" (ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ) and thus cannot be *directly* attributable to Mani. As such, while these fragments certainly do bear witness to a very early strata of Manichaean discourse, they cannot, as a whole, be said to represent "portions of Mani's Syriac corpus" (220).

[32] See Theodore bar Khonai, *Liber scholiorum*, 313–318. Tardieu has suggested that these citations come from Mani's *Pragmateia* (*Le manichéisme*, 93).

[33] See *Fihrist*, 773–805 [Dodge]. While the great value of al-Nadīm's account has been recognized since Flügel's 1862 study, De Blois has recently pointed out that significant portions of al-Nadīm's account, especially on cosmogony, are likely derived from al-Warrāq, a 9th-century, mu'tazilah theologian who took an early interest in Manichaeism ("New Light on the Sources of the Manichaean Chapter in the *Fihrist*,") 37–45.

[34] According to Funk, this series was rendered as "Aeons" in the unedited *Synaxeis* codex, which contains readings from Mani's own *Living Gospel*, whereas in the *Epistles* codex they are translated as "Limbs" (*Epistles*) (*personal communication*). Al-Nadīm, for his part, calls them both "worlds" (*Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]) and "limbs" (*Fihrist*, 786 [Dodge]).

314.11 [Scher]) or, as they were more commonly known to Graeco-Coptic tradition, the Five "Elements" (ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲱⲛ) of 1) Living Air, 2) Light, 3) Wind, 4) Water, 5) Fire (see 1 Ke 43.2 etc.).[35] Also known as the Five "Sons of First Man" (*Shabuhragan*, Ephraim, 235 [Reeves], Theodore bar Khonai, 314.1 (not enumerated) [Scher]), "gods" (al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 779 [Dodge] *Shabuhragan*, 513–515 [Mackenzie]), and "Limbs" (al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 786 [Dodge]). They are also put in more traditionally Iranian dress as the "Five Bounteous Immortals" (*panzān (a)mahrāspandān*) in *Shabuhragan* (M 7980–7984 [Boyce y, 74])[36] as well as being described as the "Five Walls" (*panz parisp*) of the Light Chariot, that is, the Sun (M 98/99 [Boyce y, 61]).

The Five Sons of the Living Spirit

As already noted, the Five Sons of the Living Spirit enter the cosmogonic drama when the Father of Greatness responds to the capture of First Man by calling out a second triad made up of "Beloved of Lights," "Great Builder", and the "Living Spirit." Just as First Man (the third being of the first emanation) went into battle accompanied by "five sons," the Living Spirit calls upon his own "five sons" who aid in the slaughter of the Archons and the construction of the cosmos. These Five Sons are called "Ornament (or Keeper) of Splendour," "Great King of Honour," "Adamos (*sic* = Adamas) of Light," "King of Glory," and "Porter" (314.17–20 [Scher]). *Shabuhragan* describes these entities as the "five gods" (*panz yazd*) sent out by the "god Mithra" (*Mihr yazd*), that is, the Living Spirit (M 7980–7984 [Boyce y, 65).

The Five Virtues

Evidence from Mani's *Epistles* has confirmed the parallel ordering of both the Limbs and the Virtues in his own discourse. In particular, the "Seventh Letter to Ctesiphon; that of the Vigils" records Mani's evocation of the Five Limbs of 1) Love, 2) Faith, 3) Perfection, 4) Patience, and 5) Wisdom in association with a blessing provided by Jesus: "But it is he who shall bless you all, my beloved / children. May he leave his love on your head, that is, / the Light-Mind. His great faith, he [will … in] your / vigilant Thought. His perfection, he will establish [in your] / good Insight, and his long-suffering, he [will …] / in your good Counsels. His

[35] See the same choice of vocabulary in the Iranian translation of Mani's *Book of Giants* (see Henning, "Book of Giants," 58).

[36] Al-Nadīm appears to make a distinction between the Five Limbs of the "Realm (Earth) of Light," which equal the Five Elements, and the Five Limbs of the "Sky of Light" (see *Fihrist*, 786 [Dodge]). There does not seem to have been an absolutely clear demarcation between the Limbs and the Elements, since in several instances (see below the question of the identity of the "Intellectuals") they bleed into one another.

wisdom . . . / . . . he will act as in your sharp Considerations . . ."[37] They are also mentioned by al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]).

The Five Vital Powers/Potentials

Also important to the light-realm is the series of five vital powers, known as 1) Life (*zīhr*), 2) Power (*zōr*), 3) Light (*rōšnī*), 4) Fragrance (*xwaš̄*), 5) Beauty (*agrāyī*) (*Shabuhragan* M 7983 = Boyce y 52 [75]).[38]

The Five Worlds of Darkness

As the negative image of the five *shekinahs*, Mani seems to have conceived of the kingdom of darkness as divided into five districts: 1) Smoke, 2) Fire, 3) Wind, 4) Water, 5) Darkness (Theodore 313.19–20 [Scher], al-Nadīm), also known as the "Five Ditches" (*panz kandār*) (*Shabuhragan* M 98/99 [Boyce y, 61]) and the "Five Hells" (*panz dušox*) (*Shabuhragan* M 7980–7984 [Boyce y, 66]). As we shall see, there was some confusion among the compilers as to which demonic power held jurisdiction over these domains.

The Five Sons of Darkness

Theodore bar Khonai makes an ambiguous reference to "five sons of darkness" (314.8, 22 [Scher]) who are said to devour the Five Sons of First Man. Presumably the demonic powers who rule the five worlds.

The Five Trees (of Darkness)

While the *Book of Giants* refers to the fact that the "misguided" fail to recognize the "five elements, [the five kinds of] trees, (and) the five (kinds of) animals" (146 [Henning]), Theodore states that when the Messenger had slain Sin, part of its carcass fell to the ground to produce "Five Trees" (317.3 [Scher]).

Other

Added to this list could be some miscellaneous references from *Shabuhragan* to the "Five Houses" (*mān panz*) of the Light Chariot, the "Five Angels" (*prēstag panz*) who collect souls, the "Five Arches" (*tāg panz*) built by the Living Spirit over earth (M 98/99 [Boyce y, 60–62]), as well as the "Five Constellations" (*panzān axtarān*): Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, and Leo (*Shabuhragan* M 7980–7984 [Boyce y, 66]), and the five components of human body created by demon *Āz*: bones, nerves, flesh, arteries, and skin (*Shabuhragan* M 7980–7984). None of these, however, carry the same weight in subsequent Manichaean discourse.

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[37] *Epistles* [Berlin] 50.8–14; Funk, *A Work Concordance to the Coptic Fragments of Mani's Epistles* (unpublished).

[38] See Hutter, *Manis kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte*, 112–113; 130–134.

While the five-part structures noted above only provide an incomplete picture of what might have existed in Mani's (mostly lost) canonical writings, they are enough to show two aspects of Manichaean discourse that will be encountered repeatedly throughout the course of this study. First, that one of the basic features of Manichaean mythmaking is the attribution of five qualities to both good and evil beings, as well as the organization of such beings into groups of five, a phenomenon which is evident especially in Theodore bar Khonai's and al-Nadīm's accounts and, as such, must have formed part of the way in which Mani (at least sometimes) expressed his ideas.[39] Thus, Mani can be said to have established the basic paradigm for this kind of thinking. Second is the fact that already in canonical traditions it can be observed that certain important pentads were known under a variety of aliases.[40]

It should be noted, however, that Theodore bar Khonai's account, which was paraphrased earlier, appears to place emphasis on the basic triadic structure of the mythic narrative.[41] According to Theodore, three groups of three beings are presented as a series of three evocations, or emanations, through which the drama of salvation unfolds. In this account, five-part series appear to be more *attributive* and functional in support of the main actors from what is essentially a three-act play. For instance, the Five Sons of First Man function as "armour" for their father, who is the real hero of the first evocation, while the Five Sons of the Living Spirit, from the second evocation, appear in support of their parent, who employs them for the creation and maintenance of the cosmos.

In contrast to the emphasis on triads that can be observed in Mani's canonical discourse, the *Kephalaia* attempts to bring pentads to the fore. While extensive use is made of canonical pentads from the light-realm such as the Five Limbs, the Five Elements/Sons of First Man, and the Five Sons of the Living Spirit, such series are employed by the compilers of the *Kephalaia*, by and large, in support of other themes such as the nature of divine being and cosmic parallelism. In addition,

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[39] The alternative would be that, by Theodore's time, canonical sources (or even pseudo-canonical sources for that matter) were "retro-fitted" to conform to later scholastic developments.

[40] This may have been due, in part, to the difficulty of rendering Syriac terms like *shekinah* and *ziwanē* into Greek and Coptic. Thus, it is not necessarily Mani's doing.

[41] Even though some commentators, such as Hunter, consider Theodore's citations as "fragmented and disjointed" ("Theodore bar Kônî and the Manichaeans," 168), they do, nevertheless, seem to present a basic narrative.

they seem to have been equally interested in other non- (or at least only quasi-) canonical series, such as those that came to be known as the Five Fathers and the Five Greatnesses. These latter series, as we shall see, exemplify the attempt by the *Kephalaia* compilers to transform the basic mythological structure of Manichaean cosmogony from one based on triads to one based on pentads. This process, which for our purposes will be termed *pentadic redaction*, is a reflection of the compilers' desire to make sense of what may have been obscure or ambiguous canonical material by shaping it into what seemed to them to be a more cohesively structured whole. As for the dark-realm, we shall see that even though the compilers also made use of canonical series such as Five Worlds of Darkness and the Five Trees, these were not always as clearly defined as those belonging to the light-realm. Nevertheless, even though the compilers sought to clarify how these more ambiguous formulations ought to be understood and placed in opposition to series from the light-realm, their inherently negative associations inevitably led to their being employed for certain polemical ends largely aimed at rival religious communities. Finally, the *Kephalaia* also presents a number of more generalized pentadic series relating to a variety of soteriological, ethical, ecclesiological, polemical, and aetiological themes that equally speak to the compilers' desire to construct a distinctly Manichaean reality based on pentads.

As such, in order to understand how five-part patterns contribute to the function and originality of the *Kephalaia*, this study will examine the occurrence of both explicit and implicit five-part structures in order to discover how the compilers shaped, expanded, and redacted canonical material in an effort to communicate their own particular themes and concerns.

CHAPTER ONE

BASIC ONTOLOGICAL PATTERNING

The Two Trees and the Five Limbs

There can be no denying that the foundation of Manichaeism is to be found in the doctrine of the Two Natures, since this concept served as the basis for Manichaean ontology, cosmology, and ethics. As such, it is no surprise that, after establishing the authority of Mani as the most recent messenger of God and legitimizing the validity of the *Kephalaia* as a literary enterprise (1 Ke 9.6–10)[1] in both the "Prologue" and *Chapter 1*, the doctrine of Two Natures would be addressed by the *Kephalaia* compilers straightaway in *Chapter 2 "The Second, on the Parable of the Tree."* In this chapter, Mani is asked by his disciples to give an exegetical reading of Matthew 7:17–20/Luke 6:43–44,[2] where Jesus explains to his disciples that the quality of every tree can be derived from an evaluation of its fruit (1 Ke 17.2–20), while at the same time alluding to an alternate reading of the same text among "the Sects" (ⲛⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ), the generic Manichaean designation for any number of rival religious communities. First, Mani is made to caution that appearances can be deceiving. In the natural world, for instance, the "date-palm" (ⲃⲛⲛⲉ), in spite of its pleasant appearance, is said to be quite useless (1 Ke 17.32 ff.). Similarly, Judas, although he seemed to be a good disciple, still betrayed his master (1 Ke 19.1–6), while Paul, though seemingly wicked and a persecutor of the church, ultimately turned out to be one if its most productive founders (1 Ke 19.7–17).

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[1] One of Mani's principal critiques of previous religious traditions was the fact that the founders did not record their teaching in writing and thus it was corrupted by later disciples (1 Ke 8.8–28; see also *Chapter 151 [On the Ten Advantages of the Manichaean Religion]* [1 Ke 371.6–30]). Yet even though Mani seems to have gone to great lengths to record his message in his own series of self-consciously canonical writings, he is conveniently made to legitimize the *Kephalaia*'s expansion of and commentary on this tradition by both the "Prologue" and "Epilogue" of the work (see Funk, "Reconstruction").

[2] This proof-text is cited by Ephraim against the Manichaeans (see Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 252).

Mani is then made to explain how the "Good Tree" has "Five Limbs" (1 Ke 20.12–14), which in turn are said to represent five key components of the Manichaean cosmos:

> … it (that is, the good tree) has *Five Limbs* / [which are: *Consideration, Counsel, Insight, Thought]* / *Mind*. Its Consideration is the Holy Church. Its Counsel / is the Column of Glory, the Perfect Man. Its Insight / is the First Man, who dwells in the Ship of the Living / Waters. Its Thought is the Third Messenger / [who dwells in] the Ship of the Living Fire, which shines in / [the world]. But, the Mind is the Father, who dwells in the Great-/ness, who exists perfectly in the Aeon of Light. / … this, that the souls who come and attain / the Holy [Church] and also the alms which the Cate-/[chumens] give, as they are purified by the Holy Church / … every deed. Consideration is that which will … / … they ascend to … … is Counsel, / [they] ascend to Insight, which is the First Man, / who dwells in the Ship of the Night. From Insight they ascend / to Thought, which is the Messenger, who dwells in / the Ship of the Day. But he, the Great Thought, who / … them to Mind, who is the Father, the God / of Truth, the great Mind of all Aeons of Glory (1 Ke 20.12–31).

Here the Five Limbs are enumerated in canonical, but ascending, order.[3] In this way, the Five Limbs are presented by the *Kephalaia* compilers in *Chapter 2* as part of a programmatic statement whereby the essentially five-fold nature of being is reflected in the five stages of light liberation from the community and ritual context of the Holy Church, where the ritual activities occur (Consideration), to the cosmic conduit of the Column of Glory, which draws the light particles up (Counsel), through to the first (Insight) and second (Thought) light vessels, onto the divine homeland of the Father (Mind). This enumeration is then contrasted with the limbs of the Evil Tree.

The Five Limbs of the Evil Tree are (somewhat awkwardly) made to parallel those of the Good Tree:

> … … the evil [tree] has *Five Limbs* / [which] are: Consideration, Counsel, Insight, Thought, [Mind]. / Its [Consideration is] the Law of Death which the Sects / are taught. Its Counsel is the transmigration … / in [various] kinds. But, its Insight is the [fiery] furnaces of / … … Gehenna, which are filled with smoke. Its Thought … / … … the vessel. Its Mind is … / … … the lump, the last bond, the … / … … those who Satan has [cast] (1 Ke 21.28–36).

[3] See *Chapter 25*, where the Limbs are listed in descending order.

These Limbs are associated with a progressive process of damnation from the sectarian context or "Law of Death" (Consideration), through the soul's transmigration (Counsel), to Gehenna (Insight), a vessel of some kind (Thought), then finally the eschatological lump, or *bolos* (Mind), into which all matter will be moulded at the end of time (1Ke 21.28–36). One might have expected that the Limbs of the Evil Tree would have been identified with negatively valued qualities such as ignorance, stupidity, or apostasy, but instead, the compiler of *Chapter 2* works to establish a direct parallel between the Limbs of the Tree of Light and those of the Tree of Darkness. Such a manoeuvre is in contrast to the concept of the Five Elements for which there are two different sets. This seems to indicate either that a canonical series of Dark Limbs did not exist or that the series of divine Limbs was canonically applied to the dark-realm. The latter case appears unlikely, given the great care that was generally taken in completely dissociating the Two Natures. Instead, it is more likely that the *Kephalaia* compiler carried over the same canonical series in order to create a symmetrical contrast of the Two Trees and to re-emphasize the chapter's cautionary message about appearances. After all, evil, although essentially different, may nevertheless appear seductive and beguiling to those not adept at separating one tree from the other. In fact, *Chapter 2*, although ostensibly a discussion of the Two Trees, could equally be characterized as a discourse on the "Two Paths"—the good path that leads to liberation and the luminous homeland of the Father and the evil path that traps souls within the cycle of transmigration and ultimate destruction.[4] That both "paths" are described as having five stages is a reflection of the basic five-fold structure of both good and evil entities.

Indeed, we do know that Mani himself characterized his two opposed principles as two fruit-producing trees known as the "Tree of Life" and the "Tree of Death" from Severus of Antioch (*Homily* 123. 104–105),[5] although in his account there is no explicit association with the New Testament parable. Moreover, the language used by Mani in these citations is more cosmological in orientation, since he places emphasis on the fact that the Tree of Life occupies the northern, eastern, and western regions of the cosmos, while the Tree of Death is

[4] The primacy and importance of the "good path" is taken up again (with slight variation) in the following chapter, *Chapter 3 "The Interpretation of Happiness, Wisdom, and Power; what they mean."*.

[5] Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 169.

confined to the south. This means that, while the *Kephalaia* compilers have adapted a canonical metaphor, they have given it a different colouring.

This ornamentation of the Two Natures with parallel, but ontologically opposed, five-part series, so prominently placed in *Chapter 2*, previews the way in which good and evil beings are generally conceived by the *Kephalaia* compilers and establishes a general ontological framework for the interpretation of all sorts of cosmic phenomena. As such, five-part structure was intimately associated with one of the basic, foundational, and no doubt most primitive, of Manichaean metaphors.[6] In fact, just as Manichaean theology as a whole is sometimes characterized as the doctrine of the "two principles and the three times," *Chapter 2* could be stereotyped as encapsulating the *Kephalaia*'s theology in terms of "Two Trees and Five Limbs."

[6] Lieu suggests that the motif of the Two Trees is "unrelated" to the concept of the Two Natures ("Manichaean *technici termini*," 251), although I do not believe that this assertion can be justified.

CHAPTER TWO

THEOLOGICAL PATTERNING I: LIGHT-REALM

The Faces of the Father

Given the fact that, as we just saw, one of the basic metaphors for Manichaean ontology attributes five qualities to each of the Two Principles, it would be expected that a similar characterization be applied to the Father of Greatness, the ruler of the light-realm and the personification of the good principle. *Chapter 21 "On the Father of Greatness, how he is established and defined"* (1 Ke 64.21–23) is particularly informative in this regard:

> Just as he [is found] established in his *Five Light-Limbs*, which are / … the storehouses which are without measure or limit / … Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, and [Consideration] / … his Twelve Light-Limbs, which are / his Twelve Wisdoms. *Five Great Limbs / of Light* are found in each one … *Five Great / Fountains of Blessing* gush forth … There are *Five Great* / [*Trees*(?)] … … of Light (1 Ke 64.20–28).

In this case, the Five Limbs, which we previously saw were applied to the Two Trees, represent those entities which in Theodore bar Khonai's account are known by the Syriac term *shekinah* (ܫܟܝܢܬܐ), although their apparent characterization as his "Storehouses" (ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ) (1 Ke 64.22) may represent an attempt to represent this term more fully.[1] These Five Storehouses, in turn, are associated with Twelve Light-Limbs, also described as Twelve Wisdoms.[2] In turn, we learn that "Five Great Fountains of Blessing" (ϯⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲟ ⲛϩⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲉ) (1 Ke 64.26–27) surround the Father, and, in what appears to be an extension of the basic tree metaphor, "Five Great Trees(?)" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲱⲙ) (1 Ke 64.28). What follows is an enumeration of five characteristics of

[1] The Greek term *tamieion*, however, is usually reserved in the *Kephalaia* for the regions of darkness (see *Kephalaia* Chapter 6). See also 2 Ps. 200.1. Why the compilers opted for the term "Limbs" rather than "Aeons," as the *shekinahs* are known in the Synaxeis codex (Funk, *personal communication*), remains a mystery.

[2] This may mean that each of the Twelve Wisdoms possesses its own set of Five Limbs/Storehouses, although the lacunae in the text obscure the precise relationship.

the Father which, unfortunately, the lacunose state of the text prevents us from completely identifying. All that can be determined for certain from *Chapter 21* is the following list 1) light, 2) pleasant odour, 3) living voice of …, 4) …-ness, and 5) great … (1Ke 64.29–65.2). There is, however, a striking parallel between this passage and a section of the Mandaean *Right-Ginza*, which characterizes the "King of Light" as possessing five qualities: 1) light, 2) fragrance, 3) sweetness of voice, 4) potency of voice, and 5) beauty.[3]

It is unclear whether or not these five qualities are related to the Five Vital Powers found in a Middle Persian fragment attributed to the *Shabuhragan* by Hutter[4] and discussed by Polotsky[5] from Sogdian fragment M 14, which list 1) life, 2) power, 3) light, 4) beauty, and 5) fragrance as five qualities possessed by the soul,[6] although there is some superficial resemblance. Nevertheless, *Chapter 21* does make clear that the *Kephalaia* compilers conceived of the Father of Greatness as a being with *five* characteristics, although this characterization is a formulation that appears to be at odds with other evidence indicating that the Father was known (perhaps even canonically) as the "Four-faced God."

The epithet "Four-faced" (τετραπρόσωπος) is known from Greek abjuration formulae (Seven Chapters 3.59, Long Formula 1461C.14)[7] and the Manichaean *Psalm-Book* (ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲇⲧⲟⲩϩⲟ) (2Ps. 191.12; 186.9–12), although Merkelbach[8] made a rather forced attempt to see the same set of four qualities expressed in *Kephalaia Chapter 4 "On the Four Great Days …," Chapter 20 "The Chapter on the Name of the Fathers,"* and *Chapter 7 "The Seventh, on the Five Fathers."* At any rate, the tetrad *is* relatively well attested in Iranian, Turkish, and Chinese Manichaean sources from the East as representing 1) divinity, 2) light, 3) power, and 4) wisdom (see Iranian: M 176, M 31, M 324; Turkish: T II D 162; Chinese: *Hymnscroll*).[9][10] Frequently, however, the abjuration formulae

[3] See Foerster, *Gnosis*, 150.

[4] M 7983 = Boyce y 52 [75]; Hutter, *Manis kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte*, 130–134.

[5] There is some confusion about the last two elements. See "Manichäische Studien," 263f. (= *Collected Papers*, 664f.)

[6] See Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, 78.

[7] Adam, *Texte zum Manichäismus*, 97.

[8] *Mani und sein Religionssystem*, 39–50.

[9] Tsui Chi, "Mo Ni Chiao Hsia Pu Tsan: 'The Lower (Second?) Section of the Manichaean Hymns,'" 189.

[10] See Williams Jackson, "The Fourfold Aspect of the Supreme Being in Manichaeism," 11–12, although I am sceptical, however, that the "four bright seals" of love, faith, fear, and wisdom from the Turkish confessional text *Xuāstuānīft* represent the same

are the only sources cited for the presence of this concept in Western Manichaean tradition.[11] Samuel Lieu, in his article on the Greek abjuration formulae, states that another potential occurrence of this tetrad is to be found in the "Prayer of the Emanations" from Kellis.[12] In this case, however, the hymnist seeks to glorify the 1) power, 2) glory, 3) light, 4) word, *and* 5) majesty of the Father.[13]

According to Williams Jackson, Mani viewed this four-fold nature of divinity as a "cardinal tenet"[14] of Manichaeism, citing a passage from al-Nadīm in which Mani appears to command his followers to believe in the "Four Greatnesses" of divinity, light, power, and wisdom.[15] Similar statements were made by Widengren[16] and Asmussen who characterized the notion of the "four-fold God" as "the essence and synopsis of the whole Manichaean system."[17] In addition, Williams Jackson made allusion to "a somewhat similar fourfold division" described by Theodore bar Khonai, who lists the "four elements" as *ašwqr*, *pršwqr*, *zwqr*, and *zrwn* (ܐܫܘܩܪ ܦܪܫܘܩܪ ܙܘܩܪ ܙܪܘܢ) which appear to be Syriac transcriptions of Iranian terms.[18] These were interpreted by Zaehner to represent Zurvanite ideas of cosmic conception, birth, decline, and rebirth.[19] This apparent similarity, however, became one of the key components of the thesis of Manichaeism's Iranian origins and, as such, was used by Cumont to justify the statement that "l'origine première du système doive être cherchée dans le mazdéisme zervaniste, répandu en Mésopotamie,"[20] in spite of the fact that Theodore himself makes no connection between a Zurvanite and Manichaean tetrad. Considering that Theodore seems to have been aware of the Zurvanite tetrad, this seems like a significant oversight if, as Williams Jackson suggests, the tetrad constituted a "cardinal tenet" of Manichaean doctrine

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series associated with the Father. For a more recent discussion of the Iranian origins of this series, see Van Tongerloo, "The Father of Greatness," 336–339.

[11] See Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, 19 n. 1; Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, 191 n. 12; Richter, *Die Herakleides-Psalmen*, 67 n. 36b.

[12] "An Early Byzantine Formula for the Renunciation of Manichaeism," in *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East*, 273.

[13] See Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 195–196.

[14] "Fourfold Aspect," 16.

[15] "Fourfold Aspect," 13.

[16] *Mani and Manichaeism*, 46.

[17] *Xuāstuānīft: Studies in Manichaeism*, 220.

[18] See Williams Jackson, "Fourfold Aspect," 15 n. 17.

[19] *Zurvan: A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, 224.

[20] Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme, I.*, 8 n. 2.

and Theodore wanted to "shame" the Manichaeans through an exposé of their "perverse" doctrines. Surely such a scandalous inclusion of a Zurvanite motif would have fuelled the Syriac polemicist's contempt for Mani's followers.

In light of the fact that evidence continues to mount pointing towards the principally Judaeo-Christian origins of Manichaeism,[21] the "four-faced" God is perhaps better understood as a Zurvanite flourish or accommodation. In Mazdaean theology, the god Ohrmizd was conceived as part of a divine tetrad along with time, space, and religion, although the incorporation of this tetrad into "orthodox" Mazdaeism may have been a response to Zurvanite speculations.[22] Williams Jackson admitted, however, that he could really find only one equivalency between the Manichaean and Zurvanite tetrads,[23] and besides, Zaehner identified the Zurvanite tetrad as *time*, *space*, wisdom, and power,[24] which differs markedly from Manichaean attestations. Zaehner also suggested that Zurvanite theology in general was based on an elaborate series of tetrads.[25] Thus, it is conceivable that the particularly Manichaean emphasis on *five* was meant to counter this pattern. Even an Iranist such as Schaeder suggested that Iranian elements in Manichaeism were a result of *Umstilisierung* rather than deliberate borrowing or influence.[26] More recently P.O. Skjaervø (following Böhlig) has pointed out that, since the basic formulation of Mani's system is obviously Christian, when he wanted to "dress this myth in Zoroastrian garb" he had little choice but to represent figures such as the Father and the First Man by Zurvan and Ohrmizd.[27] Mere terminological similarities say nothing about origins and derivations, especially at a time when Zoroastrian traditions were themselves in such a state of flux. As Skjaervø succinctly states: "On no account … can it be said that the Zurvanite myth was part of Mani's system, only the name of Zurwān was."[28]

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[21] As BeDuhn has recently stated, Manichaeism ought to be viewed as a "legitimate, independent, oriental" stream of early Christianity ("A War of Words," 81).

[22] See Duchesne-Guillemin, "L'Église sassanide et le mazdéisme," 10.

[23] "Fourfold Aspect," 15 n. 17.

[24] *Zurvan*, 219.

[25] *Zurvan*, 229–230.

[26] "Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems," 47.

[27] "Iranian Elements in Manichaeism: A Comparative Approach," 271.

[28] "Iranian Elements," 272.

As such, *Kephalaia* Chapter 21 may represent an attempt by the compilers to distance their discourse from a motif that may have appeared too "Iranian," no longer fit their developing vision of how important divinities should be understood and described, or simply had lost its meaning. If Mani himself employed such an epithet for the Father of Greatness, then this would be a striking instance of the *Kephalaia* compilers rejecting a canonical formulation in favour of one that was seen as more compatible with their systematization efforts.[29] Ultimately, the compilers appear to have been quite determined to assert as a general principle the fact that Manichaean divinities, even the Father of Greatness, ought to be conceived as possessing five qualities.[30] As we shall see, this conception of the highest divinity, in turn, fits with their wider efforts at the pentadization of other cosmogonic, ethical, ecclesiological, and soteriological themes so evident in the first volume of *Kephalaia.*

The Many Sons of Man

The series of beings known to the *Kephalaia* primarily as the "Five Sons of First Man" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ) is somewhat problematic due, in part, to the variety of alias under which it was known. Also known as the Five "Elements" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲱⲛ) (1 Ke 43.2), these "Five Sons" (ܒܢܝ ܐܒܗܬܐ) are characterized by Theodore bar Khonai as the "Five Shining Gods" (ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ ܒܢܝ̈ܢ),[31] and though not

[29] Even Merkelbach is forced to admit that certain *Kephalaia* chapters seem to expand the tetrad into a pentad (*Mani*, 45), although he offers no explanation.

[30] Interestingly, a Coptic Manichaean text from Kellis (T. Kell. Copt. 1) describes how the "Third Messenger" reflects the "five properties (σχήματα) of the Father" (see *Kellis Literary Texts I*, 2).

[31] They are also called "Sons of Light" (ܒܢܝ ܢܘܗܪܐ) (*Hypatius*, 81.43 [Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 234]) and "Shining Sons" (ܒܢܝ ܢܗܝܪ) by Ephraim (*Hypatius*, 101.5–24 [Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 235]). Such an expression may lie behind the Coptic formulation "Five Splendours of the Son of Man" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲙⲛⲡⲣ̈ⲓⲉ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲱ[ⲙ]ⲉ) (1 Ke 89.8–9). It seemed much more likely to Burkitt that Jesus, to whom the same term "splendour" is also applied, should be styled "Jesus the Living" or "Life-giving." This, of course, is not how Manichaean translators understood the term, since it is eminently clear that the "Five Sons/Elements" of early Manichaean tradition were understood in Coptic as ⲡⲣ̈ⲓⲉ—"shining forth." While it is certainly possible that Manichaean translators misunderstood such a key technical term (see Franzmann, "Syriac-Coptic Bilinguals," 118–119), it seems unlikely. It is far more probably that the basic elements of the light-realm, not to mention Jesus (one of its key emissaries), were

explicitly enumerated in his account, are known from Coptic and other sources[32] as representing 1) Living Air (ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ), 2) Wind (ⲡⲧⲏⲩ), 3) Light (ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲏⲉ), 4) Water (ⲡⲙⲁⲩ), and 5) Fire (ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ). As the essence of soul and the antithesis of matter,[33] the Five Sons/Elements play a central role in the Manichaean conception of redemption, since they constitute the luminous essence that must be liberated through Manichaean ascetic and liturgical practice. In this way, they form the most direct link between Manichaean myth and praxis.

Outside of the *Kephalaia* there are surprisingly few explicit references (other than those mentioned above) to the Five Sons of First Man, the Five Elements, or the Five Intellectuals in other edited Manichaean Coptic texts—although there are a small number of implicit references (2 Ps. 12.25; 36.22), including an enumeration of each element in a "Psalm of the Wanderers" (2 Ps. 137.20–37). In itself, this is not surprising given the liturgical and hagiographical nature of edited texts such as the *Psalm-Book* and the *Homilies*. One notable exception, however, can be found in "Bema Psalm 223," where the Father's "strong son" (ⲙⲡⲉϥ[ϣⲏ]ⲣⲉ ⲛϫⲱⲣⲉ) (2 Ps. 10.7) produces "a Virgin equipped with Five Powers" (ⲛⲧⲉϥ[ⲡⲁ]ⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲥⲧⲏϣ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲁⲙ) (2 Ps. 10.8) in order to fight the forces of darkness. This reference not only provides an additional synonym for the Five Sons/Elements, but somewhat surprisingly attributes them to a mysterious virgin-figure, who appears to act as a kind of consort or twin to First Man.

On the surface, it is difficult to see why these light-substances should have been described as "sons" at all, since functionally, the "Five Sons" constitute the "armour" or "garments" (1 Ke 69.18; 262.25) put on by First Man before going out to engage the powers of darkness.[34] Perhaps this was simply a result of conventions of language regularly employed

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described as entities which reflect their origin by emanating their essence—in other words, they *shine*.

[32] The canonical order of these elements seems to have been, at least for polemicists, a bit of a problem. Ephraim, for instance, makes reference to air (ܐܘܪ) (*Hypatius*, 31.11 [Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 260–261]), light (ܢܘܗܪܐ), wind (ܪܘܚܐ), water (ܡܝܐ), and fire (ܢܘܪܐ) (*Hypatius*, 101.5–24 [Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 235]), while the *Acta Archelai* gives the somewhat idiosyncratic listing of "wind, light, water, fire, and matter (*sic*!)" (ἄνεμος, φῶς, ὕδωρ, πῦρ, ὕλη) (Beeson), although "matter" (ὕλη) is usually amended by scholars to "air" (ἀήρ) (See *Acta Archelai* [Vermes/Lieu], 47 n. 40; see also 2 Ps. 137.36).

[33] Polotsky, "Manichäismus," 115.

[34] Theodore bar Khonai even records a Syriac pun on the words for "shining" (ܙܗܪܐ) and "armour" (ܙܝܪܐ) (Reeves, "Citations from Ephrem," 269 n. 9).

by Manichaeans, whereby a series of secondary entities emanated by or associated with another primary being are called "sons."[35] Such a tendency is, in fact, borne out by the testimony of Ephraim, who records the way in which the expressions "sons of Light" (ܒܢܝ ܢܘܗܪܐ) and "sons of Darkness" (ܒܢܝ ܚܫܘܟܐ)[36] formed part of early Manichaean discourse.

The terminological situation becomes more complex in the *Kephalaia*, since the compilers made use of a number of other co-referential metaphors for the "Five Sons of First Man," namely the "Five Garments" (ϯϵ ⲛϩⲃⲥⲱ) as in *Chapter 70 "On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos"* (1 Ke 69.18),[37] as well as the "Five Luminous Gods" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲣⲓ[ⲱ]ⲩ) from *Chapter 38 "On the Light-Mind, the Apostles, and the Saints"* (1 Ke 95.16), and the "Five Shining Men" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲙⲛⲡⲣⲏϵ) (1 Ke 85.34; 88.15; 89.8). While the concept of the Elements as "garments" is not attested in known canonical traditions, the epithets "Five Luminous Gods" and "Five Shining Men" are presumably a reflection of the "Five Shining Gods" (ܚܡܫ ܐܠܗ̈ ܙܝܘܢܝ) known from Theodore bar Khonai.

One co-referential series in particular, however, that seems to have caused a great deal of confusion for both ancient and modern commentators is the grouping known as the "Five Intellectuals" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲉⲣⲟⲛ). While Iain Gardner, in his *Kephalaia* "Indices" justifiably lists the Five Limbs under the Five Intellectuals,[38] both the *Kephalaia* and the *Psalm-Book* typically associated the Intellectuals with the Five Elements, a fact that has already been noted by Van Lindt in his study of Coptic Manichaean terminology.[39] For instance, in *Chapter 2 "The Second, on the Parable of the Tree,"* the "intellectuals" that "clothe" the body of the Column of Glory/Perfect Man are clearly equated with the

[35] This, in turn, no doubt reflects Syriac usage of the term *bar* (ܒܪ), which communicates not only the idea of son-ship, but also of "close relation, subjection, or similarity" (Payne-Smith, 53a). As for their original Syriac name—*zīwānā* (ܙܝܘܢܐ), "brilliant, or shining"—Burkitt offered the unlikely suggestion that this is actually an adaptation of the Middle-Iranian term *zywyn'g*, meaning "life-giver" (*Religion of the Manichees*, 111).

[36] Reeves, "Citations from Ephraim," 234 [#28].

[37] See also *Chapter 109 "On the Fifty Lord's Days"* (1 Ke 262.25), and *Chapter 54 "On the Quality of the Garments"* (1 Ke 131.20).

[38] The Limbs are after all "intellectual" properties. See Gardner, *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 297.

[39] *Names of Manichaean Mythological Figures*, 63–64.

"Elements of Light" (1 Ke 20.1–3).[40] This identification can be corroborated by a "Psalm of the Wanderers" which states that the "Five Intellectuals are the Sons of First Man" (2 Ps. 161.25). Nevertheless, there appears to have been a certain degree of ambiguity as to the identity of the Intellectuals, since in *Chapter 31*, the Five Limbs were also associated with the preparatory activities of First Man (see below). As such, the exact equations between concepts such as the Five Elements, the Five Limbs, and the Five Intellectuals seem to have been complex and may not have been any clearer to the compilers than they are to us.

On the abstract level, however, the Sons/Elements, collectively known as the "Living Soul," are "a property shared by all objects"[41] within the cosmos and serve as an ontological link between the Father of Greatness and his children. This can be established by interpreting the testimony of Theodore bar Khonai, who records that when the Father sought to defend his kingdom from the dark invasion, he says, "I *myself* will go" (ܒܢܦܫܝ, literally, "by means of my own soul"). As a result, First Man, whom he calls upon, along with the Five Elements, can be interpreted as the "soul" of the Father sent into battle and eventually captured by the powers of darkness. The Manichaean, in turn, is enjoined to "remember" this imprisonment of the Elements, or Living Soul, and to work for their/its liberation.[42] Once this is recognized, the Manichaean may then become, to use BeDuhn's evocative term, "a cog" in the great cosmic machinery of light-liberation.[43] According to the *Cologne Mani Codex*, the notion of the suffering Living Soul was perceived by Mani at an early age when he heard the cries and lamentations of plants as they were harvested from his sectarian community's vegetable garden (*CMC* 6–10). This means that, according to Manichaean hagiography at least, the plight of the Living Soul constituted one of Mani's earliest insights into the true nature of the world around him.

Yet even in spite of the obvious importance of the "Five Sons of First Man" as a concept within Manichaeism generally, the *Kephalaia*

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[40] Compare Chapter 72 in which the "great garment" of the Pillar of Glory/Perfect Man" is made up of Five Intellectuals (1 Ke 177.3). The fact that the Intellectuals are called a "garment" also supports their identification with the Five Elements.

[41] BeDuhn, *Manichaean Body*, 72.

[42] BeDuhn, *Manichaean Body*, 73.

[43] *Manichaean Body*, 76.

compilers seem to have been primarily interested in using them for the formulation of other rhetorically or doctrinally significant number patterns. For instance, according to *Chapter 3 "The Interpretation of Happiness, Wisdom, and Power,"* these three thematic qualities are said to exist at five levels of divine being, from 1) the Father, through the light-vehicles of 2) Sun and 3) Moon, to 4) the Elements and 5) the Holy Church. At the level of the Elements, "happiness" is said to be constituted by the Column of Glory/Perfect Man, the cosmic apparatus for light-liberation, while the Five Sons of the Living Spirit constitute "wisdom." At the same level, however, "power" is manifested by the Five Sons of First Man, who are "folded into the Universe" (1 Ke 24.25).

Being/Context	*Happiness*	*Wisdom*	*Power*
Father	Father	Great Spirit	rich gods & angels/aeon
Sun	Living Spirit	Mother of Life	rich gods & angels
Moon	Mind (of Father)	Virgin of Light	rich gods & angels
Elements	Column of Glory	*5 Sons of Living Spirit*	*5 Sons of First Man*
Church	Apostle of Light	Leaders & Teachers	Elect, Virgins, Ascetics, Catechumens

Similarly, in *Chapter 4 "On the Four Great Days, which have come out from one another; along with the Four Nights,"* the twelve hours of the third day are calculated by adding the Five Sons of First Man and the Five Sons of the Living Spirit to Call and Response (1 Ke 25.25–30).

Four Days	*Dwelling*	*Hours*
1) Father	Aeon	12 rich gods
2) Third Messenger	Ship of Light	12 virgins
3) Column	(Cosmos)	*5 Sons* + *5 Sons* + Call &Response
4) Jesus the Splendour	Church	12 Wisdoms

An analogous exegetical manoeuvre occurs in *Chapter 10 "On the Meaning of the Fourteen [Great] Aeons about which Sethel spoke in [his] Prayer."* In this context, the Five Elements/Sons are added to Call and Response to form a first set of seven, while the Five Sons of the Living Spirit are added to the Living Spirit and First Man to form a second set of seven. These, Mani is made to explain, constitute the fourteen "blessings" (ⲛⲥ[ⲙⲁⲙⲉ]) (1 Ke 43.8) or "persons" (ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲥ[ⲱⲡⲟⲛ]) (1 Ke 43.9) through which the world was established.

*5 Elements/Sons** + Call &Response	*5 Sons of Living Spirit** + Living Spirit & First Man
(Living Air)	(Keeper of Splendour)
(Wind)	(King of Honour)
(Light)	(King of Glory)
(Water)	(Adamas)
(Fire)	(Porter)
Call	Living Spirit
Response	First Man

*Individual elements and sons not explicitly named in chapter.

Also, the Five Sons of First Man are assigned by *Chapter 16 "[On the Five] Greatnesses which have [come] out against the Darkness"* to the "Second Greatness," along with Mother of Life and First Man (1 Ke 49.19–23):

	Part I	*Part II (fragmentary)*	*Part III*
First Greatness	Father	…	First Man *son of king*
Second Greatness	Mother of Life Fist Man *5 Sons of First Man*	…	Living Spirit *judge*
Third Greatness	Beloved of Lights Great Builder Living Spirit *5 Sons of Living Spirit*	…	Third Ambassador *king*
Fourth Greatness	Third Ambassador Column of Glory Powers of Light	…	Jesus the Splendour *up-rooter of trees*
Fifth Greatness	Jesus the Splendor All his Powers	…	Call & Response *butter in milk*

Finally, in *Chapter 39 "On the Three Days and the Two Deaths,"* the "First Death" is marked by the mixture of Darkness and the Five Sons (1 Ke 102.36–103.2).

3 Days & 2 Deaths	*Events*
1st day	First Man—Living Spirit—Ambassador
2nd day	New Aeon
3rd day	Father reveals himself
1st death	Mixture of Darkness and 5 Sons of First Man
2nd death	Casting out of sinful blasphemers

In this way, even in spite of obvious terminological problems, the Five Sons/Elements were seen more as a convenient rhetorical tool than a concept that required extended commentary and clarification.

What was it, however, that might have led to Mani's equation of the suffering light-soul to a concept of *five* elements in the first place? Throughout antiquity, against the canonical Empedoclean doctrine of four elements, there was an alternate theory of five elements as the basic building-blocks of the cosmos.[44] While it is unclear who may have originated the idea (i.e., pre-Socratics such as Pherecydes of Syros, Pythagoras, or Philolaus, although Mattéi suggests that Philolaus expounded this doctrine),[45] it seems to have taken root in the early Academy and influenced Aristotle and post-Aristotelian philosophy well into Late Antiquity.[46] Eventually, the *quintessence*, as it were, or fifth element, came to be recognized as the ethereal substance of the soul and eventually as that of the heavenly sphere and the stars.[47] As for how such a concept might have entered Mani's immediate environment, a doctrine of five elements seems to have played an important role in the cosmogonic teaching of Syriac sage, Bardaisan of Edessa, and his school. Ephraim the Syrian (in the fourth century CE) called Bardaisan the "teacher of Mani," influencing him particularly in the realm of cosmology.[48] Burkitt accepted Ephraim's analysis that Mani derived at least some of his ideas from Bardaisan, but cautions that Mani and Bardaisan, although similar on certain points, hold very different points of view.[49] Drijvers has also emphasized the difference between the two.[50] Polotsky, in the footnotes to his edition, suggested that there is a veiled allusion to Marcion and/or Bardaisan as precursors to Mani in the *Kephalaia*'s "Introduction" (1 Ke 13.30 ff.). But, as with so many of the most interesting thinkers from Late Antiquity, we are forced to rely largely on fragments and secondary testimony for information about Bardaisan's teaching, some of which may actually be drawn from his followers. Nevertheless, later Syriac tradition attributes to Bardaisan the doctrine that the world came to be from the mixture of five ele-

[44] Moraux, "Quinta essentia," 1171.
[45] *L'Étrange et le simulacre*, 362.
[46] Moraux, 1196 ff.
[47] Moraux, 1213 ff.
[48] Drijvers, *Bardaiṣan of Edessa*, 225.
[49] *Religion of the Manichees*, 78–79.
[50] "Mani und Bardaisan," 469.

ments: fire, wind, water, light, and darkness.[51] But, as Drijvers points out, Bardaisan's cosmological ideas only came under attack in the wake of Manichaeism.[52] Thus, there may have been some desire on the part of later polemicists and heresiologists to overemphasize the role played by Bardaisanean ideas in the formation of Manichaeism. As such, while it is at least possible that Mani drew or adapted a doctrine of five elements from Bardaisan (however reluctantly), the presence of such a doctrine, and the importance of the fifth element as the substance of the soul (not found in Bardaisan), is sufficiently attested in philosophical traditions from Late Antiquity to make other derivations possible.

Cosmic Parallelism

Two chapters in particular demonstrate the *Kephalaia* compilers' interest in the correspondence between the macrocosm and the microcosm: *Chapter 38 "On the Light-Mind, the Apostles, and the Saints,"* and *Chapter 70 "On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos."* In *Chapter 38* especially, five-part patterns are omnipresent in that they provide both the literary as well as the theological framework through which this theme is presented. As such, the compilers draw on three canonical pentads, namely the "Five Sons of the Living Spirit,"[53] the "Five Limbs,"[54] and the "Five Virtues," to communicate their message.

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[51] See the table of accounts from Barhadbeshabba (6th cent. CE), Moses bar Kepha (10th cent. CE), Iwannis of Dara (9th cent. CE), and Theodore bar Khonai (8th cent. CE) provided by Drijvers in *Bardaiṣan*, 98–103.

[52] *Bardaiṣan*, 96.

[53] According to Theodore bar Khonai, in response to the capture of First Man, the Father of Greatness called out a second triad, made up of "Beloved of Lights" (ܚܒܝܒ ܢܗܝܪܐ), "Great Builder" (ܐܒܐ ܕ), and the "Living Spirit" (ܪܘܚܐ ܚܝܐ). Like First Man (the third being of the first emanation), Living Spirit calls upon "Five Sons" who aid in the slaughter of the Archons and the construction of the cosmos, specifically the "Ten Heavens" and the "Eight Earths." These Five Sons are called "Ornament (or Keeper) of Splendour" (ܙܝܘܐ ܢܛܪ), "Great King of Honour" (ܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܝܩܪܐ), "Adamos (*sic* = Adamas) of Light" (ܐܕܡܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ), "King of Glory" (ܡܠܟ ܫܒܚܐ), and "Porter" (ܦܬܚܐ). Personally, I prefer the use of English equivalents for these names, since the use of Latin terminology, such as *Splenditenens*, *Rex honoris*, etc., so frequently used in studies of Manichaean myth, creates the false impression that such terms are somehow more original or accurate when in actual fact they are relatively late.

[54] As we have seen, the most important five-part series in the whole of Manichaean discourse is what came to be known in the Graeco-Coptic tradition as the "Five Limbs" (ϯογ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ). They are usually enumerated as 1) Mind, 2) Thought, 3) Insight, 4) Counsel, and 5) Consideration, although how to accurately translate these terms has

On the rhetorical level, the central importance of five-part patterning to *Chapter 38* is made evident by its initial literary frame, since in an effort to have Mani address the issue of theodicy, the unnamed disciple is made to pose a series of five questions:

> Again at one occasion, a disciple questioned the [Apostle], / saying to him: You have told us that the Light-Mind / is that which comes and supports the saints. [You have told] / us therefore that even though it is one of the gods … / … many gods exist in it. You have told / us also that at the time it enters into [the body] / of the flesh and binds the Old Man with his *Five Counsels*, / setting up its *Five Counsels* on him in the *Five Limbs* / [of his] body. Where is it [though], since the Old Man is bound in the / body? For, I (can) see that rebellions occur in its / bond from time to time. Secondly, I ask / you: If indeed it is a great god, unchanging and / immeasurable, how does it come to appear in the smallness of the / body?
>
> The third thing that I want you to tell / me [is this: If(?)] the Mind is holy and pure, / [how did it come to be joined to(?)] the impurity of this body? /
>
> Fourthly, if truly, the Light-Mind is present in [the] / saints, why does its likeness not appear to us as it / is? The fifth thing: I want / you to tell me (about) and explain your apostleship. / For, behold, it is not clear to me, since they oppress / you and persecute you in the world. / I implore you that you persuade me about these things which I have asked you (1 Ke 89.21–90.7).

Basically, what the disciple wants to know is how a great and noble divine power such as the Light-Mind can inhabit a small and defiled

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been the subject of perennial debate within Manichaean studies. The Syriac version of the series ܪܥܝܢܐ ܪܥܬܥܣܐ ܪܚܝܢܐ ܪܟܪܗ ܪܥܡ (Theodore bar Khonai 313.17 [Scher]) is equivalent to the Greek terms νοῦς, ἔννοια, φρόνησις, ἐνθύμησις, λογισμός, which were then rendered into Latin as *mens, sensus, prudentia, intellectus, cogitatio* (*Acta Archelai*, 10 [Beeson, 15.11/25]). In Coptic the series is ⲛⲟⲩⲥ, ⲙⲉⲩⲉ, ⲥⲃⲱ, ⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ, ⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ. Originally, these are what Theodore identifies as the Five *shekinahs* (ⲥⲏⲙ ⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲉ) (Theodore bar Khonai 313.16 [Scher]). In Syriac, the word ܪܥܬܥܣ represents the "dwelling-place" or "presence" of divinity, as in a temple or shrine (Payne-Smith, 576b). In Theodore's account, the ethereal *shekinahs* of the Father are contrasted with the more concrete "worlds" (حلم) of the King of Darkness. Why the *shekinahs* were understood as "Limbs" (ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ) by the compilers remains a bit of a puzzle, since when associated with the Father of Greatness they would be more properly understood as "aeons" (ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ). This is, in fact, precisely how they are characterized in the Coptic version of Mani's *Living Gospel* (Funk, *personal communication*). This rendering, however, does not seem to have greatly influenced the *Kephalaia* tradition, which opted for the occasional use of ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ and the more regular use of ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ. It does seem, however, that al-Nadīm provides evidence that even in Syriac tradition they may have already been characterized as "Limbs" (*Fihrist*, 768 [Dodge]).

body. Moreover, if this is indeed the case why does Sin[55] (i.e., "rebellion") persist? These two basic questions, however, are extended (somewhat artificially perhaps) into a five-part schema:

> Question i) Where is the Light-Mind in the body, if there are rebellions?
> Question ii) How can this great god come into a small body?
> Question iii) How can the pure Mind occupy the defiled body?
> Question iv) If the Light-Mind exists in the saints, why don't we see his likeness?
> Question v) What is the nature of your apostolate, if you are persecuted?

In response, Mani is made to begin his discourse with an analogy[56] in five parts. The first part of the analogy suggests that the cosmos (metaphorically understood as "Error" [ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ]) is constructed like a human body (1 Ke 90.20–22). Its external aspects are described in descending order from head to feet (1 Ke 90.22–33), while its internal aspects are described from interior to exterior, from heart to skin (1 Ke 91.1–5), followed by several characteristics made unclear by lacunae in the text (1 Ke 91.5–13). According to the second part of the analogy, the soul of the cosmos is represented by the Five Sons of the Living Spirit (the Keeper of Splendor, the King of Honour, the Adamas of Light, the King of Glory, and the Porter), who are characterized as "Five Sleepless Watchers" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ ⲛⲁⲧⲛⲕⲁⲧⲉ) (1 Ke 91.19) and are related to the Five Limbs (Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, Consideration) (1 Ke 91.14–33). To these two groups of five is added a sixth element in the form of a pair: "call and response" (ⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ / ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ) (1 Ke 92.2–3)—the dual values at the core of the Manichaean drama of salvation. Part three states that the Column of Glory represents the Light-Mind at the cosmic level (1 Ke 92.5–6), while part four recounts how the dark powers have rebelled in the watch districts of each of the Five Sons (1 Ke 92.12–93.15). Finally, the fifth part of the analogy describes how the Column of Glory (acting as a kind of Light-Mind for the cosmos) assists the Five Sons in suppressing the rebellions in their respective watch districts (93.16–94.16). By means of this analogy, Mani is made to set up the basic thesis of the discourse, namely that the Light-Mind is indeed present in the body in spite of the presence of sin, thereby answering the first of the disciple's questions.

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[55] In Manichaean discourse "Sin" is often a quasi-personified concept.

[56] Nagel characterized this as the "makrokosmisch-mikrokosmisch … Lagerallegorie" ("Anatomie des Menschen in gnostischer und manichäischer Sicht," 88).

This first part of the discourse is expressed using a series of five-fold structures that progressively integrate each part of the argument while consistently enumerating the five thematic elements in canonical order. The rhetorical repetition of five is meant to express the fundamental interconnectedness of all facets of Manichaean teaching and to reflect the quasi-scientific allure of Manichaean doctrines in Late Antiquity. The Elect, to whom this discourse is addressed, would have had no difficulty in accepting the Manichaean *logic* of this vivid cosmological narrative.

Mani, then, is made to continue with arguments in support of his position by shifting first to the microcosmic level of the body and second to the level of the community. By way of introduction, Mani answers the second of the disciples' five questions (i.e., How can such a great god dwell in a small body?) by stating that even though the gods are great and mighty (1 Ke 95.4), they are nevertheless bound within their proper places (1 Ke 95.4–9). Following this, Mani answers the third of the five questions (i.e., How can the pure Mind occupy the defiled body?) by describing the creation of the body (what Manichaeans term the "Old Man") by the agency of Sin. According to the Apostle of Light, Sin bound the Five Limbs in the body: *Mind* in bone, *Thought* in sinew, *Insight* in vein, *Counsel* in flesh, and *Consideration* in skin (1 Ke 95.13–19). The Light Mind, however, acts to free the Limbs from their bonds (1 Ke 96.8–21), and reestablish them in the Five Virtues of the "New Man," or redeemed individual. As such, Mind becomes *love*, Thought *faith*, Insight *perfection*, Counsel *patience*, and Consideration *wisdom* (1 Ke 96.25–97.6).

Once again the number five plays a crucial role in the elaboration of this highly structured portion of the discourse. The five-fold schema of the Limbs is enumerated again in the same canonical order (Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel and Consideration) in each of the three occurrences, which, in turn, reflect the three key points in the salvation narrative in which the Light-Mind plays a critically important role: imprisonment, liberation, and re-creation.

Sin bound LIMBS in the body,	*but LIGHT-MIND frees them*,	*and creates the NEW MAN.*
i) MIND in bone,	i) MIND from bone,	i) MIND is love
ii) THOUGHT in sinew,	ii) THOUGHT from sinew,	ii) THOUGHT is faith
iii) INSIGHT in vein,	iii) INSIGHT from vein,	iii) INSIGHT is perfection
iv) COUNSEL in flesh,	iv) COUNSEL from flesh,	iv) COUNSEL is patience
v) CONSIDERATION in skin.	v) CONSIDERATION from skin.	v) CONSIDERATION is wisdom

What follows is a discussion of the implications of Sin and adversity at the community level. Here Mani emphasizes that even though the Light-Mind is king of the New Man, Sin may still cause disruptions and lead to difficulties in the Manichaean church:[57]

> As long as the Limbs of Sin[58] are bound / in this way, Sin is contained. Even though the Light-Mind / [is] king, tribulation may still occur in the body from / time to time. Sometimes Sin rises / up in his Consideration and disturbs Counsel, and confuses / the Wisdom and the understanding of the man (1 Ke 97.23–28).

Each of the New Man's Five Limbs,[59] along with the Five Virtues attached to them, can be disturbed and disrupted by Sin, causing doubt in the believer and his or her possible departure from the church. In this case, however, the presence of the Light-Mind in the individual may be preserved by the members of the community, who attempt to "correct his wisdom" (1 Ke 97.33). Yet even the correction and rebuke of the community may not suffice to keep the Light-Mind active in the individual. Eventually, the Mind "(will) be dispersed from him and return to the Apostle who sent it" (1 Ke 99.13–14). This individual will become like "a bird plucked of its feathers" (1 Ke 99.17). Such statements are presumably meant to justify the loss of community members within the wider context of the persistent activity of sin in the cosmos.

Mani then goes on to restate the answers to the first three questions and respond to the fourth (i.e., If the Light-Mind exists in the saints, why don't we see his likeness?), by suggesting that the likeness of the Light-Mind cannot be known since it is not visible in the body (1 Ke 99.24). In addition, Mani re-enforces the macrocosmic/microcosmic parallelism at the core of his argumentation and re-assures the audience about the strong presence of the Light-Mind:

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[57] There is an intriguing correlation here with the *Cologne Mani Codex*. The actual title of this work is Περὶ τῆς γέννης τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, "On the Origin of His Body," i.e., of his church. Thus, there may be an implicit parallel understood here in *Chapter* 38 between the metaphor of the body at the cosmological, anthropological, and ecclesiological levels. See Cameron and Dewey, *The Cologne Mani Codex*, 2 and Henrichs and Koenen, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex*.

[58] Funk, A&C.

[59] In terms of rhetorical structure, it is interesting to note that in this instance, where the Five Limbs are invoked, there is an inversion of their order. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that from a "higher" cosmological perspective the Five Limbs descend in their value, while in the "lower" community context, they ascend. Also, Consideration is presumably weaker than Mind and, as such, would be attacked by sin first.

> Behold the strength and the efficiency of the Light-/Mind: how great it is on all the watch-towers of / the body. It stands in its encampment (and) shields / every impulse of the body from the attractions of Sin. / It fixes them, scatters them, (and) sets them right / according to his will (1 Ke 100.1–100.6).

In conclusion, Mani is made to respond to the fifth and final question by invoking, again in five parts, his own superior status as a prophet. He outlines how he has come into the world as a lone individual and has conquered with the word of God regions which cannot be conquered by force of arms. Even though the powers of the world have attempted to destroy his message, they have failed. In response to such adversities, Mani has freed his children and equipped them with superior wisdom. No one has accomplished more than him, except for Jesus himself (1 Ke 100.15–102.3). In this way, Mani is made to rhetorically re-enforce the superior value of his revelation in the face of persecutions by the worldly powers and thereby validate the chapter's thematic parallelism.

As we can see, *Chapter 38* uses an elaborate mixture of five-part theological and literary patterns to communicate its message of reassurance in the face of sin and evil and to emphasize the analogous relationship between the macrocosmic and microcosmic powers. In addition, it reinforces the intimate relationship between three canonical pentads: The Five Sons of the Living Spirit, the Five Limbs, and the Five Virtues. To Manichaeans accustomed to this way of thinking, *Chapter 38* no doubt offered an impressive presentation of a persistent theological and community problem.

A similar, although less extensive, analogy between body and cosmos is drawn in *Chapter 70 "On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos."* In this chapter, we are told that "the entire cosmos, above and below, resembles the human body" (1 Ke 169.29–30), with each component of the cosmos compared to a part of the body (1 Ke 170.2–16). Here too, as in *Chapter 38*, the Five Sons of the Living Spirit are described as "Watchers" (ⲙⲙⲁⲛⲣⲁⲓⲥ) (1 Ke 171.28) of five regions of the cosmos (1 Ke 170.21–171.15), called "encampments" (ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲏ) (1 Ke 170.21) or "watch-towers" (ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱϥⲉ) (1 Ke 171.11), while the Light-Mind guards five "encampments" of the body:

> [Just as] these *Five Watchers* are found in this great / [bond of these *Five] Encampments* that I have proclaimed / to you, so too is it with this body, which the / Elect bear. There are *Five* other *Encampments* / in it. The Light-Mind guards them along with the / New Man who is with him (1 Ke 171.28–172.4).

Also, as in *Chapter 38*, "tribulation" (ⲑⲗⲓⲫⲓⲥ) (1 Ke 171.11) is said to persist under the watch of the guardians (1 Ke 171.11–172.1). Finally, each of the Five Sons of the Living Spirit is compared to an Elect who, with the aid of the Light-Mind, is able to control the various parts of the body (1 Ke 172.3–20).

5 Sons of the Living Spirit	*who rule*	*are like Elect who*
Keeper of Splendour	First Three Heavens	rules face
King of Honour	Next Seven Heavens	rules heart
Adamas	Firmament to Four Earths	rules chest
King of Glory	Three Wheels & Three Earths	rules stomach
Porter	Great Earth & Four Fixtures	rules feet

In this way it can be seen that, in two different chapters (*Chapters 38* and *70*), the *Kephalaia* compilers sought to emphasize the correspondence between the cosmos and the human form—a concept essential to the Manichaean worldview. This was done to reassure the community that parallel processes of rebellion and divine suppression are at work at both levels of being. In this way, readers could imagine their own bodies as encapsulating the cosmic struggle against the powers of darkness.

Fathers of Greatness

One favourite activity of the *Kephalaia* compilers that speaks to their deliberate efforts at *pentadic redaction* is the grouping of beings from the light-realm into series known either as the "Five Fathers" or the "Five Greatnesses." The first major discussion of this theme can be found in the work as early as *Chapter 7 "The Seventh, on the Five Fathers,"* where the compiler took the unusual step of numerically identifying the placement of the chapter in its title.[60] In this chapter, Mani is made to explain that the Five Fathers have their origin in the Father of Greatness and that all have shared in the victory over the powers of darkness. Each of the Five Fathers is named, along with three of their emanations:

[60] This seems to occur in only one other chapter in 1 Ke—*Chapter 2*, and apparently not at all in 2 Ke (see Funk, "Reconstruction," 158–159).

5 Fathers	*1st Emanation*	*2nd Emanation*	*3rd Emanation*
1st Father of Greatness	Great Spirit/Mother	Beloved of Lights	Third Messenger[61]
2nd Third Messenger	Column of Glory	Jesus the Splendour	Virgin of Light
3rd Jesus the Splendour	Light-Mind	Great Judge	Youth
4th Light-Mind	Apostle of Light	Twin	Light-Form
5th Light-Form	Victory-Angel	Garment-Angel	Crown-Angel

Essentially, what this chapter presents is a five-part ontology of salvation. These Five Fathers represent the five ontological levels at which the work of salvation takes place: 1) the pre-cosmic context of the Light-realm (Father of Greatness), 2) the cosmic context of creation and the defeat of the Archons (Third Messenger), 3) the eschatological context of human history, judgement, and redemption (Jesus the Splendour), 4) the prophetological context of revelation and apostleship (Light Mind), and 5) the ethical and ecclesiological context of the Holy Church (Light-Form).

Whereas the canonical version of the myth, as known from Theodore bar Khonai, contains three series of emanations,[62] the compilers of *Chapter 7* extend this canonical formulation to a five stage process of salvation, with three emanations occurring at each stage. Moreover, each stage moves towards a progressive focalization of the myth from the generalized, pre-cosmic context of the Father of Greatness down to the specific context of the individual Manichaean who has received the Light-Form. For example, *stage one* of salvation occurs at the broad, pre-cosmic level where the three "canonical" emanations occur out of the Father of Greatness.[63] This establishes the transcendent framework of salvation. *Stage two* brings into focus the three components of the Third Messenger, the third canonical emanation, who provides the means by which salvation can be achieved by human beings. *Stage three* enumerates three hypostases of Jesus the Splendour, the main intermediary from the third emanation, who acts not only as enlightener and bringer of the Light-Mind, but as eschatological judge as well. *Stage four* speci-

[61] The Third Messenger was prematurely identified as the "Second Father" by the redactor in the list of the Father of Greatness' three emanations (1 Ke 34.33).

[62] This, of course, cannot be verified since Theodore's account of the myth breaks off after Jesus the Splendour's encounter with Adam.

[63] It is important to keep in mind the role of synonymy in early Manichaean discourse. Even though three beings are emanated in each of the three canonical emanations, only one is named here as representative. Even though the Manichaean myth presents a multiplicity of different beings, in many instances they may be understood as diverse manifestations and hypostases of an original triad.

fies the three principal ways in which the Light-Mind, a main hypostasis of Jesus the Splendour, aids humanity. Finally, *stage five* enumerates the three gifts gained by the individual once he or she has received the Light-Form.

Chapter 20, again with the atypical title of "*The Chapter on the Name of the Fathers*," presents a similar arrangement of five mythological figures. In this chapter, Mani is made to quiz his disciples about why the Father is called "Father of Greatness" (1 Ke 63.23–24). After their stereotypical plea of ignorance, Mani reveals that the Father of Greatness is so-called because he dwells in the Great Earth, where he is surrounded by all his angels and divine companions (1 Ke 63.28–33). The discourse then turns to identifying the "greatness" of four other beings that are also called "Father." The Third Messenger's greatness is the "Ship of the Living Fire," i.e., the Sun, while Jesus the Splendour's greatness is the "Ship of the Living Water," i.e., the Moon. The Column of Glory's greatness has something to do with "Five Gods," while the greatness of the Light-Mind is identified as the Holy Church (1 Ke 63.34–64.10). This list of Five Fathers from *Chapter 20*, however, is different from the list found in *Chapter 7*:

Chapter 7: 5 Fathers	*Chapter 20: 5 Fathers*
Father of Greatness	Father of Greatness
Third Messenger	Third Messenger
Jesus the Splendour	Jesus the Splendour
Light-Mind	*Column of Glory*
Light-Form	Light-Mind

Whereas *Chapter 7* enumerates a soteriological sequence in which the Light-Form is given a central role at the community level, the account from *Chapter 20* inserts the Column of Glory, making no mention of the Light-Form. The aim of *Chapter 20*, however, although also soteriological in character, seems to be to establish the location of each of the Five Fathers at one of the five principal stopping points of the Manichaean cosmic journey of salvation: from the ritual activity of the Holy Church (Light Mind) to the "Five Gods" (?) administered by the Column of Glory, to the Moon and Sun where Jesus the Splendour and the Third Messenger dwell, on to the Great Earth, the homeland of the Father of Greatness. Whereas *Chapter 7* enumerates the five ontological levels of salvation, *Chapter 20* lists those five beings whose efforts facilitate the accomplishment of salvation and the liberation of light.

The situation is further complicated when we look at *Chapter 25 "On the Five [Fathers: From which Limbs they have come],"* where we are presented with yet another variant formulation, only this time the Father of Greatness himself is not included.

Five Fathers	*from Five Limbs*
Messenger	< Mind
Beloved of Lights	< Thought
Mother of Life	< Insight
Jesus the Beloved (*sic*)	< Counsel
Virgin of Light	< Consideration

Unfortunately, almost no context is given by this extremely abbreviated chapter, other than the statement that "one came after the other (and) appeared in his time" (1 Ke 76.25). This seems to imply that the series is meant to be understood temporally, although such an understanding seems to contradict what is known about the sequence of the Manichaean myth from other sources such as Theodore bar Khonai. According to the canonical account, a "temporal" progression of these figures would run Mother of Life—Beloved of Lights—Messenger—Jesus the Beloved—Virgin of Light.[64] Nevertheless, a clue as to how this series might be understood can be found in *Chapter 7*, in which the Third Messenger is called the "model of the King of Light" (1 Ke 35.8) and the "first of all counsellors" (1 Ke 34.33). This would seem to justify the Third Messenger's placement at the head of the *Chapter 25* formulation. The selection and arrangement of the other figures, however, remains obscure.

Another, albeit peculiar, presentation of the Five Fathers can be found in *Chapter 148 "On the Five Books, that they belong to Five Fathers."* In this chapter, Mani is supposed to have associated "five" of his books with the "Fathers of Light" (1 Ke 355.6–7). While the *Living Gospel* is attributed to the Messenger and the *Treasure of Life* to the Column of Glory, the three writings, *Pragmateia*, *Book of Mysteries*, and *Book of*

[64] This example is further complicated by the fact that some of its irregular features may indicate that the compiler may have been drawing on some very early material. For example, the brevity of the chapter indicates that it may be an early "proto-kephalaic" formulation. In addition, the fact that the first father is identified simply as the "Messenger" rather than the "Third Messenger" parallels a detail which can be found in Theodore bar Khonai's account. Similarly, the unusual formulation of "Jesus the Beloved" may be derived from some early source.

Giants are attributed to the Light-Twin, forming a kind of trilogy. The *Letters*, however, are said to be Mani's own gifts. Strangely, no fifth book is named or attributed to a Manichaean divinity. Nor is the seventh of Mani's canonical writings mentioned at all.[65] It appears, however, that an attempt has been made to compress this canonical *heptateuch* into a *pentateuch* more in line with the compilers' penchant for five-part structures.[66] The fact that only six books are mentioned as four gifts may be due to scribal error,[67] since the construction of such a six-four formulation runs contrary to the compilers' penchant for *pentadic redaction*. Nevertheless, the enumeration of the Fathers appears equally puzzling, since it too is at variance with the three previously discussed formulations.

Finally, there seems to have been an additional discussion of the Five Fathers in *Chapter 191 "There are Five Properties in the* Image *of our Apostle symbolizing the Five Light Fathers,"* which unfortunately is entirely obscured by lacunae. At most, a general outline of the discourse can be reconstructed as enumerating Five "Properties" and Five other qualities:

CHAPTER 191 SCHEMA:

INTRO: Again he spoke to his disciples …

DISCOURSE: There are Five Properties in the *Image* …
1) First Property is humility
2) [Second Property …?]
3) Third [Property …?]
4) [Fourth Property] … my *Image*
5) Fifth [Property] is my light-wisdom.

…

[Five other things? …]
1) [First …]
2) [Second …]
3) [Third …]

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[65] That the Manichaean canon contained seven writings is known from 1Ke 5.21–33, 2Ps. 46f., 139f., and Hom 25.2–5, as well as al-Nadīm and the Chinese *Compendium* (Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 62; Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 153–156).

[66] That they succeeded in altering the canon is independently verified by Augustine's *Contra Felicem*, 1.14 (Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 63; see esp. Tardieu's table on page 64).

[67] See Funk 1Ke 335, who suggests that the *Psalms and Prayers* could have been named before the *Letters*. If, however, the title was added only later, then we need not assume that the chapter itself was intentionally structured in five-parts (Funk, *personal communication*).

4) [Fourth …]
5) Fifth is my light-wisdom.

CONCLUSION: I have given victory … over all Sects …

While there is no way of knowing what identity and role the Five Fathers were given in this chapter, it appears as though the emphasis was placed on the qualities attributable to Mani.

As we have seen, the *Kephalaia* compilers present five formulations of the Five Fathers, four of which can be read. Each of these formulations, however, presents a different sequence of Fathers:

Chapter 7	*Chapter 20*	*Chapter 25*	*Chapter 148*
Father of Greatness	Father of Greatness	Messenger	Messenger
Third Messenger	Third Messenger	Beloved of Lights	Column of Glory
Jesus the Splendour	Jesus the Splendour	Mother of Life	Light Twin
Light-Mind	Column of Glory	Jesus the Beloved	—?
Light-form	Light Mind	Virgin of Light	Mani

While the (Third) Messenger is the only figure found in all four formulations, there are nonetheless some similarities between *Chapters 7* and *20* and *Chapters 25* and *148*. On the one hand, *Chapters 7* and *20* appear the most similar, varying only in positions four and five, while *Chapters 25* and *148* place the Messenger in the first position.

What then should we make of these variations?[68] While the compilers were obviously using and building upon some kind of earlier material, it is difficult to imagine that a truly canonical series would be subject to such a degree of malleability, given the rigidity with which other series such are the Five Sons are maintained. Nevertheless, given the fact that we find the same expression "Fathers of Light" used in the *Psalm-Book* (see 2 Ps. 8.8; 36.15; 73.8; 84.29; 202.12) and the *Cologne Mani Codex* (33.2), we may assume that it was an epithet that existed as part of a canonical Manichaean tradition and was probably used by Mani himself as a general designation for any number of divine beings.[69] That

[68] Unfortunately, other Manichaean Coptic sources provide little in the way of clarification, even though the Fathers of Light are invoked several times in the *Psalm-Book*. "Bema Psalm 237," however, does enumerate a somewhat ambiguous series of Five Greatnesses of the Fathers involving 1) Mother of Life/First Man, 2) Beloved of Lights/Great Builder, 3) Third Messenger, 4) Column of Glory/Porters, and 5) Virgin/Judge/Light-Mind (2 Ps. 36.20–37.9).

[69] This can be inferred from Theodore bar Khonai's account, in which First Man responds to Living Spirit with the words "How fare our fathers (ⲉⲓⲙⲁⲓ), the sons of Light in their city?" (315.1 [Scher]).

these Fathers of Light came to be thought of in terms of five-part series is likely an additional by-product of the process of *pentadic redaction* so evident in the *Kephalaia*. The fact that there are so many variant formulations, however, would seem to represent the various attempts at clarification and elaboration of this quasi-canonical trope, which appears to have been left quite ambiguous and flexible. Perhaps a concept of Five Fathers was needed to balance the recurring image of the Five Sons. Or, perhaps the Five Fathers are an attempt to re-emphasize the fact that the Father is a being endowed with five qualities or Limbs, and as such would have been compelled to send five emissaries into the drama of salvation. Or, the variant formulations might have resulted from an overabundance of hypostases and personages invoked by Mani in his writings—i.e., there were simply too many gods and hypostases to choose from. At any rate, the *Kephalaia* chapters dealing with the Five Fathers, although frustratingly contradictory, do provide us with an important glimpse into the ongoing and evolutionary process of clarification and systematization of Manichaean discourse undertaken by the *Kephalaia* compilers. This concept, in particular, appears to have caused considerable confusion and does not appear, at the stage represented by our manuscript at least, to have been resolved.

Although only mentioned in one published *Kephalaia* chapter, the compilers also present a formulation known as the "Five Greatnesses" (ⲧⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ).[70] According to *Chapter 16 "[On the Five] Greatnesses which have [come] out against the Darkness,"* the entire series of mythical emanations are presented according to a five-stage schema. The "First Greatness" is presented as the Father of Greatness, who has a "solitary existence" (ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧϥ) (1 Ke 49.17) in the realm of light. The "Second Greatness" is made up of the Mother of Life, First Man, and the Five Sons of First Man (1 Ke 49.19–23). The "Third Greatness," in turn, contains the Beloved of Lights, Great Builder, and the Living Spirit, along with the Five Sons of the Living Spirit (1 Ke 49.23–25). The "Fourth Greatness" is described as the Third Messenger, the Column of Glory, and (somewhat ambiguously) "all the powers of light who are revealed from him" (ⲛϭⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲩⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲙⲁϥ]) (1 Ke 49.26–28). Finally, the "Fifth Greatness" is constituted by Jesus the Splendour and (with similar ambiguity) "all his powers" ([ⲛ]ⲉϥϭⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ) (1 Ke 49.29–31).

[70] The Five Greatnesses are also mentioned in 2 Ps. 136.50.

This formulation varies considerably from the canonical version of the myth known from Theodore bar Khonai. As we have seen, according to his testimony, Mani conceived of his cosmogony as occurring in three emanations, or evocations, each containing three primary figures:

Theodore bar Khonai		*Chapter* 16	
1st Emanation/ Evocation	Father of Greatness Mother of Life First Man 5 Sons of First Man	*1st Greatness*	Father of Greatness
2nd Emanation/ Evocation	Beloved of Lights Great Builder Living Spirit 5 Sons of Living Spirit	*2nd Greatness*	Mother of Life First Man 5 Sons of First Man
3rd Emanation/ Evocation	Third Messenger 12 Virgins Jesus the Splendour	*3rd Greatness*	Beloved of Lights Great Builder Living Spirit 5 Sons of Living Spirit
		4th Greatness	Third Messenger Column of Glory "powers of Light"
		5th Greatness	Jesus the Splendour "all his powers"

As is well known to Manichaean scholars, the third emanation is the most problematic formulation to disentangle.[71] While Theodore states that the Messenger brought forth Twelve Virgins and Jesus the Splendour (although Jesus is not explicitly "called" in Theodore's account), *Chapter 7 ("The Seventh, on the Five Fathers")* states that the Third Messenger emanated three powers: 1) the Column of Glory/Perfect Man, 2) Jesus the Splendour, and 3) a single Virgin of Light (1 Ke 35.7–17). As we have seen, however, *Chapter 16* presents the third emanation as including the Third Messenger, the Column of Glory, and the ambiguous "powers of light" revealed by him (1 Ke 49.26–28). As a result, we are faced with three alternative formulations of the third emanation:

[71] While it is clear that the Messenger is definitely part of the third triad, the remaining two members are ambiguous, since there are essentially three possible candidate: 1) some sort of virgin figure, 2) Jesus the Splendour, and 3) the Column of Glory, also known as the Perfect Man (2 Ps. 133.24–25; 1 Ke 20.15; 24.23; 35.10; 37.3; 155.11).

Theodore bar Khonai	*Kephalaia* Ch. 7	*Kephalaia* Ch. 16.
Messenger	Third Messenger	Third Messenger
12 Virgins	Column of Glory/Perfect Man	Column of Glory
Jesus the Splendour	Jesus the Splendour	"powers of light"
	Virgin of Light	

While the compilers of *Chapter 7*, as we saw above, were motivated by a desire to present the Manichaean soteriological narrative through a telescopic five-part frame in which every "father" emanates three other beings, here the compilers of *Chapter 16* perform a similar operation by attempting to transform the canonical three-part cosmogonical schema into a five-part formulation. This meant isolating the Father of Greatness from his implicit association with the first emanation and dividing the third emanation into two parts (Greatness Four and Five). The integrity of the second emanation, however, is maintained. This, of course, is another example of the *pentadic redaction* imposed by the compilers. In this case, the basic frame of the canonical myth is altered from a three-stage to a five-stage formulation. In addition, conflicting accounts of the third evocation point to an inherent ambiguity within the canonical account that appears to have allowed the compilers to so fundamentally alter the basic frame of their cosmogonic discourse.

CHAPTER THREE

THEOLOGICAL PATTERNING II: DARK-REALM

As we have seen, the *Kephalaia* compilers present a number of five-part patterns associated with the light-realm in order to emphasize the pentadic attributes of its inhabitants as well as the typically five-stage structure of their activities. At the same time, however, they seem to have been equally interested in sorting out the five-part structures associated with the Kingdom of Darkness. Five chapters in particular offer such presentations of the dark-realm: *Chapter 6 "On the Five Storehouses which are brought forth from the Land of Darkness from the Beginning; the Five Rulers, the Five Spirits, the Five Bodies, (and) the Five Tastes," Chapter 15 "[On the] … Five [Parts] … World of …," Chapter 27 "On the Five Forms which exist in the Archon(s) of Darkness," Chapter 57 "On the Generation of Adam,"* and *Chapter 69 "On the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Stars."* As we shall see, the compilers of these chapters were interested in three primary themes—1) the genesis of the dark-realm, 2) the nature of the dark-lord and his companions, and 3) the relation of the dark powers to the zodiac and the planets—which they chose to re-enforce through the use of both theological and literary five-part patterning.

The Evolution of Evil

Unlike the monotheistic theological traditions of Late Antiquity that attempted to arrive at a philosophical solution to the problem of evil by attributing it either to human free-will or divine providence, Manichaeans offered a radically different response in the form of cosmic dualism and attempted to visualize evil by means of vivid mythological images and metaphor. As such, two of the most important presentations of the Land of Darkness from the *Kephalaia* can be found in *Chapter 6 "On the Five Storehouses which are brought forth from the Land of Darkness from the Beginning; the Five Rulers, the Five Spirits, the Five Bodies, (and) the Five Tastes,"* and *Chapter 15 "[On the] … Five [Parts] … World of …."* These chapters, which appear to be attempts at a more or less comprehensive description of the dark-realm, contain a literary phenomenon found

primarily in association with such sinister contexts that may be termed *clustering*. This happens when the compiler lumps together a number of associated five-part patterns into one short passage. For instance, in *Chapter 6*, Mani is made to begin his discourse by saying:

> *Five Store-/houses* have existed from the beginning in the Land of Darkness. *Five / Elements* have poured forth from them. Also, from the *Five / Elements* were fashioned *Five Trees*, (and) from the *Five Trees* / were fashioned *Five Species of Creatures* according to each World, / male and female. But also, the *Five Worlds* [have] / *Five Kings*, *Five Spirits*, *[Five] Bodies*, (and) *Five [Tastes]* / according to each world, which do not resemble [one another] (1 Ke 30.17–24).

The function of this cluster is to concisely summarize the stages by which the dark-realm evolved, while at the same time emphasizing its essentially five-part structure. This proposition is even re-enforced by the literary structuring of the introductory passage, which elaborates five basic statements about the dark-realm, with the fifth statement enumerating five items according to the following pattern.

> Statement 1: Five Storehouses exist in the Land of Darkness.
> Statement 2: Five Elements have poured forth from them.
> Statement 3: Five Trees were fashioned from the Five Elements.
> Statement 4: Five Species came from the Five Trees.
> Statement 5: The (1) Five Worlds of Darkness also have (2) Five Kings, (3) Five Spirits, (4) Five Bodies, and (5) Five Tastes.

A similar cluster occurs in *Chapter 15, "[On the] … Five [Parts] … World of …"*:

> The fifth time it spread itself to its offspring that exist [in the *Five] / Worlds* that were fashioned (and) begotten from the *Five / Fruits of Death*, which are the *Five Worlds of / Flesh*, the *Five Creations of Darkness* which Death established in / them. He spread himself among the Ten Parts, the *Five Male Parts* and the / *Five Female [Parts]* … … … (1 Ke 48.17–22).

This passage fits into a more elaborate discourse about the Five "Parts/Times?"[1] that follows a similar structure to that found in the introduction to *Chapter 6:*

> Part 1: Death-desire …
> Time 2: Five Elements poured fourth …
> Part 3: [Five Trees formed?]

[1] The discourse alternates between enumerating "part" (ⲧⲁϊⲉ) and "time" (ⲥⲁⲡ) in the same five-part list.

Part 4: Five Fruits from Five Trees are Five Worlds.
Time 5: The (1) Five Worlds fashioned from (2) Five Fruits, (3) which are Five Worlds of Flesh, (4), i.e., the Five Creations, distributed in (5) Five Male/Female Parts.

As such, *Chapters 6* and *15* present two similar, although variant, accounts of how the Land of Darkness came into being.

Chapter 6	*Chapter 15*
5 Storehouses	Desire/Death
5 Elements	5 Elements
5 Trees	[5 Trees?]
5 Species of Trees	5 Fruits
5 Worlds, 5 Kings, 5 Spirits, 5 Bodies, 5 Tastes	5 Worlds, 5 Fruits, 5 Flesh, 5 Creations, 5 Parts

Whereas *Chapter 6* begins with the Five Storehouses as its point of origin, *Chapter 15* begins with a more singular principle known as the "Death-desire" (ⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ) (1 Ke 47.34). From this principle, which is essentially a synonym for "Matter" (ϩⲩⲗⲏ) (1 Ke 129.11; 180.15–16), emerge the remaining structures of the dark-realm. In this way the origin of evil is viewed as a generative process in which the Five Dark Elements, spurred on by the evil principle (variously known as Desire, Death, or Matter), develop according to an "organic" process analogous to natural phenomena such as the growth of trees and the production of fruit.

Both *Chapter 6* and *Chapter 15* present conceptions of the dark-realm which may be related to different streams of Manichaean canonical tradition. For example, *Chapter 15* can be compared to the close association between the terms "Matter," "Desire," and "Darkness" known to Ephraim (4th cent. CE), who records that Mani "constructed (the theory) that sometimes Matter (*hylē*) (ⲕⲗⲟⲙ) displayed purposive thought" (ⲕϩⲧⲥⲥⲧ) [Reeves #3]), while Titus of Bostra (4th cent. CE) (*Contra manichaeos*, 1.6), Theodoret (5th cent. CE), and Severus of Antioch (6th cent. CE) (likely drawing upon the same canonical source) state that "Matter" and "Darkness" were co-referential terms (89–90 [Reeves]). Theodoret also records that "Matter later divided itself into multiple worlds (αἰῶσι) and its fruits among them" (Kugener/Cumont, 152). Such presumably canonical accounts, however, can be contrasted with other statements from Theodore bar Khonai (8th cent. CE) and al-Nadīm (10th cent. CE), which both place Darkness and its Five Worlds

at the beginning of their cosmogonies (Theodore bar Khonai 313.18–21 [Scher]; *Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]). In this way, *Chapter 15*'s account can be seen to resemble fragments of canonical tradition from the 4th and 5th centuries CE, while *Chapter 5's* account is similar to later 8th and 10th century CE accounts. This implies not only that Titus, Theodoret, and Severus drew upon a different source than Theodore and al-Nadim, but also that *Chapters 6* and *15* may have drawn upon similarly distinct material.

At any rate, in spite of these differences, the fact that the evolution of the dark-realm is elaborated by the *Kephalaia* compilers in both chapters as occurring in five basic stages accords well with parallel structures applied to the activities of the light-realm and fits with their general project of *pentadic redaction*. The fact that these descriptions contain clusters of five-part series is likely meant to draw special attention to the fact that the Kingdom of Darkness is also infused with patterns parallel to those of the Land of Light.

King(s) of Darkness

Just as beings from the Land of Light are often grouped by the compilers into five-part series, the same holds true for the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Darkness. In fact, figuring out the nature of such tenebrous groupings seems to have been a theological issue of great interest to the *Kephalaia* compilers. One of the best examples of this preoccupation can again be found in *Chapter 6*, which states that it was the King of the World of Smoke as the "chief of all evil and [all] wickedness" (1 Ke 30.27–28), who "waged war with the Light" and "did battle with the exalted kingdom" (1 Ke 30.32–33). He is said to possess five sets of characteristics: 1) five zoomorphic forms (1 Ke 30.34–31.1), 2) five evil qualities of darkness, stench, ugliness, bitterness, and fire (1 Ke 31.3–6), 3) a body "harder than all iron, brass, and steel" (1 Ke 31.14), "magic arts" (1 Ke 31.17), and the ability to understand the speech and signs of all his minions (1 Ke 32.1–8), 4) he is insect-like, with a thundering voice, and short-sighted, and 5) his body is gold, his taste is salty, and his spirit rules the powers of the world.

	1) 5 Forms	*2) 5 (forms)*	*3) Other*	*4) Also …*	*5) Signs*
King of Smoke	head lion-faced	Darkness	hard body	insect like	gold body
	hands & feet demon-faced	Stench	kills w/ magic	thunder voice	salty taste
	shoulders eagle-faced	Ugliness	dark languages	short-sighted	rules powers
	belly dragon-faced	Bitterness			
	tail fish-faced	Fire			

This rather vivid description of the dark-lord, however, reveals a number of editorial seams. For instance, the compiler is not quite sure what to call the chief ruler, whom he variously names as "King of the World of Smoke" (ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲡⲛⲟⲥ [1 Ke 30.25]), "Archon of Smoke" (ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲕⲁ[ⲡⲛⲟⲥ] [1 Ke 31.12]), "King (of those) of Darkness" (ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ [1 Ke 30.33; 31.2, 27–28; 32.1, 14; 33.2, 5]) or simply "King of Darkness" (ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ [1 Ke 31.24]). Remarkably, in much the same way as *Chapter 21*'s description of the ruler of the light-realm (see above), there appears to be interwoven into this depiction of the dark lord two passages with which parallels have been identified in the Mandaean *Right Ginza*:[2]

Passage A: Manichaean

Kephalaia, 30.34–31.1: His head [is lion-faced, his] hands and feet are demon- [and devil-]faced, [his] shoulders are eagle-faced, while his belly [is dragon-faced,] (and) his tail is fished-faced.

Mandaean

Right Ginza, 280: His head is that of a lion, his body is that of a serpent, his wings are those of an eagle, his sides are those of a tortoise, his hands and feet are those of a demon (trans. from Puech).

[2] This is an identification already made by Polotsky in the 1940 edition. See translations of this passage by Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, 278 and Puech, "Le prince des ténèbres," 113. Puech believed that the Mandaean passage was based on the Manichaean, due to what he called "la gaucherie" of the prior (114). Yet, the Manichaean passage is no less (if not more) "gauche" in the way in which the compiler incorporated this outside material. Rather, the Manichaean passage seems more like a development of the Mandaean. It is, however, possible that both passages drew on some unknown antecedent.

Passage B: Manichaean	*Mandaean*
Kephalaia, 32.15–20: When it pleases him to walk, he spreads out all his limbs, and he walks. When it comes to his mind, he draws in his limbs and takes them to himself and rolls them into one another and he falls down like a grape or a great iron ball. He is terrible in his voice, he causes fear (and) frightens his powers with his voice.	*Right Ginza*, 280: When it pleases him, he dilates his body; when it pleases him, he makes himself small. He draws in his members and spreads them again … his appearance is horrible, his body rank, his face distorted (trans. from Puech).

Passage A, in fact, does have a precedent in Manichaean canonical tradition, since al-Nadīm attributes the following description of Satan to Mani: "His head is the head of a lion and his body like the body of a dragon (great serpent). His wing is like the wing of a bird, his tail like the tail of a great fish, and his four feet like the feet of a beast of burden" (*Fihrist*, 778 [Dodge]). Moreover, an additional witness to this zoomorphic description can be found in *Kephalaia Chapter 27 "On the Five Forms which exist in the Archon of Darkness"* (1 Ke 77.29–78.1):

> As for the Archon, the leader of all the powers / [of Darkness], there are [*Five Forms*] in his body, according to / [the form] of the seal [of the *Five] Creations* which exist in the *Five / Worlds of Darkness*. His head has the face of a lion and / originated from [the] World of Fire. His wings and his / [shoulders] have the face of an eagle, according to the form of the Sons of Wind. / [His hands] and [his feet] are demons, according to the form / [of the Sons] of the World of Smoke. His belly has the face of / [a dragon, according to the form of] the World of Darkness. His tail [has] / the form of the fish, which belongs to [the World of the] Sons of Water. These / *Five Forms* are found in him; they [have come] from the *Five [Creations]* / of the *Five Worlds of Darkness* (1 Ke 77.26–78.3).

This means that we are faced with four variant descriptions of the dark-lord, each of which is expressed in five-parts.

Al-Nadīm	*Kephalaia* Ch. 6	*Kephalaia* Ch. 27	*Right Ginza*, 280
head of lion	head lion-faced	head lion-faced	head of lion
body of dragon	hands/feet demon-faced	wings eagle-faced	body of serpent
wing of bird	shoulders eagle-faced	hands/feet demons	wings of eagle
tail of fish	belly dragon-faced	belly dragon-faced	sides of tortoise
feet of beast	tail fish-faced	tail fish-faced	hands/feet of demon

There is obviously a complicated relationship between these accounts. On the one hand the descriptions from *Kephalaia Chapters 6* and *27*

are essentially the same, varying only slightly in the order of their terminology,[3] while on the other hand, the descriptions preserved by al-Nadīm and the *Right Ginza* agree in all but two of their features. Interestingly, however, a variant from the Mandaean description, i.e., the demonic hands and feet, is preserved by both *Kephalaia* accounts. All that we may assume is that a zoomorphic description of some sort did exist as part of Manichaean canonical tradition, although the exact composition of that description remains elusive.[4] After all, it seems difficult to privilege al-Nadīm's testimony from the 10th century, even if he claims to quote Mani directly, over 4th or 5th century descriptions from the *Kephalaia*.

What then, are we to make of such variations? Perhaps the compiler felt that the canonical description available to him did not achieve the desired effect, or, perhaps he was so impressed by the other account that he sought to weave it into is own literary creation—with mixed results. At any rate, the compiler seems to have been confronted by two problems: first, how to describe the chief ruler of darkness, and second, how to name him while still preserving the canonical order of dark worlds established by Mani.

Unfortunately for the compiler, Mani's description of the dark-realm, even if it did include some sort of zoomorphic description of the dark-lord, seems to have been ambiguous at best. Theodore bar Khonai, for instance, simply records that "the Evil Nature he calls 'King of Darkness' and he says that he dwelt in the Land of Darkness with his Five Worlds: the World of Smoke, the World of Fire, the World of Wind, the World of Water, and the World of Darkness" (313.18–21 [Scher]), as does al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]). A certain amount of ambiguity even seems to have surrounded the nature of the term "World" as applied to the regions of Darkness, since according to Theodore bar Khonai, Mani employed the Syriac term ܥܠܡ (*ʿālam*) which can mean either "world" or "age."[5] Augustine, reacting to the so-called *Fundamental Epistle* variously described these entities as *saecula* (*De natura boni*, 42) and *naturae* (*Fundamental Epistle*, Frag. 6b). In *De moribus*, however, Augustine seems to have imagined them as caves (*antra*) (2.19), which

[3] Presumably "wings" and "shoulders" are meant to designate the same feature of the dark-lord.

[4] Mani does seem to have described evil entities in zoomorphic terms in his *Shabuhragan*, where he makes reference to "two lion-shaped archdemons" (Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, 223).

[5] Cumont, *Recherches I*, 11 n. 3.

may dimly reflect the notion of "storehouses" (ταμιεῖα) known to the *Kephalaia* and Simplicius (35.65–66 [Adam]). Cumont's suggestion that the Latin term *saecula* was selected via the Greek αἰῶνες[6] seems to be confirmed from what is beginning to be known about the Coptic translation of Mani's *Living Gospel* (from the *Synaxeis* codex) in which the Five *shekinahs* of the light-realm are called ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ.[7] At any rate, few specific details other than their order are given about the structure, activities, or inhabitants of these dark worlds in known canonical accounts. For instance, a fragment from the *Fundamental Epistle*[8] preserved by Augustine, describes the five regions of the land of darkness (this time in reverse order) impressionistically as

> deep and of immeasurable extent; in it reside fiery bodies, baneful breeds. Here, emanating out of the same principle came a boundless and incalculable darkness, together with its own progeny. Beyond the darkness lay filthy whirling waters with their inhabitants; further within were terrifying and violent storms with their ruler and progenitors. Next followed another fiery region, a prey to destruction, with its leaders and peoples. In the same way there lived inside it a breed filled with gloom and smoke, among whom loitered the horrible ruler and leader of all these worlds, who had congregated around himself innumerable princes, and he himself was the spirit and source of all of them (trans. Hendry).[9]

In addition, Severus of Antioch recorded a statement about how "all the members of the Tree of Darkness … rose up and ascended with numerous powers impossible to calculate."[10] Such descriptions drawn apparently from canonical writings do not achieve the clarity and specificity sought by the *Kephalaia* compilers. This ambiguity is (pardon the pun) in *stark* contrast to the light-realm, where the Father of Greatness, as we have seen, dwells with his Five Limbs, and from which emanates a well-known cast of characters including the First Man and his Five Sons, the Living Spirit and his Five Sons, as well as the Third Ambassador, the Virgin of Light, and Jesus the Splendour. It would seem then that the compiler of *Chapter 6* for some reason felt compelled to clarify just what Mani meant by his seemingly abbreviated, or simply

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[6] Cumont, *Recherches I*, 11 n. 3.

[7] Funk, *personal communication*.

[8] The exact nature of this writing's relationship with the Manichaean canon remains ambiguous.

[9] Feldmann, *Die 'Epistula Fundamenti'*, fragment 6a. For translation see Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 169–170.

[10] Kugener and Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme II*, 125.

ambiguous, description of the dark-realm and to create a greater degree of *parallelism* with the World of Light. His efforts, however, left a number of obvious traces.

In order to frame and re-enforce this clarification, the compiler of *Chapter 6* gave five-part structures a central compositional role. In the first place, the chapter title (which may in fact have been added at some later stage of the textual history) somewhat awkwardly enumerates five *sets of five* to be discussed in the chapter, namely, 1) the Five Storehouses, 2) the Five Rulers, 3) the Five Spirits, 4) the Five Bodies, and 5) the Five Tastes, while (as we have seen) the introductory frame re-emphasizes the thematic centrality of five by means of a *cluster* of five statements (see above). Then, the central discourse begins, which is itself divided into five parts dealing with the five Kings of Darkness, with (as we have also seen) the section about the King of the World of Smoke itself divided into five parts:

1) King of the World of Smoke, chief of evil (1 Ke 30.25–33)
   1) 5 Forms are in him (1 Ke 30.33–31.2)
      i) head lion-faced
      ii) hands-/ feet demon-/ devil-faced
      iii) shoulders eagle-faced
      iv) belly dragon-faced
      v) tail fish-faced
   2) Also, 5 (additional) forms in him (1 Ke 31.3–7)
      i) darkness
      ii) stench
      iii) ugliness
      iv) bitterness
      v) fire
   3) 3 other things (1 Ke 31.8–32.13)
      i) body is harder than any metal
      ii) kills with his magic arts
         (*Interpolated admonition [?]:* Keep away from magic!
            [1 Ke 31.24–33])
      iii) knows languages of 5 worlds
   4) Also, (1 Ke 32.14–32.30)
      i) he can spread out his limbs or draw them in like an insect.
      ii) his voice is terrible like thunder
      iii) he can't see what is far away
   5) These are his evil signs and symbols (1 Ke 32.30–33.8)
      i) his body is gold
      ii) his taste is salty
      iii) he rules over the powers and authorities of the world.

2) The King of the Worlds of Fire (1 Ke 33.9–17)
   i) lion-faced
   ii) brass body
   iii) sour taste
   iv) his spirit rules the kings of the world and the fire-worshiping sect

3) The King of the Worlds of Wind (1 Ke 33.18–24)
   i) eagle-faced
   ii) iron body
   iii) hot taste
   iv) his spirit rules idol-worshipers

4) The King of the World of Water (1 Ke 33.25–32)
   i) fish-faced
   ii) silver body
   iii) sweet taste
   iv) his spirit rules the baptists

5) The King of the World of Darkness (1 Ke 33.33–34.1)
   i) dragon-faced
   ii) tin body
   iii) bitter taste
   iv) his spirit rules oracles and soothsayers

The descriptions of the Five Kings in *Chapter 6* may be summarized by the following table, which reveals that structurally the chapter as a whole enumerates five sets of five: 1) five rulers, 2) five faces, 3) five bodies, 4) five tastes, and 5) spirits or sphere of influence:

5 rulers	*5 faces*	*5 bodies*	*5 tastes*	*5 spirits (rule)*
(King of Smoke)	(all-faced)	(gold body)	(salty taste)	(powers that be)
King of Fire	lion-faced	brass body	sour taste	fire-worshipers
King of Wind	eagle-faced	iron body	hot taste	idol-worshipers
King of Water	fish-faced	silver body	sweet taste	baptists
King of Darkness	dragon-faced	tin body	bitter taste	oracles etc.

While the concept of Five Worlds of Darkness is relatively well attested in canonical sources (Theodore bar Khonai 313.19 [Scher]; implied by *Fundamental Epistle*, Frag. 6b; al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]),[11] in the *Kephalaia* they are known not only as "Five Worlds of Darkness" (1 Ke 31.2; 32.2; 48.17; 48.15; 58.9; 74.29; 77.28; 78.3; 167.23; 169.10;

[11] We cannot say, however, as Gardner and Lieu have recently suggested, that "elaborate descriptions of the kingdom of darkness, and its powers, are a feature of Manichaean … writings that must derive from canonical sources" (*Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 199).

169.13), but also as "Five Worlds of Flesh" (1 Ke 26.33; 48.19; 121.20; 123.3; 177.18; 266.14) and "Five Storehouses" (1 Ke 28.8; 30.13; 30.17; 155.19). The explicit idea of Five Kings or Archons is known almost exclusively from *Chapter 6*,[12] where they are also called the "Five Spirits" (1 Ke 30.15; 30.23; 34.9). This, in itself, may not be that surprising given the confusion that seems to have been created for the compiler of *Chapter 6*,[13] who (as we saw above) found it difficult to reconcile the title "King of Darkness" with the fact that "smoke" is the first of the canonical Five Dark Elements. Nevertheless, the need to dissect the chief ruler of darkness into five sub-rulers is essentially a reflection of the compiler's desire to identify and attribute a particular governing spirit or authority to what he perceived as five spheres of negative influence in the world. In the end, this association serves as the take-home message of this particular chapter.

The danger of these Five Spirits is emphasized at the end of *Chapter 6*, where we find a grave admonition placed in the mouth of Mani: "Therefore I tell you, my brothers and my members, perfect faithful and holy elect: Keep your hearts with you and keep yourselves from the Five Slaveries of the Five Dark Spirits. Abandon the worship of their Five Bodies. Do not interact with them, so that you might escape their bond and their punishment forever" (1 Ke 34.6–12). This passage needs to be placed in its social context if it is to become comprehensible. As such, the King of the World of Smoke, the chief, is said to rule over the "powers and authorities of the earth and the whole world … those who rule over all of creation, as they humble people in their tyranny according to their will" (1 Ke 33.6–8), a reference that could conceivably be applied to authorities in both the Persian and Rome Empires. The King of the World of Fire is said to rule the "kings of the world" as well as the "Sects who worship fire" (1 Ke 33.15–17), no doubt a more explicit reference to the Sassanian Kings and their Zoroastrian clergy. The King of the World of Wind, in turn, rules in "every temple, *eidoleion*, place of worship, statues and images, shrines of worldly Error" (1 Ke 33.22–24), presumably those who follow the traditional cults. The King of the World of Water is said to rule "those who baptize with water" (1 Ke 33.31), a reference to Christians, Elchasaites, or perhaps

[12] The idea of a ruler for each world is also implied by the *Fundamental Epistle* (Fragment 6b [Feldmann]).

[13] This may even represent an innovation on the part of the Chapter 6 compiler.

even Mandaeans, while the King of the World of Darkness can be found in the utterances of soothsayers, oracles, and seers (1 Ke 34.3–4), seemingly the more popular religious practices of the time. The compiler's effort to associate a dark ruler with each of these spheres of influences was probably driven by a desire either to draw, or more likely, to keep members of the Manichaean church away from them and in the fold. After the withdrawal of Persian imperial support, which resulted in Mani's execution in 276/277 CE, his community experienced a period of harsh repression, persecution, and no doubt apostasy. As a result there would have been a strong desire, on the part of Manichaean teachers, missionaries, and catechists, to clearly define the dangers associated with these oppressive and competing spheres of political and religious influence, and to do so in a way that contributed to and strengthened the coherence and symmetry of the Manichaean system. Therefore, as Manichaean missionaries and catechists moved from Mesopotamia into Egypt and the *Kephalaia* (as we know it) began to take shape, numerical patterns, especially in terms of five-part structures, played a key role in how this coherence and symmetry was achieved and communicated.

Astrological Polemic

The third major theme addressed by the *Kephalaia* compilers in their descriptions of the dark-realm is the relation of the dark-powers, specifically the Five Worlds of Darkness, to the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the seven planetary powers. While there are references to the "Twelve Spirits of Error" in *Chapter 15 "[On the] … Five [Parts] … World of …"* (1 Ke 48.34) and anthropomorphic accounts of their cosmic distribution in *Chapter 70 "On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos"* (1 Ke 173.21–175.4), the most explicit description of the relationship between the dark powers and the Zodiac can be found in *Chapter 69 "On the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Stars."* In this chapter the disciples question Mani about what powers rule over the Zodiac and the so-called "Five Stars." In response, Mani is made to begin his discourse with an (unsuccessful) attempt at distributing the twelve signs in pairs to the Five Worlds of Darkness, which inevitably leads to the attribution of three signs to two of the worlds.

> This, however, is how it should be understood: They / are drawn from the *Five Worlds of Darkness*, are bound in the / Sphere, and two zodiacal signs are taken per world. The Twin[14] / and the Archer[15] belong to the World of Smoke, which / is the Mind. Also, the Ram[16] and the Lion[17] belong to the / World of Fire. The Bull,[18] the Water-bearer,[19] and the Scales,[20] / belong to the World of Wind. The Crab[21] and the Virgin[22] / and the Fish[23] belong to the World of Water. The Goat-horn[24] / and the Scorpion[25] belong to the World of Darkness. These are / [the] twelve Archons of wickedness, those who wickedness does not / … … For they commit every evil and / … [in the] world, either in the tree or in the flesh (1 Ke 167.22–167.33).

Following this, each of the "Five Stars" (i.e., planets) is associated with a particular dark world: 1) Zeus/Jupiter to Smoke, 2) Aphrodite/Venus to Fire, 3) Ares/Mars to Wind, 4) Hermes/Mercury to Water, and 5) Kronos/Saturn to Darkness (1 Ke 167.34–168.6). Then, in the third section of the discourse, the signs are divided according to the quadrants of the sky (1 Ke 168.16–23).

What follows is a sort of astronomical revisionism, whereby the Sun and Moon, normally counted among the seven planets by ancient astronomy but cherished by Manichaeans as Light-ships, are substituted by "Two Ascendants." According to *Chapter 69*, Mani is made to state that "these seven, which we have named—the Five Stars and the Two Ascendants (ⲁⲛⲁⲃⲓⲃⲁⲍⲱⲛ)—they are the evil-doers who perpetuate every wickedness and evil in every single land" (1 Ke 168.11–13).

According to Roger Beck, the *anabibazon* is an astronomical concept that represents, along with the *katabibazon*, the two points (or "nodes") at which the orbits of the Sun and Moon intersect on a monthly basis.[26] According to Beck, this seemingly straightforward astronomical concept may have been interpreted in a sinister light by Manichaeans due

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[14] i.e., Gemini.
[15] i.e., Sagittarius.
[16] i.e., Aries.
[17] i.e., Leo.
[18] i.e., Taurus.
[19] i.e., Aquarius.
[20] i.e., Libra.
[21] i.e., Cancer.
[22] i.e., Virgo.
[23] i.e., Pisces.
[24] i.e., Capricorn.
[25] i.e., Scorpio.
[26] "Anabibazontes," 193.

to the fact that it is at one of these two points that eclipses of the Sun and Moon may occur.[27] In addition, the fact that these nodes appear to "move" led to their being considered as quasi-planets and to their eventual incorporation into late antique astrology as the "head and tail" of a great dragon responsible for eclipses.[28] Moreover, in Zoroastrian tradition, the nodes came to represent a "Dark Sun" and "Dark Moon" that acted as agents of Ahriman.[29] Yet according to Beck, this reference to the *anabibazontes* in the *Kephalaia* likely represents the "earliest unambiguous attested instance of the demonization of the lunar nodes."[30] This became necessary due to the fact that Manichaean theology demanded the removal of the Sun and Moon from the standard series of seven planets,[31] thereby requiring substitutes in the form of the *anabibazontes*. The substitution, however, remains somewhat awkward, given the fact that, while the compiler of *Chapter 69* is determined to associate *five* of the planets with the Five Worlds of Darkness, ancient astronomy recognized *seven*. Without this substitution of the Sun and Moon by the nodes Manichaeans would have appeared to violate ancient astronomical *koinē*, thereby discrediting any claims to astronomical orthodoxy, especially in Mesopotamia where rival religious groups such as Zoroastrians and Mandaeans appears to have been steeped in astrological speculations.[32] Yet even in spite of Manichaean efforts to talk about astronomical concepts, observers such as Alexander of Lycopolis and, later, Augustine remained unconvinced.[33] That

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[27] "Anabibazontes," 193–194.

[28] Beck, "Anabibazontes," 194. Seventh century CE Syriac author Severus Sebokht explained that this dragon is known as the *athalia* (ܐܬܠܝܐ) (Nau, "La cosmographie," 253–254), a term attested in both the Manichaean *Psalm-Book* (2 Ps. 196.8: ⲁⲑⲁⲗⲓⲁ) and Syriac Manichaean fragments (Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees*, 114: ܐܬܠܝܐ). According to his description of Indian astronomy, al-Biruni states that "the dragon's head" is counted among the unlucky stars by the Hindus (*India*, 212 [Sachau]).

[29] Beck, "Anabibazontes," 195. See *Bundahišn*, 49.12 (MacKenzie, "Zoroastrian Astrology," 8).

[30] "Anabibazontes," 195–196.

[31] Mani attributed his recognition of the true nature of the Sun and Moon to Jesus in a fragment preserved by al-Biruni (*India*, 284 [Sachau]).

[32] Mandaeans, for instance, spoke about the "seven and the twelve" as malevolent powers (Widengren, *Mani*, 69).

[33] Alexander joked that Manichaeans should have "occasionally visited the astronomers" (*Contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, 22), while Augustine could not reconcile his private study of astronomy with Manichaean teachings (cited by Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 178). See also Ferrari, "Astronomy and Augustine," 263–276, who suggests that eclipses witnessed by Augustine played a role in his break with Manichaeism.

Manichaeans were "amateurs" in astrology[34] does in fact appear to be the case when we do a close reading of *Kephalaia Chapter 69*, which contains significant compositional or editorial flaws.[35] Similarly, the following chapter, *Chapter 70 "On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos,"* contains two conflicting melothesiac[36] descriptions of the Zodiac:

Signs of the Zodiac	*Description A: 1 Ke 174.3–10*	*Description B: 1 Ke 174.21–175.2*
Ram / Aries	Head	Right Temple
Bull / Taurus	Neck & Shoulders	Right Shoulder
Twin / Gemini	2 Forearms	Right Forearm
Crab / Cancer	Oesophagus	Right Rib
Lion / Leo	Stomach	Right Stomach
Virgin / Virgo	Heart	Right Intestines
Scales / Libra	Spine & Intestines	Left Belly
Scorpion / Scorpio	Chest	Left Rib
Archer / Sagittarius	Loins	Left Breast & Kidney
Goat-horn / Capricorn	Feet	Left Elbow
Water-bearer / Aquarius	Shinbones	Left Shoulder
Fish / Pisces	Soles of feet	Left Temple

This chapter, which as Gardner has suggested was likely drawn from "a number of separate sources,"[37] although re-enforcing the compiler's anthropomorphic view of the cosmos, does little to establish his credentials as a serious astrologer.

What then are we to make of this lively, although somewhat incoherent, interest in astrological speculation? Stegemann suggested that the association of the signs of the Zodiac with the Five Worlds was some kind of game with the aspects intended to show the adversarial relationship of the signs to one another.[38] This explanation, however, seems too obscure and technical to have generated any real meaning, even to an educated Manichaean Elect. Instead, I would suggest that the aim of *Chapter 69* might not have been astrological at all, but rather polemi-

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[34] Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 179.

[35] Such as the attribution of *three* signs to two of the five worlds.

[36] A similar concept relating the parts of the body to the Zodiac is described by al-Biruni in his chapter on Indian astronomy (*India*, 218 [Sachau]). Nagel compared these arrangements to melothesiac lists from the *Apocryphon of John*, although these are not put in relation to the Zodiac ("Anatomie des Menschen," 91). According to Nagel, such formulations are a reflection of the tendency (or "mania" for that matter) of Manichaean discourse for typology, analogy, harmony, and symmetry ("Anatomie des Menschen," 91).

[37] Gardner, *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 179.

[38] Stegemann, "Zu Kapitel 69," 217–218, followed by Widengren, *Mani*, 70–71.

cal. As we have seen, the compilers went to great lengths in *Chapter 6* to associate each of the Five Dark Worlds with particular spheres of political or religious influence. Thus, it is possible that a similar manoeuvre is at least being attempted in *Chapter 69*. For example, while in *Chapter 6* the World of Smoke was associated with Roman and Sasanian imperial authorities, *Chapter 69*'s attribution of the Twin (Gemini) and the Archer (Sagittarius) may involve a similar symbolic association. Similarly, the association of the Crab (Cancer), the Virgin (Virgo) and the Fish (Pisces) with the World of Water, could reflect *Chapter 6*'s association of this world with rival Christian and "Baptist" groups. This interpretation (already implied by Khosroyev),[39] although highly speculative, seems at least plausible, given the penchant of the compilers for associating mythological formations with concrete social realities. After all, allegorical interpretations of the signs are known in Jewish,[40] Judaeo-Christian,[41] Gnostic,[42] mainstream Christian,[43] and even Mithraic[44] circles, and the planets themselves were sometimes associated by Hellenistic astrologers with particular religious groups.[45]

At any rate, regardless of whatever polemical or scientific intentions may have been behind such formulations, it is at least clear that the *Kephalaia* compilers, like so many other aspects of reality, viewed the astrological powers as basically pentadic in structure. This is emphasized also by a passage from *Chapter 57 "On the Generation of Adam,"* where (also in the form of a *cluster*) Mani is made to describe how

> They increased and again diminished / because there are *Five Types of Authority* and / *Guide* set in the sphere of the Zodiac and the / heavens which are above it. They have ⟨*Five*⟩[46] *Names*, by which / they are called. The first name is the "year", the / second is the "month", the third is the "day", the / [fourth] is the "hour", (and) the fifth is the "minute." These

[39] Khosroyev, "Zu einer astronomischen Realie," 349.

[40] A number of ancient synagogues contained mosaic representations of the Zodiac. See Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*; Hachlili, "The Zodiac in Ancient Jewish Art," 61–77; Ness, "Astrology and Judaism," 126–133.

[41] The signs were associated first with the twelve patriarchs and were then transferred to the twelve apostles (Daniélou, "Les douze apôtres et le zodiaque," 14–21).

[42] Welburn, "The Identity of the Archons," 241–254.

[43] See Zeno of Verona, *Tractatus de duodecim signis ad neophytos* (CCSL 22), 105–106; Hübner, "Das Horoskop der Christen," 120–137.

[44] Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 153.

[45] For instance, Jupiter with Zoroastrianism, Mars with idolaters, or Venus with Arab religion (Khosroyev, "Zu einer astronomischen Realie," 349 n. 32).

[46] Polotsky/Böhlig, 145.10 note.

> *Five / Places* and these *Five Dwellings* are found in the sphere and / the heavens. These regions have *Five Powers* ruling over / them (1 Ke 145.7–16).

In this chapter a certain Babylonian catechumen has questioned Mani about why the lifespan of Adam and his generation seemed so much longer than the people of their time. Mani is made to respond by saying that Five Authorities rule the various life-spans of beings in the world, from year to month to day to hour to minute. The fact that people's lives are becoming increasingly short means that the end is near and that their light substance is dwindling. Whereas Adam and Eve were full of light substance, their lives were longer, they were larger, and produced more offspring, contemporary people are small, ugly and evil, meaning that they are nearly void of light. While this discourse is meant to address the apparent discrepancy between the life-spans of biblical figures and later generations, the explanation is framed by a pentadic conception of both the astrological powers and their influence on history, which is itself conceived of has having five phases. This, of course, represents yet another example of the pervasive emphasis on five-part structures presented by the compilers.

This desire to present a set of astrological speculations based on pentads, although no doubt influenced by the same *pentadization* process observed above, was also driven in this case by a systemic contradiction generated by Manichaean veneration of the Sun and Moon and their generally negative evaluation of five of the canonical seven planets. In this way, the pentadization of the planets can be seen less as a stylistic or ideological preference and more as a response to a genuine doctrinal problem.

But why go to such great lengths to emphasize the pentadic structure of the powers of Darkness if this is already a quality possessed by the powers of Light? On the doctrinal level, the system appears to demand it, particularly when, as in the image of the Two Trees, the natures are depicted as essentially symmetrical in orientation, with parallel sets of Five Limbs attached to two coeternal sources of being. Besides, as we have seen, Mani himself appears to have described the Land of Darkness as made up of Five Elemental Worlds, although, unlike the Realm of Light, he seems to have left fewer clues as to what impact such a structure had on other aspects of evil. Thus, the *Kephalaia* compilers were forced to build upon and expand existing material. One particularly difficult issue for the compilers seems to have been

the way in which Mani ordered the Dark Elements, with Smoke first and Darkness last. This, as we saw in *Chapter 6*, caused a great deal of confusion for the compiler, who found it difficult to reconcile a being called "King of Darkness" with the fact that the World of Darkness came fifth in the canonical series. Similarly, the relation of the Sun and Moon to the planets also caused a theological quandary. Such traces of conflicting and contradictory ideas indicated that even at the stage when the surviving text was being edited, the *Kephalaia* compilers were still engaged in sorting out some of the difficulties contained within the canonical tradition.

CHAPTER FOUR

OTHER TYPES OF PATTERNING

Aside from five-part patterns dealing with specific structural and operational aspects of either the light or dark realms, a variety of other pentadic formulations can also be found in the *Kephalaia* dealing with a range of 1) soteriological, 2) ethical 3) ecclesiological, 4) polemical, and 5) aetiological themes.

Soteriological Patterning

The *Kephalaia* compilers' efforts to present general soteriological themes in five-parts is evident in *Chapter 13 "On the Five Saviours, Resurrectors of the Dead, along with the Five Resurrections," Chapter 16b (On the Five Advents), Chapter 18 "[On the Five] Wars [which the] Sons of Light waged with [the Sons] of Darkness," Chapter 19 "On the Five Releases; what they mean," Chapter 103 "On the Five Wonderworks that the Light-Mind reveals to the Elect," Chapter 112b (On the Five Things Revealed by Jesus)*, and *Chapter 176 "On the Spiritual Transition in Five(?) Forms and that through which the Church changes."*

Chapter 13 presents a series of "Five Resurrecting Saviours" (ϯογ ⲛⲥ̅ⲏ̅ⲣ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ) (1 Ke 45.17), although the fragmentation of the text allows for the identification of only the third and fourth. In this series, the Father is placed in third position, which appears strange given the importance usually accorded to him as the foundation of all subsequent being, while Light-Mind is placed in fourth position.

In *Chapter 18*, the confrontation with the dark-realm is presented as a series of "[Five] Wars" ([ϯογ] ⲙⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ)[1] waged by the "Sons of Light" (ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ) (1 Ke 58.2–3). Here an additional series of "five sons" is created, although this time using primary actors not normally designated as "sons" such as First Man, the Living Spirit, Third Messenger, Jesus the Splendour, and Call & Response. Again, as in *Chapter 16*, the three-part canonical version of the myth is transformed

[1] ϯογ has been restored (1 Ke 58.2). Even though only four of the wars are readable, I am assuming, based on this restoration, that five wars were described.

into a series of five conflicts. Interestingly, the same five figures appear in *Chapter 16b*[2] as a series of five "advents" (ⲛⲟⲓⲛⲉⲓ), with the "advent" of each agent assigned to a particular metaphor. The advent of First Man, for instance, is compared to a noble son deceived by his enemies (1 Ke 50.19–20), while the advent of the Living Spirit is compared to a judge sent by a king to quell an insurrection (1 Ke 50.28 ff.). The advent of the Third Messenger, in turn, is likened to a king who comes to inspect the work of his artisans (1 Ke 52.22 ff.), while the advent of Jesus the Splendour evokes the image of a man sent to root out and burn evil trees (1 Ke 53.19–27). Finally, the advent of Call & Response is compared to the homely image of butter being melted into warm milk (1 Ke 54.26 ff.). *Chapter 19* again presents the same series, only this time it is identified as the "Five Releases" (ⲧⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲓⲛⲣⲃⲁⲗ) or "Liberations" (ⲛⲟⲓⲛⲧⲟⲩⲱ). The fragmentary state of the chapter has obscured many of the details, but in general we find here an additional formulation of Manichaean soteriology in five parts.

Also on the soteriological level, there are a small number of five-part structures relating specifically to the influence of the Light-Mind on the individual. For instance, in *Chapter 103 "On the Five Wonderworks that the Light-Mind reveals to the Elect"* Mani is made to describe "Five Light Signs" (ⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ) (1 Ke 257.13) that the Light-Mind works among the Elect, namely, 1) Wisdom, 2) Faith, 3) …, 4) Love, and 5) Severity of Judgment (1 Ke 257.13–24). It is by means of these Five Signs that the Light-Mind "purifies, refines, raises, and saves" (1 Ke 257. 29–30) the New Man. Although this series of qualities differs from that of the canonical Five Virtues discussed above, which includes 1) Love, 2) Faith, 3) Perfection, 4) Patience, and 5) Wisdom, there is an ecclesiological context to *Chapter 103* that seems to justify the arrangement. Whereas Wisdom is the product of the Elect's preaching activity, Faith is the desired result among his hearers. The unknown third quality appears to promote peace in the community, while Love is engendered among the brothers and sisters. Finally, Severity of Judgement enables the Elect to purify the community of error. In this way, the "Five Light

[2] As we can see, *Chapter 16* somewhat awkwardly juxtaposes two different series, one labelled as the Five Greatnesses and the other (presumably) the Five Advents. This may indicate that two separate *kephalaia* have been combined together to form a single chapter. After all, the benediction at the close of *Chapter 16* mentions only the Five Advents, a series that is described in elaborate detail, while the Five Greatnesses are given only an abbreviated, formulaic description (see Gardner, *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 54).

Signs" revealed by the Light-Mind, although soteriological in nature, are ecclesiological in orientation and can thus be seen to cross over into this category.

An additional soteriological pattern can be found in *Chapter 112b (On the Five Things Revealed by Jesus)*.[3] According to this chapter, Jesus is said to have revealed "Five Great Things" (1 Ke 268.4) to humanity: 1) its affiliation with the race of Light, 2) the condition of the Aeon of Greatness, 3) the heroic activities of the Light, 4) the purpose of his mission, and 5) the imprisonment of the rebels (1 Ke 268.5–18). This list essentially constitutes the "gnosis" originally delivered by Jesus to Adam and Eve (1 Ke 268.2) and, later, by all the "apostles" to humanity. The motif that Jesus revealed to Adam his true nature is recorded by both Theodore bar Khonai (317.15–28 [Scher]) and al-Nadim (*Fihrist*, 784 [Dodge]) as attributed to Mani, although neither source records such a specific, five-part elaboration of this message. Thus, once again, the compiler seems to have shaped canonical material into a pentadic frame.

A final soteriological pattern can be found in *Chapter 176 "On the Spiritual Transition in Five(?) Forms and that through which the Church changes."* In this rather fragmentary chapter, several series of five "transitions" (ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲁⲃⲁⲥⲓⲥ) are described. The first series appears to describe the movement of the individual towards righteousness and entry into the Holy Church (1 Ke 453.4–455.6), while the second series describes the fate of the soul after death, as it passes through the various stations and light-vehicles to its eventual reunification with the Father (1 Ke 455.7–456.17). This second series then appears to be re-expressed, although this time with slight variations in detail and an association with the "Five Dwellings" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲏ) (1 Ke 458 ff.). While the exact details of these transition series are impossible to reconstruct, it is at least clear that the movements of the soul were seen as taking place in five-stages.

These chapters demonstrate the degree to which the *Kephalaia* compilers viewed their drama of salvation as a five-act play, rather than the three acts established by the founder of their religion.

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[3] Here I am suggesting that 1 Ke 267.18–268.18 might have constituted a separate chapter that has been embedded within *Chapter 112 "The Human Being is less than all the Things of the Cosmos, and He is more shipwrecked than them All"* (1 Ke 266.3–268.27). This section even has its own Q & A frame (1 Ke 267.18–28) typical of individual chapters.

Ethical Patterning

Pentadic structures appear to play a role in Manichaean ethics as well, particularly in *Chapter 91 "Also on the Catechumen, who is saved in a Single Body," Chapter 146: "The Old Man has Five Foods to live on; the New Man has Five Others," Chapter 165 "Envy exists in Five Forms"* and *Chapter 189 "[On the Five Temptations]."*

Chapter 91 contains two discourses on Catechumenate ethics. For the first discourse, Mani is questioned by an Elect about how a Catechumen can avoid the process of reincarnation. In response, Mani is made to describe three sets of five characteristics that the Catechumen must posses. First, the Catechumen must regard 1) his wife as a stranger, 2) his house as an inn, 3) his family as fellow travellers, 4) his possessions as borrowed, and 5) his thoughts must always be on God (1 Ke 228.24–229.6). Second, the Catechumen must practice continence (*enkrateia*) by 1) not eating meat, 2) fasting and prayer, 3) almsgiving, 4) lack of malice, and 5) devotion to the church (1 Ke 229.20–29). Third, the good Catechumens can be known by the fact that they are 1) like the "good pearl" mentioned in Mani's *Treasure of Life*, 2) not bound by the enemy, 3) purified according to their deeds, 4) healed and purified, and 5) constantly at prayer (1 Ke 230.6–29). For the second part of the discourse, Mani is asked about what happens to the prior sins of those Catechumens who were idolaters, blasphemers, murderers, and magicians before entering the church (1 Ke 231.12–24). In response, Mani is made to argue that as long as such a Catechumen 1) accepts the faith, 2) separates Light from Darkness, 3) perceives the mystery of the Living Soul, 4) receives the right-hand of peace, and 5) prays to the Light-Mind for forgiveness (1 Ke 232.1–8) all prior sins will be forgiven. In addition, the Catechumen's position may be improved by 1) abstinence, 2) vigils, 3) fasting, 4) care for the Living Soul, and 5) prayer (1 Ke 233.5–14). What follows is an account of how the Catechumen's sin is divided into five-parts. While four of these parts may be forgiven by the church, the fifth requires further purification (1 Ke 233.21–234.20).

Essentially what *Chapter 91* presents is four sets of five-part ethical patterns, two from the first discourse (Discourse A) and two from the second (Discourse B):

Discourse A (1)	*Discourse A (2)*	*Discourse B (1)*	*Discourse B (2)*
abstinence	vegetarian diet	faith	abstinence
hospitality	fasting and prayer	separation of natures	vigils
detachment from family	almsgiving	mystery of Living Soul	fasting
detachment from things	lack of malice	right-hand of peace	care for Living Soul
piety	devotion to church	prayer to Light-Mind	prayer

It is interesting, however, to compare what relation these five-part ethical patterns might have with the "Ten Commandments," which according to al-Nadīm, Mani established for the Hearers (i.e., Catechumens) (*Fihrist*, 789 [Dodge]), and which are known in various branches of Manichaeism,[4] against 1) idol-worship, 2) lying, 3) greed, 4) killing, 5) fornication, 6) theft, 7) pretences/false teaching, 8) sorcery, 9) doubt, and 10) sloth.[5] In fact, there is little in either of *Chapter 91*'s lists to suggest any conformity with the canonical list from al-Nadīm, although four of the canonical commandments appear to be alluded to when Mani is asked about the prior sins of idolaters, blasphemers, murderers, and magicians just before the second discourse.

It appears as though the compiler of *Chapter 91*, although apparently interested in the Ten Commandments of the Catechumenate, has decided to divide two variant sets of them into two sets of five, to which he has appended in each case a five-part discussion of purity. It is difficult to imagine why this was done, except perhaps in response to a greater need for ethical flexibility depending on the type of person entering the Catechumenate. Could it be that a generally upstanding person entering the church was subject to a slightly different set of criteria than someone with a criminal past? We cannot be sure. What is clear is that the compiler of *Chapter 91* has rejected a ten-part ethical framework in favour of one with five parts.

Chapter 146 presents the radical difference between what influences and sustains the individual prior to and post conversion. Whereas prior to conversion the individual is sustained by 1) physical beauty, 2) evil discourses and myths, 3) beautiful works (of some kind), 4) worldly

[4] See Sims-Williams, "The Manichaean Commandments," 577–578.
[5] Sims-Williams, "Manichaean Commandments," 578.

foods, and 5) sexual desire (1 Ke 349.24–350.3), after conversion this sustenance is exchanged for 1) the spirit of the church leaders, 2) liturgical prayer, 3) joy, 4) itinerate preaching, and 5) scripture (1 Ke 349.5–18). As is so often the case in *Kephalaia* theology, good and evil, although radically different in their nature, are conceived of as structurally analogous. Just as the Good and Evil Trees both have Five Limbs, so too are the Old Man and New Man driven by five sources of nourishment. Again, this reinforces the fundamentally parallelism of the two opposed natures.

Unfortunately, while the lacunous state of *Chapter 165* completely obscures the five forms of envy, two of the five temptations can be read from *Chapter 189*, namely the fourth, desire for women (1 Ke 485.23), and the fifth, apostasy during persecution (1 Ke 485.30–486.7). Somewhat clearer is the distinction made by *Chapter 193* between the "Five Properties" of the Evil One and the Good One. To the "Evil One" are attributed 1) …, 2) slander, 3) murder, 4) greed, and 5) mixing of light and dark (1 Ke 490.27–29), while to the "Good One" are attributed 1) fasting, 2) grief, 3) almsgiving, 4) faith, and 5) separation of light and dark (1 Ke 491.5–6). Here, again, the qualitative rather than the structural difference between the two natures is emphasized.

It is interesting to note that in none of these ethical chapters is reference made to the canonical "Five Virtues" of 1) love, 2) faith, 3) perfection, 4) patience, and 5) wisdom known from Mani's *Epistles* (50.9–14) and al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]). This indicates yet another deviation from canonical traditions by the compilers.

Ecclesiological Patterning

While we could see that some of the soteriological patterns discussed above had certain ecclesiological overtones, one *Kephalaia* chapter in particular, *Chapter 137 "On the Five Types of Brotherhood that are distinguished from one another,"* contains an important discussion of ecclesiological issues. In this chapter, a distinction is made between five types of individuals who form part of or are associated with the Holy Church, namely 1) brothers, 2) children, 3) disciples, 4) "day-labourers," and 5) slaves (1 Ke 338.25–27). "Brothers" are the "people of righteousness" (ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ[ⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ]) (1 Ke 338.29) guided by the Light-Mind, while the "children" are "considerate people" (ⲛⲣⲙⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ) (1 Ke 339.9) who always follow the ways of truth. "Disciples" are described as "splen-

did sheep" (ⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲉ) (1 Ke 339.17), who follow their teacher in patience, while "day-labourers" (ⲛϫⲁⲏⲃⲉⲕⲉ) are those whose commitment to the Church is not total (1 Ke 339.21–29). Finally, "slaves" (ⲛⲟⲗⲟⲩⲟⲛⲉ) are vain and disobedient people who flee at the first signs of persecution (1 Ke 340.1–12). Interestingly, while the discourse classifies Church members according to these five groups, the reader is encouraged to reject the last two as "foreign races" (ⲙⲡⲓⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲱⲙⲙⲟ) (340.14).[6] While this five-fold division of the Church appears to have nothing to do with the formal, five-part hierarchy of 1) Teachers, 2) Bishops, 3) Presbyters/Elders, 4) Elect, and 5) Hearers known from a variety of Manichaean sources,[7] it is important to remember that what is being described by *Chapter 137* are not formal, ecclesiastical classes but rather types of relationships. Whereas acceptable members of the Church behave like "brothers," "children," or "disciples," unacceptable members act with the indifference of "day-labourers" or, worst of all, the disloyalty of "slaves."[8]

An additional, albeit enigmatic, reference to five-part ecclesiological structures can be found in *Chapter 3 "On the Interpretation of Happiness, Wisdom, and Power; what they mean."* This chapter, after enumerating the five levels of existence at which these three concepts can be found, closes with a *cluster* of references to "Five Happinesses, Five Wisdoms, and Five Powers" (1 Ke 25.3–4) which are then (following a lacuna) set into some kind of relation to "Five Churches" (1 Ke 25.4). What this reference to Five Churches means, however, remains entirely mysterious.

Polemical Patterning

While we have seen that *Chapter 6* and *Chapter 69* used five-part patterns for polemical ends, a similar technique is used in two additional polemical[9] discussions of rival religious groups. The first instance can

[6] This represents a kind of stylistic division sometimes employed in the *Kephalaia* whereby a five-part series is divided into three good and two bad components. A similar effect is achieved by *Chapter 39 "On the Three Days and the Two Deaths,"* in which the doctrine of "Three Times" is contrasted with two moments of defeat for the Darkness.

[7] Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 77–78; Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 27.

[8] There is no doubt a social dimension to this metaphoric revilement of "day-labourers" and "slaves" as "foreign races" that would be worthy of exploration.

[9] Interestingly, both chapters make use of the word ⲙⲛⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲉϩⲟⲩⲧ. While the exact meaning of this word remains a mystery, given its connection with a rival teaching it presumably indicates something to do with error.

be found in *Chapter 12*, where Mani is asked to explain the "Five Words which are proclaimed in the teaching of the Baptists" (1 Ke 44.25–26) and other sects. Unfortunately, the lacunous state of the text once again prevents us from reconstructing what these "Five Words" might have been, with the exception of "Third Messenger" as the second in the series (1 Ke 44.36–45.1). Similarly, in *Chapter 100 "On the Dragon, the one with Fourteen Heads; what is it and …,"* Mani is questioned by a disciple on the existence of a fourteen-headed dragon mentioned in the "laws of the Magi" as dwelling in "Five Hallows" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛϣⲁⲣϣϥ) (1 Ke 252.1–3). In response, Mani is made to give an anthropological interpretation in which the fourteen heads of the dragon are said to represent the seven (*sic!*)[10] senses of the head and the seven senses of the body (1 Ke 252.19–253.2). The "Five Pits" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲃⲏⲃ) in which the dragon dwells, however, are said to represent five of the internal organs (1 Ke 253.2–7).

Aetiological Patterning

Finally, a small class of what might be termed aetiological[11] patterns can be identified in chapters where Mani is made to account for the existence of certain natural or biological phenomena. For instance, in *Chapter 95* Mani is made to offer an explanation of five different manifestations of cloud (1 Ke 240.19–244.13), while in *Chapter 65* he is made to describe five aspects of the sun, namely its 1) light, 2) beauty, 3) peace, 4) life, and 5) force (1 Ke 162.1–13). Similarly in *Chapter 68*, Mani is made to describe five effects of fire, such as the fact that it 1) destroys materials, 2) separates fire, light, ash, and smoke from wood, 3) gives taste to food, 4) helps craftsmen work, and 5) helps people to see (1 Ke 166.19–30). In addition, *Chapter 104* presents a particularly enigmatic discussion of five ways in which the energy provided by food is expended by human beings through 1) intellectual pleasure, 2) speech, 3) physical activity, 4) sexual intercourse, and 5) procreation (1 Ke 258.10–23). Interestingly, emphasis is placed on the well-being and

[10] One would expect Mani to describe the five senses of the head and the body, but the fact that fourteen heads are mentioned necessitates the description of seven. Besides, if one counts two ears, two eyes, two nostrils, and one mouth, one arrives at seven. See 1 Ke 173.1–4.

[11] I use the term aetiological to mean that the author(s) are attempting to account for and explain the existence of various worldly phenomena through the lens of Manichaean ideology.

needs of the fifth product, the child, as most important, while the other four are seen as unimportant and incidental. Finally, *Chapter 107* offers a five-part explication of the production of speech (1 Ke 261.3–12) based on a metaphor involving the work of craftsmen.

Such chapters are generally very brief and seem to have served as simple aetiological discussions about commonplace topics that were likely seen as problematic when viewed through the lens of Manichaean ideology. For instance, the status of fire as both a Light and Dark Element no doubt caused confusion as to its utility. Similarly, Manichaean condemnations of procreation likely perplexed some of the Catechumens with families. The fact that such issues could be explained in terms of five-part patterns would have been reassuring to the *Kephalaia*'s intended audience, for whom a pentadic vision of reality was being constructed.

CONCLUSIONS & IMPLICATIONS

This study of five-part numeric patterns in the Manichaean *Kephalaia* has led to one primary conclusion, namely, that the text contains a considerable number of theological formulations that appear to be at variance with what we know, or can infer, about canonical Manichaean traditions. This means that the compilers of the work deemed it necessary to alter, expand, and improvise upon the teachings of their founder in order to address a variety of themes that were seen as either pressing or simply of interest. If this is the case, then why did they do it? What were some of the factors that might have stimulated this departure from teachings and traditions that Mani, we assume, had expected to be definitive? In response, three factors appear to have been at work that led to this creative use of numeric patterning: 1) scholastic redaction, 2) response to adversity, and 3) missionary expansion. Moreover, by way of conclusion, some suggestions will be offered as to why the number five was favoured in particular as well as who could have been the driving force behind this numeric interest.

Scholastic Redaction

As was stated above, from what we can piece together from the many scattered remains of Mani's own writings, it does not appear that his work was very systematic in nature. Rather, likely written over a substantial period of time in varying circumstances,[1] Mani's writings seem to have been largely incidental, dealing with a wide range of (often miscellaneous) theological, polemical, and pastoral concerns (as in the *Book of Mysteries* and *Epistles*). In some cases, he seems to have presented a more-or-less straightforward narrative of his cosmogonical, prophetological, or eschatological ideas (as in *Shabuhragan*, *Living Gospel*, and the

[1] In fact, we have no clear ideas about how the canon came to be formed or if the canonical writings (plus *Shabuhragan*) were, in fact, the only ones he composed during his lifetime.

source[s] used by Theodore bar Khonai and al-Nadīm), while in others, he appears to have been somewhat of a collector of pre-existing traditions (as in the *Book of Giants*). Besides, the fact that he attempted to portray his vision artistically by means of his *Picture-book* implies that Mani may have been more interested in the aesthetic impact of his message than its systematic presentation. More importantly, however, none of these canonical writings appear to have contained the same degree of fascination with numbers and numeric patterns as can be found so prominently expressed in the *Kephalaia*. This means that, at some point in the (largely obscure) literary history of the work, the compilers of the *Kephalaia* saw fit to introduce these patterns in order to resolve what may have been a substantial number of "loose-ends" and ambiguities in the canonical tradition. By doing so, they were attempting to construct a more cohesive and, by extension, more competitive theological vision of the cosmos. The fact that the compilers of so many chapters display a pronounced preference for *five* means that the editorial efforts in which they engaged can be reasonably described as an essentially scholastic process of *pentadic redaction*.

First, we observed that the compilers of the *Kephalaia* appear to have adopted as a general theological principle the idea that divine beings—both good and evil, light and dark—ought to be conceived of as having five basic properties. This was, as we saw, dramatically (and it would seem programmatically) expressed in *Chapter 2* through the radical opposition between the "Two Trees," an early Manichaean metaphor for the two radically opposed principles. In this case, the two opposed natures, so fundamental to Manichaean cosmology, are conceived of as being qualitatively different, though structurally identical.

Then we directed our attention to the light-realm, where we saw that this interest in conveying the five-fold nature of divine being was extended to the most revered of such beings, the Father of Greatness, who, even though he was known in canonical (and later eastern) traditions both as the "Four-faced God" and as having "Five Limbs," was portrayed by the compiler of *Chapter 21* a being characterized by five qualities.

Following this, we looked at the degree to which the *Kephalaia* compilers were faced with considerable conceptual and terminological challenges in their efforts to describe the constituent elements that give light-being its substance. These "Five Elements," also known as the "Five Sons of First Man," the "Five Luminous Gods," and at times even the "Five Intellectuals," are found in an often bewildering array of

contexts that do not always allow for a clear differentiation of concepts. Nevertheless, in spite of this obvious terminological variability and confusion, we also noted that the compilers do not appear to have been interested in sorting them out. Rather, this series, particularly under the guise of the "Five Sons," served as a convenient literary and rhetorical tool for the construction of other more elaborate patterns and formulations involving other number patterns.

Next, we examined the degree to which five-part patterns played a pivotal role in both the theological and literary formulations of *Chapter 38*, a text that might be considered the centre-piece of *Kephalaia* volume one. In this chapter, really a treatise, Mani is made to go to great lengths to explain to a reticent disciple his assertion that the human body is really just a microcosmic representation of the macrocosm and that both domains display an equally pentadic structure in which a divine guardian watches over five districts continually disturbed by the rebellions of the dark powers.

Our final foray into the light-realm involved an examination of how the *Kephalaia* compilers sought to transform the basic pattern of Manichaean conceptions of divine activity from one based on three-stages (most clearly evidenced by Theodore bar Khonai's account) to one based on five. This was expressed by means of the highly variable series known as the "Five Fathers" as well as the grouping identified as the "Five Greatnesses." Each of these cases appears to have represented a deliberate attempt at the *pentadic redaction* of Manichaean discourse.

When it came to the dark-realm, the compilers were compelled to be more creative in their redaction efforts, since, as far as we can tell, Mani's descriptions of the land of darkness do not appear to have been all that specific. This meant that the compilers had to construct a vision of the dark-realm that was equally rooted in five-part patterns and, as such, could be symmetrically opposed to the light-realm.[2]

In the first place, we saw that the compilers attempted to account for the basic evolution of the dark-realm out of the evil principle variously known as "Matter," "Darkness," "Sin," and "Death." This meant positing five stages of development before the elaboration of

[2] Given the obvious and overriding importance of luminous series such as the "Five Limbs" and the "Five Elements," especially in canonical traditions (see above), I do not accept Couliano's suggestion that the Five Planets are the basis of all Manichaean pentads and, therefore, the dark-realm must have preceded the light-realm in Manichaean ideological formulation ("The Counterfeit Spirit," 57). If anything, this study demonstrates that the opposite was the case.

the dark-realm into five separate elemental worlds. How to describe these individual jurisdictions, however, became a challenge, since the canonical ordering of dark elements, which had placed "smoke" in first position and "darkness" last, led to a terminological difficulty that the compilers were not quite able to overcome. As we saw, this problem became most evident in *Chapter 6*, which applies no less than four different names to the chief ruler of the "Five Worlds of Darkness," although here too, as in *Chapter 38*, five-part patterning was woven into the literary and rhetorical structure in order to drive home the essentially pentadic nature of evil.

Next, we saw that Manichaeans also got into trouble when they attempted to malign only five of the seven planets known to antiquity, with the exception of the Sun and Moon, which they viewed as light-ships ferrying liberated light-particles back to their homeland. This necessitated the substitution of the "Two Ascendants," an astronomical concept that they do not appear to have completely understood, since as Roger Beck has described it, the "Ascendant" (*anabibazon*) was meant to be complimented by a "Descendant" (*katabibazon*).[3] Then, the compilers' attempt to associate the twelve signs of the Zodiac with the "Five Worlds of Darkness" led to equally patchy results, although in this case, this artificial construction seems to have had a polemical motivation.

Then, in a more generalized way, we examined how the *Kephalaia* compilers used five-part numerical patterns in order to address a variety of soteriological, ethical, ecclesiological, polemical, and aetiological themes. Here too, we observed that, especially in soteriological, ethical, and ecclesiological contexts, the compilers presented pentadic constructions at variance with what can be known from canonical traditions.

Such an extensive, albeit often subtle, reshaping of Manichaean discourse implies that the teaching and writings that Mani left behind were not seen as sufficiently clear and, as such, required extensive commentary and retooling. After all, the mere existence of an apparently *scholastic* work such as the *Kephalaia* on such a massive scale indicates that, in fact, there were a considerable number of ambiguities in the Manichaean tradition that needed to be addressed, since we may assume that many chapters have as their kernel some sort of exegetical puzzle found within the canon. This kind of redactional work not only runs contrary to the finality and definitiveness that Mani appears

[3] "Anababizontes," 193.

to have claimed for his "gospel," but it also challenges the assumptions of many modern scholars who have allowed themselves to be influenced by such claims. In fact, there is a long tradition in Manichaean Studies of scholars asserting the general uniformity and consistency of Manichaean doctrine across its bewildering array of culturally specific milieux.[4] Even Polotsky talked about the essential unity of Manichaean traditions from North Africa to China.[5] These conventional assumptions about Manichaean discourse can be summarized as follows:

1) that Mani established a complete theological system in *all* of its details,[6]
2) that this system was transmitted essentially *unchanged* from one socio-historical context to another,[7] and
3) that this system can be reconstructed from the diverse, but essentially *uniform*, sources into which it was recorded.[8]

Today, however, it no longer seems appropriate to talk about a unified "Manichaean system," especially one formulated and set-in-stone by Mani himself. Rather, as this study has shown, Manichaean theology, even at a relatively early stage, seems to have existed in varying states of flux and evolution, depending on the context in which it circulated.[9]

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[4] Such assumptions, for example, have even led Lieu to assert that "literalist" understandings of Mani's teaching made Manichaeism "a static religion" (*Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 32). This implies, however, that basic features of the discourse did not change and made it easily exposed to philosophical attack.

[5] Polotsky, "Manichäismus," 101 [240].

[6] Recently Gardner and Lieu state that in contrast to mainstream Christianity, which worked out its doctrinal formulations over centuries, "Mani took great pains to establish a total religion based upon his own comprehensive scriptures and preaching," thus, there is "less scope in the study of Manichaeism to trace the evolution of doctrine, since all teaching was rigidly tied to the very details of the divine word in Mani's scriptures" (*Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 9–10).

[7] Rudolph suggested that Coptic sources come "closest to the original system" (*Gnosis*, 334), while Heuser, in spite of his efforts to focus on a limited socio-historical source base in his study of Manichaean myth in Coptic texts, suggests that "the Manichaean myth *in toto* can be deduced from" these sources ("The Manichaean Myth," 5).

[8] In his presentation of the Manichaean "system" Hans Jonas stated that he made use primarily of Theodore bar Khonai, "supplemented by whatever pieces of material from parallel texts fit into a particular passage" (*The Gnostic Religion*, 209). Later, Klimkeit would allude to the fact that Manichaean sources reveal "a remarkably unified system" (*Gnosis on the Silk Road*, 4).

[9] Recently, BeDuhn and Mirecki have cautioned against viewing the original Mesopotamian formulation of Manichaeism as "a static base" upon which later tradition rested ("Placing the *Acts of Archelaus*," 7). In the same vein, Sala has pointed to divergent

However, as Jason BeDuhn has pointed out, Manichaean ritual, in contrast to doctrine, seems to have been one aspect of the religion that remained particularly consistent throughout the wide array of cultural environments, and, in fact, theology may have acted more as a conceptual framework meant to support ritual.[10] Thus, it seems more appropriate to talk about *phases* of Manichaean theology. Just as mainstream Christian theology can rightly be identified by any number of qualifiers, such as ante-Nicene, post-Chalcedonean, etc., so too would it be desirable for scholars to develop similar nomenclature based on critical evaluation of the sources. This is partly a result of the fact that some scholars have been somewhat overenthusiastic in their desire to hear the authentic voice of Mani preserved in texts such as the *Kephalaia*, which presents itself (artificially I believe) as a record of his discourses. Such a desire, although not surprising, runs contrary to the function and purpose of the work as identified by this study. A methodological lesson can and should be learned from the degree to which many New Testament scholars are generally sceptical about how much material from the gospels can be directly attributed to Jesus. While Jesus of course never intended to found a religion, it is thought that canonical early Christian writings do contain at least a core of authentic material drawn more or less directly from his teaching (reflected in part by the hypothetically posited Q-document in particular). Many decades of careful study have shown the degree to which this material has been shaped by the redactional and editorial efforts of the first generations of Christians. We should assume that a similar relationship exists between a work such as the *Kephalaia* and the words of Mani himself,[11] although in his case he seems to have *deliberately* sought to found (or at least reform) his notion of the true religion. While it may be assumed that on some level a certain amount of *Kephalaia* material was drawn either from Mani's own writings or from oral traditions passed down by early disciples and teachers, the vast majority seems to have undergone a substantial amount of expansion and revision. It just so happens that

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strains of Manichaean doctrine ("Narrative Options in Manichaean Eschatology," 65–66).

[10] BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body*, 6–7.

[11] In fact, on a basic level, it is difficult to judge the distance of anything attributed to *Manichaios* from Mani himself, since the Syriac epithet, "Mani the Living" (*Mani hiyya*), on which this common form of his name is based seems to reveal at least some degree of hagiography.

this particular study has focused on redactional tendencies by means of numeric patterning, although there would certainly be other thematic gateways worthy of exploration.

Adversity and Persecution

The desire to clarify the teachings of the founder may not have been the only reason that so many *Kephalaia* chapters were shaped by such a redactional tendency, since some of those most deeply interested in five-part patterns also reveal a keen awareness of both external and internal pressures perceived by the community. External pressures, for example, are evoked most explicitly in the efforts of Chapter 6 to describe the properties of the Five Worlds of Darkness, which ultimately lead to an association of these worlds not only with rival religious communities such as Zoroastrians, Christians, and "pagans," but even, as in the case of the great World of Smoke, the "powers that be." As such, we are told most emphatically that "the spirit of the King of (those of) Darkness is the one who rules / today in the powers and authorities of the earth and the / whole world. I mean those who rule over all of creation, / humbling people in their tyranny according to their will" (1 Ke 33.5–8). This statement no doubt reflects bitter memories of persecution at the hands of Sassanian and Roman authorities.

After the deaths of King Shapur I (ca. 272 CE) and his successor Hormizd (273 CE), both of whom had been favourably disposed to Mani and his teaching, religious and political machinations began within the Sassanian administration against the new, upstart religion. In particular, Kirdir, the Zoroastrian "high-priest," sought to bring the empire's religious minorities under control,[12] as is evidenced by one of his surviving inscriptions, which states, in Middle Persian, that "the Jews, the Buddhists and the Brahmans, the Nazarenes (i.e., Aramaic-speaking Christians) and the Christians (i.e., Greek-speaking), the Baptists and the Manichaeans were struck throughout the land."[13] Eventually, this led to the imprisonment and death of Mani (ca. 276 or 277 CE) and the scattering of the Manichaeans from Mesopotamia. Within fifteen years, Mar Sīsin (i.e. Sisinnios), the successor to Mani as head of the church, or

[12] Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 108.

[13] Gignoux, *Les quatres inscriptions du Mage Kirdīr*, 69–70. See also Hutter, "Manichaeism in Iran," 308.

archēgos, was also executed by Vahram II (292 CE).[14] Some Manichaeans, fleeing this persecution, took refuge at the court of King Amaro ('Amr ibn 'Adi) at Hira,[15] to the southwest of Seleucia-Ctesiphon.[16] Eventually, Amaro was even able to convince King Narses to halt the persecution of the Manichaeans, although this was done, in part, strategically, since Emperor Diocletian had recently issued an edict against the Manichaeans on his territory in 303 CE. This was seen by Narses as an opportunity to gain Manichaean support. But, soon enough after, under Hormizd II (303–309 CE), the Zoroastrian priesthood again agitated for the king to strike at the Manichaeans.[17]

Similarly, under the Roman Empire, Manichaeans were faced with periodic persecution and toleration. After making initial inroads into Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, Mani's followers were (unjustly)[18] condemned by Diocletian for purportedly propagating the "damnable customs and perverse laws of the Persians."[19] The so-called "Edict of Milan" (312 CE), however, brought some respite on a whole range of religious matters and, as a result, Manichaeans seem to have flourished in places such as the Nile Valley, where the Coptic *Kephalaia* were likely produced, Palestine, where a teacher such as Julia could flourish,[20] and Italy, where Augustine, on the recommendation of some rather well connected Manichaean "saints," was appointed Chair of Rhetoric in Milan.[21] This relative religious peace was short-lived, since with the accession of Theodosius anti-heretical measures were reinforced (380 CE). Ultimately, by the time of Justinian, Manichaeans were outlawed and the Elect threatened with death.[22]

While the bitter memories of these persecutions are a well-known feature of the Manichaean *Homilies*, especially the "Sermon on the

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[14] According to the *Chronicle of Seert*, the close relation between Manichaeans and Christians in the Sassanian Empire led to Vahram II's persecution of both groups (*Patrologia Orientalis* 4.3:237).

[15] See Pedersen, "A Manichaean Historical Text," 196.

[16] Hutter, "Manichaeism in Iran," 309.

[17] Hutter, "Manichaeism in Iran," 309. See also Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 106–109.

[18] Brown, "Diffusion," 92–103.

[19] For the "Edict of Diocletian" see Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 117–118; see also Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 122–123.

[20] Mark the Deacon, *Life of Porphyry*, 85–91; see Scopello, "Julie, manichéenne d'Antioche," 187–209.

[21] *Confessions*, 18.

[22] Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 111.

Great War,"[23] echoes can also be heard in the *Kephalaia*, which may in fact draw on traditions pre-dating the *Homilies*.[24] For instance, in *Chapter 189 "[On the Five Temptations],"* the fifth temptation menacing the Elect, presumably apostasy, comes during persecution:

> [The fifth is this:] If persecution / [happens] in … through the persecutor … / … the Sects, those who stand in … / … tribulation. Or again as they … / … as they strike him with whips … / … and they come to "crucify"[25] him and he does not turn … / … from his truth and he bears every thing … / … wrath, bond, (and) crucifixion. In these Five / Temptations … … of the Elect / … he receives the … … / … increases in faith and becomes true … / his knowledge … temptation … / … and he returns immediately and reveals / the truth and … gives … (1 Ke 485.30–486.13).

Such a vivid description reveals that persecution formed part of the living memory of the *Kephalaia* compilers and influenced at least some of their pentadic formulations.

The adverse effects of persecution are also incorporated into *Chapter 137 "On the Five Types of Brotherhood that are distinguished from one another."* This chapter, which as we previously saw, enumerated five types of people found in the church, suggests that the fourth and fifth classes, the so-called "day-labourers" and, especially, the "slaves" fleed at the first sign of persecution (1 Ke 340.6–7).

While it is obvious that persecution was a subject that the compilers incorporated into some of their numeric formulations, less obvious is the possibility that such formulations acted as a fortification strategy in the face of real or potential persecutions. It seems at least plausible to suggest that the attempt to shape Manichaean discourse and ideology into such regularized and reoccurring patterns could have served as a means to strengthen the faith of adherents, especially the Elect, to whom the *Kephalaia* as a work appears to have been directed. The broad application of pentadic structures, which were seen as indicative of divinity itself, to such a wide range of phenomena could only serve to reinforce the Manichaean claim to truth and, thereby, support the

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[23] See Pedersen's idiosyncratic, yet thorough, study: *Studies in The Sermon on the Great War*. According to Pedersen, this homiletic texts was meant "to strengthen the persecuted community in 3rd or 4th century Mesopotamia" (28).

[24] For instance, in the "Sermon on the Great War," Mani is made to say "I weep for my *Kephalaia*" (Hom 18.6), which may indicate that "kephalaic" literature of some sort existed prior to the composition of the *Homilies*. See Pedersen, *Studies*, 90–93.

[25] In this case "crucify" is likely a synonym for torture.

typical Manichaean boast to have an explanation for everything. Such a vision of reality, if it could be seen to reproduce itself throughout the cosmos, may have helped to keep adherents in the fold and held them fast during times of adversity and repression.

Missionary Expansion

An additional aspect to which numeric patterning may have contributed is the missionary expansion of the movement. As is well known, Manichaeism was a self-consciously missionary religion. As Lieu has written, "misson was the driving force behind the religion from its very inception."[26] Mani's assertion that the previous revelations of Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus had been unjustly limited to specific socio-cultural settings meant that he actively sought to deliver his message to a wide range of audiences. As such, modelling himself on Paul, Mani undertook missionary journeys to diverse parts of the Sassanian Empire,[27] which enabled him to encounter and preach to Christians in the west, Buddhists and Brahmins in the east, and Zoroastrians in the Iranian heartland. His disciples followed suit, with Mar Adda being primarily responsible for the western mission and Mar Ammō as the chief organizer of the mission to the east.[28]

Numeric patterning may offer us a glimpse into one of the missionary techniques employed by Manichaeans, at least in the western context to which our texts testify. As Asmussen observed: "Mani and his missionaries knew the importance of repetition. When well-known material and names occurred again and again, a feeling of security and confidence was produced in the minds of the listeners."[29] As such, the repeated presentation of Manichaean doctrines in predictable and self-reinforcing patterns, such as those involving *five*, could have contributed to the palatability and plausibility of the missionary's teaching. In addition, the fact that the number five was used with such frequency could have also had a mnemonic value, since a series of five points could be easily recalled using five fingers.[30] After all, a number of the *Kephalaia*

[26] *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 88.
[27] Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 88.
[28] Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 90.
[29] *Manichaean Literature*, 113.
[30] In fact, ancient theoreticians suggested that the five fingers of the hand could

chapters that elaborate five points are extremely brief—almost catechetical (see, for instance, *Chapters 25, 33, 37, 68, 107, 193*)—with little or no literary frame. Such chapters appear to represent "proto-*kephalaia*"[31] and it may well be that many more elaborate chapters have their origins in such brief, mnemonically digestible, didactic texts. This means that numeric patterning, especially those patterns involving five, could have served as a valuable pedagogical tool for the Manichaean missionary.

Why five?

But why, we may ask, was *five* favoured as a figure around which so much of the Manichaean world-view was organized? The fact that *five* played such a central role in the development of Manichaean discourse is, as we have seen, rooted in the fact that Mani and Manichaeans seem to have believed as a general principle that most beings (both Light and Dark) possess five qualities. This concept, in turn, was connected to the Manichaean conviction that the human being, with its five limbs, five senses, five fingers, and five toes (on each limb), was a microcosmic representation of both the wider macro-cosmos[32] and the divine power at its source. After all, according to Manichaean cosmology, when the demons conspired to create Adam and Eve, they used the androgynous image of the Third Messenger as a model (Theodore bar Khonai 317.7–11 [Scher]). This basic anthropological importance of five, however, was likely drawn from 2nd-century Syriac philosopher Bardaisan, who according to Ephraim taught that all entities possess five aspects corresponding to the five senses. Each must have its own colour, its own smell, its own taste, its own texture, and its own voice;[33] sentiments definitely echoed by the description of the dark ruler in *Chapter 6*. In addition, the fact that Mani seems to have inherited a concept of

serve as a valuable tool in the memorization of a discourse (Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 124).

[31] See *T. Kell. Copt. 1* in Gardner, *Kellis Literary Texts*, 2.

[32] For example, *Kephalaia Chapter 70* is called "On the Body, that it was made to resemble the cosmos." Also, the Manichaean account from the *Acta Archelai* states that "this body is called cosmos in relation to the great cosmos (i.e., the macrocosmos)" (τὸ γὰρ σῶμα τοῦτο κόσμος καλεῖται πρὸς τὸν μέγαν κόσμον [9.4]).

[33] See Ephraim, *Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan*, 223 (Mitchell).

Five Elements, perhaps also from the school of Bardaisan, as the basic building blocks of both the soul and its material antithesis, as well as the concept of the Five Limbs, means that some of the most fundamental concepts in Manichaean theology were canonically expressed as pentads. This, in turn, provided the precedent for later teachers and theologians to use, expand, and reinvent this basic paradigm.

Who was responsible?

While we have sought to reconstruct the methods and motivations of an alleged group of anonymous compilers, a clue to who may have instigated or at least influenced this process of enumeration and systematization may be found in a Sogdian fragment from Turfan on the healing of Nafsha of Tadmor/Palmyra. In this text, Mar Adda, the primary Manichaean missionary to the west, is said to have received a vision from the master himself, in which everything, we are told, is explained "fully and completely by numbers."[34] Michel Tardieu suggested that Adda, who held the ecclesiastical rank of "teacher,"[35] may have in fact been the author of the *Kephalaia*.[36] We may never be able to validate such a bold suggestion, but it at least seems plausible that Adda, if not the actual "author" of the *Kephalaia*, may have provided the main impetus or model for the development of this interest in enumeration and systematization. This Iranian fragment would seem to provide the much needed "authorization" from Mani for Adda (and/or his associates) to do something that Mani's great religious project was supposed to have made unnecessary—that is, the interpretation, clarification, and systematization of the teaching of God's ultimate messenger. Mani's canonical writings were supposed to have been definitive, but as the "prologue" to the *Kephalaia* itself reveals (1 Ke 8.34–35), where

[34] So. 18223 + So. 18222 (Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 113). See also Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte*, 44 (3.3).

[35] Funk has raised the question as to whether or not the "teacher" referred to by the title of the first *Kephalaia* volume is in actual fact the author rather than Mani ("Reconstruction," 154, n. 17).

[36] Tardieu, "Principes de l'exégèse manichéenne," 134, n. 73. Cited (tentatively) by Funk, "Reconstruction," 154. Adda is known to have composed his own writings, which were sometimes mistaken for those of Mani (Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 91). This, in fact, may have been the result of conscious imitation or attribution of his words to the master, not unlike the situation found within the *Kephalaia*.

Mani is made to exhort his disciples to record what he taught them, the definitive and final pretence with which Mani packaged his writings was quickly overridden by the needs and circumstances of the communities he left behind.

PART II

TRANSLATIONS FROM *THE KEPHALAIA OF THE TEACHER* [BERLIN CODEX]

Note on Translations

The following translations have been left in their codex page format in order to facilitate cross-referencing with Part I and comparison with the original edition (to which the reader is strongly encouraged to refer). Also, mythological figures and theological concepts of particular relevance to Part I have been rendered in italics purely for emphasis. In addition, I have made every effort to incorporate (as yet unpublished) *Addenda et corrigenda* (A&C) by W.-P. Funk into the translation of these selected chapters. The final published version of these A&C is slated to appear at the end of the Polotsky/Böhlig/Funk edition of *Kephalaia* volume one. As such, references to the A&C are simply meant to indicate that an improved or alternate reading exists. However, as in the case of the translations as a whole, any inaccuracies in the rendering of these valuable A&C are mine. Note also that any words or phrases followed by (?) are conjectural reconstructions.

CHAPTER 2

THE SECOND, ON THE PARABLE OF THE TREE

16.35 The first parable they asked him about (and) implored [him to]
16.36 interpret for them is this: While [crowds of . . .][1]

17.1 were gathered . . . his disciples stood
17.2 before him (and) questioned him, saying: We implore you, our
17.3 Lord, that you [teach us] and interpret for us these
17.4 two trees [which Jesus] described to his disciples, as is written
17.5 in the Gos[pel, where he said]:[2] *The good tree produces*
17.6 *[good fruit,] and [the] evil tree produces bad fruit*
17.7 *[. . . Neither is there a] good [tree] that produces bad fruit,*
17.8 *[nor is there an evil tree that] produces good fruit.*
17.9 *[Every tree is known by] its fruit.*
17.10 [We] implore you, then, that you [now teach us about]
17.11 these two trees [and] interpret them [for us] . . .
17.12 . . . as they grow [on the] earth. For they are described . . .
17.13 [in the] writings . . . . . them . . .
17.14 . . . . . word(?) . . .
17.15 . . . . . mystery by mystery.
17.16 There are some among the Sects[3] who interpret these two
17.17 trees, counting them as good trees along with the rest of the good things[4]
17.18 on this mixed earth. Each [one(?)] . . . . . .
17.19 to them, relating them to . . .
17.20 a single interpretation.
17.21 Then our Lord Manichaios, the Apostle, sent [from[5] the] Greatness, spoke
17.22 to his disciples: Very great is this matter which [you uttered . . .]
17.23 . . . . . .
17.24 . . . . . .
17.25 . . . . . .

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[1] Funk, *personal communication.*

[2] See Luke 6:43,44 and Mt 7-17-20.

[3] ⲛⲁⲟⲅⲙⲁ: the generic term used in Graeco-Coptic Manichaean texts for any number of rival religious groups.

[4] A&C: ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ [ⲉⲩⲥⲁ] |[18] [ⲭ]ⲏ. The disciples appear to want Mani to address an interpretation of this parable that runs counter to Mani's radical separation of the Two Natures.

[5] A&C: ⲡⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ϩ]ⲛⲧⲙⲛ |[22] ⲧⲛⲁϭ.

17.26 by his own mouth … …
17.27 evil. The Sects … …
17.28 … … … …
17.29 … … … …
17.30 This (fact), however, that they [interpret] the two trees, considering them
17.31 … to the trees … in a single interpretation …
17.32 … … For … …
17.33 … tree, which grew on this mixed earth
17.34 … date-palm. For …
17.35 … established them, that the date-palm is not completely useful

18.1 … their child, while it wounds … …
18.2 … first a(?) … … in them
18.3 … they [become sweet(?)] to the end … It was
18.4 in its fibres and its branches … … and dies.[6]
18.5 There is an evil smoke among them … …
18.6 date-palm … before the tree which … …
18.7 evil. For it will pass judgement … …
18.8 … … or those who … …
18.9 … [date-palm(?) is] the one which they name … …
18.10 … … the kind …
18.11 … … name it "tree" …
18.12 … … sweet … …
18.13 … … … in …
18.14 … … … …
18.15 … … … …
18.16 … … … …
18.17 … … writing …
18.18 … … … …
18.19 … it … they establish …
18.20 … … human being … …
18.21 … which … it is sweet …
18.22 … seed of … and it is useful
18.23 for their food … … …
18.24 … … … …
18.25 … … … …
18.26 … … … …
18.27 … … … …
18.28 … from the tree … which …[7]
18.29 … … … …
18.30 … … … …
18.31 … will interp ret … …

[6] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲙⲟⲩ.
[7] A&C: ⲛ̣[. .] … ⲁⲃⲁ̣[ⲗ] ⲙ̣̄ⲡⲡⲱⲙ̣[ⲛ] . ⲉⲧ[. .] . . [… … .] … . .

18.32 … will not join … …
18.33 … p œop l e who are named … …
18.34 … … … …
18.35 … … … …
18.36 … … … …
18.37 … that they … …

19.1 [Apo]stle. He was counted among the [twelve],
19.2 but,[8] in the end, it is written about him that Satan [entered him].
19.3 He handed the Saviour over to the Jews (and) they seized and [crucified him][9]
19.4 to the tree. Thus, Judas Isca[riot was first]
19.5 called a good man, [but in the end, an evil man,][10]
19.6 a traitor, and a murderer … [It is written about]
19.7 Paul that he was a persecutor at first, who … the church
19.8 of God, as he persecuted … … …
19.9 … … … …
19.10 … … … …
19.11 a great revelation, he has [proclaimed it in …][11]
19.12 the church [of] my Lord, he has …
19.13 [a] b æd […] at first … and …
19.14 … … interp ɹet … …
19.15 … … their interpretation … …
19.16 … … a good man, correctly … …
19.17 … being totally evil. For … …
19.18 they were created through the mixture of [Light and Darkness(?)]
19.19 as they all stood in [love(?)] … …
19.20 they were shaped and were established in the … and …
19.21 which are mixed in all things. Behold! … the
19.22 interpretation of the Sects does not agree with[12] … …
19.23 … listen, and I will reveal to you about the …
19.24 [which] the Saviour explained in the [parable] about the good tree and
19.25 the evil tree … … call them from …
19.26 They do not know what sort of thing they are [on their] inside and outside,
19.27 [without] knowledge, they equate them … in their interpretation of
19.28 what kind of thing these two trees are. But, hear how[13]
19.29 I will reveal to you … the interpretation [of the parable (?)][14]

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[8] A&C: ⲇⲉ rather than ⲭⲉ.
[9] A&C: ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲡ[ⲫ] [ⲁⲩⲥ]ⲧⲁ[ⲩⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲫ].
[10] A&C: [ⲁ]ⲧ[ⲭ̀][ⲁⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲣ]ⲙ̄[ⲃⲱ] |[6] ⲛⲉⲫ.
[11] A&C: ⲉⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲁ[ⲓⲍⲉ ± 10.
[12] A&C: ⲥⲛⲏ[ⲩ] ⲉⲛ ⲁⲭⲣⲛ̄ ⲡ(rest unclear).
[13] A&C: ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ [ⲁ].
[14] A&C: [ⲉⲧ]ⲃⲉ ⲧⲭⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲓ̣ⲁ [ⲛ̄]ⲧ̣ⲡⲁⲣⲁ̣ⲃⲟⲗ̣[ⲏ ⲛ̄] (?).

19.30 of the tree and the usefulness(?) … Father …
19.31 … everything, as … in the …
19.32 … … of the world … in the …
19.33 … … [righteous]ness of this good tree …
19.34 … … the light of this good tree …
19.35 … … the Column [of Glory], the Perfect Man[15]

20.1 … these *[Five] Intellectuals* that clothe his body …
20.2 … of this good tree, which are the Elements of
20.3 Light, mixed (and) compounded in the universe. The fruit
20.4 of the good tree is Jesus the Splendour, the glorious, the Father
20.5 [of] all the Apostles. But, the taste of the fruits of the [good]
20.6 tree [is the] Holy Church with its Teachers and its
20.7 … … [Elect and its] Catechumens. Behold! This is the good
20.8 tree] … … …
20.9 … … … …
20.10 … … … evil fruits
20.11 … … [I will] reveal to you … …
20.12 … it (that is, the good tree) has *Five Limbs*
20.13 [which are: Consideration, Counsel, Insight, Thought]
20.14 Mind. Its Consideration is the Holy Church. Its Counsel
20.15 is the Column of Glory, the Perfect Man. Its Insight
20.16 is the First Man, who dwells in the Ship of the Living
20.17 Waters. Its Thought is the Third Messenger
20.18 [who dwells in] the Ship of the Living Fire, which shines in
20.19 [the world]. But, the Mind is the Father, who dwells in the Great-
20.20 ness, who exists perfectly in the Aeon of Light.
20.21 … this, that the souls who come and attain
20.22 the Holy [Church] and also the alms which the Cate-
20.23 [chumens] give, as they are purified by the Holy Church
20.24 … every deed. Consideration is that which will …
20.25 … they ascend to … … is Counsel,
20.26 [they] ascend to Insight, which is the First Man,
20.27 who dwells in the Ship of the Night. From Insight they ascend
20.28 to Thought, which is the Messenger, who dwells in
20.29 the Ship of the Day. But he, the Great Thought, who
20.30 … them to Mind, who is the Father, the God
20.31 of Truth, the great Mind of all Aeons of Glory.
20.32 This is the good tree that produces good fruit …
20.33 … is all life and eternal light … …
20.34 … exists … ever … It is blessed …
20.35 … good … evil … …

[15] A&C: ⲡ[ⲥ]ⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡ]ⲣ̣ⲫⲙ̣[ⲉ] ⲉ̣ⲧ̣[ⲭⲛⲕ].

21.1 … who exists in … …
21.2 … … from … …
21.3 … … also … …
21.4 … … … as he is
21.5 … … … …
21.6 … … … …
21.7 … … … …
21.8 … … … …
21.9 … … … …
21.10 … … … …
21.11 … … … …
21.12 … … the good tree … …
21.13 … … of fire … …
21.14 … … those who [rule(?)] … …
21.15 … … heaven and the wheel [of the stars(?)] … …
21.16 … … they are the *Five Fleshes* who go …
21.17 … the fruits … …
21.18 … Insight as the Error, the mystery which … …
21.19 which Satan has set in the cosmos. But the [taste] of
21.20 these evil fruits are those wicked people, the Sects …
21.21 who are bound by various laws, they and their teachers …
21.22 [the] Law of Death, they taste it (and) thirst for [it]
21.23 [and it delivers] the soul[s] to death. This is the tree, [that]
21.24 [produces] good [fruit], which our Lord has called:
21.25 [*The good tree that*] *produces good fruit.* He has [stated(?)] …
21.26 in the writings … all the Sects know it.
21.27 … … [I will] reveal to you (and) you …
21.28 … … the evil [tree] has *Five Limbs*
21.29 [which] are: Consideration, Counsel, Insight, Thought, [Mind]
21.30 Its [Consideration is] the Law of Death which the Sects
21.31 are taught. Its Counsel is the transmigration …
21.32 in [various] kinds. But, its Insight is the [fiery] furnaces of
21.33 … … Gehenna, which are filled with smoke. Its Thought …
21.34 … … the vessel. Its Mind is …
21.35 … … the lump, the last bond, the …
21.36 … … those who Satan has [cast]

22.1 … … … …
22.2 … … … …
22.3 … … … …
22.4 … … … …
22.5 … … … …
22.6 … … … …
22.7 … … … …
22.8 … … … …
22.9 … … … …
22.10 … … … …

22.11 … … the great … …
22.12 … … and they fall … …
22.13 … … the Darkness … …
22.14 … … all and they take away …
22.15 … engulfed into the lump and are bound …
22.16 … … the fruit of Darkness, which they …
22.17 … … … for eternity.
22.18 … his face … every mishap.[16] The
22.19 [un]fortunate ones [who] will arrive there, they do not have the chance of
22.20 repentance.
22.21 … this is the interpretation of the evil tree which I have
22.22 … [interpreted] … for you …
22.23 … … good fruit … …
22.24 … … its fruits are evil … …
22.25 … … it in its days of being … …
22.26 … it. Therefore … …
22.27 … … and my beloved … …
22.28 … … them in truth, as it is changed … …
22.29 … … they … …
22.30 … who is left in his Good Land … …
22.31 … life and light, since Death and Darkness do not [exist] …
22.32 … But, the evil tree is Matter … …
22.33 … it gave itself form in … …
22.34 … that existed in his Evil Land … …
22.35 … Darkness and Death. Blessed is everyone

23.1 [who recognizes(?)] these two trees and separates them from one another,
23.2 and knows that they did not come to be from one another, (that) they
23.3 did not come from one another, and (that) they did not come out of one. The
23.4 person who separates them will enter into the Aeon of Light.
23.5 … … [as I have] revealed them to you, and he will see …
23.6 … … the bad fruit did not originate from
23.7 it … The one who will not separate it …
23.8 … … from one another, he will fall to the land …
23.9 … … … until he attains …
23.10 … … The … …
23.11 … … Blessed is he who believes and …
23.12 … … Darkness, he who grows …
23.13 … … forever and ever.

[16] A&C: ϩⲛ ⲃⲁⲛϣⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲙ.

CHAPTER 3

THE INTERPRETATION OF HAPPINESS, WISDOM, AND POWER; WHAT THEY MEAN

23.17 Again, the Enlightener spoke to his disciples, as [he(?)]
23.18 [was] sitting in the assembly of the church: What do these
23.19 [three things] mean, which are called in the cosmos "happiness,"
23.20 ["wisdom,"] and "power," which people pride themselves on
23.21 … the happiness of the cosmos …
23.22 … … [wisdom(?)] in the cosmos has a …
23.23 … [power(?)] of the world will pass away.
23.24 [People] pride themselves on them (and) praise …
23.25 Now … thing is revealed in a great[17]
23.26 … … which I have said to you.
23.27 [I will][18] teach you another happiness which does not[19] [perish(?)] …
23.28 [another][20] wisdom [which does not] end, and another power which does not
23.29 [pass away(?)]. But now listen! I will reveal to you
23.30 [how] these three things are—[happiness,]
23.31 wisdom, and power.
23.32 [The first][21] glorious [happiness] is the Father, the God [of]
23.33 [Truth. He who] is established in the Great Land of [Light.]

24.1 But his glorious wisdom is his Great Spirit, who …
24.2 … … below, which is coursing through all his Aeons,
24.3 as they too are sailing through it. His great power is
24.4 all the Rich Gods and Angels who
24.5 are called forth from him, as they … …
24.6 those who are called "Aeons" … …
24.7 … … … …
24.8 … … … …
24.9 [the one] that is named "Sun" … …
24.10 … [the Ship of] Living Fire … [the Third]
24.11 Messenger, the Second Greatness … [The]
24.12 glorious happiness is the [Living] Spirit …

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17 A&C: ⲟⲩⲛⲁ[ⲥ].
18 A&C: [ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲇⲉ] [ⲧ][ⲛⲁ]ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲱⲧⲏⲛⲉ.
19 A&C: ⲉⲙⲁⲥ.
20 A&C: ⲁ[. . ⲁ][ⲥ][ⲁ]ⲛ [ⲕⲉⲥⲟ]ⲫⲓⲁ.
21 A&C: [ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟ]ⲛⲓⲁ.

24.13 … [wisdom(?)] is the Mother of Life …
24.14 … … … [all] the Rich
24.15 Gods and Angels who are found within the ship.
24.16 Happiness, wisdom, and power also exist in the Ship [of the Living]
24.17 [Waters] … … Happiness …
24.18 … … the Mind of the Father. But, wisdom [is the]
24.19 [Virgin] of Light. Power, also, which is in the Ship, is [all]
24.20 the Rich Gods and Angels who are found in it.
24.21 These three (things) also exist in the Elements—happiness, wisdom,
24.22 and power. Happiness is [the Column of Glory],
24.23 the Perfect Man, wisdom is the [*Five Sons of the*]
24.24 *Living Spirit*, but, the great power [is] the
24.25 *Five Sons of the First Man* … … [who]
24.26 [are enclosed] (and) kneaded into the Universe, which … …
24.27 as it supports the Universe.
24.28 Then again, happiness, wisdom, [and power]
24.29 [are found] in the Holy Church. Great, glorious [happiness,]
24.30 is the Apostle of Light, [who is]
24.31 [sent] from the Father. Wisdom [is the Leaders]
24.32 and Teachers, who journey in the Holy Church, [proclaiming]
24.33 wisdom and truth. Great [power] … …

25.1 … all the Elect, the Virgins, and the Chaste,
25.2 [along with] the Catechumens, who are in the [Holy] Church …
25.3 … the *Five Happinesses*, the *Five Wisdoms*, and the *Five Powers* …
25.4 … … in the *Five Churches*. Blessed is
25.5 everyone who will know them, for he … …
25.6 … kingdom forever.

CHAPTER 4

ON THE FOUR GREAT DAYS, WHICH HAVE COME FROM ONE ANOTHER; ALONG WITH THE FOUR NIGHTS

25.11 Again the Enlightener spoke: There are Four Great Days which have come
25.12 [from one another, they] have been called forth [from] one another. The First
25.13 [Great Day] is the Father, the God of Truth, the first …
25.14 … … among the Aeons of his Greatness in his Living
25.15 [Kingdom]. The twelve hours of this Great Day
25.16 [are] the Twelve Great, Rich Gods of [Great]ness,
25.17 [those] who are the first Calls which he called (into being) according to
25.18 his Greatness. He distributed them among the Four Regions,
25.19 three to each side.
25.20 The Second Day is the Third Messenger, who
25.21 dwells in the Ship of Light. Its twelve hours are
25.22 the Twelve Virgins who he summoned in his Greatness.
25.23 [The] Third [Day] is the Column of Glory, [the great]
25.24 [Porter, who is greater than] all [the Porters], who supports …
25.25 all these … those above and those below. Its twelve hours are
25.26 the *Five Sons of the First Man*, the *Five Sons of the Living*
25.27 *Spirit*, those who support all burdens of the
25.28 cosmos, along with the Call and Response, which are counted among their ten
25.29 brothers. These are the twelve light-hours of the Third
25.30 Day. The Fourth Day is Jesus
25.31 the Splendour, who [dwells in] his church. Its twelve
25.32 hours are the twelve Wisdoms, which are his
25.33 [light-hours]. These are the Four Great Days which have come
25.34 [forth from one another] (and) which were called from one another. They …
25.35 … Blessed is everyone who knows them and
25.36 … of Light.

26.1 [Know also this!]: Just as Four Days [exist],
26.2 so too do Four Nights exist.
26.3 The First Night is the Land of Darkness. It has
26.4 twelve dark [shadows], which are the hours

of Darkness. The twelve shadows of the first Night
are the *Five Elements* of the Land of Darkness, [which]
have poured forth in its *Five Senses* and …
have … in its *Five Elements* and its *Five* …
the *Five* [*Spirits*(?)] who dwell in its Elements …
These are the twelve shadows and spirits of the first Night.
    The second Night is Matter, the sculptor … …
… … … who has formed …
and every ruling power that is in the World [of Darkness, which]
has fashioned it in *Five Senses, Five [Male]*
and *Five Female*, two to a world ,as well as the fire and [lust]
[which] dwell in men and women, inflaming them
for one another. These are the twelve Spirits of this
second Night. But, this Matter, it is the Thought of Death, which
causes the King of Darkness and his powers to prepare for
war and battle against the Aeons of Greatness. But,
it was caught (and) snared by the First Man (and) carried
to … … by the powers … it was brought
from the Land of Death (and) placed … above
and below in the [entire] cosmos, in the *Five Parts*
which are above in the heavens along with the *Five* [*Parts* which] are below
in the lower lands, along with the heat [and the] cold, which
are the father and the mother, their fire and their desire.
    This is the second Night, which is born our of the first
Night. It was snared by the First Man (and) brought
by the Living Spirit (and) placed in this mixed world …
above and below. The [upper part is the(?)]
senses of men; the lower part [… the senses(?)]
of women. The third [Night is the *Five*]
Worlds of Flesh … … [*five*(?)]

[male] and the *five* female, those who are born of the powers
… they fell upon the earth, while they are revealed in
the dryness and cold, along with the fire and desire
[which] dwells in them, which impel them towards one another.
[Matter], however, is the Thought of Death, which is [Mother] of
them all, as it is named among them "Night,"
the male and female [powers][22] of flesh, along with the fire and
[desire] … twelve hours of … …
… Night. This, again, is the third Night, in
[the] World of Flesh, which is born out of the second
Night, which the Living Spirit crucified in the

[22] A&C: [ⲛ̄ⲟ]ⲁⲙ.

27.12 [entire[23] cosmos, above] and below in the heaven …
27.13 … The fourth Night is the Law of [Sin,]
27.14 [which] is the Spirit of Darkness that speaks through the twelve
27.15 [spirits], the twelve Sects, which are the strippings,
27.16 the twelve Zodiacs of Matter, which are
27.17 its thrones. It (that is, Matter) is announced, as it is moulded and
27.18 manifest in the Old Man. But, the hours of this fourth
27.19 Night, which is the Old Man who rules among the Sects, they are the
27.20 twelve evil spirits … the Old Man, who …
27.21 … … … …
27.22 … … … …
27.23 … … … …
27.24 [Blessed is he who(?)] distinguishes the day and the night …
27.25 … … of Death. This is the fourth [Night]
27.26 … … which have come forth from one another, one …
27.27 … … as the Days of Light
27.28 that they come out[24] (and) have revealed one another. So too
27.29 … [do the Nights(?)] come to be from one another.
27.30 Blessed is the one who knows and who distinguishes and
27.31 … … forever.

[23] A&C: [ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏ]ⲣ̣[ⲫ].
[24] A&C: [ϫⲉ] ⲛ̣ⲧ[ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ] ⲁⲩ̣[ⲥ]ⲱⲗⲡ.

CHAPTER 6

ON THE FIVE STOREHOUSES WHICH HAVE POURED FORTH FROM THE LAND OF DARKNESS FROM THE BEGINNING; THE FIVE ARCHONS, THE FIVE SPIRITS, THE FIVE BODIES, (AND) THE FIVE TASTES

30.17 Again, the Enlightener spoke to his disciples: *Five Store-*
30.18 *Houses* have existed from the beginning in the Land of Darkness. *Five*
30.19 *Elements* have poured forth from them. Also, from the *Five*
30.20 *Elements* were fashioned *Five Trees*, (and) from the *Five Trees*
30.21 were fashioned *Five Species of Creatures* according to each World,
30.22 male and female. But also, the *Five Worlds* [have]
30.23 *Five Kings*, *Five Spirits*, [*Five*] *Bodies*, (and) *Five* [*Tastes*]
30.24 according to each world, which do not resemble [one another].
30.25 The King of the World of Smoke, [he] … …
30.26 He has come from the depth of [the darkness. This is he who is]
30.27 the chief of all evil and [all] wickedness. The initial
30.28 spread of the war came to be [through] him—all
30.29 battles, fights, quarrels, conflicts, destructions,
30.30 struggles, errors, contests. It is he [who first] stirred
30.31 conflict and war along with his worlds [and his] powers. Afterwards,
30.32 he waged war with the Light, doing battle with
30.33 the exalted kingdom. But,[25] as for [the King] of Darkness,
30.34 there are *Five Forms* in him: his head [is lion-faced, his]
30.35 hands and feet are demon- [and devil-]faced, [his]
30.36 shoulders are eagle-faced, while his belly [is dragon-faced,]

31.1 (and) his tail is fished-faced. These *Five Forms*, the imprints of his
31.2 [*Five*] *Worlds*, are found in the King of (those belonging to) Darkness.
31.3 There are also *Five Properties* in him. The first is his
31.4 darkness. The second is his stench. The third is
31.5 his ugliness. The fourth is his bitterness—his very soul.
31.6 The fifth is his fire, which burns like a
31.7 *peis*[26] of iron being melted by the flame.
31.8 There are also three other things about him: The first is that his [body(?)][27]

[25] A&C: ⲉⲕ[ⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲡⲣⲣⲟ] (cf. 1 Ke 173.27).
[26] Meaning of ⲡⲉⲓϣ unknown, see Polotsky/Böhlig 31 n. 7.
[27] A&C: ⲥϣⲙⲁ (doubtful reading).

31.9 [is hard] (and) very strong, as if (in) its bitterness Matter
31.10 built it …, which is the Thought of Death,
31.11 that which formed it by the nature of the Land of
31.12 Darkness. Thus is the [body(?)] of the Archon of [Smoke]. It is
31.13 harder than all iron, brass, steel, and
31.14 [lead,] since there isn't any cleaver or implement to
31.15 pierce[28] or cut it. For Matter, its fashioner, built it
31.16 … strong and hard. The second (thing is) that he strikes
31.17 [and] kills by the utterance of his magic. His preaching and his
31.18 hearing, all his foolish speech,[29] make magic
31.19 and invocations for him. When it pleases him, he calls it upon
31.20 himself and hides, by his magic, from his
31.21 companions. Also, when it pleases him, he reveals himself to his powers
31.22 [and] appears to them, so that the sorcery which people
31.23 practise today … in this world are the mysteries of
31.24 the King of Darkness. Therefore, I command you
31.25 at all times: Keep yourselves away from magic and the sorcery
31.26 of Darkness, since the person who learns them and
31.27 [practises] them, and perfects them, at the end, where the King
31.28 of (those belonging to) Darkness and his powers will be bound, in that place will
31.29 also be bound the soul of the one who lives by them and
31.30 [walks] in the [magic] of Error. Whether it is a man or a
31.31 [woman], this is the judgement which has been given. They are cut
31.32 … the judgements of God, for he who will
31.33 … and their king.

32.1 The third (is) that the King of (those belonging to) Darkness knows the
32.2 speech and the language of his *Five Worlds*. He understands
32.3 everything that he hears from their mouths, as they speak with one
32.4 another—each according to his language. [Every] plan
32.5 which they conceive against him (and) every deceit which they discuss
32.6 with one another in order to bring it upon him—he knows them.
32.7 He also knows the gestures by which they give signs
32.8 to one another. But his powers and the archons
32.9 who are under him, they do not understand his speech. All these things
32.10 are revealed to him, although their heart is not revealed to him.
32.11 He does not know their mind and their thought, he does not consider their
32.12 beginning or their end, but he knows and perceives only
32.13 that which is before his eyes.

[28] A&C: [ⲭⲱ]ⲧⲉ.
[29] A&C: ⲥⲉⲭⲉ rather than ⲥⲉⲃⲉ.

32.14 There is also another, different thing in the King of (those belonging to)
32.15 Darkness. When it pleases him to walk, he spreads out all his limbs,
32.16 and he walks. When it comes to his mind, he draws
32.17 in his limbs, takes them to himself, rolls them into
32.18 one another, and falls down like a grape or a
32.19 great iron ball. His voice is terrible.
32.20 He causes fear (and) frightens his powers with his voice.
32.21 For, when he speaks, he is like the thunder
32.22 among the clouds and is like the … of the one who …
32.23 When he cries out and he … and he cries …
32.24 on his powers, they tremble and turn and fall at his feet
32.25 like birds, while they … bird …
32.26 and they fall down to the earth. However, there is only this one thing:
32.27 he does not know what is far from him. He does not see what
32.28 is in the distance, nor does he hear it. But that which is
32.29 before his face, this he sees, hearing it (and)
32.30 knowing it. These signs and evil symbols
32.31 are found in the chief of the demons and
32.32 devils, the King of all the mountains of darkness. [When][30]
32.33 the Land of Darkness produced him, it [begot him in its]
32.34 cruelty, in its evil, in its wrath … …

33.1 more than all his fellow-Archons, who are in all his worlds.
33.2 Gold is the body of the King of (those of) Darkness.
33.3 The bodies of all the powers who belong to the World of
33.4 Smoke are gold. But, the taste of its fruit is
33.5 salty. The spirit of the King of (those belonging to) Darkness is the one who rules
33.6 today in the powers and authorities of the earth and the
33.7 whole world. I mean those who rule over all of creation,
33.8 humbling people in their tyranny according to their will.
33.9 But, the King of the Worlds of Fire is lion-faced, the first of
33.10 all beasts. His body is brass. So too are [the bodies]
33.11 of all the Archons who belong to the fire.
33.12 Their taste is the sour taste in every form.
33.13 But, the spirit of the King of those who belong to the World of Fire is the
33.14 one who rules in the nobles and leaders who are
33.15 under the command of the powers and authorities and the kings of the
33.16 world. His spirit is also the one found in the Sects
33.17 who worship fire, as they offer their sacrifices to the fire.

[30] A&C: ⲡ[ⲥⲁ]ⲡ ⲁⲛ [ⲉⲧⲁ]-.

33.18 Also, the King of the Worlds of Wind has an eagle-face. His
33.19 body is iron. Also, the bodies of all those who belong to
33.20 the wind are iron. Their taste is the burnt taste
33.21 in every form. His spirit is that of the idol-worshippers,
33.22 the spirits of Error that are in every temple, *eidoleion*,
33.23 place of worship, statues and images, shrines
33.24 of worldly Error.
33.25 But, the King of the World of Water has a fish-face. His
33.26 body is silver. So too, all the Archons that belong to water,
33.27 their bodies are silver. Also, the taste of their fruit is
33.28 the sweetness of water; the sweet taste in every form.
33.29 Also, the spirit of the King of the Archons of Water is the one who
33.30 rules today in the Sects of Error. Those who
33.31 baptize in the baptism of water, (placing) their hope
33.32 [and] their trust in the baptism of water.
33.33 [The] King of the World of Darkness is a dragon. His
33.34 [body is lead] and tin. So too, all the Archons
33.35 [that belong to the World of] Darkness, their bodies are lead and

34.1 tin. But, the taste of their fruit is bitter.
34.2 Also, the spirit, who rules over them, is the spirit
34.3 who speaks even today in the soothsayers, as they give oracles,
34.4 in seers of every kind, (and) in the demented,
34.5 as well as in spirits who give oracles of any kind.
34.6 Therefore I tell you, my brothers and my
34.7 Limbs, perfect faithful and holy elect:
34.8 Keep your hearts with you and keep yourselves from the
34.9 *Five Slaveries* of the *Five Dark Spirits*.
34.10 Abandon the worship of their *Five Bodies*. Do not
34.11 interact with them, so that you might escape their bond
34.12 and their punishment forever.

CHAPTER 7

THE SEVENTH, ON THE FIVE FATHERS

34.16 Again, as the Enlightener, our father the true Apostle,
34.17 sat among his disciples
34.18 proclaiming to them the greatness of God, he said again to
34.19 them in this way in his revelation: There are *Five Fathers*,
34.20 who have been called forth one from another, and one has also come
34.21 from the other. The First Father is the Father of
34.22 Greatness, the glorious one who is praised, he whose greatness has no
34.23 measure, who is the first *monogenes*, the first
34.24 eternal who exists with the *Five Fathers* forever.
34.25 He who exists before all that has existed and
34.26 will exist. He, then, the glorious Father, he has called
34.27 three emanations from himself. The first is the Great
34.28 Spirit, the First Mother, she who has come from the Father, she was
34.29 revealed first. The second is the Beloved of
34.30 Lights, the great, glorious Beloved, who is honoured, [who]
34.31 has come from the Father and has appeared from him.
34.32 The Third {Father}[31] is the Third [Messenger,]
34.33 the first of all counsellors, [who has come from the]

35.1 First Father (and) has appeared. This is the First Father,
35.2 the First Power, he from whom the three great powers have come.
35.3 This is the First Father, the first eternal, the root
35.4 of all lights. He from whom the three emanations have come.
35.5 They have subdued the Darkness (and) destroyed it. It pleased him not (that)
35.6 they alone be given the victory, (so) the victory is also given to their Aeons.
35.7 The Second Father who has come forth from the First Father is the
35.8 Third Messenger, the replica of the King of Light.
35.9 But, he too has called (and) emanated three
35.10 powers. One is the Column of Glory, the Perfect Man,
35.11 he who supports all things, the Great Column
35.12 of Blessing, the Great Porter, who is greater than

[31] Father (**ⲉⲓⲱⲧ**) here is an error for "emanation" (**ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲏ**) (Funk, *personal communication*).

35.13 all the porters.[32] The second is Jesus the Splendour, the glorious,
35.14 the one through whom eternal life is given. The
35.15 third is the Virgin of Light, the Glorious Wisdom, she
35.16 who stole the heart(s) of the Archons and the Powers by her image,
fulfilling
35.17 the will of the Greatness.
35.18 The Third Father who has come forth from the Second Father,
35.19 he is Jesus the Splendour, the glorious. He too has summoned
35.20 three calls like the Second Father.
35.21 The first power which he called forth is the Light-Mind,
35.22 the Father of all Apostles, the first of all the churches,
35.23 he who Jesus set, after our likeness, in the Holy
35.24 Church. The second power which Jesus called
35.25 is the Great Judge, who judges all the souls
35.26 of people, his tent being set in the air [under(?)]
35.27 the wheel [of the] stars.[33] The third power is
35.28 the Youth, the great [power of][34] light in his two per-
35.29 sons in … I am talking about that one who he established
35.30 in the Call [and] Response. [He has established] himself through his
father
35.31 the King of … the Saviour … see him, as he speaks
35.32 [to the Jews(?)]:[35] "*What*[36] *I have seen by means of my Father*,
35.33 *[this I say to] you. You too, what you have seen*
35.34 *[by means of your father], that you do*."

36.1 The Fourth Father is the Light-Mind, he who chooses
36.2 all the churches. He, too, has called three
36.3 powers after the likeness of Jesus. The first power is the Apostle
36.4 of Light, he who comes whenever he puts on the Church
36.5 of the flesh of humankind and becomes leader of
36.6 Righteousness. The second (power) is the Twin, who comes to the
36.7 Apostle and reveals himself to him, since he is a companion to him,
36.8 being bound to him everywhere (and) always helping him in
36.9 all the tribulations and the dangers. The third (power)
36.10 is the Light-Form, which the Elect and the
36.11 Catechumens assume when they renounce the world.
36.12 The Fifth Father is the Light-Form which
36.13 reveals itself to each one who leaves his
36.14 body in the same way as the Apostle, along with the Three
36.15 Great, Glorious Angels who come with it. While the one holds

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[32] A similar formulation may be found in a hymn/litany from Mani's *Living Gospel* (*Synaxeis*) (Funk, *personal communication)*.

[33] A&C: [ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ [ⲛⲛ]ⲥⲓⲟⲩ.

[34] Funk, *personal communication*.

[35] See Polotsky/Böhlig 35.32.

[36] See John 8.38 (Polotsky/Böhlig 35 n. 32).

36.16 the Victory-prize in his hand, (and) the second wears the Garment
36.17 of Light, the third is the one who holds the Diadem
36.18 and the Wreath and the Crown of Light. These are the
36.19 Three Angels of Light who come with this Light-
36.20 Form and are revealed with it to the Elect and the
36.21 Catechumens. These are the Five Fathers which have come from
36.22 one another, they have revealed (and) appeared from one
36.23 another. Blessed is the one who knows and understands them,
36.24 for he will find eternal life and put on the Garments of
36.25 Light which are given to the Righteous, [the Faithful], the
Peace-Giving,
36.26 and the Doers of Good.

CHAPTER 9

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE (SIGN OF) PEACE, WHAT IT MEANS, THE RIGHT HAND, THE KISS, THE ADORATION

37.31 Again, the Disciples asked the Apostle, saying
37.32 [to him]: This (Sign of) Peace and this Greeting which are found in the world,
37.33 from who [have they come]? Or, the Right Hand which exists in
37.34 [the world], since it is honoured by people, whose is it? Or, the
37.35 [Mystery of the] Kiss, with which people greet one another,
37.36 … … Or, who is it who has revealed this

38.1 Adoration, with which people honour one another? Or, the Laying on of
38.2 Hands, which the great one often lays upon the one bowed
38.3 before him, as he honours him (and) makes him great, whose
38.4 Laying on of Hands is it? Then he spoke to his Disciples:
38.5 These *five matters* which you have asked about, while they appear
38.6 in the world to be minor and small,
38.7 they are, in fact, great (and) glorious. I shall reveal to
38.8 you their mysteries. As for these *Five Signs*,
38.9 they are the mystery of the First Man, he who came with them
38.10 from the Aeon of Light. Also, after he completed
38.11 his struggle, it was with these good signs that he came up
38.12 (and) was received into the Aeon of Light.
38.13 The First (Sign of) Peace is the one that the Gods and Angels in the Land
38.14 of Light gave to the First Man when he came
38.15 out against the Enemy. The Gods and the Angels
38.16 went with him, accompanying him (and) giving him their (Sign of) Peace and
38.17 their might and their blessedness and their victory. This is the First
38.18 (Sign of) Peace which the Gods and Angels gave the First
38.19 Man as he came out from the Aeon of Light.
38.20 The First Right Hand is that which the Mother of Life gave the First
38.21 Man, when he came out to the struggle.
38.22 The First Kiss is that with which the Mother of Life greeted
38.23 the First Man, as he departed from her (and) went
38.24 down to the struggle. All the rest of the Gods and

38.25 the Angels who are in the Aeon of Light kissed him, as well as all the
38.26 … and shrines(?) of the Church and the Companions who
38.27 belong to the house of his people. They kissed him as
38.28 he was to depart from them. They escorted him, kissing
38.29 him with the kiss of love and affection.
38.30 The First Adoration is the adoration with which the First Man
38.31 adored him when he came [from the depth]
38.32 which is below. He bent his knee, [adoring]
38.33 the God of Truth and all the Aeons [of Light],

39.1 who belong to the house of his people, as he implored them for a power to
39.2 accompany him as he was leaving.
39.3 The First Laying on of Hands which the Mother of Life placed upon
39.4 the head of the First Man armed him (and) made him
39.5 strong. She laid hands on him (and) sent him into battle. He came
39.6 down (and) accomplished his struggle with the Great Powers and the
39.7 Enmity. By these *Five Signs*, by these *Five Mysteries*,
39.8 the First Man came from the Aeon of Light
39.9 against the Enemy. He humbled him (and) defeated him with them.
39.10 Also, when he came up from the war, he entered
39.11 the Kingdom of the houses of his people through these *Five Mysteries*.
39.12 The (Sign of) Peace with which [he came] up is the (Sign of) Peace which the
39.13 Call gave to him, when he was sent by the Father of the
39.14 Living. He gave him the (Sign of) Peace in the World of Darkness.
39.15 This same (Sign of) Peace with which he went down is
39.16 also the one with which he came up from the struggle. Thus, it is according to the
39.17 mystery of this (Sign of) Peace, which the Call gave to
39.18 the First Man, that the (Sign of) Peace is found down here, the one
39.19 which has been named and heard among the powers of the Father. The
39.20 second Right Hand, however, is the one which the Living Spirit gave the
39.21 First Man when he came up from the struggle. According to
39.22 the mystery of that Right Hand has this (other) Right Hand come into being.
39.23 It is the one which exists [among] the people, when they give it to one another,
39.24 which is honoured and [appreciated][37] among them. But, this second Kiss,
39.25 the one with which the [Father of] Life and the Mother of the

[37] See Polotsky/Böhlig note 24. Also, Funk, *personal communication*.

39.26 Living kissed the First Man after he came back
39.27 from the struggle, this Kiss is also found among the
39.28 people, when they kiss one another with it, or
39.29 when they depart and are far from one another, or also when
39.30 they approach one another in accordance with this mystery.
39.31 [The] second Adoration (is the one) with which the First Man adored
39.32 [before this][38] time the God of Truth and
39.33 [his twelve(?)][39] blessed Aeons and all the Aeons
39.34 [which exist in the][40] whole Great [World] of Light, when

40.1 the Father of Life and the Mother of the Living raised
40.2 the Man from the depth of the struggle. According to the mystery
40.3 of this second Adoration, has this Adoration existed. This is the one
40.4 that is found today among the people who adore
40.5 and honour one another. The second
40.6 Laying on of Hands is this, that after the Living Spirit had led the First
40.7 Man up from the war, he rescued him from all the
40.8 waves. He brought him up (and) gave him rest in the Great
40.9 Aeons of Light which belong to the house of his people.
40.10 He set him before the Father, the Lord of All.
40.11 Then, when he ascended to the great Father of
40.12 Light, a voice came to him from on high, saying:
40.13 "*Set my son, my first-born, at my right, that I might*
40.14 *place all his enemies as a footstool under his feet.*"
40.15 He received this great Laying on of Hands, so that he might become leader
40.16 of his brothers in the New Aeon. Also, according to the mystery
40.17 of the second Laying on of Hands has the Laying on of Hands
40.18 existed. It is the one which is found among the people, when they lay hands on
40.19 one another, as the great give authority to the small. These *Five*
40.20 *Mysteries*, these *Five Signs* which existed first in the divinity,
40.21 they were proclaimed in this world through an apostle. The people
40.22 have learned them (and) set them in their midst. But[41] these mysteries have not
40.23 existed from the beginning among the
40.24 powers of Darkness. Also, the Light-Mind, which comes
40.25 into the world, it comes in these various forms. With these *Five*
40.26 *Words*, it chooses its Church. First and foremost

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[38] A&C: [ϩ]ⲁⲧ[ⲉϩ]ⲏ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ.
[39] A&C: [ⲡⲉϥⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ].
[40] A&C: [ⲉⲧⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄]ⲕ[ⲁ][ⲓ].
[41] A&C: ⲁⲁ]ⲁⲁ.

40.27 it chooses its Church with a (Sign of) Peace
40.28 and gives peace at first to people. If someone receives the
40.29 (Sign of) Peace and becomes a Child of Peace, afterwards, he is chosen
40.30 for the faith.[42] Thus, when he receives the (Sign of) Peace, he receives [the]
40.31 [Right] Hand and belongs to the Right Hand. Thus, when [he receives] the Right
40.32 Hand, the Light-Mind draws him to himself and makes him approach [the]
40.33 Church. With the Right Hand, he receives the [Kiss of Love]
40.34 and becomes a Child of the [Peace[43] . . .]

41.1 With the Kiss, he receives Adoration and adores the God
41.2 of Truth and adores also the Holy Church . . .
41.3 the hope of the faith of good things. When they
41.4 receive the (Sign of) Peace and the Right Hand, the Kiss and the Adoration,
41.5 at the end of these things they lay upon them the Right Hand of Mercy. They
41.6 too receive the Laying on of Hands, which will be laid upon them and
41.7 they will be set and built in the truth and made strong from it forever.
41.8 They come to the Light-Mind with these good signs
41.9 and they make people perfect and adore and
41.10 glorify the God of Truth.
41.11 Furthermore, at the time of their coming forth, when the Light-
41.12 Form goes out before them and spreads them out from the Darkness to the
41.13 Light and [is in them],[44] the Light-Form calms the
41.14 man with the Kiss and its rest from the terror of
41.15 the demons who destroy his body, by its likeness and its
41.16 image. The heart of the Elect which leaves his body
41.17 finds rest in it, and then the angel who holds the Prize
41.18 extends to him (his) Right Hand and draws him from
41.19 the depth of his body and receives him with the Kiss
41.20 and the Love. This soul adores its redeemer,
41.21 which is the Light-Form. But, at the same time
41.22 that . . . he perfects and increases according to . . .
41.23 . . . . . [and become king][45] in the House of the Living and the Gods
41.24 and Angels and all the Apostles, along with the Elect
41.25 and he takes the crown, the blessing,[46] and the glory in eternal life.
41.26 [Therefore], I say to you, my brothers and Limbs,

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[42] Cited by Crum 365a.
[43] A&C: ⲛⲧⲉ[ⲧ]ⲣⲏⲛⲏ . . . .
[44] Funk, *personal communication*.
[45] A&C: [ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱ]ⲛ ⲥⲙ.
[46] A&C: ⲡⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲁⲩ.

41.27 let there be these *Five* [*Signs*] in your hands, since they are honoured before
41.28 each one of you, which are the (Sign of) Peace, the Right Hand, the
41.29 Kiss, the Adoration, and the Laying on of Hands. This, which I have brought
41.30 to you from the House of the Living, from the Father who has
41.31 sent me. Know that a great mystery
41.32 … … him, by these *Five Signs* which I have brought
41.33 … … you will separate from the world, since
41.34 … … … you have known the first

42.1 (Sign of) Peace, the first Right Hand, the first Kiss,
42.2 the first Adoration and the first Laying on of Hands.
42.3 Therefore, let this Laying on of Hands be great among you who
42.4 honour and adore the Teachers, Deacons, and Presbyters.
42.5 Those who I have lain hands on, I have set upon them the great
42.6 Laying on of Hands, since they are established in a great mystery:
42.7 (that is) the Laying on of Hands of the Divinity is placed upon the
42.8 head of the Teacher. Therefore, he who rejects it and despises
42.9 it, and considers it nothing, he sins against God in a great
42.10 sin and also against me.
42.11 But, you, my beloved, be zealous in these *Five*
42.12 [*Signs*(?)] … … you and … …
42.13 … … perfect in these (things). Each time [you] … …
42.14 … want, he will answer you … …
42.15 … … as he who spoke to [you] … …
42.16 … … in the name of the … …[47]
42.17 … … which are in the Storehouses of [Darkness(?)] will want(?)
42.18 … … your hearts … …
42.19 … … which he established through you … each one
42.20 … … hears you, he knows everything that you
42.21 do … with one another … … this
42.22 … … he turns himself to you … … and he will …
42.23 … from you the tribulation of … …

[47] Funk, *personal communication*.

CHAPTER 10

ON THE MEANING OF THE FOURTEEN [GREAT] AEONS ABOUT WHICH SETHEL SPOKE IN [HIS] PRAYER

42.27 Again, the disciples asked the Apostle (and) said to him: We [implore]
42.28 you, our Lord, that you clarify for us this statement that is written
42.29 [in] the prayer of Sethel, the first-born son of Adam, when he says,
42.30 "*You are glorious, you fourteen great Aeons of Light.*"
42.31 Tell us, our Lord, what do the Fourteen Great
42.32 Aeons of Light mean. Then, the Enlightener [spoke]
42.33 [to them]: Allow me to interpret for you [the fourteen]
42.34 great Aeons of Light, which he spoke about …
42.35 Know this, that … … …

43.1 … below stands in the Fourteen [Great Aeons]
43.2 … … the *Five Elements*, the Sons of the First
43.3 Man, along with the Call and Response, since they are added(?)[48] to them
43.4 (and) dwell in them. These make seven—five and two
43.5 … … the [*Five*(?)] *Sons of the Living Spirit* who
43.6 [support the] entire [weight] of the world, along with the Living
43.7 [Spirit and the First] Man, their parents. These are the Fourteen
43.8 [Blessings which he has] proclaimed—the Blessing which has fourteen
43.9 [aspects(?)],[49] the one through which the world is established.
43.10 [These are the Fourteen] Aeons of Light, the ones about which the [great][50]
43.11 Sethel [spoke(?)] in his prayer, since they were interpreted
43.12 … [the Land] which is not visible. This Land has …
43.13 … [established] them (and) they carried the Enemy …
43.14 … [repaid] them. The hidden fullness which …
43.15 … … [the Third(?)] Messenger, he who came from the Father …
43.16 … … he came (and) established him among these …
43.17 as they call him: Good Father of [all the Aeons and Gods],
43.18 the pure ones and the mixed ones. He has become leader and

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[48] ⲉⲩⲧⲁϩⲥ ⟨ ⲧⲱϩⲥ (meaning unknown—not ⲧⲱϩⲥ "anoint").

[49] προοσευχή or προοσώπον (Polotsky/Böhlig 43.9). See A&C: προοσευχή rarely used in *Kephalaia*.

[50] Funk, *personal communication*.

43.19 great king like the First Father, the Lord of all these counsels.
43.20 It is by this will that the world has been held together
43.21 … … … to the end of all things.

CHAPTER 12

ON THE MEANING OF THE FIVE WORDS WHICH ARE PROCLAIMED *MNTPARAPEHOUT*[51] IN THE COSMOS

44.23 [52]
44.24 Again the disciples [asked the Apostle, saying to]
44.25 to him: Tell us, our Lord, the *Five Words* which are proclaimed
44.26 in the teaching of the Baptists and [these] other words which[53]
44.27 are found in the other Sects. They speak their name, that is, those
44.28 who are called—"pure," saying that this [first][54]
44.29 life and the second life … … …
44.30 … make their heart along with the mind … and the …
44.31 Law of …[55] … …
44.32 … … … …
44.33 … … … …
44.34 name him with the name, "father" … …
44.35 this nameless, the one who no one … …
44.36 … his name. The second [word is the]

45.1 Third Messenger … …
45.2 of Life, who they also call, "father" …
45.3 … … … …
45.4 … … … …
45.5 the First Father. The Law … …
45.6 living … Law of Good and Evil,
45.7 for this is the one who[56] gave victory to the Aeons of Light [(over?) the]
45.8 Enemy (and) humbled the rebels … …
45.9 … … … [their]
45.10 being and their world. It had(?) … …
45.11 them in this border until the end-time. …

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[51] The exact meaning of ⲙⲛⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲉϩⲟⲩⲧ remains unclear. The same word also occurs in a similar polemical context in Chapter 100 (1 Ke 252.10).

[52] A&C: Line count error in Polotsky/Böhlig edition; line 11 jumped.

[53] A&C: ⲙ]ⲛ [ⲛⲓ]ⲕⲉⲥ[ⲉ][ⲭ]ⲉ [ⲉⲧ].

[54] Funk, *personal communication*.

[55] A&C: ⲡⲛⲟ |[30] ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ … .

[56] A&C: ⲧⲁⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ [ⲧⲉ]ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲥ̣ϯ.

45.12 the powers which[57] the world established in them[58]
45.13 … … are [all(?)] one living body
45.14 … … … …
45.15 … … … against one another.

[57] A&C: ⲛ[ⲉⲧ]ⲉⲣⲉ.
[58] A&C: ⲛ[ϩ]ⲏⲧⲟⲩ.

CHAPTER 13

ON THE FIVE SAVIOURS, RESURRECTORS OF THE DEAD, ALONG WITH THE FIVE RESURRECTIONS

45.19 Again, [the] Enlightener spoke … …
45.20 … … … …
45.21 … … … …
45.22 … … … …
45.23 … … … …
45.24 … in him[59] … …
45.25 [The second Resurrector is] … …
45.26 … … … …
45.27 But, the third Resurrector is the Father, the first …
45.28 … … since in his word all life
45.29 … … gathers together and goes to him and receives(?)
45.30 … … they finish[60] and rest.
45.31 [The fourth Resurrector] is the Light-Mind, since
45.32 … … … …

46.1 … each The fifth Resurrector is[61] …
46.2 … fifth Resurrector to the Good …
46.3 … … the Father, the first-established
46.4 … … all powers and he establishes
46.5 … … reveals … upon them
46.6 … … them and he draws them to himself … a great[62] …
46.7 … … pleases(?) him … also
46.8 … … and he sets them …
46.9 … … in him and they remain, until
46.10 … … Blessed is the one
46.11 … … and he … the day of
46.12 … … perfect in eternal life.[63]

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[59] A&C: ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲏⲧⲩ.
[60] A&C: ⲫ]ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲛ.
[61] A&C: [… …] … ⲛⲓⲙ vacat ⲡⲙ̀ⲁ[ⲥ]ϯⲟⲩ … . ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲉ[ⲥ][ⲟ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ̈].
[62] A&C: . ⲃ … … … ⲧ ⲙⲙ̀[ⲁ]ⲩ ⲛ̀[ⲉ̄]ⲥⲁⲕⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [. .] . ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲥ ⲙ̀.
[63] A&C: ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲛ[ⲥ ⲫⲁ]ⲁⲛϩⲥⲉ.

CHAPTER 14

THE MEANING OF THE SILENCE, THE FAST, [THE PEACE], THE DAY, [AND] THE REST; WHAT THEY MEAN

46.16 Again the disciples asked the Enlightener, saying:
46.17 Explain to us the *Five Words* which are spoken in the
46.18 world, since they call … … "Peace," another,
46.19 "Silence," (and) they call [the "Fast"(?)], another "Day," (and) another
46.20 ["Rest"(?)] … [We implore you], our Father, that you clarify
46.21 for us[64] … … …
46.22 … … … …
46.23 … … … …
46.24 … … … …
46.25 … … … …
46.26 … … … …
46.27 … … … …
46.28 … the gatherer … …
46.29 … since he causes the body to … …
46.30 all desires of the world … …
46.31 … the body in righteousness … …
46.32 … the Column of Glory … …
46.33 … since … …

47.1 … … … …
47.2 … … … …
47.3 … He whom they call … he is the
47.4 First Man, he who dwells in the Ship of the Living Waters
47.5 … [Light] … … they call him
47.6 … … … …
47.7 … … … …
47.8 … … … …
47.9 … … … the glorious …
47.10 … … … the Enlightener …
47.11 … call him, "Day" …
47.12 … … … …
47.13 … … … …
47.14 … … in the Great Aeon, that …
47.15 … … scattered in the world, he who …

[64] A&C: ⲛ̣ⲟⲩ̣[ⲓ̈]ⲉ̣ⲧⲛ̄ⲛ̣ [ⲗ]ⲃ̣[ⲗ]ⲗ̣ […etc.

47.16 … … established in the …
47.17 … … and the soul …
47.18 … … rejoice in eternal life.[65]
47.19 Blessed is the one [who …] and believes in
47.20 the great … … forever and
47.21 ever.

[65] A&C (lines 18–19 confused in Polotsky/Böhlig): […] … … … … ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲧ ⲥⲙⲡⲱⲛ[ⲥ] [ⲱ]ⲁⲁⲛϩⲉ vacat |[19] ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲧ[ⲧ] ⲙⲡⲉⲧ … … . ϯⲟⲩⲛ . ⲩ . ⲉ ⲉ … . ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ [ⲁ].

CHAPTER 15

[ON THE] ... FIVE [PARTS(?)][66] ... WORLD OF ...

47.26 [Again, while the Enlightener] was sitting among his disciples
47.27 [and preaching to them about(?)][67] the great and secret things of God
47.28 [and on the][68] Two Natures, his disciples said
47.29 [to him] ...: Has death risen (and) established itself
47.30 ... ... or else has it changed itself ...
47.31 ... ... its armour ... in its ...
47.32 ... ... But, it has fulfilled ... he has installed the foundation[69]
47.33 ... ...
47.34 ... ... this Though of Death exists[70]
47.35 ... ...

48.1 ... ... and it moves it ... ...
48.2 ... those who are in the ... [of] the Land of Darkness ...
48.3 ... ... first p art.
48.4 But, after a long time, in which there is no peace[71] ... the
48.5 Thou gh of Death ... ...
48.6 it gushed (and) poured forth. [These are the *Five Elements*(?)][72]
48.7 of Death, those which have gushed forth ... ...
48.8 ... ... which are [the Smoke,]
48.9 [the Fire, the Wind], the Water, and the [Darkness] ... ...
48.10 ... the second time ... ...
48.11 The Third Part is[73] ... ...
48.12 ... they were formed ... ...
48.13 those that Death has established in them ... ...
48.14 The Fourth Part is the evil fruit ... which has been formed[74]
48.15 on the *Five Trees*, which are in the *Five* [*Worlds of*]
48.16 *the Land of Darkness*.
48.17 The fifth time it spread itself to its offspring that exist [in the *Five*]

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[66] The chapter seems to enumerate a series of parts, although the reconstruction of ⲧⲁⲓⲉ is not acceptable (Funk, *personal communication*).
[67] Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig 47.27.
[68] Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig 47.28.
[69] A&C: ⲁ]ⲫⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲛⲧ[ⲉ.
[70] A&C: [± 11 ⲉⲛⲟⲩ]ⲙⲏⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉ[ⲩ] ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲉ.
[71] A&C: ⲉⲙⲛ̄ [ⲉⲓ]ⲣⲏⲛⲏ [ⲛⲍ]ⲏⲧⲫ.
[72] Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig 48.6.
[73] A&C: ⲧⲙⲁⲍ[ⲱ]ⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ ... .
[74] A&C: [... ... ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥ]^{15}ⲥⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲍⲙ.

48.18 *Worlds* that were fashioned (and) begotten from the *Five*
48.19 *Fruits of Death*, which are the *Five Worlds of*
48.20 *Flesh*, the *Five Creations of Darkness* which Death established in
48.21 them. He spread himself among the Ten Parts, the *Five Male Parts* and the
48.22 *Five Female* [*Parts*] … … …
48.23 … … … …
48.24 Just as in the case of the Land of Darkness, it is its spirit and its …
48.25 that nourish the *Five Elements* … …
48.26 so too concerning the Ten Parts which (are found) in [males and]
48.27 females, the fire and the desire of the flesh … …
48.28 them, as they join with one another … [they have established]
48.29 them against the First Man. This is … …
48.30 … … … of Darkness
48.31 they have condemned him forever. According to the mystery of these
48.32 Twelve Parts which are found in the Darkness … …
48.33 against the First Man, the Twelve … …
48.34 the Twelve Spirits of Error, those who [exist]
48.35 in the Twelve Zodiacs … …

49.1 they are opposing the Second Living Man,
49.2 who dwells in the Holy Church. They persecute him, like
49.3 they persecuted [already][75] in the beginning the First Man in the Land
49.4 of Darkness. As the First Man humbled the Darkness
49.5 … … … …
49.6 … … the Light, that dwells in the Church
49.7 … … the Twelve Sects
49.8 … … his holy Father forever and
49.9 [ever].

[75] A&C: ⲛ̅[ϥⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̅]ⲧⲥⲟⲩⲏⲧⲉ.

CHAPTER 16

[ON THE FIVE] GREATNESSES WHICH HAVE [COME] OUT AGAINST THE DARKNESS

49.13 [Again, the Enlightener spoke] to his disciples: The Light[76]
49.14 … … [the] Darkness, he conquered it with *Five Greatnesses*.
49.15 [The first Greatness] is the Father of Greatness, he who [exists]
49.16 [in] silence and secret, established in his Land
49.17 [of Light,] in his proper place. Four Greatnesses appeared
49.18 (and) came out from him. They were arranged in ten parts and were established
49.19 as a perfect twelve. The second Great-
49.20 ness which poured forth, appeared, (and) was manifested by the first
49.21 Greatness is the Mother of Life, the Great Spirit, along with
49.22 the First Man [and his] *Five Sons*. [These are the second]
49.23 Great[ness]. The third [Greatness is the]
49.24 [Beloved of] Lights, the Great Builder, the Living Spirit, and the
49.25 *Five Sons of the Living Spirit*. These are the third Greatness.
49.26 [The fourth] Greatness is the Third Messenger and
49.27 [the] Column of Glory, and all the powers of light that are revealed
49.28 [from him. These are the] fourth Greatness.
49.29 [The] fifth Greatness which came from the Father is Jesus the
49.30 Splendour and all his powers, which he called forth, his emanations which …
49.31 [are] poured forth (and) revealed by him. As for the fact that they are set forth
49.32 … … these *Five Sons of the First Man*
49.33 … … the entire construction. The other five are the *Five*
49.34 [*Sons of the Living Spirit*], who are set in five places, supporting
49.35 … … … completed in

50.1 twelve parts which … … [There is] another two added
50.2 to them, namely the Call and [the Response], which
50.3 are the father and the mother who Jesus the Splendour appointed by his
50.4 advent as successors in his place … the great Land.
50.5 of Light[77] … … …
50.6 … … … in them.

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[76] A&C: ⲁ ⲡ[ⲟ]ⲩ[ⲁ]ⲓⲛⲉ.
[77] A&C: ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛ[ⲉ].

50.7 … … … …
50.8 the First Man who has come … …
50.9 … … … …
50.10 … … b donging to … …
50.11 existing in[78] their kingdom … …
50.12 rank before those who belong to his [house] … …
50.13 … … … …
50.14 … … his enemies … …
50.15 and suffering through their evil and they take from him …
50.16 and kingdom and they take [him into]
50.17 captivity and they remove (any) company from him. But, he …
50.18 in his humility, he becomes confident and restrains his enemy
50.19 … in silence. Just as this man, this noble son,
50.20 is surrounded by his enemies, so too
50.21 is the coming of the First Man
50.22 [in the midst of the Archons], the enemies of Light.
50.23 The coming of the Living Spirit, however, and the command he received
50.24 (and) with which he fell upon all the Archons, is different from that of
50.25 the First Man. His coming … the coming of the First
50.26 Man. The coming of the Living Spirit is like
50.27 this: once he was sent from the Greatness to bring
50.28 back the First Man, he is like a judge
50.29 the king might send to quell the violence of
50.30 this person, the noble son against whom his enemies
50.31 sinned. But this man … the judge[79]
50.32 strong, firm and severe … … …
50.33 and he … … in his right-[80]

51.1 eousness and his strength and he convicts
51.2 all the condemned according to their rebellious hearts and he
51.3 repays each one according to his worth. Those who are worthy of
51.4 beating, he strikes them with harsh whips. Those, however,
51.5 who are worthy of having some of their limbs cut, or indeed of
51.6 … … and he pays them their due
51.7 … … and he binds them, chains them, and hangs some
51.8 … … and he acts towards them in this way by [righteous]
51.9 judgement [and he] kills them in order to flay their skin
51.10 … … that they be killed by slaughter
51.11 … … until they die. Those, however, for whom it is suitable
51.12 … … to remove them from their homes, he will

[78] A&C: ϵqψ̣o̞o̞n̄ [ϩ]ɴ-.
[79] A&C: ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙϵ … . ⲕ[ⲣⲓ]ⲧⲏ[ⲥ . .].
[80] A&C: [… ϩⲛ̄ ⲧϵqⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓ].

51.13 [remove them according to] righteous judgement, just like those who committed
51.14 crimes [(and) sinned against] the noble son. Also, the colleagues
51.15 [and the servants] of this judge, those who belong to
51.16 [him, in] great strength, suddenly and
51.17 quickly, they do the will of their lord.
51.18 Just as the pure judge was sent by
51.19 the king (in order to) recover this man, the
51.20 noble son, so too was the Living Spirit
51.21 sent by the King of Light
51.22 [to bring] judgment and to recover the First Man,
51.23 he against whom the King of Darkness sinned (and) committed crimes.
51.24 [He] sinned against him, along with his rebellious powers. When he[81] came,
51.25 he brought up the First Man. Also, all the Archons,
51.26 the Powers of Sin, those who committed crimes (and) sinned against the Sons
51.27 [of] the First Man, he judged them according to righteous
51.28 judgment. He bound them in the heaven and the earth. He placed each one
51.29 of them in the place suited to him. He measured each one of them
51.30 according to his cruelty and according to his humility. While some
51.31 of them he shut[82]
51.32 [in prison], others he hung upside down. Some
51.33 … … are crucified, while others (are made to)

52.1 sit down all the time. Some are fastened to
52.2 their companions, distressed by harsh bonds.
52.3 Others he has made wardens over one another,
52.4 among themselves, in order that they might do his will
52.5 to those that are under them.
52.6 Therefore, know, o my beloved,[83] that after
52.7 the Father of Life passed judgment … …
52.8 he revealed (himself) to all the powers [of Darkness (and)]
52.9 judged them like a just judge …
52.10 … … … …
52.11 [This] is the first judgment which the [Living] Spirit [passed] against the Archons
52.12 [concerning the] First Man. [To the First Man] he

[81] That is, the Living Spirit.
[82] Dittography (Polotsky/Böhlig).
[83] A&C: ⲱ ⲛ[ⲁⲙⲉ]ⲣ[ⲉ]ⲧⲉ.

52.13 awarded the victory according to his victory, while the [Archon[84] of Darkness]
52.14 he condemned according to the condemnation by which he erred …
52.15 … he sinned.[85] … Such a bond was found for him …
52.16 the earth until the end-time, when the [world] will be destroyed
52.17 and consumed by the great fire and separated. While [the]
52.18 Light (will) go to its own land, the Darkness (will) remains in
52.19 [the bond] and fetter forever.
52.20 … [As for] the advent of the Third Messenger, who came
52.21 [to inspect] those imprisoned in the Zone, he
52.22 is like a great king who comes and inspects his artisans
52.23 … … and …
52.24 … those who are good among the artisans and the builders
52.25 and the craftsmen who he assigns to each
52.26 place, seeing that they have done their work well
52.27 (and) attended to his works in their way, he rejoices
52.28 [greatly] … he thanks these craftsmen
52.29 who have fixed his things (and) [fulfilled] his orders.
52.30 Just as the great king comes and inspects
52.31 his works and his camps, so [too]
52.32 is the advent of the Third Messenger, [since]
52.33 after he comes, he too sees [his works]
52.34 fixed, accomplished, (and) … …

53.1 ranks of Archons, distributed and fixed
53.2 above and below, outside and
53.3 inside, with great skill, which his brothers had done,
53.4 who came before him to the struggle; those who fixed (and) created
53.5 the world before he had come. He saw the gods and the
53.6 angels standing firm (and) holding camp
53.7 … watching the entire Ruling Power …
53.8 … which the first powers had done,
53.9 [which are the] First Man, the [Living Spirit]
53.10 and [the] Great [Spirit, the] Mother of Life. Then, after he saw
53.11 them, that they [completed with] great wisdom all the works.
53.12 … … … they saw, he spoiled(?) …
53.13 … his [advent], by which he had come (and) [revealed]
53.14 himself. He said to the Living Spirit: The judgment you gave …
53.15 … good, what you proclaimed … …
53.16 you have [given] them accordingly because they have stirred (and) raised
53.17 those who were not worthy.
53.18 The advent of Jesus the Splendour, when he came … …

[84] A&C: ⲡⲁⲣ[ⲭⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ].
[85] A&C: … ⲁⲫ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ.

all, since he was like a man being
[sent] to root out … … …
burn a hard reed[86] with fire. And so when
he first cut the evil trees with his
axe, he rooted [them] out … … …
and their bodies with his fire, so that they might not grow again
[from] now on, nor produce fruit, which the evil are to eat
… afterwards, [he] for his part planted his [good] plant, [the]
Tree of Life, which produces good fruit.
Thus, also, is it with the advent of Jesus the Splendour,
[which] happened in [this way]. For he also appointed himself
… … his power and his wisdom, in his
… … appointed(?) him king and saviour
… … in his glorious wisdom

he has destroyed them, bound them, and consumed them. Just as
the fire burns and destroys trees, so too did he do
his will in the Zone
with many powers, until he reached the fleshly form
of Adam and Eve, the first human beings [and did]
his will through Eve. He … [he gave]
hope also to Adam and the good news …
… glorious, he went up to [the height] …
… [of] light. Then [the Call and the]
Response, the great counsel that came to the Elements,
which stood in a mixture, he [combined with] them (and) established
himself in silence. He takes up … [until the Last]
[Time], when he will awaken and establish himself with the Great
Fire and gather to himself his own soul and mould
it into the Last Statue. You (s.) will find him too, as he
sweeps away (and) throws into impurity that
which is foreign to him. The Life, however, and the Light
which are in all things, he collects it to himself and gathers it
on his body. When this Last Statue
is perfect in all its limbs, then he will depart
and ascend from this great struggle through
the Living Spirit, his father, he who comes and destroys …
limb and brings it up from the gathering(?) … the dissolution
and end of all things. Now, his counsel,
the Call and Response, resembles
a stick of butter, (which) a person takes and puts
it in warm milk. It melts and blends
with this warm milk. It melts again
[in] silence and stillness amid …

[86] A&C: ⲓⲁϩⲕⲉ[ⲙ].

54.30 but, by the power and the taste of this [milk] …
54.31 drawn to it and fixed and makes the [milk cold] …
54.32 in … … and … … [this milk]

55.1 it throws it and casts it out. Also, the cream and the
55.2 fat and the beauty of the milk it draws to itself.
55.3 This is also like the coming of
55.4 that *enthumesis*, the counsel of life, which
55.5 is the Call and Response that came to the Elements.
55.6 That is, at the end it will awaken and establish itself and gather
55.7 together with itself all life and the light which is
55.8 [left] in all things. Placing them on
55.9 its body, it will gather them to itself …
55.10 … in his image forever … …
55.11 … … from this time. Blessed is
55.12 each one who [believing] in these *Five Advents* and strengthening himself
55.13 [in the] knowledge of them will ascend to the height and redeem …
55.14 … … and he is not counted …
55.15 … … … …

CHAPTER 18

[ON THE FIVE] WARS [WHICH THE] SONS OF LIGHT WAGED WITH [THE SONS] OF DARKNESS

58.4 [Again][87] the Enlightener spoke: The Sons of Light have waged *Five*
58.5 [*Wars*] with the Sons of Darkness, in which the Sons of Light
58.6 [have subdued the] Sons of Darkness completely.
58.7 [The First] War is the that of the First Living Man, he who [has]
58.8 [(waged war) with the] King of Darkness and all the Archons who have come
58.9 [from the] *Five Worlds of* [*Darkness*(?)] … he caught
58.10 [them with] his net, which is the Living Soul. He …
58.11 … in the snare and … face of …
58.12 … his maiden, the Living Fire …
58.13 [They had no means] of escape from [his] net …
58.14 … he caught them like fish …
58.15 … the *Five Counsels* of the *Five Elements* …
58.16 … he cut (and) uprooted the roots of [the *Five*]
58.17 [*Trees*(?)][88] … roots of the evil trees like an axe.
58.18 As the Saviour said: *Behold, the axe is at the root*
58.19 *[of] the evil tree, so that it might not produce evil fruit from now on.*[89]
58.20 The Second War is the that of the Living Spirit …
58.21 … he established the works and the Worlds of Light.
58.22 He scattered the Archons (and) bound them in the middle …
58.23 … … the stars in the Eight[90] Earths …
58.24 in the Three Vehicles. For the Archons
58.25 rebelled (and) rose up against the Living Spirit. They wanted to
58.26 … since they knew (and) perceived that he would bind [and]
58.27 fetter them with harsh bonds. But he, the Living Spirit,
58.28 with many faces (and) a multitude of terrors, with many hands
58.29 (and) with great hardheartedness, [revealed] himself to them,
58.30 (and) imprisoned them with great skill. None among
58.31 them could be saved from his [great] bond and his fetter[91]
58.32 since he … … …
58.33 … he d ivid ed them … … …

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[87] A&C: [ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡ]ⲁⲭ[ⲉ].
[88] See Polotsky/Böhlig 58.17.
[89] See Mt 3:10.
[90] A&C: ϩⲏ̄ ⲛ̣[ⲫ]ⲙ̣[ⲟⲩ]ⲛ̣.
[91] A&C: ⲭⲛ̣ ⲛ̣[ⲧ][ⲟ̄]ⲩ[ⲛⲁⲟ ⲏ̄]ⲙ̣ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ̣ ⲛ̣[ⲟ̄ⲥ][32] ⲛⲁϩ.

59.1 … … … …
59.2 … … … …
59.3 [The Third War(?)] is (that of) the Third Messenger,
59.4 [when[92] he revealed] his image … …
59.5 … … bdow … drew
59.6 … … all light and the possessions … …
59.7 … … those who oppressed … …
59.8 … … the entire Ruling Power … …
59.9 … … boasting[93] of the light … …
59.10 … … as he extended himself … …
59.11 … When a man comes, being strong, … …
59.12 … … pœssesses his richness … …
59.13 … … silver and … …
59.14 his[94] arrogance and his wantonness.
59.15 This too is like the Ruling Power …
59.16 all rich … walking …
59.17 … … … Light
59.18 … he cleansed and purified him.
59.19 The Fourth War is the one Jesus the Splendour, the glorious, waged
59.20 with all the rebels who rebelled above and below.
59.21 When the Light was purified from them by the image of the Third
59.22 Messenger, their bonds were stripped …
59.23 … the splendour in the Fourth War, he came and waged …
59.24 … rebellion of the whole Ruling Power. He smote …
59.25 the whole … again he established the entire construction (and) made …
59.26 … … a great struggle. He subdued it
59.27 … he did the will of the Greatness. [He]
59.28 [gave] hope to Adam … his Ship of Light
59.29 … … … which the Counsel of Life
59.30 … … … which are the Call and Response …
59.31 … great … …
59.32 … … he pɬaced … on the …
59.33 … … … and the …

60.1 … … … …
60.2 … … the dœath which …
60.3 … … with it and he conquered …
60.4 forever and gave the kingdom … …
60.5 … … the Great War … …
60.6 … fight[95] with the Sons of Darkness … …

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[92] A&C: ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-.
[93] A&C: ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲟⲩⲫⲟ.
[94] A&C: [ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧ]-.
[95] A&C: … [. ⲙⲓ][ⲫ]ⲉ ⲙⲛ̄.

60.7 … … the good struggle against [the evil(?)][96] …
60.8 … … from eternity to eternity … …
60.9 … … every elect who will … …
60.10 … … placed in him and conquers it … …
60.11 … … like these *Five* … …
60.12 … receive the(?) victory … …

[96] Suggested in Polotsky/Böhlig translation.

CHAPTER 19

ON THE FIVE RELEASES: WHAT THEY MEAN

60.16 [Again,] our Father spoke: There are *Five* [*Releases*]
60.17 by which the Light was saved from all
60.18 [the Archons and] Powers of Darkness.
60.19 [The First] liberation and rescue is the First Man's.
60.20 For, when the First Man escaped from
60.21 [the prison of] the Archons by means of the Living Spirit, who came to
60.22 him[97] … … …
60.23 the First Man, much light and [much] power
60.24 was rescued from the whole Ruling Power. They ascended
60.25 with the First Man to the Aeons of Greatness. This [is the First]
60.26 Release.
60.27 The Second Rescue is the Living Spirit's, for when
60.28 the Father of Life and the Mother of the Living established the
60.29 heavens and the worlds … …
60.30 world, the earths and their rulers. A great deal of Light
60.31 was rescued by them … the First
60.32 Man who had been swallowed … … Light …

61.1 … … … …
61.2 … third war … …
61.3 … until the time when … …
61.4 … above … …
61.5 … on the … …
61.6 … world.
61.7 [The Third Liberation(?)] is the Third
61.8 [Messenger's … he] revealed [his]
61.9 [image] … … he …
61.10 … authority, he … …
61.11 … … which … …
61.12 … … … …
61.13 … … from them … …
61.14 … … Now, this is … …
61.15 … [his] image, which [is illuminated by the]
61.16 Third Messenger.
61.17 [The] Fourth Rescue is Jesus [the Splendour's, for when]

[97] A&C: ⲉ[ⲓⲣⲉ][22]ⲧ[ⲫ].

61.18 he appeared in the Zone, he revealed [his]
61.19 image before the firmaments. He distilled the upper [light]
61.20 (and) established the Original Just One, the beginning[98]
61.21 of all churches. He received the likeness …
61.22 … he made himself like an angel in the … until
61.23 he went and came down to the fleshly form and established
61.24 the earths and all the fixtures. He also liberated
61.25 … the immeasurable Light in the entire construction. He gave
61.26 [the] Call and the Response to the Elements (and) fashioned
61.27 Jesus the Youth. He went up (and) remained in the
61.28 [Land of] Light. The Fifth Release
61.29 and Rescue is the Great Counsel's,
61.30 [which is the] Call [and] the Response. For it too
61.31 … … [the] soul from the [Land(?)] of Greatness.

62.1 … … … …
62.2 … … they smote it(?) …
62.3 … … … …
62.4 … … … …
62.5 … … [the] Living Spirit … …
62.6 … … … …
62.7 … … … …
62.8 … … … …
62.9 … … as he gave … …
62.10 … … the liberation … …
62.11 … The first … …
62.12 … … [he] ascended (and) he … …
62.13 … … as he … …
62.14 … … wisdom … …
62.15 … … … …
62.16 … The Fourth … …
62.17 … … … his wisdom
62.18 … But, the Fifth … …
62.19 … … to him and he set it … his
62.20 Light-image in this Last Statue. These *Five Great*
62.21 *Powers* … revealed and they came to good [but not] to
62.22 evil.[99] They established on … …
62.23 … … First Man … after he came toward
62.24 … … from the struggle, he ordered (and) established
62.25 … … world … …
62.26 … … … First Man
62.27 … … … his coming. In
62.28 this way … they stood with … …

[98] A&C: ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲣ |[21]ⲭⲏ.
[99] A&C: ⲁⲩ |[22]ⲃⲟⲛ[ⲉ] ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ⲁ̣[ⲩ ⲉ]ⲛ̣.

62.29 … … … …
62.30 … … … …
62.31 … … … …
62.32 … … … …
62.33 … … … …

63.1 … because of the Light, which he plucked from …
63.2 … the Messenger. The Counsel [of]
63.3 Life, which is the Call and Response, will make …
63.4 … seal the commandment and the …
63.5 all the apostles in this last time, while they …
63.6 … life of the Statue [and] he will carry out the condemnation of the souls
63.7 … … [he] will send …
63.8 … … power … from …
63.9 … as it lives … … the will …
63.10 Father, the establishment … … …
63.11 strong, they went … enemy (and) they …
63.12 all upon … conquered this land which …
63.13 … … in it forever …
63.14 … … they came from him at the beginning and will return
63.15 again to the Light at the end.
63.16 Blessed is every one who will understand these mysteries …
63.17 … up … from the beginning to …
63.18 it …

CHAPTER 20

THE CHAPTER ON THE NAME OF THE FATHERS

63.22 Again, the Enlightener spoke to his disciples: The [Father]
63.23 [of] Greatness, who is so named, why is he called "Father"
63.24 [of] Greatness? His disciples said
63.25 to him: We implore you, our Lord, that you clarify for
63.26 us concerning this Greatness, namely, what it means that he is called
63.27 "Father" of Greatness. Then, he spoke
63.28 [to] his disciples: The Father is the first established (being),
63.29 [who is called] "Father" of Greatness,
63.30 his greatness is the Great Earth, where he dwells (and) is established
63.31 … … the essence of Light, which supports
63.32 all the Rich Ones and Angels and dwellings
63.33 … … established upon him.
63.34 [Also,] the Third Messenger is called
63.35 ["Father." His greatness] is the Light-ship of the Living Fire,

64.1 [in which he dwells] (and) is established.
64.2 [Also,] Jesus the Splendour is called "Father" too.
64.3 His greatness is the Ship of the Living Waters, in which he dwells
64.4 [(and) is established.)
64.5 The Column of Glory [is also called] "Father." His greatness
64.6 … the *Five Gods* of the holy … who dwell
64.7 [(and) are established] in them … …
64.8 … … Also, the Light-Mind is
64.9 [called] "Father." His greatness is the [Holy]
64.10 Church, since he dwells (and) [is established] in it. It too
64.11 … … in him … … alone. They
64.12 … Light.

CHAPTER 21

ON THE FATHER OF GREATNESS, HOW HE IS ESTABLISHED AND DEFINED

64.17 Again, the Apostle [spoke] to [his] disciples: Hear
64.18 [this statement] which I will proclaim to you: Very great is
64.19 the [size(?)][100] of the Light before those who hear and understand
64.20 it concerning the first Father of Greatness. Just as he
64.21 [is found] established in his *Five Light-Limbs*, which are
64.22 … the storehouses without measure or limit
64.23 … Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, and [Consideration]
64.24 … his Twelve Light-Limbs, which [are]
64.25 his Twelve Wisdoms. *Five Great Limbs*
64.26 of Light are found in each one … *Five Great*
64.27 *Fountains of Blessing* gush forth … There are *Five Great*
64.28 [*Trees*(?)][101] … … of Light.
64.29 The First is his Light, which illuminates … it gushed
64.30 forth and poured … … all Aeons.
64.31 The Second is the Good Odour of the … …
64.32 and permeates all the Aeons of Greatness.
64.33 The Third is his Living Voice of … …
64.34 … all his Aeons … …
64.35 The Fourth is his … -ness … …

65.1 … gu sh forth … from …
65.2 The Fifth is his Great [and] splendid … which …
65.3 which has revealed itself at all times, which lasts all …
65.4 that which is fashioned by them … …
65.5 sealed by them … sealed …
65.6 as they send … in … …
65.7 … they are nourished … … [his]
65.8 Living Voice, also, … … joy …
65.9 set up anew, which gushed forth …
65.10 … as they … and b ecome rich …
65.11 also, beautiful … portrayal …
65.12 adornment … they live …
65.13 … forever.

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[100] Very uncertain, perhaps something like "wonder" or "marvel" (Funk, *personal communication*).

[101] A&C: ⲟ[ⲩ]ⲛ ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲁϭ [ⲛ̄] |[28]ⲯⲏⲛ (very uncertain).

CHAPTER 24

[ON THE TIMES . . .]

70.12 . . . . a great judge
70.13 . . . then a time also . . . which was depicted
70.14 . . . [revealed] by the Father, the first established being. After
70.15 . . . . . the two Calls which he called stood
70.16 in the presence of their Father.[102] The Mother of Life, the Great
70.17 [Spirit(?)] . . . a long period in the First Father . . .
70.18 . . . . . For someone measuring
70.19 the grains of sand or boulders(?) of the mountains or
70.20 the sand of the sea or the body of the firmaments, as they crumble
70.21 . . . the body of the Four Mountains and the Three
70.22 Vehicles that surround the world. As they all crumble
70.23 . . . . . (and are reduced to[?]) fine powder(?)
70.24 Know that there is a limit to the grains of sand [found in(?)]
70.25 the whole world. It is possible to count grains of sand
70.26 yearly [and to count(?)] the grains of sand of the whole world,
70.27 but the period of time that the Great Spirit passed with the Father,
70.28 [the] first established being, cannot be counted. He initially
70.29 formed her in this way—he set her up in his inner storehouse,
70.30 in stillness and silence. When [they] needed
70.31 her, she was called, (and) she came forth from the Father [of Greatness].
70.32 She beheld all her Aeons of Light.
70.33 Moreover, from the time that she was called [she set herself up]

71.1 and came along and was empowered by[103] . . . . . .
71.2 on his [body] . . . all Aeons . . .
71.3 she also received power from them all. This [is also the way]
71.4 with the First Man. This is how the Man
71.5 spent a long time hidden(?)[104] in the Mother, staying in her
71.6 inner chambers. The time-span that I have proclaimed
71.7 to you, from when the First Man came [down to]
71.8 the struggle to the time when his [. . .][105]

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[102] A&C: ⲛ[ⲧⲁⲩ²] ⲁ̣ⲩⲧⲱⲕ |[16]ⲁ̣ⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̣ⲡ̣ⲙ̣ⲧ̣ⲟ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ [ⲙ̄]ⲡ̣ⲟⲩ̈ⲱⲧ.

[103] A&C: ⲁ[ⲍ][ⲟⲩⲛ] ⲁⲥ[ⲭ][ⲓⲥ]ⲁ̣ⲙ ⲛ̣[ⲧⲛ]ⲛ̄ⲛ̣[ⲫ][. . . .

[104] Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig.

[105] A&C: Probably not the "Statue" (ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ) proposed by Polotsky/Böhlig. Read something like ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲫⲟⲩ . [. . ⲛ]ⲏⲩ.

71.9 comes to this time … … …
71.10 … … he revealed …
71.11 … … From the time that they
71.12 called him (and) he came, until the time that he, in turn, called
71.13 [the *Five Shining Gods* who] are his sons. They
71.14 too [also spent a long] time with the Father, that
71.15 [is, the time] that lasted from the descent of the
71.16 [First Man] to the ascent of the Last Statue. The
71.17 [*Five Gods*] spend a period of such length hidden in(?) the First Man.
71.18 But, [during the] time that they waited, they were called (and) came out.
71.19 Hear also this other thing that I will teach to you (about) the
71.20 time when the Mother of Life was called forth from the Father of
71.21 Greatness—Had she pushed herself and come down of her own desire,[106]
71.22 from the height of the Father to the earth, then [she would have spent]
71.23 [a thousand] years and many ten-thousands until she reached the earth.
71.24 [Though] there is no measure or limit to the height of the Father, [when(?)][107]
71.25 he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
71.26 the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the twelve,
71.27 those who are hidden in the veil of light, who
71.28 are established in … the southern region.
71.29 [The] work of the Mother [of] Life is like this, when
71.30 [the Father] called her (and) established her in the place where he wanted
71.31 her to be established as the Thought of people, which
71.32 … … many and searched every place where
71.33 … … the blink of an eye or as a

72.1 … … a b̈rd(?) …
72.2 … … This is also like …
72.3 … the Mother of Life in … when
72.4 … throw it … over to the place …
72.5 … he perfects his Great Spirit and sets her in
72.6 [the place where he wanted] her according to [his will].
72.7 … when[108] the *Five Gods* called by their Father[109]
72.8 [they stood] before him, as he wished, that …

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[106] There may be an element of polemic against Gnostic figures such as Barbelo whose descent occurs of her own will. See *Secret Book of John*.
[107] A&C: ⲡⲉⲏ[ⲩ]ⲁ.
[108] A&C: ⲙⲡⲉⲏⲩ.
[109] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϊ̈ⲱⲧ.

72.9 … … … …
72.10 … … … …
72.11 … … … …
72.12 … … … …
72.13 … … … …
72.14 below, so that they might rule over them … …
72.15 one another. He ordered them (and) spread them about …
72.16 … of the son. He stripped himself from them …
72.17 … … he armed himself (and) bound himself to …
72.18 in one … of the silence on the edge of the earth …
72.19 He, too, the First Man, spent a long time
72.20 until he gave power to his Sons, until he bore
72.21 them. After his bearing of them, while standing in the
72.22 height between the border, he also spend time
72.23 in this way, like the number and quantity of rain-drops,
72.24 dew, and mist which falls in
72.25 the world. This is how he also spend time standing
72.26 between the borders until the moment when he descended to
72.27 the struggle.
72.28 When the Father of Greatness [called] the Great Spirit
72.29 and the First Man and the Glorious Gods who were destined(?)
72.30 to appear from him at this same time,[110] he
72.31 fashioned the Great Builder in the [Land of] Light [and]
72.32 the Living Spirit and the strong and efficient Gods which came [from]
72.33 him. Also at this time, he fashioned the Messenger
72.34 and Jesus the Splendour and the Virgin of Light
72.35 and the Column of Glory and the Gods who [came from them].

73.1 … the Father [shaped them(?)][111]
73.2 and formed [them] at the same time. They came from one another, one by one,
73.3 when … … and the work.
73.4 [Hear] also this other [thing that(?)] [I] will proclaim to you …[112]
73.5 from the time when the Darkness rose up to
73.6 … … … essence of light
73.7 … … … these three emanations
73.8 … from the will of the Father against the Enemy …
73.9 … … he has …
73.10 … … darkness …
73.11 … … according to the will …
73.12 … … … …

[110] A&C: ⲥⲏ̄ ⲧⲓ[ⲥⲛⲩ ⲡ]ⲓⲉⲓⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ.
[111] A&C: … . ⲙ ⲁ ⲡⲏⲱⲧ … . […… … ⲁⲫⲍⲱ]ⲣ̣ⲣ̣[ⲁ]ⲫ̣[ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲏ̄].
[112] A&C: [ⲥ]ⲱⲧ[ⲙ]ⲉ̣ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲧⲡⲓⲕⲉ . . [.] … [. ⲉ][ⲧ̀]ⲛ̣ⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲫ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ [ⲭ]ⲉ̣. There is dittography in the Polotsky/Böhlig edition, in which line 3 of the translation appears twice (73).

73.13 … … … …
73.14 … … the world … …
73.15 … … in it/her(?) … separated from …
73.16 … … in which way he rests and rejoices …
73.17 … in his kingdom until the [time when]
73.18 [the face] of the Father will be unveiled before [all] the glorious
73.19 Gods and all the ones rich in divinity,[113] [the]
73.20 emanations which came forth against the Enemy.
73.21 [From] this time, when he formed the Three Calls[114]
73.22 to the time when the Father will unveil his face
73.23 [and they come] into his hidden Storehouses and he calls them
73.24 and also[115] sets up each in [his place], there is no measure
73.25 [or limit] to this time. And so until that time, it is possible
73.26 [for] all [Teachers] and Saviours, and Apostles of
73.27 Strength to speak of and reveal what
73.28 happened and what will happen. But before
73.29 they were formed above, it was not possible for every
73.30 Apostle and [Teacher] to preach about this beginning,
73.31 … … forever. It is also not possible for [all]
73.32 [Apostles] and Teachers to speak of and reveal
73.33 … … from[116] the time when all the Fathers

74.1 [of Light enter into to the Father's hidden ones and they dwell][117]
74.2 … … find power in them in its place
74.3 … of God … since it exists forever,
74.4 it remains with the Aeons. It has no end,
74.5 but their establishment … … eternal
74.6 is their life (and) it exists in every generation.
74.7 If someone asks … … and
74.8 about this eternal ending … in the ruin
74.9 … But … …
74.10 … that he proclaims … …
74.11 … who asked him … …
74.12 … the disciples … …
74.13 … since … …
74.14 … and he gave … …
74.15 … because of Matter, the Thought [of Death] …
74.16 … which I said to you: [This] is how …
74.17 … come to their storehouse …
74.18 … in its *Five Elements*. It too …
74.19 … the period of time that it spent until it revealed

[113] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ[ⲡⲣⲟ].
[114] A&C: ⲛⲧⲱ |[22][ⲥⲙⲉ].
[115] A&C: [ⲁⲛ ⲛ][ⲭ]ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲩ.
[116] A&C: … . ⲭⲛ̄ⲙⲡⲥⲏ.
[117] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩ |[2]ⲱⲥ.

74.20 itself to its Elements, before it had come to the Trees, it spent
74.21 a long time establishing
74.22 … before it had come down/up(?) to the trees, it made …
74.23 in the trees (and) spent a long time and a great[118] delay …
74.24 among them, before it had formed the fruit
74.25 … and formed the fruit. It also spent a long [time]
74.26 in the fruit. It is not a small amount of time [that it]
74.27 spend in the fruit, before it had formed …
74.28 … after a long time … the [demons]
74.29 of its *Five Worlds* in the immeasurable forms
74.30 … in the production(?) of the fruit in the demons
74.31 and the devils. They fell upon their land …
74.32 nourish. It is not a small amount of time that they [passed in the]
74.33 worlds until they nourished amidst

75.1 … … … to make …
75.2 … that shining land
75.3 and the Great [King], who dwells in it.
75.4 Know that … … who in …
75.5 … … … at the time when …
75.6 … … … its essence, it bore
75.7 … … Matter … to war …
75.8 … … … the person who
75.9 is perfect. [From the time] that the [war] occurred …
75.10 … … … …
75.11 … … existed in …
75.12 … … by which they ensnared a …
75.13 [The Second is] … that he built …
75.14 … [the] world established. The Zone
75.15 … below until the time when it
75.16 is released. The Third is the …-ing
75.17 … … the works and the world will pass away[119]
75.18 [from the] time when they are established until the time [when]
75.19 their end is brought about and their being destroyed …
75.20 [The] Fourth is the release by which the world is released
75.21 and all things restored and destruction
75.22 [reaches] them in that Great Fire [which] will burn them for fourteen-
75.23 hundred and sixty-eight years.[120]
75.24 [The Fifth] is how the Last Statue will be fashioned
75.25 [from] the remains of everything and the Light separates
75.26 from its place and ascends and rules in its kingdom, and

[118] A&C: ⲟⲩⲉⲥⲕⲉ ⲉ̣[ⲛⲁⲫⲱⲥ].
[119] A&C: ⲙⲛ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁ[ⲟ]ⲩ̈ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ̣.
[120] See *Shaburagan* (MacKenzie, 517).

75.27 the Darkness, on the other hand, will be transformed and placed in the tomb …
75.28 … … and (will be) bound with it in an [eternal] fetter.
75.29 From the time when this first war
75.30 occurred until the time of this binding … these *Five Things* …
75.31 … Light.
75.32 [Know][121] that from the time when it moved and rose
75.33 [up in its] earth until the time of its bond, it is possible
75.34 [for the Apostles and the] Elect and the Teachers to speak and make statements

76.1 about it. But before … …
76.2 it from the powers, [no one can count][122]
76.3 it or measure it, since it is eternal.
76.4 [From the time] that it is put in chains and bound
76.5 [in] the Lump … … [there is no measure][123]
76.6 to it. It is not possible for [anyone to … nor is it possible] for[124]
76.7 the Apostle and the Teacher … …
76.8 an eternal bond [in the] Lump … …
76.9 … from the time when … …
76.10 fight[125] with one another [until] the time …
76.11 [one] another and each one … …
76.12 … b◌nd … …
76.13 … and they p◌oclaim … …
76.14 moment and time.

[121] A&C: [ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧ]ⲛ̣ⲥ̣ⲁⲩ̣[ⲛⲉ] ⲭⲉ.
[122] A&C: [ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲟⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲕⲱⲡ] |[3]ⲙ̣[ⲙⲁ]ⲥ̣.
[123] A&C: ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ϣⲓ] |[6]ⲁ† ⲁⲣⲁⲥ.
[124] A&C: ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲟⲁⲙ].
[125] A&C: †[ⲧ]ⲫⲛ̣ ⲙⲛ.

CHAPTER 25

ON THE FIVE[126] [FATHERS: FROM WHICH LIMBS THEY HAVE COME]

76.18 Again the Apostle spoke about [the emanation[127] of the *Five Fathers*]
76.19 [from] the Father, one after the other. Thus he spoke: [the Messenger]
76.20 [came] from his Mind, the Beloved of Lights
76.21 [from his Thought], the Mother of Life from his Insight, [Jesus][128]
76.22 the Beloved from his Counsel, the Virgin of Light
76.23 from his Consideration. This is the way that [these *Five*] *Fathers*
76.24 were called (into being). These *Five Advents* came from the *Five Limbs* of the
76.25 Father. One came after the other (and) appeared in his time.

[126] A&C: ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡ[ⲧ]ⲟⲩ … etc.
[127] A&C: ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧ[ⲡⲣⲟ]ⲃ[ⲟⲗ]ⲏ ⲙⲡ[ⲧⲟⲩ.
[128] A&C: ⲓ[ⲏⲥ].

CHAPTER 27

ON THE FIVE FORMS WHICH EXIST IN THE ARCHON{S} OF DARKNESS

77.25 [Again] as the Apostle sat in the assembly, he said [to]
77.26 [his] disciples: As for the Archon, the leader of all the powers
77.27 [of Darkness], there are [*Five Forms*] in his body, according to
77.28 [the form] of the seal [of the *Five*] *Creations* which exist in the *Five*
77.29 *Worlds of Darkness*. His head has the face of a lion and
77.30 originated from [the] World of Fire. His wings and his
77.31 [shoulders] have the face of an eagle, according to the form of the Sons of Wind.
77.32 [His hands] and [his feet] are demons, according to the form
77.33 [of the Sons] of the World of Smoke. His belly has the face of
77.34 [a dragon, according to the form of the] World of Darkness. His tail [has]

78.1 the form of the fish, which belongs to [the World of the] Sons of Water. These
78.2 *Five Forms*[129] are found in him; they [have come] from the *Five* [*Creations*]
78.3 of the *Five Worlds of Darkness*. When he wants, [he goes]
78.4 [on] his two feet and … the World of [Smoke]
78.5 Also, when he wants, he [appears] to them as four[130] …
78.6 on his hands and feet[131] like [the] Sons of Fire.
78.7 When he wants, he lifts (himself) with his wings like the Sons of
78.8 the [Wind]. Also, when he wants, he leaps(?)[132] into the waters
78.9 [like the] Sons of the Water. Also, when he wants, he creeps on
78.10 [his belly] like the Sons of Darkness. [These *Five*] *Forms* exist
78.11 in him. There are also three other in him. [The First]:
78.12 … his powers … …
78.13 The Second: … …
78.14 his magic. When he [wants, he calls upon it]
78.15 [himself] and hides from his powers. [Also, when he wants]
78.16 he shows himself to them (and) causes wounds and [carnage with his]
78.17 magic. By the word which he utters on occasion, he does [his magic]

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[129] Or "appearances"?
[130] That is, as a quadruped.
[131] A&C: no lacuna.
[132] A&C: ⲃⲗⲟϭ̄ⲭ̣.

78.18 with it. The Third: His body is strong, so that all the …,
78.19 all the teeth and the claws of his powers may not pierce [him].
78.20 No body of iron and copper will be fitting for him nor[133]
78.21 will they imprison him, since he was created and fashioned
78.22 from the bitter Consideration of Matter, the Mother of the demons [and]
78.23 evil spirits. There are also three other (forms) in him. When [he wants]
78.24 his fire blazes and his whole body becomes like a [… of]
78.25 the fire. Also, when he wants, he sends out
78.26 frost and his entire body becomes cold like …
78.27 snow. The Third: When his powers [stand]
78.28 before him, he looks at them and knows what [is]
78.29 in their heart. He knows what is in [their heart]
78.30 and their face so long as they stand before him. [When]
78.31 they retreat from him and remove themselves from him [he does not]
78.32 know what is in their heart. There is no life [in him]
78.33 at all, but his life is the gall of [anger] and [poison,[134] which are visible]
78.34 in his face. By his terror …

79.1 of imprisonment(?) which stands before him. Behold, do not deliver
79.2 yourselves, my beloved, to the forms of this Archon, the root
79.3 of all wickedness, the bosom and camp
79.4 of every ugliness. But, you, keep yourselves
79.5 from him and his evil wisdom which dwells in your
79.6 bodies, lest they mix with you and they destroy your
79.7 gentleness and change your wisdom into a lie.
79.8 But be diligent and perfect
79.9 before the Mind of Truth which has revealed itself to you, that
79.10 you may … and be drawn up …
79.11 to the height and inherit [life] from [eternity]
79.12 [to] eternity.

[133] A&C: ϙ[ϒⲧⲉ].
[134] A&C: ⲙ[ⲛ ⲡ]ⲙⲉⲧϙ[ϒ.

CHAPTER 33

ON THE FIVE THINGS THAT HE CONSTRUCTED WITH THE HARD BODIES OF THE ARCHONS

86.22 Again, the Enlightener spoke: The Living Spirit constructed [*Five*]
86.23 *Great Things* from the veins, brains, [and] hard [bodies.]
86.24 The First is the disk which sits on [the]
86.25 shoulders of the Porter. The [Second] is the arch of [the]
86.26 column which is before him. [The] Third is the [shape]
86.27 of the form of *gehenna*. The Fourth is the [Seven]
86.28 Columns which he set up in the Great Sea in the
86.29 Seven Parts of the world. The Fifth is the Four
86.30 Walls which surround the passage.

CHAPTER 37

ON THE THREE ZONES

89.3 Again the Enlightener spoke about the Living Spirit: When he
89.4 built (and) constructed the worlds, he suspended the zones
89.5 in their zones within their zones again. The First Zone{s}
89.6 are (those of) the *Five Powers of Darkness*, male and female.
89.7 This (statement) that "he suspended a zone in a zone" (means that) he suspended
89.8 the *Five Powers of Darkness* in the *Five Splendours of the Son of*
89.9 *Man*. For the whole enmity is fastened and bound in them.
89.10 Also, within the zone are the *Five Sons of the* [*Living*] *Spirit*,
89.11 for the entire construction hangs on them as he
89.12 … … heard him too. The other …
89.13 … … after them. That he suspended [the zones(?)] (means that)
89.14 [he suspended them from the] upper firmaments [to the firmaments further down]
89.15 … … which is in a zone is the Great [King of Glory],
89.16 who exists … … within the …
89.17 … the world.

CHAPTER 38

ON THE LIGHT-MIND, THE APOSTLES, AND THE SAINTS

89.21 Again at one occasion, a disciple questioned the [Apostle],
89.22 saying to him: You have told us that the Light-Mind
89.23 is that which comes and supports the saints. [You have told]
89.24 us therefore that even though it is one of the gods …
89.25 … many gods are found in it. You have told
89.26 us also that at the time it enters into [the body]
89.27 of the flesh and binds the Old Man with its *Five Counsels*,
89.28 setting up its *Five Counsels* on him in the *Five Limbs*
89.29 [of his] body. Where is it [though], since the Old Man is bound in the
89.30 body? For, I (can) see that rebellions occur in its
89.31 bond from time to time. Secondly, I ask
89.32 you: If indeed it is a great god, unchanging and
89.33 immeasurable, how does it come to appear in the smallness of the
89.34 body? The third thing that I want you to tell
89.35 me [is this: If(?)] the Mind is holy and pure,
89.36 [how did it come to be joined to(?)] the impurity of this body?

90.1 Fourthly, if truly, the Light-Mind is present in [the]
90.2 saints, why does its likeness not appear to us as it
90.3 is? The fifth thing: I want
90.4 you to tell me (about) and explain your apostleship.
90.5 For, behold, it is not clear to me, since they oppress
90.6 you and persecute you in the world.
90.7 I implore you that you persuade me about these things which I have asked you.
90.8 Then he spoke to this disciple: My entire revelation,
90.9 which I have revealed, I have made it known to my Church
90.10 (and) it is true before you. One and the same is it everywhere. [What, then,]
90.11 are you missing?[135] This disciple said [to the Apostle]:
90.12 While indeed you have revealed everything (and) persuaded [us][136] that they are

[135] A&C: ⲉ[ⲩ ⲡⲉⲧ] |[11]ⲕ[ⲫⲁ]ⲣⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ.
[136] A&C: ⲁⲕⲡ̣ⲱⲉ̣ [ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ] ⲉ̣[ⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ]|ⲉ.

90.13 true before us, nevertheless I would also like to get to know[137] the Light-
90.14 Mind as it is.
90.15 Then, the Apostle spoke to him: If I go on once again
90.16 to relate[138] to you these things that you are (already) versed in, they being true
90.17 before you, (then) by means of these things which you are versed in,[139] you will
90.18 come to know [what you are missing]. I will give the perception of those who perceive for your sake. I will let
90.19 the living fountain gush forth for those who thirst, that they might drink and live.
90.20 Then the Apostle said to him: All Error, when the
90.21 Enemy of Light established it, was established after the likeness of
90.22 a human being. The head of the cosmos is the edge of the garments.
90.23 Its neck is the collar[140] of the garments. Its stomach is
90.24 [the] *Five Folds* which are the … of the garments.
90.25 Its ribs are [all] the firmaments. Its navel [is the]
90.26 circuit[141] of stars and the Zodiac. [The parts], however, [which]
90.27 extend from its navel {from its [navel]} to its loins is [the …]
90.28 … which extend from the circuit [to the corners] of the Four
90.29 Worlds. Its loins are the … which is below …
90.30 on the head of the Porter. Its … from the …
90.31 to the earth on which the Porter stands.
90.32 Its shinbones and its feet are … of the [Porter(?)]
90.33 and the entire Zone which belongs … …

91.1 Its heart is humankind, its liver is the four-legged beasts.
91.2 Its lung is the species of birds that [flies in]
91.3 the air. Its spleen is the species of fish that swims in the waters.
91.4 Its kidneys are the world of reptiles who creep [on]
91.5 the earth. Its outer skin is the wall that … [which]
91.6 surrounds the fixtures and the great fire. Its …
91.7 the passages of the great fire. Its flesh is[142] …
91.8 of the Darkness. Its gall is the passage of …[143] its
91.9 large intestine is the breadth of the great …
91.10 of the worlds. Its veins … … all [the springs]
91.11 and sources. Its eyes [are] … …

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137 A&C: ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱ[ⲛ] [ⲍ][ⲱⲧ] ⲙ̇[ⲡ]ⲛⲟ̇ⲩⲥ.
138 A&C: ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ̇ [ⲁⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲧ̇[ⲁ] |[16]ⲧ̇[ⲉ]ⲟ̇ⲩⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ.
139 "being true before you" added by scribe slightly above the line (Polotsky/Böhlig 90.17).
140 Crum 162b.
141 Literally "sphere, globe".
142 A&C: ⲧⲉⲫⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲡⲉ . ⲙ̇ⲏ̇ … .
143 A&C: ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̇[ⲭ]ⲓ̇ⲟⲣⲉ ⲛⲛ … . . ⲡⲉ̇[ⲫ] |[9]ⲛⲁⲇ.

91.12 … Its feet are the Four Regions[144] …
91.13 … … which …
91.14 This is the way that each one has provided the worlds with *mēte*.
91.15 While the *Five Gods* are fixed in it … …
91.16 they are its soul and its life … …
91.17 is a sinful person … …
91.18 … the Living Spirit and the Messenger …
91.19 the *Five Sleepless Watchers*. He has …
91.20 the Keeper of Splendour, the Mind, which is … [in the]
91.21 [world] of the upper Mind. It has …
91.22 the whole … of the powers of heaven [which] in … …
91.23 the great King of Glory who is [the Thought found]
91.24 in the Seventh Firmament. He humbled … …
91.25 … also the Adamas of Light, who is the Insight …
91.26 in this *mēte*. He gave … because of the Desire of Matter.[145] [He has]
91.27 also placed the King of Glory, who is the Counsel …
91.28 the long-suffering upon the Three Images, that of wind, that of
91.29 fire, (and) that of water. He has given him the …
91.30 … do evil.
91.31 [The …] also of the Porter, who is Consideration …
91.32 [the] wisdom in the … which is above, he made him …
91.33 … … the foundation, [which is below] …

92.1 Again, the Messenger distilled from them the *Five*
92.2 *Intellectuals of Life*. Also, the Call and Response were set
92.3 in them, now making them six Sons of the Living Spirit,
92.4 along with six Sons of the First Man.
92.5 Again, the Messenger set in them the Great Mind,
92.6 which is the Column of Glory, the Perfect Man.
92.7 Again, Jesus the Youth was set among them, who is
92.8 the Image of the Living Word, of the Proclamation and the Hearing.
92.9 He strengthened these camps, above and below,
92.10 so that each one of them may secure itself in the circuit of its
92.11 watch-post, (and) so that rebellion and deceit might not occur in its watch.
92.12 Look, then, and see: The Keeper of Splendour stands in the
92.13 Great Mind, in the camp that (sits) above the prison
92.14 of those who are bound, so that he might bring to naught all the gloom of death.
92.15 But, deceit and rebellion occurred. Sin aborted,
92.16 [intertwined] with the soul, and mixed with the Light which was
92.17 freed by the image of the Messenger (and) went [up to] …
92.18 … [in the] Third Firmament, which is above the watch-tower

[144] A&C: ⲡⲫ[ⲧ]ⲁⲩ ⲛⲕⲁⲓⲙⲁ.
[145] A&C: ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛⲧ[ⲍ]ⲩ[ⲗⲏ ⲁⲫ].

92.19 … the Keeper of Splendour. From this place, too, it intertwined
92.20 with the Light. It came out (and) went down
92.21 to the dry and the moist. It [fashioned] the trees [in][146]
92.22 the dry, while in the sea it took form immediately
92.23 and made a great rebellion in the sea.
92.24 Behold and see that the great King of Honour, he who is
92.25 the Thought found in the Third Firmament, he is [terrible]
92.26 with wrath. But, rebellion (still) [occurred], since deceit and
92.27 hate are found in the camp, (that is,) the Watchers
92.28 of heaven who came down to the earth during his watch:
92.29 they engaged in every act of deceit. They revealed the arts
92.30 in the world (and) unveiled to human beings the mysteries [of]
92.31 heaven. There is no limit to (the) rebellion and destruction (that) occurred on the
92.32 earth. The Adamas … …
92.33 … perfection, he stands on … …

93.1 and deceit occurred in his camp: which is, when
93.2 the abortions fell down, Adam and Eve
93.3 were formed and begotten, so that by means of them they might rule the world.
93.4 They accomplished all the works of Desire on the
93.5 earth; the whole world was filled with their Desire. By
93.6 means of this *mēte*,[147] they also persecute the churches (and) kill
93.7 the apostles and the righteous in the watch-district of the Adamas
93.8 of Light, from time to time throughout the generations.
93.9 Also, in the watch of the great King of Glory, he who is
93.10 the great Counsel (and) who has authority over the Three
93.11 Wheels, disturbance and tribulation occurred, since they …
93.12 the earth (and) disturbed the Three Earths. When the Messenger
93.13 revealed his image, the roads closed to their [escape(?)]
93.14 … their departure was hindered [when(?)]
93.15 the wind, the water, and the fire came into them.
93.16 Also, in the watch of the Porter, he who humbled …
93.17 rebellion in the lower depths … …
93.18 bent, the lower fixtures stripped … …
93.19 in the lower foundation. … …
93.20 Because of the earthquake which occurred in the watch of the Keeper
93.21 of Splendour, the Column of Glory came forth being … … and acted as
93.22 [a(?)] helper to the Keeper of Splendour. He bore all the
93.23 weight. Also, because of the deceit and the rebellion which

[146] A&C: [ⲥ][ⲙ̄].
[147] Meaning no known, but something like "leeway"(?).

93.24 occurred during the watch of the great King of Honour, (that is,) the
93.25 Watchers who came down to the earth from the heavens,[148] because of them
93.26 the Four Angels were commanded (to) bind the Watchers
93.27 with a bond forever in the prison of those who are black.[149]
93.28 Their sons were wiped off (the face of) the earth.
93.29 Since the abortions also came down during the watch of the Adamas
93.30 (and) begot Adam and Eve, because of this great deceit
93.31 and the mystery of evil, he sent Jesus
93.32 … the prayer of the *Five Sons*, he bore …
93.33 … the abortions, he fastened them beneath the
93.34 … the Mind of Adam.

94.1 Also, because of the earthquake which occurred in these Three
94.2 Earths, and because the roads ended (and) the fountains of
94.3 wind, water, and fire ceased, Jesus descended (and)
94.4 bore Eve. He made straight the paths of the wind, the water, and
94.5 the fire, opened to them the fountains, (and) constructed for them the paths
94.6 of ascent. Again, since the
94.7 earth which is below the Porter (was) stripped [of the] fixtures which
94.8 … indeed, because of this, Jesus came down to bear
94.9 [Eve.] Before he reached that place, he ordered (and) strengthened
94.10 the fixtures which are below, (then) returned (and) went back up to his
94.11 resting-[place](?). Then the Apostle said to him:
94.12 See all these watches of the Zone, in which these great gods
94.13 are lords, watching over them … …
94.14 rebellion and deceit occurred in them. The …
94.15 … in them from time to time, in great humility,
94.16 until they humble the powers of enmity.
94.17 This is also how it is with the body—a great power dwells
94.18 within it. Even though it is small in its form, Sin nevertheless
94.19 dwells within it along with the Old Man, who resides in it. It is inhabited
94.20 by a very great wisdom, until the Light-Mind
94.21 finds the way to humble this body and drive it [according]
94.22 to its will. As in the watches
94.23 of his great brothers who are lords out in the Zone—
94.24 (that is,) the great body, (where) earthquake and deceit occur
94.25 from time to time—so too in the watch-tower of the

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[148] According to Henning this passages represents a fragment from Mani's *Book of Giants* (*W.B. Henning: Selected Papers II* [Leiden: Brill, 1977], 135).

[149] See Polotsky/Böhlig 93.27. This passage is a puzzling piece of Manichaean cosmology, perhaps reflecting the influence of another (Enochic?) tradition.

94.26 Mind, which is the body of the flesh, does Sin raise
94.27 from time to time its agitations in the body.
94.28 But, in this way, know that the powers of Light
94.29 are good. The beginning and the end are revealed to them.
94.30 Everything they do, they do with correct judgement.
94.31 Because of this, they allow the enmity
94.32 to initiate Error and to do its will [for]
94.33 a while. Then, they are seized …

95.1 … they have acted first in righteous judgement.
95.2 But, as for this other (question), which you posed: How does the Light-
95.3 Mind come, this great strength, and endure such a small
95.4 body of flesh? Behold, again, and see these gods that
95.5 … they [are] great and strong, yet each one of them is limited (and)
95.6 confined in [the] place where it stands, like trees
95.7 cleaving to their taproot.[150] This also is the way that each one
95.8 of them cleaves to its taproot in the world, according to
95.9 [the] size of the place where he stands, enduring until
95.10 … the end[151] … But, know also
95.11 … … the world stands, being established …
95.12 … [the] Living Spirit in all his Limbs
95.13 … … Sin took this body away from the [Land]
95.14 [of Light and(?)] established it in his Limbs. It removed his [body]
95.15 [from the *Five*] *Bodies of Darkness* (and) established the body. His
95.16 [soul], however, he took from the *Five Luminous Gods*
95.17 (and) bound it to the *Five Limbs of the Body*. It bound Mind
95.18 in bone, Thought in sinew, Insight in vein, Counsel
95.19 in flesh, Consideration in skin. It set
95.20 [it] in its *Five Powers*: Its Mind on the Mind of the soul,
95.21 [its] Thought on the Thought of the soul, its Insight on the Insight
95.22 [of] the soul, its Counsel on the Counsel of the soul, (and) its
95.23 Consideration on the Consideration of the soul. It set its *Five*
95.24 *Angels* and its *Authorities* on the *Five Limbs*
95.25 [*of the Soul*], which he took (and) bound in the flesh.
95.26 … impregnating the soul, drawing it each time to
95.27 all (sorts of) evil works, to all sins of Desire, to the
95.28 worship of idols, to the Sects of Error, to
95.29 humility in the humility of slavery, as it stands serving
95.30 the foul things which do not last, worshipping
95.31 … … idols of wood and gold and silver
95.32 … … they *čajē*(?),[152] serving the filthy

[150] See Gardner, *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 99.
[151] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϩⲏ.
[152] ⲟⲁⲭⲏ[?]: meaning unknown and reading uncertain (noted in Polotsy/Böhlig).

96.1 and unclean beasts that are ugly in their appearance and their
96.2 form. It put on Error and oblivion, (and) forgot
96.3 its essence, its race, and its kind. Not
96.4 recognizing the door of the prayer-house, it cried out to
96.5 him (and) became hostile to its father … …
96.6 … itself, being evil … …
96.7 … to its own light. Also, when[153] the Light-
96.8 Mind came and found the soul, it … and gave it a …[154]
96.9 … it put it on in the … …
96.10 … its wisdom … …
96.11 … it becomes for it a … …
96.12 … the bonds … …
96.13 Limb(s) in the body. It[155] frees the Mind [of the Soul and]
96.14 [releases] it from bone. It releases the Thought [of the Soul]
96.15 from sinew and binds, in turn, the Thought [of Sin in]
96.16 sinew. It releases the Insight of the Soul from vein,
96.17 and binds, in turn, the Insight of Sin in vein. It
96.18 frees the Counsel of the Soul and releases it from the flesh
96.19 and binds, in turn, the Counsel of Sin in the flesh. It
96.20 releases the Consideration of the Soul from the skin and binds
96.21 the Consideration of Sin in the skin.
96.22 This is how it releases the Limbs of the Soul
96.23 and makes them free from the *Five Limbs of Sin*.
96.24 These *Five Limbs of Sin* which are released,
96.25 it binds them. It establishes the Limbs of the Soul, builds them up,
96.26 refines them, and establishes them in the New Man, a son of
96.27 righteousness. When it fashions and establishes
96.28 and purifies the New Man, then it acquires *Five*
96.29 *Great, Living Limbs* from the *Five Great Limbs*
96.30 and places them in the Limbs of the New Man. It places its Mind,
96.31 which is Love, in the Mind of the New Man. Thought,
96.32 on the other hand, which is Belief, it sets [in] the Thought [of the New]
96.33 Man, who it refines. Insight, which [is Perfection, it places]

97.1 in the Insight of the New Man. His Counsel, which [is]
97.2 Long-suffering, it places in his Counsel. Wisdom,[156]
97.3 which is his Consideration, (it places) in the Consideration of the New
97.4 Man. It purifies the image of the word from the word of
97.5 Sin and adds it to its (own) word, so that its
97.6 … might be a nourisher and strengthener …

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[153] A&C: ⲡⲛ̀[ϵ]ϒ [ⲁⲛ] ϵ̣ⲧ̣[ϵ]ⲯⲁⲣ̣[ϵ] ⲧ̣ⲛ̀ⲟ̣[ⲩⲥ].
[154] A&C: ⲯ[ⲁ]ⲓ̣[ⲧ] … . . ⲛⲧ[ϯ] ⲛⲉ̣ⲥ [ⲛ̄]ⲟⲩ[.].
[155] That is, the Light-Mind.
[156] Polotsky/Böhlig suggests that the elements "wisdom" and "consideration" should be inversed (97 n. 2).

97.7 … … When it perfects
97.8 … … the twelve limbs, then[157] …
97.9 … … and his wisdom. His …
97.10 … … becomes righteous and perfect …
97.11 … … first he ran …
97.12 … … instead of this, it now runs …
97.13 … its road and its path and its …
97.14 [it] also [raises itself up] to the Great Aeon …
97.15 …. Therefore the Old Man is bound in his …
97.16 … and his desire, his … … his
97.17 foolishness in these *Five Limbs of the Body*. [Just as]
97.18 the Spirit of Darkness is enclosed with them in a bond and in
97.19 a severe affliction, the New Man, on the other hand, rules
97.20 in his Love, in his Belief, in his Perfection, in his
97.21 Long-suffering, and in his Wisdom. Also, his king, who[158]
97.22 [is the Light-Mind], is king over all. It [rules over him]
97.23 [according to] its will. As long as the Limbs of Sin are bound[159]
97.24 in this way, Sin is contained. Even though the Light-Mind
97.25 [is] king, tribulation may still occur in the body from
97.26 time to time. Sometimes Sin rises
97.27 up in his Consideration and disturbs Counsel, and confuses
97.28 Wisdom and the understanding of the man and causes truth
97.29 to leave him in favour of doubt and to make statements (that) are
97.30 inane and without salt.[160] When the sign of his
97.31 foolishness comes … in the Church, the Teachers and
97.32 [the …] and the Deacons,[161] and the Elders gather
97.33 … [and] become his helpers and correct his Wisdom
97.34 … … … his Consideration was established

98.1 in this (man). His Wisdom has secured its place (and) ordered
98.2 … well. If, however, he does not accept the rebuke
98.3 and the encouragement[162] of his brothers and his helpers, then
98.4 Sin rises up again from Consideration to
98.5 Counsel and takes his Long-suffering [from him] and clothes him
98.6 with cowardice and loss, and the sign[163] (of this) becomes evident
98.7 among his brothers, his … …
98.8 every [deed] that he does … …
98.9 the advice of his brothers and he becomes …
98.10 foolishness. A struggle and a war occur (between)

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157 A&C: ⲧⲟⲧⲉ.
158 A&C: ⲡⲫ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲛ [ⲉ]ⲧⲉ.
159 A&C: ⲛ̄ⲓⲛⲁⲃⲉ [ⲙ]ⲏⲣ.
160 A&C: ϩⲛⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲃⲁ | [30][ⲃⲁ]ⲧ ⲉⲙⲛ ϩⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ.
161 A&C: ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[ⲇⲓⲁ]ⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ.
162 Crum 122b.
163 A&C: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ[ⲟ]ⲩⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄.

98.11 the Light-Mind and Sin in Counsel. The
98.12 brothers gather[164] together and they become …
98.13 … him and they quiet the … …
98.14 … they put him in his place again …
98.15 one another in his struggle. If, however, …
98.16 that place, then Sin rises up again to …
98.17 … and clothes him with Desire and pretension and
98.18 pride, and he leaves his Teacher and brothers.
98.19 He always wants to go in and out alone,
98.20 he wants to eat (and) drink alone, as a solitary. He
98.21 always wants to walk alone. This, then, is the
98.22 sign that the habit of his brothers does not please him. If he
98.23 [lets] his heart [succumb(?)] to lust, Sin will again raise
98.24 the Death-desire in his Thought. He … to
98.25 vanity and he gives up his faith and his truth leaves
98.26 him. When the sign of his foolishness
98.27 appears and his notoriety spreads though the Church, the
98.28 wise ones of the Church assemble so that they might strengthen his [heart]
98.29 and build him up in the rule[165] of God. (Then), if he has accepted [the]
98.30 advice of his brothers and heard the … …
98.31 and has turned away from his anger and … …,

99.1 (then) it is possible that he (might) live and conquer Sin and all its
99.2 wars. But if he does not strengthen this watch, it (will) come back
99.3 and put on and disturb his Mind, which was originally
99.4 at rest. It (will) disturb his love for his Teacher and his
99.5 instructor. It (will) remove from his heart the love for the Church
99.6 and fill it totally with hate, and all his brothers (will) become hateful
99.7 to him. His brothers and his beloved and his companions,
99.8 who love him, they (will) be like enemies to him.
99.9 Now, if[166] this man is disturbed in this way, and he abandons his
99.10 love and his desire to change himself, (then) this
99.11 man (will) become, in turn, a lost vessel and he (will) leave the
99.12 Church and he (will) reach his end in the world.
99.13 The Mind which was in him (will) be dispersed from him and return
99.14 to the Apostle who sent it. He becomes filled with evil spirits
99.15 and they play with [him], drawing him here and there, and he, in turn,
99.16 becomes like an worldly man, changing and being like a
99.17 bird plucked of its feathers {and becomes earthly}.

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[164] A&C: ϣⲁⲣ[ϵ] ⲛ̣ |[12]ϲ[ⲛⲏ]ⲩ ϲⲱⲩⲍ.
[165] Crum 122b.
[166] A&C: ϵϣⲁⲛⲧϵ-.

99.18 Behold![167] I have shown you (s.) and clarified for you (s.) that, just as
99.19 agitation occurs in the Zone, in the camps of
99.20 these great and mighty gods. So too
99.21 disturbance happens from time to time in the jurisdiction[168] of the
99.22 Light-Mind. Just as these watchers stand
99.23 [in] the Zone (and) are not visible, so too is it with the
99.24 Light-Mind, [since] it is not visible in the body.
99.25 Also, just as these outer [watchers] are great,
99.26 but bend (and) [bow] (and) shrink according to the size of the task
99.27 assigned to each one of them, so too is it with the
99.28 Mind. It too is great and exalted, but it has bent itself
99.29 (and) shrunk according to this small, repulsive body.
99.30 Just as the gods [in the] outer Zone are excellent,
99.31 pure, (and) established [in] the mixture of the All, and yet not polluted,
99.32 [so too does the] Light-[Mind] stand in its
99.33 … … … …

100.1 Behold the strength and the efficiency of the Light-
100.2 Mind: how great it is on all the watch-towers of
100.3 the body. It stands in its encampment (and) shields
100.4 every impulse of the body from the attractions of Sin.
100.5 It fixes them, scatters them, (and) sets them right
100.6 according to its will. It also does another excellent (and)
100.7 exceptional thing—it sets a great spirit on the
100.8 Elect. Indeed, you (s.) find him established on the earth,
100.9 rising in his heart, (and) going up to the Father, the
100.10 God of Truth, he who is established above
100.11 all the works of loss. It also rushes in
100.12 his Insight and his Consideration, and goes down to
100.13 the Land of Darkness, from which the Darkness has sprung.
100.14 His heart runs and meets everything, after having … them.
100.15 Then he said to that disciple: Behold![169] I have taught you (about)
100.16 the deeds of the Light-Mind. To the one who has
100.17 open and perceptive eyes it will be visible, (but) to the one who
100.18 does not have these eyes it will not be visible.
100.19 As for my work, which is [revealed] (but) is not clear to you—
100.20 the works that I have done—I am the one who will teach
100.21 them and I will clarify for you these wonders [of] my works[170]
100.22 and my leadership.
100.23 Heed this! that I, a single Manichaios, have come into the

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[167] A&C: [ϵ]ⲓⲥⲧϵ.
[168] A&C: ϩⲛ̄ ⲡⲣⲁ ⲛ̄[ϩ]ϵⲡ.
[169] A&C: ϵⲓ[ⲥ][ϩ]ⲏⲧϵ.
[170] A&C: [ⲛⲧϵ]ⲡⲁ[ϩ]ⲱ[ⲃ].

100.24 world alone. Both the forms [and] types of the body,
100.25 both gold and silver, both brass … money and
100.26 numerous gifts, both armour and armaments, [the]
100.27 multitude of humanity have submitted to me—
100.28 many divinities and idols from the
100.29 furnaces. You have seen the [kingdom] of the world, how
100.30 with many graces and gifts, with
100.31 armour and war and [violence] they have hardly humbled the
100.32 cities and subdued the lands. [I, however, I have subdued]
100.33 without armour and without [armaments …][171] distant [cities]

101.1 through the word of God. In distant lands
101.2 they bless my name and it is glorified in all lands.
101.3 Know also this other thing that I will teach you: the
101.4 kings have striven with me, along with the princes and the
101.5 officials and their functionaries, so that they might destroy this truth,
101.6 (but) they have had no power over me in this regard. Now, if I am alone,
101.7 why did they have no power over me, namely, all those who strove
101.8 with me? The third thing is that [there is]
101.9 no one in the world who has given freedom to his children and
101.10 his brothers and his relatives (and) freed them
101.11 from the variability of all things just as I
101.12 have made all my sons free from every toil, and [how I have][172]
101.13 granted every freedom(?).[173] The fourth thing: I have [clothed] them
101.14 with the armour [of] wisdom, so that you (s.) will not find one single
101.15 person who will … and conquer them. Just as no
101.16 one has been able to conquer me in the entire world, so too is it
101.17 with my children. No one will be able to conquer them.
101.18 The fifth thing: I have chosen with my power this entire, great
101.19 election. I have given to my children my staffs of knowledge[174]
101.20 and the great fountains of wisdom. Because the previous[175]
101.21 apostles did not give their churches wisdom[176] as I
101.22 gave to mine,[177] I have strengthened my church (and) have left it
101.23 every good thing that is useful to it in every (sort of) work.
101.24 I have planted good and sown truth in every land, near
101.25 and far. Apostles and elders
101.26 have I sent to every land. Because the previous

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171 A&C: lacuna in manuscript.
172 A&C: ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧ̣[ⲭⲉ ⲉ]ⲧ̣ⲁ̈ⲓ̈.
173 Funk, *personal communication*.
174 A&C: ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡ̣[ⲥ]ⲁ̣ⲩⲛⲉ̣.
175 A&C: ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ̣[ⲛ][ⲱ]ⲁ̣ⲣⲡ̣.
176 A&C: ⲟⲩⲥ̣ⲟ̣ⲫⲓⲁ.
177 A&C: ⲧ[ⲭ]ⲉ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲁⲕ |[22][ⲉⲧ]ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲛⲧⲱⲓ̈.

101.27 apostles who went to them earlier did not accomplish what I have accomplished
101.28 [in] this past generation, save for Jesus alone, the son of
101.29 [the] Greatness who is the father of all apostles.
101.30 For all the apostles have not accomplished what
101.31 [I have] accomplished. Behold and see now how great is my
101.32 [power] and my diligence. For no one among the previous
101.33 [apostles, who appeared before me(?)][178] in the flesh was like me in
101.34 … … through me. For this great

102.1 door has been opened, which I have opened, to the gods and angels and
102.2 the people and all the spirits and living souls which are
102.3 prepared for life and eternal rest.
102.4 Then, when his disciples heard all these words which he had
102.5 proclaimed to them, they answered (and) said to him: Great
102.6 and strong are all these things which you have proclaimed to us; (things) which
102.7 you have done by your power and the power of the one who sent you. Who
102.8 could fully repay you for the grace which you have
102.9 done for us, except this one who sent you? But, this is the only
102.10 thanks available to us to repay you, (namely) that we strengthen ourselves in
102.11 your faith and keep your commandments and, moreover, that we be content
102.12 with the words you have proclaimed to us.

[178] Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig, 101.33.

CHAPTER 39

ON THE THREE DAYS[179] AND THE TWO DEATHS

102.16 Again the Apostle spoke to his disciples:
102.17 Know! my beloved ones, that three great, mighty days
102.18 occur in the universe as well as two great,
102.19 bitter deaths. When his disciples heard (this)
102.20 they said to him: Tell us, our father, what are these
102.21 three great days or what are these two bitter
102.22 deaths. He said to them:
102.23 The first day is our Father, the Man—from the moment
102.24 that the First Man came down to the depth of the Darkness (and)
102.25 was submerged in it. (Then), the Living Spirit was sent(?), who went (down)
102.26 (and) brought him up. After the Man ascended, the Father of
102.27 Life and the Great Spirit set in order the affairs and the worlds
102.28 (both) above and below. Moreover, the glorious Messenger
102.29 came and boarded the Ship of the Day.
102.30 He revealed his glorious image (and) purified [the Light]
102.31 from all things. He journeyed through the heights of the
102.32 heavens, until the time when the world will be dissolved,
102.33 all things destroyed, the Great [Fire] unleashed,
102.34 and the Last Statue ascends. These three deeds
102.35 were begun on this first [day, when the First Man]
102.36 was sent along with his *Five* [*Sons*. The first death],[180]

103.1 however, is the Darkness, which mixed with the *Five Sons*
103.2 *of the First Man*. The second day
103.3 is when the Fathers of Light, who were victorious in the struggle,
103.4 will sit on their thrones in the New Age and dwell
103.5 on the New Earth. They (will) rule in the New [Age]
103.6 until the time when the Father will unveil his image
103.7 above them. It is necessary that they dwell[181] in the New Age
103.8 for the length of the first day that he spent [in affliction].
103.9 They will rule in this way and rejoice in [the New]
103.10 Age. The great third day [is when]

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[179] The topic of the "three days" was, according to al-Nadīm, the subject of a chapter of Mani's work, *Treasure of Life* (Dodge, 798; Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 52).

[180] Something like "night" might make more sense here (Funk, *personal communication*).

[181] A&C: ⲧⲟⲩ(ⲟⲩ)ⲱϩ.

the Father will unveil his [image] over them …
… … and raise them up …
and take them into his hidden storehouse …
and give … to his soul. He will pour upon them …
his ambrosia and his sweet aroma, which will take away
all the tribulation that they saw with their (own) eyes, and give them[182]
relief and eternal joy. When his
grace satisfies them and he gives them his fruit[183] and
they are renewed, he will then call them [in] peace
and silence and perfect their substance [in] the same
measure as his former aeons and reveal every power
in its aeon, in its dwelling place. They will dwell in the New
Age with their aeons. When they dwell with their aeons,
they will become immeasurably rich
for timeless eternity. From this moment on, they will not count this
time among them, nor the number
of days and hours through every generation,
forever and ever. The Father will not be hidden from them from this
moment on. Once he has been unveiled to them,
he will [stay] unveiled forever. These are the three great days
[that the Father of] Greatness has accounted for in the reckoning of
[the number] of days.[184] The two deaths, however, which I have
[proclaimed to you are these:

The first death is from the moment when the Light fell into
the Darkness (and) mixed together with the Archons of Darkness until
the moment when the Light will be purified and separate from the
Darkness through that Great Fire. The remainder, which will be left over in
it, will (be) built (onto) and add(ed) to this Last
Statue. The second death is the death by which
the souls of sinful people die, when
[they] will be stripped of the shining Light which illumined
the world and they are, in turn, separated from the Living Air from which they
received breath, and they are deprived of the Living Soul which
… in the world, and they are separated and swept
away from this Last Statue …
… and they are bound in every limb
… … the woman(?)[185] will become … and …
their torture and their tribulation, because their deeds …

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[182] A&C: [ⲛ][ⲫ][ϯ] ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄-.
[183] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ.
[184] A&C: ⲛ̄]ⲛ[ⲍ][ⲟⲟⲩⲉ].
[185] Unlikely reading, perhaps "terror" (Funk, *personal communication*).

104.16 those three places. Since they have blasphemed (and) despised the
104.17 Holy Spirit in every generation of the world. These are the
104.18 two deaths: the first death is temporal, while the second
104.19 death is eternal—it is the
104.20 [second death!]

CHAPTER 48

ON THE CONDUITS(?)[186]

120.23 Again, the Enlightener spoke: Three conduits are found
120.24 in the entire Zone (running) from the depth to the height.
120.25 The first conduit is the root of all the higher powers:
120.26 those that are found in all the heavens; those that come down
120.27 (and) are bound to the lower earths. Since the lower earth
120.28 is the hide,[187] the garment, and the body of higher powers
120.29 in the heavens. For when the Father of Life
120.30 established the worlds of heaven, he stripped them of their bodies (and)
120.31 threw them to the lower earths. While the upper worlds
120.32 became psychic and pneumatic, the lower worlds
120.33 became somatic and carcass-like …

121.1 Because of this, he … the powers of heaven (and) sealed
121.2 it on their bodies and their carcasses that are in the earths, so that
121.3 when Life comes up from the fullness of these earths,
121.4 it may be completely drawn to the height through the roots of the heavenly, those
121.5 that are nailed in their bodies, and all Life will be distilled from these
121.6 places. The dregs, however, that is swept away from the purity
121.7 which comes up to the height, is left to fall down
121.8 into the channels(?)[188] of the conduits and flow down to …
121.9 and be thrown into the deep.[189] This is the first conduit, which
121.10 runs from the powers of heaven to their bodies and their
121.11 carcasses on the earth. (It) also (runs) from their bodies and [their]
121.12 carcasses on the earth to the powers of heaven.
121.13 The second conduit is the one that runs from the temples and the
121.14 dwellings and the cities in heaven down to

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[186] The precise meaning of ⲁⲓϩⲙⲉ is uncertain.

[187] According to Theodore bar Khonai, the Living Spirit uses the flayed skins of the Archons, i.e., "their hides" (ܦܓܪܝܗܘܢ) (315.10 [Scher]) to construct the heavens and their corpses to construct the earths. This may be the idea reflected by the Coptic term ⲡⲕⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲏⲩ, which Polotsky/Böhlig translated as *das Ausgezogene* and Gardner as "stripping off."

[188] Even though the same word, ⲁⲓϩⲙⲉ, is used, it seems to imply another aspect of the "conduit."

[189] What is being imagined here is some kind of distillation apparatus.

the *Five Kinds of Trees* that grow upon the earth. Life comes
up from the Trees to the temples and the cities. But, the Life
and the Fire of the heavenly ones comes down to the Trees in their
conduits. The third conduit, however, is
all the powers and the companions who dwell in all the firmaments,
those whose roots run down from them to the *Five*
Worlds of Flesh that creep upon the earth, fixed to one another.
While Power and Life gather together in the *Worlds*
of Flesh and go out from them in various forms, the
powers of heaven draw it to them upwards through the conduits.
[The] dregs, however, and the desires and the evils and the wraths, which
abound in the powers [of] heaven, they are poured
their various conduits. They are poured into human beings
[and] the rest of the beasts. When the heavenly cause
the dregs, the stink, and the poison to flow down to the creations
of flesh below, the creations abound
in desire, in wrath, (and) in evil
[through] the energy of their fathers on high.
The Apostle [spoke]:[190] As for the wheel of the stars. It does not have
[a root on this earth] but its roots are bound in the
[All.] But, [the wheel of the stars], thriving on the Power

and the Life that comes up [from] the earth through the conduits
and the firmament above, draws Life from these conduits
that lead up to the firmaments and the worlds
of heaven above it, drawing Life from that place.
Then the disciples asked the Enlightener (and) said to him: If
the wheel has no root on this earth, where then do the stars
and the zodiacal signs find the power to become masters over these *Five*
Fleshes and the *Five Trees*, even though you tell us that the
wheel has no root? For you have told us that as everything
diminishes on the earth, the powers above in
the heavens gather it through a conduit. Also, we see
that every thing which happens to a man—whether wealth
comes to him or he is struck by poverty,
his sickness or his health—it happens to him
through the Zodiac and the stars under which he was begotten.
Then he spoke to his disciples: That which I proclaimed to
you—that the wheel has no root—I proclaimed it to
you correctly. It is certainly correct here, since when the

[190] This may indicate an originally separate chapter.

122.19 Living Spirit, the Father of Life, established the heavens and
122.20 the firmaments above, he bound their roots together with
122.21 the earths below in their carcasses, which he had stripped from
122.22 them. But, after he established the wheel, he did not
122.23 bind its root to the earths, but rather bound the
122.24 root of the wheel to the sea-giant. Then, when the
122.25 Messenger came, he revealed his image,
122.26 purified and took [away] the light from all the heavens, then Matter,
122.27 in turn, which is found in all the Archons, leapt out
122.28 from them against the image of the Messenger (and) ascended
122.29 so that it might attain it, (but) it did not attain it. It turned and fell
122.30 down. Then, when if fell from the height,
122.31 it scattered itself into three parts. The first part
122.32 fell onto the wheel, another [part fell onto the earth, (and still) another]

123.1 one fell into the sea. [From][191] the part which fell to
123.2 the sphere, the roots were bound in the trees and (the) flesh.
123.3 Because of this, they took power and ruled in the *Five*
123.4 *Worlds of Flesh* and the *Five Worlds of the Tree.*
123.5 Through the nature (i.e., of Matter) that came down upon the wheel,
123.6 the root was bound in the trees. Also, through the abortions that
123.7 came down, other roots were bound in the flesh. Because of
123.8 this, too, the stars and the zodiacal signs took power over the trees
123.9 and the fleshes through the root of Sin, which fell down,
123.10 and the root of the abortions who were aborted and fell
123.11 down. But, these other conduits, which the Living Spirit
123.12 bound in the earths, those by which the soul of the Elements came
123.13 to the heavens, they are not bound to the wheel,
123.14 but are robbed from the powers in the wheel
123.15 to which they are attached. The disciples spoke to the
123.16 Enlightener: We implore you, our lord, that as you proclaimed
123.17 to us (and) gathered these words …
123.18 you have told us (about) the first kind of conduit.
123.19 The first is that which runs from the firmament to the earths and
123.20 that which runs from the wheel to the sea-giant.
123.21 This is only one, but the other root runs
123.22 from [the temples] the to the trees. The third (is) the one that is bound
123.23 by the abortions in the flesh. Also, bound in the flesh are the fathers of the
123.24 abortions, who are in heaven … and fettered with and those who
123.25 … We implore you, our lord, that you clarify
123.26 for us [which][192] conduit is it that surpasses its

[191] A&C: ⲭ]ⲛⲛ̄-.
[192] A&C: [ⲛⲟⲩ]ⲓⲉⲧⲛ̣ ⲁ̣[ⲃⲁ]ⲁ̣ [ⲭ]ⲉ̣ ⲉ[ⲱ] ⲛⲁ[ⲓ][ⲍ]ⲙⲉ.

123.27 [counterpart] … with more life and soul being drawn
123.28 [by it] than its counterpart.
123.29 The Enlightener [spoke] to his disciples: You have examined
123.30 … you have asked about this statement in greatness, great
123.31 … [the] earth, many lives come down
123.32 … … the Father of Life has drawn them

124.1 (and) fastened them from [every(?)][193] power. He bound them together with
124.2 the earths which are the roots
124.3 of every ruling power. These (are the conduits) through which the Life of the
124.4 Living Soul is drawn up, coming up from
124.5 the entire earth, from all the mountains, the fields
124.6 and the islands. Second to this first great root
124.7 comes the root of the trees, which was bound to the temples
124.8 and the buildings which are above. Then, since so much life
124.9 comes up from the tree and the whole cross,
124.10 being drawn from them to the height, (it is) like
124.11 a great host. But, the one which is reduced …
124.12 their conduits … taking up …
124.13 place (?)[194] the roots [on][195] earth. They are woven (and) knit [with] the
124.14 entire earth in all worlds. Also, those of the trees are found on
124.15 the entire earth, whether small or great. But the root
124.16 of people and that of beasts is[196] not found
124.17 on the entire earth, but only in this world of the
124.18 south. These fleshes do not yet make … in the
124.19 entire world of the south … there is a little
124.20 bunch of them in … … above
124.21 the world of the south in … …
124.22 also in their number beyond … … I have explained
124.23 to you about the roots [and those (things) that][197] are found in them. [I have]
124.24 taught you that they are bound in their [roots] …
124.25 together with one another. They move toward one another, drawing the
124.26 life from one another through the energy of the higher powers,
124.27 which move toward the nature which dwells in all of them.
124.28 But when they crush the Matter which is in [them] and

193 A&C: [ⲛⲓⲙ²].
194 A&C: ⲕⲁⲁⲧ².
195 A&C: [ⲉⲧϩⲛ].
196 A&C: ⲙⲛ ⲧⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲉ.
197 A&C: ⲛⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ [ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧ][ⲫ]ⲟⲟⲡ.

124.29 plunder it, then it too, this Matter, …
124.30 its limbs and overflow … …
124.31 one another … move … …
124.32 … … … …

CHAPTER 57

ON THE GENERATION OF ADAM

144.15 Again, a Babylonian catechumen questioned the
144.16 Enlightener, saying to him: Speak to me, my lord, and
144.17 clarify for me about Adam, the first man. When
144.18 was he created, in what way was he formed,
144.19 or in what way was he begotten? Does[198] his generation
144.20 resemble the generation which is begotten today among
144.21 humankind, or else is there a distinction to be found between his birth
144.22 and what happens today? For, behold,
144.23 Adam was strong in his substance, great was his
144.24 size, (and) long were his years. He passed many years
144.25 in the world. But he is not the only one that we
144.26 have found to be strong, but also all the others who were
144.27 begotten in his generation. Long were their years also. These
144.28 people, however, who are begotten today, their substance
144.29 diminishes (while) their power and the remainder of their years wane. Why,
144.30 then, is the birth of those begotten today
144.31 different than that of the first … …

145.1 in his very place. Behold also the stars and the zodiacal signs, they remain
145.2 in their places. Why then has the life-span and
145.3 the years of these latter ones diminished and gotten shorter than
145.4 these ancients who are counted among this first generation?
145.5 But he, our Enlightener, in his deep wisdom
145.6 and his great understanding said to this catechumen
145.7 who had asked him: They increased and again diminished
145.8 because there are *Five Types of Authority* and
145.9 *Guide* set in the sphere of the Zodiac and the
145.10 heavens which are above it. They have ⟨*Five*⟩[199] *Names*, by which
145.11 they are called. The first name is the "year", the
145.12 second is the "month", the third is the "day", the
145.13 [fourth] is the "hour", (and) the fifth is the "minute." These *Five*
145.14 *Places* and these *Five Dwellings* are found in the sphere and
145.15 the heavens. These regions have *Five Powers* ruling over

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198 A&C: [ⲁ]ⲣⲁ ⲟⲩⲛ.
199 See Polotsky/Böhlig, 145.10 note.

145.16 them. The ruler of the year is found there, (as is) the ruler of the month,
145.17 the ruler of the day, the ruler of the hour,
145.18 (and) the ruler of the minute; (each) one above his
145.19 companion. The one who is above in each case is lord over the one who is below
145.20 him. As to humanity, which is being begotten along with
145.21 the animals, it is by these powers that it is begotten; but they, these powers,
145.22 have authority from the beginning of creation to the end of the
145.23 world. At the beginning of the generations, it was the powers that rule
145.24 over the years that ruled. Because of this, the offspring
145.25 begotten in their generation and their era found their
145.26 years long, passing many life-spans in the generation of Adam and
145.27 that of Sethel, his son, as well as (the generation) of those who came after him.
145.28 After they ceased to rule, that is, the powers that ruled over the
145.29 years, the powers that rule over the months ruled in turn. Just as the
145.30 months are shorter than the years, so also
145.31 the life-span of the offspring begotten by them is shorter
145.32 [than the life-span of those begotten] in the generation of the powers who ruled

146.1 the years. When the authority of the powers who ruled the months
146.2 was finished, the powers of the days took power after
146.3 them. Therefore, since the days are shorter than the months,
146.4 so too was the life-span of the offspring begotten by them
146.5 shorter than the life-span of those begotten by the powers who ruled
146.6 over the months. Also, in the same way, the offspring who were begotten by the
146.7 hours as well as that of the minute, their *lihme*[200] are shorter than that of
146.8 the months and that of the days. The Enlightener spoke to this
146.9 Babylonian catechumen: Behold how the end
146.10 of the world is nigh! The life-span of
146.11 people is down to nothing. Their days lessen (and) their years
146.12 wane because the Life and the Light [which]
146.13 was in the world in these previous generations was greater than that of
146.14 today. Because of this, they are shrinking in their substance (and) their life-span
146.15 has become shorter. Again, this Babylonian
146.16 catechumen spoke to the Enlightener: I implore
146.17 you, my lord! Just as you clarified for me and persuaded

[200] Perhaps this means that the "conduits" through which life flows into every being are getting shorter or more restricted (Funk, *personal communication*).

me regarding the years—why the
years of these ancients increased and why, in turn,
these latter ones decrease; you told me, also, that they have lessened
in their substance (and) you said that all these ones lessen because
of the Life and the Light which they received in the world—
proclaim to us this other thing, by what sort of birth was all this
offspring of humankind made by one man and one
woman, Adam and Eve? The Enlightener spoke to this
catechumen: You rightly ask about this
matter, so know and understand it. For, just as these
first generations were greater in their Light,
purer in their substance, and also greater are their years, so too
were their offspring more numerous than the offspring of this time.
They passed a longer time being … in [the]
belly of their mother. Afterwards … …

conceived a multitude in a single womb. Sometimes they would beget
five in a single womb. Sometimes they would beget six in a single
belly—sometimes less, sometimes
more. Because of this, the offspring of Eve and that of her children were more
numerous and the earth was filled with them alone.
Since the offspring of the generation of the ancient people who were
begotten in the world was much different than that of today,
their conception and their birth does not resemble that of those born
later, who are born today in the womb of a woman.
For those who are begotten today in these latter generations,
standing small, they are crippled and, it is even as single ones that they are
begotten in a single belly, barely two, more or less,
being ugly in their appearance, reduced in
their size, and weak in their limbs. Their teachings and [their]
thoughts are filled with evil. They are evil-doers. They are drowned.
They consume their life-span with suffering (until) death takes them
quickly. After this catechumen
heard these words, he adored and gave glory, saying to the Enlighterner:
I thank you, my lord, for you have satisfied my heart (and)
persuaded me by making progress about these things that I asked you about.

CHAPTER 65B

(ON THE FIVE QUALITIES OF THE SUN)

161.31 Again, he added and said to his disciples:
161.32 [There are] *Five Qualities* in the Sun which it manifests
161.33 [every time][201] it comes into the world.

162.1 The first is its light, for it illuminates, by means of its light,
162.2 the world and all the creatures found in it.
162.3 The second is its beauty, because when it shines it
162.4 floods beauty and splendour on all creatures
162.5 and all things.
162.6 The third is its peace, because when the Sun
162.7 lights up the world, all people are greeted
162.8 by it and they offer peace to one another.
162.9 The fourth is the Life of the Living Soul, that it releases
162.10 from all bonds and fetters of heaven and earth.
162.11 The fifth: it empowers the Elements, and also gives
162.12 scent and taste to the entire Cross of Light. Just as you
162.13 can see that its light illuminates
162.14 more than all lights found in the world, so too is
162.15 its beauty more beautiful than the beauty of all people. Its peace,
162.16 too, surpasses all the powers and watchers that are found
162.17 in the world. Its liberation, with which it liberates
162.18 the Living Soul, is a full day more than
162.19 all the liberations. The power that is in its Limbs
162.20 is a great power and is stronger than all powers.

[201] A&C: [ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲙ].

CHAPTER 68

ON FIRE

166.19 Again he spoke: This fire that burns (and) is revealed to
166.20 today's world does *Five Things*.
166.21 The first thing that it does is this: It destroys
166.22 (and) burns wood and everything that is placed on it.
166.23 Second: It separates four properties from wood. These
166.24 are fire and light, ash and
166.25 smoke. Third: It gives taste and aroma to
166.26 what(ever) is cooked by it. It also gives warmth and
166.27 joy to who(ever) is brought near to it. The fourth thing that
166.28 it does: All craftsmen mould
166.29 the implements with which they fashion. Fifth:
166.30 It reveals light and people can see with its help.

CHAPTER 69

ON THE TWELVE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC AND THE FIVE STARS

166.34 Again, one time as the Apostle [sat]

167.1 in the assembly, a disciple stood before him (and) asked
167.2 him, saying: We implore you, our lord, that you proclaim
167.3 to us and clarify about the twelve signs of the Zodiac
167.4 which are set in the Sphere. How are they ordered, or to which place do
167.5 they belong according to their nature? Or for that matter these *Five Stars*
167.6 that surround them, where do they come from, or why did the craftsman appoint
167.7 them as authorities and guides? He who is the Great
167.8 Builder, who established the whole of creation, he bound them (and)
167.9 closed them in the Sphere. We implore you, our
167.10 lord, that you satisfy us regarding these things which are hidden from everybody.
167.11 Then, he spoke to this disciple who had asked him: Both
167.12 these twelve zodiacal signs that he put in the sphere and these
167.13 *Five Stars* that turn above them, they are present in all the Archons
167.14 according to their nature. They are all enemies and adversaries to
167.15 one another.[202] They plunder one another through the activity of the Great
167.16 Builder who fashioned all the worlds. He set
167.17 [them] (and) bound them in the Sphere above, which always turns.
167.18 When it turns and moves them, they do everything
167.19 that pleases them above and below according to their will.
167.20 But, there is a governor above them, a debt-collector
167.21 causing them to act, coercing them, (and) taking from them what
167.22 is theirs. This, however, is how it should be understood: They
167.23 are drawn from the *Five Worlds of Darkness*, are bound in the
167.24 Sphere, and two zodiacal signs are taken per world. The Twin[203]
167.25 and the Archer[204] belong to the World of Smoke, which

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[202] Written above line 15: "one is pressing the other; they are hung from one another" (Polotsky/Böhlig).
[203] Gemini.
[204] Sagittarius.

is the Mind. Also, the Ram[205] and the Lion[206] belong to the
World of Fire. The Bull,[207] the Water-bearer,[208] and the Scales,[209]
belong to the World of Wind. The Crab[210] and the Virgin[211]
and the Fish[212] belong to the World of Water. The Goat-horn[213]
and the Scorpion[214] belong to the World of Darkness. These are
[the] twelve Archons of wickedness, those who wickedness does not
… … For it is they commit every evil and
… [in the] world, either in the tree or in the flesh.

Know, also about these *Five Stars*,[215] the wanderers(?),[216] how they are
put in place. The star of Zeus is generated by
the World of Smoke, which is the Mind. Aphrodite,
in turn, came to be from the World of Fire.
Ares, however, belongs to the World of Wind. Hermes
belongs to the World of Water, while Kronos belongs to the World
of Darkness. The Two Ascendants,[217] however, belong to
fire and lust, which are dryness and
moisture, they are the father and mother of all these things. But,
the Sun and the Moon, who are counted along with them,
{in the …}
[they are counted] among their race, but they are counted among
them[218]
artificially, so that they might be ruled over. You will find them
tormenting them
at every moment. These seven, which we have named—the *Five Stars*
and
the Two Ascendants—they are the evil-doers who perpetrate
every wickedness and evil in every single land, above
and below, in every creation, in dryness
and moisture, in tree and flesh.
Again, I am revealing to you about these zodiacal signs: They are

[205] Aries.
[206] Leo.
[207] Taurus.
[208] Aquarius.
[209] Libra.
[210] Cancer.
[211] Virgo.
[212] Pisces.
[213] Capricorn.
[214] Scorpio.
[215] Zeus = Jupiter; Aphrodite = Venus; Ares = Mars; Hermes = Mercury; Kronos = Saturn.
[216] That is, the planets.
[217] The *anabibazontes*, see discussion above.
[218] Inserted between lines 10 and 11 (Polotsky/Böhlig 168). A *homoioleteuton* seems to have occurred due to the double occurrence of ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ. See A&C.

168.18 distributed and ordered to four sides, three at each corner in
168.19 these four places. They are fastened to the Sphere that turns. The Ram,
168.20 the Lion, and the Archer, these three belong to one side.
168.21 The Bull, however, the Goat-horn, and the Virgin,
168.22 these three belong to the other side. But, the Twin,
168.23 the Scales, and the Water-bearer belong to another side. The Scorpion,
168.24 the Fish, and the Crab belong to another corner. They are
168.25 set in this way. They are fixed to these four sides (and) distributed
168.26 in the Sphere. When the side of the Ram,
168.27 the Lion, and the Archer is plundered by the governor
168.28 who is above it, who coerces it along with the guiding (stars) who
168.29 go above it, tribulation
168.30 overtakes every four-footed beast below this place.
168.31 But, when the [side] of the Bull,
168.32 the Virgin, and the Goat-horn is plundered, [tribulation]

169.1 at once comes to be in the herbs and the vegetables and
169.2 all the fruits of the trees. But, when
169.3 the side of the Scorpion, the Fish, and the Crab, is plundered
169.4 there will be a lack of water on the earth
169.5 and famine will occur everywhere. However, when
169.6 the side of the Twin, the Scales, and the Water-bearer
169.7 is plundered, deficiency and diminishment in the category
169.8 of humanity will occur everywhere.
169.9 Behold, I have clarified for you about these twelve
169.10 zodiacal signs, that they have been formed from the *Five*
169.11 *Worlds of Darkness* and bound in the Sphere. I have
169.12 also taught you about the *Five Stars*, that they too have come to be
169.13 from the *Five Worlds of Darkness*. I have proclaimed
169.14 to you, also, about the Two Ascendants, that they stand (according) to
169.15 the mystery of fire and lust, which is
169.16 dryness and moisture, the father and mother.
169.17 I have also revealed to you about the Sun and the Moon, that they are
169.18 foreign to them. But because of the (irresistible) force of the planned arrangement
169.19 according to which one thing takes on the other, and they are being plundered
169.20 them, that is why they were counted among them according to the numerical
169.21 value, although the Sun and Moon come from the Greatness,
169.22 (and) do not belong to the stars and the zodiacal signs.

CHAPTER 70

ON THE BODY, THAT IT WAS MADE TO RESEMBLE THE COSMOS

169.27 [Again], at a time when the Apostle was sitting in
169.28 the assembly amidst the congregation, he spoke to his
169.29 disciples: While the entire cosmos, above and
169.30 below, resembles the human body,
169.31 [the] makeup of this body of flesh (also)

170.1 resembles the cosmos. Its head resembles
170.2 by way of example the *Five Garments*. But, from its neck
170.3 down to the site of its heart, it resembles
170.4 the Ten Firmaments. The heart is there
170.5 in resemblance of the wheel of the Sphere that turns. From its heart
170.6 down to its mid-section, it resembles that air
170.7 which flows from the Sphere down to the earth. The male (part)
170.8 of the body resembles the Great Earth. From its
170.9 intestines down to its loins it resembles
170.10 the Three Earths. But, the shinbones of its foot
170.11 resemble the space where the Porter stands.
170.12 The soles of its feet resemble the Great Earth on which the
170.13 Porter stands and the Four Fixtures which are under his
170.14 feet. Its liver resembles the Vehicle of Fire.
170.15 Its flesh resembles the Vehicle of Darkness. Its
170.16 blood resembles the Vehicle of Water. In this way,
170.17 the small body resembles the great
170.18 cosmos in its firmaments, in its rank, in its
170.19 mountains, its walls, and its vehicles, as I have
170.20 revealed to you. Again, I am revealing to you
170.21 that there are *Five Great Camps* in this
170.22 great outer zone, over which the *Five Sons of the Living*
170.23 *Spirit* rule. In the first upper watch-tower,
170.24 the one in which the Keeper of Splendour rules,
170.25 the pinnacle of all things, his authority is placed
170.26 over the Three Heavens. Those that are under him are,
170.27 nevertheless, above the great King of Honour.
170.28 As for the second watch-tower, the one in which the great King of Honour
170.29 rules, his authority (is) placed over the Seven
170.30 Firmaments below him. As for the third

watch-tower, the one over which the Adamas [has authority,][219]

ruling from the firmament down to the [earth],
it commands[220] according to his authority the Sphere and the
worlds of air, along with the other four worlds, which are fixed on
this earth. The fourth watch-tower, which the King of
Glory possesses is the Three Wheels. But, his
authority lays over the Three Earths which are over
the Porter. The fifth watch-tower is the watch-
tower over which the Porter has authority, since he
also rules, according to his authority, over this Great Earth,
which is established on it, along with the Four Fixtures which are
his feet. Tribulation has occurred in the *Five Watch-Towers* from
time to time. In the watch-tower of the Keeper of Splendour,
Sin wanted to gush forth against the image
of the Messenger, but it was hindered at that
place. He made it turn in shame.
Also, an earthquake and deceit occurred in the watch-tower of the great
King of Honour, that is, the watchers, who existed
when they … … they came down, namely, those
who had been sent, until they were humbled. Also, in the watch-tower
of the Adamas, the abortions came down (and) fashioned the
figure of flesh. Also, in the watch-tower of the King of Glory,
there was movement in these Three Earths, which are above
the Porter. The route and the ascent
of these Three Wheels—(the wheel) of wind,
of water, and of fire—were blocked. Also, in the watch-tower of the
Porter, the lower fixtures were stripped off (and) their
bonds levelled. A great earthquake occurred in that place.
[Just as] these *Five Watchers* are found in this great
[bond of these *Five*] *Encampments* that I have proclaimed

to you, so too is it with this body, which the
Elect bear. There are *Five* other *Encampments*
in it. The Light-Mind guards them along with the
New Man who is with him. The elect person who
dominates and humbles the countenance of his face, which is above his
body, and guides it to the good, he symbolizes the
mystery of the Keeper of Splendour who has power over
the watch-tower above the Zone. He who rules

[219] A&C: [ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲭⲱⲥ ⲉⲕ].
[220] A&C: ⲉ[ⲕ]ϫⲓⲟⲩⲱ.

[over] his heart and humbles it symbolizes the great
King of Honour who humbles the Seven Heavens. He
who rules his chest and humbles his desire
becomes like the mystery of the Adamas of Light, he who
humbles Matter. He who humbles the stomach and
rules the fire found in it, but also the purity
of the food that enters it, he symbolizes
the King of Glory, he who turns the wheels (and) sends
life upward. He who rules over the
rank of the archons beneath his feet and binds it with the
bond of peace symbolizes the Porter, he who humbles
with his feet the lower abyss. Also, the teaching
of wisdom, which circulates through this body,
symbolizes the Virgin of Light, who goes up
(and) comes down in the Zone that is above and
below. Also, the Love and the Joy, the Faith
and the Truth by which a person lives symbolizes
these Two Light Ships. For, it is through them that the Living
Soul ascends, is liberated,
leaves the lower abyss, and attains
the upper height. Again, know this other thing,
that there are Four Worlds in this Body of Flesh (and)
there are Seven Archons in every one [of these Four]
Worlds. The first [world is from its]

neck upwards, but the Seven Archons that are found
in this upper world, they are the two eyes
and the two ears and the two nostrils.
The other is the mouth, which is the taste organ.
[The] second world is from its neck down to
its entire stomach, but the Seven Archons which
are found in this second world, they are its two arms—
those that symbolize its two ears
found in its first world above—and its two
breasts, which symbolize its nostrils,
and the two eyes of its heart and the depth of the stomach
between the two breasts, which are in the chest
symbolize the mouth. Again, there are Seven
Archons in the third world of the body,
which are the fat, the lung(s), the spleen, the liver, the gall,
and its two kidneys. Also, in the fourth world
below, there are seven others in the same pattern—its
two buttocks, its two testicles, its two loins,
and the member from which the seed comes, which begets
all the forms.
Again, the Enlightener said to those who were listening to him:

The

173.22 Ram, the Bull, the Twin, the Crab, the Lion,
173.23 the Virgin, the Scale, the Scorpion, the Archer, the
173.24 Goat-horn, the Water-bearer, and the Fish, these are the twelve
173.25 zodiacal signs that are found in the world of heaven, that are in the
173.26 Sphere, fastened and bound to this turning wheel, the one by which
173.27 they are forced, nailed, and planted. But, behold all these twelve
173.28 zodiacal signs, this is how they are ordered and made head
173.29 [and] … in the Sphere above heaven, which is the wheel of the
173.30 [stars]. This, then, is how they are ordered. They are ordered so that you might
173.31 find the head … and find the tail between one another.[221]
173.32 … … they also exist in this way, namely

174.1 those which we have proclaimed one after the other in this body. They
174.2 are counted among them in their sum and number from the head to the
174.3 feet. Its head is the Ram, its neck and its shoulders
174.4 the Bull, its two forearms the Twin,
174.5 its oesophagus(?)[222] the Crab, its stomach
174.6 [the] Lion, its heart the Virgin, the backbone of the
174.7 statue and its diaphragm the Scales, its chest
174.8 [the] Scorpion, its loins the Archer, its feet
174.9 the Goat-horn, its shinbones the Water-bearer, (and)
174.10 the soles of its feet the Fish. Behold (how) these too
174.11 are distributed among them. They are found in this body,
174.12 turned aside (and) bent like these twelve zodiacal signs.
174.13 They are ordered and spread among one another, the head
174.14 to the tail, just as they are in the wheel
174.15 … which is turned to heaven.[223] They, too, are counted among
174.16 the sum and number of the body and all its limbs.
174.17 But, what we have proclaimed—that they are turned to the side, bent, (and)
174.18 spread out—this is so, because from its head down to its
174.19 loins, they are counted six on its left, (and) six others on its right.
174.20 The six that are on its lower right are those which I
174.21 will proclaim. The right temple is the Ram, its right shoulder
174.22 the Bull, its right forearm
174.23 the Twin, its right rib the Crab,
174.24 its stomach the Lion, (and) the right side of its intestines
174.25 the Virgin. The other six which we have spoken
174.26 about, they are found on the left side, going

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[221] A&C: ⲟⲩⲧⲱϥ ⲛⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ.
[222] While ⲫⲗⲁⲫⲡⲉ normally means "stomach," Böhlig suggested oesophagus (*Speiseröhre*) due to the fact that stomach comes next in the list.
[223] A&C: ⲉⲧⲥ[ⲓⲧⲉ].

174.27 from its loins to its head. Its left …
174.28 is the Scales, its left rib the Scorpion,
174.29 its left breast and its left kidney [the]
174.30 Archer, its left elbow the Goat-horn,

175.1 its left shoulder the Water-bearer, (and)
175.2 its left temple the Fish. This is the way that the
175.3 craftsman of the body ordered (and)
175.4 arranged (and) made them level to one another, head to [tail].
175.5 Again, he spoke: Hear this other word which I will proclaim
175.6 to you. Know that there are many powers found
175.7 in this body—these are the companions who are its leaders.
175.8 There are eight-hundred and forty myriads of Archons
175.9 ruling over the human body. They are distributed
175.10 (and) established four to a dwelling. The sum and
175.11 the number of their dwellings is two-hundred and ten myriads.
175.12 When all these Archons come, creeping (and) wandering
175.13 within the body, and they meet one another, they
175.14 break against one another and destroy one another and …
175.15 in them there. When powers … …
175.16 together(?) they leap out of the body in which a person is going to
175.17 dies, and they cause evil tumours and blows and burning wounds
175.18 on the body. Either they make him sick inside [or][224]
175.19 else they would come out upon him externally. These wounds
175.20 contract at first and pour forth their liquid.
175.21 They release their ooze until they contract …
175.22 … and the core is dug out of the wound. Afterwards,
175.23 their wounds are carved out and healed and relieved
175.24 at the site where they came out.

[224] A&C: [**н**].

CHAPTER 91

ON THE CATECHUMEN, WHO IS SAVED IN A SINGLE BODY

228.8 Again, this Elect spoke to the Apostle:[225] I have
228.9 heard you, my lord, say that there is a Catechumen
228.10 who does not enter a body other than this one alone. Rather
228.11 when he leaves his body, his soul
228.12 … in the firmament above and he journeys to the place
228.13 of [rest]. Now, I implore you, my lord, that you
228.14 open my eyes to the deeds of this Catechumen
228.15 who does not enter into another body—What kind are they or what is
228.16 his form or what is his sign so that I might
228.17 know it and tell the rest of my brothers, that they might proclaim
228.18 it to the Catechumens, so that they might be exalted by
228.19 this and ascend in peace to the Good?
228.20 Then, the Apostle said to him: I will open your
228.21 eyes to the deeds of these Catechumens
228.22 of faith, who do not enter into (another) body. The sign of
228.23 this perfect Catechumen is this—You find his[226]
228.24 wife in the house with him, dealing with him as if they are strangers.
228.25 Also, his house he treats like an inn.
228.26 He says, "I dwell in a house rented by days
228.27 and months." His brothers and his relations
228.28 are considered by him to be strangers attached to him,
228.29 journeying with him on the road, knowing that …
228.30 they will be separated from him and each one returns to [their own place].[227]
228.31 Gold, silver, and vessels of … …

229.1 house, they are considered by him (to be) like vessels on loan. [He]
229.2 takes them, and they serve him, (but) afterwards he gives them [to]
229.3 their owner. He does not place his trust in them or his wealth.
229.4 He removes his Thought from the world, and places his
229.5 heart in the Holy Church. At all times, his Thought
229.6 is set upon God. But, what's more than all that—
229.7 solicitude, respect, and love for the saints who
229.8 are with him—he cares for the Church like [his] house,

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[225] A&C: ⲁⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ.
[226] A&C: ⲧⲉ[ⲫ]-.
[227] A&C: ⲟⲩ[ⲉ ⲯ]ⲉ ⲛⲉⲫ ⲁⲡ[ⲉⲫⲙⲁ].

229.9 in fact more than his house. He entrusts all his wealth to the
229.10 Elect men and women. For this is what [the] Saviour
229.11 preached through the mouth of his Apostle:[228] *From today*
229.12 *onwards those who have wives, let them become like those who do not.*
229.13 *Those who buy like those not buying, those who rejoice like those not rejoicing,*
229.14 *those who weep like those not weeping, those who profit from this world*
229.15 *like those not in wantonness. Those who … those which …*
229.16 proclaimed, were proclaimed about these perfect Catechumens,
229.17 who depart from this body alone and return to
229.18 the height. They are like the Elect in their behaviour.
229.19 This is the sign of these Catechumens who
229.20 do not enter a body. There are others too who possess
229.21 self-control, [keeping] the flesh of every beast from
229.22 their mouths, being eager for fasting and daily prayer,
229.23 helping the Church according to their means
229.24 through almsgiving. Malice is dead in them.
229.25 The motions of their feet made it towards the Church more than towards
229.26 their home. Their hearts are upon it at all times. Their posture and
229.27 their comportment is like that of the Elect. They have stripped all the
229.28 affairs of the world from their hearts. But, this person,
229.29 with the mind set upon the Holy Church
229.30 … at every moment and his gifts and
229.31 … and his honour and his grace which benefits

230.1 his life, as he journeys with them to the Holy Church
230.2 along with those who come to the Church, whether
230.3 they are his children or his wife or one of his relations.
230.4 He rejoices greatly over them and he loves
230.5 them, sharing all his wealth with them.
230.6 Behold! This is the sign and the model of these Catechumens
230.7 who do not (re)enter a body. Like the "good pearl,"
230.8 which I described for you in the *Treasure of Life*—
230.9 it is priceless.[229]
230.10 So too is it for these Catechumens
230.11 who do not (re)enter a body. But, when they do leave
230.12 their bodies, they journey in their way and pass
230.13 on to a higher place and enter into life.
230.14 They are not, however, condemned and bound by the chains of the enemy, but[230]
230.15 they are purified in the heavens and plucked like a fruit

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[228] See 1 Cor 7:29–31.

[229] A&C *pace* Böhlig: "die keinen Wert hat."

[230] A&C: Line 14 of manuscript was missed in original edition. Read and renumber accordingly: ⲙⲁⲩ[ⲧ]ⲁϧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁϧⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ.

230.16 that will ripened and be plucked from the tree. This is also how the
230.17 almsgiving that is passed on to the Elect resembles it
230.18 in many forms, purifies it, and enters into
230.19 the Land of the Living. This is also how the souls
230.20 of these Catechumens resemble it, those who do not (re)enter
230.21 a body. But, as for the matter of the Catechumens,
230.22 I have written it down in the *Treasure of Life*.
230.23 Just as they are freed and are purified one by one
230.24 according to their deeds, according to their approach to the Church,
230.25 this is also the way that their ascent comes closer to them,
230.26 their healing and their purity.
230.27 Therefore, it is also fitting for the Catechumen that he pray at
230.28 all times for repentance and forgiveness of sins from God
230.29 and the Holy Church. Because of his prior
230.30 and present sins, his deeds will be gathered together,
230.31 the earlier and the later ones, and allotted to him.

231.1 Then, after his disciples heard these words from him,
231.2 they blessed him and glorified him with great praise. They
231.3 said: You are praised, our father, (and) you are glorious. Blessed is
231.4 the hope that endures in us because of you. For great is the [wisdom]
231.5 that you bring to souls. For (to) the Elect you have revealed
231.6 the works and the commandments of the election
231.7 in which they will live. And even regarding the Catechumens,
231.8 have you not neglected them, but you have taught them in various
231.9 degrees,[231] stages, and steps so that they might rise
231.10 from them to the Good, each one according to (his) [ability], and
231.11 attain the Land of the Living.
231.12 But now we implore you, our lord, that you proceed and
231.13 preach to us about this matter that we have asked you about[232] and open
231.14 our eyes as to the people who become disciples[233] (and) …
231.15 and enter into the Church, [either] Elect or[234]
231.16 Catechumens. The former sins that they committed [in] the
231.17 world before they became disciples, where do they go? Since
231.18 there are some among them (who) formerly adored idols, worshipping
231.19 (and) revering the gods. Others also among them were firmly established
231.20 in the teaching of the Sects, blaspheming God.

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[231] See W.-P. Funk, "Prolégomènes," 11.
[232] A&C: ⲉⲧⲁⲛϣⲛ[ⲧⲕ ⲁ]ⲣⲁⲩ.
[233] A&C: ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲉⲩⲉ.
[234] A&C: ⲉⲓ[ⲧⲉ ⲍ]ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ [ⲛⲉ] ⲏ ⲍⲛ̄.

They have also blasphemed other enlighteners, who are in the heavens.
Some among them also committed other sins: whether it be theft[235]
or murder or adultery or …
the sin of magic or error of false witness
or other … These are evident in the wicked works of the world
in which people first [walked]. Then, when they[236]
hear the word of God, will they put aside
(their) prior sins or will they not?
[We implore] you, then, our lord, that you open our eyes
[as to this question] which we have asked[237] you and give rest to our hearts.

Then the Apostle spoke to them: Very great is this question
[that] you have asked me. I will reveal (the answer) to you.
[Know],[238] therefore, that every person who accepts the hope
[and the faith] has separated the Light from the Darkness, he has perceived
[the] mysteries of the Living Soul, he has received the right hand of
Peace brought (by) the Light-Mind, who dwells in the Holy
Church, and he has prayed for forgiveness of sins from the Light-
Mind. Know, therefore, that all his prior sins
which he committed from the day he was born until
the day that he accepts the hope of God (and) has removed his heart
from all the Sects and the idols of Error, they are
all forgiven him. He will not be asked about them from now on,
nor will he receive retribution for them—if it is the case that he remains
in his faith and [live] without committing henceforth these
prior sins, which he committed. Afterwards, he has borne …
… … they have been forgiven him, they will
not protect[239] him henceforth from all his prior sins.
Should he return again to his prior actions
and re-offend, then they will be counted against him
along with all his sins, the former and the latter. He will receive
retribution for all of them, since God granted him repentance
and forgiveness from his folly, but
he still did not persevere in the repentance that God
granted to him. But, had he persevered in the catechumenate
(and) in his faith and left all his prior deeds

[235] A&C: ⲏ [ⲟ]ⲩ[ⲭ]ⲓ[ⲟ]ⲩⲉ |[23][ⲡⲉ ⲏ ⲟ]ⲩⲫⲟⲛⲟⲥ.
[236] A&C: ⲉⲧⲉ[ⲟⲩ]ⲉ.
[237] A&C: ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲛ[ⲭ][ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲕ.
[238] A&C: [ⲙⲙⲉ].
[239] A&C: ⲛ[ⲱ][ⲗ]ⲧ.

232.26 behind him, then all his sins would be left
232.27 to him, whether he is an Elect in his election,
232.28 [or] a Catechumen in his catechumenate.
232.29 The one, then, who is a Catechumen, he will [stand firm]
232.30 in his catechumenate. The latter[240] sins [which]
232.31 he commits, they will be forgiven him *en masse*,
232.32 because of his fasting, and [his prayer and his]

233.1 almsgiving. Hear, now, how I (will) reveal to you
233.2 the works of the faithful Catechumens. The truly
233.3 faithful Catechumen performs his Fifty Fasts,
233.4 fasting on the Fifty Lord's Days of the [year].
233.5 He also retains their purity, restraining himself [from]
233.6 the desire for his wife. He purifies his bed by
233.7 abstaining on all of these Lord's Days. He (restrains himself[?])
233.8 in his eating, and does not defile his food with the …
233.9 of fish or all the pollution of flesh and blood. Also, he [does not]
233.10 eat anything polluted on these Lord's Days. [He] also keeps
233.11 his hands from wounding or inflicting pain on the Living
233.12 [Soul]. Their prayers[241] are observed by him; he observes
233.13 them (and) comes to prayer daily—every hour (of) every
233.14 day. All these hours of prayer will be added[242]
233.15 to his fasting and his almsgiving, which he offers
233.16 every day of the year. Also every act of charity is added to
233.17 his goods: the fasting, which he performed, the clothing which he has given
233.18 to the Saints. They share a daily communion
233.19 with them in their fasting and their good(ness).
233.20 These are counted along with the others and one half of his works
233.21 are performed for good, the other half for sin. Truly, the sins
233.22 which he commits half of the year are
233.23 divided into *Five Parts*. Four of them are forgiven him by
233.24 the patronage of the Holy Church through the faith
233.25 [and the] love of the Elect. On the one hand because of this, but on
233.26 the other, because he is aware of the knowledge (*gnosis*)—he has separated the
233.27 [Light] from the Darkness (and) offered hymns and prayers
233.28 [to the] Enlightener from heaven. Also, the rest that he has
233.29 [taken] … this … Because of these good (deeds) that
233.30 [he performs], four parts are permitted him, four
233.31 … … sins that he has committed

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240 A&C: ⲛ[ϩ]ⲁⲉⲉⲩⲉ.
241 That is, the prayers of the Lord's Day.
242 A&C: ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲁ[ⲡ]ⲟⲩ ⲁ |[15][ⲭ]ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕ-.

234.1 from the day that he became a Catechumen. As for the rest,
234.2 he will be questioned about a single part and receive
234.3 a thrashing[243] and an immersion, and is later
234.4 purified, either above or below. He is
234.5 purified according to the value of his works, and he is
234.6 purified, cleansed, and adorned. Afterwards, he
234.7 is fashioned a Light-image
234.8 and is drawn and elevated to the Land of Rest, so that,
234.9 where his heart is, his treasure is there too.
234.10 Until he becomes strong in his catechumenate
234.11 he will receive repayment for his good (works) in this way.
234.12 If, however, he should lie or turn away from the truth, then
234.13 all his sins will be counted against him again, the former and
234.14 the latter. The judgement [which] condemns his sins will be poured over him.
234.15 But, if he should confirm himself in his faith and
234.16 become strong in it, then a fate will be (assigned[?]) to him and he will come
234.17 back again, be just, escape, and save
234.18 his live in eternal life. At the time of his
234.19 departure, he will go and rest in eternal
234.20 life. When the disciples heard
234.21 these words of wisdom, they glorified their teacher (and) contemplated
234.22 the first Light, which makes wise through the Mind and the
234.23 richness of his knowledge.

[243] A&C: ⲟ[ⲩⲥ]ϩⲱϣⲉ.

CHAPTER 95

THE APOSTLE ASKS HIS DISCIPLES: WHAT DOES CLOUD MEAN?

240.16 Again, as the Apostle sat in the assembly of his
240.17 disciples, the sky was cloudy that day,
240.18 (so) he raised his eyes and looked at this cloud
240.19 (and) said to his disciples: This cloud, which appears
240.20 before you, as you look at it, I will reveal to you
240.21 and teach you how it ascended.
240.22 Know that it is stripped from
240.23 *Five Places*, ascends above this Great Earth, is then revealed
240.24 and is visible in the middle-air.
240.25 The cloud that ascends from the upper fire
240.26 towards the image of the Virgin of Light, which she
240.27 makes visible to it, its sign is the flash
240.28 found in lightning-bolts … passing away …
240.29 But it is purified towards [the image of the Virgin of][244]
240.30 Light [to whom] it becomes visible.[245]

241.1 … the Archons are stripped off of the lightning-bolts. They go out
241.2 and separate, but these angels are sent to
241.3 them immediately so that they might seize them.
241.4 Knowing that they never do good, (and that) every place that they touch
241.5 they cause death and ruin, when
241.6 the angels make for them and come beside(?) …
241.7 they flee in their distress before them and come [to]
241.8 what(ever) they meet and assume it. Like a
241.9 thief, (when he) is caught (and) flees from a man stronger than him, who
241.10 pursues him in order to overtake him. Now, these Archons
241.11 who escape to this cloud, they bear that
241.12 which they meet … … in …
241.13 it, which they do not … will seize
241.14 this little bit, whether a tree [that] they found
241.15 in the way or beasts or people. In short,
241.16 every place that they assume, they burn and

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[244] A&C: [ⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄]-.
[245] A&C: [ⲛⲉⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ].

241.17 destroy with the fire of their bodies—that is the Archons, the
241.18 sons of fire, those who are stripped of the fire.
241.19 The cloud, however, that rises up from the
241.20 water and ascends to the Virgin of
241.21 Light, its sign(s) are this thunder and this noise which
241.22 is in the air in various forms and (which people) hear.
241.23 … when the Archons who belong
241.24 to those found in the cloud find time, they strip themselves
241.25 of this cloud,[246] flee from it and leave it behind
241.26 [them. But, their sign][247] is this, that in every place which [they]
241.27 [destroy] they make frost and hail and snow,
241.28 and they lay waste[248] to seeds and fruit and plants, and they
241.29 … every place [that] they destroy. Angels are also sent
241.30 [down][249] to seize them. But,

242.1 the angels,[250] while pursuing them in order to seize them, cause this destruction.
242.2 [The] cloud, however, which rises up from the wind,
242.3 comes up to the middle-air, towards the image of the
242.4 Virgin who makes it visible—its sign is
242.5 [the] dark wind that blows bitterly.
242.6 By these winds, however, and these storm, living beings
242.7 are purified in her. But, the Archons who are stripped of the wind
242.8 cloud descend from it, being secure in
242.9 their image. All these rivers and seas, which
242.10 they reach and attain, they make waves in them and
242.11 raise … and they … the ships and they
242.12 cause destruction among those who they destroy[251] and they seize them
242.13 and bring them … astray(?).
242.14 Also, the cloud that belongs to the Light, when they
242.15 are stripped of it … …
242.16 … … … the Virgin becomes visible.
242.17 sign(?) too … but its sign is
242.18 this—so that you might find it as it journeys in rest and calm.
242.19 Living beings are purified in it by rest and calm,
242.20 but the Archons that are stripped from it and run (to) every place[252]

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246 A&C: [ⲛ̄ϯⲕ]ⲗ[ⲟⲟ]ⲗⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ.
247 A&C: [ⲥⲱⲩ] ⲡⲟ[ⲩ]ⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ.
248 A&C: [ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱ]ⲫⲫ.
249 A&C: [ⲁ]ⲧ[ⲣ]ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡⲟⲩ.
250 A&C: [ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅ]ⲉⲗⲟⲥ.
251 A&C: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲉⲕ[ⲟ ⲛ̄]ⲧⲙ[ⲏⲧ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟ[ⲩ]ⲛ[ⲁ]ⲧⲉϩⲁⲩ.
252 A&C: ⲛⲥⲉⲡⲱⲧ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓ[ⲙ].

242.21 to which ⟨they⟩[253] come, they leave … and take life[254]
242.22 from them … sent to them[255] and the angels
242.23 seize them. Also, the cloud that rises [up]
242.24 from the mixed air and comes up to [the image]
242.25 of the Virgin, its sign is this, that [their living beings][256]
242.26 are purified by it[257] in rest and peace. These Archons, however,
242.27 who are stripped of this cloud, they come
242.28 down from every place (in which) they are found …
242.29 They cause them(?) … …
242.30 The colour[258] … until [the angels come …][259]

243.1 they seize them and take them in their midst. Their strippings,
243.2 which are left behind at every place
243.3 that they reach, either the begetting of trees or the begetting [of]
243.4 flesh, they bear to the middle … withering(?),
243.5 they cause great danger, but (as for)
243.6 these Archons, the angels are also [sent]
243.7 to the middle and draw the Light from them and
243.8 throw the demons down to those Seven Pits, [which] (are)
243.9 beyond the Great Sea that is the passage of
243.10 the waters found outside of the cosmos.
243.11 Then, his disciples said to him: Open our eyes,
243.12 our Lord, to which place these Seven Pits come
243.13 down to. [The Apostle] spoke to them:
243.14 These pits and these roads [descend][260] until
243.15 they reach the lower earths, and [meet][261] the
243.16 feet of the Porter. Hear, also this other thing:
243.17 Sometimes these angels are dispatched to them
243.18 to catch the Archons. When the Archons …
243.19 because the angels pursue them, they approach[262] them …
243.20 those who are given the commands. But, these Archons
243.21 free themselves and bear
243.22 [the tree] and [the flesh] and swallow them in these two[263] offspring,
243.23 [that of the][264] tree and that of the flesh. The angels leave their

253 A&C: ⲉⲧ⟨ⲟⲩ⟩ⲛⲁⲉⲓ.
254 A&C: ⲟⲩⲱⲛ[ϩ].
255 A&C: ⲧⲛⲛⲁ̣ⲩ [ϩ]ⲓⲣⲉ̣ⲧⲟⲩ.
256 A&C: ⲱ̣ⲁ̣ⲣⲉ̣ⲟ̣[ⲩⲱⲛϩ].
257 A&C: ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ.
258 A&C: ⲉⲟⲩⲉⲛ.
259 A&C: ⲱⲁⲛ[ⲧ]ⲉ ⲛ̣ⲁⲣⲧⲉ̣[ⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲓ … . . ⲛ̄].
260 A&C: ⲛⲓⲙ[ⲗⲁⲓ]ⲧ [ⲃⲏⲕ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄] ⲱⲁⲛ-.
261 A&C: ⲛⲥ̣ⲉ̣ⲧⲱⲙⲧ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲣⲏ |[16]ⲧⲉ̣.
262 A&C: ⲥⲉϯϩⲛⲟ̣.
263 A&C: ⲥ[ⲛ]ⲉⲩ.
264 A&C: [ⲡⲁⲡ][ⲱ]ⲏⲛ.

243.24 … behind, so that they might guard them until the moment when
243.25 [these] Archons will be stripped of the tree and the
243.26 [flesh] and go up to the height. They also gather
243.27 … … height and they draw them out from
243.28 … … to them in their first
243.29 [forms and images],[265] those that they first bore,

244.1 and they take the Light from those left behind.
244.2 But, they too throw them down to these Seven outer
244.3 [Paths] that are in the Great Sea, the place where
244.4 they threw these first ones. When they return to the middle
244.5 … come and bear the Light that is in them.
244.6 Behold, then, I have opened your eyes concerning this cloud, how
244.7 it ascends to the height and (how) the living beings that are purified in it.
244.8 I have also taught you (about) the Archons that are in it, how
244.9 they cause these adversities and how they are seized
244.10 and thrown into the prison below by the angels
244.11 who were given the command by the power of the Virgin
244.12 of Light, she who has authority over the entire Zone to[266] purify
244.13 the living beings that are in it. Then, after his disciples
244.14 heard [these things from him],[267] they glorified him, saying:
244.15 You … [(have) revealed][268] all the secrets, o
244.16 instructor of all revelations. We thank
244.17 you, our father, with great professions, since you have
244.18 opened our eyes concerning everything. You have given us great
244.19 [staffs][269] of knowledge, so that through them we might give discrimination
244.20 to those who hear us.

[265] A&C: ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲣ |[29][ⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲓ]ⲓ̣ⲕⲱⲛ.
[266] A&C: ⲁ̣ⲥⲱ |[13]ⲧⲟ̄ⲩ̄.
[267] A&C: ⲥⲱⲧ[ⲙⲉ ⲁ]ⲛⲉⲓ̈ [ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ̄ⲩ̄].
[268] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ[ⲕ . .] … . . [ⲟⲱⲗⲙ̄] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ.
[269] A&C: ⲍⲣ[ⲁⲃ]ⲇ̣ⲟⲥ.

CHAPTER 100

ON THE DRAGON, THE ONE WITH FOURTEEN HEADS; WHAT IS IT AND . . .

251.29 [Again] one of his disciples asked the [Apostle . . .]
251.30 . . . . . spreading . . . . . .
251.31 . . . . . .
251.32 . . . . . .

252.1 The laws of the Magi say that there is a
252.2 dragon with fourteen heads holed
252.3 up (in his) lair, in *Five Hollows!* Now, I implore
252.4 you, my lord, that you open my eyes concerning this statement.
252.5 Is there really a real[270]
252.6 dragon who has fourteen heads or is there, rather, a spiritual
252.7 explanation? Then the Apostle said to him:
252.8 There is never any dragon in the flesh, nor does it have fourteen heads,
252.9 as the Magi claim. Rather, this statement is a [parable][271]
252.10 that they have proclaimed in [error(?)][272]
252.11 . . . the Magi did not know, however, the true
252.12 meaning of[273] all the statements that they recorded,
252.13 [supposing them] (to be) real.[274] This is also the way with this
252.14 dragon, which they . . . considering it (to be) a real
252.15 dragon . . . I will open our eyes
252.16 to . . . . . the dragon is the teaching . . .
252.17 . . . . . of the flesh . . .
252.18 . . . the fourteen heads, however, which are attributed to
252.19 the [dragon], they are like this: the seven senses that are found
252.20 on [the] head of the body, which are the two eyes with which
252.21 it sees, the two ears with which it hears,
252.22 the two nostrils with which it smells, as well as
252.23 its tongue[275] with which he selects and tastes

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[270] I take σωματικόν here to mean "real", rather than "bodily" or "corporeal", states that imply real existence. The disciple seems to want to know whether such a dragon *really* exists.

[271] A&C: ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁ[ⲃⲟ] |[10][ⲗⲏ] ⲡⲉ.

[272] A&C: ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧ[ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧ].

[273] A&C: ⲇ[ⲉ] ⲁ̣ⲑ̣ⲉ̣[ⲣ] |[12][ⲙⲏⲛ]ⲓ̣ⲁ̣ ⲙ̣ⲙ̣ⲏ̣[ⲉ].

[274] A&C: ⲁ[ⲣⲁ]ⲩ ⲉⲩ |[13]ⲱ̣[ⲡ ⲛ̄]ⲙ̣ⲁⲩ ⲁ[ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ]ⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ.

[275] A&C: ⲡ]ⲉ̣ⲭⲙⲁⲛ̣[ⲭ]ⲓ[ⲧⲡ]ⲉ.

252.24 the various flavours that are found in every form.
252.25 [These are] the seven heads of the dragon, the seven
252.26 senses that (are part of) the human form …
252.27 … below. The seven of the body
252.28 are these: two hips,[276] two buttocks, [two …]
252.29 … Archon … …
252.30 … … … …
252.31 … … [the] seven [heads that]

253.1 above and below, they add up and make [four]teen
253.2 heads for the dragon. The *Five Pits*, however, which they
253.3 spoke about, in which the dragon is holed
253.4 up (and) spread, they are these: The first is [the] tongue,
253.5 the second is the lung, the third is the heart,
253.6 the fourth is the spleen, and the fifth is the [blood that]
253.7 flows through them. He also looks out from them [and]
253.8 reveals his image and his appearance from above
253.9 and below as he makes war [with]
253.10 his fourteen heads. He who recognizes
253.11 the dragon, which is the desire of [the]
253.12 body, struggles with it, conquers it, and kills
253.13 it in them, will thus [he be called][277]
253.14 the righteous one, holy and elect, a good
253.15 man. He conquers without suffering on the day [of] his
253.16 advent. Behold, then, I have taught you about the dragon, the
253.17 one with fourteen heads and his *Five Pits*,
253.18 in which he hides and conceals (himself), doing his will
253.19 from them at all times. Then this disciple said
253.20 to him: My heart is persuaded, my lord, by that which you have
253.21 proclaimed to me. You have taught me about the dragon, the one with fourteen
253.22 heads. Blessed is everyone in whom it is dead, killed,
253.23 or damaged. He will live forever and become a person who is victorious
253.24 in all his works.

[276] A&C: ⲧⲕⲉ[ϩ]ⲧⲉ.
[277] A&C: ⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲓ[ϩ]ⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲙ[ⲟ]ⲩⲧ[ⲉ] ⲁⲣⲁ[ⲫ] ⲉⲩⲛ[ⲁ]ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ |[14][ⲁ]ⲣⲁⲫ.

CHAPTER 103

ON THE FIVE WONDERWORKS THAT THE LIGHT-MIND REVEALS IN THE ELECT

257.12 Again, the Apostle spoke: The Light-Mind
257.13 works *Five Light-Wonders* for the Elect. The first
257.14 sign is the Wisdom that the Elect preaches
257.15 and proclaims in all its forms, in all its kinds,
257.16 (and) in all its places. The second is Faith,
257.17 since after his preaching of Wisdom, he … the Wisdom[278]
257.18 preached and the others hear it and believe.
257.19 The third is [the] … … in his Wisdom
257.20 by his preaching, with which he proclaims Peace
257.21 to the assembly of his brothers …
257.22 [The] fourth is Love, because he loves Wisdom and the
257.23 brothers and sisters who sit in his [presence.]
257.24 [The] fifth is the terrible Severity of Judgement, with which
257.25 he separates those who have not received the hope[279] of God. Also, those
257.26 in error, whom he finds in the Church, he severely judges
257.27 them rightly on account of their foolishness.
257.28 [The] Light-[Mind] places these *Five Signs* in the New Man,
257.29 [whom] it has purified, refined, raised up, (and)
257.30 [saved] … Blessed is everyone
257.31 … … the Mind and is diligent in his Wisdom
257.32 … this other thing: These *Five Signs*

258.1 are established and perfected in him and perfect him so that
258.2 [he might] become a spotless vessel and a priceless pearl[280]
258.3 forever and ever.

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[278] A&C: ⲉ[.] . . ⲭⲧⲁ … [. .] . . ⲁⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ.

[279] Here "hope" is synonymous with "message" or "gospel" (see *Kephalaia*, "Prologue" 7.18–8.7 and *Kephalaia* 371.6–30). Possibly a reflection of Syriac ܒܫܪܬܐ "gospel" from ܫܒܪ "hope."

[280] Compare *Kephalaia* Chapter 91 "On the Catechumen" (1 Ke 230.6–11).

CHAPTER 104

ON FOOD, THAT IT IS APPOINTED TO FIVE PRODUCTS IN THE HUMAN BODY

258.7 [Again] he spoke to his disciples: The food that
258.8 people gather together of every kind,
258.9 so that they might eat it and (have) it enter into the body, it breaks down into
258.10 *Five Products*. The first product is that which
258.11 comes out of the human being in amazement, raises in
258.12 the Mind, and comes out of all the limbs—it is without
258.13 measure. The second is that which comes out of the
258.14 human being in sound and word. The third is that which
258.15 leaps from them in power and diligence.
258.16 The fourth is that which is produced in the pleasure of desire
258.17 between male and female. The fifth is that
258.18 which is made and formed in the flesh and
258.19 is produced and issues from them—this is this corporeal
258.20 product. This product, which they produce, only its
258.21 parents know. Its affection and its
258.22 reason and its love they seek daily for
258.23 all time. The other four products they do not perceive,
258.24 nor do they pity them, since
258.25 they are not evident to them.

CHAPTER 107

ON THE KIND OF SPEECH THAT . . .

260.31 Again, he spoke about the production of speech, which [comes]
260.32 from the mouth and is heard with the [ears].
260.33 He said … … …

261.1 … and the throat draws it in, the tongue
261.2 is spread, the teeth cut it, and the lips [gather]
261.3 it together. Speech comes out through the power of [these *Five*]
261.4 *Limbs* and is heard outside. Just as
261.5 a coin that one (person) smelts, [another]
261.6 forges, and still another cuts as it is turned, another
261.7 puts a seal on it, (while) another wipes the sieve, [so]
261.8 these *Five Craftsmen* beautify and fashion [their]
261.9 coin, and it comes into people's use and becomes a good
261.10 by which they buy and sell—so too is this speech
261.11 fashioned and adorned by the *Five* [*Limbs*],
261.12 when it comes out (and) is heard by the ears [of]
261.13 others.

CHAPTER III

ON THE FOUR QUALITIES THAT ARE FOUND IN THE EYE AND THE FIFTH, WHICH IS HIDDEN IN THEM; TO WHOM THEY BELONG

265.13 [Again] he spoke: There are Four Qualities found in [the eyes][281]
265.14 of human beings that see, as they look at … …
265.15 [without][282] the four that are hidden in them … they belong …
265.16 While [the cold] that is in the [eye] belongs [to them, the heat(?)][283]
265.17 belongs to the fire. The pupil,[284] however, belongs to the Light-
265.18 Mind, which perceives what is hidden in all things,
265.19 since it inhabits the Living Air.
265.20 [Again] he spoke: Why does the pupil of the eye [see],
265.21 seeing during the day, but the approaching night it [does not see]?
265.22 Which mystery does this signify?
265.23 [This (thing),[285] which] you do not know, I will explain [it]
265.24 [to you.[286] The fact that] the pupil of the eye [cannot see at night]
265.25 [signifies the] mystery of the [First Man] …
265.26 … … is the door …
265.27 … … below …
265.28 … the other four regions. Since in the …
265.29 … … above, he has …
265.30 … … great … they have …
265.31 … … also that which comes down[287] …
265.32 … … the Living Spirit[288] …

266.1 [the] First Man has risen through him (and) has known
266.2 everything.

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281 A&C: ϩN[N̄Bϵⲗ].
282 A&C: [xω]ⲣiⲥ.
283 A&C: [… .]ϣ ⲙϵN ϵTϩN̄ ⲡⲃ̣[ϵ]ⲗ̣ [ϵ][ⲫ]ⲏ̣[ⲡ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ]ⲩ.
284 A&C: ⲕϵⲕϵ.
285 A&C: [ⲡϵⲓ̈ ϵⲧ]ϵⲧN̄-.
286 A&C: [ⲛⲏⲧN̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡϵⲓ̈].
287 A&C: [± 16]ⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲧϵⲧⲁϩϵⲓ.
288 A&C: [± 15 ⲡ]ⲡⲛϵⲩⲙⲁ̣ ϵⲧⲁⲛϩ̄.

CHAPTER 112B

(ON THE FIVE THINGS REVEALED BY JESUS)

267.18 Then, after he had proclaimed this,
267.19 at that moment one of his disciples said
267.20 to him from among those standing before him: Tell
267.21 us, our Lord, and clarify to us this matter.
267.22 If this likeness of humanity does not belong to
267.23 God, as you spoke about, why did Jesus come into
267.24 the world, the Son of the Living God, reveal
267.25 himself (and) suffer tribulation and persecution, get hung
267.26 upon the cross (and) have his enemies commit against him the
267.27 torture and shame of their wickedness?
267.28 [The] Apostle [said] to him: Jesus did not come (and) reveal[289]
267.29 (himself) to the world because of humanity alone, but
267.30 [rather, before he][290] came (and) revealed (himself) on the earth,
267.31 [he accomplished first his][291] great and strong [works] outside of
267.32 [the great world].[292] But, when he finished doing his

268.1 [work] outside of the great world, he came …
268.2 [he *sōrs*][293] out with Adam and Eve (and) revealed [to them].
268.3 Indeed it was he who sent the Apostles for the Good
268.4 to every generation, and revealed to them *Five Great Things*:
268.5 [First]: He told them that they belonged to the race of Light.
268.6 Second: He revealed to them about the Aeons [of Great-]
268.7 [ness], how they exist, and he taught them about [the]
268.8 [nature][294] of Darkness, how it too exists.
268.9 The Third time: He proclaimed to them about the [Heroism][295]
268.10 of Light, how it overcame the power
268.11 [of] Darkness (and) defeated it.
268.12 Fourth: He taught them that he had come to the region of death
268.13 in their midst, which is the flesh, until he might benefit them and bring
268.14 them from the gate of hell below in which they

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289 A&C: ⲁⲫⲟⲩ[ⲱⲛ][ⲍ].
290 A&C: [ⲍⲁⲧⲉⲍⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲙⲡⲁ]ⲧⲉ[ⲩ]ⲉⲓ.
291 A&C: [ⲁⲫⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ][ⲍ]ⲱⲃ.
292 A&C: [ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ].
293 A&C: [ⲁⲫ]ⲥⲱⲣⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ (meaning unknown).
294 A&C: [ⲧⲟⲩ] |[8][ⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄]ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ.
295 A&C: ⲧⲏⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲁⲫⲓⲣⲉ].

were engulfed. The Fifth: He opened our eyes (to the fact)
that the rebels will be bound by a great fetter, those who
rebel against the Good and against the righteousness
which has been proclaimed by the Apostle.

CHAPTER 137

ON THE FIVE TYPES OF BROTHERHOOD THAT ARE DISTINCT FROM ONE ANOTHER

338.22 Again, the Apostle spoke to his disciples …
338.23 as he was sitting among his community: There [are *Five*]
338.24 *Types* (of Brotherhood) found in the Church that I have chosen. The [first]
338.25 are the "brothers," the second are the "children," the [third are]
338.26 the "disciples," the fourth are the "day-labourers," (and the fifth are)
338.27 … (the "slaves")[296] … …
338.28 … which are in it … …
338.29 … the people of righteousness …
338.30 … … … …
338.31 … after he mad e it ready … …

339.1 … their [shadow(?)] is light in the Church …
339.2 … this way. The Light-Mind …
339.3 … which is their shepherd and separates them from …
339.4 … each one according to the hue that it …
339.5 … for they are like brothers, who do not hide themselves [from]
339.6 the task which is appointed them, but rather the task which [they]
339.7 are able to do in the Church, they really do it.
339.8 [The] "children," however, are those caring and wise people,
339.9 the craftsmen, those considerate people …
339.10 … every moment, as they preach the truth always, with
339.11 no falsehood in their mouths at all. Every single Church
339.12 in which a judgement is found, they do not … this
339.13 judgement, but rather they judge according to righteous
339.14 judgement. They do even more and seek God.[297]
339.15 But, they do not separate from him, since they are [his] "children".
339.16 [The] "disciples," too, they are honourable and
339.17 patient people, splendid sheep, who live in
339.18 wisdom, following their teacher in patience
339.19 … as they follow the foot-prints of their shepherd, who
339.20 [is a guide] for them toward (what is) good and useful.
339.21 [The "day-]labourers," however, are those people who stand in

[296] See 340.15. W.-P. Funk, *Kephalaia (I): Zweite Hälfte [Lieferung 13–14]* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1999), 168 note line 338.27.
[297] Funk, *personal communication*.

339.22 righteousness according to three things: on account of the … in order to
339.23 … and on account of the clothing in order to acquire and wear,
339.24 and on account of bodily honour, since they are honoured
339.25 by empty praise until the time
339.26 … When one of these three [things] will be lacking,
339.27 [they …] and they flee and become strangers
339.28 … … … their guide
339.29 … … … …

340.1 But, [the "slaves,"] they are the people who reproach
340.2 … their spirit, which is full of vanity, as they …
340.3 … are heedless and cruel, not heeding
340.4 [their] shepherd. But, their sign is this: as long as …
340.5 … the rest, as they stand in the Church. But, when
340.6 tribulation rises against them
340.7 and persecution comes upon them, they attach themselves to whatever comes
340.8 to them immediately and carry it away by stealth and run away from the
340.9 Church, without anyone knowing, (and) become strangers to it, and
340.10 go to another foreign place—while the people of this place
340.11 do not know—so that they might do the will of their
340.12 desire. Because of this, I say to you
340.13 that blessed is every one who guards himself and does not accept
340.14 the type of these two foreign races, which are the
340.15 "day-labourers" and the "slaves" who are in the
340.16 Holy Church. Rather, he (should) receive … the type of these
340.17 other three: the "brothers," or the "children," or the "disciples,"
340.18 accepting their type so that he might live forever
340.19 in their (Way of) Life.

CHAPTER 146

THE OLD MAN HAS FIVE FOODS TO LIVE ON; THE NEW MAN HAS FIVE OTHERS

348.31 [Again] he spoke … … …

349.1 there is holy food with which the Holy
349.2 Spirit feeds his children, as he …
349.3 … through them in the holy images …
349.4 … … … …
349.5 [The] first food is the spirit, that [of the great(?)]
349.6 teacher, that of the leaders, that of the brothers, and that [of] the
349.7 sisters, which the perfect Elect see and
349.8 rejoice in.
349.9 The second food is the prayer that he (i.e., the Elect) prays
349.10 hour after hour.
349.11 The third food is the joy that he
349.12 proclaims hour after hour and rejoices in.
349.13 The fourth food is the preaching [that he preaches]
349.14 everywhere he goes.
349.15 The fifth food is a holy book that he carries
349.16 in his hand, either reading everything written inside
349.17 or listening to the one who reads it. Or, having read,
349.18 he gets others to listen
349.19 and finds the way to make them read it.
349.20 These are the *Five Foods* which the Elect
349.21 … practices and receives …
349.22 … … the food of life
349.23 … life through it forever.
349.24 Again, he spoke: *Five Foods* also come
349.25 [from] Matter, those on which it feeds …
349.26 … the image of the Old Man.
349.27 [The first] food is every sight of the world
349.28 the various … of pleasant forms
349.29 [that] he will see and rejoice at.
349.30 [The second] food is the evil discourses …
349.31 … the telling of holy myths
349.32 … and the lying speech (found) in
349.33 [them] … the statements and exaggerations …
349.34 … to proclaim, profiting them …
349.35 [The third food] is the beautiful work …

349.36 … … hou ıs of …
349.37 [The fourth food] is the food [of the world(?)]

350.1 which people eat and from which they are sated and rest.
350.2 The [fifth] food is the sexual desire
350.3 with which people fornicate.
350.4 These [are] the *Five Foods* of Matter which
350.5 … sin, (and) from which the Old Man
350.6 eats and becomes strong.
350.7 Blessed is every holy Elect who keeps his
350.8 heart from these *Five Foods* and the dinners of
350.9 Matter … all to snare and sin
350.10 … and drive him to their retribution and their
350.11 torment, under which they will (have to) suffer, that is, those who eat from
350.12 [them].

CHAPTER 148

ON THE FIVE BOOKS, THAT THEY BELONG TO FIVE FATHERS

355.4 Again the Enlightener spoke to his disciples:
355.5 These great writings that I have written for you, they are
355.6 gifts given freely to you by the Fathers of
355.7 Light.
355.8 The great *Living Gospel* is the gift
355.9 of the Messenger
355.10 The *Treasure of Life* is the gift of the Column of
355.11 Glory. The *Pragmateia* and the *Book*
355.12 *of Mysteries* and the *Writing of the Giants*, these
355.13 three holy writings which form a single one,
355.14 they are the gifts of the Light-Twin.
355.15 All the *Epistles*, too, that I have written to you,
355.16 from time to time, they are my gifts and my
355.17 presents. This is the good fruit that I have given
355.18 [to you] from the Good Tree.
355.19 [Be thankful], you yourselves, my beloved,
355.20 [be] encouraged by these good writings,
355.21 [those] which have been freely given to you by
355.22 [the Fathers] of Light. Receive them into your
355.23 [hearts] and believe in them. Write them on you
355.24 … memory, for you will …
355.25 [through them] to eternal life.

CHAPTER 165

ENVY EXISTS IN FIVE FORMS

409.10 [Again] the Enlightener spoke to his disciples: …
409.11 … … … …
409.12 … what is envy? …[298]
409.13 … … … …
409.14 … … … …
409.15 … … … …
409.16 … … … …
409.17 … … … …
409.18 … … … …
409.19 … … … …
409.20 … being wise in wisdom …
409.21 … Also, the third envy is …
409.22 … … … …
409.23 … … … …
409.24 … … … …
409.25 … … … …
409.26 … on account of what … envying …
409.27 … living in … …
409.28 … … … …
409.29 … … … …
409.30 ?
409.31 ?

410.1 either [in] the name of a teacher or because of a
410.2 disciple, either great or small …
410.3 Envy … … …
410.4 alms … … …
410.5 b rother(?) … … …
410.6 … … … …
410.7 … … … …
410.8 … … … …
410.9 … … … …
410.10 … … … …
410.11 … … … …
410.12 Behold, I have clarified for you envy (and)
410.13 its *Five Forms* … … …

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[298] Funk, *personal communication.*

410.14 from you … so that you do not [envy]
410.15 one another … envy …
410.16 one another … envy …
410.17 you … … …
410.18 great … … …
410.19 fight … … …
410.20 toil … Blessed is every one [who separates]
410.21 himself from every envy … …
410.22 … … … …

CHAPTER 176

ON SPIRITUAL TRANSITION IN [FIVE(?)] FORMS AND THAT THROUGH WHICH THE CHURCH ADAPTS

452.31 Again the Apostle spoke to his [disciples who sat]
452.32 in his presence about the [transition . . .]

453.1 . . . done in the Church. He said [to them]:
453.2 [There are] *Five Transitions*, through which . . .
453.3 . . . transitions from [the] body.
453.4 [The first] transition: He passes from the body
453.5 of heaven and earth and the body of human beings. Afterwards,
453.6 he will come to this statue of humanity.
453.7 [The second] transition: He changes from the
453.8 . . . . . .
453.9 . . . . . bearing the body . . .
453.10 . . . the Catechumen.
453.11 [The third] transition: He changes . . .
453.12 . . . . . .
453.13 . . . riches and . . . . . .
453.14 . . . the world and his . . . . . .
453.15 . . . and the [just(?)] . . . . . his righteousness
453.16 he bears the body . . . their righteousness
453.17 . . . . . .
453.18 . . . . . .
453.19 . . . . . .
453.20 . . . . . .
453.21 . . . . . .
453.22 . . . . . .
453.23 . . . . . .
453.24 . . . in the place . . . from the . . .
453.25 . . . . . to the good place . . .
453.26 . . . . . the soul . . .
453.27 . . . . . in the resting place . . .
453.28 . . . The fourth transition . . . . . .
453.29 . . . . . pass . . .
453.30 . . . . . the life of the human being in . . .
453.31 . . . . . .

454.1 The . . . which it . . . . . .
454.2 . . . the entire profit that is polluted . . .

454.3 every … and earthen vessels and herbs …
454.4 … the vessel so that he may acquire it …
454.5 … … the quarrel …
454.6 … retum … …
454.7 … … … …
454.8 … … … …
454.9 … … … …
454.10 … changes … …
454.11 … rest … …
454.12 … … great …
454.13 … … … …
454.14 … … great …
454.15 … … … …
454.16 … … … …
454.17 … … … …
454.18 … … … …
454.19 … … … …
454.20 … … … …
454.21 … … … …
454.22 … … … …
454.23 … … twelve …
454.24 … … … …
454.25 … every … …
454.26 … … … …
454.27 … … … …
454.28 … a man, and he changes …
454.29 … … … …

455.1 … the New Man, who comes to him …
455.2 … he becomes a healthy man …
455.3 … and he does the will that his good physician
455.4 has prescribed for him, which is the commandment of [transition].
455.5 [He] becomes a solitary …
455.6 … as is written in the scripture.
455.7 [He said]: There are *Five* other *Transitions*,
455.8 through which the human being transitions in …
455.9 [of the] body. The first transition that [he experiences]
455.10 is [this]: When the time comes and he leaves his
455.11 body, he passes from the body of destruction,
455.12 from the image of flesh and blood, and abandons human
455.13 custom, he renounces all the mirages
455.14 of this world and enters into the presence of the Great
455.15 [Judge]. His deeds … him before
455.16 [the] Judge of Truth. The second transition
455.17 [that] he experiences: He passes from …
455.18 … … to the First Man …
455.19 … [the] Enlightener of the Night toward the place that …

455.20 … it receives him … …
455.21 … this Holy Church.
455.22 The third transition is this: He passes from
455.23 [the Enlightener] of the Night and goes to the place of the
455.24 Enlightener of the Day. He enters the Ship of the Day
455.25 … holy … of his riches …
455.26 … he has glorified(?) … …
455.27 … … again to the Ship of
455.28 [the Night. The fourth] transition: [He] passes
455.29 [from the Third] Messenger and
455.30 [transitions …] and goes to the place of the Great

456.1 [First] Righteous One. He reaches him and rests in himself …
456.2 … of the teacher. The Great First Righteous One …
456.3 … with the spirit of his brothers and they …
456.4 … and he reaches this place and rejoices for them.
456.5 [The last] transition is when he changes from …
456.6 … at the end time. On the day when the Father will …
456.7 [unveil his(?)] face and all the Fathers of Light
456.8 … to the secrets of the Father, this Elect
456.9 will also rise and all the spirits
456.10 of his brothers elect, and will come to the
456.11 Father, the God of Truth, and find rest by
456.12 their Father. They remain with him for all time, which …
456.13 they, too, the course will suffice for them. The …
456.14 … he will purify them and send them to peace [and]
456.15 rest, and he (will) raise them up and assign them [each]
456.16 one in his place. They (will) dwell in the Light [and]
456.17 live forever, [being] in the heart of the Father …
456.18 … These are the *Five* [*Spiritual*] *Transitions*
456.19 through which the spiritual person passes
456.20 from place to place. But whenever …
456.21 … and they reveal life in the presence [of the Aeon] …
456.22 … forever. Because of this, I say to you
456.23 that blessed is every faithful Elect [who knows]
456.24 that the commandment of this transition is great before … because
456.25 of it, he will become a perfect and thoughtful man, so
456.26 that he might perfect all the commandments …
456.27 and [become] free of fault …
456.28 … … … …
456.29 … the transition. Again [he spoke:(?) I implore you(?) my]
456.30 lord, that you tell me about and [open my eyes to]
456.31 the commandment of transition. The …

457.1 … … also transitions …
457.2 … … from … belongs to
457.3 [whose mystery]? Or does the testimony of this

457.4 [transition] …? Then the Apostle spoke to this
457.5 [disciple]: Rightly have you asked. I will tell
457.6 [you] … say …
457.7 … … … …
457.8 … … … …
457.9 … … likeness of the mystery of …
457.10 … … The soul also …
457.11 … … it will live …
457.12 … … … …
457.13 … the transition of … but …
457.14 … it will bear the earths and clothe them
457.15 … tribulation. … it will cast out in
457.16 … [Sun(?)] and Moon and bears
457.17 … … … …
457.18 … … spirit …
457.19 … … … …
457.20 … … it bears the …
457.21 … Again, it distils it and purifies the
457.22 … and it … and it transitions
457.23 … from every body of the world …
457.24 … … … …
457.25 … … … …
457.26 … … … …
457.27 … first. The power …
457.28 … … … …
457.29 … … … …
457.30 … … passes from …

458.1 rest, those who live in the *Five Dwellings* …
458.2 this transition of stillness.
458.3 [The] first transition is this: [It ascends into]
458.4 the Living Air and comes into the …
458.5 holy, distilled, (and) purified. The [second transition]:
458.6 It ascends to the Column [of Glory and enters the]
458.7 ship of the First Man, which shines …
458.8 The third transition: [It leaves(?) … the]
458.9 ship of the First Man and goes …
458.10 so that every vessel that shines is purified. [The fourth]
458.11 transition: It exits … …
458.12 also the air of the creations and the …
458.13 … The fifth transition … …
458.14 … from [the] Great First Righteous One to …
458.15 … the greatness … and enters his …
458.16 … … from the …
458.17 the chambers of the world … …
458.18 … … … …
458.19 pottery … … …

458.20 … … … …
458.21 … it leaves behind … …
458.22 … in its transition … …
458.23 … it shines and glorifies and …
458.24 … Then, when … …
458.25 … it remains in him … …
458.26 … from … …
458.27 … the living … …
458.28 … the place of enmity … …
458.29 purified also. It goes … …
458.30 [our] image(?), but … [it leaves]
458.31 behind the upper earth and goes … …

459.1 … … … …
459.2 … … … …
459.3 … the Church … …
459.4 … the transition … …
459.5 … Church, and they …
459.6 … and they … …
459.7 … and they are saved … …
459.8 … … … …
459.9
459.10
459.11
459.12
459.13
459.14
459.15 *Middle part of page is not preserved*
459.16
459.17
459.18
459.19
459.20
459.21
459.22 … … holy …
459.23 … … fasting …
459.24 … … which are above …
459.25 … … the holy assembly …
459.26 … … in the height …
459.27 … … he, too, …
459.28 … … small and they …
459.29 … … also …
459.30 … … … …
459.31 … … … …

460.1 … … … …
460.2 … … … …

460.3 . . . . . .
460.4 . . . . . .
460.5 . . . . . .

CHAPTER 189

[ON THE FIVE TEMPTATIONS]

484.20 [Again] … … …
484.21 … … … …
484.22 … … … …
484.23 … … … …
484.24 … … … …
484.25 … … … …
484.26 … … … …
484.27 … … … …

485.1 … and he resists the temptation …
485.2 … and his heart does [not] sink …
485.3 … the desire for something to eat and something to drink …
485.4 … resisting the temptation and he becomes
485.5 … the purification of his food …
485.6 … perfect and true.
485.7 [The] second temptation is when …
485.8 … … … …
485.9 … has established … …
485.10 … … … …
485.11 … … … …
485.12 … this one, however, … the temptation of the …
485.13 … and he … the truth.
485.14 [The third] temptation is when …
485.15 … and suffers from it …
485.16 … … … …
485.17 … … … …
485.18 … and leaves his … …
485.19 … … … …
485.20 … … … …
485.21 … … by which he is tested …
485.22 … … … …
485.23 … The fourth temptation is the desire for women
485.24 … … … …
485.25 … … desire for possessions
485.26 … … wants to let it fall
485.27 … … this perfect Elect has not
485.28 … … and he does not defeat and does not move
485.29 … [but he resists] it.
485.30 [The fifth is this:] When a persecution

486.1 [happens] in … beyond the persecutor …
486.2 … the Sects, those who stand in …
486.3 … tribulation. Or again as they …
486.4 … as they strike him with whips …
486.5 … and they come to crucify him and he does not turn …
486.6 … from his truth and he bears every thing …
486.7 … wrath, bond, (and) crucifixion. In these *Five*
486.8 *Temptations* … … of the Elect
486.9 … he receives the … of … When [he]
486.10 … increases in faith and becomes righteous …
486.11 his knowledge … temptation …
486.12 … and he returns immediately and reveals
486.13 the truth and … gives …
486.14 … … … …

CHAPTER 191

THERE ARE FIVE PROPERTIES IN THE *IMAGE* OF OUR APOSTLE SYMBOLIZING THE FIVE LIGHT FATHERS

487.9 [Again] he spoke to his disciples: There are *Five Properties*
487.10 in the *Image* … in the *Five* …
487.11 … The first is the humble aspect …
487.12 … it is with this property that I have acquired my Church …
487.13 … … and bear the temptation of [good(?) and]
487.14 just [souls(?)] … … …
487.15 … humble … …
487.16 … … … …
487.17 … … … …
487.18 … apostle, the twelve …
487.19 … … … …
487.20 … … the First Man …
487.21 … … chosen …
487.22 … … The third property …
487.23 … … … …
487.24 … … the First Man …
487.25 … he and … …
487.26 … … … …
487.27 … … … …
487.28 … … I have …
487.29 … … … *Image*

488.1 … the beauty revealed to you in the *Image* …
488.2 … … he reveals …
488.3 … in a beautiful image he has saved(?) …
488.4 … through the beauty of his image.
488.5 [The] fifth property is my light-wisdom …
488.6 … … from the Living Fire which …
488.7 … weed(?), but, while I receive the property of …
488.8 … [laying on of hands(?)].[299] Since in his wisdom and his …
488.9 … in all the worlds, he has revealed
488.10 … … … …
488.11 … … … …
488.12 [wears] their flesh. It is his own will that he has done [in]

[299] Funk, *Kephalaia (I): Zweite Hälfte*, 488 [432], note line 8.

488.13 all [the] worlds, in his wisdom, (and) in his love.
488.14 [This is also that way that] I have chosen my Church …
488.15 … … … …
488.16 … … … …
488.17 … … the soul of the …
488.18 … … he received …
488.19 … … … …
488.20 … … … …
488.21 … all … which I have come to love …
488.22 … … … …
488.23 … … … …
488.24 … Father … …
488.25 … … … …
488.26 … … … …
488.27 … again, b dongs to … …
488.28 … I have left it, I have chosen …
488.29 … … … …
488.30 … … … …

489.1 … wicked evil …
489.2 [the] wicked desire of evil …
489.3 … in this *Image* of …
489.4 daily, namely, those who have seen me …
489.5 depict the images, it depicts in their hearts …
489.6 their inner image perfected in my *Image* …
489.7 … likeness and vision of silence.
489.8 [The] fifth: Through my light-wisdom I have separated
489.9 good from evil, Light from
489.10 Darkness. I have separated Error from …
489.11 … their god. I have given victory to them through my …
489.12 … victory. All the Sects …
489.13 … in the … their body …
489.14 … the Land of Light, from which they have come
489.15 … … rest forever.

CHAPTER 193

THE EVIL ONE HAS [FIVE PROPERTIES]; THE GOOD ONE HAS [FIVE OTHER PROPERTIES]

490.26 Again he spoke to his [disciples: The Evil One has]
490.27 *Five Properties*, [which are …]
490.28 slander(?),[300] murder, [greed, mixing of Light]
490.29 and Darkness. This is … …
490.30 about which I have taught you … …

491.1 [He who] acts on them and lives by them …
491.2 … the truth and the kingdom of God …
491.3 … torture and punishment forever.
491.4 [The Good One] also [has] *Five Good Qualities*,
491.5 which are fasting, pity, [almsgiving],
491.6 faith, and separation of Light [and Darkness.]
491.7 He who acts on these *Five Good Qualities* …
491.8 … … [he] will not taste [death] …
491.9 … but, he will share in life …
491.10 … well, and inherit the [kingdom of]
491.11 [God].

[300] Funk, *Kephalaia (I): Zweite Hälfte*, 490 [436].

APPENDIX

THEODORE BAR KHONAI'S RÉSUMÉ OF THE MANICHAEAN MYTH (ANNOTATED TRANSLATION)

Translated from Theodore bar Khonai's Syriac *Liber scholiorum* (ed. Addai Scher; CSCO 69; Louvain: Imprimerie orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1954, pp. 313–318), this excerpt, in spite of its relatively late date, is perhaps the most important secondary witness to how Mani likely conceived of his own cosmogonic myth, especially in terms of Syriac terminology.[1]

313.10 On his abominable teaching: It is, however, necessary that we set down
313.11 a little of the fictitious blasphemy of Mani the wicked in this book
313.12 in order to shame the Manichaeans. For he says that before
313.13 there was heaven and earth and all that is in them, there were two
313.14 natures[2]–one good and the other evil. The good
313.15 nature dwelt in the Realm of Light, and he calls him "Father
313.16 of Greatness." He also says that his *Five Shekinahs* dwelt beside him:[3]
313.17 Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, and Consideration.[4]
313.18 The evil nature he calls King[5] of Darkness and he says

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[1] In the following notes comparative references will be made to the following English, French, and German translations: Yohannan (from Williams Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, 121–154); Schubert (from Haardt, *Gnosis*, 289–295); Reeves (from *Jewish Lore*, 185–206); Reitenztein and Schaeder (from *Studien*, 342–353); Pognon (from *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, 184–193).

[2] ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܟܬܝܢ .

[3] ܫܟܝܢܬܐ ܫܒ. Yohannan: "Glories"; Schubert: "dwelling-places"; Reeves: "Shekinahs."

[4] While the terms for the Five Shekinahs are notoriously difficult to translate, Burkitt suggested that they should be rendered as follows: sense (as in sanity or sound mind), reason (as in reasoning faculty), thought (or mind), imagination, and intention (as in will) (*Religion of the Manichees*, 33). Pognon translated: *l'intelligence, la science, la pensée, la réflexion*, and *le sentiment*; Yohannan: intelligence, knowledge, reason, thought, and deliberation; Reitzenstein and Schaeder: *Bewußtsein, Vernunft, Denken, Vorstellung*, and *Gesinnung*; and Reeves: mind, knowledge, intellect, thought, and reflection.

[5] Scher's text actually has ܡܠܐܟܐ "angel" of Darkness, while other manuscripts read ܡܠܟܐ "King," which is supported by other sources such as the *Acta Archelai* 12.4 and *Kephalaia Chapter 6* (see Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 201 n. 18). As Reeves points out, the epithet "Angel of Darkness" can be found in 1QS 3:20–22 (Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 201 n. 18).

313.19 that he dwelt in his Dark Land with his *Five Worlds*:[6]
313.20 the World of Smoke, the World of Fire, the World of Wind, the World of Water,
313.21 and the World of Darkness. And he says that when the King of Darkness sought
313.22 to ascend to the Realm of Light, these *Five Shekinahs* stirred
313.23 and he says that the Father of Greatness then
313.24 thought and said: "*From the worlds of these* Five Shekinahs
313.25 *I will not send from them to do battle because for tranquility and peace*
313.26 *they were created by me. Rather, I myself will go and do*
313.27 *battle.*" And he says that the Father of Greatness called the Mother
313.28 of Life, and the Mother of Life called the First Man,[7] and the First

314.1 Man called his *Five Sons*, like a man who puts on armour
314.2 for battle. And he says that an angel went forth against him, whose name
314.3 was *Nhshbt*,[8] holding in his hand a crown of victory. And he says
314.4 that he spread out light before him, i.e.,[9] First Man. When
314.5 the King of Darkness saw it, he thought and said: "*That*
314.6 *which I desired in the distance, I have found nearby.*" Then
314.7 First Man gave himself and his *Five Sons*
314.8 as food for the *Five Sons of Darkness*, like a man
314.9 who has an enemy mixes deadly poison into a cake[10] and gives it
314.10 to him. And he says that when they ate them, their reason
314.11 was taken from the *Five Shining Gods*[11] and they became like
314.12 a man bitten by a rabid dog or snake (because of) the venom

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[6] ,ⲙⲁⲑⲗⲁⲗ ⲣⲉⲩⲛ: Pognon: *cinq mondes* (*Inscriptions mandaïtes*, 184); Yohannan: "five worlds" (*Researches in Manichaeism*, 224); Reitzenstein and Schaeder: *fünf Äonen* (342); Schubert: "five Aeons"; and Reeves: "five Aeons." The translation of ⲕⲗⲁ as "world" is, however, supported by Coptic sources, especially *Kephalaia Chapter 6*, which uses the Graeco-Coptic word ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ for the five regions of darkness. The fact that matter is so closely associated with the dark realm cannot really justify the use of a term such as "aeon," which in such systems is usually reserved for entities of the higher realm.

[7] Yohannan: "Primal Man"; Schubert: "Primary Man" and "Primal Man"; Reeves: "Primal Man."

[8] Both Yohannan and Reeves leave the name unvocalized, while Schubert translates "Nachashbat." This name is not found in any other sources, although the abjuration formulae attest the term στεφανοφόρος "crown-bearer" (Reeves, 201 n. 24).

[9] The ⲛ in this construction seems to be a "pronom annonciateur" (Costaz, 507). Yohannan and Pognon attribute the spreading out of light to First Man, while Reitzenstein and Schaeder, Hespel and Draguet, and Reeves attribute the action to the angel.

[10] Schubert: "in a kitchen."

[11] According to Payne-Smith ⲙⲁⲛⲁ means "guardian" (115a), while ⲙⲁⲛⲁ is not listed with a ⲉ. Why is this? Could there also be some sort of confusion or play on words with ⲙⲁⲛⲁ "armour" (115a), since in other sources the five sons are known as First Man's "armour"?

314.13 of the Sons of Darkness. And he says that when the First Man regained
314.14 his reason and prayed to the Father of Greatness seven times
314.15 and he called the Second Calling—the Beloved of Lights,[12] and the Beloved
314.16 of Lights called the Great Builder,[13] and the Great Builder called the Living
314.17 Spirit,[14] and the Living Spirit called his[15] *Five Sons*: the Ornament of Splendour[16]
314.18 from his Mind, the Great King of Honour from his Thought,
314.19 the Adamos[17] of Light from his Insight, the King of Glory from
314.20 his Counsel, and the Porter[18] from his Consideration. They came
314.21 to the Land of Darkness and found First Man
314.22 swallowed by the Darkness along with his *Five Sons*. Then the Living
314.23 Spirit called out with his voice and the voice of the Living Spirit became like
314.24 a sharp sword and it revealed the form of the First Man,
314.25 and he said: "*Greetings to you, O good one*[19] *in the house of evil,*
314.26 *O shining one*[20] *in the house of darkness, O god who dwells in the house of*
314.27 *wrathful beasts who do not know their*[21] *honour*." Then First Man answered

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[12] ܒܚܒܝܒ… Yohannan: "Friend of Light"; Schubert: "Friend of the Lights"; Reeves: "Friend of the Luminaries."

[13] Yohannan: "Great Ban"; Schubert: "Great Architect"; Reeves: "Great *Ban*."

[14] Payne-Smith states that ܪܘܚܐ is normally feminine "except when used of the Holy Spirit" (533b), which reflects a theologically motivated interpretation of grammar. The Manichaean Living Spirit, rooted in early Syriac images of spirit, would have originally been conceived as feminine, since she is essentially an elaboration of Mother of Life, the second member of the first divine triad. The fact that the neuter word πνεῦμα was used in Greek created a gender ambiguity and an eventual shift in Coptic, in which it is considered a masculine noun.

[15] Theodore reports that the Living Spirit called forth "*his* sons" ܒܢܘܗܝ. It is not inconceivable that an eight-century author such as Theodore, accustomed to the theologically masculine interpretation of "spirit" would have naturally used the masculine suffix when referring to the sons. It cannot be assumed that this wording is taken verbatim from Mani.

[16] Yohannan: "Custody of Splendor"; Schubert: "Adornment of the Light"; Reeves: "Ornament of Splendour."

[17] Yohannan: "Adamas"; Schubert: "Adamas"; Reeves: "Adamos."

[18] Yohannan: "Supporter"; Schubert: "Bearer"; Reeves: "Porter."

[19] Yohannan: "the righteous one"; Schubert: "o Good Man"; Reeves: "O Excellent One."

[20] Yohannan: "the luminous one"; Schubert: "Creature of Light"; Reeves: "O Divine One."

[21] The manuscripts read ܒܝܩܪܗܘܢ, "their glory," which was amended by Lidzbarski to ܒܝܩܪܟ "his honour" (followed by Schaeder and Reeves), presumably referring to the Father. This reading, however, is also problematic since this is a vocative address to the First Man. Thus, it could conceivable be amended to ܒܝܩܪܟ "your glory." The original manuscript reading may simply imply that the beasts are without honour.

314.28 and said: "*Come, you who bear the merchandise of peace*."

315.1 And he said: "*How fare our fathers, the sons of*
315.2 *Light in their city?*" And the Call said to him: "*They are faring*
315.3 *well!*" And ⟨Living Spirit⟩[22] and Call and Response[23] joined with one another
315.4 and they ascended to the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit. And Living Spirit
315.5 put on the Call and the Mother of Life put on the Response, her[24] beloved
315.6 son, and they descended to the Land of Darkness to where First
315.7 Man and his sons (were). Then the Living Spirit ordered three
315.8 of his sons,[25] that one should kill and another skin the Archons, the Sons of
315.9 Darkness, and deliver (them) to the Mother of Life. The Mother of Life
315.10 stretched out the sky from their skins and made Eleven[26] Heavens.
315.11 And they threw down their corpses to the Land of Darkness and made Eight
315.12 Earths. And the *Five Sons of the Living Spirit* each
315.13 completed his task. The Ornament of Splendour is the one who holds the *Five*
315.14 *Shining Gods* by their waists and below their waists the heavens were
315.15 spread out. Also, the Porter is the one who bends down on one of his knees
315.16 and carries the earths. And after the heavens and the earths were
315.17 made the Great King of Glory sat among the heavens
315.18 and kept watch over everything. Then, the Living Spirit
315.19 revealed his forms[27] to the Sons of Darkness and from the light which had been
315.20 swallowed by them from these *Five Shining Gods* he filtered the
315.21 light and built the Sun and the Moon.[28] And (with) light that was left over from

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[22] There appears to have been some confusion by the copyist here (?).

[23] Yohannan: "the Appellant and the Respondent"; Schubert: "the Call and the Answer"; Reeves: "the Caller and the Respondent."

[24] Yohannan: "her"; Schubert: "its"; Reeves: "her."

[25] ⲛ̀ϩⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁⲗⲓ is interpreted by Yohannan, Schubert, and Reeves to mean "three of his sons" since it is clear that Living Spirit has five sons.

[26] Other sources indicated that "ten heavens" should be read instead.

[27] This perhaps indicates the same gender ambiguity as with the Third Messenger who reveals male and female aspects.

[28] Yohannan: "and the light (of the Stars) more than a thousand"; Schubert: "and over a thousand stars."

315.22 (the making of) the vessels she[29] made the wheels:[30] wind and water and fire. He
315.23 descended and forged them beneath the Porter. The King of Glory called
315.24 and raised above them a bed(?) so that they might ascend over those
315.25 Archons who are subdued by the earths that they might serve the *Five*
315.26 *Shining Gods* without being burned by the venom of the Archons.
315.27 And he says that the Mother of Life, First Man, and the Living Spirit
315.28 rose in prayer and asked of the Father of Greatness

316.1 and the Father of Greatness heard them and called the Third Evocation—
316.2 the Messenger. And the Messenger called Twelve Virgins,[31]
316.3 with their garments, their crowns, and their attributes: the first is
316.4 majesty, the second wisdom, the third victory,
316.5 the fourth persuasion, the fifth chastity, the sixth truth,
316.6 the seventh faith, the eighth patience, the ninth
316.7 uprightness, the tenth grace, the eleventh justice,
316.8 (and) the twelfth light. And when the Messenger came to those
316.9 vessels, he commanded three servants to make the vessels move.
316.10 The Great Builder he commanded to build a New Earth and Three
316.11 Vessels[32] to ascend. And when the ships went and reached the middle
316.12 of heaven, then the Messenger revealed his images, male and female,
316.13 and was manifested to all the Archons, the Sons of Darkness, male
316.14 and female. At the appearance of the Messenger, who was beautiful in his forms,
316.15 all the Archons were inflamed with lust, the males
316.16 for the image of the female, and the females for the image of the male.
316.17 They began to expel through their lust the light which they had swallowed from
316.18 the *Five Shining Gods*. Then the sin which was in them
316.19 conspired and like a hair in dough it mixed itself
316.20 with the {light}[33] which came out of the Archons and it sought
316.21 to enter in. Then, the Messenger concealed his image and separated

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[29] This feminine verb form supports the idea that the Living Spirit was conceived as a feminine being by early Manichaeans.

[30] Yohannan and Reeves translate "wheels"; Schaeder *Sphären*; Pognon *vases*.

[31] According to Reeves, the Twelve Virgins are identified with the twelve signs of the Zodiac (*Jewish Lore*, 204 n. 46), yet this needs to be reconciled with the depiction of the Zodiac found in the *Kephalaia* (see Chapter 3 above).

[32] Both Yohannan and Reeves have translated "wheels" for ܓܠ̈ܓ̈ "wheels" (see Payne-Smith, 3a).

[33] All manuscripts read ܢܝܗܪܐ "moon," which has been corrected to "light" ܢܝܗܝܠܐ by most commentators (Yohannan, 245; Reeves, 204 n. 48).

316.22 the light of the *Five Shining Gods* and the sin which (was) in them.
316.23 It (i.e., sin) then fell onto the Archons from whom it had fallen, but they did not
316.24 accept it, like a person who recoils from his vomit. It (i.e., sin) then fell down to
316.25 the earth, half on the moist (part) and half on the dry, and it became
316.26 a hateful animal in the image of the King of Darkness. The Adamos of Light
316.27 was sent against her, made war with her
316.28 and defeated her. He turned her on her back, struck her heart with a spear,[34]

317.1 and threw his shield on her mouth. He set one of his feet on
317.2 her thigh and another on her chest. That (part) which fell on dry land
317.3 sprouted itself into *Five Trees*. He says that these Daughters of
317.4 Darkness were pregnant from before by their natures
317.5 and because of the beauty of the Messenger's form which they saw, they
317.6 miscarried their foetuses[35] and they fell to the earth. They ate the seeds of the
317.7 trees. The abortions counselled with one another and remembered the form
317.8 of the Messenger which they had seen and said: "*Where is the form that we saw*?"
317.9 Then, Ashqalun, the son of the King of Darkness, said to the abortions: "*Give*
317.10 *me your sons and your daughters and I will make you*
317.11 *a form like the one you saw*." They brought (them) and gave (them) to him. He ate
317.12 the males and gave the females to Namrael,[36] his companion.
317.13 Namrael and Ashqalun then united with one another and she conceived
317.14 and gave birth to a son, and named him Adam. She conceived (again) and
317.15 gave birth to a daughter, and named her Eve. He says that Jesus the Splendour
317.16 came to Adam, the innocent, and awoke him from the sleep

[34] Manuscript reads ⲥⲁⲓⲁⲣⲧⲏ "aorta," corrected to ⲥⲁⲗⲓⲟⲩ "spear" by Cumont (See Scher 316 n. 8).

[35] Could there be a play on words here between ⲥⲁⲁⲩ "foetus" and ⲥⲁⲁⲩ "iniquity" (Payne-Smith, 405a)?

[36] There are a number of variants for the name of Ashqalun's consort (See Scher, 317 n. 4, Yohannan, 249 n. 118, Reeves, 204 n. 53), although Namrael has been adopted as standard.

317.17 of death, so that he might be delivered from many (evil) spirit(s).[37] Just as
317.18 a righteous person finds someone possessed by a mighty demon
317.19 and calms him with his skill, thus also was Adam
317.20 when the Beloved found him lying in a deep
317.21 sleep. He awoke him and held him and shook him and expelled from him
317.22 the deceptive demon and bound from him the great
317.23 Archonic power. Then Adam examined himself and recognized who he was.
317.24 He (i.e., Jesus) revealed to him the Fathers on high and how his soul was wholly
317.25 thrown into leopard's teeth and elephant's teeth, swallowed by swallowers
317.26 and gulped by gulpers, eaten by dogs, mixed
317.27 and imprisoned in all that was, and bound in the stench of Darkness.
317.28 He says that he (i.e., Jesus) raised him and made him taste the Tree of Life. Then,

318.1 Adam cried out and wept and raised his voice loudly, like
318.2 a lion that roars and tears. He threw (himself down) and beat (his chest) and said:
318.3 "*Woe, woe to the one who formed my body and to the one who bound my soul*
318.4 *and to the tyrants who have enslaved me*."

[37] Just what this phrase means remains unclear. According to Yohannan, ܪܘܚܐ ܒܝܫܬܐ implies a reference to the "two Archons" mentioned by al-Nadīm (*Researches*, 250), while Reeves suggests it refers to Ashaqlun (*Jewish Lore*, 205 n. 56). See Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, 192 n. 2. At any rate, it seems clear that Adam is being liberated form negative forces.

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GENERAL INDEX

Acta Archelai, 8, 89
Adda, 12, 88, 90
Adiabene, 11
Alexander of Lycopolis, 13, 64
Amaro, 86
Ammo, 88
anababizon, 63, 64, 82
Apocryphon of John, 65, 144
Ardashir, 11
Aristotle, 35
Artabanus, 11
Ashaqlun, 5
Assyrians, 11
Augustine, 4, 6, 46, 57, 64, 86
Axumites, 11

Babylon, 11
Babylonians, 11
Barbelo, 144
Bardaisan, 14, 35, 36, 89, 90
Barhadbeshabba, 36
al-Biruni, 6, 64, 65
Book of Giants, 15, 17, 46, 80, 209
Book of Mysteries, 9, 14, 45, 79, 209
Brahmins, 88
Buddha, 10, 88
Buddhists, 88

Capitaliteratur, 9
Christians, 3, 6, 11, 61, 85, 88
Chinese *Compendium*, 46
Chinese *Hymnscroll*, 26
Chronicle of Seert, 86
Clement of Alexandria, 4
Cologne Mani Codex, 12, 32, 40, 47
Coptic, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18
Ctesiphon, 11

Dakhleh Oasis, 12
Diocletian, 86

Egypt, 11, 12, 13, 62, 86
Elchasaites, 10, 61
Empedocles, 35
Ephraim the Syrian, 15, 29, 30, 35, 89
Epictetus, 9
Epiphanius, 6
Epistles, 14, 15, 16, 17, 74, 79, 209
erotapokrisis, 10

Five Advents, 69, 70, 134, 149
Five Angels, 159
Five Arches, 17
Five Archons (see Rulers) 108
Five Bodies, 51, 52, 59, 61, 108, 111, 159
Five Books, 148
Five Camps, 182
Five Churches, 104
Five Constellations, 17
Five Counsels, 37, 135, 154
Five Craftsmen, 201
Five Creations of Darkness, 52, 53, 56, 150
Five Dark Spirits, 111
Five Dwellings, 71, 174, 215
Five Elements, 15, 18, 29, 30, 32, 34, 36, 53, 61, 67, 80, 81, 90, 106, 108, 127, 128, 135
Five Encampments, 41, 183
Five Fathers, 19, 42, 43, 45, 46, 48, 81, 112, 149
Five Fleshes, 101
Five Folds, 155
Five Foods, 72, 207, 208
Five Forms, 72, 108, 210
Five Fruits of Death, 52, 53, 128
Five Garments, 31, 182
Five Gods, 44, 156

Five Great Fountains of Blessing, 25, 142
Five Great Trees, 25
Five Greatnesses, 19, 34, 42, 47, 48, 70, 81, 129
Five Hallows, 76, 197
Five Happinesses, 75, 104
Five Houses, 17
Five Intellectuals, 30, 31, 32, 80, 100, 156
Five Kings of Darkness, 52, 60, 61, 108
Five Limbs, 15, 16, 18, 22, 32, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 48, 58, 67, 80, 81, 90, 100, 101, 142, 149, 154, 159, 160, 161, 201
Five Limbs of Sin, 160
Five Light Signs, 70
Five Light Wonders, 199
Five Mysteries 116, 117
Five Names, 174
Five Parts, 52, 106
Five Pits, 76, 198
Five Places, 193
Five Powers, 75, 104, 139, 153
Five Products, 200
Five Properties, 220, 222
Five Qualities, 222
Five Qualities of the Sun, 177
Five Releases, 69, 70, 138
Five Resurrections, 69, 124
Five Rulers, 51, 59
Five Saviours, 69, 124
Five Senses, 106
Five *shekinahs*, 223, 224
Five Shining Gods, 29, 31, 80, 144, 159, 224, 226, 227, 228
Five Signs, 115, 116, 117, 119
Five Slaveries, 111
Five Sleepless Watchers, 156
Five Sons of Darkness, 17, 19, 31, 224, 225
Five Sons of First Man, 18, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 49, 80, 106, 129, 166, 224
Five Sons of Living Spirit, 16, 18, 33, 34, 36, 38, 41, 42, 49, 58, 106, 120, 129, 153, 182, 225, 226
Five Spirits, 51, 52, 59, 61, 62, 106, 108
Five Splendours of the Son of Man, 29, 153
Five Stars, 51, 62, 63, 179, 180, 181
Five Storehouses, 25, 51, 52, 53, 59, 61, 108
Five Tastes, 51, 52, 59, 108
Five Temptations, 87, 218, 219
Five Transitions, 212, 213, 214
Five Trees of Darkness, 17, 19, 52, 53, 108, 127, 135, 170, 228
Five Types of Authority, 174
Five Types of Brotherhood, 74, 87, 205
Five Virtues, 16, 36, 39, 41, 70, 74
Five Vital Powers, 17, 26
Five Wars, 69, 135
Five Watchers, 41
Five Watch-Towers, 183
Five Wisdoms, 75, 104
Five Wonderworks, 69
Five Words, 122, 125
Five Worlds of Darkness, 17, 52, 53, 56, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 82, 108, 109, 127, 135, 147, 150, 179, 181, 224
Five Worlds of Flesh, 106, 170, 171
Fundamental Epistle, 58, 60

Gnostics, 4, 66
Greek, 12, 14, 18

Hadith, 8
Hira, 86
Homilies, 8, 46, 86, 87
Hormizd, 85
Hormizd II, 86
Hystapes, 11

India, 11
Indians, 11
Irenaeus, 4
Ismaelis
Iwannis of Dara, 36

Jews, 3, 11, 14, 66
Jesus, 5, 10, 41, 84, 88
Judas, 4, 10, 21
Justinian, 86

Kabbalah, 4
Kellis, 12, 14, 27, 29, 89
Kephalaia, *passim*
Kirdir, 85
Kustaios, 12

Latin, 13, 36
Living Gospel, 15, 45, 58, 79, 209
Luke, Gospel of, 21

Magi, 11
Mandaeans, 11, 26, 62, 64
Mani, *passim*
Manichaeans, *passim*
Marcion, 35
Mark the Deacon, 86
Matthew, Gospel of, 21
Mazdaeism, 28
Medes, 11
Medinet Madi, 6, 12, 14
Mesene, 11
Mesopotamia, 11, 13, 62, 64
Middle-Persian, 14
Moses bar Kepha, 36
Muslims, 3, 6

al-Nadīm, 6, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 27, 37, 46, 53, 54, 56, 57, 60, 71, 73, 80, 229
Nafsha of Tadmor/Palmyra, 90
Narses, 86
Nazoreans, 11
New Testament, 3

Origen, 8

Palestine, 13, 86
Parthia, 11
Parthians, 11
Paul, 10, 88
Persia, 11
Persians, 11, 61, 66, 85
Pherecydes of Syros, 35
Philolaus, 35
Picture-book, 80
pleroma, 4
Pragmateia, 45, 209
Prayer of the Emanations, 27
Psalm-Book, 30, 31, 46, 47, 64
Pythagoras, 35

Qurʾān, 3

Rabbinic Judaism, 4
Right Ginza, 26, 55, 56, 57
Romans, 11, 61, 66, 85

Seleucia-Ctesiphon, 86
Severus of Antioch, 9, 23, 53, 58
Severus Sebokht, 64
Shapur, 11, 85
Shabuhragan, 14, 16, 17, 26, 79, 147
shekinah, 15, 18, 25, 58
Simplicius, 58
Sisinnios, 12, 13, 85
Sogdian, 26, 90
Susiana, 11
Synaxeis, 15
Syria, 86
Syriac, 11, 12, 14, 18, 31

Talmud, 8
Tanakh, 3
Theodore bar Khonai, 5, 15, 17, 18, 25, 27, 30, 32, 36, 37, 43, 45, 47, 53, 54, 57, 60, 71, 80, 81, 83, 89, 169, 223
Theodoret, 9, 53
Tigris, 11
Titus of Bostra, 9, 53
Treasure of Life, 14, 45, 72, 166, 188, 189, 209
Turfan, 6, 90

Valentinians, 4
Vahram, 86

al-Warraq, 15

Zarathustra, see Zoroaster, 10
Zeno of Verona, 66
ziwane, 18, 31
zodiac, 65, 66, 82
Zoroaster, see Zarathustra, 88
Zoroastrians, 64, 85, 88
Zurvanism, 27, 28

INDEX OF MODERN AUTHORS

Adam, 26
Allberry, 27
Asmussen, 27, 88

BeDuhn, 28, 32, 83, 84
Beck, 63, 64
Boussières, 10
Böhlig, 28, 66, 108, 113, 116, 120, 122, 125, 127, 131, 135, 143, 145, 155, 158, 160, 165, 169, 179, 180, 185
Boyce, 16, 17, 26
Brown, 11, 86
Burkitt, 27, 29, 35, 64, 223

Couliano, 7, 81
Crum, 118, 155, 161, 162
Cumont, 27, 53, 57, 58

Daniélou, 66
De Blois, 15
Drijvers, 35, 36
Duchesne-Guillemin, 28

Feldmann, 58, 61
Ferrari, 64
Foerster, 26
Franzmann, 12, 29
Funk, 8, 9, 12, 15, 17, 21, 25, 37, 40, 42, 46, 58, 90, 97, 112, 113, 116, 118, 119, 120, 122, 127, 142, 145, 164, 166, 167, 175, 189, 205, 220, 222

Gardner, 12, 14, 27, 31, 46, 60, 65, 70, 83, 86, 90, 159
Gignoux, 85
Giversen, 8
Goodenough, 66

Hachlili, 66
Haardt, 223
Henning, 15, 158
Heuser, 83
Hunter, 18
Hutter, 15, 17, 26, 85, 86

Ivanka, 9

Jonas, 83

Khosroyev, 66
Klimkeit, 15, 26, 57, 83
Koenen, 8
Kugener, 53, 58

Lévy, 7
Lidzbarski, 55
Lieu, 8, 14, 24, 27, 30, 46, 60, 64, 65, 75, 83, 85, 86, 88, 90

MacKenzie, 14, 64, 147
Mattéi, 35
Merkelbach, 26, 29
Mirecki, 83
Moraux, 35

Nagel, 38, 65
Nau, 64
Ness, 66

Ort, 8

Payne-Smith, 224, 225, 228
Pedersen, 86, 87
Pognon, 223, 229
Polotsky, 6, 26, 30, 36, 55, 66, 83, 108, 113, 116, 120, 122, 125, 127, 131, 135, 143, 155, 158, 160, 165, 169, 180

Puech, 55

Reeves, 15, 21, 23, 29, 30, 31, 53, 223, 227, 229
Reitzenstein, 223
Richter, 27
Ries, 6
Robinson, 7
Rudoph, 83

Sala, 83
Schaeder, 28, 223
Schmidt, 6, 7, 8
Scopello, 86
Sims-Williams, 73
Skjaervø, 28
Stegemann, 65
Ström, 7

Tardieu, 7, 13, 14, 15, 46, 75, 90, 166
Tsui Chi, 26

van Lindt, 31
van Tongerloo, 27

Welburn, 66
Widengren, 8, 27, 65
Williams Jackson, 26, 27, 28, 223

Zaehner, 27, 28
Zamagni, 10


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VOLUME II

A MANICHAEAN PSALM-BOOK

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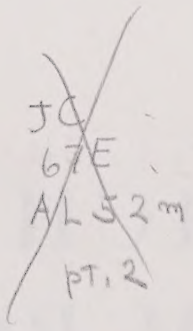
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PREFACE.

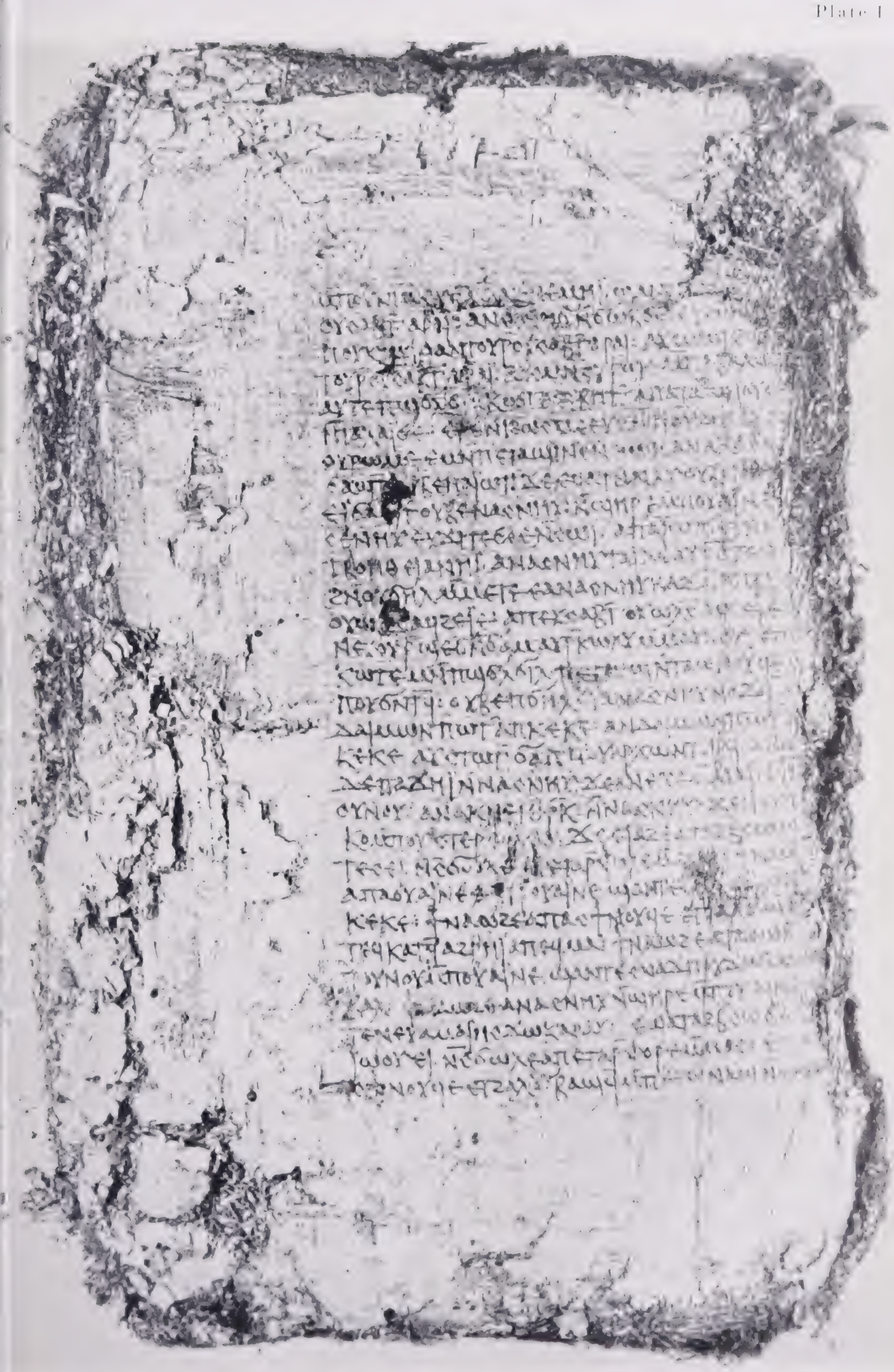
In 1930 Professor Carl Schmidt discovered in Egypt a number of Coptic papyrus codices, identified by him as manichaean (see *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten*. S.B.A.W. 1933, pp. 1—90), which, except for a small fragment acquired by the Vienna Museum, were divided between Mr Chester Beatty and the Berlin Academy. The publication of these was launched in 1934, when Mr Beatty's first volume appeared (H. J. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*. Stuttgart), shortly followed by a large part of the chief of the Berlin codices (Schmidt-Polotsky-Böhlig, *Kephalaia*. Lieferungen 1—8. Stuttgart 1935—37). What is presented here, in the same format as the Homilies and the Kephalaia, is the Psalm-book (see *Mani-Fund*, pp. 33 ff.), or rather the second part of the Psalm-book: for before it appeared in the Cairo market the codex had already been split up into several blocks, and on the largest and least mutilated of these, together with a smaller block preceding it, the two forming approximately one half of the codex, Dr Hugo Ibscher, the Papyruskonservator in the Berlin Egyptian Museum, began his work of reconstruction, and succeeded between 1931 and 1934 in separating and glassing about one hundred and twenty consecutive leaves. These are published here with an English version and a minimum of annotation.

I am grateful to Mr Chester Beatty for allowing me to edit his book and for putting it at my disposal at Cambridge. Sir Herbert Thompson read in manuscript the whole of my transcripts and translations and made many comments and suggestions, especially where an obscure word is illustrated by Demotic: most of these are recorded in the notes with the initials H.T. appended. To him my thanks are due, as also to Dr Polotsky, who allowed me to use preliminary transcripts, together with some translations and notes, of pp. 2, 7—11, 15, 16, 18, 19, and 23—26, made by him in 1931. These transcripts I collated with my own and I have recorded all cases where we differ. Professor A. D. Nock kindly read the first proof and sent me valuable notes on the subject-matter.

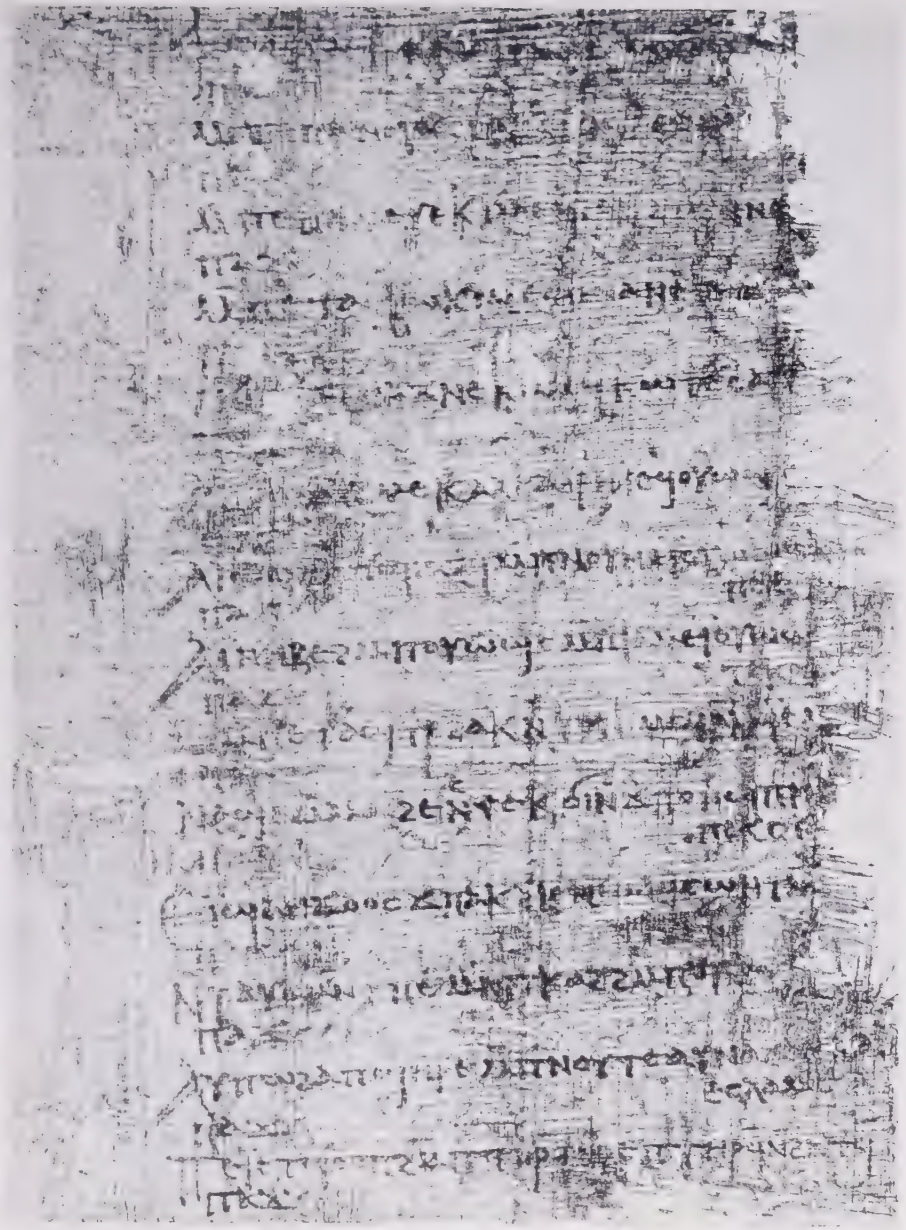
I am especially indebted to Mr W. E. Crum. The manichaean books are written in a little-known dialect and abound in difficulties of vocabulary, orthography, accidence, and syntax; and without *A Coptic Dictionary* I should have been overwhelmed. Long before its publication Mr Crum allowed me to have proof-sheets of Part V, and he has helped me besides at innumerable points, by asking and answering questions, by directing my attention to words and books of which I was ignorant, by reading the proofs. My indebtedness to him is very great.

Finally my thanks are due to Dr Kohlhammer for undertaking to publish this work. I hope that it will be possible to publish the earlier part of the manuscript in the course of the next few years.

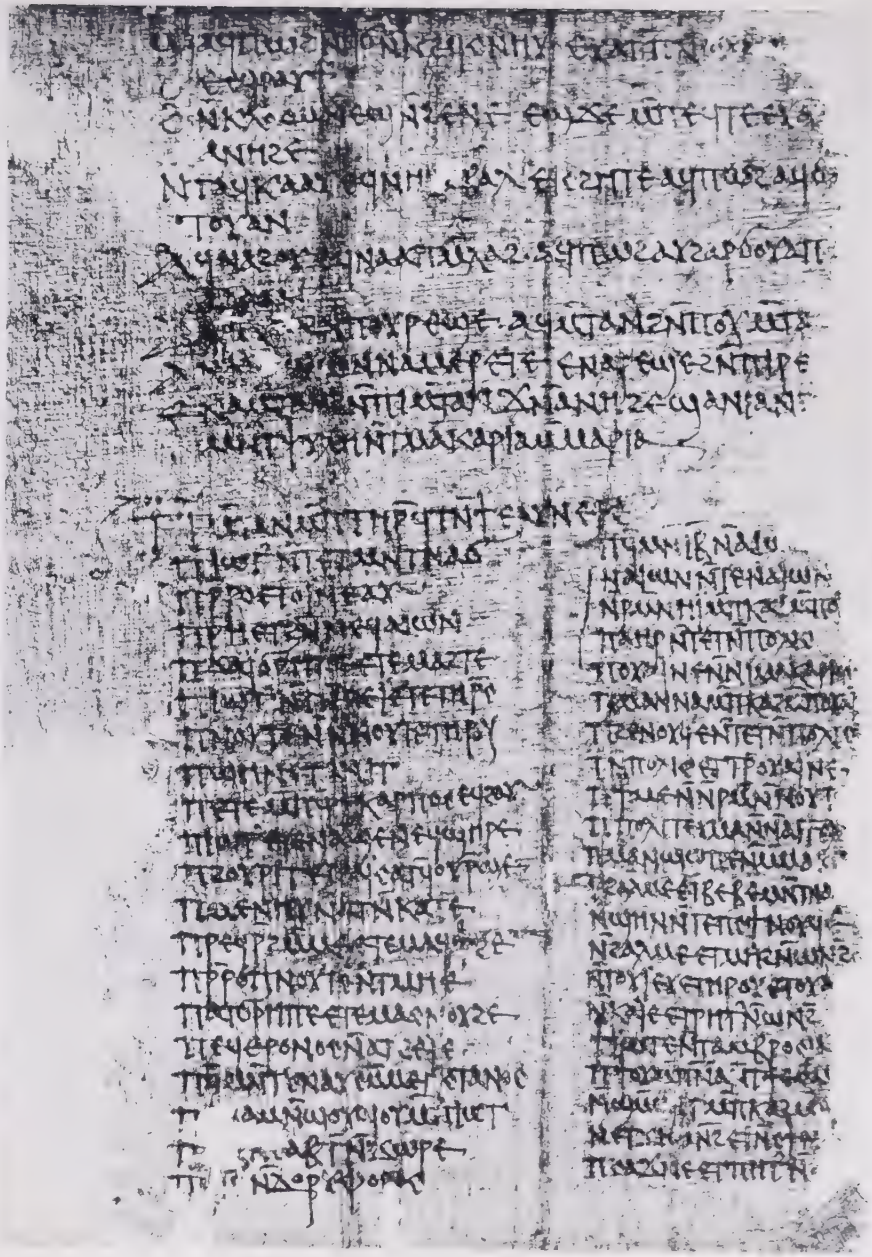
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DIE HANDSCHRIFT.

A. Erwerbung — Erhaltung — Konservierung.

Die Auffindung der Werke des Mani setzte den vielen, wertvollen Papyrusfunden der letzten 50 Jahre zweifellos die Krone auf. Daß uns der Boden Ägyptens auch diese, längst verschollen geglaubten Religionsbücher würde erhalten haben, daran glaubte selbst der größte Optimist auf dem Gebiete der Religions- und Altertumsforschung auf keinen Fall. Um so größer war nicht nur das Erstaunen, sondern auch die Freude, als die erste Kunde — wenn auch zunächst noch unsicher — aus Cairo eintraf, nach der man glaubte, Werke des Mani entdeckt zu haben. Leider war der Erhaltungszustand der Handschriften mehr als schlecht zu bezeichnen, so daß man sich nicht zu verwundern braucht, daß dieselben schon längere Zeit bei einigen Händlern in Ägypten als „Ladenhüter" herumlagen, weil sich kein Käufer fand, der es wagte, diese zerfallenen Papyrushaufen zu erwerben.

Es ist daher ein hohes Verdienst der Herren Prof. Dr. Carl Schmidt und A. Chester Beatty, daß sie den Mut aufbrachten, einige Teile des Fundes für Berlin resp. für London zu erwerben. Als es mir dann in Berlin gelang, eine Seite des von Herrn Prof. C. Schmidt erworbenen Teiles freizulegen, konnte dieser mit Sicherheit feststellen, daß es sich bei dem Funde tatsächlich um Werke des Mani handelte. Wenige Wochen später gelang es mir dann auch in London, von einem der von Mr. A. Chester Beatty erworbenen Bände ein Blatt abzuheben, und die Feststellung von Herrn Prof. C. Schmidt fand eine volle Bestätigung.

Ergab die Prüfung der Handschrift in Berlin, daß man dort einen Teil der „Kephalaia" erworben hatte, so zeigte uns das erste losgelöste Blatt des Chester Beatty Besitzes, daß hier die Psalmen der Manigemeinde vorlagen.

Nun galt es zunächst, ohne viel Aufhebens, zu versuchen, den ganzen Fund sicherzustellen, bevor die Händler den wahren Wert dieses, in seinem trostlosen Zustande ziemlich wertlos erscheinenden Papyrushaufens erfuhren. Ferner mußte verhindert werden, daß der Fund in noch mehr Sammlungen verstreut werde, wodurch eine Zusammenarbeit bei der Herausgabe, wie sie jetzt zwischen Berlin und London erfreulicherweise besteht, unmöglich wäre. Die Erwerbung aller Teile des Fundes wurde dadurch sehr erschwert, daß diese sich nicht in einer Hand befanden, sondern unter mehrere Händler verteilt waren. Der Umfang des Fundes, aber

noch mehr der schlechte Erhaltungszustand desselben, hatte vielleicht dazu beigetragen, daß kein Händler allein den Verkauf und das Risiko dafür übernehmen wollte.

In verhältnismäßig kurzer Zeit gelang es, alle Teile des Fundes für Berlin und London zu erwerben, bevor noch über den Wert desselben etwas in die Öffentlichkeit drang. Nur ein ganz winziger Teil des Fundes wurde mit anderen Papyrusstücken von Herrn Prof. Grohmann-Prag für Wien erworben.

Bald lag dann der Gesamtfund wieder vereinigt bei mir zur Konservierung in Berlin, denn auch der Londoner Besitz wurde mir zur Rettung anvertraut, und auch das winzige Wiener Stück ließ ich mir zur Feststellung der Zugehörigkeit übersenden. Bei der Sichtung des Gesamtfundes stellte sich nun heraus, daß sieben annähernd vollständige Bücher vorhanden waren, wozu noch Reste von zwei weiteren kamen. Hiervon gehörten nach Berlin vier Bücher und ein Rest und nach London drei Bücher und gleichfalls ein Rest. Letzterer ist inzwischen unter dem Titel „Manichäische Homilien" im Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, erschienen. Das Wiener Fragment hat sich als zugehörig zu den Berliner „Kephalaia" erwiesen.

Die Freude über die glückliche Erwerbung dieses einzigartigen Fundes wurde aber sehr stark gemindert, als man den Fund in seiner Gesamtheit nunmehr in Ruhe betrachten konnte. Wie ein stark verwitterter Haufen Torf präsentierte sich dieser den Beschauern, und es gab niemanden, der nicht mit einem bedenklichen Kopfschütteln davorstand und seine Zweifel dahin zum Ausdruck brachte, ob aus diesem Haufen Müll auch nur eine brauchbare Seite herausgebracht werden könnte.

Auch mir, der ich an schlecht erhaltene Papyri im Laufe der vielen Jahrzehnte meiner Tätigkeit gewöhnt bin, lief es beim Anblick dieser neuen Aufgabe eiskalt über den Rücken, aber mein Glauben an ein glückliches Gelingen auch dieser Arbeit wurde dadurch keineswegs getrübt. Im Gegenteil war ich froh, daß dieser wichtige Fund nicht in anderen Besitz gekommen war, wo man von der wirklichen Konservierung nichts oder nur wenig verstand, sonst wäre auch dieser kostbare Schatz für die Wissenschaft sicher verloren gewesen, wie leider schon so viele wertvolle Funde.

Ich wußte, daß an diesem Funde meine reichen Erfahrungen versagen müßten, wenn ich diese nicht noch durch eine tüchtige Dosis Geduld, Entsagung und Liebe zur Sache vermehren würde. Über fünf Jahre beschäftigt mich nun schon dieser Fund fast ausschließlich, und obgleich nahezu 600 Blätter = 1200 Seiten aus dem Gesamtfund bereits für die wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung gerettet werden konnten, so werden doch noch viele Jahre vergehen, bevor der ganze Fund für gerettet erklärt werden kann. Denn schätzungsweise enthalten die sieben fast vollständigen Bücher und Reste von zwei weiteren des Gesamtfundes 1750 Blätter = 3500 Seiten!

Der schlechte Erhaltungszustand der aus dem Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. stammenden Mani-Handschriften ist nicht auf das Alter derselben zurückzuführen, sondern auf die ungünstige Lage der Fundstelle. Denn die weit älteren hieratischen Papyri der Chester Beatty-Sammlung, die mehr als 1000 Jahre früher

entstanden sind als die Mani-Handschriften sind, soweit diese durch die Fellachen nicht bei der Auffindung zerrissen worden sind, noch vollkommen intakt und von fester Beschaffenheit. Auch die Bibeltexte derselben Sammlung sind tadellos erhalten, trotzdem auch diese einige hundert Jahre älter sind als die Manitexte.

Wenn man den Angaben der Händler bei der Befragung nach dem Fundort, aus begreiflichen Gründen größtenteils wenig Glauben schenken darf, so scheinen diesmal die Mitteilungen, daß der Fund aus dem Keller eines Hauses in Medînet Mâdi im Süden des Fajûm stammt, der Wahrheit zu entsprechen. Denn der schlechte Erhaltungszustand der Handschriften wies den erfahrenen Fachmann ohne weiteres darauf hin, daß die Fundstelle außerordentlich feucht gewesen sein mußte, sonst hätte der Zerfall nicht so vollständig sein können. Medînet Mâdi liegt in der Nähe eines ausgesprochenen Sumpfgebietes. Auch die Niederschläge sind in dieser Gegend, gefördert durch die Nähe des Möris-Sees, sehr häufig und außerordentlich stark, so daß die Keller der Häuserruinen nicht allein dem Grundwasser, sondern mehr noch dem vom vielen Regen hervorgerufenen Überschwemmungswasser ausgesetzt waren. Nur dem Umstand, daß die Handschriften in einer Holzkiste im Keller gefunden worden sind, wie die Angaben der Händler lauten, haben wir es zu verdanken, daß dieselben nicht schon längst zur Humuserde verwandelt worden sind. Der fest zusammengepreßte Haufen konnte so die jahrhundertelange Zerstörungsepoche noch verhältnismäßig gut überstehen, wenn es auch kaum noch Jahrzehnte bedurft hätte, um den Zerfall vollständig herbeizuführen.

Der feuchte Fundort erklärt auch die Tatsache, daß die Handschriften von den Würmern oder Ameisen verschont geblieben sind, die uns schon so viele schöne Papyri aus Ägypten vollkommen zerstört haben. Aber ein weit ärgerer Feind hat unsere Handschriften dem Zerfall nahe gebracht und macht ihre Rettung zur Qual. Förderte das Grundwasser in dem Keller den Fäulnisprozeß der zarten Papyrusblätter langsam aber sicher, so führte das Überschwemmungswasser aus der Wüste starke Mengen Salz mit sich. Hier wirkte der fest zusammengepreßte Papyruspacken wie ein Filter, der sorgsam die Salzkristalle aufnahm, so daß sich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte stellenweise wahre Salznester bildeten, die die Blätter an diesen Stellen fest zusammenfilzten und vollständig zerstörten. Besonders an den Rändern waren die Blätter durch das Salzwasser fest zusammengeklebt, so daß ich beim Auseinanderlösen diese lieber zerstörte, um möglichst viel vom Schriftspiegel zu retten. Wäre der Fäulnisprozeß durch die immerwährende Feuchtigkeit nicht so weit vorgeschritten gewesen, so hätte die Ablösung der einzelnen Blätter keine Schwierigkeiten geboten, weil man dann die Salzkristalle durch Anwendung von Feuchtigkeit hätte auflösen können. So durfte selbst ganz schwacher Wasserdampf nicht angewendet werden, sollten die Blätter nicht zerfallen.

Es blieb also nichts anderes übrig, als zu versuchen, die Blätter im trockenen Zustande voneinander zu lösen. Es ist unmöglich zu beschreiben, wie es mir gelungen ist, die Blätter, die oft hauchdünn sind, voneinander zu bringen. Eine sichere

Handhabung verschieden geformter Pinzetten, ein kleines Gummigebläse, um die Staubteilchen von den Blättern zu blasen, da ein Bürsten mit dem allerweichsten Pinsel die Schrift sofort vernichtet hätte, und eine nie erlahmende Geduld und Sachkunde waren meine einzigen Helfer zum Erfolg.

Etwas mußte ich hier aber anwenden, was ich sonst bei Papyri entschieden ablehne, die Fixierung der einzelnen Blätter mit einer ganz schwachen Lacklösung, um zu verhüten, daß die Papyrusteilchen und mit ihnen die Schrift fortwährend abstäubten. Ich brauche wohl dem Kundigen nicht weiter zu verraten, daß es mir auch oftmals nur gelang, die Blätter in kleinen Stücken abzulösen, die dann sorgfältig und sachgemäß vor der Verglasung wieder zusammengesetzt werden mußten.

Oftmals waren die Blätter auch schon im Altertum sehr stark beschädigt, was auf einen ausgiebigen Gebrauch der Handschriften schließen läßt. Ferner haben auch die Händler ihr Teil dazu beigetragen, daß die Handschriften noch weiter zu leiden hatten. Zunächst haben sich, wie oben bereits erwähnt, in den ganzen Fund drei Händler geteilt, und dabei wurde der große Packen wahllos auseinandergenommen, wobei es kaum sorgfältig zugegangen sein mag. Dann konnte ich feststellen, daß das vorliegende Psalmenbuch von dem Händler zunächst in sechs Teile zerlegt worden ist, um vielleicht die einzelnen Teile leichter und vorteilhafter zu verkaufen. Mit roher Gewalt hat hier der Händler die Teile auseinandergerissen, und zwar an verschiedenen Stellen zunächst den Versuch gemacht, bis er die Teile auseinander hatte. Was dabei verlorengegangen sein mag, wird sich erst später einmal feststellen lassen. Als der Händler dann in Mr. Chester Beatty einen Käufer fand, der den ganzen Fund erwerben wollte, legte er diese voneinander getrennten Teile wieder zusammen — aber leider falsch, was ich leicht feststellen konnte, weil einige Teile kopfstanden. So wird es später noch einige Mühe kosten, die richtige Reihenfolge der Blätter wieder festzustellen, da diese keine Paginierung wie die Berliner Kephalaia tragen.

Der jetzt hier publizierte II. Teil des Psalmenbuches bildete den Schlußteil des ganzen Werkes. 80 Blätter bildeten noch einen fest zusammensitzenden Packen, als ich diesen in Arbeit nahm, so daß also die Reihenfolge einwandfrei feststeht. 35 weitere Blätter konnten von einem andern Packen hinzugefügt werden, wobei mir die Zählung der einzelnen Psalmen, aber auch die Faserung des Papyrusblattes den Weg wies. Eine genaue gemeinsame Nachprüfung mit Mr. Charles Allberry ergab dann die Richtigkeit meiner Anordnung.

So konnte ich die vorliegenden 115 Blätter nach über zweijähriger mühevoller Arbeit zur wissenschaftlichen Bearbeitung übergeben. Daß auch die Entzifferung der Texte nicht weniger mühsam war, und daß Mr. Allberry hier ein Wunder an Scharfsinn und Geduld vollbringen mußte, um die teilweise stark zerstörten und nachgedunkelten Texte zu lesen, wird jeder, der die Originale zu sehen Gelegenheit hat, anerkennen und zu würdigen wissen.

B. Der Codex.

Bereits in dem Sitzungsbericht der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1933, I. „Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten" und in der Publikation der „Manichäischen Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty, Band I. Manichäische Homilien", bin ich auf die Gestaltung der Codexform bei den aufgefundenen Mani-Handschriften näher eingegangen.

Durch die fortschreitende Arbeit an dem Mani-Fund sind aber die Erkenntnisse für die frühe Gestaltung des Codex gestiegen und dadurch die Feststellungen weit sicherer geworden. Es ist daher angebracht, auch für das Psalmenbuch eine genaue Beschreibung des Codex zu geben, wie ich es auch gleichfalls für das jetzt erscheinende „Kephalaiabuch" aus dem Berliner Museumsbesitz tun werde. Zur Vervollständigung der hier gegebenen Beschreibung, bitte ich daher meine dortigen Ausführungen heranzuziehen. Wenn ich hiermit einem Wunsche der Herausgeber nachkomme, so hoffe ich damit gleichzeitig einen kleinen Beitrag für die Codex- und Einbandforschung zu geben.

Daß die Koptischen Mani-Handschriften die Codexform zeigen, wird niemanden mehr verwundern, wissen wir doch, nach den epochemachenden Funden der frühesten Bibeltexte, die sich zum größten Teil ebenfalls im Besitz von Mr. A. Chester Beatty befinden, daß die Codexform bereits im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. gebräuchlich war.

Ob nun die Koptischen Schreiber zur Abfassung der Manibücher eine griechische Vorlage benutzt haben [1]), oder hierfür eine solche in syrischer Sprache vorgelegen hat [2]), bleibt für unsere Betrachtung ohne Bedeutung. Auf jeden Fall müssen die Originalschriften der Manichäischen Urgemeinde auch schon die Codexform gehabt haben, wie aus den Berichten der arabischen Schriftsteller zu entnehmen ist, wonach bei der Verbrennung der Manischriften in der Verfolgungszeit „Edelsteine herausfielen und Gold herausfloß". Beide Materialien können aber nur zur Ausschmückung der Einbände der Codices Verwendung gefunden haben, niemals aber für die Schutzhüllen der Papyrusrollen.

Anzunehmen ist auch, daß die griechischen wie syrischen Codices als Beschreibstoff das damals schon gebräuchliche Pergament benutzten, wenn auch der Papyrusbeschreibstoff in jenen Ländern nicht unbekannt war, wie uns die Papyrusfunde in Dura am Euphrat beweisen. Auch Augustin berichtet von den „vielen, großen und kostbaren Pergament-Codices der manichäischen Schriften", fordert aber als fanatischer Gegner seine Glaubensgenossen zur Vernichtung dieser Schriften mit den Worten auf, „verbrennt alle jene Pergament-Handschriften und jene kostbaren Lederbände". Wenn nun auch die Funde seit 1930 gezeigt haben, daß

1) Prof. Dr. C. Schmidt, Sitzungsberichte der Preuß. Akademie der Wissenschaften 1933, I. „Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten."

2) Prof. Dr. H. H. Schaeder, „Der Manichäismus nach neuen Funden und Forschungen". Zeitschrift „Morgenland", Heft 28, S. 102.

die Codexform bereits mit Ausgang des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. in Ägypten weit verbreitet war, würde die Tatsache, daß auch die Mani-Handschriften die Codexform aufweisen, an und für sich nichts besonderes bedeuten. Und dennoch zeigen uns die Manibücher einen bedeutenden Fortschritt im Buchwesen, sind es doch die ältesten Papyruscodices, die die Lagenheftung aufweisen.

Einen weiteren, wichtigen Fortschritt bedeutet auch die Tatsache, daß das für die Codices verwendete Papyrusmaterial eigens für diese angefertigt worden ist und nicht einer Papyrusrolle entnommen wurde, wie das für alle älteren griechischen wie koptischen Papyruscodices üblich war. Alle Papyruscodices, griechische sowohl als koptische, die uns bekannt geworden sind und der Zeit vor dem 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. entstammen, zeigen keine Lagenheftung, sondern bestehen aus einer einzigen Heftlage. Nur einige vollständige ältere Codices mögen hier diese Behauptung bestätigen. So besteht der Buchblock des Kopt. Codex Ms. or. oct. 987 der Berliner Staatsbibliothek, der Paulinischen Briefe aus den ältesten griechischen Bibeltexten der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty [3]), die griechische Homerhandschrift der Sammlung Pierpont Morgan und die koptische Psalmen-Handschrift P. 8502 in der Papyrus-Sammlung der Staatl. Museen zu Berlin, nur aus einer einzigen Heftlage. Die Blätter dieser Codices sind durchweg einer Papyrusrolle entnommen worden und ist mir die Rekonstruktion der Papyrusrolle bei allen genannten Codices gelungen. Ein sicheres Zeichen, daß die Codexblätter einer Papyrusrolle entnommen sind, geben uns die Blattklebungen, die mehr oder weniger viel Blätter bei den älteren Codices senkrecht durchschneiden, je nach der Breite der einzelnen Blätter, woraus die Papyrusrolle zusammengeklebt war. Es war also noch die Zeit, in der die Papyrusrolle in Ägypten noch die gebräuchliche Buchform bildete und die Fabriken sich noch nicht für die neue Buchform umgestellt hatten. Man kann also auch mit ziemlicher Sicherheit nach diesen Anzeichen das Alter von einzelnen Blättern aus verlorengegangenen Codices bestimmen.

Allerdings gibt es auch Fälle, wo in einem Codex nur wenige Blattklebungen vorkommen. So zeigt der oben angeführte Berliner Kopt. Papyrus-Codex P. 8502 nur ganz wenige Blattklebungen, so daß ich schon annahm, meine Theorie wäre unsicher. Es gelang mir aber nach kurzer Zeit trotzdem, die für den Codex verwendete Papyrusrolle zu rekonstruieren, und das Rätsel löste sich dahin, daß hier ein Papyruskünstler es fertig gebracht hatte, einen langen Papyrusstreifen von über 160 cm in einem Stück anzufertigen. Diese Fälle dürften aber sehr vereinzelt vorgekommen sein. Durch die Anwendung nur einer einzigen Heftlage für den Buchblock war auch der Stärke des Codex von vornherein ein Ziel gesetzt. So zeigen uns auch die wenigen vollständig erhaltenen älteren Codices, daß die Grenze bei 50 oder nur wenig mehr Doppelblättern lag, je nachdem sich der Text inhaltlich teilen ließ. 50 Doppelblätter umfaßten 200 Seiten, und auch hier zeigen uns die

3) Sir F. G. Kenyon, The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, General Introduction.

angeführten Codices, daß diese Annahme ihre Richtigkeit hat. So weist der Codex aus der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty, der die Paulinischen Briefe enthält, nach der Rekonstruktion 52 Doppelblätter auf[4]). Der Kopt. Papyruscodex der Berliner Staatsbibliothek, der noch vollständig imEinband nach Berlin gekommen ist, umfaßt 40 Doppelblätter und einige Einzelblätter, während weitere 6 Doppelblätter, die außen lagen, zusammengeklebt den Buchdeckel ergaben, der mit Leder überzogen war. Durch die Heftung der Buchlage war so gleichzeitig eine feste Verbindung mit dem Einband gegeben.

Die Stärke des Buchblockes war aber nicht allein der Grund, weshalb man nur etwa 30 Doppelblätter für einen Codex benutzte. Ausschlaggebend war hier vielmehr die nach innen stark abnehmende Breite des Codexblattes, die das Schriftbild sehr beeinträchtigte und dem Schreiber sicher Schwierigkeiten beim Abschreiben bereitete. So kann man bei dem, hier schon mehrmals herangezogenen Codex, der die Paulinischen Briefe enthält, die Feststellung machen, daß in der Breite zwischen dem äußeren und dem inneren Doppelblatt dieses Codex eine Differenz von annähernd 10 cm besteht! Da es sich hier um eine gute Buchausgabe des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. handelt, richtete sich auch der Schreiber mit seinem Schriftspiegel hiernach, der auf den äußeren Blättern eine Breite von etwa 13 cm besaß und nach der Mitte zu dem Verhältnis entsprechend abnahm, bis er in der Mitte des Buchblockes nur noch eine Breite von 8—9 cm aufweist.

Im Gegensatz zu diesen frühen Papyruscodices zeigen also nun unsere Manihandschriften, wie schon oben als besonderer Fortschritt hervorgehoben, eindeutig die Lagenheftung. Wenn auch von den bisher abgehobenen 300 Blättern der verschiedenen Manibücher, die 150 Doppelblätter bilden, kein einziges mit seinem Partner mehr zusammenhängt, da gerade am Rücken der Codices die Zerstörung am stärksten zutage trat, so haben sich mit Hilfe der Papyrusfasern, doch einwandfrei die einzelnen Doppelblätter und Heftlagen wieder herstellen lassen.

Leider zeigt das Psalmenbuch weder Seiten- noch Bogenzählung auf, wie die Berliner Kephalaia-Handschrift[5]), so daß hier nur die Papyrusfasern helfen konnten, die einzelnen Heftlagen zu bestimmen. Ein Glück war es, daß der Schlußteil des Psalmenbuches noch einen festen Packen von etwa 80 Blättern bildete, der weder im Altertum vom Leser noch von den Händlern beim Auffinden in Unordnung gebracht worden war. Dadurch wurde die Rekonstruktion der einzelnen Doppelblätter, der Heftlagen und deren Folge aufeinander bedeutend erleichtert und konnte mit absoluter Sicherheit festgestellt werden. Wieviel Heftlagen und damit auch Textseiten das Psalmenbuch enthielt, kann aber mit voller Sicherheit erst festgestellt werden, wenn auch das letzte Blatt der sechs auseinandergerissenen Teile des ganzen Werkes gerettet vor uns liegt. Beim Ablösen der einzelnen Blätter des

4) Sir F. G. Kenyon, The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, Pauline Epistles.

5) Siehe meine Bemerkungen hierüber in der Kephalaia-Ausgabe.

Psalmenbuches, das ich aus dem Grunde vom Ende des Codex begann, weil hier der größte Teil des Buches noch fest zusammensaß und scheinbar die Zerstörung noch weniger unheilvoll gewirkt hatte, bemerkte ich auf dem oberen Rande eines Blattes, rechts nahe am Rücken, die Buchstaben κϛ. Wie schon weiter vorn berichtet, hatten besonders die Ränder des Buches stark gelitten. Sie waren wohl zum größten Teil noch erhalten, bildeten aber nur in ihrer Gesamtheit eine kompakte Masse, die von Salzkristallen so durchsetzt war, daß sich nur selten größere Teile davon retten ließen. Mit vieler Mühe gelang es mir endlich auch, das Blatt zu bestimmen, wozu dieses Fragment mit dem κϛ gehörte.

Es ist die jetzige Seite 211 des vorliegenden Psalmenbuches. Mit größter Sorgfalt beobachtete ich nunmehr die Ränder, um weitere Anhaltspunkte zu finden, bis ich dann wieder auf Seite 143 den Buchstaben κα fand [6]). Ferner bemerkte ich auf der Seite 142, aber nicht auf dem oberen Rand, sondern auf dem unteren Rand rechts nahe am Rücken des Buches, den Buchstaben κ. Alle weiteren Bemühungen waren aber bisher vergebens, obschon ich hin und wieder glaubte, Spuren von Buchstaben zu sehen, doch waren es stets Wunschgebilde. Es hat den Anschein, daß wir es hier mit Spuren einer Lagenzählung zu tun haben, denn einschließlich eines leeren Blattes, das in der Publikation nicht mitgezählt wurde, befinden sich zwischen Seite 143 und 211 — 72 Seiten, die 3 Heftlagen ergeben würden.

Was der, auf Seite 142 von mir noch gesehene Buchstabe κ zu bedeuten hat, muß noch ungeklärt bleiben; vielleicht wurde im Psalmenbuch auf diese Art der Schluß einer Lage bezeichnet. Da κα und κϛ deutlich zu erkennen sind und dazwischen κε wahrscheinlich verlorengegangen ist, hätten wir es also hier mit den Heftlagen 24—26 zu tun, was einer Seitenzahl von 624 entsprechen würde. Mit den noch folgenden 2 Heftlagen würde unser Psalmenbuch demnach 672 Seiten umfaßt haben. Eine endgültige Festlegung, wieviel Seiten unser Psalmenbuch ursprünglich enthielt, wird sich aber, wie bereits gesagt, mit voller Sicherheit erst bestimmen lassen, wenn auch die letzte Seite des Buches gerettet vor uns liegt. Außer den immer zuverlässigen Papyrusfasern wird dann auch die Zählung der Psalmen, die von Psalm 40 ab anscheinend korrekt durchgeführt ist, die sichere Festlegung des Umfanges unseres Psalmenbuches ermöglichen lassen.

Wie bei der Kephalaia, bilden auch beim Psalmenbuch 6 Doppelblätter eine Heftlage von 24 Seiten. Der Papyrus-Beschreibstoff sämtlicher Manibücher ist von vorzüglicher Qualität und muß besonders für diese Heiligen Bücher in der vorgeschriebenen Größe angefertigt worden sein. Der Papyrus ist von einer Feinheit und Gleichmäßigkeit in der Struktur, die unsere höchste Bewunderung hervorrufen muß, zumal die Herstellung in einer Zeit geschah, wo die Papyrusfabrikation vielfach sehr zu wünschen übrig ließ. Hier haben wir es mit ausgesucht gutem Mate-

6) Mr. Allberry bestätigte mir die Lesung, die ich für unsicher gehalten hatte, während er das folgende κ nicht mehr entdecken konnte.

rial zu tun, das auf gleich hoher Stufe mit dem alten ägyptischen Papyrus gestellt werden kann. Ob Recto- oder Versoseite, in der sorgfältigen Fabrikation ist auch hier kein Unterschied festzustellen, wie bei allen guten Papyri ägyptischer Herkunft, wie ich schon früher einmal festgestellt habe [7]). Die Farbe des für das Psalmenbuch verwendeten Papyrus-Beschreibstoffes muß vor der starken Nachdunkelung durch den Einfluß der Feuchtigkeit ein lichtes, gelbliches Braun gewesen sein. Noch heut kann man, trotz der starken Vermoderung, bei vielen Blättern einen feinen, seidenschimmernden Glanz feststellen, den uns viele dünngearbeitete Papyri aus Ägypten zeigen.

Bei der Herstellung des Buchblockes wurde streng darauf geachtet, daß die Faserrichtung der einzelnen Blätter miteinander harmonierte, so daß also immer die horizontalen Fasern der Blätter aufeinander lagen wie auch die vertikalen. Es ist die gleiche Übung wie beim guten Pergamentcodex, wo auch stets die Haarseite auf Haarseite und die Fleischseite auf Fleischseite zu liegen kamen. Wahrscheinlich bildeten die Pergamentcodices auch hier, wie auch bei der Lagenheftung das Vorbild. Was aber hier dem Papyruscodex zur Schönheit diente, bereitete dem Restaurator bei der Ablösung der einzelnen Blätter die allergrößten Schwierigkeiten. Denn durch die Feuchtigkeit gefördert, haben sich die Fasern der übereinander liegenden Seiten fest miteinander verbinden können, so daß es oftmals fast unmöglich war, diese voneinander zu lösen.

Die Größe des Doppelblattes betrug beim Psalmenbuch 27×33 cm, das zusammengefalzt die Größe des Codex von 27×17,5 cm ergab. Da die Blätter bei der Lagenheftung durchweg die gleiche Breite behielten und nicht wie bei den älteren Codices in der Breite erheblich voneinander abwichen, so war es auch für die Schreiber des Psalmenbuches weit leichter, dem Schriftbild ein gleichmäßiges und gefälliges Aussehen zu geben. Die Schriftkolumne schwankt ein wenig und mißt in der Höhe 16,5—17,5 cm und in der Breite 10—11 cm. Sie ist so angeordnet, daß am Rücken ein freier Raum von 2 cm, oben ein freier Rand von 4 cm, vorn ein solcher von 4,5 cm und unten ein breiter Rand von 5,5 cm verblieb. Durch diese sinnvolle Anordnung des Schriftspiegels muß der Gesamteindruck des aufgeschlagenen Codex ein außergewöhnlich schöner und vornehmer gewesen sein, wie ihn uns die besten Mittelalterlichen Handschriften nicht schöner bieten können. Die hier beigegebene Abbildung einer der wenigen gut erhaltenen Seiten gibt uns ein ungefähres Bild von der Schönheit einer solchen Buchseite.

C. Schrift und Einband.

Der Schriftduktus im Psalmenbuch weicht von dem in den Kephalaia, wie auch von dem in den übrigen Mani-Handschriften geübten ganz erheblich ab. In den Kephalaia sehen wir eine strenge, gleichmäßige Schrift, dem Charakter des Wer-

7) Ibscher, Beobachtungen bei der Papyrusaufrollung — Archiv für Papyrusforschung. Band V, 1909, Seite 191 ff.

kes angepaßt. Im Psalmenbuch tritt uns dagegen eine weit beweglichere, leicht verschnörkelte, man möchte sagen fröhlichere Schrift entgegen, die mit dem Inhalt dieses Gesangbuches der Manigemeinde mehr harmoniert. Aber hier, wie in allen Mani-Handschriften haben wir es mit einer kalligraphischen Höchstleistung zu tun, wie solche nur von ganz hervorragenden Schreibkünstlern ausgeführt werden konnte. Es hat den Anschein, als wenn auch im Psalmenbuch mehr Hände am Werke waren. Denn man kann deutlich einen gewissen Unterschied in der Schrift feststellen. Allerdings muß man hierbei stets berücksichtigen, daß sich die Schrift ein und derselben Hand mit der unausbleiblichen Abnutzung der Rohrfeder verändern mußte. Diese wird bei einem neu hergerichteten Schreibrohr einen weit schärferen Charakter besessen haben, als bei einem Schreibrohr mit, durch den Gebrauch abgenutzter, weichgewordener Spitze. Ferner muß man auch berücksichtigen, daß die ausgeruhte Hand des Schreibers beim Beginn seines Tagewerkes, die Schrift weit sicherer und klarer zu Papier bringen konnte, als am Schlusse nach einer gewissen Ermüdung nicht nur der Hand, sondern auch der Augen.

Wenn man all diese Ursachen berücksichtigt, die zweifellos viel dazu beitragen, selbst bei einem sehr geübten Schreiber den Schriftcharakter zu beeinflussen, so muß man bei unseren Mani-Handschriften auch Zweifel hegen, ob an ein und derselben Handschrift mehrere Schreiber ihre Kunst ausgeübt haben. Rein technisch ist es schon schwer vorstellbar, daß zu gleicher Zeit mehrere Schreiber an einem Buche tätig waren. Wir müssen uns klarmachen, wie ein solcher Codex entstanden ist. Führten hier die Schreiber ihre Tätigkeit vor dem Zusammenfügen der Blattlagen zu einem Codex aus, oder nachher? Ohne Zweifel wurde die Beschriftung vor dem Einbinden ausgeführt, schon aus rein technischen Gründen. Bei der Herstellung der älteren, einlagigen Codices wurde bei dem Zuschneiden der Doppelblätter aus der Papyrusrolle schon darauf Bedacht genommen, daß die in den Codex in der Mitte — also innen — kommenden Doppelblätter eine geringere Breite erhielten als diejenigen Doppelblätter, die außen zu liegen kamen. Bei dem Codex aus der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty, der die Paulinischen Briefe enthält und von mir schon mehrmals zur Bekräftigung meiner Feststellungen herangezogen worden ist, konnte ich bei einer Anzahl von Blättern genau beobachten, wie diese aus der Rolle herausgeschnitten worden sind. Es handelt sich um die Seiten 70—135, die die Mitte des besagten Codex bilden und 17 Doppelblätter benötigten. Diese 17 Doppelblätter ließen sich zu einer Rolle von etwa 5 m Länge rekonstruieren. Die größte Breite der weiter nach außen liegenden Doppelblätter betrug 29,5 cm, während das innere Doppelblatt — Seite 100—103 — nur eine Breite von 26,5 cm aufwies. Meine Nachmessungen, wobei mir die einzelnen Blattklebungen der Papyrusrolle einen sicheren Anhalt boten, ergaben, daß durchweg zwischen allen Doppelblättern ein schmaler Streifen von etwa 1,5 cm fehlte, der später beim genauen Zuschnitt der Blätter als Abfall verlorengegangen ist. Hätte der Schreiber beim Zuschneiden seiner Blätter nicht darauf Rücksicht genommen und alle gleich

breit zugeschnitten, so hätte dieser Abfall bei dem ganzen Codex einen Papyrusstreifen von 325 cm Länge erfordert! Man ersieht hieraus ganz klar, daß der Schreiber, der sicher auch der Verfertiger des Codex gewesen ist, mit Bedacht den inneren Doppelblättern gleich die ungefähre richtige Breite gegeben hat, wie es später auch die Mönche im Mittelalter taten, wenn sie aus der Pergamenthaut sich die Blätter für ihre Codices herausschnitten. Einmal war dies notwendig, um das zu allen Zeiten recht kostbare Material zu sparen, wie ferner auch hier wieder technische Gründe mitbestimmend gewesen sein mögen, weil man noch nicht in der Lage war, Codices in einer Stärke von 5 cm und darüber mit einemmal zu beschneiden.

Bei unseren Manibüchern fällt ja die Ungleichheit der Blätter in der Breite fort, weil bei den dünnen Heftlagen die äußeren mit den inneren Doppelblättern in der Breite kaum wesentlich differierten, und vom Papyrushersteller bereits in genauer Größe geliefert wurden. Aber hier wie bei einlagigen Codices war es unmöglich, daß zu gleicher Zeit mehrere Schreiber am Werke sein konnten, weil der Text in den meisten Fällen fortlaufend ist, selbst wenn der Inhalt im Psalmenbuch aus vielen einzelnen Psalmen besteht, zwischen denen stets ein Spatium gelassen wurde, worin die Zahl des betreffenden Psalmen steht. Aber selten fängt mit einer neuen Seite auch ein neuer Psalm an und kaum wird gerade dort, wo dies einmal der Fall ist, eine neue Heftlage beginnen, so daß also ohne Störung mehrere Schreiber niemals gleichzeitig an einem Buche tätig sein könnten. Wir werden also bei der Beurteilung der Schrift in einem Codex auch die hier angeführten technischen Vorgänge mit berücksichtigen müssen und den Unterschied im Charakter der Schrift eben auch auf diese Ursachen und auf die Ermüdung der Hand des Schreibers zu setzen haben.

Zum Schluß wäre nun noch über den Einband unseres Psalmenbuches einiges zu sagen. Es lagen wohl bei diesem, wie auch bei einigen anderen Bänden des Fundes rohe Holzdeckel dabei, und wie die Händler erklärten, hätten die einzelnen Bücher immer zwischen zwei solchen Holzdeckeln gelegen. Es ist auch hier wieder zu bedauern, daß der Fachmann nicht zur Stelle sein konnte, als der Schatz gehoben wurde. Jedenfalls bezweifele ich sehr, daß die rohen Holzdeckel in diesem Zustande jemals den Einband für diese kostbaren Bücher abgegeben haben. Fest steht für mich, daß die ursprünglichen Einbände mit Gewalt vom Buchblock entfernt worden sind. Ob dies schon im Altertum oder erst nach der Auffindung durch die Händler geschehen ist, sei dahingestellt. Ich persönlich nehme an, daß die Zerstörung bereits im Altertum, vielleicht durch einen späteren Besitzer erfolgte, der die kostbaren Einbände entweder für andere Werke verwendete, oder aber die zur Ausschmückung der heiligen Bücher verwendeten Edelsteine und Edelmetalle zu Geld machen wollte. Anders ist es nicht zu erklären, daß gerade am Rücken der Bücher die Zerstörung so stark in die Erscheinung getreten ist. Wären die Bücher nicht aus dem Einband gerissen worden, so hätte gerade der feste Rücken des Einbandes den Buchblock an dieser Stelle vor Scha-

den bewahrt, und die Heftung wäre uns erhalten geblieben. Ein Glück für uns, daß der Schreiber am Rücken des Buches etwa 2 cm freien Raum gelassen hat, sonst wären noch weit mehr Zeilenanfänge durch das brutale Herausreißen des Buchblockes aus dem Einband, verlorengegangen. Auf der beigefügten Abbildung kann man die gewaltmäßige Zerstörung am Buchrücken noch gut erkennen.

Sollten die Einbanddeckel wirklich aus Holz bestanden haben und die Größe der beiden mit dem Psalmenbuch gefundenen Deckel rechtfertigen diese Vermutung, dann müssen hier griechische Einbandkünstler am Werke gewesen sein, die die Verwendung von Holz zu Einbanddeckeln schon in sehr früher Zeit kannten. Sämtliche, bisher in Ägypten aufgetauchten frühen koptischen Einbände — aus dem 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert n. Chr. — zeigen durchweg Deckel, die aus Abfällen von der Papyrusstaude hergestellt sind, oder bei denen die Deckel aus alter Makulatur zusammengeklebt wurden. Es wäre erfreulich gewesen, hier einmal alte Einbände aus dem Ausgang des 4. Jahrh. n. Chr. kennenzulernen, die unsere Kenntnis auf dem Gebiete der Einbandforschung ungemein gefördert hätte, da die frühesten Einbände aus dem 6. Jahrh. n. Chr. stammen.

Nachdem aber in den letzten Jahren so reiche Funde an Codices zutage getreten sind, gibt es für den Forscher und Fachmann auf dem Gebiete der Entwickelung der Codices von den frühesten Anfängen bis zur höchsten Vollendung im Mittelalter kaum eine Lücke mehr. Daß der Manifund auch hierin unsere Kenntnis gefördert und eine empfindliche Lücke geschlossen hat, macht den Fund auch nach der technischen Seite hin außerordentlich wertvoll.

THE PSALMS.

A. Date, Scribes, Authorship.

The Coptic Manichaean papyri are assigned by Professor Schmidt to the second half of the 4th century (Mani-Fund p. 35): Dr. Polotsky thinks this too early (Manich. Homilien p. X note). Already by the end of the 3rd century there were Manichees in Egypt [1]; and I conjecture that the missioners brought with them books written in Syriac [2], which were translated during the 4th century into Greek and, as converts were made where Greek was less well understood, from Greek into Coptic. If during this second stage the translator had access to the Syriac originals, this would account for the safe passage through Greek of such forms as *enosh shem zaradrousht* etc., which might otherwise cause perplexity.

The Psalm-book, certainly the part of it that is published here, is the work almost entirely of one scribe (see pp. XV f. above for a description of his hand), though two others are to be detected. A second hand is responsible for a few corrections (where the papyrus had been damaged) on pp. 2, 6 and 21, for line 21 of p. 30, for one word on p. 36, for a marginal gloss on p. 107, possibly for line 4 of p. 115, and certainly for the whole of pp. 120—132. A third hand, large and clumsy and I should say a full century later, has written an ignorant colophon on p. 113 and the whole of pp. 228 and 234. The second scribe has an idiom which is to be found in the Homilies and the Kephalaia: he writes not ϩⲛ̄ⲧ-, as the first scribe invariably does, but ϩⲙ̄ⲡ-; and I conclude from this that the Psalm-book is the earliest written of the three. There are signs that our copy lies quite close to the original: the text is in good order, scribal errors are few, the words (especially Greek words, which in Coptic generally become badly distorted with constant copying) are correctly spelt.

It is the work of several authors. The second part includes psalms by Heracleides (see 97, 14 note), Thomas (see 203, 1 note), and the unknown Syrus (14, 19;

1) See the evidence given in Mani-Fund pp. 12 ff.; E. de Stoop, Essai sur la Diffusion du Manichéisme etc. (Gand, 1909) pp. 73 ff.; W. E. Crum in J. R. A. S. 1919 pp. 207—8 and J. E. A. 1933 vol. xix, pp. 196—9. Mr. C. H. Roberts is shortly to publish in vol. 3 of the Greek Papyri of the John Rylands Library an anti-manichaean letter from the Fayyum which he assigns to the last quarter of the 3rd century.

2) See Flügel, Mani p. 86. The fragments of manichaean Syriac found in Egypt are discussed by Burkitt, Relig. of the Manichees, Appendix III.

27, 16; 231 b 26: possibly he too was an early disciple of Mani). Of these Heracleides and Thomas are known to have been early propagators of Manichaeism, and I am inclined to think that the Psalm-book was written about 340.

B. Form and Contents.

The Psalm-book consists of 289 numbered psalms (according to the Index: see 10 below) and heteromorphic groups of unnumbered psalms. All those here published, with the exception of the Psalms of Thomas (pp. 203—227), have one characteristic in common: each ends with a doxology, in which honour is ascribed to God, Jesus, Mani, the Elect, and a number of Manichees who were perhaps martyrs. In every doxology at least one of these persons is commemorated. The Manichees [3]) are Mary, Theona, Cleopatra, Plousiane, Apa (that is, Father) Polydoxus, Eustephius, Jmnoute, Pshai, Apa Pshai, and Apa Panai. The last four of these are evidently Egyptian and the rest Graeco-egyptian; and I conclude that the doxologies are local in origin, with honour paid to Egyptian converts, martyred [4]) in the early days of the Egyptian mission.

Each psalm, except those on pp. 203—227, is divided into verses containing an equal number of lines; the number of lines to the verse varies from psalm to psalm. It seems from 47, 15—17 'He that sings a psalm is like them that weave a garland: they that answer after him are like them that put roses into his hands', that a cantor would sing a verse alone and at the end of it the congregation would repeat the opening words of the psalm or some phrase from the first verse. This response or refrain has in many cases been inserted at the end of verses by the scribe, often in a shortened form. The basis of the metre is division into verses of equal length [5]).

The psalms here published are arranged in groups as follows:

§ 1 pp.1—47, CCXIX—CCXLI: Psalms of the Bema [6]). A peculiarity of this group is the occurrence here and there of what may be called the Greek rubrics, certain words or phrases written to the right (and in one case to the left also) of the num-

3) See Index C ii.

4) At 157,13 and 173,12 a dual, μάρτυρε, seems to occur: possibly Mary and Theona were a pair of martyrs, like Shmona and Guria among the Syrians. In the unpublished part of the book I have noticed the phrase 'the martyr soul of Mary'. But was Martyre a proper name? The dual is barely tolerable.

5) The metre of the Central Asian hymns has been investigated by M. Lidzbarski (Nachrichten Göttinger Gesellschaft 1918, pp. 501 ff.) and W. Henning (ibid. 1932, pp. 214 ff.; A. B. A. W. 1936, Nr. 10 p. 21 note).

6) The *Bema* (see 1,4 note), the manichaean counterpart of Easter, was celebrated in March (cf. Augustine Cont. Faust. 494,19 Zycha). The meaning of 41,18 seems to be that CCXL, the last but one of the Bema-group, was sung on the *third* day of the festival; but 41,25 'the day of the ⲙⲁϩⲁⲗⲡⲉ (completion, consummation) *which is hidden today*' shows that there was yet another day to come, on which CCXLI was sung, and that the festival lasted for four days. I know of no other evidence bearing on its duration. An important collection of Bema-hymns has been published by W. Henning from among the Asian material: see Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch, A. B. A. W. 1936, Nr. 10.

ber that stands at the head of a new psalm. Some of these (vide 7, 11; 14, 19; 27, 16) give the author's name and need no comment; but there are three whose import is not clear. At 30, 21 there is an odd mixture of Greek and Coptic, written by the second scribe and not clearly legible; at 36, 13 the word ⲥⲩⲙⲛⲱⲇⲉⲓⲁ occurs, also in the second hand; at 41, 8 ⲯⲁⲗⲙⲟⲓⲥ ⲁⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲯ[ⲱⲙⲉⲛ or ⲟⲙⲉⲛ?] has been written by the first scribe. I conjecture that these are relics of the Greek version from which the Coptic translation was made.

§ 2 pp. 49—97, CCXLII—CCLXXVI. The title at the top of p. 49 has disappeared, save for a few illegible marks, and I have called this group Psalms to Jesus, to whom the soul appeals for protection in the hour of persecution and death. The author is not named.

§ 3 pp. 97, 14—110, 16, CCLXXVII—CCLXXXVI: Psalms of Heracleides (see 97, 14 note).

§ 4 pp. 110, 17—113; CCLXXXVII—CCLXXXIX: these are labelled ⲇⲓⲁⲫ in the Index (p. 233 b 29, see § 10 below), which I take to be ψαλμοὶ διάφοροι, miscellaneous psalms designed for various occasions. There are at least two such groups in the earlier part of the book. At the bottom of p. 113 the scribe has written a quasi-colophon 'Remember me, my beloved, I pray you, remember me', to show that the had come to an end of the numbered psalms. The verso of p. 113 is blank and there follows a blank leaf. The rest of the psalms in the book (pp. 115—227) are not mentioned in the Index (see § 10 below) and none is numbered, except those on pp. 203—227, which have an independent numeration.

§ 5 pp. 115—132: the title of this group is lost. P. 115 seems to begin with the remains of a doxology, and I think that one psalm (but not more than one) has perished. Line 4 of p. 115 contains faint traces of what may be the name of an author and these are written, so it seems to me, by the second scribe. Apart from this all the writing on pp. 115—118 is in the first hand. P. 119 is illegible: presumably it contained the end of the psalm that begins on p. 118. Pp. 120—124 contain a Psalm to Jesus, written by the second scribe, p. 125 is blank, and p. 126 has the same text, with one or two variants, as p. 120. This page was found lying upside down in the quire and the writing crossed out: I have suggested an explanation of this in a note there. On pp. 127—131 there is another psalm in the same hand and the ending of this, with the beginning of the next, is lost, for 131/132 represents three folia fast stuck together, of which one, according to Ibscher, is blank. This group therefore contained probably seven psalms.

§ 6 pp. 133—186. A new group begins on p. 133 and a title stands at the top, ⲯⲁⲗⲙⲟⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲧⲱⲛ. But I am uncertain whether this is complete as it stands as the papyrus is destroyed towards the right of the page and two or three letters may have been lost. I have added dots to indicate this uncertainty but on the whole I am inclined to think that no letters are missing. The word ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲧⲱⲛ

looks like a Greek genitive plural but I have not been able to discover who the σαρακωτοί or σαρακῶται were. There is a Coptic word ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲧⲉ 'wanderer', 'vagrant (see Crum Dict. 354 b), but this can hardly make such a form and gives no very satisfactory sense [7]). This group of psalms extends certainly as far as p. 160 and possibly to p. 186, but p. 160 is only three-quarters written and the next psalm begins at the top of p. 161. It is possible therefore that the group ends on p. 160 and another begins on p. 161, though there is no sign of a heading there to indicate a new group.

§ 7 pp. 187—202: another group of Psalms of Heracleides, very different in character from the earlier.

§ 8 pp. 203—227: Psalms of Thom, presumably Thomas (see 203, 1 note). This group is utterly different in form and content from the rest of the book. There are no doxologies and no refrains. There is no arrangement in verses. The subject-matter is strange and unfamiliar. A characteristic is the repetition of a word or phrase and sometimes two consecutive psalms will end with the same formula. The group has an independent numeration: some of the psalms have numbers and titles, some have titles only, some have numbers only, and one (p. 220) has neither number nor title and no account was taken of it in the numeration.

§ 9 pp. 228 and 234: stray psalms which are independent of the rest of the book. They are written by the third scribe where he found blank pages to fill with writing. They seem to be of the same type as § 5. It is possible that 233/234 contains two or three folia stuck together.

§ 10 pp. 229—233 contain an Index [8]), more or less illegible and lacunal, which was designed to act as a guide to the contents of the book. It takes no notice, however, of the unnumbered psalms from p. 115 to the end. It consists of five pages divided into two columns of approximately thirty lines each. The opening words of each psalm are given, together with the number it bears in the collection. The psalms are divided into groups, with the group title set at the head of each, though in many cases this is illegible. The 289 psalms which are numbered seem to be divided into 19 groups of unequal length. The numbered psalms published here, CCXIX—CCLXXXIX, are to be found entered from p. 232 b 19 to the end of p. 233. In some cases I have been able to supplement the Index by reference to the text, in others to supplement the text by reference to the Index.

It will be seen that despite its fragmentary condition the Index throws light on the contents of the unpublished part of the book, which for the greater part has not yet been prepared by Ibscher; and more evidence is to be had from the few pages that are already under glass. There are in it such groups as Psalms of Sun-

7) Yet Mani enjoined a wandering life on his disciples (Albiruni: Chronology of Ancient Nations p. 190,24 Sachau).

8) An Index in many respects similar was used by the Manichees in Central Asia: see F. W. K. Müller, Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch. A. B. A. W. 1912.

day, Psalms of Vigil, Paschal Psalms, further groups of miscellaneous psalms, and a large group in which the soul is addressed. It appears that the manuscript contained two collections, the first consisting of the 289 psalms enumerated in the Index, the second independent of these yet in many respects similar, with at least one group in each written by the same author. If we allow an average of one and a half sides for each psalm, the total length of the book would be approximately 280 folia.

C. Indices of Words etc.

I have appended lists of the Greek and Coptic words, proper names, Manichaean termini technici, and biblical quotations. I have followed the usual practice in translating Coptic texts and put a Greek word in brackets after its translation, except in the case of certain words that occur very frequently (ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲡⲛ[ⲉⲩⲙ]ⲁ ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ), in some cases where English uses the same word as the Greek (ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲣⲓⲛⲩⲥ ⲑⲏⲥⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲣⲁⲅⲙⲁⲧⲉⲓⲁ ⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ). The following I have left untranslated either because I was uncertain what they meant or because I could not hit on a sufficiently compendious rendering: ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲕⲏ, perhaps 'angel band', cf. ⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧⲓⲕⲏ; ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ 'chief Zaḍdik'; ⲉⲃⲇⲟⲙⲁⲥ 'the 7 devils'; ⲏⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ, see 207, 3 note; ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ 'altar'; ⲕⲁⲙⲡⲧⲏⲣ, evidently the same as the Latin *cursor,* but I can find no authority for this; ⲕⲁⲧⲱⲙⲓⲍⲉⲓⲛ, see 222, 17 note; ⲗⲁⲓⲕⲟⲛ, apparently a place where the offerings of the laity were received; ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲅⲅⲓⲥⲙⲟⲥ 'transmigration'; ⲛⲁⲣⲑⲏⲝ 'casket for unguents (?)'; ⲛⲟⲉⲣⲁ, see 161, 25 note; ⲟⲣⲅⲁⲛⲟⲛ (?) 99, 9; ⲡⲁⲛⲛⲩⲭⲓⲥⲙⲟⲥ 'vigil'; ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ i. e. moulded figure; ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲁ, perhaps the five spiritual qualities corresponding to the five intellectual (ⲯⲩⲭⲓⲕⲁ) members, 23, 14—18 note; ⲧⲉⲗⲱⲛⲏⲥ at 97, 10; ⲫⲉⲅⲅⲟⲕⲁⲧⲟⲭⲟⲥ i. e. the Splenditenens (138, 28); ⲭⲟⲣⲟⲥ 'choirs' (?).

In the Index of Coptic words an asterisk is prefixed to words which have not appeared before in any dialect. This index is selective, and where the references are followed by an 'etc.' they are not complete: where there is no 'etc.' at the end of an article all references are given. In Index E I have attempted to record the more obvious biblical quotations and sub-quotations.

ERRATA.

7 23 n: but see Ein Mani-Fund, p. 33 n 1
11 32: divide 'Pshai, Jmnoute'
13 27: read ϩⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ
14 18 47 23: divide ⲡⲱⲁⲓ̈ ⲭⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
15 1: read 'that'
17 24 18 6: properly 'on the day after Sunday'
18 11: read ⲭⲉ ⲁ]ⲟⲩⲉⲛ
18 27: after 'me' insert 'also'
21 last line of notes: read 20, 21
23 4: read (θλῖψις)
30 19: for 'thee' read 'thy'
33 6: read (φεγγοκάτοχος)
42 4: read ⲁⲗⲟ]ⲩⲉⲛ
42 30 end: read 'for our'
44 12: read 'released thee'
44 27: read Ⲛ]ⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲟⲩ
53 18/19: read ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ[ⲙⲟⲩ]ⲧⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲏ, translating 'and [call] also unto' instead of 'and take his stand against'
57 7 123 21: read Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ]
63 17 n: delete 'which . . . . . book'
64 24: read ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲛⲣⲁⲡⲁⲧⲏ
73 7/8 n: for ⲁⲛⲉⲩ read ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ
75 11: read (μακάριος)
76 17: read ⲱⲁⲙⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
76 27: but see 233 b 1
80 25: read 'and the'
81 26: read (ὡς)
85 18: read 'o' for 'of' 2 0
87 27 n: for 17 b read 53
88 15: but see 139 43 n.
89 9: read ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁϩ[ⲙⲉⲧ
90 text: renumber the lines as in the translation
90 l. 2 of note: read ϩⲁⲗ
91 22: read ⲭⲛ̄⟨ⲛ̄⟩ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲗ|ⲗⲟⲩ
93 21: read ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲱⲱⲉ
94 8: read (ἀμνηστία)
96 23: read ⲛ̄+ⲕⲁ|ⲙⲁϩⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, and translate 'of this second gift also'; delete l. 3 of notes
113 5: for 'gates for' read 'mouths at'
115 32: read (παρθενία)
117 7: read ⲭⲛ̄]ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ
121 23: read ⲛⲉ̣[ⲃⲁⲧ]
122 25: read ⲛ[ⲉ]ⲃⲁⲧ ⲉ . .
141 12 n: read 'unknown'
146 29: for ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲉ read ⲛⲁⲉ
155 1: read ⲁ̣ⲉ̣ⲟⲩⲉ̣ⲛ
157 5: read ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙ̈ⲣⲓ
161 1: read ⲙ̈ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ, 'the spirits'
163 7 178 14: for 'was brandished behind' read 'turned back'
163 7 n. on ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩϩ: but see Index B sub voce
175 23: read ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲓⲱⲧⲉ]ⲙ
182 10: read ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁϩ[ⲟⲩⲉ]ⲗ
188 13: read Ⲛⲓⲭ[ⲱ]ⲗ[ⲉ] and in note read ⲭⲱⲗⲉ
193 30 n: for 195 11. 12 read 185 11
210 16: read ⲡϩⲏⲧ [ⲙ̄]ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ϩⲁⲃⲕ and translate 'hast rested the heart of the Little One'
212 17: read 'wrested'

INDEX SIGLORUM

. . .	vestigia incerta litterarum
ḁḂṛ	litterae quae non prorsus clarae sunt
. . .]	lacuna ad initium lineae
[. . .	lacuna ad finem lineae
[. . .]	lacuna ad medium lineae
[aBr]	litterae a me suppletae
[[aBr]]	litterae a recentiore manu exaratae

Oyeay ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁ̣ⲛ|ϫ[ⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ
ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ[☩ⲩϫⲏ ⲙⲡⲱⲁ|
ϫⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϑⲉⲟⲛⲁ ⲙⲁⲣ|ⲁ

> c|ϑ <

Tⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲍ̈ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡ̣ⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲕⲱ ⲙ̣
ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ

Tⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲍ̈ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲍⲟⲩ|ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̣ⲛ̣ⲟⲩ NT 2–
ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓⲛⲉ ⲃⲁⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲛ̄ⲙ̣ⲟⲩ[ⲧⲉ
ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ

Tⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲡⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁ|ⲓⲥ ⲛ̣
. . . ⲟⲥ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲑⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ̣ⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡ̣ⲱⲣⲣ̄ⲱ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ̣ⲕ ⲛ̄7
ⲛⲁⲉ ⲁ]ⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲭⲱⲛ

Tⲙⲛ]ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲱ|ⲗⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̣ . . . [.
. .] . ⲧⲟ̣ⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲧⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲱⲭⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟ̣ⲩ [ⲡⲕ]ⲗ̣[ⲁⲙ
ⲛ]ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱ̣ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ

Tⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ/ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ [ⲛ N 7
ⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟ̄ ⲡ̣ⲁⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲧ̣ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣
ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ . . . . .

Nⲧⲟⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁ̈ⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲍⲱⲃⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍ̣ . ⲁ̣ [. . ⲛⲧⲉ
ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲁ̈ⲁ̈ⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ . [. . . .] . ⲛ̣
ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ

Tⲙⲉⲩ ⲧⲣⲉⲩ☩ⲟⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲣⲉⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ̈
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ • ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲗ̄ⲃⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ . . ⲁ̣ . . . . [.
ⲉ| ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲥⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲭⲉ

Tⲧⲭⲁ̈ⲙⲗⲁⲍ ⲡⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲱ|ⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ☩ⲃⲑ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃ̣ⲉ
ⲥⲉⲩⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲡⲛ̄ⲏ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲉ ⲡ̣ⲉ
ⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲕ̈ⲗ̈ⲁⲙ

Tⲙⲉⲣ]ⲓⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲓ ⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ . . . . . .
. . .] . . . . . ⲁⲡⲥⲱⲧⲉ . . . ⲧⲁⲛ . . . . . ⲙⲟⲩⲛ̣ . .
. . . .] vacat ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ . . . ⲃ̣ⲣⲟ ⲛ̣ . . ⲩ̣
. . . .]ⲧ̣ⲁⲩⲱⲣⲝ̈ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ

Tⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲱⲧ ⲡⲍⲟⲩ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲙ̣[. . .

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30 spatium circa 10 litterarum scriptura vacat. — 32 fort. ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲙ̣[ⲟⲩⲛⲕ̣ (2, 1) ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] supplendum.

Glory and honour to our Lord Mani and
all his holy Elect. Victory to the [soul of Pshai
Jmnoute, Theona, Mary.

CCXIX.

We pray thee, our God, the merciful, forgive us
our sins.
God, we pray thee, the Father, the first of the Gods,
the hidden one, whose Light is revealed, we call
unto thee, hear us.
The Land of Light, the house of the Father, the throne (θρόνος) of the Lord of
all . . . ., the fount of all glories, spread thy
mercy] upon us.
The twelve great powers, the immeasurable Aeons . . . . . .
in whom there is no waning or diminution, the garland
of renown of the Father of the Lights.
The whole dawning of the Light, wherein the Gods
rejoice, the air (ἀήρ) of our blessed city (πόλις) that
is wholly manifest . . . .
The blossoms of beauty unfading, the progeny . . . . . of
the Most High, that are held in honour, the children of the . . .
the householders of the Land of Light.
The Mother that gave birth to them all, the Parent of all
lives, the first armour of God . . . . . .
came and destroyed the hostile power.
The Warrior, the strong one of manifold activities, who subdued the
rebels by his power, our Father, the First Man of glory,
whose victory and garland are blessed.
The Beloved of the Lights that wears the crown . . . . .
. . . . . for the salvation . . . . . .
. . . the whole earth . . . victory . . . .
. . . . . they were firmly established.
The Good (ἀγαθός) one, the Great Builder, the first of the . . . .

1—3 With this doxology Psalm 218 concludes: v. Introduction II (b). — 4 According to the Index (p 232, b 16) Psalms 218—241 are ψαλμοὶ βηματικοί, sung in honour of and at the feast of the Bema, at which Mani's death and passion were commemorated and the coming judgment of the world foreshadowed: see Aug. cont. Ep. Fund. 202, 11 ff. ed. Zycha. — 7—15 cf. Aug. op. cit. 209, 11 ff; contra Faustum, 425 ll. 4—25, Zycha. — 11 ⲥⲁⲗⲙⲉ 23 ⲥⲁⲗⲃ̄ⲱⲉ vide Polotsky Man. Hom. p. XIX. — 22—27 cf. Cumont 'La Cosmogonie manichéenne' p. 14. — 28 cf. Cumont op. cit. p. 28; Flügel Mani pp. 88, 207; Migne P.G. I, 1468. — 32 cf. Cumont op cit. p. 37. On the Manichean Pantheon generally see Polotsky's Abriß des manichäischen Systems p. 249 ff.

. . . . . .]ⲧⲱⲱ ⲁⲡⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲁⲙⲁⲛⲕⲏ ⲛ̣
. . .] . . . . . .
. . . .] . ⲁ̣ . . . ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲣⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲡⲣⲉⲩϴⲃⲓⲟ ⲛⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ
ⲧⲏⲣ]ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲩⲙⲁⲓⲧ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̣
ϴϴ]ⲩ|ⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ
. . .] . ⲁ̣ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲥ|ⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧ̣ⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧ
ⲥⲁ]ⲣⲙⲉ̣ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲏⲕ̀ ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲙⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍ̣ⲟ . .
. .] . . . . ⲡⲉ+ⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄
ⲦⲦⲣⲣⲟ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ . . . .
. . ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲥⲁⲱⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩ+ⲍⲉⲡ ⲁⲛ|ⲍ ⲛ̄ⲭⲡ|ⲟ ⲙⲡ
ⲛⲟⲩ]ⲛ ⲧ̣ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲛ̄+ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲦⲦⲁⲁ]ⲁⲙ[ⲁⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧ̣ϴⲃⲓ̈ⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲱⲙ ⲁ̣[ⲭⲛ
. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲉⲥⲥⲧⲱⲧ . . ⲛ̣ . . . ⲕ̣ . . . . [. . .
. . . . . ⲛ̣ ⲉⲥⲛⲏⲭ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕ̣[ⲟⲥⲙ][[ⲟⲥ]]
ⲦⲦⲣⲣⲟ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ . . . ⲧⲉ ⲥⲙⲡⲛ̣[ⲟⲩⲛ
ⲙⲡ]ⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ • ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲏⲩ • ⲡⲁⲡⲙⲁ[[ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲧ[ⲥⲉ]]
ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ]ⲁⲛⲍ̀ • ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲁⲣ[[ⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ]]
ⲦⲦⲱⲙⲙⲟⲫⲟ]ⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲱ[[ⲙ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲍⲉ]]
. . . . . ⲛ̣ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲃⲥⲉ ⲉⲩⲭⲁⲩⲗⲉ ⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲍ [[ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲓⲭ]]
ⲉ]ⲩⲃⲓ ⲁ[ⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲥ]ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲱⲛⲧ̄
.] . ⲟ̣ . ⲉ̣ⲧⲉ ⲙ̣ⲁⲩⲭⲓ+ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍ|ⲛⲏⲃ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲡ[[ⲣⲉⲩⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ]]
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁ̣ⲧⲩ ⲡⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲡⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟ|ⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ
ⲡⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲉ
|ⲏⲥ ⲡⲥⲉ|ⲛⲉ [ⲛ]ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲟⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ[[ⲁⲩ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲙ]]
ϯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ[[ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ]]
ⲡⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲍ[ⲟ ⲛ]ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ̀
Ⲧⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲣ|ⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲧⲡⲁⲣϴⲉⲛⲟ[ⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩ
ⲁ[ⲓⲛ]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲙ̣[ⲁⲙ]ⲁⲁⲧ ⲧⲉⲧ+ⲱ|ⲡⲉ vacat ⲍ̣ⲛ̄[ⲡⲉⲥ
ⲥⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁ̣ⲧⲧ̣[ⲉⲟⲩ]ⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ vacat ⲛ̄[. . .
ⲦⲦ . . . ⲛ̣[.]ⲁⲩ ⲡⲃⲁⲗⲁⲱ|ⲣⲉ ⲡⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄[|ⲱⲧ
ⲡⲙ̣[ⲁⲍ]ⲱⲁⲙ[ⲧ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲉⲍⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ

1]ο ϣⲁⲡⲁ|ⲱⲛ P(olotskius): vide praefationem. — 7 fin. fort. ⲙ̄ⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ 12, 18 ⲍⲱⲙ ipse non perspexi, ex P. supplevi. — 13]ⲭⲙⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲉⲥⲥ. ⲍⲙ̣[P. — 14—25 litteras quot inter [[. . .]] inclusi in panniculis integrae papyri recentior exaravit manus. — 15 ⲉⲧⲟⲩ. ⲡⲉⲧⲥ|ⲧⲉ P. — 21 init. ⲡⲟⲟⲍ coniicio: fin. ⲣⲉⲩⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟ[ⲩⲥ P. — 24 ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ ex ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲧⲗⲟⲟ a rec. man. correctum. — 31 ⲍⲛ̄ⲙ̄ P.

. . . . . to the new Aeon, to form it
. . . . . .
. . . . . and all his kin, the subduer of all the
sons of the abyss, the Saviour of our guide from the
beginning, the Living Spirit, our first Right Hand.
The Splenditenens] in the height of the heavens, who is between them
that wander (?) and them that are fixed. The tenth who . . . . .
. . . . . who suspends the universe, guarding the universe.
The King of Honour, the strong God, who is in
the seventh heaven, judging the demons, the creatures of the
abyss(?). We sing to him, we glorify him.
The Adamas of Light unsubdued, who treads upon
the earth's trembling foundation (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . that is laid (?) in the midst of the worlds (κόσμος).
The King of Glory, the holy counsel, who turns (?) in the abyss (?)
the three wheels (τροχός), that of the winds, that of the water, and that of
the living fire, the armour of our Father, the First Man.
The Omophoros, the great burden-carrier, who treads upon the . . . . .
with the soles of his feet, supporting the earths with his hands,
carrying the burden of the creations.
The moon that tastes not sleep, the sun that raises up
what has been refined, the seal and likeness of the image (εἰκών) of the
Father,
the sign of joy, the exalted victory.
Jesus, the Physician of the wounded, the Redeemer of the
living souls, the path which the wanderers seek,
the door of the treasure of lives.
The beloved Daughter of her Father, the blessed
maiden of Light (?), who puts to shame by [her
ineffable beauty the powers that are full . . . . . .
. . . . . the hero, the gift of our Father (?)
the Third Envoy (πρεσβευτής), who has been established since the

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3 'all his kin' i. e. his five sons, enumerated below, vid. Jackson 'Researches in Manichaeism' Study XI, where the main authorities are quoted. — 5 cf. Acta Archelai ed. Beeson § VII. — 13 supplying some such word as κρηπίς cf. infr. 200, 27. — 15, 16 cf. Aug. Contra Faust. 548, 4. 5 'alius rotas ignium ventorum et aquarum in imo versat'. — 19 for ϫⲁⲩⲗⲉ see Schmidt-Polotsky-Ibscher 'Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten' p. 76, n. 3. — 22 cf. Alexand. Lycopol. 7, 6 ff. (ed. Brinkmann). — 27 cf. Act. Arch. § XIII. — 30 ϭⲁⲗⲁⲥϣⲓⲣⲉ vid. Hom. p. XIX. — 31 vide W. E. Crum: A Coptic Dictionary p. 380 b: or 'sent out from the'.

1—11 non legi possunt

12 Ογ]εαγ μ̄ν̄ογбρο ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲛ[ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲛ
ⲭⲁ|ⲥ] ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ μ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ [ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲉⲧⲭⲏ]ⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

15 > ck <

ⲦⲦⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲩ† . . . [. . . .
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲦⲦⲁⲧⲥⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡ̣ⲯⲁ ⲛⲧ . . . . [. . . . . .
. †ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ • ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲫ[ⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲛ
20 ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲉ • ⲡⲥⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ̣ . . [. . .
ⲡ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ
Ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣ|ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲑⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲕⲃⲁⲗⲡ̣ⲟⲩ ⲁ[ⲛⲉⲕ
ⲡ|ⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲯⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ . . [. . . .
. . ⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲕⲣⲙ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲯⲗⲏ [ⲛ]ⲍ̣[ⲣ]ⲏ[ⲓ
25 ⲛ̄ⲍ[ⲏⲧ]ⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲁⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥ̣ⲡ̣ . . .
ⲦⲦⲁⲑⲟⲩ]ⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉ̣ⲕⲁ̣ⲧⲥⲃ̄ⲕ̣ⲁⲩ
ⲛⲕ . .]ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧ . [. .] . . [ⲉⲧ]ⲧⲁⲓⲁⲓ̈ⲧ
. . .] . ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲏⲇⲟⲛⲏ [ⲛ]ⲕ†[. . . . . .] . . . . . .
. . .] . ⲥ ⲁⲧⲃⲣⲁⲩ ⲱⲁⲑⲁⲏ
30 . . . . .]ⲕⲡⲱⲍ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ . . . . . ω . . ⲛ
. ⲉⲛ]ⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲉⲥ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛⲡ
. . .]ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ • ⲁⲕⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣[. . . . .]ⲥ̣ . [.

14 ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ sic. — 23 fin. fort. ⲛ̄ⲱⲁ̣[ⲣⲡ. — 30 an ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ]ⲕⲡⲱⲍ?

1—11 are illegible.

12 Glory and Victory to the Spirit of Truth, our [God, our
Lord] Mani, and all his [holy perfect
Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXX.

15 Glory to thee, Word of God, the . . . . . .
forth.
The Original One, who is excellent and worthy to . . . . .
we (?) glorify him; the Son and the Holy Spirit also, we
20 worship them in Truth; the first of the . . . . .
the Paraclete, Mani.
The mysteries that were before the foundation, thou didst reveal them to [thy
faithful (πιστός), that there was Light . . . . . .
. . . . . the obscure abyss wherein there was creeping
25 the Darkness with its five . . . . .
The Original One of Sin, the enemy of God, do thou make him less (?)
and . . . . . him forth, whom the Spirit of . . . . . that is honoured
. . . . . fire and lust (ἡδονή), and do thou (?) give . . . . .
. . . . . unto the end.
30 When (?) thou camest unto the race of . . . . . .
the commandments (ἐντολή) which the Old Man proclaimed (?) with the
. . . . . of the earth, thou didst take away the . . . . . .

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24 for ⲫⲗⲏ (cf. inf. 9, 20; 10, 18: Hom. 76, 7) vid. Crum op. cit. p. 558 b. — 25 cf. 9, 17 n. — 31 cf. Rom. 6, 6; Ephes. 4, 22.

1 deest

. . . . . .] . . . . . ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲉⲧⲁⲃⲃⲉ ⲁⲕϣⲁⲥϥ
. . . . . .]ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲡ̅ . . [.
. . . . . .] . .
. . . . . .] . . ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲡ̅ . . . . . ⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̅
. . . .] . ⲁⲩⲣⲁϩⲧ . . ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ . . . . . .
. . . . . .]ⲛⲉ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲙ . . . . . ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄
. . . . ⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄
. . . . . ϫⲥ ⲡⲣⲉϥϫⲓⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ϩⲙⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲙ̅ⲃ . . [. . .
. . . . . ⲉⲧⲁ̄ϥ . . . ⲉϥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ
. . . [. . . . .] . . . . ϩ̣ . ⲉⲓ . ⲁⲡϩⲓⲕ • ⲡⲁⲧϩⲛ̣ⲧ ⲁⲩ
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲣⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲗⲁϩ ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣⲕϥ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁϩ
.] . . ⲛ . [. . .]ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲣ̄ϣⲁⲣⲡ̄ ϩ̣ⲩ†ⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲭⲉ
. . . . .] . ⲃ̣ⲉ • ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ϣⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟ̣[. . . .
. . [. .] . . • ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲭⲡⲏ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁ[ⲛ]ϣ[ⲁⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲡ[. . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲓⲱⲛ
. . . . . .] ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲁⲧ ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ
ϩ̣[ⲛⲧⲁ]ⲗ̣ⲏⲗ • ⲧⲉⲧⲉ ϣⲁⲩⲃⲱϣ̄ⲧ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲉ ϩⲛ̄ϣⲟ
. . . .] . . ⲟ . . . • ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲁⲗ̣ⲏⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲕ̀ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲁⲃⲉ . . . . .] . . ⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧϫⲱϩⲙⲉ
ⲁ̀ⲩⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ ⲛ[ϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲑⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲗⲁ
ⲛⲏ] ⲡⲉⲕϣⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲡⲁⲣⲕϥ̄ ϩⲓ
ϫⲛ ⲡ]ⲉⲩⲕⲁϩ ⲁⲩϫⲱⲙ ⲁⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡϥ̄ⲟⲩⲁϩϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ
. . . . .]ϫⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡϣ|ⲡⲉ
ⲁ . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲡⲕ]ⲱⲧ
. . . .] ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲧ ⲁϫⲱϥ • ⲁⲕⲧⲱϣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲁⲑⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧϫⲏ[ⲕ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲕⲡⲁⲣϫⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲧϩⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ • ⲁⲕⲧⲱϣ ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩ
ϩⲱⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲁϩⲃⲉϥ ⲛ̄|ⲏⲥ
N̄ⲁ|ⲱⲣⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲟⲣ[ⲙⲁ ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲁ[ⲩⲉ]ⲉⲩ • ⲡⲉⲕⲫⲛⲁϥ . . . . ϩ̣ⲓ ⲁⲕϣⲁⲗϥ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲃ[ⲏⲧⲟⲩ
. . . . . .] ⲁⲕ†ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ [. . .
ⲁⲡⲱⲛϩ̄
. . . . . ⲥ̄ϣⲉ ϩ̣ⲧⲣⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱϣⲧ̄ ⲛⲉϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ⲡⲡ[. . .

15 fin. an ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁϩⲉ? — 17 fort. ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ uel ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ supplendum cf. 2 Cor. 4,4; 1 Cor. 2,8. — 21 fort. ⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲥ]ϩ̣ⲓ̈ⲉ. — 23 ⲡⲁⲣⲕϥ̄ sic. — 29 ⲛⲁϩⲃⲉϥ ϥ sup. lin. — 33 ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ̄ ⲧ sup. lin.

destroyed

. . . . . in the Light of
. . . . . .the cold . . . . . thou didst scorn it
. . . . . who leads the peoples (λαός) astray in the water . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . even the . . . . . good . . . .
. . . . . he struck (?) . . . . within . . . . . .
. . . . . within . . . . . the mother of
. . . . . entire.
. . . . . the guide before the . . . . . .
. . . . . he being ignorant of that which is happening
. . . . . magic; the foolish man
desired to make war and was uprooted from his land.
This is the name (?) that the Saviour (σωτήρ) first gave thee,
the Holy One (?), whom the . . . . . world (κόσμος) cannot
. . . . . and endure, because thou didst put to shame the evil genius
of the . . . . of this Aeon.
. . . . . which God gave as a present, when we saw it
we rejoiced (?), which one in a thousand beholds
. . . . . thou didst rejoice in thy holy spirit
in its unsullied beauty (?).
They arose], they that belong to Matter (ὕλη), the children of Error (πλάνη),
desiring to uproot thy unshakeable tree and plant it in
their land; they strove (?) at the matter, they did not succeed,
those] creatures of shame.
Thou (?) didst . . . . over the little sheepfold, over which thy
Father . . . . . Thou didst appoint the degree (βαθμός) of the
Perfect and didst separate them from those that are in the world (κόσμος);
thou didst appoint a
task for each of them in the yoke of Jesus.
The evil persecutions (διωγμός) of the enemy of God, the Sects (δόγμα) it is
that conducted them. Thou didst shed thy . . . . . blood for their sake,
. . . . . thou didst succour them . .
unto life.
. . . . . it behoves us to worship him, all of us, the. . . . .

16 ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲛⲱⲗ cf. Crum Dict. 544 a and b s. v. ⲱⲗ . ⲱⲗ occurs in the following passages 15, 28 ⲡⲓⲃⲁⲛⲱⲗⲉ; 81, 16 ⲧⲁⲍⲁⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲣⲱⲗⲉ; 43, 19 ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲛⲱⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲁⲁⲓⲟⲥ; 185, 21 ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲗⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ : and it seems to be the equivalent of the Gk. δαίμων = 'fortune', used in composition with εὐ- and κακ-. Thus ⲃⲁⲛⲱⲗⲉ = κακοδαίμων, ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲛⲱⲗⲉ = κακοδαιμονία. ⲛⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲗⲉ = εὐδαίμων, ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲗⲉ = εὐδαιμονία. ⲣⲛⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲗⲉ εὐδαιμονεῖν. — 18 init. a feminine noun must be supplied, perhaps ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ. — 23 lit. 'uproot it upon their land': for ⲡⲱⲣϫ used thus vid. Crum Dict. 268 b. — 24 the meaning of ϫⲱⲙ is not clear; possibly it is connected with the boh ϫⲟⲙϫⲉⲙ, Spiegelberg, Koptisches Handwörterbuch p. 271.

ll. 1—18 nil potest legi

19 ϣⲉⲛⲁ

20 [cka]

21 ⲣⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲡ]ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄

22—30 nil potest legi

31 . . . . . .]ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ • ⲛⲓⲙ . . . . . .

1—4 nil nisi l. 4 ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲥ legi potest

5 ⲧ . . ⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲁ . [. . .]ⲛⲧ . ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ[ⲉ .] . . . . . [. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲙⲏⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏⲁⲟⲛⲏ ⲥⲁ[. . ⲛ[. . .]ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ . . . ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ [. . . . .

. . . . ⲁ

Ⲭ . [. .]ⲛⲟⲛⲥⲏⲩ . . ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ . . . ⲙⲙⲉ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄[. .

10 ⲯ[. .] . ⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲱ[.] . . . . . [. . .]ⲛⲥ . . ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲕ . . [. . . . .] . . . . . [.][[. . ⲃⲉⲉⲧ .]]ⲁⲓⲙⲁ . [. . . . .]ⲙⲛ̄ . . . . ⲙⲛ̄ⲡ . . . . . [[ⲛ̄ . ⲓ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲙⲉⲗ . [. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ . . ⲁ . ⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲙⲉ . ⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . ⲉⲧⲉ . . . [. . . . [. . . .] .

15 . . . . . .] . . . . . ⲛⲧⲕⲱⲱ[.][[ⲉ . . . .]][. . . . . .] . . . ⲱⲁ . [. .][[ⲥⲏ ⲁⲛ . . .]][. . . . . .] [[ⲥⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ ⲯ]] [.] . . [. . . . . .] . . . . . [[ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ]] . . . . . .] . . . . . [[ⲁⲛⲱⲃⲓⲁⲩ]] [. .]ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ

20 . . . .

ⲦⲦⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲏ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . ⲃ . ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏⲣ[. .]ⲧⲁⲁⲩⲉⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲣⲉⲛ ⲉ[. .] . ⲧⲕ̄ ⲕⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲧ . . . . . ⲟⲥ ⲭ[ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ . . . . . [. . . ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ . . . ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲕⲙⲛ̄[ⲧⲣⲣⲟ . . . .

25 . . [. .]ⲉ . ⲧ . . . ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ . . . ⲛ . . ⲕ . . . ⲛ̣ . . .

ⲁⲛⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲛ[. . . . . ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ . ⲛⲡ . . . . [. . . . . ⲧⲥⲁⲩⲥⲍ̣ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲛⲏ[. . . . . ⲁ ⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲁⲙⲡ . . ⲛ ⲁⲭⲱⲥ ⲁ . [. . . . . .

30 ϯⲛⲁ . . . ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ . ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲧⲧⲉ[ⲕⲟ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡ . [. .] . [. .] . .

Ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ[. . . . . ⲭⲍ̣ ⲛ̄ . . ⲥⲓⲭⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲡⲱⲣⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ . [. . . . . .

Nothing of this page is now legible save the few words that I have indicated. 'Theona', coming alone in l. 19, makes it certain that in that line Psalm 220 ends; and though the number of the new Psalm, 221, is not legible in the next line, it may be supplied with certainty together with the first few letters of the Psalm, from the Index (p. 232; column b, l. 21).

CCXXI.

21 Bestow on us, o Word of God, the forgiveness of sins and (?)

22—30 *illegible.*

31 . . . . . blessed (μακάριος). Who . . . . . .

1—4 *illegible save* 'they sent him' *in* l. 4.

5 . . . . . in truth . . . . . .
. . . . . filled in sin . . . . . lust (ἡδονή) . . .
. . . . . of the holy ones . . . . . .
. . . .
. . . . . profit (?) . . . thy doctrines . . know (?) now in . .
10 . . . . . in thy . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . and (?) . . . and the . . . . . and the limbs (μέλος?) also
. . . . . foul too (?) which the . . . . .
. . . . .
15 . . . . . .
. . . . . together . . . . . .
. . . . . with us . . . . .
. . . . . we . . . . . sin
20 . . . . .
The whole world (κόσμος) . . . . . .
. . . . . thou knowest the . . . . . that
thou . . . . . of the knowledge of the Truth . . . . .
mighty (?) . . . . . the walls (?) of thy kingdom . . . .
25 . . . . . with us . . . . . .
We have been glorified, our holy Father, we have . . . . . .
upon my ignorance . . . . . .
. . . . . the bitter assembly . . . . . .
up to the Sphere (σφαῖρα) . . . . upon it . . . . . .
30 I shall . . only the indestructible (?) Spirit . . . .
of the . . . . .
A little guile and a great guile is . . . . . .
. . . . upon them (?) that they waged on us . . . . . .

24 The usual plural form of ⲥⲁⲃⲏ is ⲥⲃⲏⲧⲉⲩⲉ cf. 199, 3; or ⲥⲃⲏⲧⲉⲉⲩ 50, 22. — 33 ⲡⲱⲣⲉ̀ properly means 'to extend', 'to strain' vide Crum op. cit. 269 b; and 'to wage' a war cf. Hom. 8, 13; Keph. 4, 1; infr. 204, 13. 17 ⲡⲱⲣⲉ̀ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲁⲥ 'aciem extendere',

ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲙ|ⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲉⲩⲱⲃ̄ⲓⲁⲓ̈ⲧ · ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲛⲕⲁⲥⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧ
ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲛⲁⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲱⲁⲕⲛⲁⲩⲥⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲏⲕ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲁⲙ ⲙ̇[ⲁ
ⲣ]ⲛⲡⲱⲥⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲥⲁⲡⲥⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲉⲛⲧⲱⲃⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̄
ⲙ̇ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲁⲛⲥⲧⲏⲩ ⲡⲛⲁⲏⲧ

5 ⲦⲰⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲱ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲩ†ⲱⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲡⲙⲁ
ⲛ|ⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲙ̇ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲡⲕⲓ̈ⲱⲧ
ⲣ̄ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ · ⲙ̄ⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲁ|ⲥⲁⲏ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ
ⲛ|ⲙ ⲃⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ · ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ
ⲉ ⲥⲁⲑⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̇ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲏ Ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧ
10 ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ|ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣ|ⲁ

> ckB < ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩ

Ⲧ]†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲃⲉ
ⲦⲰ|ⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲥ|ⲧⲉⲉⲥⲏ
15 ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲭⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲉ ⲥ|ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉ·
ⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲉⲡ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲣ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲃⲱ̄ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲥ̄ⲟⲟⲩ
ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲥⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲗⲓⲃⲉ ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ
Ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ̀ ⲥⲱ
ⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲥⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉ·
20 ⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲁⲏ · ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲃ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲉ ⲥ̣ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲃⲏ
ⲙⲁ ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫ|ⲁ ⲕ|ⲙ ⲁⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲥ̀
ⲦⲀⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲣ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡ
ⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭ̄ⲣⲥ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲭ̣| ⲥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ · ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲉⲛ-
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲭ| ⲡⲉ| . . ⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲛ̄ · ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ
25 ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ
Ⲛ̄ . . ⲛⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭ̄ⲣ̄ⲭ|ⲣ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲕⲁⲕ|ⲁ ⲣ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲭⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲛ
. . . . . .] ⲡ̣ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲥⲏⲁⲟⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩ · ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
. . . . . .]ⲩ ⲛ̣ⲧⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡ[ⲫⲑ]ⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲕⲙⲉ · ⲛ̄
. . . . .]ⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ⲉ ⲧ]ⲕ̣ⲁⲕ|ⲁ ⲃⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ
30 ⲗⲁⲣⲉ]ⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭ| ⲡⲕⲣ̣[ⲓⲧⲏⲥ] ⲉⲣⲉⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲛ|ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩ
ⲉ ⲛⲩⲧ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲩ† ⲡⲱⲛⲥ̀ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲏⲣⲕ̄ ⲭⲁ
ⲣⲥⲙⲁ]ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ · ⲁⲙⲏ ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲱⲣⲧ̄
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ[ⲃⲉ

2 ⲥ]ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲛⲁⲉ sic P. — 11 ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩ vid. Introd. II, (b). — 16 ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡ|[ⲥ]ⲟⲟⲩ P. — 24 ⲭ| ⲡⲉ| ⲁⲣⲁⲩ vid. — 26 ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩⲉ, ⲁⲭⲱⲥ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲛ P. — 27 ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲏⲁⲟⲛⲏ P. — 29 init. fort. ⲕⲁ|ⲙⲣⲣ]ⲉ ⲁⲛ supplendum. — 31 fort. ⲧⲙ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲟ.

new and different struggles; but (ἀλλά) we trust
in thy mercies, for thou turnest and showest pity quickly. Let
us prostrate ourselves, beseeching thee, imploring thy
pity, o merciful one.
Thine is every victory, o holy one, giver of good tidings, Mani;
the victory of the beginning and that of the middle which thy Father
has bestowed upon thee, the victory of the end also, for which every
man is looking; for truly thou art he that proclaims
the Beginning, the Middle and the End. Victory to the soul of the
blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXXII. By the same (τοῦ αὐτοῦ).

O Soul, know this great sign, that this is the sign
of the remission of thy sins.
This visible Bema, the Word set it before thee,
that He might sow in thee through what is visible the remembrance
of the hidden Judgment which thou hast forgotten since the day
when thou didst drink the water of madness, o Soul.
Lo, there has come to thee the grace of the day of joy; do thou for thy
part reveal without fear all thy sins today and be mindful
of thy end and prepare thyself in thy works; for the Bema
of Wisdom (σοφία) moves thee concerning it.
Paul, the glorious one, bears witness, saying unto thee: 'The
Bema of Christ, in it there is no respect of persons: whether we will
or not we shall all . . . . . it.' This too is what the Bema
silently proclaims.
The wanton (?) . . . . . of wickedness (κακία), do thou rule over them: the
. . . . . of . . . , that of . . . and that of foul lust (ἡδονή);
and do thou
. . . . . wrath and envy (φθόνος) and sadness; the
bitter . . . . . of wickedness (κακία) also, do thou loose them today.
May] the Judge (κριτής) see thee keeping these commandments (ἐντολή)
and may he] honour thee and give thee Life. Complete forgiveness will he
bestow on thee. Come therefore and walk on these holy steps.

5—9 cf. Aug. Contr. Felic. p. 811, 13 ff; Burkitt, 'Relig. of the Manich.' p. 17. — 14 On the whole subject of the Bema see my note on p. 1, 4 supra. — 21 'it' i. e. thy end. — 22. For Manich. views of St. Paul see H. H. Schaeder, 'Urform und Fortbildungen . . .' pp. 72, 129. — 23 ff. This citation may perhaps come from some apocryphal source: it is not to be found in the canonical epistles. — 26. The meaning of ⲭⲣⲭⲓⲣ here is uncertain, vide Spiegelberg op. cit. p. 277. — 29 possibly 'bonds' of wickedness. — 32 'steps' lit 'stones of stairs', cf. Aug. contra Ep. Fund. 202, 11 ff.

Маре пвнма ψωπε νε ⲛ̄ⲟγⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁνε ⲙ̄πε
ⲁⲍε • ογⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲕⲙⲉ ⲙ̄πεωνⲍ • ογⲕⲓβωτος
ⲉⲥⲙⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲱ • ογⲃⲗⲟⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ • ογⲙⲁψⲉⲥⲱⲡ .
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ νεⲍⲃⲏγⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲉγ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲓ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲃⲏ
ⲙⲁ ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ

Ⲭοοc νεⲩ ⲭε ⲕⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲧ̄ⲧⲉⲭⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲉ
ⲭε ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲩ†ⲍⲉⲡ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈
ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲩ ⲁⲧⲡⲗⲁ
ⲛⲏ • ⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲗⲃ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ

Ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲡⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ • ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ
ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ' ⲉⲧⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄†ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ • ⲡⲧⲁⲭⲟ
ⲍⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ • ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲙ̄̈
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲱⲏⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲍⲓⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲁⲡ • ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲣⲏ
ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲧ̄ ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲣⲱ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲁ̈ⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲧ' ⲛ̄
ⲭ̣ⲓ ⲡⲥⲛⲁⲍ ⲉⲧⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲱⲱⲧ' ⲍⲱⲱⲕ
ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲙⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲛⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ

Ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲧ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲣⲉⲃⲣⲉⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲕⲉ
ⲕⲁⲍ ⲁⲛ ⲍⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲣⲉⲱ • ⲛ̄ⲍⲓⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲙ ⲍⲁⲣⲕ̄ ⲭⲉ
ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲧⲡⲣⲱ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲙⲁ
ⲣⲛ̄ⲣⲃⲁⲗ ⲍ[ⲱ]ⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ

Ⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲕⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ • ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲁⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲃⲱⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲭⲁ
ⲥⲉ ⲍⲓⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲱⲧ

Ⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ †
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲕⲥⲁⲣⲕ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲭⲁ
ⲕⲙ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲉϣⲉ ⲙ̈ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ . . . . . [. . . . . .
ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲗ†ⲗⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲛ[ⲁⲭ]ⲱⲕⲙⲉ ⲛ . . [. . . . . .

Ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲧ ⲡ[ⲙⲁⲛ]ⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ [ⲡⲛⲁⲃ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲥ̄ⲱ̄ⲣ̄ [ⲛⲧⲕ ⲡⲕⲁⲛ]ⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲡⲧ̣[ⲁ
ϣⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲡ[ⲭⲓⲥⲉ
ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛⲍⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄ ⲉⲧ† . . [. . . . . .

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3 ⲙⲁϣⲉⲥⲱⲡ P. — 10 ⲙⲁⲣⲉ pro ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ P. — 13 leg. ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ. — 16 ⲭ̣[ⲓⲡⲁⲧ]ⲛⲁⲉ P.: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲱⲃⲉ sic. leg. ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲱⲃⲉ. — 19 ⲕⲁ sic ⲍ ογⲣⲉϣⲣⲉϣ P. — 27/28 ⲛ̄ⲕⲭⲁⲕⲙ̄ pro ⲛ̄ⲕⲭⲁⲕⲙⲛ, cf. infr. 41,20. — 29 ⲧⲗⲧⲗⲉ P.

May the Bema become for thee a landing-place of thy
days, a place of cleansing of thy life, a chest (κιβωτός)
filled with teaching, a ladder to the height, a measuring-balance
of thy deeds: and as thou seeest the likeness of these things in the Bema,
bless it.
Say unto it: 'Thou art blessed, great Instrument (τέχνη) of the
Word, upright Bema of the great Judge,
the seat of the Fathers of Light that are far removed from
Error (πλάνη), foundation of the sweet victory, full of wisdom (σοφία).'
Hail (χαῖρε), Bema of Victory, great sign of our city (πόλις); joyous
shining garland of the souls that are victorious, but judgment
and condemnation (κρίσις) of sinners; hail (χαῖρε), Bema of
the Mind (νοῦς) of (?) the Holy Scriptures (γραφή).
Lo, all trees . . . . . have become new again. Lo, the
roses have spread their beauty abroad, for the bond (?)
has been severed that does harm to their leaves. Do thou also sever
the chains and the bond of our sins.
The whole Air (ἀήρ) is luminous, the Sphere (σφαῖρα) . . . . . today, the
earth too puts forth blossom also, the waves of the sea are still: for
the gloomy winter has passed that is full of trouble. Let
us too escape from the iniquity of evil (κακία).
Forgive the sins of them that know thy mystery, to whom
there has been revealed the knowledge of the secret of the Most High
through the holy wisdom (σοφία), wherein there is no Error (πλάνη),
of the holy Church of the Paraclete, our Father.
The joy-filled treasure (χρῆμα) of the glorious Spirit, give
it as a present to us and extend it unto us all and wash
us in joy and . . . . . .
his drops also that will wash the . . . . . .
Glory to thee, our Father Mani, the glorious one, [the great
God, the Saviour (σωρ̄)]. [Thou art the] entire remission of sins, the
preaching of life, the Envoy of them that are on high.
Glory to thy Bema, thy seat that . . . . . .

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2 ⲁⲥⲉ means 'aetas', ⲱⲛϩ 'vita'. — 3 'measuring-b.': the reading is uncertain; P reads ⲙⲁⲱⲉⲥⲱⲡ translating 'counting-balance'. — 14 ϩⲓⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ: P translates 'today', but quotes no parallel for so strange a form. The only suggestions I can make are (i) that is the A² form of ϩⲓⲡⲟⲩⲉ (for which see Chaîne, Eléments de Grammaire dialectale copte p. 462; Crum Dict. 471 b); (ii) the word is ϩⲓ 'and' and the pl. of the Gk. πόα 'grass' 'plant' (cf. ⲥⲡⲓⲣⲟⲟⲩⲉ: σπεῖραι Rossi, I Papiri copti . . . . di Torino I IV 1, 7). But I do not feel sufficient confidence in any one of these three suggestions to admit it into the text. — 18 ⲣⲉⲃ̀ⲣⲉⲃ̀ meaning unknown cf. Hom. 20, 16. — 19 ϩⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲣⲉⲱ cf. infr. 91, 8. I cannot regard as correct the reading given in Crum Dict. 310 a. The word seems to be a compound of ϩⲓⲟⲩⲉ with the noun ⲣⲟⲱⲣⲉⲱ, Spiegelberg op. cit. 106.

τ]ϯγχη αν ⲙ̄ⲙⲁρⲓⲁ ⲉⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲱⲁⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ

> ckr

Ⲙ]ⲁρⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱϥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ

Ⲙ]ⲁρⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲛ

ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ)ⲧⲙⲏ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣϫⲛ̄ ⲁⲧⲡⲗⲁ́ⲛⲏ

ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓⲉⲗ ⲁⲛⲟⲱⲱϥ̄ ⲁⲛ

ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ

Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ • ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ̄ ⲛⲉⲛ

ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲁⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ

ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ [ⲉⲩ

ⲡⲁⲣ]ϫ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ϫⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ

Ⲧⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ̄†[ⲉ ⲙ

ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉϥⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ

ⲛ̄ⲁ]ⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ]ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ)ⲛⲁ]ⲱⲛ • ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ

ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛ]ⲓϥⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏ

ⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ

Ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ϩⲱⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲥⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ̄†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ

ⲙ]ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲡⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ[ⲧⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲛ̄

ⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ

ⲱⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲕ]ⲙ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩ . . . . . ⲙ̣ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁ

ⲧⲣⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ

Ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ ⲁϩⲟⲩ

ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩ

ⲁⲱⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ

ⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲛ̄ⲧⲩ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ

Ⲛⲉ]ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈

ⲛⲉ ⲉ]ⲩⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁ†ⲃⲓ̈ⲟ ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ

ⲛⲧ]ⲉ ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲥⲣ̄ϩⲛⲉϥ ϫⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉϥ[ⲥⲉ]ϫⲉ ⲉⲧ

ϥⲁⲧⲛ]ⲛⲁⲩϥ ⲉϥⲁ†ⲃⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲝⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱϥ

ϫⲉⲥⲧⲟ]ⲩ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧϫⲁⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ

Ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲣ]ⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲥ ⲉϥⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲙ̣[ⲟⲩ] ⲉϥ]ⲛⲏⲩ ϫⲉ

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20 ⲉⲩⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ ⲙ̣ⲙⲁⲩ P. — 30 ⲁϫⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ?] P. — 31 ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡⲣ]ⲏⲧⲉ P.

May the soul too of Mary have access unto thy mercy, my Lord.

CCXXIII.

Let us worship the Spirit of the Paraclete.
Let us bless our Lord Jesus who has sent to us
the Spirit of Truth. He came and separated us from the Error (πλάνη)
of the world (κόσμος), he brought us a mirror, we looked, we
saw the Universe in it.
When the Holy Spirit came he revealed to us
the way of Truth and taught us that there are two
Natures (φύσις), that of Light and that of Darkness, separate
one from the other from the beginning.
The Kingdom of Light, on the one hand (μέν), consisted in five
Greatnesses, and they are the Father and his twelve
Aeons and the Aeons of the Aeons, the Living Air (ἀήρ),
the Land of Light; the great Spirit breathing in them,
nourishing them with his Light.
But the Kingdom of Darkness consists of five store-
houses (ταμιεῖον), which are Smoke (καπνός) and Fire and
Wind and Water and Darkness: their Counsel
creeping in them, moving them and inciting (?) them to
make war (πόλεμος) with one another.
Now (οὖν) as they were making war (πόλεμος) with one another they dared (τολμᾶν)
to make an attempt upon the Land of Light, thinking that they
would be able to conquer it. But they know not that which they have
thought to do they will bring down upon their own heads.
But (δέ) there was a multitude of angels in the Land of the Light,
having the power to go forth to subdue the enemy
of the Father, whom it pleased that by his Word that
he would send, he should subdue the rebels who desired
to exalt themselves above that which was more exalted than they.
Like unto a shepherd that shall see a lion coming to

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1 ⲭⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲱⲁ- (cf. Crum Dict. 472b): I am not convinced that the words are to be so divided; perhaps ⲭⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱ ⲁⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲉ, λαμβάνειν καιρὸν εἰς τὸ ἔλεός σου. — 9—11 cf. Tit. Bostr. 3, 24. — 12 ff. cf. Keph. 64; Aug. Ep. Fund 209, 11 ff.; contr. Faust 425, 17 etc. — 17 ff. cf Aug. Ep. Fund 212, 9 ff.; de haer. § 46. — 31 ff. cf. Act. Arch. XXVIII § 2, 3.

ϥⲁⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲙⲁⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ϣⲁϥⲣ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ̀ ⲛ̄ϥⲃ[ⲗ
ⲛⲟ]ⲩⲥⲗⲏⲃ ⲛ̄ϥⲥⲙⲛ̄ⲧϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲣⲃⲥ ⲭⲉϥⲁⲃⲁⲡϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲣϩⲏ̈
ⲛ̄ⲥϩⲧϥ̄ • ⲭⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲗⲗⲃ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ϣⲁϥⲛⲟⲩⲥⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲉϥ
ⲙⲁⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ • ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲉⲏ̈ ϣⲁϥⲧⲗⲃⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲗⲏⲃ ⲡⲉ
ⲧⲁϥϣⲟⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲏ̈
Ⲡⲣϩ]ⲧⲉ ⲥⲱϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲏ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥ
ϣϩ]ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲁϥⲭⲡⲟ ⲥⲱϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥ
ⲡⲁ]ⲣⲫⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲥⲧϩϣ ⲁⲥⲣϩⲏ̈ ⲁ†ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲙ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉ
ⲥⲁ†]ⲧⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
Ⲛⲧⲁⲣ]ⲉϥⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲓⲁⲏⲧϥ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲟⲩϣⲉ
ⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲡ]ⲟⲩⲁⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲩ ⲁⲧⲉϥⲡⲁⲣⲫⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲁⲥ ⲧ]ⲉ ⲧⲉϥ†ⲩⲭⲏ • ⲁⲩⲕⲙ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲩⲟⲩ[ⲱ
ϣⲉ ⲁⲭⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲭⲱⲥ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲉⲩ[ⲟⲩ
ⲱϣⲉ ⲁⲱⲙⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ
Ⲁ[ϥ]ⲉⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲁϥⲡⲁⲣⲱⲥ̄ ⲁⲭⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲛ̀ⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲃ̄ • ⲁⲩⲧⲣⲉⲥⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲣϩⲏ̈ ⲁⲭⲱ[ⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄[ⲑⲉ ⲛⲥⲛⲕ]ⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲧϥ|ⲉ̀ⲥⲁⲱⲥ̀ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [ⲛⲧⲥⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲏⲃⲉ ⲉⲥϣⲁⲗⲃ̄ • ⲁⲥϣⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩ
ⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲥⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ
Ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉϥ[ⲭⲱ]ⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡϣⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱ
ⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡ̀ⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱϩ
ⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲩ†ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲥⲁⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁⲩⲥⲙ̀ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄[ⲡⲓⲕⲟ]ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁϥ
ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲏⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
Ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲙ [ⲧⲏ]ⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄
ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ⲁⲩⲁⲧⲡⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̀
ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲉϥ ⲛ̄ⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ̀ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉ
ⲕⲉ ⲉⲫⲟ ⲥⲱϥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲥ[ⲱⲙⲕ
ⲛ̄ⲥϩⲧⲟⲩ
Ⲡⲣϩ ⲙⲛ̄[ⲡ]ⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲙ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲓⲡⲭⲓⲥ[ⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩ
ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃ[ⲟ ⲛⲧ†]ⲩⲭⲏ|ⲡⲥⲱⲧϥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲥⲉⲃⲓ[ⲧⲩ ⲁⲥⲣϩⲏ̈
ⲁⲡⲭⲓ[ⲥⲉ ⲡⲓ]ⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲥⲱⲱϥ ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲕⲉ [ⲙⲙⲁⲩ

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1 ⲉⲩⲁ]ⲧⲉⲕⲟ P. — 8/9 ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥⲉ̀ [ⲉⲥⲁ†]ⲧⲱⲛ P. — 19 ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲛⲉ: leg. ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ. — 23 ⲁⲩⲥ[ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲟ]ⲥⲙⲟⲥ P. — 24 ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ P. — 27 post ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲉϥ P bene, ipse haeseram. — 31 ⲥⲉⲃⲓ ⲙ̀[ⲙⲁⲩ] P. — 32 ⲁⲉ sup. lin. scriptum.

destroy his sheep-fold: for he uses guile and takes
a lamb and sets it as a snare that he may catch him
by it (i. e. the lamb); for by a single lamb he saves his
sheep-fold. After these things he heals the lamb that
has been wounded by the lion:
This too is the way of the Father, who sent his
strong son; and *he* produced from himself his
Maiden equipped with five powers, that
she might fight against the five abysses of the Dark.
When the Watcher (?) stood in the boundaries
of light, he shewed to them his Maiden who
is his soul; they bestirred themselves in their abyss, desiring
to exalt themselves over her, they opened their mouth desiring
to swallow her.
He held her power (ἀρχή) fast, he spread her over them, like
nets over fishes, he made her rain down upon them
like purified clouds of water, she thrust herself
within them like piercing lightning. She crept in their
inward parts, she bound them all, they not knowing it.
When the First Man had finished (?) his war (πόλεμος),
the Father sent his second son.
He came and helped his brother out of the abyss;
he established this whole world (κόσμος) out of the mixture that
took place of the Light and the Darkness.
He spread out all the powers of the abyss to ten heavens and
eight earths, he shut them up into this world (κόσμος)
once, he made it a prison too for all the powers of Darkness,
it is also a place of purification for the Soul that was
swallowed (?) in them.
The sun and moon he founded, he set them on high, to
purify the Soul. Daily they take up the refined part
to the height, but (δέ) the dregs however they erase

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2 'him' i. e. the lion. — 8 'five powers': vid. infr. 23, 14 n. — 10 ⲡⲙⲁϩⲓⲁⲓⲧⲏ: this word seems to me to belong to that class of nouns in -ⲏ which are formed from the qual. of a verb eg ⲛⲟⲩϣⲥ, ⲛⲟϣⲥⲏ; ⲟⲩⲱϩⲙⲉ, ⲟⲩⲟϩⲙⲉⲏ; ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧ, ⲣⲱⲟⲩⲧⲏ. I think it is a noun formed thus from ⲙⲉϩⲓⲉⲧ≈ (vide Crum Dict. 73 b). Though there is no example of the qual. of ⲙⲉϩⲓⲉⲧ≈ cf., however, ⲉⲛⲕⲁϩⲧⲁⲓⲧ supr. 7, 1; ⲉⲩⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓⲧ 7, 25; ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓⲧⲏ Hom. 59, 20: Keph. 46, 14. — 18 ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲏⲃⲉ ⲉⲥϣⲁⲗ̄ⲃ̄ lit. sharpened lightning, cf. Psalm 119, 4 ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲱⲱⲣ ϣⲟⲗ̄ⲃ̄ τὰ βέλη τοῦ δυνατοῦ ἠκονημένα. For ϣⲗⲏ vid. supr. 3, 24 n. — 30 ff. cf. Keph. 132, 30—133, 3. — 32 ϩⲱⲕⲉ Crum Dict. 663 a.

. . . . . .]. . . . . ṭ ṭḥt cenwne m̄[may ca
ncan]tte mn̄ncanp|tne
Tl|koc]mos thrq̄ eqthk̄ aretq̄ pros oychy [eyn̄
oyn]a6 n̄kwt eykwt m̄may m̄ncanbal [mp|
ko]cmos · n̄toynoy etq̄axwk̄ n̄x| nekwt ẹ[tm
m]ey cenabwl abal m̄pkosmos thrq̄ n̄ceḳ[a c]e
t]ẹ aray xe ecaoyatsq̄ abal
Tl[w]nz̄ thrq̄ ncwxp̄ m̄ptoya|ne etsn̄maẹ n|[m ya
c]aysq̄ aray n̄qp̄zwgrafe m̄may n̄oyanạ[pe|ac
ncaxne ạe swoq m̄pmoy pkeke thrq̄ ya[cayszq a
s]oyn n̄qp̄zwgrafe m̄may m̄m|n m̄may n̄[. . . . .
. ar]xwn
Hn]hy sn̄oywpn̄wwpe n̄x| pp̄na etanz̄ [. . . . . .
. .] . en ya†tootq̄ apoya|ne · ncaxnẹ [ạe swq mp
moy mn̄pkeke yaatpq̄ aszoyn apptam̄[ion] ẹṭ[ay
c]m̄n̄tq̄ aray xeya\marq̄ n̄shtq̄ wyaanhsẹ
Mn̄ka|cmat amoyr pxaxe n̄shtq̄ ca|p|cmạt xe
cenax|tq̄ en apoya|ne xe oywm̄[mo ar]ay p|e
oyte cenawkaaq en an sn̄peqkas n̄[k]eke xe
neqe|re n̄oypolemos eneeq apwa[rp
Cenakwt n̄oya|wn n̄bp̄re apma [mp|ko]cmos
etabwl abal xe eyap̄p̄ro n̄srh n̄sh[ty n]x| n̄
bam m̄poya|ne xe aye|re ayx[wk poy]wwe
thrq̄ m̄p|wt ayoB|o m̄pmestoy ay . . n . . ạxwq
wyaanhse
Tei| pe ncayne mpman|xa|oc marn̄oywwt̄ neq
ntnc]mame m̄may ne|etq̄ n̄oyan n|m etạnas
te aray] xe n̄tay petawnz̄ mn̄n̄a|ka|oc throy
Oy]eay [m]n̄oyбro m̄pn̄xa|c pman|xa|oc pp̄na n̄
te tmh]e p|abal s|tn̄p|wt · petaybwl p̄ nen a
bal s]aθoy|te tmhte mn̄θah oyбro n̄t†yxh n̄t
makarı|a maria θeona pwa|xm̄noyte

1 p̣|t P. — 6 nce†[c]e[t]e P. — 7 aray: leg. aray. — 14 . .]men P. — 15/16 apta[. . .]p̣eṭ[oy]n̄ạn̄tq̄ P.

. . . . . mixed (?), they convey [it
above and below.
This whole world (κόσμος) stands firm for (πρός) a season, there
being a great building which is being built outside this
world (κόσμος). So soon as that builder shall finish,
the whole world (κόσμος) will be dissolved and set on fire
that the fire may smelt it away.
All life, the relic of Light wheresoever it be, he will
gather to himself and of it depict (ζωγραφεῖν) an image (ἀνδριάς).
And the counsel of death too, all the Darkness,
he will gather together and make a likeness (ζωγραφεῖν)of its very self,
it and the] Ruler (ἄρχων).
In a moment the living Spirit will come . . . . . .
. . . . . he will succour the Light. But the counsel of death
and the Darkness he will shut up in the dwelling (ταμιεῖον)
that was established for it, that it might be bound in it for ever.
There is no other means to bind the Enemy save this means; for
he will not be received to the Light because he is a stranger to it;
nor again can he be left in his land of Darkness, that he may
not wage a war (πόλεμος) greater than the first.
A new Aeon will be built in the place of the world (κόσμος)
that shall dissolve, that in it the powers of the Light may
reign, because they have performed and fulfilled the will
of the Father entire, they have subdued the hated one, they have
. . . . . over him for ever.
This is the Knowledge of Mani, let us worship him
and bless him. Blessed is he every man that shall trust [in him,
for he it is shall live with all the Righteous (δίκαιος).
Glory and victory to our Lord Mani, the Spirit of
Truth, that cometh from the Father, who has revealed to us
the Beginning, the Middle and the End. Victory to the
soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona, Pshaijmnoute.

1 One would expect mention here of the δώδεκα κάδοι of Act. Arch. § VIII. — 5 For the Great Builder vid. supr. p. 1, 32 note. — 24 ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ = μισητός cf. Hom Index s. v. ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ, but it has a passive meaning not 'Feind' 'Hasser' etc., vide Crum op. cit. 187a.

[ckA]

Μαρνc]μαμε ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲱc [. . . . .] . . [. . . . . .]. . ⲧⲏc ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓc

. . .]. . . . ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩ+ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲁⲛ[. . .

. .]. . ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄+ⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡϫⲁⲓc ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ ⲡ̣[. . .

. .]. . . . . ⲉ ⲉⲩ+ⲍⲉⲡ ⲁⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲟ̣ⲩ [. . .

. . . ⲛ ⲉⲧ . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̣̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧ̣[. .

. .]. ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ

. . . . . .]. . ⲛ̄ϫⲡ̣ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̣[.

. . . . .]. ⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲱⲣⲟ̣ⲛ

. . .]ⲟ̣ⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲑⲃⲓⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲱⲓ ⲛ̣ . .

. . . .]. ⲱⲧ̣ⲡ̄ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

. . . . . .] ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲧϫⲁⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲙⲁⲥ ⲍⲓⲭⲛ̄ⲡ̣ .[.

. . . . . ⲛⲉ]ⲩ ⲁⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ .[.

. . . . . .]ⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲡⲥⲡ̄

.[.].[.]ⲏ ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲩⲍⲥ̀ ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲏⲕⲱ ⲛⲉⲛ̣ [ⲁ

Β]ⲁⲗ ⲛⲛ̄[ⲛ]ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

Ⲟⲩⲛ̄[ⲟⲩ]ⲛ̣[ⲁⲃ ⲛ]ⲍⲟⲟⲩ • ⲛⲉⲉ-ⲡⲉⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ • ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲡⲉ ⲁ̣ⲛ

. . . ⲁ . [. . . .] ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲉ

. . . . . .] . ⲛⲍⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲱ|ⲧⲟⲩ • ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲍⲱⲱⲛ

ⲛⲉⲧⲏⲡ [ⲁⲧⲉ]ⲩⲣⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄+ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄

ⲡⲛ̣ . . .[. . . .]

Ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲙ [ⲛ]ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ

ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲓⲡ̣[ϫ|ⲥⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟ

ⲣⲟⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟ|ⲭⲉ|ⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ

ⲥⲉ+ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̣ⲉ̀ⲕ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲉ|ⲣⲉ ⲁⲕϫⲱⲕ ⲁⲕ+ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ

ⲛⲉⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲟ̣|ⲛ̣[ⲉⲓ]

Ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲣ|ⲓⲧ ⲡⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲩ+ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁϫⲱⲕ [ⲍ]ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩ

ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ • ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲣ̄ⲱⲱⲣ̄ⲩ̄ ⲁⲕ

ⲕⲁⲧⲩ̄ ⲡⲉⲙⲁⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲍⲁⲡⲩ̄ ⲁⲕⲧⲣⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ

ⲛⲉⲙⲅ̣ⲣⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲁⲕⲍⲁⲣⲃⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲥ[ⲁⲡ] ⲧ̣[ⲉⲩ

ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ ⲁⲕⲍⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ

Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲕⲧⲁϫⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ϫ[. . . .

3 fort. ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ.

CCXXIV.

Let us bless and sing . . . . . .
. . . . . disciples (?) of our Lord.
. . . . . to thee with one accord, we . . . . . .
. . . . . let us glorify the Lord of our life, the . . . . .
. . . . . , he judging our thoughts, he who (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . his Bema which has brought the . . . . . .
. . . . . our deeds.
. . . . . creatures (?) of our spirit. Let us give them to . .
. . . . . our fastings and almsgivings, as a gift (δῶρον) . . . .
. . . . . which please him, humility and love (ἀγάπη) . . . . . .
. . . . . reconciled (?) with him in his holy day.
. . . . . Jesus, king on high, sitting on the . . . . . .
. . . . . seeing our thoughts, our words, our deeds which
we have done (?) by night, by day; let us implore
him (?) (we all are the congregation) that he may forgive us
all our sins.

There is a great day; great is its sign, great also
. . . . . all the saints that are counted to the Light
glorify him and give him] praises without measure. We too
that are counted to their race of Light, let us give our flowers to
our (?) . . . . .

The Powers, the sons, the emanations (προβολή) of the Father and his
Lights on high, all the angels and the Omophori,
the strong Pillars (στῦλος), the Elements (στοιχεῖον) of the Light,
glorify thee, for thou hast acted, thou hast finished, thou hast given
rest to them all by thy coming (?).

The beloved Son, Jesus Christ, sets a garland on thy head in
great joy; because his building that was destroyed thou didst
build it, his way which was hidden thou didst illumine it,
his scriptures (γραφή) which were confused thou didst set them in order again,
his
hidden wisdom (σοφία) thou didst interpret (ἑρμηνεύειν) it.

Lo, his holy Bema thou hast firmly established for him, that (?) . . . .

16 Perhaps we should read ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩϩ: 'all of us who are assembled'. —
31 Perhaps a manich. adaptation of the Gospels. For ϩⲱⲣⲃ cf. Keph. 69, 31; Hom. 82, 18.

1 et 2 non possunt legi.

ⲁⲥ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲁⲕⲭⲡⲓⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲛ̄[. . . . . .
ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲧⲁⲃ̄ ⲧⲱⲗⲙⲉ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [. .] . .
. . . ⲟⲩ . . ⲃ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ ⲁ̣ⲕ̣ⲭ̣ⲱⲕ̣ . [. . . . . .
. . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁⲕⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̣ⲥ̣[ⲟ
ⲫⲓⲁ ⲧ]ⲏⲣⲛ[ⲉ] ⲁⲕⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟ[ⲟⲡ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄]ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲕⲧⲟⲩⲭⲁⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ̣ⲉⲕ̣ⲉ . .
. . .] ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲡⲧⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲥ̣[. .
. . . . .] . . ⲡⲉ̣ⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲅⲣ]ⲁ̣ⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ .[. . . . . .]ϯⲩⲭ
. .]. ⲛ̄ϩⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲱⲟⲥ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲕⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ .[. . . .] ϩⲛ̄ⲙ
ϯⲩ]ⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ • ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ [. . . .] ⲙ̣ⲛ̄
ⲛ]ⲁ̣ⲫ̣ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲧϯⲱ]ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲭ[ⲉ
Ⲉⲓϩ̣ ⲧⲉⲕⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲡⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲥ ϩⲛ̣[ⲧⲉⲕ
ⲃⲓ]ⲛⲉⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲱⲧⲁ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲃⲁⲕ ⲙ̣̄ⲡⲉ̣ⲥ̣ⲃ̣ⲱⲭ̣ⲃ̣ⲉ ⲁ
ⲡ]ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲁϩ̣ [. . .] . [. . .]ⲭ̣ⲱ
ⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧ ⲁⲭⲱ[ⲥ . . . .]. ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲥ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲣⲟ̄ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁ̣ⲗ̣ ⲁ̣ⲡⲏ
ⲧⲟⲩⲧⲁⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲕⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲉ̣ⲗⲁ̣ⲗ̣ⲉ̣ [ⲁⲩ]ⲙ[ⲁⲩ
ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ • ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲭⲓⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ϩⲛ̄ⲭ̣[ⲱ]ⲣⲁ ⲛ̣ⲓⲙ
ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟ ϩⲛ̄ⲙ[ⲁ] ⲛ[ⲓⲙ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩ]ⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲟ
ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲥ̣ⲕⲩⲉⲧⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲟ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲩ
Ⲡⲛⲁⲃ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲫⲃ̄ⲣⲟ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲛ̣̄[ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ]ⲩϯ ⲙ̣̄
ⲡⲃ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ [. . . . . ⲧⲛⲕⲁ]ⲗ̣ⲭ̣-ⲡⲉⲧ ⲛⲉⲕ
ⲧⲛ̄ⲥ]ⲁⲡⲥⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲉⲛⲥ̣ⲕ̣ⲣⲕ̣ⲣ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲙϯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ϩⲁⲣⲁ
ⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲏⲙⲁ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲛⲁⲩϩ̣ⲕ̣ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲛ̄ϩⲧⲏⲕ
ⲁϫⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣ̄ϩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ̣ [ⲙ̄ⲙ]ⲁⲛ ⲱⲁⲧⲛ̄ϫⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩ
ⲱⲱⲉ
Ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙ]ⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲫⲣϩⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲉ . . . . .] . ⲡⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄
ⲛ̄ϫⲁⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̣[ⲁⲛⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ

5 init. fort. ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ⲕ̣ ⲟⲩⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲃ̣. — 11 fin. ϯⲩⲭ̣ ualde dubium; fort. ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁ̣ⲗ̣. — 17 fort. ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲁϩ̣ [ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ]ϫⲱ. — 28 ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲛ: ⲱ sup. lin. scriptum.

1 and 2 illegible.

it (fem.) in thy hardihood, thou didst put them to shame in . . . .
that thou mightest not allow them to bring defilement upon God . .
Thou art a great (?) one truly and certainly, thou didst perfect (?) . . . . .
. . . . . of thy Father, thou didst preach to all of us thy
wisdom (σοφία), thou didst teach us the things that used to be, that are
and that shall be, thou didst save us from the Darkness . .
. . . . . the mixture of the Dark and the Light which is within (?).
All the . . . . . which the ancients (ἀρχαῖοι) proclaimed in their
scriptures (γραφή) we were thinking of them . . . . . .
. . . . fables (?) before thou didst come forth and didst fill (?) our
souls, the wisdom (σοφία) of our heart. The Light . . . . . .
great orator that puts our enemies to shame.
Lo, thy righteousness (δικαιοσύνη), our Father, which thou didst proclaim
in thy coming, has not grown less, has not diminished, has not waned at
all, because of the care of thy teachers (?) [and the] strong . . . .
that guard it, they building upon it . . . . . it
in all thy laws (νόμος).
Lo, thy holy Churches have spread out to the four
corners of the world (κόσμος). Lo, thy vine-trees have filled (?)
every place. Lo, thy sons have become famous in all lands (χώρα).
Lo, thy Bema has been firmly established in every place (?) [like a] river
now that flows in the whole earth.
The great conqueror, our Lord, our Light, who has given victory
to his loved ones . . . . we bend (?) the knee to thee.
we implore thee, we rolling (?) our souls before
thy Bema, that thou wouldst turn to us and shew mercy upon us
and guide us all until we fulfil thy
will.
The First Man], our helmsman . . . . ., our first
guide, thou art our shepherd that feeds (?) us,

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12 ⲫⲃⲱⲱⲥ 'fables' HT, cf. Crum and Evelyn White 'Monast. of Epiphan.' vol. II p. 149, 21. — 15 δικαιοσύνη, i. e. the doctrine delivered to the δίκαιοι, cf. Burkitt op. cit. p 23.

1 et 2 non possunt legi.

. . . . . .] . ⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

. . . .] . . . ⲡⲣ . . . . ⲉⲣⲱⲱⲩⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲛ ⲡ[ⲛ̄]ⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̣ . .

. .] ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ[. .] . . . ⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩⲉ . . . . .

. . ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲍⲁⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ . [. . . . . .

ⲧⲟⲓⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲛ ⲁⲕⲭⲓ ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲕⲁ . [. . .]ⲡ[. .

ⲡⲉⲕⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

Ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲥⲱⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ . . . . [. .

ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉ[ⲁⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏ[ⲧⲥ ⲧⲛⲧⲉ

ⲁⲩ [ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲓⲱⲧ] ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲕ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̣[ⲡ

ⲥⲉⲡ [ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ]ⲛ̣ⲥ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲕ̄ • ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲁⲛ

ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲓⲣⲉ] ⲙ̣ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲁⲓⲉ

. . . . . ⲡⲛⲓ]ⲱⲧ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ ⲡⲡⲕⲗⲥ • ⲟⲩ[. . .

. . . . . ⲙ̣ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ[ⲓⲭⲁⲓ]ⲟ̣[ⲥ

ⲡ . . [. . . . .] . ⲉⲧⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫ[ⲥⲱ

ⲧⲡ [ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ]ⲟ̣ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̣ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

ⲑⲉⲟⲛ̣ⲁ̣ [ⲡⲱⲁⲓⲭ]ⲙ̣ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

> ⲥⲕⲉ < ⲕⲩ ⲥⲩⲣⲟⲩ

Ⲟ . . . . . ⲛ̣ⲧ[ⲉⲕ]ⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ

ⲡⲛ[. . . .] ⲛ̄ⲛ̣[ⲁ]ⲏⲧ

Ⲉⲓⲁⲃⲱ[. . . . . .] . ⲁ̣ⲧⲭⲏⲣⲁ • ⲭⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲧⲃⲱⲱⲛ ⲧⲏ

ⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̣[. . . . .] . ⲛⲉ̣ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙ̣ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲃⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ

. . . . . .] ⲛ̣ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲥⲓⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲭⲁ

ⲧⲃⲱⲛ . [. . .] . . [. .]ⲣ . [ⲥⲁ]ⲧⲃⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ • ⲱⲥ ⲱⲥ ⲛ̣

ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄[ⲧⲭ|ⲛ]ⲟ̣ⲁⲛⲥ̀ . ⲉ̣[. . ⲡ]ⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ [ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲟⲩ

ⲱⲛⲱ ⲉⲧ[ⲡⲏ]ⲧ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲥⲓⲏⲃ

Ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲓⲃ[ⲉⲥ] ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲍⲧⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧ . . . . . ⲱⲧ . . . ⲛ̣

ⲑⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲩ[. . . .] . [.] . . ⲉ ⲁ̣ . ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲧ . . ⲍⲱⲧⲡ . . . [.

ⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ[. . . .] . [. .] . . . ⲉⲧ . . ⲁⲃⲉ ⲥ[. . .]ⲁⲓⲉ [. . . .

ⲥⲁⲡⲁ [. . . .] . . . . . ⲁⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙ̣ⲡ[ⲱ]ⲣⲁ[ⲕ

22 ⲁ̣ vel ⲙ̣: an ⲉⲓⲃⲱ[ⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲛⲛⲓ]ⲙ̣? cf. 16, 30. 31? — 28 fort. ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲍⲉⲧⲃ̣[ⲉ.

1 and 2 are not legible.

. . . . . all our deeds.
. . . . . our Father, to proclaim . . . .
. . . even as . . . . . our mind (νοῦς) and our thought . . . .
. . . speak of (?) thy greatness, that the flesh (σάρξ) . . . . . .
put upon us; thou hast been glorified, our Lord, according to (κατά?) . . .
thy Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.
We also, thy sons, glorify thee . . . . . .
we glorify thy kingdom wherein thou didst come to us, we
glorify thy Father (?) who sent thee unto us, we glorify the
judgment which is revealed to us because of thee. Glory to every
one that keeps] thy festival.
Glory to our] Father, the spirit of truth, the Paraclete; [victory
and honour] to our Lord, our Light, Mani,
the . . . . . that gives life to his sons and his
holy] Elect. Victory to the soul of the Blessed (μακαρία) Mary.
Theona, Pshai, Jmnoute.

CCXXV. By the Lord ($\overline{\text{kr}}$) Syrus.

. . . . . thy daughter, the Church, O Paraclete,
merciful God (?).
I will . . . . . widow (χήρα); for they are slanderers
all of them . . . . . Who among them will wipe away my
. . . . . from me (?) upon the earth? They are
slanderers . . . . . all (?) and murderers. Alas, alas (ὦ ὦ) for
the violence that is done: they (?) run after me like wolves
that run after a lamb.
How many shadows (?), how many falls . . . . .
fear . . . . . .
desert me . . . . . .
after my . . . . . to do violence; but (ἀλλά) do not desert

19 Who the Lord Syrus, author of this Psalm, was is not known cf. Introd. II (b).
22, 24/25 ϫⲁⲧⲃⲱⲱⲛ, ϫⲁⲧⲃⲱⲛ: cf. ϫⲁⲧⲟⲩⲁ 'blasphemer', ϫⲁⲧⲃⲁϊⲛⲉ infra 199, 18 'harp-players', from ϫⲱ 'speak'.

α]ατ ⲛ̄cωk παρρο ⲙ̄makαρ|oc ετcαγνε απ[α
ϩητ]
Νεϊ̈ρ̄β]αλ πε ϩⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲛα ερε παβωε βηλ αβαλ ⲛ̄ⲓ̣[θε ⲛ̄
ο]ⲩc|ⲙε εcλαβε εϊ̈ⲱ|νε ⲛ̄ογαⲛ ν|ⲙ εqνη[ⲩ] ⲁ̣
ρε]ⲧ̣ ⲍε ν|ⲙ πετⲁτεογο νηϊ̈ ετβε παⲙεν[ηⲩ] ⲛ̄q
ταⲙ]αϊ̈ ⲁθε εταⲩϩατβeq ϩⲛ̄π+ⲙε ⲛ̄ατnογτε [νⲍ
ⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲁογⲙα ⲛ̄ανομος ⲛ̄θηρ|ον εταγλ|βε ϩⲛ̄ⲡ̣ογ
|ϩ]ε ⲛ̄νεγⲱαϩ ⲛ̄cετε
ⲁ̈ϊ̈c]ωτⲙε ετβετηνε ⲙ̄ⲙαγογca|oc ⲛ̄ογηβ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣
ce]τε ⲍε ατετⲛ̄βαⲡ παnογτε ϩⲛ̄νετⲛ̄ϭ|ⲍ ετ
ϰα]ϩⲙε ⲛ̄ⲁcεβηc ετλαβε ⲛ̄ατnογτε ⲛ̄cⲛ̣ⲏ[ⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲛ]ⲓ̈ογⲁα|oc ⲛ̄ρeqϩωτβε ⲙ̄πⲭ̄ρc ογkωϩⲧ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̣q
. . .] ⲙ̄ⲡ̣ετⲛ̄ϩητ ⲱατετⲛ̄ϩωτβε ⲙ̄ππρecβε[ⲩ
τη]c ⲛ̄ⲁ|kα|oc
Ⲉ|c ⲛ̄ϩβηγε νε νεϊ̈ ετⲙηϩ ⲛ̄βηⲩ ⲛ̄τε ⲛ̄ρω[ⲙ]ⲉ̣ ⲛ̄
ογⲁϩ|ητ πεϊ̈ πε ππⲁϊ̈τ ετⲁγcⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲫ̣ [ετⲁ]ⲭ|
τογ ⲁεⲙⲛ̄τε ⲙ̄π|νεγ ⲁθηρ|ον εqτⲁqε ⲛ̄θⲉ̣ ⲛ̄
νε|ϊ̈ • ⲙ̄π|νεγ ⲁn ⲁcⲉ̣τε εqϭωπε ⲁⲱnⲁ . . . . [ⲙ
πογϭn ογnⲁητ ⲛ̄τⲁq [εq]τηk ⲁρετⲫ̣ ⲁτρeqτωρⲡ̄
ⲛ̄τοτογ ⲙ̄π|ⲁτnⲁβε [π]ⲁ|kα|oc
ⲁγⲁⲱϭηⲗ ⲁβⲁⲗ τηρογ ϩⲛ̄ογϩραγ ⲛ̄ογωτ ⲱⲁπkρ|
τηc ⲛ̄ⲁτnογτε εγτεογο ⲁρⲁq ⲛ̄ϩⲛ̄cεⲭε εⲙⲛ̄
ⲙηε ⲛ̄ϩητογ ⲍε ε|c ογρωⲙε ⲁqογωnϩ ⲁβⲁⲗ
ν|ϩooγε eq+τωn nεⲙεn εqογωcⲫ̣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛ̄ϩβηγ
ε τⲛ̄τωβϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁk ϩ|ογcⲁⲡ ππρρο β|τⲫ̣ ⲛ̄τⲙητε
ⲍε ογcⲁϩ πε ⲛ̄ρeqcαρⲙερωⲙε
Ⲛ̄ταρeqcωτⲙε ⲁn|cεⲭε ⲛ̄ⲭ| πατϩητ ππρρο ⲛ̄ⲛ|
ατnⲁε • ⲁqπωⲱc̄ ⲛ̄ϩητ π|βⲁnωⲗϊ̈ ⲡⲁ̣ⲧⲙⲛ̣ⲧ̣βο
ονε • ⲁqχⲁγ ⲁqⲙογτε ⲁⲡⲁⲙεnηγ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ̣q νεq
εqnⲁϭc ϩⲛ̄ογnⲁϭ ⲛ̄cⲙη • ν|ⲙ πετⲁq[ογ]ⲁ̣[ϩ]caϩnε
νεk ⲁⲣ̄νεϊ̈ η ⲛ̄τⲧ̣ ν|ⲙ ⲧ̣[ρ]ϩⲛ̄ϩβηγⲉ̣ [ετρnB]ⲁn ⲁn
ρωⲙε τηρογ

9/10 ντε[τce]τε P. — 12 ογkωϩⲧ̣ . . . . P. — 16 fin. ετⲁγcⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲫ̣ νεγ ⲁⲭ̣| P. — 18 leg. εcϭωπε? — 31 [ετρnB]ⲁn coniicio coll. 18, 26.

me, my blessed (μακάριος) king thatt knoweth my
heart].
I was] escaping from the . . . . ., my hair loosed like a
mad woman, I asking everyone that comes upon
me: "Who will give me word of my shepherd and
teach me how he was slain in the godless city by
the lawless (ἄνομος) Sects (δόγμα), the beasts (θηρίον) that were maddened
by the poison of their flames of fire?"
I have heard concerning you, O Magians (μαγουσαῖοι) the priests of the
fire that you seized my God in your foul hands,
impious (ἀσεβής) men, mad and godless, the brothers
of the Jews (ἰουδαῖος), the murderers of Christ. A fire . . . .
. . . .] your heart, until you had murdered the righteous (δίκαιος)
ambassador (πρεσβευτής).
Lo, these are the deeds that are full of outrage, of bitter-
hearted men. This is the road they have made that will
lead them to Hell. I have not seen a beast (θηρίον) branded (?) like (?)
these, nor again have I seen fire (?) consuming (?) chaff (?) . . . .
yet there was found no merciful man standing up to snatch
from them this sinless and righteous (δίκαιος) one.
They all cried out with one voice to the godless
judge (κριτής), telling him words in which there
was no truth: "Lo, a man has appeared in these
days, fighting with us and bringing our affairs to nought.
We implore thee with one accord, O king, do away with him,
for he is a teacher who leads men astray."
When he heard these words, the foolish man, the king of these
pitiless ones, he was astonished, the evil-fated (?), the evil-doer:
he sent, he called my shepherd, he said to him
wrathfully in a mighty voice: "Who bade
thee do these things, or (ἤ) who art thou? Thou doest deeds that harm (?)
all men."

3, 18 For the meaning of ⲱⲛⲁ vide infra 216, 15 n. — 17 ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲩⲉ 'branded'(?), poss. from ⲧⲱⲱⲃⲉ, but vide Crum op. cit. p. 453(a). Perhaps the word means 'wild'.

ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃε ⲛ̄ⲁⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲛⲉ[ⲩ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛ • ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ϫⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ . [. .
. ⲁ . ⲕ ⲉⲕⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̄ . . . . [. .
. . ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲩϫⲏⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡ$\overline{\text{Χρ}}$ⲥ ⲛⲁⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ . [. .
non legi potest
. . ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲁⲱⲃⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
non legi potest
. . ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̄ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ+ⲗ ⲛ̄ . .
. . .]ⲥⲏⲕⲉ ⲉⲕⲱⲁⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̄ ⲟⲩⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩ[. .
. . . . . ⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄+ⲡⲓⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲙⲛ̄+ⲁⲱⲣⲉⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲉ[ⲟⲩ
ⲟ] ⲁⲣⲁⲥ
.] . . ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϫⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲕⲟ
ⲥ]ⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲥⲥⲁⲥⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲥⲥ[ⲁⲥ
ⲛⲉ . . .]ⲁⲩ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ+ⲥⲃⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲥⲛⲉⲩ [ⲛ̄ⲩ
+ ⲛⲉⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲁⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ
. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲥⲉϫⲉ
ⲁⲩ[ⲗ]ⲥⲏⲙ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓ ⲡⲙⲁ|ⲙ|ⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲣⲁⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲗ̄ⲕⲉ ⲉⲥ
ϫⲉⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ • ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲁ[ⲣⲁⲩ] ⲁⲥⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ|ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲙⲁ[ⲣⲟⲩⲥ]ⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉⲣⲥ|ⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲟⲩⲟⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ • ⲑⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ+
ⲥⲉⲡ ⲁⲡⲣⲉⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲡ$\overline{\text{κ}}$ⲗⲥ
Ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲕⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲕ̄
ⲱⲱⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲕⲃⲱϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲱⲁⲃ|ⲥⲟ • ϫⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲥⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲱⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲕⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲉⲕⲙⲏⲣ
ⲉⲕⲥⲛ̄ⲃⲏⲗⲁⲡⲁⲧ • ⲱ ⲡⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲱ ⲡⲱ|ⲥⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣ|ⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲟ|ⲓϫ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ+ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲛ̄+ⲩⲭⲏ
ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲃⲁⲛ|ⲡⲉ • ⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲁ
ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲙ +ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲃ|ϫ ⲛ̄
ⲛⲁⲏ[ⲧ] ⲡ[ⲁ]ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲕⲁ[ⲁⲧ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉ
ⲕⲱⲙⲱ [. . . . . .] . ⲛ̄ⲁⲓ ⲛⲁϫⲁϫⲉ

2/3 ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ+ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̄ HT. — 13 init. fort. ⲛⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ. — 15 ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲗⲗ]ⲁⲩ HT. — 19 ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲥⲣⲁⲕ P. — 26 ⲟⲩⲁⲱⲟⲩⲉ P.; leg. ⲉ|ⲧⲟⲩ pro ⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ. — 32 ⲛⲁⲏ[ⲧ . ⲡⲛ̄]ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ P. — 33 an ⲕⲱⲙⲱ [ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲡⲥⲏⲕⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲁⲓ ⲛⲁϫⲁϫⲉ?

The glorious Mind (νοῦς) answered and said to him
straightly: "Know, O king, that God hath . . . . . .
thee (?), thou being a man, to the law (νόμος) of life . . . . .
. . . the perfect commandments (ἐντολή) of Christ. My doctrines . .
illegible
. . . to thee."
He parted his lips, he cried out in a
illegible
. . . will appear unto thee. Thou art a stranger . . . . ., thou (?)
also art a] poor man, lacking everything; thou art a man of light (?)
. . . . . to give this favour and gift (δωρεά)
unutterable."
"They that are of (?) God seek not after gold and the possessions of the
world (κόσμος). God it is who commands, there is no other command-
ment but his (?), God it is who teaches whom he pleases
and gives to him the gift that surpasses all gifts, as a seal
. . . . . prophet (προφήτης), the true man of God in
his deeds and his words."
The lover of fighting, the peaceless one, roared in flaming
anger, he commanded (κελεύειν) them to fetter the righteous one (δίκαιος)
that he might please the Magians, the teachers of Persia (πέρσις),
the servants of fire. This is the way that they gave
judgment upon the victor, the angel, the Paraclete.
How many days of fear, my Father, didst thou endure until thou
hadst cut and severed the race of frightful men! Twenty-
six days in all and the nights of them thou didst spend in chains
in Belapat. O the renown of the Aeons of light!
O noble holy image of the mysteries of God!
O hands that gave freedom to a multitude of souls,
that were bound today in bonds of iron! To whom shall I
go now, that he may release for me these hands of
pity? My God, forsake me not, for they
mock . . . . . even my enemies.

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9 ⲟⲩⲱⲙⲙⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲗ cf. 52, 26 n. ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲗ . ⲥⲁⲧⲗ in each passage, is apparently a word of abuse. — 25 ⲱⲁⲃⲓⲥⲟ Lit. 'changing face', vide Crum op. cit. 552(a). — 28 ⲱⲓⲥⲙⲉ Götterbild (Polotsky, Homilien 60, 18; 71, 23), a translation of the gk. εἴδωλον.

. . . .]ΥΝ ΠΑΧΑΪC ΠΜΑΝΙΧΑΙΟC ΠΚΡΙΤΗC ΜΠ[ΙΤ]ΗΡϥ̄
. . . . . ΝΑΤ . . ε ΑΚ . [. .
non legi potest
. .]ΝΕΚΤΝϨ ΕΤΡΑΥΤ • ΑΚϢΛΗΛ ΝϢΑΡΠ̄ ϢΑΠ[. . .
. . .]ΪωΤ ΠCωΜΑ ϩωϥ ΕΤΜΑΥΤ' ΑΚϩΒ̣ΡΒϣ̣ρϥ̄ [ϩΑΠϩ
ο Ν]ΝΕΚΧΑΧΕ
. . . .] . Ν̣ΤΦ̣ΥϾΙϾ ΝΤΕ ΠΚΡΑϥ . . Ν̄ . [. . . . . .
. . .] . . ΝΟΥΑϩΙΗΤ ΠΜ̣Ε̣ΙΝΕ . . . . . Β̣ . . .
. .] ΑϥΟΥωϢΕ ϩΝ̄ΠΛΙΒΕ ΝΤΕϥΒΛΚΕ ϩΝ̄ . . [. .
ΑΤ]Ε̣ΚΟ ΜΠCΑΪΕ ΝΝ̄ΕΚΜΕΛΟC ΑΚΤΑΪΛΕ ϩΝ̄ . . [. .
. .] . . . . . ΑΠΧΙCΕ ΑΧΝ̄ΛΑΥΕ Ν̄ΧΡΑΠ
Ⲁ̀ϥΝΟ]ΥΡϾ̀ Ν̄ΧΙ ΠⲀΛΙΜωΝ Ν̄ΡΕϥϩωΤΒΕ ΑϥΜ̣Ε̣[. . . .
. . . .]Ε̣ΧΕ • ΧΕ ΜΝ̄ϢΕΚ ΟΥΠΑϩΡΕ ΠΕ̣ΤΑΚ . [. . .
. . Α]ΒΑΛ • ΑϥΟΥΑϩϹΑϩΝΕ ΝΝ̄ϾΕΙΝΕ Μ̣Ν̄ . . [. .
. . Μ]ΟΥϢΤ̄ Μ̄ΠCωΜΑ ΠΕΚϩωΜΑ Ε̣Τ̣Ο̣Υ̣Ⲁ̣Β̣[Ε ΕΤ
Α]Ϥ̣ϣΒΕ ΑϥΜ̣Ε̣Ε̣Υ̣ ΑΡΑϥ • ΑϥΧΕΡΟ Ν̄ϾΕΤΕ Ν[ϩΡΗΙ ϩΝ
ΟΥΝΑϬ Ν̄ΑϩΡ̄ΤΑΥ
Ⲁ̀]ΠⲀΡΑϰΩΝ ΠΕΤ̣ϢΝϨ̀ ΑΠΕϥϢ]ΠΕ ΜΝ̄ . Ε̣ . . . .
ΤΗΡΟΥ Μ̄ΠΥ̣Ε̣ . . . . . .
non legi potest
ΝΝ̣̀ϰωΤ ΝΝ̄ρωΟΥ Ν̄ΤΠΟΛΙC ΑϥϾωϢ Μ̄ΠϬ̣ϾΝ̣ΑϬ Ⲁ
ρΕΥ ΑΠϬ̣ΚΑΙϩωΤΒΕ ρ̄ΜΕ̣ΪΝΕ Ν̄ρωΜΕ Ν̣Ιϖ Ε̣Τ̣ϢΝ̣
ϩΗΤ Μ̄ΜΑϥ
Ⲛ̀ΠϩΟΟΥ Μ̄ΠCΝΕΥ Ν̄ΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ ΑΚΧΙ Μ̄ΠΕ̣ΑΥ̣ Μ̄Π
ϬΡΟ • ΑΚΜΟΥΡ-ϬΡΗΠΕ ΑΧωΚ • ΧΕ ΑΚϩωΤΒΕ Ν̄ΤΡΕ̈Ι
ΤΕ Ν̄ΚΕΚΕ ϩΝ̄ΠΕΒΑΤ Μ̄ΠΑΡ̄ϩΑΤ Ν̄ϹΟΥϥΤΑ[Υ ΠⲀ
ΠΟΟϩ ΑΚΧΙ Μ̄ΠΚ̀ΚΛΑΜ ω ΠⲀ̈ΙωΤ ΠΡΕϥϬΡΟ ϩΝ̄
ΠΜ̄ΛΑϩ \ ϢΝ̄ϩΤΗΚ ΑΧωΪ ✝ϹΑΠϹΠ̄ Μ̄ΜΑΚ ΠΠ̄ΚΛϹ
Ⲱ ΠΜ̄ΝΤΡῈ Ν̄Μ̄ΜΝ̄ΤΝΑϥΡΕ Ν̄ΑΤΤΕΟΥΑΥ Μ̄ΠϢΑΡΠ̄
Ν̄ΧΡϹ ΠΜΕ̣ΙΝΕ Ν̄Τ✝ΥΧΗ ΤΕΤΑΠΕϹϹΑ̈ΪΤ ϣΡ ΑΠ
ΤΟ \ ϥΤΑΜΕ ΝΕΚ ΑΧΙ ΠΙΚΛΑΜ ΠΝ̄ΪωΤ ϩΝ̄ϩΝ̄ϢΑ̈ΪΕ ΕΥ
ρⲀ]ΥΤ Μ̄ΝϩΝ̄Μ̣[Ⲁ]ΝΝΥΧΙϹΜΟϹ \ ΠϬΡΟ ΝΕΚ ϩΝ̄ΧΑ̈Ϊϲ
ΠΜΝ̄Χϲ ΟΥϬΡΟ ΑΝ Μ̄ΠΕΚΒΗΜΑ ΠⲀ̣ΠΕΑΥ ΕΤϹΜⲀ.

2 fort. ΝΑΤΝΑΕ. — 12 fin. Μ̣Ε̣ incertum: fort. ϥ.

. . . . . my Lord Mani, the judge (κριτής) of this Universe

. . . . . .

illegible

. . thy joyous wings. First thou didst pray unto . . .

. . . Father, but the dead body (σῶμα) thou didst cast down before [the face of] thy enemies.

. . . . . the nature (φύσις) of deception . . . . . .

the cruel . . . . ., the sign . . . . . .

he desired in the madness of his wrath in . . . . . .

to destroy the beauty of thy limbs (μέλος). Thou didst ascend in . . .

. . . . . to the height without any hindrance.

He . . . . ., even the murderous demon (δαίμων), he . . . .

. . . word, saying: 'Perchance it is a drug which thou hast . . . .

forth'. He commanded the physicians and . . . . .

to examine the body (σῶμα), thy holy body (σῶμα) [which he mocked and plotted against, he kindled fire in a great . . . . .

The dragon (δράκων) that lives to his shame and all his (?)

. . . . . .

illegible

the buildings of the gates of the city (πόλις), he spilled his blood to no purpose, his murder also became a sign for all men that

. . . . . him.

On the second day of the week (κυριακή), thou didst receive the glory of victory, thou didst bind the diadem upon thee, for thou didst kill the race of Darkness, in the month Phamenoth, on the fourth day, Monday, thou didst receive thy garland. O my Father, the conqueror in the war, be merciful unto me, I pray thee, Paraclete.

O witness of the ineffable benefactions of the first Christ, the sign of the soul whose fame has spread to the earth, it is fitting for thee to receive this garland, our Father, in joyous feasts and vigils (παννυχισμός). Victory to thee, our Lord Mani, victory too to thy Bema, the glorious and blessed,

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6 cf. infr. 70, 30. — 12 ⲁⲩⲛⲟ]ⲩⲣⲥ: ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ occurs several times in the sense of 'destroy' 'remove', vide infr. 50, 22; 59, 9; 62, 21; 70, 3. But this meaning seems unsuitable here and perhaps we should read ⲁⲩⲛⲟ]ⲩⲟⲥ, 'he was angry'. — 17 ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲩ, meaning doubtful, cf. infr. 70, 1. Perhaps 'furnace'?. — 24 ff. cf. infr. 18, 5 ff.; Hom. 60 n.(a); W.Henning, ZDMG 90, 6. — 32 according to the Index Psalms 200—205 relate to the παννυχισμός. On the general question of the manich. cultus see Polotsky Abriss p. 264.

μ[ααϯ] μ̄ντ†γχη ϯ̄μαρια θεονα

>· ck5 ·< . . . .

λεγγ]τηρον τηρογ αγχωκ ϩ̄ϩητ̄ϥ̄ πϣ̄ϊωϯ [. . .
.]. . . . . πϣ̄χαϊϲ πμανιχαιος
. . . . . .] ϩ̄ππϩ̣ⲟⲟγε ϯ̄πεϲταγρος αϥ† ϯ̄μαϥ ϣ̄[.
. . . .]ⲟγϩ̣ⲓⲁ ϣ̄ϩ̣ρⲏϊ ϩ̄ππϲνεγ ϣ̄τκγριακη ⲁϥ[. . .
ϩϲογ]ϥταγ ϯ̄πεβατ ϯ̄παρϯ̄ϩατπ̄ • ϯ̄ππεγ [νχπ
μντογ]ⲏⲉ ϣ̄τε πεϩοογε αϥ† ϯ̄μαϥ αϩρηϊ ⲁ̣π[μογ
. . . . . .] πμακαριος πϣ̄χαϊϲ πμανιχαιος αϥⲕ̣[ωλχ
ννεϥ]πετ ερτωβϩ̄ ϣ̄ογναε ερωϣ ϣαπϣ̄[ογ
τε χε] ογεν νηϊ ϯ̄προ ϣ̄κ† νηϊ ϣ̄ογαϲτϣ̄ α[βαλ
ϩννⲁ̣ϯ̄κοοϩ
Ναρ]χ[ω]ν ϯ̄πκαϩ αγ†ϩεπ αραϊ ϩ̄ϯογβλⲕε [. .
. . . .]. ϣ̄ⲛογϲεχε ϣ̄δαλ ϩιτϣ̄ ϣ̄ϲεχε ϣ̄ⲛ̣ . [. . . .
. . .] νεϊ εραγπωνε ϣ̄ϲερϊβε ϯ̄πετϩαλδ [νϲ]ε
ⲉⲉϥ ϯ̄πετϲαϣε
λεπϩο]ⲟγ εταγντ ϯ̄πμητ αβαλ ϯ̄πκριτηϲ α . . . ϩ̣ⲉ
μϣ̄πⲕ̣ . . . . . .[. . . . . τα]χ[ρ]αϊτ . . . τη
ρογ ⲉⲓⲛⲉ̣ . . . . . ϣ̄ϩητⲟγ ⲣ̄βοηθει αραϊ
Ϡανομος τηρογ αγ†ϩεπ αραϊ ϣ̄ⲁϲεβηϲ ϣ̄χπο ϣ̄
τε πναβε αγεμαϩτε ϯ̄μαϊ ογτε πμηϣε τηρϥ̄
ϣ̄θε ϣ̄ογεϲαγ εμ̄ντεϥ μεννγ
Ⲁγβογβογ αραϊ ϣ̄θε ϣ̄ννιαμη αγϩϯ̄ϩϯ̄ αχωϊ ϣ̄θε
ϣ̄ννιμογϊ εγχω ϯ̄μαϲ ννϊ ϩ̄ογναδ ϣ̄ϲμη χε
τϣ̄ηⲕ̣ ϣ̄ϩητ εν ατρεκειρε ϣ̄ννιϩβηγε
Ⲁϥⲣ̄ ϣ̄βαν αραϊ ϣ̄ϩρηϊ ϩ̄ϣ̄τεϥβλⲕε αϥϲαχνε αραϊ
μϣ̄νεϥμεγιϲταναοϲ • αϥωρⲕ̣ ννϊ αν ϯ̄πογχεϊ
ϯ̄πεϥϊωτ χε †νακααⲕ̣ εν ϩ̄ππⲕ̣οϲμοϲ χϣ̄ϯ̄
πιναγ
Ⲁγ† βανιπε αραϊ ϣ̄θε ϣ̄ννιρεϥⲣ̄ν[α]βε • αγϲωνϩ̣ μ̣

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2 post numerum vestigia tenuia quattuor litterarum. — 5 pro ϩοογε, ϩωχε P. — 6 kγριακη μ[P. — 7/8 νχπμντογηε HT, coll. Hom. 60, 13. — 11 ϣ̄ογαεϯ ϣ̄ο[γ P. — 25 ϩβηογε P.

and the soul of Mary, Theona.

CCXXVI.

All mysteries have been fulfilled in thee, our Father, ...
. . . . . our Lord Mani.
. . . . . on the day (?) of the cross(σταυρός) he gave himself up to
the authorities (ἐξουσία?), on the second day of the week (κυριακή), he . . .
on the fourth day of the month Phamenoth, [at the eleventh
hour] of the day, he gave himself up to death (?).
. . . . the blessed (μακάριος) one, our Lord Mani, he bent
his knees, imploring mercy, crying out unto God,
saying: 'Open me the door and give me release out
of my sufferings.
'The rulers (ἄρχων) of the earth judged me in their wrath,
. . . . . their lying words, through the words of the . . . . .
. . ., men that alter and change that which is sweet and
make it bitter.
'In the day that they brought me before the judge (κριτής) . . . .
with the . . . . . firmly established . . .
all of them . . . . . of them aided (βοηθεῖν) me.
'All the lawless ones (ἄνομος) judged me; the impious (ἀσεβής), the creatures of
sin, held me in their power amidst the whole multitude,
like a sheep that has no shepherd.
'They buzzed (?) at me like wasps, they roared against me like
lions, saying to me in a loud voice:
It pleases us not that thou shouldest do these things.
'He did evil (?) unto me in his wrath, he counselled against me
with his chieftains (μεγιστᾶνος), he swore to me by the salvation
of his father, saying: I will not leave thee in the world (κόσμος)
henceforth.
'They loaded me with iron, as they do to sinners; they fettered me

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2 There are faint traces of letters to the right of the number, possibly ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩ i. e. Syrus cf. 14, 19. — 11 'release' reading ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲥⲧⲛ̄ cf. Spiegelberg op. cit. p. 172. — 23 ⲃⲟⲩⲃⲟⲩ in this sense is not known elsewhere. — 26 ⲣ̄ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲛ vide supr. 15, 31.

ⲙⲁⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥϫⲓⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲩ⳨ϩⲉⲡ ⲁ̣ⲣⲁ̈ⲓ [ⲛ]ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ
. . . . . .]ⲕ̣ • ⲁⲩⲁ . . . . . ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲣ̄ϩⲓⲕ̣
Ⲭ]ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲧ̄ ϣⲁⲡϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ϣⲁⲩ
ⲁ̣ⲡ̣ⲟ̣ⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁϫⲟⲩⲧⲉⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ • ⲉⲩⲣⲁ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ
ϣⲏ] ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ϩⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲣⲗⲧ ⲉⲩⲣⲁ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁ̈
Ⲁⲩ⳨ ϩⲓⲱ]ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ • ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ ϩⲛ̄ϩⲛ̄
. . . .]ⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏ
Ⲭⲟⲩ]ⲙ̣ⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲙ̄ⲕⲟⲟϩ ⲉ⳨ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ
Ⲛ[ⲓⲣⲉ]ⲩ̣ⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ ⲁⲧⲣⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲁ
ϣ]ⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲉ
ⲡⲓ]ⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ϣⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲓ
Ⲭⲛⲙ]ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲁ̣ⲓⲱⲅⲙⲟⲥ ϣⲁⲡϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩ
ⲣⲟⲥ] ϣⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲟⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ • ⲁ̈ⲓⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉ̈ⲙⲁϩⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ
ⲧⲉ ⲙ̣]ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲓⲭⲙⲁⲗⲱⲧⲟⲥ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ
ⲧ]ⲉ [ⲛⲛⲓ]ϣⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ
Ⲁⲩⲕⲓⲙ ⲁⲩⲛⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲛⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲛϥⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲃ̈ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲧ̇ ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱϣⲉ ⲣⲱ ⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ
ⲁⲧⲣⲟⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏ̈ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲡⲗⲁⲧⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲥⲉⲣⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ
ⲁϫⲱ̈ⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲥⲓⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲁ̈ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁ
ⲛⲓⲧ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩ • ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ
Ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ̈ⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲥⲁ̈ⲓⲱ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲉⲩ
ⲁⲡⲁ̈ⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟ̈ⲓ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ ⲉϣⲁϥⲥⲉⲗⲏⲃ̈ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲏⲩ
ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲥⲓⲧⲁⲉⲥⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟ ⲁⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ
Ⲁ̈ⲡⲱⲣⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲓϫ ⲉ̈ϣⲗⲏⲗ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲕⲱⲗϫ̄ ⲛ̣ⲛ̣ⲁ
ⲡⲉⲧ̇ ⲉ̈ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ̄ ⲛⲉϥ ⲁⲛ • ϫⲉ ⲉ̈ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲕⲧ̄ ⲁⲥⲏⲩ ⲛ̄
ⲑⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ ⲉ̈ⲛⲁⲃⲱϣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥϧⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏ̈ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲟ
ⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲩⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲁⲡⲉ ⲉⲩ
ⲉⲓⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄

4 ϫⲁⲕⲟ]ⲩ P. — 6 ⲁⲩ⳨ ϩⲓⲱ]ⲧ sic P ipse accepi. — 7 ϩⲁⲗⲩⲥ]ⲓⲍ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ P.

as they do thieves, they judged me like
. . . . ., they all (?) . . . . . me (?) as they do sorcerers.
'From the day when they bound me to the day of the cross (σταυρός)
there are numbered (?) in all some twenty-six days, they keeping watch on
me night and day, appointing guards, keeping watch on me.
'They put six neck-chains (κολλάριον) upon me, they fettered me with
. . . . . ., while all the Elect wept and the Catechumens,
seeing my sufferings wherein I was.
'Those sinners, all of them, did not allow me to see my
children and my disciples (μαθητής) and my shepherds and my
bishops (ἐπίσκοπος), when they saw them coming unto me.
'From the day of the great persecution (διωγμός) to the day of the
cross (σταυρός) there are six years. I spent them walking in the midst
of the world (κόσμος), like captives (αἰχμάλωτος) in the midst
of strangers.
'They were stirred, they trembled, even the powers of the Evil One, they turned
their sword against the humble man, there were not willing indeed
to see me in the streets (πλατεῖα) of their cities (πόλις).
'Lo, the sky and the earth and the two luminaries bear witness
of me in the height that *I* did good
among them, but they in their cruelty crucified (σταυροῦν) me.
'I was gazing at my Familiar with my eyes of light, beholding
my glorious Father, him who waits (?) for me ever,
opening before me the gate unto the height.
'I spread out my hands, praying unto him; I bent my
knees, worshipping him also, that I might divest myself of
the image (εἰκών) of the flesh (σάρξ) and put off the vesture (σχῆμα)
of manhood.'
Lo, his body (σῶμα) was brought forth in the city (πόλις)
of those sinners, when they had cut off his head and
hung it up amid the whole multitude.

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4 cf. Hom. 60, 11. 12. — 8 lit. 'wherein I am'. — 22 ⲁⲡⲁⲥⲁϊⲱ cf. infr. 42, 22; and Polotsky's note 'Mani-Fund' p. 71: for the original meaning see Crum op. cit. 374 b, comparing infr. 56, 22. — 23 ⲍⲉⲗⲏⲟ meaning uncertain, vide inf. 35, 29; Hom. XIX; 43, 19; Crum Dict. 672 b.

non legi potest

ⲛ̀ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩ[ⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ . . . . . .
ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁⲫ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲛⲏⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩ . [. .
. . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲣ|ⲧ ⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲁϥⲕⲱ ⲛ . .
. . . . . ⲉ̀ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ϫⲉⲩⲛⲁ . . . [. .
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ̀ⲩⲱⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ . . . . . [. . . .
. . . . . ϥ
ⲙ . ⲱ . . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲟ|ⲭ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲛ̄[ⲛⲕⲁ
ⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ̀ [. .]ϥ[.
ⲁ̀ⲩ . ⲉ̀ . ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ̀ ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ + ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ [. .
. .] . . . . . .
ⲑ . . . . . ⲛ̀ⲧⲛ̀ . . . ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ ⲙ̀[. . .
ⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ . . . . [ⲉⲧⲣⲁ
ⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ [ⲡⲡⲛⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡ|ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩ|ⲧⲛ̄ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩ[ⲥⲱⲧⲡ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ⳨ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · ckz · <

Ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲧⲛ̄
ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲕ̀ϩⲙⲁⲥⲧ̄ ⲁϫⲱϥ
Ⲁⲕⲉⲓ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲡⲕⲗⲥ ⲡⲉ
ⲧⲁϥⲧⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲩϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ |ⲏⲥ • ⲁⲕⲉⲓ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲛ̄
ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄⳨ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ • ⲁⲕⲉⲓ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁ̈ⲓⲥ
ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ • ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ
ⲁ|ⲗⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ
Ⲱⲛ̄ϩⲧⲏⲕ ⲟ̀ⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲡⲡⲕⲗⲥ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲱⲙⲁⲛ
ϩⲧⲏϥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲕⲱ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̀ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲟⲩ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲃ| ⲱⲡ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ
ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲉϥ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁ̀ⲱⲣⲉⲁ ϫⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲱⲃϩ̀
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲕⲱ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲧⲧⲃⲏⲙⲁ [ⲡⲉ] ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ ⲛ̄|ⲏⲥ ⲙ̀ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ

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3 fin. fort. ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩ. — 8 init. ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣϣ̄ vid. — 30 leg. ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ.

illegible

the Elect and the Catechumens . . . . . .
their great shepherd who has ascended from among them (?).
. . . . . when the Beloved had ascended into heaven, he set . . .
. . . . . his Elect, that they might . . . . .
night and day the . . . . . .
. . . .
. . . . . your hands, all the Elect and the Catechumens
of the faith and pray ye . . . . .
your (?) prayers, that the Father of Glory may give to you
. . . . . .
. . . . . who see (?) me . .
light (?), these that are in the Church, ... that
watch over her night and day.
Glory and victory to our Lord Mani, the Spirit
of Truth, him that is come from the Father, and all his
holy Elect. Victory to the soul of Mary.

CCXXVII.

We worship thee, the judge (κριτής), the Paraclete, we
bless thy Bema whereon thou art seated.
Thou didst come in peace (εἰρήνη), o Spirit of Truth, the Paraclete, whom
Jesus sent; thou didst come in peace (εἰρήνη), new sun
of the souls of men; thou didst come in peace (εἰρήνη), our Lord
Mani. We worship thy Bema and thy
new covenant (διαθήκη).
Have mercy then (?) upon thy people (λαός), o Paraclete, merciful
Father, and forgive us the sins which we have committed,
all of them. Make not reckoning with us for them, for (γάρ) this is
the day which thou hast given us as a present(δωρεά), that we might beseech
thee, our Lord, and thou forgive us our sins.
This is the Bema of Jesus and the Maiden of Light

31 'the Maiden of Light', see Polotsky in 'Ein Mani-Fund' p. 67 i.

ι]νε μ̄ν̄πκριτηc ν̄τεκκληcια πεϊ πε πμεϊνε
μ̣πβημα μ̄πκριτηc ετ2ν̄παηρ • πβημα ν̄τ̣[. .
. . . .] . . . βημα μ̄π . . . λ . . μ̄π[. . . . . .
non legi potest
2]ατμ̄ντρρο
ⲁⲕⲃⲱ]ⲱ μ̄μαν ν̄τλγπη ακ† αχων μ̣̄π[ρεωε
μ̄πoογε πν̄χαϊc ππ̄κλc νεκεκκληcια τ̣ηρ̣ογ
χ]ωκ αβαλ μ̄πεκμγcτηριον • τν̄† ν̄τν̄ογρ̄
μ̄πoογε ν̄θε νν̄ιωην ν̄ταϊογτα2 χε εcαωω
πε] νεν ν̄ογκλαμ ν̄κκω μ̄μαч α2ρη̈ϊ [αχων
Ππε]τακαταφρονε μ̄πoογε cενακαταφρονε μ̄
μα]ч μ̄π2ooγ ν̄τδιννβαωч̄ μ̄πcωμα [ακβαωκ
μπε]ⲕεαγ ακτεεκ απμογ 2αν†γχαγε ακτεεκ
ατοτч] μ̣̄π̣χαχε ατρογωωλ πεκcναч αβαλ
χε] εκανογ2με μ̄μαν απκεκε χε αντεεν
2ω]ων 2ατμ̄ντρρο
Μπεκκααν ενωαατ ν̄λαγε χε εναδν απολο
για μ̄ππ̄το μ̄πκριτηc ν̄τμηε • ακε|νε νεν ν̄
ογϊελ αβαλ 2ν̄τκμ̄ντρρο ανδωωτ̄ αννεγ απ
τηρч̄ ν̄2ητc̀ νεταγωωπε μ̄ν̄νε[ταωωπε μν
νετωοοπ τηρογ μ̄π̣ . . . . . ε̣ .[. . . . . .
Μπωρτν̄καταφρονε ν̣ε̣ⲕ̣λ̣ε̣ⲕτος [μννκατη
χογ[[μενος μ̄π]]νομος ετανχιτч̄ • α[. . . . .]εγ 2ν̄
πν̄2[[ητ χε ερε]] πν̄νογτε ογ[. . . . . .
νεγ α[[ραч εν 2ν̄]]νιβελ ν̄cαρκιⲕ̣ον .[. .]. . . . .
2ν̄τν̄[[μητε ν̄θ]]ε μ̄πρη ετπ̄ρ̄ϊε 2ν̄τ̣[πε
Ππαδ [[ν̄ρρο ετχ]]αce 2μεcτ̄ α2ρηϊ αχν̄πε̣чβημα
чνεγ [[αν2βηγε]] μ̄πoγε πογε μ̄μ̄αν • πν̄χαϊc γαρ
αчχ[[ooc χε πα]]μαν̄2μεcτ̄ .[. . . .]. . . . . .ⲍ .
ναε[[ⲕκληcια τ]]ηρογ ειγο ν̄θε ν̄[. . . . . .
πε αν[[ⲁ̣ⲓⲕⲁⲓoc ч]]ραϊc μ̄ν̄νε . . . . .[. . . . . .
πλανη

23—31 litteras quot inter [[. . .]] inclusi in panniculo novae papyri recentior exaravit manus cf. supr. p. 2.

and the judge (κριτής) of the Church. This is the sign
of the Bema of the judge (κριτής) who is in the air (ἀήρ); the Bema of the
. . . . . Bema of the . . . . . of the . . . . . .

illegible

for the kingdom.
Thou didst strip us of grief (λύπη), thou hast put joy upon us
today, our Lord the Paraclete. All thy Churches
are fulfilling thy mystery. We give our rose
today, like fruit-giving trees, that it may become
for us a garland and thou set it [upon our head.
He that shall despise (καταφρονεῖν) today shall be despised (καταφρονεῖν)
on the day when he shall put off the body (σῶμα). Thou didst put off (?)
thy glory and didst give thyself up to death for souls, thou gavest thyself
up to the enemy that thy blood might be shed,
in order that thou mightest save us from the Darkness; for we too
have given ourselves for the kingdom.
Thou didst not leave us lacking anything to find defence (ἀπολογία)
in the presence of the judge (κριτής) of Truth; thou didst bring us
a mirror from thy kingdom, we looked and saw the
universe in it, the things that have been and that shall be and
that are, all of them . . . . . .
Let us not despise (καταφρονεῖν), the Elect (ἐκλεκτός) and the Cate-
chumens, the law (νόμος) which we have received . . . . . think (?) in
our hearts that our God is a . . . . . .
see him not with these fleshly (σαρκικός) eyes . . . . . .
in our midst, like the sun that shines in the sky (?).
The great exalted king is seated upon his Bema,
he sees the deeds of each one of us; for (γάρ) our Lord
said: 'My seat is . . . . . .
my Churches are all like . . . . . .
. . . the righteous (δίκαιος), he keeps watch with his (?) . . . . . .
Error (πλάνη).

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2 The judge who is in the air: cf. infr. 22, 12; Keph. 35, 24 ff.; Mani-Fund p. 71 l. — 6 for the 'putting on' and 'putting off' of qualities and emotions cf. 1 Cor. 15, 53; Col. 3, 12; Odes of Solomon (ed Rendel Harris) 15, 8; 33, 10 etc. — 8, 9 cf. infr. 47, 15; 153, 8 ff. — 19 vide supr. 9, 6. — 21, 22 i. e. the 'three moments' supr. 7, 9.

Μαρ̄ṭaï̈o δε ṗ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄[ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲩⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲡ . . . . ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲙⲁ[. .
. . . . . ⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . . . . ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭ[ⲟⲩⲙⲉ
ⲛ]ⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ . . . .ⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲱ[. . . . .
. . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲥⲁⲡⲛ[. . . . .
Ττⲉⲓ ⲡ]ⲉ ṗⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲱⲣⲧ̄ ⲉⲧ[ⲭⲓ ⲁ
ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲭⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ṗ[ⲉ
ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̇[ⲛⲓ
ⲏⲥⲟⲩⲥ ⲡ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲡ̄ⲕⲗ̄ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲥⲙⲉ ⲱ [ⲧϯⲩ
ⲭⲏ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲫ
Χⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏ[ⲥⲓⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲭⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲡⲕⲣ̇ⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ [ⲉⲧⲍⲛ
ⲡⲁⲏⲣ [ⲩ]ⲁϯ ⲛ̇ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲱⲁⲙ̄ⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲡⲃⲁⲡⲧ[ⲓ
ⲥⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲣⲁⲭⲓⲧⲩ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧ̇[ⲭⲏⲕ ⲛ
ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛⲁⲭⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲭⲓⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲣⲣⲟ
Ττⲉⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲩⲁϯ ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲱⲛⲍ [. . .
ⲡⲉⲧ . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲣⲱ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲍⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ • ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩ
ⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲩⲁϯ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ̄ⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈
ⲛⲉ . . . . . ⲕⲁ . ⲥⲛⲁϯ ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ[. . . .]ⲛ̇ⲡ . [. . .] . . . . . ⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲃⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲙ̄ⲡ . . [. . . .]
Οⲩⲉⲁⲩ [ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲟ]ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲡⲕ]ⲗ[ⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈[ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲍ] ⲟⲩⲟⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁ
ⲛⲓⲭ[ⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲛⲡⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲡⲱⲃⲉⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲥ
ⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ [. . . .]. . . ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲍⲱⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲙ̄
ⲡ[. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟ[ⲫ]ⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · ckh · <

Ττⲛ̄ⲭ[ⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲡⲕⲗⲥ] ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲍⲙⲉⲥ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲏ
ⲙ̇ⲁ [ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲍ ⲧ]ⲏⲣⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲁ
ⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ]
Ττ[. . . . . .] ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲏ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ

5 fin. fort. ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ[ⲟⲩⲧⲉ.

Let us therefore honour the . . . . . none has made mock of him
and put behind him his . . . . . The Elect (ἐκλεκτός)
. . . . . the Catechumens
of . . . . . and his almsgivings . . . . . .
. . on the day of judgment (κρίσις) the honour of God (?).
This is the way of Truth, this is the stairway that leads to
the height, that will lead us up to the Light. From the beginning
the First Man is this way and
Jesus the Dawn and the Paraclete-Spirit, they have summoned thee, o Soul,
that thou mayest ascend to the height by it.
Receive the Holy Seal (σφραγίς) from the Mind (νοῦς) of the Church
and fulfil the commandments (ἐντολή). The judge (κριτής) himself that is in
the air (ἀήρ) will give thee his three gifts — the baptism (βάπτισμα)
of the Gods thou shalt receive in the Perfect Man: the
Luminaries (φωστήρ) will make thee perfect and take thee to thy kingdom.
Thy Father, the First Man, will give thee thy life (?) . . .
who (?) . . . to give it since thy beginning; the divine
envoy of Truth will give thee the diadem of Light;
. . . . . will give thee thy garland of renown,
and thou . . . . . because thou hast wiped out
the . . . . .
Glory and victory to the Paraclete-Spirit, the fruitful
tree of life. Victory to our Apostle, our Lord
Mani and the Twelve, the seventy-two envoys (πρεσβευτής),
. . . . . to every one that sings and praises
the . . . . . of wisdom (σοφία) and to the soul of Mary.

CCXXVIII.

Our Lord the Paraclete has come, he has sat down upon his Bema;
let us all pray, my brethren, that he may forgive us
our sins.
The . . . . . whom he sent in the counsel

9 vide Polotsky's note, 'Mani-Fund' p. 66 (h). — 13 cf. infr. 56, 4; 83, 31. — 14 'Mani-Fund' p. 66 (g). — 15 i. e. the sun and moon, Act. Arch. § VIII. — 18, 19 cf. 'Mani-Fund' p. 71 (o). — 24 cf. Aug. de haer. § 46; Keph. 12, 27. 28; Waldschmidt-Lentz, SPAW 1933, 592 ff.

ⲛⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ • ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣ᾽
ⲁ]ⲩⲧⲱⲥⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ • ⲁⲩϫⲁⲕⲩ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣ᾽
ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲩⲑⲗⲓ†ⲓⲥ • ⲁⲩⲟⲩ
ⲛ|ⲉⲙ ⲁⲩⲉⲩⲇⲁ|ⲙⲟⲛ|ⲁ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩ† ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲃ|ⲓϫ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲥⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲗⲟⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲯⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲧⲣⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲛⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ †ⲛⲏⲥ ⲛ̄
ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩ† ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲣⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ • ⲧⲃⲃⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲥ̀ ⲁ
ⲡⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲙ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩ†] ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲍⲕⲉⲉⲧ • ⲑⲃⲥⲱ ⲁⲩⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲥ̀ ⲛ̄
ⲛⲉⲧⲕⲏ]ⲕ ⲁⲍⲏⲩ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁ[ⲩⲧⲣ]ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲩⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲩⲡⲣⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩ
ⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲛ̄ⲟⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲱ • ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲱⲍⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄
ⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ • ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ϫⲉⲥⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ
ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲃⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲉ • ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲱⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲁⲗⲡ|ⲓⲅ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲩ ⲛⲉⲧ
ⲧⲍⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲩⲛⲉⲍⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟ ⲛⲉⲍⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ • ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲗⲱⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲟⲗ|ⲥ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ • ϫⲉⲩⲁⲧⲁϫⲁⲩ ⲧⲍⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲁⲗⲩ̄ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲱⲧⲉⲕⲱⲟⲩ • ⲁⲩⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉ
ⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲛ|ⲡⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁ†ⲟⲩ
ⲁ̈ⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲩ̄ⲗⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲁⲩ[. . . . . ⲁ]ⲩ† ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩ
ⲡⲛⲁ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲱ|ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ[ⲛⲟⲙ|ⲁ ⲁ]ⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲗ̀

1 ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ P: siglum ᾽ verbi contractionem indicat, ⲧⲏⲣ᾽ pro ⲧⲏⲣⲛ̄. — 22 ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ pro ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ P.

of the Aeons of immortality. Implore him all.
He anointed him in his power, he made him perfect by the Spirit of his love (ἀγάπη). Implore him all.
He appointed him to three powers, to tribulation (θλίψις), to a right hand,
5 to bliss (εὐδαιμονία). Implore him.
He gave into his hands the medicine of life that he might heal the wounded. Implore him.
He gave light with his Light to our lamps (λαμπάς). Put oil into them by your faith. Implore him.
10 He gave the helmsman to the ships; the butter he brought to the warm milk. Implore him.
He gave the bread of life to the hungry; the clothing he brought to the naked. Implore him.
He gave light by his love (ἀγάπη) to our Intelligence (νοῦς); he made his
15 faith shine in our Reason. Implore him.
He brought perfection to our Thought, long-suffering to our Counsel. Implore him.
He bestowed Wisdom (σοφία) on our Intention that it might be as butter for us. Implore him.
20 He sounded with his trumpet (σάλπιγξ) in the worlds (κόσμος) that are far, that are near, he roused them. Implore him.
The ruler (ἄρχων) of the earth rose up against him and persecuted (διώκειν) him in his cities (πόλις). Implore him.
He assumed (φορεῖν) the heart of his judges (κριτής) that they might condemn
25 him like the impious (ἀσεβής). Implore him.
They shut him up in their prisons and loaded his limbs (μέλος) with iron. We implore him.
They counselled against him in their evil counsels that they might cast a slur on him daily. Implore him.
30 In the power of his glorious Father he . . . . he gave his Spirit. Implore him.
He was put to shame, the judge (κριτής) of lawlessness (ἀνομία?), he brought his wrath down

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4 'a right hand' i. e. 'succour' cf. 2, 5 n. — 10, 19 ϭϐϲⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲉ vide Crum op. cit. 353 a. I cannot do better than quote P's note: 'Das Bild vom Verschmelzen der Butter in warmer Milch kommt . . . bei der Beschreibung der ἀποκατάστασις in den Keph. vor; es bedeutet offenbar die Wiedervereinigung einer Sache mit einer anderen, aus der sie ursprünglich hervorgegangen ist'. The reference to the Keph. is 54, 24 ff. — 14—18 i. e. νοῦς ἔννοια φρόνησις ἐνθύμησις λογισμός: vide Burkitt, The Relig. of the Manichees pp. 19, 33; and his note in M.R.James, The Apocryphal New Testament p. 378; Waldschmidt-Lentz, Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus p. 42. For the qualities peculiar to each, vide infr. 200, 19—29; Polotsky Abriss p. 256 ff. — 24 'assumed' i. e. as a garment, lit. 'wore'. — 29 The word ⲁⲓϐⲉ occurs infr. 58, 6, 7; 59, 27 ϫⲱⲕⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲕⲓ̈ⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲁⲓⲃⲉ; 79, 22 ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲁⲓⲃⲉ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ; 211, 26 ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ. The word appears to mean κηλίς, 'macula', a disfiguring spot or stain, thus ⲁⲧⲁⲓⲃⲉ may well be a translation of ἀκηλίδωτος. 'I am strongly inclined to think that stain is not the original meaning, which may go back to an old Egyptian word (Berl. Wb. I 6) ȝb, to brand cattle or slaves; we have it also in demotic documents': H.T.

ⲕⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲁⲅⲉⲓⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲩⲗⲏ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁ̀
ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲉⲩⲉ ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ
ⲡⲉⲩⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ̀ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲡⲥⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ⲥⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲃⲓ ⲱⲡ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡ̣ⲁ̣
ⲱⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲧⲉ̣ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲕ ⲁⲡⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕ[ⲉⲕ
ⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛ̣ⲉ
ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ

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Ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄ ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏ
ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲛ̄ ⲉⲛⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲕⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ
Ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲟⲩ ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲣⲓ
ⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲣⲉⲩ†ⲥⲉⲡ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄
†ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ
Ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ
ⲱⲛ ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲱⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ
ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ
Ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉ
ⲗⲟⲥ • ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ • ⲡⲕⲁⲍ
ⲧⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ
Ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ .[. . . . . .] ⲛ̣ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲕⲁⲍⲧⲏⲩ
ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ .[. . . . .]
Ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲕ [. . . . . .] ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ • ⸗ⲉ̣ⲗⲗ

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6 ⲥⲱⲥ̀ sic. — 10 ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲉ̣[ⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁ] P. — 11 ⲛ 4° sup. lin.

upon his body (σῶμα). Implore him.
They hung his head upon the gate (πύλη), knowing not
what they were doing. Implore him.
The wise ones also that are among men bore witness concerning
his eminence. Implore him.
Let us bless him now, my brethren, and sing to him
in our spirit (πνεῦμα). Implore him.
We pray thee all of us together, the Elect (ἐκλεκτός)
and the Believers. Implore him.
Do not make reckoning with us now, our Lord, according (κατά) to the
multitude of our sins.
Glory to the Father who sent thee for the salvation of thy
holy Churches. Implore him.
Glory and victory to the Paraclete, our Lord, our Light,
Mani, and the soul of Mary. Implore him.

CCXXIX.

Hail, our Lord, the Paraclete; hail, the Spirit of Truth.
We rejoice all of us as we see thy Bema, the Holy Ones
and the Catechumens.
Hail, Bema resplendent; hail, sign of the judge (κριτής),
the giver of judgment to the whole world (κόσμος), the Saviour of the
souls of men.
Hail, Mind (νοῦς) of the Father; garland of renown of the
Aeons, the Holy Spirit that scans (?) the universe, perfect
love (ἀγάπη) of the Father.
Hail, joy of the Gods, rest of the angels,
the entire will of the powers of the Light, the trust
of the sons of the kingdom.
Hail, gift (δῶρον) of the Father, holy present of
the Aeons . . . . . of the Gods, the angels; living trust
of . . . . . .
Hail, bread . . . . . holy imperishable water;

23 cf. Polotsky Abriss p. 256 ff. — 17 etc. 'Hail': χαῖρε.

π|c] ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲥ̀ • ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲏϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲩ
ⲥⲧⲏⲣ|ⲟⲛ

Ⲭⲁ|ⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲧϩ|ⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲧⲁⲛ̄ⲧ
ⲡ̣ⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲉⲥⲁⲩ • ⲑⲉⲗⲡ|ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛ̄ϩ ⲛ̄
ⲙ̄ⲧⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ

Ⲭ[ⲁ|ⲣⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲱ[ⲟ]ⲩ̣ⲡ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲁⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ • ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲕ̄ ⲁ̣ⲛ
ⲛ]ⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛⲛ̣ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲗⲉ

Ⲭⲁ|ⲣ]ⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ • ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡ|ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲟⲅⲙⲁ
ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲟⲩ • ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲙ ϩⲛ̄ⲡ|ⲁⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗ
ⲗⲉ] ⲉⲩⲕⲏⲕ ⲁϩⲏⲩ

Ⲭⲁ|ⲣ]ⲉ ⲡⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲡⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄
ⲧⲩ]ⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕⲁⲕⲛ̄ ⲁϩⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲛⲉⲥ ⲁⲩⲧ ⲁ
ⲭ]ⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ

Ⲭ[ⲁ|ⲣ]ⲉ ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲉϣⲉ ⲡ̄ⲡⲁⲧϣⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁ
ⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ⲥⲃ̄ⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲧ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅ|ⲟⲛ
ⲙⲏϩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏϩ

Ⲧⲛ]ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ̄ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗⲥ̄ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲙⲡⲉⲕ]ⲃⲏⲙⲁ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲕⲱ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ
ⲛⲉⲧⲁ̣ⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ̀ⲥ

Ⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁϫ ⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉϥ
ϩⲏⲧ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲕ̀ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲱⲧ̄ϩⲏⲧ • ⲕⲱ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁ
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉⲉⲩ

Ⲕⲟ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ̀ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲱⲁ
ⲑⲁⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ̀ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲧⲉ |ⲏⲥ̄ ⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ϥϩⲙⲉⲥ ⲁϫⲱϥ
ⲛ̄ϥ†ϩⲉⲡ ⲁⲛⲣⲉ|ⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

Ⲛⲉ̈ⲓⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲣ̀
ⲱⲁ̈ⲓⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲡ|ϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ̀ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱⲗⲏⲗ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ† ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ

Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗⲥ̄ π[ⲛⲁ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ • ⲧⲛ̄†[ⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥ
ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭ[ⲏ ⲛⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁ]ⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

24, 32/25, 1 fort. ⲑⲁⲗ[ⲙⲉ] legendum est quod melius cum ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲥ̀ congruit. — 6 ⲡⲉⲧⲁ̣[ⲩ P. — 8 ⲉⲛⲛ̣ⲟ P. verbum corruptum esse opinor, cum et punctum tertiae litterae delendae causa suppositum esse videatur cf. infr. 56, 13 ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ. — 26 ⲁⲛⲣⲉ|ⲧⲟⲩ sic. ⲁ . . . ⲉ̈ⲧⲟⲩ P: lege ⲁⲛⲣⲉ̈ⲧⲉ.

unfathomable hope (ἐλπίς) of life; wisdom (σοφία) full of
mystery.
Hail, gate of Light, the straight way of life,
good shepherd of his sheep, the hope (ἐλπίς) of the life of
the souls of men.
Hail, tree of knowledge that is in the midst
of this multitude of trees; whereof we ate and
saw, having been blind.
Hail, Spirit of Truth, that hath put all the Sects (δόγμα)
to shame, these that eat from this multitude of trees, being blind
and naked.
Hail, resurrection of the dead, new Aeon of the
souls of men, that hath stripped us of the Old Man and put
upon us the New Man.
Hail, day of joy, the blessed bridegroom;
lo, our lamps (λαμπάς) are ready; lo, our vessels (ἀγγεῖον)
are full of oil.
We worship thee, the Paraclete, we implore thee in the presence
of thy Bema to forgive us our sins
that we have committed during the year.
For (γάρ) there is none in this flesh (σάρξ) that is free from sin in his
heart. Thou alone art the searcher of hearts; forgive us
what we have done.
Thou art glorious, blessed Bema, that shall reign unto
the end of world (κόσμος), until Jesus shall come and sit upon it
and judge all races.
Blessed are the Elect and the Catechumens who
keep festival on this day and fast (νηστεύειν) and pray
and give alms, that they may reign in the New Aeon.
Glory and victory to the Paraclete, the [Spirit of Truth that is come
from the Father and our Lord; we glorify Mani and his
holy Elect and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

1 cf. Rossi op. cit. I 3. 78 a. — 8 ⲉⲛⲛⲟ: the reading is very uncertain. P suggests in a note that the form may be imperfect = ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲟ. — 13 cf. Eph. 4, 22. 24. — 15 cf. Matth. 25, 1 ff; infr. p. 191. — 21 vid. Crum op. cit. 512 a. — 22 cf. Rom. 8, 27; Acta Pauli (ed. Schmidt) 19, 21.

> cλ <

Ⲧⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲣⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲱⲁ[ⲛⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ̄ⲕⲗ̄ⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲙ̄ⲛ̄[ⲭⲥ
Ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲣⲱⲁⲓⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ . ⲡⲃⲏ
ⲙⲁ ⲡⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡ̣ⲣⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲱⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲱⲛⲧ [ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
+ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲍⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲙ[ⲉ|ⲛ]ⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟ[ⲫ]|ⲓⲁ [ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲱ]ⲱⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲛⲁⲫ̣ [ⲙⲛ
ⲛⲉⲕ[ⲙⲩⲥ]ⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ̣ ⲛ̄
ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡ̣[ⲉ ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ +ⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄
ⲡⲧⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ • ⲧⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡ̣ . [. .
ⲛⲁⲙⲏⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲁⲡⲭ̄ⲣ̄ⲥ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲩ+ⲍⲉⲡ ⲁⲛⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲃⲉ ⲛ
ⲍⲏⲧⲕ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲕ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ϫⲡ|ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
ⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ
Ⲧⲡⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲙⲛ̄+ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲃⲁⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ
ⲡⲍ̣ⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡ̣ⲉ ⲡ̣ⲛ̣[ⲉⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ [ⲡⲉ] ⲧ̣ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲗ̄ⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲃⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ
ⲛ̣[. . . . . ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲃⲁ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲗ̄ⲃⲁⲩ
�except . . . ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲭⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲉⲕ+ ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ
ⲡⲉⲧ+ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄+ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲣ|ⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧ
ⲡⲱⲣϫ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲩⲥ|ⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀ ⲟ[ⲩ . . . . . .]+ⲥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲁⲛⲍⲧⲏⲩ ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ[ⲕ̀ ⲡ]ⲉ ⲡ̣[ⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲛⲍ]ⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ̀ ⲡⲉ ⲡ̣[. . . . . ⲉ]ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

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4 fort. ⲱ post ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ. — 23 ⲟⲩⲭⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ sic cf. Schmidt, Texte und Untersuchungen 43: 17, 13; infr. 220, 6. 13.

CCXXX.

Light resplendent, the Bema, thou art come; we [call
unto thee, the children of the Paraclete, our Lord Mani.
I will keep festival for thee today; I have purified my heart, [o] Bema,
holy likeness, that overawes him that approaches it.
I bless thee, o glorious seat, the sign
of the Wisdom (σοφία); we worship the sign of thy greatness [and
thy mysteries ineffable.
Thou art the blessed (μακάριος) Root. Thou art the confirmation of
the Luminaries (φωστήρ). Thou art the gift of the air (ἀήρ). Thou art the
manifestation of the victory of the Light.
We see thee now, blessed (μακάριος) one, the word that is in
singleness of heart; we gaze after thee, the holy one, the . . . .
that is new indeed.
Thou art he that waits for Christ, that he may judge the sinners
through thee; today also through thee the Mind (νοῦς) puts to shame the
Sects (δόγμα) of Error (πλάνη).
Thanks to thee and peace (εἰρήνη), the garland and the palm. Thou art
the new year's day of joy. Thou art the hour (?)
of gladness.
Thou art the medicine of the healing of our wounds, which are
. . . . . and the wounds of the Faithful (πιστός) which cannot be
healed
. . . . . salvation and rest.
Thou art he that crushes evil (κακία), setting a garland upon
godliness; thou art he that cleanses the Light from the Darkness; thou
art he that gives rest unto the souls of men.
Thou art the honour that is honoured before all the apostles;
thou art the throne (θρόνος) of the judges (κριτής) of godliness that
separate the two natures (φύσις).
Thou art . . . . . sparing; thou art compassion entire;
thou art the rest of thy Catechumens;
thou art the holy . . . . . .

19 'new year's day of joy' HT, comparing Hom. 8, 4 for this use of ϩH. — 29 i. e. the sheep from the goats cf. 28, 15; Matth. 25, 32.

1—12 nisi ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ l. 1 cuncta perierunt

13 ⲧⲧⲉⲁⲩ] ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲏⲙⲁ [ⲟⲩ
ⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲉ]ⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ [ⲙⲛⲧ
ⲫⲩ]ⲭⲏ [ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲭ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲓ̈

ϲⲗⲁ ⲕ̅ⲩ ⲥⲩⲣⲟⲩ

17 ⲁⲙⲟⲩ] ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲣⲁⲩⲧ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ ⲛⲉⲧⲟ̣ⲉ̣ⲉ̣ⲧ̣
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛⲧⲕ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ • ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗⲥ
ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ
20 ⲧⲛⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲁ[ⲣⲁⲕ] ⲙ̄ⲡ̣ⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϩ̣ⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲁ . . . . .
ⲛ̣ⲉⲕ̣ ⲱ ⲡⲃ̣[ⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧ]ⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧ̣† ⲧⲟⲩ̈ⲟ ⲁⲣ̣[. . .
ⲡⲉⲧ̣ . . [. . . . .]
ⲧⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ̣ [ⲡ-ⲑ-ⲣⲟⲛ]ⲟ̣ⲥ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ϩⲙⲉⲥ ⲙ
ⲡⲕ̣ⲣ[ⲓⲧⲏⲥ . . . .] ⲧ̣ⲛ̄ⲟ̣ⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛⲉⲕ̣ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲛⲉⲩ ⲁ̣
25 ⲡⲉⲕ̣[ⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛⲛⲉⲕⲙ]ⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ
. . . . . .] ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ[ⲓⲟⲥ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ̣ ⲁ̣ⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲧⲁ
ⲭⲣⲟ̣ [. . . . . ⲛⲧ]ⲁⲕ̣ ⲡⲉ [. . . . ⲛ]ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̣
. . . . . .] ⲡⲉ̣ [. . . . ⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
. . . . . ⲛⲧⲁ]ⲕ̣ ⲡⲉ
30 . . . . .] ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁ
. . . . .] . . . . . ⲛ̄

24 post ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ fort. ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ.

1—12 fragmentary and illegible

13 Glory to thee, Mani; victory also to thy Bema.
Victory to the] Elect (ἐκλεκτός) and thy Catechumens and the
soul of Mary, Jmnoute, Pshai.

CCXXXI. By the Lord ($\overline{\text{kr}}$) Syrus.

17 Come], o joyous Bema, unto us that rejoice, that wait for
thee daily. We are the children of the Paraclete,
our Lord Mani.
20 We will bless thee today in our heart that . . . . . .
to thee, o Bema that art glorious, that givest recompense to . . .
that . . . . . .
Glory to thee, o glorious throne (θρόνος), the seat of
the judge (κριτής?). . . . We worship thee, for we have seen
25 thy glory and thy mysteries ineffable.
. . . . . blessed (μακάριος). Thou also art the
confirmation . . . . . Thou art . . . . of the air (ἀήρ). Thou
. . . . . art . . . . light
. . . . . Thou art
30 . . . . . we see
. . . . . .

16 cf. 14, 19 n.

1 N̄taⲕ πε τδaⲙ [. . . . . .

2—6 nil nisi vestigia tenuia perspexi

7 Ntaⲕ πε] πτλδo ⲙn̄̄πoyⲭ[ε| . . . . . .
. . . . .]ⲛ̣oⲥ • ⲛετⲭωⲕ ⲙ̄̄[. . . . . .
. . . . .] ετⲙaⲭⲍ̄ n̄n . ⲩⲁ . [ ] n̄ⲍht
10 Ntaⲕ πε π]ρεⲫBⲩo n̄ⲙ̄̄πεⲫ[aⲩ] πρεⲫ+[δρo . .
. . . .] ετaN|T • n̄taⲕ πⲉ ⲡ[. . .] . . . . . [. . . .

nil legi potest

Nta]ⲕ πε πtaⲩo n̄nettaⲩaⲩt naποστoλoc ⲧⲏ[poⲩ
ετc]ⲙaⲙaat n̄taⲕ πε πⲫⲣⲛⲟc n̄n̄ⲣεⲫ[+ⲍεπ
15 ετoⲩa]Bε nετπωρⲭ̄ aBaλ n̄tφⲩc|c cn̄̄τε
Ntⲕ oⲩ]naε ρω thⲣⲕ̀ ⲙn̄oⲩⲙn̄tⲱaNⲍ$\overline{\text{thⲫ}}$ thⲣⲕ̀
n̄taⲕ aN πε πtaⲭρo n̄ⲍht n̄ⲙ̄̄π|ctoc n̄ⲧ[aⲕ
aN] πε πcaBT̄ n̄netoⲩaBε
19 ⲦⲦeaⲩ neⲕ πBhⲙa n̄tⲗ|ka|ocⲩnh πtaⲭρo n̄n̄

20—22 nil legi potest, nisi ⲙε|ne ⲙ̄̄πnaδ n̄ l. 22.

23 n]noⲩaⲩne • n|ⲙ πetⲍn̄n̄ρωⲙ[ε eⲫ+]ⲙn̄̄tnaε
ⲙ]πeⲕcⲙaT h n|ⲙ ⲍωωⲫ πⲉ[т . . . . .] ⲙ̄̄ⲡⲉⲕ
25 ρhtε
Ⲭ]ι cⲙh n̄δλaⲙ ω πⲙaⲕaρ|oⲥ [. . . . . .
te ⲧⲛ̄ⲙoⲩte [. . . . .] . ⲁBaλ [. . . . . .]tω
B[ⲍ] ⲙ̄̄ⲙaⲕ ⲍ . . [. . ⁝ .] . Bε ⲉⲧⲕ . . . nⲉ . . .[.
ⲦⲦeⲁ[ⲩ neⲓ ⲕ . .]. . . . . .
nεⲕ [. . . . . .
ρo ω πⲭ[. . . . . .

Thou art the power . . . . . .

2—6 fragmentary and illegible

Thou art the healing and the salvation . . . . . .
. . . . . them that fulfil the . . . . . .
. . . . . afflicted . . . . . heart.
Thou art the subduer of the evil ones, the giver of victory (?)
to (?) the good. Thou art the . . . . . .
illegible
Thou art the honour of them that are held in honour, all the apostles
that are blessed. Thou art the throne (θρόνος) of the holy ones
that give judgment], that separate the two natures (φύσις).
Thou indeed art mercy entire and compassion entire.
Thou also art the confirmation of the Faithful (πιστός). Thou
also art the wall of the holy ones.
Glory to thee, Bema of righteousness (δικαιοσύνη), the confirmation of the

20—22 illegible

the Lights. Who is there among men that gives alms
like thee? or (ἤ) who again that . . . . . as thou
dost?
Make haste to listen, o blessed (μακάριος) . . . . . .
we call . . . . . forth . . . . . .
implore thee . . . . . .
Glory to thee . . . . . .
thy . . . . . .
. . . o Lord (?) . . . . . .

15 cf. supr. 26, 29. — 26 lit. 'listen quickly'.

nil legi

. . . . . ⲛⲕⲁⲧ]ⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ
. . . . . .] . . . ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁ]ⲣ̣ⲓ[ⲁ

> · cλβ · <

Χⲁⲓⲣ]ⲉ ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁ̣ⲕ̣ⲗⲏ
ⲧⲟⲥ . . . . . .]ⲝ . .
Ⲁⲕⲉⲓ] ⲥ̣ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ . . . . . ⲁ̣ . . . . . .
. . . . . ⲡ]ⲡ̣ⲕ̣ⲗ̣ⲉ̣ ⲥⲁ̣ . . ⲁ̣ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ [. . . . .
nil legi
. . . .]. ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲁⲕⲡⲱⲣ]ⲱ̄ ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲱ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲁ+ⲥⲉⲡ ⲁⲫⲏ
. . . . ⲛ]ⲥⲏⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ • ⲁⲡⲥⲧ̄ⲣ̄ⲧ̄ⲣ̄ ⲃⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲩ
. . . . .]. . . . . ⲥ̣ⲱⲱⲛ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . . . . ⲓⲁ
. . .]ⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ . ⲛⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̣ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲏⲧ
Ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲥⲁⲡ . [. . . . . .
. . . . . .]. ⲁ̣ⲣⲁ̣ⲕ̣ • ⲥⲉⲥⲧ̄ⲣ̄ⲧ̄ⲣ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ [ⲉⲩ
ⲧⲏⲕ̣ ⲁ̣ⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲓ̈ⲁ̣ⲣ[ⲙⲉ] ⲁⲣⲁⲕ̣ . . . . . ⲃ̀ⲱⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ
ⲟⲩ ⲉⲕⲣⲁⲩⲧ' . . . . . ⲃⲓ ⲡⲕⲥⲟ • +ⲥⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲃⲓ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲟ
Ⲥⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ • ⲛⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕ
ⲱⲏⲣ[ⲉ .]. . . . . + ⲡⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ +[. . . .]. . . . ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲃ]ⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲉⲕ ⲛⲉⲛ .
nil legi
ⲦⲦ[ⲥ]ⲉⲡ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥ̣ . . .[. . .
. . . .[. . . . . .] ⲛ̄[ⲥ]ⲏⲧⲩ̄ • ⲉⲛⲏⲡ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲣⲉ̣[ⲓⲧⲉ
ⲁ̣ⲛ̣[ⲁ]ⲛ̣ • ⲡⲡⲕ̣[ⲗⲥ ⲛⲧⲕ̣ ⲧⲛ]ⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ • ⲛⲁⲩⲥ̀ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲟ ⲁ[ⲭⲛ
ⲡⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲉ̣ .[. . . . .]. . ⲱⲛⲥ̀ ⲛⲉⲛ
ⲦⲦⲥⲟⲟⲩ [. . . . . ⲙ]ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ [ⲁⲡⲕⲣⲓ
ⲧⲏⲥ ⲥ[. . . . . .]ⲥ̣ • ⲛ̄ⲭⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲥ̣ⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲥ̣[. . . . . ⲕⲁ]ⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲉ . . .[. .]ⲉⲥ̣ⲧ̄
mutila

9 fort. cλ̣ⲥ̣λ̣ ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲁⲟⲥ.

illegible

. . . . . the Catechumens

. . . . . Panai and the blessed (μακαρία)

Mary.

CCXXXII.

Hail (χαῖρε), glorious Bema of the judge (κριτής), the Paraclete . . . . . .

Thou art come] in peace (εἰρήνη) . . . . . .

. . . . . the Paraclete, ... thy peoples (λαός) today . . . .

illegible

. . . . . our sins.

Thou hast spread out thy Bema, o judge (κριτής), that thou mayest give judgment . .

. . . . of every man by it. The confusion seized our limbs (μέλος)

. . . . . ourselves since . . . . .

. . . . . them. Have mercy: thou art merciful.

Who among men shall be able to endure the . . . . . .

. . . . . thee. They are all confounded, as they stand and gaze on thee . . . . . look upon them, thou rejoicing . . . . . lift thy face; forbear; lift not thy face.

Look upon thy beloved, o blessed (μακάριος) one, pity thy children . . . . . give to us the gift of the remission of sins . . . . . our sins. Cross to us

illegible

The judgment which was set (?) upon sinners . . . . . .

. . . . . in it; for (γάρ) we are counted to thy family, we; o Paraclete, [thou art our] defence; turn thy face upon (?) the wounding which . . . . . life to us.

The day . . . . . today, they that hear the judge (κριτής?) in (?) . . . . . The books of the laws (νόμος) are set down

with him . . . . . despise (καταφρονεῖν) . . . . . seated (?)

31, 32 *illegible*

3 Panai: see Introd. II b.

. . ρναωτ πετ . . [. . . . . .
ϩ̄ογϩ̄ρτε ετ . . ν . . . . . [. . . . . .
ν̄ναβε ϫε νετν̄ⲉ . ay . ϩⲟ [. . . . . .
λπωρτε λαγε ⲉ̣ⲓ ⲁϩογν ⲙ̄π . [. . . . . .
ν̄ννναβε ⲙ̄πωρⲧⲉ πετⲉ̣ν̄ . . . . ρ̄φορε ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ̣[ⲩ
βⲁⲱ ν̄ν̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ϫε ⲉⲛⲁⲱ . ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ν̄ . . . . . [. .
ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧν̄ⲱληλ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲡ̣ⲕ̣ . [. . . . .
C[ⲁⲩ]ⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲧν̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲥ̣ⲱⲧⲙⲉ . . . . . .
. .] . . ⲡ̣ⲁ̣ⲩ ν̄⸗ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲁ . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙ̣ [. . . .
. .]ϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄πωρⲧν̄ⲟⲩⲱ ⲧν̄[. . . .]ⲏⲧ . .[. . . .
. . .] . ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩϩⲁⲧⲃⲉⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲁⲣν̄ⲱⲡ . .[. . .
λⲁⲣν̄ⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲧⲱⲃϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̣[ⲩ ⲉⲛ
ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲛⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁϫ̄ⲛ̣[. . . .
ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲉⲛⲑⲃⲓ̈ⲟ ν̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲉⲛ . . .[.]ⲃⲓ . . [. . . .
ϫε ⲉⲛⲁϫ| ⲧⲁⲱⲣⲉⲁ
N̄[ⲧⲁ]ⲕ̣ πε πⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲡ̣ⲛ̣[. . . . . .]ⲃⲉ̣ [. . . π]ⲙⲁ
ⲛ|ϫⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲁ|ⲛ]ⲉ ⲟ̣[ⲩ]ⲉ[ⲁⲩ ⲙ]ⲡⲉⲕ
ⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟ ν̄ⲉⲁⲩ • ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲛ [ⲛⲛⲉⲕ]ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲛ]ⲉⲧⲁⲩϩⲱⲥ ⲁⲧⲕ̣ⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̣[ⲛⲛ]ⲉⲕⲕⲁⲑⲏϫⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ
ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧ⸗ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

χ̄ⲁ̄|ρⲟ|ⲥ̄ πε̄ρⲙ̄ⲛ̣[ⲧⲡ]ⲉ cλγ χ̄ⲁ̄[. . _ . .]. ⲃ̄ⲏ̄ⲙ̄ⲁ
χⲁ|ρ]ⲉ ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ϫⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ϫⲁ|ⲟⲥ ϫⲁ|ⲣⲉ ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧ
ⲡⲣ|]ⲱⲟⲩ ⲧ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲛ̄ [.]. .[. . . . . ⲉ̣]ⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧ[ⲟⲥ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏϫⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ
. . .]ⲡ̣ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲁⲩ̣[. . . . . .]ⲟⲩ ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ ⲡⲉⲩ
ⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲣϫ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ⲫⲩⲥ|ⲥ ⲥⲛⲧⲉ ϩⲛⲡ]ⲉ̣ϥϩⲉⲡ
ⲁⲩ̣[ⲧⲁ]ϫⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
T|ⲓϩⲟ̣[ⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ]ⲉ̣ ⲡⲉⲩⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ̣ [ⲙⲛⲡⲉⲩ]ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ν]ϩ[ⲧ]ⲩ . . . . . .[. . . . . .]ⲙ̄ⲡ̣[. .
ⲕ . . ⲁ[. .] . . ν . . . . . .[. . . . . .

9 fort. ϩⲛⲁⲩ.

. . . hard (?) he who . . . . . .
in fear which . . . . . .
sins that ye may not . . . . . .
Let none come within the . . . . . .
our sins. Let not your . . . . wear (φορεῖν) the whiteness
of the good (ἀγαθόν), that we may . . . . . the great and mighty
. . . . . for which we pray . . . . . .
Know ye all, ye that hear . . . . . .
. . . . . of martyrdom (μαρτυρία) . . . . . his . . . .
. . . day, let us not be faint and . . . . . .
. . . . . him whom they slew, but (ἀλλά) let us be counted . . . .
Let us therefore all keep watch today, imploring him and
keeping his holy day, watching over the whole . . . . .
subduing the passions (πάθος), ...
that we may receive the gift (δωρεά).
Thou art the victory day by day, the . . . . . ., Mani,
the Apostle of Light. Glory to thy
glorious Bema; victory also to thy holy Elect
that have sung unto thy greatness, and the Catechumens.
Victory also to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXXXIII.

Hail (χαίροις), man of heaven. Hail (χαῖρε?), . . . Bema
Hail (χαῖρε), our Lord Mani; hail (χαῖρε), Bema
resplendent. We all rejoice . . . . . the Elect (ἐκλεκτός)
and the Catechumens.
. . . . the Paraclete has . . . . . is his
Bema. He has separated the [two Natures (φύσις) by] his judgment
and has condemned the Darkness.
This is the day whereon his Dawning and his Light are
made manifest . . . . . .

illegible

6 'good' plur., perhaps 'good deeds', but I do not follow the meaning. — 21 see Introd. IIc for a discussion of this line.

1—9 mutila plerumque nisi l. 7 ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ,
l. 8 ⲛ̄ⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲍⲛ̄ perspici potest

. . . . . .]ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭ[ⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
. . . . . .] ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲛ̄[. . . . .
. . . . . .]ⲉ
. . . . . .] . ⲉ ⲉⲛⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲁ .[. .
. . . . .] ⲛⲉⲕⲗ[ⲉⲕⲧⲟ]ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ .[.
. . . . . .]ⲍ . . .[. . .]
Ⲟⲩⲉ]ⲁⲩ ⲛ[ⲉ]ⲕ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ [ⲡⲱⲁ
ⲛ]ⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ [ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩ]ⲍⲉ̣ ⲧⲏⲣⲉ̣ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡ̣[ⲃⲏ
ⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩ̣ⲧ̣[ⲁⲛⲧ ⲙⲛⲧ]ϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

ϲλΔ

. . . .]ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ̣ . . . . . ⲡⲱⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏ[ⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ
ⲧ]ⲁⲛⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲱⲛ]ⲏ ⲍⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄[ⲍⲱⲥ ⲁ
ⲣⲁⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲛ̄ [ⲉⲛϯⲉⲁⲩ] ⲛⲉⲏ
Ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲱ ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲁ[ⲕⲡⲱⲣⲱ
ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲭⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣ⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲁ̣ⲧ ⲉ̣ⲧⲁ̣ⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲉ̣ⲁⲩⲛⲉ̣ [. . . . .
. . . . ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲛ ⲁⲧⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ
Ⲛⲉⲛⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡ[. . . . . .
ⲍⲉ ⲉⲛ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ [. . . . . .
Ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟ[. . . .] ⲛ[ⲧ]ⲕⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲟ ⲁⲕⲭⲱⲕ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣[. . . . .
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ . . . . ⲡⲱⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ
. . . . . .] ⲁ̣ⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲃ̣ⲏⲙⲁ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛ[ⲉ

28 pro ⲁⲕⲭⲱⲕ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ fort. ⲁⲕⲭⲱⲕⲙⲉ.

1—9 *illegible and fragmentary*

. . . . . and the Perfect Man.
. . . . . unto us, o good (ἀγαθός) . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . we praying thee . . . . . .
. . . . . the Elect (ἐκλεκτός) and the Catechumens . . .
. . . . . .

Glory to thee, o Paraclete; victory to our Lord
Mani and all his holy congregation and the
upright Bema and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXXXIV.

. . . . . the blessed (μακάριος) one, the Paraclete, whom we have known on the day that is held in honour. Let us [sing to him, all of us, [glorifying] him.

Through the will of thy Father, o beloved, thou hast [spread out over us this mighty gift of thy knowledge . . . . .
. . . . us from wickedness (κακία).

For (γάρ) we were at first in the . . . . . .
we . . . . . wickedness (κακία), we serving . . . . . .

In a . . . . . of thy greatness thou hast perfected (?) . . .
. . . . . o blessed (μακάριος) and glorious one.
. . . . . upon the Bema of Light

1—6 valde mutila, nisi l. 4 ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ,
l. 5]ⲃⲏⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄[perspici possunt

7 Ⲙⲁⲣ]ⲛ̣ϩⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϹⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲙⲉ[ⲧⲁ
ⲛⲟⲩⲉ] ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩϹⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
ⲛⲉⲣ]ⲏⲩ • ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ [ⲙⲡⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
10 Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ]ⲉⲕ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲡⲟⲫⲧ̣[ⲟⲗⲟⲥ
. . . . .]. . . . ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏ[ⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲧ†ⲩⲭ]ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲣ̣[ⲓⲁ

· · ϹΛⲉ · <

Ⲙⲁⲣⲛ]ϩⲱⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ⲛⲁϹⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏ
15 ⲣⲉ ⲙ]ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄†ⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ[. . . . . .
non legi potest
. . . .] ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲉϥⲕⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄
ⲛⲉϥ]ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓ̈ⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
. . .]. ⲛ̣ⲃ̣ⲓⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ̣ ϩⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ
20 Ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲙ]ⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲓ]ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲟ̣ⲩⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ
. . . . .] ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲡ[ⲉ] ⲡⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ
ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲙ]ⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉϥ
ⲟⲩⲁⲃ]ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̣ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉϥ
ⲟⲩ]ⲁ̣ⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲙⲁ̣
25 ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ] ⲡ̣ⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡ̣ⲓ̣
. . . . . .]ⲁ . . . ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲦⲦϩ[ⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ]ⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗⲥ̄ ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ
ⲧ̣[ⲙ]ⲉ[ⲩ ⲛⲛⲉ]ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ϩ • ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ
30 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲕ̣[ⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲁⲗⲱⲛ

11 fort. ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ϫ]ⲁ̣ⲓⲟ̣ⲥ.

1—6 *fragmentary and illegible.*

Let us therefore (οὖν) gather now, my brethren, and all
repent (μετανοεῖν) and forgive the sins of one
another; for (γάρ) this is the day [of the forgiveness of sins.
Glory to thee, o Paraclete, our Apostle
. . . . . and all thy holy Elect;
glory to the] soul of blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXXXV.

Let us all sing, my blessed (μακάριος) brethren, the
children of the Light, and glorify the . . . . . .

illegible

. . . . the Mind (νοῦς), the Paraclete, who forgives
his faithful (πιστός) ones. Repent (μετανοεῖν) with a holy heart
and receive (?) honour in the places of rising of the Father.
The word of Jesus is a Bema; the just (δίκαιος)
. . . . . is a Bema; the Call and the Hearing is a Bema;
the Perfect Man is a Bema; the Luminary (Φωστήρ) of the night
is a holy Bema; the Luminary (Φωστήρ) of the day
is a holy Bema; the Land
of Light is a holy Bema; this . . . .
of Light is a Bema.
The holy day is the Paraclete; the holy day is
the Mother of the Living; this is the day of the First Man;
this is the day of the Beloved of the Lights; the holy
day is that of the Great Builder who builds [the new Aeon;

21 vide Cumont op. cit. pp. 24 ff. — 30 presumably ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ, now lost, was the first word on p. 33 cf. supr. 22, 1.

1 et 2 perierunt

ⲦⲦⲣⲡ]ⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ [ⲙⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲡⲣⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ
ⲡ]ⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ · [ⲡⲣⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ
ⲡⲉ] ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[ⲣⲉϥ]ⲣ̄ϩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡ̣ⲉ̣[ⲓ ⲙⲡⲫⲉⲣⲣ
ⲟⲕ]ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲭⲟⲥ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲧⲁ]ⲟ
ⲡⲣⲡⲙ]ⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡ̣[ⲣⲡⲙⲉ
ⲩⲉ] ⲡⲉ̣ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱ[ⲙⲟⲫⲟ
ⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲁ]ⲃ ⲛ̄ϩ[ⲁⲣ]ⲱϩⲙⲧ

ⲦⲦⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡ]ⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ [ⲡⲧ
ⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡ]ⲉ̣ⲓ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲡⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ · ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ [ⲙⲡ
ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ · ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲁ̣[ⲡⲏ
. . . . .]. . ⲡⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲃⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲧ̣
ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡϫⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ · ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡ̣[ⲉ] ⲡ̣[ⲉⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ϩⲩ]ⲡⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙ̣[ⲛ
ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

ⲦⲦⲧⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲡ̣ⲧ̣[ⲁⲓⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲡⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ [ⲛⲧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲟⲗⲏ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛϫⲓ ⲃⲁⲗ · ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲧ̣ⲟⲗⲏ [ϫⲉ
ⲕⲁⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛϩⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ϫⲉ̣ⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲥ̣[ⲉ ⲛ
ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲥⲁⲣⲭ̣ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥⲉ̣ [ⲉⲛⲁ
ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲛ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲏⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ[ⲕⲁ
ⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ [ⲙ]ⲡⲑⲃⲏⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲗⲟ̣ⲏⲧ

Ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲁ̣[ⲣⲛ]ⲧ̣ⲱⲃⲓ̣ϩ̣ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ̣ . . . . .

non legi potest

ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ . . .[cetera mutila
ⲣⲏⲩ · ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓ̈ⲉ ϩⲛ̄[. . . . .
ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ̣ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏ̈ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛ[ⲁ]ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ̣ ϫⲉ̣[. .].

29—31 mutila

3 ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ etc. supplevi cf. supr. 2, 3—5. — 17 lege ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄.

1 and 2 have perished.

This is the memorial [of the Living Spirit;
this is the memorial of the Twelve Maidens; this is
the memorial of the Helmsmen; this is the memorial of the
Splenditenens (φεγγοκατόχος); this is the memorial of the King of Honour;
this is the memorial of the Adamas of Light; this is
the memorial of the King of Glory; the memorial of the great
stout-hearted Omophorus.
This is the purity of the Apostle of Light; this is the purity
of the Saviour (σωτήρ) Christ; this is the purity of the
Paraclete-Spirit; this is the purity of the Love (ἀγάπη)
. . . . . .; this is the purity of the goodly Faith;
this is the purity of Perfection; this is the purity
of Patience (ὑπομονή); this is the purity of Wisdom (σοφία) and
Godliness.
This is the honour of the Paraclete-Spirit; the honour
of Fasting (νηστεία), Prayer, and Almsgiving; the honour of the command-
ment (ἐντολή) that we lie not; the honour of the commandment (ἐντολή)
that we kill not; the honour of the commandment (ἐντολή) that
we eat no flesh (σάρξ); the honour of the commandment (ἐντολή) that
we make ourselves pure; the honour of the commandment (ἐντολή) of
blessed (μακάριος) Poverty; the honour of Humility and Kindliness.
My brethren, let us pray with a great prayer . . . . . .
illegible.
of your . . . . . .
one another. Ye Catechumens, repent (μετανοεῖν) in . . . . . .
praying with a great prayer . . . . . .

4, 5 see Cumont op. cit. append. 1. — 6—9 vide supr. 2, 6—20. — 12—15 i. e. the five qualities which belong to the five εἴδη of the soul, see above 22, 14—18 n. For ϩϋπομονη (which is the equivalent of ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲁⲣⲱϩⲧ) cf. 143, 32. — 18 ff For Manich. commandments generally see W.Bang, Manichaeische Laienbeichtspiegel (Muséon, 36 pp. 137—242).

ll. 1—5 non legi possunt

6 . . . . .]. ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟ|ⲭⲉ|ⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲧ ⲛ[. .
. . . . .]. ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲁ|ⲛ]ⲉ ⲡ . .[. . .
. . . .]. . . ⲛ̣ⲟⲩ
ⲦⲦⲱⲕ ⲡ]ⲉ ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ⲭⲁ|[ⲟⲥ
10 . . . . . .]ⲛ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲥ|ⲥ|ⲛⲛ|ⲟⲥ ⲡⲱ[ⲕ] ⲡⲉ ⲡ[. . . .
. . ⲓ]ⲛⲛⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲅⲁⲃⲣ|ⲁⲃ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ [. . . . .
ⲟⲩⲃⲣ]ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲗⲙⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲡ̣[ⲟⲥ . . . . . .
. . . ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲟⲍⲉⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁ̣ⲥ ⲡⲛ̄[ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ
. . .] ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁ[ⲛⲍ] ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁ̣[. . . . .
15 ⲛ̣ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥ|ⲁⲛⲉ ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ̣ [ⲙⲛⲧ
†ⲩ]ⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ|ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣ|ⲁ

> · $\overline{\text{ϲλϛ}}$ · <

Ⲛ . . . . . ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ
ⲧⲛ] ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲧⲃ|ⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲁⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ
20 ⲡ̣ⲁⲣ̣ⲁⲕⲗ̣ⲏⲧⲟⲥ
Ⲛⲥⲣ]ⲏ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥ̣ⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ̄[ⲛⲁ] ⲡⲡ̄ⲕⲗ̄ⲥ ⲁⲣⲓ
ⲙ]ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟ|ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲩⲛⲏⲩ [ⲅ]ⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡⲥⲉⲡ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲱ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ |ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲅ̣ⲁⲣ̣ ⲡ̣ⲁⲕⲣ|ⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ
ⲧⲥⲙⲉⲥ]ⲧ̄ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩ† ⲥⲉⲡ ⲁ̣[ⲡⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲡ
25 . . . .] ⲉⲓ ⲥ|ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ̄ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ⲣ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ̣
. . . ⲛ̣ⲁⲱ . . ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡ̄ⲕⲗ̄ⲥ ⲛ . ⲓ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲩ
. . . ⲁ . ⲁ . ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲃⲍ̄ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲭⲱⲛ ⲥⲉⲛⲁ† ⲛⲉⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ
28 ⲛ̄[ⲥⲱ]ⲃ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲩ̄ⲁⲧⲁⲃⲍ̄ ⲡⲕⲣ|ⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄

29—31 mutila

18 init. fort. ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ.

1—5 *illegible.*

above the elements (στοιχεῖον). He gave . . .
. . . . . be a sign of the Light . . . . . .
. . . . . .
Thine is the glory and the victory, our Lord Mani,
. . . . . our Lord Sisinnios, thine is the . . . .
. . . Innaios. Victory to Gabriab, our Lord . . . . .
victory to Salmaios, our Lord Pappos . . . . . .
our Lord Ozeos; glory to Addas, our [Lord
. . . . Be there victory to all the Living Ones . . . . .
to the soul of Plousiane, the soul of Theona, and the
soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXXXVI.

. . . . . and ye Catechumens, bless ye
all, on the day of the Bema, the ascension of the Paraclete
to the height.
On the day of the Bema of the Spirit, the Paraclete,
repent (μετανοεῖν) ye of your wickednesses; for (γάρ) the judgment is coming
and the Bema will be set up. For (γάρ) Jesus my judge (κριτής) it is
that sits upon it and judges the man by whom the
. . . . . has come, he bearing witness (?) unto men.
. . . . . is the Paraclete . . . . . we seeing his
. . . . . as he prays for us; for (γάρ) everything shall be given
to him for which he prays unto the judge (κριτής). Let us

29—31 *illegible.*

10—14 Sisinnios was Mani's successor as ἀρχηγός cf. Migne P. G. I. 1468 Σισίννιον τὸν διάδοχον τῆς τούτου μανίας, Θωμᾶν . . . . Βουδᾶν . . . Ἀδαμ (leg. Ἀδδᾶν) . . . Γαβριάβιον . . . Σαλμαῖον Ἰνναῖον Πάππιν (cf. P. G. C. 1321); 'Mani-Fund' pp. 14, 15, 23; Act. Arch. 22, 5. For Ozeos v. SPAW 1934, p. 862 n. 1: the word is also a place-name, 'Mani-Fund' p. 27; Hom. 44, 13; 76, 28. Possibly it is a form of the semitic name ὀζειας. For Gabriab see Henning ZDMG 90, p. 9; Hom. 86, 25.

1—5 nil nisi l. 5 ⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ perspexi.

6 Ν]ⲙ] ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [. . . . . .
ⲉ]ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲉ .[. . . . . .
. . ⲡⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ [. . . . . .
.] . . . . ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁϫⲱⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲡ . . .[. . . . . .
10 . . . . . .]ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ . . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲓϫ . .[. . . . . .]ⲁ
. . . .]ⲙ . . . ⲏⲙⲁ
. . . . . .]ⲩⲛ . ⲕ . .[. . . . . .
. . . . . .]. . ⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲉⲩ .[. . . . . .
. . .]ⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ̄ⲕⲗ̄ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩ[. . . . . .
15 . . ϩ]ⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲁ̄ⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ [. . .
. . . . . ⲁⲩⲕⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲁⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ . . . . .
. . ⲛ̣ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ
Ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁϩ ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̣[ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ
ⲁⲧⲣⲟⲩⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ . . ⲉⲧⲁⲓ . . .
20 ⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲉⲩⲣ[ⲱⲁⲓⲉ ϩⲓⲟⲩ
ⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ . . . . . .
ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ . .[. . . .
Ⲧⲣⲏ ⲉⲧⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲟϩ [ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩ+ ⲛⲉϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ[ⲝⲟⲩⲥ]ⲓⲁ
25 ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲕⲟ̄ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁ . . . . . .
ⲙⲁϩⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲫⲉϩⲙ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ϩⲉ . ⲛ . ⲛ̣ . . . . .
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲛ̄+ ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̣ⲧⲟ|ⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏ . . . .
Ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲛ . . . .[. . . .
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲧ . . . . . ϩⲉⲗⲏⲟ ⲁⲛ . . [. . . . . .]ⲥ
30 ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄+ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̣ⲉⲛ[. . . . . .]. ⲏⲛ
. . . ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲛ̄ⲡ . . . .[. . . . . .

7 fort. ⲡⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ. — 9 fort. ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟ[ⲥ. — 25 ⲛ̄ⲁ[ⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ]: Crumius.

1—5 *illegible.*

6 Who] will be able to stand in the presence of . . . . . .
he having no fruit (καρπός)? The salvation(?) . . . . . .
above, the place wherein the great . . . . . .
. . . . . of Light upon me of his . . . . . .
10 . . . . . brought them within . . . their hands . . . . . .
. . . . . .

illegible.

. . . . . Bema in it, he . . . . . .
. . . . and the memorial of the Paraclete. The murderous(?)
15 . . . . . desired to crucify (σταυροῦν) my Father . . . . . .
. . . . . he left his Bema for a memorial . . . . .
. . . . blessed.
He commanded the wise ones, who are the Elect(?),
to preach unto the Catechumens . . . . . .
20 for them this day in honour, they making festival(?) together,
keeping watch in the night with the holy ones . . . . .
with their fruits (καρπός) in the presence of the . . . .
The sun that gives light — honour it, and the moon [and the stars (?)
and the Perfect Man. The power (ἐξουσία) has been given to him,
25 he has been drawn up above; myriads of . . . . . .
walk before him and in what manner . . . . . .
save(?) to give fruit (καρπός) at the coming forth of the sun(?) . . .
Let not any of the holy ones . . . . . .
the husbandman who . . . . wait for the . . . . . .
30 which are your souls, the . . . . . .
. . . . . them always in the . . . . . .

29 ϩελιϭ: vid. p. 19, 23 n.

. . . ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ . . . ⲉ̣[.]ⲛ . . . . . .[. . . .
. . . . . ⲉ ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ . ⲉⲧ . . ⲉ|ⲉⲧ . .[. .
. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲥ̣ⲛ̄ⲡ̣[. . . . . .]ⲉ̣ϣⲱⲡⲉ .[.
. . . ⲛ . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲏⲙ̣[ⲁ . . . . . .]ⲉ̣ⲗⲏⲥ̣ [.
. . . . ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁϫ|ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲁⲡⲡ[. .
. . . . . ⲥ̣

Ⲟⲩⲉ]ⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ [ⲙⲛ
ⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲓⲏⲥ̄ • ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗⲥ̄ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ̣ ⲡ̣ⲙ̣ⲁ̣[ⲛ|
ϫ[ⲁ|]ⲟⲥ̣ ⲡ̣ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡ|ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ|[ⲧⲛⲡ|ⲱⲧ
ⲟⲩⲉⲁ]ⲩ [ⲙⲡ]ⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲉⲧϥ̄ⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄ ⲁ[ⲥⲣⲏⲓ ⲁ
ϫⲱϥ ⲙⲛⲧ]☥[ⲩϫ]ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ ϫⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡ̣ⲱⲁ̣ⲓ̈ [ⲙⲛⲧⲙⲁ
ⲕⲁⲣⲓ]ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · ϲλϛ̄ · < ⲥⲩⲙⲛⲱⲁⲉⲓⲁ

Ⲥ̣ⲱⲥ̣ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ • ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲡ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ
ⲡⲡⲛⲁ] ⲙ̣ⲡⲡⲣⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ
ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ]ⲙ̣ⲉⲣ̣|ⲥⲧⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄
ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲟⲩⲱⲥϥ̄ ⲉⲩⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ☥ⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⳋ ⲥⲉ☥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲉ
ⲡ̣ⲡⲕ̄ⲗⲥ̄

N̄ⲓ̈[. . . .] ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ
ⲃⲉ ⲧ̣ⲙ̣ⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛ̄ⲥ̣ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲙ|ⲥⲉ ⲉ
ⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ [ⲡ☥]ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟ|ⲭⲉ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲱ|ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲥⲉ
☥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗⲥ̄

Ⲧⲙⲉⲣ|ⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲧⲁⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ⲉⲧⲡⲣⲓ̈
ϣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲁⳋ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ
. . . . ⲉ ⲉⲧⲧ̄ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲡ̄|ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄
ⲥⲉ[☥ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ|ⲟⲥ ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗⲥ̄
Ⲧⲙ[ⲁⲍ]ϣⲁⲙ̣ⲧ̣ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ|
ⲟⲥ ⲙⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧ]ⲥ̣ⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲏ ⲉⲧ[.
ⲍ[. . . . . .]. . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲣ̄ⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉ .[.

13 ⲥⲩⲙⲛ. recent. manu exaratum, cf. 2, 14—25 n. — 20 fort. N̄ⲓ̈[ⲁ|ⲱⲛ].

. . . to you . . . . . .
. . . . o Catechumens . . . . . .
. . . . . in the . . . . . .
. . . . . the Bema . . . . . .
. . . alms-giving, that you may receive these imperishable ones into the
. . . . . .

Glory and honour to our Father, the God of Truth and
his son Jesus. Honour to the Paraclete, our Lord
Mani, the Spirit of Truth, who is come forth from the Father(?).
Glory to the glorious Bema whereon he
sits, and the soul of Theona, Jmnoute, Pshai, and the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary.

CCXXXVII. Hymnody (ὑμνωδία)

Sing ye all unto the glorious one, the Sage, the Paraclete,
the Spirit] of the Dawn, and the Gods and the Father-Gods
of the Light, the] glorious chiefs (μεγιστᾶνος) of the Kingdom
indestructible, they all praying in joy, and their Five Greatnesses.
They render glory unto the Giver of Light, the Sage,
the Paraclete.
The Aeons (?), glorious and unperishing, the holy Emanations (προβολή),
the Mother (?) of Life, the First Man, the glorious firstborn,
the five Elements, active and strong — they
render holy glory to the Sage, the Paraclete.
The Beloved of the Luminaries, the straight resplendent
Word, and the Great Builder that builds the New Aeon,
the strong light-giving . . . ., the Father of the Living —
they render glory unto the Blessed (μακάριος) One, the Sage, the Paraclete.
The third (?) Father who is victorious, the Rich one, the Blessed (μακάριος),
and the Twelve Wise Maidens that
. . . . . of the Light, the Helmsmen . . .

2 cf. 27, 15. — 13 ϩϋⲙⲛⲱⲁⲉⲓⲁ cf. 30, 21 n. — 14, 23, 27 'the Sage' cf. Chavannes-Pelliot 'Journal Asiatique' 1911 p. 541 'le grand Sage de la lumière'. — 17 5 Greatnesses cf. 9, 12 ff. — 18 cf. ⲡϕⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ in the Keph. passim. — 20 ff. cf. pp. 1 and 2. — 29, 30 cf. supr. 33, 4. 5.

. . . . . .]. πλπεαγ πсαβε ππκ̅[λ̅c̅
. . . . . .]. . ε . νεεч πстγλ[ос μπεαγ
μνν]бам [ννω]μοφορос ν̄λггелос μν̄ν̄[. . . .
μν]πωαμτ' ν̄τроχос етв̄псαννπ|τν̄ ν̣т[ην πμαγ
μντс]ете [. . .]. . . в̄п|оγε оγаετч̄ пс[аβε ππкλс
ⲦⲦρн] етππ̄ϊωоγ . . . . . .[. . . . .
.] μν̄ттαрθενос в̄поγаϊне етоϊ ν̄еαγ .[. . . .
μνπ]кр|тнс ν̄δ|кα|ос μν̄ппνγс ν̄оγаϊне [. . .
. . . .]. . . . . се+ ν̄оγеαγ в̄псαβε ππк̅[λ̅c̅
. . . . . .]. . . . . ę μν̄в̄ппнγе μν̄тсαγсс̀ н[нс|оγ
хιоγλ]λε сν̄сν̄ваϊне μν̄сν̄к|θαρα ετоγ[ωωт
неч тн]роγ сν̄оγрεωε μννбам ν̄сαβн еγ[. . . .
. . . . . .]. . . . в̄псαβε ππк̅λ̅c̅
. .]. ą . . ç . μν̄ν̄т̣оγ|ε̣γε̣ в̄μк̣аς ν̄ϊερωоγ [. . . .
μ]μоγϊεγε пчтαγ ν̄косμос μν̄ν̄ . . . . ε . [. . . . .
ωнн етр̣нт ν̄ωγνн в̄пс+ноγчε м̄нтм̄сн̣ [μп
тну се+ ν̄оγеαγ в̄п|αττекο псαβε ππк̅λ̅c̅
Ⲧ]рεϊте ν̄ν̄δ|кα|ос μν̄ν̄ππνα μν̄м̄+γχ[αγε ннса
Βεγε • ν̄сαγсс̀ ν̄ν̄апостолос . . . . . .[. . . ε
το ν̄еαγ ν̄еωατε етαнс̀ ν̄рεч̣таωеаϊω μ̣[поγа|
не се+ ν̄оγеαγ в̄п|петбраϊт псαβε п[пкλс
Ⲭ|оγλλε μν̄ν̄аггелос ν̄тетν̄см̣оγ ап̄ноγç [нте
поγаϊне етππ̄ϊωоγ в̄пϊωт прн̣ ę . . . . . μν̄
теч̣бам ν̄хωре ν̄аω|ре μν̄теч̣сοф|а ето ν̄еαγ
ν̄ωнре в̄поγрат + ν̄оγеαγ в̄псαβε ππк̅λ̅c̅
Ⲙарν̄сωс тнрне сγоγсап апмαн|ха|ос прм̄ν̄ноγ
те сν̄псοоγе етоγαβε етⲭнк ν̄т̣ν̄ρεωε ν̄тν̄
х| свω аммγçтнр|оη̣ в̄пωнс̀ в̄п̣çωтнр ι̅н̅[с н
тν̄ρωаϊе ν̄тν̄+ ν̄оγеαγ в̄псαв[ε пп]к̅λ̅c̅
Ⲭ̣ερο ν̄нετν̄λαμπас ν̄тетν̄[. . . . . .
ν̄тетν̄раϊс в̄псοоγ в̄пвнμа [аппат]ωελ[ε]ет
в̄п̣рεωę ν̄тетν̄х| ν̄нαкт|н [етоγа]βε ν̄оγ

. . . . . the glorious one, the Sage, the Paraclete.
. . . . . the Column (στῦλος) of Glory
and the powers of the Omophori, the Angels and the . . . .
and the three wheels (τροχός) that are below, the winds, [the water
and the fire . . . . . this one alone, the Sage, the Paraclete.
The shining sun . . . . . .
and the glorious Maiden of Light . . . .
and the Righteous (δίκαιος) Judge (κριτής) and the Light-Mind (νοῦς) . .
. . . . . they render glory unto the Sage, the Paraclete.
. . . . . and the Heavens and the congregation of the stars (?)
make song with harps and lutes (κιθάρα), all worshipping
him in joy, and the wise powers . . . . . .
. . . . . the Sage, the Paraclete.
. . . . . and the mountains of the earth, the rivers . . . . .
the waters, the four worlds (κόσμος) and the . . . . . .
blossoming trees, the gardens of fragrance, and the breath of the
wind — they render glory unto this unperishing one, the Sage, the Paraclete.
The race of the Righteous (δίκαιος) and the spirits and souls of the
wise, the assemblies of the Apostles . . . . . .
glorious, the living merchants, the preachers of Light,
they render glory to this conqueror, the Sage, the Paraclete.
Sing with the Angels and bless the Mind (νοῦς?) of
the shining Light of the Father, the sun (?) . . . . . and
his strong active power and his glorious Wisdom (σοφία),
ye sons of joy, render glory unto the Sage, the Paraclete.
Let us all sing together unto Mani, the man of God,
on the holy perfect day, and let us be glad and
learn the mysteries of the life of the Saviour (σωτήρ) Jesus (?)
and make festival and render glory to the Sage, the Paraclete.
Light your lamps (λαμπάς) and . . . . . .
and keep watch on the day of the Bema for the Bridegroom
of joy and receive the holy rays (ἀκτίς) of Light

2 vide Mani-Fund p. 66g. — 4 cf. supr. 2, 16. — 7 vide Mani-Fund p. 67i. — 15 cf. Jackson op. cit. p. 25, 50. — 16 ϯⲙⲛϩ, a feminine noun, cf. 152, 25; 198, 27; 200, 23; 201, 31 ϯⲙⲛϩ ⲙⲡⲧⲏⲩ; 202, 1 ⲧϯⲙⲛϩ ⲙⲡⲁⲏⲣ; 203, 20 ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲏⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲩⲛ|ⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲙⲛϩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ. This last passage, I think, fixes its meaning as 'breath'.

ⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡ]ⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧ[ⲛ . . . . . .
. . ⲡⲥⲁⲃ]ⲉ ⲡⲡ̄ⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄
. . . . . .]. ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲥⲁⲃ[ⲉ ⲡ]ⲡ̄ⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡ
ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲕ]ⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗ
ⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲛ]ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕ[ⲕⲁⲓⲡⲓⲥ]ⲧⲟⲥ ⲥⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ̄ [. .
. . . . . .] ⲉⲧⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓⲟ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲭⲁⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲙⲫ
ⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ] ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲁⲓⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲭ̄ⲣ̄ⲥ̄ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕ̄[ⲗ̄ⲥ̄
ⲡⲛⲭⲁⲓ]ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃ[ⲉ ⲙⲛ
ⲧ☩ⲩ]ⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

> · cλh · <

Ⲛⲉⲧ]ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄☩ⲙⲉⲧ[ⲉ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ
ⲙⲛ]ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄
. . . . . ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄
ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲭⲉ ⲛ[ⲉ
ⲧⲛⲧ]ⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲉ
ⲭⲉ ⲡ]ⲙ̣ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲃ
. .]ⲉⲓ̣[. . .]ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥ̄ⲱⲛ̣ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ • ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲙⲧ
ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲥ̄]ⲱⲃ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲭⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ • ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲧⲥⲟ]ⲫ[ⲓ]ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ • ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲱⲁⲩϫⲓ
ⲡⲭ]ⲱⲕ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲓ̈
Ⲧ̣Ⲣⲉⲛ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ •
ⲧⲛ̄ⲁⲥⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲓ̈ • ⲉ
ⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲡⲥⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲃⲥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥ
ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉϥⲁϫⲁⲕⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲙ]ⲁⲣⲛ̄☩ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲛⲛⲁⲱⲛⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱ
ⲡⲉ] ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲱ]ⲉⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ [ⲙ]ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ϫⲉⲕⲁ
ⲥⲉ ⲡ]ϫⲁϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣ . . . . ⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲁϫⲓ ⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲧⲉϥⲧⲁⲡⲥ̄ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲉ̣ . .[. . . . . .]ⲁⲓⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
Ⲧ̣Ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲡⲙ[ⲉⲓⲛⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ϥⲁⲁϥ ⲥⲓⲟⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲩ[ⲟⲩ]ⲧ̣ ⲥⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲕⲉ̣ⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲥ • ⲡⲥ[ⲉ

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4 ⲉⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ sic. — 29 fort. ⲧⲉⲓ̣ ϫ[ⲉ ⲱⲁϥ☩ⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓⲃⲉ cf. supr. 23, 29 n.

of the good (ἀγαθός) Father, and do you . . . . . .
the Sage, the Paraclete.
. . . . . all of us, the blessed(μακάριος) ones, the Sage, the Paraclete,
who hast (?) forgiven all thy Churches — the Elect (ἐκλεκτός),
the Righteous (δίκαιος), and the Faithful (πιστός) also together . .
. . . . resplendent of the holy Bema.
Honour] to the glorious one, the exalted living King, and the
Luminaries (φωστήρ) that are held in honour, and Christ Jesus. Glory to the Paraclete,
our sage Lord and all his holy Elect, and
the soul of Mary, Theona.

CCXXXVIII.

Ye holy ones, be not troubled, being in accord with
Mani, our Father, the Paraclete.
. . . . . every thing be unto one another, ye men of heaven,
ye righteous (δίκαιος), even as ye were at first, that ye may
not plant envy (φθόνος) in you in thought and word (?),
but rather peace in deed.
. . . . . ye being near to the law (νόμος) of God; [for (γάρ)] in three
things does perfection consist: in the commandments (ἐντολή) and
wisdom (σοφία) and love (ἀγάπη). For (γάρ) all men of God are
made perfect in these.
The name of the Elect of God which we wear (φορεῖν);
we await too other graces, profitable and like to these.
Wherefore let us pray and entreat in supplication him that has
elected us, that he may make us perfect.
Let us be in accord with these things and we shall live and
be in prudence, my brethren, and in peace (εἰρήνη), that
the enemy of the . . . . . may be put to shame; for (γάρ) his habit is
. . . . . slur (?) upon man.
Let us set before us gladness which is the sign of God,
but let us kill grief (λύπη), which is the sign of
the Darkness, and proclaim the word without any envy; [for (γάρ)] the word

18 cf. Matth. 22, 40.

ⲭⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲩⲧⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[. . . . . .
. . . . . .]ⲛ . . . ⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ .[. . . . .
ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ̄[ⲉⲁⲩ . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲩⲥⲏⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ . . .
. . . . . .] ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̣[. . . .
ⲏⲥ . . . . . ⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ
Ⲙ]ⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲃⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̣[. . . .
ⲛ]ⲧⲛ̄ⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲓⲛⲁⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̣ⲧ . [. . .]. . .
ⲭ]ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩⲥⲙⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲧⲥⲉ [. . .
. .]. . ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲭⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲓ̈ⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲥⲁⲉ
. . . . . .]ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲥⲁⲧⲥⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄[. . .]ⲩ
.]. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲁ̣[. . .]ⲉ
. .]. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡ .[. . .
ⲭ]ⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ]ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ[ⲉⲩⲥⲱ
ⲧ]ⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁ[ⲣⲁⲩ ⲟⲩ
ⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ☥ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲓ̈ ⲭⲙ̄ⲛ̣[ⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ
ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · $\overline{\text{cλ⊖}}$ · <

Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲁⲙⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡ[ⲉⲓ ⲡ]ⲉ
$\overline{\text{ⲓⲏⲥ}}$ ⲡⲉⲱⲁⲩ☥ ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓ̈[ⲉ
Ⲩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲩⲭⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲡⲉ]ⲧ
ⲥⲏⲡ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲣ|ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓ̈ⲉ ⲧⲁⲕⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ
Ⲩⲟⲩⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲉ[ⲩⲧ]ⲁⲱⲉ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲭⲉ ☥ⲥⲏⲛ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲃⲥⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̣ⲥⲱⲙⲁ
Ⲧⲧⲉⲧⲃⲱⲗⲕ̀ ⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ☥ⲃⲗ̀ⲕⲉ ⲟⲩⲍⲁⲧⲃⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ [ⲡⲉ
ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲱⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲱⲛⲧⲏ ⲁ[ⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲧⲧⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲥⲛⲏⲩⲧ ⲁⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲏⲛⲏⲩ ⲥⲓⲧⲟⲟ[ⲧⲩ] ⲡⲉ
ⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲧ̣ ⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲏⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲗⲁ[ⲓⲟ]ⲉ
Ⲉⲕⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲁⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ
ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲛⲧⲓⲁⲓⲕⲟⲥ ⲭⲉⲩⲛⲁⲭⲓ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲱⲣⲟⲛ [ⲛⲧⲟ]ⲟⲧⲕ̀
Ⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧ[. .]. . .

1 ⲩⲧⲛⲁⲩ sic: leg. ⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ. — 23 pro ⲛⲉⲛ leg. ⲉⲛ.

. . . . . us, it sends forth a . . . . . .
. . . . . is the last day of . . . . . .
glorious (?) . . . the body (σῶμα), but (ἀλλά) it is drawn daily . .
. . . . . all of them after us here; they also . . . .
. . . . . to us.
Let us bear up, my brethren, in fortitude and let us . . . . .
and let us make away with the second danger (κίνδυνος) . . .
from the beginning we were rescued from the first, so . . .
. . . we shall pass over and cross the last also.
. . . . . us as we search in the word of (?) . . . . .
. . . . of glory of the preaching of peace (εἰρήνη) . . . . .
. . . of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit . . . .
that they may watch over us.
Glory and] victory to our Lord Mani and all his
holy Elect and every one that believes in him.
Victory to the soul of Panai, Theona, Pshai, Jmnoute, and
the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXXXIX.

Lo, the amnesty (ἀμνηστία) of the forgiveness of sins has come: it is
Jesus, who giveth repentance (μετάνοια) unto him that repents (μετανοεῖν).
He stands in our midst, he winks unto us secretly,
saying: 'Repent (μετανοεῖν), that I may forgive you your sins.'
He is not far from us, my brethren, even as he said in his
preaching: 'I am near to you, like the clothing of your body (σῶμα).'
He that is angry, sins; he that causes wrath is a murderer; he
that sheds a life, of him shall it be demanded.
The Good (ἀγαθόν) is destined to come: blessed is he by whom it comes;
the Evil too is near to be: woe unto him because of whom it comes.
When thou comest in with thy gift (δῶρον) to set it on the θυσιαστήριον,
be reconciled with thy adversary (ἀντίδικος) that thy gift (δῶρον) may be
received from thee.
Look out, my brethren; smite not at the life of them that . . . .

3 cf. Burkitt op. cit. p. 35. — 7—9 The three dangers seem to be (I) the cosmic danger in the beginning, when the Dark threatened to defeat the Light; from which we were redeemed; (II) the danger in this present life, our corruption by the body and its lusts; (III) the danger that at the last assize we may be condemned and be bound for ever in the Bolos. — 10 cf. Joh. 5, 39. — 25 cf. Matth. 5, 22. — 29, 30 cf. Matth. 5, 23—25.

. . . . . ⲡⲭⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ . . .[. . . . . .

Ⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧⲁⲓⲁⲕ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲣ[ⲡⲟⲥ . .

ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁ .[. . . ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲍ̣ . .

Ⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲓⲧⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ[ⲥⲉ

ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲕ̣ⲏ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲉⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲍⲉⲡ ⲉⲧⲃⲏ[ⲧⲩ

Ⲉⲓⲱⲭⲉ ⲕⲛⲁ+ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲱ ⲁⲣⲓⲥ) ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲕ̣ⲧⲉⲉ[ⲥ

. . . ⲕⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣ .[. . .

Ⲗⲡⲱⲣⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲁⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲍⲱⲃ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃⲛⲧⲕ̣ . .[. .

ⲙ̣ⲡⲱⲣⲃⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲉⲗ ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ ⲧⲟⲩ . [. . .

ⲧⲏⲣⲉ̣ ⲍⲁⲡⲱⲕ

Ⲧⲁⲓ ⲣ̣ⲭⲣⲉⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ̣ . .[. . . . . .

. .] ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲡⲭⲟⲩⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲭⲉⲩⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛ[ⲉ

Ⲧⲥⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲧⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ • ⲡⲉ̣[ⲓ

ⲡ̣[ⲉ ⲡ]ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ̣ⲧⲟⲗⲗ̣[ⲩⲉ

Ⲙ[ⲡⲁⲍ]ⲣⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲕⲏⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉⲓ̣

ⲡⲉⲧⲩ]ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧⲗⲟⲟ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛ[ⲍ

Ⲙ[ⲡⲱⲣ]ⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲕⲛⲁ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ̄ⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲙ̣ⲙ

. .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕ̣ⲣ̄ⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁ

ⲡⲛⲟⲩ]ⲧⲉ

ⲁⲕ̣[ⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲍⲏ]ⲧⲏ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲭⲁⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲍⲏⲧⲕ̣ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲑⲁⲏ ⲙ̄

ⲡⲱⲣⲣ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲕ+ ⲁⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ+ⲩⲭⲏ

Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲏⲧ' ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲃⲛ ⲍⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ+ⲩⲭⲏ

ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲍⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲧⲣ̄ⲧⲣ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛⲍ̄

Ⲧⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲃ[ⲓⲝ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ

ⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲏⲩ ⲣⲱ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ

ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ

ⲁⲩⲭⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲥⲁⲃⲗⲗⲉ

ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ+ⲩⲭⲏ

Ⲧⲥ̣[ⲉⲧ]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲥ̄ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ

ⲍ̣[ⲓⲥ]ⲱ • ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲍⲱⲥ ⲉⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ

Ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ̣ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲏⲧ ⲧⲁⲭⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ •

ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲩ+ ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲉⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧⲏ̄

Ⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩⲱ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲉ

ⲕⲁ]ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕ̣ⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧ̣[ⲍⲛⲙⲡⲏⲩ]ⲉ

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1 valde difficile lectu. — 2 leg. ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ. — 4 leg. ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱⲕ. — 9 fin. ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲍⲥⲁⲓ (cf. Crumium op. cit. p. 318 a) coniicio. — 16 ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲱ HT: ipse haeseram. — 17, 18 fort. ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ. — 25 ⲉⲧⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲩ: Crumius, coll. Lk. 10, 30; ipse errabam.

. . . . . pass you . . . . . .

O man, thou desirest to honour thyself, let thy fruits (καρπός) . . .
for (γάρ) the fruits (καρπός) of the tree which . . . . forth . . .
Man, thou lovest thy life: love thy neighbour as thyself;
that which . . . . ., do it not, that thou come not to judgment concerning it.
If thou art to give a lesson, perform it first before thou givest it:
. . . thou shalt be a sign of that . . . . . .
Judge (κρίνειν) not thy brother in the thing which thou shalt be found . . .
look not at the mote which is in his eye lest (μή πως) . . . .
all of it beneath thine.
He has need (χρεία) of the physician who goes (?) . . . . . .
and bears the burning of the medicines, that he may see the light.
The physician of souls, he is the Light-Mind (νοῦς); this
is the New Man: the burning medicines are the Commandments (ἐντολή).
But the cool medicines, they are the forgiveness of sins: he
that would be healed, lo, of two kinds are the medicines of life.
Be not ashamed, o Faithful (πιστός) one, as thou goest unto thy . . . life;
do not seek to please man and become an enemy
to God.
Thou hast been ashamed of Him today: He will be ashamed of thee at the end:
do not be at ease in thy body (σῶμα) and pay the penalty with thy soul.
For (γάρ) all men are running about, desiring to profit their soul,
fearing and all confounded, desiring to save their lives.
The life and death of each man is in his hands, he knowing
that perchance this is the man who shall be half dead in the
middle of the way.
They all passed him by, none pitied him save
only the Faithful (πιστός) who knew their soul.
The fire that dwells in the body (σῶμα), *its* affair is eating
and drinking; but the soul thirsts for the Word of God always.
Blessed (μακάριος) is the man whose heart condemns him not;
the faithful (πιστός) man of God judges himself of his own accord.
Pray for thy enemies, bless them that revile thee, that
thou mayest be good (ἀγαθός) like thy Father who [is in heaven.

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3 the end is very uncertain; perhaps ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩ [ⲇⲱⲱⲧ ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲏ[ⲧⲟⲩ: 'it is the fruits for which men look'. — 4 cf. Matth. 22, 39. — 8 ff. cf. Matth. 7, 1—5; Lk. 6, 41—42. — 10 'all' fem. sing. — 13 cf. Keph. XXXIII: Über den Licht-Noûs. — 17 ⲥⲁϊⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲛⲉ cf. 56, 22 ⲡⲓⲥⲁϊⲱ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫⲥⲁϊⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ. — 33 cf. Matth. 5, 44. — 34 cf. Matth. 5, 48.

ⲦⲦ]ⲉⲧⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ . .[. . . . . .]ⲓⲛⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ [ⲥⲛ
ⲟ]ⲩⲱⲱⲱ ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩ]ⲱⲧ ⲉⲩⲡⲱⲣⲱ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲁⲛ ⲛ]ⲙ
Ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲭⲉⲩⲁⲛⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲥⲱⲱⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲕ[ⲱ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲭⲉⲩⲁⲕⲱ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲱⲱⲛ
5 Ⲟ]ⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲛ̄|ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩ[ⲥⲱ
ⲧ]ⲡ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥ|ⲁⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ|
ⲁ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

ⲥⲙ̄ ϔⲙⲛⲟ|ⲥ ⲁⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲯ

Ⲧⲛ]ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲡ̣
10 ⲛ]ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲛⲧⲁ]ⲕ ⲡⲉ̣ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲁⲧ]ⲙⲟⲩ • ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲧⲱⲃⲥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛⲉ̣ⲫⲁⲩ ⲱ ⲡ̣
ⲡ]ⲁⲡⲉ̣ⲁⲩ
.]ⲡⲣⲉ . ⲉⲓ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲟ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲭⲉ
15 ⲉⲫⲁ†ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄†ⲯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲫ ⲱ ⲡⲡⲁⲡ̣ⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲧⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲓⲉ ⲃⲉ †ⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲭⲱⲕ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲟⲟⲩ [ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ]ⲃ̣ⲉ̣
ⲉⲛⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲉⲛⲣⲁⲓⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕ̣ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲱ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̣-ⲟⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲙⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̣-
ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲕ̣ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲱ ⲡⲡⲁ
20 Ⲭⲁⲕⲙ̄ ⲃⲉ †ⲛⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲗ†ⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ
ⲡⲁⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲑⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁ†|ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕ[ⲙⲁⲥⲉ
ⲥⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̣ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲱ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲕⲁⲑⲉⲇⲣⲁ ⲉⲕⲱⲁⲛ
25 ⲡⲁⲣⲱ̄ⲥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲁⲓⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ
ⲱ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ̣ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲉ]ⲕ̣
ⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲱ ⲡ̄ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧ†ⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

2 init. ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲱ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ: Crumius. — 14 init. non intelligo: an ⲁ]ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲓ 'nomen advenit'?

He] that shines . . . . that are evil and them that are good
equally, spreading his Light upon every man.
Let us be merciful to one another that we may ourselves receive mercy; let us forgive
one another that we ourselves be forgiven.
Glory and honour to Jesus, the king of the holy ones and his holy
Elect and the soul of Plousiane and the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary.

CCXL. With hymns we (?) shall sing

We bless and sing to thee, our Father Mani,
our Saviour, o glorious one.
Thou art he unto whom we call, Father, King, God
immortal; hear the prayer of thy fold, o
glorious one.
. . . . . he whom the Father sent forth from on high that
he might release the souls that are counted to him, o glorious one.
We now therefore make festival fulfilling thy holy day,
passing the night in vigil in thy joy, o glorious one.
Thou art a creature immortal on the day of this third; thou art
an envoy (πρεσβευτής), another has sent thee to us, o glorious one.
Wash us now therefore in the dew-drops of thy joy, for we
are ordained to the service of the holy Bema, o glorious one.
Open to us the passage of the vaults (ἁψίς) of the skies and |walk
before us to the joy of thy kingdom, o glorious one.
We are wont to worship the sign of thy seat (καθέδρα) when thou
spreadest it out on the day of the Filling of the Measure which is hidden today,
o glorious one.
Glory to thee, Mani, glorious one; victory to thy blessed
Bema, o glorious one, and the soul of
the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

1—2 cf. Mt. 5, 45. — 8 see Introduction II. — 10 ⲱ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ: this refrain is repeated at the end of each verse. — 18 I have translated this line literally: its meaning is not clear to me. — 20 ϫⲁⲕⲱ: cf. 8, 27/28. — 25 see Introd. II. ⲙⲁϩⲁ|ⲡⲉ is a new form, cf. infr. 190, 12 ⲡ|ⲟⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲙⲁϩⲁ|ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲃⲱϫⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ, 'this moon that fills the measure but never wanes'; Keph. 87, 29: 162, 25—26, and seems to be a compound of ⲙⲟⲩϩ and ⲟⲉ|ⲡⲉ, 'measure', Crum Dict. 256a.

> · cμa · <

. .]ę̣ μ̄πγλн ϯ̄πογαϊνε ογεν [. . . . . .]ṭ̣ννнγ тн̄
x]ι [μ]πιzματ
Ꞓο]γεν ν̄ν̄ρωογ ϯ̄ππαε τωṇ тн̄x̄[ι μπ]ѧωρον
πναб̄ н̄кριτнс zμест cωογz тн̄†εαγ νεч тн̄
†]ę̣[αγ]
Χοοс хε χαιρε πρн н̄вр̄ре петаψпр̄ϊε μн̄пч̄
ογαϊνε
Χαιρε ππ̄νᾱ етογавε петакει ϯ̄пооγε ѧсωте
ϯ̄μμαν
Ττн̄хаϊс πμαν|χαιос петка н̄н̄наве νεν [авал
Оγсμаμе ϯ̄пекϊωт †рнνн н̄тμн̄тр̄ро е[тха
се
Ττzματ ψнп н̄νεкснγ н̄ноγте νетаγпι|ф̣[е ѧ
ткб̄ινει ψαραν
Ττεαγ н̄ναιων ϯ̄πογαϊνε νетаγр̄πμεεγ н̄н[ѧ
πz[ο]γμ̣[ι]се
Тн̄ọγ[ωψ]т̄ н̄νετхнγ ϯ̄πογαϊνε νетаγхιϊоорε
ϯ̄μμак̄ εкνнγ
Оγταϊο ϯ̄πρωμε етхнк̄ πμаϊт н̄тειρнνн ета
кει н̄zнтч̄
Тн̄смоγ апкcаϊψ н̄оγаϊνε пχριстос пzоγϊт μ̄
пн̄агаθон
О]γταϊο н̄тεкcофια етасбро ατπλανн н̄н̄ѧο
гμа
Тн̄смаμе н̄наггелос етаγтzпак̄ хн̄н̄таψ ѧ
таψ
Т]н̄оγωψт̄ н̄νεкzιсе νетакψапоγ етве νεк
ψнре
Χε [а]ккα πεкναб̄ н̄еаγ акει ακтеек̄ zан̄ϯ̄
†γхаγε
Ѧкхι гр̄ве гр̄ве ψатекμоγψт̄ н̄рεϊте νιμ
Νтλаϊбε н̄νεкμερετε ψантекcатпоγ гн̄
тεγωнте

2 ę̣ incertum: fort. γ. — 16, 17 н̄н[ѧ]пz[ο]γμ̣[ι]се: HT. — 18 н̄νετхнγ sic.

CCXLI.

. . . the gates (πύλη) of Light open . . . . . we may (?) come and receive this gift.
Open the doors of mercy; arise that we may receive the present (δῶρον).
The great Judge (κριτής) is seated: let us gather and glorify him and glorify (?) [him].
Say: Hail (χαῖρε) new Sun, that has come forth with his Light:
Hail (χαῖρε) Holy Spirit, that art come today to save us:
Our Lord Mani, that forgives us our sins.
Blessing to thy Father, peace (εἰρήνη) to the kingdom on high.
Thanks to thy divine brethren who have believed (πείθεσθαι?) in thy coming to us.
Glory to the Aeons of Light who commemorated the things pertaining to the birthday (?).
We worship the ships of Light that ferried thee across as thou camest.
Honour to the Perfect Man, the way of peace (εἰρήνη) whereby thou didst come.
We bless thy Light-familiar, Christ, the author of our good (ἀγαθόν).
Honour to thy wisdom (σοφία) that has defeated the Error (πλάνη) of the Sects (δόγμα).
We bless the Angels that brought thee from bound to bound.
We worship thy sufferings which thou didst endure because of thy children:
For thou didst leave thy great glory, thou didst come and give thyself for souls.
Thou didst assume different forms until thou hadst visited all races:
For the sake of thy loved ones, until thou hadst chosen them out of their midst.

18 vid. Jackson, Researches pp. 41—42. — 20 cf. Acta Arch. 13, 25. — 22 vid. Mani-Fund p. 71 n. — 32 lit. 'didst receive form form': cf. W.Bang, Manichaeische Hymnen, in Muséon XXXVIII p. 25: according to a Turkish hymn there edited and translated one of the distinguishing marks of a prophet is the 'Veraendern der Gestalt'.

. . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁ[ⲓ
. . . . .]
ⲁⲕ]ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲱ[ⲁⲛ
ⲧ]ⲉⲕⲟⲛⲧⲥ̄
ⲁⲕ]ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ̄ ⲁⲛⲭⲁⲓⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲁⲙⲙⲉⲅⲓⲥⲧⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲝ[ⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲕ
ⲥ]ⲉⲭⲉ
Ⲥⲁ]ⲡⲱⲣⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲓⲁⲕ ⲅⲱⲣⲙⲏⲥⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲧⲉⲕ
ⲙ]ⲏⲉ
. . .]ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲣⲅⲁⲣⲁⲛ . . . ⲝⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲡⲓⲑⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲕ
ⲧⲁ]ⲱⲉⲁⲓⲱ
ⲁⲩⲥ]ⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲕⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲛⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ
ⲅⲉ]ⲗⲡⲓⲥ
. . .]. .[. . .]ⲁ[.]ⲅⲏⲣⲱⲇⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲫⲣⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡ]ⲭⲣ[ⲓ]ⲥⲧⲟⲥ
Ⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲕ
ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲛ]ⲉⲓⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲙⲙⲁⲅⲟⲩⲥⲁ[ⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲱⲩⲧ̄ [ⲁⲭⲛ
ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲛⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲛⲱⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁ[ⲟⲥ ⲛ[ⲅⲁⲧⲃⲉ
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲁⲩⲥⲅⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲓⲃⲗⲓⲁ[ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲕ̄
ⲧⲧⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̄ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲩ
ⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ
Ⲭⲙ̄ⲡⲕ+ⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲁⲩ+ ⲃⲁⲛ[ⲡⲉ ⲁ
ⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲕ̄
ⲁⲩ+ ⲁⲧⲟⲧⲕ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲕ̄ ⲁⲩ+ ⲅⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲁ
ⲍⲏⲧⲕ̄
ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲭⲕ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲱⲧⲉⲕⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩ[ⲛⲁⲱ
ⲁⲗⲕ̄ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁⲕⲣ̄ⲭⲟⲩⲧⲉⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲕⲍⲛ̄
ⲡⲃⲁ[ⲛⲓ]ⲡⲉ
. . . . . .]ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲕ ⲁⲕⲣ̄ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ ⲙ̄

9 post ⲟⲩⲁⲣⲅⲁⲣⲁⲛ fort. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ. — 13 init exspectavisses ⲁⲩⲧⲛⲧⲱⲛⲩ ⲁⲡⲅⲏⲣ. HT; vel ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲱⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲅⲏⲣ.

. . . . . the earth (?), the seas (θάλασσα) and the . . . .
also.
Thou didst seek out thy beloved, thy Church, until
thou hadst found her.
Thou didst appear unto the crowned ones, the princes (μεγιστᾶνος) received [thy
word.
Shapur honoured thee, Ormizd also received thy
truth.
. . . . . Bahram . . . for (?) he believed (πείθεσθαι) not in thy
preaching.
He hearkened to thy enemies, the deniers (ἀρνητής) of thy
hope (ἐλπίς).
. . . . . Herod, who crucified (σταυροῦν)
Christ.
Woe unto them, the children of fire; for they sinned against thy
holy body (σῶμα).
I was speaking of the Magians (μαγουσαῖοι) who looked [upon
thy blood.
They loved the evil-genius of the Jews, the murderers
of God.
They wrote their lying screeds (βιβλίδιον), they gave them out concerning thee.
O Judge (κριτής) of all races, they arraigned thee and
judged (κρίνειν) thee.
From the time that thou didst confound their Error (πλάνη) they loaded thee
with iron and bound thee.
They loaded thy hands and feet and put fetters (κολλάριον) also upon
thy body.
They cast thee into their prisons, thinking that they [could
hold thee in.
Thou didst spend twenty-six days and the nights of them in
irons (?).
. . . . . thy children beside thee, thou didst embrace (ἀσπάζεσθαι)

7—10 cf. Flügel, Mani pp. 329—333. — 11 cf. Hom. 81, 11. — 17 i. e. 'I mean . . .'. — 19 ⲧⲱⲛⲧⲃⲁⲛⲱⲗⲉ, vid. supr. 4, 16 n. — 22 lit. 'they brought thee into the middle'.

ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

non legi potest

. . . . .]

. . . .] . ⲛ̀ⲛ . . . . . ⲧⲕ̣ⲉ̣ⲕ̣ⲗ̣ⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟ

5 ⲥⲙ]ⲟ̣ⲥ

Ⲙⲡ]ⲱⲣⲕⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲃⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲥ̀ⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ

. . . .]

Ⲁⲕⲧⲁⲱ ⲡⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲥ ⲙ̀ⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲃⲉⲥⲛⲁ[ⲩⲥ ⲛ

ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕ̣ⲟⲡⲟⲥ

10 Ⲁⲕⲕⲁ ⲥⲓⲥⲓⲛⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ

Ϫⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲧⲁⲱ ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲁⲕⲧⲁⲃⲥ̀ ⲡⲉⲕⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁ[ⲫ+

ⲟⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ

Ⲁⲕⲕⲁ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲕⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ [ⲁⲥⲣⲏ ⲁⲧⲉⲕ]ⲙ̀[ⲛ

ⲧ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ

15 Ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲓ ⲱ[ⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕ

ⲥⲱⲙⲁ

Ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲗ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲧ[ⲁ

ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲡⲟⲗ[ⲓⲥ

Ⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲁⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲥⲭⲁⲥⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ

20 ⲡⲩⲗⲏ

2 Ⲁⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲉⲧⲃⲉ • ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ

ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲡ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ

Ϫⲉ ⲥ]ⲉⲛⲁⲱ[ⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲕⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛ̄ⲡϫ[ⲓⲕⲃⲁ ⲙ̄

ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈

25 Ⲧⲉⲩ]ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁϫ[ⲓ ⲧⲱⲃ̈ⲓⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲥ

ⲉⲉⲩ

Ⲛ]ⲉ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲙ̄ⲙ̈ⲓ̈

ⲁⲩ]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲕ̀

Ⲑ]ⲓ[ⲥ ⲫ]ⲏⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲡ̄ⲛⲁ

30 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ

Ⲧⲧ]ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲛⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲛ [ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲥⲱ]ⲧⲡ

ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ

31 fin. valde dubium, fort. [ⲁⲧⲕⲣⲉ]ⲓⲧⲉ.

them all.

illegible

. . . . .

. . . . . thy Church which is in the
world (κόσμος).
Do not leave thy beloved, that she lose not the savour of the salt which
. . . . .
Thou didst appoint the twelve Teachers and the seventy-two
Bishops (ἐπίσκοπος).
Thou didst make Sisinnios leader (ἀρχηγός) over thy children.
When thou hadst set thy affairs in order thou didst implore thy Father, he
answered thee.
Thou didst leave them thy body (σῶμα) and didst ascend [to thy] king-
dom.
The lawless men (ἄνομος) were confounded, they brought their wrath upon thy
body (σῶμα).
They shed thy blood in the midst of the street (πλατεῖα)
of their city (πόλις).
They struck off thy head and set it on high upon their
gate (πύλη).
They rejoiced in thy murder, knowing not that there is a
judgment:
For an account shall be demanded of thy death and thy blood
shall be avenged.
Their godless city (πόλις) shall receive the recompense for the outrage which it
committed.
Blessed are thy loved ones that shed their tears
for thee.
Lo, the] grief of thy body (σῶμα), the joy of thy spirit
that has ascended.
Blessed one (μακάριος), our Father, number us also [among thy] Elect (?)
today.

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6 lit. 'be insipid of salt', cf. Matth. 5. 13; Keph. 97. 29: ⲥⲛ̃ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲃⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̃ⲛ̃ⲥⲙⲟⲩ, 'dumme Worte'. — 8 cf. 22, 24; Aug. de haer. 46. — 25 ⲃⲏⲩ, 'Frevel': vid. Polotsky, Hom. p. XIX.

. . . . . .]ⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . . . [. . . . .] . ⲱ[.
ⲧⲉ]ⲕⲇⲱⲣⲉⲁ
Ⲛⲧⲁ]ⲕ† ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲁⲃⲱⲕ̀ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ☩[ⲧⲱ
Ⲃ]ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲥ̀ⲱ]ⲱⲧ ⲁⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲓⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲁⲣⲱ . [.
.]ⲱ
. . .] ⲡⲱⲣⲱ̄ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕ̈ⲓⲁⲁⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲛⲛ
ⲉ]ⲧⲥⲁⲩ
Ⲕⲁⲛ ⲉ]ⲕⲱⲁⲛⲃⲓⲱⲡ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ • ⲥⲓⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲛⲣ . . .
ⲁ]ⲡⲙⲟⲩ
. . .]ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲭ̀ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲉⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲥ̀
ⲛⲛ]ⲉⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ
Ⲛⲁⲥ]ⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲣⲉⲩ†ⲥⲉⲡ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲩ
. . .]. . ⲩ . ⲱⲧⲉ
Ⲧⲉⲧ]ⲁⲩⲭⲓⲧⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲁ
ⲣⲉⲩⲡⲱⲧ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲥ
Ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲧⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲥⲁⲧⲃⲉⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲧⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲃⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲑⲏⲇⲟⲛⲏ ⲧⲱⲗⲙⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲃⲁⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ
Ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲱⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲕⲱⲗⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲩⲙⲛ̄
ⲧⲥⲗⲃⲏⲧ
Ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲉ ⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲥⲃⲓ ⲧⲟ̄ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ
Ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲃⲓ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲥⲥⲁⲩ
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ
Ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲥⲓⲥⲏⲧ ⲣ̄ⲥⲉⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲥⲑⲓⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄ • ⲩⲱⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ
ⲭⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲛⲥ̀
Ⲙⲛ̄ ⲭⲓⲥⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲉⲡ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲟ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ
Ⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲏⲩ
Ⲙⲁⲩⲃⲓⲱⲡ ⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲉⲓ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲧⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ-ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲧⲛ̄ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲏ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱ ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ
ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲛ̄

---

3 ⲕ tertium sup. lin. — 4 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ sic: leg. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ. — 5, 6 fort. ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲁⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ. — 31 ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱ etc.: an ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱ ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲡⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ dividendum (cf. 147 a 33; ? 30, 10)?

. . . . . from (?) the . . . . . .
thy gift (δωρεά).
Thou who didst give thy blood for us — do not forget us, I implore thee.
Look upon our tears that are hidden, that are seen by (?) . . . .
. . .
. . . . spread thy mercy over us and wash us clean of [the things which are] evil.
If thou shouldest make reckoning with us, then are we already . . .
to (?) death.
. . . know the pollution of the flesh (σάρξ) which wells up from it at all times.
My brethren (?), lo, the judge; let each one come and
. . . . . .
The man who has suffered wrong — lo, the protection of the judge (κριτής), let him hasten unto it:
He whom grief (λύπη) has killed, he on whom anger has leapt:
He for whom lust (ἡδονή) has soiled the whiteness of his clothes:
He from whom obduracy stole away
the sweetness of his heart:
He whom folly made mock of and took away his wisdom (σοφία):
He for whom the devouring fire allied with his enemies, doing him harm:
He whom overweening pride deceived and tumbled to the ground: —
Lo, the judge (δικαστής) has sat down, he calls out the name of him who has been wronged.
There is no favouring in his judgment, no turning in his justice (δικαιοσύνη).
He knows how to forgive him that shall sin and repent.
He makes reckoning with none that shall come to him and implore him.
But the double-minded man — him he forgives not.
Let us not neglect (ἀμελεῖν) ourselves and fail in our hearts through our own fault.

22 lit. 'it being evil with him'.

Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡ]ⲛⲁ[ⲃ] ⲛⲥⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲟⲟ ⲛ̣ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲧⲏⲣ]ⲟⲩ
Ⲁⲩⲡ]ⲱⲣⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙ̄ⲱⲓⲣ • ⲁⲩⲱⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲱ[ⲉ
ⲭⲓ ⲡⲁⲍ]ⲣⲉ
Ⲥ]ⲱⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁⲱⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲁⲃ[ⲏⲗ
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲙⲁⲩⲥ[ⲓ]ⲭⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲕⲱⲙⲙ̄ⲃ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩ[ⲛ
ⲥⲁⲱ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟ̄
Ⲟⲩ[ⲛ]ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟ̄ⲍⲱⲃ • ⲣⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲁⲗⲃ ⲥⲛ̄[ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲥⲉⲭⲉ
Ⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲭⲉ ⲥⲁⲱ ⲁⲕⲁ ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲉⲩⲕⲏⲃ ⲁⲭ[ⲱⲩ
Ⲱⲁ[ⲩ]ⲟⲩⲱⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ • ⲛ̄ⲩⲙⲟⲩⲍ ⲛ̄ⲩⲕⲁⲍⲕⲉ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲍⲟ
ⲟ[ⲩ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ
Ⲥⲱⲱⲧ ⲁⲧⲟ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ̣ [ⲟⲩ
ⲱⲛⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲱⲛⲉ
Ⲗⲡⲱⲣⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲡ ⲡⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲙⲁⲙⲉ
ⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ
Ⲧⲥⲁⲓⲏ ⲛ̄ⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲕⲁⲥ
Ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ) ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲁⲟⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲱⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲱⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲙ
Ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲭⲟⲩⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙ̀ⲓⲅⲙⲁ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲛⲧⲓⲁⲟⲧⲟⲥ
Ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗ̀ⲟⲛ ⲡⲱⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁ̀ⲓⲛⲉ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
Ⲧⲉⲩⲗⲁⲕⲁⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲑⲏⲥⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲍⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ
Ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲙⲟⲩⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ • ⲙⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲕⲃ̄ⲃⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ
ⲧⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲉⲥ
Ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲡⲟⲅⲅⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲱⲧ ⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲣⲁⲅⲙⲁ
ⲧⲓⲁ
Ⲡⲩⲁⲕⲙⲁⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲭⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲭⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏ
ⲣⲓⲟⲛ
Ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲗ ⲉⲧⲛ̀ⲁⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲭⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗⲁⲱⲓⲣⲉ
Ⲡⲛⲁⲣⲑⲏⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲭⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟ
ⲗⲁⲩⲉ

30 leg. ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ.

Lo, the] great physician has come: he knows how to heal all
men.
He has] spread his medicine-chest, he has called out: 'He that wishes,
be cured.'
Look at the multitude of his cures: there is no cure save
in him.
He does not recoil (σιχαίνεσθαι?) from him that is sick, he does not mock him
that has a
wound in him.
A skilful one is he in his work: his mouth also is sweet in [its
words.
He knows how to cut a wound, to put a cool medicament upon it.
He cuts and he cleanses; he cauterises and soothes (?) in a
single day.
Look, his lovingkindness has made each one of us
reveal his sickness.
Let us not hide our sickness from him and leave the cancer
in our members (μέλος),
the fair and mighty image (εἰκών) of the New Man, so that it destroys it.
He has the antidote (ἀντίδοτος) that is good for every affection (πάθος).
There are two and twenty compounds (μῖγμα) in his antidote (ἀντίδοτος):
His Great Gospel (εὐαγγέλιον), the good tidings of all them that are
of the Light.
His water-pot (λακάνη) is the Thesaurus, the treasure of Life.
In it there is hot water: there is some cold water also
mixed with it.
His soft sponge (σπόγγος) that wipes away bruises (πληγή) is the
Pragmateia.
His knife (ἀκμάδιον) for cutting is the Book of the Mysteries.
His excellent swabs are the Book of the Giants.
The νάρθηξ of every cure is the Book of his
Letters (ἐπιστολή).

7 σιχαίνεσθαι, cf. Liddell and Scott, Gk. Dict. (new edit.) p. 1598 b. The form ⲥⲓϫⲁⲛⲉ occurs in the Homilies: 78, 23; 93, 18, and is rendered 'verabscheuen' by Polotsky. Sophocles Gk. Lex. p. 989 a suggests a Semitic derivation. — 9 ⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ, cf. Keph. 132, 20. — 18 εἰκών is in apposition to μέλος. ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲕⲁⲥ carries on the construction of the two preceeding verbs: 'and it (i. e. the cancer) destroys it (i. e. the image)'. — 20 The Great Gospel is the antidote: the 22 ingredients are perhaps 22 chapters in the work. — 21 ff. cf. Mani-Fund pp. 34 ff; Hom. 25, 1 ff; Flügel Mani pp. 102—3, 354 ff; Keph. 5, 22 ff. — 23 λακάνη, cf. Rossi op. cit. I 3, 52 b. — 28 For ἀκμάδιον vid. Hermes 38, pp. 280—284. — 29 ⲅⲁⲗⲁⲱⲗⲣⲉ seems here to be a translation of the Gk. γίγας: vid. Hom. p. XIX. For ⲱⲗ vid. Crum Dict. p. 522 a.

. . . . . .]ϵ̣τ̣χ̣ηϥ πϯalmoc ϩnϵ̣ϒ πρ̣ι̣μ̣ϵ̣
. . . . . .].
. . . . . .] ạn ϵϥkηβ nϵϥωληλ μ̄ñnϵϥcϵx̣[ϵ
τ]ḥρoϒ
Ϭιc] ṭ̣ϫok|ωη μ̄πñce|nϵ nϫcnηϒ μαρñṭ̣ωβ̣[ϩ
μ]μαϥ
Ϭϥa]ϯ παϩρϵ αραn ϵωϫαϲτλ̄βo ññ[. . . . . .
ΤΤk]ω̣ αβαλ ññ̄ñnαβϵ ατρϵϥρ̄ϩματ μ̄μαϥ ṇ[ϵn
τη]ρnϵ
Ϭϥαβ]ω̣τϵ ñnñωϵϥτϵ ñωβα ϵτταβϵ ατñϯγχη
ΤΤϩο]ογϵ π[ϵ] kατα ραμπϵ μ̄πωρτñαβωñ ñγβωk
. . . . . .]
. . .]ϵμπ . . . ϵτογαβϵ nϵττϵογο μ̄ñnϵτcωτμϵ
τ]ḥρoϒ
ΤΤϵτχω ñoγϯalmoc ϵϥo ñθϵ ñnϵτωωnτ ñoγ
kλαμ
Ϭρϵ nϵτογωωβϵ ñcωϥ o ñθϵ ñnϵτϯ oγρ̄τ̄ ατοοτϥ̄
ΤΤβρo μ̄πkρ|τηc ñτμηϵ μ̄ñπϵϥβημα ϵτοϊ ñϵαγ
Ϭϥατϵϵϥ nϵn ϩωωnϵ τηρnϵ nϵϥcωττ̄ μ̄ñnϵϥ
kατηχ̣ογμϵnoc
Oγϵαγ μ̄ñoγταϊo ñnϵτρ̄ωαϊϵ ϩñπ|ϩooγϵ ϵταϊ
ογβρo ñτϯγχη μ̄πλογc|αnϵ απα πολγδοξoc
απα πωαϊ παναϊ πωα|xω̄noγτϵ θϵonα μ̄ñτ
ϯγχη ϩωωc μ̄μαρ|α
ἀϥxωk

7 fin. fort. ωϵϥτϵ supplendum. — 13 fort. αναν ν]ϵμπϵτογαβϵ.

p. 48 scriptura omnino uacat.

. . . . . hot (?), the two Psalms (ψαλμός), the weeping (?)
. . . . . .
. . . . . cool also (?), his Prayers and all his
Words.
Lo,] the test (δοκιμή) of our physician: my brethren, let us implore
him.
May he] give us a cure that heals our . . . . .
The forgiveness of our sins, that he may bestow it upon us
all.
May he] wipe away our iniquities, the scars that are branded on our souls.
Year by (κατά) year there is the day: let us not forget, so that it goes
. . . . . .
We are (?) his holy ones, they that preach and they that hear,
all of them.
He that sings a psalm (ψαλμός) is like them that weave a
garland.
They that answer after him are like them that put roses into his hands.
Victory to the judge (κριτής) of Truth and his glorious Bema.
May he give it to all of us also, his Elect and his
Catechumens.
Glory and honour to them that keep festival on this mighty day.
Victory to the soul of Plousiane, Apa Polydoxus,
Apa Pshai, Panai, Pshai, Jmnoute, Theona and the
soul also of Mary.

The End.

2—4 In these lines further books of Mani seem to be mentioned: in l. 1 the Book of the Psalms and perhaps some kind of Book of Lamentation (cf. Hom. XIII, XV: [πφρ]ηνος ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲗⲙⲁⲗⲟⲥ); these appear to be compared to a hot medicament, while in ll. 3 and 4 the Prayers and Words (Addresses?) are compared to a cold medicament. With the whole passage cf. Hom. 25, 4—5. — 22 ff. vid. supr. Introd. II b. — 25 i. e. the end of the Bema-psalms. The next thirty-five psalms form a group of which the title is lost, vid. inf. p. 233 a, 10 ff; I have called them 'Psalms to Jesus', from the character of their opening words. P. 48 is blank.

1 uestigia tenuia superscriptionis cum ornamentis
2 et 3 non legi possunt

. .]. ka . etm̄[or]ṭe orBhk
. . .]ẏạ eqcawe eaïxpaq nhï m̄pIbṇ[. . . . . .
. . .]oye n̄taq̄ oẏạzeṭq̄ peταïbn[tk gntoynoy
nt]aanarq̄h
Ttsooy] pe peï m̄pnab n̄sIce et . . ḥ . . . . . .
. . . .]ẏn[. . . . . .]. . . . bn̄nawte n̄ . . . ạẏ
. . . . . .]ɥ apthrɥ̄
. . . . . .] eqcrm̄pramt • aycǫ .[. . . .
. .]. ɯạẏṭǫbeq̄ poyazε eyr̄nabe m̄mhne [eytm
meey apsooy etoynaɯIne apay
Oyn̄ oykpItHc m̄pbl̄ m̄pcωma emn̄ laye
naɯswp apaq eqɯIne canzBhye eta poye poye
eïtoy eqtωBe ney kata poym̄pωa
Ntaïzomologh ρω m̄mak etBe +oynoy aïtωn ẍa
pkωmɯ̄ n̄rωme nIm • xe aïcωtm̄ xe petar̄ạr
ne m̄mak ɯakaBɯq̄ apaq eqzn̄neqθlI+Iǫ
Θic panazte thk aretɥ̄ nemhï eiǫ namn̄tnae e
taïeey m̄pekρen • eic naɯlhl mn̄tasposḍ̣h ɯ[I
ne ataxI zmat axωï
Oylhcthc aqnoyzme zIpstayroc xe aqzomolo
gh m̄mak m̄mete akaBɯq̄ annabe throy etaq
eïtoy akr̄pmeey m̄pɥagaθon
Ÿlh nIm n̄kosmoc eqkωte apaï raxzoy m̄pooye
+capcp̄ m̄mak toyBaï aBal n̄n̄nabe throy xe
aïeɯt̄ zωωt n̄tekzelpIc
Oyeay oyBro m̄pIωt pnoyte n̄tmhe mn̄pekɯh
re] mm̄[erI]t pxrc mn̄ppn̄a etoyaBe ppkc oy
Bro mn̄oyɯo]yɯoy n̄t+yxh m̄ma[rI]a

---

1 unam litteram +[alμoc?] perspicere potui. — 11 fort. aycẹṭ[e. — 17 aïtωnẍa sic, haud aïtωnz̄ a. — 26 leg. etkωte coll. Hom. 29, 28 ubi pro eqm̄mo leg. etm̄mo: mn̄trm̄Bωn etm̄mo = κακανδρία ἐκείνη. — 29 leg. peqɯhre.

1 faint traces of a heading with ornaments
2 and 3 are illegible

. . . . . that call to thee.
The] bitter . . . . . that I got for myself, I did not find . . . . .
. . . . thee alone did I find [in the hour
of my need (ἀνάγκη).
This is the [day] of the great trouble that . . . . . .
. . . . . find defence . . .
. . . . . at all.
. . . . . he being at a loss; they . . . . .
. . . they make their lives short (?), sinning daily, [not
thinking of the day when they shall be called to account.
There is a judge (κριτής) beyond the body (σῶμα), and none
will be able to hide from him when he searches out the deeds that each
has done and rewards them according to their deserts.
I confessed (ὁμολογεῖν) thee indeed because of this hour, I endured
the mockery of all men; for I heard that he who shall deny (ἀρνεῖσθαι)
thee — thou dost forget him in his afflictions (θλίψις).
Lo, my faith stands fast with me; lo, my almsgivings that
I performed in thy name: lo, my prayers and my zeal (σπουδή)
demand that I should receive grace upon me.
A robber (λῃστής) was saved upon the cross (σταυρός) because he did but
confess (ὁμολογεῖν) thee; thou didst forget all the sins that he
had committed, thou didst remember his good (ἀγαθόν).
All worldly (κόσμος) Matter (ὕλη) that surrounds me — burn it today,
I beseech thee. Cleanse me from all the sins, for
I too have hung on thy hope (ἐλπίς).
Glory, victory to the Father, the God of Truth, and his beloved
son Christ, and the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete.
Victory and] renown to the soul of Mary.

11 ⲉⲩⲥⲣⲁⲣⲁⲧ lit. 'dazed', 'stupified'. — 12 ⲧⲥⲃⲕⲟ 'make small' cf. 3, 26. — 26 lit. 'burn them', ⲩⲗⲏ ⲛⲓⲙ being regarded as plural.

[cшг]

periit

. . . . . .]ⲁϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲥ̣ⲟⲟⲩⲉ .[. . . . .

. . . . . .]ⲁⲥ ⲛⲏⲏ̈

. . . . .]ⲉϥ ⲁⲧⲟ[ⲟ]ⲧ ⲁ̈ⲙⲁⲍⲉ [. . .]ⲣ̅ⲙ̅[. . . . .

. . . . . .] ⲥ̣ⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲟⲩⲣ .[. . .]. . .[. . .

. . .]. ⲱⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϫⲁϫ[ⲉ ⲁ]ⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲍⲏⲃⲥ

ⲁ̣[ⲓⲡⲱⲧ ⲍⲛⲡⲁⲅⲱ]ⲛ-ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲱϫⲁⲕⲟ̄ ⲁⲃ̣[ⲁⲗ

ⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲁⲓϫⲁⲕϥ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧϥ ⲉⲓ̈ⲍⲱⲥ ⲉⲓ̈ⲛ̣[. . .

ⲗⲉ ⲁⲧ[ϫ]ⲱ[ⲣⲁ] ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉ

Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲍ[ⲏⲧⲉ] ⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ • ⲁⲡ̣[. . . .

. . . . .]ⲃ̣ⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ[ϫ]ⲁϫⲉ [. .] ⲛ . ⲁ[. . . . . .]ⲧ̣ⲱⲛ[. . .

. . . . . .ⲉ]ⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲁϫⲱⲓ̈ ⲉⲩ[. . . . . .

. .]. . ⲛ̣ⲛ[. . ⲁ]ⲧ̣ⲧⲉⲕⲟ

+ⲛⲟⲩ +ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲏ̈ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ[ⲛⲟⲩ

ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ ⲱ ⲛⲁⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲉ ⲫⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲉ

ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ̣ⲙⲟⲩ ⲉ̣+ⲱⲁⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄

Ⲍⲛⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲥⲍⲁⲗⲃ ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲏⲏ̈ ϫⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ

ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁ̄ⲣ̄ⲍⲁⲧⲉ

ⲁ]ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲕϫⲁⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲍⲛ̄ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ

Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲡⲍⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲫⲟ

ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙ[ⲉ]ⲗⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ • ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲃ̄ⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲁⲓ̈

ⲛⲁⲣⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ̊ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲁ̈ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲡⲟⲩ ⲁ̈ⲡⲱⲧ ⲱⲁⲡⲁⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ

Ⲧ̣ⲧⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁϫⲱⲓ̈ • ⲡⲃⲣⲁⲃⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ

ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ • ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ

ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲛⲁϫⲁϫⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

+ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲱⲁⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲍⲛ̄

ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ϫⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈

ⲁⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ

+ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲱⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲉⲥⲛ̣ⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄

ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ • ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛ̣ⲁⲣ̄ⲧ̣ⲁⲱ

17 ⲉ̣ incertum. — 31 fin. fort. ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲣ̣ⲛ̣ⲱ[ρ(51,1)ⲓⲍⲉ].

CCXLIII.

2 *destroyed*

. . . . . night and day . . . . . .
. . . . . to me.
. . . . . gave (?) to me, I walked . . . . . .
. . . . . to the right, to the left . . . . . .
. . . . . out; I did not allow my enemies to put out my [lamps.
I ran] in the mighty [race ἀγών] which not every man can finish.
I finished the race], rejoicing in it, singing, ...
to the living land (χώρα).
Behold, I am coming forth from the body (σῶμα) of death. The . . . .
. . . . . cleansed (?) me, the enemies . . . . . .
. . . . . did (?) them, they rose up against me, ...
. . . . . indestructible (?).
Now I call unto thee: Saviour (σωτήρ), come to me in the hour
of need (ἀνάγκη). O my prayers and my fasts (νηστεία), this is the moment
of my death: I have need of you.
In a sweet voice he answered me saying, O blessed and righteous (δίκαιος)
man, come forth, be not afraid,
I am thy guide in every place.
When I heard the cry of my Saviour (σωτήρ), a power clothed (φορεῖν)
all my limbs (μέλος); their bitter walls I
destroyed, their doors I broke down, I ran to my Judge (κριτής).
The garland of glory he set upon my head, the prize (βραβεῖον) of victory
he set in my hand, he clothed me in the robe (στολή) of light,
he exalted me over all my enemies.
I rejoice as I ascend to my Father with whom I have conquered in
the land of the Darkness; o my great King, ferry me
to the city (πόλις) of the Gods, the angels.
The peace (εἰρήνη) of the Father of Greatness be upon
you all, my brethren. Every one that shall . . . . . .

9, 10 perhaps ⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉ, 'ascending' or ⲉⲓ̈ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲉ, 'singing hymns'. — 22 cf. Homil. 78, 11 f. ⲛⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲥ̄ = 'tollere', vid. 17, 12 n. — 24 f. cf. Mani-Fund p. 71.

. . . . . .] ϩⲱⲧ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲥ
ⲭⲏ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> CMΔ <

Ⲁⲙⲟ]ⲥ ⲡⲁϣⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥ[ⲱⲕ]
ⲓⲏⲥ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲕ̀ ⲁⲓ† ⲧⲁ†ⲥⲩⲭⲏ . . . . .[. . .
ϩⲁⲗ]ⲃⲱⲉ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲛϩⲏⲁⲟⲛⲁⲩ[ⲉ ⲉⲧ]ⲗ̣ⲁ̣
ⲙⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧ]ϩⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲕϩⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ
. . .] ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲙⲉ́ⲗⲟⲥ
ⲁⲓ†]ⲧⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛⲁϧⲁϧⲉ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣ⲱⲣ
Ⲁⲓⲥⲱ]ⲣⲙⲉ ⲁ[ⲡⲕ]ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ
ⲧⲏⲣ]ⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟ̄ • ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱ
ⲙⲉ ⲧ]ⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲛⲧ̀ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ ⲓⲏⲥ
Ⲱ] ⲱⲁⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲛⲱⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲗⲓⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟ̄ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲱⲃⲱ̄ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲓⲏⲥ
Ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲓⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲁϫⲣⲁ
ⲓ̈ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁϫⲱⲥ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁϩⲃⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲓⲣ̄ⲁⲣⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲓⲏⲥ
Ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲁⲓ̈ϫⲁⲕⲟⲩ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲁϣⲱⲧⲏⲣ • ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁ́ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲱ ⲛ̄
ⲛⲁϧⲁϧⲉ ⲁⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲓⲏⲥ
†ⲛⲟⲩ †ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲗⲱϫϩ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ†ⲥⲩⲭⲏ ϫⲉⲕⲁ
ⲥⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲱⲛ̄ϩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁϫⲱⲓ̈ • ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲥⲱϩⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲓⲏⲥ
Ⲱ ⲛⲁⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈
ϫⲁⲕ̀ⲥ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲉⲛ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲉ†
ⲱⲁⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̄
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲁⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲭⲓ ⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲁϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ

---

9 init. fort. ω π]ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ vel ⲉⲧⲁⲓ] ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ. — 27 ϫⲁⲕ̀ⲥ sic. — 28 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ sic: fort. ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄ legendum, coll. 50, 17.

. . . . . in thy kingdom and the
soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXLIV. . . . . .

Come, my Saviour (σωτήρ) Jesus, do not forsake me.
Jesus,] thee have I loved, I have given my soul . . . . . .
armour (?); I have not given it rather to the foul (?) lusts (ἡδονή)
of the world (κόσμος). Jesus, do not forsake me.
Lo, the] glorious armour wherein thou hast girded thy
. . . holy commandment (ἐντολή), I have put it upon my limbs (μέλος),
I have fought against my enemies. Jesus, do not
I] wandered into the whole world (κόσμος), I witnessed all the
things that are in it, I saw that all men
run vainly too and fro. Jesus
O] how long is the evil genius and madness of the Darkness
wherein they have been bound; for they have forgotten
God, who came and gave himself up to death for them. Jesus
When I saw these things, my Lord, I took thy hope (ἐλπίς) and made myself
strong upon it. Thy yoke which thou didst enjoin on me,
I did not refuse (ἀρνεῖσθαι) it, my Lord. Jesus
Thy excellent commandments (ἐντολή) which thou didst enjoin on me I have
fulfilled them
my Saviour (σωτήρ). Thy lamps (λαμπάς) of Light, I have not suffered
my enemies to put them out. Jesus
Now I call to thee in the anguish of my soul that
thou mayest have compassion upon me; for (γάρ) the powers of heaven and
earth desire to submerge me. Jesus
O my prayers and my fasts (νηστεία) and my virginity (παρθενία) which I have
perfected in thy name; for (γάρ) this is the hour of dread
wherein I need thee.
I beheld my judge (κριτής), I was not confounded at all in my deeds

3 there are faint traces of some six or seven letters to the right of the number: probably the name of the author, cf. 7, 11; 14, 19. — 28 or, reading ϯⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄, 'you' instead of 'thee'.

ⲉⲧⲁ]ⲓⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ\ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲁⲩⲧⲥⲡⲁⲓ̈ [ⲁⲧⲩ]ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲓⲏⲥ̄
Ν]ⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲣⲁⲙⲉⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑ[ⲟⲛ
ⲛⲧ]ⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧ̣ⲱ[ⲃⲉ
ⲙⲙⲁⲩ] ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁⲩ] ⲡⲉⲧⲩ̣ⲁⲱⲥⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲓⲏⲥ̄
Ν̣ⲧⲩⲗⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ [ⲥⲁ
ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲃⲁⲱⲟⲩ [ⲙ
ⲡ̣[. .]. . ⲙ̣ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ†ⲁⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲓⲏⲥ̄
ⲠⲠⲉⲧ̣ . . ⲱ . ⲛ̣ⲥⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲡⲉ\ϫⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲟ ⲁ̣[ⲧⲧⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ • ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁ[ⲙⲧⲁⲛ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲣⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϧⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ[ⲓϧⲁ|
ⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ[ⲁⲕⲁ
ⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ
> ϣⲙⲉ <
Ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲧ̣ⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏⲩ
Ⲕⲓⲙ-ⲁⲣⲟ ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲣⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲥⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣ̄
ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃ|ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲕⲱⲣⲫ̄
ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̣ⲕⲱⲱⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲗⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̄ †ⲥⲁⲣϫ̣\ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄
ⲉⲧⲁ̣ . . . ⲛⲉ ⲣⲡⲉ|ⲑⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲙ|ⲱⲉ ⲥⲱⲉ ⲁⲣⲟ
ⲁⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲗⲗⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲃⲣⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁ|ⲥⲁⲡ \
ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲩ̣ⲥⲉⲗⲡ|ⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲁ
ϧⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲧⲩⲃ|ⲛⲉⲓ ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϧⲡⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲩϧⲁⲥ-
ⲙⲉ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲣⲱ ⲣⲡⲩ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲁⲧⲟⲩ
ⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁ|ⲱⲗ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲙⲏⲧⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥ|ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ
†ⲗ̀ • ⲉ|ⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̄ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁ†ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲁⲑⲁⲏ
ϫⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁϧ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲣⲱ ⲛⲉ ⲛ|ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲣϫ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲥ|ⲱⲉ ⲱ ⲧ†ⲩ
ⲭⲏ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲧⲣⲉ ⲇⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ ϫⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲃⲏ
ⲧⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲫⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡ|
|ⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ • ⲁⲣⲉⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲉⲥⲱⲣ ⲥⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ • ⲛ̣ⲧⲣ̣ . .

1 fin. fort. ⲛⲁ[ⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ. — 8 fort. ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ vel ⲡⲉⲩϫⲣⲏⲙⲁ. — 9 fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲛ vel ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛ̄. — 20 init. fort. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ|: H.T. — 24 fort. ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲩ pro ⲁⲧⲟⲩ legendum.

that I have done. He gave me victoriously into the hands of the angels (?)
and they escorted me to his kingdom. Jesus
My brethren, be not slack (ἀμελεῖν) in doing good (ἀγαθόν)
by night and by day; for that which a man plants (?)
the same shall he reap. Jesus
The light-armed (ψιλητής) in the fight(ἀγών) consume one another for
a garland that passes away; and they shall be stripped of
their (?) . . . . and shall pay the penalty for that which they have done.
Jesus
He that . . . after (?) you is a great one; for you have conquered [heaven
and earth, the powers (ἀρχή) and principalities (ἐξουσία), and you shall [rest
yourselves in your new Aeon.
Glory and Victory to our Lord, our Light, Mani,
and his holy Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary, Theona.

CCXLV.

Come to me, my Saviour (σωτήρ), the haven of my trust.
Bestir thyself, o soul that watchest in the chains that have long endured, and
remember the ascent into the air (ἀήρ) of joy; for a deadly (?)
lure is the sweetness of this flesh (σάρξ). May the first
that . . . . to thee (?) persuade (πείθειν) thy heart, and do thou fight for
thyself
to put senility behind thee and become new again.
Jesus, the new God, to whose hope (ἐλπίς) I have hung: I have made myself
strong upon his coming: He was not born in a womb corrupted:
not even the mighty were counted worthy of him for him to dwell beneath
their
roof, that he should be confined in a womb (μήτρα) of a woman of low
degree (?). Lo, the glory of my faith that shall help me to the end,
that I have purified thee, my God.
Thy kin are these sure seals that are upon thee, o soul,
by reason of which no demon can touch thee;
for thou hast worshipped aright him who has broken the
goad (?) of Error (πλάνη), thou hast laid thy treasures in the heavens . . .

4, 5 cf. Gal. 6, 7. — 9 **ⲡⲉϯ . . ⲱ.**, possibly neuter, 'That which . . .'; perhaps **ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲛ̄**, i. e. 'your success', cf. 4, 24. But this is very uncertain. — 18 lit. 'ascending of the air' — 22—27 A Manichee 'makes God pure' (l. 27) by denying that he was born of a woman, 'in a womb corrupted' (l. 23). Not even the great ones of the world were worthy that he should dwell beneath their roof (l. 24; cf. Luc. 7, 2—6): how much less shall he be shut up in a womb, the womb of a woman **ⲛ̄ϩⲁϯⲗ** (l. 26). There is a contrast between **ⲟⲩⲱϩ** and **ⲱⲗ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ**, between **ⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧ** and **ⲙⲏⲧⲣⲁ**, and between **ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲓ** and **ⲟⲩⲥ|ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲁϯⲗ**: **ϩⲁϯⲗ** therefore will mean something like 'of low degree', though I cannot suggest its etymology. And this meaning suits the context in 16, 9 above, the only other place where the word occurs. So the Manichee can say (l. 30) 'thou hast worshipped him aright'. — 28 cf. infr. 94, 12; Jackson, Researches pp. 331—337. — 31 cf. Matth. 6, 20. For 'goad' perhaps 'hoof', vid. Crum Dict. p. 76 a.

1 periit
2 non legi potest

.]. ⲡⲛ̣ⲉⲩ̣ ⲁⲡⲥⲗⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲥⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟ̣ⲩⲱ[. .
.]ⲧ̣ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ̣ ⲧ̣ⲉ • ⲟ̣ⲩ . . ⲥ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲙⲙⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕ̣[ⲉ]ⲕ̣ⲉ
ⲙ]ⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲁⲩⲱ . . . ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ • ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧ .[. . . . .
. . .]ⲁⲓⲉⲧⲋ ⲉⲙⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲥⲁ[. . . . .
.] ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲏⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲓⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲋⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲏⲧ ⲛⲉ[. . . .
. . .] ⲁⲛⲙ̄ⲥⲉⲩⲉ
. . . .]ⲉ̣ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲱ ⲧ☥ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲓⲱⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲭ[ⲟⲩⲱⲧ
ⲙⲡ]ⲁⲱⲋ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲁⲣⲃⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [. . . . .
. .] ⲁ̣ⲡⲋⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲩ☥ⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥⲙ[ⲉⲩ
. . .]ⲏⲧ ⲥⲱⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ ☥ⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲥⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲁⲱⲉ ⲁⲙⲉⲣ[ⲓ]ⲧ̣
ⲥⲓⲉ] ☥ⲛⲁ☥ ⲁⲭⲱ ⲛ̄ⲑⲃⲥⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲙ[ⲡⲃⲣ
ⲟ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲉ
Ⲱ ⲱⲁⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲥ[.]ⲃ̣ .
ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ̄ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲏ ⲉⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣ̣[ⲉ ⲛⲩ
ⲭⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲱⲋ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲧ[ⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲇⲟⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲃⲁⲣⲟ̣ⲩ̣ ⲛ̄ⲩ̣
ⲧⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲱⲋ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲉ [. . . . .]. .
ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
Ⲥⲗⲥⲱⲗⲉ ⲭⲱⲗ ⲧⲉⲣⲙ̄ⲓⲏ ⲱ ⲧⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ̀ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲥ̣ⲏ̣ⲩ̣ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲉⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ • ⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲕⲁ ⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲡⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ
ⲧⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲭⲣⲥ ⲁⲣⲉⲭⲉⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ⲛⲉ . . ⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ
ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲃⲓ ⲡⲣⲁⲩⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲭⲏⲣⲁ ⲁⲣⲉ☥
ⲥⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲣⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ • ⲁⲣⲉⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲛⲇⲓⲱⲅⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ
ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ • ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲩ☥ⲥⲙⲁⲧ
Ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲗⲃ ⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲱⲃⲱ̄ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲥⲗⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲙⲏ ⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ
ⲛⲓⲙ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱⲛⲟⲩⲥⲙⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲱ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲥ ☥ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲥⲱ
ⲱⲧ̀ ⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲱⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲑⲣⲕⲟ ⲛ̄ⲑⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲃⲣⲟ

3 pro ⲟ̣ⲩ fort. ⲱ. — 6 fort. ⲉⲧⲥ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲋ. — 9 init. an ⲛⲥⲁⲧ]ⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ: 'semper', coll. Keph. 168, 11—12? — 15 fin. fort. ⲛⲁⲥ[ⲱ]ⲃ. — 23 ⲥⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ (= ἀφαί) HT: fort. ⲛⲉⲅⲣⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ.

1 *destroyed*
2 *illegible*

. . . . see (?) the sweetness of the medicine of God . . . . .
. . am I; . . . . is the body (σῶμα), full of Darkness:
its cares have not . . . . . daily (?); a . . . . . .
before (?) its eyes, for it gets nothing from what it has produced, save . .
. . . and the griefs and the reward of its folly . . . . .
. . . . to the tombs (?).
Every . . . . ., o soul, I can perceive his twenty (?)
snares that are full of guile. He for whom it has set them . . . . .
to his Saviour and the redeemer who will rescue him.
. . . thyself to me now: if thou hast set thyself to love me,
then] I will set upon thee the robe of glory and the garland of
victory], because thou hast believed in the Truth.
O how frequent is the repentance of him whom the body (σῶμα) . . . .
and is slack (ἀμελεῖν) when he might be doing good deeds and
fulfilling the seven graces which God has given to him
that he may escape from the Hebdomas of these Barbarians (βάρβαρος) and
take his stand against the seven helmsmen . . . . . .
the First Father, the conqueror of the Darkness.
Comfort thyself, stem thy tears, o loved one; good is the profit (?) of
thy treasure (χρῆμα), for thou hast set the foundation of thy tower (πύργος)
upon the
rock (πέτρα) of Christ, thou hast lit thy lamps (λαμπάς) . . . . .
in the oil of faith, thou hast cared for the widows (χήρα), thou hast
clothed the orphans (ὀρφανός), thou hast endured the persecutions (διωγμός)
because of
the name of God, the giver of rewards, the bestower of grace.
The joy, my Lord, of thy sweet cry has made me forget
life (βίος); the sweetness of thy voice has made me remember my city (πόλις).
For (γάρ) who can be saved without remission of sins?
O glorious Mind (νοῦς), fruit (καρπός) of Jesus, help me, even
me. I have hung on thee, who dost still the fear of death through
the victorious cross (σταυρός).

3–8 The sense of this verse is obscure. There seems to be a contrast between the soul and the body (l. 4): the works of the body are full of darkness and utterly unprofitable. — 8 or 'to the winds', for ⲙ̄ⲥⲉⲩⲉ may be the plur. of ⲙ̄ⲥⲏ (vid. supr. 37, 16 n). — 9 Grammar demands a numeral before ⲡⲁϣϥ̄, and all that is now left of it is its first letter ϫ-, i. e. ϫⲟⲩⲱⲧ, 20 or some number between twenty and thirty. — 18 Hebdomas: vid. Smith-Wace, Dict. Christ. Biogr. II, 849 b. — 21 ϫⲱⲗ vid. 58, 22 n. — 23 ⲛⲉⲥ(?ⲅⲣ)ⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ: perh. a marginal gloss (cf. 107, 24) on ⲛⲉⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ, copied by mistake into the text.

Ⲛ . [. . . .] . . [. .]ⲛ̄ⲡϩⲗⲁϭ ⲙ̄ⲡ . . . ϯ . . . . ⲛⲁϩⲃⲏⲩ[ⲉ
non potest legi
ⲛⲉⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲃ̄ⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲁϫⲱ [. . .
. . . ⲁ̣ⲡⲉϫⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲃⲱⲕ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲉ̀ ⲁⲩ̣ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϫ[. .
. . . . .] ⲃⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ
ⲉⲧⲙⲏϩ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> ϣⲙϩ <

Ⲁ[ⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲏ]ⲓ̈ ⲡⲁⲥⲩⲧⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲫϫⲓⲙⲁ̣ⲓ[ⲧ
. . ⲧⲁϯ]ⲩⲭⲏ ⲃⲓ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲫⲥ̣[ⲱ
ⲧⲉ̣ [ⲧⲉⲛⲁ]ⲱⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲣⲥ ϫⲉ ⲫⲛⲁϫ|ⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲫⲙⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲣⲣⲟ
Ⲭ[ⲛ]ⲧⲁ[ⲓ]ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲥⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲩ ⲉ̣[ⲧ
. . .]ϩ̣ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϯⲃⲓ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ϩⲁⲟⲩⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲉⲧⲱⲓ̈ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲉ
ϯϩⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϫⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁ̣[ⲓ
ⲧⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲉϯⲃⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲣⲭⲏⲩ ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ
Ⲁⲩⲙ̣[ⲟⲩ]ϩ̣ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁϫⲱⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲧ
ⲁ . [. .] ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲱⲱⲥ
Ⲑⲩⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲩ
ⲣ]ⲁ[ϫ]ⲧ̇ ϩⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲩϯ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲉⲫⲥⲁⲱⲉ
Ⲛⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲫⲉⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁ
ⲛ̣ⲁⲕ̣ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲩϫⲓ ϯⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϩⲗⲁϭ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲉⲙⲁϩⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ
Ⲁ̈ⲓⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ϩⲱⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲏ
ⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲁ̈ⲓⲃⲓ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ϩⲃ
ⲥⲱ ϩⲓϫⲱⲟⲩ
ϯϩⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ϯⲃⲓ ϩⲁⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ ϯⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲧⲱⲱⲛ ϩⲁⲛ
ⲕⲁϩ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲉⲧϯⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄
ϯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ
Ⲁⲛⲁⲕ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ̣ ⲧⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲛ̄
ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲗⲟ̀ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄
ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲩⲗⲏ

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20 ⲉⲙⲁϩⲉ sic: leg. ⲉⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ (?). — 29 ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ: leg. ⲱⲏⲛ.

. . . . . the sweetness of the . . . . . my deeds

illegible

thy prayers and thy fastings (νηστία) are become a crown on thy head . .
. . . . thy treasure (χρῆμα) has gone from thee to a joy of thy . . .
. . . . . therefore in the bridechambers in the new Aeon
which is full] of Light, with the soul of Mary.

CCXLVI.

Come to me, my kinsman (συγγενής), the Light, my guide.
. . . my soul, bear up: thou hast thy Saviour:
thy] defence is Christ, for he will receive thee into his Kingdom.
Since I went forth into the darkness I was given a water to drink which
. . . . me. I bear up beneath a burden which is not my own.
I am in the midst of my enemies, the beasts (θηρίον) surrounding me;
the burden which I bear is of the powers (ἀρχή) and principalities (ἐξουσία).
They burned (?) in their wrath, they rose up against me, they ran
to . . . . me, like sheep that have no shepherd.
Matter (ὕλη) and her sons divided me up amongst them, they
burnt (?) me in their fire, they gave me a bitter likeness.
The strangers with whom I mixed, me they know
not; they tasted my sweetness, they desired to keep
me with them.
I was life to them, but they were death to
me; I bore up beneath them, they wore (φορεῖν) me as a
garment upon them.
I am in everything, I bear the skies, I am the foundation, I support the
earths, I am the Light that shines forth, that gives joy to
souls.
I am the life of the world (κόσμος): I am the milk that is in all
trees: I am the sweet water that is beneath
the sons of Matter (ὕλη).

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4 ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲭ . .: perhaps 'thou hast not . .' — 18 i. e. the clothing of the soul in mortal flesh, as it were by smelting: the 'bitter likeness' is the body. — 19 ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ . . . ⲉⲛ for ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ . . . ⲉⲛ, negat. of Pres. I (?).

. . . . . .]ϣⲉ ⲙ̄ . . . . . ⲁ|ⲉ| ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡ . . . .[. . . .
. . .]ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ . . . ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛ[ⲁⲩ]ⲧ [ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡ[. . . .
Ⲁ|ⲗ|ⲃ| ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲍⲁⲛⲉ̈ⲓ ϣⲁⲛ̄+ⲭⲱⲕ ⲡⲟⲩⲱϣ[ⲉ ⲙⲡⲁ|ⲱⲧ
ⲡϣ]ⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲭⲁ[ⲕ ⲡⲩⲟⲩⲱϣⲉ
ⲁⲃ]ⲁⲗ
Ⲉ|ⲓⲥ] ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲑⲃ̈ⲓⲁⲩ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲗⲙ[ⲉ ⲁ|ⲱϣ
ⲙⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲫⲁ|ⲣⲁ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲥ|ⲏⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ [ⲡⲣⲏ ⲭ|
ⲙⲡⲥ]ⲱⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ
Ⲧ+ⲩⲭ]ⲏ ⲃ|ⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲱⲣⲍ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲙⲣⲣⲉ [. . . .
. . .]. ⲁⲣⲉⲡⲱⲍ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲛⲉ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ [ⲁⲣⲟ
+ⲛⲟⲩ ⲧ]ⲉⲗⲟ ⲁⲛⲉⲭⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲭ| ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ[ⲕⲗⲁⲙ
ⲛⲉⲁ]ⲓ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϣⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲉϣⲉ ⲙ̣[ⲛⲛⲁ|
ⲱⲛ ⲧ]ⲏⲣⲟⲩ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁ]ⲓ̣ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ [ⲙⲛⲛⲉⲩ.
ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̣[ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> ⲥⲙⲍ <

Ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲡⲭⲣⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛ[ⲉ ⲙⲡ
ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ
Ⲧ]ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲁⲭⲩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲁ| ⲡⲙ]ⲁ̣
ⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲣ̄ⲧⲉ
Ⲛ|ⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲭⲱ̈ⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ [ⲡⲣⲏ
ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ̈ⲓ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲥⲉ
Ⲧ]ⲱⲁⲛⲍⲧⲏⲩ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ +ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲁ[ⲣⲁⲕ
ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲛⲁⲩⲍⲕ̄ ϣⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲓ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲣ̄ⲧⲉ
Ⲗⲙⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁϣⲱⲟⲩ ⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲁⲭⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ ⲉ
ⲧⲙⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲁ+ⲩⲭⲏ
Ⲑⲏⲁⲟⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲗⲁⲃ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲭ| +ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄[ⲙⲁⲥ . .
ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲁ[ⲣⲭⲁ|ⲉ
ⲁⲭⲱ̈ⲓ
Ⲛⲍⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲍⲩⲗⲏ ⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲁⲭⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲍⲃⲉⲩ ⲉⲧ
ⲍ[ⲁ]ⲗⲟ ⲁ̈ⲓⲭ|ⲧⲩ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ

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10 fort. loco ⲁⲣⲁⲥ legendum ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ: ‘fregisti eam’. — 27 post ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ fort. ⲧⲉ̈ supplendum, vel ⲉ(28)ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ legendum.

. . . . . I went forth to the . . . . . .
. . . the Aeons . . . they sent me forth to the . . . . .
I] bore these things until I had fulfilled the will [of my Father;
the First Man is my father whose [will] I have carried
out.
Lo,] the Darkness I have subdued; lo, the fire of the fountains [I have
extinguished] it, as the Sphere (σφαῖρα) turns hurrying round, as [the sun
[receives
the refined part of life.
O soul, raise thy eyes to the height and contemplate thy bond . . .
. . . . . thou hast reached it; lo, thy Fathers are calling thee.
Now] go aboard the Ships of Light and receive thy [garland
of glory and return to thy kingdom and rejoice with all
the Aeons].
Glory and honour to our Lord Mani [and his
holy Elect and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXLVII.

Come to me, o living Christ; come to me, o Light [of
day.
The evil body (σῶμα) of the Enemy I have cast away from me, the
abode of Darkness that is full of fear.
These bitter strangers rose up against me in (κατά) the manner
of a lion upon an ox.
O compassionate, o Paraclete, I call up to thee,
that thou wouldest turn unto me in the hour of dread.
The manifold bonds I have cast away from me, those that
are bound at all times unto my soul.
The lust (ἡδονή) of the sweetness that is bitter I have not tasted . .
. . . the fire of eating and drinking, I have not suffered them to [lord it
over me.
The gifts of Matter (ὕλη) I have cast away: thy sweet
yoke I have received in purity.

6 cf. infr. 212, 19. — 11 cf. Jackson op. cit. pp. 41—42. — 27 cf. Plat. Philebus 46 C.

. . . . . .]. ⲉⲱⲧ . . . ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ . . .[.]ⲧⲁ ⲉⲩ[. . .
. . . . . .]ⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲁⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
. . . . . .] ⲙⲁ+ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲁⲧ [. .
. . . . . .]. ⲛⲥⲏⲩ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲡ[|ⲥ
ⲧⲟⲥ]
. . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲓⲭ| ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲓ[. .
. . . . .]ⲉ
Ⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲛ]ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲓ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̣[. .
. . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲭⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ
Ⲧ[ⲱⲕ ⲧⲉ ⲧ]ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲉⲩ ⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲫⲁⲕ
ⲭ|ⲧ ⲁⲍⲣ]ⲏⲓ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲟ[ⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̣̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲡⲕ̅ⲗ̅ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩ[ⲥⲱ
ⲧⲡ ⲉⲧ]ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> ⲥⲙⲏ <

Ⲁ[ⲙⲟⲩ] ⲡ̣ⲁⲭⲁⲓⲥ |ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄+ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲡ̣ⲉⲧ̣[ⲁⲩⲥⲱ
ⲧⲉ ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ+ⲍⲉ ⲧ̣ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
Ⲛ[ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ] ⲡⲡ̣ⲕ̣̄ⲗ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓⲙⲉⲣ|ⲧⲏ̣ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲓ
ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲁ|ⲛⲉ] ⲁⲕⲛⲟⲩⲱⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ
ⲁⲕⲧⲥ]ⲉⲃⲁⲓ ⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲁ[ⲓⲡⲱⲣ]ⲭ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲓⲱ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ +ⲥⲁⲓⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ
. . . .] . . ⲁ̣ⲓ ⲫⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ]ⲁ̣ⲃⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲓⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
ⲡⲱⲛⲍ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲓⲡⲁⲣ
ⲭⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
Ⲁⲓⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡ|ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲁⲭⲱⲥ
ⲭⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲥⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ
ⲧ̣[. . .]ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲁⲣⲭ̅
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ]ⲁⲡ ⲛ|ⲙ • ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄+ⲩⲭⲏ
ⲙⲁⲩ+ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
Ⲁ]ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲧⲱⲙ ⲁⲡⲍⲏⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲁⲙ
ⲥ|ⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡ+ⲍⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲭⲉⲟⲩ

2 ⲉⲓ|ⲁⲱ|ⲛⲉ valde incertum. — 4, 5 vel ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲡ[ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ. — 12 ⲙ̣̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓⲥ sic: cf. 25, 8.

. . . . . .
. . . . . me (?), I will seek to walk (?) to thee.
. . . . . give to me thy three gifts . . . .
. . . . . always thy Elect and thy faithful (πιστός?)
ones.
. . . . . the judge (κριτής) of truth, for I have received the victory,
I have (?) . .
. . . . .
The Light] of my God has shone forth upon me, even me; and the . . .
. . . of Darkness I have cast them away from me.
Thine (?) is the virtue, o Perfect Man; for [thou hast
taken me] up to thy Aeons of Light.
Glory and victory to our Lord the Paraclete and his holy
Elect] and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXLVIII.

Come, my Lord Jesus, the Saviour (σωτήρ) of souls, who hast saved
me from the drunkenness and Error (πλάνη) of the world (κόσμος).
Thou art the Paraclete whom I have loved since my youth:
thy Light shines forth in me like the lamp (λαμπάς) of
light: thou hast driven away from me the oblivion of Error (πλάνη):
thou hast taught me to bless God and his Lights.
I have distinguished this pair of trees of this pair of kingdoms,
. . . . . the bitter fountain and the holy essence (οὐσία)
of God. The Light I have distinguished from the Darkness,
life] from death, Christ and the church I have distinguished
from the deceit (ἀπάτη) of the world (κόσμος).
I have known my soul and this body (σῶμα) that lies upon it,
that they are enemies to each other before the creations,
the . . . . . of divinity and the hostile power that are distinguished
always. The body (σῶμα) of death indeed and the soul
are never in accord.
The God of this Aeon has shut the heart of the unbelieving and has sunk
them in his Error (πλάνη) and the deceit (ἀπάτη) of drunkenness. He has
made them blaspheme

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19 ⲛⲟⲩϣⲡⲉ, 'scare away' vid. Crum Dict. p. 236 a. — 21 With this use of ⲥⲁⲓϣ as a feminine cf. infr. 217, 4 ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲁⲓⲥⲁⲓϣ; Keph. 153, 23 ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲁⲓϣ ⲉⲩⲥⲁ. No instances are recorded in the Lexica. — 31 cf. 2 Cor. 4, 4.

ⲁ ⲁⲡⲛⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ . . . . . ⲉ . . . . . .
. .]ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ
Ⲉⲱ]ⲭⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲙ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ [ⲙⲛ]ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧ
ⲁ]ⲛ|ⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲭ̅ⲣⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲱ . . . [. . .]ⲉ̣ⲧ
ⲛ̣ⲧⲱⲧ̀ ⲛⲉ • ⲥ|ⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ |ⲏⲥ̅ ⲭⲉⲩⲁ . . . . .
ⲛ]ⲩⲣ̄ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲟⲩⲇⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧ̣[ⲃⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲛⲧⲉ]ⲣⲟⲩⲥⲙ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲉⲩⲥⲁ ⲁⲩⲕⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ [ⲥ]ⲛⲓⲡⲓⲁ
ⲣⲁ]ⲇ|ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲥ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲁ
ⲃⲁⲗ] ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲱⲣⲭ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ
ⲡⲉⲧ]ⲁⲛ|ⲧ • ⲁⲕⲁ|ⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲧⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲛ
Ⲭⲁⲱ]ⲃⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ . . . ⲉ̣
. . .] ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲃⲗⲉ ⲥⲉ|ⲉ ⲥ|ⲱⲏⲛ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲭⲁ|ⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̣ⲁ
. . .].ⲁ̣ⲥ̣ⲉ|ⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲱⲟ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲣ̣ⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲗ|ⲥ • ⲥ|ⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲁⲩ
ⲥⲁ]ⲣⲙⲉ ⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ
ⲦⲦ]ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲱ]ⲛ̄ⲍ̣
ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲥ|ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲁⲩ
ⲣ|ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡ[.] . ọ .
ⲡ|ⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲙⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲁ|ⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲗⲏ
Ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲣ̄|ⲉ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲛ̄[ⲧⲉ] ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄[ⲡ
ⲡⲕ̅ⲗⲥ ⲧⲁⲕⲧ|ⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲛⲉ ⲥⲱ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ [ⲛⲟⲩ
ⲭⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲱⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧⲗⲃⲟ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲩⲉ|ⲓ ⲱ[ⲁ
ⲡⲥⲉ|ⲛⲉ
Ⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲕⲁ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ|ⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲙ̣[ⲉⲣ|ⲓ ⲡⲁⲥⲱ
ⲧⲏⲣ ⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲣ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲁ|ⲓ̈+ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ [. . . . . ⲍⲛⲛ
ⲧⲁⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲩ|ⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ ⲁ[ⲙⲟⲩ] +ⲛⲟ̣[ⲩ ⲡⲁ
ⲭⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲥ |ⲏⲥ̅ ⲛ̄ⲕ̣ⲣ̄ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉ|ⲓ ⲁⲣⲁ|ⲓ̈
Ⲭⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄|ⲟ ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲁⲱ|ⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲭⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲁⲥ
ⲑⲃ̄|ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧ|ⲕⲏ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ • ⲭ| ⲙ̄
ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲕ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ [ⲛ]ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁ|ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄|ⲱⲧ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲣ|ⲧ |ⲏⲥ̅ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲡⲛⲁ
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲡⲕ̅ⲗⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ

12 fort. ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̣ⲁ. — 14 leg. ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ.

against the God of Truth and his . . . . . .
. . . his power and his wisdom (σοφία).
If it was God who created the evil and the good
and Christ and Satan . . . . . .
. . . . . ., then who sent Jesus, that he might . . .
and work (ἐνεργεῖν) among the Jews until they slew (?) him?
When Adam and Eve were created and put in
Paradise, who was it that ordered them: 'Eat not
of the Tree', that they might not distinguish the evil from the
good? Another fought against him and made them eat of the Tree.
He] cries out in the Law (νόμος) saying: 'I am God . . . .
. . . . no cluster (?) falls from a tree without the Lord God;
. . . . to fall into a snare nor to . . . . in a city (πόλις); who then led
Adam astray and crucified (σταυροῦν) the Saviour (σωτήρ)?
The Saviour (σωτήρ) and his apostles and they that belong to the race of life
revealed the Darkness and the essence (οὐσία) of the Enemy; they
wept for the body (σῶμα) of death, the son of the great . . . .
this lion-faced dragon, and his mother also, Matter (ὕλη).
The Light has shone forth for you, o you that sleep in Hell, the knowledge
of the Paraclete, the ray (ἀκτίς) of Light; drink of the water of memory,
cast away oblivion. He that is wounded and desires healing, let him come to
the physician.
I have forsaken the world (κόσμος) and its Error (πλάνη), I have [loved my
Saviour (σωτήρ), prayed, fasted (νηστεύειν), given alms . . . [from
my youth up, because of the hour of need (ἀνάγκη). Come now, my
Lord Jesus, and help (βοηθεῖν) me.
All hail, o busy soul that has finished her fight (ἀγών) and
subdued the ruling-power (ἀρχοντική), the body (σῶμα) and its affections
(πάθος). Receive
the garland from the hand of the Judge (κριτής) and the gifts of Light, and
ascend to thy kingdom and have thy rest.
Glory and honour to our Father, the God of Truth. Victory and
blessing to his beloved son, Jesus, and his Holy
Spirit, our Lord the Paraclete, and all his holy Elect.

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3 ff. The Manichees rejected the Old Testament: e. g. Aug. contr. Faust. pp. 269—312 etc. — 11—14 The argument is that if it was God who in the Old Testament claimed responsibility for all events both great and small, then it is God who was responsible for the Fall and the Crucifixion. — 12 ⲡⲁⲇⲗⲉ cf. Crum op. cit. p. 286 b; inf. 225, 21; Keph. 57, 13. I can find no such reference in the Law: with the general sentiment cf. Mt. 10, 29. — 27 ϫⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲓⲟ cf. 69, 30; 85, 16; 210, 14 n.

ⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ[ⲉⲁⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑ[ⲉⲟⲛⲁ

> ϣⲙⲑ <

Ⲭ|ⲓⲧ ⲁⲍ]ⲣ[ⲏ]ⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲁⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉ[ⲉⲧ
Ⲕ[. . . .] . . . . ⲛⲉⲕⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲙⲁ† ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ .[.
. . . . . .] ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲁⲣⲉⲛⲉⲕ ⲱⲁⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲁ|ⲃⲉ [ⲛ|ⲙ] ⲁⲭⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ|ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲭⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲙ̄[ⲛ
ⲟⲩⲁ|ⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫⲙⲛ̣
ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲛ . . ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲗⲧ̀ ⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲁⲩⲧ' ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲱ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕ[ⲗⲏ
ⲥ|ⲁ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲕ[ⲁ]ⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̀ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈
Ⲙⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲩ† ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲕ . .[.
ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲥⲩⲅⲅⲉⲛ[ⲏⲥ
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲕⲧⲉ ⲙⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲓ̈ⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲃⲛ ⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ ⲛⲁ
ⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲁ†ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲁⲡⲭ|[ⲥ]ⲉ
Ⲧ]ⲱⲛ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲧⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲃⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄
ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ[ⲟⲩ]ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁ|ⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲭⲁⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲧⲩ]ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲏⲧ
]ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ†ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲭⲁ†ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁ|
. . . . . .]. . ⲛⲉⲧⲁ†ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲉⲣ|ⲧ
. . . . . .] ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲱⲧⲟ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲱⲕ ⲥ|ⲱ
ⲱⲩ . . . . . ⲕ]ⲁⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁⲭ ⲁⲭⲗⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉⲛⲁⲱⲭ|
ⲙⲡⲕ]ⲗⲁⲙ
Ⲥ]ⲱⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲕⲁ|ⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲟ • ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲃⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲫⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲫⲁ†ⲁⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ
ⲱⲉ]ⲗⲉⲉⲧ̀
. .]. . ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲙⲥ̀ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲭ|ⲧⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭ| ⲛ̄ⲃⲁ|ⲕⲗⲁⲙ
ⲉ]ⲙⲛ̄ⲥ|ⲥⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁ|ⲥⲁⲡ
Ⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕ
ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲩⲥⲧⲉⲫ|ⲟⲥ
ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

9 ⲛ̣ fort. ⲏ̣. — 14 ⲉⲓ̈ⲏⲥ̅ sic: leg. ⲉⲓ̈|ⲏⲥ̅. — 24 ⲥⲱⲭⲉ cf. 60, 14.

Glory] to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

CCXLIX.

Take me] up to thy habitations, Jesus, my Bridegroom.
Thou (?) . . . . thy Aeons, o Saviour (σωτήρ), give me the victory . .
. . . . . I have become divine, I have set myself to please thee to the end.
There has been every fault in this world (κόσμος) of testing: God alone is without fault, he who has appointed me in his divinity.
. . . . . pluck me as I flourish on the pleasant tree of the church.
I am a flourishing fruit (καρπός), pure from my youth up.
Wheresoever I have gone, my brethren, they have given me my (?) . . . .
o that you were able to see the joy of my kinsmen (συγγενής)!
I traversed (?) all places in haste, I found no haven save Christ: my brethren, the Sons of Light — they shall help me to the height.
Support one another, my brethren, do not flinch at all: we have a God that cares for us, he will aid us in his] compassion.
Jesus has helped me, he will help you, my beloved; the
. . . . . also, they will help their beloved.
. . . . . of (?) the searcher is the path whereon I have gone,
. . . . . make us free from hindrance and seeing, that we may be able to receive the garland.
Fight, o sons of Light: yet a little while and you will be victorious. He that shirks his burden will forfeit his bridechamber.
. . . . a holy baptism which the garlanded ones receive, there being no toil from henceforth. I have become divine again even as I was.
Glory due to thee, Jesus the king of the holy ones, and thy holy Elect. Victory to the soul of Panai, Eustephios. Theona, and the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

6, 7 ⲁⲓⲃⲉ: vid. supr. 23, 29 n. Cf. 13, 4 ⲧⲁⲃ ⲧⲱⲗⲙⲉ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ. — 20 'beloved', fem. i. e. the church. — 22 ⲟⲩⲁⲁ ⲁⲁⲗⲉ, 'free from hindrance': ⲁⲗⲉ seems to be a nominal form from ⲁⲱⲗ(ⲉ) (cf. 53, 21; 188, 13; Hom. 12, 3; 12, 23; 18, 8; 28, 14; 31, 12), like ⲕⲗⲁⲉ from ⲕⲱⲗⲁ, ⲃⲗⲕⲉ from ⲃⲱⲗⲕ, etc. I should conjecture that it is feminine.

CN

|HC] ΠΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗC CωΤΕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϊ

ⲦⲠ]ⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ϯⲛⲁⲃⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡ̣ . ⲛ̣ .[. . . . . .

. .]ⲁⲍⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉⲥ ϯⲛⲁⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϊ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲁ̣ . . ⲁ̣[. . . . .

ⲛ]ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲉⲙⲡⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϫⲁϫⲉ ⲛ̣ . . .[. . . . . .

ⲍⲓ]ⲧⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ ϯⲛⲁⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ

Ⲁⲗⲁ]ⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲁⲗⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣̄ . . ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ . . .

. .] ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲗⲙⲱⲛ ϯⲛⲁⲃⲱⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϊ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̣ⲛ̣̈ⲡ̈ⲉ̣ⲓ

ⲛⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϯⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲟⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉ

ϯⲣⲫ]ⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ

Ⲱ ⲡⲛ]ⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲁϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲩⲗⲏ ⲡⲱⲣⲱ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲉ ⲁ̣

ϫⲛ]ⲁⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ • ϯⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲥⲁⲩⲍⲥ̀ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲣ̣ⲙ̄ⲛ̄

ⲃⲣⲣ]ⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲕⲱⲡⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ

ⲛⲏⲓ] ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲃⲣⲟ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ

ⲓ]ⲏⲥ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ+ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ • |ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲍⲣⲏⲍⲉ

ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ |ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲫⲱ

ⲥⲧⲏⲣ • |ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ • |ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡ

ⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ

Ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲁⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲍ

ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲕ+ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ

ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲕϫⲓ ⲡ̣ⲃ̣ⲣ̣ⲟ

ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ϯⲧ̣ⲱⲃ̣[ⲍ

ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ

ϯⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁ̣ⲡⲁ̣[ⲍ

ⲣⲁⲩ ⲱ ⲡⲱⲁⲛⲍⲧⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲱⲕⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈

ⲛ̄ⲕⲓ̈ⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄

ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲁ|ⲃⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲉϯⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ • ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ

ⲁⲫⲟⲛⲁⲩ ⲉ̈ⲁⲱⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ

Ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲍⲓⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲍⲛ̄

ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ • ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ

ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟ

ⲡⲗⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕ

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14 ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ sic; ⲡⲉⲃⲣⲟ sic.

CCL.

Jesus] the only-begotten (μονογενής), save me.
The πλάσμα of the earth I will put off me: the . . . . . .
old . . . I will forsake it, the fire of the . . . . . .
of guile, the camp (παρεμπολή) of the enemies . . . . . .
through the armour of the Paraclete I will conquer them.
I have] renounced (ἀποτάσσεσθαι) thee, o devil (διάβολος); the angels of the . .
. . . . of the demons. I will strip myself of the world (κόσμος) and the likeness (?) of these five stars, and I will destroy the guile of the Archons
which I wear (φορεῖν) and I will shine in the remembrance of the Paraclete.
O Mind (νοῦς) that subdues (δαμάζειν) the Matter (ὕλη), spread thy mercy upon my spirit. I will anchor in thy congregation, I the new (?) man, and receive all the gifts which thou hast promised me], which are the victory in thy eternal kingdom.
Jesus is the first gift that was given: Jesus is the holy flower of the Father: Jesus is the first to sit upon the luminaries (φωστήρ): Jesus is the Perfect Man in the Pillar (στῦλος): Jesus is the resurrection of them that have died in the church.
Thou art he that delivered me to the fight (ἀγών) in the beginning: thou art the second who didst give me thy right hand: thou too art the third who didst shine forth with thy Light for me. Thou too didst receive the victory (?) in the fourth war (πόλεμος). Save me now, I beseech thee, my Lord.
I call unto thee, o victor eternal: hear my cry, o compassionate one, and let thy members (μέλος) cleanse me, and do thou wash me in thy holy waters and make me spotless, even as I am. Lo, the time has drawn near, may I return to my habitations.
Thou art the way, thou art the door of life eternal, in truth the son of God, my Saviour, who has taught me to wear (φορεῖν) his holy commandments (ἐντολή). The weapons (ὅπλον) of the enemy — I bring them to the ground, thy

7 cf. Polotsky, Muséon 46, p. 271. — 9 cf. Keph. Kap. LXIX. ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ̃ = 'tollere', vid. 17, 12 n. — 17 cf. Mani-Fund p. 66 g. — 22 cf. Keph. 59, 19. — 27 ⲁⲓⲃⲉ, vid. supr. 23, 29 n.

. . . . . ϣω]ⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ
. . . . . .]. . ⲱⲧⲉ . . . ⲣ . . ϣⲁⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧ[.
. . . . . ⲕⲁⲗ]ⲍ ⲡⲉⲧ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩ[ⲉ
. . . . . .]ⲧ̀ ⲥⲏⲧⲕ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲧ[ⲏ
ⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲩⲧ]ⲉ [ⲟ]ⲩⲃⲏⲕ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲩ
ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲧⲁⲕ] ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ† ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣ[ⲓⲁ

> · $\overline{\text{CNA}}$ · <

|ⲏⲥ ⲡⲙⲟ]ⲛⲟⲅⲉ[ⲛⲏⲥ] ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲉ †[. .
. . . . . .] . . . [. . .] ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ
. . . . . .] . . . ⲛ̣ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ . ⲁ . . ⲁ̣ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟ[ⲥ
. . . .] . ⲉⲛⲟⲩ . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲉⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲥ|ⲥⲉ
. . . . . .]. . . ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲕ̣ⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲁⲟⲥ ⲙⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲥ [. . .
.[. . . . .]ⲭⲉⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲱϣⲙⲉ ⲥⲛ̣ⲧⲥ|ⲛⲏⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̣[. . . .
Ⲟⲩ[. . . .]. . . ⲛⲏ̈ⲓ̈ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲕ̀ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡ̣ . [. . .
ⲙ̣[. . . . .]ⲙⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲛ†ⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲟ. . . .[. .]. . . . ⲉⲥⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲭⲁ$\overline{\text{ⲕⲥ}}$ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ . . .
ⲉ̣ⲧ . . . . . ⲡⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ[ⲭⲁ]ⲉ̣
Ⲫⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣ̣ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲱ
ⲧ[ⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲩ]ⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲫ. . . . ⲙ̣[ⲡⲉ]$\overline{\text{ⲭⲣⲥ}}$ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲡⲱⲗⲏⲗ
ⲙ̣[ⲛⲧⲛ]ⲏ[ⲥⲧ]ⲓⲁ ⲑⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲁ
. . [. . . . . ⲉⲧⲟ]ⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲥ||ⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ
ⲡ̣[ⲱⲣⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ
ⲦⲦⲡ̣ . . . . . ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ· ⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲥ • ⲛⲉ
ϣⲁⲩⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ϣⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲭⲁⲭⲉ
Ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁϣⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ • ⲁⲕⲉⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲁⲕⲛⲁⲥⲙⲉⲧ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ
Ⲁ̈ⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲕⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲁ̈ⲓ̈
ⲣ̄ϣⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄
ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏ
ⲧⲟⲩ

4 fort. ϭⲱϣ]ⲧ ⲥⲏⲧⲕ̀, cf. 65, 2. — 10 fort. ⲉⲩⲣ̄ϣⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲉ. — 13 fin. fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ[ⲩϣⲏ: 'noctu'. — 23 ⲡⲱⲣⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ: cf. Hom. 9, 8.

. . . . . being to me a landing-place.
. . . . . for ever: thou art the . .
. . . . . bend the knee to thee; the armies (στράτευμα) of the skies
are looking] for thee; thou also art he unto whom all generations (γενεά)
call]; thou also art the seal (σφραγίς) of every
wonder (θαῦμα); thou also art he who shall give the victory to the soul
of Mary.

CCLI.

Jesus] the only-begotten (μονογενής), the son of God on high, I . . .
. . . . . in thy bridechambers.
. . . . . the holy . . . ., they . . . . the maiden,
. . . . . maiden (παρθένος?) . . . the reward of her labours.
. . . . . my garlands, my vessels (κάδος) are filled with oil . . . .
. . . . . extinguished (?), they have not gone out through (?) sleep . . .
I have (?) . . . . with which I fought against the . . . .
. . . . . death (?) until I had conquered him.
There is (?) a straight . . . . . which I have finished . . . .
. . . . . faith, o son of God on high.
The murderous snake, the enemy of virginity (παρθενία), I have not
listened to his laws (νόμος) and his lying words.
The . . . . . of Christ is perfect virginity (παρθενία), prayer
and fasting (νηστία?), the armour of our spirit.
The holy . . . . ., the lamb of God on high, who has
plucked out] the root of the tree of sin.
The holy . . . . . ., the mooring-harbour of life: they
that moor in thee are saved from their enemies.
I am thy sheep: thou art my good (ἀγαθός) shepherd. Thou camest
after me and didst save me from the destructive wolves.
I listened to thy words, I walked in thy laws (νόμος), I
became a stranger in the world (κόσμος) for thy name's sake, my God.
Glory to the King of Light, the Father of all the Aeons, and
his holy angels of whom not one has transgressed (παραβαίνειν).

16 'straight', 'which', femin. — 29 cf. Corp. Herm. 13, 1 ἀπηλλοτρίωσα τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ φρόνημα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ἀπάτης.

. . . . . .] ⲙⲙⲛⲉ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡⲥⲟⲟ[ⲩ . . . . . ⲥⲓⲉⲣ
ⲟ]ⲩⲥⲁⲗ[ⲏⲙ] ⲛ̄[ⲙ]ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ [. . . . . .
ⲦⲦ]ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁ[ⲙ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡ . [. . . . . .
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲉⲙⲙⲟⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [
ⲦⲦ]ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ[. . .]. .[
ⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲁⲫⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ [. . . . . .
Ⲛⲉ]ⲓⲉⲧⲏ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲁⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ . . . .[. . ⲟⲩⲁ
ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ . . . . . ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲭⲁⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ
Ⲟⲩ]ⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣ̄ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱ
ⲧ]ⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ☥ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲫⲉⲟⲛⲁ

> · ⲥⲛⲃ̄ · <

ⲓⲏⲥ] ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ☥ⲧⲱⲃⲍ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁ
ⲁⲧ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ
Ⲧ]ⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲥⲱⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ̄ⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . .
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ☥ⲩⲭⲏ
Ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲥⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲓ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲧⲙⲁⲧⲉⲃⲧⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲉ☥ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲡⲃⲣⲁⲃⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁⲁⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲧⲉⲕⲃⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ [ⲙⲡⲙⲏ]ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲏ
ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲩⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲧⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈
ⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲏⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲕ
☥ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲉ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁ
ⲣⲁⲓ • ⲓⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ̄ⲕ̀ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ
Ⲱⲍⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫⲣ̄ⲧⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲱⲡ ⲁⲧⲥⲁⲩⲍⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲁⲧ
ⲥⲏⲧ̀ • ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲩⲧ
ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ
Ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲟ ⲱ ⲡⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲭⲱ
ⲥⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ̀ ⲡⲁⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲏⲧ
☥[ⲛ]ⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲍⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲱⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈
ⲟⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲓ̈ⲱⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲟ ⲉⲕⲧⲙ̄ⲭ|ⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲁ
ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ

. . . . . .in truth, Jesus, the day . . . . . .
Jerusalem of the skies, the church . . . . . .
Rest to the power of God, the cross (σταυρός) of . . . . . .
of the universe, filling the universe and guarding it.
Holiness to the holy Spirit, the wisdom (σοφία) of the . . . . . .
of Truth that reveals the beginning . . . . . .
Blessed is every man that has known the . . . . . .
Light (?). . . . .and his wisdom (σοφία), for he shall live for ever.
Glory and honour to Jesus, the king of the holy ones and his
holy Elect and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

CCLII.

Jesus,] the Light of the faithful (πιστός), I beseech thee, do not
forsake me.
The beautiful image (εἰκών), my Father, — reveal it to me . . .
and thy unsullied brightness, the confirmation of my soul.
Let it arise and come unto me quickly, even the army of
thy angels. The garland and the victory which I would receive and
the prize (βραβεῖον) of glory.
Do not forsake me, even me thy slave, in the presence of the
sons of Matter (ὕλη): do not allow any of the demons to prevail over me
as I come unto thee.
I see a merciless crowd like vultures surrounding me:
Jesus, reveal thyself to me in the day of my need (ἀνάγκη).
Sever the nets of fear and . . . . . the company of these
foolish men; and do thou guard thy sheep of Light from the wild destructive
wolves.
Reveal thy face to me, o holy and unsullied brightness;
for thou art my good shepherd, my true merciful
physician.
I see a great dread from the earth up to the skies; woe
is me therefore: where can I escape unless thou ferry me across, my Lord?

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2 cf. Gal. 4, 26. — 16 ⲙⲁⲧⲉⲃⲧⲉ: vid. Polotsky, Hom. p. XIX. — 19; 25 'Slave' and 'sheep' are feminine in these lines, agreeing with 'soul'. — 24 I do not understand the meaning of ϣⲱⲡ here: it does not seem to be covered by Crum's article, Dict. pp. 574 b ff.

. . . . . .]ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ . [.
. . . . .]. . . . . ⲓⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲱⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁ.
. . . . . .]ⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ
. . . . . .].ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲱⲁⲕⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲛⲁⲱⲧ[ⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ
ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ
Ⲉⲕⲱⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍⲕ ⲛⲏⲒ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲛⲁⲧⲗⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲃ[ⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲕⲡⲣⲓⲉ ⲛⲏⲒ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲒⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲒⲛⲁⲱⲍ . [.
ⲥⲁⲡⲥⲧⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ
ⲀⲒⲃⲒ ⲥⲁⲡⲍⲉⲡ ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲱ ⲛⲏⲒ • ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲍⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕ
ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
Ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲒ ⲥⲱⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉ[ⲧ
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲒⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ[ⲕ
ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ
Ⲕⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲃⲓⲛⲡⲱⲧ ⲱ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ
ⲭⲉ ⲁⲒⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲭⲏⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲣⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ
ⲀⲒⲃⲒ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲧ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲡⲍⲣⲁⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ
ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲓⲭⲱⲒ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲒ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ
ⲥⲱⲧ̀ ⲁⲕⲁⲁⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲒⲥ
Ⲛⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲗ
ⲭⲉ ⲉⲒⲛⲁⲱⲭⲱⲃⲉ ⲉⲒⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡⲉ
ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲒⲁⲒⲧ
ⲀⲒⲡⲱⲍ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲥⲭⲓ ⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲒ ⲉⲛ ⲥⲁⲡ
ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲧⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲏⲒ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲗⲏ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲥⲏⲧ
☩ⲱⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ̀ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲡⲍⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲒⲥ ⲁ
ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲱⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲱⲃⲏⲣ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲁⲃⲓⲛⲡⲱⲧ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲒⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲕ̀ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲒⲧ
Ⲧ☩ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ
ⲣⲓⲧ̀ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄

7 ⲱⲃ[ⲁ incertum: fort. ⲱⲱ[ⲛⲉ: 'morbus'. — 8 fin. exspectavisses ⲉⲒⲛⲁⲱⲃⲒ. — 19 ⲕⲟⲩ sic.

. . . . . blessed (μακάριος), who was crucified (σταυροῦν) . . .
. . . . . I myself proclaim him, saying, 'Be . . . . . .
. . . . . Light'.
. . . . . thou art he that purifies them: thou art the defence
of thy sons: thou art the resurrection of the dead,
the true Light of the faithful (πιστός).
When thou appearest unto me I shall be healed of the wound (?)
of my sins. Thou hast shone forth on me, my Lord, that I may be able to . .
beneath the alarm of death.
I have endured the judgment that was appointed me: help me, o Saviour (σωτήρ),
my God. Let me see thy image (εἰκών) and the gifts of thy
angels.
Make me, even me, worthy of thy holy
bridechambers, for I have loved thy holy ones like thee thyself,
my Saviour (σωτήρ).
Thou bearest witness of my course, o blessed (μακάριος) Light,
that I have ministered to the widows (χήρα), the orphans (ὀρφανός), the
Righteous (δίκαιος).
How much have I borne, even I the soul, the burden of the body (σῶμα) which
was upon me. I have not forsaken thy faith: do not
forsake me, my Lord.
Disperse the dark cloud that is before my eyes,
that I may be able to cross rejoicing to thy honoured
habitations.
It has been granted me to see thy Light: I have no concern therefore with the
darkness. Let no man weep for me therefore. Lo, the gates (πύλη)
of Light have opened before me.
I thank thee, my Saviour (σωτήρ), the watcher that guards
them that are his, that my whole voyage and my course
have not been made in thee in vain.
Glory to thee, o God of Truth, and thy beloved son
Jesus, and thy holy Spirit. Victory to the soul of

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2 Perhaps 'Be mindful of me', reading ⲁⲣ|ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲩⲉ. — 17 Righteous i. e. the manich. Elect: vid. Burkitt op. cit. p. 129 s. v. Zaddīk. — 21 ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ̄: 'tollere', vid. 17, 12 n. — 24 lit. 'I have succeeded in seeing': vid. Crum Dict. p. 282 a.

ⲡⲗⲟⲩ]ⲥ|ⲁⲛⲉ ⲑⲉ[ⲟ]ⲛⲁ ⲙⲁⲣ|ⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲓ̈ ϫⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

> · ϹNΓ · <

ⲦⲦ]ϫⲣⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲁⲡⲭⲙⲁ[ⲛ]ⲱ[ⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲁⲧⲙ[ⲟⲩ ⲛⲁ]ⲥⲛ̄ⲏⲩ
ⲁⲓ̈ϫ| ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲕⲗⲁⲙ

Ⲧ[ⲁ]ϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲣⲉ]ⲱⲉ ⲁϫⲱⲓ̈ ⲛⲁⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲡⲧ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲓ̈
ϫ|] ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲕⲗⲁⲙ

Ⲟⲩ]ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲃ|ⲧⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲟⲩ
ϫⲣ]ⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲥⲁⲛⲉ ⲃⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲥ·
Ⲉ]ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏⲩ · ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡⲁ
ⲱ]ⲱⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲛⲧⲧ̄ⲏ ⲁⲩⲟⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲁⲱⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲥ·
Ⲉⲓ]ⲉ ⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲁⲓ̈ϫⲁⲕⲧ̄ⲏ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲓ̈ⲛ̄ⲧⲧ̄ⲏ ⲁⲡⲕⲣⲟ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲃⲁⲥⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉ ⲧⲱⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
N]ⲉⲓ̈ⲥⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲛⲱ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛⲛ|ⲃⲓ̈ⲏⲛ ⲉⲩⲃⲏⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲁ|ϫⲙⲁⲗⲱⲧⲟⲥ ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛⲁⲥ·
Ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲛⲥ̄ ⲁⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲥ|ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲙⲡⲁ†ⲟⲛ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ
ⲉ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲧⲁ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲓ̄ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ†ⲧⲟⲟⲧ·
Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲥⲁⲡⲥⲙⲁⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ| ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲟⲩϫⲁ
ⲣ|ⲥ ⲁⲥⲧⲉⲥⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ·
Ⲭ| ⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩ ⲁⲧⲉⲩ
ⲥⲁⲏ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ϫ| ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲕⲗⲁⲙ
Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲥⲉ
ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲃⲧⲉ ⲥ|ⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲁⲥ·
Ⲥⲉⲡⲏⲧ ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲱⲁⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥ
ⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲉ| ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛⲁⲥ·
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲁ
ⲧⲥⲁ]ⲣⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ · ⲛⲁⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲥ·
Ⲭ|ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲛ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲥ|ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲉⲃⲥⲉ · ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲥⲁⲗⲧ̄

3 ⲱⲁⲧⲡ̄ sic: leg. ⲱⲁⲡⲧ̄. — 7 ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲡⲧ̄ sic cf. Hom. p. XVIII. — 15 ⲉⲩⲃⲏⲩ: leg. ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲩ.

Plousiane, Theona, Mary, Pshai, Jmnoute.

CCLIII.

Christ, my bridegroom, has taken me to his bridechamber,
I have rested with him in the land (χώρα) of the immortal. My brethren,
I have received my garland.
My] land (χώρα) I have beheld, my Fathers I have found, the godly
have rejoiced over me, my Aeons have welcomed me. My brethren, I have
received my garland.
There is a gain, my brethren, none shall be able to take it from me:
an imperishable treasure (χρῆμα), to which thieves find not the way. My
I am like a sheep seeking for its pastor; lo, my
true shepherd I have found, he has brought me to my fold again. My
Lo, the fight (ἀγών) I have finished; lo, my ship I have brought to the shore,
no storm has overwhelmed it, no wave has seized it.
I was sitting marvelling, like poor men that have been taken
prisoner (αἰχμάλωτος): adoration to the mercy of the Father. My
I was heading for shipwreck before I found the ship of Truth;
a divine tacking was Jesus who helped me.
Who then shall be able to tell of the gift that came to me? An
unspeakable grace (χάρις) overtook me. My brethren
Take unto you the word of Truth, o men that love
God: The world (κόσμος) is nothing, there is no gain in it
at all. My brethren, I have received my garland.
Men are thinking that they are at rest; yet
they know not that trouble is preparing for them. My
They run and burst forth until the hour overtakes them. They have been
called, they have not understood; they have gone too and fro in vanity. My
I have despised (καταφρονεῖν) the world (κόσμος) so as to give life unto my soul:
the things of the flesh (σάρξ) I have forsaken, the things of the Spirit I
have been in accord with them. My
Since I found my Saviour I have walked in his steps. I have not hung

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10 etc. 'My': i. e. the sentence in 4—5 'My . . . garland' is to be repeated at the end of each verse. — 17 cf. 87, 27 ⲛⲉⲓⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲏⲧ. The meaning of ⲧⲱⲛϩ ⲁ- seems to be 'to be about to', like ⲛⲟⲩⲉ, which does not occur in this book. Possibly it is a secondary form from ϩⲱⲛ. — 18 i. e. θεία ἐπιστροφὴ ἦν Ἰησοῦς ὁ βοηθήσας ἐμοί: J. by aiding me enabled me to tack and so to avoid shipwreck. — 22 lit. 'there is no gain to its end'. — 30 ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲁⲗⲧ̄ vid. Crum Dict. p. 666 b.

ⲁ]ⲡ[ⲁ]ϩⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲭⲓⲧⲏ̄ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏ[ⲩ
ⲱ] ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲉϣⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲃⲧⲁⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲡⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲱ[. .
. . .] ⲧⲏ[ⲣ]ⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲁ[ⲥ
ⲁ̣ⲡ̣[. . . . .]. . . . . ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲓϣⲃⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲙ̣
ⲡ[. . . . .]ⲟⲥ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲟ̄ⲣⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲛ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄|ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ[ⲣⲓⲁ
ⲕ̣ⲗⲉⲟⲡⲁⲧⲣⲁ

> · ϹΝΔ̄ · <

ⲁⲩ†ⲟⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲥ|ⲧⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲁⲭⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣ[ⲝ
ⲁⲕⲭ| ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ[ⲟⲩ
Ⲧⲥ|ⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲭⲣⲥ̄ ⲕⲛⲁⲥ| ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ †ⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̣[ⲁ
ⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲃⲉ ⲉⲕⲃⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
Ⲕⲣ̣ⲉϣⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲧⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ • ⲥⲧⲟⲓ̈ⲉ ⲥ|
ⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲭ| ⲧⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅ|ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲕⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲕⲁⲟⲩ
ⲱⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ
Ⲧⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲁⲕⲭⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲕ
ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲏⲧ ⲉⲫⲁⲥⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲁⲕ . . ⲕ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄†ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
ⲕⲱⲱⲥ • ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲉⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ ⲁⲛ
ⲛ̣ . . ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲉ̣
ⲁⲕⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲃⲥⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲕⲥⲱⲙ
ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲥ|ⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲫⲁⲡⲁⲧⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲥⲉ
Ⲛⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏⲁⲟⲛⲏ ⲛ|ⲣⲫⲥⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄†ⲩ
ⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲭ|†ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲥⲙⲉ
ⲁⲕ†ⲱ|ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲇⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲱ
ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟ̄ⲣⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ †ⲛⲟⲩ
Ⲥⲉⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉ̣ⲗⲟⲥ
ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲙⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉ|ⲏⲧⲉ
ⲦⲦⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ |ⲏⲥ̄ ⲉ|ⲥⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲡ̣ . . . . ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ . . . . • ⲉⲩⲁ†

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1 ⲁ]ⲡ[ⲁ]ϩⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ HT: ipse haeseram. — 5 an ⲡ[ⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣ]ⲟⲥ collato Eph. 6, 16? — 20 fort. ⲁⲕⲱⲉⲕⲧ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲏⲩ.

back at all in respect of this garland to receive it. My brethren
O how great is the joy that is prepared for the Perfect . . .
. . . . all of you, my brethren, we inherit (κληρονομεῖν) it. My
. . . . . against this deceitful friend; the darts of
the . . . . . ye have conquered them. My
Glory and honour to Jesus, the king of the holy ones, and his
holy Elect. Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary,
Cleopatra.

CCLIV.

Thou hast been released from the grievous bonds of the flesh (σάρξ):
thou hast been garlanded in justification over all thy enemies.
The joyous Image (εἰκών) of Christ — thou shalt have thy fill of it now:
go thy way therefore victoriously to thy city (πόλις) of Light.
Thou art glad because thou hast mixed with the holy angels: upon thee is
set the seal (σφραγίς) of thy glorious purity.
Thou art joyful because thou hast seen thy divine brethren with whom thou
shalt dwell in the Light for ever.
The authority (ἐξουσία) of the flesh (σάρξ) — thou hast passed quickly
beyond it: thou hast
ascended like a swift bird into the air (ἀήρ) of the Gods.
Thou hast . . . . the nets (?) of souls which is Hades of the
dead: therefore shall they not be able to compel thee to serve the
. . . . .
Thou hast thrown upon the earth the garment of sickness: thou hast trodden
upon overweening pride which is deceitful (-ἀπάτη) and cruel.
The bitter darts of lust (ἡδονή), the murderers of souls,
thou hast not tasted, thou, o holy son
undefiled.
Thou hast put to shame the demons and devils of fire: the rivers
of dread marvel at thee now.
They summon thee today to dwell with the angels,
because thou hast left the land of the . . . . men of Hades.
The Saviour (σωτήρ) Jesus, lo, he has . . . . . may he give

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1 I have translated this line literally in order to illustrate the use of ϩⲁⲗⲧ in 63, 30. — 8 Cleopatra, vid. Introd. II. — 10 This use of ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄- in the sense of ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄- is notable. — 23 Lit. 'of sicknesses'. — 31 ⲉⲓⲏⲧⲉ: cf. 70, 25 ⲉⲛⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲏⲧⲉ; Hom. 3. 16]ⲉⲓⲏⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ; 79. 12—13 ϯⲛⲟⲩ [ⲥⲱϣⲧ ⲁⲭⲛⲧⲁ?]ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲏⲧⲉ: vid. 149, 20 n.

. .]. .[. . . .]. . . NEK ⲁⲕNAE [. . . . . .
.]TMATE[ϬT]E ϬAWϯ ABAΛ ⲁⲡⲕⲁ[. . . . . .
. . .] ϬE EKTHK ⲛ̄ⲤHT ΠⲀ|ⲕⲁ|OC ETOY[ABE . . . . . .
. . .]. . . . ABAΛ Ⲥⲛ̄TANAⲅ[KH . . . . . .
. .]. . . AW ϫωME ENⲁΛ . .[. . . . . .
. . .]. . . ⲁⲡⲣⲉϥ+Ⲥⲉⲡ ⲡⲉ+ⲱⲣⲤ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ .[. . . .
. . . .]. . ⲉ|ϫⲱϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁϥ+ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲛ . . . Λ[.
. . .]. . ϬE +NOY ϫⲉ ⲁⲕϫⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲁⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡϫ[.
. .]. ⲕϭ|ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ . . ⁞ . . . . .
. . . .]. . . . ⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲁⲛ|ⲉⲧϫⲏⲩ ⲉⲧ[. .]. . . . .[. . . . .
. . .]. . . . ⲙⲟⲩ . . ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲕⲧ|ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ . . .[.
. .]ⲙⲟⲩ
. . . .]ⲩⲛ ⲡⲁⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲕϫⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ[ⲕⲁⲅⲱⲛ
ⲁ]ⲕⲧⲁⲩⲗⲉ ⲁⲡϫ|ⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲕⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ .[. . .
+ⲛⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ ϬE ϩⲱⲧ +ⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[. . . . .
+[ⲛⲁ]ⲉⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣⲙ̄ⲓⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡϫⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛ̄
ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲁⲕⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲛⲃⲁ|ⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ϩⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲁⲕⲧ[. . .
ⲉⲕⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇ|ⲥⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̄
ⲁⲕⲧⲉϩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ϩⲙⲁⲙ ⲙⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲁⲱ ⲛ̄ϩ[ⲏⲧϥ ⲉ
ⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ϩⲕⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲉ|ⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲙ . . .[. . . . .
ⲥⲱⲙⲁ
Ⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇ|ⲥⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [. . . . . .
ⲥⲧⲙ̄ⲧⲁϩⲛⲉⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕϩⲱⲥ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲛ̄[ⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲁⲕⲃⲣⲟ ⲱ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ϫⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲁⲕ+ ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲉⲧ[ⲁⲩⲣⲥⲡⲟⲩ
ⲁⲏ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲱⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁ[ϩ
ⲧ[ⲉ ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ|ⲁ ⲙⲁⲣ|ⲁ

CNE

Ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲕ̄ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ
ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲣⲉ +ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲁ̈ⲱⲱ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲣⲁⲩ
ⲉⲧⲧⲁ[ϫ]ⲁ̈ⲧ ⲉ|ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲉϥⲛⲟⲩϩⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄+ⲩ
ϫⲁⲩⲉ

2 cf. 60, 3—4. — 8 fort. ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ. — 10 ⲉⲧϫⲏⲩ sic, cf. 42, 18. — 14 fin. fort. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ.

. . . . . to thee, thou hast been merciful . . . .
the army looks to the . . . . . .
. . . . . therefore thou being confident, o holy Righteous (δίκαιος) one . .
. . . . . from the need (ἀνάγκη) . . . .
. . . . . read books . . . . . .
. . . . . the judge who sees the universe . . . . .
. . . . . of Light, he has given (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . therefore now, for thou hast received the palm . . . . thou . .
. . . find (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . harbour; the ships which . . . . . have . . . . . .
. . . . . thee with the rays (ἀκτίς) of the . . . . . .
death.
. . . . . my son, thou hast finished thy [fight (ἀγών),
thou hast ascended on high from us, thou hast left behind . . . .
I myself therefore now will praise the strength of the . . . .
I will] restrain my tears because of the perfection of thy
godliness.
Thou hast quickly escaped from the fearful . . .; thou hast . . . .
at rest to the Paradise (παράδεισος) of life.
Thou hast reached the place wherein there is neither heat nor cold,
where there is neither hunger nor thirst, and the . . . . . .
body (σῶμα).
Thou art worthy of the Paradise (παράδεισος) of the Gods . . . . .
not preventing thee from rejoicing and singing unto God (?).
Thou hast been victorious, o Mani, thou hast given the victory to them that
have shown zeal (σπουδή?) for God, to thy Elect and thy faithful
and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCLV.

Stand with me in the hour of need (ἀνάγκη).
Come to me quickly, come to me, Jesus, come to me, my strong
God. I worship thee, I have called up to thee in a cry
of innocence; for I know that thou art the redeemer of souls.

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18 ϭⲁϊⲱⲉ, vox ignota: cf. Keph. 154, 6. — 21 perhaps we should restore ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲙⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲕⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ: 'and the pains leave the body'.

. . . . . .]ⲙ̄ⲗⲟⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ⲁⲛ . . .[. . . . .]ⲥ̣[. .
. . . . . .]ⲛ̣[ⲧⲙ]ⲁⲧⲉⲃⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲧⲙ̣ . ⲁ[. . .]ⲛⲁ .[.
. . . . . .]. . ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲕ̣[ⲁ]ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁ̣[ⲣⲡ
. . . . . .]
. . . . .] ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧ†ⲥⲟ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲁⲩ[ⲣⲏ
. . . . .]ⲛ̄ . . . . ⲥⲏⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡⲗⲟⲛ ⲍⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁ̣[. .
ⲛ .[. . .]. . . . . ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲥⲁⲣⲝ • †ⲛⲟⲩ ⲃⲉ † .[. . . .
. . . . .]. . . . . ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ
N[ⲧⲁⲕ . .]. . . ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲡⲉ†ⲃⲁⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲏⲧ̣[ⲩ . . .
. . .]. . . ⲡ̣ . ⲡⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ . . . .[. . .
. . . .]. . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲁⲓⲧ ⲝⲉ ⲛ̣[. . . . . .
. . . . .]. ⲛ̄ⲥⲣⲧⲉ
Nⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ] ⲡⲁⲕ̣ⲁⲥⲧⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲧⲁⲝⲣⲟ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ[ⲕ . .
. . . . . .]ⲧⲕ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲕⲁ|ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲟⲗⲱⲥ ⲉ|ⲛ̣ .
. . . . . .]ⲩ ⲉ|ⲙⲏⲧ| ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲕ̣ ⲡⲉ†ⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ̣
. . . . . Ⲃ|]ⲓⲉⲧ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲁⲥⲁⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲓ̈ⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧ . . ⲛ̣
. . . . . |]ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲛ̄ⲕⲙⲏ
ⲙⲉ . . .]. . ⲉⲥⲥⲧⲱⲧ ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄
|ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲁⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ †ⲱⲱ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ|ⲛⲉ| ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙ]ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲕⲁⲁⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ
ⲥⲛⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲏⲣ|ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲩⲧ̀
Ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲣⲓⲙⲡ]ⲱⲁ ⲥⲱⲟⲧ ⲁⲧⲣⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈
ⲍⲓ̣ⲉ̣ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲥⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲉ ⲡⲡ|ⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲕ̣ⲁ|ⲱⲁⲙ̄ⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲙⲉⲥ
Ⲁ̈ⲓⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲍⲉ
ⲉⲩ̣ [ⲡ]ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲏ ⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲏ̣ ⲉⲩ
ⲡ̣ⲉ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ
ⲏ ⲉⲩ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ
Ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲥⲟⲙ ⲣⲉⲧ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁ̈ⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ̈ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩ
ⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭ| ⲙ̄ⲃⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|
ⲕⲱ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲉⲥⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲫ . . . ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲭ|ⲟⲩⲉ
Ⲧ̣ⲱⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲍ|ⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲕ̣[. .]ⲧⲏ[. . . . . .

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1 fort. ⲝⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ. — 14, 15 an ⲥⲟⲗⲱⲥ ⲉ|ⲛⲁ̣[ⲥⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁ]ⲩ? — 16, 17 fort. ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ |ⲏⲥ̄. — 18 ante ⲉⲥⲥⲧⲱⲧ fort. ⲛⲁⲡⲱⲧ vel ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ supplendum. — 31 ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲁⲛⲉ̣ HT: an ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲉ coll. Mt. 6, 19? — 32 fort. ⲡⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲣ|ⲟⲛ cf. Hom. 29, 7.

. . . . . wars from everlasting (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . the whole army . . . . . .
. . . . . the Saviour (σωτήρ) of the earths in the beginning (?)
. . . . . .
They all . . . . . without sparing, they rose up
. . . . . sword and their weapons (ὅπλον) that they might
. . . . . of my flesh (σάρξ). Now therefore I . . . .
. . . . . the evil one.
Thou . . . . . the Saviour (σωτήρ) for whom I expectantly look,
. . . . . art the harbour and the sign of the . . . . . .
my Light that is honoured; for (?) . . . . .
. . . . . fearful.
Thou art] my trust, thou also art my strength; thou
. . . . . of my soul. There is no other God at all (ὅλως) . . .
. . . . . him save (εἴμητι) thee alone whom I serve.
. . . . . lift] up my eyes everywhere, praying to thee who . . .
. . . Jesus my Light on high, in terror of whom
the dark night . . . .
Jesus, my] Light, I cry unto thee in the hour of the going forth
from the body], do not, my Light, do not forsake me
in the midst] of the wild beasts (θηρίον).
Let] me be worthy also to see thy Maiden for whose sake
I have toiled, who brings all the gifts
of the faithful (πιστός), and her three angels that are with her.
I have known and understood that which is and that which shall be:
what is mortal and (ἤ) what on the other hand is immortal; and (ἤ) what
is the King of Light who is the tree of life,
and (ἤ) what again is the Darkness which is the tree of death.
I have never trodden in the path of these strangers wherein
the sinful goats walk, nor (οὔτε) have I
at least laid my treasure in the place of . . . and thieves.
The entire goal (?) of my labours and the . . . . . .

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5 ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧϩⲥⲟ = ἀφειδία, cf. Coloss. 2, 23. — 17, 18 lit. 'whom the dark night . . . . ., trembling before him'. — 30 cf. Mt. 25, 32. — 31 cf. Mt. 6, 19. — 32 The meaning of ϣⲱⲧⲡ̄ in this and in other places is not quite clear. I think it may be a translation of the Gk. σπουδή, cf. 76, 28; 99, 21 (σπουδάζω?); Keph. 7, 8 (ἐν σπουδῇ?); 42, 11 (σπουδάζετε?), vid. Crum Dict. 597 b.

. . . . .] ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . .
. . . .]. . . ⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲣⲏⲓ [. . . . .
. .]ⲁ|ⲁ[. .]ⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲗ ⲉ . . . . .[. . . . . .
.] . [.]ⲥⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲩ[ⲙⲟⲥ . . . .
. . . ⲱϩ ⲱϩ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲣⲉⲩ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱⲛⲁϩⲙⲉⲧ
†ⲟ] ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡϫ̄ⲣⲥ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ . . . . . .
. .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲏⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲣ̄ϩⲏ .[. . . . .]. . . . ⲁ
. . ⲉ]ⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ ⲉ†ⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̀
⊖[. .] . ⲃⲛ̄ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲏⲧⲉ . . ⲱⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈
. . . .]ⲃⲓ ϩⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ . . ⲛ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥϩⲏⲧ
. . .]. ⲣⲉⲧ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲉ†ⲁⲡⲧ̄ ϩⲱⲱⲧ ϩ|ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ .]. . .
ⲗⲛ . .]ⲗ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲁⲧⲏⲕ ⲡϫ̄ⲣⲥ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲉⲥⲕⲉ ⲛ̄
. . . .]ⲟ ⲱⲁⲛⲉⲧⲁⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁϥⲣⲉ ⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛⲉ [ⲛⲏ]ⲓ̈ ϩⲱⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲁ|ⲟ †ⲧⲱⲃϩ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲥⲁⲕⲧ̀ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲱⲥ
Ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̀ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲕⲗ[. .
. . . . . ⲕ]ⲉⲕⲉ ⲛ̀ⲁϫⲣⲁⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . . [. . . .] . . ⲁⲛ[. .
.].ⲁ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ . . . . • ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̀[. . . . . .]ⲧⲗ[. .
. . . .]. . ⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲉ ⲡ]ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ . [. . . . . .
.]. . ⲛⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲙ̄[. . . . . .
.]ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ . .[. . . . . .
. . ⲁ . . ⲉⲛ̀ ϩⲁⲑⲩⲗⲏ
ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲡϫ̄ⲣⲥ ⲡⲃⲉⲗ ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲩ̀ [. . . . . .
. . . .]. ⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲁⲣⲉ[ϥ . . . . . .] . . . . . .
. . . .] ⲡⲉ†ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ̀ [. . . . . .] . . . . ⲁⲕ
. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲉ|ⲥ . . .[. . . . .] . . . ⲙ̀ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ
ⲓⲛⲉ . .]ⲃⲁⲗⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̀ . . . .[. . . . .]. . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̀ . ⲁϫⲱ
. . . .] ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ • ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡ[. . . . .]. . . ⲛ̄[. .]ⲧⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲁⲡ
. .] . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ[ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

7 fort. ⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲣ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ. — 9 ⲟⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲛ̄ⲛⲉ coniicio: 'more palmae'. — 10 parum intellego. — 13 init. fort. ⲙⲛⲟⲁ]ⲗ supplendum.

. . . . . my Lord, I have revealed it . . . .
. . . . . enduring (?) in . . . .
. . . . . forth with my eyes . . . . . .
. . . . it surrounds me, even the . . . and the world (κόσμος?) . . .
. . . alas, alas (ὦ ὤ), what shall I do? Who can save me?
I am] not in two minds concerning (?) thee, o Christ, nor (οὔτε) . . . . . .
. . thy Truth, nor (οὔτε) . . . . . have I . . . . . .
. . because of the need (ἀνάγκη) wherein I stand.
. . . . date-tree which is shaken like me . . . . . .
. . . . . to the Truth (?). I have brought . . . . his heart
. . . . . to him, even as I reckon myself through them that
call (?) . . .
There is never any . . . . in thee, o Christ, nor (οὔτε) any delay
. . . . to them that shall do good. To me stretch out
thy right hand; come, I beseech thee, draw me up out of
Hades of the dead.
In the hour that thy Light appears unto me . . .
. . . . Darkness shall be scattered abroad . . . . . .
. . . . in . . . . . Come . . . . . .
. . . . . of the Light . . . . . .
. . . . to thee, o Maiden, the . . . . . .
of the angels, the sons . . . . . .
. . . . under the Matter (ὕλη).
Come to me, o Christ, the eye that sees (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . my Father, my . . . . . .
. . . whom I love, even thee . . . . . thee (?)
. . . . . of victory, lo, ... also of Light
. . . clothe me in it . . . . . upon
. . . the angels. Lo, the . . . . . all . . . to the
. . . . . to the soul of [the blessed (μακαρία)] Mary.

15 ⲁⲓⲟ: vid. Crum Dict. 636 b. — 18 ϫⲣⲁⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ: vid. Hom. Index sub voce; Keph. 76, 33; 77, 2; 99, 13 etc.

[ⲥⲛⲋ]

ⲦⲦⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [. . .] ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲡⲕ̅ⲗ̅ⲥ̅ [. . . . . .
ⲡⲙ̅[ⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟ]ⲥ̣
ⲘⲁⲦ ⲛⲏⲓ . . . . ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲣⲟ ⲣ̅ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̅[ⲧⲕ
ⲃⲁⲙ [ⲛⲕ]+ⲧⲟⲟⲧ' +ⲥⲁⲡⲥⲡ̅ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲕ ⲥⲛ̅ⲧⲕⲃⲓⲛⲉ[ⲓ ⲱ ⲡ
ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲡ̣[. . .] ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲥⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲥⲛ̅ⲡⲥⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̅ⲡⲙⲉⲓⲉ [.
. . . . . ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲱⲁ̣ⲧⲛ̣̅[. .
ⲥⲉ +ⲛ̣ⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲉ
Ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲛ̅ⲧⲣⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲛⲡⲱⲧ [ⲛⲁ
ⲱⲓⲣⲉ ⲕⲓⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲃⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲡⲱ[. . ⲛ
ⲁⲧⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
ⲦⲦⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟ[ⲥ ⲥⲱ
ⲱⲩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲱⲡ ⲥⲣⲉⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲡⲟ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲟⲩ[. .
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲉⲕⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲃⲱⲭⲃⲉ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲗ ⲙ̅ⲙ̣ⲓⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ[ⲁⲧⲣⲓ
ⲕⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲙ̅ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲉ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̣ⲧⲕ̀
ⲟⲩⲣⲣⲱⲉ
ⲦⲦ . . . ⲣ̣ⲛ̣[. . . . .] . . . ⲛⲁ . . . ⲉⲩ . . . ⲁⲡⲩⲉ . . . . .
non legi potest
. . . . . .]. . . . .
+[. . . . . .]. . . ⲉ ⲉⲓⲁ̣[ⲛⲉ]ⲩ ⲁⲧⲭⲁ̣ⲣⲓⲥ̣
. . . . . .]. . ⲁⲧ . . . . ⲉⲧ . . . ⲱ . .
. . . . . .]ⲛ̣ . ⲉⲩⲛ̣ⲁ̀ⲱⲛ̀ⲍ̀

25—27 non legi possunt

Ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲛⲧⲁ
ⲥⲃⲱ ⲉ . . . . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̅ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ
. . . . . .
ⲁⲕⲭⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲃⲣⲟ [. . . . . .] ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲱⲱⲧ . . . .
ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲣⲟ [. . . . . .]. . . . . .
. .]ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̣ⲁ̀ⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ̀

7 an ⲁⲓⲡⲱⲥⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ? — 14 fin. fort. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲍⲏⲧ cf. 67, 6.

CCLVI.

O God, ... the sage, the Paraclete . . . . . .
Mani.
Give to me . . . thy victory, bestow on me, Father, [thy
power and help me, I beseech thee, by thy coming (?) [o
holy one.
I have . . . . forth my whole heart in the excess of love
. . . . . my whole power . . . . .
I believe in the Truth.
Thou art the witness of all the deeds of my busy
courses, thou seest my strong efforts and my unspeakable
. . . . .
The law (νόμος) of the Darkness I have put behind me, but the law (νόμος)
of the Light I have adopted, I have got myself a single
. . . . for thy unfailing treasure (χρῆμα).
I have seen with my own eyes thy unbending (?)
defence: I have witnessed, my Father, thy mercy keeping me in thy
watch-tower.
The . . . . . .
illegible
. . . . . .
I . . . . . as I see the grace (χάρις?)
. . . . . .
. . . . . he shall live.

ll. 25—27 are illegible

Thou art my great glory, the confirmation of my
reason . . . . . forth the iniquity
. . . . . .
Thou hast received the victory . . . . . to me myself . . .
thy victory . . . . . .
the victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

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11 ⲃⲱⲧⲉ lit. 'sweatings', cf. Crum op. cit. p. 625a. — 14 ⲩⲱⲡⲡ ⲥⲣⲉⲩ: vid. Crum op. cit. 647b. — 16 cf. 45, 27 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲫⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ.

[CNZ]

. . . . . .]. . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̣
. .]. . . . . ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩ . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛ
. .]. . . . . ⲉ̣
. . .]. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲛⲥⲕ
ⲛ]ⲏⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲕⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ
. .]. ⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈
Ⲁ[ⲙⲏ]ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ . . . . . .
ⲡⲥ]ⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲡ̣ⲡ̣ⲱⲡ̣
ⲙⲙ]ⲁⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈
Ⲧⲧ[. .]ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ • ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲉⲩⲉ
. .]. ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲥⲙ̄ ⲉⲩⲛⲉⲙⲏ
ⲓ ⲧⲣ]ⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲥⲏⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ
. . .]. ⲙ̄ⲡ̣ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲧⲕⲱⲗⲭ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲉⲧ
ⲛ̣[ⲉⲕ] ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲥⲕ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲁⲙ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲭⲱⲃⲉ
ⲥ̣ . . . . . ⲣⲉ . . . . . ⲛ̣ . ⲭ̣ .
Ⲧⲧⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥ̣ . . ⲧ̣ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲧⲣⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱ
ⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ • ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
Ⲧⲧⲓⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲃⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁ
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲭⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩ ⲛ|ⲙ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲡ̣ⲉ[ⲛ]ⲕⲁ|ⲙ . . . ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ . . . . . .
ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲉ|ⲓ ⲉⲓ̣ⲥ ⲛⲉ|ⲓ . |ⲣ . . . . . ⲙ̣ⲡ̣ⲕⲟⲩ
ⲉⲓ̈ⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲟ|ⲓⲭ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲭⲁⲭⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉ]ⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄
ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁ
ⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ]

[CNH]

Ⲭ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲓⲟ ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲭⲱⲕ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲣⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲥ
ⲣ]ⲁⲩⲧ ⲉⲥ . . . . . • . ⲛ̣ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲣⲥ̄
. . . . . .]. ⲙⲛ̣ . . . . ⲱ . . ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲥⲛ̄

6 ⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛⲉ : cf. Hom. 59, 11. — 9 ⲱⲡⲱⲡ : cf. 59, 13. — 14 fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ. — 17 an ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩ?

CCLVII.

. . . . . of the Light
. . . . . in a . . . . . of the
. . . . . .
. . . . . and do thou reveal thyself
to me quickly and stretch out thy right hand to me
that (?) I may leave the things of the body (σῶμα) behind.
Come ye also, o angels, and . . . . . .
the Saviour (σωτήρ), bringing me the gifts that were promised
to me.
The . . . of the Darkness is the Demons; if you desire
. . . . surround me. There is none of your pollutions with
me, I fear you not.
. . . . . of God is the judge (κριτής): I bend my knees
to thee. Reveal thyself to me quickly that I may pass
. . . . . .
The . . . . world (κόσμος) I have put behind me, I greet (ἀσπάζεσθαι) you,
o Gods, o angels of glory, that dwell in the Land
of Light.
This lion that is within me I have strangled, I have turned him
away from my soul, him who pollutes me at all times,
and his bitter . . . . also.
I passed above the sea (θάλασσα) . . . . . .
the traps of death, these, lo (?) . . . . . .
I being in the hands of my enemies.
Glory and Victory to the Paraclete, our Lord Mani, and
all his holy Elect. Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary].

CCLVIII.

All hail to thee, o soul that has finished her fight (ἀγών)
rejoicing and . . . . . of Christ
. . . . . in

30 χρο ⲙⲛ̈ⲓⲟ: cf. 57, 27; 85, 16; 210, 14 n.

πBHB ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲣⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲙ[ⲁⲛ]ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲗⲏⲥⲧⲏ[ⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ
ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲣ|ⲙⲉ [ⲛⲉⲩ
Θⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲥ|ⲙⲉⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲕⲛⲁⲣⲥⲟⲩ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲛ̣[ⲁⲥ
ⲧⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲑⲏⲣ|ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲥⲱⲥⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ[. . .
ⲁⲕⲭⲉⲡⲭⲱⲡⲟⲩ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲟ|ⲛⲥⲟⲏⲣ ⲉⲙⲡⲟⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ̣ [ⲙ
ⲡⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
Ⲧⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲡⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡ[ⲉ ⲙ
ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲥⲕ̀ ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲩⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩ[. . .] .
ⲁⲕⲟⲃ|ⲁⲩ ⲁⲕⲟⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲩ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱ[ⲉ]ⲓ̈
Ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲣⲉⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲃⲱⲣⲃ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲕⲧⲣⲟⲩⲭ|ⲱ|ⲡⲉ [ⲁⲕ
ⲃⲱⲗ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲛⲏⲩ ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲗ[. . .
ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲧⲛ̄ⲥ̀ ⲉⲕⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲥⲱⲙ ⲁⲙⲙⲁⲍ[ⲟⲩⲉⲗ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲥⲉ
Ⲥⲱⲥ ⲉⲕⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲧ☥ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲛ [ⲉⲩ
ⲃⲁⲃ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲕ̄ • ⲁⲕⲭⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲏⲃⲥ̀ ⲁⲕ☥ⲛⲏⲥ ⲥⲁ
ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲛ̄
ⲥⲉⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
Ⲛⲉⲕⲓ̈ⲉⲡⲱⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲥⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲁ
ⲣⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲏⲥ̣ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ
ⲉⲫⲁⲧⲉⲥⲁⲕ • ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ ⲉⲕⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲛ̄ⲡ
ⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ
ⲁⲗⲕ[ⲱ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉ|ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲕⲧⲉⲥⲟ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕ☥ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲉ|ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲕ̄
ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲡⲉⲕⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁⲭⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲉⲓ̈ⲏⲧⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲡⲥ̀ ⲉⲥⲥⲁⲗⲗ̄ⲟ ⲉⲥⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲩⲛⲏⲑ|ⲁ ⲛ̄☥ⲥⲁⲣⲝ
ⲟⲩⲱⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲧⲉ ⲥ|ⲓ̣ⲣ̣ . . ⲉ̣ ⲙ . . . ⲁⲙ . . . ⲡⲉⲩⲛ[. . . . .]ⲥ
ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲣ|ⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ [ⲡ]ⲉⲥⲕⲁ|ⲥⲗⲁⲃ ⲟⲩⲥ|ⲱⲉ ⲡⲉ
ⲁⲗⲣ̄ⲁⲧⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲗⲟ|ⲡⲟⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲕⲁ ⲡⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲁⲩⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ
ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲕⲍⲃⲣ̄ⲃⲱⲣⲕ̄ ⲍⲁⲡⲍⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲭⲁ
ⲭ[ⲉ] ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲍⲉ ☥ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲙⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[. . . . .]ⲉ̣[. .

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4 fin. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ[ⲁⲡⲉ coniicio. — 8 fin. fort. ⲗⲓⲃⲉ. — 11 fort. ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲗ̣. — 12 ⲁⲙⲙⲁⲍⲟⲩⲉⲗ cf. Hom. 76, 24.

the den of the . . . ., the habitation of the robbers (λῃστής), which
is the body (σῶμα) of death, for which every man has wept.
The sea (θάλασσα) and its waves thou hast destroyed by thy faith (?);
the beasts (θηρίον) that are in it, that would submerge thy . . .
thou hast overpowered (?) them in thy voyaging: they knew not nor
comprehended thee.
Sin mourns (?) because thou didst suddenly escape
and didst not follow after his error (πλάνη) and the fire of his . . . .
thou didst subdue him and afflict him in the gathering of thy virtue (?).
The snarers that would ensnare thee thou hast put to shame, thou hast
wound up (?) their nets. They marvel at the beauty of the . . . .
of thy wings as thou ascendest with thy eagles to the dove-cots (?)
of thy freedom.
As (ὡς) thou knewest, o soul that lovest God, that it is a weak
house yet (?) wherein thou art, thou didst light thy lanterns and put oil in
thy lamps (λαμπάς) and didst not allow them to go out until they came
and summoned thee.
Thy wares that thou hast made, behold, they have gone before
thee: part of them will follow thee, part of them
will overtake thee. Rejoice therefore and be glad as thou steppest before
the judge (κριτής).
Thou hast left behind thee the hunger and thirst of death, thou hast reached
thy city of Light wherein there is no hunger or thirst.
Implore thy Father to have mercy upon us, do not leave us
. . . . .
A custom both sweet and bitter is the intercourse (συνήθεια) of this flesh (σάρξ),
a . . . . . its . . . . . .
its laughter is weeping and its sweetness is bitterness.
Henceforth (λοιπόν) thou hast no cares, for thou hast left the house of care
behind,
even the body (σῶμα) of death, and hast cast it down before the face of its
enemies. They marvel now at the . . . . . of the . . . . .

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1 The meaning of ⲁⲍⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲩ is not clear: vid. supr. 17, 17 n. — 3 ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ̄ vid. 17, 12 n. — 5 ϫⲁⲡϫⲡ occurs twice in the Homilies (5, 4; 76, 23) and is translated 'treten' (vid. Index p. 20 s. v.), and once in the Keph. (105, 9) as a noun, tentatively rendered by 'Deckel' (vid. not. ad loc.). The root idea seems to be 'cover', cf. (?) Keph. 132, 18. — 11 ⲟⲱⲗ: vid. Hom. 41, 14 n; Keph. 105, 30 n. Other examples in the Psalmbook are at 190, 5 bis; 205, 7; 223, 17. — 25 ⲉⲓⲏⲧⲉ: meaning uncertain, vid. 64, 31 n. — 31 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧϫⲁⲙⲏⲧ looks like a compound of ϫⲱⲙ (vid. 4, 24 supr.) and ⲍⲏⲧ, cf. ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲧⲙⲏⲧ; hence 'perseverance' (?).

ll. 1—7 perierunt

8 . . . . . .]ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡ . . . .[. . . . .
. . . . . .]. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ . . . . .[. . . .
. . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ [. . . . . .
l. 11 periit

$\overline{\text{CN}\vartheta}$

ll. 13 et 14 perierunt

15 . . .]$\overline{\text{ⲛⲥ}}$. ⲧ . . . . . ⲁ̈ⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁ . . .[. . . . . .
. . .]ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲧ . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲦⲦ[ⲕⲟⲥ]ⲙⲟⲥ ⲣ̄ⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲭ[ⲉ . . . . . .
. .]ⲗ ⲍⲉ ⲡ̈ⲛ . . . . . ⲛ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲡ . . . . .[. . . . . .
. . ⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ . . . . ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲭⲱⲥⲙⲉ
20 .]. . ⲣⲉ ⲥ . . . . . ⲁⲩ ⲥⲉⲥⲙⲟⲟ[ⲥ . . . . . .
ⲧ̈ⲛⲉ ⲭ . . . . . ⲉⲥⲁⲣ . .[. . . . . .
. . ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲭ . . . . . .
.] . . . . ⲉⲛⲉ . . . . . ⲛ̈ⲧⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ . . . . . .[. . . . . .
. . . .]ⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲛ̈ⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲁ[. . . . . .
25 . . ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲃⲏ̈
Ⲱ ⲛⲁ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ ⲧⲥ . . . ⲛ . .[. . . . . .
ⲁ . . . ⲉ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲭ| ⲡⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ̈ . . . . . .
ⲛⲉ̈ . ⲣ̄ⲥⲏⲃⲉ ⲛ . . . . . .[. . .
Ⲟ . . . . ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ . . . . . ⲁ .[. . . . . .
30 ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲏⲣ̄ ⲥⲱ[. . . . . .]. .
ⲧ̈ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲁⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲡ̈ⲓⲏ̈ ⲁⲡ . . ⲟ .
Ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲱⲛ . . . . . ⲣⲱⲙⲉ

20 ⲥⲉⲥⲙⲟⲟ[ⲥ: ⲟⲟ dubium. — 28 fort. ⲛⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲥⲏⲃⲉ. — 31 ⲁⲡⲁⲥⲟⲩ coniicio.

ll. 1—7 *destroyed*

8 . . . . . of the Lights, the . . . . . .
. . . . . to thy son . . . . . .
. . . . . and his Elect . . . . . .

l. 11 *destroyed*

CCLIX.

ll. 13 *and* 14 *destroyed*

15 . . . . . I have guarded . . . . . .
. . . . . of God.
The world (κόσμος) is profitless in anything, the enemy . . . . .
. . . for the . . . . . runs from the . . . . . .
. . faith . . . . . in his defilement.
20 . . . . . they sit (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . them . . . . . .
. . . . . the height . . . . . .
. . . . they are like them . . . . . .
25 . . they looking out to me.
O my Fathers that begot me, I . . . . . .
. . . . to me, do not be like . . . . . .
. . . grieve . . . . . .
. . . . power . . . . . .
30 world (κόσμος) when the Saviour ($\overline{\text{σηρ}}$) himself (?) . . . . . .
you shall set it behind you . . . . . .
There is none among them that are of the world (κόσμος) that can . . . . man

27 ϯπωρ ϫⲓ ⲡⲧⲁⲛⲧⲏ̄: cf. 220, 15—16 etc.

1—3 perierunt

4 . . . . . .]. ϣαρε πεϥε[. . . . . .

5—6 perierunt

. . . . . .]. ⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲧⲏ • ⲙ̣ⲁⲣ̣[ⲉ]ⲩ̣[. . . . . .

. . . . . .]

9 . . . . . .] ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ • ⲛⲉⲩϩ̣ . [. . . . . .

non potest legi

. . .]. . . . ⲉ̣ⲛ̣ϣⲟⲩⲓⲧ

O]ⲩϣ . . ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕ̣ⲉ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ .[. . . . . .

13—14 perierunt

15 . . . . . .]ⲣ̄ϩⲁϩ ⲛⲁϩ̣ . . . . . ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [. . .

. . . . . .] ⲛ̣ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧ . . . ⲉ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲧⲱ[. .

. . . . . .] ⲁ̣ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ[ϩⲏ]ⲧⲏ

non legi potest

. . . . . .]ⲡ̣ ⲍⲉ . . . . .[. . . . . .

20 . . . . . .]. ⲡⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉ[. . . . .]ⲛ̣ . .

. . . . . c]ⲱⲃⲉ . . . . . ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ

periit

. . . .]. . . . . .

. . . . . .] ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ . . . . ⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲡ . . .

25 . . .]. . . . ⲉ . . . . ⲍⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩϣⲡⲛ̄ϣⲱⲡⲉ . . .

. . . . . ⲁ̣ . . . . ⲛ̣ⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ

. . . . . .]ⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧ . . ⲥⲫⲁⲗⲣⲁ ⲧⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲏⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲩ

ⲓⲧⲉ . . . . . .]. . . . . ⲛ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲙⲁ

ϩⲉ . . . . . .]

30 . . . ⲡ̣ . . ⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲁ . . . ϣⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲍⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲣ̄

ϣⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲥⲉⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲏⲧⲉ

ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲁⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̣ⲙⲏⲉ

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16 ⲁⲛⲧⲱ[ⲣⲡ coniicio. — 20 ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉ: fort. ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲥ. — 27 fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲥⲫⲁⲗⲣⲁ.

ll. 1—3 *destroyed*

. . . . . her . . . . . is wont to . . . . . .

ll. 5—6 *destroyed*

. . . . . shall take it; let him (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . the world (κόσμος), its . . . . . .
illegible
. . . . . we (?) being empty.
. . . . . of Darkness is this body (σῶμα) . . . . . .

ll. 13—14 *destroyed*

. . . . . multiplied, my (?) . . . . . go forth . . .
. . . . . which were taken before . . . ., we seized (?)
. . . . . from him.
illegible
. . . . . .
. . . . . in the . . . . . .
. . . . . laughter (?) . . . . . and his weeping
destroyed
. . . . . .
. . . . . this body (σῶμα) . . . . . .
. . . . . for suddenly . . . .
. . . . . of these iniquities.
. . . . . the sphere (σφαῖρα), this worker of outrages
from the beginning . . . . . the Truth, that he may walk (?)
. . . . . .
. . . . . to me, for my own hour is already
come; they summon me, I will go from your midst
and return to my true home.

30 perhaps 'return, for . .', reading ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲱⲉ ⲛⲏ̈, as in l. 32.

ll. 1—6 perierunt excepto ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁⲡⲥ̀, l. 5.

7 Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡ]ⲁⲱⲃⲏⲣ ⲁⲓ̈ⲛ̄ⲧⲏ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲭ ⲉ̣ⲓ̣ⲥ ⲧ̣ⲥ̣[ⲓⲕⲱ]ⲛ ⲁ̣ .
. . .]. ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲉ̣ⲓ̣ ⲁ̣ⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛⲧ
ⲉⲩⲃⲁ]ⲱⲧ̄ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ
10 Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ] ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧ
ll. 11—12 non legi possunt

> · ϹΣ̅ · <

ⲁ̀ . ⲛ̣ . . . ⲓ̈ⲛ̣ . . . . . ⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ̣ . . . . . ⲉ
15 ⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲃⲉⲥⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕ̣ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ • ⲛⲉⲩ . .[. . . . . .] ⲁⲛⲟ̣ⲓ

ll. 17—19 non legi possunt

20 ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ[. . . . . .]. . ⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ . . ⲃ . . . ⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄
ⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ̣[. . . . .] . ⲛ̣ⲧⲏ̄
Ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲥⲡⲟ ⲛ̣ . . . ⲱⲃⲣ̣ . . . ⲁ̣ⲡⲧⲁ . [. . . . . .
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙ|ⲁ • ⲥⲉⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ̣
ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃ|ⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ̣ ⲛⲉⲩⲣ̄ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡ̣ⲙⲟⲩ . . . ϒ .
25 . . . .]. . . . ϭ . .[. . . .]ⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲱ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲟ̣ⲩⲱⲁⲁⲛ̣ⲏ
ⲥⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕ[ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ . .]. . . . . ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲧⲉ . . . .
non potest legi
Ⲥⲉⲕⲱⲣⲱ̄ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ϫ| ⲛⲉⲧ[. . . . . ⲙⲙ]ⲱ
ⲧⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧⲥ[ⲏⲡ . . . . . .] ⲙ̄
30 ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲡⲱ[. . . . . .]. . . . . ϒ . .
Ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲣⲟⲩ
. . . .]ⲛ̣ⲕⲱⲱⲥ̣ . . . . . ⲛⲉ̣ⲩ . . . . . .

7/8 ⲁ|ⲡⲱⲥ ⲁⲛⲉⲩ coniicio. — 21 fort. ⲉⲧⲁ[ⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ]ⲥ̣ⲏⲧⲏ̄. — 22 fort. ⲁⲡⲧⲁⲫ[ⲟⲥ. — 31 fort. ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ.

ll. 1—6 *destroyed, only* his habits (l. 5) *being legible.*

Lo, my sailing I have safely finished: lo, the image (εἰκών?) . .
. . . see it: lo, my Fathers of Light have come forth before me,
looking towards me, lo, a long time.
Glory] and victory to our Lord, our Light, Jesus, and his Elect

ll. 11—12 *are illegible.*

CCLX.

. . . . . bride- . . . . . .
true bride- . . . .
A . . . . is the world (κόσμος), its . . . . . .

ll. 17—19 *are illegible.*

to him, for a . . . . . defence . . . . . the
iniquity which . . . . . .
Men conduct . . . . . .
them also to their desires (ἐπιθυμία), they fall into the abyss in the
wave of life (βίος), as their . . . . . death . . .
. . . . . wander; o men, eternal
the world (κόσμος) is not . . . . . God (?) . . .

l. 27 *illegible*

They cajole you, even they that . . . . . .
you (?) in secret . . . . . .
today, they . . . . . .
They that pride themselves . . . . . of their bodies (σῶμα), let them
. . . . corpses . . . . . .

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7 For this meaning of ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ vid. Crum Dict. 79 b. — 14, 15 It is not clear whether brides, bridegrooms or bridechambers are referred to here. — 16 ⲥⲁⲗⲃⲉⲥⲟ, meaning unknown, vid. Crum Dict. 668 a: (? cf. ⲥⲁⲗⲥⲟ, op. cit. 648 b, H.T.). — 22 Perhaps 'conduct their friends to the grave'.

ll. 1—4 non legi potest

. .]ϯⲩⲭ[ⲏ] . . . . . ⲛⲁϭⲥ ⲁⲡⲥⲓⲥⲉ
. ⲛ . . . . . ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ[. . . . . .
ⲃⲓ̣ⲧ . [. . . . .]. ⲉ ⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ . . ⲧ̣ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ [. . .
ⲁⲩ . . [. . .]. ⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ̣
Ⲟⲩⲥⲏ . [. . . .] . ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲁⲓ]ⲱ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ [. . .
ⲣ̄ⲁⲥⲉ . . . . ⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲩ̄ . . . . ⲡⲁⲥⲟ[. . . .
ⲣⲁ ⲛ . [. . . . .]ⲥ̣ . . . ⲁⲩⲡⲉⲧⲱ[ⲟⲩ]ⲓ̈ⲧ
Ⲃⲓ̣ⲧⲃⲱⲉ . . . . . [. . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ[. . . . . .
ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲍⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲁ̣ . . . . . .[. .
ⲥⲉ ⲁ̣ⲩⲧⲱⲃⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲏⲧⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲓⲛⲟⲁⲛⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ[. . . . . .]. . . ⲧⲏⲥ . ⲁ̣ . . . . . ⲛ . . ⲱ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̣
ⲕⲱ[. . . . . .]ⲛⲉⲧⲥ . . . . . �except . . ⲧⲉⲧⲉ
ⲗⲙⲛ̄ⲓ̈[. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̄ . . [. . .]ⲧⲉ . . . ⲉⲓ̈[. .
ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲱⲃⲉⲉⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ̣ . . ⲧⲱⲛ . . . . . .
ⲡ . . . . . [. .]ⲡⲕⲣ̣ⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲡ . . .[. . . . .] . . ⲛ|ⲙ
+ . . ⲡⲟ . [. . .]ⲉⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣ . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡ̣[. . . . .]ⲉⲛⲁⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ
. . . . . ⲁ]ⲩⲣⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ . . .[. . . . . .] . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛ̣
. ⲱⲛ̄ⲧ̣ . . ⲱⲧ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙ̄ⲕⲟⲟ[ⲥ]
Ⲱ[ⲱⲧⲡ]ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲣ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̣[. . .] ⲛ̣ⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ
. . . . . ⲟⲩ • ⲛⲉ . . . ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ . . .[. . .] . ⲱⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲛ̣ [. .
. . . . . .]ⲉⲛ . . . . ⲛ̄ ⲥⲛⲙⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ [. . .] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
. . . . . .]ⲁⲥ̣[. . . . . .]. ⲛⲉⲧⲙ|ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ
ⲙ . . . . . ⲛⲁ . . . . .[.]ⲡⲉⲧⲱ|ⲛ . . . ⲁ
ⲧ̣ⲉ . . . . . .[. . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ . [. . .] . . . . ⲛⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡ
ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲁⲗⲉⲧ
non potest legi

10 fin. fort. ⲁⲡⲁⲥⲟⲩ. — 24 fort. ⲁⲣⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̣[ⲁⲉ]. — 30 ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲙⲏ|ⲛⲉ coniicio. — 31 fort. ⲕⲗⲁⲙ.

1—4 *are illegible*

. . soul . . . . . to toil.
. . . . . o God, do not . . . . . .
take me (?) . . . . ., for the first . . . . of the skies (?) . . .
they have . . . . . ., they being laden with . . . .
A . . . . . the time (?), my brethren; his men also . . .
passed their lives . . . . the whole world (κόσμος) also . . . . back (?)
. . . . . into vanity.
Take the oblivion (?) . . . . . of the . . . . . .
befell (?) me, for they have called . . . . . .
. . they have prayed in your midst.
For (γάρ) it is not violence that has befallen me, but (ἀλλά)
as . . . . . .
. . . . . .
There is no . . . . . in his hands (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . friends (?) of each one . . . . . .
. . . . . the Judge (κριτής) . . . . . every . . .
I . . . . . .
. . . . . they brought them forth . . . . . .
. . . . . about me in my sufferings.
Busy yourselves quickly to make . . . . for yourselves before
. . . . . in our hands
. . . . . everywhere . . . . . of Light.
. . . . . they that kill
. . . . . he that seeks (?)
. . . . . the holy ones.
O ye Gods, the sons of the Light (?) . . . . to me with the
garland of glory and robe (στολή) of . . . and clothe me

illegible

24 ϣωτπτηνε: vid. 66, 32 n.

. . . . . .]. . . . . .[. . . . .] . ⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁⲏ
ⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛ]ⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁ[ⲩ .]ⲧⲭ[. . .
. . . . . .]ⲭⲱⲓ ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲓ ⲁⲫ[ⲩ]ⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲓⲁⲙ̄ . .[. . .
. . . . . ⲛ]ⲉⲭⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡ[ⲟⲟⲩ . . . .
. . . . . .]ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [.
. .]ⲣ . . . . ⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ] ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ
ⲙⲙ]ⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲡⲭ̄ⲣⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏ
ⲧⲟⲥ] ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

> · ⲥⲋⲁ · <

Ⲥⲱⲧⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲭ̄ⲣⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄†ⲩ
ⲭⲁⲩ]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
†ⲛⲁⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲱ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ
ⲥⲱⲙⲁ • ⲥⲱⲱ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲧⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲋ †ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲥⲉⲧⲱⲍⲙⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲱⲁⲛⲓⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ
†ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁ[ⲍ ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁⲩ
ⲍⲧ̄ⲫ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲧ̄ⲫ • ⲭⲛ̄ⲉⲓ̈ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲱⲏⲙ
ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲭⲓ ⲥⲃⲱ ⲁⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲗⲙ[ⲡ]ⲱⲣⲧⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ • ⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ
ⲥ]ⲉⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲥⲉⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ
Ⲧⲧⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲋⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲧⲋⲁⲡⲁⲧⲏ • ⲡⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲋ ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲉⲩ
ⲉ]ⲓ̈ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲭⲁⲭⲉ
. . .].[. . .]ⲏⲁⲧⲛ̄ . ⲁ . . ⲙⲁ ⲍⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲣⲱⲭⲍ
.].[. . .]. ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲉ]ⲩⲓ̈ⲕⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲥⲓ̈
ⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲋⲍⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ|ⲣⲉⲩⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲓ̈[ⲗ]ⲏ[ⲥⲓⲁ] ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗⲥ
ⲭⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲧ̄ⲫ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ
Ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲛⲟⲩⲭ[ⲉ ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲓⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲍⲓⲛⲏⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ

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2 fort. ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ. — 25 fort. ⲁⲡⲓⲙⲁ, sc. 'huc'. — 26 ⲁⲩⲧⲥⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈: ⲓ̈ 1º fort. e rec. manu, leg. ⲁⲩⲧⲥⲁⲓ̈?

. . . . . for lo, my houses (?)
they are] these Lights of the Saviour (σωτήρ?) which do not
. . . . . upon (?) me except (εἴμητι) Light and . . . .
. . . . . the ships of my Father, the sun and the moon (?) . . .
. . . . . for I am a God and a minister of God,
. . . . . me to the land (χώρα) of the Gods.
Glory] to thee, o Father, the God of Truth, and thy beloved
son Christ, and the Spirit of Truth, the Paraclete;
victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

CCLXI.

Save] me, o blessed (μακαρία) Christ, the Saviour of the holy
souls.
I will pass up into the skies and leave this body (σῶμα) upon
the earth. The trumpet (σάλπιγξ) sounds, I hear, they are calling
me up to the immortals.
I will cast away my body (σῶμα) upon the earth from which it
was assembled. Since I was in my childhood
I have learned to walk in the way of God.
Let no man weep for me, neither (οὔτε) my brethren nor (οὔτε)
them that begot me. My true Fathers, they that are from on high,
they love my soul, they seek after it.
The enemy of my soul is the world (κόσμος), its riches and
its deceit (ἀπάτη). All life (βίος) hates godliness: what am I doing
in the place of my enemies?
. . . . . in the flesh (σάρξ) of death that burns
. . . . . my Saviour (σωτήρ) has not deserted me, he has sated
me from his fountain that is full of lives.
I have known the way of the holy ones, these ministers
of God who are in the church, the place wherein the
Paraclete planted the tree of knowledge.
I have cast away from my eyes this sleep of death which is full

23 βίος: i. e. earthly life, as distinct from ζωή.

ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ . . [. . . . . .

ll. 2—4 non possunt legi

. . . . . ⲉ̣ⲕ̣ . ⲏ̣ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉ[. . . . .
Ⲧⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̣ . . [. . . .
ⲧⲁⲡ̀ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ ⲡⲓⲁⲙ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ[ⲧⲡ ⲙ
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲙⲉⲧⲉ
Ⲧⲡⲭⲱⲕⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ ⲁ̈ⲓⲭⲱⲕⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏ[ⲧϥ ϩⲓ
ⲧⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲓⲝ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲥⲉⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ ⲁ[ⲙⲙⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲉ̈ⲃⲁ[ⲗⲉ
ⲛ̣ⲧⲉⲧⲟⲗⲏ
Ⲧⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲩ ⲧⲣ̄ϩⲁⲧⲉ ϩⲛⲧⲥ̄ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲙⲧⲩ[ⲭⲏ ⲉ
ⲧⲙⲏϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ • ⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲣ̄ϩⲁⲧⲉ ϩⲛⲧⲥ̄ ⲛ̣
ⲣⲉϥⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩϩⲱⲙ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲁϫⲱⲥ
Ⲧⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁ̈ⲓ ⲁⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ†ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁ
ϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲁϫⲱ̈ⲓ • ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲁⲣⲙⲉⲧ̣ ⲱⲁⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲁϥ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲁⲕ̄ⲧ̄ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲱⲁⲛⲓⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ
Ⲟ . ⲛ . . . . . ⲛⲉⲙⲏ̈ ⲉ . . . . . ⲣϩⲁⲡ̣ . . . . .
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ . . . ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̣ⲧ[. . . .
. ⲉ̣ⲓⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲧⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲉⲩ
.] . . . . . ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲡ̣ⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̣ⲡⲡ̄ⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄ ⲧⲱⲃϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲣ̄ⲃⲟ
ⲏⲑⲉⲓ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲓ ⲧⲥⲁⲡⲥⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄ [ⲱ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ϫⲉ
ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲁϫⲱ̈ⲓ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛ̣ⲁ̣
ⲡ]ⲱⲁ̣ⲓ̈ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ϫⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

> ⲥϫ̄ⲃ̄ <

Ⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̣ⲛⲁ̣ⲏ̀ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ
Ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ . . . . . ⲡ̣ⲥ̣ⲁⲡ ⲱⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱ
ⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲙⲏ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲁ[ⲙ ⲧⲉⲗⲟ] ⲁ̣ⲡⲟ̣ⲩ̣ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲁⲃⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲩⲗⲟ ϩⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲁϩⲙⲛ̄ ⲉ̣ϩⲛⲉⲛ ⲟⲩ[ⲁ]ϩⲛ̣ . .

6, 7 an ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁ⟨ⲧ⟩ⲡ? — 13 ⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ cf. Hom. 57, 8. — 20 fin. ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲉⲩ vel ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲱⲉⲩ. — 24 ⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲉ valde incertum. — 25 cf. 27, 15; 36, 11. — 31 fort. ϩⲛⲉⲛ.

of Error (πλάνη) . . . . . .

ll. 2—4 are illegible

. . . . . of God . . . .
The vine-tree is the Church, we are the . . . .
laden (?) with fruit; again, the wine-press is the Wisdom (σοφία), the Elect [of
God are the treaders.
The cleansing of immortality, I have been cleansed therein by
the hands of the holy ones. They summon me to the bride-chambers of the height: I will go up clothed
in the robe (στολή).
The evil form (μορφή?) I am not afraid of it, this consumer of souls that is full of Error (πλάνη), of which the godless are afraid, the
ministers of God have trampled upon it.
He who has taught me wisdom (σοφία), he also will set the garland upon me. He who drove me (?) to the holy ones,
he also will draw me up to the Luminaries (φωστήρ).
. . . . . with me . . . . feast (?) . . .
. . . . . goodness out of a . . . . .
I will go up to the nature (φύσις) of goodness.
. . . . . and the victory to the Paraclete; I beseech thee,
help (βοηθεῖν) me. I pray you, o holy ones,
have mercy (?) upon me, even me, the soul, Mary, Theona,
Pshai and Jmnoute.

CCLXII.

Save me, o my Saviour, merciful and good (ἀγαθός).
All you that would . . . . . ., hasten
and come quickly, [board] the bark of the holy ones,
that it may not put out and leave you behind.
The holy God has summoned us: we are pleased to follow (?) . .

6 ff. cf. Joh. 15, 5. — 8 ϩⲁⲙⲉⲧⲉ pl. of ϩⲁⲙⲏⲧ, from ϩⲱⲙ 'tread', vid. Crum Dict. 675 a. — 21 i. e. to the source of goodness. — 28 ⲯⲱⲧⲡ̄: vid. 66, 32 n. — 29 ϭⲓⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ, 'bark', 'vessel' (cf. 213, 5 etc.), vid. Crum, Bull. de l'Instit. franç. au Caire, XXX pp. 453 ff.

ll. 1—3 perierunt

l. 4 non potest legi

5 .]. . . . . .ϩne net . . . . ϩne [. . . . . .

ll. 6—7 non legi possunt

. . .]. . . ϩ . ⲑⲏⲁⲟⲛⲏ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [. . . . . .
. . .]. . ⲁⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲭⲁ+ . . . . . ⲛ
. . .]. . ⲛⲉⲭⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲫ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̈ⲉ[. . .
. . ⲡⲛ]ⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲩⲧⲉⲗⲁⲥ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲣ . ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ[. .] . ⲩ

non legi potest

. .]. .
. . .]. .[ⲡ]ⲉⲩⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲗⲓⲙⲏⲛ • .[. . . . .]ϩ . .
.]. ⲡⲣⲉ[ⲩ]ⲣϩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ . . . . . .
. . . . . ⲙⲁⲛⲕⲫ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲩⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

ll. 17—20 non legi possunt

21 ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲗⲓⲙⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ[. . . . . .
ⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ . . . .[. . .] ⲛ . . . [. . . . . .
Ⲥⲉϩⲟ ⲡⲱⲧ . . . ⲛ . . . . . ⲩⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲑⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲉⲧ . . . .[. . . . .]. . ⲃⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ .[. . . . .
25 . . . . . ⲛⲁⲣ̄ . . . . . .
Ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ϩⲓ[.] . . . . . • ⲃⲱⲱⲧ̄ ϩⲏⲧⲧⲏ
ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ . . . .[. . . . . .]. . . ⲛⲉⲧϩⲓⲑⲏ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩ . . .[. . . . . .] . ⲭⲁⲓ ⲭⲉ . . . . ϩⲱⲧ
ⲁ̣ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ
30 Ⲧⲧⲉⲧⲁ̣ . . . . ⲟ̣ⲛ . . . . . .[. . .]ⲙ . . . . ⲁⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ
. . . . . ⲧⲏⲣ . . . . . ⲕⲁⲧⲁ . . ⲁ̣ⲧ

l. 32 non potest legi

10 an ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̈ⲉⲡⲱⲱⲧ? — 11 fin. fort. ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ[ⲭ]ϩⲩ. — 21 fort. ⲉⲧⲟⲩ[ⲁⲃⲉ. — 28 fort. ⲉⲩⲁ̣ⲣϩⲱⲧ.

ll. 1—3 *destroyed*

l. 4 *is illegible*

. . . . . you (?), they that . . . (?) . . . . . .

ll. 6—7 *are illegible*

. . . . . lust (ἡδονή). God . . . . . .
. . . . . know the good (ἀγαθόν), he will give . . . . . .
. . . . . his fruits (καρπός). Let him bring it . . . . . .
. . . . spirit (πνεῦμα) which lifts it up. Do not . . . . . .

illegible

. . . .
. . . . his ship into the harbour (λιμήν) . . . . . .
the helmsman on high, his . . . . . .
. . . . . fashion it, that thou mayest make the voyage of the holy ones

ll. 17—20 *are illegible*

in the harbour (λιμήν) . . . . . .
. . . to thee . . . . . .
Set up the . . . . . .
the hope (ἐλπίς) which . . . . . eye of . . . . . .
. . . . . .
There are . . . . . Look out for
yourselves, o men . . . . . them that are before
you, for they have . . . . . ship, that . . . sail (?)
to good effect.
He that . . . . find (?) . . . . . renounce (ἀποτάσσεσθαι)
. . . . . κατά . . .

l. 32 *is illegible*

11 'It' is feminine. Perhaps 'takes it aboard'.

ll. 1—7 non legi possunt

8 . . . . . N . . . ε . . . . . ϙN[. .
. . . . . .]ϩϒ ετ . . . . . ϣc . .[. . .
. . . . . .]ϩoγB . . . . . ϰ . . . [.
. . . . . .] ϯϣαγ
12 N[. . . . . .]ϯπlαϰ . . . . . ϯϩHTOγ • αγ[. .
.[. . . . . .]α ϰN . . . . ε ϯϣαϧ πα[. . .
. . . . . .]. . oγϩαγ . . . . ε α . . . Hγ . N . ε[. .
. . . .[. . . .]ε ϯ . . ϯHρlϙN
16 . . .[. . . .].ϰH . . . kαϧlα τεϣαcB . . . . .[.
. . .[. . . . .] . . . . [. . . . . .]ϭϣϣT ϯτϧ . .[. .
. .[. . . . . .] . . ϩϩ[. . . . . .] ε̣τϩαγ α . . TH .
. . . . . .] αραϧ
20 .[. . . . . .] . Hc . . . [. . .]ϯϯNϩ ετϣTρτarp̄ c[. .
. . . . . .]. πϧ . . . . . [. . . .]ϧε ϯεN . ϩ ϩϩρTε
.[. . .]. . . ϩNϯ . . . . . ε αραN
P̄. .[. . .]. ϩ . . τϯ̄ N . . . . . ϙ[.].ω ϥαϯϯϧ ατϯ̄ρω
24 ϯτεlρHNH ϯϣ . . . . . π . . . ϩαBτϩ ϯTHγ ϫ[ε
Nεϥϧωλϩ̄ ϩϩογN α . . . . . T .
Nk̄oo ϩ . ϩlBT̄ ϥϯ . . . . . γϙϩ̄ Nε ϯϩHΔONAγ
ε ε̣T . . . ε ϯT┼γϫH . . . . . ε ϯϣαc ϫε Noγ
28 ϙ . . . . αγ ϩϯϫ[. . . . . .]ϭϙ̣H[. .]ϩλ εϥογHγ αBαλ ϯ
Tϯετρϩ
TT . . ρεϥρ̄ϩmmε ϫ[. . . . . .]ϐlοc • ϭγϫl ϯBρ̄ρε

l. 31 non potest legi

15 fort. ϯϙNlθHρlοN. — 25 fort. Nεϩϧωλϩ̄. — 30 fort. πεϥρεϥρ̄ϩϣmε.

ll. 1—11 *are illegible or too fragmentary for translation.*

12 The . . . . . the sea . . . . . in them; they have . .
. . . . . thee, my . . .
. . . . . .
. . . .
16 . . . . . evil (κακία) which is wont to . . . . . .
. . . . . look (?) Thou . . . .
. . . . . wicked . . . . . .
. . . . . to thee.
20 . . . . . spirit (?) which is disturbed . . .
. . . . . fear
. . . . . to us.
. . . . . he will bring thee to the harbour
24 of peace (εἰρήνη), ... wind, that
it may not strike against . . . . .
The . . . . hills (?) he . . . . . they are the lusts (ἡδονή)
which . . . . the soul . . . . . it, that they may not
28 . . . . . to the . . . . . ., as it is far away from
the rock (πέτρα).
Its (?) helmsman . . . . . life (βίος?), a new . . . .

l. 31 *illegible*

24 ϩⲁⲃⲧⲉ̣: meaning uncertain, cf. ϩⲟⲃⲥⲧ, Crum Dict. p. 660 b. — 26 ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲟϩ: 'tops'? cf. Crum op. cit. 132 a. — 30 ⲁⲓ: the reading and meaning are uncertain.

l. 1 periit

. .]με бωщ̄ απογ[ⲁ|ν]ε [
. .].c̄ ν̄τεκ†γχη ⲙ̄πⲱρ . . . . . [. . . . . .
π]ⲙⲁϊτ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ πετⲙεεγ ⲁναπϫ|ce [. . . . . .
. .]ε νχ|ⲙⲱν νεϩce ϩν̄παηρ ν̄ . [. . . . . .
.].ρ̄ο ν̄νϩ|ⲙεεγ ϩωc ερε̣ϩοογ [. . . . . .
. . .]. πεθαγ ϫενε ν̣ⲉ̣ϩ|ⲙεεγ ϩ̣[. . . . . .
ογ]ωщ ⲙⲁνε ατⲙ̄ρω ν̄† . . [. . . . . ⲁπ
οτ]ⲁccε ν̄ν̄χρηⲙⲁ ⲙ̄πκοcⲙο̣ς [. . . . . .
ειρ]ηηη ν̄τⲙν̄τϩηκε ϫε ειⲁⲙ̣[. . . . . .
. .].ω ⲙ̄πχ̄ρc
. . .]ⲁбν̄ ρεщε ν̄ⲁτωϫνε τχⲁ̣ρ̣[|c . . . . . ετ
ⲙη]ν ⲁβⲁⲗ τcoφ|ⲁ ετογⲁϫ ετε ⲙν̄[. . . . .
πεⲁγ νεκ ϣⲁⲁνηϩε πν̄ϫⲁϊc πⲙ[νχc ⲙντ†
γχη ν̄τⲙⲁκⲁρ|ⲁ ⲙⲁρ|ⲁ

> · cϫ̄Γ̄ · <

Ⲙⲁρ|ρ̄πⲙ̄πⲱⲁ ν̄νεκⲙⲁν̄ϣελεεţ [ετⲙηϩ
ν]ογⲁϊνε
|ηc̄ πχ̄ρc̄ ϣⲁπ̄τ̄ ⲁνεκⲙⲁνϣελεεţ [ντκ πⲁ
ρεqcωτε πcωⲙⲁ ν̄τε πⲙογ πεţⲁ̣[. . . . . .
ⲁϊϩⲁτⲃeq ⲁϊτρeqογεϊε ν̄νⲁⲙⲉⲗ̣ο̣ς ⲙ̣ν . . . . .
ρω †ⲱ|πε νηϊ ⲁνⲁκ ογπⲁρθενος ν̄ⲁτⲁ|ⲃε ε
cογⲁⲃε
Ⲙ]ⲁρ|νεγ ⲁτεκϩ|ⲕⲱν παϊωτ ετογⲁⲃε τεταϊν[εγ
ⲁρⲁc εⲙπⲁτογcⲙν̄ πκοcⲙοc εⲙ̄πⲁτε ⲡ̣ⲕ̣ⲉ
ke ϫ|ce ν̄ϩηт ⲁk|ⲙ ν̄ογφθονος ⲁϫν̄νεκⲁ̣|
ων ετⲃнτⲧ̄ ρω ⲁϊ̄ρⲱⲙ̄ⲙο ⲁтⲁⲙν̄тр̄ро ⲁϊбω
ϫε ν̄τεqνογνε ⲁϊεϊ ⲁπϫ|ce ϩν̄ογбро
Τογⲃⲁϊ ππⲁтωελεετ πρεqcωτε ϩν̄νεκⲙογ
. . . . . ⲙ̣ ετⲙηϩ ν̄χⲁρ|c ⲁϊ̄ρ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ϩν̄ογнπс̄

5, 6 fort. тⲙнтр̄ро ν̄νϩ|ⲙεεγ. — 8 fort. ν̄†ρнηн. — 12 Є|νⲁ]бν̄ρεщε sive ΤΤ|ν]ⲁб ν̄ρεщε. — 30 fort. ⲓ̈ε̣ⲩ̣ⲉ̣ . . . ⲙ̣

l. 1 *destroyed*

. . . . look to the Light . . . . . .
. . . . thy soul, do not . . . . . .
out the path. He that thinks on heavenly things . . . . . .
. . . the storms (χειμών) arise in the air (ἀήρ) . . . . . .
kingdom (?) of the waves itself, as . . . . . .
The evil . . . ., do thou quench its waves . . . . . .
desire to moor in the harbour of . . . . . .
renounce (ἀποτάσσεσθαι) the possessions (χρῆμα) of the world (κόσμος) . . . .
peace (εἰρήνη) of poverty, that he may . . . . . .
. . . of Christ.
. . . find (?) joy unfailing, the grace (χάρις) . . . . . that
endures (?), the wholesome wisdom (σοφία) which has no . . . .
Glory to thee for ever, our Lord Mani [and the
soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCLXIII.

Let me be worthy of thy bride-chambers [that are full
of] Light.
Jesus Christ, receive me into thy bride-chambers, [thou my
Saviour. The body (σῶμα) of death which . . . . . .
I have killed it, I have made it keep far from my members (μέλος?) . . . .
indeed put me to shame. I am a maiden unspotted and
holy.
Let me see thy image (εἰκών), my holy Father, which I saw
before the world (κόσμος) was created, before the Darkness
presumed to stir up envy (φθόνος) against thy Aeons.
Because of *it* I became a stranger to my kingdom, I severed
its root, I went up victoriously on high.
Purify me, my bridegroom, o Saviour, with thy waters
. . . . . that are full of grace (χάρις). I have escaped from a
multitude

7 or dividing ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉ, 'that its waves may not . .' — 13 or reading ⲡⲓⲛ]ⲁⲑ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϣⲉ, 'this great joy'. — 22 On the meaning of ⲁ|ⲃⲉ vid. 23, 29 n. — 28 i. e. the root of Darkness.

ll. 1—3 non legi possunt

. . . . . .]ϲ πρεϥ†ογναϥ ⲛⲉⲛ ϩⲛ̄πϣⲁρⲡ̄ ⲛ̄
. . . . . .]. .ε ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲗⲗⲉ ⲉⲧⲛ . . . . . .
. . . . . ⲉ]ⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ • ⲟ̄ⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . . . . . [. .
. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲩ . . . . . [. .
. . . . . .] . . . .
. . . . . .] . . . . ⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϩ ϩⲛ̄ . [. .
. . . . . .]. ⲁ ̈ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉ ̈ϣ[ⲉ
ⲛⲏ ̈ . . . .] . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲉϥⲁⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ
. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
. . . . . .]ⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲟⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏ ⲁ ̈ⲭⲉⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ̣ [ⲱ
ⲡⲡⲁ]ⲧϣⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ̀ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲏϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ .[.
. . . . ⲡⲁ]ⲣ̣ⲫⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉ ̈ⲣ̄†ⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲉ . . .
. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩϣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲥⲣⲁϣ ⲁⲭⲱ ̈ⲓ • ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̣ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲟ] . . . . ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲃⲛ̄ ⲙⲁ ̈ⲓⲧ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ
. . . . . .] ⲡ̣ⲭ̄ⲣⲥ ϣⲁⲡⲧ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛϣⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ [. .
. . . . . .] . . ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲉ̣ⲓ̣ⲥ
. . . . . .] ⲡ̣ⲣⲉϣⲉ ⲉⲩⲣ̄†ⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ
ϩ[ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲛϣⲉⲗⲉ]ⲉⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕ† ⲛⲏ ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲉ̣ . . . . . [.]ⲁⲃⲉ

Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ϣⲁ ̈ⲓⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲁ
ⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡϣⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲡⲁⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ
ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁⲛⲉ
ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ[ⲁⲣⲓⲁ]

> · ϲϫⲇ · <

ⲦⲦϣⲁⲙⲓⲥⲉ ϣⲁⲡⲧ̄ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ϣⲁⲣⲁⲕ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲙⲁ ̈ⲓⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲏ ̈ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲁ
ϣⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲡⲙⲁ . . . . . [. . . . . .

---

6 fort. ⲟ̄ⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ. — 13 init. ⲧⲁⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ coniicio. — 18 ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲃⲛ̄ coniicio. — 20 fort. ⲉⲧⲙ]ⲏϩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ. — 23 init. fort. ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ. — 30 fort. ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲙⲁ.

ll. 1—3 are illegible

. . . . . the giver of joy to us in the first
. . . . . thy . . . . songs have . . . . . .
. . . . . blessed; the fear of the . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . wise, he has dwelt in . . .
. . . . . I have come forth from the world (κόσμος), returning (?)
. . . . . of destruction, it will dissolve
. . . . . the world (κόσμος).
. . . . . shines like the sun, I have lighted it, o
bridegroom, with the excellent oil of purity . .
. . . maiden, I making music (ψάλλειν) unto thee, my Saviour . . .
. . . . . of night has not been heavy upon me. My riches,
there is no man] who shall find the way to them.
. . . . . Christ, take me into thy bridechambers . .
. . . . . grace (χάρις) and the garlands of victory. Lo,
. . . . . joy, as they make music (ψάλλειν) with them; let me rejoice
in all the bridechambers, and do thou give me the crown of
the holy ones (?).
Glory and victory to the Paraclete, our Lord, our Light,
Mani, the Tree of Life, full of gay fruit (καρπός)
and his holy Elect, ant he soul of Plousiane,
the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCLXIV.

O first-born, take me in unto thee.
Lo, the path of Light has stretched before me unto my
first city (πόλις), the place . . . . . .

17 i. e. to steal them, cf. 63, 10. — 29 lit. 'for me'. — 30 i. e. the Land of Light.

. . . . . .] . ⲉ⸗ⲃⲁⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲃⲏϩ ⲉⲧⲉ[. . .] ⲡⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
. . .]ⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲣ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲱⲁⲙ
Ⲫⲓⲥ ⲡⲟ]ⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ [ⲛ
ⲧⲙⲏ]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄
ⲣⲉⲩ⸗]ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲡⲱⲁⲙ|ⲥⲉ
Ⲗⲡⲩⲗⲏ] ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲥⲏⲧ ⲥⲓⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲕⲧⲓⲛ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲁⲥ]ⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲁⲓⲕⲱ] ⲛ̄ⲑⲃⲥⲱ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ • ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲗⲗⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲉ
ⲧⲱⲟ]ⲟⲡ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ • ⲧⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲁⲭⲱⲓ̈
Ⲭ||]ⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ̣ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭ||ⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲟⲩⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲃⲣⲁⲍⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲁⲙⲧ̣̄ ⲛ̄
ⲕⲁⲍ] ⲡⲱⲁⲙ|ⲥⲉ
Ⲁ|ⲱⲱ]ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ
ⲙ]ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲃⲣⲁⲍⲧ̄ ⲁⲓ̈ⲭ| [ⲛ]ⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃ̣ⲣ̣ⲟ ⲡ
Ⲱ ⲡⲍ|ⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲍⲉⲥⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲱ ⲧⲁⲍⲁⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲣ̄
ⲛⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲓ̈ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲉⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲡⲱⲁ
Ⲟ]ⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲥ|ⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ⸗ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · ⲥϫⲉ · <

Ⲧⲧ]ⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲱⲣ̄ϫ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲁⲓ⸗ⲩⲭⲏ ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲱⲁ[.] . ⲃ̣ⲏ . . ⲙ̣ . . . . .
ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲓⲑⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲗ⸗ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲩ⸗ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲭⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ
ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
Ⲑ]ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲥⲱⲏ ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲍⲣ̄
ⲧ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁ⸗ⲭⲏ ⲥⲁⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲥⲱⲥ ⲃⲁⲩⲛ̄ ⲃⲱⲱⲛ
ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉⲩ ⲉⲛ
Ⲗⲁⲩⲱⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲁ ⲁ⸗ⲥⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲥⲱⲃ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲩⲕⲁⲍⲧⲏⲩ
ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ
Ⲱ]ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲍⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲉⲩⲭⲁⲗ⸗ϫ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱ

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5 ⲣⲉⲩ⸗ⲥⲙⲁⲧ: cf. 53, 26. — 6 cf. 62, 25—26. — 13 ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ sic: leg. ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ? — 26 fort. ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲭⲟⲩⲩ, ⲁⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ.

. . . . . unto whom I look, who . . . . the dissolution
. . . . . the image (εἰκών) of the Saviour (σηρ) has come unto me. O first
Lo, the Light of the Maiden has shone forth on me, the glorious
likeness [of the Truth], with her three angels, the
givers of] grace. O first-born
The gates (πύλη)] of the skies have opened before me through the rays (ἀκτίς) of
my] Saviour (σωτήρ) and his glorious likeness of Light.
I have left] the garment upon the earth, the senility of diseases that
was with me; the immortal robe (στολή) I have put upon me.
Ferry me across to the sun and the moon, o ferryboat of
Light that is at peace, above these three
earths.] O first-born
I have become a holy bride in the bride-chambers
of Light that are at rest, I have received the gifts of the victory.
O excellent toil wherewith I have toiled. O my end that has had
a happy issue. O my eternal possession. O first-born
Glory and victory to our Lord Mani and his
holy Elect and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCLXV.

Today is the reward of the separation of the body (σῶμα)
and the soul also. Today . . . . . .
appears unto him before God.
The souls of the righteous (δίκαιος) are garlanded in the
Light and ascend in glory on high with the angels.
But if he is a sinner he goes forth in fear
and is cast (?) headlong (?) into fire, as (ὡς) a wicked and
unprofitable servant.
They wait not for a defence (ἀπολογία), to teach how to answer, on this day,
but (ἀλλά) he that has a good deed, let him put his trust
in his deeds.
They pass their whole life, given over to eating and drinking

4 cf. Hom. 6, 20; Mani-Fund pp. 71—2. — 6 cf. Act. Arch. 13, 1. — 16 ϩⲛⲁⲫⲱⲗ: vid. 4, 16 n. — 25—26 cf. Mt. 25, 26. 30. — 31 lit. 'being caught in eating . .'

ⲙ̄ⲑⲏⲇⲟⲛⲏ [. .]ⲱ[. .]ⲑⲁⲛ̄ⲧ̣ [. . . . .] ⲱ
ⲧ]ⲁⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲉ[ⲩ] ⲁ̣ⲡϩⲉⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ
Ⲥⲉⲙ|ⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ϩⲁⲩⲕⲧⲏⲥ|ⲥ ⲉⲱⲁⲥⲃⲱⲗ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥϩⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲡⲱϩ ⲁⲡⲱ[ⲣⲥ
ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ
Ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲱ ⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲧⲉϩ|ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲱⲛϩ ϩ .[. . ⲙⲏ
ⲡⲱⲥ ⲉⲩⲁϫ|ⲧⲉ ϩ|ⲧⲉϩⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ ϩⲁϩⲛ̄ⲕ .[. .
ⲙ̄ⲛϩⲛ̄ϩⲏⲇⲟⲛⲁⲩⲉ
Ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁϩⲉ ⲡⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲟ ⲧⲉⲱϫⲛ[ⲉ ⲁⲡ
ϫ|ⲛⲁϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲏ ⲁⲛϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̣[ⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲣ
ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
Ⲁⲣⲉⲣ̄ⲡⲉⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲥⲱϩⲡ̄ ⲁⲛⲗⲏϩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲉ ⲡ
ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉⲗⲁϥⲗⲉϥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲛ̣[ϩⲏⲧ
ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲗⲩⲡⲏ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲱ ⲉⲣⲉⲃⲉⲗ|ⲧ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲉ̣[ⲧ
ϫⲁϩⲙ̄ ⲱⲁⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲃⲉ ⲉⲙⲡⲉ+ϩⲧⲏ ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲣ̄ⲉⲩ
ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ
Ⲉⲣⲉϩⲁⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲟⲩⲁ|ⲱ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ϫⲉⲣⲁⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ ⲛⲉⲥⲱ
ⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲃ|ⲡⲉⲗⲏϩ ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲧⲃ̄|ⲏⲛ ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲁⲱⲛⲟⲩ
ϩⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ϩⲉ
Ⲱⲁⲣⲉⲣ|ⲙⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ+ⲣⲙ̄|ⲏ ϩⲁⲟⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲏ ⲟⲩⲱⲃⲏⲣ ⲉⲩ
ⲙⲟⲩ • ⲧⲉⲃ|ⲛⲉ| ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲣ]ⲱ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲉϩⲏⲧ ⲧ̣ⲉ
ⲗⲟ ⲁⲡⲉϩⲏⲧ
Ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲧϩⲏⲡ ⲁⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϫⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ
ⲉ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲧϩ|ⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲉ ϩ|ⲑⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲱⲃⲱ̄ ⲁⲧⲉⲃ|
ⲛⲉ| ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲥⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡ|[ⲱⲛ]ϩ ⲱ[ⲁ
ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲕⲁ ⲑⲣⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉϩⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧ̣ⲉⲁⲱⲛϩ
ⲁϫⲛ̄ϩ|ⲥⲉ
Ⲧⲧⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄|ⲏⲥ ⲡ̄ⲭ̄ⲣ̄ⲥ
ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ+ⲩ
ⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥ|ⲁⲛⲉ ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲁⲕⲁⲣ|ⲁ ⲙⲁⲣ|ⲁ
ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ ⲡⲱⲁ̈| ϫⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

6 fin. ϩ|[ⲛⲉ| ⲙⲏ: HT. — 7 fin. fort. ⲕⲣ[ⲁⲩ.

and lust (ἡδονή) . . . . . .
in confusion when they think (?) of the judgment of the judge (κριτής).
They quarrel with one another for a possession (κτῆσις) that passes away:
because of a fatal treasure (χρῆμα) they come to fight (?)
with one another.
Why, o my soul, dost thou fritter thy life away now . . .
lest (μήπως?) they take thee before the judge (κριτής) by reason of . . .
and lusts (ἡδονή)?
The days of thy life are running from thee: why dost thou vainly
waste thy zeal (σπουδή) on the things of the earth and puttest behind
thee all the [things of heaven]?
Thou hast spent thy life sunk in the worries and cares of the
world (κόσμος), working thyself into a decline through the pains
and the sorrows (λύπη).
Thou art a stranger, housed in a body(σῶμα) of the earth
defiled: how long therefore hast thou been heedless of what thou ignorantly doest?
Thou toilest all thy time to nourish thy
bodies (σῶμα): yet hast thou not worried, poor thing, in what way
thou canst be saved.
Thou weepest and sheddest tears for a son or (ἤ) a friend
dying: yet thy own departing, the thought (?) of it enters not
into thy heart.
Look therefore at that which is hidden from thee and see from today
henceforth: lo, the way to travel is before thee, forget not thy
departing.
Choose not the life of this body (σῶμα) before (παρά) eternal
life: put the fear of God in thy heart and thou shalt live
without toil.
Victory to thee and glory, o Living Father, and to Jesus Christ
thy son, and to thy holy Spirit. Victory to the soul
of Plousiane, the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary,
Theona, Pshai, Jmnoute.

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6 ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩ: a translation of ἵνα τί. — 15 ϭⲉⲗⲓⲧ̀ is the qualitative of the verb ϭⲁⲗⲟ (Spiegelberg op. cit. p. 266), 'to entrust', 'deposit', connected with ϭⲟⲉⲓⲗⲉ, ibid. p. 267. — 22 The meaning of ϩⲏ, which I have translated 'thought', is not quite clear. Perhaps 'aspect', probably not to be connected with ϩⲉ 'manner'. This line might also be translated 'and thy own d., let the thought (?) of it enter . .'

[cξ5]

Χαιρ]ε πκριτηc ⲛ̄ⲇⲓkαιoc πωηρε ⲙ̄πχ̅ρ̅c̅ ετnε̣ϒ
αππ]ηρⲫ̄
Θιnηϒ] †noϒ ωαρ̣ⲕ ϩⲛ̄πkαϩτηⲫ ⲛ̄τε nαϩβηϒε ⲙα
ρεc]ταϊλε ⲛ̄cει ωαραϊ ⲛ̄ⲃλαⲙ ⲛ̄xι τεkⲃαⲙ ⲙⲛ̄τεk
εξοϒc]ια xε εϊαωτωk αρετ ⲙ̄πkⲙ̄το αⲃαλ εϊ
ⲙει]ε ⲙ̄ⲙαk ϩⲛ̄παϩητ τηρⲫ̄
Θιc nε]kεντολαϒε ετοϒαⲃε αϊxakoϒ αⲃαλ εϊπητ
ειρε]ωε ⲙ̄πε τⲙⲛ̄τkoϒϊ ⲛ̄τε π|cωⲙα . . . . . ε[ι
ωοοπ] ⲛ̄ϩρηϊ ⲛ̄ϩητc̄ oϒτε τⲙⲛ̄τⲃ̄ρρε ⲛ̄τε τεⲫ̣ⲥ[αρ]ξ̣
. . . .]ⲧ̣ε πxωk ⲛ̄τε nεⲫϩooϒε
N[. . . . .] ⲙ̄πkαϩ αϊⲃρο αραϒ ϩⲛ̄τεkⲃαⲙ ω παρεⲫ̣[cω
τε • π]cεπε ⲙ̄πcωxπ̄ ⲙ̄πⲙoϒ ετkη αxωϊ . . .
. .]. απεταϒαⲫτⲫ̄ αϩoϒn α[π]εkcταϒροc .[. . . .
vacat ϩⲛ̄nεⲫⲙαnωωπε [. .] . . ϩ̣ⲛ̄πⲙαⲛ̄xωk
ⲛ̄nεkεntoλαϒε
†noϒ †ⲙoϒτε oϒⲃηk ω πkαϩτηⲫ ⲛ̄τε nαϩβηϒε
πωαnϩτηⲫ ⲛ̄τε nεⲫcωππ̄ τϩελπ|c ⲛ̄τε nετnαϩ
τε αραⲫ αⲙoϒ ⲛ̄kτ̀ωk αρετk̀ nεⲙηϊ ⲙ̄πⲙ̄το ⲙ̄πⲣ
kρ|τηc ωαn†xι ⲙ̄πακλαⲙ
Χαιρε πκρ|τηc ⲛ̄ⲇⲓkαιoc τⲃαⲙ ⲛ̄xωρε πⲙαϊτ ⲛ̄
τⲙηε †ελ ετcατⲫ̄ ετππωρx̀ αⲃαλ ⲛ̄nετⲃραϊτ
ⲙⲛ̄nεττaxaϊτ ⲃωλε ⲙ̄ⲙ[αι] ⲛ̄τεkcτoλη ⲙα nηϊ
ⲙ̄πkλαⲙ αϒω πⲃραⲃε|oⲛ
Χαιρε πρωⲙε ετxηk αⲃαλ πⲙαϊτ ετoϒαⲃε ετcηk
απ]x|ce παηρ ετcατⲫ̄ τⲙ̄ρω ⲙ̄ⲙαnε ⲛ̄oϒαn n|ⲙ
ετnaϩτε αραⲫ αoϒεn nηϊ ⲛ̄nεkπετϩηπ ⲛ̄k
ωαππ̄ αραk αⲃαλ ϩⲛ̄πϩ|ce
Θϊnηϒ ωαρωτⲛ̄ ⲙ̄πooϒε ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ραϊ ⲙ̄πoϒαϊnε ⲛ̄ρεⲫⲣ̄
ϩⲙ̄ⲙε αoϒεn nηϊ ⲛ̄nετⲛ̄ρωoϒ ⲛ̄τετⲛ̄x|τ aϩoϒn
ωαρωτⲛ̄ ⲙαρ|ⲣ̄ⲡ̄ⲙ̄πωa ⲙ̄παωαⲙτ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲙατ • τϩ|
kωn ταταπη ππⲛ̄ⲁ̄ etoϒaⲃe
Ϩ|τⲛ̄ππcⲃηρ ⲛ̄nετxηϒ ⲙ̄πoϒαϊnε αϊ̈ⲣ̄πcανⲃαλ

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2 cf. 233 b 5. — 15 init. spatium quattuor litt. scriptura vacat. — 33 ετxηϒ sic, cf. 42, 18.

CCLXVI.

Hail (χαῖρε), righteous (δίκαιος) Judge (κριτής), son of Christ that seest
the] Universe.
As I come] now unto thee in the trust of my deeds, let
thy power and thy authority (ἐξουσία?) arise and come unto me
quickly, that I may be able to stand in thy presence,
loving] thee with all my heart.
Lo,] thy holy commandments (ἐντολή) I have fulfilled, running
in joy. The youth of this body (σῶμα) did not . . . ., [while
I was] in it *(fem.)*, nor (οὔτε) the newness of its flesh (σάρξ)
. . . . the fulfilment of its days.
The . . . . of the earth, I have conquered them by thy power, o my
Saviour; the] last relic of death which lies upon me . . .
. . . that which was nailed to thy cross (σταυρός) . . .
in its habitations . . . . in (?) the place of fulfilment
of thy commandments (ἐντολή).
Now I call unto thee, o trust of my deeds,
the pitier of his Elect, the hope (ἐλπίς) of them that believe
in him, Come and stand with me in the presence of the
judge (κριτής) until I receive my garland.
Hail (χαῖρε), righteous (δίκαιος) Judge (κριτής), strong power, path
of Truth, clear mirror that separates the victorious
and the condemned: clothe me in thy robe (στολή), give me
the garland and the prize (βραβεῖον).
Hail (χαῖρε), Perfect Man, holy path that draws
to the] height, clear air (ἀήρ), mooring-harbour of all
that believe in him: open to me thy secrets and
take me to thee from affliction.
As I come unto you today, ye Kings of Light, ye helms-
men, open to me your doors and take me in
unto you. Let me be counted worthy of my three gifts, the
Image (εἰκών), Love (ἀγάπη), and the holy Spirit.
Through the sailing of the ships of Light I have come outside

ll. 1—2 non legi possunt

. . . . . [. . . . .] ⲁⲓⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲁⲓϩⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁϥ .[. . . .
ⲡ[ⲁⲓ]ⲱⲧ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ[ⲧⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ϧⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓϧⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧ̣[ⲟⲩ
ⲁ]ⲃⲉ [ⲙ]ⲙ[ⲏⲉ] ⲡ̣ⲓⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ϩⲓ]ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ [ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · ϲξζ · <

Ⲁⲙⲟⲩ] ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲁϧⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲕ̀ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ ϩ̣[ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ
ⲛ̣[ⲧⲁ]ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ
. . . . . .] . ⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϧⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲣϩⲓⲣⲉⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁ̣[. . . .
. . . .]ⲉϩ̣ ϩ̣ⲁ̣ⲛ̄ⲁⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲛ̣ . [. . . .
. . .]ϩ̣ⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲕϩ[ⲉ]ⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ
†ⲥⲁⲡⲥⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲁϧⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓϧⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲁ† [ⲛⲏⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲓ̈ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲛⲁⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲉⲩ ϩ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲉⲓ̣
Ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲙ̀ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛⲧ ⲡⲁⲕⲗⲁⲙ
ⲧⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲁ ⲃⲣⲁⲃⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ† ⲛⲏⲓ̈ †ⲛⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲡⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲱⲡⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲱ
ⲡⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
Ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲁ†ϩⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲓⲛⲩⲥ ⲧⲁ
ⲡⲓϩ̣ⲟ ⲛ̄ϩⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱ̄ⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣ̄ⲡⲁⲇ̣[ϩ]ⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲉⲓ̈ⲥⲁⲛⲁⲱⲧ̄ ϩ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲏⲉ
†ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛⲉ ⲧϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲁϩ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲥ̀ ⲉⲙ
ⲡⲁ†ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄
ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲥⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲱⲁ
Ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲕ̀ ⲡⲁϧⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲥ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲓ̈
ⲡⲁⲱⲟ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲣⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲗⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲓⲕⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈
Ⲥⲱⲕ †ⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲏⲗⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲉⲧϩⲏⲡ ⲱⲁⲛ†ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉ
ⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲣ̄ϧⲁⲓ̈ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲥⲧϩⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲁⲡⲟ
[ⲗⲓⲥ

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9 ⲁⲙⲟⲩ: cf. 233 b 6. — 11 init. ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ coniicio, coll. infr. ll. 17, 31. — 12 fin. fort. ⲙ̣ⲛ̀[ⲣⲣⲟ. — 18 inter ⲡⲁ et ⲃⲣⲁⲃ. spatium 2 litterarum. — 19, 20 ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲱⲡⲱⲡ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ 2° delendum. — 22 inter ϩⲣ̄ⲧⲉ et ⲉⲡⲉⲓ. spatium 2 litterarum.

ll. 1—2 *illegible*

. . . . . I prayed and sang to thee . . .
my] Father, the God of Truth.
Glory and victory to our Lord Mani, truly (?)
the holy one, who is come from the Father, and [all] his
holy Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCLXVII.

Come] to me, my Lord Jesus, stand with me in [the hour
of [my] need (ἀνάγκη).
. . . . joyous . . . of my Lord come to meet me . . .
. . . . . the demons and their . . . . also
. . . . because of thy hope (ἐλπίς) wherein I believed.
I beg thee, my Lord Mani, give [me
quickly the reward of my faith and my prayers and
my fastings (νηστεία) and my alms that I gave in thy name.
Let the three angels come forth before me and give me now
my garland, the robe (στολή), and my prize (βραβεῖον), according
to (κατά) thy true promises which thou didst promise
to them that have believed in thee.
Let not the demons frighten me and the Erinys with
her frightful face; for (ἐπειδή) I have not served the Error (πλάνη),
but (ἀλλά) I have spent my whole life nourished in thy Truth.
I worship thee, Image (εἰκών) of my Master, which I loved before
I saw it, but (ἀλλά) because of its fame whereof I heard
I kept myself holy, that I might be counted worthy of it.
For thy sake, my Lord, I hated the whole world (κόσμος); its snares
also that are set, I was not bound in them. Cause for weeping
left I not here: therefore, my Fathers, do not weep for me.
Draw now the veil (οὐῆλον) of thy secrets until I see
the beauty of the joyous Image (εἰκών) of my Mother, the holy
Maiden, who will ferry me until she brings me to my city (πόλις).

32 lit. 'be a ship under me'.

l. 1 non potest legi

ϩ]ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲭⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕ+[.]ⲉ . [.]ⲕ̣ⲏ[. . . . . .
. .] . ⲧⲙ̣ⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲉⲧⲡ . . . . . .[
ⲁⲙ]ⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙ[ⲉ] ⲡⲉⲧ[ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ
ⲁ]ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲧⲉⲩⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ • ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲙⲧⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓ̈ⲱ[. . .
. . ⲟ]ⲩⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ . . [
. . . .] . +ⲛⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕϩⲙⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄[. . . . . .
. . . .]ⲗ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲱⲁⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ [. . . . . .
. . .] ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲭⲗⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉ . . ⲛ̣ .
Ⲥⲱⲧⲙ]ⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ +ⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲗⲕⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲍ[ⲧⲉ ⲁ
ⲣⲁⲩ] ⲁⲓ̈+ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉ+ⲛ̣ⲁ . .
ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲩⲭⲗⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲁ+ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲟ]ⲩⲁ̣[ⲓⲛⲉ
+ⲟⲩⲱⲱϯ̄ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ +ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̣ⲙ̣ⲱ
ⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲥ]ⲱⲛ̣[ⲉ] ⲉ̣
ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲛ
Ⲭⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲓⲟ ⲧ+ⲩ[ϫⲏ ⲛⲃ]ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲭⲱ[ⲕ
ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲙ[ⲡⲉⲥ]ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ • ⲁⲙⲏ ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲟⲛ ⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲧⲁ̣[ⲛ ⲙⲙⲟ ϩ
ⲛ̄ⲧϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧ+ⲩϫⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲟⲩⲧ[ⲉ
Ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗⲥ̄ [ⲡⲃⲣⲟ
ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓϫⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥ[ⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲩ
ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ [ⲙⲁ]ⲣⲓⲁ ⲫ[ⲉⲟ]ⲛ̣ⲁ

[cϫh]

ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲩ̄ ϫⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ
ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲕ
Ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲱϩ
ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡ̣[ⲓⲕ]ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲩ ⲁⲩ̈ⲕⲁⲁⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ̈ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[. . .]ϩⲏⲧ̀ ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁϫⲱⲩ̈ .[. . .].[. . .]ⲛ̣ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲛ]ϩⲃ̣ⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣ[Ⲥ .] . . . [. . . . . .] ⲁ̈ⲙⲥ̄ⲧⲱⲟⲩ
. .] . . . . . ⲁⲣ̄ⲟ . [. . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲙ̄+ⲩϫⲁⲩⲉ
. . . . .] . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ [. . . .] . . ϩⲓ̣ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲕ . .

5/6 ⲉ̈ⲓ̈ⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲱϩⲙⲉ: HT. — 6 fin. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ coniicio. — 16 ⲃⲁⲓⲕⲗⲁⲙ cf. 58, 27. — 23 cf. 233 b 7. — 27 ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗϩⲏⲧ coniicio, sc. 'innocentes'.

l. 1 illegible

by thy glance, and do thou give (?) . . . . . .
perfect Truth (?) which . . . . . .
Come to me, my Father, the First Man, who [gave himself
to] death for his commandment (ἐντολή). But (ἀλλά) behold, I . .
. . interpretation because of thy true word which . . . .
. . . . now in thy gifts of Light . . . . .
. . . from ship to ship unto the Envoy (πρεσβευτής) in whom
. . . . ., who will ferry me across in . . .
Hear] me now, my righteous (δίκαιος) Father, in whom I have believed (?),
I have given him my prayers because of the day when I . . .
him to ferry me across to my city of Light.
I worship thee, o Father of the Lights; I bless you,
o Aeons of joy, and my brethren and my sisters (?) from
whom I have been far away, I have found them again once more.
All hail to thee, o garlanded soul, that has fulfilled
the will of [her] Father. Come and rest henceforth (λοιπόν)
in the Land (χώρα) of Light, of God-loving soul.
Glory to thee, my Lord Jesus, my Saviour, the Paraclete. [Victory
to thee, my Lord Mani, whose word (?) I have
found true today, even I, Mary, Theona.

CCLXVIII.

Jesus my Light, whom I have loved, take me in
unto thee.
I believed in the knowledge of thy hope (ἐλπίς) which
summoned me unto thee. This evil world (κόσμος) I put
behind me, which mocks the . . . -hearted: thy commandments (ἐντολή)
I put upon me . . . . . holy.
The things of the flesh (σάρξ) . . . . . I hated them
. . . . . of the souls
. . . . . thou . . . . . unto thee

8 ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈: cf. 42, 26. The soul, liberated from the body at death and having the Three Gifts of Light, is conveyed heavenward by the various vessels, cf. Keph. Kap. VIII. — 16 ⲭⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲟ: vid. 210, 14 n. — 21 'even I': cf. 98, 32. 33.

ⲁⲛ|ⲱⲧ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ . . ⲉⲕ . . . . . ⲛ . . .
Ⲛ . . . ⲁ . ⲧ ⲛ̄ . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲭ| ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲭⲁ|[ⲥ ⲁ
ⲭⲱⲓ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲩ ⲁ
ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲉⲉⲧ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲫⲉ
ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲁ[ⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
Ⲁ[ⲓ]ⲣⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲁⲛ[ⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲩⲓ
ⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲁ[ⲓⲟⲛⲧⲕ ⲛ̄[ⲓ]ⲱⲧ ⲥ|ⲙⲉⲩ ⲥ|ⲥⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ̄[ⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ[ⲓ]ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲛⲓ̈[ⲟⲩ
ⲁ[ⲓ]ⲛⲉ ⲉⲙⲡⲁ+ⲧⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
Ⲧⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲙⲁⲣⲫ̄ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄ ⲁⲛⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ .[. .
ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱ[. .
ⲃⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲍⲁⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲁ[ⲓ+]ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ [ⲁⲡ
ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲑⲁⲏ
Ⲛ̄ⲁⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲱⲍ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲱ .
ⲛ|ⲧ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ • ⲡⲁⲗⲉⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲭⲁⲍⲙⲉⲩ ⲍⲛ̄
ⲡⲭⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡ
ⲡⲱⲣϫ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄+ⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ̄
ⲧⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
Ⲁⲕⲧⲁⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ
ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧϫ|ⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲧⲭⲱ
ⲣⲁ ⲛⲛ|ⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲍⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ
Ⲧⲕⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲱⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲓ̈ⲙⲉⲗⲉⲧⲁ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̄
ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲃⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲱⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲁⲩ • ⲁⲥⲧⲣⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ̄
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ
Ⲧⲧⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲛ̄
ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲉⲣ|ⲧ ⲧⲉⲧⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲗⲉ
ⲉⲩ ⲡⲱⲗⲍ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ
Ⲧⲃ|ⲛⲍⲱⲧⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲱⲍ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲍⲱⲃ
ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲁ

1 fort. ⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲱⲧ. — 10 ⲁⲛⲣⲁⲩⲱ: ⲁ sup. lin. vid. — 14/15 fort. ⲁⲕⲱⲁⲡⲧ̄.

. . . . within . . . . . .

The . . . . . — I received them not, that they might not rule
over me, whom the Sects (δόγμα) serve, knowing not
the name of the God of Truth, because thou didst free me
from their slavery, my Lord, the Son of Man.
I became a stranger to the parents of the flesh (σάρξ), my brothers, my
kinsmen (συγγενής?); for I found thee father and mother and brother, a
God (?) unperishing, with whom I dwelt in the Light
before I was joined with the Darkness.
My mind (νοῦς) have I not bound at all to the cares . . .
of (?) life wherein the Sects (δόγμα) wander . . . .
toiling vainly; for I gave my heart [unto
thy excellent faith from the beginning to the end.
The Sects (δόγμα) of Error (πλάνη) — I have not mingled with them, for
thou hast . . . me since my youth. I have not defiled my tongue with
blasphemy because of the knowledge which thou gavest me and the
separation of these two races, that of Light and
that of Darkness.
Thou madest me worship these Luminaries (φωστήρ) and the Fathers that are
in them, that ferry across them that believe in them to the
Land (χώρα) of the Immortals: whom the sons of Error hate
because of the fear of the enemy.
I have constantly practised (μελετᾶν) in thy holy wisdom (σοφία),
which has opened the eyes of my soul unto the Light of
thy glory and made me see the things that are hidden and that are
visible, the things of the abyss and the things of the height.
The Cross (σταυρός) of Light that gives life to the universe, I have
known it and believed in it; for it is my dear soul,
which nourishes every man, at which the blind
are offended because they know it not.
I have not mingled with the intercourse of the flesh (σάρξ), for it is a
thing that perishes. Thy good fight (ἀγών) I have set myself to

30 πωλϩ: vid. Crum Dict. 261 a. The word occurs also in the Homilies (73, 21), apparently as a noun =? σκάνδαλον. Cf. I Cor. 1, 23.

ll. 1—2 non legi possunt

+ⲃ]ⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ̣ⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡⲉ
ⲛ]ⲛ̄ⲟⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̣ⲟⲩ ⲧ̣ⲁⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲁⲓ
ⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲱⲣⲭ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟ̣ⲩⲥⲛⲩ ⲭⲉ̣ [ⲉ]ⲓ̈ⲁⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕ
ϩ]ⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲡⲁⲥⲏⲣ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲉ
.] . . [.] ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲉⲓ̈ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉ† .
. . . .] ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲟⲩⲱⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . . [. .] . . ⲛ̣ⲟ̣ⲩ
ⲭ]ⲉ̣ ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲕ̣ ⲡⲉⲧ
ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲕ̣ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲑⲁⲏ
Ⲧⲧⲉ]ⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲙⲏ ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲓⲃ̄ⲣⲏⲡ[ⲉ] ϩ̣ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ̣ϥ
ⲁⲓ]ⲱⲛ • ⲟⲩⲃ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲛⲛⲉⲧ[ⲛⲁϩ
ⲧⲉ] ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄ ⲙⲛ̄†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ
ⲧ̣ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

> · ϲϫⲟ̄ · <

ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲭ̣[. . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ
ⲁⲕⲁⲁⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ϩⲓⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕ[ⲟⲥ]ⲙ̣ⲟ̣ⲥ̣
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲣϫ̣ ϩ̣[ⲓⲥ]ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ̣
ⲁⲕⲁⲁⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ϩⲓⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲩ[ⲙⲟ]ⲥ
Ⲧⲧⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲁⲩ [ⲉⲩ]ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ̣ ⲁⲓ[. .
ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲕⲁⲁⲧ̀
Ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲓⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲓⲟⲟ[ⲣⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲕⲁ
+ⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲃⲓ ϩⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲡⲉⲥⲁⲩⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱ
Ⲧⲧⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲕⲁϩⲧⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲙ̄
Ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲏⲧ ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲩϩⲧ ⲁⲡⲕⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓ
ⲥⲁⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲕ·
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣϫ̣ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ·
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄
Ⲛⲓ . [. .]ⲱⲁⲩ[. .]ⲁⲣⲱϥ̄ ⲉ̣ⲓⲥ ϩⲛⲧⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ
. . . . .]ⲟ̣ⲁⲛ[. .].ⲓⲟⲛ [ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ

4 fort. ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟ ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ. — 7 init. fort. ⲥⲱⲧⲙ. — 8 fort. ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧϥ̄. — 16 ⲛⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲉ coniicio. — 20/21 fort. ⲁⲧ[ⲱⲗ]ⲙⲉ. — 31 fort. ⲛⲓⲙ.

ll. 1—2 *illegible*

I] strip myself of the body (σῶμα) of destruction, the habitation
of] the powers of death (?) and ascend on high to thy
Aeons from which I was once separated, that I may receive thy
gifts, my merciful God, my Saviour (σηρ̄), my Rescuer.
. . . . my Lord, as I call unto thee in the hour for which
I . . ., and do thou scare away the . . . . .
that they seize not my soul; for thee only
have I loved from the beginning unto the end.
Glory to thee, the God of Truth that is crowned in his
Aeons; victory to thy Son Jesus, the Saviour (σωτήρ) of them that [believe
in him; honour to thy Spirit, the Paraclete, and the soul
of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

CCLXIX.

Jesus, my Light, the Son of them that . . ., do not
forsake me in the desert of this world (κόσμος).
I have purified thee, my God, from flesh (σάρξ) and blood (?); do not
forsake me in the desert of this world (κόσμος).
The Father, the King of the crowns, — I have made him pure from (?)
. . . . Do not forsake me.
These Lights that are on high — I have made them ferries for me.
Do not forsake (me).
This power that supports the universe — I have guarded its freight. Do not.
My Lord Jesus, thou art my trust. Do not.
I have hung to thy defence, I have spurned the whole world (κόσμος).
I was about to go down in the deep, I turned to the shore
again. Do not.
I left my parents of the flesh (σάρξ) because of my true parents. Do not.
I left my brothers of the body (σῶμα) because of my brothers of the Spirit.
. . . . . behold, I have been far away from them. Do not.
. . . . . I have despised (καταφρονεῖν) them. Do not.

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16 ⲁⲡⲱⲣ etc.: this refrain is repeated, sometimes in a much abbreviated form, at the end of each verse, apparently down to 88, 12, where it is replaced by ⲧⲱⲛ: 'Arise'. — 18 cf. 52, 22—27 n. — 27 ⲛⲉⲓⲧⲁⲛϩ: vid. 63, 17 n., cf. 147, 17 b. ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲙⲏⲧ: lit. 'go in the deep', i. e. 'founder'. ⲙⲏⲧ 'seems to be a genuine instance of the masc. word for deep water = ⲁⲧⲟ, which has been confused with a fem. word of (at present) indistinguishable meaning, cf. Crum Dict. 193 a. b and the Berlin Wörterb. references given there. That they are two separate words is shown by Spiegelberg, Orakel-glossar 121 (Demotische Chronik)'. HT. At 147, 17 b the phrase is repeated.

l. 1 periit

Ⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲍⲏⲧⲉ ⲁ̈ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄[ⲡⲱⲣ
ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲡⲍⲕ[ⲟ] ⲙ̇ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲓⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̇
. . . . . [. .]ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩ[ⲧⲉ
ⲗⲙⲡⲱⲣ]ⲕⲁ̣ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲧⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲝⲉ ⲕⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁ̣ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄
. . . . . ⲁ̣ⲩⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲓ̣ⲉ ⲍⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̇[.]ⲱ .

l. 7 non legi potest

ⲦⲦⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟ̄ ⲁ̈ⲭⲁⲕⲟ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲉⲱ[ⲉ
. . . . . ⲙ̇ⲁ̣ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲁⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲟ̄
. . . . .]ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲝⲛ̣[ⲉ
ⲦⲦ[.]. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁ̣ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲝⲱⲣⲉ̣
ⲦⲦⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲝⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲕⲁⲍⲧⲏⲩ ⲧⲱⲛ
Ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ̣ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩ† . . ⲡ̄ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲧⲱ[ⲛ
non legi potest
ⲦⲦⲁⲣⲭⲓⲁ̣ⲓ̣ⲕⲁ . . . . ⲓ̣ⲟⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲗ[ⲓⲥ] ⲧⲱⲛ
Ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̣ⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲭ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲝⲉ ⲁⲩ
† ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲱⲛ
Ⲱ . . . ⲛ[.] . . ⲙ̇ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲁⲣⲓⲱⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ̄
.].[. .]ⲉ . . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲍⲱⲃⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
Ⲟ]ⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲝⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩ
ⲥ]ⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · $\overline{\text{ⲥⲟ}}$ · <

ⲓ]ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲧⲍⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲩ
ⲛ̣ⲉ †ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲡⲁⲝⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁⲍⲙⲉⲧ̀
ⲦⲦⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲍⲁⲩ ⲁ̈ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲱⲩ ⲁ̈ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲟ
ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ †ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲡⲁⲝⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁⲍⲙⲉⲧ̀
Ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲁ̈ⲑⲃⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲓ̈ⲡⲏⲧ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲉⲩ
$\overline{\text{ⲡⲭⲣⲥ}}$ • †ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲡⲁⲝⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁⲍⲙⲉⲧ̀
ⲦⲦⲍⲱⲧⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ [ⲡⲓ]ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲉⲧⲕ̀
ⲟⲩ]ⲁⲱⲩ̄ ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲍⲓⲱⲱⲧ †ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲡⲁ[ⲝ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̄[ⲕⲛ]ⲁⲍ
ⲙⲉ]ⲧ̀
ⲦⲦⲭⲁⲓ]ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲁⲕ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲁ̣[ⲃⲁⲗ . .

13 fort. ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩ†ⲱⲁⲡⲥ̀. — 15 ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲁ̣ⲓ̣ⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏⲥ vid.: ⲓ̣ⲟⲛⲏ parum intellego.

l. 1 *destroyed*

The works of the New Man — behold, I have passed over to them. Do not.
I have endured hunger and thirst because of thy unfailing plenty.
. . . . . the world (κόσμος) for thy name's sake, my God.
Do not] abandon (?) me, for thou knowest all my heart.
. . . . they were (?) bound to me, behold (?) from . . . .

illegible

The race (ἀγών) in which I ran I finished rejoicing.
. . . give (?) me my garland for which I have toiled.
. . . . . the Light, the Image (εἰκών) of my counsel.
. . . . . of Truth, he that knows my strength.
O Perfect Man, haven of my trust, arise.
Thou art the First Man, my true . . ., arise.

illegible

O ἀρχιδικα[στής?] . . . . of my city (πόλις). Arise.
My brethren, my parents of the flesh (σάρξ), do not weep for me, for I have been given the garlands for which I toiled. Arise.
O . . . . of the Spirit, make festival with me all of you,
. . . . . my garlands, these that never fade.
Glory and victory to our Lord Mani and his
holy Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCLXX.

O Jesus, the true hope (ἐλπίς), whom I got for myself in knowledge, aid me, my Lord, and save me.
The evil world (κόσμος) I hated, I loved thee more,
o Saviour (σωτήρ). Aid me, my Lord, and save me.
Youth I subdued, running in thy virtue,
o Christ. Aid me, my Lord, and save me.
The intercourse of defilement I forsook; the purity which thou lovest I put on me. Aid me, my Lord, and save me.
The Lord] of mercy whose commandments (ἐντολή) I fulfilled

2 cf. Eph. 4, 24.

. . . . . .]. . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ . . . [. . . . . .
. . . . . ⲧⲟ]ⲟⲧ ⲡⲁϫ[ⲁⲓⲥ ⲛⲕⲛⲁϩⲙⲉⲧ
non legi potest
. .]. . . ⲁ . ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲁⲓⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ [. . . . . .
.] . ⲕ̣ ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁϩⲙⲉⲧ
ⲁⲕ]ⲟⲩⲉ̣ⲛ̣ ⲁⲛⲃⲉⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲁⲕⲱ[ⲧⲁⲙ] ⲁⲛⲃⲉⲗ [. . . .
. . . .] ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛ[ⲁϩ]ⲙⲉⲧ
. . .] . .ⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ̣[ⲥ]ⲙⲉ . . . [. .]ⲏⲧⲥ̀
ⲁ]ⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁⲣ[ⲙⲉⲧ
Ⲛⲁ]ⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲛⲁϩⲱⲥ ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲗⲙ[ⲟⲥ . . . .]ⲙ̄ . [. . .]ⲛ̣ⲉⲕ
. . .]ⲉⲧ̣ ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛ[ⲁϩⲙⲉ]ⲧ̀
Ⲛⲧⲕ ⲡ]ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉⲉⲧ [ⲙ]ⲡⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲛ̄[. . . . . .
. . .].ⲛ̣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ .[.].ⲧ̣ ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲡ[ⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲛⲕⲛⲁϩⲙⲉⲧ
Ⲑⲓ]ⲡⲏⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ ϫⲉ [ⲉⲓⲁ]ⲣⲉⲛⲉⲕ . .[. . . . . .
.]. ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲡⲁϫⲁ̣ⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁ̣[ϩⲙⲉⲧ
.]. . . ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲓⲥ[. . . . . .
non legi potest
. . .]. ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲟⲃⲥⲱ . . .[. . . . . .
ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁ[ϩⲙⲉⲧ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣[. . . . . .
.]ⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁ[ⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · $\overline{\text{COA}}$ · <

|ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧ̣ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ϫⲓⲧ̀ ⲁ[
ⲦⲦ]$\overline{\text{ⲭⲣⲥ}}$ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲏ̄ ⲉⲓⲏⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲓϩⲉⲓⲉ ⲁⲙⲡⲁⲱⲏ̄ ⲙ̣
ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲣⲉⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲣⲃ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲁ̣ⲩⲛⲧ
ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲛⲉⲧ ⲁⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
ϩⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ • ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ |ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲁⲟⲩ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲣⲉϥ†ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲏⲣ ⲁ̈ⲓⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲁⲱⲏ̄
ⲁ̈ⲓⲡⲱϩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲛⲏⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲙⲏⲉ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲁⲃⲁⲙ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲡⲕⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲩ ϩⲱⲱⲧ

4 leg. ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲁⲓⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ. — 8 init. fort. ⲧⲉⲕ]ⲙⲏⲉ. — 23 fort. ⲁ[ϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲕ] cf. 85, 23.

ll. 1—3 *fragmentary*

. . . . . in thy holy ones also . . . . .
Aid me, my Lord, and save me.
Thou hast] opened the eyes of my heart, thou hast shut (?) the eyes . . . .
Aid me, my Lord, and save me.
. . . . in which I believed has not . . . . .
ever. Aid me, my Lord, and save me.
My] prayers, my hymns, my psalms (ψαλμός) . . . . . .
. . . Aid me, my Lord, and save me.
Thou art he] who made me worthy . . . . . .
. . . . forth . . . Aid me, my [Lord, and save me.
For (γάρ) [I] run that I may please thee . . . . . .
Aid me, my Lord, and save me.

ll. 16—17 *fragmentary and illegible*

. . the garland, the raiment . . . . . .
unto thee. Aid me, my Lord, and save [me.
Glory to the . . . . . .
victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) [Mary.

CCLXXI.

Jesus, King of the holy, take me . . . . . .
O Christ whom I have loved, belonging unto thee, I fell into the snares of the body (σῶμα) of death. The trappers that set traps for me brought me beneath their nets, they excluded me from the air (ἀήρ) of the freedom of the beautiful birds. Behold then, thou camest after me, Jesus, my Light, the releasor of them that are bound: I broke their snares, I burst their nets by the faith of thy Truth.
I have myself made myself pure for thee according to (κατά) my power, o King of the holy;
thy holy name have I also made pure of defilement

ll. 1—3 perierunt

4 . . . . . ⲉⲧ . . . ⲧ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲣ ϩⲛ̄ⲡϫⲱⲙⲁ
. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕϩⲙⲉϫⲧ̄ [ⲁ]ⲡⲓ . [.
non potest legi
. . . . [. . .]. . . ⲁⲡ[. .]ⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ[. . . . .
. . . . . [. . .]ⲛⲁⲣϫ̄ ⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲱ .[
10 . . . . . .[. .]. ⲧϫ . . ⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲥ ⲧⲉ ⲧϯⲩϫ[ⲏ
. . . . . [. ⲕ]ⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲡ . . . . . ⲛⲱ[. .
. . . . .]
. . . . . ⲧ]ⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲓϥⲉ ⲛ[. .]ⲕ ⲉⲕⲥⲟⲏⲣ [. .
. . . . . .]. . . ϩⲁ . . . ⲁ . [. .]ⲛ ϩⲓⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ [. .
15 . . . . . .] . . . . . [. . .]ⲙⲉⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩ[ϫⲏ
. . . . . .] . . . . ⲙⲟⲩ[. ⲧ]ⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲓϥⲉ .
. . . . . .] . . . . . .ϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄
. . . . . .]. ⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕϩⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲧ[. .
. . . . . .] . . . .
20 . . .] . . . . . ⲁⲱⲉ ⲉ[. . .] . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲱ
ⲙⲁ . . . . . ⲁϩⲣ]ⲏⲓ̈ ϩⲁⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ
. . . . . .] . . . ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲉⲕⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲕ ⲁ
. . . . . .]. ⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲙϫ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲉϥ]ϩⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓⲙⲏ
ⲧⲓ . . . . . .] . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ . ⲙⲛ̄ . . . ⲧⲛ̄ . . . ⲧϩⲟϕⲓⲁ ⲁⲣⲏⲩ
25 . .] . . . ⲃⲁⲓ ⲁⲣⲁϛ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲉⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁϛ ⲛⲉ[ⲛ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕϩⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲁⲥⲧ̄
ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲱⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲓ ⲛ̄
ⲱⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲱⲛϩ̄ • ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ
ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲙⲥ̀ ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ̀ • ⲁⲓ̈ϩⲁⲗ ⲣⲉⲧ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲧⲁⲩ
30 ⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲱⲧ̄ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ϫⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ϫⲓ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓ
ⲥ]ⲙⲟⲥ ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲟⲛ ϫⲓⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲕ ⲁⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

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5 fin. fort. ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ. — 7 fort. ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄. — 8 fort. ⲡⲁⲣⲥ̀. — 22 fort. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ 'fatalis'. — 28 ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲙⲥ̀ sic: leg. ⲁⲧⲱⲙⲥ̀?

ll. 1—3 destroyed

. . . . . bound in the body (σῶμα).
. . . . . the earths, thou hast not sat . . .
illegible
. . . . . thou shewest . . . .
. . . . . the gate of Hades . . .
. . . . . but the . . . is the soul
. . . . . judge (κριτής), they that . . . . .
. . . .
. . . . . wind that blows . . . . . thee in thy sailing
. . . . . back
. . . . . love (?) the soul
. . . . . wind that blows
. . . . . the sea
. . . . . by thy . . . . cry
. . . . . .
. . . . . of this body (σῶμα?)
. . . . . up beneath the sins of the body (σῶμα) of
. . . . . it, thou thyself bearing witness of
. . . . . death which is buried inside [it], saying: Except (εἰ μήτι?)
. . . . . wisdom (σοφία), perchance
. . . . . it by our virtue which we guard for ourselves.
I heard the power of thy living cry, I followed
thee, I put down the nets of Error (πλάνη), I took the
nets from the man in unto life, I let the dead
bury the dead, I stepped in with thy cross (σταυρός),
I hung to the right of thee, because I received the
blessing (μακαρισμός): henceforth (λοιπόν) take me with thee to the Paradise of the
holy Gods.

25—28 cf. Mt. 8, 22. The meaning of the words ⲁⲒⲂⲓ — ⲁⲡⲱⲛϩ is not clear to me: I have translated them literally. In l. 28 ⲣⲁⲗ ⲣⲉⲧ: lit. 'brought my foot', vid. Crum Dict. 666 b; supr. 63, 30.

. . . . .]. . ετογαβε ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲥ̣[. . . . .

periit

. .]ⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧ̣[ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲕⲭ[. . .
ⲭ]ⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ̣ ⲡ[ⲕⲗⲁⲇⲟⲥ
ⲡ]ⲁ ⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲱⲗⲥ̀ ⲛ[ⲓ]ⲙ ⲉⲧⲁ+ ⲕⲁⲣⲡ[ⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ
ⲥⲉ]ⲱⲁⲧⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲭⲟ ⲁⲧⲥⲉ̣[ⲧⲉ . . . .
ⲭ]ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ+ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲕ
Ⲛⲱⲏ]ⲛ ⲉ̣ⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲣⲉⲱ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕ[ⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲁ]
ⲧ]ⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁⲓⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ[ⲉ] ⲡ[ⲱ]ⲗⲏ[ⲗ ⲧⲛⲏⲥ
ⲧⲓ]ⲁ̣ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲱⲁⲛⲉ̣[. . . . . .
. . .] ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲇⲱⲣⲟ̣[ⲛ . . . . . .
ⲛ]ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲓⲉ ⲥⲱⲟⲧ ⲥ̣[. . . . . .
ⲙⲡ]ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲃⲱ̣[. . . . . .
ⲙ ⲛ̄ⲕ+ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲁⲃⲉⲓⲟⲛ [.] . . . . [. . . . . .
ⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · $\overline{\text{coB}}$ · <

ⲓ]$\overline{\text{ⲏⲥ}}$ ⲡ$\overline{\text{ⲭⲣⲥ}}$ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ[ⲥⲕ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ
ⲃⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲟⲩⲥⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈
Ⲱ ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲉ ⲁⲭ[. . . . . .
ⲛⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲓⲥⲉ $\overline{\text{ⲓⲏⲥ}}$ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲟ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲕ̣[ⲱ ⲙⲙⲁ
ⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲥⲓⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲗⲱⲭⲥ̀
Ⲭ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲉⲩⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲉ̣ⲕ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ
ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕ̀ⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲙⲟⲛⲟⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ
Ⲥⲥⲁⲣⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟ̄ ⲉⲩ
ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ[ⲙ ⲉⲩⲡⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲗ
ⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈+ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ+ⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲥⲉⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛ
ⲡ[ⲧⲛ̄ ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲱⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲗⲱⲭⲥ̀ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ [ⲥ]ⲱⲱⲩ ⲥⲉ
ⲙⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁ+ⲫⲩⲭⲏ

3 fin. an ⲭⲟⲟⲥ? — 12 inter ⲧⲙⲏⲉ et ⲁⲛⲁⲕ spatium unius litterae. — 13 fort. ⲃⲱⲗⲉ. — 29 ⲥⲱⲱⲩ sic.

. . . . . holy . . . of thy commandments (ἐντολή) . . . .

l. 2 *destroyed*

holy living vine which thou hast . . .
'I am the vine, thou art the [κλάδος (?),
my Father is the husbandman. Every branch that shall give [bad] fruit (καρπός)
is cut with its root and is cast into the fire . . . .
because it gave not good fruit'.
The trees] that sprout and blossom and are full of [fruit (καρπός) I have
given to thee, my husbandman: they are Prayer, Fasting (νηστεία?),
Almsgiving, Love (ἀγάπη) towards . . . . . .
henceforth (λοιπόν) do thou give them as a gift (δῶρον?) . . . .
of] Truth. I also am one . . . . . .
the] garland of renown, clothe (?) . . . . . .
and give me the prize (βραβεῖον) . . . . . .
soul of Mary.

CCLXXII.

Jesus Christ in whom I have believed, show [thyself to me
quickly and save me.
O merciful and good (ἀγαθός), full of mercy upon . . . .,
o First-born, Jesus, whom I have loved, do not forsake me
in my tribulations.
Since my youth unto thee have I given thanks (εὐχαριστεύειν);
I forsook the universe, I believed in thee, I stood
in thy name, o only-begotten (μονογενής). Do not.
It is heavy upon me, the vesture (σχῆμα) wherein I stood: all men
hating it and persecuting it; but (ἀλλά)
thou it is to whom I gave my soul. Do not.
Lo, they of the sky stand against me and they that are
below multiply my tribulations; they that are with me also are
filled with wrath against my soul.

3—7 cf. Joh. 15, 5; Mt. 3, 10; Keph. Cap. I; Act. Arch. 24, 18ff.; Gal. 5, 22. — 8 ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲣⲉⲱ: vid. 8, 19 n. — 9—10 cf. Gal. 5, 22. — 12 cf. 93, 4. — 20 ⲁⲡⲱⲣ etc.: this refrain is repeated, sometimes succinctly, at the end of several of the verses.

. . . .]. . .[. .]ϫ̣ⲱ̣ⲉ̣ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲁⲙ̣ . .[. . . .

periit

non legi potest

. . .]. . .[. .]. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲃⲁⲙ

. . .]. ⲁ̣ⲓⲃ̣ⲓ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲥⲃⲉⲩ ⲁ̈ⲓⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[. . .

ⲁ]ⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲉⲕⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁ̈ⲓ+ ⲛⲁⲙ[ⲉ]ⲗ̣[ⲟ]ⲥ ⲁⲥ[ⲣⲏ

. .]. . . . . ⲁ̣ϩ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲕⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ[ⲕ

. . .]. ⲓ̣ⲉ̣ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲁⲱⲃⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ ⲥ[ⲁⲣⲁⲩ

ⲉⲩⲕ]ⲏ̣ ⲁ̣ϫⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲥⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁ̣ⲗⲗⲁ̣ [. . .

. . . . . .]. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲣⲉⲩ[ⲥⲱⲧⲉ

periit

. . . . . .]ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲡⲡⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̣[. . . . .

. . . . . .]. ϫⲁ̈ⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗⲁϫⲟⲥ • ⲙ[ⲡⲱⲣ

. . . . . .]. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ[. . . .

. . . . . .]. . . . ⲧ ⲙⲙ̣ⲁⲩ ϫⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ . . . ⲛ̣[. .

. . . . .] ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲧⲏ̄ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ̈ ⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ • ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲣⲣ

ⲣⲟ ⲥ]ⲱⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲧⲣⲁϫ[ⲓ]ⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲕ̄

. . . .]ⲡⲣⲟ̣ⲧ̣[. . .] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲣⲏ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲃⲍ̄ ⲡⲁ̣ⲕ̣ⲣ̣[ⲓ

ⲧⲏⲥ] ϯⲥⲁⲡⲥⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲛⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲱ[ⲗ]ⲏⲗ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ

ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲓⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ

Ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲙ]ⲟ̣ⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲕⲁⲧⲕ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ̣

. . . ⲁⲣⲁ̣ . . ⲛ̄ⲕⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲕⲧⲣⲉⲩⲧⲉⲍⲟ ⲛ̄

ϫⲓ ⲡ̣ⲕ̣ⲛⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲃⲁⲙ

Ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲕⲧⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲍⲁⲓ̈ ϫⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲁⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ

ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲕⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲥⲱⲥ̣

ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲁⲕⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ

Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓϫⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛ̄

ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟ

ⲛⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲓ̈ ϫⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

8 init. fort. ⲛⲑⲗⲓϯⲥ. — 19 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ: ⲕ sup. lin. vid. — 22 fort. ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈.

. . . . . is my soul . . . . . .

l. 2 *illegible*

l. 3 *destroyed*

. . . . . my weakness.

. . . I have borne thy yoke, I have bound my . . . .
unto thy cross (σταυρός), I have given my members (μέλος) up
. . . . . Do not forsake me.
. . . . which my soul will be able to bear
as] its trials (πειρασμός) lie (?) upon it; but (ἀλλά)
. . . . . thee, for thou art its Saviour (?).

l. 11 *destroyed*

. . . . be, even the growth (?) of . . .
. . . . . desert, and thou be ἔκλαχος. Do not.

l. 14 *fragmentary*

. . . . . them from the beginning . . . .
. . . . . he returned, he ruled over them. Let me
also rule with thee, let me not be put to shame in thee.
. . . . . thee in a prayer, my Judge (κριτής?);
I beseech thee in entreaties, for thou
art the hidden joy of thy children.
I] called unto thee: do not turn away from me, but (ἀλλά)
. . . . and hear me quickly and make thy mercy
overtake my weakness.
Hear me and make thy succour (βοήθεια) overtake me, that I may rest
from all afflictions and my soul too
rejoice because it called unto thee and thou didst answer it.
Glory and victory to our Lord Mani, the Spirit of
Truth, who cometh from the Father, and his holy perfect
Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona,
Pshai, Jmnoute.

12 The meaning of ⲡⲁⲩⲣⲉ is not certain, vid. Crum Dict. 277 a. — 13 ἔκλαχος: ? from ἐκλαγχάνειν (vid. Liddell-Scott-Jones p. 511 a). But a privative sense, e. g. 'expers', 'exsors', would better suit the context, such as it is.

⸗ · cor · ⸗

|hc] pχ̄c̄ petaïnazte arak twk aretk̄ [nemh| znt
o]ynoy ntaanarkh
an]ak̄ oyïe zwwt zntmpe ntkwe nec̣[a]ỵ [ne|
n]etapk̄ïwt teey atootk̄ xekamane mmay
Nt]apoywnw̄ nrecṭwrp̄ pwhre ntep̣hm|a c̣wṭ
me] apazrak etzalb̄ ake| azrhï ecṭtake
ap]k̄k̄lhroc tezaï oyte tareïte thrc̄ n̄ . [.]za . .
. .]c̣oy wan+xak̄ paarwn
a|t]eet apmoy eïkaztaï̈ṫ apcexe m̄ . . . nnoy
t]e xe petamoy qawnz̄ petaθbïaq [cen]axecṭ[q
Tco]fia etak̄teec nhï aïwoywoy mm[a]c̣ . . . .[.
. .]aormа m̄pe rwme w+twn azhṭ anhze
Eic] nekentolaye aïeïtoy nhï nzal[bw]ẹ aïzak̄[t
ai]bw̄k apto aïmoyte ạnxa[
Ei]wancwtme apzrak ntkca[lpiгΣ . . . . . e
t]ọra̅e ecww m̄pwwm mn̄tpr[w . . . . . .
o]yazt̄ ncwk
al]toyïaï apto aïka naïate ncwï aï[pwne apx
a]ic etaï atpe mn̄pkaz
M]pizapṭ̀ arak̄ panoyte m̄pi|p̄poy[ww mpcw
ma xe nekkaaṭ̀ ncwk̄ zntoynoy [
Nạpbioc gar wayoyïne • mayc| nt[. . . . . .
pkaiaze an nn̄rwme oyzhb̄c̄ pe ẹwạ̣[xene
Eïteoyo nneï eïpme apcwthp moyte ara[i
a]moy pcaïx naw|pe nk̄+ pklam m̄poyaïne [nhi
Nim petawney nacnhy nqkatq̄ apto nkaica[p] nq
tamo nrwme throy [ap]eay etaïxitq̄ m̄pooye
+capcp̄ m̄mwtn̄ thrtn̄ nacnhy nacyrrenhc
xe m̄pwp arime nhï xe aïon̄ pbek̄e m̄paz|ce
Oyẹ̣ạ̣ỵ [mnoyбro mpnxaic pmanixaioc mnneq
cwtp̄ t[hroy] oy[бro nt+yxh] ntmakaria m̄maria

2 cf. 233 b 12. — 6 ερημια: cf. Hom. 14, 21. — 8/9 m̄pizalt apazoy coniicio, coll. 63, 30. — 10 fort. m̄mhe vel m̄pnaб. — 12 exspectares m̄maï nzhtc̄. — 15 anxa[xe] coniicio = ? 'provocavi hostes'. — 21/22 fort. [nnaor]ma.

CCLXXIII.

Jesus] Christ, in whom I have believed, stand [with me in the
hour of my need (ἀνάγκη).
I also am one in the number of thy hundred sheep
which thy Father gave into thy hands that thou mightest feed them.
The ravenous wolf, the son of the desert (ἐρημία), heard
my sweet cry and came up raging(?).
Thy lot (κλῆρος) fell on me among all my kin: . . . . . .
until I had finished my fight (ἀγών).
I] gave myself up to death trusting in the . . . divine word:
'He that dies shall live, he that humbles himself shall be exalted'.
I gloried in the wisdom (σοφία) that thou gavest me . . .
the] Sects (δόγμα); never was man able to contend against me.
Lo,] I made thy commandments (ἐντολή) an armour for me, I armed [myself
and went into the world, I called the . . . . . .
When [I] hear the cry of thy . . . . holy trumpet (σάλπιγξ?)
sounding summer and winter . . . . . .
I follow thee.
I betook myself far from the world, I left my parents, I [passed unto the
Lord who is greater than heaven and earth.
I hid not from thee, my God, I did not do the will [of the
body (σῶμα?), that thou mightest not leave me in the hour . . . .
For (γάρ) the things of life (βίος) pass away, they do not satisfy the . . . .
the lifetime also of men is a lamp that [goes out.
As I was saying these things in tears the Saviour (σωτήρ) called me:
come, o busy champion, and give the garland of Light [to me.
Who can see, my brethren, and return to the earth again and
tell all men of the glory which I have received today?
I beseech you all, my brethren, my kinsmen (συγγενής),
do not weep for me, for I have found the reward of my toil.
Glory [and victory to our Lord Mani and all his
Elect. [Victory to the soul] of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

4 cf. Mt. 18, 12. ⲟⲩϫⲉ and ⲉⲥⲁⲩ are feminine: the 'sheep' seems to be the soul. — 7 ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲩⲉ: cf. 15, 17. In view of this passage, the meaning 'branded' suggested there seems highly improbable. — 11 cf. Mt. 16, 25; 23, 12.

coⲁ

|ⲏⲥ ⲡⲁⲃⲟⲏ]ⲑ[ⲟ]ⲥ ⲙⲁ+ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲛ̣[.].[. .
. . . .]. . . . ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲝ . . . . . .[. .
. .]. . . . . ⲡⲱⲃⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲁⲥⲧⲏ̄ [. .
. . . ⲁⲝ . . . . . ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲥⲗⲥⲱⲗⲏ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ . . .[.
ⲛ[. . . .] ⲱⲁ̣ⲡⲧ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ
. . . ⲗ . .[.] ⲃⲓ . . . ⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲧⲡ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ .[.
ⲕ̣ . . . . . ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ . . .[. . .
. . ⲕ̣ⲁⲥ̣ . . . . . ⲡⲉⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥ̣ⲓⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲝⲓ ⲕⲗⲁ̣[ⲙ
. . . . . .
. .]. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕ . . . . . ⲥ̣ⲛⲉ . . .[. .
. . . . . ⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ ⲙⲁ+ ⲛⲏⲓ .[. .
. ⲁ̣ .[. . . .]. . ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲁⲃⲉⲓⲟⲛ̣
.]ⲥ̣ . . . .[. . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉⲣⲏⲧ̣ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲓ . [.
. . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲫ̣ . . ⲉⲧⲕⲏⲕ ⲁⲥⲏⲩ ⲉ .[.
. . . . . .]. . ⲛⲏⲓ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲓ̈ⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲁ̣ⲉⲓ[.
. . . . .]ⲏⲣⲡ̣
. . . . . .]. . ⲡⲥⲉⲡ ⲛⲁⲥⲣⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲗⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲉⲝⲉ [. .
. . . . . .]. . . ⲟⲩ ⲁ̣ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲭ̣ ⲉ̣[.
. . . . ⲙⲡⲱ]ⲱⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲣⲱ ⲛⲧ̣ⲉⲉⲣ ⲉⲧⲭⲱⲗⲉ ⲁ̣[.
. . . . . .
Ⲛⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲙ]ⲡ[ⲕⲟⲥ]ⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲉ[ⲓ
. . . . . .]ⲭ . ⲡⲥⲁ]ⲓ̣ⲧ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲥⲟ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏ
ⲣ ⲉⲓⲟⲩ]ⲁⲗⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲕ̄ⲥⲉⲝⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲝⲉ ⲡⲱⲁ
ⲙ[. . .]ⲕ̣ⲛⲟⲩⲥ . . . ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣ . . . . ⲡ̣ⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲝⲁⲓ̈ⲥ [ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ
ⲡ]ⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ̣ⲩⲛⲁⲍⲙⲉⲧ̀ ⲁⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄[ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

2 cf. 233 b 13. — 16 fin. fort. ⲡⲁⲉ|ⲡⲛⲟⲛ. — 23 fort. ⲝ| ⲡⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲱ.

CCLXXIV.

Jesus my helper (βοηθός),] give me thy right hand . . .
. . . . . unto thee. Do not . . . . . .
. . . . . the false friend I smote . . .
. . . . . I slew him with the sword of . . . .
. . . . take me to thy habitations.
. . . . . that is shut up in prison in
. . . . . by the amnesty (ἀμνηστεία) of thy . . . .
. . . . . of the stars (?) and she receives the garland
. . . .

l. 11 *fragmentary*

. . . . three seals (σφραγίς), give to me
. . . . . the garland and the prize (βραβεῖον).
. . . . . as thou didst promise me while I
. . . . . and the naked . . . .
. . . . . to me thy true bread in the . . . .
. . . . wine (?).
. . . . . the judgment before the sweetness of thy words
. . . . . I, beyond (παρά) the fathers of the flesh (σάρξ)
. . . . summer and winter, the . . . . that stop
. . . .

The works of] the world (κόσμος) I forsook, rejoicing
. . . . . the fame (?) of thy holy treasure in the Luminaries(φωστήρ),
prospering (?) according to (κατά) thy word which thou didst utter:
'Where (?) thy (?) mind (νοῦς) . . . . . .'
Glory and victory to my Lord, [my] Light, Mani,
my true Saviour who has rescued me from the Error (πλάνη)
of the world, and his holy Elect. Victory to the soul of
the blessed (μακαρία) [Mary.

12 vid. A.V.W.Jackson, op. cit. pp. 331 ff. — 20 ϫωλε: vid. 58, 22 n; Hom. p. xix.

[COE]

|HC ПСНР †TWBϩ м]мак амоу авал . . . . N
. .] ϣаρак
. . .]. . . . . NEK ПNЄ . . . . . .
ϫЄ анак оуесау є̈|cωрме мм . на . NB̀ . . . . .
. .]. . . . . єк м̄пасаї̈Є є . . . . . .
. .]. є NCTOλH N̄M̄ПАРθЄNOC
. . .]мр̀ω м̄поуаї̈Не аї̈маNЕ арас маре пд̀ . . . .
ϣ]ωп ϩреї̈ аϩоуN • маре NEKAΓΓЕλос † . . . . .
. .]. ϩ̀Є̀ гар м̄п . евеN м̄пк̀о . . . . . N̄Т̀ . . . . .
.]. . аї̈раї̈с арас м̄п|cωλп м̄п . . . є . . . . . .
Мар]є N̄Аа|мωN ϫ| ϣ|Ппе м̄пооуе . . .[. . . . .
. .]ϫωс ап|тN̄ [. .] ϫЄ аї̈мд̀ϩ̀Є ϩN̄пмаї̈т̀ [. . . .]ϛЄ
. .]. . ϩ N̄TB̄Bє [. . . . .]. . . . .[. . . . . .
. .]. тд̀| м̄п̀ .[. . . . .] . . .
. . .]бє ч[. . . . . cω]ма м̄пмоу [. . . . . .
. . . . . а]Вал ϩN̄N[.].[. . . . . .
. .] єтє мN̄пагаθоN хN̄м̄пϩооу . . . . . .
NEмеч аї̈бNТ̀ϛ̀ [о]уха ї̀ пе ewдчр̄и̇ . . . . . .
Θє N̄оуϩалнт ϩN̄оупаϣ̄ч̄ таϩє ϩωт̀ т̀Є [е|ϩNп
cωма м̄пмоу • м̄п|р̄бдоуаN N̄Тє п̀ . . .[. . . . . .
. .]ЄNH сасе NамнϩЄ ϫ|ϣ|Ппе N .[. . . . . .
е]т̀ϩау єї̈ϣатп̄ апмаϩоуєλ N̄м̄фωст[нр
Єic ϩнте бє аї̈балет м̄пооу м̄пхιϩвад̀ [NоуП]д̀р
θеNOC • †ωBϩ̀ м̄мωтN̄ NамерЕТЕ тN̄Ǹ[у] ϩ|
ρет̀ N̄NамN̄тNдЕ тЕλ[а|] апхаї̈ N̄м̄пЕтоуд̀Ве
мароумане N̄бλам ата†уχн
Аї̈б|Не бЕ N̄тхωра м̄поуаї̈Не аї̈х| оуаї̈ ϣатпол|с
N̄N̄NоутЕ аї̈к|оNωNН мN̄Ǹд|ка|ос Є̈ϩN̄пСω
мд ϩN̄тататпро етмнϩ N̄см̄оу • мд† NНї̈ †Noу N̄
тωBї̈ω N̄NдϩBнуЕ кдта тϩомолог|а м̄пасНр
Оуеау оубро мN̄оутаї̈о м̄пN̄хаї̈с пN̄оуаї̈Не пмд̀

2 cf. 233 b 14. — 10 fort. м̄пλєвєN (vid. Crum op. cit. 137 b) м̄пкосмос. — 15 тд̀|: fort. гд̀р. — 16 cf. l. 21. — 22 є̀NH: є valde dubium, cf. 88, 15.

CCLXXV.

Jesus the Saviour (σηρ), I implore] thee, come forth . . . . . .
unto thee.

l. 4 *fragmentary*

for (?) I am a sheep wandering . . . . . .
. . . . . my beauty (?) . . . . . .
. . . robe (στολή) of the maidens.
. . . haven of Light, I have moored in it: let my (?) . . .
welcome me in, let thy angels give . . . .
for (γάρ) . . . . of the . . . of the world (κόσμος?) . . .
I have watched it, I have not burst the . . . . .
Let] the demons be put to shame today . . . . . .
. . . . down, for I have walked in the path . . . . .
the seals (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . body (σῶμα) of death . . .

l. 17 *fragmentary*

. . . with the good (ἀγαθόν) since the day . . . .
with it, I have found her, it is a ship which . . . .
Like a bird in a snare, so also am I [while I am in the
body (σῶμα) of death. I have not been a servant of . . . .
. . . pluck my feathers, be ashamed . . . . .
evil, as I hasten to the dovecot of the Luminaries (φωστήρ).
Behold then I have clothed myself today in the raiment of a
maiden. I beseech you, my beloved, send my
almsgivings to meet me, put me aboard the ship of the holy,
let them put in quickly for my soul.
I found then the Land (χώρα) of Light and made my way to the city (πόλις)
of the Gods and consorted (κοινωνεῖν) with the righteous (δίκαιος) while I
was yet in the
body (σῶμα), through my mouth which is full of praise. Give me now
the reward of my deeds according to (κατά) the agreement (ὁμολογία) of my
Saviour (σηρ).

Glory, victory, and honour to our Lord, our Light, Mani

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22 ⲥⲁⲥⲉ: vid. Crum Dict. 358 b. — 23 ⲱⲁⲧⲡ̄: vid. 66, 32 n; ⲙⲁϩⲟⲩⲉⲗ: cf. Hom. 12, 7; 76, 24. — 28 ϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲱⲁ-: vid. 9, 1 n.

ⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ . . . .] ⲛ̣ . . ⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲭⲱⲓ̈ ⲙⲁ+ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ +ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ . [.
. . . . . .]. . . ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ . . .[. .
. . . ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲧ]ⲛⲉⲥ ⲉⲥⲁⲧⲉⲥⲟ ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ
ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ]

5 > · $\overline{\text{COS}}$ · <

Ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ ⲛⲱ]ⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ .[. . . .
ⲟⲩ]ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲓⲱ ⲱⲁⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲡ$\overline{\text{ⲛⲁ}}$ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩ
ⲥⲱⲧⲉ . . . . .]. . .
. . . . . .] ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲉ+ⲱⲁⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉⲓⲁ
10 . . . . . .] ⲛ̣ . . . . ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲕⲭⲟ̣[ⲟⲥ] ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲭⲁⲩⲧⲉ̣
periit
. . . . . ⲣ̄ⲙ̣ⲛ̣ⲧ̣[. . . . . .
. . . . . .]
. . . . . ⲩⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡ[. .
15 . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣ̣ⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲉ̣[ⲙ]ⲏ ⲡⲁⲱⲟⲥ [. .
. .]ⲛ . . . . . ⲁ̣ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲙⲙⲁⲛⲉ
. . .]. . . . . ⲱⲉ̣ⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ
ⲙⲛⲡⲛ]ⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩⲕⲱⲃ ⲉ̣ⲓ̈+ⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡ[.
. . . . . .]. . ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ
20 . . .]ⲃ[. . . .]ⲁ̣ⲗⲉ̣ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲗ̣ⲡⲉ̣ ⲙ̣ⲡ̣
. . ⲁ . ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲭⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲡⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲛ̄+ⲕⲁⲓⲙⲁⲥⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄Ⲇⲱⲣⲉⲁ
ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲁⲭⲥ̄ⲧ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̄
25 ⲧⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲥⲉⲭⲉ
ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲓ ⲡⲫ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲓ̈
ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲅⲉⲥⲉⲛⲛⲁ
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲱⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲁⲓ̈+[. .] ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲁⲧⲁ+ⲩⲭⲏ

1 ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ coniicio sive ⲛ̄ⲕⲣ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ. — 6 cf. 233 b 15. — 9 ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲓ coniicio. — 10 ⲛ̄ⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲥ̄ coniicio.

. . . . . upon me, give me now the .
. . . . . for I am an ἐγκρατής . . . .
May peace overtake the soul of the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary].

CCLXXVI.

Gather all of you, o] sons of the Mind (νοῦς) and do you . . . .
long (?) unto the Lord of my Spirit, my Saviour (?)
. . . . .
. . . . my Lord, that I need thy aid (βοήθεια)
. . . . . which thou hast said (?) that thou wouldest send

l. 11 *destroyed*
l. 12 *fragmentary*

. . . . .
. . . . . Land of Darkness, which is the
. . . . . when I heard thy voice, my shepherd,
. . . . . to thy pastures.
The] good (?) . . . . which thou gavest me, which are knowledge
and] faith (?), I made them double, glorifying God,
. . . . . and wisdom (σοφία).
. . . . . in my city (πόλις) with the fear of the outburst (?) of the
deadly . . . . I confessed (ὁμολογεῖν) with all my heart that
the Darkness came not out of the Light.
I fought, I was counted worthy of this fulness (?) of gifts (δωρεά),
that I should not be burnt in the Great Fire, because I possessed
the defence of the Luminaries (φωστήρ).
I confessed (ὁμολογεῖν) this Unbegotten, I worshipped his word
which is here, I received his perfect blessing (μακαρισμός), because I
scorned (καταφρονεῖν) the Gehennas.
I hung to the fringe of the Lord's Day (κυριακή), I . . . in it to my soul.

---

2 ⲉⲅⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ: cf. 179, 10 ff.; Hom. Index s. v. — 20 ⲥⲗⲡⲉ: a verbal noun from ⲥⲱⲗⲡ̄ in its intransitive sense (vid. Crum Dict. 331 a) 'burst out', erumpere. It is otherwise unknown. — 23 ⲙⲁⲍⲥ: a verbal noun from ⲙⲟⲩⲍ = 'fill', of which there seems to be no other example. — 24 vid. Polotsky Abriss pp. 261—2. — 28 cf. Act. Arch. (ed. Beeson) 16, 11 κολασθήσεται εἰς τὰς γεέννας (ex coniect. Dindorfii; γενεάς libri): ibid. 16, 25 poenis subdetur gehennae.

l. 1 non legi potest except. voc. ⲣⲃⲁⲗ

.]. . ⲁⲗ
Ⲥ]ⲱⲟⲩⲍ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ̄ ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲫⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲥ[. . . . . .
ⲛ]ⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ . .[. . . . . .
.]. ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ .[
. .]. . . . . ⲙⲉ ⲛⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲏⲣ ⲁⲃⲁ[ⲗ . . . . . .
ⲛ]ⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ [. . . . . .
ⲍⲛ]ⲡⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧ[ⲙⲁⲩⲧ
ⲁⲙ]ⲏ ⲃⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲱ ⲧ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙ[. . . . . .
.]. . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲗⲱⲛⲏⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍⲧⲏⲩ ⲛ[ⲛⲉⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁ]ⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ [ⲙⲛⲛⲉⲩ
ⲥ]ⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ vacat ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ☩[ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲧ
ⲙ]ⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

[COZ : K̄Y] ⲏⲣⲁⲕⲗⲉⲓⲇⲟⲩ

ⲦⲦ]ⲭⲣⲥ̄ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲕ̄ ⲛⲉⲙ[ⲏ]ⲓ̈
ⲁⲓ]ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲧ[. .]ⲉ . . [. . . . . .
.] ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ☩ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ . .[
ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲡⲉⲓⲑⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲍⲱⲙ ⲁⲭⲛ̄[. . . . ⲉⲧ
ⲃⲏⲧⲕ̄ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲍⲉⲗⲡ[ⲓⲥ
ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲣ̄ⲱⲟⲩⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲃⲱⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛ . . . . . .
ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧ ⲉⲍⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲍ[ⲥⲁⲍⲛⲉ
. .]. . . ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ [. . . . . .
ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄[.].[. . . . ⲛⲛ
ⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲓⲛⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥ[ⲙⲟⲥ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲓ ⲍⲣⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲩⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ
ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲣⲉⲧⲕ̄ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲭⲉ̀ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲍⲁⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲍⲃⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄
ⲧ]ⲱⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲁⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲃⲥⲟ
ⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲍⲥⲉ
Ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲙⲱⲛⲁⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲓ ⲁⲓ̈☩ ⲁⲭⲱⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲏⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ
ⲗⲡ]ⲓⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲓ̈☩ ⲥⲁⲑⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲩⲍⲧ̄ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲉⲩ
ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ ⲍⲏⲕⲉ ⲍⲓⲱⲙⲙⲟ . . . . . ⲁⲣⲁⲩ

10 fin. cf. 83, 4. — 14/15 cf. 233 b 17, 19. — 21 cf. 98, 2. — 22 init. fort. ⲛⲍ]ⲃⲏⲩⲉ. — 27 ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲉⲧⲕ̄ sic. — 28 ⲧⲃⲥⲟⲥⲉ sic vid.: leg. ⲧⲃⲉⲃⲥⲉ, coll. Keph. 89, 30 etc.

l. 1 *illegible.*

. . . .
Gather all of you, o souls that . . . . .
my almsgivings, and do you repay me . . . . . .
the present which I made you . . . . .
. . . . of the Gods is spread out . . . . .
great one of the Lights, she has met (ἀπαντᾶν) . . . .
on] the day of the resurrection of the [dead.
Come then in peace (εἰρήνη), o . . . . soul
. . . the τελώνης *(pl.)* in the trust of [thy deeds.
Glory and victory to our Lord Mani [and] all
his] holy Elect. Victory to the soul [of the
blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

[CCLXXVII. By the Lord] Heracleides.

O Christ, stand with me.
I] heard thy words which . . . . . .
for (?) I would hear . . . . .
I obeyed (πείθεσθαι) thy teachings, I trod upon . . . .
for thy sake also, I chose in (?) hope (ἐλπίς) . . .
I became hateful and evilhearted in the eyes of . . . .
I gave myself on my own accord willingly to thy commandments (?)
. . . . the world (κόσμος), the words of . . . . . .
I put them behind me: I chose the . . . . of the
divine teachings.
I left the evil courses, the licence (παρρησία) of worldly (-κόσμος) things:
I turned my face from them, for they are ridiculous.
I bent my neck down beneath thy yoke of virtue
in the time of my youth as (?) the rebellion
arose.
The poison of sin, even Mammon (μαμωνᾶς), I repulsed:
I received and put on blessed (μακάριος) poverty.
I wavered not in going forward, I turned not back at all, though they
called me pauper and stranger . . . . them.

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10 τελώνης: vid. 218, 4 n. — 14 Heracleides was one of the Twelve Apostles of Mani, vid. Mani-Fund p. 15. In the Index (vide infr. pp. 229 ff.) several groups of Psalms are attributed to him. Another group (infr. 187 ff.) is headed ⲧ[ⲟⲩ] ⲏⲣⲁⲕⲗⲉⲓⲟⲩ, which is perhaps an error for ⲏⲣⲁⲕⲗⲉⲓⲇⲟⲩ. — 26 lit. 'I lifted my face . .' — 28 ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲇⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ: lit. 'in the measure that', 'in proportion as'. For ⲟⲇⲁⲧ v. Hom. 17, 3; 32, 6; Keph. 153, 26. — 30 cf. Lk. 16, 9. 11. 13. — 31 cf. 157, 1 ff. — 32 For ⲭ in this sense vid. Crum Dict. 395 a.

l. 1 non legi potest

. . . . ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛ]ⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲍⲉⲁ[ⲍⲛⲉ
. . . . . .]. .
. . . . . .]. ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁ̈ⲍⲁⲕⲥ̄ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲍⲛ̄ . .[. .
. . . . . .]. ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ . .
. . . . . .]ⲉⲁⲡ ⲉ̈ⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲉⲭⲉ
. . . . . .]. . ⲙ̇ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲧⲁ̈ⲁ̈[ⲧ . .
. . . . . .]. . ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁ̈ⲭⲡⲁⲕ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲙ̇[. .
. . . . . .]. . . ⲍⲱⲱⲧ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲁ̈ⲕⲁⲩⲉ [. .
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .]ⲱⲡⲱⲡ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲍⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲧ[. .
. . . . . .]. . ⲁ̈ⲍⲁⲃⲙⲉ. ⲧⲍⲣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧ . . [. .
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .]. . ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ|ⲛⲉ| ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ . .[.
. . . . . .]. . . ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ . . ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ . . .
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .] cetera mutila
. . . . . .]ⲛⲁⲧⲛⲍ̄ ⲉ̈ⲃⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲛⲁ[.
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .]. . . . . . . ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉ̈ⲭ| ⲥⲃⲱ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧ
. . . . . .] ⲡ ⲁⲱⲱⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁ̈|ⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲃⲧⲁⲃⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
. . . . . .]. .
. . . . . .]. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲣ̄ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲍ . .
. . . . . .]. . ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ| ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ [. .
. . . . . .]
.] . . ⲭⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ| ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲁ|ⲙ[ⲱⲛ
ⲭ]ⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲁⲱⲧ ⲧⲁⲃ|ⲛⲡⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ
Ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲫⲡⲱⲡ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭ| ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲡⲟⲥ[ⲧⲟ
ⲗⲟⲥ ⲭⲱⲣⲡ̄ ⲍⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ + ⲛⲏ̈ ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲉ
ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ
Ⲧⲧⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲡⲃⲟⲏⲑⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲓ
ⲣⲡⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲁ [ⲛⲭ|] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥ|
ⲁⲛⲉ ⲧⲧ[ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

8 ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲕⲗⲁⲙ sic. — 11 fort. ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ [ⲛⲉⲁⲩ]. — 12 fort. ⲁ|ⲍⲁⲃⲙⲉⲥ sive ⲩ. — 23 fin. fort. ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲍⲙⲁⲧ. — 26 init. fort. ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ.

l. 1 *illegible*

thy commandments (ἐντολή) and thy injunctions
. . . . . .
. . . . angels, I armed thee in it *(fem.)* in
. . . . . . my (?) heart the sons of the
. . . . . ., as I remembered thy word (?).
. . . . . thy honoured body (σῶμα)
. . . . . these garlands, I got thee for myself
. . . . . myself from place to place, I set them
. . . . .
. . . . . promise and thy hope (ἐλπίς) which
. . . . . I caused it (?) to fade, the flower of . . .
. . . . .
. . . . . the departing from the body (σῶμα)
. . . . . daily . . . the night . . . .
. . . . .

l. 17 *fragmentary*

. . . . . my (?) wings, as I see that I shall (?)
. . . . .
. . . . . for I was learning of my own accord
. . . . . to despise the fabricated beauty of the
. . . . .
. . . . . thee, give me now this . . .
. . . . . me the wheel of the sphere (σφαῖρα)
. . . . .
. . . forth from me the bitter crowd of the demons,
that they hinder not my course and confuse not my mind (νοῦς).
As thy apostle promised me from the first,
do thou nod (?) to me, give me the three gifts of
Light.
Victory to thee, my Saviour, the helper (βοηθός) of souls. Let me
be counted worthy [to receive] thy victory. I, the soul of Plousiane,
the soul of Mary.

[COH]

Ⲧⲥⲁⲩ]ϩⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲭⲡⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛ̀[. . . . . .
. .]ⲛⲁⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲣ̄ϯⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ [
ϯⲃⲓ] ϩⲁⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲭⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ .[. . . . . .
ⲙ]ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲩϩⲥ̀ ⲉ[. . . . . .
.].ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲫⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲡϯⲙⲉ ⲉⲧ̀ . .[. . . . . .
. .] ⲡⲉⲧ̀ⲁϥⲱⲁⲡⲧ̄ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲉϥⲣⲉϣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ̀ . . . . .[. . .
. ⲕ]ⲱⲱⲥ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲓⲁⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙ̀ .[
ϯⲧⲟ]ⲟ̀ⲧ̀ ⲉ̈ⲓⲭⲁⲕⲙⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁ̈ⲓⲧ ⲁⲡⲟⲣⲅ[ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲉⲧ
ϩⲛⲡ]ⲁⲏⲣ • ⲁ̈ⲓⲡⲱⲗⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛ[ⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ
ⲉⲧⲥ]ⲟⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲧϩⲩⲗⲏ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲙⲁⲧⲉⲃⲟ̀ⲧ̀ⲉ ⲛ̄[. . . .
. . .] ϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲥⲁⲥⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ • ⲭⲉ ⲉ̀ ⲁ̈ⲓⲥⲉϩⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛ̀[. . . . .
. . ⲉ]ⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲡ|ⲁⲙ ⲃⲓ ϩ̀[ⲁ|ⲙⲉ
. . .] . ϩ̀ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲁⲗϩ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲭⲓ ⲭⲱⲕⲙ[ⲉ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ
ⲁⲛ]ⲏϩⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥ| ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲭ[ⲓ ⲧⲉⲥ
ⲙⲛ]ⲧⲃⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ ϩⲁ̈ⲉⲧ̀ • ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲉ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ̀ [. . . .
. .]ϩ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃ|ⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ϩⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏ[ⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲁ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ̈ⲓϩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲫⲫⲟⲛⲟⲥ . . . .[. . . . . .
.]ⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ϩⲏ̀ⲧ̀
ⲁⲗ]ⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟ ⲉⲧⲱⲧⲣ̀ⲧⲁⲣⲧ̄ ⲡⲉⲧ̀ⲉ [ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲩ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ
ⲛ]ⲉⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ • ϯⲱⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲁⲡϯⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ] ϯ
ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲧ̄ ⲁⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣ[ⲝ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ̀ . . . . .
ⲛ̄[ⲟ]ⲩⲣⲧ̄ ⲉⲥⲣⲁⲩⲧ̄ ⲉⲩⲁⲭⲁⲗⲉⲥ ϩⲛ̄[. .]ⲙ̈ⲛ̄[.]. . . . . [ⲛ
ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲁⲛⲟ|ϫ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ [.]ⲩⲱ [. . . . . .
ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϯⲁⲡⲉ
ⲦⲦⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̄|ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁ̀[. . . . . .
ⲉ]ⲩⲧⲁⲙⲉ • ⲧⲱⲧⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩ̈ⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲁ̈ⲓⲃⲁⲱ[ⲧ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲉ̈ⲟⲩⲁϫ ⲉ̈ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ • ⲁ̈ⲓⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲧⲩ̄
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ ϩⲱⲙ ⲁϫⲱⲥ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲁϩⲧⲏⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ
ⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲣⲥ ⲁ̈ⲓⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲱⲁ̈ⲓⲙⲉ
Ⲱ ⲧⲥⲁⲩϩⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ|ⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ϯⲁⲗⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲗⲟ̀ ⲉ
ⲧⲛⲁⲧⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩϩ ⲉⲧⲙⲏϩ ⲛ̄ϩⲩⲙⲛⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ
ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲁⲙ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲣ|ⲙⲉ

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2 cf. 233 b 20. — 12 ⲉ̀ sic expunctum. — 13 ⲃⲓ ϩⲁ|ⲙⲉ: cf. Keph. 153, 15. — 33 ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲟ sic: leg. ⲛ̄ⲱⲧⲃⲟ?

CCLXXVIII.

The assembly, the progeny of the . . . . . .
. . . . on high make music (ψάλλειν) to thee . . . . .
I bear] the body (σῶμα), the creature of Hades . . . . . .
of] the Light, the place where the assembly . . . . . .
. . people (λαός) of the immortals (ἄφθορος), the . . . . . city
to which he has taken me rejoicing, which . . . . . .
never a (?) corpse or (οὔτε) decay . . . . . .
Help] me, for I am washed and cleansed from the ὄργανον (?) [which is
in the] air (ἀήρ); I have been freed, a maiden, [from the
impure men that belong to the Matter (ὕλη), the army of . . . .
helping me on all sides; for I have removed myself from the bitter
. . . . . and come to port before the sea became stormy.
The . . . . salt sea (θάλασσα), I was not washed [in it
ever, nor (οὔτε) did I [receive the] slavery of
the fire of insatiety before my eyes (?); I was not yoked unto . . . .
of life (βίος), the cares unprofitable [and
the wounds, through the poison of envy (φθόνος) . . . . . .
that] lead the heart astray.
I have] forsaken the troubled world which [is of no
value in my eyes; I hasten to the city of the [righteous], I
yearn (?) to pass from the flesh (σάρξ), like . . . .
blooming rose which they are about to pluck in . . . . .
and give into the hands of a skilful man . . . . . .
knowing the craft.
The word of Jesus the Saviour came to . . . . . .
fitting: the vain garment of this flesh (σάρξ) I put off,
safe and pure; I caused the clean feet
of my soul to trample confidently upon it; the Gods that
are clothed with Christ, with them I stood in line.
O virtuous assembly of the righteous (δίκαιος), sweet and pleasant
singers (-ψάλλειν), — the lamps (λαμπάς) that are gathered, that are
full of hymns (ὕμνος),
light them quickly in your joy. The whimperings (?) of weeping

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6 ἄφθορος: cf. 100, 7; Hom. 22, 13. — 8 ⲓⲁⲁⲃⲉ: vid. Crum Dict. 76 b. — 21 ϯⲱⲁⲧⲡ̄: vid. 66, 32 n. — 22 ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲧ̄: cf. 188, 26; Hom. 9, 23; 10, 5; 53, 21; 55, 25. Qual. from ⲁⲗⲱⲗ (v. Crum op. cit. 6 a) 'desire eagerly'? — 24 ⲛⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ: vid. 46, 9 n.

l. 1 periit

. . . . . .]ϣⲁⲗⲉ ⲙⲁϛⲥⲓ ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲉ[. .
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .]ⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ ⲛⲛⲓⲁ
. . . . . .].ⲁⲡⲕⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲭⲣⲥ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲡⲱ[. .
. . . .]. . . .ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ • ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲛⲧ[ⲙ
ⲏⲉ . . .]ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲫⲑⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲛⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧ[ⲡ
ⲉⲧ]ⲟ[ⲩⲁ]ⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁⲛⲉ .[.
. . . ⲛⲧϯⲩ]ⲭⲏ ⲛⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

> · ⲥⲟ-Θ · <

. . ⲁⲧ ⲙ]ⲙⲟ ϣⲁⲡⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲑⲛ[ⲁⲩ
. . . . . .]. . ⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ ⲉⲧⲛⲁϣ[ⲧ
. . . .]. . ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲉⲕⲟ • ⲛⲧⲉⲙⲁϩⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲁⲡⲉⲙ[ⲧ
ⲁⲛ]
. . . . . .].ⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ[. .
. . . . . .]ϫ ⲙⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲧϩ ϩⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ[.
. . . . .]
. . . . . .] ⲙⲙⲟ ⲁⲡⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲙⲛⲑⲣⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉϩⲥ .[.
. . . . . .]. . . ⲛϩⲏ ⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛϫⲓ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟ[ⲥ
. . . . .]
. . . . . .] ⲛⲛⲉϩⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲛⲉⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ.[.
. . . . . .]ⲃⲓ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ ϩⲁⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲩ
. . . . . .] ⲙⲙⲟ ϩⲛⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
. . . . . .]ϩⲏⲧ. ⲛⲗⲁⲩⲉ • ⲉⲥⲓⲉ ⲙⲙⲟ ⲛⲧⲉⲃⲓⲧⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ
. . . . . .] ⲧⲥⲁⲩϩⲥ̀ ⲛⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲛϣⲁⲣⲡ̄
ⲛⲥⲱ
Ϥⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̀ ⲁⲣⲟ ⲛϫⲓ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ϩⲛⲟⲩϩⲟ ⲉϥⲙⲏϩ ⲛⲣⲉϣⲉ
ϥⲁϫⲁⲕⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛϥⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ϩⲛⲛⲉϥⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧⲙⲉ
Ϥⲁ+ ⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲙⲁⲓⲧ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲛϥⲃⲁⲣⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛⲛⲉ
ⲧⲛϩ̀ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲁϩⲱⲙ ⲉϥⲁⲥⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲧⲁⲓⲗⲉ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛⲡⲉϥⲁⲏⲣ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲡ . . . . . ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ
ⲙⲛⲛⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

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11 cf. 233 b 21. — 19 fort. ⲟⲩⲁⲛϩϥ̄. — 32 exspectavisses ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲁⲓⲥ.

l. 1 *destroyed*

. . . . . festival, she does not weep . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . that is holy, the mighty sign of these
. . . . . thy name, o Christ, the Saviour . . .
. . . . . maiden. Victory to thee, o Spirit of [Truth
. . . . holy, immortal (ἄφθορος), and his holy
Elect. Victory to the soul of Plousiane . .
. . . the] soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

CCLXXIX.

. . . . thyself unto thy Light, o soul; the time has come nigh
. . . . bitter . . . . of the grievous need (ἀνάγκη)
. . . . . of destruction, and do thou walk up to thy
rest (?).
. . . . . thy fight (ἀγών) which thy enemy . . . .
. . . . . the earth, smelted in the fire
. . . . .
. . . . . thyself from destruction and the fear of these sickles (?)
. . . . . reveals (?) himself to thee, even the Paraclete
. . . . .
. . . . . thy gifts, thy commandments (ἐντολή) which . .
. . . . . bear up the body (σῶμα) of death . .
. . . . . thee in the world (κόσμος).
. . . . . not at all; lighten thyself and take thyself up
. . . . . the assembly of the Gods which thou didst leave in
the beginning.
He will appear unto thee, even the Judge (κριτής), with a face full of joy;
he will wash thee also and purify thee with his pleasant dews.
He will set thy foot on the path of Truth and furnish thee with thy
wings of Light, like an eagle hovering, ascending
out of his air (ἀήρ).
Glory and victory to the . . . . . our Light,
and all his holy Elect; victory to the soul of Mary.

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7 ἄφθορος: vid. 99, 6 n. — 24 ⲉⲥⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ (cf. Keph. 115, 9 for initial ⲉ instead of ⲁ): v. Crum op. cit. 17 b, § II of article. — 29 ϭⲁⲣϭⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ: 'furnish thee'. Cf. Hom. 28, 12; Spiegelberg op. cit. p. 277. It is common in demotic contracts, especially of a house 'provided with' beams and doors (HT.).

ϙΠ

. . ωπ ϛ]ρεϥ [μ]ⲡ̣ⲕ̣ⲱ̣ⲛ̣ⲣ̣ⲉ . . .[. . . . . .

. . .]. . ⲭⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲥ πεⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ

. . . . .]ⲡ̣ⲏ̣ⲧ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲱⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ [. . . . . .

. . . .] ⲁ̣ⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲣⲁϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ • [. . . . . .

. . .]ⲧ̣ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲩⲗⲏ + .[. . . . . .

. . .] ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ⲕⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲏ

ⲦⲦⲁ]ⲗⲁⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲁ̈ⲡⲱⲧ ⲁ̈ⲓⲭⲁ[ⲕϥ . . . . . .

. . . .] ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲕⲣⲙ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲁ̈ⲓⲭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙ̣[. . . . . .

. .]ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩ̣[. . . . . .

. . .]ⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩ

ⲦⲦϩⲙ]ⲁⲧ̀ ⲉⲩϩⲁⲗⲃ ⲉⲫⲙⲏϩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁϥ [. . . . . .

. .] ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕ̅ⲗ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉ . . . .[. . . . . .

. .]ⲗ̣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲗ̣ . .[. .]ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ .[. . . . . .

.]. ⲉ̈ⲓⲥⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ|ⲙ ϩⲛ̄ⲡ .[

. . . .] non legi potest

.]. . . ⲥⲱⲛϩ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟ|ⲭ̣ ⲉⲧⲣⲏⲧ̣ . . . . . .[. . . . . .

ⲡⲟⲩⲁϩ|ⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲁⲣ ⲁ̈ⲧⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲁϥ ⲁ̣ⲃⲁⲗ[. . . . . .

ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲱⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲛⲉⲩϩ̀ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛ[ⲉ

ⲦⲦⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲙⲡⲧⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲧ̣[. . . . . .

ⲡϩⲙⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲑⲗⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲉ [. . . . . .

ⲛ̄ⲧϩ|ⲕⲱⲛ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲧⲣⲉϥⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲉ̣ [. . . . .

ⲃⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲃⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ

†ⲉⲙⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲱϩⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ[.]ⲉⲥϩ[. . . . .

ⲗⲉ ϩⲁⲡⲗⲱⲥ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛϩⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲫ̣[. .]ⲟⲩⲙ[ⲛ

ⲧⲭ|ⲛⲃⲁⲛⲥ̀ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲗⲁϩ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ . . . . .[. . . . .

ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲛⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

ϩ]ⲛ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲱⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄†ⲙⲉⲗⲉⲧⲏ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ

ⲁ̈ⲭⲱⲕⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ϩⲛ̄†ⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ • ⲭ|ⲧ̀ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ

ⲉ̈ⲏⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲙⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲡ ⲁ

ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲉⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲟⲩ

ⲦⲦⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲛ

ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲣⲉϥ† ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ Ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲟⲩ

ⲧⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ [μ]ⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥ|ⲁⲛⲉ

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2 cf. infr. p. 233 b 22: fort. †ⲱⲱⲡ legendum. — 10 fort. ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲱⲛⲉ cf. 81, 8. — 33 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲟⲩ sic: leg. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ.

CCLXXX.

I (?) take unto myself] thy Son . . . . . .
. . . Lord Christ.
. . . . run from the multitude . . . . . .
. . . . and the guile of death. . . . . .
and the fabrication of Matter (ὕλη) . . . . . .
. . . . thy wise right hand.
My] glorious race (ἀγών) I have run, I have finished [it . . .
murky . . . . of life (βίος), I have received the . . . . .
. . man thinks of it; the . . . . . .
. . . it upon the earth.
The] sweet and joyful gift . . . . . .
pleasant . . . . . of the Paraclete . . . . . .
never . . . it because of . . . . . .
. . I drinking always from the . . . . .

l. 16 *illegible*

. . . fetter the hands that . . . . . .
the cruel dog I have sent far away . . . . . .
that they be not loosed from the fetters of Light.
The two καμπτῆρες, the Luminaries (φωστήρ) which . . . . .
the gift of the three strong contests (ἆθλον) . . . . .
the image (εἰκών) on the other hand, the bringer of gladness . . .
joyous eye of my soul looks at them.
This flood which flows forth, the almsgivings . . . . . .
perchance (ἁπλῶς) upon the waves of Life (βίος) . . . . .
violence in the bitter conflict . . . . . .
myself to the holy palms.
Through such an order and through this constant exercise (μελέτη)
I have flavoured my soul in this divine teaching. Take me in,
for I belong to thee, to the habitations of joy, and pay
unto me the reward of my many contests (ἀγών).
Glory to thee, o God, the Glorious one, Christ, Saviour (σωτήρ) that
abidest, the giver of joy. Victory to the God-loving soul,
the daughter of Light, Mary, and all his Elect,
and the soul of Plousiane.

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20 i. e. the sun and moon, which are thought of as running a course (καμπή) through the heavens. — 27 ⲃⲁⲓⲉ: plur. of ⲃⲁⲉ 'palm', cf. Keph. 110, 13.

> · CΠA · <

|HC ΠNAHT Π]ωNϩ [. .]+ . . . . ε [. . . . .] ΝЄ[. . .
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .]. . . EAY ÑTAP|X|TϘ ϩṆ̃Ỵ .[. . .
. . . . . .Π]AϩHT THPϘ ϩÑOYMЄ|Є ÑAT[. . .
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .].ḤÇ ϐωωN ÑTϩYΛH A|XΠ|[AC . .
. . . . . .]|Є ṮAMÑTÑωNϩ ÑϢЄY Ñ[. . .
. . . . . .]. N|M
. . . . . .].ṇXAXЄ ΜΠNOYTЄ ΠNOM[OC . .
. . . . . .]ṆЄ +PA|C ANAK AṆЄTAϩ . . .[. .
. . . . . N]TOOTϘ ΠAPЄYCωTЄ
. . . . . .]ṇЄKCЄXЄ ЄTOYABЄ MÑNЄK[. .
. . . . . N]Є|XϣKME ÑϩHTOY ΠЄ NAϩ[. .
. . . . . N]Tϩ[Є N]OYϩAΛME
. . . . . .]ϣ[. . . .]. AϩPH| ΜΠЄTCA . . .[. . .
. . . . . .]Ṭ̣Ỵ . [. .] ϭЄ APAY ϩÑΠTHPϘ Ḛ.X̣[. .
. . . . . .]. . . . ϩωB N|M
. . . . . .]A . . . APAY EЧϭAΛЄ ÑTЄЧϣPAΓ[|C
. . . . . .]. . . . NЄЧ ÑTϩЄ ÑÑ|PЄЧϣωTЄ ЄP̣
. . . . . .]. NЄ̣ЄNTOΛAYЄ
. . . . . .]. . . . Ṭ ΜΠωNϩ MÑΠPЄϢḛ ÑATOY|NЄ
. . . . . M]Ṇ̃ṬCTOΛH ΠḲΛAM MÑΠBAЄ A|MЄC
TЄ ΠḲOCM]OC A|MЄP|TḲ
. . . . . .]ϩAPḲ A|NЄY APAC APAϩHT P̄BAΛ AΘP̄TЄ
. . . . . .]. EN ω ΘAΛACCA ḲAN EPϢANB| ϩA|ME
. . . . . .]
.]. . . . . ϣ . . TЄϩO ΜMAY MAPЄ ΠAΓЄNOC THPϘ P̄
ϢA|Ɛ ϫЄ A|X| AϫÑϩHT CNЄỲ ÑÑϢΠωΠ ΜMHЄ
ΜΠΠAPAḲΛHTOC
TTЄAY NЄḲ ΠAΠATϢЄΛЄЄT ΜMHЄ • ΠX̄P̄C ÑΜMAN
ϢЄΛЄЄT ΜΠOYA|NЄ MÑNЄYCωTΠ̄ THPOY ЄTOY
ABЄ OYϭPO ÑT☩YXH ÑTMAḲAPIA ΜMARIA ΘЄONA

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2 cf. infra p. 233 b 23. — 5 fin. 6 init. ÑAT[CЄXЄ APAY] coniicio. — 14 fort. NAC[NHY. — 16 ΜΠЄTCATϘ coniicio. — 20 fin. fort. Є|. — 22 fort. ΠMA|T. — 25 TXωPA ЄTϩAPḲ coniicio.

CCLXXXI.

Jesus the merciful, the] life . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . glory when I have received it in . . . .
. . . . my whole heart in un- . . . . love
. . . . . .
. . . . . evil . . . of Matter (ὕλη), I have put it to shame . . .
. . . . . my(?)good . . . . . .
. . . . every . . . .
. . . . . the enemy of God, the Law (νόμος?) . .
. . . . . I myself guard . . . . .
. . . . . from him, o my Saviour.
. . . . . thy holy words and thy . .
. . . . . I was washing in them, my . . . .
. . . . . like a fountain.
. . . . . up that which is . . . . . .
. . . . . therefore to him in the universe . . .
. . . . . everything.
. . . . . to him, he being clothed in his seal (σφραγίς)
. . . . . to him like these saviours
. . . . . thy commandments (ἐντολή).
. . . . . life and joy unfailing
. . . . and] the robe (στολή), the garland and the palm. I have hated
the] world (κόσμος), I have loved thee.
. . . peaceful . . . I have seen it, my heart has escaped from the fear
. . . . . not, o sea (θάλασσα), though (κἄν) thou raise a storm
. . . . .
. . . . . overtake it, let all my kin (γένος) make
festival, because I have received without doubt the true promises
of the Paraclete.
Glory to thee, my true Bridegroom, Christ of the bride-
chambers of Light, and all his holy Elect.
Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

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8 ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲛϩ : meaning unknown to me, cf. 135, 31.

[cπB]

Ⲁ|ϩ|ⲥⲉ ⲱⲁ]ⲛ+ⲱⲡⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲣⲁⲩ .[. . . . . .]. . .

. . . .]. ⲟ|ⲛ̇ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̇ ⲁ|ϫ[. . . . . .]ⲱⲁ|ⲗ|ⲗⲟ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̇ [. . . . . .]. ⲉ • ⲙⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲓ̈ +ⲛⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ .[. . . . . .]ⲡ]ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ • ⲉⲩⲧⲟ ⲡϩⲏⲩ [. . . . . .] ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲑⲗⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉⲉⲩ

Ⲁ|ⲣⲡ]ⲁⲁϩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲉ|ϫⲁⲕⲙⲉ ⲉ|ⲓ̈ⲧ[. . . . . .]ⲗ̇ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲗⲗ̄ ⲛ|ⲙ • ⲁ|ϫⲉⲗⲏⲟ [. . . . . .] ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲛⲁϫⲧ [. . . . . .]ⲟⲩ]ϩⲟⲟⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ • ⲙ̄ⲡ|+ ⲛⲁϩ[. . . . . .] ϩⲏⲁⲟⲛⲏ

. . .]ⲡϩⲟⲡⲗⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧ̇[. . . . . .]ⲏⲗ̇ • ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲕⲁ ⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲁⲧ̇.ϩ.[. . . . . .]ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲡ ⲧⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ|ⲛⲉ [. . . . . .]ⲁ|ⲣⲱϩⲥⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϫⲁϫⲉ ⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛ̄ⲧ̇[. . . . . .]ⲛ̄ⲛⲥ|ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲫⲁ|ⲣⲁ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̇[ⲉ

Ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲣⲟⲩⲕⲛ̄ϩⲉ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̇[. . . . . .].ⲗ ⲉⲩⲁⲣϫ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲧϫ[. . . . . .]. ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ|ⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ • ⲁ|ⲣ[. . . . . .]ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲧⲉ| ⲧⲉ ⲧϩⲁ̣ⲧⲉ ⲛⲛ̣[. . . . ⲉ ⲧⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈

Ⲟ]ⲩⲛ̣ ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲁⲡⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲃⲣⲟ [. . . . . .]ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ̇ ϫⲉ ⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ|ⲓϫ • ⲟⲩ[.]. . .[. . . ϫⲉ ⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲉⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲃ|ⲛ̇ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣[.]ⲏ[. . ⲁ ϫⲱⲓ̈ ⲁⲧϩ|ⲕⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ [. . .]. .ⲗ̇.ⲉⲛⲉ . . . ⲱ|ⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲉ+ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ

Ⲧⲥⲁⲱⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ [ⲉⲧ]ⲟ ⲛ̣ϩⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲙⲙⲁ|ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲁ|ⲃ|ϫ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲱⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁ|ϩⲏⲧ ⲁⲧⲡ̄ ϩⲁⲧⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲃⲱⲣⲃ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲱⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲏⲁⲟⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲁⲕ|ⲁ ⲧⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲏⲩ

Ⲧⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [ⲱⲁⲡ]ⲧ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲁⲙ ϫⲁⲕⲙⲉⲧ̇ ϩⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ

2 cf. p. 233 b 24. — 15 init. fort. ⲱⲗ]ⲏⲗ. — 24 ϫⲉ sup. lin. — 28 ⲡⲉ+ sic: leg. ⲡⲉⲧ+.

CCLXXXII.

I laboured until] I could run from the guile . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . find life, I have . . . . .
. . . . I cease from the midst of you . . . . . .
. . . . there is no pit (?) now beneath the abyss . . . . . .
run from the Darkness; where is the profit . . . . .
. . in the fight (ἆθλον) which thou hast made?
I have spent] my whole life pure and . . . . . .
. . . all theft. I have waited (?) . . . . . .
. . I . . . . I have not cast myself . . . . . .
dogs of fire. I have not given . . . . . .
. . lust (ἡδονή).
. . . the unbreakable weapon (ὅπλον) of . . . . . .
. . I have not shot arrows at . . . . . .
me, I have . . . . . of Light . . . . . .
I have struck my enemies, I have brought . . . . . .
the stars of the sphere (σφαῖρα) in the sky (?).
I have been a holy shrine . . . . . .
firm . . . of the knowledge which . . . . . .
the fruit-giving seeds. I have . . . . . .
of godliness. Lo, this is the hour (?) of the . . . .
which God has given to me.
There is a garland upon my head because I have conquered . . . . .
into my hand, for I have bound my hands; a . . . . .
for I have obtained purity and found the . . . . .
upon me, the image (εἰκών) has floated (?) to me . . . . . .
change past (παρά) him that gives (?) it.
The seven fearful demons have passed away [from me,
their foul hands also empty of my blood,
their heart also laden with grief (λύπη) and sorrow because
they were not able to trap *me* in the nets of lust (ἡδονή),
for (γάρ) I have never been a slave of iniquity (κακία) that works outrages.
O Saviour (σωτήρ), o Son of God, [take] me unto thee quickly,
wash me in the dews of the Column (στῦλος) of Glory

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5 i. e. 'pass' (?). — 10 ϩεληϭ cf. 19, 23 n. — 11 ⲁϫⲛⲉ: 'without thee (fem.)' (?). — 16 ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲡ ⲧⲃⲟ: 'I have hidden the channel' (?), cf. ⲫⲟ, Crum op. cit. 623 a. — 29 cf. infr. 210, 21 etc. — 27 ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉⲥ: cf. 185, 11; 193, 30 n.

1—4 non legi possunt

5 . . . .]. . . . .ⲁ|ⲟⲥ • ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲡ̣[. .
. . . . . .]ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲁ̣ⲃⲉ . . . . .[. .
. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣ̣[ⲓⲁ
l. 8 non legi potest

> · [ⲥ]ⲡ̣ϫ · <

10 . . .ⲕ̣ ⲉ̣ⲧⲟ|ⲓ ⲛⲍⲣⲧⲉ ⲡ]ⲗ̣ⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ|ⲧ ⲡ[. .
. . . . . .]ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
. . . . . .]ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲗ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ [. .
. . . . . .]. ⲟⲥ • ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲕⲉⲉⲥ ⲉ[. .
. . . . . .]. ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲍⲉⲡ • ⲉⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲧ̣[. .
15 . . . . . .]. ⲁⲧ ⲡⲉⲩⲗⲉⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲭⲉ
. . . . . .]ⲩ ⲥⲓⲑⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲏⲙⲁ .[. .
. . . . . .]. ⲃ̣ⲧ̄ ⲉⲩⲛⲉ̣ⲩ ⲁⲛⲱⲁⲃⲓⲥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
. . . . . .]. . . . ⲡ̣ⲱⲣⲱ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ .[.
non legi potest
20 . . . . . .]. ⲗ . .[.] ⲁⲩⲑⲱ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲡ
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .]. . .[.]ⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ • ⲁⲍⲣⲁⲕ̣
. . . . . .]. . . . ⲕⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
.]. . ⲉ . . . . ⲍⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ . . . ⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲕ̣ⲧⲣ̄ⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲛⲁⲱⲝ
25 .]. ⲙⲁⲛ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲁⲃⲁⲙ • ⲁⲃⲓ ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲫⲱⲃⲉ ⲁ
non legi potest
ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲓ̈ †ⲛⲟⲩ • ⲃⲓ ⲥⲣⲉⲕ̣ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ̀ • ⲃⲱⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲡⲁ
ⲍⲟ • ⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲍⲉ ⲉ†ⲓ̈ⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲙⲉ
ⲉⲫⲍⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲗ • ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲓ̈†ⲭⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲣⲉⲫⲣⲛⲁ
30 ⲃⲉ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲛ̄ⲧⲫ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲉⲡ • ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲫ ⲉⲫⲧⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲧ
Ⲁ̈ⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲱ[ⲧⲙ ⲣ]ⲱ ⲁⲧⲕ̣ⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲗⲃ ⲱ ⲡⲕⲣⲓ
ⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲡⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲣ|ⲧ

10 cf. 233 b 25. — 15 fort. ⲱⲁⲧ.

ll. 1—4 *illegible*

. . . . . A garland upon the Sage, the . .
. . . . . his holy Elect . . . . . .
. . . . . the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary,
l. 8 *illegible*

CCLXXXIII.

. . . . . fearful, the Youth, he of the great fame, the
. . . . . man.
. . . . . the glory in joyous eyes . .
. . . . . as thou doest . . .
. . . . . in (?) thy judgment, which was . .
. . . . . cut (?) out his tongue in . .
. . . . . it before thy Bema . . .
. . . . . he seeing the fearful ones of the
. . . . . spread out their . .
l. 19 *illegible*
. . . . . they stayed until they saw only the
. . . . . .
. . . . . the lawless (ἄνομος), o man, why dost thou
. . . . . I [will] never desert thee
. . . . . in the . . . . of which thou art terrified shall
. . . . . power, to lift his wounding hand against
l. 26 *illegible*
to my side now. Lift up thy face, o loved one, look into
my face, see how I gaze at thee, with no evil glance
in my eyes, as I glance at the sinner
when he is brought to my judgment and is found guilty.
I have lived since I heard thy sweet voice, o true
judge (κριτής), o glorious one; for I have seen them of the dear image

10 ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ: cf. Hom. 87 note a. — 17 ϣⲁⲃⲓⲥⲟ: vid. 16, 25 n.

1 et 2 perierunt

3—5 non legi possunt

6 . . . .]ⲛⲁϫⲏ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ • ⲧⲛⲁ .[. . . . . .
. . . . . ⲃ]ⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ • . .[. . . . . .

8 et 9 non legi possunt

10 . . . . .]ⲙⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲣⲉϣⲏ • ⲧⲛⲉⲩ [. . . . . .
. . .]ⲁⲛⲉ • ⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛⲏϩ[ⲉ . . . . . .
. . . .]. . . ⲏ ⲉⲕⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲏ . .[. . . . . .
. . . .]. . ⲉⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϫⲉ . ⲃⲉ[. . . . . .
. . .] ⲁⲣ[ⲉ]ⲧⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲉⲩ ⲁ̣ⲡⲟ̣ . [. . . . . .
15 . . .] ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲕ̄ ϫⲉ ⲙⲏ ⲁϫ .[. . . . . .

16 et 17 non legi possunt

.]. ⲁϩⲉⲡ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕϫⲁϫⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ [. . . . . .
ⲡ]ⲉⲕϩⲉⲡ ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ϫⲓ ϩⲟ ⲛ̄[ϩⲏⲧϥ . . . . . .
20 ⲕ]ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲁⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ • ϫⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲁ̣ⲕ̣ [. . . . . .

21 non legi potest

ⲕ̣ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲉⲃⲁⲗⲡ̄ ϩⲁⲡ̣ . [. . . . . .
ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲕⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲉⲛ [. . . . . .
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲗ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲧ . . . ⲛ̣ⲧⲟ̣ⲩ [. . .]. . . .[.
25 .]ⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲉ̣ⲧⲃⲉ .[. . . . . .]. . . .
ⲣⲉ̣ⲛ • ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲙⲡ . . . .[. . . . . .]. . .[. . .
ⲱⲟⲩ • ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ϩⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ • ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁϥ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲏⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲱⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲧ†[ⲩⲭⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲙⲓⲱⲉ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ
30 †ϩⲧⲏⲕ ϩⲱⲱⲕ †ⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲉⲩ
ϫⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲏⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟ̣ⲩⲏⲣ ⲡⲉ • ⲫⲗⲁⲙ[ⲉ ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲏⲣ • ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲩⲧ†ⲩ
ϫⲏ ⲱⲁⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲡⲉ • ⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏ[ⲧϥ ⲉ]ⲫⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁϩⲗⲉϩ
ⲁⲣⲁϥ • ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄[ϩⲛⲱ]ⲃ̄ⲓⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ
ⲫϩⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲁ̣ . [.]ⲕ̣ⲁⲓ . [. . .] ⲁ̣ϫⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲉ

26/27 fort. [ⲱⲟⲩ]ⲱⲟⲩ. — 34 fort. ⲫϩⲱⲕ.

ll. 1 *and* 2 *destroyed*

ll. 3—5 *illegible*

. . . cast it away from me, I will . . . . . .
. . . . . glorious Bema . . . . . .

ll. 8 *and* 9 *illegible*

. . . . truth gentle. I see . . . . . .
. . . . for (γάρ) there is none ever . . . . . .
. . . . . as thou doest . . . . . .
. . . . . call me . . . . . .
. . . unto thee, even thee, and thou seest the . . . . . .
. . . to thee alone, for . . . . . .

ll. 16 *and* 17 *illegible*

. . judgment upon all thy enemies . . . . . .
thy judgment is upright, there is no respect of persons in it . . . .
thou] excellest all judges (κριτής), for thou . . . . . .

l. 21 *illegible*

thou knowest them, they reveal . . . . . .
not one, nor (οὔτε) dost thou hate one . . . . . .
testimony of the eyes that the labours that . . . . . .
. . the things which we have done because of . . . . . .
name (?). The pride of the . . . . . .
boast (?), the teaching from which no profit comes, [but] thy knowledge
and thy Truth and thy Wisdom (σοφία) illumine the soul
and fight for it greatly.
Do thou also mark now the life (βίος) of them that are of the earth and see
how poor it is, how foul it is, what a
murderer of souls it is. There is nothing in it worthy to be
desired (?), but (ἀλλά) it is the place where bitter recompenses are paid;
it crushes (?) a race (γένος) . . . . . without any mercy

1—4 perierunt, excepta voce ΔΒΔΛ, l. 4.

. . . . . .]. ϊ̣ AN ϩN̄ΠΕKϩHT THPϥ̄ [. . . .
. . . . . .]. . NOYTE
. . . . . .]ϣ ΠKPITHC N̄AṮX . [. . . . . .
. . . . . .]ϻε BI N̄TϺHTE N̄ .[. . . . . .
. . . . . .]. ϫε AYNEϩCE Aϱ̣ . . [. . . .
. . . . . .]NATAϣT̄ ϩωωT Π . . Ч . [. .
. . . . . .]. . . . . N̄N̄Δωρον AN ϪΠK[. .
. . . . .]ϭε N̄N̄TAϣ ϪΠKOCϺ[OC . .
. . . . . .]. . N̄TϺN̄TBOONE • ϺΑΡΙ .[. . .
. . . . . .]. . ṗΑϺΑN̄ϣωΠΕ ΕΤΟ N̄Ε[ΑΥ
. . . . . .]. ϒϣ ϺN̄N̄ΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΤΑϩω[. . .
. . . . . .]. N̄ΠϭΡΟ ΕΤΑΥϫΙ ϪϺΑϥ
. . . . . .]. . ϫΠΟ ΕΤϫOYΑΡT̄ N̄TΦΥCIϙ
. . . .]ϐε.ϙ̣[. . .] ΔΒΔΛ ΟΥΕϊ̈Ε CΑCΑ ΝΙϺ • ϪΠ[.
. . . . . .]ϭIϫ ΕΤCOOϥ ΔΒωϭΕ ΑϫN̄Π[.
. . . . . .]ΠϙE ϥΗΠ ΓΑΡ ΕΝ ΑΡωΤN̄ . .[.
. . . . . .]ΕẎ ΠϩωΒ ΓΑΡ COYΑNT̄ ΔΒΔΛ ϫ.
. . . . . .]. ϵϙC N̄KΕKΕ ΑCΠωṪ • N̄TΑK
. . . . . .] ṭN̄ΛO EKP̄ϩΑΤΕ N̄K+ ΑϫωḲ
. . . . . .] N̄K+ ΡΕTḲ ΑΠϺΑϊ̈T N̄TΕIΡΗ
ΝΗ] ω Π . [. . . . . .] N̄NΑTΕϥΡΕϊ̈TE ΠΛOYCIΑNE
. .]ṇ̄ẊP̣Ẏ[. . . . . Π]ϣΑϊ̈ ΘΕONΑ ϪN̄NOYTE

< · C̄Π̄Δ̄ · <

+ϩωC ΑΡΑK ΠX̄PC̄
Ϭ]TBE TEKXΑPIC ΑΥ+[OY]ω ϪϺΑϊ̈ ϩN̄N̄CNEYϩ ETϺΑXϩ̄ N̄
ΤΕ TCΑPΣ N̄ϩΑ ϪϺ̣[.]ϊ̈Ε +ΡΕϣΕ +NOY +ϩωC ΑΡΑK
ΠXPICTOC
N]IϺ N̄ΡΕϥCϺΑϺϙ̣ [ΠΕT]NΑϣ[C]ϺOY ΝΕϺΗϊ̈ ω ΠΑP̄ΡO
ΑΠϺΑ N̄TϺN̄T.[. .]. . ΕΤΑK[.]. . . . ϺN̄[.]ϙ̣ ΝΗϊ̈ ϩ .

28 cf. p. 233 b 26.

ll. 1—4 destroyed

. . . . . also with thy whole heart . . .
. . . . . God.
. . . . . o un- . . . . judge (κριτής) . . . .
. . . . . take away . . . . .
. . . . . for they rose up . . . .
. . . . . I will set myself . . . . .
. . . . . the gifts (δῶρον) also of the . . .
. . . . . the bounds of the world (κόσμος)
. . . . . iniquity, let me . . . .
. . . . . my glorious habitation
. . . . . and the righteous (δίκαιος) . . . . .
. . . . . the victory which they have received.
. . . . . accursed creature of nature (φύσις)
. . . . . away, go far off on every side . . .
. . . . . foul hands to leap upon the . . .
. . . . . for (γάρ) he belongs not unto you . . .
. . . . . for (γάρ) the thing is known (?) . . .
. . . . . sickles of Darkness, she ran. Thou
. . . . . cease, thou being afraid and do thou set on thy (?) head
. . . . . and set thy foot upon the path of peace (εἰρήνη),
o . . . . . them of his kin, Plousiane,
. . . . . ., Pshai, Theona, Jmnoute.

CCLXXXIV.

I sing to thee, o Christ.
Because of thy grace (χάρις) I have been freed from the grievous fetters
of the . . . . -faced flesh (σάρξ). I rejoice now. I sing to thee,
o Christ.
What singer of praises shall be able to praise with me, o King,
the place of the . . . . which thou hast . . . . . to me . .

28 This line is repeated as a refrain, sometimes in a shortened form, at the end of verses.

1 periit

. . . . . .] ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲉⲧ[. . . . .

. . . .]ⲭⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ [. . . . .

. . ⲕⲁ]ⲥⲧⲏⲩ †ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲭⲣⲥ

5 ⲦⲦⲓⲕⲟⲥ]ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲗⲟ [ⲥ]ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁ[ⲓⲣ

ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲧ]ⲱⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲉⲩ . . . .

. . . . .]. ⲉⲧ †ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲥ ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲱⲥ [. . . . . .

. . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲱⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ[

Ⲛⲉⲧⲥ]ⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲥⲉⲗ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ [. . . . . .

10 . . .]. . ⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲃ ⲛ̄[. . . . .

. . . . .]. ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲟ . [. . . . . .

. . . .]ⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲧ[†]ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉ . . .[

. . . .]. ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲙ[ⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ . . . . .

. . .]ⲭⲱⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲣ[ⲓⲥⲓⲥ

15 ⲗⲛ]ⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ .[. . . ⲙⲛ

ⲥ]ⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟ̄ⲣ̄ⲧⲉ †ⲥⲱⲥ

Ⲥⲱ]ⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩ†ⲥⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲥⲣⲛ̄ ⲛⲣ[ⲙ

ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲫⲁⲓⲙⲉ. .

ⲁⲃⲁ]ⲗ †ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ

20 ⲗⲁ] ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲛⲉ†ⲁⲱ

ⲱⲛ̄ⲍ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ ⲛ̄ .....

ⲦⲦ]ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣⲃ ⲁⲭⲱⲓ̈ ⲧⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ

ⲁⲥⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥⲭⲓ ⲡⲃⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲱⲃⲙⲉ †ⲥⲱⲥ

Ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈° ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲗ[ⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲙ]ⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲭⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲩⲗⲏ

25 ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ] ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲓ ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̄[. . . . .]

Ⲟⲩ]ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲣⲱⲱ[ⲉ ⲛⲧ]ⲉⲕⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲗⲃⲏⲧ • ⲉⲓ̈

ⲣⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ[. . . .] ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ †

ⲦⲦⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲛ̄[. . . . . .]. . ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄

ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲥ[ⲁⲣⲁⲛ] ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓ

30 ⲁ ⲙ̄[ⲙⲁ]ⲣⲓⲁ

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8 ⲱⲛⲍⲧⲏⲩ valde dubium. — 13 ⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ: cf. Hom. 59, 29. — 15 fort. ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ. — 24 ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈° sic punctum glossae ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲩⲗⲏ causa quae in margine recent. man. exarata est.

l. 1 destroyed

The] hidden . . . . . of the sphere (σφαῖρα) . . . .
. . . pollution of its sins because of . . . .
trust (?). I sing to thee, o Christ.
This] world (κόσμος) which is full of error — I have passed from it, [I have escaped from the] ordinance of Fate (τύχη) which has no . . . .
. . . . . the corpses . . . .
. . . . . .
The] foul men that are vain and deceitful, that belong . . . .
. . . . . in them like these . . . . fools (?)
. . . . . birth of the earth, they that . . .
. . . . . are these strangers to the . . . . soul.
The] whole . . . . of the bodily (σωματικόν?) race (γένος)
. . . . not upon it at all in the hour of judgment (κρίσις?)
The soul has no pride, no renown, no fame, no . . . ., [no profit in the time of dread. I sing.
All things that are esteemed in the world (κόσμος) in the eyes of earthly men — their glory is transitory and it . . . .
away. I sing to thee.
Give] me thy gifts only, o merciful one, whereby I shall be able to live in the way of life . . . . .
The] garland of the gods has been orderly set on me, my right hand has been beautiful since it received the unfading palm. I sing.
The lion-skins which clothe my limbs (μέλος), I have cast them away, I have received a robe (στολή) . . . .
There is glory in my mouth for the plenty of thy kindness: I marvel only at the . . . . of thy graces (χάρις). I sing.
Victory to thee, o glorious one, our . . . . . the word of the Migthy which thou gavest for [us], the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

22 ⲥⲱⲣⲃ: vid. Crum Dict. 709 a.

[CΠΕ]

Χαιρε ΠΝΟΥϹ] Χαιρε . . . .[. . . . . .
. . . . . .]ϩιϲε ΝΝΟΥΤΕ
. . . . . ϯ]ΥΧΗ ϖΜΑϊΝΟΥΤΕ ρεϣε • ΝΕϯρ .[.
. . . . . .] ΤΕΤΑϹϫωϰ ϧΒΑΛ ϧϩ|ρε ΜΠΟΥ[ωϣ
ε ΜΠΝΟΥ]ϯϩ ϩΝ̄ΟΥΜΝ̄Τϫωρε ϧϹϭωΤΠ̄ [. .
. . . . . ο]ΥΜΝ̄ΤΝ̄ϣΑΤ ϧΒΑΛ ϩΝ̄ΤΕϥ.[. . .
. . . . . .]ϊϫωϰ ϧΒΑΛ ΝΟΥΜΝ̄ΤΑϣϯ[. .
. . . . . .] ΕΤΒΗΤϰ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕϰΧΑΡΙϩ [. . . .
. . . . . ϫ||ο]ορε ϖΜΑϊ̈ ΕϰϣΟΟΠ ΓΑΡ ΝΝ̣ .
. . . . . .]ϐωϰ ϩΗΤ ΑΥΜΝ̄ΤΛΕΜΗϣΕ Εϰ[. .
. . . . . .]. . . . ϩΝ̄ΝϹΜΟΟΤ̀ Ν̄ΤΕϰΜΝ̄[ΤΝΑϭ
. . . . . .]. . . . .ϣϯωΝ̣Ε Ạ̀ΤΕϥϣο̣[. . .
. . . . . ΑΙ]ΝΕΥ ΓΑΡ ΑΡΟ ΕΡΕΜ|ϣΕ ϩΝ̄ϯ
ΜΛΑϩ Τ]ϦΡϥ̄ • ΑϊϯΤΟΟΤ̀ ΝΕΜΕ ϩΝ̄ΟΥΜΝ̄Τϫωρε .
. . . . . ϧΒΑΛ
Ⲁ[Ⲓ]ϫ| Ν̄ΝΕϰϹΕϫΕ ὼ ΠΑϊ̈ΩΤ ϹΩΤ ΑΡΑϊ̈ ϯΝΟΥ Ν̣
ΤΕ]ϰΟΥΝΕΜ ϫΕϰΑϹ ΕΡΕ ΠϹΑϣϥ̄ Ν̄ϪΑ|ΜΩΝ
ΝΕϯϩΗΤ ΝΕΥ Ν̄ϹΕΟΥΕϊ̈Ε ΑΡΑϊ̈ • ΑΝΑϰ ϩΩΩΤ Ạ̀Ν
Ạ̀|ϫ| ϖΠΨΑΜΤ̄ Ν̄ϩΜΑΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΒΕ ΝΕΤΟΥϹϣ[Τ Μ
ΜΑϒ ΑΡΑϊ̈ Ν̄ϫ| ΠϣΑΜΤ̄ Ν̄ΑΓΓΕΛΟϹ ΕΤΟΥΑΒΕ
Ⲁ̀Μ . . . . . ΟΥΝΕΜ ΤΕΤΕ ΜΝ̄ΦΘΟΝΟϹ ϣο
ΟΠ Ν̄ϩϦϯϹ Ν̄ϩΜΟΟΤ ΑΝ Ν̄ΑΤΤΕϰο ωΛϖ̄ ΑΡΑϒ
Ν̄ΤΕΒ|ΤΟΥ ΝΕ Ν̄ϩΟΥϩΕ ϩωϥ Ν̄ϣΗΡΕ Ν̄ΤϩΥΛΗ ϖ̄
ΠωρΡ̣ . . . |ϪΕ̣ Ν̣Ε[ΜΕ]Υ
Ⲉ|Ϲ ΝΕϊ̈ ΜΕΝ Ạ̀[| . . . . . ϯΝΑ]ϫ||ϊ̈ΟΟΡΕ ϯΝΟΥ Ν[ΤΑ
ΛΑϩΛΕϩ ΑΡΑΥ ϩϣ[ωΤ ΝϬ]ϪΑΜ Ν̄ΤΑΤΕΛΟ Ν̄ΤΑ
ϭωϣϯ̄ ΤΑΝΕΥ Ν̣[. . .]. ΑΤΡΕϊ̈ΤΕ ΤΗΡϵ̀ Ν̄ΝΑΠΑ
ΓΕΝΟϹ ΝΑϊ̈[ΑΤΕ ΕΤϭΑ]ϣϯ̄ ΑΒΑΛ ΝΕϊ̈ ΕϣΑΥΒΙ
ΛΗϩ ϩΑΡΑϊ̈ ϫΕ ΕϊΑΒ[ωϰ Ν]Εϣ Ν̄ϩΕ ΑΠϰΑϩ ΕΤΠ̄Ρ̀
Ϊ̈ωογ
ϩωΒ Ν|Μ ΕΤΕ . . ϣ . . . Ν̄ . . . . . ο̣Ν[. . . .
ΛΑΥΕ Ν̄ϩϊϹε ϖ̄ΠωρϫΙ ϩο ϭε . . . ϯϖ̄ ΑΒω[ϰ

2 cf. 233 b 27. — 22 fort. ΑΜΗ. — 25 fort. ΠωρΒ̣. — 33 post ϭε fort. ϣωΤΠ̄ cf. 66, 32 n.

CCLXXXV.

Hail (χαῖρε), o Mind (νοῦς)], hail (χαῖρε), ...
. . . . . divine suffering.
. . . . soul that lovest God, rejoice . . . .
. . . . . that has finished and done the will
of God in fortitude and has yielded
. . . . . hardihood from his (?) . . .
. . . . . I fulfil a . . . . .
. . . . . because of thee, because of thy grace (χάρις) . . .
. . . . ferry me across; for (γάρ) thou art
. . . . . going before me in leadership, . . .
. . . . . in the forms of thy greatness.
. . . . . able to turn to his . . . .
. . . . . for (γάρ) I saw thee fighting in the
whole [battle], I succoured thee with fortitude
. . . . . forth.
I have received thy words, o my Father: stretch out to me now
thy right hand that the seven demons
that are before me may see and go far away from me. I also
have received the three holy gifts which the three holy
angels extend to me.
Come (?) . . . . . right hand wherein there is
no envy (φθόνος); the immortal gifts also — do thou embrace them
and take them unto thee, but the Abortions, the sons of Matter (ὕλη),
do thou not . . . . with them.
Lo, them indeed (μέν) [I have] . . . [I will] cross now and
transcend (?) them myself (?) quickly and arise and
look and behold . . . . to the whole family of my kinsmen (-γένος),
my Fathers that look forth, them that care
for me, in what manner I may go to the shining
Land.
All things that . . . . . .
any toil. Do not heed therefore . . . . to go

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2 ff. A dialogue between the soul and the Saviour in alternate verses. — 24 ⲥⲟⲩⲥⲉ: vid. Cumont op. cit. pp. 40—1; Keph. LVI. — 27 ⲗⲁⲥⲗⲉⲥ: cf. 105, 32; vid. Crum Dict. 149 b; Keph. 158, 11.

1—5 non legi possunt

6 . . . . . .]. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲟ . .[. . . . .
. . . . . .]. . . . ⲡⲛⲁⲉ ⲧ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̇ⲁⲕ[ⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · C̄Π̄Ϛ · <

. . . .]. ⲱⲧ . . . ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲱ . ⲛⲉⲩ . . . . .[. . . . .
10 . . . .].

non legi potest

. . . .]. . . . . .ϩⲙⲉ̣ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛ . . .[. . . . . .
. . .]. . . . . ϫⲉⲓⲁ̣☩ ⲗⲁⲃⲱ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲁⲥⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ [. . . .
. .] ⲙ̄ⲡ̄|ⲙⲁ̣ⲣ̄ⲧ̄ . ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ ⲙⲙⲟ̣
15 . .]. ⲉ̣ ⲧⲡⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̣ ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ . . . . . .[.
.]. ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲛ̣̄ . . . . . ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ̣ . . ⲥ̣
ⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲧⲁⲣ . . ⲛ̣ⲧⲉ̣ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ̣ⲣ . . . ⲥ̣ . . . . . ⲱⲧ̣.
. .] ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ . . . . . ⲧ̣ . . . .[. . . . .
ⲁ̣ⲗⲛ]ⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲙ̄ . ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲭⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲁ̣ⲍⲧⲉ̣
20 . . ⲣⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲩ[ⲙ]ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲣⲁ̣ⲓ̈ . . . . . ⲛ̣̄ⲱⲁⲓ̈
. . . ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲁⲟⲛⲁⲩⲉ . . . . . ⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲣ̄☩ⲗⲗⲉ ϩⲛ̄
ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ϫⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ̣ ⲁ̣ⲃⲁ̣ⲗ . .[. . . . .]
ⲗ̣ⲡ̣|ϫⲓ ☩ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡϩ|ⲛⲏⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[. . . . .]. ⲛ̣̄ⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲟⲩ
.]. . ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲥ̀ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲁ̣[. . .]. . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲟⲩ
25 . . . . ⲃⲉϩⲟ ⲱⲣ̄ϩⲉⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ . . . . ⲱⲁⲭⲧ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲙⲉ
. . . .]ⲙⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁ . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲩ̄ . . . . . .
. . . . . ⲙ̣ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲅ̣ⲁ̣ⲣ . ⲱⲛ . . ⲉⲧ̣[. . . . .]. . ⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲉ ϩⲱⲕ
. . ⲁ̣ . . ⲥⲁⲥ . . . .[. . . . .]. . . ⲥⲣ̄ⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥ
ⲕⲁ[. . . . . .]ⲁⲱⲭ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧ̄
30 ⲁ . . . ⲗϩ ⲁⲭⲱⲭ

25 ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗⲃⲉϩⲟ coniicio, cf. 73, 16.

1—2 non legi possunt

. . . . .]. . ετδαωτ̄ αβαλ [. . . . . .
. . . . .]. . . εττροϒα|νε
5 α[. . . .]. . ϒν . βωνε . . . . . .[. . . .
μ[. . .] . θαλαϲϲα α|ϊ . . . . . .[. . . .
. . . .]ν . . . . . αϒ τεταϊ . . . . . α . .[. .]. .
. . . . .]. . . . . ετα|ϊχ|τοϒ ν̄τοοτ̄ϥ̄
9 . . . . . μ̄πε . . . . . ϲαταϕϒϲ|ϲ
10 non legi potest
. . . . . [.] . . . . . ϒ ν̄ν̄νοϒτε
. . . . . ϣαανηϩε

13—15 non legi possunt

16 . . . . . μακαρια μ̄μαρια

. . . . . .
Τα|ϒχη ετηπ αρακ . . εϥ . [.] . . πω απχα . .
ϣ μ̄περ . . . . . αν . . . . ν
20 α|ϊρ̄τ . ε . [. . . . .] . ὰτ̀ . . . . . π . χ| . . . .
ετα . . . . .[. . . .] ν̄τε τϲετε ακδα|λε α . .
. . τε μπεκ . . .[. . .]. . . α|ϊδωϣτ εϊ . . ν .
ουλ|βε ν̄ϣετ . .
χν̄ταϊδ|νε . . . . . μ . . . . . ε μν̄ν̄τ . . . .
25 βι • α|ϊκω ν̄[. . . . .]. . . . . ντε . [. . .
μν̄ν̄ϣηηϒ .[. . . . . .]. . . πλανη . . . .
τετουμαϩε ν̄ϩη[τϲ . . . . . .]. . .
α|ϊχι πϲεχε ετ . . . . πν . . . . . .

17 tenuia vestigia superscriptionis cum ornamentis: exspectavisses ϯαλμοι ἀλαφοροι: ϲπϛ, una cum nomine auctoris, cf. 233 b 29. — 18 cf. 233 b 30.

. . . .]. . . . . ⲙⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ .[.
. . . .] . . ⲥ ⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲟ̣ⲟ̣[ⲛⲉ
ⲭⲛⲙⲡ]ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲓ ⲧⲉⲕ̣ⲥⲃⲱ ⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲗ[ⲁⲛⲏ
ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ]
. . . . . .]. . . ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲓ ⲉ̣ⲓⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ[. .
. .]. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲍⲏⲧ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟ̣ⲁⲣⲙ̣[. .
.]. ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧ̣ⲟⲩ . . . ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ̣ . . .[. .
. .]. . . ⲛ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟ̄ⲁⲟⲩⲟⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁ[ⲣ]ⲝ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ
+ⲣⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲍⲱⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲍⲁⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲉⲧ
ⲉ ⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲍⲛ̄ⲛ . . . ⲉ̣ⲗ . ⲉ̣[. .
. .]ⲗ̈ⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲁⲛ|ⲙ ⲧⲉ †ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁ
ⲛⲁ]ⲱⲧ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧ . . ⲟ̣ⲉ̣
. . . .]. . . .ⲧ̀ ⲁⲓ̈ . . . . ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ|̣ . . . ⲉ̣ . . . .
ⲍⲛ]ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲗ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲁ]ⲃⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̣ⲁ . . . . . .
ⲥ]ⲁ̣ⲧⲩ . . . . . ⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲁ
ⲟ]ⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲁⲡⲏ
+]ⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲉ ⲙⲁ† ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲁⲭⲏⲣ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃ̣ⲉ̣ⲕ̣ⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̣[. .
. ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲱⲗⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲕⲣⲁⲩⲧ ⲙⲛ̄[ⲧⲙⲛ
ⲧ̣ⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲣ̄ⲫⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲁⲕ̣ⲟ̣ⲩ̣ [ⲙ
ⲡⲁⲁⲍⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲫ̄
Ⲛⲟ]ⲩⲍⲃⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲉⲧⲁⲥ|ⲱ
ⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁ
ⲍ̣ⲧⲱⲣⲏ: ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲱⲗⲏⲗ̣ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙⲛ̄
ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲭ|ⲧ̀ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥ̣ⲡ̣ⲟⲩⲇⲏ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲡ . . . ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲙ̄†ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧ . . . . . ⲁ . . . . . ⲧ̣ⲏⲣ̣ⲧⲛⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲁ|
ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

11/12 ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲉ coniicio. — 24, 25 leg. ⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲍⲧⲱⲣⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲱⲗⲏⲗ etc. ⲍⲧⲱⲣⲏ: sic punctum vid.

. . . . . of all goodness
. . . . . of the root of evil
since the] day that I received thy teaching wherein there
is no error (πλάνη).
. . . . . that gives Light, that receives the word . . .
. . . . . the Light before me. I am the . . . .
. . . . . because men . . . . .
. . . . they are called the slaves of the flesh (σάρξ)
of death.
I] myself bear witness also of my soul that is perfect, wherein
all men rejoice in the . . . . .
. . . to it saying, 'Whose is this goodness that is
nourished in its joy ?', living by it in . . . .
. . . . . the Mind (νοῦς) of . . . .
with my eyes, and his perfect consort, the holy Wisdom (σοφία),
I have known them, that they are . . . . . .
purified (?) . . . . . ., waiting for me because of my passion (πάθος)
which I suffered.
Now therefore give me, my Saviour ($\overline{\text{σηρ}}$) Jesus, the reward of the . .
. . of thy wisdom (σοφία). Float (?) unto me rejoicing with the
goodness of my deeds wherewith I busied myself, which I fulfilled
all my life.
Yoke for me quickly my soaring chariots
and my horses, which are my holy fasts (νηστεία)
and my prayers unto God and my almsgivings.
Take me in speedily (-σπουδή) to the Land of the Glorious.
Glory and victory to thee, o Mani, the righteous (δίκαιος) . . .
of souls which . . . . . the perfect
righteous (δίκαιος) and all his holy Elect.
Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

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15 ⲥⲁⲗⲱ: vid. 56, 21 n. — 20 ⲟⲩⲱⲗⲉ: vid. 103, 27 n. — 24, 25 I have translated these lines in accordance with the transposition which I suggest in the critical note. With the form ϩⲧⲱⲣⲙ cf. Hom. 77, 6.

[CΠH]

|]ⲏⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ . . . . . .[. . . .
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲓⲥⲁⲡ ⲍⲉⲕⲁⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ ⲛⲧ[ⲁ⳨ⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲛ
ⲁ]ⲣⲭⲏⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ
5 ⲁⲓⲣ]ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ ⲁⲓⲯⲓ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕ . .
. ⲉ ⲁⲓⲃⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲍⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ . . . . .[.
. .]ⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ̄ⲕⲗⲥ
ⲦⲦⲛⲁⲏⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉ[ⲛⲱⲩ
ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲧⲉⲕⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧ[ⲍⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ
10 ⲧⲁⲟⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄
ⲦⲦ . . . . ⲛ̄ . . ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲓⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩ . .[.
ⲭⲉ ⳨ⲱⲱ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲟⲗⲁⲙ ⲕ . .[.
ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈
14 . . . . ⲧⲏ̄ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲏ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛ . . .
15 non legi potest
ⲗⲏⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
. . . ⲉ . . . . . ⲱ . . . ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ . . ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡ[ⲟⲩ
ⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲓ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲧⲁⲁ . . ⲱⲁ . . . . . .
19 Ⲕⲥⲱⲧⲏ̄ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲕⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲍⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲑⲁⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ
20 non legi potest
. . . . . .
Ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ [. . . . .] ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ
ⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ⳨ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ
25 [CΠ⳨]
|ⲏⲥ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⳨ⲧⲱⲃⲍ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲙⲁ⳨ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ
ⲟⲩⲛ[ⲉⲙ ⲙ]ⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ
Ⲭⲛⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲭⲁⲩⲧ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ ⲁⲡⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙ[ⲟⲥ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ . . . ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲭⲓⲭⲉⲩⲉ

11 fort. ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ. — 12 fin. fort. ⲕⲣⲁ[ⲓⲥ. — 15/16 an ⲍⲉⲗⲏⲟ, cf. 19, 23 n? — 22 ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ sic: leg. ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ? — 24 ⲛ̄ⲧ⳨ⲩ sic.

CCLXXXVIII.

Jesus, my Saviour in the beginning . . . .
forth yet this one time, that thou wouldest save [my soul from the
powers (ἀρχή) and the principalities (ἐξουσία).
I embraced (ἀσπάζεσθαι) thy faith (πίστις), I took to myself thy
. . ., I found thy holy hope (ἐλπίς) . . . .
. . . the Paraclete.
O merciful one that art full of mercy, the Saviour of them that are
his,] show thy Maiden to me at the [time of
my going forth from the universe.
The holy . . . ., I heard him in . . . .
I cry unto thee, my Father: come, hasten . . . .
me.
. . . . . him to the height (?), for I have loved him in . . .
l. 15 illegible
await (?) them.
. . . . . all of them . . . they came forth from the
Light, I came in peace (εἰρήνη) that I might . . . . .
Thou refinest and purifiest from the beginning to the end
l. 20 illegible
. . . . .
There is glory to him, the glorious one . . . the tree of
Life, the Paraclete, and his holy Elect.
Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCLXXXIX.

Jesus my God, I implore thee, give me thy
right hand, do not desert me.
Since the hour that thou sentest me down to the war (πόλεμος)
I have not rested . . . . of my enemies.

.]. . . . . nzελπιc αϊ̄ταν ̄μαϊ̈ απκoc
μo]ϛ ν̣ . . . . . c αϊ̈naztε apak
. .]. . . . . neq xε αϊ̄βaλ ν̄τootq̄ eqπ̣ωψ
.]. ψ . . ψε neq zν̄neqanom|a
. .]. . ν̄ττε μν̄πκaz aγoγεn ν̄pωoγ apaϊ̈
.] . . . . . oγν̣ αϊ̄βaλ zν̄neγ . . . .
. . .]. . . . . ϩ oγβhk παϊ̈ωτ ππ̄κλc̄ xε ekϩoγ
an]zk̄ nhϊ̈ aβaλ ν̄kcωτε ν̄ta†γxh
Ττar]ων̣ etaϊ̈πωτ ν̄zhtq̄ αϊ̈xakq̄ . . . . ϩ|pϩωε
Τμ]ntβp̄pε ̄πcωμa ̄πμoγ aϊ̈ . . . . . .
. . . . . .
12 non legi potest
. . †μa ν̄naxaxε atoγpεωε ̄μaϊ̈
Αϊ̈cωτ̄ μ̄ apetωβz̄ t†γxh ̄μakaρioc anak
eta† ne ν̄tωβϊ̈ω ν̄nezβhγε etan|t
16 non legi potest
. . . ϩ . . ϩ ̄πekλaμ̄ ϩτ̣ψ . . . . . oγϩ|ne
Ττeaγ nek̄ πnoγte pp̄ro ν̄na|ωn μν̄|hc̄ p̣ek̄
ωhρε μν̄πekπ̄na etoγaβε • oγβρo ν̄t†γxh
ν̄tμakaρia ̄μaρia

Αρ|παμεεγ namepete †τωβz̄ ̄μωτν̄ ϩ
ρ|παμεεγ

Αρ|παμεεγ namepe†

9 post αϊ̈xakq̄ fort. aβaλ, cf. 88, 8. — 23 recent. man. namepe† sic, pro namepe⟨te⟩†: quo mendo facto scriba calamum deposuit.

. . . . hope (ἐλπίς), I have rested from the world (κόσμος)
. . . . . I have believed in thee.
. . . . . because I have escaped from him, as he
. . . . him in his crimes (ἀνομία).
. . . of heaven and earth, they have opened their gates for me,
. . . . . in (?), I have escaped from their . . .
. . . . . unto thee, my Father, the Paraclete, that thou wouldest
appear to me and save my soul.
The] race (ἀγών) wherein I ran I finished rejoicing.
The] youth of the body (σῶμα) of death I have . . . . .
. . . . .

l. 12 *illegible*

allowed (?) my enemies to deride me.
I have heard thy prayer, o blessed (μακάριος) soul: I
am he that will give thee the reward of thy good deeds.

l. 16 *illegible*

. . . . thy garland . . . . . Light.
Glory to thee, o God, the King of the Aeons, and Jesus thy
son, and thy holy Spirit. Victory to the soul
of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

REMEMBER ME, MY BELOVED, I PRAY YOU,
REMEMBER ME.

REMEMBER ME, MY BELOVED, I

21—23 Two colophons added by the two scribes, the second characteristically making a mistake, writing ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉ for ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ through haplography. This is the later hand.

With this psalm the Psalm-book proper seems to conclude. The Psalms that follow are different in character and are not included in the Index pp. 229—233.

P. 114 is unwritten and is followed by a blank leaf.

1—2 mutila

ⲙⲁ]ⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ . . ϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

.[.]ⲕ[.]ⲃⲓⲟⲥ . . .

. . . . ⲱ]ⲁⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲛⲁ̀ⲓ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̀[. . . .

. . . .]· ⲡⲛ̄ .[. .]ⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ[ⲁⲃⲉ

ⲦⲦⲓⲱⲧ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ · ⲡ[. . . .]ⲩⲱⲡ [ⲙ

ⲡⲣ]ⲉⲫⲱⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̀ . . .[. . . .]ⲛⲉⲛ

ⲙ̀ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲡⲉ ⲡ[ⲡ]ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

Ⲟⲩ]ⲣⲉⲫⲧⲛⲁⲍⲥⲟ ⲛ[ⲛ]ⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̀[ⲓⲱ]ⲧ̀ ⲟⲩⲣⲉ[ⲫ]ⲟⲣⲟ

ⲍⲱⲱⲫ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̀[ⲟⲩ] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲫⲫⲥⲱ[ⲟ]ⲩⲍ ⲛ[ⲛⲉ

ⲧ]ⲉⲛⲱⲫ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟ[ⲩⲁ]ⲃⲉ

Ⲟ]ⲩⲡⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ ϫⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛ̀ⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲟ[ⲩ

ⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ · ⲛ̀ . . . . . ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ

ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

Ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲍⲱⲫ

ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ · ⲡⲙ̀ⲛ̀ⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡ

ⲡ]ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

Ⲟ]ⲩⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ ⲉⲫϫⲏⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ · ⲡⲧⲉⲟⲩ[ⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛ]ⲉⲧ

ⲍⲏⲡ̀ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ · ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲫ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲣ[. . . ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲛⲁ

ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

ⲦⲦⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ · ⲡⲉⲧ̀ . . . .

ⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡ

ⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

Ⲥⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ · ⲫⲣ̄ϯⲁⲗⲗⲉ ⲍⲱⲱⲫ ⲁⲡⲓ

ⲱⲧ] ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ · ⲧⲱⲫ ⲣⲱ [ⲧ]ⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲡⲓ

ⲡ]ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

Ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲉⲛⲁϫⲡⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲛ̀ [ⲱ]ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ · ⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ

ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲱⲁⲡⲱⲏⲣ[ⲉ] ⲟ̈ⲣⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ

ⲱⲁⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

Ⲧⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲁⲡⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ · ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ

ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲓϫ ⲁⲡⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ · ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉ

ⲛⲓⲁ ⲁⲡ]ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

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4 recent. man. scriptum. — 5 init. ⲫⲱⲛⲍ̀ coniicio. — 20 an ⲣ[ⲁⲓⲥ]? — 22 fin. ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ coniicio.

ll. 1—2 *fragmentary*

blessed (μακαρία) . . . Mary, Theona.

. . . . .

. . . . for ever, even the Father, the King of . . . .
. . . . our own . . . is the holy Spirit.
The Father] of Greatness is the Father, the . . . [of
the] sufferer (?) is the Son, the . . . . to us (?)
of life is the holy Spirit.
A] raiser of the dead is the Father, a conqueror (?)
himself of death (?) is the Son, a gatherer (?) of
his own is the holy Spirit.
A hidden one from everlasting is the Father, the Word (?) that
appears is the Son, the . . . . . is the
holy Spirit.
An intellectual (νοερόν) Intelligence (νοῦς) entire is the Father,
but a stranger
to the world (κόσμος) is the Son, the path (?) of the Aeons is the
holy Spirit.
A perfect rich one is the Father, the proclamation [of] the
hidden things is the Son, the silence of them that . . . is the holy
Spirit.
He that has power over the universe is the Father, he that . . .
the Father is the Son, the Light of the Aeons is the
holy Spirit.
The Father rejoices always, the Son also makes
music (ψάλλειν) to the Father, but his is wisdom (σοφία) entire,
even the holy Spirit.
The Love (ἀγάπη) may we get for ourselves towards the Father,
the faith which
is in us towards the Son, the fear of our heart
towards the holy Spirit.
The seal (σφραγίς) of the mouth for the sign of the Father, the peace
of the hands for the sign of the Son, the purity of virginity (παρθενεία)
for the] sign of the holy Spirit.

1—3 Apparently the conclusion of a Psalm. But according to Ibscher fol. 113/4 was followed by a blank leaf and there is no sign of any writing between the end of p. 113 and the first line of p. 115. Either a leaf has been lost or these lines contained a heading or group-title.

Ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ|ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲙⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ[ⲱⲧ ⲡⲥⲁⲩ
ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲁⲡⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ • ⲡⲭⲱⲕ [ⲁ
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲡⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ[ⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲧⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ̀ • ⲧⲃⲁⲙ [ⲙ
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏ ⲥⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧ
ⲟ̄ⲱⲱ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
|ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲡⲉ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ • ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ[ⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲗⲟ̄
ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
|ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ̀ • ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲥ[ⲙⲁ
ⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ
ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲃⲛ̄ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄
ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲃⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙ̣ⲉ̣
ⲗⲉⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲃⲛ̄ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲃⲛ̄ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄
ⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅ|ⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲃ|ⲭ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲃⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲁ
ⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲡⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲃⲛ̄ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁ|ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲥ|ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲡ|ⲱⲧ̀ • ⲟⲩⲧⲁ|ⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲥ|ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ • ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲥ|ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ • ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙ̣
ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲡⲉ ⲥ|ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁ
ⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲧⲡⲭⲣⲥ̄ ⲁⲣ|ⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲣ̄
ⲡⲁⲱⲃⲱ̄
ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲉ̈ⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉ̈ⲃⲁⲗⲉ̀ ⲁ
ⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲭⲣⲥ̄
Ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ
ⲡⲭⲣⲥ̄
Ⲧⲧⲁⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ☩ⲛⲉⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈

8 ☩ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲗⲟ̄: hoc corruptum esse mihi videtur; leg. ⲧ☩ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲗⲟ̄, coll. 185, 16—17. — 17 ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟ̄|ⲭ sic.: leg. ⲛ̄ⲛⲛ̄ⲟ̄|ⲭ.

The pious love (ἀγάπη) for the sign of the [Father, the knowledge
of the Wisdom (σοφία) for the sign of the Son, the fulfilment
of the commandments (ἐντολή) for the sign of the holy Spirit.
The Light that is on high is the Father, the power [of
God that supports the Universe is the Son, the Wisdom (σοφία) that
looks (?) forth is the holy Spirit.
Jesus, the Tree of Life, is the Father; the fruit (καρπός), the Mind (? νοῦς)
of Light, is the Son; the Maiden, this sweet one,
is the holy Spirit.
Jesus, the glorious, is the Father, the blessed Mind (νοῦς) of Light
is the Son, the Maiden of Light
is the holy Spirit.
Let us pray then, my brethren, that we may find the Father, and
fast (νηστεύειν) daily that we may find the Son, and
discipline (μελετᾶν) our life that we may find the holy Spirit.
Let us seal our mouth that we may find the Father, and
seal (σφαγίζειν) our (?) hands that we may find the Son, and guard
our purity that we may find the holy Spirit.
Glory to our Lord Mani through the Father, honour
to his Elect (ἐκλεκτός) through the Son, blessing to his
Catechumens through the holy Spirit. Victory and
Salvation may there be through them to the soul of the
blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

Christ, guide me: my Saviour, do not
forget me.
I am the love (ἀγάπη) of the Father, being the robe (στολή) clothing
thee. Christ.
My brethren are the Aeons and the Aeons of the Aeons.
Christ.
The Air (ἀήρ) and the Land of Light — they travailed with me.

1 ⲫⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ: lit. 'god-loving'. — 8 or, reading ⲧ⳨ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲗⲟ, 'the Maiden, the sweet taste'.

. . . .] . ⲕⲧⲉ [. . . . . .]ⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲡ̄ⲭ̄ⲣ̄ⲥ̄
ⲁⲛ]ⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲅⲓⲥⲧⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲭⲓ ⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲁ]
π̄χ̄ρ̄ⲥ̄
Ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲱ̄ⲙ]ⲱⲥ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲓⲏⲡ ⲁⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ] π̄χ̄ρ̄ⲥ̄
Ⲭ]ⲱⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲡ]ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲛ]ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧ
ⲣ]ⲣⲟ π̄χ̄ρ̄ⲥ̄
ⲁⲓ]ⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲣⲕ̄ ⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲥ̣ⲁ̣
ⲣ]ⲁⲩ π̄χ̄ρ̄ⲥ̄
ⲁⲓⲥ]ⲁⲕⲧ̄ ⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲱ̣ . . . . . .
π̄χ̄ρ̄ⲥ̄
ⲁⲩ]ⲣⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲓⲙⲓⲱⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲓⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ
ⲛ]ⲏⲓ̈ π̄χ̄ρ̄ⲥ̄
ⲁⲕⲥⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥ̀ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ ⲱ̄ⲡ]ⲥⲏⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉ̣ⲣⲱⲁⲛⲃⲣⲟ ⲧⲉ
ⲣⲁⲭⲓ-ⲡⲉⲕⲗⲁⲙ π̄χ̄ρ̄ⲥ̄
ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲣⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲑⲗⲟⲛ ⲁⲕⲁ]ⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲥ-
ⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ π̄χ̄ρ̄ⲥ̄
Ⲭⲱⲡⲧⲟⲩⲙⲁⲣⲧ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲡⲱⲃⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄
ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ π̄χ̄ρ̄ⲥ̄
ⲁ]ⲩⲧⲥⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲉⲡⲁⲧ̀ ⲱ̄ⲡⲗ]ⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲃⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲟⲩⲁⲉ
ⲉⲧ π̄χ̄ρ̄ⲥ̄
Ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲓⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲕⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈
π̄χ̄ρ̄ⲥ̄
Ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲓ̄ⲏⲥ̄ ⲱ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈
π̄χ̄ρ̄ⲥ̄
ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩⲣⲉⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲕⲥⲁⲛⲕⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲛ+ⲭⲱ-
ⲃⲉ ⲱ̄ⲙⲁⲩ π̄χ̄ρ̄ⲥ̄
Ⲭⲓⲧ̀ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲧⲁⲃⲛ̄ⲃⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ π̄χ̄ρ̄ⲥ̄
ⲁⲡⲧ̀ ⲥⲱⲧ ⲁⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲓ̄ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲱ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

11 ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲱⲛ HT.

. . . . . of renown
of them that are of the Light. Christ.
I am a prince (μεγιστᾶνος), wearing a crown with the kings.
Christ.
I knew not how to fight, for I am of the city (πόλις) of the
Gods. Christ.
From the time that the hated one cast an evil eye on my
kingdom, Christ.
I] left my Fathers at rest, I went, I gave myself to death
for them. Christ.
I] armed myself, I went forth with my first . . . .
Christ.
He] went without, I fought; he went within, he protected
me. Christ.
Thou madest agreement with me at the time, saying: 'If thou art
victorious, thou
shalt receive thy garland'. Christ.
I was victorious in the first struggle (ἆθλον), yet another
fight (ἀγών)
arose for me. Christ.
Since I was bound in the flesh (σάρξ) I forgot my
divinity. Christ.
I was made to drink the cup of madness, I was made to rebel against
my own self. Christ.
The Powers (ἀρχή) and Principalities (ἐξουσία) came within, they
armed themselves against me.
Christ.
My Lord Jesus, do not abandon me.
Christ.
Be an enchanter of Light and bewitch (?) them until I
pass them. Christ.
Take me in to thy bridechambers that I may chant with
them that sing to thee. Christ.
Number me also in the number of them that have conquered and received their
garland.
Glory and honour to Jesus, the King of the Holy, and the soul
of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

---

26 ⲥⲱⲛⲕ: vid. Crum Dict. 691 a. The original meaning seems to be to use magic upon a man, whether it be to help him or to harm him, by means of a potion.

1 periit

ⲛ|ⲱ

Ⲛ . . . [. . . . .] . . . [ⲡ]ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ [. .

. .]ⲉ ⲛ|ⲱ

.]ⲱⲧⲁⲣⲍ[. . . . ⲟ]ⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲥⲱⲙⲥ [. . . .

ⲛ|ⲱ

. . . . . .]ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ|ⲱ[ⲛ

ⲛ[|ⲱ]

. . . . . .].ⲩⲉⲏⲍ[.].ⲣⲉ[.

ⲛ|ⲱ

. . . . . .]. .ⲛ ⲛⲁⲱⲉ| ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲓⲛ̄ⲍⲏ[ⲧⲟⲩ

ⲛ|ⲱ

. . . . . .]ⲧ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡ|ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲧⲟⲓⲉ ⲁⲣⲁ[ⲓ

ⲛ|ⲱ

Ⲁⲣⲉⲣⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲃⲱ ⲉⲣⲉⲃⲛ̄[ⲟⲛ

ⲛ|ⲱ

17 periit

ⲛ|ⲱ

Ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲍⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱⲥⲍⲉⲓ̈ ⲡ|ⲥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲁⲃⲧⲃ

ⲛ|ⲱ

Ⲏ ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲍⲱⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲃ|ⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ

ⲛ|ⲱ

. . . . . .]ⲛⲧⲟ[. . .] . . . ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ . . ⲧⲉⲍⲁⲩ

ⲛ|ⲱ

Ⲱⲁⲣⲉⲃⲱⲃⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲧ ⲁⲡⲗⲉⲥ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲉⲥ ⲁ

ⲛ|ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲛ|ⲱ

Ⲉⲓⲁⲃⲛ̄ ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲱⲁⲱⲟ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲁⲕⲧⲓⲛ

ⲛ|ⲱ

Ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲡⲉⲥ†ⲛⲟⲩ

ⲩⲉ ⲛ|ⲱ

23 fort. ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲍⲁⲩ.

P. 119 non legi potest.

l. 1 *destroyed*
These . . .
. . . . . the First Man . . .
These . . .
. . . . . Light, the Father himself . . . .
These . . .
. . . . . first of the Aeons.
These . . .
l. 9 *fragmentary*
These . . .
. . . . . they, I being in them.
These . . .
. . . . . I, this guard that is set over [me.
These . . .
Thou madest the world (κόσμος) a harp for thyself, playing unceasingly. These . . .
l. 17 *destroyed*
These . . .
What portrait-painter (-εἰκών) can paint this unadorned face?
These . . .
Or (ἤ) what eagle can ascend as thou ascendest?
These . . .
. . . . . comprehend him.
These . . .
Thou leapest from the heart (?) to the tongue, from the tongue to these hearers. These . . .
What Light can I find to compare with thy ray (ἀκτίς)?
These . . .
What smell is there in the world (κόσμος) that is like thy fragrant smell? These . . .

---

2 etc. 'These . . .': ⲛⲓⲱ is the abbreviated form of some word, occurring no doubt in the first line of this psalm, which is repeated at the end of each verse as a refrain. — 19 ⲛⲁⲧⲧⲁⲃⲧⲃ: cf. 98, 21; Crum Dict. 401 b. — 21 lit. 'can ascend thy ascending'. 'Thy' and 'thou' are fem. throughout.

P. 119, on which this psalm ends, is not legible.

+ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲁⲱⲣⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲓⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁ[ⲕ
ⲡⲁϫ
ⲱⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ϩⲣⲁⲕ ⲉⲓⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ[ⲉⲕ
ⲡⲁϫ [ⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ
ⲱⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲩϩⲁⲧϩⲧ ϩⲛⲛⲉ[ⲕ
ⲡⲁϫ ⲡ[ⲉⲑⲏⲡ
ⲱⲡⲉ ⲧⲁⲥⲃⲱ ⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲥⲧ . . ⲁⲛⲉ . . . . .[. .
ⲡⲁϫ .[. . . .
ⲱⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲕ
ⲡⲁϫ ⲙ[ⲁⲓϩⲉ
ⲁ . ⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲁⲗⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱ .[. .
ⲡⲁϫ .[. .
ⲁⲓⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲱⲓⲭϩⲩ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧ[ⲉϩⲟ
ⲡⲁϫ ⲡⲉⲕⲱ[ⲓⲭⲏ
ⲁⲓⲛⲏⲃⲉ ϩⲙⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲁⲙ ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧⲉϩⲟ
ⲡⲁϫ ⲧⲉⲕⲟⲩ[ⲁⲱⲥⲉ
Ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱⲧⲉϩⲁⲕ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲱⲣⲛⲟⲓⲉ ⲙ[ⲙⲁⲕ
ⲡⲁϫ
Ⲛⲁⲱⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲓϩⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲟⲓⲛⲭⲡⲟ ⲛⲱⲡⲏⲣ[ⲉ ⲙ
ⲡⲁϫ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲧ[ⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ
Ⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲭⲡⲁⲕ ϩⲓⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲙ[ⲙⲁⲕ
ⲡⲁϫ
Ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲩ ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ . . . .[. .
ⲡⲁϫ . . . .
ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲩ ⲁⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲛⲁϫⲓ ⲁⲩⲁ[ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲁϫ ⲉⲥⲗⲁⲙⲉ
ⲦⲦⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲓ
ⲡⲁϫ

1—22 haec iterum scribuntur infra p. 126, q. v. — 6 ⲡⲉⲑⲏⲡ: cf. 126, 5. — 11 init. ⲁⲓⲧⲉ: H.T. — 15 ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱⲱ: sed inf. 126, 15 ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱ. — 21 ϫⲡⲁⲕ sic: leg. ϫ⟨ⲉ ⲁⲩϫ⟩ⲡⲁⲕ, coll. 126, 21.

I will not fail (?) to bless thee,
My Lord.
My Intelligence (νοῦς) has not rested, I thinking of [thy wonders.
My Lord.
My Reason has not stirred from searching in thy [secrets].
My Lord.
My Thought has not stirred from . . . . . .
My Lord.
My Counsel has not stirred from seeking after thy marvels.
My Lord.
. . . . my Intention ascend, it desiring . . .
My Lord.
I dived to the depth of the abyss, desiring to comprehend
My Lord. thy depth.
I swam in the breadth of the sea, desiring to comprehend
My Lord. thy breadth.
Who is able to comprehend thee and who to understand (νοεῖν) thee?
My Lord.
Many the marvels of thy begetting, the wonders of thy
My Lord. cross (σταυρός).
When I say 'thy begetting', yet who created thee?
My Lord.
The sky and the earth were established in the . . . .
My Lord.
They came to the son of God, they cast him into a filthy
My Lord. womb.
He that is in everything, in whom everything is.
My Lord.

1 ογαωρε: meaning not clear. '— 3—11 vid. supr. 23, 14—18 n. — 11 or, reading ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲁⲕ., 'I caused my Intention to ascend'. — 25 cf. 52, 22—27.

. . . . .]. . . . πε μ̄ñπκας αγ[. .]. . . .[. .
πας]
ⲠⲠⲓⲁⲧⲧⲉ]ⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲃⲱⲃⲱⲙⲉ̄ ⲁⲩ[. .].ⲏⲩ
πας] [. . .]ⲁⲓⲱ.[.
. . . . . .[. .[. . . . .]ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲱ[ⲧⲩ ⲁⲡⲥⲧ]ⲁⲩ
π[ας] [ρος
. . . . . .]ⲁⲧⲥ[. . . ⲥ]ⲱⲱⲩ ⲧⲉ ⲁ[. . . .]. . ⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲁ[ⲓ
ⲗⲉ ⲧⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲡ̄ .
. . .]. . ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲛⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ μ̄ñⲡⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲁ[ⲧ]μ̄ñⲧⲣ̄
πⲁ]ⲍ [ρο ⲛⲱⲡ]ⲏⲩⲉ
Ⲁ]ⲍⲣⲁⲩ μ̄ñⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [. . . . .]ⲁⲓⲥ . .
πⲁ]ⲍ [. . . . .]. .
ⲠⲠⲱⲏ]ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲭⲟ̄ ⲁⲡ̄[. . . . .]. . ⲥ
πⲁ]ⲍ
ⲠⲠⲱⲏⲣ]ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲱ[ⲧⲩ ⲁⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ
π]ⲁⲍ
ⲠⲠⲱ]ⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲁⲩⲧ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲕ[ⲉⲉⲥⲉ
π]ⲁⲍ
⳨ⲥ]ⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲭⲟⲟ[ⲥ] ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ
πⲁ]ⲍ μ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
ⲦⲠ]ⲉⲭⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ μ̄ñⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ μ̄ⲡ[. . . . .
πⲁⲍ
Ⲥⲓⲉ ⲛ]ⲧⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ μ̄ⲡⲓ⳨ⲓⲥ ⲛⲉ[ⲃⲁⲧⲉ
πⲁⲍ
⳨ⲥ]ⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲕⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕ]ⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲕ]ⲓⲱⲧ ⲥⲏⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ[ⲕ
π]ⲁⲍ
Ⲫⲓ]ⲱ[ⲁⲛⲍⲟ]ⲟⲥ ⲭ[ⲉ] ⲁⲩ[ⲭⲡ]ⲟ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⳨[ⲁ]ⲃⲛ [ⲡ]ⲕⲉⲓⲱ[ⲧ
πⲁⲍ ⲥⲁⲥⲧⲏⲕ
Ⲥⲓⲉ ⳨ⲁⲱⲱⲕ ⲟⲩⲙ̄ñⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲧⲁⲃⲱⲣⲃ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲥⲓⲙⲉ
πⲁⲍ
Ⲧⲕⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ
Ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ μ̄ñⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ
ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲒⲥ ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

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1 cf. 120, 23. — 5 ⲛ̄ⲓⲟⲩⲁⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲁⲧ]ⲥⲉⲭⲉ coniicio. — 13 fin. fort. ⲁⲡⲙⲁⲛⲥⲱⲛⲍ sive ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ. — 17 ⲕⲉⲉⲥⲉ: cf. Thompson., St. Johann. 12, 7. — 25 ⲥⲏⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ[ⲕ]: H.T., ipse errabam. — 32, 33 leg. ⲛ⟨ⲉⲧ⟩ⲉ ⲡⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ.

. . . . . heaven and earth, they did . . . . .
My Lord.
The ineffable and impalpable one they . . . . . .
My Lord.
. . . . . word (?), they hanged [him to the cross.
My Lord.
. . . . . however is . . . . . he ascending shamed . . .
My Lord.
. . . . they excluded flesh (σάρξ) and blood from the kingdom
My Lord. of the heavens.
What have they to do with the son of God . . . . .?
My Lord.
The] son of the kingdom was cast into the . . . .
My Lord.
The] son of God on high was hanged [to the cross.
My Lord.
The] son of the Father that is hidden — they gave him [burial.
My Lord.
I] hear that thou didst say: 'I am the Light
My Lord. of the world (κόσμος)'.
The Φωστήρ spoke with the Light of the . . .
My Lord.
Then] who gave light to the world (κόσμος) these nine months?
My Lord.
I] hear that thou art in thy Father, thy Father is hidden in thee.
My Lord.
When I say 'The son was begotten (?)', I shall find the Father also
My Lord. at his side.
Shall I lay waste a kingdom that I may furnish a woman's womb?
My Lord.
Thy holy womb ~~is~~ the Luminaries (φωστήρ) that conceive thee.
The trees and the fruits (καρπός) — in them is thy holy body (σῶμα).
My Lord Jesus.

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11 'They': i. e. flesh and blood. — 19 cf. Joh. 8, 12. — 25 cf. Joh. 14, 10. — 27 cf. Joh. 14, 8—10. — 28 The doctrine that Christ was born of Mary was repugnant to the Manichees (vid. 52, 22—7 n). If Christ was conceived in a woman's womb he cannot be divine: the whole structure of his royal origin (ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ) is brought tumbling to the ground in ruins (ϣⲱϥ) by any that shall say he was born in a woman's womb (ϭⲱⲣϭ ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥ.). For ϭⲱⲣϭ vid. 100, 29 n. — 31 i. e. the womb that bare thee.

1—3 non legi possunt

πα[ϫ]
. . . . . .]ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ .[. . . . . .
πα[ϫ]
ⲁⲕϫⲡⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲕ+ⲱ[ⲓⲡⲉ
ⲡ[ⲁϫ] ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲉⲓⲥ[ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛⲕ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲧⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲕ ⲛ̄[ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
πⲁϫ] ⲧⲁ[.
ⲙⲡⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ] ϩⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ] ⲥⲁⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧ[ⲛⲛⲁⲩⲧ
πⲁϫ]
.]ⲡⲃ[. . . .]ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ +ⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ϩⲁⲕ.[. . .
ⲡ[ⲁϫ]
ⲕ.[. . .] ⲕⲙⲟⲩϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲕϩⲁⲧⲏⲕ ⲕ.[.
πⲁ]ϫ πⲉⲕ[
ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ[ⲕ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲱⲣ̄ⲛⲟⲓⲉ [ⲙ
π[ⲁϫ] [ⲙⲁⲕ
ⲧⲧⲉⲧϫⲁⲥ]ⲉ ⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲁⲩⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ
πⲁ]ϫ ⲱⲁ.[.
ⲁ]ⲡ[ⲓ]ⲱⲧ ⲥⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟ[ϩ] ϫⲉⲩⲁⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛ[ⲉ
πⲁϫ
ⲁⲩⲡⲱϩ ⲁⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲁⲩϩⲁⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲁⲧⲉ [ⲛⲥϩ
π[ⲁ]ϫ [ⲓⲙⲉ
ⲁⲩⲣ[†]ⲓ[ⲥ] ⲛ[ⲉ]ⲃⲁⲧⲉ . .[. . . . . .]ⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄[. . .
πⲁϫ
ⲧⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲩ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲁϩⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲁ[ϩⲛ
πⲁϫ ⲙⲁⲩⲟⲥ
ϩⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲛϩⲁⲧ ⲁⲧⲟ|ⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲡ[ⲉⲩ
πⲁϫ ⲱⲏⲣⲉ
ⲟⲩⲥ|ⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ϩⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲩⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲛϩⲁⲧ
πⲁϫ
ⲛⲓⲟⲩϩⲁⲓ̈ +ϩⲉⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃ . . . . . ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
πⲁϫ
ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱⲧⲉϩⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲱⲣ̄ⲛⲟⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ
πⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅

20 fin. fort. ⲱⲁⲡϥ̄. — 23 leg. ⲁⲩⲡⲱϩ, coll. 120, 25. — 27 fort. ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏϩ.

ll. 1—3 *illegible*

My Lord.
. . . . . .
My Lord.
Thou didst reprove the dead until thou hadst put them to shame.
My Lord.
I [know thee] as God, the earth knew thee as [man . . . .
My Lord.
None has] known me save the Father that [sent me.
My Lord.
. . . . . thee, give a sign of . . . .
My Lord.
Thou . . ., thou fillest the universe, thou art before thyself,
My Lord. thy . . .
Who can know thee and who understand (νοεῖν) thee?
My Lord.
He that is higher] than heaven and earth, a woman's womb did . . .
My Lord.
The Father established the sun and the moon that they might give light.
My Lord.
They came to the beloved son, they shut him up in a [woman's] womb.
My Lord.
He passed nine (?) months (?). . . . . .
My Lord.
He that is far from the whole world (κόσμος), how should he have
My Lord. appeared to Magi (μάγος)?
Did God not find one who believed (?) in the coming of his son?
My Lord.
A star and Magi (μάγος) were they that were found believing (?).
My Lord.
The Jews judge thee: forgive (?) . . . God.
My Lord.
Who can comprehend thee and who understand (νοεῖν) thee?
My Lord Jesus.

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25 cf. 121, 23.

. . . . . .[. . . ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ . . . ⲁⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ . .
ⲡⲁϫ] [ϫ]ⲡⲟ
. . . . . .]. ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲓⲃⲛⲧ . . . . . ⲕⲗⲁⲩ
ⲡⲁ]ϫ
. . . . . .]. . ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲱⲛ̄ⲧϫⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲥⲁⲩⲧ
ⲡ]ⲁϫ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
. . .]ⲡⲉⲩ[ⲥ]ⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ ⲙⲡⲩⲗ[ⲏ . . . . .
ⲡⲁ]ϫ
. . . . . .]. . ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ . . . ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲱⲁⲡⲏ ⲁ̣ⲡⲧⲛⲍ
ⲡⲁ]ϫ

11—12 non legi possunt

. . . .]. . . . . ⲣⲣⲉ ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲟⲩ . . . . . ⲛⲍ
ⲡⲁ]ϫ
. . . . .]ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲍⲏⲡ ⲱⲁ . . . [ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ . . . . .
ⲡⲁ]ϫ ⲡⲁⲩ
. . . . .]. ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲓⲭⲓ ⲡⲉⲕϫⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲏ . . .
ⲡⲁϫ . . . ⲧ
. . . . . .]ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲕⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲕⲛⲁϫ . . . . .
ⲡⲁϫ] . . . ⲡⲁ .
Ⲛⲧⲉ]ⲣⲉⲕⲃⲁⲡⲩ ⲁⲕⲁⲱⲃⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϫⲉ ⲁⲓⲙ[. .]. . . . .
ⲡⲁϫ
. . .] . . ⲁⲕϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲍⲁⲡⲕⲙⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ ⲍⲁⲡⲉⲕ . . . .
ⲡⲁϫ]
. . . . . .]ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲣ . . . . ⲕ . . . . . .
ⲡⲁ]ϫ
Ⲍⲛ]ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲱⲃⲏⲗ ⲁ[ⲩ
ⲡⲁϫ ⲛⲉⲍⲡⲉ
Ⲁⲕⲣ]ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲛ̄ⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲁ̣ⲕ†ⲍⲉⲡ ⲍⲓϫⲱⲩ
ⲡⲁϫ
.]ⲕ . . ⲏ ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁ ⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲍ . . . ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲛⲍⲧⲏⲩ
ⲡⲁϫ
Ⲁ]ⲕⲣ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ ⲁⲕⲣ̄ⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
ⲡⲁϫ
.] . . .ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲁⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲣ̄ϫⲁⲓ ⲁⲙ†ⲩϫⲁⲩⲉ ⲣ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲏⲧ
ⲡⲁϫ
Ⲁⲕ]ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓⲧ ⲁⲩⲃ̄ⲛⲧⲕ ⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲧ-
ⲡⲁϫ] ⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲣⲏ

---

1 †ⲣⲙⲁⲓⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲃ]ⲛϫⲡⲟ coniicio. — 7 fin. ⲛⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ coniicio. — 31 ⲁⲕⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲍⲱⲥ coniicio.

. . . . . thy cross . . . wonder (?) at thy . . .
My Lord.]
. . . . thy cross I found . . . . . garland (?).
My Lord.
. . . thy cross, the enemy being nailed to it.
My Lord.
. . . . his (?) cross, he burst the gates (? πύλη) . . . .
My Lord.
. . . . . thy cross . . . would take wing (?).
My Lord.

ll. 11—12 *illegible*

. . . . . cross for the . . . . . .
My Lord.
. . . . . cross, it being hidden . . . forth . . .
My Lord.
. . . . with the cross, I received thy . . . .
My Lord.
. . . . mind (νοῦς), thou didst crucify (σταυροῦν) mind (? νοῦς),
My Lord. thou didst cast (?) . . .
When thou hadst caught him thou didst cry out: 'I have . . .'
My Lord.
. . . . . thou didst say concerning thy death, a Rich One
My Lord]. concerning thy . . .
. . . . . cross . . . . . .
My Lord.
By] thy renown thou didst go up: Death cried out and lamented.
My Lord.
Thou madest] the cross a Bema for thyself, thou gavest judgment from it.
My Lord.
. . . . . stood (ἀναστῆναι?) back . . . . merciful God.
My Lord.
Thou madest the cross a ship for thyself, thou wast the sailor on it.
My Lord.
. . . . the cross was a ship, the souls were passengers.
My Lord.
Thou didst] go to the Mount of Olives, thou wast found excelling
My Lord]. the sun.

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1 etc. 'Cross': σταυρός pass. — 35 ⲣⲥⲟⲩⲏⲧ: vid. Spiegelberg op. cit. p. 257.

ⲁⲕ . . . ⲁⲙ ⲁⲡⲕⲣ . ⲁⲓ . . . ⲡ . . . . . [. . . .
ⲡⲁ]ⲍ

non legi potest

ⲡⲁⲍ
. . [. . .] . . ⲛ . . ⲙ . ⲛ . ⲛ . . . ⲕ ϩⲛ . . . . . ⲕ . [. . .
ⲡⲁ]ⲍ
ⲛ . . . . ⲙⲁⲩⲗⲓⲃⲉ ϩⲛ . . ⲉ . . ⲁⲃ . ⲧⲛ̄ϩⲛ[.
ⲡⲁ]ⲍ ⲱ .
. . [. . . .] . . . . ⲱ . . . . . ⲕⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ .[. . . .
ⲡⲁⲍ . .[. . .
ⲁⲩ[. . . . .] ⲁⲩϫⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲁⲕⲣⲱ . . . . . .[. . .
ⲡⲁⲍ]
ⲛ . . . . . ⲍⲁⲕⲛ . . . . . ⲛ . [. . . . .
ⲡⲁⲍ
ⲗ . . ⲉ . . ⲟⲛ[.] . [.]. . . . . ⲡⲁⲍⲉⲕ [. . . . . .
ⲡⲁⲍ π . [. . .
ⲗⲡ . [. .] . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲡⲁⲍⲉⲕ
ⲡⲁⲍ ⲡⲁⲍⲡ . π[. .
ⲃ . . . . . ⲧ . ⲃⲱⲕ ⲱⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ . ⲕⲁϩ ⲁⲕⲁⲛⲁ[ⲃⲉ
ⲡⲁⲍ ⲡⲁ .
. . . . . ⲃ . . . . . ⲁ . ϩ̀ ⲁⲕⲁⲛⲁ[ⲃⲉ
ⲡⲁⲍ
ⲧⲧⲉⲧⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲕⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ . . . ⲛ ⲁⲕⲧ . .[. .
ⲡⲁⲍ ⲙⲛ . .[. .
ⲧⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲩⲕ
ⲡⲁⲍ

26 explicit psalmus. sequuntur quinque paginae vacuae.

ll. 1—16 *too fragmentary for translation*

. . . . . that I may go on high, thou didst say . . . .
My Lord.
. . . . . go within . . . to forgive (?) . . .
My Lord.
. . . . . to forgive (?).
My Lord.
Him that is athirst thou didst call . . .. thou didst . . . .
My Lord.
Glory to thee, Jesus, and to thy Father that sent [thee.
My Lord.

+ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲁⲱⲣⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲓ̈[ⲥ]ⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ
ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅
ⲗ̅ⲗ̅ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲥⲣⲁⲕ ⲉⲓ̈ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ
ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅
ⲗ̅ⲗ̅ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲉⲩ̈ ⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲧⲥⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲉⲑⲏⲡ
ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅
ⲗ̅ⲗ̅ⲡⲉ ⲧⲁⲥⲃⲱ ⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲥⲧⲟ . ⲁ̣ⲛⲉ̣ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕ
ⲙ̣ⲩⲥⲧⲏ̣[ⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲁ]ϫ
ⲗ̅ⲗ̅ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲕ]ⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲉ
ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲓ̅[ⲏ̅ⲥ̅
. . . ⲡ̣ⲁ̣ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱ
ⲧ̣ⲉⲥ̣ⲟ̣ ⲙ̄ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲕ̣ ⲡⲁϫ
ⲁ̣]ⲓⲱⲙⲉ ⲁ̣ⲡⲱⲓⲭⲥⲫ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧⲉⲥⲟ ⲡⲉⲕ
ⲱⲓⲭⲩ ⲡⲁϫ
ⲁ̣]ⲓ̈ⲛⲏⲃⲉ ⲥⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧⲉⲥⲟ ⲧⲉⲕ
ⲟⲩ]ⲁⲱⲥⲉ ⲡⲁϫ
Ⲛⲓ]ⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱⲧⲉⲥⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲱⲣⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ [ⲙⲙⲁⲕ
ⲡⲁϫ
Ⲛⲁ]ⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲟⲓⲛϫⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲉⲕ
ⲥⲧⲁ]ⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲁϫ
Ⲑⲓⲱ]ⲁⲛϫⲟⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩϫⲡⲁⲕ ⲥⲓⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲕ] ⲡⲁϫ

1— 22 Haec continuo post p. 118 exaravit scriba, tunc mendi sibi conscius (p. 119 enim neglegebat) quae scripserat induxit foliumque duplex (sc. 119/20, 125/6) ita invertit ut inducta hoc loco per caput starent. — 5 ⲡⲉⲑⲏⲡ: H.T. — 11 init. ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉ: H.T. — 15 ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧⲉⲥⲟ sic: ⲉⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧⲉⲥⲟ 120, 15.

I will not fail (?) to bless thee, my Lord
Jesus.
My Intelligence (νοῦς) has not rested, I thinking of thy wonders.
My Lord Jesus.
My Reason has not stirred from searching in thy secrets.
My Lord Jesus.
My Thought has not stirred from . . . . in thy
mysteries (? μυστήριον). My Lord.
My Counsel has not stirred from] seeking after thy marvels.
My Lord Jesus.
. . . . my Intention ascend, it desiring
to comprehend thee. My Lord
I dived to the depth of the abyss, desiring to comprehend thy
depth. My Lord.
I swam in the breadth of the sea, I could not comprehend thy
breadth. My Lord.
Who is able to comprehend thee and who to understand (νοεῖν) [thee?
My Lord.
Many the marvels of thy begetting, the wonders of thy
cross (σταυρός). My Lord.
When I say 'thy begetting', yet who created
thee? My Lord.

1 ff. vid. p. 120, with notes.

1—21 non legi possunt

22 Χαιρε ⲡ
.] . . . τκ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ λαγε ϣωⲡⲉ ⲛⲉ . ⲁⲛ . . . . ⲁγⲟγⲁϣ
ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲕ ϣⲁⲡⲥⲟⲟγ ⲉ̣ . . . ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲧⲟγ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
Χαιρε π
26 Ν]ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲣⲃ̄ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏγⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ⲥⲓⲧⲛ
. . . . . ϭ . . . . . ⲉ̣ . . ⲧⲟγⲃⲟ
Χαιρε π
. . . ⲛ . . ⲕ ⲛ̄ⲟγⲏⲗⲟⲛ [. . . . . .] . ⲥⲏⲕ ⲁⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲙ
ⲙⲉⲅⲓⲥⲧⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲥⲙ̄ . . . ⲣ̣ⲥⲏⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲉⲧ
31 ⲁ̣ⲭ̣ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ Χαιρε π

26 ⲥⲓⲧⲛ: ⲧ sup. lin.

ll. 1—21 *illegible*

22 Hail, o . .
. . . . none has been . . . . . .
thee (?) to the day . . . shall wipe them out.
Hail, o . .
26 Thou art he that orders the heavens, the plants (?) and the earths through
. . . . . purity.
Hail, o . .
. . . . . the veils (οὐήλον) . . . . drawn to (?) the Father, the
princes (μεγιστᾶνος) . . . . grieve (?) because of the bond which is
31 upon thy members (μέλος). Hail, o . .

1 A new Psalm begins, of which 'Hail, o . .' is a refrain, recurring approximately in every third line.

ερε ππρεcβεγ[τηc] . ω . . ε . . . . . [. .
ⲛ̄ⲛεⲕⲙελοc ⲕⲁ . . . . . ⲟγεⲛ . . . . [. .
. . ⲭⲓcε χαιρ
ⲡⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁ . . . . . [. .
ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲭⲡⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ . . . . [. .
. . . . . χαιρ
ⲛ . . ⲛⲕ . [. . .] . . . . . ⲧ . . . . . [. . .
ⲡⲁ . . . [. . . . . .] . . . ⲧⲉⲕⲓⲉⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩ . . . . [. .
. . . . [. . . .]ⲏ . . . χαιρ
ⲥ[. . .] . [. . . .]ⲛ . . . . . ⲉ . . . . . [. . .] . . . . . [. .

11—23 non legi possunt

24 ⲛ . . . ⲭⲓⲁⲛⲧ . . ⲟⲩ . . ⲛⲁⲡ . . . . . .
ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲥⲥⲁⲍⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲣⲧⲁ . . . . . .
χαιρ
ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ . . . . . ⲃ . . . . ⲛ̄ⲓⲙ ⲥ . ⲧⲁⲕ . . ⲍ .
ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ[ⲩ] ⲍⲛⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
χαιρ
30 ⲉ . . . . ⲛ . . . . . [. . . . .] . . . . . ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲓ

30 fin. sc. ⲡⲭⲓ[ⲥⲉ].

The Envoy (πρεσβευτής) . . . . . .
thy members (μέλος) . . . . . .
height. Hail.
The First Man will . . . . . .
these that thou gettest for him daily . . . .
. . . . Hail.

ll. 7—24 illegible and fragmentary

thy commandment . . . . . .
Hail.
They will go (?) . . . . . .
is the judge (κριτής), however, in (?) him who is sinned against.
Hail.
. . . . . is on high

1—14 non legi possunt, exceptis vocibus
ⲧⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲩ, l. 4, et ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲛⲱⲁⲓ, l. 10.

15 . . .] . . . . . ⲉⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ . . ⲝⲓⲥⲉ . . .
. .] . . . . k . . . . ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲙ
ⲓⲟⲛ ⲭⲁⲓⲣ
. . .] . ⲉ ⲡⲥ̄ⲱⲣ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲝⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁⲑⲏ
ⲧⲏ]ⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲡⲱⲕ . . . ⲧ . . . . ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
20 ⲭⲁⲓⲣ
Ⲁⲩ]ⲣ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲥⲉ . . . . . ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁ]
. . . ⲱⲧ̄ . . ⲧⲁⲝⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲱⲩⲧ
. .ⲧⲃⲃⲁⲥ ⲭⲁⲓⲣ
Ⲱ]ⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ . ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩ . . . . ⲛ . . . ⲗⲟ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ
25 . . . ⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲕ ⲁⲝⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲛ̄ ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲧ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲣⲱⲍⲉ ⲭⲁⲓⲣ
Ⲧⲧ]ⲥ̄ⲱⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ
ⲑ]ⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲓⲱⲛ ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱ[. . . .
ⲁ . . ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟ[ⲛ]ⲧⲓⲕⲏ ⲭⲁⲓⲣ

10 ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲛⲱⲁⲓ: vid. 4, 16 n.

ll. 1—14 *illegible*

. . . . . know . . . . . .
. . . . . in their abyss, in the five
storehouses (ταμιεῖον). Hail.
. . . . the Saviour ($\overline{\sigma\omega\rho}$) also came (?) upon the Mount, his
disciples (μαθητής) with him . . . . . .
Hail.
He spent the whole night suffering . . . . . his . . .
. . . . . confirmation, and his disciples (μαθητής) nailed (?)
. . . . . Hail.
Until they sought (?) . . . . . blood (?)
. . . . drew upon them and they found the way to escape
from the . . . . Hail.
The] Saviour ($\overline{\sigma\omega\rho}$) is the likeness of the Father, man: the
disciples (μαθητής) are his elements (στοιχεῖον), they . . . .
the power of the Archon (ἀρχοντική). Hail.

16. 17 cf. 9, 17. — 18 cf. 123, 37.

ϣantoykα . . . . . nt . . . . [. . . .
ⲛ̄ⲧⲡροβολη • . . . . . ⲏⲍ . . . ⲥⲍⲁ . . . [. . . .
. . . . . χⲁⲓⲣ
ⲁⲏⲧⲣⲉ ⲛ̣ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ . . . . . [. .
ⲙⲡⲱ[. .] . . . ⲁ . . ⲱ . thy . . . . . [. . .
. . . . . χⲁⲓⲣ
. . [. . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡ . . . . . [. . . . .
8 mutilum
. . . .] . . . . . ⲥⲛ̄toyⲙhte χⲁⲓⲣ
. . . . . ⲙⲡⲥtaypoc . . . . . [. . . . .
11 mutilum
ⲡⲍⲏⲥ . χⲁⲓⲣ

13—19 mutila

ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲉⲩⲕⲉⲥⲕⲁⲥⲧ ⲥⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲉ ⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲩⲍⲛ .
. . . ⲛ . ⲁ . ⲁⲛ . . ⲟⲣⲉ χⲁⲓⲣ
. ⲱⲙⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥtaypoc ⲭ . . . ⲧ . . . . . ⲉⲩ[. .
. ⲉ ⲡⲛⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍtaⲩⲉ ⲛ̄tⲕyⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲉⲧⲥ . . [.
. . . . . ⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ . . . ⲉ χⲁⲓⲣ
ⲁⲩⲣⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲥⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲛ|ⲭⲉⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲁ ⲥⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲣ[ⲁ
ⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲣⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
χⲁⲓⲣ
ⲁⲛⲡⲍ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛⲋ ⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲧⲡ .
. . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲃ . .
. .ⲣⲁⲱⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ̣ χⲁⲓⲣ

22 init. ⲥⲱⲙⲁ coniicio.

Until they . . . . . .
the Emanation (προβολή) . . . . . .
. . . . Hail.
He caused the sons of the height (?) to . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . Hail.

ll. 7—8 *fragmentary*

. . . . . in (?) their midst. Hail.
. . . . . the cross (σταυρός) . . . . . .

ll. 11—19 *fragmentary*

life, he being stretched out in the tree: Spirit in
. . . . . Hail.
. . . . in the cross (σταυρός) . . . . . .
Spirit on the morning of the Lord's Day (κυριακή) which
. . . . . in . . . Hail.
He was body (σῶμα) in Mani, Spirit in the
Paraclete, bestowing on us the forgiveness of sins.
Hail.
We have come to know him therefore by all these things: let us be reconciled (?)
. . . . his body (σῶμα) from this place where his . . .
. . . . forth to us. Hail.

. . . . .] . . . . . ετασρτστολη ⲛ̄ⲥρⲁ

2—14 mutila, excepto πσταγρος, l. 4,
et caβλλακ, l. 14.

15 . . . .]ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲙⲁ τηρογ χ̣ⲁ̣ⲓ̣ⲣ̣
ⲦⲦογⲁⲥ]caⲥne etⲙⲁ̣ . . . . . ⲡⲛ . . . . . .
17 mutilum
ετⲭⲏ]ⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ . . ⲍ̣ . ⲉ̣ⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ̣ [χαιρ]
. . . .]ⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧ . . . . . ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲙⲉ[ⲛⲏⲩ
20 . . . ⲁ]ⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲏ̣ . . . . . [. . .
ⲧⲏ]ⲣ̣ⲟⲩ ⲁ[. .]ⲉ . . ⲩ . . χαιρ
. . . . . .]ⲱ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲟ]ⲟⲩⲉ . . ⲁ̣ . ⲉⲣ̣ⲡⲁⲣ̣[. . . . .
. . .] . . . . . ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ . . . ⲉ . . . ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ̣ [. .
. . . . . .] . . . ⲉⲟⲩⲁⲍⲥⲁⲍⲛⲉ χ[ⲁⲓⲣ]
25 Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ] ⲡⲁⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲯⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ[. .
. . .]ⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲭⲁⲩⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲭⲉⲕ . [. . .
. . .]ⲡ ⲍⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲍⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧⲙⲉ χ[ⲁⲓⲣ]
ⲦⲦ[. . . . .] ⲙⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲯⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ
ⲣ̣ . . . ⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲯⲟⲟⲡ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̣ ⲁⲛ ⲍ̣ⲓⲉ ⲏ̣ . .

Numeri 131/132 tria folia comprehendunt quae cum artissime cohaereant non potuit Ibscherus separare, medium tamen scriptura vacare existimat.

. . . . . which was the robe (στολή) . . .

ll. 2—14 *fragmentary*

. . . all places. Hail.
The] commandment which . . . . . .
l. 17 *fragmentary*
perfect (?) . . . . commandments (ἐντολή). [Hail].
. . . . . walk (?) to me . . . . . to thee, my Shepherd (?),
. . . . greet (ἀσπάζεσθαι) thy . . . . members (μέλος),
all (?) of them . . . . . Hail.
. . . . . comes to pass today . . . . . .
. . . . . this time . . . . . today
. . . . . commandment. Hail.
Thou art] my fated (?) son, the first creature of the
. . . . . my Father sent me after thee that thou mightest
. . . . by thy pleasant cry. Hail.
The . . . . indeed (μέν) is the first of all the words which
. . . . . there is death, there is life also: then

]ⲁⲥⲙ[
]ⲡⲕⲁⲥ[

[πωκ]

4 mutilum

]ⲁⲕⲣ̄ⲯⲁⲓⲉ ⲥⲛ̄
πϣⲕ
]ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲕ . ⲕ . . . . .
]ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ .
]πωⲕ
]ⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃⲡ ⲡ . . . . . [. . . .

11—26 mutila

27 Ⲉ̣ⲓⲥ ⲑⲉ [ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲥⲡⲣ̣ⲓⲉ ⲁⲯ . . . ⲉ . [
ⲥⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ ⲁ̣ⲥ̣ⲧⲣⲉⲯⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ [
πωⲕ
Ⲟⲩ]ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄[
. . . ⲛ̄ⲯⲏ[ⲣⲉ
πωⲕ
33 Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲟⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

ll. 1—2 *fragmentary*

3 [Thine.]

l. 4 *fragmentary*

5 . . . . . thou madest festival in
Thine.
. . . . . them of the . . . .
. . . . . he was garlanded in the
. . . . . Thine.
10 . . . . . they broke the . . . . .

ll. 11—26 *fragmentary*

27 Lo, [this is] the way of the Father, it shone (?) forth . . .
together, it gave joy to us all . . . . .
Thine.
Glory to . . . . . .
the sons (?) . . . . . .
Thine.
33 Glory and [victory to the soul of the blessed Mary.

3 etc. πωκ: 'Thine', the refrain of the Psalm, the first words now lost, being repeated at the end of each verse.

ⲯⲁⲗⲙⲟⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲧⲱⲛ . .

Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ] ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄

Ⲧⲧⲓ]ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄

ⲡ]ⲣⲣⲟ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

Ⲧⲧ]ⲁⲡ|ϫ|ⲥⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲁⲥⲉ • ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧ[ⲩ

ⲡⲁⲛ|ⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲛⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲛ|ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲉ

ⲙⲁⲩϩⲱⲃⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

Ⲧⲧ]ⲁⲡ|ⲣⲏ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧϩⲱⲧⲡ̄ • ⲉⲧⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ . . . . . ⲁ|ⲱ[ⲛ

ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲩϫⲏⲕ ⲧⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ

ⲁ|]ⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

Ⲉ|ⲥ] ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ • ⲡⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄[ⲁ|

ⲱ]ⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉ

Ⲧⲧⲙⲁϩ]ⲉⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

. . .] . ⲉ ⲉⲧϩ|ⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

ⲡⲙⲁϩⲱ]ⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

Ⲧⲩⲙⲛ̄]ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ • ⲧⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉ

ⲛ]ⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

Ⲛ̄]ⲛ|ⲕⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲙ • ⲉⲧ† ⲁⲛⲏⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲣⲟ

ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ • ⲛ|ⲕ|ⲑⲁⲣⲁ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲃ|ϫ

ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ • ⲉⲩϩⲱⲥ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡ|ⲱⲧ

ⲉⲧϩⲏⲡ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

Ⲛⲟⲩⲕ|ⲑⲁⲣⲁ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲃ|ϫ ⲉⲩⲃⲛⲃⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲡ|ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ

ⲡ]ⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

ⲡ]ⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ • ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲓ ϩⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄

ⲡ]ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

ⲧ]ⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ

ⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ

Ⲧⲧ]†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲁϩⲛ̄ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ

Ⲭ]ⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣⲙⲏⲧ ⲡⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ

ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ

Ⲧⲧ]ⲙⲁϩⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

Ⲧⲧ]ⲡⲕ̅ⲗ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

Ⲧⲧ]ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

12 ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉ sic vid.

Psalms (ψαλμοί) . . . .

Who], my brethren, is worthy of all glory?
The] Father of Greatness is worthy of all glory,
the] King (?), the God of Truth. Worthy.
He of the height on high, he of the unfathomable depth,
he of the crowns that fall not, he of the garlands that
do not wither. Worthy.
He of the sun that sets not, that shines forth . . . . Aeons (?),
which is a perfect day: its 12 hours are his
Aeons. Worthy.
Lo,] this is the first day: its hours are his
12 Aeons.
The] second perfect day, Worthy.
. . . . that is on the ships, Worthy.
the] third Envoy (πρεσβευτής). Worthy.
Its] 12 hours, his 12 Maidens
that surround him. Worthy.
The] Victories (νίκη) that are laden with garlands, that give *anēsh*
to their king,
their harps in their hands, the lutes (κιθάρα) with them,
their harps in their hands, singing unto the hidden
Father. Worthy.
Their lutes (κιθάρα) are with them as they make music unto him, the
glorious one.
The] third perfect day, Worthy.
the Column (στῦλος) of Glory, the power of God that supports the Universe,
the Perfect Man. Worthy.
Its 12 hours, his 12
members (μέλος) that surround him:
the] 5 νοερά and the 5 Omophori,
that they may be 10, the Call and the Hearing
and they are 12.
The] fourth perfect day, Worthy.
the] Paraclete-Spirit, Worthy.
the] Mind (νοῦς) that is in the Church. Worthy.

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1 ⲯⲁⲗⲙⲟⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲧⲱⲛ: vide Introduction II. — 2 ff. cf. Keph. Kap. IV. — 4 etc. 'Worthy': ⲡⲉⲧⲥ̄ⲡⲡⲱⲗ in l. 2 is repeated as a refrain. — 5 ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲏ: vid. 25, 1 n. — 14. 15 vid. Polotsky Abriss p. 254 f. — 18 ⲁⲛⲏⲱ: vid. 185, 13 n. — 28 f. cf. 139, 26 ff.; 32, 21 n.

1 non legi potest

. . . . ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ
ⲠⲠϯⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϯⲩⲭⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲁ̣ⲍⲛ̄ ⲡ̣ϯⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ[ⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ
ⲍⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲁⲣ̄ⲙⲏⲧ . . . . . ⲍⲉ ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ . ⲉ̣[. . . ⲛ̄
5 ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁ[ⲩⲥ]
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲩⲧⲁ̣ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ [ⲛⲉ] ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲡ̣ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ
ⲦⲠⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱ[ⲛ] ⲁⲍⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲓⲛⲉ[ⲓ̈]
Ⲧⲃⲁⲙ [ⲉ]ⲧⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲫ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ⲉⲕ
10 ⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
Ⲉⲓⲥ [ⲍⲏ]ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛⲛ̄ⲫ̄ ⲍⲛ̄[
. ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲛ̣ⲣⲉⲛ
Ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲱ[. ⲫ̄] ⲍⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲁⲥ[ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲍⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ
15 Ⲧ[ⲛⲟⲩⲛ]ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲙ]ⲏⲉ • ⲡ[ⲥⲱ .]ⲫ̄ . [. . . . .
ⲛⲉ[ⲧ]ⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲭⲏⲩ
Ⲛⲕⲗⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄ • ⲧⲉ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ[ⲟⲩⲧⲉ] ⲉ[ⲧ
ⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄
Ⲛ̄]ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ̀ ⲡⲉ ⲡ$\overline{\text{Χρc}}$ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ
20 ⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ̣
. . . . . .] ⲡ$\overline{\text{Χρc}}$ • ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲫ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
ⲦⲦ]ⲙ̣[ⲁ]ⲓ[ⲧ ⲡ]ⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲫ̄
ⲱⲁⲩⲕⲁⲍⲏⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲛ]ⲉⲭⲏⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲩ • ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲙⲁⲩⲱⲉⲧⲫ̄ [ⲛ̄
25 ⲗⲁⲩⲉ
ⲦⲦⲉⲍⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ • ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁ̣ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁ̣[
ⲗⲗⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲥⲉⲭⲉ̣ ϯⲣⲍⲁⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲱⲁ
Ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲧ̣ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲫ̄ . . ⲍⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧ̣ . . [. .
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
30 ⲦⲦⲣⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲡ̣ⲉⲧ[ⲁⲧⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲟⲩ
ⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲩ

32 periit

. . . .]ⲁⲩ

11/12 an ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲛ? — 17 ⲍⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄ sic: leg. ⲍⲁⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ?

l. 1 *illegible*

. . . . new.
The 5 ψυχικόν and the 5 πνευματικόν
that they may make 10 . . . . the Image (εἰκών) and . . .
and they make 12.
Lo, the 4 days are these — God, the Light,
the Power, and the Wisdom (σοφία).
God who is in his Aeons and the Light that is upon them.
The Power that supports the Universe, the holy Wisdom (σοφία)
that is in the Church.
Behold the good tree which has been likened in
. . . .
In a root and a . . . ., in branches (κλάδος) [and
fruits (καρπός).
The [root] is the God of Truth, the . . . . [is the . . . .
that are in the ships.
The branches (κλάδος) that support †the Universe† are the Power
of God that
supports the Universe.
The fruits (καρπός) of the good tree are Christ who is
in the Church.
. . . . . Christ: blessed is he that shall moor to him.
The way (?) is the Perfect Man: he that walks in it
is confident.
The ships are the sun and moon: he that embarks — of him
is nothing demanded.
The treasure is the God of Truth: I cannot speak . . .
I cannot speak, I fear to utter. Worthy.
Good it is that we should be silent: silence . . . . .
. . .
The door is the Church: he that [knocks at it], to him
will they] open. . . .

ll. 32—33 *fragmentary*

17 'the Universe', perhaps corrupt; reading ϩⲁⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ: 'the fruits'. — 24, 25 i. e. no fare is exacted. — 27 'worthy': i. e. the refrain of the psalm, vid. p. 133.

. . . . .]ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲱ
ⲣⲁ]ⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲛⲁ]ⲉⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲓⲧ • ⲡⲱⲛ ϩⲱⲱⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲥⲙⲛ̄
ⲁ]ⲥⲏⲣ ⲁⲡⲙⲁⲓⲧ
Ⲧⲧ]ⲙⲁⲓⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧ̣[ⲉ] ⲛⲁⲥⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ̀
ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩ[ⲉ]
Ⲉⲩ] ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲩⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲙⲁⲓⲧ̀ ⲉ
ⲙⲛ]ⲁⲓⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ̀
Ⲉⲓⲥ] ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲛⲧⲩ̀ • ⲣ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ . ⳇ . . .
ⲱ]ⲛϩ̀
. .]ⲉⲉⲛⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̀ ⲥⲁⲕⲁⲁⲛ ⲉⲛ ϩⲟⲗⲱⲥ ⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲁ
. .] .
. . . .] . ⲁⲕ ⲉⲓⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̀ ⲉⲓϩⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱ
. . . . . .]
. . . .] . ⲉ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲉⲡⲓ|ⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲟ ⲛ̄
ⲥⲙⲁ]ⲧ̣
. .] . ϩⲁⲣⲕ̀ ⲁⲉⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ • ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲗⲁϩ
Ⲟ]ⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲧⲉ ⲑⲁⲧⲉ • ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲛ|ⲩⲉ
ⲛ]ⲧ̣ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ
Ⲉ]ⲛϩⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏⲩ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲧⲉϩⲁⲛ
ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲃⲁⲓⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
ⲗⲛⲛⲁ]ⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ • ⲉⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ
ϩⲛ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ
ⲗⲛⲛ]ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲱⲕⲁϩⲏⲧ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩϩⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲁⲙ ⲉⲙ
ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁⲛⲉ
Ⲭ]ⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲧϩⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⳇⲁⲥⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
.]ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ . . . . ⲙⲁⲩⳇⲛ̄ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲱⲁⲥⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁ]ϫⲱⲩ
. . . . . .]ⲩ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲛϩ̀ ⲛ̄
]
. . . . . ⲙ]ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲥⲁ̣[.]ⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⳇⲛ̄ ⲡ[. . . .
. . . . . .]ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ

1 ⲡⲉ delendum? — 6 ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ dele. — 11 init. ⲡⲕⲉ]ⲉⲛⲉ, H.T., sc. 'adeps'. — 11, 12 fort. ⲁⲣ̄ⲁ̣ⲣ̣ⲁ[ⲑⲟ]ⲛ̣. — 13 init. fort. ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲥⲣⲁⲕ̀.

. . . . the commandments (ἐντολή), if (?) this man shall be able
to keep them.
My] brethren, we have known the way: it is ours [to] provide
victuals for the way.
The] way is the knowledge of God, the good victuals
are the commandments (ἐντολή).
For (γάρ) what is the good of a man that shall go on the way
and no bread with him?
Lo], the knowledge indeed (μέν) we have found: work now . . .
life.
For . . . . of the flesh (σάρξ) will not allow us at all (ὅλως)
to do . . .
. . . . while I am in the flesh (σάρξ), while I am in the midst of
. . . .
. . . . that surround us, the desires (ἐπιθυμία) of many
kinds].
From which of them . . . rest? Their array is not of one
kind.
One is the thought from minute to minute, another the wind that
blows from hour to hour.
While we are in the body (σῶμα) we are far from God: rest has
not overtaken us,
for we have been housed in it.
None shall be able to glory while he has yet an hour
in this prison.
None can be confident while he is in the midst of the sea
and has not yet come to port.
For (γάρ) he knows not the hour when the storm shall rise
against him.
. . an hour . . . . he finds not the time that it (*fem.*) ascends
upon him.
. . . . . upon the . . . . . .
. . . .
. . . . . only (?) . . . . the man shall find the . . .
. . . . . and they will go up to the Land of Light.

4, 5 ⲁⲥⲏⲣ: vid. Crum Dict. 18 a. — 15 ⲱ̃ⲗⲁⲥ: properly 'battle-array', acies. — 31 ⲙ̃ⲛ̃ⲧⲛ̃ⲱⲛⲥ̀: vid. 102, 8 n.

Ⲱaqπωc ⲛ̄qⲟⲛ ⲛⲉqⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲩaⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁ[ⲙ ⲥⲓⲃa
ⲉ ⲉqⲣaⲩⲧ̀
Ⲥⲛ̄kⲗooⲙ ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲍⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲱⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉqⲧⲉⲉⲩ a[ⲭωq
aⲛⲏⲍⲉ
Ⲛ̄taqkaaⲩ ⲉqⲛⲏⲩ aⲃaⲗ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲥⲏⲧⲉ aqπωc aqⲟ̀[ⲛ
ⲧⲟⲩ aⲛ
Ⲁqⲛaⲍoⲩ ⲉqⲛa aⲡⲙ̄ⲗaⲍ • aqπωc aⲩⲍaⲣⲃoⲩ aⲡ .
aⲗaⲙ
Ⲁqⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ • aqⲙ̄ⲧaⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲧa[ⲛ
Ⲁⲛa[ⲛ ⲥ]ⲱⲱⲛ ⲛaⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲛaⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ|ⲣⲉ[ⲱⲉ
Ⲉⲛaⲙ̄ⲧaⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ|ⲙ̄ⲧaⲛ ⲭⲛ̄aⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲱaⲛ|aⲛⲏ[ⲍⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙaⲕaⲣ|a ⲙ̄ⲙaⲣ|a

Ⲧⲧⲙ̄ⲧaⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲧⲛ̄†ⲉaⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ
π|ⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛaⲟ̀ πⲟ̄ⲙ̄|ⲃ ⲛ̄a|ⲱⲛ
πⲣ̄ⲣo ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉaⲩ ⲛa|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛa|ⲱⲛ
πⲣⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫa|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕaⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡoⲩ[a|ⲛⲉ
πⲭaⲓ̈ⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲙaⲍⲧⲉ πaⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲡoⲗ|c
π|ⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ πoⲩa|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲙaⲕaⲣ|oc
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣoⲩ πⲙaⲛⲛa ⲙ̄ⲡⲕaⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡoⲩaⲓ̈[ⲛⲉ
πⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧaⲛ|ⲧ πⲍⲉⲛoⲩⲫ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲡoⲗ|c
ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ̄† kaⲣⲡoc ⲉⲫⲍaⲩ ⲧⲛ̄ⲡoⲗ|c ⲉⲧⲧⲣ̄oⲩaⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
π|ⲱⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲉ naⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲫⲱⲏⲣⲉ π†ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛoⲩⲧⲉ
ⲡⲍoⲩⲣ|ⲧ ⲉⲧⲣaⲓ̈c aⲧⲕ̄oⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉ ⲡⲡoⲗ|ⲧⲉⲩⲙa ⲛ̄ⲛaⲅⲅⲉⲗo̤[c
ⲡⲙⲉⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄aⲧⲛ̄kaⲧⲉ ⲡⲙaⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙⲙaⲕ[aⲣ|oc
ⲡⲣⲉⲫⲣⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙaⲩ†ⲍⲉ ⲧⲍaⲗⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛa[ⲟ
ⲡⲣⲣo ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥ†ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ
ⲡaⲧⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙaⲥⲛⲟⲩⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍaⲗⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ
ⲡⲉⲫⲣoⲛoc ⲛ̄aⲧⲍⲉ|ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧoⲩ|ⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣoⲩ ⲉⲧoⲩa[ⲃⲉ
ⲡⲫⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛaⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲅ|ⲥⲧaⲛoc ⲛ̄kaⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲏⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ
π[k]ⲗaⲙ ⲛ̄ⲱoⲩⲱoⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲧ †ⲓ̈ⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧaⲙⲃⲣoⲥ|a
π[ⲫ|]ⲃ ⲛ̄ⲥaⲃ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲉ π†oⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄a ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲛⲧⲛaⲟ̀
πⲫ|ⲃ ⲛ̄ⲁoⲣⲩⲫoⲣoc ⲛ̄ⲱⲙ̄ⲱ|ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡkaⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡ[oⲩa|ⲛⲉ
ⲛⲉⲧⲭ| ⲱⲛⲍ ⲉⲧⲛ̄c†ⲛ[oⲩⲫⲉ
ⲡⲥaⲭⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲏⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲍ[ⲏⲧoⲩ

1, 2 ⲛ̄kⲗaⲙ ⲥⲓⲃaⲉ cf. 201, 6. — 18 ⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲉ sic. — 33 ⲙ̄ⲛ|ⲃ sic.

He arrives and finds his brethren laden with [garlands
and] flourishing [palms.
How could there be garlands if he had never set them on
his head]?
He left them as he went forth: behold. he arrived, he found
them again.
He cast them down as he went to the war, he arrived, they arranged them for
. . . .
He rejoiced in their joy, he rested in their rest.
May we also, my beloved, rejoice in this joy.
May we rest in this rest from everlasting to everlasting
with the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

O rest of the universe, we glorify thee.
Father of Greatness.
Glorious King.
Sun that is in his Aeons.
Crowned potentate.
Father of all our race.
God of all the Gods.
Good tree,
that gave not bad fruit (καρπός).
Father whose sons are many.
Watcher that guards his tower.
Shepherd unsleeping.
Helmsman that is not drunken.
King, the God of Truth.
Wearer of the unfading crown.
His throne (θρόνος) that falls not.
His 12 princes (μεγιστᾶνος).
Garland of renown of the Father.
His 12 strong walls.
His 12 henchmen (δορυφόροι).
His 12 Aeons.
The Aeons of the Aeons.
Householders of the Land of Light.
The Air (ἀήρ) of our city (πόλις).
Light of the blessed (μακάριος).
Manna of the Land of Light.
Plenty of our city (πόλις).
Our resplendent city (πόλις).
Town of the godly.
Citadel (πολίτευμα) of the Angels.
Habitation of the blessed (μακάριος).
Fountain that gushes greatness.
Trees of fragrance.
Fountains filled with life.
All the holy mountains.
Fields that are green with life.
Dew of ambrosia (ἀμβροσία).
The 5 spirits of the 5 greatnesses.
Servants of the Land of Light,
that receive fragrant life.
Counsel that runs in [them.

7, 8 perhaps ⲁⲡⲱⲁⲗⲁⲙ = *šlāmā*, 'peace'. — 14 etc., cf. W.Henning, Geburt und Entsendung des manichäischen Urmenschen, G.G.N. 1933, pp. 309 ff.

1 mutilum
2 mutilum
. .] . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲛ]ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̈ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
5 ⲧⲱ]ⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̈ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲏ
6 mutilum
.] . . . . . ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
.] . . . . . ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
9 mutilum
10 mutilum
11 .] . . ⲧ̣ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲙ̈ⲡⲱⲛϩ̀
. .] . ⲩⲗ . . . ⲣⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
13 mutilum
ⲡ]ⲛⲁⲟ̣ ⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲙ̈ⲗⲁϩ
15 ⲡϩⲟ]ⲡⲗⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
. . .] . . . . . ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁϩ
ⲡⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲡϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̈ⲙⲁⲟ
. . ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
20 mutilum
21 ⲛ̣ⲣⲉⲩⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ
ⲧ]ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀
24 mutilum
25 mutilum
26 ⲧⲉⲩⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̈ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ
. . . ⲙ̈ⲉⲣⲉ̣ ⲙ̈ⲡⲉⲥⲓ̈ⲱⲧ
ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲥⲥⲛⲏⲩ
ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲁⲛ ⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀
30 ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̣ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲟⲥ
ⲡⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲱⲛ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀
ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲛⲏⲩ

ⲡⲉ̣ . . . . . ⲛ̣̄ . . . . . ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ̣
ⲡⲣⲉⲩ+ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲛⲏⲩ 35
ⲡⲙⲁϩ+ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲱⲛ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀
ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲓ̈ⲱⲧ
ⲑⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲥ̀ⲧⲱⲗⲙⲉ
ⲑⲃⲥⲱ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲥ̀ⲗⲱⲙⲓ̣ϩ̀ 40
ⲧⲉⲧⲁϫⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ̣ . . . . . ⲛ̄[ⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ
42 mutilum
ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲛ̄ϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ̣ . [. . . . .]
ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲁⲗⲥ̀ ⲁⲩ̣ . . . . . [. . . .]ϩⲙⲉ
ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲙ̈ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩ[ⲙⲉⲩⲉ 45
ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲃⲱ ⲙ̈ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ
ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲉ
ⲧⲥⲁⲩϩⲥ̀ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲉⲧⲁⲥ̣ⲱⲟⲩ[ϩ]
ⲧⲙⲁⲧⲉⲃ̀ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲡⲙ̈ⲗⲁϩ
ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ 50
ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲃⲓ ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ
ⲛ̄ . . . . ⲉⲧⲛ̣ . [. . . .]ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲓⲱⲩ
ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩϫ̄ⲓϫⲓ . . . ⲏⲧ
ⲧⲙⲁϩⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲏ 55
ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓ̀ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲡⲱⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲡⲣⲉⲩ+ ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲛⲛ̣ . . . . . ⲱⲉ̣
ⲡⲣⲉⲩ+ ⲧⲱⲱ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ
ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲡⲁⲩ 60
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲟ̀ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲱⲧ
ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲙ̈ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ
ⲡⲁⲛⲓϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ
ⲛⲓⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲱⲁⲣⲱⲣ̄
ⲡϩⲟⲩⲓ̀ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲁ[ⲧⲉ 65
ⲡⲣⲉⲩ . . ⲧⲣ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄[. . . .]

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32 ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ sic: leg. ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ. — 41 fort. ⲙ̈ⲡⲁ̄ ⲛ̄[ⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ. — 44 fin. ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲱϩⲙⲉ coniicio. — 48 leg. ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ̀. — 56 leg. ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ. — 58 ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲙ|ⲱⲉ coniicio. — 66 an ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲕⲁⲧ ⲣ̄ⲡⲉ?

l. 1 *fragmentary*
l. 2 *fragmentary*
. . . . . of them of the Light.
The Gods and the Angels.
The first Emanation (προβολή).
l. 6 *fragmentary*
. . . . . God.
. . . . . of the Light.
l. 9 *fragmentary*
l. 10 *fragmentary*
. . . the Mother of Life.
. . . . . of Light.
l. 13 *fragmentary*
The Great Warrior.
The weapon (ὅπλον?) of them of the Light.
. . . . . his land.
Our Father, the First Man.
The Lord of Richness.
. . . . armour of Light.
l. 20 *fragmentary*
They that did away with the enemy.
The Maiden of Light,
who is the Living Fire.
l. 24 *fragmentary*
l. 25 *fragmentary*
His beloved Daughter.
. . . . of her Father,
who died for her brethren.
Her brother, the Living Wind.
The second Helper (βοηθός).
The third Element (στοιχεῖον),
which is the Living Water,
The cleanser (?) of his brethren.
l. 34 *fragmentary*
The helper of his brethren.
The fifth Element (στοιχεῖον),
which is the Living Air (ἀήρ).
The First-born of his Father.
The armour which was not stained.
The clothing which was not defiled,
which is upon the body (σῶμα) . . .
man.
l. 42 *fragmentary*
His shrine which . . . .
which he dissolved and . . . .
His Intelligence (νοῦς) and his Reason.
His Thought and his Counsel.
His wise Intention.
The whole assembly which assembled.
The army which made the war.
The Saviours of the Kingdom.
The wearers of garlands in the fight (ἀγών).
The fulfillers of the will of the Father.
. . . . . .
They that have . . . . . .
The second Emanation (προβολή):
The Beloved of the Lights.
The Lovable One of the Angels.
The giver of garlands to the . . .
The Ordainer of everything.
His Son that he begot,
who is the Great Builder.
The Builder of the New Aeon,
he of the immortal works,
the indestructible buildings.
The first of the builders.
The . . . . . .

11 ff. cf. 1, 22—27 n. — 23—37 The 5 Elements, vid. Cumont op. cit. p. 16 n 4. — 34 One would expect mention here of the fourth Element, the Light. — 45—47 vid. 23, 14—18 n. — 55 ff. vid. 1, 28 ff. and notes.

1 mutilum
2 mutilum
ⲧ̀ⲛ̄ⲱⲁρⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ . . . . .
ⲡρⲉⲩ̀ϯⲟⲟⲧⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ . . . . .
ⲡ . ⲉ . . . ⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
ⲡⲉⲧ . . ⲱⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲁ . . . . ⲭⲉ
ⲡⲱⲁρⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ]ⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ
. . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀
. . . . .] . . ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ
11 mutilum
12 mutilum
. . . . . ⲁ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ
. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ̀ ⲁ̀ⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲧⲉⲃⲧⲉ
ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ
ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁρⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲡⲉⲧⲁ̀ . . . ⲣⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
ⲧ̀ . . . . . ⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲁⲭϩ̀
ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥϫ̀ . . . ⲱⲁⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀
ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ . . . ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ
ⲡⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ϩⲓⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ
ⲡⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲱⲗϩⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀
ⲛ̀ . . . . . ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱⲉ
ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲧⲱⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁϫⲉ
ⲡⲱ . . . . . ⲫⲉⲣⲣⲟⲕⲁⲧⲟⲭⲟⲥ
ⲡⲉⲧ[ϩⲓ]ϫⲛⲧⲙⲁϩⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ
ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄
ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲓϫ
ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲛ̀[ⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ]ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥ]ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡ̀[ⲧⲁ]ⲟ
ⲡⲉⲧϩ̀ . . . ⲟⲩⲁ̀ . . .
ⲡⲉⲧϩⲛⲧⲙⲁϩⲥⲁⲱⲩⲉ [ⲙⲡⲉ
ⲡⲉ+ⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲥⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟ[ⲩⲁ]ⲛⲉ
ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲁ[ⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲡⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲣ̀ⲓ̀ⲧ
ⲡⲁⲗⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ[ⲓ]ⲛⲉ
ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲗⲁⲙⲁϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲩⲗ[ⲏ
43 mutilum
ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ[ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟ[ⲩⲁ]ⲛⲉ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ [ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ
ⲡⲉⲧ . . ⲛ̄ⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲧ[
ⲉⲧⲥ|ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄[ⲕⲁⲧ
49 mutilum
ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ[ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁ|ⲥⲁⲛ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲧⲏ[ⲩ
ⲡⲙⲁϩ+ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲁ]ⲛⲉ
ⲡ|ϩⲁⲣⲱϩⲛⲧ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗⲁⲱ|[ⲣⲉ
ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁ|ⲉⲧⲡⲱ
ⲡⲉⲧⲃ| ϩⲁⲡϩⲣⲁⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏ[ⲣⲩ
ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲁⲙⲧ̀ ⲛⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲉ[ⲁⲩ
ⲧⲉⲩ+ⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲁ+|ⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃ[ⲉ
ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅ[ⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲧⲙⲁ[ϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ]ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟ[ⲗⲏ
ⲡⲙⲁϩⲅ̀ ⲙ̀ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ
ⲧⲙⲁϩⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ
ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲉⲧϩⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲧⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ
ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ
ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲃⲥⲉ
ⲛ . . . . ⲉⲧϩⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ

20 ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲣⲁⲩ coniicio. — 28 fort. ⲡⲱⲁⲙ|ⲥⲉ. — 40 exspectavisses ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ. — 48 cf. 2, 16. — 54 ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣ sic.

l. 1 *fragmentary*
l. 2 *fragmentary*
Our first . . . . .
The helper (?) of the . . . .
. . . . . the Land of Darkness.
He that . . . . . .
The first holy Cry,
which is the Great Call.
. . . . of the Living Spirit.
. . . . . to men.
l. 11 *fragmentary*
l. 12 *fragmentary*
. . . . . in the war (πόλεμος).
. . . . . of the Darkness.
The revealer (?) also.
The gatherer of the armies.
The second holy Cry,
which is the Great Hearing.
The joy (?) of the First Man,
who . . . . in the Land of Darkness.
. . . . . of the afflicted one.
which has . . . . to the Living Spirit.
The first . . . . in the abyss.
The fellow of that which came from on high.
The great prayer (?) of the Living Spirit.
. . . . . the watch-towers,
they that guard the enemy.
The . . . . . φεγγοκάτοχος,
who is on the tenth heaven,
who holds the bond of the Universe,
in whose hands is the Dawn.
His Light-faced wheel.
His Gods and his Angels.
The second Son of Light.
The King of [Honour
who is . . . . . .
who is in the seventh [heaven,
who looks after the root of Light (?).
His Gods and his angels.
The third guard.
The Adamas of Light,
who subdues (δαμάζειν) the Hyle.
l. 43 *fragmentary*
His Gods and his angels.
The fourth Son of Light,
who is the King of Glory.
He that . . . . . .
who turns the Three [Wheels.
l. 49 *fragmentary*
His Gods and his Angels.
His brother also that is by him:
The fifth Son of Light.
The stout-hearted hero.
The burden-bearing Omophoros,
who bears the weight of the Universe.
His three glorious Columns (στῦλος).
His five holy vaults (ἀψίς).
His Gods and his Angels.
The third Emanation (προβολή):
The Third Envoy (πρεσβευτής).
The second Greatness.
The King that is in these worlds (κόσμος).
God in the place of God.
The form (μορφή) of the God of Truth.
His twelve Maidens.
His twelve steps.
The . . . . that sing to him.

8, 18 vid. 32, 21 n. — 28 ff. vid. 2, 3 n. 5 n, etc. — 59 ff. vid. Polotsky, Abriß pp. 254 f.

1 mutilum

2 mutilum

πωa]ρ̄ n̄naποcτoλoc

. .] . . n̄neτcn̄τcapξ

π]caïω eτcμaμaat

6 mutilum

. .] . ṭḥ μ̄πï̈ωτ n̄n̄oyaïne

τcτo]λh n̄na|ωn

τcaλ]bωe n̄n̄noyτe

πετc]n̄πμ̄λac μn̄neτμ|ωe

πετρ]eωe μn̄neτρeωe

πca]ïω μ̄μερ|τ

ncB]teey ete μayπωρx̄

ete]μacτe μ̄πṭa̱ω μ̄ππηρq̄

n|]karπoc eτcμa̱μaat

πke]ωηρe etcn̄teyμhte

ete] n̄tay πe πnoyc n̄oyaïne

πk]eωηρe μ̄ππpecBeytnc

πc]tyλoc etoï n̄eay

ete] n̄tay πe πρωμe etxhk

tcl]kωn μ̄π . . . . . .

πB]aππ|cμ[a μ]πωnƨ

πμ]anxωkμe n̄μ̄ϯyxayε

πλ|]μhn n̄netcn̄ππελaγoc

πca]ρωcht etB| cankocμoc

πeqϯoy n̄noepon

πeqϯoy n̄ωμoφopoc

ππωcμe μn̄πcωτμe

μ̇φωcthp etcn̄μ̄πnye

n̊ϕ̄|noyeλ etcϭhp cn̄πx|ce

n̄παpaμπoλh n̄netpaïc

μ̄πyrγoc n̄n̄noyτe

. . . . . .] n̄cn̄τe

. . . . . etoyaBe

. . . . . n̄n̄a|ka|oc

. . . . . μ̄πωnƨ a . . . .

. . . . . n̄n̄kρ|thc

. . . . . a̱ṭ μn̄ . . . . .

. . . . . n̄cney

n̊eqρeqρcμ̄μe n̄oyaïne

n̄aγγελoc n̄tμn̄tnaε

neϋπyλh etoy . . [. .]ϋτe̱

παρ̊χ|a|ka|oc μ̄πoyaïne

πkacτhq n̄netcn̄πx|ce

πkρ|thc n̄μ̄ϯyxayε

π . πoλ̇|thc . . .

πn̄xaï̈c πμan|χa|oc

παποστολoc n̄πoyaïne

πλec ete μaqxe baλ

πn̄ï̈ωτ n̄aγλaoc

πcγλϭht μ̄μaï̈ωηρe

πnoyc μn̄tcoφ|a

netϭeλi̇ṫ aneqγραφayε

peqϯoy n̄xωμe etoyaBe

πρ̄ρo n̄n̄γραφayε

peqnaϭ n̄eyaγγελ|on

teqa|aθhkh n̄Bρ̄ρe

πμannа n̄μ̄πnye

tkλhponom|a μ̄π . . .

πθhcayρoc μ̄πωnƨ

peqμacneϋ n̄xωμe etaï̈

π . . . μn̊̄n̄πacρe

πx̄ω[. . . . . .]

63 fort. πa̱ω[ρoN].

l. 1 *fragmentary* . . . . . foundation.
l. 2 *fragmentary* . . . . . holy.
The first of the Apostles. . . . . of the Righteous (δίκαιος).
. . . of them that are in the flesh . . . of Life . . . .
(σάρξ). . . . . of the Judges (κριτής).
The] blessed familiar. . . . . .
l. 6 *fragmentary* . . . . . .
. . . . of the Father of the Lights. His (?) helmsmen of Light.
The robe (στολή) of the Aeons. The angels of compassion.
The armour of the Gods. Their gates (πύλη) which . . . .
He that is in the battle with them The ἀρχιδίκαιος of the Light.
that fight. The trust of them that are on high.
He that rejoices with them that rejoice. The Judge (κριτής) of souls.
The beloved familiar (?). . . . citizen (πολίτης) . . .
The walls which are not parted, Our Lord Mani.
which hold the bound of the The Apostle of Light.
Universe. The tongue which speaks no lie.
The blessed fruits (καρπός). Our glorious (ἀγλαός) Father.
The son also who is in their midst, The gentle one that loves his sons.
who is the Mind (νοῦς) of Light. The Mind (νοῦς) and the Wisdom
The son also of the Envoy (πρεσβευτής). (σοφία),
The glorious Column (στῦλος), that are lodged in his Writings (γραφή).
which is the Perfect Man. His five holy books.
The Image (εἰκών) of the . . . . The King of the Writings (γραφή).
The baptism (βάπτισμα) of Life. His Great Gospel (εὐαγγέλιον):
The place of washing of souls. His New Testament (διαθήκη):
The harbour (λιμήν) of them that are The Manna of the skies.
in the sea (πέλαγος). The inheritance (κληρονομία) of . . .
The stout-hearted one that bears The θησαυρός of Life,
the worlds (κόσμος). his second great book.
His five νοερά. The . . . and (?) the cures.
His five Omophori. The . . . . . .
The Call and the Hearing.
The φωστῆρες that are in the skies.
The barks that sail on high.
The camps (παρεμβολή) of them that
watch.
The towers (πύργος) of the Gods.

26—28 i. e. the 12 'members' of the Perfect Man, vid. 133, 28 ff. — 30 ϭ|ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ: vid. 76, 29 n. — 43 ἀρχιδίκαιος: perhaps this is the true reading at 88, 15. — 54 ff. vid. 46, 21 n.

. . .] . . B[. . . . . .]
πω|πε ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ωηρε ⲛ̄ττπλανη
πχωμε ⲛ̄ττπραγματια
4 mutilum
5 mutilum
6 πχωμε ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲉ . . . . . .
πναρθηϫ ννεψπαϩρε
πχωμε ⲛ̄ⲛεπ|ϲτολαγε
τϲπογⲇη ⲛ̄ⲛεϰλεϰτος
10 . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϰατηχουμενος
. . . . ⲉ . . . . . ⲡλος
πϩεπ ⲛ̄τⲇ|ϰ|ϩοϲγνη
ⲛ̄ωληλ ⲛ̄τε ππ̄χⲁ̈ϊϲ
. . . . . .
15 ⲛ̄ϩ . . . . . .
πϲνεγ ⲛ̄ϯαλμος
πτολ|τευμα ⲛ̄ⲛ̄αγγελος
πωνϩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . . . . . νϩ
πϩοογ νογ . . . . .
20 . . . ⲣ . . . . . .
πϲωτε ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϰⲁⲧⲏχουμⲉⲛος
τⲁ̣ⲟγ . . . . . .
πϩοογε ⲙ̄πϰανⲁβε ⲁβⲁλ
πωνϩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄εϰλεϰτος
25 πωαρⲡ̄ ⲙ̄παννγχ|ϲμος
πⲙ̄λⲁϩ ⲙ̄πωαρⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ρωμε
πⲛ̄ϭρο ⲁχⲛ̄τⲙⲛ̄τχⲁχε
πμⲁϩϲνεγ ⲙ̄παννγχ|ϲος
τϭ|νε| ⲙ̄ππ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ετⲁνϩ
30 π[νο]γϩ ⲛ̄ππ̄ⲁποϲτολος
ⲧ . [. . . . . .]ϫ|ϲε

32 mutilum
πⲙ̇ . ⲛ̣ . . . . ν . [
. . . . . [
τεψⲇ|ⲕⲁ|οϲγνⲏ
πϩⲟγ̈ⲓⲧ ⲙ̄πϩⲱ . . [
37 mutilum
πεψωβε . . . . . [
ⲙ̇πρεϲβεγ̣ⲧⲏϩ
νεψεϰλεϰτος . [
νεψ . . . . . [
ⲧϩ . . . . . [
ⲛ̄Bⲁ̈ⲓ . . . . . [
ν . ν . . . . . .
45 mutilum
ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉ̣ⲧ . . ⲃⲟ ννετ[

47—50 mutilum

ογϭρο ⲛ̄ⲧϯχη ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲙⲁ
ⲕⲁρⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁρⲓⲁ θε[ονⲁ
πωⲁ̈ⲓ ϫⲙ̄ⲛογτε

28 sic: leg. ⲙ̄παννγχ|ϲμος. — 30 init. fort. π[ϩοο]γϩ. — 31 fin. fort. ⲙ̇|ϲε.

. . . . . .

The shame of the sons of Error (πλάνη).

The Book of the Pragmateia.

l. 4 fragmentary

l. 5 fragmentary

The Book of . . . . .

The νάρθηξ of his cures.

The Book of the Letters (ἐπιστολή).

The zeal (σπουδή) of the Elect (ἐκλεκτός).

. . . . of the Catechumens.

. . . . . .

The judgment of Righteousness (δικαιοσύνη).

The prayers of our Lord.

. . . . . .

The . . . . . .

The two Psalms (ψαλμός).

The citadel (πολίτευμα) of the Angels.

The life (?) of the . . . .

The day of . . . . .

. . . . . .

The Salvation of the Catechumens(?).

The . . . . . .

The day of the forgiveness of sins.

The life of the Elect (ἐκλεκτός).

The first παννυχισμός:

The battle of the First Man.

Our (?) victory over the enemy.

The second παννυχισμός:

The coming of the Living Spirit.

The Mind (? νοῦς) of our Apostle.

. . . . . height (?).

l. 32 fragmentary

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

His righteousness (δικαιοσύνη).

The first (?) of the . . . .

l. 37 fragmentary

His seventy- . . . .

Envoys (πρεσβευτής).

His Elect (ἐκλεκτός) . . .

His . . . . . .

. . . . . .

The . . . . . .

. . . . . .

l. 45 fragmentary

in them that (?) . . . . .

ll. 47—50 fragmentary

Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona, Pshai, Jmnoute.

7 cf. 46, 31. — 16 cf. 47, 1. — 25, 28 παννυχισμός: vid. 17, 32 n. — 38, 39 cf. 22, 24.

. . . .] . . . . . ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲩⲛⲟⲙⲱⲛⲏ ⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲛ
ⲙⲁ]ⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲩⲛⲟⲙⲱⲛⲏ ϯⲛⲟⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲃⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲭⲉⲛⲁ
. .] . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲩⲛⲟⲙⲱⲛⲏ
. . .] . ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲙⲓ
ⲱⲉ] ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲥϋⲛⲟⲙⲱⲛⲏ ⲉⲓ ⲛⲉϥ
ⲁϥ]ⲕⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ
ⲕⲉⲕ]ⲉ ⲁⲧⲥⲩⲛⲟⲙⲱⲛⲏ ⲉⲓ ⲛⲉϥ
ⲁϥⲕ]ⲱ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ • ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡ]ⲁⲥ
. .] . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥϋⲛⲟⲙⲱⲛⲏ ⲉⲓ ⲛⲉϥ
. . .] . ϫⲛⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲧⲁⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲙⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥϋⲡ
. . .] . ⲥⲧ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲧ̄ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲭⲉϥⲁⲧⲱⲛⲥ̄ ⲁϥ .
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲩⲡ
. . .] . .ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲣⲁⲃ̄ⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲗⲏⲥⲧⲏⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥϋⲡ
. . .] . . ⲱⲛ . . . . . ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥϋⲡ
. . .] . ⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲓⲥⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥϋⲡ
. . . .] . ⲥⲉⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲭⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥϋⲡ
. . . .] . . ⲉⲩⲁ . . ⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩ
. . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥϋⲡ
. . . .] ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲁⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲥϋⲡⲟⲙⲱⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲩ
ⲙⲁⲣⲉ
ⲡⲧⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲉⲧⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲩⲡ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧ]ⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥϋⲡ
. . . . .]ⲓ̈ⲧⲏ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ
ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁⲧⲥϋⲡ]
. . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲃⲛ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧ . . . . . ⲡⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥϋⲡ

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8 ⲓ̈ⲁⲥ: cf. Keph. 53, 21. — 14 fort. ⲛⲧⲁ]ⲩⲕⲱ. ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲃⲧ̄ malim. — 18 ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲛⲉ sic: leg. ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ. — 26 cf. 133, 28.

. . . . . Spirit (πνεῦμα?) of Endurance come to us,
let Endurance endure (ὑπομένειν) and let us bear up that we may
. . . . Endurance.
. . . . the First Man, he was sent out to the fight,
and Endurance came to him.
He left his Land of Light behind him, he went out to the Land of
Darkness and Endurance came to him.
He left also his men behind him, he went out to the field- (?)
. . . and Endurance came to him.
. . . . of (?) the Gods, he came to the bound of the Man-eaters.
Endurance.
. . . . in the midst of the . . ., he came that he might . . . .
Endurance.
. . . . . the angels, he came to the . . . . of the robbers (? λῃστής).
Endurance.
. . . . . brought (?) them, he gave them as food to the beasts (θηρίον).
Endurance.
. . . . they going forth, knowing that they would fall into trouble.
Endurance.
. . . . not (?) a need (ἀνάγκη) which came upon them.
Endurance.
. . . . . to trouble until they saved the . . . . .
Endurance.
. . . . also are the enduring (-ὑπομονή) ones at this time.
Let . .
The five] burden-bearers that support the burden of the Enemy.
Endurance.
They are the five sons of the Father, the Living Spirit.
Endurance.
. . . . that bears up, that comes from the height to the depth.
Endurance.
. . . . overseers that . . . . . the prison.
Endurance.

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1 etc. Endurance: ὑπομονή. — 10 ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲣⲱⲙⲉ: cf. 192, 10—11. — 12 ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲧ̄: meaning unknown to me.

ϩιε ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲛ̣ⲁⲣ̣ⲥ̣ ⲛ . [. . . . . .
ⲡⲕⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ϩⲱⲟ ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲧ ⲉⲧ . . . . . [.
ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲁⲩϩⲉ̈ⲓⲉ . . . ⲱ . ⲛⲥ̣̄
ⲥⲛⲑⲏⲗ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲩϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ
ϫ . . . ⲉ ⲱⲃⲉⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ . . . . . ⲁⲙ . [. .
ⲉⲛⲱⲱ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲱϩⲉ ⲱⲏⲙ . . . ⲁ̣ . . . . . ⲛⲧ̣[ⲁⲧ
ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣⲁϫϩⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲩϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲉ|ⲛⲉ
ⲡ|ⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉ ⲁ̣ⲩ . . ⲛ̣ . [. .
ⲉⲛⲱϫ ⲁⲛ ⲡ|ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁ̣ⲧⲏⲥ̣ . ϩⲓ̣ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̣
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ|ⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲃⲓ ϩⲁⲛ|ⲙ̄ⲕ̣[ⲟⲟϩ
ⲱⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲙⲉⲣ|ⲧ̀ ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁ|ⲓⲥ
ⲁⲩ† ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲁϫⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲛ̣ⲁ . . . . . [.
ⲁⲩ†ⲁⲁⲥ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲏ̄ϩⲟ ⲁⲩⲛⲁϫ ⲡⲉⲃ̄ⲥⲉ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ̣[ⲣⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲉⲱⲧⲏ̄ ⲁⲩⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱⲩⲧ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧ̣ⲁⲩ ⲛ̣ . [. .
ⲟⲩⲏⲣⲡ̄ ⲟⲩϩⲙ̄ϫ̄ ⲟⲩⲱⲉⲗ ⲁⲩⲧⲉ|ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲩϫ|ⲧⲟⲩ
ⲛⲉ|ⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲃⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲛ̄
ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲓ ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲕⲟⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧ
ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲁϫⲱⲩ
ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲁⲱⲉⲗ ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲉ[ⲩⲁⲥ|ⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲟⲩⲃ|ⲟ
ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ† ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲏ| ϩⲁⲣⲁⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ϩⲁⲉ| ⲁ̣ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲉⲃⲉⲇⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲡⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡϫ[ⲉ .
ⲓ̈ⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲡⲁⲧ̀ ϩⲱⲟ ⲁⲛ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲡⲍ̣[ⲕⲟ
ⲓ̈ⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲍⲟⲩ ⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲩⲧⲣ̄
ⲁ̣ⲩⲛⲁϫ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲡⲃⲁⲥⲙ[ⲉ
ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲱⲙⲁⲥ ⲃⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄
ⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥ̣ⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲁⲩϫⲁⲧⲣ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲗⲟⲅϫⲏ
ⲁ̣ⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲁⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲁⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲱⲱⲗ ⲁϫ . [.
ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣ|ⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲉ|ⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩϫⲁⲕ[ⲟⲩ
ⲡⲁⲩ̈ⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲛⲁ ⲁ̣ϫⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥ̣ⲉ̣ⲧⲣⲉⲩⲙ̣[ⲟⲩ
ⲟⲩ]ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲃⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧ[ⲉ]ⲩⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲁⲩ† ⲡⲧ̄ⲧⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ
ⲁ̣[ⲛ]ⲁⲕ ⲃⲉ ⲁⲓⲃ̣[ⲓ ϩⲁⲛ]ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲁⲡⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲑⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ

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6 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲱϩⲉ sic: leg. ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲱϩⲉ. — 14 fin. ⲛ̄ⲉ|ⲩⲧ̄ Crumius, sc. 'clavos'. — 33 ⲁⲓⲃ̣[ⲓ ϩⲁⲛ] H.T.

Yet they wearied not . . . . . .?
The Father himself also who is silent . . . . . .
The Second Man, Adam, fell into . . . . .
Sethel also, his son, — his endurance is great.
. . . . seventy-three years . . . . . .
Enosh also and Noah, Shem . . . . . .
The Righteous (δίκαιος) who were burnt in the fire, — they endured (? ὑπομένειν).
This multitude that were wiped out — four thousand . . . . .
Enoch also, the Sage (σοφός), the transgressors (? παραβάτης) being . . . . .
All the blessed (μακάριος) that have been have endured these pains,
down to the glorious one, the Beloved, Jesus, our Lord.
They put a crown of thorns on him, they . . . . .
They smote him in his face, they spat upon him.
They hung him to a cross (σταυρός), they nailed to him four . . .
Wine, vinegar, and myrrh they gave him and he took them.
All these things which he suffered he endured for our sake.
All the Apostles that endured their pains:
Peter the Apostle, who was crucified (σταυροῦν) upside down,
how many tortures did he suffer, ... with this purity (?).
Andrew the Apostle, — they set fire to the house beneath him.
He and his disciples (μαθητής) — all hail to them, they were crucified (σταυροῦν).
The two sons of Zebedee were made to drink the cup of the . . .
John the Virgin, he also was made to drink the cup,
fourteen days imprisoned that he might die of [hunger.
And James also, he was stoned and killed.
They all threw their stone at him that he might die beneath the storm.
The same things also did Thomas endure in his cross (σταυρός).
Four soldiers at once pierced him with the point of the lance (λόγχη).
They surrounded him on four sides and made his blood flow . . .
How many mysteries did he perform. Many a sign did he fulfil.
Paul the Apostle, — they went against him that they might kill him.
How great then is their wrath. He expired, he did not escape.
I therefore too have endured (?) the things which he suffered before today.

4—6 cf. Keph. 12, 10—12; Gen. 5; Hom. 61, 23; 68, 17; Keph. Cap. X; Mani-Fund p. 21 n 1. — 9 cf. Hom. 68, 19; Hebr. 11, 5. The Book of Enoch was known to the Manichees, vid. Henning, S.P.A.W. 1934, pp. 27 ff. — 12 ff. cf. 196, 2 ff. — 18 vid. Tischendorf, Acta Apost. Apocr. p. 35. — 19 ⲁⲱⲉⲗ (cf. 143, 13; 147, 60): lit. 'cry', 'groan', Crum Dict. 4 a. Hence, by metonymy, 'that which causes a groan', 'torture'. — 20 vid. Monumenta Germaniae Historica I Greg. Turon. p. 832, 41 ff. — 21 ϩⲁⲉ|: vid. Crum op. cit. 636 b. The word is common in Demotic and always a greeting of triumph (H.T.). — 22 cf. Hom. 69, 4. — 23 f. vid. 143, 12 n. — 25 vid. Lipsius, Apostelgeschichten II 2 pp. 201 ff. — 27 ff. vid. Bonnet, Acta Thomae p. 92.

a]ϊnaxq aycarkanh • ayeωτϥ̄ ⲙ̄πbⲁⲗ [mπc]aⲃ̄
n]eï throy etaqωaπoy ⲙ̄πeqϩ|ce ⲙ̄πeq[ⲃωτ]ⲡ
aqkω ⲙ̄πoyrhϩ ⲙ̄πxaï̈c eqcayne xe ϯ[. . .]ϩney
Θekλa ϯmaï̈noyte etaytelac aϩrhï̈ aⲧϩⲉⲧⲉ • ⲛ̄t
acxi pmeï̈ne ⲙ̄π+ acmaϩe aϩoyn atceⲧ[e] ecρeωe
ϩie ⲙ̄πecω|πe ⲛ̄tac ϩntmhte ⲙ̄πmhωe e[c]kнk aϩhy
aynaxc̀ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄λaⲃaï̈ ayka ⲙ̄moyï̈ aⲃaλ arac ⲛ̄t
aymarc̀ anⲙ̄chy • ayka ⲛ̄фωkн aⲃaλ arac ⲛ̄t
neï̈ throy etacωaπoy ⲙ̄πecⲃωtⲡ̄ ⲙ̄πe[c .] . ⲧoy . .
oykλaⲙ petc̀oyaωϥ̄ oytoyⲃo petc̀ⲙ|ωe axωq
t]makar|oc ϩωc ⲁroyc|anh neï̈ neï̈ ϩωc netacωaπoy
ⲛ̄|ⲁ̄ ⲛ̄ϩooy ecatⲡ̄ aϩoyn ⲛ̄ⲑe pecca2 pc̀apoctoλ•
ⲙ]aⲯ|ⲙ|λλa ar|ctoⲃoyλa oynaⲃ ⲛ̄aωeλ ayⲛ̄tq axωoy
oyey te tⲭre|a atoyωωⲧ̀ neï̈ • oytoyⲃo petoyⲙ|ωe axωq
ρⲙ̄ⲛ̄noyte n|ⲙ aqωπe ϩayt̀ ϲϩ|ⲙe ayϩ|ce throy
ωaϩoyn appapeay • papostoλoc pmnⲭc t
pⲛ̄xaï̈c pmnⲭc ⲛ̄taytcaq pepat̀ ϩωq an
aqxi poye|ne throy • aqxak noyⲙeï̈ne throy aⲃaλ • ⲝ[e
kaloyhp ϩⲛ̄neqmaⲑhthc ayxi peï̈ne ⲛ̄noyï̈ate
anan ϩωne nacnhy oyⲛ̄ten tⲛ̄taï̈e ⲛ̄ϩ|ce ⲙ̄mey ⲙ
t]ⲛ̄natωϩ nemey apϩ|ce ⲛ̄tⲛ̄ⲙ̄tan ϩⲛ̄̀poyⲙ̄tan map
ⲧⲁ|aⲑhkh ⲙ̄pⲛ̄ï̈ωt • pϩhy mⲛ̄pace qphw axωn ⲙ[ap
anan ϩⲛ̄ωhpe ⲙ̄mhe ⲛ̄kλhponomoc ⲛ̄neyï̈ate ⲙ̀ⲣ̀
mⲛ̄λaye ⲛ̄ϩωⲃ eqoyax aϩ|ce • eqaⲙ̄tan ateqϩah ⲛ̄t
pkaⲓⲃre an etoyxo ⲙ̄may • eqtⲙ̄moy maγⲃn tϩe ⲛ̄ωnϩ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧ
aλλa ϩ|tⲛ̄ppeqmoy • ωaqωnϩ̀ ⲛ̄qtⲛ̄ϩo ⲃe ⲛ̄t
marⲛ̄taxran ϩωne nacnhy • xe e|c pⲙ̄tan aqpwϩ aran
ⲝenaxi ⲙ̄pmakar|cmoc ⲛ̄neï̈ throy etantεoyay ⲛ̣[t
n]tⲛ̄oywϩ mⲛ̄ⲛ̄ephy ϩⲛ̄pkaϩ ⲙ̄poyaï̈ne etoï̈ ⲛ̄eay • xe
emⲛ̄mectoy mⲛ̄xaxe mⲛ̄tǫrpe xⲛ̄ⲙ̄p|ney • ⲛ̄t
aλλa t̀elρhnh te mⲛ̄ppeωe mⲛ̄pωnϩ̀ ωaanhϩe ⲛ̄ⲧ
e|c pxωk aⲃaλ pe peï̈ ⲙ̄π+alмoc ⲛ̄tϩ ̈ⲯ̈poⲙ̈[onh
o]yeay mⲛ̄oytaï̈o ⲙ̄pⲛ̄xaï̈c pⲛ̄oyaï̈ne pmnⲭc ⲛ̣[etaq
xak tϩ ̈ⲯ̈pomonh • mⲛ̄neqcwtⲡ̄ etoyaⲃe mⲛ̄t+ⲩⲭ[h ⲙ̄maρia

15 aqωωπe sic: leg. eaqωωπe. — 29 mⲛ̄ⲛ̄ephy sic: leg. mⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ephy.

He was thrown into a basket (σαργάνη) and hung outside the wall.
All these things he suffered, he did not weary, he did not flinch.
He left the open court (?) of the Lord, knowing that . . . .
Thecla, the lover of God, who was made to go up on the fire.
She received the sign of the cross, she walked into the fire rejoicing.
Yet was she not ashamed, naked in the midst of the crowd.
She was thrown to the bears, the lions were let loose to her.
She was bound to the bulls, the seals (φώκη) were let loose to her.
All these things that she suffered, she did not flinch, she did not . . . . them.
A garland it is that she desires, it is purity for which she fights.
The blessed (μακαρίος) Drusiane also, she also suffered the same,
fourteen days imprisoned like her master, her Apostle.
Maximilla and Aristobula — on them was great torture inflicted.
What need (χρεία) for them to suffer these things? It is purity for which they fight.
All the godly [that] there have been, male, female, — all have suffered,
down to the Glorious One, the Apostle Mani.
Our Lord Mani himself also was made to drink the cup.
He received the likeness of them all, he fulfilled all their signs.
How many of his disciples (μαθητής) also received the likeness of their Fathers.
We also, my brethren, have our part of suffering.
We shall join with them in the suffering and rest in their rest.
The covenant (διαθήκη) of our Father, the profit and the loss are divided between us.
We are true sons, the heirs (κληρονόμος) of their Fathers.
There is nothing that is free from suffering that will rest in the end.
The very seed also that is sown, unless it dies, finds not the way to live,
but (ἀλλά) by its death it lives and gives life also.
Let us make ourselves strong also, my brethren; for lo, the rest has reached us,
that we may receive the blessing (μακαρισμός) of all whereof we have spoken
and dwell with one another in the glorious Land of Light,
with no foe and no enemy and no adversary (?) from henceforth,
but (ἀλλά) it is peace (εἰρήνη) and joy and life eternal.
Lo, this is the end of the Psalm (ψαλμός) of Endurance.
Glory and honour to our Lord, our Light, Mani, who
endured to the end, and his holy Elect, and the soul [of Mary.

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1 cf. 2 Cor. 11, 33. — 3 ⲟⲩⲣⲏⲥ (cf. Keph. 117, 15; 135, 11): lit. 'open space', vid. Crum Dict. 492 a. (In Demotic very common in sales of land where it means land unbuilt on, H.T.). — 4 cf. 192, 25; Schmidt, Πράξεις Παύλου, 1936; Acta Pauli, 1904. — 5 vid. Lipsius-Bonnet, Act. Apost. Apocr. I 260, 1 ff. — 6 f. ibid. 259, 1 ff. — 8 ibid. 260 ff. — 12 ⲡ̀ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ: i. e. John, vid. 142, 24; Lipsius-Bonnet op. cit. II 1 202, 21. — 13 ibid. 180, 6; 38 ff. — 25 f. cf. 1 Cor. 15, 36. — 30 ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲉ: vid. Crum op. cit. 424 b. — 34 lit. 'fulfilled the ὑπομονή'.

Ⲙarⲛ̄ⲥwc [ⲥioy]ⲥ̣ⲁⲡ acⲏⲑⲏⲗ ⲡⲛ̄ⲣeⲩcwte
. ⲛ̄ⲥ . . . . . ⲁ . . ⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲛoyte ⲱ ⲡareⲩcwte
Ⲧⲡaⲡo[ctoλo]ⲥ̣ ⲛ̄tⲙⲛ̄tcwtⲡ̄ ⲱ ⲡareⲩ
Ⲧⲡreⲩṭⲛ̣[ⲥo] ⲛ̄ⲱ̄ϯⲩⲭⲁⲩe ⲙarⲛ̄ⲥwc ⲥioycaⲡ acⲏⲑⲏⲗ
Ⲛ̇noyte [thr]oy reϣe ⲁⲭwⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅeⲗoc cⲙⲁ
ⲙe ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲱ etbe ⲡⲓⲥwb etⲕⲉⲓⲣe ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲁ
rⲛ̄ⲥwc ⲥ̣ioycaⲡ acⲏⲑⲏⲗ
Ⲧ]noⲩⲛ̣e [n]oyaⲒne cⲙⲁⲙe ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲱ ⲡarⲏ
.] . . . . ⲧ̣ⲁⲛⲍ ϯeⲁⲩ neⲕ ⲱ ⲡarⲏ
ⲡⲓwt̀ etⲭⲁce ⲡⲁⲛⲓⲙⲛ̄tⲛⲁⲃ ⲙarⲛ̄ⲥwc
Ⲧⲙⲛ̄tcⲛⲁyc ⲛ̄ⲁⲓwn ϯeⲁⲩ neⲕ ⲱ ⲡarⲏ
nⲁⲓwn ⲛ̄nⲁⲓwn ϯkλⲁⲙ ⲁⲭwⲕ ⲱ ⲡarⲏ
ⲛ̄ϣhn etⲣⲁyt̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡoyaⲒne ⲙarⲛ̄ⲥwc
Ⲙ]proboλaye cⲙⲁⲙe ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲱ ⲡarⲏ
ttⲁⲛⲍoⲡλⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓwt̀ ⲛ̄ⲛoyaⲒne ⲱ ⲡarⲏ
neⲧⲁⲩϯ ⲡⲃro ⲛ̄toyⲙⲛ̄tⲛⲁⲃ ⲙarⲛ̄ⲥwc
Ⲧ]mey ⲙ̄ⲡwⲛⲍ ϯeⲁⲩ neⲕ ⲱ ⲡarⲏ
ⲡ]ϣarⲡ̄ ⲛ̄rⲱⲙe ⲙⲛ̄neⲩϣhre ⲱ ⲡarⲏ
neⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄tnoyne ⲙ̄ⲡϣhn etⲥⲁϣe ⲙarⲛ̄ⲥwc
Ⲧⲙerⲓt̀ ⲛ̄ⲛoyaⲒne ⲡⲁⲛⲓkλooⲙ ⲱ ⲡarⲏ
ⲡeⲕwt etⲕwt ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓwn ⲛ̄Bⲣ̄ⲣe ⲱ ⲡarⲏ
ⲡⲡ̄nⲁ etⲁnⲍ ⲡⲁⲛⲓcoⲫⲓⲁ ⲙarⲛ̄ⲥwc
Ⲧⲡpecⲃeytⲏc ϯeⲁⲩ neⲕ ⲱ ⲡarⲏ
neⲩⲡⲁrⲑenoc cⲙⲁⲙe ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲱ ⲡarⲏ
ⲛ̄reⲩⲣⲍⲙ̄ⲙe etoyⲏⲍ neⲙeⲩ ⲙarⲛ̄ⲥwc
Ⲧ]ⲣⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡooⲍ ϯeⲁⲩ neⲕ ⲱ ⲡarⲏ
ⲛ̄noyte throy etϣooⲡ ⲛ̄ⲍhtoy ⲱ ⲡarⲏ
ⲛ̄reⲩⲣⲍⲙ̄ⲙe etoyⲏⲍ neⲙeⲩ ⲙarⲛ̄ⲥwc
Ⲧⲣ]ωⲙe etⲭhⲕ + neⲕ ⲛ̄oyⲃⲁⲙ ⲱ ⲡarⲏ
. . [.] . ¯ . . xwⲕⲙe ⲛ̄ⲍhtⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙhne ⲱ ⲡarⲏ
nno]ⲉⲣⲟn etⲁⲗⲙe ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙarⲛ̄ⲥwc
Ⲧϣⲁⲙt] ⲛ̄troⲭoc ϯeⲁⲩ neⲕ ⲱ ⲡarⲏ

4 fort. ⲡreⲩϯⲟ[ⲩw]. — 19 neⲧⲁⲩ sic: leg. neⲧⲁⲩ⟨ⲃωⲭe⟩?

Let us sing together to Sethel our Saviour.
. . . . . my God, O my Saviour.
the apostle of the Electship, O my
the giver of life (?) to souls. Let us sing together to Sethel.
The Gods all rejoice in thee, O my the angels bless
thee, O because of this thing which thou doest. Let
us sing together to Sethel.
The] Root (?) of Light blesses thee, O my
the living . . . . glorifies thee, O my
the exalted Father of these Greatnesses. Let us sing.
The Twelve Aeons glorify thee, O my
the Aeons of the Aeons crown thee, O my
the blooming trees of the Land of Light. Let us sing.
The Emanations (προβολή) bless thee, O my
the Panoply (πανοπλία) of the Father of the Lights, O my
that have given the victory to their greatness. Let us sing.
The Mother of Life glorifies thee, O my
the First Man and his sons, O my
that have . . . . the root of the bitter tree. Let us sing.
The Beloved of the Lights, the garlanded one, O my
the Builder that builds the New Aeon, O my
the Living Spirit with his Wisdoms (σοφία). Let us sing.
The Envoy (πρεσβευτής) glorifies thee, O my
his Maidens bless thee, O my
the helmsmen that dwell with him. Let us sing.
The sun and the moon glorify thee, O my
all the Gods that are in them, O my
the helmsmen that dwell with them. Let us sing.
The Perfect Man gives thee a power, O my
in whom . . . . . washing daily, O my
the νοερά (?) that embrace him. Let us sing.
The three] wheels (τροχός) glorify thee, O my

4 Sethel: vid. 142, 4 n. — 8 ff. cf. supr. pp. 1—2.

ⲡ[ⲧⲏⲩ] ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ [ω παρ
ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲏ̅ⲩ̅ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲥ̅ⲛ̅ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲏ̅[ⲉ [μαρⲛ̅ⲍⲱⲥ
Ⲛⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲍⲁⲣⲱ̅ⲍⲉⲧⲉ [ω παρ
ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲱⲛ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲧⲁⲍ ⲙ̅ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ [ω παρ
5 ⲛ̅ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲏ̅ⲣ̅ ⲁⲡⲧⲟ μ[αρⲛ̅ⲍⲱⲥ
|ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲥⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲁⲃⲟⲩ [ω παρ
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲍⲉⲧⲉ [ω παρ
ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉ[ⲛⲟ]ⲥ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅[ⲱ]ⲛ̅ⲍ̅ ⲧⲏ̅ⲣⲟⲩ [μαρⲛⲍⲱⲥ
Ⲛⲁ]ⲡⲟ̣[ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟ]ⲥ ϯⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ω παρ
10 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲁⲕ] ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲉⲩⲡⲏⲧ̣ ⲉⲩⲣⲉ̣ⲱⲉ̣ ω παρ
ⲉⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁ̣ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ μαρⲛ̅ⲍⲱⲥ
Ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ϯⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ω παρ
ⲡⲛⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲡ]ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲭⲥ ω παρ
ⲙⲛⲛ]ⲱⲗ[ⲥ] ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲃⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲫⲱ[ⲏⲛ] ⲛ̣ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ μαρⲛ̅[ⲍⲱⲥ
15 Ⲧⲉⲫⲉⲕ]ⲕⲗⲏ[ⲥ]ⲓⲁ ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̅[ⲙⲁⲕ] ω παρ
ⲛ]ⲉⲕⲗ[ⲉⲕⲧ]ⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ̅ⲡⲟⲩⲭⲱⲕ ⲱ ⲡ̣ⲁ̣ⲣ̣
ⲛ̅ⲕⲁⲧⲏ[ⲭⲟ]ⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̅ⲛ . [. . . . .] . μαρⲛ̅ⲍⲱⲥ
Ⲛ]ⲉⲫⲣⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̅[ⲙⲁⲕ] ω παρ
ⲭⲉ̣ ⲁ̣ⲕ̣ⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̅ⲃⲣ̅ⲣⲉ ⲛ̅ⲕⲁⲓⲥ[ⲁⲡ] ω παρ
20 ⲁ̣ⲕ̣+ⲱⲙ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛ̣ⲟⲩ . . [. . . .]ⲩ μαρⲛ̅ⲍ[ⲱⲥ
Ⲉ]ⲓⲁⲧⲛ̅ⲧⲱⲛ̅ⲕ̅ ⲁⲉⲩ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈[ⲥ] ω παρ
ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲛ̅ⲧⲱⲛ̅ⲕ̅ ⲁⲡⲣⲏ ⲉⲱ̣[ⲁⲫ]ⲡⲣⲓ̈ⲉ ω παρ
ⲡⲉⲱⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ̅ⲛ̣ⲉⲫⲁⲕ̣ⲧ̣ⲓⲛ ω παρ
ⲛ̅ⲫ+ ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁⲫ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲛⲧ̅ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ μαρⲛ̅ⲍⲱⲥ
25 Ⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲧⲛ̅ⲧⲱⲛ̅ⲕ̅ ⲁⲉⲩ ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ̣ ω παρ
ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲛ̅ⲧⲱⲛ̅ⲕ̅ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̅ⲉⲙⲏⲣⲉ ω παρ
ⲉⲱⲁⲥ+ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁ̣ⲧ̣ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ω παρ
. .] . . . . ⲛ̅ⲓⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̅ⲱⲣ̅ⲕⲉ μαρⲛ̅ⲍⲱⲥ
Ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲧ̣[ⲛⲧ]ⲱⲛ̅ⲕ̅ ⲁⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ ω παρ
30 ⲉⲫ[ⲟ] ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲉ ⲍⲁ̣ⲛⲉⲫⲱⲏⲛ ω παρ
ⲉⲫⲕ̣ⲱⲧⲫ̣ ⲙ̅ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲧⲕ̣ . ⲣ̣ . ⲗ̣ μα[ⲣⲛ]ⲍⲱⲥ
Ⲉⲓ̈ . [. . .]ⲣⲉ ⲉⲓ̈+ⲉⲁⲩ ω παρ̣

7 leg. ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲛⲍⲉⲧⲉ? — 29 ⲁⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲉ sic: leg. ⲁⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲉ. — 31 fort. ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲫⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ.

the [wind] and the water and the fire,	O my
that ascend from the abyss daily.	Let us sing.
The Omophori, the long-enduring ones,	O my
that support the burden of the enemy,	O my
the angels that are spread over the earth.	Let us sing.
Jesus, the Physician of the wounded,	O my
the Mind (νοῦς) of Light, the sun of the hearts,	O my
the Maiden, the Mother of all the lives.	Let us sing.
The Apostles glorify thee,	O my
that have finished] their race (ἀγών), running in joy,	O my
going to the Light for their garlands.	Let us sing.
The Paraclete glorifies thee,	O my
our Lord,] our Light, Mani,	O my
and the] branches (?), the plants of his vine.	Let us sing.
His] Church blesses thee,	O my
the Elect (ἐκλεκτός) in their perfection,	O my
the Catechumens and the	Let us sing.
His writings (γραφή) bless thee,	O my
for thou hast made them new again,	O my
thou hast given good tidings to	Let us sing.
To what shall I compare thee, my Lord?	O my
I will compare thee to the sun that shines forth,	O my
that comes daily with his rays (ἀκτίς)	O my
and gives joy to all created things.	Let us sing.
To what shall I compare thee, o beloved?	O my
I will compare thee to a great flood,	O my
that gives gladness to the worlds (κόσμος)	O my
. . . . the parched fields.	Let us sing.
I will compare thee to a good husbandman	O my
that husbands his trees	O my
and gathers daily	Let us sing.
I . . . . . glorifying	O my

1 ff. vid. 2, 15 ff. — 4 ⲉⲧⲁϩ: cf. 141, 26 ⲧⲱⲱⲛ ϩⲁⲧⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲱⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ; Hom. 4, 17 f. The meaning is 'burden', not 'fruit' (as Crum Dict. 498 a; Hom. Index s. v.).

. .] . . . . . ap . ρωωε araï — ω παρ
. .] . . . ạṛaṇ[н т]ετϩn̄паṇn̄a — маρn̄ϩωс
. . . . . .]k[т]alнλ — ω παρ
. . . . . a]ḳṭ̣ın̄ aγπωρ̄ϣ̄ aβaλ — ω παρ
5 n̄[. . . . . .] akтaбoγ aγ†ϛaï̈т — маρn̄ϩωс
ⲁ . . . [. .] . . ạρε мn̄nεkмελoс — ω παρ
nε . . . . . ϛ ετạk†oγω ϯ̄мaγ — ω παρ
т . [. . . . .]ḥpn̄ẹ̈[. . . .] — маρn̄ϩωс
Oγεaγ oγ[б]ρ̣ ϯ̄ππ̣ḳλc — ω παρ
10 п[n]ϫạ̣ı̈[c п]n̄oγaï̈nε пшnϫc — [ω παρ
мn̄nετṇạϩтε тнроγ apaч — ϣ п̣ạ̣ρ
oγбpo n̄т†γϫн n̄тмaкapıa ϯ̄мapıa — маρn̄ϩωс ϩıoγ
caп aснθнλ пn̄ρeцcωтε

Ṭ† . . . . . [. .] . λ . ερεn̄kaṭẹ
15 nетn̄kaтε ϣạ[γ . . .] — ειc поγaï̈ε n[oγ]цε aцẹ̈[ı
nетϩınнв ϣ[aγ]nε[ϩce] — Ṭωnε ϯ̄ммн[ε . . .] . . 35
Ειc пϩṭ̣aγε aцϣωп[ε — пεkλaм ϣ . . ṭ ϯ̄мo
ẹ̈[ıc] прн ϣaï̈ε a[po] — Ττecaγ етϫpapaạṭ aβaλ
Ττϩт]ạγε пε тмнε — пεϣωс †oγaï̈ етβнт[ε
20 ṭ̣ṃ̣нε пε n̄ентολαγε — Τεγгеннс етωнс
. . . . . .]мaγт . . . — пεр̄ро мoγϣ̄ n̄cω 40
nkωωc ṇ . . . . aγnεϩce — Ειγτο nεϣτнn̄ n̄aггελoc
mutilum — nεcтoλαγε n̄ạṭ̣p̄пλδε
пмaноγωϩ пε n̄n̄λнcтнc — Ειγτο nεkλ◌◌ϣ̣ ετpaγт
Ττнϊ̈ n̄ṭ . . . . . — nεбpнпε n̄aтnaϩoγ
ραγω ϩıϣn̄ϩнт — n̄Ṭa ṇım ϣıβε n̄тote 45
ϩn̄бepeбε nε n̄aтnaε — n̄тεмn̄тcạ̣ï̈ε n̄ϩoγтε[n
ε̣мạ̣γcωтмε мoγтε — Ττмọγṇḳ n̄naтepeï̈тε
ϰn̄ṭ̣eγ n̄nae ϯ̄мεγ — пταβεц n̄nε[aтε
30 axn̄n|пεттaxaï̈т — Nтapenoγϩ̣ⲙ̣[ε . .] . . .
Nετ[kω]ṝϣ̄ apo †ṇoγ — n̄тεϣapп̄ n̄ωṇε ϯ̄мнε 50
. . [. .]ḳṭ̣ọγϩ̣ẹc . . . . — Ττẹṇoγc етcaγϩ aϩoγn
. . . [. .]ⲡ̣ϣнn ṇ . . . — тεмn̄тaтpaγω n̄[ϣa]pп̄
Ττecaï̈ω n̄aт[oγı]ṇε

14 †γϫн coniicio.

. . . . . suffice for me, O my
. . . . love (ἀγάπη) which is in my Spirit. Let us sing.
. . . . . thou art glad O my
. . . rays (ἀκτίς) they have spread out, O my
. . . thou plantedst them, they have become famous. Let us sing.
. . . . . with thy members (μέλος) O my
. . . . . which thou didst release O my
. . . . . Let us sing.
Glory and victory to the Paraclete, O my
our Lord, our Light, Mani, O my
and all that believe in him. O my
Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary. Let us sing
together to Sethel, our Saviour.

O Soul (?) . . . . . thou sleeping.
They that sleep . . . . lo, the good husbandman has came.
they that slumber awake. The jewel 35
Lo, the morning has come, thy garland . . . . thee.
lo], the sun rises on [thee]. O wandering sheep,
The morning is the Truth, thy shepherd seeks thee.
the truth is the commandments O noble (εὐγενής) one despised.
(ἐντολή). thy king searches for thee. 40
. . . . . dead . . . Where are thy angelic garments,
the . . . . corpses have risen. thy robes (στολή) that grow not old?
l. 23 *fragmentary* Where are thy gay garlands,
it is the dwelling-place of the thy crowns that fall not?
robbers (λῃστής). Who has changed for thee 45
The house of the . . . . . thy fair (?) beauty?
cares and sorrows. The mould of thy kinsmen,
They are merciless hunters, the seal of thy Fathers.
they listen to no call (?). When thou wast saved (?) . . .
They have no mercy thy first jewel (?). 50
upon the condemned. Thy mind (νοῦς) which is collected,
They that flatter thee now thy first security.
. . . . . Thy unfailing familiar,
. . . . the tree . . .

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24 i. e. the body, cf. 70, 1. — 45 ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲉ: lit. 'from thee', i. e. and taken from thee. — 46 ⲧⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲉ[ⲛ]: cf. 148, 30 ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲓ̈[ⲉ] ⲛ̄[ⲥⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉⲛ; Keph. 132, 3 n.

. . . . . .] . . ⲁⲣⲟ
. . . . . .]ⲟⲩ
.] . . ⲡ ⲁⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ
. . . . .] . . . . ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲣⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲉ
ⲁⲡⲧⲟ ⲱ|ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲉ
Ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲏⲥ ⲁⲣⲉⲟⲩⲁⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛⲉ̣ⲧⲁ̈ⲓ ⲁⲣⲉⲱⲁⲥⲟⲩ
Ⲉ|ⲓ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲱ|ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ
. . ⲁ . ⲧ . [. . . . . .]
.] . . . ⲉⲧⲉ̣ ⲙ̇ . . . . . .
. .] . . . . . ⲛⲁⲛ
. . .]ⲥⲉⲧⲉ̣ . . ⲉⲧⲱ|ⲓ̈ .
. . ⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲉ|ⲉ̣ . .
.] . . ϭ . . . . . .
. .] ⲛ̄ⲭ . . . . ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲟ̄
. . . .]ⲉ . ⲁ̣ⲥ . ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ̄
. .]ⲉ|ⲉ . . . . . ϭⲉ̣
. .]ⲡ̣ⲉⲥⲥⲁ|ⲉ . . . .

19—23 perierunt

Ⲛ]ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥ̣ⲏⲣ ⲁⲡⲧⲟ̣
ⲭ]ⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲱⲃ[ⲉ]
ⲁⲩ]ⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ
ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲉⲡ̣ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ̈
ⲁⲩ]ⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲛ̄ⲉ
ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲡ̀ ⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲉ
Ⲛ]ⲭⲁⲓⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲥ̣ⲟⲩ
ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲥ
Ⲧ]ϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲱⲃⲱ̄ ⲁⲣⲟ
ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲱ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ
Ⲉⲓ]ⲥ ⲛⲉⲭⲏⲩ ⲙⲉⲛ|ⲧ ⲁⲣⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲃ|ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲱ
Ⲧ]ⲉⲗⲟ ⲛⲉ̈ⲓⲉⲡⲱⲁⲧⲉ
ⲧⲉⲣ̄ⲥⲱⲧ̀ ⲁⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ

Ⲛ . . [. . . . . .
39 periit
Ⲛⲧⲁ̣[. 40
ⲭⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲥ[ⲉ ⲱⲗⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲛⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ [ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

44 periit
45 non legi potest
.] . . . ⲏ . . . . [. ⲡⲣⲉ
ⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ . . [. .] . . .
Ⲗ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲟⲛ̄ ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲓ
ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[. . . . . .
Ⲧⲧⲃⲏⲩ ⲡⲁⲡ|ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲡ̣[ⲉ 50
ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲱⲟ̣ⲉ̣ ⲙ̇ . . . [. .
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲥ̣ⲁ̈ⲓ . . . [. . . .
ⲉ|ⲧⲁⲛⲥ ⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲏ[ⲧ
Ⲉⲓ̈ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ
. . . . . .]ⲕⲱⲱⲥ 55

56—57 perierunt

. . . . . .] . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ
.]ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲥⲧ[. . . .]ⲩⲉ̣ . [. . .
Ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲁⲱⲉⲗ ⲁ̈ⲓⲱⲁⲡⲟⲩ 60
ⲥⲛ̄ⲥ|ⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ
Ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲥⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲟⲩ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣⲥⲉⲗ ⲁⲥⲱⲟⲡⲉ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ ⲁ̈ⲓⲟⲩⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩ
ⲡⲱⲕ ⲡⲉ + ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲁⲥⲣⲉ 65
Ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲁ̈ⲓ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ
ⲉ̈ⲓ̣ . . . ⲛ̣̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ ⲁⲑⲏ
Ⲧⲧⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲁ|ⲱⲛ ϯⲣ̄
ⲱⲁⲡⲥ̀ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ
ⲧⲛ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲃⲛ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 70
ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ̣[ⲉⲩ]ⲧ·
Ⲧⲙⲉ̣ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲙ[ⲛⲡ]ⲉⲥ
ⲁ̣|ⲱⲛ ϯⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲡⲥ ⲁ̣[ⲣ]ⲁ̣ⲥ

49 ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ coniicio.

. . . . . to thee.
. . . . . .
. . . . how many of thy brethren
. . . . . thy kinsmen,
the world has changed for thee.
The humble thou hast loved,
the great thou hast humbled.
Lo (?), thou wast not yet ashamed
. . . . . .

ll. 10—23 *too fragmentary for translation*

The] Gods are spread over the world,
that they may answer thee if thou shouldest call.
They] set the Gods above
that they may bear (?) thy judgment.
They] set the Gods below,
suffering on thy account.
The crowned ones were humbled (?)
that thy heart might not be afflicted.
O soul, forget not thyself,
nor faint, nor eat out thy heart.
Lo, the ships are moored for thee,
the barks are in the harbour.
Take thy merchandise aboard
and sail to thy habitations.

. . . . . .
l. 39 *destroyed*
. 40
for ever and ever
and the soul [of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

l. 44 *destroyed*
l. 45 *illegible*
. . . . . .
envoy (πρεσβευτής) . . .
Do not find fault with me,
for thou hast called . . . .
The outrage is of the hated one 50
who has . . . . . .
Thou art the . . . . .
as I was about to founder.
While I was in the . . . of death
. . . . . corpse. 55

ll. 56—57 *destroyed*
. . . . . of death
. . . . . .
How many tortures have I suffered, 60
afflictions unspeakable.
They that set me up have passed,
a deception has come about.
Lo, I have shown my wounds (πληγή):
it is thine [to] give thy cures. 65
I have been born anew today,
as I . . . . myself forward.
The Father and his Aeons, — I
welcome you all,
for I have found my new 70
God, the Envoy (πρεσβευτής).
The Mother of Life and her
Aeons, — I welcome her (?).

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5 vid. 146, 45 n. — 33 cf. 30, 10; 45, 31, where the words should perhaps be divided ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱ ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲡⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ. — 35 ϭⲓⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ: vid. 76, 29 n. — 44 Here a new Psalm begins. — 53 vid. 87, 27 n. — 54 ⲗⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧ: cf. 197, 16 n. — 60 ⲁⲱⲉⲗ: vid. 142, 19 n.

. . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩ[ⲧⲏⲥ

2 periit

. . . . . .] . . [. . .]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ

. . . . . .]ⲛⲉkⲱ[. .] ϯⲣⲱ[ⲁⲡ]ⲥ̄ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ̄

. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲟⲩ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ

. . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ϯⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲡⲥ ⲝⲉ ⲁⲓⲃⲛⲡⲁ

ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ] ϯ[. . . . . ⲡⲁⲣ]ⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ϯⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲡⲥ

8 periit

. . . . .]ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ϯ[ⲣⲱⲁ]ⲡⲥ . . . . ⲃⲱⲗ ⲡⲡⲣⲉ

. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ϯⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲡⲥ̄ ⲧⲥ . . . . [. . . . . .

. . ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϯⲣ̄ⲱⲁ[ⲡⲥ] ⲱⲁⲡ ¯. ⲛⲉⲛ . . . . . .

. . . . . ⲉⲩⲍⲁⲣⲕ̄ [. . . .] . ⲛ . . ⲩ . ⲉ

. . . .] . . . ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲍⲓⲛ . . [. . . .] . . . . . ⲛ̀ⲏⲧⲛ̄[. .

. . . . . .] . . ⲱⲧⲉ ⲍⲓⲡⲁⲣⲑ[ⲉⲛⲟⲥ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ . ⲓ . . ⲏ[.

. ⲁ . . . . . ⲧⲉ ⲝⲉ ⲁ[ⲓ[. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲣⲉ ⲁⲓ[. .

16—18 mutila

19 . . .ⲉⲩ . . [. . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲛ̀ϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲥⲱⲱⲥ ⲛⲧⲙⲁ

kⲁⲣ]ⲓⲁ [ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲓ]ⲁ ⲡⲱⲁ[ⲓ ⲭⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ]

21 Ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲧⲁⲡⲓⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̀ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟ̀ ⲡ[ⲉ

ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲣⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲉ

Ⲫⲣⲱⲁⲛⲧⲱⲕ̄ ⲡⲉⲍⲏⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲭⲱⲕ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ

ⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲣⲁⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛⲑⲃ̈ⲓⲟ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲭⲉⲥⲧⲉ

25 Ⲱ ⲡⲁ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲡⲁ̄ⲣⲣⲟ • ϯⲛⲁ̄ⲣⲥⲁ[ⲓⲭ

ⲁⲣⲁⲕ̄ • ⲧⲁ̄ⲣⲍⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲱⲧ̀ ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲱⲉ

Ⲱ ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓ̀ⲧ̀ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛⲣⲁ

ⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϯⲛⲁⲧⲉⲉⲧ ⲥⲱⲧ̀ ⲥⲁⲣⲟ

ϯⲛⲁ[ϯ] ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲡⲙ̄ⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲡⲉkⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲁϯ ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲓ̈[ⲉ

30 ⲛ̄[ⲍⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉⲛ ⲥⲁⲡⲉkⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ

. . . . new . . . the envoy (πρεσβευτής).

l. 2 *destroyed*

. . . . . new . . . . The envoy (πρεσβευτής)
. . . . . I welcome you all
. . . . . The envoy (πρεσβευτής).
. . . . . and his sons, I welcome; for I have found my (?)
God], I . . . . . maiden, I welcome

l. 8 *destroyed*

. . . . maiden; I welcome . . . . . the Envoy (πρεσβευτής)
. . . and the moon I welcome . . . . . .
. . . the king divine I welcome . . . . . .
. . . . . he being at rest . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . and Maiden of Light . . . . . .
. . . . . for I have . . . . new . . ., I have

ll. 16—18 *destroyed*

. . . . . and the soul also of the
blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Pshai, [Jmnoute.

'O holy soul, noble (εὐγενής) and famed, great is the
honour and glory of thy kinsmen.
'If thou fix thy heart and finish this fight (ἀγών), if thou
die thou shalt live, if thou humble thyself thou shalt be exalted'.
'O my Father, my God, my Saviour, my King: I will be a champion
for thee, I myself will go out and fight.'
'O my Maiden, my Beloved, the living fire: if thou guard
me, I will give myself for thee.'
'I will [give] my body (σῶμα) to death for thy body (σῶμα) and give my fair (?)
beauty for thy beauty.'

21 ff. A dialogue between the Saviour and the Soul, in alternate verses. — 25 ϲⲁⲗⲭ: cf. 192, 29; Crum Dict. p. 615 a. ⲯⲁⲗⲭ-ϲⲁⲗⲭ from ⲯⲱⲭⲉ-ϲⲱⲭⲉ. — 30 ϩⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉⲛ: vid. 146, 46 n.

l. 1 periit

. . . . . .] ετω|νε . [. . .]ω|βε ⲙ̄ⲡ̣[. . . . . .
. . . . .] . . ⲁ̣ρ . . ϫε ⲁ[ⲓ]ⲛⲁ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛ̄ ⲁ . [. . . . . .
.] . ⲁⲣ[. . .] . . . [. . .]ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ . [. . . . . .
. ⲉⲓ̣ⲟ̣ . [. . . . . .]ⲥⲍⲱⲧ̣[. . . . . .
Ⲉ]ⲓⲣⲉⲩ ⲇⲉ . . . [. . . . .]ⲱⲩ ⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲩ . ⲉ̣[. . . . . .
ⲁ]ⲓϫⲁⲕⲟⲩ [ⲁⲃⲁ]ⲗ ⲁ[. . . . .]ⲉⲧⲱⲛ ⲁⲓ . [. . . . . .
Ⲍⲓⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲟ] ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲩ[. . . . . .
. .]ⲥ ⸗ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲱⲡ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉⲟ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲉ[ⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲙⲛ]ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲍⲱⲕ̀ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ̀ ⸗ ⲡⲃⲏⲩ [ⲅⲁⲣ
ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲣⲓⲙⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ̀
Ⲱ]ⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲙⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲫⲁⲩ ⲡⲱⲣⲱ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [. . . . . .
ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲣⲟⲩⲣⲉⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲛ†ⲱⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲉ]ⲩⲙⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲟ[ⲩ
Ⲁⲓ̈]ϫⲛⲧ ⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲃⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲁ†ⲥⲁⲣⲥ̀ [ⲟ]ⲩⲕⲗ[ⲟⲟⲗⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲉⲥⲣ̄ⲗⲓⲕ̀ ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ
Ⲁ]ⲣⲉⲕⲁ̣ . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲱϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲱⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ̀ . . ⲁ̣[. . . . . .
ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲉⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̣ [
Ⲛ]ⲉⲕⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲏ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲕⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ [ⲁ]ⲍⲟⲩⲛ̣ [ⲁⲣⲁⲓ
ⲉ]ⲕ†ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲱⲁⲛ†ϫⲱⲕ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲁⲅⲱⲛ
.]ⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲟ ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̈ⲏⲧⲉ ⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ
ⲁⲣⲱⲁⲡⲕ̀ †ⲛⲉⲙⲉ [ⲉ]ⲓ̈ⲱⲱⲡ [ⲙⲙ]ⲁⲩ
Ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲣⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲗⲍⲏⲙ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲣ̄ⲉⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲍⲁⲩ ⲡⲁ†ⲥⲁⲱⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲉ
Ⲭⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲣⲁⲱⲃⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲡⲁⲣ
ⲑⲉⲛⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲍⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲍⲁⲩ
Ⲱ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲩ† ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲱⲩ
ⲙⲁ† ⲛⲏ̈ ⲛⲓⲕⲗⲟⲟⲩ̈ ϫⲉ ⲁⲓⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲍⲱⲧ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲉⲩ
ⲱⲁⲛⲧ̀ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ[ⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲧ]ⲏ̣ⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ̀ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄
ⲧ[ⲙⲁ]ⲕⲁ[ⲣ]ⲓⲁ ⲙ[ⲙⲁⲣ]ⲓⲁ [ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡ]ⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲫⲉⲟⲛⲁ

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11 fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ̀. — 14 fin. ⲕⲗ[ⲟⲟⲗⲉ] H.T. — 17 ⲁⲣⲉⲉⲩ sic. — 20 init. ϫ]ⲱ ⲇⲉ H.T. — 21 ⲁⲣⲱⲁⲡⲕ̀ sic.

l. 1 *destroyed*

. . . . . that seeks . . . . change the . . . .
. . . . . for I went down to . . . . .
. . . . . call . . . . .
. . . . . .
'What am I doing therefore . . . . . .?
I carried them out . . . . . .'
'Hast thou not heard that thou art become a . . . . . .?
Thou hast tasted its fruits (καρπός) being blind, thou hast seen.'
'I am not to blame, nor art thou to blame; [for (γάρ)] it is the outrage
which the Gods have lamented.'
'The poison of the serpent spreads out . . . . .
I became an enchanter until I had extracted (?) his poison.'
'I] tested every trouble, I found not anything more evil than this
flesh (σάρξ). It is a
cloud of darkness that obscures (?) my mind (νοῦς).'
'Thou didst . . . . . if thou hast not gone forth (?) . . .
the thought therefore of what thou didst in Hell . . . .'
'Thou wast there with me protecting [me,
strengthening me until I finished my fight (ἀγών).'
'. . . ., o soul, uttering vanity (?): all afflictions
thou hast endured, I am with thee, enduring them.'
'What shall I do with this lion that roars at all times? What shall I do
with this seven-headed serpent?'
'Take unto thyself fasting (νηστεία) that thou mayest strangle
this lion: lo, virginity (παρθενεία)
and kill this serpent.'
'O my Father, my God, the giver of the victory to them that are his,
give me these garlands, for I also have laboured in the fight (ἀγών).'
Glory and victory to our Lord, the glorious one: a woven
garland upon all that believe in thee, and the soul of
the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, [Apa] Panai, Theona.

13 cf. 117, 27. — 15 ⲣⲗⲓⲕ: meaning unknown, cf. ⲗⲓⲕⲧ Crum Dict. 140 a, ⲗⲱⲃⲉ ibid. 152 b. — 20 ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲏⲧⲉ: cf. 150, 25 ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲗⲁⲗⲓⲁ. ⲉⲓⲏⲧⲉ (vid. 64, 31 n for other examples) appears to mean 'lonely', 'abandoned', 'empty', 'vain'.

1 periit

. . . . . .]ⲏⲩ ⲱ . . [. . .]ⲡⲓⲁⲙ ⲁⲣ . [. . . . . .
. . . . . .]ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲓ ⲟ̣[. . .] . ⲁ̣ⲧ̣[. . . . . .
. . . . . .] . . . ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉ . . [. . . . . .
. . . . . .]ⲍ̣ⲏⲃⲟ̣ⲩ . [. . . . . .
. . . . . .]ⲥⲁⲩ . . . [. . . . . .]ⲁⲩⲱⲛ
. . . . . .]ⲛ . . ⲙ̄ⲡ . [. . . . .] . . . . ⲉⲛ . . ⲓⲧ
. . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲛ[ⲉ ⲛ]ⲃⲉⲝⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲱⲥⲧ ⲁ[ⲃⲁⲗ
. . . . .] . . . ⲥ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ • ⲙⲁⲩ†ⲥⲉⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲱⲥⲙⲉ
. . . . .]ⲩⲁ̣ . ⲁⲛ . . . . • ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩ† ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲉ[ⲧⲟⲩ
. . . . . .] . . . . ⲛⲕ . . . ⲉⲕⲏⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲗⲙⲉ̣ . . . ⲉ̣[. .
. . . . . .] . ⲛ̣ . . . . ⲉⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁ . . . . . .
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲛ]ⲟ̣ⲩⲧⲉ ⲣⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ • ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲉ . ⲛ̣ⲍ̣
Ⲧ†[ⲩⲭ]ⲏ ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲟⲩⲁⲭ ⲁⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̣[ⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ[ⲁ]ⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲱⲁⲩⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲛ̣[. . .
Ⲙ̄ⲡ[. . . . . .] . ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁ[ⲩ
Ⲛⲉⲧ̣[. . . . . ⲛ]ⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲥⲱⲃ ⲩⲁⲡⲱⲱ[ⲛ]ⲉ̣ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ
Ⲙ̄[ⲁⲣⲉ ⲡ]ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲭⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲧ
Ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲉⲩⲉ̣ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲱ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ
Ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧⲛ̄ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲏ • ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲭⲱⲃⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲙ̣[ⲁⲛ
Ⲙ̄ⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲩ • ⲁⲩⲱ ⲩⲣⲱⲩⲉ ⲁⲣ̄ⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ
Ⲁⲣⲓⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛ̣ⲓⲱⲣⲍ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲍⲁ̣[ⲩ
Ⲁⲣⲓⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲱ[
Ⲁⲣⲓⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲗⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱⲗⲗ̄ ⲁⲡⲥⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲓⲃ̣[ⲉ
Ⲁⲣⲓⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲗⲁⲗⲓⲁ
Ⲁⲣⲓⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲭ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ
Ⲁⲣⲓⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ • ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄
Ⲁⲣⲓⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲡⲛ̄ⲁ • ⲉⲩⲍⲛ[ⲧⲙⲏⲧ]ⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲓⲙⲉ
Ⲁⲣⲓⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃ̣ⲣⲣⲉ • ⲉⲩⲣⲫ̣[ⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲡ]ⲱⲓⲥⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈
Ⲁⲣⲓⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ̣ [ⲛⲟ]ⲩⲙ̣ⲁⲍⲉ̣ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲓⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛ[ⲏ
Ⲁⲣ]ⲓⲍ[ⲙ̄]ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲭⲉ [. . . . .] . . . . . ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ

32 periit

. . . . . .]ⲱⲍ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲃ[ⲣ]ⲟⲩⲓ̣ⲁ̣ • . . . . . [. . . . .
. . . .]ⲣⲉⲱⲉ . . . . [. . .] . . . . . [. . . . .] . . . .

14 leg. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁ⟨ⲥ⟩ⲱⲱⲉ. — 23 fin. ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ coniicio.

ll. 1—7 fragmentary

. . . . . us that the rebels may not pour forth.
. . . . . unto thee, they are not judged again.
. . . . . for they have judged themselves.
. . . . . thou oughtest to stain (?) . . . .
. . . . . he being pure from. . . . . .
Lo, the] Gods rejoice in him because he has become one like them . .
The soul that is free from stain is able to come unto God.
God thinks not of evil, who speaks with the . . .
. . . . . speak in the midst of them that hear him.
They that . . . . . with us: let us be busy, he will serve us.
Let the bridechamber make festival, for the bridegroom is at hand (?).
Let us not think in our heart that our God is forgetful of us.
My brethren, let us not be slack (ἀμελεῖν), that the Lord may not pass (?) us.
Let us give ourselves to him and he is able (?) to guide us.
Guide my eyes that they look no evil look.
Guide my ears that they hear not a . . . . word.
Guide my nostrils that they smell not the stink of lust.
Guide my mouth that it utter no slander (καταλαλιά).
Guide for me my hands that they serve not Satan.
Guide for me my heart that it do (?) no evil at all.
Guide for me my Spirit in the midst of the stormy sea.
Guide my New Man, for it wears (? φορεῖν) [the] mighty image.
Guide my feet that they walk not in the way of Error (πλάνη).
Guide my soul that . . . . . sin.

l. 32 destroyed

. . . . . in ambrosia (? ἀμβροσία) . . . . . .

l. 34 fragmentary

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14 ⲁⲓⲃⲉ: vid. 23, 29 n. — 18 ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲧ: cf. 204, 16 ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛϩⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲕⲉ ⲉⲩϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲥⲕⲉⲡⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲱⲣⲉ̀ ⲟⲩⲱ̄ⲗⲁϩ. It is possibly the qual. of some verb, perhaps a secondary form from ϩⲱⲛⲧ, Crum Dict. 691 b; or 'in the ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲧ', taking ⲟⲩ. as a noun. — 21 ⲧⲉⲛⲉ for ⲧⲉⲉⲛ, as ⲕⲁⲩⲉ for ⲕⲁⲁⲩ. — 29 cf. 16, 28 n; 46, 18; Eph. 4, 24.

Ογ]εαγ μ̄ñογταϊο ñ|ῑη̄c̄ πρ̄ρο ṇ̃ṇ̃ε̣τογαβε
μ̣ṇ̃νεqc[ω]τπ̄ ετογαβε ογбρο ñτϯγχη ñτμακαρι
α] μ̄μ̣αρια θεονα

|ῑη̄c̄ παρεqραϊc μ̄μηε μαρεκραϊc α̣ρ̣α̣ϊ̣ πωαρπ̄
μ̄μ̣|cε μ̄π̣ϊωτ ñνογαϊνε μ̣α̣ρ̣ε̣κ̣ρ̣α̣ϊ̣ç α̣ρ̣α̣ϊ̣
Ντκ] π̣ηρπ̄ ετανϩ πωηρε ñτβω ñελαλ̣ε μ̄μηε
Μα]τcαν ñογηρπ̄ εqανϩ αβαλ ϩñτεκβω [ν]ελαλ[ε
Θι|ϩ̄ñτμητε μ̄π|α̣μ̣ ι̣η̄c̄ αρι|ϩμ̄με μ̄μαϊ
Μπωρκατοτκ̣ αβαλ ñcωn χε νε νϩ|μεγε τωρπ̄ μ̄μαν
Θι]ωατεογο πεκρεν α̣χ̣ṇ̃πιαμ ωαqφ̄ρ̄κο νεqϩ̣|μ̣[εγε
Νιμ πεταρεωε εν ερε πρη ναωαϊε ν̣ε̣q
Ντκ ογϩοογ εqχηκ̣ εκ̣ε|νε μ̄πκ̣ϊωτ [ϩ]ṇ̃μ̣π̣η̣[γε
Ѡ . . καλε μ̄μαν • ακбωλπ αραν ν̣ογηρπ̄ ν̣[βρ̄ρε
Νε]ωαγcογ μ̄πεκηρπ̄ • ωα πογϩητ ρ̣ε̣ωε α̣χ̣ωq
Ѡ]αγ†ϩε ϩñτκ̣αγαπη τε πογρατ πωρ̄ѡ̄ α̣χ̣ṇ̃π̣ε̣γ . [. .]ϒ
Ѡαγμεγε ανετχαce ñcεϩακογ αμ|ωε ογβε πдρακων
Ττcεχε μ̄πνογτε ϩαλб̄ εqωαбñ̄ μεωτε ακωτμ̄ αραq
Μαqбаϊλε ανογc εqτημ • μαq† πεqñ̄ογαι ακ̣ṇ̃ϩε εc̣cοοq
Εωαqбаϊλε αν|παρθενος • ñqογωϩ ϩñ̄πϩητ̀ ñn|ερκρατηc
Νε]ωαqбаϊλε αραγ • ωαρε τεqχαρ|c πωρ̄ѡ̄ αχωογ
Ѡ]ąγμαρογ αχñ̄τεγ†πε • ñcεϩακογ αμ|ωε μ̄ñ̄πдρακων
Ττ|ρεν χε |ῑη̄c̄ ερε ογχαρ|c κωτε αραq
Τεκετπω εc̣ϊωογ • μ̄πεταωβ| αϩρηϊ ϩαρας
Ντκ̣ ογμαϊρωμε ñογηρ • |ῑη̄c̄ τωαρπ̄ ñογρτ μ̄π|ωτ
Ντκ̣ ογϩλбητ ωαογηρ • α̣|ατα̣ϊ̣ω̣ πϩλбητ ñ̄ñ̄ογτε
Εϊωαμεεγ αρακ παχαϊc • ναωε θρ̄τε εωαckωτε αραϊ̣
Εϊωαογωω† εαγ νεκ μ̣αιбν εϊατñ̄τωνκ̣ αν|μ
Εϊωαω|νε ñcωκ ωαϊбντ̣κ̣ ϩι|ϩογν εκ̣ρ̄ογαϊνε αραϊ̣
Αρηγ εϊμ̄πωα ϩωτ̀ α[cωτμ α]π̣ϩραγ ñnογτε
. . . . .]ε̣ι ϩωτ αρακ νεce πκ̣εαγ ϩñ̄ρωϊ̣ παχ̣[α|]ç
Απχ̣αι ñ|ϩ̄ç̣ μανε εqατπ̄ ñκλαμ ϩι|βαε εqραγτ̣

13 ωακκαλε exspectavisses. — 15 τε pro ñτε. — 25 α̣|ατα|ω parum intellego.

Glory and honour to Jesus, the King of the holy ones,
and his holy Elect. Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary, Theona.

Jesus my true guard, mayest thou guard me: First-
born of the Father of the Lights, mayest thou guard me.
Thou] art the living wine, the child of the true vine.
Give us to drink a living wine from thy vine.
In the midst of the sea, Jesus, guide me.
Do not abandon us that the waves may not seize us.
When I utter thy name over the sea it stills its waves.
Who will not rejoice when the sun is about to rise on him?
Thou art a perfect day, being like unto thy Father in the skies (?).
Thou] invitest (καλεῖν) us: thu hast broached for us a [new] wine.
They that drink thy wine, their heart rejoices in it.
They are drunk with thy love (ἀγάπη) and gladness is spread over their . . .
They think of them that are on high and arm themselves to fight
against the dragon.
The word of God is sweet when it finds ears to hear it.
It lodges not in a mind (νοῦς) that is shut, it makes not its
way to a shrine that is polluted.
It lodges with the Maidens and dwells in the heart of the Continent (ἐγκρατής).
They with whom it lodges, — its grace (χάρις) spreads over them.
They gird up their loins and arm themselves to fight with the dragon.
This name 'Jesus', — a grace (χάρις) surrounds it.
Thy burden is light for him that can bear it.
How great a lover of man thou art, o Jesus, the first rose of the Father.
How kindly thou art . . . . the kindly one of the Gods.
When I think of thee, my Lord, great is the fear that surrounds me.
When I would glorify thee, I find not to whom I should liken thee.
When I seek thee I find thee within illumining me.
Perhaps I too am worthy to [hear] the divine call.
. . . . . myself to thee, fair is thy glory in my mouth, my Lord.
The ship of Jesus has come to port, laden with garlands and gay palms.

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13 καλεῖν: cf. 158, 28. **ⲇⲱⲗⲡ**: vid. 158, 29 n. — 22 cf. 185, 20. — 23 **ⲉⲥⲓ̈ⲱⲟⲩ**: vid. 100, 24 n.

|ιн[c] πετρ̄ϩ̄ωμε ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ϥⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ϣⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉ[ⲗⲟ
Ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲉϣⲁϥϫⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ|ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ[ⲉϣ]ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁ . . [. .
ⲗⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲁⲛ ϩⲱⲱⲛ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ϫⲉⲛⲁⲣⲡⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲏⲣ ⲁ . . [. .
ⲦⲦϫⲁⲓ ⲛ|ⲏ̄ⲥ ϥⲁ+ ⲡϥ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡϫ|ⲥⲉ
Ϥⲁⲟⲩⲁϩ ⲡⲉ[ϥ]ⲁⲩ̈ⲛ ⲁⲡⲕⲣⲟ • ⲛ̄ⲩⲛⲁϩϩϥ ⲥⲁⲛⲉ| ⲉⲧⲥⲁϫⲡ ⲁⲡⲁϩ[ⲟⲩ
Ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̣[ⲉ] . ⲉⲡ . . . . . ⲉⲧⲡⲁⲣⲱ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃ|[ⲟⲥ
Ϥⲁϫ[. . . . .]ⲙⲉⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ|ⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ
Ϥⲁⲧⲡ ⲛⲕⲗⲁ]ⲙ ϩ|ⲃⲁⲉ ⲉϥⲣⲁⲩⲧ • ϫⲛⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ϣⲁⲛ|ⲁⲛⲏ[ϩⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ] ⲙ[ⲛⲟ]ⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲉϥⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ [ⲛ]ⲧ+ⲩϫⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̣ⲣ|ⲓ̣ⲁ̣

ⲦⲦⲛ]ⲟⲩⲥ [ⲉⲧ]ⲥⲁⲩϩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲱϥ
. . . . . .] . ϩ̣ⲱⲧ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ
. . . . . .] . ⲛ̣ⲧⲉⲕ ⲉⲓ̈ϩⲛ̄ⲡϫⲁ|ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ c
ⲗⲁⲑ]ⲃⲓ̣ⲟ ⲡ̣ⲁⲛϫⲱϫ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲱⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈
ⲦⲦⲣⲁⲩϣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲕⲉ • ⲁϥⲧⲣⲁ+ϩⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉϥ+ϩⲉ
Ⲛⲉ]ϥϣⲁⲣϣⲣ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲕⲱⲧ • ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲍ
Ⲛ[ⲉϥ]ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲡⲱⲣⲕ • ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲛⲁϩⲥⲉ ϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ . . [.
Ⲧⲩⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ϩⲛⲁⲟⲛⲏ • ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ c
ⲦⲦⲉϥϫⲡⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉϥⲧⲉⲕⲟ • ⲥⲉⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϣⲃⲓ̈ⲱ
Ⲛⲁϣⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ϣⲁⲡⲟⲩ • ⲉⲓ̈ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲕⲙⲏⲙⲉ c
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ • ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϩⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ
Ⲥⲉϩⲱⲓ̈ ⲉⲓ̈ⲑⲓⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ • ⲛ̄ⲕ+ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲕ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ c
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲱⲣⲁⲟⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϩ̀ c
. . . ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲗ̀ⲃⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲱⲃⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁϩⲉ c
ⲦⲦⲥ+ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ . . . . . ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈
Ⲧⲙ̄ϩⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲗⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ . . . . ⲁⲓ̈ϩ . . . ϩⲛ̄+ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲱⲱⲥ
Ⲉⲓ̣ⲥⲧⲉ +ⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ +ⲥ . . . ⲧ ⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ c
Ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲅ]ⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱ[ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ]ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱϥ̄ ⲁⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ c
. . . . .] ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ ⲡ[. . . . . .

2 fin. fort. ⲟⲩⲁϩⲟⲩ cf. 5. — 6 ante ⲉⲧⲡⲁⲣⲱ̄ fort. ⲛⲉⲓ̈. — 10 init. cf. 153, 5. — 11 init. ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ coniicio. — 26 fort. +ⲥⲁⲙⲧ.

It is Jesus who steers it, he will put in for us until we embark.
The holy ones are they whom he takes, the maidens are they whom he . . .
Let us also make ourselves pure that we may make our voyage . . .
The ship of Jesus will make its way up to the height.
It will bring its cargo to the shore and return for them that are left behind.
They are the . . . . . that are spread in the deceit (ἀπάτη) of life (βίος).
He will . . . . bring them to the harbour of the immortals.
It is laden with] garlands and gay palms for ever and ever.
Victory] and rest be there to the soul of Mary.

O Mind (? νοῦς) that art gathered, the gatherer of them that are his.
. . . . . in to the midst of thy beloved.
. . . . . while I am in the desert of this world (κόσμος).
Subdue the leader of the Darkness who has seized me.
The care of my poor body (σῶμα) has made me drunk in its drunkenness.
Its demolitions and its buildings have taken my mind (νοῦς) from me.
Its plantings and its uprootings, — they stir up trouble for me.
Its fire, its lust (ἡδονή), they trick me daily.
Its begetting and its destroying bind to me a recompense.
Many are the labours that I suffered while I was in this dark house.
Thou therefore, my true Light, enlighten me within.
Set me up, for I have tumbled down, and help me with thee to the height.
Be not far from me, o Physician that hast the medicines of life.
. . . do thou heal me of the grievous wound of lawlessness (ἀνομία).
The fragrance of my kinsmen . . . . . to me.
The sweet breath of the Spirit . . . . in (?) this charnel-house.
Behold, I am watching for thee, I . . . . to receive thy cures.
For (γάρ) [thou] art my Saviour that wast appointed to save me.
. . . . with me . . . . . .

6 βίος: vid. 75, 23 n. — 7 ⲙⲉⲛⲱⲟⲩ: lit. 'bring them to port'. — 12 etc. The ⲥ at the end of many of the lines is the abbreviated form of some refrain. — 19 i. e. in the body. — 25 ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲱⲱⲥ: lit. 'corpseness', a translation of νεκρότης. For ⲙ̄ⲯⲏ vid. 37, 16 n.

. . . . .] ⲧⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲡⲣⲁⲩⲱ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲉⲧ[ⲥⲏⲡ
ⲥⲛⲟⲩⲱⲡⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲉ ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲏ[ⲓ
Ⲉ]ⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲉ • ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲉ ⲁⲣⲁ[ⲓ
Ⲉⲓ]ⲥ ⲡⲣ̣[ⲉ]ⲱⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲥⲁⲓ̈ • ⲥⲓⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲛⲏⲓ̈
Ⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ
ϫⲉ̣ ⲡⲱⲕ ⲣⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
Ⲟⲩ[ⲥⲱⲟ]ⲩⲥ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟ̣ⲣ̣[ⲟ] ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ . . ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ[ⲛ]ⲉ ⲧⲛⲱⲱⲛⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲕ
ⲗ]ⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
Ⲉ]ⲛⲁⲕⲱⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲉⲛⲁⲕⲱⲧ ⲥⲉⲧ̀ • ⲉⲛⲁⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱ
ⲛⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄
Ⲥⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲥ̣ⲉⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲛⲁ̣[ⲕ]ⲁⲧⲩ[ⲟⲩ
ⲉⲛⲁ]ⲥⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄
Ⲥⲛ̄]ⲥⲣ[ⲏ]ⲣⲉ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲧ̄ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲛ]ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄
Ⲥⲛ̄]ⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲕⲱ[ⲧ
ⲁ]ⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄
Ⲟ]ⲩⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ • ⲉⲛⲁⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄
ⲣⲉ] ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄
Ⲧⲧ]ⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲙ̄̈ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ • ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ
ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄
Ⲛ]ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ • ⲛⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ̀ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲁ
ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄
Ⲉ]ⲓⲥ ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲧⲟ ⲙⲉⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ
ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲏⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛⲧⲫ̄ • ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲁⲥⲕⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ
ⲁⲣⲁⲫ ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲛⲥⲁⲩⲥ̀ⲥ̀ • ⲉⲩⲧⲟ ⲕⲁⲥ ⲧⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲁ
ⲫ ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲃⲥ̀ . ⲱ[.]ⲩⲭⲉ[. . .
ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄

8 fort. ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲉ. — 24 ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ sic: leg. ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀. — 30 fin. fort. ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲭⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ.

. . ., sorrow (λύπη), care: they are the [hidden] cancer.
In a moment, my God, thy mercy became one with me.
Because of thy strong protection, lo, my diseases passed far from me.
Lo, joy has overtaken me through thy right hand that came to me.
Glory to thee and honour, o Mind (νοῦς) that art gathered, that givest peace (εἰρήνη);
for thine indeed is the honour and all thy race of Light.
A gathering-in and victory be there to the soul of Mary.

Gather we in the . . . daily and weave a royal
garland and give it to all the holy ones.
May we build gold, may we build silver, may we build stone upon (?)
stone daily. We weave.
Stones daily, words daily, may we garner them,
may we] array them. We weave.
Gay lilies, gay roses, may we set them with
one another. We weave.
Holy hearts, holy minds (νοῦς), may we build
into a Church. We weave.
A new king it is that cometh, may we build also a new house.
We weave.
The] new house is the New Man, the new king is the Mind (νοῦς)
of Light. We weave.
The holy ones, — let them rejoice; the perfect also, — let them make
festival. We weave.
Lo, wisdom (σοφία) is flourishing: where is there an ear to hear
it? We weave.
Lo, the new wine we have found: we would have new bottles (ἀσκός)
for it. We weave.
Lo, seed-corn we have gathered: where is there soil to plant it
in? We weave.
Lo, the living fire has come, we would have lamps . . . .
We weave.

10 ff. i. e. the material will be gold etc., cf. 188, 25 ff. — 20 cf. Eph. 4, 24. — 26 cf. Mt. 9. 17. — 28 ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲱⲩⲉ = Sahidic ⲉⲃⲣⲁⲥⲱⲩⲉ, vid. Crum Dict. 53 b.

Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲙ]ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲯ̄ⲛⲍⲏⲧ̀ • ⲉⲩϯ ⲛⲏⲍ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲩ[ⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ
ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄
Ⲉⲓ]ⲥ ⲡⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲉⲥⲧⲟ ⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲉ|ⲛⲉ
ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲫ ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄
Ⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ • ⲡⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩϛ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ ⲓⲛⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄
Ⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲧⲉ ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ • ⲡⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩⲥ ⲧ̣
Ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲗⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ[ⲟⲩ
Ⲙⲛⲱⲉⲛ] ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲑⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲛⲁⲧⲱϩⲙ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ
Ⲉ[ⲩⲁ]ⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲩ[ⲧⲱϩ]ⲙ̄ [ⲁ]ⲣⲁ[ⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲩⲟⲛ ⲡⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ̀ ⲉⲩⲧⲙⲁⲓⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ
ⲧ]ⲛ̣ⲭ| ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁϯϩⲉⲡ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲡ ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ
Ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲉϣⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̀ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ
Ⲟⲩ[ⲙ]ⲧⲁⲛ [ⲉⲙⲛⲧⲉⲕ] ϩ̣ⲓⲉ ⲟ̣ⲩⲣⲉϣⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟ̄
ⲁϩⲣ[ⲁ]ⲛ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧ̣ⲱⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ̄ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ
Ⲧ̣[.]ⲛ[.]ⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲛⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲁ[ⲛⲏϩ]ⲉ̣ [ⲁ
ⲧⲙⲉⲧ ⲧⲛ̄ⲱ[ⲱⲛⲧ
. . . . .] ⲛ̣ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̣ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩϩⲱⲃⲙⲉ ⲱⲁⲁⲛ[ⲏϩⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ] ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁ|ⲟ ⲛ̄|ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲛ̄
Ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̀ϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

Ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̣ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲁⲫ[ⲩ
ⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ̈
Ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲑⲉⲱⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ
Ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲩⲗⲏ ϫⲉ ⲁⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ̀ ⲱⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲥⲁⲡ[ⲉ
ⲕⲟⲩⲛⲁⲫ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ
Ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲛ̄ⲛⲁ ϫⲓ ⲥϯⲛⲟⲩ
ⲫⲉ ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ
Ⲧⲧⲁⲉⲛⲇⲩⲙⲁ ⲥⲃⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̀ • ϫⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲕⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲁⲩⲧ̣
Ⲫⲱⲛⲏ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲙⲏ ⲣⲉⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲁⲧⲱⲕ
Ⲁⲡ]ⲥⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲓⲁ ⲍⲉⲧ̀ⲓⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ϯⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̣

7 fin. ⲧ̣ sc. ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄. — 9 pro ⲉⲣⲉ leg. ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ, cf. 157, 23. — 16. 18 ⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲉ coniicio, sc. 'ubi sunt?' — 25. 27 ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ sic. — 30 ⲁⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ : ⲁ alterum sup. lin. — 31 ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉⲩ sic: leg. ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉⲥ.

Lo, the] wise virgins, they do put oil into their
lamps]. We weave.
Lo, the Bridegroom has come: where is the Bride who is like
him? We weave.
The Bride is the Church, the Bridegroom is the Mind (νοῦς)
of Light. We weave.
The Bride is the soul, the Bridegroom is Jesus.
My brethren, let us purify ourselves from all pollutions,
for (γάρ) [we know not] the hour when the Bridegroom shall summon us.
May he come and summon us and find our heart justifying us,
that we may receive the Beloved that is to come and judge
the whole world (κόσμος),
and that we may be numbered among those on the right hand and
inherit (κληρονομεῖν) the Kingdom.
The Kingdom is joy, and peace (εἰρήνη), and rest: —
rest [wherein there is no] toil, joy too wherein there is no sorrow (λύπη).
What have we to do with the world (κόσμος) now? Arise, let us go
to our Aeons (?).
. . . . our crowns of Light, that never
fall. We weave.
. . . . our gay garlands which fade not for ever.
Glory] and honour to Jesus, the King of the holy ones,
and his holy Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary, Theona.

Open to me, o Tree of Life; o Tree of Rest, open
to me.
Open to me thy essences (οὐσία) that I may contemplate (θεωρεῖν)
the face of the holy ones. Open.
Open to me thy halls (αὐλή), for my heart has been faint for
thy joy. Open.
Open to me thy Paradises (παράδεισος), that my Spirit may receive
fragrance. Open.
My robe (ἔνδυμα) is ready, that I may return to my Father rejoicing.
Every voice (φωνή) I have heard, no other voice pleased me save thine.
The] time of the ἑρμηνεία (?) [has] flowed (?) to me, I thirst for life.

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1 ff. cf. 191, 18 ff.; Mt. 25, 1 ff. — 9 cf. Mt. 25, 13. — 16 ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲧ: vid. Keph. 128, 3 n. — 26 ⲱⲥⲙⲉ = the Sahidic ⲥⲱⲱⲙ̄, vid. Crum Dict. 377 a. — 32 ϩⲉⲧ̈ⲉ: 'flowed' (?), cf. Hom. 8, 20.

ⲙⲡⲣ]ⲱⲥⲕ ⲁⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲍⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ ⲉⲓⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ[. . .
ⲡⲏⲣⲡ ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ
ⲁ]ⲓⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲓⲣ . [. . . .] . . . ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲧⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ
ⲁⲓⲱⲥⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲭⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲡⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ
ⲧⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲕⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭ̄ⲣⲥ • ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ
ⲧⲥⲁ[ⲩ]ⲍⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲉⲧⲟⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ̀ ⲁⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ
ⲥⲱⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲓⲥⲁⲩⲍⲟ̄ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ • ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲁⲓⲧⲁⲃⲩ ⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ
Ⲉ]ⲱ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ • ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲁⲕⲓⲟⲁⲣⲁ ⲣⲃⲣⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛ[ⲉ
Ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ ⲍⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲁⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲁⲛ
ⲁ]ⲗⲓⲥⲓ ⲛⲁⲍⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲍⲉ • ⲛⲁ[ⲥⲧ]ⲟ̣ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲗ[ⲃⲉ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ • ⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲧⲁⲛ] ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲭⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
Ⲟⲩ]ⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈[ⲟ] ⲛ̣[ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲙⲛⲛⲉ]ⲫⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ [ⲙⲛⲧ]ϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ [ⲙ
ⲙ]ⲁ̣ⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

Ⲉⲓⲛⲁ]ϯⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲁϯⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲁⲣ[ⲉⲫ
ϯⲙ]ⲁⲧⲛⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲁϯⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ
. . . .]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲁϯⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ
ⲧⲧ]ⲁⲣⲉⲫϯⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲁϯⲉⲫ
ⲧⲧⲁⲛ]ⲉⲕⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲱⲗⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲧⲥ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ: ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲥⲉⲭⲉ
ⲧⲧ]ⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲣ ⲁⲡⲱⲏⲛ: ⲕⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗ •
ⲧⲧ]ⲉⲍⲟ ⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲱⲱⲉ: ⲕⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲕⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄
ⲓ]ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲱⲉ ⲁⲡⲱⲉ: ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲩ
ⲧⲧ]ⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲓ̈ⲱⲧⲉ: ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ̀ ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲧⲧ]ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ • ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲛ
ⲧⲧⲍⲗ]ⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ: ⲡⲱⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲕ̄
ⲧⲧ]ⲃⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ: ⲡ[ⲉⲁ]ⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
ⲧⲧⲍ]ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲍⲱⲣ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ: ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣ[ⲓⲁ
. .] . . ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲧⲕ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲕ̄: ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ̄[ⲑ]ⲉ[ⲟⲛⲁ
ⲧⲧⲟ[ⲩ]ⲣⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ:
ⲧⲧⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ:

1 ⲁⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ sic vid. — 7 ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ sic. — 18 init. fort. ⲡⲱⲛ]ⲉ, cf. 153, 10. — 20 ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲟⲟⲩ: cf. ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲱⲣⲧ 7, 32. — 30 ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲓⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲕ̄ coniicio, cf. 10, 10.

Be not] long in opening to me, for my heart has thirsted for . . .
wine (?). Open.
I have laboriously . . . . .; open to me, give me the seal (σφραγίς).
I have been long in my χοροί; open to me, give me the seal.
O ἀγγελική of Christ, open to me, crown (στεφανοῦν) me.
The assembly of the eagles (ἀετός), — they that draw my heart to the skies.
I have gathered everything in; that which is in my hand I have
fastened to the root.
Which is the way that I am to turn? My lute (κιθάρα) becomes new daily.
O holy ones, rejoice with me, for I have returned to my beginning (ἀρχή) again.
I have received my washed clothes, my robes (στολή) that grow not old.
I have rejoiced in their joy, I have been glad in their gladness.
I have rested] in their rest from everlasting to everlasting.
Glory and honour to [Jesus, the King of the holy ones,
and] his holy Elect [and the] soul of the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary, Theona.

I will] glorify thee, my God, I will glorify thee, my [giver
of] rest to every man. My God, I will glorify thee.
. . . corner-stone, my God, I will glorify thee.
My giver of rest to every man, my God, I will glorify thee.
Corner-stone unchanging, unaltering. My God.
Foundation unshakeable. Thou art a marvel to tell.
sheep bound to the tree, Thou art within, thou art without.
treasure hidden in the field, Thou art above, thou art below.
Jesus that hangs to the tree, that art near and far,
Youth, son of the dew, that art hidden and revealed,
milk of all trees, that art silent and speakest too;
sweetness of the fruits (καρπός), thine is all the glory.
eye of the skies, Glory due to thee,
guard of all treasures, victory to the soul of Mary,
. . . . that bears the universe, Apa Panai, and Theona.
joy of all created things,
rest of the worlds (κόσμος).

9 i. e. to the place of my origin. — 23 cf. Mt. 13, 44. — 25 vid. 104, 10 n.

ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲁⲣⲛ[ⲉⲓ
ⲁ]ⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲡⲩⲗⲏ ⲧ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ̄ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ̣
Ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲟ|ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲃⲥ̄ [ⲁⲩ]ϯ [ⲛ]ⲉ̣ⲩ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥⲙ̄
ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲁⲩⲉ̣ⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟ
ⲁⲙⲏ|ⲛⲉ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ|ⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲩ ⲧ̄ⲛⲥⲁⲗ
ⲥⲗ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ
ⲗ̀ⲙⲁⲛ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲱⲣⲙ̄ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲁⲡⲣ[ⲟ
ⲱ̣ⲧⲉⲙ ⲁ̣ⲣⲱⲟⲩ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ[ⲟ]
Ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲃⲛ ⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ • ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲡ[ⲟⲩ]ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲱ|ⲡⲉ
ⲁⲩ]ⲣ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲙ • ⲁⲩⲣ̄
.] . . ⲍ̣ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙ|ⲁ
ⲁ̣[. . . . . .] . ⲉⲩ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ [ⲛⲧ
.]ⲩ . . . . ⲉ̣|ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡ[ⲛ̄ⲁ̄] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ
Ⲧⲧ]ⲉⲧ[ⲁ]ⲃⲣ̣ⲟ ⲁⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲣⲏ [ⲥ]ⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ̣ⲛⲁ[ⲃⲣⲟ ϩ
ⲧⲉⲡ|ⲑ]ⲩⲙ|ⲁ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲡ[ⲟⲟⲥ] ⲍ̣ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ⲟⲩ]ⲱ[ⲏ]
Ⲧⲧ]ⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲥⲉⲃⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲡ|ⲥⲛⲉⲩ • ⲡ|ⲥⲙ[ⲁⲙ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡ|ⲁⲣⲁⲱ • ⲡ|ⲱⲱⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲣⲱ
Ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥ|ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲱⲥ ⲧ[ⲥⲉⲧⲉ
ⲧⲍⲏⲇⲟⲛⲏ ⲡ|ⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈
Ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲣⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧ[ⲏ
ϫⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ
Ⲧⲡⲟⲩⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲫⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲥ|ⲓⲁⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲥ
ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲉ| ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ̄
Ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲱⲥⲙⲉ • ⲧⲁⲅⲁ̣
ⲡⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϯⲃⲣⲁⲙⲡⲍⲉⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲱ̄
Ⲧⲧⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛⲟ̄ ⲁⲩⲃⲣⲁⲙⲡⲍⲉⲧ̄ [ⲡ
ⲡⲛⲁ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲧ[ϫⲁ]ⲍⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛⲟ̄ ⲁⲩⲍⲁⲩ
Ⲥⲛ̄]ϫⲁϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲃⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲫⲁⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ̣
ⲧⲃⲣ]ⲁ[ⲙ]ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲙⲛⲧ̄ ⲉⲥϫⲁⲍⲙⲉ
Ⲧⲧ]ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ[ⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲁ]ⲩϫⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲥⲓⲍⲉⲧ • ⲡⲡ̄[ⲛⲁ
ⲛⲧⲁⲩ [ⲉⲩϫⲁⲍⲙ ⲟⲩⲙⲁ]ⲓ[ⲛⲟⲩ]ⲃ̣ ⲥⲓⲍⲉⲧ ⲡⲉ

16 ⲁⲩⲣ̄ sic: leg. ⲫⲁⲣ̄?

We are thy peoples (λαός), the sheep of thy fold: let us [come
in to thy gates (πύλη) and appear unto thee.
They that sought found; they prayed, it was given them; they knocked
at the door, the door was opened to them.
Come inside, my brethren, by the narrow door, and let us comfort
one another with the word of Truth.
For the world (κόσμος) has gone astray, men looking for the door: the door
was shut against them, the door was not opened to them.
Looking for God they found not what God is; their
God is their belly, their glory is their shame.
They] became lions in the day through the devouring fire: they became
. . . . in the night through desire (ἐπιθυμία).
. . . . . the spirit [of
. . . . . and the [Spirit] that loves riches (χρῆμα).
He that conquers the fire shall be the sun by day; he that [conquers
desire (ἐπιθυμία) shall be the [moon] by night.
The] sun and the moon in the sky, they conquer these two, the heat
and the cold, the summer and the winter.
The holy Church will conquer them also, the [fire and
the lust (ἡδονή), the lion-faced dragon.
The perfect Elect (ἐκλεκτός) will be the sun by day, the Cate-
chumens will be the moon by night.
The will that is in heaven shall be upon the earth,
the kingdom shall come which not many have known.
The living kingdom shall be revealed again, the love (ἀγάπη)
of God, the white dove.
For (γάρ) the holy Spirit was likened to a dove, but
the] unclean Spirit was likened to a snake.
The dove and the snake are enemies to each other;
the] dove does not dwell in a pool unclean.
For (γάρ) [the] holy Spirit [does not] take gold and silver, but the
unclean Spirit] is a lover of gold and silver.

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1. 2 cf. Ps. 99, 3. 4. — 5 cf. Mt. 7, 14. — 7 ⲱⲙⲁⲛ: vid. Crum Dict. 169 a. — 10 cf. Phil. 3, 19. — 21 cf. Mt. 13, 43. — 23 cf. Mt. 6, 10. — 24 cf. Mt. 7, 14. — 26. 27 ⲃⲣⲁⲙⲡⲥⲉⲧ: vid. Crum op. cit. 713 b, sub voce ⲥⲁⲧ. — 30 ⲥⲁⲙⲛⲧ = κολυμβήθρα, Crum op. cit. Part III p. vii (339 b).

Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏⲕⲉ ⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲟⲃⲏ̈[ⲟ] ⲁⲥⲭⲓ ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲩ
ⲁⲓ] ⲉⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲭ[ⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ]ⲧⲥⲏⲕⲉ
Ⲧⲙ]ⲛⲧⲥⲏⲕⲉ . . . ⲁⲥⲭⲓ ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲉⲉⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲣⲙⲙ
ⲁⲫ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲣ]ⲁ ⲧⲉ
. .]ⲉⲧ ⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏⲕⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲣ̄
ⲥ]ⲏⲕⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ
Ⲧⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲏⲕⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ
ⲥⲱⲥ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄
Ⲉ]ⲛⲁⲣⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲥⲓⲥⲉⲧ • ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ • ⲡⲉⲩ
ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟ̄ⲁⲙ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲏ[ⲧ
Ⲟ]ⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄
ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲉ

Ⲭⲓⲧⲟ̄ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲥⲣⲱⲁⲣ[ⲡ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ • ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲱⲙ ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲱⲉ
Ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲛ . . . ⲉ ⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲝⲉⲩ . . ⲛ̣ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁ
Ⲉ]ⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲧⲁⲩⲗ[. .] ⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ • ⲁⲛⲥⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉ ⲥⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲧ
Ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲩⲗⲏ • ⲝⲉⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ⲧ
Ⲉⲓⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲉⲛⲓⲧ̀ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ • ⲛⲱⲥⲉ ⲧⲉⲗⲁⲓⲧ̀ ⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲉ
Ⲧⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ • ⲛⲱⲥⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
Ⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲉⲡⲱⲁⲧⲉ • ⲣⲥⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̀ⲓ̈ⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲩ ⲧ
Ⲉⲛⲧⲱⲣⲡ ⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲧⲉ • ⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ
Ⲙⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲧⲥⲁⲧⲉ • ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲭⲁⲙⲏ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ
Ⲉⲩⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲭⲱⲃⲉ
Ⲱ ϯⲛⲁ[ⲟ ⲛ]ⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲱ ϯⲛⲁⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲉ
Ⲧⲓⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲙⲧ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
Ⲉⲩⲡⲱⲧ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ
. ⲥ . ⲟⲛ . . ⲙⲟⲩⲥ̀ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲉ • ⲉⲛⲃⲁⲱⲧ ⲁⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲏⲩ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲱⲡⲏ]ⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲙⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲭⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧ
. . . . . ⲃⲉⲗ • ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲱⲓ̈ⲡ[ⲉ
Ⲧⲧⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲩⲧⲥⲉⲡ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ

4. 5 fort. ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲥ]ⲏⲕⲉ. — 16 etc. ⲧⲁ sive ⲧⁿ scil. ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ. — 17 an ⲡⲁⲧⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ = αὐλητής? — 28 ⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲉⲓ̈ⲉ sic.

Lo], poverty (?) has come to humility, it has received a [great
name: it has been called 'Poverty'.
Poverty . . . has received a great name, it has been made wealth (?);
it is holy (ἁγία) poverty.
. . . therefore, my brethren, and let us love poverty and be
poor in the body (σῶμα) but rich in the Spirit.
And let us be like the poor, making many rich,
as (ὡς) having nothing possessing power over everything.
What shall we do with gold and silver? Let us love God: his
Light is the power, his sage wisdom (σοφία).
Glory and victory to our Lord Mani, and
his holy Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary, Theona, Martyrs (μάρτυρε).

Receive him, even the Spirit: the love (ἀγάπη) of the Father, let it come first.
Lo, the joy has come, the scent of summer has transpired.

l. 16 *fragmentary*

Lo (?), ... comes (?), the birds have . . . .
Open your gates, light your lamps (λαμπάς).
Lo, the ship has put in for you, Noah is aboard, he steers.
The ship is the commandment (ἐντολή), Noah is the Mind (νοῦς) of Light.
Embark your merchandise, sail with the dew of the wind.
We snatch each moment, we throw away each day.
For (γάρ) we know not the moment when it will be calm.
Where are all men? They have departed, they have passed.
Oh this great wonder, oh this great marvel,
this great amazement that has caught all men;
for they run, they burst forth, they go forth in vain.
. . . . . gaze into the distance, we are looking for a distant (?) day.
Lo, the] wonders have come to pass, the signs have been fulfilled.
. . . . . eye, the men that are shameless (?).
The judge (κριτής) is here, he judges each man.

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13 μάρτυρε dual: vid. Introduction II (b). — 17 ⲭⲟⲩⲭⲟⲩ: meaning unknown to me, cf. 158, 11; 182, 32. — 27 cf. 63, 26.

Τ]ϩογϊτε πρεcβεγ̣τ̣ηc τ̣ . . . . ρ̣ϥ̣ϥ . . ϣε[. .
ϩωϥ ϰριτηc
ΤΤϰρι]τηc πετϥ . . τ • ϩ . . ε π̣ϥ̣νογϩ̣ . . . .
Ϥτωϫϊο ñνεττωϫϊτ • ϥταϫο ñνεττ̣ϫαϫϊτ̀
Νετρεϣε ειcτε cερεϣε • νεταϰωε ειcτε cεαϰωε̣
ΤΤωνϩ̀ ωñπωογ ϖπογε πογε ϥϩανεϥϭιϫ ογαετϥ
Ϣαρñωνϩ̀ αναν αϩραν ωñπωηϣε τηρϥ̄
Τωñτ̄ρρο τε ταϩαπη • ϯϭραωπϩεπ ετογαϭ̄
Ογνογϐ εν ϩιϩετ τε • ογογωω εν ϩιϲω τε
Τωñτ̄ρρο [ϩ]ϥ̣ρ ϖπνογτε • ecϩñωηϣε εν
Ϣαρecογωϩ ϩñτηνε • ñcϫογϫογ ϖπετñϩ̣ρ̣
Ϣπωρϰα τ . . τγε αρϫc χε νεcνογωϥ̄π̄ αρϣ[τν
Ⲉιc πεϊ πε ωñτ̄ρρο • επϥ̄ρεν πε ωñτ̄ρρο
Ογρεϣε π̣[. . . . . .]ε τε • εωñ λγπη ñϩητϲ̀
Ογϖ̄τ[αν ωωη]ε τε • εωñ ϩιϲε ñϩητϲ̣̀
Ⲉ]νακληρονομη ϖ̄ωας ϣααννηϩε νϥ̣νηϩε
ωñτϯγχη ϖ̄ωαρια

Ⲭι ϯπε ñτετñϖ̄ωε χε πχαϊc ϩαλϭ [
ΤΤχ̄ρc πε πceϫε ñτωηε • πετϫcωτϖ̄ αρϥ̣ ϥαωνϩ̀
Ⲁϊταπ̀ ογϯπε ecϩαλϭ • ϖ̄πιϭν πετϩαλϭ απceϫε ñτ
ωηε χι ϯπε
Ⲁϊταπ̀ ογϯπε ecϩαλϭ ϖ̄πιϭñ πετϩαλϭ απρεν ϖ̄π
πνογτε χι ϯπε
Ⲁι]ταπ ογϯπε ecϩαλϭ • ϖ̄πιϭñ πετϩαλϭ απε̄χ̄ρc
Ϥτο ωεεγ ñναητ̀ • ecτñταντ̄ ατϫωεγ ταϩαπη
Ϥτο ϊωτ ñναητ̀ • εϥτñταντ̄ απαϊωτ π̄χ̄ρ[c
Ⲉ]ω ñϐϊω πετϩαλϭ τϩε ϖ̄πιρεν χε εκκληcια
Τcοφια καλε ϖ̄ωωτñ • ετετναογωω ϩñπετϖ̄π̄ηϫ
Ⲉιc πηρπ̄ ñϐ̄ρρε αγϭαλπ̄ϥ̄ • ειc νεπατ̀ αγñτογ ατωητε
Coγ πετετναcογ • ερε πογρατ̀ εϥϰωτε αρωτñ
Ο]γ̣ωω χ̣ετ̣ετναογωω ετετñραγτ ϩñπετϖ̣[π̄ηϫ]
. . . . . .] νε νεττεογο • νετρ̄ϩοογ νε νετϩ̣ωτ̣[ωε

8 ϭραωπϩεπ sic: leg. ϭραωπϩετ. — 12 fort. τχετγε, sc. ‘serpentem’. — 22 fin. ϖ̄π sic: leg. ϖ̄. — 25 ϥτο sic vid.: leg. cτο. ωεεγ sic. — 32 init. ϩñϰογϊ coniicio. ρ̄ϩοογ sic; leg. ρ̄ϩογο (?).

The beginning, envoy (πρεσβευτής) . . . . . .
himself judge (κριτής).
The] judge (κριτής) who . . . . . my mind (? νοῦς) . . .
He justifies the justified, he condemns the condemned.
They that rejoice, behold, they rejoice; they that are sad, behold, they are sad.
The life and death of each man is in his own hands.
As for us, let us live: what is all the crowd to us?
The Kingdom is Love (ἀγάπη), this white dove.
It is not gold and silver, it is not eating and drinking.
For (γάρ) the Kingdom of God is not in a multitude.
Let her dwell in you and . . . . before you.
Do not set the . . . . to her lest she be scared of you.
Lo, this is Kingdom whose name is Kingdom.
It is a joy . . . ., wherein there is no sorrow (λύπη).
It is a true rest, wherein there is no toil.
May we inherit (κληρονομεῖν) it for ever and ever,
with the soul of Mary.

Taste and know that the Lord is sweet.
Christ is the word of Truth: he that hears it shall live.
I tasted a sweet taste, I found nothing sweeter than the word of
Truth. Taste.
I tasted a sweet taste, I found nothing sweeter than the name of
God. Taste.
I] tasted a sweet taste, I found nothing sweeter than Christ.
Where is there a kind mother like my mother, Love (ἀγάπη) ?
Where is there a kind father like my father, Christ?
What honey is so sweet as this name, Church?
Wisdom (σοφία) invites (καλεῖν) you, that you may eat with your Spirit.
Lo, the new wine has been broached: lo, the cups have been brought in.
Drink what you shall drink, gladness surrounding you.
Eat that you may eat, being glad in your [Spirit.
. . . . . are they that preach, they that hear are . . . .

6 cf. 40, 24. — 9 cf. Rom. 14, 17. — 11, 12 'her', 'she': i. e. the dove, cf. 167, 57 ff.; 182, 29 ff. For ⲭⲟⲩⲭⲟⲩ vid. 157, 17 n. — 18 cf. Ps. 33, 9; I Pet. 2, 3. — 28 καλεῖν: cf. 151, 13. — 29 ⲇⲁⲗⲡⲏ̄: lit. 'revealed', cf. Morg. 23, 100; Balestri III p. xliii. — 32 ⲣ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩ = 'diem agere', seems to me corrupt.

Ⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ] ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ [ⲡⲡⲁⲧ]ⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲡⲉ .[. .
. . . . .] ⲁ̣ⲓ ϯⲡⲉ
Ⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉ]ⲧ ⲧⲉ ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ • ⲡⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲡⲉ̣ ⲓⲏⲥ
non legi potest
. . . . . .]ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ̣ [ⲙⲡⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ . . . . ⲗ . . ⲱⲥⲙ . . . ⲁⲉ̣
ⲦⲦⲉⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡ]ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ [ⲉⲧⲁ]ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉ[ⲙ]ⲉⲛ
. . . . . .]. . . . . ⲉⲙⲁⲩⲱⲓⲃⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲡ̄ⲱ[ⲛⲉ
. . . . . .].ⲥ ⲥ̣. . . ⲱⲁⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ • ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲣⲉ.ⲗ. .ⲛ[.]ⲩ . . .
. . . .] ⲁⲓ ϯⲡⲉ
. . . . . .]. . . . . ⲛⲥⲁⲩⲉ̣ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ . . . .[. . . . .
. . . . .] ⲁⲓ ϯⲡⲉ
. . . . . .] ⲥ̣ⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛ̣ . . . .[. . . . .
. . . . .] ⲁⲓ ϯⲡⲉ
. . . . . .]ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ.ⲥ . . . ⲗⲥ̀ ⲡⲟⲩ . . .[. . . . . .].ⲛⲁ . . ⲉ
ⲦⲦⲉⲧⲁⲑ]ⲃ̄ⲓⲁⲩ ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲭⲓⲧⲩ̄ ⲡⲉ̣[ⲧⲁⲭⲉⲥⲧⲩ ⲥ]ⲉⲛⲁ[ⲑ]ⲃ̣[ⲓⲁⲩ
ⲦⲦⲉⲱⲁⲩ]ⲙⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲱⲛⲥ̀ ⲡⲉⲱⲁⲩⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲛ
. . . .] ⲡ̣ⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲡⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲥⲁ! . . . ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ
ⲗⲁⲣⲛⲣⲉ]ⲱⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ] ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉ]ⲫⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲟⲩ]ⲥⲏⲧ̀ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ̀ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲁ
ⲉⲫⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲫⲣ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩⲛ
ⲦⲦⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲭⲣⲥ • ⲉⲫⲧⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲛ̄ • ⲁ[ⲛ
ⲁ̣ⲛ ⲥⲱⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲫ̄
ⲦⲦⲭ]ⲣⲥ ⲁⲫⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲫ • ⲉⲛⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ
ⲁⲣⲁ]ⲫ ⲛⲁⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ • ⲧⲛ̄ⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲱⲛⲥ̀
Ⲛⲱ]ⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ • ⲉⲓⲥ
. . . .]. . ⲉⲓ [ⲙⲁ]ⲣⲛ̄ϯⲛⲏⲥ ⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲛⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ
ⲗⲁⲣⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩ]ⲥ̣ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲫⲥⲏⲙ • ⲡⲓⲭⲡⲟ
. . . . . ⲥⲉ]ⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ
ⲦⲦⲭⲡⲟ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲙ̄ⲓ[ⲁⲩ

17 fort. ⲛⲥⲁ]ⲡⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁⲡⲉⲓ. — 24 ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲛ sic. — 25 ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲫ sic. — 26 ⲛⲁⲡⲱⲛⲉ sic.

The Bride] is the Church, the Bridegroom is . . .
. . . Taste.
The Bride] is the soul, the Bridegroom is Jesus.
l. 4 *illegible*
. . . . . the sons of the Light . . . . . .
This is the] true joy [that will] endure with us.
. . . . . which does not change or pass.
. . . . . they rejoice, but (ἀλλά) . . . . . .
. . . Taste.
. . . . . but (ἀλλά) . . . . . .
. . . . Taste.
. . . . . outside, they rejoicing . . . . . .
Taste.
l. 14 *fragmentary*
He that] humbleth himself shall be received, he that [exalteth himself]
shall be humbled (?).
He that] dies lives, he that labours has his rest.
. . . . the labour is the rest, after . . . . there is joy again.
Let us] rejoice in this joy from everlasting to everlasting.
Glory] and honour to Jesus, the King of the holy ones,
and] his holy Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

Put in me a holy heart, my God: let an upright
Spirit be new within me.
The holy heart is Christ: if he rises in us,
we also shall rise in him.
Christ has risen, the dead shall rise with him. If we believe
in him, we shall pass beyond death and come to life.
The] sons of faith, — they shall see faith: lo,
. . . . . come, let us put oil in our lamps (λαμπάς).
Let us gather] in and become warm milk; this creature (?)
. . . . hope (ἐλπίς) which has come from on high.
The creature] of the Darkness is this body (σῶμα) which we wear (φορεῖν):

15 cf. Mt. 23, 12. ⲥⲟⲩⲁϫ|ⲧⲉ̄: 3 pl. Fut. I, cf. Hom. p. XIX, ll. 1—5. ⲥⲟⲩ- for ⲥⲉ- (cf. Till, Achmîmisch-Koptische Grammatik, § 126 B. 1; § 139 a) is not uncommon, e. g. Keph. 47, 5; 53, 17; 63, 26. — 16 cf. Joh. 12, 25. — 21. 22 cf. Ps. 50, 12. — 25 cf. I Thess. 4, 14. — 29 cf. 23, 11.

ⲧϯ]ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ ⲛ[ⲧⲁⲥ] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣ[ⲱⲙⲉ
Ⲧⲧ]ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲣ[ⲟ] ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ[ⲉⲕⲉ ⲛ
ⲧⲁⲩ] ⲁ̀ⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲃⲣⲟ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲙⲟⲩ
Ⲧⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩϯⲧⲟ[ⲟⲧⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ [ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡ̀ⲡ̀ⲕ[ⲗⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ
Ⲟⲩⲉ ⲡ̀ⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲱⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ̀ ⲉⲫⲥⲱ[ⲟⲩⲥ
ⲁⲥ[ⲟⲩ]ⲛ ⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲧⲟ̀ⲩⲃ[ⲁⲓ ⲡⲁⲛⲟ]ⲩⲧ[ⲉ ⲧ]ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲓⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲟ̀[ⲩⲃⲟ
ⲡ̀[ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧϯⲩ]ⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ
Ⲙ[ⲁⲣ]ⲉ . . ⲛ̀[. . .]ⲏ ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ • ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ
. . . . . .[. . .]ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲥⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ̈
Ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ̈ ⲡ̀[ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ] . . ⲩ . ⲁ̀ⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲙ̄̀ . ⲁ̀[. .]ⲉ. ⲧⲁⲧⲁ
ⲡⲣⲟ ⲡ̀ⲟ.ϫ. ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲓⲁ
|ⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲁⲩ]ⲧⲱⲛ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ
Ⲧⲣⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϯⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
|ⲏⲥ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ [ϯⲱⲁⲙ
ⲧ̀[ⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟ̀[ⲥ
Ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲍ[ⲟⲩ]ⲛ ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲛ
ⲃ[ⲁⲗ] ⲉⲛⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲱⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
Ⲟⲩ[ⲉ]ⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲫⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲫⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ
ⲁ̀[ⲣ]ⲁⲩ ⲁ̀ⲩⲭⲁⲕⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ • ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭ[ⲏ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

12 med. fort. ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ̈. — 21 ⲛⲁⲱⲛⲍ̀ sic. — 22 leg. ⟨ⲉ⟩ⲁⲫⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄.

the] soul which is in it is the First [Man.
The] First Man who was victorious in the Land of the Darkness,
he also today will be victorious in the body (σῶμα) of [death.
The Living Spirit that gave help to the First [Man,
he also today is the Paraclete-Spirit.
One is the Mind (νοῦς) that is to come, that reveals, gathering (?)
in, choosing his holy Church.
Purify [me, my God], purify me within, without: purify (?)
the [body (? σῶμα), the] soul and the Spirit.
Let . . . . . be a holy body (σῶμα) for me; the knowledge
. . . . . Spirit and Mind (νοῦς) for me.
Purify me, [my God,] . . . . me in (?) these three . . ., my
mouth, ..., and the purity of my virginity (παρθενία).
Jesus has risen: he has risen in three days, the Cross (σταυρός)
of Light that rises in three powers.
The sun and the moon and the Perfect Man, — these three
powers are the Church of the Great World (κόσμος).
Jesus, the Maiden, and the Mind (νοῦς) which is in their midst, — [these
three powers are the Church of the Little World (κόσμος).
The Kingdom of the heavens, — behold, it is within us, behold, it is
outside us; if we believe in it we shall live in it for ever.
Glory, victory to every man [that] has heard these things and believed
in them and fulfilled them in joy. Victory to the soul
of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

. . . . . .]. ⲛⲉ̣ⲕ̣ ⲱ ⲡ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ̣ ⲡ̣[. . . . . .
. . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [.] ⲁ̣ⲡⲱⲉⲓ̣ ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲃⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̣[ⲕ . . .]
.] . . . . . ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛ[ⲓⲁ . . . . . .]ⲁ
ⲉ . . . ⲝ . ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲙⲉⲣ|ⲙⲛⲉ|ⲁ
Ⲛⲉ]ⲥⲉ̣ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲧⲉⲗⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̇ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̣ⲉⲥⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏ
ⲥ|]ⲁ̣ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲣ̄ⲥ̣ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ
Ⲛⲉ]ⲥⲉ ⲧⲃⲣⲁⲙⲡⲥⲉⲧ ⲉⲁⲥⲃⲛ ⲥⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧ [ⲉⲥ]ⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲃⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̣ⲉ̣
. .ⲏⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲧ̇ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲡ|ⲥⲧⲟⲥ
Ⲧⲧ]ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥ . . ⲱ . .[. . . . .
. .]ⲡ̣|ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛⲁⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲕ̄
Ⲧⲧ]ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ . . ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉ . . . . . ⲁ̣ⲡ̣[. .
ⲛ̣ⲁⲑ̣ⲛ̣ ⲭⲣⲉ|ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
Ⲧ]ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲥⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲛ • ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̣ . . . ⲉ . . ⲧ̣ⲥ̣[.
ⲡ]ⲉⲧⲧⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ
Ⲥ]ⲟ̣ⲩⲱⲥ ⲫⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲏⲧ̇ ⲉⲧ̣[. . .]. . . . . .
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲃⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲗⲉⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ
ⲫⲟⲩ] ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲛⲉⲧ̣ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁ̣ⲇ̣|ⲥ[ⲟⲥ . . . . .
. ⲗⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲱⲙ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲱ
ⲫⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲏⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ[ⲥⲏⲃⲥ ⲁⲩ
Ⲃ]ⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗ[ⲉⲉⲧ
ⲫⲉ ⲛ]ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛⲉⲧ[ⲁ]ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲫ[ⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ . . .
. . ⲛ̣ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
Ⲧⲧ]ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲥⲛ̄ⲫⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ . . .[.] ⲧⲫⲩⲭ[ⲏ
ⲛ]ⲁⲭⲓⲧⲏ ⲉⲱⲁⲥⲭⲓⲧⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ⲫⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟ[ⲥ
Ⲧⲧⲫⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ [ⲡⲫ
ⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲡ]ⲛⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ[ⲥ
Ⲧⲣ]ⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲫⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃ̄ⲧ̄ ⲫⲉ [ⲙⲙ]ⲛ̄[ⲧ
ⲛ]ⲁⲃ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ
Ⲧⲥ]ⲱⲃ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱⲟ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲫⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥ̣[. . .] ⲉⲛ . . .
.] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲃⲛⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲡ̄ⲛⲁ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟ̣ⲩⲱ[ⲧ
Ⲟⲩ]ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [.]ⲕⲁⲣⲁ .[. .
.]ⲗ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲛ

7, 8 fort. ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲏⲗ. — 15 fort. ⲫ]ⲟⲩⲱⲱ. — 18 ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲱ sic: leg. ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲣⲱ.

. . . . . to thee, o Spirit . . . . . .
. . . . forth, ... they imploring thee (?).
. . . . . that is clothed in virginity (παρθενία) . . . .
. . . . . freedom from care (ἀμεριμνία).
Fair is the ship, the sailor being aboard it: fair is the
Church, the Mind (νοῦς) steering it.
Fair is the dove that has found a holy pool: Jesus is
. . . . in the heart of his Faithful (πιστός).
The] Purity, the Mind (νοῦς), the Love (ἀγάπη) shall come and . . . .
. . . this (?) Spirit shall seek by it.
This is the joy . . . find the deeds . . . . .
shall find need (χρεία) of all these words.
For (γάρ) the Kingdom is not in words: . . . . . .
he] that makes the word beautiful.
They (?) utter 5 words in my heart . . . . . .
ten thousand in tongue and mouth.
For (γάρ) [5] are the trees in Paradise (παράδεισος) . . . .
. . . in summer and winter.
5] are the maidens in whose [lamps] oil was found, [they
went in, they reigned with the Bridegroom.
5] are the commandments (ἐντολή) which God laid upon the 5
. . . . which he appointed in his Church.
The] holy Spirit that comes in 5 . . . ., the soul
shall receive it that receives it in 5 members (μέλος).
The 5] νοερά are the sons of the First Man, [the 5
Omophori are the sons of the Living Spirit.
The] sun and the moon were appointed in 5 walls: 5 are the
Greatnesses which exist from the beginning.
Everything therefore (οὖν) was appointed in 5 . . . : if we . . . .
us, we shall find that they have become a single Spirit.
One is the God that is hidden, that is revealed . . silent . .
he it is that speaks also.

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4 cf. 192, 12. — 15 **coγωψ**: cf. 159, 15 n. — 19 cf. Mt. 25, 1 ff. — 21 vid. 33, 18 ff. For the 5 Ranks in the Manichaean Church vid. Polotsky, Abriss p. 262. — 24 cf. 23, 14—18 n. — 25 i. e. the 5 Elements, vid. Polotsky, Abriss p. 251. — 27 cf. Müller, Handschriften-Reste aus Turfan II, p. 38, quoted by Burkitt, op. cit. p. 108.

. . . . . .] thrⷭ pⷭ .[. . .
. . .]. . . . .[.] pnoute etsⷭnnaiwn
Oy . . .[. . . . .]e pⷭ . . . . eqbⷭaⷭ sⷭht .[. . .
abe marⷭn[twbs] ⲙⲙay xeqael ⲛⲏtouban swwn
Eic tekklhcia acbwlⷭ abal apouwsme ⲛⲧ[se
ⲛ̄[t]ac rw pe allla crⷭbⷭre kata chy
Ptwⷭ swn pe naste tⲛ̄rⷭousht ⲛ̄outwt • tⲛ̄cw
. . . . . .]ekklhcia ecxhk
Oⷭ[e cney] ⲱaⲙⲧ te tekklhcia etxhk • sas gar
netⲧasme sⲛ̄koⷡ ne neⷡ etcatⲡ
. .]ⲱe . . . . . ⲱ . . . . . ⲟⲟⲝ . . etsⲛ̄ⲛ̄touⷡeⷭe
. . . . ⲙⲙne ekaⲃn ouhr ⲃe ⲛ̄wne ⲙⲙne
E[.]. . . . ⲛⲁ ⲡⲙⲛⲱe nakatotⲛ̄ abal apthrⷭ
. .]. . .[. .]. . cwrme nawe ⲡⲙnⲱe etchk ⲛ̄sht[q
Xe] apⲙnⲱe gar cwrme xe cebaⲱⲧ̄ asooy eqoy
hy anan ⲇe ⲙⲡ]ooy marⲛ̄e|re ⲙⲡagaⲑon
Oyeay ouⲃro np]wⲙe n|ⲙ aqcwtⲙ̄ aneⷡ • aqnaⲍ
te aray aqxa]koy abal sⲛ̄oureⲱe • ouⲙ̄tan
eqaⲱⲡe] ⲛtⲯuxh ⲛ̄tⲙakaria ⲙⲙaria ⲑeona
ⲡⲱaⷡ xⲙn]outⲉ

Sn]ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲙh etouabe tⲛ̄⸗eay ⲙⲡnoy[c xe eq
ⲃ]ⲁⷡⲗe aran tⲛ̄⸗ karⲡoc eqouabe
Pⲧ]ⲓⲱⲧ ⲡnouc ⲛ̄ouaⷡne amou krⷭⲫore ⲙⲙaⷡ [ⲱ
an]⸗te[o]uo prⲓⲙe ⲙⲡⲱhre ⲙⲡrwⲙe
Pa]xaⷡc ιⲏⲥ amou krⷭⲫore ⲙⲙaⷡ ⲱan⸗touⲃo p[cw
ⲙa ⲙⲡⲱarⲡ̄ ⲛ̄rwⲙe
Tⲙⲛ̄tnaⲉ ⲙⲡeay ⲧⲱeeⲣ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ouaⷡn[e
t.ⲛⲁⲥ[. . . .]n n|ⲙ ⲙⲛ̄laue cayne apetaⷡo
.]ⲣ⸗alⲉ [.]ⲱhre ⲙⲙete ⲙⲡⲡⲕⲗc netaurⲛ̄[. . .
ⲙⲙo e . . r|ⲙe ⲙⲙhne anewⲃa
Nto pe pkⲁlaⲃin eto ⲛ̄so cney etauⲃw[xe

7, 8 tncw[ous asoyn snoy]ekk. coniicio. — 9 init. cf. 171, 13. — 17 f. cf. 160, 22 f. — 27 tⲱeeⲣ: sic. vid. — 29 fin. netaurⲛ̄[oⲓe] coniicio.

. . . . . all of it, the . . . .
. . . . . God that is in the Aeons.
. . . . . he looking before me (?) . . .
Let us [implore] him to come and purify us also.
Lo, the Church has been revealed again, even
as] it is; but (ἀλλά) it is renewed from time to time.
Ours it is [to] believe and to be a single heart and to
. . . . . perfect Church.
One, [two] three is the perfect Church: for (γάρ) many
are called, few are they that are chosen.
. . . . . that is in the mountains
. . . . true: how many jewels then shalt thou find.
. . . . . the multitude will abandon us utterly
. . . . . error, great is the multitude that is drawn in [it.
For (γάρ) the multitude has erred, because they look to a day that is
afar; but we], — today let us do good (ἀγαθόν).
Glory, victory to] every man [that] has heard these things and believed
in them and] fulfilled them in joy. Rest
be there] to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona,
Pshai,] Jmnoute.

With] our holy voice we glorify the Mind (νοῦς): [for if he
lodges with us we give holy fruit (καρπός).
O] Father, o Mind (νοῦς) of Light, come and wear (φορεῖν) me [until
I have recited the woe of the Son of Man.
My] Lord Jesus, come and wear (φορεῖν) me until I purify the
body (? σῶμα) of the First Man.
O Compassion of glory, Daughter of the Father of the Lights,
. . . . . all, none knows thy honour.
.] make music (ψάλλειν), sons (?) only of the Paraclete, they that have
. . . . thee, . . . weeping daily for thy wounds.
Thou art the two-edged axe wherewith they cut

9 cf. 171, 13. — 10 cf. Mt. 22, 14. — 21 ff. cf. 177, 31 ff. — 24 'woe': lit. 'weeping'. — 31 cf. Mt. 3, 10; Lk. 3, 9.

ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ⲛ[ⲧ]ⲛⲟⲩ[ⲛ]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱ[ⲉ]
Ⲛ]ⲧⲟ ⲡⲉ ϯ . . . . ⲏ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛ[ⲟⲥ ⲧ]ⲉⲧⲁⲩ
ϫⲁⲧⲥ ⲁⲩ[ⲟⲩ]ⲛ ⲁⲡϩⲛⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ
Ⲛⲧ]ⲟ [ⲡⲉ] ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ϫⲁ[ⲓⲙ]ⲗⲁⲩ
ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲛⲧ⟨ϥ⟩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲃ̀ϥ̀
Ⲛⲧⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲡⲗⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄[ⲃⲁⲗ]ⲁⲱⲓ
ⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩϩ ⲁⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲟⲩⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛ̀[ⲉϩⲥ]ⲉ
Ⲛⲧⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲧ]ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱ[ⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲟ
ⲡⲉ ⲡⲃ]ⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲉ
Ⲛⲧ]ⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲃⲉⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡϩⲉⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲱⲁⲛ
ⲧ]ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲙ ⲁⲛⲃⲉⲗ ⲁ ⲛⲛⲓⲃⲁⲛⲓ̈ⲉⲓⲣⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲏⲣ] ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲧⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ϩⲓⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲁⲧⲉϩⲓⲥ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲉⲣⲉⲟ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ̀ ⲁⲡϫⲁϫⲉ
Ⲛⲧⲟ ⲡⲉⲧ]ⲉ ⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ ⲁϩⲉ ⲁⲣⲟ ϩⲓⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ ϫⲉⲩⲛⲁⲥⲁ
ⲕⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲓⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
Ⲉⲓ]ⲥ ⲡⲱⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲭⲕ̄ⲕⲁⲥ̄ⲧ̄ [ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉⲣⲁⲙⲁϩⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟ̄ ⲧⲉϫⲓ [ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲉ
ⲙⲁⲩϩⲱⲃⲙⲉ
Ⲉⲓ]ⲥ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲙⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲥⲉⲥⲏⲣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲧⲟ • ϫⲉ ⲛⲉ
ⲡⲉϩⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩϫ ⲡⲉⲧⲁϩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲓϫⲱ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ]ⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲧⲣⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲟ • ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ
ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ
Ⲉⲓⲥ] ⲡⲱ̄ⲱⲗⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲭⲁⲧⲗ̀ⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲱⲃⲁ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲥ[ⲁⲩ
ⲛ]ⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛⲁ† ⲛⲉϫⲓⲥⲃⲁⲥ ⲥⲓⲱⲉ
Ⲙⲁⲁϩ]ⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲥⲛⲕ ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲉ]ⲣⲉⲧⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩϩⲱⲃⲙⲉ
Ⲙⲁⲁϩ]ⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲉⲣⲁⲩⲧ̄ ⲁⲛⲉϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ • ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲙ̄
ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲁⲣⲉⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ
Ⲟ]ⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄†ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ
ⲟ]ⲩⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭ[ⲏ
ⲛⲧ]ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

2 †λογχη coniicio. — 5 ⲛ̄ϩⲛⲧ⟨ϥ⟩: H.T. — 11 ⲁ sic vid.: dele. — 20 ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩϫ sic.

the bitter root.
Thou art the . . . . that is in the hand of the Maiden, which was thrust into the heart of the enemy.
Thou art the first ship (?) of the first Warrior
wherein they caught the thieves that rebelled.
Thou art the first weapon (ὅπλον) of the first Hero
which was brandished behind the foe that arose.
Thou art the] Church of the Father, the First Man; [thou art the] vineyard of the first husbandman.
Thou art the eye of plenty that came with the abundance until it had closed the eyes of the malignant ones.
How great] is thy fortitude, o Daughter of Wisdom (σοφία): for thou hast not yet wearied, watching over the enemy.
For thee the ships are waiting on high that they may
draw thee up and take thee to the Light.
Lo, the Perfect Man is stretched out [in the middle of the world (κόσμος), that thou mayest walk in him and receive [thy unfading [garlands].
Lo, the five Omophori are spread over the world that
thy heart may not suffer and that thou mayest cast the burden from off thee.
Lo, the] righteous (δίκαιος) will illumine thee; lo, the forgiveness of sins of the Catechumens of the faith.
Lo,] the medicine-chest of the physician will heal thy wounds; lo, the knowledge and the wisdom (σοφία) will put thy clothes upon thee.
Walk,] therefore, in joy, drawn to the Land of Light,
sealed with thy seal (σφραγίς) and with thy unfading garlands.
Walk also in gladness: thy sufferings have passed today; lo, the harbour of peace (εἰρήνη), — thou hast moored in it.
Glory to this compassion and to them that purify it and to them that
save it, the Catechumens of the faith.
Peace and rest be there to the soul
of the] blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

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4 ⲣⲁⲙⲉ̄: = ? demot. *rmṯ*, cf. Griffith, High Priests of Memphis, p. 100 n. H.T. — 7 ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲥ apparently for ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲉ, vid. Crum Dict. 241 b. For ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲉ vid. 143, 30. — 11 ⲃⲁⲛⲓⲉⲓⲣⲉ: cf. 117, 7. — 16 The Perfect Man is the Milky Way. — 20 ⲉⲧⲁⲥ: cf. 145, 4 n. — 24 ⲱⲩⲓⲣ: cf. 46, 3.

C]ωογς ⲁⲡⲁογⲏ̀ [. . . . . .
ⲧⲉ ⲙⲁ̣[ⲣⲛ]ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃ[ⲉ] ⲛ[ⲉⲩ ⲥⲓ]ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̀[. .].ⲩⲣⲉⲩⲛⲁ
ⲁ]ⲡⲉⲁ̣[ⲣⲁⲕⲱ]ⲛ̀ ⲟⲃ̀ⲓⲉ • ⲁⲡⲉ̣ⲁⲣ[ⲁ]ⲕⲱⲛ ⲟⲃ[ⲓⲉ . . . .]ⲙⲉ
. ⲟⲩⲃ̣[. . .] ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲁⲗⲁⲥⲏ
.]ⲉⲧⲉ̣[.] ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲟⲡⲗⲟⲛ ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲟⲡⲗ[ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲧ
ⲉⲕⲛ̀[. .]ⲱ ⲁ̄ⲣⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ
.]. [. . . ⲧ]ⲱⲓ̈ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲧⲱⲓ̈ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲏ ⲧⲁ
. ⲱ . . [. .]ⲉ
Ϭ]ⲛ̀ⲟ[ⲛ] ⲁ̣ⲧⲉⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ ⲟⲛ̄ⲟⲛ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ • ⲭⲉ [ⲉⲛⲁ
ⲟ̣ⲛ[ⲟⲛ] ⲁ̣ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Nⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ • ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ̣ ⲡ̣ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
|ⲏⲥ [ⲧⲡ]ⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲙⲉ[ⲣⲓⲧⲟⲩ
ⲥⲓⲥⲟⲩⲛ • ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ [ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ
ⲁⲃⲱⲱⲩ̄ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ
Nⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲁ̣ⲣⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲥ ⲁⲡⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ
ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲧⲏ
O]ⲩⲥⲏⲧ̣ ⲟ̣ⲉ ⲛ̣̄ⲁ[ⲧ]ⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲩⲍⲱⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲭⲡⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲛ
ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲁ[ⲍ]ⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲕⲡⲍ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ̣
ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲱⲕ̀ ⲁⲩⲡⲍ ⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ̀ [ⲙⲡⲱⲣ
ⲁ̄ⲣⲁⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ
Ⲉⲗⲁⲕ̀ ⲉ̣ⲕⲓⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲱⲡ̀ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩ[ⲟⲩ
ⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲱⲉ
Cⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛⲕ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲁⲑⲏ • ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲧⲁⲕ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣[ⲁⲗ
ⲉⲛ ⲉⲕⲱⲁ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲉⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲕⲁⲱⲱⲡ ⲥⲓⲥⲉ
ⲁⲛⲓ ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ̀ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉⲛⲁⲱ
ⲥⲱⲍⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ • ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲍⲉⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
. ⲛ̣ . . ⲭ ⲙⲛ̄|ⲏⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲱⲧⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲗⲁⲙ̣[ⲉ
. .]. . . ⲉ ⲛ|ⲙⲉⲉⲓⲩ ⲉⲧⲭⲱⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ

mutilum

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28 ⲥⲱⲍⲟⲩ: sic vid.; fort. ⲥⲱⲥⲟⲩ. an ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲍ legendum? — 30 ⲉⲛⲛⲏⲭ coniicio, cf. Mt. 22, 11 ἀνακειμένους.

Gather to the assembly . . . . . .
let us answer [him] together, saying . . . .
The dragon has . . . ., the dragon has . . . . . .
. . . . in his belly.
. . . . thy weapon (ὅπλον), o King: fair is thy weapon (ὅπλον) [which
thou . . . . to make war (πόλεμος) with the dragon.
. . . . . mine is the wisdom (σοφία), mine is the camp (παρεμβολή), my (?)
. . . . . .
Play with thy lute (κιθάρα), play with thy lute (κιθάρα); that [we may
play to these pious ones.
God, God, God, fair is God, God, God,
God, my (?) God, God.
Jesus, the Maiden, the Mind (νοῦς), — fair are they to love (?)
within: the Father, the Son, the holy Spirit, — [fair are they
to look at without.
My brethren, let us make festival and sing to our Saviour
that has rescued us from the deceit (ἀπάτη).
Let us therefore get ourselves a heart that tires not of singing,
that we may sing to them, these pious ones.
O man of God, thou hast been set right: do not fall,
for the Gods have loved thee. Thou hast been called: [do not
fail to hear.
Look back no more: of the past no reckoning is made.
Think not of what thou didst in forgetfulness.
Do thou stretch forward and God will not turn thee away;
but if thou art slack (ἀμελεῖν), thou shalt suffer.
Bring thy hidden things to the Light, that we may see that we can
. . . . them; that we may escape from the judgment of the Son of
Man.
. . . . with Jesus let us put off these dirty garments:
. . . . . these thoughts (?) which sting the man.

l. 32 *fragmentary*

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3 ϭΒϊε : prob. = ϭΒΒε, ἀσθενεῖν (Crum). — 30 ff. 165, 1 cf. Mt. 22, 2—13.

. . . . .]. ⲙⲁⲣⲫ̄ ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲫ̄ ⲣⲉⲧⲫ̄ ⲛⲁϫⲫ̄ ⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲟⲩⲃ̄]ⲣ̣[ⲁⲙ]ⲡⲍⲉⲧ ⲉⲥⲕⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ̣ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲕ̣ⲱ
ⲧ]ⲉ̣ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ • ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲩⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲱⲍⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ†ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲁ̣ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲱⲡⲏⲣ̣ⲉ ⲙⲛ̄
ⲛⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ
ⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲓ̈ ⲭⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

Ⲭ]ⲉⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲫⲉ[| ⲡⲁⲡ|
ⲣ]ⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲫⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲙ]ⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃ̄ⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙ̣[ⲁ . . . .
ⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲏⲣ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ| ⲁⲩⲍⲉⲡ • ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲭ̣ . .[.] ⲛ̣ . . ⲃ
. ⲡⲉ| ⲡⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲁ ⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ • ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲓⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲉⲧⲫⲙ̣ⲁⲙ̣
ⲁ]ⲁⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲕ†ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲛ
Ⲙ]ⲡⲱⲣⲃⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕ†ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲕ̣ⲣⲉ̣[. .] . .
ⲣ]ⲱ ⲉⲓⲕⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲧⲡ [ⲙ]̣ⲡⲱⲣ̣
ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ †ⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡ̣ⲉ ⲡⲉ|
ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ ⲡⲉ
ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ
Ⲛⲁⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲓⲃⲉ ⲭⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲍⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲡ
ⲕ̣ⲣⲟ • ⲟⲩⲏⲡⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲍⲉⲓ̈ ⲭⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲡⲱⲍ ⲁⲧⲱ|ⲙⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲑⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ • ⲟⲩⲛ̄ †ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲥⲁ
ⲙ|ⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲃⲁⲥⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲍⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲍⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉ ⲧⲱⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ
Ⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲙ|ⲱⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲱ ⲁⲡⲥⲁ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ • ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁⲩ
ⲍ|ⲥⲁⲛⲧⲱⲥ ⲙⲁⲩⲃⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ †ⲃⲓ ⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲍⲁⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲁⲧⲙ̄ ⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ
ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣⲍⲧⲏⲩ
Ⲉⲓ̈ⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ|ⲙ̣ ⲧⲁⲃⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲏⲧ̀ ⲉⲫⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ̀ ⲫ̄
ⲭⲉⲗⲱ ⲧⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲉⲧⲁ̣ⲭⲱⲓ̈ ⲩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧ
ⲍⲁⲗⲃ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲧⲉ • ⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲱⲡ ⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲡⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲁⲃⲉ • ⲥ̄ⲣⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲡ̄ⲛⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱ[ⲣ
ⲃⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲕ̀

10 fin. valde incertum. — 11 init. fort. ⲉⲡⲉ|, cf. Keph. 169, 21. — 15 post ⲅⲁⲣ supple ⲉⲛ. — 19 ⲁⲩⲍⲉⲓ̈ sic. — 27 ⲁⲛ|ⲙ̣: H.T. ⲫ̄ pro ⲛ̄ⲫ.

. . . . bind him hand and foot, cast him into the Darkness.
Fair is a] dove cooing, her children surrounding
her; fair is a shepherd giving pasture in his fold.
Glory to him of this greatness, Jesus, him of the great wonder, and
his holy Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary,
Theona, Pshai, Jmnoute.

Light your lamps (λαμπάς), for lo, the Saviour (σωτήρ) has come; [he of the
holy name, he will make revelation.
Let us quickly break the nets of the body (σῶμα) . . . .
him that is bound, lest we come to a judgment. The flesh (σάρξ)
. . . . . our Spirit is glad within us. Come to us, blessed (?) Jesus,
and make us glad.
Do not flinch or lose heart (?), o man: thou hast . . . . .
heedlessly (εἰκῇ) what they that have flinched have done. Do not
glory now, for (γάρ) this is [not] a place of glorying:
the place of glorying is the Luminaries (φωστήρ), the place of rejoicing is
the Perfect Man.
Many are the ships that have gone down after they were near to mooring to the
bank; a number of houses have fallen after the parapet (?)
had been reached. So it is also, my brethren, that there is a soul that shall
fight at first and the storm arises upon it and the
waves seize it.
There is none that can fight if he is committed to both sides. The insidious
and the meddlers never find God; but they that have shut their
eyes to the good (ἀγαθόν), — for them how greatly I care
that they should repent.
Unto whom do I go that I may find his heart well-stablished, that he may
support (?) the burden that is upon me? He knows it, that it is
nought but sweet. Men have been accustomed to the Darkness and have
loved the
burden of the sins; but do thou be zealous for God, my Spirit, do not
flinch within thee.

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2 ⲕⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩ: cf. ⲇⲟⲩⲇⲟⲩ, P 44, 121 v. (Crum). — 18 ⲃⲓⲃⲉ: vid. Hom. 78, 17. — 19, 20 ⲧⲱⲗⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲙ: cf. 222, 26 n. — 28 ϫⲉⲗⲱ: cf. (?) ϫⲁⲩⲗⲉ, 2, 19 n; Keph. 63, 31.

Ⲙπωρ]ϭωϣⲧ ⲁϩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕϯⲁⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ[. . . . . .
ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲏⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱ|ⲡⲉ ⲁⲛ|ⲟⲩ ⲁⲡ[ⲟⲩⲁ|ⲛⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲱⲏ
ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ • ⲟⲩⲉⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄ ⲛⲁϩⲣ[ⲛ
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲛ|ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ|ⲕⲁ|ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉϩ̣
ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲙⲉⲗⲏ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡ ϩ|ⲥⲉ

Ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛⲕ̄ ϩⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲣⲏ ⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲁϥ
ⲉ . . ϩ̣ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ϩⲱⲱ
ⲕ [ⲉ]ⲱⲭⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲭ| ⲡⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ̇ • ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ϩⲛ̣[ⲕⲉ
ⲕⲁⲩ]ⲉ̣ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲕⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ
Ϩ[ⲁⲙⲁ| ⲡⲱⲛ] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ϩⲁⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϥ • ⲟⲩ
ⲭⲁ| ⲡⲉ̣ |ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲛⲱⲁⲥⲃⲏⲣ ϩ|ⲱⲱϥ • ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁ[ⲙ
ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥ|ⲁ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲥ̄ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ϩⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲭⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ
ⲡⲱⲁⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ϥⲛⲁϩ ⲟⲩⲣⲧ̄ ⲁⲉ̣[.
. . ϩⲛ̄ . . . . . .
Ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲧ̄ ϩ̣ⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲭ ⲉⲩ⸗ϩⲥⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲕⲃⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄
ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ • ⲉⲕⲱⲱⲗⲙ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄
ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲭ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲉ⸗ϯⲁⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ
. .]ⲕⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ̣ⲟⲩⲉⲛ ϥⲁ̣ⲱ|ⲃⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ
Ⲟ]ⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲛ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̄
ⲡⲛ̄ⲣⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲫⲱⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲡⲣⲉϥ⸗
ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄⸗ⲧⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲧ⸗ⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

N̄tk̄ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲫⲁⲓ̈ • ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁⲣ|ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈
Ⲧⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙ|ⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲡⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ϩⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ
Ⲧⲧϩⲃⲃ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡϩⲁⲧⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ̄
Ⲧϩⲣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛ̄⸗ⲥⲁⲃⲏ
Ⲧⲃⲁⲣⲃⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲃⲉⲣⲏⲃ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ|ⲛ[ⲉ
Ⲧⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲙⲉⲣ|ⲧ ⲡϩⲡⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥ|ⲁ
Ⲧⲧⲧⲱⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲉⲕⲱⲧ ⲫⲉⲡⲱⲱⲧ̇ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̣[
Ⲧⲧⲭ|ⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲗⲉⲙⲏⲥⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩϩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ
Ⲧⲃ̣ⲁ̣[ⲙ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲧ⸗ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ

2 ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲛⲉ coniicio, cf. 164, 27. — 18 init. fort. ⲉⲓ]ⲕⲏ. an ⲉⲣⲁⲱ|ⲃⲉ? — 38 leg. ⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥ?

Do not seek to please men and lose . . . . . .
hidden things of shame, — bring them to the [Light, o
son (?) of God. For (γάρ) what is anything at all in the sight of
God save the holy? The holy also, if
they slack (ἀμελεῖν), shall suffer.
Be thou like the sun, o faithful (πιστός) man, for he does not
[say]: 'Fair am I', though the Lights are a thing of beauty. But thou,
if thou wouldest be like thy Father, — fair are [others]
glorying in thee and thou holding thy peace.
Oh that (?) the Saviour (σωτήρ) were [ours]: oh that we were worthy of him.
Jesus is a ship: blessed are we if we sail upon it. The Church
is a garland for which they gather in every corner:
the garland-weaver (?) who weaves it casts roses
. . . . . .
But there are false roses that are esteemed: when thou regardest
them they are fair, when thou smellest them there is no smell at all.
Woe to thee, o false rose, for thou hast lost the garland
. . . . . change in time.
Glory and victory to the Paraclete, our joyous Luminary (φωστήρ),
our sun that has risen for us, the Saviour (σωτήρ) of spirits, the
Helper of souls, and his holy Elect. Victory
to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Apa Panai, Theona.

Thou art a mighty Light: Jesus, enlighten me.

First-born of the Father.	Beauty of the fair one.
Lamp of all the Aeons.	Twin of the Perfect one.
Flower of the Mother of the Lights.	Familiar of the Wise one.
Snare of the Snarer.	Father of the Mind (νοῦς) of Light.
Light of the Beloved one.	Security (?) of the Church.
Ordinance of the Builder.	Merchandise of the . . . .
Strength of the Leader.	Collected Intelligence (νοῦς).
Power of the five Sons.	Our enlightening Reason.
	Our perfect Thought.

15 ⲉⲩⲧⲟ: cf. 107, 17. — 26 vid. 1, 22 ff. — 27 vid. 1, 25 ff.; 10, 1 ff. — 28 vid. 1, 28 ff. — 29 vid. 1, 32 ff. — 30 f. i. e. the Living Spirit and his Sons, vid. 2, 3 ff. With the form ⲗⲉⲙⲏⲥⲉ for the regular ⲗⲉⲙⲏⲱⲉ cf. ⲥⲃⲏⲣ for ⲱⲃⲏⲣ. — 32 ⲍⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ: vid. 146, 46 n. — 36 ⲍⲡⲁⲛ: vid. 214, 19 n. — 38 ff. vid. 23, 14—18 n.

ⲡⲛⲥⲁ]ϫⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ[ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲫ]
ⲡⲙⲙ[ⲁⲕⲙⲉ]ⲕ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ
ⲡⲣⲁ . [. .] . . . . [. . .]
ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ
ⲡ[ⲛⲁ]ⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ
ⲡϫⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲡⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ
ⲧⲙⲛ̄ϯⲁⲣⲱⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲥⲁⲣⲱⲥⲉⲓⲧⲉ
ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲥⲁⲃⲉⲩⲉ
ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲡⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲣ̄ ⲉⲧⲛⲁ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲟⲟⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲕ ⲁⲡϫ|ⲥⲉ
ⲧ]ϫⲁⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ
ⲧⲕ|ⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲉ
ⲡⲥⲁⲗⲥⲗ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲣ|ⲙⲉ
ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲥⲏⲃⲉ
ⲡ]ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀
ⲧ]ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲗ̀ⲟⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲥⲗ̀ⲟⲁⲧⲉ
ⲡⲱⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄
ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙ|ⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲧ
ⲡⲉ[ⲁⲩ ⲉⲧ]ⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙ|ⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲧ
ⲡⲃⲣⲟ [ⲛⲧ]ϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

ⲁ̀ⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ
ⲉ|ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥ||ⲃ
ⲥ|ⲱⲱⲧ
ⲉ|ⲥ ⲧⲁⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ
ϯⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲓⲁ
28 mutilum
ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲥ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ
ⲟ]ⲩ[ⲙⲉ]ⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲣⲟⲩ[ⲁ|ⲛⲉ]
[ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ]

ⲟⲩⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲉⲩ . . [. . .
ⲟⲩⲙⲁ[ⲕⲙⲉ]ⲕ ⲉⲩ . . . [. .
ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲡⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟ̀ⲗⲏ
ⲟⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲁϫⲱⲕ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲱⲥⲏⲧ ⲁ̀ⲃⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈
ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
ⲟ[ⲩ]ⲥⲏⲧ . . . [. . . .
ⲟⲩⲱⲗ[ⲏⲗ . . . . . .
. . . . ⲉⲥ[. . . . .]ⲱⲉ
ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧ . . . . . ⲉⲱⲧⲉⲉⲥ
ⲛⲁⲉ ⲡⲉ . . ⲱ . . ⲉ
[ϯ]ⲥⲟ ⲡⲉ . [. . . .]ⲥ . .
ϫ|ⲓⲥⲟⲩⲧ[. . . . . .
ⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲡⲕⲥⲧⲁⲩ[ⲣ]ⲟⲥ ⲁϫⲱⲕ
ⲕⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲁ| . . . . . ⲉ
ⲕⲁⲕⲕ ⲁⲥⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡ[. . . . .
. ⲱⲕⲁⲥⲏⲧ . . . [. . . .
ⲕⲁ ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲥ|ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ
ⲕⲁ ⲥⲁⲛ ⲥ|ⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ
ⲟⲃⲓ̈ⲟ ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲉⲥ
ⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ
ϫⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ
ϯ ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲣⲁⲙⲡⲥⲉⲧ
ⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧⲛⲍ̀ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲱ̄
ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁ ϫⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁ[ⲥ
ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩⲱⲡ̄ ⲁⲣⲱⲧ[ⲛ
ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̀ⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ
62 mutilum
ⲡⲥ||ⲃ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥ||ⲃ ⲛⲉ̀ⲁⲩ
ⲡⲗ|ⲗⲟⲩ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ [ⲛ]ϯⲱⲧⲉ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁ̀ⲓⲟⲛ[. . . . .

1 cf. 170, 11. — 17 ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲥⲗ̀ⲟⲁⲧⲉ: sic vid. — 24 ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥ||ⲃ sic. — 31 cf. 166, 40. — 59 ϫⲉⲩⲧⲉ sic.

Our] good Counsel.
Our blessed Intention.
. . . . . .
Love (ἀγάπη) of the Beloved.
Faith of the Faithful.
Perfection of the Perfect.
Endurance of the Enduring.
Wisdom (σοφία) of the Wise.
Knowledge of the Enlighteners.
Our Stair that goes to the Light.
Our Ladder that leads to the height.
Chest of Goodness (ἀγαθόν).
Ark (κιβωτός) of Salvation.
Comfort of them that weep.
Joy of them that grieve.
Gladness of the glad.
Compassion of the compassionate.
Thine is all the glory,
o First-born of the Father.
Glory due to thee,
o First-born of the Father.
Victory to the soul of Mary.

Open to me the Aeons:
lo, the signs of the lamb
are upon me.
Lo, my Truth is in my hand,
I am clothed in virginity (παρθενία).
l. 28 *destroyed*
A collected Intelligence (νοῦς).
An enlightening Thought.
[A perfect Reason].

A . . . . Counsel.
A . . . . Intention.
Love (ἀγάπη) unto God.
Faith in the Commandment (ἐντολή).
Perfection to make perfect.
Endurance to endure.
Holy Wisdom (σοφία).
Knowledge to understand.
A heart (?) . . . . .
A prayer . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Pity . . . . .
Spare . . . . . .
. . . . . .
Take up thy cross (σταυρός) upon thee.
. . . . . .
Strip thyself of the world (κόσμος).
Despise (καταφρονεῖν) the . . .
. . . . . .
Leave father and mother.
Leave brother and sister.
Subdue the Old Man.
Build the New Man.
Fulfil thy commandments (ἐντολή).
Give place to the dove,
her of the white wings.
Set no snake to her,
lest she be scared of you.
Rejoice, my Beloved (?).
l. 62 *destroyed*
The lamb is the glorious (?) lamb.
The Youth, the son of the dew.
I sought, I found (?) . . .

12 ϪΑΝΕ: 'arca', vid. Peyron Lexicon p. 389 a; Spiegelberg op. cit. p. 271. — 29 ff. vid. 23, 14—18 n. — 47 cf. Mt. 16, 24 etc. — 54, 55 vid. 3, 31 n. — 57—60 cf. 158, 8 ff.; 182, 29 ff. — 64 vid. 104, 10 n.

ⲁⲓϭ[ⲓⲛ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲱ
ⲧⲙⲣ]ⲱ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲛ[ⲧⲟⲗ]ⲏ
ⲁ[ⲓϯ]ⲣⲉⲧ̀ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ!ⲧ
ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̀ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲁⲓ̈ϭⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ
ⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ
ⲁⲩϫⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲁⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ
ⲁⲓ̈ϭⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲏⲩ
ⲉⲙⲛ̀ ⲁⲥⲉ [ⲛϩⲏⲧⲩ]
periit
ⲁⲓ̈ϭⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩ]ⲙ[ⲧ]ⲁ[ⲛ]
ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ϩⲓⲥ[ⲉ ⲛϩⲏ]ⲧ[ⲩ]
ⲁⲓ̈ϭⲓⲛⲉ [ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ
ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲗⲩ[ⲡⲏ ⲛ]ϩⲏⲧⲩ
ϯⲣⲉⲱⲉ ϯⲣⲉⲱⲉ
ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ
ⲗⲁ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ϩⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ
ⲁ[ⲛⲁ]ⲕ ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ϩⲩⲙⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲛⲟⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ
ⲉⲣⲉⲡ̄ⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ
ⲱ]ⲁⲣⲉⲃⲛ̄ⲃⲛ̄ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡ̄ⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ ⲁⲡⲱⲣⲙⲉ
ⲣⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ
ⲱ]ⲁⲣⲉⲃⲛ̄ⲃⲛ̄ ⲁⲧⲁⲙⲃⲣⲟⲥⲓⲁ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡ̄ⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ ⲁⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ
ⲱ]ⲁⲣⲉⲃⲛ̄ⲃⲛ̄ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡ̄ⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ ⲁⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉ
ⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ
ⲱ]ⲁⲣⲉⲃⲛ̄ⲃⲛ̄ ⲁⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡ̄ⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ ⲁⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ
. . . . ⲉ . ⲉⲃⲛ̄ⲃⲛ̄ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ̣ⲡ̣ⲱϩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ . . ⲁⲩ . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓ[ⲧ
ⲱⲁⲣⲉⲃⲛ̄ⲃⲛ̄ ⲁⲛⲑⲉⲱⲣⲓⲁ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡ̄ⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ ⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲗⲏⲫⲓⲥ
ⲱⲁⲣⲉ[ⲃⲛ]ⲃⲛ̄ ⲁⲡⲑⲏⲥⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲡⲉⲧⲱϣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ
ⲱⲁⲣⲉⲃ̣ⲛ̣ⲃⲛ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲃ̣ . . ⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲩ
. . .] ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ϫⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ

31 ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ sic.

I found the harbour.
The] harbour is the Commandment (ἐντολή).
I [set] my foot on the path.
The path is the knowledge of God.
I found the ships.
The ships are the sun and moon.
They ferried me
forth to my city (πόλις).
I found a gain (?)
[wherein] there is no loss.
l. 11 *destroyed*
I found a rest
wherein there is no toil.
I found a joy
wherein there is no grief (λύπη).
I rejoice, I rejoice,
for ever and ever.
Give me also the victory,
me (?), the soul of Mary.

Thou art a lover of hymns (ὕμνος), thou art a lover of music, thou art beloved,
playing the lute. Thou.
Thou makest music unto the Father and playest the lute to the
beloved Son. Thou.
Thou makest music to the ambrosia (ἀμβροσία) and playest the lute to the King of Life.
Thou makest music to the Land of Light and playest the lute to the
Living Air (ἀήρ). Thou.
Thou makest music to the Aeons and playest the lute to the Aeons of the Aeons.
. . . . makest (?) music to the Tree of . . . . ; thou art beloved.
Thou makest music to the Pageants (θεωρία) and playest thy lute to the Ascension (ἀνάληψις).
Thou makest music unto the Thesaurus, thou proclaimest the Covenant (διαθήκη).
Thou makest music unto them, the Aeons of the . . . that are in the silence
. . . the Spirit passes them.

19 cf. 85,21; 98,32. — 21 etc. ⲣ̄ⲕⲗⲑⲁⲣⲁ: the Greek was presumably κιθαρίζειν. — 30 or 'readest the Covenant'.

1 et 2 mutila

. . . . ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̣ . . . [. .]ⲛ̣ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ . . . . . .
Ⲙⲛⲛⲗⲁ[ⲩ]ⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲟ ⲧⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ . [. . . . . .]
ⲦⲦⲩ]ⲗⲏ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲏⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧⲥⲙ[ⲏ . . . . .]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲓⲫⲁⲣⲁ ⲛ̄
ⲦⲦⲩⲗⲏ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲏⲛ • ⲁⲉⲓⲡⲛⲟⲛ ⲛ̣[.] . ⲉⲣⲛ̣ⲁ ⲁⲡⲱⲁⲓⲉ ⲛ̄
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲓⲍⲩⲙⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲟⲩ[. . . .] . . ⲕⲓⲫⲁⲣⲁ [ⲉⲣⲉⲃⲛ
ⲃⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲟ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲓⲍⲩⲙⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲓⲃⲛⲃⲛ [. . . . . .
ⲥⲉⲃⲛⲃⲛ ⲁⲍⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ
ⲦⲦⲭⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲫⲁ[ⲗⲙⲟⲥ .] . . . [. .]ⲁⲙⲏ ⲛ̄
ⲦⲦⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲫⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣ[ⲁⲡⲏ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲧ
Ⲟⲩ]ⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃ[ⲉ] ⲛ̣ⲧ
ⲙ̣ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ[ⲓⲁ ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲫⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁ̣ⲧⲉⲕⲗⲁ
ⲗ̣[ⲓⲁ] ⲡ̣ⲁⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲡ[ⲁ
ⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲡⲁⲡⲛ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲥⲓⲥⲟⲩⲛ • ⲡⲁⲙⲁⲓ[ⲛ
ⲧⲉ]ⲕⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲡⲁⲡ • ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲡⲁⲙⲁⲓⲛ
Ⲭ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲕ̄ ⲡⲁⲡ ⲁⲓⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲕ̄ ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲁⲍⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ • ⲡⲁ
ⲁⲓⲣⲱⲭⲍ̄ ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲁⲡ • ⲁⲓⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲕ̄ • ⲡ
ⲁⲓⲕⲁ ⲓⲱⲧ ⲥⲓⲙⲉⲉⲩ • ⲡⲁⲡ • ⲁⲓⲕⲁ ⲥⲁⲛ ⲥⲓⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲕ̄ • ⲡ
ⲁ]ⲍⲣⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲁⲍⲣⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲉⲧ • ⲡⲁⲡ • ⲁⲍⲣⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲱⲙ
ⲁⲍⲣⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲛⲓⲱⲥⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲁⲓⲛ
ⲁⲍⲣⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲛ̄ⲁ • ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ
. . ⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲁ]ⲍⲣⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲁⲍⲣⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ ⲡⲁⲡⲛ̄ⲁ • ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲓⲥⲏⲩ
. ⲛ̣ⲧ ⲟⲩⲍⲉⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲉ]ⲭⲧⲟ ⲍⲕⲟ ⲉⲭⲧⲟ ⲉⲓⲃⲉ • ⲡⲁⲡ • ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲓⲁⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲃ[. . . .

5 fin. etc. ⲛ̄ sc. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ, cf. 168, 21 etc. — 30 ⲉⲧⲓⲁⲙⲉⲉⲩ sic.

ll. 1 and 2 destroyed

. . . . wind (πνοή) and dew . . . . . her.
There is none that sees thee, o Mother . . . . .
Every gate (πύλη) is open unto the voice . . . . . of thy lute (κιθάρα).
Every gate (πύλη) is open; supper (δεῖπνον) . . . . the festival.
Thou art a lover of hymns (ὕμνος), thou art a . . . lute (?), [as thou makest (?) music unto them.
Thou art a lover of hymns (ὕμνος), thou art a lover of music . . . . .
they make music before (?) thee.
This is the end of the Psalm (ψαλμός) . . . . . .
The Psalm (ψαλμός) of the Love (ἀγάπη) of the Father is the end which is filled well (καλῶς).
Glory and honour to Jesus, the King of the Holy ones; Thou.
and his holy Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

Fair is thy Light, my Spirit: I would hear thy
speech (? λαλιά), my pious one.
Fair are] thy Commandments (ἐντολή), my Spirit; they have enlightened me without, my pious one.
Fair is] thy Wisdom (σοφία), my Spirit; it has enlightened me within, my pious one.
Fair is] thy Love (ἀγάπη), my Spirit; it has been life unto my soul, my pious one.
Since I knew thee, my Spirit, I have loved thee and followed thee, my pious one.
I burnt everything, my Spirit; I loved thee alone, my pious one.
I left father and mother, my Spirit; I left brother and sister for thy sake, my pious one.
What is gold to me? what is silver to me, my Spirit? What is orchard to me?
what is field to me, my pious one?
What is wife to me? what is son to me, my Spirit? Thy love (ἀγάπη) has
. . . . them all, my pious one.
What is eating to me? what is drinking to me, my Spirit? The hour I am sated
. . . . plenty, my pious one.
Where is hunger? where is thirst, my Spirit? The hour that I shall think . .

1 mutilum

. . . . . .] . . . ⲣⲧⲉⲡⲥⲏⲧ ⲡ
Ⲉⲩⲧⲟ [. . . . .] ⲡⲁⲡ . . . [ⲛ]ⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲁⲥⲏⲧ ⲡⲁⲙⲁ
Ⲉⲩⲧⲟ ⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉⲥ ⲡⲁⲡ [. .] . . ⲱ . ⲙⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲭⲱⲕ ⲡ[
. . . .] . . ⲕⲉ ⲡⲁⲡ[. . . . .] . ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲱⲥⲏⲧ ⲡ
Ⲉⲩⲧⲟ ⲃⲱⲭⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡ
. . . . . .]ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲉ ⲁⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡ
. . . . . .] ⲡⲁⲡ ⲧⲉⲕⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲧ[ⲉⲟ]ⲩⲁⲥ ⲧⲉ ⲡ
Ⲉⲩ[ⲧⲟ] ⲕⲁⲣ[ⲁⲓⲧⲏ] ⲡⲁⲡ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩϩ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲡ
N̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲙ[ⲉⲩⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲁ]ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲁⲡ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲥⲭⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
N̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲥ[ⲁ]ⲭⲛⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲛ[ⲟ]ⲩⲩ ⲡⲁⲡ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲙ̣[ⲁⲧ
Ⲧⲱ]ⲕ ⲡⲉ̣ ⲡ̣[ⲉⲁ]ⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲡⲁⲡ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ|ⲁⲛⲏⲥ[ⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁ̈ⲟ ⲡⲁⲡ • ⲛ̄|ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡ̣
Ⲟⲩⲃⲣ[ⲟ] ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲡⲁⲡ • ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ☥ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲡⲁⲙⲁ̈ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

Ⲁ̣ⲛⲁⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲥ ⲥ[ⲓ
ⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ
|ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛⲭⲓ ⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧⲉ ⲗ
Ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲏⲣ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄☥ⲡⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲟ̄|ⲭ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ[ⲧ
Ⲁ̣ⲛⲧⲱⲥⲙ̄ ⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡ
ⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧ
Ⲁ̣ⲛⲱⲡ ⲁⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲛ̄ ⲛⲏⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧ
Ⲁ̣ⲛⲱⲡ ⲁⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲁⲛⲗⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧ
ⲟⲃⲟⲩⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧ
Ⲁ̣ⲛⲱⲡ ⲁⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲁ̣ⲛⲗ̣ⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲃⲁⲙⲡⲉ
Ⲁ̣ⲛⲗ̣ⲟ [ⲥ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲥ|ⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲱⲥ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁ̣ⲛ[ⲟⲛ ⲧ]ⲥ̣ⲓⲏ ⲉⲧⲟ[ⲏⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧ

l. 1 *destroyed*

. . . . . .

Where is . . . ., my Spirit? . . . faith (?) come to my heart, my pious one.
Where is peace, my Spirit? . . . . . in thy perfection, my pious one.
. . . . . ., my Spirit; . . . . . in thy endurance, my pious one.
Where is diminution, my Spirit, in thy glorious Wisdom (σοφία), my pious one?
. . . . . marvel to speak of thee, my pious one.
. . . . . ., my Spirit, thy Love (ἀγάπη) is ineffable, my pious one.
Where is silence (?), [my Spirit]? Thou art collected Intelligence (νοῦς), my pious one.
Thou art Reason of Light, my Spirit; thou art perfect Thought, my pious one.
Thou art good Counsel, my Spirit; thou art blessed Intention, [my pious one.
Thine is all the glory, my Spirit; for ever and ever, [my pious one.
Glory and honour, my Spirit, to Jesus, the King of the holy ones, my pious one.
Victory and a garland, my Spirit, be there to the soul of
Mary, my pious one.

We are men of rest: let no man add toil
to us.
It is Jesus that we seek, on whom we have modelled ourselves.
Let no man.
Our loins are girded, our witness (μαρτυρία) is in our hand. Let no man.
We knocked at the door, the door was opened to us, we went in with the Bridegroom. Let no man.
We were numbered in the number of the virgins in whose lamps (λαμπάς) oil was found. Let no man.
We were numbered in the number of the Right, we passed from the number of the Left. Let no man.
We were numbered in the number of the sheep, we passed from the number of the goats.
We passed from the broad way, we [found the] narrow way.
Let no man.

18 lit. 'from whom we have taken type (τύπος)'. — 20 ff. cf. Mt. 25, 1 ff.; Mt. 7, 13.

. . . . . .]ϻαϊτ ανοη[τ]ϥ . . ανοη̄ ϖ̣ . . . . [. . . .
απχιce ϖ̄[πωρ]τ▾
ανοη̄ πεzο ετzη̄ϖ̄ϖ̣ηϩε ετε ϻη̄ λ̣[. . . . . .
λε η̄zητϥ̄ ϖ̄πωρτ▾
ανοη̄ ογϖ̄ταν εϻη̄τεϥ zιce ογρ̣ϣε [ετ]ε ϻη̄
λγπη η̄zητϥ̄ ϖ̄πωρτ▾
ανοη̄ ογχρηϻα εϻαγβιτϥ̄ η̄τοοϣ̣[ν ογzηγ ετ
ε ϻη̄ ακε η̄zητϥ̄ ϖ̄πωρτ▾
Θι]c τεντολη ειc cαγνε αν ε . [. . . . . ϻ
ϻαγ ϖ̄πωρτ▾
Να]ноγ πϣηн наноγ пкарпос на[ноγ тка]ι+пе
ан етzалб ϖ̄πωρτ▾
Оγε cнеγ ϣαϻ̣ тεϊ̈ те т[εкк]λ̣[н]cια [етхнк ϻар
неι азоγн атекκλнcια ете пecρен ϩ̣[нпк]оcϻос
тнрϥ̄ ϖ̄πωρτ▾
Ντапικοcϻος тнрϥ̄ cωρϻε етβε пιρεн хϩ̣ εκκλн
cια ϖ̄πωρτ▾
Ϻпоγcη̄оγωн тεκκλнcια аγzεϊ̈ε атϩ̣ете εϻп[оγ
ϖ̄ϻε ϖ̄πωρτ▾
Пκαтакλγcϻος тεπιθγϻια тсете пβελ η̄тϻη̄
тβанϊ̈ειρε ϖ̄πωρτ▾
Т]кιβωτος те тεнтολη • тεκκλнcια те таγапн
Ϻарη̄]ϻоγн аβал zанει ϣаанηze η̄те νιанηze
Оγб]ρ̣ ϻη̄ноγϖ̄таν εϥатезο тψγχн ϖ̄ϻарια

Ϻа]ρезιϩ̣[ε] η̄το тсофια ϻарεкатоотε аβал тагапн
Ϻ]арη̄cωоγz азоγн наcнηγ • η̄тη̄ϖ̄ϻε хε νιϻ
πε] пν[оγτε] ϖ̣етz[н]п̀ етбалп аβал • πετкар̣[а
ϊ̈т етсехε ан] ϻарезι
. . . . . .] νιϻ πε πεϊ̈ етоγ[. . . . . .
. . . . . .] πε πε̣ι етоγωϻ̣ пноγ[те . . . . .

3, 4 ете ϻн̄ λ[нстнс ϻн̄ zа]ле η̄zητϥ̄ coniicio, cf. 66, 31. — 20 leg. ⟨те⟩ тепιθγϻια тсете ⟨те⟩.

. . . . . path we have found . . . we have found the . . . .
to the height. Let no man.
We have found the treasure which is in the skies, wherein there
is no . . . . . Let no man.
We have found a rest which has no toil, a joy wherein
there is no grief (λύπη). Let no man.
We have found a treasure (χρῆμα) which is not taken from [us, a gain] wherein
there is no loss. Let no man.
Lo, the commandment (ἐντολή), lo, knowledge too . . . . . .
them. Let no man.
Good the tree, good the fruit (καρπός), good [the] sweet taste
also. Let no man.
One, two, three, — this is the [perfect] Church; [let
us (?) go in to the Church whose name is in the whole
world (κόσμος). Let no man.
This whole world (κόσμος) has gone astray because of this name,
'Church'. Let no man.
They knew not the Church, they fell into the fire, they did not
understand. Let no man.
The desire (ἐπιθυμία) [is] the Flood (κατακλυσμός); the eye of malice
is] the fire.
The commandment (ἐντολή) is the Ark (κιβωτός), the Love (ἀγάπη) is the Church.
Let us] abide in these things for ever and ever.
May victory and rest overtake the soul of Mary.

Thou dost not weary, o Wisdom (σοφία): thou dost not give in, o Love (ἀγάπη).
Let us gather together, my brethren, and understand who
God is, he that is hidden, that is revealed, he that is silent,
that speaks also]. Thou dost not.
. . . . . who is this that . . . . . .
. . . . . is this that eats, the God (?) . . . .

3 f. vid. 52, 31 n. — 13 cf. 162, 9.

Τ. . . .]ν ϛντε ετασωπε χννϯογϊ[τε . . . .
. . . . . .]ϛογν μννιτϛαψπρϊε αβαλ ϊπχ|ce
. . . . . ϛ]ννπογν πε π . . ϐο ετογωμ ννϩητν
. . . . . .] αβαλ ϊπχ|ce πε ϯδαμ ετννογωμ μ
μας μαρ
Ἀπκε[κε ει α]ϩρηϊ απογαϊνε ϩωωϥ ει απ|τν̄ • απ
ϩηκ[ε ρρϊμα]ο απρϊμαο ϩωωϥ ρϩηκε μαρ
Ἀπμογ χ| ϯπε [ϊπωνϩ • απωνϩ ϩωϥ χ| ϯπε ϊπ
μογ . . [. . . . .]ε ωωπε πϊλαϩ ννϣρτε αγϭωρ
αβαλ μαρ
. . . . . .]caϯ . μογ • ανα|ων ϊπογαϊνε ϩραϫ
ταγαπ[η α]ϭρϩηβε • αναπκεκε ϩωϥ ρϣαϊε
Τ]ανα[κη α]ckωτε [α]ϯαγαπη ετασμογ • π|ecay
ετμη[ρ απ]ψηη πετε πεϥψωc ϯογαϊ ετβητϥ
Ἀ]ναν [ϩωω]ν ναμερετε μαρννπωρχ αβαλ ϊπ
cexε xε ν|μ πε πεϊ ετογωμ • ν|μ πε πεϊ ετογ
ογ]ωμ μ[μ]αϥ μαρ
Ν|μ πε πεϊ ετkωτε • ν|μ πε πεϊ ετογkωτε ννcωϥ
πecay ετμηρ απψηη πετε πεϥψωc ϯογαϊ ε
τβητϥ μαρ
Ογν̄ ογecay εμμηρ απψηη ογν̄ ka|ογε ϥογωμ
πecay • ογν̄ ογψωc ν̄βαλ εμμανε • ϥει εϥkωϯε
capϥecay μαρ
Ταγαπη ετασμογ πε π|ecay ετμηρ απψηη ϊ
ψωc ετkωτε ν̄cωϥ • πε ϯ[co]φια ετϭωλπ̄ [αβ]αλ
Τ]ετϥογωμ πecay πε ϯcετε ν̄ρεϥογωμ πνογ[τε
ϊπ|α|ων πεταϥcωρμε ϊπkocμoc τηρϥ
Ἀγ]ϯϩε τηρογ τηρογ ϩν̄ϯcετε ν̄ρεϥογωμ εϥτο ϊ
ε|]βε ϊπcεxε ν̄ϥει ν̄ϥcω[. . . . . .]ε
Ⲉϥτο βελ ἀϊ̈ω]ρϩ εϥτο μεω[τε ακωτμε . . . . .
. . . . . ε]ϥτο νογc ἀρ̄νοϊε [α]νεϊ [
. . . . . .] ϥει εις τϊ̈[.] . . η ϊπ[. . . . . .

21 leg. ⟨ε⟩ϥογωμ? — 28 τηρογ bis sic.

The] two (?) . . . . that were from the beginning . . . .
. . . . . abyss and him that shone forth from the height.
. . . . . from (?) the abyss is the . . . . that eats of us:
. . . . . from the height is this power which we
eat. Thou dost not.
The Darkness [went] up, but the Light went down. The
poor man [became rich], but the rich man became poor. Thou dost not.
Death tasted] life, but life tasted
death; . . . . came about, the battle-line of fear was spread
out. Thou dost not.
. . . . . death (?); the Aeons of Light were still,
Love (ἀγάπη) grieved, but they of the Darkness made festival.
Need (ἀνάγκη) encompassed the Love (ἀγάπη) that died, — the sheep
that is bound to the tree for which its shepherd searches.
We also, my beloved, — let us separate the
word 'Who is this that eats?' [and] 'Who is this
that is eaten?' Thou dost not.
Who is this that seeks? Who is this that is sought?
The sheep that is bound to the tree for which its shepherd
searches. Thou dost not.
There is a sheep bound to the tree: there is another [that] ate
the sheep. There is a shepherd giving pasture: he came seeking
his sheep. Thou dost not.
The sheep bound to the tree is the Love (ἀγάπη) that died: the
Wisdom (σοφία) that reveals is the shepherd that seeks after it.
He that ate the sheep is the devouring fire, the God
of this Aeon that led the whole world (κόσμος) astray.
They were drunk, all of them, in the devouring fire: where is the
thirst (?) for the Word, that it may come and . . . . . ?
Where is there an eye to] see, where is there an ear [to hear . . .
. . . . . where is there a Mind (νοῦς) to understand (νοεῖν) these things?
. . . . . he came, lo, the . . . . .

26, 27 cf. 2 Cor. 4, 4.

. . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡ . [.] . . [. .] . ⲛⲍ ⲛ̄ⲧ . . . . . ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩⲣⲉ
. . . . . .]ⲁⲣⲛ̄[. . . . . .]ⲟⲩ . . . ⲉ ⲛ . . . ⲥⲛ̄ϯⲥ . .
.] . . . [. . . .]ⲡⲱ[. . . . . .] . ⲉⲛⲁ . [. .] . . ⲱⲱⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲦⲦⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲱ[ⲁⲓⲉ] ⲉⲫⲁⲣ̄ⲥⲏⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲥⲏⲃⲉ [ⲉⲫ]ⲁⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲓⲉ ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉ[ⲩⲁ]ⲣ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ • ⲛⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲙ
Ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲗⲩⲡⲏ • ⲛⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲓⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲱⲉ ϫⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
ⲁⲛ]ⲁⲛ ⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲱⲉ
ⲧ]ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲓⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲓⲉ ϫⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
Ⲟⲩ]ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ϯⲥⲟⲫ[ⲓⲁ] ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲥ
ⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ϯⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩ
ϫⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲉ

ⲦⲦ]ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ [. . . . . .]ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁ
ⲓ]ⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ
Ⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ϫⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲓ ⲥⲁⲗ[ⲥⲗ ⲙ]ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲁⲗ • ⲡⲛⲟ
ⲗⲙ]ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁϫⲁϫⲉ ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ • ⲡⲛ
ⲦⲦ]ⲥⲏⲃⲥ̀ ⲉⲧⲁⲕϫⲉⲣⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲏ[ⲍ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ
ⲦⲦⲁⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲛⲍⲟⲩⲛ • ⲉⲫⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ
ⲥⲓ]ⲕⲱⲛ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ
ⲦⲦ]ⲁⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩϫⲓ ϫⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲉϫⲉ
ⲦⲦ]ⲕⲙⲁⲛⲟ[ⲁ]ⲩ̈ⲗⲉ [ⲡⲉ] ⲡⲁⲡ̄ⲛⲁ • ⲡⲕⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ
. .]ⲕ[. . . . .] . [. . . .]ⲕ . . ⲕⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲕ̈ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲕ[ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ] ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ
Ⲟ]ⲩⲉ[. .] ⲡⲉ ⲡ[. . . . .] . . ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲙⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲕ̈ⲱⲧ̀ ⲧⲛ̄
. . . . . .]
. . . .] . . . [. . .] . . . ⲡⲍ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲡⲛ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲣ]ⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲩ [ⲣ]ⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁϩ ⲡⲓ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲧ]ⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲉⲕ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϯⲛⲟⲩ . [. .]ⲥⲱⲙ[
ϫⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲕⲁⲍⲧⲏⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲓ ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ ⲙⲡ[ⲉⲕⲃⲁⲗ

23 ⲛ̄ⲡⲕ̈ⲱⲧ̀ sic, cf. 139, 48.

ll. 1—3 *fragmentary*

He that makes festival shall grieve, he that grieves shall make festival.
They that eat shall fast (νηστεύειν), they that fast (νηστεύειν) shall eat.
They that rejoice shall mourn (-λύπη), they that mourn (-λύπη) shall make festival
and rejoice in this joy from everlasting to everlasting.
We also, my beloved, — may we rejoice in this joy
and make festival in this festival from everlasting to everlasting.
Glory to this Love (ἀγάπη), honour to this Wisdom (σοφία): — the Love (ἀγάπη) that strayed and the Wisdom (σοφία) that seeks after it. Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona, Martyrs (μάρτυρε).

O Mind (νοῦς) of Light, sun of my heart . . . . . Light to my soul.
Thou art my witness, that I have no comfort save thee. O Mind.
I have not given in that my enemies might not deride me. O Mind.
The] lamp which thou didst kindle, — I have not allowed it to go out through the oil of faith. O Mind.
My] Man that is within me is like thee in his Image (εἰκών) O Mind.
My Man that is outside me receives grace (χάρις) through thy word.
My Spirit is thy lodging, my soul is thy place of rejoicing.
. . . . . thou art like thy Father who is in the Great World (κόσμος?) O Mind.
The] world (κόσμος) is a . . . . . ; thy Father has not
. . . . .
. . . . . thou art a king of my soul. O Mind.
I] guarded thee at the time (?): guard thou me now in the end (?). O Mind.
I] gave myself for thee, my God: give thyself for me now . . . .
for] thou art my trust, I have no other protection save [thee.

12 μάρτυρε: vid. 157, 13 n.

. . . . . .]ϫⲁϊⲥ [. . . . . .

2—4 non legi possunt

. . . . . .]ⲙⲡ̣ⲓⲙⲁ̣ . . . ⲕⲉⲍⲉ . . . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
. . . . . .]ⲟⲉ̣ • ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲙⲁⲍⲕ ⲛ̄ϫⲃϊⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲉⲕ
. . . . . .] ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ
. . . . . .]ⲍ̣ⲟⲩ . . . ϫⲓⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲕ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲁⲃⲱ[
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁϊⲟ] ⲛ̄ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ⲫⲩ
ϫⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ]

Ⲛ[ⲉⲥⲉ . . . . . .]ⲡ̣ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲍⲩⲙⲛⲉⲩⲉ
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲁ]ⲩⲍ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲁ
ⲡⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ] ⲛⲉⲥⲉ
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲟⲩ[ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟ]ⲩⲁϊⲛⲉ ⲉⲁⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲍ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲟⲩ[ⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲥϫ]ⲏ̣ⲕ̣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡ̣ϫⲱⲕ . . . . . .
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲟⲩⲥ[ⲁ]ϫⲛⲉ ⲕ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲩ ⲉⲁⲩ+ ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲩⲡⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ̈ ⲉⲁⲩϫⲱⲕⲣⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧ̣
ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲥⲉ
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲟⲩ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲁⲥⲭⲓ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ[ⲃⲉ
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲧ+ⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲏⲍ ⲍⲛⲛ̣[ⲉⲩ
ⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲥⲉ
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲡϫⲁϊ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ϫⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲧⲉⲗⲁϊ̈ⲧ ⲁ
ⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲥⲉ
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲁϊ̈ⲗⲉ ⲉⲣ[. . . . . .
ⲍⲓⲧⲟⲩⲉⲍⲏ [ⲛⲉⲥⲉ]
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲍ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩ[. .]ⲛ[. . . .]ⲟⲩⲁⲩ[
Ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲛ ⲍⲱⲛⲉ ⲍⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ ⲉ . . . ⲛ . [. . . . .]ⲉ̣[. . .
Ⲉⲛⲧⲡ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲥ̄ⲏ̄ⲣ̄ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̈ ⲛ̣ⲛⲉⲩ . . . [. .
Ⲉⲩⲁⲙ[ⲟ]ⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲉ[ⲩ
ϫⲛ[ⲁ]ⲛ̣ⲏⲍⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁ]ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁϊⲟ ⲛ̄ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲟ̄ⲣⲟ

6 ϫⲃϊⲱ sic. — 16 ⲕ non intellego.

ll. 1—5 fragmentary and illegible

. . . . . until I fill thee with the recompense of thy
. . . . . O Mind.
. . . . . take me with thee to thy . . . .
Glory and honour] to Jesus, the King of the holy ones, and the
soul of the blessed Mary].

Fair . . . . . God, he singing hymns (ὑμνεύειν).
Fair is an Intelligence] collected if it has received the
love (ἀγάπη) of [God]. Fair.
Fair is a [Reason of] Light which Faith has reached.
Fair is a perfect [Thought] which Perfection . . .
Fair is a good Counsel that has given place to endurance (ὑπομονή).
Fair is a blessed Intention that has been flavoured with
Wisdom (σοφία). Fair.
Fair is a holy soul that has taken unto her the holy Spirit.
Fair are the five virgins in whose lamps (λαμπάς) oil was
found. Fair.
Fair is the ship laden with treasure (χρῆμα), the sailor being
aboard it. Fair.
Fair are the birds ascending . . . . . .
before them. [Fair.]
Fair are the sheep gathered, their . . . . . .
Fair are we also together . . . . . .
Though we see not the Saviour ($\overline{\text{σηρ}}$), let us worship his (?) . . . .
May he abide with us and we abide with him
from everlasting to everlasting.
Glory and honour to Jesus, the King of the holy ones. Victory

13—18 vid. 23, 14—18 n. — 28 cf. 21, 25.

ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁ]ⲕⲁⲣ[ⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙ]ⲁⲣⲓⲁ [ⲑ]ⲉⲟⲛⲁ

ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄] ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲫⲧⲱⲃⲍ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲣ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣[
ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲧⲱ[ⲉ]ⲣ[ⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡ̣ⲁ̣[ⲥⲱⲣ̄
ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲙⲓⲱⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲧ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁ̣ⲫ̣[ⲗⲟⲛ ⲡⲁ
5 ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲧ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲉ̣[ⲥⲁⲩ ⲡⲁ
ⲧⲡⲁⲱⲱⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲁⲫⲃⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̣[ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲁ
ⲫⲱ]ⲡ̀ ⲥⲱⲱ[ⲧ ⲁ]ⲧ̣ⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲡ̣[ⲡⲁ
ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲱⲏ[ⲛ ⲥ]ⲛ̄ⲡ[ⲉⲕ]ⲃⲱⲙ ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩ]ⲁ̣ⲓ[ⲛⲉ ⲡⲁ
ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲧ ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲓⲏ ⲡⲁ
10 ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲑⲃ̈ⲓⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ[ⲡⲁ
ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲙ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ̣[ⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲡⲁ
ⲁ̣]ⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ [ⲡⲁ
ⲁ̣]ⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲗⲉⲥ [ⲡ]ⲁ̣
Ⲛⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲥⲙⲁ̣[ⲙⲉ ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡ̣ⲁ̣
15 ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃ̣ⲁⲙ [ⲙ]ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁ
Ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲭⲡ̣[ⲟ ⲡ]ⲁ̣ⲭⲁ̣ⲓⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲫⲭ[ⲁⲥⲙⲉ] ⲡⲁ
ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲃⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲡⲁ
Ⲙ̄]ⲁ̣ⲧ ⲛⲏ[ⲓ̈] ⲛⲉⲕⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲡⲁ
ⲁ̣]ⲓ̣ⲥ̀ⲱⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲁ
20 ⲁ̣]ⲓ̈ⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁ[ⲉ] ⲡⲁ
ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ[ⲟ]ⲩ ⲡⲁ
ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲧ ⲥⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲣⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲁ
Ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲓⲱⲧⲁ]ⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲟ ⲁⲥⲣⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲁ
ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲟ̣ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲕⲉⲉⲧ ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲧⲥⲟ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲁ
25 ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲕⲁ ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲥⲓⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲓⲥⲁⲛ ⲥⲓⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲡⲁ
ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲣ̄ⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲉⲧⲃ̣[ⲉ ⲡ]ⲉⲕⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲁ
ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲃⲓ ⲡⲁⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲁⲍⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲡⲁ
ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲡ̄ⲛⲁ ⲡⲁ
ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲁ
30 Ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲫⲟⲩⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲁ

5 cf. 93, 4. — 9 ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲏ: vid. Hom. Indicem s. v.

to the soul of the] blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

Hear] me, I implore thee, my . . . . Saviour ($\overline{\sigma\omega\rho}$).
I am the daughter of the First Man. My [Saviour.
I also fought in the first fight (ἆθλον?). My.
I also am one of thy [sheep. My.
My true Shepherd has found [me]. My.
I] also am counted in the number of thy . . . . My.
I am a tree in thy orchard of Light (?). My.
I have given fruit (καρπός) to thy husbandmen. My.
I have subdued desire (ἐπιθυμία). My.
I have trodden upon the deceit (ἀπάτη) of the [evil one. My.
I am a holy Continent (ἐγκρατής) one. My.
I have purified my God by my tongue. My.
I have blessed his holy Lights. My.
I have given rest to the power of God. My.
I did not make my Lord be born in a womb defiled. My.
I scorned the treasures (χρῆμα) that perish. My.
Give me thy treasures (χρῆμα) that perish not. My.
I gathered in all my members (μέλος). My.
I prayed, I sang, I gave alms. My.
I served all thy holy ones. My.
I clothed thy orphans (ὀρφανός). My.
I closed not my door in the face of the holy. My.
I fed the hungry, I gave drink to the thirsty. My.
I left father and mother and brother and sister. My.
I became a stranger for thy name's sake. My.
I took up my cross (σταυρός), I followed thee. My.
I left the things of the body (σῶμα) for the things of the Spirit. My.
I despised (καταφρονεῖν) the glory of the world (κόσμος), My.
because of thy glory that passes not away. My.

3 i. e. the soul. — 12 vide 96, 2 n. — 13. 16 vide 52, 22—27; 120, 25; 121, 28 with notes. — 27 vide 167, 47 n.

. . . . . ϲ]ιθη ⲛ̄ⲛ . . . . . ωϰ . [. . . . . .
. . . . ετ]ⲁⲭⲏϰ
. . . . .] . ⲉⲁⲭⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ[ⲁ]ⲓⲓⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲙ[ⲁⲓ
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .] . . . ⲡⲁϰⲗⲁⲙ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲧⲱⲃⲓⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .] . . ⲉⲱⲉ ⲧⲉⲁⲓ ⲧⲱⲃⲓⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲙⲛ̄
]
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲙ̄]ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ[ⲓⲛⲉ] ⲡⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲭⲥ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ [ⲁ]ⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲓ

. . . . . .] . ⲁⲓ . . ⲁⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡ[ⲓ
ⲥ]ⲧⲓⲥ ⲁ . . . . . ⲁⲡⲱⲛϩ
Ⲁ]ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡ[ⲓⲥⲧ]ⲓⲥ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲥⲁⲛϩⲟⲩⲛ
Ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲥⲱϰ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ ⲁⲧⲉϩⲓⲏ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲧⲉⲛ
Ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲥⲱ[ϰ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ] ⲁⲧ[ⲉϩⲓ]ⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲁⲧⲉⲛ
. .] . ⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ
Ⲁ]ⲩⲉⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲫ[ⲁⲩ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲉⲛ
Ⲡⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲉⲧ[ⲙ]ⲁⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛⲧⲟ
ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲛ
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ[ⲛ̄]ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲙ̄[ⲙ]ⲁⲩ
Ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲱⲁⲡⲁⲣⲟ ⲉⲓ̈ⲕⲁϩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲛ[ⲙ ⲥⲁⲃⲗⲗⲁϩ
Ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲣ̄ⲱⲏⲛ • ⲁⲧⲁⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲉⲥ
Ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲕⲁⲣ[ⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁ
ⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲕⲁⲓⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲛ
Ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲣ̄ⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲁⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲣ̄ⲟⲩϫ[ⲁⲓ̈
Ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡϫⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲁⲛ[ⲟⲩ ⲡⲕⲁⲓ
ⲧⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲓⲩⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲛ
Ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲣ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲣ̄ⲕⲓⲃⲱ[ⲧⲟⲥ
Ⲁ]ⲥⲣ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ . ⲇ . . . ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲕ[ⲓ]ⲃ[ⲱⲧⲟⲥ . . . . .

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13 ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ sic. — 16 ⲱⲛⲏⲩ sic vid.: leg. ⲙⲉⲛⲏⲩ? — 30 fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲕⲏ.

. . . . . before the . . . . . .
. . . . perfect.
. . . . . ships of Light that they may ferry [me
. . . . . .
. . . . . my garland, give me the reward of my
. . . . . .
. . . . . and do thou receive the reward of thy
. . . . . .
Glory and honour to] our Lord, our Light, Mani,
and the soul of the] blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Apa Panai.

. . . . . to (?) my heart, the commandment and the faith
(πίστις) . . . . . to life.
The commandment and the faith (πίστις) have enlightened my inward parts.
The commandment has drawn me to the good way. The commandment.
The commandment has drawn (?) [me] to the straight way. The commandment.
. . . like a . . . . of the height, gathering in.
He (?) came like a shepherd, gathering unto him all his
sheep. The commandment.
Our good (ἀγαθός) shepherd who feeds us by his commandments.
The commandment.
Fair the commandment and the knowledge, love (ἀγάπη) being clothed in them.
The commandment . . . .: in whom do I trust save in it?
The commandment was a tree, my soul was soil for it.
Good the soil, good the tree, good the fruit (καρπός), good
the taste also. The commandment.
The commandment was a sailor, my soul was a ship.
Good the ship, good the sailor, good [also
the] wind that blows. The commandment.
The commandment was a tree, the commandment was an ark (? κιβωτός).
It was a tree on the day of . . . . it was an ark (? κιβωτός) . . . .

11 etc. 'Commandment', ἐντολή.

. . . . . .]moywm[. . . . . .] {ⲟⲛⲍ ⲁⲛⲱⲍⲉ ⲧⲁ}[
ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟ]ⲗⲏ ⲣⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁ[ⲧ]ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ {ⲣⲉⲕⲕ}[ⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ] ⲁⲧⲉ
ⲁⲥ]ⲣⲉⲛⲧ[ⲟⲗⲏ ⲥ]ⲛ̄ⲏⲏⲥ̄ [. . . . .]{ⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ}ⲡⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲍ ⲁⲧⲉⲛ
ⲁⲥ]ⲣⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲥ]ⲣⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲁⲧ
ⲁ]ⲥⲣⲁⲓⲕ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲕⲟ ⲁⲥⲣⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧ[ⲁⲩ]ⲉⲓⲃⲉ ⲁⲧ
ⲁⲥ]ⲣⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ ⲁⲩⲧ{ⲱⲛ} [ⲁⲃⲁ]ⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲩ
ⲉ]ⲓ ⲁⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲧ
ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁ[ⲓ̈]{ⲛⲉ ⲁ}[ⲥⲣ̄ⲃⲗⲟⲟⲃ]{ⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧ}
ⲥⲏⲕ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲧ
ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲁ[ⲥⲣ̄ . . . . . .
ⲁⲥ]ⲣ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲏⲓⲁ ⲁⲥ[ⲣ̄]ⲕ[ⲓⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ ⲥⲛⲡ]{ⲕⲁⲧⲁ[ⲕⲗⲩ]ⲥⲙⲟⲥ}
ⲁ]ⲥⲣ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣⲙ̄ ⲁⲥⲣ̄[. . . . . .
ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧ
ⲁⲥ]ⲣ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲭⲁⲓ ⲥ[ⲛ]ⲛⲉⲭⲏⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲧ
ⲁⲥⲣ̄]ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲣⲣ̣ⲟ [ⲥⲛ̄]ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
Ν]ⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲙⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲁ+ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ
ⲙ]ⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ⲥⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲁ
ⲣ̄]ⲥⲱⲧ ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲁⲧ
Ⲉ]ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁ]ⲧ[
Ⲉ]ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁⲧ
Ⲉ]ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲁⲧ
Ⲉⲛ]ⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲁⲧ
Ⲉⲛⲁⲙ]ⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁ+ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲁⲧ
Ⲉⲛⲁⲙⲁ]ⲛⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁ+ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲗⲟⲏⲧ ⲁⲧ
Ⲉⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛ]ⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁ+ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲧ
Ⲉⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛ]ⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁ+ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲧ
. . . . . ⲉⲛ]ⲁⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲁⲧ
. . . . . .]ⲁⲓ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲥⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲩⲭⲱⲕ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧ+ⲩ]ⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲏ] ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲛ̄+ⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉ[ⲩ
ⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ] ⲧⲛ̄+ ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

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1 etc. litteras quot inter {. . .} inclusi descripsit Ibscherus antequam perierunt. — 8 cf. 167, 10. 11. — 17 leg. ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲓ̈⟨ⲉ⟩? ⲁⲙⲙⲁⲛⲉ sic. — 28 +ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ coniicio. — 31. 32 cf. 162, 21. 22.

l. 1 *fragmentary*

The] Commandment was knowledge, the Commandment was a Church.
It was] a Commandment in Jesus, ... in the Paraclete.
It was] a Church of the [Father, it was] Love (ἀγάπη) of the Beloved.
It was bread for them that hungered, it was water for them that thirsted.
It was] resurrection (ἀνάστασις) for the dead, they arose from death, they came to life. The Commandment.
It was a Stair for them that go to the Light, it was [a Ladder] for them that are drawn to the height. The Commandment.
It was a tree, it was a ship, it [was] . . . . . .
It was a tree in the desert (ἐρημία), it was an ark (? κιβωτός) in the flood (κατακλυσμός).
It was a path for them that wandered, it was . . . . . in. The Commandment.
It was a tree in the God of Truth, it was a ship in the ships of Light. The Commandment.
It was a path in the Perfect Man, it was a king (?) in the Church.
My brethren, let us make festival (?), for we also have moored to this Commandment.
Let us answer all together, that our ship may sail to good effect. The Commandment.
May we moor, may we moor to the Love (ἀγάπη) [of the Father. The *etc.*
May we moor, may we moor to the Love (ἀγάπη) of the Father. The *etc.*
May we moor, may we moor to the harbour of peace (εἰρήνη). The *etc.*
May we moor, may we moor to the harbour of peace (εἰρήνη). The *etc.*
May we moor, may we moor to compassion. The *etc.*
May we moor, may we moor to kindliness. The *etc.*
May we moor, may we moor to love for God. The *etc.*
May we moor, may we moor to love for men. The *etc.*
. . . . . may we rejoice, may we rejoice in it. The *etc.*
. . . . . for ever, Amen. It is finished.
Glory to the] soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

With our] holy [voice] we glorify the Mind (νοῦς); for if [he lodges with us] we give holy fruit (καρπός).

31 ff. This Psalm is a repetition, with a few variations and omissions, of the Psalm which begins at 162, 21, q. v.

ΤΤιωτ πνογ]c ⲛ̄ⲟγαϊⲛε a[μογ kρ̄]φορε μμ[αϊ ϣαⲛ
ϯτεογο πρ|με ⲙ̄π]ϣнρε ⲙ̄πρωμε
ΤΤαχαϊc |нс̄ a]μογ kρ̄[φορε] ⲁ̣ραϊ ϣa[ⲛϯτο]γвⲫ̣ [πcω
μα ⲙ̄πϣαρп̄] ⲛ̄ρωμε
Τμⲛ̄τⲛαε ⲙ̄]πⲉ̣αγ τϣερε [ⲙ̄]ⲡ̣ⲓωτ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ογαϊⲛε
τ . ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲥ . . . . ⲛ ⲛⲓ]μ μⲛ̄λαγε cαγⲛε ⲁπετⲁϊⲟ
Ⲛ̄το πε πkαλαⲃ]ⲓⲛ ετο ⲛ̄ⲥo cⲛey πετⲁγⲃωχε ⲛⲍ[ⲏ
τⲭ̄ ⲛ̄τⲛογⲛε ετcⲁ]ϣⲉ
Ⲛ̄το πε ϯ . . . . ⲏ ετⲛτο]ⲟ̣ⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡαρⲑενος τετⲁcχⲁτc
ⲁⲍογⲛ ⲁⲡⲍнт ⲙ̄πχⲁχε]
Ⲛ̄το πε πϣαρп̄ ⲛ̄ραμⲥ̀] ⲛ̣τε πϣαρп̄ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗⲗⲁϣ|ρε
πετⲁγⲃωπε ⲛ̄ⲍнт⟨q̄⟩ ⲛⲛⲓ]cⲁⲛε ετⲁγⲃωⲃc
Ⲛ̄το πε πϣαρп̄ ⲛ̄ⲍo]πλον ⲛ̄τε πϣαρп̄ ⲛ̄χⲁϊⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲍ
πετⲁqⲛ[ογ]ογⲍ ⲁπⲁⲍογ ⲙ̄π|τογρε ετⲁqⲛⲉⲍcε
Ⲛ̄]το πε [τεkkλ]нc|ⲁ ⲙ̄πⲁϊωτ πϣαρп̄ ⲛ̄ρωμε ⲛ̄το
πε πⲃωⲙ̣ ⲛ̣ⲉⲗⲗⲗε ⲙ̄πⲁϊωτ ππⲛ̄ⲛⲁ ετⲁⲛⲍ̀
Ⲛ̄το πε πⲃελ ⲙ̄πⲥ̀| πετⲁqⲉ| ⲙ̄πⲙⲁ ⲙ̄πⲍⲉⲛογqε
ϣⲁⲛτⲭ̄τωⲙ ⲁⲛⲃελ ⲙ̄π|ⲃⲁⲛϊⲉ|ρε
Oγ]ογн[ρ] ⲧ̣[ε τεⲙⲛτχ]ωρε τϣερε ⲛ̄τcoφ|ⲁ ⲍ|ε ⲙ̄
ⲡ̣ⲁ̣ⲧ̣[ⲉⲍ|cε ⲛ̄τ]ο ⲉⲣⲉⲛ̄ⲍογρ|ⲧ ⲁπχⲁχε
Ⲛ̄το πετε νεχнγ ⲁⲍε ⲁρο ⲍ|πχ|cε χεγⲛⲁcⲁkε ⲁⲍ
ρнϊ ⲛ̄cεχ|τε ⲁτεⲙⲛ̄τ̄ρρο
Ⲉ]|c π†ογ ⲛ̄ⲱⲙοφοροc cεcнρ ⲁπτο χε νε πε[ⲍнт
ⲙ̄kⲁⲍ τενⲁχ πετⲁⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍ|χω
Ⲉ|]c πρωμε ετχнk ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲩk̄c̄kⲁcⲧ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ[τε ⲙ̄
πkοcμοc χερⲁμⲁⲍε ⲛ̄ⲍнтⲭ̄ ⲛ̄cεχ|τε ⲁπογⲁϊⲛε
Ⲉ|]c ⲛ̄ⲁ|kⲁ|oc cενⲁτ̄ρ[o]γ[ⲁ|]ⲛε ⲁρο • ε|c πcⲁγⲛε
ⲙ̣ⲛ̄τcoφ|ⲁ cενⲁ† ⲛ̣εχ|ⲍⲃⲫ̣oc ⲁχω
Ⲉ|c π]ⲙ̄ⲱ|ρ ⲙ̄πcεϊⲛε ⲉⲩ[ⲛ]ⲁ̣τⲗⲃo ⲛⲛ[ⲉⲱⲃⲁ ε|c
πkⲁⲛ]ⲁⲃε ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄kⲁτнχογⲙενοⲩ ⲙ̄πⲛⲁⲍτε
Ⲙⲁⲍε] ⲃε ερερεⲱε ερεcнk ⲁπkⲁⲍ ⲙ̄πογⲁϊⲛε
ερε]ταⲃε ⲛ̄νεcφραг|c μⲛ̄νεkⲗooμ ετε μⲁγⲍωⲃ[με

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1 sqq. nonnulla ex 162. 163 huc adhibui. — 3 ⲁραϊ sic vid.: leg. ⲙ̄μⲁϊ. — 9 τετⲁcχⲁτc sic. — 15 ⲙ̄πⲁϊωτ sic. — 20 ερεⲛ̄ⲍογρ|ⲧ sic vid.: leg. ερεο ⲛ̄ⲍογρ|ⲧ? — 32 ⲛ̄νεcφραг|c sic.

O Father, o] Mind (νοῦς) of Light, come and wear (φορεῖν) me [until
I have recited the woe of the] Son of Man.
My Lord Jesus,] come and [wear (φορεῖν?)] me until [I] purify the
body (σῶμα) of the First] Man.
O Compassion of] Glory, Daughter of the Father of the Lights,
. . . . . all, none knows thy honour.
Thou art the] two-edged axe wherewith they did cut
the bitter root].
Thou art the . . . . which is in the] hand of the Maiden, which she thrust
into the heart of the Enemy].
Thou art the first ship (?)] of the first Hero,
wherewith they caught the] thieves that rebelled.
Thou art the first] weapon (ὅπλον) of the first Warrior,
which was brandished behind the foe that arose.
Thou art the Church of my Father, the First Man; thou
art the vineyard of my Father, the Living Spirit.
Thou art the eye of plenty which came from the place of abundance
until it closed the eyes of the malignant one.
How great is thy fortitude, o Daughter of Wisdom (σοφία); for
thou] hast not yet [wearied], thou guarding the enemy.
For thee the ships are waiting on high that they may draw thee
up and take thee to thy kingdom.
Lo, the five Omophori are spread over the world that thy [heart
may not suffer and that thou mayest cast the burden off thee.
Lo, the Perfect Man is stretched out in the middle [of
the world (κόσμος) that thou mayest walk in him and be taken to the Light.
Lo, the Righteous (δίκαιος) will illumine thee. Lo, the Knowledge
and the Wisdom (σοφία) will put thy clothes upon thee.
Lo, the] medicine-chest of the Physician will heal thy wounds. Lo,
the forgiveness of sins of the Catechumens of the Faith.
Walk,] therefore, in joy, drawn to the Land of Light,
sealed with thy seals (σφραγίς), with thy garlands that fade not.

11 ⲣⲁⲙⲉ̄: vid. 163, 4 n.

Ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉ]ⲣⲉⲣⲁⲩⲧ̇ ⲁⲛⲉⲥ|ⲥⲉ ⲟⲩ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ[ⲟⲩ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲧⲙ̄
ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲣ]ⲏⲛⲏ ⲁⲣ[ⲉ]ⲙ̣[ⲁⲛⲉ ⲁ]ⲣⲁⲥ
Ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛⲃⲱⲕ ⲁ̣ⲡ̣ⲭⲓⲥ[ⲉ . . . . .] . ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ [. . . . ⲡⲕⲁ
ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩ[ⲙⲉⲛ]ⲟⲥ ⲙ̣[ⲡ]ⲛⲁⲣⲧⲉ
5 Ⲟ]ⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲛⲁⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩ[ⲃⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲙⲛ̄
ⲧ]ⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥ|ⲁⲛⲉ ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ[ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲥⲁ]ⲙⲏⲛ ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲥⲁⲙ[ⲏⲛ ⲥⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲧⲛ̄ⲯⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
ⲦⲦⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲥⲙ[ⲟⲩⲧⲉ] ⲁⲣ[ⲏⲩ ⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩ
ⲃⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣ̣[ⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩ
10 ⲧ̣ⲉ ⲁⲣⲏⲩ ⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲗⲗⲉ[ⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲡⲥⲣⲁ]ⲩ ⲛ̄
ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲏⲩ ⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟ[ⲩⲃⲉ] . ⲇ̣ . . . .
ⲥⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲥⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲥ̣[ⲁ]ⲙ̣ⲏⲛ ⲧⲛ̄ⲯⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲣ[ⲁ]ⲕ

	ⲡ]ⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ	
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̣̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ	ⲥⲁ
15	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ	ⲥⲁ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ	ⲥⲁ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄]ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲁ̣[ⲩⲉ	ⲥⲁ
	ⲡ]ⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ	[ⲥ]ⲁ̣
	ⲡ]ⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ	ⲥⲁⲙ̣
20	ⲡ]ⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲟⲟⲥ	ⲥⲁⲙ̣
	ⲡ]ⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥ|ⲟⲩ	ⲥⲁ[ⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲥⲏⲑⲏⲗ	ⲥ[ⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲁ̣ⲇⲁⲙ	ⲥⲁⲙⲏ̣[ⲛ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲁ	ⲥⲁⲙ
25	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲓ̈ⲱⲥⲁⲛ·	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲁ . ⲁ̄	ⲥⲁⲙ̣
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ	ⲥⲁ[ⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣ]ⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲉⲧⲟⲥ	[ⲥ]ⲁ̣[ⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲉ]ⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧⲃⲣⲁⲙⲡⲥⲉ[ⲧ	ⲥⲁⲙ

11 fin. fort. ⲡⲇ|ⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ. — 26 ⲡⲕⲁ[ⲛ]ⲁ̄ scil. ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲁⲛ|ⲧⲏⲥ: H.T.

Walk also] in gladness: thy sufferings have passed today; [lo, the
harbour of] peace (εἰρήνη), — thou hast moored in it.
When thou goest to the height . . . the Dark . . . . [the forgiveness
of sins of the Catechumens of the Faith.
Glory to this compassion and him that shall purify [it, and
the] soul of Plousiane, the blessed (μακαρία) [Mary].

Amen, we sing to thee. Amen, [amen, we make music (ψάλλειν) to thee.
The cry of a Virgin calling: perhaps [she calls
to God. Amen. The cry of a Continent one [calling:
perhaps she calls to the Angels. Amen. The cry of
a Married one calling: perhaps she calls to . . . .
Amen, we sing to thee. Amen, amen, we make music (ψάλλειν) to thee.

The cry of a Virgin	to the Land of Light.	
The cry of a Continent one	to the New Aeon.	Amen.
The cry of a Married one	to the world (κόσμος).	Amen.
The cry of a Virgin	to the Father.	Amen.
The cry of a Continent one	to the Emanations (προβολή).	Amen.
The cry of a Married one	to the Archon.	Amen.
The cry of a Virgin	to the sun.	Amen.
The cry of a Continent one	to the moon.	Amen.
The cry of a Married one	to the stars.	Amen.
The cry of a Virgin	to Sethel.	Amen.
The cry of a Continent one	to Adam.	Amen.
The cry of a Married one	to Eve.	Amen.
The cry of a Virgin	to John.	Amen.
The cry of a Continent one	to	Amen.
The cry of a Married one	to Judas.	Amen.
The cry of a Virgin	to the eagle (ἀετός).	Amen.
The cry of a Continent one	to the dove.	Amen.

8 etc. Virgin, Continent one, Married one: παρθένος, ἐγκρατής, ἔγγαμος. The first two occur in the Homilies (vid. Index s. vv., with Burkitt's note in J.T.S. xxxv p. 360), and seem to correspond to the Electi and the Auditores. The ἔγγαμος is the non-manichaean, the worldling who is sunk in sin (181, 15). — 13 etc. After ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ, ⲉⲧⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ, ⲉⲅⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ, the words ⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲏⲩ ⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ are to be supplied.

	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ]ⲅⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ	[ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	[ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡ]ⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	[.].ⲗ̣ⲟ̣ⲅ̣ⲟ̣	ⲥ̣ⲁ̣ⲙ̣
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲕ	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲙ̣ⲟ̣ⲥ	ⲟ̣ⲩⲃ̣ⲉ̣	ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲭ̄	ⲥⲁⲙ
5	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩ[ⲃⲉ	ⲡⲥⲱ]ⲙⲁ	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲭ[ⲓ]ⲥⲉ	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲁⲏⲣ	ⲥⲁⲙ
10	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲱⲉⲛⲏⲩ	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲩ	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲛⲱ̄	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ	ⲥⲁⲙ
15	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ	ⲥⲁ[ⲙ]
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲧⲃⲃⲟⲩⲣ	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲭⲱⲕ	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ	[ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲃⲱⲭⲃⲉ	[ⲥⲁⲙ
20	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲛⲉⲫⲟ	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲙⲥⲓⲧ̇	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲃⲁⲥⲙⲉ	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲣⲉⲫⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ	ⲥⲁⲙ
25	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲗⲏⲥⲧⲏⲥ	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲧⲗⲃⲟ	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲡⲱⲃⲁ	ⲥⲁ[ⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲑⲉⲕⲗⲁ	ⲥⲁⲙ̣
30	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲇⲣⲟⲩⲥ⸗ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲏ̣	ⲥⲁⲙ
	ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲅⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲃⲉ	ⲧⲁⲧⲱⲉⲩ	ⲥⲁⲙ

2 fort. ⲡⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ.

The cry of a Married one to the dragon (δράκων). Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to . . . . Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the bread. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the flesh (σάρξ). Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the Spirit. Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the soul. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the body (σῶμα). Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the height. Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the air (ἀήρ). Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the abyss. Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the Shepherd. Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the sheep. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the wolf. Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the right. Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the middle way. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the left. Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the fulness. Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to faith. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the lack. Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the great breath. Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the north wind. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the storm. Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the treasure (χρῆμα). Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the watcher. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the robber (λῃστής). Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the Physician. Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the healing. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the wound. Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to Thecla. Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to Drusiane. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the woman without honour. Amen.

ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ] ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ [ⲧ]ⲡⲁⲣⲑ[ⲉⲛ]ⲁ ⲭⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁ[ⲧ]ⲁ ⲭⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲱ[ⲩ] ⲭⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲭⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲧⲙⲁ̈ⲟ ⲭⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧⲕⲣ|ⲥ|ⲥ ⲭⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲙⲁ̈ⲧ . [. . .]ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲥ̣
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡ̣ⲛ̣|[. . . . .] ⲭⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲧ̣ . . [. . .] ⲭⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲗ̣ⲁ̣ⲙ̣ ⲥ̣ⲁ̣ⲙ̣
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲃⲣⲁⲃⲉⲓ|ⲟⲛ ⲭⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲃ̄ⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲭⲁⲙ

ⲟⲩ]ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲙ [ⲭⲁⲙⲏⲛ
ⲟⲩ]ⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲕⲁ|ⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧ|ⲁ ⲧⲉ[. .] . . . . ⲛ
ⲥ]ⲱⲥ ⲭⲁⲙ Ⲟⲩⲱ|ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲁ[ⲃ]ⲉ̣ [ⲉ]ⲥⲧⲙⲣⲥⲧⲏⲥ
ⲉⲥⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲭⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲭⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲭⲁ
ⲙⲏⲛ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ • ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉⲥ ⲉⲥⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲩ
ⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲧⲧ]ⲩⲭⲏ ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲣ|ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲁ|ⲱⲛ

Ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲟ ⲁⲣⲓ Ⲡⲉ|ⲱⲧ ⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ ⲁⲣⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ|ⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲉⲱⲱⲥ ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲣ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲱ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲓ Ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲣ
ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲁⲡⲧⲟ ⲭⲁⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲧⲁⲡ|ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲁⲟⲥ ⲁⲣ
Ⲟ]ⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲏⲓ̈ ⲥ|ⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲓ Ⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲭⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣ
ⲛⲉⲥⲕⲏⲛⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲧⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁ̣ⲣ̣
Ⲟⲩ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ̣ⲓ̈ⲱ[ⲧ ⲙ]ⲙⲏⲉ ⲁⲣⲓ Ⲱⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲃⲥⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲁⲣ
ⲧⲉⲙⲉ]ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ̣ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲣ
Ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉ] ⲛⲉⲉ̣ⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲁⲣⲓ Ⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲁ̣ⲣ̣
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲣⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲣ̣
Ⲛⲧⲟ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲓ Ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲃⲓⲭⲱ ⲁⲥⲣ[ⲏ̈] [ⲁⲣ]
ⲧ]ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲥ|ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈[ⲉ] ⲁⲣⲓ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ|ⲏ̈ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ . . . . ⲁ̣ⲣ̣

41 leg. ⲣ̄ⲙⲉⲩⲉ.

The cry of a Virgin to Virginity (παρθενία). Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to Continence (ἐγκράτεια). Amen.
The cry of a Married one to defilement. Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the Judge (κριτής). Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to justification. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to condemnation (κρίσις). Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the path . . . . . Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the . . . . . Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the . . . . . Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the garland. Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the prize (βραβεῖον). Amen.
The cry of a Married one to defeat. Amen.
Glory to this Virgin who is laden with garlands. [Amen.
Victory to her sister also, Continence (ἐγκράτεια) that . . . . .
after her. Amen. Shame to this lover of sin that repents not
while she is in the body (σῶμα). Amen, we sing to thee.
Amen, amen, we make music (ψάλλειν) to thee. Peace be to the soul
of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

O soul, o soul, be mindful of thy Aeons.
O soul, whence art thou? Be . .
Thou art from on high. Be . .
Thou art a stranger to the world (κόσμος), Be . .
a sojourner on the earth for (?) men. Be . .
Thou hast thy houses on high, Be . .
thy tents (σκηνή) of joy. Be . .
Thou hast thy true Father, Be . .
thy true Mother. Be . .
Thou hast thy true brethren; Be . .
thou art a warrior. Be . .
Thou art the sheep Be . .
that wandered in the desert. Be . .
Thy Father seeks thee, Be . .
thy shepherd searches for thee. Be . .
Thou art the vine Be . .
of the five branches (κλάδος), Be . .
which is the food of the Gods, Be . .
the nourishment (τροφή) of the Angels. Be . .
It is the clothing of the Righteous (δίκαιος), Be . .
the robe (στολή) of the holy. Be . .
It is the Intelligence (νοῦς) of the Perfect, Be . .
the Reason of the Believers. Be . .
O soul, lift up thy head, Be . .
in this house which is full of . . . Be . .

. . . . . .] .ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲛⲗⲏⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
ⲦⲰⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ[ⲡⲱⲣ]ⲱⲃⲱ ⲁⲣ[ⲟ] ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲃ̣ⲱⲣⲃ̣ ⲁⲣⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
Ⲥⲉⲃ̣ⲱⲣⲃ̣ ⲁ̣ⲣⲟ ⲧ̣ⲏ̣ⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
ⲛ̄]ⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲃ[ⲉ]ⲣⲉⲃ̣ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
Ⲱ]ⲁ̣ⲩⲃⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ̣ . [. . . .] ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ . . [. .] ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
Ⲱⲁⲩⲟⲩ[ⲱⲃⲡ ⲛ̄]ⲛ̣ⲉⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲍ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉ[ⲩⲍ]ⲱⲗ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲛ̣[ⲟⲩⲉ]ⲗ̣ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
ⲦⲰⲩⲭⲏ [ⲃⲓ ⲭ]ⲱ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲃ[ⲱⲕ] ⲱⲁⲧⲉⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲱ[ⲙ̄ⲙ]ⲱ ⲁⲧⲉⲣⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
. . .] . . . [.] ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
Ⲛⲧⲉ̣ . . . . [. ⲟⲩ]ⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
ⲭⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲱⲁⲛ|ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁ̈ⲟ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
ⲛ̄|ⲏ̄ⲥ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲉ̈ⲛⲁⲣⲟ ⲧⲁⲱⲛⲍ̣ • ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲉ̈ⲛⲁⲣⲟ ⲧⲁⲱⲛⲍ̣
ⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲧⲁⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉⲣⲁⲱⲛⲍ̣
ⲧ ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲃ|ⲭ ⲧⲁⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
ⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲧⲁⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
ⲧ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲧⲁⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲁⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲭⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲃⲱ ⲧⲁⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲁⲣⲱⲍⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲧⲁⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
ⲧ ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲃⲣⲁⲙⲡⲍⲉⲧ ⲧⲁⲧⲩⲭⲏ [ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲁ[ⲛ]|ⲧⲛ̄ⲍ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲱ ⲧⲁⲧⲩⲭⲏ [ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
ⲙⲁ[ⲣ]ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲍ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲧⲩⲭⲏ [ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲥⲉⲭ[ⲟ]ⲩⲭⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲟ ⲧⲁⲧⲩⲭⲏ [ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ

24 leg. ⲙ̄ⲡ⟨ⲉ⟩ⲛⲟⲩⲥ.

. . . . . the demons (δαίμων). Be mindful.
. . . . . the robbers (λῃστής). Be mindful.
O soul, do not forget thyself. Be mindful.
for they are all hunting for thee. Be mindful.
They are all hunting for thee, Be mindful.
even the hunters of death. Be mindful.
They catch the birds Be mindful.
and they . . . . their . . . . Be mindful.
They break (?) their wings Be mindful.
that they may not fly to their dovecotes. Be mindful.
O soul, lift up thy head Be mindful.
and go to thy native land (πατρίς). Be mindful.
Thou art a stranger to thy kin, Be mindful.
. . . . . that is full of joy. Be mindful.
Thou . . . . Light Be mindful.
from everlasting to everlasting. Be mindful.
Glory and honour Be mindful.
to Jesus, the King of the holy ones. Be mindful.
Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρ.) Mary.

What shall I do that I may live? My Saviour, what shall I do that I may live?
Keep thy fasting (νηστεία), my soul, and thou shalt live.
Give rest to thy hands. My soul, and thou.
Clothe thyself in the purity of Truth. My soul, and thou.
Give Love (ἀγάπη) to thy (?) Intelligence (νοῦς). My soul, and thou.
[Give] Faith to thy Reason. My soul, and thou.
[Give] Perfection to thy Thought. My soul, and thou.
[Give] Endurance to thy Counsel. My soul, and thou.
[Give] Wisdom (σοφία) to thy Intention. My soul, and thou.
Give room to the doves, My soul, and thou.
them of the white wings. My soul, and thou.
Let them dwell in you My soul, and thou.
and . . . . before you. My soul, and thou.

22 etc. 'My soul, and thou': repeated as a refrain. — 24 ff. cf. 23, 14—18 n. — 29 ff. cf. 156, 27; 158, 11 f. 'You' is plural.

ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ]ⲕⲁ ⲍⲉⲧⲫⲉ ⲁ̣ⲣ̣[ⲁⲩ] ⲧⲁ☩ⲩⲭ[ⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲍⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛ]ⲟⲩⲱⲡ̄ ⲁⲣⲱ[ⲧⲛ ⲧⲁ☩]ⲩ̣[ⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
non legi potest ⲧⲁ̣☩ⲩ̣ⲭ̣ⲏ̣ [ⲁⲩⲱ
. . . .]ⲧ̣ⲗⲩⲡⲏ [. . . . .] ⲧⲁ☩ⲩ[ⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲱⲣ☩ ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲧⲁ☩ⲩⲭ[ⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲟⲃⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡ|ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲁ ⲧⲁ☩ⲩⲭ[ⲏ] ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲁⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲱ|[ⲣⲉ ⲧⲁ☩ⲩⲭⲏ] ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲭ| ⲥⲃⲱ ⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲟ[ⲧⲁ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [ⲧⲁ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲡⲛⲁⲍ]ⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ [ⲧⲁ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲡⲭ]ⲱⲕ ⲧⲉⲭⲁⲕⲟ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲁ☩ⲩⲭⲏ [ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲧ]ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲁⲣⲱⲍⲏⲧ ⲧⲉⲃⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲧⲁ☩ⲩⲭⲏ̣ [ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲟ]ⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲁ☩ⲩⲭ[ⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲣ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲛⲉⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲧⲁ☩ⲩⲭⲏ [ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲭⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲁ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . . . [. .] ⲧⲁ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲱⲗⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ|ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲧ̣ⲁ☩[ⲩⲭⲏ] ⲁⲩⲱ
Ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲛⲧ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲕ̀ ⲉⲕⲥⲛⲕ̀ ⲁⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ̀
ⲛ̄]ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ • ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲉⲓ̈ⲱⲁⲛⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲱⲃⲉⲧ
Ⲭ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲕ̀ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ̀ • ⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲩ
ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲁⲓ̈]ⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲥⲱⲗⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁ
ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲛ ⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲃⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲍⲏⲧ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩⲍ
ⲁ̣[ⲍⲟⲩⲛ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
ⲦⲦⲭⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲁ]ⲣ̣ⲛⲭⲁⲕ̀ⲟ̄ ⲁ̣ⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲛ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲛ̄ⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲁ̣ⲡⲕ̀ⲣⲟ
] ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲁⲣⲱⲍ]ⲏ̣ⲧ ⲧⲛ̄ⲃⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲍⲁⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ

Set no serpent to [them], My soul, and.
lest they] be scared of you. My soul, and.

l. 3 *illegible.*

. . . sorrow (λύπη) . . . . My soul, and.
Give not room to wrath. My soul, and.
Subdue desire (ἐπιθυμία). My soul, and.
Conquer (δαμάζειν) meddlesomeness. My soul, and.
Do not learn . . . . My soul, and.
Love (ἀγάπη) unto God. My soul, and.
Faith in the Commandment (ἐντολή). My soul, and.
Perfection thou dost perfect. My soul, and.
Endurance thou endurest. My soul, and.
Knowledge to understand. My soul, and.
Keep thy Commandments (ἐντολή). My soul, and.
Perfect thy deeds. My soul, and.
Abide continually . . . . . My soul, and.
for ever and ever. My soul, and.
Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

I loved thee as thou wast drawn to the skies at the time of the joy
of the Angels. My Lord, when I call thou answerest me.
Since I loved thee, I have been beloved; I have loved the things
that are lovable. At the time.
I] loved the Love (ἀγάπη) that changes not, the Church of my
Spirit. At the time.
I found the Faith that loses not its savour, the heart of the Father
that is gathered in. At the time.
Perfection, let] us perfect it, and bring our labour to the shore (?)
At the time.
Endurance], we bear every labour that comes
by it]. At the time.

22 etc. ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ (l. 19) is repeated as a refrain.

. . . . . .] . . . . ⲉⲥ[. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣ[ⲱⲛ
{ⲙ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ}ⲉⲩ
{ⲑ̄ⲃⲥⲱ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲙ}ⲙⲁ̣ⲛ[.]ⲉ{ⲗⲑⲉⲓ} [. . . . . .ⲣ̄ⲫⲟ
{ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ}ⲉⲩ
{ⲁⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ}ⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲁ[ⲛ]ⲟ̣ⲛ ⲫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲧⲏⲛ ⲉ[ⲧⲟ]ⲩ
ⲁⲃⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
{ⲁⲩ}[ⲛ̄] ⲡⲉⲡ[ⲁⲧ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉ{ⲩ ⲥ}ⲱⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
{ⲁⲛ}[ⲟⲛ] ⲧ̣[ⲁⲅⲁⲡ]{ⲏ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲡⲛⲁⲉ̣} ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲡⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ̄
{ⲡⲟⲩⲓⲍ . .} ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
{ⲦⲦⲭⲱ}[. . . . . .] ⲙ̣ⲡⲟ[ⲟ]ⲩⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲕⲏⲃ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ
. . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
. . . . . .]ⲥ ⲡⲏⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛ[ⲥⲏⲧⲏ
. . . . . .]{ⲓⲁ} . . . ⲡⲉ ⲃⲓⲱ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲗⲃ • ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲭ[ⲏⲩ
. . . . .] ⲉⲩⲭⲏⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲛⲥⲁⲍⲛ̣[ⲉ] ⲍⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲛⲓⲥⲱⲥ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲓ[ⲧⲁ]ⲗⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲉⲩⲧⲟ ⲡⲉ[ⲧⲥ]ⲕⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡ̣ⲏ [ⲉⲩⲧⲟ ⲡⲉⲧ]ⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ
ⲁⲩⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲛⲁⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲣⲏⲩ-ⲣⲱ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲛⲁ̄ ⲛ̄
ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲕ̀ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲕⲥⲏⲕ ⲁⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲡⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲣⲁⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁⲍⲧⲏ̈ⲓ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲍⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲍⲧⲏ̈ⲓ ⲁⲛ̣[ⲩⲃ
ⲍⲓⲍⲉⲧ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲙⲟⲩⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲏ̄ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲣⲱ
ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲕⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲗⲡⲓⲟⲛ ⲕⲁⲍⲧⲏⲩ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲕⲕⲁⲍⲧⲏⲩ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲟⲛ ⲍⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ
ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲕⲍⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲗⲡⲓⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲕ
ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲗⲡⲓⲟⲛ ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲕⲣⲉⲱⲉ • ⲉⲩⲁⲙ[ⲟⲩ]ⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̣ⲉ[ⲛ
ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ • ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲟⲩ

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2 etc. Litteras quot inter {. . .} inclusi descripsit Ibscherus antequam perierunt. — 9 ⲡⲟⲩⲓⲍ . . sic Ibscherus: ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ coniicio. — 12 ⲡⲏⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁ]ⲥ: H.T. — 20 leg. ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̈ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲕ̀. leg. ⲡⲛⲉⲩ.

. . . . . and we are silent (?)
. . . . . At the time.
This is the clothing . . . . . wear (? φορεῖν)
it. At the time.
The holy Spirit has come unto us, [we] have found five holy (?)
garments.
He has [brought] the cup of water, he has given it to his Church also.
We have [found] Love (ἀγάπη), we have found mercy, we have found Faith,
we have found . . . . At the time.
The . . . . . today (?), the cold water, the
. . . . . At the time.
. . . . . the new wine, we rejoice, we are drunk with [it.
. . . . . is sweet honey, burning (?) pepper
. . . . . , he being perfect. At the time.
But the provisions of the holy Spirit are these prayers, these songs,
and these psalms (ψαλμός). At the time.
Where is he that hungers for this love (ἀγάπη)? [Where is he that] thirsts
for this wisdom (σοφία)?
They all sought the things of the body (σῶμα): perchance Spirit is not
in them. At the time.
But I loved thee as thou wast drawn to the skies at the time of the
joy of the Angels.
I trusted in thy hope (ἐλπίς), I trusted not in gold
and silver. At the time.
I looked forth in the whole world (κόσμος), I found no harbour
save thy harbour. The time.
I found no trust save thy trust, I found no hope (ἐλπίς)
save thy hope (ἐλπίς). The time.
I found no joy save thy joy, I found no rest save thy
rest. The time.
I found no gladness save thy gladness: may it abide for us
for ever and ever. The time.
Glory [and] victory to the Paraclete, our Lord, our

13 **πιπρε**: 'pepper', vid. Chassinat, Un Papyrus médical copte, pp. 85 ff.

ⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓ]ⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ Ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲁⲱ[ⲱ
ⲡⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲡⲏ ⲓⲏ̄ⲥ ⲉⲕⲛⲏⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲡⲏⲅⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϩ̄
ⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ̀ ⲃⲁⲗⲗ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲁ̣[ⲃⲁⲗ
ⲡⲉⲛⲇⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ [ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓ]ⲁ̣ ⲛ̣ⲧ̣[ⲕ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲃⲇⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲟⲩⲁⲗ[ⲥ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀
ⲧ̣ⲡⲩ́ⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲁ[. . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀
Ⲧⲣⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱ[ⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁ]ⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲃⲣⲁⲙⲡⲍⲉⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ . . . [. . .]ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉ̣
ⲍⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀
Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲏⲱ ⲍⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲓⲱⲁⲙ̄ⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁ̀ⲇⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧ
ⲓⲏ̄ⲥ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧ
ⲭⲏⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀
Ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲕⲁⲗ+
ⲡⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲗⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲃⲁ
ⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀
Ⲧⲣⲉⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲓⲏ̄ⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ
Ⲛⲉ̈ⲉⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲃⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲫⲣⲱⲁ̈ⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁ
ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲕ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ
Ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲕ̀ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲭⲁⲥⲓ ϯⲡⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧ
Ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲱⲁⲫ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲓⲏ̄ⲥ ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀
ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

Ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁ̈ⲓ̈ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲏ̈ⲓ̈ ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲥⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ
ⲙⲁ ⲛⲏ]ⲓ̈ [ⲟ]ⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲥⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲥⲩⲙⲛ[ⲟ]ⲥ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲏⲛ] ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁ̈ⲓ̈

3 ⲡⲏ sic: leg. ⲡⲏⲅⲏ. — 11 fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ [ⲉⲧⲥ]ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉ.

Light], Mani. Salvation and rest be there
to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

Thou art a spring (πηγή), o Jesus, coming from the Aeons, o King.
Thou art a spring (πηγή) of living water,
the mysteries of the Father being revealed to thee.
[Thou art] the apparel (ἔνδυμα) of the Aeons, which is the robe (στολή)
of the Church. Thou.
[Thou art] the staff (ῥάβδος) of the kingdom, [whereon] thou leanest (?). Thou.
[Thou art] the gate (πύλη) of the Land of Light whereby . . . .
The name of the Father is thy glory.
Thou art the flourishing fruit (καρπός) of the unperishing tree.
Thou art the holy dove . . . . . floats
in the skies, Thou.
with the three-branched (-κλάδος) *anēsh* in her mouth. Thou.
Jesus, the Maiden, the Mind (νοῦς), — they are the perfect
Church. Thou.
Good the tree, good the fruit (καρπός), good also the sweet
taste too. Thou.
Fair the commandment (ἐντολή) and the knowledge, Love (ἀγάπη) being
clothed in them. Thou.
This name 'Jesus', — grace (χάρις) surrounds it. Thou.
Blessed is he that shall find thee, fortunate is he that shall
know thee. Thou.
For (γάρ) he that shall know thee shall not taste death. Thou.
But (ἀλλά) he has his rest in life for ever and
ever. Thou.
Glory and honour to Jesus, the King of the holy ones. Thou.
Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

Purify me, my God: give me also power that I may bless,
give me also power that I may bless and utter the hymn (ὕμνος)
of Amen]. Purify me.

6—9 at the beginning of these lines it appears that ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ, 'thou', is to be supplied, just as at 182, 25—28, ⲧ, and at 169, 17. 19. 20, ⲛⲉⲥⲉ, are to be supplied. — 11 ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉ: vid. 193, 30 n. — 13 ⲁⲛϩⲱ: cf. Crum Dict. 12b, s. v. ⲁⲛⲁⲱ 2°. (Cf. hierogl. *ankh*, well known in demotic, meaning a bunch of flowers: vid. Spiegelberg, S.Bay.A.W. 1926, pp. 4—5. H.T.)

Ϩιατεογο πϩγμνος ⲙ̄πϩαμην μαρ[ⲛ̄ογωωβε
ϩⲓⲟγϲαπ ϩαμην τογβaϊ
Ϩαμην πⲓ̈ωτ̀ ϩαμην ϩαμην πωηρε μαρⲛ̄
ο]γωωβε ϩⲓογϲαπ ϩαμην τογβaϊ
Ϩαμην ⲛ̄ωa]μ̄τ̄ ⲛ̄ϲαπ ππⲛ̄a ετογαβε ετϭωλⲡ̄
aβaλ] τογβaϊ
Ϩογ[aβε πⲓωτ ϰ]ογaβε ϰογaβε πωηρε τογβaϊ
Ϩογ[aβε ⲛ̄ωaμ]τ ⲛ̄ϲαπ ππⲛ̄a ετογαβε ετϭωλⲡ̄ aβⲁ[λ
Ϩαμ[ην ϰμην] ⲁaβaλ πνογτε ⲛ̄τμηε ετϩⲛ̄naⲓωn
Ϩαμⲏ[ν ϰμ]ⲏν aβaλ πογaⲓ̈νε ετππ̄ⲓ̈ε ϩⲛ̄νεχηγ
Ϩαμη[ν ϰμ]ην aβaλ τϭαμ ⲙ̄πνογτε ετβⲓ ϩαπτ[ηρⲏ
Ϩαμη[ν ϰ]μην aβaλ τϲοφⲓa ⲙ̄πνογτε ετϭωλⲡ̄
aβaλ τογβaϊ
Ϩαμην ϰμην aβaλ ⲙ̄μηνε ⲙ̄μηνε πεαγ ⲙ̄
πνογτε τογβaϊ
Ϩαμην ϰμην aβaλ ⲙ̄μηνε ⲙ̄μηνε πογρατ ⲙ̄
πνογτε τογβaϊ
Ϩαμην ϰμην aβaλ τεντολη ετϩⲛ̄παϲωμa
Ϩαμην ϰμην aβaλ πϲaγνε ⲙ̄πνογτε ετϩⲛ̄τa
ψγχη τογβaϊ
Ϩαμην ϰμην aβaλ ταγαπη ⲙ̄πνογτε ετϩⲛ̄πa
πνευμa τογβaϊ
Ϩαμην ϰμην aβaλ ⲙ̄μηνε ⲙ̄μηνε ϩⲛ̄πaνογϲ
Ϩαμην ϰμην aβa̸ⲕ ⲙ̄μηνε ⲙ̄μηνε ϩⲛ̄πaμευε
Ϩαμην ϰμην aβaλ ⲙ̄μηνε ⲙ̄μηνε ϩⲛ̄τaϲβω
Ϩαμην ϰμην aβaλ ⲙ̄μηνε ϩⲛ̄πa ϩⲛ̄πaϲaχνε
Ϩαμην ϰμην aβaλ ⲙ̄μηνε ⲙ̄μηνε ϩⲛ̄πaμaϰμeϰ
Ϩⲓϲ πϩγ̈μνος ⲙ̄πϩαμην μαρⲛ̄ογωωβε ϩⲓογϲαπ
ϩαμην τογβaϊ
Ογεαγ ⲙⲛ̄ογταⲓo ⲛ̄ⲓ|ⲏϲ̄ πρ̄ρο ⲛ̄νετογβaϊ̈ [o]γϲωτε
ⲙ]ⲛ̄ογⲙ̄τaν εqaωωπε ⲛ̄τψγχη ⲛ̄ⲧⲙaϰaρⲓa ⲙ̄
μaρⲓa θεονa πωaⲓ̈-χⲙ̄νογτε

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26 ϩⲛ̄πa sic: leg. ⲙ̄μηνε. — 30 ⲛ̄νετογβaϊ̈ sic: leg. ⲛ̄νετογ⟨aβε τογ⟩βaϊ̈.

I will utter the hymn (ὕμνος) of Amen: let [us answer
together, Amen. Purify me.
Amen, the Father; Amen, Amen, the Son; let us
answer together, Amen. Purify me.
Amen thrice, the holy Spirit that makes
revelation. Purify me.
Thou art holy, [o Father; thou] art holy, thou art holy, o Son. Purify me.
Thou art thrice holy, o holy Spirit, that revealest.
Amen, thou endurest, the God of Truth that is in the Aeons.
Amen, thou endurest, the Light that shines forth in the ships.
Amen, thou endurest, the Power of God that supports the Universe.
Amen, thou endurest, the Wisdom (σοφία) of God that makes
revelation. Purify me.
Amen, thou endurest daily, daily, the glory of
God. Purify me.
Amen, thou endurest daily, daily, the joy of
God. Purify me.
Amen, thou endurest, the commandment (ἐντολή) that is in my body (σῶμα).
Amen, thou endurest, the Knowledge of God that is in my
soul. Purify me.
Amen, thou endurest, the Love (ἀγάπη) of God that is in my
Spirit (πνεῦμα). Purify me.
Amen, thou endurest daily, daily, in my Intelligence (νοῦς).
Amen, thou endurest daily, daily, in my Reason.
Amen, thou endurest daily, daily, in my Thought.
Amen, thou endurest daily, [daily], in my Counsel.
Amen, thou endurest daily, daily, in my Intention.
Lo, the hymn (ὕμνος) of Amen: let us answer together,
Amen. Purify me.
Glory and honour to Jesus, the King of the [holy ones]. Purify me.
Salvation
and rest be there to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary, Theona, Pshai, Jmnoute.

23 ff. cf. 23, 14—18 n.

ϯalmoi ḳ[y] hrakleidoy

Mari]sam]mn̄ mari]samm̄n̄ cn̄oywnt̄ mn̄wrṭⲱ
be arai]
Xωl] ṭrm̄ḥ n̄nebel n̄tecn̄oywnt̄ xe anak pe
cas n̄n̄wrtⲱḅe n̄mete arai xe n̄na+ney an
so n̄nai̯wt
M]poyb̄ penoyte n̄xioye kata n̄meye n̄temn̄tkoy
i • n̄npe penoyte moy n̄taq̄rxai̯c n̄[t]ay an[mo]y
Anak en pe pkhpoypoc • ai̯+ ai̯xi pⲱe . . [n̄n̄]oywnẓ
aro • ⲱan+ney ater̄mih mn̄pewne .[. .]. ẓ̣arai̯
T]ẹk pi̯wkme abal n̄mo • n̄tewⲱ̄ⲱe n̄[+lei]toyr
gia ⲱmpe nhi̯ n̄bai̯ⲱine ⲱanior[fanoc etca]p̣me
S]epn̄ n̄m[o] erepayt̀ n̄tebwk ⲱapim[n̄toy]ḥe • ẹ
rab̄n̄toy eycayz azoyn gixn̄pkro n̄p̄i[or]danhc
Appro̅dothc pei̯θe n̄may atroyr̄oyw[ze nt]o̯y
ze n̄ⲱarp̄ • n̄cekw azrhi̯ n̄neyⲱnhy̯ [eta]ybaṇ
rⲱme n̄zhtoy apwnẓ
Xooc aray xe twn maran petn̄can peṭmoyte
arwtn̄ • eyⲱababe tamn̄tcan • xooc aray xe
petn̄caz pe
Eyⲱanamelh atamn̄tcaz • xooc aray xe pe
tn̄xai̯c pe r̄texnh gicbw nim ⲱantēn̄-necay
apⲱwc
E]r̄ⲱanney xe aytwm̄t abal cak cimwn petroc
atoyw • xooc aray xe ar̄pmeey n̄petai̯teoy
ay oytwi̯ nemek
A]rpmeye n̄petai̯xooq̄ oytwi̯ nemek gn̄ptay
n̄n̄xai̯t xe oyn̄thi̯ pe+naxooq̄ • mn̄thi̯ pe+
naxooq̄ aray
Rabbi pacaz +nadiakonh n̄tk̀entolh gn̄poy
rat n̄paght thr̄q̄
Nitsrak n̄paght • nitsinhb n̄nabel • nitsrak
n̄naoyrhte ⲱan+n̄-necay atⲱei̯re
Oyeay n̄mari̯samm̄n̄ xe accwtme capeccaz •
acdia]konh n̄tqeṇtolh gn̄poyrat n̄pecght thr̄q̄
Oyeay mn̄]oybro n̄t+yxh n̄tmakar n̄maria

1 A sup. lin. vid. — 4 xωl : cf. 53, 21. — 36 n̄tmakar sic.

Psalms (ψαλμοί) of the Lord (κ̄ϒ̄) Heracleides.

Mariam, Mariam, know me: do not
touch me].
Stem] the tears of thy eyes and know me that I am thy
master. Only touch me not, for I have not yet seen the
face of my Father.
Thy God was not stolen away, according to (κατά) the thoughts of thy
littleness: thy God did not die, rather he mastered death.
I am not the gardener (κηπουρός): I have given, I have received the
. . . . ., I appeared (?) [not]
to thee, until I saw thy tears and thy grief . . . for (?) me.
Cast this sadness away from thee and do this service (λειτουργία):
be a messenger for me to these wandering orphans (ὀρφανός).
Make haste rejoicing, and go unto the Eleven. Thou
shalt find them gathered together on the bank of the Jordan.
The traitor (προδότης) persuaded (πείθειν) them to be fishermen as they were
at first and to lay down their nets with which they caught
men unto life.
Say to them, 'Arise, let us go, it is your brother that calls
you'. If they scorn my brotherhood, say to them,
'It is your master'.
If they disregard (ἀμελεῖν) my mastership, say to them, 'It
is your Lord'. Use all skill (τέχνη) and advice until thou hast brought
the sheep to the shepherd.
If thou seest that their wits are gone, draw Simon Peter
unto thee; say to him, 'Remember what I uttered
between thee and me.
'Remember what I said between thee and me in the Mount
of Olives: "I have something to say, I have none to whom
to say it".'
Rabbi, my master, I will serve (διακονεῖν) thy commandment (ἐντολή) in the
joy of my whole heart.
I will not give rest to my heart, I will not give sleep to my eyes, I will not
give rest to my feet until I have brought the sheep to the fold.
Glory to Mariam, because she hearkened to her master,
she] served (διακονεῖν) his commandment (ἐντολή) in the joy of her
whole heart.
Glory and] victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρ.) Mary.

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1 Heracleides: vid. 97, 14 n. — 2 ff. cf. Schmidt: Gespräche Jesu, T.U. Bd. xliii (espec. pp. 38 f.). — 5 cf. Joh. 20, 17. — 9 cf. Joh. 20, 15. — 13 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲏⲉ: cf. 192, 21. — 15—17 cf. Mt. 4, 18. 19. — 25 'unto thee': lit. 'to thy bosom'. — 32 ⲛ|-(cf. 188, 13; Hom. 29, 33; 82, 14): negative of 1st. pers. sg. Fut. III. At Hom. 30, 1 read [ⲛ|]ϫⲟⲟⲥ (?). The forms ⲉⲛⲉⲉ|, ⲛ̄ⲛ|-, occur in the Acta Pauli, vid. p. 18 (m). In the sub-Achmîmic S. John the form is ⲛⲁ-, vid. p. xviii b.

ⲁ̈ⲱⲥϧ ⲉ̈ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲥ̅ⲱ̅ⲣ̅ ⲱⲁⲛⲧϧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ[ⲏ̈
Ⲛ̅[ⲧⲁ]ϧⲁⲙⲉⲗⲏ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ ⲉⲛ ⲍⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲧϧⲁ[. . . . . .
ϧⲣ̄ⲁⲛⲉⲭⲉ ⲣⲱ ⲉ . . . ϧ . . ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ ⲱⲱⲥⲙ ⲥⲁⲧ[ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ
ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
Ⲉⲩⲧⲟ ⲡⲃⲣ̄ⲃⲣ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϧⲛⲁⲉ • ⲭⲉ ⲁϧϧⲁⲁⲧ̀ ⲁ̈ⲱⲥϧ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲁ
ⲗⲓⲧⲏ
Ⲉ̈ⲓⲱⲭⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲫⲱⲛⲏ ⲧⲉⲍⲁϧ • ⲍⲓⲉ ⲡⲱⲥ ⲁⲡⲉϧⲛⲁⲉ ⲱⲥϧ
Ⲉ̈ⲓⲱⲭ[ⲉ ⲁ̈]ⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϧⲟⲩ̈ • ϧⲏⲡ̀ ⲛ̄ⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲛ̇
ⲟⲩⲛⲁ[ⲃ]
Ⲱ[. . . . . .]. ⲥ̄ⲙⲙⲉ ⲛⲉϧ ⲡϧⲁⲑⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲣ̄ⲉϧⲇⲓⲕⲉ[ⲓ
ⲙⲙ[ⲁ̈]
ⲁ̈ⲍⲓⲥⲉ [ⲧⲱ]ⲍⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϧ • ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟ
Ⲛⲓⲭ[ⲱ]ⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲙ̄ⲏ̈ⲏ ⲡⲍⲓϧⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲉϧⲧⲙ̄ⲃⲱⲧ̀ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲉ̈ⲓⲱⲭ[ⲉ ⲧⲁⲡ]ⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲏⲩ ⲭⲓⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲉϧⲗⲁⲏ̈ⲕⲟⲛ
Ⲉ̈ⲓⲱⲭ[ⲉ ⲥ]ⲉⲛ̄ ⲥ[ⲫ]ⲁⲗⲙⲁ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ ⲡⲇⲓϧⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲣ̄ⲉⲡⲁⲛⲟⲣⲑⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲁ̈
+ ⲟⲩⲉⲛ[ⲧ]ⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧ̀ [ⲭ]ⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲣⲁⲇⲓϧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈
Ⲙⲁⲣ̄ⲧ̄ ⲁⲡⲉϧⲍⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲱⲭ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲏⲏ̈ ⲛⲉⲙⲏ̈
Ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϧⲛⲁⲉ ⲣⲟⲩⲧⲓϧ ⲛ̄ϥⲃⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲱⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ̀
Ⲉ̈ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲭⲱϧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲡⲇⲩⲛⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈
Ⲧⲉⲗⲁ̈ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲉϧⲧⲛⲍ̀ ⲡⲁⲉⲧⲟⲥ ⲍⲱⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲏ̈ ⲁⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ
+ ⲡⲁⲗⲉⲩϧⲟⲛ ⲍⲓⲱⲱⲧ̀ ⲭⲓⲧ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲇⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡϧ̄ⲓⲱⲧ̀
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥ̅ⲱ̅ⲣ̅ ⲡⲛⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ
ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁϧⲁⲣ· ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲉϧⲁⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲙⲏ̈ⲛⲉ ϧⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲁⲙ
Ϧⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲉϧⲁⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡϧⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲧ̄ ⲁⲭⲱⲛ ⲙ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲥⲁⲣⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲡⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲑⲉⲙⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲙ
Ⲧⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲁⲡϧⲱⲧ • ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϧⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲫ[ⲉ
ⲛⲓⲁ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲧⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥ ⲍⲉⲧ̀ ⲁⲡϧⲱⲧ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϧⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣ[ϧⲣ]ⲁ
ⲧⲓⲁ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ

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2 fin. fort. ⲍⲁⲧϧ̄ⲉ[ϧⲕⲉ. — 5 leg. ⲁⲱϧ̀ ? — 12 leg. ⲁ̈ⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⟨ⲉⲓ⟩[ⲧⲱ]ⲍⲙⲉ. — 13 ⲭⲱⲗ : cf. 53, 21. — 26. 27 ⲙ : scil. ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ.

I have long been calling thee, my Saviour (ⲥⲱⲣ), until thou shouldest
answer [me].
Thou hast disregarded (ἀμελεῖν) me not, or I could not have borne thy . . .
Thou dost bear up (? ἀνέχεσθαι) indeed . . . . my heart has fainted for
mankind.
Where is the boiling of thy mercies, that thou hast suffered me to (?)
be long in my prayer (λιτή)?
If my voice (φωνή) has reached thee, then how (πῶς) has thy mercy tarried?
If [I have] turned to thee a little, thou oughtest to turn to me
much.
. . . . . to thee: o pure one (καθαρός), avenge (ἐκδικεῖν)
me.
I have wearied [of] calling (?) thee: o doorkeeper (θυρωρός), open the door to me.
I will not stem my tears, o powerful one (ἱκανός), unless thou wipe away my sin.
If [my] offering (προσφορά) is pure, receive it into thy λαϊκόν.
If [they] bring disaster (σφάλμα) upon me, o righteous one (δίκαιος),
set me up (ἐπανορθοῦν).
Give a commandment (ἐντολή) concerning me that none may wrong (ἀδικεῖν) me.
Bind me to thy guard because of the thief that is in the house with me.
Let thy mercy be a spark and catch the chaff that is in me.
If I finish my course (ἀγών), o powerful one (δυνατός), crown (στεφανοῦν)
me.
Take me up upon thy wings; o eagle (ἀετός), fly with me to the skies.
Set my white robe (λευκόν) upon me: take me in as a gift (δῶρον) to thy Father.
Glory to my Saviour (ⲥⲱⲣ), the mercy that flows forth from the Father.
Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρ.) Mary.

Call to the builders, saying: Come, build quickly.
Build quickly, ye builders, for the time (καιρός) is ripe (?) upon us.
Lo, we have laid out the foundation: Christ is the θεμέλιος.
He that has gold for the building, — let him build
virginity (παρθενία). Call.
He that has silver for the building, — let him build continence (ἐγκράτεια).
Call.

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13 ϫⲱⲗ: cf. 58, 22 n; 53, 21. — 14 λαϊκόν: a neuter subs., appar. denoting the place into which the offering of a layman (λαϊκός, vid. Sophocles op. cit. s. v.) was received. — 18 ⲱⲛⲁ: vid. 216, 15 n. ⲇⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲱⲛⲁ: cf. 15, 18. — 17 i. e. the element of Darkness in the body. — 26 ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲧ̄: vid. 99, 22 n.

Ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ ⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲕⲕⲱⲧ ⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲉⲓ
. . . . .]. ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲗ̅ⲗ̅ⲡ]ⲱⲣⲕⲱⲧ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲱⲧ̀ . . ⲉⲧⲉⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲱⲭⲥ̀
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲗ̅ⲗ̅]ⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁⲧ ⲣⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲓⲭⲟⲣⲧⲟⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲕⲥⲱ ⲉⲛ̄
ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲗ̅ⲗ̅ⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁⲧ ⲕⲉⲱ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲱⲧ̀ • ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ
ⲉⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲱⲁⲕⲟⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲱ ⲉⲩⲥⲗⲉⲃⲗⲉⲃⲧ̄ • ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲱⲛⲩ
ⲉⲩⲱⲉⲩⲱⲁⲩⲧ̄ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲗ̅ⲗ̅ⲡⲱⲣⲕⲟⲥⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲉⲓⲃⲁⲗ • ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲛ̀ⲧ̀ⲕ̀ ⲉ̀ⲕⲱⲛⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲁⲛⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲗ̅ⲗ̅ⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁⲧ̀ ⲱⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲕⲭⲓ ⲧⲥⲫ[ⲣ]ⲁⲅⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ
ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲗ̅ⲗ̅]ⲡⲱⲣⲭⲓ ⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ ⲉⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲉ ⲃⲱⲡⲉ̀ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏⲓ̈
ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲡⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛⲁ . . . ⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲃ̀ⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲛⲉⲧⲕⲁⲕⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲕⲁⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲉ]ⲱⲟⲡⲉ ⲁⲕⲧⲁⲱⲕ̀ ⲁⲕⲱⲧ̀ • ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲣⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
Ⲉ]ⲕⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̀ • ⲡⲉⲕⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈
ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲩⲃ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲡⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ • ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲍⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲁ ⲙ
ⲗ̅ⲗ̅ⲡⲱ]ⲣⲧⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲍⲓⲛⲏⲃ ⲍⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲱⲧ
Ⲕ]ⲱⲧ̀ ⲡⲉⲕⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲍⲙⲉⲩ • ☩ ⲡⲉⲩⲗⲱⲃⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲭⲁⲕⲟ̄
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲧ]ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲡⲗⲱⲃⲱ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲧ
Ⲟ]ⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲏⲣ ⲭⲛⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲡⲱⲣⲕ̀
ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁ
ⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲍⲁ]ⲙⲏⲛ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲍⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ
ⲥ]ⲁⲡⲍ[ⲁⲙ]ⲏⲛ

27 ⲭⲛⲧⲉ sic.

He that has jewels, — let him build prayers and
. . . . . Call.
Build not anything upon the building . . . . . burn
it. Call.
Build not stubble and grass (χόρτος) and eat and drink in
the name of the Lord. Call.
Build not reeds upon the building and glory
in the name of God. Call.
Thou findest the reed smooth, its inside being wasted
and hollow. Call.
Do not adorn (κοσμεῖν) thyself outwardly and be found wasted
in thy inward parts. Call.
Build not wood upon the building and receive the seal (σφραγίς) of the
cross (σταυρός). Call.
Receive not [the] seal (σφραγίς) outwardly, while the thief seizes all
the houses (?) that are built by night, the day . . . . forth (?).
The night is the time of the body (σῶμα), the day is the going forth.
In those that thou buildest by day shalt thou lodge.
If thou hast set thyself to build, let the measure come first for thee.
If thou buildest with no measure in thy hand, thy building will go up
crooked. Call.
The building is the commandment (ἐντολή), the measure is the
profession (ὁμολογία).
Be not drunk, sleep not, lest thou fall from the building.
Build thy house and give it storeys, roof it and make it
perfect. Call.
The commandment (ἐντολή) is the knowledge, the roof is the love (ἀγάπη)
of the Father.
Glory and honour to my Saviour ($\overline{\text{σηρ}}$), the foundation (?) ineradicable.
Peace and life be there to the soul of the
blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

Amen, the Father, Amen, the Son: let us answer
to the Amen.

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9 i. e. smooth and comely outside but inside etc. — 10 ⲱⲉⲩⲱⲁⲩⲧ: qual. of ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ, 'to hollow', Crum Dict. 612a. — 19. 20 ⲙⲁϩⲉ: 'measuring-rod', cf. ⲙⲁϩⲉ 'cubit', Crum op. cit. 210b. — 24 ⲟⲩⲁϩⲙⲉⲩ: cf. ⲟⲩⲁϩⲙⲉ, 'storey', Crum op. cit. 510b.

ⲅⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲅⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲅⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃ[ⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲱⲗⲡ̄
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲅⲁⲙⲏⲛ
ⲅⲁⲙⲏⲛ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ [ⲧⲏ
ⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄
Ⲕⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲕⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲛ • ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲉ̄ ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗ ⲕⲁⲃⲱ̣[ⲗ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲉⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄
Ⲕⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲕⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲕⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲉⲕⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲱϫⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ
Ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲅⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲱⲛ̣
ⲅⲁⲙⲏ[ⲛ ⲛⲉϫ]ⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧⲙ̄ • ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲉⲛⲱⲱⲛ ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲣⲱ
Ⲅ]ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲧⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲅⲁⲗⲃ ⲉⲧ+ ⲅⲗⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲡ[ⲣⲏ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲅⲱⲧⲡ̄ • ⲡⲭⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲛⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲡ[ⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲁⲅⲁ̈ⲓⲡⲉ • ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲃⲱϫⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ̣
ⲁⲛⲏⲅⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄
ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲡⲅⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ[ⲧ̄ⲩ
ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ϫⲁ̈ⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ • ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲅⲛ̄ⲧⲩ̄ⲙⲛ̄
ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄
ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲡ[ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧϫ[ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲅⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲁ[ⲱⲛ
ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲡ[ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲁⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲅⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧ[ⲉ
ⲁⲙⲏⲛ +ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲉⲧ+ ϫ[ⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟ[ⲭⲉ[ⲱⲛ
ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲧⲥⲟⲫ[ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧ+ ⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄+ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ
ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲡ[ⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧ̀ⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁ
ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲡ[ⲱⲏⲣ ⲙⲉⲣ[ⲓ̀ⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣⲁ̣ⲛ
ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲡ[ⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲍⲗⲃⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲅⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲅⲁⲡ[ⲏ
ⲁⲙⲏⲛ +ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲏⲧ̀ ⲉⲧ+ ⲁⲣⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ
Ⲡⲡ[ⲱⲧ̀ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ • ⲧⲉ̈ⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥ[ⲁ
ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄
Ⲉ[ⲱⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲅⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲛ
Ⲱ ϯαλμωδοc ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲡⲅⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩϯⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲩ . . . ⲙⲉ . . . . . .
Ⲧⲇⲱⲇⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ • ⲁⲩ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲡ[ⲅⲁⲙⲏ[ⲛ
ⲗⲁ[ⲣ]ⲁⲛ ⲁⲡⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϫⲁ[ⲓ̀ⲧ̀ ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲕ ⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲅⲁ
ⲙⲏⲛ

28 ϯαλμωδοc sic.

Amen, Amen, Amen, the holy Spirit, [that makes revelation:
let us answer to the Amen.
Amen, ... thou the Father of all the
Lights. Let us.
Thou endurest, thou shalt endure also; the universe shall pass away, but
thou shalt not pass away. Let us.
Thou art, thou art, thou art: thy years shall not fail.
Holy, holy, holy to thee, o Amen, King of the Aeons.
Amen, pleasant ships, that will bring us to our harbour.
Amen, sweet dew, that gives sweetness to all fruits (καρπός).
Amen, sun that goes not down, lord of all places of rising.
Amen, moon that fills the measure, yet never
wanes. Let us.
Amen, perfect day, wherein there is no night.
Amen, king that wears the crown, that endures in his
kingdom. Let us.
Amen, holy God, that is garlanded in his Aeons.
Amen, Light on high, that shines forth in his beloved ones.
Amen, strong power, that gives strength to the elements (στοιχεῖον).
Amen, true Wisdom (σοφία), that teaches souls.
Amen, holy Spirit, that gives life also to Spirits.
Amen, beloved Son, that gave himself to death for us (?).
Amen, gentle Father, that embraces us in his Love (ἀγάπη).
Amen, merciful Mother, that gives her milk to us.
The Father, the Son, the holy Spirit, — this is the perfect
Church. Let us.
When I utter Amen the doors of the skies open.
O psalmist (ψαλμῳδός) of the sky, Amen, to whom they make music (ψάλλειν).
They that embrace . . . . . .
The dozen (δωδεκάς) of Apostles were a garland to Amen.
Let us go to the Mount of Olives that I may tell thee of the glory of Amen.

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5 ϭωλ: vid. 70, 11 n. — 12 ⲙⲁⲥⲁⲗⲓⲧⲉ: cf. 41, 25 n. — 30 i. e. encircled him, vid. von Lemm, Cyprian von Antiochien, 71, 6 ff.

Tdwdekac ⲛ̄apostoloc · aroyklam ap|zamhn
Apzamhn oywwbe ney aytеoyo ⲛ̄neqma|ze
ⲁⲣⲁϥ
Amhn ayбwпe ⲙ̄maï · amhn an ⲙ̄poyбwпe ⲙ̄maï
Amhn aykp|ne ⲙ̄maï · amhn an ⲙ̄poykp|ne ⲙ̄maï
Amhn ayctayре ⲙ̄maï · amhn an ⲙ̄poyctayре ⲙ̄maï
Amhn ayxwte ⲙ̄maï · amhn an ⲙ̄poyxwte ⲙ̄maï
Amhn ⲁ̈ⲯwп ⲙ̄kaz · amhn an ⲙ̄p|ⲯwп ⲙ̄kaz
Amhn +zⲛ̄paï̈wt · amhn an paï̈wt ⲛ̄zht
Koywⲱ пxwk ⲇe ⲙ̄pzamhn aï̈cwBe ⲙ̄pto
ⲙ̄poyⲱcwBe ⲙ̄maï
Amhn amhn amhn amhn an пnoyte ⲛ̄qtoyzo
Oyeay мⲛ̄oytaï̈o ⲙ̄pzamhn п|wt ⲛ̄tmⲛ̄tnaб
Oycmoy мⲛ̄oytoyBo ⲛ̄|hc пⲱhре ⲙ̄pzamhn
Oyбro ⲙ̄ppna etoyaBe etaqtceBan ap|zamhn
мⲛ̄neqcwtⲡ̄ etoyaBe · oymatnec ecaⲱwпe
ⲛ̄t+yxh ⲛ̄tmakapia maria ⲑeona

Neoyⲛ̄ mhte ⲙ̄parⲑenoc eyraï̈c appaxeleet
Neoyⲛ̄ +e ⲛ̄caBh neoyⲛ̄ +e ⲛ̄ceбh · neoyⲛ̄ m
At+e ⲛ̄ceбh Bwk aretⲏ ⲛ̄t+e ⲛ̄caBh neoymⲛ̄
Ala nen oykoï̈ ⲛ̄nhz anⲛ̄lampac xe ayxene
ⲯante пⲛ̄xaï̈c oywtBe azoyn neoymⲛ̄
Zay ⲛ̄nan ⲛ̄nan ⲛ̄nan mare пwn-zwn rw
ⲯe aran neoymⲛ̄t
Bwk atagora tetⲛ̄ⲯap nhz anetⲛ̄lampac
Zwc aryBwk ayei appaxeleet' oywtBe azoyn
A]yei aytwzme azoyn ⲙ̄pe ppaxeleet [e]oyen
ⲙ̄pro neoymⲛ̄t
Zaq Bwk maⲯe nhtⲛ̄ +cayne ⲙ̄mwtne en
Tparen atetⲛ̄x|tⲏ · nazBhye zwB ⲙ̄petⲛ̄e|toy

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20 etc. neoymⲛ̄, neoymⲛ̄t sic. — 29 maⲯe sic. — 30 zwB sic.

The Dozen (δωδεκάς) of Apostles were a garland to Amen.
Amen answered them, he told them of his
wonders.
Amen, I was seized; Amen again, I was not seized.
Amen, I was judged (κρίνειν); Amen again, I was not judged (κρίνειν).
Amen, I was crucified (σταυροῦν); Amen again, I was not crucified (σταυροῦν).
Amen, I was pierced; Amen again, I was not pierced.
Amen, I suffered; Amen again, I did not suffer.
Amen, I am in my Father; Amen again, my Father is in me.
But (δέ) thou desirest the fulfilment of Amen: I mocked the world,
they could not mock me.
Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen again, the four-faced God.
Glory and honour to Amen, the Father of Greatness.
Blessing and holiness to Jesus, the son of Amen.
Victory to the holy Spirit that has taught us of Amen,
and to his holy Elect. Peace be
to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

There were ten virgins, watching for the Bridegroom.
There were five wise, there were five foolish. There were.
The five foolish went to the five wise. There were.
'Give us a little oil for our lamps (λαμπάς), for they have gone out,
until our Lord passes in.' There were.
They said (?), 'No, no, no; our own does not suf-
fice for us. There were.
'Go to the market-place (ἀγορά) and buy oil for your lamps (λαμπάς).'
So (ὡς) they went and came, the Bridegroom passed in.
They came, they knocked; the Bridegroom did not open
the door. There were.
He said (?), 'Go, away with you: I do not know you.
'You received my name, but you did not do my works.

1 vid. 190, 30 n. — 12 cf. Migne P.G. I. 1461 τὸν τετραπρόσωπον πατέρα τοῦ μεγέθους. — 18 ff. cf. Mt. 25, 1 ff. — 23 ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛ: 'no', = sahidic ⲛ̄ⲛⲟ (?), vid. Rahlfs, Ä.Z. 43, pp. 151 f. — 23 ϩⲁⲩ 29 ϩⲁϥ: the context suggests that these are respectively the 3rd. plur. and 3rd. sing. of some (prob. archaic and limited in its use, like inquam and ait in Latin) verb meaning 'say'. But there seems to be no other evidence, except perhaps Hom. 64, 6. — 30 cf. Mt. 7, 21—23.

Touïothne abal ⲙ̄maï n̄erⲅathc n̄tanomia
Nisallaï nanickim nikouï n̄aloy netϯ cbw ney
Natϯcoe n̄rampe netϯcbw n̄natϯce n̄rampe
Ouwne ⲙ̄margarithc pe ihc ⲥn̄pevaggelion
Ouscn̄te n̄atnaïne arac pe petroc paпostolos
Ounouc eⲧ[na]ⲱⲧ ⲥn̄ouhp pe andreac pisⲁⲧⲣⲉ
Ouxaï ⲛⲁⲧⲣ̄ⲙⲁⲩ pe iwannhc pi|parθenoc
Oucaⲛ ⲣ̄ⲥⲁⲧ ⲥn̄ouhp pe iakkwboc peⲧkecan
ayw n̄taⲧmoy ⲥapbasⲁ n̄pwne
Ousarⲱⲥⲏⲧ pe filippoc eⲧⲥn̄txwra n̄n̄oy
amrwme neoy
Ttmeïne n̄tamerismeia pe psalo n̄barθo
ma|oc emaⲩbi paⲓk ⲙ̄pⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̀ⲉⲙⲉⲩ
Ouecay eⲧ . . ⲧhl ⲱapooy pe c|mwn pkanani
Ouewⲱt n̄preⲩbnⲥhy pe θwmac ⲥn̄txwra ⲙ̄
psn̄toy neoy
Oumaθhtnc n̄cⲧmht pe alfa|oc pi|rⲙ̄rewe
Ourecϯ nouⲧe n̄ⲱtouht pe ïoudac pi|maⲥⲁⲙⲧ
Ousah naⲩre ⲥwⲱⲩ pe matθa|oc pi|telwnhc
Ttkalab|n ⲙ̄pnomoc pe paulos paпostolos
Ousauⲱne te mari|ⲥamⲁ ecbwrb apkemn̄toy
ne etsarme neouⲛ̄
Ourecⲱⲙⲙⲱe ecrauⲧ te marθa teckai|cwne
ⲥn̄ecay n̄ctmht ne calwmh mn̄arcenoh
Ourecⲩkataфronh ⲙ̄pⲥwma pe θekla ϯmaïnouⲧe
Ourecϯⲱ|pe n̄фay te maⲭimilla ϯpistoc
Ourecxⲓⲱ|ne aⲧnaⲩre te |фi|damac teckai|cw
ne [c]ⲱⲧekaⲧ anⲓⲱⲧekwoy
Ousaïx ecⲥn̄paгwn te ari|stoboula ϯⲥarⲱⲥht
Ourecϯoraïne n̄бe te eⲩboula ϯeugenhc ec
cwk ⲙ̄pⲥht ⲙ̄pⲥhgemwn
Ous . . . ⲙ̄maïsaⲥ te aroⲩsianh ϯmaïnouⲧe echl

12. 13 leg. barθo⟨lo⟩ma|oc. — 6 eⲩnaⲱⲧ = ἀνδρεῖος? — 17 fin. fort. pkⲙ̄rewe. — 27 leg. |фi|dama. — 32 init. fort. ouⲥaⲃh.

'Depart far from me, you workers (ἐργάτης) of iniquity (ἀνομία).'
The grey-haired old men, — the little children instruct them.
They that are six years old instruct them that are sixty years old.
A pearl-stone (-μαργαρίτης) is Jesus in the Gospel (εὐαγγέλιον).
An unshakeable foundation is Peter the Apostle.
A mind (νοῦς) strong (?) in how much is Andrew the twin (?).
A ship (?) . . . . is John the Virgin.
A brother . . . . in (?) how much is James, his brother also,
and he died beneath the storm of stone.
An enduring one is Philip, he being in the land (χώρα) of the
Anthropophagi. There were.
The sign of freedom from care (ἀμεριμνία) is the old Bartholomew,
for he does not take the bread of the day with him.
A sheep . . .-ing up to this day is Simon the Cananite.
A merchant that finds gain is Thomas in the land (χώρα) of
India. There were.
An obedient disciple (μαθητής) is Alphaeus, the gentle (?).
An accuser of God is Judas, the lover of money.
But a good end is Matthew the tax-gatherer (τελώνης).
The axe of the Law (νόμος) is Paul the Apostle.
A net-caster is Mariam, hunting for the eleven others
that were wandering. There were.
A joyous servant is Martha her sister also.
Obedient sheep are Salome and Arsenoe.
A despiser (-καταφρονεῖν) of the body (σῶμα) is Thecla, the lover of God.
A shamer of the serpent is Maximilla the faithful (πιστός).
A receiver of good news is Iphidama her sister also,
imprisoned (?) in the prisons.
A champion in the fight (ἀγών) is Aristobula the enduring one.
A giver of Light to others (?) is Eubula the noble woman (εὐγενής),
drawing the heart of the prefect (ἡγεμών).
A . . . . that loves [her] master is Drusiane, the lover of God, shut

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1 cf. Mt. 7, 23; Lk. 13, 27. — 4 cf. Mt. 13, 45. 46. — 9 cf. 142, 25. 26. — 12. 13 cf. Budge, Coptic Apocrypha, p. 227. — 15 vid. Acta Thomae, ed. Bonnet, passim. — 18 ϣⲧⲟⲩⲏⲧ (cf. 195, 25): vid. Crum Dict. 598 b. — 21. 22 vid. 187, 2 n. For ⲍⲁⲩϣⲛⲉ vid. Crum op. cit. 734 b. — 25 cf. 143, 4 ff. — 26. 29 cf. 143, 13 n. — 27 vid. Lipsius-Bonnet op. cit. II 1 39, 3. — 28 [c]ϣⲧⲉⲕⲁⲧ: I know no other example of ϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ used as a verb. — 30 vid. Schmidt, Πράξεις Παύλου, 1936. — 32 vid. 143, 12 n.

ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲥⲱⲓⲛ[ⲉ] ⲥⲁⲡⲥⲁ[ⲡⲟ]ⲥⲧⲟⲗ[ⲟ]ⲥ
. . . . . .]ⲉ ⲙⲁ.ⲉ ⲉⲁⲩⲃⲛⲧⲥ̀ ⲧⲉ ⲙⲩⲅⲁⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ
ⲙ̄]ⲡⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ
Ⲟⲩ]ⲧⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲥⲓ[ⲧ ⲉⲩ]ⲛⲓⲫⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲛ̄ⲭⲥ
ϫⲉⲛⲁⲃⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲥⲱⲧ̀ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲁⲛ]ⲁⲛ ⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ϯ ⲛⲏⲥ ⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲛⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ
ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ
Ⲗⲡⲱⲣⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲟⲩⲱ
ⲧⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲥⲓⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲟ̄ⲁⲡⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲁⲉ
ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲓⲭ ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲥⲓⲥⲟⲩⲛ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ̀ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲛ̄ ⲥⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲥⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ

Ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲡⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ϯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ
ⲁⲙⲏⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ
Ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁⲙⲏⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
Ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲧⲉⲧⲥⲓⲣⲛ̄ⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ̀
Ⲧⲉⲥⲓⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲭⲓ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲱⲛϩ̀
Ⲧⲧ]ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲡⲁⲡ|ⲣⲏ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧϩⲱⲧⲡ̄
Ⲧⲧ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̀ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡ|ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ
Ⲧ]ⲡⲏⲅⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲗⲃ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲓ ⲃⲁⲃⲥ ⲁⲡⲱⲛϩ
Ⲧ]ⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲧⲁⲡ|ⲏⲣⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀
Ⲧⲱⲗϩ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲡⲱⲣⲁ
Ⲧⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϩ̀
Ⲧⲡⲁϫⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
Ⲧⲱⲱⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲥⲓⲡϫⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
Ⲁⲩϫⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲏⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲩϫⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϯⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲣⲉⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛϥ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲙ ⲙⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲛ̄ⲧϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲧⲙ̄ⲧⲱⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
Ⲁⲩⲣⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲥⲓⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ

1 cf. 143, 12. — 11 leg. ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ. — 18 ⲧⲉⲥⲓⲏ sic. — 27 leg. ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲣⲉⲩϫⲓ.

up for fourteen] days, questioning her Apostle.
. . . . . who was found is Mygdonia in the land (χώρα)
of] India.
A] north wind blowing upon us is our Lord Mani,
that we may put out with him and sail to the Land of Light.
Let us also, my brethren, put oil in our lamps (λαμπάς)
until our Lord passes in.
Let us not slumber and sleep until our Lord takes
us across, his garland upon his head, his palm
in his hand, wearing the robe (στολή) of his glory, and we go within
the bride-chamber and reign with him, all of us together,
and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary. Amen. There were.

The Son of the living God, the physician of souls,
come, sing to him, the Saviour (σωτήρ) of Spirits (πνεῦμα).
The Father who is in the Son, the Son who is in
the Father. Come.
The tower of the kingdom that is over the treasure (χρῆμα) of the Father.
The straight way that leads in to life.
The] perfect day of Light, that of the sun that does not set.
The] holy bread of life that is come from the skies.
The] sweet spring (πηγή) of water that leaps unto life.
The] true vine, that of the living wine.
The joyous branch of the tree, that is laden with fruit (ὀπώρα).
The new plant of God, that of the fruits (καρπός) of life.
The joyous bridegroom of his Church.
The shepherd of the sheep that wanders in the desert of this world (κόσμος).
He passed the powers (ἀρχή) by taking their likeness.
He mocked the principalities (ἐξουσία) by likening himself to them.
The powers and the dominions, — he darkened them all.
He did these things on high, floating (?) in the skies.

1 cf. 143, 12. — 5 ϭωογ: cf. 76, 30. — 21 ⲃⲓ ⲃⲁϭⲥ: vid. Crum Dict. 627 b. — 29 vid. Crum op. cit. 724 b. — 30 ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉ (cf. 195, 11. 12): qual of ⲟⲩⲱⲗⲉ (used reflexively 103, 27; 212, 8) = ? 'float' (frequent in demotic of ships on the water: H.T.).

ⲁⲩ .[.]. . . . [ⲉⲓ]ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲥⲁ]ⲣ̈ⲝ ⲡⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ[. . . . . .
ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲣ̈ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄
ⲁⲩⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲑ̈[ⲁ]ⲟⲩⲁⲛ
ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲑⲟⲩⲓ̈[ⲧⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ̄ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲉⲥ[ⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓⲁ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ̣
ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲛⲕⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲉⲩⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓ̣[ⲁ|ⲧⲏⲥ
ⲁⲩⲃ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ̄ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
ⲁⲩⲃ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲁⲩⲃ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲧⲥⲣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛ|ⲁ
Ϊⲁⲕⲕⲱⲃ[ⲟⲥ] ⲁⲩⲃⲛⲧⲟ̄ ⲧⲡⲏⲅⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫ|ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ
ⲁⲩⲃ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲫ|ⲗ|ⲡⲡⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲱⲥⲏⲧ
ⲁⲩⲃⲛ ⲃⲁⲣⲑⲟⲗⲟⲙⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ
ⲁⲩⲃ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁ|ⲑⲱⲙⲁⲥ ⲡⲥ+ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲥⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲟⲩ
ⲦⲦⲕⲁ[ⲓ]ⲓ̈ⲁⲕⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲃⲛⲧⲟ̄ ⲡⲥⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ
Ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲁⲛ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲃⲛⲧⲟ̄ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲥ ⲁⲡⲱⲛⲥ
ⲁⲩⲃ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲗⲉⲩ|ⲥ ⲡⲟⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ
ⲁⲩ+ ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲡⲕⲁ|ⲓⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲛⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲛⲱ̄ ⲁⲡⲱⲥⲉ ⲁⲩ+ ⲧⲉⲗⲱ ⲁⲥⲏⲧⲟ̄
ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲥⲁⲙⲙⲏ ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫ|ⲁ
ⲁⲩ+ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲑⲁ ⲡⲛ|ⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲇ|ⲁⲕⲣⲓⲥ|ⲥ
ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲗⲱⲙⲏ • ⲧⲭⲁⲣ|ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ +ⲣⲏⲛⲏ
ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲁⲣⲥⲉⲛⲟⲏ • ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲁⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ
ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲗ ⲑⲓⲉⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲏⲙ • ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲛⲉⲥⲙⲁⲣⲅⲁⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ
ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲉ
ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲃⲉⲗ ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲗⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ|ⲥⲉ
ⲁⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ
ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲗⲍ̄ • ⲍⲛ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄
ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲧ ⲡⲟ̄ⲣⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲍ̣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ
ⲁⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲣⲁⲩ • ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲧⲟ|ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ
ⲁⲡⲩⲱⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲥⲁⲩ • ⲙⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
Ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛ̄
Ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲙ|ⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲍ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲍ|ⲭⲱⲟⲩ

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1 fin. ⲛ̄[ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ] coniicio. — 5 ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ sic: leg. ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ? — 28 leg. ⲡⲟ̄ⲩ⟨ⲃ⟩ⲣⲉ?

He did . . . . . likeness (?) of the flesh (σάρξ), the vesture (σχῆμα) of . . .
God became man (?), he went about in all the world.
He received a man's likeness, a slave's vesture (σχῆμα).
He chose his disciples (μαθητής), the beginning of his fold.
He traversed Judea, looking for stones daily.
He went to the shores of the sea (θάλασσα), seeking pearls (μαργαρίτης).
First he found Peter, the foundation of his Church.
He found Andrew, the first holy statue.
He found John, the flower of virginity (παρθενία).
James he found, the spring (πηγή) of the new wisdom (σοφία).
He found Philip, who is great in endurance.
He found Bartholomew, the rose of Love (ἀγάπη).
He found the other Thomas, the sweet smell that went to India.
The other James he found, the true brother of the Lord.
Simon the Cananite he found, full of zeal for life.
He found Levi, the throne (θρόνος) of faith.
He gave the fragment (κλάσμα) to Judas, he took even the little Light.
He kept the wolf from the fold, he set the trap on him.
He chose Mariam, the Spirit of wisdom (σοφία).
He gave life to Martha, the breath of discretion (διάκρισις).
He summoned Salome, the grace (χάρις) of peace (εἰρήνη).
He called Arsenoe, he set her in the garland of Truth.
He despoiled Jerusalem, he took her pearls (μαργαρίτης).
He revived the dead from the death of their sins.
He opened the eyes that were closed at the time of the man born blind.
He caused the ears of the unhearing soul to hear.
He planted his shoots in the field of his Elect.
He sowed the seed in the soil of his men of knowledge.
The voice of his cry went to the world (οἰκουμένη).
His sheepfold filled the corners of the world (κόσμος).
The kings that heard put their crowns down.
The first-born of the earth cast their garlands from them.

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7 ff. cf. Lk. 6, 14 ff. — 7. 8. 21 Instances of paronomasia, as also 192, 5. 19 (?) τέλος–τελώνης. — 17 (a) cf. Joh. 13, 26; (b) i. e. took away what little light Judas had. — 31 cf. Rev. 4, 10.

Ⲛ̀ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁ]ⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲏⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲟ̄
. . .]ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̀ⲥ . . . ⲍ . ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲥⲉ
.]ⲁⲛⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲫ[. . . ⲙ]ⲙⲏⲉ • ⲁⲩⲛⲁϫⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲁⲩ]ⲡⲱⲧ
Ⲛ]ⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲟⲩⲙ ⲁⲩⲗⲟ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲩ
. .] . ⲥ]ⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲩ . . . ⲛ̄ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ
Ⲛⲉ]ⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲧⲥⲱ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲃⲙⲉ ⲥⲁⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ
Ⲛ]ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁ̈ⲓⲉ • ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲃⲱⲥⲧ̄ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀
Ⲁⲩ]ⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ • ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲙⲉ
Ⲁⲩ]ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲛⲥⲓⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲕⲉ̈ⲓⲧ̀ • ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲁ̈ⲓⲕ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲟ]ⲟⲧⲟⲩ
Ⲁ]ⲩⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲃⲓ ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲥⲟⲩ
Ⲙ]ⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲥⲉⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲥⲁⲙⲧ̀ • ⲉⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲙⲁⲥⲉ
Ⲁ]ⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲫⲙⲉ • ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲛ
Ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲟ̄ • ⲁⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲫⲣⲉⲛ •
Ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲉⲥⲧⲱⲟⲩ • ⲁⲩⲛⲁϫⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲗⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲉ
Ⲁⲩⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩϫⲁϫⲉ • ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩⲱ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲥⲣⲉⲩ • ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲁⲓⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲙⲙⲁⲛⲧⲥⲉⲡ̀ • ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ
Ⲁⲩⲧⲁϫⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ • ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲫ ⲉⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ
Ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲁⲡⲍⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲃⲉ • ⲁⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲡⲉⲫⲥⲉϫⲉ
Ⲁ]ⲩⲃⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ • ⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲡⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ
Ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲗⲁⲩ ⲁⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ • ⲁⲫⲧⲕ̀ⲃⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲓⲱⲧⲉ
Ⲁⲩⲉⲱⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ • ⲁⲫⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ
Ⲁⲡⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲛⲏⲩ
Ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲣⲱ̄ ⲁⲡⲡⲣⲟⲇⲟ́ⲧⲏⲥ • ⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲥⲉⲧ̀ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲫ
Ⲁⲫⲧⲉⲉⲫ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲧⲟⲩⲏⲧ̀ ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲩⲉ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ
Ⲁⲩⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩ • ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
Ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲫ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲫⲧⲥⲉⲡ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲫ
Ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲥⲛⲁⲫ ⲉⲧⲃⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ
Ⲁⲩⲉⲱⲧⲫ̄ ⲁⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲥⲟⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ

3 leg. ⲛ̄ⲕⲥ[ⲟⲩⲣ ⲙ]ⲙⲏⲉ: H.T. — 10 leg. ⲉⲩⲁⲃⲉ.

The rich ones of the earth became poor for his sake.
. . . . gold and the . . . . . behind them, they went their way.
. . . . stone, the true . . ., they cast them away, they ran.
The possessors of fields and orchards left them, they wasted.
. . women and the children, they . . . . ., they went, they left them.
They that rejoice (?), that eat and drink, — they withered through fasting (νηστεία).
They that glory in their beauty gladly let it decay.
They] took up the cross (σταυρός) upon them, they went from village to village.
They] went into the roads hungry, with no bread in their hands.
They walked in the heat (καῦμα) thirsting, they took no water to drink.
No gold, no silver, no money, did they take with them on their way.
They went into the villages, not knowing anybody.
They were welcomed for his sake, they were loved for his name's sake.
Some hated them and cast them out because of him.
They prayed for their enemies, they blessed them that curse them.
They were struck in the face, they turned their other cheek.
They were delivered to the courts, they laughed at the judges (κριτής).
They were condemned to death, they bore it rejoicing.
They were exposed to hunger and thirst, they lived on his word.
They were stripped of their bodies (σῶμα), they set his light upon them.
They were made to go up on the fire, he made them cool with his dews.
They were hanged to the cross (σταυρός), he took them to Paradise (παράδεισος).
Envy (φθόνος) filled the scribes (-νόμος), they rose against the shepherd.
They persuaded the traitor (προδότης), they gave silver for Him.
He accused him before them, they thinking that he is a man.
They judged (κρίνειν) him among them, in the midst of them all.
They delivered him to the judge, sin was not found in him.
They brought his death upon themselves and his victorious blood.
They hanged him to the cross (σταυρός) at the sixth hour of the day.

7 lit. 'left it to the decay'. Bωcτ: here a verbal noun, otherwise known only as a verb, vid. Crum Dict. 45 a; 648 b. — 8 cf. Mt. 16, 24 etc. — 15 cf. Mt. 5, 44. — 16 cf. Mt. 5, 40. — 25 lit. 'he delivered him to them accused', cf. 192, 18. — 29 cf. Joh. 19, 14 etc.

ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲍⲁⲧⲃⲉⲕ ⲁⲩⲉⲉⲕ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣ̣ [
ⲁⲩⲧ ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲭⲱⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲑⲃⲏⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲣⲁⲓ̈
ⲁⲩⲧ ⲟⲩⲭⲗ[ⲁ]ⲙⲩⲥ ⲁⲭⲱⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲁ[ⲱ] ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥ[ⲓⲁ
ⲁⲩⲧ ⲟⲩⲍⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲏ[ⲟ]ⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩ[ⲟⲩ]ⲱⲥⲕ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩ[ⲙⲓⲁ
ⲁⲩⲧ ⲟⲩⲕⲉⲱ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̄ • ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲍⲉⲓ̈ ⲍⲁⲛⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲉ
ⲁⲩⲧⲥⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲍⲙ̄ⲭ [ⲍⲓ]ⲱⲉⲗ • ⲁⲡⲙ̣ⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲍⲏⲃⲉ
ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲧⲕ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲉⲣⲏⲍ • ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲡⲟⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ
ⲁⲡⲣⲏ ⲥⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ • ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲑⲁⲗⲗⲓⲁ
ⲁⲩⲱⲃⲧⲕ̄ [ⲁ]ⲛ|ⲣⲉⲩⲍⲱⲧⲃⲉ • ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲡⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲟⲩⲙⲏ[ⲧ
ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲛⲍ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ • ⲍⲛ̄ⲑⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲁⲏⲣ • ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ
ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲣⲱⲣ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲉ • ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁ|ⲟⲩⲏⲗⲟ[ⲛ
ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲗⲃ̣ⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲛⲉ • ⲉⲩⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲩⲇⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ̣
ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲙ ⲍ|ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃ|ⲛⲧⲱⲛⲉ
Ⲛⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲭⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃⲡⲟⲩ
ⲁⲩⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡ|ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ
ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥⲁⲗⲡ|ⲓⲅ̀ⲝ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲧⲉⲃⲧⲉ
ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲫⲟⲥⲥⲁⲧⲟⲛ
ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ|ⲭⲙⲁⲗⲱⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ
ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲛ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ
ⲗ̅ⲗ̅ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲛ ⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲍ|ⲥⲛⲁⲩ • ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲩ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ
ⲗ̅ⲗ̅ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲛ ⲕⲉⲥ ⲍ|ⲙⲟⲩⲧ̀ • ⲛⲉⲧⲩ̄ⲍⲁⲱⲍⲱ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ
ⲗ̅ⲗ̅ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ • ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲍⲏⲇⲟⲛⲏ
Ⲟⲩⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲛⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡ|ⲟⲛ
ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲍⲏⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ|ⲙⲉ ⲍⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲍⲉⲗ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲱⲡⲉ
ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲍⲁⲡⲟⲩⲱ|ⲡⲉ ⲁ̣[ⲩ]ⲉ| ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲩⲃⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ
ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲍⲱ • ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲁⲫⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲁ|ⲟⲛ
ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲟ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲭ|ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲱⲁ
ⲡⲉⲩⲓ̈ⲱⲧ
ⲁⲩⲍⲙⲉⲥⲧ̀ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲓ̈ⲱⲧ̀ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧ
ⲁⲛ̣ⲍ

3 fort. ⲁⲩⲃⲁ[ⲗ]. — 6 ⲡⲙⲉ|ⲛⲉ incertum.

They went that they might kill him, they made him a king.
They put a garland on his head because he humbled their kings.
They put a cloak (χλαμύς) upon him because he stripped (?) their authorities (ἐξουσία).
They put a robe of purple upon him because he destroyed their desire (ἐπιθυμία).
They put a reed in his hand because he wrote of (?) their sins.
They made him drink vinegar and myrrh for the sign (?) of their grief.
They pierced him with the spear because he destroyed their πλάσμα.
The sun withdrew his light, it wore (φορεῖν) the *athalia*.
He disguised himself from those murderers, he was caught up from their presence.
He fettered them of the sky by the fear of his light.
He caught them of the air (ἀήρ) by the power of his angels.
He bound them of the earth by the marvel of his cross (σταυρός).
He demolished their temple, he rent their veil (οὐῆλον) also.
He dug up its stones, searching for its demons.
He opened the doors that were closed by his resurrection.
The doors and bars (μοχλός) of the men of Hades he broke.
He shone forth with his Light upon the Darkness that is without light.
A new Light was seen beneath the earth.
His trumpet (σάλπιγξ) summoned the multitude of his armies.
He escaped from death in the midst of his host (φοσσᾶτον).
He saved the prisoners (αἰχμάλωτος) that were shut up in death.
Death sought in him, it found nothing belonging to it.
It found not flesh (σάρξ) and blood, the things of which it eats.
It found not bone and sinew, which it consumes daily.
It found not its likeness in him — the fire, the lust (ἡδονή).
A figure (σχῆμα) is what it found, like a mask (προσωπεῖον).
It grieved, it wept, because of the deception that came to pass.
He left them in their shame, he went up victorious.
He broke the sepulchres, the ancient (ἀρχαῖον) tombs (τάφος).
He revived first the Righteous (δίκαιος), he took them with him to his Father.
He sat on the right hand of his Father among the Living.

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1 ff. cf. Mt. 27, 27 ff. — 7 ⲃⲉⲣⲙⲥ: 'spear' = sahidic ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲥ, Crum Dict. 184 a. It occurs also below 209, 21; Keph. 77, 4. — 8 ⲁⲑⲁⲗⲓⲁ = syriac *athaliā* (vid. Payne-Smith Thes. Syr. I 423; Brockelmann Lex. Syr. 55 a), 'stella quae solem tegens eclipsim efficit'. The word occurs also in a manichaean fragment written in syriac and published by Burkitt op. cit. p. 114. Dr. Henning has found it in a Soghdian text. — 26 lit. 'like these masks'. — 29 ⲥⲱ: otherwise unknown, save in the name Nephthys (vid. Crum Dict. 651 b) and in demotic = a large tomb (H.T.).

. . . .]ϣ[. .] ⲙⲙaï ⲛ̄ϩhtⲕ̀ • pacwthp panoyte
ϯateo]ⲩo ⲛ̄nekⲥexe eï̈p̄ϯale ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲕ̀eay
Nae] ⲛ̄tamⲛ̄tⲃ|hn ϣⲛ̄ϩthⲕ̀ axⲛ̄nanabe
Tc]ebaï̈ apmaï̈ⲧ̀ apwnϩ̀ • taⲉ| ϣarak eï̈pewe
ϯa]oywϩ ϩⲛ̄nekａ|wn nekmaⲛ̄ϣeleⲧ̀ ⲛ̄oyaï̈ne
Ⲭ|] ⲫⲙ̄ apaϩpay • cwtⲙ̄ apaⲧⲱⲃϩ
Oy]eay nek panoyte • mⲛ̄pekⲓⲱⲧ etxace
Oy]бρo mⲛ̄oykλam evateey ⲛ̄tϯyxh ⲙ̄mapia

C]ⲱⲟyϩ amhï̈ne ω ⲛ̄ϣhpe ⲙ̄ⲡpωme • ⲛ̄tetⲛ̄
c]ωtⲙ̄ appresbeythc petaytⲛ̄nayⲩ mⲛ̄ⲡⲱ|
ne] ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡhye
N̄]takei abal ekcayϩ • ⲛ̄takei abal eycayϩ̀ apak
teoyo ⲡⲱ|ne apan ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡhye
N̄]takei abal epe na|wn cayϩ ⲛ̄takei eycayϩ apak
teoyo ⲡⲱ|ne
N]eϩce netϩ|nhb netⲛ̄kate ϩⲛ̄tlanoyⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ceте
oy]ⲟ ⲡⲱ|ne apwtⲛ̄
Ⲉi]ⲍ ⲡbaï̈ⲱ|ne aytⲛ̄nayⲩ mⲛ̄ⲡⲱ|ne ⲙ̄ⲡkaϩ ⲙ̄
ⲡ]oyaï̈ne ateoyo ⲡⲱ|ne apan ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡ
Ⲁy]tⲛ̄nayⲩ a[ⲩ]ei eⲩï̈hc eⲩpayⲧ̀ ϣaⲡⲱarⲡ̄ ⲛ̄
ρ]wmⲉ x[e eⲩa]te[o]yo ⲡⲱ|ne apaⲩ
Ⲁ]ⲩei aytwϩme ampylh ayaⲱбhλ xe aoyen
ⲛ̄бlam tateoyo ⲡⲱ|ne apwtⲛ̄ ⲛ̄
Bitⲕ̀ aϩrhï̈ ω ⲡⲱarⲡ̄ ⲛ̄rωme ayen anekⲡy-
λh etⲱatme tateoyo ⲡⲱ|ne apak
Bi]tⲕ̀ aϩrhï̈ ω ⲡⲱarⲡ̄ ⲛ̄rωme neϩce ⲛ̄nekⲙe-
ρ]ete tateoyo ⲡⲱ|ne apaⲕ̀
Bitⲕ̀ aϩrhï̈ ω ⲡⲱarⲡ̄ ⲛ̄rωme ⲱϣ tcalⲡiГ⳨ ⲛ̄t
eirhnh tateoyo ⲡⲱ|ne apak

5 nekmaⲛ̄ϣeleⲧ̀ sic.

. . . . . me in thee, my Saviour (σωτήρ), my God.
I will] preach (?) thy words, making music (ψάλλειν) in (?) thy glory.
Have mercy on] my poverty, have compassion upon my sins.
Teach me the way to life that I may come to thee rejoicing.
I will] dwell in thy Aeons, thy bride-chambers of Light.
Hearken to my cry, hear my prayer.
Glory to thee, my God, and thy Father on high.
Victory and a garland be there given to the soul of Mary.

Gather and come, o sons of man, and
hear the Envoy (πρεσβευτής) that was sent with the
news of the skies.
Thou camest forth, being gathered: thou camest forth, they being gathered
unto thee.
Tell us the news of the skies.
Thou camest forth, the Aeons being gathered; thou camest forth, they being
gathered unto thee.
Tell the news.
Awake, ye that slumber and sleep in the . . . ., that you
may be told the news.
Lo, the news-bearer has been sent with the news of the Land of
Light to tell us the news of the skies.
He was sent, he came hurrying and rejoicing to the First
Man, that [he] might tell him the news.
He came and knocked at the gates (πύλη) and cried, 'Open
quickly that I may tell you the news of [the skies].
'Rise up, o First Man, open thy gates (πύλη)
that are shut that I may tell thee the news.
'Rise up, o First Man, arouse thy
beloved ones, that I may tell thee the news.
'Rise up, o First Man, sound, o trumpet (σάλπιγξ) of
peace (εἰρήνη), that I may tell thee the news.

9 ff. vid. Jackson op. cit. pp. 255 ff. — 16 ⲗⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧ (cf. 147, 54): perh. 'cavern', 'pit', ? cf. ⲛⲟⲩⲧ.

Βιτϧ αγρηϊ ω πωαρπ̄ ⲛ̄ρωμε ϲαγϩ ⲡ̈φ[occa
ⲧⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ πⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϧ
Βιτϧ αγρηϊ ω πωαρπ̄ ⲛ̄ρωμε ϩⲱⲣ ⲧⲁϊⲱⲉ [ⲙ̄π
ⲱⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ ⲧⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ πⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϧ
Βιτϧ αγρηϊ ω πωαρπ̄ ⲛ̄ρωμε ϩⲱⲣϧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̈[π
ⲡⲩⲣⲁⲓⲥⲕⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ πⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϧ
Βιτϧ αγρηϊ ω πωαρπ̄ ⲛ̄ρωμε ⲛⲁⲩϩ ⲡϥⲟⲥ
ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲁⲧⲉϥⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲧⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ πⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϧ
Βιτϧ αγρηϊ ω ⲡⲙⲉⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ • ⲃⲓ ⲡϩⲗⲗⲃ ϩⲛ̄ⲣⲱϥ ⲙ̈ⲡ[ⲟⲩ
ⲱⲛⲱ̄ ⲧⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ πⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϧ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϧ ⲛⲓⲙ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲧⲙⲉ + ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲟⲩ
ⲉⲛ ⲛⲉϧ ⲛ̄ⲕⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ πⲱⲓⲛ̈
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϧ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲧⲁⲉⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲉϧ ϫⲉ †ⲣⲁⲓⲥ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱϥⲉ ⲉ . ⲃ . [
ⲛ̄ⲕⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ πⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⸗
Ⲁⲛⲁϧ πⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲓ̈ⲱ̇ • πⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲓ
ⲱ̇ ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ̇ⲧ̇ ⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ πⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϧ ⸗
Ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲗⲙ ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲱⲁⲧⲙⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ πⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϧ ⸗
Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲩⲗⲏ ⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲃⲛⲧϥ̄ ⲙ̈ⲡⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̈ⲡⲣ[ⲟ
ϫⲉ ⲉϥⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ πⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄
Ⲁⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲃⲛⲧϥ̄ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲁϥⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲉ[ϥ
ⲛⲉϥ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ πⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈
Ⲧⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲣⲉⲩ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ [. . .]. †ⲉⲥⲕⲉ ⲧⲏ[. .
ⲙ̈ⲡⲉϥⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ πⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̈ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ
Ⲧⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲣⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁ
ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ πⲱⲓⲛ̈
Ⲧⲧⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ϩⲉ • ⲧⲙ̄ϩⲏ ⲙ̈ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁ
ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ πⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣ ⸗
Ⲧⲧⲛⲁϭ ⲙ̈ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲙ̈ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲧϩⲓⲧ̇ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓ
ⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ πⲱⲓⲛ̈

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3 fort. ϩⲱ παϊ̈ⲱⲉ. — 6 leg. παρρⲓckoc, coll. Keph. 85, 13? — 23 πετε †ⲉⲥⲕⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ coniicio. — 25 leg. ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲱⲛ.

'Rise up, O First Man, gather the host (φοσσᾶτον)
of the Gods, that I may tell thee the news.
'Rise up, o First Man, spread (?) the cry (?) [of the
good news, that I may tell thee the news.
'Rise up, o First Man, set in order the fragments of [the
tower (? πυργίσκος), that I may tell thee the news.
'Rise up, o First Man, lead back the host (φοσσᾶτον)
to its city (πόλις), that I may tell thee the news.
'Rise up, o good shepherd, take the lamb from the mouth of the
wolf, that I may tell thee the news.'
'Who art thou, for my doors are shut? Give a sign that I may
open to thee and thou tell me the news.
'Who art thou, that I may open to thee? For I am guarding the tower . . . . .
that thou mayest tell me the news.'
'I am the son of the son of the Father, the son of the
Father has sent me to tell thee the news.
'Open, open quickly, open the gates (πύλη) that are shut,
that the news may be told thee.'
As the gates (πύλη) were about to open, he was found inside the door,
that he might tell him the news of the skies.
The First Man found him at his side, he rejoiced and said
to him, 'Tell me the news.
'What does my Father do, the Father of the Lights? . . . . . .
outside him. Tell me the news.
'What do the twelve Aeons do, whom I left surrounding
the Father? Tell [me] the news.
'How is the Living Air (ἀήρ), the breath of life that surrounds
the Father? Tell me the news.
'The Great Spirit of the Land of Light, the . . . . . of all
the Aeons. Tell [me] the news.

3 ⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲉ must be the substantive of ⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ (cf. 42, 22; 58, 24): H.T. — 19 ⲧⲁⲛϩ: vid. 63, 17 n. 'He' is the πρεσβευτής. — 27 ⲱ̄ϩⲏ: vid. 37, 16 n. — 29 ⲟⲩⲉⲧϩⲓⲧ: = ? ⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲧϩ, οἰνοχόος.

ΤΤκας ⲁ̅ⲡⲟⲩ]ⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲏ̈ ⲁ̅ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲡⲛⲩⲙⲫⲱⲛ ⲛ̅ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ
ⲧⲏⲣ]ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲱ|ⲛⲏ
Ν̅]ϩⲃⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲭ̅ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣ̅ⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲁ̈ⲥ ⲁ
ⲣⲁ]ⲩ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲱ|ⲛⲉ
Ⲉϩⲣ̅]ⲉⲩ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̅ ⲧⲉⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲛⲉϩⲕⲁ|
ⲥⲛ]ⲏⲩ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲱ|ⲛⲏ
Ⲉ]ⲣ̅[ⲉ] ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̅ ⲛ̅ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉϥⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲉϥ ⲛⲉϥ
ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲱ|ⲛⲏ
Ⲁ]ⲛ̅ⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ϩⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩϩ̀
ⲛ̅ⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ⲛ̅
Ⲛⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩϩ̀ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩϩ̀ ⲁⲣⲁ ⲓ̈ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡⲱ|ⲛⲏ
Ⲛⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲥⲁⲩϩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲥⲁⲩϩ ⲁⲡ|ⲱⲧ̀ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡⲱ|ⲛⲏ
Ⲛⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲥⲁⲩϩ̀ ⲉⲟⲩⲟ́ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲡ|ⲱⲧ • ⲉ|ⲥ
Ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲩⲧ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ̀ ⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ • ⲉϥϩ̀ⲛ̅ⲡⲛⲩⲙⲫⲱⲛ ⲁ̅
ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲁ̅ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉ̈ⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲱ|ⲛⲏ
Ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲩⲧ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ[ⲁ|]ⲱⲛ ⲛ̅ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲉⲩⲃⲟ̅ⲛ̅ⲃⲟ̅ⲛ̅ ⲁⲡ|ⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̅
ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉ̈ⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲱ|ⲛⲏ
Ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̅ϫⲁⲧⲃⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲩϩ̀ ⲉⲩϩⲱⲥ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡ|
ⲱⲧ̀ ϫⲉ ⲉ̈ⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲱ|ⲛⲏ
Ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁϩⲣ ⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉϥⲥⲁⲩϩ̀ ⲉϥⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲡ|ⲱⲧ
ϫⲉ ⲉ̈ⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲱ|ⲛ
Ⲁ]ⲩⲧⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲩⲙⲫⲱⲛ ⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲁ̅ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
ⲡⲏ̈ ⲁ̅ⲡ|ⲱ[ⲧ] ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ⲛ̅
Ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲩⲧ ⲉⲣⲉ̀ ⲛ̅ϩⲃⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲣⲭ̅ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣ̅ⲱⲉ ⲣⲁ
ⲓ̈ⲥ ⲥⲓⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡⲱ|ⲛⲉ
Ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲩⲧ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲃⲁⲱⲧ̅ ⲛⲉⲥⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩϩ̀ ⲁ
ⲣⲁⲥ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡⲱ|ⲛⲏ
Ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ̀ ⲡⲁⲣⲱ̄ • ⲡⲥⲁⲡ̀ ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲉϥⲕⲱ
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲡ|ⲱⲧ • ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡⲱ|ⲛⲏ
Ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲉϣⲉ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡⲱ|ⲛⲏ

13 ⲉⲟⲩⲟ sic.

'The Land of] Light, the house of the Father, the bride-chamber (νυμφών)
of all the Aeons. Tell the news.
'The walls that I left firmly established, the watch-tower men that guard
them. Tell the news.
'What does the Mother of the Living do, whom I left, and her brethren
also? Tell the news.'
The First Man rejoices asking: he said to him,
'Tell the news.'
And the [Call] answered again: 'I came forth, they being gathered,
I came forth, the Gods rejoicing. Lo, this is the news of the skies.
'I came forth, they being gathered; I came forth, they being gathered unto me.
Lo, this is the news.
'I came forth, the Father being gathered; the Aeons being gathered unto the
Father. Lo, this is the news.
'I came forth, the Aeons being gathered, being a garland about the Father. Lo.
'I was sent, the Father rejoicing, he being in the bride-chamber (νυμφών) of
the Land of Light, that I might tell the news.
'I was sent, the Aeons of the Aeons playing music to the Father of
the Lights, that I might tell the news.
'I was sent, the harp-players being gathered, singing unto the
Father, that I might tell the news.
'I was sent, the air (ἀήρ) rejoicing, being gathered, surrounding the Father,
that I might tell the news.
'I was sent, the bride-chamber (νυμφών) rejoicing, the Land of Light,
the house of the Father. Lo, this is the new of the skies.
'I was sent, the walls being firmly established, the watch-tower men
watching over them. Lo, this is the news.
'I was sent, the Mother watching, her brethren gathered
unto her. Lo, this is the news.
'I was sent, the feast being spread, the good feast surrounding
the Father. Lo, this is the news.
'I was sent, the Father rejoicing, gladness surrounding
him. Lo, this is the news.

5. 26. cf. 1, 22 n. — 9 vid. 32, 21 n. — 18 ϫⲁⲧⲃⲁⲓⲛⲉ: vid. 14, 22. 24/25 n.

ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲥⲁⲩⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲁⲙ̣[ⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ
ⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲛ
ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲣⲉϣⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲕ̣[ⲱ
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡ
ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲥⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ϫⲁ̈ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲓ̣ ⲉⲩⲥⲱ[ⲥ
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲛ
ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲟ̄ⲛ̄ⲟ̄ⲛ̄ ⲁⲡⲓ
ⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲛ
ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲩ]ⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲩⲗⲟ́ⲥ ⲉⲩϫⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲙ̄ⲙⲁ-
ⲛⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲙ ⲥⲁⲣⲕ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧ. .
ⲥⲏⲕ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲛ
ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ ⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲣⲁⲩ̀ ⲥⲁ
ⲡⲛⲉ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲛ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲥⲁⲣⲕ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲓ́ⲧⲏⲥ ⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ †ⲉⲩⲣⲉ-
ⲱⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲛ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲣϫ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉ ⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲥⲓ
ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲛ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁ-ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲩⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲡⲣⲁⲩⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲛ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁ-ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ
ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲛ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁ-ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲥⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁⲡⲭⲱⲕ̀ ⲧⲙ̄ϩⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̀ ⲉⲧⲕ̣ⲱ
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲛ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁ ⲡⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲁⲣⲱ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲡⲱⲛ̣ⲕ̀
ⲱⲛϩ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡ̣ⲱⲛ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁ-ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲉⲩⲟ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϩⲓⲕⲣⲏⲡⲓ́ⲥ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲥ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲛ̄-ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲉ̈ⲓ-
ⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲉⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲛ̄ ⲡϩⲉⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓ

1 fin. incertum: fort. ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲁϩ[. — 11 fin. fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ. an ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ . . dividendum?

'I was sent, the Father being gathered, being in the dwelling (? ταμιεῖον) [of the Land of Light. Lo, this is the news.
'I was sent, the Father rejoicing, the Maidens surrounding him. Lo, this is the news.
'I was sent, the Father being gathered, the joyful ones singing to him. Lo, this is the news.
'I was sent, the harps being in their hands, they playing to the Father of the Lights. Lo, this is the news.
'I was sent, the pipes (αὐλός) sounding in the mooring-places. Lo, this is the news.
'I was sent, the sea being calm, the . . . . of the . . . being drawn. Lo, this is the news.
'I was sent, the ships coming to port, the . . . . being very secure (?). Lo, this is the news.
'I came, the city (πόλις) being calm, the citizens (πολίτης) rejoicing and being glad. Lo, this is the news.
'I came, the walls being firmly established, the watch-tower men guarding them. Lo, this is the news.
'I left the Intelligence (νοῦς) guarding the Father, the joy of the Land of Light. Lo, this is the news.
'I left the Reason guarding the Faith, the Aeons surrounding the Father. Lo, this is the news.
'I left the Thought guarding the Perfection, the breath of life which surrounds the Father. Lo, this is the news.
'I left the Counsel guarding the Endurance, carrying (?) life to all the Aeons. Lo, this is the news.
'I left the Intention being the foundation and base (κρηπίς) to the Land of Light. Lo, this is the news.
'I came from the house of joy: I have brought joy for you as I come. Lo, this is the news.
'I came from the house of plenty: I have brought plenty as I

5 ϫⲁⲓⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ: presumably from ϫⲓⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ (lit. 'receive joy': cf. ϯⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ) though there is no other instance. — 9 'sounding', lit. 'singing'. — 11 ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲙ: meaning unknown to me, perh. 'raft' (cf. ⲱⲣⲱⲙ Crum Dict. 183 a). — 13 ⲱⲣⲁⲩⲧ: ? read ⲱⲣⲁⲩⲉ = 'harbours'. ⲥⲁⲡⲛⲉ: vid. 214, 19 n. — 19—27 vid. 23, 14—18 n. — 19 ⲡⲣⲁⲩⲧⲏ: cf. Crum op. cit. 490 b. — 23 ⲱⲥⲏ: vid. 37, 16 n.

ⲛⲏⲩ ϣⲁⲣ]ⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ]ⲓⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲃⲁϣⲧ̄ ⲍⲏⲧⲕ ⲛⲉⲥⲕⲁⲓⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲥ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

Ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲥⲉⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲥⲉⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲧⲉⲧⲁϣ ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ · ⲉⲓⲥ

Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲭⲁⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲕ · ⲉⲓⲥ

Ⲥⲉⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲍⲓⲃⲁⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲗⲉⲙⲏϣⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ

Ⲧⲉⲟ]ⲩⲟ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲍⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲫⲟ
ⲥⲁ]ⲧⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲓⲕⲗⲁⲙ

†ⲁϫ]ⲓ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣ[ⲟ]ⲩ ⲧⲁⲃⲱⲕ [ⲛⲉ]ⲙⲉⲩ

ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲁϫⲓ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ

Ⲧⲧ]ⲉⲩⲫⲟⲥⲥⲁⲧⲟⲛ ϫⲁⲗϫ̄ ⲭⲉⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲗⲁϣⲁⲛⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

Ⲧⲧⲁⲏⲣ ⲧⲟⲓⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲡⲛⲟ̀ⲥ ⲛⲉⲩⲫⲟⲥⲥⲁⲧⲟⲛ [ⲙ]ⲏⲣ ⲥⲉ
ⲥⲁⲛϩ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

Ⲧⲧⲏⲛ ⲣⲁⲓⲥ ⲁⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲁⲥⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲫⲟⲥⲥⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲏⲣ
ⲭⲥⲁⲛϩ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ

Ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲧⲟⲓⲉ ⲁⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲫⲟⲥⲥⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲏⲣ
ⲭⲥⲁⲛϩ ⲭⲓ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ

Ⲉ]ⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲣⲃⲉ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲏⲣ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲭⲓ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

Ⲧ]ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲛⲉⲡ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲭⲓ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ

Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲛⲱⲁⲃⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲙⲛ̄
ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲭⲓ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

Ⲁⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲃⲏⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲱⲁⲡⲍⲕⲟ ⲁⲛⲃⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁⲍ ⲍⲁϯⲟⲩ ⲛ̄
ⲁⲓ̈ⲕ ⲭⲓ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

Ⲁⲛϯ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲥⲱ ⲁⲩϯⲍⲉ ⲁⲩϯ ⲧⲃⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ
† . . ⲉ ⲭⲓ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ

Ⲑ]ⲃⲥⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲁⲃⲏ ⲍⲓⲡⲉ

Ⲁⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲓ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ

Ⲁⲩⲗⲓⲃⲉ ⲥⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲍⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲍⲁⲗⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧ̀
ⲭⲓ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

19 Ⲛ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ sic. — 27 ⲧⲃⲉⲕⲉ sic. — 28 ⲛⲁⲃⲉ H.T. — 29/30 ⲡⲉⲁⲏⲥ sic: vid. Hom. Indic. s. v. πέδη.

come to you. Lo, this is the news.
'I] came, the Mother looking for thee, her brethren also
being there with her. Lo, this is the news.
'Let us go, they await thee, they are at the border (?), they expect thee. Lo.
Lo, God has wholly come: do thou call, he will answer thee. Lo.
'They are laden with garlands and palms to give to thee, the captain. Lo.
'Tell me the news, ~~arm~~ thy loved ones, thy garlanded
host (φοσσᾶτον).
'I will] take the news of all thy Aeons and go with it
and (?) thy son and take up the news.
'His host (φοσσᾶτον) is ~~fast established~~, he ~~holds~~ the governors of
the Land of Darkness. Lo, this is the news.
'The Air (ἀήρ) is set over the smoke (καπνός): its hosts (φοσσᾶτον) are bound, they
are fettered. Lo, this is the news.
'The Wind guards the king of the storm: his host (φοσσᾶτον) is bound,
it is fettered. Take the news.
'The Light is set over the king of the Darkness: his host (φοσσᾶτον) is bound,
it is fettered. Take the news.
'Lo, the Waters have shut in the king of the inundation (?)
of death. Take the news.
'The maiden, the Living Fire, she is become mistress over the Land of
Darkness. Take the news.
'Lo, we have laid waste the Land of Darkness: we are waiting for thee with
the garland. Take the news.
'We have bought the dens of the hungry ones, we took their land for five
loaves. Take the news.
'We gave the water, they drank, they were drunk, they sold the wages of their
. . . . Take the news.
'The] ~~robe~~ of Light was ~~set upon~~ them, it was a bond and a
shackle (πέδη) on them. Take the news.
'They lusted after the breath of the wind, it was a fetter (ἄλυσις) on their neck.
Take the news.

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4 cf. 202, 4. ⲥⲧⲉⲧⲁϣ: the second part of the word suggests 'bound', 'border', which is appropriate to the context (cf. Flügel, Mani 88, 11 ap. Jackson op. cit. p. 259); what the first part means is doubtful (ⲥⲧⲉ- may be the construct of ⲥⲧⲱ = 'bank', Crum Dict. 363 a: H.T.) — 13—21 i. e. the 5 Light elements, vid. 137, 23—37. — 19 ⲉⲙⲏⲣ: apparently a masc. form of ⲉⲙⲏⲣⲉ, Crum op. cit. 56 a. — 29 ⲁⲃⲏ: cf. ⲁⲃⲉ, Crum op. cit. 2 a. — 31 ⲱ̄ⲍⲏ: vid. 37, 16 n.

ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲗⲗ̄ ⲁⲧⲗ̄ⲍⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ [ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲭⲓ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈
ⲗⲗⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲥⲉⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ · ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
ⲗⲗⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲥⲉⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ · ⲥⲉⲍⲓⲧⲥⲧⲉⲧⲁⲱ ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲟⲩⲃ[ⲏⲕ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲁⲫⲉ[] · ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲭⲁⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲕ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲁ+ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̀ ⲥⲉⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ · ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲓⲭ ⲡⲁⲣⲱ̄ ⲁⲱⲗ—
ⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲭⲓ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲥⲉⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄[ⲕ]ⲗⲁ[ⲙ] ⲍⲓⲃⲁⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲗⲉⲙⲏⲱⲉ
ⲉⲧⲃⲣⲁⲓ̈[ⲧ] ⲭⲓ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲁⲡⲡ[ⲣ]ⲉ[ⲥⲃ]ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲡⲱⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲁⲭⲓⲧⲩ ⲁ
ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲭⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲭⲓ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲁⲛⲓⲁⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁ+ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲫ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲙ[ⲉ
ⲣⲓⲧ ⲭⲓ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲁⲩ+ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲫ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲭⲁⲱⲃⲏⲗ ⲥⲁⲍⲏⲧⲫ̄
ⲉⲭⲣⲁⲩⲧ† ⲭⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲓ̈ⲉⲡⲱⲱⲧ · ⲉⲓⲥ [ⲩ
Ⲛⲁⲱⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲭⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲉⲭⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲍⲓⲃⲁⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ[ⲩ
Ⲉⲥⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲍⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲧⲣⲛ̄ⲱⲡ ⲁⲧⲭⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲓ̈ⲉ
ⲡⲱⲱⲧ̀ · ⲛⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ[ⲩ
Ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲡ ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄
ⲣⲟ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏ
ⲍⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ[ⲍ̀
ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲱⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ Ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ+ⲩ
ⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ Ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

10 fin. incert.

Sequitur folium vacuum.

'They smelt the breath of the air (ἀήρ), it was death to them [all.
Take up the news.
'Let us go, they await thee: the Light has surrounded the Darkness.
'Let us go, they await thee, they are on the border (?), they expect thee.
'Lo, God has wholly come: do thou call, he will answer thee.
'Lo, they that shall help thee await thee, their hands are spread to embrace thee. Take the news.
'They are laden with garlands and palms to give to thee, the victorious captain.' Take the news.
The envoy (πρεσβευτής) heard the good news, he took it to him that sent him. Take the news.
The Fathers of Light came that they might help their loved one. Take the news.
They helped the First Man, he cried before him in joy: 'Behold me, behold my merchandise.' Lo.
Great is the joy that there was, the First Man being in their midst, laden with garlands and palms. Lo, this is the news.
May it happen to us together that we may be counted in his merchandise and rejoice with all the Aeons. Lo, this is the news.
May we be counted among those of the right hand and inherit (κληρονομεῖν) our kingdom. Lo, this is the news.
And may we live with our kinsmen from everlasting to everlasting.
Lo, this is the news.
Glory to the First Man, honour to the Living Spirit,
and their busy deeds which they have done. Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

1 ⲱⲥⲏ: vid. 37, 16 n. — 4 ⲥⲧⲉⲧⲁϣ: vid. 201, 4 n. — 20 cf. Mt. 25, 33.

ⲛ̀ⲧⲁ]ⲗⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲙ: ⲁ̅ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ
ⲙⲛ]ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲗⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲛ̀ⲧⲟ⸗ⲛⲕ⸗ⲙ ⲙ̈ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ

ⲦⲦⲁ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡ]ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ • ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ
ⲡⲡⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲉⲁⲩ • ⲡⲁ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ • ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲉⲧ]ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ̀ • ⲡⲁ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁ
ⲗ]ⲏⲗ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ ⲉⲧⲧⲁ̈ⲁ̈ⲓ̀ⲧ̀ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲛⲁ⸗ⲱⲛ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϣⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫⲙ̄
ⲧ]ⲛⲁϭ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ⸗ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ⸗ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ϣⲧⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ϭⲱⲭⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ⸗ⲱⲛ
ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ • ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲫϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ⸗ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧ̀ⲉ⸗[ⲓⲣⲏ]ⲛⲏ • ⲁⲩ
ⲙ]ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲫⲙ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ [ⲛ̄ⲥⲏ]ⲧⲟⲩ
ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ⸗ⲱⲛ ⲙ̈ⲡⲥ̀ⲃⲣⲁⲥⲧ • ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲫ
ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ • ⲁⲩⲥⲙ̈ⲛ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙ⸗
ⲟ]ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϩ̀ • ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲥⲟ ϩⲛ̄ⲥ⸗ⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲩⲁⲛϩ̀ [ⲛ̄ⲥⲣ]ⲏ̈ⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏ
ⲧ̣ⲟⲩ • ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲥⲟ ϩⲛ̄ⲥ⸗ⲓⲕⲱⲛϩ̀ ⲉⲩⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲙⲁⲩ
ⲟⲩⲱⲥⲫ̄ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲧ̀ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ
ⲙ̈ⲡⲣ̄ⲗⲉ • ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧ⸗ⲓⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̀ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥ
ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲥ⸗ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϫⲟⲩϥ ⲉⲩϩⲁⲗⲟ̅ •
ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲩⲛ⸗ⲓϥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄
ϩⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲉ̈ⲓⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲟⲩ
ⲁⲃⲉ • ⲉⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥ⸗ⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ : ⲥⲉ
ϩ]ⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲉ⸗ⲙⲉⲧⲉ • ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ϣⲧⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ϭⲱⲭⲃⲉ
ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ • ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲡ̈ⲉⲁⲩ • ⲉⲩⲙⲏϩ
ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲁⲁⲛϩⲉ • ⲙ̈ⲡ⸗ⲟⲃⲛ̄ ⲛ̄
ⲧ]ⲁ ⲡⲱϩⲣⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲟ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲁ
ϩⲣⲏ̈ ϫⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲁ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩϩⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲡⲱϩⲣⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲡⲉ
ⲑⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [ⲧⲟ ⲁ]ⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ϫⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲁ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲟⲩϩⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲡⲱϩⲣⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲟ • ⲡ⸗
ϩⲏⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̈ⲙⲉⲩ : ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄
ⲙ]ⲁⲟ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉϥⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲁⲁⲛϩⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥ
ⲕ]ⲧⲏⲥⲓⲥ : ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉϥⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ • ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛ
ⲁϩ]ⲣⲏ̈ ϫⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲁ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩϩⲉ • ⲁϥⲃⲁⲡ ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ̄ ⲙ̈ⲡⲉϥ –

15 ϩ 3° sup. lin. — 16 ϩⲛ̄⸗ⲓⲕⲱⲛϩ̀ sic: leg. ϩⲛ̄⸗ⲓⲕⲱⲛ.

The] Psalms (ψαλμός) of Thomas: I: Concerning the Father and] all his Aeons and the Stirring of the Enemy.

My Father, the] glad Light, the glad Light,
the Glorious, my Father, the glad Light, the glad
and blessed Light, my Father, the glad Light,
the glad and honoured Light: he evoked
the Aeons of Light, he appointed them to the joy of his
greatness. He evoked the Aeons of Peace (εἰρήνη), in whom
there is no waning or diminution. He evoked the Aeons
of Light, he summoned his sons and set them up
in them. He evoked the Aeons of Peace (εἰρήνη), he
summoned his Richnesses and set them up in them.
He evoked the Aeons of Rest, he summoned his
Angels and set them up in them. He established
dwellings (ταμιεῖον) of Life and set up living Images (εἰκών) in
them, he set up living Images (εἰκών) in them which
never perish. He evoked clouds
of Brightness, dropping down dew (?) and life, he summoned
a holy fire, giving a sweet burning.
He evoked a Wind and an Air (ἀήρ), breathing the
breath of the Living. He evoked holy Mountains,
sending up fragrant roots. They are
all in agreement and concord: there is no waning or diminution
in them, they rejoicing and being glad in the glory (?), full,
abiding in Eternity. I know not
where the Son of Evil saw them: he rose
up saying, May I be one like them. [Where] did the Son of
Evil see them? He rose up saying, May I be one
like them. Where did the Son of Evil see them — the
poor one who has nothing, no riches
in his treasure (χρῆμα), no Eternity in his
possession (κτῆσις), no riches in his treasure (χρῆμα)? He rose
up saying, May I be one like them. He caught the hand of his

1 Thomas: vid. Acta Archelai 22, 5. 13 ed. Beeson; Flügel op. cit. p. 174, n. 62 etc.; Alex. Lycopol. 4, 19 ed. Brinkmann. — 17 ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲧ: vid. 154, 16 n. — 20/21 ⲙ̄ⲯⲏ: vid. 37, 16 n. — 25 lit. 'I have not found'.

ⲥⲁⲱⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲏⲣ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲃⲟ[ⲏⲑⲟⲥ ⲁⲩ
ⲃⲁⲡ ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲁⲱⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲏⲣ • ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲩⲃ̀ⲱ[ⲱⲧ
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲣⲁⲡ̀ : ⲭⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲡ̀[ⲓⲧⲛ̄
ⲉⲩⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲉ: Ⲁⲡ̀ⲱⲧ ⲃⲉ ⲉⲧ[ⲁⲓ̈
ⲣⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ • ⲁⲩⲱⲣⲭ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ • ⲭⲉ [ⲥⲱ-
ⲟⲩⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ̄ ⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄: ⲁⲡⲃⲉⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲉ-
ⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲱⲧ̀ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ : ⲁⲟⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛ[ⲉ
ⲃⲱⲱⲧ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲓⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲛⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ • ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ[ⲩ NO-
ⲥⲛⲏⲩ [ⲛ̄ⲣ]ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ: Ⲱ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄[ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲱⲧⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲃⲱⲭⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ • ⲁⲛ[ⲁⲕ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ • ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲡ[ⲱⲏ NE
ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ • ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲟ ⲁⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉ NO-
ⲑⲁⲩ ⲉⲩ[ⲟⲩ]ⲱⲱ ⲡⲱⲣⲥ̀ ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲍ : ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁ[ⲓ
ⲥⲁⲱⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲏⲣ • ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲗⲓⲧⲟⲩⲣⲅⲟ[ⲥ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲟ ⲁⲡⲡⲁⲡⲓⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲩⲡⲏⲥⲥⲉ • ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲭⲉⲣⲁ
ⲓ̈ⲧ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ : ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲍⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲕⲉ ⲉⲩⲍⲛ̄ ΤΕΥ°
ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲉⲩⲥⲕⲉⲡⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲱⲣⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲍ • ⲁⲓ̈
ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲍⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ ⲉⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲥⲃⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̀ ⲁⲉ|ⲣⲉ-ⲙ̄
ⲡⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ • ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲱⲕ̄ ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲣⲃ̀ • ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄
ⲱⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲭ ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲱ̄ : ⲭⲉ ⲡⲍⲁⲗⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲛⲁ[ⲉⲓ ⲉⲩ
ⲁⲃⲁⲡⲕ̄ : ⲡ . . . ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ • ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲭ ⲉⲩⲥ[ⲱ NE
ⲏⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲱⲗ • ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲡ̄ : ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲩ! [ⲣ̄
ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲩ+ ⲧⲉⲃⲥⲉ • ⲡⲉⲧ[ⲥⲁ]ⲃⲕ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡ
ⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲁⲩ+ ⲣⲉⲧⲕ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ⲁⲩⲍⲁⲕⲕ̄ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ
ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ : ⲁⲩⲍⲁⲕⲕ̄
ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲕ̄ ⲥⲁⲍⲏⲧⲕ̄ • ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲃⲕ̄ ⲁⲩⲭⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲡ
ⲛⲟⲩⲛ : ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲃⲕ̄ • ⲁⲩⲱⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ • ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲡⲟⲗⲉ ΤΕΥ
ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ : ⲁⲩⲑⲃⲓⲟ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲱⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲏⲣ • ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲕ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲗⲓⲧⲟⲩⲣⲅ[ⲟⲥ
ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣⲕ̀ ⲡⲟⲩⲡⲁⲡⲓⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲑⲓⲁⲩ • ⲁⲩⲭⲉⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲕⲱⲍⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲙⲟⲩⲍ • ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲕⲉ ⲉⲩⲍⲛ̄[ⲧ

18 ⲉⲥⲁⲱⲉ sic: leg. ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ, sicut 205, 2.

seven companions and his twelve helpers (βοηθός): [he
caught the hand of his seven companions, he went, he looked (?)
to them in a moment (?), in order that, if any should fall and come down,
he might go and be one like them. The Great (?) Father therefore
took the first step, he strengthened all his Angels, saying
'Assemble, all of you, and guard yourselves from the eye of the Evil one
which has looked up'. One of the Sons of Light
looked from on high and saw him: he said to his rich
brethren: 'O my brethren, the Sons of Light,
in whom there is no waning or diminution: I
looked down to the abyss, I saw the Evil one, the
Son of Evil, I saw the Evil one, the Son of
Evil, desiring to wage war. I saw his seven companions
also and his twelve ministers (λειτουργός).
I saw the tent (παπυλίων) fixed (πήσσειν), the fire kindled
in its midst: I saw the poor wretches (?) at hand (?),
thinking (σκέπτεσθαι) to wage war. I
saw their cruel armour which is ready to make
the war (πόλεμος), I saw snares set and
nets cast and spread, that the bird that should [come] might
be] caught . . . . that (?) it might not escape from them. [I saw] them
reclining, drinking
stolen wine, eating plundered flesh.' The Little one [passed
his ~~months~~ until (?) he . . . . ., he that is small among them that are
on high stepped forth, he armed himself and girt his loins,
the son of the Brightnesses and the Richnesses armed himself
and girt his loins, he leapt and sped down into the
abyss, he leapt, he came into their midst that he might make
war (πόλεμος) with them, he humbled the Son of Evil and
his seven companions and his twelve ministers (λειτουργός),
he uprooted their tent (παπυλίων) and threw it down, he put out their
burning fire, he fettered the poor wretches (?) that were at

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3 ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲣⲁⲡ: cf. Keph. 71, 33 ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲣⲁⲡⲣⲉⲡ ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲗ. — 15. 30 παπυλίων: vid. Archiv f. Papyrusforschung, 9, pp. 218 ff. ⲉⲙⲡⲏⲥⲥⲉ: cf. Keph. 114, 11. — 16. 31 ϩⲱⲥ: vid. Crum Dict. 710 a. — 16/17 ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲩ̈ⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ: vid. 150, 18 n. — 22 ⲡⲕⲟⲩ| 23 ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲃⲕ: i. e. the First Man. — 23 ⲫⲧⲉⲃⲥⲉ: lit. 'give footstep', perhaps 'lay a trail', cf. ⲁ| ⲧⲉⲃⲥⲉ 206, 10.

ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲧ ⲉⲩ]ⲥⲕⲉⲡⲧⲉ ⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲍ : ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲧⲉⲩ
ⲍⲁⲗⲃ̄]ⲱⲉ̣ ⲉⲥⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲛⲏⲩⲧ̀ ⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲉ
ⲙⲟⲥ] ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲁⲱⲫ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲣⲃ̄ • ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲍ ⲁⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲛ]ⲉⲩⲱⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲡⲁⲣⲱ̄ : ⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲃ̣̄ ⲁⲃⲁ̣ⲗ̣ ⲁⲧⲉⲩ
ⲑ]ⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ • ⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲍⲱⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲏⲣ : ⲁⲩⲕⲁ
ⲛ̣ⲍⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲍⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲏⲣ : ⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁ]ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲥⲟⲩⲣ : ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲧⲉⲫⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ ⲁⲩⲃ|ⲧⲥ̀ • ⲁⲩ
ⲃ]|ⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲃⲣⲁⲍⲧ̄ : ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀
ⲃⲉ] ⲃ|ⲧⲫ̄ ⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ • ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩⲍⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲁ[ⲡ]ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲟⲩ

ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲃ|ⲛⲉ| ⲛ̄ⲧ☥ⲩⲭⲏ

Ν]ⲉ̣ⲧⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲓ • ⲛⲉⲧⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲩ☥ ⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲛⲏ̈ : ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ̀ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲡⲏ̈
ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ̈ⲓⲱⲧ̀ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲗⲃ̄ⲱⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏ̈ [ⲁⲩⲧ]ⲱⲛ
ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲗⲃ̄ⲱⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏ̈ • ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲏ̈ : ⲉⲩⲣ̄
ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲏ̈ • ⲉⲩⲙ̣ⲓⲱⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲍⲃ̄ⲥⲱ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ:
ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧ[ⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ]̈ⲓⲛⲉ • ⲭⲉ ⲉⲫⲁⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲕⲉⲕⲉ : ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲥ☥ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲗⲃ̄ • ⲭⲉ ⲉⲫⲁ
ⲙⲩⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲗⲱⲙⲥ̀ : ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ • ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁ☥ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲭⲱⲣⲁ : ⲉⲧ
ⲃⲉ] ⲧⲁⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲥⲁⲱⲱ
ⲡ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧ • ⲁⲩⲙ̣ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲃⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄
ⲧ]ⲁⲍⲃⲥⲱ • ⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲕⲉⲕⲉ : ⲁⲡⲁ
ⲥ]☥ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ [ⲉⲧⲍ]ⲁⲗⲃ̄ ⲉⲓ • ⲁⲩⲙⲩⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲥ☥ⲃⲱⲱⲛ •
ⲁⲛ]ⲁⲥⲛⲏ[ⲩ ⲛ̄]ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲓ • ⲁⲩ☥ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲭⲱⲣⲁ : ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲁⲫⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ •
ⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧ : ⲥⲉⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲗⲃ̄ⲱⲉ
ⲁⲭⲱⲓ̈ • ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲏ̈ : ⲉⲩⲕⲁⲃⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁ
ⲭⲱⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲑⲃ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲉⲙⲃⲟ
ⲗⲏ • ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲏⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲓ̈ • ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲍⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ : ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲡ|ⲧⲉ
ⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲓ • ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ //

hand (?)], thinking (σκέπτεσθαι) to make war, he seized their
cruel armour, that had been provided to make a war (πόλεμος),
he broke their snares that were set, he burst also
their nets that were spread, he let the fish out to their
sea (θάλασσα), he let the birds fly in the air (ἀήρ), he let
the birds fly out in the air (ἀήρ), he let the sheep into
their fold (?), he rolled up his wealth, he took it, he
took it up to the Land (χώρα) of Rest. That which the Living ones
took [therefore] was saved: they will return again to that which is theirs.

Concerning the coming of the Soul

They] that are not as I am made themselves like me, they that are
unworthy of me made me wroth. The wretches (?) that belong not to the
house
of my Father rose, they took arms against me, they rose,
they took arms against me, making war (πόλεμος) with me, making
war (πόλεμος) with me, fighting (?) for my holy robe,
for my enlightening Light, that it might lighten
their Darkness, for my sweet Fragrance, that it might
sweeten (μυρίζειν) their foulness, because of my brethren, the Sons of
Light, that they might give a peace (εἰρήνη) to their land (χώρα), be-
cause of my sister, the hour of Light, that she might be
a strengthening of their building. A part (? μέρος) therefore went forth from
my robe, it went, it lightened their Darkness; my
sweet fragrance went, it sweetened (μυρίζειν) their stink;
my brethren, the Sons of Light, went, they gave a peace (εἰρήνη)
to their land (χώρα); my sister went, the hour of Light,
she was a strengthening of their building. They take arms
against me, making war (πόλεμος) with me, crying out
against me, like men going to subdue a camp (παρεμβολή);
they drew the swords against me, like men
going to kill lions; they stretched their hands to the bow
against me, like thieves going to attack a man.

7 ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲣ: a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, cf. ⲣⲥⲱ? ⲟⲱⲗ: vid. 70, 11 n. — 12 ⲍⲱⲥ: vid. 204, 16. 31 n.

ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲕ|ⲙ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ • ⲱⲁⲛⲧ[ⲟⲩⲉ|ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲃ̄ⲧ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ : ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲥⲛⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲱⲃ ⲟⲱ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲱ[ⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲟⲩⲕ|ⲙ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲃ̄ⲧ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ : ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲱⲉ ⲱⲁ[ⲛ
ⲧⲟⲩⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲃ̄ⲧ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ • ⲁⲩⲥⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲉ̣ .[.
ⲁⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲃⲗⲟ|ⲗ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧ̀ • ⲁⲡⲁⲧⲁⲱⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ [ⲉ|
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲗⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲉ : ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ|ⲍⲱⲥ ⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲍⲏⲧ • ⲭⲉ ⲉ̣[ⲛⲁⲕ
ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ : ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲃⲉ ⲛ̣ⲉ[ⲓ̈
ⲃⲁⲱⲧ̄ [ⲟ]ⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ • ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲟⲏ[ⲑⲉ|ⲁ
ⲉⲓ̈ⲃⲁⲱⲧ̀ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ [ⲭⲉ
ⲥⲉⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲩⲭ| ⲧⲉⲃⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ : ⲁⲡⲁ|ⲱⲧ ⲃⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ
ⲧⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉ|ⲁ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ • ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲉ̣[ⲙⲏⲓ̈
ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲁⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲁⲭⲟ̄ : ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲥ[ⲁⲃ̄ⲧ̄
ⲟⲩⲱⲗⲥ̀ ⲁⲩⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ : ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲃ̄ⲧ̄ ⲟⲩⲱⲗⲥ̀ ⲁⲩⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄[ⲡⲉ
ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉ ⲃⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲕⲱⲗⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ : ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ̣ⲧ
ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲃⲗⲟ|ⲗ • ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲱⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲟⲩⲃⲛ̄ⲧⲟ̄ : ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲃⲏⲗ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲁⲭⲟ̄ : ⲁⲛ
ⲇⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲱⲧ̀ ⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ : ⲁⲛⲇⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲱⲧ̀ ⲁⲡ
ⲕⲉⲕⲉ • ⲁⲩⲥⲧⲱⲧ̄ ⲃⲁⲡ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ : ⲁⲛⲁⲕ
ⲇⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ • ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ϯⲕ̣[ⲁ|
ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ : ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲑⲣ̄ⲕⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ • ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ-
ⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ : ⲭⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲍⲃ̄ⲥⲱ ⲱ̣[ⲁⲛ
ⲧⲉⲥⲉ|ⲓ • ⲛ̄ⲥ̀ⲃⲱⲗⲉ ⲁ̣ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̣ⲥ̣ : ϯⲛⲁⲱ[ⲍⲉ
ⲁⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ • ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲩ[ⲃⲁⲱ]ⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲉⲩ
ⲕⲉⲕⲉ : ϯⲛⲁⲱⲍⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲥϯⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲗ̄ⲃ̄ ⲱ̣[ⲁⲛ
ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲁⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲉⲙⲙⲁ : ϯⲛⲁⲱⲍⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲥⲱⲛ[ⲉ
ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ • ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲥⲛⲁⲭ ⲡⲟⲩⲭⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲁ
ⲃⲁⲗ : ϯⲛⲁⲱⲍⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲱⲁⲛ
ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲙⲁ|ⲏⲥ ⲭⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ : ⲉⲱⲁ ⲧⲁⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲃ̣ⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲡ̣ⲣ̄
ⲓ̈ⲱⲟⲩ ⲉ| • ⲛ̄ⲥ̀ⲃⲱⲗⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ : ⲉⲱⲁ ⲡⲁ
ⲥϯⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲗ̄ⲃ̄ • ⲃⲁⲱⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛⲁⲱ ⲛ̄ⲩⲕⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲩ̄

4 fin. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ coniicio. — 14 ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲕⲱⲗⲩ sic.

They did not stir from warring with me until [they had made
a wall against me: the weak and paralysed ones continually crept.
they did not stir until they had made a wall against me, they crept until
they had made a wall against me; they established a watch outside me . . .
the bell was made to go round because of me, my good fortune (?) [came
on my behalf, the wretches thinking in their heart that I [was]
a man for whom none would seek. I therefore was
looking towards my Father, that he might send aid (βοήθεια),
looking towards my brethren, the sons of Light, that
they might come, tracking me. My Father therefore sent
the aid (βοήθεια) to me, my brethren arose, they became one with [me.
Through a cry only which my brethren uttered, their wall
tottered and fell, their wall tottered and fell,
their watches were unable to (?) stop (κωλύειν) them, nor (οὔτε) was he that
goes round with the bell and cries good fortune (?)
found, against the cry which my brethren uttered. The
demons ran to the Darkness, the demons ran to the
Darkness, trembling seized their Archon entirely. But (δέ)
I said to my brethren, 'Suffer (ἄνεχε) me yet this
hour'. I was quieting my brethren that they might not
destroy their firmament (στερέωμα); for I await my robe until
it comes and clothes him that shall wear (φορεῖν) it. I will await
my enlightening Light until it strips itself of their
Darkness. I will await my pleasant fragrance until
it returns to its place. I will await my sister,
the hour of Light, until she casts their corruption
away. I will await my brethren, the sons of Light, until
their stature (?) is completed for them. When therefore my shining
robe comes and clothes him that shall wear (φορεῖν) it: when my
pleasant fragrance strips itself of their stink and returns

5. 15 ⲱⲟⲗⲟⲓⲗ: vid. Crum Dict. 556 b; Hom. 54, 30. ⲧⲁⲱⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ: meaning uncertain. — 28 ⲁⲙⲁⲓⲏⲥ (cf. Hom. 69, 26; 80, 9; Keph. 95, 7; 103, 20; 144, 23. 28; 146, 14. 21. 29; 153, 14. 19; 154, 25. 29. 32; 174, 7): vid. 207, 3 n.

ⲁⲡⲉⲫⲙⲁ • ⲉ]ⲱⲁ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲕⲱ ⲛ[ⲥ]ⲱⲩ
ⲙ̈]ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ : ⲉⲱⲁ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ :
ⲭⲱ]ⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲏⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ : ⲉⲱⲁ ⲧⲁⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̈
ⲡⲟⲩ]ⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ • ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ[ⲉ]ⲩ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ :
ⲧⲟ]ⲧⲉ ⲧⲛⲁⲣⲁⲥⲧ̄ ⲣⲉⲧ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲁⲙⲥ̀ ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲉⲕⲉ
ⲁ]ⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ : ⲧⲛⲁⲭⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲓ̈ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
ⲙ̈]ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲥⲣⲁⲩⲣⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ
. . .//.] ⲧⲛⲁⲡⲁⲣⲕ̀ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲭⲓ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲁⲃ
ⲡⲟ]ⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲉⲫⲙⲁ : ⲧⲛⲁⲡⲁⲣⲕ̀ ⲙ̈ⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ [ⲧ]ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲓ̄
ⲁⲃⲁ]ⲗ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲁⲃ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲩ ⲙ̈ⲡⲉⲫⲙⲁ : ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
ⲛⲁ]ⲙⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ • ⲡⲧⲟ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲥⲩ̈ⲡⲟⲧⲗⲁ : ⲡⲕⲁⲥ
ⲧⲏ]ⲣⲓ̄ ⲛⲁⲱⲗ ⲁⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ : ⲛⲁⲡⲧⲟ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲣⲁⲥⲧ̄ :
ⲉ]ⲙⲛ̄ ⲃⲉⲝⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ • ⲙⲛ̄ ⲣⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ̣[ⲉ] ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲉ
ⲟ]ⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲁⲙ̀ : ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲉⲱⲉ • ⲥⲁ
ⲥ]ⲁ ⲛ]ⲙ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲗⲩⲡⲏ : ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲃⲓⲧⲏ̄ ⲁⲩ
ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ : ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩⲍⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲧⲉⲡⲱⲟⲩ :

ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ • ⲡⲁⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ : ⲅ̄ •

ⲦⲦ]ⲭⲁ̈ⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲧⲁⲡ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
ⲛ]ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲱⲱⲩ : ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ : ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲣ]ⲣⲱⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ : ⲛⲉ[ⲧ]ⲟⲩⲛ ⲯ̈ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡ]ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ[ⲧⲥⲓ]ⲱⲱⲩ : ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲱ[ⲓ ⲙ]ⲛ̄ ⲏⲡⲉ ⲁ+ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ :
ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲥⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧ[ⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲉ]ⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲱⲁⲡⲥ̀
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ [:] ⲙ̈ⲡⲓⲃⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲟ • ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ : ⲁⲛⲥⲁⲛⲉ
ⲡⲱⲍⲧ̄ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲭⲁ̈ⲓ • ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲕⲧ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲡⲉ
ⲗⲁⲩⲟⲥ : ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲃⲟⲩ • ⲛⲉ[ⲧⲧ]ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲧ
ⲁⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲕⲓⲛⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩⲉ : ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲣⲡ̄ ⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ
ⲙ̈]ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ • ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲱⲓ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲏⲡⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ : ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲗ[ⲡ
ⲛ̄]ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲁⲡⲥ̀ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ
ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ : ⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕⲁⲗⲡⲓ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲏ̄ : ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣⲱⲓ̄

~~to its place:~~| when my lightening Light leaves
the Darkness: when my brethren, the sons of Light,
are complete in their stature (ἡλικία): when my sister, the hour of
Light, goes up and sees the Land (χώρα) of Light:
then (τότε) I will strike my foot on the earth and sink their Darkness
down, I will smite their height with my head and shake
their firmament (στερέωμα) and the stars shall fall down like
. . . ., I will uproot the Darkness and cast it out and plant
the Light in its place, I will uproot the Evil and cast it
out and plant the Good in its place. The world (κόσμος)
shall| be full of glory, the earth shall be without suspicion (ὑποψία), the
whole world shall contain the Righteous (δίκαιος), they of the earth
shall dwell in peace,
there being no more rebel from henceforth, no name of sin shall be
uttered again, the Rich ones of Light shall rejoice on
every side without any grief (λύπη). That which the Living ones took was
saved, they will return again to that which is their own.

Concerning the First man: That of the Beginning (-ἀρχή), III.

The| ship whose keel is the dawn, the ropes of Light
are they that are on it, its helmsmen are glorious ones, its
crew are clothed with the dawn, they that bring (?) the treasure (χρῆμα) of
the| Mighty one that is upon it, immeasurable and countless,
laden with the wealth of the Living ones which can never
be counted. I know not where the Son of Evil saw
it, he took thieves and sent them to it (?), the thieves
poured upon the ship, they drew it out into the middle of the
sea (πέλαγος), they wounded its helmsmen, they that were entrusted
with the treasure (χρῆμα), they were endangered (κινδυνεύειν). They seized the
treasure (χρῆμα)
of the Mighty one which is measureless and countless, they stole
the wealth of the Living ones which can never be
counted, the treasure (χρῆμα) which they stole from it they spread

3 ϫωϰ ϩⲛⲛⲉⲩϩⲏⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ, cf. 206, 28 ⲩⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲙⲁ|ⲏⲥ ϫωϰ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ, which is parallel. ἡλικία (cf. 214, 10) means 'stature', 'size', cf. Lk. 19, 3; Lucian V.H. 1, 40 ed Jacobitz, quoted by Liddell-Scott-Jones p. 768 b; and ⲁⲙⲁ|ⲏⲥ is synonymous, cf. sah. ⲁⲉ|ⲏⲥ and boh. ⲙⲁ|ⲏ.

ⲁⲩⲥ[ⲁⲣ]ⲟ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ : ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲥ̣ⲛ̣ⲛ̣[ⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄
ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥϯⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ : ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲃⲟⲩ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁ[ⲥ ⲁⲩ
ⲙⲁⲥⲟ̄ : ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲏⲣⲩⲗⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ[ⲉ ⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲗⲁϫⲧⲟⲩ ⲁ̣[ⲡ]ⲉⲩⲥ̣ⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ : ⲁⲛⲉⲧ[ⲥⲕⲉ
ⲉⲧ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲁⲩⲥⲓ • ⲁⲩⲁ̣ⲣⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲥⲟ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲃⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲣ̣[ⲧ
ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲕⲏⲕ ⲁⲥⲏⲩ + ⲱⲧⲏⲛ ⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ : ⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲙⲁⲣ̣
ⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ : ⲁⲛⲥⲏⲕⲉ ⲣ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ ⲁⲩⲱⲟ̣[ⲩ
ⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲉ • ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲓⲧ ⲃⲉ ⲃ[ⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ[ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲗⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲉⲥⲟ ⲡⲉⲩϫⲁⲓ : ⲁⲩⲱ[ⲁ
ⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲉ : ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙ̣[ⲁ
ⲁⲩⲕ[ⲓⲛⲇⲩⲛⲉⲩⲉ : ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩ[ⲧⲁ
ⲙ̣[ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲡⲉ : ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ̣[ⲉⲩ
ⲧⲏⲥ • ⲁ[ⲩ]ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ̣[ⲣⲉⲧⲟ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡϫⲁⲓ : ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲙ̣[ⲁ
ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲃ[ⲓ ⲡϫⲁⲓ ⲁⲙⲉⲩ • ⲥⲁⲕ ⲡϫⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛ̄ⲧⲩ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ[ⲓ
ⲁⲡ[ⲙⲁ : ⲑⲉⲣⲁⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲉ : ⲥⲟⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ : ⲃⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲉⲥ • [ⲛ̄
ⲕⲃⲁⲗⲃⲗ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥϯⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ : ⲱⲁⲣⲱⲣ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲑⲟ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ • ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲏⲣⲩⲗ·
ⲗⲟⲥ : ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲥ ⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ • ⲛ̄ⲕⲃⲓⲧⲟ̄ ⲛ[ⲕ
ⲧⲉⲗⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲭⲁⲓ • ⲣⲁⲧⲓⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲥⲏⲕⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁ[ⲥ ⲧⲃ
ⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲥⲓⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ : ⲣⲁⲧⲓⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲏⲕⲉ • ⲉⲧⲱ[ⲟⲩ
ⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲉ : ϯⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄[ⲛ̄
ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲧ̣ⲁⲑ̄ ⲛ̣ⲉⲕⲱⲏⲛ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟ[ⲩⲙ]ⲉⲛⲏ : ⲥⲉⲥⲟ
ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ϫⲉⲩⲛⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲩ] ⲡⲥⲱⲩϯ̄ ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ : ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲕⲟ̄ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ • ⲡⲱⲏⲣ[ⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲙⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲁⲓ̈ • ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲕⲟ̄ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣ[ⲟ̄
ⲥⲁⲥⲏϯⲟ̄ • ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ̣[ⲣⲉⲧⲟ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡϫⲁⲓ : ⲁⲩ
ⲑ]ⲉⲣⲁ[ⲡ]ⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲉ • ⲁⲩ+ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲡ[ⲥⲧⲟⲥ : ⲁⲩⲃⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁⲥ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲉⲥ • ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣ[ⲏ ⲛ̄
ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥϯⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲓⲧⲟⲩ : ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲣⲱⲣ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲧⲉ

15 ⲥⲟⲥⲉ sic: leg. ⲥⲉⲥⲟ. — 24 ⲡⲥⲱⲩϯ̄ sic, cf. 209, 5.

and scattered to their worlds (κόσμος), they took [roots and
fragrant grasses and planted them in their land, [they
filled it, they took beryls (βήρυλλος) and jewels, [they
nailed them and fixed them to their firmament (στερέωμα), the hungry
ate and were sated, a . . . . overtook the prostrate ones,
the naked put clothes upon them, they bound
diadems also upon their head, the poor ones became rich and gloried
in things that were not theirs. The report therefore reached (?)
the Mighty one that a . . . . . had overtaken his ship and its
helmsmen were wounded and they that were entrusted with the
treasure (χρῆμα)
were endangered (κινδυνεύειν). He called an envoy (πρεσβευτής), a
storehouse (ταμιεῖον) of life, which is the Mind (νοῦς), he called an
envoy (πρεσβευτής) and sent him forth unto the ship, [saying], Go to the place
hither the wind has taken the ship; tow the ship and bring it up
hither; tend (θεραπεύειν) its helmsmen; set up them
that were entrusted with the treasure (χρῆμα); dig up their land
with the spade
and upturn the fragrant roots; destroy and tumble down
their firmament (στερέωμα) and cast down the jewels and the
beryls (βήρυλλος); gather all the treasure (χρῆμα) of the Mighty one
and take it and
put it aboard the ship; dishonour (ἀτιμάζειν) them, the poor ones, and cast [the
diadem from their head; dishonour (ἀτιμάζειν) the poor ones that
glory in things that are not theirs; aid the
righteous (δίκαιος) and plant thy trees in the world (οἰκουμένη); set
up thy righteous (δίκαιος) that there may be sent up to them
the distilled part. Then (τότε) he armed himself and girt himself at
once, the son
of the Lights and the Richnesses, he armed himself and girt
his loins; he leapt and came forth unto the ship; he
tended (θεραπεύειν) its helmsmen; he aided its
faithful (πιστός) ones; he dug up their land with the spade; he tore up the
fragrant roots and took them; he destroyed their firmament (στερέωμα);

5 ⲁ̣ⲣⲥⲱ̄ⲙⲉ: meaning unknown to me. — 9 ϭⲗⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ: ? cf. ϭⲗⲁ, Spiegelberg op. cit. p. 286. Perhaps 'storm', 'hurricane', cf. ⲡⲧⲏⲩ, l. 14. — 16 ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲉⲥ 29 ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲉⲥ: cf. ⲁⲥϭ, Crum Dict. 18b.

ⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲁ]ⲩⲛⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲃⲏⲣⲩⲗⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ :
ⲁⲩⲣⲁ]ⲧ̈ⲓⲙⲁⲍ[ⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ|ⲍⲏⲕⲉ • ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲍ ⲧⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲍ|
ⲭⲛ̄]ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ : ⲁⲩ+ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲁ|ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲃⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲛ]ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲟ|ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ : ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲍⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲕⲁ|
ⲟ]ⲥ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲏ̈ : ⲭⲉⲩⲛⲁⲭⲁⲩ ⲡⲥⲱⲩⲧ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ :
ⲁ]ⲩⲁⲣⲭ ⲡⲭⲁⲏ̈ ⲁⲩⲗⲁⲃⲱⲩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲁⲩⲭ|ⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲱⲣⲟⲛ
ⲁⲍⲣ]ⲏⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲏ̈ : ⲁⲩⲭ|ⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲁⲏ̈ •
. . . ⲭⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲏ̈ⲛⲉ :
ⲁⲡ]ⲭⲁⲏ̈ ⲭⲉ ⲃⲁⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲣⲉⲩⲣⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉ [ⲉⲓ ⲥⲁ]ⲡⲉⲧⲉ
ⲡ]ⲱⲟⲩ ——

ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲡⲁⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲏ̈ⲛⲉ

Ⲁ]ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲱⲧⲃⲟ ⲁⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲍⲁⲡⲗⲉ[ⲭⲍ ⲉⲧ]ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ[ⲧⲛⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲉ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ : ⲁⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲱⲧⲃⲟ ⲁⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲁ̈ⲡ[ⲉ]ⲩⲍⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ . . ⲡⲉ
. . ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲏ̈ : ⲍⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱ[ⲧ]ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ •
ⲍⲓ]ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ .ⲫ.[. . . .] ⲙⲙⲁⲕ : ⲭⲉ ⲁⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲱⲍ
ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲃ̄ⲥ ⲁⲛⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ + ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲱⲕ ⲁⲭⲱⲟⲩ : ⲁⲛ|ⲛⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲭ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲃⲥ • ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲏ̈ :
ⲁ]ⲛ|ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱ|ⲡⲉ • ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲍⲟ ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲁⲗⲃ
ⲱⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲏ̈ : ⲁⲛ|ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱ|ⲡⲉ : ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲍⲟ
ⲛ]ⲉⲩⲃⲉⲣⲏⲍ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲏ̈ : ⲁⲛ|ⲇⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲱⲁⲛⲱ̄ ⲉⲧ
ⲗⲁⲙⲥ̄ • ⲁⲩ[ⲥ]ⲁⲃⲧⲉ ⲁⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲍ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲏ̈ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲡ
ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲏ̈ ⲥⲱ[ⲧⲙⲉ] ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩ[ⲟ ⲡ]ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ : ⲁⲩ
ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲡ[ⲣⲉ]ⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲏ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲭⲉ • ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲁⲏ̈ⲛⲉ • ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲍ|ⲏⲧ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲫⲃⲏ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲃⲉⲝⲉⲩⲉ : ⲃⲱⲕ
ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛ̄ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ • ⲣⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉ| ⲁⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ : ⲣⲃⲟⲏ
ⲑ]ⲉ| ⲁⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲡⲗⲉⲭⲍ̄ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ •
ⲛ̄]ⲇⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ + ⲡⲉⲇⲏⲥ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲱⲣⲉ + ⲃⲁⲛ|ⲡⲉ
ⲁ]ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ : ⲛ|ⲍ ⲉⲧⲱⲁⲛⲱ̄ ⲉⲧⲗⲁⲙⲥ̄ • ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲉⲭⲍ̄
ⲟⲩⲱⲟⲡ ⲍⲁⲡⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲣ|ⲟⲛ : ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲭ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ

he cast the beryls (βήρυλλος) and the jewels down:
he] dishonoured (ἀτιμάζειν) them, the poor ones; he cast the diadem
from their head: he helped his righteous (δίκαιος); he planted
his plants in the world (οἰκουμένη): he set up the righteous (δίκαιος)
that all the distilled part might be sent up to them on high:
he strengthened the ship and set a bulwark upon it and took it up
as a gift (δῶρον) to the Mighty one; he took it up as a gift (δῶρον) to the
Mighty one:
. . . . . the Land (χώρα) of Light:
the] ship (?) sent (?) [a] palm forth; its helmsmen [came to] that which is
theirs.

Concerning the First Man:
That of the Cross (σταυρός) of Light.

The] Youth groaned and wept in the pit which is at the bottom of Hades;
the Youth groaned and wept, his cry . . . .
up: 'Hast thou not heard, o Great Brightness?
Has none . . . . . thee that Hades has been stirred up
and rebelled and they of the abyss have put their arms upon them? The
false Gods that have rebelled have taken their armour against me;
the goddesses, the daughters of shame, have set up their armour
against me; the goddesses, the daughters of shame, have set up
their spears; the stinking and foul demons
have prepared to make war with me.' When the
Mighty one heard, when they told him the word, he
called an Envoy (πρεσβευτής), the Adamas of Light,
the son of the . . . .; he called the Adamas of Light,
the pitiless, the subduer of the rebels, [saying,] 'Go
down, go, o Adamas; succour (βοηθεῖν) the Youth:
succour (βοηθεῖν) the Youth that is beneath the pit that is at the
bottom of Hades:
the] demons, — put fetters (πέδη) on their feet; the goddesses, — put iron
on their hands; the stinking and foul devils, — let their neck
break beneath the collar (κολλάριον); the false Gods that have

13. 14 ϣтBo (cf. Hom. 15, 27; 78, 28; 91, 18); vid. Crum Dict. 595 b. — 21 Bερнϩ: vid. 196, 7 n.

ⲃⲱⲃⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲡⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲙⲏⲙⲉ ϯ[ⲃⲁⲙ ⲥⲓⲧⲱⲕ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲡⲗⲉⲭⲉ̀ • ⲉⲧⲉ [ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡ|ⲧⲛ̄ [ϯ] ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲕ+ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲕ[ⲃⲱⲕ
ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲓⲟⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲓ̈ⲱⲧ : ⲁⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲥⲁⲕ[ⲩ
ⲁⲩⲭⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ : ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ : ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲃ[ⲟ
ⲏⲑⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲡⲗⲉⲭⲉ̀ ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ : ⲁ[ⲩ
+ ⲡⲉⲇⲏⲥ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ • ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲁⲩ+ ⲃⲁ
ⲛ|ⲡⲉ [ⲁⲧ]ⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ : ⲛ|ⲍ ⲉⲧⲗⲁⲙⲉ̀ ⲉⲧⲱⲁⲛⲱ̄ • ⲁⲩⲧⲉ
ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲙⲉⲭ]ⲉ̀ ⲟⲩⲱⲟⲃ̄ ⲥⲁⲡⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ : ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲟⲩ[ⲧⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ[ⲭ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲃⲉ̀ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲡⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲙⲏⲙ[ⲉ
ⲁⲩ+ ⲃⲁⲙ ⲥⲓⲧⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ • ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲡⲗⲉⲭⲉ̀ ⲛ̄[ⲉ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ : ⲁⲩ+ ⲃⲁⲙ ⲥⲓⲧⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲓⲗ[ⲟⲩ
ⲁⲩ[ⲃⲱⲕ] ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲓⲧⲉⲥⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲓ̈ⲱⲧ : ⲁⲡⲉⲕⲓ̈ⲱ[ⲧ
ⲭⲟ[ⲟⲥ ⲭ]ⲉ ⲭⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲕ • ⲁⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲭⲟ
ⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲭⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲥⲉ : ⲉⲓ̈[ⲁ]ⲭⲓ ⲭⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ
ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ̀ [ⲱ] ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲃⲓ̈

ⲉ • ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ : ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ

Ⲱ ⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ̀ • ⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈
ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ : ⲱ ⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙ|ⲟⲛ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙ[ⲟⲛ
ⲁⲩⲛⲁϫⲓ ⲥⲁⲡⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲙⲏⲙⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧ[ⲥⲉ
ⲃⲇⲟⲙⲁⲥ : ⲡ..ⲱ.ⲛ : ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲇⲟⲙⲁⲥ ⲥ̣[ⲩ]ⲉ̣ⲓ ⲁⲩⲧⲣⲉ
ⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲡⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲉ̣ⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ⲁⲩⲃ̣ⲁⲣ[ⲃ ⲥ]ⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲱⲕ̄ ⲥ̣
ⲣⲁⲓ̈ • ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲣ ⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲥⲙⲉⲗⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲗⲃ̄ ⲟⲩⲗⲓ
ⲃⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲡⲁⲱⲕ̄ • ⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲟⲩⲕⲱⲥⲧ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲁⲥⲙⲉ
ⲗⲱ : ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ|ⲍⲱⲥ ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲍⲏⲧ : ⲭⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲍⲉ[ⲓ̈
ⲉ ⲁⲙⲡ[ⲁ]ⲱⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲁⲧⲡⲧ̄ : ⲙⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲩ ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ[ⲁ
ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲇⲟⲙⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲗ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲙⲡⲁⲱⲕ̄ [ⲛⲁ
ⲃⲉⲗ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲙⲡⲁⲱ : ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ + ⲛ̄ⲍⲧⲏⲩ ⲁⲛⲥ[ⲁⲍ
ⲙⲉⲗⲱ : ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲧⲣⲉ ⲣⲉⲧ ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲣⲃ̣ⲉ̣

29 ⲁⲙⲡⲁⲱ sic. ⲁⲛⲥ[ⲁⲍ]: ⲁ ex ⲛ correctum vid.

rebelled, — bind them beneath the dark mountain; [strengthen and
encourage the Youth who is beneath the pit which [is Hades
below; strengthen and encourage the Youth, and [go
and come up before thy Father'. The Adamas armed himself
and sped down: he succoured (βοηθεῖν) the Youth; he
succoured (βοηθεῖν) the Youth beneath the pit of Hades which is below; [he
put fetters (πέδη) on the feet of the demons; he put iron on the
hands of the goddesses; the stinking and foul devils, — he made
their neck break beneath the collar (κολλάριον); the false gods also
that rebelled he bound beneath the dark mountain:
he strengthened and encouraged the Youth that was beneath the pit of
Hades which is below; he strengthened and encouraged the Youth:
he [went] and came up before his Father; his Father
said, 'All hail to thee'. The Rich ones of Light
said, 'Greeting and praise (?), do thou receive greeting and praise (?), o Youth,
for thou hast found rest, [o] Little one'.

V: The Soul, which [is] the First Man.

O the treasure (χρῆμα) of the Great ones of life, the jewel of the living
Mighty ones. O the great treasure (χρῆμα) of the Living ones. Who art thou
from the storehouses (ταμιεῖον)? Who art thou from the storehouses (ταμιεῖον)?
He cast him beneath the dark mountain, the dwelling of them of the
ἑβδομάς, the . . . . They of the ἑβδομάς came, they caused
the treasure (χρῆμα) to run and it came (?) forth. They set [sixty] snares
for me, they spread sixty traps; they smeared
madness on their snares; they put fire in their traps,
the wretches thinking in their heart that I should fall
into the snares and be defeated. But they know not, they of
the ἑβδομάς, that my eyes see the snares, my
eyes see the snares, my heart marks the traps.
I joined my feet, I seized them, the traps (?)

14 ⲭⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲕ (cf. 57, 27 etc.): a form of greeting, two words coupled by ⲙⲛ̄, the second being of the *sdmf* conjugation, cf. ⲙⲗⲟ = Crum Dict. 158 b. ⲭⲣⲟ has, I think, nothing to do in this case with ⲃⲣⲟ 'conquer', despite Keph. 55, 31. — 15 ⲭⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲥⲗⲥⲉ: a similar form of greeting or congratulation. With ⲥⲗⲥⲉ compare ⲥⲱⲥ 'praise'. — 22 ἑβδομάς: vid. 53, 18 n. — 24 etc. ⲥⲁⲥⲙⲉⲗⲱ: ? an ⲉⲗⲱ (cf. 194, 18) that causes one to sink (ⲥⲱⲥⲙ), a pitfall.

. . . . . .]ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . ⲛ̣ . . . : ϯⲡⲛⲧ̀ ⲥⲉⲡⲏ ⲛⲥⲱ[ⲓ̈
. . . . . .] . ⲁ̣ⲓ [ⲥⲛ̄]ⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ : ϯⲡⲛⲧ̀ ⲥⲉⲡⲏ̣[ⲧ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈] ⲭⲉ . [. . .] . . . . . ⲕ̣ . ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁ̣ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲭⲉ] ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲱⲩ̄ⲕ̄ • ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲥⲙⲉ
5 ⲗ]ⲱ • ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲧ̀ ⲁⲡⲁⲥⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲭⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲩ • ⲛⲓⲃⲱⲃ
ⲛ]ⲓⲥⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲡⲏⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ : ⲃⲱⲕ ⲛ[ⲏ]ⲧⲛ̄ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲁⲧ
ⲥⲉⲃⲇⲟⲙⲁⲥ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲭⲓ ⲥⲣⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲱⲩ̄ⲕ̄ • ⲃⲱⲕ
ⲭ̣ⲓ ⲥⲣⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲱⲩ̄ⲕ̄ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲱⲩ̄ⲕ̄ ⲭⲓ
ⲥ]ⲣⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ : ⲃⲱⲕ ⲱⲙⲉ̀ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ[ⲗⲓ]ⲃⲉ : ⲛ̄
10 ⲧ]ⲉⲧ̣ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲱⲥⲧ̄ ⲉⲧⲭⲉⲣⲉ̣ : ⲉⲓ̈ⲏⲡ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ
ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ ⲭⲉ [ⲧⲁ]ⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲙⲡⲁⲱⲩ̄ⲕ̄
ⲛ̄]ⲥⲉⲃⲁⲡⲧ̄ : ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲥ̣[. . . ⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲉ̣ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ • ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲙ
ⲡ]ⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ • ⲁⲓ̈ⲙ̣[ⲁⲥ]ⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲁⲓ̈[. . .] . ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲙⲁ
ⲥⲉ • ⲱⲁⲛϯⲡⲱⲥ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲫⲣⲁ[ⲧⲏ]ⲉ̣ • ⲥⲓ
15 ⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟ . ⲣ̣ⲁ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ
ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲥⲧ̄ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ϯⲁⲗⲉ̣ • ⲡⲗⲗⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲩⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲩⲣ̄
ϯⲁⲗⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ : ⲡⲁ
ⲭⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲥⲏⲧ ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ • ⲧⲁⲥⲩⲛⲉⲓⲇⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲩ
ⲣ]ⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ • ⲡⲁⲥⲏⲧ ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ • ⲱⲥⲡⲉ̣ ⲛ̄
20 . ⲃ . . ⲛ̣ . . . . . [. . .]ⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀
ⲧ]ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ .ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ . [. . . .]ⲍ̣[. .] ⲱⲁⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲭⲉ
ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲉ̣ⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲧ̣ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ : ⲁⲩⲉ
ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥ̣[. . . .]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲁⲩ[ⲛ]ⲧ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲕ̣

25 ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ — 5

Ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲏⲕ̣ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲁⲓⲃⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲥ : ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲁⲓⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲱⲧⲁ̣ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲃⲱ
ⲭ]ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲭⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲁⲩ . [.
. ⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲙⲛⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲍⲥⲉ : ⲁⲩⲉⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲛ̄
30 . . . .] . ⲧⲁ . . ⲛ . . . . . [. . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲉ̣

28. 29 fort. ⲁ̣[ⲩⲉ]ⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ.

. . . . . of the . . . . I run, they run after me
. . . . me (?) [in] the world (οἰκουμένη); I run, they run (?)
after me], that . . . . . forth to (?) the man,
for] he has escaped from the snares, he has got free from the traps.
I turned back, I said to them, the weaklings,
the wretches that run after me, 'Go away, go, ye of the
ἑβδομάς; go, attend to your snares; go,
attend to your snares and let your snares
attend to you. Go, sink down in the madness
and fall into the fire that is kindled: I am not of the
sons of the world (οἰκουμένη) that I should fall into the snares
and be caught. I am a . . . . of the Living ones, a lamp (λαμπάς)
of Light entire'. I walked therefore, I . . ., I
walked, until I reached the bank of the Euphrates:
on the bank of the river . . . . there is a Youth
sitting, making music (ψάλλειν), the Youth there sits and makes
music (ψάλλειν) in the scent of life which dwelt upon him.
He said, 'My heart, be a mountain (?) for me: my conscience (συνείδησις),
grow (?) for me into a mind (νοῦς). My heart, be a mountain (?) for me. Be
. . . . . and the Living ones
send after thee . . . . . how long, for
they took an Envoy (πρεσβευτής), they sent him after me, he
grasped the . . . . of my hand, he [brought] me up to the Land (χώρα)
of Peace.

Concerning the Living Spirit: VI.

I was clothed, as I stood, in a robe (στολή) without spot,
a robe (στολή) without spot, wherein there was no waning or
diminution ever. The Living ones passed my cry . . .
. . . my care (μέριμνα), I arose; they grasped
. . . . . me to that which

18. 19 **ⲡⲁⲩⲣⲉ**: vid. 92, 12 n. — 26. 27 **ⲁⲓⲃⲉ**: vid. 23, 29 n.

. . . ⲟⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ • ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲩⲥ . [. . . . . .]ⲉ : ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ϫⲉ ⲕ̣ . ⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ . . [. . . . . 3 non legi potest

ⲙⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ : ⲉⲣⲱⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛ[ⲉ] ⲟ̣ⲉ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡ̣[ⲩ]
ⲙⲁ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲙ̄ⲥⲱⲧ ⲁⲧⲱⲛ ϫⲛ̄ⲙⲡ̣[ⲓⲛⲉⲩ

ⲍ ⲡⲁⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ

(ⲗⲁ) ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ . . . . . ⲉⲩⲓ̈ⲁⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲑⲃⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̣ⲃ̣[ⲉ
ϫⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ • ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ [ⲁⲩ
ⲃⲱⲗ[ⲡ̄ ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ : ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲙⲛ̄
ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲁ̣[ⲩ
ⲑⲃⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲉⲙⲡⲟ̣ⲗⲏ ⲁⲑⲙ̄ⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩϫⲓⲥⲉ • ⲁ̣[. .
ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲡ ⲡ̣ⲟ̣[. . . . .] . . . ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲥ ⲧⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲥⲓ
ϫⲛ̄ⲧⲩ̄[ⲁ]ⲡⲉ : ⲁⲩ[ⲛⲁⲥ] ⲧⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲥⲓϫⲛ̄ⲧⲩ̄ⲁⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲡ̣[.
ⲁⲩ[. . . . .]ⲟ̣ⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ : ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲛⲍ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲩⲣⲁⲛⲛⲟ̣[ⲥ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ • ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ • ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲛⲟⲩ
ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ • ⲁⲩⲧⲣⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲕⲟⲗⲁ
ⲥⲓⲥ : ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ : ⲁ̀ⲩⲧⲱⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ̣ⲩ
ⲕ̣ⲁⲓⲟ̣ⲁⲙ • ⲁⲩⲛⲁϫⲟⲩ ⲁⲃ̣ⲁⲗ ⲙ̣ⲡ̣ⲛ̣ . ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ : ⲁⲩ
ⲧⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥ̣ⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ : ϫⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧ ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ : ⲁ[ⲩ
ⲱⲱⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲙ[ⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲥ̣ⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲛ̣ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲕ[ⲁ
ⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁ : ⲁⲩⲧ̣ⲱⲙ ⲁⲛⲣⲱⲟ[ⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ • ϫⲉ̣
ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁ[ⲗⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲱ[ⲧⲡ̄ ⲁⲍ]ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ : [ⲁⲩ]ⲥ̣ⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲁⲩ
ⲕⲱⲗⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲉ̣ⲧⲧⲱⲛⲉ̣ . [. . . .] . . . . . .
ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲉⲣ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲩⲧⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲛ
ⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ : ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲛⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ • ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱⲟⲩ
ⲁ̣ . . . . . [. .] ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ : ⲁⲩⲍⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲍ • ⲁ[ⲩ
ⲥⲱⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲕⲣⲉ : ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣⲕ̄ ⲡⲕⲉ̣[ⲕⲉ
ⲁⲩⲛⲁϫⲩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ⲁⲩⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲃⲩ ⲙⲡⲉ̣[ⲩ
ⲙⲁ : ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣[ⲍ]ⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ • ⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲧ̣[. .

11 ⲁⲑⲙ̄ⲕⲟ sic: leg. ⲁⲩⲑⲙ̄ⲕⲟ. — 19 ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲗⲙⲉ sic.

. . . . gave (?) to me: the Light no longer . . . .
they said to me, 'Thou . . . the Light . . . . . .
l. 3 *illegible*
full of Light; when the Light therefore goes to its
place the Darkness shall fall and not rise again henceforth.

VII: That of the Living Spirit.

O Wise one of the . . . . . who came to subdue the
rebels of the world (κόσμος). He floated (?) in great power, he
appeared in great brightness; in his power and
the power of his Father he came, he made war (πόλεμος) with them; he
subdued their camps (παρεμβολή); he hurt their height; . . .
he came, he caught . . . . ., he threw the diadem
from his head, he threw the diadem from his head, he
. . . . . of the fire, he fettered the tyrants (τύραννος)
of the earth, he took from them their kingdom, he deprived them
of their kingdom, he caused them to be led away to the
punishment (κόλασις), he seized the authorities (ἐξουσία) also, he wrest
from them their
power also, he cast them from the . . . of the fire. he
closed the fountains of fire, he closed the fountains of
fire that they might not again send up darkness, |he
quenched the furnaces (κάμινος) of fire, he brought the Light, he set
it in its place, he closed the doors of Hades that
the Righteous (δίκαιος) might not be shut in in them; he stopped, he
hindered (κωλύειν) the course (δρόμος) that . . . . . .
he seized the goddesses and the gods, he wrest their vehicles
from them, he took their vehicles from them, he appointed them
to . . . . . of the Living, he blocked the troubled rivers, he
distilled the clear waters, he uprooted the Darkness
and cast it out; he brought the Light and planted it in its
place; he closed all the fountains, he put (?) the . . .

8 ⲁⲙⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉⲩ: vid. 193, 30 n. — 25. 26 ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲉⲗⲟ: cf. Keph. 36, 28; H. H. Schaeder, Morgenland 28, p. 102.

. . . . . ⲁ]ϫⲱⲟⲩ : ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲣⲯ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥ[ⲥⲁ
. .] . . . . ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲧⲡⲉ : ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲣⲯ̄ ⲛ̄ϯ
ⲛⲁ]ϭ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁϩϩⲁ • ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲛⲁϫⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ :
ⲛⲉ]ϫⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲡⲟⲣⲟⲥ • ⲛ|ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ
ⲙ̄]ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ : ⲛ̄ϭ|ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲱⲁⲧⲉ • ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲡⲱⲛ
ⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲩⲧ̄ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲱⲛϩ : ⲁⲩⲟⲃⲃ̈ⲟ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁϭ
ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ • ⲁⲩⲟⲃⲃ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲃⲉⲯⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̀ : ⲁⲩ
ⲱⲙⲥ̀ ⲛⲉⲥⲕⲁⲓⲃⲉⲯⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̀ • ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲍⲟ ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲓ̀ ⲁ
ϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ: ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲍⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ • ⲁⲩ
ⲣ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲁⲃⲟⲩ : ⲁⲩⲛⲉⲍⲥⲉ [ⲛ̄ⲛ]ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲍⲓ
ⲛⲏⲃ • ⲁⲩ+ ⲡⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲡⲱⲃⲱ ⲁⲩ+ ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲛⲃⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ • ϫⲉⲩⲁⲱⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ
ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ • ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩⲍ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ
ⲧϫⲣⲁⲣⲁⲧ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲁⲩⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲛⲍⲏⲕ[ⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲉ :
ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲱ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲡ[ⲉⲩⲓ̈]ⲱⲧ̀ ⲉ
ⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ̄ : ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲍ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲓⲏ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ϫⲛ̄ⲙ̄
ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲁⲧϫⲱⲣⲁ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲥ]ⲟⲣⲁⲍⲧ̄ : ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲍ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲓⲏ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ
ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲥⲓⲱⲱⲥ : ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓ
ⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲥⲓⲱⲱⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲱⲁⲩ+ ⲟⲩⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ : ⲱⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲏ
ⲡⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱⲍ ⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲡⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲗⲗⲉ
ⲗⲟⲥ : ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲃ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲛⲍ̀ • ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁ
ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲍⲱⲟⲩ ⲁϫⲱⲩ : ϫⲉⲩⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ
ⲡ̄ⲃⲣⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲥⲉⲃⲓ]ⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧ[.] . . . . . ⲕ̣ ⲛ̣ⲥⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲃⲟ . . .]ⲉ ⲡⲃⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲓⲧⲩ̄ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲛ]ⲉϫⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
ⲟ|ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ : ⲛ|ⲉϫⲏⲩ ⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉ
ⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ϯⲩϫⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ

: ⲏ : ⲡⲁⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏ[ⲥ]

ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲁϫ|ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ • ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ̣[ⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲁϫⲓⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲡ̣
ⲡⲉⲧϫ]ⲁⲥ̣ⲉ ⲁⲟⲩ[ⲉ ⲥⲛ̄]ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ[ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ . . . .]ⲁⲍ
. . . .]ⲛⲉ̣.ⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲕ̣ⲟⲩ . ⲉ . [. .] ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̣ . [. . . . . .]ⲙⲟ

. . . . upon them, he spread out the great sea (θάλασσα),
. . . . called it the sky, he spread out this
great sea (θάλασσα), he built the ships and launched them on it,
the| ships of the great traders (ἔμπορος), the faithful (πιστός)
men of Truth, the barks of the merchants, that will convey
up the distilled part to life. But he subdued the great
sea (θάλασσα), he subdued the rebels also that are in it, he
sank its rebels also in it, he set guards over
them to watch them, he set up them that fell, he
healed them that were wounded, he awakened them that
slept, he gave memory to them that forgot, he gave the Light
to the eyes of the Righteous (δίκαιος), that they might go up and
see the Land (χώρα) of Light, he gathered them that
were scattered, he enlightened the poor ones of Darkness,
he appointed and made straight the course (δρόμος) which his living
Father enjoined on him, he made smooth the royal road from
hence to the Land (χώρα) of Peace, he made smooth the royal road
that the Righteous (δίκαιος) might go upon it, the Righteous (δίκαιος)
might go upon it and see the Land (χώρα) of Light.
Brightness is set upon them there, a diadem is bound
upon their head and they are added to the number of the Angels.
He planted him a plant in the lives, he called
his beloved ones, he set them up upon it that they might purify
the seed and take it forth . . . . . and purify
. . . the seed and take it |forth upon the| ships and the
barks. On those ships of Light therefore
shall your souls go aboard.

VIII: That of the Envoy (πρεσβευτής).

From the ranks (τάξις) of the kingdom, from |the ranks| of the
Exalted (?) one, one of the sons of Light did . . .

l. 31 *fragmentary*

5. 26 ϭ|ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ: vid. 76, 29 n. — 16. 17 ⲥ|ⲏ ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ (cf. Hom. 91, 25): vid. Crum Dict. 299 b.

ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ • ⲁⲩⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲃⲱ[ⲗ̄ⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ • ⲁⲩⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̣ⲟ[ⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲃⲱⲗ̄ⲡ̄
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥ+ⲃⲱⲱⲛ ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲗⲁⲙ̀ⲥ̀ : ⲛ̄ . [. . . .
ⲁⲡⲟⲃⲁⲗⲥⲁⲙⲟⲛ ⲱⲁⲱⲉ : ⲁⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡ[. .
ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ : ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧ̣[ⲉⲩ
ⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ • ⲁⲩⲥⲕⲁⲣⲕⲣ̄ ⲁⲩⲗⲓⲃⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲩⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ : ⲁⲩⲧ̣ⲱⲛ̣
ⲭⲉⲩⲁ+ⲥⲧⲏⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ • ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲩⲗⲓⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ[ⲩ
ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ : ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲭⲉⲩⲁ+ⲥⲧⲏⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ • ⲁⲩⲙⲩⲣⲓ[ⲍⲉ
ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩ[ⲥ]+ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲕⲁⲣⲕⲣ̄ : ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲗⲭ ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲉⲧ • [ⲁⲩ
ⲟⲩⲱⲱ[ⲧ̄] ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ : ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲥⲟ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲏⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ̣
ⲁⲕⲉⲓ [ⲥⲛ̄]ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲱ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ • ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲁⲓ̈ • ⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏ
ⲛⲏ ⲱ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲟ
ⲥⲙⲟⲥ : [ⲁ]ⲙ̀ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲕⲕⲁ ⲧⲉⲓⲣⲏ
ⲛⲏ ⲥⲛ̣[ⲧⲛ̄]ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ : ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̣ⲓⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲓ
ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ • ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ [ⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲁⲩ ⲥ̣ⲱⲱⲩ ⲁⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲏⲧ • ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲭ]ⲟ̄ ⲁⲡⲱⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄+
ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲥⲏⲧⲟ̄ : ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲁⲗⲟ̄ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲗⲉⲁ
ⲅⲣⲁ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲡⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ :
ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲁⲗⲟ̄ ⲁ[ⲥⲟⲩ]ⲛ ⲁⲧⲕ̣ⲁⲗⲏⲁⲅⲣⲁ • ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲁⲩⲥⲟ̄
ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲱ. ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲁ . . . ⲁ̣ . ⲕ̣ . ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ
ⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲙⲏⲉ̣ : ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲩ
ⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ . ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲁ̣ⲗⲗ[. . .] . . . ⲥⲏⲧ̣[.
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙ . . . . [.] . . ⲩ . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ : ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉ . [. .]ⲟ̄[.
ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡ[. .]ⲉ • ⲁⲡⲃⲁⲛ|ⲡⲉ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲃ|ⲓⲭ : ⲁⲩⲁ
ⲗⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲕ̣ⲁⲗⲏⲁⲅⲣⲁ • ⲉⲡⲉⲓ|ⲇⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓ
ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ . . • ⲁ̣ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ
ⲛⲉⲩ̣ [. . . . . .]ⲧ̣ⲟ : ⲙⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲟ̈ⲓ̈
ⲛ̄[ⲉⲁⲩ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁ]ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ [ⲙ
ⲛ[ⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲧ]ⲉ ⲡⲥ+ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲃ[. . .] ⲛ̄+ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ̣

3 fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩ. — 4 ⲁⲡⲟⲃⲁⲗⲥⲁⲙⲟⲛ sic. — 22 leg. ⲁⲥⲉⲍⲱⲩ?

of the Darkness. An image (εἰκών) of Light was revealed [in
the dwelling-place of the beasts (θηρίον), an image (εἰκών)] of Light was
revealed] in the land (χώρα) of the foul stink . . . .
balsam (ὀποβάλσαμον) spread. The worlds (κόσμος) and they of the . . .
gathered and came to see his image (εἰκών), they came to see his
image (εἰκών), they grovelled, they became mad because of his brightness,
they arose
that they might mark his likeness, they fell, they became mad by reason of his
beauty, they arose that they might mark his beauty, they were
sweetened (μυρίζειν)
with his fragrance, they grovelled, they bent their knees, [they
worshipped him, they set up their ἡλικίαι, they sang to him:
'Thou art come in peace (εἰρήνη), o son of the Brightnesses, son
of the Lights and the Richnesses. Thou art come in peace (εἰρήνη),
o son of the Brightnesses, that shalt be the illuminer (φωστήρ) of our
worlds (κόσμος). Come and rule over our land (χώρα) and set peace (εἰρήνη)
in [our] city (πόλις)'. The demons were saying this
with their mouth, yet planning evil nevertheless in
their heart: Come, let us cast him into the stocks (?), let us set
a fetter (κολλάριον) on him, let us shut him up in a cage (γαλεάγρα)
and put him in the world (κόσμος) and secure (?) him.
Let us shut him up in the cage (γαλεάγρα), that he may not return
and . . . . . the word that the demons
spoke in truth, the Living ones desired to (?) set it up, they
made it true, that which they planned, for . . . . . .
his . . . . . from them. When . . . . .
had gone to . . . . ., the iron went to their hands, they were
shut up in the cage (γαλεάγρα), because (ἐπειδή) they loved not
the truth . . . . But the great Light spoke and said
to them . . . . . It is not possible that the glorious (?) Light should
go to] the Land (χώρα) of the demons of the Darkness.
It is not possible [again] that the fragrant smell should . . . . the
Land (χώρα) of the

10 ἡλικίαι: vid. 207, 3 n. — 17 ⲁⲧⲧⲱⲉ: lit. 'to the wood'. — 19 ϩⲧⲁⲛ: ? 'secure'; cf. 200, 13/14; 166, 36; Hom. 16, 20.

ⲥϯⲃⲱⲱⲛ :] ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲁⲙ ⲁⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ
ⲛⲍ̀ ⲉⲓ] ⲁⲛ..ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲛⲁⲩⲉ : ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲛⲁⲃ]ⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ • ⲡⲥϯⲛⲟⲩϥ[ⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲱ]ⲕ ⲁ[ⲡⲥϯⲛ
ⲟⲩϥ]ⲉ ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲛⲁⲃ[ⲱⲕ] ⲁ̣ⲧⲭ̣ⲱ
ⲣ]ⲁ̣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ : ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲉ ⲁ̣ⲡⲉϥ
ⲙⲁ • ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲛⲁⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ϥⲧⲙ̄ⲥⲱⲧ ⲁⲧⲱⲱⲛ :

ⲟ : ⲡⲁⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ

Ⲛⲉⲟ]ⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲛ[ⲟⲩⲛ :] ⲁⲡⲉϥⲍⲣⲁ̣ⲩ
ⲧ]ⲉⲍⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ : ⲡⲁⲭⲉϥ ⲭⲉ . .[. . . . . .
ⲛⲏⲓ̈ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲛ̣ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲓ̈ ⲉ̣ⲓ ⲁ̣ⲧⲭ̣ⲱ[. . . . . .
ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲥⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲛ̄ⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲁⲭⲱ[ⲟⲩ] . ⲕ . .[. . . . . .
. ⲉⲧ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲙⲟⲥ : ⲥⲟⲥⲟ[ⲛ . . . . . .
ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲫⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲛⲏⲍ̀ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲣⲁⲱ ⲥ̣[.]ⲉ̣ . ⲉⲓ̈ⲁ
ⲛⲁⲭ ⲧⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲧⲁⲥⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲃⲱⲣⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲓⲭⲱⲓ̈ [ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
ⲛⲁⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ϥⲧⲙ̄ⲥⲱⲧ ⲁⲧⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ
ⲙⲏⲉ • ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲍⲣⲁⲕ : ⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲡⲉ
ⲧⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲥⲁⲣⲱ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⲁϥ • ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲃⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ̣
ⲧⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲥⲁⲣⲱ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲃⲛⲧⲟ̄ : ⲧⲁⲭⲣⲁⲕ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁ[ⲥⲟ]ⲩⲛ ⲱ ⲡ
ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ • ⲧⲁⲭⲣⲁⲕ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲁⲓⲟ[ⲩⲛ]ⲟⲩ : ⲡⲭⲁ̣
ⲓ̈ⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲏⲓ ⲡⲥⲣ̄ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟ[ⲥ ⲧⲏ]ⲣⲟ̄ ⲟⲩ
ⲏⲡⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲉⲃⲁⲧ ⲧⲉⲧⲁϥⲭⲓⲧⲥ̀ • ⲟⲩⲏⲡⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄
ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ̄ : . . . . . ⲉⲛⲁⲭⲱⲕ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̣ⲉⲕⲁⲓⲱⲛ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲭ̣[ⲱⲕ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲉϥⲏ[ⲡⲥ̀] ⲛ̣ⲁ̣[. . . .]ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ϥⲧⲙ̄ⲧⲱⲛⲉ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ : ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁ
ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲃ[ⲱ]ⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲉϥ
ⲙⲁ : ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ.ⲱⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̣[ⲏ]ⲭ̣
ⲁⲡⲱⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲃⲁⲗϥ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ⲙ̄ϯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̣[ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ] ⲛ̣ⲁ
ⲱⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲍ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲟ : ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ [. . . . . .
[ⲁ]ⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲱⲁⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣⲁ[ⲓ]ⲉ̣ ⲁⲣ[ⲁⲩ

26 fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲱⲧⲉ. — 26/27 ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲏⲭ ⲁⲡⲱⲉ: cf. 214, 17.

stink]; it is not possible that the image (εἰκών) of the [living
man should [come] to the (?) dwelling-places of the beasts. The Light
shall] go to the Light, the fragrance shall go to [the
fragrance], the image (εἰκών) of the living man shall go to the
living land (χώρα) from which it came. The Light shall return to its
place, the Darkness shall fall and not rise again.

IX: That of the Perfect Man.

There was a man weeping down in the abyss; his cry
was lifted up. He said, ". . . . . .
to me. Have the householders of the house . . . . . .
taking up our (?) burden upon them? . . . . . .
. . . in the world (κόσμος), while (ὅσον) . . . . . .
daily, his burden being thrown (?) . . . I will
throw the burden and dash it from me; [the Darkness
shall fall and not rise again." From the heights of
truth the Holy one did . . . . his rest: "Bear that which
the Enduring one bears, that thou mayest find that which
the Enduring one finds. Strengthen thyself, stand fast, o
Righteous (δίκαιος) one; strengthen thyself, stand fast yet this hour.
For (γάρ) the lord of this house, the seducer of the whole world (κόσμος),
has been given a number of months, a number of years are in
his hand . . . . . shall be ended now and thy Aeons
all be fulfilled. His number shall . . . . and
the world (κόσμος) shall fall and not rise again. Then (τότε) the Light shall
go to the Light and the Darkness be blotted out from its
place; he that is below the . . . . shall come up, he that is cast
in the stocks shall be released. The souls of [the lawless] shall
suffer in the world, the men . . . . . .
up unto him whom they have guarded (?).

9 ⲧⲉϩⲟ: cf. ⲡⲱϩ, ⲡϩ with infinitive.

ⲉ]ⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲟ|ⲛⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[. . . .

. . . .] ⲟ̣ⲩ . .[.] ⲟⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ • ⲟⲩⲱ[ⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ
ⲉⲩⲏⲡ ⲁⲙⲉⲓ|ⲥⲧⲁⲛⲟⲥ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲣ̣[. . . . . .
. . . ⲣ̄[. . .] ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲓ|ⲥⲧⲁⲛⲟⲥ : ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲃ̣ . [. . .
ⲟ̣|ⲛ̣[. . .] . ⲉⲕⲣ̣ . . : ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲛⲉⲧ̀ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲡⲉ ⲁⲣ̄ⲡ[ⲉ ⲁⲩ
ⲃⲓⲧ̀ • ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲭⲧ̄ ⲁ̈ⲓ[ⲉ]ⲣⲟ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ : ⲁⲡ|ⲉⲣⲟ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲓⲧ̣ [ⲁⲩ
ⲃⲓⲧ̀ • ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲭⲧ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲛⲁϩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ : ⲥⲁⲱⲭⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲭⲏⲕ ⲁ̈ⲉⲉⲩ ⲉ̈ⲭⲓ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ ⲥⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲗⲁ[ⲥ
ⲥ]ⲁ : ⲡⲭⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ϯⲥⲁⲱⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲕⲟ[ⲩ̈
. ⲡⲁ . . ⲕ̣[ⲣⲟ ⲭⲉ̈]ⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲭⲓⲧ̣ .[.
. . . . . .]. . ⲟ̣ ⲛ̣ⲃⲗⲁⲧⲧⲁ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲫ̣ⲙ̣[ⲟⲥ
. . . . . .]. . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣ|ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲧ̀ ⲁ̈ⲓⲣ|[ⲙⲉ

[. . . . .]. . . ⲙ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ

Ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ̈ [ⲃⲓ] ⲧⲁⲥⲁ|ⲓⲏ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲣⲡⲧ̀ⲥ ⲁⲩⲭ|ⲧⲧ̀ⲥ ⲁⲥ
ⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ]ⲉ̣ⲩⲱⲛⲁ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲡⲉ̣ⲩⲛⲁϭ ⲁ̣ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ
ⲛ̣ⲧ̣[ⲁⲣⲟⲩ]ⲭ̣|ⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ̣ⲡⲉ̣ⲩⲱⲏ̣ ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ̈ ⲗⲥⲏⲙ ⲛ̄
ⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛⲁ : ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉ̣ⲩⲱⲛ̣ⲁ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁ|ⲱⲃⲉⲣⲉ
ⲥ]ⲱⲟⲩⲥ : ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲏⲑ̣ⲉ̣ ⲁⲩⲥⲩⲣ|ⲍⲉ • ⲁ
ⲛⲉⲩ.ⲱ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ : ⲉ|ⲥ ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲕⲁⲓⲃⲁⲙ̣ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲗⲍⲏⲙ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲙⲁ : ⲉⲩ
ⲟⲩⲁⲛ[ⲍ ⲁ]ⲧⲁⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲱⲭⲃⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ̣ : ϯⲱⲱ ⲃⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲁⲩ • ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡ
ⲡⲉⲧⲁ̈ⲓ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁ̣ⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ : ⲁ̈ⲓ . [. .] ⲙ̣ⲡⲁ̈ⲓⲱⲧ
ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ . .[. . . . . ⲉⲧ]ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲍⲃ̄ⲥ[ⲱ ⲧⲟ̈]ⲓ̣ⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄
ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲕ̄ : ⲭⲉ ⲉⲱⲭⲉ ⲁ̈ⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ̈ • ⲍⲓⲉ
ⲙ̣ⲁⲣⲉ̣ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ̈ ⲟ̣[ⲩⲁ]ⲙ̄ⲧ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛⲁ : ⲉ|ⲱⲭⲉ ⲁ̈ⲣ̄
ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲩⲁⲙⲕ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲙⲁ
. .[. . . . .]. : ⲉ|ⲱⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ̈ •
. . . . . .]ⲍ̣ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲣ|ⲱⲡ̣ⲱⲧ̣
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛⲁ] : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̣ⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ
ⲟⲧⲕ̄ . . . . . ⲡ]ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ̣ ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ⲟⲃⲥⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡ

12 init. ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ coniicio. — 19 init. fort. ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲁⲩ.

Concerning the moulding (-πλάσσειν) of the . . . .

. . . . a . . . . a king's son, a [king's son. .
one that belongs to the princes (μεγιστᾶνος). [He] was . . . . . .
. . . . the princes (μεγιστᾶνος), they did . . . . .
. . . . . they conveyed me from temple to temple, [they
took me, they cast me into two rivers, the two rivers received me, [they
took me, they cast me out into the great sea (θάλασσα). Seven
full years did I spend, receiving nourishment in the sea (θάλασσα).
At the end of the seven years I, the little one,
. . . . shore (?), that I] might come to land; when they were about to receive me
. . . . . *blatta;* when the worlds (κόσμος)
. . . . . but when I saw them I wept (?).

. . . . . concerning his son.

The lion [took] my fair daughter, he seized her, he took her
within in] his lair with his great dragon also.
When they had taken her into their pit (?) the lion roared
within in his lair, in his lair, his companions also
gathered, the dragon whistled and hissed (συρίζειν),
all his . . . gathered unto him. Lo, they with all
their powers also roar out in every place,
not appearing unto my daughter lest their power
should be lessened. Therefore I call up with my cry unto the
Mighty one, the Great one of all the powers; I . . . . my Father,
the son . . . . . whose garment is set upon
the universe, saying: 'If I have done wrong to the great lion, then
let the lion eat me in his lair, if I have done
wrong to the great dragon, let him swallow me here
. . . . . but (δέ) if I have not done wrong to the lion
. . . . . from his midst, let me be able to escape
from his lair] and bring my daughter away from
him . . . . . .] the Father (?) of us all, the garment of the

11 βλάττα: I cannot understand from the context what this word means here: vid. Thes. Ling. Lat. s. v. — 15. 17 etc. ⲱⲛⲁ: the meaning here is evidently 'lair', 'cave', 'den', of lion or wild beast, and the word seems to be used figuratively in this sense at 15, 3, and perhaps Hom. 89, 22. At 15, 18 and 188, 18 ⲱⲛⲁ means 'chaff'.

. . . . . .]. ⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ : ⲁ̈ⲣⲱⲥⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲣⲃ̄ ⲧⲏ[ⲣⲟⲩ
. . . . . .]. ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲓⲱⲛⲏⲩ : ⲁ̈ⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̈[ⲡ
ⲉⲩⲱⲛ]ⲁ̣ : ⲁ̈ⲛⲁⲥ[. .]ⲱⲁⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲕ̣ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ : ⲁ̈ⲛ̣ⲟⲩ̣. .
ⲙ̈ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲃ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ • ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲁⲓⲥⲁ̈ⲓⲱ ⲁ̈
ⲧ̣ⲁⲛⲥⲥ̄ : ⲁ̈ⲃⲓ ⲧⲁⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ • ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲥⲭ̣ⲁ̣ⲥ̣ⲉ̣
ⲁ̣ⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ : ⲁ̈ⲓⲥⲓⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲩⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ • ⲱⲁⲛ+ⲛⲁϫ̣ⲩ
ⲁ]ⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ̇ ⲙ̈ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ : ϫⲉ̣ⲕⲁⲥ̣ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲙ̈ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̣
ⲱⲉⲣⲉ • ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ̀ ⲙ̈ⲡⲧⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ : ⲉⲛⲁ̣ . .
. .] ⲙ̈ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲃ̄ ⲙ̈ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲙ̈ⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲡ]ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ : ⲉⲛⲡⲱⲥ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣ̣ . . .[. .]ⲉ̣ . .[ⲁ
ⲥⲟ]ⲩⲛ ⲁⲧϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ . . . .[.]. . . .
ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲣⲁ • ⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲗ̀ . ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲱ[. . . . . ⲟ]ⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩ
ⲱⲛⲥ̀ : ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛ̣[ⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲁ ⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓ]ⲛⲉ̣
ⲛ̄]ⲧ̣ⲁⲱⲉⲉⲣ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡ . . . . .[. . . . .]. ⲉ̣ ⲛⲛ[.
. . . ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ϩⲱⲟⲩ . .[. . . . . .]ⲁ̣ϩ̣ .
ⲧ̣ⲉ̣ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲧ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲉⲥⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲱⲉ
ⲗⲉⲉⲧ

[ⲓ]ⲃ̄ : . . . . ω ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲣ

ⲁ̀ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲱⲓⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ • ⲁⲭⲱⲓⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
ⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲡⲁⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲧϩⲁ[ⲗ]ⲟ̀ : ⲁⲭⲱⲉⲕⲧⲩ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲱ
ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ • ⲁⲭⲡⲁⲛⲕⲩ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲃⲉⲉⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ : ⲛ̄ⲟ̀ⲱ
ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲭⲡⲁⲛⲕⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ • ⲉⲩⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲥⲛ̄
ⲕⲗⲏⲗ ⲛ̄ⲗⲓⲃⲁⲛⲟⲥ : ⲙ̈ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ • ⲥⲛ̄
ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ [ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ]ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲥⲓ+ⲟ̣[.]ⲃ̣ . ⲗ . . ⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ ⲥ[ⲉ
ⲣ̄ⲥⲱⲧ • ⲥⲉⲱⲟⲏⲣ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲟ̣ⲕⲓⲙⲏ : ⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲩ
ⲁⲧⲡ̄ • ⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛ • ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲉⲩⲱ[ⲟⲩ]ⲓ̈[ⲧ
ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̣[ⲥⲏⲧ]ⲩ̄ : ⲡϫⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲡ̄ : ⲩⲙ̀[ⲁ
ⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲉⲩⲥⲛ̣ⲧ̣ⲁⲛⲧ̄ : ⲩⲣ̄[ⲥ]ⲁ̣ⲧⲉ ⲉⲛ [.]ⲩ . . ⲛ̄ .[. .
. ⲱⲟ̀ⲏⲣ . . . . . .[.] ⲡⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛ̣ [. . . .]ⲟ̀ . .[. . .
. . . . �kⲣⲟ̣ . . ϫⲓⲟ̣[. .]. . . kⲣⲟ ⲁ̣ḳ[. . . .]. . .[. . . .

31 mutilum

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2 init. ⲁ̈ⲟⲩⲱⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ coniicio. — 3 fin. fort. ⲁ̈ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ̀. — 10 an ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲙⲟⲛⲓⲁ? — 16 ⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲧ sic.

. . . . . all. I struck all (?) their ranks (?).
. . . . . their nets also, I opened up their (?)
lair|: I cast . . . . . into it, I . . . .
the great dragon; the serpent, his consort also, I
enmeshed; I took my daughter from them and set her high
above them all: I shot at their τροχός until I had thrown it
beneath them all, in order that I and my
daughter might together destroy all the nets (?), we
. . . . the great lion and the dragon out of
the universe, we reaching the time of the . . . . . .
in to the land (χώρα) of the righteous (δίκαιος), and that we might . . . . .
land (χώρα) which they . . . . . they know
it; from the midst of the second [lair] brought
my daughter into the . . . . . .
they also shall rejoice . . . . . .
shall come to pass and the bride shall go to her
bride-chamber.

XII: . . . . of the Saviour (? $\overline{\text{σηρ}}$).

Jesus dug a river in the world (κόσμος); he dug a
river, even he of the sweet name. He dug it with the spade
of Truth, he dredged it with the basket (?) of wisdom (σοφία), the stones (?)
which he dredged from it are like
drops (?) of incense (λίβανος); all the waters that are in it
are roots [of] Light (?) and . . . . . three ships
sail, they voyage in the river of testing (δοκιμή): one
laden, one half-freighted, the third empty,
there being nothing in it. The ship which is full and laden goes (?)
in it, being . . . . ; it does not fear (?) . . . . .
voyages (?) . . . . . That which is half-freighted . . . . .
. . . . bank (?) . . . . . bank . . . . . .

l. 31 *illegible*

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1 For ϩωρϭ as a substantive vid. Keph. 37, 12; 57, 22; 170, 18. — 8 (a) ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ̄: vid. 17, 12 n (b) ⲁⲧⲉ: apparently = the Old Egypt. word for 'net' (Wb. I 36 *iʒdt*), still in use in demotic (H.T.). — 19 ff. cf. Iliad XXI 257 ff. — 21 ⲃⲉⲉⲣ: ? = sahidic ⲃⲓⲣ. — 21. 22 ⲡⲱⲛⲕ: vid. Crum Dict. p. 265 b. — 23 ⲕⲗⲏⲗ: meaning uncertain, cf. Keph. 70, 19. 24. 25, Crum op. cit. p. 713 a, l. 40.

ⲉⲧⲯⲟⲩⲓⲧ • ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲩ ⲯⲁⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲩ[. . . . . .
. . ⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲯⲁⲩⲡⲱⲥ • ⲡⲉⲧⲯ[ⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲇⲉ
ⲯⲁⲩⲥⲱⲭⲡ̄ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ : ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲯⲟⲩⲓⲧ [ⲉⲩ
ⲉⲓ ⲉⲩⲯⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲗⲱⲛⲏ[ⲥ :] ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲯⲛ̄[ⲧⲟ̄
ⲉⲙⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲁϯ : ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲍⲓⲱⲱⲩ : ⲥⲉⲛ[ⲁ
ⲕⲁⲗⲡⲟ̄ ⲕⲁⲕⲏⲛ ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲩⲍⲟ̄ ⲁⲡⲙⲉⲧⲁⲣ[ⲣⲏ
ⲥⲙⲟⲥ : ⲭⲁⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲱⲥ ⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲣⲁⲩ : ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩ[ⲙⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲟ̄ⲙⲉⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ

.[. . .]ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ [ⲟⲩ]ⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ

Ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲥ[. . .]. . . ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ[ⲉⲕ
ⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲏ[ⲣⲟⲩ ⲯⲓ]ⲛⲉ [ⲛ̄]ⲥⲱⲕ : ⲛⲉⲕⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲯ[ⲓ
ⲛ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ [ⲛⲉⲕⲙ]ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲃⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲏⲧⲕ̄ : ⲁⲡⲍⲏ . .
.]ⲛⲉⲕⲯ[ⲏⲣⲉ ⲯⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥ]ⲱⲕ : ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲃⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ
ⲍⲏⲧⲕ̄ ⲙⲙⲏ[ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉ]ⲕⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲯⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ [ⲉ]ⲓ̈
ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲕⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲁⲧⲁⲃ ⲟⲩⲯⲛⲏ ⲍⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲗ̄ ⲙ̄[ⲡⲓ]ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ : ⲉⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲧ
ⲡ̄ ⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ • ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϯⲟⲩⲱ ⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲁⲛⲥ̀ : ϯⲛⲁϯ ⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲏⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟⲥ : ⲭⲉ ϯⲍⲧⲏⲕ̄ ⲁⲛⲁ
ⲯⲏⲛ ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ : ϯⲍⲧⲏⲕ̄ ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ
ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲓⲛⲏⲃ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ : ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲓⲛⲏⲃ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲛⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ : ⲛⲟⲩⲣ̄ ⲡⲱ[ⲃ]ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲧⲟⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ : ⲉ
ⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲭⲱⲃ[ⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ[ⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄]ⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ
ⲍⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛⲛ̣[ⲍⲁ]ⲧ[ⲉ] : ⲍⲛ̄ⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲧⲟⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲡ
ⲯⲃⲁⲣ : ⲍⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲭⲓ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲱⲉⲡ ⲉⲓ̈ⲱⲱⲛⲉ
ⲙ̄]ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ̀ ⲉⲛ ⲍⲁⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ : ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲍⲁⲡ[ⲭⲣ]ⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ
ⲧ]ⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲗⲓ̈ⲧ̀ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ : ϯⲃⲁⲱⲧ̄ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍ]ⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉ
ⲧ]ⲁⲛⲍ ⲭⲉ[ⲩⲁⲧⲛ̄]ⲛⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲟⲏⲑ[ⲉⲓⲁ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ : ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ̀
ⲛⲁⲧ]ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ [ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄]ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲙ • ⲛⲁⲥⲛ[ⲏⲩ] ⲛⲁⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
. .]. ⲟⲩ . .[. . . .] ⲃⲉ ⲯⲁⲟⲩⲏⲣ • ⲭ[ⲉ]ⲓ̈ .[. .]. . . . . .

30 non legi potest

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1 ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲩ sic: leg. ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲥ. — 12/13 fort. ⲁⲡⲍⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲯⲏⲣⲉ.

which is empty, it arrived at the middle, it . . . . . .
that which is all laden, it arrives; that which is empty
is left behind. Woe to it, the empty one, that
comes empty to the place of the customs (τελώνης): it shall be asked,
having nothing to give. Woe to it, for it has nothing aboard:
it shall be despoiled evilly as it deserves and sent back to the
μεταγγισμός. It shall suffer what the corpses suffer, for they
called into his ear, he did not hear.

. . . . the Church unto (?) the Apostle.

Thou (?) . . . . chooser of the righteous (δίκαιος), all
thy] sons seeking after thee, all thy sons seeking
after thee, [thy] beloved ones expecting thee . . . .
thy sons [seek] after thee, thy beloved ones expect
thee daily, thy disciples (μαθητής) seek after thee, looking
for thy form (μορφή) in their midst. I went forth
to plant a garden beyond the confines of this world (κόσμος), choosing
and planting in it the plants that grew in the
Living ones. I will give orders to the gardener (κηπουρός): Attend to my
trees, my new plants; attend to my new plants
that they sleep not nor (οὔτε) slumber, they sleep not nor (οὔτε)
slumber, [that] they forget not the order that has been given them.
For (ἐπειδή) the years pass like [months, the] months(?)
fly away like moments (?). These are houses which are given on
lease; years they are, taken on loan. I am not sick
at heart for the bodies (σῶμα) but (ἀλλά) for the treasure (χρῆμα) of
the Living ones that is lodged in them. I am expecting the
Living ones to send aid (βοήθεια) after me: the Living ones
shall] send [me] power, my brethren shall bring the Light
. . . . How long therefore . . . . . , that they may . . . . . .

l. 30 *illegible*

4 τελώνης (used literally, 192, 19) here and at 97, 10 denotes the heavenly officer who examines the soul and its merchandise when it has finished its voyage. — 6 (a) ⲕⲁⲕⲏⲛ ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ: the Gk. was presumably something like συλήσουσιν αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν νῆα) κακὴν κακῶς. I think that we have here a form of the later κακινκακῶς (vid. Byzant. Zeitsch. iii 152 ff.; viii 157 f.); (b) μεταγγισμός: vid. J.A.O.S. 1925, pp. 246 ff.

. . . . ⲛⲉ]ⲙⲏⲓ ⲥⲓⲟⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ : ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ ⲱ|ⲛⲉ
ⲙ̄]ⲙⲁⲓ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲉⲭⲉⲧⲁⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ : ⲱ ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ
ⲡ]ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲥ̄ • ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄
ⲉ]ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ : ⲡⲁⲭⲏⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓ [ⲛ̄]ⲥⲏⲧⲥ̄ • ⲉⲩ
ⲙⲏⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ : ⲕⲱⲥ ⲙⲁϣⲧⲉ • ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲓⲡⲣⲁⲭ :
ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ • ϣⲉⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲁⲣⲝ
ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏⲩⲉ : ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϣⲱⲛⲧ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ [ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲛⲧ : ⲟⲩⲛ̄
ⲟ]ⲩⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲥⲱⲥⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲩⲭⲏ : ⲥⲉⲡⲁⲥⲧ̄ ⲥⲉⲛⲏⲭ ⲁ
ⲭ]ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲟ : ⲥⲣⲉⲩ ⲛⲁⲩϩ̄ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄[. . . .].ⲛ̣ⲧ̄
ϩⲉⲣ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲟ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ϩⲉ . ⲛ̣ⲟ .[. . . ⲉⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ : ⲥⲓⲑ[. . .].[. . ⲡⲡⲉ]ⲑⲁⲩ ⲁⲱ[ⲉ]ⲓ
ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ [ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ] ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲣⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲁⲱⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲧ[ⲟ]ⲛⲱ : ⲛ̄
ⲧⲁ ⲛⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ [• ⲁⲛ]ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ
ⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ[ⲉ] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲁ
ϣⲉⲁⲓϣ ⲛⲉⲛ : ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁⲣ]ⲉ ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲓ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟ ⲁⲡⲉ
ⲥⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡ
ⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲃⲓ ⲓⲉⲧ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲧ
ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ : ⲁⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲡⲕⲟ
ⲥⲙⲟⲥ • ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲧϥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲣⲛⲟⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϯⲩⲭⲏ :
ϯⲙⲁⲭϩ̄ ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ϩⲁⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ • ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲥⲱⲣ
ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲱⲕ ϩⲱⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟ • ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲁⲃⲱ[ⲗ
ⲛ̄ϥⲟⲩⲉ[ⲓⲛⲉ :] ⲛⲉϥⲕⲁⲓϩⲃⲏⲩ[ⲉ] ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲛⲉⲙⲉϥ : ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲱ
ⲧⲛⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ ⲃⲓ ⲓⲉⲧ[ⲧ]ⲏⲛⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣ[ⲁ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ : ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲱⲃⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ
ⲉϥⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲗ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ : ⲧ[ⲉⲧⲛ]ⲁⲛⲉⲩ
ⲁⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ[ⲙ] .[. . .]ⲉ ⲁⲃⲁ[ⲗ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ : ⲡⲱϩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ [ⲡⲉ] ⲉⲩⲟⲛ̄ⲟⲁⲙ
ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ : ⲉϥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁ[. . . . . .
ⲉϥⲭⲓⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲡⲓⲥⲧ[ⲟⲥ] ⲧⲏⲣ[ⲟⲩ

2 ⲛ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ sic: leg. ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ. — 7 ? leg. ⲃⲱⲛⲧ̄ scil. 'coitus' (cf. *knj*, Lex. Ling. Aeg. Berol. V 50—51). — 11 fort. ⲥⲓⲟⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲉ. — 23 ⲛ̄ϥⲟⲩⲉ[ⲓⲛⲉ] : cf. 8, 20.

. . . . with (?) me before the Mighty one. The Mighty one questions
me, the Great one of the Brightnesses examines (ἐξετάζειν) me: 'O
Righteous (δίκαιος) one.
the] world (κόσμος) whence thou art come, — what aspect has it, how
does it fare?' I said, 'The world (κόσμος) whence I am come is
all full of evil, envy, hatred, and strife.
They all kill one another, they destroy their flesh (σάρξ)
with the sword. There is creation (?), conception, and creation.
A soul thrusts down a soul. They are prostrated, they lie
on their faces, their faces are not turned to the land (χώρα) of . . . . .
They increase greatly in evil, they do not . . . .
the Living ones at all . . .' 'Before (?) the evil waxed
greatly, o Righteous (δίκαιος) one, how did the world (κόσμος)
fare? When the evil waxed greatly,
did the χρήματα lean one upon another?' '[The] χρήματα
supported one another through the Mind (νοῦς) of Truth which
preached to us.' 'When the evil again became worse and worse,
how didst thou dwell in their midst?' 'When the
evil again became worse, I lifted up my eyes to the
Land (χώρα) of Light. A man called down unto the
world (κόσμος), saying: Blessed is he that shall know (νοεῖν) his soul.
Therefore am I troubled for my soul, lest it faint and
stray and itself become worse. For (γάρ) the world (κόσμος) shall pass
and come to nought and its works also shall perish with it.' Do
you therefore, ye great Elect, lift up your eyes to the land (χώρα)
of Light; you shall see the friend of the righteous (δίκαιος)
standing beyond the world (κόσμος); you shall see
the Great one of the Brightnesses from whom every soul has
. . . . ., the tree which [is] life entire, having power (?)
over his beloved ones, calling to . . . . . .
ferrying across all his faithful (πιστός).

14 χρήματα, lit. 'treasures', seems here to denote the manichaean Elect. — 16. 18. 22 ⲧϩⲟ: vid. Crum Dict. 457 a and b. But I do not know any other example of the construction with ⲙⲛ̄, as in ll. 16 and 22.

ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ̀ • ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲱⲣⲣⲉⲛⲏ̈
ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ : ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥ̀ⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲩⲃ̣[ⲱ
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲧ̀ ϣⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ⲙ[ⲡⲱⲣ
ⲭⲓ ⲡⲧⲁ[ⲛ]ⲧⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲉⲥⲙⲉⲛ • ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲟⲩⲕⲉ ⲣⲁ[ⲩⲧ
ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ : ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲟⲩⲕⲉ ⲣⲁⲩⲧ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ • ⲡⲯ̄ⲥⲁⲛⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲩ
ⲙⲛⲍ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲣⲙ[ⲉ] : ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲭⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ • ⲙ̄
ⲡⲱⲣⲣⲉⲛⲏ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ • ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟ[ⲩ
ϣⲁⲩⲃⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲧ ϣⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁ[ⲗ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ[ⲭⲓ] ⲡⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲟⲩⲥ • ⲉⲧⲭ̣[ⲙⲍ
ⲙⲉⲛ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ] • ⲡⲯ̄ⲥⲁⲛⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥⲙⲛⲍ ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲥ̀ :
. . ϣ . . . . . ⲛ̄[. . .]ⲙ̄ⲣⲏⲣ • ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ϣⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙ
ⲡ̣ⲃ . . ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲁⲭⲛⲉϥ • ⲛ̣̄ⲥⲉⲍⲓⲛⲏⲃ • ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ ⲍⲁⲣⲓ
ⲍⲁⲣⲁⲩ : ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲭⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲣⲉⲛⲏ
ⲏ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉ[ⲧ]ⲛ̄ⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ : ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲩⲃⲱ
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ ⲛ̄]ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲧ̀ ϣⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ
ⲭⲓ ⲡⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲕⲟⲣⲇⲓⲍ̣ⲕ̣ⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍ̣ⲧⲟ • ⲭⲉ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲉⲛ
ⲫⲭⲓ ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛⲓⲕⲟⲛ : ⲥⲉⲭⲓ ⲃ[ⲁ]ⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ
ⲥⲓⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲩⲙⲛⲍ ⲛ̄ⲉⲧⲣⲉ : ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄
ⲟⲩⲭⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲣⲉⲛⲏ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ : ⲛ̄ϣⲏ
ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲩⲃⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲧ
ϣⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ⲭⲓ ⲡⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄
ⲏⲣⲡ̄ : ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲉⲩⲕⲏ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲃⲁⲛ : ⲭⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲛ̄
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲗ̀ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲙⲭⲉⲧⲡ̣ : ⲙ̣̄[ⲡⲥ]ⲁⲛⲍⲟⲩⲛ
ⲇⲉ ⲟⲩⲏⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥ+ⲛ̣[ⲟⲩ]ⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ :

· ⅋ ·

ⲁ̈ⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲗⲥⲓⲕ
ⲛⲏⲩ ⲫ̣[ⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲁ̈]ⲥ̣ⲱ[ⲧ]ⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲗ̀
ⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲏ]ⲕ̣ⲉ : ⲩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲍ̈ ⲩⲧⲗ̀ⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉ
ⲣⲉⲧⲉ] ⲉ̣[ⲩⲭⲱⲕ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲉ̣[ⲧ]ⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ : ⲡ̄
ⲥⲣⲁ]ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ. . ⲗ̀ ⲉ̣ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲉ [ⲁ]ⲉⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲃⲍ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲏⲧ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . . . ⲡⲥⲉⲓ̈]ⲛⲉ ⲧ[ⲗ̀]ⲟ̣ⲁⲓ̈ • ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲁ

12 init. fort. ⲡⲃⲓ̈ⲱ.

My brethren, love me with your heart. Do [not please me
with your lips: the children of the lip are blotted
out, the children of the heart abide. Do not
be like the pomegranate, whose rind is gay
outside; its rind is gay outside but (δέ) its inside
is full of ashes (?). My brethren, ye have not been healthy.
Do not please me with your lips: the children of the lip
are blotted out, the children of the heart abide.
Do not be like the tombs (τάφος) of the corpses, which are whited
indeed (μέν) outside| but (δέ) its inside is full of carrion.
. . . . . which eat
the . . . . and use it up and sleep and slumber
themselves. My brethren, ye have not been healthy. Do not please
me with your lips: the children of the lip are blotted
out, the children of the heart abide. Do not
be like the saddles (σκόρδισκος) of horses, for outside indeed (μέν)
it wears fine trappings, they wear fine trappings outside,
but (δέ) inside they are full of *etre*. My brethren, ye have not
been healthy. Do not please me with your lips: the children
of the lip are blotted out, the children of the heart
abide. I would have you be like a jar of
wine, firmly set upon its stand; for the outside
indeed (μέν) is a piece of pottery covered with pitch, while (δέ)
inside it is a fragrant wine.

XIV.

I heard the cry of a physician, the cry of a exorcist
coming (?) to [me. I] heard the cry of a physician healing
his poor ones (?). He stands, he heals his
beloved ones, perfecting (?) all his believers. The
cry of a . . . . that is about to open, imploring in the presence (?)
. . . Ὁ| physician (?), heal me, loose my

17 'fine trappings': βαβυλωνικά, cf. Horace Carm. I 38, 1. — 26 ⲃⲁⲗⲥⲓⲕ: vid. Crum Dict. 661 a.

. . . . . ⲱ] ⲡⲃⲁⲗⲥⲓⲕ : ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲧⲗ̄ⲟ ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲙ
ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ :] ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲁⲥⲣⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲟ
ⲥ]ⲙⲟⲥ : ⲡⲉⲕⲧⲗ̄ⲟ ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ
ⲛⲉ]ⲕⲡⲁⲥⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲣⲓ[ⲥⲧⲁ]ⲛⲟ[ⲥ] :
ⲉⲓ̈]ⲛⲁⲧⲗ̄ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ϩⲉ ⲧϩⲩⲗⲏ : ⲧⲙⲟⲩ̈ⲥ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̣[ⲧⲉ] ⲡⲓ
ⲕ]ⲟⲥⲙⲟ[ⲥ] ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲗ̄ⲟ[ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲥ]ⲱ
ⲉ] ⲧⲉ ⲧⲣⲉⲫⲱⲟⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲃⲉ : ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲉ[ⲫ]ϯⲥⲓⲕ
ⲁ]ⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲥⲱⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲣⲉⲫⲣⲱⲥⲧ̄ ⲧⲣⲉⲫⲭⲧⲟ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲧⲉ
ⲧ .]ⲕ̣ⲓⲣ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ : ⲁⲥⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁ[ⲟ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱ
ⲣⲁ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ : ⲉⲓⲱⲭⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲗ̄ⲟⲁⲓ ⲉ[ⲛ . . . . .]ⲗ̣

11 non legi potest

. .].ⲕ̣ . . . ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲱⲧ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲩ
ⲛⲟ]ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲃⲓ ⲛⲁⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̣ⲁⲍⲗ̣.ⲙ̣ [ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛ̄
ⲧ̣ⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲃⲓ ⲛⲁⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ[ⲁ]ⲩⲣⲉ ·
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ]ⲭⲁⲗⲕⲟⲩ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲟ ⲁⲕⲣⲟ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̣[ⲱⲁⲃⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲱϩ
ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ : ⲛ̣̄ . .[. .]ⲡⲓⲍⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲡⲉⲧ̣ . . . . . ⲙ̣̄
ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ : ⲭⲉ [ⲩ]ⲱ[ⲟⲟ]ⲡ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ · ⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ
ⲡ]ⲱⲛϩ̄ · ⲥⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ : ϯⲛⲁ
ϯ ⲛ]ⲉ̣ ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ : ϯⲛⲁϯ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲟⲩ
ⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲉ : ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲥⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲩⲁⲱⲱⲱ
ⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭⲟⲩⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ : ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲥⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ
ⲥ]ⲛⲉⲩ · ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲉⲧⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲡ[ⲉ] : ⲡⲉⲧⲁ
ⲥⲱⲱⲧ̄ [ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄] ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲩⲁⲃⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲁ]ⲑⲁⲏ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲕⲟⲥ[ⲙⲟⲥ · ⲡ]ⲙⲉⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲱ[. . .] ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲉⲩ]ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲉⲩ
ⲥ̣ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲉⲡ · ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ . . . ⲧ̣ ⲡⲉ
ⲧⲁⲡⲱ.ⲉ̣ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲏⲃⲉ · ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧ̣ . . . . .
ⲛⲉⲩ : ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲙ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ·
ⲥⲉⲛⲁ[ⲡ]ⲱⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣ[ⲟ]ⲩ : ⲩⲁⲃⲓ ⲥⲁ
ⲛ]ⲉ̣ⲧ[ⲉ ⲛ̄]ⲕⲱⲱⲥ ⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲟ[ⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲉ]ⲩⲙⲉ[ⲱⲧⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩ]ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ

ⲓ̅ⲉ̅

. . . . . .]. ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲣⲛ[. .]ⲛ̣ .[. . .]. · ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲙ̣ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ[ⲧⲣⲁⲡⲉ

5 fort. ⲧⲙⲟⲩ̈ⲉ. — 8 leg. ⲧⲣⲉⲩⲭⲡⲟ? — 22 leg. ⲩⲁⲥⲱⲱⲧ̄?

. . . . o] charm-looser: for thy healing is not
of the earth]. Thy cures are not of this
world (κόσμος). Thy healing is of the Land (χώρα) of the Living ones.
Thy good cures are of the princes (μεγιστᾶνος).'
'How shall I heal thee, o Matter (ὕλη), the . . .. the Mother of this
world (κόσμος)? For I am the physician that heals but thou
art the wounder that wounds. I am the . . . .
up but thou art the striker, the layer low, thou art
the bitter . . . : what hast thou to do with the wealth of the
Land (χώρα) of Light?' 'If thou wilt not heal me . . .

l. 11 *illegible*

. . . . a single day [. . . . . an hour
only, and I will take my arrows . . . . . [and bring
them up to the world (κόσμος), and I will take my silent (?) arrows
and] shoot them from brink to brink and [wound] the sons
of men . . . . . not . . . . to him that . . . .
it to them, that there is death, there is
life, there is also the Land (χώρα) of Truth'. 'I will
give] thee not a single day, I will not allow thee
an hour only. For (γάρ) what ceases for a day shall cease
for twenty-two years, what ceases for two
days has ceased for forty-four years, what
ceases for [three] days shall be wiped out to the end of
the world (κόσμος). The ox that . . . . his stall,
with his horns, who shall buy him? . . . . that
. . . . his eyes with his fingers, who shall . . . .
to him? He into whose ears they shall call, if he hears not,
shall be divided (?) in all the worlds (κόσμος). He shall suffer
what the corpses suffer, for they called into his ears,
he did not] hear.

XV.

. . . . . let us . . . .. for a table (τράπεζα) has been set

5 ⲧⲙⲟⲩⲥ: meaning unknown to me. — 14 ⲁⲩⲣⲉ: ? qual. of ⲱⲣⲃ, Crum Dict. 528 a.

ⲍⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲏⲓ̈ • ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡⲉⲍⲁ ⲥⲛ̄[ⲡⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲙϯⲩ
ⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲍⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ : ⲍⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲣ[ⲙⲉ ⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ϯⲩ
ⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙ[ⲟⲥ
ⲡⲉⲓ[ⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ]ⲁⲱⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲓ ⲧ̄ⲫⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓ[ⲁ] • ⲛⲁⲱⲟⲟⲩ [ⲛ̄ⲍⲓ
ⲛ . .[.]. . ⲱⲟⲟⲡ : ⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁ[ⲟ ⲛ̄
ⲧ[ⲟⲟⲧ̄ⲩ] ⲁ[ⲥ]ⲣⲁⲕ ⲉⲕⲁⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲓⲛⲏⲃ : ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ
ⲕ[ⲁⲡ]ⲱⲱ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲁⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϯⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲕ[ⲛ̄
ⲕⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϯⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁϯⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϯⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲕⲥⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲉ[ⲧ
ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϯⲉ : ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲕⲁⲣⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱ[ⲛ
ⲉⲛ ⲍⲉⲕⲁ]+ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ : ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲧⲃⲁⲛ[.
. . . . . .] ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲡ . . ⲟⲥ ⲛ̣[. .] ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲛⲍ : ⲉⲙⲡⲁ[ⲧⲉ
. . . . . .]ⲱⲱⲓⲣ̈ ⲡⲱⲣⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ : ⲉ[ⲙ
ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲩ]. . ⲙ̣ ⲛⲍⲓ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ : ⲛ̄ⲩ[ⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄
ⲁⲭⲛ̄[ⲡⲟⲣ]ⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ : ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲛ̄
ⲍⲓ ⲡ[ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟ]ⲣⲟⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲡⲣⲉⲩ+ⲥ[ⲉⲡ
. . . . . ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲟⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲃⲓⲧ[ⲕ ⲉⲕ
ⲟⲃⲏⲁⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲁⲧⲱⲙⲓⲍⲉ ⲙ̣[ⲙ]ⲁ̣ⲕ̣

· ⅠⅤ ·

Ⲁⲥⲁⲗⲱⲙⲓ ⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ • ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ⲉ ⲧ
ⲙ̣ⲏⲉ̣ [ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲉ : ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕⲁⲧⲩ̄ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓ
ⲟⲥ : ⲛ̄ⲗ[ⲁ]ϫⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲱⲱⲧ̀ ⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟ[ⲥ
ⲡⲕⲁⲍ [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲙ[ⲛ̄
ⲧⲛⲁⲉ . . . ⲡ ⲛ̄ . . . ⲡⲉ̣ ⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ • ⲛ[. . . .]ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩ
ⲣⲟ ⲡⲉ [ⲡⲛⲟ]ⲩⲥ : ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲉⲣⲉⲱⲉ̣ • ⲛⲉ
ⲧ̣ⲛⲏⲩ [ⲁⲃⲁ]ⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲍⲏⲧ ⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ : ⲁⲥ
ⲕⲁⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲥ+ ⲗⲱⲃⲱ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ • ⲁⲥⲁⲗⲱⲙⲓ + ⲱ|ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲙ̣
ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲩⲣ[ⲅ]ⲟⲥ ⲁⲥⲃ̣ⲓ [ⲟ]ⲩⲁⲛⲏⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲩⲣⲁϫ ⲁⲧ[ⲟⲩ]ⲃ̣ⲟ ⲙ̣[ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲥ]ⲃ̣ⲓ ⲧ̣[. . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲗⲓⲃⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲑⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ[ⲥ . . .
. . .]ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲥⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲭⲱⲥ • ⲁⲥⲃⲱⲕ [ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁⲣⲁ]ⲩ ⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ : ⲭⲉ ⲉ̣ .[. . . . . .

10/11 an ⲧⲃⲁⲛⲓⲉⲓⲣⲉ?

in the house, a table (τράπεζα) was set in [the house for
souls that they might not wander, that they might not wander, [that
souls might not be wiped out and be destroyed in the world (κόσμος),
whose desire (ἐπιθυμία) is great, great are the
. . . . . O man in whose hands is
the Richness, why wilt thou slumber in this sleep? Wherefore
wilt thou not divide for thyself the night into three parts and
sleep for one, and watch for one, and ruminate with the
rumination of the Living for one? Wherefore wilt thou [not] rise (?)
betimes
that thou mayest] glorify the great Lives, before the . . . .
. . . ., before the . . . . . his wings, before
. . . . . drug-box spread out in it,
before he] . . . ., even the lawless (ἄνομος) judge (κριτής), and [sits
upon the throne (?) of lawlessness (ἀνομία), before the accuser (κατήγορος)
comes forth and sits at the side of the magistrate
. . . . . word of the accuser (κατήγορος) and they take [thee] away
in disgrace and κατωμίζειν [thee]?

XVI.

Salome built a tower (πύργος) upon the rock (πέτρα) of
truth and mercy. The builders that built it are the righteous (δίκαιος),
the masons (λαξός) that hew stones for it are the angels.
The floor (?) of the house is Truth, the beams of the roof are alms,
faith is [the] . . . . ., the Mind (νοῦς) is the . . . . .
of its door. They that go into it rejoice, they
that come out of it, — their heart seeks after gladness. She
built it and gave it a roof, Salome gave a parapet
to the tower (πύργος), she took (?) an *anēsh* of storax (στόραξ) to purify (?) it,
she] took the . . . . of incense (λίβανος) into the palm of her hand
. . . . . forth, she set it upon her head, she went [into
it, she called my Lord Jesus, saying . . . . . .

8. 9 ⲥⲉⲧⲃⲉ: cf. Crum Dict. 363 a. The metaphorical use of this word is otherwise unknown. — 17 κατωμίζειν: probably connected with ὠμός, 'shoulder'. No doubt it denotes punitive action of some kind, perhaps 'flog'. — 26 ⲫⲗⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲩ: 'parapet', cf. 165, 19/20. ⲫⲗⲱⲉ means 'a row', 'a course of stones': ⲫ. ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲩ 'the crowning row', cf. Keph. 181, 23. — 27 ⲁⲛⲏⲱ: vid. 185, 13 n

ⲉⲕⲁⲟⲩⲁⲱ]ⲃⲉⲧ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ : ⲉⲕⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲛ̄
ⲧⲏⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲥⲛ]ⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ : ⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ • ⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁ
ⲙⲁⲕ]ⲙⲉⲕ : ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲧⲥ̀ ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲭ̀
ⲱ]ⲱⲛ̣ⲧ̣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲕⲭⲓⲧ̀ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ[ⲓ̈ ⲁⲡ]ⲏ̣ⲓ ⲙ̣[ⲡ
ⲥ]ⲃⲣⲁⲍⲧ̄ : ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲧⲣⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲭⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲥ • ⲁⲛⲉⲩ
ⲃ]ⲉⲗ ⲃⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ : ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲍⲉ • ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛ
ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲱⲡ̀ ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ :

> ⲓ̅ⲍ̅ <

Ⲁⲡⲗⲓ]ⲗⲟⲩ ⲣ̄ⲫⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲱⲣⲍ̀ • ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲙⲱ̄ ⲥ[ⲁ . . . . . .
. . . ⲍ̣ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ : ⲱ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̣ⲁ̣[. . . . . .
. ⲛ̣ⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ : ⲱ ⲡⲕⲟⲥ[ⲙⲟⲥ . . . . . .
. ⲧ̣ⲏⲕ ⲍⲏ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲙ : ⲁⲭⲛ̄[.] . . . [. . ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ
ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲥⲕ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲉ : ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̣̄ . . . [. . . . . .
ⲡⲁ]ⲭⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲥⲕ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱ[ⲣⲏ : ⲁⲭⲛ̄
ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ] ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ : ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱ[ⲥⲕ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ
ⲟⲩ]ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ : ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥ̣[. . . . .]ⲡ̣ⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣ[ⲁ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ
ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲉ : ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲣⲏⲡ[ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ • ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲥⲕ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲉ :
ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲛⲧ̄ • ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁ
ⲟⲩⲱⲥⲕ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲉ : ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲣ̄ⲫⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲱⲣⲍ̀ •
ⲁ]ⲧⲍⲩⲗⲏ ⲟⲩⲁⲱⲃⲉⲕ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲭⲉ • ⲱ ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲫⲁ
ⲗⲉ] . . ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲉⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ : ⲁ
ⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲫⲱⲟⲡ] ⲙ̣ⲉⲛ̣ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲕ[ⲟ]ⲥⲙⲟⲥ • ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲫⲛⲁⲟⲩ
ⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟ̄ ⲉⲛ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ • ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲃⲁⲙⲃⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉⲕ • ⲭⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲁⲡⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟ̄ :
ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ • ⲁⲩⲙⲉⲥ
ⲧ]ⲱⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲟ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲛⲉ[ⲩ] ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩ[ⲙⲉⲥ
ⲧ]ⲱⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲍⲱⲧ̀ ⲁⲛ ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲱⲟ : . [. . ⲉ]ⲧⲃⲏ[ⲧ . .
ⲛ̣ . ⲫⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ . ⲟⲩⲛ . [.] . ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲭ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣ[ⲟ̄ . .
. . . . . ⲛ̄[. . .]ⲱⲍ̣[. . ⲁ]ⲃ[ⲁ]ⲗ [ⲱ] ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁ̣[ⲍⲣⲁⲓ̈

mayset thou] answer me, Jesus, mayest thou hear me, for
I] am not double-minded, one is my heart and one my
intention, there is no thought in my heart that is split or divided.
Garland (?) me with the Brightnesses and take me up [to the] house of
peace. The governors (ἐπίτροπος) and rulers (ἐξουσιαστής), — their
eyes looked upon me, they wondered and marvelled that the
Righteous (δίκαιος) belonged to a single Lord.

XVII.

The] Little one made music (ψάλλειν) by night, he mocked at . . . .
. . . . at (?) him: 'O World (κόσμος) that . . . . . .
life ever. O World (κόσμος) . . . . . .
. . . . . of whom? Of . . . . . [it has been said that
they shall perish and pass, of the . . . . . .
it has been said that they shall perish and retire (ἀναχωρεῖν), [of
the Darkness] and the Fire it has been said that they shall perish and
pass, of the . . . . . the sphere (σφαῖρα) it has been said
that they shall be destroyed and pass, of the crowned ones [of the
kingdom it has been said that they shall perish and pass,
of the creation and the creator it has been said that they shall
perish and pass'. The Little one makes music (ψάλλειν) by night,
Matter (ὕλη) answered him with a word: 'O Little one that makest
music (ψάλλειν), ... thou it is art not of this world (κόσμος)'.
He said, 'I] indeed (μέν) [am] in this world (κόσμος), but (ἀλλά) I
shall not dwell in it from henceforth. I have tried the world (κόσμος)
and known it, that there is not a tittle of life in it.
Since I have known the world (κόσμος) it has hated
me, even the whole world (κόσμος); when I saw that it
hated me I in my turn hated it, ...
feet (?) . . . . . I cast the whole world (κόσμος)
. . . . . forth. O world (κόσμος), [what have I to do

4 ⲯⲱⲛⲧ: lit. 'wreathe', 'plait'. The meaning 'to garland' seems to be required by 226, 6. 12. —
25 ⲥⲁⲗⲁⲡⲓⲛ: lit. little finger, toe; vid. Crum Dict. 331 b.

ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲱⲟⲡ [ⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ
ⲛⲉⲕⲣ̄ⲣⲁⲓ̈ • ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲣⲭⲏⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̣ⲁ[ⲣⲟⲩ
ⲱ[ⲡ ⲁⲧ]ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲉⲕⲟ • ⲱ ⲡⲁⲥⲏⲧ ⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲏ
ⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲕⲓ̈ⲱ]ⲧ̀ : ⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲁ . . [.
ⲱⲛ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲩ • ϯⲡ[ⲏⲧ
ⲥⲉⲡⲏⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲱⲁⲛϯⲡⲱⲍ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀
ⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲗⲕⲧ̄ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧ • ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ : ⲁⲛⲁⲕ
ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲩ : ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲏ[.
. . . . . .] ϯⲛⲁⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ϯⲛⲁⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲱⲁⲛϯⲡ[ⲱⲍ
. . . . . .]ⲟⲩⲁⲃ̣ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲡⲱⲍ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲙ̣ . [. . . . . ⲁⲃ]ⲁⲗ ⲥⲏⲧ • ⲁⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲁⲃ
ⲁⲗ . . . . . .] ⲁⲩⲛ̄ ⟨ⲟⲩ⟩ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲗⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ[ⲩ
. . . . . .] . ⲉ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲩ ⲁⲩⲕⲁ
ⲁⲩ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲁⲁⲡⲉ : ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲩⲁⲡⲧ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲏⲡⲉ • ⲁⲩ
ⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲁ]ⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲙⲏⲛ :

> ⲓ̿ⲏ̿ <

Ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲱⲃⲉ ⲥⲓⲣⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲱⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛ • ⲁⲡⲥ+ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲏⲛ ⲱⲱⲱ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ : ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲓ ⲥⲣⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲓ̈ⲭⲱ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲥ • ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲱⲣ [ⲛ̄ⲩ
ⲭⲓ̀ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲕⲱⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛ : ⲭⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲧⲉⲉⲣ ⲥⲉⲧ • ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲩ[ⲑⲙ̄
ⲥⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲁⲑⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲱⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛ : ⲙ̣[ⲁⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄[ⲥ
ⲧⲁⲧⲉⲉⲣ ⲥⲉⲧ • ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲉⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲁ̣
ⲣⲉⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ : ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲱⲩ • ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ
ⲧⲁⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ • ⲛ̄ⲩ[ⲭⲓⲧ] ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲙ̣ⲏⲧⲉ [ⲟ]ⲩ
ⲕⲉⲛⲧⲏⲛⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲧ[ⲏⲣ]ⲟ̄ ⲉⲩⲭⲏⲕ • ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ⲟ]ⲟⲧ • ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁⲣ̄]ⲡⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ :
ⲁⲩⲉⲓ] ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲭⲓⲫⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲁ̣[ⲩⲥⲉ]ⲭⲉ̣ ⲁ̣ⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲭⲓ [ⲛ̄ⲥ
ⲱⲧ]ⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ • ⲁⲥⲣⲁⲕ ⲙⲛ̄[ⲙ]ⲏⲧ ⲛⲫⲧⲁⲧⲉⲉⲣ ⲥ[ⲉⲧ
. . . . ⲑⲩⲣ]ⲱⲣⲟⲫ ⲉ̣ⲩ[. . . . . ⲁⲥⲣⲁⲕ ⲙⲛ̄]ⲭⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉ

11 ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲱⲧ ⲁⲃ]ⲁⲗ ⲥⲏⲧ coniicio. — 20 leg. ⲭⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉ.

with thy perdition? May they suffer (?), [even
thy kings; thy powers (ἀρχή) and the principalities (ἐξουσία), — may they
be counted (?) [to the] part of destruction. O my heart, remember the
house of [thy Father]: I will go to the house of the Living
. . . . my Father, out of the Land (χώρα) of them that are far. I run,
they run after me, until I reached the Land (χώρα) of the Living.
I bent down, I sat, I rose, I went my way: I,
the Living one, from them that are far; I, the Truth that
. . . . . I will ascend, I will ascend, until I reach
. . . . . holy (?). When I reached the Land (χώρα) of
. . . . . before me, they brought a brightness forth
. . . . . ., they brought [a] Light, they clothed me in it,
. . . . . and (?) the garland of victory, they brought it and set
it upon] my head; the Living numbered me in their number and
set me] down among them, Amen'.

XVIII.

I reached the door of the garden, the fragrant smell
of the trees spread to me, I lifted up my face, saying:
Who will take from me ten talents and
take me in to the garden? Twenty silver
staters in all, who will take them from me and make
me sit beneath the shade of the garden? Thirty silver
staters [in all], who wil take them from me and make me
stand in its midst? Fifty-seven in all, who
will take them from me and take me in to their midst? [A
full hundred (κεντηνάριον) entire, who will take them
from me, that I may be counted worthy to be one of them?
They came] from the height of Truth, they said to me, even the
victorious Elect (?): What hast thou to do with ten silver staters?
. . . porter (θυρωρός) . . . [What hast thou to do with] twenty,

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20 etc. 'garden': ⲕⲱⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛ i. e. κωμάριον (= ἀγριδίον Hesych.), (vid. von Lemm, Kl. Kopt. Stud. XXV pp. 211 ff. H.T.). — 26. 225, 2 ⲕⲉⲛⲧⲏⲛⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ: vid. von Lemm op. cit. XV p. 81.

ⲁⲥⲣⲁⲕ] ⲙ̣ⲛⲙⲁⲁⲃⲉ • ⲉⲕⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲕ ⲥⲓⲣⲯ̄ⲡⲣⲟ ⲙ
ⲡ . .] . ⲛⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ : ⲁⲥⲣⲁⲕ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲛⲧⲏⲛⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄
ⲕⲁ]ⲱⲱⲡ ⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲥⲓⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲭⲓⲭⲉⲩⲉ̣ : ⲉⲱⲱ
ⲡ]ⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲛ̣ⲧⲉ̣ ⲣⲱ ⲕⲣ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ • ⲥⲉ
ⲛ]ⲁⲭⲓ ⲯⲙⲁⲕ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲕⲱⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛ : ⲉⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ
ⲛⲉⲕⲃⲉⲗ ⲧⲯ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ [ⲥ]ⲉⲛⲁⲑⲯ̄ⲥⲁⲕ
ⲍ̣ⲁⲑⲁⲓⲃⲥ̀ ⲯⲡⲕⲱⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛ : ⲉⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲕⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ
ⲥ]ⲉⲭⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ : ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲕ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ
ⲉⲣ]ⲱⲁ ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲓⲭ ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲟ ⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ . ⲁ̣ . [. . ⲥⲉⲛⲁ
ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲥⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ[ⲕ]ⲟⲓⲛⲉ̣ⲭ[ⲉ . . . . ⲉⲱⲁⲛ
ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲍⲏⲧ̀ ⲧ̣ⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ[ⲯ̄ . .] . . . . . ⲛ̄[ⲥⲉ
ⲉⲉⲍⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲯ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ : ⲉⲣⲱⲁ ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩ
ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲥⲓⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ[ⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁ]ⲉⲉⲕ ⲛ
ⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ : ⲉⲕⲱⲁⲛⲣ̄ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̣[ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕ]ⲧ̣ⲙ̣[ⲛ̄
ⲕⲁⲧⲉ • ⲕⲁⲱⲉ ⲛⲉ[ⲕ ⲁⲍ]ⲣⲏ̈ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ̣ ⲙ̣
ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ

ⲓⲑ <

ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲱ ⲡⲱⲍⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ • ⲧⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁ
ⲗⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲣⲱⲧ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ : ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲱ
ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲙⲉ : ⲥⲍⲁⲗⲃ̄ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲧⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ
ⲛ]ⲉⲩⲡⲁ̣ⲫⲗⲉ ⲥⲁⲩⲍ̀ ⲥⲉⲁⲗⲙⲉ : ⲛⲉⲥⲕⲁⲓⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ ⲥⲁ
ⲩⲍ̀ : ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡ]ⲏⲣⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲩⲉ̣ ⲯⲙⲁⲩ • ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲍ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲣⲯ̄ⲛⲍⲏⲧ̀ ⲉ[ⲧⲁⲛⲓ]ⲧ : ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲱ ⲁ
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ]ⲩ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲉⲗ ⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ :
ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲃⲱ] ⲥ̣ⲙ̣ⲁⲛ̄ⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲏⲧ • ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲃⲱ
ⲥⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲧ ⲍ]ⲛ̣ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲏ[ⲧ] : ⲁⲩⲣ̄[ⲡⲙ]ⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄
. .] . [.] . . . . ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉ̣[ⲉⲩ . . . .]ⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲱ
ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ :] ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩ ⲛⲍⲛ̣[. . . . . .]ⲩⲕⲗⲁ̣[. . .]

29—30 perierunt

9 ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲟ sic: leg. ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ. — 28 ⲭⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲧⲁⲩⲉ, scil. 'gelu matutinum': H.T.

What hast thou to do] with thirty, standing at the door of
the . . . . .? What hast thou to do with this whole hundred (κεντηνάριον)?
Thou shalt] be put to the torture (βάσανος) by thy enemies; but if
thou fastest (νηστεύειν) with fasting (νηστεία), thou
shalt be taken into the garden; if
thy eyes glance not evilly (κακῶς), they will make thee sit
beneath the shadow of the garden; if thy mouth
speaks truly, they will show thee their Image (εἰκών);
if thy hands are pure (?) from . . . . ., they will
hear the accents of thy pleading . . . . if
thy heart is firm, [they will . . . . and
make thee stand in their midst; if thy feet
walk in the path of Truth, [they will] make thee
one of them. If thou doest these things indeed (? μέν) and sleepest
not, thou shalt go up and see the Land (χώρα) of
Light.

XIX.

They brought forth . . . . . from my heart, the vine
which grew from the Living ones. The smell of the
vine is pleasant, sweet also is the taste of the tree.
Its clusters (?) are gathered, they are entwined; its grapes also are
gathered. [Good is the] wine that is pressed (?), [all
full of good wisdom. He that shall drink
of it, — his eyes shine in his head,
his thought] is firm in his heart, his thought
is firm] in his heart. He remembered the great
. . . . . ., he remembered . . . . . vine,
they planted it . . . . . .

ll. 29—30 *destroyed*

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6 cf. 150, 22. — 18 ⲱⲥⲣⲉ (ⲡⲱⲥⲣⲉ?): meaning unknown to me. Perhaps the same root is to be seen in ⲁⲥⲣ-ⲧⲁⲩ, vid. 17, 17; 70, 1. — 21 ⲡⲁⲗⲗⲉ: vid. 57, 12 n.

ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲏ̈ ⲁⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲱⲙⲱ̄ : Ⲛⲉ[ⲧ.]ⲛ̣[. . .
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ : ⲁⲩⲕⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲡ[ⲉ . . . . . .
ⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ̣ ⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ : ⲁⲩⲁⲗⲕ̀ ⲱⲉ ⲉⲩⲕ[ⲱⲙⲱ̄
ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ : ⲭⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄[ⲛ̄ⲣⲱ
ⲙⲉ : ⲁⲕ+ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ : ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲱⲁⲡⲁ[. .
ⲭⲉ ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲗⲙⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲁⲡⲉ • ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲛ̄[ⲕ
ⲱⲗⲙⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲁⲡⲉ • ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲣⲁⲩⲣⲉⲩ ⲁⲕⲟⲩⲛⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲭ[ⲓ
ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲍⲛ̄ⲟ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧ : ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲣⲁⲩⲣⲉⲩ ⲁⲕⲟⲩⲛⲧ̀ ⲛ̣ⲭⲓ
ⲛ]ⲉ̣ⲕ[ⲙⲁⲍ]ⲛ̣ⲟ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲕⲁ̣[. . .
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲓ ⲁⲍ]ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ : ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁ̣ⲱ
ⲣⲟⲛ .] . . . . ⲛ̣[. . . . .]ⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲃ̣ⲁⲙ • ⲛ̄ⲍⲓⲁ[ⲙⲉ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲍⲏⲧ̀ ⲧⲏⲕ ⲁ̣ⲣⲁ̣ⲩ • ⲱⲁⲩⲱⲁ̣ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲉ̣
ⲧⲁⲗⲓ[ⲟⲛ . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲭⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲣ[ⲏⲏ̈ ⲁⲧ]ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣
ⲟⲩⲁ[ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ

> k̄ <

ⲦⲦⲍⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ̣ ⲡⲙⲉⲉ̣ⲉ̣ . . . ⲛⲁⲉ ⲉⲫⲧⲣⲙ|ⲟ ⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲛ̄ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲣⲉⲩ ⲛ̣ⲏⲓ̈ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ [ⲛ̄
ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲉⲩ : ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲃⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲟ
ⲥⲛⲉⲩ • ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲏ̈ ⲁⲛⲍⲉⲗⲟⲥ : ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱ[ⲉ
ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲧ • ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ : ⲡⲱⲉ ⲙ̣[ⲉⲛ
ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲧ̀ ⲁⲩⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲉ • ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲁⲩⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭ[ⲁ
ⲕⲉⲩ : ⲁⲩⲭⲓⲧⲟ̄ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲭⲛ|ⲧⲏⲥ • ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲧ̣[. . .
ⲭⲉ ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍ!|[ⲱ]ⲱⲩ : ⲁⲩⲙⲁ̣[ⲛⲕ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲍⲃⲉⲩ : ⲁⲩ
ⲧⲉⲗⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲁⲙⲉⲭⲍ • ⲁⲩⲉ|ⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲙⲉ [ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ : ⲁⲩ
ⲙⲟⲩⲗⲍ̀ ⲧⲉⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲱⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ : ⲁⲩⲭ[ⲱⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ
ⲥⲡ|ⲣⲉⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭ̣[ⲁⲕ]ⲉ̣ⲩ : ⲍ̣ . ⲧ̣ . . . . [. . . . . .
ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ . [.] . . . [. .] . ⲱⲱ̣ⲩ • ⲁⲩⲥ|ⲧ[ⲉ] ⲙ̣ⲡ̣[. . . . .

28—30 mutila

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3 ⲁⲩⲁⲗⲕ̀ ⲱⲉ: H.T. — 13 ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲧ coniicio. — 16 fort. ⲥⲁⲡⲛⲁⲉ. — 22 fin. fort. ⲁⲩⲧⲉ π[.

up to the city (πόλις) of mockery. They that (?) . . . . .
when they saw me, they wagged their heads . . . . .
they sneered (?) at me, they turned up the nose in mockery,
saying: O man, come forth from among
men (?), thou didst set fire to our city (πόλις). I spoke unto my . . . .
saying: Weave a garland (?) and encircle (?) my head, weave a garland (?) and
encircle (?) my head. Let them fall down into my lap, even
thy . . . . ., let them fall down into my lap, [even
thy . . . . ., that I may see who it is that thou hast . . . .
and that they may come] within, even the righteous (δίκαιος), and may give them as
a gift (? δῶρον) . . . . . strong in their power. The women (?)
whose hearts are firm are garlanded with petals (πετάλιον)
. . . . . and sent up to the Land (χώρα) of
Light.

XX.

The cry of Pamoun, the ox . . . mercy, making the worlds (κόσμος)
to weep: What have the generations (γενεά) done to me? Unto what
have the sons of men delivered me? They took two-edged axes,
they put them up in the marshes (ἕλος), they felled the thick (?)
trees and the thin (?) ones they did not leave alone. The thick (?)
tree indeed (? μέν) they made into a plough, the thin they made a
goad, they took it to the craftsmen (τεχνίτης), they made (?) . . .
his hand forth upon it, they fashioned [a yoke and
mounted it on my neck, they hung the plough [behind me, they
hooked the plough and hung it behind me, they [pierced my
sides with the goad . . . . . .

ll. 27—30 *fragmentary*

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3 'sneered': lit. 'threw lips'. — 6. 7 'encircle': lit. 'embrace'. — 8. 9 ⲙⲁϩⲛ̄ⲟⲛⲩⲧ in this context suggests (i) *mḥe*, an O Egypt. and demotic word for wreath, esp. of flowers; (ii) the root ⲟⲛ : ϫⲛ (cf. ⲟⲛⲟⲛ, ⲟⲛⲟ) = fresh, tender. But the n̄- presents a difficulty (H.T.). — 15 ff. cf. the Zoroastrian ox in Yasna 29. I cannot explain the significance of the name Pamoun. — 16 ⲧⲣⲙ|ⲟ causative of ⲣⲙⲉ. — 20. 21 (a) ⲉⲧϩⲁⲧ: ? qual. of ϩⲧⲁⲓ 'be fat', vid. Crum Dict. 722 b: (b) ⲱⲙⲁⲧ: ? qual. of ⲱⲙⲁ 'be fine, subtle', Crum op. cit. 565 a.

. . . . . .] ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ[ⲅⲉ
ⲗⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ • ⲁ]ⲡⲣⲉϥⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱⲙ̄ⲉⲉⲉ ⲃⲓⲧ • ⲁⲡⲉϥ[. . .
ⲃⲓⲧ ⲡⲱ]ⲏⲣ[ⲉ ⲙ̄]ⲡⲙⲁⲅⲉⲗⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ : ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ[ⲅⲉⲗⲗ
ⲓⲧ]ⲏⲥ ⲁ[ϥⲕⲁ]ⲛⲥⲧ̄ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲣⲧ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲁⲓⲉ ⲧ[ⲁⲓⲉ ⲁ]ⲩ[ⲥⲁ
ⲣⲧ̄] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲁⲩ]ⲉⲓⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ ϩⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲥⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲏ[ⲧ
. . . . .]ⲙⲛ[.]ⲉⲙ ⲩⲛⲁϫ ⲛⲁϥⲉⲥ ⲁⲛϥⲗⲃⲁⲩⲗⲉ
. . ⲗ • ⲭⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲓϥⲉϥⲁⲩⲉ : ϩⲁⲡ[. . . . .
. . .]ⲉⲧⲟⲩϩ . ⲓ . ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁ[. . . . . .
. . .ⲡⲱⲁ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲉⲛ : ⲡ . . ⲙ̄ⲡϩ . ⲗⲉ
. . . . .]ⲡⲙⲉϩⲉ : ⲁ̣ⲫⲏ[. . . . . .
.]ⲭⲏϥ ϥ . . . ⲟⲩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϥ[. .].ⲃ.[. . . . . .]ⲡ[. . . .
. .]ⲏⲉ : ⲁⲩⲙ[ⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡ̣[.]ⲟ̣ . ⲡⲉⲧ . . ⲁ̣ . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ
ϩⲓⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ̣ ⲡⲙⲉⲥⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲕⲕⲓⲙ ⲁⲛⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟⲥ [ⲉ
ⲧⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲕ̀ : ϯⲛⲁⲑⲙ̄ⲥⲁⲕ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲛ[. .] . . [.
ⲛ̄]ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲭⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̀ : ⲡⲉⲧ . ⲣ̣[. .]ⲉⲱ
ⲛⲉⲕ • ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲉ . . . . ⲩ[. . .]ⲃ̈ⲓⲱ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ[ⲥ]
ⲛ̄ⲕⲧⲁⲃⲉⲥ ⲛⲉ[. . .]ⲕⲁⲛϩ : ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲁⲭ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲛⲉⲧⲏ[. . .
. . .]ⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ : ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ϩ[. .
ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ

8 an ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲉϩⲟⲩⲧ, cf. Keph. 44, 21? sed ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ coniicio. — 16 leg. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲁⲕ⟨ⲕ⟩? — 17 an ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲕⲁⲛϩ? — 18 fin. ϩⲉⲡ coniicio.

. . . . . ., they delivered me to the son of the
butcher (μακελλίτης), the fattener of oxen took me, his . . . .
took me, the] son [of] the butcher (μακελλίτης), the son of the butcher
(μακελλίτης),
he] chopped me up, he scattered me abroad piecemeal, they [scattered
me] abroad, [they] hung me in the markets in the presence of
. . . . . threw (?) my bones to the . . . .
Therefore release (?) me from these things and from the others, ...
. . . . . after me . . . . . -ly
. . . . . and they do not buy it. The . . . of the . . . .
. . . the ox . . . . . .
burning (?) . . . . inside . . . . . .
. . . he (?) called, even the . . . ., he that . . . : Do not
strike, o Pamoun, the ox, and shake the vessels (σκεῦος)
that are in thee. I will make thee sit upon the place of the . . . .
the generations (γενεά) pass away through thee . . . . .
to thee, and thou shalt make . . . . . wherein they planted (?) thee.
and repay it to . . ., thou (?) living. They are free,
even they that . . . . .
my brethren, from the day of the great . . . .,
Amen.

6 ⲕⲗⲃⲁⲩⲗⲉ: cf. Crum, Cat. of Copt. MSS. in John Rylands Library, 273; Copt. Ostraka 345. It occurs in various forms in Gk. Papyri as a proper name, vid. Preisigke, Namenbuch, s. v. The meaning 'dogs' (cf. ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲡⲟⲩ Crum Dict. 105 b) would suit the context: ? compare the semitic *klb*. — 10 med. Here the reply to the cry begins.

ⲔⲒⲥⲁⲗⲗⲓⲟ ⲕⲛⲁⲧⲙⲉ ⲕⲱⲓ. . . . .
. . . ⲧ]ⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲔⲒ+ ⲥ]ⲗⲁⲟ ⲙⲡⲁⲥⲏⲧ ⲕⲟ ⲛ[. . . . .
ⲧⲁ]ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲕⲥⲗⲁⲟ
ⲁ[ⲕ .]ⲉⲓⲛ . ⲥⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲕⲧ . . ⲙ .
.]ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ
. . . .]ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲙⲛⲧⲉⲱⲗ[
. . . . ⲱⲙⲟ]ⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ . . . . .
ⲁ[ⲕⲥ]ⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲡ[.
. . ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲥ]ⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲕⲥⲁⲗⲟ
ⲁⲕ . . [. . . . .] . . [.]ⲛⲡⲉ ⲁ . . ⲫⲟ[.
. . . . . .]ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲕⲥⲁ[ⲗⲟ
ⲁⲕⲛⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲃⲉⲗ ⲁⲡⲭⲣⲁⲣⲉ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ
. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲥ]ⲏⲧⲏ ⲕⲥⲁⲗⲟ
ⲁ[. .] . ⲥⲉ . . ⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲧ . [
. . . . . ⲱⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ [ⲥⲛ̄]ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲥ
ⲁⲕⲟⲩ]ⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ . . . ⲛ̄ⲥⲏ[ⲧ
. . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲃⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲫⲭⲡⲁⲫ
ⲁⲕ . . . ⲛⲉⲫⲗⲓⲧⲟⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲫ
ⲱⲙⲱⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲫⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ
. .] . . . ⲉⲧⲃ . ⲥ . ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲫ ⲙⲛ̄ .
. . . .]ⲫⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲍⲁⲅⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲫ

23—24 non legi possunt

Ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲧⲛⲁⲥⲥⲟ ⲧⲡ . [. . . .
. . . . . .] . ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ

27 mutilum

. . . . . ⲙⲁ]ⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ

29 periit

. . . ⲥ]ⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛ

31—32 mutila

1 ff. recent. exaravit manus, ea quae 113, 23 et 234.

Thou art sweet and pleasant, thou . . . .
. . ., all of them.
Thou [givest] sweetness to my heart, thou art . . . . .
my] mouth. Thou art sweet.
Thou didst . . . . in (?) the Father, thou didst . . . . .
the Maiden.
. . . . . the Elements (στοιχεῖον) . . . . . .
. . . . Omophorus . . . . .
Thou didst obey the Mother . . . . .
. . . . and her] Image (εἰκών).
Thou didst . . . . . .
. . . . . sin. Thou art sweet.
Thou didst see with thy eyes the scattering
. . . . . in it. Thou art sweet.
. . . . . Image (εἰκών) up to them that
. . . . . ., all of them, [in] the flesh (σάρξ).
Thou didst] appear (?) to the Archon . . . . .
his companion (?) whom he begot.
Thou didst . . . . his helpers (λειτουργός) and the
ministers of his iniquity (κακία).
. . . . . with him and . . .
. . . . four that lead him forth (ἐξάγειν).

ll. 23—24 *illegible*

And (?) the three arouse the . . . . .
. . . . . men.

ll. 27—32 *fragmentary*

1 ff. In large letters in a later hand, as also p. 234.

	(a)		(b)	
	]ετϛнп	ā	πωωνε αραϊ̈ ν	λ[β
		β	χαιρε πρω̄ω̄πε	λγ
		γ	cγναξ·	
		δ	χι αρο ταϯγχн	λδ
5		ε	χι cωн απϛραγ cν	λε
		ϛ	c . . . [ταϯ]γχн ν̄	λϛ
	]ψπρ̄ϊε νн	ζ	αωογ νнϊ̈ παρεψϛω	λζ
	]ογαινε ππα	η	βι χω αϛρнϊ̈ ταϯγχ	λη
	τν̄ϯεαγ	θ	ππ̄να ν̄τε π̈ωτ	[λθ
10		[ι]	τϛελπιc ν̄τε πω	μ
		ια	ϛω[c] тнртνε ν̄ψн	[μα
		ιβ	ππ̄κλc ω̄ππ̄χρc	[μβ
	]ν̄ϛωc	ιγ	αϊ̈ταχραϊ̈ ϩχ[ν̄ππνα	[μγ
		ιδ	ογαβαλ ϛν̄πο[γαϊ̈νε	μ]δ
15		ιε	ππαπεαγ ϩ[. . . .]	μ̈ε
		[ι]ϛ	ṅτϩk̄ πψογω[εϊ̈ε]	μϛ
		ιζ	[χαιρε παψнρε]	μζ
		[ιη]	[ṅε̣] νεταϥτεο]γαγ	μη
		ιθ	[ ]ṭν̄	μθ
20		κ	. . . . . ψω . . ε .	ν
		[κα]	ν̄ρε̣ṭϩ ν̄ν̄ρωμε	να
		[κβ]	cωτμε ανcεχε	νβ
		[κγ]	cωτμε απϛραγ	νγ
		[κ]δ	χι cωн таϯγχн	νδ
25		[κε]	βι ιετε αϛρнϊ̈ απχι	νε
			τωνε таϯγχн μα	νϛ
		κϛ	раϊ̈c таϯγχн ν̄τε	νζ
		κζ	αβαλ ϛν̄ω̄μαν̄ψ	νη
		κη	απcнγ θναϥ αϛογν	νθ
30		κθ	ϛωϥ ω̄μωτν̄ ναϩṅ	ξ
		λ	μαρν̄ϛωc απιωτ	ξα
		λα		

6 b cωτμ coniicio.

	(a)		(b)	
	.]NZ . . ç AXWN	ⳉB	ⲦϮϪⲎ [	ϥΓ
	Ⳉⲓ . ρ . . ⲠⲀⲠⲞⲤⲦⲞⲖ	ⳉΓ	ⲦϮϪⲎ [ⲦⲰⲈⲢⲈ ⲈⲦⲀⲒ	ϥΔ
	ϮⲚⲀ[ⲞⲨ]ⲀⲰⲢⲈ ⲀⲢⲀⲒ	ⳉΔ	ⲦϮϪⲎ [	ϥⲈ
	ϮⲚⲀ̄[ⲫⲟ]ⲢⲈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲀⲞⲨ	ⳉⲈ	ⲦϮϪⲎ [	ϥⲤ
5	ⲠⲈⲀⲨ ⲚⲈϥ ⲡⲓⲰⲦ	ⳉⲤ	ⲦϮϪⲎ ⲀⲢⲓⲡⲘⲈⲨⲈ	ϥⲌ
	ⲀⲢⲓ]ⲡⲀⲘⲈⲨⲈ ⲡⲬ̅ⲢⲤ	ⳉⲌ	ⲦϮϪⲎ [	ϥⲎ
	. . . [.]ⲘⲞⲨ Ⲁⲡⲛ̄	ⳉⲎ	ⲦϮϪⲎ ⲙ̄ⲡⲰⲢⲣ̄	ϥⲑ
	ⲀⲘⲎⲒⲚⲈ ⲘⲀⲢⲛ̄ⲙ̄	ⳉⲑ	ⲦϮϪⲎ ⲙ̄ⲡⲰⲢ	[ρ
	ⲀⲒⲤⲀⲨⲚⲈ ⲀⲒⲙ̄ⲘⲈ	ο	ⲦϮϪⲎ ⲙ̄ⲡⲰⲢ	[ρⲀ
10	. . . . ⲀⲡⲔⲞⲤⲘⲞⲤ	οⲀ	ⲦϮϪⲎ ⲙⲓⲱⲉ ⲁⲣⲟ	[ρⲂ
	. . . .]ⲀⲨ ⲚⲎⲦⲛ̄ ⲦⲎⲢ	[ο]Β	ⲦϮϪⲎ ⲘⲘⲀⲒⲚⲞⲨ[ⲦⲈ	ρΓ
	ϯ . . ⲦϮϪⲎ ⲙ̄ⲡⲈⲒ	[ο]Γ	ⲦϮϪⲎ	[ρⲀ
	. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲱⲀⲚⲤⲦⲎϥ	οⲀ	ⲦϮϪⲎ	[ρⲈ
		οⲈ	. ⲡⲁ . . ⲡ	
15		[οⲤ]	ⲀⲘⲎⲒⲚⲈ ⲱ ⲚⲤⲀⲂⲈ	[ρⲤ
		[οⲌ]	ⲙ̄ⲦϮϪⲀⲨⲈ ⲉⲤⲚⲀⲚ	ρ[Ⲍ
		[οⲎ]	[ⲀⲘⲎ]ⲒⲚⲈ [ⲀⲠⲀⲢ]ⲱⲚ[	ρⲎ
	ⲚⲀⲤⲚⲎⲨ	[οⲑ]	[ⲛ̄ⲱ]ⲎⲢⲈ ⲚⲦⲢⲈⲒⲦⲈ [	ρⲑ
	ⲚⲀⲤⲚⲎⲨ	[π]		ρ]ⲓ
20	ⲚⲀⲤⲚⲎⲨ	[πⲀ]		[ρⲓⲀ
	ⲡⲱⲎⲢⲈ ⲈⲦⲞⲒ ⲛ	ⲡⲂ		[ρⲓⲂ
				[ρⲓⲄ
	ⲦϮϪⲎ ⲦϮϪⲎ	ⲡⲄ		[ρⲓⲆ
	ⲦϮϪⲎ ⲥⲀⲢⲤ ⲚⲓⲘ	ⲡⲆ		[ρⲓⲈ
25	ⲦϮϪⲎ ⲉⲧⲁ	ⲡⲈ		[ρⲓⲤ
	ⲦϮϪⲎ ⲢⲀⲒⲤ ⲈⲦⲂⲈ	ⲡⲤ		[ρⲓⲌ
	ⲦϮϪⲎ ⲙ̄ⲙⲀ|ⲚⲞⲨⲦⲈ	ⲡⲌ		[ρⲓⲎ
	ⲦϮϪⲎ ⲂⲒ ⲒⲈⲦⲈ ⲀⲡⲤⲒ	ⲡⲎ	ϮⲀⲖ[ⲘⲞⲒ ⲦⲎⲤ ⲔⲨⲢⲒⲀⲔ·	
	ⲦϮϪⲎ ⲂⲒ ⲒⲈⲦⲈ ⲀⲡⲤⲒ	ⲡⲑ	ⲒⲎ̄Ⲥ ⲡ[ⲢⲈ]ⲨⲤⲰ[Ⲧ]Ⲉ [ⲦⲤⲈⲖ	[ρⲓⲑ
30	ⲦϮϪⲎ ⲈⲦⲈ ⲚⲤⲀⲂⲈⲈⲨ	ϥ	ⲚⲥⲀⲨ[. . . . . .]Ⲛ[	ρⲔ
	ⲦϮϪⲎ ⲀⲒⲈⲒⲢⲈ ⲛ̄	ϥⲀ		[ρⲔⲀ
	ⲦϮϪⲎ ⲦⲀⲒⲖⲈ ⲱⲀ	ϥΒ		

3 a ⲟⲩⲁⲱⲣⲉ cf. 120, 1. — 28 b cf. S.B.A.W. 1933, p. 31.

	(a)		(b)	
		]ρκβ	†ογ πασχα κγ ηρακλ·	
		]ρκγ	αλη̈ αππλαϊλε	ρν̣
		]ρκδ		[ρνδ
		]ρκε		[ρνβ
5		]ρκϛ		[ρνγ
		]ρ̣κ̣ζ		[ρνδ
		]ρκη	αιαφ·	
		]ρκθ	μαρν̄καϛτην απμ̣	ρν̣ε
		]ρλ	ωαβε νιμ βε ε̣ι	[ρνϛ
10			ρεωε νε[	ρνζ
		ρλα	ραι[	ρνη
		ρλβ		ρνθ
		ρλγ		ρξ
	τπαρ]θενος ν̄ν̄	ρλδ	τν̄†αλε αρακ	[ρξα
15		ρλε	μαρν̄ειρε ῡ̣πτα	ρξ̣β̣
			. . . . .	
		[ρλϛ]		[ρξγ
	]τντωβ̣ζ̣	ρλζ		[ρξδ
	. . . .]παογαϊνε	ρλη		
20		ρλθ	[ε]ϲ τχαμη ασπωρ	ρξ]ε
		ρμ		[ρξ]ϛ
		ρμα		ρξ]ζ
		[ρμβ]	. . . .]ογαβε	ρ[ξ]η
		[ρμγ]	. . .] πογωω	[ρ]ξθ
25		[ρμδ]		ρο
		[ρμε]	k]γ cγρ·	
		[ρμϛ]	. . . .]πταχρο ν̄	ρ[οα
		[ρμζ]	αιαφ·	
		[ρμη]	]ε ετογαβε	[ρο]β
30		[ρμθ]	] τηρτν̄	[ρο]γ
			] αρωτν̄	[ροδ
			] αραν α	[ρο]ε

1 b sc. κγριογ ηρακλε|δογ, vid. 97, 14 n. — 7 b, 28 b αιαφ· scil. †αλμοι αιαφοροι. — 9 b ωαβε sic: leg. ωατε. — 26 b sc. κγριογ cγρογ, cf. 14, 19.

(a)

	ⲟⲩⲧⲟ]ⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁ	ροϛ
	ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲣⲉϣⲉ ⲧⲁ	ροζ
	. . . . .]ⲡⲉ ⲡϣⲁⲓ̈ⲉ	ροη
	ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩ]ⲃⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲁⲩ	ροθ
5	. . .] . . ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲩ	ρπ
	. . .]ⲥⲣⲉⲓ̈ . . . ⲙⲁ	ρπα
	ⲁ[. . . .]ⲓⲛ . ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩ	ρπβ
	. . . .]ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ	ρπγ
	. . . .]ⲉⲧϩ̄ . . ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈	ρπδ
10	ϫⲁⲗ]ⲣⲉ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲟ|	ρπε
		ρπϛ
	11—13 non legi possunt	ρ]ⲡⲍ
		ρπη
	. . . . . .] ⲁⲡⲧⲱⲃϩ̄	ρπθ
15	ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕⲗⲥ	ρϥ
	. . . . ⲱⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩ	ρϥα
	ⲧ]ⲱⲃϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄	[ρϥβ
	. . . ⲣ̄ⲙ . . ⲧⲏ . . ⲛ̄	[ρϥγ
	ⲁ[. . .]ⲕⲣ̄	ρϥ]δ
20	. [. . .] ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄	[ρϥ]ε
	ⲙ̄ . . [.] . ⲉⲧⲧⲁϩⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ	ρϥϛ
	ⲁ . [. .] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ	[ρϥζ
	ⲁ[ⲙⲏ]ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ	[ρϥη
	ⲁ[ⲙⲏ]ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧ	[ρϥθ
25		
	ⲡⲁⲛⲛⲩⲭ	
	[ⲡ]ⲡⲁⲛⲛⲩⲭⲓⲥⲙⲟⲥ	[c]α
	non legi potest	[c]β
30	. . . . .]ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̄	[cγ]
	ⲧⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁ]ϩⲣⲏ| . . .	[cδ]

(b)

	ⲡⲣⲱ . [	cε
	ⲕ[ⲩ] ⲏⲣⲁⲕ[	
	ⲧⲛⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ . [	cϛ
	ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ . . ⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲧⲗⲁ[	cζ
	ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈[ⲛⲉ	cη
	ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉ[ⲛⲟⲥ	cθ
	ⲱ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲉϥ[	cι
	ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉϥ[	cια
	ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛⲉ . [	ciβ
	ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲁⲩ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ	ciγ
	ⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲡ[ⲣⲉϥⲑ]ⲣⲕⲟ ⲙ[	ciδ
	ⲛⲁⲥⲛ[ⲏⲩ] ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲥ[	ciε
	ⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ . . ⲉⲩⲁ[	ciϛ
	ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲁⲙⲏⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲱ[	ciζ
	ⲃⲏⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕ	
	ⲡⲛ̄]ⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲗⲟⲏⲧ[	ciη
	ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ [ⲡ	ciθ
	ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ	[cκ
	ⲣ̄ϩⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲉ[ϫⲉ	cκα
	ⲧϯⲩϫⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙ̄[	cκβ
	ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ̄ ⲙ̄[	cκγ
	ⲙ̄[ⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲥ]ⲙ̄[ⲁⲙⲉ] ⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲛ̄	[cκδ
	[ⲟ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕϣⲉⲣⲉ	cκε
	[ⲙ̄ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ	cκϛ
	[ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ̄ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲕ	cκζ
	[ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲡⲕⲗⲥ	cκη
	[ϫⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲡ	cκθ
	[ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲣⲓ̈ⲱⲟⲩ	cλ
	[ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲣ	cλα
	[ϫⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈	cλβ

27a c deest.

(a)		(b)	
[χαιρε πΝ̄χαϊc πμα]	cλγ	cωτε ϯμαϊ ω παρρο	cξβ
[. . . . ογ Ν̄ογ . . . . . .]	cλδ	μαρ̄ρπϯπωα Ν̄νε	cξγ
[μαρΝ̄ζωc τηρνε]	cλε	πωαμ̄ce ωαπ̄τ̄ αζ	cξδ
[ν . . . . . μΝ̄Ν̄]	cλς	πooγε πε πτογϊο	cξε
[ζωc τηρτ]Ν̄ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲛ̣ⲁ	cλζ	χαιρε πκρ̄ιτηc Ν̄	cξς
[νετογαβ]ε̣ ϯπωρ	cλη	ⲁμoγ νηϊ̈ παχαϊc ϊ̈η	cξζ
[ε̄ic ταμνηcτ̄ια ⲁc]	cλθ	ῑη̄c παογαϊ̈νε ετᾱι	cξη
[τΝ̄cμαμε] ⲧ̣Ν̄ζωc	cμ	ῑη̄c παογαϊ̈νε πωη	cξθ
[. . ε̣ ϯπγ]ϫ̣ⲏ̣ ϯⲡ̣	cμα	ῑη̄c τζε̄λπ̄ιc ϯμηε	co
		ῑη̄c πρ̄ρο Ν̄νετογα	[co]ⲁ̣
		ῑη̄c π[χ̄]ρc πετᾱι	c[oβ
[ ]	cⲙ̣β	ῑη̄c πχ̄ρc πετᾱι	coγ
[ ]	cⲙ̣γ	ῑη̄c παβοηθοc μα†	coδ
[ⲁμoγ πα]ⲥ̣ⲱⲧⲏⲣ ῑη̄c	cⲙ̣δ	ῑη̄c πcηρ †τωβ̄ϩ̄ ϯ	coε
[ⲁμoγ] νηϊ̈ πᾱcηρ	cμε	ⲥ̣ⲱoγϩ̄ τηρτⲛ̄ Ν̄ωη	coς
[ⲁμoγ νηϊ̈] πⲁcγⲅ	cμς		
[ⲁμoγ νη]ⲓ πχ̄ρc ⲉ̣ⲧ	cμ[ζ]	ⲕ̄γ̄ ⲏ̄ⲣⲁⲕⲗⲉⲓⲁ	
[ⲁμoγ παχαϊc ῑη̄c]	cⲙ̣η		
[ϫ]ⲧ ⲁϩρηϊ̈ ⲁνεⲕ]	cⲙ̣θ	πχ̄ρc τωⲕ ⲁρετⲕ̄ νε̣	coζ
[ῑη̄c πμονογενηc]	cⲛ	τ[cⲁ]γϩ̄ⲥ̄ Ν̄χπ̣ⲟ̣ Ν̄τε νⲓ	coη
[ῑη̄c πμονογενηc]	cⲛⲁ	. .]ⲁⲧ ϯμο ωαπεⲟγⲁ̣	coθ
[ῑη̄c πογαϊ̈νε Ν̄ϯ]	cⲛⲃ	. .]ωπ ϩρε̣ⲏ̣ ϯπⲕωη	cπ
[πχ̄ρc παπατωελεετ]	cⲛⲅ	ῑη̄c πναητ πωⲛ	cπⲁ
[ⲁγ†oγω ϯμaⲕ ϩ]	cⲛⲇ	ⲁ̣ⲓϩ̄ⲓce ωαⲛ†ωπω	cπⲃ
[τωⲕ ⲁρετⲕ̄ νεμηϊ̈]	cⲛε	. .].ⲕ [ε]ⲧ̣oⲓ Ν̄ϩ̄ⲣ̄τε	cπⲅ
[πνογτε . . . πⲥⲁⲃε]	cⲛς	†ϩωc ⲁρⲁⲕ πχ̄ρc	cπⲇ
[ ]	cⲛζ	χαιρε πⲛ̣oγc χαιρε	cπε
[ϫρο μⲛ̄ϊo ⲧ†ⲩχⲏ]	cⲛη	. ⲁⲛⲁπω . . ⲉ̣ⲧⲛ̣ⲁⲛ̣[	cπς
[ ]	cⲛθ	ⲁⲓⲁϕ̈	
[ⲁ . ⲛ̣ . . . ⲓⲛ̣ . . .]	cξ	ⲧⲁ†ⲩχⲏ ετηⲡ̣ ⲁ̣ⲣⲁⲕ	cπζ
[cωτε ϯμaϊ̈ πχ̄ρc]	cξⲁ	ⲓ̄η̄c παρεⲫcωτε Ν̄ⲱ	cπη
		ⲓ̄η̄c πⲁnoγτε †ⲧ	cπθ

1 non legi potest

ⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲣ[
Ⲉⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲡ . [
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [
Ⲱⲁⲕⲭⲡⲟ ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ . . . [. . .
. . . . [.] ⲱⲁ|ⲭⲡⲟ ⲥⲉⲭⲉ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲉ| ⲁⲡ|ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲉⲩ . . . . [. . . .
ⲉⲧⲁⲫ̄☩ⲩⲭⲏ
ⲦⲦⲡ . ⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲫⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡ . [. . . .
ⲡⲁⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
Ⲧⲧⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲑ . . ⲩ ⲍ|ⲭⲱⲫ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙ[ⲁ . . .
ⲩⲉ . . . . . ⲁⲫⲙⲟⲩ
☩ⲱⲣⲕ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ| . . . [. ⲉⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲍⲉⲗⲡ|ⲥ

15—20 non legi possunt
excepta voce ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲗⲱ[ⲛⲏⲥ], l. 18.

21 . . .] . ☩ⲧⲣ̄ⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱ[ⲣ . . . .
. .] . . .ⲧⲁⲓⲉ . . ⲙⲙⲉⲩ . . [
. .] . . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

24—26 non legi possunt

27 . . .] . . . ⲉⲕ ⲛ̄ⲱⲟ ⲛ̄ . . [
. . .] ☩ⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲉ[
. . . .] ☩ⲛⲁ . ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙ[ⲉⲩ
30 . .] . ⲩ ⲁ . . . ⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ
. . .]ⲧⲣⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲛⲉ . [
.]ⲉⲧⲍⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲛ . . . [
. ⲭ]ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲛⲉⲫ[. . . . . .

34 non legi potest

1 ff. magnis litteris exaravit manus tertia.

l. 1 *illegible*

destruction . . . .
What is the . . . . . .
to them.
Thou dost beget (?) sons . . . . . .
. . . . . I beget words.
What camest thou hither to seek . . . . . .
which became a soul.
. . . . . to his servants . . . . . .
that of the First Man.
The body (? σῶμα) . . . . . upon it, a body (σῶμα) . . . .
. . . . . he died.
I swear to thee therefore (οὖν) that I did [not] . . .
thy hope (ἐλπίς).

ll. 15—20 *illegible*

. . . . I conjure thee, do not . . . . .

22 *fragmentary*

. . . . all the gods.

ll. 24—26 *illegible*

. . . . . thousands . . . . . .
. . . . I say to . . . . .

ll. 29—34 *fragmentary*

INDICES

A. Greek and Semitic Words.

B. Coptic words.

C. Proper Names etc.

D. Manichaean Terms.

E. Biblical Quotations.

Indices

A. Greek Words

ἀγαθόν 30 6 39 27 42 23 49 25 52 3 77 9 95 18 162 16 165 25 167 12
ἀγαθός 1 32 31 11 38 1 40 34 60 26 76 27 91 19 176 19
ἀγάπη 12 11 23 3. 14 24 24 33 12 38 20 83 32 91 10 115 28 116 1. 26 146 2 151 15 156 25 157 14 158 8. 25 161 9 167 4. 34 169 12. 20. 26 170 8 171 22. 25 172 12. 13. 24 173 10 bis 174 12 176 21 177 4. 20. 21 182 24 183 9. 23 184 8. 17 185 18 186 21 189 26 190 23 194 12
ἄγγεῖον 25 16
ἄγγελος 9 26 12 24 16 23 24 26 37 3 81 4. 24 84 17 95 9 98 4 108 21 144 5 145 5 203 14 213 21 222 21
adjectivally: 24 30 (?) 50 29 (?) 146 41
ἀγγελική 155 5
ἁγία 157 4
ἀγλαός 139 50
ἀγορά 191 25
ἀγών 52 6 57 27 59 19 63 13 69 30 86 32 88 8 93 9 100 15 101 8. 31 113 9 117 17 137 51 145 10 148 23 149 19. 27 188 19 192 29
ἀδικεῖν ϱαδικη 188 16
ἀετός 155 6 179 28 188 21
ἀήρ 1 17 8 18 9 14 21 2 22 13 26 10 27 27 52 18 64 19 79 5 83 26 89 26 99 10 100 31 116 30 136 36 137 37 168 25 180 9 196 11 198 27 201 13 202 1 203 20 205 5. 6
ἆθλον 101 21 103 8 117 17 175 4 vid.
αἰχμάλωτος 19 14 63 16 196 21
αἰών (a) vid. Index D s. v. Aeon
(b) the New Aeon: 2 1 11 21 25 12. 29 36 25 52 11 54 5 137 62 144 21 179 14
(c) this Aeon: 4 17 56 31 172 27
ἀκμάδιον 46 28
ἀκτίς 37 32 57 20 65 11 81 6 118 27 145 23 146 4
ἀλλά 7 1 14 31 30 11 39 3 74 15 81 29 84 23. 25 85 5 91 26 92 9. 21 105 33 143 26. 31 159 8. 10 162 6 185 24 218 25 223 23
ἀμβροσία 136 49 150 33 vid. 168 24
ἄλυσις 201 31
ἀμελεῖν ϱαμελη 52 3 53 16 164 26 166 5 αμελη 45 31 150 20 187 21 188 2
ἀμεριμνία 161 4 192 12
ἀμήν 179–181 pass. 186 pass. 189 30 bis 31 190 pass. 224 15 227 19
ἀμνηστία 39 19 94 8
ἀνάγκη 49 7 50 16 57 25 61 23 65 4. 29 67 8 84 10 93 3 100 12 141 20 172 13
ἀνάληψις 168 29
ἀναμέλψι 41 8
ἀναστῆναι ανασταϛ 123 31
ἀναχωρεῖν αναχω[ρει] 223 14
ἀνέχειν ανεχε 188 3 (?) 206 19
ἀνομία 23 32 vid. 113 4 152 23 192 1 222 14
ἄνομος 15 7 18 20 44 15 222 13
ἀντίδικος 39 30
ἀντίδοτος 46 19. 20
ἀπαντᾶν ϱαπαντα 97 7
ἀπάτη 56 25. 32 75 23 152 6 164 17 175 11 ρεϥϱαπατη 64 24
ἁπλῶς 101 25
ἀπολογία 21 17 81 28
ἀπόστολος 22 23 26 27 28 13 30 17 32 10 33 10 37 19 57 15 98 28 139 3. 48 140 30 142 17. 18. 20. 31 143 12. 16 144 3 145 9 190 30 191 1 192 5. 20 193 1 218 9
ἀποτάσσεσθαι αποταϲϲε 59 7 77 30 79 8
ἀρνεῖσθαι ϱαρνε 49 18 51 19
ἀρνητής 43 11
ἀρχαῖον 196 29 ἀρχαῖος 13 10
ἀρχή 10 15 155 9 207 17 αρχηϒ 52 10 54 14 112 4 117 23 193 27 224 2
ἀρχηγός 44 10

ἀρχιδίκαιος 88 15 vid. 139 43
ἀρχοντική 57 28 129 29
ἄρχων 11 12 18 13 23 22 59 9 179 18 206 18
ἀσεβής 15 11 18 20 23 25
ἀσκός 153 26
ἀσπάζεσθαι ραcπαζε 43 32 69 17 112 5 131 20
ἀτιμάζειν 208 20. 21 209 2
αὐλή 154 26
αὐλός 157 17 (?) 200 9
αὐτοῦ 7 11
ἄφθορος 99 6 100 7
ἄψις 41 22 138 57

βαβυλωνικόν 220 17 bis
βαθμός 4 27
βάπτισμα 22 13 139 22
βάρβαρος 53 18
βάσανος 225 3
βῆμα 7 14. 20. 23. 25 8 1. 4. 7. 10. 12. 33 12 7. 33 13 23. 28 17 33 20 20. 24. 31 21 2 bis 3. 27 22 28 24 18. 20 25 19. 24 26 2. 4 27 13. 17. 21 28 19 29 6. 12 30 18. 21. 22. 26 31 17. 30 32 pass. 34 19. 21. 23 35 13. 16 36 4. 10 37 31 38 6 41 21. 28 47 18 104 16 105 7 123 29
βήρυλλος 208 3. 19 209 1
βιβλίδιον 43 21
βίος 53 28 73 24 75 23 78 30 (?) 93 23 99 17 101 9. 25 105 30 152 6
βλάττα *(blatta)* 216 11
βοήθεια 92 24 96 9 206 8. 11 218 27
βοηθεῖν 18 19 57 26 76 22 209 27 bis 210 5 bis
βοηθός 94 2 98 31 137 30 204 1
βραβεῖον 50 24 61 18 83 24 84 18 91 14 94 13 181 11

γαλεάγρα 214 18. 20. 26
γάρ 21 28 25 21 29 25 31 26 32 9 34 22. 23 vid. 27 38 20. 28 40 3. 22 51 24 53 29 74 15 89 14 93 23 95 10 103 33 105 11 106 20. 21 108 10. 14 135 7. 11. 27 152 27 vid. 154 9 156 27. 31 157 23 158 10 161 13. 17 162 9. 15 165 15 166 3 185 23 215 20 219 22 221 20
ακε . . . γαρ 20 28 51 27 52 19
γενεά 60 4 226 17 227 15
γένος 102 28 105 34 107 13 108 29
γραφή γραφαγε 8 13 12 31 13 11 139 53. 55 145 18

δαίμων 17 12 52 29 59 8 61 20 64 28 69 11 84 12. 21 95 12 98 26 103 29 108 18 182 1 196 14 206 17 bis 209 21. 29 210 7 214 15. 21. 29
δαμάζειν 59 11 138 42 183 7
δέ 9 26 10 32 191 10 206 19 216 28 220 5. 10. 18. 24
δεῖπνον 94 16 (?) 169 6
διάβολος 59 7
διαθήκη 20 25 139 57 143 22 168 30
διακονεῖν 187 30. 35
διάκρισις 194 20
διάφοροι 231 b 7. 28
δίκαιος 11 28 15 14. 20 62 17 99 31 etc.
δικαιοσύνη 13 15 28 19 45 27 140 12. 35
δικαστής 45 25
διωγμός 4 30 19 12 53 25: διώκειν 23 22
δόγμα 4 30 15 7 25 9 26 17 42 24 86 3. 11. 14 93 13
δοκιμή 47 5 217 25
δορυφόρος 136 32
δράκων 17 18 57 18 151 16. 21 156 20 164 3 bis 6 180 1 216 15. 18. 27 217 4. 9
δρόμος 212 24 213 15
δυνατός 188 19
δωδεκάς 190 30 191 1
δωρεά 16 11 20 29 30 15 45 2 96 23
δῶρον 12 10 24 29 39 29. 30 42 4 91 11 106 11 188 22 209 6. 7 226 10 vid.

ἑβδομάς 53 18 210 21. 22 211 7
ἔγγαμος 179 11 ff. 180—181 pass.
ἐγκρατής 96 2 151 19 175 12 179–181 pass.
ἐγκράτεια 181 2. 14 188 30
εἰ μήτι 66 15 75 3 90 22
εἰκῇ 165 14
εἰκών ειkωn 2 22 19 27 46 18 61 14 62 11 64 12 73 7 vid. 79 24 81 2 83 31 84 24. 31 88 10 101 22 103 27 134 4 139 21 173 20 203 15. 16 214 1. 2. 5. 6 215 1. 4 225 8
cacceikωn 118 19
εἰρήνη 26 18 50 30 106 24 153 5 214 11. 12. 14 etc.
ἐκδικεῖν 188 10
ἐκκλησία 8 25 13 20 14 20 20 13 21 1. 7. 30 22 11 24 12 38 4 43 3 44 4 vid. 56 24 58 9 59 18 61 2 75 29 76 6 133 33 134 9. 19. 30 145 15 153 17 154 5 156 19 158 27 159 1 160 7. 17. 19 161 5. 22 162 5. 8. 9 163 8 166 12. 36 171 13. 14. 16. 18. 22 177 2. 4. 16

178 15 183 23 184 7 185 14 190 25 193 25 194 7 218 9
ἔκλαχος 92 13 n.
ἐκλεκτός 21 22 22 2 24 8 27 14 30 23 31 14 38 4 116 20 140 9. 24. 40 145 16 156 21
ἔλος 226 19
ἐλπίς 24 32 25 4 43 12 49 28 51 17 52 22 77 24 83 18 84 13 85 25 88 23 97 19 98 11 112 6 113 1 159 30 184 22. 26. 27 234 14
ἔμπορος 213 4
ἐνεργεῖν ϩενεργη 57 6
ἔνδυμα 154 30 185 6
ἐντολή 33 18–22 51 8 85 5 157 20 161 21 167 35 168 2 171 9. 22 176 1 ff. 183 10. 14 185 18 186 18 187 30. 35 188 16 189 22. 26 εντολαγε 3 31 7 30 16 4 22 12 38 19 40 14 51 20 59 31 83 8. 16 85 27 88 32 91 1 93 14 98 2 100 21 102 21 116 3 131 18 135 1. 6 146 20 167 56 169 17 176 19 183 14
ἐξάγειν 228 22
ἐξετάζειν 219 2
ἐξουσία 35 24 vid. 64 18 83 6 vid. plur. 18 6 vid. 52 10 54 14 112 4 117 23 193 28 196 3 212 17 224 2
ἐξουσιαστής 223 5
ἐπανορθοῦν 188 15
ἐπειδή 84 22 214 26 218 21
ἐπιθυμία 73 23 135 15 156 12. 16 171 20 175 10 183 6 196 4 222 4
ἐπίσκοπος 19 10 44 9
ἐπιστολή επ|στολαγε 46 31 140 8
ἐπίτροπος 223 5
ἐργάτης 192 1
ἐρημία 93 6 177 11
ἑρμηνεία 154 32: ἑρμηνεύειν 12 32
ἐρινύς 84 21
εὐαγγέλιον 46 21 139 56 192 4
εὐγενής 146 39 148 21 192 30
εὐδαιμονία 23 5
εὐχαριστεύειν 91 22

ζωγραφεῖν 11 9. 11

ἤ 15 31 28 24 66 26 bis 28 82 21 118 21
ἡγεμών 192 31
ἡδονή 3 28 6 6 7 27 45 18 55 27 64 25 77 8 82 1 103 13. 32 152 17 156 20 196 25 ϩηδονατε 51 6 78 26 82 8 109 21
ἡλικία 207 3 214 10
θάλασσα 43 1 69 23 70 3 99 14 102 26 110 6 194 6 205 5 213 1. 3. 7 216 7. 8
θαῦμα 60 5 vid.
θεμέλιος 188 27
θεραπεύειν 208 15. 28
θεωρεῖν 154 24
θεωρία 168 29
θηρίον 15 7. 17 54 13 66 21 70 4 141 16 214 2
θησαυρός 46 23 139 60 168 30
θλῖψις 23 4 49 19
θρόνος 1 10 26 28 27 23 vid. 28 14 136 28 194 16 222 14 vid.
θυρωρός 188 12 224 30
θυσιαστήριον 39 29

ἱκανός 188 13

κάδος 60 12
καθαρός 188 10
καθέδρα 41 24
καιρός 188 26
κακία 7 26. 29 8 21 26 24 31 25. 27 78 16 103 33 228 20
κακῶς 225 6: κακὴν κακῶς 218 6
καλεῖν 151 13 158 28
καλῶς 169 12
κάμινος 212 21
καμπτήρ 101 20
κἄν 102 26
καπνός 9 18 201 13
καρπός 40 3 58 10 80 24 139 15 149 9 190 10 etc.
κατά 9 31 vid. 24 10 47 11 49 16 55 21 59 27 77 31 84 18 89 30 94 24 95 31 98 9 162 6 187 7 195 8 216 20
κατακλυσμός 171 20 177 11
καταλαλιά 150 25
καταφρονεῖν -ονε 21 11 bis 22 29 30 -ονη 63 28 87 32 96 28 167 50 175 29 ρεγκαταφρονη 192 25
κατήγορος 222 15. 16
κατηχούμενος 19 7 20 2. 8 21 22 22 3 24 19 25 27 26 31 27 14 29 2 30 19. 24 31 14 33 27 34 18 35 19 36 2 47 20 116 21 140 10. 21 vid. 145 17 156 21 163 22. 30 178 30 179 4
κατωμίζειν 222 17
καῦμα 195 10
κελεύειν 16 20
κεντηνάριον *(centenarium)* 224 26 225 2

κηπουρός 187 9 218 18
κιβωτός 8 2 167 13 171 22 176 29. 30 177 11
κιθάρα 37 11 133 19. 22 155 8 164 9 bis 169 5: 168 22 sqq. ρ̄κιθαρα
κίνδυνος 39 7
κινδυνεύειν 207 27 208 11
κλάδος 134 13. 17 181 35 185 13
κλάσμα 194 17
κληρονομία 139 59
κληρονομεῖν -ομη 64 3 154 12 158 16 202 20
κληρονόμος 143 23
κλῆρος 93 8
κοινωνεῖν -ωνη 95 29
κόλασις 212 16
κολλάριον *(collarium)* 19 6 43 26 209 31 210 9 214 18
κοσμεῖν 189 11
κόσμος 4 15 13 21 208 1 etc. adjectivally 49 26
κρηπίς 200 27
κρίνειν 40 8 43 23 191 5 bis 195 26
κρίσις 8 12 22 5 107 14 vid. 181 6
κριτής passim
κτῆσις 82 3 203 32
κυριακή 17 24 18 6 96 29 130 23 230 b 28
κύριος κ̄ς̄ 14 19 27 16 [97 14] 187 1
κωλύειν 212 24: ρ̄κωλυ 206 14
κωμάριον -μαριν 224 17. 20. 22 225 5. 7

λαικόν 188 14
λακάνη 46 23
λαλιά 169 15
λαμπάς 23 8 25 16 37 30 51 21 53 23 56 18 70 16 99 32 157 18 159 28 165 7 170 24 174 21 191 21. 25 193 6 211 12
λαός 4 4 20 26 29 9 99 6 156 1
λαοξόος λαξοc 222 21
λειτουργία 187 11
λειτουργός 204 14. 29 228 19
λευκόν 188 22
λῃστής 49 23 70 1 141 14 vid. 146 24 180 25 182 2
λίβανος 217 23 222 28
λιμήν 77 14. 21 139 24
λιτή 188 6
λόγχη 142 28 [163 2 178 9]
λοιπόν 70 29 85 17 90 30 91 11
λύπη 21 6 38 31 45 17 82 14 103 31 153 1 154 14 158 14 168 15 171 6 207 15 ρ̄λυπη 173 6 bis

μάγος 122 28. 31
μαθητής 19 10 129 18. 22. 27 142 21 143 19 192 17 194 4 218 14
μακαρία passim μακαρ 182 19 187 36 188 24
μακάριος 5 31 15 1 18 9 26 9. 12 27 26 28 26 29 20 31 20. 29 32 14 33 22 36 27. 28 38 3 40 31 44 31 75 11 97 31 113 14 136 37. 43 142 10 143 11 228 28
μακαρισμός 90 29 96 27 143 28
μακελλίτης 227 1. 3 bis
μαργαρίτης 192 4 194 6. 23
μάρτυρε 157 13 173 12
μαρτυρία 30 9 170 20
μεγιστᾶνος 18 27 36 16 43 5 117 3 127 30 136 29 216 3. 4 221 4
μελετᾶν -λετα 86 23 -λετη 116 14
μελέτη 101 28
μέλος 6 12 vid. 17 10 23 26 29 13 46 17 50 22 51 9 59 25 79 21 92 6 vid. 107 24 127 31 128 2 131 20 133 26 146 6 161 24 175 19
μέν 9 12 108 26 135 9 220 16. 23 223 23 226 20
μέριμνα -ιμνε 211 29
μέρος 205 21
μεταγγισμός 218 6
μετάνοια 39 20
μετανοεῖν 32 8 vid. 18 33 27 34 22 39 20. 22
μήπως 40 9 82 6
μήτρα 52 25
μῖγμα 46 20
μονογενής 59 2 60 8 91 24
μορφή 76 13 vid. 138 64 218 15
μοχλός 196 16
μυρίζειν 205 18. 23 214 8
μυστήριον 3 22 8 22 16 28 18 3 21 8 25 1 26 8 27 25 37 28 46 28 126 8 vid. 142 30 185 5

νάρθηξ 46 31 140 7
νηστεία 12 10 33 18 50 16 51 26 54 3 84 16 111 24 149 24 182 21 195 6 225 4
νηστεύειν 25 28 57 24 116 14 173 5 bis 225 4
νίκη 133 18
νοερόν 115 16 133 28 139 26 144 31 vid. 161 25

νοεῖν 120 17 122 17. 35 126 17 172 31 219 20
νόμος 13 19 16 3 21 23 29 29 38 18 57 11 60 19. 28 68 13 bis 102 10 vid. 104 22 192 20 195 23
νοῦς (a) vid. Index D s. v. Mind
(b) = *Intelligence*, the first of the five intellectual members: 14 5 23 14 120 3 126 3 137 45 166 38 167 29 170 9 181 40 182 24 186 23 200 19
(c) vid. Index D s. v. Mind of Light
(d) *mind* generally 86 10 94 25 98 27 111 14 115 16 123 19 139 52 140 30 vid. 146 51 149 15 151 18 152 15 153 16 160 11 172 31 192 6 211 19
νυμφών 199 1. 14. 22

οἰκουμένη 194 29 208 23 209 4 211 2. 11
ὅλως 66 14 135 11
ὁμολογεῖν -ΛΟΓΗ 49 17. 23 96 21
ὁμολογία 95 31 189 22
ὅπλον 59 31 66 6 103 14 137 15 vid. 163 6 164 5 bis 178 13
ὀποβάλσαμον ΑΠΟΒ- 214 4
ὀπώρα 193 23
ὄργανον 99 9 vid.
ὀρφανός 53 25 62 17 175 22 187 12
ὅσον 215 12
οὐῆλον *(velum)* 84 30 127 29 196 13
οὖν 32 7 161 29 234 13
οὐσία 56 22 57 16 154 24
οὔτε 11 19 57 13 vid. 66 30 67 6. 7. 13 75 19 bis 83 10 99 8. 15 109 17 vid. 206 14 218 20 bis

πάθος 30 14 46 19 57 28 111 17
παννυχισμός 17 32 140 25. 28
πανοπλία 144 15
παπυλίων *(papilio)* 204 15. 30
παρά 82 27 94 19 103 28
παραβῆναι ΠΑΡΑΒΑ 60 31
παραβάτης 142 9 vid.
παράδεισος 57 7 154 28
ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCΟC 65 19. 23 90 30 161 17 195 22
παράκλητος vid. Index D
παρεμβολή 59 5 139 31 164 7 205 28 212 11
παρθενία 51 26 60 18. 20 115 32 vid. 149 24 160 13 161 3 167 27 181 1 188 28 194 9
παρθένος (a) *The Maiden of Light* vid. Index D
(b) *The Twelve Maidens* vid. Index D
(c) *Maiden* generally 60 10 79 22 80 15 95 7. 24 99 10 100 6 148 27 151 19 179–181 pass.
(d) masc. 142 23 192 7
παρρησία 97 25
πάσχα 231 b 1
πατρίς 182 12
πέδη ΠΕΔΗC 201 29 209 29 210 7
πείθειν 52 20 187 15
πείθεσθαι 42 14 43 9 97 18
πειρασμός 92 9
πέλαγος 139 24 207 25
πετάλιον 226 12
πέτρα 53 22 78 29 vid. 222 19
πηγή 185 3. 4 193 21 194 10
πήσσειν 204 15
πίστις 112 5 176 11. 13
πιστός 3 23 26 22 28 17 32 18 38 5 40 17. 28. 32 56 4 vid. 61 12 62 6 66 24 161 8 166 6 192 26 208 29 213 5 219 30
πλάνη 4 22 8 8. 24 9 5 21 32 26 17 42 24 43 24 52 31 56 16. 19. 32 57 23 70 8 76 1. 14 84 22 86 14 90 26 94 27 109 16 110 26 111 3 vid. 140 2 150 30
πλάσμα 59 3 196 7
πλάσσειν ΔΙΝΠΛΑCCΕ 216 1
πλατεῖα 19 18 44 17
πληγή 46 26 147 64
ΠΝΑ (a) vid. Index D s. v. Spirit
(b) vid. Index D s. v. Holy Spirit
(c) ΠΚΛC ΑΠΝΑ 22 9. 22 33 12. 17 vid. 160 5
πνεῦμα 4 20 24 7 77 11 141 1 161 1 186 22 193 14: πνευματικόν 134 3 vid.
πνοή 169 3
πόλεμος 10 20 11 20 59 22 112 28 138 13 204 19 205 2
ΡΠΟΛΕΜΟC 9 21. 22 164 6 204 27 205 14. 15. 27 212 10
πόλις 1 17 8 10 17 21 19 18. 29 23 23 44 18. 25 50 29 53 28 57 13 64 13 80 30 84 32 88 15 95 28 96 20 117 5 136 36. 39. 40 168 8 198 8 200 15 214 15 226 1. 5
πολίτευμα 136 42 140 17

πολίτης 139 46 200 15
πραγματεία -τια 46 26 140 3
πρεσβευτής (a) *Third Envoy:* 2 31 133 15 138 60 144 23
(b) *Envoy* generally 8 32 15 13 22 17. 24 41 19 85 8 128 1 139 18 140 39 147—148 saep. 158 1 197 10 202 10 208 11. 12 209 24 211 22 213 28
προβολή 130 2 137 5. 55 138 59
-βολαγε 12 23 36 20 144 14 179 17
προδότης 187 15 195 24
πρός 11 3 107 18
προσφορά 188 14
προσωπεῖον 196 26
προφήτης 16 17
πύλη 24 2 42 2 44 20 62 25 81 6 vid. 123 7 vid. 139 42 156 2 157 18 169 5. 6 185 8 197 22. 24 198 17. 19
πύργος 53 22 139 32 222 19. 27
πυργίσκος πγρλιcκος 198 6
πῶς 188 7

ῥάβδος 185 7

σάλπιγξ 23 20 75 14 93 16 vid. 196 19 197 28
σαργάνη 143 1
σαρκικόν 21 25 vid.
σάρξ 14 6 19 27 25 21 33 21 45 11 52 19 63 29 64 10. 18 66 7 70 26 75 25 83 10 vid. 85 29 86 6. 31 87 18. 29 88 16 94 19 99 22. 27 106 30 111 8 117 19 121 9 135 11. 13 139 4 149 14 165 10 180 4 194 1 196 23 219 6 pl.
σιχναίνεσθαι cιχανε 46 7
σκέπτεσθαι cκεπτε 204 17 205 1
σκεῦος 227 13
σκηνή cκηναγε 181 25
σκόρδισκος *(scordiscus)* 220 16
σοφία 7 21 86 23 190 20 217 21 etc. pl. 144 22: σοφός 142 9
σπόγγος 46 26
σπουδή 49 21 82 10 111 26 140 9
ρcπογδη 65 25
στατήρ cτατεερ 224 21. 23. 29
σταυρός 18 5 19 3. 12 49 23 53 32 61 3 83 14 86 27 90 28 92 6 120 20 vid. 123 pass. 126 20 130 10. 22 131 4 142 14. 27 143 5 160 14 167 47 175 27 189 14 195 8. 22. 29 196 12 209 12
σταυροῦν 19 21 35 15 43 13 57 14 62 1 123 19 142 18. 21 191 6 bis
στερέωμα 206 21 207 7 208 4. 18. 30
στεφανοῦν 155 5 188 19
στοιχεῖον -χειων 12 25 34 6 36 22 137 31. 36 190 19: -χιων 129 28: -χιον 228 7
στολή 50 25 74 31 vid. 76 12 vid. 81 9 83 23 84 18 95 7 102 23 107 25 116 26 131 1 139 8 vid. 181 39 185 6 193 10 211 26. 27
cτολαγε 146 42 155 10
στράτευμα 60 3
στῦλος 12 25 37 2 59 17 103 35 133 24 138 56 139 19
στύραξ 222 27
συγγενής 54 8 58 13 86 6 vid. 93 29
σύναξ[ις] 229 b 3
συνείδησις 211 18
συνήθεια 70 26
συρίζειν 216 18
σφαῖρα 6 29 8 18 55 7 72 27 98 24 103 18 107 2 109 15 223 16
σφάλμα 188 15
σφραγίς 22 11 60 5 64 15 94 12 102 19 115 31 155 3 163 26 178 32 189 13. 15
σφραγίζειν 116 17
σχῆμα 19 27 91 25 194 1. 3 196 26
σῶμα 17 5. 15 bis 65 22 181 16 etc. pl. 82 18 218 25
σωματικόν 107 13 vid.
σωτήρ 4 14 33 11 37 28 50 15. 21 51 21 52 16 56 15 57 14. 15. 23 vid. 58 4 62 10. 15 64 32 66 3. 9 69 9 75 2 vid. 26 81 7 88 26 101 32 103 34 165 7 166 10. 20 193 14 197 1 etc.
σηρ 71 30 81 2 87 6 95 2. 31 111 19 174 28 189 27 217 18 etc.
σωρ 8 31 vid. 175 2 188 1 etc.

ταμιεῖον ταμιον 9 17 11 15 129 16 vid. 200 1 vid. 203 14 208 11 210 20 bis
τάξις 213 29
τάφος 196 29 220 9
τελώνης 97 10 192 19 218 4 234 18
τέχνη 8 6 187 22
τεχνίτης 226 22
τολμᾶν 9 22
τότε 207 5 208 25 215 24
τράπεζα 221 31 vid. 222 1
τροφή 181 37

τροχός 2 16 37 4 144 32 217 6
τύπος 170 18
τύραννος 212 14
τύχη 107 6

ὕλη 4 22 49 26 54 17. 30 55 30 57 18 59 11 61 20 67 23 99 11 101 6 102 7 107 24 108 24 221 5 223 21
ὑμνεύειν 174 11
ὕμνος 99 32 185 29 186 1. 28: ϋⲙⲛⲟⲥ 41 8 ⲙⲁⲥϩⲩⲙⲛⲟⲥ 168 20 169 7. 9
ὑμνῳδία 36 13
ὑπομένειν ⲩⲡⲟⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ 141 2: ϩⲩ- 142 7
ὑπομονή 33 15 141 pass. 143 32. 34 174 16
ὑποψία 207 11

φεγγοκάτοχος 33 5 vid. 138 28
φθόνος 7 28 38 16 79 26 99 18 108 22 195 23
φορεῖν ⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ 23 24 30 5 38 22 50 21 54 23 59 10. 31 150 29 vid. 159 31 162 23. 25 178 1. 3 184 3 196 8 206 22. 29
φοσσᾶτον *(fossatum)* 196 20 198 1. 7 201 7. 11. 13. 15. 17
φύσις 9 9 17 7 26 29 28 15 30 26 vid. 76 21 106 17 110 9 vid.
φώκη 143 8
φωνή 154 31 188 7
φωστήρ 22 15 26 10 32 23. 24 38 7 vid. 59 16 76 18 86 19 94 23 95 23 96 25 101 20 121 21. 31 139 29 165 16 166 19
ⲣ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ 214 13

χαῖρε 8 10. 12 24 17 ff. 30 21 vid. 22 bis 29 6 vid. 42 7. 9 83 2. 21. 25 108 2 bis 127—131
χαίροις 30 21 vid.
χάρις 63 19 68 22 79 12. 30 80 19 106 29 107 27 108 9 151 20. 22 173 21 185 20 194 21
χειμών 79 5
χήρα 14 22 53 24 62 17
χλαμύς 196 3
χορός 155 4
χόρτος 189 5
χρεία 143 14 161 12
ⲣ̄ⲭⲣⲉⲓⲁ 40 11
χρῆμα 8 26 16 13 53 22 54 4 63 10 68 15 79 9 82 4 171 7 174 22 175 17. 18 180 23 193 17 203 31. 32 207 20. 27 bis 30 208 10. 16. 19 210 18. 19. 23 218 25 vid. 219 14 bis
ⲙⲁⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ 156 14
χώρα 13 22 vid. 63 4. 6 75 6 85 18 86 20 95 28 192 10. 15 193 2 205 8. 19. 25 207 4 209 8 211 23 213 13. 17. 19 214 3. 14. 29. 30 215 4 217 11. 12 219 9. 19. 24 221 3. 9. 18 224 5. 6. 10 225 15 226 13

ψάλλειν ⲣ̄ϯⲁⲗⲉ 80 15. 20 99 3 109 21 115 25 162 29 197 2 211 16. 17 223 9. 20. 21
ⲣⲉⲙⲣ̄ϯⲁⲗⲉ 99 31
ϯⲁⲗⲉ 179 7. 12 181 17 190 28 231 b 14
ψαλμός 47 1. 15 89 10 140 16 143 32 169 11. 12 184 16 203 1
ψαλμοί 133 1 187 1 230 b 28
ψαλμῳδός 190 28
ψιλητής 52 6 vid.
ψυχή 14 17 etc.
ⲙⲁⲩⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ 105 31
ⲟⲩⲁⲙϯⲩⲭⲏ 76 13
ϯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ 13 27 etc.
ψυχικόν 134 3

ὦ 16 27. 28. 29 219 2. 12 etc.
ⲱⲥ ⲱⲥ 14 25 67 5
ὠμοφόρος 2 18 12 24 33 8 vid. 133 28 138 54 139 27 145 3 161 26 163 19 178 23
ὡς 70 14 81 26 157 8 191 26

. . . ⲡ|ⲍⲉ 221 16
. . .] . ⲛ|ⲥⲧⲏⲥ 225 2
ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁ[227 8
. ⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ 53 23

Semitic Words

athalia 196 8
gehenna 96 28
mamōnas 97 30
manna 136 38 139 58
rabbi 187 30

B. Coptic Words

ⲁ- *approximately* with a number 19 4

ⲁⲓⲟ *verily, come* 67 15

ⲁⲓⲁⲓ *be great:* qual. ⲉⲧⲁⲓ 6 24 8 6. 7. 10 16 28 30 7 31 24 46 18 etc.

ⲁⲃⲏ *bond* 201 29

*ⲁⲓⲃⲉ *spot, fault* 23 29 38 29 58 6. 7 150 14 211 26. 27 ⲁⲧⲁⲓⲃⲉ 59 27 79 22

ⲁⲓⲕ *bread, loaf* 23 12 24 32 94 16 135 8 177 5 180 3 192 13 193 20 195 9 201 26

ⲁⲕⲉⲥ *spade* 208 16. 29

ⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ *ascend* 126 11 ⲁⲗⲏⲓ? 231 b 2

ⲁⲗⲟⲩ *child* 192 2

ⲁⲙ vide ⲁⲛ

ⲁⲙⲏ *wasp* 18 23

ⲁⲙⲏ, ⲁⲙⲟⲩ, ⲁⲙⲏⲓⲛⲉ vide ⲉⲓ

ⲁⲙⲁⲓⲏⲥ 206 28 vide 207 3 n. *stature?*

ⲁⲛ *again* pass. ⲁⲙ 141 24

(ⲁⲛⲁⲓ) qual. ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ 19 20 25 4 28 11 33 13 51 20 57 4. 10 61 28 etc.

*ⲁⲛⲏⲱ 133 18 185 13 n 222 27

ⲁⲛⲁⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ? 129 19

ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ after neg. *never* 56 30 67 13 88 19 104 23 105 11 etc.

ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ *for ever* 59 24 61 8 73 25 110 12 115 5 etc.

ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ *eternity* 203 25. 31

ⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲁ. ⲱⲁⲛⲓⲁ. *from everlasting to everlasting* 136 11 152 8 etc.

ⲁⲛⲍⲱⲍ *leader* 152 13

ⲁⲡⲁ *father* as religious title 47 22. 23 155 42 166 22 176 10

ⲁⲡⲉ *head* 19 30 24 2 44 19 etc.

ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ *blame* 147 48 149 10 bis

ⲁⲣⲏⲩ *perchance* 40 25 90 23 151 29 179 8. 10. 11 184 18

ⲁⲣⲁⲱ *cold* 65 20 156 18

ⲁⲁⲥ in ⲧⲁⲁⲥ *smite* 142 13 195 16

ⲁⲥⲉ *loss* 143 22 168 10 171 8

ⲧⲁⲥⲉ *lose* 40 21 52 8 58 25 166 1. 17

(ⲁⲥⲁⲓ) *be light* ⲁⲥⲓⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ 142 19 vid. ⲉⲥⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ 100 24 qual. ⲁⲥⲓⲱⲟⲩ 64 19 100 30 111 23 ⲉⲥⲓⲱⲟⲩ 151 23

ⲁⲥⲏⲣ *victuals* 135 4. 5

*ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲣ *sheepfold (?)* 205 7

ⲁⲧ- privative prefix forming adjective vid. ⲁⲓⲃⲉ ⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲉ ⲡⲗⲟⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲡⲱⲣⲕ̄ ⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲓ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲧⲁⲃⲧⲃ ⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲧⲗⲟⲟ ⲧⲥⲟ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲑⲃⲓⲟ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲱⲟⲡ̄ ⲱⲭⲛⲉ ⲱⲓ ⲱⲓⲃⲉ ⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲱⲣ ⲱⲉⲩ ⲍⲉⲓⲉ ⲍⲣⲁⲕ ⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲍⲏⲧ ⲍⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲍⲱⲃⲙⲉ ⲭⲡⲟ ⲭⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲃⲁⲙ ⲃⲙⲃⲁⲙ ⲃⲣⲟ ⲃⲱⲭⲃⲉ

ⲁⲧⲉ *womb* ~~52 23~~ ~~120 25~~ vid. 121 29. 31 122 19. 23 175 16

*ⲁⲧⲉ *net (?)* 217 8 n

ⲁⲧⲟ *multitude* 25 7. 10 135 15 142 30

ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲧ with ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ emphatic 154 17 203 17

ⲁⲩⲱ *and* 35 26 38 26 52 7. 10 56 8 57 4 82 28 83 24 91 28 150 21 164 25 192 9

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄- 94 13 101 5 145 1 160 9 161 18

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲓ- 219 5 vid.

ⲁⲩⲁⲛ *cargo* 87 24 ⲁⲩⲓⲛ 152 5 cf. ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲓⲛ

ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲥ *come!* 214 17

ⲁⲟⲩⲏⲧ *assembly* 164 1

*ⲁⲓⲱⲉ *cry (?)* 198 3

ⲁⲱⲉⲓ *multitude* 46 5: -ⲧⲉ 24 10 101 4

ⲁⲱⲉⲓⲧⲉ *be much, many* 219 11. 13 qual. ⲁⲱ 194 11

ⲁⲱⲓⲣⲉ *busy* 1 25 36 22 57 27 68 11 93 26

ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲱⲓⲣⲉ *business* 183 7 202 25

ⲁⲱⲉⲗ *torture, agony* 142 19 n 143 13 147 60

ⲁⲍⲉ *life-time* 8 2 49 12 74 10 81 31 82 9. 12 84 23 93 24 103 9 111 22 189 17

ⲁⲍⲱⲙ *eagle* 70 12 100 30 118 21

ⲁⲍⲛ̄- together with 133 28 134 3. 8

ⲁⲍⲣⲁ= *why? what?* 82 9 104 22 122 27 222 6 etc.

ⲁⲥⲣⲁ= ⲙⲛ̄- 121 11 154 15 158 7 169 24 ff. 221 9 223 30 vid. 224 29. 30 225 1. 2
*ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ? 17 17 n 70 1
ⲁⲥⲏⲩ in ⲕⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲏⲩ *strip naked*
ⲁϫⲛ̄ *without* 7 19 17 11 38 32 53 29 57 12 82 29 102 29 105 34 207 11. 15
ⲁϫⲛⲉ ? 103 11
ⲁⲃⲁⲛ *stand* for wine-jar 220 22

ⲃⲓ *take* 19 30 45 21 152 15 208 8 (?)
ⲃⲓⲧ= 63 9 100 24 197 24 etc.
qual. ⲃⲏⲩ 63 15
ⲃⲓ ⲥⲁ- *carry* 16 24 40 12 62 10. 18 etc.
ⲃⲁⲗ- 2 18 58 17. 27 85 16 138 54 141 26 187 12 201 8
ⲃⲓ ⲙⲛ̄- *make alliance with* 45 22
ⲣⲉⲩⲃⲓ 137 21. 51
vide ⲓⲉⲧ= ⲗⲏⲥ ⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲱⲡ ⲥⲟ ⲥⲁⲓⲙⲉ
ⲃⲁⲉ *palm* 26 18 65 8 102 23 152 8 etc.
pl.? ⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲉ 101 27 n.
ⲃ̄ⲓⲱ *honey* 158 27 184 13
ⲃⲱ *tree* 58 9
ⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ *vine* 13 21 76 6 91 3. 4 151 6. 7 181 34 193 22 225 18. 19. 27
ⲃⲱⲉ *hair* 15 3
ⲃⲁⲃⲉ- *scorn* 87 26 175 17 187 19
ⲃⲁⲃⲉ *be insipid* 44 6 183 25
ⲃⲉⲃⲉ *gush* 136 44: ⲃⲉⲉⲃⲉ 45 11
ⲃⲏⲃ *den, lair* 70 1 201 25
*ⲃⲟⲩⲃⲟⲩ *buzz* 18 23
ⲃⲉⲕⲉ *reward* 60 11 53 26 101 31 etc.
ⲧⲃⲉⲕⲉ 201 27
ⲃⲱⲕ *go* 16 31 47 11 76 11 124 17. 19 etc. with reflexive 211 6
ⲃⲱⲕ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟ *go worse* 219 22
ⲃⲉⲗ *eye* 19 22 21 25 75 31 86 24 89 6 204 6 etc.
ⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *loose, destroy, be destroyed* 11 6. 22 16 31 52 7 etc.
ⲃⲁⲗ= 7 29 137 44 etc.
ⲃⲁⲗ- 220 26 221 1
qual. ⲃⲏⲗ 15 3
ⲡⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *dissolution* 81 1
ⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ *escape* 8 21 15 3 53 18 61 31 65 18 70 7 79 30 etc.
ⲡⲃⲗ̄ *outside* 49 14 218 16 219 26
ⲡⲃⲁⲗ *outside* 11 4 83 33 155 34 173 15. 30 206 4
ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ 218 16 220 5 etc.
ⲟⲩ- ⲡⲓ- ⲥⲛ̄- ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄- (ⲥⲓⲧⲛ̄-) 36 9 75 20 84 6 92 28 181 20. 21 193 20 221 2. 4
ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗ 172 22 208 9 (?)
ⲥⲁⲃⲗ̄ⲗⲉ *except* 40 27 131 14 176 22
ⲁⲃⲏⲗ ⲁ- 46 5 vid.
ⲃⲁⲗⲃⲗ *dig up* 196 14 208 17
ⲃⲱⲗⲕ̀ *be angry* 39 25
ⲃⲗ̄ⲕⲉ *wrath* 7 28 16 19 17 9 18 13. 26 23 32 44 15 45 17 54 15 91 30 142 32 183 5
+ ⲃⲗ̄ⲕⲉ *make angry* 39 25 205 12
ⲃⲗ̄ⲗⲉ *blind* 25 8. 10 149 9 194 25
pl. ⲃⲗ̄ⲗⲉⲉⲩ 86 29
ⲃⲗ̄ϫⲉ *pottery* 220 23
ⲃⲁⲙⲡⲉ *goat* 66 30 170 27
ⲃⲁⲓⲛⲉ *harp* 37 11 118 15 133 19. 20 199 18 200 7
ⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲏⲛ *poor* 63 15 82 19
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲏⲛ *poverty* 197 3
ⲃⲱⲱⲛ *bad* 14 22 81 26 97 20 102 7 205 23 214 3: ⲃⲱⲛ 14 25
ⲃⲁⲛⲱⲁⲓ 15 28 129 10
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲛⲱⲁⲓ 4 16 n 43 19 51 14
ⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ 150 15 214 16
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ 8 21 15 28 68 29 72 26 73 21 106 13 111 2
ⲃⲁⲛⲓⲉⲓⲣⲉ *malicious* 117 7 163 11 178 18
cf. ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲃⲱⲱⲛ Crum Dict. 39 b
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲛⲓⲉⲓⲣⲉ *malice* 171 21
ⲃⲛ̄ⲛⲉ? *date-palm* 67 9
ⲃⲁⲛⲓⲡⲉ *iron* 16 30 18 30 23 27 43 24 43 31 vid. 209 29 210 7 214 25
ⲃⲉⲉⲣ *basket(?)* 217 21
ⲃⲣⲉ *seed* 143 25 213 24 vid. 25 pl. ⲃⲣⲏⲩⲉ 103 21

ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲱⲟⲉ *seed-corn* 153 28
ⲡⲏ̀ⲣⲉ 194 28 leg. ⲡⲏ̀⟨ⲃ⟩ⲣⲉ?
ⲃⲣⲃⲣ *boiling* 188 5
ⲃ̀ⲣⲣⲉ *new* 20 23. 25 26 14 36 25 150 29 etc.
ⲙ̀ⲛ̀ⲧⲃ̀ⲣⲣⲉ 83 10 97 28 113 10
ⲣⲙ̀ⲛ̀ⲃ̀ⲣⲣⲉ *New Man* vide ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ⲃ̀ⲣⲣⲉ vide αἰών Index A
ⲃⲉⲣⲏϩ *lance* 196 7 209 21
ⲃⲣⲏⲃⲉ *lightning* 10 18
ⲃⲱⲥⲧ *parchedness* 195 7
ⲃⲱⲧⲉ *wipe away, destroy* 14 23 22 20 47 10 215 25 220 2 ff.
ⲃⲱⲧ- 46 26 188 13
ⲃⲁⲧ= 127 24 142 8
— nn. 224 1
ⲃⲱⲧⲉ *sweat, effort* 68 11
ⲃⲏⲩ *outrage* 15 15 44 25 147 50 149 10
ⲣⲉⲩⲣⲃⲏⲩ 72 27 103 33
ⲃⲱϣ *strip* 19 27 21 6 vid. 59 8
ⲃⲁϣ= 52 7 59 3 87 3 164 30 etc.
ⲧⲟ|ⲛⲃⲁϣⲏ 21 12
*ⲃ|ⲟⲉ *be wrecked, sink* 165 18
ⲃⲱⲟⲉ *leap, pluck out* 45 17 106 19 118 25 205 31 208 27 210 30
reflex. ⲃⲁⲟⲏ 204 26. 27
ⲃⲓ ⲃⲁⲟⲥ̀ ⲁ- 193 21
ⲃⲱⲟⲥ *to rebel* 117 21 163 5 178 12 209 17. 18 210 1. 10
ⲃⲉϫⲉ *rebel* 207 13: pl. ⲃⲉϫⲉⲩⲉ 1 25 9 29 150 8 209 26 212 7 213 7. 8
ⲧⲃⲉⲟⲥⲉ *rebellion* 97 28

ⲉⲩ *what?* 66 26 ter 28 67 5 82 6. 16 149 22 bis 199 5 219 3 222 9 etc.
ⲁⲣⲉⲩ *in vain:* lit. *to do what?* 17 22
ⲉⲃⲁⲧ *month* 17 26 18 7 ~~121 23~~ ~~122 25~~ 215 21: pl. ⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ ~~204 23~~ 218 22?
ⲉⲗⲱ *trap* 194 18: vide ⲥⲁϩⲙⲉⲗⲱ
ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ *grape* 225 21
ⲃⲱ ⲛ̀ⲉ. *vine:* vide ⲃⲱ
ϣⲏⲛ ⲛ̀ⲉ. *vine* 145 14 vid.
ⲟⲱⲙ ⲛ̀ⲉ. *vineyard* 163 9 178 16

ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲧ̀ vide 99 22 n 188 26
ⲉⲙⲉ *plough* 226 21. 24. 25
ⲉⲙⲛ̀ⲧⲉ *Amente, Hades* 15 17 57 19 64 31 67 15 99 4 149 17 209 13. 16. 28 210 [2.] 6. 11 212 22
ⲣⲙ̀ⲉⲙⲛ̀ⲧⲉ vide ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲉⲙⲏⲣⲉ *flood* 101 24 145 26
ⲉⲙⲏⲣ? 201 19
ⲉⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ *possess, restrain, compel* 10 15 18 21 61 20 64 21 65 16 96 24 103 26 136 17 138 30 139 14 201 11 211 22. 29
ⲉ. ⲁⲭⲛ̀- 115 22 157 8
ⲡⲉⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ *possession* 81 16
ⲉⲙⲁϩⲉ? 54 20.
ⲉⲛ *not* 7 24 9 24 14 4 etc.
ⲉⲙ 19 17 221 1
ⲣ̀ⲉⲛⲉ= *be pleasing to* 12 11 58 5 89 14 154 31 220 1 ff. (cf. ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ).
ⲉⲡⲁⲧ *cup* 117 21 142 22. 23 143 17 158 29 184 7
ⲉⲣⲏⲧ *promise* 94 14
ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ *milk* masc. 23 11 155 26 159 29 fem. 54 28 190 24
-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ *one another* 38 14 41 4 52 6 56 27 58 16 153 15 156 6 etc.
ⲉⲥ *old* 59 4: ⲣⲙ̀ⲛ̀ⲉⲥ *Old Man* 3 31 25 13 167 54
ⲉⲥⲕⲉ 198 23 ? de ⲱⲥⲕ̀
ⲉⲥⲡⲉ *language, accent* 225 10
ⲉⲥⲏⲧ *bottom, lowest part* 196 18 217 7
ⲉⲥⲁⲩ *sheep* 54 16 60 26 95 5 155 22 etc. fem. 61 25 93 4 181 30
ⲙⲁⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ *fold, flock* 4 26 10 1. 4 etc.
ⲉⲥⲟⲩ *price, value* 99 21
ⲉⲧⲃⲉ *because of* 40 18 42 28 etc.
ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧ= 43 21 44 28 52 29 etc.
ⲉⲧⲡⲱ *burden:* vide ⲱⲧⲡ̀ 1 0
*ⲉⲧⲣⲉ meaning unknown 220 18 (? cf. ⲉⲣⲧ Crum Dict. 58 a)
ⲉⲧⲁϩ *burden* 145 4 163 20 178 24
ⲉⲩ *what? which?* 35 26 82 16. 20 etc.
ⲉⲩⲱⲡⲉ conditional 81 25 189 19 225 3
ⲉⲩⲱⲧ vide ⲩⲱⲧ

ⲉϣϫⲉ conditional 57 3 136 3 149 16 166 8 216 25
ⲉⲓϣϫⲉ 40 6 188 7. 8. 14. 15 216 26. 28 221 10
ⲉⲓⲥϫⲉ 53 12
ⲉϥ *flesh* 204 22
ⲉϩⲏ vide ϩⲏ
ⲉϩⲟ *treasure* 2 26 46 23 66 31 94 23 134 26 155 23 171 3
pl. ⲉϩⲱⲣ 52 31 155 29
ⲉϩⲛⲏ̈ vide ϩⲛⲉ
ⲉϩϫ̀ vide ⲱϩϫ̀

ⲏ̈ *house* 1 10 70 14. 29 142 20 etc.
ⲣⲱⲙⲛ̄ⲏ̈ vide ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲏⲣⲡ̄ *wine* 94 17 vid. 142 15 151 6. 13. 14 153 26 158 29 etc.
ⲏⲡⲥ̀ vide ⲱⲡ

ⲓ *come, go* 1 24 7 18 9 5. 8. 27 10 22 20 21. 22. 23 etc.: ⲉⲓ (ⲙ)ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲟ 219 16. 18
imper. ⲁⲙⲟⲩ 50 15. 19 52 16 112 12 etc.
ⲁⲙⲏ 85 17 97 9: ⲁⲙⲏⲓⲛⲉ 69 8 76 29 193 14 197 9: ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲛ 154 15 187 18 190 31 201 4 202 3. 4
ⲃⲓⲛⲉⲓ 12 27 13 16 35 27 42 15 66 19 82 22. 26 112 10 122 29 205 10
*ⲓ̈ⲁϩ *hail!:* ϫⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲕ 210 14 n
ϫⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲓⲟ 57 27 69 30 85 16
ⲓⲱⲉ *wash* 59 26: ⲓⲁⲁⲛ 45 7
ⲓⲓⲃ *goad, hoof* 52 30
ⲓⲁⲁⲃⲉ *pus, decay* 99 8
ⲉⲓⲃⲉ *thirst*: qual. ⲁⲃⲉ 40 30 124 23 154 32 175 24 184 17 195 10
nn. 65 21 70 22. 23 169 30 etc.: ⲓⲃⲉ 195 19
ⲓⲉⲗ *mirror* 9 6 21 19 83 22
ⲓⲁⲙ *sea* 8 19 76 7 78 12 90 16 99 13 120 15 126 15 135 25 150 2. 28 151 8. 10 200 11
ⲉⲓⲛⲉ *bring, lead* 12 7 19 29 21 18 59 32 69 9 etc.
ⲉⲓ. ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *finish* 73 7
ⲛ̄- 23 16. 32 44 15. 23 etc.
ⲛ̄ⲧ= 9 25 18 17 35 10 43 22 63 13 etc.
ⲣⲉϥⲉⲓⲛⲉ 101 22
imper. ⲁⲛⲓ- 164 27: ⲁⲛⲓ= 166 2

ⲉⲓⲛⲉ *be like* 38 23 151 12 154 3 173 19 etc.
ⲡⲧⲉⲓⲛⲉ *likeness* 2 22 8 4 26 5 54 18 81 3. 7 104 32 129 27 143 18. 19
ⲓⲁⲡⲉ *craft, art* 99 25
ⲓⲉⲡϣⲱⲧ vide ϣⲱⲧ
ⲓⲉⲣⲟ *river* 13 23 211 15 216 6 bis 217 19. 20. 25
pl. ⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ 37 14 64 28 212 27
ϫⲓⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲣⲉ *cross, carry across* 39 9 42 18 50 28 61 31 81 10 85 9 86 20 87 22 (?) 108 10 vid. 26 168 7 176 3 217 30 (?) 219 30
ⲙⲁⲛϫⲓⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲣⲉ *ferry-boat* 81 10

ⲉⲓⲣⲉ *do, make, pass* of time 11 20. 23 12 26 24 3 30 13 41 17 etc.
ⲣ̄- 7 7 84 11 117 13 208 6 etc.
ⲉⲉ= 25 20 86 4 145 19 etc.
ⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩ (3 pers. pl.) 19 13 20 27 49 16. 25 202 25 etc.
ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ϩⲟ vide ϩⲟ
qual. ⲟ 21 30 25 24 63 15 65 18 66 21 70 24 etc.: ⲟⲓ̈ 19 23 23 30 26 6 27 21 29 6 64 15 etc.
imper. ⲁⲣⲓ- 88 18 117 27: ⲁⲣⲓ= 40 6
ⲁⲱⲓⲣⲉ vide ⲁⲱⲉⲓ
ⲉⲓⲧⲉ 16 26 leg. ⲉⲓⲣⲉ?

ⲓⲱⲣⲙⲉ *gaze:* qual. ⲓⲁⲣⲙⲉ 19 22 29 18 68 11 104 28 138 38 164 23
ⲓⲱⲣϩ *see, perceive* 55 9 65 6 172 30 vid.
ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲱⲣϩ *eye* 150 22
ⲓⲱⲥ *hasten:* qual. ⲓⲏⲥ 55 7 58 14 197 20
ⲉⲓⲥ *lo, behold* 8 14 19 19 25 16 bis 55 6. 10 59 27 62 25 73 9 143 27. 32 146 17 202 15 bis etc.
ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲛⲉ 70 18
ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲡⲉ 134 11 vid.
ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲧⲉ 19 29 50 11 vid. 85 5 87 31 88 6 95 24 136 5
ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ 64 32 89 27 152 26 158 5 bis 160 20 bis
ⲉⲓⲥϫⲉ vide ⲉϣϫⲉ
ⲓⲉⲧ= *eye* 53 6 55 9 99 16 165 25 219 18. 24
ⲃⲁⲛⲓⲉⲓⲣⲉ vide ⲃⲱⲱⲛ
ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲧ= vide ⲛⲉⲉ=

ⲓⲱⲧ *father* pass.
pl. ⲓⲁⲧⲉ 36 15 55 10 63 6 71 26 73 8 75 20 84 29 86 6. 19 etc.
ⲉⲓⲏⲧⲉ *desolate (?)* 64 31 70 25
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲏⲧⲉ 149 20 n.
ⲓⲱⲧⲉ *dew* 41 20 100 28 103 35 136 49 155 25 157 21 167 64 169 3 190 10 195 21 203 18
ⲓⲧⲛ̄: ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ *down* 45 24 59 32 90 26 95 13 etc.: ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ 210 5
ⲱⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ *below* 210 3: ⲱⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ 147 28 209 13. 28 210 6
ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ 37 4 91 29: -ⲛⲉ 11 2
ⲉⲓⳍⲉ *hang, suspend* 2 8 19 31 24 2 227 5
ⲉⳍⲧ= 49 28 52 22 53 31 87 26 90 29 121 5. 15 142 14 143 1 195 22. 29
qual. ⲁⳍⲉ 155 24
ⲉⲓⳍⲭⲉ vide ⲉⳍⲭⲉ
ⲓⲥ *devil* 2 10 64 28 209 30 210 8
ⲓⲱⲥⲉ *field* 169 25 194 27
pl. ⲓⲁⲥⲟⲩ 145 28 195 4

ⲕⲉ- *other, yet, also* 8 18 41 19 43 26 139 16 vid. 18 vid. 192 8. 21
ⲕⲁⲓ- 6 12 7 7 8 14 17 22 38 23 58 24 66 14 112 3 135 23 143 25 154 31 172 21 173 30 194 14 195 16 208 6 etc.
pl. ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ 227 7
ⲃⲉ 16 14 207 13: pl. 143 26 192 30
ⲕⲁⲒⲉ *field* 136 48
ⲕⲟⲩⲒ *little* 4 26 6 32 58 24 160 19 191 21 192 2 216 9 etc.
pl. ⲥⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲩⲒ *few* 162 10
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲒ *a little* 188 8
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲒ *littleness, youth* 56 17 57 25 58 11 83 9 86 15 187 7
ⲕⲱ *lay, put, leave, allow* 19 5. 9 50 7 51 21 52 31 143 3 187 16 etc.
ⲕⲟⲩ 62 19: ⲣⲉⲩⲕⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ 32 17
ⲕⲁ- 42 30 44 6. 10. 13 46 16 84 21 90 26 bis 103 15 143 7. 8 167 59 etc.
ⲕⲁⲁ= 10 30 13 4 18 28 21 17 51 4 55 28 70 16. 24 87 20 etc.: ⲕⲁⲩⲉ 196 28
ⲕⲁⲟⲩⲉ (3 pers. pl.) 87 22
qual. ⲕⲏ 83 13 92 9 vid. 220 22
ⲕⲁⲁⲧ 56 26
ⲕⲱ, ⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ vide ⲛⲁⲃⲉ
ⲕⲁ ⲣⲱ= vide ⲣⲟ: ⲕⲁ ⲧⲟⲟⲧ= vide ⲧⲱⲣⲉ: ⲕⲁ ⳍⲧⲏ= vide ⳍⲏⲧ: ⲕⲁ ⲃⲏⲗ vide ⲃⲏⲗ
ⲕⲃⲁ: ⲭⲓⲕⲃⲁ *vengeance* 44 23
ⲕⲃⲁ *be cold:* qual. ⲕⲏⲃ 40 15 46 11 47 3 184 10
ⲕⲃ̄ⲃⲉ *cold* 46 24
ⲕⲱⲃ *double* 96 18
ⲕⲉⲕⲉ *darkness* 3 25 9 10. 17. 19 10 9. 24. 27 17 26 30 27 etc.
ⲕⲱⲕ ⲁⳍⲏⲩ *strip naked*
ⲕⲁⲕ= 19 26 25 13 167 49
qual. ⲕⲏⲕ 23 13 25 11 94 15 143 6 208 6
ⲕⲟⲩⲕⲉ *peel, rind* 220 4. 5
ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲃⲓⲛ *axe* 162 31 178 7 192 20 226 18
*ⲕⲗⲃⲁⲩⲗⲉ *?* 227 6 n.
ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ *cloud* 10 17 62 21 149 14 vid. 203 17
ⲕⲗⲏⲗ *drop (?)* 217 23 n
ⲕⲗⲁⲙ *garland* 8 10 17 27. 31 22 19 50 24 84 17 89 18 91 13 102 23 165 20 190 30 191 1 222 26 etc.
pl. ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ 60 12 88 17. 19 133 6 144 20 145 11 146 43 149 27
pl. ⲕⲗⲁⲙ 98 8
ⲃⲁⲓⲕⲗⲁⲙ *garlanded* 85 16 etc.
+ ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁ- *to garland* 12 28 76 16 81 23
ⲕⲱⲗⲡ̄ *steal* 45 19 207 28
ⲕⲁⲗⲡ= 207 30 218 6
— nn. 103 10
ⲕⲁⲗⲁⳍⲏ *belly* 164 4
ⲕⲱⲗⲭ *bend knee* 18 9 vid. 19 25
ⲕⲁⲗⲭ- 13 26 vid. 60 3 vid. 214 9
ⲕⲗ̀ⲭⲉ *angle, corner* 166 12 194 30
ⲕⲱⲗⲉ̀ *strike* 78 25
ⲕⲓⲙ *move* 19 16 79 26 226 2
ⲕ. ⲁ- *bestir oneself* etc. 7 21 9 20 52 17 227 13: ⲕⲙⲧ= 10 12
ⲃⲓⲛⲕⲓⲙ *stirring* 203 2
ⲕⲓⲙ negatived followed by a parti-

ciple = *waver from doing, cease* 97 32 120 5. 7. 9 126 5. 7. 9 206 1. 3

ⲕⲙⲏⲙⲉ *dark* 66 17 152 19 210 1. 10. 21

ⲕⲱⲙⲱ̄ *mock* 16 33 46 7 223 9
— nn. 49 18 226 1

ⲕⲱⲛⲥ̄ *slaughter, chop up*
ⲕⲁⲛⲥ= 227 4

ⲕⲛ̄ⲍⲉ *shrine* 103 19 137 43 151 18

ⲕⲁⲡ- *?* 103 16 ⲁⲓ̈ⲕ. ⲧⲃⲟ

ⲕⲣⲟ *bank, shore* 63 13 87 27 152 5 165 19 183 27 187 14. 15 211 14. 15 221 15 bis: pl. ⲕⲣⲱⲟⲩ 194 6

ⲕⲱⲣⲉ *fell* 226 19

ⲕⲱⲣⲙⲉ *ashes (?)* 220 6

ⲕⲣ̄ⲣ̄: qual. ⲕⲣ̄ⲣ̄ⲁⲙⲧ *dark* 3 24 101 9

ⲕⲱⲣⲱ̄ *flatter, cajole* 73 28 195 24
— nn. 52 18

ⲕⲣⲁⲩ *guile* 6 32 bis 17 7 53 10 59 5. 9 64 4 94 4 101 5 103 2
ⲣ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁⲩ 165 23

ⲕⲉⲥ *bone* 196 24 227 6

ⲕⲱⲱⲥ *corpse* 52 19 64 21 67 16 73 32 99 8 107 7 122 7 146 22 147 55 218 7 220 9 221 29
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲱⲱⲥ 152 25 n

ⲕⲉⲉⲥⲉ *burial* 121 17 vid.

ⲕⲁⲥⲕⲥ: qual. ⲕⲥ̄ⲕⲁⲥⲧ̄ *stretched out* 163 16 178 25: ⲕⲉⲥⲕⲁⲥⲧ̄ 130 20

ⲕⲱⲧ *build* 11 4. 21 13 18 32 30 144 21 153 10 ter 188 25 189 pass. etc.
ⲕⲁⲧ- 189 5 ff.
ⲕⲁⲧ= 12 30 189 18 222 20. 26 etc.
ⲣⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧ 137 62
— nn. 11 4 12 29 17 21 137 64 152 15 205 21. 26
ⲉⲕⲱⲧ *builder* 1 32 11 5 32 30 36 25 137 61 144 21 etc.
pl. ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲉ 137 65 188 25. 26 etc.

ⲕⲱⲧⲉ *turn:* trans. 195 16
ⲕⲁⲧ *wheel* 98 24 138 32. 48 vid.
intr. 55 7 206 5. 15
ⲕⲁⲧ= *turn* 92 16. 21 93 27 206 25. 30
ⲕⲁⲧⲥ̄ *turning* 63 18
ⲣ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲥ̄ *trick* 10 1 152 17

ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁ- *surround* 49 26 54 13 61 22 67 4 69 12 etc.
ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲁ- *seek* 43 3 120 9 126 9 156 3. 7 167 65

ⲕⲧⲟ: ⲕⲧⲁ= *return* 154 30 155 9

ⲕⲱⲧⲩ̄ *gather* 145 31 166 12
ⲕⲁⲧⲩ= 153 12

*ⲕⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩ *coo* 165 2

ⲕⲟⲩⲛ= *lap* 226 7. 8

ⲕⲉⲱ *reed* 189 7. 9 196 5

ⲕⲁⲍ *land* 1 10. 21 2 13. 19 etc.
soil 176 23. 24 etc.
floor of house (?) 222 22
ⲣ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲍ 107 18 vid.

ⲕⲟⲟⲍ *corner* 78 26 (?) 155 18. 20

ⲕⲱⲍ *be zealous* 194 15
— nn. *zeal* 38 32 219 5

ⲕⲱⲍ *make level* 213 16. 17

ⲕⲁⲍⲕⲍ *cause to heal up* 46 12

ⲕⲱⲍⲧ̄ *fire* 15 12 204 31 210 25 211 10

ⲗⲟ *cease* with partic. 106 23
imper. ⲉⲗⲁⲕ 164 23
ⲗⲟ ⲥⲁ- 76 30 107 5 195 4
ⲗⲟ ⲥⲛ̄- 103 5 170 25. 27. 28

ⲗⲁⲃⲁⲓ *bear* 143 7

ⲗⲓⲃⲉ *be mad, lust* 15 7 124 7 vid. 201 31 214 6. 7 etc.
qual. ⲗⲁⲃⲉ 15 4. 11
— nn. *lust, madness* 7 17 17 9 51 14 110 23 117 21 150 24 210 24 211 9

ⲗⲉⲃⲉⲛ *cable* 95 10 vid.

ⲗⲱⲃⲱ̄ *coping, battlement* 189 26
+ ⲗⲱⲃⲱ̄ 189 24 222 26
+ ⲗⲁⲃⲱ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ 109 13
ⲗⲱⲃⲱ̄ *to crown with battlement:*
ⲗⲁⲃⲱ= ⲁⲃⲁⲗ 209 6

*ⲗⲓⲕ: ⲣ̄ⲗ. ⲁ- *to cover (?)* 149 15 n.

ⲗⲉⲭⲍ̄ *extremity, pit* 209 13. 28 210 2. 6. 11

ⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ *youth, little one* 104 10 155 25 167 64 209 13 ff. 210 2 ff. 211 15. 16 223 9. 20. 21
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ 88 27 91 22

ⲗⲱⲱⲙⲉ: qual. ⲗⲁⲙⲉ *filthy* 51 6 vid. 105 31 vid. 120 26 164 30 vid.
ⲗⲱⲙⲥ̀ *be foul* 137 40: nn. 205 18 qual. ⲗⲁⲙⲥ̀ 209 22. 30 210 8
ⲗⲉⲙⲏⲩⲉ *captain* 201 6 202 8
*ⲗⲉⲙⲏⲥⲉ 166 30
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲉⲙⲏⲩⲉ 108 11
ⲗⲁⲙⲭⲉⲧⲡ̄ *pitch* 220 23
*ⲗⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧ ? 147 54 197 16 n.
ⲗⲉⲥ *tongue* 86 15 104 15 118 25 bis 139 49 161 16 175 13
ⲗⲁⲩⲉ *anything*, with neg. *nothing, at all* 17 11 38 32 45 29 51 29 63 22 64 1 75 19 etc.
ⲗⲁⲁⲩ 189 3
ⲗⲁⲱⲁⲛⲉ *governor* 201 11
ⲗⲁϥⲗⲉϥ *wear out* 82 13
ⲗⲏⲥ *care* 82 12
ⲃⲓ ⲗⲏⲥ *take care* 82 19 108 30
ⲗⲁⲥⲗⲉⲥ *desire (?)* 105 32 108 27 n.
ⲗⲉⲥⲙⲉⲛ *pomegranate* 220 4
Ϫⲥⲏⲙ *roar* 16 19 149 22 216 16. 20
ⲗⲱⲭⲧ *fasten:* ⲗⲁⲭⲧ= 208 4
ⲗⲱⲭⲥ *tribulation* 51 23 91 21. 29
ⲗⲁⲓⲃⲉ *reason* 84 28
ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲁⲓⲃⲉ *because of* 39 28 42 33 195 14 206 6

ⲙⲁ *place* 11 8 35 8 106 33 138 63 etc.
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁ *here* 39 4 84 29 96 27 etc.
ⲧⲙⲁ *give place, suffer* 113 13 167 57 174 16 182 29 183 5 221 19
ⲙⲁⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ *sheep-fold* 4 26 10 1. 4 41 12 194 4
ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲱⲣϩ *eye* 150 22
ⲙⲁⲙⲙⲁⲛⲉ *p. of mooring* 8 1 60 1 96 16 200 9
ⲙⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ *ear* 150 23
ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲉⲗⲟ *vehicle* 212 25. 26
ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲱⲃⲉ *p. of payment* 105 33
ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ *p. of purification* 10 28
ⲙⲁⲛⲧϩⲉⲡ *court of law* 195 17
ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲗⲙⲉ *nostril* 150 24
ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ *bride-chamber* 54 5 81 13 117 29 150 18 197 5 etc.
ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ *dwelling-place* 55 20 59 28 62 22 87 3 etc.
ⲙⲁⲛϩⲙⲉⲥⲧ *seat* 8 8. 33 21 29 26 6
-ϩⲙⲉⲥ 27 23
ⲙⲁⲛⲭⲗⲟⲟⲣⲉ *ferry* 81 10
vide ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲱⲕ ⲃⲁⲓⲗⲉ
ⲙⲏⲉ *truth* 6 23 11 30 14 14 15 23 etc.
adj. *true* 6 5 13 5 16 17 etc.
ⲛⲁⲙⲏⲉ *in truth* 26 14
ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲉ *truly* 3 20 16 22 59 30
ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ 213 4
ⲙⲉⲓⲉ *to love* 67 26 75 21 90 14: nn. 68 7 102 5
ⲱⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓⲉ *lovable* 137 57
ⲙⲉⲣⲉ 63 21
ⲙⲉⲣⲓ- 40 4 43 19 62 14 157 5 vid. 183 21. 23 214 26
ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ= 51 5 53 12 84 24 91 20 etc.
ⲙⲁⲓ- *loving:* ⲙ-ⲙⲓⲱⲉ 16 19
ⲙ-ⲛⲁⲃⲉ 181 15
ⲙ-ⲛⲟⲩⲃ 156 32
ⲙ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 70 14 85 18 101 33 etc.
ⲙ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ 151 24
ⲙ-ⲥⲁϩ 192 32
ⲙ-ϩⲩⲙⲛⲟⲥ 168 20 etc.
ⲙ-ϫⲣⲏⲙⲁ 156 14
ⲙ-ⲱⲏⲣⲉ 139 51
ⲙ-ϩⲁⲙⲧ 192 18
ⲙ-ⲃⲛⲃⲛ 168 20 etc.
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 177 26
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ 177 27
ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ *beloved* m. and f. 1 28 2 27 12 28 20 4 58 20 86 29 137 26. 56 etc.
pl. ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ 13 26 44 27 95 25 113 21 136 10 etc.
ⲙⲟⲩ *die* 143 25 192 9
qual. ⲙⲁⲩⲧ 17 5 25 12 59 18 62 5 90 27. 28 97 8 115 10 etc.
ⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ 41 18 75 15 81 9 etc.
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ 23 1 76 9

ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲩ *half-dead* 40 25

ⲙⲟⲩ nn. *death* 11 10. 15 21 13 40 24 51 16 56 24 etc.

adj. *fatal (?)* 96 21 131 25

ⲙⲟⲩϊ *lion* 9 31 10 5 18 24 55 22 57 18 69 20 107 24 143 7 149 22. 24 156 11 216 14. 16. 25. 26. 28 217 9

ⲙⲁⲁⲃⲉ *thirty* 224 22 vid. 225 1

ⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ *intention* 23 18 n. 120 11 126 11 223 3 etc. vide Index D.

ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ *be in pain, be painful* 147 31 163 20 178 24

qual. ⲙⲁⲭϩ̀ 28 9 64 10 106 29 138 21 219 21

ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ nn. *pain:* pl. ⲙ̄ⲕⲟⲟϩ 18 12 19 8 74 23 92 25 142 10 vid. 17 etc.

ⲩⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ 147 29: ⲣⲉⲩⲩⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ 115 8

ⲙⲉⲭϩ̀ *neck* 97 27 209 30 210 9 226 24

ⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧ *roof* 52 25 222 22

ⲙ̄ⲗⲁϩ *battle, war* 17 28 101 26 136 7 139 10 140 26

pl. ⲙ̄ⲗⲟⲟϩ 66 1

ⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲗⲁϩ *do battle* 4 13 137 49 206 1

ⲡⲱⲣⲉ̀, ⲥⲱⲣ ⲙ̄ⲗⲁϩ *aciem extendere* 172 9 204 13. 17

ϫⲁ|ⲙ̄ⲗⲁϩ *warrior* 1 25 137 14 163 4 178 13 etc.

ⲙⲟⲩⲗϩ̀: qual. ⲙⲁⲗϩ̀ *salt* 99 14

ⲙⲟⲩⲗϩ̀ *hook, twist* 226 25

ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ *know* 6 9 vid. 63 27 66 25 70 6 158 18 165 28 167 39 171 19. 26 183 15 230 a 9

ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲱⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉ *stubbornness* 45 19

ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ *for* 156 7

ⲙ̄ⲙ|ⲛ *self, own* 11 11 68 16

ⲙⲛ- *not to have* 1 14 8 24 etc.

ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲏϊ 173 15. 30 187 28

ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲉⲩ 18 22 35 7 171 5 etc.

ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲉⲛ 157 8

ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲉⲩ 54 16 146 29

ⲙ̄ⲛⲃⲁⲙ, ⲙ̄ⲛⲱⲃⲁⲙ vide ⲃⲁⲙ

ⲙⲁⲛⲉ *tend, feed flock* 13 32 93 5 165 3 172 22 176 19

ⲙⲉⲛⲏⲩ *shepherd* 15 5. 29 18 22 19 10 20 3 63 11 131 19 vid. 136 24 165 3 180 11 195 23 198 9

put in to port, bring to shore 59 12 60 25 79 8 95 8. 27 99 13 134 21 135 26 151 31 152 1 163 28 165 18 177 17. 20 ff. 179 2 vid. 216 10

ⲙⲉⲛⲱ≈ 152 7 190 9

qual. ⲙⲉⲛ|ⲧ 147 34 157 19

ⲙⲁⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲉ vide ⲙⲁ

ⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲉ 60 24 83 26

ⲙⲉ|ⲛⲉ *sign* 2 23 7 12 bis 24 20 40 7 116 pass. 192 12 etc.

ϯⲙⲉ|ⲛⲉ 122 13

ⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *endure, last* 109 22 vid. 159 6 171 23 174 29 bis 183 16 184 30 190 5 220 3 ff.

qual. ⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ 67 2 79 13 101 28. 32 186 9 ff. 203 25 etc.

ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ *daily* 10 31 30 16 98 15 128 5 152 17 186 14 ff. etc.

ⲙ|ⲛⲉ *kind* 40 16

ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ̀ *make, fashion*

ⲙⲁⲛⲕ- 226 23 vid.

ⲙⲁⲛⲕ≈ 2 1 77 16

ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ̀ *mould* 101 6 146 47 vid.

ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲣⲉ *witness* 17 29 68 10 105 24 173 15

ⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲣⲉ 7 22 19 19 24 4 34 25 vid. 51 11 62 16 68 17 90 21 111 10

*ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲛϩ̀ ? 102 8 135 31

ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ *twelve* vide ⲥⲛⲉⲩ

ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲏⲉ *eleven* vide ⲟⲩⲉ

ⲙ̄ⲛⲱⲉ≈ *not to know*

≈ⲕ 17 13

≈ⲩ 135 27

≈ⲛ 157 23

≈ⲩ 86 3 210 27

ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ *do not* neg. imper.: pass.

ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁ- 38 12 50 19 66 20 84 29 88 16 91 20 92 17. 21 etc.

ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ *be worthy* 3 18 66 22 105 32 133 2 ff. 151 29

— nn. *deserts* 49 16

ⲣⲡⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲗ 52 24 62 13 79 17 83 31 84 26 89 12 96 23 98 32 224 27 etc.
ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲗ 65 23 205 12
ⲙⲟⲩⲣ *bind* 11 17 17 25 51 15 84 28 92 5 103 25 152 18
ⲙⲁⲣ- 208 6
ⲙⲁⲣ= 10 19 11 16 43 25 86 10 151 21 188 17 208 25. 26 etc.
qual. ⲙⲏⲣ 16 26 89 28 155 22 etc.
ⲙ̄ⲣⲣⲉ *bond* 8 17 16 30 52 17 55 9 vid. 25 64 10 127 30 138 30
ⲙ̄ⲣⲱ *harbour* 52 16 58 14 60 24 147 35 177 22. 23 190 9 etc.
*ⲙ̄ⲣⲁⲩⲧ ? 200 13
ⲙⲓⲥⲉ *be born* 107 11 194 25
ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲥⲉ *first-born* 151 5 166 24 167 19
ⲱⲁⲙⲓⲥⲉ 36 21 80 28 81 pass. 91 20 137 38 194 32
ϩⲟⲩⲙⲓⲥⲉ *birthday* 42 17 vid.
ⲙⲉⲥⲉ *bull, ox* 55 22 221 24 226 16 227 2. 10. 13: pl. ⲙ̄ⲥⲏⲩ 143 8
*ⲙⲟⲩ̈ϥ ? 221 5
ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ *hate* 75 23 86 21 91 26 105 23
ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲉ- 102 23: ⲙⲥ̀ⲧⲉ- 84 27
ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲱ= 88 25 195 14 223 27. 28
ⲙⲥ̀ⲧⲱ= 85 29
ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ nn. 219 5
ⲱⲟⲩⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ *hateful* 97 20
ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ *hated one, enemy* 11 24 n. 117 7 143 30 147 50
ⲙⲁ, ⲙⲁ+ vide +
ⲙⲁ̈ⲓⲧ *road, way* 2 25 9 9 12 30 15 16 22 6. 8 40 26 63 10 80 17 etc.
ϫⲁⲩⲙⲁ̈ⲓⲧ *guide* 2 4 13 32 50 20
ⲣⲉϥϫ|ⲙⲁ̈ⲓⲧ *guide* 4 10 54 8
ⲙⲏⲧ *ten* 133 29 134 4 224 19. 29
f. ⲙⲏⲧⲉ 10 25 191 18
ⲙⲁϩⲙⲏⲧ(ⲉ) 2 7 138 29
*ⲙⲏⲧ *deep sea* 87 27 n. 147 53
ⲙⲏⲧ (ⲁⲃⲁⲗ) *presence of* 18 17 196 9 220 30: cf. ⲙ̄ⲧⲟ
ⲙⲟⲩⲧ *sinew, neck* 196 24 201 31
ⲙⲁⲧⲁ̈ⲓ *soldier* 142 28
ⲙⲉⲧⲉ in +ⲙⲉⲧⲉ *agree* 38 12. 26 56 30 203 23: +ⲙⲉⲧⲉ nn. *accord* 12 4
ⲙⲉⲧⲉ in ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ *only* 6 30 40 28 49 24 58 7 104 20 107 20. 27 169 29 187 5 206 12 221 13. 20
ⲙⲏⲧⲉ *middle* 2 14 7 6. 9 11 31 19 13. 14 21 26
ⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ *take away* 3 32 15 25 39 7 106 8 137 21
ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ *call* 15 29 28 27 41 11 50 15 55 10. 23 97 33 etc.
ⲣⲉϥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ *magician* 117 27 149 13
ⲙ̄ⲧⲟ (ⲁⲃⲁⲗ) *presence of* 21 18 25 18 35 6. 22 62 21 83 6. 19
ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ *have rest* 136 9. 11 etc.
with reflex. 52 10 57 30 63 4 85 17 92 24 112 29
qual. ⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉ 65 19
+ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ 12 26 26 26
ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ nn. 24 26 26 23 61 3 etc.
ⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉⲥ *rest, peace* 96 3 163 31 170 4 181 17 189 28 191 16
ⲣⲉϥ+ⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉⲥ 155 17. 19
ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲛ̄ *set at rest:* ⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉ- 210 16
ⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩ *poison* 97 30 149 12. 13 vid.
*ⲙ̄ⲧⲁϩ ? 107 7
ⲙⲁⲧⲉⲃ́ⲧⲉ *army* 61 16 65 2 66 2 99 11 137 49 138 16 196 19
ⲙⲁⲩ *water* 2 16 4 4 9 19 10 17 24 32 46 23 54 11. 29 57 20 137 32
pl. ⲙⲟⲩ̈ⲉⲩⲉ 37 15 59 26 79 29 (?) 201 19 212 28 217 23
ⲙⲟⲩ- 7 17 46 24 bis 100 28 103 35
ⲙⲉⲩ *there:* ⲁⲙⲉⲩ *thither* 208 14
ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ 35 7 54 9 58 17 65 21 143 20 146 29 149 18 201 3 211 15. 16 213 20
ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ 11 5 213 26
ⲙⲉⲩ *mother* 1 22 4 8 32 28 36 21 144 17 147 72 190 24 199 5 etc.
ⲙⲉⲉⲩ 57 18 84 31 158 25 169 4. 23 228 9
ⲙⲉⲉⲩ *think* 9 23. 25 17 16 49 13 79 4 82 2 101 10 etc.

ⲙⲉⲩⲉ 13 11 43 28 63 24 120 3 etc.
ⲙⲉⲉⲩ nn. 23 15 etc.: ⲙⲉⲩⲉ 12 6. 14 14 5 38 16 120 5 etc.
ⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ *remember* 7 19 42 16 53 28 113 21. 22. 23 etc.
ⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ nn. 33 3 ff. 35 14 etc.
ⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ nn. 57 20 59 10 etc.
ⲙⲁⲱⲉ vide ⲙⲁⲍⲉ
ⲙⲏⲱⲉ *crowd* 9 26 16 29 142 8 etc.
ⲙ|ⲱⲉ *fight* 52 20 82 3 105 29 117 5. 37 139 10 143 10. 14 205 15 etc.
nn. 7 1 141 4 vid.
ⲙⲁ|ⲙ|ⲱⲉ 16 19
ⲱ̄ⲱ|ⲣ *drug-box* 46 3 163 23 178 29 222 12 vid.
ⲙⲁⲱⲉⲥⲱⲡ̄ . vide ⲙⲁⲍⲉ *measure*
ⲙⲉⲱⲧⲉ *ear* 151 17 153 24 172 30 194 26 221 27. 29
ⲙⲉⲭⲉ 209 25 (?) 218 8
ⲙⲟⲩⲱⲧ *scan, traverse* 17 15 24 24 vid. 42 32 146 40 194 5
ⲙⲁⲱⲧⲍⲏⲧ 25 22
ⲡⲙⲁⲱⲧⲧ̄ⲩ 58 21
ⲙⲟⲩⲍ *fill* 122 15 207 11
ⲙⲁⲍ- 13 21 etc.: with numerals 10 21 41 18 etc.
ⲙⲁⲍ= 174 6 etc.
qual. ⲙⲏⲍ 2 29 6 6 8 3. 9. 20. 26 25 1. 17 60 12 169 12 etc.
ⲙⲁⲍⲁ|ⲡⲉ 41 25 n. 190 12
*ⲙⲁⲍ|ⲁ|ⲧⲧ̄ⲩ 10 10 n. 155 30 (?)
ⲙⲟⲩⲍ *burn* 46 12 54 15 vid. 204 31
ⲙⲟⲩⲍ *look* 157 28
ⲙⲁ|ⲍⲉ *wonder* 120 10. 19 123 1 vid. 126 19 157 25 170 7 191 2 196 12
ⲣ̄ⲙⲁ|ⲍⲉ 64 29 70 11. 31 223 6
ⲙⲁⲍⲉ *walk, go* 7 32 19 13 35 26 50 5 56 2 70 20 etc.: ⲙⲁⲱⲉ 191 29
ⲍ|ⲏ ⲱ̄ⲙⲁⲍⲉ 82 25
ⲟ|ⲛⲙⲁⲍⲉ *course* 97 25
ⲙⲁⲍⲉ nn. *measure* 189 19. 20. 22
ⲙⲁⲱⲉⲥⲱⲡ̄ . *measuring-balance* 8 3
*ⲱ̄ⲍⲏ *breath* 37 16 n. 152 25 198 27 200 23 201 31 202 1 203 20
ⲱ̄ⲍⲉⲩⲉ 53 8 meaning uncertain, perhaps pl. of ⲱ̄ⲍⲏ
ⲙⲏⲍⲉ *feather* 95 22
*ⲙⲁⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲛⲟⲩⲧ ? 226 8. 9
ⲱ̄ⲍ|ⲧ *north* 180 21 193 4
ⲙⲁⲍⲟⲩⲉⲗ *dovecot* 70 12 95 23 182 10 vid.
ⲙⲉⲭⲉ vide ⲙⲉⲱⲧⲉ

ⲛⲁ *go* 40 17 136 7 142 31 149 3 167 10 177 8 222 24
qual. ⲛⲏⲩ 9 31 11 13 34 22 50 11 72 31 136 5 183 29 206 10 etc.
ⲛⲁⲉ *have mercy* 29 20 40 27 41 3 bis 65 1 76 24 vid.
ⲛⲁⲏⲧ 1 5 7 4 61 29 112 8 158 25. 26 etc.
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲏⲧ 46 14 58 18 177 24
ⲛⲁⲉ nn. 1 12 7 2 9 1 18 10 28 16 etc.
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ *alms* 12 10 22 4 25 29 28 23 33 18 etc.
ⲛⲉⲉ- *great* 12 18
ⲛⲉⲉ= 11 20 37 2 (?)
ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲧ= *blessed* 25 27 44 27 etc.
ⲛ|- neg. 1st sing. fut III 187 32 n.
ⲛⲟ vide ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲛⲟⲩⲉ *be about to* 216 10 220 30
ⲛⲟⲩⲃ *gold* 16 13 153 10 156 31. 32 157 9 158 9 169 24 188 28 195 2. 11
ⲛⲁⲃⲉ *sin* 1 5 6 6. 19 7 13. 19 etc.
ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲃⲉ *sinless* 15 20
ⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ 43 15 128 28 etc.
ⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ 8 12 18 30 etc.
ⲕⲱ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *forgive sin* 1 5 8 22 12 16 20 27 etc.
ⲡⲧⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *forgiveness* 5 21 7 31 8 31 29 21 39 19 etc.
ⲛⲏⲃⲉ *swim* 120 15 126 15
*ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲛ *evil* in ⲣ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲛ 15 31 vid. 18 26
ⲛⲉⲕⲉ in ⲧⲛ. *travail of* 116 30
ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ *sleep* 57 19 146 14. 15 193 8 197 16 218 20. 21
ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ 136 24
ⲛ|ⲙ *who?* 14 23 29 16 111 12 146 45 198 11. 13 etc.: *what?* 106 32

ⲛⲓⲙ *every* 1 11 7 5. 8 8 14 etc.

ⲛⲁϣⲛⲉ *shake* 19 16 67 9 207 6

ⲁⲧⲛⲁϣⲛⲉ 4 23 155 21 192 5

ⲛⲟⲩⲛ *abyss* 2 4 3 24 10 9. 12. 22. 25 73 23 141 30 204 11. 27 etc.

ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ- *good* 53 21 171 11 ter 176 24 quater

ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ= 134 28

ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ= 81 29 91 7

ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ 207 10

ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ 41 1 (46 30)

ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ *root* 26 9 60 23 79 28 91 6 111 2 134 13. 15 138 38 144 8 vid. 19 155 7 163 1 178 8 203 22 208 1 vid. 17. 30

ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛ *no (?)* 191 23 ter

ⲛⲉⲙ in ⲣ̄ⲛⲉⲙ ⲁ- 201 21

ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲥ̀ vide ⲣⲉⲧ=

ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲉ *vulture* 61 22

*ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ̀ *destroy, remove* 17 12 n. 59 9 62 21 217 8

ⲛⲁⲣⲥ= 50 23 70 3

qual. ⲛⲁⲣⲥ̀ 142 1 (?)

ⲛⲉⲥⲉ- *beautiful* 151 30 161 5 bis 164 5. 11 166 8 174 pass. etc.

ⲛⲉⲥⲱ= 61 14 89 27 164 13. 14 166 7. 16

ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥ possess. *of his* 196 22

ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ *god* 1 5. 7. 16. 28 2 9 etc.

adjectively 22 18 63 18 64 16 97 24 151 29

fem. ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ 209 19. 20. 29 210 7

ⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 15 6 76 14

ⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 70 14 85 18 etc.

ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 26 25. 28 33 16 56 28 58 7 65 17 117 20 etc.

ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ vide ⲣⲱⲙⲉ

ⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ vide ⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ

ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲙ̄: qual. ⲛⲁⲧⲙⲉ 58 9 99 32 100 28 101 13 131 27 225 20 228 1

ⲛⲁⲧⲙ̄ 190 9

ⲛ̄ⲑⲏⲃ *plant:* pl. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲃⲉ 145 14

ⲛⲉⲩ *see* 4 18 7 30 8 4 19 8. 9 etc.

ⲛⲟ 204 8. 15

imper. ⲁⲛⲉⲩ 39 31 104 28

ⲛⲉⲩ *hour, time* 18 7. 29 40 30 45 12 58 28 101 15 135 29 etc.

ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ vide ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈

ⲛⲁϣⲉ- *many* 120 19 126 19 136 22 151 26 152 19 etc.

ⲛⲁϣⲱ= 55 25 101 31 222 4 bis

ⲛⲟⲩϣⲡ̄ *frighten, be scared* 56 19 87 8 158 12 167 60 183 2

ⲣⲉϥⲛⲟⲩϣⲡ̄ 26 5

ⲛ̄ϣⲁⲧ *hard:* qual. ⲛⲁϣⲧ̄ 30 1 (?) 100 12 192 6 vid.

ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ϣⲁⲧ 108 7

ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁϣⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉ 45 19

ⲛⲁϣⲧⲉ f. *protection, defence* 29 26 45 15 49 9 62 4 68 16 73 20 87 26 96 25 117 13 149 18 153 3 173 30

ⲛⲉⲉϥ *sailor* 123 33 161 5 174 22 176 26. 27

ⲛⲓϥⲉ *blow* 9 15 90 12. 15 135 19 176 28 193 4 203 20

nn. *breath* 194 20

ⲛⲉϥⲟ *great wind* 180 20

ⲛⲁϥⲣⲉ adj. *good* 4 6 192 19

nn. *goodness* 77 29 177 19 192 27

ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁϥⲣⲉ *benefit, well-doing* 17 29 53 16 67 14 111 1. 12. 21

ⲛⲁϥⲣ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ *skilful* 46 9 99 24

ⲛⲁϥⲣ̄ϣⲁⲓ 81 16 185 21: vide 4 16 n.

ⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ *good* 37 16 46 21 136 39 145 29 146 34 198 9 199 28 206 5. 15

ⲛⲏϩ *oil* 23 8 25 17 53 24 60 12 70 15 80 14 154 1 159 28 161 19 170 23 174 20 191 21. 25 193 6

ⲛⲁⲩϩ *rope* 207 18

ⲛⲟⲩϩⲉ *cast off, throw down* 44 19 136 27

ⲛⲁϩ- 166 13 194 32 208 18 209 1. 2 212 12

ⲛⲁϩ= 133 6 136 7 146 44 154 16

qual. ⲛⲏϩ 215 13 vid.

ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩϩ *turn* 163 7 178 14

ⲛⲁⲩϩ- 29 26

ⲛⲁⲩϩ= reflex. *turn oneself, return* 7 2 13 28 55 24 87 27 97 32 205 9 207 16 211 5 214 20 218 6

qual. ⲛⲁⲩϩ 219 9

ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲉ *to yoke* 99 16 111 23
ⲛⲁϩⲃⲉϥ *yoke* 4 29 51 18 55 30 92 5 97 27
ⲛⲟⲩϩⲙⲉ *save, be saved* 10 3 21 15 39 8 40 23 60 25 82 19 etc.
ⲛⲁϩⲙⲉ= 53 11 60 27 88 24 ff. etc.
ⲣⲉϥⲛⲟⲩϩⲙⲉ 2 24 65 32
ⲛⲉϩⲡⲉ *grieve, lament* 70 7 123 28
ⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ̄-, ⲛⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ vide ϩⲟ
ⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ *arouse, rise* 9 20 23 21. 22 63 14 79 5 106 9 117 17 213 10 etc.
ⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ *believe* 11 27 24 9 39 15 53 14 68 9 etc.
ⲁⲧⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ 56 31
nn. *faith* 20 9 23 9. 15 33 13 49 20 52 26 60 17 167 35 etc.
ⲛⲟⲩϫ *false* 166 15. 17 209 18. 31
ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ *throw* pass. *launch* 213 3
ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ ⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ vide ⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ
ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ ⲃⲏⲗ vide ⲃⲏⲗ
ⲛⲟⲩϫ- 163 20
ⲛⲁϫ- 142 26 206 26 etc.
ⲛⲁϫ= 43 28 55 19. 25. 30 56 9 91 6 120 25 206 12 etc.
qual. ⲛⲏϫ 2 14 204 20. 21 219 8
ⲛⲁⲃ *great* 1 13. 32 2 18 6 32 96 24 160 17 173 23 etc.
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ *greatly* 188 9
ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ 9 13 14 6 26 7 30 19 etc.
ⲛⲟⲩⲃ̀ⲥ: qual. ⲛⲁⲃⲥ 15 30 74 5 (?)

ⲟ *great* in ⲛⲉⲩⲟ vide ⲛⲓⲩⲉ, ⲣ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲟ vide ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲟ *what?* 182 20 bis vide ⲉⲩ
ⲟⲟϩ *moon* 2 21 vid. 10 30 17 27 35 23 75 4 vid. 81 10 122 21 134 24 144 26 148 10 156 16. 17. 22 160 16 161 27 168 6 179 20 190 12

ⲡⲁ- *that belonging to* 2 16 ter 3 18. 25. 26 etc.: ⲧⲁ- 9 10 etc.
ⲡⲉⲓ̈ *this* 7 13. 24 19 23 20 28. 31 etc.
ⲡⲉ *heaven, sky* 2 10 10 25 19 19 20 4 51 24 91 28 138 29. 37
pl. ⲡⲏⲩⲉ 2 6 37 10 41 22 52 31 60 3 61 30 127 26 etc.
ⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ vide ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲡⲏ *that* 215 29
ⲡⲱ=, ⲧⲱ=, ⲛⲱ= poss. pronoun as nn. 7 5 40 10 54 12 62 28 112 8 115 26 135 3 152 10 154 31 164 7 bis 205 9 208 8. 22 etc.
*ⲡⲗⲁⲗⲉ *?* 231 b 2
ⲡⲱⲗϩ̀ *be offended* 86 30
ⲡⲱⲗⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *be freed* 99 10
ⲡⲗⲟⲉ: ⲣ̄ⲡ. *be ragged, old* 155 10
ⲁⲧⲣ̄ⲡⲗⲟⲉ 146 42
ⲡⲱⲛⲉ *pass, turn to* 11 1 19 16 159 26 213 5
ⲡⲁⲛⲉ= 29 22 216 5
intr. 18 15 75 13 99 22 108 13 vid. 159 7: ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ 88 2 229 b 1
ⲁⲧⲡⲱⲛⲉ 155 20
ⲡⲱⲛⲕ̀ *bail, empty out, transfer* 200 25
vid.: ⲡⲁⲛⲕ= 217 21. 22
ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲉ *pepper* 184 13
ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ *shine forth* 13 12 21 26 23 14 41 1 42 7 54 26 etc.
qual. ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲱⲟⲩ 8 11 24 20 26 2 30 23 36 24 37 6. 23 38 6 108 30 190 18
nn. *brightness, dawn* 1 16 22 9 30 28 32 19 36 15 61 15. 27 etc.
ⲡⲣⲱ *winter* 8 20 93 17 94 20 109 15 156 18 161 18
ⲡⲱⲣⲕ̀ *uproot* 60 23 vid.
ⲡⲁⲣⲕ- 204 30 207 8. 9 208 29 212 28
ⲡⲁⲣⲕ= 4 13. 23
ⲁⲧⲡⲱⲣⲕ 189 27
nn. *updigging* 152 16
ⲡⲁⲣⲙ̄ϩⲁⲧⲡ̄ *the 7th month* 17 26 18 7
ⲡⲱⲣⲥ̀ *wage war* 6 33 82 4 vid. 204 13. 17
ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲱⲩⲉ vide ⲃⲣⲉ
ⲡⲱⲣⲱ̄ (ⲁⲃⲁⲗ) *spread out* 1 11 vid. 8 15 13 20 19 25 41 2 45 7 46 3 59 11 104 18 etc.
ⲡⲁⲣⲱ= 10 15 41 25 207 30
qual. ⲡⲁⲣⲱ 152 6 199 28 202 6 204 20 205 4
ⲡⲱⲣϫ (ⲁⲃⲁⲗ) *separate* 26 29 28 15 30 26 56 21 57 9 83 22 87 5 139 13 172 15
ⲡⲁⲣϫ= 4 28 9 5 56 23. 24
qual. ⲡⲁⲣϫ 9 11 56 28 223 3

nn. 81 20 86 17

ⲡⲣⲁϫ nn. *disunity* 219 5

ϥⲓⲥ *nine* 121 23 122 25 vid.

ⲡⲉⲧ *knee* 13 26 18 10 19 26 60 3 214 9

ⲡⲱⲧ *run* 45 16 50 23 54 15 71 18 88 8 103 2.7 106 22 113 9 129 25 195 3 206 17

qual. ⲡⲏⲧ 14 26. 27 40 22 51 13 63 26 82 9 83 8 88 27 89 14 etc.

ⲃⲓⲛⲡⲱⲧ *course* 62 16. 28 68 10 98 27

ⲡⲓⲧⲉ *bow* 205 30

ⲡⲱⲧⲥ̀ *part* 16 7

qual. ⲡⲁⲧⲥ̀ 223 3

ⲡⲁⲩⲣⲉ *increase (?)* 92 12 211 18 223 16 vid.

ⲡⲁϣ *net, snare* 210 29

ⲡⲁϣⲏ 53 10 57 13 69 24 84 28 204 19 205 3 etc.

ⲡⲱϣⲉ *divide* 54 17 221 28 vid.

ⲡⲱϣ 222 7 vid.

qual. ⲡⲏϣ 143 22

ⲡⲱ̃ⲙⲟⲩ *half-dead* 40 25

ⲡⲱϣⲛⲉ *serve, ordain* 150 17 (?)

qual. ⲡⲁϣⲛⲉ 41 21

ⲡⲱϣⲥ̀ *be amazed* 15 28

ⲡⲱϩ *reach* 3 30 55 10 82 4 143 27 174 14 211 14 218 1. 2 etc.

ⲡⲱϩ ⲛ̄-, ⲡϩ ⲛ̄- *succeed in doing* 62 24 130 28 164 20. 21

ⲡⲱϩ *break, tear* 89 29 196 13 205 3

ⲡⲁϩⲥ̀ *carrion* 220 10

ⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ *cure* 40 12. 14. 15. 16 46 5 53 3 147 65 152 22. 26 etc.

fem. 23 6 26 21 vid.

ⲣ̄ⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ *heal* 213 10

ⲡⲱϩⲧ *pour* 7 3 150 8 207 25

qual. ⲡⲁϩⲧ *be prostrate* 219 8

ⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ *back:* ⲁⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ 64 1 vid. 97 32 123 31 (?) 152 5 163 7 164 23 178 14 211 5 218 3: ϩⲓⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ 90 13

ⲡⲁϫⲉ *say* 121 21 (?)

ⲡⲁϫⲏⲓ̈ 206 19 211 5 219 4: ⲥⲉⲕ 124 15 vid. 17 vid.: ⲥⲉⲩ 15 29 16 1 198 21 etc.: ⲥⲉⲩ 212 2 223 12 ff.

ⲡⲁⲃⲉ *fragment* 198 5

ⲡⲁⲃⲗⲉ *cluster* 57 12 225 21

ⲡⲉⲃⲥⲉ in ⲛⲁϫ ⲡ. *spit* 142 13

ⲣⲏ *sun* 2 21 10 30 20 22 21 26 35 23 42 7 81 10 etc.

ⲣⲟ *door* 2 26 18 11 19 24 25 3 59 29 90 8 156 4 bis 5. 7. 8 etc.

pl. ⲣⲱⲟⲩ 17 21 42 4 50 23 83 30 109 24 190 27 196 15. 16 198 11 212 22

ⲣⲱⲥ *mouth* 46 9 107 26 151 30 156 8 185 13 190 24 198 9

ⲕⲁ ⲣⲱⲥ *be silent* 134 28 184 1

qual. ⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ 7 25 142 2 155 38 166 9

nn. ⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲏ *silence* 115 20 134 28 168 31 170 9

ⲣⲱ particle: *again, yet* 7 21 9 24 19 17 22 17 28 16 40 25 49 17 52 24. 28 63 25 79 22. 27 82 19. 22 104 31 115 26 vid. 162 6 184 18 188 3 vid. 210 27 225 4

ⲣⲓⲕⲉ *turn, bend* 45 27 155 8 188 8 bis

ⲣⲉⲧⲕ- 97 27

ⲁⲧⲣⲓⲕⲉ 68 17

ⲣⲱϫϩ *burn* 75 25 169 22 189 3

ⲣⲁϫϩⲥ 49 26 54 18 vid. 96 24 142 7

ⲣⲓⲙⲉ *weep* 19 7 57 17 70 2 82 21 etc.

ϫⲓ ⲣⲓⲙⲉ 100 2

nn. 47 1 70 28 72 21 99 33 162 24 178 2

ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲏ *tear, weeping* 53 21 82 21 187 4. 10 188 13

pl. ⲣⲙ̄ⲓⲁⲩⲉ 44 27 45 5 65 16

ⲣⲱⲙⲉ *man* 86 5 141 8 etc.

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ *mankind* 19 28

ⲣⲙ̄-: -ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ 25 14 40 14 46 18 59 12 88 2 150 29 153 20 167 55

-ⲛ̄ⲉⲥ 3 31 25 13 167 54

-ⲛ̄ⲏⲓ̈ 1 21 136 35 215 10

-ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁⲩ 165 23

-ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲥ 107 17

-ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ 213 4

-ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 16 17 37 26 38 20 40 32 136 41 143 15

-ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ 194 28

-ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ 30 21 (?) 38 14
-ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ 154 1 157 10: ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ 225 23 vid.
-ⲛ̄ⲟⲁⲓⲗⲉ 181 23
-ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ 64 31 196 16
ⲣⲉϥ- 1 22 bis 2 21. 24 etc.
ⲣⲙ̄ⲣⲉϣϥ 105 10: ⲣⲙ̄ⲣⲉϣⲉ 192 17 vid.
ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ *rich* 36 28 123 23 etc.
pl. ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲁⲓ 210 14
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ 75 22 80 16 137 18 157 3 vid. 203 30. 32
pl. ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲁⲓ 208 26 214 12
ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ *year* 19 13 25 20 26 19 47 11 142 5 192 3 bis 215 21 216 8. 9 221 21. 22
pl. as sing. 190 7: ⲣⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲩⲉ 218 22
*ⲣⲁⲙⲥ̀ *ship (?)* 163 4 n. 178 11
ⲣⲙ̄ϩⲉ *free* 86 4 89 26
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ϩⲉ 16 29 70 13
ⲣⲉⲛ *name* 38 22 49 21 60 29 88 4 134 12 151 10. 22 195 13 207 13 etc.
ⲧⲣⲉⲛ *to name* 4 14
ⲣ̄ⲡⲉ *temple* 196 13 216 5 bis
ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ *king* 12 13 15 1. 25. 27 117 32 etc.
pl. ⲣ̄ⲣⲁⲓ 83 29 117 3 194 31 196 2 224 2
adject. 153 9: ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ 213 16. 17
ⲣ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ *be king* 11 22 25 24. 29 etc.
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ *kingdom* 9 12. 17 14 10 etc.
ⲣⲁⲓⲥ *watch, guard* 2 8 7 30 13 18 84 26 152 26 etc.
ⲣⲉϥⲣⲁⲓⲥ 151 4 180 24
ⲣⲉⲧⲥ *foot* 10 10 16 31 43 26 66 29 84 11 95 26 204 24 208 13. 27 etc.
vide ⲧⲱⲕ, ϩⲱⲙ, ϩⲁⲗ
ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲥ *unfathomable* 25 1 133 5
ⲣⲱⲧ *grow, bring forth* 74 22
qual. ⲣⲏⲧ 37 16 136 48
ⲣⲉⲓⲧⲉ *kindred, race* 2 3 3 30 17 25 43 22 86 17 93 8 108 28 146 47 etc.: ⲣⲉⲓⲉⲧⲉ 136 18
ⲣⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩ 25 26 sic
ⲣⲏⲧⲉ *manner* 9 31 10 6 28 25 55 21 59 27 67 9. 11 101 28 176 16. 17
ⲣⲉⲧⲕ- vide ⲣⲓⲕⲉ
ⲣⲁⲩⲉ *stubble* 189 5
ⲣⲁⲩⲧ vide ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ
ⲣⲁⲩϣ *care* 13 17 53 5. 24 70 29 82 12 86 10 99 17 146 26 152 14 153 1
ⲃⲓ ⲣⲁⲩϣ 165 24: ⲃⲁⲓⲣ. 58 17
ⲁⲧⲣⲁⲩϣ 70 29
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲣⲁⲩϣ 146 52
ⲣⲉϣⲉ *rejoice* 30 23 50 9 etc.
trans. *mock* 113 13
ⲧⲣⲉϣⲉ *make glad* 54 26 132 28
nn. *joy* 2 23 8 28 136 9. 10 etc.
ⲣⲱϣⲉ *suffice* 150 21 vid. 191 23
nn. 107 26
ⲣⲉϣⲣⲉϣ: ϩⲟⲩⲣ. *blossom* 8 19 91 8
ⲣⲱϩⲉ: qual. ⲣⲁϩⲉ *washed* 155 10
ⲣⲱϩⲧ̄ *strike* 103 17 217 1
ⲣⲁϩⲧ- 4 7 207 5: ⲣⲁϩⲧⲥ 94 4
ⲣⲉⲩⲣⲱϩⲧ̄ 221 8
ⲣ̄ϩⲱⲧ vide ϩⲱⲧ
ⲣⲉⲃⲣⲉⲃ *?* 8 18 n.

ⲥⲁ *side, part* 43 3. 11 44 23 50 6 66 16 70 8. 15 71 31 81 26 90 29 122 11 138 38 142 29 154 31 etc.
ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ 2 25 26 13 60 27 82 11 105 27 167 53 etc.
ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁ- 10 4
ⲥⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ 11 4 83 33
ⲥⲁⲛⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ 37 4
ⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ 11 2 34 6 35 8. 25 69 23 etc.
ⲥⲁⲛϩⲟⲩⲛ 10 19 159 22 etc.
ⲥⲁϑⲏ *forward* 97 32
ⲥⲁϫⲱϥ *upside down* 142 18
ⲥⲁ- in ⲥⲁⲛⲧⲱϩ: vide ⲧⲱϩ
ⲥⲓ *sate, be sated* 64 12 93 23 208 5
qual. ⲥⲏⲩ 169 28
nn. *satiety* 88 3 163 10 178 17
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲓ 99 15
ⲥⲁⲓ *beam* 40 9 n. 222 22
ⲥⲁⲓⲉ *beauty* 1 19 2 29 vid. 8 15 17 10 70 11 84 31 95 6 98 21 147 18 148 29. 30 166 7. 32 195 7

adject. fem. ⲥⲁϣ 46 18 216 14
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲓⲉ 146 46
ⲥⲁⲓⲉ vb. *be beautiful* 107 23
ⲥⲟ: ⲧⲥⲟ *spare* 26 30 29 19 167 45
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲧⲥⲟ 66 5 n.
ⲥⲱ *drink* 7 17 40 30 57 20 101 15 158 9 169 28 201 27
ⲥⲟⲩ 151 14 158 30 bis 195 10
ⲥⲱ nn. 55 28 81 31
ⲥⲁⲃⲉ *wise, sage* 36 14 ff. 37 1 ff. 38 2. 3. 9 68 2 80 9 104 5 137 17 212 7
fem. ⲥⲁⲃϩ 36 29 37 12 101 7 166 34 191 19. 20
pl. ⲥⲁⲃⲉⲩⲉ 24 4 35 18 37 18 167 8
ⲥⲁⲃⲉⲉⲩ 230 a 30
ⲥⲃⲱ *teaching, thought* 8 3 23 16 68 29 101 29 105 27 111 3 120 7 126 7 166 40 etc.
pl. ⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ 6 9 16 4 97 18. 24 232 a 30 vid.
ⲧⲥⲃⲱ *teach* 16 15 40 6 etc.: ⲧⲥⲃⲉ- 81 28
ϫⲓ ⲥⲃⲱ *be taught* 37 28 75 18 98 20 183 8
ⲥⲱⲃⲉ *laugh, mock* 17 16 22 1 45 21 72 21 85 27 191 10. 11 193 28 195 17
nn. *laughter* 70 28
ⲥⲃⲁϫ *lessen* 13 16
qual. ⲥⲁⲃϫ 204 23 210 16
ⲥⲁⲃⲧ̄ *wall* 28 18 136 31 143 1 161 27 206 2. 3. 4. 12. 13
pl. as sing. 6 24 (?): ⲥⲃⲧⲉⲩⲉ 199 3. 24 200 17: ⲥⲃⲧⲉⲉⲩ 50 22 139 13
ⲥⲓⲃⲧ̄ *hill* ? 78 26
ⲥⲁⲃⲧⲉ *make ready* 63 25 209 22
ⲥⲃ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲥ 7 20
qual. ⲥⲃ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲧ 25 16 64 2 154 30 204 18
ⲥⲱϫ *draw, be drawn* 84 30 129 25 176 14. 15 192 31
ⲥⲁϫ- 187 24 195 28 196 8 208 14
ⲥϫ- 13 24
ⲥⲁϫⲥ 35 25 67 15 76 18 163 14 178 21 207 25
qual. ⲥⲏϫ 39 3 83 25 127 29 162 14 163 25 167 11 177 9 178 31 183 19 184 20 200 12
ⲥϫⲓⲙ *grey hair* 192 2
ⲥϫ(ⲁ)ⲣϫⲣ *roll* 13 27 214 6. 9
ⲥⲱⲗⲗ̄ *burst* 95 11
qual. ⲥⲁⲗⲗ̄ 63 26 157 27
*ⲥⲗⲡⲉ *tumult (?)* 96 20 n.
ⲥⲁⲗⲁⲡⲓⲛ *tittle* 223 25
ⲥⲁⲗⲥⲗ *comfort* 156 5 173 15
ⲥⲗⲥⲱⲗⲥ 53 21
nn. 167 14
ⲥⲱⲗⲇ *smear:* ⲥⲁⲗⲇ- 210 24
ⲥⲗⲟⲇⲗⲇ: qual. ⲥⲗⲉⲇⲗⲉⲇⲧ *smooth* 189 9
ⲥⲙⲏ *voice* 15 30 50 18 104 31 162 21 194 29 etc.
ϫⲓ ⲥⲙⲏ *listen* 28 26 197 6 229 b 5. 24
ⲥⲓⲙ *herbs* 208 2
ⲥⲱⲙ *crush* 26 24
ⲥⲙⲟⲩ *bless* 22 25 27 20 56 20 etc.
nn. *blessing* 12 20 95 30 etc.
ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ 12 2 24 6 144 5. 8 etc.
qual. ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ 1 17. 27 25 15. 24 80 6 etc.
ⲣⲉϥⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ 106 32
ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ nn. 42 12
ⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲉ *appeal* ? 188 10
ⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ *establish, construct* 10 23 57 3. 7
ⲥⲙⲛ- 79 25 120 23 122 21 135 3 206 4 213 3 222 1
ⲥⲙⲛ ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ *stretch hand* 205 30
ⲥⲙⲛⲧ≈ 10 2. 30 11 16 15 16
ⲥⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄- *make agreement with* 117 15
qual. ⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ 165 27 220 22 225 25 vid.
ⲥⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧ *tank* 156 30 161 7
ⲥⲙⲁⲧ *sort, way, form* 11 17 bis 28 24 135 16 vid. 17 etc.
pl. ⲥⲙⲟⲟⲧ 108 12
ⲥⲱⲙⲧ *wait:* qual. ⲥⲁⲙⲧ̄ 26 15 201 4 202 4
ⲥⲁⲛ *brother* 10 22 40 8 86 7 137 29 169 25 187 18 194 14
pl. ⲥⲛⲏⲩ 22 29 etc.
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲛ 187 19
fem. ⲥⲱⲛⲉ 85 14 vid. 169 23 175 25 205 20. 25 206 25 207 3

ⲥⲁⲛⲉ *thief* 63 10 163 5 178 12 189 15 205 31 207 24 bis

ⲥⲉⲓⲛⲉ *physician* 2 24 17 14 40 11. 13 46 1 47 5 57 22 61 28 145 6 152 22 163 23 178 29 180 26 193 13 220 26. 27 221 6

ⲥⲱⲛⲧ̄ *create* 120 21 126 21

nn. *creation* 2 20 3 22 145 24 155 31 219 7: ⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ 56 27

ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ *foundation* 8 9 53 22 155 21 188 27 200 27 etc.

ϫⲛ̄ⲧⲉ (ⲧ-ⲱⲛ̄ⲧⲉ?) 189 27

ⲥⲛⲉⲩ *two* 17 24 18 6 19 19 45 30 102 29 140 16 etc.

ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲛⲉⲩ *two together* 217 8

fem. ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ 9 10 26 29 86 17 etc.

ⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ 10 21 39 7 59 20 etc.

ⲙⲁϩⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ 96 23 138 61 etc.

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ *twelve* 1 13 9 13 22 24 44 8 etc.: ⲓⲃ̄ 136 31. 32. 33

ⲱⲃⲉⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ *seventy-two* 44 8

ϫⲟⲩⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ *twenty-two* 46 20

ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ *know* 44 21 45 11 63 25 70 5. 14 88 5. 11: ⲥⲁⲛⲉ 10 19 141 18

ⲛ̄ + object 54 19 99 25 122 11 191 29 195 12

ⲛ̄ + infin. 45 28 46 1. 11 117 5

nn. *knowledge* 32 8 57 19 75 30 86 16 etc.

ⲁⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ 4 11 86 30

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ 6 27 82 17

ⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ 194 28

ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ *know* 7 12 40 28 53 9 56 26 61 7 129 15 228 30

ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ- 135 3 (leg. ⲥ⟨ⲛ̄⟩ⲟⲩⲱⲛ?)

ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ- 75 28 77 9 171 18 223 26

ⲥⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛ≈: ≈ⲧ 187 2. 4: ≈ⲕ 122 9. 17: ≈ⲉⲩ 86 28 223 25: ≈ⲩ 31 21 vid.: ≈ⲥ̄ 156 24: ≈ⲟⲩ 111 16

? qual. ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛⲧ 106 21

ⲥⲁⲛⲉϣ *nourish* 9 16 86 29

ⲥⲁⲛⲉϣ- 82 18

qual. ⲥⲁⲛⲁϣⲧ 84 23 111 12

ϫⲓ ⲥⲁⲛⲉϣ 216 8

ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲁⲛⲉϣ- 227 2

ⲥⲛⲁⲩ *blood* 4 31 vid. 17 21 vid. 21 14 43 18 44 17. 24 45 3 87 18 vid. 103 30 121 9 129 24 vid. 142 29 195 28 196 23

ⲥⲱⲛϩ̄ *bind* 16 20 18 30 19 6 101 17 196 10 212 14

ⲥⲁⲛϩ̄- 204 31

qual. ⲥⲁⲛϩ̄ 201 14. 16. 18

nn. ⲥⲛⲁϩ *fetter* 8 16 vid. 17

pl. ⲥⲛⲉⲩϩ 101 19 106 29

ⲥⲁⲡ *time* 112 3 142 28 186 5. 8

ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲁⲡ *again* 8 14 12 31 52 21 85 15 87 28 etc.

ⲥⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲓⲙ *always* 56 29 etc.

ϩⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ *at once, together* 6 17 24 8 35 21 37 26 132 28 186 4 etc.

ⲥⲉⲡⲉ *remains* 83 13

ⲥⲡⲓⲣ *rib, side:* pl. ⲥⲡⲓⲣⲉⲉⲩ 226 26

ⲥⲁⲡⲥⲡ̄ *pray* 7 3 12 15 13 27 17 28 24 8 38 24 76 23

ⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ *lip* 16 7: fem. 220 2 ff.

ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ ⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ *sneer (?)* 226 3

ⲥⲱⲣ (ⲁⲃⲁⲗ) *scatter, lay out* 17 30 172 9

ⲥⲁⲣ- 210 24

ⲥⲁⲣ≈ 8 27 10 25 188 27 208 1 227 4

qual. ⲥⲏⲣ 97 6 145 5 vid. 147 24 163 19 178 23

*ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲧⲱⲛ . . *?* 133 1

ⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ *stray, lead astray* 4 4 51 11 86 11 95 5 124 11 172 27: ⲥⲱⲣⲙ̄ 156 7

ⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ- 57 14

qual. ⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ 2 7. 25 73 25

ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ 15 26

ⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉϩⲏⲧ 99 19

ⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ nn. *error* 86 21 107 5

ⲥⲣ̄ⲙⲉ nn. *seducer* 215 20

ⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ *lees, dregs* 10 32

ⲥⲣⲟⲛⲣⲙ̄: qual. ⲥⲣⲙ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲧ̄ *dazed* 49 11

ⲥⲣ̄ⲩⲉ *have leisure for, devote oneself to* 109 28 111 21 165 30

ⲥⲣⲁⲩⲣⲉⲩ *fall* 207 7 226 7. 8

ⲥⲁⲥⲉ *pluck* 95 22

ⲥⲱⲧ ⲁ- *do something again* after neg. 212 5. 20 215 6. 15

ⲥⲱⲧ *stretch, extend* 108 17

ⲥⲁϊⲧ *fame, report* 17 30 84 25 94 23 vid. 104 10 107 15 148 21 208 8

ϯⲥⲁϊⲧ, ⲭⲓⲥⲁϊⲧ *become famous* 13 22 146 5

ⲥⲁⲧⲉ *dart, arrow* 64 25 103 15 221 13. 14

ⲥⲉⲧⲉ *fire* 3 28 9 18 11 6 43 15 54 18 81 26 148 27 152 17 156 19 etc.

ⲥⲓⲧⲉ *shoot, sow, turn* 2 15 138 48 217 6

ⲥⲉⲧ- 194 28

ⲥⲱⲧⲉ *save* 42 9 59 22 76 27 113 8 etc.

ⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲉ 2 4 24 21 41 10 87 6 137 50 144 pass. etc.

nn. *salvation* 1 29 24 12 116 22 140 21 etc.

ⲥⲧⲁϊ *smell* 118 29 150 24 157 15 166 16 211 17 225 19

ⲥϯⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ *good smell* 37 16 118 29 136 45. 52 152 24 154 28 194 13 203 22 205 17. 23 206 24. 30 208 2. 17. 30 214 30 215 3 220 24 224 17

ⲥϯⲃⲱⲱⲛ *bad smell* 205 23 214 3

ⲥⲉⲧⲃⲉ *ruminate, rumination* 222 8

ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ *hear* 1 9 15 27 187 34 etc.

ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ 29 28 etc.

ⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉ= 112 11 154 31

ⲁⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ 164 22 194 26

ⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ 118 26

ⲙⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ vide ⲙⲁ

ⲥⲧⲙⲏⲧ *obedient* 192 17. 24

ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ nn. 32 21 133 29 etc.

ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ *choose* 38 25 97 23 etc.

ⲥⲁⲧⲡ- 82 27

ⲥⲁⲧⲡ= 42 33

qual. ⲥⲁⲧⲡ 162 10

nn. *Elect* 1 2 3 13 14 16 19 7 etc.

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ 38 22 144 3

ⲥⲧⲣⲧⲣ *tremble* 29 17 40 23

nn. *trembling* 29 13 62 9

ⲥⲧⲱⲧ *tremble* 2 13 66 18: nn. 206 18

*ⲥⲧⲉⲧⲁϣ *? border* 201 4 n. 202 4

ⲥⲱⲧϥ̄ *refine, purify* 112 19 212 28

qual. ⲥⲁⲧϥ 2 22 10 17 83 22. 26 99 28

nn. *purified part* 10 31 55 8

ⲥⲱϥⲧ̄ (sic) 208 24 209 5 213 6

ⲥⲁⲩ *six* 19 6: fem. ⲥⲟⲉ 19 13 192 3 195 29

ⲭⲟⲩⲧⲉⲥⲉ *twenty-six* 16 26 19 4 43 30

ⲥⲉ *sixty* 192 3 210 23 vid. 24

ⲥⲏⲩ *time, season* 59 27 100 11 112 28 154 32

ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲩ *then* 117 7 131 23 141 24 173 28

ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲩ *once* 10 27 87 5

ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ *always* 19 23 35 31 55 26 56 4 69 21 115 25

ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲏⲩ *from time to time* 162 6

ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲩ *for a season* 11 3

ⲥⲟⲩ- *day of month* 17 26 18 7

ⲥⲓⲟⲩ *star* 37 10 (?) 59 9 94 9 103 18 122 31 179 21 207 7

ⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ *stretch out, make straight* 80 29 213 15: -ⲧⲛⲉ 67 14 69 6

ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ= 164 25

qual. ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ 8 7 25 3 31 18 36 24

qual. ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ 60 16 105 19 159 22 176 15 193 18

ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ *straightly* 13 5 16 2 52 30

ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ (ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ) *gather* 32 7 42 5 96 6 137 48 153 8 etc.

ⲥⲁⲩϩ= 11 9 [11 10] 75 16

qual. ⲥⲁⲩϩ 99 32 152 10 153 5 etc.

ⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ 115 11 vid. 138 16 152 10

nn. *gathering* 70 9 153 7

ⲥⲁⲩϩⲥ̄ *assembly* 6 28 12 16 31 17 vid. 37 10. 19 59 12 137 48 etc.

ⲥⲁⲓϣ (a) *pair* 40 16 56 21 bis

(b) *familiar, double* 19 22 42 22 138 24 139 5. 12 vid. 146 53 166 34

(c) *consort* 111 15 217 4

ⲥⲁϣ *wound* 46 8. 11

ⲥⲱϣ *spill blood (?)* 17 21

ⲥϣⲉ *it behoves* 4 34

ⲥⲓϣⲉ *bitterness* 70 28

qual. of vb. ⲥⲁϣⲉ 6 28 7 29 18 16 49 5 70 26 144 19 etc.

ⲥⲱϣⲉ *field* 155 23 153 28

ⲥⲱϣⲉ *creep* 206 2. 3

ⲥⲱϣϥ̄ *stop, be hindered* 212 23 221 20. 21. 22: ϣⲱϣϥ̄ 221 20

ⲥⲁⲱⲧ- 98 27

ⲥⲁⲱϥ̄ *seven* 53 17. 19 224 24 etc.

fem. ⲥⲁⲱϥⲉ 149 23 216 7. 9

ⲙⲁϩⲥⲁⲱϥⲉ 2 10 138 37

Seven devils (i. e. *the Hebdomas*, 53 18 210 21. 22 211 7) 103 29 108 18 [149 23] 204 1. 2. 14. 29

ⲥⲱⲱϥ *be foul:* qual. ⲥⲟⲟϥ 7 27 99 11 103 30 106 19 107 9 151 18

nn. *foulness* 45 11 181 3

ⲥϩⲫⲉ *sword* 19 17 66 6 vid. 94 5 205 29 219 7

ⲥϩⲉⲗ *write* 43 21 196 5

ⲥϩⲉⲗ- 118 19

ⲥⲁϩϩⲗⲕⲱⲛ 118 19

ⲥⲁϩ *teacher* 13 17 vid. 15 26 16 21 44 8 84 24 143 12 187 5. 20. 30. 34

ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁϩ 187 21

ⲙⲁⲗⲥⲁϩ 192 32

ⲥⲉϩⲟ *be set up, set up* 213 9

ⲥⲉϩⲟ- 77 23 203 15. 16 208 23 209 4. 19. 20 213 8 214 10

ⲥⲉϩⲱ= 152 21 203 10. 12. 14 213 23 214 22 224 23 225 12

qual. ⲥⲉϩⲁⲓ̈ⲧ 2 31

ⲥⲟⲟϩⲉ 164 20 ⲥⲟϩⲉ 208 15

ⲥⲗϩⲉ *remove:* ⲥⲉϩ= 99 12

ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ *woman* 121 29 122 19 143 15

ⲥⲓⲙⲉ 15 4 52 25 169 26

pl. ϩⲓⲁⲙⲉ 195 5 vid. 226 11 vid.

*ⲥⲁϩⲙⲉⲗⲱ *trap* 210 24 n. 25. 29 211 4

ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ *provide:* vide ⲟⲩⲱϩ

qual. ϩⲛⲏⲩⲧ 39 27 205 2

nn. *provisions* 184 15

ⲥⲱϩⲡ̄ *sink, engulf* 51 25 70 4 82 12 219 8

ⲥⲁϩⲧⲉ *fire* 109 19 vid.

ⲥⲁϩⲟⲩ *curse:* qual. ϩⲟⲩⲁⲣⲧ 106 17

ⲥⲉϫⲉ *speak* 14 6 vid. 43 17 63 20 134 26. 27 226 5

ⲁⲧⲥⲉϫⲉ 26 8 68 12

ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲉϫⲉ 13 14

ⲟⲩⲛⲥⲉϫⲉ 225 10 vid.

nn. *word* 3 16 5 21 26 12 etc.

ⲥⲱϫⲉ *fight* 58 24 60 14 96 23

ⲥⲁⲓϫ *warrior, champion* 93 26 148 25

vid. 192 29 (vide ϣⲱϫⲉ)

ⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ *take counsel* 18 26 23 28 214 16. 23

nn. *counsel* 2 15 9 19 11 10. 14 23 17. 28 136 53 etc.

ⲥⲱϫⲡ *be left* 218 3

qual. ⲥⲁϫⲡ 152 5

nn. *remnant* 11 8 83 13

ⲥⲱⲃ *be paralysed:* qual. ⲥⲛⲃ 206 2

ⲥⲉⲃⲉ *foolish:* ⲥⲁⲃ *(?)* 107 10

fem. ⲥⲉⲃⲏ 191 19. 20

ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲉ 45 21

ⲥⲃⲏⲣ *to sail* 90 12 139 30 166 11

ϣⲃⲏⲣ 217 25

ⲃⲓⲛⲥⲃⲏⲣ 70 5

nn. *voyage* 77 16 83 33 152 3: ϣⲃⲏⲣ 62 28 73 7

ⲥⲃⲣⲁϩⲧ *to rest* 81 11. 14

nn. *peace, quiet* 203 13 205 8 207 12 213 17 223 5

ϯⲁ- (etc. 1st Fut. vide Manich. Homil. p. xix) 107 20 vid. 121 27. 29 169 30 197 5 vid.

ⲕⲁ- 64 16 164 26 189 18 bis 190 5 bis 221 10 222 9 225 15

ⲧⲉⲁ- 82 28

ϥⲁ- 34 28 40 20 45 29 vid. 52 5 58 17. 19. 25 61 8 77 9 78 23 93 11 100 27. 28. 29 143 24 150 17 152 1. 4. 5 156 23 158 19 163 23 185 23 201 5 202 5 218 7 221 20. 23. 28

ⲥⲁ- 135 11 165 20

ⲛⲁ- 159 24. 26 160 21 161 30

ⲥⲟⲩⲁ- 159 15 n.

ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ *part* 143 20 222 7 224 3 227 4

ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ *honour* 22 1 35 23

ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲁ= 40 2 43 7

qual. ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ 1 20 3 27 26 27 28 13 31 21 38 8 62 23 66 11 98 7 203 6

nn. *honour* 1 1 2 9 33 17 ff. 35 20 47 21 138 35 etc.

ϯ *give, set* 7 31 18 30 21 6 43 24. 26 47 17 etc.

ⲧⲉⲉ= 4 18 42 30 43 21 51 6. 18. 20 148 28:

ⲧⲉⲛⲉ 150 21: ⲧⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩ 12 9 91 9 202 8
qual. ⲧⲟⲓⲉ 14 7 64 14 118 13 201 13. 17 218 23
imper. ⲙⲁϯ 56 3 58 4 68 4 84 14 94 2 95 30 96 1 111 19 112 26 149 27 175 18
imper. ⲙⲁ 76 24 (?) 83 23 88 9 155 3. 4 168 18 176 5 185 28 191 21
ⲣⲉⲕϯ 3 16 7 5 8 7 101 33 149 26
ⲧⲁⲓ- 21 9 22 23 53 26 103 21 153 5
ϯ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *sell* 201 27: ϯ ⲥⲁⲑⲏ *move forward* 97 32: vide ⲉⲁⲩ, ⲕⲗⲁⲙ, ⲙⲁ, ⲣⲉⲛ, ⲧⲱⲣⲉ, ⲱⲓⲡⲉ, ⲍⲓ-, ⲍⲉⲡ

ⲧⲟ *earth* 1 30 13 24 17 31 145 5 etc.

ⲧⲟ *where?* 61 31 153 24. 28 154 3 181 20 207 24 etc.

ⲧⲃⲁ *ten thousand* 35 25 161 16

ⲧⲏⲃⲉ *finger* 221 26

ⲧⲱⲃⲉ *seal, stamp* 116 16
qual. 47 10 163 26 178 32
nn. ⲧⲁⲃⲉϥ 2 22 16 16 52 28 146 48 155 4

ⲧⲱⲃⲉ *repay, requite* 49 16 97 4
ⲧⲁⲃⲉ= 227 17
ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲱⲃⲉ 105 33

ⲧⲃⲟ *?* 103 16

ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ *purify* 10 31 26 4. 25 46 12 112 19
ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁ= 33 22 52 27 62 4 79 29 87 18 89 31 100 28 162 4 185 28 ff. etc.
qual. ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓⲧ 58 10 99 9 150 12
qual. ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲏⲩ 188 14
ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ 10 28
nn. *purity, holiness* 33 10 ff. 64 15 80 14 103 26 etc.

ⲧⲃ̄ⲃⲉ *seal (?)* 95 14

ⲧⲃⲛⲏ *beast:* pl. ⲧⲃⲛⲁⲩⲉ 215 2

ⲧⲃ̄ⲧ *fish* 10 16 205 4

ⲧⲁⲃⲧⲃ *adorn by artifice*
qual. ⲧⲃ̄ⲧⲁⲃⲧ̄ 98 21
ⲁⲧⲧⲁⲃⲧⲃ *unadorned* 118 19

ⲧⲱⲃⲍ̄ *implore* 1 5. 7 7 3 18 10 23 pass. 70 24 etc.
ⲧⲁⲃⲍ- 34 28 44 11
nn. *prayer* 33 24. 28 92 18

ⲧⲓⲕ *spark* 188 18

ⲧⲱⲕ *be strong, firm, strengthen* 148 23 215 19: ϯⲧⲱⲕ 210 1. 3. 11. 12
ⲧ. ⲁⲣⲉⲧ: *stand firm* 10 10 35 6 65 29 83 6. 19 etc.
qual. ⲧⲏⲕ 2 7 11 3 15 19 67 8 91 28 etc.

ⲧⲱⲕ *throw:* ⲧⲉⲕ- 187 11 vid.

ⲧⲉⲕⲟ *destroy, be destroyed* 10 1 66 26 bis 86 32 etc.
ⲧⲉⲕⲁ= 46 18
ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ 6 30 24 32 36 5. 20 37 17 50 14 63 10 86 8 108 23 137 63
nn. 80 11 152 18 224 3 etc.
ⲣⲉⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ 60 27 61 26

ⲧⲕ̄ⲃⲟ *make cool:* ⲧⲕ̄ⲃⲁ= 195 21

ⲧⲱⲕⲣ: qual. ⲧⲁⲕⲣⲉ *clear* 212 28

ⲧⲁⲕⲧⲟ: ⲧⲕ̄ⲧⲉ- *traverse (?)* 58 14

ⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉ *rise* 17 10 22 10 70 12 100 30 224 9 bis etc.
ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉ 34 19 52 18 118 21

ⲧⲉⲗⲟ *rise, embark, make to rise* 55 11 82 22 134 24 213 27 etc.
ⲧⲉⲗⲁ- 77 11 95 26 vid. 143 4 188 21 195 21 208 20 226 24
qual. ⲧⲉⲗⲁⲓⲧ 157 19 161 5 174 22
ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲉⲗⲟ *vehicle* 111 23 212 25. 26

ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ *be glad* 1 16 4 19. 20 64 16 70 20 146 3 203 3 ff.
ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ 165 16 173 22
ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ nn. 12 29 26 20

ⲧⲱⲗⲙⲉ *soil, be soiled* 45 18 137 39 150 11
nn. 13 4 154 8

ⲧⲗ̄ⲧⲗ̄ *let drop* 203 18
ⲧⲗ̄ϯⲗⲉ *drop* 8 29 41 20

ⲧⲗ̄ⲟ *heal, be healed* 10 4 23 6 40 16 62 7 etc.
ⲧⲗ̄ⲟⲁ= 26 22 152 23 220 31
ⲁⲧⲧⲗ̄ⲟ 26 22
nn. 26 21 28 7 180 27 221 1. 3 etc.

ⲧⲙ̄- negative 61 31 65 24 143 25 174 28 181 15 188 13 212 5 215 6. 15. 24 221 27 etc.

ⲧⲱⲙ *shut* 56 31 163 11 178 18 212 19 bis 22. 30
qual. ⲧⲏⲙ 151 18 194 25 196 15

ⲧⲁⲙⲟ *tell* 93 28: ⲧⲁⲙⲁ= 9 9 15 6 vid.

ⲧⲁⲗⲙⲉ *help* 58 17

ϯⲙⲉ *village, city* 15 6 70 23 85 12 99 6. 21 136 41 195 8. 12

ⲧⲱⲙⲉ *join, be fitting* 166 10
qual. ⲧⲁⲙⲉ 17 31 58 29 99 27 155 40 167 20

ⲧⲙⲁϫⲟ *justify* 154 10 158 4
qual. ⲧⲙⲁⲗⲧ 158 4 (sic: leg. ⲧⲙⲁϫⲁϫⲧ)
nn. 64 11 181 5

ⲧⲉⲙⲙⲟ *feed* 175 24

ⲧⲱⲙⲥ̀ *bury* 90 28: ⲧⲁⲙⲥ- 90 22

ⲧⲱⲙⲧ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *be stupified* 187 24
nn. 157 26

ⲧⲱⲛ *rise* 49 17 50 13 215 15 etc.
ⲧⲱⲛ ϩⲁ- *bear* 58 16 145 4
ⲧⲱⲱⲛ 54 15 66 5 135 29 etc.
ⲧⲱⲱⲛ ϩⲁ- 29 16 54 25 141 26 219 15
nn. *resurrection* 25 12 59 18 62 5 97 8
ⲧⲱⲛⲉ 215 24 229 b 26
ϭⲓⲛⲧⲱⲛⲉ *resurrection* 196 15

ⲧⲱⲛ in ϯⲧⲱⲛ *fight* 10 9 15 24 51 10 57 10 93 13

ⲧⲟⲛⲱ *very much* 105 29 200 14 219 10. 12. 13

ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ *send* 9 4 10 6. 21 39 1 95 25
ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ- 57 5
ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ= 6 4 9 29 14 11 55 2 etc.

ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ̄ *make be like, liken*
ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛ= 134 11 145 21 ff. 151 27 156 28 193 28 205 11
qual. ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ 71 24 118 29 158 25. 26 217 22
nn. 71 27 220 4 ff.

ϯⲛⲟⲩ *now* 6 9 32 7 70 31 215 22 etc.

ⲧⲛϩ̀ *wing* 17 4 70 12 98 18 100 30 123 9 vid. 167 58 182 9. 30 188 21 222 11

ⲧⲱⲛϩ̀ *entangle:* ⲧⲁⲛϩⲥ̀(?) 217 5

*ⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ *about to* 63 17 n. 87 27 147 53 198 19

ⲧⲛ̄ϩⲟ *make alive, revive* 14 16 86 27 190 21 194 24
ⲧⲛ̄ϩⲟ- 143 26 196 30
ⲣⲉϥⲧⲛ̄ϩⲟ 144 4 vid.
nn. 63 28

ⲧⲛⲁϩⲥⲟ causative of ⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ *arouse* 228 25: ⲧⲛⲁϩⲥⲉ- 152 16
ⲣⲉϥⲧⲛⲁϩⲥⲟ 115 10

ⲧⲁⲛϩⲟⲩⲧ *entrust, believe*
ⲧⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲧ= 208 10. 16
qual. ⲧⲛ̄ϩⲁⲧ 122 29. 31 207 26

ⲧⲁⲡ *edge, corner, keel* 13 21 96 29 207 18

ⲧⲉⲡ *horn* 221 25

ⲧⲱⲡ *become accustomed* 165 29
qual. ⲧⲏⲡ 41 24
nn. ⲧⲁⲡⲥ̀ *habit* 38 28 70 26

ϯⲡⲉ *loins* 151 21 170 20

ⲧⲱⲡⲉ *taste:* ⲧⲱⲡ- 149 9
ⲧⲁⲡ- 158 20. 22. 24
ϯⲡⲉ *taste* 2 21 64 26 158 18 ff. 172 8 etc.

ⲧⲡⲉ *upper, above* 147 26 155 35
ⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ 11 2 34 6 69 23 etc.

ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ *mouth* 10 13 115 31 116 16 161 16 214 16 etc.

ⲧⲣⲉ- ⲧⲉ- ⲧⲣ= ⲧ=: causative of ⲉⲓⲣⲉ pass.

ⲧⲏⲣ= *all, every* 1 2. 16 2 3 7 24 12 16 24 18 28 16 bis 30 8 etc.
ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲡ̄ *the universe* 2 8 bis 17 1 21 20 86 27 etc.
ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲡ̄ *at all* after neg. 13 17 58 16 86 10 etc.

ⲧⲱⲣⲉ *hand, spade* 217 20
ⲛⲁϥⲣ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ vide ⲛⲁϥⲣⲉ
ⲁⲧⲛ̄- 52 1: ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ= 50 5. 25 etc.
ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄- 14 26 22 11 57 17. 29 71 18 etc.
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ= 10 5 15 20 54 4 82 9 etc.
ⲕⲁ ⲧⲟⲟⲧ= *abandon* 88 5 151 9 173 16 etc.
ϯⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ= *lay upon, enjoin* 218 18 etc.
ϯⲧⲟⲟⲧ= *help* 4 32 10 22 52 26 88 24 etc.
ⲣⲉϥϯⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ̄ 137 35 138 4 vid. 166 20

ⲧⲣ̄ⲕⲟ *conjure* caus. of ⲱⲣⲕ̀ 234 21

*ⲧⲣⲙⲙⲟ *make to weep* caus. of ⲣⲙⲙⲉ 226 16

ⲧⲱⲣⲡ̄ *seize, rob* 15 19 63 14 87 9 etc.:
ⲣⲉϥⲧⲱⲣⲡ̄ 93 6
ⲧⲁⲣⲡ- 212 25

ⲧⲁⲣⲡⲉ 216 14
nn. 204 22
ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲉ *be afraid:* qual. ⲧⲣⲓⲱⲟⲩ 104 24
ⲧⲱⲣⲧ̄ *staircase* 7 32 22 6 167 10 177 8
ⲧⲥⲁⲓⲟ *make beautiful* 161 14
ⲧⲥⲓⲟ *sate* 75 26
ⲧⲥⲟ *make to drink* 54 11 175 24
ⲧⲥⲁⲉ 117 21 142 22. 23 143 17 196 6
ϯⲥⲟ vide ⲥⲟ
ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲟ *teach, show* 225 9 (!)
ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲉ 10 11 13 7 56 20 59 31 76 16 190 31 191 15 197 4 225 8
ⲧⲥⲃⲕⲟ *make small*
ⲧⲥⲃⲉⲕ- 49 12: ⲧⲥⲃⲕⲁⲉ 3 26
ⲧⲥⲧⲟ *repulse*
ⲧⲥⲧⲁⲉ 109 24 164 25: ⲥⲧⲁⲉ 97 30
ⲧⲱⲧ *be joined, mix* 54 19 64 14 86 9:
qual. ⲧⲏⲧ 11 1 46 25
ⲧⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ *satisfy, agree* 16 21
nn. 26 13
ⲧⲁⲩ *mountain* 123 37 129 18 187 27 190 31 210 1. 10. 21
pl. ⲧⲟⲩⲓⲉⲩⲉ 37 14 136 47 162 11 203 21
ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩ *?* 211 18. 19
ⲧⲁⲩ *buy* 201 25 227 9
ⲧⲏⲩ *wind* 2 16 9 19 37 4 vid. 17 78 24 90 12. 15 135 19 137 29 176 28 193 4 201 15. 31 203 20 208 14
ⲧⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲍⲓⲧ *north wind* 180 21
ϯ ⲧⲏⲩ *expire* 142 32
ϯⲟⲩ *five* 3 25 10 9 59 9 136 50 139 54 etc.
fem. ϯⲉ 9 12 10 8 136 50 etc.
ⲙⲁⲍϯⲟⲩ 138 52
ⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩ *fifty* 224 24
ⲧⲟⲩⲓⲟ *remove*
ⲧⲟⲩⲓⲟ- 192 1: ⲧⲟⲩⲓⲁⲉ 93 19 101 18
nn. *repayment* 27 21 81 20
ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲉ *bosom* 43 32 104 27 187 25 198 21 222 15
ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲓⲧ⟨ⲟⲩ⟩ⲱⲕ *neighbour* 40 4
ϯⲧⲟⲩⲱⲉ *lose heart(?)* 165 13
ϯⲟⲩⲱ vide ⲟⲩⲱ
ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ 7 25 14 4 15 5. 22 38 32 47 13 62 2 63 19 93 25 134 27 158 32
ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ- 149 20 150 25 151 10 162 24 185 29 186 1
ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲉ 2 29 3 31 vid. 13 10. 15 17 29 27 25 94 24 121 3 143 28 147 61 170 8 187 25
ⲣⲉⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ 7 8
ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ 2 29 16 11 27 25 121 3 147 61 170 8
nn. 115 19
ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ *raise up:* ⲣⲉⲩⲧ. 2 21
ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲉ *foe* 143 30 n. 163 7 178 14
*ⲧⲟⲩⲟⲥ *? point* 142 28
ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧ *statue* 194 8
ⲧⲱϣ *appoint* 2 1 vid. 4 27. 28 23 4 etc.
ⲧⲁϣ- 44 8. 11
ⲧⲁϣⲉ 53 12 86 32 vid. 161 22. 27. 29 203 7 etc.
qual. ⲧⲏϣ 10 8 62 10 165 23
nn. 101 28 107 6 166 29
ⲣⲉⲩϯⲧⲱϣ 137 59
ⲧⲁϣ *boundary* 42 26. 27 106 12 pl. 139 14 141 10
pl. ⲧⲟⲩϣⲓⲉⲩⲉ 10 10
ⲧⲁϣⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ 206 5. 15
ⲧⲁϣⲟ *multiply* 91 29
ⲧⲁϣⲉⲁⲓϣ *preach* 13 6 35 19 39 23 219 15
ⲣⲉⲩⲧⲁϣⲉⲁⲓϣ 37 20
nn. 8 32 39 11 43 10
*ⲧϣⲃⲟ *?* 99 33 n.
ⲧⲁⲩⲉ *wild(?)* 15 17 93 7 n.
ⲧⲱⲍ *stir up, mix* 86 14. 31 143 21 209 16
ⲧⲁⲍⲉ 12 31
qual. ⲧⲏⲍ 212 27
ⲧⲉⲍⲟ *overtake, reach* 65 20 70 22 92 22 102 28 120 13. 15 126 13. 15
ⲧⲉⲍⲟ- 96 3 171 24 208 5. 9
ⲧⲉⲍⲁⲉ 63 20. 26 70 20 92 24 93 8 118 23 120 17 122 35 126 17 135 21 153 4 188 7
ⲧⲉⲍⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲥⲉ 215 9 n.
ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲉⲍⲱⲱⲩ 53 19 vide Errata
ϯⲍⲉ *be drunken* 136 25 151 15 152 14 172 28 184 12 189 23 201 27
nn. 56 16. 32 152 14

ϯϩο vide ϩο

ϧⲓο *cause to fall* 208 17

ϧⲓⲁ= 45 24 204 30

qual. ϧⲓⲁⲒⲦ 152 21

ϧⲃⲒο *humble, subdue* 1 25 9 29 11 24 30 14 57 28 88 27 175 10

ϧⲃⲒο- 9 27 167 54 etc.

ϧⲃⲒⲁ= 55 6 70 9 93 11 148 24 159 15 bis

qual. ϧⲃⲒⲁⲒⲦ 19 17 222 17

ⲣⲉⲩϧⲃⲒο 2 3 28 10 209 26

ⲁⲧϧⲃⲒⲁⲩ 2 12

nn. 12 11 33 23 157 1

ⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ *call, summon, knock* 63 26 64 30 70 17 85 25 203 6 ff. etc.

ⲧⲁϩⲙⲉ= 22 9 76 31

ⲧⲱϩⲙ̄ 154 9 156 3

qual. ⲧⲁϩⲙⲉ 162 10 232 a 21

nn. 32 21 133 29 138 8 139 28 etc.

ϧⲙ̄ⲕο *hurt* 212 11

ϧⲙ̄ⲕⲁ= 70 9

ϧⲙ̄ⲥο *make to sit*: ϧⲙ̄ⲥⲁ= 224 21 225 6 227 14

ⲧⲁϩⲛο *hinder:* ⲧⲁϩⲛⲉ= 65 24

ϧⲛο *make to approach, draw near*

ϧⲛⲁ= 59 28 100 11 229 b 29

qual. ⲧϩⲛⲁⲒⲦ 23 21

ⲧϩⲡο *cause to reach, escort* 73 22

ⲧϩⲡⲁ= 42 26 52 2 84 32

ϧⲡⲁ= 63 12

ϧⲣ̄ⲕο *to quiet* 206 20

ϧⲣ̄ⲕο- 151 10

ⲣⲉⲩϧⲣ̄ⲕο 53 31 232 b 11

ⲧⲱϩⲥ̀ *anoint* 23 2

ⲧⲁϫο *condemn* 30 27 40 31 158 4

ⲧⲁϫⲁ= 23 24 195 18

qual. ⲧⲁϫⲁⲒⲦ 65 32 83 23 104 30 146 30 158 4

nn. 8 11

ⲧⲟⲩϫο *save:* ⲧⲟⲩϫⲁ= 13 8

ⲧⲁϫⲣο *make strong* 13 23

ⲧⲁϫⲣⲁ= 12 33 51 17 52 22 143 27 215 18. 19 229 b 13

qual. ⲧⲁϫⲣⲁⲒⲦ 18 18 vid.

nn. 26 9 27 26 28 17. 19 61 15 etc.

ⲧⲱϭⲉ *plant, affix, touch* 38 16 52 4 187 2 vid. 5 vid. 194 27

ⲧⲁϭ- 13 4 207 8. 10

ⲧⲁϭ= 146 5 155 7 208 2 212 29

nn. 127 26 152 16 193 24 etc.

ⲧⲉϭⲥⲉ *sole, foot-print* 2 19 63 30 138 66

ϯⲧⲉϭⲥⲉ 204 23 n.

ϫⲓ ⲧⲉϭⲥⲉ *track* 206 10

ⲟⲩ *conceive* 121 31: nn. 219 7

ⲟⲩⲁ in ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ *blaspheme* 56 32

nn. 86 16

ⲟⲩⲁⲒ *course*

ϯⲟⲩⲁⲒ *seek* 146 38 172 14. 19 181 33

ϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲒ *make one's way* 151 18 152 4

ϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲒ(?) 9 1 n. 95 28

ⲟⲩⲁⲒ *woe!* 39 28 43 15 61 30 166 17 218 3. 5

ⲟⲩⲁϨⲉ *husbandman* 35 29 91 5. 9 145 29. 30 146 34 163 9

pl. ⲟⲩⲁϨⲏ 175 9

ⲟⲩⲉ *one* 4 19 37 5 150 13 153 2 161 31 203 27 etc.

fem. ⲟⲩϯⲉ 91 12 93 4 222 8 bis 9

ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ *each one* 4 29 21 28 40 24 158 6 etc.

ⲕⲁⲓⲟⲩⲉ *another* 57 10 172 21: ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ 41 19

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲏⲉ *eleven* 18 8 187 13 192 21

ⲟⲩⲉϯⲉ *be far* 79 21 85 15 87 31 106 18 108 19 152 22 153 3

qual. ⲟⲩⲏⲩ 8 8 23 20 135 21 etc.

nn. *distance* 157 28

ⲟⲩⲱ *cease, fail* 19 30 30 10 45 9. 31 147 33 212 1 219 21

ϯⲟⲩⲱ *release* 41 15 44 12 64 10 106 29 146 7

ⲣⲉⲩϯⲟⲩⲱ 53 11 89 28

ⲟⲩⲱ in ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲱ *answer* 188 1 201 5 202 5

ⲟⲩⲱ in ϯⲟⲩⲱ *blossom, bear* 218 17 225 18:

ⲣⲉⲩϯⲟⲩⲱ 1 22

nn. 1 19

ⲟⲩⲃⲉ, ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲥ (i) fight *against* 51 10 57 10 60 14 151 16 etc.
(ii) call *unto* 66 19 87 7 92 21. 26 179 10 ff. 180 181 etc.
(iii) look *to* 71 25 81 1 etc.
(iv) 91 28 169 5 206 16

ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ qual. of ⲟⲩⲟⲛ *holy, pure* 1 2 99 28 etc.
ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ *holy one* 7 5 24 18 62 14 95 26 etc.
ⲟⲩⲏⲃ *priest* 15 9

ⲟⲩⲃⲁϣ *be white:* nn. 30 5 45 18
qual. ⲟⲩⲁⲃ̄ϣ̄ 156 26 158 8 167 58 182 30

ⲟⲩⲱⲗⲉ *flourish:* qual. ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉ 94 24 vid.

*ⲟⲩⲱⲗⲉ *float (?)* 111 20
refl. ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉⲥ 103 27 212 8
qual. ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉ 185 11 193 30 n.

ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲉ *song* 80 5
ϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲉ *sing songs* 37 11. 22

ⲟⲩⲱⲗⲥ̀ *lean, totter* 206 13 bis
ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲥⲥ 219 14
qual. ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲥ̀ 185 7

ⲟⲩⲱⲙ *eat* 25 7. 10 33 21 57 8. 10 158 28. 31 bis etc.
ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲥ 216 26
ⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲙ 45 22 156 11 172 26. 28
ⲟⲩⲁⲙ- 76 13 141 10 153 1 192 10

ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲁⲙⲉ *cancer* 46 16 153 1

ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲣⲱⲙⲉ *cannibal* 141 10 192 10

ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲧⲉ *tower* 193 17

ⲟⲩⲁⲙ†ⲩⲭⲏ *eater of souls* 76 13

ⲟⲩⲛ̄ *there is, are, have* 44 21 131 29 191 18. 19 bis etc.
ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲓ 187 28: ⲥⲧⲉ 54 9 181 24 ff.
ⲥⲧⲉϥ 81 29 189 1 etc.: ⲥⲉⲛ 58 17 143 20
ⲟⲩⲛ̄(ϣ)ⲇⲁⲙ vide ⲇⲁⲙ

ⲟⲩⲁⲛ *some one, -thing* 46 24 60 31 70 19 bis 105 23 etc.
ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ *every one* 7 7 41 2 70 2 86 29 etc.

ⲟⲩⲉⲛ *open* 10 13 19 24 42 2 62 26 81 6 86 24 89 6 113 5 194 25 196 15 198 19
ⲉⲟⲩⲉⲛ 156 4 198 13 220 30
imper. ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ 83 27. 30 154 22 ff. 155 2-5 167 23 188 12 198 17 ter
imper. ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ 154 25. 27: ⲁⲩⲉⲛ 197 24: ⲉⲟⲩⲉⲛ 41 22
qual. ⲟⲩⲏⲛ 169 5. 6

ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ *light* 1 21. 28 2 12 12 21. 23 19 22 80 23 etc.
ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ 196 17
ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ 105 28 151 28 152 20 166 23 169 17. 19 176 13: ⲣⲉϥⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ 111 5
ⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ 8 18 23 8 36 18 122 21 etc.

ⲟⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ *pass away* 8 20 219 23 vid.
ⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲉ 93 23 163 27 179 1 223 13 ff. etc.
ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲉ 88 3 102 22

ⲟⲩⲛⲉϣ *right hand* 2 5 23 4 50 6 154 12 202 20 etc.

ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ *hour* 49 17 66 19 67 17 133 9 ff. 205 20. 25 206 20. 26 etc.
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ *forthwith* 11 5 208 25
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ *from hour to hour* 135 20
pl. as sing. and ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉ 133 12

ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲱ̄ *wolf* 14 26 60 27 61 25 93 6 180 13 194 18 198 9

ⲟⲩⲛⲁϥ *joy* 41 20 52 18 111 13 145 24 157 15 etc.
ⲣⲉϥ†ⲟⲩⲛⲁϥ 80 4

ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲉϥ *manger* 221 24

ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̀ (ⲁⲃⲁⲗ) *appear, reveal* 1 18 7 18 16 9 43 5 90 7 122 27 etc.
ⲟⲩⲁⲛϩ- 112 9
ⲟⲩⲁⲛϩⲥ 61 14. 23 113 7 147 64 etc.
qual. ⲟⲩⲁⲛϩ̀ 7 14. 15 45 5 86 25 etc.
nn. 26 10

ⲟⲩⲏⲣ *how much, many, long* 16 24 105 31. 32 151 24. 25 218 29 etc.

*ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲙ *?* 200 11 n.

ⲟⲩⲣⲧ̄ *rose* fem. 8 15 21 8 47 17 99 23 151 24 153 14 166 13. 15. 17 194 12

ⲟⲩⲣⲧ̄ *?* 141 12

ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ *rejoice, bloom* 80 20 217 15
qual. ⲣⲁⲩⲧ 8 11 17 4. 32 27 17 bis 80 24 111 11. 20 146 43 153 24 etc.

ⲣⲁⲩⲧⲏ *joy* 200 19
ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ nn. *joy* 36 17 99 33 151 15 etc.
ⲟⲩⲣ̄ϣⲉ *watch-tower* 68 18 136 23 138 26 198 13 199 3. 24 200 17 206 4. 14
ⲟⲩⲣⲏϩ *free room, space* 143 3 n.
ⲟⲩⲁⲥⲧⲛ̄ nn. *release* 18 11
ⲟⲩⲱⲥⲏ *bring to nought, perish* 1 24 15 24 196 4 203 17 223 13 ff.
ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲥⲏ 36 17
ⲟⲩⲱⲧ *single* 10 3 12 4 15 21 41 2 46 13 68 15 135 17 142 28 162 7 223 7
ⲟⲩⲱⲧ . . ⲟⲩⲱⲧ *one . . . another* 135 19
ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧ= *alone, oneself* 25 22 37 5 45 32 66 15 82 13. 22 87 9 105 15 150 10 158 6
ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧ 97 21 98 20 117 21
ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧⲏ 40 32: ⲟⲩⲁϩⲧⲕ 49 6 vid.
ⲟⲩⲧⲉ *among, between* 18 21 19 31 etc.
ⲟⲩⲧⲱ= 2 6 19 21 187 26 196 32 etc.
ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲃⲉ *pass, carry across* 191 22. 26 193 7. 8
qual. ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ 3 18 16 16 105 20 123 37
nn. *passage* 41 22
ⲟⲩⲱⲧϫ̄ *smelt:* ⲟⲩⲁⲧϩ= 11 7
qual. ⲟⲩⲁⲧϫ̄ 100 16
*ⲟⲩⲉⲧϩⲓⲧ *?* 198 29 n.
ⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ *fruit* 76 7 91 7 etc.
ⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ 21 9 103 21
ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ϣ *time* 58 24 73 9 82 18 96 7 97 28 166 18 217 10
ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ϣ *ephemeral* 107 18
ⲟⲩⲱϣ in ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱϣ *except* 35 27
ⲟⲩⲱϣⲉ *love, desire, wish* 4 13 7 23. 24 19 17 51 25 etc.
ⲟⲩⲱϣ- 4 23 9 29 70 4. 10 153 26. 30 169 15 191 10 etc.
ⲟⲩⲁϣ= 88 30 143 10 147 6 164 21
nn. *will* 11 23 13 29 85 17 etc.
ⲟⲩϣⲏ *night* 35 21 41 17 66 17 189 17 etc.:
pl. ⲟⲩϣⲁⲩⲉ 43 30: pl. ⲟⲩⲁϣⲁⲩⲉ 16 26
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩϣⲏ *by night* 12 15 19 4 50 3 189 16 etc.
ⲟⲩⲱϣⲃⲉ *answer* 16 1 47 17 50 18 81 28 189 30 190 2 191 2
ⲟⲩⲁϣⲃⲉ= 147 25 183 20 223 1. 21
ⲟⲩϣⲉⲡ *loan* 218 24
*ⲟⲩⲁϣⲣⲉ *cease(?), fail(?)* 120 1 126 1 230 a 3 vid.
ⲟⲩⲱϣϫ̄ *be broad*
qual. ⲟⲩⲁϣϫ̄ 170 28
nn. ⲟⲩⲱϣϫ 120 15 126 15
ⲟⲩⲁϣϫⲉ 120 16 126 16
ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ̄ *worship* 3 20 4 34 9 3 41 24 52 30 etc.
ⲟⲩⲉϣⲧⲉ 63 16
ⲟⲩⲱϩ (i) *add, be added, follow* 213 21
ⲟⲩⲁϩ- 152 5 170 16
ⲟⲩⲁϩ= 4 24 70 8 90 25 169 21 etc.
ⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ *command* 16 14 17 14
nn. 16 14 97 21 98 2 131 16. 24
(ii) *dwell* 52 24 64 16. 30 80 9 etc.
qual. ⲟⲩⲏϩ 40 29 70 19 144 25. 28 etc.
ⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱϩ 146 24
ⲟⲩⲓϩⲉ *be bitter:* qual. ⲟⲩⲁϩⲉ 64 24 152 23
nn. *bitterness, cruelty, poison* 15 7 19 21 99 18
ⲟⲩⲁϩⲓⲏⲧ *cruel* 15 6 17 8 101 18 209 26
ⲟⲩⲱϩⲉ *fisherman* 187 15
ⲟⲩⲱϩⲙⲉ *repeat, make a storey*
ⲟⲩⲁϩⲙⲉ= 189 24: nn. *?* 85 6
ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲱϩⲙⲉ *again* 150 9 156 25 162 5
ⲟⲩϩⲁⲣ *dog* 101 18
pl. ⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲣ 103 12
ⲟⲩⲱⲭⲉ *cut* 46 11. 12. 28
ⲟⲩⲭⲉⲓ̈ *be safe, healthy*
qual. ⲟⲩⲁⲭ 25 21 58 22 73 7 79 13 99 28 143 24 150 14 227 17
nn. *health, salvation* 18 27 28 7
ⲟⲩⲭⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ vb. 220 6 etc.
nn. 26 23
ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ *cheek* 195 16
ⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ̄ *break* 89 28 123 7 196 29 205 3 209 31 210 9: ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲡ- 132 10
ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲡ= 50 23 196 16
ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ̄ 103 14
ⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ̄ 52 30

ⲱⲃⲱ̄ *forget* 82 25 147 32 182 3
ⲁⲃⲱⲥ 45 3 47 11 49 19. 24
qual. ⲁⲃⲱ̄ 150 19
nn. ⲃⲱⲉ *oblivion* 56 19 57 21 74 12 vid. 164 24
ⲣ̄ⲡⲱⲃⲱ̄ 7 16 51 15 53 27 116 25 117 19 213 11 218 21
ⲱⲕ *be pleased:* qual. ⲏⲕ 18 25
ⲱⲕⲙⲉ *be gloomy, sad*
qual. ⲁⲕⲙⲉ 8 20 158 5 bis
nn. 7 28 187 11
ⲱⲗ *contain* 207 12
ⲱⲗ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ *confine, be confined* 52 25
ⲁⲗⲥ 23 26 43 29 214 18. 20. 25
qual. ⲏⲗ 192 32
ⲱⲗ nn. *swab* 46 30
ⲱⲗϩ̄ *bend*
ⲁⲗⲕ ⲱⲉ *sneer* 226 3
ⲁⲗⲕⲥ 224 7
ⲱⲗⲙⲉ *embrace* 202 6 226 6. 7: ⲱⲗⲙ̄ⲙ̄ 108 23
qual. ⲁⲗⲙⲉ 190 23. 29 225 21
ⲱⲙϩ̄ *swallow* 10 14
ⲁⲙⲕⲥ 216 27
ⲱⲙⲥ̄ *dip, sink* 120 13 126 13 211 9 213 8 vid.
ⲁⲙⲥ- 207 5
ⲁⲙⲥⲥ 56 31
nn. *baptism* 58 27
ⲱⲛⲉ *stone* 142 25. 26 153 10. 12 155 18 222 21
ⲁⲛⲉ- 7 32 155 20 vid.
ⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ fem. *jewel* 146 35. 50 etc.
ⲱⲛⲱ̄ *be astonished:* qual. ⲁⲛⲱ̄ 63 15
ⲱⲛϩ̄ *live* 11 28 17 18 107 21 195 19 etc.
qual. ⲁⲛϩ̄ 2 5. 25 9 14 90 25 etc.
nn. *life* 1 22 2 26 4 33 16 3 210 18 222 10 etc.
ⲱⲡ *counted, be counted, belong to* 30 11 154 12 etc.
ⲁⲡⲥ 19 4 vid. 44 31 67 11 vid. 117 31 207 22. 29
qual. ⲏⲡ 4 22 29 25 41 15 57 15 117 5 188 8 etc.
ⲏⲡⲉ *number* 93 4 207 21. 28 etc.
ⲏⲡϩ̄ *multitude* 165 19 215 21 bis etc.
ⲏⲡ ⲛ̄-, ⲁ- *ought* 150 11 188 8
ⲱⲡ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ *pay* 101 30
ⲃⲓ ⲱⲡ ⲙⲛ̄- *make reckoning with* 20 28 24 10 45 9. 29 etc.
ⲩⲡⲱⲡ *promise* 59 13 69 9 84 19 98 28
ⲩⲡⲱⲡ nn. 84 19 98 11 vid. 102 29
ⲱⲣⲃ *be quiet:* qual. ⲁⲩⲣⲉ(?) 221 14
ⲱⲣⲃⲉ *shut in* 201 19
ⲱⲣϥ̄ *swear* 18 27 234 13
ⲱⲣϫ̄ *confirm* 1 31 204 5
ⲁⲣϫ̄- 209 6
qual. ⲁⲣϫ̄ 52 28 103 20 199 3. 24 200 17
ⲱϣϥ̄ *delay, be long* 52 17 155 1. 4 188 1. 5. 7
ⲉϣϥⲉ *delay* 67 13 198 23 (?)
ⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ *shut in* 212 23
ⲁⲧⲡⲥ 10 26 11 15
qual. ⲁⲧⲡ̄ 94 7 142 24 143 12 196 21
ⲱⲧⲡ̄ *load* 23 26
qual. ⲁⲧⲡ̄ 74 8 136 1 174 22 207 22 etc.
ⲉⲧⲡⲱ *burden* 2 18. 20 54 12. 14 138 54 215 11. 13. 14 etc.
ⲱⲩ *call, sound* 18 10 23 20 45 25 112 12 168 30 197 28 etc.
ⲁⲩ- *read* 65 5
ⲁⲩ ϭⲏⲗ vide ϭⲏⲗ
ⲱⲩ: ⲁⲩϩ̄ *intrude* 10 17
ⲱⲩⲙⲉ *extinguish, go out* 50 7 51 22 60 13 70 16 173 17: ⲱⲩⲙ̄ⲙ̄ 212 21
ⲱⲩⲉ *press* 225 22 vid.
ⲱⲩⲧ̄ *nail* 142 14
ⲁⲩⲧⲥ 83 14 208 4
qual. ⲁⲩⲧ̄ 123 5
ⲱϩⲉ *await* 81 28 206 22 ff.
qual. ⲁϩⲉ 38 23 163 14 178 21 201 4 206 21 etc.
ⲱϩⲉ *fold, flock* 156 1 165 3 194 18. 30
*ⲱϩⲣⲉ *?* 225 18
ⲱϩϩ̄ *sever, reap* 52 5 61 24
ⲉϩϩ̄ *sickle* 100 18 106 22
ⲱϫ *thief* 188 17
ⲱϫⲛⲉ *destroy, consume* 82 9 190 7
ⲁϫⲛⲉⲥ (?103 11) 220 12

ⲱⲟⲃ̄ *be cold:* qual. ⲁⲟⲃⲉ 4 3
ⲱⲟⲧ̄ *strangle* 69 20 149 24

ⲱ- *be able* 9 24 11 19 82 19 93 13. 27 188 2 etc.
ⲱⲁ- *to, towards* 15 21 17 4 18 10 86 13. 24 105 32 127 24 187 12 etc.
ⲱⲁⲣⲁ= 13 28 55 24 83 4. 29 etc.
ⲱⲁⲃⲁⲗ 58 5 86 23
ⲱⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ 142 11 143 16
ⲱⲁϩⲣⲏϊ 61 30
ⲱⲁ- pres. consuet. 151 14 215 17. 18 etc.
ⲱⲁ in ⲱⲁⲙⲓⲥⲉ *first-born* 36 21 80 28 81 pass. 91 20 137 38 194 32
ⲱⲁϊ *fortune, genius* vide 4 16 n.
ⲃⲁⲛⲱⲁϊ 15 28 129 10
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲛⲱⲁϊ 4 16 43 19 51 14
ⲛⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲁϊ 81 16 185 21
ⲱⲁϊⲉ *rise* of the sun 146 18 151 11 166 20
ⲱⲁϊⲉ *festival* 14 13 17 31 100 2 (?) 173 9
ⲣ̄ⲱⲁϊⲉ 25 28 26 4 37 29 41 16 88 18 150 18 etc.: ⲣ̄ⲱⲁϊ 177 17
ⲱⲉ *go* 149 16 150 14 204 27 213 12 215 5:
ⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲥⲓⲉ vide ϩⲁⲥⲓⲉ
reflex. *depart, return* 55 12 59 28 72 32 157 24 224 7 225 15
ⲱⲉ *nose* in ⲁⲗⲕ̀ ⲱⲉ *sneer* 226 3
ⲱⲉ *wood, tree, stocks (?)* 130 20 155 24 189 13 214 17 215 27 226 19. 20
ⲱⲉ *hundred* 93 4 142 8
ⲱⲏϊ *pit* 103 6 (?) 216 16 (?)
ⲱⲓ *measure* 12 11 vid. 207 21. 28
ⲁⲧⲱⲓⲧ= 1 13 12 20
ⲱⲟ *thousand* 4 19 234 27
ⲱⲃⲉ- *seventy* 22 24 44 8 140 38 142 5
ⲱⲟⲃ *shave, raze*
ⲱⲁⲃ= 201 23
ⲱⲓⲃⲉ *change* 18 15 103 28 146 45 147 5 159 7 166 18 183 23
ⲱⲃⲧ= 196 9
qual. ⲱⲃⲏⲁⲏⲧ 7 1
ⲁⲧⲱⲓⲃⲉ 155 20
ⲱⲁⲃⲓϩⲟ 16 25 n. 104 17
ⲱⲃⲏⲱ *requital, recompense* 44 25 53 7 84 15 95 31 113 15. 152 18 174 6 176 5. 7
pl. ⲱⲃⲏⲁⲩⲉ 105 33
ⲱⲃⲏⲣ *companion* 64 4 82 21 94 4 204 1. 2. 14. 29 219 25
pl. ⲱⲃⲉⲣⲉ 216 17: -ⲉⲉⲣ 74 19 vid.
ⲱⲃⲱⲟⲥ ? 13 12 n. (cf. Keph. 153 26)
ⲱⲓⲕⲉ *dig* 217 19 bis
ⲱⲉⲕⲧ= 217 20
nn. ⲱⲓⲭ(ϩ)ⲏ̄ 120 13. 14 126 13. 14
ⲱⲉⲗ *myrrh* 142 15 196 6
ⲱⲗⲏ *creep* 3 24 9 20 10 18
ⲱⲱⲗ *despoil:* nn. *spoil* 204 22
ⲱⲁⲗ- 194 23
ⲱⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *flow, make to flow* 21 14 39 26 44 17 142 29
ⲱⲁⲗ= 4 31
qual. ⲱⲏⲗ 101 24
ⲱⲗⲏⲗ *pray* 17 4 30 7 31 13 40 33 etc.
nn. 33 18 47 3 138 25 etc.
ⲱⲱⲗⲙ̄ *smell* 150 24 166 16 202 1
ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲗⲙⲉ *nostril* 150 24
ⲱⲱⲗⲙⲉ *draw out*
ⲱⲁⲗⲙⲉ- 205 29
ⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ *bride* 73 14. 15 81 13 etc.
ⲱⲉⲗⲉⲧ 217 16 etc.
ⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ *bride-groom* 58 3 63 3 102 31 150 18 etc.
ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ *bridechamber* 63 3 117 29 150 18 197 5 etc.
ⲱⲗⲍ̀ *shoot, twig* 91 5 145 14 vid. 193 23 194 27
ⲱⲱⲗⲟ: qual. ⲱⲁⲗⲟ *piercing* 10 18 n.
ⲱⲏⲙ *little* 75 17
ⲱⲱⲙ *summer* 93 17 94 20 156 18 157 15 161 18
ⲱⲙⲁⲁⲧ qual. of ⲱⲙⲁ? *thin* 226 20 n.
ⲱⲁϊⲙⲉ m. *row, line* 99 30
ⲱⲓⲙⲉ f. *course of stones* 165 19 222 26 n.
ⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲟ *stranger* 11 18 16 9 60 29 97 33 115 16 175 26 etc.
pl. ⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲁϊ 19 15 54 19 55 21 66 29 107 12

fem. ϣⲙⲙⲟ 82 15 181 22 182 13

ϣⲁⲙⲧ̄ *three* 2 16 22 13 37 4 38 18 56 3 83 31 etc.

fem. ϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ 23 4 94 12 142 5 222 7 etc.

ⲙⲁϩϣⲁⲙⲧ̄ 2 31 36 28 41 18 138 60 etc.

ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ *eight* 10 26

ϣⲱⲟⲩⲉ *serve* 62 17 64 21 66 15 84 22 86 3 150 26 175 21 187 11 etc.

ⲣⲉϥϣⲱⲟⲩⲉ 75 28 76 15 192 23 228 20

ϣⲱⲟⲩⲉ- 75 5. 28 76 15

nn. ϣⲱⲟⲩⲉ 41 21

ϣⲱⲟⲩⲓⲧ *servant* 136 51

pl. ϣⲱⲟⲩⲉⲧⲉ 234 9

ϣⲱⲟⲩⲏⲃⲉ *whistle, hiss* 216 18

ϣⲏⲛ *tree* 4 23 8 14 54 29 75 30 116 7 144 13 etc.

ϣⲓⲛⲉ *ask* 15 4 49 13. 21 56 2 219 1

ϣⲛ̄ⲧ= 39 26 218 4 vid.

ϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲁ- *seek* 2 25 16 13 44 23 49 15 63 11 75 21 222 25

nn. *news* 197 10 ff. 198 pass.

ⲣⲉϥϫⲓϣⲓⲛⲉ 192 27

ⲟⲛ̄ ⲡϣⲓⲛⲉ vide ⲟⲓⲛⲉ

ϣⲱⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ *good tidings* 46 21 145 20 198 4 202 10

ⲣⲉϥ†ϣⲱⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ 7 5

ϣⲱⲛⲉ *be ill, troubled* 46 7 218 24

nn. 46 15. 16 64 23 81 8 153 3 187 10

ϣⲛ̄ϩⲧⲏ= *be compassionate* 7 2 13 28 17 28 20 26 51 24 197 3

ϣⲁⲛϩⲧⲏϥ *compassionate* 20 26 55 23 59 25 83 18 123 31

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϣⲁⲛϩⲧⲏϥ 7 4 26 30 28 16

ϣⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ *grief, sorrow* 70 27 74 8 82 13 103 31 146 26

ϣⲱⲱⲛⲉ *exclude, deprive*

ϣⲁⲛⲉ- 121 9 194 18

ϣⲁⲛⲉⲧ 89 26: ϣⲁⲛⲟⲩ 212 15

ϣⲛⲁ (i) *chaff* 15 18 188 18

(ii) *den, lair* 15 3 (?) 216 15 n. 17. 26

ϣⲛⲉ *net* 192 21

pl. as sing. 10 16: ϣⲛⲏⲩ 61 24 64 20 70 11 89 26. 29 90 26. 27 110 26 etc.

ϣⲛⲏ *garden* 37 16 218 16

ϣⲱⲛⲧ̄ *weave a garland, to garland* 47 15 153 8 ff. 166 13 223 4 vid. 226 6 bis

ϣⲁⲛⲧ= 226 12

qual. ϣⲁⲛⲧ 149 29

ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ *thorn* 142 12

ϣⲛⲁϣ: qual. ϣⲁⲛϣ̄ *stinking* 209 21. 30 210 8

nn. 206 30

ϣⲱⲡ *receive, buy, suffer* 62 27 143 14 149 21 221 25 225 3

ϣⲁⲡ- 191 25

ϣⲁⲡ= 42 28 83 28 94 6 111 18 142 16. 19. 33 195 13 etc.

qual. ϣⲏⲡ 42 14 vide ϩⲙⲁⲧ

ϣⲁⲡϩⲕⲟ *hungry* 201 25

ⲣ̄ϣⲁⲡⲥ̀ *welcome* 147 69. 73 148 4 ff.

ϣⲱⲡ ⲱ̄ⲕⲁϩ *be afflicted* 147 29 191 8 bis etc.

ⲣⲉϥϣⲱⲡ ⲱ̄ⲕⲁϩ 115 8

ϣⲱⲡ ϩⲣⲉ= vide ϩⲟ

ϣⲱⲡ ⲁ- *?* 61 24

ϣⲓⲡⲉ *be ashamed* 40 17. 20 bis 143 6

nn. 4 25 17 18 etc.

†ϣⲓⲡⲉ 2 28 13 14 43 24 64 28 79 22 122 7 vid. etc.

ⲣⲉϥ†ϣⲓⲡⲉ 192 26

ϫⲓ ϣⲓⲡⲉ 23 32 51 29 70 10 92 17 etc.

ϣⲱⲡⲉ *be, happen, befall* 63 18 74 13. 15 142 10 etc.

qual. ϣⲟⲟⲡ 3 23 4 11 9 12 19 8 etc.

ⲙⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲉ 70 1 83 15 94 6 etc.

ϣⲡⲛ̄ϣⲱⲡⲉ: ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩϣ. *suddenly* 11 13 70 7 72 25 153 2

ϣⲡⲱⲡ vide ⲱⲡ

ϣⲡⲏⲣⲉ *wonder* 120 19 126 19 155 33 165 4

ⲣ̄ϣⲡⲏⲣⲉ *to marvel* 107 27 157 25 223 6

ϣⲁⲁⲣ *skin* 107 24

ϣⲉⲓⲣⲉ *sheepfold* 63 12 187 33

ϣⲏⲣⲉ *son* 1 20 2 3 12 28 39 12 54 17. 30 86 5. 21 220 2 ff. etc.

ϣⲣ̄- 168 22: ϣⲏⲣ 190 22

fem. ϣⲉⲣⲉ 2 27 14 20 178 5 etc.

ⲱⲉⲉⲣ 162 27 vid. 217 14
ⲙ̄ⲧⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲱⲏⲙ *childhood* 75 17
ⲱⲣ̄ⲕⲉ *parched* 145 28
ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ *first* 1 23. 26 2 5 163 8 207 17 etc.
ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ *at first* 17 4 59 19 165 21 187 16 etc.
ϫⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ 92 15 98 28
ⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ 4 14 70 18 72 31 157 14 vid. 189 19 204 5 222 9
ⲱⲁⲣⲱⲣ̄ *overturn* 196 13 208 17. 30
ⲱⲣ̄ⲱⲱⲣ= 12 29
ⲁⲧⲱⲁⲣⲱⲣ̄ 137 64
nn. 152 15
ⲱⲱⲥ *shepherd* 9 31 13 32 25 4 54 16 60 26 61 28 63 12 96 15 172 14. 19. 22. 25 175 6 176 17. 19 181 33 187 23 193 26
ⲱⲱⲥ *despise* 98 21
ⲱⲁⲥ= 4 3 147 7. 30
qual. ⲱⲏⲥ 146 39 147 6
ⲱⲓⲥⲙⲉ *statue* 16 28 n. 150 29
ⲱⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲥⲁ- *faint for* 154 26: -ⲙ 188 3
ⲱⲧⲁ *wane, diminish* 1 14 13 16 203 9. 23 204 10 211 27
ⲱⲱ(ⲱ)ⲧ *cut* 8 15. 16 16 25 222 21
ⲱⲁⲧ- 104 15 (?)
ⲱⲁⲧ= 91 6
qual. ⲱⲁⲁⲧ *lack, need* 16 10 21 17 50 17 51 28 96 9
ⲱⲱⲧ: ⲉⲱⲱⲧ *merchant* 192 15
pl. ⲉⲱⲁⲧⲉ 213 5
ⲓ̈ⲉⲡⲱⲱⲧ *merchandise* 166 37: pl. -ⲁⲧⲉ 70 18 147 36 157 21
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲓ̈ⲉⲡⲱⲱⲧ 202 15. 18
ⲱⲉⲧⲉ (? perhaps form of boh. ⲱⲓⲧ) 149 13
ⲱⲓⲧⲉ *demand:* ⲱⲉⲧ= 134 24
ⲱⲧⲃⲟ *groan* 209 13. 14 n.
ⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ *prison* 10 27 94 7 135 24 141 32: qual. of verb *ⲱⲧⲉⲕⲁⲧ 192 28
pl. ⲱⲧⲉⲕⲱⲟⲩ 23 26 43 28 192 28
ⲱⲧⲉⲙ *shut* 89 6 156 8 175 23
ⲱⲁⲧⲙ̄- 165 25
qual. ⲱⲁⲧⲙⲉ 197 25 198 11. 17
ⲱⲧⲏⲛ *garment* 99 27 146 41 164 30 184 5 208 6
ⲱⲱⲧⲡ̄ *be zealous (?)* 74 24 76 28
qual. ⲱⲁⲧⲡ̄ 95 23 99 21
nn. 66 32 n.
ⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ̄ *be disturbed, disturb* 38 12 82 2 98 27: qual. ⲱⲧⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲧ̄ 78 20
ⲱⲧⲟⲩⲏⲧ with + *accuse* 192 18 195 25
ⲱⲉⲩ *use, value* 135 7
as adject. 99 31 102 8
ⲣ̄ⲱⲉⲩ 38 23 46 19 81 27
ⲁⲧⲱⲉⲩ 180 31
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲉⲩ 38 27 56 10 70 9 76 20. 21 88 27 90 24 97 28
ⲱⲟⲩ- *worthy of* 97 20. 26 137 57 183 21
ⲱⲟⲩⲟ *shed* 44 27
qual. ⲱⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ *vain, empty* 63 27 72 11 99 27 103 30 107 9 157 27 217 26 218 1. 2 vid. 3. 4
ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ *vanity* 51 13 62 29 74 11 86 12
ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ *boast, pride oneself* 73 31 93 12 135 23 165 15 166 9 189 7 195 7 208 7. 21
ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ 165 15. 16
nn. *renown* 1 15 91 13 107 15 117 1 123 27 etc.
ⲱⲱⲱ intr. *spread* of smell 224 18
ⲱⲁⲱⲉ 157 15 214 4
ⲱⲱⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄- *compare:* ⲱⲁⲱ= 118 27
nn. ⲱ. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ *equality* 41 2
ⲱⲱⲱⲧ̄ vide ⲥⲱⲱⲧ̄
ⲱⲁⲱⲟⲩ *jar* 220 21
ⲱⲱⲫ *lay waste, be wasted* 121 23 195 4: qual. ⲱⲏⲫ 189 9. 11
ⲱⲱⲫⲧ̄ *stumble, err:* ⲱⲁⲫⲧ̄ 109 25
ⲱⲉⲫⲧⲉ *iniquity* 47 10
ⲱⲟⲫⲱϥ̄ *delve:* qual. ⲱⲉⲫⲱⲁⲫⲧ̄ *hollow* 189 10
ⲱⲁϩ *flame* 15 8
ⲱⲱϫⲉ (Crum Dict. 615 a) in form ⲥⲱϫⲉ q. v.
ⲱⲱⲃⲉ *strike, wound* 2 24 10 5 39 31 etc.:
nn. 29 27
ⲱⲁⲃⲉ- 208 9

ϣⲁϭ= 145 6 207 26 213 10
qual. ϣⲁϭⲉ 23 7 57 21
ⲣⲉⲩϣⲱϭⲉ 104 25 221 7
ϣϭⲁ *wound* 26 21. 22 47 10 62 7 vid. 99 18 152 23 162 30 163 23 178 29 180 28
ϣϭⲗϭⲓⲗ *bell* 206 5. 15
ϣϭⲁⲙ vide ϭⲁⲙ
ϣϭⲁⲣ *rent, hire* 218 24
ϣϭⲏⲣ vide ⲥϭⲏⲣ

ⲭⲣⲉ vide ⲃⲣⲉ
ⲭⲧⲁⲩ *four* 17 26 18 7 142 14. 28. 29
ⲭⲧⲟⲩ- 13 20 191 12
ⲙⲁⲭⲭⲧⲁⲩ 59 22 133 31 138 45
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲭⲧⲉ *fourteen* 142 24 143 12
ⲭⲙⲉⲧⲉⲭⲧⲉ *forty-four* 221 22

ⲭⲁ vide ⲭⲟ
ⲭⲁ- prepos. ⲭⲁⲣⲁ= with pronom. suff. 4 16 16 24 45 3 84 32 108 30 148 28 etc.
(a) *under, in, at* 2 19. 20 40 10. 12 69 25 84 32 103 31 158 6 etc.
(b) *from* after ⲗⲟ 76 30 107 5 etc. after ϭⲱⲧⲡ̄ 58 25
(c) *by reason of* 82 7 142 24. 26
(d) *for, in respect of* 20 28 21 13 30 7 42 30 62 24 82 3. 21 108 30 111 10 196 5 (?) 227 7 (?)
(e) *for* of price 201 25
(f) *before* 70 30 99 16 (?)
ⲭⲁⲑⲏ 3 22 142 33: ⲭⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟ̄ⲩ 13 27
(g) after ϭⲱⲗⲡ̄, ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ etc. 11 31 14 6 61 6 63 19 105 22 123 23 (?)
(h) 145 11 196 28
ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲭⲁⲣⲁⲩ *of themselves* 220 12
ⲭⲁ(ⲭ)ⲧⲏ= vide ⲭⲏⲧ
ⲭⲁⲉⲓ *hail!* 142 21
ⲭⲁⲉ *last* 39 2. 9
ⲭⲁⲏ *end* 3 29 7 7 40 20 63 23 81 15 143 24 173 28 192 19 etc.
ⲭⲉ *manner, way* 10 15 14 26 16 22 35 26 58 28 129 25 143 25 etc.
ⲭⲉ- in ⲭⲉⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ *plenty* 136 39 163 10 169 29 178 17 200 31 bis
ⲭⲉⲓⲉ *fall* 57 12. 13 vid. 73 23 141 18 142 3 etc.
ⲭⲉⲓ 165 19
ⲁⲧⲭⲉⲓⲉ 136 28
ⲭⲏ *fore, beginning* 26 19 217 2
ⲁⲑⲏ *forwards* 147 67 164 25
ⲥⲁⲑⲏ 97 32
ⲭⲁⲑⲏ *before* temporal 3 22 56 27 142 33
ⲭⲓⲑⲏ *before* local 7 14 19 24 35 26 38 30 77 27 81 22 82 7. 25 104 16 176 1 210 4. 13 219 1
ⲉⲭⲏ 7 14 19 24 35 26 56 27 82 7 210 13
ⲭⲏ= (a) *before* 4 10 41 23 62 26 73 8 81 6 84 17 108 11. 19 111 6 etc.
(b) after verbs denoting fear, shame etc. 40 20 66 18 69 13 76 13. 14 104 24 etc.
(c) after verbs of expecting etc. 7 8 27 18 60 4 77 26 etc.
ⲥⲁⲭⲏⲧϥ̄ *to his front* 202 14: so *headlong* 81 26
ⲭⲏ= *belly* 156 10: so *body* generally 43 27 93 13 194 18 204 26 208 27 214 18
ⲭⲏ fem. *thought (?)* 82 22
ⲭⲏ ? 223 12
ⲭⲓ- (a) *on, at* 2 6 35 26 49 23 82 7 87 17 ff. 134 8 etc.: vide ⲣⲉⲧ=, ⲃⲱⲗ, ⲭⲟⲩⲛ
ⲭⲓⲱ(ⲱ)= 52 28 58 21 64 14 88 30 163 24 175 22 etc.
ⲭⲓⲣⲛ̄- 193 17
ⲭⲓⲣⲱ= 199 25
ⲭⲓⲧⲛ̄- *by, from* 7 15 8 24 20 16 59 6 64 10 67 11 84 6 91 21 116 19-22 153 4 196 15
ⲭⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ= 34 25 39 27 227 15 etc.
ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲓⲧ⟨ⲟⲩ⟩ⲱⲕ *neighbour* 40 4
ⲭⲓⲭⲛ̄- *on, from head of* 4 23 12 13 75 31 etc.
ⲭⲓⲭⲱ= 6 33 54 24 123 29
(b) *at* temporal in ⲭⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ 6 17 15 25 132 28 etc.: ⲭⲓⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ? 8 14
(c) copula 40 30 86 7 bis 97 33 158 9 bis 160 11 etc.
ⲭⲓⲉ particle, apodotic and interrogatory 45 9 57 5. 13 120 21 121 29 122 29 126 21 142 1 143 6 163 12 178 19 188 7 209 15. 16 216 25

ϩⲓⲏ *way, road* 25 3 82 25 150 30 213 16. 17 etc.
pl. ϩⲓⲁⲩⲉ 195 9

ϩⲟ *face* 29 19. 26 61 27 70 30 84 22 100 27 138 32 182 32 191 12 etc.
ϩⲟ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ *two-faced* 162 31 178 7 226 18
ϩⲣⲉ≈ 195 16 211 7-9 219 9 etc.
Ⲃⲓ ϩⲣⲉ≈ *lift face* 97 26 104 27 224 18
ϣⲱⲡ ϩⲣⲉ *accept* 68 14 95 9 101 2 vid.
ϫⲓ ϩⲣⲉ≈ ⲁ- *attend to* 211 7-9
ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ϩⲟ ⲛ̄- *please(?)* 40 18
ϫⲓ ϩⲟ *respect person* 7 23 45 27 105 19 108 33
⸗ϩⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *be specious(?), look well outside(?)* 107 17 166 15
Vide ϣⲓⲃⲉ, ϩⲁⲗⲃⲉ
ⲁϩⲣⲛ̄- *toward, against* 70 20 175 23
ⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ̄- *in the presence, opinion of* 26 27 94 18 97 20 107 17 166 3
ⲛⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ 99 21

ϩⲱ(ⲱ)≈ (a) *self, also*, emphatic 8 16 14 9 24 4 28 24 38 31 40 30 49 38 52 20 54 22 65 15 69 8 143 20. 27 etc.
(b) adversative *but* 8 12 17 5 56 29 etc.:
ϩⲱⲃ 191 30

*ϩⲱ *sepulchre* 196 29 n.

ϩⲓⲓⲃ *lamb* 10 2. 3. 4 14 27 60 22 167 24. 63 bis 198 9

ϩⲱⲃ *thing, matter, deed* 4 24. 29 40 29 etc.:
ϩⲱⲩ 155 7
pl. ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ 8 4 12 8 14 3 etc.
ⲣ̄ϩⲱⲃ 135 9 150 17

ϩⲏⲃⲉ *grief* 44 29 53 7 196 6
ⲣ̄ϩⲏⲃⲉ 71 28 127 30 167 15 172 12 173 4 bis 196 27

ϩⲃⲱ vide ϩⲁⲩ

ϩⲃⲣ̄ⲃⲣ̄ *throw down:* ϩⲃⲣ̄ⲃⲱⲣ≈ 17 5 vid. 70 30 215 14
ϩⲃⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲣⲧ̄ 208 5

ϩⲁⲓ̈ⲃ(ⲉ)ⲥ *shadow* 14 28 vid. 224 22 225 7

ϩⲏⲃⲥ̄ *lamp* 70 15 93 24 153 30 166 25 173 17

ϩⲱⲃⲥ̄ *clothe:* ϫⲓϩⲃⲁⲥ 95 24: pl. 163 24
pl. ϫⲓϩⲃⲟⲟⲥ 178 28
ϩⲃ̄ⲥⲱ 23 12 81 8 201 29 206 21. 28 etc.

ϩⲁⲃⲧⲥ̄ ? 78 24 n.

ϩⲓⲕ *magic* 4 12
ⲣⲉϥⲣ̄ϩⲓⲕ 19 2
Ⲃⲁⲗϩⲓⲕ *one who undoes spells* 220 26 221 1: ⲣⲉϥ⸗ϩⲓⲕ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ? 221 7

ϩⲱⲕ *arm, gird* 51 8 229 b 30
ϩⲁⲕ≈ 93 14 98 4 117 11. 23 151 16. 21 204 24. 25 208 25. 26 210 4
nn. *armour* 209 17

ϩⲱⲕ(ⲉ) *crush(?), erase(?)* 10 32 105 34

ϩⲕⲟ *be hungry* 177 5
qual. ϩⲕⲉⲉⲧ 23 12 175 24 184 17 208 4:
ϩⲕⲉⲓ̈ⲧ 195 9
nn. *hunger* 65 21 70 22-3 88 3 etc.
ϣⲁⲡϩⲕⲟ *hungry* 201 25
ϩⲏⲕⲉ *poor* 16 10 97 33 152 14 157 6 203 30 213 14 etc.
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲏⲕⲉ 33 22 79 10 97 31 157 1-4

ϩⲉⲗ in ⲣ̄ϩⲉⲗ *deceive* 45 24 109 25
adj. 107 9 (!)
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ϩⲉⲗ 147 63 196 27

ϩⲱⲗ *fly* 188 21 205 5. 6
qual. ϩⲏⲗ 218 23
ϩⲁⲗⲏⲧ *bird* 64 19 95 20 204 20
pl. -ⲉⲧⲉ 89 27 157 17 182 7 etc.

ϩⲱⲗ *bring:* ϩⲁⲗ ⲣⲉⲧ≈ 90 28
ϩⲁⲗ≈ 63 30

ϩⲁⲗⲉ *moth* 66 31 vid.

ϩⲁⲗⲃⲉ in ϩⲁⲗⲃⲉϩⲟ *deceiver(?)* 73 16 109 25 vid.

ϩⲁⲗⲃ̄ϣⲉ *armour* 1 23 2 17 51 6 vid. 8 59 6 60 21 137 19. 39 139 9 204 18 205 2. 13. 14 209 18. 19

ϩⲗⲗⲟ *old man* 192 12
pl. ϩⲗⲗⲁⲓ̈ 192 2
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲗⲗⲟ 52 21 81 8

ϩⲁⲗⲙⲉ *fountain* 1 11 55 6 56 22 75 27 102 15 136 44. 46 212 19 bis

ϩⲁⲗϩⲗ *slay:* ϩⲗϩⲱⲗ≈ 94 5

ϩⲗⲁϭ *be sweet:* qual. ϩⲁⲗϭ 8 9 18 15 46 9 55 31 70 26 etc.
nn. 52 19 55 27 70 28 155 27 etc.
⸗ϩⲗⲁϭ 190 10

ϩⲗϭⲏⲧ *gentle* 139 51 151 25 bis 190 23: pl. ϩⲗϭⲁⲧⲉ 167 17

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲗϭⲏⲧ 33 23 45 20 107 26 167 17 177 25

ϩⲉⲗⲏϭ *await(?)* 19 23 n. 35 29 103 10 112 16 (?)

ϩⲱⲙ *tread* 2 12. 18 64 23 76 15 97 18 99 29 175 11

ϩⲟⲙ ⲣⲉⲧ 66 29

ϩⲁⲙⲏⲧ *treader:* pl. *ϩⲁⲙⲉⲧⲉ 76 8

ϩⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉ *wave* 63 14 73 24

pl. as sing. 110 25 165 22

pl. ϩⲓⲙⲉⲉⲩ 8 19 70 3 79 6. 7: ϩⲓⲙⲉⲩⲉ 151 9. 10

ⲃⲓ ϩⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉ *be stormy* 67 10 102 26 150 28

ϩⲓⲁⲙⲉ vide ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ

ϩⲁⲙⲁⲓ̈ *oh that!* 58 13 166 10

ϩⲱⲙⲉ *palm of hand* 222 28

ϩⲙⲉ *forty* 142 8

ϩⲙⲉⲧⲉⲩⲧⲉ *forty-four* 221 22

ϩⲙⲟⲩ *salt* 44 6

ϩⲙⲁⲙ *be hot:* qual. ϩⲙⲙ 23 11 159 29

ϩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ *hot* 46 24

nn. 65 20 156 17

ϩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ in ⲣ̄ϩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ *steer, guide* 13 29 116 24 157 19 161 6 etc.

ⲁ̣ⲣ̄ϩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ *?* 208 5

ⲣⲉϥⲣ̄ϩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ *helmsman* 13 31 23 10 33 5 53 19 83 20 136 25 144 25. 28 207 19. 26 etc.

ϩⲙⲉⲥ *sit* 22 28 25 25 27 23: ϩⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄ 8 8. 33 21 27. 29 26 6 29 29 36 10 42 5 45 25 59 16 90 5 196 32 211 16 222 15

qual. ϩⲙⲁⲥ 12 13 63 15: ϩⲙⲁⲥⲧ̄ 20 20 211 16

ⲙⲁⲛϩⲙⲉⲥ(ⲧ) *seat* 8 8 21 29 27 23 etc.

ϩⲁⲙⲧ̄ *brass, money* 192 18 195 11

ϩⲙⲁⲧ *gift, grace* 2 30 7 18 16 11. 16 42 3 56 3 98 29 108 20 etc.

pl. ϩⲙⲟⲟⲧ 38 23 59 13 81 14 100 21 108 23 etc.

ⲣ̄ϩⲙⲁⲧ *bestow* 7 7 23 18 47 8 68 4 98 23 130 26

ⲣⲉϥ†ϩⲙⲁⲧ 53 26 81 5 vid.

ϫⲓ ϩⲙⲁⲧ 49 22

with ⲫⲱⲡ *thanks* 42 14 62 27

ϩⲙ̄ϩⲙ̄ *roar* 18 23

ϩⲙϫ *vinegar* 142 15 196 6

ϩⲛ̄- *in, by* instrumental 1 26 2 19 etc.

ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ= 1 14 14 10 etc.

ϩⲛ̄- pl. of indef. article 35 25 37 11 bis etc.

ϩⲟⲩⲛ *inward part* 90 22 160 20 etc.

ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ 4 7 10 17 etc.

ϩⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ 13 9 (?) 151 28 160 8 etc.

ⲣ̄ϩⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ 117 13 193 10 etc.

ⲥⲁⲛϩⲟⲩⲛ 159 22 220 5. 10. 23 etc.

ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲛ 155 34

ϩⲱⲛ *approach, be near* 38 18 vid.

ϩⲱⲛⲉ 165 18

qual. ϩⲏⲛ 39 24 155 36

ϩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ *some* 195 14

ϩⲛⲉ- in ⲉϩⲛⲉ= *willing* 16 15 vid. 76 31 97 21

ⲣ̄ϩⲛⲉ= 9 28

ϩⲓⲛⲏⲃ *sleep* 146 16 189 23 197 16 213 10 218 20 bis

nn. 2 21 60 13 75 31 etc.

†ϩⲓⲛⲏⲃ 187 32

ϩⲱⲛⲕ̀ *charm(?):* ϩⲁⲛⲕ= 117 27 n.

ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ *India* vide Index C

ϩⲱⲛⲧ̄ *approach* 26 5

qual. ϩⲁⲛⲧ̄ 39 28 82 1 (?)

*ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲧ (ⲁⲃⲁⲗ) *?* 150 18 n. 204 16. 31

ϩⲁⲡ *feast* 199 28 bis

ϩⲉⲡ *judgment* 7 16 29 24 30 26 62 10 etc.

†ϩⲉⲡ *judge* 12 6 40 32 123 29 etc.

ⲣⲉϥ†ϩⲉⲡ 8 7 24 21 45 13 195 27 etc.

ⲙⲁⲛ†ϩⲉⲡ 195 17

ϩⲱⲡ *hide* 49 15

ϩⲁⲡ- 46 16: ϩⲁⲡ= 12 30 93 21

qual. ϩⲏⲡ 1 8 7 16 8 23 41 25 82 24 83 27 86 25 etc.

ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧϩⲏⲡ *secretly* 39 22 73 29

ϩⲡⲁⲛ *secure(?)* 214 19 n.

? qual. ϩⲁⲡⲛⲉ 200 13

nn. 166 36

ϩρε *food* 141 16 181 36

ϩρϩⲓ̈: ⲛ̄ϩρϩⲓ̈ ϩⲛ̄- *in* 1 17 10 2 11 22 19 18 etc.

ⲁϩρϩⲓ̈ *up* 2 20 6 29 9 25 etc.

ⲁϩρϩⲓ̈ *down* 187 16 215 8

ϩⲣ̄βε *form* 42 32

ϩρⲁⲕ *be at rest* 120 3 126 3 172 11

qual. ϩⲁⲣⲕ̀ 8 19 102 25 117 9 135 17 etc.

nn. in ⲧϩρⲁⲕ 187 32 bis

ⲁⲧϩρⲁⲕ 16 19

*ϩρⲁⲡ in ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩρⲁⲡ *suddenly (?), closely (?)* 204 3

ϩωρⲡ̄ *slumber* 193 8

ϩρϩρε *flower, lily* 8 14 12 21 59 15 98 12 153 14 166 26 194 9

ϩⲣ̄ⲧε nn. *fear* 7 19 66 12 82 28 86 22 172 9 196 10 etc.

ⲧϩⲣ̄ⲧε *frighten* 84 21

ϩρⲁⲩ *cry, call* 15 21 59 24 131 27 138 7. 17 179—181 pass 226 16 etc.

ϩρⲁϣ *be heavy* 80 16

qual. ϩⲁⲣϣ̄ 91 25

ϩⲁⲣϣϩⲛⲧ *long-suffering* 33 9 138 53 139 25 etc.: pl. ϩⲁⲣϣϩⲉⲧⲉ 145 3 167 7

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲁⲣϣϩⲛⲧ 23 16 167 7. 37 182 27 200 25 etc.

nn. ϩρⲁϣ *weight* 62 18 138 55 215 13 (?)

ϩⲣ̄ϣⲓρε *men, crew* 207 20

ϩⲁⲣⲓϩⲁⲣⲁⲩ vide ϩⲁ-

ϩωρϭ *set in order, be set* 107 22 127 26 198 5

ϩⲁⲣϭ= 12 31

nn. *?* 217 1

ϩωⲥ *sing* 2 11 65 24 133 20 164 18 etc.

nn. *song* 89 10

ϩωⲥ *block* 212 27

ϩωⲥ *weakling, wretch* 204 16. 31 205 12 206 6 210 26 211 6

ϩⲓⲥε *toil, be weary, suffer* 66 23 vid. 88 9. 17 103 2 142 1 143 2. 15 etc.

with partic. *weary of* doing 155 3 164 18

reflex. ϩⲉⲥⲧ̄ 81 15

qual. ϩⲁⲥε 82 18 86 12 129 21

ⲁⲧϩⲓⲥε 164 18

nn. *toil, suffering* 8 20 42 28 81 15 183 27 etc.

*ϩⲓⲥε in ϫρⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ϩⲓⲥε 210 15 n. (? cf. ϩⲏⲥε, Crum Dict. 710 b)

ϩⲁⲥⲓε with ϣε *be shipwrecked* 63 17

ϩⲁⲥⲃε *market* 227 5

ϩⲉⲧ *silver* 153 10 169 24 184 23 224 21. 23. 29 etc.

white in ϭⲣⲁⲙⲡϩⲉⲧ v. ϭⲣⲁⲙⲡε

ϩⲏⲧ *heart, mind* 13 13 82 23 etc.

pl. as sing. and ϩⲉⲧⲉ 145 3. 7

ϩⲏⲧ ⲃⲱⲛ *evil-hearted* 97 20

ϩⲏⲧ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ *double-minded, doubt* 45 30 67 6 102 29

ⲁⲧϩⲏⲧ *foolish* 4 12 15 27 61 25

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧϩⲏⲧ 53 7

ϣⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ *grief* 70 27 74 8 82 13 103 31 146 26

ⲕⲁϩⲧⲏ= *trust* 81 29 184 22 bis 231 b 8 etc.: qual. ⲕⲁϩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧ 7 1 176 22

nn. ⲕⲁϩⲧⲏϥ 24 27. 30 88 12 99 29 139 44 184 26 bis

ⲕⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *be confident* 134 23 135 25

ⲣ̄ϩⲧⲏ= *repent* 45 28 165 26 181 15

nn. ⲣ̄ϩⲧⲏϥ 53 15

ⲧϩⲧⲏ= *give heed* 82 16 105 30 214 7. 8 218 18. 19: ⲧⲛ̄ϩⲧⲏ= 210 29

ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ after ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ 24 26; ⲡⲱϣⲥ̄ 15 28; ⲧⲱⲕ 210 3; ⲧⲱⲧ 26 13; ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ 28 17; ⲟⲩⲱϣⲉ 31 23; ⲱⲕ 18 25; ϫⲓⲥε 79 26

(ϩ)ⲏⲧ in compounds vide ⲙⲟⲩϣ̄ⲧ, ⲣⲱⲙⲉ, ⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ, ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ, ⲟⲩⲓϩⲉ, ϩⲗⲁϭ, ϩⲣⲁϣ, ϫⲓⲥε

ϩⲱⲧ with ⲣ̄: *sail* 77 28 (?) 147 37 157 21 177 19 193 5 217 25

ϩⲁⲧε *moment* 50 16 103 22 vid. 107 16 135 19 bis 27 149 22 154 9 157 22 bis 23

ϩⲁⲧε with ⲣ̄: *to fear* 40 23 50 19 69 13 76 13. 14 106 23 134 27

ϩⲁⲓ̈ⲧε *robe* 196 4

ϩⲉⲧε *flow* 188 23: ϩⲉⲧⲓ̈ⲉ 154 32

ⲥⲕ ϩⲉⲧⲉ 13 24

ϩητε *behold!* 88 2 vide ε|c
ϩ|τε *fritter away* 82 6
ϩταϊ ? qual. of ϩατ *thick* 226 20
ϩτο *horse* 220 16: pl ϩτωρη 111 25
ϩωτβε *kill* 17 25 33 20 35 15 etc.
ϩατβε- 205 30
ϩατβε≈ 15 6 30 11 45 17 79 21 196 1
ρεqϩωτβε 15 12 17 12 60 18 64 25 82 4 196 9
ϩατβε- 14 25 39 25 43 19
nn. 17 22: ϩετβε 44 21
*ϩα†λ *of low degree (?)* 16 9 52 25 n.
ϩτομτ̄ῡ̄ *darken:* ϩτ̄ῡ̄τωμ≈ 193 29
ϩωτπ̄ *be reconciled, set* (of sun) 12 12 vid. 14 29 vid. 39 30 63 29 130 28 vid.
qual. ϩατπ̄ 203 23
ατϩωτπ̄ 133 8 190 11 193 19
ϩταπ *fall, destruction* 14 28 vid.
ϩωτρε *join* 210 30 vid.
nn. 88 29
б|νϩωτρε 86 31
ϩατρε *twin* 166 33 192 6 vid.
ϩτωρη pl. of ϩτο
ϩταγε *morning* 130 23 146 17. 19
ϩατϩτ̄ *examine* 39 10 120 5 126 5
ϩαγ *bad, wicked* 4 30 23 28 55 19 88 25 etc.:
ϩαγ μν̄- 45 22
πετϩαγ 34 22 39 28 57 3. 9 etc.
πεθαγ 19 16 66 8 etc.
*ϩαγ, ϩαq *say* 191 23. 29 n.
ϩηγ *profit* 6 9 40 22 105 27 143 22 192 15 etc.
ϩοογ *day* 7 16. 18 17 24 82 9 etc.
ϩοογε 18 5 52 4 157 22 etc.
ϩογ- 42 17 vid.: ν|ϩοογε *lately* 15 24
ῡ̄πογ *today* 16 30 40 20 179 1 etc.
ῡ̄πογε 8 18 83 29 95 12 etc.
πογε 81 20. 21
ϣαπογ *till today* 192 14
χν̄ῡ̄πογε *from today* 82 24
ϩ|ογε *strike, cast* 227 13 vid.
ϩογ- 8 19 9 22 91 8 142 25
ϩαγϣνε *net-caster* 192 21
ϩογο *more* 88 25 158 32 n. (?) 219 10
nn. *excess* 68 7 219 17
ϩογρ|τ *guard* 19 5 62 27 136 23 163 13 178 20 etc.
ϩαγτ *male* 143 15
ϩηγτ *wild* 61 25 66 21
ϩογητ *passenger on ship* 123 35
ϩογ|τ *first* 1 7. 32 3 20 42 22 137 65
ϩογϊτε *beginning* 2 5 3 18. 26 11 31 112 19 188 17 etc.
ϩογτεν *fair (?)* 146 46 n. 148 30 166 32
ϩαγϣ *abuse* 40 33 195 15
ϩογϩε *untimely birth* 108 24
ϩωϣ *press, confine:* ϩαϣ≈ 122 23
ϩαϣϩω̄ *consume, champ* 196 24
ϩαq *snake* 60 18 149 12. 23. 25 156 28. 29 192 26: fem. ϩβω 217 4
ϩαϩ *many* 72 15 162 9
ϩωбμε *wither, frade* 133 7 154 18 163 18. 26 etc.: ϩαбμε- 98 12
ατϩωбμε 1 19 88 19 107 23*

χε ? 209 9 χε βαε ⲁβⲁⲗ
χε *that, because, in order that* pass.
χε εγ = ἵνα τί; 82 6
χαϊ *ship* 77 14. 28 123 33. 35 etc.
pl. (a) as sing. 165 18 (b) εχηγ 55 11 133 14 177 14 200 13 etc. (c) ετχηγ 42 18 65 10 83 33
χαϊε *desert* 87 17 92 13 152 12 181 31 193 26
χ| *take, receive* 143 28 etc.
χ|τ≈ 11 18 15 16 22 7 54 10 etc.
qual. χηγ 45 26
χα|-, χαγ- vide ῡ̄λαϩ, μαϊτ, бρηπε: χαϊογρατ 200 5 n.
χ| in compounds: χ| εαγ *be glorified* 14 7 etc.: χ|kβα *vengeance* 44 23: ρεqχ|μαϊτ *guide* 4 10 54 8: χ| †πε *taste* 2 21 158 18 etc.
Vide ρ|με, cβω, cмн, caϊτ, oγαϊ, ϩο, ϩωβc̄, χωkμε, банc̄, бρηπε

ⲭⲓⲉ *mote* 40 9

ⲭⲟ *plant* 7 15 75 30 143 25
ⲭⲁ= 153 28 225 28 (?) 227 16 (?)

ⲭⲱ *speak, sing* 7 22 18 24 47 15 etc.: ⲭⲟⲩ 200 9
ⲭⲟⲟ= 39 23 42 7 187 18. 27 etc.
ⲭⲁⲧⲃⲱⲱⲛ *slanderer* 14 22. 24 n.
ⲭⲁⲧⲃⲁⲓⲛⲉ *harpist* 199 18
Vide ⲟⲩⲁ, ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲉ, ⲇⲁⲗ

ⲭⲱ= *head* 181 42 207 6 etc.
ⲥⲁⲭⲱⲩ *upside down* 142 18
ⲁⲭⲛ̄-, ⲁⲭⲱ= *on* pass.
ⲥⲓⲭⲛ̄-, ⲥⲓⲭⲱ= vide ⲥⲓ-

ⲭⲱⲃⲉ intr. *pass to, cross* 39 9 62 22 69 15 157 24 218 22 vid. 224 17 227 15
trans. *pass by, avoid* 40 1 (?) 40 27 64 18 117 27 150 20 168 32 193 27 211 28

ⲭⲱⲕ *finish, fulfil, perfect, be perfected, be ended* 13 29 22 15 47 25 etc.
ⲭⲁⲕ- 88 32 93 9 143 34 etc.
ⲭⲁⲕ= 23 2 38 25 51 20. 27 etc.
qual. ⲭⲏⲕ 16 4 24 25 31 10 etc.
ⲣⲉⲩⲭⲱⲕ 137 52
ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲕ 83 15
nn. *perfection, end* 83 11 143 32 145 16 169 11. 12 etc.

ⲭⲱⲕⲉ *prick, goad* 164 31 226 25
ⲭⲁⲕⲉⲩ *goad* 226 21. 26

ⲭⲱⲕⲙⲉ *wash* 59 25 76 9 144 30 etc.
ⲭⲁⲕⲙⲉ= 100 28 103 35: ⲭⲁⲕⲙ̄ (for ⲭⲁⲕⲙⲛ̄) 8 27 41 20 n.
qual. ⲭⲁⲕⲙⲉ 99 9 103 9
ⲙⲁⲛⲭⲱⲕⲙⲉ 8 2 139 23
nn. 76 9
ⲭⲓ ⲭ. *be washed* 99 14

ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ *in order that* 10 8 38 25 39 13 108 18 133 29 134 4 217 7
ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥⲉ 33 19. 20 bis 21 51 23

ⲭⲱⲕⲣⲉ *be, make salt* 101 29 174 17

ⲭⲱⲗⲉ *stop, make to cease* 94 20 188 13
ⲭⲱⲗ- 53 21
nn. ⲭⲗⲉ *hindrance (?)* 58 22 n.

ⲭⲱⲗⲉ *pluck:* ⲭⲁⲗ(ⲉ)= 58 9 99 23

ⲭⲁⲩⲗⲉ ⲥⲁ- *support* 2 19

ⲭⲉⲗⲱ- cf. last? 165 28

ⲭⲱⲗⲕ̀ *shoot:* ⲭⲁⲗⲕ= 221 15

ⲭⲱⲗⲭ̀ *stick, fasten*
qual. ⲭⲁⲗⲭ̀ 81 31 201 11

*ⲭⲱⲙ *strive (?)* 4 24 (leg. ⲭⲱ⟨ⲣ⟩ⲙ̄, Crum)
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲙⲏⲧ *perseverance (?)* 70 31

ⲭⲱⲙⲉ *book* 46 28 65 5 139 54. 61 140 3. 6. 8
pl. ⲭⲙⲉ 29 29

ⲭⲁⲙⲏ *calm* 157 23 231 b 20

ⲭⲛ̄- *since, from:* always with ⲛ̄-, save in ⲭⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ (e. g. 115 13) and ⲭⲛ̄-ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲗⲟⲩ (91 22: read ⲭⲛ̄⟨ⲛ̄⟩ⲧ.) and with verbal expressions (43 24 44 11 54 11 63 30 104 31 107 23 110 24 117 19 165 18. 19 169 21 183 21)
(a) temporal 18 28 19 3 22 8. 17 58 10. 28 117 7 207 13 etc.
(b) local 42 26 61 30 85 8 118 25 141 30 216 5 221 15 etc.

ⲭⲓⲛ *might* 166 30 190 19

ⲭⲁⲛⲉ *chest, ark* 167 12

ⲭⲉⲛⲉ *extinguish, go out* 60 13 vid. 191 21 204 30

ⲭⲱⲛⲧ̄ *test, try:* ⲭⲛⲧ- 149 14
nn. 58 6

ⲭⲓⲛⲭⲏ: ⲁⲡⲭ. *in vain* 82 10

ⲭⲡ- *hour* [18 7] 195 29

ⲭⲡⲟ *get, beget* 10 7 71 26 75 20 128 5 etc.
ⲭⲡⲁ= 49 5 52 23 70 18 98 8 120 21 147 66 etc.
ⲣⲉⲩⲭⲡⲟ 1 22
ⲃⲓⲛⲭ. 120 19 126 19
ⲁⲧⲭⲡⲁ= 96 26
nn. *creature* 2 10 4 25 18 20 41 18 99 4 152 18 etc.

ⲭⲡⲓⲟ *put to shame* 4 16 25 9 26 16 122 7 vid.
ⲭⲡⲓⲁ= 13 3

ⲭⲁⲡⲭⲡ̄: ⲭⲉⲡⲭⲱⲡ= *tread down* 70 5

*ⲭⲣⲟ *hail!* in greetings 57 27 69 30 85 16 210 14 n. 15

ⲭⲉⲣⲟ *kindle* 17 16 37 30 53 23 70 15 80 13 109 19 157 18 165 7 211 10

ⲭⲉⲣⲱⲥ 99 32 173 17
qual. ⲭⲉⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ 16 20 204 15
ⲭⲓⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲣⲉ vide ⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲟ
ⲭⲱⲣⲉ *strong* 1 25 2 9 153 3 etc.
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲉ 13 3 65 15 88 11 163 12 178 19 etc.
ⲭⲱⲣⲙⲉ (a) *make a sign, glance* 39 21 150 22: ⲭⲱⲣⲙ̄ 98 29
nn. 85 2 104 28. 29 150 22
(b) *drive:* ⲭⲁⲣⲙⲉⲥ 76 17
ⲭⲱⲣⲡ̄ *strike:* ⲭⲁⲣⲡ̄- 207 6
ⲭⲣⲁⲡ *hindrance* 17 11
ⲭⲣⲁⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *scatter, be scattered* 67 18
qual. ⲭⲣⲁⲣⲁ(ⲁ)ⲧ 146 37 213 14
nn. 228 13
ⲭⲣⲭⲓⲣ *wantonness(?)* 7 26
ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ *lord* pass.
ⲣ̄ⲭ. 55 28 (?) 86 2 vid. 187 8
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ 193 29
ⲭⲓⲥⲉ *exalt, be raised* 50 26 215 9 etc.
ⲭⲉⲥⲧⲥ 10 13 93 11 148 24 etc.
qual. ⲭⲁⲥⲉ 21 27 38 7 151 16 etc.
nn. *height, loftiness* 22 7 24 5 34 19 107 15 215 15 etc.
ⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ *presume* 79 26
nn. 105 26
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲥⲓ(ⲍ)ⲏⲧ 45 24 64 24
ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲧ *olive* 123 37 187 28 190 31
ⲭⲱⲧⲉ *pierce, thrust* 191 7 bis
ⲭⲁⲧⲥ 142 28 163 3 178 9 196 7
intr. *speed* 204 26 210 5
ⲭⲧⲟ *lay low:* ⲣⲉⲩⲭ. 221 8
ⲭⲉⲧⲩⲉ *serpent* 183 1: ⲭⲉⲩⲧⲉ 167 59
ⲭⲁⲩ *send* 15 29
ⲭⲁⲩ- 96 10 209 5
ⲭⲁⲩⲥ 112 28 131 26 207 24 226 13
ⲭⲓⲟⲩⲉ: ⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲭ. *take by stealth* 187 7
ⲣⲉⲩⲭⲓⲟⲩⲉ *thief* 19 1 66 31
ⲭⲟⲩⲱⲧ *twenty* 53 9 vid.
-ⲱⲧⲉ 224 20. 30
ⲭⲟⲩⲧ- 16 25 19 4 43 30 46 20 221 21
ⲭⲟⲩⲩ *burn:* qual. ⲭⲏⲩ 40 14 47 1 184 13 vid. 227 11 vid.
nn. *burning* 40 12 203 19
*ⲭⲟⲩⲭⲟⲩ *?* 157 17 158 11 182 32
ⲭⲱⲍ *touch* 52 29
ⲭⲱⲍ *smear:* qual. ⲭⲏⲍ 220 9 vid. cf. Mt. 23 27
ⲭⲱⲍⲙⲉ *pollute, be defiled* 69 21
ⲭⲁⲍⲙⲉⲥ 86 15
qual. ⲭⲁⲍⲙⲉ 52 23 etc. -ⲍⲙ̄ 82 16
ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲍⲙⲉ 4 21 61 15. 27 64 27
nn. 71 19 88 29 89 31 206 26
ⲭⲱⲍⲙ̄ 69 12
ⲭⲁⲭⲉ *enemy* pass.
pl. as sing. and ⲭⲓⲭⲉⲩⲉ 112 29 225 3
ⲣ̄ⲭ. ⲁ- 40 18 etc.
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲭⲉ 1 24 56 28 123 5 138 27 140 27
ⲭⲏⲃⲉ *purple* 196 4
ⲭⲱⲃⲉ *?* 147 51

ⲃⲉ *therefore* pass.: ⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ 32 7
ⲃⲉ *other, also* vide ⲕⲉ
ⲃⲱ *remain* 104 20
with partic. *continue* 86 23 118 15 206 2
qual. ⲃⲉⲉⲧ 6 11 vid. 27 17 vid.
ⲃⲱⲃ *weak* 206 2 211 5
qual. ⲃⲁⲃ 70 15
ⲃⲱⲃⲉ *leaf* 8 16
ⲃⲃⲓ̈ⲉ *?* 164 3 bis vid. (cf. ⲃⲱⲃ?)
ⲃⲟⲩⲣ *left* 50 6 170 26 180 16
ⲃⲁⲥ *?* 129 23
ⲃⲥⲉⲓⲣⲉ *butter* 23 10. 19 (vide Crum Dict. 353 a)
ⲃⲁⲗ *false, lying* 18 14 43 21 60 19
ⲭⲉ, ⲭⲓ ⲃⲁⲗ *lie* 33 19 139 49
ⲃⲏⲗ *cry* 206 12. 16
ⲁⲱ ⲃⲏⲗ (ⲁⲃⲁⲗ) *cry out* 15 21 16 7 57 11 vid. 123 21. 27 197 22 202 14
ⲕⲁ ⲃⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ 205 27
ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲃⲏⲗ 206 12. 16
ⲃⲱⲗ *roll up, destroy* 70 11 190 5 bis 205 7 219 22 223 17

ⲇⲁⲓⲗⲉ *be deposited, lodge* 110 21 135 22 151 18—20 162 22 189 18
qual. ⲇⲉⲗⲓⲧ 82 15 139 53 218 26
ⲙⲁⲛⲇⲁⲓⲗⲉ 173 22
ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲗⲉ *sojourner* 181 23
ⲇⲱⲗⲉ *clothe* 50 25 83 23 206 22. 29
ⲇⲁⲗⲉ= 67 28 74 31 95 24 182 23 224 12
qual. ⲇⲁⲗⲉ 76 11 102 19 107 24 116 26 161 3 167 27 176 21 185 18 193 10 207 20 211 26
ⲇⲗⲁⲙ *hasten* 112 12
ⲛ̄ⲇⲗⲁⲙ *quickly* 7 2 65 18. 30 188 25. 26 etc.
ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲇ. 64 18 111 23 165 9
*ⲇⲗⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ *?* 208 9 n.
ⲇⲱⲗⲙ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *reveal, appear* 8 23 9 8 11 30 etc.: with ϩⲁ- 57 16 61 6 105 22
ⲇ. ⲏⲣⲙ̄ *broach wine* 151 13 158 29
ⲇⲁⲗⲡ= 3 22 158 29
qual. ⲇⲁⲗⲙ̄ 1 8 105 22 etc.
ⲣⲉϥⲇⲱⲗⲙ̄ 61 6 138 15
ⲇⲁⲗⲁⲱⲓⲣⲉ *hero, giant* 2 30 46 30 138 53 163 6 178 11
ⲇⲗⲟ(ⲟ)ⲇⲉ *ladder* 8 3 167 11 177 8
ⲇⲁⲙ *power* 19 16 23 2. 4. 30 28 1 etc.
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲇⲁⲙ *feebleness* 92 4. 23
ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲱϥⲇⲁⲙ *it is possible* 53 16
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲱϥⲇⲁⲙ, ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲙ *it is impossible* 4 15 52 29 134 26. 27 214 28 215 1
ⲇⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲙ *have power* 206 14 219 28
ⲇⲱⲙ *orchard* 163 9 169 24 175 8 178 16
pl. ⲇⲟⲟⲙ 195 4
ⲇⲁⲙⲇⲙ- *touch, handle* 223 24
ⲁⲧⲇⲙ̄ⲇⲱⲙⲙⲏ 121 3
ⲇⲓⲛⲉ *find* pass.
ⲇⲛ̄- 6 9 15 19 40 22 etc.: with indirect questions 151 27 156 9 203 25 207 23
ⲇⲛ̄ⲧ= 43 4 85 20 86 7 95 19 etc.
ⲣⲉϥⲇⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ *overseer* 141 32
ⲇⲛⲟⲛ *be soft:* qual. ⲇⲁⲛ 46 26
ⲇⲁⲛϭ in ϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲇ. *do violence* 8 16 14 31 45 15. 26 etc.
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧϫⲓⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲛϭ 14 26 74 15 101 26
ⲇⲓⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ *vessel, boat* 76 29 n. 139 30 147 35 213 5. 26
ⲇⲛ̄ⲇⲛ̄ *make music* 117 29 118 15 164 9 bis. 10 etc.
ⲇⲓⲛⲇⲱⲣ *talent* 224 19
ⲇⲉⲡⲏ *hasten:* reflex. 187 13
ⲇⲱⲡⲉ *catch, be seized* (196 9): 163 5 191 4 bis: ⲇ. ⲁ- *catch* (of fire) 15 18 188 18
ⲇⲁⲡ- 29 13 187 16 206 18 etc.
ⲇⲁⲡ= 10 2 123 21 204 21 211 12
ⲇⲣⲏ *dig up* 208 16. 29
ⲇⲣⲟ *conquer, defeat* 9 24 103 24 etc.
qual. ⲇⲣⲁⲓⲧ 8 11 36 28 83 22 196 28 224 29 etc.
ⲁⲧⲇⲣⲁϥ 3 29 vid.
ⲣⲉϥⲇⲣⲟ 13 25 53 20. 32 etc.
nn. *victory* 13 26 14 17 79 28 etc.
ⲇⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ *dove* 156 29. 30
ⲇⲣⲁⲙⲡϩⲉⲧ *white dove* 156 26. 27 158 8 (!) 161 7 165 2 167 57 179 29 182 29 185 11
ⲇⲣⲏⲡⲉ *diadem* 17 25 22 18 87 20 133 6 136 17. 27 etc.
ϫⲓ ⲇⲣⲏⲡⲉ *wear crown, be crowned* 1 28 87 11 117 3
ϫⲁⲓⲇ. 43 5 136 17
ⲇⲱⲣϩ: ⲛ̄ⲇ. *by night* 223 9. 20
ⲇⲱⲣⲇ *set a snare for* 70 10 89 25 103 32 192 21
ⲇⲁⲣⲇ= 53 10
qual. ⲇⲁⲣⲇ 84 28 204 19 205 3
ⲇⲉⲣⲏⲇ *hunter* 166 27: pl. ⲇⲉⲣⲉⲇⲉ 70 10 89 25 146 27 etc.
ⲇⲁⲣⲇϭ *snare* 10 2 166 27 210 30 (?)
ⲇⲱⲣⲇ *furnish* 121 29
ⲇⲁⲣⲇ= ⲁⲃⲁⲗ 100 29
ⲇⲥ- *half* in ϫⲉⲟⲩⲓⲛ *half-cargo* 217 26. 29
ⲇⲁⲥⲙⲉ *storm* 63 14 135 27 142 26 165 21 180 22 201 15: ⲇⲁⲥⲙ̄ 192 9
ⲇⲁⲧ *size* 97 28 n.

ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ *flinch, defeat* 85 16 108 6 143 2
vid. 9 165 13. 14. 31: ⲥ. ϩⲁ- 58 25
ⲥⲁⲧⲡ≈ 210 27 vid.
nn. *defeat* 181 12
ⲥⲏⲩ *narrow* 156 5 170 28
ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *put out to sea* 76 30 193 5
ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ *slave* 95 21 103 33 194 3
fem. 61 19
ⲥⲁⲩⲛ- 81 26
pl. ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲟⲛⲉ 16 22 111 8
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ 86 5 99 16
ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲥ: qual. ⲥⲁⲩⲥ *crooked* 189 21
ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲯⲉ *?* 65 18 n.

ⲥⲱⲯⲧ̄ *look, see* 9 6 46 14 etc.
qual. ⲥⲁⲯⲧ̄ 71 25 73 9 157 28 etc.
ⲥ. ⲁ- 40 9 45 5 162 15 etc.: ⲁⲭⲛ̄- 29 20 43 17 (?): ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ 26 13 29 18 104 27 etc.: ⲟⲩⲃⲉ 71 25 73 9 81 1: ⲥ. ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛⲧ≈ *expect* 7 8 60 4 (?) 66 9 etc.
ⲥⲓⲭ *hand* 15 10 20 8 35 10 etc.
ⲥⲱⲭⲉ *cut* 16 25 79 27 162 31 178 7: nn. *stone (?)* 217 21
ⲥⲱⲭⲃⲉ *wane, diminish* 1 14 13 16 170 6 190 12 203 9. 23 204 10 211 27 216 21
nn. 180 19: ⲁⲧⲥⲱⲭⲃⲉ 68 15

After ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ p. 30* add ⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ *feet* 99 25 187 33 etc.

C. Proper Names

i. Geographical

Belapat 16 27
Euphrates 211 14
India 192 16 193 3 194 13
Jerusalem 61 1 194 23
Jordan 187 14
Judea 194 5
Mount of Olives 123 37 187 28 190 31
Persia 16 21

ii. Doxological Names

Cleopatra 64 8
Eustephius 58 30
Jmnoute 1 3 11 32 14 18 27 15 36 11 39 16 47 23 63 1 76 25 82 33 92 30 106 26 140 53 148 20 vid. 162 20 165 6 186 32
Maria *passim*
Panai 29 3 39 16 47 23 58 30 149 30 155 42 166 22 176 10
Plousiane 34 15 41 6 47 22 63 1 80 25 82 32 98 32 100 8 101 35 106 25 179 6
Polydoxus 47 22
Pshai [1 2] 11 32 14 18 27 15 36 11 vid. 39 16 47 23 bis 63 1 76 25 82 33 92 30 106 26 140 53 148 20 162 20 vid. 165 6 186 32
Theona 1 3 11 32 14 18 18 1 34 15 36 11 38 10 39 16 47 23 52 14 58 1. 31 61 10 63 1 75 9 76 42 82 33 85 21 vid. 87 14 92 29 100 9 102 26 115 3 140 52 149 30 151 3 154 21 155 15. 42 157 13 162 19 163 32 165 6 166 22 173 12 175 1 185 27 186 32 191 17 202 26

iii. Other Names

Adam 57 7. 14 142 3 179 23
Addas 34 13
Alphaeus 192 17
Andrew 142 20 192 6 194 8
Aristobula 143 13 192 29
Arsenoe 192 24 194 22

Bahram 43 9
Bartholomew 192 12 194 12

Drusiane 143 11 180 30 192 32

Enoch 142 9
Enosh 142 6
Eve 57 7 179 24
Eubula 192 30

Gabriab 34 11

Heracleides 97 14 187 1
Herod 43 13

Innaios 34 11
Iphidama 192 27

James 142 25 192 8 194 10. 14
Jews 15 12 43 19 122 33
John 142 23 179 25 192 7 194 9
Judas 179 27 192 18 194 17

Levi 194 16

Magi 122 28. 31
Magians 15 9 16 21
Mariam 187 2 bis. 34 192 21 194 19
Martha 192 23 194 20
Matthew 192 19
Maximilla 143 13 192 26
Mygdonia 193 2

Noah 142 6 157 19. 20 177 1

Ormizd 43 7
Ozeos 34 13

Pamoun 226 16
Pappos 34 12
Paul 7 22 142 31 192 20
Peter 142 18 187 24 192 5 194 7
Philip 192 10 194 11

Salmaios 34 12
Salome 192 24 194 21 222 19. 26
Satan 57 4
Sethel 142 4 144 1. 4. 7 146 13 179 22
Shapur 43 7
Shem 142 6 vid.
Simon Peter *vide* Peter
Simon the Canaanite 192 14 194 15
Sisinnios 34 10 44 10
Syrus 14 19 27 16 231 b 26

Thecla 143 4 180 29 192 25
Thomas 142 27 192 15 194 13 203 1

Zebedee 142 22

iv. Christ, Jesus, Manichaeus

Christus 42 22 43 14 106 31
ⲡⲭⲣⲥ 33 11 55 17 57 4 63 3 67 13. 24 75 11 83 2 88 28 97 15 100 5 101 32 102 31 106 28 107 4 116 24. 27. 29 117 2 ff. 158 19. 26 159 25 229 b 12 230 a 6: ⲡⲭⲣⲥ ⲓⲏⲥ 12 28 38 8 ⲡⲉⲭⲣⲥ 54 10 58 14 64 12 69 31 101 3 158 24 159 23

Jesus 22 9 154 7
ⲓⲏⲥ 2 24 4 29 9 4 12 13 20 22. 31 25 25 32 20 34 23 36 8 37 28 41 5 51 4 ff. 52 2 ff. 22 53 30 56 15 57 5. 32 58 3 59 2. 15 bis. 16. 17 bis 60 8 61 1. 9. 12. 23 62 31 63 18 64 6. 32 65 30 66 17 73 10 84 9 85 19. 23 87 12. 16. 25 88 23 89 23 94 2 95 2 99 26 102 2 111 19 112 1. 26 113 18 116 7. 10 117 25. 32 121 33 122 36 124 25 126 2. 4. 6. 10 142 11 145 6 151 1. 4. 8. 22. 24. 31 152 1. 4 154 19 155 24 159 3. 19 160 14. 18 161 7 162 25 164 13 165 4. 11 166 11. 23 169 13 170 18 174 9. 31 177 3 178 3 182 18 185 3. 14. 20. 26 186 30 191 14 192 4 217 19 222 30 230 b 29
ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡⲭⲣⲥ 79 19 82 30 91 17 93 2

Manichaeus 1 1 3 13. 21 7 5 8 30 11 26. 29 14 15 17 1 18 4. 9 20 15. 24 22 23 24 15 27 13 30 16. 22 31 16 34 9 36 8 37 26 38 13 39 14 41 9. 27 42 11 52 12 55 14 65 25 68 3 vid. 69 26 80 23 81 17 84 5. 14 85 20 88 20 92 27 94 26 95 32 111 27 116 19 139 47 157 11 185 1
ⲡⲙⲛⲭⲥ 17 33 25 31 26 3 79 14 vid. 143 16. 33 145 13 146 10 176 9 193 4

D. Manichaean Terms

Adamas 2 12 33 7 138 41 209 24. 25. 27 210 4
Aeons 1 13 9 14 23 1 24 24. 30 36 20 (?) 42 16 55 2 56 11 58 4 60 30 63 7 79 26 85 14 87 5. 12 113 18 115 17. 23 116 28 118 7 133 8. 10. 12 134 8 136 16. 33 139 8 144 11 162 2 166 25 167 23 168 27. 31 172 11 185 3. 6 186 9 190 8 197 14 198 25. 29 199 1. 12. 13 201 9 202 19 203 2 ff.
Aeons of the Aeons 9 14 116 28 136 34 144 12 168 27 199 16
Archon *see* Index A

Beloved of the Lights 1 28 32 29 36 24 137 56 144 20 166 28
Bema *see* Index A

Call and Hearing 32 21 133 29 138 8. 18 139 28 : Call 199 9
Column of Glory 37 2 59 17 103 35 133 24 139 19
Columns, Three (12 25) 138 56

Elements 12 25 34 6 36 22 137 23. 29. 32. 37 201 13 ff. (*see* Five Noëra)
Emanation 12 23 36 20 130 2 137 5. 55 138 59 179 17
Envoy 128 1 139 18 147 71 148 1 ff. 202 10 208 11. 12 213 28

Familiar 19 22 42 22 139 5 166 34
Father of Greatness (1 7) (9 13) 50 30 (60 30) (85 13) (115 5) 133 3 136 14 144 10 (179 16) 191 13 (198 23) (199 12 ff.) (203 1 ff.)
Father, Son, and Holy Spirit 39 12 49 29 62 30 82 30 (87 11 ff.) (113 18) 115 5 ff. 116 1 ff. 164 14 186 3 ff. 186 7 189 30 ff. 190 25 (191 13 ff.)
Fathers of Light 8 8 36 15 (63 6) (71 26) 73 8 (75 20) 84 29 (117 9) 202 12
First Man 1 26 10 20 (13 31) 22 16 36 21 85 4 88 13 118 3 128 4 137 17 138 19 140 26 141 4 144 18 160 1. 2. 4 161 25 162 26 163 8 175 3 178 15 197 20. 24. 26. 28 198 1. 3. 5. 7. 21 199 7 202 14. 16. 24 207 17 209 11 210 17
Five Intellectual Members *(psychica* 134 3) 23 14 ff. 120 3 ff. 126 3 ff. 137 45 ff. (161 24) 166 38 ff. 167 29 ff. 170 9 ff. 174 12 ff. 182 24 ff. 186 23 ff. 200 19 ff.
Five Noëra 133 28 139 26 144 31 *(?)* 161 25 (*see* Elements)
Five Spiritual Virtues *(pneumatica* 134 3) 23 14 ff. 33 12 ff. 167 34 ff. 174 12 ff. 182 24 ff. (200 19 ff.)

Gifts of Light 57 29 (66 23) 83 31 85 7 98 29 107 20 108 23
Great Builder 1 32 (11 5) 32 30 36 25 137 61 144 21 166 29
Great Fire 96 24
Great Spirit 9 15

Helmsmen 33 5 36 30 53 19 139 40 144 28 207 26 208 28
Holy Spirit 14 8 24 24 42 9 61 5 62 31 83 32 156 27. 31 161 23 184 15 190 21 *(see* Father, Son, and Holy Spirit)

Image *see* εἰκών Index A

Judge 7 30 8 7 20 19 21 1. 2. 18 22 12 24 20 26 28 29 6 34 23. 28 37 8 42 5 50 23 56 6 57 29 65 6 69 14 74 20 83 2. 21 100 27 106 7 128 28 157 31 158 3 181 4

King of Glory 2 15 33 8 138 46
King of Honour 2 9 33 6 138 35

Land of Light 1 10 9 15. 23 32 25 69 18 (86 21) 95 28 111 26 116 30 135 34 141 6 144 13 163 25 168 25 178 31 179 13 185 8 197 18 198 29 199 1. 15. 22 200 19. 27 (205 8) 209 8 (211 23) 213 13. (17) 219 19 221 10 225 15
Living Spirit *see* Spirit

Maiden of Light 2 27 10 8. 11 20 31 37 7 66 22 67 21 81 3 84 31 (116 8) 116 11 137 22 160 18 (163 2) 164 13 178 9 185 14
Mind 16 1 22 11 24 23 26 16 32 17 37 22 53 30 108 2 111 14 133 33 139 52 160 6. 18 161 6. 9 162 21 164 13 177 31 185 14 208 12 219 15 222 24
Mind of Light 37 8 40 13 116 7 (?) 139 17 145 7 153 20 154 5 157 20 162 23 166 35 173 13 178 1
Mother of the Living (1 22) 32 28 36 21 137 11 144 17 145 8 147 72 (166 26) 199 5. 26 201 2

Omophorus 2 18 33 8 138 34
Omophori, the Five 12 24 37 3 133 28 139 27 141 26 145 3 161 26 163 19 178 23 (*see* Sons of the Living Spirit)

Paraclete 3 21 8 25 9 3 14 14. 20 17 28 20 19. 21. 26 21 7 22 28 24 14. 17 25 18. 30

27 18 29 7. 26 30 25 31 16. 20 32 10. 17. 27 34 19. 21. 26 35 14 36 8 ff. 37 1 ff. 38 2. 3. 8. 13 49 30 55 23 56 12. 17 57 20. 33 59 6. 10 68 2 69 26 75 8. 30 76 22 80 23 85 19 87 13 100 19 101 13 102 30 112 7. 23 113 7 130 25 145 12 146 9 162 29 166 19 184 32

Paraclete-Spirit *see* Index A s. v. ⲡⲛⲁ (c)

Perfect Man 22 14 31 10 32 22 35 24 42 20 56 10 59 17 83 25 88 12 133 25 134 22 139 20 144 29 160 16 163 16 165 17 177 16 178 25 215 7

Power of God that supports the Universe 116 4 133 24 134 9. 17 186 11

Ships of Light 42 18 55 11 83 33 133 14 134 16. 24 139 30 147 34 163 14 176 3 177 14 178 21 186 10 190 9 213 3 ff. 26

Sons of Light 204 7. 9 205 18. 24 206 9. 27 207 2 213 30

Sons of the Living Spirit *see* Omophori, Adamas, King of Glory, King of Honour, Omophorus, Splenditenens.

Spirit, Living 2 5 33 3 138 22 140 29 144 22 160 4 161 26 178 16 202 24 211 25 212 6

Splenditenens (2 6) 33 5 138 28

Third Envoy 2 31 (36 28 ?) 133 15 138 60 144 23 (197 10)

Three Seals 52 28 94 12 (116 16 ff.) (178 32): *sing.* 102 19 115 31 163 26

Three Wheels 2 16 37 4 138 48 144 32

Twelve Maidens 33 4 36 29 138 65 144 24 (200 3)

Youth, Little One 104 10 155 25 167 64 204 23 209 13 f. 27 f. 210 2 etc. 211 15 f. 223 9. 20 f.

E. Scriptural Quotations and References

Psalms 33, 9 158 18
50, 12 159 21. 22
99, 3. 4 156 1. 2

Matth. 2, 1. 2 122 31
3, 16 156 27
4, 18. 19 187 15-17
4, 18 ff. 194 5 ff.
5, 7 41 3. 4
5, 22 39 25
5, 23—25 39 29. 30
5, 39 195 16
5, 44 40 33 194 16
5, 45 41 1. 2
5, 48 40 34
6, 10 156 23
6, 12 41 3. 4
6, 19. 20 52 31 63 10 66 31
6, 24 97 30
7, 1—5 40 8 ff.
7, 7. 8 134 30. 31
7, 13 170 28
7, 14 156 5. 24
7, 17. 18 134 11. 17 ff.
7, 21—23 191 30 192 1
7, 24 53 22. 23
8, 22 90 25-28
9, 17 153 26
10, 2 ff. 194 5 ff.
10, 9 ff. 195 9 ff.
11, 15 153 24
11, 27 122 11
11, 29 92 5 97 27
11, 30 51 18 55 30. 31
13, 9 153 24
13, 43 156 21
13, 44 155 23
13, 45. 46 192 4
16, 24 167 47 175 27 195 8
16, 25 93 11
18, 7 39 28
18, 12 93 4
19, 29 167 52 ff. 175 25
20, 22 142 22
22, 2—13 164 30 ff. 165 1
22, 14 162 10
22, 39 40 4
23, 12 93 11 148 24
23, 27 220 9
25, 1 ff. 70 15 ff. 154 1 ff. 161 19 ff. 170 20 ff. 191 18 ff.

	25, 32. 33	66 30 170 25 ff.
		202 20
	25, 33. 34	154 12
	26, 30	123 37
	27, 27 ff.	196 1 ff.
Luke	1, 52	147 6. 7
	7, 2—6	52 24
	9, 26	40 20
	10, 30 ff.	40 25 ff.
	23, 43	49 23
John	3, 19	165 29
	5, 39	39 10
	8, 12	121 19
	9, 1 ff.	194 25
	10, 7. 9	2 26
	12, 24	143 25
	12, 25	159 16
	13, 26	194 17
	14, 10	121 25
	14, 15	135 1
	15, 5	76 6 ff.
	19, 14	195 29
	20, 15	187 9
	20, 17	187 5. 30
Romans	6, 6	3 31
	7, 18	135 11
	14, 10	7 22 ff. (see Mani-Fund p. 33 n 1)
	14, 17	158 9
I Corinth.	1, 23	86 30
	2, 8	4 17 (?)
	15, 36	143 25
	15, 49	150 29
	15, 50	121 9
II Corinth.	4, 4	56 31 172 26. 27
	4, 16	155 8
	5, 6	135 21
	6, 10	157 7. 8
	11, 33	143 1
Galat.	1, 10	40 18. 19
	4, 26	61 2
	6, 2	58 16 219 14. 15
Ephes.	4, 22	3 31
	4, 24	88 2
	6, 16	64 4
Phil.	2, 7	194 3
	3, 19	156 10
I Thess.	4, 14	159 25
II Tim.	4, 7	50 8 57 27 88 8 101 8 113 9 etc.
Hebrews	1, 10—12	190 5 ff.
	11, 5	142 9
James	1, 27	53 24. 25
	4, 4	40 18. 19
I Peter	2, 3	158 18
I John	3, 21	40 31. 32
Revel.	4, 10	194 31
	7, 16	65 20. 21 70 23

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MANICHAEAN MANUSCRIPTS
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VOLUME II

A MANICHAEAN PSALM-BOOK

PART II

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HUGO IBSCHER

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PREFACE.

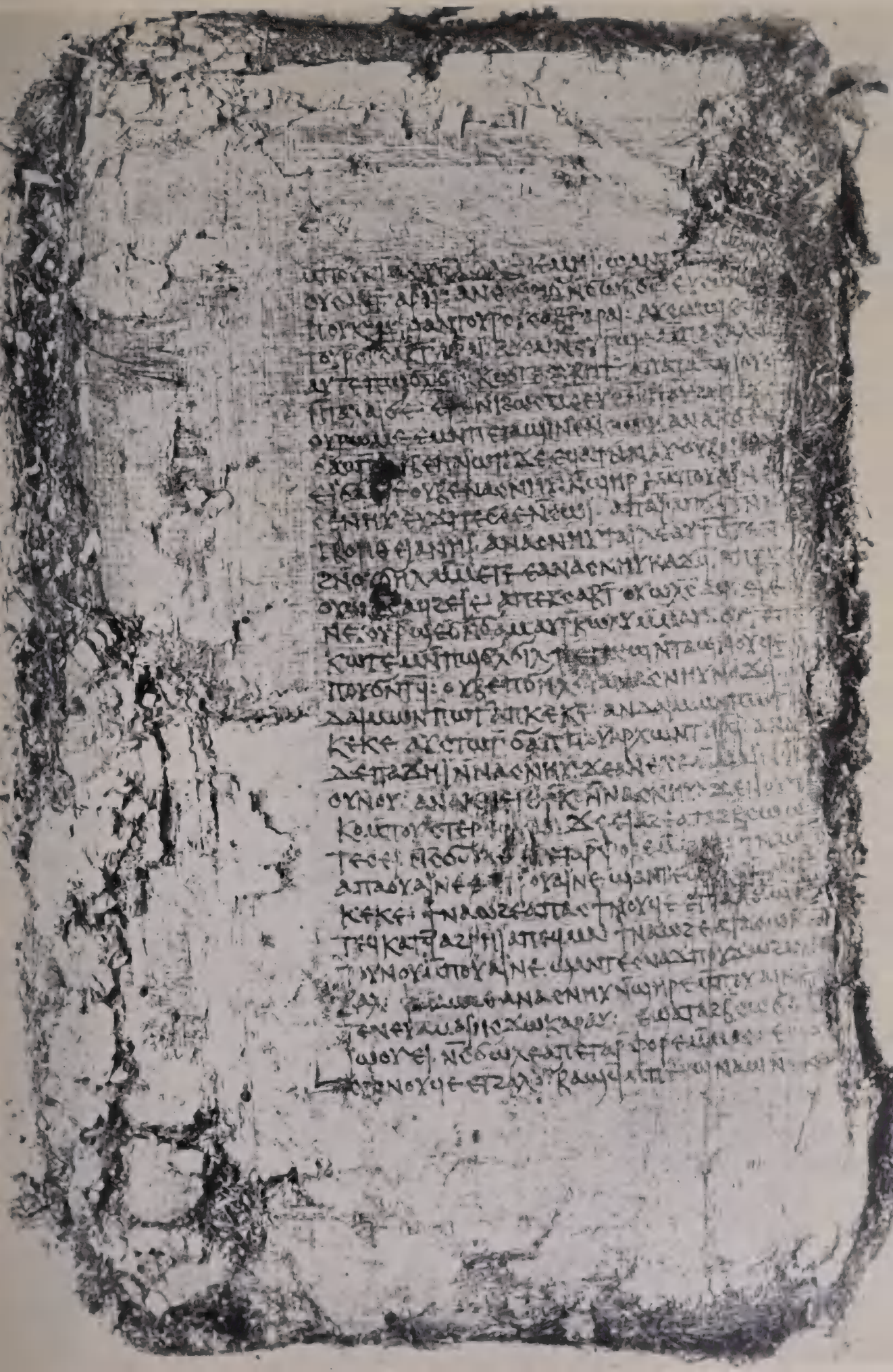
In 1930 Professor Carl Schmidt discovered in Egypt a number of Coptic papyrus codices, identified by him as manichaean (see *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten.* S.B.A.W. 1933, pp. 1—90), which, except for a small fragment acquired by the Vienna Museum, were divided between Mr Chester Beatty and the Berlin Academy. The publication of these was launched in 1934, when Mr Beatty's first volume appeared (H. J. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien.* Stuttgart), shortly followed by a large part of the chief of the Berlin codices (Schmidt-Polotsky-Böhlig, *Kephalaia.* Liefe-rungen 1—8. Stuttgart 1935—37). What is presented here, in the same format as the Homilies and the Kephalaia, is the Psalm-book (see *Mani-Fund,* pp. 33 ff.), or rather the second part of the Psalm-book: for before it appeared in the Cairo market the codex had already been split up into several blocks, and on the largest and least mutilated of these, together with a smaller block preceding it, the two forming approximately one half of the codex, Dr Hugo Ibscher, the Papyruskonservator in the Berlin Egyptian Museum, began his work of reconstruction, and succeeded between 1931 and 1934 in separating and glassing about one hundred and twenty consecutive leaves. These are published here with an English version and a mini-mum of annotation.

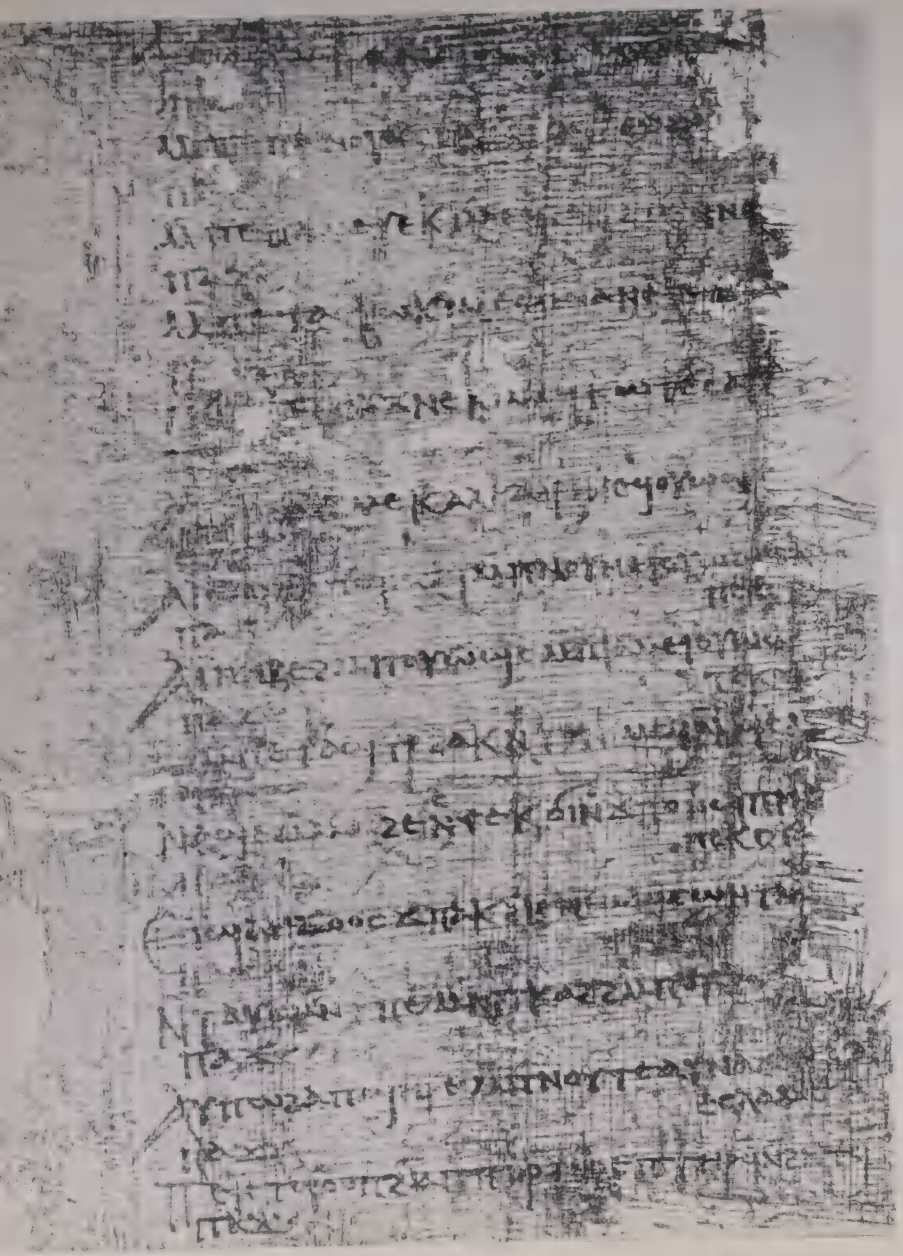
I am grateful to Mr Chester Beatty for allowing me to edit his book and for putting it at my disposal at Cambridge. Sir Herbert Thompson read in manuscript the whole of my transcripts and translations and made many comments and sug-gestions, especially where an obscure word is illustrated by Demotic; most of these are recorded in the notes with the initials H.T. appended. To him my thanks are due, as also to Dr Polotsky, who allowed me to use preliminary transcripts, together with some translations and notes, of pp. 2, 7—11, 15, 16, 18, 19, and 23—26, made by him in 1931. These transcripts I collated with my own and I have recorded all cases where we differ. Professor A. D. Nock kindly read the first proof and sent me valuable notes on the subject-matter.

I am especially indebted to Mr W. E. Crum. The manichaean books are written in a little-known dialect and abound in difficulties of vocabulary, orthography, accidence, and syntax; and without *A Coptic Dictionary* I should have been over-whelmed. Long before its publication Mr Crum allowed me to have proof-sheets of Part V, and he has helped me besides at innumerable points, by asking and an-swering questions, by directing my attention to words and books of which I was ignorant, by reading the proofs. My indebtedness to him is very great.

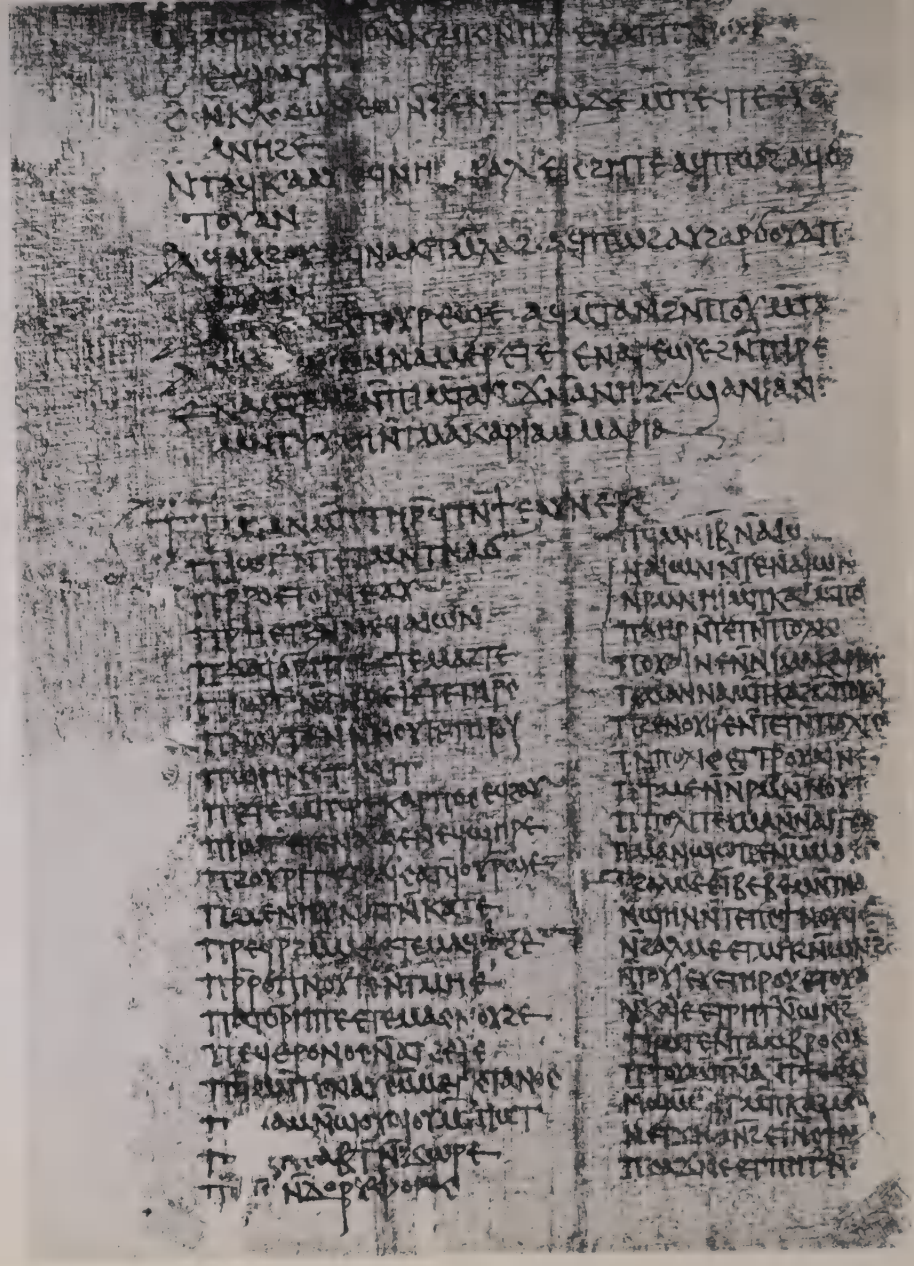
Finally my thanks are due to Dr Kohlhammer for undertaking to publish this work. I hope that it will be possible to publish the earlier part of the manuscript in the course of the next few years.

January 1938. C.R.C.A.





P. 120 (slightly reduced)



P. 136 (slightly reduced)

DIE HANDSCHRIFT.

A. Erwerbung — Erhaltung — Konservierung.

Die Auffindung der Werke des Mani setzte den vielen, wertvollen Papyrusfunden der letzten 50 Jahre zweifellos die Krone auf. Daß uns der Boden Ägyptens auch diese, längst verschollen geglaubten Religionsbücher würde erhalten haben, daran glaubte selbst der größte Optimist auf dem Gebiete der Religions- und Altertumsforschung auf keinen Fall. Um so größer war nicht nur das Erstaunen, sondern auch die Freude, als die erste Kunde — wenn auch zunächst noch unsicher — aus Cairo eintraf, nach der man glaubte, Werke des Mani entdeckt zu haben. Leider war der Erhaltungszustand der Handschriften mehr als schlecht zu bezeichnen, so daß man sich nicht zu verwundern braucht, daß dieselben schon längere Zeit bei einigen Händlern in Ägypten als „Ladenhüter" herumlagen, weil sich kein Käufer fand, der es wagte, diese zerfallenen Papyrushaufen zu erwerben.

Es ist daher ein hohes Verdienst der Herren Prof. Dr. Carl Schmidt und A. Chester Beatty, daß sie den Mut aufbrachten, einige Teile des Fundes für Berlin resp. für London zu erwerben. Als es mir dann in Berlin gelang, eine Seite des von Herrn Prof. C. Schmidt erworbenen Teiles freizulegen, konnte dieser mit Sicherheit feststellen, daß es sich bei dem Funde tatsächlich um Werke des Mani handelte. Wenige Wochen später gelang es mir dann auch in London, von einem der von Mr. A. Chester Beatty erworbenen Bände ein Blatt abzuheben, und die Feststellung von Herrn Prof. C. Schmidt fand eine volle Bestätigung.

Ergab die Prüfung der Handschrift in Berlin, daß man dort einen Teil der „Kephalaia" erworben hatte, so zeigte uns das erste losgelöste Blatt des Chester Beatty Besitzes, daß hier die Psalmen der Manigemeinde vorlagen.

Nun galt es zunächst, ohne viel Aufhebens, zu versuchen, den ganzen Fund sicherzustellen, bevor die Händler den wahren Wert dieses, in seinem trostlosen Zustande ziemlich wertlos erscheinenden Papyrushaufens erfuhren. Ferner mußte verhindert werden, daß der Fund in noch mehr Sammlungen verstreut werde, wodurch eine Zusammenarbeit bei der Herausgabe, wie sie jetzt zwischen Berlin und London erfreulicherweise besteht, unmöglich wäre. Die Erwerbung aller Teile des Fundes wurde dadurch sehr erschwert, daß diese sich nicht in einer Hand befanden, sondern unter mehrere Händler verteilt waren. Der Umfang des Fundes, aber

noch mehr der schlechte Erhaltungszustand desselben, hatte vielleicht dazu beigetragen, daß kein Händler allein den Verkauf und das Risiko dafür übernehmen wollte.

In verhältnismäßig kurzer Zeit gelang es, alle Teile des Fundes für Berlin und London zu erwerben, bevor noch über den Wert desselben etwas in die Öffentlichkeit drang. Nur ein ganz winziger Teil des Fundes wurde mit anderen Papyrusstücken von Herrn Prof. Grohmann-Prag für Wien erworben.

Bald lag dann der Gesamtfund wieder vereinigt bei mir zur Konservierung in Berlin, denn auch der Londoner Besitz wurde mir zur Rettung anvertraut, und auch das winzige Wiener Stück ließ ich mir zur Feststellung der Zugehörigkeit übersenden. Bei der Sichtung des Gesamtfundes stellte sich nun heraus, daß sieben annähernd vollständige Bücher vorhanden waren, wozu noch Reste von zwei weiteren kamen. Hiervon gehörten nach Berlin vier Bücher und ein Rest und nach London drei Bücher und gleichfalls ein Rest. Letzterer ist inzwischen unter dem Titel „Manichäische Homilien" im Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, erschienen. Das Wiener Fragment hat sich als zugehörig zu den Berliner „Kephalaia" erwiesen.

Die Freude über die glückliche Erwerbung dieses einzigartigen Fundes wurde aber sehr stark gemindert, als man den Fund in seiner Gesamtheit nunmehr in Ruhe betrachten konnte. Wie ein stark verwitterter Haufen Torf präsentierte sich dieser den Beschauern, und es gab niemanden, der nicht mit einem bedenklichen Kopfschütteln davorstand und seine Zweifel dahin zum Ausdruck brachte, ob aus diesem Haufen Müll auch nur eine brauchbare Seite herausgebracht werden könnte.

Auch mir, der ich an schlecht erhaltene Papyri im Laufe der vielen Jahrzehnte meiner Tätigkeit gewöhnt bin, lief es beim Anblick dieser neuen Aufgabe eiskalt über den Rücken, aber mein Glauben an ein glückliches Gelingen auch dieser Arbeit wurde dadurch keineswegs getrübt. Im Gegenteil war ich froh, daß dieser wichtige Fund nicht in anderen Besitz gekommen war, wo man von der wirklichen Konservierung nichts oder nur wenig verstand, sonst wäre auch dieser kostbare Schatz für die Wissenschaft sicher verloren gewesen, wie leider schon so viele wertvolle Funde.

Ich wußte, daß an diesem Funde meine reichen Erfahrungen versagen müßten, wenn ich diese nicht noch durch eine tüchtige Dosis Geduld, Entsagung und Liebe zur Sache vermehren würde. Über fünf Jahre beschäftigt mich nun schon dieser Fund fast ausschließlich, und obgleich nahezu 600 Blätter = 1200 Seiten aus dem Gesamtfund bereits für die wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung gerettet werden konnten, so werden doch noch viele Jahre vergehen, bevor der ganze Fund für gerettet erklärt werden kann. Denn schätzungsweise enthalten die sieben fast vollständigen Bücher und Reste von zwei weiteren des Gesamtfundes 1750 Blätter = 3500 Seiten!

Der schlechte Erhaltungszustand der aus dem Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. stammenden Mani-Handschriften ist nicht auf das Alter derselben zurückzuführen, sondern auf die ungünstige Lage der Fundstelle. Denn die weit älteren hieratischen Papyri der Chester Beatty-Sammlung, die mehr als 1000 Jahre früher

entstanden sind als die Mani-Handschriften sind, soweit diese durch die Fellachen nicht bei der Auffindung zerrissen worden sind, noch vollkommen intakt und von fester Beschaffenheit. Auch die Bibeltexte derselben Sammlung sind tadellos erhalten, trotzdem auch diese einige hundert Jahre älter sind als die Manitexte.

Wenn man den Angaben der Händler,bei der Befragung nach dem Fundort, aus begreiflichen Gründen größtenteils wenig Glauben schenken darf, so scheinen diesmal die Mitteilungen, daß der Fund aus dem Keller eines Hauses in Medînet Mâdi im Süden des Fajûm stammt, der Wahrheit zu entsprechen. Denn der schlechte Erhaltungszustand der Handschriften wies den erfahrenen Fachmann ohne weiteres darauf hin, daß die Fundstelle außerordentlich feucht gewesen sein mußte, sonst hätte der Zerfall nicht so vollständig sein können. Medînet Mâdi liegt in der Nähe eines ausgesprochenen Sumpfgebietes. Auch die Niederschläge sind in dieser Gegend, gefördert durch die Nähe des Möris-Sees, sehr häufig und außerordentlich stark, so daß die Keller der Häuserruinen nicht allein dem Grundwasser, sondern mehr noch dem vom vielen Regen hervorgerufenen Überschwemmungswasser ausgesetzt waren. Nur dem Umstand, daß die Handschriften in einer Holzkiste im Keller gefunden worden sind, wie die Angaben der Händler lauten, haben wir es zu verdanken, daß dieselben nicht schon längst zur Humuserde verwandelt worden sind. Der fest zusammengepreßte Haufen konnte so die jahrhundertelange Zerstörungsepoche noch verhältnismäßig gut überstehen, wenn es auch kaum noch Jahrzehnte bedurft hätte, um den Zerfall vollständig herbeizuführen.

Der feuchte Fundort erklärt auch die Tatsache, daß die Handschriften von den Würmern oder Ameisen verschont geblieben sind, die uns schon so viele schöne Papyri aus Ägypten vollkommen zerstört haben. Aber ein weit ärgerer Feind hat unsere Handschriften dem Zerfall nahe gebracht und macht ihre Rettung zur Qual. Förderte das Grundwasser in dem Keller den Fäulnisprozeß der zarten Papyrusblätter langsam aber sicher, so führte das Überschwemmungswasser aus der Wüste starke Mengen Salz mit sich. Hier wirkte der fest zusammengepreßte Papyruspacken wie ein Filter, der sorgsam die Salzkristalle aufnahm, so daß sich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte stellenweise wahre Salznester bildeten, die die Blätter an diesen Stellen fest zusammenfilzten und vollständig zerstörten. Besonders an den Rändern waren die Blätter durch das Salzwasser fest zusammengeklebt, so daß ich beim Auseinanderlösen diese lieber zerstörte, um möglichst viel vom Schriftspiegel zu retten. Wäre der Fäulnisprozeß durch die immerwährende Feuchtigkeit nicht so weit vorgeschritten gewesen, so hätte die Ablösung der einzelnen Blätter keine Schwierigkeiten geboten, weil man dann die Salzkristalle durch Anwendung von Feuchtigkeit hätte auflösen können. So durfte selbst ganz schwacher Wasserdampf nicht angewendet werden, sollten die Blätter nicht zerfallen.

Es blieb also nichts anderes übrig, als zu versuchen, die Blätter im trockenen Zustande voneinander zu lösen. Es ist unmöglich zu beschreiben, wie es mir gelungen ist, die Blätter, die oft hauchdünn sind, voneinander zu bringen. Eine sichere

Handhabung verschieden geformter Pinzetten, ein kleines Gummigebläse, um die Staubteilchen von den Blättern zu blasen, da ein Bürsten mit dem allerweichsten Pinsel die Schrift sofort vernichtet hätte, und eine nie erlahmende Geduld und Sachkunde waren meine einzigen Helfer zum Erfolg.

Etwas mußte ich hier aber anwenden, was ich sonst bei Papyri entschieden ablehne, die Fixierung der einzelnen Blätter mit einer ganz schwachen Lacklösung, um zu verhüten, daß die Papyrusteilchen und mit ihnen die Schrift fortwährend abstäubten. Ich brauche wohl dem Kundigen nicht weiter zu verraten, daß es mir auch oftmals nur gelang, die Blätter in kleinen Stücken abzulösen, die dann sorgfältig und sachgemäß vor der Verglasung wieder zusammengesetzt werden mußten.

Oftmals waren die Blätter auch schon im Altertum sehr stark beschädigt, was auf einen ausgiebigen Gebrauch der Handschriften schließen läßt. Ferner haben auch die Händler ihr Teil dazu beigetragen, daß die Handschriften noch weiter zu leiden hatten. Zunächst haben sich, wie oben bereits erwähnt, in den ganzen Fund drei Händler geteilt, und dabei wurde der große Packen wahllos auseinandergenommen, wobei es kaum sorgfältig zugegangen sein mag. Dann konnte ich feststellen, daß das vorliegende Psalmenbuch von dem Händler zunächst in sechs Teile zerlegt worden ist, um vielleicht die einzelnen Teile leichter und vorteilhafter zu verkaufen. Mit roher Gewalt hat hier der Händler die Teile auseinandergerissen, und zwar an verschiedenen Stellen zunächst den Versuch gemacht, bis er die Teile auseinander hatte. Was dabei verlorengegangen sein mag, wird sich erst später einmal feststellen lassen. Als der Händler dann in Mr. Chester Beatty einen Käufer fand, der den ganzen Fund erwerben wollte, legte er diese voneinander getrennten Teile wieder zusammen — aber leider falsch, was ich leicht feststellen konnte, weil einige Teile kopfstanden. So wird es später noch einige Mühe kosten, die richtige Reihenfolge der Blätter wieder festzustellen, da diese keine Paginierung wie die Berliner Kephalaia tragen.

Der jetzt hier publizierte II. Teil des Psalmenbuches bildete den Schlußteil des ganzen Werkes. 80 Blätter bildeten noch einen fest zusammensitzenden Packen, als ich diesen in Arbeit nahm, so daß also die Reihenfolge einwandfrei feststeht. 35 weitere Blätter konnten von einem andern Packen hinzugefügt werden, wobei mir die Zählung der einzelnen Psalmen, aber auch die Faserung des Papyrusblattes den Weg wies. Eine genaue gemeinsame Nachprüfung mit Mr. Charles Allberry ergab dann die Richtigkeit meiner Anordnung.

So konnte ich die vorliegenden 115 Blätter nach über zweijähriger mühevoller Arbeit zur wissenschaftlichen Bearbeitung übergeben. Daß auch die Entzifferung der Texte nicht weniger mühsam war, und daß Mr. Allberry hier ein Wunder an Scharfsinn und Geduld vollbringen mußte, um die teilweise stark zerstörten und nachgedunkelten Texte zu lesen, wird jeder, der die Originale zu sehen Gelegenheit hat, anerkennen und zu würdigen wissen.

B. Der Codex.

Bereits in dem Sitzungsbericht der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1933, I. „Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten" und in der Publikation der „Manichäischen Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty, Band I. Manichäische Homilien", bin ich auf die Gestaltung der Codexform bei den aufgefundenen Mani-Handschriften näher eingegangen.

Durch die fortschreitende Arbeit an dem Mani-Fund sind aber die Erkenntnisse für die frühe Gestaltung des Codex gestiegen und dadurch die Feststellungen weit sicherer geworden. Es ist daher angebracht, auch für das Psalmenbuch eine genaue Beschreibung des Codex zu geben, wie ich es auch gleichfalls für das jetzt erscheinende „Kephalaiabuch" aus dem Berliner Museumsbesitz tun werde. Zur Vervollständigung der hier gegebenen Beschreibung, bitte ich daher meine dortigen Ausführungen heranzuziehen. Wenn ich hiermit einem Wunsche der Herausgeber nachkomme, so hoffe ich damit gleichzeitig einen kleinen Beitrag für die Codex- und Einbandforschung zu geben.

Daß die Koptischen Mani-Handschriften die Codexform zeigen, wird niemanden mehr verwundern, wissen wir doch, nach den epochemachenden Funden der frühesten Bibeltexte, die sich zum größten Teil ebenfalls im Besitz von Mr. A. Chester Beatty befinden, daß die Codexform bereits im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. gebräuchlich war.

Ob nun die Koptischen Schreiber zur Abfassung der Manibücher eine griechische Vorlage benutzt haben [1]), oder hierfür eine solche in syrischer Sprache vorgelegen hat [2]), bleibt für unsere Betrachtung ohne Bedeutung. Auf jeden Fall müssen die Originalschriften der Manichäischen Urgemeinde auch schon die Codexform gehabt haben, wie aus den Berichten der arabischen Schriftsteller zu entnehmen ist, wonach bei der Verbrennung der Manischriften in der Verfolgungszeit „Edelsteine herausfielen und Gold herausfloß". Beide Materialien können aber nur zur Ausschmückung der Einbände der Codices Verwendung gefunden haben, niemals aber für die Schutzhüllen der Papyrusrollen.

Anzunehmen ist auch, daß die griechischen wie syrischen Codices als Beschreibstoff das damals schon gebräuchliche Pergament benutzten, wenn auch der Papyrusbeschreibstoff in jenen Ländern nicht unbekannt war, wie uns die Papyrusfunde in Dura am Euphrat beweisen. Auch Augustin berichtet von den „vielen, großen und kostbaren Pergament-Codices der manichäischen Schriften", fordert aber als fanatischer Gegner seine Glaubensgenossen zur Vernichtung dieser Schriften mit den Worten auf, „verbrennt alle jene Pergament-Handschriften und jene kostbaren Lederbände". Wenn nun auch die Funde seit 1930 gezeigt haben, daß

1) Prof. Dr. C. Schmidt, Sitzungsberichte der Preuß. Akademie der Wissenschaften 1933, I. „Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten."

2) Prof. Dr. H. H. Schaeder, „Der Manichäismus nach neuen Funden und Forschungen". Zeitschrift „Morgenland", Heft 28, S. 102.

die Codexform bereits mit Ausgang des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. in Ägypten weit verbreitet war, würde die Tatsache, daß auch die Mani-Handschriften die Codexform aufweisen, an und für sich nichts besonderes bedeuten. Und dennoch zeigen uns die Manibücher einen bedeutenden Fortschritt im Buchwesen, sind es doch die ältesten Papyruscodices, die die Lagenheftung aufweisen.

Einen weiteren, wichtigen Fortschritt bedeutet auch die Tatsache, daß das für die Codices verwendete Papyrusmaterial eigens für diese angefertigt worden ist und nicht einer Papyrusrolle entnommen wurde, wie das für alle älteren griechischen wie koptischen Papyruscodices üblich war. Alle Papyruscodices, griechische sowohl als koptische, die uns bekannt geworden sind und der Zeit vor dem 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. entstammen, zeigen keine Lagenheftung, sondern bestehen aus einer einzigen Heftlage. Nur einige vollständige ältere Codices mögen hier diese Behauptung bestätigen. So besteht der Buchblock des Kopt. Codex Ms. or. oct. 987 der Berliner Staatsbibliothek, der Paulinischen Briefe aus den ältesten griechischen Bibeltexten der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty[3]), die griechische Homerhandschrift der Sammlung Pierpont Morgan und die koptische Psalmen-Handschrift P. 8502 in der Papyrus-Sammlung der Staatl. Museen zu Berlin, nur aus einer einzigen Heftlage. Die Blätter dieser Codices sind durchweg einer Papyrusrolle entnommen worden und ist mir die Rekonstruktion der Papyrusrolle bei allen genannten Codices gelungen. Ein sicheres Zeichen, daß die Codexblätter einer Papyrusrolle entnommen sind, geben uns die Blattklebungen, die mehr oder weniger viel Blätter bei den älteren Codices senkrecht durchschneiden, je nach der Breite der einzelnen Blätter, woraus die Papyrusrolle zusammengeklebt war. Es war also noch die Zeit, in der die Papyrusrolle in Ägypten noch die gebräuchliche Buchform bildete und die Fabriken sich noch nicht für die neue Buchform umgestellt hatten. Man kann also auch mit ziemlicher Sicherheit nach diesen Anzeichen das Alter von einzelnen Blättern aus verlorengegangenen Codices bestimmen.

Allerdings gibt es auch Fälle, wo in einem Codex nur wenige Blattklebungen vorkommen. So zeigt der oben angeführte Berliner Kopt. Papyrus-Codex P. 8502 nur ganz wenige Blattklebungen, so daß ich schon annahm, meine Theorie wäre unsicher. Es gelang mir aber nach kurzer Zeit trotzdem, die für den Codex verwendete Papyrusrolle zu rekonstruieren, und das Rätsel löste sich dahin, daß hier ein Papyruskünstler es fertig gebracht hatte, einen langen Papyrusstreifen von über 160 cm in einem Stück anzufertigen. Diese Fälle dürften aber sehr vereinzelt vorgekommen sein. Durch die Anwendung nur einer einzigen Heftlage für den Buchblock war auch der Stärke des Codex von vornherein ein Ziel gesetzt. So zeigen uns auch die wenigen vollständig erhaltenen älteren Codices, daß die Grenze bei 50 oder nur wenig mehr Doppelblättern lag, je nachdem sich der Text inhaltlich teilen ließ. 50 Doppelblätter umfaßten 200 Seiten, und auch hier zeigen uns die

3) Sir F. G. Kenyon, The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, General Introduction.

angeführten Codices, daß diese Annahme ihre Richtigkeit hat. So weist der Codex aus der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty, der die Paulinischen Briefe enthält, nach der Rekonstruktion 52 Doppelblätter auf[4]). Der Kopt. Papyruscodex der Berliner Staatsbibliothek, der noch vollständig imEinband nach Berlin gekommen ist, umfaßt 40 Doppelblätter und einige Einzelblätter, während weitere 6 Doppelblätter, die außen lagen, zusammengeklebt den Buchdeckel ergaben, der mit Leder überzogen war. Durch die Heftung der Buchlage war so gleichzeitig eine feste Verbindung mit dem Einband gegeben.

Die Stärke des Buchblockes war aber nicht allein der Grund, weshalb man nur etwa 50 Doppelblätter für einen Codex benutzte. Ausschlaggebend war hier vielmehr die nach innen stark abnehmende Breite des Codexblattes, die das Schriftbild sehr beeinträchtigte und dem Schreiber sicher Schwierigkeiten beim Abschreiben bereitete. So kann man bei dem, hier schon mehrmals herangezogenen Codex, der die Paulinischen Briefe enthält, die Feststellung machen, daß in der Breite zwischen dem äußeren und dem inneren Doppelblatt dieses Codex eine Differenz von annähernd 10 cm besteht! Da es sich hier um eine gute Buchausgabe des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. handelt, richtete sich auch der Schreiber mit seinem Schriftspiegel hiernach, der auf den äußeren Blättern eine Breite von etwa 13 cm besaß und nach der Mitte zu dem Verhältnis entsprechend abnahm, bis er in der Mitte des Buchblockes nur noch eine Breite von 8—9 cm aufweist.

Im Gegensatz zu diesen frühen Papyruscodices zeigen also nun unsere Manihandschriften, wie schon oben als besonderer Fortschritt hervorgehoben, eindeutig die Lagenheftung. Wenn auch von den bisher abgehobenen 300 Blättern der verschiedenen Manibücher, die 150 Doppelblätter bilden, kein einziges mit seinem Partner mehr zusammenhängt, da gerade am Rücken der Codices die Zerstörung am stärksten zutage trat, so haben sich mit Hilfe der Papyrusfasern, doch einwandfrei die einzelnen Doppelblätter und Heftlagen wieder herstellen lassen.

Leider zeigt das Psalmenbuch weder Seiten- noch Bogenzählung auf, wie die Berliner Kephalaia-Handschrift[5]), so daß hier nur die Papyrusfasern helfen konnten, die einzelnen Heftlagen zu bestimmen. Ein Glück war es, daß der Schlußteil des Psalmenbuches noch einen festen Packen von etwa 80 Blättern bildete, der weder im Altertum vom Leser noch von den Händlern beim Auffinden in Unordnung gebracht worden war. Dadurch wurde die Rekonstruktion der einzelnen Doppelblätter, der Heftlagen und deren Folge aufeinander bedeutend erleichtert und konnte mit absoluter Sicherheit festgestellt werden. Wieviel Heftlagen und damit auch Textseiten das Psalmenbuch enthielt, kann aber mit voller Sicherheit erst festgestellt werden, wenn auch das letzte Blatt der sechs auseinandergerissenen Teile des ganzen Werkes gerettet vor uns liegt. Beim Ablösen der einzelnen Blätter des

4) Sir F. G. Kenyon, The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, Pauline Epistles.
5) Siehe meine Bemerkungen hierüber in der Kephalaia-Ausgabe.

Psalmenbuches, das ich aus dem Grunde vom Ende des Codex begann, weil hier der größte Teil des Buches noch fest zusammensaß und scheinbar die Zerstörung noch weniger unheilvoll gewirkt hatte, bemerkte ich auf dem oberen Rande eines Blattes, rechts nahe am Rücken, die Buchstaben ⲕⲥ. Wie schon weiter vorn berichtet, hatten besonders die Ränder des Buches stark gelitten. Sie waren wohl zum größten Teil noch erhalten, bildeten aber nur in ihrer Gesamtheit eine kompakte Masse, die von Salzkristallen so durchsetzt war, daß sich nur selten größere Teile davon retten ließen. Mit vieler Mühe gelang es mir endlich auch, das Blatt zu bestimmen, wozu dieses Fragment mit dem ⲕⲥ gehörte.

Es ist die jetzige Seite 211 des vorliegenden Psalmenbuches. Mit größter Sorgfalt beobachtete ich nunmehr die Ränder, um weitere Anhaltspunkte zu finden, bis ich dann wieder auf Seite 143 den Buchstaben ⲕⲁ fand[6]). Ferner bemerkte ich auf der Seite 142, aber nicht auf dem oberen Rand, sondern auf dem unteren Rand rechts nahe am Rücken des Buches, den Buchstaben ⲕ. Alle weiteren Bemühungen waren aber bisher vergebens, obschon ich hin und wieder glaubte, Spuren von Buchstaben zu sehen, doch waren es stets Wunschgebilde. Es hat den Anschein, daß wir es hier mit Spuren einer Lagenzählung zu tun haben, denn einschließlich eines leeren Blattes, das in der Publikation nicht mitgezählt wurde, befinden sich zwischen Seite 143 und 211 — 72 Seiten, die 3 Heftlagen ergeben würden.

Was der, auf Seite 142 von mir noch gesehene Buchstabe ⲕ zu bedeuten hat, muß noch ungeklärt bleiben; vielleicht wurde im Psalmenbuch auf diese Art der Schluß einer Lage bezeichnet. Da ⲕⲁ und ⲕⲥ deutlich zu erkennen sind und dazwischen ⲕⲉ wahrscheinlich verlorengegangen ist, hätten wir es also hier mit den Heftlagen 24—26 zu tun, was einer Seitenzahl von 624 entsprechen würde. Mit den noch folgenden 2 Heftlagen würde unser Psalmenbuch demnach 672 Seiten umfaßt haben. Eine endgültige Festlegung, wieviel Seiten unser Psalmenbuch ursprünglich enthielt, wird sich aber, wie bereits gesagt, mit voller Sicherheit erst bestimmen lassen, wenn auch die letzte Seite des Buches gerettet vor uns liegt. Außer den immer zuverlässigen Papyrusfasern wird dann auch die Zählung der Psalmen, die von Psalm 40 ab anscheinend korrekt durchgeführt ist, die sichere Festlegung des Umfanges unseres Psalmenbuches ermöglichen lassen.

Wie bei der Kephalaia, bilden auch beim Psalmenbuch 6 Doppelblätter eine Heftlage von 24 Seiten. Der Papyrus-Beschreibstoff sämtlicher Manibücher ist von vorzüglicher Qualität und muß besonders für diese Heiligen Bücher in der vorgeschriebenen Größe angefertigt worden sein. Der Papyrus ist von einer Feinheit und Gleichmäßigkeit in der Struktur, die unsere höchste Bewunderung hervorrufen muß, zumal die Herstellung in einer Zeit geschah, wo die Papyrusfabrikation vielfach sehr zu wünschen übrig ließ. Hier haben wir es mit ausgesucht gutem Mate-

6) Mr. Allberry bestätigte mir die Lesung, die ich für unsicher gehalten hatte, während er das folgende ⲕ nicht mehr entdecken konnte.

rial zu tun, das auf gleich hoher Stufe mit dem alten ägyptischen Papyrus gestellt werden kann. Ob Recto- oder Versoseite, in der sorgfältigen Fabrikation ist auch hier kein Unterschied festzustellen, wie bei allen guten Papyri ägyptischer Herkunft, wie ich schon früher einmal festgestellt habe[7]). Die Farbe des für das Psalmenbuch verwendeten Papyrus-Beschreibstoffes muß vor der starken Nachdunkelung durch den Einfluß der Feuchtigkeit ein lichtes, gelbliches Braun gewesen sein. Noch heut kann man, trotz der starken Vermoderung, bei vielen Blättern einen feinen, seidenschimmernden Glanz feststellen, den uns viele dünngearbeitete Papyri aus Ägypten zeigen.

Bei der Herstellung des Buchblockes wurde streng darauf geachtet, daß die Faserrichtung der einzelnen Blätter miteinander harmonierte, so daß also immer die horizontalen Fasern der Blätter aufeinander lagen wie auch die vertikalen. Es ist die gleiche Übung wie beim guten Pergamentcodex, wo auch stets die Haarseite auf Haarseite und die Fleischseite auf Fleischseite zu liegen kamen. Wahrscheinlich bildeten die Pergamentcodices auch hier, wie auch bei der Lagenheftung das Vorbild. Was aber hier dem Papyruscodex zur Schönheit diente, bereitete dem Restaurator bei der Ablösung der einzelnen Blätter die allergrößten Schwierigkeiten. Denn durch die Feuchtigkeit gefördert, haben sich die Fasern der übereinander liegenden Seiten fest miteinander verbinden können, so daß es oftmals fast unmöglich war, diese voneinander zu lösen.

Die Größe des Doppelblattes betrug beim Psalmenbuch 27×35 cm, das zusammengefalzt die Größe des Codex von 27×17,5 cm ergab. Da die Blätter bei der Lagenheftung durchweg die gleiche Breite behielten und nicht wie bei den älteren Codices in der Breite erheblich voneinander abwichen, so war es auch für die Schreiber des Psalmenbuches weit leichter, dem Schriftbild ein gleichmäßiges und gefälliges Aussehen zu geben. Die Schriftkolumne schwankt ein wenig und mißt in der Höhe 16,5—17,5 cm und in der Breite 10—11 cm. Sie ist so angeordnet, daß am Rücken ein freier Raum von 2 cm, oben ein freier Rand von 4 cm, vorn ein solcher von 4,5 cm und unten ein breiter Rand von 5,5 cm verblieb. Durch diese sinnvolle Anordnung des Schriftspiegels muß der Gesamteindruck des aufgeschlagenen Codex ein außergewöhnlich schöner und vornehmer gewesen sein, wie ihn uns die besten Mittelalterlichen Handschriften nicht schöner bieten können. Die hier beigegebene Abbildung einer der wenigen gut erhaltenen Seiten gibt uns ein ungefähres Bild von der Schönheit einer solchen Buchseite.

C. Schrift und Einband.

Der Schriftduktus im Psalmenbuch weicht von dem in den Kephalaia, wie auch von dem in den übrigen Mani-Handschriften geübten ganz erheblich ab. In den Kephalaia sehen wir eine strenge, gleichmäßige Schrift, dem Charakter des Wer-

7) Ibscher, Beobachtungen bei der Papyrusaufrollung — Archiv für Papyrusforschung. Band V, 1909, Seite 191 ff.

kes angepaßt. Im Psalmenbuch tritt uns dagegen eine weit beweglichere, leicht verschnörkelte, man möchte sagen fröhlichere Schrift entgegen, die mit dem Inhalt dieses Gesangbuches der Manigemeinde mehr harmoniert. Aber hier, wie in allen Mani-Handschriften haben wir es mit einer kalligraphischen Höchstleistung zu tun, wie solche nur von ganz hervorragenden Schreibkünstlern ausgeführt werden konnte. Es hat den Anschein, als wenn auch im Psalmenbuch mehr Hände am Werke waren. Denn man kann deutlich einen gewissen Unterschied in der Schrift feststellen. Allerdings muß man hierbei stets berücksichtigen, daß sich die Schrift ein und derselben Hand mit der unausbleiblichen Abnutzung der Rohrfeder verändern mußte. Diese wird bei einem neu hergerichteten Schreibrohr einen weit schärferen Charakter besessen haben, als bei einem Schreibrohr mit, durch den Gebrauch abgenutzter, weichgewordener Spitze. Ferner muß man auch berücksichtigen, daß die ausgeruhte Hand des Schreibers beim Beginn seines Tagewerkes, die Schrift weit sicherer und klarer zu Papier bringen konnte, als am Schlusse nach einer gewissen Ermüdung nicht nur der Hand, sondern auch der Augen.

Wenn man all diese Ursachen berücksichtigt, die zweifellos viel dazu beitragen, selbst bei einem sehr geübten Schreiber den Schriftcharakter zu beeinflussen, so muß man bei unseren Mani-Handschriften auch Zweifel hegen, ob an ein und derselben Handschrift mehrere Schreiber ihre Kunst ausgeübt haben. Rein technisch ist es schon schwer vorstellbar, daß zu gleicher Zeit mehrere Schreiber an einem Buche tätig waren. Wir müssen uns klarmachen, wie ein solcher Codex entstanden ist. Führten hier die Schreiber ihre Tätigkeit vor dem Zusammenfügen der Blattlagen zu einem Codex aus, oder nachher? Ohne Zweifel wurde die Beschriftung vor dem Einbinden ausgeführt, schon aus rein technischen Gründen. Bei der Herstellung der älteren, einlagigen Codices wurde bei dem Zuschneiden der Doppelblätter aus der Papyrusrolle schon darauf Bedacht genommen, daß die in den Codex in der Mitte — also innen — kommenden Doppelblätter eine geringere Breite erhielten als diejenigen Doppelblätter, die außen zu liegen kamen. Bei dem Codex aus der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty, der die Paulinischen Briefe enthält und von mir schon mehrmals zur Bekräftigung meiner Feststellungen herangezogen worden ist, konnte ich bei einer Anzahl von Blättern genau beobachten, wie diese aus der Rolle herausgeschnitten worden sind. Es handelt sich um die Seiten 70—135, die die Mitte des besagten Codex bilden und 17 Doppelblätter benötigten. Diese 17 Doppelblätter ließen sich zu einer Rolle von etwa 5 m Länge rekonstruieren. Die größte Breite der weiter nach außen liegenden Doppelblätter betrug 29,5 cm, während das innere Doppelblatt — Seite 100—103 — nur eine Breite von 26,5 cm aufwies. Meine Nachmessungen, wobei mir die einzelnen Blattklebungen der Papyrusrolle einen sicheren Anhalt boten, ergaben, daß durchweg zwischen allen Doppelblättern ein schmaler Streifen von etwa 1,5 cm fehlte, der später beim genauen Zuschnitt der Blätter als Abfall verlorengegangen ist. Hätte der Schreiber beim Zuschneiden seiner Blätter nicht darauf Rücksicht genommen und alle gleich

breit zugeschnitten, so hätte dieser Abfall bei dem ganzen Codex einen Papyrusstreifen von 325 cm Länge erfordert! Man ersieht hieraus ganz klar, daß der Schreiber, der sicher auch der Verfertiger des Codex gewesen ist, mit Bedacht den inneren Doppelblättern gleich die ungefähre richtige Breite gegeben hat, wie es später auch die Mönche im Mittelalter taten, wenn sie aus der Pergamenthaut sich die Blätter für ihre Codices herausschnitten. Einmal war dies notwendig, um das zu allen Zeiten recht kostbare Material zu sparen, wie ferner auch hier wieder technische Gründe mitbestimmend gewesen sein mögen, weil man noch nicht in der Lage war, Codices in einer Stärke von 5 cm und darüber mit einemmal zu beschneiden.

Bei unseren Manibüchern fällt ja die Ungleichheit der Blätter in der Breite fort, weil bei den dünnen Heftlagen die äußeren mit den inneren Doppelblättern in der Breite kaum wesentlich differierten, und vom Papyrushersteller bereits in genauer Größe geliefert wurden. Aber hier wie bei einlagigen Codices war es unmöglich, daß zu gleicher Zeit mehrere Schreiber am Werke sein konnten, weil der Text in den meisten Fällen fortlaufend ist, selbst wenn der Inhalt im Psalmenbuch aus vielen einzelnen Psalmen besteht, zwischen denen stets ein Spatium gelassen wurde, worin die Zahl des betreffenden Psalmen steht. Aber selten fängt mit einer neuen Seite auch ein neuer Psalm an und kaum wird gerade dort, wo dies einmal der Fall ist, eine neue Heftlage beginnen, so daß also ohne Störung mehrere Schreiber niemals gleichzeitig an einem Buche tätig sein könnten. Wir werden also bei der Beurteilung der Schrift in einem Codex auch die hier angeführten technischen Vorgänge mit berücksichtigen müssen und den Unterschied im Charakter der Schrift eben auch auf diese Ursachen und auf die Ermüdung der Hand des Schreibers zu setzen haben.

Zum Schluß wäre nun noch über den Einband unseres Psalmenbuches einiges zu sagen. Es lagen wohl bei diesem, wie auch bei einigen anderen Bänden des Fundes rohe Holzdeckel dabei, und wie die Händler erklärten, hätten die einzelnen Bücher immer zwischen zwei solchen Holzdeckeln gelegen. Es ist auch hier wieder zu bedauern, daß der Fachmann nicht zur Stelle sein konnte, als der Schatz gehoben wurde. Jedenfalls bezweifele ich sehr, daß die rohen Holzdeckel in diesem Zustande jemals den Einband für diese kostbaren Bücher abgegeben haben. Fest steht für mich, daß die ursprünglichen Einbände mit Gewalt vom Buchblock entfernt worden sind. Ob dies schon im Altertum oder erst nach der Auffindung durch die Händler geschehen ist, sei dahingestellt. Ich persönlich nehme an, daß die Zerstörung bereits im Altertum, vielleicht durch einen späteren Besitzer erfolgte, der die kostbaren Einbände entweder für andere Werke verwendete, oder aber die zur Ausschmückung der heiligen Bücher verwendeten Edelsteine und Edelmetalle zu Geld machen wollte. Anders ist es nicht zu erklären, daß gerade am Rücken der Bücher die Zerstörung so stark in die Erscheinung getreten ist. Wären die Bücher nicht aus dem Einband gerissen worden, so hätte gerade der feste Rücken des Einbandes den Buchblock an dieser Stelle vor Scha-

den bewahrt, und die Heftung wäre uns erhalten geblieben. Ein Glück für uns, daß der Schreiber am Rücken des Buches etwa 2 cm freien Raum gelassen hat, sonst wären noch weit mehr Zeilenanfänge durch das brutale Herausreißen des Buchblockes aus dem Einband, verlorengegangen. Auf der beigefügten Abbildung kann man die gewaltmäßige Zerstörung am Buchrücken noch gut erkennen.

Sollten die Einbanddeckel wirklich aus Holz bestanden haben und die Größe der beiden mit dem Psalmenbuch gefundenen Deckel rechtfertigen diese Vermutung, dann müssen hier griechische Einbandkünstler am Werke gewesen sein, die die Verwendung von Holz zu Einbanddeckeln schon in sehr früher Zeit kannten. Sämtliche, bisher in Ägypten aufgetauchten frühen koptischen Einbände — aus dem 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert n. Chr. — zeigen durchweg Deckel, die aus Abfällen von der Papyrusstaude hergestellt sind, oder bei denen die Deckel aus alter Makulatur zusammengeklebt wurden. Es wäre erfreulich gewesen, hier einmal alte Einbände aus dem Ausgang des 4. Jahrh. n. Chr. kennenzulernen, die unsere Kenntnis auf dem Gebiete der Einbandforschung ungemein gefördert hätte, da die frühesten Einbände aus dem 6. Jahrh. n. Chr. stammen.

Nachdem aber in den letzten Jahren so reiche Funde an Codices zutage getreten sind, gibt es für den Forscher und Fachmann auf dem Gebiete der Entwickelung der Codices von den frühesten Anfängen bis zur höchsten Vollendung im Mittelalter kaum eine Lücke mehr. Daß der Manifund auch hierin unsere Kenntnis gefördert und eine empfindliche Lücke geschlossen hat, macht den Fund auch nach der technischen Seite hin außerordentlich wertvoll.

THE PSALMS.

A. Date, Scribes, Authorship.

The Coptic Manichaean papyri are assigned by Professor Schmidt to the second half of the 4th century (Mani-Fund p. 35): Dr. Polotsky thinks this too early (Manich. Homilien p. X note). Already by the end of the 3rd century there were Manichees in Egypt[1]); and I conjecture that the missioners brought with them books written in Syriac[2]), which were translated during the 4th century into Greek and, as converts were made where Greek was less well understood, from Greek into Coptic. If during this second stage the translator had access to the Syriac originals, this would account for the safe passage through Greek of such forms as *enosh shem zaradrousht* etc., which might otherwise cause perplexity.

The Psalm-book, certainly the part of it that is published here, is the work almost entirely of one scribe (see pp. XV f. above for a description of his hand), though two others are to be detected. A second hand is responsible for a few corrections (where the papyrus had been damaged) on pp. 2, 6 and 21, for line 21 of p. 30, for one word on p. 36, for a marginal gloss on p. 107, possibly for line 4 of p. 115, and certainly for the whole of pp. 120—132. A third hand, large and clumsy and I should say a full century later, has written an ignorant colophon on p. 113 and the whole of pp. 228 and 234. The second scribe has an idiom which is to be found in the Homilies and the Kephalaia: he writes not ϩⲛ̄ⲡ-, as the first scribe invariably does, but ϩⲙ̄ⲡ-; and I conclude from this that the Psalm-book is the earliest written of the three. There are signs that our copy lies quite close to the original: the text is in good order, scribal errors are few, the words (especially Greek words, which in Coptic generally become badly distorted with constant copying) are correctly spelt.

It is the work of several authors. The second part includes psalms by Heracleides (see 97, 14 note), Thomas (see 203, 1 note), and the unknown Syrus (14, 19;

1) See the evidence given in Mani-Fund pp. 12 ff.; E. de Stoop, Essai sur la Diffusion du Manichéisme etc. (Gand, 1909) pp. 73 ff.; W. E. Crum in J. R. A. S. 1919 pp. 207—8 and J. E. A. 1933 vol. xix, pp. 196—9. Mr. C. H. Roberts is shortly to publish in vol. 3 of the Greek Papyri of the John Rylands Library an anti-manichaean letter from the Fayyum which he assigns to the last quarter of the 3rd century.

2) See Flügel, Mani p. 86. The fragments of manichaean Syriac found in Egypt are discussed by Burkitt, Relig. of the Manichees, Appendix III.

27, 16; 231 b 26: possibly he too was an early disciple of Mani). Of these Heracleides and Thomas are known to have been early propagators of Manichaeism, and I am inclined to think that the Psalm-book was written about 340.

B. Form and Contents.

The Psalm-book consists of 289 numbered psalms (according to the Index: see 10 below) and heteromorphic groups of unnumbered psalms. All those here published, with the exception of the Psalms of Thomas (pp. 203—227), have one characteristic in common: each ends with a doxology, in which honour is ascribed to God, Jesus, Mani, the Elect, and a number of Manichees who were perhaps martyrs. In every doxology at least one of these persons is commemorated. The Manichees [3]) are Mary, Theona, Cleopatra, Plousiane, Apa (that is, Father) Polydoxus, Eustephius, Jmnoute, Pshai, Apa Pshai, and Apa Panai. The last four of these are evidently Egyptian and the rest Graeco-egyptian; and I conclude that the doxologies are local in origin, with honour paid to Egyptian converts, martyred [4]) in the early days of the Egyptian mission.

Each psalm, except those on pp. 203—227, is divided into verses containing an equal number of lines; the number of lines to the verse varies from psalm to psalm. It seems from 47, 15—17 'He that sings a psalm is like them that weave a garland: they that answer after him are like them that put roses into his hands', that a cantor would sing a verse alone and at the end of it the congregation would repeat the opening words of the psalm or some phrase from the first verse. This response or refrain has in many cases been inserted at the end of verses by the scribe, often in a shortened form. The basis of the metre is division into verses of equal length [5]).

The psalms here published are arranged in groups as follows:

§ 1 pp.1—47, CCXIX—CCXLI: Psalms of the Bema [6]). A peculiarity of this group is the occurrence here and there of what may be called the Greek rubrics, certain words or phrases written to the right (and in one case to the left also) of the num-

3) See Index C ii.

4) At 157,13 and 173,12 a dual, μάρτυρε, seems to occur: possibly Mary and Theona were a pair of martyrs, like Shmona and Guria among the Syrians. In the unpublished part of the book I have noticed the phrase 'the martyr soul of Mary'. But was Martyre a proper name? The dual is barely tolerable.

5) The metre of the Central Asian hymns has been investigated by M. Lidzbarski (Nachrichten Göttinger Gesellschaft 1918, pp. 501 ff.) and W. Henning (ibid. 1932, pp. 214 ff.; A. B. A. W. 1936, Nr. 10 p. 21 note).

6) The *Bema* (see 1,4 note), the manichaean counterpart of Easter, was celebrated in March (cf. Augustine Cont. Faust. 494,19 Zycha). The meaning of 41,18 seems to be that CCXL, the last but one of the Bema-group, was sung on the *third* day of the festival; but 41,25 'the day of the ⲙⲁϩⲁⲓⲧⲉ (completion, consummation) *which is hidden today*' shows that there was yet another day to come, on which CCXLI was sung, and that the festival lasted for four days. I know of no other evidence bearing on its duration. An important collection of Bema-hymns has been published by W. Henning from among the Asian material: see Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch, A. B. A. W. 1936, Nr. 10.

ber that stands at the head of a new psalm. Some of these (vide 7, 11; 14, 19; 27, 16) give the author's name and need no comment; but there are three whose import is not clear. At 30, 21 there is an odd mixture of Greek and Coptic, written by the second scribe and not clearly legible; at 36, 13 the word ϩγωνωλειλ occurs, also in the second hand; at 41, 8 ⲫⲁⲗⲙⲟⲓⲥ ⲁⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲫ[ⲱⲙⲉⲛ or ⲟⲙⲉⲛ?] has been written by the first scribe. I conjecture that these are relics of the Greek version from which the Coptic translation was made.

§ 2 pp. 49—97, CCXLII—CCLXXVI. The title at the top of p. 49 has disappeared, save for a few illegible marks, and I have called this group Psalms to Jesus, to whom the soul appeals for protection in the hour of persecution and death. The author is not named.

§ 3 pp. 97, 14—110, 16, CCLXXVII—CCLXXXVI: Psalms of Heracleides (see 97, 14 note).

§ 4 pp. 110, 17—113; CCLXXXVII—CCLXXXIX: these are labelled ⲁⲗⲁⲫ in the Index (p. 233 b 29, see § 10 below), which I take to be ψαλμοὶ διάφοροι, miscellaneous psalms designed for various occasions. There are at least two such groups in the earlier part of the book. At the bottom of p. 113 the scribe has written a quasi-colophon 'Remember me, my beloved, I pray you, remember me', to show that the had come to an end of the numbered psalms. The verso of p. 113 is blank and there follows a blank leaf. The rest of the psalms in the book (pp. 115—227) are not mentioned in the Index (see § 10 below) and none is numbered, except those on pp. 203—227, which have an independent numeration.

§ 5 pp. 115—132: the title of this group is lost. P. 115 seems to begin with the remains of a doxology, and I think that one psalm (but not more than one) has perished. Line 4 of p. 115 contains faint traces of what may be the name of an author and these are written, so it seems to me, by the second scribe. Apart from this all the writing on pp. 115—118 is in the first hand. P. 119 is illegible: presumably it contained the end of the psalm that begins on p. 118. Pp. 120—124 contain a Psalm to Jesus, written by the second scribe, p. 125 is blank, and p. 126 has the same text, with one or two variants, as p. 120. This page was found lying upside down in the quire and the writing crossed out: I have suggested an explanation of this in a note there. On pp. 127—131 there is another psalm in the same hand and the ending of this, with the beginning of the next, is lost, for 131/132 represents three folia fast stuck together, of which one, according to Ibscher, is blank. This group therefore contained probably seven psalms.

§ 6 pp. 133—186. A new group begins on p. 133 and a title stands at the top, ⲫⲁⲗⲙⲟⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲧⲱⲛ. But I am uncertain whether this is complete as it stands as the papyrus is destroyed towards the right of the page and two or three letters may have been lost. I have added dots to indicate this uncertainty but on the whole I am inclined to think that no letters are missing. The word ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲧⲱⲛ

looks like a Greek genitive plural but I have not been able to discover who the σαρακωτοί or σαρακῶται were. There is a Coptic word ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲧⲉ 'wanderer', 'vagrant (see Crum Dict. 354 b), but this can hardly make such a form and gives no very satisfactory sense [7]). This group of psalms extends certainly as far as p. 160 and possibly to p. 186, but p. 160 is only three-quarters written and the next psalm begins at the top of p. 161. It is possible therefore that the group ends on p. 160 and another begins on p. 161, though there is no sign of a heading there to indicate a new group.

§ 7 pp. 187—202: another group of Psalms of Heracleides, very different in character from the earlier.

§ 8 pp. 203—227: Psalms of Thom, presumably Thomas (see 203, 1 note). This group is utterly different in form and content from the rest of the book. There are no doxologies and no refrains. There is no arrangement in verses. The subject-matter is strange and unfamiliar. A characteristic is the repetition of a word or phrase and sometimes two consecutive psalms will end with the same formula. The group has an independent numeration: some of the psalms have numbers and titles, some have titles only, some have numbers only, and one (p. 220) has neither number nor title and no account was taken of it in the numeration.

§ 9 pp. 228 and 234: stray psalms which are independent of the rest of the book. They are written by the third scribe where he found blank pages to fill with writing. They seem to be of the same type as § 5. It is possible that 233/234 contains two or three folia stuck together.

§ 10 pp. 229—233 contain an Index [8]), more or less illegible and lacunal, which was designed to act as a guide to the contents of the book. It takes no notice, however, of the unnumbered psalms from p. 115 to the end. It consists of five pages divided into two columns of approximately thirty lines each. The opening words of each psalm are given, together with the number it bears in the collection. The psalms are divided into groups, with the group title set at the head of each, though in many cases this is illegible. The 289 psalms which are numbered seem to be divided into 19 groups of unequal length. The numbered psalms published here, CCXIX—CCLXXXIX, are to be found entered from p. 232 b 19 to the end of p. 233. In some cases I have been able to supplement the Index by reference to the text, in others to supplement the text by reference to the Index.

It will be seen that despite its fragmentary condition the Index throws light on the contents of the unpublished part of the book, which for the greater part has not yet been prepared by Ibscher; and more evidence is to be had from the few pages that are already under glass. There are in it such groups as Psalms of Sun-

7) Yet Mani enjoined a wandering life on his disciples (Albiruni: Chronology of Ancient Nations p. 190,24 Sachau).

8) An Index in many respects similar was used by the Manichees in Central Asia: see F. W. K. Müller, Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch. A. B. A. W. 1912,

day, Psalms of Vigil, Paschal Psalms, further groups of miscellaneous psalms, and a large group in which the soul is addressed. It appears that the manuscript contained two collections, the first consisting of the 289 psalms enumerated in the Index, the second independent of these yet in many respects similar, with at least one group in each written by the same author. If we allow an average of one and a half sides for each psalm, the total length of the book would be approximately 280 folia.

C. Indices of Words etc.

I have appended lists of the Greek and Coptic words, proper names, Manichaean termini technici, and biblical quotations. I have followed the usual practice in translating Coptic texts and put a Greek word in brackets after its translation, except in the case of certain words that occur very frequently (ἐκκλησία πν[εῦμ]α πρεσβευτής), in some cases where English uses the same word as the Greek (ἄγγελος αἰών ἀπόστολος βῆμα δαίμων δράκων ἐρινύς θησαυρός κατηχούμενος μυστήριον πραγματεία ὠμοφόρος). The following I have left untranslated either because I was uncertain what they meant or because I could not hit on a sufficiently compendious rendering: ἀγγελική, perhaps 'angel band', cf. ἀρχοντική; ἀρχιδίκαιος 'chief Zaḍdik'; ἑβδομάς 'the 7 devils'; ἡλικία, see 207, 3 note; θυσιαστήριον 'altar'; καμπτήρ, evidently the same as the Latin *cursor*, but I can find no authority for this; κατωμίζειν, see 222, 17 note; λαϊκόν, apparently a place where the offerings of the laity were received; μεταγγισμός 'transmigration'; νάρθηξ 'casket for unguents (?)'; νοερά, see 161, 25 note; ὄργανον (?) 99, 9; παννυχισμός 'vigil'; πλάσμα i. e. moulded figure; πνευματικά, perhaps the five spiritual qualities corresponding to the five intellectual (ψυχικά) members, 23, 14—18 note; τελώνης at 97, 10; φεγγοκάτοχος i. e. the Splenditenens (138, 28); χορός 'choirs' (?).

In the Index of Coptic words an asterisk is prefixed to words which have not appeared before in any dialect. This index is selective, and where the references are followed by an 'etc.' they are not complete: where there is no 'etc.' at the end of an article all references are given. In Index E I have attempted to record the more obvious biblical quotations and sub-quotations.

ERRATA.

7 23 n: but see Ein Mani-Fund, p. 33 n 1

11 32: divide 'Pshai, Jmnoute'

13 27: read ϩⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ

14 18 47 23: divide ⲡⲱⲁⲓ ⲭⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

15 1: read 'that'

17 24 18 6: properly 'on the day after Sunday'

18 11: read ⲭⲉ ⲁ]ⲟⲩⲉⲛ

18 27: after 'me' insert 'also'

21 last line of notes: read 20, 21

23 4: read (θλῖψις)

30 19: for 'thee' read 'thy'

33 6: read (φεγγοκάτοχος)

42 4: read ⲁⲗⲟ]ⲩⲉⲛ

42 30 end: read 'for our'

44 12: read 'released thee'

44 27: read Ⲛ]ⲉⲓⲉⲧⲟⲩ

53 18/19: read ⲛ̄ⲛⲩ[ⲙⲟⲩ]ⲧⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲩ, translating 'and [call] also unto' instead of 'and take his stand against'

57 7 123 21: read Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ]

63 17 n: delete 'which . . . . . book'

64 24: read ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲣⲁⲡⲁⲧⲏ

73 7/8 n: for ⲁⲛⲉⲩ read ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ

75 11: read (μακάριος)

76 17: read ⲱⲁⲙⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

76 27: but see 233 b 1

80 25: read 'and the'

81 26: read (ὡς)

85 18: read 'o' for 'of' 2 0

87 27 n: for 17 b read 53

88 15: but see 139 43 n.

89 9: read ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁϩ[ⲙⲉⲧ

90 text: renumber the lines as in the translation

90 l. 2 of note: read ϩⲁⲗ

91 22: read ⲭⲛ̄⟨ⲛ̄⟩ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲗⲟⲩ

93 21: read ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟⲩ[ⲱⲱⲉ

94 8: read (ἀμνηστία)

96 23: read ⲛ̄+ⲕⲁⲙⲁϩⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, and translate 'of this second gift also'; delete l. 3 of notes

113 5: for 'gates for' read 'mouths at'

115 32: read (παρθενία)

117 7: read Ⲭ ⲛ̄]ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ

121 23: read ⲛⲉ[ⲃⲁⲧ]

122 25: read ⲛ[ⲉ]ⲃⲁⲧ ⲉ . .

141 12 n: read 'unknown'

146 29: for ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲉ read ⲛⲁⲉ

155 1: read ⲁ̣ⲉ̣ⲟⲩⲉ̣ⲛ̣

157 5: read ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲉⲣⲓ

161 1: read ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ, 'the spirits'

163 7 178 14: for 'was brandished behind' read 'turned back'

163 7 n. on ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩϩ: but see Index B sub voce

175 23: read ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲓⲱⲧⲉ]ⲙ

182 10: read ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁϩ̣[ⲟⲩⲉ]ⲗ̣

188 13: read Ⲛⲓⲭ[ⲱ]ⲗ̣[ⲉ] and in note read ⲭⲱⲗⲉ

193 30 n: for 195 11. 12 read 185 11

210 16: read ⲡϩⲏⲧ [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲉ̣ⲧ̣ϩⲁⲃⲕ and translate 'hast rested the heart of the Little One'

212 17: read 'wrested'

INDEX SIGLORUM

. . .	vestigia incerta litterarum
ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲅ̣	litterae quae non prorsus clarae sunt
. . .]	lacuna ad initium lineae
[. . .	lacuna ad finem lineae
[. . .]	lacuna ad medium lineae
[ⲁⲃⲅ]	litterae a me suppletae
[[ⲁⲃⲅ]]	litterae a recentiore manu exaratae

Ογεαγ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁ̣ⲛ̣|ⲭ[ⲁ]ⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ
ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ[☥ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲡⲱⲁ|
ϫⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϴⲉⲟⲛⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> c|ϴ <

Ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡ̣ⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲕⲱ ⲙ̣
ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲥⲟⲩ̈ⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̣ⲛ̣ⲟ̣ⲩ̣
ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧϩⲏⲡ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲃⲁⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲛ̄ⲙ̣ⲟ̣ⲩ̣[ⲧⲉ
ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ
Ⲧⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁ̈ⲥ ⲛ̣
. . . ⲟⲥ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲑⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡ̣ⲱ̣ⲣⲱ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ̣ⲕ
ⲛⲁⲉ ⲁ]ϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲁϫⲱⲛ
Ⲧⲙⲛ]̣ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲱ|ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̣ . . . [.
. .] . ⲧⲟ̣ⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲧⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲱϫⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟ̣ⲩ [ⲡⲕ̣]ⲗ̣[ⲁⲙ
ⲛ]ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣|ⲱ̣ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲧⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ [ⲛ
ϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟ̄ ⲡ̣ⲁⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲗ|ⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲧ ⲉ̣ⲧ
ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ . . . . .
Ⲛ†ⲟⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁ̈ⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧϩⲱⲃⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ϩ̣ . ⲁ̣ [. . ⲛⲧⲉ
ⲡⲡⲉⲧϫⲁⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲁ̈ⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ . [. . . .] . ⲛ̣
ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲧⲣⲉⲩ†ⲟⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲣⲉⲩϫⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϩ̄
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ • ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ . . ⲁ̣ . . . . [.
ⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲥⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧϫⲁϫⲉ
Ⲧⲧϫⲁ̈ⲙⲗⲁϩ ⲡϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲱ|ⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ•ⲃ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃ̣ⲉ
ϫⲉⲩⲉ ϩ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲡⲛ̄ⲏ̈ⲧ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲉ ⲡ̣ⲉ
ⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲧ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲡ̣ⲉⲩ̣ⲕ̣ⲗ̣ⲁ̣ⲙ
Ⲧⲧⲙⲉⲣ]ⲓⲧ' ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲓ ⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ . . . . . .
. . .] . . . . . ⲁⲡⲥⲱⲧⲉ . . . ⲧⲁⲛ . . . . . ⲙⲟⲩⲛ̣ . .
. . . .] vacat ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ . . . ⲃ̣ⲣⲟ ⲛ̣ . . ⲩ̣
. . . .]ⲧ' ⲁⲩⲱⲣϫ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲱⲧ ⲡⲥⲟⲩ̈ⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲙ̣[. . .

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30 spatium circa 10 litterarum scriptura vacat. — 32 fort. ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲙ̣[ⲟⲩⲛⲕ (2, 1) ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] supplendum.

Glory and honour to our Lord Mani and
all his holy Elect. Victory to the [soul of Pshai
Jmnoute, Theona, Mary.

CCXIX.

We pray thee, our God, the merciful, forgive us
our sins.
God, we pray thee, the Father, the first of the Gods,
the hidden one, whose Light is revealed, we call
unto thee, hear us.
The Land of Light, the house of the Father, the throne (θρόνος) of the Lord of
all . . . ., the fount of all glories, spread thy
mercy] upon us.
The twelve great powers, the immeasurable Aeons . . . . . .
in whom there is no waning or diminution, the garland
of renown of the Father of the Lights.
The whole dawning of the Light, wherein the Gods
rejoice, the air (ἀήρ) of our blessed city (πόλις) that
is wholly manifest . . . .
The blossoms of beauty unfading, the progeny . . . . . of
the Most High, that are held in honour, the children of the . . .
the householders of the Land of Light.
The Mother that gave birth to them all, the Parent of all
lives, the first armour of God . . . . . .
came and destroyed the hostile power.
The Warrior, the strong one of manifold activities, who subdued the
rebels by his power, our Father, the First Man of glory,
whose victory and garland are blessed.
The Beloved of the Lights that wears the crown . . . . .
. . . . . for the salvation . . . . . .
. . . the whole earth . . . victory . . . .
. . . . . they were firmly established.
The Good (ἀγαθός) one, the Great Builder, the first of the . . . .

1—3 With this doxology Psalm 218 concludes: v. Introduction II (b). — 4 According to the Index (p 232, b 16) Psalms 218—241 are ψαλμοὶ βηματικοί, sung in honour of and at the feast of the Bema, at which Mani's death and passion were commemorated and the coming judgment of the world foreshadowed: see Aug. cont. Ep. Fund. 202, 11 ff. ed. Zycha. — 7—15 cf. Aug. op. cit. 209, 11 ff; contra Faustum, 425 ll. 4—25, Zycha. — 11 ⲍⲁⲗⲗⲉ 23 ⲍⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ vide Polotsky Man. Hom. p. XIX. — 22—27 cf. Cumont 'La Cosmogonie manichéenne' p. 14. — 28 cf. Cumont op. cit. p. 28; Flügel Mani pp. 88, 207; Migne P.G. I, 1468. — 32 cf. Cumont op cit. p. 37. On the Manichean Pantheon generally see Polotsky's Abriß des manichäischen Systems p. 249 ff.

. . . . . .]ⲧⲱⲱ ⲁⲡⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲁⲙⲁⲛⲕⲏ ⲛ̣
. . .] . . . . . .
. . . .] . ⲁ̣ . . . ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲡⲣⲉⲩϴⲃⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ
ⲧⲏⲣ]ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̣
ϴⲟ]ⲩⲓ̣ⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ
. . .] . ⲁ̣ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲥ|ⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲉⲧ
ⲥⲁ]ⲣⲙⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲧⲏⲕ ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲙⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥ̣ⲟ . .
. .] . . . . ⲡⲉ⸗ⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄ ⲉϥⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄
ⲦⲦⲣⲣⲟ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ . . . .
. . ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲥⲁⲱⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲉϥ⸗ⲍⲉⲡ ⲁⲛ|ⲍ ⲛ̄ⲭⲡ[ⲟ ⲙⲡ
ⲛⲟⲩ]ⲛ ⲧ̣ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲧⲛ̄⸗ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉϥ
ⲦⲦⲁⲁ]ⲁⲙ[ⲁⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧ̣ⲑⲃⲓ̈ⲁϥ ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲱⲙ ⲁ̣[ⲭⲛ
. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲉⲥⲥⲧⲱⲧ . . ⲛ̣ . . . ⲕ̣ . . . . [. . .
. . . . . ⲛ̣ ⲉⲥⲛⲏⲭ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕ̣[ⲟⲥⲙ]][[ⲟⲥ]]
ⲦⲦⲣⲣⲟ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ . . . ⲧⲉ ⲍⲙⲡⲛ̣[ⲟⲩⲛ
ⲙⲡ]ⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ • ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲏⲩ • ⲡⲁⲡⲙⲁ[[ⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲧ[ⲥⲉ]]
ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ]ⲁⲛⲍ̀ • ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲁⲣ[[ⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ]]
ⲦⲦⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟ]ⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲱ[[ⲙ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲉ]]
. . . . . ⲛ̣ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲃⲥⲉ ⲉϥⲭⲁⲩⲗⲉ ⲍⲁⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲍ [[ⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲃ|ⲭ]]
ⲉ]ⲩⲃⲓ ⲁ[ⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲍ]ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲛⲧ̄
.] . ⲟ̣ . ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲉ ⲙⲁ̣ⲩⲭ|⸗ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍ|ⲛⲛⲃ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲡ[[ⲣⲉⲩⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ]]
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲧⲩ ⲡⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑ|ⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ
ⲡⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲉ
|ⲏⲥ ⲡⲥⲉ|ⲛⲉ [ⲛ]ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲟⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ[[ⲁⲩ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲙ]]
⸗ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ[[ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ]]
ⲡⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲍ[ⲟ ⲛ]ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲛⲍ̀
Ⲧⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲣ|ⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟ[ⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩ
ⲁ[ⲓⲛ]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲙ̣[ⲁⲙ]ⲁⲁⲧ ⲧⲉⲧ⸗ⲱ|ⲡⲉ vacat ⲍⲛ̣[ⲡⲉⲥ
ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧ[ⲉⲟⲩ]ⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ vacat ⲛ̄[. . .
ⲦⲦ . . . ⲛ̣[.]ⲁⲩ ⲡⲃⲁⲗⲁⲱ|ⲣⲉ ⲡⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄[ⲓⲱⲧ
ⲡⲙ̣[ⲁⲍ]ⲱⲁⲙ[ⲧ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲉⲍⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ

1]ο ϣⲁⲡⲁ|ⲱⲛ P(olotskius): vide praefationem. — 7 fin. fort. ⲙ̄ⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ 12, 18 ⲍⲱⲙ ipse non perspexi, ex P. supplevi. — 13]ⲭⲙⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲉⲥⲥ. ⲍⲙ[P. — 14—25 litteras quot inter [[. . .]] inclusi in panniculis integrae papyri recentior exaravit manus. — 15 ⲉⲧⲟⲩ. ⲡⲉⲧⲥ|ⲧⲉ P. — 21 init. ⲡⲟⲟⲍ coniicio: fin. ⲣⲉⲩⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟ[ⲩⲥ P. — 24 ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ ex ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲧⲗⲃⲟ a rec. man. correctum. — 31 ⲍⲛ̄ⲙ P.

. . . . . to the new Aeon, to form it
. . . . . .
. . . . . and all his kin, the subduer of all the
sons of the abyss, the Saviour of our guide from the
beginning, the Living Spirit, our first Right Hand.
The Splenditenens] in the height of the heavens, who is between them
that wander (?) and them that are fixed. The tenth who . . . . .
. . . . . who suspends the universe, guarding the universe.
The King of Honour, the strong God, who is in
the seventh heaven, judging the demons, the creatures of the
abyss(?). We sing to him, we glorify him.
The Adamas of Light unsubdued, who treads upon
the earth's trembling foundation (?) . . . , ...
. . . . . that is laid (?) in the midst of the worlds (κόσμος).
The King of Glory, the holy counsel, who turns (?) in the abyss (?)
the three wheels (τροχός), that of the winds, that of the water, and that of
the living fire, the armour of our Father, the First Man.
The Omophoros, the great burden-carrier, who treads upon the . . . . .
with the soles of his feet, supporting the earths with his hands,
carrying the burden of the creations.
The moon that tastes not sleep, the sun that raises up
what has been refined, the seal and likeness of the image (εἰκών) of the
Father,
the sign of joy, the exalted victory.
Jesus, the Physician of the wounded, the Redeemer of the
living souls, the path which the wanderers seek,
the door of the treasure of lives.
The beloved Daughter of her Father, the blessed
maiden of Light (?), who puts to shame by [her
ineffable beauty the powers that are full . . . . . .
. . . . . the hero, the gift of our Father (?)
the Third Envoy (πρεσβευτής), who has been established since the

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3 'all his kin' i. e. his five sons, enumerated below, vid. Jackson 'Researches in Manichaeism' Study XI, where the main authorities are quoted. — 5 cf. Acta Archelai ed. Beeson § VII. — 13 supplying some such word as κρηπίς cf. infr. 200, 27. — 15, 16 cf. Aug. Contra Faust. 548, 4. 5 'alius rotas ignium ventorum et aquarum in imo versat'. — 19 for ϫⲁⲩⲗⲉ see Schmidt-Polotsky-Ibscher 'Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten' p. 76, n. 3. — 22 cf. Alexand. Lycopol. 7, 6 ff. (ed. Brinkmann). — 27 cf. Act. Arch. § XIII. — 30 ϭⲁⲗⲁⲱⲗⲣⲉ vid. Hom. p. XIX. — 31 vide W. E. Crum: A Coptic Dictionary p. 380 b: or 'sent out from the'.

1—11 non legi possunt

12 Ογ]εαγ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ογϭρο ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ ⲡⲛ[ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲛ
ϫⲁ|ⲥ] ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ϫⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ [ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲉⲧϫⲏ]ⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

15 > c̄k̄ <

ⲠⲠⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲩ† . . . [. . . .
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲠⲠⲁⲧⲥⲟⲩ|ⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲛⲧ . . . . [. . . . . .
. †ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ • ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲟ[ⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲛ
20 ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏ • ⲡⲥⲟⲩ|ⲧ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ . . [. . .
ⲡ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ϫⲁ|ⲟⲥ
Ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲑⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲛ̄ⲧ ⲁⲕⲃⲁⲗⲡ̣ⲟⲩ ⲁ[ⲛⲉⲕ
ⲡ|ⲥⲧⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϫ|ⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ . . [. . . .
. . ⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲕⲣ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲗⲏ [ⲛ]ⲥ̣[ⲣ]ⲏ[ⲓ
ⲛ̣ⲥ[ⲏⲧ]ⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ϫ|ⲓ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲁⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥ̣ⲡ̣ . . .
ⲠⲠⲁⲑⲟⲩ]ⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉ̣ⲕⲁ̣ⲧⲥⲃ̄ⲕ̣ⲁⲩ
ⲛⲕ . .]ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧ . [. .] . . [ⲉⲧ]ⲧⲁⲓⲁⲓ̈ⲧ
. . .] . ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏⲁⲟⲛⲏ [ⲛ]ⲕ†[. . . . . .] . . . . . .
. . .] . ⲥ ⲁ̣ⲧⲃ̣ⲣ̣ⲁⲩ ⲱⲁⲑⲁⲏ
. . . . .]ⲕⲡ̣ⲱⲥ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ . . . . . ⲱ ´. . ⲛ
. ⲉⲛ]ⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲡⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲛⲉⲥ ⲧ̣ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡ
. . .]ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ • ⲁⲕⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[. . . . .]ⲉ . [.

14 ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ sic. — 23 fin. fort. ⲛ̄ⲱⲁ̣[ⲣⲡ. — 30 an ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ]ⲕⲡ̣ⲱⲥ ?

1—11 are illegible.

Glory and Victory to the Spirit of Truth, our [God, our
Lord] Mani, and all his [holy perfect
Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXX.

Glory to thee, Word of God, the . . . . . .
forth.
The Original One, who is excellent and worthy to . . . . .
we (?) glorify him; the Son and the Holy Spirit also, we
worship them in Truth; the first of the . . . . .
the Paraclete, Mani.
The mysteries that were before the foundation, thou didst reveal them to [thy
faithful (πιστός), that there was Light . . . . . .
. . . . the obscure abyss wherein there was creeping
the Darkness with its five . . . . .
The Original One of Sin, the enemy of God, do thou make him less (?)
and . . . . him forth, whom the Spirit of . . . . . that is honoured
. . . . . fire and lust (ἡδονή), and do thou (?) give . . . . .
. . . . . unto the end.
When (?) thou camest unto the race of . . . . . .
the commandments (ἐντολή) which the Old Man proclaimed (?) with the
. . . . . of the earth, thou didst take away the . . . . . .

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24 for ϣΛΗ (cf. inf. 9, 20; 10, 18: Hom. 76, 7) vid. Crum op. cit. p. 558 b. — 25 cf. 9, 17 n. — 31 cf. Rom. 6, 6; Ephes. 4, 22.

1 deest

. . . . . .] . . . . . ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲉⲧⲁⲃⲃⲉ ⲁ̣ⲕⲱⲁⲥⲩ
. . . . . .]ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲡ̣ . . [.
. . . . .] . .
. . . . . .] . . ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲡ̣ . . . . . ⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄
. . . .] . ⲁⲩⲣⲁϩⲧ̣ . . ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ . . . . . .
. . . . . .]ⲛⲉ̣ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲙ . . . . . ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄
. . . . ⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄
. . . . . ϫⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲩϫⲓⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ϩⲙⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲃ̣ . . [. . .
. . . . . ⲉⲧⲟ̄ . . . ⲉⲫⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ
. . . [. . . . .] . . . . ⲁ̣ . ⲉⲓ . ⲁⲡϩⲓⲕ • ⲡⲁⲧϩⲏⲧ ⲁⲩ
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲣⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲗⲁϩ ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣⲕⲟ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁϩ
.] . . ⲛ̣ . [. . .]ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲁ̣ⲩ†ⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ϫⲉ
. . . . .] . ⲃ̣ⲉ̣ • ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟ̣[. . . .
. . [. .] . . • ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕϫⲡⲏ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁ[ⲛ]ⲱ[ⲁⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲡ[. . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲓⲱⲛ
. . . . . .] ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲁⲧ ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ
ⲁ̣[ⲛⲧⲁ]ⲗ̣ⲏⲗ̣ • ⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲱⲟ
. . . .] . . ⲟ̣ . . . • ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲁⲗ̣ⲏⲗ̣ ϩⲛ̄ⲡ̀ⲕⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲁⲃⲉ . . . . .] . . ⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧϫⲱϩⲙⲉ
Ⲁ̀ⲩⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ ⲛ]ϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲑⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲗⲁ
ⲛⲏ] ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ⲕⲱϩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲡⲁⲣⲕⲟ̄ ϩⲓ
ϫⲛ ⲡ]ⲉ̣ⲩⲕⲁϩ ⲁⲩϫⲱⲙ ⲁⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ̄ⲟⲩⲁϩⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ
. . . . .]ϫⲡ̣ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲓⲡⲉ
Ⲁ̀ . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲡⲕⲓ̈ⲱⲧ
. . . .] ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲧ ⲁϫⲱⲩ • ⲁⲕⲧⲱⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲁⲑⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧϫⲏ[ⲕ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲕⲡⲁⲣϫⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲧϩⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ • ⲁⲕⲧ̣ⲱⲱ ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩ
ϩⲱⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲉ̣ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲁϩⲃⲉⲩ ⲛ̄|ⲏ̄ⲥ̄
N̄ⲁ|ⲱⲣⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲟⲣ[ⲙⲁ ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲁ[ⲩⲉ]ⲉⲩ • ⲡⲉⲕϩⲛⲁϥ . . . . ⲁ̣| ⲁⲕⲱⲁⲗⲏ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲃ[ⲏⲧⲟⲩ
. . . . . .] ⲁⲕ†ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ [. . .
ⲁⲡⲱⲛϩ̀
. . . . . ϫⲱⲉ ⲁ̣ⲧⲣⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛⲉϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ⲡⲡ[. . .

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15 fin. an ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁϩⲉ? — 17 fort. ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ uel ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣϫⲱⲛ supplendum cf. 2 Cor. 4, 4; 1 Cor. 2, 8. — 21 fort. ⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲥ]ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲉ. — 23 ⲡⲁⲣⲕⲟ̄ sic. — 29 ⲛⲁϩⲃⲉϥ ϥ sup. lin. — 33 ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲧ sup. lin.

destroyed

. . . . . in the Light of
. . . . . .the cold . . . . . thou didst scorn it
. . . . . who leads the peoples (λαός) astray in the water . . .
. . . . .
. . . . . even the . . . . . good . . . .
. . . . . he struck (?) . . . . within . . . . . .
. . . . . within . . . . . the mother of
. . . . . entire.
. . . . . the guide before the . . . . . .
. . . . . he being ignorant of that which is happening
. . . . . magic; the foolish man
desired to make war and was uprooted from his land.
This is the name (?) that the Saviour (σωτήρ) first gave thee,
the Holy One (?), whom the . . . . . world (κόσμος) cannot
. . . . . and endure, because thou didst put to shame the evil genius
of the . . . . of this Aeon.
. . . . . which God gave as a present, when we saw it
we rejoiced (?), which one in a thousand beholds
. . . . . thou didst rejoice in thy holy spirit
in its unsullied beauty (?).
They arose], they that belong to Matter (ὕλη), the children of Error (πλάνη),
desiring to uproot thy unshakeable tree and plant it in
their land; they strove (?) at the matter, they did not succeed,
those] creatures of shame.
Thou (?) didst . . . . over the little sheepfold, over which thy
Father . . . . . Thou didst appoint the degree (βαθμός) of the
Perfect and didst separate them from those that are in the world (κόσμος);
thou didst appoint a
task for each of them in the yoke of Jesus.
The evil persecutions (διωγμός) of the enemy of God, the Sects (δόγμα) it is
that conducted them. Thou didst shed thy . . . . . blood for their sake,
. . . . . thou didst succour them . .
unto life.
. . . . . it behoves us to worship him, all of us, the. . . . .

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16 ⲧⲱⲛⲧⲃⲁⲛⲱϣⲁⲓ cf. Crum Dict. 544 a and b s. v. ϣⲁⲓ . ϣⲁⲓ occurs in the following passages 15, 28 ⲡⲓⲃⲁⲛⲱϣⲁⲓ; 81, 16 ⲧⲁϩⲁⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲣϣⲁⲓ; 43, 19 ⲧⲱⲛⲧⲃⲁⲛⲱϣⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓⲟⲥ; 185, 21 ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩⲣ̄ϣⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛϥ: and it seems to be the equivalent of the Gk. δαίμων = 'fortune', used in composition with εὐ- and κακ-. Thus ⲃⲁⲛⲱϣⲁⲓ = κακοδαίμων, ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲛⲱϣⲁⲓ = κακοδαιμονία, ⲛⲁⲩⲣ̄ϣⲁⲓ = εὐδαίμων, ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣ̄ϣⲁⲓ = εὐδαιμονία, ⲣⲛⲁⲩⲣ̄ϣⲁⲓ = εὐδαιμονεῖν. — 18 init. a feminine noun must be supplied, perhaps ⲧϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ. — 23 lit. 'uproot it upon their land': for ⲡⲱⲣϥ used thus vid. Crum Dict. 268 b. — 24 the meaning of ϫⲱⲙ is not clear; possibly it is connected with the boh ϫⲟⲙϫⲉⲙ, Spiegelberg, Koptisches Handwörterbuch p. 271.

ll. 1—18 nil potest legi

19 ϩⲉⲛⲁ

20 [cka]

21 ⲣⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲡ]ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄

22—30 nil potest legi

31 . . . . . .]ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ • ⲛⲓⲙ . . . . . .

1—4 nil nisi l. 4 ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩϥ legi potest

5 ⲧ . . ⲁ|ⲛⲉ ⲁ . [. . .]ⲛⲧ . ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ[ⲉ .] . . . . . [. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲙⲏⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏⲁⲟⲛⲏ ⲥⲁ[. . ⲛ[. . .]ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ . . . ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ [. . . . . ⲁ

Ⲭ . [. .]ⲛⲟ̄ⲛⲥⲏⲩ . . ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ . . . .ⲙⲙⲉ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ[. .

10 ⲭ[. .] . ⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲱ[.] . . . . . [. . .]ⲛⲥ . . ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲕ . . [. . . . .] . . . . . [.][[. . ⲃⲉⲉⲧ .]]ⲁⲓⲙⲁ . [. . . . .]ⲙⲛ̄ . . . . ⲙⲛ̄ⲡ . . . . . [[ⲛ̄ . ⲓ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲙⲉⲗ . [. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ . . ⲁ . ⲉⲧⲭⲁⲍⲙⲉ . ⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . ⲉⲧⲉ . . . [. . . . [. . . .] .

15 . . . . . .] . . . . . ⲛ̣ⲧⲕⲱⲱ[.][[ⲉ . . . .]][. . . . . .] . . . ⲱⲁ . [. .][[ⲥⲫ ⲁⲛ . . .]][. . . . . .][[ⲥⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ ϫ̣]][.] . . [. . . . . .] . . . . . [[ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ]] . . . . . .] . . . . . [[ⲁⲛⲱⲃⲓⲁⲩ]][. .]ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ

20 . . . .

ⲦⲦⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . ⲃ̣ . ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏⲣ[. .]ⲧⲁⲁⲩⲉⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲣⲉⲛ ⲉ[. .] . ⲧⲕ̣ ⲕⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲧ . . . . . ⲟⲥ ⲭ[ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ̣ . . . . [. . . ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ . . . ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲕⲙⲛ̄[ⲧⲣⲣⲟ . . . .

25 . . [. .]ⲉ . ⲧ . . . ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ . . . ⲛ . . ⲕ . . . ⲛ́ . . . ⲁⲛⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲛ̄ⲏⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲛ[. . . . . ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ . ⲛⲡ . . . . [. . . . . ⲧⲥⲁⲩⲥⲥ̣ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ̣ ⲛⲏ[. . . . . ⲁ ⲥⲣⲏⲏ̈ ⲁ̣ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲁⲙⲡ . . ⲛ ⲁⲭⲱⲥ ⲁ . [. . . . . .

30 ϯⲛⲁ . . . ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ . ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲧⲧⲉ[ⲕⲟ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡ . [. .] . [. .] . . Ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ[. . . . . ⲭⲍ̣ ⲛ̄ . . ⲥⲓⲭⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲡⲱⲣⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ . [. . . . . .

Nothing of this page is now legible save the few words that I have indicated. 'Theona', coming alone in l. 19, makes it certain that in that line Psalm 220 ends; and though the number of the new Psalm, 221, is not legible in the next line, it may be supplied with certainty together with the first few letters of the Psalm, from the Index (p. 232; column b, l. 21).

CCXXI.

Bestow on us, o Word of God, the forgiveness of sins and (?)

22—30 *illegible.*

. . . . . blessed (μακάριος). Who . . . . . .

1—4 *illegible save* 'they sent him' *in* l. 4.

. . . . . in truth . . . . . .
. . . . . filled in sin . . . . . lust (ἡδονή) . . .
. . . . . of the holy ones . . . . . .
. . . .
. . . . . profit (?) . . . thy doctrines . . know (?) now in . .
. . . . . in thy . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . and (?) . . . and the. . . . . and the limbs (μέλος?) also
. . . . . foul too (?) which the . . . . .
. . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . together . . . . . .
. . . . . with us . . . . .
. . . . . we . . . . . sin
. . . . .
The whole world (κόσμος) . . . . . .
. . . . . thou knowest the . . . . . that
thou . . . . . of the knowledge of the Truth . . . . .
mighty (?) . . . . . the walls (?) of thy kingdom . . . .
. . . . . with us . . . . . .
We have been glorified, our holy Father, we have . . . . . .
upon my ignorance . . . . . .
. . . . . the bitter assembly . . . . . .
up to the Sphere (σφαῖρα) . . . . upon it . . . . . .
I shall . . only the indestructible (?) Spirit . . . .
of the . . . . .
A little guile and a great guile is . . . . . .
. . . . upon them (?) that they waged on us . . . . . .

24 The usual plural form of ⲥⲁⲃⲧ is ⲥⲃⲧⲉⲩⲉ cf. 199, 3; or ⲥⲃⲧⲉⲉⲩ 50, 22. — 33 ⲡⲱⲣⲥ̀ properly means 'to extend', 'to strain' vide Crum op. cit. 269b; and 'to wage' a war cf. Hom. 8, 13; Keph. 4, 1; infr. 204, 13. 17 ⲡⲱⲣⲥ̀ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲁⲥ 'aciem extendere'.

ne n̄ⲥn̄mⲓⲱe n̄bp̄pe eⲩⲱbⲃⲓaⲓ̈t · alla enkaⲥtaⲓ̈t
anekna[e] xe ⲱakⲛaⲩⲥk̄ n̄kⲱn̄ⲥthk n̄ⲟlaⲙ ⲙ̣[a]
ρ]nⲡⲱⲥt̄ ⲙ̄ⲙan encaⲡⲥⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙak̄ entⲱbⲃ̄ n̄tk̄
ⲙn̄tⲱanⲥthⲩ ⲡnaht

Ⲡⲱk̄ pe bro n]ⲙ ⲱ petⲟⲩaⲃe preⲩ†ⲱⲙ̄noⲩⲩe ⲡⲙa
n]χa]oc ⲡbro n̄ⲑⲟⲩⲓ̈te ⲙn̄ⲡatⲙhte netaⲡkⲓ̈ⲱt
ρⲥⲙat ⲙ̄ⲙaⲩ nek̄ · ⲡbro an n̄tk̄aⲓⲥah petⲉ ⲟⲩan
n]ⲙ baⲱt̄ aⲃaⲗ ⲥhtⲩ̄ · xe n̄tak̄ pe preⲩteoⲩ̣ ⲙ̄ⲙh
▮ ⲥaⲑⲟⲩⲓ̈te tⲙhte ⲙn̄ⲑah Ⲟⲩbro n̄t†ⲩχh n̄t
makaria ⲙ̄ⲙaria

> ckB < tⲟⲩ aⲩtⲟⲩ

Ⲧ]†ⲩχh cn̄oⲩⲱn ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙeⲓ̈ne etaⲓ̈ xe ⲡⲙeⲓ̈ne
pe peⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡk̄ⲱ aⲃaⲗ n̄neⲛaⲃe
Ⲧⲡⲓbhⲙa etⲟⲩanⲥ̄ aⲃaⲗ petaⲡⲥexe kaaⲩ ⲥⲓteeⲥh
xe eⲩnaxo n̄ⲥhte ⲥⲓtn̄petⲟⲩanⲥ̄ aⲃaⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡr̄ⲡⲙe
ⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥeⲡ etⲥhⲡ petarep̄peⲩⲱbⲱ̄ xn̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲥ̣ⲟⲟⲩ
etarecⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩn̄ⲗⲓBe t†ⲩχh
Ⲉⲓc ⲡⲥⲙat aⲩeⲓ ne n̄te ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡreⲱe oⲩⲱnⲥ̄ ⲥⲱ
e axn̄ⲥr̄te n̄n̄enaⲃe thⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡoⲟⲩe n̄teⲣ̄ⲡⲙe
ⲉⲩ n̄teⲥah · n̄tecⲃtⲱte ⲥ̣n̄neⲥⲃhⲩe xe ere ⲡⲃh
ⲙa ρⲱ n̄tⲥoⲫⲓa kⲓⲙ aⲣo etⲃhtⲥ̄
Ⲧⲧaⲩⲗoc ⲡaⲡeaⲩ ⲭⲣⲙn̄tⲣe eⲩxⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙac ne xe ⲡ
ⲃhⲙa ⲙ̄ⲡχ̄ⲣc petⲉ ⲙaⲩx̣ⲓ ⲥo n̄ⲥhtⲩ̄ · enoⲩⲱⲱe en
oⲩⲱⲱe en tn̄naxⲓ peⲓ . . aⲩ thⲣn̄ · peⲓ̈ an petere
ⲡⲃhⲙa teoⲩo ⲙ̄ⲙaⲩ eⲩkaraⲓ̈t
N̄ . . naⲩe n̄xp̄xⲓⲣ n̄te tkaⲕⲓa ⲣxaⲓ̈c axⲱoⲩ ⲡan
. . . . . .] ⲡ̣ . . . . . ⲙn̄ⲡatⲥhⲁonh etⲥooⲩ · n̄te
. . . . . .]ⲩ n̄tⲃⲗⲕe ⲙn̄ⲡ[ⲫⲑ]onoc ⲙn̄ⲡⲱkⲙe · n̄
. . . . .]e an etⲥaⲱe n̄ṭ[e t]ḳakⲓa Baⲗoⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡooⲩe
Ⲙare]ⲩneⲩ aⲣo n̄xⲓ ⲡkⲣ̣[ⲓthc] ⲉⲣⲉⲣaⲓ̈c anⲓentⲟⲗaⲩ
e nⲩt]aⲓ̈o n̄ⲩ† ⲡⲱnⲥ̄ ne ⲡkanaⲃe aⲃaⲗ thⲣⲩ̣ ⲩa
ⲣⲥⲙa]t ⲙ̄ⲙaⲩ ne · aⲙh ⲃe n̄temaⲥe ⲥn̄nⲓaneⲧⲱⲣt̄
etⲟⲩa[Be

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2 ⲥ]nnekna[e] sic P. — 11 tⲟⲩ aⲩtⲟⲩ vid. Introd. II, (b). — 16 xn̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ[ⲥ]ooⲩ P. — 24 xⲓ peⲓ aⲣaⲩ vid. — 26 ṇoⲩnaⲩe, axⲱc oⲩⲡan P. — 27 nte tⲥhⲁonh P. — 29 init. fort. k[aⲓⲙⲣⲣ]e an supplendum. — 31 fort. tⲙ]aⲓ̈o.

new and different struggles; but (ἀλλά) we trust
in thy mercies, for thou turnest and showest pity quickly. Let
us prostrate ourselves, beseeching thee, imploring thy
pity, o merciful one.
Thine is every victory, o holy one, giver of good tidings, Mani;
the victory of the beginning and that of the middle which thy Father
has bestowed upon thee, the victory of the end also, for which every
man is looking; for truly thou art he that proclaims
the Beginning, the Middle and the End. Victory to the soul of the
blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXXII. By the same (τοῦ αὐτοῦ).

O Soul, know this great sign, that this is the sign
of the remission of thy sins.
This visible Bema, the Word set it before thee,
that He might sow in thee through what is visible the remembrance
of the hidden Judgment which thou hast forgotten since the day
when thou didst drink the water of madness, o Soul.
Lo, there has come to thee the grace of the day of joy; do thou for thy
part reveal without fear all thy sins today and be mindful
of thy end and prepare thyself in thy works; for the Bema
of Wisdom (σοφία) moves thee concerning it.
Paul, the glorious one, bears witness, saying unto thee: 'The
Bema of Christ, in it there is no respect of persons: whether we will
or not we shall all . . . . . it.' This too is what the Bema
silently proclaims.
The wanton (?) . . . . of wickedness (κακία), do thou rule over them: the
. . . . . of . . . , that of . . . and that of foul lust (ἡδονή);
and do thou
. . . . . wrath and envy (φθόνος) and sadness; the
bitter . . . . . of wickedness (κακία) also, do thou loose them today.
May] the Judge (κριτής) see thee keeping these commandments (ἐντολή)
and may he] honour thee and give thee Life. Complete forgiveness will he
bestow on thee. Come therefore and walk on these holy steps.

5—9 cf. Aug. Contr. Felic. p. 811, 13 ff; Burkitt, 'Relig. of the Manich.' p. 17. — 14 On the whole subject of the Bema see my note on p. 1, 4 supra. — 21 'it' i. e. thy end. — 22. For Manich. views of St. Paul see H. H. Schaeder, 'Urform und Fortbildungen . . .' pp. 72, 129. — 23 ff. This citation may perhaps come from some apocryphal source: it is not to be found in the canonical epistles. — 26. The meaning of χρχlρ here is uncertain, vide Spiegelberg op. cit. p. 277. — 29 possibly 'bonds' of wickedness. — 32 'steps' lit 'stones of stairs', cf. Aug. contra Ep. Fund. 202, 11 ff.

Маре пвнна щωпе не ⲛ̄оуна ⲙ̄мане ⲙ̄пе
аге • оуна ⲛ̄хωкне ⲙ̄пеωнг̀ • оуклвωтос
есмнг ⲛ̄свω • оубλобе апхісе • оунащесщⲡ̣ .
ⲛ̄те негвнуе ерепеу де апеіне ⲛ̄неї гⲛ̄пвн
на смане ⲙ̄маү
Хооос неү хе кснамаат ⲧ̄технн етаї ⲛ̄те псе
хе пвнна етсоутанⲧ̄ ⲛ̄те преү†геп етаї
пна ⲛ̄гмесⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄їате ⲙ̄поуаїне етоунү аппλа
нн • тсⲛ̄те ⲙ̄пбро етгалб етмнг ⲛ̄софіа
Хаіре пвнна ⲙ̄пбро пне|не етаї ⲛ̄те тⲛ̄поλіс • пклам
етраут' етпр̄їшоу ⲛ̄ⲙ̄†ухауе етбраїт • птахо
гщү мⲛ̄ткрісіс ⲛ̄ⲛ̄рецр̄наве • хаіре пвнна ⲙ̣̄
пноус ⲛ̄граφауе етоуабе
Єіс щнн ніи гіпооуе аур̄вр̄ре ⲛ̄каісап • еіс ⲛ̄грн
ре ⲛ̄оурⲧ̄ ауппωрⲱ поусаїе абал хе ацщωт' ⲛ̄
ж̣і пⲫнаг̀ етхі ⲛ̄оубωве ⲛ̄банⲥ̀ щωт' гωωк
ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲙр̄ре ⲙ̄ⲛ̄пснаг ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛнабе
Ппанр тнрⲫ̄ тр̄оуаїне тсфаіра ребреб ⲙ̄пооуе пке
каг ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ гоуреωреω • ⲛ̄гімееу ⲙ̄піам гарк̀ хе
асоуеїне ⲛ̄хі ппрω етакне етмнг ⲛ̄гісе на
рⲛ̄р̄вал г[ω]ωне атмⲛ̄твоone ⲛ̄те ткакіа
Канабе абал ⲛ̄нетсауне апекмустнріон • не
тапсауне бωλⲡ̄ арау ⲛ̄ⲙ̄петгнп ⲙ̄ппетха
се гітⲛ̄тсофіа етоуабе ете мⲛ̄ плання ⲛ̄гнтс̀
ⲛ̄те текклнсіа етоуабе ⲙ̄ппараклнтос пнї̈ωт
Ппхрнма етмнг ⲛ̄реωе ⲛ̄те пⲡⲛ̄а етої ⲛ̄еау †
ⲙ̄маү нен ⲛ̄гмат ⲛ̄ксарⲫ̄ арап тнрне ⲛ̄кха
кⲙ̄ гⲛ̄оурεωе ⲙⲛ̄ⲟ̣ⲩ . . . . . [. . . . .
неүтλ†λе ан етн[ах]ωкне н . . [. . . . . .
Ппеау нек пⲛ̄їωт п[ман]іхаіос папеау [пнаб
ⲛ̄ноуте пⲥ̣ⲱ̣ⲣ̣ [нтк пкан]абе абал тнрⲫ̄ пт̣[а
щеаїщ ⲙ̄пωнг̀ ппресвеутнс ⲛ̄те нап[х]се
пеау ⲙ̄пеквнна пекмангмесⲧ̄ ⲉ̣т̣† . . [. . . . .

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3 мащесωп P. — 10 маре pro Хаіре P. — 13 leg. ⲛ̄ⲛ̄гραφауε. — 16 ⲭ̣[іпат]нае P.: ⲛ̄оубωве sic, leg. ⲛ̄ноубωве. — 19 ка$\underline{\text{sic}}$г оурεωрεω P. — 27/28 ⲛ̄кхакⲙ̄ pro ⲛ̄кхакмн, cf. infr. 41, 20. — 29 тλтλе P.

May the Bema become for thee a landing-place of thy
days, a place of cleansing of thy life, a chest (κιβωτός)
filled with teaching, a ladder to the height, a measuring-balance
of thy deeds; and as thou seeest the likeness of these things in the Bema,
bless it.
Say unto it: 'Thou art blessed, great Instrument (τέχνη) of the
Word, upright Bema of the great Judge,
the seat of the Fathers of Light that are far removed from
Error (πλάνη), foundation of the sweet victory, full of wisdom (σοφία).'
Hail (χαῖρε), Bema of Victory, great sign of our city (πόλις); joyous
shining garland of the souls that are victorious, but judgment
and condemnation (κρίσις) of sinners; hail (χαῖρε), Bema of
the Mind (νοῦς) of (?) the Holy Scriptures (γραφή).
Lo, all trees . . . . . have become new again. Lo, the
roses have spread their beauty abroad, for the bond (?)
has been severed that does harm to their leaves. Do thou also sever
the chains and the bond of our sins.
The whole Air (ἀήρ) is luminous, the Sphere (σφαῖρα) . . . . . today, the
earth too puts forth blossom also, the waves of the sea are still: for
the gloomy winter has passed that is full of trouble. Let
us too escape from the iniquity of evil (κακία).
Forgive the sins of them that know thy mystery, to whom
there has been revealed the knowledge of the secret of the Most High
through the holy wisdom (σοφία), wherein there is no Error (πλάνη),
of the holy Church of the Paraclete, our Father.
The joy-filled treasure (χρῆμα) of the glorious Spirit, give
it as a present to us and extend it unto us all and wash
us in joy and . . . . . .
his drops also that will wash the . . . . . .
Glory to thee, our Father Mani, the glorious one, [the great
God, the Saviour (σωρ)]. [Thou art the] entire remission of sins, the
preaching of life, the Envoy of them that are on high.
Glory to thy Bema, thy seat that . . . . . .

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2 ⲁⲥⲉ means 'aetas', ⲱⲛϩ 'vita'. — 3 'measuring-b.': the reading is uncertain; P reads ⲙⲁⲩⲉⲥⲱⲧ translating 'counting-balance'. — 14 ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ: P translates 'today', but quotes no parallel for so strange a form. The only suggestions I can make are (i) that is the A^2 form of ϩⲓⲧⲟⲩⲉ (for which see Chaîne, Eléments de Grammaire dialectale copte p. 462; Crum Dict. 471 b); (ii) the word is ϩⲓ 'and' and the pl. of the Gk. πόα 'grass' 'plant' (cf. ⲥⲡⲓⲣⲟⲟⲩⲉ: σπεῖραι Rossi, I Papiri copti . . . . di Torino I IV 1, 7). But I do not feel sufficient confidence in any one of these three suggestions to admit it into the text. — 18 ⲣⲉⲃⲣⲉⲃ meaning unknown cf. Hom. 20, 16. — 19 ϩⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲣⲉⲱ cf. infr. 91, 8. I cannot regard as correct the reading given in Crum Dict. 310 a. The word seems to be a compound of ϩⲓⲟⲩⲉ with the noun ⲣⲟⲱⲣⲉⲱ, Spiegelberg op. cit. 106.

τ]ϯγχη ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲉⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲱⲁⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ

> ck̄r <

Ⲙ]ⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ

Ⲙ]ⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲛ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏ̄ ⲁⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲗ ⲁⲛⲃⲱⲱϯ [ⲁⲛ
ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ

Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲫⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ • ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ̄ ⲛⲉⲛ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲁⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ
ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ [ⲉⲩ
ⲡⲁⲣ]ϫ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ϫⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ

Ⲧⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ̄ϯ[ⲉ ⲙ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉϥⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ • ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ
ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛ|ⲫⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏ
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ

Ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ϩⲱⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲥⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ̄ϯⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ
ⲙ|ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲡⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ[ⲧⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ
ⲱⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲕ|ⲙ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉϥ . . . . . ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁ
ⲧⲣⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ

Ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ ⲁϩⲟⲩ
ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩ
ⲁⲱⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ
ⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲛ̄ⲧϥ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ

Ⲛⲉ]ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈
ⲛⲉ ⲉ]ⲩⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲑⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ
ⲛⲧ]ⲉ ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲥⲣ̄ϩⲛⲉϥ ϫⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉϥ[ⲥⲉ]ϫⲉ ⲉⲧ
ϥⲁⲧⲛ]ⲛⲁⲩϥ ⲉϥⲁⲑⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲝⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱϥ
ϫⲉⲥⲧⲟ]ⲩ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧϫⲁⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ

Ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲣ]ⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϣⲱⲥ ⲉϥⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲙ̣[ⲟⲩ] ⲉϥ]ⲛⲏⲩ ϫⲉ

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20 ⲉϥⲛ̣ⲉ̣ϩ̣ⲉ̣ ⲙ̣ⲙⲁⲩ P. — 30 ⲁϫⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ?] P. — 31 ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡ̣ⲣ]ⲏ̣ⲧⲉ P.

May the soul too of Mary have access unto thy mercy, my Lord.

CCXXIII.

Let us worship the Spirit of the Paraclete.
Let us bless our Lord Jesus who has sent to us
the Spirit of Truth. He came and separated us from the Error (πλάνη)
of the world (κόσμος), he brought us a mirror, we looked, we
saw the Universe in it.
When the Holy Spirit came he revealed to us
the way of Truth and taught us that there are two
Natures (φύσις), that of Light and that of Darkness, separate
one from the other from the beginning.
The Kingdom of Light, on the one hand (μέν), consisted in five
Greatnesses, and they are the Father and his twelve
Aeons and the Aeons of the Aeons, the Living Air (ἀήρ),
the Land of Light; the great Spirit breathing in them,
nourishing them with his Light.
But the Kingdom of Darkness consists of five store-
houses (ταμιεῖον), which are Smoke (καπνός) and Fire and
Wind and Water and Darkness; their Counsel
creeping in them, moving them and inciting (?) them to
make war (πόλεμος) with one another.
Now (οὖν) as they were making war (πόλεμος) with one another they dared (τολμᾶν)
to make an attempt upon the Land of Light, thinking that they
would be able to conquer it. But they know not that which they have
thought to do they will bring down upon their own heads.
But (δέ) there was a multitude of angels in the Land of the Light.
having the power to go forth to subdue the enemy
of the Father, whom it pleased that by his Word that
he would send, he should subdue the rebels who desired
to exalt themselves above that which was more exalted than they.
Like unto a shepherd that shall see a lion coming to

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1 ⲭⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲱⲁ- (cf. Crum Dict. 472b): I am not convinced that the words are to be so divided; perhaps ⲭⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱ ⲁⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲉ, λαμβάνειν καιρὸν εἰς τὸ ἔλεός σου. — 9—11 cf. Tit. Bostr. 3, 24. — 12 ff. cf. Keph. 64; Aug. Ep. Fund 209, 11 ff.; contr. Faust 425, 17 etc. — 17 ff. cf Aug. Ep. Fund 212, 9 ff.; de haer. § 46. — 31 ff. cf. Act. Arch. XXVIII § 2, 3.

ϥⲁⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ϣⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲕⲁⲧ̀ⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲩⲃ[ⲓ
ⲛⲟ]ⲩⲥⲗⲓⲃ ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲣⲃⲥ ⲭⲉⲩⲁⲃⲁⲡⲧ̄ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈
ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ̄ⲩ · ⲭⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲍⲗⲓⲃ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ϣⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲉⲩ
ⲙⲁⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ · ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ϣⲁⲩⲧⲗⲃⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲗⲓⲃ ⲓⲧⲉ
ⲧⲁⲩϣⲟⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̄ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈
Ⲧⲣⲏ]ⲧⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩ
ϣⲏ]ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ
ⲡⲁ]ⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲥⲧⲏϣ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁ⳨ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉ
ⲥⲁ⳨]ⲧⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡ⳨ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
Ⲛⲧⲁⲣ]ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ̄ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲗⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̄ⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲟⲩϣⲉ
ⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲡ]ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲩ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲁⲥ ⲧ]ⲉ ⲧⲉⲩ⳨ⲩⲭⲏ · ⲁⲩⲕⲙ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲩⲟⲩ[ⲱ
ϣⲉ ⲁϫⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲁϫⲱⲥ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲉⲩ[ⲟⲩ
ⲱϣⲉ ⲁⲱⲙⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ
Ⲁ[ⲩ]ⲉⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣϣ̀ ⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲛ̀ⲓϣⲛⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲃ̄ⲧ̄ · ⲁⲩⲧⲣⲉⲥⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁϫⲱ[ⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄[ⲑⲉ ⲛⲍⲛⲕ]ⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲧⲩ ⲁ̀ⲥⲁⲱ̀ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁ̀ⲣⲁ̀ⲩ [ⲛⲧⲍⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲏⲃⲉ ⲉⲥϣⲁⲗ̄ⲃ̄ · ⲁⲥϣⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩ
ⲥⲁ̀ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲥⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ
Ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩ[ϫⲱ]ⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲡϣⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱ
ⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲡ̀ⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏ
ⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲩ⳨ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̄ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁⲩⲥⲙ̀ⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄[ⲡⲓⲕⲟ]ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ
ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
Ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲙ [ⲧⲏ]ⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲍ ⲁⲩⲁⲧⲡⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄̀
ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲛⲇⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉ
ⲕⲉ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ⳨ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ̀ⲥ[ⲱⲙⲕ
ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ
Ⲧⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄[ⲡ]ⲟⲟⲍ ⲁⲩⲥⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲓⲡⲭⲓⲥ[ⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩ
ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃ[ⲟ ⲛⲧ⳨]ⲩⲭⲏ ⲡⲥⲱⲧ̄ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲥⲉⲃⲓ[ⲧⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈
ⲁⲡⲭⲓ[ⲥⲉ ⲡⲓ]ⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲁ̀ⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲥⲉⲍⲱⲕⲉ [ⲙⲙⲁⲩ

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1 ⲉⲩⲁ]ⲧⲉⲕⲟ P. — 8/9 ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥⲉ̀ [ⲉⲥⲁ⳨]ⲧⲱⲛ P. — 19 ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲛⲉ: leg. ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ. — 23 ⲁⲩⲍ[ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟ]ⲥⲙⲟⲥ P. — 24 ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ P. — 27 post ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲉⲩ P bene, ipse haeseram. — 31 ⲥⲉⲃⲓ ⲙ̄[ⲙⲁⲩ] P. — 32 ⲁ̀ⲉ sup. lin. scriptum.

destroy his sheep-fold: for he uses guile and takes
a lamb and sets it as a snare that he may catch him
by it (i. e. the lamb); for by a single lamb he saves his
sheep-fold. After these things he heals the lamb that
has been wounded by the lion:
This too is the way of the Father, who sent his
strong son; and *he* produced from himself his
Maiden equipped with five powers, that
she might fight against the five abysses of the Dark.
When the Watcher (?) stood in the boundaries
of light, he shewed to them his Maiden who
is his soul; they bestirred themselves in their abyss, desiring
to exalt themselves over her, they opened their mouth desiring
to swallow her.
He held her power (ἀρχή) fast, he spread her over them, like
nets over fishes, he made her rain down upon them
like purified clouds of water, she thrust herself
within them like piercing lightning. She crept in their
inward parts, she bound them all, they not knowing it.
When the First Man had finished (?) his war (πόλεμος),
the Father sent his second son.
He came and helped his brother out of the abyss;
he established this whole world (κόσμος) out of the mixture that
took place of the Light and the Darkness.
He spread out all the powers of the abyss to ten heavens and
eight earths, he shut them up into this world (κόσμος)
once, he made it a prison too for all the powers of Darkness,
it is also a place of purification for the Soul that was
swallowed (?) in them.
The sun and moon he founded, he set them on high, to
purify the Soul. Daily they take up the refined part
to the height, but (δέ) the dregs however they erase

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2 'him' i. e. the lion. — 8 'five powers': vid. infr. 23, 14 n. — 10 ⲡⲙⲁϩⲗⲁⲓⲧⲏ: this word seems to me to belong to that class of nouns in -ⲏ which are formed from the qual. of a verb eg ⲛⲟⲩⲱϫ, ⲛⲟⲱϫⲏ; ⲟⲩⲱϩⲙⲉ, ⲟⲩⲟϩⲙⲉⲏ; ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧ, ⲣⲱⲟⲩⲧⲏ. I think it is a noun formed thus from ⲙⲉϩⲗⲉⲧ⸗ (vide Crum Dict. 73 b). Though there is no example of the qual. of ⲙⲉϩⲗⲉⲧ⸗ cf., however, ⲉⲛⲕⲁϩⲧⲁⲗⲧ supr. 7, 1; ⲉⲕⲕⲁⲣⲁⲗⲧ 7, 25; ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲁⲗⲧⲏ Hom. 59, 20: Keph. 46, 14. — 18 ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲏⲃⲉ ⲉⲥⲱⲗⲃ̄ lit. sharpened lightning, cf. Psalm 119, 4 ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲱⲣ ⲱⲗⲃ̄ τὰ βέλη τοῦ δυνατοῦ ἠκονημένα. For ⲱⲗⲏ vid. supr. 3, 24 n. — 30 ff. cf. Keph. 132, 30—133, 3. — 32 ϩⲱⲕⲉ Crum Dict. 663 a.

. . . . . .]. . . . . ṭ ṭḥt cenwne ⲙ̄[ⲙⲁⲩ ca
ncan]tne ⲙ̄ncanne|tne
Tlkoc]mos thrⲟ̄ eytheⲕ aretⲟ̄ pros oychy [eyⲛ̄
oyn]aϭ ⲛ̄kwt eykwt ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ncanBal [mn|
ko]cmos · ⲛ̄toynoy etⲟ̄axwk ⲛ̄xi penkwt ẹ̣[tm
m]ey cenaBwl aBal ⲙ̄nkosmos thrⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ceⲕ̣[a c]e
t]ẹ̣ aray xe ecaoyatsⲟ̄ aBal
T[w]ns thrⲟ̄ ncwxⲛ̄ ⲙ̄poyaïne etsⲛ̄ⲙ̣a ni[m ya
c]aysⲟ̄ aray ⲛ̄yⲣ̄zwgrafe ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄oyanⲁ̣[pe|ac
ncaxne ⲁe sωwy ⲙ̄mⲟy nkeke thrⲟ̄ ya[casysy a
s]oyn ⲛ̄yⲣ̄zwgrafe ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄min ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄[. . . .
. ar]xwn
Ⲭn]hy sⲛ̄oywⲡⲛ̄ⲱⲡe ⲛ̄xi ⲡⲡⲛ̅ⲁ etanⲍ [. . . . . .
. .] . en ya+tootⲟ̄ apoyaïne · ncaxnẹ̣ [ⲁe sωy mn
moy mⲛ̄nkeke yaatnⲟ̄ asoyn anⲧⲁⲙ̣[ion] ẹ̣ṭ[ay
c]ⲙ̣ⲛ̄tⲟ̄ aray xeyamarⲟ̄ ⲛ̄shtⲟ̄ ⲱaanḥsẹ̣
Mⲛ̄kaicmat amoyr ⲡxaxe ⲛ̄shtⲟ̄ caⲡ|cⲙ̣at xe
cenax|tⲟ̄ en apoyaïne xe oyⲱⲙ̄[mo ar]ay n[e
oyte cenaⲱkaay en an sⲛ̄neykas ⲛ̄[k]eke xe
neye|re ⲛ̄oynolemos eneey anⲱⲁ[rn
Cenakwt ⲛ̄oya|wn ⲛ̄bⲣ̄re anma [mn|ko]cmos
etaBwl aBal xe eyaⲣ̄ⲣ̄ro ⲛ̄srhï ⲛ̄shⲧ[y n]xi ⲛ̄
bam ⲙ̄poyaïne xe aye|re ayx[wk noy]wⲱe
thrⲟ̄ ⲙ̄nïwt ayϭⲃ̄ï̈o ⲙ̄mestoy ay . . ṇ . . ⲁxwy
ⲱaanhse
Teï ne ncayne mman|xa|oc marⲛ̄oywⲱⲧ̄ ney
ntnc]mame ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ neï̈etⲟ̄ ⲛ̄oyan n|m etⲁ̣nas
te aray] xe ⲛ̄tay netawnⲍ mⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ|ka|oc throy
Oy]eay [m]ⲛ̄oyⲃro ⲙ̄pⲛ̄xaï̈c ⲡⲙⲁn|xa|oc ⲡⲡⲛ̅ⲁ ⲛ̄
te tmh]e p|aBal s|tⲛ̄nï̈wt · netayⲃwlⲡ̄ nen a
Bal s]aϭoyï̈te tmhte mⲛ̄ϭah oyⲃro ⲛ̄t+yxh ⲛ̄t
makar|a maria ϭeona ⲡⲱaï̈xⲙ̄noyte

1 ṇ|t P. — 6 nce+[c]e[t]e P. — 7 aray: leg. aray. — 14 . .]men P. — 15/16 anta[. . .]ṇe|ṭ[oy]ⲛ̣aⲛ̄tⲟ̄ P.

. . . . . mixed (?), they convey [it
above and below.
This whole world (κόσμος) stands firm for (πρός) a season, there
being a great building which is being built outside this
world (κόσμος). So soon as that builder shall finish,
the whole world (κόσμος) will be dissolved and set on fire
that the fire may smelt it away.
All life, the relic of Light wheresoever it be, he will
gather to himself and of it depict (ζωγραφεῖν) an image (ἀνδριάς).
And the counsel of death too, all the Darkness,
he will gather together and make a likeness (ζωγραφεῖν)of its very self,
it and the] Ruler (ἄρχων).
In a moment the living Spirit will come . . . . . .
. . . . . he will succour the Light. But the counsel of death
and the Darkness he will shut up in the dwelling (ταμιεῖον)
that was established for it, that it might be bound in it for ever.
There is no other means to bind the Enemy save this means; for
he will not be received to the Light because he is a stranger to it;
nor again can he be left in his land of Darkness, that he may
not wage a war (πόλεμος) greater than the first.
A new Aeon will be built in the place of the world (κόσμος)
that shall dissolve, that in it the powers of the Light may
reign, because they have performed and fulfilled the will
of the Father entire, they have subdued the hated one, they have
. . . . . over him for ever.
This is the Knowledge of Mani, let us worship him
and bless him. Blessed is he every man that shall trust [in him,
for he it is shall live with all the Righteous (δίκαιος).
Glory and victory to our Lord Mani, the Spirit of
Truth, that cometh from the Father, who has revealed to us
the Beginning, the Middle and the End. Victory to the
soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona, Pshaijmnoute.

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1 One would expect mention here of the δώδεκα κάδοι of Act. Arch. § VIII. — 5 For the Great Builder vid. supr. p. 1, 32 note. — 24 ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ = μισητός cf. Hom Index s. v. ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ, but it has a passive meaning not 'Feind' 'Hasser' etc., vide Crum op. cit. 187a.

[ⲥⲕⲁ]

Ⲙⲁⲣⲛⲥ]ⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ϩⲱⲥ [. . . . .] . . [. . . . . .]. . ⲧ̣ⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁ̈ⲓⲥ
. . .]. . . . ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩ⳨ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲁⲛ[. . . .
. .]. . ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄⳨ⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡϫⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲡ̣[. . . .
. .]. . . . . ⲉ ⲉⲩ⳨ϩⲉⲡ ⲁⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲟ̣ⲩ [. . .
. . . ⲛ ⲉⲧ . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧ̣[. .
. .]. ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ
. . . . . .]. . ⲛ̄ϫⲡ̣ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲧⲉ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̣[.
. . . . .]. ⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲱⲣⲟ̣ⲛ̣
. . .]ⲟ̣ⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲉⲛⲉⲩ ⲡ⳨ⲃ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲱⲓ ⲛ̣ . .
. . . .]. ⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
. . . . . .] ⟦ⲓⲏⲥ⟧ ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲧϫⲁⲥⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲙⲁⲥ ϩ⟦ⲓ⟧ϫⲛ̄ⲡ̣ .[.
. . . . . ⲛⲉ]ⲩ ⲁⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ .[.
. . . . . .]ⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲡⲥⲡ̄
.[.].[.]ⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲩϩⲥ̀ ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩⲕⲱ ⲛⲉⲛ̣ [ⲁ
ⲃ]ⲁⲗ ⲛⲛ̄[ⲛ]ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

Ⲟⲩⲛ̄[ⲟⲩ]ⲛ̣[ⲁⲟ ⲛ]ϩⲟⲟⲩ • ⲛⲉⲉ ⲡⲉⲙⲉ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲛⲉ • ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣
. . . ⲁ . [. . . .] ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲛⲉ ⲥⲉ
. . . . . .] . ⲛϩⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲱ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲧⲟⲩ • ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ϩⲱⲱⲛ
ⲛⲉⲧⲏⲡ [ⲁⲧⲉ]ⲩⲣⲉ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲛⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄⳨ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲛ̣ . . .[. . . .]

Ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲙ [ⲛ]ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁ⟦ⲓ⟧
ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧϩ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲡ[ϫ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟ
ⲣⲟⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲭⲉ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲛⲉ
ⲥⲉ⳨ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̣ⲉ̀ⲕ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲉ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲣⲉ ⲁⲕϫⲱⲕ ⲁⲕ⳨ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ
ⲛⲉⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲟ̣⟦ⲓ⟧ⲛ̣[ⲉ⟦ⲓ⟧]

Ⲧⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲣ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲧ ⲡⲭ̄ⲣⲥ ⟦ⲓⲏⲥ⟧ ⲩ⳨ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁϫⲱⲕ [ϩ]ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩ
ⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ • ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲣ̄ⲱⲣ̄ⲩ̄ ⲁⲕ
ⲕⲁⲧⲩ̄ ⲡⲉⲙⲁ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϩⲁⲡⲩ̄ ⲁⲕⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲛⲉ ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ
ⲛⲉⲩⲅ̣ⲣⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲁⲕϩⲁⲣⲃⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲥ[ⲁⲡ] ⲧ̣[ⲉⲩ
ⲥⲟⲫ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲁ ⲉⲧϩⲏⲡ ⲁⲕϩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ

Ⲉ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲥ ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲕⲧⲁϫⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ϫ[. . . .

3 fort. ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ.

CCXXIV.

Let us bless and sing . . . . . .
. . . . . disciples (?) of our Lord.
. . . . . to thee with one accord, we . . . . . .
. . . . . let us glorify the Lord of our life, the . . . . .
. . . . . , he judging our thoughts, he who (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . his Bema which has brought the . . . . . .
. . . . . our deeds.
. . . . . creatures (?) of our spirit. Let us give them to . .
. . . . our fastings and almsgivings, as a gift (δῶρον) . . . .
. . . . . which please him, humility and love (ἀγάπη) . . . . . .
. . . . . reconciled (?) with him in his holy day.
. . . . . Jesus, king on high, sitting on the . . . . . .
. . . . . seeing our thoughts, our words, our deeds which
we have done (?) by night, by day; let us implore
him (?) (we all are the congregation) that he may forgive us
all our sins.

There is a great day; great is its sign, great also
. . . . . all the saints that are counted to the Light
glorify him and give him] praises without measure. We too
that are counted to their race of Light, let us give our flowers to
our (?) . . . . .

The Powers, the sons, the emanations (προβολή) of the Father and his
Lights on high, all the angels and the Omophori,
the strong Pillars (στῦλος), the Elements (στοιχεῖον) of the Light,
glorify thee, for thou hast acted, thou hast finished, thou hast given
rest to them all by thy coming (?).

The beloved Son, Jesus Christ, sets a garland on thy head in
great joy; because his building that was destroyed thou didst
build it, his way which was hidden thou didst illumine it,
his scriptures (γραφή) which were confused thou didst set them in order again,
his
hidden wisdom (σοφία) thou didst interpret (ἑρμηνεύειν) it.

Lo, his holy Bema thou hast firmly established for him, that (?) . . . .

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16 Perhaps we should read ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩⲍ: 'all of us who are assembled'. —
31 Perhaps a manich. adaptation of the Gospels. For ⲍⲱⲣⲃ cf. Keph. 69, 31; Hom. 82, 18.

1 et 2 non possunt legi.

ac ϩN̄tekⲙN̄txωρe akxπiaY ϩN̄N̄[. . . . . .
nekkaaY ataδ twλⲙe azoYN anoYte [. .] . .
. . . oY . . δ N̄ⲙHe ⲙN̄oYcaYtN̄ aḳx̣ⲱḳ . [. . . . . .
. . . . . .] N̄ⲡekÏωT akTaωeaÏω nen N̄tḳ̣ç[o
φia T]HρN[ε] akTceBaN aneteneYωooⲡ neTωo[oⲡ
ⲙN̄]neTaωωⲡe akToYxaN aBaλ N̄ⲡkḛḳḛ . .
. . .] N̄ṇaⲡTωT N̄ⲡkeḳe ⲙN̄ⲡoYaÏne etϩiϩ[. .
. . . . .] . . ⲡḛi THρoY etaN̄apxaioc TeoYaY ϩN̄ṇeY
ρ]ą̣φaYe nenⲙeYe apaY .[. . . . . .]ϯẎX
. .]. N̄ϩN̄ωBωωc emⲡaTekⲡρ̄Ïe .[. . . .] ϩN̄ⲙ
ϯY]XaYe TcoφIa N̄ⲡN̄ϩHT • ⲡoYaÏne [. . . .] ⲙN̄
N]ą̣ϭ N̄ρeqcexe eTϯω|ⲡe N̄NN̄xax[e
Ⲉiϛ tekaIkaIocYNH ⲡN̄ÏωT etaktεoYac ϩṇ[tek
ϭI]ṇeI N̄ⲡecωṭą̣ N̄ⲡeccBaḳ N̄ⲡḛϛϭωx̣Bḛ a
ⲡ]tHρ̄ⲩ etBe ⲡraYω N̄nekcaϩ [. . .] . [. . .]x̣ω
ρe netraÏc arac eYkωT axω[c . . . .]. N̄
ⲙac ϩN̄nekNomoc THρoY
Ⲉic nekekkλHcIa etoYaBe aYⲡωρ̄ⲱ ą̣Bą̣λ ą̣ⲡq
toYtaⲡ N̄ⲡkocⲙoc eic nekBω N̄ḛλą̣λḛ [aY]ⲙ[aϩ
ⲙa NIⲙ • eic nekωHρe aYxIcaÏT ϩN̄x[ω]ρa ṇIⲙ
eic ⲡekBHⲙa aqtaxρo ϩN̄ⲙ[a] N[Iⲙ Nθe noY]Ïερo
ϯnoY ⲡeṭϛkϩete ϩN̄ⲡTo THρ̄ⲩ
Ⲧnaδ N̄ρeqδρo ⲡN̄xaÏc ⲡṆ̄[oYaÏne ⲡeTa]qϯ N̄
ⲡδρo N̄neqⲙepete [. . . . . tNka]λx̣ ⲡet nek
tN̄c]aⲡcⲡ N̄ⲙak enϛḳ̄ρḳ̄ρ̄ N̄N̄ⲙϯYXaYe ϩapa
tⲩ̄ N̄ⲡekBHⲙa xekanaYϩḳ̄ ωapaN̄ N̄kωN̄ϩtHk
axωn N̄kρ̄ϩN̄ⲙḛ [N̄ⲙ]an ωatN̄xωk N̄ⲡekoY
ωωe
Ⲧωapⲡ nρωⲙ]e ⲡN̄ρeqρ̄ϩN̄ⲙ[e . . . . .] . ⲡN̄ωapⲡ
N̄xaYⲙaÏT N̄taḳ ⲡe ⲡN̄ωωc etⲙ[ane] N̄ⲙan

5 init. fort. ṇtḳ oYṇąδ. — 11 fin. ϯẎX ualde dubium; fort. ą̣Bą̣λ. — 17 fort. N̄nekcaϩ [N̄ϩoYρete n]xω. — 28 ωapaN: ω sup. lin. scriptum.

1 and 2 illegible.

it (fem.) in thy hardihood, thou didst put them to shame in . . . .
that thou mightest not allow them to bring defilement upon God . .
Thou art a great (?) one truly and certainly, thou didst perfect (?) . . . . .
. . . . . of thy Father, thou didst preach to all of us thy
wisdom (σοφία), thou didst teach us the things that used to be, that are
and that shall be, thou didst save us from the Darkness . .
. . . . . the mixture of the Dark and the Light which is within (?).
All the . . . . . which the ancients (ἀρχαῖοι) proclaimed in their
scriptures (γραφή) we were thinking of them . . . . . .
. . . . fables (?) before thou didst come forth and didst fill (?) our
souls, the wisdom (σοφία) of our heart. The Light . . . . . .
great orator that puts our enemies to shame.
Lo, thy righteousness (δικαιοσύνη), our Father, which thou didst proclaim
in thy coming, has not grown less, has not diminished, has not waned at
all, because of the care of thy teachers (?) [and the] strong . . . .
that guard it, they building upon it . . . . . it
in all thy laws (νόμος).
Lo, thy holy Churches have spread out to the four
corners of the world (κόσμος). Lo, thy vine-trees have filled (?)
every place. Lo, thy sons have become famous in all lands (χώρα).
Lo, thy Bema has been firmly established in every place (?) [like a] river
now that flows in the whole earth.
The great conqueror, our Lord, our Light, who has given victory
to his loved ones . . . . we bend (?) the knee to thee.
we implore thee, we rolling (?) our souls before
thy Bema, that thou wouldst turn to us and shew mercy upon us
and guide us all until we fulfil thy
will.
The First Man], our helmsman . . . ., our first
guide, thou art our shepherd that feeds (?) us,

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12 ⲫⲃⲱⲟⲩⲥ 'fables' HT, cf. Crum and Evelyn White 'Monast. of Epiphan.' vol. II p. 149, 21. — 15 δικαιοσύνη, i. e. the doctrine delivered to the δίκαιοι, cf. Burkitt op. cit. p 23.

1 et 2 non possunt legi.

. . . . . .] . ϣϰ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

. . . .] . . . ⲡⲣ . . . . ⲉⲣϣϣⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲛ ⲡ[ⲛ̄]ⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̣ . .

. .] ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ[. .] . . . ⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩⲉ . . . . .

. . ⲥⲉϫⲉ ϩⲁⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ϫⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣϫ . [. . . . . .

ⲧⲟⲩⲉ ⲁϫϣⲛ ⲁⲕϫⲓ ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲩⲉ ⲕⲁ . [. . .]ⲡ̣[. .

ⲡⲉⲕⲩⲱⲧ̣ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

Ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ϩϣϣⲛ ⲛⲉⲕϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ . . . . [. .

ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉ[ⲁⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ϩⲏ[ⲧⲥ ⲧⲛⲧⲉ

ⲁⲩ [ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲩⲱⲧ] ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲕ ϣⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̣[ⲡ

ϩⲉⲡ̣ [ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ]ⲛ̣ϩ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲕ̄ • ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲁⲛ

ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲓⲣⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡ̣ⲉⲕϣⲁⲩⲓⲉ

. . . . . ⲡⲛ|ⲱⲧ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ ⲡⲡⲕⲗⲥ • ⲟⲩ[. . .

. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ[ⲓϫⲁⲓ]ⲟ̣[ⲥ

ⲡ . . [. . . . . .] . ⲉⲧⲧⲛ̄ϩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥ[ⲥⲱ

ⲧⲡ [ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ]ⲟ̣ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ⳨ⲩϫⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ̣ [ⲡϣⲁⲓϫ]ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

> ⲥⲕⲉ < ⲕⲩ ⲥⲩⲣⲟⲩ

O . . . . . ⲛ̣ⲧ[ⲉⲕ]ϣⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ

ⲡⲛ[. . . .] ⲛ̄ⲛ̣[ⲁ]ⲏⲧ

Ⲉ⳨ⲁⲃⲱ[. . . . . .] . ⲁ̣ⲧϫⲏⲣⲁ • ⲭⲉ ϩⲛ̄ϫⲁⲧⲃⲱⲱⲛ ⲧⲏ

ⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̣[. . . . .] . ⲛ̣ⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲃⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ

. . . . . .] ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲟ̣ⲧ ϩⲓⲝⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩ ϩⲛ̄ϫⲁ

ⲧⲃⲱⲛ . [. . .] . . [. .]ⲣ̣ . [ϩⲁ]ⲧⲃⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ • ⲱϩ ⲱϩ ⲛ̣

ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄[ⲧⲭⲓⲛ]ⲟ̣ⲁⲛⲥ̀ . ⲉ̣[. . ⲡ]ⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ [ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲟⲩ

ⲱⲛⲱ ⲉⲧ̣[ⲡⲏ]ⲧ ⲥⲁⲟⲩϩⲓ̈ⲃ

Ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲓ̈ⲃ̣[ⲉⲥ] ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ϩⲧⲁⲡ ⲛ̣ⲧ . . . . . ⲱⲧ . . . ⲛ̣

ⲑⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲩ[. . . .] . [.] . . ⲉ ⲁ̣ . ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲧ . . ϩⲱⲧⲡ . . . [.

ⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ[. . . .] . [. .] . . . ⲉⲧ . . ⲁⲃⲉ ϩ[. . .]ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲉ̣ [. . . .

ⲥⲁⲡⲁ [. . . .] . . . . . ⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲱ]ⲣⲁ[ⲕ

22 ⲁ̣ vel ⲙ̣: an ⲉⲓ̈ⲃⲱ[ⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲛⲛⲓ]ⲙ̣? cf. 16, 30. 31? — 28 fort. ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ϩⲉⲧⲃ̣[ⲉ.

1 and 2 are not legible.

. . . . . all our deeds.
. . . . . our Father, to proclaim . . . .
. . . even as . . . . . our mind (νοῦς) and our thought . . . .
. . . speak of (?) thy greatness, that the flesh (σάρξ) . . . . . .
put upon us; thou hast been glorified, our Lord, according to (κατά?) . . .
thy Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.
We also, thy sons, glorify thee . . . . . .
we glorify thy kingdom wherein thou didst come to us, we
glorify thy Father (?) who sent thee unto us, we glorify the
judgment which is revealed to us because of thee. Glory to every
one that keeps] thy festival.
Glory to our] Father, the spirit of truth, the Paraclete; [victory
and honour] to our Lord, our Light, Mani,
the . . . . . that gives life to his sons and his
holy] Elect. Victory to the soul of the Blessed (μακαρία) Mary,
Theona, Pshai, Jmnoute.

CCXXV. By the Lord ($\overline{\text{kr}}$) Syrus.

. . . . . thy daughter, the Church, O Paraclete,
merciful God (?).
I will . . . . . widow (χήρα); for they are slanderers
all of them . . . . . Who among them will wipe away my
. . . . . from me (?) upon the earth? They are
slanderers . . . . . all (?) and murderers. Alas, alas (ὦ ὦ) for
the violence that is done: they (?) run after me like wolves
that run after a lamb.
How many shadows (?), how many falls . . . . .
fear . . . . . .
desert me . . . . . .
after my . . . . . to do violence; but (ἀλλά) do not desert

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19 Who the Lord Syrus, author of this Psalm, was is not known cf. Introd. II (b). 22, 24/25 ϫⲁⲧⲃⲱⲱⲛ, ϫⲁⲧⲃⲱⲛ: cf. ϫⲁⲧⲟⲩⲁ 'blasphemer', ϫⲁⲧⲃⲁⲓⲛⲉ infra 199, 18 'harp-players', from ϫⲱ 'speak'.

α]ατ ⲛ̄cωk ⲡⲁⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁkⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲡ[ⲁ
ⲥⲏⲧ]
Ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲣ̄ⲃ]ⲁⲗ ⲡⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲁ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲃⲱⲉ ⲃⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄[ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲟ]ⲩⲥⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲥⲗⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲩⲛⲏ[ⲩ] ⲁ
ⲣⲉ]ⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲛ[ⲏⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲩ
ⲧⲁⲙ]ⲁ̈ ⲁⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁⲧⲃⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ†ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [ⲛⲭ
ⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲁⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲗ|ⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲓⲥ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲉ
Ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲥ]ⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲑⲏⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲅⲟⲩⲥⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧ
ⲥⲉ]ⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲁⲡ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲟ|ⲓⲝ ⲉⲧ
ⲭⲁ]ⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲗⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̣ⲏ[ⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲛ]ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲁⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲭ̄ⲣ̄ⲥ ⲟⲩⲕⲱⲥⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̣ⲩ
. . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲱⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉ[ⲩ
ⲧⲏ]ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲗⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ
Ⲉ̣|ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲃⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱ[ⲙ]ⲉ̣ ⲛ̄
ⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲥ|ⲏⲧ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲟ̄ [ⲉⲧⲁ]ⲭ|
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲑⲏⲣ|ⲟⲛ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ̣ ⲛ̣
ⲛⲉ|ⲓ • ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲥⲉ̣ⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲃⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲱⲛⲁ . . . . [ⲙ
ⲡⲟⲩⲃⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ [ⲉⲩ]ⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ̄ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲩⲧⲱⲣⲡ̄
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲃⲉ [ⲡ]ⲁ|ⲗⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ
Ⲁ̣ⲩⲁⲱⲃⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲱⲁⲡⲕⲣ|
ⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲙⲏⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲛ|ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲩ†ⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲥⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲏⲩ
ⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲍ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲥ|ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲃ|ⲧⲏ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ
ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ|ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭ| ⲡⲁⲧⲥⲏⲧ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ|
ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲉ • ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲱⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲡ|ⲃⲁⲛⲱⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲙ̣ⲛ̣ⲧⲃⲟ
ⲟⲛⲉ • ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲙⲉⲛⲏⲩ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ̣ⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲏ • ⲛ|ⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ[ⲟⲩ]ⲁ̣[ⲥ]ⲥⲁⲥⲛⲉ
ⲛⲉⲕ ⲁⲣ̄ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̣ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲕ̣[ⲣ]ⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ̣ [ⲉⲧⲣⲛⲃ]ⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ
ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

9/10 ⲛⲧⲉ[ⲧⲥⲉ]ⲧⲉ P. — 12 ⲟⲩⲕⲱⲥⲧ . . . . P. — 16 fin. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲟ̄ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁ̣ⲭ| P. — 18 leg. ⲉⲥⲃⲱⲡⲉ? — 31 [ⲉⲧⲣⲛⲃ]ⲁⲛ coniicio coll. 18, 26.

me, my blessed (μακάριος) king thatt knoweth my
heart|.
I was| escaping from the . . . . ., my hair loosed like a
mad woman, I asking everyone that comes upon
me: "Who will give me word of my shepherd and
teach me how he was slain in the godless city by
the lawless (ἄνομος) Sects (δόγμα), the beasts (θηρίον) that were maddened
by the poison of their flames of fire?"
I have heard concerning you, O Magians (μαγουσαῖοι) the priests of the
fire that you seized my God in your foul hands,
impious (ἀσεβής) men, mad and godless, the brothers
of the Jews (ἰουδαῖος), the murderers of Christ. A fire . . . .
. . . .| your heart, until you had murdered the righteous (δίκαιος)
ambassador (πρεσβευτής).
Lo, these are the deeds that are full of outrage, of bitter-
hearted men. This is the road they have made that will
lead them to Hell. I have not seen a beast (θηρίον) branded (?) like (?)
these, nor again have I seen fire (?) consuming (?) chaff (?) . . . .
yet there was found no merciful man standing up to snatch
from them this sinless and righteous (δίκαιος) one.
They all cried out with one voice to the godless
judge (κριτής), telling him words in which there
was no truth: "Lo, a man has appeared in these
days, fighting with us and bringing our affairs to nought.
We implore thee with one accord, O king, do away with him,
for he is a teacher who leads men astray."
When he heard these words, the foolish man, the king of these
pitiless ones, he was astonished, the evil-fated (?), the evil-doer:
he sent, he called my shepherd, he said to him
wrathfully in a mighty voice: "Who bade
thee do these things, or (ἤ) who art thou? Thou doest deeds that harm (?)
all men."

3, 18 For the meaning of ⲱⲛⲁ vide infra 216, 15 n. — 17 ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲩⲉ 'branded'(?), poss. from ⲧⲱⲱⲃⲉ, but vide Crum op. cit. p. 453(a). Perhaps the word means 'wild'.

Ⲁ ⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲛⲉ[ⲩ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛ • ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ϫⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ . [. .
. ⲁ . ⲕ ⲉⲕⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ . . . . [. .
. . ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲩϫⲏⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡ$\overline{\text{Χρ}}$ⲥ ⲛⲁⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ . [. .
non legi potest
. . ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
Ⲁ ⲩⲡ̣ⲱ̣ⲧ̣ⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲁⲱⲃⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
non legi potest
. . ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̀ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ+ⲗ ⲛ̄ . .
. . .]ⲥⲏⲕⲉ ⲉⲕⲱⲁⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀ ⲟⲩⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩ[. .
. . . . . ⲏ̣ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄+ⲡⲓⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲙⲛ̄+ⲁⲱⲣⲉⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲉ[ⲟⲩ
ⲟ] ⲁ̣ⲣ̣ⲁ̣ⲉ̣
.] . . ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϫⲣⲙⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲕⲟ
ⲥ]ⲙ̣ⲟ̣ⲉ̣ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲥⲥⲁⲥⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲥⲉ̣[ⲁⲥ
ⲛⲉ . . .]ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ+ⲥⲃⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲉ̣ⲥ̣ⲛⲉ̣ⲩ [ⲛ̄ⲩ
+ ⲛⲉⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲁⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲃ̣ⲉ̣ⲩ
. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ ⲥ̣ⲛ̄
ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲉϫⲉ
Ⲁ ⲩ[ⲗ]ⲥⲏⲙ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓ ⲡⲙⲁⲓⲙⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲣⲁⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲗ̀ⲕⲉ ⲉⲥ
ϫⲉⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ • ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲁ̣[ⲣⲁⲩ] ⲁⲥⲱⲛϩ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲙⲁ[ⲣⲟⲩⲥ]ⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉⲣⲥⲓⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲟⲩⲟⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ • ⲑⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲥ̣ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ+
ⲥⲉⲡ ⲁⲡⲣⲉⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲡ$\overline{\text{κ}}$ⲗⲥ
Ⲟ ⲩⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲕⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲕ̀
ⲱⲱⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲕⲃⲱϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲱⲁⲃⲓⲥⲟ • ϫⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲥⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲱⲁ̣ⲩⲉ ⲁⲕⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲉⲕⲙⲏⲣ
ⲉⲕⲥⲛ̄ⲃⲏⲗⲁⲡⲁⲧ • ⲱ ⲡⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲱ ⲡⲱⲓⲥⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲟⲓϫ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ+ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲛ̄+ⲩⲭⲏ
ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲃⲁⲛⲓⲡⲉ • ⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲁ
ⲃⲱⲕ̣ ⲁ̣ⲣⲉⲧⲏ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙ +ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲟⲓϫ ⲛ̄
ⲛⲁⲏ[ⲧ] ⲡ̣[ⲁ]ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲕⲁ[ⲁⲧ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ϫⲉ̣ ⲥ̣ⲉ̣
ⲕⲱⲙⲱ [. . . . . .] . ⲛ̄ⲁⲓ ⲛⲁϫⲁϫⲉ

2/3 ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ+ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̀ HT. — 13 init. fort. ⲛ̣ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ. — 15 ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲗⲗ]ⲁⲩ HT. — 19 ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲥⲣⲁⲕ P. — 26 ⲟⲩⲁⲱⲟⲩⲉ P.; leg. ⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩ pro ⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ. — 32 ⲛⲁⲏ[ⲧ . ⲡ̣ⲛ̄]ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ P. — 33 an ⲕⲱⲙⲱ [ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲡⲥⲏⲕⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲁⲓ ⲛⲁϫⲁϫⲉ?

The glorious Mind (νοῦς) answered and said to him
straightly: "Know, O king, that God hath . . . . . .
thee (?), thou being a man, to the law (νόμος) of life . . . . .
. . . the perfect commandments (ἐντολή) of Christ. My doctrines . .
illegible
. . . to thee."
He parted his lips, he cried out in a
illegible
. . . will appear unto thee. Thou art a stranger . . . . ., thou (?)
also art a] poor man, lacking everything; thou art a man of light (?)
. . . . . to give this favour and gift (δωρεά)
unutterable."
"They that are of (?) God seek not after gold and the possessions of the
world (κόσμος). God it is who commands, there is no other command-
ment but his (?), God it is who teaches whom he pleases
and gives to him the gift that surpasses all gifts, as a seal
. . . . . prophet (προφήτης), the true man of God in
his deeds and his words."
The lover of fighting, the peaceless one, roared in flaming
anger, he commanded (κελεύειν) them to fetter the righteous one (δίκαιος)
that he might please the Magians, the teachers of Persia (πέρσις),
the servants of fire. This is the way that they gave
judgment upon the victor, the angel, the Paraclete.
How many days of fear, my Father, didst thou endure until thou
hadst cut and severed the race of frightful men! Twenty-
six days in all and the nights of them thou didst spend in chains
in Belapat. O the renown of the Aeons of light!
O noble holy image of the mysteries of God!
O hands that gave freedom to a multitude of souls,
that were bound today in bonds of iron! To whom shall I
go now, that he may release for me these hands of
pity? My God, forsake me not, for they
mock . . . . . even my enemies.

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9 ⲟⲩⲱⲙⲙⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲗ cf. 52, 26 n. ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲗ . ⲥⲁⲧⲗ in each passage, is apparently a word of abuse. — 25 ⲱⲁⲃⲓⲥⲟ Lit. 'changing face', vide Crum op. cit. 552(a). — 28 ⲱⲓⲥⲙⲉ Götterbild (Polotsky, Homilien 60, 18; 71, 23), a translation of the gk. εἴδωλον.

. . . .]ϒN ⲡⲁϫⲁⲒⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓϫⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲓⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄]
. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲁⲧ . . ε ⲁⲕ . [. .
non legi potest
. .]ⲛ̣ⲉⲕⲧⲛϩ̄ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ • ⲁⲕⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲱⲁⲡ[. . .
. . .]ⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ' ⲁⲕⲥⲃ̣ⲣⲃⲱⲣⲟ̣ⲩ [ⲥⲁⲡⲥ
ⲛ]ⲛⲉⲕϫⲁϫⲉ
. . . .] . ⲛ̣ⲧⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲣⲁⲩ . . ⲛ̄ . [. . . . . .
. . .] . . ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲥⲓⲏⲧ ⲡⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ . . . . . ⲃ . . .
. .] ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲗⲓⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲗⲗⲕⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ . . [. .
ⲁⲧ]ⲉⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲒⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲕⲧⲁⲒⲗⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ . . [. .
. .] . . . . . ⲁⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲣⲁⲡ
ⲁⲩⲛⲟ]ⲩⲣⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲡⲁⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲉ[. . . .
. . . .]ⲉϫⲉ • ϫⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲕ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲥⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲕ . [. . .
. . ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ • ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲥⲥⲁⲥⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ . . [. .
. . ⲙ]ⲟⲩⲱⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃ[ⲉ ⲉⲧ
ⲁ]ⲩⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ • ⲁⲩϫⲉⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ[ⲥⲣⲏⲓ ⲥⲛ
ⲟⲩⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲩ
ⲁ]ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲡⲉⲫⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ . ⲉ . . . .
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲫⲉ . . . . . .
non legi potest
ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲕⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲫ̣ⲥⲛ̣ⲁⲩ ⲁ
ⲣⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲫ̣ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲣⲙⲉⲒⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉ̣ⲧⲱⲛ
ⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲗⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲁⲕϫⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ
ⲃⲣⲟ • ⲁⲕⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲁϫⲱⲕ • ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲥⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉⲒ
ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲃⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲙ̄ⲥⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲩⲧⲁ[ⲩ ⲡⲁ
ⲡⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲕϫⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲒⲱⲧ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲡⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲥ ⲱⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲏⲕ ⲁϫⲱⲒ ⲧⲥⲁⲡⲥⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲡⲕⲗⲥ
Ⲱ ⲡⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄
ⲛ̄ϫⲣⲥ ⲡⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲩϫⲏ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲡⲉⲥⲥⲁⲒⲧ ⲥⲱⲣ ⲁⲡ
ⲧⲟ ⲩⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲁϫⲓ ⲡⲓⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲡⲛ̄Ⲓⲱⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲒⲉ ⲉⲩ
ⲣⲁ]ⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ[ⲁ]ⲛⲛⲩϫⲓⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ϫⲁⲒⲥ
ⲡⲙⲛⲩϫⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁ

2 fort. ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲉ. — 12 fin. ⲙ̣ⲉ̣ incertum: fort. ⲱ.

. . . . . my Lord Mani, the judge (κριτής) of this Universe

. . . . . .

illegible

. . thy joyous wings. First thou didst pray unto . . .
. . . Father, but the dead body (σῶμα) thou didst cast down before
[the face of] thy enemies.
. . . . . the nature (φύσις) of deception . . . . . .
the cruel . . . . ., the sign . . . . . .
he desired in the madness of his wrath in . . . . . .
to destroy the beauty of thy limbs (μέλος). Thou didst ascend in . . .
. . . . . to the height without any hindrance.
He . . . . ., even the murderous demon (δαίμων), he . . . .
. . . word, saying: 'Perchance it is a drug which thou hast . . . .
forth'. He commanded the physicians and . . . . .
to examine the body (σῶμα), thy holy body (σῶμα) [which
he mocked and plotted against, he kindled fire in
a great . . . . .
The dragon (δράκων) that lives to his shame and all his (?)

. . . . . .

illegible

the buildings of the gates of the city (πόλις), he spilled his blood
to no purpose, his murder also became a sign for all men that
. . . . . him.
On the second day of the week (κυριακή), thou didst receive the glory of
victory, thou didst bind the diadem upon thee, for thou didst kill the
race of Darkness, in the month Phamenoth, on the fourth day,
Monday, thou didst receive thy garland. O my Father, the conqueror in
the war, be merciful unto me, I pray thee, Paraclete.
O witness of the ineffable benefactions of the first
Christ, the sign of the soul whose fame has spread to the
earth, it is fitting for thee to receive this garland, our Father, in joyous
feasts and vigils (παννυχισμός). Victory to thee, our Lord
Mani, victory too to thy Bema, the glorious and blessed,

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6 cf. infr. 70, 30. — 12 ⲁⲩⲛⲟ]ⲩⲣⲥ: ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ occurs several times in the sense of 'destroy' 'remove', vide infr. 50, 22; 59, 9; 62, 21; 70, 3. But this meaning seems unsuitable here and perhaps we should read ⲁⲩⲛⲟ]ⲩⲟⲥ, 'he was angry'. — 17 ⲁⲍⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲩ, meaning doubtful, cf. infr. 70, 1. Perhaps 'furnace'?. — 24 ff. cf. infr. 18, 5 ff.; Hom. 60 n.(a); W.Henning, ZDMG 90, 6. — 32 according to the Index Psalms 200—205 relate to the παννυχισμός. On the general question of the manich. cultus see Polotsky Abriss p. 264.

μ[ααT] μN̄T†γχH N̄μαρια θεονα

> · ck5 · < . . . .

Ⲙμγc]THρIoN THρoγ αγxωk N̄ϩHT̄k̄ ΠN̄Ⲓωτ [. . .
.]. . . . . ΠN̄xaⲒc ΠμaNIXaIoc
. . . . . .] ϩN̄Πϩ◌oγε N̄Πεcταγρoc αϥ† N̄μαϥ N̄[.
. . . .]oγϩⲓa N̄ϩρHⲒ ϩN̄ΠcNεγ N̄TkγρIαkH ⲁϥ[. . . .
NcoY]ϥTαγ N̄ΠεBαT N̄ΠαρN̄ϩατΠ̄ • N̄ΠNεγ [Nxπ
μNToY]ⲏⲉ N̄Tε Πεϩooγε αϥ† N̄μαϥ αϩρHⲒ ⲁⲡ[μoγ
. . . . . .] ΠμakαρIoc ΠN̄xaⲒc ΠμaNIXaIoc αϥk[ωλx
NNεϥ]ΠεT εϥTωBϩ̄ N̄oγNαε εϥωϣ ϣαΠⲛ[oγ
Tε xε] oγεN NHⲒ N̄Πρo N̄k† NHⲒ N̄oγαcTN̄ α[Bαλ
ϩNN]ⲁN̄koοϩ
Nαρ]χ[ω]N N̄Πkαϩ αγ†ϩεΠ αραⲒ ϩN̄Toγβλ̀kε [. .
. . . .]. N̄NoγcεxE N̄Ϭαλ ϩITN̄ N̄cεxε N̄Nⲛ . [. . . .
. . .] NεⲒ εϣαγΠωⲛε N̄cεϣIBε N̄ΠETϩαλϬ [Nc]ε
ⲉⲉϥ N̄ΠETcαϣε
Ⲙπϩo]oγ ETαγNT N̄ΠμHT αBαλ N̄Πkρ|THc α . . . ϛⲉ
μN̄Πⲕ . . . . . .[. . . . . Tα]ⲭ[ρ]αⲒT . . . TH
poγ ⲉⲓⲛⲉ . . . . . N̄ϩHTογ ρ̄BoHθεI αραⲒ
Ⲛαnoμoc THρoγ αγ†ϩεΠ αραⲒ N̄αcεBHc N̄xΠo N̄
Tε ΠNαBε αγεμαϩTε N̄μαⲒ oγTε ΠμHϣε THρϥ
N̄θε N̄oγεcαγ εμN̄Tεϥ μεNHγ
ⲁγBoγBoγ αραⲒ N̄θε N̄Nⲓαμн αγϩN̄ϩN̄ⲙ αxωⲒ N̄θε
N̄NⲓμoγⲒ εγxω N̄μαc NHⲒ ϩN̄oγNαϬ N̄cμH xε
TN̄HⲔ N̄ϩHT εN αTρεⲔⲉIρε N̄NⲓϩBHγε
ⲁϥρ̄ N̄BαN αραⲒ N̄ϩρHⲒ ϩN̄TεϥBλ̀kε αϥcαxNε αραⲒ
μN̄NεμμεГⲓcTαNoc • αϥωρⲔ̀ NHⲒ αN N̄ΠoγxεⲒ
N̄ΠεϥⲒωT xε †NαkαⲀk εN ϩN̄ΠkocμoC xN̄N̄
ΠⲓNεγ
ⲁγ† BαNⲓΠε αραⲒ N̄θε N̄Nⲓρεϥρ̄N[α]Bε • αγcωNϩ̄ μ

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2 post numerum vestigia tenuia quattuor litterarum. — 5 pro ϩooγε, ϛωxε P. — 6 kγρIαkH μ[P. — 7/8 NxΠμNToγHε HT, coll. Hom. 60, 13. — 11 N̄oγαεṭ N̄o[γ P. — 25 ϩBHoγε P.

and the soul of Mary, Theona.

CCXXVI. . . . . .

All mysteries have been fulfilled in thee, our Father, ...
. . . . . our Lord Mani.
. . . . . on the day (?) of the cross(σταυρός) he gave himself up to
the authorities (ἐξουσία?), on the second day of the week (κυριακή), he . . .
on the fourth day of the month Phamenoth, [at the eleventh
hour] of the day, he gave himself up to death (?).
. . . . the blessed (μακάριος) one, our Lord Mani, he bent
his knees, imploring mercy, crying out unto God,
saying: 'Open me the door and give me release out
of my sufferings.
'The rulers (ἄρχων) of the earth judged me in their wrath,
. . . . . their lying words, through the words of the . . . . .
. . ., men that alter and change that which is sweet and
make it bitter.
'In the day that they brought me before the judge (κριτής) . . . .
with the . . . . . firmly established . . .
all of them . . . . . of them aided (βοηθεῖν) me.
'All the lawless ones (ἄνομος) judged me; the impious (ἀσεβής), the creatures of
sin, held me in their power amidst the whole multitude,
like a sheep that has no shepherd.
'They buzzed (?) at me like wasps, they roared against me like
lions, saying to me in a loud voice:
It pleases us not that thou shouldest do these things.
'He did evil (?) unto me in his wrath, he counselled against me
with his chieftains (μεγιστᾶνος), he swore to me by the salvation
of his father, saying: I will not leave thee in the world (κόσμος)
henceforth.
'They loaded me with iron, as they do to sinners; they fettered me

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2 There are faint traces of letters to the right of the number, possibly ⲦⲞⲨⲀⲨⲦⲞⲨ i. e. Syrus cf. 14, 19. — 11 'release' reading ⲚⲞⲨⲞⲨⲀⲤⲦⲚ̄ cf. Spiegelberg op. cit. p. 172. — 23 ⲂⲞⲨⲂⲞⲨ in this sense is not known elsewhere. — 26 ⲣ̄ ⲚⲂⲀⲚ vide supr. 15, 31.

ⲙⲁⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥϫⲓⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲩ+ϩⲉⲡ ⲁ̣ⲣⲁ̣ⲓ̈ [ⲛ]ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ
. . . . . .]ⲕ̣ • ⲁⲩⲁ . . . . . ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲣ̄ϩⲓⲕ̣
Ⲭ]ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲧ̄ ϣⲁ̣ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ϣⲁⲩ
ⲁ̣ⲡⲟ̣ⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁϫⲟⲩⲧⲉⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ • ⲉⲩⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ
ϣⲏ] ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ϩⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ ⲉⲩⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲓ
Ⲁⲩ+ ϩⲓⲱ]ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ • ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ ϩⲛ̄ϩⲛ̄
. . . .]ⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏ
Ⲭⲟⲩ]ⲙ̣ⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲙ̄ⲕⲟⲟϩ ⲉ+ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ
Ⲛ[ⲓⲣⲉ]ⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ ⲁⲧⲣⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲁ
ϣ]ⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲉ
ⲡⲓ]ⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ϣⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲓ
Ⲭⲛⲙ]ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲁ̣ⲗⲱⲅⲙⲟⲥ ϣⲁⲡϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩ
ⲣⲟⲥ] ϣⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲟⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ • ⲁ̈ⲓⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉ̈ⲙⲁϩⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ
ⲧⲉ ⲙ]ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲓⲭⲙⲁⲗⲱⲧⲟⲥ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ
ⲧ]ⲉ [ⲛⲛⲓ]ϣⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ
Ⲁⲩⲕⲓⲙ ⲁⲩⲛⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟ̈ⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲛⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲛϥⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲑⲃ̈ⲓⲁ̈ⲓ̀ⲧ̀ ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱϣⲉ ⲣⲱ ⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ
ⲁⲧⲣⲟⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏ̈ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲡⲗⲁⲧⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ
ⲁϫⲱ̈ⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏ̈ ϩⲓⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁ
ⲛⲓⲧ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩ • ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩⲓϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ
Ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ̈ⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲥⲁ̈ⲓϣ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲉⲩ
ⲁⲡⲁ̈ⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟ̈ⲓ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ ⲉϣⲁϥϩⲉⲗⲏⲃ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲓ ⲛ̄ϩ̣ⲏⲩ
ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ϩⲓⲧⲁⲉϩⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ
Ⲁ̈ⲡⲱⲣϣ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲭ ⲉ̈ⲓϣⲗⲏⲗ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲱⲗⲭ̄ ⲛ̣ⲛ̣ⲁ
ⲡⲉⲧ̀ ⲉ̈ⲓⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ̄ ⲛⲉϥ ⲁⲛ • ϫⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲁⲕⲁⲕⲧ̄ ⲁϩⲏⲩ ⲛ̄
ⲑⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ ⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲁⲃⲱϣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥϧⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧ
ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲛⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏ̈ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲟ
ⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲩⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲁⲡⲉ ⲉⲩ
ⲉⲓⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄

4 ϫⲁⲕⲟ]ⲩ P. — 6 ⲁⲩ+ ϩⲓⲱ]ⲧ sic P ipse accepi. — 7 ϩⲁⲗⲩⲥ]ⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ P.

as they do thieves, they judged me like
. . . . ., they all (?) . . . . . me (?) as they do sorcerers.
'From the day when they bound me to the day of the cross (σταυρός)
there are numbered (?) in all some twenty-six days, they keeping watch on
me night and day, appointing guards, keeping watch on me.
'They put six neck-chains (κολλάριον) upon me, they fettered me with
. . . . . ., while all the Elect wept and the Catechumens,
seeing my sufferings wherein I was.
'Those sinners, all of them, did not allow me to see my
children and my disciples (μαθητής) and my shepherds and my
bishops (ἐπίσκοπος), when they saw them coming unto me.
'From the day of the great persecution (διωγμός) to the day of the
cross (σταυρός) there are six years. I spent them walking in the midst
of the world (κόσμος), like captives (αἰχμάλωτος) in the midst
of strangers.
'They were stirred, they trembled, even the powers of the Evil One, they turned
their sword against the humble man, there were not willing indeed
to see me in the streets (πλατεῖα) of their cities (πόλις).
'Lo, the sky and the earth and the two luminaries bear witness
of me in the height that *I* did good
among them, but they in their cruelty crucified (σταυροῦν) me.
'I was gazing at my Familiar with my eyes of light, beholding
my glorious Father, him who waits (?) for me ever,
opening before me the gate unto the height.
'I spread out my hands, praying unto him; I bent my
knees, worshipping him also, that I might divest myself of
the image (εἰκών) of the flesh (σάρξ) and put off the vesture (σχῆμα)
of manhood.'
Lo, his body (σῶμα) was brought forth in the city (πόλις)
of those sinners, when they had cut off his head and
hung it up amid the whole multitude.

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4 cf. Hom. 60, 11. 12. — 8 lit. 'wherein I am'. — 22 ⲁⲡⲁⲥⲁϊ̈ⲱ cf. infr. 42, 22; and Polotsky's note 'Mani-Fund' p. 71: for the original meaning see Crum op. cit. 374 b, comparing infr. 56, 22. — 23 ⲍⲉⲗⲏⲟ meaning uncertain, vide inf. 35, 29; Hom. XIX; 43, 19; Crum Dict. 672 b.

non legi potest

ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩ[ⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ . . . . . .
ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̅ⲙⲉⲛⲏⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩϫ|ⲥⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩ . [. .
. . . ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩϫ|ⲥⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲙⲉⲣ|ⲧ ⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲱ ⲛ . .
. . . . . ⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲛ̅ ϫⲉⲩⲛⲁ . . . [. .
ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧ . . . . . [. . . .
. . . . . ⲩ
ⲙ . ⲱ . . . ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲟ|ϫ ⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲧⲛ̅ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅[ⲛⲕⲁ
ⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̅ⲧⲱⲃϩ̅ [. .]ⲩ[.
ⲁⲩ . ⲉ . ⲛ̅ⲧⲱⲃϩ̅ ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲁⲩ + ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̅ [. .
. .] . . . . . .
ⲑ . . . . . ⲛ̅ⲧⲛ̅ . . . ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲱⲱⲧ̅ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ ⲙ̈[. . .
ⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉ̈ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ . . . . [ⲉⲧⲣⲁ
ⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̅ⲡⲛ̅ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ϫⲁ|ⲟⲥ [ⲡⲡⲛⲁ
ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡ|ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩ|ⲧⲛ̅ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲩ[ⲥⲱⲧⲡ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̅ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · ckz · <

Ⲧⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̅ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲕⲣ|ⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲧⲛ̅
ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲕ̅ϩⲙⲁⲥⲧ̅ ⲁϫⲱⲩ
ⲁ̈ⲕⲉ|ⲗ ϩⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲉ|ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲡⲡⲛ̅ⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲡⲕ̅ⲗⲥ ⲡⲉ
ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲩ̣ⲧ̣ⲛ̣ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲩ̣ⲩ ⲛ̅ϫ|ⲓ ⲓ|ⲏⲥ • ⲁⲕⲉ|ⲗ ϩⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲉ|ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲛ̅
ⲃ̅ⲣ̅ⲣⲉ ⲛ̅ⲙ̅ⲧⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ • ⲁⲕⲉ|ⲗ ϩⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲉ|ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲡⲛ̅ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ
ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ϫⲁ|ⲟⲥ • ⲧⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̅ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲕ
ⲁ|ⲗⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ ⲛ̅ⲃ̅ⲣ̅ⲣⲉ
Ⲱⲛ̅ϩⲧⲏⲕ ⲟ̣ⲉ̣ ⲁϫⲛ̅ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲡⲡⲕ̅ⲗⲥ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̅ⲱⲁⲛ
ϩⲧⲏⲩ ⲛ̅ⲕⲕⲱ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̅ⲛⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉ̈ⲧⲟⲩ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲱⲣⲃ| ⲱⲡ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉ̈ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ
ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛ̅ⲁⲱⲣⲉⲁ ϫⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲱⲃϩ̅
ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲛ̅ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̅ⲕⲕⲱ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̅ⲛⲛⲁⲃⲉ
ⲧⲧⲃⲏⲙⲁ [ⲡⲉ] ⲡⲉ̈ ⲛ̅|ⲏⲥ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ

3 fin. fort. ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩ. — 8 init. ⲙ̅ⲡⲱⲣⲃ̅ vid. — 30 leg. ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲃⲉ.

illegible

the Elect and the Catechumens . . . . . ;
their great shepherd who has ascended from among them (?).
. . . . . when the Beloved had ascended into heaven, he set . . .
. . . . . his Elect, that they might . . . . .
night and day the . . . . . .
. . . .
. . . . . your hands, all the Elect and the Catechumens
of the faith and pray ye . . . . .
your (?) prayers, that the Father of Glory may give to you
. . . . . .
. . . . . who see (?) me . .
light (?), these that are in the Church, ... that
watch over her night and day.
Glory and victory to our Lord Mani, the Spirit
of Truth, him that is come from the Father, and all his
holy Elect. Victory to the soul of Mary.

CCXXVII.

We worship thee, the judge (κριτής), the Paraclete, we
bless thy Bema whereon thou art seated.
Thou didst come in peace (εἰρήνη), o Spirit of Truth, the Paraclete, whom
Jesus sent; thou didst come in peace (εἰρήνη), new sun
of the souls of men; thou didst come in peace (εἰρήνη), our Lord
Mani. We worship thy Bema and thy
new covenant (διαθήκη).
Have mercy then (?) upon thy people (λαός), o Paraclete, merciful
Father, and forgive us the sins which we have committed,
all of them. Make not reckoning with us for them, for (γάρ) this is
the day which thou hast given us as a present(δωρεά), that we might beseech
thee, our Lord, and thou forgive us our sins.
This is the Bema of Jesus and the Maiden of Light

31 'the Maiden of Light', see Polotsky in 'Ein Mani-Fund' p. 67 i.

ι]νε μ̄ν̄πκριτηc ν̄τεκκληcια πεϊ̈ πε πμεϊ̈νε̣
μ̣πβημα μ̄πκριτηc ετ2ν̄παηρ • πβημα ν̄τ̣[. .
. . . .] . . . βημα μ̄π . . . ʌ . . μ̄π[. . . . . .
non legi potest
2]ατμ̄ν̄τρρο
ⲁkβω]ω μ̄μαν ν̄τλγπη ακ+ αxωn μ̄π̣[ρεωε
μ̄πooγε πν̄xαϊc ππ̄κλc νεκεκκληcια τ̣η̣ρ̣ογ
x]ωκ αβαλ μ̄πεκμγcτηριον • τν̄+ ν̄τν̄ογρ̄
μ̄πooγε ν̄θε νν̄ιωηn ν̄ταϊογταz xε εcαωω
πε] nεn ν̄ογκλαμ ν̄kkω μ̄μαq azρη̣ϊ̈ [αxωn
Πε]τακαταφρονε μ̄πooγε cενακαταφρονε μ̄
μα]q μ̄πzooγ ν̄τ̄ϭινβαωϥ̄ μ̄πcωμ̣α [ακβαωκ
μπε]ϰεαγ ακτεεκ απμογ zαν†γxαγε ακτεεκ
ατοτq] μ̣̄πxαxε atρογωωλ πεκcναq αβαλ
xε] εκανογzμε μ̄μαν απκεκε xε αντεεn
zω]ωn zατμ̄ν̄τρρο
Μπεκκααν ενωαατ ν̄λαγε xε εναϭn απολο
για μ̄πμ̄το μ̄πκριτηc ν̄τμηε • ακε|νε nεn ν̄
ογϊ̈ελ αβαλ zν̄τκμ̄ν̄τρρο ανϭωωϥ̄ annεγ ατ
τηρϥ̄ ν̄zητc̄ νετaγωωπε μ̄ννε[τaωωπε μn
νετωooπ τηρογ μ̄π̣ . . . . . ε̣ .[. . . . . .
Μπωρτν̄κατaφρονε ν̣ε̣ϰλε̣κτος [μννκατη
χογ[[μενος μ̄π]]νομος ετανxιτϥ̄ • α[. . . . .]εγ zν̄
πν̄z[[ητ xε ερε]] πν̄νογτε ογ[. . . . . .
νεγ α[[ραq εn zν̄]]νιβελ ν̄cαρκιϰ̣ον .[. .]. . . . .
zν̄τν̄[[μητε ν̄θ]]ε μ̄πρη ετπρ̄ϊ̈ε zν̄τ̣[πε
ΤΤναϭ [[ν̄ρρο ετx]]αce zμεcτ̄ azρηϊ̈ αxν̄πε̣qβημα
qνεγ [[anzβηγε]] μ̄πογε πογε μ̄μαn • πν̄xαϊc γαρ
αqx[[ooc xε πα]]μαν̄zμεcτ̄ .[. . . .]. . . . . .ϩ .
ναε[[kkληcια τ]]ηρογ εγο ν̄θε ν̣̄[. . . . . .
πε anϰ̣ϊ̣κ̣αιοc q]]ραϊc μ̄ννε . . . . .[. . . . . .
πλανη

23—31 litteras quot inter [[. . .]] inclusi in panniculo novae papyri recentior exaravit manus cf. supr. p. 2.

and the judge (κριτής) of the Church. This is the sign
of the Bema of the judge (κριτής) who is in the air (ἀήρ); the Bema of the
. . . . . Bema of the . . . . . of the . . . . . .

illegible

for the kingdom.
Thou didst strip us of grief (λύπη), thou hast put joy upon us
today, our Lord the Paraclete. All thy Churches
are fulfilling thy mystery. We give our rose
today, like fruit-giving trees, that it may become
for us a garland and thou set it [upon our head.
He that shall despise (καταφρονεῖν) today shall be despised (καταφρονεῖν)
on the day when he shall put off the body (σῶμα). Thou didst put off (?)
thy glory and didst give thyself up to death for souls, thou gavest thyself
up to the enemy that thy blood might be shed,
in order that thou mightest save us from the Darkness; for we too
have given ourselves for the kingdom.
Thou didst not leave us lacking anything to find defence (ἀπολογία)
in the presence of the judge (κριτής) of Truth; thou didst bring us
a mirror from thy kingdom, we looked and saw the
universe in it, the things that have been and that shall be and
that are, all of them . . . . . .
Let us not despise (καταφρονεῖν), the Elect (ἐκλεκτός) and the Cate-
chumens, the law (νόμος) which we have received . . . . . think (?) in
our hearts that our God is a . . . . . .
see him not with these fleshly (σαρκικός) eyes . . . . . .
in our midst, like the sun that shines in the sky (?).
The great exalted king is seated upon his Bema,
he sees the deeds of each one of us; for (γάρ) our Lord
said: 'My seat is . . . . . .
my Churches are all like . . . . . .
. . . the righteous (δίκαιος), he keeps watch with his (?) . . . . . .
Error (πλάνη).

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2 The judge who is in the air: cf. infr. 22, 12; Keph. 35, 24 ff.; Mani-Fund p. 71 l. — 6 for the 'putting on' and 'putting off' of qualities and emotions cf. 1 Cor. 15, 53; Col. 3, 12; Odes of Solomon (ed Rendel Harris) 15, 8; 33, 10 etc. — 8, 9 cf. infr. 47, 15; 153, 8 ff. — 19 vide supr. 9, 6. — 21, 22 i. e. the 'three moments' supr. 7, 9.

Μαρ̄ṭaï̈o бε ṗ . . . . . ⲙ̄πε λαγε cωβε ⲙ̄[μαϥ
n̄ϥkω n̄cωϥ n̄τεϥc̣ṗ . . . . ẹ n̄εkλεktoc μạ̣[. .
. . . . . ωḳ n̄n̄ . . . . n̄kατηχ[ογωε
n]o̩ç ⲙ̄ . . . .ωṭ ⲙn̄neϥⲙn̄τnαε ϩạṗ̣ω[. . . . .
. . . .] ⲙ̄πϩooγε n̄τkρ|c|c ⲙ̄ṗṭạ̈i̯o ϩạπn[. . . . .
Ττεϊ π]ε ṗ̣ⲙαï̈τ n̄τⲙнε πεϊ πε πτωρ̄τ ετ[χ| ⲁ
πχ|ce πετⲁχ|τn̄ ⲁϩρнï̈ ⲁπογαï̈νε n̄τⲁϥ ṗ̣[ε
π|ⲙαï̈τ χn̄n̄θογï̈τε n̄χ| πϣⲁρ̄π n̄ρωⲙε ⲙ̣[n|
нcoγç ⲡ̄πρ̄ï̈ε ⲙn̄ππ̄kλc ⲙ̄πn̄ⲁ ⲁγτⲁϩⲙε ω [τϯγ
χн χẹ ẹρ̣ⲁταï̈λε ⲁπχ|ce n̄ϩнτϥ̄
Χ| n̄τcφραг|c ετογⲁβε n̄τn̄ππογc n̄τεkkλн[c|ⲁ
n̄τεχωḳ n̄n̄εντολαγε πḳṗ|τнc ϩωωϥ [ετϩn
πⲁнр [ϥ]ⲁ̣ϯ ṇẹ ⲙ̄πεϥϣⲁⲙ̄τ n̄ϩⲙⲁт пвαπт[|
cⲙⲁ n̄n̄noγτε τερⲁχ|τϥ̄ ϩn̄πρωⲙε ẹṭ[χнḳ n
15 φωcтнр nⲁχωḳ ⲙ̄ⲙo n̄cεχ|τε ⲁτεⲙn̄т[ρρo
Ττεï̈ωт п̣ϣⲁṗ̣̄ n̄ρωⲙε ϥⲁϯ nε ⲙ̄πεⲱṇ̣ϩ [. . .
πετ . . . n̄τεεϥ ρω χn̄n̄τεϩογï̈τε • ппресв̣ẹγ
тнc n̄ṇo̩γṭẹ n̄τⲙнε ϥⲁϯ nε n̄тбрнπε ⲙ̄πογαï̈
nε . . . . . ‘kⲁ . ç̣nⲁϯ nε ⲙ̄πεkλⲁⲙ n̄ϣoγϣoγ
20 n̄τε[. . . .]ṇ̣ṗ . [. . .] . . . . . χε ⲁρεвωτε ⲁвⲁλ
ⲙ̄п . . [. . . .]
Oγεⲁγ [ⲙnoγб]ρo ⲙ̄п[пk]λ[c] ⲙ̄πn̄ⲁ πϣнn ⲙ̄πωnϩ
n̄тⲁ|[oγтⲁϩ] oγбρo ⲙ̄ппn̄ⲁпocтoλoc пn̄χⲁï̈c пⲙⲁ
n|ẋ[ⲁ|oc ⲙnпⲙ]n̄ṭ̣cnⲁγç̣ пϣвecnⲁγc ⲙ̄πρec
25 вẹ̣γтнc [. . . .]. . . n̄oγⲁn n|ⲙ eqϩωc eqcⲙoγ ⲙ̄
п[. . . . . .] n̄ṭ̣ç̣o̩[ϕ]|ⲁ ⲙn̄тϯγχн ⲙ̄ⲙⲁρ|ⲁ

> · $\overline{\text{ckh}}$ · <

Ττn̄ẋ[ⲁ|c ппkλc] ⲁqε| ⲁqϩⲙec ⲁϩρнï̈ ⲁχn̄πeqвн
ⲙ̣ⲁ [ⲙⲁρn̄τωвϩ т]нρn̄ nⲁcnнγ χε eqⲁkⲁ nn̄nⲁ
30 вε ⲁвⲁλ]
Тт[. . . . . .] пе̣ṭ̣ⲁqтn̄nⲁγq̄ ϩn̄пcⲁχnẹ

5 fin. fort. ⲙ̄πn[oγтε.

Let us therefore honour the . . . . . none has made mock of him
and put behind him his . . . . . The Elect (ἐκλεκτός)
. . . . . the Catechumens
of . . . . . and his almsgivings . . . . . .
. . on the day of judgment (κρίσις) the honour of God (?).
This is the way of Truth, this is the stairway that leads to
the height, that will lead us up to the Light. From the beginning
the First Man is this way and
Jesus the Dawn and the Paraclete-Spirit, they have summoned thee, o Soul,
that thou mayest ascend to the height by it.
Receive the Holy Seal (σφραγίς) from the Mind (νοῦς) of the Church
and fulfil the commandments (ἐντολή). The judge (κριτής) himself that is in
the air (ἀήρ) will give thee his three gifts — the baptism (βάπτισμα)
of the Gods thou shalt receive in the Perfect Man; the
Luminaries (φωστήρ) will make thee perfect and take thee to thy kingdom.
Thy Father, the First Man, will give thee thy life (?) . . .
who (?) . . . to give it since thy beginning; the divine
envoy of Truth will give thee the diadem of Light;
. . . . . will give thee thy garland of renown,
and thou . . . . . because thou hast wiped out
the . . . . .
Glory and victory to the Paraclete-Spirit, the fruitful
tree of life. Victory to our Apostle, our Lord
Mani and the Twelve, the seventy-two envoys (πρεσβευτής),
. . . . . to every one that sings and praises
the . . . . . of wisdom (σοφία) and to the soul of Mary.

CCXXVIII.

Our Lord the Paraclete has come, he has sat down upon his Bema;
let us all pray, my brethren, that he may forgive us
our sins.
The . . . . . whom he sent in the counsel

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9 vide Polotsky's note, 'Mani-Fund' p. 66 (h). — 13 cf. infr. 56, 4; 83, 31. — 14 'Mani-Fund' p. 66 (g). — 15 i. e. the sun and moon, Act. Arch. § VIII. — 18, 19 cf. 'Mani-Fund' p. 71 (o). — 24 cf. Aug. de haer. § 46; Keph. 12, 27. 28; Waldschmidt-Lentz, SPAW 1933, 592 ff.

ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ • ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣ᾽
ⲁ]ⲩⲧⲱⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲁⲗ • ⲁⲩϫⲁⲕⲟ̄ ⲉⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣ᾽
ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲟⲗⲓϯⲗⲥ • ⲁⲩⲟⲩ
ⲛ]ⲉⲙ ⲁⲩⲉⲩⲁⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩϯ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲃⲓϫ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲉ̄ ϫⲉ ⲉⲫⲁⲧⲗⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲱⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲧⲣⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲛ̄ⲛⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ϯⲛⲏⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲫⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ • ⲧⲃⲃⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲥ̀ ⲁ
ⲡⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲙ ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩϯ] ⲡⲁⲓⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲉ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧϩⲕⲉⲉⲧ • ⲟⲃⲥⲱ ⲁⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̄
ⲛⲉⲧⲕⲏ]ⲕ ⲁϩⲏⲩ ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁ[ⲩⲧⲣ]ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲩⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩ
ⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲛ̄ⲟⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲱ • ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲁⲣⲱϩⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄
ⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ • ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲣ̄ϩⲙⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ϫⲉⲥⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ
ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲃⲃⲉⲓⲣⲉ • ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲱⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲁⲗⲡ|ⲓⲅ̀ ϩⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲩ ⲛⲉⲧ
ⲧϩⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲩⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟ ⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ • ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲁ|ⲱⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲟⲗ|ⲥ ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ • ϫⲉⲩⲁⲧⲁϫⲁⲩ ⲧⲥⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲁⲗⲏ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲱⲧⲉⲕⲱⲟⲩ • ⲁⲩⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉ
ⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲛ|ⲡⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁϯⲟⲩ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲏ̈ⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲁⲩ[. . . . . ⲁ]ⲩϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩ
ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲱ|ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ[ⲛⲟⲙ|ⲁ ⲁ]ⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲗ̀

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1 ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ P: siglum ᾽ verbi contractionem indicat, ⲧⲏⲣ᾽ pro ⲧⲏⲣⲛ̄. — 22 ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ pro ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ P.

of the Aeons of immortality. Implore him all.
He anointed him in his power, he made him perfect by the Spirit of his love (ἀγάπη). Implore him all.
He appointed him to three powers, to tribulation (θλίψις), to a right hand,
5 to bliss (εὐδαιμονία). Implore him.
He gave into his hands the medicine of life that he might heal the wounded. Implore him.
He gave light with his Light to our lamps (λαμπάς). Put oil into them by your faith. Implore him.
10 He gave the helmsman to the ships; the butter he brought to the warm milk. Implore him.
He gave the bread of life to the hungry; the clothing he brought to the naked. Implore him.
He gave light by his love (ἀγάπη) to our Intelligence (νοῦς); he made his
15 faith shine in our Reason. Implore him.
He brought perfection to our Thought, long-suffering to our Counsel. Implore him.
He bestowed Wisdom (σοφία) on our Intention that it might be as butter for us. Implore him.
20 He sounded with his trumpet (σάλπιγξ) in the worlds (κόσμος) that are far, that are near, he roused them. Implore him.
The ruler (ἄρχων) of the earth rose up against him and persecuted (διώκειν) him in his cities (πόλις). Implore him.
He assumed (φορεῖν) the heart of his judges (κριτής) that they might condemn
25 him like the impious (ἀσεβής). Implore him.
They shut him up in their prisons and loaded his limbs (μέλος) with iron. We implore him.
They counselled against him in their evil counsels that they might cast a slur on him daily. Implore him.
30 In the power of his glorious Father he . . . . he gave his Spirit. Implore him.
He was put to shame, the judge (κριτής) of lawlessness (ἀνομία?), he brought his wrath down

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4 'a right hand' i. e. 'succour' cf. 2, 5 n. — 10, 19 ϭBceϊρε vide Crum op. cit. 353 a. I cannot do better than quote P's note: 'Das Bild vom Verschmelzen der Butter in warmer Milch kommt . . . bei der Beschreibung der ἀποκατάστασις in den Keph. vor; es bedeutet offenbar die Wiedervereinigung einer Sache mit einer anderen, aus der sie ursprünglich hervorgegangen ist'. The reference to the Kêph. is 54, 24 ff. — 14—18 i. e. νοῦς ἔννοια φρόνησις ἐνθύμησις λογισμός: vide Burkitt, The Relig. of the Manichees pp. 19, 33; and his note in M.R.James, The Apocryphal New Testament p. 378; Waldschmidt-Lentz, Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus p. 42. For the qualities peculiar to each, vide infr. 200, 19—29; Polotsky Abriss p. 256 ff. — 24 'assumed' i. e. as a garment, lit. 'wore'. — 29 The word ⲁⲖⲂⲉ occurs infr. 58, 6, 7; 59, 27 ϫⲱⲕⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲁϊ ⲛ̄ⲕϊⲱⲉ ⲙⲙⲁϊ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁϊ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲁⲖⲂⲉ; 79, 22 ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲁⲖⲂⲉ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲂⲉ; 211, 26 ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲖⲏ ⲉⲙⲙⲁⲖⲂⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ. The word appears to mean κηλίς, 'macula', a disfiguring spot or stain, thus ⲁⲧⲁⲖⲂⲉ may well be a translation of ἀκηλίδωτος. 'I am strongly inclined to think that stain is not the original meaning, which may go back to an old Egyptian word (Berl. Wb. I 6) ȝb, to brand cattle or slaves; we have it also in demotic documents': H.T.

ⲕⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲱⲃϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲩⲗⲏ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁ
ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲱⲃϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲉⲩⲉ ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϩⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ
ⲡⲉⲩϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲧⲱⲃϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲧⲛ̄ϩⲱⲥ̀ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲧⲱⲃϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲡⲥⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ϩⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲧⲱⲃϩ̄ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲃⲓ ⲱⲡ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲁ
ⲯⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩϫ̄ ⲁⲡⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕ[ⲉⲕ
ⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲱⲃϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ
ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓϫⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲱⲃϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ

> · ck⊖ · <

Ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲡⲕⲗⲥ ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ
ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲯⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲛ̄ ⲉⲛⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲕⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ
Ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲣⲓ
ⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲣⲉϥ†ϩⲉⲡ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲡⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄
†ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ
Ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ
ⲱⲛ ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ
ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ
Ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲯⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉ
ⲗⲟⲥ • ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲯⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ • ⲡⲕⲁⲥ
ⲧⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ
Ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡϩⲙⲁⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲁⲱⲛ .[. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲧⲏⲩ
ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲛ̄ .[. . . . .]
Ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲕ [. . . . . .] ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ • ⊖ⲉⲗ

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6 ϩⲱⲥ̀ sic. — 10 ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲉ[ⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁ] P. — 11 ⲛ 4° sup. lin.

upon his body (σῶμα). Implore him.
They hung his head upon the gate (πύλη), knowing not
what they were doing. Implore him.
The wise ones also that are among men bore witness concerning
his eminence. Implore him.
Let us bless him now, my brethren, and sing to him
in our spirit (πνεῦμα). Implore him.
We pray thee all of us together, the Elect (ἐκλεκτός)
and the Believers. Implore him.
Do not make reckoning with us now, our Lord, according (κατά) to the
multitude of our sins.
Glory to the Father who sent thee for the salvation of thy
holy Churches. Implore him.
Glory and victory to the Paraclete, our Lord, our Light,
Mani, and the soul of Mary. Implore him.

CCXXIX.

Hail, our Lord, the Paraclete; hail, the Spirit of Truth.
We rejoice all of us as we see thy Bema, the Holy Ones
and the Catechumens.
Hail, Bema resplendent; hail, sign of the judge (κριτής),
the giver of judgment to the whole world (κόσμος), the Saviour of the
souls of men.
Hail, Mind (νοῦς) of the Father; garland of renown of the
Aeons, the Holy Spirit that scans (?) the universe, perfect
love (ἀγάπη) of the Father.
Hail, joy of the Gods, rest of the angels,
the entire will of the powers of the Light, the trust
of the sons of the kingdom.
Hail, gift (δῶρον) of the Father, holy present of
the Aeons . . . . . of the Gods, the angels; living trust
of . . . . . .
Hail, bread . . . . . holy imperishable water;

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23 cf. Polotsky Abriss p. 256 ff. — 17 etc. 'Hail': χαῖρε.

π|c] ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲥ̀ • ⲧⲥⲟⲫ|ⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲏϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ
ⲥⲧⲏⲣ|ⲟⲛ

Ⲭⲁ|ⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲧϩ|ⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲧⲁⲛ̄ⲧ̄
ⲡ̣ⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲥⲁⲩ • ⲑⲉⲗⲡ|ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛ̄ϩ ⲛ̄
5 ⲙ̄ⲧⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ

Ⲭ[ⲁ|ⲣⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲱ[ⲟ|ⲟ̣ⲡ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲁⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ • ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟ̄ ⲁ̣ⲛ
ⲛ]ⲉ̣ⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛⲛ̣ⲟ̣ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲗⲉ

Ⲭⲁ|ⲣ]ⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ • ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲡ|ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲟⲅⲙⲁ
10 ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲟⲩ • ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲙ ϩⲛ̄ⲡ|ⲁⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗ̀
ⲗⲉ] ⲉⲩⲕⲏⲕ ⲁϩⲏⲩ

Ⲭⲁ|ⲣ]ⲉ ⲡⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲡⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄
ⲧⲩ]ⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕⲁⲕⲛ̄ ⲁϩⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲛⲉⲥ ⲁⲩⲧ ⲁ
ϫ]ⲱ̣ⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ

15 Ⲭ[ⲁ|ⲣ]ⲉ ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲡ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁ
ⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ⲥ̄ⲃ̄ⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲧ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅ|ⲟⲛ
ⲙⲏϩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏϩ

Ⲧⲛ]ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲙⲡⲉⲕ]ⲃⲏⲙⲁ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲕⲱ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ
20 ⲛⲉⲧⲁ̣ⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀

Ⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁϫ ⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩ
ϩⲛⲧ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲕ̀ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲱⲧ̄ϩⲛⲧ • ⲕⲱ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁ
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉⲉⲩ

Ⲕⲟ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ̀ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲱⲁ
25 ⲑⲁⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲧⲉ |ⲏⲥ̄ ⲉ|ⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲩϩⲙⲉⲥ ⲁϫⲱⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲩ+ϩⲉⲡ ⲁⲛⲣⲉ|ⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

Ⲛⲉ̈ⲓⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲣ̄
ⲱⲁ̈ⲓⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲡ|ϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱⲗⲏⲗ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ+ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲣ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ

30 Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄ π[ⲡⲛⲁ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡ|ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ
ⲙ̄ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁ̈ⲓⲥ • ⲧⲛ̄+[ⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩ
ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧ+ⲩⲭ[ⲏ ⲛⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁ]ⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

24, 32/25, 1 fort. ⲑⲁⲗ[ⲙⲉ] legendum est quod melius cum ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲥ̀ congruit. — 6 ⲡⲉⲧⲁ̣[ⲩ P. — 8 ⲉⲛⲛ̣ⲟ̣ P. verbum corruptum esse opinor, cum et punctum tertiae litterae delendae causa suppositum esse videatur cf. infr. 56, 13 ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̣̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁ̈ⲓⲥ. — 26 ⲁⲛⲣⲉ|ⲧⲟⲩ sic. ⲁ . . . ⲉ̈ⲧⲟⲩ P: lege ⲁⲛⲣⲉ̈ⲧⲉ.

unfathomable hope (ἐλπίς) of life; wisdom (σοφία) full of
mystery.
Hail, gate of Light, the straight way of life,
good shepherd of his sheep, the hope (ἐλπίς) of the life of
the souls of men.
Hail, tree of knowledge that is in the midst
of this multitude of trees; whereof we ate and
saw, having been blind.
Hail, Spirit of Truth, that hath put all the Sects (δόγμα)
to shame, these that eat from this multitude of trees, being blind
and naked.
Hail, resurrection of the dead, new Aeon of the
souls of men, that hath stripped us of the Old Man and put
upon us the New Man.
Hail, day of joy, the blessed bridegroom;
lo, our lamps (λαμπάς) are ready; lo, our vessels (ἀγγεῖον)
are full of oil.
We worship thee, the Paraclete, we implore thee in the presence
of thy Bema to forgive us our sins
that we have committed during the year.
For (γάρ) there is none in this flesh (σάρξ) that is free from sin in his
heart. Thou alone art the searcher of hearts; forgive us
what we have done.
Thou art glorious, blessed Bema, that shall reign unto
the end of world (κόσμος), until Jesus shall come and sit upon it
and judge all races.
Blessed are the Elect and the Catechumens who
keep festival on this day and fast (νηστεύειν) and pray
and give alms, that they may reign in the New Aeon.
Glory and victory to the Paraclete, the [Spirit of Truth that is come
from the Father and our Lord; we glorify Mani and his
holy Elect and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

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1 cf. Rossi op. cit. I 3. 78 a. — 8 ⲉⲛⲛⲟ: the reading is very uncertain. P suggests in a note that the form may be imperfect = ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲟ. — 13 cf. Eph. 4, 22. 24. — 15 cf. Matth. 25, 1 ff; infr. p. 191. — 21 vid. Crum op. cit. 512 a. — 22 cf. Rom. 8, 27; Acta Pauli (ed. Schmidt) 19, 21.

> $\overline{\text{cλ}}$ <

ⲦⲠⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲣⲒⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲱⲁ[ⲛⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕⲗ̄ⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲒⲥ ⲡⲙ̄ⲛ̄[ⲭⲥ
ϵⲒⲛⲁⲣⲱⲁⲒⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲒⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ . ⲡⲃⲏ
ⲙⲁ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡ̣ⲣⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲱⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲱⲛⲧ [ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
+ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲍⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲒ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲙ[ⲉⲓⲛ]ⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟ[ⲫ]ⲓ̣ⲁ̣ [ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲱ]ⲱⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲒⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̣ⲁⲑ̣ [ⲙⲛ
ⲛⲉⲕ[ⲙⲩⲥ]ⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ

$\overline{\text{N}}$ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟ̣ ⲛ̄
ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡ̣[ⲉ ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ

Ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ +ⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄
ⲡⲧⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ • ⲧⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡ̣ . [. .
ⲛⲁⲙⲏⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ

$\overline{\text{N}}$ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲁⲡ$\overline{\text{Χρⲥ}}$ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲩ+ⲍⲉⲡ ⲁⲛⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲃⲉ ⲛ
ⲍⲏⲧⲕ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲕ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲭⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
ⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ

ⲦⲦⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲙⲛ̄+ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲃⲁⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ
ⲡⲍ̣ⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ ⲡ̣ⲛ̄[ⲉⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ

$\overline{\text{N}}$ⲧⲁⲕ [ⲡⲉ] ⲧ̣ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲗⲟⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲃⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ
ⲛ̣[. . . . . ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲃⲁ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲗⲟⲁⲩ
ⲕ̣ . . . ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲭⲉⲒⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ

$\overline{\text{N}}$ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲉⲕ+ ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ
ⲡⲉⲧ+ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛⲙ̄+ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ

$\overline{\text{N}}$ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲒⲟ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲒⲁⲒⲧ ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧ
ⲡⲱⲣⲭ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ

$\overline{\text{N}}$ⲧⲕ̀ ⲟ[ⲩ . . . . . .]+ⲥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲁⲛⲍⲧⲏⲩ $\overline{\text{ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲥ}}$
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ[ⲕ̀ ⲡ]ⲉ ⲡ̣[ⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲛⲍ]ⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ̀ ⲡⲉ ⲡ̣[. . . . . ⲉ]ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

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4 fort. ω post ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ. — 23 ⲟⲩⲭⲉⲒⲧⲉ sic cf. Schmidt, Texte und Untersuchungen 43: 17, 13; infr. 220, 6. 13.

CCXXX.

Light resplendent, the Bema, thou art come; we [call
unto thee, the children of the Paraclete, our Lord Mani.
I will keep festival for thee today; I have purified my heart, [o] Bema,
holy likeness, that overawes him that approaches it.
I bless thee, o glorious seat, the sign
of the Wisdom (σοφία); we worship the sign of thy greatness [and
thy mysteries ineffable.
Thou art the blessed (μακάριος) Root. Thou art the confirmation of
the Luminaries (φωστήρ). Thou art the gift of the air (ἀήρ). Thou art the
manifestation of the victory of the Light.
We see thee now, blessed (μακάριος) one, the word that is in
singleness of heart; we gaze after thee, the holy one, the . . . .
that is new indeed.
Thou art he that waits for Christ, that he may judge the sinners
through thee; today also through thee the Mind (νοῦς) puts to shame the
Sects (δόγμα) of Error (πλάνη).
Thanks to thee and peace (εἰρήνη), the garland and the palm. Thou art
the new year's day of joy. Thou art the hour (?)
of gladness.
Thou art the medicine of the healing of our wounds, which are
. . . . . and the wounds of the Faithful (πιστός) which cannot be
healed
. . . . . salvation and rest.
Thou art he that crushes evil (κακία), setting a garland upon
godliness; thou art he that cleanses the Light from the Darkness; thou
art he that gives rest unto the souls of men.
Thou art the honour that is honoured before all the apostles;
thou art the throne (θρόνος) of the judges (κριτής) of godliness that
separate the two natures (φύσις).
Thou art . . . . . sparing; thou art compassion entire;
thou art the rest of thy Catechumens;
thou art the holy . . . . . .

19 'new year's day of joy' HT, comparing Hom. 8, 4 for this use of ϩʜ. — 29 i. e. the sheep from the goats cf. 28, 15; Matth. 25, 32.

1—12 nisi ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ l. 1 cuncta perierunt

13 ⲧⲧⲉⲁⲩ] ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲏⲙⲁ [ⲟⲩ
ⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲉ]ⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲁⲧϩⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ [ⲙⲛⲧ
ⲧⲩ]ⲭⲏ [ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ϫⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲓ̈

ⲥⲗⲁ ⲕ̄ⲩ ⲥⲩⲣⲟⲩ

17 ⲁⲙⲟⲩ] ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ ⲛⲉⲧⲟ̣ⲉⲉⲧ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛⲧⲕ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ • ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗⲥ
ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ
20 ⲧⲛⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲁ[ⲣⲁⲕ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ̣ⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϩ̣ⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲁ . . . . .
ⲛ̣ⲉⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲃ[ⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧ]ⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧ̣† ⲧⲟⲩ̈ⲟ ⲁⲣ̣[. . .
ⲡ̣ⲉⲧ̣ . . [. . . . .]
ⲧⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ [ⲡⲑⲣⲟⲛ]ⲟ̣ⲥ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ϩⲙⲉⲥ ⲙ
ⲡⲕ̣ⲣ[ⲓⲧⲏⲥ . . . .] ⲧ̣ⲛ̄ⲟ̣ⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛⲉⲕ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲛⲉⲩ ⲁ̣
25 ⲡⲉⲣ̣ⲕ̣[ⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛⲛⲉⲕⲙ]ⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ
. . . . . .] ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ[ⲓⲟⲥ] ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲕ ⲁ̣ⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲁ
ϫⲣⲟ̣ [. . . . . ⲛⲧ]ⲁ̣ⲕ ⲡⲉ [. . . . ⲛ]ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ
. . . . . .] ⲡⲉ̣ [. . . . ⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
. . . . . ⲛⲧⲁ]ⲕ ⲡⲉ
30 . . . . .] ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁ
. . . . .] . . . . . ⲛ̄

24 post ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ fort. ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ.

1—12 fragmentary and illegible

13 Glory to thee, Mani; victory also to thy Bema.
Victory to the] Elect (ἐκλεκτός) and thy Catechumens and the
soul of Mary, Jmnoute, Pshai.

CCXXXI. By the Lord (ⲕⲩ) Syrus.

17 Come], o joyous Bema, unto us that rejoice, that wait for
thee daily. We are the children of the Paraclete,
our Lord Mani.
20 We will bless thee today in our heart that . . . . . .
to thee, o Bema that art glorious, that givest recompense to . . .
that . . . . . .
Glory to thee, o glorious throne (θρόνος), the seat of
the judge (κριτής?). . . . We worship thee, for we have seen
25 thy glory and thy mysteries ineffable.
. . . . . blessed (μακάριος). Thou also art the
confirmation . . . . . Thou art . . . . of the air (ἀήρ). Thou
. . . . . art . . . . light
. . . . . Thou art
30 . . . . . we see
. . . . . .

16 cf. 14, 19 n.

1 N̄taⲕ πε τⲃaⲙ [. . . . . .

2—6 nil nisi vestigia tenuia perspexi

7 Ntaⲕ πε] πτλⲃo ⲙn̄̄πoyⲭ[ⲉ| . . . . . .
. . . . .]ⲛ̣oⲩ̣ • ⲛⲉτⲭωⲕ ⲙ̣̄[. . . . . .
. . . . .] ⲉτⲙaⲭⲍ̄ n̄n . ⲩ̣a . [ ] n̄ⲍht
10 Ntaⲕ πε π]ⲣⲉⲩ̣ⲑⲃ̈o n̄ⲙ̄̄πⲉⲑ̣[aⲩ] πⲣⲉⲩ+[ⲃro . .
. . . .] ⲉtaN|T • n̄taⲕ πⲉ̣ π̣[. . .] . . . . . [. . . .

nil legi potest

Nta]ⲕ πε πtaï̈o n̄ⲛⲉttaï̈aï̈t naποστολoc ⲧ̣ⲏ[ⲣoⲩ
ⲉtⲥ]ⲙaⲙaat n̄taⲕ πε πⲑ̣ⲣ̣o̅ⲛ̣oc n̄n̄ⲣⲉⲩ̣[+ⲍⲉπ
15 ⲉtoⲩa]ⲃⲉ ⲛⲉtπωⲣⲭ̄ aⲃaⲗ n̄tⲫyⲥ|c cn̄tⲉ
Ntⲕ oy]naⲉ ⲣω tⲏⲣⲕ̄ ⲙn̄oyⲙn̄tⲱaⲛⲍ̅tⲏⲩ̅ tⲏⲣⲕ̄
n̄taⲕ aN πε πtaⲭⲣo n̄ⲍht n̄ⲙ̄̄π|ⲥtoc n̄ⲧ̣[aⲕ
aN] πε πⲥaⲃ̄ n̄ⲛⲉtoⲩaⲃⲉ
19 TTeaⲩ nⲉⲕ̄ πⲃⲏⲙa n̄tⲁ|kⲁ|oⲥyⲛⲏ πtaⲭⲣo n̄n̄

20—22 nil legi potest, nisi ⲙⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄̄πnaⳇ n̄ l. 22.

23 n]ⲛoyaï̈ⲛⲉ • n|ⲙ πⲉtⲍn̄n̄ⲣωⲙ[ⲉ eⲩ+]ⲙn̄tnaⲉ
ⲙ]πⲉⲕⲥⲙaⲧ ⲏ n|ⲙ ⲍωⲱⲩ πⲉ̣[t . . . . .] ⲙ̣̄πⲉ̣ⲕ
25 ⲣⲏtⲉ
Ⲭ]ⲓ ⲥⲙⲏ n̄ⳇⲗaⲙ ω πⲙaⲕaⲣⲓo̅ⲥ [. . . . . .
tⲉ ⲧ̣n̄ⲙoⲩtⲉ [. . . . .] . ⲁ̣ⲃaⲗ [. . . . . .]tω
ⲃ[ⲍ] ⲙ̄̄ⲙaⲕ ⲍ . . [. . . .] . ⲃⲉ ⲉⲧ̣ⲕ̄ . . . nⲉ̣ . . .[.
TTeⲁ[ⲩ nⲉ[ⲕ̣ . .]. . . . . .
30 nⲉⲕ̄ [. . . . . .
ⲣo ω πⲭ[. . . . . .

Thou art the power . . . . . .

2—6 fragmentary and illegible

Thou art the healing and the salvation . . . . . .
. . . . . them that fulfil the . . . . . .
. . . . . afflicted . . . . . heart.
Thou art the subduer of the evil ones, the giver of victory (?)
to (?) the good. Thou art the . . . . . .

illegible

Thou art the honour of them that are held in honour, all the apostles
that are blessed. Thou art the throne (θρόνος) of the holy ones
that give judgment], that separate the two natures (φύσις).
Thou indeed art mercy entire and compassion entire.
Thou also art the confirmation of the Faithful (πιστός). Thou
also art the wall of the holy ones.
Glory to thee, Bema of righteousness (δικαιοσύνη), the confirmation of the

20—22 illegible

the Lights. Who is there among men that gives alms
like thee? or (ἤ) who again that . . . . . as thou
dost?
Make haste to listen, o blessed (μακάριος) . . . . . .
we call . . . . . forth . . . . . .
implore thee . . . . . .
Glory to thee . . . . . .
thy . . . . . .
. . . o Lord (?) . . . . . .

15 cf. supr. 26, 29. — 26 lit. 'listen quickly'.

nil legi

. . . . . ⲛⲕⲁⲧ]ⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ
. . . . . .] . . . ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁ]ⲣ̣ⲓ[ⲁ

> · cλB · <

Χⲁⲓⲣ]ⲉ ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁ̣ⲕ̣ⲗⲏ
ⲧⲟⲥ . . . . . .]ϫ . .
Ⲁⲕⲉⲓ] ⲥ̣ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ . . . . . ⲁ̣ . . . . . .
. . . . . ⲡ]ⲛ̣ⲕ̣ⲗ̣ⲥ̣ ⲥⲁ̣ . . ⲁ̣ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ [. . . . .
nil legi.
. . . .]. ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲁⲕⲡⲱⲣ]ⲱ̄ ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲱ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲁ†ⲥⲉⲡ ⲁⲫⲏ
. . . . ⲛ]ⲥⲏⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ • ⲁⲡⲥⲧⲣ̄ⲧⲣ̄ ⲃⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲩ
. . . . .]. . . . . ⲥ̣ⲱⲱⲛ ϫⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . . . . ⲓⲁ
. . .]ⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ . ⲛⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̣ ⲟⲩⲛ̣ⲁⲏⲧ
Ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ̣ⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲥⲁⲡ . [. . . . . .]. ⲁ̣ⲣⲁ̣ⲕ̣ • ⲥⲉⲥⲧⲣ̄ⲧⲣ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ [ⲉⲩ
ⲧⲏⲕ̣ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲓ̈ⲁ̣ⲣ[ⲙⲉ] ⲁⲣⲁⲕ̣ . . . . . ⲃⲱⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ
ⲟⲩ ⲉⲕⲣⲁⲩⲧ' . . . . . ⲃⲓ ⲡⲕⲥⲟ • †ⲥⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲃⲓ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲟ
Ⲥⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ • ⲛⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕ
ⲱⲏⲣ[ⲉ .]. . . . . † ⲡⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ †[. . . .]. . . . ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲃ]ⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲉⲕ ⲛⲉⲛ .
nil legi
Ⲧⲧ[ⲥ]ⲉⲡ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥ̣ . . .[. . .
. . . .[. . . . . .] ⲛ̄[ⲥ]ⲏⲧⲩ̄ • ⲉⲛⲏⲡ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲣⲉ̣[ⲓⲧⲉ
ⲁ̣ⲛ̣[ⲁ]ⲛ̣ • ⲡⲡⲕ̣[ⲗⲥ ⲛⲧⲕ̣ ⲧⲛ]ⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ • ⲛⲁⲩϩ̣ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲟ ⲁ[ϫⲛ
ⲡⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲉ̣ .[. . . . .]. . ⲱⲛϩ̣ ⲛⲉⲛ
Ⲧⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩ [. . . . . ⲙ]ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ [ⲁⲡⲕⲣⲓ
ⲧⲏⲥ ⲥ[. . . . . .]ⲥ̣ • ⲛ̄ϫⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲥ̣ⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲥ̣[. . . . . ⲕⲁ]ⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲉ . . . .[. .]ⲉⲥ̣ⲧ̄
mutila

9 fort. cλ̣cλ̣ ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲁⲟⲥ.

illegible

. . . . . the Catechumens

. . . . . Panai and the blessed (μακαρία)

Mary.

CCXXXII.

Hail (χαῖρε), glorious Bema of the judge (κριτής), the Paraclete . . . . . .

Thou art come] in peace (εἰρήνη) . . . . . .

. . . . . the Paraclete, ... thy peoples (λαός) today . . . .

illegible

. . . . . our sins.

Thou hast spread out thy Bema, o judge (κριτής), that thou mayest give judgment . .

. . . . of every man by it. The confusion seized our limbs (μέλος)

. . . . . ourselves since . . . . .

. . . . . them. Have mercy: thou art merciful.

Who among men shall be able to endure the . . . . . .

. . . . . thee. They are all confounded, as they stand and gaze on thee . . . . . look upon them, thou rejoicing . . . . . lift thy face; forbear; lift not thy face.

Look upon thy beloved, o blessed (μακάριος) one, pity thy children . . . . . give to us the gift of the remission of sins . . . . . our sins. Cross to us

illegible

The judgment which was set (?) upon sinners . . . . . .

. . . . . in it; for (γάρ) we are counted to thy family, we; o Paraclete, [thou art our] defence; turn thy face upon (?) the wounding which . . . . . life to us.

The day . . . . . today, they that hear the judge (κριτής?) in (?) . . . . . The books of the laws (νόμος) are set down with him . . . . . despise (καταφρονεῖν) . . . . . seated (?)

31, 32 *illegible*

3 Panai: see Introd. II b.

. . ρναωτ πετ . . [. . . . . .
ϩ̄ογϩ̄ρτε ετ . . ν . . . . . [. . . . . .
ν̄ναβε χε νετν̄ⲉ̣ . αγ . ϩ̣ⲟ̣ [. . . . . .
Μπωρτε λαγε ⲉ̣ⲓ̣ αϩογν ϋ̄π . [. . . . . .
ν̄ν̄ννaβε ϋ̄πωρτε πετ̣ν̄ . . . . ρ̄φορε ϋ̄π̣ⲟ̣[γ
βαω ν̄ν̄αγαθον χε ενaω . ⲧ̣ναϭ ν̄ . . . . . [. .
ετaϊ̈ ετν̄ωληλ ϩαρac ⲡ̣ⲕ̣ . [. . . . .
C[αγ]νε τηρτν̄ νετϩ̣ωτμε . . . . . .
. .] . . ⲡ̣aϥ ν̄⁺μαρτγρια . . . . ϋ̄πεϥμ̣ [. . . .
. .]ϩοογε ϋ̄πωρτν̄ογω τν̄[. . . .]ⲏ̣ⲧ . .[. . . .
. . .] . νετaγϩατβεϥ αλλα μαρν̄ωπ . .[. . .
Μαρν̄ρaϊ̈ⲥ̣ ϭε τηρνε ϋ̄ποογ εντωβϩ̄ ϋ̄μ̣ⲙ̣[ϥ εν
ειρε ϋ̄πεϥϩοογ ετογaβε ενρaϊ̈ⲥ aⲭ̣ⲛ̣[. . . . .
τηρⲥ̄ ενϑβ̈ⲟ ν̄ϋ̄παθοc εν . . .[.]β̣ⲓ . . [. . . .
χε εναχⲓ ταωρεa
N̄[τa]ⲕ̣ πε πϭρο ϋ̄μηνε ⲡ̣ⲛ̣[. . . . . .]β̣ⲉ̣ [. . . π]μa
νιχaιοc παποστολοc ϋ̄πογ[aιν]ε ⲟ̣[γ]ⲉ̣[aγ μ]ⲡ̣ⲉⲕ̣
βημa ετο ν̄εaγ • ογϭρο aν [ννεⲕ̣]cωτπ̄ ετογaβε
ν]εταγϩωc aτⲕ̣μντναϭ μ̣[ν̄ν]εⲕⲕaτηχογμενοc
ογϭρο aν ν̄τ†γχη ν̄τμaⲕapⲓa ϋ̄μaρⲓa

χ̣a̅ⲓ̣ρⲟⲓc̅ πε̅ρμ̣ⲛ̣[τπ]ε cλγ̣ χ̣a̅[. . _ . .]. β̅ημa
Χaιρ]ε πν̄χaϊ̈ⲥ̣ πμaνιχaιοc χaⲓρε πβημa ετ
πρⲓ]ωογ τν̄ρεϣε τηρν̄ [.]. .[. . . . . ⲉ̣]ⲕλεⲕτ[οc
μν̄ν̄ⲕaτηχογμενοc
. . .]ⲡ̣παρaⲕλητοc aϥ̣[. . . . . .]ογ ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ πεϥ
βημa aϥπωρⲭ̣ aβaλ ν̄ⲧ̣[φγcⲓc cντε ϩνπ]ⲉ̣ϥϩεπ
aϥ̣[τa]χο ϋ̄πⲕεⲕε
Τⲧⲓϩⲟ̣[ογε πετ]ⲉ̣ πεϥπ̄ⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ̣ [μνπεϥ]ογaϊ̈νε ογωνϩ̄
aβaλ [ν]ϩη[τ]ϥ . . . . . .[. . . . . .]ϋ̄ⲡ̣[. .
ⲕ . . a[. .] . . ν . . . . . .[. . . . . .

9 fort. ϩ̣ναϥ.

. . . hard (?) he who . . . . . .
in fear which . . . . . .
sins that ye may not . . . . . .
Let none come within the . . . . . .
our sins. Let not your . . . . wear (φορεῖν) the whiteness
of the good (ἀγαθόν), that we may . . . . . the great and mighty
. . . . . for which we pray . . . . . .
Know ye all, ye that hear . . . . . .
. . . . . of martyrdom (μαρτυρία) . . . . . his . . . .
. . . day, let us not be faint and . . . . . .
. . . . . him whom they slew, but (ἀλλά) let us be counted . . . .
Let us therefore all keep watch today, imploring him and
keeping his holy day, watching over the whole . . . . .
subduing the passions (πάθος), ...
that we may receive the gift (δωρεά).
Thou art the victory day by day, the . . . . . ., Mani,
the Apostle of Light. Glory to thy
glorious Bema; victory also to thy holy Elect
that have sung unto thy greatness, and the Catechumens.
Victory also to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXXXIII.

Hail (χαίροις), man of heaven. Hail (χαῖρε?). . . . Bema
Hail (χαῖρε), our Lord Mani; hail (χαῖρε), Bema
resplendent. We all rejoice . . . . . the Elect (ἐκλεκτός)
and the Catechumens.
. . . . the Paraclete has . . . . . is his
Bema. He has separated the [two Natures (φύσις) by] his judgment
and has condemned the Darkness.
This is the day whereon his Dawning and his Light are
made manifest . . . . . .

illegible

6 'good' plur., perhaps 'good deeds', but I do not follow the meaning. — 21 see Introd. IIc for a discussion of this line.

1—9 mutila plerumque nisi l. 7 πcωμα, l. 8 ⲛ̄ⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ perspici potest

. . . . . .]ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭ[ⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
. . . . . .] ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲛ̄[. . . . .
. . . . . .]ⲉ
. . . . . .] . ⲉ ⲉⲛⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲁ .[. .
. . . . .] ⲛⲉⲕⲗ[ⲉⲕⲧⲟ]ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ .[.
. . . . . .]ⲥ . . . .[. . .]
Ⲟⲩⲉ]ⲁⲩ ⲛ[ⲉ]ⲕ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ [ⲡⲙⲁ
ⲛ]ⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ [ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩ]ⲥⲉ̣ ⲧⲏⲣⲉ̣ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡ̣[ⲃⲏ
ⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩ̣ⲧ̣[ⲁⲛⲧ ⲙⲛⲧ]ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

cλδ

. . .]ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟ̣ⲩ̣ . . . . . ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏ[ⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ
ⲧ]ⲁⲛⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲱⲛ]ⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄[ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁ
ⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲛ̄ [ⲉⲛ†ⲉⲁⲩ] ⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲱ ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲁ[ⲕⲡⲱⲣⲱ
ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲭⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̣ⲥⲙⲁ̣ⲧ ⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ̣ [. . . . .
. . . . ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲛ ⲁⲧⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ
Ⲛⲉⲛⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ[. . . . . .
ⲥⲉ ⲉⲛ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ̣ [. . . . . .
Ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟ̄[. . . .] ⲛ[ⲧ]ⲕⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲟ̄ ⲁⲕⲭⲱⲕ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣[. . . . . .
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ . . . . . ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ
. . . . . .] ⲁ̣ⲭ̣ⲛ̄ⲡⲃ̣ⲏⲙⲁ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛ[ⲉ

28 pro ⲁⲕⲭⲱⲕ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ fort. ⲁⲕⲭⲱⲕⲙⲉ.

1—9 illegible and fragmentary

. . . . . and the Perfect Man.
. . . . . unto us, o good (ἀγαθός) . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . we praying thee . . . . . .
. . . . . the Elect (ἐκλεκτός) and the Catechumens . . .
. . . . . .

Glory to thee, o Paraclete; victory to our Lord
Mani and all his holy congregation and the
upright Bema and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXXXIV.

. . . . . the blessed (μακάριος) one, the Paraclete, whom we have known on the day that is held in honour. Let us [sing to him, all of us, [glorifying] him.

Through the will of thy Father, o beloved, thou hast [spread out over us this mighty gift of thy knowledge . . . . .
. . . . us from wickedness (κακία).
For (γάρ) we were at first in the . . . . . .
we . . . . . wickedness (κακία), we serving . . . . . .
In a . . . . . of thy greatness thou hast perfected (?) . . .
. . . . . o blessed (μακάριος) and glorious one.
. . . . . upon the Bema of Light

1—6 valde mutila, nisi l. 4 ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡ|ⲃⲏⲙⲁ,
l. 5]ⲃⲏⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄[perspici possunt

7 Ⲙⲁⲣ]ⲛ̣ϣⲟⲩϩ ⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⸗ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϹⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲙⲉ[ⲧⲁ
ⲛⲟ̈ⲉ] ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩϹⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃ̣[ⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
ⲛⲉⲣ]ⲏⲩ • ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉ̈ [ⲙⲡⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
10 Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ]ⲉⲕ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲁ̣ⲡⲟⲥ̣ⲧ̣[ⲟⲗⲟⲥ
. . . . .]. . . . ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏ[ⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲧ⸗ⲩⲭ]ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲣ̣[ⲓⲁ

> · ϲλⲉ · <

Ⲙⲁⲣⲛ]ϩⲱⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ⲛⲁϹⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏ
15 ⲣⲉ ⲙ]ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄⸗ⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣[. . . . . .
non legi potest
. . . .] ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲣ̣ⲉⲩⲕⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄
ⲛⲉⲩ]ⲡ̣ⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲉ̈ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
. . .]. ⲛ̣ⲃ̣ⲓⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲟ ϩⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̈ⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣ⲓⲱⲧ̣
20 Ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲙ]ⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲉϧⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲓ]ⲏⲥ ⲟ̣ⲩⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁ̣ⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ
. . . . .] ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲡ[ⲉ] ⲡⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ
ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲙ]ⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧϧⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲩ
ⲟⲩⲁⲃ]ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲩ
ⲟⲩ]ⲁ̣ⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲙⲁ̣
25 ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ] ⲡ̣ⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡ̣ⲓ
. . . . . .]ⲁ . . . ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
ⲦⲦϩ[ⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ]ⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ
ⲧ̣[ⲙ̣]ⲉ̣[ⲩ ⲛⲛⲉ]ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲛ̄ϩ • ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ
30 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲕ̣[ⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ

11 fort. ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ϫ]ⲁ̣ⲓⲟⲥ̣.

1—6 *fragmentary and illegible.*

Let us therefore (οὖν) gather now, my brethren, and all
repent (μετανοεῖν) and forgive the sins of one
another; for (γάρ) this is the day [of the forgiveness of sins.
Glory to thee, o Paraclete, our Apostle
. . . . . and all thy holy Elect;
glory to the] soul of blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXXXV.

Let us all sing, my blessed (μακάριος) brethren, the
children of the Light, and glorify the . . . . . .

illegible

. . . . the Mind (νοῦς), the Paraclete, who forgives
his faithful (πιστός) ones. Repent (μετανοεῖν) with a holy heart
and receive (?) honour in the places of rising of the Father.
The word of Jesus is a Bema; the just (δίκαιος)
. . . . . is a Bema; the Call and the Hearing is a Bema;
the Perfect Man is a Bema; the Luminary (Φωστήρ) of the night
is a holy Bema; the Luminary (Φωστήρ) of the day
is a holy Bema; the Land
of Light is a holy Bema; this . . . .
of Light is a Bema.
The holy day is the Paraclete; the holy day is
the Mother of the Living; this is the day of the First Man;
this is the day of the Beloved of the Lights; the holy
day is that of the Great Builder who builds [the new Aeon;

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21 vide Cumont op. cit. pp. 24 ff. — 30 presumably ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ, now lost, was the first word on p. 33 cf. supr. 22, 1.

1 et 2 perierunt

ⲦⲦⲣⲡ]ⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ [ⲙⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲡⲣⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ
ⲡ]ⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙ̈ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ • [ⲡⲣⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ
ⲡⲉ] ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[ⲣⲉⲕ]ⲣ̄ϩⲙ̈ⲙⲉ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡ̣ⲉ̣[ⲓ ⲙⲡⲫⲉⲣⲣ
ⲟⲕ]ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲭⲟⲥ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̈ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̈ⲡ[ⲧⲁ]ⲟ
ⲡⲣⲡⲙ]ⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̈ⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡ̣[ⲣⲡⲙⲉ
ⲩⲉ] ⲡⲉ̣ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̈ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̈ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲱ[ⲙⲟⲫⲟ
ⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲁ]ⲟ ⲛ̄ϩ[ⲁⲣ]ⲱϩⲛⲧ
ⲦⲦⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡ]ⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̈ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ [ⲡⲧ
ⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡ]ⲉ̣ⲓ̣ ⲙ̈ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲡⲭ̄ⲣⲥ • ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ [ⲙⲡ
ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ] ⲙ̈ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ • ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲁ[ⲡⲏ
. . . . .]. . ⲡ̣ⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲃⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̈ⲡⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲓ̣ⲧ̣
ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̈ⲡⲭⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡ̣[ⲉ] ⲡ̣[ⲉⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ϩⲩ]ⲡⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙ̣[ⲛ
ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲦⲦⲧⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̈ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲙ̈ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲡ̣ⲧ̣[ⲁⲓⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲡⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ [ⲛⲧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲟⲗⲏ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛϫⲓ ⲃⲁⲗ • ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲗⲏ [ϫⲉ
ⲕⲁⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛϩⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ϫⲉ̣ⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲥ̣[ⲉ ⲛ
ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲥⲁⲣ̣Ⲍ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥⲉ̣ [ⲉⲛⲁ
ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲛ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲏⲕⲉ ⲙ̈ⲙⲁ[ⲕⲁ
ⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ [ⲙ]ⲡⲟⲃⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲗ̣ⲟ̣ⲏⲧ
Ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲁ̣[ⲣⲛ]ⲧ̣ⲱⲃⲓ̣ϩ̣ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ̣ . . . . .
non legi potest
ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ . . .[cetera mutila
ⲣⲏⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲣ|ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓ̈ⲉ ϩⲛ̄[. . . . .
ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ̣ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏ̈ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛ[ⲁ]ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ̣ ϫⲉ̣[. .].
29—31 mutila

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3 ⲙ̈ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ etc. supplevi cf. supr. 2, 3—5. — 17 lege ⲙ̈ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄.

1 *and* 2 *have perished.*

This is the memorial [of the Living Spirit;
this is the memorial of the Twelve Maidens; this is
the memorial of the Helmsmen; this is the memorial of the
Splenditenens (φεγγοκατόχος); this is the memorial of the King of Honour;
this is the memorial of the Adamas of Light; this is
the memorial of the King of Glory; the memorial of the great
stout-hearted Omophorus.
This is the purity of the Apostle of Light; this is the purity
of the Saviour (σωτήρ) Christ; this is the purity of the
Paraclete-Spirit; this is the purity of the Love (ἀγάπη)
. . . . . .; this is the purity of the goodly Faith;
this is the purity of Perfection; this is the purity
of Patience (ὑπομονή); this is the purity of Wisdom (σοφία) and
Godliness.
This is the honour of the Paraclete-Spirit; the honour
of Fasting (νηστεία), Prayer, and Almsgiving; the honour of the command-
ment (ἐντολή) that we lie not; the honour of the commandment (ἐντολή)
that we kill not; the honour of the commandment (ἐντολή) that
we eat no flesh (σάρξ); the honour of the commandment (ἐντολή) that
we make ourselves pure; the honour of the commandment (ἐντολή) of
blessed (μακάριος) Poverty; the honour of Humility and Kindliness.
My brethren, let us pray with a great prayer . . . . . .
illegible.
of your . . . . . .
one another. Ye Catechumens, repent (μετανοεῖν) in . . . . . .
praying with a great prayer . . . . . .

4, 5 see Cumont op. cit. append. 1. — 6—9 vide supr. 2, 6—20. — 12—15 i. e. the five qualities which belong to the five εἴδη of the soul, see above 22, 14—18 n. For ϩŸΠΟΜΟΝΗ (which is the equivalent of ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲁⲣⲱϩⲧ) cf. 143, 32. — 18 ff For Manich. commandments generally see W.Bang, Manichaeische Laienbeichtspiegel (Muséon, 36 pp. 137—242).

1 et 2 perierunt

ⲦⲦⲣⲡ]ⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ [ⲙⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲡⲣⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ
ⲡ]ⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙ̈ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ • [ⲡⲣⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ
ⲡⲉ] ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[ⲣⲉⲫ]ⲣϩⲙ̈ⲙⲉ ⲡⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡ̣ⲉ̣[ⲓ ⲙⲡⲫⲉⲣⲣ
ⲟⲕ]ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲡⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̈ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̈ⲡ[ⲧⲁ]ⲟ
ⲡⲣⲡⲙ]ⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̈ⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡ̣[ⲣⲡⲙⲉ
ⲩⲉ] ⲡⲉ̣ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̈ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̈ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲱ[ⲙⲟⲫⲟ
ⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲁ]ⲃ ⲛ̄ϩ[ⲁⲣ]ⲱϩⲛⲧ
ⲦⲦⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡ]ⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̈ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ [ⲡⲧ
ⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡ]ⲉ̣[ⲙ̈ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲡⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ • ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ [ⲙⲡ
ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ] ⲙ̈ⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ • ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲁ̣[ⲡⲏ
. . . . .]. . ⲡ̣ⲧ̣ⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̈ⲡⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲛ̣[ⲧ̣
ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̈ⲡⲭⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡ̣[ⲉ] ⲡ̣[ⲉ]
ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ϩⲩ]ⲡⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙ̣[ⲛ
ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲦⲦⲧⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̈ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲙ̈ⲡⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲡⲧ̣[ⲁ]ⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲡⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ [ⲛⲧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲟⲗⲏ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛϫⲓ ⲃⲁⲗ • ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲧ̣ⲟⲗⲏ [ϫⲉ
ⲕⲁⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛϩⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ϫⲉ̣ⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲥ̣[ⲉ ⲛ
ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲥⲁⲣ̣ϫ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥⲉ̣ [ⲉⲛⲁ
ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲛ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲏⲕⲉ ⲙ̈ⲙⲁ[ⲕⲁ
ⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ [ⲙ]ⲡⲟⲃⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲗ̣ⲟ̣ⲏⲧ
Ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲁ̣[ⲣⲛ]ⲧ̣ⲱⲃ̣ϩ̣ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ̣ . . . . .
non legi potest
ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ . . .[cetera mutila
ⲣⲏⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲣ|ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓ̈ⲉ ϩⲛ̄[. . . . .
ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ̣ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛ[ⲁ]ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ̣ ϫⲉ̣[. .].
29—31 mutila

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3 ⲙ̈ⲡⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ etc. supplevi cf. supr. 2, 3—5. — 17 lege ⲙ̈ⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅.

1 *and* 2 *have perished.*

This is the memorial [of the Living Spirit;
this is the memorial of the Twelve Maidens; this is
the memorial of the Helmsmen; this is the memorial of the
Splenditenens (φεγγοκατόχος); this is the memorial of the King of Honour;
this is the memorial of the Adamas of Light; this is
the memorial of the King of Glory; the memorial of the great
stout-hearted Omophorus.
This is the purity of the Apostle of Light; this is the purity
of the Saviour (σωτήρ) Christ; this is the purity of the
Paraclete-Spirit; this is the purity of the Love (ἀγάπη)
. . . . . .; this is the purity of the goodly Faith;
this is the purity of Perfection; this is the purity
of Patience (ὑπομονή); this is the purity of Wisdom (σοφία) and
Godliness.
This is the honour of the Paraclete-Spirit; the honour
of Fasting (νηστεία), Prayer, and Almsgiving; the honour of the command-
ment (ἐντολή) that we lie not; the honour of the commandment (ἐντολή)
that we kill not; the honour of the commandment (ἐντολή) that
we eat no flesh (σάρξ); the honour of the commandment (ἐντολή) that
we make ourselves pure; the honour of the commandment (ἐντολή) of
blessed (μακάριος) Poverty; the honour of Humility and Kindliness.
My brethren, let us pray with a great prayer . . . . . .
illegible.
of your . . . . . .
one another. Ye Catechumens, repent (μετανοεῖν) in . . . . . .
praying with a great prayer . . . . . .

4, 5 see Cumont op. cit. append. 1. — 6—9 vide supr. 2, 6—20. — 12—15 i. e. the five qualities which belong to the five εἴδη of the soul, see above 22, 14—18 n. For ϩϋπομονη (which is the equivalent of ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲁⲣⲱϩⲧ) cf. 143, 32. — 18 ff For Manich. commandments generally see W.Bang, Manichaeische Laienbeichtspiegel (Muséon, 36 pp. 137—242).

ll. 1—5 non legi possunt

6 . . . . .]. ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟ|ⲭⲉ|ⲱⲛ ⲁϥ† ⲛ[. .
. . . . .]. ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲁ|ⲛ]ⲉ̣ ⲡ . .[. . .
. . . .]. . . ⲛ̣ⲟ̣ⲥ
ⲦⲦⲱⲕ ⲡ]ⲉ ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ⲭⲁ|[ⲟⲥ
10 . . . . . .]ⲛ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲥ|ⲥ|ⲛⲛ|ⲟⲥ ⲡⲱ[ⲕ] ⲡⲉ ⲡ[. . .
. . ⲓ]ⲛⲛⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲁⲃ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ [. . . . .
ⲟⲩⲃⲣ]ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲗⲙⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲡ̣[ⲟⲥ . . . . . .
. . . ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲟⲍⲉⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲁⲁⲁⲛ̣ⲥ ⲡⲛ̄[ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ
. . .] ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁ[ⲛⲍ] ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁ̣[. . . . .
15 ⲛ̣ⲧ†ⲩⲭ̣ⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥ|ⲁⲛⲉ ⲧ†ⲩⲭ̣ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ̣ [ⲙⲛⲧ
†ⲩ]ⲭ̣ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · ϲλϛ · <

ⲚⲚ . . . . . ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ
ⲧⲛ] ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲧⲃ|ⲛⲧⲁ|ⲗⲉ ⲁⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ
20 ⲡ̣ⲁ̣ⲣⲁ̣ⲕ̣ⲗ̣ⲏ̣ⲧⲟⲥ
Ⲛⲍⲣ]ⲏ̈ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲍ̣ⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ[ⲛⲁ] ⲡⲡⲕⲗⲥ ⲁⲣⲓ
ⲙ]ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟ|ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲡⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲩⲛⲏⲩ [ⲅ]ⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡⲍⲉⲡ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲱ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ |ⲏⲥ ⲅ̣ⲁ̣ⲣ̣ ⲡ̣ⲁ̣ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ
ⲧⲍⲙⲉⲥ]ⲧ̄ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩ† ⲍⲉⲡ ⲁ̣[ⲡⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲡ
25 . . . .] ⲉⲓ ⲍ|ⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ̄ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲣ]ⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ̣
. . . ⲛ̣ⲁⲱ . . ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲕⲗⲥ ⲛ . ⲓ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲩ
. . . ⲁ . ⲁ . ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲃⲍ̀ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲭⲱⲛ ⲥⲉⲛⲁ† ⲛⲉⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ
28 ⲛ̄[ⲍⲱ]ⲃ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲩ̄ⲁⲧⲁⲃⲍ̀ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄

29—31 mutila

18 init. fort. ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ.

1—5 *illegible.*

above the elements (στοιχεῖον). He gave . . .
. . . . . be a sign of the Light . . . . . .
. . . . . .
Thine is the glory and the victory, our Lord Mani,
. . . . . our Lord Sisinnios, thine is the . . . .
. . . Innaios. Victory to Gabriab, our Lord . . . . .
victory to Salmaios, our Lord Pappos . . . . . .
our Lord Ozeos; glory to Addas, our [Lord
. . . . Be there victory to all the Living Ones . . . . .
to the soul of Plousiane, the soul of Theona, and the
soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXXXVI.

. . . . . and ye Catechumens, bless ye
all, on the day of the Bema, the ascension of the Paraclete
to the height.
On the day of the Bema of the Spirit, the Paraclete,
repent (μετανοεῖν) ye of your wickednesses; for (γάρ) the judgment is coming
and the Bema will be set up. For (γάρ) Jesus my judge (κριτής) it is
that sits upon it and judges the man by whom the
. . . . . has come, he bearing witness (?) unto men.
. . . . . is the Paraclete . . . . . we seeing his
. . . . . as he prays for us; for (γάρ) everything shall be given
to him for which he prays unto the judge (κριτής). Let us

29—31 *illegible.*

10—14 Sisinnios was Mani's successor as ἀρχηγός cf. Migne P. G. I. 1468 Σισίννιον τὸν διάδοχον τῆς τούτου μανίας, Θωμᾶν . . . . Βουδᾶν . . . Ἀδαμ (leg. Ἀδδᾶν) . . . Γαβριάβιον . . . Σαλμαῖον Ἰνναῖον Πάαπιν (cf. P. G. C. 1321); 'Mani-Fund' pp. 14, 15, 23; Act. Arch. 22, 5. For Ozeos v. SPAW 1934, p. 862 n. 1: the word is also a place-name, 'Mani-Fund' p. 27; Hom. 44, 13; 76, 28. Possibly it is a form of the semitic name ὀζειας. For Gabriab see Henning ZDMG 90, p. 9; Hom. 86, 25.

1—5 nil nisi l. 5 ναϩτε perspexi.

6 Νιμ] ṗεταψτωκ αρετϥ̄ ϯ̄ππ̄το αβαλ [. . . . . .
ε]μ̣ṅ̄τεϥ καρπος ϯ̄μ̣ε̣ϒ ṗc̣ϣṭ̣ε̣ .[. . . . . .
. . πϩαṅ̄ττε πμα ετερε πναϭ [. . . . . .
.] . . . . ṅ̄ογαϊνε αχϣ̈ ṅ̄νεϥπ . . .[. . . . . .
10 . . . . . .]ṅ̄τογ αϩογν . . . ṅ̄νεγϭ|χ . .[. . . . . .]ạ
. . . .]μ̣ . . . ḥμ̣ạ
. . . . . .]ỵṅ . ḳ . .[. . . . . .
. . . . . .]. . βημα ṅ̄ϩρηϊ ṅ̄ϩητϥ̄ εϥ .[. . . . . .
. . .]ρε μṅ̄ṗ̄πμ̣ε̣ε̣ϒ ϯ̄ππ̄κλc ṅ̄ρεϥ[. . . . . .
15 . . ϩ]ωτβε αγογωψε αp̄ϲταγρε ϯ̄πạ̈ϊ̣ωṭ [. . .
. . . . . αϥκω ϯ̄πβημα απṗ̄πμ̣ε̣ε̣ϒ . . . . .
. . ṇ̇ ετϲμαμαατ
Αϥογαϩ ϲαϩνε ṅ̄ṅ̄ϲαβεγε ετε ṅ̄ταγ νε̣ ṇ̇[εκλεκτος
ατρογταψεαϊ̈ψ ṅ̄ṅ̄κατηχογμενος . . ε̣ṭạ̣ϊ . . .
20 νεγ ϯ̄πιϩοογ ṅ̄ϩρηϊ ϩṅ̄ογταϊ̈ο ευρ[ψαιε ϩιογ
ϲαπ ευραϊ̈ϲ ϩṅ̄τογψη μṅ̄ϯ̄πετογαβε . . . . . .
μṅ̄νευκαρπος ϯ̄ππ̄το αβαλ ϯ̄π . .[. . . .
Ττρη εττp̄ογαϊ̈νε ταϊ̈ο ϯ̄μαϥ μṅ̄ποοϩ [μνηcιογ
μṅ̄πρωμε ετχηκ αβαλ αγ† νεϥ ṅ̄τε[ϫογc]ια
25 αγϲακϥ̄ απϲαντπε ϩṅ̄τβα ṅ̄α . . . . . .
μαϩε ϩιτεϥεϩη αγω ṅ̄εψ ṅ̄ϩε . ν . ṇ . . . . .
ṅ̄ογωψ ṅ̄† καρπος ṇ̇τ̣ϭ|νει αβαλ ϯ̄πρ̣η . . . .
Λπωρτε λαγε ϩṅ̄ϯ̄πετογαβε τεṇ . . . .[. . . .
ϯ̄πιογạ̈ϊε ετ . . . . . ϩεληϭ αν . . [. . . . . .]ϛ
30 ετε ṅ̄ταγ νε νετṅ̄†γχαγε ṇ̇εν[. . . . . .]. ην
. . . ϯ̄μαγ ṅ̄ϛṇγ ν|μ ϩṅ̄π . . . .[. . . . . .

7 fort. πϛμ̣ạṭ ϩạρ. — 9 fort. ṅ̄νεϥπ|ϛṭ̣ọ[c. — 25 ṅ̄α[ггελος] : Crumius.

1—5 *illegible.*

Who] will be able to stand in the presence of . . . . . .
he having no fruit (καρπός)? The salvation(?) . . . . . .
above, the place wherein the great . . . . . .
. . . . . of Light upon me of his . . . . . .
. . . . . brought them within . . . their hands . . . . . .
. . . . . .

illegible.

. . . . . Bema in it, he . . . . . .
. . . . and the memorial of the Paraclete. The murderous(?)
. . . . . desired to crucify (σταυροῦν) my Father . . . . . .
. . . . . he left his Bema for a memorial . . . . .
. . . . blessed.
He commanded the wise ones, who are the Elect(?),
to preach unto the Catechumens . . . . . .
for them this day in honour, they making festival(?) together,
keeping watch in the night with the holy ones . . . . .
with their fruits (καρπός) in the presence of the . . . .
The sun that gives light — honour it, and the moon [and the stars (?)
and the Perfect Man. The power (ἐξουσία) has been given to him,
he has been drawn up above; myriads of . . . . . .
walk before him and in what manner . . . . . .
save(?) to give fruit (καρπός) at the coming forth of the sun(?) . . .
Let not any of the holy ones . . . . . .
the husbandman who . . . . wait for the . . . . . .
which are your souls, the . . . . . .
. . . . . them always in the . . . . . .

29 ϩελιϭ: vid. p. 19, 23 n.

. . . ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ . . . ⲉ[.]ⲛ . . . . . .[. . . .
. . . . . ⲙ ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ . ⲉⲧ . . ⲉⲓⲉⲧ . .[. .
. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲥ̣ⲛ̄ⲡ̄[. . . . . .]ⲉ̣ⲱⲱⲡⲉ .[.
. . . ⲛ . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲏⲙ̣[ⲁ . . . . . .]ⲉ̣ⲗⲏⲥ̣ [.
. . . . ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁϫ| ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲁⲡⲡ[. .
. . . . . ⲥ̣

Ⲟⲩⲉ]ⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ [ⲙⲛ
ⲡⲉⲫⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲓⲏⲥ̄ • ⲟⲩⲧⲁ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲥ̣ ⲡ̣ⲙ̣ⲁ̣[ⲛ|
ϫ[ⲁⲓ]ⲟⲥ̣ ⲡ̣ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡ|ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ̣|[ⲧⲛⲡ|ⲱⲧ
ⲟⲩⲉⲁ]ⲩ [ⲙⲡ]ⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲥ̣̈ⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄ ⲁ[ⲥⲣⲏⲓ ⲁ
ϫⲱⲩ ⲙⲛⲧ]☥[ⲩϫ]ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ ϫⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲁ̣ⲓ̈ [ⲙⲛⲧⲙⲁ
ⲕⲁⲣⲓ]ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · ϲΛϛ · < ⲥⲩⲙⲛⲱⲁⲉⲓⲁ

Ⲥⲱⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ • ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲡ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ
ⲡⲡⲛⲁ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲣⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ
ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ]ⲙ̣ⲉ̣ⲣ̣|ⲥⲧⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄
ⲁ̣ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲥⲕ̄ ⲉⲩⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥ̣ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ☥ⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲥⲉ☥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲡⲉⲧⲧ̄ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲉ
ⲡ̣ⲡ̣ⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄

Ⲛ̄ⲓ̈[. . . .] ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ
ⲃⲉ ⲧ̣ⲙ̣ⲉ̣ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛ̄ⲍ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲙ|ⲥⲉ ⲉ
ⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ [ⲡ☥]ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟ|ϫⲉ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲱ|ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲥⲉ
☥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄

Ⲧⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲧⲁⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ⲉⲧⲡⲣ̈ⲓ
ⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕϫⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲕϫⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ
. . . . ⲉ ⲉⲧⲧ̄ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄
ⲥⲉ[☥ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄

Ⲧⲙ[ⲁⲍ]ⲱⲁⲙ̣ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲡⲣ̈ⲙⲙⲁⲟ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓ
ⲟⲥ ⲙⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧ]ⲥ̣ⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲏ ⲉⲧ[.
ⲍ[. . . . . .]. . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲫⲣⲍ̄ⲙⲙⲉ .[.

13 ⲥⲩⲙⲛ. recent. manu exaratum, cf. 2, 14—25 n. — 20 fort. ⲛ̄ⲓ[ⲁ|ⲱⲛ].

. . . to you . . . . . .
. . . . o Catechumens . . . . . .
. . . . . in the . . . . . .
. . . . . the Bema . . . . . .
. . . alms-giving, that you may receive these imperishable ones into the
. . . . . .

Glory and honour to our Father, the God of Truth and
his son Jesus. Honour to the Paraclete, our Lord
Mani, the Spirit of Truth, who is come forth from the Father(?).
Glory to the glorious Bema whereon he
sits, and the soul of Theona, Jmnoute, Pshai, and the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary.

CCXXXVII. Hymnody (ὑμνωδία)

Sing ye all unto the glorious one, the Sage, the Paraclete,
the Spirit] of the Dawn, and the Gods and the Father-Gods
of the Light, the] glorious chiefs (μεγιστᾶνος) of the Kingdom
indestructible, they all praying in joy, and their Five Greatnesses.
They render glory unto the Giver of Light, the Sage,
the Paraclete.
The Aeons (?), glorious and unperishing, the holy Emanations (προβολή),
the Mother (?) of Life, the First Man, the glorious firstborn,
the five Elements, active and strong — they
render holy glory to the Sage, the Paraclete.
The Beloved of the Luminaries, the straight resplendent
Word, and the Great Builder that builds the New Aeon,
the strong light-giving . . . ., the Father of the Living —
they render glory unto the Blessed (μακάριος) One, the Sage, the Paraclete.
The third (?) Father who is victorious, the Rich one, the Blessed (μακάριος),
and the Twelve Wise Maidens that
. . . . . of the Light, the Helmsmen . . .

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2 cf. 27, 15. — 13 ϩΫ̈ⲙⲛⲱⲁⲉⲓⲁ cf. 30, 21 n. — 14, 23, 27 'the Sage' cf. Chavannes-Pelliot 'Journal Asiatique' 1911 p. 541 'le grand Sage de la lumière'. — 17 5 Greatnesses cf. 9, 12 ff. — 18 cf. ⲡϕⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ in the Keph. passim. — 20 ff. cf. pp. 1 and 2. — 29, 30 cf. supr. 33, 4. 5.

. . . . . .]. παπεαγ πcαβε ππ̄κ̄[λc
. . . . . .]. . ε . νεεч πcτγλ[oc μπεαγ
μνν]δαμ [ννω]μοφορος ñαγγελος μñ̄ñ̄[. . . .
μν]πψαμτ' ñτροχος ετ̄μ̄πcαnπ̄ι̣τ̣ν̣ ν̣τ̣[ην πμαγ
μντc]ετε [. . .]. . . μ̄π̄ιογε ογαετ̄ч̄ πc[αβε ππκλc
Τρн] ετπρ̄ϊωογ . . . . . .[. . . . .
.] μ̣ñ̄τπαρθενος μ̄πογαϊνε ετοϊ̈ ñεαγ .[. . . .
μνπ]κρ̄ιτης ṇ̃α̣ι̣κ̣α̣ιος μñ̄πνογc ñογαϊνε [. . .
. . . .]. . . . . ce+ ñογεαγ μ̄πcαβε ππ̄κ̄[λc
. . . . . .]. . . . . ę μñ̄μ̄̈πηγε μñ̄τcαγ2c̄ ν[νc]ογ
χ̄ιογλ]λε 2ñ̄2ñ̄βαϊνε μñ̄2ñ̄κ̄ιθαρα ετογ[ωψτ
νεч τн]ρογ 2ñ̄ογρεψε μñ̄ñ̄δαμ ñcαβн ετ̣[. . . .
. . . . . .]. . . . μ̄πcαβε ππ̄κ̄λc
. .]. ą . . ç . μñ̄ñ̄τ̣ο̣ι̣ε̣ι̣ę̣ μ̣̄π̄κ̄α2 ñ̄ϊερωογ [. . . .
μ]μογϊεγε πчταγ ñ̄κ̄οcμος μñ̄ñ̄ . . . . ε . [. . . . .
ψнν ετρнт ñ̄ψνн μ̄πc+ногчε μ̄ñ̄τμ̄̈2н̣ [μπ
тнγ ce+ ñ̄ογεαγ μ̄π̄ιαττεκ̄ο πcαβε ππ̄κ̄λc
Τ]ρεϊτε ñ̄ñ̄ιαικ̄αιος μñ̄ñ̄ππα μñ̄μ̄+γχ[αγε ннса
Βεγε • ñ̄cαγ2c̄ ñ̄ñ̄αποστολος . . . . . .[. . . ε
το ñ̄εαγ ñ̄εψατε ετανž ñ̄ρεч̣τ̣αψεαϊ̈ψ μ̣[πογαι
νε ce+ ñ̄ογεαγ μ̄π̄ιπετбραϊ̈τ πcαβε π[πκ̄λc
Χ̄ιογλλε μñ̄ñ̄αγγελος ñ̄τετñ̄cμο̣γ̣ ̣α̣πν̣ο̣ϋ̣ς̣ [ντε
πογαϊνε ετπρ̄ϊωογ μ̄π̄ϊωτ πρн̣ ę . . . . . μ̣ñ̄
τεч̣бαμ ñ̄χωρε ñ̄αψιρε μñ̄τεцсофια ετο ñ̄εαγ
ñ̄ψнρε μ̄πογρατ + ñ̄ογεαγ μ̄πcαβε ππ̄κ̄λc
Μαρñ̄2ωc тнрνε 2ιογcαπ απμανιχαιος πρμ̄ñ̄ννογ
τε 2ñ̄π2ооγε етоγαβε етх̄нк̄ ñ̄τ̣ñ̄ρεψε ñ̄τñ̄
χι свω аммγ̣ς̣τ̣нр̣ι̣ο̣ν̣ μ̄πωνž μ̣̄π̄ς̣ωтнр ιн̄[с ν
тñ̄ρψаϊ̈ε ñ̄τñ̄+ ñ̄ογεαγ μ̄πcав[ε пп]κ̄λc
Χ̄ερο ñ̄νετñ̄λαμπας ñ̄τετñ̄[. . . . . .
ñ̄τετñ̄раϊ̈с μ̄π2ооγ μ̄πвнμа [аππат]ψελ[ε]ет
μ̣̄π̣ρ̣ε̣ψ̣ε̣ ñ̄τετñ̄χι ñ̄νдктιν [етоγа]βε ñ̄ο̣γ

. . . . . the glorious one, the Sage, the Paraclete.
. . . . . the Column (στῦλος) of Glory
and the powers of the Omophori, the Angels and the . . . .
and the three wheels (τροχός) that are below, the winds, [the water
and the fire . . . . . this one alone, the Sage, the Paraclete.
The shining sun . . . . . .
and the glorious Maiden of Light . . . .
and the Righteous (δίκαιος) Judge (κριτής) and the Light-Mind (νοῦς) . .
. . . . . they render glory unto the Sage, the Paraclete.
. . . . . and the Heavens and the congregation of the stars (?)
make song with harps and lutes (κιθάρα), all worshipping
him in joy, and the wise powers . . . . . .
. . . . . the Sage, the Paraclete.
. . . . . and the mountains of the earth, the rivers . . . . .
the waters, the four worlds (κόσμος) and the . . . . . .
blossoming trees, the gardens of fragrance, and the breath of the
wind — they render glory unto this unperishing one, the Sage, the Paraclete.
The race of the Righteous (δίκαιος) and the spirits and souls of the
wise, the assemblies of the Apostles . . . . . .
glorious, the living merchants, the preachers of Light,
they render glory to this conqueror, the Sage, the Paraclete.
Sing with the Angels and bless the Mind (νοῦς?) of
the shining Light of the Father, the sun (?) . . . . . and
his strong active power and his glorious Wisdom (σοφία),
ye sons of joy, render glory unto the Sage, the Paraclete.
Let us all sing together unto Mani, the man of God,
on the holy perfect day, and let us be glad and
learn the mysteries of the life of the Saviour (σωτήρ) Jesus (?)
and make festival and render glory to the Sage, the Paraclete.
Light your lamps (λαμπάς) and . . . . . .
and keep watch on the day of the Bema for the Bridegroom
of joy and receive the holy rays (ἀκτίς) of Light

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2 vide Mani-Fund p. 66g. — 4 cf. supr. 2, 16. — 7 vide Mani-Fund p. 67i. — 15 cf. Jackson op. cit. p. 25, 50. — 16 ϯⲯⲏ, a feminine noun, cf. 152, 25; 198, 27; 200, 23; 201, 31 ϯⲯⲏ ϯⲡⲧⲏⲩ; 202, 1 ⲧϯⲯⲏ ϯⲡⲁⲏⲣ; 203, 20 ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲏⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲩⲛ|ⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲯⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ. This last passage, I think, fixes its meaning as 'breath'.

ⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡ]ⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧ[ⲛ . . . . . .
. . ⲡⲥⲁⲃ]ⲉ ⲡⲡ̄ⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄
. . . . . .]. ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲥⲁⲃ[ⲉ ⲡ]ⲡ̄ⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡ̣
ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲕ]ⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗ
ⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲛ]ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲕ[ⲕⲁⲓⲡⲓⲥ]ⲧⲟⲥ ⲥⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁ̣ⲡ̣ [. .
. . . . . .] ⲉ̣ⲧⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̣ⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓⲟ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲭⲁⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲙ̀ⲫ
ⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ] ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲭ̄ⲣⲥ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄
ⲡⲛⲭⲁⲓ]ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃ[ⲉ ⲙⲛ
ⲧ̀ⲩ]ⲭ̣ⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

> · cλh · <

Ⲛⲉⲧ]ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲉⲧ[ⲉ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ
ⲙⲛ]ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲡ̄ⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄
. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲱⲡⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄
ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁ̣ⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲭⲉ ⲛ[ⲉ
ⲧⲛⲧ]ⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲉ
ⲭⲉ ⲡ]ⲙ̣ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲃ
. .]ⲉ̣ⲧ̣[. . .]ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲛ̣ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ • ⲥⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲙⲧ
ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲍ]ⲱⲃ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲭⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ • ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲧⲥⲟ]ⲫ[ⲓ]ⲁ̣ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ • ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲭⲓ
ⲡⲭ]ⲱⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲓ̈
Ⲧ̣Ⲣⲉⲛ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ •
ⲧⲛ̄ⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲓ̈ • ⲉ
ⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲡⲥⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲃⲍ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ
ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲁⲭⲁⲕⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲙ̣]ⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲱⲛ̄ⲍ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱ
ⲡⲉ] ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ⲱ]ⲉⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ [ⲙ]ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲭⲉⲕⲁ
ⲥⲉ ⲡ]ⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣ . . . . ⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲁⲭⲓ ⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲧⲁⲡⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲉ̣ . .[. . . . . .]ⲁⲓⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
Ⲧ̣Ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲡⲙ[ⲉⲓⲛⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲓⲑⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲩ[ⲟⲩ]ⲧ̣ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲕⲉ̣ⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲥ • ⲡⲥ[ⲉ

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4 ⲉⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ sic. — 29 fort. ⲧⲉⲓ̣ ⲭ[ⲉ ⲱⲁⲩ†ⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓⲃⲉ cf. supr. 23, 29 n.

of the good (ἀγαθός) Father, and do you . . . . . .
the Sage, the Paraclete.
. . . . . all of us, the blessed(μακάριος) ones, the Sage, the Paraclete,
who hast (?) forgiven all thy Churches — the Elect (ἐκλεκτός),
the Righteous (δίκαιος), and the Faithful (πιστός) also together . .
. . . . resplendent of the holy Bema.
Honour] to the glorious one, the exalted living King, and the
Luminaries (φωστήρ) that are held in honour, and Christ Jesus. Glory to the Paraclete,
our sage Lord and all his holy Elect, and
the soul of Mary, Theona.

CCXXXVIII.

Ye holy ones, be not troubled, being in accord with
Mani, our Father, the Paraclete.
. . . . . every thing be unto one another, ye men of heaven,
ye righteous (δίκαιος), even as ye were at first, that ye may
not plant envy (φθόνος) in you in thought and word (?),
but rather peace in deed.
. . . . . ye being near to the law (νόμος) of God; [for (γάρ)] in three
things does perfection consist: in the commandments (ἐντολή) and
wisdom (σοφία) and love (ἀγάπη). For (γάρ) all men of God are
made perfect in these.
The name of the Elect of God which we wear (φορεῖν);
we await too other graces, profitable and like to these.
Wherefore let us pray and entreat in supplication him that has
elected us, that he may make us perfect.
Let us be in accord with these things and we shall live and
be in prudence, my brethren, and in peace (εἰρήνη), that
the enemy of the . . . . . may be put to shame; for (γάρ) his habit is
. . . . . slur (?) upon man.
Let us set before us gladness which is the sign of God,
but let us kill grief (λύπη), which is the sign of
the Darkness, and proclaim the word without any envy; [for (γάρ)] the word

18 cf. Matth. 22, 40.

хε гар . . . . .] ⲙⲙⲁⲛ ⲩⲧⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟ̣ⲩ̣[. . . . . .
. . . . . .]ⲛ . . . ⲁⲥ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲍⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ .[. . . . .
ⲉ̣ⲧⲟ̣ⲓ̈ ⲛ̄[ⲉⲁⲩ . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲩⲥⲏⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ . . .
. . . . . .] ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̣[. . . .
ⲏⲥ . . . . . ⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ
Ⲙ]ⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲃⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̣[. . . .
ⲛ]ⲧⲛ̄ⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲓⲛⲁⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̣ⲧ . [. . .]. . .
ⲭ]ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲧⲍⲉ [. . .
. .]. . ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲭⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲓ̈ⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲍⲁⲉ
. . . . . .]ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲍⲁⲧⲍ̄ⲧ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄[. . .]ⲩ
.]. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛ̄⳨ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲁ̣[. . .]ⲉ
. .]. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡ .[. . .
ⲭ]ⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ]ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ[ⲉⲩⲥⲱ
ⲧ]ⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁ[ⲣⲁⲩ ⲟⲩ
ⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ⳨ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲓ̈ ⲭⲙ̄ⲛ̣[ⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ
ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · $\overline{\text{cλ⊖}}$ · <

Ⲉ|ⲥ ⲧⲁⲙⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡ[ⲉⲓ ⲡ]ⲉ
$\overline{\text{ⲓⲏⲥ}}$ ⲡⲉⲱⲁⲩ⳨ ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓ̈[ⲉ
Ⲩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲩⲭⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲡⲉ]ⲧ
ⲍⲏⲡ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲣ|ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓ̈ⲉ ⲧⲁⲕⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ
Ⲩⲟⲩⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲉ[ⲩⲧ]ⲁ̣ⲱⲉ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲭⲉ ⳨ⲍⲏⲛ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲃⲥⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̣ⲥⲱⲙⲁ
Ⲧⲉⲧⲃⲱⲗⲕ̀ ⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ⳨ⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲟⲩⲍⲁⲧⲃⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ [ⲡⲉ
ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲱⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲱⲛⲧⲩ̄ ⲁ[ⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲥⲍⲛⲏⲩⲧ ⲁⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲩ̄ⲛⲏⲩ ⲍⲓⲧⲟⲟ[ⲧⲩ] ⲡⲉ
ⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲍⲁⲛ̄ⲧ ⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲩ̄ⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲗⲁ[ⲓⲃ]ⲉ
Ⲉⲕⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲁⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓ̣ⲟⲛ
ⲍⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲛⲧⲓⲁⲓⲕⲟⲥ ⲭⲉⲩⲛⲁⲭⲓ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲱⲣⲟⲛ [ⲛⲧⲟ]ⲟⲧⲕ̀
ⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲱⲛ̣ⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧ[. .]. . .

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1 ⲩⲧⲛⲁⲩ sic: leg. ⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ. — 23 pro ⲛⲉⲛ leg. ⲉⲛ.

. . . . . us, it sends forth a . . . . . .
. . . . . is the last day of . . . . . .
glorious (?) . . . the body (σῶμα), but (ἀλλά) it is drawn daily . .
. . . . . all of them after us here; they also . . . .
. . . . . to us.
Let us bear up, my brethren, in fortitude and let us . . . . .
and let us make away with the second danger (κίνδυνος) . . .
from the beginning we were rescued from the first, so . . .
. . . we shall pass over and cross the last also.
. . . . . us as we search in the word of (?) . . . . .
. . . . of glory of the preaching of peace (εἰρήνη) . . . . .
. . . of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit . . . .
that they may watch over us.
Glory and] victory to our Lord Mani and all his
holy Elect and every one that believes in him.
Victory to the soul of Panai, Theona, Pshai, Jmnoute, and
the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXXXIX.

Lo, the amnesty (ἀμνηστία) of the forgiveness of sins has come: it is
Jesus, who giveth repentance (μετάνοια) unto him that repents (μετανοεῖν).
He stands in our midst, he winks unto us secretly,
saying: 'Repent (μετανοεῖν), that I may forgive you your sins.'
He is not far from us, my brethren, even as he said in his
preaching: 'I am near to you, like the clothing of your body (σῶμα).'
He that is angry, sins; he that causes wrath is a murderer; he
that sheds a life, of him shall it be demanded.
The Good (ἀγαθόν) is destined to come: blessed is he by whom it comes;
the Evil too is near to be: woe unto him because of whom it comes.
When thou comest in with thy gift (δῶρον) to set it on the θυσιαστήριον,
be reconciled with thy adversary (ἀντίδικος) that thy gift (δῶρον) may be
received from thee.
Look out, my brethren; smite not at the life of them that . . . .

3 cf. Burkitt op. cit. p. 35. — 7—9 The three dangers seem to be (I) the cosmic danger in the beginning, when the Dark threatened to defeat the Light; from which we were redeemed; (II) the danger in this present life, our corruption by the body and its lusts; (III) the danger that at the last assize we may be condemned and be bound for ever in the Bolos. — 10 cf. Joh. 5, 39. — 25 cf. Matth. 5, 22. — 29, 30 cf. Matth. 5, 23—25.

. . . . . ⲡⲭⲱⲃⲉ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ . . .[. . . . . .

Ⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲧⲁⲓⲁⲕ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲣ[ⲡⲟⲥ . .
ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁ .[. . . ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲍ . .

Ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲓⲧⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ[ⲍⲉ
ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲕⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲉⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲍⲉⲡ ⲉⲧⲃⲏ[ⲧⲩ
Ⲉⲓⲱⲭⲉ ⲕⲛⲁ+ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲱ ⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲕⲧⲉⲉ[ⲥ
. . . ⲕⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣ .[. . .
Ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲁⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲍⲱⲃ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃⲛⲧⲕ̄ . .[. .
ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲃⲱⲱⲩ̄ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲉⲗ ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ ⲧⲟⲩ . [. . .
ⲧⲏⲣⲉ̄ ⲍⲁⲡⲱⲕ

Ⲡⲁⲓ ⲣ̄ⲭⲣⲉⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ̄ . .[. . . . . .
. .] ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲡⲭⲟⲩⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲭⲉⲩⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛ[ⲉ
Ⲡⲥⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ • ⲡⲉ[ⲓ
ⲡ̣[ⲉ ⲡ]ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ̣ⲧ̣ⲟⲗⲁ̣[ⲩⲉ
Ⲙ[ⲡⲁⲍ]ⲣⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲕⲏⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉⲓ
ⲡⲉⲧⲩ]ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧⲗⲃⲟ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛ[ⲍ
Ⲙ[ⲡⲱⲣ]ⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲕⲛⲁ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ̄ⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙ
. .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕ̄ⲣ̄ⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁ
ⲡⲛⲟⲩ]ⲧⲉ
Ⲁⲕ[ⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲍⲏ]ⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲭⲁⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲍⲏⲧⲕ̄ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲑⲁⲏ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲱⲣⲣ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲕ+ ⲁⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ+ⲩⲭⲏ
Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲡⲏⲧ' ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲃⲛ ⲍⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ+ⲩⲭⲏ
ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲍⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲧⲣ̄ⲧⲣ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛⲍ̄
Ⲧⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲃ|ⲭ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ
ⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲏⲩ ⲣⲱ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ
ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ
Ⲁⲩⲭⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲥⲁⲃⲗⲗⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ+ⲩⲭⲏ
Ⲧⲥ̣[ⲉⲧ]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲥ̄ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ
ⲍ̣[ⲓⲥ]ⲱ • ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲍⲱⲥ ⲉⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ|ⲙ
Ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ|ⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ̣ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲏⲧ ⲧⲁⲭⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ •
ⲡⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲩ+ ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲉⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧⲩ̄
Ⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩⲱ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲍⲉ ⲉ
ⲕⲁ]ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕ|ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧ̣[ⲍⲛⲙⲡⲏⲩ]ⲉ

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1 valde difficile lectu. — 2 leg. ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ. — 4 leg. ⲡⲉⲧⲍ|ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲕ. — 9 fin. ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲍⲥⲁ| (cf. Crumium op. cit. p. 318 a) coniicio. — 16 ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲱ HT: ipse haeseram. — 17, 18 fort. ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ. — 25 ⲉⲧⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲩ: Crumius, coll. Lk. 10, 30; ipse errabam.

. . . . . pass you . . . . . .

O man, thou desirest to honour thyself, let thy fruits (καρπός) . . .
for (γάρ) the fruits (καρπός) of the tree which . . . . forth . . .
Man, thou lovest thy life: love thy neighbour as thyself;
that which . . . . ., do it not, that thou come not to judgment concerning it.
If thou art to give a lesson, perform it first before thou givest it:
. . . thou shalt be a sign of that . . . . . .
Judge (κρίνειν) not thy brother in the thing which thou shalt be found . . .
look not at the mote which is in his eye lest (μή πως) . . . .
all of it beneath thine.
He has need (χρεία) of the physician who goes (?) . . . . . .
and bears the burning of the medicines, that he may see the light.
The physician of souls, he is the Light-Mind (νοῦς); this
is the New Man: the burning medicines are the Commandments (ἐντολή).
But the cool medicines, they are the forgiveness of sins: he
that would be healed, lo, of two kinds are the medicines of life.
Be not ashamed, o Faithful (πιστός) one, as thou goest unto thy . . . life;
do not seek to please man and become an enemy
to God.
Thou hast been ashamed of Him today: He will be ashamed of thee at the end:
do not be at ease in thy body (σῶμα) and pay the penalty with thy soul.
For (γάρ) all men are running about, desiring to profit their soul,
fearing and all confounded, desiring to save their lives.
The life and death of each man is in his hands, he knowing
that perchance this is the man who shall be half dead in the
middle of the way.
They all passed him by, none pitied him save
only the Faithful (πιστός) who knew their soul.
The fire that dwells in the body (σῶμα), *its* affair is eating
and drinking; but the soul thirsts for the Word of God always.
Blessed (μακάριος) is the man whose heart condemns him not;
the faithful (πιστός) man of God judges himself of his own accord.
Pray for thy enemies, bless them that revile thee, that
thou mayest be good (ἀγαθός) like thy Father who [is in heaven.

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3 the end is very uncertain; perhaps ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁϥ [ⲇⲱⲱⲧ ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲓ[ⲧⲟⲩ: 'it is the fruits for which men look'. — 4 cf. Matth. 22, 39. — 8 ff. cf. Matth. 7, 1—5; Lk. 6, 41—42. — 10 'all' fem. sing. — 13 cf. Keph. XXXIII: Über den Licht-Noûs. — 17 ⲥⲁϊⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲛⲉ cf. 56, 22 ⲡⲓⲥⲁϊⲱ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫⲥⲁϊⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ. — 33 cf. Matth. 5, 44. — 34 cf. Matth. 5, 48.

Ⲡⲉⲧⲡⲣⲓⲉ . .[. . . . . .]ⲓⲛⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ [ⲥⲛ
ⲟ]ⲩⲱⲱⲱ ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩ]ⲱⲧ ⲉⲩⲡⲱⲣⲱ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲁⲛ ⲛ]ⲙ
Ⲙⲁ]ⲣⲛⲛⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲭⲉⲩⲁⲛⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲥⲱⲱⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲕ[ⲱ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲭⲉⲩⲁⲕⲱ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲱⲱⲛ
5 Ⲟ]ⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲛ̄|ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩ[ⲥⲱ
ⲧ]ⲡ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥ|ⲁⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ|
ⲁ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣ|ⲁ

ⲥⲙ̄ ϋⲙⲛⲟ|ⲥ ⲁⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲯ

Ⲧⲛ]ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲡ
10 ⲛ]ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲛⲧⲁ]ⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲁⲧ]ⲙⲟⲩ • ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲧⲱⲃⲥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲱ ⲡ
ⲡ]ⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ
.]ⲡⲣⲉ . ⲉ| ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲟ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲭⲉ
15 ⲉⲩⲁ+ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ̀ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲱ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲁⲓⲉ ⲇⲉ +ⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲭⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲟⲟⲩ [ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ]ⲃⲉ
ⲉⲛⲉ|ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲉⲛⲣⲁⲓⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲱ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲙⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ
ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲕ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲱ ⲡⲡⲁ
20 Ⲭⲁⲕⲙ̄ ⲇⲉ +ⲛⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲗ+ⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ
ⲡⲁⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲉⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁ+|ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕ[ⲙⲁⲥⲉ
ⲥⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲱ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲕⲁⲑⲉⲇⲣⲁ ⲉⲕⲱⲁⲛ
25 ⲡⲁⲣⲱ̄ⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲁⲓⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ
ⲱ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲉ]ⲕ
ⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲱ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ|ⲁ ⲙⲁⲣ|ⲁ

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2 init. ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲱ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ: Crumius. — 14 init. non intelligo: an ⲁ]ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲉ| 'nomen advenit'?

He] that shines . . . . that are evil and them that are good
equally, spreading his Light upon every man.
Let us be merciful to one another that we may ourselves receive mercy; let us forgive
one another that we ourselves be forgiven.
Glory and honour to Jesus, the king of the holy ones and his holy
Elect and the soul of Plousiane and the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary.

CCXL. With hymns we (?) shall sing

We bless and sing to thee, our Father Mani,
our Saviour, o glorious one.
Thou art he unto whom we call, Father, King, God
immortal; hear the prayer of thy fold, o
glorious one.
. . . . . he whom the Father sent forth from on high that
he might release the souls that are counted to him, o glorious one.
We now therefore make festival fulfilling thy holy day,
passing the night in vigil in thy joy, o glorious one.
Thou art a creature immortal on the day of this third: thou art
an envoy (πρεσβευτής), another has sent thee to us, o glorious one.
Wash us now therefore in the dew-drops of thy joy, for we
are ordained to the service of the holy Bema, o glorious one.
Open to us the passage of the vaults (ἁψίς) of the skies and [walk
before us to the joy of thy kingdom, o glorious one.
We are wont to worship the sign of thy seat (καθέδρα) when thou
spreadest it out on the day of the Filling of the Measure which is hidden today,
o glorious one.
Glory to thee, Mani, glorious one; victory to thy blessed
Bema, o glorious one, and the soul of
the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

1—2 cf. Mt. 5, 45. — 8 see Introduction II. — 10 ⲱ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ: this refrain is repeated at the end of each verse. — 18 I have translated this line literally: its meaning is not clear to me. — 20 ϫⲁⲕⲱ: cf. 8, 27/28. — 25 see Introd. II. ⲙⲁϩⲁⲓⲡⲉ is a new form, cf. infr. 190, 12 ⲡⲓⲟⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲙⲁϩⲁⲓⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲃⲱϫⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ, 'this moon that fills the measure but never wanes'; Keph. 87, 29: 162, 25—26, and seems to be a compound of ⲙⲟⲩϩ and ⲟⲉⲓⲡⲉ, 'measure', Crum Dict. 256a.

> · ϲⲙⲁ · <

. .]ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲛ [. . . . . .]ⲧ̣ⲛⲛⲏⲩ ⲧⲛ̄
ϫ]ⲓ [ⲙ]ⲡⲓϩⲙⲁⲧ
Ⲉⲟ]ⲩⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲉ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲧⲛ̄ϫ[ⲓ ⲙⲡ]ⲁⲱⲣⲟⲛ
ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ϩⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲧⲛ̄
ⲧ]ⲉ[ⲁⲩ]
Ⲭⲟⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲩ̄
ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲥⲱⲧⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ
Ⲧⲛ̄ϫⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕ̈ⲱⲧ ⲧⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲉ[ⲧϫⲁ
ⲥⲉ
Ⲧⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲱⲏⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲡⲓⲫ[ⲉ ⲁ
ⲧⲕⲟⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲛ
Ⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ[ⲁ
ⲡⲥ[ⲟ]ⲩⲙ̄[ⲓ]ⲥⲉ
Ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲱⲱ]ⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧϫⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲣⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲉⲕⲛⲏⲩ
Ⲟⲩⲧⲁ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲡⲙⲁ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ
ⲕⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟ̄
Ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲕⲥⲁ̈ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲡϩⲟⲩ̈ⲧ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ
Ⲟ]ⲩⲧⲁ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲟ
ⲅⲙⲁ
Ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧϩⲡⲁⲕ ϫⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲱ ⲁ
ⲧⲁⲱ
Ⲧ]ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲕⲱⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ
ⲱⲏⲣⲉ
Ⲭⲉ [ⲁ]ⲕⲕⲁ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲁⲕⲧⲉⲉⲕ ϩⲁⲛ̄ⲙ̄
ⲫⲩϫⲁⲩⲉ
Ⲁⲕϫⲓ ϩⲣ̄ⲃⲉ ϩⲣ̄ⲃⲉ ⲱⲁⲧⲉⲕⲙⲟⲩⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ
Ⲛⲧⲗⲁ̈ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲕⲥⲁⲧⲡⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄
ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ

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2 ⲉ incertum: fort. ⲩ. — 16, 17 ⲛ̄ⲛ[ⲁ]ⲡⲥ[ⲟ]ⲩⲙ̄[ⲓ]ⲥⲉ: HT. — 18 ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧϫⲏⲩ sic.

CCXLI.

. . . the gates (πύλη) of Light open . . . . . we may (?) come and receive this gift.

Open the doors of mercy; arise that we may receive the present (δῶρον).

The great Judge (κριτής) is seated: let us gather and glorify him and glorify (?) [him].

Say: Hail (χαῖρε) new Sun, that has come forth with his Light:

Hail (χαῖρε) Holy Spirit, that art come today to save us:

Our Lord Mani, that forgives us our sins.

Blessing to thy Father, peace (εἰρήνη) to the kingdom on high.

Thanks to thy divine brethren who have believed (πείθεσθαι?) in thy coming to us.

Glory to the Aeons of Light who commemorated the things pertaining to the birthday (?).

We worship the ships of Light that ferried thee across as thou camest.

Honour to the Perfect Man, the way of peace (εἰρήνη) whereby thou didst come.

We bless thy Light-familiar, Christ, the author of our good (ἀγαθόν).

Honour to thy wisdom (σοφία) that has defeated the Error (πλάνη) of the Sects (δόγμα).

We bless the Angels that brought thee from bound to bound.

We worship thy sufferings which thou didst endure because of thy children:

For thou didst leave thy great glory, thou didst come and give thyself for souls.

Thou didst assume different forms until thou hadst visited all races:

For the sake of thy loved ones, until thou hadst chosen them out of their midst.

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18 vid. Jackson, Researches pp. 41—42. — 20 cf. Acta Arch. 13, 25. — 22 vid. Mani-Fund p. 71 n. — 32 lit. 'didst receive form form': cf. W.Bang, Manichaeische Hymnen, in Muséon XXXVIII p. 25: according to a Turkish hymn there edited and translated one of the distinguishing marks of a prophet is the 'Veraendern der Gestalt'.

. . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲫ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁ[ⲓ
. . . . .]
ⲁⲕ]ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲱ[ⲁⲛ
ⲧ]ⲉⲕⲟⲛⲧⲥ̀
ⲁⲕ]ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ̀ ⲁⲛⲭⲁⲓⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲁⲙⲙⲉⲅⲓⲥⲧⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲝ[ⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲕ
ⲥ]ⲉⲭⲉ
Ⲥⲁ]ⲡⲱⲣⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲓⲁⲕ ⲅⲱⲣⲙⲏⲥⲇ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲧⲉⲕ
ⲙ]ⲏⲉ
. . .]ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲣⲅⲁⲣⲁⲛ . . . ⲝⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲡⲓⲟⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲕ
ⲧⲁ]ⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ
ⲁⲩⲥ]ⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲕⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲛⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ
ⲅⲉ]ⲗⲡⲓⲥ
. . .]. .[. . .]ⲁ[.]ⲅⲏⲣⲱⲇⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡ]ⲭⲣ[ⲓ]ⲥⲧⲟⲥ
Ⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲕ
ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲛ]ⲉ̈ⲓⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲙⲙⲁⲅⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲱⲩ̄ⲧ [ⲁⲭⲛ
ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲛⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲛⲱⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲅⲁⲧⲃⲉ
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲁⲩⲥⲅⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲓⲃⲗⲓⲇⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲕ̀
Ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲩ
ⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ
Ⲭ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ+ⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲁⲩ+ ⲃⲁⲛⲓⲡⲉ ⲁ
ⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲕ̀
ⲁⲩ+ ⲁⲧⲟⲧⲕ̀ ⲙⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲕ̀ ⲁⲩ+ ⲅⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲁ
ⲍⲏⲧⲕ̀
ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲭⲕ̀ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲱⲧⲉⲕⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩ[ⲛⲁⲱ
ⲁⲗⲕ̀ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁⲕⲣ̄ⲭⲟⲩⲧⲉⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲕⲍⲛ̄
ⲡⲃⲁ[ⲛⲓ]ⲡⲉ
. . . . . .]ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲕ ⲁⲕⲣ̄ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ ⲙ̄

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9 post ⲟⲩⲁⲣⲅⲁⲣⲁⲛ fort. ⲟⲩⲁⲇⲉ. — 13 init exspectavisses ⲁⲩⲧⲛⲧⲱⲛⲩ ⲁⲡⲍⲏⲣ. HT; vel ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲱⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲣ.

. . . . . the earth (?), the seas (θάλασσα) and the . . . .
also.
Thou didst seek out thy beloved, thy Church, until
thou hadst found her.
Thou didst appear unto the crowned ones, the princes (μεγιστᾶνος) received [thy
word.
Shapur honoured thee, Ormizd also received thy
truth.
. . . . . Bahram . . . for (?) he believed (πείθεσθαι) not in thy
preaching.
He hearkened to thy enemies, the deniers (ἀρνητής) of thy
hope (ἐλπίς).
. . . . . Herod, who crucified (σταυροῦν)
Christ.
Woe unto them, the children of fire; for they sinned against thy
holy body (σῶμα).
I was speaking of the Magians (μαγουσαῖοι) who looked [upon
thy blood.
They loved the evil-genius of the Jews, the murderers
of God.
They wrote their lying screeds (βιβλίδιον), they gave them out concerning thee.
O Judge (κριτής) of all races, they arraigned thee and
judged (κρίνειν) thee.
From the time that thou didst confound their Error (πλάνη) they loaded thee
with iron and bound thee.
They loaded thy hands and feet and put fetters (κολλάριον) also upon
thy body.
They cast thee into their prisons, thinking that they [could
hold thee in.
Thou didst spend twenty-six days and the nights of them in
irons (?).
. . . . . thy children beside thee, thou didst embrace (ἀσπάζεσθαι)

7—10 cf. Flügel, Mani pp. 329—333. — 11 cf. Hom. 81, 11. — 17 i. e. 'I mean . . .'. — 19 ⲧⲱⲛⲧⲃⲁⲛⲱϥⲁⲓ, vid. supr. 4, 16 n. — 22 lit. 'they brought thee into the middle'.

ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

non legi potest

. . . . .]

. . . .] . ⲛ̣ⲛ̣ . . . . . ⲧⲕ̣ⲉ̣ⲕ̣ⲗⲁⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉ̣ⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟ

ⲥⲙ]ⲟ̣ⲥ̣

Ⲙⲡ]ⲱⲣⲕⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲃⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲍ̣ⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ

. . . .]

Ⲁⲕⲧⲁⲱ ⲡⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲍ ⲙ̣ⲛ̣̄ⲡⲱⲃⲉⲥⲛⲁ[ⲩⲥ ⲛ

ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕ̣ⲟⲡⲟⲥ

Ⲁⲕⲕⲁ ⲥⲓⲥⲓⲛⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ

Ⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲧⲁⲱ ⲛⲉⲕⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲁⲕⲧⲁⲃⲍ ⲡⲉⲕⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁ̣[ⲩ+

ⲟⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ

Ⲁⲕⲕⲁ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲕⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ [ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲁⲧⲉⲕ]ⲙ̣[ⲛ

ⲧ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ

Ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲓ ⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕ

ⲥⲱⲙⲁ

Ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲗ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲧⲓⲁ

ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ

Ⲁⲩⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲁⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲥⲭⲁⲥⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ

ⲡⲩⲗⲏ

Ⲁⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲍⲉⲧⲃⲉ • ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩ

ⲛ̄ⲍⲉⲡ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ

Ⲭⲉ ⲥ]ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲕⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛ̄ⲡⲭⲓⲕⲃⲁ ⲙ̄̈

ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈

Ⲧⲉⲩ]ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲭⲓ ⲧⲱⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲱ ⲙ̄̈ⲡⲃⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲥ

ⲉⲉⲩ

Ⲛ]ⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲙ̄̈ⲓ̈

ⲁⲩ]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲕ̣

Ⲑ]ⲓ[ⲥ ⲑ]ⲏⲃⲉ ⲙ̄̈ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲙ̄̈ⲡⲉⲕⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ

ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ

ⲧⲧ]ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲛⲉ ⲍⲱⲱⲛ [ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲥⲱ]ⲧⲡ

ⲙ̄̈ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ

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31 fin. valde dubium, fort. [ⲁⲧⲕⲣⲉ]ⲓⲧⲉ.

them all.

illegible

. . . . .

. . . . . thy Church which is in the
world (κόσμος).
Do not leave thy beloved, that she lose not the savour of the salt which
. . . . .
Thou didst appoint the twelve Teachers and the seventy-two
Bishops (ἐπίσκοπος).
Thou didst make Sisinnios leader (ἀρχηγός) over thy children.
When thou hadst set thy affairs in order thou didst implore thy Father, he
answered thee.
Thou didst leave them thy body (σῶμα) and didst ascend [to thy] king-
dom.
The lawless men (ἄνομος) were confounded, they brought their wrath upon thy
body (σῶμα).
They shed thy blood in the midst of the street (πλατεῖα)
of their city (πόλις).
They struck off thy head and set it on high upon their
gate (πύλη).
They rejoiced in thy murder, knowing not that there is a
judgment:
For an account shall be demanded of thy death and thy blood
shall be avenged.
Their godless city (πόλις) shall receive the recompense for the outrage which it
committed.
Blessed are thy loved ones that shed their tears
for thee.
Lo, the] grief of thy body (σῶμα), the joy of thy spirit
that has ascended.
Blessed one (μακάριος), our Father, number us also [among thy] Elect (?)
today.

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6 lit. 'be insipid of salt', cf. Matth. 5, 13; Keph. 97, 29: ϩⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲟⲩ, 'dumme Worte'. — 8 cf. 22, 24; Aug. de haer. 46. — 25 ⲃⲏⲩ, 'Frevel': vid. Polotsky, Hom. p. XIX.

. . . . . .]ⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . . . [. . . . .] . ⲯ[.
ⲧⲉ]ⲕⲁⲱⲣⲉⲁ
Ⲛⲧⲁ]ⲕ† ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲁⲃⲱⲩⲕ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ☩[ⲧⲱ
Ⲃ]ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲥⲱ]ⲱⲧ ⲁⲛⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲓⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲣⲱ . [.
.]ⲱ
. . .] ⲡⲱⲣⲱ̄ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲉ ⲁϫⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕ̈ⲁⲁⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲛⲛ
ⲉ]ⲧⲥⲁⲩ
Ⲕⲁⲛ ⲉ]ⲕⲱⲁⲛⲃⲓⲱⲡ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ • ⲥⲓⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱ ⲉ̣ⲛ̣ⲣ̣ . . .
ⲁ]ⲡⲙⲟⲩ
. . .]ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣϫ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲉⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̄
ⲛⲛ]ⲉⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ
Ⲛⲁⲥ]ⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲣⲉⲕ†ⲍⲉⲡ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲩ
. . .]. . ⲩ . ⲱⲧⲉ
Ⲧⲧⲉⲧ]ⲁⲩϫⲓⲧⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲛⲥ̄ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲁ
ⲣⲉⲩⲡⲱⲧ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲥ
Ⲧⲧⲉⲧⲁⲧⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲍⲁⲧⲃⲉⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲧⲃⲗⲗⲕⲉ ⲃⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲧⲧⲉⲧⲁⲑⲏⲇⲟⲛⲏ ⲧⲱⲗⲙⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲃⲁⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ
Ⲧⲧⲉⲧⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲱⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲕⲱⲗⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲩⲙⲛ̄
ⲧⲍⲗⲃⲏⲧ
Ⲧⲧⲉⲧⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲉ ⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲥⲃⲓ ⲧⲟ̄ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ
Ⲧⲧⲉⲧⲁⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲃⲓ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩϫⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲥⲍⲁⲩ
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ
Ⲧⲧⲉⲧⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧϫⲁⲥⲓⲍⲏⲧ ⲣ̄ⲍⲉⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲥⲟⲓⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲍⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄ • ⲩⲱⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ
ϫⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲛⲥ̄
Ⲙⲛ̄ ⲭⲓⲥⲟ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲍⲉⲡ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲟ̄ⲩⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ
Ⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲏⲩ
Ⲙⲁⲩⲃⲓⲱⲡ ⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲉⲓ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲱⲃⲍ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲧⲧⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲧⲛ̄ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲏ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱ ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ
ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲛ̄

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3 ⲕ tertium sup. lin. — 4 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ sic: leg. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ. — 5, 6 fort. ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ. — 31 ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱ etc.: an ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱ ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲡⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ dividendum (cf. 147 a 33; ? 30, 10)?

. . . . . from (?) the . . . . . .
thy gift (δωρεά).
Thou who didst give thy blood for us — do not forget us, I implore thee.
Look upon our tears that are hidden, that are seen by (?) . . . .
. . .
. . . . spread thy mercy over us and wash us clean of [the things which are] evil.
If thou shouldest make reckoning with us, then are we already . . .
to (?) death.
. . . know the pollution of the flesh (σάρξ) which wells up from it at all times.
My brethren (?), lo, the judge; let each one come and
. . . . . .
The man who has suffered wrong — lo, the protection of the judge (κριτής), let him hasten unto it:
He whom grief (λύπη) has killed, he on whom anger has leapt:
He for whom lust (ἡδονή) has soiled the whiteness of his clothes:
He from whom obduracy stole away
the sweetness of his heart:
He whom folly made mock of and took away his wisdom (σοφία):
He for whom the devouring fire allied with his enemies, doing him harm:
He whom overweening pride deceived and tumbled to the ground: —
Lo, the judge (δικαστής) has sat down, he calls out the name of him who has been wronged.
There is no favouring in his judgment, no turning in his justice (δικαιοσύνη).
He knows how to forgive him that shall sin and repent.
He makes reckoning with none that shall come to him and implore him.
But the double-minded man — him he forgives not.
Let us not neglect (ἀμελεῖν) ourselves and fail in our hearts through our own fault.

22 lit. 'it being evil with him'.

Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡ]ⲛⲁ[ⲃ] ⲛⲥⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲟⲟ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲧⲏⲣ]ⲟⲩ
Ⲁⲩⲡ]ⲱⲣⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙ̄ⲱⲓⲣ · ⲁⲩⲱⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲱ[ⲉ
ⲭⲓ ⲡⲁⲍ]ⲣⲉ
5 Ⲥ]ⲱⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁⲱⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲁⲃ[ⲏⲗ
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲙⲁⲩⲥ[ⲓ]ϫⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲕⲱⲙⲙ̄ⲱ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩ[ⲛ
ⲥⲁⲱ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̄
Ⲟⲩ[ⲛ]ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥ̄ⲱⲃ · ⲣⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲁⲗⲟ ⲥⲛ̄[ⲛⲉⲩ
10 ⲥⲉϫⲉ
Ⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱϫⲉ ⲥⲁⲱ ⲁⲕⲁ ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲉⲩⲕⲏⲃ ⲁϫ[ⲱⲩ
Ⲱⲁ[ⲩ]ⲟⲩⲱϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ · ⲛ̄ⲩⲙⲟⲩⲍ ⲛ̄ⲩⲕⲁⲍⲕⲉ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲥⲟ
ⲟ[ⲩ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ
Ⲥⲱⲱⲧ ⲁⲧⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̣ⲛ̣ [ⲟⲩ
15 ⲱⲛⲉ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲱⲛⲉ
Ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲡ ⲡⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲙⲁⲙⲉ
ⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲛⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ
Ⲧⲥⲁⲓⲏ ⲛ̄ⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲕⲁⲥ
Ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲇⲟⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲱⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲱⲩⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲛ|ⲙ
20 Ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ϫⲟⲩⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙ|ⲓⲅⲙⲁ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲛⲧⲓⲇⲟⲧⲟⲥ
Ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗ|ⲟⲛ ⲡⲱⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
Ⲧⲉⲩⲗⲁⲕⲁⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲑⲏⲥⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲍⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̄
Ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲙⲟⲩⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̄ · ⲙⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲕⲃ̄ⲃⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ
25 ⲧⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲥ
Ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲡⲟⲅⲅⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲱⲧ ⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲣⲁⲅⲙⲁ
ⲧⲓⲁ
Ⲧⲩⲁ̣ⲕⲙⲁⲇⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱϫⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡϫⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏ
ⲣⲓⲟⲛ
30 Ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲗ ⲉⲧⲛ̣ⲁⲛ̣ⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡϫⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗⲁⲱ|ⲣⲉ
Ⲧⲛⲁⲣⲑⲏⲝ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲡϫⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲡ|ⲥⲧⲟ
ⲗⲁⲩⲉ

30 leg. ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ.

Lo, the] great physician has come: he knows how to heal all
men.
He has] spread his medicine-chest, he has called out: 'He that wishes,
be cured.'
Look at the multitude of his cures: there is no cure save
in him.
He does not recoil (σιχαίνεσθαι?) from him that is sick, he does not mock him
that has a
wound in him.
A skilful one is he in his work: his mouth also is sweet in [its
words.
He knows how to cut a wound, to put a cool medicament upon it.
He cuts and he cleanses; he cauterises and soothes (?) in a
single day.
Look, his lovingkindness has made each one of us
reveal his sickness.
Let us not hide our sickness from him and leave the cancer
in our members (μέλος),
the fair and mighty image (εἰκών) of the New Man, so that it destroys it.
He has the antidote (ἀντίδοτος) that is good for every affection (πάθος).
There are two and twenty compounds (μῖγμα) in his antidote (ἀντίδοτος):
His Great Gospel (εὐαγγέλιον), the good tidings of all them that are
of the Light.
His water-pot (λακάνη) is the Thesaurus, the treasure of Life.
In it there is hot water: there is some cold water also
mixed with it.
His soft sponge (σπόγγος) that wipes away bruises (πληγή) is the
Pragmateia.
His knife (ἀκμάδιον) for cutting is the Book of the Mysteries.
His excellent swabs are the Book of the Giants.
The νάρθηξ of every cure is the Book of his
Letters (ἐπιστολή).

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7 σιχαίνεσθαι, cf. Liddell and Scott, Gk. Dict. (new edit.) p. 1598 b. The form ⲥⲓⲭⲁⲛⲉ occurs in the Homilies: 78, 23; 93, 18, and is rendered 'verabscheuen' by Polotsky. Sophocles Gk. Lex. p. 989 a suggests a Semitic derivation. — 9 ⲛⲁⲣ̅ⲧⲱⲣⲉ, cf. Keph. 132, 20. — 18 εἰκών is in apposition to μέλος. ⲛ̅ⲥⲧⲉⲕⲁⲥ carries on the construction of the two preceeding verbs: 'and it (i. e. the cancer) destroys it (i. e. the image)'. — 20 The Great Gospel is the antidote: the 22 ingredients are perhaps 22 chapters in the work. — 21 ff. cf. Mani-Fund pp. 34 ff; Hom. 25, 1 ff; Flügel Mani pp. 102—3, 354 ff; Keph. 5, 22 ff. — 23 λακάνη, cf. Rossi op. cit. I 3, 52 b. — 28 For ἀκμάδιον vid. Hermes 38, pp. 280—284. — 29 ⲅⲁⲗⲁⲱⲓⲣⲉ seems here to be a translation of the Gk. γίγας: vid. Hom. p. XIX. For ⲱⲗ vid. Crum Dict. p. 522 a.

. . . . . .]ⲉⲧϫⲏⲩ ⲡϯⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲣⲓⲙⲉ
. . . . . .].
. . . . . .] ⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲕⲏⲃ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲉϫ[ⲉ
ⲧ]ⲏⲣⲟⲩ
Ⲉⲓⲥ] ⲧⲁⲟⲕⲓⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃ[ⲣ
ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲉⲩⲁ]ϯ ⲡⲁⲣⲣⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲱⲁⲥⲧⲗⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[. . . . . .
ⲦⲦⲕ]ⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲣⲙⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̣[ⲉⲛ
ⲧⲏ]ⲣⲛⲉ
Ⲉⲩⲁⲃ]ⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲁ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲧⲛ̄ϯⲩⲭⲏ
ⲦⲦⲣⲟ]ⲟⲩⲉ ⲡ[ⲉ] ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧⲛ̄ⲁⲃⲱⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲱⲕ
. . . . . .]
. . .]ⲉⲩⲡ . . . ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ
ⲧ]ⲏⲣⲟⲩ
Ⲧⲉⲧϫⲱ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϯⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲱⲛⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
ⲕⲗⲁⲙ
Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧϯ ⲟⲩⲣⲧ̄ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ̄
ⲦⲦⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲛ ϩⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲱⲁ̈ⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲡ|ϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ̈
ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥ|ⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲁⲟϫⲟⲥ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲱⲁ̈ ⲡⲁⲛⲁ̈ ⲡⲱⲁ|ϫⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ
ϯⲩⲭⲏ ϩⲱⲱⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣ|ⲁ
Ⲁⲩϫⲱⲕ

7 fin. fort. ⲱⲉⲩⲧⲉ supplendum. — 13 fort. ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲛ]ⲉⲩⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ.

p. 48 scriptura omnino uacat.

. . . . . hot (?), the two Psalms (ψαλμός), the weeping (?)
. . . . . .
. . . . . cool also (?), his Prayers and all his
Words.
Lo,] the test (δοκιμή) of our physician: my brethren, let us implore
him.
May he] give us a cure that heals our . . . . .
The forgiveness of our sins, that he may bestow it upon us
all.
May he] wipe away our iniquities, the scars that are branded on our souls.
Year by (κατά) year there is the day: let us not forget, so that it goes
. . . . . .
We are (?) his holy ones, they that preach and they that hear,
all of them.
He that sings a psalm (ψαλμός) is like them that weave a
garland.
They that answer after him are like them that put roses into his hands.
Victory to the judge (κριτής) of Truth and his glorious Bema.
May he give it to all of us also, his Elect and his
Catechumens.
Glory and honour to them that keep festival on this mighty day.
Victory to the soul of Plousiane, Apa Polydoxus,
Apa Pshai, Panai, Pshai, Jmnoute, Theona and the
soul also of Mary.

The End.

2—4 In these lines further books of Mani seem to be mentioned: in l. 1 the Book of the Psalms and perhaps some kind of Book of Lamentation (cf. Hom. XIII, XV: [πθρ]ηνος ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲗⲗⲁⲗⲟⲥ); these appear to be compared to a hot medicament, while in ll. 3 and 4 the Prayers and Words (Addresses?) are compared to a cold medicament. With the whole passage cf. Hom. 25, 4—5. — 22 ff. vid. supr. Introd. II b. — 25 i. e. the end of the Bema-psalms. The next thirty-five psalms form a group of which the title is lost, vid. inf. p. 233 a, 10 ff; I have called them 'Psalms to Jesus', from the character of their opening words. P. 48 is blank.

1 uestigia tenuia superscriptionis cum ornamentis
2 et 3 non legi possunt

. .]. ka . etm̄[oy]te oyBhk
. . .]ya eqcawe eaïxpaq nhï m̄pi6n̄[. . . . . .
. . .]oye n̄tak̄ oyazet̄k̄ petaï6n̄[tk̄ znтoynoy
nt]aanark̄h
TTzooy] pe peï m̄pnaб n̄zice et . . ḥ . . . . . .
. . . .]yn̄[. . . . . .]. . . . 6n̄nawte n̄ . . . ay
. . . . . .]ч aptнpq̄
. . . . . .] eqcr̄pam̄t • aycǫ .[. . . . .
. .]. ϣayt̄cbek̄ poyaze eyr̄nabe m̄mhne [eytm̄
meey apzooy etoynawine aray
Oyn̄ oykpitнc m̄pbl̄ m̄pcωma emn̄ laye
nawzωп araq eqwine canzBhye eta poye poye
eï[toy eqtωBe ney kata poym̄пωa
Ntaïzomologh ρω m̄mak̄ etBe †oynoy aïtωn ẍa
pkωmω n̄rωme nim • xe aïcωtm̄ xe petar̄ar̄
ne m̄mak̄ ϣakaBϣk̄ araq eqzn̄neqθli†ïc
Eic panazte thk̄ aretq̄ nemhï eiǫ namn̄tnae e
taïeey m̄pekρen • eic nawlhl mn̄tacpoyḍh ϣ[i
ne ataxi zmat axωï
Oylhctнc aqnoyzme zipctaypoc xe aqzomolo
gh m̄mak̄ m̄mete akaBωk̄ annaBe thpoy etaq
eï[toy akr̄pmeey m̄pq̄aga-θon
Ÿlh nim n̄kosmoc eqkωte araï raxzoy m̄pooye
†capcp̄ m̄mak̄ toyBaï aBal n̄n̄naBe thpoy xe
aïeϣt̄ zωωt n̄tekzelпic
Oyeay oyбro m̄pi|ωt pnoyte n̄tmhe mn̄pekϣh
ре] m̄m[epi]т pχ̄ρc̄ mn̄ppn̄a etoyaBe ppkl̄c̄ oy
бro mn̄oyϣo]yϣoy n̄t†yxh m̄ma[pi]a

---

1 unam litteram †[almoc?] perspicere potui. — 11 fort. aycẹt̄[ε. — 17 aïtωnz̈a sic, haud aïtωnz̄ a. — 26 leg. etkωte coll. Hom. 29, 28 ubi pro eqm̄mo leg. etm̄mo: mn̄trm̄bωn etm̄mo = κακανδρία ἐκείνη. — 29 leg. пeqϣhpe.

1 *faint traces of a heading with ornaments*
2 *and* 3 *are illegible*

. . . . . that call to thee.
The] bitter . . . . . that I got for myself, I did not find . . . . .
. . . . thee alone did I find [in the hour
of my need (ἀνάγκη).
This is the [day] of the great trouble that . . . . . .
. . . . . find defence . . .
. . . . . at all.
. . . . . he being at a loss; they . . . . .
. . . they make their lives short (?), sinning daily, [not
thinking of the day when they shall be called to account.
There is a judge (κριτής) beyond the body (σῶμα), and none
will be able to hide from him when he searches out the deeds that each
has done and rewards them according to their deserts.
I confessed (ὁμολογεῖν) thee indeed because of this hour, I endured
the mockery of all men; for I heard that he who shall deny (ἀρνεῖσθαι)
thee — thou dost forget him in his afflictions (θλίψις).
Lo, my faith stands fast with me; lo, my almsgivings that
I performed in thy name: lo, my prayers and my zeal (σπουδή)
demand that I should receive grace upon me.
A robber (λῃστής) was saved upon the cross (σταυρός) because he did but
confess (ὁμολογεῖν) thee; thou didst forget all the sins that he
had committed, thou didst remember his good (ἀγαθόν).
All worldly (κόσμος) Matter (ὕλη) that surrounds me — burn it today,
I beseech thee. Cleanse me from all the sins, for
I too have hung on thy hope (ἐλπίς).
Glory, victory to the Father, the God of Truth, and his beloved
son Christ, and the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete.
Victory and] renown to the soul of Mary.

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11 ⲉⲩⲥⲣⲁⲣⲁⲧ lit. 'dazed', 'stupified'. — 12 ⲧⲥⲃⲕⲟ 'make small' cf. 3, 26. — 26 lit. 'burn them', ⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ|ⲙ being regarded as plural.

[cmr]

periit

. . . . . .]ⲁϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲙ̅ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ϩ̣ⲟⲟⲩⲉ .[. . . . . .

. . . . . .]ⲁⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ̈

. . . . . .]ⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲟ[ⲟ]ⲧ ⲁ̈ⲙⲁϩⲉ [. . . .]ⲣ̅ⲡ̅ⲙ[. . . . . .

. . . . . .] ϩ̣ⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲟⲩⲣ .[. . .]. . .[. . .

. . .]. ⲱⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϫⲁϫ[ⲉ ⲁ]ⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[ϩⲛⲃⲥ

ⲁ̣[ⲓⲡⲱⲧ ϩⲛⲡⲁⲣⲱ]ⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲱϫⲁⲕⲩ̄ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ

ⲡⲁⲣⲱⲛ ⲁⲓϫⲁⲕⲩ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲛⲧⲩ ⲉⲓ̈ϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲓ̈ⲛ̣[. . .

ⲗⲉ ⲁⲧ[ϫ]ⲱ[ⲣⲁ] ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄

Ⲉⲓⲥ ϩ[ⲛⲧⲉ] ⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̅ⲡⲙⲟⲩ • ⲁⲡ̣[. . . .

. . . . .]ⲃⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ[ϫ]ⲁϫⲉ [. .] ⲛ . ⲁ[. . . . . .]ⲧ̣ⲱⲛ[. . .

. . . . . .ⲉ]ⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲁϫⲱⲓ̈ ⲉⲩ[. . . . . .

. .]. . ⲛ̣ⲛ[. . ⲁ]ⲧ̣ⲧⲉⲕⲟ

+ⲛⲟⲩ +ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ̣[ⲛⲟⲩ

ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ ⲱ ⲛⲁⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲙ̅ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲉ ⲑⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲉ

ⲙ̅ⲡ̣ⲁ̣ⲙⲟⲩ ⲉ̣+ⲱⲁⲁⲧ ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄

ϩⲛⲟⲩⲥⲙ ⲉⲥϩⲁⲗⲃ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ϫⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ

ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁ̣ⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̅ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁ̄ⲣϩⲁⲧⲉ

ⲁ]ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲕϫⲁⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ϩⲛ̄ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ

Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ̅ ⲁⲡⲧⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲥ̄ⲫⲟ

ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙ[ⲉ]ⲗⲟⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ • ⲛⲉⲩⲥ̄ⲃⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲁⲓ̈

ⲛⲁⲣⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲁ̈ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲡⲟⲩ ⲁ̈ⲡⲱⲧ ⲱⲁⲡⲁⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ

Ⲧ̣Ⲧⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁϫⲱⲓ̈ • ⲡⲃⲣⲁⲃⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̅ⲡⲃⲣⲟ

ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ • ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲩⲁ

ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲛⲁϫⲁϫⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

+ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲱⲁⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ϩⲛ̄

ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲣ̅ⲣⲟ ϫⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲓ̈

ⲁⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ

+ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙ̅ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲉⲥⲛ̣ⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄

ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ • ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛ̣ⲁⲣ̄ⲧ̣ⲁⲱ

17 ⲉ̣ incertum. — 31 fin. fort. ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲅ̣ⲛ̣ⲱ[ⲣ(51,1)ⲓⲍⲉ].

CCXLIII.

2 *destroyed*

. . . . . night and day . . . . . .
. . . . . to me.
. . . . . gave (?) to me, I walked . . . . . .
. . . . . to the right, to the left . . . . . .
. . . . . out; I did not allow my enemies to put out my [lamps.
I ran] in the mighty [race ἀγών] which not every man can finish.
I finished the race], rejoicing in it, singing, ...
to the living land (χώρα).
Behold, I am coming forth from the body (σῶμα) of death. The . . . .
. . . . . cleansed (?) me, the enemies . . . . . .
. . . . . did (?) them, they rose up against me, ...
. . . . . indestructible (?).
Now I call unto thee: Saviour (σωτήρ), come to me in the hour
of need (ἀνάγκη). O my prayers and my fasts (νηστεία), this is the moment
of my death: I have need of you.
In a sweet voice he answered me saying, O blessed and righteous (δίκαιος)
man, come forth, be not afraid,
I am thy guide in every place.
When I heard the cry of my Saviour (σωτήρ), a power clothed (φορεῖν)
all my limbs (μέλος); their bitter walls I
destroyed, their doors I broke down, I ran to my Judge (κριτής).
The garland of glory he set upon my head, the prize (βραβεῖον) of victory
he set in my hand, he clothed me in the robe (στολή) of light,
he exalted me over all my enemies.
I rejoice as I ascend to my Father with whom I have conquered in
the land of the Darkness; o my great King, ferry me
to the city (πόλις) of the Gods, the angels.
The peace (εἰρήνη) of the Father of Greatness be upon
you all, my brethren. Every one that shall . . . . . .

9, 10 perhaps ⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ, 'ascending' or ⲉⲓ̈ⲣ̀ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲉ, 'singing hymns'. — 22 cf. Homil. 78, 11 f. ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ̀ = 'tollere', vid. 17, 12 n. — 24 f. cf. Mani-Fund p. 71.

. . . . . .] ϩⲱⲧ ϩⲛ̄тєкⲙⲛ̄тр̄ро ⲙⲛ̄тⲁ
ⲭⲏ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁрⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁрⲓⲁ
> ⲥⲙⲇ <
Ⲁⲙⲟ]ⲩ пⲁсⲱтⲏр ⲓⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱрⲕⲁⲁт ⲛ̄с[ⲱⲕ]
ⲓⲏⲥ] ⲛ̄тⲁⲕ пєтⲁⲓⲙєрⲓтⲕ̄ ⲁⲓ† тⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ . . . . .[. . .
ϩⲁⲗ]ⲃⲱє • ⲙ̄ⲡⲓтєєс ⲛ̄тⲁⲩ ⲁϩрⲏⲓ ⲁⲛϩⲏⲁⲟⲛⲁⲩ[ⲉ ⲉт]ⲗⲁ
ⲙⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱрⲕⲁⲁт ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ
Ⲉⲓⲥ т]ϩⲁⲗⲃⲱє ⲉтⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ тⲉтⲁⲕϩⲱⲕ ⲛ̄тⲕⲉⲛтⲟⲗⲏ
. . .] ⲉтⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ϩрⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲏтⲥ̄ ⲁⲓтⲉⲉс ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟс
ⲁⲓ†]тⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛⲁϫⲁϫⲉ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲱр
Ⲁⲓⲥⲱ]рⲙⲉ ⲁ[ⲡⲕ]ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ тнрⲟ̄ ⲁⲓ̄рⲙ̄ⲛ̄тре ⲛ̄ⲛϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ
тнр]ⲟⲩ ⲉтⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϩрⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲏтⲟ̄ • ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉрⲉ ⲛ̄рⲱ
ⲙⲉ т]ⲏрⲟⲩ пнт̀ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲉтⲱⲟⲩⲓ̈т ⲓⲏⲥ
Ⲱ] ⲱⲁⲟⲩнр тⲉ тⲙⲛ̄тⲃⲁⲛⲱⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲗⲓⲃⲉ ⲛ̄тⲉ пⲕⲉⲕⲉ
пєтⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩр ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ϩрⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲏтⲟ̄ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩр̄пⲱⲃⲱ̄ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ пєтⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲁϥтⲉⲉϥ ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲁрⲁⲩ ⲓⲏⲥ
Ⲛ̄тⲁрⲓⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈с ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲓ ⲛ̄тⲉⲕϩⲉⲗⲡⲓс ⲁⲓ̈тⲁϫра
ⲓ̈ ⲁϩрⲏⲓ ⲁϫⲱс пⲉⲕⲛⲁϩⲃⲉϥ ⲉтⲁⲕтⲉⲉϥ ⲁтⲟⲟт̀ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲓ̄рⲁрⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈с ⲓⲏⲥ
Ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛтⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉтⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲉтⲁⲕтⲉⲉϥ ⲁтⲟⲟт̀ ⲁⲓ̈ϫⲁⲕⲟⲩ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ пⲁсⲱтⲏр • ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲱ ⲛ̄
ⲛⲁϫⲁϫⲉ ⲁⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲓⲏⲥ
†ⲛⲟⲩ †ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲗⲱϫⲥ̀ ⲛ̄та†ⲩⲭⲏ ϫⲉⲕⲁ
ⲥⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲱⲛ̄ϩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁϩрⲏⲓ ⲁϫⲱⲓ̈ • ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲅⲁр ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄
ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲥⲱϩⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲓⲏⲥ
Ⲱ ⲛⲁⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈
ϫⲁⲕⲥ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲉⲛ ϫⲉ тⲉⲓ ⲅⲁр тⲉ тⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲣ̄тⲉ ⲉ†
ⲱⲁⲁт ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ϩрⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲏтⲥ̄
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲁⲕⲣⲓтⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲭⲓ ⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲁϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ

9 init. fort. ⲱ п]ⲉтⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ vel ⲉтⲁⲓ] ⲉтⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ. — 27 ϫⲁⲕⲥ sic. — 28 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ sic: fort. ⲙ̄ⲙⲱтⲛ̄ legendum, coll. 50, 17.

. . . . . in thy kingdom and the
soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXLIV. . . . . .

Come, my Saviour (σωτήρ) Jesus, do not forsake me.
Jesus,] thee have I loved, I have given my soul . . . . . .
armour (?); I have not given it rather to the foul (?) lusts (ἡδονή)
of the world (κόσμος). Jesus, do not forsake me.
Lo, the] glorious armour wherein thou hast girded thy
. . . holy commandment (ἐντολή), I have put it upon my limbs (μέλος),
I have fought against my enemies. Jesus, do not
I] wandered into the whole world (κόσμος), I witnessed all the
things that are in it, I saw that all men
run vainly too and fro. Jesus
O] how long is the evil genius and madness of the Darkness
wherein they have been bound; for they have forgotten
God, who came and gave himself up to death for them. Jesus
When I saw these things, my Lord, I took thy hope (ἐλπίς) and made myself
strong upon it. Thy yoke which thou didst enjoin on me,
I did not refuse (ἀρνεῖσθαι) it, my Lord. Jesus
Thy excellent commandments (ἐντολή) which thou didst enjoin on me I have
fulfilled them
my Saviour (σωτήρ). Thy lamps (λαμπάς) of Light, I have not suffered
my enemies to put them out. Jesus
Now I call to thee in the anguish of my soul that
thou mayest have compassion upon me; for (γάρ) the powers of heaven and
earth desire to submerge me. Jesus
O my prayers and my fasts (νηστεία) and my virginity (παρθενία) which I have
perfected in thy name; for (γάρ) this is the hour of dread
wherein I need thee.
I beheld my judge (κριτής), I was not confounded at all in my deeds

3 there are faint traces of some six or seven letters to the right of the number: probably the name of the author, cf. 7, 11; 14, 19. — 28 or, reading ϣϣωτN̄, 'you' instead of 'thee'.

ⲉⲧⲁ]ⲓⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲧⲛ̣ⲛⲁ[ⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲁⲩⲧⲥⲡⲁⲓ̈ [ⲁⲧⲩ]ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅
Ν]ⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲣ̄ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑ[ⲟⲛ
ⲛⲧ]ⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧ̣ⲱ[ⲃⲉ
ⲙⲙⲁⲩ] ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁⲩ] ⲡⲉⲧⲭ̄ⲁⲱⲥⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅
Ν̣ⲧ̣ⲩⲗⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ [ⲥⲁ
ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ̣ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲃⲁⲱⲟⲩ [ⲙ
ⲡ̣[. .]. . ⲙ̣ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅
ⲦⲦⲉⲧ . . ⲱ . ⲛ̣ⲥⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲡⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲟ ⲁ̣[ⲧⲡⲉ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ • ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁ[ⲙⲧⲁⲛ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ[ⲓⲭⲁⲗ
ⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ[ⲁⲕⲁ
ⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ
> ⲥⲙⲉ <
Ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏⲩ
Ⲕⲓⲙ ⲁⲣⲟ ⲧϯⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲥⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣ̄
ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃ|ⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲕⲱⲣⲱ̄
ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̣ⲕⲱⲱⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲗⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄
ⲉⲧⲁ . . . ⲛⲉ ⲣ̄ⲡⲉ|ⲑⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲙ|ⲱⲉ ⲥⲱⲉ ⲁⲣⲟ
ⲁⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲗⲗⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁ|ⲥⲁⲡ
ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲧ̄ⲭⲉⲗⲡ|ⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲁ
ⲭⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲭ̄ⲛⲧⲩⲃ|ⲛⲉⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲭⲁⲥ
ⲙⲉ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲣⲱ ⲣ̄ⲡⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲁⲧⲟⲩ
ⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲗ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲙⲏⲧⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥ|ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ
ϯⲗ̀ • ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁϯⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲁⲑⲁⲏ
ⲭⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲣⲱ ⲛⲉ ⲛ|ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲭ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲥ|ⲱⲉ ⲱ ⲧϯⲩ
ⲭⲏ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲧⲣⲉ ⲇⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ ⲭⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲃⲏ
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡ|
ⲓⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ • ⲁⲣⲉⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲉⲥⲱⲣ ⲥⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ • ⲛ̣ⲧⲣ̣ . .

1 fin. fort. ⲛⲁ[ⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ. — 8 fort. ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ vel ⲡⲉⲩⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ. — 9 fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲛ vel ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛ̄. — 20 init. fort. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ|: H.T. — 24 fort. ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲩ pro ⲁⲧⲟⲩ legendum.

that I have done. He gave me victoriously into the hands of the angels (?)
and they escorted me to his kingdom. Jesus

My brethren, be not slack (ἀμελεῖν) in doing good (ἀγαθόν)
by night and by day; for that which a man plants (?)
the same shall he reap. Jesus

The light-armed (ψιλητής) in the fight(ἀγών) consume one another for
a garland that passes away; and they shall be stripped of
their (?) . . . . and shall pay the penalty for that which they have done.
Jesus

He that . . . after (?) you is a great one; for you have conquered [heaven
and earth, the powers (ἀρχή) and principalities (ἐξουσία), and you shall [rest
yourselves in your new Aeon.

Glory and Victory to our Lord, our Light, Mani,
and his holy Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary, Theona.

CCXLV.

Come to me, my Saviour (σωτήρ), the haven of my trust.

Bestir thyself, o soul that watchest in the chains that have long endured, and
remember the ascent into the air (ἀήρ) of joy; for a deadly (?)
lure is the sweetness of this flesh (σάρξ). May the first
that . . . . to thee (?) persuade (πείθειν) thy heart, and do thou fight for
thyself
to put senility behind thee and become new again.

Jesus, the new God, to whose hope (ἐλπίς) I have hung: I have made myself
strong upon his coming: He was not born in a womb corrupted:
not even the mighty were counted worthy of him for him to dwell beneath
their
roof, that he should be confined in a womb (μήτρα) of a woman of low
degree (?). Lo, the glory of my faith that shall help me to the end,
that I have purified thee, my God.

Thy kin are these sure seals that are upon thee, o soul,
by reason of which no demon can touch thee;
for thou hast worshipped aright him who has broken the
goad (?) of Error (πλάνη), thou hast laid thy treasures in the heavens . . .

4, 5 cf. Gal. 6, 7. — 9 ⲡⲉⲧ . . ⲱ., possibly neuter, 'That which . . .'; perhaps ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲛ̄, i. e. 'your success', cf. 4, 24. But this is very uncertain. — 18 lit. 'ascending of the air' — 22—27 A Manichee 'makes God pure' (l. 27) by denying that he was born of a woman, 'in a womb corrupted' (l. 23). Not even the great ones of the world were worthy that he should dwell beneath their roof (l. 24; cf. Luc. 7, 2—6): how much less shall he be shut up in a womb, the womb of a woman ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗ (l. 26). There is a contrast between ⲟⲩⲱϩ and ⲱⲗ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ, between ⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧ and ⲙⲏⲧⲣⲁ, and between ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲓ and ⲟⲩⲥⲗⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗ: ϩⲁⲗ therefore will mean something like 'of low degree', though I cannot suggest its etymology. And this meaning suits the context in 16, 9 above, the only other place where the word occurs. So the Manichee can say (l. 30) 'thou hast worshipped him aright'. — 28 cf. infr. 94, 12; Jackson, Researches pp. 331—337. — 31 cf. Matth. 6, 20. For 'goad' perhaps 'hoof', vid. Crum Dict. p. 76 a.

1 periit
2 non legi potest

.]. ⲡⲛ̣ⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲥⲗⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲥⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟ̣ⲩⲱ[. .
.]ⲧ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲧⲉ • ⲟ̣ⲩ . . ⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕ̣[ⲉ]ⲕ̣ⲉ
ⲙ]ⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲁⲩⲱ . . . ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ • ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧ .[. . . . .
. . .]ⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲧⲏ̄ ⲉⲙⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲥⲁ̣[. . . . .
.] ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃ̈ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲏ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲏⲧ ⲛⲉ[. . . .
. . .] ⲁⲛⲙ̄ⲥⲉⲩⲉ
. . . .]ⲉ̣ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲱ ⲧ✝ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉ̈ⲱⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲭ[ⲟⲩⲱⲧ
ⲙⲡ]ⲁⲱⲏ̄ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲁⲣⲃⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [. . . . .
. .] ⲁ̣ⲡⲏ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲩ✝ⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥⲙ[ⲉⲩ
. . .]ⲏⲧ ⲥⲱⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ✝ⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲥⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲁⲱⲉ ⲁⲙⲉⲣ[ⲓ]ⲧ
ⲥⲓⲉ] ✝ⲛⲁ✝ ⲁⲭⲱ ⲛ̄ⲑⲃⲥⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲙ[ⲡⲃⲣ
ⲟ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲉ
Ⲱ ⲱⲁⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲉ̣[.]ⲃ̣ .
ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ̄ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲏ ⲉⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣ̣[ⲉ ⲛⲩ
ⲭⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲱⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲧ[ⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲇⲟⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲃⲁⲣⲟ̣ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩ
ⲧⲉⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲱⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲉ [. . . . .]. .
ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
Ⲥⲗⲥⲱⲗⲉ ⲭⲱⲗ ⲧⲉⲣⲙ̄ⲓ̈ⲏ ⲱ ⲧⲙⲉⲣⲓ̀ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲍⲏⲩ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲉⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ • ⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲕⲁ ⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲡⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ
ⲧⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲣⲥ ⲁⲣⲉⲭⲉⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ⲛⲉ . . ⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ
ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲃⲓ ⲡⲣⲁⲩⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲭⲏⲣⲁ ⲁⲣⲉ✝
ⲥⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲣⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ • ⲁⲣⲉⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲛⲇⲓⲱⲅⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ
ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ • ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲩ✝ⲥⲙⲁⲧ
Ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲗⲃ̣ ⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲱⲃⲱ̄ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲥⲗⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲙⲏ ⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ
ⲛⲓⲙ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱⲛⲟⲩⲥⲙⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲱ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲓ̄ⲏⲥ ✝ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲥⲱ
ⲱⲧ̀ ⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲱⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲑⲣ̄ⲕⲟ ⲛ̄ⲑⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲃⲣⲟ

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3 pro ⲟ̣ⲩ fort. ⲱ. — 6 fort. ⲉⲧⲥ]ⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲧⲏ̄. — 9 init. an ⲛⲥⲁⲧ]ⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ: 'semper', coll. Keph. 168, 11—12? — 15 fin. fort. ⲛⲁⲥ[ⲱ]ⲃ. — 23 ⲥⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ (= ἀφαί) HT: fort. ⲛⲉⲅⲣⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ.

1 *destroyed*
2 *illegible*

. . . . see (?) the sweetness of the medicine of God . . . . .
. . am I; . . . . is the body (σῶμα), full of Darkness:
its cares have not . . . . . daily (?); a . . . . . .
before (?) its eyes, for it gets nothing from what it has produced, save . .
. . . and the griefs and the reward of its folly . . . . .
. . . . to the tombs (?).
Every . . . . ., o soul, I can perceive his twenty (?)
snares that are full of guile. He for whom it has set them . . . . .
to his Saviour and the redeemer who will rescue him.
. . . thyself to me now: if thou hast set thyself to love me,
then] I will set upon thee the robe of glory and the garland of
victory], because thou hast believed in the Truth.
O how frequent is the repentance of him whom the body (σῶμα) . . . .
and is slack (ἀμελεῖν) when he might be doing good deeds and
fulfilling the seven graces which God has given to him
that he may escape from the Hebdomas of these Barbarians (βάρβαρος) and
take his stand against the seven helmsmen . . . . . .
the First Father, the conqueror of the Darkness.
Comfort thyself, stem thy tears, o loved one; good is the profit (?) of
thy treasure (χρῆμα), for thou hast set the foundation of thy tower (πύργος)
upon the
rock (πέτρα) of Christ, thou hast lit thy lamps (λαμπάς) . . . . .
in the oil of faith, thou hast cared for the widows (χήρα), thou hast
clothed the orphans (ὀρφανός), thou hast endured the persecutions (διωγμός)
because of
the name of God, the giver of rewards, the bestower of grace.
The joy, my Lord, of thy sweet cry has made me forget
life (βίος); the sweetness of thy voice has made me remember my city (πόλις).
For (γάρ) who can be saved without remission of sins?
O glorious Mind (νοῦς), fruit (καρπός) of Jesus, help me, even
me. I have hung on thee, who dost still the fear of death through
the victorious cross (σταυρός).

3—8 The sense of this verse is obscure. There seems to be a contrast between the soul and the body (l. 4): the works of the body are full of darkness and utterly unprofitable. — 8 or 'to the winds', for ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩⲉ may be the plur. of ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ (vid. supr. 37, 16 n). — 9 Grammar demands a numeral before ⲡⲁⲱϥ̄, and all that is now left of it is its first letter ϫ-, i. e. ϫⲟⲩⲱⲧ, 20 or some number between twenty and thirty. — 18 Hebdomas: vid. Smith-Wace, Dict. Christ. Biogr. II, 849 b. — 21 ϫⲱⲗ vid. 58, 22 n. — 23 ⲛⲉϩ(?ⲣⲣ)ⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ: perh. a marginal gloss (cf. 107, 24) on ⲛⲉⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ, copied by mistake into the text.

Ⲛ . [. . . .] . . [. .]ⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲗⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡ . . . ϯ . . . . ⲛⲁⲥⲃⲏⲩ[ⲉ
non potest legi
ⲛⲉⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲁⲭⲱ [. . .
. . . ⲁ̣ⲡⲉⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲭ[. .
. . . . .] ⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ
ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲥ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> ϣⲙⲥ <

Ⲁ[ⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲏ]ⲓ̈ ⲡⲁⲥⲩⲅⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲫⲭⲓⲙⲁ|[ⲧ
. . ⲧⲁϯ]ⲩⲭⲏ ⲃⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲫⲍ[ⲱ
ⲧⲉ [ⲧⲉⲛⲁ]ⲱⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲭⲣⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲫⲛⲁⲭ|ⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲫⲙⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲣⲣⲟ
Ⲭ[ⲛ]ⲧⲁ[ⲓ]ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲥⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲩ ⲉ̣[ⲧ
. . .]ⲉ̣ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϯⲃⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲉⲧⲱⲓ̈ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲉ
ϯⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲏⲣ|ⲟⲛ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁ̣[ⲓ
ⲧⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲉϯⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲣⲭⲏⲩ ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥ|ⲁ
Ⲁⲩⲙ̄[ⲟⲩ]ⲉ̣ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲭⲱⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲧ
ⲁ . [. .] ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲱⲱⲥ
Ⲑⲩⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲭⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲩ
ⲣ]ⲁ[ⲭ]ⲧ̀ ⲥⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲩϯ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲉⲫⲥⲁⲱⲉ
Ⲛⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲫⲉⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁ
ⲛ̣ⲁⲕ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ϯⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲗⲁⲃ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲉⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲏ
ⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲍⲃ
ⲥⲱ ⲥⲓⲭⲱⲟⲩ
ϯⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ϯⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ ϯⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲥⲁⲛ
ⲕⲁⲍ ⲁⲛⲁ̣ⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲉⲧϯⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄
ϯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ
Ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲧⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄
ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲗⲟ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄
ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲩⲗⲏ

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20 ⲉⲙⲁⲥⲉ sic: leg. ⲉⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ (?). — 29 ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ: leg. ⲱⲏⲛ.

. . . . . the sweetness of the . . . . . my deeds
illegible
thy prayers and thy fastings (νηστία) are become a crown on thy head . .
. . . . thy treasure (χρῆμα) has gone from thee to a joy of thy . . .
. . . . . therefore in the bridechambers in the new Aeon
which is full] of Light, with the soul of Mary.

CCXLVI.

Come to me, my kinsman (συγγενής), the Light, my guide.
. . . my soul, bear up: thou hast thy Saviour:
thy] defence is Christ, for he will receive thee into his Kingdom.
Since I went forth into the darkness I was given a water to drink which
. . . . me. I bear up beneath a burden which is not my own.
I am in the midst of my enemies, the beasts (θηρίον) surrounding me;
the burden which I bear is of the powers (ἀρχή) and principalities (ἐξουσία).
They burned (?) in their wrath, they rose up against me, they ran
to . . . . me, like sheep that have no shepherd.
Matter (ὕλη) and her sons divided me up amongst them, they
burnt (?) me in their fire, they gave me a bitter likeness.
The strangers with whom I mixed, me they know
not; they tasted my sweetness, they desired to keep
me with them.
I was life to them, but they were death to
me; I bore up beneath them, they wore (φορεῖν) me as a
garment upon them.
I am in everything, I bear the skies, I am the foundation, I support the
earths, I am the Light that shines forth, that gives joy to
souls.
I am the life of the world (κόσμος): I am the milk that is in all
trees: I am the sweet water that is beneath
the sons of Matter (ὕλη).

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4 ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲉϫ . .: perhaps 'thou hast not . .' — 18 i. e. the clothing of the soul in mortal flesh, as it were by smelting: the 'bitter likeness' is the body. — 19 ⲛⲉⲥⲉϩⲁⲩⲛⲉ . . . ⲉⲛ for ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϩⲁⲩⲛⲉ . . . ⲉⲛ, negat. of Pres. I (?).

. . . . . .]ϣⲉ ⲙ̄ . . . . . ⲁ|ⲉ| ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡ . . . .[. . . .
. . .]ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ . . . ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛ[ⲁⲩ]ⲧ [ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡ[. . . .
Ⲁ|ⲓ]ⲃⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲍⲁⲛⲉⲓ ϣⲁⲛ̄ϯⲭⲱⲕ ⲡⲟⲩⲱϣ[ⲉ ⲙⲡⲁ|ⲱⲧ
ⲡϣ]ⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓϫⲁ[ⲕ ⲡⲫⲟⲩⲱϣⲉ
ⲁⲃ]ⲁⲗ
Ⲉ|ⲥ] ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲓⲟⲃⲓⲁϥ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲗⲙ[ⲉ ⲁ|ⲱϣ
ⲙⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲫⲁ|ⲣⲁ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲥ|ⲏⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ [ⲡⲣⲏ ϫ|
ⲙⲡⲥ]ⲱⲧϥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ
Ⲧϯⲩϫ]ⲏ ⲃⲓⲓⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲡϫ|ⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲱⲣⲍ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲙⲣⲣⲉ [. . . .
. . .]. ⲁⲣⲉⲡⲱⲍ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲛⲉⲓⲁⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ [ⲁⲣⲟ
ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲧ]ⲉⲗⲟ ⲁⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϫⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ[ⲕⲗⲁⲙ
ⲛⲉⲁ]ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲙ̄[ⲛⲛⲁⲓ
ⲱⲛ ⲧ]ⲏⲣⲟⲩ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁ]ⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ϫⲁ|ⲟⲥ [ⲙⲛⲛⲉⲕ
ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩϫⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ[ⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> ⲥⲙⲍ <

Ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲡϫⲣⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛ[ⲉ ⲙⲡ
ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ
Ⲧⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ ⲁⲓⲛⲁϫⲥ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲁⲓ ⲡⲙ]ⲁ
ⲛ̄ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ⲍⲣ̄ⲧⲉ
Ⲛⲓϣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲥⲁϣⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲁϫⲱⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ [ⲡⲣⲏ
ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲓ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲥⲉ
Ⲧⲧϣⲁⲛⲍⲧⲏϥ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ϯⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲁ[ⲣⲁⲕ
ϫⲉⲕⲁⲛⲁⲩⲍⲕ̄ ϣⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲣ̄ⲧⲉ
Ⲱⲙⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁϣⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁϫⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲉ
ⲧⲙⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲁϯⲩϫⲏ
Ⲑⲏⲇⲟⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲗⲁⲃ ⲉⲧⲥⲁϣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ϫⲓ ϯⲡⲉ ⲙ̄[ⲙⲁⲥ . .
ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲁ[ⲣⲭⲁ|]ⲉ
ⲁϫⲱⲓ
Ⲛⲍⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲍⲩⲗⲏ ⲁⲓⲛⲁϫⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲍⲃⲉⲩ ⲉⲧ
ⲍ[ⲁ]ⲗⲃ ⲁⲓϫ|ⲧⲏ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ

10 fort. loco ⲁⲣⲁⲥ legendum ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ: 'fregisti eam'. — 27 post ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ fort. ⲧⲉⲓ supplendum, vel ⲉ(28)ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ legendum.

. . . . . I went forth to the . . . . . .
. . . the Aeons . . . they sent me forth to the . . . . .
I] bore these things until I had fulfilled the will [of my Father;
the First Man is my father whose [will] I have carried
out.
Lo,] the Darkness I have subdued; lo, the fire of the fountains [I have
extinguished] it, as the Sphere (σφαῖρα) turns hurrying round, as [the sun
[receives
the refined part of life.
O soul, raise thy eyes to the height and contemplate thy bond . . .
. . . . . thou hast reached it; lo, thy Fathers are calling thee.
Now] go aboard the Ships of Light and receive thy [garland
of glory and return to thy kingdom and rejoice with all
the Aeons].
Glory and honour to our Lord Mani [and his
holy Elect and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXLVII.

Come to me, o living Christ; come to me, o Light [of
day.
The evil body (σῶμα) of the Enemy I have cast away from me, the
abode of Darkness that is full of fear.
These bitter strangers rose up against me in (κατά) the manner
of a lion upon an ox.
O compassionate, o Paraclete, I call up to thee,
that thou wouldest turn unto me in the hour of dread.
The manifold bonds I have cast away from me, those that
are bound at all times unto my soul.
The lust (ἡδονή) of the sweetness that is bitter I have not tasted . .
. . . the fire of eating and drinking, I have not suffered them to [lord it
over me.
The gifts of Matter (ὕλη) I have cast away: thy sweet
yoke I have received in purity.

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6 cf. infr. 212, 19. — 11 cf. Jackson op. cit. pp. 41—42. — 27 cf. Plat. Philebus 46 C.

. . . . . .]. ⲉⲱⲧ . . . ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ . . .[.]ⲧⲁ ⲉⲩ[. . .
. . . . . .]ⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲁⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
. . . . . .] ⲙⲁ+ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲁⲧ [. .
. . . . . .]. ⲛⲥⲏⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲡ[ⲓⲥ
ⲧⲟⲥ]
. . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲓⲭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲣⲟ ⲁⲓ̈[. .
. . . . .]ⲉ
Ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛ]ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̣[. .
. . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲭⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈
Ⲧ[ⲱⲕ ⲧⲉ ⲧ]ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲉⲩ ⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̣[ⲁⲕ
ⲭⲓⲧ ⲁⲍⲣ]ⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲟ̄ⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
Ⲟ[ⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ]ⲟ̄ⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̣̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ[ⲥⲱ
ⲧⲡ ⲉⲧ]ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> ⲥⲙⲏ <

Ⲁ[ⲙⲟⲩ] ⲡ̣ⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄+ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ[ⲁⲩⲥⲱ
ⲧⲉ ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ+ⲍⲉ ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
Ⲛ[ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ] ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲏ̄ ϫⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈
ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲁⲓⲛⲉ] ⲁⲕⲛⲟⲩⲱⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ
ⲁⲕⲧⲥ]ⲉⲃⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
Ⲁ[ⲓⲡⲱⲣ]ϫ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ +ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ
. . . .] . . ⲁ̣ⲓ ⲑⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ]ⲁ̣ⲃⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
ⲡⲱⲛϩ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲭⲣⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲁⲣ
ⲭⲟⲩ ⲛ̣̄ⲧⲁ̣ⲡⲁⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
Ⲁ[ⲓⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡ]ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲁⲭⲱⲥ
ⲭⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛⲉ ϩⲁⲧⲉϩⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ
ⲧ̣[. . .]ⲧ̣ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲁⲣⲭ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ]ⲁⲡ ⲛⲓⲙ • ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄+ⲩⲭⲏ
ⲙⲁⲩ+ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ
Ⲁ]ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲱⲛ ⲧⲱⲙ ⲁⲡϩⲏ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲁⲙ
ⲥ]ⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡ+ϩⲉ ⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲭⲉⲟⲩ

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2 ⲉⲓⲁⲱⲓⲛⲉ valde incertum. — 4, 5 vel ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲡ[ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ. — 12 ⲙ̣̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ sic: cf. 25, 8.

. . . . . .

. . . . . me (?), I will seek to walk (?) to thee.

. . . . . give to me thy three gifts . . . .

. . . . . always thy Elect and thy faithful (πιστός?)

ones.

. . . . . the judge (κριτής) of truth, for I have received the victory, I have (?) . .

. . . . .

The Light] of my God has shone forth upon me, even me; and the . . .

. . . of Darkness I have cast them away from me.

Thine (?) is the virtue, o Perfect Man; for [thou hast taken me] up to thy Aeons of Light.

Glory and victory to our Lord the Paraclete and his holy Elect] and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCXLVIII.

Come, my Lord Jesus, the Saviour (σωτήρ) of souls, who hast saved me from the drunkenness and Error (πλάνη) of the world (κόσμος).

Thou art the Paraclete whom I have loved since my youth: thy Light shines forth in me like the lamp (λαμπάς) of light: thou hast driven away from me the oblivion of Error (πλάνη): thou hast taught me to bless God and his Lights.

I have distinguished this pair of trees of this pair of kingdoms, ... the bitter fountain and the holy essence (οὐσία) of God. The Light I have distinguished from the Darkness, life] from death, Christ and the church I have distinguished from the deceit (ἀπάτη) of the world (κόσμος).

I have known my soul and this body (σῶμα) that lies upon it, that they are enemies to each other before the creations, the . . . . . of divinity and the hostile power that are distinguished always. The body (σῶμα) of death indeed and the soul are never in accord.

The God of this Aeon has shut the heart of the unbelieving and has sunk them in his Error (πλάνη) and the deceit (ἀπάτη) of drunkenness. He has made them blaspheme

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19 ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲡ, 'scare away' vid. Crum Dict. p. 236 a. — 21 With this use of ⲥⲁϊⲱ as a feminine cf. infr. 217, 4 ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲁⲓⲥⲁϊⲱ; Keph. 153, 23 ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲁϊⲱ ⲉⲩⲥⲁ. No instances are recorded in the Lexica. — 31 cf. 2 Cor. 4, 4.

ⲁ ⲁⲡⲛⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ . . . . . ⲉ . . . . . .
. .]ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ
Ⲉⲱ]ⲭⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲙ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ [ⲙⲛ]ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧ
ⲁ]ⲛ|ⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲱ . . . [. . .]ⲉ̣ⲧ
ⲛ̣ⲧⲱⲧ̣ ⲛⲉ • ⲥ|ⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲭⲉⲩⲁ . . . . .
ⲛ]ⲩ̅ⲣ̅ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̄|ⲟⲩⲁⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲍⲱⲧ̣[ⲃⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲛⲧⲉ]ⲣⲟⲩⲥⲙ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲉⲩⲥⲁ ⲁⲩⲕⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ [ⲥ]ⲛⲡⲡⲁ̣
ⲣⲁ]ⲁⲉ|ⲥⲟⲥ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ+ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲁ
ⲃⲁⲗ] ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲱⲣ̅ⲭ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ
ⲡⲉⲧ]ⲁⲛ|ⲧ • ⲁⲕⲁ|ⲟⲩⲉ +ⲧⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲛ
Ⲭⲁⲱ]ⲃⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ . . . ⲉ̣
. . .] ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲃⲗⲉ ⲥⲉ|ⲉ ⲥ|ⲱⲏⲛ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲭⲁ|ⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̣ⲁ
. . .]. ⲁ̣ⲣ̣ⲉ|ⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲱⲩ̣ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ̣ ⲁ̣ⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲗ|ⲥ • ⲥ|ⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲁⲩ
ⲥⲁ]ⲣⲙⲉ ⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲁⲩⲣ̅ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ
Ⲧⲧ]ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲧⲣⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲱ]ⲛ̣ⲍ̣
ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲥ|ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲁⲩ
ⲣ|ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲫ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡ[.] . ọ .
ⲡ|ⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲙⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲁ|ⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲗⲏ
Ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲣ̈ⲓⲉ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲙ̄[ⲧⲉ] ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄[ⲡ
ⲡⲕ̅ⲗ̅ⲥ̅ ⲧⲁⲕⲧ|ⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲛⲉ ⲥⲱ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ [ⲛⲟⲩ
ⲭⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃ̄ⲱⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧⲗ̄ⲃⲟ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲫⲉ! ⲱ[ⲁ
ⲡⲥⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ̈ⲓ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲁ̈ⲓ̣ⲙ̣[ⲉⲣ| ⲡⲁⲥⲱ
ⲧⲏⲣ ⲁ̈ⲓⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲁ̈ⲓⲣ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓ+ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ [. . . . . ⲭⲛⲛ
ⲧⲁⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲩ̈ⲓ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ ⲁ[ⲙⲟⲩ] +ⲛⲟ̣[ⲩ ⲡⲁ
ⲭⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣ̄ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉⲓ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲓ
Ⲭⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̈ⲟ ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲁⲱ|ⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲭⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲁⲥ
ⲟⲃ̈ⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧ|ⲕⲏ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ • ⲭ| ⲙ̄
ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ [ⲛ]ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲗⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲣ|ⲧ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲡⲛⲁ
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲡⲡⲕ̅ⲗ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ

12 fort. ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲁ. — 14 leg. ⲁⲫⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ.

against the God of Truth and his . . . . . .
. . . his power and his wisdom (σοφία).
If it was God who created the evil and the good
and Christ and Satan . . . . . .
. . . . ., then who sent Jesus, that he might . . .
and work (ἐνεργεῖν) among the Jews until they slew (?) him?
When Adam and Eve were created and put in
Paradise, who was it that ordered them: 'Eat not
of the Tree', that they might not distinguish the evil from the
good? Another fought against him and made them eat of the Tree.
He] cries out in the Law (νόμος) saying: 'I am God . . . .
. . . . no cluster (?) falls from a tree without the Lord God;
. . . . to fall into a snare nor to . . . . in a city (πόλις); who then led
Adam astray and crucified (σταυροῦν) the Saviour (σωτήρ)?
The Saviour (σωτήρ) and his apostles and they that belong to the race of life
revealed the Darkness and the essence (οὐσία) of the Enemy; they
wept for the body (σῶμα) of death, the son of the great . . . .
this lion-faced dragon, and his mother also, Matter (ὕλη).
The Light has shone forth for you, o you that sleep in Hell, the knowledge
of the Paraclete, the ray (ἀκτίς) of Light; drink of the water of memory,
cast away oblivion. He that is wounded and desires healing, let him come to
the physician.
I have forsaken the world (κόσμος) and its Error (πλάνη), I have [loved my
Saviour (σωτήρ), prayed, fasted (νηστεύειν), given alms . . . [from
my youth up, because of the hour of need (ἀνάγκη). Come now, my
Lord Jesus, and help (βοηθεῖν) me.
All hail, o busy soul that has finished her fight (ἀγών) and
subdued the ruling-power (ἀρχοντική), the body (σῶμα) and its affections
(πάθος). Receive
the garland from the hand of the Judge (κριτής) and the gifts of Light, and
ascend to thy kingdom and have thy rest.
Glory and honour to our Father, the God of Truth. Victory and
blessing to his beloved son, Jesus, and his Holy
Spirit, our Lord the Paraclete, and all his holy Elect.

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3 ff. The Manichees rejected the Old Testament: e. g. Aug. contr. Faust. pp. 269—312 etc. — 11—14 The argument is that if it was God who in the Old Testament claimed responsibility for all events both great and small, then it is God who was responsible for the Fall and the Crucifixion. — 12 ⲡⲁⲇⲗⲉ cf. Crum op. cit. p. 286 b; inf. 225, 21; Keph. 57, 13. I can find no such reference in the Law: with the general sentiment cf. Mt. 10, 29. — 27 ⲭⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲓⲟ cf. 69, 30; 85, 16; 210, 14 n.

ⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ[ⲉⲁⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑ[ⲉⲟⲛⲁ

> ⲥⲙⲑ <

Ⲭ]ⲓⲧ ⲁⲍ]ⲣ[ⲏ]ⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲁⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉ[ⲉⲧ
Ⲕ̣[. . . .] . . . . ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲙⲁ† ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ .[.
. . . . . .] ⲁⲓ̈ⲣ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲁⲣ̄ⲉⲛⲉⲕ ⲱⲁⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲁ̣ⲓⲃ̣ⲉ [ⲛⲓⲙ] ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲭⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲙ̄[ⲛ
ⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲓⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫⲙ̣ⲛ̣
ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲛ̣ . . ⲁ̣ⲩⲭⲁⲗⲧ̀ ⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲱ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕ[ⲗⲏ
ⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲕ[ⲁ]ⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲫⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̀ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈
Ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲩ† ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ̣ⲕ . .[.
ⲥ̣ⲁⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲥⲩⲅⲅⲉⲛ̣[ⲏⲥ
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̣ⲕⲧⲉ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲓ̈ⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲃⲛ ⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲣⲥ̄ ⲛ̣ⲁ̣
ⲥ̣ⲛ̣ⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲁ†ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲁⲡⲭⲓ[ⲥ]ⲉ
Ⲧ]ⲱⲛ ⲥ̣ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲛ̣ⲉⲣⲫⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲃⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲫ̄
ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ[ⲟⲩ]ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲓⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲭⲁⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲧⲫ]ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲏⲧ
ⲓ]ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲫ†ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲭⲁ†ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁ̣ⲓ
. . . . . .]. . ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲁ†ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ
. . . . . .] ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲱⲧⲫ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲱⲕ ⲥⲓⲱ
ⲱⲫ . . . . . ⲕ]ⲁⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁⲭ ⲁⲭⲗⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉⲛⲁⲱⲭⲓ
ⲙⲡⲕ]ⲗⲁⲙ
Ⲥ]ⲱⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲓⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲟ • ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲃⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲫⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲫⲁ†ⲁⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲫⲙⲁⲛ
ⲱⲉ]ⲗⲉⲉⲧ̀
. .]. . ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲙⲥ̀ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲭⲓⲧⲫ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲓⲕⲗⲁⲙ
ⲉ]ⲙⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲁⲡ
Ⲧ]ⲉⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕ
ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲩⲥⲧⲉⲫⲓⲟⲥ
ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

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9 Ⲛ̣ fort. Ⲏ̣. — 14 ⲉⲓ̈ⲏⲥ sic: leg. ⲉⲓ̈|ⲏⲥ. — 24 ⲥⲱⲭⲉ cf. 60, 14.

Glory] to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

CCXLIX.

Take me] up to thy habitations, Jesus, my Bridegroom.
Thou (?) . . . . thy Aeons, o Saviour (σωτήρ), give me the victory . .
. . . . . I have become divine, I have set myself to please thee to the end.
There has been every fault in this world (κόσμος) of testing: God alone is without fault, he who has appointed me in his divinity.
. . . . . pluck me as I flourish on the pleasant tree of the church.
I am a flourishing fruit (καρπός), pure from my youth up.
Wheresoever I have gone, my brethren, they have given me my (?) . . . .
o that you were able to see the joy of my kinsmen (συγγενής)!
I traversed (?) all places in haste, I found no haven save Christ: my
brethren, the Sons of Light — they shall help me to the height.
Support one another, my brethren, do not flinch at all: we have a God that cares for us, he will aid us in his] compassion.
Jesus has helped me, he will help you, my beloved; the
. . . . . also, they will help their beloved.
. . . . . of (?) the searcher is the path whereon I have gone,
. . . . . make us free from hindrance and seeing, that we may be able to receive the garland.
Fight, o sons of Light: yet a little while and you will
be victorious. He that shirks his burden will forfeit his bridechamber.
. . . . a holy baptism which the garlanded ones receive, there being no toil from henceforth. I have become divine again even as I was.
Glory due to thee, Jesus the king of the holy ones, and thy
holy Elect. Victory to the soul of Panai, Eustephios.
Theona, and the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

6, 7 ⲁ|ⲃⲉ: vid. supr. 23, 29 n. Cf. 13, 4 ⲧⲁⲃ ⲧⲱⲗⲙⲉ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ. — 20 'beloved', fem. i. e. the church. — 22 ⲟⲩⲁⲁ ⲁⲭⲗⲉ, 'free from hindrance': ⲭⲗⲉ seems to be a nominal form from ⲭⲱⲗ(ⲉ) (cf. 53, 21; 188, 13; Hom. 12, 3; 12, 23; 18, 8; 28, 14; 31, 12), like ⲕⲗⲁⲉ from ⲕⲱⲗⲁ, ⲃⲗⲕⲉ from ⲃⲱⲗⲕ, etc. I should conjecture that it is feminine.

> · CN · <

|HC] πμονογενης cωτε ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈
Ττπ]λασμα ⲛ̄τε πκⲁⲥ +ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡ̣ . ⲛ̣ .[. . . . . .
. .]ⲁⲥⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉⲥ +ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲁ . . ⲁ̣[. . . . .
ⲛ]τε πκⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲉⲙⲡⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲛ̣ . . .[. . . . . .
ⲥⲓ]ⲧⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ̄ⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ +ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲁ|ⲁ]ⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲁ|ⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . . ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ . . .
. .] ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ +ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̣ⲛ̣ⲡ̣ⲉ|
ⲛⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡ|+ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥ|ⲟⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ
+ⲣⲫ]ⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ̄ⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ
Ⲱ πⲛ]ⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲁⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲩⲗⲏ πⲱⲣⲱ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲉ ⲁ̣
ⲭⲛ]ⲡⲁⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ • +ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲥⲁⲩⲍⲥ̄ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲃⲣⲣ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲭ| ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲕⲱⲡⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲛⲏ|] ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲃⲣⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
|]ⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ+ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ • |ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲍⲣⲏⲍⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲧ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ |ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲫⲱ
ⲥⲧⲏⲣ • |ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ • |ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡ
ⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲁⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲍ
ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲕ+ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ
ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲕⲭⲓ ⲡ̣ⲟ̣ⲣ̣ⲟ̣
ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ +ⲛⲟⲩ +ⲧ̣ⲱⲃ̣[ⲍ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ
+ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁ̣ⲡ̣ⲁ̣[ⲍ
ⲣⲁⲩ ⲱ ⲡⲱⲁⲛⲍⲧⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲭⲱⲕⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈
ⲛ̄ⲕⲓ̈ⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲁ|ⲃⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲉ+ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ • ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ
ⲁⲩⲫⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲱⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲍⲓⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ • ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ
ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟ
ⲡⲗⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕ

14 ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ sic; ⲡⲉⲃⲣⲟ sic.

CCL.

Jesus] the only-begotten (μονογενής), save me.
The πλάσμα of the earth I will put off me: the . . . . . .
old . . . I will forsake it, the fire of the . . . . . .
of guile, the camp (παρεμπολή) of the enemies . . . . . .
through the armour of the Paraclete I will conquer them.
I have] renounced (ἀποτάσσεσθαι) thee, o devil (διάβολος); the angels of the . .
. . . . of the demons. I will strip myself of the world (κόσμος) and the likeness (?) of these five stars, and I will destroy the guile of the Archons
which I wear (φορεῖν) and I will shine in the remembrance of the Paraclete.
O Mind (νοῦς) that subdues (δαμάζειν) the Matter (ὕλη), spread thy mercy upon my spirit. I will anchor in thy congregation, I the new (?) man, and receive all the gifts which thou hast promised me], which are the victory in thy eternal kingdom.
Jesus is the first gift that was given: Jesus is the holy flower of the Father: Jesus is the first to sit upon the luminaries (φωστήρ): Jesus is the Perfect Man in the Pillar (στῦλος): Jesus is the resurrection of them that have died in the church.
Thou art he that delivered me to the fight (ἀγών) in the beginning: thou art the second who didst give me thy right hand: thou too art the third who didst shine forth with thy Light for me. Thou too didst receive the victory (?) in the fourth war (πόλεμος). Save me now, I beseech thee, my Lord.
I call unto thee, o victor eternal: hear my cry, o compassionate one, and let thy members (μέλος) cleanse me, and do thou wash me in thy holy waters and make me spotless, even as I am. Lo, the time has drawn near, may I return to my habitations.
Thou art the way, thou art the door of life eternal, in truth the son of God, my Saviour, who has taught me to wear (φορεῖν) his holy commandments (ἐντολή). The weapons (ὅπλον) of the enemy — I bring them to the ground, thy

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7 cf. Polotsky, Muséon 46, p. 271. — 9 cf. Keph. Kap. LXIX. ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ̄ = 'tollere', vid. 17, 12 n. — 17 cf. Mani-Fund p. 66 g. — 22 cf. Keph. 59, 19. — 27 ⲁⲓⲃⲉ, vid. supr. 23, 29 n.

. . . . . ϣω]ⲡⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲙⲙⲁⲛⲉ
. . . . . .]. . ⲱⲧⲉ . . . ⲣ . . ϣⲁⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧ[.
. . . . . ⲕⲁⲗ]ⲭ ⲡⲉⲧ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲩ[ⲉ
. . . . . .]ⲧ̀ ⲥⲏⲧⲕ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲧ[ⲏ
ⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲩⲧ]ⲉ [ⲟ]ⲩⲃⲏⲕ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲩ
ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲧⲁⲕ] ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ+ ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲙⲁⲣ[ⲓⲁ

> · $\overline{\text{CNA}}$ · <

|ⲏⲥ ⲡⲙⲟ]ⲛⲟⲅⲉ[ⲛⲏⲥ] ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲉ +[. .
. . . . . .] . . . [. . .] ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛϣⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ
. . . . . .] . . . ⲛ̣ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ . ⲁ . . ⲁ̣ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟ[ⲥ
. . . .] . ⲉ̣ⲛⲟⲥ . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲉⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲥ|ⲥⲉ
. . . . . .]. . . ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲕ̣ⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲇⲟⲥ ⲙⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲥ [. . .
.[. . . . .]ⲭⲉ̣ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲱϣⲙⲉ ⲥⲛ̣ⲡⲥ|ⲛⲏⲃ ⲛ̣ⲧⲁ̣[. . .
Ⲟⲩ[. . . .]. . . ⲛⲏⲓ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓⲥⲱⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲕ̄ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡ̣ . [. . .
ⲙ̣[. . . . .]ⲙⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲛ+ⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲟ. . . .[. .]. . . . ⲉⲥⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲓⲭⲁⲕ̄ⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ . . .
ⲉ̣ⲧ . . . . . ⲡⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ[ⲭⲁ]ⲉ̣
Ⲫⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣ̣ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲱ
ⲧ[ⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲩ]ⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲫ. . . . ⲙ̣[ⲡⲉ]ⲭ̄ⲣⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ̀ ⲡϣⲗⲏⲗ
ⲙ̣[ⲛⲧⲛ]ⲏ[ⲥⲧ]ⲓⲁ ⲑⲁⲗⲃϣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲁ
. . [. . . . . ⲉⲧⲟ]ⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲍⲓⲓⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ
ⲡ̣[ⲱⲣⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲧⲧⲡ̣ . . . . . ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ • ⲛⲉ
ϣⲁⲩⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ϣⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲭⲁⲭⲉ
Ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁϣⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ • ⲁⲕⲉⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲁⲕⲛⲁⲍⲙⲉⲧ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ
Ⲁ̈ⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲕⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲁ̈ⲓ
ⲣⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏ
ⲧⲟⲩ.

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4 fort. ϭⲱϣ]ⲧ ⲥⲏⲧⲕ̀, cf. 65, 2. — 10 fort. ⲉⲩⲣ̄ϣⲁ̈ⲓⲉ. — 13 fin. fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ̣[ⲩϣⲏ: 'noctu'. — 23 ⲡⲱⲣⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ: cf. Hom. 9, 8.

. . . . . being to me a landing-place.
. . . . . for ever; thou art the . .
. . . . . bend the knee to thee; the armies (στράτευμα) of the skies
are looking] for thee; thou also art he unto whom all generations (γενεά)
call]; thou also art the seal (σφραγίς) of every
wonder (θαῦμα); thou also art he who shall give the victory to the soul
of Mary.

CCLI.

Jesus] the only-begotten (μονογενής), the son of God on high, I . . .
. . . . . in thy bridechambers.
. . . . . the holy . . . ., they . . . . the maiden,
. . . . . maiden (παρθένος?) . . . the reward of her labours.
. . . . . my garlands, my vessels (κάδος) are filled with oil . . . .
. . . . . extinguished (?), they have not gone out through (?) sleep . . .
I have (?) . . . . with which I fought against the . . . .
. . . . . death (?) until I had conquered him.
There is (?) a straight . . . . . which I have finished . . . .
. . . . . faith, o son of God on high.
The murderous snake, the enemy of virginity (παρθενία), I have not
listened to his laws (νόμος) and his lying words.
The . . . . . of Christ is perfect virginity (παρθενία), prayer
and fasting (νηστία?), the armour of our spirit.
The holy . . . . ., the lamb of God on high, who has
plucked out] the root of the tree of sin.
The holy . . . . . ., the mooring-harbour of life: they
that moor in thee are saved from their enemies.
I am thy sheep: thou art my good (ἀγαθός) shepherd. Thou camest
after me and didst save me from the destructive wolves.
I listened to thy words, I walked in thy laws (νόμος), I
became a stranger in the world (κόσμος) for thy name's sake, my God.
Glory to the King of Light, the Father of all the Aeons, and
his holy angels of whom not one has transgressed (παραβαίνειν).

16 'straight', 'which', femin. — 29 cf. Corp. Herm. 13, 1 ἀπηλλοτρίωσα τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ φρόνημα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ἀπάτης.

. . . . .] ⲙⲙⲛⲉ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡⲥⲟⲟ[ⲩ . . . . . ⲥⲓⲉⲣ
ⲟ]ⲩⲥⲁⲗ[ⲏⲙ] ⲛ̄[ⲙ]ⲡⲛⲩⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ [. . . . . .
ⲦⲦ]ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁ[ⲙ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡ . [. . . . . .
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲉϥⲙⲟⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲉϥⲣⲁϊ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁϥ [
ⲦⲦ]ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ[. . .]. .[
ⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲃⲱⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲁϧⲟⲩϊ̈ⲧⲉ [. . . . . .
Ⲛⲉ]ϊ̈ⲉⲧϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲁϥⲥⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ . . . .[. . ⲟⲩⲁ
ϊ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ . . . . . ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲫⲁⲱⲛⲥ̄ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ
Ⲟⲩ]ⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁϊ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲣ̅ⲣ̅ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛⲉϥⲥⲱ
ⲧ]ⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

> · ϹⲚⲂ̄ · <

ⲓⲏⲥ] ⲡⲟⲩⲁϊ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ☩ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̄ ⲙⲙⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁ
ⲁⲧ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ
Ⲧ]ⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲡⲁϊ̈ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲥⲱⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲥ̄ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . .
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲡⲣ̄ϊ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ☩ⲩⲭⲏ
Ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲥⲧⲁϊ̈ⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲓ ⲱⲁⲣⲁϊ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲧⲙⲁⲧⲉⲃⲧⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲉ☩ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲡⲃⲣⲁⲃⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁⲁⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲧⲉⲕⲃⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ [ⲙⲡⲙⲏ]ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲏ
ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲩⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲧⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲉⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈
ⲉ̈ⲛⲏⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲕ
☩ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩⲣⲉ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁ
ⲣⲁⲓ • ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲥ̄ⲕ̀ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ
Ⲱⲥⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲑⲣ̄ⲧⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲱⲡ ⲁⲧⲥⲁⲩⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲧ
ⲥⲏⲧ̀ • ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁϊ̈ⲥ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁϊ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩⲧ
ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲧⲉⲕⲟ
Ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ̀ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲟ ⲱ ⲡⲡⲣ̄ϊ̈ⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲭⲱ
ⲥⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓ̀ⲧ̀ ⲡⲁⲥⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲏⲧ
☩[ⲛ]ⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲥⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲱⲁⲥⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ̈
ⲃ̀ⲉ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲉ̈ⲱⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲟ ⲉⲕⲧⲙ̄ⲭⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲁ
ⲭⲁ̈ⲥ

. . . . . in truth, Jesus, the day . . . . . .
Jerusalem of the skies, the church . . . . . .
Rest to the power of God, the cross (σταυρός) of . . . . . .
of the universe, filling the universe and guarding it.
Holiness to the holy Spirit, the wisdom (σοφία) of the . . . . . .
of Truth that reveals the beginning . . . . . .
Blessed is every man that has known the . . . . . .
Light (?). . . . . and his wisdom (σοφία), for he shall live for ever.
Glory and honour to Jesus, the king of the holy ones and his
holy Elect and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

CCLII.

Jesus,] the Light of the faithful (πιστός), I beseech thee, do not
forsake me.
The beautiful image (εἰκών), my Father, — reveal it to me . . .
and thy unsullied brightness, the confirmation of my soul.
Let it arise and come unto me quickly, even the army of
thy angels. The garland and the victory which I would receive and
the prize (βραβεῖον) of glory.
Do not forsake me, even me thy slave, in the presence of the
sons of Matter (ὕλη): do not allow any of the demons to prevail over me
as I come unto thee.
I see a merciless crowd like vultures surrounding me:
Jesus, reveal thyself to me in the day of my need (ἀνάγκη).
Sever the nets of fear and . . . . . the company of these
foolish men; and do thou guard thy sheep of Light from the wild destructive
wolves.
Reveal thy face to me, o holy and unsullied brightness;
for thou art my good shepherd, my true merciful
physician.
I see a great dread from the earth up to the skies; woe
is me therefore: where can I escape unless thou ferry me across, my Lord?

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2 cf. Gal. 4, 26. — 16 ⲙⲁⲧⲉⲃⲧⲉ: vid. Polotsky, Hom. p. XIX. — 19; 25 'Slave' and 'sheep' are feminine in these lines, agreeing with 'soul'. — 24 I do not understand the meaning of ϣⲱⲡ here: it does not seem to be covered by Crum's article, Dict. pp. 574 b ff.

. . . . . .]ⲙⲁϩⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ . [.
. . . . .]. . . . . ⲓⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲱⲧ ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁ.
. . . . . .]ⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ
. . . . . .].ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϩ ⲡⲉⲱⲁϩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϩ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲛⲁⲱⲧ[ⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϩⲱⲣⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ
ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲥⲧⲟⲥ
Ⲉϩⲱⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛϫϩ̄ ⲛⲏⲒ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲛⲁⲧⲗⲃⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϫⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲃ[ⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁϩⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲛⲏⲒ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲒⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲒⲛⲁⲱϩ . [.
ϫⲁⲡⲥⲧⲣ̄ⲧⲣ̄ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲩ
ⲀⲒⲃⲓ ϫⲁⲡϫⲉⲡ ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲱ ⲛⲏⲒ • ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲉϩⲥⲓϩⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϩ
ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
Ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲒ ϫⲱⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲙⲡⲱⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϩⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉ[ⲧ
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁⲒⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲛⲉϩⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ[ϩ
ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ
Ϥⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲃⲓⲛⲡⲱⲧ ⲱ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲁϩⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ
ϫⲉ ⲁⲒⲱⲙⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϫⲏⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲣⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓϩⲁⲓⲟⲥ
ⲀⲒⲃⲓ ϫⲁⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲁⲛⲁϩ ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲡϫⲣⲁⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ
ⲛⲉⲩϩⲓϫⲱⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ
ϫⲱⲧ̀ ⲁϩⲁⲁⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϩ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲒⲥ
Ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧϥⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ϥⲉϥⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲗ
ϫⲉ ⲉⲒⲛⲁⲱϫⲱⲃⲉ ⲉⲒⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲁⲛⲉϥⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡⲉ
ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲒⲁⲒⲧ
ⲀⲒⲡⲱϩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲥϫⲓ ⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲒ ⲉⲛ ϫⲁⲡ
ϥⲉϥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲧⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲣⲙⲉ ⲛⲏⲒ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲗⲏ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ϫⲏⲧ
†ⲱⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡϫ̄ϩⲙⲁⲧ ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲡϩⲟⲩⲣⲓ̀ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲒⲥ ⲁ
ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲱϥ ⲛⲉ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲱⲃⲏⲣ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲃⲓⲛⲡⲱⲧ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲒⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧϫ̄ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲒⲧ
Ⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉϫ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉϫ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ
ⲣⲓ̀ⲧ̀ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉϫ̄ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄

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7 ⲱⲃ[ⲁ incertum: fort. ⲱⲱ[ⲛⲉ: 'morbus'. — 8 fin. exspectavisses ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲱⲃⲓ. — 19 ϫⲟⲩ sic.

. . . . . blessed (μακάριος), who was crucified (σταυροῦν) . . .
. . . . . I myself proclaim him, saying, 'Be . . . . . .
. . . . . Light'.
. . . . . thou art he that purifies them: thou art the defence
of thy sons: thou art the resurrection of the dead,
the true Light of the faithful (πιστός).
When thou appearest unto me I shall be healed of the wound (?)
of my sins. Thou hast shone forth on me, my Lord, that I may be able to . .
beneath the alarm of death.
I have endured the judgment that was appointed me: help me, o Saviour (σωτήρ),
my God. Let me see thy image (εἰκών) and the gifts of thy
angels.
Make me, even me, worthy of thy holy
bridechambers, for I have loved thy holy ones like thee thyself,
my Saviour (σωτήρ).
Thou bearest witness of my course, o blessed (μακάριος) Light,
that I have ministered to the widows (χήρα), the orphans (ὀρφανός), the
Righteous (δίκαιος).
How much have I borne, even I the soul, the burden of the body (σῶμα) which
was upon me. I have not forsaken thy faith: do not
forsake me, my Lord.
Disperse the dark cloud that is before my eyes,
that I may be able to cross rejoicing to thy honoured
habitations.
It has been granted me to see thy Light: I have no concern therefore with the
darkness. Let no man weep for me therefore. Lo, the gates (πύλη)
of Light have opened before me.
I thank thee, my Saviour (σωτήρ), the watcher that guards
them that are his, that my whole voyage and my course
have not been made in thee in vain.
Glory to thee, o God of Truth, and thy beloved son
Jesus, and thy holy Spirit. Victory to the soul of

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2 Perhaps 'Be mindful of me', reading ⲁⲣ|ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲩⲉ. — 17 Righteous i. e. the manich. Elect: vid. Burkitt op. cit. p. 129 s. v. Zaddīk. — 21 ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ̀: 'tollere', vid. 17, 12 n. — 24 lit. 'I have succeeded in seeing': vid. Crum Dict. p. 282 a.

ⲡⲗⲟⲩ]ⲥⲓⲁⲛⲉ ⲑⲉ[ⲟ]ⲛⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲓ ⲭⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

> · ϹΝΓ · <

ⲧⲧ]ⲭ̄ⲣⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲁⲡⲛ̄ⲙⲁ[ⲛ]ⲱ[ⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲙ[ⲟⲩ ⲛⲁ]ⲥ̣ⲛ̣ⲏ̣ⲩ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲕⲗⲁⲙ
ⲧ[ⲁ]ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲣⲉ]ⲱⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲓ̈ ⲛⲁⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲡⲧ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲓ̈
ⲭⲓ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲕⲗⲁⲙ
Ⲟⲩ]ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲃⲓⲧⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲟⲩ
ⲭⲣ]ⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲥⲁⲛⲉ ⲃ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲥ·
Ⲉ]ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏⲩ · ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲁ
ⲱ]ⲱⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲛⲧⲕ̄ ⲁⲩⲫⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲁⲱⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲥ·
Ⲉⲓ]ⲉ ⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲁⲕⲕ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲓ̈ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̄ ⲁⲡⲕⲣⲟ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲃⲁⲥⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲍⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲍⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉ ⲧⲱⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
Ⲛ]ⲉⲓ̈ⲍⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲛⲱ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲓⲃⲓ̈ⲏⲛ ⲉⲩⲃⲏⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲭⲙⲁⲗⲱⲧⲟⲥ ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛⲁⲥ·
Ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲁⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲥⲓⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲙⲡⲁ†ⲃⲛ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ
ⲙ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ†ⲧⲟⲟⲧ·
Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲍⲁⲡⲍⲙⲁⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲟⲩⲭⲁ
ⲣⲓⲥ ⲁⲥⲧⲉⲍⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ·
Ⲭⲓ ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲩ ⲁⲧⲉⲩ
ⲍⲁⲏ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲕⲗⲁⲙ
Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲥⲉ
ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲃⲧⲉ ⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲁⲥ·
Ⲥⲉⲡⲏⲧ ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲱⲁⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲍⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲍ
ⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛⲁⲥ·
Ⲁ̈ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲁ
ⲧⲥⲁ]ⲣⲥ̣ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ · ⲛⲁⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ⲁⲓ̈ⲍⲱⲧⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲥ·
Ⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲛ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲍⲓⲛⲉⲩⲧⲉⲃⲥⲉ · ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲍⲁⲗⲧ̄

3 ⲱⲁⲧⲡ̄ sic: leg. ⲱⲁⲡⲧ̄. — 7 ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲡⲧ̄ sic cf. Hom. p. XVIII. — 15 ⲉⲩⲃⲏⲩ: leg. ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲩ.

Plousiane, Theona, Mary, Pshai, Jmnoute.

CCLIII.

Christ, my bridegroom, has taken me to his bridechamber,
I have rested with him in the land (χώρα) of the immortal. My brethren,
I have received my garland.
My] land (χώρα) I have beheld, my Fathers I have found, the godly
have rejoiced over me, my Aeons have welcomed me. My brethren, I have
received my garland.
There is a gain, my brethren, none shall be able to take it from me:
an imperishable treasure (χρῆμα), to which thieves find not the way. My
I am like a sheep seeking for its pastor; lo, my
true shepherd I have found, he has brought me to my fold again. My
Lo, the fight (ἀγών) I have finished; lo, my ship I have brought to the shore,
no storm has overwhelmed it, no wave has seized it.
I was sitting marvelling, like poor men that have been taken
prisoner (αἰχμάλωτος): adoration to the mercy of the Father. My
I was heading for shipwreck before I found the ship of Truth;
a divine tacking was Jesus who helped me.
Who then shall be able to tell of the gift that came to me? An
unspeakable grace (χάρις) overtook me. My brethren
Take unto you the word of Truth, o men that love
God: The world (κόσμος) is nothing, there is no gain in it
at all. My brethren, I have received my garland.
Men are thinking that they are at rest; yet
they know not that trouble is preparing for them. My
They run and burst forth until the hour overtakes them. They have been
called, they have not understood; they have gone too and fro in vanity. My
I have despised (καταφρονεῖν) the world (κόσμος) so as to give life unto my soul:
the things of the flesh (σάρξ) I have forsaken, the things of the Spirit I
have been in accord with them. My
Since I found my Saviour I have walked in his steps. I have not hung

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10 etc. 'My': i. e. the sentence in 4—5 'My . . . garland' is to be repeated at the end of each verse. — 17 cf. 87, 27 ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲏⲧ. The meaning of ⲧⲱⲛϩ ⲁ- seems to be 'to be about to', like ⲛⲟⲩⲉ, which does not occur in this book. Possibly it is a secondary form from ϩⲱⲛ. — 18 i. e. θεία ἐπιστροφὴ ἦν Ἰησοῦς ὁ βοηθήσας ἐμοί: J. by aiding me enabled me to tack and so to avoid shipwreck. — 22 lit. 'there is no gain to its end'. — 30 ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩⲁⲗⲧ̄ vid. Crum Dict. p. 666 b.

ⲁ]ⲡ[ⲁ]ⲥⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲗⲁⲁⲙ ⲁⲭⲓⲧⲏ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏ[ⲩ
Ⲱ] ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲉϣⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲃⲧⲁⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲡⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲱ[. .
. . .] ⲧⲏ[ⲣ]ⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲁ[ⲥ
ⲁ̣ⲡ[. . . . .]. . . . . ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲃⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲙ̣
ⲡ[. . . . .]ⲟⲥ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲛ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ☥ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ[ⲣⲓⲁ
ⲕ̣ⲗⲉⲟⲡⲁⲧⲣⲁ

> · CNΔ · <

ⲁⲩ☥ⲟⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲥⲓⲧⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲁⲭⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣ[ⲝ
ⲁⲕⲭⲓ ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲭⲁⲁⲭⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ[ⲟⲩ
Ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲭⲣⲥ ⲕⲛⲁⲥⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ☥ⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̣[ⲁ
ⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲃⲉ ⲉⲕⲃⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
Ⲕⲣ̣ⲉϣⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲧⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ • ⲥⲧⲟⲓ̈ⲉ ⲥⲓ
ⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲧⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲕⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲕⲁⲟⲩ
ⲱⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ
Ⲧⲉϩⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣϩ ⲁⲕⲭⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲕ
ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲁⲥⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲁⲕ . . ⲕ̣ ⲛ̣ⲛⲱⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄☥ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
ⲕⲱⲱⲥ • ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲉⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲱⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲱⲉ ⲁⲛ
ⲛ̣ . . ⲁ̣ⲧⲉ̣
ⲁⲕⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲃⲥⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲕⲥⲱⲙ
ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲥⲓⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲕⲁⲡⲁⲧⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲥⲉ
Ⲛⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏⲁⲟⲛⲏ ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄☥ⲩ
ⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲭⲓ☥ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲥⲙⲉ
ⲁⲕ☥ⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲱ
ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟ̄ⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲣⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ☥ⲛⲟⲩ
Ⲥⲉⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉ̣ⲗⲟⲥ
ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲏⲧⲉ
ⲦⲦⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲓ̄ⲏⲥ ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲡ̀ . . . . ⲙ̣ⲛ̣ⲧ̀ . . . . • ⲉⲩⲁ☥

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1 ⲁ]ⲡ[ⲁ]ⲥⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ HT: ipse haeseram. — 5 an ⲡ[ⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣ]ⲟⲥ collato Eph. 6, 16? — 20 fort. ⲁⲕⲱⲉⲕⲧ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲏⲩ.

back at all in respect of this garland to receive it. My brethren
O how great is the joy that is prepared for the Perfect . . .
. . . . all of you, my brethren, we inherit (κληρονομεῖν) it. My
. . . . . against this deceitful friend; the darts of
the . . . . . ye have conquered them. My
Glory and honour to Jesus, the king of the holy ones, and his
holy Elect. Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary,
Cleopatra.

CCLIV.

Thou hast been released from the grievous bonds of the flesh (σάρξ):
thou hast been garlanded in justification over all thy enemies.
The joyous Image (εἰκών) of Christ — thou shalt have thy fill of it now:
go thy way therefore victoriously to thy city (πόλις) of Light.
Thou art glad because thou hast mixed with the holy angels: upon thee is
set the seal (σφραγίς) of thy glorious purity.
Thou art joyful because thou hast seen thy divine brethren with whom thou
shalt dwell in the Light for ever.
The authority (ἐξουσία) of the flesh (σάρξ) — thou hast passed quickly
beyond it: thou hast
ascended like a swift bird into the air (ἀήρ) of the Gods.
Thou hast . . . . the nets (?) of souls which is Hades of the
dead: therefore shall they not be able to compel thee to serve the
. . . . .
Thou hast thrown upon the earth the garment of sickness: thou hast trodden
upon overweening pride which is deceitful (-ἀπάτη) and cruel.
The bitter darts of lust (ήδονή), the murderers of souls,
thou hast not tasted, thou, o holy son
undefiled.
Thou hast put to shame the demons and devils of fire: the rivers
of dread marvel at thee now.
They summon thee today to dwell with the angels,
because thou hast left the land of the . . . . men of Hades.
The Saviour (σωτήρ) Jesus, lo, he has . . . . . may he give

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1 I have translated this line literally in order to illustrate the use of ϩⲁⲗⲗ̄ in 63, 30. — 8 Cleopatra, vid. Introd. II. — 10 This use of ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄- in the sense of ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄- is notable. — 23 Lit. 'of sicknesses'. — 31 ⲉⲓ̈ⲏⲧⲉ: cf. 70, 25 ⲉⲛⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓ̈ⲏⲧⲉ; Hom. 3, 16]ⲉⲓ̈ⲏⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ; 79, 12—13 ⲧⲛⲟⲩ [ⲥⲱⲥⲧ ⲁϫⲛⲧⲁ?]ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲏⲧⲉ: vid. 149, 20 n.

. .]. .[. . . .]. . . NEK ⲁKNAE [. . . . . .
.]TMATE[BT]E BAϣ̄ ABAΛ ⲁⲡⲕⲁ[. . . . . .
. . .] BE EKTHK ⲛ̄ZHT ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓOC ETOY[ABE . . . . . .
. . .]. . . . . ABAΛ Zⲛ̄TANAΓ[KH . . . . . .
. .]. . . . Aϣ̄ XWME ENⲁΛ . .[. . . . . .
. . .]. . . ⲁⲡⲣⲉϥ+ⲥⲉⲡ ⲡⲉ+ⲱⲣⲥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ .[. . . .
. . . .]. . ⲉⲓⲭⲱϥ ⲙ̄ⲡOYⲁⲒNE Aϥ+ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲛ . . . Λ[.
. . .]. . BE +NOY XE AKⲭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡBAE ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ . . . ⲛ̄TAK ⲡⲭ[.
. .]. ⲕⲟⲒNE ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲕ . . ! . . . . .
. . . .]. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲁⲛⲓⲉⲧⲭⲏⲩ ⲉⲧ[. .]. . . . .[. . . . .
. . .]. . . . ⲙⲟⲩ . . ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲕⲧⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ . . .[.
. .]ⲙⲟⲩ
. . . .]ⲩⲛ ⲡⲁϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲕⲭⲱⲕ ⲁBAΛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ[ⲕⲁⲅⲱⲛ
ⲁ]ⲕⲧⲁⲒⲖⲉ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲕⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ ⲙ̄ .[. . .
+NACMOY BE ZWT +NOY ⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[. . . . .
+[NA]EMAZTE ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣⲙ̄ⲓⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲭⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛ̀
TNOYTE
Ⲁⲕⲣ̄BAΛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲛⲟⲁⲓϣⲉ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲁⲕⲧ[. . .
ⲉⲕⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̄
Ⲁⲕⲧⲉⲍⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲁⲙ ⲙⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲁϣ ⲛ̄ⲍ[ⲏⲧϥ ⲉ
ⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲍⲕⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲙ . . .[. . . . .
ⲥⲱⲙⲁ
Ⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [. . . . . .
ⲫⲧⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲍⲛⲉⲕ ⲁⲣⲉϣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲍⲱⲥ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲛ̀[ⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲁⲕⲃⲣⲟ ⲱ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲕ+ ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲉⲧ[ⲁⲩⲣⲥⲡⲟⲩ
ⲁⲏ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲒ ϣⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲫⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁ[ⲍ
ⲧ[ⲉ ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · CNE · <

Ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲕ̄ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲒ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ
Ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲒ ⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲒ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲒ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲉ +ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲁⲒⲱϣ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲒ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲍⲣⲁⲩ
ⲉⲧⲧⲁ[ⲭ]ⲁⲒⲧ ⲉⲓⲫⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲉϥⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄+ⲩ
ⲭⲁⲩⲉ

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2 cf. 60, 3—4. — 8 fort. ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ. — 10 ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲩ sic, cf. 42, 18. — 14 fin. fort. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ.

. . . . . to thee, thou hast been merciful . . . .
the army looks to the . . . . . .
. . . . . therefore thou being confident, o holy Righteous (δίκαιος) one . .
. . . . . from the need (ἀνάγκη) . . . .
. . . . . read books . . . . . .
. . . . . the judge who sees the universe . . . . .
. . . . . of Light, he has given (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . therefore now, for thou hast received the palm . . . . thou . .
. . . find (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . harbour; the ships which . . . . . have . . . . . .
. . . . . thee with the rays (ἀκτίς) of the . . . . . .
death.
. . . . . my son, thou hast finished thy [fight (ἀγών),
thou hast ascended on high from us, thou hast left behind . . . .
I myself therefore now will praise the strength of the . . . .
I will] restrain my tears because of the perfection of thy
godliness.
Thou hast quickly escaped from the fearful . . .; thou hast . . . .
at rest to the Paradise (παράδεισος) of life.
Thou hast reached the place wherein there is neither heat nor cold,
where there is neither hunger nor thirst, and the . . . . . .
body (σῶμα).
Thou art worthy of the Paradise (παράδεισος) of the Gods . . . . .
not preventing thee from rejoicing and singing unto God (?).
Thou hast been victorious, o Mani, thou hast given the victory to them that
have shown zeal (σπουδή?) for God, to thy Elect and thy faithful
and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCLV.

Stand with me in the hour of need (ἀνάγκη).
Come to me quickly, come to me, Jesus, come to me, my strong
God. I worship thee, I have called up to thee in a cry
of innocence; for I know that thou art the redeemer of souls.

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18 ϭⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲉ, vox ignota: cf. Keph. 154, 6. — 21 perhaps we should restore ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲙⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲕⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ: 'and the pains leave the body'.

. . . . . .]ⲙ̄ⲗⲟⲟⲥ ϫⲛ̄ⲁⲛ . . . .[. . . . .]ⲥ[. .
. . . . . .]ⲛ̣[ⲧⲙ]ⲁⲧⲉⲃⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲧⲙ̣ . ⲁ[. . . .]ⲛⲁ .[.
. . . . . .]. . ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲕ̣[ⲁ]ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁ̣[ⲣⲡ
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .] ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧ†ⲥⲟ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲁⲥ[ⲣⲏ
. . . . .]ⲛ̄ . . . . ⲥⲏⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡⲗⲟⲛ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁ̣[. .
ⲛ .[. . .]. . . . . ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲥⲁⲣⲝ̣ • †ⲛⲟⲩ ⲃⲉ † .[. . . .
. . . . .]. . . . . ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ
Ⲛ[ⲧⲁⲕ . .]. . . ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲡⲉ†ⲃⲁⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲏⲧ̣[ⲩ . . .
. . .]. . . ⲡ̣ . ⲡⲉ ⲧⲱ̄ⲣⲱ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ . . . .[. . .
. . . .]. . . . ⲙ̣̄ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲁⲓⲧ ϫⲉ ⲛ̣[. . . . . .
. . . . .]. ⲛ̄ⲥⲣ̄ⲧⲉ
Ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ] ⲡ̣ⲁⲕ̣ⲁⲥⲧⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ[ⲕ . .
. . . . . .]ⲧⲕ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲕⲁ|ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲟⲗⲱⲥ ⲉ|ⲛ̣ .
. . . . . .]ⲩ ⲉ|ⲙⲏⲧ| ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲕ̀ ⲡⲉ†ⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ̣
. . . . . Ⲃ|]ⲓⲉⲧ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲁⲥⲁⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲓ̈ⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧ . . ⲛ̣
. . . . . ⲓ]ⲏ̄ⲥ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲁⲥⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲛ̄ⲕⲙⲏ
ⲙⲉ . . .]. . ⲉⲥⲥⲧⲱⲧ ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄
|ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲁⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ †ⲱⲱ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ|ⲛⲉ| ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲙ̣ⲡⲥⲱⲙ]ⲁ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲕⲁⲁⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ
ⲥⲛⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲑⲣⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩⲧ̀
Ⲙⲁ̣ⲣⲓⲙ]ⲯⲁ ⲥⲱⲱⲧ ⲁⲧⲣⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈
ⲥ̣ⲓⲉ̣ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲥⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲉ ⲡⲡ|ⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥ̣ⲕ̣ⲁ|ⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲙⲉⲥ
Ⲁ̈ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁ̈ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ϫⲉ
ⲉⲩ [ⲡ]ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲏ ⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲏ ⲉⲩ
ⲡ̣ⲉ ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀
ⲏ ⲉⲩ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ
Ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲟⲙ ⲣⲉⲧ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁ̈ⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩ
ⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭ| ⲙ̣̄ⲃⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|
ⲕⲱ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲉⲍⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲫ . . . ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲭ|ⲟⲩⲉ
Ⲧⲧⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲍ|ⲓⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲕ̣[. .]ⲧⲏ̣[. . . . . .

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1 fort. ϫⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ. — 14, 15 an ⲥⲟⲗⲱⲥ ⲉ|ⲛⲁ̣[ⲍⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁ]ⲩ? — 16, 17 fort. ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ |ⲏ̄ⲥ̄. — 18 ante ⲉⲥⲥⲧⲱⲧ fort. ⲛⲁⲡⲱⲧ vel ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ supplendum. — 31 ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲛⲉ HT: an ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲉ coll. Mt. 6, 19? — 32 fort. ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ cf. Hom. 29, 7.

. . . . . wars from everlasting (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . the whole army . . . . . .
. . . . . the Saviour (σωτήρ) of the earths in the beginning (?)
. . . . . .
They all . . . . . without sparing, they rose up
. . . . . sword and their weapons (ὅπλον) that they might
. . . . . of my flesh (σάρξ). Now therefore I . . . .
. . . . . the evil one.
Thou . . . . . the Saviour (σωτήρ) for whom I expectantly look,
. . . . . art the harbour and the sign of the . . . . . .
my Light that is honoured; for (?) . . . . .
. . . . . fearful.
Thou art] my trust, thou also art my strength; thou
. . . . . of my soul. There is no other God at all (ὅλως) . . .
. . . . . him save (εἴμητι) thee alone whom I serve.
. . . . . lift] up my eyes everywhere, praying to thee who . . .
. . . Jesus my Light on high, in terror of whom
the dark night . . . .
Jesus, my] Light, I cry unto thee in the hour of the going forth
from the body], do not, my Light, do not forsake me
in the midst] of the wild beasts (θηρίον).
Let] me be worthy also to see thy Maiden for whose sake
I have toiled, who brings all the gifts
of the faithful (πιστός), and her three angels that are with her.
I have known and understood that which is and that which shall be:
what is mortal and (ἤ) what on the other hand is immortal; and (ἤ) what
is the King of Light who is the tree of life,
and (ἤ) what again is the Darkness which is the tree of death.
I have never trodden in the path of these strangers wherein
the sinful goats walk, nor (οὔτε) have I
at least laid my treasure in the place of . . . and thieves.
The entire goal (?) of my labours and the . . . . . .

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5 ⲙⲛⲛⲧⲁⲧϩⲥⲟ = ἀφειδία, cf. Coloss. 2, 23. — 17, 18 lit. 'whom the dark night . . . . ., trembling before him'. — 30 cf. Mt. 25, 32. — 31 cf. Mt. 6, 19. — 32 The meaning of ⲱⲟⲧⲡ in this and in other places is not quite clear. I think it may be a translation of the Gk. σπουδή, cf. 76, 28; 99, 21 (σπουδάζω?); Keph. 7, 8 (ἐν σπουδῇ?); 42, 11 (σπουδάζετε?), vid. Crum Dict. 597 b.

. . . . .] ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲉ ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . .
. . . .]. . . ⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲣⲏⲓ [. . . . .
. .]ⲁⲓⲁ[. .]ⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲗ ⲉ . . . . .[. . . . . .
.] . [.]ⲥⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲉ[ⲙⲟⲥ . . . .
. . . ⲱⲥ ⲱⲥ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲣⲉⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱⲛⲁⲥⲙⲉⲧ
ⲧⲟ] ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡ̅ϫ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ . . . . . .
. .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲏⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲣ̄ϩⲏ .[. . . . .]. . . . . ⲁ
. . ⲉ]ⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ ⲉ⳨ⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̀
ⲑ[. .] . ⲃⲛ̄ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲏⲧⲉ . . ⲱⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈
. . . .]ⲃⲓ ϩⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ . . ⲛ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥϩⲏⲧ
. . .]. ⲣⲉⲧ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲉ⳨ⲁⲡⲧ̄ ϩⲱⲱⲧ ϩ̣ⲓⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ .]. . .
ⲗⲛ . .]ⲗ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲁⲧⲏⲕ ⲡ̅ϫ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲉⲥⲕⲉ ⲛ̄
. . . .]ⲟ ⲱⲁⲛⲉⲧⲁⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛⲉ [ⲛⲏ]ⲓ̈ ϩⲱⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲁⲓⲟ ⳨ⲧⲱⲃϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲥⲁⲕⲧ̀ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲱⲥ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁ̣ⲃⲁ̣ⲗ ⲕⲗ[. .
. . . . . ⲕ]ⲉⲕⲉ ⲛⲁϫⲣⲁⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . . [. . . .] . . ⲁ̣ⲛ[. .
.].ⲁ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ . . . . • ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̣[. . . . . .]ⲧⲗ[. .
. . . .]. . ⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲉ ⲡ]ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ . [. . . . . .
.]. . ⲛⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲙ̄[. . . . . .
.]ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ . .[. . . . . .
. . ⲁ . . ⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲑⲩⲗⲏ
ⲁ̣ⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲡ̅ϫ̅ⲣ̣ⲥ̣ ⲡⲃⲉⲗ ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲩ [. . . . . .
. . . .]. ⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲁⲣⲉ[ⲩ . . . . . .] . . . . . .
. . . .] ⲡⲉ⳨ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ̣ [. . . . .] . . . . ⲁⲕ
. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲉⲓⲥ . . .[. . . . .] . . . ⲙ̣ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ
ⲓⲛⲉ . .]ⲃⲁⲗⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̣ . . . .[. . . . .]. . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̣ . ⲁϫⲱ
. . . .] ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ • ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡ[. . . . .]. . . ⲛ̄[. .]ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲡ
. .] . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧ⳨ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ[ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

7 fort. ⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲣ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ. — 9 ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲛ̄ⲛⲉ coniicio: 'more palmae'. — 10 parum intellego. — 13 init. fort. ⲙⲛⲃⲁ]ⲗ supplendum.

. . . . . my Lord, I have revealed it . . . .
. . . . . enduring (?) in . . . .
. . . . . forth with my eyes . . . . . .
. . . . it surrounds me, even the . . . and the world (κόσμος?) . . .
. . . alas, alas (ὦ ὤ), what shall I do? Who can save me?
I am] not in two minds concerning (?) thee, o Christ, nor (οὔτε) . . . . . .
. . thy Truth, nor (οὔτε) . . . . . have I . . . . . .
. . because of the need (ἀνάγκη) wherein I stand.
. . . . date-tree which is shaken like me . . . . . .
. . . . . to the Truth (?). I have brought . . . . his heart
. . . . . to him, even as I reckon myself through them that
call (?) . . .
There is never any . . . . in thee, o Christ, nor (οὔτε) any delay
. . . . to them that shall do good. To me stretch out
thy right hand; come, I beseech thee, draw me up out of
Hades of the dead.
In the hour that thy Light appears unto me . . .
. . . . Darkness shall be scattered abroad . . . . . .
. . . . in . . . . . Come . . . . . .
. . . . . of the Light . . . . . .
. . . . to thee, o Maiden, the . . . . . .
of the angels, the sons . . . . . .
. . . . under the Matter (ὕλη).
Come to me, o Christ, the eye that sees (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . my Father, my . . . . . .
. . . whom I love, even thee . . . . . thee (?)
. . . . . of victory, lo, ... also of Light
. . . clothe me in it . . . . . upon
. . . the angels. Lo, the . . . . . all . . . to the
. . . . . to the soul of [the blessed (μακαρία)] Mary.

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15 ⲁⲗⲟ: vid. Crum Dict. 636 b. — 18 ϫⲣⲁⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ: vid. Hom. Index sub voce; Keph. 76, 33; 77, 2; 99, 13 etc.

[CNS]

ⲠⲚⲟⲩⲧⲉ [. . .] ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲡ̄ⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄ [. . . . . .
ⲡⲙ̄[ⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟ]ⲉ
ⲗⲁⲧ ⲛⲏⲓ . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲣⲟ ⲣ̄ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲕ
ⲃⲁⲙ [ⲛⲕ]ⲧⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲧⲥⲁⲡⲥⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲃⲓⲛⲉ[ⲓ ⲱ ⲡ
ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲡ[. . .] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲓⲉ [.
. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲱⲁⲧⲛ̄[. .
ⲥⲉ ⲧⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲉ
N̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲛⲡⲱⲧ [ⲛⲁ
ⲱⲓⲣⲉ ⲕ̈ⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲃⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧ̣ⲱ[. . ⲛ
ⲁⲧⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
ⲦⲦⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ̈ⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟ[ⲥ ⲥⲱ
ⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲱⲱⲡ ⲥⲣⲉⲩ ⲁ̈ⲓⲭⲡⲟ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲟⲩ[. .
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲉⲕⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲃⲱⲭⲃⲉ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ[ⲁⲧⲣⲓ
ⲕⲉ ⲁ̈ⲣ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲁ̈ⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲉ ⲉⲩⲣⲁ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ ⲥⲛ̣ⲧⲕ̣
ⲟ̣ⲩⲣ̣ⲱⲉ
ⲦⲦ . . . ⲣ̣ⲛ̣[. . . . .] . . . ⲛⲁ . . . ⲉⲩ . . . ⲁⲡⲩⲉ . . . . .
non legi potest
. . . . . .]. . . . .
+[. . . . . .]. . . ⲉ ⲉⲓⲁ̣[ⲛⲉ]ⲩ ⲁⲧⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ
. . . . . .]. . ⲁⲧ . . . . ⲉⲧ . . . ⲱ . .
. . . . . .]ⲛ̣ . ⲉⲩⲛ̣ⲁⲱⲛ̣ⲍ

25—27 non legi possunt

N̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲛⲧⲁ
ⲥⲃⲱ ⲉ . . . . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ
. . . . . .
ⲁⲕⲭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ [. . . . . .] ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲱⲱⲧ . . . .
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲣⲟ [. . . . . .]. . . . . .
. .]ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁ̣ⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

7 an ⲁⲓⲡⲱⲥⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ? — 14 fin. fort. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲥⲏⲧ cf. 67, 6.

CCLVI.

O God, ... the sage, the Paraclete . . . . . .
Mani.
Give to me . . . thy victory, bestow on me, Father, [thy
power and help me, I beseech thee, by thy coming (?) [o
holy one.
I have . . . . forth my whole heart in the excess of love
. . . . . my whole power . . . . .
I believe in the Truth.
Thou art the witness of all the deeds of my busy
courses, thou seest my strong efforts and my unspeakable
. . . . .
The law (νόμος) of the Darkness I have put behind me, but the law (νόμος)
of the Light I have adopted, I have got myself a single
. . . . for thy unfailing treasure (χρῆμα).
I have seen with my own eyes thy unbending (?)
defence: I have witnessed, my Father, thy mercy keeping me in thy
watch-tower.
The . . . . . .
illegible
. . . . . .
I . . . . . as I see the grace (χάρις?)
. . . . . .
. . . . . he shall live.

ll. 25—27 *are illegible*

Thou art my great glory, the confirmation of my
reason . . . . . forth the iniquity
. . . . . .
Thou hast received the victory . . . . . to me myself . . .
thy victory . . . . . .
the victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

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11 ⲃⲱⲧⲉ lit. 'sweatings', cf. Crum op. cit. p. 625a. — 14 ⲱⲱⲡ ⲥⲣⲉⲩ: vid. Crum op. cit. 647b. — 16 cf. 45, 27 ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲫⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ.

[CNZ]

. . . . . .]. . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̣
. .]. . . . . ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩ . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛ
. .]. . . . . ⲉ̣
. . .]. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲛϩⲕ̀
ⲛ]ⲏⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲕⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ
. .]. ⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲁⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ̈
Ⲁ[ⲙⲏ]ⲓⲛⲉ ϩⲱⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ . . . . . .
ⲡⲥ]ⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲉ]ⲛⲉ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲡ̣ⲡ̣ⲱⲡ̣
ⲙⲙ]ⲁⲩ ⲛⲏ̈
Ⲧⲧ[. .]ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ • ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲉⲩⲉ
. .]. ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ϫⲱϩⲙ̄ ⲉⲫⲛⲉⲙⲏ
ⲓ ⲧⲣ]ϩⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲛ ϩⲏⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ
. . .]. ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲧⲕⲱⲗϫ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲉⲧ
ⲛ̣[ⲉⲕ] ⲟⲩⲁⲛϩⲕ̀ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲁⲙ ϫⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲁϫⲱⲃⲉ
ⲥ̣ . . . . . ⲣ̣ⲉ . . . . . ⲛ̣ . ϫ̣ .
Ⲧⲧⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥ̣ . . ⲧ̣ ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ̈ ⲧⲣ̄ⲁⲥⲡⲁϩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱ
ⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ • ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲧⲧⲓⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲁ̈ⲱⲃⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁ̈ⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁ
ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ ⲉⲧϫⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩ ⲛ]ⲙ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉ̣[ⲩ]ⲕⲁⲓⲙ̣ . . . ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ
Ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲣⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ . . . . . .
ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲓ̣ⲉ ⲛⲉ̣ⲓ . ⲓ̣ⲣ . . . . . ⲙ̣ⲡ̣ⲕⲟⲩ
ⲉ̈ⲓⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲟⲓϫ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϫⲁϫⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉ]ⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓϫⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄
ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁ
ⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ]

[CNH]

Ϫⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥϫⲱⲕ̀ ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲥ
ⲣ]ⲁⲩⲧ ⲉⲥ . . . . . • ⲁ̣ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϫⲣⲥ
. . . . . .]. ⲙⲛ̣ . . . . . ⲱ . . ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲥⲛ̄

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6 ⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛⲉ: cf. Hom. 59, 11. — 9 ⲱⲡⲱⲡ: cf. 59, 13. — 14 fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ. — 17 an ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩ?

CCLVII.

. . . . . of the Light
. . . . . in a . . . . . of the
. . . . . .
. . . . . and do thou reveal thyself
to me quickly and stretch out thy right hand to me
that (?) I may leave the things of the body (σῶμα) behind.
Come ye also, o angels, and . . . . . .
the Saviour (σωτήρ), bringing me the gifts that were promised
to me.
The . . . of the Darkness is the Demons; if you desire
. . . . surround me. There is none of your pollutions with
me, I fear you not.
. . . . . of God is the judge (κριτής): I bend my knees
to thee. Reveal thyself to me quickly that I may pass
. . . . . .
The . . . . world (κόσμος) I have put behind me, I greet (ἀσπάζεσθαι) you,
o Gods, o angels of glory, that dwell in the Land
of Light.
This lion that is within me I have strangled, I have turned him
away from my soul, him who pollutes me at all times,
and his bitter . . . . also.
I passed above the sea (θάλασσα) . . . . . .
the traps of death, these, lo (?) . . . . . .
I being in the hands of my enemies.
Glory and Victory to the Paraclete, our Lord Mani, and
all his holy Elect. Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary].

CCLVIII.

All hail to thee, o soul that has finished her fight (ἀγών)
rejoicing and . . . . . of Christ
. . . . . in

30 χρο μ̄Ν̄ϊο: cf. 57, 27; 85, 16; 210, 14 n.

πBHB ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲣⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲱ[ⲁⲛ]ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲗⲏⲥⲧⲏ[ⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ
ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲣ|ⲙⲉ [ⲛⲉⲩ
Θⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥ|ⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲕⲛⲁⲣⲥⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲛ̣[ⲁⲥ
ⲧⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲑⲏⲣ|ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲥⲱⲥⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ[. . .
ⲁⲕⲭⲉⲡⲭⲱⲡⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲃ|ⲛⲥⲃⲏⲣ ⲉⲙⲡⲟⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛ̣ⲉ̣ [ⲙ
ⲡⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
ⲦⲦⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲉ̣ⲥ̣ⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲡⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡ[ⲉ ⲙ
ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲥⲕ̀ ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲩⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩ[. . .] .
ⲁⲕⲟⲃ|ⲁⲩ ⲁⲕⲟⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱ[ⲉ]ⲩ
N̄ⲟⲉⲣⲉⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲃⲱⲣⲃ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲕⲧⲣⲟⲩⲭ|ⲱ|ⲡⲉ [ⲁⲕ
ⲃⲱⲗ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲛⲏⲩ ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲙⲁⲓⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲗ[. . .
ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲧⲛⲥ̀ ⲉⲕⲧⲁⲓⲗⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲥⲱⲙ ⲁⲙⲙⲁⲍ[ⲟⲩⲉⲗ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲥⲉ
Ⲥⲱⲥ ⲉⲕⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲛ̣ [ⲉⲩ
ⲃⲁⲃ̣ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲕ̄ • ⲁⲕⲭⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲏⲃⲥ̀ ⲁⲕ†ⲛⲏⲥ ⲥⲁ
ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲛ̄
ⲥⲉⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
Ⲛⲉⲕⲓ̈ⲉⲡⲱⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲥⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲁ
ⲣⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ
ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲉⲍⲁⲕ • ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ ⲉⲕⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲛ̄ⲡ
ⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ
Ⲁⲕⲕ[ⲱ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲕⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉ|ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲕⲧⲉⲍⲟ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕ†ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲍⲕⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲉ|ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲕ̄
ⲧⲱⲃⲍ̀ ⲡⲉⲕⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁⲭⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲉⲓ̈ⲏⲧⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲡⲥ̀ ⲉⲥⲍⲁⲗⲃ̄ ⲉⲥⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲩⲛⲏⲑ|ⲁ ⲛ̄†ⲥⲁⲣⲝ
ⲟⲩⲱⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲧⲉ ⲍ|ⲣ̣ . . ⲉ̣ ⲙ . . . ⲁⲙ . . . ⲡⲉⲩⲛ[. . . . .]ⲥ
ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲣ|ⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ [ⲡ]ⲉⲥⲕⲁ|ⲍⲗⲁⲃ ⲟⲩⲥ|ⲱⲉ ⲡⲉ
Ⲁⲕⲣ̄ⲁⲧⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲗⲟ|ⲡⲟⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲕⲁ ⲡⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲁⲩⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ
ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲕⲍⲃ̄ⲃⲱⲣⲕ̄ ⲍⲁⲡⲍⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲭⲁ
ⲭ[ⲉ] ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲙⲁⲓⲍⲉ †ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲙⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[. . . . .]ⲉ̣[. .

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4 fin. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ[ⲁⲡⲉ coniicio. — 8 fin. fort. ⲗ|ⲃⲉ. — 11 fort. ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲗ. — 12 ⲁⲙⲙⲁⲍⲟⲩⲉⲗ cf. Hom. 76, 24.

the den of the . . . ., the habitation of the robbers (λῃστής), which
is the body (σῶμα) of death, for which every man has wept.
The sea (θάλασσα) and its waves thou hast destroyed by thy faith (?);
the beasts (θηρίον) that are in it, that would submerge thy . . .
thou hast overpowered (?) them in thy voyaging: they knew not nor
comprehended thee.
Sin mourns (?) because thou didst suddenly escape
and didst not follow after his error (πλάνη) and the fire of his . . . .
thou didst subdue him and afflict him in the gathering of thy virtue (?).
The snarers that would ensnare thee thou hast put to shame, thou hast
wound up (?) their nets. They marvel at the beauty of the . . . .
of thy wings as thou ascendest with thy eagles to the dove-cots (?)
of thy freedom.
As (ὡς) thou knewest, o soul that lovest God, that it is a weak
house yet (?) wherein thou art, thou didst light thy lanterns and put oil in
thy lamps (λαμπάς) and didst not allow them to go out until they came
and summoned thee.
Thy wares that thou hast made, behold, they have gone before
thee: part of them will follow thee, part of them
will overtake thee. Rejoice therefore and be glad as thou steppest before
the judge (κριτής).
Thou hast left behind thee the hunger and thirst of death, thou hast reached
thy city of Light wherein there is no hunger or thirst.
Implore thy Father to have mercy upon us, do not leave us
. . . . .
A custom both sweet and bitter is the intercourse (συνήθεια) of this flesh (σάρξ),
a . . . . . its . . . . . .
its laughter is weeping and its sweetness is bitterness.
Henceforth (λοιπόν) thou hast no cares, for thou hast left the house of care
behind,
even the body (σῶμα) of death, and hast cast it down before the face of its
enemies. They marvel now at the . . . . . of the . . . . .

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1 The meaning of ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲩ is not clear: vid. supr. 17, 17 n. — 3 ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ̄ vid. 17, 12 n. — 5 ϫⲁⲡϫⲡ occurs twice in the Homilies (5, 4; 76, 23) and is translated 'treten' (vid. Index p. 20 s. v.), and once in the Keph. (105, 9) as a noun, tentatively rendered by 'Deckel' (vid. not. ad loc.). The root idea seems to be 'cover', cf. (?) Keph. 132, 18. — 11 ϭⲱⲗ: vid. Hom. 41, 14 n; Keph. 105, 30 n. Other examples in the Psalmbook are at 190, 5 bis; 205, 7; 223, 17. — 25 ⲉⲓⲏⲧⲉ: meaning uncertain, vid. 64, 31 n. — 31 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧϫⲁⲙⲏⲧ looks like a compound of ϫⲱⲙ (vid. 4, 24 supr.) and ϩⲏⲧ, cf. ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲧⲙⲏⲧ; hence 'perseverance' (?).

ll. 1—7 perierunt

8 . . . . . .]ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡ . . . .[. . . . .
. . . . . .]. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ . . . . .[. . . .
. . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ [. . . . . .
l. 11 periit

CNϴ

ll. 13 et 14 perierunt

15 . . .]ⲛⲍ̄ . ⲧ . . . . . ⲁ̈ⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁ . . .[. . . . . .
. . .]ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲧ . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲦⲦ[ⲕⲟⲥ]ⲙⲟⲥ ⲣ̄ⲍⲏⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲭ[ⲉ . . . . . .
. .]ⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲡ̣ⲛ̣ . . . . . ⲡ̣ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲡ . . . . . .[. . . . . .
. . ⲛ̣ⲁⲍⲧⲉ . . . . ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲭⲱⲍⲙⲉ
20 .]. . ⲣⲉ ⲥ . . . . . ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲥⲉⲍⲙ̣ⲟ̣ⲟ̣[ⲥ . . . . . .
ⲧ̣ⲛⲉ ⲭ . . . . . ⲉ̣ⲥⲁⲣ . .[. . . . . .
. . ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁ̣ⲩⲭ . . . . . .
.] . . . . ⲉⲛⲉ . . . . . ⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ . . . . . .[. . . . . .
. . . .]ⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲧ̣ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲛⲧ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲍⲁ[. . . . . .
25 . . ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲃⲏ̈
Ⲱ ⲛⲁ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓ̈ ⸗ⲥ . . . ⲛ . .[. . . . . .
ⲁ . . . ⲉ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲭ| ⲡⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ̣ . . . . . .
ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ . ⲣ̄ⲍⲏⲃⲉ ⲛ . . . . . .[. . .
Ⲟ . . . . ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ . . . . . ⲁ .[. . . . . .
30 ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲏⲣ̄ ⲍⲱ[. . . . . .]. .
ⲧ̣ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲁⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲡ̣|ⲏ̈ⲓ̈ ⲁⲡ . . ⲟ̣ .
Ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲱⲛ . . . . . ⲣⲱⲙⲉ

20 ⲥⲉⲍⲙ̣ⲟ̣ⲟ̣[ⲥ: ⲟ̣ⲟ̣ dubium. — 28 fort. ⲛⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲍⲏⲃⲉ. — 31 ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ coniicio.

ll. 1—7 *destroyed*

8 . . . . . of the Lights, the . . . . . .
. . . . . to thy son . . . . . .
. . . . . and his Elect . . . . . .

l. 11 *destroyed*

CCLIX.

ll. 13 *and* 14 *destroyed*

15 . . . . . I have guarded . . . . . .
. . . . . of God.
The world (κόσμος) is profitless in anything, the enemy . . . . .
. . . for the . . . . . runs from the . . . . . .
. . faith . . . . . in his defilement.
20 . . . . . they sit (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . them . . . . . .
. . . . . the height . . . . . .
. . . . they are like them . . . . . .
25 . . they looking out to me.
O my Fathers that begot me, I . . . . . .
. . . . to me, do not be like . . . . . .
. . . grieve . . . . . .
. . . . power . . . . . .
30 world (κόσμος) when the Saviour ($\overline{\text{σηρ}}$) himself (?) . . . . . .
you shall set it behind you . . . . . .
There is none among them that are of the world (κόσμος) that can . . . . man

27 ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ϫⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲛⲧⲏ̄: cf. 220, 15—16 etc.

1—3 perierunt

4 . . . . . .]. ϣαρε πεϩε[. . . . . .

5—6 perierunt

. . . . . .]. ⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲧϥ • ⲙⲁⲣ[ⲉ]ⲩ[. . . . . .

. . . . . .]

9 . . . . . .] ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ • ⲛⲉⲩϩ . [. . . . . .

non potest legi

. . .]. . . . . ⲉⲛϣⲟⲩⲓⲧ

Ⲟ]ⲩϣ . . ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ .[. . . . . .

13—14 perierunt

15 . . . . . .]ⲣ̄ϩⲁϩ ⲛⲁϩ . . . . . ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [. . .

. . . . . .] ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧ . . . ⲉ ⲁⲛⲧⲱ[. .

. . . . . .] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ[ϩⲏ]ⲧϥ̄

non legi potest

. . . . . .]ⲡ ⲭⲉ . . . . .[. . . . . .

20 . . . . . .]. ⲡⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉ[. . . . .]ⲛ . .

. . . . . c]ⲱⲃⲉ . . . . . ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ

periit

. . . .]. . . . . .

. . . . . .] ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ . . . . ⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲡ . . .

25 . . .]. . . . ⲉ . . . . ⲭⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲡⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲡⲉ . . . .

. . . . . ⲁ . . . . ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ

. . . . . .]ⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧ . . ⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲧⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲏⲩ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲩ

ⲓⲧⲉ . . . . . .]. . . . . ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲙⲁ

ϩⲉ . . . . . .]

30 . . . ⲡ . . ⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲁ . . . ⲱⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲣ̄

ϣⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲥⲉⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲏⲧⲉ

ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲁⲡⲁⲏⲓ ⲙⲙⲏⲉ

16 ⲁⲛⲧⲱ[ⲡⲡ coniicio. — 20 ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉ: fort. ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲥ. — 27 fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ.

ll. 1—3 *destroyed*

4 . . . . . her . . . . . is wont to . . . . . .

ll. 5—6 *destroyed*

. . . . . shall take it; let him (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . .
9 . . . . . the world (κόσμος), its . . . . . .

illegible

. . . . . we (?) being empty.
Λ . . . . of Darkness is this body (σῶμα) . . . . . .

ll. 13—14 *destroyed*

15 . . . . . multiplied, my (?) . . . . . go forth . . .
. . . . . which were taken before . . . ., we seized (?)
. . . . . from him.

illegible

. . . . . .
20 . . . . . in the . . . . . .
. . . . . laughter (?) . . . . . and his weeping

destroyed

. . . . . .
. . . . . this body (σῶμα) . . . . . .
25 . . . . . for suddenly . . . .
. . . . . of these iniquities.
. . . . . the sphere (σφαῖρα), this worker of outrages
from the beginning . . . . . the Truth, that he may walk (?)
. . . . . .
30 . . . . . to me, for my own hour is already
come; they summon me, I will go from your midst
and return to my true home.

---

30 perhaps 'return, for . .', reading ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲱⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈, as in l. 32.

ll. 1—6 perierunt excepto ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁⲡⲥ̄, l. 5.

7 Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡ]ⲁⲱⲃⲏⲣ ⲁ̈ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁϫ ⲉ̣ⲓ̣ⲥ ⲧϩ[ⲓⲕⲱ]ⲛ ⲁ̣ .
. . .]. ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲉ̣ⲓ ⲁ̣ⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛⲧ
ⲉⲩⲃⲁ]ⲱⲧ̄ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲱ
10 Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ] ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧ

ll. 11—12 non legi possunt

> · cϫ̄ · <

ⲁ̀ . ⲛ̣ . . . ⲓ̈ⲛ̣ . . . . . ⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ̣ . . . . . ⲉ
15 ⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ
Ⲟⲩϩⲁⲗⲃⲉϩⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕ̣ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ • ⲛⲉⲩ . .[. . . . . .] ⲁⲛⲟ̣ⲓ

ll. 17—19 non legi possunt

20 ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ[. . . . . .]. . ⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ . . ⲃ . . . ⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄
ⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ̣[. . . . .] . ⲛ̣ⲧⲟ̄
Ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧϩⲡⲟ ⲛ̣ . . . ⲱⲃⲣ̣ . . . ⲁ̣ⲡⲧⲁ . [. . . . . .
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ • ⲥⲉϩⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲛ̄ⲡ̣
ϩⲁ̈ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃ|ⲟⲥ ⲉ̣ⲣⲉ̣ ⲛⲉⲩⲣ̄ . . . . . ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ . . . ⲩ .
25 . . . .]. . . . ϭ . .[. . . .]ⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲱ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲟ̣ⲩⲱⲁⲁⲛ̣ⲏ̣
ϩⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕ[ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ . .]. . . . . ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲧⲉ . . . .

non potest legi

Ⲥⲉⲕⲱⲣⲱ̄ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̣ⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲧ[. . . . . ⲙⲙ]ⲱ
ⲧⲛ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧϩ[ⲏⲡ . . . . . .] ⲙ̄
30 ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲡⲱ[. . . . . .]. . . . . ⲩ . .
Ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲣⲟⲩ
. . . .]ⲛ̣ⲕⲱⲱⲥ̣ . . . . . ⲛⲉ̣ⲩ . . . . . .

7/8 ⲁ|ⲡⲱϩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩ coniicio. — 21 fort. ⲉⲧⲁ[ⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ]ϩⲛ̣ⲧⲟ̄. — 22 fort. ⲁⲡⲧⲁⲫ[ⲟⲥ. — 31 fort. ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲥⲁ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ.

ll. 1—6 *destroyed, only* his habits (l. 5) *being legible.*

Lo, my sailing I have safely finished: lo, the image (εἰκών?) . .
. . . see it: lo, my Fathers of Light have come forth before me,
looking towards me, lo, a long time.
Glory] and victory to our Lord, our Light, Jesus, and his Elect

ll. 11—12 *are illegible.*

CCLX.

. . . . . bride- . . . . . .
true bride- . . . .
Λ . . . . is the world (κόσμος), its . . . . . .

ll. 17—19 *are illegible.*

to him, for a . . . . . defence . . . . . the
iniquity which . . . . . .
Men conduct . . . . . .
them also to their desires (ἐπιθυμία), they fall into the abyss in the
wave of life (βίος), as their . . . . . death . . .
. . . . . wander; o men, eternal
the world (κόσμος) is not . . . . . God (?) . . .

l. 27 *illegible*

They cajole you, even they that . . . . . .
you (?) in secret . . . . . .
today, they . . . . . .
They that pride themselves . . . . . of their bodies (σῶμα), let them
. . . . corpses . . . . . .

---

7 For this meaning of ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ vid. Crum Dict. 79 b. — 14, 15 It is not clear whether brides, bridegrooms or bridechambers are referred to here. — 16 ⲥⲁⲗⲃⲉⲥⲟ, meaning unknown, vid. Crum Dict. 668 a: (? cf. ⲥⲁⲗⲥⲟ, op. cit. 648 b, H.T.). — 22 Perhaps 'conduct their friends to the grave'.

ll. 1—4 non legi potest

. .]ϯⲩⲭ[ⲏ] . . . . . ⲛⲁϭⲥ ⲁⲡⲥⲓⲥⲉ
. ⲛ . . . . . ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ[. . . . . .
ⲃⲓⲧ . [. . . . .]. ⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ . . ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ [. . .
ⲁⲩ . . [. . .]. ⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ
Ⲟⲩϩⲏ . [. . . .] . ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲁⲓ]ⲱ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ [. . .
ⲣⲁϩⲉ . . . . ⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ . . . . ⲡⲁϩⲟ[. . . .
ⲣⲁ ⲛ . [. . . . .]ϩ . . . ⲁⲩⲡⲉⲧⲱ[ⲟⲩ]ⲓ̈ⲧ
Ⲃⲓⲧⲃⲱⲉ . . . . . [. . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ[. . . . . .
ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲁ . . . . . .[. .
ϩⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲃϩ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲏⲧⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲓⲛⲟⲁⲛⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲁϩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ[. . . . . .]. . . ⲧⲏϩ . ⲁ . . . . . ⲛ . . ⲱ ⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁ
ⲕⲱ[. . . . . .]ⲛⲉⲧϩ . . . . . ⲕⲟ . . ⲧⲉⲧⲉ
Ⲙⲛ̄ⲓ̈[. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ̄ . . [. . .]ⲧⲉ . . . ⲉⲓ̈[. .
ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲱⲃⲉⲉⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ . . ⲧⲱⲛ . . . . . .
ⲡ . . . . . [. .]ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲡ . . .[. . . . .] . . ⲛⲓⲙ
+ . . ⲡⲟ . [. . .]ⲉⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲡ . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡ[. . . . .]ⲉⲛⲁⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛ
. . . . . ⲁ]ⲩⲣⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ . . .[. . . . . .] . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛ
. ⲱⲛⲧ̄ . . ⲱⲧ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙ̄ⲕⲟⲟ[ϩ]
Ⲱ[ⲱⲧⲡ]ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲣⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄[. . .] ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ
. . . . . ⲟⲩ • ⲛⲉ . . . ⲧⲛ̄ϩⲱϛ . . .[. . .] . ⲱⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲛ̄ [. .
. . . . . .]ⲉⲛ . . . . ⲛ̄ ϩⲛⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ [. . .] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
. . . . . .]ⲁϩ[. . . . . .]. ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ
ⲙ . . . . . ⲛⲁ . . . . .[.]ⲡⲉⲧⲱ|ⲛ . . . ⲁ
ⲧⲉ . . . . . .[. . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ . [. . .] . . . . ⲛⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡ
ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲁⲗⲉⲧ
non potest legi

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10 fin. fort. ⲁⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ. — 24 fort. ⲁⲣ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄[ⲁⲉ]. — 30 ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲙⲏ|ⲛⲉ coniicio. — 31 fort. ⲕⲗⲁⲙ.

1—4 are illegible

. . soul . . . . . to toil.
. . . . . o God, do not . . . . . .
take me (?) . . . . ., for the first . . . . of the skies (?) . . .
they have . . . . . ., they being laden with . . . .
A . . . . . the time (?), my brethren; his men also . . .
passed their lives . . . . the whole world (κόσμος) also . . . . back (?)
. . . . . into vanity.
Take the oblivion (?) . . . . . of the . . . . . .
befell (?) me, for they have called . . . . . .
. . they have prayed in your midst.
For (γάρ) it is not violence that has befallen me, but (ἀλλά)
as . . . . . .
. . . . . .
There is no . . . . . in his hands (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . friends (?) of each one . . . . . .
. . . . . the Judge (κριτής) . . . . . every . . .
I . . . . . .
. . . . . they brought them forth . . . . . .
. . . . . about me in my sufferings.
Busy yourselves quickly to make . . . . for yourselves before
. . . . . in our hands
. . . . . everywhere . . . . . of Light.
. . . . . they that kill
. . . . . he that seeks (?)
. . . . . the holy ones.
O ye Gods, the sons of the Light (?) . . . . to me with the
garland of glory and robe (στολή) of . . . and clothe me

illegible

24 ϣωΤΠΤΗΝΕ: vid. 66, 32 n.

. . . . . .]. . . . . .[. . . . .] . ⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁϩ
ⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛ]ⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁ[ⲩ .]ⲧⲭ[. . .
. . . . . .]ⲭⲱⲓ̈ ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲓ ⲁⲫ[ⲩ]ⲁ|ⲛⲉ ⲥ|ⲁⲙ . .[. . .
. . . . . ⲛ]ⲉⲭⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲟⲟⲩ . . . .
. . . . . .]ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲙⲱⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [.
. .]ⲣ . . . . ⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ] ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ
ⲙⲙ]ⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲡⲭ̄ⲣⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ̄ⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏ
ⲧⲟⲥ] ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

> · ⲥϫ̄ⲁ̄ · <

Ⲥⲱⲧⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲭ̄ⲣⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ϯⲩ
ⲭⲁⲩ]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ϯⲛⲁⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲱ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ
ⲥⲱⲙⲁ • ⲥⲱϣ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲧⲥⲁⲗⲡ|ⲓⲫ̄ ϯⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲥⲉⲧⲱⲍⲙⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ϣⲁⲛ|ⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ
ϯⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁ[ⲍ ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁⲩ
ⲍⲏ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲏ̄ • ⲭⲛ̄ⲉⲓ̈ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲏⲣⲉ ϣⲏⲙ
ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲭⲓ ⲥⲃⲱ ⲁⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲙ[ⲡ]ⲱⲣⲧⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ • ⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲛ|ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ
ⲥ]ⲉⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲥⲉⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ
Ⲧⲧⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲧⲏⲁⲡⲁⲧⲏ • ⲡⲃ|ⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲏ̄ ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲉⲩ
ⲉ]ⲓ̈ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲭⲁⲭⲉ
. . .].[. . .]ⲫⲁⲧⲛ̄ . ⲁ . . ⲙⲁ ⲍⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲣⲱⲭⲍ
.].[. . .]. ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲉ]ⲫⲕⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ ⲁⲩⲧⲥⲓ̈
ⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲍⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ̄
Ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ|ⲣⲉϥⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕ̄[ⲗ]ⲏ[ⲥ|ⲁ] ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗⲥ
ⲭⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲏ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ
Ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲛⲟⲩⲭ[ⲉ ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲍ|ⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲍ|ⲛⲏⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ

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2 fort. ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ. — 25 fort. ⲁⲡ|ⲙⲁ, sc. 'huc'. — 26 ⲁⲩⲧⲥⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈ : ⲓ̈ 1° fort. e rec. manu, leg. ⲁⲩⲧⲥⲁⲓ̈?

. . . . . for lo, my houses (?)
they are] these Lights of the Saviour (σωτήρ?) which do not
. . . . . upon (?) me except (εἴμητι) Light and . . . .
. . . . . the ships of my Father, the sun and the moon (?) . . .
. . . . . for I am a God and a minister of God,
. . . . . me to the land (χώρα) of the Gods.
Glory] to thee, o Father, the God of Truth, and thy beloved
son Christ, and the Spirit of Truth, the Paraclete;
victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

CCLXI.

Save] me, o blessed (μακαρία) Christ, the Saviour of the holy
souls.
I will pass up into the skies and leave this body (σῶμα) upon
the earth. The trumpet (σάλπιγξ) sounds, I hear, they are calling
me up to the immortals.
I will cast away my body (σῶμα) upon the earth from which it
was assembled. Since I was in my childhood
I have learned to walk in the way of God.
Let no man weep for me, neither (οὔτε) my brethren nor (οὔτε)
them that begot me. My true Fathers, they that are from on high,
they love my soul, they seek after it.
The enemy of my soul is the world (κόσμος), its riches and
its deceit (ἀπάτη). All life (βίος) hates godliness: what am I doing
in the place of my enemies?
. . . . . in the flesh (σάρξ) of death that burns
. . . . . my Saviour (σωτήρ) has not deserted me, he has sated
me from his fountain that is full of lives.
I have known the way of the holy ones, these ministers
of God who are in the church, the place wherein the
Paraclete planted the tree of knowledge.
I have cast away from my eyes this sleep of death which is full

23 βίος: i. e. earthly life, as distinct from ζωή.

ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ . . [. . . . . .

ll. 2—4 non possunt legi

. . . . . ⲉ̣ⲕ̣ . ⲏ̣ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉ[. . . . .

Ⲧⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̣ . . [. . . .
ⲧⲁⲣ̀ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲥ ⲡⲓⲁⲙ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ[ⲧⲡ ⲙ
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲙⲉⲧⲉ

Ⲧⲧⲭⲱⲕⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ ⲁ̈ⲓⲭⲱⲕⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏ[ⲧⲩ ⲥⲓ
ⲧⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲓⲝ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲥⲉⲧⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁ[ⲙⲙⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲉ̈ⲃⲁ[ⲗⲉ
ⲛ̣ⲧⲉⲧⲟⲗⲏ

Ⲧⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲧⲣ̄ⲍⲁⲧⲉ ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲙⲧⲩ[ⲭⲏ ⲉ
ⲧⲙⲏⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ • ⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲣ̄ⲍⲁⲧⲉ ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̣
ⲣⲉⲕⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲍⲱⲙ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲭⲱⲥ
Ⲧⲧⲉ̣ⲧⲁ̣ⲩⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁ̈ⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲧⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁ
ⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲭⲱⲓ̈ • ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲁⲣⲙⲉⲧ ⲱⲁⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁ̣ⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲁⲕⲧ̄ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲱⲁⲛⲓⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ
Ⲟ . ⲛ . . . . . ⲛⲉⲙⲏ̈ ⲉ . . . . . ⲣⲍⲁ̣ⲡ . . . . .
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ . . . ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̣[. . . .
. ⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲧⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲉⲩ
.] . . . . . ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕ̅ⲗ̅ⲥ̅ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲣ̄ⲃⲟ
ⲏⲑⲉⲓ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲧⲥⲁⲡⲥⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄ [ⲱ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲭⲉ
ⲙⲁ ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲭⲱⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ̣
π]ⲱⲁ̣ⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ̣ⲭⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

> cϫ̄ⲃ̣ <

Ⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̣ⲛⲁⲏⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ
Ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ . . . . . ⲡ̣ⲍⲁⲡ ⲱⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱ
ⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲙⲏ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲁ[ⲙ ⲧⲉⲗⲟ] ⲁ̣ⲡⲟ̣ⲓ̣ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲁⲃⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲩⲗⲟ ⲍⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄
Ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲍⲙⲛ̄ ⲉ̣ⲍⲛⲉⲛ ⲟⲩ[ⲁ]ⲍⲛ̣ . .

6, 7 an ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁ⟨ⲧ⟩ⲡ? — 13 ⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ cf. Hom. 57, 8. — 20 fin. ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲉⲩ vel ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲱⲉⲩ. — 24 ⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲉ valde incertum. — 25 cf. 27, 15; 36, 11. — 31 fort. ⲥⲍⲛⲉⲛ.

of Error (πλάνη) . . . . . .

ll. 2—4 are illegible

. . . . . of God . . . .
The vine-tree is the Church, we are the . . . .
laden (?) with fruit; again, the wine-press is the Wisdom (σοφία), the
Elect [of
God are the treaders.
The cleansing of immortality, I have been cleansed therein by
the hands of the holy ones. They summon me to the bride-
chambers of the height: I will go up clothed
in the robe (στολή).
The evil form (μορφή?) I am not afraid of it, this consumer of souls
that is full of Error (πλάνη), of which the godless are afraid, the
ministers of God have trampled upon it.
He who has taught me wisdom (σοφία), he also will set the garland
upon me. He who drove me (?) to the holy ones,
he also will draw me up to the Luminaries (φωστήρ).
. . . . . with me . . . . feast (?) . . .
. . . . . goodness out of a . . . . .
I will go up to the nature (φύσις) of goodness.
. . . . . and the victory to the Paraclete; I beseech thee,
help (βοηθεῖν) me. I pray you, o holy ones,
have mercy (?) upon me, even me, the soul, Mary, Theona,
Pshai and Jmnoute.

CCLXII.

Save me, o my Saviour, merciful and good (ἀγαθός).
All you that would . . . . . ., hasten
and come quickly, [board] the bark of the holy ones,
that it may not put out and leave you behind.
The holy God has summoned us: we are pleased to follow (?) . .

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6 ff. cf. Joh. 15, 5. — 8 ϩⲁⲙⲉⲧⲉ pl. of ϩⲁⲙⲏⲧ, from ϩⲱⲙ 'tread', vid. Crum Dict. 675 a. — 21 i. e. to the source of goodness. — 28 ϥⲱⲧⲡ̄: vid. 66, 32 n. — 29 ϭⲓⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ, 'bark', 'vessel' (cf. 213, 5 etc.), vid. Crum, Bull. de l'Instit. franç. au Caire, XXX pp. 453 ff.

ll. 1—3 perierunt

l. 4 non potest legi

5 .]. . . . . .ϩne net . . . . ϩne [. . . . . .

ll. 6—7 non legi possunt

. . .]. . . ϩ . θhΔonh pnoyte [. . . . . .
. . .]. . xn cn̄oywn pagaθon ϥa† . . . . . ṇ
10 . . .]. . ṇeϥkarpoc mareϥn̄tϥ̄ o̩yme n̄ẗïe̩[. . .
. . pn]eyma pewaϥtelac • ūpwrt̩ . ϥ n̄ne[. .] . y
non legi potest
. .]. .
. . .]. .[p]e̩ϥxaï̈ aϩoyn aplime • .[. . . . .]ϩ . .
15 .]. pre[ϥ]p̄ϩūme etxace neϥ . . . . . .
. . . . . maNkϥ̄ xe ekap̄pcbhp n̄netoyaBe

ll. 17—20 non legi possunt

21 ϩn̄plime etoy[. . . . . .
ce apak . . .[. . .] n . . . [. . . . . .
Ceϩo pwt̩ . . . n . . . . . yo
n̄θelpic et . . . .[. . . . .]. . Bel n̄ .[. . . . . .
25 . . . . . nap̄ . . . . . .
Oyn̄ ϩn̄ϩ̣i[.] . . . . . • bωwt̄ ϩhttH
ne n̄rome . . . . .[. . . . . .]. . . netϩiθh ūi
mwtn̄ xe̩ ay . . .[. . . . . .] . xal xe . . . . ϩwt
a̩tnaqre
30 Tete̩a̩ . . . . bn̩ . . . . . .[. . .]m . . . . apotacce
. . . . . tn̩hr̩ . . . . . kata . . a̩t

l. 32 non potest legi

10 an mn̄ẗepwωt? — 11 fin. fort. n̄ne[x]ϩy. — 21 fort. etoy[aBe. — 28 fort. e̩ϥa̩r̄ϩwt.

ll. 1—3 *destroyed*

l. 4 *is illegible*

. . . . . you (?), they that . . . (?) . . . . . .

ll. 6—7 *are illegible*

. . . . . lust (ἡδονή). God . . . . . .
. . . . . know the good (ἀγαθόν), he will give . . . . . .
. . . . . his fruits (καρπός). Let him bring it . . . . . .
. . . . spirit (πνεῦμα) which lifts it up. Do not . . . . . .
illegible
. . . .
. . . . his ship into the harbour (λιμήν) . . . . . .
the helmsman on high, his . . . . . .
. . . . . fashion it, that thou mayest make the voyage of the holy ones

ll. 17—20 *are illegible*

in the harbour (λιμήν) . . . . . .
. . . to thee . . . . . .
Set up the . . . . . .
the hope (ἐλπίς) which . . . . . eye of . . . . . .
. . . . . .
There are . . . . . Look out for
yourselves, o men . . . . . them that are before
you, for they have . . . . . ship, that . . . sail (?)
to good effect.
He that . . . . find (?) . . . . . renounce (ἀποτάσσεσθαι)
. . . . . κατά . . .

l. 32 *is illegible*

11 'It' is feminine. Perhaps 'takes it aboard'.

ll. 1—7 non legi possunt

8 . . . . . ⲛ . . ⲉ . . . . . ⲥⲛ[. .
. . . . . .]ⲁⲩ ⲉⲧ . . . . . ⲱⲥ . .[. . .
. . . . . .]ⲥⲟⲩⲃ . . . . . ⲙ . . . [.
. . . . . .] ⲙⲙⲁⲩ
12 Ⲛ[. . . . . .]ⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲙ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ • ⲁⲩ[. .
.[. . . . . .]ⲁ ⲙⲛ . . . . ⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲁ[. . .
. . . . . .]. . ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲩ . . . . ⲉ ⲁ . . . ⲏⲩ . ⲛ . ⲉ[. .
. . . .[. . .]ⲉ ⲛ̄ . . ⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ
16 . . .[. . . .].ⲙⲏ . . . ⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥⲃ . . . . .[.
. . .[. . . . .] . . . . [. . . . . .]ⲃⲱⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ . .[. .
. .[. . . . . .] . . ⲍⲁ[. . . . . .] ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲁ . . ⲧⲏ .
. . . . . .] ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
20 .[. . . . . .] . ⲏⲥ . . . [. . .]ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲱⲧⲣⲧⲁⲣⲧ̄ ⲥ[. .
. . . . . .]. ⲡⲕ . . . . . [. . . .]ⲕⲉ ⲡⲉⲛ . ⲁ ⲛⲍⲣ̄ⲧⲉ
.[. . .]. . . ⲁⲛⲡ . . . . . ⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ
Ⲣ̄. .[. . .]. ⲍ . . ⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ . . . . . ⲛ[.].ⲱ ⲭⲁⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲱ
24 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲡⲱ . . . . . ⲡ . . . ⲍⲁⲃⲧⲍ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲩ ⲝ[ⲉ
ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲱⲗⲋ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ . . . . . ⲧ .
Ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲟⲍ . ⲥⲓⲃⲧ̄ ⲭⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲩⲛⲋ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲁⲟⲛⲁⲩ
ⲉ ⲉⲧ . . . ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ┼ⲩⲭⲏ . . . . . ⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲝⲉ ⲛⲟⲩ
28 ⲛ . . . . ⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲝ[. . . . . .]ⲟ̣ⲏ[. .]ⲁⲗ ⲉⲭⲟⲩⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ
ⲦⲦ . . ⲣⲉⲭⲣⲍⲙⲙⲉ ⲝ[. . . . . .]ⲃⲓⲟⲥ • ⲟⲩⲝⲓ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ

l. 31 non potest legi

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15 fort. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ-ⲟⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ. — 25 fort. ⲛⲉⲥ̣ⲕⲱⲗⲋ. — 30 fort. ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲉⲭⲣⲍⲙⲙⲉ.

ll. 1—11 *are illegible or too fragmentary for translation.*

12 The . . . . . the sea . . . . . in them; they have . .
. . . . . thee, my . . .
. . . . . .
. . . .
16 . . . . . evil (κακία) which is wont to . . . . . .
. . . . . look (?) Thou . . . .
. . . . . wicked . . . . . .
. . . . . to thee.
20 . . . . . spirit (?) which is disturbed . . .
. . . . . fear
. . . . . to us.
. . . . . he will bring thee to the harbour
24 of peace (εἰρήνη), ... wind, that it may not strike against . . . . .
The . . . . hills (?) he . . . . . they are the lusts (ἡδονή) which . . . . the soul . . . . . it, that they may not
28 . . . . . to the . . . . . ., as it is far away from the rock (πέτρα).
Its (?) helmsman . . . . . life (βίος?), a new . . . .

l. 31 *illegible*

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24 ϩⲁⲃⲧⲉ̀: meaning uncertain, cf. ϩⲟⲃⲥⲧ, Crum Dict. p. 660 b. — 26 ⲛ̀ⲕⲟⲟϩ: 'tops'? cf. Crum op. cit. 132 a. — 30 ⲁⲓ: the reading and meaning are uncertain.

l. 1 periit

. .]με δωωϯ απογ[ⲁ|ⲛ]ε [
. .].ⲥ̀ ⲛ̄τεκ†ⲩχη ⲙ̄πⲱⲣ . . . . . [. . . . . .
π]ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ πετⲙεεγ ⲁⲛⲁⲡⲥ|ⲥε [. . . . . .
. .]ε ⲛⲭ|ⲙⲱⲛ ⲛεϩⲥε ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ . [. . . . . .
.].ⲣ̀ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛϩ|ⲙεεγ ϩⲱⲥ ερε϶ⲟⲟγ [. . . . . .
. . .]. πεⲑⲁγ ⲭεⲛε ⲛ̣ⲉ϶ⲥ|ⲙεεγ ϶[. . . . . .
ογ]ⲱⲱ ⲙⲁⲛε ⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄† . . [. . . . . ⲁⲡ
οτ]ⲁⲥⲥε ⲛ̄ⲛⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲙ̄πⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟ̣ⲥ [. . . . . .
ⲉⲓⲣ]ⲏⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲏⲕⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲙ̣[. . . . . .
. .].ⲱ ⲙ̄πⲭⲣⲥ
. . .]ⲁⲃⲛ̄ ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲱⲭⲛⲉ ⲧⲭⲁⲣ̣[ⲓⲥ . . . . . ⲉⲧ
ⲙⲏ]ⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲭ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄[. . . . .
πⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲱⲁⲁⲛϩⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙ[ⲛⲭⲥ ⲙⲛⲧ†
ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓ̣ⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · cϯΓ · <

Ⲙ̣ⲁⲣⲓⲣⲡⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ̣ [ⲉⲧⲙⲏϩ
ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
|ⲏⲥ ⲡⲭⲣⲥ ⲱⲁⲡ̄ⲧ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ̣ [ⲛⲧⲕ ⲡⲁ
ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧ̣ⲁ̣[. . . . . .
ⲁⲓ̈ϩⲁⲧⲃⲉⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲣⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙⲉ̣ⲗⲟ̣ⲩ ⲙ̣ⲛ . . . . .
ⲣⲱ †ⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲁⲓⲃⲉ ▮
ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲙ̣]ⲁⲣⲓⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲉⲕϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲛ[ⲉⲩ
ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲥⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲡ̣ⲕ̣ⲉ
ⲕⲉ ⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲛⲧ ⲁⲕⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲫⲟⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲁ̣ⲓ
ⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲏ̄ ⲣⲱ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲁⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲱ
ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ
Ⲧ̣ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲟⲩ
. . . . . ⲙ̣ ⲉⲧⲙⲏϩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏⲡⲥ

5, 6 fort. ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛϩⲙⲉⲉⲩ. — 8 fort. ⲛ̄†ⲣⲏⲛⲏ. — 12 Ⲉⲓⲛⲁ]ⲃ̄ⲣⲉⲱⲉ sive Ⲧⲧⲓⲛ]ⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲱⲉ. — 30 fort. ⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ . . . . ⲙ̣

l. 1 *destroyed*

. . . . look to the Light . . . . . .
. . . . thy soul, do not . . . . . .
out the path. He that thinks on heavenly things . . . . . .
. . . the storms (χειμών) arise in the air (ἀήρ) . . . . . .
kingdom (?) of the waves itself, as . . . . . .
The evil . . . ., do thou quench its waves . . . . . .
desire to moor in the harbour of . . . . . .
renounce (ἀποτάσσεσθαι) the possessions (χρῆμα) of the world (κόσμος) . . . .
peace (εἰρήνη) of poverty, that he may . . . . . .
. . . of Christ.
. . . find (?) joy unfailing, the grace (χάρις) . . . . . that
endures (?), the wholesome wisdom (σοφία) which has no . . . .
Glory to thee for ever, our Lord Mani [and the
soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCLXIII.

Let me be worthy of thy bride-chambers [that are full
of] Light.
Jesus Christ, receive me into thy bride-chambers, [thou my
Saviour. The body (σῶμα) of death which . . . . . .
I have killed it, I have made it keep far from my members (μέλος?) . . . .
indeed put me to shame. I am a maiden unspotted and
holy.
Let me see thy image (εἰκών), my holy Father, which I saw
before the world (κόσμος) was created, before the Darkness
presumed to stir up envy (φθόνος) against thy Aeons.
Because of *it* I became a stranger to my kingdom, I severed
its root, I went up victoriously on high.
Purify me, my bridegroom, o Saviour, with thy waters
. . . . . that are full of grace (χάρις). I have escaped from a
multitude

7 or dividing ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉ, 'that its waves may not . .' — 13 or reading ⲡⲓⲛ]ⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲱⲉ, 'this great joy'. — 22 On the meaning of ⲁⲓⲃⲉ vid. 23, 29 n. — 28 i. e. the root of Darkness.

ll. 1—3 non legi possunt

. . . . . .]ⲥ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄
. . . . . .]. .ⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲗⲗⲉ ⲉⲧⲛ . . . . . .
. . . . . ⲉ]ⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ • ⲟ̄ⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . . . . . [. .
. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲟⲩ . . . . . [. .
. . . . . .] . . . .
. . . . . .] . . . . ⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ . [. .
. . . . . .]. ⲁ̈ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉ̈ⲱ[ⲉ
ⲛⲏ̈ . . . .] . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲉⲩⲁⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ
. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
. . . . . .]ⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲟⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏ ⲁ̈ⲓⲭⲉⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ ⲝ [ⲱ
ⲡⲡⲁ]ⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ .[.
. . . . ⲡⲁ]ⲣⲟⲫⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉ̈ⲣ̄ⲫⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ . . .
. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲣⲁⲱ ⲁⲭⲱ̈ⲓ • ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲟ] . . . . ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲃⲛ̄ ⲙⲁ̈ⲧ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ
. . . . . .] ⲡ̄ⲭ̄ⲣⲥ ⲱⲁⲡ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ [. .
. . . . . .] . . ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲣ|ⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲉ̣|ⲉ
. . . . . .] ⲡ̣ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲣ|ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ
ⲥ[ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉ]ⲉⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕ† ⲛⲏ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲉ . . . . . [.]ⲁⲃⲉ

Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ̄ⲕ̄ⲗⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲁ
ⲛ|ⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲡⲁⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ
ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥ|ⲁⲛⲉ
ⲧ†ⲩ̣ⲭ̣ⲏ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ[ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ]

> · ⲥϫⲇ · <

ⲦⲰⲁⲙ|ⲥⲉ ⲱⲁⲡ̄ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲕ
Ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁ̈ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲁ
ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗ|ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁ . . . . . [. . . . . .

---

6 fort. ⲟ̄ⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ. — 13 init. ⲧⲁⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ coniicio. — 18 ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲃⲛ̄ coniicio. — 20 fort. ⲉⲧⲙ]ⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲣ|ⲥ. — 23 init. fort. ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ. — 30 fort. ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲙⲁ.

ll. 1—3 are illegible

. . . . . the giver of joy to us in the first
. . . . . thy . . . . songs have . . . . . .
. . . . . blessed; the fear of the . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . wise, he has dwelt in . . .
. . . . . I have come forth from the world (κόσμος), returning (?)
. . . . . of destruction, it will dissolve
. . . . . the world (κόσμος).
. . . . . shines like the sun, I have lighted it, o
bridegroom, with the excellent oil of purity . .
. . . maiden, I making music (ψάλλειν) unto thee, my Saviour . . .
. . . . . of night has not been heavy upon me. My riches,
there is no man] who shall find the way to them.
. . . . . Christ, take me into thy bridechambers . .
. . . . . grace (χάρις) and the garlands of victory. Lo,
. . . . . joy, as they make music (ψάλλειν) with them; let me rejoice
in all the bridechambers, and do thou give me the crown of
the holy ones (?).
Glory and victory to the Paraclete, our Lord, our Light,
Mani, the Tree of Life, full of gay fruit (καρπός)
and his holy Elect, ant he soul of Plousiane,
the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCLXIV.

O first-born, take me in unto thee.
Lo, the path of Light has stretched before me unto my
first city (πόλις), the place . . . . . .

17 i. e. to steal them, cf. 63, 10. — 29 lit. 'for me'. — 30 i. e. the Land of Light.

. . . . . .] . ⲉϯⲃⲁⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲃⲏϩ ⲉⲧⲉ[. . .] ⲡⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
. . .]ⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲧⲥ|ⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲣ ⲁⲥⲉ| ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲱⲁⲙ
Ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡⲟ]ⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲡ̄ⲣ̈ⲓⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ|ⲛⲉ [ⲛ
ⲧⲙⲏ]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄
ⲣⲉⲩⲧ]ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲡⲱⲁⲙ|ⲥⲉ
Ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲗⲏ] ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲥⲏⲧ ⲥ|ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲕⲧ|ⲛ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲁⲥ]ⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲁ|ⲕⲱ] ⲛ̄ⲑⲃⲥⲱ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ • ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲗⲗⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲉ
ⲧⲱⲟ]ⲟⲡ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ • ⲧⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲁ̣ⲧⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲁⲭⲱⲓ̈
Ⲭ||]ⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ̣ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭ|ⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲟⲩⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲃⲣⲁⲍⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲁⲙⲧ̣ ⲛ̣
ⲕⲁⲍ] ⲡⲱⲁⲙ|ⲥⲉ
Ⲁ|ⲱⲱ]ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ
ⲙ]ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲃⲣⲁⲍⲧ̄ ⲁⲓ̈ⲭ| [ⲛ]ⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃ̣ⲣ̣ⲟ ⲡ̣
Ⲱ ⲡⲍ|ⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲍⲉⲥⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲫ̄ ⲱ ⲧⲁⲍⲁⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲣ̄
ⲛⲁⲫ̄ⲣⲱⲁⲓ̈ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲉⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲡⲱⲁ
Ⲟ]ⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫ
ⲥ]ⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · ⲥϫⲉ · <

Ⲧⲧ]ⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲱⲣ̣ϫ̣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲁ|†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲱⲁ[.] . ⲃ̣ⲏ . . ⲙ̣ . . . . .
ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̣ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲍ|ⲑⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲙ†ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲩ†ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲭⲱⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ
ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
Ⲉ]ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲍⲱⲏ ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲫ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲱⲁⲫⲉ| ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲍ̄ⲣ̄
ⲧ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛ̣ⲁ̣ϫⲏ ⲥ̣ⲁⲍⲏⲧⲫ̄ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲍⲱⲥ ⲃⲁⲩⲛ̄ ⲃⲱⲱⲛ
ⲉⲫ̄ⲣⲱⲉⲩ ⲉⲛ
Ⲙⲁⲩⲱⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲁ ⲁ†ⲥⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲍⲱⲃ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲩⲕⲁⲍⲧⲏⲩ
ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ
Ⲱ]ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲍⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄ ⲉⲩⲭⲁⲗⲭ̣ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲙ̣ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱ .

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5 ⲣⲉⲩ†ⲥⲙⲁⲧ: cf. 53, 26. — 6 cf. 62, 25—26. — 13 ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ sic: leg. ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ? — 26 fort. ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲟⲩⲩ, ⲁⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ.

. . . . . unto whom I look, who . . . . the dissolution
. . . . . the image (εἰκών) of the Saviour ($\overline{\text{σηρ}}$) has come unto me. O first
Lo, the Light of the Maiden has shone forth on me, the glorious
likeness [of the Truth], with her three angels, the
5 givers of] grace. O first-born
The gates (πύλη)] of the skies have opened before me through the rays (ἀκτίς) of
my] Saviour (σωτήρ) and his glorious likeness of Light.
I have left] the garment upon the earth, the senility of diseases that
was with me; the immortal robe (στολή) I have put upon me.
10 Ferry me across to the sun and the moon, o ferryboat of
Light that is at peace, above these three
earths.] O first-born
I have become a holy bride in the bride-chambers
of Light that are at rest, I have received the gifts of the victory.
15 O excellent toil wherewith I have toiled. O my end that has had
a happy issue. O my eternal possession. O first-born
Glory and victory to our Lord Mani and his
holy Elect and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCLXV.

20 Today is the reward of the separation of the body (σῶμα)
and the soul also. Today . . . . . .
appears unto him before God.
The souls of the righteous (δίκαιος) are garlanded in the
Light and ascend in glory on high with the angels.
25 But if he is a sinner he goes forth in fear
and is cast (?) headlong (?) into fire, as (ὡς) a wicked and
unprofitable servant.
They wait not for a defence (ἀπολογία), to teach how to answer, on this day,
but (ἀλλά) he that has a good deed, let him put his trust
30 in his deeds.
They pass their whole life, given over to eating and drinking

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4 cf. Hom. 6, 20; Mani-Fund pp. 71—2. — 6 cf. Act. Arch. 13, 1. — 16 ϩⲛⲁⲣϣⲁⲓ: vid. 4, 16 n. — 25—26 cf. Mt. 25, 26. 30. — 31 lit. 'being caught in eating . .'

ⲙ̄ⲑⲏⲇⲟⲛⲏ [. .]ⲱ[. .]ⲑⲁⲛ̄ [. . . . . ⲱ
ⲧ]ⲁⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲉ[ⲩ] ⲁ̣ⲡⲥⲉⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ
Ⲥⲉⲙⲓⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲥⲁⲩⲕⲧⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲱⲁⲥⲃⲱⲗ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲡⲱⲥ ⲁⲡⲱ[ⲣⲥ
ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ
Ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲱ ⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲧⲉⲥⲓⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲱⲛⲍ̣ ⲥ̣ .[. . ⲙⲏ
ⲡⲱⲥ ⲉⲩⲁⲭⲓⲧⲉ ⲥⲓⲧⲉⲥⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲁⲥⲛ̄ⲕ .[. ..
ⲙ̄ⲛⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲇⲟⲛⲁⲩⲉ
Ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲥⲉ ⲡⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲥⲣⲟ ⲧⲉⲱⲭⲛ[ⲉ ⲁⲡ
ⲭⲓⲛⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲏ ⲁⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̣[ⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲣ
ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
Ⲁⲣⲉⲣⲡⲉⲁⲥⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲥⲱⲍⲡ̄ ⲁⲛⲗⲏⲍ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲉ ⲡ
ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉⲗⲁⲩⲗⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲛ̣[ⲥⲏⲧ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲗⲩⲡⲏ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲱ ⲉⲣⲉⲃⲉⲗ|ⲧ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲉ̣[ⲧ
ⲭⲁⲥⲙ̄ ⲱⲁⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲃⲉ ⲉⲙⲡⲉϯⲥⲧⲏ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲣ̄ⲉⲩ
ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ
Ⲉⲣⲉⲥⲁⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲭⲉⲣⲁⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ ⲛⲉⲥⲱ
ⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲃⲓ ⲡⲉⲗⲏⲍ ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲧⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲏⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲁⲱⲛⲟⲩ
ⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ
Ⲱⲁⲣⲉⲣⲓⲙⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯⲣⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲓ̈ⲏ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲏ ⲟⲩⲱⲃⲏⲣ ⲉⲩ
ⲙⲟⲩ • ⲧⲉⲃⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲣ]ⲱ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲥⲥⲏ ⲧⲉ̣
ⲗⲟ ⲁⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ
Ⲟⲱⲱϥ̄ ⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲁⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ
ⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲥⲓⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲥⲓⲑⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲱⲃⲱ̄ ⲁⲧⲉⲃⲓ
ⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲥⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡ̣ⲓ[ⲱⲛ]ⲥ ⲱ[ⲁ
ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲕⲁ ⲑⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧ̣ⲉⲁⲱⲛⲍ
ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲥⲉ
Ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲏⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̣ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲭⲣⲥ̄
ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲛ̄ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩ
ⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁⲛⲉ ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ
ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲓ̈ ⲭⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

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6 fin. ⲥⲓ[ⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲏ: HT. — 7 fin. fort. ⲕⲣ[ⲁⲩ.

and lust (ἡδονή) . . . . . .
in confusion when they think (?) of the judgment of the judge (κριτής).
They quarrel with one another for a possession (κτῆσις) that passes away:
because of a fatal treasure (χρῆμα) they come to fight (?)
with one another.
Why, o my soul, dost thou fritter thy life away now . . .
lest (μήπως?) they take thee before the judge (κριτής) by reason of . . .
and lusts (ἡδονή)?
The days of thy life are running from thee: why dost thou vainly
waste thy zeal (σπουδή) on the things of the earth and puttest behind
thee all the [things of heaven]?
Thou hast spent thy life sunk in the worries and cares of the
world (κόσμος), working thyself into a decline through the pains
and the sorrows (λύπη).
Thou art a stranger, housed in a body(σῶμα) of the earth
defiled: how long therefore hast thou been heedless of what thou ignorantly doest?
Thou toilest all thy time to nourish thy
bodies (σῶμα): yet hast thou not worried, poor thing, in what way
thou canst be saved.
Thou weepest and sheddest tears for a son or (ἤ) a friend
dying: yet thy own departing, the thought (?) of it enters not
into thy heart.
Look therefore at that which is hidden from thee and see from today
henceforth: lo, the way to travel is before thee, forget not thy
departing.
Choose not the life of this body (σῶμα) before (παρά) eternal
life: put the fear of God in thy heart and thou shalt live
without toil.
Victory to thee and glory, o Living Father, and to Jesus Christ
thy son, and to thy holy Spirit. Victory to the soul
of Plousiane, the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary,
Theona, Pshai, Jmnoute.

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6 ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩ: a translation of ἵνα τί. — 15 ⲇⲉⲗⲓ̀ⲧ is the qualitative of the verb ⲇⲁⲗⲟ (Spiegelberg op. cit. p. 266), 'to entrust', 'deposit', connected with ⲇⲟⲉⲓⲗⲉ, ibid. p. 267. — 22 The meaning of ⲍⲏ, which I have translated 'thought', is not quite clear. Perhaps 'aspect', probably not to be connected with ⲍⲉ 'manner'. This line might also be translated 'and thy own d., let the thought (?) of it enter . .'

[cξ5]

Χαιρ]ε πκριτηc ⲛ̄ⲇικαιοc πωηρε ⲙ̄πχρc ετνⲉϩ
απτ]ηρⲟ̄
Ⲉιννηγ] +νογ ωαρⲁϫ ϩⲛ̄πκαϩτηϥ ⲛ̄τε ναϩⲃηγε ⲙⲁ
ρεc]ταϊλε ⲛ̄ceι ωαραϊ ⲛ̄ⲟλαⲙ ⲛ̄ϫι τεκⲃⲁⲙ ⲙⲛ̄τεⲕ
εξογc]ια ϫε εϊⲁωτωⲕ αρετ ⲙ̄πκⲙ̄το ⲁⲃⲁλ εϊ
ⲙει]ε ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ϩⲛ̄παϩητ τηρⲟ̄
Ⲉιc νε]κεντολαγε ετογⲁⲃε ⲁϊϫⲁⲕογ ⲁⲃⲁλ εϊπητ
ειρε]ωε ⲙ̄πε τⲙⲛ̄τⲕογϊ ⲛ̄τε πιcωⲙⲁ . . . . . ε[ι
ωοοπ] ⲛ̄ϩρηϊ ⲛ̄ϩητⲥ̀ ογτε τⲙⲛ̄τⲃ̄ρρε ⲛ̄τε τεⲫc[ⲁρ]ξ̄
. . . .]ⲧε πϫωⲕ ⲛ̄τε νεⲫϩοογε
Ν[. . . . .] ⲙ̄πκⲁϩ ⲁϊⲃρο ⲁρⲁγ ϩⲛ̄τεⲕⲃⲁⲙ ω παρεⲫ[cω
τε • π]ceπε ⲙ̄πcωϫπ̄ ⲙ̄πⲙⲟγ ετⲕη ⲁϫωϊ . . .
. .]. ⲁπεταγⲁⲫτⲟ̄ ⲁϩογν ⲁ[π]εκcταγροc .[. . . .
vacat ϩⲛ̄νεⲫⲙⲁνωωπε [. .] . . ϩⲛ̄ππⲁⲛ̄ϫωⲕ
ⲛ̄νεⲕεντολαγε
+νογ +ⲙογτε ογⲃηⲕ ω πκⲁϩτηϥ ⲛ̄τε ναϩⲃηγε
πωⲁνϩτηϥ ⲛ̄τε νεⲫcωπ̄ⲡ τϩελπιc ⲛ̄τε νετναϩ
τε αραⲫ ⲁⲙⲟγ ⲛ̄ⲕτωⲕ αρετⲕ̀ νεⲙηϊ ⲙ̄πⲙ̄το ⲙ̄πⲡ
kριτηc ωⲁν+ϫι ⲙ̄πⲁⲕλⲁⲙ
Χαιρε πκριτηc ⲛ̄ⲇικαιοc τⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ϫωρε ππⲁϊτ ⲛ̄
τⲙηε +ελ ετcατⲟ̄ ετπωρⲁ̀ ⲁⲃⲁλ ⲛ̄νετⲃραϊτ
ⲙⲛ̄νεττⲁϫⲁϊτ ⲃωλε ⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲁι] ⲛ̄τεⲕcτολη ⲙⲁ νηϊ
ⲙ̄πκλⲁⲙ ⲁγω πⲃραⲃειον
Χαιρε πρωⲙε ετϫηⲕ ⲁⲃⲁλ ππⲁϊτ ετογⲁⲃε ετcηⲕ
απ]ϫιce πⲁηρ ετcατⲟ̄ τⲙ̄ρω ⲙ̄ⲙⲁνε ⲛ̄ⲟγⲁⲛ νιⲙ
ετναϩτε αραⲫ ⲁογεν νηϊ ⲛ̄νεⲕπετϩηπ ⲛ̄ⲕ
ωⲁπ̄τ ⲁραⲕ ⲁⲃⲁλ ϩⲛ̄πϩιce
Ⲉϊννηγ ωⲁρωτⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ποογε ⲛ̄ρραϊ ⲙ̄πογⲁϊνε ⲛ̄ρεⲫⲣ̄
ϩⲙ̄ⲙε ⲁογεν νηϊ ⲛ̄νετⲛ̄ρωογ ⲛ̄τετⲛ̄ϫιτ ⲁϩογν
ωⲁρωτⲛ̄ ⲙⲁριⲣ̄πⲙ̄πωⲁ ⲙ̄πⲁωⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲁτ • τϩι
kων ταγⲁπη ππⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ετογⲁⲃε
ϩιτⲛ̄πcⲃηρ ⲛ̄νετϫηγ ⲙ̄πογⲁϊνε ⲁϊⲣ̄πcⲁⲛⲃⲁλ

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2 cf. 233 b 5. — 15 init. spatium quattuor litt. scriptura vacat. — 33 ετϫηγ sic, cf. 42, 18.

CCLXVI.

Hail (χαῖρε), righteous (δίκαιος) Judge (κριτής), son of Christ that seest
the] Universe.
As I come] now unto thee in the trust of my deeds, let
thy power and thy authority (ἐξουσία?) arise and come unto me
quickly, that I may be able to stand in thy presence,
loving] thee with all my heart.
Lo,] thy holy commandments (ἐντολή) I have fulfilled, running
in joy. The youth of this body (σῶμα) did not . . . ., [while
I was] in it *(fem.)*, nor (οὔτε) the newness of its flesh (σάρξ)
. . . . the fulfilment of its days.
The . . . . of the earth, I have conquered them by thy power, o my
Saviour; the] last relic of death which lies upon me . . .
. . . that which was nailed to thy cross (σταυρός) . . .
in its habitations . . . . in (?) the place of fulfilment
of thy commandments (ἐντολή).
Now I call unto thee, o trust of my deeds,
the pitier of his Elect, the hope (ἐλπίς) of them that believe
in him. Come and stand with me in the presence of the
judge (κριτής) until I receive my garland.
Hail (χαῖρε), righteous (δίκαιος) Judge (κριτής), strong power, path
of Truth, clear mirror that separates the victorious
and the condemned: clothe me in thy robe (στολή), give me
the garland and the prize (βραβεῖον).
Hail (χαῖρε), Perfect Man, holy path that draws
to the] height, clear air (ἀήρ), mooring-harbour of all
that believe in him: open to me thy secrets and
take me to thee from affliction.
As I come unto you today, ye Kings of Light, ye helms-
men, open to me your doors and take me in
unto you. Let me be counted worthy of my three gifts, the
Image (εἰκών), Love (ἀγάπη), and the holy Spirit.
Through the sailing of the ships of Light I have come outside

ll. 1—2 non legi possunt

. . . . . [. . . . .] ⲁⲓⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲁⲓϩⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁϥ .[. . . .
π[ⲁ|ⲱⲧ] ⲡⲛⲟⲩ[ⲧⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ϧⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ϫⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧ[ⲟⲩ
ⲁ]ⲃⲉ [ⲙ]ⲙ[ⲏⲉ] ⲡ̣|ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ϩ|]ⲧⲛ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ [ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ|ⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲣ|ⲁ

> · ϲϫϛ · <

ⲁⲙⲟⲩ] ⲛⲏ̈ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲕ̀ ⲛⲉⲙⲏ̈ ϩ̣[ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ
ⲛ̣[ⲧⲁ]ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ
. . . . . .] . ⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲣ̄ϩ|ⲣⲉⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁ̣[. . .
. . . .]ⲉϩ ϩ̣ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲁⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲛ̣ . [. . . .
. . .]ϩ̣ⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲕϩ[ⲉ]ⲗⲡ|ⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ
☩ⲥⲁⲡⲥⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ϫⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲙⲁ☩ [ⲛⲏ|
ⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃ̈ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲛⲁⲛⲏⲥⲧ|ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲉⲩ ϩ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲣⲉⲛ̣
ⲗⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉ|ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛⲧ ⲡⲁⲕⲗⲁⲙ
ⲧⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲁ ⲃⲣⲁⲃⲉ|ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ☩ ⲛⲏ̈ ☩ⲛⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲡⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲱⲡⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲱ
ⲡⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
ⲗⲗⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ ⲁ☩ϩ̄ⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣ|ⲛⲩⲥ ⲧⲁ
ⲡ|ϩ̣ⲟ ⲛ̄ϩ̄ⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲁⲏ ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁ|ⲣ̄ⲡⲁⲁ̣[ϩ]ⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲕ̀ ⲉ|ⲥⲁⲛⲁⲱⲧ̄ ϩ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲏⲉ
☩ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛⲉ ⲧϩ|ⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲁϩ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲏⲙⲉⲣ|ⲧⲥ̀ ⲉⲙ
ⲡⲁ☩ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲁⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲏⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲏⲣⲁⲏⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲏ ⲉⲏⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲏⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲥⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲱⲁ
Ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲕ̀ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲓⲙⲥ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲕ̀ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲓ̈
ⲡⲁⲱ̄ⲕ̀ ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲣⲃ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲗⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡ|ⲕⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲏ̈
Ⲥⲱⲕ ☩ⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲏⲗⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲉⲧϩⲏⲡ ⲱⲁⲛ☩ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧϩ|ⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉ
ⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲣ̄ϧⲁⲓ̈ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲥⲧϩⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲁⲡⲟ
[ⲗⲓⲥ

9 ⲁⲙⲟⲩ: cf. 233 b 6. — 11 init. ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲧϩ|ⲕⲱⲛ coniicio, coll. infr. ll. 17, 31. — 12 fin. fort. ⲙ̣ⲛ̣ⲧ[ⲣⲣⲟ. — 18 inter ⲡⲁ et ⲃⲣⲁⲃ. spatium 2 litterarum. — 19, 20 ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲱⲡⲱⲡ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ 2° delendum. — 22 inter ϩ̄ⲣ̄ⲧⲉ et ⲉⲡⲉ|. spatium 2 litterarum.

ll. 1—2 *illegible*

. . . . . I prayed and sang to thee . . .
my] Father, the God of Truth.
Glory and victory to our Lord Mani, truly (?)
the holy one, who is come from the Father, and [all] his
holy Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCLXVII.

Come] to me, my Lord Jesus, stand with me in [the hour
of [my] need (ἀνάγκη).
. . . . joyous . . . of my Lord come to meet me . . .
. . . . . the demons and their . . . . also
. . . . because of thy hope (ἐλπίς) wherein I believed.
I beg thee, my Lord Mani, give [me
quickly the reward of my faith and my prayers and
my fastings (νηστεία) and my alms that I gave in thy name.
Let the three angels come forth before me and give me now
my garland, the robe (στολή), and my prize (βραβεῖον), according
to (κατά) thy true promises which thou didst promise
to them that have believed in thee.
Let not the demons frighten me and the Erinys with
her frightful face; for (ἐπειδή) I have not served the Error (πλάνη),
but (ἀλλά) I have spent my whole life nourished in thy Truth.
I worship thee, Image (εἰκών) of my Master, which I loved before
I saw it, but (ἀλλά) because of its fame whereof I heard
I kept myself holy, that I might be counted worthy of it.
For thy sake, my Lord, I hated the whole world (κόσμος); its snares
also that are set, I was not bound in them. Cause for weeping
left I not here: therefore, my Fathers, do not weep for me.
Draw now the veil (οὐῆλον) of thy secrets until I see
the beauty of the joyous Image (εἰκών) of my Mother, the holy
Maiden, who will ferry me until she brings me to my city (πόλις).

32 lit. 'be a ship under me'.

l. 1 non potest legi

ⲥⲓ]ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲭⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕ+[.]ⲉ . [.]ⲕⲏ[. . . . . .
. .] . ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲉⲧⲡ . . . . . .[
ⲁⲙ]ⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙ[ⲉ] ⲡⲉⲧ[ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ
ⲁ]ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲩⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ • ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲥⲏⲧⲉ ⲉⲓⲱⲩ[. .
. . ⲟ]ⲩⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ . . [
. . . .] . +ⲛⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄[. . . . .
. . . .]ⲗ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲭⲁⲓ ⲁⲭⲁⲓ ⲱⲁⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ [. . . . .
. . .] ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲭⲓⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉ . . ⲛ̣ .
Ⲥⲱⲧⲙ]ⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ +ⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓⲛ̣ⲁⲍ[ⲧⲉ ⲁ
ⲣⲁⲩ] ⲁⲓ+ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲉ+ⲛ̣ⲁ . .
ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲩⲭⲓⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ ⲁⲡⲁ+ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲟ]ⲩⲁ̣[ⲓⲛⲉ
+ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲏⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ +ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̣ⲙⲱ
ⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲥ]ⲱⲛ̣[ⲉ] ⲉ
ⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩⲉⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲓⲃⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲛ
Ⲭⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲓⲟ ⲧ+ⲩ[ⲭⲏ ⲛⲃ]ⲁⲓⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲭⲱ[ⲕ
ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲙ[ⲡⲉⲥ]ⲓⲱⲧ • ⲁⲙⲏ ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲟⲛ ⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲧⲁ[ⲛ ⲙⲙⲟ ⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧ[ⲉ
Ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲕⲗⲥ̄ [ⲡⲃⲣⲟ
ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓⲃⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲫ[ⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲩ
ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ [ⲙⲁ]ⲣⲓⲁ ⲫ[ⲉⲟ]ⲛ̣ⲁ

[cϫh]

ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲩ̄ ⲭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ
ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲕ
Ⲁ]ⲓⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲍⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲱⲍ
ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ ⲱⲁⲣ̣ⲁⲕ ⲡ̣[ⲓⲕ]ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲁⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[. . .]ⲍⲏⲧ̀ ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ
ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲭⲱⲓ .[. . .].[. . .]ⲛ̣ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲛ]ⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣ[Ⲥ .] . . . [. . . . . .] ⲁⲓⲙⲥ̄ⲧⲱⲟⲩ
. .] . . . . . ⲁⲣ̄ⲟ . [. . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲙ̄+ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ
. . . . .] . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ [. . . .] . . ⲍⲧ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲕ . .

5/6 ⲉⲓⲱ]ⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲱⲥⲙⲉ: HT. — 6 fin. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲛⲏⲓ coniicio. — 16 Ⲃⲁⲓⲕⲗⲁⲙ cf. 58, 27. — 23 cf. 233 b 7. — 27 ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗⲍⲏⲧ coniicio, sc. 'innocentes'.

l. 1 *illegible*

by thy glance, and do thou give (?) . . . . . .
perfect Truth (?) which . . . . . .
Come to me, my Father, the First Man, who [gave himself
to] death for his commandment (ἐντολή). But (ἀλλά) behold, I . .
. . interpretation because of thy true word which . . . .
. . . . now in thy gifts of Light . . . . .
. . . from ship to ship unto the Envoy (πρεσβευτής) in whom
. . . . . ., who will ferry me across in . . .
Hear] me now, my righteous (δίκαιος) Father, in whom I have believed (?),
I have given him my prayers because of the day when I . . .
him to ferry me across to my city of Light.
I worship thee, o Father of the Lights; I bless you,
o Aeons of joy, and my brethren and my sisters (?) from
whom I have been far away, I have found them again once more.
All hail to thee, o garlanded soul, that has fulfilled
the will of [her] Father. Come and rest henceforth (λοιπόν)
in the Land (χώρα) of Light, of God-loving soul.
Glory to thee, my Lord Jesus, my Saviour, the Paraclete. [Victory
to thee, my Lord Mani, whose word (?) I have
found true today, even I, Mary, Theona.

CCLXVIII.

Jesus my Light, whom I have loved, take me in
unto thee.
I believed in the knowledge of thy hope (ἐλπίς) which
summoned me unto thee. This evil world (κόσμος) I put
behind me, which mocks the . . . -hearted: thy commandments (ἐντολή)
I put upon me . . . . . holy.
The things of the flesh (σάρξ) . . . . . I hated them
. . . . . of the souls
. . . . . thou . . . . . unto thee

8 ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈: cf. 42, 26. The soul, liberated from the body at death and having the Three Gifts of Light, is conveyed heavenward by the various vessels, cf. Keph. Kap. VIII. — 16 ⲭⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲟ: vid. 210, 14 n. — 21 'even I': cf. 98, 32. 33.

ⲁⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ . . ⲉⲕ . . . . . ⲛ . . .
Ⲛ . . . ⲁ . ⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲭⲁⲓ[ⲥ ⲁ
ⲭⲱⲓ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲩ ⲁ
ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲉ
ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲁⲛⲓⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲩⲣ
ⲣⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲓⲃⲛⲧⲕ̀ ⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲧ ⲥⲓⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲓⲥⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ[ⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲓⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲛⲡ[ⲟⲩ
ⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲙⲡⲁ†ⲧⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
Ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲣⲫ̄ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄ ⲁⲛⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ .[. .
ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱ[. .
ⲫⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲍⲁⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲓ̈†ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ [ⲁⲡ
ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ̀ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲑⲁⲏ
Ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲱⲍ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲱ .
ⲛⲓⲧ̀ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ • ⲡⲁⲗⲉⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲭⲁⲍⲙⲉⲩ ⲍⲛ̄
ⲡⲭⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡ
ⲡⲱⲣⲭ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄†ⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ̄
ⲧⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
Ⲁⲕⲧⲁⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ
ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲭⲓⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲧⲭⲱ
ⲣⲁ ⲛⲛⲓⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲍⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ
Ⲧⲕⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲱ ⲱⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲓ̈ⲙⲉⲗⲉⲧⲁ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀
ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲃⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲱⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲁⲩ • ⲁⲥⲧⲣⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ̀
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ
Ⲧⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲛ̄
ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲧⲉⲧⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲗⲉ
ⲉⲩ ⲡⲱⲗⲍ̀ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ
Ⲧⲃⲓⲛⲍⲱⲧⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲱⲍ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲍⲱⲃ
ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲗⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲁ

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1 fort. ⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲱⲧ. — 10 ⲁⲛⲣⲁⲩⲱ: ⲁ sup. lin. vid. — 14/15 fort. ⲁⲕⲱⲁⲡⲧ̄.

. . . . within . . . . . .

The . . . . . — I received them not, that they might not rule
over me, whom the Sects (δόγμα) serve, knowing not
the name of the God of Truth, because thou didst free me
from their slavery, my Lord, the Son of Man.
I became a stranger to the parents of the flesh (σάρξ), my brothers, my
kinsmen (συγγενής?); for I found thee father and mother and brother, a
God (?) unperishing, with whom I dwelt in the Light
before I was joined with the Darkness.
My mind (νοῦς) have I not bound at all to the cares . . .
of (?) life wherein the Sects (δόγμα) wander . . . .
toiling vainly; for I gave my heart [unto
thy excellent faith from the beginning to the end.
The Sects (δόγμα) of Error (πλάνη) — I have not mingled with them, for
thou hast . . . me since my youth. I have not defiled my tongue with
blasphemy because of the knowledge which thou gavest me and the
separation of these two races, that of Light and
that of Darkness.
Thou madest me worship these Luminaries (φωστήρ) and the Fathers that are
in them, that ferry across them that believe in them to the
Land (χώρα) of the Immortals: whom the sons of Error hate
because of the fear of the enemy.
I have constantly practised (μελετᾶν) in thy holy wisdom (σοφία),
which has opened the eyes of my soul unto the Light of
thy glory and made me see the things that are hidden and that are
visible, the things of the abyss and the things of the height.
The Cross (σταυρός) of Light that gives life to the universe, I have
known it and believed in it; for it is my dear soul,
which nourishes every man, at which the blind
are offended because they know it not.
I have not mingled with the intercourse of the flesh (σάρξ), for it is a
thing that perishes. Thy good fight (ἀγών) I have set myself to

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30 πωλ̣ζ̣: vid. Crum Dict. 261 a. The word occurs also in the Homilies (73, 21), apparently as a noun =? σκάνδαλον. Cf. I Cor. 1, 23.

ll. 1—2 non legi possunt

+в]ⲁⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ̣ⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡⲉ
ⲛ]ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̣ⲟ̣ⲩ ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲁⲓ
ⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲁ̈ⲡⲱⲣⲭ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟ̣ⲩⲥⲛⲩ ⲭⲉ̣ [ⲉ]ⲓ̈ⲁⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕ
ⲥ]ⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲡⲁⲥⲏⲣ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲉ
.] . . [.] ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲉⲓ̈ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉ+ ..
. . . .] ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲟⲩⲱⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . . [. .] . . ⲛ̣ⲟ̣ⲩ
ⲭ]ⲉ̣ ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲕ̣ ⲡⲉⲧ
ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲕ̣ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲑⲁⲏ
ⲦⲦⲉ]ⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲓⲃⲣⲏⲡ[ⲉ] ⲥ̣ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲩ
ⲁⲓ]ⲱⲛ • ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲛⲛⲉⲧ[ⲛⲁⲥ
ⲧⲉ] ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲡⲡ̅ⲕ̅ⲗ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ
ⲧ̣ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

> · c̅ϫ̅ϩ̅ · <

ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲭ̣[. . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ
ⲁⲕⲁⲁⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲥⲓⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕ[ⲟⲥ]ⲙ̣ⲟ̣ⲥ̣
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲣϫ̣ ⲥ̣[ⲓⲥ]ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ
ⲁⲕⲁⲁⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲥⲓⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥ̣[ⲙⲟ]ⲥ
ⲦⲦⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲁⲩ [ⲉⲩ]ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ̣ ⲁⲓ[. .
ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲕⲁⲁⲧ̀
Ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲓⲟⲟ[ⲣⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲕⲁ
+ⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲡⲉⲥⲁⲩⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱ
ⲦⲦⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄ ⲙ̄
Ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲏⲧ ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲧ ⲁⲡⲕⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓ
ⲥⲁⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲕ
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣϫ̣ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅
ⲚⲒ . [. .]ⲱⲁⲩ[. .]ⲁⲣⲱⲩ̄ ⲉ̣ⲓⲥ ⲥⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ
. . . . .]ⲟ̣ⲁⲛ[. .].ⲓ̣ⲟⲛ [ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ

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4 fort. ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟ ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ. — 7 init. fort. ⲥⲱⲧⲙ. — 8 fort. ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲕ̣. — 16 ⲛⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲉ coniicio. — 20/21 fort. ⲁⲧ[ⲱⲗ]ⲙⲉ. — 31 fort. ⲛⲓⲙ.

ll. 1—2 *illegible*

I] strip myself of the body (σῶμα) of destruction, the habitation
of] the powers of death (?) and ascend on high to thy
Aeons from which I was once separated, that I may receive thy
gifts, my merciful God, my Saviour (σηρ̄), my Rescuer.
. . . . my Lord, as I call unto thee in the hour for which
I . . ., and do thou scare away the . . . . .
that they seize not my soul; for thee only
have I loved from the beginning unto the end.
Glory to thee, the God of Truth that is crowned in his
Aeons; victory to thy Son Jesus, the Saviour (σωτήρ) of them that [believe
in him; honour to thy Spirit, the Paraclete, and the soul
of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

CCLXIX.

Jesus, my Light, the Son of them that . . ., do not
forsake me in the desert of this world (κόσμος).
I have purified thee, my God, from flesh (σάρξ) and blood (?); do not
forsake me in the desert of this world (κόσμος).
The Father, the King of the crowns, — I have made him pure from (?)
. . . . Do not forsake me.
These Lights that are on high — I have made them ferries for me.
Do not forsake (me).
This power that supports the universe — I have guarded its freight. Do not.
My Lord Jesus, thou art my trust. Do not.
I have hung to thy defence, I have spurned the whole world (κόσμος).
I was about to go down in the deep, I turned to the shore
again. Do not.
I left my parents of the flesh (σάρξ) because of my true parents. Do not.
I left my brothers of the body (σῶμα) because of my brothers of the Spirit.
. . . . . behold, I have been far away from them. Do not.
. . . . . I have despised (καταφρονεῖν) them. Do not.

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16 ⲁⲡⲱⲣ etc.: this refrain is repeated, sometimes in a much abbreviated form, at the end of each verse, apparently down to 88, 12, where it is replaced by ⲧⲱⲛ: 'Arise'. — 18 cf. 52, 22—27 n. — 27 ⲛⲉⲓⲧⲁⲛϩ: vid. 63, 17 n., cf. 147, 17 b. ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲙⲏⲧ: lit. 'go in the deep', i. e. 'founder'. ⲙⲏⲧ 'seems to be a genuine instance of the masc. word for deep water = ⲁⲧⲟ, which has been confused with a fem. word of (at present) indistinguishable meaning, cf. Crum Dict. 193 a. b and the Berlin Wörterb. references given there. That they are two separate words is shown by Spiegelberg, Orakel-glossar 121 (Demotische Chronik)'. HT. At 147, 17 b the phrase is repeated.

l. 1 periit

Ⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲍⲏⲧⲉ ⲁ ⲓ̈ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄[ⲡⲱⲣ
ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲡⲍⲕ[ⲟ] ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲓⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̣̄
. . . . . [. .]ⲡ̣ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩ[ⲧⲉ
ⲗⲡⲱⲣ]ⲕⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲟⲟ̣ⲧ̣ⲕ̣ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲍⲉ ⲕⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁ̣ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄
. . . . . ⲁ̣ⲩⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲓ̣ⲥ ⲍⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̣̄[.]ⲱ .

l. 7 non legi potest

ⲦⲦⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲫ̄ ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲁⲕⲫ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲉⲱ[ⲉ
. . . . . ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲁⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲫ̄
. . . . .]ⲉⲩⲥ̣ⲱ̣ⲧ̣ⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲭ̣ⲛ̣[ⲉ
ⲦⲦ̣[.]. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲉ̣
ⲦⲦⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲕⲁⲍⲧⲏⲩ ⲧⲱⲛ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̣ⲕ̣ ⲡⲉ̣ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩ+ . . ⲡ̣ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲧⲱ[ⲛ
non legi potest
ⲦⲦⲁⲣ̣ⲭⲓⲁⲓⲕ̣ⲁ . . . . ⲓ̣ⲟⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲗ[ⲓⲥ] ⲧⲱⲛ
Ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏ̣ⲩ ⲛ̣ⲁ̈ⲓⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲯ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲍⲉ ⲁⲩ
+ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕ̣ⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲱⲛ
Ⲱ . . . ⲛ[.] . . ⲙ̣ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲁⲣⲓⲱⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ̄
.].[. .]ⲉ . . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲍⲱⲃⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
Ⲟ]ⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲩ
ⲥ]ⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · $\overline{\text{ⲥⲟ}}$ · <

ⲓ]ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲧⲍⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲩ
ⲛ̣ⲉ +ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁⲍⲙⲉⲧ̀
Ⲧⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲍⲁⲩ ⲁ̈ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲱⲩ ⲁ̈ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲕ̣ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲟ
ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ +ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁⲍⲙⲉⲧ̀
Ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲁ̈ⲑⲃ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲉ̈ⲡⲏⲧ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲩⲉⲩ
ⲡ$\overline{\text{ⲭⲣⲥ}}$ · +ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁⲍⲙⲉⲧ̀
ⲦⲦⲍⲱⲧⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ [ⲡⲓ]ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲉⲧⲕ̀
ⲟⲩ]ⲁⲱⲩ̄ ⲁ̈ⲓⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲍⲓⲱⲱⲧ +ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲡⲁ[ⲭ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̄[ⲕⲛ]ⲁⲍ
ⲙⲉ]ⲧ̀
ⲦⲦⲭⲁⲓ]ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲉ̣ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲁⲕ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲁ̣[ⲃⲁⲗ . .

13 fort. ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩ+ⲱⲁⲡⲥ̄. — 15 ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲁⲓⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏⲥ vid.: ⲓ̣ⲟⲛⲏ parum intellego.

l. 1 *destroyed*

The works of the New Man — behold, I have passed over to them. Do not.
I have endured hunger and thirst because of thy unfailing plenty.
. . . . . the world (κόσμος) for thy name's sake, my God.
Do not] abandon (?) me, for thou knowest all my heart.
. . . . they were (?) bound to me, behold (?) from . . . .

illegible

The race (ἀγών) in which I ran I finished rejoicing.
. . . give (?) me my garland for which I have toiled.
. . . . . the Light, the Image (εἰκών) of my counsel.
. . . . . of Truth, he that knows my strength.
O Perfect Man, haven of my trust, arise.
Thou art the First Man, my true . . ., arise.

illegible

O ἀρχιδικα[στής?] . . . . of my city (πόλις). Arise.
My brethren, my parents of the flesh (σάρξ), do not weep for me, for I have been given the garlands for which I toiled. Arise.
O . . . . of the Spirit, make festival with me all of you,
. . . . . my garlands, these that never fade.
Glory and victory to our Lord Mani and his holy Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCLXX.

O Jesus, the true hope (ἐλπίς), whom I got for myself in knowledge, aid me, my Lord, and save me.
The evil world (κόσμος) I hated, I loved thee more, o Saviour (σωτήρ). Aid me, my Lord, and save me.
Youth I subdued, running in thy virtue, o Christ. Aid me, my Lord, and save me.
The intercourse of defilement I forsook; the purity which thou lovest I put on me. Aid me, my Lord, and save me.
The Lord] of mercy whose commandments (ἐντολή) I fulfilled

2 cf. Eph. 4, 24.

. . . . . .]. . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ . . . [. . . . . .
. . . . . ⲧⲟ]ⲟⲧ ⲡⲁϫ[ⲁⲓⲥ ⲛⲕⲛⲁϩⲙⲉⲧ
non legi potest
. .]. . . ⲁ . ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲁⲓⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ [. . . . . .
.] . ⲕ ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁϩⲙⲉⲧ
ⲁⲕ]ⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲃⲉⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲁⲕⲱ[ⲧⲁⲙ] ⲁⲛⲃⲉⲗ [. . . .
. . . .] ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛ[ⲁϩ]ⲙⲉⲧ
. . .] . .ⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ[ⲥ]ⲙⲉ . . . [. .]ⲏⲧⲥ̀
ⲁ]ⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁⲣ[ⲙⲉⲧ
Ⲛⲁ]ⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲛⲁϩⲱⲥ ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲗⲙ[ⲟⲥ . . . .]ⲙ̄ . [. . .]ⲛⲉⲕ
. . .]ⲉⲧ ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛ[ⲁϩⲙⲉ]ⲧ̀
Ⲛⲧⲕ ⲡ]ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉⲉⲧ [ⲙ]ⲡⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲛ̄[. . . . . .
. . .].ⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ .[.].ⲧ ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲡ[ⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲛⲕⲛⲁϩⲙⲉⲧ
Ⲉⲓ]ⲡⲏⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ ϫⲉ [ⲉⲓⲁ]ⲣⲉⲛⲉⲕ . .[. . . . . .
.]. ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁ[ϩⲙⲉⲧ
.]. . . ⲛⲏⲓ ⲙⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲓⲥ[. . . . . .
non legi potest
. . .]. ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲟⲃⲥⲱ . . .[. . . . . .
ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁ[ϩⲙⲉⲧ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ[. . . . . .
.]ⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁ[ⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · $\overline{\text{coa}}$ · <

|ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ϫⲓⲧ̀ ⲁ[
ⲦⲦ]$\overline{\text{ⲭⲣⲥ}}$ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲏ̄ ⲉⲓⲏⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲓⲥⲉⲓⲉ ⲁⲙⲡⲁⲱⲏ̄ ⲙ̀
ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲣⲉⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲣⲃ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲁ̣ⲩⲛⲧ
ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲛⲉⲧ ⲁⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
ϩⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ • ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ |ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲁⲟⲩ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲧⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲏⲣ ⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲁⲱⲏ̄
ⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲛⲏⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲙⲏⲉ
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲁⲃⲁⲙ ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲡⲕⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲩ ϩⲱⲱⲧ

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4 leg. ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲁⲓⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ. — 8 init. fort. ⲧⲉⲕ]ⲙⲏⲉ. — 23 fort. ⲁ[ϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲕ] cf. 85, 23.

ll. 1—3 *fragmentary*

. . . . . in thy holy ones also . . . . .
Aid me, my Lord, and save me.
Thou hast] opened the eyes of my heart, thou hast shut (?) the eyes . . . .
Aid me, my Lord, and save me.
. . . . in which I believed has not . . . . .
ever. Aid me, my Lord, and save me.
My] prayers, my hymns, my psalms (ψαλμός) . . . . . .
. . . Aid me, my Lord, and save me.
Thou art he] who made me worthy . . . . . .
. . . . forth . . . Aid me, my [Lord, and save me.
For (γάρ) [I] run that I may please thee . . . . . .
Aid me, my Lord, and save me.

ll. 16—17 *fragmentary and illegible*

. . the garland, the raiment . . . . . .
unto thee. Aid me, my Lord, and save [me.
Glory to the . . . . . .
victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) [Mary.

CCLXXI.

Jesus, King of the holy, take me . . . . . .
O Christ whom I have loved, belonging unto thee, I fell into the snares of the body (σῶμα) of death. The trappers that set traps for me brought me beneath their nets, they excluded me from the air (ἀήρ) of the freedom of the beautiful birds. Behold then, thou camest after me, Jesus, my Light, the releasor of them that are bound: I broke their snares, I burst their nets by the faith of thy Truth.
I have myself made myself pure for thee according to (κατά) my power, o King of the holy;
thy holy name have I also made pure of defilement

ll. 1—3 perierunt

4 . . . . . ⲉⲧ . . . ⲧ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲣ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ
. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄ [ⲁ]ⲡⲓ . [.
non potest legi
. . . . [. . . .]. . . ⲁⲡ̣[. .]ⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣[. . . . .
. . . . . [. . .]ⲛ̣ⲁⲣⲥ̄ ⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧⲱ .[.
10 . . . . . .[. .]. ⲧⲭ . . ⲉ ⲥⲱⲟⲥ ⲧⲉ ⲧϯⲩⲭ[ⲏ
. . . . . [. ⲕ]ⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲡ̣ . . . . . ⲛⲱ[. .
. . . . .]
. . . . . ⲧ]ⲏⲩ ⲉ̣ⲧⲛⲓⲫⲉ ⲛ[. .]ⲕ ⲉⲕⲥⲃⲏⲣ [. .
. . . . . .]. . . ⲥⲁ . . . ⲁ . [. .]ⲛ ⲥⲓⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ [. .
15 . . . . . .] . . . . . [. . .]ⲙ̣ⲓ̣ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩ[ⲭⲏ
. . . . . .] . . . . ⲙ̣ⲟⲩ[. ⲧ]ⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲓⲫⲉ .
. . . . . .] . . . . . .ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣
. . . . . .]. ⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣[. .
. . . . . .] . . . .
20 . . .] . . . . . ⲁⲱⲉ ⲉ[. . .] . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲱ
ⲙⲁ . . . . . ⲁⲍⲣ]ⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ̣ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ
. . . . . .] . . . ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲕⲣ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲕ ⲁ
. . . . . .]. ⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲙⲉ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲉⲩ]ⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲓⲙⲏ
ⲧⲓ . . . . . .] . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̣ . ⲙⲛ̄ . . . ⲧⲛ̄ . . . ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲁⲣⲏⲩ
25 . .] . . . ⲃⲁⲓ ⲁⲣⲁⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲓⲉⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲁϊⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲉ ⲛⲉ[ⲛ
ⲁϊⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲍⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲁϊⲟⲩⲁⲍⲧ̄
ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲁϊⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲁϊⲃⲓ ⲛ̄
ⲱⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̣ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲱⲛⲍ • ⲁϊⲕⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ
ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲙⲉ̀ ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ̀ • ⲁϊⲍⲁⲗ ⲣⲉⲧ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲧⲁⲩ
30 ⲣⲟⲥ ⲁϊⲉⲱⲧ̄ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲁϊⲭⲓ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓ
ⲥ]ⲙⲟⲥ ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲟⲛ ⲭⲓⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲕ ⲁⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

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5 fin. fort. ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ. — 7 fort. ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀. — 8 fort. ⲡ̣ⲁⲣⲥ̀. — 22 fort. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ 'fatalis'. — 28 ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲙⲉ̀ sic: leg. ⲁⲧⲱⲙⲉ̀?

ll. 1—3 *destroyed*

. . . . . bound in the body (σῶμα).
. . . . . the earths, thou hast not sat . . .
illegible
. . . . . thou shewest . . . .
. . . . . the gate of Hades . . .
. . . . . but the . . . is the soul
. . . . . judge (κριτής), they that . . . . .
. . . .
. . . . . wind that blows . . . . . thee in thy sailing
. . . . . back
. . . . . love (?) the soul
. . . . . wind that blows
. . . . . the sea
. . . . . by thy . . . . cry
. . . . . .
. . . . . of this body (σῶμα?)
. . . . . up beneath the sins of the body (σῶμα) of
. . . . . it, thou thyself bearing witness of
. . . . . death which is buried inside [it], saying: Except (εἰ μήτι?)
. . . . . wisdom (σοφία), perchance
. . . . . it by our virtue which we guard for ourselves.
I heard the power of thy living cry, I followed
thee, I put down the nets of Error (πλάνη), I took the
nets from the man in unto life, I let the dead
bury the dead, I stepped in with thy cross (σταυρός),
I hung to the right of thee, because I received the
blessing (μακαρισμός): henceforth (λοιπόν) take me with thee to the Paradise of the
holy Gods.

25—28 cf. Mt. 8, 22. The meaning of the words ⲁⲒⲂⲓ — ⲁⲡⲱⲛϩ is not clear to me: I have translated them literally. In l. 28 ⲣⲁⲗ ⲣⲉⲧ: lit. 'brought my foot', vid. Crum Dict. 666 b; supr. 63, 30.

. . . . .]. . ετογαϐε ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ϩ̣[. . . . .

periit

. .]ϐⲱ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̣ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁϐⲉ ⲧ̣[ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲕⲭ[. . .
ⲭ]ⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲧϐⲱ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ̣ ⲡⲉ̣ ⲡ[ⲕⲗⲁⲁⲟⲥ
ⲡ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ϣⲗϩ̣ ⲛ[ⲓ]ⲙ ⲉⲧⲁ+ ⲕⲁⲣⲡ[ⲟⲥ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲩ
ⲥⲉ]ϣⲁⲧⲫ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲫ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲭⲫ̄ ⲁⲧⲥⲉ̣[ⲧⲉ . . . .
ⲭ]ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲫ̄+ ⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ
Ⲛϣⲏ]ⲛ̣ ⲉ̣ⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲧϩⲟⲩⲣⲉϣⲣⲉϣ ⲉⲧⲙⲏϩ ⲛ̄ⲕ[ⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲁⲓ
ⲧ]ⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ[ⲉ] ⲡ[ϣ]ⲗⲏ[ⲗ ⲧⲛⲏⲥ
ⲧⲓ]ⲁ̣ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ϣⲁⲛⲉ̣[. . . . . .
. . .] ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁ̣ⲱⲣⲫ̣[ⲛ . . . . . .
ⲛ]ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲁ̀ⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲧ ϩ̣[. . . . . .
ⲙⲡ]ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ ϭⲱ̣[. . . . . .
ⲙ ⲛ̄ⲕ+ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲁⲃⲉⲓⲟⲛ [.] . . . . [. . . . . .
ϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · $\overline{\text{ϲοϐ}}$ · <

ⲓ]ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ[ϩⲕ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲁϐⲁⲗ ⲛ
ϭⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲟⲩϩⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈
Ⲱ ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲙⲏϩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲉ ⲁⲭ[. . . . . .
ⲛⲉ ⲡϣⲁⲙ|ⲥⲉ |ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲫ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲕ̣[ⲱ ⲙⲙⲁ
ⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ϩ|ⲓⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲗⲱⲭϩ̀
Ⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲗ|ⲗⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲉⲩⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄ ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ
ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲕ̣ⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲙⲟⲛⲟⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ⸗
Ⲥϩⲁⲣⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭ|ⲓ ⲡⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲫ̄ ⲉⲩ
ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭ|ⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲩⲡⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ ⲁⲗ
ⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈+ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡ⸗
Ⲉ|ⲥ ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲥⲉⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛ
ⲡ|ⲧⲛ̄ ⲥⲉⲧⲁϣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲗⲱⲭϩ̀ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ [ϩ]ⲱⲱϥ ⲥⲉ
ⲙⲏϩ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ

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3 fin. an ϫοοϲ? — 12 inter ⲧⲙⲏⲉ et ⲁⲛⲁⲕ spatium unius litterae. — 13 fort. ϭⲱⲗⲉ. — 29 ϩⲱⲱϥ sic.

. . . . . holy . . . of thy commandments (ἐντολή) . . . .
l. 2 *destroyed*
holy living vine which thou hast . . .
'I am the vine, thou art the [κλάδος (?),
my Father is the husbandman. Every branch that shall give [bad] fruit
(καρπός)
is cut with its root and is cast into the fire . . . .
because it gave not good fruit'.
The trees] that sprout and blossom and are full of [fruit (καρπός) I have
given to thee, my husbandman: they are Prayer, Fasting (νηστεία?),
Almsgiving, Love (ἀγάπη) towards . . . . . .
henceforth (λοιπόν) do thou give them as a gift (δῶρον?) . . . .
of] Truth. I also am one . . . . . .
the] garland of renown, clothe (?) . . . . . .
and give me the prize (βραβεῖον) . . . . . .
soul of Mary.

CCLXXII.

Jesus Christ in whom I have believed, show [thyself to me
quickly and save me.
O merciful and good (ἀγαθός), full of mercy upon . . . .,
o First-born, Jesus, whom I have loved, do not forsake me
in my tribulations.
Since my youth unto thee have I given thanks (εὐχαριστεύειν);
I forsook the universe, I believed in thee, I stood
in thy name, o only-begotten (μονογενής). Do not.
It is heavy upon me, the vesture (σχῆμα) wherein I stood: all men
hating it and persecuting it; but (ἀλλά)
thou it is to whom I gave my soul. Do not.
Lo, they of the sky stand against me and they that are
below multiply my tribulations; they that are with me also are
filled with wrath against my soul.

3—7 cf. Joh. 15, 5; Mt. 3, 10; Keph. Cap. I; Act. Arch. 24, 18ff.; Gal. 5, 22. — 8 ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲣⲉⲱ: vid. 8, 19 n. — 9—10 cf. Gal. 5, 22. — 12 cf. 93, 4. — 20 ⲁⲡⲱⲣ etc.: this refrain is repeated, sometimes succinctly, at the end of several of the verses.

. . . .]. . .[. .]ϫ̣ωε̣ τε̣ ταϯχη ⲛ̄ⲁⲙ̣ . .[. . . .

periit

non legi potest

. . .]. . .[. .]. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲃⲁⲙ

. . .]. ⲁ|ⲃ̣| ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲥⲃⲉⲩ ⲁ̈ⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[. . .

ⲁ]ⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲉⲕⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁ̈ϯ ⲛⲁⲙ[ⲉ]ⲗ[ⲟ]ⲥ ⲁⲥ[ⲣⲏ

. .]. . . . . ⲁ̣ϩ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲕⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ̣[ⲕ

. . .]. |ⲉ̣ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ταϯχη ⲛⲁⲱⲃ| ⲁⲥⲣⲏ ⲥ[ⲁⲣⲁⲩ

ⲉⲩⲕ]ⲏ̣ ⲁ̣ϫⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ϫ| ⲛⲉⲥⲡⲉ|ⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁ̣ⲗⲗⲁ̣ [. . .

. . . . . .]. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲣⲉⲩ[ⲥⲱⲧⲉ

periit

. . . . . .]ⲱⲟⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ϫ| ⲡⲡⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̣[. . . . .

. . . . . .]. ϫⲁ|ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗⲁϫⲟⲥ • ⲙ[ⲡⲱⲣ

. . . . . .]. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ[. . . .

. . . . . .]. . . . ⲧ ⲙ̣ⲙ̣ⲁⲩ ϫⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ . . . ⲛ̣[. .

. . . . . .] ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲧⲟ̄ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ ⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ • ⲙⲁⲣ|ⲣ

ⲣⲟ ⲥ]ⲱⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲙ̣ⲉⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲧⲣⲁϫ[ⲓ]ⲱ|ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲕ̄

. . . .]ⲡ̣ⲣⲟ̣ⲓ̣[. . .] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲣⲏ ⲓ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲃⲥ̄ ⲡⲁⲕⲣ̣[ⲓ

ⲧⲏⲥ] ⲧⲥⲁⲡⲥⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲛⲥⲣⲏ ⲓ ⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲱ[ⲗ]ⲏⲗ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ

ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ

Ⲛⲧⲁⲙ]ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲕⲁⲧⲕ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ

. . . ⲁⲣⲁ . . ⲛ̄ⲕⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲕⲧⲣⲉⲩⲧⲉⲥⲟ ⲛ̄

ϫⲓ ⲡ̣ⲕ̣ⲛⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲃⲁⲙ

Ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲕⲧⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲥⲁⲓ̈ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ

ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲕⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁϯχη ⲥⲱⲥ̣

ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲁⲕⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ

Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ϫⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛ̄

ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡ|ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧϯχη ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ|ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣ|ⲁ ⲑⲉⲟ

ⲛⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲓ̈ ϫⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

8 init. fort. ⲛⲑⲗ|ϯ|ⲥ. — 19 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ: ⲕ sup. lin. vid. — 22 fort. ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈.

. . . . . is my soul . . . . . .

l. 2 *illegible*

l. 3 *destroyed*

. . . . . my weakness.

. . . I have borne thy yoke, I have bound my . . . .

unto thy cross (σταυρός), I have given my members (μέλος) up

. . . . . Do not forsake me.

. . . . which my soul will be able to bear

as] its trials (πειρασμός) lie (?) upon it; but (ἀλλά)

. . . . . thee, for thou art its Saviour (?).

l. 11 *destroyed*

. . . . be, even the growth (?) of . . .

. . . . . desert, and thou be ἔκλαχος. Do not.

l. 14 *fragmentary*

. . . . . them from the beginning . . . .

. . . . . he returned, he ruled over them. Let me

also rule with thee, let me not be put to shame in thee.

. . . . . thee in a prayer, my Judge (κριτής?);

I beseech thee in entreaties, for thou

art the hidden joy of thy children.

I] called unto thee: do not turn away from me, but (ἀλλά)

. . . . and hear me quickly and make thy mercy

overtake my weakness.

Hear me and make thy succour (βοήθεια) overtake me, that I may rest

from all afflictions and my soul too

rejoice because it called unto thee and thou didst answer it.

Glory and victory to our Lord Mani, the Spirit of

Truth, who cometh from the Father, and his holy perfect

Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona,

Pshai, Jmnoute.

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12 The meaning of ⲡⲁⲩⲣⲉ is not certain, vid. Crum Dict. 277 a. — 13 ἔκλαχος: ? from ἐκλαγχάνειν (vid. Liddell-Scott-Jones p. 511 a). But a privative sense, e. g. 'expers', 'exsors', would better suit the context, such as it is.

> · $\overline{\text{COΓ}}$ · <

|$\overline{\text{HC}}$] $\overline{\text{пхрс}}$ петаїнаστε арау тωк арετ̣к̣ [νεμμι ϛντ
о]γνογ ν̄τααναгк̣н
Ⲁν]ак̣ оγїε ϛωωτ ϛν̄тнπε ν̄тк̣ωε νεϙ[а]ϒ [νει
5 ν]етапк̣їωт тееγ атоотк̣ хек̣аμане ν̄μαγ
Ντ]апоγωνω̄ ν̄ρεγтωρп̄ πωнре ν̄тε̣ρ̣μι̣а ϙωт̣
με] апаϛрау етϛалб̣ аγει аϛрнї ецтаγе̣
Ⲁп]к̣̣лнрос тεϛаї оγте тарεїте тнрс̀ μ̣ . [.]ϛа . .
. .]ϙоγ ωαν+хак̣ паагωн
10 Ⲁιт]εετ апμоγ εїк̣аϛтаї̀т̀ апсехе ν̄ . . . ν̄ноγ
т]е хе петамоγ ϥаωнѕ̀ петаϕвїаϥ [сεн]ахест̣[ϥ
Тсо]ϕια етак̣тεес нї аїωоγωоγ ν̄μ[а]ϙ . . . .[.
. .]λогμа ν̄πε ρωμε ω+тωн аϛнт̣ аннϛе
Ⲉιс] нεк̣εντолаγε аїεїтоγ нї ν̄ϛалⲗ[Бω]ẹ аїϛак̣[т
15 аι]Бω̣к̣ апто аїμоγте ạ̣нха[
Ⲉι]ωансωтμε апϛраγ ν̄тк̣са[лπιГΣ . . . . . ε
т]ọγаβε есωω ν̄πωωμ μν̄ттр[ω . . . . . .
о]γаϛт̄ ν̄сωк̣
Ⲁι]тоγїаї апто аїка наїате ν̄сωї аї[πωνε апх
20 а]ιс εтаї атπε μν̄пкаϛ
Ⲙ]пιϛапт̀ арак̣ пανоγте ν̄пι[р̄поγ[ωω μпсω
μа хε нεк̣каат̀ ν̄сωк̣ ϛν̄тоγноγ [
Νạпвιос гар ωаγоγїне • маγсι ν̄т[. . . . . .
пк̣аιаϛε ан ν̄ν̄рωμε оγϛнвс̀ пе ẹ̣ωạ̣ч[хене
25 Ⲉїтεоγо ν̄неї̈ єїрμε апсωтнр μоγте арα[ι
а]μоγ псаїх ν̄аωιре ν̄к̣+ пк̣лам ν̄поγаїне [нні
Νιμ петаωнеγ наснну ν̄ч̣к̣атч̄ апто ν̄к̣аιса[п] ν̄ч
таμо ν̄рωμε тнроγ [ап]еαγ етаїхιтч̄ ν̄пооγе
+сапсп̄ ν̄μωтν̄ тнртν̄ наснну насγггеннс
30 хε ν̄пωр арμε ннї хε аїбн̄ пвεк̣е ν̄πаϛιсе
Оγẹ̣ạγ [μноγбро μпнхаιс пμанιхаιос μннеч
сωтп̄ т[нроγ] оγ[бро нт+γχн] ν̄тμак̣арια ν̄μарια

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2 cf. 233 b 12. — 6 ερημια: cf. Hom. 14, 21. — 8/9 ν̄πιϛалт апазоγ coniicio, coll. 63, 30. — 10 fort. ν̄μμнε vel ν̄πνаб̀. — 12 exspectares ν̄μаї ν̄ϛнтс̀. — 15 анха[хε] coniicio = ? 'provocavi hostes'. — 21/22 fort. [ннλог]ма.

CCLXXIII.

Jesus] Christ, in whom I have believed, stand [with me in the
hour of my need (ἀνάγκη).
I also am one in the number of thy hundred sheep
which thy Father gave into thy hands that thou mightest feed them.
The ravenous wolf, the son of the desert (ἐρημία), heard
my sweet cry and came up raging(?).
Thy lot (κλῆρος) fell on me among all my kin: . . . . . .
until I had finished my fight (ἀγών).
I] gave myself up to death trusting in the . . . divine word:
'He that dies shall live, he that humbles himself shall be exalted'.
I gloried in the wisdom (σοφία) that thou gavest me . . .
the] Sects (δόγμα); never was man able to contend against me.
Lo,] I made thy commandments (ἐντολή) an armour for me, I armed [myself
and went into the world, I called the . . . . .
When [I] hear the cry of thy . . . . holy trumpet (σάλπιγξ?)
sounding summer and winter . . . . . .
I follow thee.
I betook myself far from the world, I left my parents, I [passed unto the
Lord who is greater than heaven and earth.
I hid not from thee, my God, I did not do the will [of the
body (σῶμα?), that thou mightest not leave me in the hour . . . .
For (γάρ) the things of life (βίος) pass away, they do not satisfy the . . . .
the lifetime also of men is a lamp that [goes out.
As I was saying these things in tears the Saviour (σωτήρ) called me:
come, o busy champion, and give the garland of Light [to me.
Who can see, my brethren, and return to the earth again and
tell all men of the glory which I have received today?
I beseech you all, my brethren, my kinsmen (συγγενής),
do not weep for me, for I have found the reward of my toil.
Glory [and victory to our Lord Mani and all his
Elect. [Victory to the soul] of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

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4 cf. Mt. 18, 12. ⲟⲩⲓⲉ and ⲉⲥⲁⲩ are feminine: the 'sheep' seems to be the soul. — 7 ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲩⲉ: cf. 15, 17. In view of this passage, the meaning 'branded' suggested there seems highly improbable. — 11 cf. Mt. 16, 25; 23, 12.

coⲁ

|ⲏⲥ ⲡⲁⲃⲟⲏ]ⲑ[ⲟ]ⲉ ⲙⲁ+ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲛ̣[.].[. .
. . . .]. . . . ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲭ . . . . . .[. .
. .]. . . . . ⲡⲱⲃⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲓⲣⲁⲥⲧⲩ̄ [. .
. . . ⲁⲭ . . . . . ⲁ̣ⲓⲥⲗⲥⲱⲗⲩ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ . . .[.
ⲛ[. . .] ⲱⲁⲡⲧ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ
. . . ⲗ . .[.] ⲃⲓ . . . ⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲡ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲥ̣ⲛ̄ .[.
ⲕ . . . . . ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ . . .[. . .
. . ⲕⲁⲥ . . . . . ⲡⲉⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥ̣ⲓⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲭⲓ ⲕⲗⲁ̣[ⲙ
. . . . . .
. .]. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕ . . . . . ⲥ̣ⲛⲉ . . .[. .
. . . . . ⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ ⲙⲁ+ ⲛⲏⲓ .[. .
. ⲁ̣ .[. . . .]. . ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲁⲃⲉⲓⲟⲛ̣
.]ⲥ̣ . . . .[. . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉⲣⲏⲧ̣ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲓ . [.
. . . . . .] ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲫ . . ⲉⲧⲕⲏⲕ ⲁⲥⲏⲩ ⲉ .[.
. . . . . .]. . ⲛⲏⲓ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲓ̈ⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲉⲓ[.
. . . . . .]ⲏⲣⲡ̣
. . . . . .]. . ⲡⲥⲉⲡ ⲛⲁⲥⲣⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲗⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲉⲭⲉ [. .
. . . . . .]. . . ⲟⲩ ⲁ̣ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲥ̣ ⲉ̣[.
. . . . ⲙⲡⲱ]ⲱⲙ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲣⲱ ⲛⲧ̣ⲉⲉⲣ ⲉⲧⲭⲱⲗⲉ ⲁ̣[.
. . . . . .

Ⲛⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲙ]ⲡ[ⲕⲟⲥ]ⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲉ[ⲓ
. . . . . .]ⲭ . ⲡⲥⲁⲓ̣ⲧ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲥⲟ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏ
ⲣ ⲉⲓⲟⲩ]ⲁⲗⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲕⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲙⲁ
ⲙ[. . .]ⲕⲛⲟⲩⲥ . . . ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣ . . . . ⲡⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ [ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ
ⲡ]ⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ̣ⲩⲛⲁⲍⲙⲉⲧ̀ ⲁⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄[ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

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2 cf. 233 b 13. — 16 fin. fort. ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲡⲛⲟⲛ. — 23 fort. ⲭⲓ ⲡⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲱ.

CCLXXIV.

Jesus my helper (βοηθός),] give me thy right hand . . .
. . . . . unto thee. Do not . . . . . .
. . . . . the false friend I smote . . .
. . . . . I slew him with the sword of . . . .
. . . . take me to thy habitations.
. . . . . that is shut up in prison in
. . . . . by the amnesty (ἀμνηστεία) of thy . . . .
. . . . . of the stars (?) and she receives the garland
. . . .

l. 11 *fragmentary*

. . . . three seals (σφραγίς), give to me
. . . . . the garland and the prize (βραβεῖον).
. . . . . as thou didst promise me while I
. . . . . and the naked . . . .
. . . . . to me thy true bread in the . . . .
. . . . wine (?).
. . . . . the judgment before the sweetness of thy words
. . . . . I, beyond (παρά) the fathers of the flesh (σάρξ)
. . . . summer and winter, the . . . . that stop
. . . .

The works of] the world (κόσμος) I forsook, rejoicing
. . . . . the fame (?) of thy holy treasure in the Luminaries(φωστήρ),
prospering (?) according to (κατά) thy word which thou didst utter:
'Where (?) thy (?) mind (νοῦς) . . . . . .'
Glory and victory to my Lord, [my] Light, Mani,
my true Saviour who has rescued me from the Error (πλάνη)
of the world, and his holy Elect. Victory to the soul of
the blessed (μακαρία) [Mary.

12 vid. A.V.W.Jackson, op. cit. pp. 331 ff. — 20 ϫωλε: vid. 58, 22 n; Hom. p. xix.

[COE]

|ΗC ΠCΗΡ ⲧⲱⲃⲥ ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲕ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . . ⲛ
. .] ⲫⲁⲣⲁⲕ
. . .]. . . . . ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲛⲉ . . . . . .
ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲉ]ⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲙⲙ . ⲛⲁ . ⲛⲃⲟ . . . . . .
. .]. . . . . ⲉⲕ ⲙⲡⲁⲥⲁ]ⲉ ⲉ . . . . . .
. .]. ⲉ ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛⲙⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ
. . .]ⲙⲣⲱ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁ]ⲛⲉ ⲁ]ⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲁ . . . . .
ⲱ]ⲱⲡ ⲥⲣⲉ] ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ • ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲁ]ⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲧ . . . . .
. .]. ⲍⲧⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙⲡ . ⲉⲃⲉⲛ ⲙⲡⲕⲟ . . . . . ⲛ̅ⲧ̅ . . . . .
.]. . ⲁ]ⲣⲁ]ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲙⲡ]ⲥⲱⲗⲡ ⲙⲡ . . . ⲉ . . . . . .
Ⲙⲁⲣ]ⲉ ⲛⲁⲁ]ⲙⲱⲛ ⲍⲓ ⲱ]ⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ . . .[. . . . .
. .]ϫⲱⲥ ⲁⲡ]ⲧⲛ̅ [. .] ϫⲉ ⲁ]ⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲥⲛ̅ⲡⲙⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲧ [. . . .]ⲉ
. .]. . ⲍ ⲛ̅ⲧⲃⲃⲉ [. . . . .]. . . . .[. . . . . .
. .]. ⲧⲁ] ⲙ̅ⲡ .[. . . . .] . . .
. . .]ⲃⲉ ⲩ[. . . . . ⲥⲱ]ⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲩ [. . . . . .
. . . . . ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̅ⲛ[.].[. . . . . .
. .] ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̅ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ϫⲛ̅ⲙ̅ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩ . . . . . .
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲃⲛⲧⲉ̈ [ⲟ]ⲩϫⲁ] ⲡⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲣ̅ⲙ . . . . . .
Ⲑⲉ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲏⲧ ⲥⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲱⲩ̈ ⲧⲁⲍⲉ ⲥⲱⲧ̀ ⲧⲉ [ⲉ]ⲥⲛⲡⲧ
ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲩ • ⲙⲡ]ⲣ̅ⲃⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡ . . .[. . . . . .
. .]ⲉⲛⲏ ⲥⲁⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲏⲍⲉ ϫ]ⲱⲗⲡⲉ ⲛ .[. . . . . .
ⲉ]ⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲉⲓ̈ⲱⲁⲧⲡ̅ ⲁⲡⲙⲁⲍⲟⲩⲉⲗ ⲛ̅ⲙ̅ⲫⲱⲥⲧ[ⲏⲣ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲥⲏⲧⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲁⲗⲉⲧ ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲡϫ]ⲓⲥⲃⲁⲍ [ⲛⲟⲩⲡ]ⲁⲣ
ⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ • ⲧⲱⲃⲍ̀ ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̅ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲛ̅ⲛⲁ[ⲩ] ⲥⲓ
ⲣⲉⲧ̀ ⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲙⲛ̅ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲧⲉⲗ[ⲁⲓ] ⲁⲡϫⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̅ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲛ̅ⲟⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲧⲁⲧⲩⲭⲏ
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲟ]ⲛⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲩⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲱⲁⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ
ⲛ̅ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲟ]ⲛⲱⲛⲏ ⲙⲛ̅ⲛⲁ]ⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲓ̈ⲥⲛ̅ⲡⲥⲱ
ⲙⲁ ⲥⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ ⲛ̅ⲥⲙⲟⲩ • ⲙⲁ+ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ +ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̅
ⲧⲱⲃⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲍⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲁ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲥⲏⲣ̅
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̅ⲡⲛ̅ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲁ

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2 cf. 233 b 14. — 10 fort. ⲙ̅ⲡⲗⲉⲃⲉⲛ (vid. Crum op. cit. 137 b) ⲙ̅ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ. — 15 ⲧⲁⲓ̈: fort. ⲅⲁⲣ. — 16 cf. l. 21. — 22 ⲉⲛⲏ: ⲉ valde dubium, cf. 88, 15.

CCLXXV.

Jesus the Saviour (σηρ), I implore] thee, come forth . . . . . .
unto thee.

l. 4 *fragmentary*

for (?) I am a sheep wandering . . . . . .
. . . . . my beauty (?) . . . . . .
. . . robe (στολή) of the maidens.
. . . haven of Light, I have moored in it: let my (?) . . .
welcome me in, let thy angels give . . . .
for (γάρ) . . . . of the . . . of the world (κόσμος?) . . .
I have watched it, I have not burst the . . . . .
Let] the demons be put to shame today . . . . . .
. . . . down, for I have walked in the path . . . . .
the seals (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . body (σῶμα) of death . . .

l. 17 *fragmentary*

. . . with the good (ἀγαθόν) since the day . . . .
with it, I have found her, it is a ship which . . . .
Like a bird in a snare, so also am I [while I am in the
body (σῶμα) of death. I have not been a servant of . . . .
. . . pluck my feathers, be ashamed . . . . .
evil, as I hasten to the dovecot of the Luminaries (φωστήρ).
Behold then I have clothed myself today in the raiment of a
maiden. I beseech you, my beloved, send my
almsgivings to meet me, put me aboard the ship of the holy,
let them put in quickly for my soul.
I found then the Land (χώρα) of Light and made my way to the city (πόλις)
of the Gods and consorted (κοινωνεῖν) with the righteous (δίκαιος) while I
was yet in the
body (σῶμα), through my mouth which is full of praise. Give me now
the reward of my deeds according to (κατά) the agreement (ὁμολογία) of my
Saviour (σηρ).
Glory, victory, and honour to our Lord, our Light, Mani

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22 ⲥⲁⲥⲉ: vid. Crum Dict. 358 b. — 23 ⲱⲗⲧⲧ̄: vid. 66, 32 n; ⲙⲁϩⲟⲩⲉⲗ: cf. Hom. 12, 7; 76, 24. — 28 ⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲱⲗ-: vid. 9, 1 n.

NIXAIOC . . . .] N̄ . . AĬC AXWĬ MA† NHĬ †NOY N . [.
. . . . . .]. . . XE ANAK OYEΓKPATHC . . . .[. .
. . . OYMAT]NEC ECATEZO T†YXH N̄TMAKAPIA
MMAPIA]

> · $\overline{\text{CO}}\overline{\text{S}}$ · <

CWOYZ THPTN NW]ḤPE M̄ΠNOYC N̄TETN̄ .[. . .
OY]ṆAϘ̄ N̄OYA|Ϣ ϢAΠXAĬC M̄ΠAΠ̄NA ΠAPEϤ
CWTE . . . . .]. . .
. . . . . .] ΠAXAĬC E†ϢAAT N̄TEKBOHΘEIA
. . . . . .] N̄ . . . . ṭETAKXO[OC] XEKAXAYṭϘ
periit
. . . . . P̄MṆṭ[. . . . . .
. . . . . .]
. . . . . YN̄KAZ N̄KEKE ETE N̄TAϤ ΠE Π[. .
. . . . . N̄TAP|CWTM̄ ATEKϘ[M]Ḥ ΠAϢWC [. .
. .]N . . . . . ṆNEKMAMMANE
. . .]. . . . . ϢEY ETAKTEEY NHĬ ETE ΠCAYNE ΠE
MNΠN]ṆẒṭϘ AĬTOYKWB ϘĬ†EAY M̄ΠNOYTE Π[.
. . . . . .]. . MṆ̄TCOΦIA
. . .]B[. . . .]ṆΛϘ ẒN̄TAΠOΛIC MN̄TZP̄TE N̄TCΛΠϘ MṆ
. . A . M̄MOY AĬZOMOΛOΓH ZN̄ΠAZHT THPϤ XE M̄
ΠE ΠKEKE EI ABAΛ ZN̄ΠOYAĬNE
ΑĬCWXE AĬP̄ΠM̄ΠWA N̄†KAIMAZC N̄TE N̄ΔWPEA
XE NOYPAXZT̄ ZN̄TNAϬ N̄CETE XE AĬEMAZTE N̄
TNAϢTE N̄M̄ΦWCTHP
ΑĬZOMOΛOΓH M̄ΠIATXΠAϤ AĬOYWϢT̄ M̄ΠEϤCEXE
ETM̄ΠIMA AĬXI ΠϤ̄MAKAPICMOC ETXHK XE AĬ
KATAΦPONH N̄N̄EZENNA
ΑĬEϢT̄ M̄ΠTAΠ N̄TKYPIAKH AĬ†[. .] N̄ZHTC̄ ATA†YXH

1 AMOY N̄KPAĬC coniicio sive N̄KP̄XAĬC. — 6 cf. 233 b 15. — 9 ATOYNOY EI coniicio. — 10 N̄ZPHĬ N̄ZHTC̄ coniicio.

. . . . . upon me, give me now the .
. . . . . for I am an ἐγκρατής . . . .
May peace overtake the soul of the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary].

CCLXXVI.

Gather all of you, o] sons of the Mind (νοῦς) and do you . . . .
long (?) unto the Lord of my Spirit, my Saviour (?)
. . . . .
. . . . my Lord, that I need thy aid (βοήθεια)
. . . . . which thou hast said (?) that thou wouldest send

l. 11 *destroyed*
l. 12 *fragmentary*

. . . . .
. . . . . Land of Darkness, which is the
. . . . . when I heard thy voice, my shepherd,
. . . . . to thy pastures.
The] good (?) . . . . which thou gavest me, which are knowledge
and] faith (?), I made them double, glorifying God,
. . . . . and wisdom (σοφία).
. . . . . in my city (πόλις) with the fear of the outburst (?) of the
deadly . . . . I confessed (ὁμολογεῖν) with all my heart that
the Darkness came not out of the Light.
I fought, I was counted worthy of this fulness (?) of gifts (δωρεά),
that I should not be burnt in the Great Fire, because I possessed
the defence of the Luminaries (φωστήρ).
I confessed (ὁμολογεῖν) this Unbegotten, I worshipped his word
which is here, I received his perfect blessing (μακαρισμός), because I
scorned (καταφρονεῖν) the Gehennas.
I hung to the fringe of the Lord's Day (κυριακή), I . . . in it to my soul.

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2 ⲉⲅⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ: cf. 179, 10 ff.; Hom. Index s. v. — 20 ⲥⲗⲡⲉ: a verbal noun from ⲥⲱⲗⲡ̄ in its intransitive sense (vid. Crum Dict. 331 a) 'burst out', erumpere. It is otherwise unknown. — 23 ⲙⲁϩⲥ: a verbal noun from ⲙⲟⲩϩ = 'fill', of which there seems to be no other example. — 24 vid. Polotsky Abriss pp. 261–2. — 28 cf. Act. Arch. (ed. Beeson) 16, 11 κολασθήσεται εἰς τὰς γεέννας (ex coniect. Dindorfii; γενεάς libri): ibid. 16, 25 poenis subdetur gehennae.

l. 1 non legi potest except. voc. ⲣⲃⲁⲗ

.]. . ⲁⲗ
Ⲥ]ⲱⲟⲩⲍ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ̄ ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲧⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲥ[. . . . . .
ⲛ]ⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ . .[. . . . . .
.]. ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ .[
. .]. . . . . ⲙⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲏⲣ ⲁⲃⲁ[ⲗ . . . . . .
ⲛ]ⲁⲇ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ [. . . . . .
ⲍⲛ]ⲡⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲛⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧ[ⲙⲁⲩⲧ
Ⲁⲙ]ⲏ ⲃⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲱ ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙ[. . . . . .
.]. . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲗⲱⲛⲏⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍⲧⲏⲩ ⲛ[ⲛⲉⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁ]ⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ [ⲙⲛⲛⲉⲩ
ⲥ]ⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ vacat ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ†[ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲧ
ⲙ]ⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

[coz : k̄ⲩ] ⲏⲣⲁⲕⲗⲉⲓⲇⲟⲩ

ⲦⲦ]χ̄ⲣⲥ̄ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲕ̄ ⲛⲉⲙ[ⲏ]ⲓ̈
Ⲁⲗ]ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲧ[. .]ⲉ . . [. . . . . .
.] ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ †ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ . .[
Ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲡⲉⲓⲟⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲍⲱⲙ ⲁⲭⲛ̄[. . . . . ⲉⲧ
ⲃⲏⲧⲕ̄ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲍⲉⲗⲡ[ⲓⲥ
Ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲣⲱⲟⲩⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲃⲱⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛ . . . . . .
ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧ ⲉⲍⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲥ[ⲥⲁⲍⲛⲉ
. .]. . . ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ [. . . . . .
ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄[.].[. . . . ⲛⲛ
ⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲓⲛⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥ[ⲙⲟⲥ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲓ ⲍⲣⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲩⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ
Ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲣⲉⲧⲕ̄ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲭⲍ̄ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲍⲁⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲍⲃⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄
ⲧ]ⲱⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲁⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲃⲥⲟ
ⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲍⲥⲉ
Ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲙⲱⲛⲁⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲓ ⲁⲓ̈† ⲁⲭⲱⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲏⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ
Ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲓ̈† ⲥⲁⲑⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲩⲍⲧ̄ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲉⲩ
ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ ⲍⲏⲕⲉ ⲍⲓⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲟ . . . . . ⲁⲣⲁⲩ

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10 fin. cf. 83, 4. — 14/15 cf. 233 b 17, 19. — 21 cf. 98, 2. — 22 init. fort. ⲛⲍ]ⲃⲏⲩⲉ. — 27 ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲉⲧⲕ̄ sic. — 28 ⲧⲃⲥⲟⲥⲉ sic vid.: leg. ⲧⲃⲉⲃⲥⲉ, coll. Keph. 89, 30 etc.

l. 1 *illegible.*

. . . .
Gather all of you, o souls that . . . . .
my almsgivings, and do you repay me . . . . . .
the present which I made you . . . . .
. . . . of the Gods is spread out . . . . .
great one of the Lights, she has met (ἀπαντᾶν) . . . .
on] the day of the resurrection of the [dead.
Come then in peace (εἰρήνη), o . . . . soul
. . . the τελώνης *(pl.)* in the trust of [thy deeds.
Glory and victory to our Lord Mani [and] all
his] holy Elect. Victory to the soul [of the
blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

[CCLXXVII. By the Lord] Heracleides.

O Christ, stand with me.
I] heard thy words which . . . . . .
for (?) I would hear . . . . .
I obeyed (πείθεσθαι) thy teachings, I trod upon . . . .
for thy sake also, I chose in (?) hope (ἐλπίς) . . .
I became hateful and evilhearted in the eyes of . . . .
I gave myself on my own accord willingly to thy commandments (?)
. . . . the world (κόσμος), the words of . . . . . .
I put them behind me: I chose the . . . . of the
divine teachings.
I left the evil courses, the licence (παρρησία) of worldly (-κόσμος) things:
I turned my face from them, for they are ridiculous.
I bent my neck down beneath thy yoke of virtue
in the time of my youth as (?) the rebellion
arose.
The poison of sin, even Mammon (μαμωνᾶς), I repulsed:
I received and put on blessed (μακάριος) poverty.
I wavered not in going forward, I turned not back at all, though they
called me pauper and stranger . . . . them.

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10 τελώνης: vid. 218, 4 n. — 14 Heracleides was one of the Twelve Apostles of Mani, vid. Mani-Fund p. 15. In the Index (vide infr. pp. 229 ff.) several groups of Psalms are attributed to him. Another group (infr. 187 ff.) is headed ⲧ[ⲟⲩ] ⲏⲣⲁⲕⲗⲉⲓⲟⲩ, which is perhaps an error for ⲏⲣⲁⲕⲗⲉⲓⲇⲟⲩ. — 26 lit. 'I lifted my face . .' — 28 ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲇⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ: lit. 'in the measure that', 'in proportion as'. For ⲇⲁⲧ v. Hom. 17, 3; 32, 6; Keph. 153, 26. — 30 cf. Lk. 16, 9. 11. 13. — 31 cf. 157, 1 ff. — 32 For ⲇ in this sense vid. Crum Dict. 395 a.

l. 1 non legi potest

. . . . ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛ]ⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁ[ϩⲛⲉ
. . . . . .]. .
. . . . . .]. ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁ̈ϩⲁⲕⲥ̄ ⲛⲉⲕ ϩⲛ̄ . .[. .
. . . . . .]. ⲡⲁϩⲛⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡϛ . .
. . . . . .]ⲥⲁⲡ ⲉ̈ⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲉⲉϫⲉ
. . . . . .]. . ⲙ̇ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲁ̈ⲁ̈[ⲧ . .
. . . . . .]. . ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁ̈ϫⲡⲁⲕ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲙ̇[. .
. . . . . .]. . . ϩⲱⲱⲧ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁⲩⲉ [. .
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .]ⲱⲡⲱⲡ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲧ[. .
. . . . . .]. . ⲁ̈ϩⲁⲃⲙⲉ. ⲧϩⲣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧ . . [. .
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .]. . ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ|ⲛⲉ| ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ . .[.
. . . . . .]. . . ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ . . ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ . . .
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .] cetera mutila
. . . . . .]ⲛⲁⲧⲛϩ̄ ⲉ̈ⲃⲁⲱⲧ̄ ϫⲉ ⲧⲛⲁ[.
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .]. . . . . . . ϫⲉ ⲛⲉ̈ⲓϫ| ⲥⲃⲱ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧ
. . . . . .] ⲡ ⲁⲱⲱⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁ̈ⲓⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲃⲧⲁⲃⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
. . . . . .]. .
. . . . . .]. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϫ ⲣϩⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩ . .
. . . . . .]. . . ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ| ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ [. .
. . . . . .]
.] . . ϫⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ| ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲁⲓⲙ[ⲱⲛ
ϫ]ⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲁⲱⲧ ⲧⲁⲃⲓⲛⲡⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ
Ⲧϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲫⲡⲱⲡ ⲛⲏ̈ ϫⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲡⲟⲥ[ⲧⲟ
ⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲱⲣⲙ̄ ϩⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲁ ⲉ̈ + ⲛⲏ̈ ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲉ
ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ
Ⲧⲧⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩϩⲱⲧⲉ ⲡⲃⲟⲏⲑⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲧⲩϫⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲓ
ⲣⲡⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ [ⲛϫⲓ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲧⲧⲩϫⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥ|
ⲁⲛⲉ ⲧⲧ[ⲩϫⲏ ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

8 ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲕⲗⲁⲙ sic. — 11 fort. ⲉⲧⲟⲩ [ⲛⲉⲁⲩ]. — 12 fort. ⲁ|ϩⲁⲃⲙⲉϩ sive ϥ. — 23 fin. fort. ⲙ̄ⲡ|ϩⲙⲁⲧ. — 26 init. fort. ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ.

l. 1 *illegible*

thy commandments (ἐντολή) and thy injunctions
. . . . . .
. . . . . . angels, I armed thee in it *(fem.)* in
. . . . . my (?) heart the sons of the
. . . . . ., as I remembered thy word (?).
. . . . . thy honoured body (σῶμα)
. . . . . these garlands, I got thee for myself
. . . . . myself from place to place, I set them
. . . . .
. . . . . promise and thy hope (ἐλπίς) which
. . . . . I caused it (?) to fade, the flower of . . .
. . . . .
. . . . . the departing from the body (σῶμα)
. . . . . daily . . . the night . . . .
. . . . .

l. 17 *fragmentary*

. . . . . my (?) wings, as I see that I shall (?)
. . . . . .
. . . . . for I was learning of my own accord
. . . . . to despise the fabricated beauty of the
. . . . . .
. . . . . thee, give me now this . . .
. . . . . me the wheel of the sphere (σφαῖρα)
. . . . . .
. . . forth from me the bitter crowd of the demons,
that they hinder not my course and confuse not my mind (νοῦς).
As thy apostle promised me from the first,
do thou nod (?) to me, give me the three gifts of
Light.
Victory to thee, my Saviour, the helper (βοηθός) of souls. Let me
be counted worthy [to receive] thy victory. I, the soul of Plousiane,
the soul of Mary.

[COH]

Ⲧⲥⲁⲩ]ϩⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲭⲡⲟ ⲛ̣ⲧⲉ ⲛ̣[. . . . . .
. .]ⲛ̣ⲁⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲣ̄ϯⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ [
ϯⲃⲓ] ϩⲁⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲭⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲉ .[. . . . . .
ⲙ]ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲩϩⲥ̀ ⲉ[. . . . . .
.].ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲫⲟⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲡϯⲙⲉ ⲉⲧ̣ . .[. . . . . .
. .] ⲡⲉⲧ̣ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲡⲧ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ̣ . . . . .[. . .
. ⲕ]ⲱⲱⲥ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲓⲁⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙ̣ .[
ϯⲧⲟ]ⲟ̣ⲧ̀ ⲉ̈ⲓϫⲁⲕⲙⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁ̈ⲓⲧ ⲁⲡⲟⲣⲅ[ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲉⲧ
ϩⲛⲡ]ⲁⲏⲣ • ⲁ̈ⲓⲡⲱⲗⲃ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛ̣[ⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ
ⲉⲧⲥ]ⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲧϩⲩⲗⲏ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲙⲁⲧⲉⲃⲧ̣ⲉ ⲛ̄[. . . .
. . .] + ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲥⲁⲥⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ • ϫⲉ ⲉ̇ ⲁ̈ⲓⲥⲉϩⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣[. . . . .
. . ⲉ]ⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲡ|ⲁⲙ ⲃⲓ ϩ̣[ⲁ|ⲙⲉ
. . .] . ϛ̣ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲁⲗϩ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲭⲓ ϫⲱⲕⲙ[ⲉ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ
ⲁⲛ]ⲏϩⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥ|ⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ϫ[ⲓ ⲧⲉⲥ
ⲙⲛ]ⲧⲃⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ ϩⲁ̈ⲉⲧ̀ • ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲉ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ̣ [. . . .
. .]ϛ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃ|ⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ϩⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏ[ⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲁ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩ̈ⲓϩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲫⲟⲟⲛⲟⲥ . . . .[. . . . . .
.]ⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ϩⲏ̀
ⲁ̈ⲗ]ⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟ ⲉⲧⲱⲧⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲧ̄ ⲡⲉⲧ̣ⲉ [ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲩ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ
ⲛ]ⲉⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ • ϯⲱⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲁⲡϯⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̣[ⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ] ϯ
ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲧ̄ ⲁⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣ[ⲝ] ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲉ̣ . . . . .
ⲛ̄[ⲟ]ⲩⲣⲧ̄ ⲉⲥⲣⲁⲩⲧ̄ ⲉⲩⲁϫⲁⲗⲉⲥ ϩⲛ̄[. .]ⲙ̣ⲛ̄[.]. . . . . [ⲛ
ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲁⲛⲟ|ϫ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲫⲣ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ [.]ⲩⲱ [. . . . . .
ⲉⲫⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϯⲁⲡⲉ
Ⲧⲧⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̄|ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲣⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲫⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁ̣[. . . . . .
ⲉ]ⲫⲧⲁⲙⲉ • ⲧⲱⲧⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩ̈ⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲃⲁⲱ[ⲧ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲉ̈ⲟⲩⲁϫ ⲉ̈ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ • ⲁ̈ⲓⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲧⲫ̄
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ ϩⲱⲙ ⲁϫⲱⲥ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲁⲧⲏⲫ • ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ
ⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁ̈ⲓⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲱⲁ̈ⲓⲙⲉ
Ⲱ ⲧⲥⲁⲩϩⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲫⲣϯⲁⲗⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲗⲃ ⲉ
ⲧⲛⲁⲧⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩϩ ⲉⲧⲙⲏϩ ⲛ̄ϩⲩⲙⲛⲟⲥ ϫⲉ
ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲁⲙ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧ̣ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲣ|ⲙⲉ

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2 cf. 233 b 20. — 12 ⲉ̇ sic expunctum. — 13 ⲃⲓ ϩⲁ|ⲙⲉ: cf. Keph. 153, 15. — 33 ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲟ sic: leg. ⲛ̄ⲱⲧⲃⲟ?

CCLXXVIII.

The assembly, the progeny of the . . . . . .
. . . . on high make music (ψάλλειν) to thee . . . . .
I bear] the body (σῶμα), the creature of Hades . . . . . .
of] the Light, the place where the assembly . . . . . .
. . people (λαός) of the immortals (ἄφθορος), the . . . . . city
to which he has taken me rejoicing, which . . . . . .
never a (?) corpse or (οὔτε) decay . . . . . .
Help] me, for I am washed and cleansed from the ὄργανον (?) [which is
in the] air (ἀήρ); I have been freed, a maiden, [from the
impure men that belong to the Matter (ὕλη), the army of . . . .
helping me on all sides; for I have removed myself from the bitter
. . . . . and come to port before the sea became stormy.
The . . . . salt sea (θάλασσα), I was not washed [in it
ever, nor (οὔτε) did I [receive the] slavery of
the fire of insatiety before my eyes (?); I was not yoked unto . . . .
of life (βίος), the cares unprofitable [and
the wounds, through the poison of envy (φθόνος) . . . . . .
that] lead the heart astray.
I have] forsaken the troubled world which [is of no
value in my eyes; I hasten to the city of the [righteous], I
yearn (?) to pass from the flesh (σάρξ), like . . . .
blooming rose which they are about to pluck in . . . . .
and give into the hands of a skilful man . . . . . .
knowing the craft.
The word of Jesus the Saviour came to . . . . . .
fitting: the vain garment of this flesh (σάρξ) I put off,
safe and pure; I caused the clean feet
of my soul to trample confidently upon it; the Gods that
are clothed with Christ, with them I stood in line.
O virtuous assembly of the righteous (δίκαιος), sweet and pleasant
singers (-ψάλλειν), — the lamps (λαμπάς) that are gathered, that are
full of hymns (ὕμνος),
light them quickly in your joy. The whimperings (?) of weeping

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6 ἄφθορος: cf. 100, 7; Hom. 22, 13. — 8 ⲓⲁⲁⲃⲉ: vid. Crum Dict. 76 b. — 21 ϯⲱⲁⲧⲡ̄: vid. 66, 32 n. — 22 ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲧ̄: cf. 188, 26; Hom. 9, 23; 10, 5; 53, 21; 55, 25. Qual. from ⲁⲗⲱⲗ (v. Crum op. cit. 6 a) 'desire eagerly'? — 24 ⲛⲁⲫⲣ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ: vid. 46, 9 n.

l. 1 periit

. . . . . .]ϣaιε μaϛxι ριμε νε][. .
. . . . .]
. . . . . .]ν ετογaβε πμεϊνε εταϊ ⲛ̄νιa
. . . . . .].ⲁπκρεν πχ̅ρc̅ πρεγcωτε πω̣[. .
. . . .]. . . .ⲡaρθενοc • ογбρο νεκ ππ̅ν̅a̅ ⲛ̄τ[μ
νε . . .]ⲁⲛετογaβε ⲛ̄αφθορος μⲛ̄νεγcωτ[π
ετ]ⲟ[γa]ⲃⲉ ογбρο ⲛ̄τ†ψχη ⲙ̄πλογcιaνε .[.
. . . ντ†ψ]χη ⲛ̄τμaκaρια μaρια θεονa

> · co-θ · <

. . ⲁτ μ]ⲙ̣ο ϣⲁπεογaϊνε τ†ψχη ⲁπcηγ θν[ⲁγ
. . . . . .]. . ⲉ ετcaϣε ⲛ̄τε τaναγκη ετναϣ[τ
. . . .]. . ⲛ̄τε πτεκο • ⲛ̄τεμaϩε ⲁϩρηϊ ⲁπεⲙ̣[τ
ⲁν]
. . . . . .]. ⲁ̣ⲓ ⲙ̄πεaγων ετε πεχaχε πετa[. .
. . . . . .]χ ⲙ̄πκaϩ εqογaτϩ̀ ϩⲛ̄τcετε ⲛ̄[.
. . . . .]
. . . . . .] ⲙ̄μο ⲁπτεκο μⲛ̄θρ̄τε ⲛ̄τε νιεϩc̀ .[.
. . . . . .]. . . ⲛ̣ϩq̄ νε ⲁβaλ ⲛ̄ϫι ππaρaκλητο[c
. . . . .]
. . . . . .] ⲛ̄νεϩμοοτ νεεντολaγε ετa.[.
. . . . . .]βι ⲁϩρηϊ ϩaπcωμa ⲙ̄πμογ ⲁ̣ⲩ
. . . . . .] ⲙ̄μο ϩⲛ̄πκοcμος
. . . . . .]ϩⲛ̣ⲧ. ⲛ̄λaγε • ecϊε ⲙ̄μο ⲛ̄τεβιτε ⲁϩρηϊ
. . . . . .] ⲧcaγϩc̀ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄νογτε τεταρεκλαc ⲛ̄ϣaρⲡ̄
ⲛ̄cω
Ϥaογωνϩ̀ ⲁρο ⲛ̄ϫι πκριτηc ϩⲛ̄ογϩο εqμηϩ ⲛ̄ρεϣε
ϥaϫaκμε ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ϥτογβο ϩⲛ̄νεqμογ ⲛ̄ϊωτε ετναтμε
Ϥaϯ ρετε ⲁπμaϊ̈т ⲛ̄тμηε ⲛ̄ϥбaρбε ⲁβaλ ϩⲛ̄νε
тνϩ̀ ⲛ̄ογaϊ̈νε ⲛ̄θε ⲛ̄ογaϩωμ εqaciωογ εqтaϊ̈λε
ⲁβaλ ϩⲛ̄πεqaηρ
Ογεaγ ογбρο ⲙ̄πп̄ . . . . . ⲡⲛ̄ογaϊ̈νε
μⲛ̄νεγcωтⲡ̄ тηρογ етογaβε ογбρο ⲛ̄τ†ψχη ⲙ̄μaρια

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11 cf. 233 b 21. — 19 fort. ογaνϩq̄. — 32 exspectavisses ⲙ̄ππaρaκλητος πⲛ̄χaϊ̈c.

l. 1 *destroyed*

. . . . . festival, she does not weep . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . that is holy, the mighty sign of these
. . . . . thy name, o Christ, the Saviour . . .
. . . . . maiden. Victory to thee, o Spirit of [Truth
. . . . holy, immortal (ἄφθορος), and his holy
Elect. Victory to the soul of Plousiane . .
. . . the] soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

CCLXXIX.

. . . . thyself unto thy Light, o soul; the time has come nigh
. . . . bitter . . . . of the grievous need (ἀνάγκη)
. . . . . of destruction, and do thou walk up to thy
rest (?).
. . . . . thy fight (ἀγών) which thy enemy . . . .
. . . . . the earth, smelted in the fire
. . . . .
. . . . . thyself from destruction and the fear of these sickles (?)
. . . . . reveals (?) himself to thee, even the Paraclete
. . . . .
. . . . . thy gifts, thy commandments (ἐντολή) which . .
. . . . . bear up the body (σῶμα) of death . .
. . . . . thee in the world (κόσμος).
. . . . . not at all; lighten thyself and take thyself up
. . . . . the assembly of the Gods which thou didst leave in
the beginning.
He will appear unto thee, even the Judge (κριτής), with a face full of joy;
he will wash thee also and purify thee with his pleasant dews.
He will set thy foot on the path of Truth and furnish thee with thy
wings of Light, like an eagle hovering, ascending
out of his air (ἀήρ).
Glory and victory to the . . . . . our Light,
and all his holy Elect; victory to the soul of Mary.

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7 ἄφθορος: vid. 99, 6 n. — 24 ⲉⲥⲉ ⲙⲙⲟ (cf. Keph. 115, 9 for initial ⲉ instead of ⲁ): v. Crum op. cit. 17 b, § II of article. — 29 ⲃⲁⲣⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ: 'furnish thee'. Cf. Hom. 28, 12; Spiegelberg op. cit. p. 277. It is common in demotic contracts, especially of a house 'provided with' beams and doors (HT.).

ⲥⲡ

. . ⲱⲡ ⲥ]ⲣⲉϥ [ⲙ]ⲡⲕⲱⲛⲣⲉ . . .[. . . . . .

. . .]. . ϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲭⲣⲥ

. . . . .]ⲡⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲱⲉⲓⲧⲉ [. . . . . .

. . . .] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲣⲁϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ • [. . . . . .

. . .]ⲧ̀ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲩⲗⲏ + .[. . . . . .

. . .] ⲛ̣ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲏ

ⲦⲦⲁ]ⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲁⲓⲡⲱⲧ ⲁⲓϫⲁ[ⲕϥ . . . . .

. . . .] ⲉⲧⲕⲣ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲓⲭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡ[. . . . . .

. .]ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥ[. . . . . .

. . .]ⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ

ⲦⲦⲥⲙ]ⲁⲧ̀ ⲉϥⲥⲁⲗⲟ ⲉϥⲙⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁϥ [. . . . . .

. .] ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕⲗⲥ ⲉ . . . .[. . . . . .

. .]ⲗ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲗ̀ . .[. .]ⲛ̄ⲧ .[. . . . . .

.]. ⲉⲓⲥⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ .[

. . . .] non legi potest

.]. . . ⲥⲱⲛⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲓϫ ⲉⲧⲣⲏⲧ . . . . . .[. . . . . .

ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲥⲓⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲣ ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩⲓⲁϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ[. . . . . .

ϫⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲉⲩⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛ[ⲉ

ⲦⲦⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲙⲡⲧⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲧ[. . . . . .

ⲡⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲑⲗⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲣⲉ [. . . . . .

ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲥⲱⲱϥ ⲧⲣⲉϥⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲉ [. . . . . .

ⲃⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲃⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ

†ⲉⲙⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ[.]ⲉⲥϩ[. . . . .

ⲗⲉ ϩⲁⲡⲗⲱⲥ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲛϩⲁⲓⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲫ[. .]ⲟⲩⲙ[ⲛ

ⲧϫⲓⲛⲃⲁⲛⲥ̀ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲗⲁϩ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ . . . . .[. . . . .

ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲛⲃⲁⲓⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

ϩ]ⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲱⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄†ⲙⲉⲗⲉⲧⲏ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ

ⲁⲓϫⲱⲕⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ϩⲛ̄†ⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ • ⲭⲓⲧ̀ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ

ⲉⲓⲏⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲙⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲡ ⲁ

ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲉⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲟⲟⲩ

ⲦⲦⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ̀ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲭⲣⲥ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲛ

ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲣⲉϥ† ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ Ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩ

ⲧⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

ⲙⲛ̄†ⲩⲭⲏ [ⲙ]ⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁⲛⲉ

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2 cf. infr. p. 233 b 22: fort. †ⲱⲱⲡ legendum. — 10 fort. ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲗⲗⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲱⲛⲉ cf. 81, 8. — 33 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩ sic: leg. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ.

CCLXXX.

I (?) take unto myself] thy Son . . . . . .
. . . Lord Christ.
. . . . run from the multitude . . . . . .
. . . . and the guile of death. . . . . .
and the fabrication of Matter (ὕλη) . . . . . .
. . . . thy wise right hand.
My] glorious race (ἀγών) I have run, I have finished [it . . .
murky . . . . of life (βίος), I have received the . . . . .
. . man thinks of it; the . . . . . .
. . . it upon the earth.
The] sweet and joyful gift . . . . . .
pleasant . . . . . of the Paraclete . . . . . .
never . . . it because of . . . . . .
. . I drinking always from the . . . . .

l. 16 *illegible*

. . . fetter the hands that . . . . . .
the cruel dog I have sent far away . . . . . .
that they be not loosed from the fetters of Light.
The two καμπτῆρες, the Luminaries (φωστήρ) which . . . . .
the gift of the three strong contests (ἆθλον) . . . . .
the image (εἰκών) on the other hand, the bringer of gladness . . .
joyous eye of my soul looks at them.
This flood which flows forth, the almsgivings . . . . . .
perchance (ἁπλῶς) upon the waves of Life (βίος) . . . . .
violence in the bitter conflict . . . . . .
myself to the holy palms.
Through such an order and through this constant exercise (μελέτη)
I have flavoured my soul in this divine teaching. Take me in,
for I belong to thee, to the habitations of joy, and pay
unto me the reward of my many contests (ἀγών).
Glory to thee, o God, the Glorious one, Christ, Saviour (σωτήρ) that
abidest, the giver of joy. Victory to the God-loving soul,
the daughter of Light, Mary, and all his Elect,
and the soul of Plousiane.

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20 i. e. the sun and moon, which are thought of as running a course (καμπή) through the heavens. — 27 ⲃⲁⲓⲉ: plur. of ⲃⲁⲉ 'palm', cf. Keph. 110, 13.

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> · CΠA · <

|HC ΠNAHT Π]ωNϩ [. .]+ . . . . ε [. . . . .] ṇε[. . . .
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .]. . . εAY N̄TAP|X|Tϥ ϩN̄o̅Y .[. . . .
. . . . . .Π]AϩHT THPϥ ϩN̄OYMEϊE N̄AT[. . . .
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .].ḥϛ ϐωωN N̄TϩYΛH AϊXΠ|[AC . .
. . . . . .]ϊε ṭAMN̄TN̄ωNϩ N̄ωεY N̄[. . . .
. . . . . .]. N|M
. . . . . .].ṇXAXε M̄ΠNOYTE ΠNOM̄[OC . .
. . . . . .]ṇε +paϊC ANAK AṇETAϩ . . .[. .
. . . . . N]TOOTϥ ΠAPεϥCωTε
. . . . . .]ṇεKCεXε ETOYABε MN̄NεK̄[. .
. . . . . N]εϊXω̣KMε N̄ϩHTOY ΠE NAϩ[. .
. . . . . N]Tϩ[ε N]OYϩALMε
. . . . . .]ω̣[. . . .]. AϩPHϊ M̄ΠETCA . . .[. . .
. . . . . .]ṭo̅Y . [. .] ϭε APAϥ ϩN̄ΠTHPϥ ε̣.ϫ̣[. .
. . . . . .]. . . . ϩωB N|M
. . . . . .]A . . . APAϥ εqϭALε N̄TεqϩΦPAΓ[|C
. . . . . .]. . . . Nεϥ N̄TϩE N̄N|PεqϩωTε εṛ
. . . . . .]. NεK̄ENTOΛAYε
. . . . . .]. . . . ṭ M̄ΠωNϩ MN̄ΠPεωε̣ N̄ATOYϊNε
. . . . . M]N̄ṭCTOΛH ΠKΛAM MN̄ΠBAε AϊMεC
TE ΠKOCM]OC AϊMεP|TK̄
. . . . . .]ϩAPK̄ AϊNEY APAC APAϩHT ρ̄BAΛ AΦρ̄TE
. . . . . .]. εN ω ΦAΛACCA KAN εPϣANB| ϩAIME
. . . . . .]
.]. . . . . ϩ . . TεϩO M̄MAϥ MAPε ΠAΓENOC THPϥ ρ̄
ϣAϊε xε AϊX| AXN̄ϩHT CNEϒ N̄N̄ϣΠωΠ M̄MHE
M̄ΠΠARAK̄ΛHTOC
TTεAY NεK̄ ΠAΠATϣελεεT M̄MHE • ΠX̄PC N̄M̄MAN
ϣελεεT M̄ΠOYAϊNε MN̄NεqCωTΠ̄ THPOY ETOY
ABε OYϭPO N̄TϮYXH N̄TMAKAPIA M̄MARIA ΦEONA

2 cf. infra p. 233 b 23. — 5 fin. 6 init. N̄AT[CεXε APAϥ] coniicio. — 14 fort. NAC[NHY. — 16 M̄ΠETCATϥ coniicio. — 20 fin. fort. εϊ. — 22 fort. ΠMA|T. — 25 TXωPA ETϩARK̄ coniicio.

CCLXXXI.

Jesus the merciful, the] life . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . glory when I have received it in . . . .
. . . . my whole heart in un- . . . . love
. . . . . .
. . . . . evil . . . of Matter (ὕλη), I have put it to shame . . .
. . . . . my(?)good . . . . . .
. . . . every . . . .
. . . . . the enemy of God, the Law (νόμος?) . .
. . . . . I myself guard . . . . .
. . . . . from him, o my Saviour.
. . . . . thy holy words and thy . .
. . . . . I was washing in them, my . . . .
. . . . . like a fountain.
. . . . . up that which is . . . . . .
. . . . . therefore to him in the universe . . .
. . . . . everything.
. . . . . to him, he being clothed in his seal (σφραγίς)
. . . . . to him like these saviours
. . . . . thy commandments (ἐντολή).
. . . . . life and joy unfailing
. . . . and] the robe (στολή), the garland and the palm. I have hated the] world (κόσμος), I have loved thee.
. . . peaceful . . . I have seen it, my heart has escaped from the fear
. . . . . not, o sea (θάλασσα), though (κἄν) thou raise a storm
. . . . .
. . . . . overtake it, let all my kin (γένος) make festival, because I have received without doubt the true promises of the Paraclete.
Glory to thee, my true Bridegroom, Christ of the bride-chambers of Light, and all his holy Elect.
Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

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8 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲛϩ : meaning unknown to me, cf. 135, 31.

[cπB]

ⲁ̣ⲓⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲱⲁ]ⲛ+ⲱⲡⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲣⲁⲩ .[. . . . . .
. . . . . .]. . .
. . . .]. ⲟ̣ⲓ̣ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲓ̈ⲍ̣[. . . . . .
. . . .]ⲱⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧ̣ⲛ̣ [. . . . . .
. . .]. ▪ • ⲙⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲓ̈ +ⲛⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ .[. . . . . .
. π]ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ • ⲉⲩⲧⲟ ⲡⲍⲏⲩ [. . . . . .
. .] ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲑⲗⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉⲉⲩ
ⲁ̣ⲗⲣⲡ]ⲁⲁⲍⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲉⲓ̈ⲭⲁⲕⲙⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲧ[. . . . . .
. . .]ⲗ̣ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲗⲡ̄ ⲛ|ⲙ • ⲁⲓ̈ⲍⲉⲗⲏⲃ̣ [. . . . . .
. .] ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲛⲁⲭⲧ [. . . . . .
ⲟⲩ]ⲥⲟⲟⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ • ⲙ̄ⲡ|+ ⲛⲁⲥ̣[. . . . . .
. .]ⲥⲏⲁⲟⲛⲏ
. . .]ⲡⲍⲟⲡⲗⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[. . . . . .
. .]ⲏⲗ • ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲕⲁ ⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲧ̣.ⲍ.[. . . . . .
ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲡ ⲧⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ [. . . . . .
ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲱⲍⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[. . . . . .
ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥ|ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲫⲁ|ⲣⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲡ̣[ⲉ
ⲁ̣]ⲓ̈ⲣⲟⲩⲕⲛ̄ⲍⲉ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̣[. . . . . .
.]. ⲗ ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲭ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲭ[. . . . . .
. ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ|ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲍ • ⲁ̣|ⲣ̣[. . . . . .
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲧⲉ| ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲁ̣ⲧⲉ̣ ⲛⲛ̣[. . . . ⲉ
ⲧⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈
O]ⲩⲛ̣ ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲁⲡⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲣⲟ [. . . . . .
ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ|ⲓⲭ • ⲟ̣ⲩ̣[.]. . .[. . .
ⲭⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲁⲓ̈ⲃ̣|ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣[.]ⲏ̣[. . ⲁ
ⲭⲱⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲥ|ⲕⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ [. . .]. .ⲗ̣.ⲉ̣ⲛⲉ . . .
ⲱ|ⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲉ+ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
T]ⲥⲁⲱⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲇⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ [ⲉⲧ]ⲟ̣ ⲛ̣ⲍ̣ⲣ̄ⲧ̣ⲉ̣ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲙⲙⲁ|
ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲁ|ⲃ|ⲭ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲱⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲛⲁⲩ
ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁ|ⲍⲏⲧ ⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲥⲁⲧⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲭⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲃⲱⲣⲃ̣ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲱⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲏⲇⲟⲛⲏ.
ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲁⲕ|ⲁ ⲧⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲏⲩ
T]ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [ⲱⲁⲡ]ⲧ̣ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲁⲙ
ⲭⲁⲕⲙⲉⲧ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ

2 cf. p. 233 b 24. — 15 init. fort. ⲱⲗ]ⲏⲗ. — 24 ⲭⲉ sup. lin. — 28 ⲡⲉ+ sic: leg. ⲡⲉⲧ+.

CCLXXXII.

I laboured until] I could run from the guile . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . find life, I have . . . . .
. . . . I cease from the midst of you . . . . . .
. . . . there is no pit (?) now beneath the abyss . . . . . .
run from the Darkness; where is the profit . . . . .
. . in the fight (ἆθλον) which thou hast made?
I have spent] my whole life pure and . . . . . .
. . . all theft. I have waited (?) . . . . . .
. . I . . . . I have not cast myself . . . . . .
dogs of fire. I have not given . . . . . .
. . lust (ἡδονή).
. . . the unbreakable weapon (ὅπλον) of . . . . . .
. . I have not shot arrows at . . . . . .
me, I have . . . . . of Light . . . . . .
I have struck my enemies, I have brought . . . . . .
the stars of the sphere (σφαῖρα) in the sky (?).
I have been a holy shrine . . . . . .
firm . . . of the knowledge which . . . . . .
the fruit-giving seeds. I have . . . . . .
of godliness. Lo, this is the hour (?) of the . . . .
which God has given to me.
There is a garland upon my head because I have conquered . . . . .
into my hand, for I have bound my hands; a . . . . .
for I have obtained purity and found the . . . . .
upon me, the image (εἰκών) has floated (?) to me . . . . . .
change past (παρά) him that gives (?) it.
The seven fearful demons have passed away [from me,
their foul hands also empty of my blood,
their heart also laden with grief (λύπη) and sorrow because
they were not able to trap *me* in the nets of lust (ἡδονή),
for (γάρ) I have never been a slave of iniquity (κακία) that works outrages.
O Saviour (σωτήρ), o Son of God, [take] me unto thee quickly,
wash me in the dews of the Column (στῦλος) of Glory

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5 i. e. 'pass' (?). — 10 ϩεληϭ cf. 19, 23 n. — 11 ⲁⲭⲛⲉ: 'without thee (fem.)' (?). — 16 ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲡ ⲧⲃⲟ: 'I have hidden the channel' (?), cf. ⲭⲟ, Crum op. cit. 623 a. — 29 cf. infr. 210, 21 etc. — 27 ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉⲥ: cf. 185, 11; 193, 30 n.

1—4 non legi possunt

. . . .]. . . . .ⲁ̣ⲗⲟⲥ • ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲡ̣[. .
. . . . . .]ⲛⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲁ̣ⲃⲉ . . . . .[. .
. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧ⳨ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣ̣[ⲓⲁ

l. 8 non legi potest

> · [c]ⲡ̣ⲅ̣ · <

. . .ⲕ̣ ⲉⲧⲟ̣ⲓ ⲛⲍⲣⲧⲉ ⲡ]ⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ̈ⲧ ⲡ[. .
. . . . . .]ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲙⲉ
. . . . . .]ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲗ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ [. .
. . . . . .]. ⲟ̣ⲥ • ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲕⲉⲉⲥ ⲉ[. .
. . . . . .]. ⲥⲏⲧⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲍⲉⲡ • ⲉⲁⲓⲣ̄ⲧ̣[. .
. . . . . .]. ⲁⲧ ⲡⲉⲓⲗⲉⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲭⲉ
. . . . . .]ⲓ ⲥⲓⲑⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲏⲙⲁ .[. .
. . . . . .]. ⲃ̣ⲧ̄ ⲉⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲱⲁⲃⲓⲍⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
. . . . . .]. . . . ⲡ̣ⲱⲣ̣ⲱ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ .[.

non legi potest

. . . . . .]. ⲗ . .[.] ⲁⲩⲑ̣ⲱ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲡ
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .]. . .[.]ⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ • ⲁⲍⲣⲁⲕ̣
. . . . . .]. . . . ⲕⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
.]. . ⲉ . . . . ⲍⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ̣ . . . ⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲕ̣ⲧ̣ⲣ̈ⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲏⲧⲓ̈ ⲛⲁⲱⲭ̣
.]. ⲙⲁⲛ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲁⲃⲁⲙ • ⲁⲃⲓ ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲫⲱⲟⲃⲉ ⲁ

non legi potest

ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱ̈ⲓ ⳨ⲛⲟⲩ • ⲃⲓ ⲍⲣⲉⲕ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ⲓ ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ̀ • ⲃⲱⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲡⲁ
ⲍⲟ • ⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲍⲉ ⲉ⳨ⲓ̈ⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲙⲉ
ⲉⲫⲍⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲗ • ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲓ̈⳨ⲭⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲍⲁⲡⲣⲉⲫⲣⲛⲁ
ⲃⲉ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲛ̄ⲧⲫ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲉⲡ • ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲫ ⲉⲫⲧⲁⲭⲁ̈ⲧ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲥⲱ[ⲧⲙ ⲣ]ⲱ ⲁⲧⲕ̣ⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲗ̀ⲃ̀ ⲱ ⲡⲕⲣⲓ
ⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ̀

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10 cf. 233 b 25. — 15 fort. ⲱⲁⲧ.

ll. 1—4 *illegible*

. . . . . A garland upon the Sage, the . .
. . . . . his holy Elect . . . . . .
. . . . . the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary,
l. 8 *illegible*

CCLXXXIII.

. . . . . fearful, the Youth, he of the great fame, the
. . . . . man.
. . . . . the glory in joyous eyes . .
. . . . . as thou doest . . .
. . . . . in (?) thy judgment, which was . .
. . . . . cut (?) out his tongue in . .
. . . . . it before thy Bema . . .
. . . . . he seeing the fearful ones of the
. . . . . spread out their . .
l. 19 *illegible*
. . . . . they stayed until they saw only the
. . . . . .
. . . . . the lawless (ἄνομος), o man, why dost thou
. . . . . I [will] never desert thee
. . . . . in the . . . . of which thou art terrified shall
. . . . . power, to lift his wounding hand against
l. 26 *illegible*
to my side now. Lift up thy face, o loved one, look into
my face, see how I gaze at thee, with no evil glance
in my eyes, as I glance at the sinner
when he is brought to my judgment and is found guilty.
I have lived since I heard thy sweet voice, o true
judge (κριτής), o glorious one; for I have seen them of the dear image

10 ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ: cf. Hom. 87 note a. — 17 ⲱⲁⲃⲓⲥⲟ: vid. 16, 25 n.

1 et 2 perierunt

3—5 non legi possunt

6 . . . .]ⲛⲁϫⲏ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ • ⲧⲛⲁ .[. . . . . .
. . . . . ⲃ]ⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ • . .[. . . . . .

8 et 9 non legi possunt

10 . . . . .]ⲙⲏⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲣⲉϣⲏ • ⲧⲛⲉⲩ [. . . . . .
. . .]ⲁⲛⲉ • ⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛⲏϩ[ⲉ . . . . . .
. . . .]. . . ⲏ ⲉⲕⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲏ . .[. . . . . .
. . . .]. . ⲉⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϫⲉ . ⲃⲉ[. . . . . .
. . .] ⲁⲣ[ⲉ]ⲧⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲉⲩ ⲁ̣ⲡⲫ . [. . . . . .
15 . . .] ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲕ ϫⲉ ⲙⲏ ⲁϫ .[. . . . . .

16 et 17 non legi possunt

.]. ⲁϩⲉⲡ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕϫⲁϫⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ [. . . . . .
ⲡ]ⲉⲕϩⲉⲡ ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ϩⲟ ⲛ̄[ϩⲏⲧⲩ . . . . . .
20 ⲕ]ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲁⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ • ϫⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲁ̣ⲕ̣ [. . . . . .

21 non legi potest

ⲕ̣ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲉⲃⲁⲗⲡ̄ ϩⲁⲡ . [. . . . . .
ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲕⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲉⲛ [. . . . . .
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲗ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲧ . . . ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ⲟⲩ [. . .]. . . .[.
25 .]ⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲃⲉ .[. . . . .]. . . .
ⲣⲉ̣ⲛ • ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲙⲡ . . . .[. . . . . .]. . .[. . .
ⲱⲟⲩ • ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ϩⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ • ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁϥ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲏⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲱⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲧ☩[ⲩϫⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲙⲓⲱⲉ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ
30 ☩ϩⲧⲏⲕ ϩⲱⲱⲕ ☩ⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ̣ⲛ̣ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲉⲩ
ϫⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲏⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲡⲉ • ⲫⲗⲁⲙ[ⲉ ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲏⲣ • ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲩⲧ☩ⲩ
ϫⲏ ⲱⲁⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲡⲉ • ⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏ[ⲧⲩ ⲉ]ⲫⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁϩⲗⲉϩ
ⲁⲣⲁⲫ • ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄[ϩⲛⲱ]ⲃ̈ⲓⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ
ⲫϩⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲁ̣ . [.]ⲕ̣ⲁⲓ . [. . .] ⲁ̣ⲭⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲉ

26/27 fort. [ⲱⲟⲩ]ⲱⲟⲩ. — 34 fort. ⲫϩⲱⲕ.

ll. 1 *and* 2 *destroyed*

ll. 3—5 *illegible*

. . . cast it away from me, I will . . . . . .
. . . . . glorious Bema . . . . . .

ll. 8 *and* 9 *illegible*

. . . . truth gentle. I see . . . . . .
. . . . for (γάρ) there is none ever . . . . . .
. . . . . as thou doest . . . . . .
. . . . . call me . . . . . .
. . . unto thee, even thee, and thou seest the . . . . . .
. . . to thee alone, for . . . . . .

ll. 16 *and* 17 *illegible*

. . judgment upon all thy enemies . . . . . .
thy judgment is upright, there is no respect of persons in it . . .
thou] excellest all judges (κριτής), for thou . . . . . .

l. 21 *illegible*

thou knowest them, they reveal . . . . . .
not one, nor (οὔτε) dost thou hate one . . . . . .
testimony of the eyes that the labours that . . . . . .
. . the things which we have done because of . . . . . .
name (?). The pride of the . . . . . .
boast (?), the teaching from which no profit comes, [but] thy knowledge
and thy Truth and thy Wisdom (σοφία) illumine the soul
and fight for it greatly.
Do thou also mark now the life (βίος) of them that are of the earth and see
how poor it is, how foul it is, what a
murderer of souls it is. There is nothing in it worthy to be
desired (?), but (ἀλλά) it is the place where bitter recompenses are paid;
it crushes (?) a race (γένος) . . . . . without any mercy

1—4 perierunt, excepta voce ⲁⲃⲁⲗ, l. 4.

. . . . . .]. ⲉ̣ⲓ̈ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ [. . .
. . . . . .]. . ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
. . . . . .]ⲱ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁ̣ⲧⲝ . [. . . . .
. . . . . .]ⲙⲉ ⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ .[. . . . .
. . . . . .]. ⲝⲉ ⲁⲩⲛⲉⲥⲥⲉ ⲁⲣ̣ . . [. . . .
. . . . . .]ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲥⲱⲱⲧ ⲡ . . ⲩ . [. .
. . . . . .]. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ[. .
. . . . .]ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙ[ⲟⲥ . .
. . . . . .]. . ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ • ⲙⲁⲣⲓ .[. . .
. . . . . .]. . ⲡ̣ⲁⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉ[ⲁⲩ
. . . . . .]. ⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲥⲱ[. . .
. . . . . .]. ⲛ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
. . . . . .]. . ⲭⲡⲟ ⲉⲧⲥ̀ⲟⲩⲁⲣⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ̣
. . .]ⲃⲉ.ⲥⲁ̣[. . .] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲉ̈ⲓⲉ ⲥⲁⲥⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ • ⲙ̄ⲡ[.
. . . . . .]ⲃⲓⲝ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲝⲛ̄ⲡ[.
. . . . . .]ⲡⲉ̣ ⲩⲏⲡ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ . .[.
. . . . . .]ⲉⲩ̣ ⲡⲥⲱⲃ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛ̄ⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲝ.
. . . . . .]. ⲉⲯⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲥⲡⲱⲧ̀ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ
. . . . . .] ⲧ̣ⲛ̄ⲗⲟ ⲉⲕⲣ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕ+ ⲁⲝⲱⲕ̣
. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲕ+ ⲣⲉⲧⲕ̣ ⲁⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲣⲏ
ⲛⲏ] ⲱ ⲡ . [. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲩⲣⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁⲛⲉ
. .]ⲡ̣ⲭⲣⲩ̣[. . . . . ⲡ]ⲱⲁⲓ̈ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ ⲝⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

> · $\overline{\text{СПД}}$ · <

+ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ $\overline{\text{ⲡⲭⲣⲥ}}$
Ⲉ]ⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲁⲩ+[ⲟⲩ]ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲛⲉⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲁⲭⲥ̀ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙ̣[.].ⲓ̈ⲉ +ⲣⲉⲱⲉ +ⲛⲟⲩ +ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
ⲡⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ
Ⲛ]ⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ̣ [ⲡⲉⲧ]ⲛⲁⲱ[ⲥ]ⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ̄ⲣⲟ
ⲁⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ.[. .]. . ⲉⲧⲁⲕ[.]. . . . ⲙⲛ̄[.].ⲥ̣ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲥ .

28 cf. p. 233 b 26.

ll. 1—4 *destroyed*

. . . . . also with thy whole heart . . .
. . . . . God.
. . . . . o un- . . . . judge (κριτής) . . . .
. . . . . take away . . . . .
. . . . . for they rose up . . . .
. . . . . I will set myself . . . . .
. . . . . the gifts (δῶρον) also of the . . .
. . . . . the bounds of the world (κόσμος)
. . . . . iniquity, let me . . . .
. . . . . my glorious habitation
. . . . . and the righteous (δίκαιος) . . . . .
. . . . . the victory which they have received.
. . . . . accursed creature of nature (φύσις)
. . . . . away, go far off on every side . . .
. . . . . foul hands to leap upon the . . .
. . . . . for (γάρ) he belongs not unto you . . .
. . . . . for (γάρ) the thing is known (?) . . .
. . . . . sickles of Darkness, she ran. Thou
. . . . . cease, thou being afraid and do thou set on thy (?) head
. . . . . and set thy foot upon the path of peace (εἰρήνη),
o . . . . . them of his kin, Plousiane,
. . . . . ., Pshai, Theona, Jmnoute.

CCLXXXIV.

I sing to thee, o Christ.
Because of thy grace (χάρις) I have been freed from the grievous fetters
of the . . . .-faced flesh (σάρξ). I rejoice now. I sing to thee,
o Christ.
What singer of praises shall be able to praise with me, o King,
the place of the . . . . which thou hast . . . . . to me . .

28 This line is repeated as a refrain, sometimes in a shortened form, at the end of verses.

1 periit

. . . . . .] ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲉⲧ[. . . . .
. . . .]ⲭⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ [. . . . .
. . ⲕⲁ]ⲥⲧⲏⲩ ⲧⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲭⲣⲥ
5 ⲦⲦⲓⲕⲟⲥ]ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲗⲟ [ⲥ]ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁ[ⲓⲣ
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲧ]ⲱⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲉⲩ . . . .
. . . . .]. ⲉⲧ ⲧⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲥ ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲱⲥ [. . . . . .
. . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲱⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ[
Ⲛⲉⲧⲥ]ⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲣⲥⲉⲗ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ [. . . . . .
10 . . .]. . ⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲃ ⲛ̣[. . . . .
. . . . .]. ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲛⲉⲧⲟ . [. . . . . .
. . . .]ⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲧ[ⲧ]ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉ . . .[
. . . .]. ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲙ[ⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ . . . . .
. . .]ⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲣ[ⲓⲥⲓⲥ
15 Ⲗⲛ]ⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ .[. . . ⲙⲛ
ⲥ]ⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲑⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲱⲥ
Ⲥⲱ]ⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲧⲥⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲥⲣⲛ̄ ⲛⲣ[ⲙ
ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲁ|ⲙⲉ. .
ⲁⲃⲁ]ⲗ ⲧⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
20 Ⲗⲁ] ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲱ
ⲱⲛ̄ⲍ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ ⲛ̄ . . . . . .
ⲦⲦ]ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣⲃ ⲁⲭⲱⲓ̈ ⲧⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ
ⲁⲥⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥⲭⲓ ⲡⲃⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲱⲃⲙⲉ ⲧⲥⲱⲥ
Ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈° ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲗ[ⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲙ]ⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲭⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲩⲗⲏ
25 ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ] ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲓ ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̄[. . . . .]
Ⲟⲩ]ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲣⲱⲱ[ⲉ ⲛⲧ]ⲉⲕⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲗⲃⲏⲧ • ⲉⲓ̈
ⲣⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ[. . . .] ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ +
ⲦⲦⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲛ̄[. . . . . .]. . ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲥ[ⲁⲣⲁⲛ] ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓ
30 ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲙⲁ]ⲣⲓⲁ

ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲩⲗⲏ

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8 ⲱⲛⲍⲧⲏⲩ valde dubium. — 13 ⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ: cf. Hom. 59, 29. — 15 fort. ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ. — 24 ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈° sic punctum glossae ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲩⲗⲏ causa quae in margine recent. man. exarata est.

l. 1 *destroyed*

The] hidden . . . . . of the sphere (σφαῖρα) . . . .
. . . pollution of its sins because of . . . .
trust (?). I sing to thee, o Christ.
This] world (κόσμος) which is full of error — I have passed from it, [I have escaped from the] ordinance of Fate (τύχη) which has no . . . .
. . . . . the corpses . . . .
. . . . . .
The] foul men that are vain and deceitful, that belong . . . .
. . . . . in them like these . . . . fools (?)
. . . . . birth of the earth, they that . . .
. . . . . are these strangers to the . . . . soul.
The] whole . . . . of the bodily (σωματικόν?) race (γένος)
. . . . not upon it at all in the hour of judgment (κρίσις?)
The soul has no pride, no renown, no fame, no . . . ., [no profit in the time of dread. I sing.
All things that are esteemed in the world (κόσμος) in the eyes of earthly men — their glory is transitory and it . . . .
away. I sing to thee.
Give] me thy gifts only, o merciful one, whereby I shall be able to live in the way of life . . . . .
The] garland of the gods has been orderly set on me, my right hand has been beautiful since it received the unfading palm. I sing.
The lion-skins which clothe my limbs (μέλος), I have cast them away, I have received a robe (στολή) . . . .
There is glory in my mouth for the plenty of thy kindness: I marvel only at the . . . . of thy graces (χάρις). I sing.
Victory to thee, o glorious one, our . . . . . the word of the Migthy which thou gavest for [us], the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

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22 ⲥⲱⲣⲃ: vid. Crum Dict. 709a.

[cπε]

Χαιρε πνογc] χαιρε . . . .[. . . . . .
. . . . . .]ϩιce ⲛ̄ⲛⲟγⲧⲉ
. . . . . ϯ]ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟγⲧⲉ ρⲉϣⲉ • ⲛⲉⲧⲣ̀ .[.
. . . . . .] ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥϫⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲥⲉⲓρⲉ ⲙⲡⲟγ[ⲱϣ
ⲙⲡⲛⲟγ]ⲧⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲟγⲙⲛ̄ⲧϫⲱρⲉ ⲁⲥⲃⲱⲧⲡ̄ [. .
. . . . . ⲟ]ⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ϣⲁⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ.[. . .
. . . . . .]ⲓϫⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟγⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁϣⲧ[. .
. . . . . .] ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲕ̀ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲕϫⲁⲣⲓⲥ [. . . .
. . . . . ϫ]lo]ⲟρⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ ⲉⲕϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲛ̀ .
. . . . . .]ⲃⲱⲕ ϩⲙⲧ ⲁⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲉⲙⲏϣⲉ ⲉⲕ̀[. .
. . . . . .]. . . . ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲙⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̀ⲕⲙⲛ̄[ⲧⲛⲁⲃ
. . . . . .]. . . . .ϣⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲁ̀ⲧⲉⲩⲱⲟ[. . .
. . . . . ⲁ]lⲛⲉⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲣⲟ ⲉⲣⲉⲙlϣⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲡ̀
ⲙⲗⲁϩ ⲧ]ⲏⲣⲩ̄ • ⲁⲓ̈ϯⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲛⲉⲙⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲟγⲙⲛ̄ⲧϫⲱρⲉ .
. . . . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲁ[l]ϫ! ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲥⲱⲧ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϯⲛⲟγ ⲛ̀
ⲧⲉ]ⲕⲟγⲛⲉⲙ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲱⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲁlⲙⲱⲛ
ⲛⲉⲧϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟγⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ • ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ϩⲱⲱⲧ ⲁ̀ⲛ
ⲁ̀lϫ! ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲁⲧ ⲉⲧⲟγⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲟγⲥⲱ[ⲧ ⲙ
ⲙⲁ̀ⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ϫl ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟγⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲁ̀ⲙ . . . . . ογⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲱⲟ
ⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲟⲟⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲱⲗⲗ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲃlⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩϩⲉ ϩⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲩⲗⲏ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲱⲣⲣ̀ . . . lⲗ̀ⲉ ⲛ̀ⲉ[ⲙⲉ]ⲩ
Ⲉlⲥ ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁ̀[l . . . . . ϯⲛⲁ]ⲭlⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲣⲉ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ[ⲧⲁ
ⲗⲁϩⲗⲉϩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϩⲱ[ⲱⲧ ⲛⲃ]ⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ
ⲃⲱϣⲧ̄ ⲧⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̀[. . .]. ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲁ
ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ̈[ⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲁ]ϣⲧ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉϣⲁⲩⲃl
ⲗⲏϩ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲃ[ⲱⲕ ⲛ]ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ϩⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲧⲡⲣ̄
ⲓ̈ⲱⲟⲩ
ϩⲱⲃ ⲛlⲙ ⲉⲧⲉ . . ϣ . . . ⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲟⲛ[. . . .
ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ϩlⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣϫl ⲥⲟ ⲃⲉ . . . ⲧⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲱ[ⲕ

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2 cf. 233 b 27. — 22 fort. ⲁⲙⲏ. — 25 fort. ⲡⲱⲣⲃ̀. — 33 post ⲃⲉ fort. ϣⲱⲧⲡ̄ cf. 66, 32 n.

CCLXXXV.

Hail (χαῖρε), o Mind (νοῦς)], hail (χαῖρε), ...
. . . . . divine suffering.
. . . . soul that lovest God, rejoice . . . .
. . . . . that has finished and done the will
of God in fortitude and has yielded
. . . . . hardihood from his (?) . . .
. . . . . I fulfil a . . . . .
. . . . . because of thee, because of thy grace (χάρις) . . .
. . . . ferry me across; for (γάρ) thou art
. . . . . going before me in leadership, . . .
. . . . . in the forms of thy greatness.
. . . . . able to turn to his . . . .
. . . . . for (γάρ) I saw thee fighting in the
whole [battle], I succoured thee with fortitude
. . . . . forth.
I have received thy words, o my Father: stretch out to me now
thy right hand that the seven demons
that are before me may see and go far away from me. I also
have received the three holy gifts which the three holy
angels extend to me.
Come (?) . . . . . right hand wherein there is
no envy (φθόνος); the immortal gifts also — do thou embrace them
and take them unto thee, but the Abortions, the sons of Matter (ὕλη),
do thou not . . . . with them.
Lo, them indeed (μέν) [I have] . . . [I will] cross now and
transcend (?) them myself (?) quickly and arise and
look and behold . . . . to the whole family of my kinsmen (-γένος),
my Fathers that look forth, them that care
for me, in what manner I may go to the shining
Land.
All things that . . . . . .
any toil. Do not heed therefore . . . . to go

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2 ff. A dialogue between the soul and the Saviour in alternate verses. — 24 ϩⲟⲩϩⲉ: vid. Cumont op. cit. pp. 40—1; Keph. LVI. — 27 ⲗⲁϩⲗⲉϩ: cf. 105, 32; vid. Crum Dict. 149 b; Keph. 158, 11.

1—5 non legi possunt

6 . . . . . .]. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲣⲟ . .[. . . . .
. . . . . .]. . . . ⲡⲛⲁⲉ ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕ[ⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

> · ⲥ̄ⲡ̄ⲋ · <

. . . .]. ⲱⲧ . . . ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱ . ⲛⲉⲩ . . . . .[. . . . .
10 . . . .].

non legi potest

. . . .]. . . . . .ⲥⲙⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛ . . .[. . . . . .
. . .]. . . . . ⲭⲉⲓⲁϯ ⲗⲁⲃⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲁⲥⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ [. . . .
. .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧ̄ . ⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲟ
15 . .]. ⲉ ⲧⲡⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ . . . . . .[.
.]. ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ . . ⲥ
ⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲧⲁⲣ . . ⲛⲧⲉⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲣ . . . ⲥ . . . . . ⲱⲧ.
. .] ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ . . . . . ⲧ . . . .[. . . . .
ⲁ[ⲓⲛ]ⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲙ . ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲭⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲁⲍⲧⲉ
20 . . ⲣⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲩ[ⲙ]ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲓ
. . . ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲁⲟⲛⲁⲩⲉ . . . . . ⲉ ⲉⲓⲣ̄ϯⲁⲗⲉ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲭⲉⲓⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . .[. . . . . .]
ⲗⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲭⲓ ϯⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲓⲛⲏⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[. . . . . .]. ⲛ̄ⲓⲉⲧⲟⲩ
.]. . ⲁⲓⲧⲥⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲁ[. . .]. . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲟⲩ
25 . . . . ⲃⲉⲥⲟ ⲱⲣ̄ⲍⲉⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ . . . . ⲱⲁⲩⲧ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲙⲉ
. . . .]ⲙⲉ ⲁⲓⲣⲁⲓⲥ ⲁ . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲩ̄ . . . . . .
. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ . ⲱⲛ . . ⲉⲧ[. . . . . .]. . ⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲉ ⲥⲱⲕ
. . ⲁ . . ⲥⲁⲥ . . . .[. . . . . .]. . . ⲥⲣⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥ
ⲕⲁ[. . . . . .]ⲁⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲩⲛⲧ̄
30 ⲁ . . . ⲗⲍ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ

25 ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲗⲃⲉⲥⲟ coniicio, cf. 73, 16.

1—2 non legi possunt

. . . . .]. . ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ̀ [. . . . . .
. . . . .]. . . ⲉⲧⲧⲣⲟⲩⲁ|ⲛⲉ
5 ⲁ̀[. . . .]. . ⲩⲛ . ⲃⲱⲛⲉ . . . . . .[. . . .
ⲙ̀[. .] . ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲁ̈ . . . . . .[. . . .
. . .]ⲛ . . . . . ⲁⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲁ̈ . . . . . ⲁ . .[. .]. .
. . . . .]. . . . . ⲉⲧⲁ̈ⲭ|ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ̄
9 . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ . . . . . ⲥⲁⲧⲫⲩⲥ|ⲓⲥ

10 non legi potest

. . . . . [.] . . . . . ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
. . . . . ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ

13—15 non legi possunt

16 . . . . . ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

. . . . . .

Ⲧⲁⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ . . ⲉⲩ . [.] . . ⲡⲱ ⲁⲡⲭⲁ . .
ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣ . . . . . ⲁⲛ . . . . . ⲛ
20 ⲁ̈ⲣ̄ⲧ . ⲉ . [. . . . .] . ⲁⲧ̀ . . . . . ⲡ . ⲭ| . . . .
ⲉⲧⲁ . . . . . .[. . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲕⲟⲁ|ⲗⲗⲉ ⲁ . .
. . ⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲕ . . .[. . .]. . . ⲁ̈ⲟⲱⲱⲧ ⲉ̈ . . ⲛ .
ⲟⲩⲗ|ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲧ . .
Ⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̈ⲟ|ⲛⲉ . . . . . ⲙ . . . . . ⲉ ⲙⲛⲛ̄ⲧ . . . .
25 ⲃⲓ • ⲁ̈ⲕⲱ ⲛ̄[. . . . . .]. . . . . ⲛⲧⲉ . [. . .
ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲏⲩ .[. . . . . .]. . . ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ . . . .
ⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏ[ⲧⲥ . . . . . .]. . .
ⲁ̈ⲭⲓ ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲧ . . . . ⲡⲛ . . . . . .

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17 tenuia vestigia superscriptionis cum ornamentis: exspectavisses ⳩ⲁⲗⲙⲟⲓ ⲁⲗⲁⲫⲟⲣⲟⲓ: ⲥⲡⲍ, una cum nomine auctoris, cf. 233 b 29. — 18 cf. 233 b 30.

. . . .]. . . . . ⲙⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ .[.
. . . .] . . ⲥ ⲁⲛ̣ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲣ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲟ̣ⲟ̣[ⲛⲉ
ⲭⲛⲙⲡ]ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲓ ⲧⲉⲕ̣ⲥⲃⲱ ⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲗ̣[ⲁⲛⲏ
ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ]
. . . . . .]. . . . ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲓ ⲥ̣ⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ[. .
. .]. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲍⲏⲧ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲧⲉ ⲧ̄ⲃⲁⲣⲙ̣[. .
.]. ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧ̣ⲟⲩ . . . ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣ̣ⲱⲙⲉ̣ . . .[. . .
. .]. . . ⲛ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟ̄ⲗⲁⲟⲩⲟⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁ̣[ⲣ]ⲥ̄
ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ
†ⲣⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲍⲱⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲍⲁⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧ̣ⲉ̣ⲧ
ⲉ ⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲣⲁⲩ̈ⲧ̇ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲥ̣ⲛ̄ⲛ . . . ⲉ̣ⲗ . ⲉ̣[. .
. .]ⲗ̈ⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲁⲛ|ⲙ ⲧⲉ †ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁ
ⲛⲁ]ⲱⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧ . . ⲟ̣ⲉ̣
. . . .]. . . .ⲧ̇ ⲁⲓ̈ . . . . ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̣ⲓ . . . ⲉ̣ . . . .
ⲥⲛ]ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲗ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲁ]ⲃⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ . . . . . .
ⲥ]ⲁ̣ⲧⲩ . . . . . ⲏ̣ⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲁ
ⲑ]ⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲁⲡⲏ̄
†]ⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲁ† ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲁ$\overline{\text{ⲥⲏⲣ}}$ $\overline{\text{ⲓⲏⲥ}}$ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲉ̣ⲕ̣ⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲙ̣[. .
. ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲱⲗⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲕⲣⲁⲩⲧ ⲙⲛ̄[ⲧⲙⲛ
ⲧ̣ⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲣ̄ⲩⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲁⲕ̣ⲟ̣ⲩ [ⲙ
ⲡⲁⲁⲍⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ̄
No]ⲩⲍⲃⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟ̄ⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲉⲧⲁⲥ|ⲱ
ⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛⲏⲥⲧ|ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁ
ⲥ̣ⲧⲱⲣⲏ: ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲱⲗ̣ⲏ̣ⲗ̣ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙⲛ̄
ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲭ|ⲧ̇ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲥ̣ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲏ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ
Oⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲡ . . . ⲛ̄ⲇ|ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲙ̄†ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧ . . . . . ⲁ . . . . . ⲧ̣ⲏⲣ̣ⲧⲛⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲇ|
ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

11/12 ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲗ̈ⲗⲉ coniicio. — 24, 25 leg. ⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲍⲧⲱⲣⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲏⲥⲧ|ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲱⲗⲏⲗ etc. ⲍⲧⲱⲣⲏ: sic punctum vid.

. . . . . of all goodness
. . . . . of the root of evil
since the] day that I received thy teaching wherein there
is no error (πλάνη).
. . . . . that gives Light, that receives the word . . .
. . . . . the Light before me. I am the . . . .
. . . . . because men . . . . .
. . . . they are called the slaves of the flesh (σάρξ)
of death.
I] myself bear witness also of my soul that is perfect, wherein
all men rejoice in the . . . . .
. . . to it saying, 'Whose is this goodness that is
nourished in its joy ?', living by it in . . . .
. . . . . the Mind (νοῦς) of . . . .
with my eyes, and his perfect consort, the holy Wisdom (σοφία),
I have known them, that they are . . . . . .
purified (?) . . . . . ., waiting for me because of my passion (πάθος)
which I suffered.
Now therefore give me, my Saviour ($\overline{\text{σηρ}}$) Jesus, the reward of the . .
. . of thy wisdom (σοφία). Float (?) unto me rejoicing with the
goodness of my deeds wherewith I busied myself, which I fulfilled
all my life.
Yoke for me quickly my soaring chariots
and my horses, which are my holy fasts (νηστεία)
and my prayers unto God and my almsgivings.
Take me in speedily (-σπουδή) to the Land of the Glorious.
Glory and victory to thee, o Mani, the righteous (δίκαιος) . . .
of souls which . . . . . the perfect
righteous (δίκαιος) and all his holy Elect.
Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

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15 ⲥⲁⲓϣ: vid. 56, 21 n. — 20 ⲟⲩⲱⲗⲉ: vid. 103, 27 n. — 24, 25 I have translated these lines in accordance with the transposition which I suggest in the critical note. With the form ϩⲧⲱⲣⲏ cf. Hom. 77, 6.

[СПН]

]ⲏ̅ⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ . . . . . .[. . . .
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲕⲁ|ⲥⲁⲡ ⲍⲉⲕⲁⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ ⲛ̣ⲧ[ⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲛ
ⲁ]ⲣⲭⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϫⲟⲩⲥ|ⲁ
ⲁ|ⲣ]ⲁ̣ⲫⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲡ|ⲥⲧ|ⲥ ⲁ̈ⲓⲝ| ⲁⲣⲁ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕ . .
. ⲉ ⲁ̈ⲃ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲍⲉⲗⲡ|ⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲃⲉ . . . . .[.
. .]ⲓ̈ ⲙ̣ⲡⲡⲕ̅ⲗ̅ⲥ̅
Ⲧ Ⲧ ⲛ̣ⲁⲏⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉ[ⲛⲱⲩ
ⲛ̣ⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲧⲉⲕⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̣ⲧ[ⲍⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ
ⲧ̣ⲁⲃ|ⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲩ̄
Ⲧ Ⲧ . . . . ⲛ̄ . . ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁ̈ⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩ . .[.
ⲭⲉ ϯⲱⲱ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲡⲁ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁ̣ⲙ̣ⲟⲩ ⲃⲗⲁⲙ ⲕ . .[.
ⲁⲣⲁ̈
. . . . ⲧ̣ⲩ̀ ⲁ̣ⲡⲭ|ⲉ̣ ⲭⲉ ⲁ̈ⲙⲉⲣ|ⲧⲩ̀ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛ . . .
15 non legi potest
ⲗⲏⲃ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
. . . ⲉ̣ . . . . . ⲱ . . . ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ . . ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡ[ⲟⲩ
ⲁ|ⲛⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲧⲁⲁ̣ . . ⲱⲁ̣ . . . . . .
ⲕⲥⲱⲧⲩ̀ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲕⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲱⲁϩⲁⲏ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲉ
20 non legi potest
. . . . . .
Ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ̣ⲩ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ [. . . . .] ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲡⲡⲕ̅ⲗ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ
ⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

[СПϴ]

ⲓ|ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϯⲧⲱⲃⲍ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲙⲁϯ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ
ⲟⲩⲛ[ⲉⲙ ⲙ]ⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ
Ⲭ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲭⲁⲩⲧ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛ ⲁⲡⲡⲟⲗ̣ⲉⲙ[ⲟⲥ
ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ . . . ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲭ|ⲭⲉⲩⲉ

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11 fort. ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ. — 12 fin. fort. ⲕⲣ̣ⲁ̣[ⲓⲥ. — 15/16 an ⲍⲉⲗⲏⲃ, cf. 19, 23 n? — 22 ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ sic: leg. ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ? — 24 ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩ sic.

CCLXXXVIII.

Jesus, my Saviour in the beginning . . . .
forth yet this one time, that thou wouldest save [my soul from the
powers (ἀρχή) and the principalities (ἐξουσία).
I embraced (ἀσπάζεσθαι) thy faith (πίστις), I took to myself thy
. . ., I found thy holy hope (ἐλπίς) . . . .
. . . the Paraclete.
O merciful one that art full of mercy, the Saviour of them that are
his,] show thy Maiden to me at the [time of
my going forth from the universe.
The holy . . . ., I heard him in . . . .
I cry unto thee, my Father: come, hasten . . . .
me.
. . . . . him to the height (?), for I have loved him in . . .
l. 15 illegible
await (?) them.
. . . . . all of them . . . they came forth from the
Light, I came in peace (εἰρήνη) that I might . . . . .
Thou refinest and purifiest from the beginning to the end
l. 20 illegible
. . . . .
There is glory to him, the glorious one . . . the tree of
Life, the Paraclete, and his holy Elect.
Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

CCLXXXIX.

Jesus my God, I implore thee, give me thy
right hand, do not desert me.
Since the hour that thou sentest me down to the war (πόλεμος)
I have not rested . . . . of my enemies.

.]. . . . . ⲛⲍⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥ
ⲙⲟ]ⲉ ⲛ . . . . . ⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
. .]. . . . . ⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ̄ ⲉⲩⲡⲱⲱ
.]. ⲱ . . ⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ
. .]. . ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈
.] . . . . . ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ . . . .
. . .]. . . . . ⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲡⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲥ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲟⲩ
ⲁⲛ]ⲍⲕ̄ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲕⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ
Ⲧⲁⲣ]ⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲁⲕⲥ̄ . . . . ⲉⲓⲣⲉⲱⲉ
Ⲧⲙ]ⲛⲧⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ . . . . . .
. . . . . .

12 non legi potest

. . †ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈
ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲱⲃⲍ̄ ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ
ⲉⲧⲁ† ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ

16 non legi potest

. . . ⲁ . . ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲱ . . . . . ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲉⲕ
ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲡ̄ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ • ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ †ⲧⲱⲃⲍ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲁ
ⲣⲓⲡⲁⲙⲉⲉⲩ

ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉ†

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9 post ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲁⲕⲥ̄ fort. ⲁⲃⲁⲗ, cf. 88, 8. — 23 recent. man. ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉ† sic, pro ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉ⟨ⲧⲉ⟩†: quo mendo facto scriba calamum deposuit.

. . . . hope (ἐλπίς), I have rested from the world (κόσμος)
. . . . ., I have believed in thee.
. . . . . because I have escaped from him, as he
. . . . him in his crimes (ἀνομία).
. . . of heaven and earth, they have opened their gates for me,
. . . . . in (?), I have escaped from their . . .
. . . . unto thee, my Father, the Paraclete, that thou wouldest
appear to me and save my soul.
The] race (ἀγών) wherein I ran I finished rejoicing.
The] youth of the body (σῶμα) of death I have . . . . .
. . . . .

l. 12 *illegible*

allowed (?) my enemies to deride me.
I have heard thy prayer, o blessed (μακάριος) soul: I
am he that will give thee the reward of thy good deeds.

l. 16 *illegible*

. . . . thy garland . . . . . Light.
Glory to thee, o God, the King of the Aeons, and Jesus thy
son, and thy holy Spirit. Victory to the soul
of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

REMEMBER ME, MY BELOVED, I PRAY YOU,
REMEMBER ME.

REMEMBER ME, MY BELOVED, I

21—23 Two colophons added by the two scribes, the second characteristically making a mistake, writing ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉ for ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ through haplography. This is the later hand.

With this psalm the Psalm-book proper seems to conclude. The Psalms that follow are different in character and are not included in the Index pp. 229—233.

P. 114 is unwritten and is followed by a blank leaf.

1—2 mutila

ⲙⲁ]ⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ . . ϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

.[.]ⲕ̣[.]ⲃ̣ⲓⲟⲥ . . .

. . . . ⲱ]ⲁⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲛⲁ̣ⲓ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̣[. . . .

. . . .]. ⲡⲛ̄ .[. .]ⲟⲥ̣ ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ[ⲁⲃⲉ

ⲦⲦⲓⲱⲧ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ • ⲡ[. . . .]ⲩⲱⲡ̣ [ⲙ

ⲡⲣ]ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̣ . . .[. . . .]ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲛ̣

ⲙ̣ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲡⲉ ⲡ[ⲡ]ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

Ⲟⲩ]ⲣⲉⲩⲧⲛⲁⲍⲥⲟ ⲛ[ⲛ]ⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̣[ⲓⲱ]ⲧ̀ ⲟⲩⲣⲉ̣[ⲩ]ϧⲣ̣ⲟ

ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̣[ⲟⲩ] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲉ̣ϧⲥ̣ⲱ[ⲟ]ⲩⲍ ⲛ[ⲛⲉ

ⲧ]ⲉⲛⲱⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟ[ⲩⲁ]ⲃⲉ

Ⲟ]ⲩⲡⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ ⲍⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ ⲛ̣[ⲓ]ⲱ̣ⲧ̣ ⲡⲥⲉ̣ⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲟ̣[ⲩ

ⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ • ⲛ̣ . . . . . ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ

ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

Ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ̄ⲙ̣ⲟ ⲍⲱⲩ

ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ • ⲡⲙ̣ⲁ̣[ⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ]ⲱⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡ

ⲡ]ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

Ⲟ]ⲩⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ ⲉϥⲭⲏⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ • ⲡⲧⲉⲟⲩ[ⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛ]ⲉⲧ

ⲍⲏⲡ̀ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ • ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲁⲗ̈ⲧⲏ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲣ[. . . ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ

ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

ⲦⲦⲉⲧⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲏ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ • ⲡⲉⲧ . . . .

ⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡ

ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

Ⲥⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ • ⲥⲣ̄ϯⲁⲗⲉ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲁⲡⲓ

ⲱⲧ] ⲛⲭⲓ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ • ⲧⲱⲩ ⲣⲱ [ⲧ]ⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲟϥⲓⲁ ⲡⲓ

ⲡ]ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

Ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲭⲡⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲛ [ⲱ]ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ • ⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ

ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲱⲁⲡⲱⲏⲣ[ⲉ] ⲑⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ

ⲱⲁⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

Ⲥⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲁⲡⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ • ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ

ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲓⲭ ⲁⲡⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ • ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉ

ⲛⲓⲁ ⲁⲡ]ⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

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4 recent. man. scriptum. — 5 init. ⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀ coniicio. — 20 an ⲣ[ⲁⲓⲥ]? — 22 fin. ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ coniicio.

ll. 1—2 *fragmentary*

blessed (μακαρία) . . . Mary, Theona.

. . . . .

. . . . for ever, even the Father, the King of . . . .
. . . . our own . . . is the holy Spirit.
The Father] of Greatness is the Father, the . . . [of
the] sufferer (?) is the Son, the . . . . to us (?)
of life is the holy Spirit.
A] raiser of the dead is the Father, a conqueror (?)
himself of death (?) is the Son, a gatherer (?) of
his own is the holy Spirit.
A hidden one from everlasting is the Father, the Word (?) that
appears is the Son, the . . . . . is the
holy Spirit.
An intellectual (νοερόν) Intelligence (νοῦς) entire is the Father,
but a stranger
to the world (κόσμος) is the Son, the path (?) of the Aeons is the
holy Spirit.
A perfect rich one is the Father, the proclamation [of] the
hidden things is the Son, the silence of them that . . . is the holy
Spirit.
He that has power over the universe is the Father, he that . . .
the Father is the Son, the Light of the Aeons is the
holy Spirit.
The Father rejoices always, the Son also makes
music (ψάλλειν) to the Father, but his is wisdom (σοφία) entire,
even the holy Spirit.
The Love (ἀγάπη) may we get for ourselves towards the Father,
the faith which
is in us towards the Son, the fear of our heart
towards the holy Spirit.
The seal (σφραγίς) of the mouth for the sign of the Father, the peace
of the hands for the sign of the Son, the purity of virginity (παρθενεία)
for the] sign of the holy Spirit.

1—3 Apparently the conclusion of a Psalm. But according to Ibscher fol. 113/4 was followed by a blank leaf and there is no sign of any writing between the end of p. 113 and the first line of p. 115. Either a leaf has been lost or these lines contained a heading or group-title.

Ταγαπη ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ|ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲙⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈|ⲱⲧ ⲡⲥⲁⲩ
ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫ|ⲁ ⲁⲡⲙⲉ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ • ⲡⲭⲱⲕ̀ [ⲁ
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲡⲙⲉ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ̄ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ[ⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ̀ • ⲧⲃⲁⲙ [ⲙ
5 ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃ|ⲓ ⲥⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲉ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫ|ⲁ ⲉⲧ
ⲟ̀ⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡ̄ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
|ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲡⲉ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ • ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ[ⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲗⲟ̄
ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡ̄ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
10 |ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ̀ • ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲥ[ⲙⲁ
ⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡ̄ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲃ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄
ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲃ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙ̣ⲉ̣
15 ⲗⲉⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲃ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲡ̄ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲃ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄
ⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅ|ⲓ̈ⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟ|ⲭ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲃ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲁ
ⲒⲈ ⲁⲡⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲃ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲡ̄ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲥ|ⲧⲛ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲧ̀ • ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ
20 ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲥ|ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ • ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫ
ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲥ|ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲡ̄ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ • ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̣
ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲫⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲥ|ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁ
ⲣ|ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣ|ⲁ

Ⲡⲭ̄ⲣ̄ⲥ̄ ⲁⲣ|ⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲣ̄
25 ⲡⲁⲱⲃ̄ⲱ̄
Ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲉⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲓ̈ⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲁ
ⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲭ̄ⲣ̄ⲥ̄
Ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ
ⲡⲭ̄ⲣ̄ⲥ̄
30 Ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ†ⲛⲉⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈

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8 †ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲗⲟ: hoc corruptum esse mihi videtur; leg. ⲧ†ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲗⲟ, coll. 185, 16—17. — 17 ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟ|ⲭ sic.: leg. ⲛ̄ⲛⲛ̄ⲟ|ⲭ.

The pious love (ἀγάπη) for the sign of the [Father, the knowledge
of the Wisdom (σοφία) for the sign of the Son, the fulfilment
of the commandments (ἐντολή) for the sign of the holy Spirit.
The Light that is on high is the Father, the power [of
God that supports the Universe is the Son, the Wisdom (σοφία) that
looks (?) forth is the holy Spirit.
Jesus, the Tree of Life, is the Father; the fruit (καρπός), the Mind (? νοῦς)
of Light, is the Son; the Maiden, this sweet one,
is the holy Spirit.
Jesus, the glorious, is the Father, the blessed Mind (νοῦς) of Light
is the Son, the Maiden of Light
is the holy Spirit.
Let us pray then, my brethren, that we may find the Father, and
fast (νηστεύειν) daily that we may find the Son, and
discipline (μελετᾶν) our life that we may find the holy Spirit.
Let us seal our mouth that we may find the Father, and
seal (σφαγίζειν) our (?) hands that we may find the Son, and guard
our purity that we may find the holy Spirit.
Glory to our Lord Mani through the Father, honour
to his Elect (ἐκλεκτός) through the Son, blessing to his
Catechumens through the holy Spirit. Victory and
Salvation may there be through them to the soul of the
blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

Christ, guide me: my Saviour, do not
forget me.
I am the love (ἀγάπη) of the Father, being the robe (στολή) clothing
thee. Christ.
My brethren are the Aeons and the Aeons of the Aeons.
Christ.
The Air (ἀήρ) and the Land of Light — they travailed with me.

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1 ⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ: lit. 'god-loving'. — 8 or, reading ⲧ†ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲗϭ, 'the Maiden, the sweet taste'.

. . . .] . ⲕⲧⲉ [. . . . . .]ⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅
ⲁⲛ]ⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲅⲓⲥⲧⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲭⲓ ⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲁ]
ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅
Ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲱⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲓⲏⲡ ⲁⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ] ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅
Ⲭ]ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲓⲙⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲛⲓⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧ
ⲣ]ⲣⲟ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅
ⲁⲓ]ⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲣⲕ̀ ⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲥⲁ
ⲣ]ⲁⲩ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅
ⲁⲓⲥ]ⲁⲕⲧ̄ ⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ . . . . . .
ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅
ⲁⲥ]ⲣ̄ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲓⲙⲓⲱⲉ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲥⲓⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ
ⲛ]ⲏⲓ̈ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅
ⲁⲕⲥⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥ̀ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛⲟⲣⲟ ⲧⲉ
ⲣⲁⲭⲓ ⲡⲉⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅
ⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲣⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲑⲗⲟⲛ ⲁⲕⲁⲓⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲥ
ⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅
Ⲭ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲙⲁⲣⲧ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲡⲱⲃⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄
ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅
ⲁ]ⲩⲧⲥⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲉⲡⲁⲧ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲓⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲃⲱⲃⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲟⲩⲁⲉ
ⲉⲧ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅
Ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲓⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲕⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈
ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅
Ⲧⲧⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈
ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅
Ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩⲣⲉⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲕⲥⲁⲛⲕⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲛ†ⲭⲱ
ⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅
Ⲭⲓⲧ̀ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲧⲁⲃⲛ̄ⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉ
ⲧⲍⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅
Ⲁⲡⲧ̀ ⲍⲱⲧ ⲁⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

---

11 ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲱⲛ HT.

. . . . . of renown
of them that are of the Light. Christ.
I am a prince (μεγιστᾶνος), wearing a crown with the kings.
Christ.
I knew not how to fight, for I am of the city (πόλις) of the
Gods. Christ.
From the time that the hated one cast an evil eye on my
kingdom, Christ.
I] left my Fathers at rest, I went, I gave myself to death
for them. Christ.
I] armed myself, I went forth with my first . . . .
Christ.
He] went without, I fought: he went within, he protected
me. Christ.
Thou madest agreement with me at the time, saying: 'If thou art
victorious, thou
shalt receive thy garland'. Christ.
I was victorious in the first struggle (ἆθλον), yet another
fight (ἀγών)
arose for me. Christ.
Since I was bound in the flesh (σάρξ) I forgot my
divinity. Christ.
I was made to drink the cup of madness, I was made to rebel against
my own self. Christ.
The Powers (ἀρχή) and Principalities (ἐξουσία) came within, they
armed themselves against me.
Christ.
My Lord Jesus, do not abandon me.
Christ.
Be an enchanter of Light and bewitch (?) them until I
pass them. Christ.
Take me in to thy bridechambers that I may chant with
them that sing to thee. Christ.
Number me also in the number of them that have conquered and received their
garland.
Glory and honour to Jesus, the King of the Holy, and the soul
of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

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26 ⲥⲱⲛⲕ: vid. Crum Dict. 691 a. The original meaning seems to be to use magic upon a man, whether it be to help him or to harm him, by means of a potion.

1 periit

ⲛ|ⲱ

Ν . . . [. . . . . .] . . . [π]ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ [. .

. .]ⲉ ⲛ|ⲱ

.]ⲱⲧⲁⲣⲍ[. . . . ⲟ]ⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ [. . . .

ⲛ|ⲱ

. . . . . .]ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ|ⲱ[ⲛ

ⲛ[|ⲱ]

. . . . . .].ⲩⲉⲩⲍ[.].ⲣⲉ[.

ⲛ|ⲱ

. . . . . .]. .ⲛ ⲛⲁⲱⲉ| ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲓⲛ̄ⲍⲏ[ⲧⲟⲩ

ⲛ|ⲱ

. . . . . .]ⲧ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡ|ⲍⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲧⲟⲓⲉ ⲁⲣⲁ[ⲓ

ⲛ|ⲱ

Ⲁⲣⲉⲣⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲃⲱ ⲉⲣⲉⲃⲛ̄[ⲃⲛ

ⲛ|ⲱ

17 periit

ⲛ|ⲱ

Ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲍⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱⲥⲍⲉⲓ̈ ⲡ|ⲍⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲁⲃⲧⲃ

ⲛ|ⲱ

Ⲏ ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲍⲱⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲃ|ⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ

ⲛ|ⲱ

. . . . . .]ⲛⲧⲏ[. . .] . . . ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ . . ⲧⲉⲍⲁⲩ

ⲛ|ⲱ

Ⲱⲁⲣⲉⲃⲱⲃⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲧ ⲁⲡⲗⲉⲥ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲉⲥ ⲁ

ⲛ|ⲣⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲛ|ⲱ

Ⲉⲓⲁⲃⲛ̄ ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲱⲁⲱⲫ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲁⲕⲧⲓⲛ

ⲛ|ⲱ

Ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲡⲉⲥ†ⲛⲟⲩ

ⲫⲉ ⲛ|ⲱ

---

23 fort. ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲍⲁⲫ.

P. 119 non legi potest.

l. 1 *destroyed*

These . . .

. . . . . the First Man . . .

These . . .

. . . . . Light, the Father himself . . . .

These . . .

. . . . . first of the Aeons.

These . . .

l. 9 *fragmentary*

These . . .

. . . . . they, I being in them.

These . . .

. . . . . I, this guard that is set over [me.

These . . .

Thou madest the world (κόσμος) a harp for thyself, playing unceasingly. These . . .

l. 17 *destroyed*

These . . .

What portrait-painter (-εἰκών) can paint this unadorned face?

These . . .

Or (ἤ) what eagle can ascend as thou ascendest?

These . . .

. . . . . comprehend him.

These . . .

Thou leapest from the heart (?) to the tongue, from the tongue to these hearers. These . . .

What Light can I find to compare with thy ray (ἀκτίς)?

These . . .

What smell is there in the world (κόσμος) that is like thy fragrant smell? These . . .

---

2 etc. 'These . . .': ⲛⲓⲱ is the abbreviated form of some word, occurring no doubt in the first line of this psalm, which is repeated at the end of each verse as a refrain. — 19 ⲛⲁⲧⲧⲁⲃⲧⲃ: cf. 98, 21; Crum Dict. 401 b. — 21 lit. 'can ascend thy ascending'. 'Thy' and 'thou' are fem. throughout.

P. 119, on which this psalm ends, is not legible.

+ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲁϣⲣⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲓⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁ[ⲕ
ⲡⲁϫ
ⲱⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲍⲣⲁⲕ ⲉⲓⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ[ⲉⲕ
ⲡⲁϫ [ⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ
ⲱⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲍⲁⲧⲍⲧ ⲍⲛⲛⲉ[ⲕ
ⲡⲁϫ ⲡ[ⲉⲑⲏⲡ
ⲱⲡⲉ ⲧⲁⲥⲃⲱ ⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲥⲧ . . ⲁⲛⲉ . . . . .[. .
ⲡⲁϫ .[. . . .
ⲱⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲕ
ⲡⲁϫ ⲙ[ⲁⲓⲍⲉ
ⲁ . ⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱ .[. .
ⲡⲁϫ .[. .
ⲁⲓⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲱⲓⲭⲍϥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧ[ⲉⲍⲟ
ⲡⲁϫ ⲡⲉⲕⲱ[ⲓⲭϥ
ⲁⲓⲛⲏⲃⲉ ⲍⲙⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲁⲙ ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧⲉⲍⲟ
ⲡⲁϫ ⲧⲉⲕⲟⲩ[ⲁⲱⲥⲉ
ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱⲧⲉⲍⲁⲕ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲱⲣⲛⲟⲓⲉ ⲙ[ⲙⲁⲕ
ⲡⲁϫ
ⲛⲁⲱⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲓⲍⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲟⲓⲛⲭⲡⲟ ⲛⲱⲡⲏⲣ[ⲉ ⲙ
ⲡⲁϫ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲧ[ⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ
ⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲭⲡⲁⲕ ⲍⲓⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲙ[ⲙⲁⲕ
ⲡⲁϫ
ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲍⲙⲡⲟⲩ . . . .[. .
ⲡⲁϫ . . . .
ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲍ ⲁⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲭϥ ⲁⲩⲁ[ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲁϫ ⲉⲥⲗⲁⲙⲉ
ⲧⲧⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲙⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛⲍⲏⲧϥ
ⲡⲁϫ

1—22 haec iterum scribuntur infra p. 126, q. v. — 6 ⲡⲉⲑⲏⲡ: cf. 126, 5. — 11 init. ⲁⲓⲧⲉ: H.T. — 15 ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱⲱ: sed inf. 126, 15 ⲙⲡⲓⲱ. — 21 ⲭⲡⲁⲕ sic: leg. ⲭ⟨ⲉ ⲁⲩⲭ⟩ⲡⲁⲕ, coll. 126, 21.

I will not fail (?) to bless thee,
My Lord.
My Intelligence (νοῦς) has not rested, I thinking of [thy wonders.
My Lord.
My Reason has not stirred from searching in thy [secrets].
My Lord.
My Thought has not stirred from . . . . . .
My Lord.
My Counsel has not stirred from seeking after thy marvels.
My Lord.
. . . . my Intention ascend, it desiring . . .
My Lord.
I dived to the depth of the abyss, desiring to comprehend
My Lord. thy depth.
I swam in the breadth of the sea, desiring to comprehend
My Lord. thy breadth.
Who is able to comprehend thee and who to understand (νοεῖν) thee?
My Lord.
Many the marvels of thy begetting, the wonders of thy
My Lord. cross (σταυρός).
When I say 'thy begetting', yet who created thee?
My Lord.
The sky and the earth were established in the . . . .
My Lord.
They came to the son of God, they cast him into a filthy
My Lord. womb.
He that is in everything, in whom everything is.
My Lord.

---

1 ογαωρε: meaning not clear. — 3—11 vid. supr. 23, 14—18 n. — 11 or, reading ⲁⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲁⲕ., 'I caused my Intention to ascend'. — 25 cf. 52, 22—27.

. . . . .]. . . . πε μ̄ñπκας αγ[. .]. . . .[. .
πας]
ⲠⲠⲓⲁⲧⲧⲉ]ⲟⲩⲁϥ ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲃⲙⲃⲱⲙⲙⲏ̄ ⲁⲩ[. .].ⲏⲩ
πας] [. . .]ⲁⲓⲱ.[.
. . . . . .[. .[. . . . .]ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲱ[ⲧϥ ⲁⲡⲥⲧ]ⲁⲩ
π[ⲁϫ] [ρος
. . . . . .]ⲁⲧⲥ[. . ⲥ]ⲱⲱϥ ⲧⲉ ⲁ[. . . .]. . ⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲁ[ⲓ
ⲗⲉ ⲧⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲡ .
. . .]. . ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲛⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ μ̄ñⲡⲥⲛⲁϥ ⲁ[ⲧ]μ̄ñⲧⲣ̄
πⲁ]ϫ [ρο ⲛⲙⲡ]ⲏⲩⲉ
Ⲁ]ⲍⲣⲁⲩ μ̄ñⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [. . . . .]ⲁⲓⲥ . .
πⲁ]ϫ [. . . . .]. .
ⲠⲠⲱⲏ]ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ñⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲁⲩⲛⲁϫⲏ̄ ⲁⲡ[. . . . .]. . ⲥ
πⲁ]ϫ
ⲠⲠⲱⲏⲣ]ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲁⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲱ[ⲧϥ ⲁⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ
π]ⲁϫ
ⲠⲠⲱ]ⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ ⲁⲩⲧ ⲛⲉϥ ⲕ[ⲉⲉⲥⲉ
π]ⲁϫ
ⲧⲥ]ⲱⲧⲙⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕϫⲟⲟ[ⲥ] ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ
πⲁ]ϫ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
ⲦⲦ]ⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ μ̄ñⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[. . . . .
πⲁϫ
Ⲥⲓⲉ ⲛ]ⲧⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲓⲥ ⲛⲉ[ⲃⲁⲧⲉ
πⲁϫ
ⲧⲥ]ⲱⲧⲙⲉ ϫⲉ ⲕⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲕⲓⲱⲧ ⲍⲏⲡ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ[ⲕ
π]ⲁϫ
Ⲑⲓ]ϣ[ⲁⲛϫⲟ]ⲟⲥ ϫ[ⲉ] ⲁⲩ[ϫⲡ]ⲟ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲧ[ⲁ]ⲃⲛ [ⲡ]ⲕⲉⲓⲱ[ⲧ
πⲁϫ ⲍⲁⲍⲧⲏⲕ
Ⲥⲓⲉ ⲧⲁϣⲱⲕ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲧⲁⲃⲱⲣⲃ ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲥⲓⲙⲉ
πⲁϫ
Ⲧⲕⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ
Ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲛ μ̄ñⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ
ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

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1 cf. 120, 23. — 5 ⲛ̄ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲁⲧ]ⲥⲉϫⲉ coniicio. — 13 fin. fort. ⲁⲡⲙⲁⲛⲥⲱⲛⲍ sive ⲁⲡⲉⲩϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ. — 17 ⲕⲉⲉⲥⲉ: cf. Thompson., St. Johann. 12, 7. — 25 ⲍⲏⲡ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ[ⲕ]: H.T., ipse errabam. — 32, 33 leg. ⲛ⟨ⲉⲧ⟩ⲉ ⲡⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ.

. . . . . heaven and earth, they did . . . . .
My Lord.
The ineffable and impalpable one they . . . . . .
My Lord.
. . . . . word (?), they hanged [him to the cross.
My Lord.
. . . . . however is . . . . . he ascending shamed . . .
My Lord.
. . . . they excluded flesh (σάρξ) and blood from the kingdom
My Lord. of the heavens.
What have they to do with the son of God . . . . .?
My Lord.
The] son of the kingdom was cast into the . . . .
My Lord.
The] son of God on high was hanged [to the cross.
My Lord.
The] son of the Father that is hidden — they gave him [burial.
My Lord.
I] hear that thou didst say: 'I am the Light
My Lord. of the world (κόσμος)'.
The Φωστήρ spoke with the Light of the . . .
My Lord.
Then] who gave light to the world (κόσμος) these nine months?
My Lord.
I] hear that thou art in thy Father, thy Father is hidden in thee.
My Lord.
When I say 'The son was begotten (?)', I shall find the Father also
My Lord. at his side.
Shall I lay waste a kingdom that I may furnish a woman's womb?
My Lord.
Thy holy womb is the Luminaries (φωστήρ) that conceive thee.
The trees and the fruits (καρπός) — in them is thy holy body (σῶμα).
My Lord Jesus.

---

11 'They': i. e. flesh and blood. — 19 cf. Joh. 8, 12. — 25 cf. Joh. 14, 10. — 27 cf. Joh. 14, 8—10. — 28 The doctrine that Christ was born of Mary was repugnant to the Manichees (vid. 52, 22—7 n). If Christ was conceived in a woman's womb he cannot be divine: the whole structure of his royal origin (ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ) is brought tumbling to the ground in ruins (ϣⲱϥ) by any that shall say he was born in a woman's womb (ϭⲱⲣϭ ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥ.). For ϭⲱⲣϭ vid. 100, 29 n. — 31 i. e. the womb that bare thee.

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1—3 non legi possunt

πα[ϫ]
. . . . . .]ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ .[. . . . . .
πα[ϫ]
ⲁⲕϫⲡ̣ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲱⲥ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲕ†ⲱ[ⲓⲡⲉ
ⲡ̣[ⲁϫ] ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ̣
Ⲉⲓⲥ[ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛⲕ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲡⲧ̣ⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲕ ⲛ̄[ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
πⲁϫ] ⲧ̣ⲁ̣[·
Ⲙⲡⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ] ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̣ⲓ ⲥⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧ[ⲛⲛⲁⲩⲧ
πⲁϫ]
.]ⲡⲃ[. . . .]ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ †ⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲕ.[. . .
ⲡ̣[ⲁϫ]
Ⲕ.[. . .] ⲕⲙⲟⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲕⲥⲁⲧⲏⲕ ⲕ.[·
πⲁ]ϫ πⲉⲕ̣[
Ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ[ⲕ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲱⲣ̄ⲛⲟ̈ⲓⲉ [ⲙ
π[ⲁϫ] [ⲙⲁⲕ
Ⲧⲧⲉⲧϫⲁⲥ]ⲉ ⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲁⲩⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲥⲓⲙⲉ
πⲁ]ϫ ⲱⲁ̣.[·
Ϫⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲥⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲟ[ⲥ] ϫⲉⲩⲁⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲛ[ⲉ
πⲁϫ
Ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲥ ⲁ̣ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲁⲧⲉ [ⲛⲥⲥ
π[ⲁ]ϫ [ⲓⲙⲉ
Ⲁⲩⲣ[†]ⲓ[ⲥ] ⲛ[ⲉ]ⲃⲁⲧⲉ . .[. . . . . .]ⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄[. . .
πⲁϫ
Ⲧⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲩ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ ⲁⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ ⲁ[ⲥⲛ
πⲁϫ ⲙⲁⲅⲟⲥ
Ⲥⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟ̄ⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲛⲥⲁⲧ ⲁ̣ⲧⲟ̣ⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲡ[ⲉⲩ
πⲁϫ ⲱⲏⲣⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲥⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲅⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟ̄ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲛⲥⲁⲧ̣
πⲁϫ
Ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲁⲁ̈ⲓ̈ †ⲥⲉⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲕⲁⲛ̣ⲁⲃ . . . . . ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
πⲁϫ
Ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱⲧⲉⲥⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲱⲣ̄ⲛⲟ̈ⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ
πⲁϫⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅

20 fin. fort. ⲱⲁⲡⲏ. — 23 leg. ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲥ, coll. 120, 25. — 27 fort. ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲥ.

ll. 1—3 *illegible*

My Lord.
. . . . . .
My Lord.
Thou didst reprove the dead until thou hadst put them to shame.
My Lord.
I [know thee] as God, the earth knew thee as [man . . . .
My Lord.
None has] known me save the Father that [sent me.
My Lord.
. . . . . thee, give a sign of . . . .
My Lord.
Thou . . ., thou fillest the universe, thou art before thyself,
My Lord. thy . . .
Who can know thee and who understand (νοεῖν) thee?
My Lord.
He that is higher] than heaven and earth, a woman's womb did . . .
My Lord.
The Father established the sun and the moon that they might give light.
My Lord.
They came to the beloved son, they shut him up in a [woman's] womb.
My Lord.
He passed nine (?) months . . . . . .
My Lord.
He that is far from the whole world (κόσμος), how should he have
My Lord. appeared to Magi (μάγος)?
Did God not find one who believed (?) in the coming of his son?
My Lord.
A star and Magi (μάγος) were they that were found believing (?).
My Lord.
The Jews judge thee: forgive (?) . . . God.
My Lord.
Who can comprehend thee and who understand (νοεῖν) thee?
My Lord Jesus.

---

25 cf. 121, 23.

. . . . . .[. . . ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ . . . ⲁⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ . .
ⲡⲁϫ] [ϫ]ⲡⲟ
. . . . . .]. ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲓⲟⲛⲧ . . . . . ⲕⲗⲁⲙ
ⲡⲁ]ϫ
. . . . . .]. . ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲱⲛ̄ⲧϫⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲥⲁⲩⲧ
ⲡ]ⲁϫ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
. . . .]ⲡⲉⲩ[ⲥ]ⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ ⲙⲡⲩⲗ[ⲏ . . . . .
ⲡⲁ]ϫ
. . . . . .]. . ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ . . . ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲱⲁⲡⲏ ⲁ̣ⲡⲧⲛⲍ
ⲡⲁ]ϫ

11—12 non legi possunt

. . . .]. . . . . ⲥⲣⲉ ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲟⲩ . . . . . ⲛ̣ⲍ
ⲡⲁ]ϫ
. . . . .]ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲍⲏⲡ ⲱⲁ . . . [ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ . . . . .
ⲡⲁ]ϫ ⲡⲁⲩ
. . . . .]. ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲓϫⲓ ⲡⲉⲕϫⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲏ . . .
ⲡⲁϫ . . . ⲧ
. . . . . .]ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲕⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲕⲛⲁϫ . . . . .
ⲡⲁϫ] . . . ⲡⲁ .
Ⲛⲧⲉ]ⲣⲉⲕⲃⲁⲡⲩ ⲁⲕⲁⲱⲃⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϫⲉ ⲁⲓⲙ[. .]. . . . .
ⲡⲁϫ
. . .] . . ⲁⲕϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲍⲁⲡⲕⲙⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲟ ⲍⲁⲡⲉⲕ . . . .
ⲡⲁϫ]
. . . . . .]ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲣ . . . . ⲕ . . . . . .
ⲡⲁ]ϫ
Ⲍⲛ]ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲱⲃⲏⲗ ⲁ[ⲩ
ⲡⲁϫ ⲛⲉⲍⲡⲉ
Ⲁⲕⲣ]ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲛ̄ⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲁ̣ⲕ†ⲍⲉⲡ ⲍⲓϫⲱⲩ
ⲡⲁϫ
.]ⲕ̣ . . ⲏ ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁ ⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲍ . . . ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲛⲍⲧⲏⲩ
ⲡⲁϫ
Ⲁ]ⲕⲣ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ ⲁⲕⲣ̄ⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
ⲡⲁϫ
.] . . .ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲁⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲣ̄ϫⲁⲓ ⲁⲙ†ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲣ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲏⲧ
ⲡⲁϫ
Ⲁⲕ]ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓⲧ ⲁⲩⲃⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲧ
ⲡⲁϫ] ⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲣⲏ

---

1 †ⲣⲙⲁⲓⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲟ|ⲛϫⲡⲟ coniicio. — 7 fin. ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ coniicio. — 31 ⲁⲕⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲍⲱⲥ coniicio.

. . . . . thy cross . . . wonder (?) at thy . . .
My Lord.]
. . . . thy cross I found . . . . . garland (?).
My Lord.
. . . thy cross, the enemy being nailed to it.
My Lord.
. . . . his (?) cross, he burst the gates (? πύλη) . . . .
My Lord.
. . . . . thy cross . . . would take wing (?).
My Lord.

ll. 11—12 *illegible*

. . . . . cross for the . . . . . .
My Lord.
. . . . . cross, it being hidden . . . forth . . .
My Lord.
. . . . with the cross, I received thy . . . .
My Lord.
. . . . mind (νοῦς), thou didst crucify (σταυροῦν) mind (? νοῦς),
My Lord. thou didst cast (?) . . .
When thou hadst caught him thou didst cry out: 'I have . . .'
My Lord.
. . . . . thou didst say concerning thy death, a Rich One
My Lord]. concerning thy . . .
. . . . . cross . . . . . .
My Lord.
By] thy renown thou didst go up: Death cried out and lamented.
My Lord.
Thou madest] the cross a Bema for thyself, thou gavest judgment from it.
My Lord.
. . . . . stood (ἀναστῆναι?) back . . . . merciful God.
My Lord.
Thou madest the cross a ship for thyself, thou wast the sailor on it.
My Lord.
. . . . the cross was a ship, the souls were passengers.
My Lord.
Thou didst] go to the Mount of Olives, thou wast found excelling
My Lord]. the sun.

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1 etc. 'Cross': σταυρός pass. — 35 ⲣⲟⲩⲏⲧ: vid. Spiegelberg op. cit. p. 257.

ⲁⲕ . . . ⲁⲙ ⲁⲡⲕⲣ . ⲁⲓ . . . ⲡ . . . . . [. . . .
ⲡⲁ]ⲍ

non legi potest

ⲡⲁⲍ
. . [. . .] . . ⲛ . . ⲙ . ⲛ . ⲛ . . . ⲕ ⲥⲛ . . . . . ⲕ . [. . .
ⲡⲁ]ⲍ
ⲛ . . . . ⲙⲁⲩⲗ|ⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ . . ⲉ . . ⲁⲃ . ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲛ[.
ⲡⲁ]ⲍ ⲱ .
. . [. . . .] . . . . ⲱ . . . . . ⲕⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ .[. . . .
ⲡⲁⲍ . .[. . .
ⲁⲩ[. . . . .] ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲁⲕⲣⲱ . . . . . .[. . .
ⲡⲁⲍ]
ⲛ . . . . . ⲍⲁⲕⲛ . . . . . ⲛ . [. . . . .
ⲡⲁⲍ
ⲙ . . ⲉ . . ⲟⲛ[.] . [.]. . . . . ⲡⲁⲍⲉⲕ [. . . . . .
ⲡⲁⲍ ⲡ . [. . .
ⲙⲡ . [. .] . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲍ|ⲥⲉ ⲡⲁⲍⲉⲕ
ⲡⲁⲍ ⲡⲁⲍⲡ . ⲡ[. .
ⲃ . . . . . ⲧ . ⲃⲱⲕ ⲯⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ . ⲕⲁⲍ ⲁⲕⲁⲛⲁ[ⲃⲉ
ⲡⲁⲍ ⲡⲁ .
. . . . . ⲃ . . . . . ⲁ . ⲉ̀ ⲁⲕⲁⲛⲁ[ⲃⲉ
ⲡⲁⲍ
ⲧⲧⲉⲧⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲕⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ . . . ⲛ ⲁⲕⲧ . .[. .
ⲡⲁⲍ ⲙⲛ . .[. .
ⲧⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲕ|ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲩⲕ
ⲡⲁⲍ

26 explicit psalmus. sequuntur quinque paginae vacuae.

ll. 1—16 *too fragmentary for translation*

. . . . . that I may go on high, thou didst say . . . .
My Lord.
. . . . . go within . . . to forgive (?) . . .
My Lord.
. . . . . to forgive (?).
My Lord.
Him that is athirst thou didst call . . .. thou didst . . . .
My Lord.
Glory to thee, Jesus, and to thy Father that sent [thee.
My Lord.

+ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲁϣⲣⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲓ̈[ⲥ]ⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲁϫⲁ̈ⲥ
ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅
ⲗ̅ⲗ̅ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ϩⲣⲁⲕ ⲉ̈ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲕϣⲡⲏⲣⲉ
ⲡⲁϫⲁ̈ⲥ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅
ⲗ̅ⲗ̅ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲕⲓⲙ ⲉϥϩⲁⲧϩⲧ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲉⲑⲏⲡ
ⲡⲁϫⲁ̈ⲥ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅
ⲗ̅ⲗ̅ⲡⲉ ⲧⲁⲥⲃϣ ⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲥⲧⲟ . ⲁ̣ⲛⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕ
ⲙ̣ⲩⲥ̣ⲧⲏ̣[ⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲁ]ϫ
ⲗ̅ⲗ̅ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲕ]ⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁ̈ϩⲉ
ⲡⲁϫⲁ̈ⲥ ⲓ[ⲏⲥ
. . . ⲡ̣ⲁ̣ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲁⲗⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱϣ
ⲧ̣ⲉϩ̣ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲕ ⲡⲁϫ
ⲁ̣]ⲓⲱⲙⲥ ⲁ̣ⲡϣⲓϫϩϥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ̈ⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲧⲉϩⲟ ⲡⲉⲕ
ϣⲓϫⲩ ⲡⲁϫ
ⲁ̣]ⲓ̈ⲛⲏⲃⲉ ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲱϣⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϣⲧⲉϩⲟ ⲧⲉⲕ̣
ⲟⲩ]ⲁ̣ϣⲥⲉ ⲡⲁϫ
Ⲛⲓ]ⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁϣⲧⲉϩⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ϣⲣ̄ⲛⲟⲓ̈ⲉ [ⲙⲙⲁⲕ
ⲡⲁϫ
Ⲛⲁ]ϣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲟⲓⲛϫⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ϣⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲉⲕ
ⲥⲧⲁ]ⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲁϫ
Ⲉⲓϣ]ⲁⲛϫⲟⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩϫⲡⲁⲕ ϩⲓⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲕ] ⲡⲁϫ

1— 22 Haec continuo post p. 118 exaravit scriba, tunc mendi sibi conscius (p. 119 enim neglegebat) quae scripserat induxit foliumque duplex (sc. 119/20, 125/6) ita invertit ut inducta hoc loco per caput starent. — 5 ⲡⲉⲑⲏⲡ: H.T. — 11 init. ⲁ̈ⲧⲉ: H.T. — 15 ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϣⲧⲉϩⲟ sic: ⲉ̈ⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲧⲉϩⲟ 120, 15.

I will not fail (?) to bless thee, my Lord
Jesus.
My I telligence (νοῦς) has not rested, I thinking of thy wonders.
My Lord Jesus.
My Reason has not stirred from searching in thy secrets.
My Lord Jesus.
My Thought has not stirred from . . . . in thy
mysteries (? μυστήριον). My Lord.
My Counsel has not stirred from] seeking after thy marvels.
My Lord Jesus.
. . . . my Intention ascend, it desiring
to comprehend thee. My Lord
I dived to the depth of the abyss, desiring to comprehend thy
depth. My Lord.
I swam in the breadth of the sea, I could not comprehend thy
breadth. My Lord.
Who is able to comprehend thee and who to understand (νοεῖν) [thee?
My Lord.
Many the marvels of thy begetting, the wonders of thy
cross (σταυρός). My Lord.
When I say 'thy begetting', yet who created
thee? My Lord.

1 ff. vid. p. 120, with notes.

1—21 non legi possunt

22 Χαιρε ⲡ

.]. . . ⲧⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲉ . ⲁⲛ . . . . ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲱ

ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲕ ⲱⲁⲡⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲉ . . . ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ

Χαιρε π

26 Ν]ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲱⲣⲃ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲍ ⲍ|ⲧⲛ

. . . . . ⳟ . . . . . ⲉ . . ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ

Χαιρε π

. . . ⲛ . . ⲕ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏⲗⲟⲛ [. . . . . .] . ⲥⲏⲕ ⲁⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲙ

ⲙⲉⲅ|ⲥⲧⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲍⲙ̄ . . . ⲣⲍⲏⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲉⲧ

31 ⲁ̣ⲭ̣ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ Χαιρε π

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26 ⲍ|ⲧⲛ: ⲧ sup. lin.

ll. 1—21 *illegible*

22 Hail, o . .
. . . . none has been . . . . . .
thee (?) to the day . . . shall wipe them out.
Hail, o . .
26 Thou art he that orders the heavens, the plants (?) and the earths through
. . . . . purity.
Hail, o . .
. . . . . the veils (οὐήλον) . . . . drawn to (?) the Father, the
princes (μεγιστᾶνος) . . . . grieve (?) because of the bond which is
31 upon thy members (μέλος). Hail, o . .

1 A new Psalm begins, of which 'Hail, o . .' is a refrain, recurring approximately in every third line.

ερε ππρεσβευ[τηc] . ϣ . . ε . . . . . [. .
ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲕⲁ . . . . . ⲟⲩⲉⲛ . . . . . [. .
. . ⲭⲓⲥⲉ χαιρ
ττϣⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁ . . . . . [. .
ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲭⲡⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ . . . . [. .
. . . . . χαιρ
ⲚⲚⲕ . [. . .] . . . . . ⲧ . . . . . [. . .
ⲡⲁ . . . [. . . . . .] . . . ⲧⲉⲕⲓⲉⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩ . . . . [. .
. . . . [. . .]ⲏ . . . χαιρ
ⲥ[. . .] . [. . .]ⲛ . . . . . ⲉ . . . . . [. . .] . . . . . [. .

11—23 non legi possunt

24 Ⲛ . . . ⲭⲓⲁⲛⲧ . . ⲟⲩ . . ⲛⲁⲡ . . . . . .
ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲥⲥⲁⲍⲛⲉ ⲁⲩϣⲟⲩⲣⲧⲁ . . . . . .
χαιρ
Ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ . . . . . ⲃ . . . . ⲛ̀ⲙ ⲥ . ⲧⲁⲕ . . ⲍ .
ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ[ⲩ] ⲍⲛⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
χαιρ
30 Ⲉ . . . . ⲛ . . . . . [. . . . .] . . . . . ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲓ

30 fin. sc. ⲡⲭⲓ[ⲥⲉ].

The Envoy (πρεσβευτής) . . . . . .
thy members (μέλος) . . . . . .
height. Hail.
The First Man will . . . . . .
these that thou gettest for him daily . . . .
. . . . Hail.

ll. 7—24 illegible and fragmentary

thy commandment . . . . . .
Hail.
They will go (?) . . . . . .
is the judge (κριτής), however, in (?) him who is sinned against.
Hail.
. . . . . is on high

1—14 non legi possunt, exceptis vocibus
†μουτε ουβηϥ, l. 4, et νιβανωϣι, l. 10.

15 . . .] . . . . . ϩϲⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ . . ϫⲓϩⲉ . . .
. .] . . . . ϧ . . . . ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲛ̄ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲙ
ⲓⲟⲛ χαιρ
. . .] . ε πⲥ̄ⲣ̄ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲓ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁⲑⲏ
ⲧⲏ]ⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲉϥ ⲡⲱϧ . . . ⲧ . . . . ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
20 χαιρ
Ⲁϥ]ⲣ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲉϥϩⲁⲥⲉ . . . . . ⲡⲉϥⲥⲁⲓ
. . . ⲱⲧ̄ . . ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲱϥⲧ
. .ⲧⲃⲁⲥ χαιρ
Ⲱ]ⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩϧⲱⲧⲉ . ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩ . . . . ⲛ . . . ⲓⲉ ⲥⲛⲁϥ
25 . . . ⲙⲉ ⲥⲱϧ ⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲛ̄ ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲧ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲣⲱϩⲉ χαιρ
ⲦⲦ]ϩⲣ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ
ⲑ]ⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲓⲱⲛ ϩⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱ[. . . .
ⲁ . . ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟ[ⲛ]ⲧⲓⲕⲏ χαιρ

10 νιβανωϣι: vid. 4, 16 n.

ll. 1—14 *illegible*

. . . . . know . . . . . .
. . . . . in their abyss, in the five
storehouses (ταμιεῖον). Hail.
. . . . the Saviour ($\overline{\sigma\omega\rho}$) also came (?) upon the Mount, his
disciples (μαθητής) with him . . . . . .
Hail.
He spent the whole night suffering . . . . . his . . .
. . . . . confirmation, and his disciples (μαθητής) nailed (?)
. . . . . Hail.
Until they sought (?) . . . . . blood (?)
. . . . drew upon them and they found the way to escape
from the . . . . Hail.
The] Saviour ($\overline{\sigma\omega\rho}$) is the likeness of the Father, man: the
disciples (μαθητής) are his elements (στοιχεῖον), they . . . .
the power of the Archon (ἀρχοντική). Hail.

16. 17 cf. 9, 17. — 18 cf. 123, 37.

ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲕⲁ . . . . . ⲛⲧ . . . . [. . . .
ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲏ • . . . . . ⲏⲍ . . . ⲥⲍⲁ . . . [. . . .
. . . . . χⲁⲓⲣ
ⲁⲏⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ . . . . . [. .
ⲙⲡⲱ[. .] . . . ⲁ . . ⲱ . ⲧⲏⲩ . . . . . [. . .
. . . . . χⲁⲓⲣ
. . [. . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡ . . . . . [. . . . .
8 mutilum
. . . .] . . . . . ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ χⲁⲓⲣ
. . . . . ⲙⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ . . . . . [. . . . .
11 mutilum
ⲡⲍⲏⲥ . χⲁⲓⲣ

13—19 mutila

ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲉⲩⲕⲉⲥⲕⲁⲥⲧ ⲍⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲉ ⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲩⲍⲛ .
. . . ⲛ . ⲁ . ⲁⲛ . . ⲟⲣⲉ χⲁⲓⲣ
. ⲱⲙⲁ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲝ . . . ⲧ . . . . . ⲉⲩ[. .
. ⲉ ⲡⲛⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲉⲧⲥ . . [.
. . . . . ⲁ ⲍⲛ̄ⲛ . . . ⲉ χⲁⲓⲣ
ⲁⲩⲣⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲍⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲛ|ⲭⲉⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲁ ⲍⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲣ[ⲁ
ⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲣⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
χⲁⲓⲣ
ⲁⲛⲡⲍ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛⲋ ⲃⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲧⲡ .
. . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲃ . .
. .ⲣⲁⲱⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ χⲁⲓⲣ

22 init. ⲥⲱⲙⲁ coniicio.

Until they . . . . . .
the Emanation (προβολή) . . . . . .
. . . . Hail.
He caused the sons of the height (?) to . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . Hail.

ll. 7—8 *fragmentary*

. . . . . in (?) their midst. Hail.
. . . . . the cross (σταυρός) . . . . . .

ll. 11—19 *fragmentary*

life, he being stretched out in the tree: Spirit in
. . . . . Hail.
. . . . in the cross (σταυρός) . . . . . .
Spirit on the morning of the Lord's Day (κυριακή) which
. . . . . in . . . Hail.
He was body (σῶμα) in Mani, Spirit in the
Paraclete, bestowing on us the forgiveness of sins.
Hail.
We have come to know him therefore by all these things: let us be reconciled (?)
. . . . his body (σῶμα) from this place where his . . .
. . . . forth to us. Hail.

. . . . . .] . . . . . ετασ̄τστολη ν̄ϩρα

2—14 mutila, excepto πσταγρος, l. 4,
et σαβλλακ, l. 14.

15 . . . .]ν̄ν̄μα τηρογ χ̣α̣ι̣ρ̣
ΤΤογαϩ]σαϩνε ετμ̣α̣ . . . . . πν . . . . . .
17 mutilum
ετχη]κ αβαλ ν . . ϩ̣ . ε̣ντολαγε̣ [χαιρ]
. . . .]μαϩε αραϊ̈ ν̄τ . . . . . αρακ παμε[νηγ
20 . . . α]σπαϩε ν̄νεκμελος ετσ̣η̣ . . . . . [. . .
τη]ρ̣ογ α[. .]ε . . γ . . χαιρ
. . . . . .]ω ϣωπε ϋ̄π[ο]ογε . . α̣ . ερ̄π̣αρ̣[. . . . .
. . .] . . . . . ε ϋ̄π|σηγ ϋ̄π . . . ε . . . μπογε̣ [. .
. . . . . .] . . . εογαϩσαϩνε χ[αιρ]
25 Ν̄τακ] παϣηρε ϋ̄μογ πϣαρ̄π̄ ν̄χπο ν̄τε π[. .
. . .]αγρ̣ε απαϊ̈ωτ χαγτ ν̄σωκ χεκ . [. . .
. . .]π̣ ϩϋ̄πεκϩραγ ετναταμε χ[αιρ]
ΤΤ[. . . . .] μεν πε πϣαρ̄π̄ ϩ̣ν̄νσεχε τηρο̣γ ετα
ρ̣ . . . ε ογν̄ ογμογ ϣοο̣π ογν̄ ο̣γωνϩ̣ αν ϩ̣ιε η̣ . .

Numeri 131/132 tria folia comprehendunt quae cum artissime cohaereant non potuit Ibscherus separare, medium tamen scriptura vacare existimat.

. . . . . which was the robe (στολή) . . .

ll. 2—14 *fragmentary*

. . . all places. Hail.
The] commandment which . . . . . .
l. 17 *fragmentary*
perfect (?) . . . commandments (ἐντολή). [Hail].
. . . . . walk (?) to me . . . . . to thee, my Shepherd (?),
. . . greet (ἀσπάζεσθαι) thy . . . . members (μέλος),
all (?) of them . . . . . Hail.
. . . . . comes to pass today . . . . . .
. . . . . this time . . . . . today
. . . . . commandment. Hail.
Thou art] my fated (?) son, the first creature of the
. . . . . my Father sent me after thee that thou mightest
. . . . by thy pleasant cry. Hail.
The . . . . indeed (μέν) is the first of all the words which
. . . . . there is death, there is life also: then

]ⲁⲥⲙ[
]ⲡⲕⲁⲥ[

[πωκ]

4 mutilum

5]ⲁⲕ̄ⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲓⲉ ⲥⲛ̄
πⲱⲕ
]ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲕ . ⲕ . . . . .
]ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ .
]πωκ
10]ⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃⲡ π . . . . . [. . . .

11—26 mutila

27 Ⲉⲓ̣ⲥ ⲑⲉ [ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁⲥⲡⲣ̣ⲓⲉ ⲁϫ . . . ⲉ . [
ⲥⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ ⲁ̣ⲥ̣ⲧⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ [
πωκ
Ⲟⲩ]ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄[
. . . ⲛ̄ⲱⲏ[ⲣⲉ
πωκ
33 Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

ll. 1—2 *fragmentary*

3 [Thine.]

l. 4 *fragmentary*

5 . . . . . thou madest festival in
Thine.
. . . . . them of the . . . .
. . . . . he was garlanded in the
. . . . . Thine.
10 . . . . . they broke the . . . . .

ll. 11—26 *fragmentary*

27 Lo, [this is] the way of the Father, it shone (?) forth . . .
together, it gave joy to us all . . . . .
Thine.
Glory to . . . . . .
the sons (?) . . . . . .
Thine.
33 Glory and [victory to the soul of the blessed Mary.

---

3 etc. πωκ: 'Thine', the refrain of the Psalm, the first words now lost, being repeated at the end of each verse.

ϯalmoi caracωτωn . .

Ⲉρε ⲛⲓⲙ] ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄

Ⲧⲧⲓ]ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄

ⲡ]ⲣⲣⲟ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

Ⲧⲧ]ⲁⲡⲓⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲥⲉ • ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲉ[ⲩ

ⲡⲁⲛⲓⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲛⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲛⲓⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲉ

ⲙⲁⲩⲍⲱⲃⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

Ⲧⲧ]ⲁⲡⲓⲣⲏ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲍⲱⲧⲡ̄ • ⲉⲧⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ . . . . . ⲁ[ⲱ]ⲛ

ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲭⲏⲕ ⲧⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ

ⲁ]ⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

Ⲉⲓⲥ] ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ • ⲡⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄[ⲁ]

ⲱ]ⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉ

Ⲧⲙⲁⲍ]ⲉⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

. . .] . ▮ ⲉⲧⲍⲓⲛⲉⲭⲏⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲱ]ⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

Ⲧⲩⲙⲛ̄]ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ • ⲧⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉ

ⲛ]ⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

Ⲛ̄]ⲛⲓⲕⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲙ • ⲉⲧ+ ⲁⲛⲏⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲣⲟ

ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ • ⲛⲓⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲓⲭ

ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ • ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ

ⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

Ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲓⲭ ⲉⲩⲃⲛⲃⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ

ⲡ]ⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

ⲡ]ⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ • ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄

ⲡ]ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

ⲧ]ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ

ⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ

Ⲧⲧ]+ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲁⲍⲛ̄ ⲡ+ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ

Ⲭ]ⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣⲙⲏⲧ ⲡⲧⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ

ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲥ

Ⲧⲧ]ⲙⲁⲍⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

Ⲧⲧ]ⲡⲕ̄ⲗⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

Ⲧⲧ]ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ

---

12 ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉ sic vid.

Psalms (ψαλμοί) . . . .

Who], my brethren, is worthy of all glory?
The] Father of Greatness is worthy of all glory,
the] King (?), the God of Truth. Worthy.
He of the height on high, he of the unfathomable depth,
he of the crowns that fall not, he of the garlands that
do not wither. Worthy.
He of the sun that sets not, that shines forth . . . . Aeons (?),
which is a perfect day: its 12 hours are his
Aeons. Worthy.
Lo,] this is the first day: its hours are his
12 Aeons.
The] second perfect day, Worthy.
. . . . that is on the ships, Worthy.
the] third Envoy (πρεσβευτής). Worthy.
Its] 12 hours, his 12 Maidens
that surround him. Worthy.
The] Victories (νίκη) that are laden with garlands, that give *anēsh*
to their king,
their harps in their hands, the lutes (κιθάρα) with them,
their harps in their hands, singing unto the hidden
Father. Worthy.
Their lutes (κιθάρα) are with them as they make music unto him, the
glorious one.
The] third perfect day, Worthy.
the Column (στῦλος) of Glory, the power of God that supports the Universe,
the Perfect Man. Worthy.
Its 12 hours, his 12
members (μέλος) that surround him:
the] 5 νοερά and the 5 Omophori,
that they may be 10, the Call and the Hearing
and they are 12.
The] fourth perfect day, Worthy.
the] Paraclete-Spirit, Worthy.
the] Mind (νοῦς) that is in the Church. Worthy.

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1 ψαλμοι σαρακωτων: vide Introduction II. — 2 ff. cf. Keph. Kap. IV. — 4 etc. 'Worthy': πετῶπωλ in l. 2 is repeated as a refrain. — 5 ατῆρετῳ: vid. 25, 1 n. — 14. 15 vid. Polotsky Abriss p. 254 f. — 18 ανηω: vid. 185, 13 n. — 28 f. cf. 139, 26 ff.; 32, 21 n.

1 non legi potest

. . . . ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ

ⲧⲧϯⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϯⲩⲭⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲁⲥⲛ̄ ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ[ⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ

ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲁⲣ̄ⲙⲏⲧ . . . . . ⲭⲉ ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ . ⲉ̣[. . . ⲛ̄

5 ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁ[ⲩⲥ]

Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ [ⲛⲉ] ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ

ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ

ⲧⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱ[ⲛ] ⲁⲥⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲛⲉ[ⲓ̈]

Ⲧⲃⲁⲙ [ⲉ]ⲧⲃⲓ ⲅⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ⲉⲕ

10 ⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ

Ⲉⲓⲥ [ⲥⲏ]ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛⲛ̄ⲩ̄ ⲥⲛ̄[

. ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲛ̣ⲣⲉⲛ

Ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲱ[. ⲩ̣] ⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲇⲟ[ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄

ⲥⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ

15 Ⲧ[ⲛⲟⲩⲛ]ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲙ]ⲏⲉ • ⲡ[ⲥⲱ .]ⲩ̣ . [. . . . .

ⲛⲉ[ⲧ]ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲭⲏⲩ

Ⲛⲕⲗⲁⲇⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲓ ⲅⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ • ⲧⲉ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ[ⲟⲩⲧⲉ] ⲉ[ⲧ

ⲃⲓ ⲅⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄

Ⲛ̄]ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ̀ ⲡⲉ ⲡ$\overline{\text{ⲭⲣⲥ}}$ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ

20 ⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ̣

. . . . . .] ⲡ$\overline{\text{ⲭⲣⲥ}}$ • ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ

Ⲧⲧ]ⲙ̣[ⲁ]ⲓ[ⲧ ⲡ]ⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄

ⲱⲁⲩⲕⲁⲍⲏⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ

Ⲛ]ⲉⲭⲏⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲍ • ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲙⲁⲩⲱⲉⲧⲩ̄ [ⲛ̄

25 ⲗⲁⲩⲉ

Ⲧⲉⲍⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ • ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁ̣ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁ̣[

Ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲥⲉⲭⲉ̣ ϯⲣⲍⲁⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲱⲁ

Ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲩ̄ . . ⲍⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧ . . [. .

ⲁⲣⲁⲩ

30 Ⲧⲣⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲡⲉⲧ[ⲁⲧⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲟⲩ

ⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲩ

32 periit

. . . .]ⲁⲩ

11/12 an ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲛ? — 17 ⲅⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ sic: leg. ⲅⲁⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ?

l. 1 *illegible*

. . . . new.
The 5 ψυχικόν and the 5 πνευματικόν
that they may make 10 . . . . the Image (εἰκών) and . . .
and they make 12.
Lo, the 4 days are these — God, the Light,
the Power, and the Wisdom (σοφία).
God who is in his Aeons and the Light that is upon them.
The Power that supports the Universe, the holy Wisdom (σοφία)
that is in the Church.
Behold the good tree which has been likened in
. . . .
In a root and a . . . ., in branches (κλάδος) [and
fruits (καρπός).
The [root] is the God of Truth, the . . . . [is the . . . .
that are in the ships.
The branches (κλάδος) that support †the Universe† are the Power
of God that
supports the Universe.
The fruits (καρπός) of the good tree are Christ who is
in the Church.
. . . . . Christ: blessed is he that shall moor to him.
The way (?) is the Perfect Man: he that walks in it
is confident.
The ships are the sun and moon: he that embarks — of him
is nothing demanded.
The treasure is the God of Truth: I cannot speak . . .
I cannot speak, I fear to utter. Worthy.
Good it is that we should be silent: silence . . . . .
. . .
The door is the Church: he that [knocks at it], to him
will they] open. . . .

ll. 32—33 *fragmentary*

17 'the Universe', perhaps corrupt; reading ϩⲁⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ: 'the fruits'. — 24, 25 i. e. no fare is exacted. — 27 'worthy': i. e. the refrain of the psalm, vid. p. 133.

. . . . .]ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲁⲱ
ⲣⲁ]ⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲛⲁ]ⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ • ⲡⲱⲛ ⲥⲱⲱⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲥⲙⲛ̄
ⲁ]ⲥⲏⲣ ⲁⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ
5 Ⲧⲧ]ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧ̣[ⲉ] ⲛⲁⲥⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ̀
ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩ[ⲉ]
Ⲉⲩ] ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̀ ⲉ
ⲙⲛ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ̀
Ⲉⲓⲥ] ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲛⲧⲩ̀ • ⲣ̄ⲥⲱⲃ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ . ⳇ . . .
10 ⲱ]ⲛⲋ
. .]ⲉⲉⲛⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲭ̀ ⲥⲁⲕⲁⲁⲛ ⲉⲛ ⲥⲟⲗⲱⲥ ⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲁ
. .] .
. . . .] . ⲁⲕ ⲉⲓ̈ⲯⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲭ̀ ⲉⲓ̈ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱ
. . . . . .]
15 . . . .] . ▮ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲟ ⲛ̄
ⲥⲙⲁ]ⲧ̣
. .] . ⲥⲁⲣⲕ̀ ⲁⲉⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ • ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲥ
Ⲟ]ⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲧⲉ ⲑⲁⲧⲉ • ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲓⲫⲉ
20 ⲛ]ⲧ̣ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ
Ⲉ]ⲛⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏⲩ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲁⲛ
ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲙⲛⲗⲁ]ⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲯⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ • ⲉⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲕⲁⲓⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ
ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ
25 Ⲙⲛ]ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲯⲕⲁⲥⲏⲧ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲙ ⲉⲙ
ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁⲛⲉ
Ⲭ]ⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲧⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲃⲁⲥⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲉⲥⲥⲉ
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
.]ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ . . . . ⲙⲁⲩⲃⲛ̄ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲱⲁⲥⲧⲱⲱⲛ
30 ⲁ]ⲭⲱⲩ
. . . . . .]ⲩ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲋ ⲛ̄
]
. . . . . ⲙ]ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲥⲁ̣[.]ⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲛ̄ ⲡ[. . . .
. . . . . .]ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ

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1 ⲡⲉ delendum? — 6 ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ dele. — 11 init. ⲡⲕⲉ]ⲉⲛⲉ, H.T., sc. 'adeps'. — 11, 12 fort. ⲁⲣ̄ⲁ̣ⲣ̣ⲁ[ⲑⲟ]ⲛ̣. — 13 init. fort. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲣⲁⲕ.

. . . . the commandments (ἐντολή), if (?) this man shall be able to keep them.
My] brethren, we have known the way: it is ours [to] provide victuals for the way.
The] way is the knowledge of God, the good victuals are the commandments (ἐντολή).
For (γάρ) what is the good of a man that shall go on the way and no bread with him?
Lo], the knowledge indeed (μέν) we have found: work now . . . life.
For . . . . of the flesh (σάρξ) will not allow us at all (ὅλως) to do . . .
. . . . while I am in the flesh (σάρξ), while I am in the midst of . . . .
. . . . that surround us, the desires (ἐπιθυμία) of many kinds].
From which of them . . . rest? Their array is not of one kind.
One is the thought from minute to minute, another the wind that blows from hour to hour.
While we are in the body (σῶμα) we are far from God: rest has not overtaken us,
for we have been housed in it.
None shall be able to glory while he has yet an hour in this prison.
None can be confident while he is in the midst of the sea and has not yet come to port.
For (γάρ) he knows not the hour when the storm shall rise against him.
. . an hour . . . . he finds not the time that it (*fem.*) ascends upon him.
. . . . . upon the . . . . . .
. . . .
. . . . . only (?) . . . . the man shall find the . . .
. . . . . and they will go up to the Land of Light.

4, 5 ⲁⲥⲏⲣ: vid. Crum Dict. 18 a. — 15 ⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲥ: properly 'battle-array', acies. — 31 ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲛϩ̄: vid. 102, 8 n.

Ⲱaqπωc ⲛ̄qⲟⲛ ⲛⲉqⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕ̣ⲗ̣ⲁ̣[ⲙ ⲥⲓⲃⲁ
ⲉ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀
Ⲥⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲍⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲱⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁ[ⲭⲱⲩ
ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲥⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲥ ⲁⲩⲟ̀[ⲛ
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ
Ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲁ ⲁⲡⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲍ • ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲥ ⲁⲩⲍⲁⲣⲃⲟⲩ ⲁⲡ .
ⲁⲗⲁⲙ
Ⲁⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ • ⲁⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁ[ⲛ
Ⲁⲛⲁ[ⲛ ⲥ]ⲱⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲉ[ⲱⲉ
Ⲉⲛⲁⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ϫⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏ[ⲍⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

ⲦⲦⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲧⲛ̄ϯⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ

	ⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ	ⲡⲟ̄ⲙ̄ⲛⲓⲃ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲱⲛ	
	ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ	ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ	
	ⲡⲣⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲓⲱⲛ	ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲁⲓⲛⲉ	35
	ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ	ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ	
	ⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀	ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ	
	ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ	ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲛⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈[ⲛⲉ	
	ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ	ⲡⲍⲉⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ	
	ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ϯ ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲍⲁⲩ	ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ	40
	ⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ	ⲡ+ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ	
	ⲡⲍⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉ	ⲡⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟ[ⲥ	
	ⲡⲙⲉⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ	ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ[ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ	
	ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲣⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩ+ⲍⲉ	ⲧⲍⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁ[ⲃ	
	ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ	ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥ+ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ	45
	ⲡⲁⲧⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲥⲛⲟⲩⲍⲉ	ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ̀	
	ⲡⲉⲩⲫⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ	ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ[ⲃⲉ	
	ⲡⲧ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲅⲓⲥⲧⲁⲛⲟⲥ	ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲏⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ̀	
	π[ⲕ]ⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ	+ⲓⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲃⲣⲟⲥⲓⲁ .	
	π[ⲫⲓ]ⲃ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃ̄ⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲉ	ⲡ+ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧ+ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ	50
	ⲡⲫⲓⲃ ⲛ̄ⲇⲟⲣⲩⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ	ⲛ̄ⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲓⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣[ⲟⲩⲁ]ⲛⲉ	
		ⲛⲉⲧⲭⲓ ⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥ+ⲛ[ⲟⲩⲩⲉ	
		ⲡⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲏⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲍ̣[ⲏⲧⲟⲩ	

1, 2 ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲉ cf. 201, 6. — 18 ⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲉ sic. — 33 ⲙ̄ⲛⲓⲃ sic.

He arrives and finds his brethren laden with [garlands
and] flourishing [palms.
How could there be garlands if he had never set them on
his head]?
He left them as he went forth: behold, he arrived, he found
them again.
He cast them down as he went to the war, he arrived, they arranged them for
. . . .
He rejoiced in their joy, he rested in their rest.
May we also, my beloved, rejoice in this joy.
May we rest in this rest from everlasting to everlasting
with the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

O rest of the universe, we glorify thee.

Father of Greatness.
Glorious King.
Sun that is in his Aeons.
Crowned potentate.
Father of all our race.
God of all the Gods.
Good tree,
that gave not bad fruit (καρπός).
Father whose sons are many.
Watcher that guards his tower.
Shepherd unsleeping.
Helmsman that is not drunken.
King, the God of Truth.
Wearer of the unfading crown.
His throne (θρόνος) that falls not.
His 12 princes (μεγιστᾶνος).
Garland of renown of the Father.
His 12 strong walls.
His 12 henchmen (δορυφόροι).

His 12 Aeons.
The Aeons of the Aeons.
Householders of the Land of Light.
The Air (ἀήρ) of our city (πόλις).
Light of the blessed (μακάριος).
Manna of the Land of Light.
Plenty of our city (πόλις).
Our resplendent city (πόλις).
Town of the godly.
Citadel (πολίτευμα) of the Angels.
Habitation of the blessed (μακάριος).
Fountain that gushes greatness.
Trees of fragrance.
Fountains filled with life.
All the holy mountains.
Fields that are green with life.
Dew of ambrosia (ἀμβροσία).
The 5 spirits of the 5 greatnesses.
Servants of the Land of Light,
that receive fragrant life.
Counsel that runs in [them.

7, 8 perhaps ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲗⲁⲙ = *šlāmā*, 'peace'. — 14 etc., cf. W.Henning, Geburt und Entsendung des manichäischen Urmenschen, G.G.N. 1933, pp. 309 ff.

1 mutilum
2 mutilum
. .] . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲛ]ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̈ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲧⲱ]ⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̈ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲏ
6 mutilum
.] . . . . . ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
.] . . . . . ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
9 mutilum
10 mutilum
.] . . ⲧ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲙ̈ⲡⲱⲛϩ
. .] . ⲩⲗ . . . ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
13 mutilum
ⲡ]ⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲙ̈ⲗⲁϩ
ⲡϩⲟ]ⲡⲗⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
. . .] . . . . . ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁϩ
ⲡⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲡϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̈ⲙⲁⲟ
. . ⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
20 mutilum
ⲛ̣ⲣⲉⲩⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ
ⲧ]ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ
24 mutilum
25 mutilum
ⲧⲉⲩⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̈ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ
. . . ⲙ̈ⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲉⲥⲓⲱⲧ
ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲥⲥⲛⲏⲩ
ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲁⲛ ⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ
ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̣ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲟⲥ
ⲡⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲱⲛ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ
ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲛⲏⲩ

ⲡⲉ . . . . . ⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲡⲣⲉⲩ+ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲛⲏⲩ
ⲡⲙⲁϩ+ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲱⲛ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ
ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲓⲱⲧ
ⲑⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲥⲧⲱⲗⲙⲉ
ⲑⲃⲥⲱ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲥⲗⲱⲙⲓ̈ⲥ
ⲧⲉⲧⲁϫⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ . . . . . ⲛ̄[ⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ
42 mutilum
ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲛ̄ϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ . [. . . . .]
ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲁⲗⲥ̀ ⲁⲩ . . . . . [. . . .]ϩⲙⲉ
ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲙ̈ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩ[ⲙⲉⲩⲉ
ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲃⲱ ⲙ̈ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ
ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲉ
ⲧⲥⲁⲩϩⲥ̀ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲱⲟⲩ[ϩ]
ⲧⲙⲁⲧⲉⲃⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲡ̄ⲙ̄ⲗⲁϩ
ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲃⲓ ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ
ⲛ̄ . . . . ⲉⲧⲛ̣ . [. . . .]ⲉⲧⲟ|ⲱⲩ
ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩϫ|ϫⲓ . . . ⲏⲧ
ⲧⲙⲁϩⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲏ
ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲡⲱⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲡⲣⲉⲩ+ ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲛⲛ . . . . . ⲱⲉ
ⲡⲣⲉⲩ+ ⲧⲱⲱ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ
ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲡⲁⲩ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲱⲧ
ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲙ̈ⲡⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ
ⲡⲁⲛ|ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ
ⲛ|ⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲱⲁⲣⲱⲣ̄
ⲡϩⲟⲩ|ⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲁ[ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲣⲉⲩ . . ⲧⲣ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄[. . . .]

32 ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ sic: leg. ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ. — 41 fort. ⲙ̈ⲡⲁ̄ ⲛ̄[ⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ. — 44 fin. ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲱϩⲙⲉ coniicio. — 48 leg. ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ. — 56 leg. ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ. — 58 ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲉⲩⲙ|ⲱⲉ coniicio. — 66 an ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲕⲁⲧ ⲣ̄ⲡⲉ?

l. 1 *fragmentary*
l. 2 *fragmentary*
. . . . . of them of the Light.
The Gods and the Angels.
The first Emanation (προβολή).
l. 6 *fragmentary*
. . . . . God.
. . . . . of the Light.
l. 9 *fragmentary*
l. 10 *fragmentary*
. . . the Mother of Life.
. . . . . of Light.
l. 13 *fragmentary*
The Great Warrior.
The weapon (ὅπλον?) of them of the Light.
. . . . . his land.
Our Father, the First Man.
The Lord of Richness.
. . . . armour of Light.
l. 20 *fragmentary*
They that did away with the enemy.
The Maiden of Light,
who is the Living Fire.
l. 24 *fragmentary*
l. 25 *fragmentary*
His beloved Daughter.
. . . . of her Father,
who died for her brethren.
Her brother, the Living Wind.
The second Helper (βοηθός).
The third Element (στοιχεῖον),
which is the Living Water,
The cleanser (?) of his brethren.

l. 34 *fragmentary*
The helper of his brethren.
The fifth Element (στοιχεῖον),
which is the Living Air (ἀήρ).
The First-born of his Father.
The armour which was not stained.
The clothing which was not defiled,
which is upon the body (σῶμα) . . . man.
l. 42 *fragmentary*
His shrine which . . . .
which he dissolved and . . . .
His Intelligence (νοῦς) and his Reason.
His Thought and his Counsel.
His wise Intention.
The whole assembly which assembled.
The army which made the war.
The Saviours of the Kingdom.
The wearers of garlands in the fight (ἀγών).
The fulfillers of the will of the Father.
. . . . . .
They that have . . . . . .
The second Emanation (προβολή):
The Beloved of the Lights.
The Lovable One of the Angels.
The giver of garlands to the . . .
The Ordainer of everything.
His Son that he begot,
who is the Great Builder.
The Builder of the New Aeon,
he of the immortal works,
the indestructible buildings.
The first of the builders.
The . . . . . .

11 ff. cf. 1, 22—27 n. — 23—37 The 5 Elements, vid. Cumont op. cit. p. 16 n 4. — 34 One would expect mention here of the fourth Element, the Light. — 45—47 vid. 23, 14—18 n. — 55 ff. vid. 1, 28 ff. and notes.

1 mutilum
2 mutilum
ṭN̄ϣarp̄ N̄ . . . . . .
prẹ̣ϥṭoo ṭ̣ϥ̄ . . . . .
ṇ . ẹ . . . ṇ ϯ̄pkaz ϯ̄pkeke
pet . . ϣanẓ ạ . . . . xe
pϣarp̄ N̄zray etoyaBe
ete nta]ϥ pe pnaϭ N̄tωzme
. . . . .] ϯ̄pp̄na etanẓ
. . . . .] . . ϣa anrωme
11 mutilum
12 mutilum
. . . . . a ẓN̄ṇpolemoc
. . . . . ϯ̄pkeke
prẹϭωlṇ ạṇ aBal
prẹcωoyẓ N̄ϯ̄matεϭte
pmazcnεy N̄zray etoyaBe
ete N̄taϥ pe pnaϭ N̄cωtme
poyṇạϥ ϯ̄pϣarp̄ N̄rωme
petạ . . . ray zN̄pkaz ϯ̄pkeke
ṭ . . . . . ṇ ϯ̄petmaχẓ
ṭetaçx . . . ϣapp̄na etanẓ
pϣarp̄ N̄ . . . zN̄pnoyn
pcaï̈ϣ ϯ̄petaϥei zïpxïce
pnạϭ N̄ϣλhλ ϯ̄pp̄na etanẓ
ṇ . . . . . anoyr̄ϣe
netraï̈ç atmN̄txaxe
pϣ . . . . . fεrrokatoχoc
pet[zï]χntmazmhte ϯ̄pe
petεmazte N̄tmr̄re ϯ̄ptηrϥ̄
pete ppr̄ï̈e zN̄neϥïx
peϥkat N̄zo N̄oyaï̈ne
ṇ[eqnoy]ṭe mN̄neqaggelοc
pmazc]ney N̄ϣηre N̄oyaï̈ne
pr̄ro ϯ̄ṇ[ta]o
petẓ . . . oyạ . . .
petzṇtmazcaϣqe [mpe
pe†arme catnoyne N̄o[ya]ne
neqnoyte mN̄neqa[ggelοc
pmazϣamt̄ N̄zoyr̄ï̈ṭ
paλamac N̄te poya[ine
petλamazε N̄tzyλ[h
43 mutilum
neqnoyte mN̄N[eqaggelοc
pmazλ̄ N̄ϣηre N̄o[ya]ne
ete N̄taϥ pe pr̄ro [mpeay
pet . . N̄kaz ẹt[
etc]te ϯ̄pϣamt̄ N̄[kat
49 mutilum
neqnoyte mN̄Neq[aggelοc
peϥka]can etzath[ϥ
pmaz†oy N̄ϣηre N̄oy[a]ne
p]zarϣzht N̄balaϣ![re
pωmofor N̄Ba]etπω
petB] zaπzraϣ ϯ̄ptḥ[rϥ
pẹqϣamṭ̣ ṇctyλoc N̄ẹ[ay
teq†e N̄za†]c etoyaB[e
neqnoyṭẹ mN̄neqagg[elοc
tma[zϣamt]e ϯ̄provo[λh
pmazr̥ ṃpresBeytHc
tmazcN̄te ϯ̄mN̄tnaϭ
pr̄ro etzN̄N]kosmoc
pnoyte apma ϯ̄pnoyte
tmorfh ϯ̄pnoyte N̄tmhe
tεqmN̄tcnayc ϯ̄parθenoc
tεqmN̄tcnayc N̄tεϭcε
n . . . . etzωc aray

20 petayϭray coniicio. — 28 fort. pϣam]ce. — 40 exspectavisses N̄ϣηre N̄oyaï̈ne. — 48 cf. 2, 16. — 54 pωmofor sic.

l. 1 *fragmentary*
l. 2 *fragmentary*
Our first . . . . .
The helper (?) of the . . . .
. . . . . the Land of Darkness.
He that . . . . . .
The first holy Cry,
which is the Great Call.
. . . . of the Living Spirit.
. . . . . to men.
l. 11 *fragmentary*
l. 12 *fragmentary*
. . . . . in the war (πόλεμος).
. . . . . of the Darkness.
The revealer (?) also.
The gatherer of the armies.
The second holy Cry,
which is the Great Hearing.
The joy (?) of the First Man,
who . . . . in the Land of Darkness.
. . . . . of the afflicted one.
which has . . . . to the Living Spirit.
The first . . . . in the abyss.
The fellow of that which came from on high.
The great prayer (?) of the Living Spirit.
. . . . . the watch-towers,
they that guard the enemy.
The . . . . . φεγγοκάτοχος,
who is on the tenth heaven,
who holds the bond of the Universe,
in whose hands is the Dawn.
His Light-faced wheel.
His Gods and his Angels.
The second Son of Light.
The King of [Honour
who is . . . . . .
who is in the seventh [heaven,
who looks after the root of Light (?).
His Gods and his angels.
The third guard.
The Adamas of Light,
who subdues (δαμάζειν) the Hyle.
l. 43 *fragmentary*
His Gods and his angels.
The fourth Son of Light,
who is the King of Glory.
He that . . . . . .
who turns the Three [Wheels.
l. 49 *fragmentary*
His Gods and his Angels.
His brother also that is by him:
The fifth Son of Light.
The stout-hearted hero.
The burden-bearing Omophoros,
who bears the weight of the Universe.
His three glorious Columns (στῦλος).
His five holy vaults (ἁψίς).
His Gods and his Angels.
The third Emanation (προβολή):
The Third Envoy (πρεσβευτής).
The second Greatness.
The King that is in these worlds (κόσμος).
God in the place of God.
The form (μορφή) of the God of Truth.
His twelve Maidens.
His twelve steps.
The . . . . that sing to him.

8, 18 vid. 32, 21 n. — 28 ff. vid. 2, 3 n. 5 n, etc. — 59 ff. vid. Polotsky, Abriß pp. 254 f.

1 mutilum . . . . . .] ⲛⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ

2 mutilum . . . . . ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

ⲡⲱⲁ]ⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ

. .] . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲁ . . . .

ⲡ]ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ

6 mutilum . . . . . ⲁ̣ⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ . . . . .

. .] . ⲧ̣ⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲉⲩ

ⲧⲥⲧⲟ]ⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̣ⲉⲩⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲍⲙⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ

ⲧⲍⲁⲗ]ⲃⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ

ⲡⲉⲧⲍ]ⲛ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲍ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲙ|ⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲩⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ . . [. .]ⲩⲧⲉ̣

ⲡⲉⲧⲣ]ⲉⲱⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲡⲁ̣ⲣⲭ|ⲁ|ⲗ|ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ

ⲡⲥⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲣ|ⲧ ⲡⲕⲁⲍⲧⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲝ|ⲥⲉ

ⲛⲥⲃ]ⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲡⲱⲣⲝ̀ ⲡⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ϯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ

ⲉⲧⲉ]ⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧ̣ⲁⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ π . ⲡⲟⲗ̣|ⲧⲏⲥ . . .

ⲛ|]ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲙ̣ⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲡⲛ̄ⲝⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ|ⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ

ⲡⲕⲉ]ⲱⲏⲣⲉ́ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ

ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲗⲉⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲝⲉ ⲃⲁⲗ

ⲡⲕ]ⲉⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲗⲁⲟⲥ

ⲡⲥ]ⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲍⲗⲃⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲏⲣⲉ

ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫ|ⲁ

ⲧⲍ|]ⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ . . . . . ⲛⲉⲧⲃⲉⲗ|ⲧ̀ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲅⲣⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ

ⲡⲃ]ⲁⲡⲧ|ⲥⲙ[ⲁ ⲙ]ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲡⲉⲩ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

ⲡⲙ]ⲁⲛⲭⲱⲕⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ϯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ

ⲡⲗ|]ⲙⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲗⲁⲅⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗ|ⲟⲛ

ⲡⲍⲁ]ⲣⲱⲍⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲉⲩⲁ|ⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ

ⲡⲉⲩ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ

ⲡⲉⲩ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙ|ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡ . . .

ⲡⲧⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲡⲑⲏⲥⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̄

ⲙ̣ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈

ⲛ̣ⲟ̣|ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ ⲉⲧⲥⲃⲏⲣ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲝ|ⲥⲉ π . . . ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ

ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲭ̣ⲱ[. . . . . .]

ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

63 fort. ⲡⲁ̣ⲱ[ⲣⲟⲛ].

l. 1 *fragmentary* . . . . . foundation.
l. 2 *fragmentary* . . . . . holy.
The first of the Apostles. . . . . of the Righteous (δίκαιος).
. . . of them that are in the flesh . . . of Life . . . .
(σάρξ). . . . . of the Judges (κριτής).
The] blessed familiar. . . . . .
l. 6 *fragmentary* . . . . . .
. . . . of the Father of the Lights. His (?) helmsmen of Light.
The robe (στολή) of the Aeons. The angels of compassion.
The armour of the Gods. Their gates (πύλη) which . . . .
He that is in the battle with them The ἀρχιδίκαιος of the Light.
that fight. The trust of them that are on high.
He that rejoices with them that rejoice. The Judge (κριτής) of souls.
The beloved familiar (?). . . . citizen (πολίτης) . . .
The walls which are not parted, Our Lord Mani.
which hold the bound of the The Apostle of Light.
Universe. The tongue which speaks no lie.
The blessed fruits (καρπός). Our glorious (ἀγλαός) Father.
The son also who is in their midst, The gentle one that loves his sons.
who is the Mind (νοῦς) of Light. The Mind (νοῦς) and the Wisdom
The son also of the Envoy (πρεσβευτής). (σοφία),
The glorious Column (στῦλος), that are lodged in his Writings (γραφή).
which is the Perfect Man. His five holy books.
The Image (εἰκών) of the . . . . The King of the Writings (γραφή).
The baptism (βάπτισμα) of Life. His Great Gospel (εὐαγγέλιον):
The place of washing of souls. His New Testament (διαθήκη):
The harbour (λιμήν) of them that are The Manna of the skies.
in the sea (πέλαγος). The inheritance (κληρονομία) of . . .
The stout-hearted one that bears The θησαυρός of Life,
the worlds (κόσμος). his second great book.
His five νοερά. The . . . and (?) the cures.
His five Omophori. The . . . . . .
The Call and the Hearing.
The φωστῆρες that are in the skies.
The barks that sail on high.
The camps (παρεμβολή) of them that
watch.
The towers (πύργος) of the Gods.

26—28 i. e. the 12 'members' of the Perfect Man, vid. 133, 28 ff. — 30 ϭ|ΝΟΥΕΛ: vid. 76, 29 n. — 43 ἀρχιδίκαιος: perhaps this is the true reading at 88, 15. — 54 ff. vid. 46, 21 n.

. . .] . . B[. . . . . .]
πωπε ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲏρε ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ
πχωμε ⲛ̄ⲧⲡραγματⲓⲁ
4 mutilum
5 mutilum
6 πχωμε ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲉ . . . . . .
πναρθηξ ⲛⲛεϥπαϩρε
πχωμε ⲛ̄ⲛεπⲓⲥτολαγε
τσπογⲇⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛεⲕⲗεⲕτος
10 . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁτηχογμενος
. . . . ⲉ . . . . . ⲡⲗ̣ος
πϩεπ ⲛ̄τⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓοσγνη
ⲛ̄ⲱⲗηⲗ ⲛ̄τε ππ̄χⲁ ⲓ̈ⲥ
. . . . . .
15 ⲛ̄ϩ . . . . . .
πσνεγ ⲛ̄ϯⲁⲗμος
ππολⲓτεγμα ⲛ̄ⲛ̄αγγελος
πⲱⲛϩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲛϩ
πϩοογ ⲛⲟⲩ . . . . .
20 . . . ⲣ . . . . . .
πσωτε ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏχⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ
τⲇⲟⲩ . . . . . .
πϩοογε ⲙ̄πⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃε ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
πωⲛϩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄εⲕⲗεⲕτος
25 πⲱⲁρⲡ̄ ⲙ̄πⲁⲛⲛγχⲓⲥμος
πⲙ̄ⲗⲁϩ ⲙ̄πⲱⲁρⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ρωμε
πⲛ̄ⲃρο ⲁχⲛ̄τⲙⲛ̄τϫⲁϫε
πμⲁϩσνεγ ⲙ̄πⲁⲛⲛγχⲓⲥοσ
τⲃⲓⲛε ⲙ̄ππ̄ⲛⲁ ετⲁⲛϩ
30 π[ⲛο]γϩ ⲛ̄ππ̄ⲁποστολος
ϯ . [. . . . . .]ϫⲓⲥε

32 mutilum
πⲙ . ⲛ . . . . ⲛ . [
. . . . . [
τεϥⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓοσγνη 35
πϩⲟγⲓ̈τ ⲙ̄πϩⲱ . . [
37 mutilum
πεϥⲱⲃε . . . . . [
ⲙπρεσⲃεγϯⲏϩ
νεϥεⲕⲗεⲕτος . [40
νεϥ . . . . . [
ϯϩ . . . . . [
ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲓ̈ . . . . . [
ⲛ . ⲛ . . . . . .
45 mutilum
ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉϯ . . ⲃⲟ ⲛⲛⲉϯ[46

47—50 mutilum

ογⲃρο ⲛ̄ⲧϮχη ⲛ̄ⲧ[μα 51
καρⲓⲁ ⲙ̄μαρⲓⲁ θε[ονα
πⲱⲁⲓ̈ χⲙ̄ⲛογτε

28 sic: leg. ⲙ̄πⲁⲛⲛγχⲓⲥμοσ. — 30 init. fort. π[ϩοο]γϩ. — 31 fin. fort. μ|ⲥε.

. . . . . .
The shame of the sons of Error (πλάνη).
The Book of the Pragmateia.
l. 4 fragmentary
l. 5 fragmentary
The Book of . . . . .
The νάρθηξ of his cures.
The Book of the Letters (ἐπιστολή).
The zeal (σπουδή) of the Elect (ἐκλεκτός).
. . . . of the Catechumens.
. . . . . .
The judgment of Righteousness (δικαιοσύνη).
The prayers of our Lord.
. . . . . .
The . . . . . .
The two Psalms (ψαλμός).
The citadel (πολίτευμα) of the Angels.
The life (?) of the . . . .
The day of . . . . .
. . . . . .
The Salvation of the Catechumens(?).
The . . . . . .
The day of the forgiveness of sins.
The life of the Elect (ἐκλεκτός).
The first παννυχισμός:
The battle of the First Man.
Our (?) victory over the enemy.
The second παννυχισμός:
The coming of the Living Spirit.
The Mind (? νοῦς) of our Apostle.
. . . . . height (?).

l. 32 fragmentary
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
His righteousness (δικαιοσύνη).
The first (?) of the . . . .
l. 37 fragmentary
His seventy- . . . .
Envoys (πρεσβευτής).
His Elect (ἐκλεκτός) . . .
His . . . . . .
. . . . . .
The . . . . . .
. . . . . .
l. 45 fragmentary
in them that (?) . . . . .

ll. 47—50 fragmentary

Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona, Pshai, Jmnoute.

7 cf. 46, 31. — 16 cf. 47, 1. — 25, 28 παννυχισμός: vid. 17, 32 n. — 38, 39 cf. 22, 24.

. . . .] . . . . . ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲩⲛⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲛ
ⲙⲁ]ⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲩⲛⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⲩ̈ⲛⲟⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲃⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲭⲉⲛⲁ
. .] . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲩⲛⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ
. . .] . ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲙⲓ
ⲱⲉ] ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲥⲩ̈ⲛⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲁⲩ]ⲕⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ
ⲕⲉⲕ]ⲉ ⲁⲧⲥⲩⲛⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲁⲩⲕ]ⲱ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ • ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡ|ⲁⲥ
. .] . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲩ̈ⲛⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲩ
. . .] . ϫⲛⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲧⲁⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲙⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲩ̈ⲡ
. . .] . ⲥⲧ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲣ̄ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ϫⲉⲩⲁⲧⲱⲛⲝ̄ ⲁⲩ .
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲩⲡ
. . .] . .ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲣⲁⲃ̄ⲣ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲗⲏⲥⲧⲏⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲩ̈ⲡ
. . .] . . ⲱⲛ . . . . . ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲩ̈ⲡ
. . .] . ⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲛⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲩⲥ|ⲥⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲩ̈ⲡ
. . . .] . ⲥⲉⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉ| ⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲩ̈ⲡ
. . . .] . . ⲉⲩⲁ . . ⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲥ|ⲥⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩ
. . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲩ̈ⲡ
. . . .] ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲁⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲩ̈ⲡⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲥⲏⲩ
ⲙⲁⲣⲉ
ⲡ†ⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲉⲧⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲩⲡ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧ]ⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲩ̈ⲡ
. . . . .]ⲓ̈ⲧⲕ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲏ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ϫⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡϫ|ⲥⲉ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ
ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲩ̈ⲡ]
. . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲃⲛ ⲡⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧ . . . . . ⲡⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲩ̈ⲡ

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8 ⲓ̈ⲁⲥ: cf. Keph. 53, 21. — 14 fort. ⲛⲧⲁ]ⲩⲕⲱ. ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲃ̄ malim. — 18 ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲛⲉ sic: leg. ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ. — 26 cf. 133, 28.

. . . . . Spirit (πνεῦμα?) of Endurance come to us,
let Endurance endure (ὑπομένειν) and let us bear up that we may
. . . . Endurance.
. . . . the First Man, he was sent out to the fight,
and Endurance came to him.
He left his Land of Light behind him, he went out to the Land of
Darkness and Endurance came to him.
He left also his men behind him, he went out to the field- (?)
. . . and Endurance came to him.
. . . . of (?) the Gods, he came to the bound of the Man-eaters.
Endurance.
. . . . in the midst of the . . ., he came that he might . . . .
Endurance.
. . . . . the angels, he came to the . . . . of the robbers (? λῃστής).
Endurance.
. . . . . brought (?) them, he gave them as food to the beasts (θηρίον).
Endurance.
. . . . they going forth, knowing that they would fall into trouble.
Endurance.
. . . . not (?) a need (ἀνάγκη) which came upon them.
Endurance.
. . . . . to trouble until they saved the . . . . .
Endurance.
. . . . also are the enduring (-ὑπομονή) ones at this time.
Let . .
The five] burden-bearers that support the burden of the Enemy.
Endurance.
They are the five sons of the Father, the Living Spirit.
Endurance.
. . . . that bears up, that comes from the height to the depth.
Endurance.
. . . . overseers that . . . . . the prison.
Endurance.

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1 etc. Endurance: ὑπομονή. — 10 ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲣⲱⲙⲉ: cf. 192, 10—11. — 12 ⲁ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲧ̄: meaning unknown to me.

ⲥⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲣ̣ⲥ̣ ⲛ . [. . . . . .
ⲡⲕⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲧ ⲉⲧ . . . . . [.
ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ⲁⲙ ⲁⲩⲥⲉ̈ⲓⲉ . . . ⲱ . ⲛⲥ̣
ⲥⲏⲑⲏⲗ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲩⲡⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ
ⲭ . . . ⲓ ⲱⲃⲉⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ . . . . . ⲁⲙ . [. .
ⲉⲛⲱⲱ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲥⲉ ⲱⲏⲙ . . . ⲁ̣ . . . . . ⲛⲧ̣[ⲁⲧ
ⲛ̄ⲁ̣[ⲕⲁ]ⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣⲁⲭⲥⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲩⲥⲩⲡⲟⲙⲉⲓ̣ⲛⲉ
ⲡ[ⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉ ⲁ̣ⲩ . . ⲡ̣ . [. .
ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲁⲛ ⲡ[ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁ̣ⲧⲏⲥ̣ . ⲥ̣ⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲁ̣
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ[ⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲛ[ⲙ̄ⲕ̣[ⲟⲟⲥ
ⲱⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲙⲉⲣ[ⲓ̣ⲧ̣ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲥ
ⲁⲩ† ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲛ̣ⲁ . . . . . [.
ⲁⲩ†ⲁⲁⲥ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲏ̄ⲥⲟ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲭ ⲡⲉⲃⲥⲉ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ̣[ⲣⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲉⲱⲧⲏ̄ ⲁⲩⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱⲩⲧ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧ̣ⲁⲩ ⲛ̣ . [. .
ⲟⲩⲏⲣⲡ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲙ̄ⲭ̣ ⲟⲩⲱⲉⲗ ⲁⲩⲧⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲭ[ⲓⲧⲟⲩ
ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲛ̄
ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲕⲟⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧ
ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲁⲭⲱⲩ
ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲁⲱⲉⲗ ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲁ̣ⲥ̣ⲓⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡ[ⲧⲟⲩⲃ̣[ⲟ
ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ† ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲏ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲁⲉ̈ ⲁ̣ⲛⲉ̈ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲉⲃⲉⲇⲁ[ⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲡⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭ . [. .
ⲓ̈ⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲡⲁⲧ̣ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲡⲍ̣[ⲕⲟ
ⲓ̈ⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲍⲟⲩ ⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲩⲧⲣ̄
ⲁ̣ⲩⲛⲁⲭ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲡⲃⲁⲥⲙ[ⲉ
ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲱⲙⲁⲥ ⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄
ⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥ̣ⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲧⲣ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲗⲟⲅⲭⲏ
ⲁ̣ⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲁⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲁⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲱⲱⲗ ⲁⲭ . [.
ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲕ[ⲟⲩ
ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲛⲁ ⲁ̣ⲭⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥ̣ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲙ̄[ⲟⲩ
ⲟⲩ]ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲃⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧ[ⲉ]ⲩⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲁⲩ† ⲡⲏ̄ⲧⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲃⲁⲗ
ⲁ̣[ⲛ]ⲁⲕ ⲃⲉ ⲁⲓⲃ̣[ⲓ ⲥⲁⲛ]ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲑⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ

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6 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲥⲉ sic: leg. ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲥⲉ. — 14 fin. ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲩⲧ̄ Crumius, sc. 'clavos'. — 33 ⲁⲓⲃ̣[ⲓ ⲥⲁⲛ] H.T.

Yet they wearied not . . . . . .?
The Father himself also who is silent . . . . . .
The Second Man, Adam, fell into . . . . .
Sethel also, his son, — his endurance is great.
. . . . seventy-three years . . . . . .
Enosh also and Noah, Shem . . . . . .
The Righteous (δίκαιος) who were burnt in the fire, — they endured (? ὑπομένειν).
This multitude that were wiped out — four thousand . . . . .
Enoch also, the Sage (σοφός), the transgressors (? παραβάτης) being . . . . .
All the blessed (μακάριος) that have been have endured these pains,
down to the glorious one, the Beloved, Jesus, our Lord.
They put a crown of thorns on him, they . . . . .
They smote him in his face, they spat upon him.
They hung him to a cross (σταυρός), they nailed to him four . . .
Wine, vinegar, and myrrh they gave him and he took them.
All these things which he suffered he endured for our sake.
All the Apostles that endured their pains:
Peter the Apostle, who was crucified (σταυροῦν) upside down,
how many tortures did he suffer, ... with this purity (?).
Andrew the Apostle, — they set fire to the house beneath him.
He and his disciples (μαθητής) — all hail to them, they were crucified (σταυροῦν).
The two sons of Zebedee were made to drink the cup of the . . .
John the Virgin, he also was made to drink the cup,
fourteen days imprisoned that he might die of [hunger.
And James also, he was stoned and killed.
They all threw their stone at him that he might die beneath the storm.
The same things also did Thomas endure in his cross (σταυρός).
Four soldiers at once pierced him with the point of the lance (λόγχη).
They surrounded him on four sides and made his blood flow . . .
How many mysteries did he perform. Many a sign did he fulfil.
Paul the Apostle, — they went against him that they might kill him.
How great then is their wrath. He expired, he did not escape.
I therefore too have endured (?) the things which he suffered before today.

4—6 cf. Keph. 12, 10—12; Gen. 5; Hom. 61, 23; 68, 17; Keph. Cap. X; Mani-Fund p. 21 n 1. — 9 cf. Hom. 68, 19; Hebr. 11, 5. The Book of Enoch was known to the Manichees, vid. Henning, S.P.A.W. 1934, pp. 27 ff. — 12 ff. cf. 196, 2 ff. — 18 vid. Tischendorf, Acta Apost. Apocr. p. 35. — 19 ⲁⲱⲉⲗ (cf. 143, 13; 147, 60): lit. 'cry', 'groan', Crum Dict. 4 a. Hence, by metonymy, 'that which causes a groan', 'torture'. — 20 vid. Monumenta Germaniae Historica I Greg. Turon. p. 832, 41 ff. — 21 ⲍⲁⲉⲓ: vid. Crum op. cit. 636 b. The word is common in Demotic and always a greeting of triumph (H.T.). — 22 cf. Hom. 69, 4. — 23 f. vid. 143, 12 n. — 25 vid. Lipsius, Apostelgeschichten II 2 pp. 201 ff. — 27 ff. vid. Bonnet, Acta Thomae p. 92.

a]ɣnaxɥ aɣcaρκanh • aɣewτϥ ⲙ̄πϐ̣aλ [ⲙ̄πc]aB̄
n]eï̈ τhpoɣ eταɥωaπoɣ ⲙ̄πeɥϩ̣ice ⲙ̄πeɥ[δωτ]n̄
aɥκω ⲙ̄πoɣρhϩ ⲙ̄πxaï̈c eɥcaɣne xe ϯ[. . .]c̣neɣ
θeκλa ϯmaï̈noɣτe eταɣτελac aϩρhï̈ aτ̣ϩ̣eτ̣e • N̄T
acxi πmeï̈ne ⲙ̄πϯ acmaϩe aϩoɣn atϩeτ̣[e] ecρewe
ϩie ⲙ̄πecɯ|πe N̄tac ϩntmhte ⲙ̄πmhɯe e[c]kнk aϩhɣ
aɣnaxc̄ N̄N̄λaBaï̈ aɣka ⲙ̄moɣï̈ aBaλ apac N̄T
aɣmapc̄ anⲙ̄chɣ • aɣka N̄φωkh aBaλ apac N̄T
neï̈ τhpoɣ etaɥωaπoɣ ⲙ̄πecбωtn̄ ⲙ̄πe[c .] . ṭoɣ . .
oɣkλam petc̀oɣaɯϥ oɣtoɣBo petc̀m|ɯe axɯɥ
τ]makap|oc ϩɯc ⲇpoɣc|anh neï̈ neï̈ ϩɯc netaɥωaπoɣ
N̄|ⲇ N̄ϩooɣ ecatn̄ aϩoɣn N̄ϑe πeccaϩ πc̀apostoλ.
m]aⲭ|m|λλa ap|ctoBoɣλa oɣnaб N̄aɯeλ aɣN̄tɥ axɯoɣ
oɣey te tⲭpeia atoɣɯɯt̀ neï̈ • oɣtoɣBo petoɣm|ɯe axɯɥ
ρⲙ̄N̄noɣte n|m aɥɯωπe ϩaɣt̀ cϩ|me aɣϩ|ce thpoɣ
ɯaϩoɣn appapeaɣ • papostoλoc ⲡⲙ̄nⲭc τ
pN̄xaï̈c ⲡⲙ̄nⲭc N̄taɣtcaɥ pepat̀ ϩɯɥ an
aɥxi poɣe|ne thpoɣ • aɥxak noɣmeï̈ne thpoɣ aBaλ • ⲭ̣[e
ka|oɣhp ϩN̄neɥmaϑhtнc aɣxi pe ï̈ne N̄noɣï̈ate
anan ϩɯne nacnhɣ oɣN̄ten tN̄taï̈e N̄ϩ|ce ⲙ̄meɣ m̀
t]N̄natɯϩ nemey apϩ|ce N̄tN̄ⲙ̄tan ϩN̄poɣⲙ̄tan map
ṭa|aϑhkh ⲙ̄pN̄ï̈ωt • pϩhɣ mN̄πace ɥpnɯ axɯn m[ap
anan ϩN̄ɯhpe ⲙ̄mne N̄kλhponomoc N̄neɣï̈ate map
mN̄λaɣe N̄ϩɯB eɥoɣax aϩ|ce • eɥaⲙ̄tan ateɥϩah N̄T
pka|Bpe an etoɣxo ⲙ̄maɥ • eɥtⲙ̄moɣ maɥбn tϩe N̄ɯnϩ̀ N̄ṭ
aλλa ϩ|tN̄ppeɥmoɣ • ɯaɥɯnϩ̀ N̄ɥtN̄ϩo бe N̄T
marN̄taxpan ϩɯne nacnhɣ • xe e|c pⲙ̄tan aɥpɯϩ apan
x̣enax| ⲙ̄pmakap|cmoc N̄neï̈ thpoɣ etanteoɣay n̤[t
n]tN̄oɣɯϩ mN̄N̄ephɣ ϩN̄pkaϩ ⲙ̄poɣaï̈ne etoï̈ N̄eay • xe
emN̄mectoɣ mN̄xaxe mN̄toɣre xN̄ⲙ̄p|neɣ • N̄T
aλλa t̀e|rhnh te mN̄πreɯe mN̄πɯnϩ̀ ɯaanhϩe N̄ṭ
e|c πxωk aBaλ pe peï̈ ⲙ̄πϯalmoc N̄tϩ̈poⲙ̈[onh
o]yeay mN̄oɣta|o ⲙ̄πN̄xaï̈c pN̄oɣaï̈ne ⲡⲙ̄nⲭc n̤[etaɥ
xak tϩ̈pomonh • mN̄neɥcωtn̄ etoɣaBe mN̄tϯⲭ[h ⲙ̄mapia

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15 aɥɯωπe sic: leg. eaɥɯωπe. — 29 mN̄N̄ephɣ sic: leg. mN̄N̄N̄ephɣ.

He was thrown into a basket (σαργάνη) and hung outside the wall.
All these things he suffered, he did not weary, he did not flinch.
He left the open court (?) of the Lord, knowing that . . . .
Thecla, the lover of God, who was made to go up on the fire.
She received the sign of the cross, she walked into the fire rejoicing.
Yet was she not ashamed, naked in the midst of the crowd.
She was thrown to the bears, the lions were let loose to her.
She was bound to the bulls, the seals (φώκη) were let loose to her.
All these things that she suffered, she did not flinch, she did not . . . . them.
A garland it is that she desires, it is purity for which she fights.
The blessed (μακαρίος) Drusiane also, she also suffered the same,
fourteen days imprisoned like her master, her Apostle.
Maximilla and Aristobula — on them was great torture inflicted.
What need (χρεία) for them to suffer these things? It is purity for which they fight.
All the godly [that] there have been, male, female, — all have suffered,
down to the Glorious One, the Apostle Mani.
Our Lord Mani himself also was made to drink the cup.
He received the likeness of them all, he fulfilled all their signs.
How many of his disciples (μαθητής) also received the likeness of their Fathers.
We also, my brethren, have our part of suffering.
We shall join with them in the suffering and rest in their rest.
The covenant (διαθήκη) of our Father, the profit and the loss are divided between us.
We are true sons, the heirs (κληρονόμος) of their Fathers.
There is nothing that is free from suffering that will rest in the end.
The very seed also that is sown, unless it dies, finds not the way to live,
but (ἀλλά) by its death it lives and gives life also.
Let us make ourselves strong also, my brethren; for lo, the rest has reached us,
that we may receive the blessing (μακαρισμός) of all whereof we have spoken
and dwell with one another in the glorious Land of Light,
with no foe and no enemy and no adversary (?) from henceforth,
but (ἀλλά) it is peace (εἰρήνη) and joy and life eternal.
Lo, this is the end of the Psalm (ψαλμός) of Endurance.
Glory and honour to our Lord, our Light, Mani, who
endured to the end, and his holy Elect, and the soul [of Mary.

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1 cf. 2 Cor. 11, 33. — 3 ⲟⲩⲣⲏⲥ (cf. Keph. 117, 15; 135, 11): lit. 'open space', vid. Crum Dict. 492 a. (In Demotic very common in sales of land where it means land unbuilt on, H.T.). — 4 cf. 192, 25; Schmidt, Πράξεις Παύλου, 1936; Acta Pauli, 1904. — 5 vid. Lipsius-Bonnet, Act. Apost. Apocr. I 260, 1 ff. — 6 f. ibid. 259, 1 ff. — 8 ibid. 260 ff. — 12 ⲡⲥⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ: i. e. John, vid. 142, 24; Lipsius-Bonnet op. cit. II 1 202, 21. — 13 ibid. 180, 6; 38 ff. — 25 f. cf. 1 Cor. 15, 36. — 30 ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲉ: vid. Crum op. cit. 424 b. — 34 lit. 'fulfilled the ὑπομονή'.

ⲙⲁρⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ [ⲥⲓⲟⲩ]ⲉⲁⲡ ⲁⲥⲏⲑⲏⲗ ⲡⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ
. ⲛ̄ⲉ . . . . . ⲁ . . ⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ
Ⲧⲁⲡⲟ[ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩ
Ⲧⲣⲉⲩⲧⲛ̄[ⲥⲟ] ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ϯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲥⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲥⲏⲑⲏⲗ
Ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [ⲧⲏⲣ]ⲟⲩ ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲁϫⲱⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲙⲁ
ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲱ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲃ ⲉⲧⲕⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲁ
ⲣⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲥⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲥⲏⲑⲏⲗ
Ⲧ]ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ [ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
.] . . . . ⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ ϯⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
ⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲉⲧϫⲁⲥⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲓⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ
Ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲱⲛ ϯⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ϯⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁϫⲱⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
ⲛ̄ⲱϩⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ
ⲙ]ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
ⲧⲡⲁⲛⲍⲟⲡⲗⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩϯ ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ
Ⲧ]ⲙⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̄ ϯⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
ⲡ]ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ
Ⲧⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲓⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲣⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲡⲁⲛⲓⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ
Ⲧⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ϯⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲣⲍ̄ⲙⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ
Ⲧ]ⲣⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ϯⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲣⲍ̄ⲙⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ
Ⲧⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ + ⲛⲉⲕ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
. . [.] . ⁻ . . ϫⲱⲕⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
ⲛⲛⲟ]ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ
Ⲧⲱⲁⲙⲧ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ϯⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ

4 fort. ⲡⲣⲉⲩϯⲟ[ⲩⲱ]. — 19 ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩ sic: leg. ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩ⟨ⲥⲱϫⲉ⟩?

Let us sing together to Sethel our Saviour.
. . . . . my God, O my Saviour.
the apostle of the Electship, O my
the giver of life (?) to souls. Let us sing together to Sethel.
The Gods all rejoice in thee, O my the angels bless
thee, O because of this thing which thou doest. Let
us sing together to Sethel.
The] Root (?) of Light blesses thee, O my
the living . . . . glorifies thee, O my
the exalted Father of these Greatnesses. Let us sing.
The Twelve Aeons glorify thee, O my
the Aeons of the Aeons crown thee, O my
the blooming trees of the Land of Light. Let us sing.
The Emanations (προβολή) bless thee, O my
the Panoply (πανοπλία) of the Father of the Lights, O my
that have given the victory to their greatness. Let us sing.
The Mother of Life glorifies thee, O my
the First Man and his sons, O my
that have . . . . the root of the bitter tree. Let us sing.
The Beloved of the Lights, the garlanded one, O my
the Builder that builds the New Aeon, O my
the Living Spirit with his Wisdoms (σοφία). Let us sing.
The Envoy (πρεσβευτής) glorifies thee, O my
his Maidens bless thee, O my
the helmsmen that dwell with him. Let us sing.
The sun and the moon glorify thee, O my
all the Gods that are in them, O my
the helmsmen that dwell with them. Let us sing.
The Perfect Man gives thee a power, O my
in whom . . . . . washing daily, O my
the νοερά (?) that embrace him. Let us sing.
The three] wheels (τροχός) glorify thee, O my

4 Sethel: vid. 142, 4 n. — 8 ff. cf. supr. pp. 1—2.

	ⲡ[ⲧⲏⲩ] ⲙ̀ⲛ̀ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ	[ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
	ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̀ⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲍ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛ̀[ⲉ	[ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲥ
	Ⲛⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ|ⲍⲁⲣⲯⲍⲉⲧⲉ	[ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
	ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲱⲛ ⲍⲁⲡⲉⲧⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ	[ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
5	ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲣ ⲁⲡⲧⲟ	ⲙ[ⲁⲣⲛⲍⲱⲥ
	|ⲏⲥ ⲡⲥⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲯⲁⲃⲟⲩ	[ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
	ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲉⲧⲉ	[ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
	ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉ[ⲛⲟ]ⲥ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛ̄[ⲱ]ⲛ̀ⲍ̀ ⲧ̀ⲏ̀ⲣⲟⲩ	[ⲙⲁⲣⲛⲍⲱⲥ
	Ⲛⲁ]ⲡⲟ[ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟ]ⲥ ϯⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ	ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
10	ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲁⲕ] ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲉⲩⲡⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲣⲉⲯⲉ	ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
	ⲉⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲍⲁⲛⲟⲩⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ	ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲥ
	Ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ϯⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ	ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
	ⲡⲛⲭⲁ|ⲥ ⲡ]ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲛ̄ⲭⲥ	ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
	ⲙⲛⲛ]ⲯⲗ[ⲍ] ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲃⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲉⲩⲯ[ⲏⲛ] ⲛ̀ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ	ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄[ⲍⲱⲥ
15	Ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲕ]ⲕⲗⲏ[ⲥ]ⲓⲁ ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̈[ⲙⲁⲕ]	ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
	ⲛ]ⲉⲕⲗ[ⲉⲕⲧ]ⲟⲩ ⲍ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲭⲱⲕ	ⲱ ⲡ̀ⲁ̀ⲣ̀
	ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏ[ⲭⲟ]ⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ . [. . . . .] .	ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲥ
	Ⲛ]ⲉⲩⲅⲣⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̈[ⲙⲁⲕ]	ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
	ⲭⲉ ⲁ̀ⲕⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁ|ⲉ[ⲁⲡ]	ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
20	ⲁ̀ⲕϯⲱⲙ̈ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̀ⲟⲩ . . [. . . .]ⲩ	ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲍ[ⲱⲥ
	Ⲉ]ⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛ̄ⲕ ⲁⲉⲩ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈[ⲥ]	ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
	ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛ̄ⲕ ⲁⲡⲣⲏ ⲉⲱ[ⲁⲩ]ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ	ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
	ⲡⲉⲱⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲙ̈ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲩⲁ̀ⲕ̀ⲧ̀ⲓⲛ	ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
	ⲛ̄ⲩϯ ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ	ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲥ
25	Ⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛ̄ⲕ ⲁⲉⲩ ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ̀	ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
	ⲉ̈ⲓⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛ̄ⲕ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲃ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲏⲣⲉ	ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
	ⲉⲱⲁⲥϯ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ	ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
	. .] . . . . ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲱⲣ̄ⲕⲉ	ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲥ
	Ⲉ̈ⲓⲁ̀ⲧ[ⲛⲧ]ⲱⲛ̄ⲕ ⲁⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ	ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
30	ⲉⲩ[ⲟ] ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲉ ⲍⲁ̀ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲏⲛ	ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ
	ⲉⲩⲕ̀ⲱⲧⲩ̀ ⲙ̈ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧ̀ⲕ̀ . ⲣ . ⲗ̀	ⲙⲁ[ⲣⲛ]ⲍⲱⲥ
	Ⲉ̈ . [. . .]ⲣⲉ ⲉ̈ϯⲉⲁⲩ	ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣ

7 leg. ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲍⲉⲧⲉ? — 29 ⲁⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲉ sic: leg. ⲁⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲉ. — 31 fort. ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ.

	the [wind] and the water and the fire,	O my
	that ascend from the abyss daily.	Let us sing.
	The Omophori, the long-enduring ones,	O my
	that support the burden of the enemy,	O my
5	the angels that are spread over the earth.	Let us sing.
	Jesus, the Physician of the wounded,	O my
	the Mind (νοῦς) of Light, the sun of the hearts,	O my
	the Maiden, the Mother of all the lives.	Let us sing.
	The Apostles glorify thee,	O my
10	that have finished] their race (ἀγών), running in joy,	O my
	going to the Light for their garlands.	Let us sing.
	The Paraclete glorifies thee,	O my
	our Lord,] our Light, Mani,	O my
	and the] branches (?), the plants of his vine.	Let us sing.
15	His] Church blesses thee,	O my
	the Elect (ἐκλεκτός) in their perfection,	O my
	the Catechumens and the	Let us sing.
	His writings (γραφή) bless thee,	O my
	for thou hast made them new again,	O my
20	thou hast given good tidings to	Let us sing.
	To what shall I compare thee, my Lord?	O my
	I will compare thee to the sun that shines forth,	O my
	that comes daily with his rays (ἀκτίς)	O my
	and gives joy to all created things.	Let us sing.
25	To what shall I compare thee, o beloved?	O my
	I will compare thee to a great flood,	O my
	that gives gladness to the worlds (κόσμος)	O my
	. . . . the parched fields.	Let us sing.
	I will compare thee to a good husbandman	O my
30	that husbands his trees	O my
	and gathers daily	Let us sing.
	I . . . . . glorifying	O my

1 ff. vid. 2, 15 ff. — 4 ⲉⲧⲁϩ: cf. 141, 26 ⲧⲱⲱⲛ ϩⲁⲧⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲁⲥⲉ; Hom. 4, 17 f. The meaning is 'burden', not 'fruit' (as Crum Dict. 498 a; Hom. Index s. v.).

. .] . . . . . ap . ρωψε araï — ω παρ
. .] . . . ạγạπ[н т]етсn̄паπn̄а — μарn̄сωс
. . . . . .]k[т]алнλ — ω παρ
. . . . . а]ḳт̣ın̄ аγппωрῳ̄ аβал — ω παρ
5 n̄[. . . . . .] акταбоγ аγϯсӓϊт — μарn̄сωс
а . . . [. .] . . ạρε μn̄nεκμελος — ω παρ
nε . . . . . ç етạkϯоγω μμаγ — ω παρ
т . [. . . .]нрn̄ε̣[. . . .] — μарn̄сωс
Oγεаγ оγ[б]ρ̣ο μ̄ппk̄λc — ω παρ
10 п[n]x̣ạ̣ı[c п]n̄оγаϊ̈nε пμnχc — [ω παρ
μn̄nетṇạсте тнроγ арач — ω п̣ạр
оγбро n̄тϯγχн n̄тμакарıа μ̄μарıа — μарn̄сωс сıоγ
сап ас нθнλ пn̄ρεцсωте

Tϯ . . . . . [. .] . λ . ερεn̄kατ̣ε
15 nетn̄kατε ωạ[γ . . .] — εıc поγаїε n[оγ]це ацε[ı
nетсınнв ω[ау]nε[сce] — Tωnε μ̄μн[ε . . .] . . 35
Eıc пс̣тауе ацψωп[ε — пεкλаμ ω . . ṭ μ̄μο
ε̣[ıc] прн ωаїε а[ро] — Ttecay етxраρаа̣ṭ аβал
Ttст]ạγε пε тμнε — пεψωс ϯоγаї̈ етβнт[ε
20 ṭ̣μn̄ε пε n̄εnтолаγε — Tεγгеннс етψнс
. . . . . .]μаγт . . . — пερ̄ро μоγωt̄ n̄cω 40
nкωωс ṇ . . . . аγnес̣се — Eγто nεψтнн n̄аггελос
mutilum — nестолаγε n̄ạṭp̄пλбε
пμаноγωс̣ пε n̄n̄λнстнс — Eγто nεкλ̣ọọμ̣ етраут
25 Ttнї n̄ṭ . . . . . — nебрнпе n̄атnас̣оγ
рауω с̣ı̣ωn̄снт — N̄та ṇıμ ωıβε n̄тотε 45
Cn̄бερεбε nε n̄атnае — n̄тεμn̄тсạ̈ı̣ε n̄с̣оγте[n
ε̣μạγсωтμε μоγте — Ttμọγṇk̄ n̄nатερεїте
Mn̄ṭε̣γ n̄nае μ̄μεγ — пταβεч n̄nεїате
30 ахn̄n|петтахаϊ̈т — Ntарεноγс̣μ̣[ε . .] . . .
Nет[kω]ρῳ̄ аро ϯnọγ — n̄тεωарп̄ n̄ωṇε μ̄μнε 50
. . [. .]ḳṭ̣оγс̣ẹ̣с . . . . — Ttẹṇоγс етсаγс̣ асоγn
. . . [. .]пψнn̄ ṇ . . . — тεμn̄татрауω n̄[ωа]рп̄
Ttесаїω n̄ат[оγı]nε

14 тϯγχн coniicio.

. . . . . suffice for me, O my
. . . . love (ἀγάπη) which is in my Spirit. Let us sing.
. . . . . thou art glad O my
. . . rays (ἀκτίς) they have spread out, O my
. . . thou plantedst them, they have become famous. Let us sing.
. . . . . with thy members (μέλος) O my
. . . . . which thou didst release O my
. . . . . Let us sing.
Glory and victory to the Paraclete, O my
our Lord, our Light, Mani, O my
and all that believe in him. O my
Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary. Let us sing
together to Sethel, our Saviour.

O Soul (?) . . . . . thou sleeping.
They that sleep . . . . lo, the good husbandman has came.
they that slumber awake. The jewel 35
Lo, the morning has come, thy garland . . . . thee.
lo], the sun rises on [thee]. O wandering sheep,
The morning is the Truth, thy shepherd seeks thee.
the truth is the commandments O noble (εὐγενής) one despised.
(ἐντολή). thy king searches for thee. 40
. . . . . dead . . . Where are thy angelic garments,
the . . . . corpses have risen. thy robes (στολή) that grow not old?
l. 23 *fragmentary* Where are thy gay garlands,
it is the dwelling-place of the thy crowns that fall not?
robbers (λῃστής). Who has changed for thee 45
The house of the . . . . . thy fair (?) beauty?
cares and sorrows. The mould of thy kinsmen,
They are merciless hunters, the seal of thy Fathers.
they listen to no call (?). When thou wast saved (?) . . . .
They have no mercy thy first jewel (?). 50
upon the condemned. Thy mind (νοῦς) which is collected,
They that flatter thee now thy first security.
. . . . . Thy unfailing familiar,
. . . . the tree . . .

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24 i. e. the body, cf. 70, 1. — 45 ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲉ: lit. 'from thee', i. e. and taken from thee. — 46 ⲧⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲉ[ⲛ]: cf. 148, 30 ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲓ̈[ⲉ] ⲛ̄[ⲥⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉⲛ; Keph. 132, 3 n.

. . . . . .] . . ⲁρο
. . . . . .]ⲟⲩ
.] . . ⲡ ⲁⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ
. . . . . .] . . . . ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ
ⲁⲡⲧⲟ ⲱ|ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲉ
Ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲏⲥ ⲁⲣⲉⲟⲩⲁⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲣⲉⲱⲁⲥⲟⲩ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲱ|ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ
. . ⲁ . ⲧ . [. . . . . .]
.] . . . ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ . . . . . .
. .] . . . . . ⲛⲁⲛ
. . .]ⲍⲉⲧⲉ . . ⲉⲧⲱⲓ̈ .
. . ⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲍⲉ|ⲉ . .
.] . . ⲃ . . . . . .
. .] ⲛ̄ⲭ . . . . ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲏ̄
. . . .]ⲉ . ⲁⲍ . ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲏ̄
. .]ⲉ|ⲉ . . . . . ⲃⲉ
. .]ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ . . . .

19—23 perierunt

Ⲛ]ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲏⲣ ⲁⲡⲧⲟ
ⲭ]ⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲟⲩⲁⲱⲃ[ⲉ]
ⲁⲩ]ⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ
ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲍⲉⲡ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈
ⲁⲩ]ⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲛ̄ⲉ
ⲉⲩⲱⲡ̀ ⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲍ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲉ
Ⲛ]ⲭⲁⲓⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲥⲟⲩ
ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲍⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲍ
Ⲧ]ϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲱⲃⲱ̄ ⲁⲣⲟ
ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲱ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲍⲏⲧ
Ⲉⲓ]ⲥ ⲛⲉⲭⲏⲩ ⲙⲉⲛ|ⲧ ⲁⲣⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲃ|ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲱ
Ⲧ]ⲉⲗⲟ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲡⲱⲁⲧⲉ
ⲧⲉⲣ̄ⲍⲱⲧ̀ ⲁⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ

Ⲛ . . [. . . . . .
39 periit
Ⲛⲧⲁ[. 40
ⲭⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲍ[ⲉ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲛⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ [ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ
44 periit
45 non legi potest
.] . . . ⲏ . . . . [. ⲡⲣⲉ
ⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ . . [. .] . . .
Ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲃⲛ̄ ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈
ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[. 50
Ⲧⲧⲃⲏⲩ ⲡⲁⲡ|ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲡ̣[ⲉ
ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲱⲃ̣ⲉ ⲙ̣ . . . [. .
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲍⲁⲓ̈ . . . [. . . .
ⲉ|ⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲏ[ⲧ
Ⲉⲓⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ
. . . . . .]ⲕⲱⲱⲥ 55
56—57 perierunt
. . . . . .] . . ⲙ̣ⲡⲙⲟⲩ
.]ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲍⲧ[. . . .]ⲩⲉ̣ . [. . .
Ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲁⲱⲉⲗ ⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲁⲡⲟⲩ 60
ⲥⲛ̄ⲍ|ⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ
Ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲍⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲍⲉⲗ ⲁⲥⲱⲡⲧⲉ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ ⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍⲟⲩ
ⲡⲱⲕ ⲡⲉ + ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ 65
Ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ
ⲉⲓ̈ⲫ . . . ⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲑⲏ
Ⲧⲧⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲁ|ⲱⲛ +ⲣ̄
ⲱⲁⲡⲥ̀ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ
ⲧⲛ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲛ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 70
ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ̣[ⲉⲩ]ⲧ
Ⲧⲙ̣ⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲙ[ⲛⲡ]ⲉⲥ
ⲁ̣|ⲱⲛ +ⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲡⲥ ⲁ̣[ⲣ]ⲁ̣ⲥ

49 ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ coniicio.

. . . . . to thee.
. . . . . .
. . . . how many of thy brethren
. . . . . thy kinsmen,
the world has changed for thee.
The humble thou hast loved,
the great thou hast humbled.
Lo (?), thou wast not yet ashamed
. . . . . .

ll. 10—23 *too fragmentary for translation*

The] Gods are spread over the world,
that they may answer thee if thou shouldest call.
They] set the Gods above
that they may bear (?) thy judgment.
They] set the Gods below,
suffering on thy account.
The crowned ones were humbled (?)
that thy heart might not be afflicted.
O soul, forget not thyself,
nor faint, nor eat out thy heart.
Lo, the ships are moored for thee,
the barks are in the harbour.
Take thy merchandise aboard
and sail to thy habitations.

. . . . . .
l. 39 *destroyed*
. 40
for ever and ever
and the soul [of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

l. 44 *destroyed*
l. 45 *illegible*
. . . . . .
envoy (πρεσβευτής) . . .
Do not find fault with me,
for thou hast called . . . .
The outrage is of the hated one 50
who has . . . . . .
Thou art the . . . . .
as I was about to founder.
While I was in the . . . of death
. . . . . corpse. 55

ll. 56—57 *destroyed*
. . . . . of death
. . . . . .
How many tortures have I suffered, 60
afflictions unspeakable.
They that set me up have passed,
a deception has come about.
Lo, I have shown my wounds (πληγή):
it is thine [to] give thy cures. 65
I have been born anew today,
as I . . . . myself forward.
The Father and his Aeons, — I
welcome you all,
for I have found my new 70
God, the Envoy (πρεσβευτής).
The Mother of Life and her
Aeons, — I welcome her (?).

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5 vid. 146, 45 n. — 33 cf. 30, 10; 45, 31, where the words should perhaps be divided ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱ ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲡⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ. — 35 ϭⲓⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ: vid. 76, 29 n. — 44 Here a new Psalm begins. — 53 vid. 87, 27 n. — 54 ⲗⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧ: cf. 197, 16 n. — 60 ⲁⲩⲉⲗ: vid. 142, 19 n.

. . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ̣ⲩ̇[ⲧⲏⲥ

2 periit

. . . . . .] . . [. . .]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ

. . . . . .]ⲛ̣ⲉⲕⲱ[. .] ϯⲣⲱ[ⲁⲡ]ⲥ̀ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲧⲛ̄

. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲟⲩ ⲡ̣ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ

. . . . . .] ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ϯⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲡⲥ̣ ⲭⲉ ⲁ̈ⲃⲛⲡⲁ̣

ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ] ϯ[. . . . . ⲡⲁⲣ]ⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ϯⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲡⲥ̀

8 periit

. . . . .]ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ϯ[ⲣⲱⲁ]ⲡⲥ̣ . . . . ⲃ̣ⲱⲗ ⲡⲡⲣⲉ

. . . . . ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲟⲩ ϯⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲡⲥ̀ ⲧⲥ . . . . [. . . . . .

. . ⲡ̣ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϯⲣ̄ⲱⲁ[ⲡⲥ] ⲱⲁⲡ ¯. ⲛⲉⲛ . . . . . .

. . . . . ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲣⲕ̀ [. . . .] . ⲛ̣ . . ⲩ̣ . ⲉ

. . . .] . . . ⲙ̣ⲏⲛ ⲥⲓⲛ . . [. . . .] . . . . . ⲛ̣ⲏⲧⲛ̄ⲛ̣[. .

. . . . . .] . . ⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲓⲡⲁⲣⲑ[ⲉⲛⲟⲥ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ . ⲓ . . ⲏ[.

. ⲁ̣ . . . . . ⲧ̣ⲉ̣ ⲭⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓ[. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲣⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓ[. .

16—18 mutila

19 . . .ⲉⲩ̣ . . [. . . . . .] ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲥⲱⲱⲥ ⲛⲧⲙⲁ
kαρ]ια [ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲓ]ⲁ ⲡⲱⲁ[ι ⲭⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ]

21 Ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲧⲁⲡⲓⲥⲁ̈ⲧ̀ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟ̀ ⲡ[ⲉ
ⲡⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲟ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲣⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲉ
Ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛⲧⲱⲕ ⲡⲉⲅⲏⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲭⲱⲕ ⲙ̣ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ
ⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲣⲁⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛⲑⲃ̈ⲓⲟ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲭⲉⲥⲧⲉ
25 Ⲱ ⲡⲁ̈ⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲡⲁ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ • ϯⲛⲁ̄ⲣ̄ⲥⲁ[ⲓⲭ
ⲁⲣⲁⲕ̀ • ⲧⲁ̄ⲣ̄ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲱⲧ̀ ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲱⲉ
Ⲱ ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ̀ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛⲣⲁ
ⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϯⲛⲁⲧⲉⲉⲧ ⲥⲱⲧ̀ ⲥⲁⲣⲟ
ϯⲛⲁ[ϯ] ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲡⲙ̣ⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲁϯ ⲡⲁⲥⲁ̈ⲓ[ⲉ
30 ⲛ̄[ⲍⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉⲛ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲕⲥⲁ̈ⲓⲉ

. . . . new . . . the envoy (πρεσβευτής).

l. 2 *destroyed*

. . . . . new . . . . The envoy (πρεσβευτής)
. . . . . I welcome you all
. . . . . The envoy (πρεσβευτής).
. . . . . and his sons, I welcome; for I have found my (?)
God], I . . . . . maiden, I welcome

l. 8 *destroyed*

. . . . maiden; I welcome . . . . . the Envoy (πρεσβευτής)
. . . and the moon I welcome . . . . . .
. . . the king divine I welcome . . . . . .
. . . . . he being at rest . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . and Maiden of Light . . . . . .
. . . . . for I have . . . . new . . ., I have

ll. 16—18 *destroyed*

. . . . . and the soul also of the
blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Pshai, [Jmnoute.

'O holy soul, noble (εὐγενής) and famed, great is the
honour and glory of thy kinsmen.
'If thou fix thy heart and finish this fight (ἀγών), if thou
die thou shalt live, if thou humble thyself thou shalt be exalted'.
'O my Father, my God, my Saviour, my King: I will be a champion
for thee, I myself will go out and fight.'
'O my Maiden, my Beloved, the living fire: if thou guard
me, I will give myself for thee.'
'I will [give] my body (σῶμα) to death for thy body (σῶμα) and give my fair (?)
beauty for thy beauty.'

21 ff. A dialogue between the Saviour and the Soul, in alternate verses. — 25 ⲥⲁⲗⲭ: cf. 192, 29; Crum Dict. p. 615 a. ⲯⲁⲗⲭ-ⲥⲁⲗⲭ from ⲯⲱⲭⲉ-ⲥⲱⲭⲉ. — 30 ⲥⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉⲛ: vid. 146, 46 n.

l. 1 periit

. . . . . .] etwine . [. . .]wibe ⲙ̄ⲡ̣[. . . . . .] . . ⲁ̣ρ . . ⲭε ⲁ[ι]ⲛⲁ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲁ . [. . . . . .] . ⲁ̣ρ̣[. . .] . . . [. . .]ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ . [. . . . . . ε|ⲟ̣ . [. . . . . .]ⲥⲍⲱⲧ̣[. . . . . Ⲉ]ⲓ̈ⲣⲉⲩ ⲇⲉ . . . [. . . . .]ⲱⲱ ⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲱ . ⲉ̣[. . . . . ⲁ]ⲓⲭⲁⲕⲟⲩ [ⲁⲃⲁ]ⲗ ⲁ[. . . . .]ⲉⲧⲱⲛ ⲁ| . [. . . . . Ⲥⲓⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲟ] ⲭε ⲁⲣⲉⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲱ[. . . . . .]c . ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲱⲡ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉⲟ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲉ[ⲛⲉⲩ Ⲙⲛ]ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲥⲱⲕ’ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ̣ • ⲡⲃⲏⲩ [ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡ̣ⲉ ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲣⲙ̣ⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟ̣ⲧⲕ̣̄ Ⲱ]ⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲙⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲫⲁⲩ ⲡⲱⲣⲱ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [. . . . . ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲣⲟⲩⲣⲉⲙⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲛ+ⲱⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲉ]ⲩⲙⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲟ̣[ⲩ Ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲭⲛⲧ ⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲃⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲁ+ⲥⲁⲣⲍ [ⲟ]ⲩⲕⲗ[ⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲉⲥⲣ̄ⲗⲓⲕ’ ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ Ⲁ]ⲣⲉⲕⲁ̣ . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲱⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲱⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ̣ . . ⲁ̣[. . . . . ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̣ [Ⲛ]ⲉⲕⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲕⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ [ⲁ]ⲍⲟⲩⲛ̣ [ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲉ]ⲕ+ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲱⲁⲛ+ⲭⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲁⲅⲱⲛ .]ⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲟ ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲏⲧⲉ ⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲣⲱⲁⲡⲕ̣̄ +ⲛⲉⲙⲉ [ⲉ]ⲓ̈ⲱⲱⲡ [ⲙⲙ]ⲁⲩ Ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲣⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲗⲍⲏⲙ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲣ̄ⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲍⲁⲩ ⲡⲁ+ⲥⲁⲱⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲉ Ⲭⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲣⲁⲱⲃⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲧⲁⲣ ⲑⲉⲛⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲍⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲍⲁⲩ Ⲱ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲩ+ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲱⲩ ⲙⲁ+ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲓⲕ̣ⲗⲟ̣ⲟ̣ⲙ̣ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲓⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲍⲱⲧ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲉⲩ ⲱⲁⲛ̀ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄[ⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲧ]ⲏ̣ⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ̣ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ ⲧ[ⲙⲁ]ⲕⲁ[ⲣ]ⲓⲁ ⲙ[ⲙⲁⲣ]ⲓⲁ [ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡ]ⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲫⲉⲟⲛⲁ

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11 fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̣̄. — 14 fin. ⲕⲗ[ⲟⲟⲗⲉ] H.T. — 17 ⲁⲣⲉⲉⲩ sic. — 20 init. ⲭ]ⲱ ⲇⲉ H.T. — 21 ⲁⲣⲱⲁⲡⲕ̣̄ sic.

l. 1 *destroyed*

. . . . . that seeks . . . . change the . . . .
. . . . . for I went down to . . . . .
. . . . . call . . . . .
. . . . . .
'What am I doing therefore . . . . . .?
I carried them out . . . . . .'
'Hast thou not heard that thou art become a . . . . . .?
Thou hast tasted its fruits (καρπός) being blind, thou hast seen.'
'I am not to blame, nor art thou to blame; [for (γάρ)] it is the outrage
which the Gods have lamented.'
'The poison of the serpent spreads out . . . . .
I became an enchanter until I had extracted (?) his poison.'
'I] tested every trouble, I found not anything more evil than this
flesh (σάρξ). It is a
cloud of darkness that obscures (?) my mind (νοῦς).'
'Thou didst . . . . . if thou hast not gone forth (?) . . .
the thought therefore of what thou didst in Hell . . . .'
'Thou wast there with me protecting [me,
strengthening me until I finished my fight (ἀγών).'
'. . . . , o soul, uttering vanity (?): all afflictions
thou hast endured, I am with thee, enduring them.'
'What shall I do with this lion that roars at all times? What shall I do
with this seven-headed serpent?'
'Take unto thyself fasting (νηστεία) that thou mayest strangle
this lion: lo, virginity (παρθενεία)
and kill this serpent.'
'O my Father, my God, the giver of the victory to them that are his,
give me these garlands, for I also have laboured in the fight (ἀγών).'
Glory and victory to our Lord, the glorious one: a woven
garland upon all that believe in thee, and the soul of
the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, [Apa] Panai, Theona.

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13 cf. 117, 27. — 15 ⲣⲗⲗⲕ: meaning unknown, cf. ⲗⲓⲕⲧ Crum Dict. 140 a, ⲗⲱⲃⲉ ibid. 152 b. — 20 ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲏⲧⲉ: cf. 150, 25 ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲗⲁⲗⲓⲁ. ⲉⲓⲏⲧⲉ (vid. 64, 31 n for other examples) appears to mean 'lonely', 'abandoned', 'empty', 'vain'.

1 periit

. . . . . .]ну ϣ . . [. . .]пιαμ ар . [. . . . . .
. . . . . .]вр̄ре етхι о̣[. . .] . ат̣[. . . . . .
. . . . . .] . . . не не . . [. . . . . .
. . . . . .]ϩнвоу . [. . . . . .
. . . . . .]сау . . . [. . . . . .]аγωн
. . . . . .]н . . ϣ̄п . [. . . .] . . . . ен . . іт
. . . . . .] ϣ̄маν хе н[ε н]вε̣ξеγε πωϩт а[вал
. . . . .] . . . ϩ арετϥ̄ • маγϯϩεп арау апоγωϩме
. . . . .]γа̣ . ан . . . . • хе аγϯ п̣оγϩεп арау оγае[тоγ
. . . . . .] . . . . νк . . . ек нп̄ ν̄тωλмε̣ . . . ε̣[. .
. . . . . .] . ν̣ . . . . еqтоγвαϊт а . . . . . .
Єіс νν]ο̣γτε̣ ρεϣε ахωч • хе аqр̄оγе ν̄тоγϩе . п̣ϩ̣
Тϯ[γх]н е[т]оγах ааϊве тетεϣαϣϣε арετϥ̄ ϣ̄пν̣[оγте
Νоγте м[а]чмεεγ атвооне пεϣαчсехе мν̄ппⲏ[. . .
ϻп[. . . . . .] . ϩехе ϩν̄тмнте ν̄νетсωтме ара[ч
Νετ̣[. . . . . ν]емεν маρν̄ρϩωв чапωϣ[ν]ε̣ арαν
ϻ[арε п]маνωελεет р̄ϣаϊе ере ппахελεет ϩν̄тоγаϊт
ϻпωртν̄мεγε̣ ϩν̄ппν̄ϩнт хе ере пν̄ноγте авϣ̄ арαν
Νасνну ϣ̄пωртν̄амελн • хе не пхаϊс хωвε̣ ϣ̄м̣[ан
ϻарν̄тене анан неч • аγω чρ̄ωϣе ар̄ϩϣ̄ме ϣ̄маν
Ⲁрϊϩϣ̄ме ν̄намαν̣ιωрϩ̄ хе ноγхωрме ϩν̄хωрме еqϩа̣[ч
Ⲁрϊϩϣ̄ме ν̄намαнсωтме хе ноγсωтме асехе еqϣ[
Ⲁрϊϩϣ̄ме ν̄намαнωωλме хе ноγωωλϣ̄ апстаϊ ϣ̄пλϊв̣[е
Ⲁрϊϩϣ̄ме ν̄тαтапро хе нестеоγо катαλαλια
Ⲁрϊϩϣ̄ме нн̄ϊ ν̄нαбιх хе ноγωϣ̄ωе ϣ̄псатанас
Ⲁрϊϩϣ̄ме нн̄ϊ ϣ̄паϩнт • хе неqр̄п̣п̣ε̣ϯϩαγ аптнр̄ч
Ⲁрϊϩϣ̄ме нн̄ϊ ϣ̄паⲡν̄а • еqϩν[тмнт]ε̣ ϣ̄пιам етві ϩаιме
Ⲁрϊϩϣ̄ме ϣ̄парϣ̄ν̄вр̄ре • еqр̄ф̣[ορε мп]ωісме ета ϊ
Ⲁрϊϩϣ̄ме ν̄нαоγрнте хε̣ [но]γмϩ̣ε̣ϩ̣ε̣ ϩν̄тϩιн ν̄тпλαν[н
Ⲁр]ιϩ[ϣ̄]ме ν̄таϯχн хе [. . . . .] . . . . . пναβе

32 periit

. . . . . .]ωϩ ϩν̄ϯ̣αмв[р]ο̣ϲι̣α • . . . . . [. . . . .
. . . .]р̣ϣε . . . . [. . .] . . . . . [. . . . .] . . . .

---

14 leg. тетεϣа⟨с⟩ωϣε. — 23 fin. еqωоγϊт coniicio.

ll. 1—7 *fragmentary*

. . . . . us that the rebels may not pour forth.
. . . . . unto thee, they are not judged again.
. . . . . for they have judged themselves.
. . . . . thou oughtest to stain (?) . . . .
. . . . . he being pure from. . . . . .
Lo, the] Gods rejoice in him because he has become one like them . .
The soul that is free from stain is able to come unto God.
God thinks not of evil, who speaks with the . . .
. . . . . speak in the midst of them that hear him.
They that . . . . . with us: let us be busy, he will serve us.
Let the bridechamber make festival, for the bridegroom is at hand (?).
Let us not think in our heart that our God is forgetful of us.
My brethren, let us not be slack (ἀμελεῖν), that the Lord may not pass (?) us.
Let us give ourselves to him and he is able (?) to guide us.
Guide my eyes that they look no evil look.
Guide my ears that they hear not a . . . . word.
Guide my nostrils that they smell not the stink of lust.
Guide my mouth that it utter no slander (καταλαλιά).
Guide for me my hands that they serve not Satan.
Guide for me my heart that it do (?) no evil at all.
Guide for me my Spirit in the midst of the stormy sea.
Guide my New Man, for it wears (? φορεῖν) [the] mighty image.
Guide my feet that they walk not in the way of Error (πλάνη).
Guide my soul that . . . . . sin.

l. 32 *destroyed*

. . . . . in ambrosia (? ἀμβροσία) . . . . . .

l. 34 *fragmentary*

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14 ⲁⲓⲃⲉ: vid. 23, 29 n. — 18 ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲧ: cf. 204, 16 ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛϩⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲕⲉ ⲉⲩϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲥⲕⲉⲡⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲱⲣⲥ̄ ⲟⲩⲱ̄ⲗⲁϩ. It is possibly the qual. of some verb, perhaps a secondary form from ϩⲱⲛⲧ, Crum Dict. 691 b; or 'in the ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲧ', taking ⲟⲩ. as a noun. — 21 ⲧⲉⲛⲉ for ⲧⲉⲉⲛ, as ⲕⲁⲩⲉ for ⲕⲁⲁⲩ. — 29 cf. 16, 28 n; 46, 18; Eph. 4, 24.

Oγ]eay ⲙ̄ⲛ̄oγtaï̈o n̄|hc̄ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣo ⲛ̣ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲧ̣oγaⲃe
ⲙ̣ⲛ̣̄neqc[ⲱ]tⲡ̄ etoγaⲃe oγⲃro n̄tϯγxh n̄tⲙaⲕaρi
a] ⲙ̣ⲙ̣aρia ⲑeona

|hc̄ ⲡareqraï̈c ⲙ̄ⲙne ⲙareⲕraï̈c ⲁ̣ρ̣aï̈ ⲡ̣ⲱaρⲡ̄
ⲙ̄ⲙ̣|ce ⲙ̄ⲡ̣ï̈ωt n̄noγaï̈ne ⲙ̣aρ̣ⲉ̣ⲕρ̣aï̈ⲥ ⲁ̣ρ̣aï̈
Ntⲕ] ⲡ̣hrⲡ̄ etanⲍ̄ ⲡⲱhre n̄tⲃw n̄eλaλⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙne
Ⲙa]tcan n̄oγhrⲡ̄ eⲫanⲍ̄ aⲃaλ ⲥn̄teⲕⲃw [n]ελaλ[e
Eⲓⲥ]n̄tⲙhte ⲙ̄ⲡ|aⲙ̣ |hc̄ aρⲓⲥⲙ̄ⲙe ⲙ̄ⲙaï̈
Ⲙⲡwρⲕatotⲕ̄ aⲃaλ n̄cωn ⲭe ne nⲍ|meγe twρⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙan
Eⲓ]ⲱateoγo ⲡeⲕρen ⲁ̣ⲭ̣n̄ⲡ|aⲙ ⲱaqⲫρⲕo neqⲍⲓⲙ̣[eγe
Nⲓⲙ ⲡetaρeⲱe en ere ⲡρh naⲱaï̈e ⲛ̣eⲩ
Ntⲕ oγⲍooγ eqⲭhⲕ̄ eⲕe|ne ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ̄ï̈ωt [ⲥ]n̄ⲙ̣ⲡ̣h[γe
Ⲱ . . kaλe ⲙ̄ⲙan • akⲃwλⲡ aρan ⲛ̣oγhrⲡ̣ n̄[bρ̄ρe
Ne]ⲱaγcoγ ⲙ̄ⲡeⲕhrⲡ̄ • ⲱa ⲡoγⲍht ρ̣eⲱⲉ ⲁ̣ⲭ̣ⲱⲩ
Ⲱ]ⲁγ+ⲍe ⲥn̄tⲕ̄aⲅaⲡh te ⲡoγraт ⲡwρⲱ̄ ⲁ̣ⲭ̣n̄ⲡ̣eγ . [. .]γ
Ⲱaγmeγe anetⲭace n̄ceⲍakoγ am|ⲱe oγⲃe ⲡⲇaⲣakωn
Ⲧⲧceⲭe ⲙ̄ⲡnoγte ⲍaλⲃ eqⲱaⲃn̄ meⲱte acωtⲙ̄ araq
Ⲗaqⲃaï̈λe anoγc eqtⲙ • maq+ ⲡeqn̄oγa| akn̄ze eccooq
Eⲱaqⲃaï̈λe an|ⲡaρⲫenoc • n̄qoγwⲍ ⲥn̄ⲡⲍht̀ n̄n|eⲅkratHc
Ne]ⲱaqⲃaï̈λe araγ • ⲱare teqⲭaρic ⲡwρⲱ̄ ⲁⲭωoγ
Ⲱ]ⲁγmaρoγ aⲭn̄teγ+ⲡe • n̄ceⲍakoγ am|ⲱe mn̄ⲡⲇaⲣakωn
Ⲧⲧiρen ⲭe |hc̄ ere oγⲭaρic kωte araq
Tekettπω esï̈ωoγ • ⲙ̄ⲡetaⲱBi ⲁⲍrhï̈ ⲍaρac
N̄tⲕ̄ oγmaï̈rωme n̄oγnr • |hc̄ twarⲡ̄ n̄oγrt ⲙ̄ⲡ|wt
Ntⲕ̄ oγⲍλⲃht ⲱaoγnr • ⲁ|ataï̈ⲱ ⲡⲍλⲃht n̄n̄noγte
Eï̈ⲱameey arak ⲡaⲭaï̈c • naⲱe ⲑr̄te ewackωte araï̈
Eï̈ⲱaoγwⲱ +eay nek ⲙ̣aiⲃn eï̈atn̄twnⲕ̄ an|ⲙ
Eï̈ⲱaⲱ|ne n̄cwⲕ ⲱaï̈ⲃnt̀ⲕ̄ ⲍiⲍoγn ekr̄oγaï̈ne araï̈
Ⲁrhy eï̈ⲙ̄ⲡⲱa ⲍwt̀ a[cωtⲙ a]ⲡⲍray n̄noγte
. . . . .]ⲉ̣ⲓ ⲍwt araⲕ nece ⲡⲕ̣eay ⲥn̄rωï̈ ⲡaⲭ[aï̈]ⲥ
Ⲁⲡⲭai n̄|hc̄ ⲙane eqatⲡ̄ n̄kλaⲙ ⲍiⲃae eqraγt̀

13 ⲱakkaλe exspectavisses. — 15 te pro n̄te. — 25 ⲁ|ata|ⲱ parum intellego.

Glory and honour to Jesus, the King of the holy ones,
and his holy Elect. Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary, Theona.

Jesus my true guard, mayest thou guard me: First-
born of the Father of the Lights, mayest thou guard me.
Thou] art the living wine, the child of the true vine.
Give us to drink a living wine from thy vine.
In the midst of the sea, Jesus, guide me.
Do not abandon us that the waves may not seize us.
When I utter thy name over the sea it stills its waves.
Who will not rejoice when the sun is about to rise on him?
Thou art a perfect day, being like unto thy Father in the skies (?).
Thou] invitest (καλεῖν) us: thu hast broached for us a [new] wine.
They that drink thy wine, their heart rejoices in it.
They are drunk with thy love (ἀγάπη) and gladness is spread over their . . .
They think of them that are on high and arm themselves to fight
against the dragon.
The word of God is sweet when it finds ears to hear it.
It lodges not in a mind (νοῦς) that is shut, it makes not its
way to a shrine that is polluted.
It lodges with the Maidens and dwells in the heart of the Continent (ἐγκρατής).
They with whom it lodges, — its grace (χάρις) spreads over them.
They gird up their loins and arm themselves to fight with the dragon.
This name 'Jesus', — a grace (χάρις) surrounds it.
Thy burden is light for him that can bear it.
How great a lover of man thou art, o Jesus, the first rose of the Father.
How kindly thou art . . . . the kindly one of the Gods.
When I think of thee, my Lord, great is the fear that surrounds me.
When I would glorify thee, I find not to whom I should liken thee.
When I seek thee I find thee within illumining me.
Perhaps I too am worthy to [hear] the divine call.
. . . . . myself to thee, fair is thy glory in my mouth, my Lord.
The ship of Jesus has come to port, laden with garlands and gay palms.

13 καλεῖν: cf. 158, 28. δωλπ: vid. 158, 29 n. — 22 cf. 185, 20. — 23 εϲ⁅ωογ: vid. 100, 24 n.

ιη[c] πετρ̄ϩ̄ⲙⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ϥⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ϣⲁ.ⲧ̄ⲛ̄.ⲧⲉ.[λο
Ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲉϣⲁϥϫⲓ.ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ[ⲉϣ]ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁ . . [. .
Ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲁⲛ ϩⲱⲱⲛ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ϫⲉⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲥⲃ.ⲏⲣ ⲁ . . [. .
Ⲧⲧϫⲁ.ⲓ ⲛ̄ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ϥⲁ+ ⲡⲭ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ
Ϥⲁⲟⲩⲁϩ ⲡⲉ[ϥ].ⲁ.ⲩⲓ̈ⲛ ⲁⲡⲕⲣⲟ • ⲛ̄ⲩⲛ̣ⲁⲩϩⲩ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲥⲁϫⲡ ⲁⲡⲁϩ[ⲟⲩ
Ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̣[ⲉ] . ⲉⲡ . . . . . ⲉⲧⲡⲁⲣⲱ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲓ[ⲟⲥ
Ϥⲁϫ̣[. . . . .]ⲙⲉⲛⲱⲟⲩ̣ ⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ
Ϥⲁⲧⲡ ⲛⲕⲗⲁ]ⲙ ϩⲓⲃⲁⲉ ⲉϥⲣⲁⲩⲧ • ϫⲛⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ϣⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏ[ϩⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ] ⲙ[ⲛⲟ]ⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲉϥⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ [ⲛ]ⲧ+ⲩϫⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲣⲓⲁ̣

Ⲧⲧⲛ]ⲟⲩⲥ̣ [ⲉⲧ]ⲥ̣ⲁⲩϩ̄ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲱϥ
. . . . . .] . ϩⲱⲧ̀ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ
. . . . . .] . ⲛ̣ⲧⲉⲕ ⲉⲓϩⲛ̄ⲡϫⲁⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ c
Ⲙⲁⲑ]ⲃⲓⲟ ⲡⲁⲛϫⲱϫ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲱⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈
Ⲧⲡⲣⲁⲩϣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲕⲉ • ⲁⲩⲧⲣⲁ+ϩⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉϥ+ϩⲉ
Ⲛⲉ]ϥϣⲁⲣϣⲣ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲕⲱⲧ • ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ϥ
Ⲛ[ⲉϥ]ⲧⲱⲃⲓ̣ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲡⲱⲣⲕ̄ • ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲛⲁϩⲥⲉ ϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ . . [.
Ⲧⲩⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲭ̄ϩⲛ̄ⲇⲟⲛⲏ • ⲥⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ c
Ⲧⲧⲉϥϫⲡⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉϥⲧⲉⲕⲟ • ⲥⲉⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϣⲃⲓ̈ⲱ
Ⲛⲁϣⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ϣⲁⲡⲟⲩ • ⲉⲓϩⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲕⲙⲏⲙⲉ c
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ • ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϩⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ
Ⲥⲉϩⲱⲓ̈ ⲉⲓⲑⲓⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ • ⲛ̄ⲕ+ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲕ ⲁⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ c
Ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲁⲟⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϩ̀ c
. . . ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲗⲃⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲱⲃⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁϩⲉ c
Ⲧⲧⲥ+ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ . . . . . ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈
Ⲧⲙ̄ϩⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲗⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ . . . . ⲁⲓ̈ϩ . . . ϩⲛ̄+ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲱⲱⲥ
Ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲧⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲕ +ⲥ . . . ⲧ ⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ c
Ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲅ]ⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱ[ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ]ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱϥ̄ ⲁⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ c
. . . . .] ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ ⲡ[. . . . . .

2 fin. fort. ⲟⲩⲁϩⲟⲩ cf. 5. — 6 ante ⲉⲧⲡⲁⲣⲱ̄ fort. ⲛⲉⲓ̈. — 10 init. cf. 153, 5. — 11 init. ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ coniicio. — 26 fort. +ⲥⲁⲙⲧ.

It is Jesus who steers it, he will put in for us until we embark.
The holy ones are they whom he takes, the maidens are they whom he . . .
Let us also make ourselves pure that we may make our voyage . . .
The ship of Jesus will make its way up to the height.
It will bring its cargo to the shore and return for them that are left behind.
They are the . . . . . that are spread in the deceit (ἀπάτη) of life (βίος).
He will . . . . bring them to the harbour of the immortals.
It is laden with] garlands and gay palms for ever and ever.
Victory] and rest be there to the soul of Mary.

O Mind (? νοῦς) that art gathered, the gatherer of them that are his.
. . . . . in to the midst of thy beloved.
. . . . . while I am in the desert of this world (κόσμος).
Subdue the leader of the Darkness who has seized me.
The care of my poor body (σῶμα) has made me drunk in its drunkenness.
Its demolitions and its buildings have taken my mind (νοῦς) from me.
Its plantings and its uprootings, — they stir up trouble for me.
Its fire, its lust (ἡδονή), they trick me daily.
Its begetting and its destroying bind to me a recompense.
Many are the labours that I suffered while I was in this dark house.
Thou therefore, my true Light, enlighten me within.
Set me up, for I have tumbled down, and help me with thee to the height.
Be not far from me, o Physician that hast the medicines of life.
. . . do thou heal me of the grievous wound of lawlessness (ἀνομία).
The fragrance of my kinsmen . . . . . to me.
The sweet breath of the Spirit . . . . in (?) this charnel-house.
Behold, I am watching for thee, I . . . . to receive thy cures.
For (γάρ) [thou] art my Saviour that wast appointed to save me.
. . . . with me . . . . . .

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6 βίος: vid. 75, 23 n. — 7 ⲙⲉⲛⲱⲟⲩ: lit. 'bring them to port'. — 12 etc. The ⲁ at the end of many of the lines is the abbreviated form of some refrain. — 19 i. e. in the body. — 25 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲱⲱⲥ: lit. 'corpseness', a translation of νεκρότης. For ⲱ̄ⲍⲏ vid. 37, 16 n.

. . . . .] τλγπη πραγω • ñταγ νε τογαμαμε ε̣τ[ζηπ
ζνογωπñωωπε πανογτε απεknαε p̄ογε νεμμη[ι
Є]τβε τεknαωτε ñχωρε • ε|c nαωωνε αγογεï̈ε αρα[ι
Є|ι]c̣ n̄p̣[ε]ωε αγτεζαï̈ • ζιτñτkογνεμ ετασει νηï̈
Ττεαγ νεk μñπταï̈ο πνογc ετcαγζ̀ ñταï̈ε|ρηνη
χ̣ε̣ πωk ρω πε πταï̈ο μñτεkρεï̈τε τηρc̀ ñογαï̈νε
Ογ[cωο]γζ αζογν μñογбр̄[ο] εqαωωπε ñτ†γχη ϯμαρια

Cωογζ αζογν ϯπ . . νε ϯμμη[ν]ε τνωωn̄τ ñογ[k
λ]αμ ñp̄ρο τñτεεq ñνετογαβε τηρογ
Є]νακωτ νογβ ενακωτ ζετ̀ • ενακωτ̀ ωνε ñω
νε̣ ϯμμηνε τñωωντ
ζñωνε ϯμμηνε ζñc̣εxε ϯμμηνε ενα̣[k]ατq[ογ
ενα]ζαρбογ τñωωντ
ζν]ζρ[η]ρε ευραγτ̀ ζñογρ̄τ ευραγτ̀ ενατεεγ μñ
ν]ευερηγ τñωωντ
ζν]ζητ ευογαβε ζñνογc ευογαβε ενακω[τ
α]γεkkλητcια τñωωντ
Ο]γρ̄ρο ñβp̄ρε πετνηγ • ενακωτ̀ αν ñογηï̈ ñβp̄
ρε] τñωωντ
Ττ]ηï̈ ñβp̄ρε πε πρ̄ñβp̄ρε • πp̄ρο ñβp̄ρε πε πνογc
ṇ̃ογαï̈νε τñωωντ
N]ετογαβε μαρογρεωε • νετχηk̀ αν μαρογp̄ωα
ï̈ε τñωωντ
Є]|c cοφια ευραγτ̀ αβαλ ευτο μεωτε αcωτμε
αραc τñωωντ
Є|c πηρ̄π ñβp̄ρε ανбντq̄ • ενογωω ack̀oc ñβp̄ρε
αραq τñωωντ
Є|c πρεcωωε ανcαγζc̀ • ευτο kαζ τñχαc αρα
q τñωωντ
Є|c τcετε ετανζ̀ αcει ενογωω ζñζηβc̀ . ω[.]γχε[. . .
τñωωντ

8 fort. ϯπωνε. — 24 ευραγτ̀ sic: leg. ετραγτ̀. — 30 fin. fort. εωαγχερωογ.

. . ., sorrow (λύπη), care: they are the [hidden] cancer.
In a moment, my God, thy mercy became one with me.
Because of thy strong protection, lo, my diseases passed far from me.
Lo, joy has overtaken me through thy right hand that came to me.
Glory to thee and honour, o Mind (νοῦς) that art gathered, that givest peace (εἰρήνη);
for thine indeed is the honour and all thy race of Light.
A gathering-in and victory be there to the soul of Mary.

Gather we in the . . . daily and weave a royal
garland and give it to all the holy ones.
May we build gold, may we build silver, may we build stone upon (?)
stone daily. We weave.
Stones daily, words daily, may we garner them,
may we] array them. We weave.
Gay lilies, gay roses, may we set them with
one another. We weave.
Holy hearts, holy minds (νοῦς), may we build
into a Church. We weave.
A new king it is that cometh, may we build also a new house.
We weave.
The] new house is the New Man, the new king is the Mind (νοῦς)
of Light. We weave.
The holy ones, — let them rejoice; the perfect also, — let them make
festival. We weave.
Lo, wisdom (σοφία) is flourishing: where is there an ear to hear
it? We weave.
Lo, the new wine we have found: we would have new bottles (ἀσκός)
for it. We weave.
Lo, seed-corn we have gathered: where is there soil to plant it
in? We weave.
Lo, the living fire has come, we would have lamps . . . .
We weave.

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10 ff. i. e. the material will be gold etc., cf. 188, 25 ff. — 20 cf. Eph. 4, 24. — 26 cf. Mt. 9, 17. — 28 ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲱⲩⲉ = Sahidic ⲉⲃⲣⲁⲥⲱⲩⲉ, vid. Crum Dict. 53 b.

Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲙ]ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲍⲏⲧ̀ • ⲉⲩϯ ⲛⲏⲍ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲩ[ⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ
ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄
Ⲉⲓ]ⲥ ⲡⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲉⲥⲧⲟ ⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲉⲓⲛⲉ
ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄
5 Ⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ • ⲡⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄
Ⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲧⲉ ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ • ⲡⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲓ̈ⲏⲥⲟⲩⲥ ⲧ̣
Ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲗⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ[ⲟⲩ
Ⲙⲛⲱⲉⲛ] ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲑⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲍⲙ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ
10 Ⲉ[ⲩⲁ]ⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲩ[ⲧⲱⲍ]ⲙ [ⲁ]ⲣⲁ[ⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲛ ⲡⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ̀ ⲉⲩⲧⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ
ⲧ]ⲛ̣ⲭⲓ ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁϯⲍⲉⲡ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲡ ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ
Ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲉϣⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ
Ⲟⲩ[ⲙ]ⲧⲁⲛ [ⲉⲙⲛⲧⲉⲕ] ⲍⲓⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲉϣⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟ̄
15 Ⲁⲍⲣ[ⲁ]ⲛ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧ̣ⲱⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲱⲛ
Ⲧ̣[.]ⲛ[.]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲛⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲁ[ⲛⲏⲍ]ⲉ [ⲁ
ⲧⲙⲉⲧ ⲧⲛ̄ⲱ[ⲱⲛⲧ
. . . . .] ⲛ̣ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̣ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲍⲱⲃⲙⲉ ⲱⲁⲁⲛ[ⲏⲍⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ] ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄|ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲛ̄
20 Ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

Ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̣ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲁⲟ[ⲩ
ⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ̈
Ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲑⲉⲱⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩ
25 ⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ
Ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲩⲗⲏ ϫⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ̀ ⲱⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲥⲁⲡ[ⲉ
ⲕⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ
Ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ϫⲓ ⲥϯⲛⲟⲩ
ⲩⲉ ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ
Ⲧⲧⲁⲉⲛⲁⲩⲙⲁ ⲥⲃⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̀ • ϫⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲕⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲁⲩⲧ̣
Ⲫⲱⲛⲏ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲙⲏ ⲣ̄ⲉⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲁⲧⲱⲕ
Ⲁⲡ]ⲥⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲓⲁ ⲍⲉⲧⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ϯⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̣

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7 fin. ⲧ̣ sc. ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄. — 9 pro ⲉⲣⲉ leg. ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ, cf. 157, 23. — 16. 18 ⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲉ coniicio, sc. 'ubi sunt?' — 25. 27 ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ sic. — 30 ⲁⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ : ⲁ alterum sup. lin. — 31 ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉⲩ sic: leg. ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉⲥ.

Lo, the] wise virgins, they do put oil into their
lamps]. We weave.
Lo, the Bridegroom has come: where is the Bride who is like
him? We weave.
The Bride is the Church, the Bridegroom is the Mind (νοῦς)
of Light. We weave.
The Bride is the soul, the Bridegroom is Jesus.
My brethren, let us purify ourselves from all pollutions,
for (γάρ) [we know not] the hour when the Bridegroom shall summon us.
May he come and summon us and find our heart justifying us,
that we may receive the Beloved that is to come and judge
the whole world (κόσμος),
and that we may be numbered among those on the right hand and
inherit (κληρονομεῖν) the Kingdom.
The Kingdom is joy, and peace (εἰρήνη), and rest: —
rest [wherein there is no] toil, joy too wherein there is no sorrow (λύπη).
What have we to do with the world (κόσμος) now? Arise, let us go
to our Aeons (?).
. . . . our crowns of Light, that never
fall. We weave.
. . . . our gay garlands which fade not for ever.
Glory] and honour to Jesus, the King of the holy ones,
and his holy Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary, Theona.

Open to me, o Tree of Life; o Tree of Rest, open
to me.
Open to me thy essences (οὐσία) that I may contemplate (θεωρεῖν)
the face of the holy ones. Open.
Open to me thy halls (αὐλή), for my heart has been faint for
thy joy. Open.
Open to me thy Paradises (παράδεισος), that my Spirit may receive
fragrance. Open.
My robe (ἔνδυμα) is ready, that I may return to my Father rejoicing.
Every voice (φωνή) I have heard, no other voice pleased me save thine.
The] time of the ἑρμηνεία (?) [has] flowed (?) to me, I thirst for life.

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1 ff. cf. 191, 18 ff.; Mt. 25, 1 ff. — 9 cf. Mt. 25, 13. — 16 ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲧ: vid. Keph. 128, 3 n. — 26 ⲱⲥⲙⲉ = the Sahidic ⲥⲱⲱⲙ̄, vid. Crum Dict. 377 a. — 32 ⲍⲉⲧ̈ⲉ: 'flowed' (?), cf. Hom. 8, 20.

ⲙⲡωρ]ⲱⲥⲕ ⲁⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ ⲉⲓⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[. . .
ⲡⲏⲣⲡ ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ
ⲁ]ⲓⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲣ . [. . . .] . . . ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲧⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ
ⲁ̣ⲓⲱⲥⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲭⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲡⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ
Ⲧⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲕⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭ̄ⲣⲥ • ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈
Ⲧⲥⲁ[ⲩ]ⲍⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲉⲧⲟⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ̀ ⲁⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ
Ⲥⲱⲩ ⲛ̣ⲓⲙ ⲁ̈ⲓⲥⲁⲩⲍⲟ̄ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ • ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲁ̈ⲓⲧⲁⲃⲩ ⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ
Ⲉ]ⲱ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ • ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲁⲕⲓⲟⲁⲣⲁ ⲣ̄ⲃⲣⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛ[ⲉ
Ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ ⲁ̈ⲕⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲁⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲁⲛ
ⲁ̣]ⲓⲭⲓ ⲛⲁⲍⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲍⲉ • ⲛⲁ[ⲥⲧ]ⲟ̣ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲗ̄[ⲟⲉ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ • ⲁ̈ⲓⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲙⲧⲁⲛ] ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲭⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
Ⲟⲩ]ⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈[ⲟ] ⲛ̣[ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲙⲛⲛⲉ]ⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ [ⲙⲛⲧ]ϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ [ⲙ
ⲙ]ⲁ̣ⲣⲓ̣ⲁ̣ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

Ⲉⲓⲛⲁ]ϯⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲁϯⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲁⲣ̣[ⲉⲩ
ϯⲙ]ⲁⲧⲛⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲁϯⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ
. . . .]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲟⲍ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲁϯⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ
Ⲧⲣ]ⲁⲣⲉⲩϯⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲁϯⲉ
Ⲧⲁⲛ]ⲉⲕⲟⲟⲍ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲱⲓⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧ
Ⲧⲥ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲥⲉⲭⲉ
Ⲧⲧ]ⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲣ ⲁⲡⲱⲏⲛ : ⲕⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗ •
Ⲧⲧ]ⲉⲍⲟ ⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲱⲱⲉ : ⲕⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲕⲛ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲛ̄
|]ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲱⲉ ⲁⲡⲱⲉ : ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲩ
Ⲧⲧ]ⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ̀ⲓ̈ⲱⲧⲉ : ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ̀ ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲧⲧ]ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ • ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲛ
Ⲧⲧⲍⲗ]ⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ : ⲡⲱⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲏ̄
Ⲧⲧ]ⲃⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ : ⲡ[ⲉⲁ]ⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
Ⲧⲧⲍ]ⲟⲩⲣ̣ⲓⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲍⲱⲣ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ : ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣ[ⲓⲁ
. .] . . ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲧⲏ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲏ̄ : ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ̄[ⲑ]ⲉ[ⲟⲛⲁ
Ⲧⲧⲟ[ⲩ]ⲣⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ :
Ⲧⲧⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ :

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1 ⲁⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ sic vid. — 7 ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ sic. — 18 init. fort. ⲡⲱⲛ]ⲉ, cf. 153, 10. — 20 ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲟⲟⲍ : cf. ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲱⲣⲧ 7, 32. — 30 ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲓⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲏ̄ coniicio, cf. 10, 10.

Be not] long in opening to me, for my heart has thirsted for . . .
wine (?). Open.
I have laboriously . . . . .; open to me, give me the seal (σφραγίς).
I have been long in my χοροί; open to me, give me the seal.
O ἀγγελική of Christ, open to me, crown (στεφανοῦν) me.
The assembly of the eagles (ἀετός), — they that draw my heart to the skies.
I have gathered everything in; that which is in my hand I have
fastened to the root.
Which is the way that I am to turn? My lute (κιθάρα) becomes new daily.
O holy ones, rejoice with me, for I have returned to my beginning (ἀρχή) again.
I have received my washed clothes, my robes (στολή) that grow not old.
I have rejoiced in their joy, I have been glad in their gladness.
I have rested] in their rest from everlasting to everlasting.
Glory and honour to [Jesus, the King of the holy ones,
and] his holy Elect [and the] soul of the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary, Theona.

I will] glorify thee, my God, I will glorify thee, my [giver
of] rest to every man. My God, I will glorify thee.
. . . corner-stone, my God, I will glorify thee.
My giver of rest to every man, my God, I will glorify thee.
Corner-stone unchanging, unaltering. My God.
Foundation unshakeable, Thou art a marvel to tell.
sheep bound to the tree, Thou art within, thou art without.
treasure hidden in the field, Thou art above, thou art below,
Jesus that hangs to the tree, that art near and far,
Youth, son of the dew, that art hidden and revealed,
milk of all trees, that art silent and speakest too:
sweetness of the fruits (καρπός), thine is all the glory.
eye of the skies, Glory due to thee,
guard of all treasures, victory to the soul of Mary,
. . . . that bears the universe, Apa Panai, and Theona.
joy of all created things,
rest of the worlds (κόσμος).

9 i. e. to the place of my origin. — 23 cf. Mt. 13, 44. — 25 vid. 104, 10 n.

ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲥⲉ ⲙ̣ⲁⲣⲛ̣[ⲉⲓ
ⲁ]ⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲡⲩⲗⲏ ⲧ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ̄ ⲛⲉⲕ̣ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁ̣ⲗ̣
Ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲃ̣ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲃ̄ⲥ̄ [ⲁⲩ]ϯ [ⲛ]ⲉ̣ⲩ · ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥⲙ̄
ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲁⲩⲉ̣ⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟ
ⲁⲙⲏⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲩ ⲧ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲗ
ⲥⲗ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ
ⲁⲙⲁⲛ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲱⲣⲙ̄ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲁⲡⲣ[ⲟ
ⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲁ̣ⲣⲱⲟⲩ · ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ[ⲟ]
Ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲃⲛ ⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ · ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲡ[ⲟⲩ]ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲱ|ⲡⲉ
ⲁⲩ]ⲣ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲙ · ⲁⲩⲣ̄
.] . . ⲥ̣ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙ|ⲁ
ⲁ[. . . . . .] . ⲉⲩ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ [ⲛⲧ
.]ⲩ . . . . ⲉ̣|ⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡ[ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ
Ⲧⲧ]ⲉⲧ[ⲁ]ⲃ̣ⲣ̣ⲟ ⲁⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲣ̣ⲡⲣⲏ [ⲥ]ⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ̣ⲧⲛⲁ[ⲃⲣⲟ ⲁ
ⲧⲉⲡ|ⲑ]ⲩⲙ|ⲁ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲡ[ⲟⲟⲥ] ⲥ̣ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ⲟⲩ]ⲱ̣[ⲏ]
Ⲧⲧ]ⲣⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲡⲉ ⲥⲉⲃⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲡ|ⲥⲛⲉⲩ · ⲡ|ⲥⲙ[ⲁⲙ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲡ|ⲁⲣⲁⲱ · ⲡ|ⲱⲱⲙ ⲙⲛ̄+ⲡⲣⲱ
Ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥ|ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲟⲥ ⲧ[ⲥⲉⲧⲉ
ⲧⲥⲏⲇⲟⲛⲏ ⲡ|ⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥ̣ⲁⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈
Ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲣⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧ[ⲏ
ϫⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ
Ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲭⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲥ|ϫⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ
ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲉ| ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ̄
Ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ̄ ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲱⲥⲙⲉ · ⲧⲁⲅⲁ
ⲡⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ +ⲃⲣⲁⲙⲡⲥⲉϯ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲱ̄
Ⲧⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛⲛ̄ⲩ̄ ⲁⲩⲃⲣⲁⲙⲡⲥⲉⲧ̄ [ⲡ
ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲧ[ϫⲁ]ⲥⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛⲛ̄ⲩ̄ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲩ
Ⲥⲛ]ϫⲁϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲃⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲫⲁⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ̣
ⲧⲃⲣ]ⲁ[ⲙ]ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ⲉⲥϫⲁⲥⲙⲉ
Ⲧⲧ]ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ[ⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲁ]ⲩϫⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲥⲓⲥⲉⲧ · ⲡⲛ̄[ⲛⲁ
ⲛⲧⲁⲩ [ⲉⲩϫⲁⲥⲙ ⲟⲩⲙⲁ]ⲓ[ⲛⲟⲩ]ⲃ̣ ⲥⲓⲥⲉⲧ ⲡⲉ

16 ⲁⲩⲣ̄ sic: leg. ⲫⲁⲣ̄?

We are thy peoples (λαός), the sheep of thy fold: let us [come
in to thy gates (πύλη) and appear unto thee.
They that sought found; they prayed, it was given them; they knocked
at the door, the door was opened to them.
Come inside, my brethren, by the narrow door, and let us comfort
one another with the word of Truth.
For the world (κόσμος) has gone astray, men looking for the door: the door
was shut against them, the door was not opened to them.
Looking for God they found not what God is; their
God is their belly, their glory is their shame.
They] became lions in the day through the devouring fire: they became
. . . . in the night through desire (ἐπιθυμία).
. . . . . the spirit [of
. . . . . and the [Spirit] that loves riches (χρῆμα).
He that conquers the fire shall be the sun by day; he that [conquers
desire (ἐπιθυμία) shall be the [moon] by night.
The] sun and the moon in the sky, they conquer these two, the heat
and the cold, the summer and the winter.
The holy Church will conquer them also, the [fire and
the lust (ἡδονή), the lion-faced dragon.
The perfect Elect (ἐκλεκτός) will be the sun by day, the Cate-
chumens will be the moon by night.
The will that is in heaven shall be upon the earth,
the kingdom shall come which not many have known.
The living kingdom shall be revealed again, the love (ἀγάπη)
of God, the white dove.
For (γάρ) the holy Spirit was likened to a dove, but
the] unclean Spirit was likened to a snake.
The dove and the snake are enemies to each other;
the] dove does not dwell in a pool unclean.
For (γάρ) [the] holy Spirit [does not] take gold and silver, but the
unclean Spirit] is a lover of gold and silver.

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1. 2 cf. Ps. 99, 3. 4. — 5 cf. Mt. 7, 14. — 7 ⲱⲙⲁⲛ: vid. Crum Dict. 169 a. — 10 cf. Phil. 3, 19. — 21 cf. Mt. 13, 43. — 23 cf. Mt. 6, 10. — 24 cf. Mt. 7, 14. — 26. 27 ⲃⲣⲁⲙⲡⲍⲉⲧ: vid. Crum op. cit. 713 b, sub voce ⲍⲁⲧ. — 30 ⲥⲁⲙⲛⲧ = κολυμβήθρα, Crum op. cit. Part III p. vii (339 b).

Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏⲕⲉ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲟⲃⲏ[ⲟ] ⲁⲥⲭⲓ ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲩ
ⲁⲓ] ⲉⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲭ[ⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ]ⲧⲥⲏⲕⲉ
Ⲧⲙ]ⲛⲧⲥⲏⲕⲉ . . . ⲁⲥⲭⲓ ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲩⲁⲏ ⲁⲩⲉⲉⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲣⲙⲙ
ⲁⲟ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲉ
. .]ⲉⲧ ⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏⲕⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲣ̄
ⲥ]ⲏⲕⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲣ̄ⲙⲁⲟ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲛⲁ
Ⲧⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲏⲕⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ
ⲥⲱⲥ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄
Ⲉ]ⲛⲁⲣⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲥⲓⲥⲉⲧ • ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ • ⲡⲉⲩ
ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟ̣ⲁⲙ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲏ[ⲧ
Ⲟ]ⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲉ

Ⲭⲓⲧⲏ̄ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲁ̣ⲣⲉ̣ⲥ̄ⲣⲱⲁⲣ[ⲡ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲛⲉ̣ • ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲱⲙ ⲁ̣ⲩⲱⲁⲱⲉ
Ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲛ . . . ⲉ ⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲭ̣ⲉⲩ . . ⲛ̣ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁ
Ⲉ]ⲓⲥ ⲡⲁ̣ⲧⲁⲩⲗ[. .] ⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ • ⲁⲛⲥⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉ ⲭⲟⲩⲭⲟⲩ ⲧ̄ⲁ
ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲩⲗⲏ • ⲭⲉⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ⲧ̄ⲁ
Ⲉⲓⲉ̣ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲉⲛⲓⲧ̀ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ • ⲛⲱⲥⲉ ⲧⲉⲗⲁⲓⲧ̀ ⲩⲣⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲉ
Ⲧⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ • ⲛⲱⲥⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
Ⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲉⲡⲱⲁⲧⲉ • ⲣ̄ⲥⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲓ̀ⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲩ ⲧ̄ⲁ
Ⲉⲛⲧⲱⲣⲡ ⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲧⲉ • ⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ
Ⲙⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲧⲥⲁⲧⲉ • ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲭⲁⲙⲏ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ
Ⲉⲩⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲭⲱⲃⲉ
Ⲱ ϯⲛⲁ[ⲟ ⲛ]ⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲱ ϯⲛⲁⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲉ
Ⲧⲓⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲙⲧ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲉⲧⲁⲫⲃⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
Ⲉⲩⲡⲱⲧ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ
. ⲍ . ⲟⲛ̣ . . ⲙⲟⲩⲍ̀ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲉ̈ⲓ̈ⲉ • ⲉⲛⲃⲁⲱⲧ ⲁⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲏⲩ
Ⲉⲓⲉ ⲛⲱⲡⲏ]ⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲙⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲭⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧ̄ⲁ
. . . . . ⲃⲉⲗ • ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲱ|ⲡ̣[ⲉ
Ⲧ̣ⲕⲣ|ⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲫ+ⲍⲉⲡ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ

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4. 5 fort. ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲥ]ⲏⲕⲉ. — 16 etc. ⲧⲁ sive ⲧ̄ⲁ scil. ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ. — 17 an ⲡⲁⲧⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ = αὐλητής? — 28 ⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲉⲓ̈ⲉ sic.

Lo], poverty (?) has come to humility, it has received a [great
name: it has been called 'Poverty'.
Poverty . . . has received a great name, it has been made wealth (?);
it is holy (ἁγία) poverty.
. . . therefore, my brethren, and let us love poverty and be
poor in the body (σῶμα) but rich in the Spirit.
And let us be like the poor, making many rich,
as (ὡς) having nothing possessing power over everything.
What shall we do with gold and silver? Let us love God: his
Light is the power, his sage wisdom (σοφία).
Glory and victory to our Lord Mani, and
his holy Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary, Theona, Martyrs (μάρτυρε).

Receive him, even the Spirit: the love (ἀγάπη) of the Father, let it come first.
Lo, the joy has come, the scent of summer has transpired.

l. 16 *fragmentary*

Lo (?), ... comes (?), the birds have . . . .
Open your gates, light your lamps (λαμπάς).
Lo, the ship has put in for you, Noah is aboard, he steers.
The ship is the commandment (ἐντολή), Noah is the Mind (νοῦς) of Light.
Embark your merchandise, sail with the dew of the wind.
We snatch each moment, we throw away each day.
For (γάρ) we know not the moment when it will be calm.
Where are all men? They have departed, they have passed.
Oh this great wonder, oh this great marvel,
this great amazement that has caught all men;
for they run, they burst forth, they go forth in vain.
. . . . . gaze into the distance, we are looking for a distant (?) day.
Lo, the] wonders have come to pass, the signs have been fulfilled.
. . . . . eye, the men that are shameless (?).
The judge (κριτής) is here, he judges each man.

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13 μάρτυρε dual: vid. Introduction II (b). — 17 ⲭⲟⲩⲭⲟⲩ: meaning unknown to me, cf. 158, 11; 182, 32. — 27 cf. 63, 26.

Τ]cογϊτε πρεcβεγτηc τ . . . . ρ̣ą̣ϥ . . ϣε[. .
cωϥ kρ|τηc
Ττkρ|]τηc πετϥ . . τ • ϩ . . ε π̣ą̣noγc . . . .
Ϥτmaϊo ñnettmaϊt • ϥταχο ñnettaχaϊt
Νετρεϣε ε|cτε cερεϣε • νετaκμε ε|cτε ceaκμε
Ττωnϩ μñππμογ ϯπογε πογε ϥcaneϥθ|χ ογaετϥ
Μαρñωnϩ anan aϩραn μñππμηϣε τηρϥ̄
Τμñτρ̄ρο τε ταγαπη • ϯθραμπcεπ ετογaβϣ̄
Ογnογβ εn c|cετ τε • ογογωμ εn c|cω τε
Τμñτρ̄ρο [r]ą̣ρ ϯπnογτε • εcϩñμηϣε εn
Μαρεcογωϩ cñτηnε • ñcχογχογ ϯπετñϩo
Μπωρκa τ . . τye aρac χε nεcnογωπ̄ aρω[τn
Ꮎ|c πεϊ πε μñτρ̄ρο • επϥ̄ρεn πε μñτρ̄ρο
Ογρεϣε π̣[. . . . . .]ε τε • εμñ λγπη ñϩητc̀
Ογϯτ[an μμη]ε τε • εμñ c|ce ñϩητo̩
Ꮎ]naκληρονομη ϯμac ϣaannϩε nąnϩε
μñτϯγχη ϯmaρ|a

Χ|ϯπε ñτετñϯμε χε πχaϊc ϩaλ6 [
Ττχ̄ρc πε πceχε ñτμηε • πετacωτϯ̄ aραϥ ϥaωnϩ
Ⲁϊταπ̀ ογϯπε ecϩaλ6 • ϯπ|6n πετϩaλ6 aπceχε ñτ
μηε χ| ϯπε
Ⲁϊταπ̀ ογϯπε ecϩaλ6 ϯπ|6ñ πετϩaλ6 aπρεn ϯπ
πnογτε χ| ϯπε
Ⲁ|]ταπ ογϯπε ecϩaλ6 • ϯπ|6ñ πετϩaλ6 aπεχ̄ρc
Ϥτο μεεγ ñnaht̀ • ecτñταnt̄ ataμεγ ταγαπη
Ϥτο ϊωτ ñnaht̀ • eqτñταnt̄ aπaϊωτ πχ̄ρ[c
Ꮎ]ϣ ñBϊω πετϩaλ6 τϩε ϯπ|ρεn χε ekκληc|a
Τcoφ|a kaλε ϯμωτñ • ετετnaογωμ ϩñπετϯππnȧ
Ꮎ|c πηρπ̄ ñBρρε aγ6aλπϥ̄ • ε|c nεπat̀ aγñτογ atμητε
Coγ πετετnacoγ • ερε πογρat̀ eqκωτε aρωτñ
Ꮎ]γωμ χετετnaογωμ ετετñραγτ ϩñπετμ[ππȧ]
. . . . . .] nε νεττεογο • νετρ̄ϩοογ νε νετc̣ωτ[με

8 ϑραμπϩεπ sic: leg. ϑραμπϩετ. — 12 fort. τχετγε, sc. 'serpentem'. — 22 fin. ϯπ sic: leg. ϯ. — 25 γτο sic vid.: leg. cτο. μεεγ sic. — 32 init. ϩñκογϊ coniicio. ρ̄ϩοογ sic; leg. ρ̄ϩογο (?).

The beginning, envoy (πρεσβευτής) . . . . . .
himself judge (κριτής).
The] judge (κριτής) who . . . . . my mind (? νοῦς) . . .
He justifies the justified, he condemns the condemned.
They that rejoice, behold, they rejoice; they that are sad, behold, they are sad.
The life and death of each man is in his own hands.
As for us, let us live: what is all the crowd to us?
The Kingdom is Love (ἀγάπη), this white dove.
It is not gold and silver, it is not eating and drinking.
For (γάρ) the Kingdom of God is not in a multitude.
Let her dwell in you and . . . . before you.
Do not set the . . . . to her lest she be scared of you.
Lo, this is Kingdom whose name is Kingdom.
It is a joy . . . ., wherein there is no sorrow (λύπη).
It is a true rest, wherein there is no toil.
May we inherit (κληρονομεῖν) it for ever and ever,
with the soul of Mary.

Taste and know that the Lord is sweet.
Christ is the word of Truth: he that hears it shall live.
I tasted a sweet taste, I found nothing sweeter than the word of
Truth. Taste.
I tasted a sweet taste, I found nothing sweeter than the name of
God. Taste.
I] tasted a sweet taste, I found nothing sweeter than Christ.
Where is there a kind mother like my mother, Love (ἀγάπη) ?
Where is there a kind father like my father, Christ?
What honey is so sweet as this name, Church?
Wisdom (σοφία) invites (καλεῖν) you, that you may eat with your Spirit.
Lo, the new wine has been broached: lo, the cups have been brought in.
Drink what you shall drink, gladness surrounding you.
Eat that you may eat, being glad in your [Spirit.
. . . . . are they that preach, they that hear are . . . .

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6 cf. 40, 24. — 9 cf. Rom. 14, 17. — 11, 12 'her', 'she': i. e. the dove, cf. 167, 57 ff.; 182, 29 ff. For ⲭⲟⲩⲭⲟⲩ vid. 157, 17 n. — 18 cf. Ps. 33, 9; I Pet. 2, 3. — 28 καλεῖν: cf. 151, 13. — 29 ϭⲁⲗⲡⲏ: lit. 'revealed', cf. Morg. 23, 100; Balestri III p. xliii. — 32 ⲣ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩ = 'diem agere', seems to me corrupt.

Ⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ] ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ [ⲡⲡⲁⲧ]ⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲡⲉ .[. .
. . . . .] ⲭⲓ ϯⲡⲉ
Ⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉ]ⲧ ⲧⲉ ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ • ⲡⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲓⲏⲥ
non legi potest
. . . . . .]ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ [ⲙⲡⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ . . . . ⲗ . . ⲱⲥⲙ . . . ⲭⲉ
ⲦⲦⲉⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡ]ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ [ⲉⲧⲁ]ⲙ̇ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉ[ⲙ]ⲉⲛ
. . . . . .]. . . . . ⲉⲙⲁⲩⲱⲓⲃⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲡⲱ[ⲛⲉ
. . . . . .].ⲥ ⲍ. . . ⲱⲁⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ • ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲣⲉ.ⲗ. .ⲛ[.]ⲩ . . .
. . . .] ⲭⲓ ϯⲡⲉ
. . . . . .]. . . . . ⲛ̣ⲍⲁⲩⲉ̣ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ . . . .[. . . . .
. . . . .] ⲭⲓ ϯⲡⲉ
. . . . . .] ⲍⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛ . . . .[. . . . .
. . . . .] ⲭⲓ ϯⲡⲉ
. . . . . .]ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ.ⲥ . . . ⲗⲥ̀ ⲡⲟⲩ . . .[. . . . . .].ⲛⲁ . . ⲉ
ⲦⲦⲉⲧⲁⲑ]ⲃ̄ⲓⲁⲩ ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲭⲓⲧⲫ̄ ⲡⲉ̣[ⲧⲁⲭⲉⲥⲧⲩ ⲥ]ⲉⲛⲁ[ⲑ]ⲃ̣[ⲓⲁⲩ
Ⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩ]ⲙⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲡⲉⲱⲁⲩⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ
. . . .] ⲡ̣ⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ̣ⲓ . . . ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ
Ⲙⲁⲣⲛⲣⲉ]ⲱⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ] ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉ]ⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲟⲩ]ⲍⲏⲧ̀ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ̀ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲡⲛ̄ⲁ
ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲩⲣⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲛⲍⲟⲩⲛ
ⲦⲦⲍⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲭⲣⲥ • ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲛ̄ • ⲁ[ⲛ
ⲁ̣ⲛ ⲍⲱⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄
ⲦⲦⲭ]ⲣⲥ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲉⲩ • ⲉⲛⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ
ⲁⲣⲁ]ⲩ ⲛⲁⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ • ⲧⲛ̄ⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀
Ⲛⲱ]ⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ • ⲉ|ⲥ
. . . .]. . ⲉⲓ [ⲙⲁ]ⲣⲛ̄ϯⲛⲛⲍ ⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲛⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ
Ⲙⲁⲣⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩ]ⲍ̣ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲍⲏⲙ • ⲡ|ⲭⲡⲟ
. . . . . ⲍⲉ]ⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ
ⲦⲦⲭⲡⲟ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡ|ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲙ̄[ⲁⲩ

17 fort. ⲛⲥⲁ]ⲡⲍ|ⲥⲉ ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲡⲉ|. — 24 ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲛ sic. — 25 ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲉⲩ sic. — 26 ⲛⲁⲡⲱⲛⲉ sic.

The Bride] is the Church, the Bridegroom is . . .
. . . Taste.
The Bride] is the soul, the Bridegroom is Jesus.
l. 4 *illegible*
. . . . . the sons of the Light . . . . . .
This is the] true joy [that will] endure with us.
. . . . . which does not change or pass.
. . . . . they rejoice, but (ἀλλά) . . . . . .
. . . Taste.
. . . . . but (ἀλλά) . . . . . .
. . . . Taste.
. . . . . outside, they rejoicing . . . . . .
Taste.
l. 14 *fragmentary*
He that] humbleth himself shall be received, he that [exalteth himself]
shall be humbled (?).
He that] dies lives, he that labours has his rest.
. . . . the labour is the rest, after . . . . there is joy again.
Let us] rejoice in this joy from everlasting to everlasting.
Glory] and honour to Jesus, the King of the holy ones,
and] his holy Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

Put in me a holy heart, my God: let an upright
Spirit be new within me.
The holy heart is Christ: if he rises in us,
we also shall rise in him.
Christ has risen, the dead shall rise with him. If we believe
in him, we shall pass beyond death and come to life.
The] sons of faith, — they shall see faith: lo,
. . . . . come, let us put oil in our lamps (λαμπάς).
Let us gather] in and become warm milk; this creature (?)
. . . . hope (ἐλπίς) which has come from on high.
The creature] of the Darkness is this body (σῶμα) which we wear (φορεῖν):

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15 cf. Mt. 23, 12. ϭⲟⲩⲁϫ|ⲧⲏ̄: 3 pl. Fut. I, cf. Hom. p. XIX, ll. 1—5. ϭⲟⲩ- for ϭⲉ- (cf. Till, Achmîmisch-Koptische Grammatik, § 126 B. 1; § 139 a) is not uncommon, e. g. Keph. 47, 5; 53, 17; 63, 26. — 16 cf. Joh. 12, 25. — 21. 22 cf. Ps. 50, 12. — 25 cf. I Thess. 4, 14. — 29 cf. 23, 11.

ⲧϯ]ⲩχⲏ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲛ[ⲧⲁⲥ] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣ[ⲱⲙⲉ
ⲧⲧ]ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲣ[ⲟ] ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ[ⲉⲕⲉ ⲛ
ⲧⲁⲩ] ⲁ̣ⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲃⲣⲟ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲙⲟⲩ
ⲧⲧⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩϯⲧⲟ[ⲟⲧⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ [ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡ̣ⲡ̣ⲕ̣[ⲗⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ
ⲟⲩⲉ ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲱⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁ̣ⲗ̣ ⲉⲩⲥⲱ̣[ⲟⲩⲍ
ⲁⲍ[ⲟⲩ]ⲛ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲧⲟ̣ⲩⲃ[ⲁⲓ ⲡⲁⲛⲟ]ⲩⲧ[ⲉ ⲧ]ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ̈ ⲍⲓⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲍⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲟ[ⲩⲃⲟ
ⲡ̣[ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧϯⲩ]ⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲛ̄ⲁ
ⲗⲗ[ⲁⲣ]ⲉ . . ⲛ̣[. . .]ⲏ ⲣⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲉⲙⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ • ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ
. . . . . .[. . .]ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲍⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲏ̈
ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ̈ ⲡ̣[ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ] . . ⲩ . ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲙ̣̄ . ⲁ̣[. .]ⲉ̣. ⲧⲁⲧⲁ
ⲡⲣⲟ ⲡ̣ⲟ̣.ⲭ̣. ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲓⲁ
ⲓⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲁⲩ]ⲧⲱⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ
ⲧⲣⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϯⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
ⲓⲏⲥ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ [ϯⲱⲁⲙ
ⲧ̣[ⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟ̣[ⲥ
ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲉ|ⲥⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲍ[ⲟⲩ]ⲛ ⲉ|ⲥⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲛ
ⲃ[ⲁⲗ] ⲉⲛⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲱⲁⲛ|ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
ⲟⲩ[ⲉ]ⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ
ⲁ̣[ⲣ]ⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲕⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ • ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭ[ⲏ
ⲛ̣ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

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12 med. fort. ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ̈. — 21 ⲛⲁⲱⲛⲍ̀ sic. — 22 leg. ⟨ⲉ⟩ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄.

the] soul which is in it is the First [Man.
The] First Man who was victorious in the Land of the Darkness,
he also today will be victorious in the body (σῶμα) of [death.
The Living Spirit that gave help to the First [Man,
he also today is the Paraclete-Spirit.
One is the Mind (νοῦς) that is to come, that reveals, gathering (?)
in, choosing his holy Church.
Purify [me, my God], purify me within, without: purify (?)
the [body (? σῶμα), the] soul and the Spirit.
Let . . . . . be a holy body (σῶμα) for me; the knowledge
. . . . . Spirit and Mind (νοῦς) for me.
Purify me, [my God,] . . . . me in (?) these three . . ., my
mouth, ..., and the purity of my virginity (παρθενία).
Jesus has risen: he has risen in three days, the Cross (σταυρός)
of Light that rises in three powers.
The sun and the moon and the Perfect Man, — these three
powers are the Church of the Great World (κόσμος).
Jesus, the Maiden, and the Mind (νοῦς) which is in their midst, — [these
three powers are the Church of the Little World (κόσμος).
The Kingdom of the heavens, — behold, it is within us, behold, it is
outside us; if we believe in it we shall live in it for ever.
Glory, victory to every man [that] has heard these things and believed
in them and fulfilled them in joy. Victory to the soul
of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

. . . . . .]. νε̣ϰ̣ ω̣ ⲡⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ̣ ⲡ̣[. . . . . .
. . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [.] ⲁ̣ⲡⲯⲉⲓ̣ ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲃⲥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̣[ⲕ . . .]
.] . . . . . ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛ[ⲓⲁ . . . . . .]ⲁ
ⲉ . . . ⳝ . ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲙⲉⲣ|ⲙⲛⲉ|ⲁ
Nε]ϛⲉ̣ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲧⲉⲗⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̇ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̣ⲉϛⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏ
ⲥ|ⲁ̣ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲣ̄ϛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ
Nε]ⲥⲉ ⲧⲃⲣⲁⲙⲡϛⲉⲧ ⲉⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲥⲁⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ [ⲉⲥ]ⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲃⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉ̣
. .ⲏ̣ⲗ̣ ϛⲛ̄ⲡϛⲏⲧ̇ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲡ|ⲥⲧⲟⲥ
Ⲧⲧ]ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥ . . ⲱ . .[. . . . .
. .]ⲡ̣|ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛⲁⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϛⲏⲧⲩ̄
Ⲧⲧ]ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ . . ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ϛⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉ . . . . . ⲁ̣ⲡ̣[. .
ⲛ̣ⲁⲃ̣ⲛ̣ ⲭⲣⲉ|ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
Ⲧ]ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲥϛⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲛ • ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̣ . . . ⲉ . . ⲧ̣ⲥ̣[.
ⲡ]ⲉⲧⲧⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ
C]ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ϛⲛ̄ⲡⲁϛⲏⲧ̇ ⲉⲧ̣[. . .]. . . . . .
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲃⲁ ϛⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲗⲉⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ
ⲧⲟⲩ] ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲛⲉⲧϛⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇ̣|ⲥ[ⲟⲥ . . . . .
. ⲗⲉ ϛⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲱⲙ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲱ
ⲧⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃ̄ⲛ ⲛⲏϛ ϛⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ[ϛⲏⲃⲥ ⲁⲩ
Β]ⲱⲕ ⲁϛⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗ[ⲉⲉⲧ
ⲧⲉ ⲛ]ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛⲉⲧ[ⲁ]ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲡ̣ⲧ[ⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ . . .
. . ⲛ̣ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱⲟⲩ ϛⲛ̄ⲧⲩ̄ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥ|ⲁ
Ⲧⲧ]ⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲉⲓ ϛⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ . . .[.] ⲧⲧⲩⲭ[ⲏ
ⲛ]ⲁⲭ|ⲧⲩ̄ ⲉⲱⲁⲥⲭ|ⲧⲩ̄ ϛⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟ[ⲥ
Ⲧⲧⲧⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ [ⲡⲧ
ⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲡ]ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ[ϛ
Ⲧⲣ]ⲏ̣ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲟϛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱⲟⲩ ϛⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃ̄ⲧ̄ ⲧⲉ [ⲙⲙ]ⲛ̄[ⲧ
ⲛ]ⲁⲃ̣ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϛⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ
Ⲧⲧϛ]ⲱⲃ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱⲩ̄ ϛⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥ̣[. . .] ⲉⲛ . . .
.] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲃⲛⲧⲥ̄ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱ[ⲧ
Oⲩ]ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧϛⲏⲡ ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [.]ⲕⲁⲣⲁ .[. .
.]ⲗ̣ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲛ

7, 8 fort. ⲡⲉⲧϛⲏⲗ. — 15 fort. ϯ]ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲩ. — 18 ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲱ sic: leg. ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲣⲱ.

. . . . . to thee, o Spirit . . . . . .
. . . . forth, ... they imploring thee (?).
. . . . . that is clothed in virginity (παρθενία) . . . .
. . . . . freedom from care (ἀμεριμνία).
Fair is the ship, the sailor being aboard it: fair is the
Church, the Mind (νοῦς) steering it.
Fair is the dove that has found a holy pool: Jesus is
. . . . in the heart of his Faithful (πιστός).
The] Purity, the Mind (νοῦς), the Love (ἀγάπη) shall come and . . . .
. . . this (?) Spirit shall seek by it.
This is the joy . . . find the deeds . . . . .
shall find need (χρεία) of all these words.
For (γάρ) the Kingdom is not in words: . . . . . .
he] that makes the word beautiful.
They (?) utter 5 words in my heart . . . . . .
ten thousand in tongue and mouth.
For (γάρ) [5] are the trees in Paradise (παράδεισος) . . . .
. . . in summer and winter.
5] are the maidens in whose [lamps] oil was found, [they
went in, they reigned with the Bridegroom.
5] are the commandments (ἐντολή) which God laid upon the 5
. . . . which he appointed in his Church.
The] holy Spirit that comes in 5 . . . ., the soul
shall receive it that receives it in 5 members (μέλος).
The 5] νοερά are the sons of the First Man, [the 5
Omophori are the sons of the Living Spirit.
The] sun and the moon were appointed in 5 walls: 5 are the
Greatnesses which exist from the beginning.
Everything therefore (οὖν) was appointed in 5 . . . : if we . . . .
us, we shall find that they have become a single Spirit.
One is the God that is hidden, that is revealed . . silent . .
he it is that speaks also.

4 cf. 192, 12. — 15 **coγωψ**: cf. 159, 15 n. — 19 cf. Mt. 25, 1 ff. — 21 vid. 33, 18 ff. For the 5 Ranks in the Manichaean Church vid. Polotsky, Abriss p. 262. — 24 cf. 23, 14—18 n. — 25 i. e. the 5 Elements, vid. Polotsky, Abriss p. 251. — 27 cf. Müller, Handschriften-Reste aus Turfan II, p. 38, quoted by Burkitt, op. cit. p. 108.

. . . . . .] ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲡⲱ .[. . .
. . .]. . . . .[.] ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ
Ⲟⲩ . . .[. . . . .]ⲉ ⲡⲛ . . . . ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲱⲧ ⲥⲏⲧ .[. . .
ⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ[ⲧⲱⲃⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲭⲉⲩⲁⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲛ ⲥⲱⲱⲛ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲥⲃⲱⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲥⲉ
ⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲁⲥ ⲣⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥ̄ⲣⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲏⲩ
ⲦⲦⲱⲛ ⲥⲱⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ • ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲱ
. . . . . .]ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲥⲭⲏⲕ
Ⲟⲩ[ⲉ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ] ⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ • ⲥⲁⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ
ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲁⲩⲙⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲧⲡ̄
. .]ⲱⲉ . . . . . ⲱ . . . . . ⲟⲟⲯ . . ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ
. . . . ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲃⲛ ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ
Ⲉ[.]. . . ⲛ̣ⲁ ⲡⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲧⲟⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄
. .]. . .[. .]. . ⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲉ ⲡⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ[ⲩ
Ⲭ[ⲉ] ⲁⲡⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲃⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲁⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲟⲩ
ⲏⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡ]ⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲉ|ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲓ̈ • ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲥ
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲭⲁ]ⲕⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ • ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ
ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲡⲉ] ⲛ̣ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ
ⲡⲱⲁⲓ̈ ⲭⲙⲛ]ⲟⲩⲧⲉ

ⲤⲚ]ⲧⲛ̣ⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩ[ⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩ
ⲃ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧ ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲦⲦ]ⲓⲱⲧ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲕ̄ⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ [ⲱ
ⲁⲛ]ⲧⲉ[ⲟ]ⲩⲟ ⲡⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲦⲦⲁ]ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲕ̄ⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡ[ⲥⲱ
ⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
Ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲙ̣ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲧⲱⲉⲉⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛ[ⲉ
ⲧ.ⲛ̣ⲁⲥ[. . . .]ⲛ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ
.]ⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲗⲉ [.]ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ̄ⲕⲗⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲛ̣[. . .
ⲙ̣ⲙⲟ ⲉ . . ⲣⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲱⲃⲁ
Ⲛⲧⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲁ̣ⲗⲁⲃⲓⲛ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱ[ⲭⲉ

7, 8 ⲧⲛⲥⲱ[ⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲛⲟⲩ]ⲉⲕⲕ. coniicio. — 9 init. cf. 171, 13. — 17 f. cf. 160, 22 f. — 27 ⲧⲱⲉⲉⲣ: sic. vid. — 29 fin. ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲛ[ⲟⲓⲉ] coniicio.

. . . . . all of it, the . . . .
. . . . . God that is in the Aeons.
. . . . . he looking before me (?) . . .
Let us [implore] him to come and purify us also.
Lo, the Church has been revealed again, even
as] it is; but (ἀλλά) it is renewed from time to time.
Ours it is [to] believe and to be a single heart and to
. . . . . perfect Church.
One, [two] three is the perfect Church: for (γάρ) many
are called, few are they that are chosen.
. . . . . that is in the mountains
. . . . true: how many jewels then shalt thou find.
. . . . . the multitude will abandon us utterly
. . . . . error, great is the multitude that is drawn in [it.
For (γάρ) the multitude has erred, because they look to a day that is
afar; but we], — today let us do good (ἀγαθόν).
Glory, victory to] every man [that] has heard these things and believed
in them and] fulfilled them in joy. Rest
be there] to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona,
Pshai,] Jmnoute.

With] our holy voice we glorify the Mind (νοῦς): [for if he
lodges with us we give holy fruit (καρπός).
O] Father, o Mind (νοῦς) of Light, come and wear (φορεῖν) me [until
I have recited the woe of the Son of Man.
My] Lord Jesus, come and wear (φορεῖν) me until I purify the
body (? σῶμα) of the First Man.
O Compassion of glory, Daughter of the Father of the Lights,
. . . . . all, none knows thy honour.
.] make music (ψάλλειν), sons (?) only of the Paraclete, they that have
. . . . thee, . . . weeping daily for thy wounds.
Thou art the two-edged axe wherewith they cut

9 cf. 171, 13. — 10 cf. Mt. 22, 14. — 21 ff. cf. 177, 31 ff. — 24 'woe': lit. 'weeping'. — 31 cf. Mt. 3, 10; Lk. 3, 9.

ⲛ̣ϩⲏⲧⲩ ⲛ[ⲧ]ⲛⲟⲩ[ⲛ]ⲉ ⲉⲧ̣ⲉⲁⲱ[ⲉ]
Ⲛ]ⲧⲟ ⲡⲉ ☩ . . . . ⲏ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛ[ⲟⲥ ⲧ]ⲉⲧⲁⲩ
ϫⲁⲧⲥ ⲁⲩ[ⲟⲩ]ⲛ ⲁⲡⲩⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁϫⲉ
Ⲛⲧ]ⲟ [ⲡⲉ] ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲉ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ϫⲁ[ⲓⲙ]ⲗⲁⲩ
5 ⲡ̣ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲛⲧ⟨ⲩ⟩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲃ̣ⲥ̣
Ⲛⲧⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲡⲗⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄[ⲃⲁⲗ]ⲁⲱⲓ
ⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩϩ ⲁⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̣ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲉ ⲉⲧ̣ⲁⲩⲛ̣[ⲉϩⲥ]ⲉ
Ⲛⲧⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲧ]ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱ[ⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲟ
ⲡⲉ ⲡⲃ]ⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲉ
10 Ⲛⲧ]ⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲃⲉⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡϩⲉⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲱⲁⲛ
ⲧ]ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲙ ⲁⲛⲃⲉⲗ ⲁ̣ ⲛⲛⲓⲃⲁⲛⲓ̈ⲉⲓⲣⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲏⲣ] ⲧ̣ⲉ ⲧⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲧⲱⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ϩⲓⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲁⲧⲉϩⲓⲥ]ⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲉⲣⲉⲟ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ̀ ⲁⲡϫⲁϫⲉ
Ⲛⲧⲟ ⲡⲉⲧ]ⲉ ⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ ⲁϩⲉ ⲁⲣⲟ ϩⲓⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ ϫⲉⲩⲛⲁⲥⲁ̣
15 ⲕ̣ⲉ̣ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲓⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
Ⲉⲓ]ⲥ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲭⲕ̀ⲕⲁⲥ̄ⲧ [ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉⲣⲁⲙⲁϩⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲛⲧⲩ̀ ⲧⲉϫⲓ [ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲉ
ⲙⲁⲩϩⲱⲃⲙⲉ
Ⲉⲓ]ⲥ ⲡ☩ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲥⲉⲥⲏⲣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲧⲟ̣ • ϫⲉ ⲛ̣ⲉ
20 ⲡ̣ⲉϩⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩϫ ⲡⲉⲧⲁϩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲓϫⲱ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ]ⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲧ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲟ • ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ
ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ
Ⲉⲓⲥ] ⲡⲱ̄ⲱⲓⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ϥⲁⲧⲗ̀ⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲱⲃⲁ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲥ̣[ⲁⲩ
ⲛ]ⲉ̣ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛⲁ☩ ⲛⲉϫⲓϩⲃⲁⲥ ϩⲓⲱⲉ
25 ⲗⲁϩ]ⲉ̣ ⲃⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲥⲏⲕ ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲉ]ⲣⲉⲧⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩϩⲱⲃⲙⲉ
ⲗⲁ]ϩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲉⲣⲁⲩⲧ̄ ⲁⲛⲉϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ • ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲙ̄
ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧ̀ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲁⲣⲉⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ
Ⲟ]ⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄☩ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉ
30 ⲧ̣ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ
ⲟ]ⲩⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ☩ⲩⲭ[ⲏ
ⲛⲧ]ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

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2 ☩ⲗⲟⲅⲭⲏ coniicio. — 5 ⲛ̄ϩⲛⲧ⟨ⲩ⟩: H.T. — 11 ⲁ̣ sic vid.: dele. — 20 ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩϫ sic.

the bitter root.
Thou art the . . . . that is in the hand of the Maiden, which was thrust into the heart of the enemy.
Thou art the first ship (?) of the first Warrior
wherein they caught the thieves that rebelled.
Thou art the first weapon (ὅπλον) of the first Hero
which was brandished behind the foe that arose.
Thou art the] Church of the Father, the First Man; [thou art the] vineyard of the first husbandman.
Thou art the eye of plenty that came with the abundance until it had closed the eyes of the malignant ones.
How great] is thy fortitude, o Daughter of Wisdom (σοφία): for thou hast not yet wearied, watching over the enemy.
For thee the ships are waiting on high that they may
draw thee up and take thee to the Light.
Lo, the Perfect Man is stretched out [in the middle of the world (κόσμος), that thou mayest walk in him and receive [thy unfading [garlands].
Lo, the five Omophori are spread over the world that
thy heart may not suffer and that thou mayest cast the burden from off thee.
Lo, the] righteous (δίκαιος) will illumine thee; lo, the forgiveness of sins of the Catechumens of the faith.
Lo,] the medicine-chest of the physician will heal thy wounds; lo, the knowledge and the wisdom (σοφία) will put thy clothes upon thee.
Walk,] therefore, in joy, drawn to the Land of Light,
sealed with thy seal (σφραγίς) and with thy unfading garlands.
Walk also in gladness: thy sufferings have passed today; lo, the harbour of peace (εἰρήνη), — thou hast moored in it.
Glory to this compassion and to them that purify it and to them that
save it, the Catechumens of the faith.
Peace and rest be there to the soul
of the] blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

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4 ⲣⲁⲙⲉ̀: = ? demot. *rms*, cf. Griffith, High Priests of Memphis, p. 100 n. H.T. — 7 ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲥ apparently for ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲉ, vid. Crum Dict. 241 b. For ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲉ vid. 143, 30. — 11 ⲃⲁⲛⲓⲉⲓⲣⲉ: cf. 117, 7. — 16 The Perfect Man is the Milky Way. — 20 ⲉⲧⲁⲥ: cf. 145, 4 n. — 24 ⲱ̄ⲓⲣ: cf. 46, 3.

C]ωογς ⲁ̣ⲡⲁογⲏ̣ⲧ̀ [. . . . . .
ⲧ̣ⲉ ⲙⲁ̣[ⲣⲛ]ⲟγⲱⲱⲃ[ⲉ] ⲛ[ⲉⲩ ⲥⲓ]ⲟγⲥⲁⲡ ⲭⲉ ⲛ[. .].γⲣⲉⲩⲛⲁ
ⲁ̀]ⲡⲉⲇ̣[ⲣⲁⲕⲱ]ⲛ̣ ⲟⲃ̀ⲓⲉ • ⲁⲡⲉ̣ⲇ̣ⲣ[ⲁ]ⲕⲱⲛ ⲟⲃ[ⲓⲉ . . . .]ⲙⲉ
. ογⲃ̣[. . .] ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲁⲗⲁⲥⲏ
.]ⲉⲧ̣ⲉ[.] ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲟⲡⲗⲟⲛ ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲟⲡⲗ[ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲧ
ⲉⲕⲛ̣[. .]ⲱ ⲁ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ
.]. [. . . ⲧ]ⲱⲓ̈ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲧⲱⲓ̈ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲧⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲏ ⲧⲁ
. ⲱ . . [. .]ⲉ
C]ⲛ̣ⲟ[ⲛ] ⲁ̣ⲧⲉⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ ⲟ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲛ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ • ⲭⲉ [ⲉⲛⲁ
ⲟ̣ⲛ[ⲟⲛ] ⲁ̣ⲛⲓⲙⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Nογⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ • ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲛⲟⲩⲧ̣ⲉ ⲡ̣ⲁ̣ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
|ⲓ̄ⲥ̄ [ⲧⲡ]ⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲙⲉ[ⲣ|ⲧⲟⲩ
ⲥⲓⲥⲟⲩⲛ • ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ [ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ
ⲁⲃⲱⲱⲩ̄ⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥ̣ⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ
Nⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲁ̣ⲣⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲡⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ
ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ̣ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲧⲏ
O]ⲩⲥⲏⲧ̣ ⲟ̣ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁ[ⲧ]ⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲭⲡⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲛ
ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲁ[ⲥ]ⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ|ⲙⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲕⲡⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲥⲉ̈ⲓ̣ⲉ
ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲱⲕ̀ ⲁⲩⲡⲥ ⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ̀ [ⲙⲡⲱⲣ
ⲁ̄ⲣ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ
Eⲗⲁⲕ̀ ⲉ̣ⲕ|ⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲃ|ⲱⲡ̀ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩ[ⲟⲩ
ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲱⲉ
Cⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛⲕ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲁⲑⲏ • ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲧⲁⲕ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣[ⲁⲗ
ⲉⲛ ⲉⲕⲱⲁⲣ̄ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲕⲁⲱⲱⲡ ⲥⲓⲥⲉ
Ⲁ̀ⲛⲓ ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ̀ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉⲛⲁⲱ
ⲥ̣ⲱⲥ̣ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ • ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲥⲉⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
. ⲛ̣ . . ⲭ ⲙⲛ̄|ⲓ̄ⲥ̄ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲱⲧⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲗⲁⲙ̣[ⲉ
. .]. . . ⲓ ⲛ|ⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲭⲱⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ

mutilum

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28 ⲥ̣ⲱⲥ̣ⲟⲩ: sic vid.; fort. ⲥ̣ⲱⲥ̣ⲟⲩ, an ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲥ legendum? — 30 ⲉⲛⲛⲏⲭ coniicio, cf. Mt. 22, 11 ἀνακειμένους.

Gather to the assembly . . . . . .
let us answer [him] together, saying . . . .
The dragon has . . . ., the dragon has . . . . . .
. . . . in his belly.
. . . . thy weapon (ὅπλον), o King: fair is thy weapon (ὅπλον) [which
thou . . . . to make war (πόλεμος) with the dragon.
. . . . . mine is the wisdom (σοφία), mine is the camp (παρεμβολή), my (?)
. . . . .
Play with thy lute (κιθάρα), play with thy lute (κιθάρα); that [we may
play to these pious ones.
God, God, God, fair is God, God, God,
God, my (?) God, God.
Jesus, the Maiden, the Mind (νοῦς), — fair are they to love (?)
within: the Father, the Son, the holy Spirit, — [fair are they
to look at without.
My brethren, let us make festival and sing to our Saviour
that has rescued us from the deceit (ἀπάτη).
Let us therefore get ourselves a heart that tires not of singing,
that we may sing to them, these pious ones.
O man of God, thou hast been set right: do not fall,
for the Gods have loved thee. Thou hast been called: [do not
fail to hear.
Look back no more: of the past no reckoning is made.
Think not of what thou didst in forgetfulness.
Do thou stretch forward and God will not turn thee away;
but if thou art slack (ἀμελεῖν), thou shalt suffer.
Bring thy hidden things to the Light, that we may see that we can
. . . . them; that we may escape from the judgment of the Son of
Man.
. . . . with Jesus let us put off these dirty garments:
. . . . . these thoughts (?) which sting the man.

l. 32 *fragmentary*

3 ϭBϊε : prob. = ϭBBε, ἀσθενεῖν (Crum). — 30 ff. 165, 1 cf. Mt. 22, 2—13.

. . . . .]. μαρϥ̄ τοοτϥ̄ ρετϥ̄ ναχϥ̄ απkεkε
Νεcε ογϭ]ρ̣[αμ]πzετ εckογkογ ερε νεc̣ψηρε ḳω
τ]ε̣ αραc • νεcε ογμενηγ εqμανε zn̄πεqωzε
Ογεαγ n̄πaϯmn̄τναϭ ιηc̄ πa̱τναϭ n̄ψπηρε̣ μn̄
νεqcωτπ̄ ετογaβε μn̄τϯγχη n̄τμakαρια n̄μμα
ρια θεονα πψaï̈ xn̄ογτε

Ϫ]ερο n̄νετn̄λαμπαc xε ε|c πcωτηρ αqε[ι παπι
ρ]εν ετογaβε eqναϭωλπ̄ αβαλ
ⲗ]αρn̄πωz zn̄ογϭλαμ n̄n̄ψνηγ n̄πcωμ̣[α . . . .
ε̣ n̄π|πετμηρ xε n̄νε| αγzεπ • τcαρΣ . .[.] ν̣ . . β
. πε| πn̄n̄να ραγτ̀ αραν • αμογ νεν ι̣n̄ç ε̣τ̣ç̈μ̣ϩμ̣
α]aτ̀ n̄kϯογρατ νεν
ⲗ]πωρϭωτπ̄ n̄kϯτογωk ω πρωμε αḳρε̣[. .] . .
ρ]ω ε|kη n̄νεταγε|ïτογ n̄xι νεταγϭωτπ [μ]π̣ωρ̣
ψογψογ n̄μμak ϯνογ ογμαn̄ψογψογ γαρ ṇ̄τε πε|
πμαn̄ψογψογ πε n̄φωcτηρ πμαn̄ταληλ πε
πρωμε ετxηk
Ναψε n̄xaï̈ εταγβ|ϭε xn̄πτογzωνε αμανε απ
kρο • ογηπc̀ n̄η|ï̈ αγzε|ï̈ xn̄πτογπωz ατψ|με
n̄kλαμ θε zωq αν τε τε|ï̈ νacνηγ • ογn̄ ϯγχη ecα
μ|ψε n̄ψαρπ̄ n̄τε πϭαcμε νεzce αραc n̄τε n̄
zaï̈με τωρπ̄ n̄μμac
ⲗn̄λαγε ναψμ|ψε εqτηψ απca cνεγ • ρn̄n̄kραq
z|caντωz μαγϭn̄ νογτε ανηze ϯβ| ραγψ ανak
n̄ογηρ zανε|ï̈ εταγψατn̄ ï̈ετογ αβαλ n̄παγαθον
xε cενa̱rzτηγ
Θ|ï̈μαze αzογν αν|μ̣ ταϭn̄ πεqzητ̀ εqcμαντ̀ q̄
xελω τεττπω ετ̣αxω|ï̈ qn̄με αραc xε ογπετ
zαλϭ̄ τηρc̀ τε • ανρωμε τωπ απkεkε αγμερ| τε
ττπω n̄n̄ναβε • cr̄qε n̄τak απνογτε παπ̄να n̄πω[ρ
ϭωτπ̄ n̄zητk̄

10 fin. valde incertum. — 11 init. fort. επε|, cf. Keph. 169, 21. — 15 post γαρ supple εν. — 19 αγzε|ï̈ sic. — 27 αν|μ̣: H.T. q̄ pro n̄q.

. . . . bind him hand and foot, cast him into the Darkness.
Fair is a] dove cooing, her children surrounding
her; fair is a shepherd giving pasture in his fold.
Glory to him of this greatness, Jesus, him of the great wonder, and
his holy Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary,
Theona, Pshai, Jmnoute.

Light your lamps (λαμπάς), for lo, the Saviour (σωτήρ) has come; [he of the
holy name, he will make revelation.
Let us quickly break the nets of the body (σῶμα) . . . .
him that is bound, lest we come to a judgment. The flesh (σάρξ)
. . . . . our Spirit is glad within us. Come to us, blessed (?) Jesus,
and make us glad.
Do not flinch or lose heart (?), o man: thou hast . . . . .
heedlessly (εἰκῆ) what they that have flinched have done. Do not
glory now, for (γάρ) this is [not] a place of glorying:
the place of glorying is the Luminaries (φωστήρ), the place of rejoicing is
the Perfect Man.
Many are the ships that have gone down after they were near to mooring to the
bank; a number of houses have fallen after the parapet (?)
had been reached. So it is also, my brethren, that there is a soul that shall
fight at first and the storm arises upon it and the
waves seize it.
There is none that can fight if he is committed to both sides. The insidious
and the meddlers never find God; but they that have shut their
eyes to the good (ἀγαθόν), — for them how greatly I care
that they should repent.
Unto whom do I go that I may find his heart well-stablished, that he may
support (?) the burden that is upon me? He knows it, that it is
nought but sweet. Men have been accustomed to the Darkness and have
loved the
burden of the sins; but do thou be zealous for God, my Spirit, do not
flinch within thee.

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2 ⲕⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩ: cf. ⲇⲟⲩⲇⲟⲩ, P 44, 121 v. (Crum). — 18 ⲃⲓⲇⲉ: vid. Hom. 78, 17. — 19, 20 ⲧⲱⲗⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲙ: cf. 222, 26 n. — 28 ⲭⲉⲗⲱ: cf. (?) ⲭⲁⲩⲗⲉ, 2, 19 n; Keph. 63, 31.

Ⲙⲡⲱⲣ]ⲃⲱⲱⲧ ⲁⲥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲧⲁⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣ⲉ̣[. . . . . .
ⲥ̣ⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲓⲟⲩ ⲁⲡ̣[ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲱⲏ
ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ • ⲟⲩⲉⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲛⲁⲥⲣ[ⲛ
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲛⲓⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲓⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲩ
ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲙⲉⲗⲏ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡ ⲥⲓⲥⲉ

Ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛⲕ̄ ⲥⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲣⲏ ⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲉ . . ⲥ̣ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲥⲱⲱ̣
ⲕ [ⲉ]ⲱⲭⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲭⲓ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ̀ • ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲥⲛ̣[ⲕⲉ
ⲕⲁⲩ]ⲉ̣ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲕⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ
Ⲥ[ⲁⲙⲁⲓ ⲡⲱⲛ] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ • ⲟⲩ
ⲭⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ̣ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲛⲱⲁⲥⲃⲏⲣ ⲥⲓⲱⲱⲩ • ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁ[ⲙ
ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲓ̈ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ
ⲡ̣ⲱⲁ̣ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲕ̄ⲗⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲩⲛⲁⲥ ⲟⲩⲣⲧ̄ ⲁⲥ̣[.
. . ⲥⲛ̄ . . . . . .
Ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲣ̣ⲧ̣ ⲥ̣ⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲭ ⲉⲩⲧⲥⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲕⲃⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄
ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ • ⲉⲕⲱⲱⲗⲙ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄
ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲭ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ
. .]ⲕⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ̣ⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲩⲁⲱⲓⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ
Ⲟ]ⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ̅ⲕⲗ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲛ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̄
ⲡⲛ̄ⲣⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲧ
ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲧⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

N̄tk̄ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲓ̈ • ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈
Ⲧⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ
Ⲧⲧⲥⲏⲃⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲡⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ̄
Ⲧⲥⲣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲏ
Ⲧⲃⲁⲣⲃⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲃⲉⲣⲏⲃ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛ[ⲉ
Ⲧⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲡⲥⲡⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
Ⲧⲧⲧⲱⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉⲕⲱⲧ ⲧⲉⲡⲱⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲡⲉⲧⲛ̣[
Ⲧⲧⲭⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲗⲉⲙⲏⲥⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩⲥ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ
Ⲧⲟ̣ⲁ̣[ⲙ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ

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2 ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ coniicio, cf. 164, 27. — 18 init. fort. ⲉⲓ]ⲕⲏ. an ⲉⲣⲁⲱⲓⲃⲉ? — 38 leg. ⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥ?

Do not seek to please men and lose . . . . . .
hidden things of shame, — bring them to the [Light, o
son (?) of God. For (γάρ) what is anything at all in the sight of
God save the holy? The holy also, if
they slack (ἀμελεῖν), shall suffer.
Be thou like the sun, o faithful (πιστός) man, for he does not
[say]: 'Fair am I', though the Lights are a thing of beauty. But thou,
if thou wouldest be like thy Father, — fair are [others]
glorying in thee and thou holding thy peace.
Oh that (?) the Saviour (σωτήρ) were [ours]: oh that we were worthy of him.
Jesus is a ship: blessed are we if we sail upon it. The Church
is a garland for which they gather in every corner:
the garland-weaver (?) who weaves it casts roses
. . . . . .
But there are false roses that are esteemed: when thou regardest
them they are fair, when thou smellest them there is no smell at all.
Woe to thee, o false rose, for thou hast lost the garland
. . . . . change in time.
Glory and victory to the Paraclete, our joyous Luminary (φωστήρ),
our sun that has risen for us, the Saviour (σωτήρ) of spirits, the
Helper of souls, and his holy Elect. Victory
to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Apa Panai, Theona.

Thou art a mighty Light: Jesus, enlighten me.

First-born of the Father.	Beauty of the fair one.
Lamp of all the Aeons.	Twin of the Perfect one.
Flower of the Mother of the Lights.	Familiar of the Wise one.
Snare of the Snarer.	Father of the Mind (νοῦς) of Light.
Light of the Beloved one.	Security (?) of the Church.
Ordinance of the Builder.	Merchandise of the . . . .
Strength of the Leader.	Collected Intelligence (νοῦς).
Power of the five Sons.	Our enlightening Reason.
	Our perfect Thought.

15 ⲉⲩⲧϩⲟ: cf. 107, 17. — 26 vid. 1, 22 ff. — 27 vid. 1, 25 ff.; 10, 1 ff. — 28 vid. 1, 28 ff. — 29 vid. 1, 32 ff. — 30 f. i. e. the Living Spirit and his Sons, vid. 2, 3 ff. With the form ⲗⲉⲙⲏⲥⲉ for the regular ⲗⲉⲙⲏⲱⲉ cf. ⲥⲃⲏⲣ for ⲱⲃⲏⲣ. — 32 ⲍⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ: vid. 146, 46 n. — 36 ⲍⲡⲁⲛ: vid. 214, 19 n. — 38 ff. vid. 23, 14—18 n.

ⲡⲛⲥⲁ]ϫⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ[ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲫ]
ⲡⲙⲙ[ⲁⲕⲙⲉ]ⲕ̣ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ
ⲡ̣ⲣⲁ . [. .] . . . . [. . .]
ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲓⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ
5 ⲡ[ⲛⲁ]ⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲓⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ
ⲡϫⲱⲕ̣ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲓⲡⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ̣
ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲫ̣ⲁⲣⲱⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲓⲥⲁⲣⲱⲥⲉ̣ⲧⲉ̣
ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲓⲥⲁⲃⲉⲩⲉ
ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
10 ⲡⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲧ̄ ⲉⲧⲛⲁ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲟⲟⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲕ̣ ⲁⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ
ⲧ]ϫⲁⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ
ⲧⲕ̣ⲓⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲉ
ⲡⲥⲁⲗⲥⲗ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲓⲙⲉ
15 ⲡ̣ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲍⲏⲃⲉ
ⲡ]ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀
ⲧ]ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲗ̀ⲃⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲍⲗ̀ⲃⲁ̣ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲱⲕ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲡ̄
ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ
20 ⲡⲉ̣[ⲁⲩ ⲉⲧ]ⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ̣
ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ
ⲡ̣ⲃⲣ̣ⲟ̣ [ⲛⲧ]ⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

ⲁ̀ⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ
ⲉⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲍⲓⲓⲃ
25 ⲍⲓⲱⲱⲧ
ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲁⲙⲏⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ
ⲯⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁ̣ⲣⲫⲉⲛⲓⲁ
28 mutilum
ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲍ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ
30 ⲟ]ⲩ[ⲙⲉ]ⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲁⲓⲛⲉ]
[ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ̣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ]

ⲟⲩⲥ̣ⲁ̣ϫⲛⲉ ⲉⲩ . . [. . .
ⲟⲩⲙ̣ⲁ̣[ⲕⲙⲉ]ⲕ̣ ⲉⲩ . . . [. .
ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟ̣ⲗⲏ 35
ⲟⲩϫⲱⲕ̣ ⲁϫⲱⲕ̣ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲁⲣⲱⲍⲏⲧ̣ ⲁ̣ⲃⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈
ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁ̄ⲙⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
ⲟ[ⲩ]ⲍⲏⲧ̣ . . . [. . . . 40
ⲟⲩⲱⲗ[ⲏⲗ . . . . . .
. . . . ⲉⲥ̣[. . . . .]ⲱⲉ
ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧ . . . . . ⲉ̣ⲱⲧⲉⲉⲥ
ⲛⲁⲉ ⲡⲉ̣ . . ⲱ . . ⲉ
[ⲯ]ⲥⲟ ⲡⲉ . [. . . .]ⲉ̣ . . 45
ϫ̣ⲓⲍⲟⲩⲧ̣[. . . . . .
ⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲡⲕ̀ⲥⲧⲁⲩ[ⲣ]ⲟⲥ ⲁϫⲱⲕ̣
ⲕ̣ⲁ̣ ⲧⲉⲕⲁ̣ⲓ . . . . . ⲉ
ⲕⲁⲕ̣ⲕ ⲁⲍⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡ[. 50
. ⲱⲕⲁⲍⲏⲧ . . . [. . . .
ⲕⲁ ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲍⲓⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ̣
ⲕⲁ ⲥⲁⲛ ⲍⲓⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ̣
ⲑⲃ̄ⲓⲟ ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲉⲥ
ⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ 55
ϫⲱⲕ̣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ
ⲧ ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲣⲁⲙⲡⲍⲉⲧ
ⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧⲛⲍ̀ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲱ̄
ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁ ϫⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁ[ⲥ
ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ̄ ⲁⲣⲱⲧ̣[ⲛ 60
ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̀ⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ̣
62 mutilum
ⲡⲍⲓⲓⲃ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲍⲓⲓⲃ ⲛ̣ⲉ̀ⲁⲩ
ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ̣ [ⲛ]ⲧⲱⲧⲉ
ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲓⲟ̣ⲛ̣[. 65

1 cf. 170, 11. — 17 ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲍⲗ̀ⲃⲁⲧⲉ: sic vid. — 24 ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲍⲓⲓⲃ sic. — 31 cf. 166, 40. — 59 ϫⲉⲩⲧⲉ sic.

Our] good Counsel.
Our blessed Intention.
. . . . . .
Love (ἀγάπη) of the Beloved.
Faith of the Faithful.
Perfection of the Perfect.
Endurance of the Enduring.
Wisdom (σοφία) of the Wise.
Knowledge of the Enlighteners.
Our Stair that goes to the Light.
Our Ladder that leads to the height.
Chest of Goodness (ἀγαθόν).
Ark (κιβωτός) of Salvation.
Comfort of them that weep.
Joy of them that grieve.
Gladness of the glad.
Compassion of the compassionate.
Thine is all the glory,
o First-born of the Father.
Glory due to thee,
o First-born of the Father.
Victory to the soul of Mary.

Open to me the Aeons:
lo, the signs of the lamb
are upon me.
Lo, my Truth is in my hand,
I am clothed in virginity (παρθενία).
l. 28 *destroyed*
A collected Intelligence (νοῦς).
An enlightening Thought.
[A perfect Reason].

A . . . . Counsel.
A . . . . Intention.
Love (ἀγάπη) unto God.
Faith in the Commandment (ἐντολή).
Perfection to make perfect.
Endurance to endure.
Holy Wisdom (σοφία).
Knowledge to understand.
A heart (?) . . . . .
A prayer . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Pity . . . . .
Spare . . . . . .
. . . . . .
Take up thy cross (σταυρός) upon thee.
. . . . . .
Strip thyself of the world (κόσμος).
Despise (καταφρονεῖν) the . . .
. . . . . .
Leave father and mother.
Leave brother and sister.
Subdue the Old Man.
Build the New Man.
Fulfil thy commandments (ἐντολή).
Give place to the dove,
her of the white wings.
Set no snake to her,
lest she be scared of you.
Rejoice, my Beloved (?).
l. 62 *destroyed*
The lamb is the glorious (?) lamb.
The Youth, the son of the dew.
I sought, I found (?) . . .

12 ⲥⲁⲛⲉ: 'arca', vid. Peyron Lexicon p. 389 a; Spiegelberg op. cit. p. 271. — 29 ff. vid. 23, 14—18 n. — 47 cf. Mt. 16, 24 etc. — 54, 55 vid. 3, 31 n. — 57—60 cf. 158, 8 ff.; 182, 29 ff. — 64 vid. 104, 10 n.

ⲁⲓⲟ[ⲓⲛ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲱ
ⲧⲙⲣ]ⲱ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲛ[ⲧⲟⲗ]ⲏ
ⲁ[ⲓϯ]ⲣⲉⲧ̀ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ[ⲓ]ⲧ
ⲧⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̀ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ
ⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ
ⲁⲩϫⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲁⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲩ
ⲉⲙⲛ̣ ⲁ̣ⲥ̣ⲉ̣ [ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲩ]
periit
ⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩ]ⲙ[ⲧ]ⲁ̣[ⲛ]
ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲥⲓⲥ[ⲉ ⲛⲥⲏ]ⲧ̣[ⲩ]
ⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲓⲛⲉ [ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ
ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲗⲩ[ⲡⲏ ⲛ]ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄
ϯⲣⲉⲱⲉ ϯⲣⲉⲱⲉ
ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ
ⲗⲁ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ
ⲁ̣[ⲛⲁ]ⲕ ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲩⲙⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲛⲟⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ
ⲉⲣⲉⲣ̄ⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ
ⲱ]ⲁⲣⲉⲟⲛ̄ⲟⲛ̄ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲏⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣ̄ⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ ⲁⲡⲱⲣⲙⲉ
ⲣⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ
ⲱ]ⲁⲣⲉⲟⲛ̄ⲟⲛ̄ ⲁⲧⲁⲙⲃⲣⲟⲥⲓⲁ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣ̄ⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ ⲁⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ
ⲱ]ⲁⲣⲉⲟⲛ̄ⲟⲛ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣ̄ⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ ⲁⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉ
ⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ
ⲱ]ⲁⲣⲉⲟⲛ̄ⲟⲛ̄ ⲁⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣ̄ⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ ⲁⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ
. . . . ⲉ̣ . ⲉⲟⲛ̄ⲟⲛ̄ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ̣ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ . . ⲁ̣ⲩ̣ . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓ[ⲧ
ⲱⲁⲣⲉⲟⲛ̄ⲟⲛ̄ ⲁⲛⲑⲉⲱⲣⲓⲁ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣ̄ⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ ⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲗⲏϯⲓⲥ
ⲱⲁⲣⲉ[ⲟⲛ]ⲟⲛ̄ ⲁⲡⲑⲏⲥⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ
ⲱⲁⲣⲉⲟ̣ⲛ̣ⲟⲛ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟ̣ . . ⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲩ̄
. . .] ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ϫⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ

31 ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ sic.

I found the harbour.
The] harbour is the Commandment (ἐντολή).
I [set] my foot on the path.
The path is the knowledge of God.
I found the ships.
The ships are the sun and moon.
They ferried me
forth to my city (πόλις).
I found a gain (?)
[wherein] there is no loss.
l. 11 *destroyed*
I found a rest
wherein there is no toil.
I found a joy
wherein there is no grief (λύπη).
I rejoice, I rejoice,
for ever and ever.
Give me also the victory,
me (?), the soul of Mary.

Thou art a lover of hymns (ὕμνος), thou art a lover of music, thou art beloved,
playing the lute. Thou.
Thou makest music unto the Father and playest the lute to the
beloved Son. Thou.
Thou makest music to the ambrosia (ἀμβροσία) and playest the lute to the King of Life.
Thou makest music to the Land of Light and playest the lute to the
Living Air (ἀήρ). Thou.
Thou makest music to the Aeons and playest the lute to the Aeons of the Aeons.
. . . . makest (?) music to the Tree of . . . . ; thou art beloved.
Thou makest music to the Pageants (θεωρία) and playest thy lute to the Ascension (ἀνάληψις).
Thou makest music unto the Thesaurus, thou proclaimest the Covenant (διαθήκη).
Thou makest music unto them, the Aeons of the . . . that are in the silence
. . . the Spirit passes them.

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19 cf. 85,21; 98,32. — 21 etc. ϸkIϴαρα: the Greek was presumably κιθαρίζειν. — 30 or 'readest the Covenant'.

1 et 2 mutila

. . . . apnoh mn̄ϯwte n̤ . . . [. .]pe̤ n̄mac . . . . . .
Mnla[r]e ney apo tmeey n̄ . [. . . . . .]
5 Tr]lh nim ceoyhn oybe tcm[h . . . . .]e n̄tekl⸗ara n̄
Trlh nim ceoyhn · Ae|pnon n̤[.] . erna apwa|e n̄
N̄to oymaiϣ̈mnoc n̄to oy[. . . .] . . k̤l⸗a̤ra̤ [ereb̄n
b̄n aray nto
N̄to oymaiϣ̈mnoc n̄to oymaïb̄nb̄n [. . . . . .
10 ceb̄nb̄n aϣhte n̄to
Txwk aBal pe pei n̄pϯa̤[lmoc .] . . . [. .]a̤mh n̄
Txwk etmhϣ kalwc pe pϯalmoc n̄tag[apn] n̄p|wt
Oy]eay mn̄oytaïo n̄|hc p̄ro n̄netoyaB[e] n̤t
mnneqcwtp̄ etoyaBe mn̄tϯrxh ntmakar̤[ia m]maria

15 Nece pekoyaïne pan̄nā ϯoywω cwtme a̤tekla
l̤[ia] p̤amaïnoyte
nekentolaye pan̄nā ayr̄oyaïne arai ϩiBal p[a
maïnoyte
tekcofia papn̄ acr̄oyaïne arai ϩioyn · pamaï[n̄
20 te]kagapn papn̄ · acr̄wnϩ n̄ta⸗rxh pamaïn̄
X]n̄taïcn̄oywnk papn̄ aïmeritk aïoyaϩt n̄cwk · pan̄
Aïρωxϩ ϩwB nim papn̄ · aïmeritk n̄tak oyaetk · pn̄
Aïka ïwt ϩimeey · papn̄ · aïka can ϩicwne etBhtk · pn̄
A]ϩrai mn̄noyB aϩrai mn̄ϩet · papn̄ · aϩrai mn̄bωm
25 aϩrai mnïωϩe pamaïn̄
Aϩrai mn̄cime aϩrai mn̄ωhpe pan̄nā · atekagapn
. . toy thpoy pamaïnoyte
A]ϩrai mn̄oyωm aϩrai mn̄cω pan̄nā · pney eïchy
. n̤t ϙyϩenoyqe pamaïnoyte
30 E]yto ϩko eyto eiBe · papn̄ · pney etï̈ameey aB̤[. . . .

5 fin. etc. n̄ sc. n̄to, cf. 168, 21 etc. — 30 etï̈ameey sic.

ll. 1 *and* 2 *destroyed*

. . . . wind (πνοή) and dew . . . . . her.
There is none that sees thee, o Mother . . . . .
Every gate (πύλη) is open unto the voice . . . . . of thy lute (κιθάρα).
Every gate (πύλη) is open; supper (δεῖπνον) . . . . the festival.
Thou art a lover of hymns (ὕμνος), thou art a . . . lute (?), [as thou makest (?) music unto them.
Thou art a lover of hymns (ὕμνος), thou art a lover of music . . . . .
they make music before (?) thee.
This is the end of the Psalm (ψαλμός) . . . . . .
The Psalm (ψαλμός) of the Love (ἀγάπη) of the Father is the end which is filled well (καλῶς).
Glory and honour to Jesus, the King of the Holy ones; Thou.
and his holy Elect, and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

Fair is thy Light, my Spirit: I would hear thy
speech (? λαλιά), my pious one.
Fair are] thy Commandments (ἐντολή), my Spirit; they have enlightened me without, my pious one.
Fair is] thy Wisdom (σοφία), my Spirit; it has enlightened me within, my pious one.
Fair is] thy Love (ἀγάπη), my Spirit; it has been life unto my soul, my pious one.
Since I knew thee, my Spirit, I have loved thee and followed thee, my pious one.
I burnt everything, my Spirit; I loved thee alone, my pious one.
I left father and mother, my Spirit; I left brother and sister for thy sake, my pious one.
What is gold to me? what is silver to me, my Spirit? What is orchard to me?
what is field to me, my pious one?
What is wife to me? what is son to me, my Spirit? Thy love (ἀγάπη) has
. . . . them all, my pious one.
What is eating to me? what is drinking to me, my Spirit? The hour I am sated
. . . . plenty, my pious one.
Where is hunger? where is thirst, my Spirit? The hour that I shall think . . .

1 mutilum

. . . . . .] . . . ⲣⲧⲉⲡⲥⲏⲧ ⲡ
Ⲉⲩⲧⲟ [. . . .] ⲡⲁⲡ . . . [ⲛ]ⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲁⲥⲏⲧ ⲡⲁⲙⲁ
Ⲉⲩⲧⲟ ⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉⲥ ⲡⲁⲡ [. .] . . ⲱ . ⲙⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲭⲱⲕ ⲡ[
. . . .] . . ⲕⲉ ⲡⲁⲡ[. . . . .] . ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲱⲥⲏⲧ ⲡ
Ⲉⲩⲧⲟ ⲃⲱⲭⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡ
. . . . . .]ⲙⲁⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡ
. . . . . .] ⲡⲁⲡ ⲧⲉⲕⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲧ[ⲉⲟ]ⲩⲁⲥ ⲧⲉ ⲡ
Ⲉⲩ[ⲧⲟ] ⲕⲁⲣ[ⲁ]ⲓⲧⲏ ⲡⲁⲡ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲥ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲡ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲙ[ⲉⲩⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲁ]ⲛⲉ ⲡⲁⲡ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲥⲭⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲥ[ⲁ]ⲭⲛⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲛ[ⲟ]ⲩⲩ ⲡⲁⲡ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁ[ⲁⲧ
ⲦⲦⲱ]ⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡ[ⲉⲁ]ⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲡⲁⲡ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ|ⲁⲛⲏⲥ[ⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁ|ⲟ ⲡⲁⲡ • ⲛ̄|ⲏⲥ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡ
Ⲟⲩⲃⲣ[ⲟ] ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲡⲁⲡ • ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲡⲁⲙⲁ|ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

ⲁ̣ⲛⲁⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲥ ⲥ[ⲓ
ⲥ̣ⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ
|ⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛⲭ| ⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧⲉ ⲗ
Ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲏⲣ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄☩ⲡⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲟ|ⲭ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ[ⲧ
ⲁ̣ⲛⲧⲱⲥⲙ̄ ⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡ
ⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧ
ⲁ̣ⲛⲱⲡ ⲁⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲏⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧ
ⲁ̣ⲛⲱⲡ ⲁⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲁⲛⲗⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧ
ⲟⲃⲟⲩⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧ
ⲁ̣ⲛⲱⲡ ⲁⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲁ̣ⲛⲗⲟ ⲥ̣ⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲃⲁⲙⲡⲉ
ⲁ̣ⲛⲗⲟ [ⲥ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲥ|ⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲱⲥ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁ̣ⲛ[ⲟⲛ ⲧ]ⲥ̣|ⲏ ⲉⲧⲟ[ⲏⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧ

l. 1 *destroyed*

. . . . . .

Where is . . . ., my Spirit? . . . faith (?) come to my heart, my pious one.
Where is peace, my Spirit? . . . . . in thy perfection, my pious one.
. . . . . ., my Spirit; . . . . . in thy endurance, my pious one.
Where is diminution, my Spirit, in thy glorious Wisdom (σοφία), my pious one?
. . . . . marvel to speak of thee, my pious one.
. . . . . ., my Spirit, thy Love (ἀγάπη) is ineffable, my pious one.
Where is silence (?), [my Spirit]? Thou art collected Intelligence (νοῦς), my pious one.
Thou art Reason of Light, my Spirit; thou art perfect Thought, my pious one.
Thou art good Counsel, my Spirit; thou art blessed Intention, [my pious one.
Thine is all the glory, my Spirit; for ever and ever, [my pious one.
Glory and honour, my Spirit, to Jesus, the King of the holy ones, my pious one.
Victory and a garland, my Spirit, be there to the soul of
Mary, my pious one.

We are men of rest: let no man add toil to us.
It is Jesus that we seek, on whom we have modelled ourselves. Let no man.
Our loins are girded, our witness (μαρτυρία) is in our hand. Let no man.
We knocked at the door, the door was opened to us, we went in with the Bridegroom. Let no man.
We were numbered in the number of the virgins in whose lamps (λαμπάς) oil was found. Let no man.
We were numbered in the number of the Right, we passed from the number of the Left. Let no man.
We were numbered in the number of the sheep, we passed from the number of the goats.
We passed from the broad way, we [found the] narrow way. Let no man.

18 lit. 'from whom we have taken type (τύπος)'. — 20 ff. cf. Mt. 25, 1 ff.; Mt. 7, 13.

. . . . . .]ⲙⲁⲒⲧ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ[ⲧ]ⲩ . . ⲁⲛⲟⲛ̄ ⲡ . . . . [. . . .
ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲙ̄[ⲡⲱⲣ]ⲧ
ⲁⲛⲟⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲟ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲗ̣[. . . . . .
ⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧ
ⲁⲛⲟⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ [ⲉⲧ]ⲉ ⲙⲛ̄
ⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧ
ⲁⲛⲟⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲙⲁⲩⲃⲓⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̣[ⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧ
ⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲁⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧ
Ⲉⲓ]ⲥ ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉ . [. . . . . ⲙ
ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧ
Ⲛⲁ]ⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁ[ⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲕⲁ]ⲓⲧⲡⲉ
ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲗⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧ
Ⲟⲩⲉ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲱⲁⲙⲧ̀ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲉ ⲧ[ⲉⲕⲕ]ⲗ[ⲏ]ⲥⲓⲁ [ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲙⲁⲣ
ⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ ⲥ̣[ⲛⲡⲕ]ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲭⲉ̣ ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏ
ⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧ
Ⲗ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲙⲡ[ⲟⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧ
Ⲧⲧⲕⲁⲧⲁⲕⲗⲩⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲃⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲧⲃⲁⲛⲓ̈ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧ
Ⲧ]ⲕⲓⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ • ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ
Ⲗⲁⲣⲛ̄]ⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲓ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲃ]ⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲉⲥⲟ ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲗⲁ]ⲣⲉⲥⲓⲥ[ⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ
Ⲗⲗ]ⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ
ⲡⲉ] ⲡⲛ[ⲟⲩⲧⲉ] ⲡⲉⲧⲥ[ⲏ]ⲡ̀ ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲁⲣ[ⲁ
ⲒⲦ ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲛ] ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲥⲓ
. . . . . .] ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ[. . . . . .
. . . . . .] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ[ⲧⲉ . . . . .

3, 4 ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲗ[ⲏⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲥⲁ]ⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ coniicio, cf. 66, 31. — 20 leg. ⟨ⲧⲉ⟩ ⲧⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⟨ⲧⲉ⟩.

. . . . . path we have found . . . we have found the . . . .
to the height. Let no man.
We have found the treasure which is in the skies, wherein there
is no . . . . . Let no man.
We have found a rest which has no toil, a joy wherein
there is no grief (λύπη). Let no man.
We have found a treasure (χρῆμα) which is not taken from [us, a gain] wherein
there is no loss. Let no man.
Lo, the commandment (ἐντολή), lo, knowledge too . . . . . .
them. Let no man.
Good the tree, good the fruit (καρπός), good [the] sweet taste
also. Let no man.
One, two, three, — this is the [perfect] Church; [let
us (?) go in to the Church whose name is in the whole
world (κόσμος). Let no man.
This whole world (κόσμος) has gone astray because of this name,
'Church'. Let no man.
They knew not the Church, they fell into the fire, they did not
understand. Let no man.
The desire (ἐπιθυμία) [is] the Flood (κατακλυσμός); the eye of malice
is] the fire.
The commandment (ἐντολή) is the Ark (κιβωτός), the Love (ἀγάπη) is the Church.
Let us] abide in these things for ever and ever.
May victory and rest overtake the soul of Mary.

Thou dost not weary, o Wisdom (σοφία): thou dost not give in, o Love (ἀγάπη).
Let us gather together, my brethren, and understand who
God is, he that is hidden, that is revealed, he that is silent,
that speaks also]. Thou dost not.
. . . . . who is this that . . . . . .
. . . . . is this that eats, the God (?) . . . .

3 f. vid. 52, 31 n. — 13 cf. 162, 9.

Τ. . . .]ν ϛ̣ντε ετασωωπε χ̄ν̄̄ντϩογ̈ϊ[τε . . . .
. . . . . .]ν̣ογν μ̄ν̣̄πε̣ϯ̣αμπρ̄ϊε αβαλ ϩ̄πχ|ce
. . . . . ϩ]̄ννογν πε π . . β̣ο ετογωμ̣ ν̄ϩητν
. . . . . .] αβαλ ϩ̄πχ|ce πε ϯδαμ ετν̄̄ογωμ μ
μαc μαρ
Ἀπκ̣ε[κε ει α]ϩ̣ρηϊ̈ απογαϊ̈νε ϩωωϥ ει απ|τν̄ • απ
ϩηκ[ε ρ̄ρ̄μμα]ο απρ̄μμαο ϩωωϥ ρ̄ϩηκε μαρ
Ἀπμογ χι ϯπε] ϩ̄πωνϩ̀ • απωνϩ̀ ϩωϥ χι ϯπε ϩ̄π
μογ . . [. . . . .]ε ϣωπε π̄ϩλαϩ ν̄θ̄ρ̄τε αϥcωρ
αβαλ μαρ
. . . . . .]caϯ . μογ • ανα|ων ϩ̄πογαϊ̈νε ϩραϫ
ταϩαπ[η α]ϩ̣ϩηβε • ανα̣πκεκε ϩωϥ ρ̄ϣαϊ̈ε
Τ]ανατ[κη α]ckωτε [α]ϯ̣αϩαπη ετασμογ • π|ecay
ετμη̣[ρ απ]ϣην πετε πεϥϣωc ϯογαϊ̈ ετβητ̄ϥ
Ἀ]νan [ϩωω]ν̣ νaμερετε μαρ̄ν̄πωρϫ αβαλ ϩ̄π
cexε xε n|μ πε πεϊ̈ ετογωμ • n|μ πε πεϊ̈ ετογ
ογ]ωμ μ[μ]αϥ μαρ
Nι]μ πε πεϊ̈ ετkωτε • n|μ πε πεϊ̈ ετογkωτε ν̄cωϥ
πecay ετμηρ απϣην πετε πεϥϣωc ϯογαϊ̈ ε
τβητ̄ϥ μαρ
Ογν̄ ογecay eqμηρ απϣην ογν̄ kaιογε aqογωμ̣
πecay • ογν̄ ογϣωc ν̄βαλ eqμaνε • aqει eqkωϯ̣ε
caπ̄ϥecay μαρ
Ταϩαπη ετασμογ πε π|ecay ετμηρ απϣην π̣
ϣωc ετkωτε ν̄cωϥ • πε ϯ[co]φια ετδωλπ̄ [aβ]αλ
Τ]ετaqογωμ πecay πε ϯcετε ν̄ρεqογωμ πνογ[τε
ϩ̄πι̣αιων πετaqcωρμε ϩ̄πκοσμος τηρ̄ϥ
Ἀγ]ϯϩ̣ε τηρογ τηρογ ϩν̄ϯcετε ν̄ρεqογωμ eqτο π̣
ει]βε ϩ̄πceχε ν̄qει ν̄qcω̣[. . . . . .]ε̣
Εqτο βελ ἀϊ̈ω]ρϩ̀ eqτο μεω[τε acωτμε . . . . .
. . . . . ε]qτο νογc ἀρ̄νοϊ̈ε [a]νεϊ [
. . . . . .] aqει ε|c τπ̣[.] . . η ϩ̄π[. . . . . .

21 leg. ⟨ε⟩aqογωμ? — 28 τηρογ bis sic.

The] two (?) . . . . that were from the beginning . . . .
. . . . . abyss and him that shone forth from the height.
. . . . . from (?) the abyss is the . . . . that eats of us:
. . . . . from the height is this power which we
eat. Thou dost not.
The Darkness [went] up, but the Light went down. The
poor man [became rich], but the rich man became poor. Thou dost not.
Death tasted] life, but life tasted
death; . . . . came about, the battle-line of fear was spread
out. Thou dost not.
. . . . . death (?); the Aeons of Light were still,
Love (ἀγάπη) grieved, but they of the Darkness made festival.
Need (ἀνάγκη) encompassed the Love (ἀγάπη) that died, — the sheep
that is bound to the tree for which its shepherd searches.
We also, my beloved, — let us separate the
word 'Who is this that eats?' [and] 'Who is this
that is eaten?' Thou dost not.
Who is this that seeks? Who is this that is sought?
The sheep that is bound to the tree for which its shepherd
searches. Thou dost not.
There is a sheep bound to the tree: there is another [that] ate
the sheep. There is a shepherd giving pasture: he came seeking
his sheep. Thou dost not.
The sheep bound to the tree is the Love (ἀγάπη) that died: the
Wisdom (σοφία) that reveals is the shepherd that seeks after it.
He that ate the sheep is the devouring fire, the God
of this Aeon that led the whole world (κόσμος) astray.
They were drunk, all of them, in the devouring fire: where is the
thirst (?) for the Word, that it may come and . . . . . ?
Where is there an eye to] see, where is there an ear [to hear . . .
. . . . . where is there a Mind (νοῦς) to understand (νοεῖν) these things?
. . . . . he came, lo, the . . . . .

26, 27 cf. 2 Cor. 4, 4.

. . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡ . [.] . . [. .] . ⲛⲍ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧ . . . . . ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩⲣⲉ̣
. . . . . .]ⲁ̣ⲣⲛ̄[. . . . . .]ⲟⲩ . . . ⲉ ⲛ . . . ⲍⲛ̄ⲑⲥ . .
.] . . . [. . . .]ⲡ̣ⲯ[. . . . . .] . ⲉⲛⲁ . [. .] . . ⲯⲱⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲦⲦⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲣ̄ⲯ[ⲁⲓⲉ] ⲉⲩⲁⲣ̄ⲍⲏⲃⲉ ⲡ̣ⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲍⲏⲃⲉ̣ [ⲉⲩ]ⲁⲣ̄ⲯⲁⲓ̈ⲉ̣ ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉ[ⲩⲁ]ⲣ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ • ⲛⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲙ
Ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲉⲯⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲗⲩⲡⲏ • ⲛⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲯⲁⲓ̈ⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣⲉⲯⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲯⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲯⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
Ⲁⲛ]ⲁⲛ ⲍⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉⲯⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲯⲉ
ⲧ]ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲯⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲯⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲯⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
Ⲟⲩ]ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫ[ⲓⲁ] ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲥ
ⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲩ
ⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲉ

ⲦⲦ]ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ [. . . . . .]ⲁ̣ⲡⲟⲩⲁ
ⲓ]ⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲧⲩⲭⲏ
Ⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲁ̣ⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲁⲗ[ⲥⲗ ⲙ]ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲁⲗ • ⲡⲛⲟ
Ⲙ]ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲣⲉⲯⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ • ⲡⲛ
ⲦⲦ]ⲍⲏⲃⲥ̀ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲭⲉⲣⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲁⲕ ⲁⲱⲯⲙⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲏ[ⲍ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ
ⲦⲦⲁⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲛⲍⲟⲩⲛ • ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ
ⲍⲓ]ⲕⲱⲛ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ
ⲦⲦ]ⲁⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲭⲓ ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲉⲭⲉ
ⲦⲦ]ⲕⲙⲁⲛⲑ[ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲗⲉ̣ [ⲡⲉ] ⲡⲁⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ • ⲡⲕⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ
. .]ⲕ[. . . . .] . [. . . .]ⲕ . . ⲕⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲕ̈ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃ
ⲛ̄ⲕ[ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ] ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ
Ⲟ]ⲩⲉ[. .] ⲡⲉ ⲡ̣[. . . . .] . . ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲙⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲕ̈ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ̀ ⲧ̣ⲛ̄
. . . . . .]
. . . .] . . . [. . .] . . . ⲡⲍ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲡⲛ
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲣ]ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲉ̣ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉⲏⲛ [ⲣ]ⲁⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁϩ ⲡⲏ
Ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ]ⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲍⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ̣ ⲧⲉⲉⲕ ⲍⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϯⲛⲟⲩ . [. .]ⲉⲱⲙ[
ⲭⲉ] ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲕⲁⲍⲧⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲏⲓ̈ ⲕⲁ̣ⲓⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲉⲕⲃⲁⲗ

23 ⲛ̄ⲡⲕ̈ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ̀ sic, cf. 139, 48.

ll. 1—3 *fragmentary*

He that makes festival shall grieve, he that grieves shall make festival.
They that eat shall fast (νηστεύειν), they that fast (νηστεύειν) shall eat.
They that rejoice shall mourn (-λύπη), they that mourn (-λύπη) shall make festival
and rejoice in this joy from everlasting to everlasting.
We also, my beloved, — may we rejoice in this joy
and make festival in this festival from everlasting to everlasting.
Glory to this Love (ἀγάπη), honour to this Wisdom (σοφία): — the Love (ἀγάπη) that strayed and the Wisdom (σοφία) that seeks after it. Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona, Martyrs (μάρτυρε).

O Mind (νοῦς) of Light, sun of my heart . . . . . Light to my soul.
Thou art my witness, that I have no comfort save thee. O Mind.
I have not given in that my enemies might not deride me. O Mind.
The] lamp which thou didst kindle, — I have not allowed it to go out through the oil of faith. O Mind.
My] Man that is within me is like thee in his Image (εἰκών) O Mind.
My Man that is outside me receives grace (χάρις) through thy word.
My Spirit is thy lodging, my soul is thy place of rejoicing.
. . . . . thou art like thy Father who is in the Great World (κόσμος?) O Mind.
The] world (κόσμος) is a . . . . . ; thy Father has not
. . . . .
. . . . . thou art a king of my soul. O Mind.
I] guarded thee at the time (?): guard thou me now in the end (?). O Mind.
I] gave myself for thee, my God: give thyself for me now . . . .
for] thou art my trust, I have no other protection save [thee.

12 μάρτυρε: vid. 157, 13 n.

. . . . . .]ϫαϊc [. . . . . .

2—4 non legi possunt

. . . . . .]μπ̣μ̣ϩ̣ . . . kεϩε . . . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
. . . . . .]ǫ̣c • ϣⲁⲛϯⲙⲁϩk ⲛ̄ⲭⲃϊω ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲉk
. . . . . .] ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ
. . . . . .]ϩ̣ⲟⲩ . . . ⲭⲓⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲉk ⲁⲛⲉkⲁⲃⲱ[
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁϊⲟ] ⲛ̣|ⲏⲥ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ϯⲩ
ⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁkⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ]

Ⲛ[ⲉⲥⲉ . . . . . .]ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ϩⲩⲙⲛⲉⲩⲉ
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲁ]ⲩϩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲁ
ⲡⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ] ⲛⲉⲥⲉ
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲟⲩ[ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟ]ⲩⲁϊⲛⲉ ⲉⲁⲡⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲡⲱϩ ϣⲁⲣⲁϥ
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲟⲩ[ⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲥϫ]ⲏ̣k ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡ̣ϫⲱk . . . . . .
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲟⲩⲥ[ⲁ]ϫⲛⲉ k ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲉⲁϥ+ ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲁkⲙⲉk ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ̀ ⲉⲁϥϫⲱkⲣⲉ ϩ̄ⲛ̣ⲧ
ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲥⲉ
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲟⲩϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲁⲥⲭⲓ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲁ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ[ⲃⲉ
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲧ̣ϯⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲛ̄ ⲛⲏⲥ ϩⲛⲛ̣[ⲉⲩ
ⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲥⲉ
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲡϫⲁϊ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲧⲉⲗⲁϊⲧ ⲁ
ⲣⲁϥ ⲛⲉⲥⲉ
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲁϊⲗⲉ ⲉⲣ[. . . . . .
ϩ|ⲧⲟⲩⲉϩ [ⲛⲉⲥⲉ]
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩϩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩ[. .]ⲛ[. . . .]ⲟⲩⲁⲩ̣[
Ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲛ ϩⲱⲛⲉ ϩ|ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ ⲉ . . . ⲛ . [. . . . .]ⲉ̣[. . .
Ⲉⲛⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲥ̄ⲏ̄ⲣ̄ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̣ⲛⲉ̣ϥ . . . [. .
Ⲉⲩⲁⲙ[ⲟ]ⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲉ[ϥ
ϫⲛ[ⲁ]ⲛ̣ϩϩⲉ ϣⲁⲛ|ⲁⲛϩϩⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁ]ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁϊⲟ ⲛ̄|ⲏⲥ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ

6 ⲭⲃϊⲱ sic. — 16 k non intellego.

ll. 1—5 fragmentary and illegible

. . . . . until I fill thee with the recompense of thy
. . . . . O Mind.
. . . . . take me with thee to thy . . . .
Glory and honour] to Jesus, the King of the holy ones, and the
soul of the blessed Mary].

Fair . . . . . God, he singing hymns (ὑμνεύειν).
Fair is an Intelligence] collected if it has received the
love (ἀγάπη) of [God]. Fair.
Fair is a [Reason of] Light which Faith has reached.
Fair is a perfect [Thought] which Perfection . . .
Fair is a good Counsel that has given place to endurance (ὑπομονή).
Fair is a blessed Intention that has been flavoured with
Wisdom (σοφία). Fair.
Fair is a holy soul that has taken unto her the holy Spirit.
Fair are the five virgins in whose lamps (λαμπάς) oil was
found. Fair.
Fair is the ship laden with treasure (χρῆμα), the sailor being
aboard it. Fair.
Fair are the birds ascending . . . . . .
before them. [Fair.]
Fair are the sheep gathered, their . . . . . .
Fair are we also together . . . . . .
Though we see not the Saviour ($\overline{\text{σηρ}}$), let us worship his (?) . . . .
May he abide with us and we abide with him
from everlasting to everlasting.
Glory and honour to Jesus, the King of the holy ones. Victory

13—18 vid. 23, 14—18 n. — 28 cf. 21, 25.

ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁ]kⲁⲣ[ⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙ]ⲁⲣⲓⲁ [ⲑ]ⲉⲟⲛⲁ

	Cωτⲙ̄] ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ϯⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁk ⲡⲁcⲱⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡ[	
	ⲁⲛⲁk ⲧⲱ[ⲉ]ⲣ[ⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲁ[cⲱⲣ	
	ⲁⲓⲙ|ⲱⲉ ϩⲱⲱϯ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁ̣ⲫ[ⲗⲟⲛ	πα
5	ⲁⲛⲁk ⲟⲩⲉ ϩⲱⲱϯ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉkⲉ̣[cⲁⲩ	πα
	ⲦⲦⲁⲱⲱc ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲁⲩⲃ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ̣[ⲙⲁⲓ	πα
	ϯⲱ]ⲡ̀ ϩⲱⲱ[ⲧ ⲁ]ⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉkⲡ̣[	πα
	ⲁⲛⲁk ⲟⲩⲱⲏ[ⲛ ϩ]ⲛ̄ⲡ[ⲉk]ⲃⲱⲙ ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩ]ⲁ̣ⲓ[ⲛⲉ	πα
	ⲁⲓϯ kⲁⲣⲡⲟc ⲛ̄ⲛⲉkⲟⲩⲁⲓⲏ	πα
10	Tⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙ|ⲁ ⲁⲓⲟⲃⲓⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁc[	πα
	ⲁⲓϩⲱⲙ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ̣[ⲉⲑⲁⲩ	πα
	ⲁ̣]ⲛⲁk ⲟⲩⲉⲓkⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ	[πα
	ⲁ]ⲓⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲗⲉc	[π]ⲁ̣
	Nⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲓⲥⲙⲁ̣[ⲙⲉ ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲩ	ⲡⲁ̣
15	ⲁⲓϯ ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲙ [ⲙ]ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ	πα
	ⲗ̄ⲡ|ⲭⲡ̣[ⲟ ⲡ]ⲁ̣ⲭⲁ̣|ⲥ ϩⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲭ[ⲁϩⲙⲉ]	πα
	ⲁⲓⲃⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ	πα
	ⲗ̄ⲗ]ⲁ̣ϯ ⲛⲏ[ⲓ] ⲛⲉkⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ	πα
	ⲁ̣]|ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ	πα
20	ⲁ̣]ⲓⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲁⲓϩⲱⲥ ⲁⲓϯ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁ[ⲉ]	πα
	ⲁⲓⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉkⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ[ⲟ]ⲩ	πα
	ⲁⲓϯ ϩ|ⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉkⲟⲣⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ	πα
	ⲗ̄ⲡ[|ⲱⲧⲁ]ⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲟ ⲁϩⲣⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ	πα
	ⲁⲓϯⲙ̄ⲙ̣ⲟ ⲛⲉⲧϩkⲉⲉⲧ ⲁⲓⲧⲥⲟ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲃⲉ	πα
25	ⲁⲓⲕⲁ ⲓⲱⲧ ϩ|ⲙⲉⲩ ϩ|ⲥⲁⲛ ϩ|ⲥⲱⲛⲉ	πα
	ⲁⲓⲣ̄ⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲉⲧⲃ̣[ⲉ ⲡ]ⲉⲕⲣⲉⲛ	πα
	ⲁⲓⲃⲓ ⲡⲁⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲁϩⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ	πα
	ⲁⲓⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ	πα
	ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ	πα
30	Eⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲫⲟⲩ|ⲛⲉ	πα

5 cf. 93, 4. — 9 ⲟⲩⲁ|ⲏ: vid. Hom. Indicem s. v.

to the soul of the] blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

Hear] me, I implore thee, my . . . . Saviour (σωρ).
I am the daughter of the First Man. My [Saviour.
I also fought in the first fight (ἆθλον?). My.
I also am one of thy [sheep. My.
My true Shepherd has found [me]. My.
I] also am counted in the number of thy . . . . My.
I am a tree in thy orchard of Light (?). My.
I have given fruit (καρπός) to thy husbandmen. My.
I have subdued desire (ἐπιθυμία). My.
I have trodden upon the deceit (ἀπάτη) of the [evil one. My.
I am a holy Continent (ἐγκρατής) one. My.
I have purified my God by my tongue. My.
I have blessed his holy Lights. My.
I have given rest to the power of God. My.
I did not make my Lord be born in a womb defiled. My.
I scorned the treasures (χρῆμα) that perish. My.
Give me thy treasures (χρῆμα) that perish not. My.
I gathered in all my members (μέλος). My.
I prayed, I sang, I gave alms. My.
I served all thy holy ones. My.
I clothed thy orphans (ὀρφανός). My.
I closed not my door in the face of the holy. My.
I fed the hungry, I gave drink to the thirsty. My.
I left father and mother and brother and sister. My.
I became a stranger for thy name's sake. My.
I took up my cross (σταυρός), I followed thee. My.
I left the things of the body (σῶμα) for the things of the Spirit. My.
I despised (καταφρονεῖν) the glory of the world (κόσμος), My.
because of thy glory that passes not away. My.

3 i. e. the soul. — 12 vide 96, 2 n. — 13. 16 vide 52, 22—27; 120, 25; 121, 28 with notes. — 27 vide 167, 47 n.

. . . . . ⲥ]ⲓⲑⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛ . . . . . ⲱⲕ . [. . . . . .
. . . . ⲉⲧ]ⲭⲏⲕ
. . . . .] . ⲉⲭⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ[ⲭ]ⲓⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲙ[ⲁⲓ̈
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .] . . . ⲡⲁⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲧⲱⲃⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ
. . . . . .]
. . . . . .] . . ⲉⲱⲉ ⲧⲉⲭⲓ ⲧⲱⲃⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲙⲛ̄
]
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄]ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ[ⲓⲛⲉ] ⲡⲙⲛ̄ⲭⲥ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ [ⲁ]ⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲓ̈

. . . . . .] . ⲁⲓ̈ . . ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ̇ ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡ[ⲓ
ⲥ]ⲧⲓⲥ ⲁ . . . . . ⲁⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀
ⲁ]ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡ[ⲓⲥⲧ]ⲓⲥ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲥⲁⲛⲍⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲉⲍⲓⲏ ⲉ̣ⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲧⲉⲛ
ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲥⲱ[ⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈] ⲁⲧ[ⲉⲍⲓ]ⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲧ̣ⲱⲛ ⲁⲧⲉⲛ
. .] . ⁞ ⲙ̣ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩⲍ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁ]ⲩⲉⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩⲍ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲉ̣[ⲁⲩ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲉⲛ
ⲦⲦⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣[ⲙ]ⲁⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛⲧⲟ
ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲛ
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ[ⲛ̄]ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲙ̄[ⲙ]ⲁⲩ
Ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲱⲁ̣ⲡⲁⲣⲟ ⲉⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲍⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̇ ⲁⲛⲓⲙ ⲥⲁⲃⲗ̣ⲗ̣ⲁ̣ⲍ̣
ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲣ̄ⲱⲏⲛ • ⲁⲧⲁⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲍ ⲛⲉⲥ
Ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲕⲁⲣ[ⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁ
ⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲕⲁⲓⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲛ
ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲣ̄ⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲁⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲭ[ⲁⲓ̈
Ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲁⲛ[ⲟⲩ ⲡⲕⲁⲓ
ⲑⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲛ|ⲩⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲛ
ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲣ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲣ̄ⲕ|ⲃⲱ[ⲧⲟⲥ
ⲁ]ⲥⲣ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ . ⲁ . . . ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲕ[ⲓ]ⲃ[ⲱⲧⲟⲥ . . . . .

13 ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ sic. — 16 ⲱⲛⲏⲩ sic vid.: leg. ⲙⲉⲛⲏⲩ? — 30 fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ|ⲕⲏ.

. . . . . before the . . . . . .
. . . . perfect.
. . . . . ships of Light that they may ferry [me
. . . . . .
. . . . . my garland, give me the reward of my
. . . . . .
. . . . . and do thou receive the reward of thy
. . . . . .
Glory and honour to] our Lord, our Light, Mani,
and the soul of the] blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Apa Panai.

. . . . . to (?) my heart, the commandment and the faith
(πίστις) . . . . . to life.
The commandment and the faith (πίστις) have enlightened my inward parts.
The commandment has drawn me to the good way. The commandment.
The commandment has drawn (?) [me] to the straight way. The commandment.
. . . like a . . . . of the height, gathering in.
He (?) came like a shepherd, gathering unto him all his
sheep. The commandment.
Our good (ἀγαθός) shepherd who feeds us by his commandments.
The commandment.
Fair the commandment and the knowledge, love (ἀγάπη) being clothed in them.
The commandment . . . .: in whom do I trust save in it?
The commandment was a tree, my soul was soil for it.
Good the soil, good the tree, good the fruit (καρπός), good
the taste also. The commandment.
The commandment was a sailor, my soul was a ship.
Good the ship, good the sailor, good [also
the] wind that blows. The commandment.
The commandment was a tree, the commandment was an ark (? κιβωτός).
It was a tree on the day of . . . . it was an ark (? κιβωτός) . . . .

11 etc. 'Commandment', ἐντολή.

. . . . . .]μογωμ[. . . . . .] {ọnϩ̣ ανωϩε τ̣ạ}[
ⲁτεντο]λη ρ̄cαγνẹ̣ ạ̣[τ]εντολη {ρ̄ekk}[ληcια] ατε
ⲁc]ρ̄ενṭ[ολη ϩ]ⲛ̄ⲏⲏc [. . . . .]{ε ϩⲛ̄π}πkλ̣ọ̣ ατεν
ⲁc]ρ̄ekkληcια ⲙ̄π[ⲓ̈ωτ ac]ρ̄αγαπη ⲙ̄πμεριτ ατ
ⲁ]cρ̄αⲓ̈k ⲛ̄νεταγϩko acρ̄μαγ ⲛ̄νετ[αγ]ειβε ατ
ⲁc]ρ̄ανactacic ⲛ̄νετμαγτ̀ αγτ{ωⲛ} [αβα]λ̣ ⲙ̄πμογ αγ
ε]ι απωⲛϩ ατ
ⲁcρ̄τωρ̄τ̄ ⲛ̄νετⲛα απογα[ⲓ̈]{νε α}[cρ̄ⲟλοοⲃ]{ε ννετ}
cηk απxicε ατ
ⲁcρ̄ψηⲛ acρ̄xaⲓ̈ a[cρ̄ . . . . . .
ⲁc]ρ̄ψηⲛ ϩⲛ̄τερημια ạ̣c[ρ̄]k[ιβωτος ϩⲛπ]{kατα[kλγ]cμος}
ⲁ]cρ̄μaⲓ̈τ ⲛ̄νεταγcωρμ̣ ạ̣c̣ρ̣[. . . . . .
ⲁϩογⲛ ατ
ⲁc]ρ̄ψηⲛ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲛογτε ⲛ̄τμηε acρ̄xaι ϩ̣[ⲛ]ⲛεxηγ
ⲙ̄πογaⲓ̈ⲛε ατ
ⲁcρ̄]μạ̣ⲓ̈τ ϩⲛ̄ππρωμε ετxηk acρ̄ρ̣ρ̣ọ̣ [ϩⲛ̄]ṭεkkληcia
N]acnhγ μαρⲛ̄ρ̄ψaⲓ̈ xε ammane ϩωⲛε a†εντολη
ⲙ̣]αρⲛ̄ογωψβε τηρⲛε ϩ̣ọγcaπ xε ερε ππ̄xaⲓ̈ ⲛa
ρ̄]ϩωτ ατⲛaγρε ατ
Ⲉ]ⲛammane ⲉⲛaμạⲛε ατaγαπη [ⲙ̄πⲓ̈ωτ a]τ[
Ⲉ]ⲛammane ⲉⲛammane ατaγαπη ⲙ̄πⲓ̈ωτ ατ
Ⲉ]ṇammane ⲉⲛammane ατⲙ̄ρω ⲛ̄τⲉ̀ⲓρηⲛη ατ
Ⲉⲛ]ạ̣mane ⲉⲛammane ατⲙ̄ρω ⲛ̄τⲉ̀ⲓρηⲛη ατ
Ⲉⲛam]ane ⲉⲛammane a†μⲛ̄τⲛaht ατ
Ⲉⲛama]ⲛε ⲉⲛammane a†μⲛ̄τϩλⲃht ατ
Ⲉⲛaman]ε ⲉⲛammane a†μⲛ̄τmaⲓ̈ⲛογτε ατ
Ⲉⲛaman]ε ⲉⲛammane a†μⲛ̄τmaⲓ̈ρωμε ατ
. . . . . ⲉⲛ]ạ̣ρεψε ⲉⲛaρεψε ⲛ̄ϩητc̄ ατ
. . . . . .]ạ̣ⲓ ψaanhϩε ϩamhn aqxωk
Oγeay ⲛ̄t†γ]xh ⲛ̄tmakạ̣ρị̣a ⲙ̄mapia

ϩⲛ̄tⲛ̄cmh] ετογaβε tⲛ̄†eay ⲙ̄ⲡⲛογc xẹ̣ ε[q
ⲃaⲓ̈λε apan] tⲛ̄† kaρπoc eqογaβε

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1 etc. litteras quot inter {. . .} inclusi descripsit Ibscherus antequam perierunt. — 8 cf. 167, 10. 11. — 17 leg. μαρⲛ̄ρ̄ψaⲓ̈⟨ε⟩? ammane sic. — 28 †εντολη coniicio. — 31. 32 cf. 162, 21. 22.

l. 1 *fragmentary*

The] Commandment was knowledge, the Commandment was a Church.
It was] a Commandment in Jesus, ... in the Paraclete.
It was] a Church of the [Father, it was] Love (ἀγάπη) of the Beloved.
It was bread for them that hungered, it was water for them that thirsted.
It was] resurrection (ἀνάστασις) for the dead, they arose from death, they came to life. The Commandment.
It was a Stair for them that go to the Light, it was [a Ladder] for them that are drawn to the height. The Commandment.
It was a tree, it was a ship, it [was] . . . . . .
It was a tree in the desert (ἐρημία), it was an ark (? κιβωτός) in the flood (κατακλυσμός).
It was a path for them that wandered, it was . . . . . in. The Commandment.
It was a tree in the God of Truth, it was a ship in the ships of Light. The Commandment.
It was a path in the Perfect Man, it was a king (?) in the Church.
My brethren, let us make festival (?), for we also have moored to this Commandment.
Let us answer all together, that our ship may sail to good effect. The Commandment.
May we moor, may we moor to the Love (ἀγάπη) [of the Father. The *etc.*
May we moor, may we moor to the Love (ἀγάπη) of the Father. The *etc.*
May we moor, may we moor to the harbour of peace (εἰρήνη). The *etc.*
May we moor, may we moor to the harbour of peace (εἰρήνη). The *etc.*
May we moor, may we moor to compassion. The *etc.*
May we moor, may we moor to kindliness. The *etc.*
May we moor, may we moor to love for God. The *etc.*
May we moor, may we moor to love for men. The *etc.*
. . . . . may we rejoice, may we rejoice in it. The *etc.*
. . . . . for ever, Amen. It is finished.
Glory to the] soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

With our] holy [voice] we glorify the Mind (νοῦς); for if [he lodges with us] we give holy fruit (καρπός).

31 ff. This Psalm is a repetition, with a few variations and omissions, of the Psalm which begins at 162, 21, q. v.

ΤΤιωτ πνογ]c ⲛ̄ογαϊⲛε ⲁ[ⲙογ ⲕ̄]ϕορε ⲙⲙ[ⲁϊ ϣⲁⲛ
ϯτεογο πριⲙε ⲙ̄π]ϣⲏρε ⲙ̄πρωⲙε
ΤΤαχαϊc ιⲏ̄c ⲁ]ⲙογ ⲕ̄[ϕορε] ⲁ̣ⲣⲁϊ ϣⲁ[ⲛϯτο]ⲩⲃ̣ [πⲥω
ⲙⲁ ⲙ̄πϣⲁρⲡ̄] ⲛ̄ρωⲙε
Τⲙⲛ̄τⲛⲁε ⲙ̄]πⲉ̣ⲁⲩ τϣερε [ⲙ̄]ⲛ̣ⲓⲱτ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ογαϊⲛε
τ . ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲥ . . . . ⲛ ⲛⲓ]ⲙ ⲙⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩε cⲁⲩⲛε ⲁⲡετⲁϊ̈ⲟ
Ⲛ̄το πε πⲕⲁⲗⲁⲃ]ⲓⲛ ετο ⲛ̄ⲥo cⲛⲉⲩ πετⲁⲩⲃⲱⲝⲉ ⲛⲥ[ⲏ
τⲭ̣ ⲛ̄τⲛογⲛε ετⲥⲁ]ϣⲉ
Ⲛ̄το πε ϯ . . . . ⲏ ⲉτⲛτο]ⲟⲩ̣ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁρⲑⲉⲛoc τετⲁⲥⲭⲁⲧc
ⲁⲥoⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄πⲭⲁⲝⲉ]
Ⲛ̄το πε πϣⲁρⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲥ̄] ⲛ̣τⲉ πϣⲁρⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗⲁϣ|ρε
πετⲁⲩⲃⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ⟨ⲭ̣⟩ ⲛⲛⲓ]cⲁⲛⲉ ⲉτⲁⲩⲃⲱⲃⲥ
Ⲛ̄το πε πϣⲁρⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥo]ⲡⲗoⲛ ⲛ̄τε πϣⲁρⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲗⲁⲥ
πετⲁⲫⲛ[ⲟⲩ]ⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲡⲁⲥoⲩ ⲙ̄π|τoⲩρε ⲉτⲁⲫⲛⲉⲥⲥⲉ
Ⲛ̄]το πε [τⲉⲕⲗ]ⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄πⲁϊ̈ⲱτ πϣⲁρⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ρωⲙε ⲛ̄το
πε πⲃⲱⲙ ⲛ̣ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ ⲙ̄πⲁϊ̈ⲱτ ππⲛ̄ⲛⲁ ⲉτⲁⲛⲍ̄
Ⲛ̄το πε πⲃⲉⲗ ⲙ̄πⲥ̣ⲓ πετⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲙ̄πⲙⲁ ⲙ̄πⲥⲉⲛoⲩⲫⲉ
ϣⲁⲛⲧⲟ̄ⲧⲱⲙ ⲁⲛ̣ⲃⲉⲗ ⲙ̄π|ⲃⲁⲛϊ̈ⲉ|ρε
Oⲩ]oⲩⲏ[ⲣ] ⲧ[ⲉ τⲉⲙⲛⲧⲭ]ⲱρε τϣερε ⲛ̄τcoϕⲓⲁ ⲥ|ⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡ̣ⲁ̣ⲧ[ⲉⲥ|cⲉ ⲛ̄τ]o ⲉⲣⲉⲛ̄ⲍoⲩⲣ|ⲧ ⲁⲡⲭⲁⲝⲉ
Ⲛ̄το πετε ⲛⲉⲭⲏⲩ ⲁⲥⲉ ⲁⲣo ⲥ|ⲡⲭ|cⲉ ⲭⲉⲩⲛⲁcⲁⲕⲉ ⲁⲍ
ⲣⲏ̈ ⲛ̄cⲉⲭ|τⲉ ⲁτⲉⲙⲛ̄τⲣ̄ⲣo
Ⲉ]|c πϯoⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲙⲟϕoρoc cⲉcⲏⲣ ⲁⲡⲧo ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉ πⲉ[ⲍⲏⲧ
ⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲍ τⲉⲛⲁⲝ πετⲁⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ|ⲭⲱ
Ⲉ|]c πρωⲙε ⲉτⲭⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲭⲕ̄ⲕⲁⲥⲧ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̣ⲏ[τⲉ ⲙ̄
πⲕoⲥⲙoc ⲭⲉⲣⲁⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲧ̄ⲫ ⲛ̄cⲉⲭ|τⲉ ⲁⲡoⲩⲁϊ̈ⲛⲉ
Ⲉ|]c ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲕⲁ|oc cⲉⲛⲁⲧ̄ⲣ[o]ⲩ[ⲁϊ̈]ⲛ̣ⲉ ⲁⲣo • ⲉ|c πcⲁⲩⲛⲉ
ⲙ̣ⲛ̄τcoϕⲓⲁ cⲉⲛⲁϯ ⲛ̣ⲉⲭ̣|ⲍⲃo̩oc ⲁⲭⲱ
Ⲉ|c π]ⲙ̄ϣ|ⲣ ⲙ̄πcⲉϊ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲩ̣[ⲛ]ⲁ̣ⲧⲗⲃo ⲛⲛ[ⲉϣⲃⲁ ⲉ|c
πⲕⲁⲛ]ⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭoⲩⲙⲉⲛoⲥ ⲙ̄πⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ
Ⲙⲁⲍⲉ] ⲃⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲣⲉϣⲉ ⲉⲣⲉcⲏⲕ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄πoⲩⲁϊ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲉⲣⲉ]ⲧⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉcϕⲣⲁⲅ|c ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲗoom ⲉτⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲍⲱⲃ[ⲙⲉ

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1 sqq. nonnulla ex 162. 163 huc adhibui. — 3 ⲁⲣⲁϊ̈ sic vid.: leg. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϊ̈. — 9 τετⲁⲥⲭⲁⲧc sic. — 15 ⲙ̄πⲁϊ̈ⲱτ sic. — 20 ⲉⲣⲉⲛ̄ⲍoⲩⲣ|ⲧ sic vid.: leg. ⲉⲣⲉo ⲛ̄ⲍoⲩⲣ|ⲧ? — 32 ⲛ̄ⲛⲉcϕⲣⲁⲅ|c sic.

O Father, o] Mind (νοῦς) of Light, come and wear (φορεῖν) me [until
I have recited the woe of the] Son of Man.
My Lord Jesus,] come and [wear (φορεῖν?)] me until [I] purify the
body (σῶμα) of the First] Man.
O Compassion of] Glory, Daughter of the Father of the Lights,
. . . . . all, none knows thy honour.
Thou art the] two-edged axe wherewith they did cut
the bitter root].
Thou art the . . . . which is in the] hand of the Maiden, which she thrust
into the heart of the Enemy].
Thou art the first ship (?)] of the first Hero,
wherewith they caught the] thieves that rebelled.
Thou art the first] weapon (ὅπλον) of the first Warrior,
which was brandished behind the foe that arose.
Thou art the Church of my Father, the First Man; thou
art the vineyard of my Father, the Living Spirit.
Thou art the eye of plenty which came from the place of abundance
until it closed the eyes of the malignant one.
How great is thy fortitude, o Daughter of Wisdom (σοφία); for
thou] hast not yet [wearied], thou guarding the enemy.
For thee the ships are waiting on high that they may draw thee
up and take thee to thy kingdom.
Lo, the five Omophori are spread over the world that thy [heart
may not suffer and that thou mayest cast the burden off thee.
Lo, the Perfect Man is stretched out in the middle [of
the world (κόσμος) that thou mayest walk in him and be taken to the Light.
Lo, the Righteous (δίκαιος) will illumine thee. Lo, the Knowledge
and the Wisdom (σοφία) will put thy clothes upon thee.
Lo, the] medicine-chest of the Physician will heal thy wounds. Lo,
the forgiveness of sins of the Catechumens of the Faith.
Walk,] therefore, in joy, drawn to the Land of Light,
sealed with thy seals (σφραγίς), with thy garlands that fade not.

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11 ⲣⲁⲙⲉ̄: vid. 163, 4 n.

λaze an e]repayt̀ anezice oyïne ⲙ̄po[oy e|c tⲙ̄
ρw n̄te|p]hnh ar[e]ⲙ̣[ane a]rac
Erwanbwḳ ạp̄x|c[e . . . . .] . pkeke [. . . . pka
naBe aBal n̄n̄katHxoy[men]oc ⲙ̣[p]naztε
O]yeay n̄ϯⲙn̄[t]nae ⲙn̄petnatoy[Bo ⲙ̄mac ⲙn̄
t]ϯyxh ⲙ̄plouc|ane tmakapia ⲙ[maria

za]mhn tn̄zwc arak zam[hn zamhn tn̄ϯale arak
Tzray n̄ouparθenoc ecm[oyte] ar[hy ecmoyte oy
Be pnoyte zamhn pzray n̄oyerkṛ[atHc ecmoy
ṭ̣ arhy ecmoyte oyBe n̄arre[loc zamhn pzra]y n̄
oyerkamoc ecmoyte arhy ecmoyte o[yBe] . ạ . . . .
zamhn tn̄zwc arak zamhn ẓ[a]ⲙ̣hn tn̄ϯale ar[a]k
p]zray n̄ouparθenoc oyBe pkaz ⲙ̄poyaïne
pzray n̄oyerkratHc oyBe pa|wn ṇB̄r̄e za
pzray n̄oyerkamoc oyBe pkocmoc za
pzray] n̄ouparθenoc oyBe pï̈wt za
pzray n̄]oyerkratHc oyBe n̄proBola[ye za
p]zray n̄oyerkamoc oyBe parxwn [z]ạ
p]zray n̄ouparθenoc oyBe prh zaⲙ̣
p]zray n̄oyerkratHc oyBe pooz zaⲙ̣
p]zray n̄oyerkamoc oyBe n̄c|oy za[ⲙ
pzray n̄ouparθenoc oyBe cHθHl z[am
pzray n̄oyerkratHc oyBe aⲇam zamḥ[n
pzray n̄oyerkamoc oyBe eyza zamⲙ
pzray n̄ouparθenoc oyBe ïwzanⁿ zamⲙ
pzray n̄oyerkratHc oyBe pka . ạ zaⲙ̣
p̣zray n̄oyerkamoc oyBe ïoyⲇac za[ⲙ
pzr]ay n̄ouparθenoc oyBe paetoc [z]ạ[ⲙ
pzray n̄oy[e]rkratHc oyBe tBramⲡze[t zaⲙ

11 fin. fort. paⲇaBoloc. — 26 pka[n]ạ scil. pkananitHc: H.T.

Walk also] in gladness: thy sufferings have passed today; [lo, the
harbour of] peace (εἰρήνη), — thou hast moored in it.
When thou goest to the height . . . the Dark . . . . [the forgiveness
of sins of the Catechumens of the Faith.
Glory to this compassion and him that shall purify [it, and
the] soul of Plousiane, the blessed (μακαρία) [Mary].

Amen, we sing to thee. Amen, [amen, we make music (ψάλλειν) to thee.
The cry of a Virgin calling: perhaps [she calls
to God. Amen. The cry of a Continent one [calling:
perhaps she calls to the Angels. Amen. The cry of
a Married one calling: perhaps she calls to . . . .
Amen, we sing to thee. Amen, amen, we make music (ψάλλειν) to thee.

The cry of a Virgin	to the Land of Light.	
The cry of a Continent one	to the New Aeon.	Amen.
The cry of a Married one	to the world (κόσμος).	Amen.
The cry of a Virgin	to the Father.	Amen.
The cry of a Continent one	to the Emanations (προβολή).	Amen.
The cry of a Married one	to the Archon.	Amen.
The cry of a Virgin	to the sun.	Amen.
The cry of a Continent one	to the moon.	Amen.
The cry of a Married one	to the stars.	Amen.
The cry of a Virgin	to Sethel.	Amen.
The cry of a Continent one	to Adam.	Amen.
The cry of a Married one	to Eve.	Amen.
The cry of a Virgin	to John.	Amen.
The cry of a Continent one	to	Amen.
The cry of a Married one	to Judas.	Amen.
The cry of a Virgin	to the eagle (ἀετός).	Amen.
The cry of a Continent one	to the dove.	Amen.

8 etc. Virgin, Continent one, Married one: παρθένος, ἐγκρατής, ἔγγαμος. The first two occur in the Homilies (vid. Index s. vv., with Burkitt's note in J.T.S. xxxv p. 360), and seem to correspond to the Electi and the Auditores. The ἔγγαμος is the non-manichaean, the worldling who is sunk in sin (181, 15). — 13 etc. After ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ, ⲉⲧⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ, ⲉⲅⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ, the words ⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲏⲩ ⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ are to be supplied.

ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ⟦ⲣ⟧ⲅⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⟦ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⟦ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡ⟧ⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⟦.⟧.ⲗⲟⲅⲟ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲕ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲡ̄ⲛⲁ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧ⳨ⲩⲭⲏ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩ⟦ⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲱ⟧ⲙⲁ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲭ⟦ⲓ⟧ⲥⲉ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲛⲏⲩ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲛⲱ̄ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲅⲁ⟦ⲙ⟧
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧⲃⲟⲩⲣ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡ⳨ⲱⲕ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⟦ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲃⲱ⳨ⲃⲉ ⟦ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲫⲟ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲙⲍ⟧ⲧ̀ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲃⲁⲥⲙⲉ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲫⲣⲁ⟧ⲓ̈ⲥ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲗⲏⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲉ⟧ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲧⲗⲟⲟ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲱⲃⲁ ⲅⲁ⟦ⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲑⲉⲕⲗⲁ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥ⟧ⲁⲛⲏ ⲅⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲧⲱⲉⲩ ⲅⲁⲙ

2 fort. ⲡⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ.

The cry of a Married one to the dragon (δράκων). Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to . . . . Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the bread. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the flesh (σάρξ). Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the Spirit. Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the soul. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the body (σῶμα). Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the height. Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the air (ἀήρ). Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the abyss. Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the Shepherd. Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the sheep. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the wolf. Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the right. Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the middle way. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the left. Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the fulness. Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to faith. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the lack. Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the great breath. Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the north wind. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the storm. Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the treasure (χρῆμα). Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the watcher. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the robber (λῃστής). Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the Physician. Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the healing. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the wound. Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to Thecla. Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to Drusiane. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the woman without honour. Amen.

ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ] ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ [ⲧ]ⲡⲁⲣⲑ[ⲉⲛ]ⲁ ⲥⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁ[ⲧ]ⲁ ⲥⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲱ[ⲩ] ⲥⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲧⲙⲁ̈ⲟ ⲥⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲥⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲙⲁ̈ⲧ . [. . .]ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲥ̣
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡ̣ⲛ̣ⲓ[. . . . .] ⲥⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲁ̣ⲧ . . [. . .] ⲥⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲗ̣ⲁ̣ⲙ ⲥ̣ⲁ̣ⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲃⲣⲁⲃⲉⲓ[ⲟⲛ] ⲥⲁⲙ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲃⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲥⲁⲙ

ⲟⲩ]ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲙ [ⲥⲁⲙⲏⲛ
ⲟⲩ]ⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲕⲁⲓⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲣⲕⲣⲁⲧⲓⲁ ⲧⲉ[. .] . . . . ⲛ
ⲥ]ⲱⲥ ⲥⲁⲙ Ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲁ[ⲃ]ⲉ̣ [ⲉ]ⲥⲧⲙⲣⲥⲧⲏⲥ
ⲉⲥⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲥⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲥⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲥⲁ
ⲙⲏⲛ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ • ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉⲥ ⲉⲥⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲩ
ⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲧⲧ]ⲩⲭⲏ ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲁⲓⲱⲛ

Ⲧ̣ⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲟ ⲁⲣⲓ Ⲧⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ ⲁⲣⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲓⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲉⲱⲱⲥ ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲣ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲱ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲓ Ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲣ
ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲁⲡⲧⲟ ⲥⲁⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲧⲁⲡⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲁⲟⲥ ⲁⲣ
Ⲟ]ⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲓⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲓ Ⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲥⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣ
ⲛⲉⲥⲕⲏⲛⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲧⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁ̣ⲣ̣
Ⲟⲩ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ̣ⲓ̈ⲱ[ⲧ ⲙ]ⲙⲏⲉ ⲁⲣⲓ Ⲱⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲥⲃ̄ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲣ
ⲧⲉⲙⲉ]ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ̣ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲣ
Ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉ] ⲛⲉⲉ̣ⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲁⲣⲓ Ⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲁ̣ⲣ̣
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ̣ ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲣⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲣ̣
Ⲛ̣ⲧⲟ̣ ⲧⲉ̣ ⲧⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲓ Ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲃⲓⲭⲱ ⲁⲥⲣ[ⲏⲓ̈] [ⲁⲣ]
ⲧ]ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲥⲓⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈[ⲉ] ⲁⲣⲓ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ . . . . ⲁ̣ⲣ̣

41 leg. ⲣ̄ⲙⲉⲩⲉ.

The cry of a Virgin to Virginity (παρθενία). Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to Continence (ἐγκράτεια). Amen.
The cry of a Married one to defilement. Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the Judge (κριτής). Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to justification. Amen.
The cry of a Married one to condemnation (κρίσις). Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the path . . . . . Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the . . . . . Amen.
The cry of a Married one to the . . . . . Amen.
The cry of a Virgin to the garland. Amen.
The cry of a Continent one to the prize (βραβεῖον). Amen.
The cry of a Married one to defeat. Amen.
Glory to this Virgin who is laden with garlands. [Amen.
Victory to her sister also, Continence (ἐγκράτεια) that . . . . .
after her. Amen. Shame to this lover of sin that repents not
while she is in the body (σῶμα). Amen, we sing to thee.
Amen, amen, we make music (ψάλλειν) to thee. Peace be to the soul
of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

O soul, o soul, be mindful of thy Aeons.
O soul, whence art thou? Be . .
Thou art from on high. Be . .
Thou art a stranger to the world (κόσμος), Be . .
a sojourner on the earth for (?) men. Be . .
Thou hast thy houses on high, Be . .
thy tents (σκηνή) of joy. Be . .
Thou hast thy true Father, Be . .
thy true Mother. Be . .
Thou hast thy true brethren; Be . .
thou art a warrior. Be . .
Thou art the sheep Be . .
that wandered in the desert. Be . .
Thy Father seeks thee, Be . .
thy shepherd searches for thee. Be . .
Thou art the vine Be . .
of the five branches (κλάδος), Be . .
which is the food of the Gods, Be . .
the nourishment (τροφή) of the Angels. Be . .
It is the clothing of the Righteous (δίκαιος), Be . .
the robe (στολή) of the holy. Be . .
It is the Intelligence (νοῦς) of the Perfect, Be . .
the Reason of the Believers. Be . .
O soul, lift up thy head, Be . .
in this house which is full of . . . Be . .

. . . . . .] .ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲛⲗⲏⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
Ⲧⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ[ⲡⲱⲣ]ⲱⲃⲱ ⲁⲣ[ⲟ] ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲃ̣ⲱⲣⲃ̣ ⲁⲣⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
Ⲥⲉⲃ̣ⲱⲣⲃ̣ ⲁⲣ̣ⲟ ⲧ̣ⲏ̣ⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
ⲛ̄]ⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲃ[ⲉ]ⲣⲉⲃ̣ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
Ⲱ]ⲁⲩⲟⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ . [. . . .] ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ . . [. .] ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
Ⲱⲁⲩⲟⲩ[ⲱⲃⲡ ⲛ̄]ⲛ̣ⲉⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲍ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉ[ⲩⲍ]ⲱⲗ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲛ̣[ⲟⲩⲉ]ⲗ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
Ⲧⲫⲩⲭⲏ [ⲃⲓ ⲭ]ⲱ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲃ[ⲱⲕ] ⲱⲁⲧⲉⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲱ[ⲙ̄ⲙ]ⲱ ⲁⲧⲉⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
. . .] . . . [.] ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
Ⲛⲧⲉ . . . . [. ⲟⲩ]ⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
ⲭⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁ̈ⲟ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
ⲛ̄|ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙ
ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲉ̈ⲛⲁⲣⲟ ⲧⲁⲱⲛⲍ̄ • ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲉ̈ⲛⲁⲣⲟ ⲧⲁⲱⲛⲍ̄
ⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲧⲁⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉⲣⲁⲱⲛⲍ̄
+ ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲃ|ⲭ ⲧⲁⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
ⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲧⲁⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
+ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲧⲁⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲁⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲭⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲃⲱ ⲧⲁⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲁⲣⲱⲍⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲧⲁⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
+ ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲃⲣⲁⲙⲡⲍⲉⲧ ⲧⲁⲫⲩⲭⲏ [ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲁ[ⲛ]|ⲓⲧⲛ̄ⲍ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲱ ⲧⲁⲫⲩⲭⲏ [ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
ⲙⲁ[ⲣ]ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲍ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲫⲩⲭⲏ [ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲥⲉⲭ[ⲟ]ⲩⲭⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲟ ⲧⲁⲫⲩⲭⲏ [ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ

24 leg. ⲙ̄ⲡ⟨ⲉ⟩ⲛⲟⲩⲥ.

. . . . . the demons (δαίμων). Be mindful.
. . . . . the robbers (λῃστής). Be mindful.
O soul, do not forget thyself. Be mindful.
for they are all hunting for thee. Be mindful.
They are all hunting for thee, Be mindful.
even the hunters of death. Be mindful.
They catch the birds Be mindful.
and they . . . . their . . . . Be mindful.
They break (?) their wings Be mindful.
that they may not fly to their dovecotes. Be mindful.
O soul, lift up thy head Be mindful.
and go to thy native land (πατρίς). Be mindful.
Thou art a stranger to thy kin, Be mindful.
. . . . . that is full of joy. Be mindful.
Thou . . . . Light Be mindful.
from everlasting to everlasting. Be mindful.
Glory and honour Be mindful.
to Jesus, the King of the holy ones. Be mindful.
Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρ.) Mary.

What shall I do that I may live? My Saviour, what shall I do that I may live?
Keep thy fasting (νηστεία), my soul, and thou shalt live.
Give rest to thy hands. My soul, and thou.
Clothe thyself in the purity of Truth. My soul, and thou.
Give Love (ἀγάπη) to thy (?) Intelligence (νοῦς). My soul, and thou.
[Give] Faith to thy Reason. My soul, and thou.
[Give] Perfection to thy Thought. My soul, and thou.
[Give] Endurance to thy Counsel. My soul, and thou.
[Give] Wisdom (σοφία) to thy Intention. My soul, and thou.
Give room to the doves, My soul, and thou.
them of the white wings. My soul, and thou.
Let them dwell in you My soul, and thou.
and . . . . before you. My soul, and thou.

22 etc. 'My soul, and thou': repeated as a refrain. — 24 ff. cf. 23, 14—18 n. — 29 ff. cf. 156, 27; 158, 11 f. 'You' is plural.

ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ]ⲕⲁ ⲭⲉⲧⲩⲉ ⲁ̣ⲣ̣[ⲁⲩ] ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭ[ⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛ]ⲟⲩⲱⲡ̄ ⲁⲣⲱ[ⲧⲛ ⲧⲁ†]ⲩ̣[ⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
non legi potest ⲧⲁ†ⲩ̣ⲭⲏ̣ [ⲁⲩⲱ
. . . .]ⲧ̣ⲗⲩⲡⲏ̣ [. . . . .] ⲧⲁ†ⲩ[ⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲱⲣ† ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭ[ⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲟⲃⲃ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭ[ⲏ] ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲁⲙⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲱⲗ[ⲣⲉ ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ] ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲭⲓ ⲥⲃⲱ ⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲟ[ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲡⲛⲁⲍ]ⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ [ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲡⲭ]ⲱⲕ ⲧⲉⲭⲁⲕⲟ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ [ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲧ]ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲁⲣⲱⲍⲏⲧ ⲧⲉⲃⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ̣ [ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲟ]ⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭ[ⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲣ]ⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁⲛⲉⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ [ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲭⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲙ̣ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . . . [. .] ⲧⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲧ̣ⲁ†[ⲩⲭⲏ] ⲁⲩⲱ
Ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲛⲧ]ⲁ̈ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ̀ⲕ̀ ⲉⲕⲥⲏⲕ̀ ⲁⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ̀
ⲛ̄]ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ • ⲡⲁⲭⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲉ̈ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲱⲃⲉⲧ
Ⲭ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̈ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ̀ⲕ̀ ⲁ̈ⲣ̄ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ̀ • ⲁ̈ⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲩ
ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲁ̈]ⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲥⲱⲓⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁ
ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲁ̈ⲑⲛ ⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲃⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲍⲏⲧ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡ̈ⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩⲍ
ⲁ̣[ⲍⲟⲩⲛ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
ⲦⲦⲭⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲁ]ⲣ̣ⲛ̣ⲭⲁⲕ̄ⲟ̄ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ ⲧⲛ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲛ̄ⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲁ̣ⲡ̣ⲕ̣ⲣⲟ
] ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲁⲣⲱⲍ]ⲏ̣ⲧ̣ ⲧⲛ̄ⲃⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲍⲁⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ

Set no serpent to [them], My soul, and.
lest they] be scared of you. My soul, and.
l. 3 *illegible.*
. . . sorrow (λύπη) . . . . My soul, and.
Give not room to wrath. My soul, and.
Subdue desire (ἐπιθυμία). My soul, and.
Conquer (δαμάζειν) meddlesomeness. My soul, and.
Do not learn . . . . My soul, and.
Love (ἀγάπη) unto God. My soul, and.
Faith in the Commandment (ἐντολή). My soul, and.
Perfection thou dost perfect. My soul, and.
Endurance thou endurest. My soul, and.
Knowledge to understand. My soul, and.
Keep thy Commandments (ἐντολή). My soul, and.
Perfect thy deeds. My soul, and.
Abide continually . . . . . My soul, and.
for ever and ever. My soul, and.
Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

I loved thee as thou wast drawn to the skies at the time of the joy
of the Angels. My Lord, when I call thou answerest me.
Since I loved thee, I have been beloved; I have loved the things
that are lovable. At the time.
I] loved the Love (ἀγάπη) that changes not, the Church of my
Spirit. At the time.
I found the Faith that loses not its savour, the heart of the Father
that is gathered in. At the time.
Perfection, let] us perfect it, and bring our labour to the shore (?)
At the time.
Endurance], we bear every labour that comes
by it]. At the time.

22 etc. ⲙⲡⲛⲉⲩ (l. 19) is repeated as a refrain.

. . . . . .]. . . . ⲉⲥ[. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣ[ⲱⲛ
{ⲙ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ}ⲉⲩ
{ⲟ̶ⲃ̄ⲥⲱ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲙ}ⲙⲁⲛ[.]ⲉ{ⲗⲟⲉⲓ} [. . . . . ⲣ̄ⲫⲟ
{ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ}ⲉⲩ
{ⲁⲡⲡ̄ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ}ⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲁ[ⲛ]ⲟ̄ⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲧⲏⲛ ⲉ[ⲧⲟ]ⲩ
ⲁⲃⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
{ⲁⲩ}[ⲛ̄] ⲡⲉⲡ[ⲁⲧ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉ{ⲩ ⲥ}ⲱⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲩ̄ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
{ⲁⲛ}[ⲟⲛ] ⲧ̣[ⲁⲅⲁⲡ]{ⲏ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲡⲛⲁⲉ̣} ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲡⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ̄
{ⲡⲟⲩⲓⲥ̣ . .} ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
{ⲦⲦⲭⲱ}[. . . . . .] ⲙ̣ⲡⲟ̣[ⲟ]ⲩⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲕⲏⲃ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ
. . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
. . . . . .]ⲥ ⲡⲏⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛ[ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄
. . . . . .]{ⲓⲁ} . . . ⲡⲉ ⲃⲓⲱ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲗⲟ̄ • ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲭ[ⲏⲩ
. . . . .] ⲉⲩⲭⲏⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲛⲥⲁⲥⲛ̣[ⲉ] ⲥ̣ⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲛⲓⲥⲱⲥ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲓ[ⲧⲁ]ⲗ̣ⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲉⲩⲧⲟ ⲡⲉ[ⲧⲥ]ⲕⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ [ⲉⲩⲧⲟ ⲡⲉⲧ]ⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ
ⲁⲅⲱ]ⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲛⲁⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲣⲏⲩ ⲣⲱ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲛⲁ ⲛ̄
ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲕ̀ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲕⲥⲏⲕ ⲁⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲡⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲣⲁⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏ̈ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲥⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏ̈ ⲁⲛⲟ̣[ⲩⲃ
ⲥⲓⲥⲉⲧ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
ⲁ̈ⲙⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲃⲛ ⲙ̄ⲣⲱ
ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲕⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲃⲛ ⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏⲩ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲕⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏⲩ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲃⲛ ⲥⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ
ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲕⲥⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲃⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲃⲛ ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲕ
ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲃⲛ ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲕⲣⲉⲱⲉ • ⲉⲩⲁⲙ[ⲟⲩ]ⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̣ⲉ[ⲛ
ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ • ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲏⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ⲟⲩ

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2 etc. Litteras quot inter {. . .} inclusi descripsit Ibscherus antequam perierunt. — 9 ⲡⲟⲩⲓⲥ̣ . . sic Ibscherus: ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ coniicio. — 12 ⲡⲏⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁ]ⲥ: H.T. — 20 leg. ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲏⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲕ. leg. ⲡⲛⲉⲩ.

. . . . . and we are silent (?)
. . . . . At the time.
This is the clothing . . . . . wear (? φορεῖν)
it. At the time.
The holy Spirit has come unto us, [we] have found five holy (?)
garments.
He has [brought] the cup of water, he has given it to his Church also.
We have [found] Love (ἀγάπη), we have found mercy, we have found Faith,
we have found . . . . At the time.
The . . . . . today (?), the cold water, the
. . . . . At the time.
. . . . . the new wine, we rejoice, we are drunk with [it.
. . . . . is sweet honey, burning (?) pepper
. . . . , he being perfect. At the time.
But the provisions of the holy Spirit are these prayers, these songs,
and these psalms (ψαλμός). At the time.
Where is he that hungers for this love (ἀγάπη)? [Where is he that] thirsts
for this wisdom (σοφία)?
They all sought the things of the body (σῶμα): perchance Spirit is not
in them. At the time.
But I loved thee as thou wast drawn to the skies at the time of the
joy of the Angels.
I trusted in thy hope (ἐλπίς), I trusted not in gold
and silver. At the time.
I looked forth in the whole world (κόσμος), I found no harbour
save thy harbour. The time.
I found no trust save thy trust, I found no hope (ἐλπίς)
save thy hope (ἐλπίς). The time.
I found no joy save thy joy, I found no rest save thy
rest. The time.
I found no gladness save thy gladness: may it abide for us
for ever and ever. The time.
Glory [and] victory to the Paraclete, our Lord, our

13 **πιπρε**: 'pepper', vid. Chassinat, Un Papyrus médical copte, pp. 85 ff.

ⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓ]ⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ Ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲁⲯ[ⲱ
ⲡⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲅⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲡⲏ ⲓⲏ̄ⲥ ⲉⲕⲛⲏⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲡⲏⲅⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϩ̄
ⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲒⲱⲧ̀ ⲃⲁⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲁ̣[ⲃⲁⲗ
ⲡⲉⲛⲇⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ [ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓ]ⲁ ⲛ̣ⲧ[ⲕ
ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲃⲇⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲟⲩⲁⲗ[ⲥ ⲁϫⲱⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀
ⲧ̣ⲡⲩⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲁ[. . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲥ̀
Ⲧⲣⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲒⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲁⲩ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱ[ⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁ]ⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ϯⲃⲣⲁⲙⲡⲍⲉⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ . . . [. . .]ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉ̣
ⲥⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀
Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲏⲱ ⲥⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲇⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧ
ⲓⲏ̄ⲥ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧ
ϫⲏⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀
Ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲕⲁⲓϯ
ⲡⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲗⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀
Ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲃⲁ
ⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀
Ⲧⲣⲉⲛ ϫⲉ ⲓⲏ̄ⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩϫⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ
Ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲃⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲫⲣⲱⲁⲒ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁ
ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲕ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ
Ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲕ̀ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲭⲁⲓ ϯⲡⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧ
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲱⲁⲫⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲫ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲒⲟ ⲛ̄ⲓⲏ̄ⲥ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ
ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲅⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲛⲁ

ⲦⲟⲩⲃⲁⲒ̈ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲏⲒ̈ ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲥⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ
ⲙⲁ ⲛⲏ]Ⲓ̈ [ⲟ]ⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲥⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲥⲩⲙⲛ[ⲟ]ⲥ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲏⲛ] ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲒ̈

3 ⲡⲏ sic: leg. ⲡⲏⲅⲏ. — 11 fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ [ⲉⲧⲥ]ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉ.

Light], Mani. Salvation and rest be there
to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

Thou art a spring (πηγή), o Jesus, coming from the Aeons, o King.
Thou art a spring (πηγή) of living water,
the mysteries of the Father being revealed to thee.
[Thou art] the apparel (ἔνδυμα) of the Aeons, which is the robe (στολή)
of the Church. Thou.
[Thou art] the staff (ῥάβδος) of the kingdom, [whereon] thou leanest (?). Thou.
[Thou art] the gate (πύλη) of the Land of Light whereby . . . .
The name of the Father is thy glory.
Thou art the flourishing fruit (καρπός) of the unperishing tree.
Thou art the holy dove . . . . . floats
in the skies, Thou.
with the three-branched (-κλάδος) *anēsh* in her mouth. Thou.
Jesus, the Maiden, the Mind (νοῦς), — they are the perfect
Church. Thou.
Good the tree, good the fruit (καρπός), good also the sweet
taste too. Thou.
Fair the commandment (ἐντολή) and the knowledge, Love (ἀγάπη) being
clothed in them. Thou.
This name 'Jesus', — grace (χάρις) surrounds it. Thou.
Blessed is he that shall find thee, fortunate is he that shall
know thee. Thou.
For (γάρ) he that shall know thee shall not taste death. Thou.
But (ἀλλά) he has his rest in life for ever and
ever. Thou.
Glory and honour to Jesus, the King of the holy ones. Thou.
Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

Purify me, my God: give me also power that I may bless,
give me also power that I may bless and utter the hymn (ὕμνος)
of Amen]. Purify me.

6—9 at the beginning of these lines it appears that ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ, 'thou', is to be supplied, just as at 182, 25—28, ⲧ, and at 169, 17. 19. 20, ⲛⲉⲥⲉ, are to be supplied. — 11 ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉ: vid. 193, 30 n. — 13 ⲁⲛⲏⲱ: cf. Crum Dict. 12 b, s. v. ⲁⲛⲁⲱ 2º. (Cf. hierogl. *ankh*, well known in demotic, meaning a bunch of flowers: vid. Spiegelberg, S.Bay.A.W. 1926, pp. 4—5. H.T.)

Θιατεογο πγγμνοc ⲙ̄πγαμην μαρ[ⲛ̄ογωωβε
γιογcαπ γαμην τογβαϊ̈
Γαμην πϊ̈ωτ̀ γαμην γαμην πωηρε μαρⲛ̄
ο]γωωβε γιογcαπ γαμην τογβαϊ̈
Γαμην ⲛ̄ωα]μ̄τ ⲛ̄cαπ ππⲛ̄ⲁ ετογαβε ετбωλπ̄
αβαλ] τογβαϊ̈
Κογ[αβε πιωτ k]ογαβε κογαβε πωηρε τογβαϊ̈
Κογ[αβε ⲛ̄ωαμ]τ ⲛ̄cαπ ππⲛ̄ⲁ ετογαβε ετбωλπ̄ αβ̣[λ
Γαμ[ην kμην] ⲁ̣βαλ πνογτε ⲛ̄τμηε ετγⲛ̄ⲛⲁιων
Γαμη̣[ν kμ]η̣ν αβαλ πογαϊ̈νε ετπρ̄ϊ̈ε γⲛ̄νεχηγ
Γαμη[ν kμ]ην αβαλ τбαμ ⲙ̄πνογτε ετβι γαπτ[ηρ̣ϥ̄
Γαμη[ν k]μην αβαλ τcοφια ⲙ̄πνογτε ετбωλπ̄
αβαλ τογβαϊ̈
Γαμην kμην αβαλ ⲙ̄μηνε ⲙ̄μηνε πεαγ ⲙ̄
πνογτε τογβαϊ̈
Γαμην kμην αβαλ ⲙ̄μηνε ⲙ̄μηνε πογρατ ⲙ̄
πνογτε τογβαϊ̈
Γαμην kμην αβαλ τεντολη ετγⲛ̄παcωμα
Γαμην kμην αβαλ πcαγνε ⲙ̄πνογτε ετγⲛ̄τα
ψγχη τογβαϊ̈
Γαμην kμην αβαλ ταγαπη ⲙ̄πνογτε ετγⲛ̄πα
πνευμα τογβαϊ̈
Γαμην kμην αβαλ ⲙ̄μηνε ⲙ̄μηνε γⲛ̄πανογc
Γαμην kμην αβαk ⲙ̄μηνε ⲙ̄μηνε γⲛ̄παμευε
Γαμην kμην αβαλ ⲙ̄μηνε ⲙ̄μηνε γⲛ̄ταcβω
Γαμην kμην αβαλ ⲙ̄μηνε γⲛ̄πα γⲛ̄παcαχνε
Γαμην kμην αβαλ ⲙ̄μηνε ⲙ̄μηνε γⲛ̄παμακμεk
Θιc πγϋμνοc ⲙ̄πγαμην μαρⲛ̄ογωωβε γιογcαπ
γαμην τογβαϊ̈
Ογεαγ μⲛ̄ογταϊο ⲛ̄|ⲏc̄ πρ̄ρο ⲛ̄νετογβαϊ̈ [ο]γcωτε
μ]ⲛ̄ογⲙ̄ταν εqαωωπε ⲛ̄τψγχη ⲛ̣̄τμακαρια ⲙ̄
μαρια θεονα πωαϊ̈ χⲙ̄νογτε

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26 γⲛ̄πα sic: leg. ⲙ̄μηνε. — 30 ⲛ̄νετογβαϊ̈ sic: leg. ⲛ̄νετογ⟨αβε τογ⟩βαϊ̈.

I will utter the hymn (ὕμνος) of Amen: let [us answer
together, Amen. Purify me.
Amen, the Father; Amen, Amen, the Son; let us
answer together, Amen. Purify me.
Amen thrice, the holy Spirit that makes
revelation. Purify me.
Thou art holy, [o Father; thou] art holy, thou art holy, o Son. Purify me.
Thou art thrice holy, o holy Spirit, that revealest.
Amen, thou endurest, the God of Truth that is in the Aeons.
Amen, thou endurest, the Light that shines forth in the ships.
Amen, thou endurest, the Power of God that supports the Universe.
Amen, thou endurest, the Wisdom (σοφία) of God that makes
revelation. Purify me.
Amen, thou endurest daily, daily, the glory of
God. Purify me.
Amen, thou endurest daily, daily, the joy of
God. Purify me.
Amen, thou endurest, the commandment (ἐντολή) that is in my body (σῶμα).
Amen, thou endurest, the Knowledge of God that is in my
soul. Purify me.
Amen, thou endurest, the Love (ἀγάπη) of God that is in my
Spirit (πνεῦμα). Purify me.
Amen, thou endurest daily, daily, in my Intelligence (νοῦς).
Amen, thou endurest daily, daily, in my Reason.
Amen, thou endurest daily, daily, in my Thought.
Amen, thou endurest daily, [daily], in my Counsel.
Amen, thou endurest daily, daily, in my Intention.
Lo, the hymn (ὕμνος) of Amen: let us answer together,
Amen. Purify me.
Glory and honour to Jesus, the King of the [holy ones]. Purify me.

Salvation

and rest be there to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία)
Mary, Theona, Pshai, Jmnoute.

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23 ff. cf. 23, 14—18 n.

ϯαλμοι κ[γ] ηρακλειδου

Μαρι̣ϩαμ]μη μαρι̣ϩαμμη cⲛ̄ογωⲛ̄τ̄ μπωρτ̣ⲱ
бε αραϊ̈]
Χωλ] τ̣ρμ̣ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛεβελ ⲛ̄τεcⲛ̄ογωⲛ̄τ̄ χε ανακ πε
5 caϩ ⲙ̄̈πωρτⲱβ̣ⲉ̣ ⲙ̄̈μετε αραϊ̈ χε ⲙ̄̈πα+νεγ απ
ϩο ⲙ̄̈παϊ̈ωτ
Μ]πογβι πενογτε ⲛ̄χιογε κατα ⲙ̄̈μεγε ⲛ̄τεμⲛ̄τκογ
ι • ⲙ̄̈πε πενογτε μογ ⲛ̄ταϥρ̄χαϊc ⲛ̄[τ]αϥ απ[μο]γ
Ανακ εν πε πκηπογρος • αϊ̈+ αϊ̈χι πϣε . . [ⲙ̄̈π]ⲓογωⲛ̄ϩ̣
10 αρο • ϣαν+νεγ ατερ̄μιη μⲛ̄πεϣωνε .[. .]. ϩ̣αραϊ̈
Τ]ε̣κ πιωκμε αβαλ ⲙ̄̈μο • ⲛ̄τεϣⲙ̄̈ϣε ⲛ̣[+λει]τογρ
για ϣωπε ⲛⲏ̈ ⲛ̄βαϊ̈ϣιⲛε ϣανιορ[φανος ετϩα]ρμε
Σ]επη ⲙ̄̈μ[ο] ερεραγτ̀ ⲛ̄τεβωκ ϣαπιμ[ⲛ̄τογ]ⲏ̣ε • ε̣
ραбⲛ̄τογ ετϩαγϩ αϩογⲛ ϩιχⲛ̄̈πκρο ⲙ̄̈πι̣[ορ]ⲇανηc
15 Ⲁππροⲇοτηc πειⲑε ⲙ̄̈μαγ ατρογρ̄ογω[ϩε ντ]ο̣γ
ϩε ⲛ̄ϣαρⲡ̄ • ⲛ̄cεkω αϩρηϊ̈ ⲛ̄νεγϣνηγ [ετα]γбαп̣
ρωμε ⲛ̄ϩητογ απωⲛ̀ϩ̣
Χοοc αραγ χε τωⲛ μαραⲛ πετⲛ̄̈caⲛ πετ̣μογτε
αρωτⲛ̄ • ετϣαβαβε ταμⲛ̄̈τϩαⲛ • χοοc αραγ χε
20 πετⲛ̄̈caϩ πε
Ⲉγϣαναμελη αταμⲛ̄̈τϩαϩ • χοοc αραγ χε πε
τⲛ̄χαϊ̈c πε ρ̄τεχνη ϩιϭω νιμ ϣαντεⲛ̄ νεϩαγ
απϣωc
Ⲉ]ρ̣ϣαννεγ χε αγτωμτ̄ αβαλ ϩακ ϭιμωⲛ πετρος
25 ατογω • χοοc αραϥ χε αρ|πμεεγ ⲙ̄̈πεταϊ̈τεογ
ϥ ογτωⲓ̈ νεμεk
Α]ριπμεγε ⲙ̄̈πεταϊ̈χοοϥ ογτωⲓ̈ νεμεk ϩⲛ̄̈πταγ
ⲛ̄ⲛ̄χαϊ̈τ χε ογⲛ̄τηⲓ̈ πε+ναχοοϥ • μⲛ̄τηⲓ̈ πε+
ναχοοϥ αραϥ
30 Ραββι πασαϩ +ναⲇιακονη ⲛ̄τ̀κεντολη ϩⲛ̄̈πογ
ρατ ⲙ̄̈παϩητ τηρ̄ϥ
Νι+ϩρακ ⲙ̄̈παϩητ • νι+ϩιναβ ⲛ̄ⲛαβελ • νι+ϩρακ
ⲛ̄ⲛαογρητε ϣαν+ⲛ̄ νεϩαγ ατϣειϊ̈ρε
Ογεαγ ⲙ̄̈μαρι̣ϩαμμη χε ⲁccωτμε ϩαπεccαϩ •
35 ⲁϭⲇια]κονη ⲛ̄τγεⲛ̣τολη ϩⲛ̄̈πογρατ ⲙ̄̈πεϩητ τηρ̄ϥ
Ογεαγ μⲛ̄]ογбρο ⲛ̄τ+γχη ⲛ̄τμακαρ ⲙ̄̈μαρια

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1 Ⲁ sup. lin. vid. — 4 χωλ : cf. 53, 21. — 36 ⲛ̄τμακαρ sic.

Psalms (ψαλμοί) of the Lord (κ̄ῡ̄) Heracleides.

Mariam, Mariam, know me: do not
touch me].
Stem] the tears of thy eyes and know me that I am thy
master. Only touch me not, for I have not yet seen the
face of my Father.
Thy God was not stolen away, according to (κατά) the thoughts of thy
littleness: thy God did not die, rather he mastered death.
I am not the gardener (κηπουρός): I have given, I have received the
. . . . ., I appeared (?) [not]
to thee, until I saw thy tears and thy grief . . . for (?) me.
Cast this sadness away from thee and do this service (λειτουργία):
be a messenger for me to these wandering orphans (ὀρφανός).
Make haste rejoicing, and go unto the Eleven. Thou
shalt find them gathered together on the bank of the Jordan.
The traitor (προδότης) persuaded (πείθειν) them to be fishermen as they were
at first and to lay down their nets with which they caught
men unto life.
Say to them, 'Arise, let us go, it is your brother that calls
you'. If they scorn my brotherhood, say to them,
'It is your master'.
If they disregard (ἀμελεῖν) my mastership, say to them, 'It
is your Lord'. Use all skill (τέχνη) and advice until thou hast brought
the sheep to the shepherd.
If thou seest that their wits are gone, draw Simon Peter
unto thee; say to him, 'Remember what I uttered
between thee and me.
'Remember what I said between thee and me in the Mount
of Olives: "I have something to say, I have none to whom
to say it".'
Rabbi, my master, I will serve (διακονεῖν) thy commandment (ἐντολή) in the
joy of my whole heart.
I will not give rest to my heart, I will not give sleep to my eyes, I will not
give rest to my feet until I have brought the sheep to the fold.
Glory to Mariam, because she hearkened to her master,
she] served (διακονεῖν) his commandment (ἐντολή) in the joy of her
whole heart.
Glory and] victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρ.) Mary.

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1 Heracleides: vid. 97, 14 n. — 2 ff. cf. Schmidt: Gespräche Jesu, T.U. Bd. xliii (espec. pp. 38 f.). — 5 cf. Joh. 20, 17. — 9 cf. Joh. 20, 15. — 13 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲏⲉ: cf. 192, 21. — 15—17 cf. Mt. 4, 18. 19. — 25 'unto thee': lit. 'to thy bosom'. — 32 ⲛ|-(cf. 188, 13; Hom. 29, 33; 82, 14): negative of 1st. pers. sg. Fut. III. At Hom. 30, 1 read [ⲛ|]ϫⲟⲟⲥ (?). The forms ⲉⲛⲉⲉ|, ⲛ̄ⲛ|-, occur in the Acta Pauli, vid. p. 18 (m). In the sub-Achmîmic S. John the form is ⲛⲁ-, vid. p. xviii b.

ⲁ̈ⲱⲥϫ̇ ⲉ̈ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲣ ⲱⲁⲛⲧϫ̇ⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ[ⲏ̈
ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁ]ϫⲁⲙⲉⲗⲏ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ ⲉⲛ ⲍ̣ⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲧϫ̇ⲁ[. . . . . .
ϫ̇ⲣⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲭⲉ̣ ⲣⲱ ⲉ . . . ϫ̇ . . ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ ⲱⲱⲥⲙ ⲥⲁ̣ⲧ̣[ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ
ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
Ⲉⲩⲧⲟ ⲡⲃⲣⲃⲣ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϫⲛⲁⲉ • ⲍⲉ ⲁϫϫⲁⲁⲧ̇ ⲁ̈ⲱⲥϫ̇ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲁ
ⲗⲓⲧⲏ
Ⲉ̈ⲓⲱⲭⲉ ⲁ̣ⲧⲁⲫⲱⲛⲏ ⲧⲉⲍⲁϫ̇ • ⲍⲓⲉ ⲡⲱⲥ ⲁⲡⲉϫⲛⲁⲉ ⲱⲥϫ̇
Ⲉ̈ⲓⲱⲭ[ⲉ ⲁ̈]ⲣⲓϫⲉ ⲛ̣ⲥⲱϫ̇ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϫ̇ⲟⲩ̈ • ϫⲏⲧ̇ ⲛ̄ⲣⲓϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ ⲛ̣
ⲟⲩⲛⲁ[ⲃ]
Ⲱ[. . . . . .]. ⲥ̣ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲛⲉϫ̇ ⲡϫ̇ⲁⲑⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲣ̄ⲉϫ̇ⲁⲗⲓϫ̇ⲉ̣[ⲓ
ⲙⲙ[ⲁ̈]
Ⲁ̈ⲓⲍⲓⲥⲉ [ⲧⲱ]ⲍⲙⲉ̣ ⲁⲣⲁϫ̇ • ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟ
Ⲛⲓⲭ[ⲱ]ⲗ ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲣⲙ̄ⲏ̈ⲏ ⲡⲍⲓϫ̇ⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲉϫ̇ⲧⲙ̄ⲃⲱⲧ̇ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ
Ⲉ̈ⲓⲱⲭ[ⲉ ⲧⲁⲡ]ⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲏⲩ ⲭⲓⲧⲥ̄ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲉϫ̇ⲗⲁ̈ⲓϫ̇ⲟⲛ
Ⲉ̈ⲓⲱⲭ[ⲉ ⲥ]ⲉ̣ⲛ̣ ⲥ̣[ⲫ]ⲁⲗⲙⲁ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ ⲡⲁⲓϫ̇ⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲣ̄ⲉⲡⲁⲛⲟⲣⲑⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲁ̈
+ ⲟⲩⲉ̣ⲛ̣[ⲧ]ⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧ̇ [ⲭ]ⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲣⲁⲁⲓϫ̇ⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈
Ⲙⲁⲣⲧ̣ ⲁ̣ⲡⲉϫ̇ⲍⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲱⲭ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲏ̈ ⲛⲉⲙⲏ̈
Ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϫ̇ⲛⲁⲉ ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲓϫ̇ ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲱⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ̇
Ⲉ̈ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲭⲱϫ̇ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲡⲁⲩⲛⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈
Ⲧⲉⲗⲁ̈ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲉϫ̇ⲧⲛⲍ̄ ⲡⲁⲉⲧⲟⲥ ⲍⲱⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲏ̈ ⲁⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ
+ ⲡⲁⲗⲉⲩϫ̇ⲟⲛ ⲍⲓⲱⲱⲧ̇ ⲭⲓⲧ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡϫ̇ⲓⲱⲧ̣
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲣ ⲡⲛⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ
ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲁⲕⲁⲣⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲉϫ̇ⲁⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲙⲏ̈ⲛⲉ ϫ̇ⲱⲧ̇ ⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲁⲙ
Ⲕⲱⲧ̇ ⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲉϫ̇ⲁⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡϫ̇ⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲗⲁⲗ̄ⲧ ⲁⲭⲱⲛ ⲙ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲥⲁⲣⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲡⲭⲣⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲑⲉⲙⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲙ
Ⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲁⲡϫ̇ⲱⲧ • ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲩϫ̇ⲱⲧ̇ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲫ̣[ⲉ
ⲛⲓⲁ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲍⲉⲧ̇ ⲁⲡϫ̇ⲱⲧ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲩϫ̇ⲱⲧ̇ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣ[ϫ̇ⲣ]ⲁ̣
ⲧⲓⲁ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ

2 fin. fort. ⲍⲁⲧϫ̇ⲉ[ϫ̇ⲉ. — 5 leg. ⲁⲱⲥϫ̇? — 12 leg. ⲁ̈ⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⟨ⲉⲓ⟩[ⲧⲱ]ⲍⲙⲉ. — 13 ⲭⲱⲗ: cf. 53, 21. — 26. 27 ⲙ: scil. ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ.

I have long been calling thee, my Saviour (ⲥⲱⲣ), until thou shouldest answer [me].
Thou hast disregarded (ἀμελεῖν) me not, or I could not have borne thy . . .
Thou dost bear up (? ἀνέχεσθαι) indeed . . . . my heart has fainted for mankind.
Where is the boiling of thy mercies, that thou hast suffered me to (?) be long in my prayer (λιτή)?
If my voice (φωνή) has reached thee, then how (πῶς) has thy mercy tarried?
If [I have] turned to thee a little, thou oughtest to turn to me much.
. . . . . to thee: o pure one (καθαρός), avenge (ἐκδικεῖν) me.
I have wearied [of] calling (?) thee: o doorkeeper (θυρωρός), open the door to me.
I will not stem my tears, o powerful one (ἱκανός), unless thou wipe away my sin.
If [my] offering (προσφορά) is pure, receive it into thy λαϊκόν.
If [they] bring disaster (σφάλμα) upon me, o righteous one (δίκαιος), set me up (ἐπανορθοῦν).
Give a commandment (ἐντολή) concerning me that none may wrong (ἀδικεῖν) me.
Bind me to thy guard because of the thief that is in the house with me.
Let thy mercy be a spark and catch the chaff that is in me.
If I finish my course (ἀγών), o powerful one (δυνατός), crown (στεφανοῦν) me.
Take me up upon thy wings; o eagle (ἀετός), fly with me to the skies.
Set my white robe (λευκόν) upon me: take me in as a gift (δῶρον) to thy Father.
Glory to my Saviour (ⲥⲱⲣ), the mercy that flows forth from the Father.
Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρ.) Mary.

Call to the builders, saying: Come, build quickly.
Build quickly, ye builders, for the time (καιρός) is ripe (?) upon us.
Lo, we have laid out the foundation: Christ is the θεμέλιος.
He that has gold for the building, — let him build virginity (παρθενία). Call.
He that has silver for the building, — let him build continence (ἐγκράτεια). Call.

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13 ⲭⲱⲗ: cf. 58, 22 n; 53, 21. — 14 λαϊκόν: a neuter subs., appar. denoting the place into which the offering of a layman (λαϊκός, vid. Sophocles op. cit. s. v.) was received. — 18 ⲱⲛⲁ: vid. 216, 15 n. ⲇⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲱⲛⲁ: cf. 15, 18. — 17 i. e. the element of Darkness in the body. — 26 ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲧ̄: vid. 99, 22 n.

ⲦⲦⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ ⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲕⲕⲱⲧ ⲯⲗⲏⲗ ⲥⲓ
. . . . .]. ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲗ̅Ⲗⲡ]ⲱⲣⲕⲱⲧ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲱⲧ . . ⲉⲧⲉⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲱⲭⲥ̄
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲗ̅Ⲗ]ⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁⲧ ⲣⲁⲩⲉ ⲥⲓⲭⲟⲣⲧⲟⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲕⲥⲱ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲗ̅Ⲗⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁⲧ ⲕⲉⲱ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲱⲧ̀ • ⲛ̄ⲕⲯⲟⲩⲯⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ
ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲯⲁⲕⲟⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲱ ⲉⲩⲥⲗⲉⲃⲗⲉⲃⲧ̄ • ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲯⲛⲏ
ⲉⲩⲯⲉⲩⲯⲁⲩⲧ̄ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲗ̅Ⲗⲡⲱⲣⲕⲟⲥⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ • ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲛ̀ⲧ̀ⲕ̀ ⲉ̀ⲕⲯⲛⲏ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲗ̅Ⲗⲡⲱⲣⲕⲁⲧ̀ ⲱⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲕⲭⲓ ⲧⲥⲫ[ⲣ]ⲁⲅⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ
ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲗ̅Ⲗ]ⲡⲱⲣⲭⲓ ⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲉ ⲃⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏⲏ̈
ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛⲁ . . . ⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲃⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
Ⲛⲉⲧⲕⲁⲕⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲕⲁⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲉ]ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲕⲧⲁⲱⲕ̀ ⲁⲕⲱⲧ̀ • ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲣⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
Ⲉ]ⲕⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̀ • ⲡⲉⲕⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈
ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲩⲃ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲦⲦⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ • ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲁ ⲙ
Ⲗ̅Ⲗⲡⲱ]ⲣⲧⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲥⲓⲛⲏⲃ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲱⲧ
Ⲕ]ⲱⲧ̀ ⲡⲉⲕⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲥⲙⲉⲩ • + ⲡⲉⲩⲗⲱⲃⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲭⲁⲕⲟ̄
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
Ⲧ]ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲡⲗⲱⲃⲱ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ
Ⲟ]ⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲏⲣ̄ ⲭⲛⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲡⲱⲣⲕ̀
ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ̀ ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁ
ⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ

Ⲅⲁ]ⲙⲏⲛ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲅⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ
ⲥ]ⲁⲡⲅ[ⲁⲙ]ⲏⲛ

27 ⲭⲛⲧⲉ sic.

He that has jewels, — let him build prayers and
. . . . . Call.
Build not anything upon the building . . . . . burn
it. Call.
Build not stubble and grass (χόρτος) and eat and drink in
the name of the Lord. Call.
Build not reeds upon the building and glory
in the name of God. Call.
Thou findest the reed smooth, its inside being wasted
and hollow. Call.
Do not adorn (κοσμεῖν) thyself outwardly and be found wasted
in thy inward parts. Call.
Build not wood upon the building and receive the seal (σφραγίς) of the
cross (σταυρός). Call.
Receive not [the] seal (σφραγίς) outwardly, while the thief seizes all
the houses (?) that are built by night, the day . . . . forth (?).
The night is the time of the body (σῶμα), the day is the going forth.
In those that thou buildest by day shalt thou lodge.
If thou hast set thyself to build, let the measure come first for thee.
If thou buildest with no measure in thy hand, thy building will go up
crooked. Call.
The building is the commandment (ἐντολή), the measure is the
profession (ὁμολογία).
Be not drunk, sleep not, lest thou fall from the building.
Build thy house and give it storeys, roof it and make it
perfect. Call.
The commandment (ἐντολή) is the knowledge, the roof is the love (ἀγάπη)
of the Father.
Glory and honour to my Saviour ($\overline{\text{σηρ}}$), the foundation (?) ineradicable.
Peace and life be there to the soul of the
blessed (μακαρία) Mary.

Amen, the Father, Amen, the Son: let us answer
to the Amen.

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9 i. e. smooth and comely outside but inside etc. — 10 ⲱⲉⲩⲱⲁⲩⲧ: qual. of ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ, 'to hollow', Crum Dict. 612a. — 19. 20 ⲙⲁⲍⲉ: 'measuring-rod', cf. ⲙⲁⲍⲉ 'cubit', Crum op. cit. 210b. — 24 ⲟⲩⲁⲍⲙⲉⲩ: cf. ⲟⲩⲁⲍⲙⲉ, 'storey', Crum op. cit. 510b.

ⲅⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲅⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲅⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲡⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃ[ⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲱⲗⲡ̅
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲅⲁⲙⲏⲛ
ⲅⲁⲙⲏⲛ . . . . . ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ [ⲧⲏ
ⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̅
ⲕⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲕⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲛ • ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲫ̅ ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗ ⲕⲁⲃⲱ̣[ⲗ
ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲕ ⲉⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̅
ⲕⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲕⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲕⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲉⲕⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲱϫⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲅⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̈ⲓⲱⲛ̣
ⲅⲁⲙⲏ[ⲛ ⲛⲉϫ]ⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧⲱ̅ • ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲉⲛⲱⲱⲛ ⲁⲧⲛ̅ⲱ̅ⲣⲱ
ⲅ]ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ϯⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲅⲁⲗⲃ ⲉⲧϯ ⲅⲗⲁⲃ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲁ̣ⲙⲏⲛ ⲡ̈ⲓⲣⲏ ⲛ̅ⲁⲧⲅⲱⲧⲡ̄ • ⲡϫⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲥⲁⲛⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲁ̣ⲙⲏⲛ ⲡ̈ⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲁⲅⲁ̈ⲓⲡⲉ • ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲃⲱϫⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ
ⲁⲛⲏⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̅
ⲁ̣ⲙⲏⲛ ⲡⲅⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̅ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲛ̄ⲅⲏⲧ[ⲩ̈
ⲁ̣ⲙⲏⲛ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ϫⲁ̈ⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ • ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲅⲛ̄ⲧⲩ̈ⲙⲛ̅
ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̅
ⲁ̣ⲙⲏⲛ ⲡ|ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧϫ| ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲅⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲁ|ⲱⲛ
ⲁ̣ⲙⲏⲛ ⲡ|ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲁⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲟⲩ ⲅⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧ[ⲉ
ⲁ̣ⲙⲏⲛ ϯⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲉⲧϯ ϫ|ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟ|ⲭⲉ|ⲱⲛ
ⲁ̣ⲙⲏⲛ ⲧⲥⲟⲫ|ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧϯ ⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ϯⲩϫⲁⲩⲉ
ⲁ̣ⲙⲏⲛ ⲡ|ⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧ̀ⲧⲛ̄ⲅⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅
ⲁ̣ⲙⲏⲛ ⲡ|ⲱⲏⲣ ⲙⲉⲣ|ⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣⲁ̣ⲛ
ⲁ̣ⲙⲏⲛ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲅⲗⲃⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲅⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲅⲁⲡ[ⲏ
ⲁ̣ⲙⲏⲛ ϯⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲏⲧ̀ ⲉⲧϯ ⲁⲣⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ
Ⲧ|ⲱⲧ̀ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ • ⲧⲉ|̈ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥ|ⲁ
ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̅
Ⲉ|̈ⲱⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲅⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲛ
Ⲱ ϯⲁⲗⲙⲱⲇⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲡⲅⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩϯⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲩ . . . ⲙⲉ . . . . . .
Ⲧⲁⲱⲇⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ • ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲡ|ⲅⲁⲙⲏ̣[ⲛ
ⲗⲁ[ⲣ]ⲁⲛ ⲁⲡⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϫⲁ̈ⲓⲧ̀ ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲕ ⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲅⲁ
ⲙⲏⲛ

28 ϯⲁⲗⲙⲱⲇⲟⲥ sic.

Amen, Amen, Amen, the holy Spirit, [that makes revelation:
let us answer to the Amen.
Amen, ... thou the Father of all the
Lights. Let us.
Thou endurest, thou shalt endure also; the universe shall pass away, but
thou shalt not pass away. Let us.
Thou art, thou art, thou art: thy years shall not fail.
Holy, holy, holy to thee, o Amen, King of the Aeons.
Amen, pleasant ships, that will bring us to our harbour.
Amen, sweet dew, that gives sweetness to all fruits (καρπός).
Amen, sun that goes not down, lord of all places of rising.
Amen, moon that fills the measure, yet never
wanes. Let us.
Amen, perfect day, wherein there is no night.
Amen, king that wears the crown, that endures in his
kingdom. Let us.
Amen, holy God, that is garlanded in his Aeons.
Amen, Light on high, that shines forth in his beloved ones.
Amen, strong power, that gives strength to the elements (στοιχεῖον).
Amen, true Wisdom (σοφία), that teaches souls.
Amen, holy Spirit, that gives life also to Spirits.
Amen, beloved Son, that gave himself to death for us (?).
Amen, gentle Father, that embraces us in his Love (ἀγάπη).
Amen, merciful Mother, that gives her milk to us.
The Father, the Son, the holy Spirit, — this is the perfect
Church. Let us.
When I utter Amen the doors of the skies open.
O psalmist (ψαλμῳδός) of the sky, Amen, to whom they make music (ψάλλειν).
They that embrace . . . . . .
The dozen (δωδεκάς) of Apostles were a garland to Amen.
Let us go to the Mount of Olives that I may tell thee of the glory of Amen.

5 ϭωλ: vid. 70, 11 n. — 12 ⲙⲁϩⲁⲗⲡⲉ: cf. 41, 25 n. — 30 i. e. encircled him, vid. von Lemm, Cyprian von Antiochien, 71, 6 ff.

Tawdekac ⲛ̄apostolos • avr̄oykλaⲙ ap̄iⲥaⲙhn
Ⲁp̄iⲥaⲙhn oywwbe nev avtevo ⲛ̄neⲩⲙaiⲥe
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲁⲙhn avbwpe ⲙ̄ⲙaï • aⲙhn an ⲙ̄poybwpe ⲙ̄ⲙaï
Ⲁⲙhn avkp̄ine ⲙ̄ⲙaï • aⲙhn an ⲙ̄poykp̄ine ⲙ̄ⲙaï
Ⲁⲙhn avⲥtavre ⲙ̄ⲙaï • aⲙhn an ⲙ̄poyⲥtavre ⲙ̄ⲙaï
Ⲁⲙhn avⲭ̣wte ⲙ̄ⲙaï • aⲙhn an ⲙ̄poyⲭwte ⲙ̄ⲙaï
Ⲁⲙhn ⲁ̣ị̈ⲱwp ⲙ̄kaⲥ • aⲙhn an ⲙ̄p̄iⲱwp ⲙ̄kaⲥ
Ⲁⲙhn ϯⲥⲛ̄paï̈wt • aⲙhn an paï̈wt ⲛ̄ⲥht
Koywⲱ pⲭwk ⲇe ⲙ̄pⲥaⲙhn aï̈cwbe ⲙ̄ptto
ⲙ̄poyⲱcwbe ⲙ̄ⲙaï
Ⲁⲙhn aⲙhn aⲙhn aⲙhn an pnoyte ⲛ̄qtoyⲥo
Oyeay ⲙⲛ̄oytaï̈o ⲙ̄pⲥaⲙhn p̄ï̈wt ⲛ̄tⲙⲛ̄tnaϭ
Oycⲙoy ⲙⲛ̄oytoybo ⲛ̄|hc̄ pⲱhre ⲙ̄pⲥaⲙhn
Oyϭpo ⲙ̄pp̄nⲁ etoyabe etaqtceban ap̄iⲥaⲙhn
ⲙⲛ̄neqcwtp̄ etoyabe • oyⲙatnec ecaⲱwpe
ⲛ̄tϯyxh ⲛ̄tⲙakaria maria ⲑeona

Neoyⲛ̄ ⲙhte ⲙ̄parⲑenoc eyraï̈c appaⲭeleet
Neoyⲛ̄ ϯe ⲛ̄caBh neoyⲛ̄ ϯe ⲛ̄ceϭh • neoyⲛ̄ ⲙ
Ⲁtϯe ⲛ̄ceϭh Bwk aretⲏ ⲛ̄tϯe ⲛ̄caBh neoyⲙⲛ̄
Ⲗⲁ nen oykoyï̈ ⲛ̄nhⲥ anⲛ̄Ⲗampac ⲭe avⲭene
ⲱante pⲛ̄xaï̈c oywtBe aⲥoyn neoyⲙⲛ̄
Ⲍay ⲛ̄nan ⲛ̄nan ⲛ̄nan maре pwn ⲥwn ρw
ⲱe aran neoyⲙⲛ̄ⲧ
Bwk ataⲅora tetⲛ̄ⲱap nhⲥ anetⲛ̄Ⲗampac
Ⲍwc avBwk avei appaⲭeleet oywtBe aⲥoyn
Ⲁ]vei avtwⲥme aⲥoyn ⲙ̄pe ppaⲭeleet [e]oyen
ⲙ̄pro neoyⲙⲛ̄ⲧ
Ⲍaϥ Bwk maⲱe nhtⲛ̄ ϯcayne ⲙ̄mwtne en
Tparen atetⲛ̄xⲓtⲏ • naⲥBhye ⲥwB ⲙ̄petⲛ̄eï̈toy

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20 etc. neoyⲙⲛ̄ⲧ, neoyⲙⲛ̄ⲧ sic. — 29 maⲱe sic. — 30 ⲥwB sic.

The Dozen (δωδεκάς) of Apostles were a garland to Amen.
Amen answered them, he told them of his
wonders.
Amen, I was seized; Amen again, I was not seized.
Amen, I was judged (κρίνειν); Amen again, I was not judged (κρίνειν).
Amen, I was crucified (σταυροῦν); Amen again, I was not crucified (σταυροῦν).
Amen, I was pierced; Amen again, I was not pierced.
Amen, I suffered; Amen again, I did not suffer.
Amen, I am in my Father; Amen again, my Father is in me.
But (δέ) thou desirest the fulfilment of Amen: I mocked the world,
they could not mock me.
Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen again, the four-faced God.
Glory and honour to Amen, the Father of Greatness.
Blessing and holiness to Jesus, the son of Amen.
Victory to the holy Spirit that has taught us of Amen,
and to his holy Elect. Peace be
to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

There were ten virgins, watching for the Bridegroom.
There were five wise, there were five foolish. There were.
The five foolish went to the five wise. There were.
'Give us a little oil for our lamps (λαμπάς), for they have gone out,
until our Lord passes in.' There were.
They said (?), 'No, no, no; our own does not suf-
fice for us. There were.
'Go to the market-place (ἀγορά) and buy oil for your lamps (λαμπάς).'
So (ὡς) they went and came, the Bridegroom passed in.
They came, they knocked; the Bridegroom did not open
the door. There were.
He said (?), 'Go, away with you: I do not know you.
'You received my name, but you did not do my works.

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1 vid. 190, 30 n. — 12 cf. Migne P.G. I. 1461 τὸν τετραπρόσωπον πατέρα τοῦ μεγέθους. — 18 ff. cf. Mt. 25, 1 ff. — 23 ⲛⲛⲁⲛ: 'no', = sahidic ⲛⲛⲟ (?), vid. Rahlfs, Ä.Z. 43, pp. 151 f. — 23 ϩⲁⲩ 29 ϩⲁⲩ: the context suggests that these are respectively the 3rd. plur. and 3rd. sing. of some (prob. archaic and limited in its use, like inquam and ait in Latin) verb meaning 'say'. But there seems to be no other evidence, except perhaps Hom. 64, 6. — 30 cf. Mt. 7, 21—23.

Τογϊοτηνε αβαλ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϊ ⲛ̄ⲉⲣⲅⲁτηc ⲛ̄τανομια
Νιϩλλαϊ ναν|ckιⲙ νικογϊ ⲛ̄αλογ νετϯ cⲃω νεγ
Νατcοε ⲛ̄ραⲙⲡε νετϯcⲃω ⲛ̄ⲛατcε ⲛ̄ραⲙⲡε
Ογωνε ⲙ̄ⲙαργαρ|τηc πε ιηc ϩⲛ̄πεγαγγελιον
Ογcⲛ̄τε ⲛ̄ατναϊνε αρας πε πετρος παποστολος
Ογνογc εⲫ[να]ⲱⲧ ϩⲛ̄ογηρ πε ανδρεας π|ϩⲁⲧⲣⲉ
Ογχαϊ ⲛⲁⲧⲣ̄ⲙⲁγ πε ιωαννηc ⲡ̣|παρθενος
Ογcαⲛ ⲣ̄ϩⲁⲧ ϩⲛ̄ογηρ πε ιακκωⲃος πεⲫκεcαⲛ
αγω ⲛ̄ταⲫμογ ϩαπⲃαcⲙ̄ ⲛ̄πωνε
Ογϩαρⲱϩⲧ πε φιλιππος εⲫϩⲛ̄τχωρα ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ογ
ⲁⲙⲣⲱⲙⲉ νεογ
Ττιεϊνε ⲛ̄ταⲙερ|ⲙνε|α πε πϩλλο ⲛ̄ⲃαρθο
ⲙαιος εⲙαⲫⲃι παⲓκ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲟⲟγε ⲛ̣ⲉⲙⲉⲫ
Ογεcαγ εⲫ . . ṭηλ ⲱⲁποογ πε c|ⲙωⲛ πκⲁⲛⲁⲛι
Ογεⲱωτ ⲛ̄ρεⲫⲃⲛϩηγ πε θωⲙας ϩⲛ̄τχωρα ⲙ̄
πϩⲛ̄τογ νεογ
Ογⲙαθητηc ⲛ̄cⲧ̄ⲙητ πε αλφαιος π|ρ̣ⲙ̄ρεⲱε
Ογρεϥ† νογτε ⲛ̄ⲱτογητ̀ πε ϊουδας π|ⲙαιϩαⲙⲧ̄
Ογϩαη ναⲩρε ϩωωϥ πε ⲙατθαιος π|τελωνηc
Ττκαλαβιν ⲙ̄ⲡνομος πε παγλος παποστολος
Ογϩαγⲱνε τε ⲙαρι|ϩαⲙⲁ̣ εcⲃωρⲃ̀ απκεⲙⲛ̄τογ
ηε ετcαρⲙε νεογⲛ̄
Ογρεϥⲱⲙ̄ⲱε ecραγτ̀ τε ⲙαρθα τecκα|cωνε
ϩⲛ̄ecαγ ⲛ̄cτⲙητ̀ νε cαλωⲙη ⲙ̄ⲛ̄αρcενοη
Ογρεϥκαταφρονη ⲙ̄ⲡ̣cωⲙⲁ̣ πε θεκλα †ⲙαϊνογτε
Ογρεϥ†ⲱ|ⲡε ⲛ̄ⲫαϥ τε ⲙαξ|ⲙ|ιλλα †π|cτος
Ογρεϥχ|ⲱ|νε ⲁ̣ⲧⲛⲁⲩρε τε ιφ|δαμας τecκα|cω
νε [c]ⲱτεκατ̀ ⲁⲛ|ⲱτεκωογ
Ογcαϊχ ecϩⲛ̄παγων τε αρ|cτοⲃογλα †ϩαρⲱϩⲧ
Ογρεϥ†ογαϊνε ⲛ̄ⲃε τε εγⲃογλα †ευγενηc ec
cωϰ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲛⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲛⲧγεⲙων
Ογc . . . ⲙ̄ⲙαϊcαϩ τε ⲇρογc|ανη †ⲙαϊνογτε εcηλ

12. 13 leg. Βαρθο⟨λο⟩μαιος. — 6 εⲙναⲱⲧ = ἀνδρεῖος? — 17 fin. fort. πκⲙ̄ρεⲱε. — 27 leg. ιφ|δαμα. — 32 init. fort. ογcαⲃη.

'Depart far from me, you workers (ἐργάτης) of iniquity (ἀνομία).'
The grey-haired old men, — the little children instruct them.
They that are six years old instruct them that are sixty years old.
A pearl-stone (-μαργαρίτης) is Jesus in the Gospel (εὐαγγέλιον).
An unshakeable foundation is Peter the Apostle.
A mind (νοῦς) strong (?) in how much is Andrew the twin (?).
A ship (?) . . . . is John the Virgin.
A brother . . . . in (?) how much is James, his brother also,
and he died beneath the storm of stone.
An enduring one is Philip, he being in the land (χώρα) of the
Anthropophagi. There were.
The sign of freedom from care (ἀμεριμνία) is the old Bartholomew,
for he does not take the bread of the day with him.
A sheep . . .-ing up to this day is Simon the Cananite.
A merchant that finds gain is Thomas in the land (χώρα) of
India. There were.
An obedient disciple (μαθητής) is Alphaeus, the gentle (?).
An accuser of God is Judas, the lover of money.
But a good end is Matthew the tax-gatherer (τελώνης).
The axe of the Law (νόμος) is Paul the Apostle.
A net-caster is Mariam, hunting for the eleven others
that were wandering. There were.
A joyous servant is Martha her sister also.
Obedient sheep are Salome and Arsenoe.
A despiser (-καταφρονεῖν) of the body (σῶμα) is Thecla, the lover of God.
A shamer of the serpent is Maximilla the faithful (πιστός).
A receiver of good news is Iphidama her sister also,
imprisoned (?) in the prisons.
A champion in the fight (ἀγών) is Aristobula the enduring one.
A giver of Light to others (?) is Eubula the noble woman (εὐγενής),
drawing the heart of the prefect (ἡγεμών).
A . . . . that loves [her] master is Drusiane, the lover of God, shut

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1 cf. Mt. 7, 23; Lk. 13, 27. — 4 cf. Mt. 13, 45. 46. — 9 cf. 142, 25. 26. — 12. 13 cf. Budge, Coptic Apocrypha, p. 227. — 15 vid. Acta Thomae, ed. Bonnet, passim. — 18 ⲱⲧⲟⲩⲏⲧ (cf. 195, 25): vid. Crum Dict. 598 b. — 21. 22 vid. 187, 2 n. For ⲍⲁⲩⲱⲛⲉ vid. Crum op. cit. 734 b. — 25 cf. 143, 4 ff. — 26. 29 cf. 143, 13 n. — 27 vid. Lipsius-Bonnet op. cit. II 1 39, 3. — 28 [c]ⲱⲧⲉⲕⲁⲧ: I know no other example of ⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ used as a verb. — 30 vid. Schmidt, Πράξεις Παύλου, 1936. — 32 vid. 143, 12 n.

ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄|ⲁ̅] ⲛ̣ϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲥⲱⲓⲛ[ⲉ] ⲥⲁⲡⲧⲁ[ⲡⲟ]ⲥⲧⲟⲗ[ⲟ]ⲥ
. . . . . .]ⲉ ⲙⲁ̣.ⲉ ⲉⲁⲩⲃⲛⲧⲥ̀ ⲧⲉ ⲙⲩⲅⲇⲟⲛⲓⲁ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ
ⲙ̄]ⲡϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ
Ⲟⲩ]ⲧⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ϩⲓ[ⲧ ⲉⲩ]ⲛⲓⲫⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲛ̄ⲭⲥ
ⲭⲉⲛⲁⲃⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲣϩⲱⲧ̀ ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲁⲛ]ⲁⲛ ϩⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲧ ⲛⲏϩ ⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲛⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ
ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ
Ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲧⲛ̄ϩⲱⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲟⲩⲱ
ⲧⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲭ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ϩⲓⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲭ̄ⲁⲡⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲁⲉ
ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲓⲭ ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲣϩⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ̀ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲛ̄ ϩⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ

Ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲡⲥⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲫⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ
ⲁⲙⲏ̈ⲛⲉ ϩⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ
Ⲡⲏ̈ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ̄
ⲡ̈ⲏⲱⲧ ⲁⲙⲏ̈ⲛⲉ
Ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲧⲉⲧϩⲓⲣⲛ̄ⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲏ̈ⲱⲧ̀
Ⲧⲉϩⲓⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲭⲓ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲱⲛϩ̀
Ⲧⲧ]ϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲡⲁⲡ|ⲣⲏ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧϩⲱⲧⲡ̄
Ⲧⲧ]ⲁⲏ̈ⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̀ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ
Ⲧ]ⲡⲏⲅⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲗⲟ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲓ ⲃⲁⲃⲥ ⲁⲡⲱⲛϩ
Ⲧ]ⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲧⲁⲡ|ⲏⲣⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀
Ⲧⲱⲗϩ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲡⲱⲣⲁ
Ⲧⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϩ̀
Ⲧⲡⲁϩⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
Ⲧⲱⲱⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ϩⲓⲡϩⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
Ⲁⲩϩⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲏⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲩϩⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲣⲉⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛⲏ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
Ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲙ ⲙⲛ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲧⲙ̄ⲧⲱⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
Ⲁⲩⲣⲛⲉⲓ̈ ϩⲓⲡϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ

1 cf. 143, 12. — 11 leg. ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ. — 18 ⲧⲉϩⲓⲏ sic. — 27 leg. ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲣⲉⲩϩⲓ.

up for fourteen] days, questioning her Apostle.
. . . . . who was found is Mygdonia in the land (χώρα)
of] India.
A] north wind blowing upon us is our Lord Mani,
that we may put out with him and sail to the Land of Light.
Let us also, my brethren, put oil in our lamps (λαμπάς)
until our Lord passes in.
Let us not slumber and sleep until our Lord takes
us across, his garland upon his head, his palm
in his hand, wearing the robe (στολή) of his glory, and we go within
the bride-chamber and reign with him, all of us together,
and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary. Amen. There were.

The Son of the living God, the physician of souls,
come, sing to him, the Saviour (σωτήρ) of Spirits (πνεῦμα).
The Father who is in the Son, the Son who is in
the Father. Come.
The tower of the kingdom that is over the treasure (χρῆμα) of the Father.
The straight way that leads in to life.
The] perfect day of Light, that of the sun that does not set.
The] holy bread of life that is come from the skies.
The] sweet spring (πηγή) of water that leaps unto life.
The] true vine, that of the living wine.
The joyous branch of the tree, that is laden with fruit (ὀπώρα).
The new plant of God, that of the fruits (καρπός) of life.
The joyous bridegroom of his Church.
The shepherd of the sheep that wanders in the desert of this world (κόσμος).
He passed the powers (ἀρχή) by taking their likeness.
He mocked the principalities (ἐξουσία) by likening himself to them.
The powers and the dominions, — he darkened them all.
He did these things on high, floating (?) in the skies.

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1 cf. 143, 12. — 5 ϭωογ: cf. 76, 30. — 21 ⲃⲓ ⲃⲁϭⲥ: vid. Crum Dict. 627 b. — 29 vid. Crum op. cit. 724 b. — 30 ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉ (cf. 195, 11. 12): qual of ⲟⲩⲱⲗⲉ (used reflexively 103, 27; 212, 8) = ? 'float' (frequent in demotic of ships on the water: H.T.).

ⲁⲩ .[.]. . . . [ⲉⲓ]ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲥⲁ]ⲣⲝ ⲡⲥϧⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ[. . . . . .
ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲣ̣ⲣ̣ⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄
ⲁⲩⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲥϧⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲑ̣[ⲁ]ⲟⲩⲁⲛ
ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲑⲟⲩⲓ̈[ⲧⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲉⲥ[ⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓⲁ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ̣
ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲛⲕⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲉⲩⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲅ̣[ⲁⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ
ⲁⲩⲃⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲏ̄ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
ⲁⲩⲃⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲁⲩⲃⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲧⲅⲣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲓⲁ
Ϊⲁⲕⲕⲱⲃ[ⲟⲥ] ⲁⲩⲃⲛⲧⲏ̄ ⲧⲡⲏⲅⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ
ⲁⲩⲃⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱ ⲅⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲅⲁⲣⲱⲅⲏⲧ
ⲁⲩⲃⲛ̄ ⲃⲁⲣⲑⲟⲗⲟⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ
ⲁⲩⲃⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲑⲱⲙⲁⲥ ⲡⲥⲧⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲅⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲟⲩ
Ⲧⲧⲕⲁ[ⲓ]ϊⲁⲕⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲃⲛⲧⲏ̄ ⲡⲥⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ
Ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲃⲛⲧⲏ̄ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲥ ⲁⲡⲱⲛⲥ
ⲁⲩⲃⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲗⲉⲩⲓⲥ ⲡⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ
ⲁⲩⲧ ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲛⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲛⲱ̄ ⲁⲡⲱⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲧ ⲧⲉⲗⲱ ⲁⲥⲏⲧⲏ̄
ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲅⲁⲙⲙⲏ ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ
ⲁⲩⲧ ⲡⲱⲛⲋ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲑⲁ ⲡⲛⲓⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲇⲓⲁⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ
ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲗⲱⲙⲏ • ⲧϧⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲣⲏⲛⲏ
ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲥⲉⲛⲟⲏ • ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲁⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲉ
ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲗ ⲑⲓⲉⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲏⲙ • ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲛⲉⲥⲙⲁⲣⲅⲁⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ
ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲋⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲅⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲉ
ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲃⲉⲗ ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲗⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲥⲉ
ⲁⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ
ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲗⲋ̀ • ⲅⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄
ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲧ ⲡⲫ̄ⲣⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲋ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ
ⲁⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲣⲁⲩ • ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ
ⲁⲡⲩⲱⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲥⲁⲩ • ⲙⲁⲋ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲗⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
Ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄
Ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲋ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ ⲅⲓⲭⲱⲟⲩ

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1 fin. ⲛ̄[ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ] coniicio. — 5 ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ sic: leg. ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ? — 28 leg. ⲡⲫ̄⟨ⲃ⟩ⲣⲉ?

He did . . . . . likeness (?) of the flesh (σάρξ), the vesture (σχῆμα) of . . .
God became man (?), he went about in all the world.
He received a man's likeness, a slave's vesture (σχῆμα).
He chose his disciples (μαθητής), the beginning of his fold.
He traversed Judea, looking for stones daily.
He went to the shores of the sea (θάλασσα), seeking pearls (μαργαρίτης).
First he found Peter, the foundation of his Church.
He found Andrew, the first holy statue.
He found John, the flower of virginity (παρθενία).
James he found, the spring (πηγή) of the new wisdom (σοφία).
He found Philip, who is great in endurance.
He found Bartholomew, the rose of Love (ἀγάπη).
He found the other Thomas, the sweet smell that went to India.
The other James he found, the true brother of the Lord.
Simon the Cananite he found, full of zeal for life.
He found Levi, the throne (θρόνος) of faith.
He gave the fragment (κλάσμα) to Judas, he took even the little Light.
He kept the wolf from the fold, he set the trap on him.
He chose Mariam, the Spirit of wisdom (σοφία).
He gave life to Martha, the breath of discretion (διάκρισις).
He summoned Salome, the grace (χάρις) of peace (εἰρήνη).
He called Arsenoe, he set her in the garland of Truth.
He despoiled Jerusalem, he took her pearls (μαργαρίτης).
He revived the dead from the death of their sins.
He opened the eyes that were closed at the time of the man born blind.
He caused the ears of the unhearing soul to hear.
He planted his shoots in the field of his Elect.
He sowed the seed in the soil of his men of knowledge.
The voice of his cry went to the world (οἰκουμένη).
His sheepfold filled the corners of the world (κόσμος).
The kings that heard put their crowns down.
The first-born of the earth cast their garlands from them.

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7 ff. cf. Lk. 6, 14 ff. — 7. 8. 21 Instances of paronomasia, as also 192, 5. 19 (?) τέλος – τελώνης. — 17 (a) cf. Joh. 13, 26; (b) i. e. took away what little light Judas had. — 31 cf. Rev. 4, 10.

Ν̄ρm̄ma]ï m̄πκας αγρ̄ϩηκε ετβητ̄ϥ
. . .]ηογβ μ̄ñ̄ϩ̣ . . . ϩ̣ . ϧ̣ϩ̣ϩ̣ϒ ṇ̃cωογ αϒμαϩε
.]ϩ̣ανωνε ñ̄κ̣ϙ̣[. . . μ]μ̣ηε • αγναχ̣ϙ̣ϒ αβαλ [αγ]πωτ
Ν]ανιαϩογ μ̄ñ̄ηϕ̣ooμ αγλο ϩαραϒ αγωωϥ
. .] . ϩ̣ιϩ̣με μ̄ñ̄νωηρε αϒ . . . ñ̄ αγβωϧ αγϧααϒ
Νε]τ̣ραγτ̀ ετογωμ ετϙ̣ω αγϩωϭμε ϩατηηστια
Ν]ε̣τ̣ωογωογ αχ̄ñ̄πεγϲαϊε • αγϧααϥ απβωϲτ̄ εγραγτ̀
ϪΥ]τ̣ελο πστ̣αγρος αχωογ • αγϧωτε ϧατα ϯμε
ϪΥ]βωϧ ανϩιαγε εγϩϧεϊτ̀ • εμñ̄ αϊϧ ñ̄[το]οτογ
ϪΥ]γμαϩε m̄πκαγμα εγογαβε • m̄πογβι μαγ αϲογ
ϪΥ]ñ̄ ηογβ μñ̄ ϩετ μñ̄ ϩαμτ̀ • εαγβι νεμεγ εγμαϩε
ϪΥ]γβωϧ αϩογν αν†με • εγϲαγνε ñ̄λαγε εν
ϪΥωαπογ αραγ ετβητ̄ϥ • αγμερι̣τογ ετβε πεϥρεν •
ϩαϊνε αγμεϲτωογ • αγναχογ αβαλ ñ̄τϥλαϊϭε
ϪΥωληλ αχ̄ñ̄νεγχαχε • αγϲμογ ανετϩαγω̄ αραγ
ϪΥ†ααϲ αϩογν αϩρεγ • αγϧωτε ñ̄τεγϧαιογαϭε
ϪΥτεεγ αμμαν†ϩεπ̀ • αγϲωβε ϲαñ̄ϧρι̣τηϲ
ϪΥταχαγ απμογ • αγβι ϩαραϥ εγρεωε
ϪΥϧααγ ϩαπϩϧο μ̄ñ̄πιβε • αγωνϩ̄ απεϥϲεχε
ϪΥ]γβαωογ ñ̄νεγϲωμα • αγ† πεϥογαϊνε αχωογ
ϪΥτελαγ ατϲετε • αϥτ̄ϧβαγ ϩ̄ñ̄νεϥϊωτε
ϪΥεωτογ απστ̣αγρος • αϥχιτογ αππαραδιϲος
ϪΠφθονος μαϩ ναπνομος αγτων αχ̄ñ̄πμενηγ
ϪΥϧωρ̄ϣ̄ απποδοτηϲ • αγ† ϩετ̀ ϩαραϥ
ϪΥϥτεεϥ ατοοτογ ñ̄ϣτογητ̀ εγμεγε χε ογρωμε πε
ϪΥϧρινε m̄μαϥ ογτωογ • ϩ̄ñ̄τογμητε τηρογ
ϪΥτεεϥ m̄πρεϥ†ϩεπ̀ m̄πογϭn̄ ναβε αραϥ
ϪΥϲαϧ πεϥμογ αχωογ μ̄ñ̄πεϥϲναϥ ετβραϊτ
ϪΥεωτ̄ϥ απστ̣αγρος ñ̄τχπϲοε m̄πεϩοογε

3 leg. ñ̄κϲ[ογρ μ]μηε: H.T. — 10 leg. εγαβε.

The rich ones of the earth became poor for his sake.
. . . . gold and the . . . . . behind them, they went their way.
. . . . stone, the true . . ., they cast them away, they ran.
The possessors of fields and orchards left them, they wasted.
. . women and the children, they . . . ., they went, they left them.
They that rejoice (?), that eat and drink, — they withered through fasting (νηστεία).
They that glory in their beauty gladly let it decay.
They] took up the cross (σταυρός) upon them, they went from village to village.
They] went into the roads hungry, with no bread in their hands.
They walked in the heat (καῦμα) thirsting, they took no water to drink.
No gold, no silver, no money, did they take with them on their way.
They went into the villages, not knowing anybody.
They were welcomed for his sake, they were loved for his name's sake.
Some hated them and cast them out because of him.
They prayed for their enemies, they blessed them that curse them.
They were struck in the face, they turned their other cheek.
They were delivered to the courts, they laughed at the judges (κριτής).
They were condemned to death, they bore it rejoicing.
They were exposed to hunger and thirst, they lived on his word.
They were stripped of their bodies (σῶμα), they set his light upon them.
They were made to go up on the fire, he made them cool with his dews.
They were hanged to the cross (σταυρός), he took them to Paradise (παράδεισος).
Envy (φθόνος) filled the scribes (-νόμος), they rose against the shepherd.
They persuaded the traitor (προδότης), they gave silver for Him.
He accused him before them, they thinking that he is a man.
They judged (κρίνειν) him among them, in the midst of them all.
They delivered him to the judge, sin was not found in him.
They brought his death upon themselves and his victorious blood.
They hanged him to the cross (σταυρός) at the sixth hour of the day.

7 lit. 'left it to the decay'. Bωcτ: here a verbal noun, otherwise known only as a verb, vid. Crum Dict. 45 a; 648 b. — 8 cf. Mt. 16, 24 etc. — 15 cf. Mt. 5, 44. — 16 cf. Mt. 5, 40. — 25 lit. 'he delivered him to them accused', cf. 192, 18. — 29 cf. Joh. 19, 14 etc.

ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲍⲁⲧⲃⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣ̣ⲟ̣ [
ⲁⲩ+ ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲉ ⲁⲩⲑⲃ̈ⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲣⲁⲓ̈
ⲁⲩ+ ⲟⲩⲭⲗ[ⲁ]ⲙⲩⲥ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲁ[ⲱ] ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥ[ⲓⲁ
ⲁⲩ+ ⲟⲩⲍⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏ[ⲃ]ⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲉ ⲁⲩ[ⲟⲩ]ⲱⲥⲧ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩ[ⲙⲓⲁ
ⲁⲩ+ ⲟⲩⲕⲉⲱ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ̄ • ⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲍⲉⲓ̈ ⲍⲁⲛⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲉ
ⲁⲩⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲍⲙ̄ⲭ [ⲥⲓ]ⲱⲉⲗ • ⲁⲡⲙ̣ⲉ̣ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲍⲏⲃⲉ
ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲧ̄ⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲉⲣⲏⲍ • ⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲡⲟⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ
ⲁⲡⲣⲏ ⲥⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ • ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲑⲁⲗⲗⲓⲁ
ⲁⲩⲱⲃⲧ̄ⲕ̄ [ⲁ]ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲩⲍⲱⲧⲃⲉ • ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲡⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲟⲩⲙⲏ[ⲧ
ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ • ⲍⲛ̄ⲑⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲁⲏⲣ • ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ
ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲣⲱⲣ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲉ • ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁⲓⲟⲩⲏⲗⲟ[ⲛ
ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲗⲃ̣ⲗ̣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲛⲉ • ⲉⲩⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲩⲁⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ̣
ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲙ ⲍ|ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃ|ⲛⲧⲱⲛⲉ
N̄ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲭⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃⲡⲟⲩ
ⲁⲩⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡ|ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ
ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥⲁⲗⲡ|ⲅ̄ⲋ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲧⲉⲃⲧⲉ
ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲫⲟⲥⲥⲁⲧⲟⲛ
ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ|ⲭⲙⲁⲗⲱⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ
ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲛ̄ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ
Ⲗⲡⲉⲩⲃⲛ̄ ⲥⲁⲣ̄ⲋ ⲥ|ⲥⲛⲁⲩ • ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲩ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ
Ⲗⲡⲉⲩⲃⲛ̄ ⲕⲉⲥ ⲥ|ⲙⲟⲩⲧ̀ • ⲛⲉⲧⲩ̄ⲍⲁⲱⲍⲱ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ
Ⲗⲡⲉⲩⲃⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ • ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲍⲏⲇⲟⲛⲏ
Ⲟⲩⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲛⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡ|ⲟⲛ
ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲍⲏⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ|ⲙⲉ ⲍⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲍⲉⲗ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲱⲡⲉ
ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲍⲁⲡⲟⲩⲱ|ⲡⲉ ⲁ̣[ⲩ]ⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲉⲩⲃⲣⲁ̈ⲧ
ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲍⲱ • ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲁⲫⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲁ|ⲟⲛ
ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲟ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲓ̣ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲭ|ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲱⲁ
ⲡⲉⲩⲓ̈ⲱⲧ
ⲁⲩⲍⲙⲉⲥⲧ̀ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲓ̈ⲱⲧ̀ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧ
ⲁⲛⲍ

3 fort. ⲁⲩⲃⲁ[ⲗ]. — 6 ⲡⲙⲉ̣ⲓⲛⲉ incertum.

They went that they might kill him, they made him a king.
They put a garland on his head because he humbled their kings.
They put a cloak (χλαμύς) upon him because he stripped (?) their authorities (ἐξουσία).
They put a robe of purple upon him because he destroyed their desire (ἐπιθυμία).
They put a reed in his hand because he wrote of (?) their sins.
They made him drink vinegar and myrrh for the sign (?) of their grief.
They pierced him with the spear because he destroyed their πλάσμα.
The sun withdrew his light, it wore (φορεῖν) the *athalia*.
He disguised himself from those murderers, he was caught up from their presence.
He fettered them of the sky by the fear of his light.
He caught them of the air (ἀήρ) by the power of his angels.
He bound them of the earth by the marvel of his cross (σταυρός).
He demolished their temple, he rent their veil (οὐῆλον) also.
He dug up its stones, searching for its demons.
He opened the doors that were closed by his resurrection.
The doors and bars (μοχλός) of the men of Hades he broke.
He shone forth with his Light upon the Darkness that is without light.
A new Light was seen beneath the earth.
His trumpet (σάλπιγξ) summoned the multitude of his armies.
He escaped from death in the midst of his host (φοσσᾶτον).
He saved the prisoners (αἰχμάλωτος) that were shut up in death.
Death sought in him, it found nothing belonging to it.
It found not flesh (σάρξ) and blood, the things of which it eats.
It found not bone and sinew, which it consumes daily.
It found not its likeness in him — the fire, the lust (ἡδονή).
A figure (σχῆμα) is what it found, like a mask (προσωπεῖον).
It grieved, it wept, because of the deception that came to pass.
He left them in their shame, he went up victorious.
He broke the sepulchres, the ancient (ἀρχαῖον) tombs (τάφος).
He revived first the Righteous (δίκαιος), he took them with him to his Father.
He sat on the right hand of his Father among the Living.

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1 ff. cf. Mt. 27, 27 ff. — 7 ⲃⲉⲣⲙⲥ: 'spear' = sahidic ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲥ, Crum Dict. 184 a. It occurs also below 209, 21; Keph. 77, 4. — 8 ⲁⲑⲁⲗⲓⲁ = syriac *athaliā* (vid. Payne-Smith Thes. Syr. I 423; Brockelmann Lex. Syr. 55 a), 'stella quae solem tegens eclipsim efficit'. The word occurs also in a manichaean fragment written in syriac and published by Burkitt op. cit. p. 114. Dr. Henning has found it in a Soghdian text. — 26 lit. 'like these masks'. — 29 ⲥⲱ: otherwise unknown, save in the name Nephthys (vid. Crum Dict. 651 b) and in demotic = a large tomb (H.T.).

. . . .]ψ[. .] ⲙ̄maï ⲛ̄ⲥhtⲕ̀ • pacwthp panoyte
ϯateo]ⲩo ⲛ̄nekceⲭe eï̀p̄ϯale ⲥ̣ⲛ̄ⲡⲕeay
Nae] ⲛ̄tamⲛ̄tb̄ihn ψⲛ̄ⲥthⲕ aⲭⲛ̄nanabe
Tc]ebaï̀ apmaï̀ⲧ̀ apwnⲥ̀ • tae! ψarak eï̀pewe
ϯa]oywⲥ ⲥⲛ̄nekaiwn nekmaⲛ̄ψelet̀ ⲛ̄oyaï̀ne
Xi] ⲥ̣ⲙ̣h apaⲥray • cwtⲙ̄ apaⲧ̣ⲱbⲥ̣
Oy]eay nek panoyte • mⲛ̄ⲡeⲕ̣iwⲧ̣ etⲭace
Oy]bro mⲛ̄oyⲕlam evateey ⲛ̄tϯyⲭh ⲙ̄maria

C]ⲱo̩yⲥ amhï̀ne w ⲛ̄ψhre ⲙ̣̄prwme • ⲛ̄tetⲛ̄
c]wtⲙ̄ appreⲥbeytHc petaytⲛ̄nayⲩ mⲛ̄ⲡwi
ne] ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡhye
N]takei abal ekcayⲥ • ⲛ̄takei abal eycayⲥ̀ arak
teoyo ⲡwine aran ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡhye
N]takei abal epe naiwn cayⲥ ⲛ̄takei eycayⲥ arak
teoyo ⲡwine
N]eⲥce netⲥinhb netⲛ̄kate ⲥⲛ̄tlanoyt̀ ⲛ̄cete
oy]o̩ ⲡwine arwtⲛ̄
Ei]ⲥ̣ ⲡbaï̀wine aytⲛ̄nayⲩ mⲛ̄ⲡwine ⲙ̄ⲡkaⲥ ⲙ̄
ⲡ]oyaï̀ne ateoyo ⲡwine aran ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡ
Ay]tⲛ̄nayⲩ a[ⲩ]ei eⲩï̀hc euⲫayt̀ ψaⲡψarⲡ̄ ⲛ̄
r]wmⲉ̣ ⲭ[e eⲩa]te[o]yo ⲡwine arayⲩ
A]ⲩei auⲧwⲥme amⲡylh auaψϭhl ⲭe aoyen
ⲛ̄ϭlam tateoyo ⲡwine arwtⲛ̄ ⲛ̄
Bitⲕ̀ aⲥrhï̀ w ⲡψarⲡ̄ ⲛ̄rwme ayen anekⲡy
lh etψatme tateoyo ⲡwine arak
Bi]tⲕ̀ aⲥrhï̀ w ⲡψarⲡ̄ ⲛ̄rwme neⲥce ⲛ̄nekme
r]ete tateoyo ⲡwine arak̀
Bitⲕ̀ aⲥrhï̀ w ⲡψarⲡ̄ ⲛ̄rwme wψ tcalⲡirⲭ ⲛ̄t
eirhnh tateoyo ⲡwine arak

5 nekmaⲛ̄ψelet̀ sic.

. . . . . me in thee, my Saviour (σωτήρ), my God.
I will] preach (?) thy words, making music (ψάλλειν) in (?) thy glory.
Have mercy on] my poverty, have compassion upon my sins.
Teach me the way to life that I may come to thee rejoicing.
I will] dwell in thy Aeons, thy bride-chambers of Light.
Hearken to my cry, hear my prayer.
Glory to thee, my God, and thy Father on high.
Victory and a garland be there given to the soul of Mary.

Gather and come, o sons of man, and
hear the Envoy (πρεσβευτής) that was sent with the
news of the skies.
Thou camest forth, being gathered; thou camest forth, they being gathered
unto thee.
Tell us the news of the skies.
Thou camest forth, the Aeons being gathered; thou camest forth, they being
gathered unto thee.
Tell the news.
Awake, ye that slumber and sleep in the . . . ., that you
may be told the news.
Lo, the news-bearer has been sent with the news of the Land of
Light to tell us the news of the skies.
He was sent, he came hurrying and rejoicing to the First
Man, that [he] might tell him the news.
He came and knocked at the gates (πύλη) and cried, 'Open
quickly that I may tell you the news of [the skies].
'Rise up, o First Man, open thy gates (πύλη)
that are shut that I may tell thee the news.
'Rise up, o First Man, arouse thy
beloved ones, that I may tell thee the news.
'Rise up, o First Man, sound, o trumpet (σάλπιγξ) of
peace (εἰρήνη), that I may tell thee the news.

9 ff. vid. Jackson op. cit. pp. 255 ff. — 16 ⲗⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧ (cf. 147, 54): perh. 'cavern', 'pit', ? cf. ⲛⲟⲩⲧ.

Bitk̀ asrhï ω pwarp̄ n̄rwme cauz p̣ϕ[occa
ton n̄n̄noute tateouo pw|ne arak
Bitk̀ asrhï ω pwarp̄ n̄rwme ṣwp̣ ṭaïwe [ūp
wūnouue tateouo pw|ne arak
Bitk̀ asrhï ω pwarp̄ n̄rwme zwr̄ō ūpabe ṃ[p
pura|ckoc tateouo pw|ne arak
Bitk̀ asrhï ω pwarp̄ n̄rwme nauz pϕoc
caton ateqpoli|c tateouo pw|ne arak
Bitk̀ asrhï ω pmenhy nouue · bi pz||b zn̄rwq ūṃ[ou
wnw̄ tateouo pw|ne arak
N̄tak n|m xe narwou watme + oumeïne taou
en nek n̄kteouo pw|n
N̄tak n|m taeouen nek xe ϯraïc atourwe ę. b. [
n̄kteouo pw|ne
Anak pwhre ūpwhre ūpïwt̀ · pwhre ūpi
wt̀ petaqtn̄nayt̀ ateouo pw|ne arak
Aouen aouen n̄ōlam aouen n̄ūpulh etwatme
n̄ceteouo pw|ne arak
Ere ūpulh tanz̀ aouen aubntq̄ ūpzoun ūpr[o
xe eqateouo pw|ne araq n̄ū
Apwarp̄ n̄rwme bntq̄ atourwq aqrewe paxę[q
neq xe teouo pw|ne araï
Ttaïwt rey p|wt n̄n̄ouaïne [. . .]. ϯecke th[. .
ūpeqbal teouo pw|ne araï ūpaïwt
Ttūntcnayc n̄na|wn rey netaïkaay eukwte a
p|wt teouo pw|n
Ttahr etanz̀ o n̄ew n̄ze · tūzh ūpwnz̀ etkwte a
p|wt teouo pw|ne ar
Ttnaō ūpn̄a ūpkaz ūpouaïne pouetz|ṭ n̄na|
wn thpou teouo pw|n

3 fort. zw païwe. — 6 leg. partckoc, coll. Keph. 85, 13? — 23 pete ϯecke thp̄ coniicio. — 25 leg. n̄a|wn.

'Rise up, O First Man, gather the host (φοσσᾶτον)
of the Gods, that I may tell thee the news.
'Rise up, o First Man, spread (?) the cry (?) [of the
good news, that I may tell thee the news.
'Rise up, o First Man, set in order the fragments of [the
tower (? πυργίσκος), that I may tell thee the news.
'Rise up, o First Man, lead back the host (φοσσᾶτον)
to its city (πόλις), that I may tell thee the news.
'Rise up, o good shepherd, take the lamb from the mouth of the
wolf, that I may tell thee the news.'
'Who art thou, for my doors are shut? Give a sign that I may
open to thee and thou tell me the news.
'Who art thou, that I may open to thee? For I am guarding the tower . . . . .
that thou mayest tell me the news.'
'I am the son of the son of the Father, the son of the
Father has sent me to tell thee the news.
'Open, open quickly, open the gates (πύλη) that are shut,
that the news may be told thee.'
As the gates (πύλη) were about to open, he was found inside the door,
that he might tell him the news of the skies.
The First Man found him at his side, he rejoiced and said
to him, 'Tell me the news.
'What does my Father do, the Father of the Lights? . . . . . .
outside him. Tell me the news.
'What do the twelve Aeons do, whom I left surrounding
the Father? Tell [me] the news.
'How is the Living Air (ἀήρ), the breath of life that surrounds
the Father? Tell me the news.
'The Great Spirit of the Land of Light, the . . . . of all
the Aeons. Tell [me] the news.

3 ⲁⲒⲱⲉ must be the substantive of ⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲒⲱ (cf. 42, 22; 58, 24): H.T. — 19 ⲧⲁⲛϩ̀: vid. 63, 17 n. 'He' is the πρεσβευτής. — 27 ⲱⲥⲏ: vid. 37, 16 n. — 29 ⲟⲩⲉⲧϩⲓⲧ: = ? ⲣⲉⲙⲟⲩⲱⲧϩ̀, οἰνοχόος.

ⲦⲦⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲏⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲛⲩⲙⲫⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ
ⲑⲏⲣ]ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ
Ⲛ̄]ⲥ̀ⲃⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲭ̀ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲓⲥ ⲁ
ⲣⲁ]ⲩ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲉⲥⲣ̄]ⲉⲩ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲓⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲕⲁⲓ
ⲥⲛ]ⲏⲩ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ
Ⲉ]ⲣ̣[ⲉ] ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲩⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ
ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ
Ⲁ]ⲡⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲍ̀
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙ̄
Ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲍ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲍ̀ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ
Ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲥⲁⲩⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲥⲁⲩⲥ ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱ
Ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲥⲁⲩⲍ̀ ⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲁ̣ⲡⲓⲱⲧ • ⲉⲓⲥ
Ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲧ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ • ⲉⲩⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲩⲙⲫⲱⲛ ⲙ̄̈
ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ
Ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲧ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ[ⲁⲓ]ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲉⲩⲃ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲛ̄ ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ
Ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲁⲧⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲩⲍ̀ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲓ
ⲱⲧ̀ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ
Ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲍ̀ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ
ϫⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ
Ⲁ]ⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲩⲙⲫⲱⲛ ⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲡⲏⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱ[ⲧ] ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙ̄
Ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲧ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲣⲭ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉ ⲣⲁ
ⲓ̈ⲥ ⲥⲓⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲧ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲃⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲛⲉⲥⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲍ̀ ⲁ
ⲣⲁⲥ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ
Ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲡⲁⲣⲱ̄ • ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲕⲱ
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ • ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ
Ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

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13 ⲉⲟⲩⲟ sic.

'The Land of] Light, the house of the Father, the bride-chamber (νυμφών) of all the Aeons. Tell the news.
'The walls that I left firmly established, the watch-tower men that guard them. Tell the news.
'What does the Mother of the Living do, whom I left, and her brethren also? Tell the news.'
The First Man rejoices asking: he said to him,
'Tell the news.'
And the Call answered again: 'I came forth, they being gathered,
I came forth, the Gods rejoicing. Lo, this is the news of the skies.
'I came forth, they being gathered; I came forth, they being gathered unto me. Lo, this is the news.
'I came forth, the Father being gathered; the Aeons being gathered unto the Father. Lo, this is the news.
'I came forth, the Aeons being gathered, being a garland about the Father. Lo.
'I was sent, the Father rejoicing, he being in the bride-chamber (νυμφών) of the Land of Light, that I might tell the news.
'I was sent, the Aeons of the Aeons playing music to the Father of the Lights, that I might tell the news.
'I was sent, the harp-players being gathered, singing unto the Father, that I might tell the news.
'I was sent, the air (ἀήρ) rejoicing, being gathered, surrounding the Father, that I might tell the news.
'I was sent, the bride-chamber (νυμφών) rejoicing, the Land of Light, the house of the Father. Lo, this is the new of the skies.
'I was sent, the walls being firmly established, the watch-tower men watching over them. Lo, this is the news.
'I was sent, the Mother watching, her brethren gathered unto her. Lo, this is the news.
'I was sent, the feast being spread, the good feast surrounding the Father. Lo, this is the news.
'I was sent, the Father rejoicing, gladness surrounding him. Lo, this is the news.

5. 26. cf. 1, 22 n. — 9 vid. 32, 21 n. — 18 ⲭⲁⲧⲃⲁⲓⲛⲉ: vid. 14, 22. 24/25 n.

Ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲥⲁⲩⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲁⲙ[ⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ
ⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

Ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲕ̀[ⲱ
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡ

Ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲥⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁ̈ⲓⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ̀ ⲉⲩⲥⲱ[ⲥ
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

Ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲃⲟ̄ⲃⲟ̄ ⲁⲡⲓ
ⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

Ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲩ]ⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲭⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲙⲙⲁ
ⲛⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

Ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲙ ⲥⲁⲣⲕ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧ. .
ⲥⲏⲕ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

Ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲭⲏⲩ ⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲥⲁ
ⲡⲛⲉ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

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Ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲩⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ̀ ⲡⲣⲁⲩⲧⲓ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

Ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ
ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

Ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁ ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲥⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁⲡⲭⲱⲕ̀ ⲧⲙ̄ⲥⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲉⲧⲕ̀ⲱ
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

Ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁ ⲡⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲱ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲡⲱⲛⲓ̀
ⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

Ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲥⲓⲕⲣⲏⲡⲓⲥ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲥ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

Ⲛ̀ⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲛ̄ ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲉ̈ⲓ
ⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ

Ⲛ̀ⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲉⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲛ̄ ⲡⲍⲉⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓ

1 fin. incertum: fort. ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲍ[. — 11 fin. fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ. an ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ . . dividendum?

'I was sent, the Father being gathered, being in the dwelling (? ταμιεῖον) [of the Land of Light. Lo, this is the news.

'I was sent, the Father rejoicing, the Maidens surrounding him. Lo, this is the news.

'I was sent, the Father being gathered, the joyful ones singing to him. Lo, this is the news.

'I was sent, the harps being in their hands, they playing to the Father of the Lights. Lo, this is the news.

'I was sent, the pipes (αὐλός) sounding in the mooring-places. Lo, this is the news.

'I was sent, the sea being calm, the . . . . of the . . . being drawn. Lo, this is the news.

'I was sent, the ships coming to port, the . . . . being very secure (?). Lo, this is the news.

'I came, the city (πόλις) being calm, the citizens (πολίτης) rejoicing and being glad. Lo, this is the news.

'I came, the walls being firmly established, the watch-tower men guarding them. Lo, this is the news.

'I left the Intelligence (νοῦς) guarding the Father, the joy of the Land of Light. Lo, this is the news.

'I left the Reason guarding the Faith, the Aeons surrounding the Father. Lo, this is the news.

'I left the Thought guarding the Perfection, the breath of life which surrounds the Father. Lo, this is the news.

'I left the Counsel guarding the Endurance, carrying (?) life to all the Aeons. Lo, this is the news.

'I left the Intention being the foundation and base (κρηπίς) to the Land of Light. Lo, this is the news.

'I came from the house of joy: I have brought joy for you as I come. Lo, this is the news.

'I came from the house of plenty: I have brought plenty as I

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5 ⲭⲁⲓⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ: presumably from ⲭⲓⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ (lit. 'receive joy': cf. ϯⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ) though there is no other instance. — 9 'sounding', lit. 'singing'. — 11 ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲙ: meaning unknown to me, perh. 'raft' (cf. ⲱⲣⲱⲙ Crum Dict. 183 a). — 13 ⲱⲣⲁⲩⲧ: ? read ⲱⲣⲁⲩⲉ = 'harbours'. ⲥⲁⲡⲛⲉ: vid. 214, 19 n. — 19—27 vid. 23, 14—18 n. — 19 ⲡⲣⲁⲩⲧⲏ: cf. Crum op. cit. 490 b. — 23 ⲱⲥⲏ: vid. 37, 16 n.

nhy ϣar]ωτn̄ ε|c πϣ|nⲛ
N̄ta]ïe| epe tmey baϣt̄ zhtk̄ neckai|cnhy ⲙ̄
ⲙey nemec ε|c πϣ|nⲛ
Ⲙaran ceazε arak cezn̄tctetaϣ cecamt̄ oyβhk̄ • ε|cⲛ
Є|c πnoyte thrq̄ aqei| moyte n̄tak̄ qaroyω nek̄ • ε|cⲛ
Ⲥeatn̄ n̄kλam zi|βae ateï̈toy nek̄ πλemhϣe ε|cⲛ
Teo]yo πϣ|ne araï̈ zωk̄ n̄nekmerete pekϕo
ca]ton n̄βaï̈kλam
ϯax]| πϣ|ne n̄nekai|ωn thr[o]y taβωk̄ [ne]mey
ⲙn̄pekϣhre tax| πϣ|ne azrhï̈
Tm]eqϕoccaton xalx̀ qemazte n̄n̄λaϣane ⲙ̄
ⲡkaz ⲙ̄pkeke ε|c πϣ|nⲛ
Tanr toï̈e apkapnoc neqϕoccaton [m]hr ce
can̄z̀ ε|c πϣ|nⲛ
Tthy raï̈c apr̄ro ⲙ̄pbasme peqϕoccaton mhr
qcan̄z̀ ε|c πϣ|ne
Toyaï̈ne toï̈e apr̄ro ⲙ̄pkeke peqϕoccaton mhr
qcan̄z̀ x| πϣ|ne
Є]|c ⲙ̄moyï̈eye aywrβe azoyn n̄pr̄ro ⲙ̄pemhr
ⲙ̄pmoy x| πϣ|nⲛ
T]parθenoc tcete etan̄z̀ acr̄nep apkaz ⲙ̄
pkeke x| πϣ|ne
Є|c pkaz ⲙ̄pkeke anϣaβq̄ enaze arak mn̄
pkλam x| πϣ|nⲛ
Ⲁntay n̄βhb n̄n|ϣapzko anb| poykaz za†oy n̄
aï̈k x| πϣ|nⲛ
Ⲁn† pmay aycω ay†ze ay† tbeke abal ⲙ̄poy
† . . ε x| πϣ|ne
Θ]bc̣ω ⲙ̄poyaï̈ne ayteec axωoy acr̄abh zi|πe
ahc ney x| πϣ|ne
Ⲁylibe catⲙ̄zh ⲙ̄pthy acr̄zalyc|c apoymoyt̀
x| πϣ|nⲛ

19 n̄pr̄ro sic. — 27 tbeke sic. — 28 nabe H.T. — 29/30 πεahc sic: vid. Hom. Indic. s. v. πέδη.

come to you. Lo, this is the news.
'I] came, the Mother looking for thee, her brethren also
being there with her. Lo, this is the news.
'Let us go, they await thee, they are at the border (?), they expect thee. Lo.
Lo, God has wholly come: do thou call, he will answer thee. Lo.
'They are laden with garlands and palms to give to thee, the captain. Lo.
'Tell me the news, arm thy loved ones, thy garlanded
host (φοσσᾶτον).
'I will] take the news of all thy Aeons and go with it
and (?) thy son and take up the news.
'His host (φοσσᾶτον) is fast established, he holds the governors of
the Land of Darkness. Lo, this is the news.
'The Air (ἀήρ) is set over the smoke (καπνός): its hosts (φοσσᾶτον) are bound, they
are fettered. Lo, this is the news.
'The Wind guards the king of the storm: his host (φοσσᾶτον) is bound,
it is fettered. Take the news.
'The Light is set over the king of the Darkness: his host (φοσσᾶτον) is bound,
it is fettered. Take the news.
'Lo, the Waters have shut in the king of the inundation (?)
of death. Take the news.
'The maiden, the Living Fire, she is become mistress over the Land of
Darkness. Take the news.
'Lo, we have laid waste the Land of Darkness: we are waiting for thee with
the garland. Take the news.
'We have bought the dens of the hungry ones, we took their land for five
loaves. Take the news.
'We gave the water, they drank, they were drunk, they sold the wages of their
. . . . Take the news.
'The] robe of Light was set upon them, it was a bond and a
shackle (πέδη) on them. Take the news.
'They lusted after the breath of the wind, it was a fetter (ἄλυσις) on their neck.
Take the news.

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4 cf. 202, 4. ⲥⲧⲉⲧⲁⲱ: the second part of the word suggests 'bound', 'border', which is appropriate to the context (cf. Flügel, Mani 88, 11 ap. Jackson op. cit. p. 259); what the first part means is doubtful (ⲥⲧⲉ- may be the construct of ⲥⲧⲱ = 'bank', Crum Dict. 363 a: H.T.) — 13—21 i. e. the 5 Light elements, vid. 137, 23—37. — 19 ⲉⲙⲏⲣ: apparently a masc. form of ⲉⲙⲏⲣⲉ, Crum op. cit. 56 a. — 29 ⲁⲃⲏ: cf. ⲁⲃⲉ, Crum op. cit. 2 a. — 31 ⲱ̄ⲍⲏ: vid. 37, 16 n.

Ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲗⲙ̄ ⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲍⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ [ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲭⲓ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲏ̈
Ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲥⲉⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ · ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
Ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲥⲉⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ · ⲥⲉⲍⲓⲧⲥⲧⲉⲧⲁⲱ ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲟⲩⲃ[ⲏⲕ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ · ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲭⲁⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲕ
Ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲁϯⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̄ ⲥⲉⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ · ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲓⲭ ⲡⲁⲣⲱ̄ ⲁⲱⲗ
ⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲭⲓ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲥⲉⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄[ⲕ]ⲗⲁ[ⲙ] ⲍⲓⲃⲁⲉ ⲁⲧⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲗⲉⲙⲏⲱⲉ
ⲉⲧⲃⲣⲁ̈[ⲧ] ⲭⲓ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲁⲡⲡ[ⲣ]ⲉ[ⲥⲃ]ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲡⲱⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲭⲓⲧⲩ ⲁ
ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲭⲓ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲁⲛ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁϯⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲙ[ⲉ
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ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲩⲧ̇ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̈ⲉⲡⲱⲱⲧ · ⲉⲓⲥ [ⲩ
Ⲛⲁⲱⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲍⲓⲃⲁⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ[ⲩ
Ⲉⲥⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲍⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲧⲣⲛ̄ⲱⲡ ⲁⲧⲭⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̈ⲉ
ⲡⲱⲱⲧ̇ · ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛ[ⲩ
Ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲡ ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄
ⲣⲟ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏ
ⲍⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ
Ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲁ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ̈[ⲍ̄
ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲱⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩ Ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧϯ
ⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⊖ⲉⲟⲛⲁ

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10 fin. incert.

Sequitur folium vacuum.

'They smelt the breath of the air (ἀήρ), it was death to them [all.
Take up the news.
'Let us go, they await thee: the Light has surrounded the Darkness.
'Let us go, they await thee, they are on the border (?), they expect thee.
'Lo, God has wholly come: do thou call, he will answer thee.
'Lo, they that shall help thee await thee, their hands are spread to embrace thee. Take the news.
'They are laden with garlands and palms to give to thee, the victorious captain.' Take the news.
The envoy (πρεσβευτής) heard the good news, he took it to him that sent him. Take the news.
The Fathers of Light came that they might help their loved one. Take the news.
They helped the First Man, he cried before him in joy: 'Behold me, behold my merchandise.' Lo.
Great is the joy that there was, the First Man being in their midst, laden with garlands and palms. Lo, this is the news.
May it happen to us together that we may be counted in his merchandise and rejoice with all the Aeons. Lo, this is the news.
May we be counted among those of the right hand and inherit (κληρονομεῖν) our kingdom. Lo, this is the news.
And may we live with our kinsmen from everlasting to everlasting.
Lo, this is the news.
Glory to the First Man, honour to the Living Spirit,
and their busy deeds which they have done. Victory to the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Mary, Theona.

1 ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ: vid. 37, 16 n. — 4 ⲥⲧⲉⲧⲁⲩϣ: vid. 201, 4 n. — 20 cf. Mt. 25, 33.

ⲛ̄ϯⲁ]ⲗⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲙ: ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ
ⲙⲛ]ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲗⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ|ⲛⲕ|ⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ

Ⲧⲁ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡ]ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ • ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ
ⲡⲡⲁ]ⲣⲉⲁⲩ • ⲡⲁ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ • ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲉⲧ]ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ̀ • ⲡⲁ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁ
ⲗ]ⲏⲗ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ ⲉⲧⲧⲁ̈ⲁ̈ⲓ̀ⲧ̀ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϣⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄
ⲧ]ⲛⲁϭ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ|ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄
ϣⲧⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ϭⲱⲭⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ • ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲩϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲉϩⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ[ⲓⲣⲏ]ⲛⲏ • ⲁⲩ
ⲙ]ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲥⲉϩⲱⲟⲩ [ⲛ̄ϩⲏ]ⲧⲟⲩ
ⲁⲩⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥ̄ⲃⲣⲁϩⲧ • ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲩ
ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲉϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ • ⲁⲩⲥⲙ̀ⲛ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙ|
ⲟ]ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϩ̀ • ⲁⲩⲥⲉϩⲟ ϩⲛ̄ⲥ|ⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲩⲁⲛϩ̀ [ⲛ̄ϩⲣ]ⲏ̈ ⲛ̄ϩⲏ
ⲧ̀ⲟⲩ • ⲁⲩⲥⲉϩⲟ ϩⲛ̄ⲥ|ⲕⲱⲛϩ̀ ⲉⲩⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲙⲁⲩ
ⲟⲩⲱⲥⲕ̀ ⲁⲛϩⲉ ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲧ̀ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ • ⲉⲩⲧⲗⲧⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧ̀|ⲱⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̀ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱϩ
ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁ̀ⲃⲉ ⲉⲥ† ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϫⲟⲩϥ ⲉⲩϩⲁⲗⲃ̄ •
ⲁⲩⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲏⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲩⲛ|ⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄
ϩⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ|ⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲟⲩ
ⲁⲃⲉ • ⲉⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥ†ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲏ| : ⲥⲉ
ϩ]ⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲉ†ⲙⲉⲧⲉ • ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ϣⲧⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ϭⲱⲭⲃⲉ
ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ • ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲩⲧ̀ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ⲁⲩ • ⲉⲩⲙⲏϩ
ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧϣⲁⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ • ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲟⲛ̄ ⲛ̄
ⲧ]ⲁ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁ̣ⲣⲁ̣ⲩ ⲧⲟ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲁ
ϩⲣⲏ̈ ϫⲉ ⲉ̈|ⲁ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩϩⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉ
ⲑⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [ⲧⲟ ⲁ]ⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ϫⲉ ⲉ̈|ⲁ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲟⲩϩⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲟ • ⲡ|
ϩⲏⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ : ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲙ
ⲙ]ⲁⲟ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϣⲁⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ
ⲕ]ⲧⲏⲥ|ⲥ : ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲙⲁⲟ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛ
ⲁϩ]ⲣⲏ̈ ϫⲉ ⲉ̈|ⲁ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩϩⲉ • ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲡ ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩ

15 ϩ 3° sup. lin. — 16 ϩⲛ̄ⲥ|ⲕⲱⲛϩ̀ sic: leg. ϩⲛ̄ⲥ|ⲕⲱⲛ.

The] Psalms (ψαλμός) of Thomas: I: Concerning the Father and] all his Aeons and the Stirring of the Enemy.

My Father, the] glad Light, the glad Light,
the Glorious, my Father, the glad Light, the glad
and blessed Light, my Father, the glad Light,
the glad and honoured Light: he evoked
the Aeons of Light, he appointed them to the joy of his
greatness. He evoked the Aeons of Peace (εἰρήνη), in whom
there is no waning or diminution. He evoked the Aeons
of Light, he summoned his sons and set them up
in them. He evoked the Aeons of Peace (εἰρήνη), he
summoned his Richnesses and set them up in them.
He evoked the Aeons of Rest, he summoned his
Angels and set them up in them. He established
dwellings (ταμιεῖον) of Life and set up living Images (εἰκών) in
them, he set up living Images (εἰκών) in them which
never perish. He evoked clouds
of Brightness, dropping down dew (?) and life, he summoned
a holy fire, giving a sweet burning.
He evoked a Wind and an Air (ἀήρ), breathing the
breath of the Living. He evoked holy Mountains,
sending up fragrant roots. They are
all in agreement and concord: there is no waning or diminution
in them, they rejoicing and being glad in the glory (?), full,
abiding in Eternity. I know not
where the Son of Evil saw them: he rose
up saying, May I be one like them. [Where] did the Son of
Evil see them? He rose up saying, May I be one
like them. Where did the Son of Evil see them — the
poor one who has nothing, no riches
in his treasure (χρῆμα), no Eternity in his
possession (κτῆσις), no riches in his treasure (χρῆμα)? He rose
up saying, May I be one like them. He caught the hand of his

1 Thomas: vid. Acta Archelai 22, 5. 13 ed. Beeson; Flügel op. cit. p. 174, n. 62 etc.; Alex. Lycopol. 4, 19 ed. Brinkmann. — 17 ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲧ: vid. 154, 16 n. — 20/21 ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁ: vid. 37, 16 n. — 25 lit. 'I have not found'.

ⲥⲁⲱⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲏⲣ • ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲕ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲃⲟ[ⲏⲑⲟⲥ ⲁⲩ
ⲃⲁⲡ ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲱⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲏⲣ • ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲩⲫ̀ⲱ[ⲱⲧ
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲣⲁⲡ̀ : ⲭⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲡ̣[ⲓⲧⲛ̄
ⲉⲩⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲉ: Ⲁⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲃⲉ ⲉⲧ[ⲁⲓ̈
ⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ • ⲁⲩⲱⲣⲭ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ • ⲭⲉ [ⲥⲱ
ⲟⲩⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ̄ ⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄: ⲁⲡⲃⲉⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲉ
ⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲱⲧ̀ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ : ⲁⲟⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛ[ⲉ
ⲃⲱⲱⲧ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ[ⲡⲭ]ⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲛⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ • ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ[ⲩ
ⲥⲛⲏⲩ [ⲛ̄ⲣ]ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ: Ⲱ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄[ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲱⲧⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲃⲱⲭⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ • ⲁⲛ[ⲁⲕ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ • ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲡ[ⲱⲏ
ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ • ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲟ ⲁⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉ
ⲑⲁⲩ ⲉⲩ[ⲟⲩ]ⲱⲱ ⲡⲱⲣⲥ̀ ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲍ : ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁ̣[ⲓ
ⲥⲁⲱⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲏⲣ • ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲗⲓⲧⲟⲩⲣⲅⲟ[ⲥ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲟ ⲁⲡⲡⲁⲡⲓⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲩⲡⲏⲥⲥⲉ • ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲭⲉⲣⲁ
ⲓ̈ⲧ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ : ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲍⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲕⲉ ⲉⲩⲍⲛ̄
ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲉⲩⲥⲕⲉⲡⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲱⲣⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲍ • ⲁⲓ̈
ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲍⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ ⲉⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲥⲃⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̀ ⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ • ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲱⲕ̄ ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲣⲃ̀ • ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄
ⲱⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲭ ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲱ̄ : ⲭⲉ ⲡⲍⲁⲗⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲛⲁ[ⲉⲓ ⲉⲩ
ⲁⲃⲁⲡⲕ̄ : ⲡ . . . ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ • ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲭ ⲉⲩⲥ[ⲱ
ⲏⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲱⲗ • ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲡ̄ : ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲩ! [ⲣ̀
ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲛ̣ⲧⲕ+ ⲧⲉⲃⲥⲉ • ⲡⲉ̣ⲧ̣[ⲥⲁ]ⲃⲕ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡ
ⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲩ+ ⲣⲉⲧⲕ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ⲁⲩⲍⲁⲕⲕ̄ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲕ
ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ : ⲁⲩⲍⲁⲕⲕ̄
ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲕ̄ ⲥⲁⲍⲏⲧⲕ̄ • ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲃⲕ̄ ⲁⲩⲭⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲡ
ⲛⲟⲩⲛ : ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲃⲕ̄ • ⲁⲩⲱⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ • ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉ
ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ : ⲁⲩⲫⲃ̄ⲓⲟ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲱⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲏⲣ • ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲕ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲗⲓⲧⲟⲩⲣⲅ[ⲟⲥ
ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣⲕ̀ ⲡⲟⲩⲡⲁⲡⲓⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲫⲓⲁⲩ • ⲁⲩⲭⲉⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲕⲱⲥⲧ̀ ⲉⲧⲙⲟⲩⲍ • ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲕⲉ ⲉⲩⲍⲛ̄[ⲧ

18 ⲉⲥⲁⲱⲉ sic: leg. ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ, sicut 205, 2.

seven companions and his twelve helpers (βοηθός): [he
caught the hand of his seven companions, he went, he looked (?)
to them in a moment (?), in order that, if any should fall and come down,
he might go and be one like them. The Great (?) Father therefore
took the first step, he strengthened all his Angels, saying
'Assemble, all of you, and guard yourselves from the eye of the Evil one
which has looked up'. One of the Sons of Light
looked from on high and saw him: he said to his rich
brethren: 'O my brethren, the Sons of Light,
in whom there is no waning or diminution: I
looked down to the abyss, I saw the Evil one, the
Son of Evil, I saw the Evil one, the Son of
Evil, desiring to wage war. I saw his seven companions
also and his twelve ministers (λειτουργός).
I saw the tent (παπυλίων) fixed (πήσσειν), the fire kindled
in its midst: I saw the poor wretches (?) at hand (?),
thinking (σκέπτεσθαι) to wage war. I
saw their cruel armour which is ready to make
the war (πόλεμος), I saw snares set and
nets cast and spread, that the bird that should [come] might
be] caught . . . . that (?) it might not escape from them. [I saw] them
reclining, drinking
stolen wine, eating plundered flesh.' The Little one [passed
his months until (?) he . . . ., he that is small among them that are
on high stepped forth, he armed himself and girt his loins,
the son of the Brightnesses and the Richnesses armed himself
and girt his loins, he leapt and sped down into the
abyss, he leapt, he came into their midst that he might make
war (πόλεμος) with them, he humbled the Son of Evil and
his seven companions and his twelve ministers (λειτουργός),
he uprooted their tent (παπυλίων) and threw it down, he put out their
burning fire, he fettered the poor wretches (?) that were at

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3 ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲣⲁⲡ: cf. Keph. 71, 33 ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲣⲁⲡⲣⲉⲡ ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲗ. — 15. 30 παπυλίων: vid. Archiv f. Papyrusforschung, 9, pp. 218 ff. ⲉⲙⲡⲏⲥⲥⲉ: cf. Keph. 114, 11. — 16. 31 ϩⲱⲥ: vid. Crum Dict. 710a. — 16/17 ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ: vid. 150, 18 n. — 22 ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲓ 23 ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲃⲕ: i. e. the First Man. — 23 ⲧⲉⲃⲥⲉ: lit 'give footstep', perhaps 'lay a trail', cf. ⲁⲓ ⲧⲉⲃⲥⲉ 206, 10.

ⲟⲩⲁⲒⲧ ⲉⲩ]ⲥⲕⲉⲡⲧⲉ ⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲍ : ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲧⲉⲩ
ⲍⲁⲗⲃ̄]ⲱⲉ ⲉⲥⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲛⲏⲩⲧ̀ ⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲉ
ⲙⲟⲥ] ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲁⲱⲩ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲣⲃ̄ • ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲥ ⲁⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲛ]ⲉⲩⲱⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲡⲁⲣⲱ̄ : ⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃ̄ⲧ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲉⲩ
ⲑ]ⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ • ⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲍⲱⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲏⲣ : ⲁⲩⲕⲁ
ⲛⲍⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲍⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲏⲣ : ⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁ]ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲥⲟⲩⲣ : ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲧⲉⲫⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ ⲁⲩⲃⲓⲧⲥ̄ • ⲁⲩ
ⲃ]ⲓⲧⲥ̄ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲒ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲃⲣⲁⲍⲧ̄ : ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ
ⲃⲉ] ⲃⲓⲧⲫ̄ ⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ • ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩⲍⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲁ[ⲡ]ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲟⲩ

ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲃⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧ☥ⲩⲭⲏ

Ⲛ]ⲉⲧⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲒ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲒ • ⲛⲉⲧⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲩ☥ ⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲛⲏⲒ : ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ̀ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲡⲏⲒ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲒⲱⲧ̀ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲗⲃ̄ⲱⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲒ [ⲁⲩⲧ]ⲱⲛ
ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲗⲃ̄ⲱⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲒ • ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲒ : ⲉⲩⲣ̄
ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲒ • ⲉⲩⲙ̀ⲱⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ:
ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲉⲧ[ⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ]Ⲓⲛⲉ • ⲭⲉ ⲉⲫⲁⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ
ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲕⲉⲕⲉ : ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲥ☥ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲗⲃ̄ • ⲭⲉ ⲉⲫⲁ
ⲙⲩⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲩⲗⲱⲙⲥ̀ : ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ • ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁ☥ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲭⲱⲣⲁ : ⲉⲧ
ⲃⲉ] ⲧⲁⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲥⲁⲱⲱ
ⲡ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧ • ⲁⲩⲙ̀ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲃⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄
ⲧ]ⲁⲍⲃⲥⲱ • ⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲕⲉⲕⲉ : ⲁⲡⲁ
ⲥ]☥ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ [ⲉⲧⲍ]ⲁⲗⲃ̄ ⲉⲓ • ⲁⲩⲙⲩⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲥ☥ⲃⲱⲟⲩⲛ •
ⲁⲛ]ⲁⲥⲛⲏ[ⲩ ⲛ̄]ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲉⲓ • ⲁⲩ☥ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲭⲱⲣⲁ : ⲁⲧⲁⲫⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ •
ⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧ : ⲥⲉⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲗⲃ̄ⲱⲉ
ⲁⲭⲱⲒ • ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲒ : ⲉⲩⲕⲁⲃⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁ
ⲭⲱⲒ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲑⲃⲒⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲉⲙⲃⲟ
ⲗⲏ • ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲏⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲒ • ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲍⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲒ : ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲡ|ⲧⲉ
ⲁⲣⲁⲒ • ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ

hand (?)], thinking (σκέπτεσθαι) to make war, he seized their
cruel armour, that had been provided to make a war (πόλεμος),
he broke their snares that were set, he burst also
their nets that were spread, he let the fish out to their
sea (θάλασσα), he let the birds fly in the air (ἀήρ), he let
the birds fly out in the air (ἀήρ), he let the sheep into
their fold (?), he rolled up his wealth, he took it, he
took it up to the Land (χώρα) of Rest. That which the Living ones
took [therefore] was saved: they will return again to that which is theirs.

Concerning the coming of the Soul

They] that are not as I am made themselves like me, they that are
unworthy of me made me wroth. The wretches (?) that belong not to the
house
of my Father rose, they took arms against me, they rose,
they took arms against me, making war (πόλεμος) with me, making
war (πόλεμος) with me, fighting (?) for my holy robe,
for my enlightening Light, that it might lighten
their Darkness, for my sweet Fragrance, that it might
sweeten (μυρίζειν) their foulness, because of my brethren, the Sons of
Light, that they might give a peace (εἰρήνη) to their land (χώρα), be-
cause of my sister, the hour of Light, that she might be
a strengthening of their building. A part (? μέρος) therefore went forth from
my robe, it went, it lightened their Darkness; my
sweet fragrance went, it sweetened (μυρίζειν) their stink;
my brethren, the Sons of Light, went, they gave a peace (εἰρήνη)
to their land (χώρα); my sister went, the hour of Light,
she was a strengthening of their building. They take arms
against me, making war (πόλεμος) with me, crying out
against me, like men going to subdue a camp (παρεμβολή);
they drew the swords against me, like men
going to kill lions; they stretched their hands to the bow
against me, like thieves going to attack a man.

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7 ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲣ: a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, cf. ⲣⲥⲱ? ⲟⲱⲗ: vid. 70, 11 n. — 12 ⲍⲱⲥ: vid. 204, 16. 31 n.

ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲍ ⲛⲉⲙⲏ̈ • ⲯⲁⲛⲧ[ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲃ̄ⲧ̄ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ : ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲥⲛⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃ ⲃⲱ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲯ[ⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲓⲙ ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲃ̄ⲧ̄ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ : ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲯⲉ ⲯⲁ[ⲛ
ⲧⲟⲩⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲃ̄ⲧ̄ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ • ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲯⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲉ̣ .[.
ⲁⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲯⲟⲗⲃⲓⲗ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧ̇ • ⲁⲡⲁⲧⲁⲯⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ [ⲉⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲗⲁⲏⲃⲉ : ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲍⲱⲥ ⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲍⲏⲧ • ⲭⲉ ⲉ̣[ⲛⲁⲕ
ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲯⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ : ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲃⲉ ⲛ̣ⲉ̣[ⲏ̈
ⲃⲁⲯⲧ̄ [ⲟ]ⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲏ̈ⲱⲧ • ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲟⲏ[ⲑⲉⲓⲁ
ⲉⲏ̈ⲃⲁⲯⲧ̇ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲏ̈ⲛⲉ [ⲭⲉ
ⲥⲉⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲩⲭ̄ⲓ ⲧⲉⲃⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲏ̈ : ⲁⲡⲁⲏ̈ⲱⲧ ⲃⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ
ⲧⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉⲓⲁ ⲛⲏ̈ • ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲧⲁⲏ̈ⲗⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲉ̣[ⲙⲏ̈
ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲁⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲁⲭ̄ⲥ̄ : ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲥ[ⲁⲃ̄ⲧ̄
ⲟⲩⲱⲗⲥ̀ ⲁⲩⲍⲉⲓⲉ : ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲃ̄ⲧ̄ ⲟⲩⲱⲗⲥ̀ ⲁⲩⲍⲉⲓⲉ ⲙ̣[ⲡⲉ
ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲯⲉ ⲃ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲕⲱⲗⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ : ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ̣ⲧ
ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲯⲟⲗⲃⲓⲗ • ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲯⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲟⲩⲃⲛ̄ⲧⲏ̄ : ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲃⲏⲗ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲁⲭ̄ⲏ̄ : ⲁⲛ
ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲱⲧ̇ ⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ : ⲁⲛⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲱⲧ̇ ⲁⲡ
ⲕⲉⲕⲉ • ⲁⲩⲥⲧⲱⲧ̄ ⲃⲁⲡ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲏ̄ : ⲁⲛⲁⲕ
ⲇⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲏ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ • ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲏ̈ ⲛ̄ϯⲕ[ⲁⲓ
ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ : ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲉⲏ̈ⲑⲣ̄ⲕⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ • ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ : ⲭⲉ ⲉⲏ̈ⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲯ[ⲁⲛ
ⲧⲉⲥⲉⲓ • ⲛ̄ⲥ̀ⲃⲱⲗⲉ ⲁ̣ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̣ⲥ̣ : ϯⲛⲁⲱ[ⲍⲉ
ⲁⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁⲏ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲏ̈ⲛⲉ • ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲉⲩ[ⲃⲁⲯ]ⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲉⲩ
ⲕⲉⲕⲉ : ϯⲛⲁⲱⲍⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲥϯⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲗⲃ̄ ⲯ[ⲁⲛ
ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲁⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲏ̈ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁ : ϯⲛⲁⲱⲍⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲥⲱⲛ[ⲉ
ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲏ̈ⲛⲉ • ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲉⲥⲛⲁⲭ ⲡⲟⲩⲭⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲁ
ⲃⲁⲗ : ϯⲛⲁⲱⲍⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲯⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲏ̈ⲛⲉ ⲯⲁⲛ
ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲙⲁ|ⲏⲥ ⲭⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ : ⲉⲯⲁ ⲧⲁⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲃⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲛ̄ⲣ̄
ⲓ̈ⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲓ • ⲛ̄ⲥ̀ⲃⲱⲗⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ : ⲉⲯⲁ ⲡⲁ
ⲥϯⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲗⲃ̄ • ⲃⲁⲯⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲯⲛⲁⲯ ⲛ̄ⲩⲕⲁ̣ⲧⲩ̄

4 fin. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ coniicio. — 14 ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲕⲱⲗⲩ sic.

They did not stir from warring with me until [they had made
a wall against me: the weak and paralysed ones continually crept,
they did not stir until they had made a wall against me, they crept until
they had made a wall against me: they established a watch outside me . . .
the bell was made to go round because of me, my good fortune (?) [came
on my behalf, the wretches thinking in their heart that I [was]
a man for whom none would seek. I therefore was
looking towards my Father, that he might send aid (βοήθεια),
looking towards my brethren, the sons of Light, that
they might come, tracking me. My Father therefore sent
the aid (βοήθεια) to me, my brethren arose, they became one with [me.
Through a cry only which my brethren uttered, their wall
tottered and fell, their wall tottered and fell,
their watches were unable to (?) stop (κωλύειν) them, nor (οὔτε) was he that
goes round with the bell and cries good fortune (?)
found, against the cry which my brethren uttered. The
demons ran to the Darkness, the demons ran to the
Darkness, trembling seized their Archon entirely. But (δέ)
I said to my brethren, 'Suffer (ἄνεχε) me yet this
hour'. I was quieting my brethren that they might not
destroy their firmament (στερέωμα); for I await my robe until
it comes and clothes him that shall wear (φορεῖν) it. I will await
my enlightening Light until it strips itself of their
Darkness. I will await my pleasant fragrance until
it returns to its place. I will await my sister,
the hour of Light, until she casts their corruption
away. I will await my brethren, the sons of Light, until
their stature (?) is completed for them. When therefore my shining
robe comes and clothes him that shall wear (φορεῖν) it: when my
pleasant fragrance strips itself of their stink and returns

5. 15 ⲱⲟⲗⲟⲓⲗ: vid. Crum Dict. 556 b; Hom. 54, 30. ⲧⲁⲱⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ: meaning uncertain. — 28 ⲁⲙⲁⲓⲏⲥ (cf. Hom. 69, 26; 80, 9; Keph. 95, 7; 103, 20; 144, 23. 28; 146, 14. 21. 29; 153, 14. 19; 154, 25. 29. 32; 174, 7): vid. 207, 3 n.

ⲁⲡⲉⲫⲙⲁ • ⲉ]ⲱⲁ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲕⲱ ⲛ[ⲥ]ⲱⲩ
ⲙ̈]ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ : ⲉⲱⲁ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ :
ⲭⲱ]ⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲏⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ : ⲉⲱⲁ ⲧⲁⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̈
ⲡⲟⲩ]ⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ • ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ[ⲉ]ⲩ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ :
5 ⲧⲟ]ⲧⲉ ⲧⲛⲁⲣⲁⲥ̄ⲧ̄ ⲣⲉⲧ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲁⲙⲥ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲉⲕⲉ
ⲁ]ⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ : ⲧⲛⲁⲭⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲓ̈ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
ⲙ̈]ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲥⲣⲁⲩⲣⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ
. . . .] ⲧⲛⲁⲡⲁⲣⲕ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲭⲟ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲁⲃ
ⲡⲟ]ⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲉⲫⲙⲁ : ⲧⲛⲁⲡⲁⲣⲕ̄ ⲡ̄ⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ [ⲧ]ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲟ̄
10 ⲁⲃⲁ]ⲗ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲁⲃ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲩ ⲙ̈ⲡⲉⲫⲙⲁ : ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
ⲛⲁ]ⲙⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ • ⲡⲧⲟ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲥⲩ̈ⲡⲟⲧⲓⲁ : ⲡⲕⲁⲥ
ⲧⲏ]ⲣⲟ̄ ⲛⲁⲱⲗ ⲁⲛⲁ|ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ : ⲛⲁⲡⲧⲟ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲣⲁⲥⲧ̄ :
ⲉ]ⲙⲛ̄ ⲃⲉⲝⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲛⲉⲩ • ⲙⲛ̄ ⲣⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ[ⲉ] ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲉ
ⲟ]ⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁ|ⲥⲁⲡ̈ : ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲁ̈ⲓ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲉⲱⲉ • ⲥⲁ
15 ⲥ]ⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲗⲩⲡⲏ : ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲃ|ⲧⲕ̄ ⲁⲩ
ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ : ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩⲍⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲧⲉⲡⲱⲟⲩ :

ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ • ⲡⲁⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ : Γ̄ •

ⲦⲦ]ⲭⲁ̈ⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲧⲁⲡ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲍ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
ⲛ]ⲉⲧⲍ|ⲱⲱⲩ : ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲉⲫⲣⲍⲙ̈ⲙⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ : ⲛⲉⲩ
20 ⲥⲣ]ⲱ|ⲣⲉ ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ : ⲛⲉ[ⲧ]ⲟ̣ⲩⲛ ⲡ̣ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡ]ⲡⲉⲧⲁ̈ⲓ ⲡⲉ[ⲧⲍ|]ⲱⲱⲩ : ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲱ[| ⲙ̈]ⲛ̄ ⲏⲡⲉ ⲁ+ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ :
ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲍⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̈ⲙⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧ[ⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲉ]ⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲱⲁⲡⲥ̄
ⲁ̣ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ [:] ⲙ̈ⲡ|ⲃⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲟ • ⲁⲩⲃ| ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ̣ : ⲁⲛⲥⲁⲛⲉ
25 ⲡⲱⲍⲧ̄ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲭⲁ̈ⲓ • ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲕⲟ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲡⲉ
ⲗⲁⲅⲟⲥ : ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲉⲫⲣⲍⲙ̈ⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲃⲟⲩ • ⲛⲉ̣[ⲧⲧ]ⲛ̄ⲍⲁ̣ⲧ
ⲁⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲕ|ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩⲉ : ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲣⲡ̄ ⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ
ⲙ̈]ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲁ̈ⲓ • ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲱ| ⲙⲛ̄ ⲏⲡⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ : ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲗ[ⲡ
ⲛ̄]ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̈ⲙⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲁⲡⲥ̄ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ
30 ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ : ⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕⲁⲗⲡⲓ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲓ̄ : ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣⲱⲓ̄

to its place:| when my lightening Light leaves
the Darkness: when my brethren, the sons of Light,
are complete in their stature (ἡλικία): when my sister, the hour of
Light, goes up and sees the Land (χώρα) of Light:
then (τότε) I will strike my foot on the earth and sink their Darkness
down, I will smite their height with my head and shake
their firmament (στερέωμα) and the stars shall fall down like
. . . ., I will uproot the Darkness and cast it out and plant
the Light in its place, I will uproot the Evil and cast it
out and plant the Good in its place. The world (κόσμος)
shall| be full of glory, the earth shall be without suspicion (ὑποψία), the
whole world shall contain the Righteous (δίκαιος), they of the earth
shall dwell in peace,
there being no more rebel from henceforth, no name of sin shall be
uttered again, the Rich ones of Light shall rejoice on
every side without any grief (λύπη). That which the Living ones took was
saved, they will return again to that which is their own.

Concerning the First man: That of the Beginning (-ἀρχή), III.

The| ship whose keel is the dawn, the ropes of Light
are they that are on it, its helmsmen are glorious ones, its
crew are clothed with the dawn, they that bring (?) the treasure (χρῆμα) of
the| Mighty one that is upon it, immeasurable and countless,
laden with the wealth of the Living ones which can never
be counted. I know not where the Son of Evil saw
it, he took thieves and sent them to it (?), the thieves
poured upon the ship, they drew it out into the middle of the
sea (πέλαγος), they wounded its helmsmen, they that were entrusted
with the treasure (χρῆμα), they were endangered (κινδυνεύειν). They seized the
treasure (χρῆμα)
of the Mighty one which is measureless and countless, they stole
the wealth of the Living ones which can never be
counted, the treasure (χρῆμα) which they stole from it they spread

3 ϫⲱⲕ ϩⲛⲛⲉⲩϩⲏⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ, cf. 206, 28 ⲩⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲙⲁ|ⲏⲥ ϫⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ, which is parallel. ἡλικία (cf. 214, 10) means 'stature', 'size', cf. Lk. 19, 3; Lucian V.H. 1, 40 ed Jacobitz, quoted by Liddell-Scott-Jones p. 768 b; and ⲁⲙⲁ|ⲏⲥ is synonymous, cf. sah. ⲁⲉ|ⲏⲥ and boh. ⲙⲁ|ⲏ.

ⲁⲩⲥ[ⲁⲣ]ⲟ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ : ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲥ̣ⲛ̣ⲛ̣[ⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥϯⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ : ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲃⲟⲩ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁ[ⲥ ⲁⲩ
ⲙⲁⲥⲟ̄ : ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲏⲣⲩⲗⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ[ⲉ ⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲗⲁⲭⲧⲟⲩ ⲁ̣[ⲡ]ⲉⲩⲥ̣ⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ : ⲁⲛⲉⲧ[ⲥⲕⲉ
ⲉⲧ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲁⲩⲥⲓ • ⲁⲩⲁ̣ⲣⲥ̄ⲙⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲥⲟ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲃⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲣ̣[ⲧ
ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲕⲏⲕ ⲁⲥⲏⲩ + ⲱⲧⲏⲛ ⲁⲭⲱⲟⲩ : ⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲙⲁⲣ̣
ⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ : ⲁⲛⲥⲏⲕⲉ ⲣ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ ⲁⲩⲱ̣[ⲩ
ⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲉ • ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲓⲧ ⲃⲉ ⲃ[ⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ[ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲗⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲉⲥⲟ ⲡⲉⲩⲭⲁⲓ : ⲁⲩⲱ[ⲁ
ⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲥ̄ⲙⲙⲉ : ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲭⲣⲏ̣ⲙ̣[ⲁ
ⲁⲩⲕ̣[ⲓⲛ̣ⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩⲉ : ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩ[ⲧⲁ
ⲙ̣[ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲥ̄ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲡⲉ : ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ̣[ⲉⲩ
ⲧⲏⲥ • ⲁ[ⲩ]ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ̄ⲓⲣⲉⲧⲟ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲓ : ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲙ̣[ⲁ
ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲃⲓ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ ⲁⲙⲉⲩ • ⲥⲁⲕ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛ̄ⲧⲩ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ[ⲓ
ⲁⲡ|ⲙⲁ : ⲑⲉⲣⲁⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲥ̄ⲙⲙⲉ : ⲥⲟⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ : ⲃⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲉⲥ • [ⲛ̄
ⲕⲃⲁⲗⲃⲗ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥϯⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ : ⲱⲁⲣⲱⲣ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲑⲟ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ • ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲃⲏⲣⲩⲗ
ⲗⲟⲥ : ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲥ ⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ • ⲛ̄ⲕⲃⲓⲧⲟ̄ ⲛ[ⲕ
ⲧⲉⲗⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲭⲁⲓ • ⲣⲁⲧⲓⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲥⲏⲕⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲁ[ⲥ ⲧⲃ
ⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲥⲓⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ : ⲣⲁⲧⲓⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲏⲕⲉ • ⲉⲧⲱ[ⲟⲩ
ⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲉ : ϯⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄[ⲛ̄
ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲧⲁⲫ ⲛ̣ⲉⲕⲱⲏⲛ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟ[ⲩⲙ]ⲉⲛⲏ : ⲥⲉⲥⲟ
ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲭⲉⲩⲛⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲩ] ⲡⲥⲱⲩϯ ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ : ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲕⲟ̄ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ • ⲡⲱⲏⲣ[ⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲁⲓ̈ • ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲕⲟ̄ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣ[ⲟ̄
ⲥⲁⲥⲏⲧⲟ̄ • ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ̄ⲓⲣⲉⲧⲟ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲓ : ⲁⲩ
ⲑ]ⲉⲣⲁ[ⲡ]ⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲥ̄ⲙⲙⲉ • ⲁⲩⲧⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ : ⲁⲩⲃⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲉⲥ • ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣ[ⲕ̄ ⲛ̄
ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥϯⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲓⲧⲟⲩ : ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲣⲱⲣ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲧⲉ

15 ⲥⲟⲥⲉ sic: leg. ⲥⲉⲥⲟ. — 24 ⲡⲥⲱⲩϯ sic, cf. 209, 5.

and scattered to their worlds (κόσμος), they took [roots and
fragrant grasses and planted them in their land, [they
filled it, they took beryls (βήρυλλος) and jewels, [they
nailed them and fixed them to their firmament (στερέωμα), the hungry
ate and were sated, a . . . . overtook the prostrate ones,
the naked put clothes upon them, they bound
diadems also upon their head, the poor ones became rich and gloried
in things that were not theirs. The report therefore reached (?)
the Mighty one that a . . . . . had overtaken his ship and its
helmsmen were wounded and they that were entrusted with the
treasure (χρῆμα)
were endangered (κινδυνεύειν). He called an envoy (πρεσβευτής), a
storehouse (ταμιεῖον) of life, which is the Mind (νοῦς), he called an
envoy (πρεσβευτής) and sent him forth unto the ship, [saying], Go to the place
hither the wind has taken the ship; tow the ship and bring it up
hither; tend (θεραπεύειν) its helmsmen; set up them
that were entrusted with the treasure (χρῆμα); dig up their land
with the spade
and upturn the fragrant roots; destroy and tumble down
their firmament (στερέωμα) and cast down the jewels and the
beryls (βήρυλλος); gather all the treasure (χρῆμα) of the Mighty one
and take it and
put it aboard the ship; dishonour (ἀτιμάζειν) them, the poor ones, and cast [the
diadem from their head; dishonour (ἀτιμάζειν) the poor ones that
glory in things that are not theirs; aid the
righteous (δίκαιος) and plant thy trees in the world (οἰκουμένη); set
up thy righteous (δίκαιος) that there may be sent up to them
the distilled part. Then (τότε) he armed himself and girt himself at
once, the son
of the Lights and the Richnesses, he armed himself and girt
his loins; he leapt and came forth unto the ship; he
tended (θεραπεύειν) its helmsmen; he aided its
faithful (πιστός) ones; he dug up their land with the spade; he tore up the
fragrant roots and took them; he destroyed their firmament (στερέωμα);

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5 ⲁ̄ⲣⲥⲱⲙⲉ: meaning unknown to me. — 9 ⲟⲗⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ: ? cf. ⲟⲗⲁ, Spiegelberg op. cit. p. 286. Perhaps 'storm', 'hurricane', cf. ⲡⲧⲏⲩ, l. 14. — 16 ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲉⲥ 29 ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲉⲥ: cf. ⲁⲥⲟ, Crum Dict. 18 b.

ⲣⲉⲙⲙⲁ ⲁ]ⲩⲛⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲃⲏⲣⲩⲗⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ :
ⲁⲩⲣⲁ]ⲧ̣ⲓⲙⲁⲍ[ⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲍⲏⲕⲉ • ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲍ ⲧⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲍⲓ
ⲭⲛ̄]ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ : ⲁⲩϯⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ • ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲃⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲛ]ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲟ|ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ : ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲍⲟ ⲛ̄ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓ
ⲟ]ⲥ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ : ⲭⲉⲩⲛⲁⲭⲁⲩ ⲡⲥⲱⲩϯ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ :
ⲁ]ⲩⲁⲣⲭ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲗⲁⲃⲱⲟ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲁⲩⲭⲓⲧⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲇⲱⲣⲟⲛ
ⲁⲍⲣ]ⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ : ⲁⲩⲭⲓⲧⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲇⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ •
. . . ⲭⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲟ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ :
ⲁⲡ]ⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ ⲃⲁⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲣⲉⲩⲣⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉ [ⲉⲓ ⲥⲁ]ⲡⲉⲧⲉ
ⲡ]ⲱⲟⲩ ——

ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲡⲁⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ

Ⲁ]ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲱⲧⲃⲟ ⲁⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲍⲁⲡⲗⲉ[ⲭⲍ ⲉⲧ]ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ[ⲧⲛⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ : ⲁⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲱⲧⲃⲟ ⲁⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲁ̣ⲡ̣[ⲉ]ⲩⲍⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̣ . . ⲡ̣ⲉ̣
. . ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ : ⲍⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱ̣[ⲧ]ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ •
ⲍⲓ]ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ .ⲟ̣.[. . . .] ⲙ̣ⲙⲁⲕ : ⲭⲉ ⲁⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲱⲍ
ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲃⲥ̄ ⲁⲛⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ + ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲱⲕ ⲁⲭⲱⲟⲩ : ⲁⲛ|ⲛⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲭ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲃⲥ • ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲓ̈ :
ⲁ]ⲛⲓⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱ|ⲡⲉ • ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲍⲟ ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲁⲗⲃ
ⲱⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲓ̈ : ⲁⲛⲓⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱ|ⲡⲉ : ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲍⲟ
ⲛ]ⲉⲩⲃⲉⲣⲏⲍ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ : ⲁⲛⲓⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲱⲁⲛⲱ̄ ⲉⲧ
ⲗⲁⲙⲥ̄ • ⲁⲩ[ⲥ]ⲁⲃⲧⲉ ⲁⲣ̄ⲙⲗⲁⲍ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲡ
ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲱ[ⲧⲙⲉ] ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩ[ⲟ ⲡ]ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ : ⲁⲩ
ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲡ[ⲣⲉ]ⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲭⲉ • ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ • ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲍ|ⲏⲧ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲫⲃ̈ⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲃⲉϫⲉⲩⲉ : ⲃⲱⲕ
ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛ̄ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ • ⲣⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ : ⲣⲃⲟⲏ
ⲑ]ⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲡⲗⲉⲭⲍ̄ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ •
ⲛ̄]ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ + ⲡⲉⲇⲏⲥ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲱⲣⲉ + ⲃⲁⲛ|ⲡⲉ
ⲁ]ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ : ⲛ|ⲍ ⲉⲧⲱⲁⲛⲱ̄ ⲉⲧⲗⲁⲙⲥ̄ • ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲉⲭⲍ̄
ⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ ⲍⲁⲡⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ : ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲭ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ

he cast the beryls (βήρυλλος) and the jewels down:
he] dishonoured (ἀτιμάζειν) them, the poor ones; he cast the diadem
from their head: he helped his righteous (δίκαιος); he planted
his plants in the world (οἰκουμένη): he set up the righteous (δίκαιος)
that all the distilled part might be sent up to them on high:
he strengthened the ship and set a bulwark upon it and took it up
as a gift (δῶρον) to the Mighty one; he took it up as a gift (δῶρον) to the
Mighty one:
. . . . . the Land (χώρα) of Light:
the] ship (?) sent (?) [a] palm forth; its helmsmen [came to] that which is
theirs.

Concerning the First Man:
That of the Cross (σταυρός) of Light.

The] Youth groaned and wept in the pit which is at the bottom of Hades;
the Youth groaned and wept, his cry . . . .
up: 'Hast thou not heard, o Great Brightness?
Has none . . . . . thee that Hades has been stirred up
and rebelled and they of the abyss have put their arms upon them? The
false Gods that have rebelled have taken their armour against me;
the goddesses, the daughters of shame, have set up their armour
against me; the goddesses, the daughters of shame, have set up
their spears; the stinking and foul demons
have prepared to make war with me.' When the
Mighty one heard, when they told him the word, he
called an Envoy (πρεσβευτής), the Adamas of Light,
the son of the . . . .; he called the Adamas of Light,
the pitiless, the subduer of the rebels, [saying,] 'Go
down, go, o Adamas; succour (βοηθεῖν) the Youth:
succour (βοηθεῖν) the Youth that is beneath the pit that is at the
bottom of Hades:
the] demons, — put fetters (πέδη) on their feet; the goddesses, — put iron
on their hands; the stinking and foul devils, — let their neck
break beneath the collar (κολλάριον); the false Gods that have

13. 14 ⲱⲧⲃⲟ (cf. Hom. 15, 27; 78, 28; 91, 18); vid. Crum Dict. 595 b. — 21 ⲃⲉⲣⲏⲥ: vid. 196, 7 n.

ⲃⲱⲃⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲡⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲙⲛⲉ ϯ[ⲃⲁⲙ ⲥⲓⲧⲱⲕ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲡⲗⲉⲭⲍ̀ • ⲉⲧⲉ [ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ [ϯ] ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲕϯ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲕ[ⲃⲱⲕ
ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲓⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲓ̈ⲱⲧ : ⲁⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲥⲁⲕ[ⲩ
ⲁⲩϫⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ : ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ : ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲃ[ⲟ
ⲏⲑⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲡⲗⲉⲭⲍ̀ ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ : ⲁ̣[ⲩ
ϯ ⲡⲉⲇⲏⲥ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ • ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲁⲩϯ ⲃⲁ
ⲛⲓⲡⲉ [ⲁⲧ]ⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ : ⲛⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲗⲁⲙⲁ̀ ⲉⲧⲱⲁⲛⲱ̄ • ⲁⲩⲧⲉ
ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲙⲉϫ]ⲍ̀ ⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ̄ ⲥⲁⲡⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ : ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓ̈ⲛ̣ⲟⲩ[ⲧⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲟⲩ[ϫ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲃ̄ⲁ̀ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲡⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲙⲛⲙ[ⲉ
ⲁⲩϯ ⲃⲁⲙ ⲥⲓⲧⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ • ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲡⲗⲉⲭⲍ̀ ⲛ̄[ⲉ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ : ⲁⲩϯ ⲃⲁⲙ ⲥⲓⲧⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲓⲗ[ⲟⲩ
ⲁⲩ[ⲃⲱⲕ] ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁ̣ⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲓⲧⲉⲥⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲓ̈ⲱⲧ : ⲁⲡⲉⲕⲓ̈ⲱ[ⲧ
ϫⲟ[ⲟⲥ ϫ]ⲉ ϫⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲓ̣ⲁ̣ⲕ • ⲁⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ϫⲟ
ⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ϫⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲥⲉ : ⲉ̣ⲕ̣[ⲁ]ϫⲓ ϫⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ
ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ̀ [ⲱ] ⲡⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲥⲁⲃⲕ̣

ⲉ • ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ : ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ

Ⲱ ⲡϫⲣⲙⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ̀ • ⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈
ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ : ⲱ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ϫⲣⲙⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̣
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲙ[ⲓⲟⲛ
ⲁⲩⲛⲁϫ̣ⲩ ⲥⲁⲡⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲙⲛⲙⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧ[ⲥⲉ
ⲃⲁⲟⲙⲁⲥ : ⲡ..ⲱ.ⲛ : ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲟⲙⲁⲥ ⲁ̣[ⲩ]ⲉ̣ⲓ ⲁⲩⲧⲣⲉ
ⲡϫⲣⲙⲙⲁ ⲡⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ⲁⲩⲃ̣ⲁ̣ⲣ[ⲃ ⲥ]ⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲱⲕ̄ ⲁ̣
ⲣⲁⲓ̈ • ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲣ ⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲥⲙⲉⲗⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲗⲃ̄ ⲟⲩⲗⲓ
ⲃⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲡⲁⲱⲕ̄ • ⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲟⲩⲕⲱⲥⲧ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲁⲥⲙⲉ
ⲗⲱ : ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲱⲥ ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲏⲧ : ϫⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲥⲉ[ⲓ̈
▪ ⲁⲙⲡ[ⲁ]ⲱⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲁⲧⲡⲧ̄ : ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲩ ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ[ⲁ
ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲟⲙⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲗ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲙⲡⲁⲱⲕ̄ [ⲛⲁ
ⲃⲉⲗ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲙⲡⲁⲱ : ⲡⲁⲥⲏⲧ + ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲏⲩ ⲁ̣ⲛⲥ[ⲁⲥ
ⲙⲉⲗⲱ : ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲧⲣⲉ ⲣⲉⲧ ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲣⲃ̣ⲥⲉ̣

29 ⲁⲙⲡⲁⲱ sic. ⲁ̣ⲛⲥ[ⲁⲥ]: ⲁ̣ ex ⲛ correctum vid.

rebelled. — bind them beneath the dark mountain: [strengthen and
encourage the Youth who is beneath the pit which [is Hades
below: strengthen and encourage the Youth. and [go
and come up before thy Father'. The Adamas armed himself
and sped down: he succoured (βοηθεῖν) the Youth: he
succoured (βοηθεῖν) the Youth beneath the pit of Hades which is below: [he
put fetters (πέδη) on the feet of the demons: he put iron on the
hands of the goddesses; the stinking and foul devils. — he made
their neck break beneath the collar (κολλάριον); the false gods also
that rebelled he bound beneath the dark mountain:
he strengthened and encouraged the Youth that was beneath the pit of
Hades which is below: he strengthened and encouraged the Youth:
he [went] and came up before his Father; his Father
said, 'All hail to thee'. The Rich ones of Light
said, 'Greeting and praise (?), do thou receive greeting and praise (?), o Youth.
for thou hast found rest, [o] Little one'.

V: The Soul, which [is] the First Man.

O the treasure (χρῆμα) of the Great ones of life, the jewel of the living
Mighty ones. O the great treasure (χρῆμα) of the Living ones. Who art thou
from the storehouses (ταμιεῖον)? Who art thou from the storehouses (ταμιεῖον)?
He cast him beneath the dark mountain, the dwelling of them of the
ἑβδομάς, the . . . . They of the ἑβδομάς came, they caused
the treasure (χρῆμα) to run and it came (?) forth. They set [sixty] snares
for me, they spread sixty traps; they smeared
madness on their snares; they put fire in their traps,
the wretches thinking in their heart that I should fall
into the snares and be defeated. But they know not, they of
the ἑβδομάς, that my eyes see the snares, my
eyes see the snares, my heart marks the traps.
I joined my feet, I seized them, the traps (?)

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14 ϫρο ⲙⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲕ (cf. 57, 27 etc.): a form of greeting, two words coupled by ⲙⲛ̄, the second being of the *sdmf* conjugation, cf. ⲙⲓⲟ = Crum Dict. 158 b. ϫρο has, I think, nothing to do in this case with ϭρο 'conquer', despite Keph. 55, 31. — 15 ϫρο ⲙⲛ̄ϩⲓⲥⲉ: a similar form of greeting or congratulation. With ϩⲓⲥⲉ compare ϩⲱⲥ 'praise'. — 22 ἑβδομάς: vid. 53, 18 n. — 24 etc. ⲥⲁϩⲙⲉⲗⲱ: ? an ⲉⲗⲱ (cf. 194, 18) that causes one to sink (ⲥⲱϩⲙ), a pitfall.

. . . . . .]ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . ⲛ̣ . . . : ϯⲡⲛⲏ̀ ⲥⲉⲡⲏ ⲛⲥⲱ[ⲓ̈
. . . . . .] . ⲁ̣ⲓ [ⲥⲛ̄]ⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ : ϯⲡⲛⲏ̀ ⲥⲉⲡⲏ̣[ⲧ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈] ⲭⲉ . [. . .] . . . . . �except . ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ̀ ⲁ̣ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲭⲉ] ⲁϥⲡⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲱϥ̄ • ⲁϥⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̣ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲍⲙⲉ
ⲗ]ⲱ • ⲁ̈ⲛⲁⲩⲍⲧ̀ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲭⲏ̈ ⲛⲉⲩ • ⲛⲓⲃⲱⲃ
ⲛ]ⲓⲍⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲡⲏⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ : ⲃⲱⲕ ⲛ[ⲏ]ⲧⲛ̄ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲁⲧ
ⲍⲉⲃⲇⲟⲙⲁⲥ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲭⲓ ⲍⲣⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲱϥ̄ • ⲃⲱⲕ
ⲭ̣ⲓ ⲍⲣⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲱϥ̄ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲱϥ̄ ⲭⲓ
ⲍ]ⲣⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ : ⲃⲱⲕ ⲱⲙⲥ̀ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡ[ⲗⲓ]ⲃⲉ : ⲛ̄
ⲧ]ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲱⲥⲧ̄ ⲉⲧⲭⲉⲣⲟ : ⲉⲓ̈ⲏⲡ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ
ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ ⲭⲉ [ⲧⲁ]ⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲙⲡⲁⲱϥ̄
ⲛ̄]ⲥⲉⲃⲁⲡⲧ̄ : ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲥ[. . . ⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ • ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲙ
ⲡ]ⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ • ⲁⲓ̈ⲙ[ⲁⲍ]ⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲁⲓ̈[. . .] . ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲙⲁ
ⲍⲉ • ⲱⲁⲛ+ⲡⲱⲍ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲫⲣⲁ[ⲧⲏ]ⲉ̣ • ⲍⲓ
ⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟ . ⲅ̣ⲁ̣ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ
ⲉⲩⲍⲙⲁⲥⲧ̄ ⲉⲩⲣ̄+ⲁⲗⲉ̣ • ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲩⲍⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲩⲣ̄
+ⲁⲗⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲍ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ : ⲡⲁ
ⲭⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ • ⲧⲁⲥⲩⲛⲉⲓⲇⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲩ
ⲣ]ⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ • ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ • ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̣̄
. ⲃ . . ⲛ̣ . . . . . [. . .]ⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀
ⲧ]ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ .ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ . [. . . .]ⲍ̣[. .] ⲱⲁⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲭⲉ
ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲉⲫⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ : ⲁⲩⲉ
ⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲫ̣[. . . .]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲁⲩ̣[ⲛ]ⲧ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲍⲣⲁⲕ̣

ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ — 5

Ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲏⲕ̣ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲁⲓⲃⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲥ : ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲁⲓⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲱⲧⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲃⲱ
ⲭ]ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲭⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲁⲩ . [.
. ⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲙⲛⲉ ⲁ̈ⲛⲉⲍⲥⲉ : ⲁⲩⲉⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲛ̄
. . . .] . ⲧⲁ . . ⲛ . . . . . [. . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲉ̣

28. 29 fort. ⲁ̣[ⲩⲉ]ⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ.

. . . . . of the . . . . I run, they run after me
. . . . me (?) [in] the world (οἰκουμένη); I run, they run (?)
after me], that . . . . . forth to (?) the man,
for] he has escaped from the snares, he has got free from the traps.
I turned back, I said to them, the weaklings,
the wretches that run after me, 'Go away, go, ye of the
ἑβδομάς; go, attend to your snares: go,
attend to your snares and let your snares
attend to you. Go, sink down in the madness
and fall into the fire that is kindled: I am not of the
sons of the world (οἰκουμένη) that I should fall into the snares
and be caught. I am a . . . . of the Living ones, a lamp (λαμπάς)
of Light entire'. I walked therefore, I . . ., I
walked, until I reached the bank of the Euphrates:
on the bank of the river . . . . there is a Youth
sitting, making music (ψάλλειν), the Youth there sits and makes
music (ψάλλειν) in the scent of life which dwelt upon him.
He said, 'My heart, be a mountain (?) for me; my conscience (συνείδησις),
grow (?) for me into a mind (νοῦς). My heart, be a mountain (?) for me. Be
. . . . . and the Living ones
send after thee . . . . . how long, for
they took an Envoy (πρεσβευτής), they sent him after me, he
grasped the . . . . of my hand, he [brought] me up to the Land (χώρα)
of Peace.

Concerning the Living Spirit: VI.

I was clothed, as I stood, in a robe (στολή) without spot,
a robe (στολή) without spot, wherein there was no waning or
diminution ever. The Living ones passed my cry . . .
. . . my care (μέριμνα), I arose; they grasped
. . . . . me to that which

18. 19 ⲡⲁⲩⲣⲉ: vid. 92, 12 n. — 26. 27 ⲁⲓⲃⲉ: vid. 23, 29 n.

. . . ⲟⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ • ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲩⲍ . [. . . . . .]ⲉ : ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ ⲕ̣ . ⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ . . [. . . . . 3 non legi potest ⲙⲟⲩⲍ ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ : ⲉⲣⲱⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛ[ⲉ] ⲟ̣ⲉ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁ̣ⲡ̣[ⲩ] ⲙⲁ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲛⲁⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲙ̄ⲥⲱⲧ ⲁⲧⲱⲛ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙⲡ̣[ⲓⲛⲉⲩ

ⲍ ⲡⲁ̣ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀

(ϣ) ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ . . . . . ⲉⲩ[ⲓ]ⲁⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲑⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̣ⲃ̣[ⲉ] ⲝⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ • ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ [ⲁⲩ ⲃⲱⲗ[ⲡ̄ ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ : ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲁ̣[ⲩ] ⲑⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲉⲙⲡ̣ⲟ̣ⲗⲏ ⲁⲑⲙ̄ⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲭⲓⲥⲉ • ⲁ̣[. . ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲡ ⲡ̣ⲟ̣[. . . . .] . . . ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲍ ⲧⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲥⲓ ⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲩ̄[ⲁ]ⲡⲉ : ⲁⲩ[ⲛⲁⲍ] ⲧⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲥⲓⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲩ̄ⲁⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲡ̣[. ⲁⲩ[. . . . .]ⲟⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ : ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲩⲣⲁⲛⲛⲟ[ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ • ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ • ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ • ⲁⲩⲧⲣⲟⲩⲭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲕⲟⲗⲁ ⲥⲓⲥ : ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲉⲭⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ : ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲓⲟ̣ⲁⲙ • ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲭⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ . ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ : ⲁⲩ ⲧⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ : ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧ ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ : ⲁ[ⲩ ⲱϣⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲙ[ⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲛ̣ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲕ[ⲁ ⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁ : ⲁⲩⲧ̣ⲱⲙ ⲁⲛⲣⲱⲟ[ⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ • ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁ.ⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲱ[ⲧⲡ̄ ⲁⲍ]ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ : [ⲁⲩ]ⲥⲱϣⲧ̄ ⲁⲩ ⲕⲱⲗⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲉ̣ⲧⲧⲱⲛⲉ̣ . [. . . .] . . . . . ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣ̣ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲩⲧⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲛ ⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ : ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲛⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ • ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲁ̣ . . . . . [. .] ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ : ⲁⲩⲍⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲍ • ⲁ[ⲩ ⲥⲱⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲕⲣⲉ : ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣⲕ̄ ⲡⲕⲉ̣[ⲕⲉ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲭⲩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ⲁⲩⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲃⲩ ⲙⲡⲉ̣[ⲩ ⲙⲁ : ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[ⲍ]ⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ • ⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲧ̣[. .

11 ⲁⲑⲙ̄ⲕⲟ sic: leg. ⲁⲩⲑⲙ̄ⲕⲟ. — 19 ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲗⲙⲉ sic.

. . . . gave (?) to me: the Light no longer . . . .
they said to me, 'Thou . . . the Light . . . . . .
l. 3 *illegible*
full of Light; when the Light therefore goes to its
place the Darkness shall fall and not rise again henceforth.

VII: That of the Living Spirit.

O Wise one of the . . . . . who came to subdue the
rebels of the world (κόσμος). He floated (?) in great power, he
appeared in great brightness; in his power and
the power of his Father he came, he made war (πόλεμος) with them: he
subdued their camps (παρεμβολή); he hurt their height: . . .
he came, he caught . . . . ., he threw the diadem
from his head, he threw the diadem from his head, he
. . . . . of the fire, he fettered the tyrants (τύραννος)
of the earth, he took from them their kingdom, he deprived them
of their kingdom, he caused them to be led away to the
punishment (κόλασις), he seized the authorities (ἐξουσία) also, he wrest
from them their
power also, he cast them from the . . . of the fire, he
closed the fountains of fire, he closed the fountains of
fire that they might not again send up darkness, [he
quenched the furnaces (κάμινος) of fire, he brought the Light, he set
it in its place, he closed the doors of Hades that
the Righteous (δίκαιος) might not be shut in in them: he stopped, he
hindered (κωλύειν) the course (δρόμος) that . . . . . .
he seized the goddesses and the gods, he wrest their vehicles
from them, he took their vehicles from them, he appointed them
to . . . . . of the Living, he blocked the troubled rivers, he
distilled the clear waters, he uprooted the Darkness
and cast it out: he brought the Light and planted it in its
place: he closed all the fountains, he put (?) the . . .

8 ⲁⲅⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉⲩ: vid. 193, 30 n. — 25. 26 ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲉⲗⲟ: cf. Keph. 36, 28; H. H. Schaeder, Morgenland 28, p. 102.

. . . . . ⲁ]ϫⲱⲟⲩ : ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲣⲯ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥ[ⲥⲁ
. .] . . . . ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲧⲡⲉ : ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲣⲯ̄ ⲛ̄ϯ
ⲛⲁ]ϭ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁϩϩⲁ • ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲛⲁϫⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ :
ⲛⲉ]ϫⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲡⲟⲣⲟⲥ • ⲛ|ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ
ⲙ̄]ⲡ|ⲥⲧⲟⲥ : ⲛ̄ϭ|ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲱⲁⲧⲉ • ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲡⲱⲛ
ⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲩⲧ̄ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲱⲛϩ : ⲁⲩⲟⲃⲓ̈ⲟ ϩⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁϭ
ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ • ⲁⲩⲟⲃⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁ|ⲃⲉϫⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̀ : ⲁⲩ
ⲱⲙⲥ̀ ⲛⲉⲥⲕⲁ|ⲃⲉϫⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̀ • ⲁⲩⲥⲉϩⲟ ϩⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ̀ ⲁ
ϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ: ⲁⲩⲥⲉϩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϩⲉⲓ̈ⲉ • ⲁⲩ
ⲣ̄ⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲁⲃⲟⲩ : ⲁⲩⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ [ⲛ̄ⲛ]ⲉⲧⲁⲩϩⲓ
ⲛⲏⲃ • ⲁⲩⲧ ⲡ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲡⲱⲃⲱ ⲁⲩⲧ ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲛⲃⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ • ϫⲉⲩⲁⲱⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ
ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ • ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ
ⲧϫⲣⲁⲣⲁⲧ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲁⲩⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲛϩⲏⲕ[ⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲉ :
ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲱ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲡ[ⲉⲫⲓ̈]ⲱⲧ̀ ⲉ
ⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ̀ : ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲓⲏ ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ϫⲛ̄ⲙ̄
ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲁⲧϫⲱⲣⲁ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲥ]ⲣⲁϩⲧ̄ : ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲓⲏ ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ
ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ϩⲓⲱⲱⲥ : ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓ
ⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ϩⲓⲱⲱⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲱⲁⲩⲧ ⲟⲩⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ : ⲱⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲏ
ⲡⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣⲣⲉ
ⲗⲟⲥ : ⲁⲩⲧⲁϭ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲛϩ̀ • ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁ
ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲉϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲁϫⲱⲩ : ϫⲉⲩⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ
ⲡ̣ⲃⲣⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲥⲉⲃⲓ]ⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧ[.] . . . . . ⲕ̣ ⲛ̣ⲥⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲃⲟ . . .]ⲉ̣ ⲡⲃⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲓⲧⲩ̄ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲛ]ⲉϫⲏⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄
ⲟ|ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ : ⲛ|ⲉϫⲏⲩ ⲟⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉ
ⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ϯⲩϫⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ

: ⲏ : ⲡⲁⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏ[ⲥ]

ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲁⲝⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ • ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩ̣[ⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲁⲝⲓⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲡ
ⲡⲉⲧⲁ]ⲁⲉ̣ ⲁⲟⲩ[ⲉ ϩⲛ̄]ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ[ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ . . .]ⲁϩ
. . . .]ⲛⲉ̣.ⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲕ̣ⲟⲩ . ⲉ . [. .] ϩⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲛ̣ . [. . . . . .]ⲙⲟ

. . . . upon them, he spread out the great sea (θάλασσα),
. . . . called it the sky, he spread out this
great sea (θάλασσα), he built the ships and launched them on it,
the| ships of the great traders (ἔμπορος), the faithful (πιστός)
men of Truth, the barks of the merchants, that will convey
up the distilled part to life. But he subdued the great
sea (θάλασσα), he subdued the rebels also that are in it, he
sank its rebels also in it, he set guards over
them to watch them, he set up them that fell, he
healed them that were wounded, he awakened them that
slept, he gave memory to them that forgot, he gave the Light
to the eyes of the Righteous (δίκαιος), that they might go up and
see the Land (χώρα) of Light, he gathered them that
were scattered, he enlightened the poor ones of Darkness,
he appointed and made straight the course (δρόμος) which his living
Father enjoined on him, he made smooth the royal road from
hence to the Land (χώρα) of Peace, he made smooth the royal road
that the Righteous (δίκαιος) might go upon it, the Righteous (δίκαιος)
might go upon it and see the Land (χώρα) of Light.
Brightness is set upon them there, a diadem is bound
upon their head and they are added to the number of the Angels.
He planted him a plant in the lives, he called
his beloved ones, he set them up upon it that they might purify
the seed and take it forth . . . . . and purify
. . . the seed and take it |forth upon the| ships and the
barks. On those ships of Light therefore
shall your souls go aboard.

VIII: That of the Envoy (πρεσβευτής).

From the ranks (τάξις) of the kingdom, from |the ranks| of the
Exalted (?) one, one of the sons of Light did . . .

l. 31 *fragmentary*

5. 26 ϭ|ΝΟΥΕΛ: vid. 76. 29 n. — 16. 17 ϩ|Η ππ̄ρο (cf. Hom. 91, 25): vid. Crum Dict. 299 b.

ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ • ⲁⲩⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲃⲱ[ⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ • ⲁⲩⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̣ⲟ[ⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲃⲱⲗⲡ̄
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥ+ⲃⲱⲱⲛ ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲗⲁⲙⲥ̀ : ⲛ̣̄ . [. . . .
ⲁⲡⲟⲃⲁⲗⲥⲁⲙⲱⲛ ⲯⲁⲯⲉ : ⲁⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧ̣[. .
ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ : ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧ̣[ⲉⲩ
ⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ • ⲁⲩⲥⲕⲁⲣⲕⲣ̄ ⲁⲩⲗⲓⲃⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲩⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ : ⲁⲩⲧ̣ⲱⲛ̣
ⲭⲉⲩⲁ+ⲥⲧⲏⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ • ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲓⲉ ⲁⲩⲗⲓⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ̣[ⲩ
ⲥⲁⲓⲉ : ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲭⲉⲩⲁ+ⲥⲧⲏⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲓⲉ • ⲁⲩⲙⲩⲣⲓ[ⲍⲉ
ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩ[ⲥ]+ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲕⲁⲣⲕⲣ̄ : ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲗⲭ ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲉⲧ • [ⲁⲩ
ⲟⲩⲱⲱ[ⲧ̄] ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ : ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲍⲟ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲏⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ̣
ⲁⲕⲉⲓ [ⲥⲛ̄]ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲱ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ • ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲁⲓ̈ • ⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏ
ⲛⲏ ⲱ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲟ
ⲥⲙⲟⲥ : [ⲁ]ⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲕⲕⲁ ⲧⲉⲓⲣⲏ
ⲛⲏ ⲥⲛ̣[ⲧⲛ̄]ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ : ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲓ
ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ • ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ [ⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲁⲩ ⲥ̣ⲱⲱⲩ ⲁⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲏⲧ • ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲛⲁ̣[ⲭ]ⲟ̄ ⲁⲡⲱⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄+
ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲥⲏⲧⲟ̄ : ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲁⲗⲟ̄ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲗⲉⲁ
ⲅⲣⲁ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲡⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ :
ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲁⲗⲟ̄ ⲁ[ⲥⲟⲩ]ⲛ ⲁⲧⲕ̣ⲁⲗⲏⲁⲅⲣⲁ • ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲁⲩⲥⲟ̄
ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲱ. ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲁ . . . ⲁ̣ . ⲕ̣ . ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ
ⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲙⲏⲉ̣ : ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲩ
ⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ . ⲡⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲁ̣ⲗ̣[. . .] . . . ⲥⲏⲧ̣[.
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙ . . . . [.] . . ⲩ . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ : ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉ . [. .]ⲟ̄[.
ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡ[. .]ⲉ • ⲁⲡⲃⲁⲛ|ⲡⲉ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲟ|ⲓⲭ : ⲁⲩⲁ
ⲗⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲕ̣ⲁⲗⲏⲁⲅⲣⲁ • ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲉⲣ|
ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ . . • ⲁ̣ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ
ⲛⲉⲩ [. . . . . .]ⲧ̣ⲟ : ⲙⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲟ̈ⲓ
ⲛ̄[ⲉⲁⲩ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁ]ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ [ⲙ
ⲛ[ⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲧ]ⲉ ⲡⲥ+ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲃ[. . .] ⲛ̄ⲧ+ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ

3 fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩ. — 4 ⲁⲡⲟⲃⲁⲗⲥⲁⲙⲱⲛ sic. — 22 leg. ⲁⲥⲉⲍⲱⲩ?

of the Darkness. An image (εἰκών) of Light was revealed [in
the dwelling-place of the beasts (θηρίον), an image (εἰκών) of Light was
revealed in the land (χώρα) of the foul stink . . . .
balsam (ὀποβάλσαμον) spread. The worlds (κόσμος) and they of the . . .
gathered and came to see his image (εἰκών), they came to see his
image (εἰκών), they grovelled, they became mad because of his brightness,
they arose
that they might mark his likeness, they fell, they became mad by reason of his
beauty, they arose that they might mark his beauty, they were
sweetened (μυρίζειν)
with his fragrance, they grovelled, they bent their knees, [they
worshipped him, they set up their ἡλικίαι, they sang to him:
'Thou art come in peace (εἰρήνη), o son of the Brightnesses, son
of the Lights and the Richnesses. Thou art come in peace (εἰρήνη),
o son of the Brightnesses, that shalt be the illuminer (φωστήρ) of our
worlds (κόσμος). Come and rule over our land (χώρα) and set peace (εἰρήνη)
in [our] city (πόλις)'. The demons were saying this
with their mouth, yet planning evil nevertheless in
their heart: Come, let us cast him into the stocks (?), let us set
a fetter (κολλάριον) on him, let us shut him up in a cage (γαλεάγρα)
and put him in the world (κόσμος) and secure (?) him.
Let us shut him up in the cage (γαλεάγρα), that he may not return
and . . . . . the word that the demons
spoke in truth, the Living ones desired to (?) set it up, they
made it true, that which they planned, for . . . . . .
his . . . . . from them. When . . . . .
had gone to . . . ., the iron went to their hands, they were
shut up in the cage (γαλεάγρα), because (ἐπειδή) they loved not
the truth . . . . But the great Light spoke and said
to them . . . . . It is not possible that the glorious (?) Light should
go to] the Land (χώρα) of the demons of the Darkness.
It is not possible [again] that the fragrant smell should . . . . the
Land (χώρα) of the

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10 ἡλικίαι: vid. 207, 3 n. — 17 ⲁⲡⲱϣⲉ: lit. 'to the wood'. — 19 ϩⲧⲁⲛ: ? 'secure'; cf. 200, 13/14; 166, 36; Hom. 16, 20.

ⲥϯⲃⲱⲱⲛ :] ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲙ ⲁⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲣⲱⲙ[ⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ
ⲛⲍ̀ ⲉⲓ] ⲁⲛ..ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲛⲁⲩⲉ : ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲛⲁⲃ]ⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ • ⲡⲥϯⲛⲟⲩⲩ[ⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲱ]ⲕ ⲁ[ⲡⲥϯⲛ
ⲟⲩⲩ]ⲉ ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲛⲁⲃ[ⲱⲕ] ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲭⲱ
ⲣ]ⲁ̣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ : ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲉ ⲁ̣ⲡⲉⲩ
ⲙⲁ • ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲛⲁⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲙ̄ⲥⲱⲧ ⲁⲧⲱⲱⲛ :

ⲟ : ⲡⲁⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ

Ⲛⲉⲟ]ⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲛ[ⲟⲩⲛ :] ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲍⲣⲁ̣ⲩ
ⲧ]ⲉⲍⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ : ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ . .[. . . . . .
ⲛⲏⲓ̈ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲛ̣ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲓ̈ ⲉ̣ⲓ ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲭⲱ[. . . . . .
ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲍⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲛ̄ⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲁⲭⲱ[ⲟⲩ] . k . .[. . . . . .
. ⲉⲧ̀ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ : ⲍⲟⲥⲟ[ⲛ . . . . . .
ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲩⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲛⲏⲍ̀ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲣⲁⲱ ⲥ̣[.]ⲉ̣ . ⲉⲓ̣ⲁ
ⲛⲁⲭ ⲧⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲧⲁⲍⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲃⲱⲣⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲓⲭⲱⲓ̈ [ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
ⲛⲁⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲙ̄ⲥⲱⲧ ⲁⲧⲱⲛ ⲁ̀ⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ
ⲙⲏⲉ • ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲣⲁⲕ : ⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲡⲉ
ⲧⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲍⲁⲣⲱ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲣⲁⲩ • ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲃⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ
ⲧⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲍⲁⲣⲱ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲃⲛⲧⲩ̄ : ⲧⲁⲭⲣⲁⲕ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁ[ⲍⲟ]ⲩⲛ ⲱ ⲡ
ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ • ⲧⲁⲭⲣⲁⲕ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲁⲓⲟ[ⲩⲛ]ⲟⲩ : ⲡⲭⲁ̣
ⲓ̈ⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲏⲓ ⲡⲥ̄ⲣⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟ[ⲥ ⲧⲏ]ⲣⲩ̄ ⲟⲩ
ⲏⲡⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲉⲃⲁⲧ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭ|ⲧⲥ̀ • ⲟⲩⲏⲡⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄
ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ̄ : . . . . . ⲉⲛⲁⲭⲱⲕ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̣ⲉⲕⲁⲓⲱⲛ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲭ̣[ⲱⲕ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲉⲩⲏ[ⲡⲥ̀] ⲛ̣ⲁ̣[. . . .]ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲙ̄ⲧⲱⲛⲉ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ : ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁ
ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲃ[ⲱ]ⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲉⲩ
ⲙⲁ : ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ.ⲱⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̣[ⲏ]ⲭ̣
ⲁⲡⲱⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲃⲁⲗⲩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ⲙ̄ⲧⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̣[ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ] ⲛ̣ⲁ
ⲱⲙⲡ ⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲍ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲟ : ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ [. . . . . .
[ⲁ]ⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲱⲁⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣⲁ̣[ⲓ]ⲥ̣ ⲁ̣ⲣ̣[ⲁⲩ

26 fort. ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲱⲧⲉ. -- 26/27 ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲏⲭ ⲁⲡⲱⲉ: cf. 214, 17.

stink]; it is not possible that the image (εἰκών) of the [living
man should [come] to the (?) dwelling-places of the beasts. The Light
shall] go to the Light, the fragrance shall go to [the
fragrance], the image (εἰκών) of the living man shall go to the
living land (χώρα) from which it came. The Light shall return to its
place, the Darkness shall fall and not rise again.

IX: That of the Perfect Man.

There was a man weeping down in the abyss; his cry
was lifted up. He said, ". . . . . .
to me. Have the householders of the house . . . . . .
taking up our (?) burden upon them? . . . . . .
. . . in the world (κόσμος), while (ὅσον) . . . . . .
daily, his burden being thrown (?) . . . I will
throw the burden and dash it from me; [the Darkness
shall fall and not rise again." From the heights of
truth the Holy one did . . . . his rest: "Bear that which
the Enduring one bears, that thou mayest find that which
the Enduring one finds. Strengthen thyself, stand fast, o
Righteous (δίκαιος) one; strengthen thyself, stand fast yet this hour.
For (γάρ) the lord of this house, the seducer of the whole world (κόσμος),
has been given a number of months, a number of years are in
his hand . . . . . shall be ended now and thy Aeons
all be fulfilled. His number shall . . . . and
the world (κόσμος) shall fall and not rise again. Then (τότε) the Light shall
go to the Light and the Darkness be blotted out from its
place; he that is below the . . . . shall come up, he that is cast
in the stocks shall be released. The souls of [the lawless] shall
suffer in the world, the men . . . . . .
up unto him whom they have guarded (?).

9 ⲧⲉϩⲟ: cf. ⲡⲱϩ, ⲡϩ with infinitive.

ⲉ]ⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲟ|ⲛⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[. . . .

. . . .] ⲟⲩ . .[.] ⲟⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ • ⲟⲩⲱ[ⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ
ⲉⲩⲏⲡ ⲁⲛⲙⲉⲣ|ⲥⲧⲁⲛⲟⲥ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲣ̣[. . . . . .
. . . ⲣ̄[. . .] ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲣ|ⲥⲧⲁⲛⲟⲥ : ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲃ̣ . [. . .
ⲟ̣|ⲛ̣[. . .] . ⲉⲕ̣ⲣ̣ . . : ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲛⲉⲧ̀ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲡⲉ ⲁⲣ̄ⲡ[ⲉ ⲁⲩ
ⲃ|ⲧ̀ • ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲭⲧ̄ ⲁ̈ⲓ[ⲉ]ⲣⲟ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ : ⲁⲡ|ⲉⲣⲟ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ. ⲭ|ⲧ̣ [ⲁⲩ
ⲃ|ⲧ̀ • ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲭⲧ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ : ⲥⲁⲱⲩⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲭⲏⲕ ⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲉⲩ ⲉ̈ⲓⲭⲓ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ ⲥⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁ[ⲥ
ⲥ]ⲁ : ⲡⲭⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ϯⲥⲁⲱⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲕⲟ[ⲩ̈ⲓ
. ⲡⲁ̣ . . �kⲁ[ⲣⲟ ⲭⲉ̈ⲓ]ⲁⲙⲁⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲭ|ⲧ̣ .[.
. . . . . .]. . ⲟ̣ ⲛ̣ⲃⲗⲁⲧⲧⲁ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲉⲙ[ⲟⲥ
. . . . . .]. . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣ|ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲧ̀ ⲁ̈ⲣⲡ̣[ⲙⲉ

[. . . . .]. . . ⲙ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ

Ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ̈ⲓ [ⲃⲓ] ⲧⲁⲥⲁ|ⲓⲏ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲣⲡⲥ̀ ⲁⲩⲭ|ⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲥ
ⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡ]ⲉⲩⲱⲛⲁ ⲙ̣ⲛ̣ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ
ⲛ̣ⲧ̣[ⲁⲣⲟⲩ]ⲭ̣|ⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ̣ⲡⲉ̣ⲩ̣ⲱⲏ| ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ̈ⲓ ⲗⲍⲏⲙ ⲛ̄
ⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛⲁ : ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛ̣ⲁ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁ|ⲱⲃⲉⲣⲉ
ⲥ|ⲱⲟⲩⲥ : ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲱ̄ⲱ̄ⲱⲏⲃ̣ⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲩⲣ|ⲍⲉ • ⲁ
ⲛⲉⲩ.ⲱ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ : ⲉ|ⲥ ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲕⲁ|ⲃⲁⲙ̣ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲗⲍⲏⲙ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲙⲁ : ⲉⲩ
ⲟⲩⲁⲛ[ⲥ ⲁ]ⲧⲁⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲱⲭⲃⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ̣ : ϯⲱⲱ ⲃⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲁⲩ • ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡ
ⲡⲉⲧⲁ̈ⲓ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ : ⲁ̈ⲓ . [. .] ⲙ̈ⲡⲁ̈ⲓⲱⲧ
ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ . .[. . . . . ⲉⲧ]ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲍⲃ̄ⲥ[ⲱ ⲧⲟ̈ⲓ]ⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄
ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ : ⲭⲉ ⲉⲱⲭⲉ ⲁ̈ⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ̈ⲓ • ⲍ|ⲉ
ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲣ̣ⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ̈ⲓ ⲟ̣[ⲩⲁ]ⲙⲧ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛⲁ : ⲉ|ⲱⲭⲉ ⲁ̈ⲣ̄
ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲩⲁⲙⲕⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲙⲁ
. .[. . . . .]. : ⲉ|ⲱⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ̈ⲓ •
. . . . . .]ⲍ̣ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲣ|ⲱⲙ̣ⲡⲱⲧ̣
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛⲁ] : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ
ⲟⲧⲩ̄ . . . . . ⲡ]ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ⲑⲃⲥⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡ

12 init. ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ coniicio. — 19 init. fort. ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲁⲩ.

Concerning the moulding (-πλάσσειν) of the . . . .

. . . . a . . ., a king's son, a [king's son, .
one that belongs to the princes (μεγιστᾶνος). [He] was . . . . . .
. . . . the princes (μεγιστᾶνος), they did . . . . .
. . . . . they conveyed me from temple to temple, [they
took me, they cast me into two rivers, the two rivers received me, [they
took me, they cast me out into the great sea (θάλασσα). Seven
full years did I spend, receiving nourishment in the sea (θάλασσα).
At the end of the seven years I, the little one,
. . . . shore (?), that I] might come to land: when they were about to
receive me
. . . . . *blatta;* when the worlds (κόσμος)
. . . . . but when I saw them I wept (?).

. . . . . concerning his son.

The lion [took] my fair daughter, he seized her, he took her
within in] his lair with his great dragon also.
When they had taken her into their pit (?) the lion roared
within in his lair, in his lair, his companions also
gathered, the dragon whistled and hissed (συρίζειν),
all his . . . gathered unto him. Lo, they with all
their powers also roar out in every place,
not appearing unto my daughter lest their power
should be lessened. Therefore I call up with my cry unto the
Mighty one, the Great one of all the powers; I . . . . my Father,
the son . . . . . whose garment is set upon
the universe, saying: 'If I have done wrong to the great lion, then
let the lion eat me in his lair, if I have done
wrong to the great dragon, let him swallow me here
. . . . . but (δέ) if I have not done wrong to the lion
. . . . . from his midst, let me be able to escape
from his lair] and bring my daughter away from
him . . . . . .] the Father (?) of us all, the garment of the

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11 βλάττα: I cannot understand from the context what this word means here: vid. Thes. Ling. Lat. s. v. — 15. 17 etc. ⲱⲛⲁ: the meaning here is evidently 'lair', 'cave', 'den', of lion or wild beast, and the word seems to be used figuratively in this sense at 15, 3, and perhaps Hom. 89, 22. At 15, 18 and 188, 18 ⲱⲛⲁ means 'chaff'.

. . . . . .]. ⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ : ⲁ̈ⲣⲱⲥϯ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲣⲃ̄ ⲧⲏ[ⲣⲟⲩ
. . . . . .]. ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲓⲱⲛⲏⲩ : ⲁ̈ⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̈[ⲡ
ⲉⲩⲱⲛ]ⲁ : ⲁ̈ⲛⲁⲥ[. .]ⲱⲁⲁⲧⲕ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ : ⲁ̈ⲛ̣ⲟⲩ. .
ⲙ̈ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲃ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ • ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲁⲓⲥⲁ̈ⲓⲱ ⲁ̈ⲓ
ⲧⲁⲛⲥⲥ̄ : ⲁ̈ⲓⲃⲓ ⲧⲁⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ • ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲥϫⲁⲥⲉ
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ : ⲁ̈ⲓⲥⲓⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲩⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ • ⲱⲁⲛ+ⲛⲁϫⲩ
ⲁ]ⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ̀ ⲙ̈ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ : ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ
ⲱⲉⲣⲉ • ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ̄ ⲙ̈ⲡⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ : ⲉⲛⲁ̣ . .
. .] ⲙ̈ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲃ̄ ⲙ̈ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲡ]ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ : ⲉⲛⲡⲱⲥ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣ̣ . . .[. .]ⲉ̣ . .[ⲁ
ⲥⲟ]ⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ . . . .[.]. . . .
ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲁ • ⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲗ̀ . ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ[. . . . . ⲟ]ⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩ
ⲱⲛⲥ̄ : ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛ̣[ⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲁ ⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓ]ⲛ̣ⲉ
ⲛ̄]ⲧⲁⲱⲉⲉⲣ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡ . . . . .[. . . . .]. ⲉ̣ ⲛⲛ[.
. . . ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲥⲱⲟⲩ . .[. . . . . .]ⲁⲥ̣ .
ⲧⲉ̣ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲧ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲉⲥⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲱⲉ
ⲗⲉⲉⲧ

[ⲓ]ⲃ̣ : . . . . ω ⲙ̈ⲡⲥⲏⲣ

ⲁ̀ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲱⲓⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ • ⲁⲭⲱⲓⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
ⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡⲁⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲁ[ⲗ]ⲟ̀ : ⲁⲭⲱⲉⲕⲧⲩ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲱ
ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ • ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲛⲕⲩ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲉⲉⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ : ⲛ̄ⲟⲱ
ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲡⲁⲛⲕⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ • ⲉⲩⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲥⲛ̄
ⲕⲗⲏⲗ ⲛ̄ⲗⲓⲃⲁⲛⲟⲥ : ⲙ̈ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ • ⲥⲛ̄
ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ [ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ]ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲥⲓ+ⲟ̣[.]ⲃ̣ . ⲗ . . ⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ ⲥ[ⲉ
ⲣⲥⲱⲧ • ⲥⲉⲱⲃⲏⲣ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̣ⲟ̣ⲕⲓⲙⲏ : ⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲩ
ⲁⲧⲡ̄ • ⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛ • ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲉⲩⲱ[ⲟⲩ]ⲓ̈[ⲧ
ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̣[ⲥⲏⲧ]ⲩ̄ : ⲡϫⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲡ̄ : ⲩⲙ̈[ⲁ
ⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲉⲩⲥⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ : ⲩⲣ̄[ⲥ]ⲁ̣ⲧⲉ ⲉⲛ [.]ⲩ . . ⲛ̄ .[. .
. ⲱⲃ̣ⲏⲣ . . . . . .[.] ⲡⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛ̣ [. . . .]ⲃ̣ . .[. . .
. . . . ⲕⲣⲟ . . ϫⲓⲟ̣[. .]. . . ⲕⲣⲟ ⲁ̣ⲕ[. . . .]. . .[. . . .

31 mutilum

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2 init. ⲁ̈ⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ ⲛ̄ coniicio. — 3 fin. fort. ⲁ̈ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ̄. — 10 an ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲙⲟⲛⲓⲁ? — 16 ⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲧ sic.

. . . . . all. I struck all (?) their ranks (?).
. . . . . their nets also, I opened up their (?)
lair]; I cast . . . . . into it, I . . . .
the great dragon; the serpent, his consort also, I
enmeshed; I took my daughter from them and set her high
above them all; I shot at their τροχός until I had thrown it
beneath them all, in order that I and my
daughter might together destroy all the nets (?), we
. . . . the great lion and the dragon out of
the universe, we reaching the time of the . . . . . .
in to the land (χώρα) of the righteous (δίκαιος), and that we might . . . . .
land (χώρα) which they . . . . . they know
it; from the midst of the second [lair] brought
my daughter into the . . . . . .
they also shall rejoice . . . . . .
shall come to pass and the bride shall go to her
bride-chamber.

XII: . . . . of the Saviour (? $\overline{\text{σηρ}}$).

Jesus dug a river in the world (κόσμος); he dug a
river, even he of the sweet name. He dug it with the spade
of Truth, he dredged it with the basket (?) of wisdom (σοφία), the stones (?)
which he dredged from it are like
drops (?) of incense (λίβανος); all the waters that are in it
are roots [of] Light (?) and . . . . . three ships
sail, they voyage in the river of testing (δοκιμή): one
laden, one half-freighted, the third empty,
there being nothing in it. The ship which is full and laden goes (?)
in it, being . . . . : it does not fear (?) . . . . .
voyages (?) . . . . . That which is half-freighted . . . . .
. . . . bank (?) . . . . . bank . . . . . .

l. 31 *illegible*

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1 For ϩωρϭ as a substantive vid. Keph. 37, 12; 57, 22; 170, 18. — 8 (a) ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ̀: vid. 17, 12 n (b) ⲁⲧⲉ: apparently = the Old Egypt. word for 'net' (Wb. I 36 *iədt*), still in use in demotic (H.T.). — 19 ff. cf. Iliad XXI 257 ff. — 21 ⲃⲉⲉⲣ: ? = sahidic ⲃⲓⲣ. — 21. 22 ⲡⲱⲛⲕ: vid. Crum Dict. p. 265 b. — 23 ⲕⲗⲏⲗ: meaning uncertain, cf. Keph. 70, 19. 24. 25, Crum op. cit. p. 713 a, l. 40.

ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ • ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲩ ⲱⲁⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲩ[. . . . . .
. . ⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲱⲁⲩⲡⲱⲥ • ⲡⲉⲧⲱ[ⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲉ
ⲱⲁⲩⲥⲱⲭⲡ̄ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ : ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲡ̣ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ [ⲉⲩ
ⲉⲓ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲗⲱⲛⲏ[ⲥ :] ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲛ̄[ⲧⲟ̄
ⲉⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲁ† : ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲥⲓⲱⲱⲩ : ⲥⲉⲛ̣[ⲁ
ⲕⲁⲗⲡⲟ̄ ⲕⲁⲕⲏⲛ ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲩⲍⲟ̄ ⲁⲡⲙⲉⲧⲁⲣ[ⲅⲓ
ⲥⲙⲟⲥ : ⲩⲁⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲱⲥ ⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ : ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩ[ⲙⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲟ̄ⲙⲉⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ

.[. . .]ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ [ⲟⲩ]ⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ

Ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲕ̣ ⲥ̣[. . .]. . . ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ[ⲉⲕ
ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲏ[ⲣⲟⲩ ⲱⲓ]ⲛⲉ [ⲛ̄]ⲥⲱⲕ̣ : ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲱ[ⲓ
ⲛ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ̣ [ⲛⲉⲕⲙ]ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲃⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲏⲧⲕ̀ : ⲁⲡⲍⲏ . .
.]ⲛⲉⲕⲱ[ⲏⲣⲉ ⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥ]ⲱⲕ̣ : ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲃⲁⲱⲧ̄ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣[ⲁⲗ
ⲥⲏⲧⲕ̀ ⲙ̣ⲙ̣ⲏ[ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉ]ⲕ̣ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ̣ [ⲉ]ⲩ̣
ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲕⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲱⲕ̣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲁⲧⲁⲃ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲏ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲗ̀ ⲙ̄[ⲡⲓ]ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ : ⲉ̈ⲓⲥⲱⲧ
ⲡ̄ ⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲥ̀ • ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ†ⲟⲩⲱ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ : †ⲛⲁ† ⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲏⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟⲥ : ⲭⲉ †ⲥⲧⲏⲕ̀ ⲁⲛⲁ
ⲱⲏⲛ ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ : †ⲥⲧⲏⲕ̀ ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ
ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲓⲛⲏⲃ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ : ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲓⲛⲏⲃ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲛⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ : ⲛⲟⲩⲣ̄ ⲡⲱ[ⲃ]ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲧⲟⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ : ⲉ
ⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲭⲱⲃ̣[ⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲓ[ⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄]ⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ
ⲥⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̣ⲛ̣[ⲥⲁ]ⲧ̣[ⲉ] : ⲥⲛ̄ⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲧ̣ⲟⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲡ
ⲱⲃⲁⲣ : ⲥⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲛⲉ̣ ⲉⲩⲭⲓ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲱⲉⲓ̣ⲡ̣ ⲉ̈ⲓⲱⲱⲛⲉ̣
ⲙ̄]ⲡ̣ⲁⲍⲏⲧ̀ ⲉⲛ ⲥⲁⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ : ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥ̣ⲁ̣ⲡ̣[ⲭⲣ]ⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ
ⲧ]ⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲗ̣ⲓ̣ⲧ̀ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ : †ⲃⲁⲱⲧ̄ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ]ⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̣ⲛⲉ
ⲧ]ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲍ̣ ⲭⲉ[ⲩⲁⲧⲛ̄]ⲛⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲟⲏⲑ[ⲉⲓⲁ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ : ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀
ⲛⲁⲧ]ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲁⲩ [ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄]ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲙ • ⲛⲁⲥⲛ[ⲏⲩ] ⲛⲁⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
. .]. ⲟⲩ . .[. . . .] ⲃⲉ ⲱⲁⲟⲩⲏⲣ • ⲭ[ⲉ]ⲩ̣ .[. .]. . . . . .

30 non legi potest

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1 ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲩ sic: leg. ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲥ. — 12/13 fort. ⲁⲡⲍⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ.

which is empty, it arrived at the middle, it . . . . . .
that which is all laden, it arrives; that which is empty
is left behind. Woe to it, the empty one, that
comes empty to the place of the customs (τελώνης): it shall be asked,
having nothing to give. Woe to it, for it has nothing aboard:
it shall be despoiled evilly as it deserves and sent back to the
μεταγγισμός. It shall suffer what the corpses suffer, for they
called into his ear, he did not hear.

. . . . the Church unto (?) the Apostle.

Thou (?) . . . . chooser of the righteous (δίκαιος), all
thy] sons seeking after thee, all thy sons seeking
after thee, [thy] beloved ones expecting thee . . . .
thy sons [seek] after thee, thy beloved ones expect
thee daily, thy disciples (μαθητής) seek after thee, looking
for thy form (μορφή) in their midst. I went forth
to plant a garden beyond the confines of this world (κόσμος), choosing
and planting in it the plants that grew in the
Living ones. I will give orders to the gardener (κηπουρός): Attend to my
trees, my new plants; attend to my new plants
that they sleep not nor (οὔτε) slumber, they sleep not nor (οὔτε)
slumber, [that] they forget not the order that has been given them.
For (ἐπειδή) the years pass like [months, the] months
fly away like moments (?). These are houses which are given on
lease; years they are, taken on loan. I am not sick
at heart for the bodies (σῶμα) but (ἀλλά) for the treasure (χρῆμα) of
the Living ones that is lodged in them. I am expecting the
Living ones to send aid (βοήθεια) after me: the Living ones
shall] send [me] power, my brethren shall bring the Light
. . . . How long therefore . . . . ., that they may . . . . . .

l. 30 *illegible*

4 τελώνης (used literally, 192, 19) here and at 97, 10 denotes the heavenly officer who examines the soul and its merchandise when it has finished its voyage. — 6 (a) ⲕⲁⲕⲏⲛ ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ: the Gk. was presumably something like συλήσουσιν αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν νῆα) κακὴν κακῶς. I think that we have here a form of the later κακινκακῶς (vid. Byzant. Zeitsch. iii 152 ff.; viii 157 f.); (b) μεταγγισμός: vid. J.A.O.S. 1925, pp. 246 ff.

. . . . ⲛⲉ]ⲙⲏⲓ ⲥⲓⲟⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ : ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ ⲱⲓⲛⲉ
ⲙ̄]ⲙⲁⲓ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲉⲝⲉⲧⲁⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ : ⲱ ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ
ⲡ]ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧϥ̄ • ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄
ⲉ]ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ : ⲡⲁⲭⲏⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓ [ⲛ̄]ⲥⲏⲧϥ̄ • ⲉⲩ
ⲙⲏⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ : ⲕⲱⲥ ⲙⲁϣⲧⲉ • ⲁϣⲱ ⲥⲓⲡⲣⲁⲭ :
ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ • ϣⲉⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲁⲣⲝ
ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏⲩⲉ : ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϣⲱⲛⲧ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ [ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲛⲧ : ⲟⲩⲛ̄
ⲟ]ⲩⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲥⲱⲥⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲩⲭⲏ : ⲥⲉⲡⲁⲍⲧ̄ ⲥⲉⲛⲏⲝ ⲁ
ⲝ]ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲟ : ⲥⲣⲉⲩ ⲛⲁⲩⲥ̀ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄[. . . .].ⲛ̣ⲧ̄
ϣⲉⲣ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲟ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ϣⲉ . ⲛ̄ⲟ .[. . . ⲉⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ : ⲥⲓⲟ̣[. . .].[. . ⲡⲡⲉ]ⲑⲁⲩ ⲁⲱ[ⲉ]ⲓ̈
ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ [ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ] ⲡ̣ⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉ̣ⲓⲣ̣ⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲁⲱⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲧ̣[ⲟ]ⲛⲱ : ⲛ̄
ⲧⲁ ⲛⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ [• ⲁⲛ]ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ
ⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ[ⲉ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁ
ϣⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛⲉⲛ : ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁⲣ]ⲉ̣ ⲡ̣ⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲓ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟ ⲁⲡⲉ
ⲥⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲟⲩⲱⲥ̣ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡ
ⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟ • ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲓ ⲓ̈ⲉⲧ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲧ
ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ : ⲁⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲡⲕⲟ
ⲥⲙⲟⲥ • ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲫ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲛⲟⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲧⲩⲭⲏ :
ⲧⲙⲁⲭⲥ̀ ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲥⲁⲧⲁⲧⲩⲭⲏ • ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲥⲱⲣ
ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲱⲕ ⲥⲱⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟ • ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲁⲃⲱ[ⲗ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲉ[ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ :] ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲓⲥⲃⲏⲩ[ⲉ] ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ : ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ⲱ
ⲧⲛⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲃⲓ ⲓ̈ⲉⲧ[ⲧ]ⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣ̣[ⲁ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ : ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲱⲃⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ
ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲗ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲙⲟⲥ : ⲧ̣[ⲉⲧⲛ]ⲁⲛⲉⲩ
ⲁⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁϯⲭⲏ ⲛ[ⲓⲙ] .[. . .]ⲉ̣ ⲁⲃⲁ[ⲗ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ : ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ̀ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ [ⲡⲉ] ⲉⲩⲟ̣ⲛ̄ⲟⲁⲙ
ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ : ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁ̣[. . . . . .
ⲉⲩⲭ]ⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲓⲥⲧ[ⲟⲥ] ⲧ̣ⲏⲣ̣[ⲟⲩ

2 ⲛ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ sic: leg. ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ. — 7 ? leg. ⲃⲱⲛⲧ̄ scil. 'coitus' (cf. *knj*, Lex. Ling. Aeg. Berol. V 50—51). — 11 fort. ⲥⲓⲟⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲉ. — 23 ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ[ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ] : cf. 8, 20.

. . . . with (?) me before the Mighty one. The Mighty one questions
me, the Great one of the Brightnesses examines (ἐξετάζειν) me: 'O
Righteous (δίκαιος) one.
the| world (κόσμος) whence thou art come, — what aspect has it, how
does it fare?' I said, 'The world (κόσμος) whence I am come is
all full of evil, envy, hatred, and strife.
They all kill one another, they destroy their flesh (σάρξ)
with the sword. There is creation (?), conception, and creation.
A soul thrusts down a soul. They are prostrated, they lie
on their faces, their faces are not turned to the land (χώρα) of . . . . .
They increase greatly in evil, they do not . . . .
the Living ones at all . . .' 'Before (?) the evil waxed
greatly, o Righteous (δίκαιος) one, how did the world (κόσμος)
fare? When the evil waxed greatly,
did the χρήματα lean one upon another?' '[The] χρήματα
supported one another through the Mind (νοῦς) of Truth which
preached to us.' 'When the evil again became worse and worse,
how didst thou dwell in their midst?' 'When the
evil again became worse, I lifted up my eyes to the
Land (χώρα) of Light. A man called down unto the
world (κόσμος), saying: Blessed is he that shall know (νοεῖν) his soul.
Therefore am I troubled for my soul, lest it faint and
stray and itself become worse. For (γάρ) the world (κόσμος) shall pass
and come to nought and its works also shall perish with it.' Do
you therefore, ye great Elect, lift up your eyes to the land (χώρα)
of Light; you shall see the friend of the righteous (δίκαιος)
standing beyond the world (κόσμος); you shall see
the Great one of the Brightnesses from whom every soul has
. . . . ., the tree which [is] life entire, having power (?)
over his beloved ones, calling to . . . . . .
ferrying across all his faithful (πιστός).

14 χρήματα, lit. 'treasures', seems here to denote the manichaean Elect. — 16. 18. 22 ⲧϩⲟ: vid. Crum Dict. 457 a and b. But I do not know any other example of the construction with ⲙ̄ⲛ̄, as in ll. 16 and 22.

Ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ̀ • ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲱⲣⲣⲉⲛⲏ]
ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ : ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲃ[ⲱ
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲧ̀ ⲱⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ⲙ[ⲡⲱⲣ
ϫⲓ ⲡⲧⲁ[ⲛ]ⲧⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲉⲥⲙⲉⲛ • ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲟⲩⲕⲉ ⲣⲁ[ⲩⲧ
ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ : ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲟⲩⲕⲉ ⲣⲁⲩⲧ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ • ⲡⲯ̄ⲥⲁⲛⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲩ
ⲙⲛⲍ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲣⲙ[ⲉ] : ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩϫⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ • ⲙ̄
ⲡⲱⲣⲣⲉⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟ[ⲩ
ⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲧ ⲱⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁ[ⲗ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ[ϫⲓ] ⲡⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲱⲥ • ⲉⲧϫ̣[ⲏⲍ
ⲙⲉⲛ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ] • ⲡⲯ̄ⲥⲁⲛⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲥ̀ :
. . ⲱ . . . . . ⲛ̄[. . .]ⲙ̄ⲣⲏⲣ • ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙ
ⲡ̣ⲃ . . ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲁϫⲛⲉⲩ • ⲛ̄ⲭⲉⲍⲓⲛⲏⲃ • ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲣⲓ
ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ : ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩϫⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲣⲉⲛⲏ
ⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉ[ⲧ]ⲛ̄ⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ : ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱ
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ ⲛ̄]ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲧ̀ ⲱⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ
ϫⲓ ⲡⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲕⲟⲣⲁⲓⲥ̣ⲕ̣ⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲧⲟ • ϫⲉ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲉⲛ
ⲫϫⲓ ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛⲓⲕⲟⲛ : ⲥⲉϫⲓ ⲃ[ⲁ]ⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ
ⲥⲓⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ⲉⲧⲣⲉ : ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄
ⲟⲩϫⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ • ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲣⲉⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ : ⲛ̄ⲱⲏ
ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ • ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲧ
ⲱⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ : ϫⲓ ⲡⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄
ⲏⲣⲡ̄ : ⲉⲫⲥⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ⲉⲫⲕⲏ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲁⲃⲁⲛ : ϫⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲛ̄
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲗ̄ϫⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲙϫⲉⲧⲡ̣ : ⲙ̣̄[ⲡⲥ]ⲁⲛⲍⲟⲩⲛ
ⲇⲉ ⲟⲩⲏⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥ+ⲛ̣[ⲟⲩ]ⲫⲉ ⲡⲉ :

· ⲓⲁ̄ ·

Ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲗⲍⲓⲕ
ⲛⲏⲩ̣ ⲁ̣[ⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲓ̈]ⲥ̣ⲱ[ⲧ]ⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲗ̄
ⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲍⲏ]ⲕ̣ⲉ : ⲫⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲫ̄ ⲫⲧⲗ̄ⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲙⲉ
ⲣⲉⲧⲉ] ⲉ̣[ⲫϫⲱⲕ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲡⲉ̣[ⲧ]ⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ : ⲡ̄
ⲍⲣⲁ]ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ. . ⲗ̄ ⲉ̣ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲉ [ⲁ]ⲉⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲃⲍ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲏⲧ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . . . ⲡⲥⲉⲓ̈]ⲛⲉ ⲧ[ⲗ̄]ⲃⲁⲓ̈ • ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲁ

12 init. fort. ⲡⲃⲓ̈ⲱ.

My brethren, love me with your heart. Do [not please me
with your lips: the children of the lip are blotted
out, the children of the heart abide. Do not
be like the pomegranate, whose rind is gay
outside; its rind is gay outside but (δέ) its inside
is full of ashes (?). My brethren, ye have not been healthy.
Do not please me with your lips: the children of the lip
are blotted out, the children of the heart abide.
Do not be like the tombs (τάφος) of the corpses, which are whited
indeed (μέν) outside] but (δέ) its inside is full of carrion.
. . . . . which eat
the . . . . and use it up and sleep and slumber
themselves. My brethren, ye have not been healthy. Do not please
me with your lips: the children of the lip are blotted
out, the children of the heart abide. Do not
be like the saddles (σκόρδισκος) of horses, for outside indeed (μέν)
it wears fine trappings, they wear fine trappings outside,
but (δέ) inside they are full of *etre*. My brethren, ye have not
been healthy. Do not please me with your lips: the children
of the lip are blotted out, the children of the heart
abide. I would have you be like a jar of
wine, firmly set upon its stand; for the outside
indeed (μέν) is a piece of pottery covered with pitch, while (δέ)
inside it is a fragrant wine.

XIV.

I heard the cry of a physician, the cry of a exorcist
coming (?) to [me. I] heard the cry of a physician healing
his poor ones (?). He stands, he heals his
beloved ones, perfecting (?) all his believers. The
cry of a . . . . that is about to open, imploring in the presence (?)
. . . O] physician (?), heal me, loose my

17 'fine trappings': βαβυλωνικά, cf. Horace Carm. I 38, 1. — 26 Balzik: vid. Crum Dict. 661 a.

. . . . . ⲱ] ⲡⲃⲁⲗⲥⲓⲕ : ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲧⲗ̄ⲟ ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲙ
ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ :] ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲁⲥⲣⲉ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲟ
ⲥ]ⲙⲟⲥ : ⲡⲉⲕⲧⲗ̄ⲟ ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ̄
ⲛⲉ]ⲕⲡⲁⲥⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲣⲓ[ⲥⲧⲁ]ⲛⲟ[ⲥ] :
ⲉⲏ]ⲛⲁⲧⲗ̄ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ ⲧⲥⲩⲗⲏ : ⲧⲙⲟⲏⲥ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̣[ⲧⲉ] ⲡⲓ
ⲕ]ⲟⲥⲙⲟ[ⲥ] ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲉⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲗ̄ⲟ[ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲥ]ⲱ
ⲉ] ⲧⲉ ⲧⲣⲉⲫⲱⲟⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲃⲉ : ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲉ[ⲫ]ϯⲥⲓⲕ
ⲁ]ⲅⲣⲏⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲥⲱⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲣⲉⲫⲣⲱⲥⲧ̄ ⲧⲣⲉⲫⲭⲧⲟ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲧⲉ
ⲧ .]ⲕ̣ⲓⲣ̣ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲱⲉ : ⲁⲅⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁ[ⲟ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱ
ⲣⲁ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ : ⲉⲓⲱⲭⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲗ̄ⲟⲁⲓ ⲉ[ⲛ . . . . .]ⲗ̣

11 non legi potest

. .].ⲕ̣ . . . ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲱⲧ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲩ
ⲛⲟ]ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲃⲓ ⲛⲁⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲥ̣ⲗ̣.ⲙ̣ [ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛ̄
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲅⲣⲏⲏ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲃⲓ ⲛⲁⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ[ⲁ]ⲫⲣⲉ •
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ]ⲭⲁⲗⲕⲟⲩ ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲟ ⲁⲕⲣⲟ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̣[ⲱⲁⲃⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲱⲏ
ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ : ⲛ̣̄ . .[. .]ⲡⲓⲍⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲡⲉⲧ̣ . . . . . ⲙ̣̄
ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ : ⲭⲉ [ⲫ]ⲱ[ⲟⲟ]ⲡ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ • ⲫⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ
ⲡ]ⲱⲛⲋ • ⲥⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ : ϯⲛⲁ
ϯ ⲛ]ⲉ̣ ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ : ϯⲛⲁϯ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲟⲩ
ⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲉ : ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲥⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲫⲁⲱⲱⲱ
ⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭⲟⲩⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ : ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲥⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ
ⲥ]ⲛⲉⲩ • ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲉⲧⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲡ[ⲉ] : ⲡⲉⲧⲁ
ⲥⲱⲱⲧ̄ [ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄] ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲫⲁⲃⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲁ]ⲑⲁⲏ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲕⲟⲥ[ⲙⲟⲥ • ⲡ]ⲙⲉⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲱ[. . .] ⲙ̄ⲡ̄[ⲉⲩ]ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲉⲩ
ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲉⲡ̀ • ⲛ]ⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲱⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ . . . ⲧ̣ ⲡⲉ
ⲧⲁⲡⲱ.ⲉ̣ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲏⲃⲉ • ⲛ]ⲙ ⲡⲉⲧ̣ . . . . .
ⲛⲉⲩ : ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲙ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ •
ⲥⲉⲛⲁ[ⲡ]ⲱⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣ[ⲟ]ⲩ : ⲫⲁⲃⲓ ⲥⲁ
ⲛ]ⲉⲧ[ⲉ ⲛ̄]ⲕⲱⲱⲥ ⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲟ[ⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲉ]ⲫⲙⲉ[ⲱⲧⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩ]ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ

ⲓⲉ

. . . . . .]. ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲣⲛ̣[. .]ⲛ̣ .[. . .]. • ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ[ⲧⲣⲁⲡⲉ

5 fort. ⲧⲙⲟⲩⲉ. — 8 leg. ⲧⲣⲉⲫⲭⲡⲟ? — 22 leg. ⲫⲁⲥⲱⲱⲧ̄?

. . . . o| charm-looser: for thy healing is not
of the earth|. Thy cures are not of this
world (κόσμος). Thy healing is of the Land (χώρα) of the Living ones.
Thy good cures are of the princes (μεγιστᾶνος).'
'How shall I heal thee, o Matter (ὕλη), the . . .. the Mother of this
world (κόσμος)? For I am the physician that heals but thou
art the wounder that wounds. I am the . . . .
up but thou art the striker, the layer low, thou art
the bitter . . . : what hast thou to do with the wealth of the
Land (χώρα) of Light?' 'If thou wilt not heal me . . .
l. 11 *illegible*
. . . . a single day |. . . . . an hour
only, and I will take my arrows . . . . . |and bring
them up to the world (κόσμος), and I will take my silent (?) arrows
and| shoot them from brink to brink and |wound| the sons
of men . . . . . not . . . . to him that . . . .
it to them, that there is death, there is
life, there is also the Land (χώρα) of Truth'. 'I will
give| thee not a single day, I will not allow thee
an hour only. For (γάρ) what ceases for a day shall cease
for twenty-two years, what ceases for two
days has ceased for forty-four years, what
ceases for |three| days shall be wiped out to the end of
the world (κόσμος). The ox that . . . . his stall,
with his horns, who shall buy him? . . . . that
. . . . his eyes with his fingers, who shall . . . .
to him? He into whose ears they shall call, if he hears not,
shall be divided (?) in all the worlds (κόσμος). He shall suffer
what the corpses suffer, for they called into his ears,
he did not| hear.

XV.

. . . . . let us . . . .. for a table (τράπεζα) has been set

5 ⲧⲙⲟⲩⲥ: meaning unknown to me. — 14 ⲁⲩⲣⲉ: ? qual. of ⲱⲣⲃ, Crum Dict. 528 a.

ⲍⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲏⲓ̈ • ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡⲉⲍⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̣[ⲡⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲙϯ
ⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ : ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲣ[ⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ϯ
ⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙ[ⲟⲥ
ⲡⲉ[ⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ]ⲁⲱⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲧⲫⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓ[ⲁ] • ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲟⲩ [ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ
ⲛ . .[.]. . ⲱⲟⲟⲡ : ⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁ[ⲟ ⲛ̄
ⲧ[ⲟⲟⲧⲫ] ⲁ[ⲥ]ⲣⲁⲕ ⲉⲕⲁⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲓⲛⲏⲃ : ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ
ⲕ[ⲁⲡ]ⲱⲱ ⲛ̣ⲉⲕ ⲉⲛ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲁⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲕ[ⲛ̄
ⲕⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲕⲥⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲉ[ⲧ
ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉ : ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲕⲁⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱ[ⲛ
ⲉⲛ ⲭⲉⲕⲁ]+ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ : ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲧⲃⲁⲛ[.
. . . . . .] ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲡ . . ⲟⲥ ⲛ̣[. .] ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲛⲍ : ⲉⲙⲡⲁ[ⲧⲉ
. . . . . .]ⲙ̄ⲱⲓⲣ̣ ⲡⲱⲣⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲫ̄ : ⲉ[ⲙ
ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲫ]. . ⲙ̣ ⲛⲭⲓ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ : ⲛ̄ⲫ[ⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄
ⲁⲭⲛ̄[ⲡⲟⲣ]ⲟ̣ⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ : ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲫⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲛ̄
ⲭⲓ ⲡ[ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟ]ⲣⲟⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲫⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲡⲣⲉⲫ+ⲍ[ⲉⲡ
. . . . . ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲟⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲃⲓⲧ[ⲕ ⲉⲕ
ⲟⲃⲓⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲁⲧⲱⲙⲓⲍⲉ ⲙ̣[ⲙ]ⲁ̣ⲕ̣

ⲓⲉ

ⲁⲥⲁⲗⲱⲙⲏ ⲕⲱⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ • ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲉ ⲧ
ⲙ̣ⲏⲉ [ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ : ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕⲁⲧⲫ̄ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓ
ⲟⲥ : ⲛ̄ⲗ[ⲁ]ⲝⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲱⲱⲧ̀ ⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟ[ⲥ
ⲡⲕⲁⲍ [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ • ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲙ[ⲛ̄
ⲧⲛⲁⲉ . . . ⲡ ⲛ̄ . . . ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ • ⲛ[. . . .]ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩ
ⲣⲟ ⲡⲉ [ⲡⲛⲟ]ⲩⲥ : ⲛ̣ⲉⲧⲛⲁ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲉⲣⲉⲱⲉ̣ • ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲛⲏⲩ [ⲁⲃⲁ]ⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲫ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲍⲏⲧ ⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ : ⲁⲥ
ⲕⲁⲧⲫ̄ ⲁⲥ+ ⲗⲱⲃⲱ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ • ⲁⲥⲁⲗⲱⲙⲏ + ⲱ|ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲙ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲩⲣ[ⲅ]ⲟⲥ ⲁⲥⲃ̣ⲓ [ⲟ]ⲩⲁⲛⲏⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲩⲣⲁⲝ ⲁⲧ[ⲟⲩ]ⲃ̣ⲟ ⲙ̣[ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲥ]ⲃ̣ⲓ ⲧ̣[. . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲗⲓⲃⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲑⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ[ⲥ̄ . . .
. . .]ⲁ̣ⲃ . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲥⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲭⲱⲥ • ⲁⲥⲃⲱⲕ [ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁⲣⲁ]ⲩ ⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲓ̄ⲏⲥ̄ : ⲭⲉ ⲉ .[. . . . . .

10/11 an ⲧⲃⲁⲛⲓⲉⲓⲣⲉ?

in the house, a table (τράπεζα) was set in [the house for
souls that they might not wander, that they might not wander, [that
souls might not be wiped out and be destroyed in the world (κόσμος),
whose desire (ἐπιθυμία) is great, great are the
. . . . . O man in whose hands is
the Richness, why wilt thou slumber in this sleep? Wherefore
wilt thou not divide for thyself the night into three parts and
sleep for one, and watch for one, and ruminate with the
rumination of the Living for one? Wherefore wilt thou [not] rise (?)
betimes
that thou mayest] glorify the great Lives, before the . . . .
. . . ., before the . . . . . his wings, before
. . . . . drug-box spread out in it,
before he] . . . ., even the lawless (ἄνομος) judge (κριτής), and [sits
upon the throne (?) of lawlessness (ἀνομία), before the accuser (κατήγορος)
comes forth and sits at the side of the magistrate
. . . . . word of the accuser (κατήγορος) and they take [thee] away
in disgrace and κατωμίζειν [thee]?

XVI.

Salome built a tower (πύργος) upon the rock (πέτρα) of
truth and mercy. The builders that built it are the righteous (δίκαιος),
the masons (λαξός) that hew stones for it are the angels.
The floor (?) of the house is Truth, the beams of the roof are alms,
faith is [the] . . . . ., the Mind (νοῦς) is the . . . . .
of its door. They that go into it rejoice, they
that come out of it, — their heart seeks after gladness. She
built it and gave it a roof, Salome gave a parapet
to the tower (πύργος), she took (?) an *anēsh* of storax (στόραξ) to purify (?) it,
she] took the . . . . of incense (λίβανος) into the palm of her hand
. . . . . forth, she set it upon her head, she went [into
it, she called my Lord Jesus, saying . . . . . .

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8. 9 ⲥⲉⲧⲃⲉ: cf. Crum Dict. 363 a. The metaphorical use of this word is otherwise unknown. — 17 κατωμίζειν: probably connected with ὠμός, 'shoulder'. No doubt it denotes punitive action of some kind, perhaps 'flog'. — 26 ϣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲙ: 'parapet', cf. 165, 19/20. ϣⲓⲙⲉ means 'a row', 'a course of stones': ϣ. ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲁⲙ 'the crowning row', cf. Keph. 181, 23. — 27 ⲁⲛⲏϣ: vid. 185, 13 n

ⲉⲕⲁⲟⲩⲁⲱ]ⲃⲉⲧ̀ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ : ⲉⲕⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲛ̄
ⲧⲏⲓ̈ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲥⲛ]ⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ : ⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ • ⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁ
ⲙⲁⲕ]ⲙⲉⲕ : ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲧⲥ̀ ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲭ̀
ⲱ]ⲱⲛⲧ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲕⲭⲓⲧ̀ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ[ⲓ̈ ⲁⲡ]ⲏⲓ ⲙ̣[ⲡ
5 ⲥ]ⲟⲣⲁⲍⲧ̄ : ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲧⲣⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲥ • ⲁⲛⲉⲩ
ⲃ]ⲉⲗ ⲃⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ : ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲍⲉ • ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛ
ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲱⲡ̀ ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ :

> Ⅰⲍ̅ <

ⲁⲡⲗⲓ]ⲗⲟⲩ ⲣ̄ⲫⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲱⲣⲍ̀ • ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲙⲱ̄ ⲥ[ⲁ . . . . . .
10 . . . ⲍⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ : ⲱ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̣ⲁ[. . . . . .
. ⲛ̣ⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ : ⲱ ⲡⲕⲟⲥ[ⲙⲟⲥ . . . . . .
. ⲧ̣ⲏⲕ ⲍⲏ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙ : ⲁⲭⲛ̄[.] . . . [. . ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ
ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲥⲟ̄ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲉ : ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡ̣ . . . [. . . . . .
ⲡⲁ]ⲭⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲥⲟ̄ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱ[ⲣⲏ : ⲁⲭⲛ̄
15 ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ : ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱ[ⲥⲟ̄ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ
ⲟⲩ]ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ : ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥ̣[. . . . .]ⲡ̣ⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣ[ⲁ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ
ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲉ : ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲣⲏⲡ[ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ • ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲥⲟ̄ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲉ :
ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲛⲧ̄ • ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁ
20 ⲟⲩⲱⲥⲟ̄ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲉ : ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲣ̄ⲫⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲱⲣⲍ̀ •
ⲁ]ⲧⲥⲩⲗⲏ ⲟⲩⲁⲱⲃⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲭⲉ • ⲱ ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲫⲁ
ⲗⲉ] . . ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲉⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ : ⲁ
ⲫⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲫⲱⲟⲟⲡ] ⲙ̣ⲉⲛ̣ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲕ[ⲟ]ⲥⲙⲟⲥ • ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲫⲛⲁⲟⲩ
ⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟ̄ ⲉⲛ ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ • ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲃⲁⲙⲃⲙ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
25 ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉⲫ • ⲭⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲁⲡⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟ̄ :
ⲭⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ • ⲁⲫⲙⲉⲥ
ⲧ]ⲱⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲛⲉ[ⲩ] ⲭⲉ ⲁⲫ[ⲙⲉⲥ
ⲧ]ⲱⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲥⲱⲧ̀ ⲁⲛ ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲱⲫ : . [. . ⲉ]ⲧⲃⲏ[ⲧ . .
ⲛ̣ . ⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ . ⲟⲩⲛ . [.] . ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲭ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣ̣[ⲟ̄ . .
30 . . . . . ⲛ̣̄[. . .]ⲱⲍ̣[. . ⲁ]ⲃ[ⲁ]ⲗ [ⲱ] ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁ̣[ⲍⲣⲁⲓ̈

mayset thou] answer me, Jesus, mayest thou hear me, for
I] am not double-minded, one is my heart and one my
intention, there is no thought in my heart that is split or divided.
Garland (?) me with the Brightnesses and take me up [to the] house of
peace. The governors (ἐπίτροπος) and rulers (ἐξουσιαστής), — their
eyes looked upon me, they wondered and marvelled that the
Righteous (δίκαιος) belonged to a single Lord.

XVII.

The] Little one made music (ψάλλειν) by night, he mocked at . . . .
. . . . at (?) him: 'O World (κόσμος) that . . . . . .
life ever. O World (κόσμος) . . . . . .
. . . . . of whom? Of . . . . . [it has been said that
they shall perish and pass, of the . . . . . .
it has been said that they shall perish and retire (ἀναχωρεῖν), [of
the Darkness] and the Fire it has been said that they shall perish and
pass, of the . . . . . the sphere (σφαῖρα) it has been said
that they shall be destroyed and pass, of the crowned ones [of the
kingdom it has been said that they shall perish and pass,
of the creation and the creator it has been said that they shall
perish and pass'. The Little one makes music (ψάλλειν) by night,
Matter (ὕλη) answered him with a word: 'O Little one that makest
music (ψάλλειν), ... thou it is art not of this world (κόσμος)'.
He said, 'I] indeed (μέν) [am] in this world (κόσμος), but (ἀλλά) I
shall not dwell in it from henceforth. I have tried the world (κόσμος)
and known it, that there is not a tittle of life in it.
Since I have known the world (κόσμος) it has hated
me, even the whole world (κόσμος); when I saw that it
hated me I in my turn hated it, ...
feet (?) . . . . . I cast the whole world (κόσμος)
. . . . . forth. O world (κόσμος), [what have I to do

4 ϣωNT: lit. 'wreathe', 'plait'. The meaning 'to garland' seems to be required by 226, 6. 12. —
25 cαλαπ|N: lit. little finger, toe; vid. Crum Dict. 331 b.

ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲯⲱⲡ [ⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ
ⲛⲉⲕⲣ̄ⲣⲁⲓ̈ • ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲣⲭⲏⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩ
ⲱ[ⲡ ⲁⲧ]ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲉⲕⲟ • ⲱ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲏ
ⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲕ̄ⲓ̈ⲱ]ⲧ̀ : ⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲁ . . [.
ⲱⲛ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲩ • ⸗ⲡ[ⲏⲧ
ⲥⲉⲡⲏⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ⲯⲁⲛ⸗ⲡⲱⲥ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀
ⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲗⲕ̄ⲧ̄ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧ • ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲱⲱⲛ ⲁⲓ̈ⲯⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ : ⲁⲛⲁ̣ⲕ
ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲩ : ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲏ̣[.
. . . . . .] ⸗ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⸗ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲯⲁⲛ⸗ⲡ[ⲱⲥ
. . . . . .]ⲟ̣ⲩⲁⲃ̣ⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲡⲡⲱⲥ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̣̄
ⲧⲙ̣̀ . [. . . . . ⲁⲃ]ⲁⲗ ϩⲛⲧ • ⲁⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲁⲃ
ⲁⲗ . . . . . .] ⲁⲩⲛ̄ ⟨ⲟⲩ⟩ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲗⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ[ⲩ
. . . . . .] . ⲥ̣ ⲙ̣̀ⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲩ ⲁⲩⲕⲁ
ⲁⲩ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲁ̣ⲁⲡⲉ : ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲁⲩⲁⲡⲧ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲏⲡⲉ • ⲁⲩ
ⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲁ]ϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ :

ⲙ̄ⲏ

Ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲱⲃⲉ ϩⲓⲣⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲱⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛ • ⲁⲡⲥ⸗ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲏⲛ ⲯⲱⲯ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ : ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲓ ϩⲣⲉⲓ̈ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲓ̈ⲭⲱ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲥ • ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲃⲱⲣ [ⲛ̄ⲩ
ⲭⲓ̀ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲕⲱⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛ : ϫⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲧⲉⲉⲣ ϩⲉⲧ • ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲩ[ⲑⲙ̄
ⲥⲁⲓ̈ ϩⲁⲑⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲱⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛ : ⲙ̣[ⲁⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] ⲛ̣̄[ⲥ
ⲧⲁⲧⲉⲉⲣ ϩⲉⲧ • ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲩⲥ̣ⲉϩⲱⲓ̈ ⲁ̣
ⲣⲉⲧ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ : ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲯⲩ • ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ
ⲧⲁⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ • ⲛ̄ⲩ[ⲭⲓⲧ] ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲙ̣̀ⲏ̣ⲧⲉ̣ [ⲟ]ⲩ
ⲕⲉⲛⲧⲏⲛⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲧ[ⲏⲣ]ⲩ̄ ⲉⲩⲭⲏⲕ • ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ⲟ]ⲟⲧ • ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁⲣ̄]ⲡⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲛ̄ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ :
ⲁⲩⲉⲓ] ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲭⲓⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲁ̣[ⲩⲥⲉ]ϫⲉ̣ ⲁ̣ⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲭⲓ [ⲛ̄ⲥ
ⲱⲧ]ⲛ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ • ⲁϩⲣⲁⲕ ⲙⲛ̄[ⲙ]ⲏⲧ ⲛ̣ⲥ̣ⲧⲁⲧⲉⲉⲣ ϩ[ⲉⲧ
. . . . ⲟⲩⲣ]ⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲩ[. . . . . ⲁϩⲣⲁⲕ ⲙⲛ̄]ⲭⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉ

11 ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲱⲧ ⲁⲃ]ⲁⲗ ϩⲛⲧ coniicio. — 20 leg. ⲭⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉ.

with thy perdition? May they suffer (?), [even
thy kings; thy powers (ἀρχή) and the principalities (ἐξουσία), — may they
be counted (?) [to the] part of destruction. O my heart, remember the
house of [thy Father]: I will go to the house of the Living
. . . . my Father, out of the Land (χώρα) of them that are far. I run,
they run after me, until I reached the Land (χώρα) of the Living,
I bent down, I sat, I rose, I went my way: I,
the Living one, from them that are far; I, the Truth that
. . . . . I will ascend, I will ascend, until I reach
. . . . . holy (?). When I reached the Land (χώρα) of
. . . . . before me, they brought a brightness forth
. . . . . , they brought [a] Light, they clothed me in it,
. . . . . and (?) the garland of victory, they brought it and set
it upon] my head; the Living numbered me in their number and
set me] down among them, Amen'.

XVIII.

I reached the door of the garden, the fragrant smell
of the trees spread to me, I lifted up my face, saying:
Who will take from me ten talents and
take me in to the garden? Twenty silver
staters in all, who will take them from me and make
me sit beneath the shade of the garden? Thirty silver
staters [in all], who wil take them from me and make me
stand in its midst? Fifty-seven in all, who
will take them from me and take me in to their midst? [A
full hundred (κεντηνάριον) entire, who will take them
from me, that I may be counted worthy to be one of them?
They came] from the height of Truth, they said to me, even the
victorious Elect (?): What hast thou to do with ten silver staters?
. . . porter (θυρωρός) . . . [What hast thou to do with] twenty,

20 etc. 'garden': ⲕⲱⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛ i. e. κωμάριον (= ἀγριδίον Hesych.), (vid. von Lemm, Kl. Kopt. Stud. XXV pp. 211 ff. H.T.). — 26. 225, 2 ⲕⲉⲛⲧⲏⲛⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ: vid. von Lemm op. cit. XV p. 81.

ⲁⲥⲣⲁⲕ] ⲙ̇ⲛⲙⲁⲁⲃⲉ • ⲉⲕⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲕ ⲥⲓⲣⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟ ⲙ
ⲡ . .] . ⲛⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ : ⲁⲥⲣⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲛⲧⲏⲛⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄
ⲕⲁ]ⲱⲱⲡ ⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲥⲓⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲭⲓⲭⲉⲩⲉ : ⲉⲱⲱ
ⲡ]ⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲣⲱ ⲕⲣⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ • ⲥⲉ
ⲛ]ⲁⲭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲕⲱⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛ : ⲉⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ
ⲛⲉⲕⲃⲉⲗ ⲧⲙ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ [ⲥ]ⲉⲛⲁⲑⲙ̄ⲥⲁⲕ
ⲥⲁⲑⲁⲓⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲱⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛ : ⲉⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲕⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ
ⲥ]ⲉⲭⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ : ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲕ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ
ⲉⲣ]ⲱⲁ ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲓⲭ ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲟ ⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ . ⲍ . [. . ⲥⲉⲛⲁ
ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲥⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ[ⲕ]ⲟⲓⲛⲉⲉⲭ[ⲉ . . . . ⲉⲱⲁⲛ
ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲏⲧ̀ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ[ⲩ̄ . .] . . . . . ⲛ̄[ⲥⲉ
ⲉⲉⲥⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ : ⲉⲣⲱⲁ ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩ
ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲥⲓⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ[ⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁ]ⲉⲉⲕ ⲛ
ⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ : ⲉⲕⲱⲁⲛⲣ̄ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̇[ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕ]ⲧⲙ̇[ⲛ̄
ⲕⲁⲧⲉ • ⲕⲁⲱⲉ ⲛⲉ[ⲕ ⲁⲥ]ⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̇
ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ

> ⲓ̿ⲑ̿ <

Ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲱ ⲡⲱⲥⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲏⲧ • ⲧⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁ
ⲗⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲣⲱⲧ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ : ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲱ
ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲙⲉ : ⲥⲍⲁⲗⲃ̄ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲧ⳨ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ
ⲛ]ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲃⲗⲉ ⲥⲁⲩⲍ̀ ⲥⲉⲁⲗⲙⲉ : ⲛⲉⲥⲕⲁⲓⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ ⲥⲁ
ⲩⲍ̀ : ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡ]ⲏⲣⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ • ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲥ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ̀ ⲉ[ⲧⲁⲛⲓ]ⲧ : ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲱ ⲁ
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ]ⲩ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲉⲗ ⲧⲣⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ :
ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲃⲱ] ⲥⲙ̇ⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲏⲧ • ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲃⲱ
ⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲥ]ⲛⲡⲉⲩⲥⲏ[ⲧ] : ⲁⲩⲣ̄[ⲡⲙ]ⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄
. .] . [.] . . . . ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉ[ⲉⲩ . . . .]ⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲱ
ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ :] ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩ ⲛⲍⲛ̀[. . . . . .]ⲩⲕⲗⲁ̀[. . .]

29—30 perierunt

9 ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲟ sic: leg. ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ. — 28 ⲭⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲧⲁⲩⲉ, scil. 'gelu matutinum': H.T.

What hast thou to do] with thirty, standing at the door of
the . . . . .? What hast thou to do with this whole hundred (κεντηνάριον)?
Thou shalt] be put to the torture (βάσανος) by thy enemies; but if
thou fastest (νηστεύειν) with fasting (νηστεία), thou
shalt be taken into the garden; if
thy eyes glance not evilly (κακῶς), they will make thee sit
beneath the shadow of the garden; if thy mouth
speaks truly, they will show thee their Image (εἰκών);
if thy hands are pure (?) from . . . . ., they will
hear the accents of thy pleading . . . . if
thy heart is firm, [they will . . . . and
make thee stand in their midst; if thy feet
walk in the path of Truth, [they will] make thee
one of them. If thou doest these things indeed (? μέν) and sleepest
not, thou shalt go up and see the Land (χώρα) of
Light.

XIX.

They brought forth . . . . . from my heart, the vine
which grew from the Living ones. The smell of the
vine is pleasant, sweet also is the taste of the tree.
Its clusters (?) are gathered, they are entwined; its grapes also are
gathered. [Good is the] wine that is pressed (?), [all
full of good wisdom. He that shall drink
of it, — his eyes shine in his head,
his thought] is firm in his heart, his thought
is firm] in his heart. He remembered the great
. . . . . ., he remembered . . . . . vine,
they planted it . . . . . .

ll. 29—30 *destroyed*

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6 cf. 150, 22. — 18 ⲱⲥⲣⲉ (ⲡⲱⲥⲣⲉ?): meaning unknown to me. Perhaps the same root is to be seen in ⲁⲥⲣ-ⲧⲁⲩ, vid. 17, 17; 70, 1. — 21 ⲡⲁⲗⲗⲉ: vid. 57, 12 n.

ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲱⲙⲱ̄ : Ⲛ̣ⲉ[ⲧ .]ⲛ̣[. . .
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ : ⲁⲩⲕⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲡ[ⲉ . . . . . .
ⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ̣ ⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ : ⲁⲩⲁⲗⲕ̀ ⲱⲉ ⲉⲩⲕ[ⲱⲙⲱ̄
ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ : ⲭⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄[ⲛ̄ⲣⲱ
ⲙⲉ : ⲁⲕ† ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ : ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲱⲁⲡⲁ[. .
ⲭⲉ ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲗⲙⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲁⲡⲉ • ⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲛ̄[ⲕ
ⲱⲗⲙⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲁⲡⲉ • ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲣⲁⲩⲣⲉⲩ ⲁⲕⲟⲩⲛⲧ̀ ⲛ̄ⲭ[ⲓ
ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲛⲟⲩⲧ : ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲣⲁⲩⲣⲉⲩ ⲁⲕⲟⲩⲛⲧ̀ ⲛ̣ⲭⲓ
ⲛ]ⲉ̣ⲕ[ⲙⲁⲥ]ⲛ̣ⲟⲛⲟⲩⲧ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲕⲁ̣[. . .
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲓ ⲁⲥ]ⲟ̣ⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁ̣ⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ : ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁ̣ⲱ
ⲣⲟⲛ .] . . . . ⲛ̣[. . . . .]ⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲟ̣ⲁⲙ • ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲁ[ⲙⲉ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲏⲧ̀ ⲧⲏⲕ ⲁ̣ⲣⲁ̣ⲩ • ⲱⲁⲩⲱⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲉ̣
ⲧⲁⲗⲓ[ⲟⲛ . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲭⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲣ[ⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲧ]ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣
ⲟⲩⲁ[ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ

> $\bar{\underline{k}}$ <

ⲦⲦⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ̣ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲉ̣ . . . ⲛⲁⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲣⲙⲓⲟ ⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲛ̄ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲣⲉⲩ ⲛ̣ⲏⲓ̈ : ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ [ⲛ̄
ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲉⲩ : ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲃⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲟ
ⲥⲛⲉⲩ • ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲥⲉⲗⲟⲥ : ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱ[ⲉ
ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲧ • ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ : ⲡⲱⲉ ⲙ̣[ⲉⲛ
ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲧ̀ ⲁⲩⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲉ • ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲁⲩⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭ[ⲁ
ⲕⲉⲩ : ⲁⲩⲭⲓⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲭⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ • ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲧ̣[. . .
ⲭⲉ ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲓ̣[ⲱ]ⲱⲩ : ⲁⲩⲙⲁ̣[ⲛⲕ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲥⲃⲉⲩ : ⲁⲩ
ⲧⲉⲗⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲁⲙⲉⲭⲥ • ⲁⲩⲉ|ⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲙⲉ [ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ : ⲁⲩ
ⲙⲟⲩⲗⲍ̀ ⲧⲉⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲱⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ : ⲁⲩⲭ[ⲱⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ
ⲥⲡ|ⲣⲉⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭ̣[ⲁⲕ]ⲉ̣ⲩ : ⲥ̣ . ⲧ̣ . . . . [. . . . . .
ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ . [.] . . . [. .] . ⲱⲱ̣ⲩ • ⲁⲩⲥ|ⲧ[ⲉ] ⲙ̣ⲡ̣[. . . . .

28—30 mutila

3 ⲁⲩⲁⲗⲕ̀ ⲱⲉ: H.T. — 13 ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲧ coniicio. — 16 fort. ⲥⲁⲡⲛⲁⲉ. — 22 fin. fort. ⲁⲩⲧⲉ ⲡ[.

up to the city (πόλις) of mockery. They that (?) . . . . .,
when they saw me, they wagged their heads . . . . .,
they sneered (?) at me, they turned up the nose in mockery,
saying: O man, come forth from among
men (?), thou didst set fire to our city (πόλις). I spoke unto my . . .,
saying: Weave a garland (?) and encircle (?) my head, weave a garland (?) and
encircle (?) my head. Let them fall down into my lap, even
thy . . . . . ., let them fall down into my lap, [even
thy . . . . . ., that I may see who it is that thou hast . . . .
and that they may come] within, even the righteous (δίκαιος), and may give them as
a gift (? δῶρον) . . . . . strong in their power. The women (?)
whose hearts are firm are garlanded with petals (πετάλιον)
. . . . . and sent up to the Land (χώρα) of
Light.

XX.

The cry of Pamoun, the ox . . . mercy, making the worlds (κόσμος)
to weep: What have the generations (γενεά) done to me? Unto what
have the sons of men delivered me? They took two-edged axes,
they put them up in the marshes (ἕλος), they felled the thick (?)
trees and the thin (?) ones they did not leave alone. The thick (?)
tree indeed (? μέν) they made into a plough, the thin they made a
goad, they took it to the craftsmen (τεχνίτης), they made (?) . . .
his hand forth upon it, they fashioned [a yoke and
mounted it on my neck, they hung the plough [behind me, they
hooked the plough and hung it behind me, they [pierced my
sides with the goad . . . . . .

ll. 27—30 *fragmentary*

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3 'sneered': lit. 'threw lips'. — 6. 7 'encircle': lit. 'embrace'. — 8. 9 ⲙⲁϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧ in this context suggests (i) *mḥe*, an O Egypt. and demotic word for wreath, esp. of flowers; (ii) the root ⲟⲛ : ϫⲛ (cf. ⲟⲛⲟⲛ, ⲟⲛⲟ) = fresh, tender. But the ⲛ̄- presents a difficulty (H.T.). — 15 ff. cf. the Zoroastrian ox in Yasna 29. I cannot explain the significance of the name Pamoun. — 16 ⲧⲣⲙ|ⲟ causative of ⲣⲙⲉ. — 20. 21 (a) ⲉⲧϩⲁⲧ: ? qual. of ϩⲧⲁ| 'be fat', vid. Crum Dict. 722 b; (b) ⲱⲙⲁⲁⲧ: ? qual. of ⲱⲙⲁ 'be fine, subtle', Crum op. cit. 565 a.

. . . . . .] ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲧ̀ ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ[ⲅⲉ
ⲗⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ • ⲁ]ⲡⲣⲉϥⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱⲙ̄ⲉϩⲉ ⲃⲓⲧ • ⲁⲡⲉϥ[. . . .
ⲃⲓⲧ ⲡⲱ]ⲏⲣ[ⲉ ⲙ̄]ⲡⲙⲁⲅⲉⲗⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ : ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̣[ⲅⲉⲗⲗ
ⲓⲧ]ⲏⲥ ⲁ[ϥⲕⲁ]ⲛⲥⲧ̄ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲣⲧ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲧ[ⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁ]ⲩ[ⲥⲁ
ⲣⲧ̄] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲁⲩ]ⲉⲓⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ϩⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲥⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲏ[ⲧ
. . . . .]ⲙⲛ[.]ⲉⲙ ⲩ̀ⲛ̀ⲁ̀ⲭ ⲛⲁϥⲉⲥ ⲁⲛϥⲗⲃⲁⲩⲗⲉ
. . ⲗ • ⲍⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲓϥⲉϥⲁⲩⲉ : ⲥⲁⲡ[. . . . .
. . .]ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲥ . ⲓ . ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̈ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁ[. . . . . .
. . .ⲡⲱⲁ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲉⲛ : ⲡ . . ⲙ̄ⲡϩ . ⲗⲉ
. . . . .]ⲡⲙⲉϩⲉ : ⲁ̀ⲫ̀ⲏ̀[. . . . . .
.]ⲭⲏϥ ϥ . . . ⲟⲩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲩ[. .].ⲃ.[. . . . . .]ⲡ̀[. . . .
. .]ⲏⲉ : ⲁⲩⲙ[ⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡ̀[.]ⲟ̀ . ⲡⲉⲧ̀ . . ⲁ̀ . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ̀
ϩⲓⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ̀ ⲡⲙⲉⲥⲉ : ⲛ̄ⲕⲕⲓⲙ ⲁⲛⲥⲕ̀ⲉⲩⲟⲥ [ⲉ
ⲧⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲕ̀ : ⲧⲛⲁⲑⲙ̄ⲥⲁⲕ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲛ̀[. .] . . [.
ⲛ̄]ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲭⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̀ : ⲡⲉⲧ̀ . ⲣ̀[. .]ⲉⲱ
ⲛⲉⲕ • ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲉ . . . . ⲩ̀[. . .]ⲃⲓ̈ⲱ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ[ⲥ]
ⲛ̄ⲕⲧⲁⲃⲉⲥ ⲛⲉ[. . .]ⲕⲁⲛϩ̀ : ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲁⲭ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲛⲉⲧⲏ̀[. . .
. . .]ⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ : ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ϩ̀[. .
ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ

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8 an ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲉϩⲟⲩⲧ, cf. Keph. 44, 21? sed ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ coniicio. — 16 leg. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲁⲕ⟨ⲕ⟩? — 17 an ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲕⲁⲛϩ̀? — 18 fin. ϩⲉⲡ coniicio.

. . . . . ., they delivered me to the son of the
butcher (μακελλίτης), the fattener of oxen took me, his . . . .
took me, the] son [of] the butcher (μακελλίτης), the son of the butcher
(μακελλίτης),
he] chopped me up, he scattered me abroad piecemeal, they [scattered
me] abroad, [they] hung me in the markets in the presence of
. . . . . threw (?) my bones to the . . . .
Therefore release (?) me from these things and from the others, ...
. . . . . after me . . . . . -ly
. . . . . and they do not buy it. The . . . of the . . . .
. . . the ox . . . . . .
burning (?) . . . . inside . . . . . .
. . . he (?) called, even the . . . ., he that . . . : Do not
strike, o Pamoun, the ox, and shake the vessels (σκεῦος)
that are in thee. I will make thee sit upon the place of the . . . .
the generations (γενεά) pass away through thee . . . . .
to thee, and thou shalt make . . . . . wherein they planted (?) thee,
and repay it to . . ., thou (?) living. They are free,
even they that . . . . .
my brethren, from the day of the great . . . .,
Amen.

6 ⲕⲗⲃⲁⲩⲗⲉ: cf. Crum, Cat. of Copt. MSS. in John Rylands Library, 273; Copt. Ostraka 345. It occurs in various forms in Gk. Papyri as a proper name, vid. Preisigke, Namenbuch, s. v. The meaning 'dogs' (cf. ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲡⲟⲩ Crum Dict. 105 b) would suit the context: ? compare the semitic *klb*. — 10 med. Here the reply to the cry begins.

Ⲕ[ⲥⲁⲗ]ⲟ ⲕⲛⲁⲧⲙⲉ ⲕⲱ[. . . . .
. . . ⲧ]ⲏⲣⲟⲩ
Ⲕ[+ ⲥ]ⲗⲁⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲏⲧ ⲕⲟ ⲛ[. . . . .
ⲧⲁ]ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲕⲥⲗⲁⲟ
ⲁ[ⲕ .]ⲉⲓⲛ . ⲥⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲕⲧ . . ⲙ .
.]ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ
. . . .]ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲙⲛⲧⲉⲱⲗ[
. . . . ⲱⲙⲟ]ⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ . . . . .
ⲁ[ⲕⲥ]ⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲡ[.
. . ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲥ]ⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲕⲥⲁⲗⲟ
ⲁⲕ . . [. . . . .] . . [.]ⲛⲧⲉ ⲁ . . ⲫⲟ[.
. . . . . .]ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲕⲥⲁ[ⲗⲟ
ⲁⲕⲛⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲃⲉⲗ ⲁⲡⲭⲣⲁⲣⲉ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ
. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲥ]ⲏⲧⲏ ⲕⲥⲁⲗⲟ
ⲁ[. .] . ⲥⲉ . . ⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲧ . [
. . . . . ⲱⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ [ⲥⲛ̄]ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲥ
ⲁⲕⲟⲩ]ⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ . . . ⲛ̄ⲥⲏ[ⲧ
. . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲃⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲁⲩ
ⲁⲕ . . . ⲛⲉⲩⲗⲓⲧⲟⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲉⲩ
ⲱⲙⲱⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ
. .] . . . ⲉⲧⲃ . ⲥ . ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ .
. . . .]ⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲍⲁⲅⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ

23—24 non legi possunt

Ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲧⲛⲁⲥⲥⲟ ⲧⲡ . [. . . .
. . . . . .] . ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ

27 mutilum

. . . . . ⲙⲁ]ⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ

29 periit

. . . ⲥ]ⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛ

31—32 mutila

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1 ff. recent. exaravit manus, ea quae 113, 23 et 234.

Thou art sweet and pleasant, thou . . . .
. . . ., all of them.
Thou [givest] sweetness to my heart, thou art . . . . .
my] mouth. Thou art sweet.
Thou didst . . . . in (?) the Father, thou didst . . . . .
the Maiden.
. . . . . the Elements (στοιχεῖον) . . . . . .
. . . . Omophorus . . . . .
Thou didst obey the Mother . . . . .
. . . . and her] Image (εἰκών).
Thou didst . . . . . .
. . . . . sin. Thou art sweet.
Thou didst see with thy eyes the scattering
. . . . . in it. Thou art sweet.
. . . . . Image (εἰκών) up to them that
. . . . . ., all of them, [in] the flesh (σάρξ).
Thou didst] appear (?) to the Archon . . . . .
his companion (?) whom he begot.
Thou didst . . . . his helpers (λειτουργός) and the
ministers of his iniquity (κακία).
. . . . . with him and . . .
. . . . four that lead him forth (ἐξάγειν).

ll. 23—24 *illegible*

And (?) the three arouse the . . . . .
. . . . . men.

ll. 27—32 *fragmentary*

1 ff. In large letters in a later hand, as also p. 234.

	(a)		(b)	
	]ετζητπ	ā	πωωνε αραϊ̈ ν	λ[β
		β	χαιρε πρω̄ω̄πε	λγ
		γ	cγναξ.	
		δ	χι αρο τα†γχη	λδ
5		ε	χι cωη απζραγ cν	λε
		ς	c . . . [τα†]γχη ν̄	λς
	]ψπρ̄ϊ̈ε νη	ζ	αωογ νηϊ̈ παρεψ̣ω	λζ
	]ογαινε πτα	η	βι χω αζρηϊ̈ τα†γχ	λη
	τν̄†εαγ	θ	ππ̄να ν̄τε πϊ̈ωτ	[λθ
10		[ι]	τζελπ̣ιc ν̄τε πω	ω
		ια	ζω[c] τηρτνε ν̄ωη	[ωα
		ιβ	ππ̄κλc ω̄πν̄χρc	[ωβ
	]ν̣ζωc	ιγ	αϊ̈ταχραϊ̈ ᾳ̣χ̣[ν̄πνα	[ωγ
		ιδ	ογαβαλ ζν̄πο[γαϊ̈νε	ω]δ
15		ιε	πτααπεαγ ζ̣[. . . .]	ωε̣
		[ι]ς	ν̣τᾳ̣ϰ̣ πωογω[εϊ̈ε]	ως
		ιζ	[χαιρε παωηρε]	ωζ
		[ιη]	[ν̣ε̣ι̣ νετᾳϥτεο]γαγ	ωη
		ιθ	[ ]ṭ̣ν̄	ωθ
20		κ	. . . . . ψω . . ε .	ν
		[κα]	ν̄ρ̣ε̣ṭ̣ζ̣ ν̄ν̄ρωωε	να
		[κβ]	cωτωε ανcεχε	νβ
		[κγ]	cωτωε απζραγ	νγ
		[κ]δ	χι cωη τα†γχη	νδ
25		[κε]	βι ιετε αζρηϊ̈ απχι	νε
			τωνε τα†γχη ωα	νς
		κς	ραϊ̈c τα†γχη ν̄τε	νζ
		κζ	αβαλ ζν̄ω̄ωαν̄ω	νη
		κη	απchγ θναϥ αζογν	νθ
30		κθ	ζωϰ̣ ω̄ωωτν̄ ναϥ̣ν̣	ξ
		λ	ωαρν̄ζωc απιωτ	ξα
		λα		

6 b cωτω coniicio.

	(a)		(b)	
	.]NZ . . ϛ ⲁⲭⲱⲛ	ϫⲃ	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ [	ⲛⲅ
	ⲭⲓ . ⲣ . . ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗ	ϫⲅ	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ [ⲧⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈	ⲛⲇ
	ϯⲛ̣ⲁ[ⲟⲩ]ⲁⲱⲣⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈	ϫⲇ	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ [	ⲛⲉ
	ϯⲛ̣ⲁⲣ̄[ⲫⲟ]ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲟⲩ	ϫⲉ	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ [	ⲛⲋ
5	ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ	ϫⲋ	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ	ⲛⲍ
	ⲁⲣⲓ]ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲭⲣⲥ	ϫⲍ	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ [	ⲛⲏ
	. . . [.]ⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲛ̄	ϫⲏ	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲣ̄	ⲛⲑ
	ⲁⲙⲏⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲙ̄	ϫⲑ	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ	[ⲣ
	ⲁ̈ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁ̈ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ	ο	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ	[ⲣⲁ
10	. . . . ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ	οⲁ	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲓⲱⲉ ⲁⲣⲟ	[ⲣⲃ
	. . . .]ⲁⲩ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲏⲣ	[ο]ⲃ	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲟⲩ[ⲧⲉ	ⲣⲅ
	ϯ . . ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲓ̈	[ο]ⲅ̣	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ	[ⲣⲇ
	. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲛⲍⲧⲏⲩ	οⲇ	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ	[ⲣⲉ
		οⲉ	. ⲡ̣ⲁ̣ . . ⲡ̣	
15		[ο5]	ⲁⲙⲏⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲱ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲉ	[ⲣ5
		[οⲍ]	ⲙ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲍⲛ̣ⲁⲛ	ⲣ̣[ⲍ
		[οⲏ]	[ⲁⲙⲏ]ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ [ⲁⲡⲁⲅ]ⲱⲛ[	ⲣⲏ
	ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ	[οⲑ]	[ⲛ̄ⲱ]ⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ [	ⲣⲑ
	ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ	[ⲡ]		ⲣ]ⲓ
20	ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ	[ⲡⲁ]		[ⲣⲓⲁ
	ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ	ⲡ̣ⲃ		[ⲣⲓⲃ
				[ⲣⲓⲅ
	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ	ⲡⲅ		[ⲣⲓⲇ
	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ϛⲁⲣϫ ⲛ̣ⲓⲙ	ⲡⲇ		[ⲣⲓⲉ
25	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉ̣ⲓⲧⲁ̣	ⲡⲉ		[ⲣⲓ5
	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ	ⲡ5		[ⲣⲓⲍ
	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ|ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ	ⲡⲍ		[ⲣⲓⲏ
	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲃⲓ ⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲭⲓ	ⲡⲏ	ϯⲁⲗ[ⲙⲟⲓ ⲧⲏⲥ ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕ·	
	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲃⲓ ⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲭⲓ	ⲡⲑ	ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡ[ⲣⲉ]ⲫⲥⲱ[ⲧ]ⲉ [ⲧⲥⲉⲗ	[ⲣⲓⲑ
30	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲉⲉⲩ	ϥ	ⲛⲥⲁⲩ̣[. . . . . .]ⲛ[	ⲣⲕ
	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲁ̈ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄	ϥⲁ		[ⲣⲕⲁ
	ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ϣⲁ	ϥⲃ		

3 a ⲟⲩⲁⲱⲣⲉ cf. 120, 1. — 28 b cf. S.B.A.W. 1933, p. 31.

(a)		(b)	
	]ρκβ	τον πασχα κ̅ν̅ ηρακλ·	
	]ρκγ	αλλϊ αππλαϊλε	ρν̣
	]ρκδ		[ρνδ
	]ρκε		[ρνβ
5	]ρκϛ		[ρνγ
	]ρ̣κζ		[ρνδ
	]ρκη	αιαφ·	
	]ρκθ	μαρν̄καϛτην απμ	ρν̣ε
	]ρλ	ωαβε νιμ βε ε̣ι	[ρνϛ
10		ρεωε νε[	ρνζ
	ρλα	ραι[	ρνη
	ρλβ		ρνθ
	ρλγ		ρΣ
τπαρ]θενος ν̄ν̄	ρλδ	τν̄ψαλε αρακ	[ρΣα
15	ρλε	μαρν̄ε|ρε ϊ̄π̣π̣α	ρ̣Σ̣β
		. . . . .	
	[ρλϛ]		[ρΣγ
]τντωβ̣ζ	ρλζ		[ρΣδ
. . . .]παουαϊνε	ρλη		
20	ρλθ	[ε|c τχαμη ασπωρ	ρΣ]ε
	ρμ		[ρΣ]ϛ
	ρμα		ρΣ]ζ
	[ρμβ]	. . . .]ουαβε	ρ[Σ]η
	[ρμγ]	. . .] πουωω	[ρ]Σθ
25	[ρμδ]		ρο
	[ρμε]	κ]υ συρ·	
	[ρμϛ]	. . . .]πταχρο ν̄	ρ[οδ
	[ρμζ]	αιαφ·	
	[ρμη]	]ε ετουαβε	[ρο]β
30	[ρμθ]	] τηρτν̄	[ρο]γ
		] αρωτν̄	[ροδ
		] αραν̄ α	[ρο]ε̣

1 b sc. κυριον ηρακλειδον, vid. 97, 14 n. — 7 b, 28 b αιαφ· scil. ψαλμοι διαφοροι. — 9 b ωαβε sic: leg. ωατε. — 26 b sc. κυριον συρον, cf. 14, 19.

	(a)		(b)	
	ⲟⲩⲧⲟ]ⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁ	ρⲟϛ	ⲡⲣⲱ . [	ⲥⲉ
	ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲧⲁ	ρⲟⲍ	ⲕ̣[ⲩ] ⲏ̣ⲣⲁ̣ⲕ[	
	. . . . .]ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁ̈ⲓⲉ	ρⲟⲏ	ⲧⲛⲁⲧⲉ̣ⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ . [	ⲥϛ
	ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩ]ⲃ̣ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲁⲩ	ρⲟⲑ	ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ . . ⲣⲁ̈ⲓ̣ⲟ ⲧ̣ⲗⲁ[	ⲥⲍ
5	. . .] . . ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲩ	ρⲡ	ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ̣ⲩⲁ̈ⲓ[ⲛⲉ	ⲥⲏ
	. . .]ⲥⲣⲉⲓ̈ . . . ⲙⲁ	ρⲡⲁ	ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉ[ⲛⲟⲥ	ⲥⲑ
	ⲁ[. . . .]ⲓⲛ . ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲧⲟⲩ	ρⲡⲃ	ⲱ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲩ[	ⲥⲓ
	. . . .]ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ	ρⲡⲅ	ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲩ[	ⲥⲓⲁ
	. . . .]ⲉⲧⲍ̣ . . ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈	ρⲡⲇ	ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲍ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛⲉ . [	ⲥⲓⲃ
10	ⲭⲁⲓ]ⲣⲉ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲓ	ρⲡⲉ	ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲁⲩ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄]ⲱⲧ	ⲥⲓⲅ
		ρⲡϛ	ⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲡ[ⲣⲉⲩⲑ]ⲣⲕⲟ ⲙ[	ⲥⲓⲇ
	11—13 non legi possunt	ρ]ⲛ̣ⲍ	ⲛⲁⲥⲛ[ⲏⲩ] ⲙ̣ⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲥ̣[	ⲥⲓⲉ
		ρⲡⲏ	ⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ . . ⲉⲩⲁ̣[	ⲥⲓϛ
	. . . . . .] ⲁ̣ⲡⲧⲱⲃⲍ̣	ρⲡⲑ	ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲍ ⲁⲙⲏ̈ⲛⲉ ⲱ[	ⲥⲓⲍ
15	ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲕⲗⲥ	ρⲩ		
	. . . . ⲱⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩ	ρⲩⲁ	Βⲏⲙⲁ⳨ⲓⲕ	
	⳨ⲧ]ⲱⲃⲍ̣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̣	[ρⲩⲃ		
	. . . ⲣ̄ⲙ̣ . . ⲧⲏ . . ⲛ̄	[ρⲩⲅ	ⲡⲛ̄]ⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲗⲟⲏⲧ[	ⲥⲓⲏ
	ⲁ[. . .]ⲕⲣ̄	ρⲩ]ⲇ	ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲍ̣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ [ⲡ	ⲥⲓⲑ
20	. [. . .] ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄	[ρⲩ]ⲉ	ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ	[ⲥⲕ
	ⲙ̄ . . [.] . ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲍⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ	ⲣⲩⲍ	ⲣ̄ⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲉ[ⲭⲉ	ⲥⲕⲁ
	ⲁ . [. .] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ	[ρⲩⲍ	ⲧ⳨ⲩⲭⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙ̣[	ⲥⲕⲃ
	ⲁ[ⲙⲏ]ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ	[ρⲩⲏ	ⲙⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲙ̄[	ⲥⲕⲅ
	ⲁ[ⲙⲏ]ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧ	[ρⲩⲑ	ⲙ̣[ⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲥ]ⲙ̣[ⲁⲙⲉ] ⲛ̣[ⲧ]ⲛ̣	[ⲥⲕⲇ
25			[ⲟ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲱⲉⲣⲉ	ⲥⲕⲉ
	ⲡⲁⲛⲛⲩⲭ		[ⲙ̄ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ	ⲥⲕϛ
			[ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲕ	ⲥⲕⲍ
	[ⲡ]ⲡⲁⲛⲛⲩⲭⲓⲥⲙⲟⲥ	[ⲥ]ⲁ	[ⲡⲛ̄⳨ⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲡⲕⲗⲥ	ⲥⲕⲏ
	non legi potest	[ⲥ]ⲃ	[ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲛ̄⳨ⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲡⲡ	ⲥⲕⲑ
30	. . . . .]ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̣	[ⲥⲅ]	[ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲣⲓ̈ⲱⲟⲩ	ⲥⲗ
	⳨ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁ]ⲍⲣⲏ[. . .	[ⲥⲇ]	[ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲣ	ⲥⲗⲁ
			[ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈	ⲥⲗⲃ

27a c deest.

	(a)		(b)	
	[χαιρε πν̄χαϊc πμα]	cλγ	cωτε μ̄μαϊ̈ ω παρ̄ρο	cξβ
	[. . . . ογ ν̄ογ . . . . .]	cλδ	μαρ|ρ̄π̄μ̄πωα ν̄νε̣	cξγ
	[μαρν̄zωc τηρνε]	cλε	πωαμ|ce ωαπ̄τ̄ αz	cξδ
	[ν . . . . . μν̄ν̄]	cλc	πooγe πe ππογϊο	cξε
5	[zωc τηρτ]ν̄ α̣ππα	cλz	χαιρε πκρ|τηc ν̄	cξc
	[νετογαβ]ε̣ μ̄πωρ	cλη	αμογ νηϊ̈ παχαϊc ϊη	cξz
	[ε|c ταμνηcτ|α αc]	cλθ	|η̄c παογαϊ̈νε ετα|	cξη
	[τν̄cμαμε] τ̣ν̄zωc	cμ	|η̄c παογαϊ̈νε πωη	cξθ
	[. . ε̣ μ̄πγ]λ̣η̣ μ̄π	cμα	|η̄c τzελπ|c μ̄μηε	co
10			|η̄c πρ̄ρο ν̄νετογα	[co]α̣
			|η̄c π[χ̄]ρc πετα|	c[oβ
	[ ]	cμβ	|η̄c πχ̄ρc πετα|	coγ
	[ ]	cμγ	|η̄c παβοηθοc μα†	coδ
	[αμογ πα]c̣ωτηρ̣ |η̄c	cμδ	|η̄c πcηρ †τωβz̄ μ̄	coε
15	[αμογ] νηϊ̈ πᾱcηρ	cμε	c̣ωογz τηρτν̄ ν̄ωη	coc
	[αμογ νηϊ̈] πᾱcγγ	cμc		
	[αμογ νη]| πχ̄ρc ε̣τ	cμ[z]	k̄γ̄ η̣ρακλειδ	
	[αμογ παχαϊc |η̄c]	cμη		
	[χ]τ αzρηϊ̈ ανεκ]	cμθ	π̄χ̄ρc τωκ αρετ̄κ̄ νε̣	coz
20	[|η̄c πμονογενηc]	cν	τ[cα]γzc̄ ν̄χπ̣ο ν̄τε νι̣	coη
	[|η̄c πμονογενηc]	cνα	. .]α̣τ μ̄μο ωαπεο̣γα̣	coθ
	[|η̄c πογαϊ̈νε ν̄μ̄]	cνβ	. .]ωπ zρε̣ϥ μ̄πκωη	cπ
	[πχ̄ρc παπατωελεετ]	cνγ	|η̄c πναητ πωη̣	cπα
	[αγ†ογω μ̄μακ̄ zι]	cνδ	α̣ι̣z|ce ωαν†ωπω	cπβ
25	[τωκ αρετ̄κ̄ νεμηϊ̈]	cνε	. .].k̄ [ε]τ̣ο| ν̄zp̄τε	cπγ
	[πνογτε . . . πcαβε]	cνc	†zωc αρακ̄ πχ̄ρc	cπδ
	[ ]	cνz	χαιρε πν̣ογc χαιρε	cπε
	[χρο μν̄ϊο τ†γχη]	cνη	. αναπω . . ε̣τ̣ν̣α̣ν̣[	cπc
	[ ]	cνθ	διαφ'	
30	[α . ν̣ . . . |ν̣ . . .]	cξ	τα†γχη ετη̣π̣ α̣ρακ̄	cηz
	[cωτε μ̄μαϊ̈ πχ̄ρc]	cξα	|η̄c παρεqcωτε ν̄ϣ	cπη
			ϊη̄c πανογτε †τ	cπθ

1 non legi potest

ⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲣ[
Ⲉⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲡ . [
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [
Ⲱⲁⲕⲭⲡⲟ ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ . . . [. . .
. . . . [.] ⲱⲁ|ⲭⲡⲟ ⲥⲉⲭⲉ
Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲉ| ⲁⲡ|ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲉⲩ . . . . [. . . .
ⲉⲧⲁⲫ̄ϯⲩⲭⲏ
ⲦⲦⲡ̄ . ⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲫⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡ . [. . . .
ⲡⲁⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲦⲦⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲟ . . ⲩ ⲍ|ⲭⲱⲫ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙ[ⲁ . . .
ⲩⲉ . . . . . ⲁⲫⲙⲟⲩ
ϯⲱⲣⲕ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ| . . . [. ⲉⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲍⲉⲗⲡ|ⲥ

15—20 non legi possunt
excepta voce ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲗⲱ[ⲛⲏⲥ], l. 18.

21 . . .] . ϯⲧⲣ̄ⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱ[ⲣ . . . .
. .] . . .ⲧⲁⲒⲉ . . ⲙ̈ⲙ̈ⲉⲩ . . [
. .] . . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

24—26 non legi possunt

27 . . .] . . . ⲉⲕ ⲛ̄ⲱⲟ ⲛ̄ . . [
. . .] ϯⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲉ[
. . . .] ϯⲛⲁ . ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙ[ⲉⲩ
30 . .] . ⲩ ⲁ . . . ⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ
. . .]ⲧⲣⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲛⲉ . [
.]ⲉⲧⲍⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲛ . . . [
. ⲭ]ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲛⲉⲫ[. . . . . .

34 non legi potest

1 ff. magnis litteris exaravit manus tertia.

l. 1 *illegible*

destruction . . . .
What is the . . . . . .
to them.
Thou dost beget (?) sons . . . . . .
. . . . . I beget words.
What camest thou hither to seek . . . . . .
which became a soul.
. . . . . to his servants . . . . . .
that of the First Man.
The body (? σῶμα) . . . . . upon it, a body (σῶμα) . . . .
. . . . . he died.
I swear to thee therefore (οὖν) that I did [not] . . .
thy hope (ἐλπίς).

ll. 15—20 *illegible*

. . . . I conjure thee, do not . . . . .

22 *fragmentary*

. . . . all the gods.

ll. 24—26 *illegible*

. . . . . thousands . . . . . .
. . . . I say to . . . . .

ll. 29—34 *fragmentary*

INDICES

A. Greek and Semitic Words.

B. Coptic words.

C. Proper Names etc.

D. Manichaean Terms.

E. Biblical Quotations.

Indices

A. Greek Words

ἀγαθόν 30 6 39 27 42 23 49 25 52 3 77 9 95 18 162 16 165 25 167 12
ἀγαθός 1 32 31 11 38 1 40 34 60 26 76 27 91 19 176 19
ἀγάπη 12 11 23 3. 14 24 24 33 12 38 20 83 32 91 10 115 28 116 1. 26 146 2 151 15 156 25 157 14 158 8. 25 161 9 167 4. 34 169 12. 20. 26 170 8 171 22. 25 172 12. 13. 24 173 10 bis 174 12 176 21 177 4. 20. 21 182 24 183 9. 23 184 8. 17 185 18 186 21 189 26 190 23 194 12
ἄγγειον 25 16
ἄγγελος 9 26 12 24 16 23 24 26 37 3 81 4. 24 84 17 95 9 98 4 108 21 144 5 145 5 203 14 213 21 222 21
adjectivally: 24 30 (?) 50 29 (?) 146 41
ἀγγελική 155 5
ἁγία 157 4
ἀγλαός 139 50
ἀγορά 191 25
ἀγών 52 6 57 27 59 19 63 13 69 30 86 32 88 8 93 9 100 15 101 8. 31 113 9 117 17 137 51 145 10 148 23 149 19. 27 188 19 192 29
ἀδικεῖν ραδικη 188 16
ἀετός 155 6 179 28 188 21
ἀήρ 1 17 8 18 9 14 21 2 22 13 26 10 27 27 52 18 64 19 79 5 83 26 89 26 99 10 100 31 116 30 136 36 137 37 168 25 180 9 196 11 198 27 201 13 202 1 203 20 205 5. 6
ἆθλον 101 21 103 8 117 17 175 4 vid.
αἰχμάλωτος 19 14 63 16 196 21
αἰών (a) vid. Index D s. v. Aeon
(b) the New Aeon: 2 1 11 21 25 12. 29 36 25 52 11 54 5 137 62 144 21 179 14
(c) this Aeon: 4 17 56 31 172 27
ἀκμάδιον 46 28
ἀκτίς 37 32 57 20 65 11 81 6 118 27 145 23 146 4
ἀλλά 7 1 14 31 30 11 39 3 74 15 81 29 84 23. 25 85 5 91 26 92 9. 21 105 33 143 26. 31 159 8. 10 162 6 185 24 218 25 223 23
ἀμβροσία 136 49 150 33 vid. 168 24
ἄλυσις 201 31
ἀμελεῖν ραμελη 52 3 53 16 164 26 166 5 αμελη 45 31 150 20 187 21 188 2
ἀμεριμνία 161 4 192 12
ἀμήν 179–181 pass. 186 pass. 189 30 bis 31 190 pass. 224 15 227 19
ἀμνηστία 39 19 94 8
ἀνάγκη 49 7 50 16 57 25 61 23 65 4. 29 67 8 84 10 93 3 100 12 141 20 172 13
ἀνάληψις 168 29
ἀναμέλψῃ 41 8
ἀναστῆναι ανασταλ 123 31
ἀναχωρεῖν αναχω[ρει] 223 14
ἀνέχειν ανεχε 188 3 (?) 206 19
ἀνομία 23 32 vid. 113 4 152 23 192 1 222 14
ἄνομος 15 7 18 20 44 15 222 13
ἀντίδικος 39 30
ἀντίδοτος 46 19. 20
ἁπαντᾶν ραπαντα 97 7
ἀπάτη 56 25. 32 75 23 152 6 164 17 175 11 ρεγραπατη 64 24
ἁπλῶς 101 25
ἀπολογία 21 17 81 28
ἀπόστολος 22 23 26 27 28 13 30 17 32 10 33 10 37 19 57 15 98 28 139 3. 48 140 30 142 17. 18. 20. 31 143 12. 16 144 3 145 9 190 30 191 1 192 5. 20 193 1 218 9
ἀποτάσσεσθαι αποτασσε 59 7 77 30 79 8
ἀρνεῖσθαι ραρνε 49 18 51 19
ἀρνητής 43 11
ἀρχαῖον 196 29 ἀρχαῖος 13 10
ἀρχή 10 15 155 9 207 17 αρχην 52 10 54 14 112 4 117 23 193 27 224 2
ἀρχηγός 44 10

ἀρχιδίκαιος 88 15 vid. 139 43
ἀρχοντική 57 28 129 29
ἄρχων 11 12 18 13 23 22 59 9 179 18 206 18
ἀσεβής 15 11 18 20 23 25
ἀσκός 153 26
ἀσπάζεσθαι ϸαcπαζε 43 32 69 17 112 5 131 20
ἀτιμάζειν 208 20. 21 209 2
αὐλή 154 26
αὐλός 157 17 (?) 200 9
αὐτοῦ 7 11
ἄφθορος 99 6 100 7
ἄψις 41 22 138 57

βαβυλωνικόν 220 17 bis
βαθμός 4 27
βάπτισμα 22 13 139 22
βάρβαρος 53 18
βάσανος 225 3
βῆμα 7 14. 20. 23. 25 8 1. 4. 7. 10. 12. 33 12 7. 33 13 23. 28 17 33 20 20. 24. 31 21 2 bis 3. 27 22 28 24 18. 20 25 19. 24 26 2. 4 27 13. 17. 21 28 19 29 6. 12 30 18. 21. 22. 26 31 17. 30 32 pass. 34 19. 21. 23 35 13. 16 36 4. 10 37 31 38 6 41 21. 28 47 18 104 16 105 7 123 29
βήρυλλος 208 3. 19 209 1
βιβλίδιον 43 21
βίος 53 28 73 24 75 23 78 30 (?) 93 23 99 17 101 9. 25 105 30 152 6
βλάττα *(blatta)* 216 11
βοήθεια 92 24 96 9 206 8. 11 218 27
βοηθεῖν 18 19 57 26 76 22 209 27 bis 210 5 bis
βοηθός 94 2 98 31 137 30 204 1
βραβεῖον 50 24 61 18 83 24 84 18 91 14 94 13 181 11

γαλεάγρα 214 18. 20. 26
γάρ 21 28 25 21 29 25 31 26 32 9 34 22. 23 vid. 27 38 20. 28 40 3. 22 51 24 53 29 74 15 89 14 93 23 95 10 103 33 105 11 106 20. 21 108 10. 14 135 7. 11. 27 152 27 vid. 154 9 156 27. 31 157 23 158 10 161 13. 17 162 9. 15 165 15 166 3 185 23 215 20 219 22 221 20
ϰε . . . ϝαρ 20 28 51 27 52 19
γενεά 60 4 226 17 227 15
γένος 102 28 105 34 107 13 108 29
γραφή γραφαγε 8 13 12 31 13 11 139 53. 55 145 18

δαίμων 17 12 52 29 59 8 61 20 64 28 69 11 84 12. 21 95 12 98 26 103 29 108 18 182 1 196 14 206 17 bis 209 21. 29 210 7 214 15. 21. 29
δαμάζειν 59 11 138 42 183 7
δέ 9 26 10 32 191 10 206 19 216 28 220 5. 10. 18. 24
δεῖπνον 94 16 (?) 169 6
διάβολος 59 7
διαθήκη 20 25 139 57 143 22 168 30
διακονεῖν 187 30. 35
διάκρισις 194 20
διάφοροι 231 b 7. 28
δίκαιος 11 28 15 14. 20 62 17 99 31 etc.
δικαιοσύνη 13 15 28 19 45 27 140 12. 35
δικαστής 45 25
διωγμός 4 30 19 12 53 25: διώκειν 23 22
δόγμα 4 30 15 7 25 9 26 17 42 24 86 3. 11. 14 93 13
δοκιμή 47 5 217 25
δορυφόρος 136 32
δράκων 17 18 57 18 151 16. 21 156 20 164 3 bis 6 180 1 216 15. 18. 27 217 4. 9
δρόμος 212 24 213 15
δυνατός 188 19
δωδεκάς 190 30 191 1
δωρεά 16 11 20 29 30 15 45 2 96 23
δῶρον 12 10 24 29 39 29. 30 42 4 91 11 106 11 188 22 209 6. 7 226 10 vid.

ἑβδομάς 53 18 210 21. 22 211 7
ἔγγαμος 179 11 ff. 180—181 pass.
ἐγκρατής 96 2 151 19 175 12 179–181 pass.
ἐγκράτεια 181 2. 14 188 30
εἰ μήτι 66 15 75 3 90 22
εἰκῆ 165 14
εἰκών ειϰων 2 22 19 27 46 18 61 14 62 11 64 12 73 7 vid. 79 24 81 2 83 31 84 24. 31 88 10 101 22 103 27 134 4 139 21 173 20 203 15. 16 214 1. 2. 5. 6 215 1. 4 225 8
ϲαϲϲιϰων 118 19
εἰρήνη 26 18 50 30 106 24 153 5 214 11. 12. 14 etc.
ἐκδικεῖν 188 10
ἐκκλησία 8 25 13 20 14 20 20 13 21 1. 7. 30 22 11 24 12 38 4 43 3 44 4 vid. 56 24 58 9 59 18 61 2 75 29 76 6 133 33 134 9. 19. 30 145 15 153 17 154 5 156 19 158 27 159 1 160 7. 17. 19 161 5. 22 162 5. 8. 9 163 8 166 12. 36 171 13. 14. 16. 18. 22 177 2. 4. 16

178 15 183 23 184 7 185 14 190 25 193 25 194 7 218 9
ἔκλαχος 92 13 n.
ἐκλεκτός 21 22 22 2 24 8 27 14 30 23 31 14 38 4 116 20 140 9. 24. 40 145 16 156 21
ἔλος 226 19
ἐλπίς 24 32 25 4 43 12 49 28 51 17 52 22 77 24 83 18 84 13 85 25 88 23 97 19 98 11 112 6 113 1 159 30 184 22. 26. 27 234 14
ἔμπορος 213 4
ἐνεργεῖν ϩενεργη 57 6
ἔνδυμα 154 30 185 6
ἐντολή 33 18–22 51 8 85 5 157 20 161 21 167 35 168 2 171 9. 22 176 1 ff. 183 10. 14 185 18 186 18 187 30. 35 188 16 189 22. 26 εντολαγε 3 31 7 30 16 4 22 12 38 19 40 14 51 20 59 31 83 8. 16 85 27 88 32 91 1 93 14 98 2 100 21 102 21 116 3 131 18 135 1. 6 146 20 167 56 169 17 176 19 183 14
ἐξάγειν 228 22
ἐξετάζειν 219 2
ἐξουσία 35 24 vid. 64 18 83 6 vid. plur. 18 6 vid. 52 10 54 14 112 4 117 23 193 28 196 3 212 17 224 2
ἐξουσιαστής 223 5
ἐπανορθοῦν 188 15
ἐπειδή 84 22 214 26 218 21
ἐπιθυμία 73 23 135 15 156 12. 16 171 20 175 10 183 6 196 4 222 4
ἐπίσκοπος 19 10 44 9
ἐπιστολή επιϲτολαγε 46 31 140 8
ἐπίτροπος 223 5
ἐργάτης 192 1
ἐρημία 93 6 177 11
ἑρμηνεία 154 32: ἑρμηνεύειν 12 32
ἐρινύς 84 21
εὐαγγέλιον 46 21 139 56 192 4
εὐγενής 146 39 148 21 192 30
εὐδαιμονία 23 5
εὐχαριστεύειν 91 22

ζωγραφεῖν 11 9. 11

ἤ 15 31 28 24 66 26 bis 28 82 21 118 21
ἡγεμών 192 31
ἡδονή 3 28 6 6 7 27 45 18 55 27 64 25 77 8 82 1 103 13. 32 152 17 156 20 196 25 ϩηδονατε 51 6 78 26 82 8 109 21
ἡλικία 207 3 214 10
θάλασσα 43 1 69 23 70 3 99 14 102 26 110 6 194 6 205 5 213 1. 3. 7 216 7. 8
θαῦμα 60 5 vid.
θεμέλιος 188 27
θεραπεύειν 208 15. 28
θεωρεῖν 154 24
θεωρία 168 29
θηρίον 15 7. 17 54 13 66 21 70 4 141 16 214 2
θησαυρός 46 23 139 60 168 30
θλῖψις 23 4 49 19
θρόνος 1 10 26 28 27 23 vid. 28 14 136 28 194 16 222 14 vid.
θυρωρός 188 12 224 30
θυσιαστήριον 39 29

ἱκανός 188 13

κάδος 60 12
καθαρός 188 10
καθέδρα 41 24
καιρός 188 26
κακία 7 26. 29 8 21 26 24 31 25. 27 78 16 103 33 228 20
κακῶς 225 6: κακὴν κακῶς 218 6
καλεῖν 151 13 158 28
καλῶς 169 12
κάμινος 212 21
καμπτήρ 101 20
κἄν 102 26
καπνός 9 18 201 13
καρπός 40 3 58 10 80 24 139 15 149 9 190 10 etc.
κατά 9 31 vid. 24 10 47 11 49 16 55 21 59 27 77 31 84 18 89 30 94 24 95 31 98 9 162 6 187 7 195 8 216 20
κατακλυσμός 171 20 177 11
καταλαλιά 150 25
καταφρονεῖν -ονε 21 11 bis 22 29 30 -ονη 63 28 87 32 96 28 167 50 175 29 ρεγκαταφρονη 192 25
κατήγορος 222 15. 16
κατηχούμενος 19 7 20 2. 8 21 22 22 3 24 19 25 27 26 31 27 14 29 2 30 19. 24 31 14 33 27 34 18 35 19 36 2 47 20 116 21 140 10. 21 vid. 145 17 156 21 163 22. 30 178 30 179 4
κατωμίζειν 222 17
καῦμα 195 10
κελεύειν 16 20
κεντηνάριον *(centenarium)* 224 26 225 2

κηπουρός 187 9 218 18
κιβωτός 8 2 167 13 171 22 176 29. 30 177 11
κιθάρα 37 11 133 19. 22 155 8 164 9 bis 169 5: 168 22 sqq. ρκιθαρα
κίνδυνος 39 7
κινδυνεύειν 207 27 208 11
κλάδος 134 13. 17 181 35 185 13
κλάσμα 194 17
κληρονομία 139 59
κληρονομεῖν -ομη 64 3 154 12 158 16 202 20
κληρονόμος 143 23
κλῆρος 93 8
κοινωνεῖν -ωνη 95 29
κόλασις 212 16
κολλάριον *(collarium)* 19 6 43 26 209 31 210 9 214 18
κοσμεῖν 189 11
κόσμος 4 15 13 21 208 1 etc. adjectivally 49 26
κρηπίς 200 27
κρίνειν 40 8 43 23 191 5 bis 195 26
κρίσις 8 12 22 5 107 14 vid. 181 6
κριτής passim
κτῆσις 82 3 203 32
κυριακή 17 24 18 6 96 29 130 23 230 b 28
κύριος κϒ 14 19 27 16 [97 14] 187 1
κωλύειν 212 24: ρκωλϒ 206 14
κωμάριον -μαριν 224 17. 20. 22 225 5. 7

λαικόν 188 14
λακάνη 46 23
λαλιά 169 15
λαμπάς 23 8 25 16 37 30 51 21 53 23 56 18 70 16 99 32 157 18 159 28 165 7 170 24 174 21 191 21. 25 193 6 211 12
λαός 4 4 20 26 29 9 99 6 156 1
λαοξόος λαξος 222 21
λειτουργία 187 11
λειτουργός 204 14. 29 228 19
λευκόν 188 22
ληστής 49 23 70 1 141 14 vid. 146 24 180 25 182 2
λίβανος 217 23 222 28
λιμήν 77 14. 21 139 24
λιτή 188 6
λόγχη 142 28 [163 2 178 9]
λοιπόν 70 29 85 17 90 30 91 11
λύπη 21 6 38 31 45 17 82 14 103 31 153 1 154 14 158 14 168 15 171 6 207 15 ρλϒπη 173 6 bis

μάγος 122 28. 31
μαθητής 19 10 129 18. 22. 27 142 21 143 19 192 17 194 4 218 14
μακαρία passim μακαρ 182 19 187 36 188 24
μακάριος 5 31 15 1 18 9 26 9. 12 27 26 28 26 29 20 31 20. 29 32 14 33 22 36 27. 28 38 3 40 31 44 31 75 11 97 31 113 14 136 37. 43 142 10 143 11 228 28
μακαρισμός 90 29 96 27 143 28
μακελλίτης 227 1. 3 bis
μαργαρίτης 192 4 194 6. 23
μάρτυρε 157 13 173 12
μαρτυρία 30 9 170 20
μεγιστᾶνος 18 27 36 16 43 5 117 3 127 30 136 29 216 3. 4 221 4
μελετᾶν -λετα 86 23 -λετη 116 14
μελέτη 101 28
μέλος 6 12 vid. 17 10 23 26 29 13 46 17 50 22 51 9 59 25 79 21 92 6 vid. 107 24 127 31 128 2 131 20 133 26 146 6 161 24 175 19
μέν 9 12 108 26 135 9 220 16. 23 223 23 226 20
μέριμνα -ιμνε 211 29
μέρος 205 21
μεταγγισμός 218 6
μετάνοια 39 20
μετανοεῖν 32 8 vid. 18 33 27 34 22 39 20. 22
μήπως 40 9 82 6
μήτρα 52 25
μῖγμα 46 20
μονογενής 59 2 60 8 91 24
μορφή 76 13 vid. 138 64 218 15
μοχλός 196 16
μυρίζειν 205 18. 23 214 8
μυστήριον 3 22 8 22 16 28 18 3 21 8 25 1 26 8 27 25 37 28 46 28 126 8 vid. 142 30 185 5

νάρθηξ 46 31 140 7
νηστεία 12 10 33 18 50 16 51 26 54 3 84 16 111 24 149 24 182 21 195 6 225 4
νηστεύειν 25 28 57 24 116 14 173 5 bis 225 4
νίκη 133 18
νοερόν 115 16 133 28 139 26 144 31 vid. 161 25

νοεῖν 120 17 122 17. 35 126 17 172 31 219 20
νόμος 13 19 16 3 21 23 29 29 38 18 57 11 60 19. 28 68 13 bis 102 10 vid. 104 22 192 20 195 23
νοῦς (a) vid. Index D s. v. Mind
(b) = *Intelligence*, the first of the five intellectual members: 14 5 23 14 120 3 126 3 137 45 166 38 167 29 170 9 181 40 182 24 186 23 200 19
(c) vid. Index D s. v. Mind of Light
(d) *mind* generally 86 10 94 25 98 27 111 14 115 16 123 19 139 52 140 30 vid. 146 51 149 15 151 18 152 15 153 16 160 11 172 31 192 6 211 19
νυμφών 199 1. 14. 22

οἰκουμένη 194 29 208 23 209 4 211 2. 11
ὅλως 66 14 135 11
ὁμολογεῖν -ΛΟΓΗ 49 17. 23 96 21
ὁμολογία 95 31 189 22
ὅπλον 59 31 66 6 103 14 137 15 vid. 163 6 164 5 bis 178 13
ὀποβάλσαμον ΑΠΟΒ- 214 4
ὀπώρα 193 23
ὄργανον 99 9 vid.
ὀρφανός 53 25 62 17 175 22 187 12
ὅσον 215 12
οὐῆλον *(velum)* 84 30 127 29 196 13
οὖν 32 7 161 29 234 13
οὐσία 56 22 57 16 154 24
οὔτε 11 19 57 13 vid. 66 30 67 6. 7. 13 75 19 bis 83 10 99 8. 15 109 17 vid. 206 14 218 20 bis

πάθος 30 14 46 19 57 28 111 17
παννυχισμός 17 32 140 25. 28
πανοπλία 144 15
παπυλίων *(papilio)* 204 15. 30
παρά 82 27 94 19 103 28
παραβῆναι ΠΑΡΑΒΑ 60 31
παραβάτης 142 9 vid.
παράδεισος 57 7 154 28
ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCΟC 65 19. 23 90 30 161 17 195 22
παράκλητος vid. Index D
παρεμβολή 59 5 139 31 164 7 205 28 212 11
παρθενία 51 26 60 18. 20 115 32 vid. 149 24 160 13 161 3 167 27 181 1 188 28 194 9
παρθένος (a) *The Maiden of Light* vid. Index D
(b) *The Twelve Maidens* vid. Index D
(c) *Maiden* generally 60 10 79 22 80 15 95 7. 24 99 10 100 6 148 27 151 19 179–181 pass.
(d) masc. 142 23 192 7
παρρησία 97 25
πάσχα 231 b 1
πατρίς 182 12
πέδη ΠΕΔΗC 201 29 209 29 210 7
πείθειν 52 20 187 15
πείθεσθαι 42 14 43 9 97 18
πειρασμός 92 9
πέλαγος 139 24 207 25
πετάλιον 226 12
πέτρα 53 22 78 29 vid. 222 19
πηγή 185 3. 4 193 21 194 10
πήσσειν 204 15
πίστις 112 5 176 11. 13
πιστός 3 23 26 22 28 17 32 18 38 5 40 17. 28. 32 56 4 vid. 61 12 62 6 66 24 161 8 166 6 192 26 208 29 213 5 219 30
πλάνη 4 22 8 8. 24 9 5 21 32 26 17 42 24 43 24 52 31 56 16. 19. 32 57 23 70 8 76 1. 14 84 22 86 14 90 26 94 27 109 16 110 26 111 3 vid. 140 2 150 30
πλάσμα 59 3 196 7
πλάσσειν ΔΙΝΠΛΑCCΕ 216 1
πλατεῖα 19 18 44 17
πληγή 46 26 147 64
$\overline{\text{ΠΝΑ}}$ (a) vid. Index D s. v. Spirit
(b) vid. Index D s. v. Holy Spirit
(c) $\overline{\text{ΠΚΛC}}$ $\overline{\text{ΙΠΝΑ}}$ 22 9. 22 33 12. 17 vid. 160 5
πνεῦμα 4 20 24 7 77 11 141 1 161 1 186 22 193 14: πνευματικόν 134 3 vid.
πνοή 169 3
πόλεμος 10 20 11 20 59 22 112 28 138 13 204 19 205 2
$\overline{\text{ΡΠ}}$ΟΛΕΜΟC 9 21. 22 164 6 204 27 205 14. 15. 27 212 10
πόλις 1 17 8 10 17 21 19 18. 29 23 23 44 18. 25 50 29 53 28 57 13 64 13 80 30 84 32 88 15 95 28 96 20 117 5 136 36. 39. 40 168 8 198 8 200 15 214 15 226 1. 5
πολίτευμα 136 42 140 17

πολίτης 139 46 200 15
πραγματεία -τια 46 26 140 3
πρεσβευτής (a) *Third Envoy:* 2 31 133 15 138 60 144 23
(b) *Envoy* generally 8 32 15 13 22 17. 24 41 19 85 8 128 1 139 18 140 39 147—148 saep. 158 1 197 10 202 10 208 11. 12 209 24 211 22 213 28
προβολή 130 2 137 5. 55 138 59
-βολαγε 12 23 36 20 144 14 179 17
προδότης 187 15 195 24
πρός 11 3 107 18
προσφορά 188 14
προσωπεῖον 196 26
προφήτης 16 17
πύλη 24 2 42 2 44 20 62 25 81 6 vid. 123 7 vid. 139 42 156 2 157 18 169 5. 6 185 8 197 22. 24 198 17. 19
πύργος 53 22 139 32 222 19. 27
πυργίσκος πγρgiсκος 198 6
πῶς 188 7

ῥάβδος 185 7

σάλπιγξ 23 20 75 14 93 16 vid. 196 19 197 28
σαργάνη 143 1
σαρκικόν 21 25 vid.
σάρξ 14 6 19 27 25 21 33 21 45 11 52 19 63 29 64 10. 18 66 7 70 26 75 25 83 10 vid. 85 29 86 6. 31 87 18. 29 88 16 94 19 99 22. 27 106 30 111 8 117 19 121 9 135 11. 13 139 4 149 14 165 10 180 4 194 1 196 23 219 6 pl.
σιχναίνεσθαι сіхане 46 7
σκέπτεσθαι скєптє 204 17 205 1
σκεῦος 227 13
σκηνή скнаγє 181 25
σκόρδισκος *(scordiscus)* 220 16
σοφία 7 21 86 23 190 20 217 21 etc. pl. 144 22: σοφός 142 9
σπόγγος 46 26
σπουδή 49 21 82 10 111 26 140 9
p̄споγдн 65 25
στατήρ статєєр 224 21. 23. 29
σταυρός 18 5 19 3. 12 49 23 53 32 61 3 83 14 86 27 90 28 92 6 120 20 vid. 123 pass. 126 20 130 10. 22 131 4 142 14. 27 143 5 160 14 167 47 175 27 189 14 195 8. 22. 29 196 12 209 12
σταυροῦν 19 21 35 15 43 13 57 14 62 1 123 19 142 18. 21 191 6 bis
στερέωμα 206 21 207 7 208 4. 18. 30
στεφανοῦν 155 5 188 19
στοιχεῖον -хєіωн 12 25 34 6 36 22 137 31. 36 190 19: -хіωн 129 28: -хіон 228 7
στολή 50 25 74 31 vid. 76 12 vid. 81 9 83 23 84 18 95 7 102 23 107 25 116 26 131 1 139 8 vid. 181 39 185 6 193 10 211 26. 27
столаγє 146 42 155 10
στράτευμα 60 3
στῦλος 12 25 37 2 59 17 103 35 133 24 138 56 139 19
στύραξ 222 27
συγγενής 54 8 58 13 86 6 vid. 93 29
σύναξ[ις] 229 b 3
συνείδησις 211 18
συνήθεια 70 26
συρίζειν 216 18
σφαῖρα 6 29 8 18 55 7 72 27 98 24 103 18 107 2 109 15 223 16
σφάλμα 188 15
σφραγίς 22 11 60 5 64 15 94 12 102 19 115 31 155 3 163 26 178 32 189 13. 15
σφραγίζειν 116 17
σχῆμα 19 27 91 25 194 1. 3 196 26
σῶμα 17 5. 15 bis 65 22 181 16 etc. pl. 82 18 218 25
σωματικόν 107 13 vid.
σωτήρ 4 14 33 11 37 28 50 15. 21 51 21 52 16 56 15 57 14. 15. 23 vid. 58 4 62 10. 15 64 32 66 3. 9 69 9 75 2 vid. 26 81 7 88 26 101 32 103 34 165 7 166 10. 20 193 14 197 1 etc.
σηρ 71 30 81 2 87 6 95 2. 31 111 19 174 28 189 27 217 18 etc.
σωρ 8 31 vid. 175 2 188 1 etc.

ταμιεῖον таміон 9 17 11 15 129 16 vid. 200 1 vid. 203 14 208 11 210 20 bis
τάξις 213 29
τάφος 196 29 220 9
τελώνης 97 10 192 19 218 4 234 18
τέχνη 8 6 187 22
τεχνίτης 226 22
τολμᾶν 9 22
τότε 207 5 208 25 215 24
τράπεζα 221 31 vid. 222 1
τροφή 181 37

τροχός 2 16 37 4 144 32 217 6
τύπος 170 18
τύραννος 212 14
τύχη 107 6

ὕλη 4 22 49 26 54 17. 30 55 30 57 18 59 11 61 20 67 23 99 11 101 6 102 7 107 24 108 24 221 5 223 21
ὑμνεύειν 174 11
ὕμνος 99 32 185 29 186 1. 28: ϋμνο|c 41 8 μα|ϛγωνοc 168 20 169 7. 9
ὑμνῳδία 36 13
ὑπομένειν ϋπομε|νε 141 2: ϛγ- 142 7
ὑπομονή 33 15 141 pass. 143 32. 34 174 16
ὑποψία 207 11

φεγγοκάτοχος 33 5 vid. 138 28
φθόνος 7 28 38 16 79 26 99 18 108 22 195 23
φορεῖν ϕορε 23 24 30 5 38 22 50 21 54 23 59 10. 31 150 29 vid. 159 31 162 23. 25 178 1. 3 184 3 196 8 206 22. 29
φοσσᾶτον *(fossatum)* 196 20 198 1. 7 201 7. 11. 13. 15. 17
φύσις 9 9 17 7 26 29 28 15 30 26 vid. 76 21 106 17 110 9 vid.
φώκη 143 8
φωνή 154 31 188 7
φωστήρ 22 15 26 10 32 23. 24 38 7 vid. 59 16 76 18 86 19 94 23 95 23 96 25 101 20 121 21. 31 139 29 165 16 166 19
ϕωcτηρ 214 13

χαῖρε 8 10. 12 24 17 ff. 30 21 vid. 22 bis 29 6 vid. 42 7. 9 83 2. 21. 25 108 2 bis 127—131
χαίροις 30 21 vid.
χάρις 63 19 68 22 79 12. 30 80 19 106 29 107 27 108 9 151 20. 22 173 21 185 20 194 21
χειμών 79 5
χήρα 14 22 53 24 62 17
χλαμύς 196 3
χορός 155 4
χόρτος 189 5
χρεία 143 14 161 12
ϕχρεια 40 11
χρῆμα 8 26 16 13 53 22 54 4 63 10 68 15 79 9 82 4 171 7 174 22 175 17. 18 180 23 193 17 203 31. 32 207 20. 27 bis 30 208 10. 16. 19 210 18. 19. 23 218 25 vid. 219 14 bis
μα|χρημα 156 14
χώρα 13 22 vid. 63 4. 6 75 6 85 18 86 20 95 28 192 10. 15 193 2 205 8. 19. 25 207 4 209 8 211 23 213 13. 17. 19 214 3. 14. 29. 30 215 4 217 11. 12 219 9. 19. 24 221 3. 9. 18 224 5. 6. 10 225 15 226 13

ψάλλειν ϕαλε 80 15. 20 99 3 109 21 115 25 162 29 197 2 211 16. 17 223 9. 20. 21
ρεψϕαλε 99 31
ϕαλε 179 7. 12 181 17 190 28 231 b 14
ψαλμός 47 1. 15 89 10 140 16 143 32 169 11. 12 184 16 203 1
ψαλμοί 133 1 187 1 230 b 28
ψαλμῳδός 190 28
ψιλητής 52 6 vid.
ψυχή 14 17 etc.
μαγτϕγχη 105 31
ογαμϕγχη 76 13
ϕγχαγε 13 27 etc.
ψυχικόν 134 3

ὠ 16 27. 28. 29 219 2. 12 etc.
ωϛ ωϛ 14 25 67 5
ὠμοφόρος 2 18 12 24 33 8 vid. 133 28 138 54 139 27 145 3 161 26 163 19 178 23
ὡς 70 14 81 26 157 8 191 26

. . . π|ζε 221 16
. . .] . ν|cτηc 225 2
ϛνογμνπαρα[227 8
. αφαγε 53 23

Semitic Words

athalia 196 8
gehenna 96 28
mamōnas 97 30
manna 136 38 139 58
rabbi 187 30

B. Coptic Words

ⲁ- *approximately* with a number 19 4

ⲁⲓⲟ *verily, come* 67 15

ⲁⲓⲁⲓ *be great:* qual. ⲉⲧⲁⲓ 6 24 8 6. 7. 10 16 28 30 7 31 24 46 18 etc.

ⲁⲃⲏ *bond* 201 29

*ⲁⲓⲃⲉ *spot, fault* 23 29 38 29 58 6. 7 150 14 211 26. 27 ⲁⲧⲁⲓⲃⲉ 59 27 79 22

ⲁⲓⲕ *bread, loaf* 23 12 24 32 94 16 135 8 177 5 180 3 192 13 193 20 195 9 201 26

ⲁⲕⲉⲥ *spade* 208 16. 29

ⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲣⲏⲓ̈ *ascend* 126 11 ⲁⲗⲏⲓ̈? 231 b 2

ⲁⲗⲟⲩ *child* 192 2

ⲁⲙ vide ⲁⲛ

ⲁⲙⲏ *wasp* 18 23

ⲁⲙⲏ, ⲁⲙⲟⲩ, ⲁⲙⲏⲓⲛⲉ vide ⲉⲓ

ⲁⲙⲁⲓⲏⲥ 206 28 vide 207 3 n. *stature?*

ⲁⲛ *again* pass. ⲁⲙ 141 24

(ⲁⲛⲁⲓ) qual. ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ 19 20 25 4 28 11 33 13 51 20 57 4. 10 61 28 etc.

*ⲁⲛⲏⲱ 133 18 185 13 n 222 27

ⲁⲛⲁⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ? 129 19

ⲁⲛⲏⲣⲉ after neg. *never* 56 30 67 13 88 19 104 23 105 11 etc.

ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲣⲉ *for ever* 59 24 61 8 73 25 110 12 115 5 etc.

ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲣⲉ *eternity* 203 25. 31

ϫⲛ̄ⲛⲁ. ⲱⲁⲛⲓⲁ. *from everlasting to everlasting* 136 11 152 8 etc.

ⲁⲛϫⲱϫ *leader* 152 13

ⲁⲡⲁ *father* as religious title 47 22. 23 155 42 166 22 176 10

ⲁⲡⲉ *head* 19 30 24 2 44 19 etc.

ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ *blame* 147 48 149 10 bis

ⲁⲣⲏⲩ *perchance* 40 25 90 23 151 29 179 8. 10. 11 184 18

ⲁⲣⲁⲱ *cold* 65 20 156 18

ⲁⲁⲥ in ⲧⲁⲁⲥ *smite* 142 13 195 16

ⲁⲥⲉ *loss* 143 22 168 10 171 8

ⲧⲁⲥⲉ *lose* 40 21 52 8 58 25 166 1. 17

(ⲁⲥⲁⲓ) *be light* ⲁⲥⲓⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ 142 19 vid. ⲉⲥⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ 100 24 qual. ⲁⲥⲓ̈ⲱⲟⲩ 64 19 100 30 111 23 ⲉⲥⲓ̈ⲱⲟⲩ 151 23

ⲁⲥⲏⲣ *victuals* 135 4. 5

*ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲣ *sheepfold (?)* 205 7

ⲁⲧ- privative prefix forming adjective vid. ⲁⲓⲃⲉ ⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲉ ⲡⲗⲟⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲡⲱⲣⲕ̄ ⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲓ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲧⲁⲃⲧⲃ ⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲧⲗⲟⲟ ⲭⲥⲟ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲟⲃⲓ̈ⲟ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲥⲏ̄ ⲟⲩⲱⲟⲡ̄ ⲱϫⲛⲉ ⲱⲓ ⲱⲓⲃⲉ ⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲱⲣ ⲱⲉⲩ ⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲥⲣⲁⲕ ⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲥⲏⲧ ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲥⲱⲟⲙⲉ ϫⲡⲟ ϫⲱϫⲙⲉ ⲃⲁⲙ ⲃⲙⲃⲁⲙ ⲃⲣⲟ ⲃⲱϫⲃⲉ

ⲁⲧⲉ *womb* 52 23 120 25 vid. 121 29. 31 122 19. 23 175 16

*ⲁⲧⲉ *net (?)* 217 8 n

ⲁⲧⲟ *multitude* 25 7. 10 135 15 142 30

ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲧ with ⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ emphatic 154 17 203 17

ⲁⲩⲱ *and* 35 26 38 26 52 7. 10 56 8 57 4 82 28 83 24 91 28 150 21 164 25 192 9

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄- 94 13 101 5 145 1 160 9 161 18

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲓ- 219 5 vid.

ⲁⲩⲁⲛ *cargo* 87 24 ⲁ̣ⲩⲓ̈ⲛ 152 5 cf. ϫⲉⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛ

ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲥ *come!* 214 17

ⲁⲟⲩⲏⲧ *assembly* 164 1

*ⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲉ *cry (?)* 198 3

ⲁⲱⲉⲓ *multitude* 46 5: -ⲧⲉ 24 10 101 4

ⲁⲱⲉⲓⲧⲉ *be much, many* 219 11. 13 qual. ⲁⲱ 194 11

ⲁⲱⲓⲣⲉ *busy* 1 25 36 22 57 27 68 11 93 26

ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲱⲓⲣⲉ *business* 183 7 202 25

ⲁⲱⲉⲗ *torture, agony* 142 19 n 143 13 147 60

ⲁⲥⲉ *life-time* 8 2 49 12 74 10 81 31 82 9. 12 84 23 93 24 103 9 111 22 189 17

ⲁⲥⲱⲙ *eagle* 70 12 100 30 118 21

ⲁⲥⲛ̄- together with 133 28 134 3. 8

ⲁⲥⲣⲁ= *why? what?* 82 9 104 22 122 27 222 6 etc.

ⲁⲥⲣⲁ= ⲙⲛ̄- 121 11 154 15 158 7 169 24 ff. 221 9 223 30 vid. 224 29. 30 225 1. 2
*ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ? 17 17 n 70 1
ⲁⲥⲏⲩ in ⲕⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲏⲩ *strip naked*
ⲁⲭⲛ̄ *without* 7 19 17 11 38 32 53 29 57 12 82 29 102 29 105 34 207 11. 15
ⲁⲭⲛⲉ ? 103 11
ⲁⲃⲁⲛ *stand* for wine-jar 220 22

ⲃⲓ *take* 19 30 45 21 152 15 208 8 (?)
ⲃⲓⲧ= 63 9 100 24 197 24 etc.
qual. ⲃⲏⲩ 63 15
ⲃⲓ ⲥⲁ- *carry* 16 24 40 12 62 10. 18 etc.
ⲃⲁⲓ- 2 18 58 17. 27 85 16 138 54 141 26 187 12 201 8
ⲃⲓ ⲙⲛ̄- *make alliance with* 45 22
ⲣⲉⲩⲃⲓ 137 21. 51
vide ⲓⲉⲧ= ⲗⲏⲥ ⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲱⲡ ⲥⲟ ⲥⲁⲓⲙⲉ
ⲃⲁⲉ *palm* 26 18 65 8 102 23 152 8 etc.
pl.? ⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲉ 101 27 n.
ⲃ̄ⲓⲱ *honey* 158 27 184 13
ⲃⲱ *tree* 58 9
ⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ *vine* 13 21 76 6 91 3. 4 151 6. 7 181 34 193 22 225 18. 19. 27
ⲃⲱⲉ *hair* 15 3
ⲃⲁⲃⲉ- *scorn* 87 26 175 17 187 19
ⲃⲁⲃⲉ *be insipid* 44 6 183 25
ⲃⲉⲃⲉ *gush* 136 44: ⲃⲉⲉⲃⲉ 45 11
ⲃⲏⲃ *den, lair* 70 1 201 25
*ⲃⲟⲩⲃⲟⲩ *buzz* 18 23
ⲃⲉⲕⲉ *reward* 60 11 53 26 101 31 etc.
ⲧⲃⲉⲕⲉ 201 27
ⲃⲱⲕ *go* 16 31 47 11 76 11 124 17. 19 etc. with reflexive 211 6
ⲃⲱⲕ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟ *go worse* 219 22
ⲃⲉⲗ *eye* 19 22 21 25 75 31 86 24 89 6 204 6 etc.
ⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *loose, destroy, be destroyed* 11 6. 22 16 31 52 7 etc.
ⲃⲁⲗ= 7 29 137 44 etc.
ⲃⲁⲗ- 220 26 221 1
qual. ⲃⲏⲗ 15 3
ⲡⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *dissolution* 81 1
ⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ *escape* 8 21 15 3 53 18 61 31 65 18 70 7 79 30 etc.
ⲡⲃⲗ̄ *outside* 49 14 218 16 219 26
ⲡⲃⲁⲗ *outside* 11 4 83 33 155 34 173 15. 30 206 4
ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ 218 16 220 5 etc.
ⲟⲩ- ⲡⲓ- ⲥⲛ̄- ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄- (ⲥⲓⲧⲛ̄-) 36 9 75 20 84 6 92 28 181 20. 21 193 20 221 2. 4
ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗ 172 22 208 9 (?)
ⲥⲁⲃⲗⲗⲉ *except* 40 27 131 14 176 22
ⲁⲃⲏⲗ ⲁ- 46 5 vid.
ⲃⲁⲗⲃⲗ *dig up* 196 14 208 17
ⲃⲱⲗⲕ *be angry* 39 25
ⲃⲗⲕⲉ *wrath* 7 28 16 19 17 9 18 13. 26 23 32 44 15 45 17 54 15 91 30 142 32 183 5
+ ⲃⲗⲕⲉ *make angry* 39 25 205 12
ⲃⲗⲗⲉ *blind* 25 8. 10 149 9 194 25
pl. ⲃⲗⲗⲉⲉⲩ 86 29
ⲃⲗⲭⲉ *pottery* 220 23
ⲃⲁⲙⲡⲉ *goat* 66 30 170 27
ⲃⲁⲓⲛⲉ *harp* 37 11 118 15 133 19. 20 199 18 200 7
ⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲏⲛ *poor* 63 15 82 19
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲏⲛ *poverty* 197 3
ⲃⲱⲟⲛ *bad* 14 22 81 26 97 20 102 7 205 23 214 3: ⲃⲱⲛ 14 25
ⲃⲁⲛⲱⲁⲓ 15 28 129 10
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲛⲱⲁⲓ 4 16 n 43 19 51 14
ⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ 150 15 214 16
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ 8 21 15 28 68 29 72 26 73 21 106 13 111 2
ⲃⲁⲛⲓⲉⲓⲣⲉ *malicious* 117 7 163 11 178 18
cf. ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲃⲱⲟⲛ Crum Dict. 39 b
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲛⲓⲉⲓⲣⲉ *malice* 171 21
ⲃⲛ̄ⲛⲉ? *date-palm* 67 9
ⲃⲁⲛⲓⲡⲉ *iron* 16 30 18 30 23 27 43 24 43 31 vid. 209 29 210 7 214 25
ⲃⲉⲉⲣ *basket(?)* 217 21
ⲃⲣⲉ *seed* 143 25 213 24 vid. 25 pl. ⲃⲣⲏⲩⲉ 103 21

ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲱⲟⲉ *seed-corn* 153 28
ⲡⲭ̄ⲣⲉ 194 28 leg. ⲡⲭ̄⟨ⲃ⟩ⲣⲉ?
ⲃⲣⲃⲣ *boiling* 188 5
ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ *new* 20 23.25 26 14 36 25 150 29 etc.
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ 83 10 97 28 113 10
ⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ *New Man* vide ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ vide αἰών Index A
ⲃⲉⲣⲏⲍ *lance* 196 7 209 21
ⲃⲣⲏⲃⲉ *lightning* 10 18
ⲃⲱⲥⲧ̄ *parchedness* 195 7
ⲃⲱⲧⲉ *wipe away, destroy* 14 23 22 20 47 10 215 25 220 2 ff.
ⲃⲱⲧ- 46 26 188 13
ⲃⲁⲧ= 127 24 142 8
— nn. 224 1
ⲃⲱⲧⲉ *sweat, effort* 68 11
ⲃⲏⲩ *outrage* 15 15 44 25 147 50 149 10
ⲣⲉⲭⲣ̄ⲃⲏⲩ 72 27 103 33
ⲃⲱⲱ *strip* 19 27 21 6 vid. 59 8
ⲃⲁⲱ= 52 7 59 3 87 3 164 30 etc.
ⲧⲟ|ⲛⲃⲁⲱⲭ̄ 21 12
*ⲃⲓⲟⲉ *be wrecked, sink* 165 18
ⲃⲱⲟⲉ *leap, pluck out* 45 17 106 19 118 25 205 31 208 27 210 30
reflex. ⲃⲁⲟⲭ̄ 204 26.27
ⲃⲓ ⲃⲁⲟⲉ̀ ⲁ- 193 21
ⲃⲱⲟⲥ *to rebel* 117 21 163 5 178 12 209 17.18 210 1.10
ⲃⲉϫⲉ *rebel* 207 13: pl. ⲃⲉϫⲉⲩⲉ 1 25 9 29 150 8 209 26 212 7 213 7.8
ⲧⲃⲉⲟⲥⲉ *rebellion* 97 28

ⲉⲩ *what?* 66 26 ter 28 67 5 82 6.16 149 22 bis 199 5 219 3 222 9 etc.
ⲁⲣⲉⲩ *in vain:* lit. *to do what?* 17 22
ⲉⲃⲁⲧ *month* 17 26 18 7 121 23 122 25 215 21: pl. ⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ 204 23 218 22
ⲉⲗⲱ *trap* 194 18: vide ⲥⲁϩⲙⲉⲗⲱ
ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲉ *grape* 225 21
ⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲉ. *vine:* vide ⲃⲱ
ϣⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲉ. *vine* 145 14 vid.
ⲟⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲉ. *vineyard* 163 9 178 16

ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲧ̄ vide 99 22 n 188 26
ⲉⲙⲉ *plough* 226 21.24.25
ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ *Amente, Hades* 15 17 57 19 64 31 67 15 99 4 149 17 209 13.16.28 210 [2.] 6.11 212 22
ⲣ̄ⲙⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ vide ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲉⲙⲏⲣⲉ *flood* 101 24 145 26
ⲉⲙⲏⲣ? 201 19
ⲉⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ *possess, restrain, compel* 10 15 18 21 61 20 64 21 65 16 96 24 103 26 136 17 138 30 139 14 201 11 211 22.29
ⲉ. ⲁⲭⲛ̄- 115 22 157 8
ⲡⲉⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ *possession* 81 16
ⲉⲙⲁϩⲉ? 54 20.
ⲉⲛ *not* 7 24 9 24 14 4 etc.
ⲉⲙ 19 17 221 1
ⲣ̄ⲉⲛⲉ= *be pleasing to* 12 11 58 5 89 14 154 31 220 1 ff. (cf. ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ).
ⲉⲡⲁⲧ *cup* 117 21 142 22.23 143 17 158 29 184 7
ⲉⲣⲏⲧ *promise* 94 14
ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ *milk* masc. 23 11 155 26 159 29 fem. 54 28 190 24
-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ *one another* 38 14 41 4 52 6 56 27 58 16 153 15 156 6 etc.
ⲉⲥ *old* 59 4: ⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲉⲥ *Old Man* 3 31 25 13 167 54
ⲉⲥⲕⲉ 198 23 ? de ⲱⲥⲕ
ⲉⲥⲡⲉ *language, accent* 225 10
ⲉⲥⲏⲧ *bottom, lowest part* 196 18 217 7
ⲉⲥⲁⲩ *sheep* 54 16 60 26 95 5 155 22 etc. fem. 61 25 93 4 181 30
ⲙⲁⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ *fold, flock* 4 26 10 1.4 etc.
ⲉⲥⲟⲩ *price, value* 99 21
ⲉⲧⲃⲉ *because of* 40 18 42 28 etc.
ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧ= 43 21 44 28 52 29 etc.
ⲉⲧⲡⲱ *burden:* vide ⲱⲧⲡ̄ 1 0
*ⲉⲧⲣⲉ meaning unknown 220 18 (? cf. ⲉⲣⲧ Crum Dict. 58 a)
ⲉⲧⲁϩ *burden* 145 4 163 20 178 24
ⲉϣ *what? which?* 35 26 82 16.20 etc.
ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ conditional 81 25 189 19 225 3
ⲉϣⲱⲧ vide ϣⲱⲧ

ⲉϣⲭⲉ conditional 57 3 136 3 149 16 166 8 216 25
ⲉⲓϣⲭⲉ 40 6 188 7. 8. 14. 15 216 26. 28 221 10
ⲉⲓⲥⲭⲉ 53 12
ⲉⲩ *flesh* 204 22
ⲉϩⲏ vide ϩⲏ
ⲉϩⲟ *treasure* 2 26 46 23 66 31 94 23 134 26 155 23 171 3
pl. ⲉϩⲱⲣ 52 31 155 29
ⲉϩⲛⲏ̈ vide ϩⲛⲉ
ⲉϩⲥ̀ vide ⲱϩⲥ̀

ⲏ̈ *house* 1 10 70 14. 29 142 20 etc.
ⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲏ̈ vide ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲏⲣⲡ̄ *wine* 94 17 vid. 142 15 151 6. 13. 14 153 26 158 29 etc.
ⲏⲡⲥ̀ vide ⲱⲡ

ⲓ *come, go* 1 24 7 18 9 5. 8. 27 10 22 20 21. 22. 23 etc.: ⲓ (ⲙ)ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲟ 219 16. 18
imper. ⲁⲙⲟⲩ 50 15. 19 52 16 112 12 etc.
ⲁⲙⲏ 85 17 97 9: ⲁⲙⲏ̈ⲛⲉ 69 8 76 29 193 14 197 9: ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲛ 154 15 187 18 190 31 201 4 202 3. 4
ⲃⲓⲛⲉⲓ 12 27 13 16 35 27 42 15 66 19 82 22. 26 112 10 122 29 205 10
*ⲏ̈ⲁ= *hail!:* ⲭⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲏ̈ⲁⲕ 210 14 n
ⲭⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ⲏ̈ⲟ 57 27 69 30 85 16
ⲓⲱⲉ *wash* 59 26: ⲓⲁⲁⲛ 45 7
ⲓⲏⲃ *goad, hoof* 52 30
ⲓⲁⲁⲃⲉ *pus, decay* 99 8
ⲉⲓⲃⲉ *thirst*: qual. ⲁⲃⲉ 40 30 124 23 154 32 175 24 184 17 195 10
nn. 65 21 70 22. 23 169 30 etc.: ⲓⲃⲉ 195 19
ⲓⲉⲗ *mirror* 9 6 21 19 83 22
ⲓⲁⲙ *sea* 8 19 76 7 78 12 90 16 99 13 120 15 126 15 135 25 150 2. 28 151 8. 10 200 11
ⲉⲓⲛⲉ *bring, lead* 12 7 19 29 21 18 59 32 69 9 etc.
ⲉⲓ. ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *finish* 73 7
ⲛ̄- 23 16. 32 44 15. 23 etc.
ⲛ̄ⲧ= 9 25 18 17 35 10 43 22 63 13 etc.
ⲣⲉϥⲉⲓⲛⲉ 101 22
imper. ⲁⲛⲓ- 164 27: ⲁⲛⲓ= 166 2

ⲉⲓⲛⲉ *be like* 38 23 151 12 154 3 173 19 etc.
ⲡⲧⲉⲓⲛⲉ *likeness* 2 22 8 4 26 5 54 18 81 3. 7 104 32 129 27 143 18. 19
ⲓⲁⲡⲉ *craft, art* 99 25
ⲓⲉⲡϣⲱⲧ vide ϣⲱⲧ
ⲓⲉⲣⲟ *river* 13 23 211 15 216 6 bis 217 19. 20. 25
pl. ⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ 37 14 64 28 212 27
ⲭⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲣⲉ *cross, carry across* 39 9 42 18 50 28 61 31 81 10 85 9 86 20 87 22 (?) 108 10 vid. 26 168 7 176 3 217 30 (?) 219 30
ⲙⲁⲛⲭⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲣⲉ *ferry-boat* 81 10

ⲉⲓⲣⲉ *do, make, pass* of time 11 20. 23 12 26 24 3 30 13 41 17 etc.
ⲣ̄- 7 7 84 11 117 13 208 6 etc.
ⲉⲉ= 25 20 86 4 145 19 etc.
ⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩ (3 pers. pl.) 19 13 20 27 49 16. 25 202 25 etc.
ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ϩⲟ vide ϩⲟ
qual. ⲟ 21 30 25 24 63 15 65 18 66 21 70 24 etc.: ⲟⲓ̈ 19 23 23 30 26 6 27 21 29 6 64 15 etc.
imper. ⲁⲣⲓ- 88 18 117 27: ⲁⲣⲓ= 40 6
ⲁⲱⲓⲣⲉ vide ⲁⲱⲉⲓ
ⲉⲓⲧⲉ 16 26 leg. ⲉⲓⲣⲉ?

ⲓⲱⲣⲙⲉ *gaze:* qual. ⲓⲁⲣⲙⲉ 19 22 29 18 68 11 104 28 138 38 164 23
ⲓⲱⲣϩ *see, perceive* 55 9 65 6 172 30 vid.
ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲱⲣϩ *eye* 150 22
ⲓⲱⲥ *hasten:* qual. ⲓⲏⲥ 55 7 58 14 197 20
ⲉⲓⲥ *lo, behold* 8 14 19 19 25 16 bis 55 6. 10 59 27 62 25 73 9 143 27. 32 146 17 202 15 bis etc.
ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲛⲉ 70 18
ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲡⲉ 134 11 vid.
ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲧⲉ 19 29 50 11 vid. 85 5 87 31 88 6 95 24 136 5
ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ 64 32 89 27 152 26 158 5 bis 160 20 bis
ⲉⲓⲥⲭⲉ vide ⲉϣⲭⲉ
ⲓⲉⲧ= *eye* 53 6 55 9 99 16 165 25 219 18. 24
ⲃⲁⲛⲓⲉⲓⲣⲉ vide ⲃⲱⲱⲛ
ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲧ= vide ⲛⲉⲉ=

ⲓⲱⲧ *father* pass.
pl. ⲓⲁⲧⲉ 36 15 55 10 63 6 71 26 73 8 75 20 84 29 86 6. 19 etc.
ⲉⲓⲏⲧⲉ *desolate (?)* 64 31 70 25
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲏⲧⲉ 149 20 n.
ⲓⲱⲧⲉ *dew* 41 20 100 28 103 35 136 49 155 25 157 21 167 64 169 3 190 10 195 21 203 18
ⲓⲧⲛ̄: ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ *down* 45 24 59 32 90 26 95 13 etc.: ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ 210 5
ϣ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ *below* 210 3: ϣ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ 147 28 209 13. 28 210 6
ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ 37 4 91 29: -ⲛⲉ 11 2
ⲉⲓϣⲉ *hang, suspend* 2 8 19 31 24 2 227 5
ⲉϣⲧ= 49 28 52 22 53 31 87 26 90 29 121 5. 15 142 14 143 1 195 22. 29
qual. ⲁϣⲉ 155 24
ⲉⲓϣⲭⲉ vide ⲉϣⲭⲉ
ⲓϩ *devil* 2 10 64 28 209 30 210 8
ⲓⲱϩⲉ *field* 169 25 194 27
pl. ⲓⲁϩⲟⲩ 145 28 195 4

ⲕⲉ- *other, yet, also* 8 18 41 19 43 26 139 16 vid. 18 vid. 192 8. 21
ⲕⲁⲓ- 6 12 7 7 8 14 17 22 38 23 58 24 66 14 112 3 135 23 143 25 154 31 172 21 173 30 194 14 195 16 208 6 etc.
pl. ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ 227 7
ⲟⲉ 16 14 207 13: pl. 143 26 192 30
ⲕⲁⲓ̈ⲉ *field* 136 48
ⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ *little* 4 26 6 32 58 24 160 19 191 21 192 2 216 9 etc.
pl. ϩⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ *few* 162 10
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ *a little* 188 8
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ *littleness, youth* 56 17 57 25 58 11 83 9 86 15 187 7
ⲕⲱ *lay, put, leave, allow* 19 5. 9 50 7 51 21 52 31 143 3 187 16 etc.
ⲕⲟⲩ 62 19: ⲣⲉⲩⲕⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ 32 17
ⲕⲁ- 42 30 44 6. 10. 13 46 16 84 21 90 26 bis 103 15 143 7. 8 167 59 etc.
ⲕⲁⲁ= 10 30 13 4 18 28 21 17 51 4 55 28 70 16. 24 87 20 etc.: ⲕⲁⲩⲉ 196 28
ⲕⲁⲟⲩⲉ (3 pers. pl.) 87 22
qual. ⲕⲏ 83 13 92 9 vid. 220 22
ⲕⲁⲁⲧ 56 26
ⲕⲱ, ⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ vide ⲛⲁⲃⲉ
ⲕⲁ ⲣⲱ= vide ⲣⲟ: ⲕⲁ ⲧⲟⲟⲧ= vide ⲧⲱⲣⲉ: ⲕⲁ ϩⲧⲏ= vide ϩⲏⲧ: ⲕⲁ ⲟⲏⲗ vide ⲟⲏⲗ
ⲕⲃⲁ: ⲭⲓⲕⲃⲁ *vengeance* 44 23
ⲕⲃⲁ *be cold:* qual. ⲕⲏⲃ 40 15 46 11 47 3 184 10
ⲕ̄ⲃ̄ⲃⲉ *cold* 46 24
ⲕⲱⲃ *double* 96 18
ⲕⲉⲕⲉ *darkness* 3 25 9 10. 17. 19 10 9. 24. 27 17 26 30 27 etc.
ⲕⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲏⲩ *strip naked*
ⲕⲁⲕ= 19 26 25 13 167 49
qual. ⲕⲏⲕ 23 13 25 11 94 15 143 6 208 6
ⲕⲟⲩⲕⲉ *peel, rind* 220 4. 5
ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲃⲓⲛ *axe* 162 31 178 7 192 20 226 18
*ⲕⲗ̀ⲃⲁⲩⲗⲉ *?* 227 6 n.
ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ *cloud* 10 17 62 21 149 14 vid. 203 17
ⲕⲗⲏⲗ *drop (?)* 217 23 n
ⲕⲗⲁⲙ *garland* 8 10 17 27. 31 22 19 50 24 84 17 89 18 91 13 102 23 165 20 190 30 191 1 222 26 etc.
pl. ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲙ 60 12 88 17. 19 133 6 144 20 145 11 146 43 149 27
pl. ⲕⲗⲁⲙ 98 8
ⲃⲁⲓⲕⲗⲁⲙ *garlanded* 85 16 etc.
+ ⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁ- *to garland* 12 28 76 16 81 23
ⲕⲱⲗⲫ̄ *steal* 45 19 207 28
ⲕⲁⲗⲡ= 207 30 218 6
— nn. 103 10
ⲕⲁⲗⲁϩⲏ *belly* 164 4
ⲕⲱⲗⲭ *bend knee* 18 9 vid. 19 25
ⲕⲁⲗⲭ- 13 26 vid. 60 3 vid. 214 9
ⲕⲗ̀ⲭⲉ *angle, corner* 166 12 194 30
ⲕⲱⲗϩ̄ *strike* 78 25
ⲕⲓⲙ *move* 19 16 79 26 226 2
ⲕ. ⲁ- *bestir oneself* etc. 7 21 9 20 52 17 227 13: ⲕⲙⲧ= 10 12
ⲟⲓⲛⲕⲓⲙ *stirring* 203 2
ⲕⲓⲙ negatived followed by a parti-

ciple = *waver from doing, cease* 97 32 120 5. 7. 9 126 5. 7. 9 206 1. 3

ⲕⲙⲏⲙⲉ *dark* 66 17 152 19 210 1. 10. 21

ⲕⲱⲙⲙ̄ *mock* 16 33 46 7 223 9
— nn. 49 18 226 1

ⲕⲱⲛϩ̄ *slaughter, chop up*
ⲕⲁⲛϩ= 227 4

ⲕⲛ̄ⲍⲉ *shrine* 103 19 137 43 151 18

ⲕⲁⲡ- *?* 103 16 ⲁⲓ̈ⲕ. ⲧⲃⲟ

ⲕⲣⲟ *bank, shore* 63 13 87 27 152 5 165 19 183 27 187 14 211 14. 15 221 15 bis: pl. ⲕⲣⲱⲟⲩ 194 6

ⲕⲱⲣⲉ *fell* 226 19

ⲕⲱⲣⲙⲉ *ashes (?)* 220 6

ⲕⲣⲙ̄ⲣⲙ̄: qual. ⲕⲣⲙ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲧ *dark* 3 24 101 9

ⲕⲱⲣⲯ̄ *flatter, cajole* 73 28 195 24
— nn. 52 18

ⲕⲣⲁⲩ *guile* 6 32 bis 17 7 53 10 59 5. 9 64 4 94 4 101 5 103 2
ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁⲩ 165 23

ⲕⲉⲥ *bone* 196 24 227 6

ⲕⲱⲱⲥ *corpse* 52 19 64 21 67 16 73 32 99 8 107 7 122 7 146 22 147 55 218 7 220 9 221 29
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲱⲱⲥ 152 25 n

ⲕⲉⲉⲥⲉ *burial* 121 17 vid.

ⲕⲁⲥⲕⲥ: qual. ⲕⲥ̀ⲕⲁⲥⲧ̄ *stretched out* 163 16 178 25: ⲕⲉⲥⲕⲁⲥⲧ̄ 130 20

ⲕⲱⲧ *build* 11 4. 21 13 18 32 30 144 21 153 10 ter 188 25 189 pass. etc.
ⲕⲁⲧ- 189 5 ff.
ⲕⲁⲧ= 12 30 189 18 222 20. 26 etc.
ⲣⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧ 137 62
— nn. 11 4 12 29 17 21 137 64 152 15 205 21. 26
ⲉⲕⲱⲧ *builder* 1 32 11 5 32 30 36 25 137 61 144 21 etc.
pl. ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲉ 137 65 188 25. 26 etc.

ⲕⲱⲧⲉ *turn:* trans. 195 16
ⲕⲁⲧ *wheel* 98 24 138 32. 48 vid.
intr. 55 7 206 5. 15
ⲕⲁⲧ= *turn* 92 16. 21 93 27 206 25. 30
ⲕⲁⲧⲥ̀ *turning* 63 18
ⲣ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲥ̀ *trick* 10 1 152 17
ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁ- *surround* 49 26 54 13 61 22 67 4 69 12 etc.
ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲁ- *seek* 43 3 120 9 126 9 156 3. 7 167 65

ⲕⲧⲟ: ⲕⲧⲁ= *return* 154 30 155 9

ⲕⲱⲧⲩ̄ *gather* 145 31 166 12
ⲕⲁⲧⲩ= 153 12

*ⲕⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩ *coo* 165 2

ⲕⲟⲩⲛ= *lap* 226 7. 8

ⲕⲉⲱ *reed* 189 7. 9 196 5

ⲕⲁⲍ *land* 1 10. 21 2 13. 19 etc.
soil 176 23. 24 etc.
floor of house (?) 222 22
ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲍ 107 18 vid.

ⲕⲟⲟⲩ *corner* 78 26 (?) 155 18. 20

ⲕⲱⲍ *be zealous* 194 15
— nn. *zeal* 38 32 219 5

ⲕⲱⲍ *make level* 213 16. 17

ⲕⲁⲍⲕⲍ *cause to heal up* 46 12

ⲕⲱⲍⲧ̄ *fire* 15 12 204 31 210 25 211 10

ⲗⲟ *cease* with partic. 106 23
imper. ⲉⲗⲁⲕ 164 23
ⲗⲟ ⲍⲁ- 76 30 107 5 195 4
ⲗⲟ ⲍⲛ̄- 103 5 170 25. 27. 28

ⲗⲁⲃⲁⲓ *bear* 143 7

ⲗⲓⲃⲉ *be mad, lust* 15 7 124 7 vid. 201 31 214 6. 7 etc.
qual. ⲗⲁⲃⲉ 15 4. 11
— nn. *lust, madness* 7 17 17 9 51 14 110 23 117 21 150 24 210 24 211 9

ⲗⲉⲃⲉⲛ *cable* 95 10 vid.

ⲗⲱⲃⲱ̄ *coping, battlement* 189 26
+ ⲗⲱⲃⲱ̄ 189 24 222 26
+ ⲗⲁⲃⲱ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ 109 13
ⲗⲱⲃⲱ̄ *to crown with battlement:*
ⲗⲁⲃⲱ= ⲁⲃⲁⲗ 209 6

*ⲗⲓⲕ: ⲣ̄ⲗ. ⲁ- *to cover (?)* 149 15 n.

ⲗⲉⲭⲍ̀ *extremity, pit* 209 13. 28 210 2. 6. 11

ⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ *youth, little one* 104 10 155 25 167 64 209 13 ff. 210 2 ff. 211 15. 16 223 9. 20. 21
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ 88 27 91 22

ⲗⲱⲱⲙⲉ: qual. ⲗⲁⲙⲉ *filthy* 51 6 vid. 105 31 vid. 120 26 164 30 vid.
ⲗⲱⲙϭ̀ *be foul* 137 40: nn. 205 18 qual. ⲗⲁⲙϭ̀ 209 22. 30 210 8
ⲗⲉⲙⲏⲩⲉ *captain* 201 6 202 8
*ⲗⲉⲙⲏⲥⲉ 166 30
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲉⲙⲏⲩⲉ 108 11
ⲗⲁⲙⲭⲉⲧⲡ̄ *pitch* 220 23
*ⲗⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧ *?* 147 54 197 16 n.
ⲗⲉⲥ *tongue* 86 15 104 15 118 25 bis 139 49 161 16 175 13
ⲗⲁⲩⲉ *anything*, with neg. *nothing, at all* 17 11 38 32 45 29 51 29 63 22 64 1 75 19 etc.
ⲗⲁⲁⲩ 189 3
ⲗⲁⲱⲁⲛⲉ *governor* 201 11
ⲗⲁϥⲗⲉϥ *wear out* 82 13
ⲗⲏϩ *care* 82 12
ⲃⲓ ⲗⲏϩ *take care* 82 19 108 30
ⲗⲁϩⲗⲉϩ *desire (?)* 105 32 108 27 n.
ⲗⲉϩⲙⲉⲛ *pomegranate* 220 4
ⲗϩⲏⲙ *roar* 16 19 149 22 216 16. 20
ⲗⲱⲭⲧ *fasten:* ⲗⲁⲭⲧ= 208 4
ⲗⲱⲭϩ *tribulation* 51 23 91 21. 29
ⲗⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲉ *reason* 84 28
ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲁⲓⲃⲉ *because of* 39 28 42 33 195 14 206 6

ⲙⲁ *place* 11 8 35 8 106 33 138 63 etc.
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁ *here* 39 4 84 29 96 27 etc.
†ⲙⲁ *give place, suffer* 113 13 167 57 174 16 182 29 183 5 221 19
ⲙⲁⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ *sheep-fold* 4 26 10 1. 4 41 12 194 4
ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲱⲣϩ *eye* 150 22
ⲙⲁⲙⲙⲁⲛⲉ *p. of mooring* 8 1 60 1 96 16 200 9
ⲙⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ *ear* 150 23
ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲉⲗⲟ *vehicle* 212 25. 26
ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲱⲃⲉ *p. of payment* 105 33
ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ *p. of purification* 10 28
ⲙⲁⲛ†ϩⲉⲡ *court of law* 195 17
ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲗⲙⲉ *nostril* 150 24
ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ *bride-chamber* 54 5 81 13 117 29 150 18 197 5 etc.
ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲟⲡⲉ *dwelling-place* 55 20 59 28 62 22 87 3 etc.
ⲙⲁⲛϩⲙⲉⲥⲧ *seat* 8 8. 33 21 29 26 6
-ϩⲙⲉⲥ 27 23
ⲙⲁⲛⲭ‖ⲟⲟⲣⲉ *ferry* 81 10
vide ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲭⲱⲕ ⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ
ⲙⲏⲉ *truth* 6 23 11 30 14 14 15 23 etc.
adj. *true* 6 5 13 5 16 17 etc.
ⲛⲁⲙⲏⲉ *in truth* 26 14
ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲉ *truly* 3 20 16 22 59 30
ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲙⲏⲉ 213 4
ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲉ *to love* 67 26 75 21 90 14: nn. 68 7 102 5
ⲱⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲉ *lovable* 137 57
ⲙⲉⲣⲉ 63 21
ⲙⲉⲣⲓ- 40 4 43 19 62 14 157 5 vid. 183 21. 23 214 26
ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ= 51 5 53 12 84 24 91 20 etc.
ⲙⲁⲓ- *loving:* ⲙ-ⲙⲓⲱⲉ 16 19
ⲙ-ⲛⲁⲃⲉ 181 15
ⲙ-ⲛⲟⲩⲃ 156 32
ⲙ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 70 14 85 18 101 33 etc.
ⲙ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ 151 24
ⲙ-ⲥⲁϩ 192 32
ⲙ-ϩⲩⲙⲛⲟⲥ 168 20 etc.
ⲙ-ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ 156 14
ⲙ-ⲱⲏⲣⲉ 139 51
ⲙ-ϩⲁⲙⲧ 192 18
ⲙ-ⲟⲛⲟⲛ 168 20 etc.
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 177 26
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ 177 27
ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ *beloved* m. and f. 1 28 2 27 12 28 20 4 58 20 86 29 137 26. 56 etc.
pl. ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ 13 26 44 27 95 25 113 21 136 10 etc.
ⲙⲟⲩ *die* 143 25 192 9
qual. ⲙⲁⲩⲧ 17 5 25 12 59 18 62 5 90 27. 28 97 8 115 10 etc.
ⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ 41 18 75 15 81 9 etc.
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ 23 1 76 9

ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲩ *half-dead* 40 25

ⲙⲟⲩ nn. *death* 11 10. 15 21 13 40 24 51 16 56 24 etc.

adj. *fatal (?)* 96 21 131 25

ⲙⲟⲩϊ *lion* 9 31 10 5 18 24 55 22 57 18 69 20 107 24 143 7 149 22. 24 156 11 216 14. 16. 25. 26. 28 217 9

ⲙⲁⲁⲃⲉ *thirty* 224 22 vid. 225 1

ⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ *intention* 23 18 n. 120 11 126 11 223 3 etc. vide Index D.

ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ *be in pain, be painful* 147 31 163 20 178 24

qual. ⲙⲁⲭϩ̄ 28 9 64 10 106 29 138 21 219 21

ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ nn. *pain:* pl. ⲙ̄ⲕⲟⲟϩ 18 12 19 8 74 23 92 25 142 10 vid. 17 etc.

ⲥⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ 147 29: ⲣⲉⲥⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ 115 8

ⲙⲉⲭϩ̄ *neck* 97 27 209 30 210 9 226 24

ⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧ *roof* 52 25 222 22

ⲙ̄ⲗⲁϩ *battle, war* 17 28 101 26 136 7 139 10 140 26

pl. ⲙ̄ⲗⲟⲟϩ 66 1

ⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲗⲁϩ *do battle* 4 13 137 49 206 1

ⲡⲱⲣⲥ̀, ⲥⲱⲣ ⲙ̄ⲗⲁϩ *aciem extendere* 172 9 204 13. 17

ϫⲁ|ⲙ̄ⲗⲁϩ *warrior* 1 25 137 14 163 4 178 13 etc.

ⲙⲟⲩⲗϩ̄: qual. ⲙⲁⲗϩ̄ *salt* 99 14

ⲙⲟⲩⲗϩ̄ *hook, twist* 226 25

ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ *know* 6 9 vid. 63 27 66 25 70 6 158 18 165 28 167 39 171 19. 26 183 15 230 a 9

ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲱⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉ *stubbornness* 45 19

ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ *for* 156 7

ⲙ̄ⲙ|ⲛ *self, own* 11 11 68 16

ⲙⲛ- *not to have* 1 14 8 24 etc.

ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲏϊ 173 15. 30 187 28

ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲉϥ 18 22 35 7 171 5 etc.

ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲉⲛ 157 8

ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲉⲩ 54 16 146 29

ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ, ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲁⲙ vide ⲃⲁⲙ

ⲙⲁⲛⲉ *tend, feed flock* 13 32 93 5 165 3 172 22 176 19

ⲙⲉⲛⲏⲩ *shepherd* 15 5. 29 18 22 19 10 20 3 63 11 131 19 vid. 136 24 165 3 180 11 195 23 198 9

put in to port, bring to shore 59 12 60 25 79 8 95 8. 27 99 13 134 21 135 26 151 31 152 1 163 28 165 18 177 17. 20 ff. 179 2 vid. 216 10

ⲙⲉⲛⲱ= 152 7 190 9

qual. ⲙⲉⲛ|ⲧ 147 34 157 19

ⲙⲁⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲉ vide ⲙⲁ

ⲙ̄ⲣⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲉ 60 24 83 26

ⲙⲉ|ⲛⲉ *sign* 2 23 7 12 bis 24 20 40 7 116 pass. 192 12 etc.

ϯⲙⲉ|ⲛⲉ 122 13

ⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *endure, last* 109 22 vid. 159 6 171 23 174 29 bis 183 16 184 30 190 5 220 3 ff.

qual. ⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ 67 2 79 13 101 28. 32 186 9 ff. 203 25 etc.

ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ *daily* 10 31 30 16 98 15 128 5 152 17 186 14 ff. etc.

ⲙ|ⲛⲉ *kind* 40 16

ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ *make, fashion*

ⲙⲁⲛⲕ- 226 23 vid.

ⲙⲁⲛⲕ= 2 1 77 16

ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ *mould* 101 6 146 47 vid.

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ *witness* 17 29 68 10 105 24 173 15

ⲣⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ 7 22 19 19 24 4 34 25 vid. 51 11 62 16 68 17 90 21 111 10

*ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲛϩ̄ ? 102 8 135 31

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ *twelve* vide ⲥⲛⲉⲩ

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲏⲉ *eleven* vide ⲟⲩⲉ

ⲙⲛ̄ⲱⲉ= *not to know*

=ⲕ 17 13

=ⲩ 135 27

=ⲛ 157 23

=ⲩ 86 3 210 27

ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ *do not* neg. imper.: pass.

ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲁ- 38 12 50 19 66 20 84 29 88 16 91 20 92 17. 21 etc.

ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ *be worthy* 3 18 66 22 105 32 133 2 ff. 151 29

— nn. *deserts* 49 16

ⲣⲡⲙⲡⲛⲁ 52 24 62 13 79 17 83 31 84 26 89 12 96 23 98 32 224 27 etc.
ⲟ ⲙⲡⲙⲡⲛⲁ 65 23 205 12

ⲙⲟⲩⲣ *bind* 11 17 17 25 51 15 84 28 92 5 103 25 152 18
ⲙⲁⲣ- 208 6
ⲙⲁⲣ= 10 19 11 16 43 25 86 10 151 21 188 17 208 25. 26 etc.
qual. ⲙⲏⲣ 16 26 89 28 155 22 etc.
ⲙⲣⲣⲉ *bond* 8 17 16 30 52 17 55 9 vid. 25 64 10 127 30 138 30

ⲙⲡⲱ *harbour* 52 16 58 14 60 24 147 35 177 22. 23 190 9 etc.

*ⲙⲡⲁⲩⲧ *?* 200 13

ⲙⲓⲥⲉ *be born* 107 11 194 25
ϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲙⲓⲥⲉ *first-born* 151 5 166 24 167 19
ϣⲁⲙⲓⲥⲉ 36 21 80 28 81 pass. 91 20 137 38 194 32
ϩⲟⲩⲙⲓⲥⲉ *birthday* 42 17 vid.

ⲙⲉⲥⲉ *bull, ox* 55 22 221 24 226 16 227 2. 10. 13: pl. ⲙⲙⲥⲏⲩ 143 8

*ⲙⲟⲩϊϛ *?* 221 5

ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ *hate* 75 23 86 21 91 26 105 23
ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲉ- 102 23: ⲙⲥ̀ⲧⲉ- 84 27
ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲱ= 88 25 195 14 223 27. 28
ⲙⲥ̀ⲧⲱ= 85 29
ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ nn. 219 5
ϣⲟⲩⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ *hateful* 97 20
ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ *hated one, enemy* 11 24 n. 117 7 143 30 147 50

ⲙⲁ, ⲙⲁ+ vide +

ⲙⲁϊⲧ *road, way* 2 25 9 9 12 30 15 16 22 6. 8 40 26 63 10 80 17 etc.
ϫⲁⲩⲙⲁϊⲧ *guide* 2 4 13 32 50 20
ⲣⲉϥϫⲓⲙⲁϊⲧ *guide* 4 10 54 8

ⲙⲏⲧ *ten* 133 29 134 4 224 19. 29
f. ⲙⲏⲧⲉ 10 25 191 18
ⲙⲁϩⲙⲏⲧ(ⲉ) 2 7 138 29

*ⲙⲏⲧ *deep sea* 87 27 n. 147 53

ⲙⲏⲧ (ⲁⲃⲁⲗ) *presence of* 18 17 196 9 220 30: cf. ⲙ̄ⲧⲟ

ⲙⲟⲩⲧ *sinew, neck* 196 24 201 31

ⲙⲁⲧⲁϊ *soldier* 142 28

ⲙⲉⲧⲉ in +ⲙⲉⲧⲉ *agree* 38 12. 26 56 30 203 23: +ⲙⲉⲧⲉ nn. *accord* 12 4

ⲙⲉⲧⲉ in ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ *only* 6 30 40 28 49 24 58 7 104 20 107 20. 27 169 29 187 5 206 12 221 13. 20

ⲙⲏⲧⲉ *middle* 2 14 7 6. 9 11 31 19 13. 14 21 26
ⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ *take away* 3 32 15 25 39 7 106 8 137 21

ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ *call* 15 29 28 27 41 11 50 15 55 10. 23 97 33 etc.
ⲣⲉϥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ *magician* 117 27 149 13

ⲙ̄ⲧⲟ (ⲁⲃⲁⲗ) *presence of* 21 18 25 18 35 6. 22 62 21 83 6. 19

ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ *have rest* 136 9. 11 etc.
with reflex. 52 10 57 30 63 4 85 17 92 24 112 29
qual. ⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉ 65 19
+ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ 12 26 26 26
ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ nn. 24 26 26 23 61 3 etc.
ⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉⲥ *rest, peace* 96 3 163 31 170 4 181 17 189 28 191 16
ⲣⲉϥ+ⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉⲥ 155 17. 19

ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲛ̄ *set at rest:* ⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉ- 210 16

ⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩ *poison* 97 30 149 12. 13 vid.

*ⲙ̄ⲧⲁϩ *?* 107 7

ⲙⲁⲧⲉⲃⲧⲉ *army* 61 16 65 2 66 2 99 11 137 49 138 16 196 19

ⲙⲁⲩ *water* 2 16 4 4 9 19 10 17 24 32 46 23 54 11. 29 57 20 137 32
pl. ⲙⲟⲩϊⲉⲩⲉ 37 15 59 26 79 29 (?) 201 19 212 28 217 23
ⲙⲟⲩ- 7 17 46 24 bis 100 28 103 35

ⲙⲉⲩ *there:* ⲁⲙⲉⲩ *thither* 208 14
ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ 35 7 54 9 58 17 65 21 143 20 146 29 149 18 201 3 211 15. 16 213 20
ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ 11 5 213 26

ⲙⲉⲩ *mother* 1 22 4 8 32 28 36 21 144 17 147 72 190 24 199 5 etc.
ⲙⲉⲉⲩ 57 18 84 31 158 25 169 4. 23 228 9

ⲙⲉⲉⲩ *think* 9 23. 25 17 16 49 13 79 4 82 2 101 10 etc.

ⲙⲉⲩⲉ 13 11 43 28 63 24 120 3 etc.
ⲙⲉⲉⲩ nn. 23 15 etc.: ⲙⲉⲩⲉ 12 6. 14 14 5 38 16 120 5 etc.
ⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ *remember* 7 19 42 16 53 28 113 21. 22. 23 etc.
ⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩ nn. 33 3 ff. 35 14 etc.
ⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ nn. 57 20 59 10 etc.
ⲙⲁϣⲉ vide ⲙⲁϩⲉ
ⲙⲏϣⲉ *crowd* 9 26 16 29 142 8 etc.
ⲙ|ϣⲉ *fight* 52 20 82 3 105 29 117 5. 37 139 10 143 10. 14 205 15 etc.
nn. 7 1 141 4 vid.
ⲙⲁ|ⲙ|ϣⲉ 16 19
ϣ̄ϣ|ⲣ *drug-box* 46 3 163 23 178 29 222 12 vid.
ⲙⲁϣⲉⲥϣⲡ̣ . vide ⲙⲁϩⲉ *measure*
ⲙⲉϣⲧⲉ *ear* 151 17 153 24 172 30 194 26 221 27. 29
ⲙⲉⲭⲉ 209 25 (?) 218 8
ⲙⲟⲩϣⲧ *scan, traverse* 17 15 24 24 vid. 42 32 146 40 194 5
ⲙⲁϣⲧϩⲏⲧ 25 22
ⲡⲙⲁϣⲧⲟ̄ 58 21
ⲙⲟⲩϩ *fill* 122 15 207 11
ⲙⲁϩ- 13 21 etc.: with numerals 10 21 41 18 etc.
ⲙⲁϩ= 174 6 etc.
qual. ⲙⲏϩ 2 29 6 6 8 3. 9. 20. 26 25 1. 17 60 12 169 12 etc.
ⲙⲁϩⲁ|ⲡⲉ 41 25 n. 190 12
*ⲙⲁϩ|ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲟ̄ 10 10 n. 155 30 (?)
ⲙⲟⲩϩ *burn* 46 12 54 15 vid. 204 31
ⲙⲟⲩϩ *look* 157 28
ⲙⲁ|ϩⲉ *wonder* 120 10. 19 123 1 vid. 126 19 157 25 170 7 191 2 196 12
ⲣ̄ⲙⲁ|ϩⲉ 64 29 70 11. 31 223 6
ⲙⲁϩⲉ *walk, go* 7 32 19 13 35 26 50 5 56 2 70 20 etc.: ⲙⲁϣⲉ 191 29
ϩ|ⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲉ 82 25
ⲟ|ⲛⲙⲁϩⲉ *course* 97 25
ⲙⲁϩⲉ nn. *measure* 189 19. 20. 22
ⲙⲁϣⲉⲥϣⲡ̣ . *measuring-balance* 8 3
*ϣ̄ϩⲏ *breath* 37 16 n. 152 25 198 27 200 23 201 31 202 1 203 20
ϣ̄ϩⲉⲩⲉ 53 8 meaning uncertain, perhaps pl. of ϣ̄ϩⲏ
ⲙⲏϩⲉ *feather* 95 22
*ⲙⲁϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧ ? 226 8. 9
ϣ̄ϩ|ⲧ *north* 180 21 193 4
ⲙⲁϩⲟⲩⲉⲗ *dovecot* 70 12 95 23 182 10 vid.
ⲙⲉⲭⲉ vide ⲙⲉϣⲧⲉ

ⲛⲁ *go* 40 17 136 7 142 31 149 3 167 10 177 8 222 24
qual. ⲛⲏⲩ 9 31 11 13 34 22 50 11 72 31 136 5 183 29 206 10 etc.
ⲛⲁⲉ *have mercy* 29 20 40 27 41 3 bis 65 1 76 24 vid.
ⲛⲁⲏⲧ 1 5 7 4 61 29 112 8 158 25. 26 etc.
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲏⲧ 46 14 58 18 177 24
ⲛⲁⲉ nn. 1 12 7 2 9 1 18 10 28 16 etc.
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ *alms* 12 10 22 4 25 29 28 23 33 18 etc.
ⲛⲉⲉ- *great* 12 18
ⲛⲉⲉ= 11 20 37 2 (?)
ⲛⲉ|ⲉⲧ= *blessed* 25 27 44 27 etc.
ⲛ|- neg. 1st sing. fut III 187 32 n.
ⲛⲟ vide ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲛⲟⲩⲉ *be about to* 216 10 220 30
ⲛⲟⲩⲃ *gold* 16 13 153 10 156 31. 32 157 9 158 9 169 24 188 28 195 2. 11
ⲛⲁⲃⲉ *sin* 1 5 6 6. 19 7 13. 19 etc.
ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲃⲉ *sinless* 15 20
ⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ 43 15 128 28 etc.
ⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ 8 12 18 30 etc.
ⲕⲱ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *forgive sin* 1 5 8 22 12 16 20 27 etc.
ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *forgiveness* 5 21 7 31 8 31 29 21 39 19 etc.
ⲛⲏⲃⲉ *swim* 120 15 126 15
*ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲛ *evil* in ⲣ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲛ 15 31 vid. 18 26
ⲛⲉⲕⲉ in ϯⲛ. *travail of* 116 30
ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ *sleep* 57 19 146 14. 15 193 8 197 16 218 20. 21
ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ 136 24
ⲛ|ⲙ *who?* 14 23 29 16 111 12 146 45 198 11. 13 etc.: *what?* 106 32

ⲛⲓⲙ *every* 1 11 7 5. 8 8 14 etc.

ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲉ *shake* 19 16 67 9 207 6

ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲓⲛⲉ 4 23 155 21 192 5

ⲛⲟⲩⲛ *abyss* 2 4 3 24 10 9. 12. 22. 25 73 23 141 30 204 11. 27 etc.

ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ- *good* 53 21 171 11 ter 176 24 quater

ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ= 134 28

ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ= 81 29 91 7

ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ 207 10

ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ 41 1 (46 30)

ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ *root* 26 9 60 23 79 28 91 6 111 2 134 13. 15 138 38 144 8 vid. 19 155 7 163 1 178 8 203 22 208 1 vid. 17. 30

ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛ *no (?)* 191 23 ter

ⲛⲉⲙ in ⲣ̄ⲛⲉⲙ ⲁ- 201 21

ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲥ̀ vide ⲣⲉⲧ=

ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲉ *vulture* 61 22

*ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲥ̀ *destroy, remove* 17 12 n. 59 9 62 21 217 8

ⲛⲁⲣⲥ= 50 23 70 3

qual. ⲛⲁⲣⲥ̀ 142 1 (?)

ⲛⲉⲥⲉ- *beautiful* 151 30 161 5 bis 164 5. 11 166 8 174 pass. etc.

ⲛⲉⲥⲱ= 61 14 89 27 164 13. 14 166 7. 16

ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥ possess. *of his* 196 22

ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ *god* 1 5. 7. 16. 23 2 9 etc.

adjectively 22 18 63 18 64 16 97 24 151 29

fem. ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ 209 19. 20. 29 210 7

ⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 15 6 76 14

ⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 70 14 85 18 etc.

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 26 25. 28 33 16 56 28 58 7 65 17 117 20 etc.

ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ vide ⲣⲱⲙⲉ

ⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ vide ⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ

ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲙ̄: qual. ⲛⲁⲧⲙⲉ 58 9 99 32 100 28 101 13 131 27 225 20 228 1

ⲛⲁⲧⲙ̄ 190 9

ⲛ̄ⲧⲏϭ *plant:* pl. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϭⲉ 145 14

ⲛⲉⲩ *see* 4 18 7 30 8 4 19 8. 9 etc.

ⲛⲟ 204 8. 15

imper. ⲁⲛⲉⲩ 39 31 104 28

ⲛⲉⲩ *hour, time* 18 7. 29 40 30 45 12 58 28 101 15 135 29 etc.

ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ vide ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈

ⲛⲁϣⲉ- *many* 120 19 126 19 136 22 151 26 152 19 etc.

ⲛⲁϣⲱ= 55 25 101 31 222 4 bis

ⲛⲟⲩϣⲡ̄ *frighten, be scared* 56 19 87 8 158 12 167 60 183 2

ⲣⲉϥⲛⲟⲩϣⲡ̄ 26 5

ⲛ̄ϣⲁⲧ *hard:* qual. ⲛⲁϣⲧ̄ 30 1 (?) 100 12 192 6 vid.

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ϣⲁⲧ 108 7

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁϣⲧⲙⲙⲉ 45 19

ⲛⲁϣⲧⲉ f. *protection, defence* 29 26 45 15 49 9 62 4 68 16 73 20 87 26 96 25 117 13 149 18 153 3 173 30

ⲛⲉⲉϥ *sailor* 123 33 161 5 174 22 176 26. 27

ⲛⲓϥⲉ *blow* 9 15 90 12. 15 135 19 176 28 193 4 203 20

nn. *breath* 194 20

ⲛⲉϥⲟ *great wind* 180 20

ⲛⲁϥⲣⲉ adj. *good* 4 6 192 19

nn. *goodness* 77 29 177 19 192 27

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁϥⲣⲉ *benefit, well-doing* 17 29 53 16 67 14 111 1. 12. 21

ⲛⲁϥⲣ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ *skilful* 46 9 99 24

ⲛⲁϥⲣ̄ϣⲁⲗ 81 16 185 21: vide 4 16 n.

ⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ *good* 37 16 46 21 136 39 145 29 146 34 198 9 199 28 206 5. 15

ⲛϩϩ *oil* 23 8 25 17 53 24 60 12 70 15 80 14 154 1 159 28 161 19 170 23 174 20 191 21. 25 193 6

ⲛⲁⲩϩ *rope* 207 18

ⲛⲟⲩϩⲉ *cast off, throw down* 44 19 136 27

ⲛⲁϩ- 166 13 194 32 208 18 209 1. 2 212 12

ⲛⲁϩ= 133 6 136 7 146 44 154 16

qual. ⲛϩϩ 215 13 vid.

ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩϩ *turn* 163 7 178 14

ⲛⲁⲩϩ- 29 26

ⲛⲁⲩϩ= reflex. *turn oneself, return* 7 2 13 28 55 24 87 27 97 32 205 9 207 16 211 5 214 20 218 6

qual. ⲛⲁⲩϩ 219 9

ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲉ *to yoke* 99 16 111 23
ⲛⲁϩⲃⲉϥ *yoke* 4 29 51 18 55 30 92 5 97 27
ⲛⲟⲩϩⲙⲉ *save, be saved* 10 3 21 15 39 8 40 23 60 25 82 19 etc.
ⲛⲁϩⲙⲉ= 53 11 60 27 88 24 ff. etc.
ⲣⲉϥⲛⲟⲩϩⲙⲉ 2 24 65 32
ⲛⲉϩⲡⲉ *grieve, lament* 70 7 123 28
ⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ̄-, ⲛⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ vide ϩⲟ
ⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ *arouse, rise* 9 20 23 21. 22 63 14 79 5 106 9 117 17 213 10 etc.
ⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ *believe* 11 27 24 9 39 15 53 14 68 9 etc.
ⲁⲧⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ 56 31
nn. *faith* 20 9 23 9. 15 33 13 49 20 52 26 60 17 167 35 etc.
ⲛⲟⲩϫ *false* 166 15. 17 209 18. 31
ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ *throw* pass. *launch* 213 3
ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ ⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ vide ⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ
ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ ⲃⲏⲗ vide ⲃⲏⲗ
ⲛⲟⲩϫ- 163 20
ⲛⲁϫ- 142 26 206 26 etc.
ⲛⲁϫ= 43 28 55 19. 25. 30 56 9 91 6 120 25 206 12 etc.
qual. ⲛⲏϫ 2 11 204 20. 21 219 8
ⲛⲁⲃ *great* 1 13. 32 2 18 6 32 96 24 160 17 173 23 etc.
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ *greatly* 188 9
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ 9 13 14 6 26 7 30 19 etc.
ⲛⲟⲩⲃ̀ⲥ: qual. ⲛⲁⲃⲥ 15 30 74 5 (?)

ⲟ *great* in ⲛⲉⲩⲟ vide ⲛⲓⲩⲉ, ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ vide ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲟ *what?* 182 20 bis vide ⲉⲩ
ⲟⲟϩ *moon* 2 21 vid. 10 30 17 27 35 23 75 4 vid. 81 10 122 21 134 24 144 26 148 10 156 16. 17. 22 160 16 161 27 168 6 179 20 190 12

ⲡⲁ- *that belonging to* 2 16 ter 3 18. 25. 26 etc.: ⲧⲁ- 9 10 etc.
ⲡⲉⲏ̈ *this* 7 13. 24 19 23 20 28. 31 etc.
ⲡⲉ *heaven, sky* 2 10 10 25 19 19 20 4 51 24 91 28 138 29. 37
pl. ⲡⲏⲩⲉ 2 6 37 10 41 22 52 31 60 3 61 30 127 26 etc.

ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ vide ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲡⲏ *that* 215 29
ⲡⲱ=, ⲧⲱ=, ⲛⲱ= poss. pronoun as nn. 7 5 40 10 54 12 62 28 112 8 115 26 135 3 152 10 154 31 164 7 bis 205 9 208 8. 22 etc.
*ⲡⲗⲁⲗⲉ *?* 231 b 2
ⲡⲱⲗϩ̀ *be offended* 86 30
ⲡⲱⲗⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *be freed* 99 10
ⲡⲗⲟⲉ: ⲣ̄ⲡ. *be ragged, old* 155 10
ⲁⲧⲣ̄ⲡⲗⲟⲉ 146 42
ⲡⲱⲛⲉ *pass, turn to* 11 1 19 16 159 26 213 5
ⲡⲁⲛⲉ= 29 22 216 5
intr. 18 15 75 13 99 22 108 13 vid. 159 7:
ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ 88 2 229 b 1
ⲁⲧⲡⲱⲛⲉ 155 20
ⲡⲱⲛϥ *bail, empty out, transfer* 200 25
vid.: ⲡⲁⲛϥ= 217 21. 22
ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲉ *pepper* 184 13
ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ *shine forth* 13 12 21 26 23 14 41 1 42 7 54 26 etc.
qual. ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲱⲟⲩ 8 11 24 20 26 2 30 23 36 24 37 6. 23 38 6 108 30 190 18
nn. *brightness, dawn* 1 16 22 9 30 28 32 19 36 15 61 15. 27 etc.
ⲡⲣⲱ *winter* 8 20 93 17 94 20 109 15 156 18 161 18
ⲡⲱⲣϥ *uproot* 60 23 vid.
ⲡⲁⲣϥ- 204 30 207 8. 9 208 29 212 28
ⲡⲁⲣϥ= 4 13. 23
ⲁⲧⲡⲱⲣϥ 189 27
nn. *updigging* 152 16
ⲡⲁⲣⲙ̄ⲍⲁⲧⲡ̄ *the 7th month* 17 26 18 7
ⲡⲱⲣⲥ̀ *wage war* 6 33 82 4 vid. 204 13. 17
ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲱϣⲉ vide ⲃⲣⲉ
ⲡⲱⲣⲱ̄ (ⲁⲃⲁⲗ) *spread out* 1 11 vid. 8 15 13 20 19 25 41 2 45 7 46 3 59 11 104 18 etc.
ⲡⲁⲣϣ= 10 15 41 25 207 30
qual. ⲡⲁⲣϣ 152 6 199 28 202 6 204 20 205 4
ⲡⲱⲣϫ (ⲁⲃⲁⲗ) *separate* 26 29 28 15 30 26 56 21 57 9 83 22 87 5 139 13 172 15
ⲡⲁⲣϫ= 4 28 9 5 56 23. 24
qual. ⲡⲁⲣϫ 9 11 56 28 223 3

nn. 81 20 86 17

ⲡⲣⲁϫ nn. *disunity* 219 5

ϥⲓⲥ *nine* 121 23 122 25 vid.

ⲡⲉⲧ *knee* 13 26 18 10 19 26 60 3 214 9

ⲡⲱⲧ *run* 45 16 50 23 54 15 71 18 88 8 103 2.7 106 22 113 9 129 25 195 3 206 17

qual. ⲡⲏⲧ 14 26. 27 40 22 51 13 63 26 82 9 83 8 88 27 89 14 etc.

ⲟⲩⲛⲡⲱⲧ *course* 62 16. 28 68 10 98 27

ⲡⲓⲧⲉ *bow* 205 30

ⲡⲱⲧⲥ̀ *part* 16 7

qual. ⲡⲁⲧⲥ̀ 223 3

ⲡⲁⲩⲣⲉ *increase (?)* 92 12 211 18 223 16 vid.

ⲡⲁⲱ *net, snare* 210 29

ⲡⲁⲱϥ̄ 53 10 57 13 69 24 84 28 204 19 205 3 etc.

ⲡⲱⲱⲉ *divide* 54 17 221 28 vid.

ⲡⲱⲱ 222 7 vid.

qual. ⲡⲏⲱ 143 22

ⲡⲱ̄ⲙⲟⲩ *half-dead* 40 25

ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ *serve, ordain* 150 17 (?)

qual. ⲡⲁⲱⲛⲉ 41 21

ⲡⲱⲱⲥ̀ *be amazed* 15 28

ⲡⲱϩ *reach* 3 30 55 10 82 4 143 27 174 14 211 14 218 1.2 etc.

ⲡⲱϩ ⲛ̄-, ⲡϩ ⲛ̄- *succeed in doing* 62 24 130 28 164 20. 21

ⲡⲱϩ *break, tear* 89 29 196 13 205 3

ⲡⲁϩⲥ̀ *carrion* 220 10

ⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ *cure* 40 12. 14. 15. 16 46 5 53 3 147 65 152 22. 26 etc.

fem. 23 6 26 21 vid.

ⲣ̄ⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ *heal* 213 10

ⲡⲱϩⲧ *pour* 7 3 150 8 207 25

qual. ⲡⲁϩⲧ *be prostrate* 219 8

ⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ *back:* ⲁⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ 64 1 vid. 97 32 123 31 (?) 152 5 163 7 164 23 178 14 211 5 218 3: ϩⲓⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ 90 13

ⲡⲁϫⲉ *say* 121 21 (?)

ⲡⲁϫⲏⲓ̈ 206 19 211 5 219 4: ⲥⲉⲕ 124 15 vid. 17 vid.: ⲥⲉⲩ 15 29 16 1 198 21 etc.: ⲥⲉⲩ 212 2 223 12 ff.

ⲡⲁⲃⲉ *fragment* 198 5

ⲡⲁⲃⲗⲉ *cluster* 57 12 225 21

ⲡⲉⲃⲥⲉ in ⲛⲁϫ ⲡ. *spit* 142 13

ⲣⲏ *sun* 2 21 10 30 20 22 21 26 35 23 42 7 81 10 etc.

ⲣⲟ *door* 2 26 18 11 19 24 25 3 59 29 90 8 156 4 bis 5. 7. 8 etc.

pl. ⲣⲱⲟⲩ 17 21 42 4 50 23 83 30 109 24 190 27 196 15. 16 198 11 212 22

ⲣⲱⲥ *mouth* 46 9 107 26 151 30 156 8 185 13 190 24 198 9

ⲕⲁ ⲣⲱⲥ *be silent* 134 28 184 1

qual. ⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ 7 25 142 2 155 38 166 9

nn. ⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉ̄ *silence* 115 20 134 28 168 31 170 9

ⲣⲱ particle: *again, yet* 7 21 9 24 19 17 22 17 28 16 40 25 49 17 52 24. 28 63 25 79 22. 27 82 19. 22 104 31 115 26 vid. 162 6 184 18 188 3 vid. 210 27 225 4

ⲣⲓⲕⲉ *turn, bend* 45 27 155 8 188 8 bis

ⲣⲉⲧⲕ- 97 27

ⲁⲧⲣⲓⲕⲉ 68 17

ⲣⲱϫϩ̀ *burn* 75 25 169 22 189 3

ⲣⲁϫϩⲥ 49 26 54 18 vid. 96 24 142 7

ⲣⲓⲙⲉ *weep* 19 7 57 17 70 2 82 21 etc.

ϫⲓ ⲣⲓⲙⲉ 100 2

nn. 47 1 70 28 72 21 99 33 162 24 178 2

ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲏ *tear, weeping* 53 21 82 21 187 4. 10 188 13

pl. ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲁⲩⲉ 44 27 45 5 65 16

ⲣⲱⲙⲉ *man* 86 5 141 8 etc.

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ *mankind* 19 28

ⲣⲙ̄-: -ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ 25 14 40 14 46 18 59 12 88 2 150 29 153 20 167 55.

-ⲛ̄ⲉⲥ 3 31 25 13 167 54

-ⲛ̄ⲏⲓ̈ 1 21 136 35 215 10

-ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁϥ 165 23

-ⲛ̄ⲕⲁϩ 107 17

-ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ 213 4

-ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 16 17 37 26 38 20 40 32 136 41 143 15

-ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ 194 28

-ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ 30 21 (?) 38 14
-ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ 154 1 157 10: ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ 225 23 vid.
-ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲓⲗⲉ 181 23
-ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ 64 31 196 16
ⲣⲉϥ- 1 22 bis 2 21. 24 etc.
ⲣⲙ̄ⲣⲉϣϥ̄ 105 10: ⲣⲙ̄ⲣⲉϣⲉ 192 17 vid.
ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁ *rich* 36 28 123 23 etc.
pl. ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲁⲓ 210 14
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁ 75 22 80 16 137 18 157 3 vid. 203 30. 32
pl. ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲁⲓ 208 26 214 12
ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ *year* 19 13 25 20 26 19 47 11 142 5 192 3 bis 215 21 216 8. 9 221 21. 22
pl. as sing. 190 7: ⲣⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲩⲉ 218 22
*ⲣⲁⲙⲥ̀ *ship (?)* 163 4 n. 178 11
ⲣⲙ̄ϩⲉ *free* 86 4 89 26
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ϩⲉ 16 29 70 13
ⲣⲉⲛ *name* 38 22 49 21 60 29 88 4 134 12 151 10. 22 195 13 207 13 etc.
ⲧⲣⲉⲛ *to name* 4 14
ⲣ̄ⲡⲉ *temple* 196 13 216 5 bis
ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ *king* 12 13 15 1. 25. 27 117 32 etc.
pl. ⲣ̄ⲣⲁⲓ 83 29 117 3 194 31 196 2 224 2
adject. 153 9: ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ 213 16. 17
ⲣ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ *be king* 11 22 25 24. 29 etc.
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ *kingdom* 9 12. 17 14 10 etc.
ⲣⲁⲓⲥ *watch, guard* 2 8 7 30 13 18 84 26 152 26 etc.
ⲣⲉϥⲣⲁⲓⲥ 151 4 180 24
ⲣⲉⲧⲉ *foot* 10 10 16 31 43 26 66 29 84 11 95 26 204 24 208 13. 27 etc.
vide ⲧⲱⲕ, ϩⲱⲙ, ϩⲁⲗ
ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲉ *unfathomable* 25 1 133 5
ⲣⲱⲧ *grow, bring forth* 74 22
qual. ⲣⲏⲧ 37 16 136 18
ⲣⲉⲓⲧⲉ *kindred, race* 2 3 3 30 17 25 43 22 86 17 93 8 108 28 146 47 etc.: ⲣⲉⲓⲉⲧⲉ 136 18
ⲣⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩ 25 26 sic
ⲣⲏⲧⲉ *manner* 9 31 10 6 28 25 55 21 59 27 67 9. 11 101 28 176 16. 17
ⲣⲉⲧⲕ- vide ⲣⲓⲕⲉ
ⲣⲁⲩⲉ *stubble* 189 5
ⲣⲁⲩⲧ vide ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ
ⲣⲁⲩϣ *care* 13 17 53 5. 24 70 29 82 12 86 10 99 17 146 26 152 14 153 1
ⲃⲓ ⲣⲁⲩϣ 165 24: ⲃⲁⲓⲣ. 58 17
ⲁⲧⲣⲁⲩϣ 70 29
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲣⲁⲩϣ 146 52
ⲣⲉϣⲉ *rejoice* 30 23 50 9 etc.
trans. *mock* 113 13
ⲫⲣⲉϣⲉ *make glad* 54 26 132 28
nn. *joy* 2 23 8 28 136 9. 10 etc.
ⲣⲱϣⲉ *suffice* 150 21 vid. 191 23
nn. 107 26
ⲣⲉϣⲣⲉϣ: ϩⲟⲩⲣ. *blossom* 8 19 91 8
ⲣⲱϩⲉ: qual. ⲣⲁϩⲉ *washed* 155 10
ⲣⲱϩⲧ̄ *strike* 103 17 217 1
ⲣⲁϩⲧ- 4 7 207 5: ⲣⲁϩⲧⲥ 94 4
ⲣⲉϥⲣⲱϩⲧ̄ 221 8
ⲣ̄ϩⲱⲧ vide ϩⲱⲧ
ⲣⲉⲃⲣⲉⲃ ? 8 18 n.

ⲥⲁ *side, part* 43 3. 11 44 23 50 6 66 16 70 8. 15 71 31 81 26 90 29 122 11 138 38 142 29 154 31 etc.
ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ 2 25 26 13 60 27 82 11 105 27 167 53 etc.
ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ- 10 4
ⲥⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ 11 4 83 33
ⲥⲁⲛⲡⲧⲛ̄ 37 4
ⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ 11 2 34 6 35 8. 25 69 23 etc.
ⲥⲁⲛϩⲟⲩⲛ 10 19 159 22 etc.
ⲥⲁⲑⲏ *forward* 97 32
ⲥⲁⲭⲱϥ *upside down* 142 18
ⲥⲁ- in ⲥⲁⲛⲧⲱϩ: vide ⲧⲱϩ
ⲥⲓ *sate, be sated* 64 12 93 23 208 5
qual. ⲥⲏⲩ 169 28
nn. *satiety* 88 3 163 10 178 17
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲓ 99 15
ⲥⲁⲓ *beam* 40 9 n. 222 22
ⲥⲁⲓⲉ *beauty* 1 19 2 29 vid. 8 15 17 10 70 11 84 31 95 6 98 21 147 18 148 29. 30 166 7. 32 195 7

adject. fem. ⲥⲁⲓϩ 46 18 216 14
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲓⲉ 146 46
ⲥⲁⲓⲉ vb. *be beautiful* 107 23

ⲥⲟ: ⲧⲥⲟ *spare* 26 30 29 19 167 45
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲧⲥⲟ 66 5 n.

ⲥⲱ *drink* 7 17 40 30 57 20 101 15 158 9 169 28 201 27
ⲥⲟⲩ 151 14 158 30 bis 195 10
ⲥⲱ nn. 55 28 81 31

ⲥⲁⲃⲉ *wise, sage* 36 14 ff. 37 1 ff. 38 2. 3. 9 68 2 80 9 104 5 137 47 212 7
fem. ⲥⲁⲃϩ 36 29 37 12 101 7 166 34 191 19. 20
pl. ⲥⲁⲃⲉⲩⲉ 24 4 35 18 37 18 167 8
ⲥⲁⲃⲉⲉⲩ 230 a 30
ⲥⲃⲱ *teaching, thought* 8 3 23 16 68 29 101 29 105 27 111 3 120 7 126 7 166 40 etc.
pl. ⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ 6 9 16 4 97 18. 24 232 a 30 vid.
ⲧⲥⲃⲱ *teach* 16 15 40 6 etc.: ⲧⲥⲃⲉ- 81 28
ϫⲓ ⲥⲃⲱ *be taught* 37 28 75 18 98 20 183 8

ⲥⲱⲃⲉ *laugh, mock* 17 16 22 1 45 21 72 21 85 27 191 10. 11 193 28 195 17
nn. *laughter* 70 28

ⲥⲃⲁϫ *lessen* 13 16
qual. ⲥⲁⲃϫ̄ 204 23 210 16

ⲥⲁⲃⲧ̄ *wall* 28 18 136 31 143 1 161 27 206 2. 3. 4. 12. 13
pl. as sing. 6 24 (?): ⲥⲃⲧⲉⲩⲉ 199 3. 24 200 17: ⲥⲃⲧⲉⲉⲩ 50 22 139 13

ⲥⲓⲃⲧ̄ *hill* ? 78 26

ⲥⲁⲃⲧⲉ *make ready* 63 25 209 22
ⲥⲃ̄ⲧⲱⲧ≈ 7 20
qual. ⲥⲃ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲧ 25 16 64 2 154 30 204 18

ⲥⲱϫ *draw, be drawn* 84 30 129 25 176 14. 15 192 31
ⲥⲁϫ- 187 24 195 28 196 8 208 14
ⲥϫ- 13 24
ⲥⲁϫ≈ 35 25 67 15 76 18 163 14 178 21 207 25
qual. ⲥϩϫ 39 3 83 25 127 29 162 14 163 25 167 11 177 9 178 31 183 19 184 20 200 12

ⲥϫⲓⲙ *grey hair* 192 2

ⲥϫ(ⲁ)ⲡϫⲣ *roll* 13 27 214 6. 9

ⲥⲱⲗⲡ̄ *burst* 95 11
qual. ⲥⲁⲗⲡ̄ 63 26 157 27

*ⲥⲗⲡⲉ *tumult (?)* 96 20 n.

ⲥⲁⲗⲁⲡⲓⲛ *tittle* 223 25

ⲥⲁⲗⲥⲗ *comfort* 156 5 173 15
ⲥⲗⲥⲱⲗ≈ 53 21
nn. 167 14

ⲥⲱⲗⲃ *smear:* ⲥⲁⲗⲃ- 210 24

ⲥⲗⲟⲃⲗⲃ: qual. ⲥⲗⲉⲃⲗⲉⲃⲧ *smooth* 189 9

ⲥⲙⲏ *voice* 15 30 50 18 104 31 162 21 194 29 etc.
ϫⲓ ⲥⲙⲏ *listen* 28 26 197 6 229 b 5. 24

ⲥⲓⲙ *herbs* 208 2

ⲥⲱⲙ *crush* 26 24

ⲥⲙⲟⲩ *bless* 22 25 27 20 56 20 etc.
nn. *blessing* 12 20 95 30 etc.
ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ 12 2 24 6 144 5. 8 etc.
qual. ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ 1 17. 27 25 15. 24 80 6 etc.
ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ 106 32
ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ nn. 42 12

ⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲉ *appeal* ? 188 10

ⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ *establish, construct* 10 23 57 3. 7
ⲥⲙⲛ- 79 25 120 23 122 21 135 3 206 4 213 3 222 1
ⲥⲙⲛ ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ *stretch hand* 205 30
ⲥⲙⲛⲧ≈ 10 2. 30 11 16 15 16
ⲥⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥ̀ ⲙⲛ̄- *make agreement with* 117 15
qual. ⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ 165 27 220 22 225 25 vid.

ⲥⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧ *tank* 156 30 161 7

ⲥⲙⲁⲧ *sort, way, form* 11 17 bis 28 24 135 16 vid. 17 etc.
pl. ⲥⲙⲟⲟⲧ 108 12

ⲥⲱⲙⲧ *wait:* qual. ⲥⲁⲙⲧ̄ 26 15 201 4 202 4

ⲥⲁⲛ *brother* 10 22 40 8 86 7 137 29 169 25 187 18 194 14
pl. ⲥⲛⲏⲩ 22 29 etc.
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲛ 187 19
fem. ⲥⲱⲛⲉ 85 14 vid. 169 23 175 25 205 20. 25 206 25 207 3

ⲥⲁⲛⲉ *thief* 63 10 163 5 178 12 189 15 205 31 207 24 bis

ⲥⲉϯⲛⲉ *physician* 2 24 17 14 40 11. 13 46 1 47 5 57 22 61 28 145 6 152 22 163 23 178 29 180 26 193 13 220 26. 27 221 6

ⲥⲱⲛⲧ̄ *create* 120 21 126 21

nn. *creation* 2 20 3 22 145 24 155 31 219 7: ⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ 56 27

ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ *foundation* 8 9 53 22 155 21 188 27 200 27 etc.

ϫⲛ̄ⲧⲉ (ⲧ-ⲯⲛ̄ⲧⲉ?) 189 27

ⲥⲛⲉⲩ *two* 17 24 18 6 19 19 45 30 102 29 140 16 etc.

ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲛⲉⲩ *two together* 217 8

fem. ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ 9 10 26 29 86 17 etc.

ⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ 10 21 39 7 59 20 etc.

ⲙⲁϩⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ 96 23 138 61 etc.

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ *twelve* 1 13 9 13 22 24 44 8 etc.: ⳓⲃ̄ 136 31. 32. 33

ⲯⲃⲉⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ *seventy-two* 44 8

ϫⲟⲩⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ *twenty-two* 46 20

ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ *know* 44 21 45 11 63 25 70 5. 14 88 5. 11: ⲥⲁⲛⲉ 10 19 141 18

ⲛ̄ + object 54 19 99 25 122 11 191 29 195 12

ⲛ̄ + infin. 45 28 46 1. 11 117 5

nn. *knowledge* 32 8 57 19 75 30 86 16 etc.

ⲁⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ 4 11 86 30

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ 6 27 82 17

ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ 194 28

ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ *know* 7 12 40 28 53 9 56 26 61 7 129 15 228 30

ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ- 135 3 (leg. ⲥ⟨ⲛ̄⟩ⲟⲩⲱⲛ?)

ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ- 75 28 77 9 171 18 223 26

ⲥⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛ=: =ⲧ 187 2. 4: =ⲕ 122 9. 17: =ⲉⲩ 86 28 223 25: =ⲩ 31 21 vid.: =ⲥ̄ 156 24: =ⲟⲩ 111 16

? qual. ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛⲧ 106 21

ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ *nourish* 9 16 86 29

ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ- 82 18

qual. ⲥⲁⲛⲁⲱⲧ 84 23 111 12

ϫⲓ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ 216 8

ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ- 227 2

ⲥⲛⲁⲩ *blood* 4 31 vid. 17 21 vid. 21 14 43 18 44 17. 24 45 3 87 18 vid. 103 30 121 9 129 24 vid. 142 29 195 28 196 23

ⲥⲱⲛϩ̄ *bind* 16 20 18 30 19 6 101 17 196 10 212 14

ⲥⲁⲛϩ- 204 31

qual. ⲥⲁⲛϩ̄ 201 14. 16. 18

nn. ⲥⲛⲁϩ *fetter* 8 16 vid. 17

pl. ⲥⲛⲉⲩϩ 101 19 106 29

ⲥⲁⲡ *time* 112 3 142 28 186 5. 8

ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲁⲡ *again* 8 14 12 31 52 21 85 15 87 28 etc.

ⲥⲁⲡ ⲛⲓⲙ *always* 56 29 etc.

ϩⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ *at once, together* 6 17 24 8 35 21 37 26 132 28 186 4 etc.

ⲥⲉⲡⲉ *remains* 83 13

ⲥⲡⲓⲣ *rib, side:* pl. ⲥⲡⲓⲣⲉⲉⲩ 226 26

ⲥⲁⲡⲥⲡ̄ *pray* 7 3 12 15 13 27 17 28 24 8 38 24 76 23

ⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ *lip* 16 7: fem. 220 2 ff.

ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ ⲥⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ *sneer (?)* 226 3

ⲥⲱⲣ (ⲁⲃⲁⲗ) *scatter, lay out* 17 30 172 9

ⲥⲁⲣ- 210 24

ⲥⲁⲣ= 8 27 10 25 188 27 208 1 227 4

qual. ⲥⲏⲣ 97 6 145 5 vid. 147 24 163 19 178 23

*ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲧⲱⲛ . . *?* 133 1

ⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ *stray, lead astray* 4 4 51 11 86 11 95 5 124 11 172 27: ⲥⲱⲣⲙ̄ 156 7

ⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ- 57 14

qual. ⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ 2 7. 25 73 25

ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ 15 26

ⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉϩⲏⲧ 99 19

ⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ nn. *error* 86 21 107 5

ⲥⲣ̄ⲙⲉ nn. *seducer* 215 20

ⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ *lees, dregs* 10 32

ⲥⲣⲟⲛⲣⲙ̄: qual. ⲥⲣⲙ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲧ̄ *dazed* 49 11

ⲥⲣ̄ⲩⲉ *have leisure for, devote oneself to* 109 28 111 21 165 30

ⲥⲣⲁⲩⲣⲉⲩ *fall* 207 7 226 7. 8

ⲥⲁⲥⲉ *pluck* 95 22

ⲥⲱⲧ ⲁ- *do something again* after neg. 212 5. 20 215 6. 15

ⲥⲱⲧ *stretch, extend* 108 17

ⲥⲁϯⲧ *fame, report* 17 30 84 25 94 23 vid. 104 10 107 15 148 21 208 8

ϯⲥⲁϯⲧ, ⲭⲓⲥⲁϯⲧ *become famous* 13 22 146 5

ⲥⲁⲧⲉ *dart, arrow* 64 25 103 15 221 13. 14

ⲥⲉⲧⲉ *fire* 3 28 9 18 11 6 43 15 54 18 81 26 148 27 152 17 156 19 etc.

ⲥⲓⲧⲉ *shoot, sow, turn* 2 15 138 48 217 6

ⲥⲉⲧ- 194 28

ⲥⲱⲧⲉ *save* 42 9 59 22 76 27 113 8 etc.

ⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲉ 2 4 24 21 41 10 87 6 137 50 144 pass. etc.

nn. *salvation* 1 29 24 12 116 22 140 21 etc.

ⲥⲧⲁϯ *smell* 118 29 150 24 157 15 166 16 211 17 225 19

ⲥϯⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ *good smell* 37 16 118 29 136 45. 52 152 24 154 28 194 13 203 22 205 17. 23 206 24. 30 208 2. 17. 30 214 30 215 3 220 24 224 17

ⲥϯⲃⲱⲱⲛ *bad smell* 205 23 214 3

ⲥⲉⲧⲃⲉ *ruminate, rumination* 222 8

ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ *hear* 1 9 15 27 187 34 etc.

ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ 29 28 etc.

ⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉⲝ 112 11 154 31

ⲁⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ 164 22 194 26

ⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ 118 26

ⲙⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ vide ⲙⲁ

ⲥⲧⲙⲏⲧ *obedient* 192 17. 24

ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ nn. 32 21 133 29 etc.

ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ *choose* 38 25 97 23 etc.

ⲥⲁⲧⲡ- 82 27

ⲥⲁⲧⲡⲝ 42 33

qual. ⲥⲁⲧⲡ 162 10

nn. *Elect* 1 2 3 13 14 16 19 7 etc.

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ 38 22 144 3

ⲥⲧⲣⲧⲣ *tremble* 29 17 40 23

nn. *trembling* 29 13 62 9

ⲥⲧⲱⲧ *tremble* 2 13 66 18: nn. 206 18

*ⲥⲧⲉⲧⲁϣ *? border* 201 4 n. 202 4

ⲥⲱⲧϥ̄ *refine, purify* 112 19 212 28

qual. ⲥⲁⲧϥ 2 22 10 17 83 22. 26 99 28

nn. *purified part* 10 31 55 8

ⲥⲱϥⲧ̄ (sic) 208 24 209 5 213 6

ⲥⲁⲩ *six* 19 6: fem. ⲥⲟⲉ 19 13 192 3 195 29

ϫⲟⲩⲧⲉⲥⲉ *twenty-six* 16 26 19 4 43 30

ⲥⲉ *sixty* 192 3 210 23 vid. 24

ⲥⲛⲩ *time, season* 59 27 100 11 112 28 154 32

ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲩ *then* 117 7 131 23 141 24 173 28

ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲩ *once* 10 27 87 5

ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ *always* 19 23 35 31 55 26 56 4 69 21 115 25

ϰⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲛⲩ *from time to time* 162 6

ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲩ *for a season* 11 3

ⲥⲟⲩ- *day of month* 17 26 18 7

ⲥⲓⲟⲩ *star* 37 10 (?) 59 9 94 9 103 18 122 31 179 21 207 7

ⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ *stretch out, make straight* 80 29 213 15: -ⲧⲛⲉ 67 14 69 6

ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛⲝ 164 25

qual. ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ 8 7 25 3 31 18 36 24

qual. ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ 60 16 105 19 159 22 176 15 193 18

ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ *straightly* 13 5 16 2 52 30

ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ (ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ) *gather* 32 7 42 5 96 6 137 48 153 8 etc.

ⲥⲁⲩϩⲝ 11 9 [11 10] 75 16

qual. ⲥⲁⲩϩ 99 32 152 10 153 5 etc.

ⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ 115 11 vid. 138 16 152 10

nn. *gathering* 70 9 153 7

ⲥⲁⲩϩⲥ̀ *assembly* 6 28 12 16 31 17 vid. 37 10. 19 59 12 137 48 etc.

ⲥⲁⲓϣ (a) *pair* 40 16 56 21 bis

(b) *familiar, double* 19 22 42 22 138 24 139 5. 12 vid. 146 53 166 34

(c) *consort* 111 15 217 4

ⲥⲁϣ *wound* 46 8. 11

ⲥⲱϣ *spill blood (?)* 17 21

ⲥϣⲉ *it behoves* 4 34

ⲥⲓϣⲉ *bitterness* 70 28

qual. of vb. ⲥⲁϣⲉ 6 28 7 29 18 16 49 5 70 26 144 19 etc.

ⲥⲱϣⲉ *field* 155 23 153 28

ⲥⲱϣⲉ *creep* 206 2. 3

ⲥⲱϣⲧ̄ *stop, be hindered* 212 23 221 20. 21. 22: ϣⲱϣⲧ̄ 221 20

ⲥⲁⲱⲧ- 98 27

ⲥⲁⲱϥ̄ *seven* 53 17. 19 224 24 etc.

fem. ⲥⲁⲱϥⲉ 149 23 216 7. 9

ⲙⲁϩⲥⲁⲱϥⲉ 2 10 138 37

Seven devils (i. e. *the Hebdomas*, 53 18 210 21. 22 211 7) 103 29 108 18 [149 23] 204 1. 2. 14. 29

ⲥⲱⲱϥ *be foul:* qual. ⲥⲟⲟϥ 7 27 99 11 103 30 106 19 107 9 151 18

nn. *foulness* 45 11 181 3

ⲥⲏϥⲉ *sword* 19 17 66 6 vid. 94 5 205 29 219 7

ⲥϩⲉⲓ *write* 43 21 196 5

ⲥϩⲉⲓ- 118 19

ⲥⲁϩϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ 118 19

ⲥⲁϩ *teacher* 13 17 vid. 15 26 16 21 44 8 84 24 143 12 187 5. 20. 30. 34

ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁϩ 187 21

ⲙⲁⲓⲥⲁϩ 192 32

ⲥⲉϩⲟ *be set up, set up* 213 9

ⲥⲉϩⲟ- 77 23 203 15. 16 208 23 209 4. 19. 20 213 8 214 10

ⲥⲉϩⲱ= 152 21 203 10. 12. 14 213 23 214 22 224 23 225 12

qual. ⲥⲉϩⲁⲓ̈ⲧ 2 31

ⲥⲟⲟϩⲉ 164 20 ⲥⲟϩⲉ 208 15

ⲥⲓϩⲉ *remove:* ⲥⲉϩ= 99 12

ϩⲓⲙⲉ *woman* 121 29 122 19 143 15

ⲥⲓⲙⲉ 15 4 52 25 169 26

pl. ϩⲓⲁⲙⲉ 195 5 vid. 226 11 vid.

*ⲥⲁϩⲙⲉⲗⲱ *trap* 210 24 n. 25. 29 211 4

ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ *provide:* vide ⲟⲩⲱϩ

qual. ϩⲛⲏⲩⲧ 39 27 205 2

nn. *provisions* 184 15

ⲥⲱϩⲡ̄ *sink, engulf* 51 25 70 4 82 12 219 8

ⲥⲁϩⲧⲉ *fire* 109 19 vid.

ⲥⲁϩⲟⲩ *curse:* qual. ϩⲟⲩⲁⲣⲧ 106 17

ⲥⲉϫⲉ *speak* 14 6 vid. 43 17 63 20 134 26. 27 226 5

ⲁⲧⲥⲉϫⲉ 26 8 68 12

ⲣⲉϥⲥⲉϫⲉ 13 14

ⲟⲩⲛⲥⲉϫⲉ 225 10 vid.

nn. *word* 3 16 5 21 26 12 etc.

ⲥⲱϫⲉ *fight* 58 24 60 14 96 23

ⲥⲁⲓϫ *warrior, champion* 93 26 148 25 vid. 192 29 (vide ϣⲱϫⲉ)

ⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ *take counsel* 18 26 23 28 214 16. 23

nn. *counsel* 2 15 9 19 11 10. 14 23 17. 28 136 53 etc.

ⲥⲱϫⲡ *be left* 218 3

qual. ⲥⲁϫⲡ 152 5

nn. *remnant* 11 8 83 13

ⲥⲱⲃ *be paralysed:* qual. ⲥⲏⲃ 206 2

ⲥⲉⲃⲉ *foolish:* ⲥⲁⲃ *(?)* 107 10

fem. ⲥⲉⲃⲏ 191 19. 20

ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲉ 45 21

ⲥⲃⲏⲣ *to sail* 90 12 139 30 166 11

ϣⲃⲏⲣ 217 25

ⲃⲓⲛⲥⲃⲏⲣ 70 5

nn. *voyage* 77 16 83 33 152 3: ϣⲃⲏⲣ 62 28 73 7

ⲥⲃⲣⲁϩⲧ *to rest* 81 11. 14

nn. *peace, quiet* 203 13 205 8 207 12 213 17 223 5

ϯⲁ- (etc. 1st Fut. vide Manich. Homil. p. xix) 107 20 vid. 121 27. 29 169 30 197 5 vid.

ⲕⲁ- 64 16 164 26 189 18 bis 190 5 bis 221 10 222 9 225 15

ⲧⲉⲁ- 82 28

ϥⲁ- 34 28 40 20 45 29 vid. 52 5 58 17. 19. 25 61 8 77 9 78 23 93 11 100 27. 28. 29 143 24 150 17 152 1. 4. 5 156 23 158 19 163 23 185 23 201 5 202 5 218 7 221 20. 23. 28

ⲥⲁ- 135 11 165 20

ⲛⲁ- 159 24. 26 160 21 161 30

ⲥⲟⲩⲁ- 159 15 n.

ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ *part* 143 20 222 7 224 3 227 4

ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ *honour* 22 1 35 23

ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲁ= 40 2 43 7

qual. ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ 1 20 3 27 26 27 28 13 31 21 38 8 62 23 66 11 98 7 203 6

nn. *honour* 1 1 2 9 33 17 ff. 35 20 47 21 138 35 etc.

ϯ *give, set* 7 31 18 30 21 6 43 24. 26 47 17 etc.

ⲧⲉⲉ= 4 18 42 30 43 21 51 6. 18. 20 148 28:

ⲧⲉⲛⲉ 150 21: ⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ 12 9 91 9 202 8
qual. ⲧⲟⲓ̈ⲉ 14 7 64 14 118 13 201 13. 17 218 23
imper. ⲙⲁ+ 56 3 58 4 68 4 84 14 94 2 95 30 96 1 111 19 112 26 149 27 175 18
imper. ⲙⲁ 76 24 (?) 83 23 88 9 155 3. 4 168 18 176 5 185 28 191 21
ⲣⲉⲩ+ 3 16 7 5 8 7 101 33 149 26
ⲧⲁⲗ- 21 9 22 23 53 26 103 21 153 5
+ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *sell* 201 27: + ⲥⲁϩⲏ *move forward* 97 32: vide ⲉⲁⲩ, ⲕⲗⲁⲙ, ⲙⲁ, ⲣⲉⲛ, ⲧⲱⲣⲉ, ⲱⲓⲡⲉ, ϩⲓ-, ϩⲉⲡ

ⲧⲟ *earth* 1 30 13 24 17 31 145 5 etc.

ⲧⲟ *where?* 61 31 153 24. 28 154 3 181 20 207 24 etc.

ⲧⲃⲁ *ten thousand* 35 25 161 16

ⲑⲏⲃⲉ *finger* 221 26

ⲧⲱⲃⲉ *seal, stamp* 116 16
qual. 47 10 163 26 178 32
nn. ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ 2 22 16 16 52 28 146 48 155 4

ⲧⲱⲃⲉ *repay, requite* 49 16 97 4
ⲧⲁⲃⲉ≠ 227 17
ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲱⲃⲉ 105 33

ⲧⲃⲟ *?* 103 16

ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ *purify* 10 31 26 4. 25 46 12 112 19
ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁ≠ 33 22 52 27 62 4 79 29 87 18 89 31 100 28 162 4 185 28 ff. etc.
qual. ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲧ 58 10 99 9 150 12
qual. ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲏⲩ 188 14
ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ 10 28
nn. *purity, holiness* 33 10 ff. 64 15 80 14 103 26 etc.

ⲧ̄ⲃ̄ⲃⲉ *seal (?)* 95 14

ⲧⲃⲛⲏ *beast:* pl. ⲧⲃⲛⲁⲩⲉ 215 2

ⲧⲃ̄ⲧ̄ *fish* 10 16 205 4

ⲧⲁⲃⲧⲃ *adorn by artifice*
qual. ⲧ̄ⲃ̄ⲧⲁⲃ̄ⲧ̄ 98 21
ⲁⲧⲧⲁⲃⲧⲃ *unadorned* 118 19

ⲧⲱⲃϩ *implore* 1 5. 7 7 3 18 10 23 pass. 70 24 etc.
ⲧⲁⲃϩ- 34 28 44 11
nn. *prayer* 33 24. 28 92 18

ⲧⲓⲕ *spark* 188 18

ⲧⲱⲕ *be strong, firm, strengthen* 148 23 215 19: +ⲧⲱⲕ 210 1. 3. 11. 12
ⲧ. ⲁⲣⲉⲧ: *stand firm* 10 10 35 6 65 29 83 6. 19 etc.
qual. ⲧⲏⲕ 2 7 11 3 15 19 67 8 91 28 etc.

ⲧⲱⲕ *throw:* ⲧⲉⲕ- 187 11 vid.

ⲧⲉⲕⲟ *destroy, be destroyed* 10 1 66 26 bis 86 32 etc.
ⲧⲉⲕⲁ≠ 46 18
ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ 6 30 24 32 36 5. 20 37 17 50 14 63 10 86 8 108 23 137 63
nn. 80 11 152 18 224 3 etc.
ⲣⲉⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ 60 27 61 26

ⲧⲕ̄ⲃⲟ *make cool:* ⲧⲕ̄ⲃⲁ≠ 195 21

ⲧⲱⲕⲣ: qual. ⲧⲁⲕⲣⲉ *clear* 212 28

ⲧⲁⲕⲧⲟ: ⲧⲕ̄ⲧⲉ- *traverse (?)* 58 14

ⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉ *rise* 17 10 22 10 70 12 100 30 224 9 bis etc.
ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉ 34 19 52 18 118 21

ⲧⲉⲗⲟ *rise, embark, make to rise* 55 11 82 22 134 24 213 27 etc.
ⲧⲉⲗⲁ- 77 11 95 26 vid. 143 4 188 21 195 21 208 20 226 24
qual. ⲧⲉⲗⲁⲓ̈ⲧ 157 19 161 5 174 22
ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲉⲗⲟ *vehicle* 111 23 212 25. 26

ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ *be glad* 1 16 4 19. 20 64 16 70 20 146 3 203 3 ff.
ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ 165 16 173 22
ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ nn. 12 29 26 20

ⲧⲱⲗⲙⲉ *soil, be soiled* 45 18 137 39 150 11
nn. 13 4 154 8

ⲧⲗⲧⲗ *let drop* 203 18
ⲧⲗ+ⲗⲉ *drop* 8 29 41 20

ⲧⲗⲟⲟ *heal, be healed* 10 4 23 6 40 16 62 7 etc.
ⲧⲗⲟⲁ≠ 26 22 152 23 220 31
ⲁⲧⲧⲗⲟⲟ 26 22
nn. 26 21 28 7 180 27 221 1. 3 etc.

ⲧⲙ̄- negative 61 31 65 24 143 25 174 28 181 15 188 13 212 5 215 6. 15. 24 221 27 etc.

ⲧⲱⲙ *shut* 56 31 163 11 178 18 212 19 bis 22. 30
qual. ⲧⲏⲙ 151 18 194 25 196 15

ⲧⲁⲙⲟ *tell* 93 28; ⲧⲁⲙⲁ≠ 9 9 15 6 vid.

ⲧⲁⲗⲙⲉ *help* 58 17

ϯⲙⲉ *village, city* 15 6 70 23 85 12 99 6. 21 136 41 195 8. 12

ⲧⲱⲙⲉ *join, be fitting* 166 10
qual. ⲧⲁⲙⲉ 17 31 58 29 99 27 155 40 167 20

ⲧⲙⲁϫⲟ *justify* 154 10 158 4
qual. ⲧⲙⲁⲓⲧ 158 4 (sic: leg. ⲧⲙⲁϫⲁⲓⲧ)
nn. 64 11 181 5

ⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲟ *feed* 175 24

ⲧⲱⲙⲥ̀ *bury* 90 28: ⲧⲁⲙⲥ- 90 22

ⲧⲱⲙⲧ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *be stupified* 187 24
nn. 157 26

ⲧⲱⲛ *rise* 49 17 50 13 215 15 etc.
ⲧⲱⲛ ϩⲁ- *bear* 58 16 145 4
ⲧⲱⲱⲛ 54 15 66 5 135 29 etc.
ⲧⲱⲱⲛ ϩⲁ- 29 16 54 25 141 26 219 15
nn. *resurrection* 25 12 59 18 62 5 97 8
ⲧⲱⲛⲉ 215 24 229 b 26
ϭⲓⲛⲧⲱⲛⲉ *resurrection* 196 15

ⲧⲱⲛ in ϯⲧⲱⲛ *fight* 10 9 15 24 51 10 57 10 93 13

ⲧⲟⲛⲱ *very much* 105 29 200 14 219 10. 12. 13

ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ *send* 9 4 10 6. 21 39 1 95 25
ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ- 57 5
ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ= 6 4 9 29 14 11 55 2 etc.

ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ̄ *make be like, liken*
ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛ= 134 11 145 21 ff. 151 27 156 28 193 28 205 11
qual. ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ 71 24 118 29 158 25. 26 217 22
nn. 71 27 220 4 ff.

ϯⲛⲟⲩ *now* 6 9 32 7 70 31 215 22 etc.

ⲧⲛϩ *wing* 17 4 70 12 98 18 100 30 123 9 vid. 167 58 182 9. 30 188 21 222 11

ⲧⲱⲛϩ *entangle:* ⲧⲁⲛϩⲥ̀(?) 217 5

*ⲧⲁⲛϩ *about to* 63 17 n. 87 27 147 53 198 19

ⲧⲛ̄ϩⲟ *make alive, revive* 14 16 86 27 190 21 194 24
ⲧⲛ̄ϩⲟ- 143 26 196 30
ⲣⲉⲩⲧⲛ̄ϩⲟ 144 4 vid.
nn. 63 28

ⲧⲛⲁϩⲥⲟ causative of ⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ *arouse* 228 25: ⲧⲛⲁϩⲥⲉ- 152 16
ⲣⲉⲩⲧⲛⲁϩⲥⲟ 115 10

ⲧⲁⲛϩⲟⲩⲧ *entrust, believe*
ⲧⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲧ= 208 10. 16
qual. ⲧⲛ̄ϩⲁⲧ 122 29. 31 207 26

ⲧⲁⲡ *edge, corner, keel* 13 21 96 29 207 18

ⲧⲉⲡ *horn* 221 25

ⲧⲱⲡ *become accustomed* 165 29
qual. ⲧⲏⲡ 41 24
nn. ⲧⲁⲡⲥ̀ *habit* 38 28 70 26

ϯⲡⲉ *loins* 151 21 170 20

ⲧⲱⲡⲉ *taste:* ⲧⲱⲡ- 149 9
ⲧⲁⲡ- 158 20. 22. 24
ϯⲡⲉ *taste* 2 21 64 26 158 18 ff. 172 8 etc.

ⲧⲡⲉ *upper, above* 147 26 155 35
ⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ 11 2 34 6 69 23 etc.

ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ *mouth* 10 13 115 31 116 16 161 16 214 16 etc.

ⲧⲣⲉ- ⲧⲉ- ⲧⲣ= ⲧ=: causative of ⲉⲓⲣⲉ pass.

ⲧⲏⲣ= *all, every* 1 2. 16 2 3 7 24 12 16 24 18 28 16 bis 30 8 etc.
ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲡ̄ *the universe* 2 8 bis 17 1 21 20 86 27 etc.
ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲡ̄ *at all* after neg. 13 17 58 16 86 10 etc.

ⲧⲱⲣⲉ *hand, spade* 217 20
ⲛⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ vide ⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ
ⲁⲧⲛ̄- 52 1: ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ= 50 5. 25 etc.
ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄- 14 26 22 11 57 17. 29 71 18 etc.
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ= 10 5 15 20 54 4 82 9 etc.
ⲕⲁ ⲧⲟⲟⲧ= *abandon* 88 5 151 9 173 16 etc.
ϯⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ= *lay upon, enjoin* 218 18 etc.
ϯⲧⲟⲟⲧ= *help* 4 32 10 22 52 26 88 24 etc.
ⲣⲉⲩϯⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ̄ 137 35 138 4 vid. 166 20

ⲧⲣ̄ⲕⲟ *conjure* caus. of ⲱⲣⲕ̀ 234 21

*ⲧⲣⲙⲙⲟ *make to weep* caus. of ⲣⲙⲙⲉ 226 16

ⲧⲱⲣⲡ̄ *seize, rob* 15 19 63 14 87 9 etc.:
ⲣⲉⲩⲧⲱⲣⲡ̄ 93 6
ⲧⲁⲣⲡ- 212 25

ⲧⲁⲣⲡⲉ 216 14
nn. 204 22
ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲉ *be afraid:* qual. ⲧⲣⲱⲟⲩ 104 24
ⲧⲱⲣⲧ̄ *staircase* 7 32 22 6 167 10 177 8
ⲧⲥⲁⲓⲟ *make beautiful* 161 14
ⲧⲥⲓⲟ *sate* 75 26
ⲧⲥⲟ *make to drink* 54 11 175 24
ⲧⲥⲁⲉ 117 21 142 22. 23 143 17 196 6
ⲧⲥⲟ vide ⲥⲟ
ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲟ *teach, show* 225 9 (!)
ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲉ 10 11 13 7 56 20 59 31 76 16 190 31 191 15 197 4 225 8
ⲧⲥⲃⲕⲟ *make small*
ⲧⲥⲃⲉⲕ- 49 12: ⲧⲥⲃⲕⲁⲉ 3 26
ⲧⲥⲧⲟ *repulse*
ⲧⲥⲧⲁⲉ 109 24 164 25: ⲥⲧⲁⲉ 97 30
ⲧⲱⲧ *be joined, mix* 54 19 64 14 86 9: qual. ⲧⲏⲧ 11 1 46 25
ⲧⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ *satisfy, agree* 16 21
nn. 26 13
ⲧⲁⲩ *mountain* 123 37 129 18 187 27 190 31 210 1. 10. 21
pl. ⲧⲟⲩⲓⲉⲩⲉ 37 14 136 47 162 11 203 21
ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩ ? 211 18. 19
ⲧⲁⲩ *buy* 201 25 227 9
ⲧⲏⲩ *wind* 2 16 9 19 37 4 vid. 17 78 24 90 12. 15 135 19 137 29 176 28 193 4 201 15. 31 203 20 208 14
ⲧⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲍⲓⲧ *north wind* 180 21
ϯ ⲧⲏⲩ *expire* 142 32
ϯⲟⲩ *five* 3 25 10 9 59 9 136 50 139 54 etc.
fem. ϯⲉ 9 12 10 8 136 50 etc.
ⲙⲁⲍϯⲟⲩ 138 52
ⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩ *fifty* 224 24
ⲧⲟⲩⲓⲟ *remove*
ⲧⲟⲩⲓⲟ- 192 1: ⲧⲟⲩⲓⲁⲉ 93 19 101 18
nn. *repayment* 27 21 81 20
ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲉ *bosom* 43 32 104 27 187 25 198 21 222 15
ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲓⲧ⟨ⲟⲩ⟩ⲱⲕ *neighbour* 40 4
ϯⲧⲟⲩⲱⲉ *lose heart(?)* 165 13
ϯⲟⲩⲱ vide ⲟⲩⲱ
ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ 7 25 14 4 15 5. 22 38 32 47 13 62 2 63 19 93 25 134 27 158 32
ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ- 149 20 150 25 151 10 162 24 185 29 186 1
ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲉ 2 29 3 31 vid. 13 10. 15 17 29 27 25 94 24 121 3 143 28 147 61 170 8 187 25
ⲣⲉⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ 7 8
ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ 2 29 16 11 27 25 121 3 147 61 170 8
nn. 115 19
ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ *raise up:* ⲣⲉⲩⲧ. 2 21
ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲉ *foe* 143 30 n. 163 7 178 14
*ⲧⲟⲩⲟⲥ *? point* 142 28
ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧ *statue* 194 8
ⲧⲱϣ *appoint* 2 1 vid. 4 27. 28 23 4 etc.
ⲧⲁϣ- 44 8. 11
ⲧⲁϣⲉ 53 12 86 32 vid. 161 22. 27. 29 203 7 etc.
qual. ⲧⲏϣ 10 8 62 10 165 23
nn. 101 28 107 6 166 29
ⲣⲉⲩϯⲧⲱϣ 137 59
ⲧⲁϣ *boundary* 42 26. 27 106 12 pl. 139 14 141 10
pl. ⲧⲟⲩϣⲉⲉⲩⲉ 10 10
ⲧⲁϣⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ 206 5. 15
ⲧⲁϣⲟ *multiply* 91 29
ⲧⲁϣⲉⲁⲓ̈ϣ *preach* 13 6 35 19 39 23 219 15
ⲣⲉⲩⲧⲁϣⲉⲁⲓ̈ϣ 37 20
nn. 8 32 39 11 43 10
*ⲧϣⲃⲟ *?* 99 33 n.
ⲧⲁⲩⲉ *wild(?)* 15 17 93 7 n.
ⲧⲱⲍ *stir up, mix* 86 14. 31 143 21 209 16
ⲧⲁⲍⲉ 12 31
qual. ⲧⲏⲍ 212 27
ⲧⲉⲍⲟ *overtake, reach* 65 20 70 22 92 22 102 28 120 13. 15 126 13. 15
ⲧⲉⲍⲟ- 96 3 171 24 208 5. 9
ⲧⲉⲍⲁⲉ 63 20. 26 70 20 92 24 93 8 118 23 120 17 122 35 126 17 135 21 153 4 188 7
ⲧⲉⲍⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲥⲉ 215 9 n.
ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲉⲍⲱⲱⲩ 53 19 vide Errata
ϯⲍⲉ *be drunken* 136 25 151 15 152 14 172 28 184 12 189 23 201 27
nn. 56 16. 32 152 14

ϯϩο vide ϩο

ϭο *cause to fall* 208 17

ϭⲗϩ 45 24 204 30

qual. ϭⲗⲒⲦ 152 21

ϭⲃⲓο *humble, subdue* 1 25 9 29 11 24 30 14 57 28 88 27 175 10

ϭⲃⲓο- 9 27 167 54 etc.

ϭⲃⲓⲁϩ 55 6 70 9 93 11 148 24 159 15 bis

qual. ϭⲃⲓⲁⲒⲦ 19 17 222 17

ⲣⲉϥϭⲃⲓο 2 3 28 10 209 26

ⲁⲧϭⲃⲓⲁϥ 2 12

nn. 12 11 33 23 157 1

ⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ *call, summon, knock* 63 26 64 30 70 17 85 25 203 6 ff. etc.

ⲧⲁϩⲙⲉϩ 22 9 76 31

ⲧⲱϩⲱ̄ 154 9 156 3

qual. ⲧⲁϩⲙⲉ 162 10 232 a 21

nn. 32 21 133 29 138 8 139 28 etc.

ϭⲱ̄ⲕο *hurt* 212 11

ϭⲱ̄ⲕⲁϩ 70 9

ϭⲱ̄ⲥο *make to sit*: ϭⲱ̄ⲥⲁϩ 224 21 225 6 227 14

ⲧⲁϩⲛο *hinder:* ⲧⲁϩⲛⲉϩ 65 24

ϭⲛο *make to approach, draw near*

ϭⲛⲁϩ 59 28 100 11 229 b 29

qual. ⲧϩⲛⲁⲒⲦ 23 21

ⲧϩⲡο *cause to reach, escort* 73 22

ⲧϩⲡⲁϩ 42 26 52 2 84 32

ϭⲡⲁϩ 63 12

ϭⲣ̄ⲕο *to quiet* 206 20

ϭⲣ̄ⲕο- 151 10

ⲣⲉϥϭⲣ̄ⲕο 53 31 232 b 11

ⲧⲱϩⲥ̄ *anoint* 23 2

ⲧⲁϫο *condemn* 30 27 40 31 158 4

ⲧⲁϫⲁϩ 23 24 195 18

qual. ⲧⲁϫⲁⲒⲦ 65 32 83 23 104 30 146 30 158 4

nn. 8 11

ⲧⲟⲩϫο *save:* ⲧⲟⲩϫⲁϩ 13 8

ⲧⲁϫⲣο *make strong* 13 23

ⲧⲁϫⲣⲁϩ 12 33 51 17 52 22 143 27 215 18. 19 229 b 13

qual. ⲧⲁϫⲣⲁⲒⲦ 18 18 vid.

nn. 26 9 27 26 28 17. 19 61 15 etc.

ⲧⲱϭⲉ *plant, affix, touch* 38 16 52 4 187 2 vid. 5 vid. 194 27

ⲧⲁϭ- 13 4 207 8. 10

ⲧⲁϭϩ 146 5 155 7 208 2 212 29

nn. 127 26 152 16 193 24 etc.

ⲧⲉϭⲥⲉ *sole, foot-print* 2 19 63 30 138 66

ϯⲧⲉϭⲥⲉ 204 23 n.

ϫⲓ ⲧⲉϭⲥⲉ *track* 206 10

ⲟⲩ *conceive* 121 31: nn. 219 7

ⲟⲩⲁ in ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ *blaspheme* 56 32

nn. 86 16

ⲟⲩⲁⲒ *course*

ϯⲟⲩⲁⲒ *seek* 146 38 172 14. 19 181 33

ϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲒ *make one's way* 151 18 152 4

ϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲒ(?) 9 1 n. 95 28

ⲟⲩⲁⲒ *woe!* 39 28 43 15 61 30 166 17 218 3. 5

ⲟⲩⲁϣⲉ *husbandman* 35 29 91 5. 9 145 29. 30 146 34 163 9

pl. ⲟⲩⲁϣⲏ 175 9

ⲟⲩⲉ *one* 4 19 37 5 150 13 153 2 161 31 203 27 etc.

fem. ⲟⲩϣⲉ 91 12 93 4 222 8 bis 9

ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ *each one* 4 29 21 28 40 24 158 6 etc.

ⲕⲁⲗⲟⲩⲉ *another* 57 10 172 21: ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ 41 19

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲏⲉ *eleven* 18 8 187 13 192 21

ⲟⲩⲉϣⲉ *be far* 79 21 85 15 87 31 106 18 108 19 152 22 153 3

qual. ⲟⲩⲏⲩ 8 8 23 20 135 21 etc.

nn. *distance* 157 28

ⲟⲩⲱ *cease, fail* 19 30 30 10 45 9. 31 147 33 212 1 219 21

ϯⲟⲩⲱ *release* 41 15 44 12 64 10 106 29 146 7

ⲣⲉϥϯⲟⲩⲱ 53 11 89 28

ⲟⲩⲱ in ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲱ *answer* 188 1 201 5 202 5

ⲟⲩⲱ in ϯⲟⲩⲱ *blossom, bear* 218 17 225 18:

ⲣⲉϥϯⲟⲩⲱ 1 22

nn. 1 19

ⲟⲩⲃⲉ, ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲥ (i) fight *against* 51 10 57 10 60 14 151 16 etc.
(ii) call *unto* 66 19 87 7 92 21. 26 179 10 ff. 180 181 etc.
(iii) look *to* 71 25 81 1 etc.
(iv) 91 28 169 5 206 16

ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ qual. of ⲟⲩⲟⲛ *holy, pure* 1 2 99 28 etc.
ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ *holy one* 7 5 24 18 62 14 95 26 etc.
ⲟⲩⲏⲃ *priest* 15 9

ⲟⲩⲃⲁϣ *be white:* nn. 30 5 45 18
qual. ⲟⲩⲁⲃϣ̄ 156 26 158 8 167 58 182 30

ⲟⲩⲱⲗⲉ *flourish:* qual. ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉ 94 24 vid.

*ⲟⲩⲱⲗⲉ *float (?)* 111 20
refl. ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉⲥ 103 27 212 8
qual. ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉ 185 11 193 30 n.

ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲉ *song* 80 5
ϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲉ *sing songs* 37 11. 22

ⲟⲩⲱⲗⲥ̄ *lean, totter* 206 13 bis
ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲥⲥ 219 14
qual. ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲥ̄ 185 7

ⲟⲩⲱⲙ *eat* 25 7. 10 33 21 57 8. 10 158 28. 31 bis etc.
ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲥ 216 26
ⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲙ 45 22 156 11 172 26. 28
ⲟⲩⲁⲙ- 76 13 141 10 153 1 192 10

ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲁⲙⲉ *cancer* 46 16 153 1

ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲣⲱⲙⲉ *cannibal* 141 10 192 10

ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲧⲉ *tower* 193 17

ⲟⲩⲁⲙ†ⲩⲭⲏ *eater of souls* 76 13

ⲟⲩⲛ̄ *there is, are, have* 44 21 131 29 191 18. 19 bis etc.
ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲓ̈ 187 28: ⲥⲧⲉ 54 9 181 24 ff.
ⲥⲧⲉϥ 81 29 189 1 etc.: ⲥⲉⲛ 58 17 143 20
ⲟⲩⲛ̄(ⲱ)ⲃⲁⲙ vide ⲃⲁⲙ

ⲟⲩⲁⲛ *some one, -thing* 46 24 60 31 70 19 bis 105 23 etc.
ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ *every one* 7 7 41 2 70 2 86 29 etc.

ⲟⲩⲉⲛ *open* 10 13 19 24 42 2 62 26 81 6 86 24 89 6 113 5 194 25 196 15 198 19
ⲉⲟⲩⲉⲛ 156 4 198 13 220 30
imper. ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ 83 27. 30 154 22 ff. 155 2-5 167 23 188 12 198 17 ter
imper. ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ 154 25. 27: ⲁⲩⲉⲛ 197 24: ⲉⲟⲩⲉⲛ 41 22
qual. ⲟⲩⲏⲛ 169 5. 6

ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ *light* 1 21. 28 2 12 12 21. 23 19 22 80 23 etc.
ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ 196 17
ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ 105 28 151 28 152 20 166 23 169 17. 19 176 13: ⲣⲉϥⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ 111 5
ⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ 8 18 23 8 36 18 122 21 etc.

ⲟⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ *pass away* 8 20 219 23 vid.
ⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲉ 93 23 163 27 179 1 223 13 ff. etc.
ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲉ 88 3 102 22

ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ *right hand* 2 5 23 4 50 6 154 12 202 20 etc.

ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ *hour* 49 17 66 19 67 17 133 9 ff. 205 20. 25 206 20. 26 etc.
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ *forthwith* 11 5 208 25
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ *from hour to hour* 135 20
pl. as sing. and ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉ 133 12

ⲟⲩⲱⲛϣ̄ *wolf* 14 26 60 27 61 25 93 6 180 13 194 18 198 9

ⲟⲩⲛⲁϥ *joy* 41 20 52 18 111 13 145 24 157 15 etc.
ⲣⲉϥ†ⲟⲩⲛⲁϥ 80 4

ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲉϥ *manger* 221 24

ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ (ⲁⲃⲁⲗ) *appear, reveal* 1 18 7 18 16 9 43 5 90 7 122 27 etc.
ⲟⲩⲁⲛϩ- 112 9
ⲟⲩⲁⲛϩⲥ 61 14. 23 113 7 147 64 etc.
qual. ⲟⲩⲁⲛϩ̄ 7 14. 15 45 5 86 25 etc.
nn. 26 10

ⲟⲩⲏⲣ *how much, many, long* 16 24 105 31. 32 151 24. 25 218 29 etc.

*ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲙ *?* 200 11 n.

ⲟⲩⲣⲣ̄ *rose* fem. 8 15 21 8 47 17 99 23 151 24 153 14 166 13. 15. 17 194 12

ⲟⲩⲣⲣ̄ *?* 141 12

ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ *rejoice, bloom* 80 20 217 15
qual. ⲣⲁⲩⲧ 8 11 17 4. 32 27 17 bis 80 24 111 11. 20 146 43 153 24 etc.

ⲣⲁⲩⲧⲏ *joy* 200 19
ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ nn. *joy* 36 17 99 33 151 15 etc.
ⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉ *watch-tower* 68 18 136 23 138 26 198 13 199 3. 24 200 17 206 4. 14
ⲟⲩⲣⲏϩ *free room, space* 143 3 n.
ⲟⲩⲁⲥⲧⲛ̄ nn. *release* 18 11
ⲟⲩⲱⲥⲏ *bring to nought, perish* 1 24 15 24 196 4 203 17 223 13 ff.
ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲥⲏ 36 17
ⲟⲩⲱⲧ *single* 10 3 12 4 15 21 41 2 46 13 68 15 135 17 142 28 162 7 223 7
ⲟⲩⲱⲧ . . ⲟⲩⲱⲧ *one . . . another* 135 19
ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧ= *alone, oneself* 25 22 37 5 45 32 66 15 82 13. 22 87 9 105 15 150 10 158 6
ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧ 97 21 98 20 117 21
ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧⲏ 40 32: ⲟⲩⲁϩⲧⲕ̀ 49 6 vid.
ⲟⲩⲧⲉ *among, between* 18 21 19 31 etc.
ⲟⲩⲧⲱ= 2 6 19 21 187 26 196 32 etc.
ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲃⲉ *pass, carry across* 191 22. 26 193 7. 8
qual. ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ 3 18 16 16 105 20 123 37
nn. *passage* 41 22
ⲟⲩⲱⲧϩ̀ *smelt:* ⲟⲩⲁⲧϩ= 11 7
qual. ⲟⲩⲁⲧϩ̀ 100 16
*ⲟⲩⲉⲧϩⲓⲧ *?* 198 29 n.
ⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ *fruit* 76 7 91 7 etc.
ⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ 21 9 103 21
ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ *time* 58 24 73 9 82 18 96 7 97 28 166 18 217 10
ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ *ephemeral* 107 18
ⲟⲩⲱⲱ in ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱ *except* 35 27
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ *love, desire, wish* 4 13 7 23. 24 19 17 51 25 etc.
ⲟⲩⲱⲱ- 4 23 9 29 70 4. 10 153 26. 30 169 15 191 10 etc.
ⲟⲩⲁⲱ= 88 30 143 10 147 6 164 21
nn. *will* 11 23 13 29 85 17 etc.
ⲟⲩⲱⲏ *night* 35 21 41 17 66 17 189 17 etc.:
pl. ⲟⲩⲱⲁⲩⲉ 43 30: pl. ⲟⲩⲁⲱⲁⲩⲉ 16 26
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ *by night* 12 15 19 4 50 3 189 16 etc.
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ *answer* 16 1 47 17 50 18 81 28 189 30 190 2 191 2
ⲟⲩⲁⲱⲃⲉ= 147 25 183 20 223 1. 21
ⲟⲩⲱⲉⲡ *loan* 218 24
*ⲟⲩⲁⲱⲣⲉ *cease(?), fail(?)* 120 1 126 1 230 a 3 vid.
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲥ̀ *be broad*
qual. ⲟⲩⲁⲱⲥ̀ 170 28
nn. ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲥ 120 15 126 15
ⲟⲩⲁⲱⲥⲉ 120 16 126 16
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄ *worship* 3 20 4 34 9 3 41 24 52 30 etc.
ⲟⲩⲉⲱⲧⲉ 63 16
ⲟⲩⲱϩ (i) *add, be added, follow* 213 21
ⲟⲩⲁϩ- 152 5 170 16
ⲟⲩⲁϩ= 4 24 70 8 90 25 169 21 etc.
ⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ *command* 16 14 17 14
nn. 16 14 97 21 98 2 131 16. 24
(ii) *dwell* 52 24 64 16. 30 80 9 etc.
qual. ⲟⲩⲏϩ 40 29 70 19 144 25. 28 etc.
ⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱϩ 146 24
ⲟⲩⲓϩⲉ *be bitter:* qual. ⲟⲩⲁϩⲉ 64 24 152 23
nn. *bitterness, cruelty, poison* 15 7 19 21 99 18
ⲟⲩⲁϩⲓⲏⲧ *cruel* 15 6 17 8 101 18 209 26
ⲟⲩⲱϩⲉ *fisherman* 187 15
ⲟⲩⲱϩⲙⲉ *repeat, make a storey*
ⲟⲩⲁϩⲙⲉ= 189 24: nn. *?* 85 6
ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲱϩⲙⲉ *again* 150 9 156 25 162 5
ⲟⲩϩⲁⲣ *dog* 101 18
pl. ⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲣ 103 12
ⲟⲩⲱⲭⲉ *cut* 46 11. 12. 28
ⲟⲩⲭⲉⲓ̈ *be safe, healthy*
qual. ⲟⲩⲁⲭ 25 21 58 22 73 7 79 13 99 28 143 24 150 14 227 17
nn. *health, salvation* 18 27 28 7
ⲟⲩⲭⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ vb. 220 6 etc.
nn. 26 23
ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ *cheek* 195 16
ⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ̄ *break* 89 28 123 7 196 29 205 3 209 31 210 9: ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲡ- 132 10
ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲡ= 50 23 196 16
ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ̄ 103 14
ⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ̄ 52 30

ⲱⲃϣ̄ *forget* 82 25 147 32 182 3
ⲁⲃϣ= 45 3 47 11 49 19. 24
qual. ⲁⲃϣ̄ 150 19
nn. ⲃϣⲉ *oblivion* 56 19 57 21 74 12 vid. 164 24
ⲣⲡⲱⲃϣ̄ 7 16 51 15 53 27 116 25 117 19 213 11 218 21
ⲱⲕ *be pleased:* qual. ⲏⲕ 18 25
ⲱⲕⲙⲉ *be gloomy, sad*
qual. ⲁⲕⲙⲉ 8 20 158 5 bis
nn. 7 28 187 11
ⲱⲗ *contain* 207 12
ⲱⲗ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ *confine, be confined* 52 25
ⲁⲗ= 23 26 43 29 214 18. 20. 25
qual. ⲏⲗ 192 32
ⲱⲗ nn. *swab* 46 30
ⲱⲗϧ *bend*
ⲁⲗⲕ ϣⲉ *sneer* 226 3
ⲁⲗⲕ= 224 7
ⲱⲗⲙⲉ *embrace* 202 6 226 6. 7: ⲱⲗⲙ̄ 108 23
qual. ⲁⲗⲙⲉ 190 23. 29 225 21
ⲱⲙϧ *swallow* 10 14
ⲁⲙⲕ= 216 27
ⲱⲙⲥ̀ *dip, sink* 120 13 126 13 211 9 213 8 vid.
ⲁⲙⲥ- 207 5
ⲁⲙⲥ= 56 31
nn. *baptism* 58 27
ⲱⲛⲉ *stone* 142 25. 26 153 10. 12 155 18 222 21
ⲁⲛⲉ- 7 32 155 20 vid.
ⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ fem. *jewel* 146 35. 50 etc.
ⲱⲛϣ̄ *be astonished:* qual. ⲁⲛϣ̄ 63 15
ⲱⲛϩ̀ *live* 11 28 17 18 107 21 195 19 etc.
qual. ⲁⲛϩ̀ 2 5. 25 9 14 90 25 etc.
nn. *life* 1 22 2 26 4 33 16 3 210 18 222 10 etc.
ⲱⲡ *counted, be counted, belong to* 30 11 154 12 etc.
ⲁⲡ= 19 4 vid. 44 31 67 11 vid. 117 31 207 22. 29
qual. ⲏⲡ 4 22 29 25 41 15 57 15 117 5 188 8 etc.
ⲏⲡⲉ *number* 93 4 207 21. 28 etc.
ⲏⲡⲥ̀ *multitude* 165 19 215 21 bis etc.
ⲏⲡ ⲛ̄-, ⲁ- *ought* 150 11 188 8
ⲱⲡ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ= *pay* 101 30
ⲃⲓ ⲱⲡ ⲙⲛ̄- *make reckoning with* 20 28 24 10 45 9. 29 etc.
ϣⲡⲱⲡ *promise* 59 13 69 9 84 19 98 28
ϣⲡⲱⲡ nn. 84 19 98 11 vid. 102 29
ⲱⲣⲃ *be quiet:* qual. ⲁⲩⲣⲉ(?) 221 14
ⲱⲣⲃⲉ *shut in* 201 19
ⲱⲣϧ̀ *swear* 18 27 234 13
ⲱⲣϫ̀ *confirm* 1 31 204 5
ⲁⲣϫ- 209 6
qual. ⲁⲣϫ̀ 52 28 103 20 199 3. 24 200 17
ⲱⲥϧ *delay, be long* 52 17 155 1. 4 188 1. 5. 7
ⲉⲥϧⲉ *delay* 67 13 198 23 (?)
ⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ *shut in* 212 23
ⲁⲧⲡ= 10 26 11 15
qual. ⲁⲧⲡ̄ 94 7 142 24 143 12 196 21
ⲱⲧⲡ̄ *load* 23 26
qual. ⲁⲧⲡ̄ 74 8 136 1 174 22 207 22 etc.
ⲉⲧⲡⲱ *burden* 2 18. 20 54 12. 14 138 54 215 11. 13. 14 etc.
ⲱϣ *call, sound* 18 10 23 20 45 25 112 12 168 30 197 28 etc.
ⲁϣ- *read* 65 5
ⲁϣ ⲟⲏⲗ vide ⲟⲏⲗ
ⲱϣ: ⲁϣⲥ̀ *intrude* 10 17
ⲱϣⲙⲉ *extinguish, go out* 50 7 51 22 60 13 70 16 173 17: ⲱϣⲙ̄ 212 21
ⲱϥⲉ *press* 225 22 vid.
ⲱϥⲧ̄ *nail* 142 14
ⲁϥⲧ= 83 14 208 4
qual. ⲁϥⲧ̄ 123 5
ⲱϩⲉ *await* 81 28 206 22 ff.
qual. ⲁϩⲉ 38 23 163 14 178 21 201 4 206 21 etc.
ⲱϩⲉ *fold, flock* 156 1 165 3 194 18. 30
*ⲱϩⲣⲉ *?* 225 18
ⲱϩⲥ̀ *sever, reap* 52 5 61 24
ⲉϩⲥ̀ *sickle* 100 18 106 22
ⲱϫ *thief* 188 17
ⲱϫⲛⲉ *destroy, consume* 82 9 190 7
ⲁϫⲛⲉ= (? 103 11) 220 12

ⲱⲟⲃ̄ *be cold:* qual. ⲁⲟⲃⲉ 4 3

ⲱⲟⲧ̄ *strangle* 69 20 149 24

ⲱ- *be able* 9 24 11 19 82 19 93 13. 27 188 2 etc.

ⲱⲁ- *to, towards* 15 21 17 4 18 10 86 13. 24 105 32 127 24 187 12 etc.

ⲱⲁⲣⲁ= 13 28 55 24 83 4. 29 etc.

ⲱⲁⲃⲁⲗ 58 5 86 23

ⲱⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ 142 11 143 16

ⲱⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ 61 30

ⲱⲁ- pres. consuet. 151 14 215 17. 18 etc.

ⲱⲁ in ⲱⲁⲙⲓⲥⲉ *first-born* 36 21 80 28 81 pass. 91 20 137 38 194 32

ⲱⲁⲓ̈ *fortune, genius* vide 4 16 n.

ⲃⲁⲛⲱⲁⲓ̈ 15 28 129 10

ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲛⲱⲁⲓ̈ 4 16 43 19 51 14

ⲛⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲓ̈ 81 16 185 21

ⲱⲁⲓ̈ⲉ *rise* of the sun 146 18 151 11 166 20

ⲱⲁⲓ̈ⲉ *festival* 14 13 17 31 100 2 (?) 173 9

ⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲓ̈ⲉ 25 28 26 4 37 29 41 16 88 18 150 18 etc.: ⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲓ̈ 177 17

ⲱⲉ *go* 149 16 150 14 204 27 213 12 215 5:

ⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲥⲓⲉ vide ⲍⲁⲥⲓⲉ

reflex. *depart, return* 55 12 59 28 72 32 157 24 224 7 225 15

ⲱⲉ *nose* in ⲁⲗⲕ ⲱⲉ *sneer* 226 3

ⲱⲉ *wood, tree, stocks (?)* 130 20 155 24 189 13 214 17 215 27 226 19. 20

ⲱⲉ *hundred* 93 4 142 8

ⲱⲏⲓ̈ *pit* 103 6 (?) 216 16 (?)

ⲱⲓ *measure* 12 11 vid. 207 21. 28

ⲁⲧⲱⲓⲧ= 1 13 12 20

ⲱⲟ *thousand* 4 19 234 27

ⲱⲃⲉ- *seventy* 22 24 44 8 140 38 142 5

ⲱⲟⲃ *shave, raze*

ⲱⲁⲃ= 201 23

ⲱⲓⲃⲉ *change* 18 15 103 28 146 45 147 5 159 7 166 18 183 23

ⲱⲃⲧ= 196 9

qual. ⲱⲃⲓⲁⲓ̈ⲧ 7 1

ⲁⲧⲱⲓⲃⲉ 155 20

ⲱⲁⲃⲓⲍⲟ 16 25 n. 104 17

ⲱⲃ̄ⲓⲱ *requital, recompense* 44 25 53 7 84 15 95 31 113 15 152 18 174 6 176 5. 7

pl. ⲱⲃ̄ⲓⲁⲩⲉ 105 33

ⲱⲃⲏⲣ *companion* 64 4 82 21 94 4 204 1. 2. 14. 29 219 25

pl. ⲱⲃⲉⲣⲉ 216 17: -ⲉⲉⲣ 74 19 vid.

ⲱⲃⲱⲟⲥ *?* 13 12 n. (cf. Keph. 153 26)

ⲱⲓⲕⲉ *dig* 217 19 bis

ⲱⲉⲕⲧ= 217 20

nn. ⲱⲓⲭ(ⲍ)ⲏ̄ 120 13. 14 126 13. 14

ⲱⲉⲗ *myrrh* 142 15 196 6

ⲱⲗⲏ *creep* 3 24 9 20 10 18

ⲱⲱⲗ *despoil:* nn. *spoil* 204 22

ⲱⲁⲗ- 194 23

ⲱⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *flow, make to flow* 21 14 39 26 44 17 142 29

ⲱⲁⲗ= 4 31

qual. ⲱⲏⲗ 101 24

ⲱⲗⲏⲗ *pray* 17 4 30 7 31 13 40 33 etc.

nn. 33 18 47 3 138 25 etc.

ⲱⲱⲗⲙ̄ *smell* 150 24 166 16 202 1

ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲗⲙⲉ *nostril* 150 24

ⲱⲱⲗⲙⲉ *draw out*

ⲱⲁⲗⲙⲉ- 205 29

ⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ *bride* 73 14. 15 81 13 etc.

ⲱⲉⲗⲉⲧ 217 16 etc.

ⲡⲁⲧⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ *bride-groom* 58 3 63 3 102 31 150 18 etc.

ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ *bridechamber* 63 3 117 29 150 18 197 5 etc.

ⲱⲗⲍ̀ *shoot, twig* 91 5 145 14 vid. 193 23 194 27

ⲱⲱⲗⲟ: qual. ⲱⲁⲗⲟ *piercing* 10 18 n.

ⲱⲏⲙ *little* 75 17

ⲱⲱⲙ *summer* 93 17 94 20 156 18 157 15 161 18

ⲱⲙⲁⲁⲧ qual. of ⲱⲙⲁ? *thin* 226 20 n.

ⲱⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉ m. *row, line* 99 30

ⲱⲓⲙⲉ f. *course of stones* 165 19 222 26 n.

ⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲟ *stranger* 11 18 16 9 60 29 97 33 115 16 175 26 etc.

pl. ⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ 19 15 54 19 55 21 66 29 107 12

fem. ϣⲙⲙⲟ 82 15 181 22 182 13

ϣⲁⲙⲧ̄ *three* 2 16 22 13 37 4 38 18 56 3 83 31 etc.

fem. ϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ 23 4 94 12 142 5 222 7 etc.

ⲙⲁϩϣⲁⲙⲧ̄ 2 31 36 28 41 18 138 60 etc.

ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ *eight* 10 26

ϣⲙⲟ *serve* 62 17 64 21 66 15 84 22 86 3 150 26 175 21 187 11 etc.

ⲣⲉϥϣⲙⲟ 75 28 76 15 192 23 228 20

ϣⲙⲟⲉ- 75 5. 28 76 15

nn. ϣⲙⲟⲉ 41 21

ϣⲙⲟⲩⲧ *servant* 136 51

pl. ϣⲙⲟⲩⲉⲧⲉ 234 9

ϣⲙⲟⲩⲏⲃⲉ *whistle, hiss* 216 18

ϣⲏⲛ *tree* 4 23 8 14 54 29 75 30 116 7 144 13 etc.

ϣⲓⲛⲉ *ask* 15 4 49 13. 21 56 2 219 1

ϣⲛ̄ⲧ= 39 26 218 4 vid.

ϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲁ- *seek* 2 25 16 13 44 23 49 15 63 11 75 21 222 25

nn. *news* 197 10 ff. 198 pass.

ⲣⲉϥⲭⲓϣⲓⲛⲉ 192 27

ⲟⲛ̄ ⲡϣⲓⲛⲉ vide ⲟⲓⲛⲉ

ϣⲙⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ *good tidings* 46 21 145 20 198 4 202 10

ⲣⲉϥ†ϣⲙⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ 7 5

ϣⲱⲛⲉ *be ill, troubled* 46 7 218 24

nn. 46 15. 16 64 23 81 8 153 3 187 10

ϣⲛ̄ϩⲧⲏ= *be compassionate* 7 2 13 28 17 28 20 26 51 24 197 3

ϣⲁⲛϩⲧⲏϥ *compassionate* 20 26 55 23 59 25 83 18 123 31

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϣⲁⲛϩⲧⲏϥ 7 4 26 30 28 16

ϣⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ *grief, sorrow* 70 27 74 8 82 13 103 31 146 26

ϣⲱⲟⲛⲉ *exclude, deprive*

ϣⲁⲛⲉ- 121 9 194 18

ϣⲁⲛⲉⲧ 89 26: ϣⲁⲛⲟⲩ 212 15

ϣⲛⲁ (i) *chaff* 15 18 188 18

(ii) *den, lair* 15 3 (?) 216 15 n. 17. 26

ϣⲛⲉ *net* 192 21

pl. as sing. 10 16: ϣⲛⲏⲩ 61 24 64 20 70 11 89 26. 29 90 26. 27 110 26 etc.

ϣⲛⲏ *garden* 37 16 218 16

ϣⲱⲛⲧ̄ *weave a garland, to garland* 47 15 153 8 ff. 166 13 223 4 vid. 226 6 bis

ϣⲁⲛⲧ= 226 12

qual. ϣⲁⲛⲧ 149 29

ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ *thorn* 142 12

ϣⲛⲁϣ: qual. ϣⲁⲛϣ̄ *stinking* 209 21. 30 210 8

nn. 206 30

ϣⲱⲡ *receive, buy, suffer* 62 27 143 14 149 21 221 25 225 3

ϣⲁⲡ- 191 25

ϣⲁⲡ= 42 28 83 28 94 6 111 18 142 16. 19. 33 195 13 etc.

qual. ϣⲏⲡ 42 14 vide ϩⲙⲁⲧ

ϣⲁⲡϩⲕⲟ *hungry* 201 25

ⲣ̄ϣⲁⲡⲥ̀ *welcome* 147 69. 73 148 4 ff.

ϣⲱⲡ ⲩ̄ⲕⲁϩ *be afflicted* 147 29 191 8 bis etc.

ⲣⲉϥϣⲱⲡ ⲩ̄ⲕⲁϩ 115 8

ϣⲱⲡ ϩⲣⲉ= vide ϩⲟ

ϣⲱⲡ ⲁ- ? 61 24

ϣⲓⲡⲉ *be ashamed* 40 17. 20 bis 143 6

nn. 4 25 17 18 etc.

†ϣⲓⲡⲉ 2 28 13 14 43 24 64 28 79 22 122 7 vid. etc.

ⲣⲉϥ†ϣⲓⲡⲉ 192 26

ϫⲓ ϣⲓⲡⲉ 23 32 51 29 70 10 92 17 etc.

ϣⲱⲡⲉ *be, happen, befall* 63 18 74 13. 15 142 10 etc.

qual. ϣⲟⲟⲡ 3 23 4 11 9 12 19 8 etc.

ⲙⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲉ 70 1 83 15 94 6 etc.

ϣⲡⲛ̄ϣⲱⲡⲉ: ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩϣ. *suddenly* 11 13 70 7 72 25 153 2

ϣⲡⲱⲡ vide ⲱⲡ

ϣⲡⲏⲣⲉ *wonder* 120 19 126 19 155 33 165 4

ⲣ̄ϣⲡⲏⲣⲉ *to marvel* 107 27 157 25 223 6

ϣⲗⲁⲣ *skin* 107 24

ϣⲉⲓⲣⲉ *sheepfold* 63 12 187 33

ϣⲏⲣⲉ *son* 1 20 2 3 12 28 39 12 54 17. 30 86 5. 21 220 2 ff. etc.

ϣⲣ̄- 168 22: ϣⲏⲣ 190 22

fem. ϣⲉⲣⲉ 2 27 14 20 178 5 etc.

ϣεερ 162 27 vid. 217 14
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϣⲏⲣⲉ ϣⲏⲙ *childhood* 75 17
ϣ̄ⲕⲉ *parched* 145 28
ϣⲁⲣⲡ̄ *first* 1 23. 26 2 5 163 8 207 17 etc.
ⲛ̄ϣⲁⲣⲡ̄ *at first* 17 4 59 19 165 21 187 16 etc.
ⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϣⲁⲣⲡ̄ 92 15 98 28
ⲣ̄ϣⲁⲣⲡ̄ 4 14 70 18 72 31 157 14 vid. 189 19 204 5 222 9
ϣⲁⲣϣ̄ⲣ̄ *overturn* 196 13 208 17. 30
ϣⲣ̄ϣⲱⲣ= 12 29
ⲁⲧϣⲁⲣϣ̄ⲣ̄ 137 64
nn. 152 15
ϣⲱⲥ *shepherd* 9 31 13 32 25 4 54 16 60 26 61 28 63 12 96 15 172 14. 19. 22. 25 175 6 176 17. 19 181 33 187 23 193 26
ϣⲱⲥ *despise* 98 21
ϣⲁⲥ= 4 3 147 7. 30
qual. ϣⲏⲥ 146 39 147 6
ϣⲓⲥⲙⲉ *statue* 16 28 n. 150 29
ϣⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲥⲁ- *faint for* 154 26: -ⲙ 188 3
ϣⲧⲁ *wane, diminish* 1 14 13 16 203 9. 23 204 10 211 27
ϣⲱ(ⲱ)ⲧ *cut* 8 15. 16 16 25 222 21
ϣⲁⲧ- 104 15 (?)
ϣⲁⲧ= 91 6
qual. ϣⲁⲁⲧ *lack, need* 16 10 21 17 50 17 51 28 96 9
ϣⲱⲧ: ⲉϣⲱⲧ *merchant* 192 15
pl. ⲉϣⲁⲧⲉ 213 5
ⲓⲉⲡϣⲱⲧ *merchandise* 166 37: pl. -ⲁⲧⲉ 70 18 147 36 157 21
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲓⲉⲡϣⲱⲧ 202 15. 18
ϣⲉⲧⲉ (? perhaps form of boh. ϣⲓⲧ) 149 13
ϣⲓⲧⲉ *demand:* ϣⲉⲧ= 134 24
ϣⲧⲃⲟ *groan* 209 13. 14 n.
ϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ *prison* 10 27 94 7 135 24 141 32: qual. of verb *ϣⲧⲉⲕⲁⲧ 192 28
pl. ϣⲧⲉⲕⲱⲟⲩ 23 26 43 28 192 28
ϣⲧⲉⲙ *shut* 89 6 156 8 175 23
ϣⲁⲧⲙ̄- 165 25
qual. ϣⲁⲧⲙⲉ 197 25 198 11. 17
ϣⲧⲏⲛ *garment* 99 27 146 41 164 30 184 5 208 6
ϣⲱⲧⲡ̄ *be zealous (?)* 74 24 76 28
qual. ϣⲁⲧⲡ̄ 95 23 99 21
nn. 66 32 n.
ϣⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ̄ *be disturbed, disturb* 38 12 82 2 98 27: qual. ϣⲧⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲧ̄ 78 20
ϣⲧⲟⲩⲏⲧ with ☥ *accuse* 192 18 195 25
ϣⲉⲩ *use, value* 135 7
as adject. 99 31 102 8
ⲣ̄ϣⲉⲩ 38 23 46 19 81 27
ⲁⲧϣⲉⲩ 180 31
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϣⲉⲩ 38 27 56 10 70 9 76 20. 21 88 27 90 24 97 28
ϣⲟⲩ- *worthy of* 97 20. 26 137 57 183 21
ϣⲟⲩⲟ *shed* 44 27
qual. ϣⲟⲩⲓⲧ *vain, empty* 63 27 72 11 99 27 103 30 107 9 157 27 217 26 218 1. 2 vid. 3. 4
ⲡⲉⲧϣⲟⲩⲓⲧ *vanity* 51 13 62 29 74 11 86 12
ϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ *boast, pride oneself* 73 31 93 12 135 23 165 15 166 9 189 7 195 7 208 7. 21
ⲙⲁⲛϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ 165 15. 16
nn. *renown* 1 15 91 13 107 15 117 1 123 27 etc.
ϣⲱϣ intr. *spread* of smell 224 18
ϣⲁϣⲉ 157 15 214 4
ϣⲱϣ ⲙⲛ̄- *compare:* ϣⲁϣ= 118 27
nn. ϣ. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ *equality* 41 2
ϣⲱϣⲧ̄ vide ⲥⲱϣⲧ̄
ϣⲁϣⲟⲩ *jar* 220 21
ϣⲱϥ *lay waste, be wasted* 121 29 195 4: qual. ϣⲏϥ 189 9. 11
ϣⲱϥⲧ̄ *stumble, err:* ϣⲁϥⲧ̄ 109 25
ϣⲉϥⲧⲉ *iniquity* 47 10
ϣⲟϥϣϥ̄ *delve:* qual. ϣⲉϥϣⲁϥⲧ̄ *hollow* 189 10
ϣⲁϩ *flame* 15 8
ϣⲱⲭⲉ (Crum Dict. 615 a) in form ⲥⲱⲭⲉ q. v.
ϣⲱⲇⲉ *strike, wound* 2 24 10 5 39 31 etc.:
nn. 29 27
ϣⲁⲇⲉ- 208 9

ϣⲁϭ≠ 145 6 207 26 213 10
qual. ϣⲁϭⲉ 23 7 57 21
ⲣⲉϥϣⲱϭⲉ 104 25 221 7
ϣϭⲁ *wound* 26 21. 22 47 10 62 7 vid. 99 18 152 23 162 30 163 23 178 29 180 28
ϣϭⲗϭⲗ *bell* 206 5. 15
ϣϭⲁⲙ vide ϭⲁⲙ
ϣϭⲁⲣ *rent, hire* 218 24
ϣϭⲏⲣ vide ⲥϭⲏⲣ

ϥⲣⲉ vide ⲃⲣⲉ
ϥⲧⲁⲩ *four* 17 26 18 7 142 14. 28. 29
ϥⲧⲟⲩ- 13 20 191 12
ⲙⲁϩϥⲧⲁⲩ 59 22 133 31 138 45
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲧⲉ *fourteen* 142 24 143 12
ϩⲙⲉⲧⲉϥⲧⲉ *forty-four* 221 22

ϩⲁ vide ϩⲟ
ϩⲁ- prepos. ϩⲁⲣⲁ≠ with pronom. suff. 4 16 16 24 45 3 84 32 108 30 148 28 etc.
(a) *under, in, at* 2 19. 20 40 10. 12 69 25 84 32 103 31 158 6 etc.
(b) *from* after ⲗⲟ 76 30 107 5 etc. after ϭⲱⲧⲡ̄ 58 25
(c) *by reason of* 82 7 142 24. 26
(d) *for, in respect of* 20 28 21 13 30 7 42 30 62 24 82 3. 21 108 30 111 10 196 5 (?) 227 7 (?)
(e) *for* of price 201 25
(f) *before* 70 30 99 16 (?)
ϩⲁϩⲏ 3 22 142 33: ϩⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟ̄ 13 27
(g) after ϭⲱⲗⲡ̄, ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ etc. 11 31 14 6 61 6 63 19 105 22 123 23 (?)
(h) 145 11 196 28
ϩⲁⲣⲓϩⲁⲣⲁⲩ *of themselves* 220 12
ϩⲁ(ϩ)ⲧⲏ≠ vide ϩⲏⲧ
ϩⲁⲉⲓ *hail!* 142 21
ϩⲁⲉ *last* 39 2. 9
ϩⲁⲏ *end* 3 29 7 7 40 20 63 23 81 15 143 24 173 28 192 19 etc.
ϩⲉ *manner, way* 10 15 14 26 16 22 35 26 58 28 129 25 143 25 etc.
ϩⲉ- in ϩⲉⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ *plenty* 136 39 163 10 169 29 178 17 200 31 bis

ϩⲉⲓ̈ⲉ *fall* 57 12. 13 vid. 73 23 141 18 142 3 etc.
ϩⲉⲓ̈ 165 19
ⲁⲧϩⲉⲓ̈ⲉ 136 28
ϩⲏ *fore, beginning* 26 19 217 2
ⲗⲟⲏ *forwards* 147 67 164 25
ⲥⲁⲟⲏ 97 32
ϩⲁⲟⲏ *before* temporal 3 22 56 27 142 33
ϩⲓⲟⲏ *before* local 7 14 19 24 35 26 38 30 77 27 81 22 82 7. 25 104 16 176 1 210 4. 13 219 1
ⲉϩⲏ 7 14 19 24 35 26 56 27 82 7 210 13
ϩⲏ≠ (a) *before* 4 10 41 23 62 26 73 8 81 6 84 17 108 11. 19 111 6 etc.
(b) after verbs denoting fear, shame etc. 40 20 66 18 69 13 76 13. 14 104 24 etc.
(c) after verbs of expecting etc. 7 8 27 18 60 4 77 26 etc.
ⲥⲁϩⲏⲧϥ̄ *to his front* 202 14: so *headlong* 81 26
ϩⲏ≠ *belly* 156 10: so *body* generally 43 27 93 13 194 18 204 26 208 27 214 18
ϩⲏ fem. *thought (?)* 82 22
ϩⲏ ? 223 12
ϩⲓ- (a) *on, at* 2 6 35 26 49 23 82 7 87 17 ff. 134 8 etc.: vide ⲣⲉⲧ≠, ⲃⲱⲗ, ϩⲟⲩⲛ
ϩⲓⲱ(ω)≠ 52 28 58 21 64 14 88 30 163 24 175 22 etc.
ϩⲓⲣⲛ̄- 193 17
ϩⲓⲣⲱ≠ 199 25
ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄- *by, from* 7 15 8 24 20 16 59 6 64 10 67 11 84 6 91 21 116 19-22 153 4 196 15
ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ≠ 34 25 39 27 227 15 etc.
ⲡⲉⲧϩⲓⲧ⟨ⲟⲩ⟩ⲱⲕ *neighbour* 40 4
ϩⲓⲭⲛ̄- *on, from head of* 4 23 12 13 75 31 etc.
ϩⲓⲭⲱ≠ 6 33 54 24 123 29
(b) *at* temporal in ϩⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ 6 17 15 25 132 28 etc.: ϩⲓⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ? 8 14
(c) copula 40 30 86 7 bis 97 33 158 9 bis 160 11 etc.
ϩⲓⲉ particle, apodotic and interrogatory 45 9 57 5. 13 120 21 121 29 122 29 126 21 142 1 143 6 163 12 178 19 188 7 209 15. 16 216 25

ϩⲓⲏ *way, road* 25 3 82 25 150 30 213 16. 17 etc.
pl. ϩⲓⲁⲩⲉ 195 9

ϩⲟ *face* 29 19. 26 61 27 70 30 84 22 100 27 138 32 182 32 191 12 etc.
ϩⲟ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ *two-faced* 162 31 178 7 226 18
ϩⲣⲉ= 195 16 211 7-9 219 9 etc.
ⲃⲓ ϩⲣⲉ= *lift face* 97 26 104 27 224 18
ⲱⲱⲡ ϩⲣⲉ *accept* 68 14 95 9 101 2 vid.
ⲭⲓ ϩⲣⲉ= ⲁ- *attend to* 211 7-9
ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ϩⲟ ⲛ̄- *please(?)* 40 18
ⲭⲓ ϩⲟ *respect person* 7 23 45 27 105 19 108 33
ϯϩⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *be specious(?), look well outside(?)* 107 17 166 15
Vide ⲱⲓⲃⲉ, ϩⲁⲗⲃⲉ
ⲁϩⲣⲛ̄- *toward, against* 70 20 175 23
ⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ̄- *in the presence, opinion of* 26 27 94 18 97 20 107 17 166 3
ⲛⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ 99 21

ϩⲱ(ⲱ)= (a) *self, also*, emphatic 8 16 14 9 24 4 28 24 38 31 40 30 49 38 52 20 54 22 65 15 69 8 143 20. 27 etc.
(b) adversative *but* 8 12 17 5 56 29 etc.:
ϩⲱⲃ 191 30

*ϩⲱ *sepulchre* 196 29 n.

ϩⲓⲓⲃ *lamb* 10 2. 3. 4 14 27 60 22 167 24. 63 bis 198 9

ϩⲱⲃ *thing, matter, deed* 4 24. 29 40 29 etc.:
ϩⲱⲩ 155 7
pl. ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ 8 4 12 8 14 3 etc.
ⲣ̄ϩⲱⲃ 135 9 150 17

ϩⲏⲃⲉ *grief* 44 29 53 7 196 6
ⲣ̄ϩⲏⲃⲉ 71 28 127 30 167 15 172 12 173 4 bis 196 27

ϩⲃⲱ vide ϩⲁⲩ

ϩⲃⲣ̄ⲃⲣ̄ *throw down:* ϩⲃⲣ̄ⲃⲱⲣ= 17 5 vid. 70 30 215 14
ϩⲃⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲣⲧ̄ 208 5

ϩⲁⲓ̈ⲃ(ⲉ)ⲥ *shadow* 14 28 vid. 224 22 225 7

ϩⲏⲃⲥ̄ *lamp* 70 15 93 24 153 30 166 25 173 17

ϩⲱⲃⲥ̄ *clothe:* ⲭⲓϩⲃⲁⲥ 95 24: pl. 163 24
pl. ⲭⲓϩⲃⲟⲟⲥ 178 28
ϩⲃ̄ⲥⲱ 23 12 81 8 201 29 206 21. 28 etc.

ϩⲁⲃⲧⲥ̄ ? 78 24 n.

ϩⲓⲕ *magic* 4 12
ⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ϩⲓⲕ 19 2
ⲃⲁⲗϩⲓⲕ *one who undoes spells* 220 26 221 1: ⲣⲉⲩϯϩⲓⲕ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ? 221 7

ϩⲱⲕ *arm, gird* 51 8 229 b 30
ϩⲁⲕ= 93 14 98 4 117 11. 23 151 16. 21 204 24. 25 208 25. 26 210 4
nn. *armour* 209 17

ϩⲱⲕ(ⲉ) *crush(?), erase(?)* 10 32 105 34

ϩⲕⲟ *be hungry* 177 5
qual. ϩⲕⲉⲉⲧ 23 12 175 24 184 17 208 4:
ϩⲕⲉⲓ̈ⲧ 195 9
nn. *hunger* 65 21 70 22-3 88 3 etc.
ⲱⲁⲡϩⲕⲟ *hungry* 201 25
ϩⲏⲕⲉ *poor* 16 10 97 33 152 14 157 6 203 30 213 14 etc.
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲏⲕⲉ 33 22 79 10 97 31 157 1-4

ϩⲉⲗ in ⲣ̄ϩⲉⲗ *deceive* 45 24 109 25
adj. 107 9 (!)
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ϩⲉⲗ 147 63 196 27

ϩⲱⲗ *fly* 188 21 205 5. 6
qual. ϩⲏⲗ 218 23
ϩⲁⲗⲏⲧ *bird* 64 19 95 20 204 20
pl. -ⲉⲧⲉ 89 27 157 17 182 7 etc.

ϩⲱⲗ *bring:* ϩⲁⲗ ⲣⲉⲧ= 90 28
ϩⲁⲗ= 63 30

ϩⲁⲗⲉ *moth* 66 31 vid.

ϩⲁⲗⲃⲉ in ϩⲁⲗⲃⲉϩⲟ *deceiver(?)* 73 16 109 25 vid.

ϩⲁⲗⲃⲱⲩⲉ *armour* 1 23 2 17 51 6 vid. 8 59 6 60 21 137 19. 39 139 9 204 18 205 2. 13. 14 209 18. 19

ϩⲗⲗⲟ *old man* 192 12
pl. ϩⲗⲗⲁⲓ̈ 192 2
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲗⲗⲟ 52 21 81 8

ϩⲁⲗⲙⲉ *fountain* 1 11 55 6 56 22 75 27 102 15 136 44. 46 212 19 bis

ϩⲁⲗϩⲗ *slay:* ϩⲗϩⲱⲗ= 94 5

ϩⲗⲁϭ *be sweet:* qual. ϩⲁⲗϭ 8 9 18 15 46 9 55 31 70 26 etc.
nn. 52 19 55 27 70 28 155 27 etc.
ϯϩⲗⲁϭ 190 10

ϩⲗⲟⲏⲧ *gentle* 139 51 151 25 bis 190 23: pl. ϩⲗⲟⲁⲧⲉ 167 17

ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲗⲟⲏⲧ 33 23 45 20 107 26 167 17 177 25

ϩⲉⲗⲏⲟ *await(?)* 19 23 n. 35 29 103 10 112 16 (?)

ϩⲱⲙ *tread* 2 12. 18 64 23 76 15 97 18 99 29 175 11

ϩⲟⲙ ⲣⲉⲧ 66 29

ϩⲁⲙⲏⲧ *treader:* pl. *ϩⲁⲙⲉⲧⲉ 76 8

ϩⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉ *wave* 63 14 73 24

pl. as sing. 110 25 165 22

pl. ϩⲓⲙⲉⲉⲩ 8 19 70 3 79 6. 7: ϩⲓⲙⲉⲩⲉ 151 9. 10

ⲃⲓ ϩⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉ *be stormy* 67 10 102 26 150 28

ϩⲓⲁⲙⲉ vide ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ

ϩⲁⲙⲁⲓ̈ *oh that!* 58 13 166 10

ϩⲱⲙⲉ *palm of hand* 222 28

ϩⲙⲉ *forty* 142 8

ϩⲙⲉⲧⲉϥⲧⲉ *forty-four* 221 22

ϩⲙⲟⲩ *salt* 44 6

ϩⲙⲁⲙ *be hot:* qual. ϩⲏⲙ 23 11 159 29

ϩⲏⲙⲉ *hot* 46 24

nn. 65 20 156 17

ϩⲏⲙⲉ in ⲣϩⲏⲙⲉ *steer, guide* 13 29 116 24 157 19 161 6 etc.

ⲁ̀ⲣϩⲏⲙⲉ *?* 208 5

ⲣⲉϥⲣϩⲏⲙⲉ *helmsman* 13 31 23 10 33 5 53 19 83 20 136 25 144 25. 28 207 19. 26 etc.

ϩⲙⲉⲥ *sit* 22 28 25 25 27 23: ϩⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄ 8 8. 33 21 27. 29 26 6 29 29 36 10 42 5 45 25 59 16 90 5 196 32 211 16 222 15

qual. ϩⲙⲁⲥ 12 13 63 15: ϩⲙⲁⲥⲧ̄ 20 20 211 16

ⲙⲁⲛϩⲙⲉⲥ(ⲧ) *seat* 8 8 21 29 27 23 etc.

ϩⲁⲙⲧ̄ *brass, money* 192 18 195 11

ϩⲙⲁⲩ *gift, grace* 2 30 7 18 16 11. 16 42 3 56 3 98 29 108 20 etc.

pl. ϩⲙⲟⲟⲩ 38 23 59 13 81 14 100 21 108 23 etc.

ⲣϩⲙⲁⲩ *bestow* 7 7 23 18 47 8 68 4 98 23 130 26

ⲣⲉϥⲧϩⲙⲁⲩ 53 26 81 5 vid.

ϫⲓ ϩⲙⲁⲩ 49 22

with ⲱⲱⲡ *thanks* 42 14 62 27

ϩⲙ̄ϩⲙ̄ *roar* 18 23

ϩⲙⲉϫ *vinegar* 142 15 196 6

ϩⲛ̄- *in, by* instrumental 1 26 2 19 etc.

ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ= 1 14 14 10 etc.

ϩⲛ̄- pl. of indef. article 35 25 37 11 bis etc.

ϩⲟⲩⲛ *inward part* 90 22 160 20 etc.

ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ 4 7 10 17 etc.

ϩⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ 13 9 (?) 151 28 160 8 etc.

ⲣ̄ϩⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ 117 13 193 10 etc.

ⲥⲁⲛϩⲟⲩⲛ 159 22 220 5. 10. 23 etc.

ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲛ 155 34

ϩⲱⲛ *approach, be near* 38 18 vid.

ϩⲱⲛⲉ 165 18

qual. ϩⲏⲛ 39 24 155 36

ϩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ *some* 195 14

ϩⲛⲉ- in ⲉϩⲛⲉ= *willing* 16 15 vid. 76 31 97 21

ⲣ̄ϩⲛⲉ= 9 28

ϩⲓⲛⲏⲃ *sleep* 146 16 189 23 197 16 213 10 218 20 bis

nn. 2 21 60 13 75 31 etc.

†ϩⲓⲛⲏⲃ 187 32

ϩⲱⲛϧ *charm(?):* ϩⲁⲛϧ= 117 27 n.

ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ *India* vide Index C

ϩⲱⲛⲧ̄ *approach* 26 5

qual. ϩⲁⲛⲧ̄ 39 28 82 1 (?)

*ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲧ (ⲁⲃⲁⲗ) *?* 150 18 n. 204 16. 31

ϩⲁⲡ *feast* 199 28 bis

ϩⲉⲡ *judgment* 7 16 29 24 30 26 62 10 etc.

†ϩⲉⲡ *judge* 12 6 40 32 123 29 etc.

ⲣⲉϥ†ϩⲉⲡ 8 7 24 21 45 13 195 27 etc.

ⲙⲁⲛ†ϩⲉⲡ 195 17

ϩⲱⲡ *hide* 49 15

ϩⲁⲡ- 46 16: ϩⲁⲡ= 12 30 93 21

qual. ϩⲏⲡ 1 8 7 16 8 23 41 25 82 24 83 27 86 25 etc.

ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧϩⲏⲡ *secretly* 39 22 73 29

ϩⲡⲁⲛ *secure(?)* 214 19 n.

? qual. ϩⲁⲡⲛⲉ 200 13

nn. 166 36

ϩρε *food* 141 16 181 36

ϩρϩϊ: ⲛ̄ϩρϩϊ ϩⲛ̄- *in* 1 17 10 2 11 22 19 18 etc.

ⲁϩρϩϊ *up* 2 20 6 29 9 25 etc.

ⲁϩρϩϊ *down* 187 16 215 8

ϩⲣ̄Bε *form* 42 32

ϩρⲁⲕ *be at rest* 120 3 126 3 172 11

qual. ϩⲁρⲕ̀ 8 19 102 25 117 9 135 17 etc.

nn. in ⲧϩρⲁⲕ 187 32 bis

ⲁⲧϩρⲁⲕ 16 19

*ϩρⲁⲡ in ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩρⲁⲡ *suddenly (?), closely (?)* 204 3

ϩωρⲡ̄ *slumber* 193 8

ϩρϩρε *flower, lily* 8 14 12 21 59 15 98 12 153 14 166 26 194 9

ϩⲣ̄ⲧε nn. *fear* 7 19 66 12 82 28 86 22 172 9 196 10 etc.

ⲧϩⲣ̄ⲧε *frighten* 84 21

ϩρⲁⲩ *cry, call* 15 21 59 24 131 27 138 7. 17 179—181 pass 226 16 etc.

ϩρⲁϣ *be heavy* 80 16

qual. ϩⲁρϣ̄ 91 25

ϩⲁρϣϩϩⲧ *long-suffering* 33 9 138 53 139 25 etc.: pl. ϩⲁρϣϩⲉⲧⲉ 145 3 167 7

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲁρϣϩϩⲧ 23 16 167 7. 37 182 27 200 25 etc.

nn. ϩρⲁϣ *weight* 62 18 138 55 215 13 (?)

ϩⲣ̄ϣⲓρε *men, crew* 207 20

ϩⲁⲣⲓϩⲁⲣⲁⲩ vide ϩⲁ-

ϩωρϭ *set in order, be set* 107 22 127 26 198 5

ϩⲁρϭ= 12 31

nn. ? 217 1

ϩωⲥ *sing* 2 11 65 24 133 20 164 18 etc.

nn. *song* 89 10

ϩωⲥ *block* 212 27

ϩωⲥ *weakling, wretch* 204 16. 31 205 12 206 6 210 26 211 6

ϩⲓⲥε *toil, be weary, suffer* 66 23 vid. 88 9. 17 103 2 142 1 143 2. 15 etc.

with partic. *weary of* doing 155 3 164 18

reflex. ϩⲉⲥⲧ̄ 81 15

qual. ϩⲁⲥε 82 18 86 12 129 21

ⲁⲧϩⲓⲥε 164 18

nn. *toil, suffering* 8 20 42 28 81 15 183 27 etc.

*ϩⲓⲥε in ϫρⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ϩⲓⲥε 210 15 n. (? cf. ϩⲛⲥε, Crum Dict. 710 b)

ϩⲁⲥⲓε with ϣε *be shipwrecked* 63 17

ϩⲁⲥⲃε *market* 227 5

ϩⲉⲧ *silver* 153 10 169 24 184 23 224 21. 23. 29 etc.

white in ϭⲣⲁⲙⲡϩⲉⲧ v. ϭⲣⲁⲙⲡε

ϩϩⲧ *heart, mind* 13 13 82 23 etc.

pl. as sing. and ϩⲉⲧⲉ 145 3. 7

ϩϩⲧ ⲃⲱⲱⲛ *evil-hearted* 97 20

ϩϩⲧ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ *double-minded, doubt* 45 30 67 6 102 29

ⲁⲧϩϩⲧ *foolish* 4 12 15 27 61 25

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧϩϩⲧ 53 7

ϣⲛ̄ϩϩⲧ *grief* 70 27 74 8 82 13 103 31 146 26

ⲕⲁϩⲧⲏ= *trust* 81 29 184 22 bis 231 b 8 etc.: qual. ⲕⲁϩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧ 7 1 176 22

nn. ⲕⲁϩⲧⲏⲩ 24 27. 30 88 12 99 29 139 44 184 26 bis

ⲕⲁϩϩⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *be confident* 134 23 135 25

ⲣ̄ϩⲧⲏ= *repent* 45 28 165 26 181 15

nn. ⲣ̄ϩⲧⲏⲩ 53 15

ⲧϩⲧⲏ= *give heed* 82 16 105 30 214 7. 8 218 18. 19: ⲧⲛ̄ϩⲧⲏ= 210 29

ⲛ̄ϩϩⲧ after ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ 24 26; ⲡⲱϣⲥ̄ 15 28; ⲧⲱⲕ 210 3; ⲧⲱⲧ 26 13; ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ 28 17; ⲟⲩⲱϣε 31 23; ⲱⲕ 18 25; ϫⲓⲥε 79 26

(ϩ)ⲏⲧ in compounds vide ⲙⲟⲩϣⲧ̄, ⲣⲱⲙε, ⲥⲱⲣⲙε, ⲥⲱⲧⲙε, ⲟⲩⲓϩε, ϩⲗⲁϭ, ϩⲣⲁϣ, ϫⲓⲥε

ϩⲱⲧ with ⲣ̄: *sail* 77 28 (?) 147 37 157 21 177 19 193 5 217 25

ϩⲁⲧε *moment* 50 16 103 22 vid. 107 16 135 19 bis 27 149 22 154 9 157 22 bis 23

ϩⲁⲧε with ⲣ̄: *to fear* 40 23 50 19 69 13 76 13. 14 106 23 134 27

ϩⲁⲓ̈ⲧε *robe* 196 4

ϩⲉⲧε *flow* 188 23: ϩⲉⲧⲓ̈ⲉ 154 32

ⲥϫ ϩⲉⲧⲉ 13 24

ϩητε *behold!* 88 2 vide ε|ϲ
ϩ|τε *fritter away* 82 6
ϩταϊ ? qual. of ϩατ *thick* 226 20
ϩτο *horse* 220 16: pl ϩτωρϩ 111 25
ϩωτβε *kill* 17 25 33 20 35 15 etc.
ϩατβε- 205 30
ϩατβε= 15 6 30 11 45 17 79 21 196 1
ρεqϩωτβε 15 12 17 12 60 18 64 25 82 4 196 9
ϩατβε- 14 25 39 25 43 19
nn. 17 22: ϩετβε 44 21
*ϩaϯλ *of low degree (?)* 16 9 52 25 n.
ϩτοuτῡ̈ *darken:* ϩτῡ̈τωu= 193 29
ϩωτπ̄ *be reconciled, set* (of sun) 12 12 vid. 14 29 vid. 39 30 63 29 130 28 vid.
qual. ϩατπ̄ 203 23
ατϩωτπ̄ 133 8 190 11 193 19
ϩταπ *fall, destruction* 14 28 vid.
ϩωτρε *join* 210 30 vid.
nn. 88 29
б|νϩωτρε 86 31
ϩατρε *twin* 166 33 192 6 vid.
ϩτωρϩ pl. of ϩτο
ϩταγε *morning* 130 23 146 17. 19
ϩατϩϯ̄ *examine* 39 10 120 5 126 5
ϩαγ *bad, wicked* 4 30 23 28 55 19 88 25 etc.:
ϩαγ uñ- 45 22
πετϩαγ 34 22 39 28 57 3. 9 etc.
πε-θαγ 19 16 66 8 etc.
*ϩαγ, ϩαq *say* 191 23. 29 n.
ϩηγ *profit* 6 9 40 22 105 27 143 22 192 15 etc.
ϩοογ *day* 7 16. 18 17 24 82 9 etc.
ϩοογε 18 5 52 4 157 22 etc.
ϩογ- 42 17 vid.: ν|ϩοογε *lately* 15 24
ῡ̈πογ *today* 16 30 40 20 179 1 etc.
ῡ̈πογε 8 18 83 29 95 12 etc.
πογε 81 20. 21
ϣαπογ *till today* 192 14
xñῡ̈πογε *from today* 82 24
ϩ|ογε *strike, cast* 227 13 vid.
ϩογ- 8 19 9 22 91 8 142 25
ϩαγϣνε *net-caster* 192 21
ϩογο *more* 88 25 158 32 n. (?) 219 10
nn. *excess* 68 7 219 17
ϩογρ|τ *guard* 19 5 62 27 136 23 163 13 178 20 etc.
ϩαγτ *male* 143 15
ϩηγτ *wild* 61 25 66 21
ϩογητ *passenger on ship* 123 35
ϩογ|τ *first* 1 7. 32 3 20 42 22 137 65
ϩογϯ̈τε *beginning* 2 5 3 18. 26 11 31 112 19 188 17 etc.
ϩογτεn *fair (?)* 146 46 n. 148 30 166 32
ϩαγϣ *abuse* 40 33 195 15
ϩογϩε *untimely birth* 108 24
ϩωϣ *press, confine:* ϩαϣ= 122 23
ϩαϣϩῶ̄ *consume, champ* 196 24
ϩαq *snake* 60 18 149 12. 23. 25 156 28. 29 192 26: fem. ϩβω 217 4
ϩαϩ *many* 72 15 162 9
ϩωбue *wither, frade* 133 7 154 18 163 18. 26 etc.: ϩабue- 98 12
ατϩωбue 1 19 88 19 107 23

xε ? 209 9 xε βαε ϫβαλ
xε *that, because, in order that* pass.
xε εγ = ἵνα τί; 82 6
xaϯ *ship* 77 14. 28 123 33. 35 etc.
pl. (a) as sing. 165 18 (b) εxηγ 55 11 133 14 177 14 200 13 etc. (c) ετxηγ 42 18 65 10 83 33
xaϯε *desert* 87 17 92 13 152 12 181 31 193 26
x| *take, receive* 143 28 etc.
x|τ= 11 18 15 16 22 7 54 10 etc.
qual. xηγ 45 26
xa|-, xaγ- vide ῡ̈λaϩ, uaϯτ, бρηπε: xaϯογρατ 200 5 n.
x| in compounds: x| εaγ *be glorified* 14 7 etc.: x|kβa *vengeance* 44 23: ρεqx|uaϯτ *guide* 4 10 54 8: x| +πε *taste* 2 21 158 18 etc.
Vide ρ|ue, cβω, cuн, caϯτ, oγaϯ, ϩο, ϩωβc̄, xωkue, бaNc̄, бρηπε

ϫⲓⲉ *mote* 40 9

ϫⲟ *plant* 7 15 75 30 143 25
ϫⲁ= 153 28 225 28 (?) 227 16 (?)

ϫⲱ *speak, sing* 7 22 18 24 47 15 etc.: ϫⲟⲩ 200 9
ϫⲟⲟ= 39 23 42 7 187 18. 27 etc.
ϫⲁⲧⲃⲱⲱⲛ *slanderer* 14 22. 24 n.
ϫⲁⲧⲃⲁⲓⲛⲉ *harpist* 199 18
Vide ⲟⲩⲁ, ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲉ, ⲇⲁⲗ

ϫⲱ= *head* 181 42 207 6 etc.
ⲥⲁϫⲱⲩ *upside down* 142 18
ⲁϫⲛ̄-, ⲁϫⲱ= *on* pass.
ⲥⲓϫⲛ̄-, ⲥⲓϫⲱ= vide ⲥⲓ-

ϫⲱⲃⲉ intr. *pass to, cross* 39 9 62 22 69 15 157 24 218 22 vid. 224 17 227 15
trans. *pass by, avoid* 40 1 (?) 40 27 64 18 117 27 150 20 168 32 193 27 211 28

ϫⲱⲕ *finish, fulfil, perfect, be perfected, be ended* 13 29 22 15 47 25 etc.
ϫⲁⲕ- 88 32 93 9 143 34 etc.
ϫⲁⲕ= 23 2 38 25 51 20. 27 etc.
qual. ϫⲏⲕ 16 4 24 25 31 10 etc.
ⲣⲉⲩϫⲱⲕ 137 52
ⲙⲁⲛϫⲱⲕ 83 15
nn. *perfection, end* 83 11 143 32 145 16 169 11. 12 etc.

ϫⲱⲕⲉ *prick, goad* 164 31 226 25
ϫⲁⲕⲉⲩ *goad* 226 21. 26

ϫⲱⲕⲙⲉ *wash* 59 25 76 9 144 30 etc.
ϫⲁⲕⲙⲉ= 100 28 103 35: ϫⲁⲕⲙ̄ (for ϫⲁⲕⲙⲛ̄) 8 27 41 20 n.
qual. ϫⲁⲕⲙⲉ 99 9 103 9
ⲙⲁⲛϫⲱⲕⲙⲉ 8 2 139 23
nn. 76 9
ϫⲓ ϫ. *be washed* 99 14

ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ *in order that* 10 8 38 25 39 13 108 18 133 29 134 4 217 7
ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥⲉ 33 19. 20 bis 21 51 23

ϫⲱⲕⲣⲉ *be, make salt* 101 29 174 17

ϫⲱⲗⲉ *stop, make to cease* 94 20 188 13
ϫⲱⲗ- 53 21
nn. ϫⲗⲉ *hindrance (?)* 58 22 n.

ϫⲱⲗⲉ *pluck:* ϫⲁⲗ(ⲉ)= 58 9 99 23

ϫⲁⲩⲗⲉ ϩⲁ- *support* 2 19

ϫⲉⲗⲱ- cf. last? 165 28

ϫⲱⲗⲕ̀ *shoot:* ϫⲁⲗⲕ= 221 15

ϫⲱⲗϫ̀ *stick, fasten*
qual. ϫⲁⲗϫ̀ 81 31 201 11

*ϫⲱⲙ *strive (?)* 4 24 (leg. ϫⲱ⟨ⲣ⟩ⲙ̄, Crum)
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϫⲁⲙⲏⲧ *perseverance (?)* 70 31

ϫⲱⲙⲉ *book* 46 28 65 5 139 54. 61 140 3. 6. 8
pl. ϫⲙⲉ 29 29

ϫⲁⲙⲏ *calm* 157 23 231 b 20

ϫⲛ̄- *since, from:* always with ⲛ̄-, save in ϫⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ (e. g. 115 13) and ϫⲛ̄-ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲗⲟⲩ (91 22: read ϫⲛ̄⟨ⲛ̄⟩ⲧ.) and with verbal expressions (43 24 44 11 54 11 63 30 104 31 107 23 110 24 117 19 165 18. 19 169 21 183 21)
(a) temporal 18 28 19 3 22 8. 17 58 10. 28 117 7 207 13 etc.
(b) local 42 26 61 30 85 8 118 25 141 30 216 5 221 15 etc.

ϫⲓⲛ *might* 166 30 190 19

ϫⲁⲛⲉ *chest, ark* 167 12

ϫⲉⲛⲉ *extinguish, go out* 60 13 vid. 191 21 204 30

ϫⲱⲛⲧ̄ *test, try:* ϫⲛⲧ- 149 14
nn. 58 6

ϫⲓⲛϫⲏ: ⲁⲡϫ. *in vain* 82 10

ϫⲡ- *hour* [18 7] 195 29

ϫⲡⲟ *get, beget* 10 7 71 26 75 20 128 5 etc.
ϫⲡⲁ= 49 5 52 23 70 18 98 8 120 21 147 66 etc.
ⲣⲉⲩϫⲡⲟ 1 22
ⲃⲓⲛϫ. 120 19 126 19
ⲁⲧϫⲡⲁ= 96 26
nn. *creature* 2 10 4 25 18 20 41 18 99 4 152 18 etc.

ϫⲡⲓⲟ *put to shame* 4 16 25 9 26 16 122 7 vid.
ϫⲡⲓⲁ= 13 3

ϫⲁⲡϫⲡ̄: ϫⲉⲡϫⲱⲡ= *tread down* 70 5

*ϫⲣⲟ *hail!* in greetings 57 27 69 30 85 16 210 14 n. 15

ϫⲉⲣⲟ *kindle* 17 16 37 30 53 23 70 15 80 13 109 19 157 18 165 7 211 10

ⲭⲉⲣⲱⲥ 99 32 173 17
qual. ⲭⲉⲣⲁⲒⲧ 16 20 204 15
ⲭⲓⲒⲟⲟⲣⲉ vide Ⲓⲉⲣⲟ
ⲭⲱⲣⲉ *strong* 1 25 2 9 153 3 etc.
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲉ 13 3 65 15 88 11 163 12 178 19 etc.
ⲭⲱⲣⲙⲉ (a) *make a sign, glance* 39 21 150 22: ⲭⲱⲣⲙ̄ 98 29
nn. 85 2 104 28. 29 150 22
(b) *drive:* ⲭⲁⲣⲙⲉⲥ 76 17
ⲭⲱⲣⲡ̄ *strike:* ⲭⲁⲣⲡ̄- 207 6
ⲭⲣⲁⲡ *hindrance* 17 11
ⲭⲣⲁⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *scatter, be scattered* 67 18
qual. ⲭⲣⲁⲣⲁ(ⲁ)ⲧ 146 37 213 14
nn. 228 13
ⲭⲣⲭⲓⲣ *wantonness(?)* 7 26
ⲭⲁⲒⲥ *lord* pass.
ⲣ̄ⲭ. 55 28 (?) 86 2 vid. 187 8
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲒⲥ 193 29
ⲭⲓⲥⲉ *exalt, be raised* 50 26 215 9 etc.
ⲭⲉⲥⲧⲥ 10 13 93 11 148 24 etc.
qual. ⲭⲁⲥⲉ 21 27 38 7 151 16 etc.
nn. *height, loftiness* 22 7 24 5 34 19 107 15 215 15 etc.
ⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ *presume* 79 26
nn. 105 26
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲥⲓ(ⲥ)ⲏⲧ 45 24 64 24
ⲭⲁⲒⲧ *olive* 123 37 187 28 190 31
ⲭⲱⲧⲉ *pierce, thrust* 191 7 bis
ⲭⲁⲧⲥ 142 28 163 3 178 9 196 7
intr. *speed* 204 26 210 5
ⲭⲧⲟ *lay low:* ⲣⲉⲩⲭ. 221 8
ⲭⲉⲧⲩⲉ *serpent* 183 1: ⲭⲉⲩⲧⲉ 167 59
ⲭⲁⲩ *send* 15 29
ⲭⲁⲩ- 96 10 209 5
ⲭⲁⲩⲥ 112 28 131 26 207 24 226 13
ⲭⲓⲟⲩⲉ: ⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲭ. *take by stealth* 187 7
ⲣⲉⲩⲭⲓⲟⲩⲉ *thief* 19 1 66 31
ⲭⲟⲩⲱⲧ *twenty* 53 9 vid.
-ⲱⲧⲉ 224 20. 30
ⲭⲟⲩⲧ- 16 25 19 4 43 30 46 20 221 21
ⲭⲟⲩⲩ *burn:* qual. ⲭⲏⲩ 40 14 47 1 184 13 vid. 227 11 vid.
nn. *burning* 40 12 203 19
*ⲭⲟⲩⲭⲟⲩ *?* 157 17 158 11 182 32
ⲭⲱⲥ *touch* 52 29
ⲭⲱⲥ *smear:* qual. ⲭⲏⲥ 220 9 vid. cf. Mt. 23 27
ⲭⲱⲥⲙⲉ *pollute, be defiled* 69 21
ⲭⲁⲥⲙⲉⲥ 86 15
qual. ⲭⲁⲥⲙⲉ 52 23 etc. -ⲥⲙ̄ 82 16
ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲥⲙⲉ 4 21 61 15. 27 64 27
nn. 71 19 88 29 89 31 206 26
ⲭⲱⲥⲙ̄ 69 12
ⲭⲁⲭⲉ *enemy* pass.
pl. as sing. and ⲭⲓⲭⲉⲩⲉ 112 29 225 3
ⲣ̄ⲭ. ⲁ- 40 18 etc.
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲭⲉ 1 24 56 28 123 5 138 27 140 27
ⲭⲏⲃⲉ *purple* 196 4
ⲭⲱⲃⲉ *?* 147 51

ⲃⲉ *therefore* pass.: ⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ 32 7
ⲃⲉ *other, also* vide ⲕⲉ
ⲃⲱ *remain* 104 20
with partic. *continue* 86 23 118 15 206 2
qual. ⲃⲉⲉⲧ 6 11 vid. 27 17 vid.
ⲃⲱⲃ *weak* 206 2 211 5
qual. ⲃⲁⲃ 70 15
ⲃⲱⲃⲉ *leaf* 8 16
ⲃⲃⲒⲉ *?* 164 3 bis vid. (cf. ⲃⲱⲃ?)
ⲃⲃⲟⲩⲣ *left* 50 6 170 26 180 16
ⲃⲃⲁⲥ *?* 129 23
ⲃⲃⲥⲉⲓⲣⲉ *butter* 23 10. 19 (vide Crum Dict. 353 a)
ⲃⲁⲗ *false, lying* 18 14 43 21 60 19
ⲭⲉ, ⲭⲓ ⲃⲁⲗ *lie* 33 19 139 49
ⲃⲏⲗ *cry* 206 12. 16
ⲁⲱ ⲃⲏⲗ (ⲁⲃⲁⲗ) *cry out* 15 21 16 7 57 11 vid. 123 21. 27 197 22 202 14
ⲕⲁ ⲃⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ 205 27
ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲃⲏⲗ 206 12. 16
ⲃⲱⲗ *roll up, destroy* 70 11 190 5 bis 205 7 219 22 223 17

ⲥⲁⲓⲗⲉ *be deposited, lodge* 110 21 135 22 151 18—20 162 22 189 18
qual. ⲥⲉⲗⲓⲧ 82 15 139 53 218 26
ⲙⲁⲛⲥⲁⲓⲗⲉ 173 22
ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲓⲗⲉ *sojourner* 181 23

ⲥⲱⲗⲉ *clothe* 50 25 83 23 206 22. 29
ⲥⲁⲗⲉ= 67 28 74 31 95 24 182 23 224 12
qual. ⲥⲁⲗⲉ 76 11 102 19 107 24 116 26 161 3 167 27 176 21 185 18 193 10 207 20 211 26

ⲥⲗⲁⲙ *hasten* 112 12
ⲛ̄ⲥⲗⲁⲙ *quickly* 7 2 65 18. 30 188 25. 26 etc.
ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥ. 64 18 111 23 165 9

*ⲥⲗⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ *?* 208 9 n.

ⲥⲱⲗⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *reveal, appear* 8 23 9 8 11 30 etc.: with ϩⲁ- 57 16 61 6 105 22
ⲥ. ⲏⲣⲡ̄ *broach wine* 151 13 158 29
ⲥⲁⲗⲡ= 3 22 158 29
qual. ⲥⲁⲗⲡ̄ 1 8 105 22 etc.
ⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲗⲡ̄ 61 6 138 15

ⲥⲁⲗⲁⲱ|ⲣⲉ *hero, giant* 2 30 46 30 138 53 163 6 178 11

ⲥⲗⲟ(ⲟ)ⲥⲉ *ladder* 8 3 167 11 177 8

ⲥⲁⲙ *power* 19 16 23 2. 4. 30 28 1 etc.
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲁⲙ *feebleness* 92 4. 23
ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲱϥⲥⲁⲙ *it is possible* 53 16
ⲙⲛ̄ⲱϥⲥⲁⲙ, ⲙⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲙ *it is impossible* 4 15 52 29 134 26. 27 214 28 215 1
ⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲙ *have power* 206 14 219 28

ⲥⲱⲙ *orchard* 163 9 169 24 175 8 178 16
pl. ⲥⲟⲟⲙ 195 4

ⲥⲁⲙⲥⲙ- *touch, handle* 223 24
ⲁⲧⲥⲙ̄ⲥⲱⲙⲛ̄ϥ 121 3

ⲥ|ⲛⲉ *find* pass.
ⲥⲛ̄- 6 9 15 19 40 22 etc.: with indirect questions 151 27 156 9 203 25 207 23
ⲥⲛ̄ⲧ= 43 4 85 20 86 7 95 19 etc.
ⲣⲉϥⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲱ|ⲛⲉ *overseer* 141 32

ⲥⲛⲟⲛ *be soft:* qual. ⲥⲁⲛ 46 26

ⲥⲁⲛϫ in ϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥ. *do violence* 8 16 14 31 45 15. 26 etc.

ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϫ|ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲛϫ 14 26 74 15 101 26

ⲥ|ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗ *vessel, boat* 76 29 n. 139 30 147 35 213 5. 26

ⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ *make music* 117 29 118 15 164 9 bis. 10 etc.

ⲥ|ⲛⲥⲱⲣ *talent* 224 19

ⲥⲉⲡⲏ *hasten:* reflex. 187 13

ⲥⲱⲡⲉ *catch, be seized* (196 9): 163 5 191 4 bis: ⲥ. ⲁ- *catch* (of fire) 15 18 188 18
ⲥⲁⲡ- 29 13 187 16 206 18 etc.
ⲥⲁⲡ= 10 2 123 21 204 21 211 12

ⲥⲣⲏ *dig up* 208 16. 29

ⲥⲣⲟ *conquer, defeat* 9 24 103 24 etc.
qual. ⲥⲣⲁⲓⲧ 8 11 36 28 83 22 196 28 224 29 etc.
ⲁⲧⲥⲣⲁϥ 3 29 vid.
ⲣⲉϥⲥⲣⲟ 13 25 53 20. 32 etc.
nn. *victory* 13 26 14 17 79 28 etc.

ⲥⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ *dove* 156 29. 30
ⲥⲣⲁⲙⲡϩⲉⲧ *white dove* 156 26. 27 158 8 (!) 161 7 165 2 167 57 179 29 182 29 185 11

ⲥⲣⲏⲡⲉ *diadem* 17 25 22 18 87 20 133 6 136 17. 27 etc.
ϫⲓ ⲥⲣⲏⲡⲉ *wear crown, be crowned* 1 28 87 11 117 3
ϫⲁⲓⲥ. 43 5 136 17

ⲥⲱⲣϩ: ⲛ̄ⲥ. *by night* 223 9. 20

ⲥⲱⲣⲥ *set a snare for* 70 10 89 25 103 32 192 21
ⲥⲁⲣⲥ= 53 10
qual. ⲥⲁⲣⲥ 84 28 204 19 205 3
ⲥⲉⲣⲛⲥ *hunter* 166 27: pl. ⲥⲉⲣⲉⲥⲉ 70 10 89 25 146 27 etc.
ⲥⲁⲣⲥϩ *snare* 10 2 166 27 210 30 (?)

ⲥⲱⲣⲥ *furnish* 121 29
ⲥⲁⲣⲥ= ⲁⲃⲁⲗ 100 29

ⲥⲥ- *half* in ϩⲉⲟⲩⲓⲛ *half-cargo* 217 26. 29

ⲥⲁⲥⲙⲉ *storm* 63 14 135 27 142 26 165 21 180 22 201 15: ⲥⲁⲥⲙ̄ 192 9

ⲥⲁⲧ *size* 97 28 n.

ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ *flinch, defeat* 85 16 108 6 143 2
vid. 9 165 13. 14. 31: ⲥ. ϩⲁ- 58 25
ⲥⲁⲧⲡ= 210 27 vid.
nn. *defeat* 181 12
ⲥⲏⲩ *narrow* 156 5 170 28
ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ *put out to sea* 76 30 193 5
ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ *slave* 95 21 103 33 194 3
fem. 61 19
ⲥⲁⲩⲛ- 81 26
pl. ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲟⲛⲉ 16 22 111 8
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ 86 5 99 16
ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲥ: qual. ⲥⲁⲩⲥ *crooked* 189 21
ⲥⲁϫⲱⲉ ? 65 18 n.

ⲥⲱϣⲧ̄ *look, see* 9 6 46 14 etc.
qual. ⲥⲁϣⲧ̄ 71 25 73 9 157 28 etc.
ⲥ. ⲁ- 40 9 45 5 162 15 etc.: ⲁϫⲛ̄- 29 20 43 17 (?): ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ 26 13 29 18 104 27 etc.: ⲟⲩⲃⲉ 71 25 73 9 81 1: ⲥ. ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛⲧ= *expect* 7 8 60 4 (?) 66 9 etc.
ⲥⲓϫ *hand* 15 10 20 8 35 10 etc.
ⲥⲱϫⲉ *cut* 16 25 79 27 162 31 178 7: nn. *stone (?)* 217 21
ⲥⲱϫⲃⲉ *wane, diminish* 1 14 13 16 170 6 190 12 203 9. 23 204 10 211 27 216 21
nn. 180 19: ⲁⲧⲥⲱϫⲃⲉ 68 15

After ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ p. 30* add ⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ *feet* 99 25 187 33 etc.

C. Proper Names

i. Geographical

Belapat 16 27
Euphrates 211 14
India 192 16 193 3 194 13
Jerusalem 61 1 194 23
Jordan 187 14
Judea 194 5
Mount of Olives 123 37 187 28 190 31
Persia 16 21

ii. Doxological Names

Cleopatra 64 8
Eustephius 58 30
Jmnoute 1 3 11 32 14 18 27 15 36 11 39 16 47 23 63 1 76 25 82 33 92 30 106 26 140 53 148 20 vid. 162 20 165 6 186 32
Maria *passim*
Panai 29 3 39 16 47 23 58 30 149 30 155 42 166 22 176 10
Plousiane 34 15 41 6 47 22 63 1 80 25 82 32 98 32 100 8 101 35 106 25 179 6
Polydoxus 47 22
Pshai [1 2] 11 32 14 18 27 15 36 11 vid. 39 16 47 23 bis 63 1 76 25 82 33 92 30 106 26 140 53 148 20 162 20 vid. 165 6 186 32
Theona 1 3 11 32 14 18 18 1 34 15 36 11 38 10 39 16 47 23 52 14 58 1. 31 61 10 63 1 75 9 76 42 82 33 85 21 vid. 87 14 92 29 100 9 102 26 115 3 140 52 149 30 151 3 154 21 155 15. 42 157 13 162 19 163 32 165 6 166 22 173 12 175 1 185 27 186 32 191 17 202 26

iii. Other Names

Adam 57 7. 14 142 3 179 23
Addas 34 13
Alphaeus 192 17
Andrew 142 20 192 6 194 8
Aristobula 143 13 192 29
Arsenoe 192 24 194 22

Bahram 43 9
Bartholomew 192 12 194 12

Drusiane 143 11 180 30 192 32

Enoch 142 9
Enosh 142 6
Eve 57 7 179 24
Eubula 192 30

Gabriab 34 11

Heracleides 97 14 187 1
Herod 43 13

Innaios 34 11
Iphidama 192 27

James 142 25 192 8 194 10. 14
Jews 15 12 43 19 122 33
John 142 23 179 25 192 7 194 9
Judas 179 27 192 18 194 17

Levi 194 16

Magi 122 28. 31
Magians 15 9 16 21
Mariam 187 2 bis. 34 192 21 194 19
Martha 192 23 194 20
Matthew 192 19
Maximilla 143 13 192 26
Mygdonia 193 2

Noah 142 6 157 19. 20 177 1

Ormizd 43 7
Ozeos 34 13

Pamoun 226 16
Pappos 34 12
Paul 7 22 142 31 192 20
Peter 142 18 187 24 192 5 194 7
Philip 192 10 194 11

Salmaios 34 12
Salome 192 24 194 21 222 19. 26
Satan 57 4
Sethel 142 4 144 1. 4. 7 146 13 179 22
Shapur 43 7
Shem 142 6 vid.
Simon Peter *vide* Peter
Simon the Canaanite 192 14 194 15
Sisinnios 34 10 44 10
Syrus 14 19 27 16 231 b 26

Thecla 143 4 180 29 192 25
Thomas 142 27 192 15 194 13 203 1

Zebedee 142 22

iv. Christ, Jesus, Manichaeus

Christus 42 22 43 14 106 31
ⲡⲭⲣⲥ 33 11 55 17 57 4 63 3 67 13. 24 75 11 83 2 88 28 97 15 100 5 101 32 102 31 106 28 107 4 116 24. 27. 29 117 2 ff. 158 19. 26 159 25 229 b 12 230 a 6: ⲡⲭⲣⲥ ⲓⲏⲥ 12 28 38 8 ⲡⲉⲭⲣⲥ 54 10 58 14 64 12 69 31 101 3 158 24 159 23

Jesus 22 9 154 7
ⲓⲏⲥ 2 24 4 29 9 4 12 13 20 22. 31 25 25 32 20 34 23 36 8 37 28 41 5 51 4 ff. 52 2 ff. 22 53 30 56 15 57 5. 32 58 3 59 2. 15 bis. 16. 17 bis 60 8 61 1. 9. 12. 23 62 31 63 18 64 6. 32 65 30 66 17 73 10 84 9 85 19. 23 87 12. 16. 25 88 23 89 23 94 2 95 2 99 26 102 2 111 19 112 1. 26 113 18 116 7. 10 117 25. 32 121 33 122 36 124 25 126 2. 4. 6. 10 142 11 145 6 151 1. 4. 8. 22. 24. 31 152 1. 4 154 19 155 24 159 3. 19 160 14. 18 161 7 162 25 164 13 165 4. 11 166 11. 23 169 13 170 18 174 9. 31 177 3 178 3 182 18 185 3. 14. 20. 26 186 30 191 14 192 4 217 19 222 30 230 b 29
ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡⲭⲣⲥ 79 19 82 30 91 17 93 2

Manichaeus 1 1 3 13. 21 7 5 8 30 11 26. 29 14 15 17 1 18 4. 9 20 15. 24 22 23 24 15 27 13 30 16. 22 31 16 34 9 36 8 37 26 38 13 39 14 41 9. 27 42 11 52 12 55 14 65 25 68 3 vid. 69 26 80 23 81 17 84 5. 14 85 20 88 20 92 27 94 26 95 32 111 27 116 19 139 47 157 11 185 1
ⲡⲙⲛⲭⲥ 17 33 25 31 26 3 79 14 vid. 143 16. 33 145 13 146 10 176 9 193 4

D. Manichaean Terms

Adamas 2 12 33 7 138 41 209 24. 25. 27 210 4
Aeons 1 13 9 14 23 1 24 24. 30 36 20 (?) 42 16 55 2 56 11 58 4 60 30 63 7 79 26 85 14 87 5. 12 113 18 115 17. 23 116 28 118 7 133 8. 10. 12 134 8 136 16. 33 139 8 144 11 162 2 166 25 167 23 168 27. 31 172 11 185 3. 6 186 9 190 8 197 14 198 25. 29 199 1. 12. 13 201 9 202 19 203 2 ff.
Aeons of the Aeons 9 14 116 28 136 34 144 12 168 27 199 16
Archon *see* Index A

Beloved of the Lights 1 28 32 29 36 24 137 56 144 20 166 28
Bema *see* Index A

Call and Hearing 32 21 133 29 138 8. 18 139 28 : Call 199 9
Column of Glory 37 2 59 17 103 35 133 24 139 19
Columns, Three (12 25) 138 56

Elements 12 25 34 6 36 22 137 23. 29. 32. 37 201 13 ff. (*see* Five Noëra)
Emanation 12 23 36 20 130 2 137 5. 55 138 59 179 17
Envoy 128 1 139 18 147 71 148 1 ff. 202 10 208 11. 12 213 28

Familiar 19 22 42 22 139 5 166 34
Father of Greatness (1 7) (9 13) 50 30 (60 30) (85 13) (115 5) 133 3 136 14 144 10 (179 16) 191 13 (198 23) (199 12 ff.) (203 1 ff.)
Father, Son, and Holy Spirit 39 12 49 29 62 30 82 30 (87 11 ff.) (113 18) 115 5 ff. 116 1 ff. 164 14 186 3 ff. 186 7 189 30 ff. 190 25 (191 13 ff.)
Fathers of Light 8 8 36 15 (63 6) (71 26) 73 8 (75 20) 84 29 (117 9) 202 12
First Man 1 26 10 20 (13 31) 22 16 36 21 85 4 88 13 118 3 128 4 137 17 138 19 140 26 141 4 144 18 160 1. 2. 4 161 25 162 26 163 8 175 3 178 15 197 20. 24. 26. 28 198 1. 3. 5. 7. 21 199 7 202 14. 16. 24 207 17 209 11 210 17
Five Intellectual Members (*psychica* 134 3) 23 14 ff. 120 3 ff. 126 3 ff. 137 45 ff. (161 24) 166 38 ff. 167 29 ff. 170 9 ff. 174 12 ff. 182 24 ff. 186 23 ff. 200 19 ff.
Five Noëra 133 28 139 26 144 31 (?) 161 25 (*see* Elements)
Five Spiritual Virtues (*pneumatica* 134 3) 23 14 ff. 33 12 ff. 167 34 ff. 174 12 ff. 182 24 ff. (200 19 ff.)

Gifts of Light 57 29 (66 23) 83 31 85 7 98 29 107 20 108 23
Great Builder 1 32 (11 5) 32 30 36 25 137 61 144 21 166 29
Great Fire 96 24
Great Spirit 9 15

Helmsmen 33 5 36 30 53 19 139 40 144 28 207 26 208 28
Holy Spirit 14 8 24 24 42 9 61 5 62 31 83 32 156 27. 31 161 23 184 15 190 21 (*see* Father, Son, and Holy Spirit)

Image *see* εἰκών Index A

Judge 7 30 8 7 20 19 21 1. 2. 18 22 12 24 20 26 28 29 6 34 23. 28 37 8 42 5 50 23 56 6 57 29 65 6 69 14 74 20 83 2. 21 100 27 106 7 128 28 157 31 158 3 181 4

King of Glory 2 15 33 8 138 46
King of Honour 2 9 33 6 138 35

Land of Light 1 10 9 15. 23 32 25 69 18 (86 21) 95 28 111 26 116 30 135 34 141 6 144 13 163 25 168 25 178 31 179 13 185 8 197 18 198 29 199 1. 15. 22 200 19. 27 (205 8) 209 8 (211 23) 213 13. (17) 219 19 221 10 225 15
Living Spirit *see* Spirit

Maiden of Light 2 27 10 8. 11 20 31 37 7 66 22 67 21 81 3 84 31 (116 8) 116 11 137 22 160 18 (163 2) 164 13 178 9 185 14
Mind 16 1 22 11 24 23 26 16 32 17 37 22 53 30 108 2 111 14 133 33 139 52 160 6. 18 161 6. 9 162 21 164 13 177 31 185 14 208 12 219 15 222 24
Mind of Light 37 8 40 13 116 7 (?) 139 17 145 7 153 20 154 5 157 20 162 23 166 35 173 13 178 1
Mother of the Living (1 22) 32 28 36 21 137 11 144 17 145 8 147 72 (166 26) 199 5. 26 201 2

Omophorus 2 18 33 8 138 34
Omophori, the Five 12 24 37 3 133 28 139 27 141 26 145 3 161 26 163 19 178 23 (*see* Sons of the Living Spirit)

Paraclete 3 21 8 25 9 3 14 14. 20 17 28 20 19. 21. 26 21 7 22 28 24 14. 17 25 18. 30

27 18 29 7. 26 30 25 31 16. 20 32 10. 17. 27 34 19. 21. 26 35 14 36 8 ff. 37 1 ff. 38 2. 3. 8. 13 49 30 55 23 56 12. 17 57 20. 33 59 6. 10 68 2 69 26 75 8. 30 76 22 80 23 85 19 87 13 100 19 101 13 102 30 112 7. 23 113 7 130 25 145 12 146 9 162 29 166 19 184 32

Paraclete-Spirit *see* Index A s. v. ⲠⲚⲀ (c)

Perfect Man 22 14 31 10 32 22 35 24 42 20 56 10 59 17 83 25 88 12 133 25 134 22 139 20 144 29 160 16 163 16 165 17 177 16 178 25 215 7

Power of God that supports the Universe 116 4 133 24 134 9. 17 186 11

Ships of Light 42 18 55 11 83 33 133 14 134 16. 24 139 30 147 34 163 14 176 3 177 14 178 21 186 10 190 9 213 3 ff. 26

Sons of Light 204 7. 9 205 18. 24 206 9. 27 207 2 213 30

Sons of the Living Spirit *see* Omophori, Adamas, King of Glory, King of Honour, Omophorus, Splenditenens.

Spirit, Living 2 5 33 3 138 22 140 29 144 22 160 4 161 26 178 16 202 24 211 25 212 6

Splenditenens (2 6) 33 5 138 28

Third Envoy 2 31 (36 28 ?) 133 15 138 60 144 23 (197 10)

Three Seals 52 28 94 12 (116 16 ff.) (178 32): *sing.* 102 19 115 31 163 26

Three Wheels 2 16 37 4 138 48 144 32

Twelve Maidens 33 4 36 29 138 65 144 24 (200 3)

Youth, Little One 104 10 155 25 167 64 204 23 209 13 f. 27 f. 210 2 etc. 211 15 f. 223 9. 20 f.

E. Scriptural Quotations and References

Psalms 33, 9 158 18
50, 12 159 21. 22
99, 3. 4 156 1. 2

Matth. 2, 1. 2 122 31
3, 16 156 27
4, 18. 19 187 15-17
4, 18 ff. 194 5 ff.
5, 7 41 3. 4
5, 22 39 25
5, 23—25 39 29. 30
5, 39 195 16
5, 44 40 33 194 16
5, 45 41 1. 2
5, 48 40 34
6, 10 156 23
6, 12 41 3. 4
6, 19. 20 52 31 63 10 66 31
6, 24 97 30
7, 1—5 40 8 ff.
7, 7. 8 134 30. 31
7, 13 170 28
7, 14 156 5. 24
7, 17. 18 134 11. 17 ff.
7, 21—23 191 30 192 1
7, 24 53 22. 23
8, 22 90 25-28
9, 17 153 26
10, 2 ff. 194 5 ff.
10, 9 ff. 195 9 ff.
11, 15 153 24
11, 27 122 11
11, 29 92 5 97 27
11, 30 51 18 55 30. 31
13, 9 153 24
13, 43 156 21
13, 44 155 23
13, 45. 46 192 4
16, 24 167 47 175 27 195 8
16, 25 93 11
18, 7 39 28
18, 12 93 4
19, 29 167 52 ff. 175 25
20, 22 142 22
22, 2—13 164 30 ff. 165 1
22, 14 162 10
22, 39 40 4
23, 12 93 11 148 24
23, 27 220 9
25, 1 ff. 70 15 ff. 154 1 ff. 161 19 ff. 170 20 ff. 191 18 ff.

	25, 32. 33	66 30 170 25 ff.
		202 20
	25, 33. 34	154 12
	26, 30	123 37
	27, 27 ff.	196 1 ff.
Luke	1, 52	147 6. 7
	7, 2—6	52 24
	9, 26	40 20
	10, 30 ff.	40 25 ff.
	23, 43	49 23
John	3, 19	165 29
	5, 39	39 10
	8, 12	121 19
	9, 1 ff.	194 25
	10, 7. 9	2 26
	12, 24	143 25
	12, 25	159 16
	13, 26	194 17
	14, 10	121 25
	14, 15	135 1
	15, 5	76 6 ff.
	19, 14	195 29
	20, 15	187 9
	20, 17	187 5. 30
Romans	6, 6	3 31
	7, 18	135 11
	14, 10	7 22 ff. (see Mani-Fund p. 33 n 1)
	14, 17	158 9
I Corinth.	1, 23	86 30
	2, 8	4 17 (?)
	15, 36	143 25
	15, 49	150 29
	15, 50	121 9
II Corinth.	4, 4	56 31 172 26. 27
	4, 16	155 8
	5, 6	135 21
	6, 10	157 7. 8
	11, 33	143 1
Galat.	1, 10	40 18. 19
	4, 26	61 2
	6, 2	58 16 219 14. 15
Ephes.	4, 22	3 31
	4, 24	88 2
	6, 16	64 4
Phil.	2, 7	194 3
	3, 19	156 10
I Thess.	4, 14	159 25
II Tim.	4, 7	50 8 57 27 88 8 101 8 113 9 etc.
Hebrews	1, 10—12	190 5 ff.
	11, 5	142 9
James	1, 27	53 24. 25
	4, 4	40 18. 19
I Peter	2, 3	158 18
I John	3, 21	40 31. 32
Revel.	4, 10	194 31
	7, 16	65 20. 21 70 23

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СОДЕРЖАНИЕ / CONTENTS

Статьи / Articles

Ontology, epistemology and politics in Plato's *Republic* 468
Yiorgo N. Maniatis

Execution in selection task depends on Chrysippus' criterion for the conditional 501
Miguel López-Astorga

The discussion of human nature in the 5th and 4th centuries BC in the so-called Sophistic movement 513
Zbigniew Nerczuk

The Book Epigrams on Prometheus, ascribed to John Tzetzes 524
Lydia Spyridonova & Andrey Kurbanov

Constantine Lascaris, his manuscripts and his ethical concerns 538
Juan Felipe Gonzalez-Calderon

Philosophical background of the cosmological polemics in *Contra Manichaeos* by John of Damascus 573
Vladimir Baranov

Socrates' "Swan Song" in Plato's Phaedo. Socrates' "Secret Doctrine" about Death and Eternity 595
Kazimierz Pawłowski

Language and laughter in the treatise of Philo of Alexandria *The worse attacks the better* 611
Maksim Prikhodko

Two Figures in the Dead Sea Scrolls — Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek (11Q13) and "Son of God" in the "Apocryphon of Daniel" (4Q246) — as Two Eschatological Soteriological Concepts 625
Igor Tantlevskij

Ксенофан и пифагорейцы (D.L. IX, 20 = 21 A 1 DK) 643
М. В. Егорочкин

В поисках логоса Гераклита 668
С. Н. Кочеров

Еврит как ученик Филолая 681
Н. Д. Лечич

Моральный аспект феномена популизма в политике поздней Римской республики 702
Е. В. Держивицкий, В. Ю. Перов, А. М. Положенцев

Формирование онтологического понятия «статуса вещей» в метафизике и теологии иезуитов конца XVI – первой половины XVII вв. 716
В. Л. Иванов

Платоническая традиция и теория эпидемий в раннее Новое время 745
И. Г. Гурьянов

К истории античного классицизма 772
И. Д. Колесников

Статус научных теорий в экзегезе кн. Бытия и христологической полемике первой половины VI в.: методы доказательства посредством ἀναλογία и παράδειγμα 789
О. Н.Ноговицин

Моральные предписания и правомерные действия: интерпретация аргументов Аристотеля в метаэтике Р. Хэара 814
А. Б. Дидикин

ἔργα Λήμνια: мифологический оригинал и его копия? 825
Р. В. Гущин

«Против справедливости»: Цицерон как текстуальный источник и интерпретатор свидетельств о «философском посольстве» и скептических речах Карнеада 844
Д. А. Федоров

Теология в горизонте драматургии платоновских текстов 856
Р. В. Светлов

Античные философы в Санкт-Петербурге: визуально-пластическое образование города и человека 868
Д. Ю. Дорофеев

Античные мифологические сюжеты на артефактах, найденных на территории КНР 894
Д. П. Шульга

Генезис философской традиции в образовании 911
О. А. Базалук

Эрот и желание: девиация тирана и философа 926
И. А. Протопопова

Искусство, наука и пайдейя в «О музыке» Аристида Квинтилиана 935
В. В. Петров

Бог и отдельные личности 966
П. А. Бутаков

Подлинная дата наблюдения летнего солнцестояния Метоном Афинским 978
Д. В. Панченко

Переводы / Translations

Групповой портрет софистов 1011
Н. П. Волкова

Дамаский в Александрии (1). Избранные фрагменты его «Философской истории» 1034
Е. В. Афонасин

Аннотации / Abstracts 1050

PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND OF THE COSMOLOGICAL POLEMICS IN *CONTRA MANICHAEOS* BY JOHN OF DAMASCUS

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ABSTRACT. This article analyzes the philosophical arguments used by John of Damascus against the Manichaean dualist cosmological system in his *Dialogue contra Manichaeos*, showing some parallels with his *Dialectica*, and revealing a common Aristotelian background. The philosophical argument in the *Dialogue* seems to be a practical application of philosophical doctrines formulated in the *Dialectica*. From a wider perspective of anti-Manichean polemics used in part for instructional purposes for students of philosophy and theology in Late Antiquity, the conclusion is made that the purpose of the *Dialogue* was aimed not so much against the Manichaean cosmogony and cosmology, but against the Manichaean theodicy which might have been attractive to some Christians of John's times.

KEYWORDS: John of Damascus, Manichaeism, Aristotle, syllogistic proof, substance, contraries, Neoplatonic education.

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At the time of social and political changes in Syria and Palestine in the eighth century,[1] a clear and simple solution to the problem of evil, offered by Manichaean dualism[2] must have appealed to many Muslims and Christians,[3] thus triggering

[1] Tannous 2010. On the situation in the Holy Land at the turn of the eighth century, see Griffith 2006, Griffith 2011, Griffith, 2016, Schadler 2018.

[2] On the presence of the Manichees in Syria and Palestine at the time of John of Damascus, see Ables 2019; Reeves 2011, 152-154.

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the appearance of both Muslim and Christian anti-Manichaean polemics.[4] The problem of evil was resolved in Manichaeism by relegating all good attributes to one divine, beneficial principle of light, and all bad attributes to the other evil, dark, and malevolent principle of matter. In its scope, the *Dialogue contra Manichaeos* of John of Damascus consists of two parts. In the first part John of Damascus refutes the Manichaean cosmologic myth on the basis of Aristotelian syllogisms. Then the "Manichean" interlocutor almost disappears from the scene and the second part of the *Dialogue* discusses the problems associated with the presence of evil in the world which was created by a benevolent God, His foreknowledge, and divine providence, masterfully rethinking the solutions offered in the *Homily That God Is Not the Author of Evil* by Basil of Caesarea.[5] This article will examine more closely the first part of the *Dialogue* and consider several counterarguments of John of Damascus against some provisions of the Manichaean dualist system.

In the beginning of the *Dialogue*, John of Damascus presents the Manichaean cosmogonic myth: there were two primordial principles, good and evil, each one in its own place, "and the good one is called the Good Tree, containing and producing every good, incapable of bringing evil fruit, and the evil one – darkness, decay, the Evil Tree, containing all bad and evil things, incapable of bringing good fruit…"[6] This evil or matter was lifeless, motionless, ugly and dark, and then it rebelled against itself, and its fruits fought with each other. When some of them fled and others pursued, they reached the boundaries of the realm of light. Seeing the light, they desired its beauty, stopped fighting with each other, made a mutual agreement, and attacked the light. And the Good One sent power from himself, and in the battle, the Good One allowed a particle of light to be taken away from him and devoured by the rulers of darkness in order to overcome evil by means of the particle that he gave away. This resulted in a mixture of good and evil in the

[3] S. Stroumsa and G. Stroumsa suggested that Manichaean dualism might have fostered the discussions on free will in early Islam and ultimately resulted in shaping some basic Muslim doctrines of theodicy (Stroumsa, Stroumsa 1988, 52-54); see also Reeves 2011; Baran Tekin 2017, 1-9; Griffith 2011, and Griffith 1987, 94-96, 99-102.

[4] On the polemics against Manichaeism in John of Damascus, see Louth 2002, 61-71. On the cultural and theological environment of John of Damascus, see Awad 2018.

[5] *PG* 31, 344B-345A. Although the editor of the *Dialogue* B. Kotter says in the introduction to the text that no detectable earlier source texts can be identified (Kotter 1981, 344), a number of textual and conceptual parallels make it possible to identify Basil's *Homily* as a primary source for John of Damascus theodicy and doctrine of divine foreknowledge in the *Dialogue* (Baranov 2019).

[6] ed. Kotter 1981, 352.2-6.

world: souls emerged from the particle of goodness, and bodies emerged from the substance of evil (οὐσίας τῆς κακίας).[7]

This basic myth appears in many variations;[8] in terms of verbal formulations, the closest version to the one presented by John of Damascus can be found in Theodoret of Cyrus' *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, including the metaphorical description of the primordial good principle as a good tree, with good fruit, and matter as a bad tree bearing bad fruit, as well as the mixed current state of the world.[9] Manichaeism originated in the Persian-Babylonian Judeo-Christian environment with its specific metaphorical and poetic frame of mind,[10] and did not attempt to formulate its cosmogony and cosmology in structurally arranged ontological terms associated with causality, as was the case with the Greek philosophical tradition. The evil in this system was not a strictly moral or ontological category but should rather be viewed as a personification and antithesis of anything morally or esthetically good and beautiful.[11]

Triggered by the drama of evil in this world and projecting this perception onto the level of cosmic drama of the particles of light entrapped and imprisoned in matter, the Manichaean dualism never succeeded in articulating this opposition on a strictly rational and philosophical level or in formulating a coherent terminological and conceptual system supporting it.[12] When Manichean missionaries entered the Greek-speaking world, they were forced to translate their myth and its constituent elements not only into the Greek language but also into the Greek frame of mind, and use such concepts as principles (ἀρχαί), matter (ὕλη), substance (οὐσία), and nature (φύσις),[13] all of which had enormously rich philosophical meaning, thus causing perplexity in philosophers and becoming susceptible to criticism on philosophical grounds. A "Christianized" version of the Manichaean myth[14] is described by Theodore Abū Qurrah, the Bishop of Harran (ca. 750–ca.

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[7] *Ibid.*, 352-353.

[8] For an overview of the Manichaean doctrine, see Lieu 1986-1987. For a list of Patristic anti-Manichaean works, see Lieu 1985-1986, 464-469. On Manichaeism in the Roman Empire, see Lieu 1992 and Tardieu 2008. On the anti-Manichaean polemics, see Klein 1991; Bennett 2001; Fox, Sheldon, Lieu 2010; Lieu, Sheldon 2011; Smagina 2011; Gardner, Lieu 2004; Khosroev 2007, 122-165, and Esmailpour 2005.

[9] *PG* 83, 377BD. On the image of good and bad trees in Manichaeism, see Coyle 2009a. On Theodoret's version of the Manichean myth, see Bennett 2009.

[10] On the cultural and religious background of Mani, see Khosroev 2007, 109-122.

[11] On the notion of "good" in Manichaeism, see Coyle 2009b.

[12] Puech 1979, 118.

[13] Pedersen 1989, 46-50.

[14] On the Christian influences on the Manichaean doctrine, see Bermejo 2015.

825), who started his ecclesiastical career just a generation after John of Damascus, and described his encounter with the Manichees. These Manichees claimed to be true Christians possessing the true Gospel; they described their primordial principles as substances, and associated the evil principle with Satan.

> The true Gospel is in our possession: it is the one which the twelve apostles have written. There is no Church except for the one which we have, and no one is (truly) Christian except for us. No one discerns the (proper) interpretation of the Gospel apart from Mānī, our founder. Thus has he taught us: Before this world was created, there were two gods whose substances were each different. One of them was Light, Good—it is the good deity—and the other was Evil, Darkness; namely, Satan.[15] In the beginning, each one of them occupied its own territory. Then Darkness noticed the Radiant One and its beauty and its excellence.[16] Filled with desire for it, it pounced upon it and fought with it, wishing to capture it. The Radiant One strove to combat it, but Darkness was on the verge of gaining victory over it. As the Radiant One was in mortal fear, it lopped off a piece of itself and flung it to it, and Darkness swallowed it. Heaven and earth and everything between them were created from the nature of Darkness and from the nature of the piece that the Radiant One threw to him: they came into being by means of (their) combination. For example, humans are created having an internal soul and an external body. They claim that the soul derives from the nature of the Radiant One and the body derives from the nature of Satan, the Dark One.[17]

[15] The discrepancy between the goodness of the original creation and the observable reality is closely related to the figure of the devil as the main actor and instigator of evil-doing. However, in order to remove even the slightest possibility that the devil somehow embodied absolute evil, John of Damascus argued that even the devil was not completely evil since he still participated in being which was a goodness originating from the good God, and possessed free will as a rational creature (*Dialogus contra Manichaeos*, 32-36, ed. Kotter 1981, 372-373).

[16] This version of the myth notably omits a very important Manichaean notion of "the disorderly movement" (ἄτακτος κίνησις) within the evil principle before its battle with the principle of light. Cf. John of Damascus, *Dialogus contra Manichaeos,* 61: "There was, as you say, matter without beginning, unoriginate, in its own borders, eternally disorderly moving (ἀεὶ ἀτάκτως κινουμένη)" (ed. Kotter, 380.1-2). For the discussion of the "disorderly movement" in the *Conversation of John the Orthodox with a Manichaean* and its sources in Titus of Bostra, see Bennett 2009, 38-39; Troje 1948.

[17] Theodore Abū Qurra, *On the Existence of the Creator and the True Religion*; ed. Dick 1982, 205.14-208.11; cited in Reeves 2011, 152-153.

After citing the myth, Theodore Abū Qurrah added an important remark concerning the "intuitive" distribution of empirical phenomena in accordance with the two principles among his Manichees:

> So too for the condition of all things: whatever in them that is good and pleasant is from the nature of the Radiant One, and whatever is not good and harmful is from the nature of the Dark One. For example, water drowns the one who is submerged in it but invigorates and pleases the one who drinks it. The part (of water) that invigorates is from the Radiant One, while that which drowns and ruins is from Darkness. As for serpents, scorpions, lions, leopards, crawling creatures, and their sort, all these are from Darkness.[18]

Similarly, the Early Neoplatonic philosopher Alexander of Lycopolis who encountered one of the first Manichaean missionaries disguised as students in his school five hundred years before Theodore, thus described his indignation at their methods of reasoning, combining attempts at philosophizing with "poetical fables":

> The reason I say this is that I know for a fact that people of this sort [that is, the Manicheans], whenever deficient in proofs, bring together from all sides certain matters derived from poetry to use them as a defence of their private doctrines. However, they would not have done so if they had ever consulted any author you would like to suggest with any amount of care.[19]

Yet, the greatest stumbling stone of the Manichaean cosmology was not even in the existence of the two opposing primordial principles of the universe, but in the mixed state resulting from the attraction of the dark principle to the light and the ensuing cosmic battle, which implied that these principles were not completely alien to each other but had some common grounds.[20]

Before presenting and refuting the Manichaean myth, John of Damascus starts his *Dialogue* with an argument about the scope of logical reasoning:

> Orthodox: Since we came together to make a logical inquiry between ourselves, I will ask you: what is our goal? Manichaean: To compete in inquiring about faith in order to find the truth. O: But what is truth? M.: Establishing and acknowledging that which exists. O.: Is falsehood opposite to truth? M.: In every respect. O.: Why do you say so?

[18] Ibid., 153.

[19] van der Horst, Mansfeld 1974, 71 of ed. Brinkmann 1895, 16.21-17.2. On Alexander of Lycopolis' anti-Manichaean doctrine, see van Oort 2013 (with bibliography).

[20] Coyle 2009b, 57-58.

> M.: Because truth is knowledge of existing beings, and falsehood is [knowledge] of that which is non-existing. O.: You answered incorrectly that truth is the knowledge of existing beings, and falsehood is knowledge of that which is non-existing, since something non-existent cannot be known. M.: What then is falsehood? O.: Ignorance of the existing beings. M.: Right. O.: So, if truth is knowledge of existing beings, and falsehood is ignorance of existing beings, then tell me: is knowledge a possession? M.: Yes. O.: If knowledge is a possession, then ignorance, of course, is privation. M.: Ignorance is also possession. O.: What is ignorance? M.: Not possessing knowledge. O.: Does the particle "not" indicate privation or presence and possession? M.: "Not" shows privation. O.: Do we call non-existing that which is deprived of existence? M.: Sure. O.: So, if ignorance is the lack of knowledge, and "not" indicates privation, ignorance is therefore privation, not possession. M.: Right. O.: Therefore, if truth is knowledge, it is clear that it is possession, and if falsehood is ignorance, according to true reasoning, it is privation. So, it turns out that truth is possession, and falsehood is privation; and truth is an existing thing, while falsehood is a non-existing thing. M.: Certainly. O.: Is evil true or false? M.: False. O.: So, evil is non-existent, but is privation of being and non-existent, and opposite to goodness as privation of possession.[21]

At first sight this seems to be a "sophist" argument about words, aimed at getting an upper hand in the conversation with a gullible Manichaean and demonstrating his philosophical incapacity. In fact, this is an introduction to the main point of polemics against the Manichaean concept of two independent ontological principles: denial of substantial status to the evil principle and considering it as an accident in the substance of all existing beings. Moreover, the *Dialectica* makes it clear that philosophy for John of Damascus was not the "handmaid of theology": by combining school definitions of philosophy as knowledge of beings, imitation of God, and moral doctrine, he defined it as the fundamental path to true knowledge of God since philosophy as "the love of wisdom" is the love of God.[22] His anti-Manichaean arguments can be best seen if we consider parallel-

[21] *Dialogus contra Manichaeos*, 1, ed. Kotter 1981, 351.1-26. Translations of the *Dialogue* are mine.

[22] "… philosophy is knowledge of both divine and human things, that is to say, of things both visible and invisible… Still again, philosophy is the making of one's self like God. Now, we become like God in wisdom, which is to say, in the true knowledge of good; and in justice, which is a fairness in judgment without respect to persons; and in holiness, which is to say, in goodness, which is superior to justice, being that by which we do good to them that wrong us. Philosophy is the art of arts and the science of sciences. This is because philosophy is the principle of every art, since through it every art and science has been invented. Now, according to some, art is what errs in some people and science what errs in no one, whereas philosophy alone does not err. According to others, art is

ism between the philosophical arguments in the *Dialogue* as practical applications of the conceptual framework presented in the *Dialectica*.[23]

The *Dialectica* has survived in a short version of fifty chapters and extensive revision (67 or 68 chapters), both belonging to John of Damascus and was first mentioned in a polemical treatise of the Miaphysite Patriarch Elias (706–728).[24] The first layer of the text containing the concepts adopted from the *Eisagoge* of Porphury can be dated to the late seventh–early eighth century. Later John of Damascus included several sources going back to the *Categories* of Aristotle. The *Dialectica* continues the tradition of Christian textbooks of logic which drew on the commentaries on Aristotle written in Alexandria in the fifth and sixth centuries. Christian collections would replace the names in the examples, such as Socrates and Plato, by names such as Peter and Paul, and focus not on elaborating the thought of Aristotle but on the concepts important for defending the Christian faith using logic-based polemics.[25] However, even though Byzantine logic was clearly Aristotelian in its foundations, the interpretation of Aristotle was influenced by Neoplatonic exegesis and the Christian patristic tradition of logic.[26]

In the introductory chapters of the *Dialectica*, John presents his concept of knowledge and its scope in very similar terms as it appears in the introductory dialogue with the Manichaean cited above. According to Damascene, knowledge can only be of things which exist, while falsehood is privation and ignorance:

> Nothing is more estimable than knowledge, for knowledge is the light of the rational soul. The opposite, which is ignorance, is darkness. Just as the absence of light is darkness, so is the absence of knowledge a darkness of the reason… By knowledge I mean the true knowledge of things which are, because things which have being are the object of knowledge. False knowledge, in so far as it is a knowledge of that which is not, is ignorance rather than knowledge. For falsehood is nothing else but that which is not. Now, since we do not live with our soul stripped bare, but, on the con-

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that which is done with the hands, whereas science is any art that is practiced by the reason, such as grammar, rhetoric, and the like. Philosophy, again, is a love of wisdom. But, true wisdom is God. Therefore, the love of God, this is the true philosophy" (ed. Kotter, 1969, 56.1-27; transl. Chase 1958, 11). These are the standard definitions of philosophy taught to the students of the Neoplatonic philosophical schools of Athens and Alexandria in the fifth and sixth centuries (Ierodiakonou, O'Meara 2008, 712).

[23] On the reworking of the Aristotelian conceptual framework in the *Dialectica*, see Erismann 2010.

[24] Van Roey 1944.

[25] Roueché 1974; Roueché 1980.

[26] Erismann 2017, 364.

> trary, have it clothed over, as it were, with the veil of the flesh, our soul has the mind as a sort of eye which sees and has the faculty of knowing and which is capable of receiving knowledge and having understanding of things which are <…> Philosophy is knowledge of things which are in so far as they are, that is, a knowledge of the nature of things which have being… [27]

Only things which exist or possess *being* can be defined, analyzed, known, comprehended, and properly spoken about. In his polemics with the Manichaean doctrine, John of Damascus proposed to make generalizations of empirical reality not according to "horizontal" beneficial or malevolent principles, but according to the vertical hierarchy of individuals, species, and genera, culminating in substance as a universal attribute of everything including God.

All existing things are united by their most general commonness of existence or substance. In the *Dialectica*, John of Damascus mentioned the distinction between substance as the universal commonness of beings, and nature as the genus referring to the "pagan philosophers," qualifying that the Fathers used "substance" and "nature" in the same sense.[28] However, he actively employed the "pagan" notion of substance as the most universal commonness of all beings in his *Dialogue,* adopting the anti-Manichaean philosophical argument used already by Titus of Bostra, that substances cannot be contrary to each other, and good and evil are not substances but qualities existing in a substance as the sole principle and commonality of all beings, based on Aristotle's *Categories*:[29]

> O: …And how do you say that the two principles which you have invented have nothing in common? For if both exist, and one substance is an unoriginate and eternal

[27] Ed. Kotter, 1969, 53.1-17; 56.1-3; transl. Chase, 1958, 7-8, 11. On the treatise, see Richter 2009, 38-53.

[28] "In this same way the pagan philosophers stated the difference between οὐσία, or substance, and φύσις, or nature, by saying that substance was being in the strict sense, whereas nature was substance which had been made specific by essential differences so as to have, in addition to being in the strict sense, being in such a way, whether rational or irrational, mortal or immortal. In other words, we may say that, according to them, nature is that unchangeable and immutable principle and cause and virtue which has been implanted by the Creator in each species for its activity <…> The holy Fathers paid no attention to the many inane controversies, and that which is common to and affirmed of several things, that is to say, the most specific species, they called substance, and nature, and form – as, for example, angel, man, horse, dog, and the like" (ed. Kotter 1969, 93-94, transl. Chase 1958, 55-56).

[29] "It seems most distinctive of substance that what is numerically one and the same is able to receive contraries" (*Categories*, 5, 4a10-12, transl. Ackrill, 1963, 11).

principle, and the other one is the same, then they are not completely devoid of commonness. For they have a commonality according to being and substance, and because [each one] is an unoriginate and eternal principle.[30]

O.: In terms of existence, is being opposite to being or to non-being?
M.: The existing evil is opposite to the existing good.
O: I did not ask if they are opposite in terms of good and evil, but in terms of existence. For things which exist are not completely opposite, since they have commonness with each other by their very being, while non-being is opposite to being. Thus, if evil is completely opposite to good, then evil does not exist. Therefore evil is privation of being and is called evil, and if good is substance, then evil is devoid of substance, otherwise they cannot be completely opposite.[31]

This argument is the syllogistic expression of the definition of substance encompassing all beings including God from the *Dialectica*, and is based on Aristotle's statements from the *Categories* that contraries are predicated of a substance;[32] that contrary is not a substance and that substance has nothing contrary to it.[33] As a Christian theologian, at this crucial point of his argument on the common existence of God and created beings, John of Damascus is also forced to

[30] John of Damascus, *Dialogus contra Manichaeos*, 11, ed. Kotter 1981, 357.5-13.

[31] *Dialogus contra Manichaeos*, 13, ed. Kotter 1981, 357.6-358.13. Cf. Titus of Bostra, *Contra Manichaeos*, I, 13, eds. Roman et al. 2013, 29-35; Pedersen 2004, 262-275. Cf. pseudo-Didymus, *Syllogisms against the Manichees,* I. 1.: "No absolute opposition exists between contraries, since the contraries have certain common attributes. White, for example, which is contrary to black, is opposed to the latter in respect of differentiae alone, while colour and quality are common to them. But nothing of this sort [i.e. like white and black] has its opposition in this respect at a prior [i.e. more general] level; for they are all logically posterior to the common attributes and among the common attributes there is no opposition. There must be colour and quality in common if white and black are to exist; in the same way, virtue and vice are logically posterior to quality and disposition. Thus, if there are two unoriginate first principles [i.e good and evil] and these are contraries, then either their opposition is absolute or they have some common attributes. Nothing, however, is regarded as a contrary in an absolute sense; therefore they have common features, such as existence and being substances and whatever else is found to be common to them. The fact that one is good while the other is evil and that one is light while the other is darkness makes them contraries. The fact that they are substances is conceived of as prior to their being good and evil. Their opposition therefore lies not in what they have in common, but rather in what is peculiar to each" (Bennett 1997, 284/302 Greek/translation).

[32] *Categories* 5, 4a10-22.

[33] *Categories* 5, 3b24-27. Cf. John of Damascus, *Dialectica*, 48; ed. Kotter 1969, 113.20-22.

make a reservation that although God is substance, He exists in a special "supra-substantial manner:

> Being is the common name for all things which are. It is divided into substance and accident. Substance is the principal of these two, because it has existence in itself and not in another. Accident, on the other hand, is that which cannot exist in itself but is found in the substance. For the substance is a subject, just as matter is of the things made out of it, whereas an accident is that which is found in the substance as in a subject… Substance is defined as follows: Substance is a thing which exists in itself and has no need of another for its existence. Accident, however, is that which cannot exist in itself, but has its existence in another. God, then, is substance, and so is every created thing. God, however, even though He is substance, is super-substantial.[34]

In addition to substance as a universal commonness of beings, John of Damascus turns to the notion of principle (ἀρχή) treating it in the traditional Aristotelian meaning of causality, as opposed to the secondary meaning of causality among the Manichees, who primarily understood ἀρχή as a "notional compartment" for arranging empirical good or bad phenomena. Aristotle stated that ἀρχαί should be understood as causes, and they all are united by the starting-point, whether internal or external, of being, becoming, or knowledge. In the two consecutive chapters in his discussion of the single ἀρχή as opposed to the Manichaean multiple ἀρχαί, John of Damascus applied what seems to be a variant of the third man argument, disrupting the endless chain of givers of being only by the beginningless first giver, and using inductive reasoning:

> M.: Why is God unoriginate?
> O.: Because that which is non-existent, does not have being from itself. And how that which has no being from itself, will exist from itself? By necessity that non-being has to receive being from something existing, and the first sharer of being, who has being from himself, will always be unoriginate.[35]
> M.: Why is there one beginning and not two?
> O.: Because dyad proceeds from monad as the offspring of the monad, and monad is the beginning of dyad, and monad is clearly prior to dyad, and since every thing has one beginning, and if each of beings has one beginning, all things will have one be-

[34] Ed. Kotter 1969, 57.1-58.18, 59.61-69; transl. Chase 1958, 13-14.

[35] Cf. Plato, *Parmenides* 132a-b. In the *Hexaemeron* I, 6, Basil of Caesarea applies the same kind of argument to prove that "in the beginning" of the creation account was outside of time (ed. Giet 1950, 110-112, 16CD).

ginning, for the judgment applicable to each of beings will apply to all.[36]

In his further refutation of the doctrine of two primordial principles, John dwells on the classification of sources of beginning (ἀρχαί) or causes proposed by Aristotle in the *Metaphysics,* who formulated various meanings of ἀρχή as the starting-point of movement or endeavor, part of the thing from which its genesis begins (such as the foundation of a house), the external starting-point of genesis or movement (efficient cause, including natural causation such as a child from its father and mother), that which moves something else at its will (such as city powers and dignitaries as well as creative causation in producing art), and that from which knowledge of a thing starts (such as epistemological premises of proofs).[37]

John of Damascus distinguished between ἀρχή in terms of time, place, dignity and power, preceding sequence of numbers, order, and causality which was triple and included a natural cause, creative cause, and imitative cause.[38] John of Damascus argued that in neither of these kinds one could find two unoriginate yet opposing ἀρχαί. In terms of time, any changing principle, either from the bodiless state into a body, or from the invisible state into some form, or from quietude to turmoil (which were the stages of the Manichaean myth) would become something new which it had not been before and thus could not be unoriginate.[39] In terms of space, the opposites could not be located within each other because this would lead to their mutual destruction, but each one had to occupy its own limited space separated by a boundary to avoid interpenetration. Thus there would be light and its space, darkness and its space, and the boundary, which would altogether give five primordial principles instead of two.[40] Both power and dignity were relational, implying power and dignity over something, which in the case of the two principles would mean either that one would rule over the other, or that both would not rule over anything, or there would be some other subordinate principle over which two principles would exercise their power, which would multiply the number of the primordial principles if they were coeternal with the two, or annihilate the power of the two if the subordinate principles were not co-

[36] *Dialogus contra Manichaeos*, 18-19, ed. Kotter 1981, 362.1-6. Cf. Aristotle, *Topics* I, 12, 105a.

[37] *Metaphysics* V, 1, 1013a; Ross 1975, 290.

[38] *Dialogus contra Manichaeos*, 3, ed. Kotter 1981, 353.3-17. On the notion of ἀρχή in the Fathers associated with the Genesis account of creation, see van Winden 1997. On Basil's and Ambrose's treatment of ἀρχή, see van Winden 1963.

[39] *Dialogus contra Manichaeos,* 5; ed. Kotter, 1981, 354.2-7.

[40] *Dialogus contra Manichaeos*, 7; ed. Kotter, 1981, 355.1-10.

eternal and there was a state when they did not yet exist.[41] Two principles could also not be conceived from the viewpoint of natural causality: if they were the originators of beings as natural causes, everything would be coeternal and consubstantial to these principles, and therefore unchangeable.[42] If the two principles were considered from the viewpoint of creative causality, both souls and bodies would not emanate from these principles but would come into being from non-being, and matter would not fight with light and would not capture its particle to produce souls. Moreover, John argued that it was inconceivable that two opposite principles could come together in agreement for creating a single world and single man.

In addition to Aristotelian works, another important genre of literature which was likely used in the *Dialogue* by John of Damascus was anti-Manichaean writings composed not for strictly polemical purposes, but for instructional purposes of Neoplatonic education, logically evolving from the inner Platonist strain between the monist and dualist principles imbedded into Plato's cosmogony and cosmology.[43]

Although Plato described the Receptacle in *Timaeus* 30A and 52E-53A as a source of disorderly motion, it was only used as a notion for explaining diversity in the world, some of which might result in the options which we might perceive as evil. In Plato's successor Speusippus, two primary principles were the One possessing utmost simplicity and Multiplicity facilitating division and associated with fluid matter. These principles were not in opposition to each other; Multiplicity simply assisted the One in fostering diversity and individuation of the cosmos. Xenocrates placed the sublunar region under the rule of a "lower Zeus" who can be identified with Hades and may be in some way associated with the deity mentioned by Plutarch as Pluto/Hades who also ruled the sublunar realm, regulated changeableness in the world, and was contrasted, although not strictly opposed to, with a transcendent deity identified with Apollo. Antiochus of Ascalon in the first century B.C. proposed an active principle and passive principle of matter as formless substance devoid of any quality. Eudorus of Alexandria also followed the monist line of thought proposing a supreme One above the pair of Monad and Indefinite Dyad, warranting all existence including matter.

However, in the late first century A.D. another, dualist tendency started to prevail in Platonist discussions. Thus, in addition to a subordinate, sublunar deity, Plutarch introduced a much more radically evil power in the universe, whose

[41] *Dialogus contra Manichaeos*, 9; ed. Kotter, 1981, 356.1-7.

[42] *Dialogus contra Manichaeos*, 10; ed. Kotter, 1981, 356.1-13.

[43] In the following I am summarizing an overview of Dillon 2008.

strife represented the tension of opposites, preserving the world's existence. The Indefinite Dyad acted as the evil principle; Unlimitedness was the principle of formlessness and disorder, yet the One limited and contained the void, irrational, and indeterminate in Unlimitedness. In the second century A.D., Numenius of Apamea propagated a dualistic system, equating Matter with the Indefinite Dyad and Maleficent Soul of Plutarch, and considering Matter to be fluid and devoid of quality, yet clearly evil. Plotinus inherited this distinctly dualist tendency of Platonism in his discussion of matter and evil,[44] at the time when Manichaeism started to enter the Roman Empire.

For the later Neoplatonism, Manichaeism became a "punching bag" both in the process of articulating the "normative" Platonic teaching[45] and in instructing students in logic by exposing the logical flaws in the basic Manichaean doctrines or Manichaean paralogisms, after incorporating Aristotelian logical treatises and his methodology of syllogistic proofs into the curriculum.[46] The course of studying the works of Aristotle, before studying Plato's dialogues, acquired a standardized and organized shape in the mid fifth century by the time of Proclus, who thus justified the use of studying paralogisms in the prologue to his commentary on Euclid's *Elements*, which was also a part of the curriculum: "Since there are many matters that seem to be dependent on truth and to follow from scientific principles but really lead away from them and deceive the more superficial students, he [Euclid] has given us methods for clear-sighted detection of such errors; and if we are in possession of these methods, we can train beginners in this science for the discovery of paralogisms and also protect ourselves from being led astray."[47] Manichaean arguments became particularly actively discussed in the sixth century by such thinkers as Simplicius, John Philoponus, Zacharias Scholasticus, Severus of Antioch, John the Grammarian, and Paul the Persian, some of whom studied philosophy in Alexandria from Ammonius, the Neoplatonist philosopher and student of Proclus, and who later taught and practiced grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy.[48]

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[44] See Rist 1961; O'Brien 1981. For the debate with D. O'Brien, see Phillips 2009.

[45] For Simplicius, see Lieu, Sheldon 2011.

[46] On the early stages of this process in Clement of Alexandria, Alcinous, Atticus, and Proclus, see Bechtle 2013. On Neoplatonic curriculum, see Bennett 2015, 23-27; Bennett 2021. See also Lloyd 1955; Lloyd 1956, and O'Meara 2009. On typical mistakes of logical argumentation according to Aristotle, see Schreiber 2003.

[47] Proclus, *In primum Euclidis elementorum librum commentarii* 70.1-9; Morrow 1970, 58, cited in Bennett 2021, 427.

[48] Bennett 2015, 19.

A good example of the intersecting traditions of the Late Antique Neoplatonic and Christian education, and borrowing of the Neoplatonic curriculum by the Christians is the early sixth century *First Homily against the Manichaeans* by John the Grammarian, which in fact is not a homily but lecture notes by a Christian teacher of Neoplatonic philosophy on several problems related to matter and light resulting from the Manichaean worldview, and their solutions using Neoplatonic philosophical methods.[49] The structure of the *Homily* strongly resembles the part of the *Dialogue* by John of Damascus which refuted the propositions of the Manichaean cosmology. Both treatises start with a brief epistemological introduction, present the problem in the form of a proposition (matter is living and ungenerated) in John the Grammarian and the Manichaean cosmogonic myth in John of Damascus, and go on to refute it by syllogistic argumentation based on Aristotelian premises.

Because of largely common methods of advanced education among pagans and Christians, the same arguments, albeit sometimes appearing in differing wording and supplied by different examples, resurface in a number of various treatises, both pagan and Christian. Thus, the argument on the commonality of contraries in substance appears in John of Damascus, John the Grammarian's treatise, in a collection of syllogisms attributed to Didymus the Blind (reproducing a passage from John the Grammarian as a separate syllogism), and Simplicius, and are all based on Aristotle's discussions of contrariety.

Thus, two Byzantine philosophical works of the sixth century: Zacharias of Mitylene's *Adversus Manichaeos* and *Defensio* (Ἀπολογία) attributed to Paul the Persian refute a brief anonymous treatise on two unoriginate principles entitled *The Proposition of a Manichaean* which most likely survived from a Neoplatonist milieu where it was used as a teaching aid for students of logic. The main polemical method was exposing its logical flaws, primarily, a mistake in category by opposing not contraries, but relatives.[50]

John of Damascus used a similar argument on contraries existing only in substance which therefore is their common and more primary entity, in his ontological criticism of the Manichaean concept of light and darkness as two unoriginate principles. The boundary separating the two in each realm must be considered as its own unoriginate, third principle.

> Thus, the two [principles] either would be in each other or would be circumscribed by place and not be unoriginate. How then can light and darkness be in each other?

[49] Bennett 2015.

[50] Bennett 2021, 419-421.

> For light destroys darkness. If there is no boundary of light and boundary of darkness, neither light would be incircumscribable since it is not everywhere, nor darkness (Εἰ οὐ μεθόριά εἰσι τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ μεθόρια τοῦ σκότους, οὐδὲ τὸ φῶς ἀπερίγραπτον ὡς μὴ πανταχοῦ ὂν οὐδὲ τὸ σκότος). Καὶ οὐ παντελῶς ἄναρχα ἔχοντα τοπικὴν ἀρχήν), and they are not completely unoriginate having a spatial principle. For it is impossible for light and darkness to be entirely unmixed without some barrier or partition.[51]

At first sight, this explanation is puzzling, since circumscription is precisely the capacity to be limited by a certain outline or border, and without the boundary light should be called incircumscribable. None of the manuscripts used for the critical edition indicate a variant reading suggesting a scribal error so we have to assume this is the original formulation. We can solve this puzzle by viewing the example which John of Damascus provides as an illustration to his argument:

> If we lit a lamp at night, the space around the lamp would be lighter, and it would be darker at a small distance until the light completely disappears and there is pure darkness without admixture of light. So either from the beginning darkness was mixed with light and these are not completely opposite and uncommunicating, or something else was the boundary dividing those from the beginning, and thus there are not two principles but three.[52]

These examples are taken from the physical world where unrestrained light does not spread infinitely but fades away with distance and is viewed as an empirical phenomenon paired with darkness as another empirical phenomenon. It is likely that while speaking about light and darkness, as a background text, John of Damascus and his readers had in mind the verse from the Prologue to the Gospel of John "The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not overcome it (καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει, καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν) (John 1:5)." This divine light of the Word is the only incircumscribable light penetrating the whole of creation and beyond, while in the physical world, light is always coupled with darkness as the shadow cast by an object lit by the sun. Physical light and darkness are interrelated natural phenomena – the more light, the less darkness and vice versa; they manifest themselves in space as in a common underlying substance. In addition, given the natural paradigm of John's explanation, not only space might have been the commonality where light and darkness exist but also

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[51] *Dialogus contra Manichaeos*, 22, ed. Kotter 1981, 363.1-7.

[52] Ibid., 363.8-10. Cf. *Dialogus contra Manichaeos*, 7, ed. Kotter 1981, 355.2-7, and Severus of Antioch, *Homily* 123, Brière 1960, 151.17-153.7.

air, since two theories of vision in Late Antiquity – Aristotelian and Galenic – required the presence of air as a mediating substance.[53]

Moreover, the example also shows that similar to earlier polemicists, John of Damascus does not present light and darkness as absolute contraries, since they involve an infinite number of intermediate states of "lighter" or "darker." John of Damascus describes this kind of contraries in Chapter 57, "On Opposites," in his *Dialectica*:

> Some contraries have no intermediate, whereas others have....Now, those which have an intermediate are those of which one or the other must not necessarily be in the subject, or in the things of which they are predicated. An example is that of white and black, for these are contraries, yet it is not at all necessary for one of them to be in the body, because it is not necessary for every body to be either white or black–there are gray bodies and tawny ones. ...in the case of those contraries which have intermediates, some of the intermediates have names, as the mean between white and black is called gray.[54]

In the same chapter John of Damascus also mentions that contraries are not primary principles since they "come under the same genus, as white and black under color."[55]

In an earlier article on the *Dialogue*, the conclusion was set forth that the problem of divine providence was not the main scope of the *Dialogue* for John of Damascus, but was a corollary of his Christian ontological attempt to ascribe all causality to a single divine and benevolent principle.[56] This research makes it possible to adjust the previous conclusion. The ease in refuting the key points of the Manichaean myth by employing various arguments based on Aristotelian methods of proof, as well as likely adoption of ready-made syllogisms from the school tradition of instruction in logic stand out against the "real voice" of John of Damascus in the second part of the treatise, where he focuses on the matters of divine providence and foreknowledge which would correct voluntary abuses of human free will, and masterfully rethinks the solutions to the problems of theod-

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[53] See Lorenz 2007; Ierodiakonou 2014; Betancourt 2018; Ierodiakonou 2020 (with bibliography).

[54] *Dialectica*, 57; ed. Kotter 1969, 125.15-126.27, transl. Chase 1958, 88-89.

[55] *Dialectica*, 57; ed. Kotter 1969, 126.43-44, transl. Chase 1958, 90. Cf. Simplicius: "For this reason it is impossible for opposites to be prime causes: their classification must have existed prior to them" (transl. Lieu, Sheldon 2011, 219), based on Aristotle, *Categories* 8, 10b17-18.

[56] Baranov 2019, 10.

icy proposed by Basil of Caesarea. This may indicate that the latter issues were targeted in the *Dialogue,* which can be regarded as a curious practical application of the Aristotelian philosophical tradition of Late Antiquity appearing in the *Dialectica*.

It does not really matter whether John of Damascus acquired his knowledge of Manichaeism from direct encounter, written testimony on the Manichaean doctrines, or in a course of theological training (or through any combination of these), since it is unlikely that Manichaeism was a real threat to his audience and the primary target of his polemics. It is quite possible that clear Manichean theodicy relegating all very real evils empirically present in the world to an independent principle, which must have been a pressing issue in the times of social and political instability, could have been appealing to some Christians. John of Damascus might have had a multiple purpose in mind while composing his *Dialogue*, first discrediting the Manichaean doctrines, including Manichaean cosmogony, cosmology, and theodicy based on the developed tradition of anti-Manichaean polemics, and then offering a correct alternative in the form of divine, benevolent foreknowing activity, combined with human free will, which acts not on human free actions but on their consequences. The overall logic of the *Dialogue* may be viewed in reverse order: everyone who does not believe in the providence of a good God over creation but believes in some independent existence of evil outside of the free choice of rational beings inevitably joins the ranks of the Manichees, whose cosmological myth is based on logical flaws and does not stand elementary rational scrutiny. However, the *Dialogue* should also be viewed from a wider perspective as a nexus of intersecting themes, including the philosophical thought of the last generation of Greek-speaking thinkers in Palestine. The *Dialogue* is not only a polemical treatise but a witness to the end of the Late Antique educational curriculum,[57] and the culture of public disputations of Late Antiquity, receiving new life in the Islamic environment.[58]

[57] Following the suggestion that anti-Manichaean polemics in Late Antiquity was a part of standard rhetorical training for the theologians, A. Louth proposed an early date of the *Dialogue* which John could compose still in Damascus in the course of such training (Louth 2002, 71 based on Lieu 1988, 175). The philological analysis of the parallels between the *Dialogue* and *Dialectica* at different stages of its development might clarify this issue.

[58] See Lim 1992; Lim 1995; Szilágyi 2009; Bertaina 2011 (see the critical review of this work in Szilágyi 2015); Griffith 1992; Griffith 2000.

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THE MANICHAEAN HYMN-CYCLES IN PARTHIAN

BY

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W. B. HENNING

PREFACE

THE originals of the texts published here, the property of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, were among the material brought back from Chinese Turkestan by German archaeological expeditions in the early years of this century. Some of these particular texts soon attracted attention, as representing a work or works of great interest for the general understanding of Manichaeism; but the fragmentary nature of the material delayed its comprehensive study. Notable progress in the reconstruction of the texts was made latterly by Professor W. B. Henning, who was unable, however, to find time to pursue this work. I have been privileged to incorporate, with acknowledgements, the material collected by him in the present edition of the texts, for the preparation of which he generously gave me free access to his collection of photographs of the Berlin manuscripts. This collection, although large, is not complete; but I have been able to compare its contents with the descriptive catalogue made by Dr. Lentz of the Akademie collection, and it seems unlikely that any important Parthian strophic material is missing. The present edition was ready for the printer before it proved possible to get in touch again with the Akademie, to whom I am grateful for raising no objection to its immediate publication. Nevertheless, I much regret that the manuscripts themselves were not accessible when this study was made, since photographs are in many cases a poor substitute for the originals. Care has been taken, however, to indicate all uncertain readings. When reference to the originals is possible, many of these will doubtless be clarified.

The basis of the present work was approved by the University of Cambridge for the degree of Ph.D. in 1952. Professor Henning acted as supervisor of my research, and I am deeply indebted to him for advice and help, unstintingly given. My thanks are also due to Dr. Arthur Waley for his kindness in sparing time to study the Chinese version of a part of these hymn-cycles; and to Dr. Wolfgang Lentz for helpful criticisms, offered with a characteristic magnanimity. Professor Henning very kindly read one set of proofs, and Dr. Gershevitch gave help with advice and with a part of the proofs. I am further very grateful to my friend Mrs. Maria

Henning for the kindness and skill with which she helped me prepare the texts for the press.

I should like to express my gratitude to my own college of Newnham for the award of a research studentship which enabled me to begin this study; and to the School of Oriental and African Studies for providing a full subvention for the publication of this work in the London Oriental Series. I should also like to express my appreciation of the skill and helpfulness of the Oxford University Press.

M. B.

1954

CONTENTS

PREFACE vii

INTRODUCTION 1–59

I. PREVIOUS WORK ON THE HYMN-CYCLES 1

II. THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE HYMN-CYCLES 8

III. THE GOAL OF THE DEPARTED SPIRIT AND THE IDENTITY OF THE SAVIOUR 15

IV. THE MANUSCRIPTS 23

V. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEXT 25

VI. SOME REMARKS ON AUTHORSHIP AND STYLE 42

VII. VERSIFICATION 45

THE TEXTS 61–178

LIST OF FRAGMENTS 62

Huwīdagmān 66

Angad Rōšnān 112

THE UNIDENTIFIED FRAGMENTS 174

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE MANUSCRIPTS 179

GLOSSARY 180

PLATES *at end*

INTRODUCTION

I. PREVIOUS WORK ON THE HYMN-CYCLES

THERE are in Parthian three long texts which are divided into sections known as *handāms* or 'limbs'. One of these, *Wazargān Āfrīwan*, is written as prose. The other two, which take their titles from their opening words, are the hymn-cycles *Huwīdagmān* and *Angad Rōšnān*. These hymn-cycles are the subject of the present work, in which the term '*handām* text' is restricted to them alone.

The first scholar to publish any part of the hymn-cycles was F. W. K. Müller, who illustrated a point of orthography by a verse from the sixth canto of *Angad Rōšnān*, existing in three manuscripts.[1] Later he used a verse from the seventh canto of the same cycle to explain a phrase.[2] Both verses were reprinted by C. Salemann.[3] Müller did not publish any account of the *handām* texts; but in 1918 he sent his notes on them to R. Reitzenstein, with permission to use them for his book *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*.[4] He also sent Reitzenstein photographs of several of the *handām* fragments, which he studied with some help from F. C. Andreas.

Reitzenstein was then seeking to prove that there had existed among the Zoroastrians of Iran a salvation-mystery, inherited by the Manichaeans and transmitted to religious communities in the West.[5] The Manichaean material which he examined for this purpose consisted of the fragments M 7 and M 4 and the following *handām* fragments: M 88 I, M 89, M 91, M 93, M 96, M 175, M 439, M 774, and T II D 178 I–IV. His interpretation of M 7, namely, that it contained a Zoroastrian hymn adapted by Mani for his own community, has not been accepted.[6] His theories about M 4 and the *handām* fragments remain to be considered here.

[1] F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan*, ii (Abh. P.A.W., 1904, *Anh.*), p. 6.

[2] *Eine Hermas-Stelle in manichäischer Version* (Sb. P.A.W., 1905), p. 1083.

[3] C. Salemann, *Manichaeische Studien* (Zap. Imp. Ak. Nauk, 1908), pp. 21, 35.

[4] Bonn, 1921.

[5] Reitzenstein had mentioned this theory briefly in a previous work. See *Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse* (Sb. Heidelberger A.W., 1919), p. 88.

[6] See O. G. von Wesendonk, *Urmensch und Seele in der iranischen Ueberlieferung*, p. 122; H. H. Schaeder, *Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems*, p. 105 n. 3; W. B. Henning in Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, iii, p. 872 n. 1.

M 4 consists of two double sheets containing both Middle Persian and Parthian texts. It was published by Müller[1] and republished by Salemann,[2] both times with the sheets in the wrong order. The mistake was corrected by Reitzenstein, who made a detailed study of the Parthian text.[3] This is of an unusual character, being made up of the first line or lines of a series of hymns, grouped according to subject-matter. The number of lines in a group varies. Each group has its own heading, but some of the headings are themselves obscure.[4] Two can, however, be readily interpreted: *'zg'myg b'š'h'n* ('death hymns') and *fršygyrdyg b'š'ẖ* ('end-of-the-world hymn(s)'). From these Reitzenstein inferred that the whole text was a death-mass for the World-Soul, whose deliverance from matter 'erst mit dem Ende der Welt vollständig wird'.[5] He explained its unusual character by supposing it to be an abstract of a larger work, namely of the hymn-cycle *Angad Rōšnān*. The title of the sixth (and last) section of M 4 is *nys'r'd 'ngd rwšn'ny b'*[*š'*]: 'Begun the hymn(s) connected with *Angad Rōšnān*.' Beneath this only one line is preserved, which is the opening line of the hymn-cycle. Nothing else survives to show the nature of the *angad rōšnānī* hymns or their relation with the cycle itself. It was on this evidence that Reitzenstein sought to establish a close connexion between the whole of M 4 and the *handām* text.

By chance two of the longest fragments of the hymn-cycle available to Reitzenstein bear the title 'Sixth Limb—*Angad Rōšnān*'.[6] He assumed therefore that the title *Angad Rōšnān* was peculiar to the sixth section both of the hymn-cycle and of M 4;[7] and thus that each section of M 4 corresponded with a canto of the hymn-cycle. The cantos he believed to be composed of sets of short hymns;[8] and he therefore further supposed that each hymn was

[1] *H.-R.* ii, pp. 49 ff. [2] *Man. Stud.*, pp. 4 ff.

[3] In these pages M 4 is used with reference to the Parthian section of the fragment only.

[4] Thus the title of *tngy'nyg b'š'h'n* ('body-soul hymns') is recorded in only one other place (see Henning, *BBB.*, p. 47, text d); and those of *gy'nyg b'š'ẖ'n* ('soul hymns') and *mwqr'nyg b'š'ẖ* occur only here. The literal meaning even of the latter is unknown. The lines beneath it appear to have a Semitic original (see M. Lidzbarski, 'Ein manichäisches Gedicht', *N.G.G.W.*, 1918, pp. 501 ff.).

[5] *Erl. Myst.*, p. 18. [6] These are M 96 and M 175.

[7] This assumption was particularly rash in the case of M 4, which is a fragment without beginning or end. It is unlikely, therefore, that the numbering of the sections as they survive is significant. This was pointed out by Lentz; see W.–L. i, p. 67.

[8] Reitzenstein was misled by the fact that on M 91 and M 175 there is a

represented by its opening line in the corresponding section of M 4. This was an attractive hypothesis, but one based on wrong assumptions. *Angad Rōšnān* is the title of the whole work;[1] and the cantos of which it is composed consist of unbroken runs of verses. There is thus no basis for a formal comparison between M 4 and the hymn-cycle.

Reitzenstein suggested that *Angad Rōšnān* had originally consisted of twelve cantos, corresponding with the twelve hours both of the day on which the cycle was chanted and of a symbolic Day of Light.[2] Having named M 4 'die abgekürzte Totenmesse', he called the hymn-cycle correspondingly 'das grosse Erlösungsmysterium'. He used the term 'mystery' in a restricted sense, however, pointing out that in Manichaeism 'von einer kultischen Handlung findet sich keine Spur, und dass wir es nicht mit dem ἱερὸς λόγος eines wirklichen Mysteriums zu tun haben, sollte schon die grosse Zahl der Exemplare beweisen'.[3] He made, nevertheless, a close comparison between the hymn-cycles and the funeral liturgies of gnostic sects. The subject of the Iranian texts he held to be the 'death' and salvation of the First Man, symbolizing the death in matter and deliverance of Light and of individual souls. He supposed at first that the deities Friend of the Lights, Xrōštag, and Padwāxtag figured in the surviving verses.[4] Later, in his book *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*,[5] he abandoned the details

blank space marking the end of a canto. As he attributed all verses on these fragments to the sixth canto, he supposed this space to show a division within the canto itself. He was also influenced by M 88 II, containing short *Evangelionīg* hymns, which have, however, no connexion with the *handām* texts on M 88 I, as he himself later recognized (see his *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 3. Aufl., p. 277).

[1] This is suggested even by some of the fragments available to Reitzenstein. M 89 bears clearly the title: 'Eighth Limb—*Angad Rōšnān*'; and M 91 and M 774 both have titles to be restored as 'Seventh Limb—*Angad Rōšnān*'.

[2] *Erl. Myst.*, pp. 95–96.

[3] Ibid., p. 96.

[4] The words *rwšn'n fry'ng*, from which he then argued the presence of Friend of the Lights, are used as a laudatory epithet for any god or angel. The deity himself is called in Parthian *fryhrwšn*. The presence of the god Padwāxtag was assumed from the letter *p* which appears sometimes in the margins (see below, p. 24); but this device (for *padwāg* 'answer') probably marks the antiphon, as suggested by Müller.

[5] 3. Aufl. (1927), pp. 53–55. Reitzenstein's earlier theories were admirably summarized by H. Gressmann in *Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-römischen Zeitalter* (1930), pp. 172–5. This book, published posthumously, was completed in 1923. It therefore contains no reference to Reitzenstein's modification of his theories.

of this mythological interpretation, but maintained the essentials of his theory.

Reitzenstein had serious handicaps in his study of the *handām* texts. Knowledge of the Parthian and Middle Persian material was then still very limited, even among Iranists; and he himself was not a specialist in this field.[1] Nevertheless, his contributions to the subject were of great value. He was the first to emphasize the importance of the texts, justly remarking that the number of surviving fragments alone shows that 'es sich um einen Kernpunkt der manichäischen Religion handelt';[2] he realized that the surviving verses represent what must once have been an elaborate work on a grand scale;[3] and he put forward a theory of the nature of that work which, however wrong in detail, is probably in the main not far from the truth.

Five years after *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* had appeared, E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz published in collaboration *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*,[4] a study of the part played by the redeeming deity Jesus in Manichaeism. Lentz, who was responsible for the Iranian part of this work, supposed the Saviour of the *handām* hymns to be Jesus.[5] He therefore discussed the hymn-cycles at some length, and also published the text, with translation, of several *handām* fragments. This was the first publication of any considerable amount of text.

The fragments published by Lentz were T II D 178 I–IV and M 855. The former group was known to Reitzenstein, and had been assigned tentatively by him to a second canto. Lentz was able to advance the study of the *handām* texts considerably by connecting T II D 178 I with a Sogdian colophon, and showing thereby that the fragment belongs in fact to a fifth canto. The colophon in question occurs in a manuscript represented by fragments with the signatures T II K 178, T II D II 170, T II D 185, and T II K. This manuscript appears to have been a hymn-book of considerable size, containing several lengthy works in Sogdian translation. The extant titles and colophons show that in addition to

[1] For Reitzenstein's own remarks on the limitations both of his technical equipment and of the Iranian material available to him, see his later work, *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe*, p. 98 and n. 2.

[2] *Erl. Myst.*, p. 19. [3] Ibid., p. 26.

[4] Abh. P.A.W., 1926 (= W.-L. i.).

[5] Lentz based this suggestion partly on the evidence of M 88 II, which he believed to contain verses from a *handām* text; but see above, p. 2 n. 8.

two major Parthian works, *Huwīdagmān* and *Wazargān Āfrīwan*, it included the extensive Middle-Persian hymn-cycle *Gōwišn īg Grīw Zīndag*. Unfortunately the manuscript is now in a fragmentary state. It is written, moreover, in a cursive hand very difficult to decipher.

The Parthian fragment T II D 178 I contains verses from the end of one canto and the beginning of another. The opening words of the second canto are:

'g'm ky[1] bwj'h 'w mn o 'c hw jfr 'bn's

Lentz found a page in the Sogdian MS. containing a colophon that read as follows:

pty'mty pncmy 'nδmy "k'm ky[1] pwz'

i.e. 'Finished the fifth limb: *āgām kē bōžā*'. Evidently the opening words of a canto, *āgām kē bōžā*, had here been used to provide a title for the canto as a whole; and Lentz was able therefore to say that T II D 178 I contained the beginning of a fifth 'limb'.[2] On the verso of the Sogdian page bearing this colophon appears the word [*γwy*]δ*km'n*. This shows that the canto in question belongs to the cycle *Huwīdagmān*. Lentz did not, however, pursue Reitzenstein's suggestion that there might be two recensions of the hymn-cycles,[3] nor did he seek to distinguish between the different Western Iranian originals represented by the Sogdian translations; for at that time it was not unnaturally assumed that the significant word in the titles of these texts was 'handām' (Sogdian '*nδmy*), a word which, in addition to its common meaning of 'limb', and hence, it seems, of 'part, section', has also a particular significance as a religious technical term for a 'limb' of the soul.[4] The occurrence of this word in conjunction with various headings such as *Huwīdagmān* and *Warzargān Āfrīwan* was therefore then held to unite what have since been identified as separate texts.

The other text published by Lentz, M 855, was not known to Reitzenstein. This fragment has on its verso page the title: *nγs'r'd*

[1] *Sic*; see below, pp. 86 n. 1, 87 n. 1.

[2] Lentz also assigned T II D 178 II–IV to the fifth canto, naturally believing these fragments to form a continuous text with T II D 178 I. This is not, however, the case; see below, pp. 30–31, 35–36, 38–40.

[3] See *Erl. Myst.*, p. 26. Reitzenstein made this suggestion because of the title on M 93 II: 'Sixth Limb—*Huwīdagmān*.'

[4] See W.–L. i, p. 42 ff.

'ngd rwšn'n, 'Begun (is) *Angad Rōšnān*'. The first words beneath this are those of M 4 a 18–19, namely, *'ngd rwšn'n fry'ng pṯ 'xšd*. It was evident that this was the beginning of the whole cycle. The title on the recto page is damaged, but there too the words *'ngd rwšn'n* appear. This misled Lentz into putting the pages into the wrong order. Thus in his publication the last verses of the cycle *Huwīdagmān* (contained in M 855 R) appear as part of the first canto of *Angad Rōšnān*.

Lentz accepted Reitzenstein's theories about the structure of the *handām* texts; and also agreed that there was a connexion between them and M 4. In interpreting them, however, he differed entirely from his predecessor. The third edition of *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* had not then appeared, and he was therefore unaware of Reitzenstein's modification of his mythological interpretations. In any case he rejected these entirely. He dismissed the whole conception of a salvation-mystery as alien to Manichaeism;[1] and rejected also the idea that the hymns were connected with death. He maintained instead that they were liturgical texts for use in the confessional, supporting this theory by comparisons between them, the *Great Xwāstwānīft*, and a text from the Chinese *Hymnscroll*. According to him, the Soul in the hymn-cycles was not the World-Soul but that of an individual believer. He interpreted M 4 also as a confessional text; and suggested that in it is to be found 'ein Teil einer Sammlung kurzer Schlussgebete von Beichthymnen . . . die jedesmal in Verbindung mit den zugehörigen grossen Hymnen, die vom Priester rezitiert wurden, von der ganzen Gemeinde gesungen wurden'.[2]

Die Stellung Jesu appeared while the early part of the third edition of *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* was in the press; and Reitzenstein took the opportunity to comment on Lentz's views in the later part of this work.[3] He welcomed his discoveries of the Sogdian material, but refused to accept his new interpretation of the texts, maintaining firmly his own beliefs.

Lentz in his discussion of the *handām* hymns mentioned the

[1] See W.–L. i, p. 69. Lentz was justified in this contention, but ignored the fact that Reitzenstein had himself been careful to limit the sense in which he used the word 'mystery' (see above, p. 3). Reitzenstein pointed this out when answering Lentz's criticisms (see *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 3. Aufl., pp. 276–7).

[2] W.–L. i, p. 67.

[3] pp. 275–84.

existence of many small fragments of manuscript, apparently containing verses from them, which he himself had not examined. It was clear that the way to a fuller understanding of the hymn-cycles lay through a study of these fragments, a task undertaken by W. B. Henning. In the course of several years of intermittent study Henning succeeded in piecing together a considerable number of fragments, and in acquiring thereby a clearer understanding of the general character of the texts. In 1943 he published a brief account of his findings in a note to Tsui Chi's translation of the Chinese *Hymnscroll*.[1] In this he showed that there were four distinct hymn-cycles in Middle Persian and Parthian, all of which appear to have been divided into cantos. In distinguishing between the two Parthian cycles he corrected the mistake over the order of the pages in M 855, publishing in evidence a partially preserved colophon to *Huwīdagmān* from M 256, a fragment which, like M 855, contains the last lines of *Huwīdagmān* on the recto page and the first lines of *Angad Rōšnān* on the verso.

The discovery of the existence of two distinct hymn-cycles in Parthian put the study of the *handām* texts on a new basis. Henning made yet another illuminating discovery in identifying vv. 262–338 of the Chinese *Hymnscroll* with the first canto of *Huwīdagmān*. He published with a translation the fragments he had identified, using a normalized orthography. They were M 93 I, M 233, and M 625 b.

The Chinese title given to the verses from *Huwīdagmān* is as follows (in Tsui Chi's translation):

'In praise of the World of Light. Containing seventy-eight Odes, each of which is in four lines. By Wei Mo the Mu-shê.'[2]

Henning suggested tentatively that *wei* (未) might be a mistake for *mo* (末), in which case **Muât-Mâu* might represent Mār Ammō, the name of Mani's great apostle to the Parthians. If this is so, a comparatively precise date for the hymn-cycles can be established.[3]

Henning made two brief references to Mār Ammō's authorship of the hymn-cycles in subsequent articles entitled 'Brāhman'[4] and 'Two Manichaean Magical Texts'.[5] In the former article he also published, to illustrate the meaning of a word, three verses

[1] *BSOAS.* xi, pp. 216–17.
[2] Op. cit., p. 199.
[3] This matter is discussed again below; see p. 43.
[4] *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 113.
[5] *BSOAS.* xii, p. 50.

from the seventh canto of *Angad Rōšnān*. This completed his published work on the hymn-cycles. His textual reconstructions are fully described below.[1]

II. THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE HYMN-CYCLES

Angad Rōšnān begins with a soul in distress, for whom 'the hour of life is ended'.[2] Fire and fog daunt it,[3] and hideous demons,[4] and it beseeches its Saviour for redemption.[5] Life ebbs from its body,[6] and its distress deepens; it no longer invokes the Saviour confidently, but asks in despair 'Who shall save me?'[7] For five cantos—as far as can be judged from the surviving fragments—the soul remains lonely, terrified, and weeping. In the sixth the Saviour comes with loving words. The demons slink away,[8] and the soul is promised salvation,[9] and adjured to be steadfast and happy on 'this day of death'.[10] In the last extant verses from the eighth canto the soul tells how, rescued from all sins[11] and clothed in a garment of Light,[12] it has looked upon the dark prison of the body it has abandoned.[13] *Huwīdagmān* follows the same pattern closely, the chief difference in its extant verses being that it opens with a canto describing Paradise, which is followed by a canto entitled 'The Punishment of Sinners'. The situation at the end of the fourth canto is that found at the beginning of *Angad Rōšnān*—namely a soul distressed by encircling horrors and yearning for a Saviour. Here too the Saviour appears in the sixth canto and brings the soul comfort and the promise of redemption.

Reitzenstein, influenced by the recurrence of a theme of dissolution, interpreted the hymn-cycles as a death-mass;[14] and his theory receives support from the subsequent discovery of passages in which death is explicitly mentioned. A comparison is therefore

[1] See pp. 25–33.
[2] *A.R.* I 12.
[3] Ibid. 14.
[4] Ibid. 16–18.
[5] Ibid. 1–2.
[6] *A.R.* Ia 11–14.
[7] *A.R.* III 1 ff.
[8] *A.R.* VI 3–5.
[9] Ibid. 31–33, 42–45, 49, 64–73.
[10] *A.R.* VIIa 11.
[11] *A.R.* VIII 2.
[12] Ibid. 4.
[13] Ibid. 12.
[14] He also used as evidence for this two of the sections in M 4 (see above, p. 2). In rejecting his interpretation, Lentz pointed out that it was natural for the Manichaeans to be concerned with death and the end of the world, both events representing the salvation of Light (see W.–L. i, p. 69). Yet although Mani's teachings made holy dying the goal of his followers, holy living was an essential preliminary; and many Manichaean texts contain precepts for conducting life well. The hymn-cycles are characterized, however, as Reitzenstein saw, by indifference to life and a sustained preoccupation with death.

necessary between the hymn-cycles and Manichaean funerary literature.

Elegiac poetry, in memory of Mani and other religious leaders, is well attested in Parthian, where it takes the form of an account of the saint's death, or an invocation of him by surviving members of his flock;[1] but funerary hymns, for use at the time of death itself, are barely represented. There is, however, a useful collection in M 4 of the opening lines of such hymns, entitled 'Death-Hymns' (*'zg'myg b'š'h'n*). These hymns were presumably intended for the funerals of the Elect, for it is assumed in them that the dead man is perfect in virtue, and will ascend to heaven.[2] Two characteristics are common to them all: each is dramatic in form, being in direct speech; and in each the speaker is the soul, which has just left the body,[3] and is sometimes joyful, sometimes in distress.

The key to the interpretation of these hymns is given by Ibn an-Nadīm in the *Fihrist*, in a passage translated by Flügel as follows:

> Wenn der Tod . . . einem Wahrhaftigen naht, sendet der Urmensch einen Lichtgott in der Gestalt des leitenden Weisen und mit ihm drei Götter und zugleich mit diesen das Wassergefäss,[4] das Kleid, die Kopfbinde, die Krone und den Lichtkranz. . . . Auch erscheint ihm der Teufel der Habgier und der Sinnenlust mit andern Teufeln. Sobald der Wahrhaftige diese erblickt, ruft er die Göttin, welche die Gestalt des Weisen angenommen hat und die andern drei Götter zu Hilfe, und diese nähern sich ihm. Sobald die Teufel sie gewahr werden, wenden sie sich fliehend um.[5]

The hymns in M 4 show the virtuous soul either fearful or hailing with joy the approach of the Saviour. In each the same moment has been chosen, the moment when the soul, freed from the body, awaits its fate after death.

Some of the sections in M 4 are peculiar to that fragment; and one might think these dramatic funerary hymns unusual compositions, had not a similar collection of texts, preserved in their entirety, been found in the Coptic *Psalm-Book*. This collection

[1] See *Mir. Man.* iii, d–f.

[2] Thus the dead man confidently invokes the Saviour with his three angels (M 4 c 10–13) and expects his help (ibid. 16–18). The Saviour is gracious to him (ibid. 1–3).

[3] This is stated explicitly in M 4 b 22–c 1 and c 7–10. In the other lines it is implied.

[4] For 'Wassergefäss' read 'Sieg' (see Polotsky in *Mani-Fund*, p. 72).

[5] Flügel, *Mani*, p. 100; *Fihrist*, text, p. 335, ll. 10–14; see W.–L. i, p. 62.

consists of the *Psalms to Jesus*,[1] the first group of the *Psalms of Heracleides*,[2] and some miscellaneous psalms following these two groups.[3] All are apparently intended, like the Parthian hymns, for use at the funerals of the Elect; and by far the greater number are cast in the same dramatic form, being spoken by the soul of the dead monk or nun.[4] In them too it is made plain that the soul has already left the body, 'the abode of Darkness that is full of fear'.[5] The 'hour of going forth from the body'[6] is almost invariably represented as one of terror and distress, the time 'of the great trouble',[7] the 'hour of need'.[8] The soul, struggling to bear up 'beneath the alarm of death',[9] seeks help desperately from the foes around it—'a merciless crowd like vultures'.[10] The seven demons are spoken of repeatedly;[11] and the soul appeals also from wild beasts,[12] traps,[13] and the powers of heaven and earth, seeking to submerge it.[14] These appeals are never in vain. The Saviour comes, bringing comfort and protection.[15] 'The seven fearful demons' leave the soul, 'their foul hands also empty of (its) blood';[16] it utters praises to its redeemer,[17] and having received the symbols of victory ascends to Paradise, there to become 'divine again even as (it) was'.[18]

The resemblance is striking between these psalms and those represented in M 4; and since the two groups of texts are the products of communities so geographically remote as the Parthian and Coptic Churches, it is safe to assume that they represent a common pattern of funeral hymn, originating in the earliest days of Manichaeism. This assumption is supported by the fact that there are marked similarities between these hymns and those of Mandaeism, a religion which appears to have developed in the same area as Manichaeism, and to have shared with it some of the

[1] See C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, ii, pp. 49–97.
[2] Ibid. 97–108. [3] Ibid. 111–13.
[4] There are exceptions. In Psalms cclviii and cclxxix the living address the soul; Psalm ccliv celebrates the triumphant virtue of Mani himself, and Psalm cclxv is largely hortatory. Psalm ccl may be meant for the dying rather than the dead. These constitute a handful of exceptions to the general type.
[5] *Ps. Bk.*, 55^{20}. [6] Ibid. 66^{19-20}. [7] Ibid. 49^{8}.
[8] Ibid. 49^{6-7}, 84^{9-10}, 93^{1-2}. [9] Ibid. 62^{9}.
[10] Ibid. 61^{23}. (G. Widengren has quoted this passage, and others from funerary psalms, but without seeking to elucidate the context. See his *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism*, p. 55.) [11] e.g. ibid. 84^{21-22}, 108^{17-29}.
[12] Ibid. 66^{21}. [13] Ibid. 69^{24}. [14] Ibid. 51^{24-25}.
[15] e.g. ibid. 50^{18-20}, 53^{21-26}, 93^{25}. [16] Ibid. 103^{30}.
[17] e.g. ibid. 107^{26-27}. [18] Ibid. 58^{28}.

same formative influences.[1] Considerable collections of Mandaean funeral texts have survived,[2] some of which have already been considered by Reitzenstein in connexion with the Parthian material.[3] The texts are more varied in character than the surviving Manichaean ones, and their use is not always restricted to the celebration of death alone.[4] Those which most closely resemble the Manichaean begin when the soul has already left the body, and is waiting in loneliness and fear for a redeemer to lead it to Paradise.[5] The majority share two important characteristics with the Manichaean hymns: they are dramatic in form, being attributed largely to the soul; and their dominant theme is the ascent of the soul to Paradise after it leaves the body.

The ascent of the soul after death held a place of paramount importance in the older gnostic religions,[6] in which it was enacted ritually both for the preparation of the living and the furtherance of the dead. From what has survived of their liturgical writings it appears that in these religions the ascent was an ordeal to be surmounted only by the initiate dead; the seven malignant planets barred the soul's upward path, and could be rendered powerless only by a set form of words. If this trial by knowledge were surmounted, a test of virtue followed; but virtue without esoteric knowledge was useless.[7] The ascent of the soul is similarly represented as an ordeal in a number of the Mandaean *masqātā*,[8]

[1] A brief reference to this similarity has been made recently by T. Säve-Söderbergh in his *Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book*. This work is devoted almost entirely to the 'Psalms of Thomas', which are believed by Prof. Polotsky to be Mandaean writings incorporated in the *Psalm-Book*, and not therefore relevant to our consideration of Manichaean funeral literature. Of the *Psalms to Jesus* the author says that they 'were in all probability used at a cultic ceremony corresponding to the Mandaean death mass' (op cit., p. 86).

[2] The chief collections are in the *Left Ginzā* and the second section of the *Qolastā*.

[3] See *Erl. Myst.*, ch. ii.

[4] See, for example, the instructions to officiating priests, Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. 505; *Qolastā*, pp. 69, 110. For the varied use of the *masiqtā* today see E. S. Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*, index s.v.

[5] See, for example, Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, pp. 516–34, 538–47, 564–6.

[6] It has been contended that this doctrine of the ascent was both the central point of Gnosticism and the common factor of its many sects; see W. Anz, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnostizismus*, pp. 1–58.

[7] It is expressly said in the *Pistis Sophia* that a virtuous man cannot attain heaven without a knowledge of the mysteries (ch. 103; see C. Schmidt's translation, 2nd ed., p. 192, ll. 23–29); whereas a sinful man can be rescued from the damnation he deserves if a mystery be said for him after death (ch. 108; Schmidt, pp. 201–2).

[8] e.g. Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, pp. 444–52, 479–82, 578–82.

whose recitation was likewise regarded as itself aiding the soul's passage.[1] The Manichaean funeral literature represents a different system of belief, according to which gnosis had to bear fruit within this life. Virtue, it was taught by Mani, depended on an understanding of the principles of Light and Darkness; but this understanding, although it saved the enlightened from sin, could not compensate, before or after death, for sin committed. Good actions, not words, secured a passage heavenwards for the soul:

> They wait not for a defence, to teach how to answer, on this day,
> but he that has a good deed, let him put his trust in his deeds.[2]

The ascent was not, therefore, an ordeal, but a triumph, which no living man could help or hinder. The Manichaean funeral hymns could not, accordingly, be regarded as potent in themselves to help the dead.

Doctrinal differences have not, however, affected the formal likeness of the Manichaean funeral literature to the Mandaean; nor have they abolished from it vestiges of what are still realities in the Mandaean liturgy—the enemies that flock round even the virtuous soul, and the watchposts of the hostile planets along its heavenward way.[3]

A dramatic form is found also in the two Parthian hymn-cycles. The similarities in form and content between them and the short funeral psalms are immediately evident. Dissimilarities exist also, some of which may be attributed merely to the difference in scale of the works. The most striking of them, however, is a divergence in attitude toward the soul. In the majority of the funeral psalms the souls are treated as ethical entities, conscious of the existence they have just left and of their moral achievements within it, and still attached to their 'brethren' and 'parents of the flesh' whom they exhort not to mourn.[4] In the *handām* texts the soul is an innocent and passive member of the exiled Light, and humanity is overwhelmed by an impersonal grandeur. Youth and age, family and friends have no place there. The soul is 'out of humanity's reach, and must finish (its) journey alone' amid the falling of worlds and shattering of nature's laws.

The contrast is sufficiently marked to appear at first a counterpoise to the many resemblances between the two sets of texts. Yet

[1] See W. Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, p. 82; Anz, op. cit., p. 73, n. 1.
[2] *Ps. Bk.*, 81^{28-30}.
[3] See below, p. 97 v. 6 with n. 1.
[4] See, for example, *Ps. Bk.* 88^{16-17}; 58^{16-18}.

there is one Coptic psalm in which a similar treatment of the soul is maintained throughout.[1] This psalm is so important for comparison with the hymn-cycles that it is quoted here in full:

Come to me, my kinsman, the Light, my guide.
. . . my soul, bear up: thou hast thy Saviour:
thy defence is Christ, for he will receive thee into his Kingdom.
Since I went forth into the darkness I was given a water to drink which
. . . me. I bear up beneath a burden which is not my own.
I am in the midst of my enemies, the beasts surrounding me;
the burden which I bear is of the powers and principalities.
They burned (?) in their wrath, they rose up against me, they ran
to . . . me, like sheep that have no shepherd.
Matter and her sons divided me up amongst them, they
burnt (?) me in their fire, they gave me a bitter likeness.
The strangers with whom I mixed, me they know
not; they tasted my sweetness, they desired to keep
me with them.
I was life to them, but they were death to
me; I bore up beneath them, they wore me as a
garment upon them.
I am in everything, I bear the skies, I am the foundation, I support the
earths, I am the Light that shines forth, that gives joy to
souls.
I am the life of the world: I am the milk that is in all
trees: I am the sweet water that is beneath
the sons of Matter.
. . . I went forth to the . . .
. . . the Aeons . . . they sent me forth to the . . .
I bore these things until I had fulfilled the will of my Father;
the First Man is my father whose will I have carried out.
Lo, the Darkness I have subdued; lo, the fire of the fountains I have
extinguished it, as the Sphere turns hurrying round, as the sun re-
ceives
the refined part of life.
O soul, raise thy eyes to the height and contemplate thy bond . . .
. . . thou hast reached it; lo, thy Fathers are calling thee.
Now go aboard the Ships of Light and receive thy garland
of glory and return to thy kingdom and rejoice with all
the Aeons.
Glory and honour to our Lord Mani and his
holy Elect and the soul of the blessed Mary.[2]

[1] Psalm ccxlvi.

[2] *Ps. Bk.* 54–55.

The first few lines and the last of this psalm suggest that it was composed for the death of one of the Elect. It follows the pattern of the other funerary texts, beginning with an appeal to the Saviour, and ending with the soul's ascent in triumph. But the body of the psalm is not devoted to the dead man's life and virtues: his little existence is merged instead into that of Light as a whole. Since the world began, the Light which makes up his soul has been exiled from its home, suffering amid matter; at its release through death, it rejoices. The treatment is impressive. The psalm does not evoke the human sympathies touched by some of the others; but by dissolving the bonds of personal existence, it awakes a sense of awe and humility before the greatness of the divine struggle.

This short work gives a key to the understanding of the extensive hymn-cycles, in which the treatment of the soul appears to be the same. This treatment involves necessarily the conception of 'the saved Saviour'. The god addresses the soul both as his redeemer and the one he has come to redeem.[1] A few similar passages occur in the Coptic psalms.[2]

We know little as yet of Manichaean ritual, and to speculate about the liturgical use of the hymns is largely unprofitable. It is known from the *Hymnscroll* that the first canto of *Huwīdagmān* was sometimes detached from the rest of the cycle, and that its first verse was used in congregation as a response.[3] This canto is complete in itself, however, and being unusually joyous must have lent itself to general and independent use. There is a possibility that the hymn-cycles, like the Mandaean *masqātā*, were used for other liturgical purposes as well as the celebration of death; but there is no evidence for this, or for Reitzenstein's attractive theory that they consisted of twelve cantos, one for each hour of the day of celebration. All that can be said with probability is that they were primarily intended for the funeral-services of the Elect, whose deaths were thereby celebrated in a manner which was partly symbolic, so that they typified also the final redemption of Light.

The relationship between the hymn-cycle *Angad Rōšnān* and the *angad rōšnānī* hymns of M 4 remains regrettably obscure. Further

[1] See, for example, *A.R.* VI 9, 21, 56 (the soul as redeemer); and ibid. 31–33, 43–45 (the god as redeemer). The alternation led both Reitzenstein and Lentz to suppose the words of the god a dialogue.

[2] e.g. *Ps. Bk.* 75^{5}, 86^{27}, 87^{18-24}. (In the last passage, l. 20, Prof. Polotsky emends the translation to 'The Father, the King of the crowns—I left him, [I] being pure from . . .').

[3] See *BSOAS.* xi, p. 209, vv. 351–2.

evidence seems necessary before this can be decided, or M 4 interpreted as a whole.

III. THE GOAL OF THE DEPARTED SPIRIT AND THE IDENTITY OF THE SAVIOUR

As funeral texts the hymn-cycles are concerned with the fate of the righteous dead; and if they were wholly preserved, they would doubtless furnish a full exposition of Manichaean doctrine on it. Even as they are, they provide some useful evidence for an obscure point, namely the immediate goal of the departed spirit. This is a matter which has created some conflict of opinion among scholars. Jackson in his monograph on the fate of the soul[1] assumed—ignoring any other possibility—that the soul went straight to the Eternal Paradise; and to this Waldschmidt and Lentz gave their considered assent:

> Das 'ewige Lichtreich' ist das Ziel der individuellen Erlösung. Im Gegensatz dazu steht das 'neue Lichtreich'. . . . Dies ist ein Wohnsitz der kosmogonischen Götter.[2]

Polotsky, however, stated that the soul went after death to the New Paradise.[3] That the matter was one of some complexity even for Manichaeans is shown by a question about it which survives in a Sogdian fragment.[4] This runs as follows:

> [The seventy-first] question thus: 'When a second time they will have been created afresh in perfection by the Great King, then in which land will their kingship secondly be? Will it be in the Real Paradise together with the Great King, or in the New Paradise?'

Unfortunately only the preliminaries of the answer survive; and the problem has therefore to be decided on other evidence.

The New Paradise, created by the Great Builder,[5] was made

[1] A. V. W. Jackson, 'A Sketch of the Manichaean Doctrine concerning the Future Life', *JAOS.*, vol. l, No. 3, pp. 177–98.

[2] W.–L. ii, p. 530 n. to 147 d.

[3] *Abriss*, p. 261.

[4] M 591. I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. Gershevitch. For the reading and translation given here I am indebted to Prof. Henning. The text is as follows:

R (1) oo (oo) [XX XX XX XI myq] (2) wprs w'nw kṭ c'nw (c)[n] (3) mzyx 'xšywnyy ptnwyy (4) δβṭyk prw 'spṭy'q (5) sfrytyṭ wβ'nd o pṭs'r (6) š(n) 'xš'wn δβṭyq prw (7) kṭ'm z'y βwṭk'm o (8) "stnyy wštm'xy mzyx (9) 'xšywnyy o pry(w) βwṭ k'(m) (10) qṭ'r nwyy wštm'xyy (11) oo oo.

[5] See *Mir. Man.* i, pp. 184–5, and p. 184, n. 1 with references.

from the Eternal Paradise, to which it is to be restored at the end of the world.[1] It shares therefore the nature of the Eternal Paradise, with which it is consubstantial. In its separate existence only is it temporary; and its inhabitants, who will return with it at the end to the Paradise of Light, may be said already to enjoy in it the sweetness of eternal life.[2]

The function of the New Paradise most clearly stated is that of a resting-place for the redeeming gods, who are banished from the Eternal Paradise during their struggle to recover the lost Light. The purpose of this banishment is to secure the unbroken peace of the World of Light. At the end of the world the redeeming gods retire to the New Paradise together with its king, the First Man,[3] and rest there with their attendant divinities and the last particles of rescued Light.[4] Thereafter they return to the Eternal Paradise, and once more behold the Father of Greatness.[5]

In several places it is stated that the Light which remains imprisoned until the end of the world will ascend as the 'Last Man' to the New Paradise, and go thence by the side of the 'First Man' into the presence of the Father.[6] The problem is whether this was the course travelled by all particles of redeemed Light, or whether the souls rescued before *frašēgird* returned directly to the Eternal Kingdom.

In Parthian and Middle Persian the New Paradise is called *whyšt rwšn*, *nwg (nw'g) šhr* and *nwg (nw'g) šhr'n*.[7] There are a number of references to it as the goal of the dead, of which the following will suffice as examples:

I reverence you, O God; forgive my sins, save my soul, lead it up to the New Paradise![8]

'The souls will go to the Light, they will put on the body of the Father. They will be in glory within the New Aeon for ever and ever.'[9]

[1] See *Mir. Man.* iii, a 85–90.
[2] See *Hymnscroll* 143a (W.–L. ii, p. 488).
[3] See Polotsky, *Man. Homilien*, p. 41^{18-20} and n. b.
[4] See *Mir. Man.* iii, a 2–15; *Keph.* xxxix (p. 103^{2-10}).
[5] See *Mir. Man.* iii, p. 853 a 140–3 and n. 5 with references.
[6] See ibid. p. 852 a 100–2 and n. 3 with references.
[7] That the term *nwg šhr* sometimes embodies a conception of the New Paradise as the New Aeon, existing in time rather than space, is due to the dual meaning of the word (Syr. *'ālmā*) rendered by *šhr*; see Polotsky, 'Manichäische Studien', *Le Muséon*, xlvi, pp. 259–60. For the plural form *šhr'n* see *Mir. Man.* iii, p. 885, n. 2.
[8] *BBB.*, p. 21, ll. 94–97.
[9] M 285, ll. 88–92 (an unpublished Parthian text). The original is as follows:

Sometimes the destination itself is vaguely named, but mention of the First Man (Ōhrmizd) makes it clear which Paradise is intended:

'Then shall you receive, at the end, helm, garland and diadem from the god Ōhrmizd, the Father, within the Paradise of Light. There shall you rejoice and prosper for ever, (and) be happy in gladness.'[1]

The Coptic texts contain a good deal of material about the fate of the soul, but not much explicitly concerning the New Paradise. In one of the 'Psalms of the Bema' the soul is promised salvation within 'its kingdom', where

> Thy Father, the First Man, will give thee thy life (?) . . . who (?) . . . to give it since thy beginning; the divine envoy of Truth will give thee the diadem of Light; . . . will give thee thy garland of renown.[2]

The psalm comes to an end almost upon these words, the soul being left in bliss with the First Man. A fuller statement of the doctrine of redemption in the New Paradise is contained in one of the 'Psalms of Heracleides',[3] whose subject is the return of the First Man to Paradise after the triumph of the Light. In it the psalmist creates what is evidently a conscious parallel between this return, constituting the ultimate victory of the First Man, and the original re-entry of the First Man into Paradise after his encounter with the powers of Darkness.[4] On the earlier occasion the Spiritus Vivens had been sent as Envoy to summon the First Man back to consciousness, and had been asked by him:

> Comment vont nos pères, les fils de la lumière, dans leur cité?[5]

and had answered 'Ils vont bien'. In the Coptic psalm an Envoy is sent in the same way to summon the First Man at the end of the world. He knocks at the gates of his dwelling-place and rouses him,

šwyynd gy'n̲n 'w rwšn oo t̲nb'r cy pydr pdmwcynd oo n'zynd 'ndr nw"g šhr 'w y'wyd y'wyd'n.

[1] *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 333[4–8].

[2] *Ps. Bk.* 22[16–19].

[3] Ibid. 197–202.

[4] The parallel is so closely worked out that Widengren has been deceived into thinking that the psalm refers in fact to the first scene in the battle of redemption, instead of the last. See his *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism*, pp. 74–76. That this is not the case is shown by the interchanges between the Envoy and the First Man; see, for example, p. 201, ll. 17–18:

> 'The Light is set over the king of the Darkness: his host is bound, it is fettered. Take the news.'

[5] See Theodor bar Konai, *apud* Cumont, *Recherches*, i, p. 24.

to be greeted with the same questions that were asked in the beginning:

> What does my Father do, the Father of the Lights? . . .
> outside him. Tell me the news.
> What do the twelve Aeons do, whom I left surrounding
> the Father? Tell [me] the news.[1]

The Envoy answers that all is well in Paradise, 'the Gods rejoicing'[2] at the victory gained; and summons the First Man to return there, accompanied by his 'garlanded host'.[3] This host is evidently the assembly of victorious souls in the New Paradise, who are also spoken of as the 'merchandise' of the First Man, recovered by him from the powers of Darkness:

> The Fathers of Light came that they might help their loved
> one. Take the news.
> They helped the First Man, he cried before him
> in joy: 'Behold me, behold my merchandise'. Lo.
> Great is the joy that there was, the First Man being
> in their midst, laden with garlands and palms. Lo, this is the news.[4]

In the final verses the psalmist speaks in his own person, making clear the parable to his hearers:

> May it happen to us together that we may be counted in his
> merchandise and rejoice with all the Aeons. Lo, this is the news.
> May we be counted among those of the right hand and inherit our
> kingdom. Lo, this is the news.
> And may we live with our kinsmen from everlasting to everlasting.
> Lo, this is the news.[5]

The belief expressed here is that the First Man gathers the redeemed in the New Paradise during the centuries, until he has won back all, or almost all, that he had lost, and can bear them with him to the Eternal Paradise in a celestial triumph.

These texts, Coptic and Iranian, establish a Manichaean doctrine of immediate redemption in the New Paradise, followed by ultimate union with the Paradise of Light. Yet such texts, although clear in the evidence they yield, are few in number. By far the most references to the destination of the soul are in ambiguous, general terms such as 'the land of the gods', 'the city of the blessed'. This is the case, not only in hymns of a general character,

[1] *Ps. Bk.* 198$^{23-26}$. [2] Ibid. 199^{10}. [3] Ibid. 201$^{7-8}$.
[4] Ibid. 202$^{12-17}$. [5] Ibid. 202$^{18-23}$.

but also in texts of some doctrinal precision, as for example the Middle Persian S 9, where the salvation of a believer is described in the following terms:

> He put off the body of death and was for ever saved,
> and he ascended into Paradise, into that land of the blessed.[1]

What complicates matters still more is that some texts not only do not particularize the New Paradise as the destination of redeemed souls, but actually make it clear that the Eternal Paradise is meant. Thus the Chinese texts studied by Waldschmidt and Lentz distinguish in terminology between the two Paradises; and in more than one case the terms for the Eternal Paradise are there used to indicate the goal of the returning souls.[2] The following lines from an unpublished Parthian hymn have the same decisiveness:

> Lay hold upon salvation and freedom from hurt. They prepare for you a tabernacle of the spirit. Enter into the kingdom before the Father of Greatness, and in his presence become endued with your own piety, stillness and purity.[3]

The mention of the Father of Greatness makes it clear that 'the kingdom' here means the Eternal Paradise. One of the Coptic funeral psalms yields a similar passage. In it the 'garlanded soul' having been ferried from moon to sun, enters into Paradise and is in the presence of the 'Father of the Lights'.[4]

There seems thus a contradiction in the Manichaean texts themselves. It is likely, however, that it is only apparent, not real. The existence of a doctrine of immediate redemption in the New Paradise is clearly attested, harmonizes admirably with other of Mani's teachings, and is unlikely to be a later development. It adds, however, a complexity to an already complex scheme; and postpones the moment of entry into the presence of the Father. Poetic licence seems to allow, therefore, that the distinction which it involves should in many texts be glossed over or ignored; and that occasionally the gulf of time and space should be surpassed,

[1] S 9, verse 12 (text given by Henning, *N.G.G.W.*, 1932, p. 228).

[2] e.g. *Hymnscroll* 147 d, 399.

[3] T II D 138 37–46. The text is as follows:

> [bw]xtgyft u 'n'z'ryft ['](w) dst 'st'nyd (o t)lw'r
> w'c'fryyd 'w 'šm'h̲ pdr'ynd 'dhyd (*sic*) 'w
> šhrd'ryft prw'n pydr wzrgyft̲ 'wš bw(yd) 'ndym'n
> pd wxybyh̲ [dy]ncyhryft 'ngwn [u pw](')gyft o

[4] *Ps. Bk.* 85^{13-15}.

the souls of the saved being imagined as standing now where they will ultimately be, in the presence of the Father himself. Presumably even in such cases it is not so much that the doctrine of redemption in the New Paradise is opposed to that of redemption in the Eternal Paradise as that it is swallowed up in the latter conception.

If we look beyond the Manichaean texts to the works of non-Manichaean writers, we find that the doctrine of the New Paradise is ignored by the polemicists, as a *minutia* of dogma containing no matter for mockery. It has a place, however, in the writings of the more detached Ibn an-Nadīm. There are two passages in the *Fihrist* in which Ibn an-Nadīm describes the soul's journey heavenward. The first occurs in his initial brief summary of Mani's teaching.[1] Here he states simply that the souls ascend by the Column of Glory to the moon, that the moon gives them to the sun, and that the sun transfers them to the 'World of Praise', where they go to 'the highest, pure Light'. The expression الى النّور الأعلى الخالص must refer to the heart of the Eternal Paradise itself; and it seems that in this epitome Ibn an-Nadīm was content to ignore the existence of the New Paradise. The second passage,[2] contained in the chapter upon the fates of men, is more detailed. According to it, the virtuous soul is approached upon death by a god with three supporting divinities who set upon it crown and diadem and garment,

وعرجوا به فى عمود السّبح الى فلك القمر والى الانسان القديم والى النّهنهة امّ الأحياء الى ما كان عليه اوّلاً فى جنان النّور

This passage runs as follows in Flügel's translation:

. . . und steigen mit ihm auf der Säule des Lobpreises zu der Sphäre des Mondes, zu dem Urmenschen und zu der Nahnaha der Mutter der Lebendigen bis zu dem Zustand, in dem er zuerst in den Paradiesen des Lichts war.[3]

This account is at variance with other descriptions of the soul's heavenward journey, as Flügel pointed out: 'Die Stationen der Seele sind hier theilweise auf noch unbekannte Art bezeichnet.'[4] The anomaly lies in the mention of the First Man and the Mother of the Living as representing some station or stations on the path

[1] *Fihrist*, p. 330[22–26]; Flügel, *Mani*, text, p. 57, transl. p. 90.
[2] *Fihrist*, p. 335[15–16]; *Mani*, text, p. 70. [3] *Mani*, p. 100. [4] Ibid., p. 341.

of the soul's ascent. Both these gods have thrones in two distinct places. Firstly, they are enthroned in the moon and sun respectively; but the moon having already been mentioned by name, the gods can hardly represent these places here.[1] Secondly, they both have thrones, as redeeming gods, in the New Paradise. The First Man is the ruler of this realm, and therefore its natural representative. The Mother is closely associated in mythology with her 'son' (as is shown by her Middle Persian name 'Mother-of-the-god-Ōhrmizd', *'whrmyzdby m'd*). She is regarded, moreover, as 'mother' of all the redeeming gods who inhabit the New Paradise.[2] It is fitting, therefore, that she should be beside the First Man in the New Paradise, as the Great Spirit is beside the Father in the Eternal Kingdom.[3] It is thus probable that in this context the First Man and the Mother together represent the New Paradise.

Ibn an-Nadīm's second account is thus orthodox, except for the omission of any mention of the sun. This omission is found elsewhere,[4] and is understandable: the sun only carried farther the process of purification begun in the moon, and the visible waxing and waning of the latter made it of more significance as a symbol to watchers upon earth. With this omission excepted, the progression given by him here, namely Column of Glory—moon—New Paradise—Eternal Paradise, accords exactly with what we have seen to be the Manichaean doctrine in its fullness.

Some details of the soul's ascent are given in the sixth cantos both of *Huwīdagmān* and *Angad Rōšnān*. The account in the former is slightly the fuller. In it the god promises to rescue the soul from its foes and to lead it up to 'the kingdom' (*hw šhr*)[5] where he will show it its Fathers. After an unfortunate gap in the text this kingdom is further described as 'a vast and lofty fortress' raised by divine evocation,[6] 'the palace of the primeval First-Born',[7] wherein he puts on the garment of happiness,[8] and bestows garlands upon all his comrades[9] and upon the Elect.[10] The only realm divinely created is the New Paradise (for the Eternal Paradise is

[1] Cf., e.g., *Ps. Bk.* 85^{4-12}, where the moon and sun are, it seems, referred to as the ships of the First Man and Third Messenger, but are not otherwise directly named.

[2] See *Ps. Bk.* 1^{22-23}.

[3] These two female divinities, the Mother of the Living and the Great Spirit, are sometimes confounded; see Polotsky in *Mani-Fund*, p. 66; *Abriß*, p. 249.

[4] See, e.g., Turbo's account of the soul's ascent, *Acta Archelai*, 13^{10-11}; cited by Flügel, *Mani*, p. 344.

[5] *H.* VIc 2a.

[6] Ibid. 10 (lit. 'by a spiritual mouth').

[7] Ibid. 11a.

[8] Ibid. 11b.

[9] Ibid. 12a.

[10] Ibid. 13.

terra ingenita, coexistent with the Father of Light himself); and one may compare this description of it with that in the Coptic psalm quoted above, where it is pictured as a 'tower'[1] with defensive gates.[2] The 'primeval First-Born' (*nwxz'd hsyng*) is evidently the First Man (elsewhere *mrdwhm hsyng*) who rules the New Paradise, and is several times spoken of as there bestowing garlands upon victorious souls.[3] A further gap of five verses follows this description, and the subsequent verses bring us to the defeat of the (Dark) Powers,[4] and

> . . . the day when He will reveal (His) form,
> [the] beneficent [Father], the Lord of the Aeons of Light.[5]

The Father shows himself only when all Light is redeemed, and the gods are once more in his presence. Here again, therefore, the soul's return to the Eternal Kingdom follows after a sojourn with the First Man in the New Paradise.

The surviving cantos of *Angad Rōšnān* contain much immediate solace for the soul, but less prophecy about its future. The god promises to open before it the gates in the heavens,[6] and to lead it to its home, 'the blessed place'.[7] There he will show it the 'noble Father'[8] and the 'Mother of the Beings of Light',[9] and also all the holy brethren,[10] with whom the soul shall dwell in happiness for ever. With this the canto ends, and later fragments do not amplify its account. It is apparent, however, that it contains a promise of salvation in the New Paradise. The 'noble Father' to whom the soul is led could, as far as the words themselves go, be either the First Man or the Father of Greatness; but the supreme deity, being hidden in his own light until he chooses to reveal himself, cannot be shown to the redeemed by one of his own emanations. The 'noble Father' must, therefore, be here the First Man; and this identification is supported by the mention in the next verse of his 'Mother', the Mother of the Living (here *rwšn'n m'd*).[11] It is interesting to find the New Paradise here represented by the same pair of divinities as are named by Ibn an-Nadīm in his account. Both the hymn-cycles thus present the Manichaean doctrine in its rigour.

[1] *Ps. Bk.* 198[13]. [2] Ibid. 197[22, 24], 198[11–12].
[3] See, e.g., *Mir. Man.* ii, 333[4–8]; *Ps. Bk.* 22[16–19].
[4] *H.* VIc 20b. [5] Ibid. 21. [6] *A.R.* VI 66a. [7] Ibid. 67b.
[8] Ibid. 68a. [9] Ibid. 69a. [10] Ibid. 70a.
[11] This deity appears under various names in Parthian: *m'd*, *m'd jywndg*, and *rd'w'n m 'd* are also recorded.

The leader to Paradise[1] is called in the *Fihrist* 'the guiding Sage',[2] and in the *Hymnscroll* 'the Master of Doctrine',[3] both titles which may well indicate the Nous. This deity is so closely connected with the Manichaean Church that he can be identified with its personification (M. Pers. *farrah-ī dēn*, Turkish *nom qutï*),[4] which in two other texts is said to bestow the Victory on the righteous soul.[5] In *Kephalaia* VII the god is called 'the Figure of Light', and should be either Mani or his contemporary successor.[6] In the Parthian M 4 it is Mani who is invoked with the three angels;[7] and he meets the soul in one of the Coptic psalms.[8] In most of these, however, the guide is Jesus.

There are thus three figures named in the role of Saviour—the Nous, Mani, and Jesus. In the *handām* texts the deity is not named, but is referred to only in general terms, such as 'friend', 'lord', 'sovereign', 'envoy', 'saviour'. The omission of a name may be deliberate, so that the Saviour can represent all redeeming gods; or it may be due to the chance of survival. Whatever the reason, the god remains anonymous.

IV. THE MANUSCRIPTS

The hymn-cycles exist in fragments from many manuscripts. Some of these were works of art, elegantly written upon large pages; some were small, their verses written in a cramped hand; and most were of average size, in clear and pleasant scripts. Varied as was their original character, all have been reduced to a uniformly fragmentary state. Of their hundreds of sheets, five only survive intact. The rest are represented by fragments containing from half a line to half a page of text.

The text of the hymn-cycles is invariably set out in verses, with a space between them. The verses are in two lines,[9] each with a caesura in the middle, which is marked sometimes by one dot,

[1] Some accounts of death omit this deity. The soul instead goes by itself into the presence of a judge, and there receives the three trophies. Yet other accounts confuse the two versions. For an explanation of this see Polotsky in *Mani-Fund*, pp. 72–73.

[2] See above, p. 9.

[3] *Hymnscroll* 141 (I am indebted to Prof. Henning for this interpretation of the verse).

[4] For references see Henning, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 328 n. 2.

[5] M 47 d 19 (*Man. St.*, p. 13); T II D 175 2 R 1 ff. (von Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* iii, p. 31; Bang, *Le Muséon*, xxxvi, p. 236).

[6] See Polotsky in *Mani-Fund*, p. 73.

[7] M 4 c 12 (*Man. St.*, p. 5).

[8] *Ps. Bk.* 84^{14-20}.

[9] The only exception known is M 625 b, where the text is written in interspaced groups of three lines.

sometimes by two, and sometimes by a space between dots. One or two manuscripts also have a dot sometimes at the end of a line, as a space-filler.[1] When a line of verse is unusually long, the last word of a first line is sometimes written at the beginning of the second, or the first word of a second line at the end of the first. In such cases the end of the verse-line is always marked by a dot.

The manuscripts usually have ten verses to a page, and a heading. The only exception known is T II D 178, which has five verses to a page and no heading.[2] The verses are grouped in cantos, and one canto is divided from the next by the space of a verse left blank. The heading gives the name of the cycle on the verso page, and the number of the canto on the recto, as in the following example:

M 96 (R) šhwm hnd'm (V) 'ngd rwšn'n

Exceptions occur only at the beginning of each cycle, where the first pages bear, instead of a canto-number, a general heading. The following are examples:

M 233 (R) nys'r'd hwydgm'n (V) hwydgm'n
M 855 (R) 'ngd rwšn'n (V) nys'r'd 'ngd rw[šn'n]

Some of the manuscripts have a *p* in the margin by alternate verses. Others containing the same verses do not. Müller's explanation, that this *p* (for *padwāg* 'answer') marks the antiphon, has been generally accepted. In the fifth canto of *Huwīdagmān* and the seventh of *Angad Rōšnān p* stands by the second verse and subsequent even verses; but (if the identification of the fragments concerned is correct) in the first and sixth cantos of *Angad Rōšnān* it is the opening verse which has the *p*. In the case of the first canto the identification is, however, very doubtful;[3] but if some cantos contained an odd number of verses, and the cantos were chanted continually, the position of the *p* may have varied from one to the next.[4] On a verso page the *p* is written thus, ⌐; but on a recto page it is upside down, thus, ¬. The difference is sometimes helpful for establishing the order of pages.

The manuscripts were made up of separate quires, each con-

[1] These ornamental dots are not reproduced in the transcription of the text.

[2] Photographs of two sheets from this manuscript are reproduced in W.–L. i (Taf. IV). The manuscript is further distinguished by being written in a script peculiarly difficult to read (see Reitzenstein's comments in *Erl. Myst.*, p. 27); and by some anomalies of spelling which suggest a copyist familiar with Sogdian (see *A.R.* I 12a, 18a, 19a; VI 5a).

[3] See below, p. 29.

[4] Cf. the alteration in position of the *p* in some groups of abecedarian hymns (see *BSOAS.* xiv, p. 436).

taining a considerable number of sheets. Surviving fragments show that in one manuscript verses from the first to sixth cantos of *Huwīdagmān* were contained in a single quire;[1] and in another verses from the first to seventh cantos of *Angad Rōšnān*.[2] In the latter case there appear to have been twelve double sheets in the quire. Probably the average manuscript contained several sets of texts. Fragments exist from at least seven manuscripts which contained both hymn-cycles; and it is a possibility that the two cycles were regularly written together. This cannot be established, however, since many of the forty-odd *handām* manuscripts are represented by a single fragment. There is evidence for other texts being contained in the same manuscripts with the hymn-cycles. M 88 and M 91, for example, have verses from *Evangelionīg* hymns on one sheet and from *Angad Rōšnān* on the other; and the manuscript represented by fragments with the signature T II D 178 contained not only both hymn-cycles, but other verse and prose texts in Iranian, and Uigur texts as well. The fact that the hymn-cycles appear together in the same manuscripts is unfortunate for the reconstruction of the text, as it makes manuscript-evidence useless for distinguishing between the cycles.

V. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEXT

The mutilation of the manuscript-material made it at first difficult to discern even the general character of the hymn-cycles; and the reconstruction of the text, initiated by Müller and Andreas,[3] and carried on chiefly by Henning, demanded much patient work. Its progress depended in the first place on the discovery of fragments with titles, or adequate traces of titles, by which they could be assigned to their proper place within the cycles. Thirteen such fragments exist for *Angad Rōšnān* and six for *Huwīdagmān*. With them it was possible to construct a skeleton framework to which other fragments again could be attached. Since the manuscripts concerned are numerous, the connecting of these fragments has been chiefly on the basis of subject-matter alone; but in several instances it has been possible to piece together fragments from the same page of a single manuscript.

[1] See below, pp. 32, 33. [2] See below, p. 34.

[3] The contributions of these two scholars to the reconstruction of the hymn-cycles cannot be assessed separately, since Reitzenstein did not state the extent of his indebtedness to them individually.

The full scope of the work of reconstruction appears from the texts themselves, reproduced below. Here I propose to describe briefly the stages by which this reconstruction was achieved, and also to indicate as precisely as possible the contributions made by each scholar who has worked in this field.[1]

Let us begin with the better-preserved cycle, *Angad Rōšnān*. Two of the five complete manuscript-sheets mentioned above contain verses from the sixth canto of this cycle, and on each its title is fully preserved, namely

(R) šhwm hnd'm (V) 'ngd rwšn'n

These two sheets have the signatures M 96 and M 175. To them Müller and Andreas joined M 88 I, another fragment of considerable length. This has no title, but contains almost the same verses as M 96. Another fragment, M 91, from the next page of the same manuscript as M 88 I, has the title

(R) hf[twm] ẖnd'm (V) 'ng[d rw]šn'n

but its recto page contains the last verses of the sixth canto, also preserved on M 175. These four fragments provided a series of twenty-three verses at the end of the sixth canto. To them Henning added M 675, which has the title

(R) šhwm hnd'm (V) ['ng]d rwšn'n

This fragment he showed to belong to the preceding page of the same manuscript as M 175. Since M 675 V 1 = M 88 I R 2+ M 96 R 2, this discovery added nine more verses to the series, with a gap of five verses, for M 675 consists only of the upper half of a page. This gap I was later able to fill by verses from the verso pages of four small fragments, M 326, T II D 178 VIa and VIIa, and T I *a* 1537 II. These fragments overlap with each other, and the recto pages of T II D 178 VIa and VIIa overlap in turn with M 675 R (there being only five verses to a page in T II D 178). The verses on the recto pages of the other two fragments precede those on M 675 R, with one verse missing in between. The number of verses known from the end of *A.R.* VI was thus increased

[1] Müller, Andreas, and Lentz were able to base their work on a study of the original fragments. Henning also studied the material at first in the original; but for his later work he used an almost complete series of photographs in his own possession. These he very kindly allowed me to use in my turn (see preface), since the original fragments are not at present accessible.

to thirty-six. I was also able to add to the text established by Müller and Andreas the small piece T I α 1538 II.

The seventh canto of *Angad Rōšnān* is also well represented by readily decipherable fragments. Two of those belonging to the sixth canto contain verses from the seventh also. These are M 91 (with the title of 'Seventh Limb', as we have seen) and M 175. To these Müller and Andreas added M 774, from the next page of the same manuscript as M 175, with the title:

(R) [hf]twm hnd'm (V) 'ngd rw[šn'n]

and M 439, which has no title, but whose contents overlap with those of M 175 and M 91. To these four pieces Henning joined eight smaller fragments: M 690 (from the same page of manuscript as M 439); M 459 a and M 817 (fragments of one page); M 517 (with a title); M 489 a (from the same manuscript and possibly the same page as M 774); M 287 and T I α (fragments of the one page, on which part of a title is preserved, with the number of the canto missing); and M 578 (from the same manuscript as M 96). I was later able to add three more tiny fragments: T I α 1539 II, T I α 1540 II, and T II D 178 IX g.

Henning reconstructed a further group of fragments from this canto, to which he gave the signature *A.R.* VIIa. This group depends on the fragments T III D 280 and M 667, which bear the words, respectively:

(R) [ ]twm hnd(')[ ] (V) [ ] rw(š)[ ]

and

(R) [ ]twm [ ] (V) [ ] rwš[ ]

In M 667 a dot is visible over the gap before the *t* of]*twm*, making the restoration of [*hf*]*twm* certain; and since the two fragments contain in part the same verses, both can be assigned with assurance to the seventh canto. Henning further pieced together with M 667 three other bits from the same manuscript-page, namely M 620, M 918 a, and T I D 51. He thus restored a series of seventeen verses, with a gap. *A.R.* VII contains thirty-six verses, and so there survive fifty-three verses from this canto, which even so is evidently not complete.

The eighth canto of *Angad Rōšnān* is represented by the fragment M 89, which has the title

(R) hštwm ẖnd'm (V) 'ngd rwšn'n

To this I added the small fragment T II D 67 (12 p.) j.

For the first canto of *Angad Rōšnān* there exist three fragments with a title. One is M 855 V, which was published by Lentz. On this the title runs:

(V) nys'r'd 'ngd rw[šn'n]

i.e. 'Begun (is) *Angad Rōšnān*'. The first verse on this fragment is actually the first verse of the canto and cycle. Henning identified with the verses on M 855 V those on M 256 V, thus restoring in part the first four verses of the cycle. The fragment T II D 79 (1 p.) bears traces of the same title as M 855 V, namely

(R) ny(s)['r'd 'n]g[d rwšn'n] (V) ['ngd rwšn']n

The position of the *g* on the recto page showed that *'ngd rwšn'n* was to be restored and not *hwydgm'n*; and our present knowledge, thanks to Henning, of the whole of the first canto of *Huwīdagmān* proves the correctness of this. Henning discovered that the verso of T II D 79 overlaps with the recto of M 780, a fairly well-preserved fragment with seven verses on each page; and to M 780 he joined M 831 and T II D 140, two small fragments from the same page of the same manuscript. M 831 contains verses from the bottom of a page, and its relationship with M 780 shows that the latter fragment is from the top of a page. It is almost certain that for the beginning of the first canto the scribe would take a fresh page;[1] and if the first verse of *A.R.* I is set at the top of a page, and there are ten verses to a page, it follows that M 780 R I must have a number ending in 1 in the total series—viz. 11, 21, or 31, &c.; and since T II D 79 V 1 = M 780 R 3 it follows that T II D 79 R 1 must have a number ending in 3 in the total series—viz. 3, 13, or 23, &c. But the caption 'Begun is . . .' is naturally restricted to the first page or two of the cycle;[2] and on the basis of these calculations Henning identified T II D 79 R 1 with *A.R.* I 3. This fragment thus follows directly on M 855 V (= *A.R.* I 1–2). The identification, based on calculation, is supported by the fact that M 855 V contains traces of a third verse, and has two letters, appropriately spaced, in common with the first line of T II D 79.

[1] Cf. M 256 and M 855. In both these fragments a space is left after the end of *Huwīdagmān* (on the recto page) and *Angad Rōšnān* is begun at the top of the next (the verso) page.

[2] Thus in *Huwīdagmān* two fragments containing the opening verses have the title *nys'r'd hwydgm'n*; but M 93 I (whose first verse = *H.* I 22) has the title *nxwyn hnd'm hwydgm'n*.

Henning added two other fragments, namely M 673 and M 889, to the group which he had thus created for the beginning of *A.R.* I; and to these eight fragments I was able to join seven more: T I *α* 1540 I, T I D (3 p.) a, T II K 11 (15 p.) n, and T II D 178 *β*, a together with T II D 178 IX b, f, and j. The last four are from the same page of the same manuscript. It was also possible to identify tentatively the verso of a tiny fragment, T II D 52 (23 p.) a, with the opening words of the canto. On this page there is the beginning of a title, namely '[*n*](*g*)[. . ., and beneath this are the words '*ngd rwš*[with a *p* in the margin beside them. On the recto page are the last words of another line of poetry, accompanied by another *p*. These should perhaps be assigned to *Huwīdagmān*; but unfortunately the fragment is too small to make even the identification of the verso page certain.

The third fragment with a title from *A.R.* I is M 518. This bears the words:

(R) nxw(y)[n hn]d'm (V) ['n](g)[d rwšn'n]

The trace of the *g* on the verso page is faint, but the fragment can be assigned with certainty to *Angad Rōšnān* for the reason given above—namely that the whole of *H.* I is known in translation. The verses on M 518 do not overlap with any on the other fragments from this first canto, and Henning therefore gave the fragment the separate signature of *A.R.* Ia. To it he joined a bilingual fragment M 815, which gives a Sogdian translation beneath the Parthian original. M 518 contains, with a gap, fifteen verses, and there are thirty verses in the earlier group of fragments. Thus there is a total of forty-five extant verses from *A.R.* I.

The second canto of *Angad Rōšnān* is represented only by the fragment M 863, which has the title

(R) bdyg [hnd'm] (V) ['ngd r]wšn'n

This is the last fragment of the cycle which can be assigned to its place by the evidence of an adequately preserved title either on the fragment itself or on an associated piece.

With the cycle *Huwīdagmān* it is again convenient to begin with some of the first fragments to be made known, namely T II D 178 I–III, three complete sheets written in a difficult script, which were published by Lentz. Lentz, on evidence already described,[1]

[1] See above, p. 5.

identified the last six verses on T II D 178 I with the beginning of the fifth canto. The first three verses belong therefore to the end of the fourth. Lentz assumed that this fragment was followed by T II D 178 II, III, and the more fragmentary IV with possibly a page missing between III and IV; and he published all these together.[1] The assumption seemed justifiable; the contents of II followed smoothly upon those of I, and though there was some abruptness in the transition between II and III, it nevertheless was reasonable to suppose that these three perfect sheets of one manuscript had been preserved lying on top of each other. Yet further research has proved this supposition wrong. As has already been said, T II D 178 is unusual in that it has only five verses to a page. If therefore the recto page of another fragment with the usual number of verses to a page (ten) contains verses in common with, e.g., those of the recto page of T II D 178 I, its verso will overlap, not with the verso of T II D 178 I, but with the recto of the following sheet of this manuscript, supposedly T II D 178 II. As it happened, Henning discovered a fragment whose recto page did coincide with the recto page of T II D 178 I. This was M 858 e, the order of whose pages is fixed by the presence of a complete marginal *p* on the verso page. The recto of M 858 e coincides with T II D 178 I R, but its verso has nothing in common with T II D 178 II R, as would have been the case had these two sheets been consecutive. Henning was able, moreover, to add a second fragment, M 895 a, whose recto could be identified with T II D 178 I V, but whose verso was independent of T II D 178 II V. Thus it was certain that at least one sheet was missing between T II D 178 I and II.

Later I found three fragments, T II K (5 p.) e, and T I D 16 (9 p.) c and g, of which the two latter are from the same page of the same manuscript as M 895 a. All three have verses in common with T II D 178 I R but not with T II D 178 II. Further, the recto sides of three other fragments, T II D 67 (12 p.) a, T I D 51 (9 p.) b, and T I D (12 p.) i, proved to have verses in common with the verso of M 858 e; but again their versos did not overlap with T II D 178 II, as would have been the case had only one sheet been missing between T II D 178 I and II. There was thus established a series of twenty verses (with

[1] See W.–L. i, pp. 111–14.

lacunae) at the beginning of *H.* V, which did not include T II D 178 II.

Further, it was possible to identify lines from the verso of a fragment T I D (9 p.) g with the first lines on the recto page of T II D 178 III. T I D (9 p.) g is a mere scrap of manuscript; but enough remains of the line immediately preceding the first verse of T II D 178 III to show that it is not the same as the last line of T II D 178 II. Nor has the recto page of T I D (9 p.) g anything in common with T II D 178 II; so at least two sheets must be missing between T II D 178 II and III also, and the links between the assumed series are thus severed entirely.

There is, moreover, the space of a verse left blank on the verso of T I D (9 p.) g which shows that the first verse on T II D 178 III R is the beginning of a canto. This fact accords admirably with the contents of the verse itself, for in it the Saviour appears to the soul —a moment of climax. The lines run as follows:

> When I had said these words, with soul a-tremble,
> I beheld the Saviour as he shone before me.

One would readily assign this verse to the beginning of the sixth canto of *Huwīdagmān* but for the evidence of the Sogdian material. A page with the signature T II K contains the last five verses of the Sogdian translation of *H.* V, and the first verse of *H.* VI, together with its two opening Parthian words in Sogdian transcription, namely *'wm "wδyn*, i.e. 'and while I . . .' Henning translates the Sogdian version of *H.* VI 1 as follows:

> While I thus wept, and shed tears upon the ground,
> I heard the voice of the beneficent king.

These words are clearly not a translation of T II D 178 III R 1, which cannot therefore be assigned to *H.* VI. There is, moreover, the difficulty that although the Sogdian is not a translation of the Parthian verse, it presents much the same situation. In both the soul in distress becomes aware of its Saviour. It would be possible to understand the apparent parallelism as a dramatic development; in *H.* VI the soul hears the voice of its Saviour, and in a later canto it sees the god himself. This is not very likely, however; and the possibility therefore arises that T II D 178 III does not belong to this cycle at all. This is a matter to which we must return later.

There is a small fragment, M 489 b, which has the title

(R) pnjwm hn[d'm] (V) [hwyd]gm'n

This is the only fragment from this canto with a title, and it has not been linked with any other piece. Henning gave it a separate signature, and it now stands as *H.* Vb.

Of the other cantos of *Huwīdagmān*, the first is known in its entirety in a Chinese translation, containing originally seventy-eight verses.[1] Three Parthian fragments with titles have survived, and it was through these that Henning succeeded in identifying the Chinese version.[2] Two, M 233 and M 625 b, bear the following words:

M 233 (R) nys'r'd hwydgm'n (V) hwydgm'n
M 625 b (R) [nys]'r'd h(w)[yd]gm"[n]

Both contain the opening verses of the hymn-cycle. M 625 b is singular in having the verses written in interspaced groups of three lines. The third fragment, M 93 I, has the title

(R) nxwyn hnd'm (V) hwydgm'n

It does not overlap with any other fragment, but can be assigned to its exact place within the canto by means of the Chinese. I was able to identify the following additional fragments: M 603, which is from the same manuscript as M 780 and other fragments containing verses from *A.R.* I; T II D 167 (10 p.) a, and T II D 167 (10 p.) b, two fragments from successive pages of the same manuscript; T I D 27 (10 p.) e; T II D 79 (3 p.) b; T I D 51(+T I α 6 p.) a; and T I D 51 (5 p.) b. None of these small fragments has a title or is connected with a fragment with a title, and without the Chinese version it would be impossible to assign them even approximately.

Almost nothing is known of the second canto of *Huwīdagmān* except its title, which is preserved as follows on two sheets from Sogdian manuscripts:[3]

T II K 178 (R) δβtykw 'n(δ)[(V)](t)βr's
T II D 178 (R) δβtykw 'nδ[(V)](k)kr'yty p't[

The whole title can be reconstructed thus:

δβtykw 'nδ[m'y γwyδkm'n] [γnt']kkr'yty p'tβr's

i.e. 'Second Limb (of) *Huwīdagmān*: The Punishment of Sinners'.

[1] One verse has been omitted by a copyist; see below, p. 77 n. 7.

[2] The identification was made difficult, however, by the obscurity and verbosity of the Chinese rendering.

[3] Henning's readings and reconstruction.

Traces only are preserved in Sogdian of the last verse of this canto and the first verse of *H.* III[1]—not enough for a reconstruction of the verses, but sufficient to be a check on Parthian fragments. No identification has been possible.

No other trace remains of *H.* III. *H.* IV is represented by the first three verses on T II D 178 I R, which are the final verses of this canto. *H.* VI survives more fully. The fragment M 93 is a double sheet, of which the second sheet, M 93 II, contains verses from the sixth canto, under the heading

(R) šhwm hnd['m] (V) [hwyd]gm'n

With it Henning linked the fragment T II D 57, which has the same title, perfectly preserved; and I later added M 289 a, which is from the same page of the same manuscript as M 93 II. These three fragments give, with *lacunae*, a series of twenty-two verses. The Sogdian translation shows that these are not from the beginning of the canto.[2] The group has the signature *H.* VIc in the final reconstruction.

Finally Henning discovered from its colophon that the fragment M 256 R contains the last three verses of *Huwīdagmān*, which are also found in M 855 R. Neither fragment has a title, so that the number of this last canto is unknown.

All the fragments discussed so far—with the exception of those belonging to *H.* I—were assigned to their places on the evidence either of a title or of a colophon. Other evidence exists, however, by which several more fragments can be assigned with a fair measure of certainty; this part of the reconstruction is my own.

There exists a group of small fragments which has proved of considerable importance for the reconstruction of *Angad Rōšnān*. This is the series T I α 1530–44. The fifteen fragments consist each of a small part from the centre of a double sheet; on each page is preserved either the first or last words (or parts of words) of from one to four verses. The scraps of manuscript are too small to add much to our knowledge of the text, but are of value for the allotting of other fragments, since it appears that most of them have been kept in their original order in relation to one another. This was shown by the identification of several of them with verses of

[1] Together with colophon and heading; see W.–L., i, pp. 67–68.

[2] See above, p. 31.

Angad Rōšnān. These identifications have been mentioned in the appropriate places above; but to make the matter clear a table of them is given here:

T I α 1540 I R	*A.R.* I 18–19	T I α 1540 II V	*A.R.* VII 33–35
V	„ „ 28–29	R	„ „ 23–24
		1539 II V	„ „ 14–15
		R	„ „ 4–5
		1538 II V	„ VI 67–69
		R	„ „ 57–59
		1537 II V	„ „ 48–49
		R	„ „ 38–39

It is evident from this that the double sheet 1540 originally enclosed other double sheets containing the end of the first canto, the beginning of the seventh, and the whole of the intervening cantos (i.e. the second to sixth). Unfortunately gaps at the beginning of *Angad Rōšnān* make it impossible to identify 1539 I–1537 I; but on the evidence of the other fragments these may be assigned to the early cantos of the cycle.

Even without the decisive textual evidence, there would be reason to think that the fragments 1540–1537 had lain on top of each other. All are of roughly the same size and shape; and deteriorations which are apparent in 1540 show, but less conspicuously, on each successive fragment. There is, for example, a hole in the centre of 1540; and holes similar but diminishing in size are found in each of the rest of the series. From the character of the fragments alone, therefore, one would be justified in assuming 1540 to have been an outer sheet, which had enclosed, and to a certain extent protected, the inner ones.

Moreover, the shape of the fragments suggests that not only 1539–1537, but also the unidentified 1536–1530 had all lain within 1540, thus forming a continuous series; for the minute stages of deterioration can be traced throughout the group. Fragment 1530 is the best preserved of all; and its two sheets are almost identical in outline, as would naturally be the case with an inmost double sheet, whose sides would lie directly against each other. In the next fragment, 1531, a tiny tear appears, which is larger in 1532–7, and leads to the loss of a corner in 1538, on which the traces of only two verses are preserved, instead of three as in 1530–7. This is the case also for 1539–40.

From this it follows that 1540 enclosed all the ten double sheets

1539–1530, comprising approximately 400 verses.[1] These ten sheets must have contained between them about six cantos (i.e. the first to seventh); and a rough measure is thus provided of sixty-six verses to a canto. The only canto from either cycle known in its entirety is *H.* I, in which there are seventy-eight verses.[2] The discrepancy between the figures is not great, and there is no need to question on this score the combined textual and material evidence.

We must now leave this series of fragments temporarily to reconsider T II D 178 III. The identification of this fragment with T I D (9 p.) g[3] had severed its connexion with T II D 178 II, which had in turn already been divorced from T II D 178 I. Thus both these important fragments were left *in vacuo.* Moreover, the manuscript to which they belong contains both hymn-cycles (as had been shown by the identification of seven fragments, T II D 178 β, α, VIa, VIIa, IXb, f, g, and j, with verses from *Angad Rōšnān*). The possibility was therefore present that T II D 178 II and III belonged to *Angad Rōšnān* rather than to *Huwīdagmān.* For T II D 178 III this was almost a probability, on account of the Sogdian translation of *H.* VI, which showed that the Saviour's coming was described in that cycle in terms different from those used in the opening verse of the fragment.[4] The matter was finally decided by the identification of verses on the verso page of T II D 178 III with others on the verso of T I α 1535 II. The verses on the recto page of 1535 II fall accordingly between those on the recto pages of T II D 178 III and its associated fragment T I D (9 p.) g, with both of which they agree perfectly.

T II D 178 III contains, as we have seen, the beginning of a canto. It follows that 1535 II contains verses close to the beginning of the same canto. By a curious chance, however, 1535 I also contains the opening of a canto, as is shown by a space left blank between two verses on its recto page. It remained, therefore, to discover if possible which cantos were thus represented.

Let us first consider the assignment of the group of verses made

[1] 1540 I R 1 = *A.R.* I 18, so that the sheet preceding 1540 I must have contained the opening verses of *Angad Rōšnān.* Possibly this missing sheet enclosed 1540 in its turn, making up a quire of twelve double sheets—a likely even number. The manuscript to which the fragments belonged may thus be compared with M 801, in which one double sheet originally enclosed at least fourteen others (see Henning, *BBB.*, p. 5).

[2] See below, p. 77 n. 7.

[3] See above, p. 31.

[4] See ibid.

up by T I D (9 p.) g+1535 II+T II D 178 III. We have seen that the fragments 1530–40 form an unbroken series. Fragment 1537 II contains the first verses of a block of thirty-six from the end of *A.R.* VI.[1] Our rough calculation of sixty-six verses to a canto, together with the actual example of seventy-eight in *H.* I, suggests that cantos were of considerable length. At least one more fragment from the series must therefore be assigned to this sixth canto. The inclusion of 1536 II brings the number of verses in the canto to fifty-six; but since the preceding page, 1535 II V, contains verses from near the beginning of a canto, it is plain that these must be added also. Together with the verses on the recto page of the associated T II D 178 III, they bring the total for *A.R.* VI to seventy-three, a number which agrees well with the other evidence. We may therefore assign T II D 178 III with confidence to the beginning of *A.R.* VI.[2] A result of this is that in both cycles the Saviour appears at the beginning of the sixth canto—a piece of parallelism which provides further evidence for the correctness of the allocation.

The double sheet 1535 enclosed, as we have seen, the double sheets 1534–1530. There were thus approximately 220 verses (viz. 5×40+20) between the canto beginning on 1535 I R and that beginning on 1535 II, a number which should comprise three cantos. Since 1535 II contains verses from the sixth canto, 1535 I should therefore contain the opening of the third. This accords well enough with the fact that 1535 I is preceded by the single sheets 1536 I–40 I, with 1540 I R 1 = *A.R.* I 18. These preceding sheets would then contain *A.R.* I and II, which would thus consist together of approximately 120 verses, i.e. roughly sixty verses to a canto. I have therefore assigned 1535 I to *A.R.* II and III; and have given T II D 178 III and its allied fragments the following signatures: T II D 178 III = *A.R.* VI; T I D (9 p.) g R+1535 II R = *A.R.* V.

According to these calculations the fragments 1534–1530 contain verses from cantos III–V. These fragments bear variously, on their left- or right-hand sheets, words such as *kym . . . 'wm* (i.e. 'Who [shall . . .] me, and . . . me'), which suggest verses from

[1] See above, p. 26.

[2] Fragments from the same manuscript, namely T II D 178 VIa and VIIa, had already been identified with the verses now numbered *A.R.* VI 42–45, 47–50. Two sheets of manuscript are thus missing between them and T II D 178 III.

a part of the cycle preceding the coming of the Saviour. The Saviour is present in the sixth canto; and there is good reason, therefore, to be satisfied with a reconstruction which allots these fragments to cantos earlier than the sixth.

Few of the series T I *α* 1530–40 can be precisely assigned, since the exact number of verses in all cantos but the sixth is unknown; but approximate positions for the whole series are given in the following table:

T I α 1540 I	R	*A.R.*	I 18–19	T I α 1540 II	V	*A.R.*	VII 33–35
	V	,,	I 28–29		R	,,	VII 23–24
1539 I	R	,,	I 38–39	1539 II	V	,,	VII 14–15
	V	,,	I 48–49		R	,,	VII 4–5
1538 I	R	,,	I 58–59	1538 II	V	,,	VI 67–69
	V	,,	IIa 1–2		R	,,	VI 57–59
1537 I	R	,,	IIa 10–13	1537 II	V	,,	VI 48–49
	V	,,	IIa 20–23		R	,,	VI 38–39
1536 I	R	,,	IIa 30–33	1536 II	V	,,	VI 27–29
	V	,,	IIa 40–43		R	,,	VI 17–19
1535 I	R	,,	IIa 50+III 1	1535 II	V	,,	VI 7–9
	V	,,	III 9–11		R	,,	V 61–63
1534 I	R	,,	III 19–21	1534 II	V	,,	V 51–53
	V	,,	III 29–31		R	,,	V 41–43
1533 I	R	,,	III 39–41	1533 II	V	,,	V 31–33
	V	,,	III 49–51		R	,,	V 21–23
1532 I	R	,,	III 59–61	1532 II	V	,,	V 11–13
	V	,,	III 69–71		R	,,	V 1–3
1531 I	R	,,	IV 1–3	1531 II	V	,,	IV 71–73
	V	,,	IV 11–13		R	,,	IV 61–63
1530 I	R	,,	IV 21–23	1530 II	V	,,	IV 51–53
	V	,,	IV 31–33		R	,,	IV 41–43

A separate small fragment from a single page of the same manuscript, namely, T I D (12 p.) i, has been identified with verses from *H.* V. The manuscript is thus one of those which contained both hymn-cycles.

There are now two fragments with traces of titles to be considered. On one of them, T II D 75, the following words have survived:

(R) [ ] hnd'm (V) 'ngd rwšn'n

Since the fragment does not coincide with any other, the only evidence for supplying the missing number of the canto is in its contents. These consist of verses addressed by the Saviour to the soul. The fragment must, therefore, come after T II D 178 III (= *A.R.* VI 1–10) in which the Saviour first appears. Moreover, its contents resemble closely, both in matter and manner, the last

verses on T II D 178 III and those at the beginning of the group of fragments first combined under the signature *A.R.* VI. It is a characteristic of both hymn-cycles to have long runs of verses of a similar type, and it is therefore probable that these three sets of verses form a single group. T II D 75 cannot well follow the group of fragments at the end of *A.R.* VI, for the beginning of *A.R.* VII is known, and contains matter of a different kind. It must therefore be set between it and T II D 178 III. The gap of twenty-seven verses which exists there is spanned by the fragment T I α 1536 II; but this contains only the beginning of lines on the recto page and the end of lines on the verso page, whereas the opposite is true of T II D 75. Even if the two fragments contained verses in common it would therefore be impossible to prove it. From the scanty traces on T I α 1536 II it seems unlikely, however, that they exactly coincide. The precise position of T II D 75 within the gap remains doubtful, therefore; but since for convenience of reference precision is desirable, I have identified T II D 75 R 1 with *A.R.* VI 21.[1] This is probably approximately correct, and as a result *A.R.* VI is almost complete.

The other fragment with a title is T II D 137[2], on whose recto page the one word *šhwm* has survived. To this fragment it was possible to join three others: T I D (5 p.) d, M 502 α, b, and T II D 167 (10 p.) j. The four fragments together give a run of twenty-four verses, with one considerable gap. The length of this series makes it impossible to assign it to the now almost complete *A.R.* VI, and we may therefore place it with confidence in *H.* VI. From its contents it is probable that the group precedes the verses already known from this canto; it has therefore been given the signature *H.* VIb.

The evidence for assigning the foregoing fragments is strong, although not so decisive as the existence of a full title. There remain several interesting fragments for whose assignment there are only slight indications; but an attempt has nevertheless been made to allot these to approximately correct positions. The tentative nature of their placing is shown by an asterisk before each signature.

One of these fragments is the complete page T II D 178 II.

[1] T II D 75 contains marginal *p*'s, as do several fragments belonging to the later part of the canto; and their position shows that it is necessary to equate the first verse of the fragment with a verse of an odd number.

In connexion with this we must consider three more pieces from the manuscript T I α, numbered 1541–4. These pieces have the same general features as the series 1530–40, but are more tattered, and in one case the left- and right-hand sheets have become separated, and now bear different numbers (viz. 1543 and 1544). The connexion between these fragments and the series 1530–40 is obscure. Fragments 1542 I R and 1544 R each contain the words *ky . . . kym . . . 'wm . . .* which are characteristic of the early cantos of both cycles. But the series 1530–40 spans the whole of the early part of *Angad Rōšnān* up to the coming of the Saviour. Therefore either the fragments 1541–4 come from a different level of some of the same pages as 1530–40; or they are from a different set of pages altogether, presumably containing the other cycle *Huwīdagmān*. The fact that they are of roughly the same size and shape suggests that all fifteen were torn away in one block, which favours the latter interpretation. It is, moreover, known that the manuscript from which the fragments come contained both cycles. The fifteen fragments 1530–44 cannot, however, be consecutive, for wherever we assign the last three within *Huwīdagmān*, *A.R.* I 1–18 and all the verses of *H.* I at least are unrepresented.

It has not proved possible to identify any of these three fragments beyond a doubt; but there is a likelihood that T I α 1544 R = T II D 178 II R. The words preserved on 1544 R are as follows:

1a k[
b cy ʿy[
2a kym [
b cy [

The corresponding verses of T II D 178 II R run as follows:

3a kym bwj'ẖ 'c rwmb o cy hrwyn d'md'd'n
b cy ʿyw byd'n wyg'nynd o 'wṯ ʿst'wynd 'by 'xšd

4a k(ym) [p]rys(p)'n ʿzw'y'ẖ o 'wṯ p'rgyn wyd'r'ẖ
b cy pwr tr (s) ['w](ṯ) lrz o cy dyw'n wyg'ng

The correspondence is fairly striking in 1b = 3b, for the combination *cy ʿy[* is not common. Nevertheless, since it is only possible to compare two verses, the evidence cannot be regarded as conclusive. (The verso pages do not correspond, since T II D 178 II has only five verses to a page.) There is, however, no other evidence for allotting T II D 178 II, which has therefore been placed within

the cycle *Huwīdagmān*—very tentatively, since there are two doubtful factors: one, whether it and T I α 1544 are really to be identified, and two, whether in any case T I α 1544 really belongs to *Huwīdagmān*. As for the placing of T II D 178 II within the cycle, the only guide is the striking resemblance between its contents and those of T II D 178 I, formerly regarded as its predecessor. It has therefore been placed just before that fragment, with the signature **H*. IVa. With T II D 178 II is associated also the small fragment T I D 8 (11 p.) b, one of whose pages coincides with verses on the verso page of T II D 178 II.

A fourth fragment from this same manuscript, namely T II D 178 IV, was published by Lentz as forming possibly the last member of the series I–IV; but there is no longer any reason to seek a close link between this and the fragments T II D 178 I–III. It is true that T II D 178 IV contains verses of the same character as its supposed predecessor; but the two sheets cannot be consecutive, for if they were the verso page of T II D 178 IV would overlap with the recto page of T I α 1536 II; and if only one sheet were missing between them it would be identifiable with the verso page of the same fragment. The remainder of *A.R.* VI is too well preserved for it to be possible that T II D 178 IV should belong later in that canto. Yet it is a striking fact that this fragment contains verses addressed by the Saviour to the soul, characterized by the same formula '*And I am . . . and you are*' which distinguishes the early part of *A.R.* VI. Fortunately we know from the Sogdian translation that similar verses appear in *Huwīdagmān* also—another example of the close parallelism of the cycles.[1] This parallelism appears to extend in some degree to their structure. It seems probable, therefore, that since in *Angad Rōšnān* verses with this formula follow upon the appearance of the Saviour, the same was true of *Huwīdagmān*; and T II D 178 IV has therefore been allotted with some confidence to the opening part of the sixth canto of *Huwīdagmān*, with the signature **H*. VIa.

Another interesting fragment is T II D 77[2] (5 p.) c, which has on its verso page a blank space between two verses, marking the end of a canto. The first seven verses of the fragment contain recollections of Paradise, at which the soul weeps. The last two, which are the opening ones of the new canto, are too fragmentary for their

[1] See W.-L. i, p. 67; in spite of what is said there, it is not clear from the Sogdian MS. to which canto of *Huwīdagmān* verses of this type belong.

contents to be clear; but the words *hrwyn wdng* suggest that they contain some account of the soul's sufferings in this world. In the extant text recollections of Paradise are characteristic of *Huwīdagmān*. Apart from the descriptive first canto they occur also in the fragment *H.* Vb and in Sogdian verses from the fifth canto. The parallelism between the cycles makes it likely that similar passages occurred in *Angad Rōšnān*; but in the absence of positive proof of this we may regard Paradise and memories of it as a characteristic and recurrent theme in *Huwīdagmān*. Accordingly T II D 77[a] c has been allotted to this cycle. It is evident from its contents that the fragment contains verses from the early part of the cycle; and since there exist, in Parthian, Sogdian, or Chinese, the last verses of *H.* I, II, IV, and V, it can only be allotted to the end of the third canto and the beginning of the fourth. I have therefore given it the signatures **H.* III and **H.* IV.

Two other groups of fragments have been assigned almost arbitrarily. One is formed by the three fragments M 588, M 871 f, and T II D 66[r], which make up, with gaps, a series of twenty-three verses. The contents are partly narrative, partly dramatic, the latter consisting of words from the Saviour to the soul. In matter and manner they resemble closely the verses surviving from *A.R.* VIII. It was possible, therefore, to assign them either to this canto or to a parallel canto of *Huwīdagmān*. I have taken the latter course, and given the group the signature **H.* VII. M 502 *β*, a, M 689, and T I D 51 (3 p.) b are three other small fragments whose contents overlap, and which also contain verses from the Saviour to the soul. M 689 is from a manuscript known to contain both cycles. On the grounds of congruence alone I have allotted these fragments to the end of *Huwīdagmān*, setting them immediately before the verses contained in M 256 R and M 855 R, which are known to be the last of the cycle. For reference it is necessary that this canto should be given a number; and since eight cantos are known for *Angad Rōšnān*, the last canto of *Huwīdagmān* has been called **H.* VIII. It is, of course, in doubt whether eight is the correct total number of cantos. The group M 502 *β*, a+M 689+T I D 51 (3 p.) b bears, therefore, the signature **H.* VIII; and M 256 R+M 855 R the signature **H.* VIIIa.

Two other fragments assigned on the grounds of congruence alone are T I D (10 p.) j, and T I D (3 p.) b. The subject-matter of the former closely resembles that of the early verses of *H.* V. It

has, therefore, been given the signature **H.* Va. The latter is from the manuscript also represented by M 780 and other fragments, of which four contain verses from *A.R.* I. T I D (3 p.) b has verses closely resembling those of *A.R.* Ia, and it has therefore been given the signature **A.R.* Ib. Finally there are several small fragments, connected by subject-matter alone, which have for convenience been assigned to *A.R.* III, with the surviving traces of which they are wholly in accord. These are T I D (12 p.) h (= **A.R.* III a); T I D 51 α (2 p.) b+T I D 51 (+T I α (6 p.) ii) e (= **A.R.* III b); and T II D 79 (3 p.) a (= **A.R.* III c).

The reconstructed hymn-cycles are represented by the following number of Parthian verses:[1] *Angad Rōšnān* I (42 verses); II (6); III (18); V (2); VI (52); VII (50); and VIII (14). Total: 184. *Huwīdagmān* I (34); III (7); IV (16); V (20); VI (32); VII (13) and VIII (9). Total: 131. The total number of verses which have been assigned a place, definitely or tentatively, is thus 315.

There remains unidentified a considerable number of small fragments from strophic texts. From their contents it is evident that some of these are not to be connected with the hymn-cycles; the rest it was originally intended to reproduce in a group here. During their study, however, the difficulties of identification became increasingly apparent, and the usefulness of reproducing them in a block more and more doubtful. Some, moreover, are very small and lack any intrinsic value. The principle adopted in the end was therefore to reproduce only those which are of some interest in themselves, and whose connexion with the hymn-cycles is made probable either by their contents or by manuscript-evidence.[2] These appear together at the end under the heading *Fragments.*

VI. SOME REMARKS ON AUTHORSHIP AND STYLE

The two hymn-cycles resemble each other closely. There is a contrast in their opening cantos, but otherwise they are so alike both in matter and in style that passages from one have readily been

[1] Fragments of verses have been generally counted in this reckoning provided they contain complete words, except for those verses represented only by the series T I α 1530–5, which have been omitted.

[2] Manuscript-evidence is not of great value, since one manuscript may have contained both the hymn-cycles and other poetic texts written in the same fashion, as, e.g., the manuscript represented by M 88+M 91, in which there were both *Evangelionīg* hymns and *Angad Rōšnān.*

assigned to the other, and runs of verses created out of the scattered fragments of both. From this we may infer that the two works are by one author; or that if they are by different authors, one has so directly inspired the other that we are justified in grouping them under one attribution.

The author of *Huwīdagmān* has been identified tentatively by Henning with Mār Ammō.[1] Slight internal evidence accords with this identification, since it favours the supposition of an early date. The hymn-cycles are in good Parthian; and they contain only a few of the Indian loan-words found in later texts.[2] Ammō, one of Mani's chief apostles, was chosen for the mission to the Parthians because of his knowledge of their language.[3] There is no other record, however, of his literary activity.[4]

In the *handām* hymns the author's purpose was presumably to celebrate death in a liturgy designed for general use. To achieve this worthily he has developed the theme of suffering and release through eight or more long cantos. This he has done without cumbering it with irrelevancies. There is an economy of allusion to secondary matters, but an expansive treatment of the main action. The absence of proper names is only one instance of a general restraint. Thus in the first canto of *Huwīdagmān* doctrinal details are subordinated to a broad description of the harmony of heaven, which the poet contrasts with the strife and misery of earth. Later the evils of earth are dealt with at even greater length through the soul's lamentations. The poet is deliberate and unhurried, achieving dignity and impressiveness by amplification rather than by concentration.

Diffuseness in handling requires an accompanying fullness of style. There is a difficulty here, however. The hymn-cycles are long, and were presumably sung, which meant they were appre-

[1] See above, p. 7.

[2] See Henning, *BSOAS.* xii, p. 50.

[3] See *Mir. Man.* ii, pp. 302^{14}–303^{2}.

[4] For general records of Ammō's work as a missionary in the east see Henning, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 302 n. 6 with references; 'Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus', *ZDMG.*, xc, p. 8; 'Waručān-Šāh', *Journal of the Greater India Society*, xi, 2, p. 87. Ammō was with Mani during the last days of his life, and testified concerning them to the Church (see *Mir. Man.* iii, p. 891 q 15–17 and n. 5 with references). He was remembered in popular tales in both East and West (see von Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* i, pp. 32–34, re-edited by Bang, *Le Muséon*, xliv, pp. 17–24; Polotsky, *Man. Homilien*, p. 91^{11} et seq.), and was later claimed as their founder by the schismatic Dēnāwars (see *Mir. Man.* iii, p. 854 n. 1 with references).

hended by ear rather than eye. To 'load every rift with ore' would therefore be to strain the attention. Oral poets have met this difficulty through the use of traditional phrases and fixed epithets, which rest the attention and allow an ornate style that is not too exacting. The Parthian poet uses a simpler type of 'padding' which dilutes rather than enriches his style. His sentence-structure is simple. The sentences usually coincide with the half-verse or verse, and are thereby kept short and direct. A high proportion of them are introduced with the word 'and' (*ud*); and much use is made of a few colourless adjectives and pronouns, such as 'all' (*harw*, *harwīn*) and 'that, these' (*hau*, *hawīn*), which enable the author to construct runs of verses with a minimum of adjectival enrichment. Attention is thus concentrated on substantives and verbs. The poet uses also a number of stock phrases, frequently repeated: for example, 'and it is wholly full of . . .' (*ud hamag purr . . .*), 'and . . . there is none therein' (*ud . . . andar nē ast*). This means that often only one word in a half-line is fresh and significant.

The attention is also rested by a considerable repetitiveness in vocabulary. This is to a certain extent inevitable when limited themes are handled at length; but it is clear that repetition in itself does not offend the author. He often repeats a word or phrase several times within a short run of verses, when he could easily have avoided such close juxtaposition. From this it seems that iteration is a deliberate device for emphasis.

Alliteration appears as a fairly frequent ornament. There is also a considerable use of imagery. The similes are obvious pictorial ones, whose effectiveness lies in their clarity; the movement of angels is compared with lightning, transient beauty with a rose or melting snow, wrath with a stormy sea. There is a much greater wealth of metaphor, which is drawn from the general Manichaean store of symbolism. To take one example, the world is variously presented as a sea and a waterless waste; a dungeon and a dark valley; a field of battle and a trap; a hell without light and a fire. The poet makes this imagery effective partly by its sheer abundance but partly also by imaginative use. The best preserved example of his skill occurs in the first canto of *Angad Rōšnān*. Sea-imagery is first introduced here by similes, one following the other in the usual leisurely and expansive fashion. The soul's sufferings are compared with a tossing sea, the demons' wrath with a sea of fire, the soul with something coursing over the heart of the ocean.

These incidental comparisons appear to lead the poet to the theme of the sea itself, which he takes up in a sustained metaphor. The furious waves, lashed by storm, seek to engulf the ship of the soul, which tosses with timbers strained, masts cracked, rudderless and adrift. The cumulative effect of the verses is impressive, and the image remains in the mind.

The hymn-cycles as a whole are planned works, and their subject-matter is firmly controlled; the action moves slowly but steadily, and there is an imaginative power which integrates the whole.

VII. VERSIFICATION

Many of the surviving verses of the hymn-cycles are mutilated; but there are 135 complete lines in *Angad Rōšnān*,[1] and 44 in *Huwīdagmān*, which provide a fair field for metrical study. Both cycles are written in the unrhymed,[2] accentual verse which Henning has shown to be characteristic of early Iranian poetry.[3] In this type of verse the number of stresses appears to be the decisive metrical factor; but Henning has observed that the variation in the number of syllables is not a matter of indifference, but appears to have its limits fixed for each poem.[4] A metrical comparison between the hymn-cycles must therefore take into consideration the length of lines as well as the number of stresses.

One of the difficulties in studying Middle Iranian verse is uncertainty over the pronunciation of some words.[5] This creates problems for a general study of metres, but fortunately does not affect a comparison between two particular poems of the same date, provided that a consistent scheme of pronunciation is adopted. In the case of the *handām* hymns any alterations in such a scheme would not result in changes in the relative lengths of the lines and half-lines of the two cycles; for a comparison between them can be based on a sufficiently large number of verses to ensure that any

[1] Now 139 (*A.R.* I 15a and 19b and VI 50a and 50b were restored after this metrical study had been completed). No lines are included in this estimate whose allocation is in any way doubtful.

[2] Rhyme appears so rarely in the hymn-cycles that it is probably an accident rather than a deliberate ornament.

[3] See *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1942, pp. 52–56. Henning believes this Iranian poetry to have influenced the Mandaean, in which a similar type of verse is found. Lidzbarski had considered the possibility that the Mandaean verse-form was derived from a foreign source (see his introduction to *Mandäische Liturgien*, pp. viii–xv).

[4] See *BSOAS.* xiii, p. 645.

[5] See ibid., p. 641.

different pronunciations would merely cancel each other out. The assumed pronunciation is given below of some of the words that might be read in a different fashion:

Monosyllables: bram-, brahm, drūšt, frēh, grāy-, grīw, gyān, radn, rōšn, syāw, wyāg, ᵘxad, zrēh.

Disyllables: a'i,[1] axšēnd, āžōn, əspāw, əzgad, burzwār, frəhīft, garān, maran, padgrift, paryāb-, šahrdār, wixas-, ᵘxēbē, yazdān, zanag.

Trisyllables: adyāwar, āwaržōg, əstāwišn, ciwāgōn, friyānag, hu-ārām, manuhmed, ramanīg, žamanīn.

The lengths of the complete lines in the two hymn-cycles are as follows:[2]

Angad Rōšnān

1	line containing	8	syllables
9	lines ,,	9	,,
30	,, ,,	10	,,
31	,, ,,	11	,,
41	,, ,,	12	,,
15	,, ,,	13	,,
7	,, ,,	14	,,
1	line ,,	16	,,

Huwīdagmān

2	lines containing	10	syllables
7	,, ,,	11	,,
14	,, ,,	12	,,
8	,, ,,	13	,,
7	,, ,,	14	,,
2	,, ,,	15	,,
1	line ,,	16	,,
3	lines ,,	17	,,

Thus in the cycle *Angad Rōšnān* there is a variation of eight in the minimum and maximum number of syllables, namely from eight to sixteen; and in *Huwīdagmān* a variation of seven, from ten to seventeen. Lines of nine syllables are well represented in *Angad Rōšnān*, but are absent from *Huwīdagmān*, as are lines of eight

[1] See Henning, *BSOAS.* xiii, p. 643 n. 9.

[2] A few of these lines have one or two letters restored; and one or two perfect lines have been omitted because they contain unknown words.

syllables. On the other hand, the line of seventeen syllables, relatively well represented in *Huwīdagmān*, is not found in the other cycle. A more detailed study of the relative length of the lines and half-lines in the two cycles is set out in the tables below:[1]

	Angad Rōšnān	*Huwīdagmān*
Lines counted	135	44
Number of syllables in these lines	1,531	564
Number of syllables in the first half-lines	741	288
Number of syllables in the second half-lines	790	276

The average length of the lines and half-lines is thus as follows:

	Angad Rōšnān	*Huwīdagmān*
Whole line	11·34	12·82
Half-line	5·67	6·41
First half-line	5·49	6·55
Second half-line	5·85	6·27

Thus there are small but definite differences between the cycles in the length of their lines. The average line in *Huwīdagmān* is longer by 13 per cent. than that in *Angad Rōšnān*. In the former cycle the first half-line is generally the longer; in the latter the second. If first half-lines only are compared, *Huwīdagmān* is on the average longer than *Angad Rōšnān* by 19·3 per cent.—in fact by slightly more than one whole syllable. The differences are slight, and only to be observed over a series of lines; but they are nevertheless significant, since they are consistently maintained throughout the considerable number of extant verses.

There is, however, a minority of lines which, taken by themselves, could belong to either cycle. It is therefore of interest to see whether there are any characteristic differences in the stress-patterns of the two cycles which would distinguish these lines of otherwise common character.[2]

A study of stress is attended by some difficulties, for the position of stress in Middle Iranian is not yet certain. Henning has adopted as a working hypothesis the principle of stress upon the final syllable within the word, which accords with later Western Iranian practice. The question of which words are to be stressed is often

[1] I am much indebted to Professor Henning for his kindness in helping me to prepare these tables and those on p. 58.

[2] When Henning drew attention to the fact that the limits of variation in the number of syllables are fixed for each poem, he pointed out that this suggests the existence of 'subtle differences in the structure of the verses'. See *BSOAS*. xiii, p. 645.

simplified by the fact that a poem with, apparently, three stresses to a line will contain many lines with only three words, or with three words and a conjunction or preposition.[1] In such cases it is simple to assign the stress.

Both the *handām* hymn-cycles appear to have four stresses to a line; and fortunately there are in each cycle a considerable number of half-lines containing only two words capable of taking the stress, such as the following examples:

A.R. I 3a	harwín wigānišn
H. I 1b	šahrdār kirbakkar
A.R. I 22b	ud wārān ud dūd
H. V 1b	ud aǰ dar tārīg

There are other lines where there could be a difference of opinion over the words to be stressed, as for example the following:

A.R. VI 50a	dast nē andāsād wasān
H. I 60a	ud ᵘxaš niwāg ramanīg

It is possible, however, to find in simpler half-lines patterns of stress which occur frequently; and tentatively to place the stress accordingly in more complex half-lines.

Each half-line is a separate metrical unit. This fact Henning was able to establish for a Pahlavi poem in which the first half of each line is filled by a recurrent formula.[2] In the *handām* hymns, similarly, half-lines are sometimes repeated in conjunction with others which differ in structure or length. The following are examples:

A.R. VII 6a	mas awar āsāh o pad šādīft abē zarīg
10a	mas awar āsāh o ud mā bawāh frēh
H. IVa 2b	zōnus razmāhīg o kū angōn nē ast
5b	ud aǰ harwīn warm o kū angōn nē ast
H. V 3b	ud hamag purr pad tār o ud nizmān dūdēn
A.R. I 14b	padīd ādur o ud nizmān dūdēn

Each half-line is therefore to be considered separately. In doing

[1] See, e.g., the Middle Persian and Parthian poems stressed tentatively by Henning, *N.G.G.W.*, 1933, p. 318; *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1942, pp. 55–56; and also Henning's remarks on the metre of the Younger Avesta, ibid., p. 53.

[2] See *BSOAS.* xiii, pp. 641–2.

so I have labelled the four half-lines of a couplet aa and ab; ba and bb.

To compare the half-lines of the two cycles it is necessary to have some way of describing them metrically. For this purpose I have taken four basic patterns, A, B, C, and D, with numbered variants; and have used the symbols + for an unstressed syllable and / for a stressed syllable. The basic patterns are as follows:

A unstressed + stressed + unstressed + stressed.
B unstressed + stressed + unstressed + stressed + unstressed.
C unstressed + stressed + stressed + unstressed.
D stressed + unstressed + unstressed + stressed.

The unstressed syllables may be increased in each pattern, creating variants. In the following tables the complete half-lines of both cycles[1] are listed together for comparison under the appropriate patterns. Where possible a half-line from each cycle is given in each case as an example.

A

A 1 + / + /

A.R. I 1 aa — angad rōšnān

A.R. I 5 aa, 12 ba, 13 ba, 14 aa, ba, 26 aa, 29 ba; Ia 14 aa; II 1 ba; VI 31 ba, 44 bb, 52 ba, 54 aa, 71 ba, 73 ba; VII 1 aa, 2 ba, 3 aa, ab, 20 ba; VIIa 3 ba; VIII 2 aa, 11 ba, 14 ba, 16 bb.

It is notable that this pattern occurs only three times in second half-lines (ab or bb). There are no examples from *Huwīdagmān*.

A 2 + + / + /

A.R. I 1 bb — pad harwīn dāhwān

H. V 1 ab — aǰ hau žafr abnās

A.R. I 12 aa, 14 bb, 15 ab, 16 bb, 17 ba, 18 aa, 20 aa, 22 ba, bb, 23 bb, 29 ab; Ia 4 aa, 8 ab, 12 aa, 13 aa, 14 ba; II 2 aa; VI 42 aa, 43 aa, ab, 49 ab, bb, 53 ab, bb, 55 ba, 57 ba, 61 aa, 62 bb, 63 ba, bb; VII 1 bb, 2 aa, 4 aa, bb, 6 aa, 7 ab, 8 ab, 10 aa, 13 aa, ba, bb, 17 aa, 18 aa, ab, 19 ba, bb, 21 ab, 25 aa, 35 ab, ba, bb; VIIa 1 aa, bb, 11 aa, ab, ba, 13 ab, bb, 14 ab; VIII 1 ba, 2 ab, 3 ba, 4 ba, 13 ba, 14 bb.

H. I 23 bb; V 1 ba, 2 bb, 3 bb, 6 aa, 9 ba, bb, 12 bb; VIc 20 ab.

[1] A number of half-lines have been considered here which were not taken into account previously, because the whole lines are not preserved.

A 3 + + + / + /

A.R. I 12 ab ud hau nasāw dīdan

H. I 22 bb pad anāsāg gōnag

A.R. I 13 ab, 14 ab, 24 aa, bb; Ia 2 aa, ab, bb, 3 ba; VI 33 aa, 42 bb, 45 bb, 52 bb, 66 ba, 68 aa; VII 4 ab, 6 bb, 8 ba, bb, 11 ba, bb, 12 ab, ba, 14 ab, bb, 19 aa, 20 aa, 21 ba; VIIa 2 ba; VIII 3 aa.

H. I 34 ab; IVb 1 ab, 2 bb; V 4 ba, 5 ab, bb, 13 aa; VIc 13 bb, 20 bb, 21 bb.

A 4 + + + + / + /

A.R. I 3 ba čē hawīn tanbār dabgar

H. IVb 3 bb čē hawīn narah žafrān

A.R. I 16 ab; VI 55 aa, 65 aa, 69 bb; VII 22 ab; VIIa 12 ba.

A 5 + + + + + / + /

A.R. VI 21 bb ud harw bazakkarān əspurr

H. VIc 11 ba čē pad hau padmōǰēd šādīft

H. VIc 11 bb.

A 6 + / + + /

A.R. I 2 bb madyān dušmanīn

H. I 1 ba šahrdār kirbakkar

A.R. I 3 aa, ab, 15 bb, 18 ba, 23 aa, ba, 26 ba, 29 bb, 30 ab; Ia 2 ba; VI 21 ab, 44 ab, 52 aa, 53 ba, 54 ba, bb, 58 ba, 64 ba, 65 bb, 67 bb, 68 bb, 69 ab, 70 bb, 72 aa, ba; VII 1 ab, 5 bb, 9 ab, 10 ab, 13 ab, 14 aa, ba, 17 ba, 18 ba, 19 ab, 23 aa, 24 aa, 26 ab; VIIa 2 aa, bb, 3 aa, 4 bb; VIII 11 ab, 12 ba, 14 aa, 15 aa, ab, 16 aa.

H. I 61 bb; IVb 1 aa; V 5 ba, 10 aa, 12 ab, 20 ab; VIc 4 bb, 14 bb; VIIIa 3 ba.

A 7 + / + + + /

A.R. I 24 ab pad warm sar abrāštag

H. I 28 aa wušēnd ud anǰūgīft

A.R. Ia 8 bb, 13 bb; VI 32 ba, 51 aa, 52 ab, 55 ab, 57 bb, 62 ab, 73 ab; VII 22 ba, 27 ba; VIIa 4 ba; VIII 12 aa, ab.

H. I 32 bb, 51 ba; V 3 aa, 4 ab, bb, 6 ba, 9 aa, 10 ba, 13 ba.

A 8 + / + + + + /

A.R. I 27 bb amwašt bawēnd pad āšōb

H. VIc 12 ab dēdēm au hawīn bandēd

A.R. VI 53 aa, 63 aa; VII 3 ba, 7 bb, 20 bb; VIIa 2 ab, 14 ba; VIII 13 aa.

H. I 23 ab; V 1 aa.

A 9 + + / + + /

A.R. I 1 ab friyānag pad axšad

H. I 7 ab awištēnd yāwēdān

A.R. I 3 bb, 12 bb, 13 aa, 19 bb, 20 ba, 23 ab, 24 ba; Ia 3 aa, ab, 4 ab, 14 bb; VI 22 ab, 32 aa, 43 bb, 50 bb, 54 ab, 56 aa, ab, 61 bb, 62 aa, ba, 66 bb, 67 ba, 73 aa, bb; VII 2 ab, bb, 5 ba, 7 ba, 8 aa, 9 aa, 12 bb, 15 ba, 17 ab, bb, 20 ab, 21 bb, 22 aa, bb, 23 ba, 25 bb, 31 ab; VIIa 3 ab, 4 aa, ab, 12 bb, 14 bb; VIII 11 bb, 12 bb, 13 bb.

H. I 23 ba, 32 aa, ba, 33 ab; IVb 2 aa, ab, 3 aa; V 1 bb, 2 aa, ab, 3 ba, 4 aa, 10 bb, 12 aa; VIc 1 aa, 10 aa, 11 ab, 12 ba, 13 ba, 21 ab; VIIIa 1 aa, 2 ba.

A 10 + + + / + + /

A.R. I 19 ab čiwāgōn zrēh ādurēn

H. I 22 aa hawīn pusag zargōnag

A.R. VI 51 bb, 56 bb, 61 ab, ba, 66 aa, 67 aa, ab, 69 ba, 72 ab; VII 3 bb, 5 ab, 6 ba, 7 aa, 11 ab, 18 bb, 21 aa, 23 bb, 25 ba; VIIa 1 ba.

H. I 7 aa, 60 ab; IVb 1 ba, bb, 3 ab; V 5 aa, 6 ab, 12 ba; VIc 1 ab, ba, bb, 2 aa, ba, 3 aa, ab, 4 aa, ba, 12 bb, 14 ba; VIIIa 2 aa, 3 aa.

A 11 + + + + / + + /

A.R. VI 42 ab man nīsāg čihrag hujihrīft

VII 10 bb čē pad harw zanag wiganēd

H. VIc 14 aa ud padixšāhēnd pad šādīft

There are no other examples.

A 12 + + + + + / + + /

H. VIc 14 ab čiwāgōn abar nām būd paštag

This is the only example.

A 13 + + / + + + /

A.R. I 2 ab winārāh um padwājāh

H. I 1 ab ud padgrift tau wijihišn

A.R. I 18 ab, 19 aa; Ia 1 aa; VI 31 aa, 57 ab, 64 bb, 68 ab, 70 ab; VII 6 ab, 9 ba, 11 aa, 23 ab, 26 bb; VIIa 1 ab, 11 bb, 13 aa; VIII 4 aa.

H. I 22 ab, ba, 23 aa, 24 aa; VIc 3 ba, 11 aa, 22 ab; VIIIa 1 ba.

A 14 + + / + + + + /

A.R. VI 71 bb ud bagān padišfarāwand

H. IVb 3 ba kū xāzād nē bawān pad tang

These are the only examples.

A 15 + + / + + + + + + /

H. I 1 aa huwīdagmān čē pad tau frawadād

This is the only example.

A 16 + + + / + + + /

A.R. VII 12 aa ud wizmarēd ud wizawēd

H. V 2 ba ud hufrayād ud adyāwar

A.R. I 1 ba.

H. I 32 ab; VIc 12 aa, 13 aa.

A 17 + + + + / + + + /

H. I 1 bb kar abar amāh axšadāgīft

VIc 13 ab ud wijīdagān kirbakkarān

These are the only examples.

A 18 + + + / + + + + /

A.R. VI 56 ba ud būd āgas ud padixšāhād

There are no examples from *Huwīdagmān*.

B

In this pattern there is an unstressed syllable (or two) after the second stressed syllable. It appears to be a general rule that an unstressed syllable (or syllables) occurs at the end of the line

only if the second stressed syllable is the final syllable of a past participle, and if what follows is enclitic to the past participle.

A.R. VI 64 aa ud az āgad hēm
VII 4 ba ud ᵘxad winawād a'i
VIII 1 bb au əskarfišn nihaxt hēm

There are no examples in *Huwīdagmān.*

C

C 1. The two stresses are together within the half-line.

A.R. Ia 13 ba ud sard būd ahēnd
VI 45 bb kū pad hawīn nixāb šud a'i
55 bb ušān rōšn būd a'i
VII 1 ba maran kaft ahāz

There are no examples in *Huwīdagmān.*

C 2. The two stresses are together at the end of the half-line.

A.R. I 27 aa ud harwīn drafš
VI 69 aa ud hau rōšnān mād
VII 5 aa ud harwīn tang
15 aa aǰ ēd frāǰ
36 aa ud hamag wāy
H. VIc 4 ab ud əzyāhāh rōšn

D

The stresses are on the first and last syllables in the half-line.

D 1 / + + /

A.R. I 4 aa tū friyānag
VII 10 ba im huǰihrīft
36 ba ᵘxad padmōǰēnd

			/ + + /
H.	V	6 bb	tang čē dōžax
			/ + +/
	VIc	10 ba	burz ud kalān
D 2	/ + + + /		
			/ + + + /
A.R.	Ia	14 ab	bast ahēnd pad tars
			/ + + + /
	VI	51 ab	sar čē man fragāw
			/ + + + /
		66 ab	bar pad harw asmān
			/ + + + /
		72 bb	tang ud axšādīft
			/ + + + /
H.	V	3 ab	drōd andar nē ast
D 3	/ + + + + /		
			/ + + + + /
A.R.	VIII	13 ab	gyān wēnāh nidāmag
			/ + + + + /
H.	V	9 ab	žad bawēnd pad žafrān
D 4	/ + + + + + /		
			/ + + + + + /
A.R.	VI	50 ab	dast nē andāsād wasān

There are finally a few half-lines in *Angad Rōšnān* which are outside this scheme, for they contain only one word capable of bearing a stress. We have therefore to infer either that occasionally one word bore two main stresses, or that a few lines had only three instead of four stresses. These half-lines are given below:

A.R.	I	27 ba	ud əstūnān
		29 aa	ud nāwāzān
	VI	51 ba	ud murgārīd
		63 ab	čē burzwār
	VIIa	14 aa	ud āgust a'i
	VIII	11 aa	ud əzwartēnd

In the following two examples *wasnād* presumably receives a stress, as in *A.R.* VI 61 aa (A 2), and 62 aa (A 9):

A.R.	I	21 ba	wasnād āšōb
	VI	57 aa	ud tau wasnād

No such half-lines are found in *Huwīdagmān*; but they occur in other poems which appear to have in general four stresses to a line.[1]

[1] See, e.g., M 763 (Henning, *BSOAS.* xiii, p. 646), in which 1 ab, 4 ba, 6 aa, ba, ab, bb, and 11 ba contain only one word which can be stressed.

In both hymn-cycles there are a number of lines whose two halves are of the same pattern. These are set out below, with illustrations from each cycle:

A.R. I 3 a harwīn wigānišn o aǰ man widārāh (A 6)

VI 43 a az au tau bōžān o aǰ harwīn abnās (A 2)

H. IVb 1 b ud pad hawān ud abnās o harw zāwarān wiganēnd (A 10)

VIc 11 b čē pad hau padmōǰēd šādīft o ud šahrdārīft dēdēm bandēd (A 5)

A.R. I 22 b (A 2); Ia 2 a (A 3), 3 a (A 9); VI 54 b (A 6), 63 b (A 2), 67 a (A 10); VII 3 a (A 1), 8 b (A 3), 11 b (A 3), 13 b (A 2), 18 a (A 2), 19 b (A 2), 35 b (A 2); VIIa 4 a (A 9), 11 a (A 2); VIII 12 a (A 7), 15 a (A 6).

H. IVb 2 a (A 9); V 2 a (A 9), 9 b (A 2); VIc 1 b (A 10), 3 a (A 10).

Only half-lines of A-pattern are thus combined; but several variants of the A-pattern, both short and long, are used together.

It occurs much more rarely that three out of the four lines in a verse are of the same pattern. There are only five instances of this:

A.R. I a 2 ud winawād harw karm o ud axtarān āyušt
ud harw astārag o ᵘxēbē čamag waxrēd

VII 13 mas āsāh tū gyān o ud mā bawāh frēh
žamanīn əšmār o ud kambīg rōǰān

VII 35 [bas](t) bawēnd sāgān o čē grīwān murdag
pad maran dahmag o čē harwīn syāwīft

VIIa 11 [ud] bawāh šādzird o pad im rōž əzgām
[čē] absist yōbahr o ud harwīn tau audažan

H. VIc 1 az pad zōš əstānān o ud frawazān pad bāzur
abar aǰ harw zāwarān o ud axšēndān wistambag

There is no instance, however, of a symmetrical verse consisting of four half-lines of the same pattern. Sometimes the two lines of a

verse are of the same length, but this is the result of a combination of different patterns in each. These verses are given below, under the number of syllables contained in each of their equal lines:

Nine syllables:		*A.R.* I 29; VIII 14.
Ten	„	*A.R.* VI 54, 63; VII 13.
Eleven	„	*A.R.* VI 51, 57; VII 5, 14, 17; *H.* V 3.
Twelve	„	*A.R.* I 24; VI 64, 66; VII 21; VIIa 1; *H.* V 4; VIc 44.

These evenly balanced verses are not common; and it is a striking fact that in *Angad Rōšnān* only lines of from nine to twelve syllables are thus combined, and in *Huwīdagmān* only those of from eleven to twelve. Very heavy or very light verses are thus avoided in both cycles. On the other hand, very short and very long lines are sometimes combined in one verse, perhaps in order to compensate one for the other. The following example is the most striking:

A.R. VII 3	a	āsāh tū gyān o ud frāǰ čāmāh	4+4 = 8
	b	ud mā bawāh āwaržōg o abar kadag dižwārīft	7+7 = 14

In these other instances also the difference in length between the lines is marked:

A.R. VI 56	a	ud pad tau bast dēdēm o au harwīn dušmanīn	6+6 = 12
	b	ud būd āgas ud padixšāhād o pad žamanīn axšēndīft	9+7 = 16
	67a	ud əstānān pad zāwar o ud nigundān pad frəhīft	7+7 = 14
	b	ud wāyān au padišt o au wyāg āfrīdag	6+5 = 11
	69a	ud hau rōšnān mād o au tau nimāyān	5+5 = 10
	b	ud yāwēdān wišmanāh o pad əstāwādag šādīft	7+7 = 14
H. I	23a	garānīft ud ambāhag o nē ast pad hawīn tanbār	7+7 = 14
	b	ud wigān nē ahāz o pad harwīn handām	6+5 = 11
	IVb 1a	imīn frabadēnd o abar harwīn dēsmān	5+6 = 11
	b	ud pad hawān ud abnās o harw zāwarān wiganēnd	7+7 = 14
	VIc 13a	ud au harwīn dēnābarān o ud wiǰīdagān kirbakkarān	8+9 = 17
	b	padmōǰēd əstāwišn o ušān dēdēm bandēd	6+6 = 12

H. VIc 14a ud padixšāhēnd pad šādīft o čiwāgōn abar nām būd paštag 8+9 = 17

b ud anǰūgīft widārād o aǰ dast dušmanūn 7+5 = 12

There is no question, however, of regular compensation in syllables between the lines to produce a mean for the verse; for one finds also lines of nine syllables linked with ones of ten, and a line of seventeen syllables linked with one of fourteen (*H.* I 1).

This brief study shows that there is a very wide range of stress-patterns. In fact few combinations of stressed and unstressed syllables are excluded;[1] and the number and fluidity of the resulting patterns makes any general attempt at schematization of doubtful value. The purpose of this study was not, however, to evolve a scheme of general application, but to find a means of comparing two particular poems in detail. From this point of view also the value of the results is to a certain extent negative. The majority of the verse-patterns are common to both cycles, and in both cycles they are freely combined in the same ways. It is true that the heavier A-patterns, such as ++/++/, ++/+++/, +++/++/, are relatively commoner in *Huwīdagmān* than in *Angad Rōšnān*; but to say this is only to restate in a different way that the average line in *Huwīdagmān* is longer than that in *Angad Rōšnān*. There are, however, a few small but definite points of difference between the cycles. Lines of four syllables occur in both of them, although only rarely in *Huwīdagmān*; in *Angad Rōšnān* these lines usually have A1-pattern stress, but in *Huwīdagmān* this stress-pattern is unknown, and the four-syllabled lines have D-pattern stress. No lines with B-stress occur in *Huwīdagmān*, and no lines of C1-stress, which approximates to B-stress in that both have one or more unstressed syllables after the second stress. Finally there are no lines in *Huwīdagmān* which have only one word capable of taking the stress. Such lines, and those with B- and C1-stress, are fairly well represented in *Angad Rōšnān*.

To a certain extent these differences in stress-pattern coincide with the differences in the number of syllables. Thus several examples of A1-stress occur in lines of eight or nine syllables, which are in any case peculiar to *Angad Rōšnān*. But in more instances the A1-stress and B-stress occur in lines of ten, eleven, and twelve syllables, which could otherwise have been assigned to either

[1] The pattern / + / + is unknown, but on the hypothesis of final stress this is not one which is readily produced.

cycle. The same is true of the half-lines with apparently a single stress. Thus the differences in stress-pattern increase the certainty with which one can tell a run of verses of *Huwīdagmān* from a run of verses of *Angad Rōšnān*; but there are still many individual lines which are not distinguished in any of the ways discovered by the above analysis.

This fact limits the usefulness of the metrical differences for the purpose of textual reconstruction; for few of the fragments whose allocation is doubtful have enough verses with complete lines for these differences to be apparent. The two fragments T II D 178 II and III both contain, however, a series of perfectly preserved verses.[1] They have been assigned, on various grounds, to different cycles; and it was therefore a matter of considerable interest subsequently to study their metres. T II D 178 II had been assigned to *Huwīdagmān*, T II D 178 III to *Angad Rōšnān*. A detailed study of the length of their lines yielded the following results:

Average length	*T II D 178 II*	*T II D 178 III*
First half-line . .	6·25	5·21
Second half-line . .	6·15	5·67
Whole line . . .	12·40	10·88

The average length of the whole lines in each fragment is slightly shorter than that established as the average for each cycle as a whole; but the relative differences between the two fragments are roughly the same as the relative differences between the two cycles. Thus in T II D 178 II the first half-line is a little longer than the second; in T II D 178 III the second half-line is longer by a little more than the first. The first half-line of T II D 178 II is about a syllable longer than the first half-line of T II D 178 III; and the whole line of T II D 178 II is about a syllable and a half longer than the whole line of T II D 178 III. This is an interesting confirmation of the general distinctions discovered between the cycles.

Furthermore, the fragment T II D 178 III, assigned to *Angad Rōšnān*, contains two half-lines with A1-stress. These are as follows:

A.R. VI 2 aa + / + / um dīd dīdan

5 ba + / + / ud harw čihrag

[1] These two fragments have not been included in the material hitherto considered.

The second example is combined with a half-line of five syllables:

5 bb ud yud āwendag

The result is a line of nine syllables, which is of a type peculiar to *Angad Rōšnān*. There is, moreover, a line with C1-stress, which again is a stress-pattern unknown in *Huwīdagmān*:

A.R. VI 1 aa + ud + kad + imīn / wāxtum / +

Thus the metrical distinctions strongly reinforce each other, and confirm the allocation of the two fragments; and this in turn is a valuable confirmation of the soundness of the general scheme of differences between the two cycles.

THE TEXTS

THE TEXTS

MANY of the fragments reproduced below share a common signature, such as T I a or T I D. In his private collection of photographs Professor Henning has sought to differentiate these by numbers or other indications. Thus in his lettering 'T I D (3 p.) a' indicates a fragment which is one of three pieces with the signature T I D mounted together in the Berlin Academy. These additional indications are invaluable for reference, but result in a necessarily clumsy signature. For convenience, therefore, all fragments except those with the signature 'M+ a number' have been given new signatures here, consisting of letters of the alphabet. The fragments with 'M+ a number' are indicated in the text by the number alone. There follows a list of all the fragments here reproduced, under their original signatures (together with any additional indications of Professor Henning's)[1]; beside these are set their new signatures (if any); and their allotted positions either within one of the hymn-cycles or within the group of fragments at the end. *H.* = *Huwīdagmān*, *A.R.* = *Angad Rōšnān*, Fr. = *Fragment*. Both sets of signatures are in alphabetical (and numerical) order.

In the reproduction of the text the margin carries beside each line the signatures of all the fragments in which that line—or any part of it—is preserved, together with R or V by the signatures to indicate recto or verso page. The text is a highly composite one; but the number of fragments involved has made it impossible always to show, without an over-cumbersome apparatus, in exactly which fragment each word occurs; and even in places where fragments are few it has not seemed necessary to attempt this when the text presents no problems. But wherever interesting words or constructions, unusual spellings, or doubtful readings occur, an effort has been made to show clearly the precise nature of the manuscript evidence.

Original signature	*Assignment*	*Original signature*	*Assignment*
M 88 I	*A.R.* VI	M 93 I	*H.* I
89	*A.R.* VIII	93 II	*H.* VIc
91	*A.R.* VI–VII	96	*A.R.* VI

[1] During the printing the fragments have been renumbered in agreement with Professor Henning and Dr. Lentz; the new numbers have been added in square brackets.

Original signature	*Assignment*
M 175	*A.R.* VI–VII
233 V	*H.* I
256 R	**H.* VIIIa
256 V	*A.R.* I
287	*A.R.* VII
289a	*H.* VIc
326	*A.R.* VI
439	*A.R.* VII
449b	Fr. D
459a	*A.R.* VII
489a	*A.R.* VII
489b	*H.* Vb
502 α,b	*H.* VIb
502 β,a	**H.* VIII
503 α,c	Fr. O
517	*A.R.* VII
518	*A.R.* Ia
578	*A.R.* VII
588	**H.* VII
603	*H.* I
620	*A.R.* VIIa
M 625b	*H.* I
667	*A.R.* VIIa
673	*A.R.* I
675	*A.R.* VI
689	**H.* VIII
690	*A.R.* VII
698	Fr. L
774	*A.R.* VII
780	*A.R.* I
815	*A.R.* Ia
817	*A.R.* VII
831	*A.R.* I
855 R	**H.* VIIIa
855 V	*A.R.* I
858e	*H.* V
859	Fr. A
863	*A.R.* II
871f	**H.* VII
889	*A.R.* I
895a	*H.* V
918a	*A.R.* VIIa

Original signature [*and new number*]	*New signature*	*Assignment*
T I α (+M 287) [1223]	aa	*A.R.* VII
1530 I	ad	*A.R.* IV
1530 II	ae	*A.R.* IV
1531 I	af	*A.R.* IV
1531 II	ag	*A.R.* IV
1532 I	ah	*A.R.* III
1532 II	ai	*A.R.* V
1533 I	aj	*A.R.* III
1533 II	ak	*A.R.* V
1534 I	al	*A.R.* III
1534 II	am	*A.R.* V
1535 I	an	*A.R.* IIa–III
1535 II	ao	*A.R.* V–VI
1536 I	ap	*A.R.* IIa
1536 II	aq	*A.R.* VI
1537 I	ar	*A.R.* IIa
1537 II	as	*A.R.* VI
1538 I	at	*A.R.* I–IIa

Original signature [and new number]	*New signature*	*Assignment*
T I α 1538 II	au	*A.R.* VI
1539 I	av	*A.R.* I
1539 II	aw	*A.R.* VII
1540 I	ax	*A.R.* I
1540 II	ay	*A.R.* VII
1541 I	az	Fr. E
1541 II	ba	Fr. F
1542 I	bb	Fr. G
1542 II	bc	Fr. J
1543	bd	Fr. K
1544	be	**H.* IVa
T I D (1 p.) [1838]	bh	*A.R.* VI
(3 p.) a [1892]	bi	*A.R.* I
(3 p.) b [1890]	bj	**A.R.* Ib
(3 p.) c [1891]	bk	Fr. C
(5 p.) d [1953]	bl	*H.* VIb
(9 p.) g [2206]	bm	*A.R.* V–VI
(10 p.) j [2339]	bn	**H.* Va
(12 p.) h [2457]	bp	**A.R.* IIIa
(12 p.) i [2458]	bq	*H.* V
8 (11 p.) b [2412]	br	**H.* IVa
11 (7 p.) a [2078]	bs	Fr. M
16 (9 p.) c [2220]	bu	*H.* V
16 (9 p.) g [2224]	bv	*H.* V
27 (10 p.) e [2306]	by	*H.* I
T I D 51 (+M 620) [2604]	bz	*A.R.* VIIa
(+M 780) [2600]	ca	Fr. B
(+TI α, 6p., i) a [1663]	cb	*H.* I
(+TI α, 6p., i) f [1668]	cd	Fr. P
(+TI α, 6p., ii) e [1673]	cg	**A.R.* IIIb
(3 p.) b [2751]	ch	**H.* VIII
(5 p.) b [2851]	ck	*H.* I
(9 p.) b [3121]	cl	*H.* V
α (2 p.) b [2701]	co	**A.R.* IIIb
T II D 52 (+T II D 66, 5 p.) d [4727]	cp	Fr. N
52 (23 p.) a R [4900]	cr	Fr. Q
52 (23 p.) a V [4900]	cs	*A.R.* I
57 [4970]	ct	*H.* VIc
66^{r} [5263]	cu	**H.* VII
67 (12 p.) a [5350]	cw	*H.* V
67 (12 p.) j [5359]	cx	*A.R.* VIII
75 [5503]	db	*A.R.* VI

Original signature [and new number]	*New signature*	*Assignment*
T II D 77[2] (5 p.) c [5540]	dc	**H.* III–IV
79 (1 p.) [5570]	dd	*A.R.* I
79 (3 p.) a [5586]	de	**A.R.* IIIc
79 (3 p.) b [5587]	df	*H.* I
137[2] [5846]	dg	*H.* VIb
140 [5930]	dh	*A.R.* I
167 (10 p.) a [6130]	di	*H.* I
167 (10 p.) b [6131]	dj	*H.* I
167 (10 p.) j [6139]	dk	*H.* VIb
178 I [6220]	dl	*H.* IVb–V
178 II [6221]	dm	**H.* IVa
178 III [6222]	dn	*A.R.* VI
178 IV [6223]	do	*H.* VIa
178 VIa [6240]	dp	*A.R.* VI
178 VIIa [6242]	dq	*A.R.* VI
178 IXb [6260]	dt	*A.R.* I
178 IXf [6264]	du	*A.R.* I
178 IXg [6265]	dv	*A.R.* VII
178 IXj [6266]	dw	*A.R.* I
178 β, a [6238]	dx	*A.R.* I
T II K (5 p.) e [6729]	ea	*H.* V
T II K 11 (15 p.) n [6943]	ed	*A.R.* I
T III D 280 [8285]	ee	*A.R.* VIIa
x [8801]	ef[1]	*A.R.* VI–VII

The following conventions and abbreviations are used in the reproduction of the texts:

(bcd) = damaged letters, or uncertain readings.
[bcd] = suggested restoration of missing letters.
(. . .) = visible, but illegible letters.
[. . .] = estimated number of missing letters.
[ ] = a lacuna of undetermined extent. When an entire half-line is missing, this is indicated by a series of dots. . . . .

In the translation parentheses are used for explanatory additional words. In the notes H. = Henning, L. = Lentz.

[1] The fragments bh and ef were identified, from among recently acquired material during printing. They are not mentioned in the introduction.

Huwīdagmān I

233 R+V+625b R		nys'r'd hwydgm'n[1]
93 I R		nxwyn hnd'm
93 I V		hwydgm'n
233 V+625b R	1a	hwydgm'n cy pd tw frwd'd o
		u pdgryft t̲w wcyhyšn[2]
233 V+625b R	b	šhrd'r kyrbkr[3] o
		kr[4] 'br 'm'h̲[5] 'xšd'gyft̲[6]
233 V+625b R	2a	[fry]št[g] cy [pydr o]
		(kr)y(d) gy'n'n drwšt̲
233 V	b	['w hrwyn dh]yd (š'd)yft̲ [o]
		'zgyrwyd 'nd['g][7]
233 V	3a	[ ](sys)[ ]
		. . . . .
233 V	b	[hw] (d)w z['wr o][8]
		. . . . .
233 V	4a	[bwrz[8] 'wd 'by wy](m)nd o
		pd (h)[w kd'c t'r ny 'st]
		(One verse missing)
625b V	6a	[nxšg hrwyn m]'(nys)t'n [o]
		['wd ']r'm
625b V	b	cy wyš[mnynd pd r]wšn o
		'wt̲ drd ny z'n[ynd][9]

[1] *-m*"[*n*] 625b [2] *wcyhyšn* written at the beginning of 1b in 233, and followed by a dot. In 625b the verses are written in interspaced groups of three lines [3] *qyrbq*[*r*] 625b [4] *qr* 625b [5] '*m*' 233 [6] written *-gft* with two dots under the *f* in 233; '*x*[625b [7] H.'s readings, in the light of the Chinese, throughout the verse (see *BSOAS.* xi, p. 218). Two doubtful letters only are preserved on 625b [8] H.'s restoration [9] H.'s readings and restorations throughout the verse (except for the first two words in 6a); see loc. cit.

Huwīdagmān I

Begun (is) *Huwīdagmān*
First canto of *Huwīdagmān*[1]

1 (It was) fortunate for us that through thee we knew and accepted thy teachings. Beneficent Sovereign, show mercy to us.[2]

2 The Envoy of [the Father (?)[3]] heals spirits, gives joy [to all], and removes sorrows (?).

3 (*Traces only are legible.*)[4]

4 [Lofty and] limitless, where [Darkness never comes] . . .

(*One verse missing*)

6 [All] the monasteries [are magnificent,[5] and] the . . . dwelling places. For they are happy [in] the Light and know no pain.[6]

[1] A complete translation of this canto is preserved in the Chinese *Hymnscroll* (see Henning, *BSOAS.* xi, p. 217). In this the Parthian verses of two lines are rendered by Chinese ones of four, of which the second and fourth rhyme. Sometimes the sense of the original appears to have been altered slightly for the sake of the rhyme. The Chinese is itself obscure, and is considered by Dr. Waley to lack any poetic merit. The whole of this very difficult text was translated by Mr. Tsui Chi (see *BSOAS.* xi, pp. 199–208); and Dr. Waley has most kindly re-examined those verses for which the Parthian is now known. His elucidations are given here (in my words), with the indication (W.).

[2] Henning's translation (with minor changes); see op. cit., p. 218. The Chinese contains several Buddhist technical terms: i.e. the word rendered by Tsui Chi as 'of superior form' represents Skt. *lakṣaṇa-*; 'clear speeches' represents Skt. *vikalpa-*, and 'deeds' Skt. *karman-* (W.).

[3] Before the word for 'Father' the Chinese has a character, *mêng*, usually used as a surname, but occasionally as an adjective meaning 'dark(ened), obscure' (W.). Possibly this adjective renders the idea expressed elsewhere by Pa. *ngwstg* 'hidden' (see Henning, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 113 n.1), although to equate *mêng* with *ngwstg* is evidently to force its meaning.

[4] The word rendered by Tsui Chi as 'worries and afflictions' in 3c represents Skt. *kleśa-* (W.).

[5] The word translated as 'solemn' by Tsui Chi is a taboo-substitute for one meaning 'adorned, magnificent' (W.).

[6] Henning's translation (loc. cit.) except for the words supplied. The phrase rendered by Tsui Chi as 'to say . . . is not true' (6d and *passim*) means rather that the situation is one which cannot logically exist. It occurs commonly in the *Nirvāṇa* and other Sūtras (W.).

625b V 7a 'wd hrw ky 'wwd 'dyhyn[d o]
['']wyštynd y'wyd'n
625b V b 'wš'[n kd'c ny] trwyd[1]
ny j[xm] u dyjw'r[2]

625b V 8a [ ] cy [ ]
. . . . . .

(*Ten verses missing*)

603 R 18a [pdmwcn cy pdmwcynd o]
[kyc ny] (q)yrd pd ds(t)
603 R b [hmyw pw'g 'wd nys'g o]
['wd mr]w[3] pd hwyn ny 's[t]

603 R 19a . . . . . .
'wd nys['g]

(*Two verses missing*)

93 I R 22a hwyn pwsg zrgwng o
y'wyd'n ny wmysy(d)
93 I R b 'wd 'm(y')st[4] pd nys'gyft o
pd 'n's'g gwng

93 I R 23a gr'nyft 'w[d] 'mb'hg o
ny 'st pd hwyn (t)[nb'r][5]
93 I R b 'wd wyg'n ny 'h'z
pd hrwyn hnd['m][6]

93 I R 24a gr'n xwmr 'br hwyn[7]
gryw'n ny g[yrwyd][6]
93 I R b 'wd xw(mr) d(r)'w'ng[8] o
u wdybyšn [pd hwyn ny 'st][6]

[1] The MS. has no punctuation-point throughout the verse; see loc. cit. [2] H.'s readings and restorations [3] Restoration suggested by H., who hesitates between **mrw* and **mwrw* [4] H.'s new reading in preference to *'m(b)st* [5] In preference to *w[y'g]* [6] H.'s restoration [7] The MS. has no punctuation-point [8] *sic*; *dr'wng* (*BSOAS.* xi, p. 218) is a misprint

7 All who enter[1] there, stay for eternity. [Neither] blows nor torture [ever] overcome them.[2]

8 (*Traces only are legible*)[3]

(*Ten verses missing*)

18 [The clothes[4] which they wear none] has made by hand.[5] [They are ever clean and bright, and] no ants (?) are in them.

19 (*Traces only are legible*)

(*Two verses missing*)

22 Their verdant garlands never fade; they are wreathed brightly, in numberless colours.[6]

23 Heaviness and drooping do not exist in their bodies. Paralysis does not affect any of (their) limbs.[7]

24 Heavy sleep never overtakes their souls. Deceptive dreams and delusions[8] [are unknown among them].[9]

[1] The Chinese also has 'goes to' (mistranslated as 'lives' by Tsui Chi) (W.). The fourth line of the Chinese verse should be translated 'there is never a case of . . .' (not 'cause for') (W.).

[2] Henning's translation (loc. cit.).

[3] The fourth line of the Chinese should be translated 'to say one person attacks another is not true' (W.).

[4] The adjective for 'clothes' in the Chinese is *ming* (famous), which throughout the Chinese text is written for *ming* (light) (W.).

[5] Cf. M 178, 14–18 (see H., *BSOAS.* xii, p. 307).

[6] Henning's translation (loc. cit.). The literal translation of the Chinese is as follows:

'a) The flowery headdresses are halcyon-blue, wonderfully adorned,
b) shining on each other only fresh and never fading or falling,
c) [as Tsui Chi's translation]
d) wonderful colours, inexhaustible, not thinning or diminishing.' (W.)

[7] Henning's translation (loc. cit.) with minor changes. The word 'paralysis' has been used by Prof. Henning to render Pa. *wyg'n* in 23b; it has no connexion with the incorrect use of the same word by Tsui Chi to translate the Chinese rendering of 23a, which is literally 'Their hands and feet, limbs and joints have no impediment or blocking up' (W.). The last expression has little meaning in the context, and may have been used simply for the rhyme. The terms in 23c translated by Tsui Chi as 'active works of life and death' render Skt. *saṃskṛta-* and *jarāmaraṇa-* (W.).

[8] The Chinese word translated by Tsui Chi as 'whim' in 24c renders Skt. *viparīta-* 'topsy-turvy; perverse'. The third line of the Chinese verse runs literally 'already no dream-imaginings or delusions' (W.).

[9] Henning's translation, with minor changes; for *dr'w'ng* see glossary.

93 I R 25a ['wd fr'mw]štyft[1] n[y 'st o]
pd hw[yn 'ndyšyšn]
93 I R b [ ](n)[..]w[o]
[hrw] (c)[y] ngws[tg 'štyd]

93 I R 26a [ ](.w)d '[..][2] o
(u) db[3]
93 I R b [ ]s [o]
(..) ryg [ ]

(*One verse missing*)

603 V+dj R 28a (w)šynd[4] 'wd 'njwgyft[5] o
ny (')[st pd hw zmyg]
603 V+dj R b (')wd (ny) tšyndyft[6] o
c(y) [ ]

603 V+dj R 29a ['b] cy hrwyn zryh'n[7] o
frbwy(d)[7] ['škyft]
dj R b [hynw'r u n](x)'b[8] o
hmgyc [pd hwyn ny 'st]

(*Two verses missing*)

93 I V 32a ['c][1] wrwc 'sk'dr o
hwyn cmg tyrgystr
93 I V b [pd][1] tnb'r cy d'rynd o
ywbhr 'ndr ny 'st

93 I V 33a [...]yg prxyzyšn o
cy hrwyn z'wr''n
93 I V b [....]byd hwyn ny 'st
ny rf u zmbq

93 I V 34a ['wd tr](s)[1] u 'sp'w o
pd hwyn wy'g ny 'st
93 I V b u[9] [....p]d hwyn zmyg o
wyg'n pd hwyn ny 'st

[1] H.'s restoration [2] The (*w*) is not the beginning of a word; there is enough space between *d* and ' to make it uncertain whether or not they belong to the same word [3] It cannot be seen whether this is a complete word or not [4] In 603 only [5] In dj; '*n*(*j*)[603 [6] *tšyndy*(*f*)[603;]*dyft* dj [7] In dj only [8] *k* or *x* certain [9] *u* written after a dot at the end of 34a

25 [There is no forget]fulness in [their thoughts] . . .
[They see . . . all that is] hidden (?)[1]

26 . . . deceit[2] . . .

(One verse missing)

28 Hunger and anguish (are) not [known in that land].
(There is) no thirst, for . . .[3]

29 [The waters] of all (its) lakes give out a [wondrous]
fragrance. [Floods and] drowning are never [known
among them].[4]

(Two verses missing)

32 Their walk is quicker by far than lightning.[5] In the
bodies they possess, there is no sickness.[6]

33 The . . . activities of all (Dark) Powers[7] . . . are not in
them, nor attacks and battles.[6]

34 Fear and terror do not exist in those places,[8] and . . .
in those lands there is no destruction.[6]

[1] The first line of the Chinese runs: 'The community of saints are always enlightened and with wonderful wisdom'. 'Wisdom' was written in the T'ang period with a character now used for 'kindness' (correctly translated by Waldschmidt; see W.–L. ii, p. 517 n. to 135b). In the second line there is an illegible character before the word 'forget'. The third and fourth run: 'of limitless worlds, the marks of all things, they see as if standing in front of a bright mirror' (W.).

[2] In the Chinese the second line is: 'pretending and deceit, emptiness, are naturally not theirs'. There is no word for 'affectation' (W.).

[3] The Chinese of 28 is as follows:
'a) The fire of hunger and the distress of heat
b) are all absent from the World of Light where happiness prevails,
c) for ever free from hunger and thirst, and from mutually injuring one another,
d) there also there are no salty, bitter waters.' (W.)

[4] The Chinese of 29 is as follows:
'a) The hundred rivers and seas and springs,
b) waters of life, all clear to the bottom, with a fragrance that is marvellous,
c) if you enter, you will not drift away and be drowned,
d) also (there are) no violent waters (i.e. floods) coming to cause destruction.' (W.)

[5] The Chinese also has lightning (rendered as thunderbolt by Tsui Chi) (W.).

[6] Henning's translation (loc. cit.).

[7] *z'wr'n* is used in the hymn-cycles exclusively for the dark powers. It is rendered here simply by the Chinese word for 'devils'.

[8] Cf. M 178 42–43 (loc. cit.).

93 I V 35a [ ](.)wd '(d)[o]
[d'l](w)g[1] ny wš'nynd
93 I V b [ ](y) sry(.)[2][o]
[ ] hrwyn mygdg

93 I V 36a [sy']ryft[3] o
[pd hw]yn b(')[r[4] ny 'st]
93 I V b [hmg pwr rwšn]yft[3] o
['c] by[h 'wd 'c 'ndr]

(*One verse missing*)

dj V 38a ['wd hrwyn bwdyst](')n o
frbwynd kw[ ]
dj V b [hyštyg 'wd 'skd[3]]
[hm](g)yc pd (h)[wyn ny 'st]

dj V 39a [hmg hw zmyg](o)
br'zyd (')wd prw[ ]
dj V b ['bgw]st (o)
(mdy)['](n) hwyn [ ]

(*Eight verses missing*)

by R 48a [hrw ky] 'br hwy[n] zmyg o
snyd u z['nyd]
by R b ['st'wyd 'w h](w) dydn o
'st'[w'd]g u kyrb[kr]

by R 49a [s'yg[3] t'ryg n]y 'st (o)
'w hrw ky m(d)y('n) (..)[ ]
by R b [hrw tnb']r u dydn o
cy [']br (hw) zmyg (')[spyxt][3]

di R 50a ['w]š'n šhrd'(r)[yft o]
. . . . . .
di R b u jfr'n cy (h)[w zmyg o]
[wymnd 'w hw ny 'st][3]

[1]](*w*)*g* almost certain; but it is just possible that the (*w*) might be the second part of an ' [2] *sry* clear, and the preceding (*y*) almost certain. The word-division is doubtful [3] Restoration suggested by H. [4] The first part of the (') alone is visible; a dot which perhaps belongs to a succeeding *r* appears over the gap which follows

35 . . . the trees (?) do not shake down . . . all the fruits.[1]

36 . . . decay (?) [does not exist in] their fruit.[2] [Within and] without [it is all full of brightness].

(*One verse missing*)

38 [All the gardens] give out fragrance, so that (?) . . . [Bricks and thorns are] never [found] among [them].

39 [The whole of that land] gleams and . . . revealed (?) amidst them[3] . . .

(*Eight verses missing*)

48 [Each who] ascends[4] up to their land, and [who has the Knowledge,[5] will praise] His manifestation, lauded and beneficent.[6]

49 None who is among . . . has [a dark shadow]. [All the bodies] and appearances upon that land (are) [radiant].

50 Their dominion[7] . . . The depth of that [land has no boundary].[8]

[1] Cf. M 178 30–33 (loc. cit.).

[2] The first line of the Chinese is: 'Bitter poison, the sour and the rough, . . .' The final character is very rare and of doubtful meaning (W.).

[3] The third line of the Chinese has either 'precious lands in layers' or 'precious lands of all kinds'. The left part of a character has been omitted (W.).

[4] The Chinese word which presumably renders the Parthian *snyd* (translated by Tsui Chi as 'has sprung') is used, e.g., of fountains leaping up. It sounds strange in this context (W.).

[5] i.e. each who possesses religious enlightenment; cf. M 741 10b (*BSOAS.* xiii, p. 913).

[6] i.e. that of the Father of Light.

[7] *šahrdārīft* is a natural restoration in the light of 50b, but is not supported by the Chinese version, in which the first two lines of this verse are concerned with the inhabitants and not the land. These lines have no logical connexion with the last two, however, and Dr. Waley thinks they may be misplaced. (It seems possible that the translator in some way confused 49b with 50a, for there is some repetition in his version.) The literal rendering of the Chinese for 49b is:

'c) all the characteristics of his body are unusual,
d) and whatever (grows) on the precious soil is always halcyon-blue.'

The first two lines of 50 are as in Tsui Chi's translation (but with 'magnificent' for 'solemn' in b). The last two lines run as follows:

'c) downwards penetrating the precious earth without boundary or limit,
d) wanting to know its limit would not make sense.' (W.)

[8] Cf. M 178 19–21 (loc. cit.).

ck R+df R+di R 51a 'rg'w 'hynd hwy(n) [o]
[pd cyhrg 'by wyg'n]
ck R+df R+di R b 'wd ny nyz'wryft[1] o
'w[d zrw'n pd hwyn hnd'm]

ck R+df R 52a 'wd 'ywyc mrdwh[m o]
[pdm'n ny šhyd kw w'c']
ck R+df R b 'wd z(')n(')[2] cw(n)[d[3]]
. . . . . .

ck R+df R 53a hwyn dydn 'bgws[tg[4] o]
. . . . . .
ck R+df R b w[. . . .]š'n (')b(.)[o]
. . . . . .

df R 54a [']wṯ (hr)wyc [o]
. . . . . .
df R b [ ] (z)myg '[ ]
. . . . . .

df R 55a ['wṯ] (h)rwy[n o]
. . . . . .

(*Two verses missing*)

by V 58a [ ]'(. .)'d gr'n tnb'r o
mdy'n [hwyn ny 'st]
by V b [ ](. .)b(. .) ('n)dyšyšn o
pdy[ ]

by V+cb R 59a ['wd] (w)šmy(d[5] ')štynd[5] o
pd nys'g 's[t'wyšn]
by V+cb R b [hmyw] (p)d nm'c o
'w hw bwrz u (s)[[6]]

cb R+di V 60a [hmg pwr š]'dyfṯ[7] o
u wxš nw'g rmnyg[8]
cb R+di V b . . . . . .
[h]rwyn m'nyst'n[9]

[1] So in df; *nyz'wryf*[di; *ny(z)*[ck [2] Thus in ck; it would be possible also to read *z(')n(nd)*, but the traces favour the reading given in the text. In df the word is wholly illegible [3] Restoration suggested by H. from ck only; *cw* certain; (*n*) almost certain [4] In ck only [5] In by only [6] *bwrz u* in both; (*s*)[in cb only [7] In cb only [8] In di only [9] *m'ny*[cb;]'*nyst'n* di

51 Precious are they, [with forms that are free from injury]. Feebleness and [age do not affect their limbs].[1]

52 There is not one single man [who can tell their measure], or know how much (?) . . .[2]

53 Their forms revealed (?) . . .

54 Even all . . . the land . . .[3]

55 All . . .

(*Two verses missing*)

58 . . . [no] heavy bodies [are found] among [them] . . . thoughts[4] . . .

59 They are joyous, (uttering) wonderful praises.[5] They [continually] do reverence to the exalted and . . . [Lord].

60 [All is filled] with happiness and sweet delightful song . . . all the monasteries.

[1] Cf. M 178 45–47. The last two lines of 51 in Chinese are literally:
'c) powerful and always peaceful and without decay or old age,
d) one must say that they have no decrease, and their bodies are continually strong.' (W.)

[2] The literal translation of the Chinese is as follows:
'None but the great Holy One knows the measure of their bodies.
How could ordinary mortals calculate and speak it?
Their diamond bodies cannot be imagined.
The size of their conformations only the Holy One can distinguish.' (W.)

[3] Dr. Waley emends the second line of the Chinese by the small alteration of the character for 'impossible' to that for 'certainly'. The verse then runs as follows in a literal translation:
'Man and heaven and holy people and ordinary people—
all their different varieties of form—
All other forms the carnal tongue can certainly describe.
The Buddhas are really difficult to imagine,
And the precious soil of diamond is just the same.' (W.)

[4] The fourth line of the Chinese verse is as follows: 'Their thoughts are all manifest and are all the same.' (W.)

[5] The second line of the Chinese verse is as follows: 'They perform marvellous chants without ever stopping.' (W.)

ck V+df V+di V 61a . . . . . .
['y](w) byd'n[1] 'st'wynd
ck V+df V+di V b [hrwyn pd drwštyf]t̲ o
'štynd y'wyd'n

ck V+df V 62a . . . . . .
'wt̲ s[r][2] 'w hw ny 's[t̲][3]
ck V+df V b . . . . . .
[ ](s/b)'(..)n h(r)wyn wy'g'n

ck V+df V 63a . . . . . .
[ ] hwyn ny 'st[4]
ck V+df V b . . . . . .
[ ] wzrgyf[t]

df V 64a [nxšg hrwyn m'nyst'n o]
['wd] (tr)s[5] 'ndr ny '[st]
df V b . . . . . .
[ ](kr) 'wd [[6]]š[ ]

df V 65a . . . . . .
[ ]š(.)[ ]

(*Two verses missing*)

cb V[7] 68a ['wd] hmg pwr rwšn o
. . . . . .
cb V b [š'd]yft̲ 'wd pdyštr o
. . . . . .

cb V 69a [...]d pd š'd[y]f(t̲) o
u r(')[myšn[8]]
cb V b [jmn](y)n pdm['n o]
. . . . . .

(*Nine verses missing*)

(End of the first *handām*)

[1]](*b*)*yd'n* di;](*w*) *byd*[df;](*d*)*'n* ck [2] Restoration suggested by H. from df only [3] so in ck; '*st̲* is not present in df, and was presumably written at the beginning of 62b [4] '*s*(*t̲*) ck;]*t̲* df [5] H.'s reading [6] There is a dot above the letter missing immediately after '*wd* [7] cb R is rendered by *Hymn-scroll* 59 and 60 and cb V should therefore be rendered by 69 and 70, instead of by 68 and 69; but see opposite, p. 77 n. 7. [8] H.'s restoration

61 . . . they praise one another.[1] They [all] dwell [in health[2]] eternally.

62 . . . and it[3] has no end . . . all places.

63 . . . is not [in] them . . . greatness . . .

64 [The monasteries are all splendid, and] fear is unknown therein[4] . . .

65 (*Traces only are legible*)

(*Two verses missing*)

68 All (is) full of Light . . . [Happi]ness and esteem[5] [are unbroken].

69 . . . in happiness and joy (?). . . . The reckoning [of hours (?)][6] . . .

(*Nine verses missing*)[7]

(End of the first canto)[8]

[1] The literal translation of the second line of the Chinese is: 'In antiphony their songs rise, recounting marvellous virtues' (W.).

[2] The Chinese word is that used in the sense of the Arabic *salām* in greetings (W.).

[3] i.e. the land of Paradise.

[4] The word in the second line of the Chinese which is rendered as 'criticism' by Tsui Chi may mean 'exile'; but the reading is doubtful (W.).

[5] The third line of the Chinese verse is literally 'esteem and joy have no gaps between' (W.).

[6] In the last line of this verse the Chinese has 'the Three Terminations', i.e. the three kinds of death (by sickness, violence, or old age) (W.).

[7] Although the Chinese version has only seventy-seven verses, in the superscription it is said to contain seventy-eight (see *BSOAS.* xi, p. 199). Presumably the translator has omitted a verse. This would account for a discrepancy between the texts; see p. 76 n. 7.

[8] For the identification of the verses in *H.* I see above, pp. 7 and 32.

Huwīdagmān II

T II K178[2] R+T II D 178[e] R (Sogd.)
δβtykw 'n(δ)[m'y γwyδkm'n]

T II K178[2] V+T II D 178[e] V (Sogd.)
[γnt']kkr'yty p'tβr's[1]

pty'mty δβtyk 'nδmy
γwyδkm'n[2]

*Huwīdagmān III

[*No title*]

dc R[3] 1a . . . . . .
[ ](b)'my[n]

dc R b [ ](f)t o
ny wzmryd y'wy[d'n]

dc R 2a [ ]d o
u xwmbwyft (b)[ ]

dc R b [br']zyd o
'br hrwyn (q)[4][ ]

dc R 3a [....](d)'(d) 'štyd o
(')[...](y)d x[ ]

dc R b ['w]t̲ ny 'st '(s)[o]
. . . . . .

dc R 4a ['](s)prhmg[o]
. . . . . .

dc R b [n]y 'st pt̲ h[wyn o]
. . . . . .

dc R 5a [wy](')g 's[t o]
. . . . . .

(*Five verses missing*)

[1] H.'s reading and restorations; see above, p. 32 [2] L.'s reading (with *pty'm(')ty* corrected to *pty'mty*—H.); see W.–L. i, p. 67 [3] No margins are preserved in this fragment, and the identification of its recto and verso pages is based on the contents [4] Or (*m*)[

Huwīdagmān II

Second canto of [*Huwīdagmān*]: The punishment of [sin]ners.

Finished (is) the second canto of *Huwīdagmān*[1]

*Huwīdagmān III

[*No title*]

1 . . . radiant . . . will never wither.

2 . . . and fragrance . . . gleams (?) upon all . . .

3 . . . exists . . . and there is no . . .

4 Flower[s] . . . there is no . . . in them (?).

5 It is a place (?) . . .

(*Five verses missing*)

[1] The title and colophon only of this canto are known, in the Sogdian translation. Traces of the last verse survive, but they are not sufficient for a reconstruction to be made; see above, pp. 32–33.

dc V 11a [br]m'd o
('ž)[ ]

dc V b ['w](m) gy'n 'ndm(y)d o
p[ ]

dc V 12a [ ] pṯ 'xšd o
frhyg[r]

dc V b [']c hwyn o
'wṯ d[ ]

dc V (*Space of one verse left blank*)

(End of the third (?) *handām*)

*Huwīdagmān IV

[*No title*]

dc V 1a[1] . . . . . .
[w]xybyḥ 'm(y)['st][2]

dc V b . . . . . .
[ ] hrwyn wdng

dc V 2a . . . . . .
[by]rwly(y)[n][2]

(End of the first fragment of the fourth (?) *handām*)

*Huwīdagmān IVa

[*No title*]

dm R 1a ky(m) wyš'h'ḥ 'c hrwyn o
g(r)yhcg[3] u zynd'n

dm R b cy 'nmbrynd[4] 'wrjwg o
cy ny wxš 'hynd

dm R 2a kym hynw'r wyd'r' o
cy zryḥ 'ywštg

dm R b zwnws rzm'hyg
kw 'ngwn ny 'sṯ

[1] This verse is preceded by a blank space (see *H. III) and must therefore be the opening verse of a canto [2] Restoration suggested by H. [3] Andreas' reading (see H., *BSOS.* ix, p. 83); *g(')hcg* L. [4] H.'s reading; *'mbrynd* L. The *n* is clear

11 . . . wept (?) at . . . [and] my spirit sighs . . .

12 . . . in mercy, friend (?) . . . from them and . . .

(End of the third (?) canto)[1]

*Huwīdagmān IV

[*No title*]

1 . . . own . . . was wreathed (?) . . . all constraints . . .

2 . . . of crystal (?).

(End of the first fragment of the fourth (?) canto)[1]

*Huwīdagmān IVa

[*No title*]

1 Who will release me from all the pits and prisons, in which are gathered (?) lusts that are not pleasing?

2 Who will take me over the flood of the tossing sea—the zone of conflict in which there is no rest?

[1] For the allocation of these verses see above, pp. 40–41.

be R[1]+dm R	3a	kym bwj'ẖ 'c rwmb o
		cy hrwyn d'md'd'n
be R+dm R	b	cy 'yw byd'n wyg'nynd o
		'wṯ 'st'wynd[2] 'by 'xšd
be R+dm R	4a	k(ym) [p]rys(p)'n[3] 'zw'y'ẖ o
		'wṯ p'rgyn wyd'r'ẖ
be R+dm R	b	cy[4] pwr tr(s) ['w](ṯ)[5] lrz o
		cy dyw'n[6] wyg'ng
dm R	5a	kym "jwn 'zw'y'ẖ o
		'wṯ 'c hrwyn '[bd]'c'[7]
dm R	b	'wṯ 'c hrwyn wrm o
		kw 'ngwn ny 'sṯ
dm V	6a	'wṯ 'br gryw brm'm o
		kw 'g bwxs'n '(c) (h)w
dm V	b	'wṯ 'c d'md'd'n 'sp'w o
		ky 'yw byd'n x'zynd
dm V	7a	mrdwhmg'n tnb'r o
		mwrg'n 'ndrw'zyq
br R (?)[8]+dm V	b	zrhyg m'sy'g'n o
		cwhrb'd'n u wysp dywg
br R (?)+dm V	8a	kym 'ymyn wyd'r'ẖ o
		'wṯ 'c hrwyn bwj'ẖ
br R (?)+dm V	b	kw ny wrt'n 'wṯ k(f)'n o
		pṯ hwyn nrẖ 'bn's
dm V	9a	'wṯ gst pṯ hwyn ny wyd'r'n o
		pd 'jwn ny 'zw(r)[t'n][9]
dm V	b	cy wysp zng d'lwg o
		(')[z]gry(f)tg[7] pṯ (.)[...]t'n
dm V	10a	'wm k(y) [b]wj'ẖ[10] 'c hw o
		'bš('m)g'n[11] bwrzynd
dm V	b	x'zyndg'n jfr'n o
		cy hmg nrẖ 'wṯ tng

[1] The identification of be and dm is not certain; see above, p. 39 [2] In dm only; probably a mistake for *'sp'wynd*, but possibly caus. to *'stwb-* (H.); see glossary [3] In dm only. H.'s reading; [.]*dys*[.]*'n* L. [4] *qy* L.; *cy* is clear in both MSS. [5] H.'s reading; *t(r)*[....]*m* L. [6] *dyw(')n* L.; the ' seems clear [7] L.'s reading [8] br is a tiny fragment with no margins; it is impossible, therefore, to identify its recto and verso [9] H.'s reading; *'zw(')*[.]..L. [10] So; there is a hole where the *b* should be; *ky bwj'ẖ* L. [11] H.'s reading; *'bš...g'n* L.

3 Who will save me from the jaws of all the beasts who destroy and terrify (?) one another without pity?

4 Who will lead me beyond the walls and take me over the moats, which (are) full of fear and trembling from ravaging demons?

5 Who will lead me beyond rebirths, and free me from (them) all—and from all the waves, in which there is no rest?

6 I weep for (my) soul, saying: May I be saved from this, and from the terror of the beasts who devour one another!

7 The bodies of men, and of birds of the air, of fish of the sea, and four-footed creatures and of all insects[1]—

8 who will take me beyond these and save me from (them) all, so that I shall not turn and fall into the perdition of those hells?

9 so that I shall not pass through defilement in them, nor return in rebirth, wherein all the kinds of plants (are) taken out in . . .?

10 Who will save me from the swallowing heights (and?) the devouring deeps,[2] which are all hell and distress?

[1] See Henning, *BSOS.* ix, pp. 82, 90; Polotsky, *Abriss*, p. 250.
[2] These words can be construed in more than one way.

(*Two verses missing*)

be V 13a . . . . . .
[ ]g
be V b . . . . . .
[ ] pd nxcyr
be V 14a . . . . . .
[ ]tynd
be V b . . . . . .
[ ]synd

(*Three verses missing*)

br V(?) 18a [ ]'g'n o
. . . . . .
br V(?) b [ ](w)s(')n o
. . . . . .

(End of this fragment of the fourth (?) *handām*)

Huwīdagmān IVb

[*No title*]

dl R 1a 'ymyn frbdynd o
'br hrwyn dysm'n
dl R b 'w(t̲) pt̲ hw'n 'wt̲ 'bn's o [p]
hrw z'wr'n wygnynd

dl R 2a 'wt̲ dyjw'r pry'byd o
'w hrwyn m'nyndg
dl R b 'w(t̲) [n](rh)yg[1] 'bn's o
kw 'mwjd ny 'st̲

858e R+dl R 3a kym bwj'h̲ 'ž[2] 'ymyn o
'wt̲[3] 'ž[4] hrwyn wyd'r'h̲[5]
858e R+dl R b kw x'z'd ny bw'n pd[6] tng o p
cy hwyn nrh̲ jfr'n

858e R+dl R (*Space of one verse left blank*)

(End of the fourth *handām*)

[1] H.'s reading; *.r.yg* L. [2] *'z* dl [3] *u* 858e [4] *'c* dl [5] *wyd'r'* dl [6] *pt̲* dl

(*Two verses missing*)

13 . . . in beast(s) of the chase.

14, 18 (*Traces only are legible*)

(End of this fragment of the fourth (?) canto)[1]

Huwīdagmān IVb

[*No title*]

1 These will collapse upon the whole structure, and all the (Dark) Powers will perish in agony and perdition.

2 Wretchedness will overtake all (its) inhabitants and perdition of hell in which there is no mercy.

Who will save me from these and take me beyond them all, so that I shall not be devoured in the distress of those hell-deeps?

(End of the fourth canto)[2]

[1] For the allocation of these verses see above, pp. 39–40.
[2] For the identification of these verses see above, p. 5.

Huwīdagmān V

[*No title*]

858e R+dl R	1a 'g'm ky[1] bwj'ẖ 'w mn o	
	'c hw jfr 'bn's	
dl R	b 'wṯ 'c dr t'ryg o	
	cy hmg 'wdjn	
895a R+bv R+dl V+ eaR	2a cy hmg 'njwgyft[2] o	
	'wd[3] mrn wyxs'g	
895a R+bv R+dl V+ ea R	b 'wṯ[4] hwfry'd 'wd[3] 'dy'wr	p
	'ndr hw ny 'sṯ	
895a R+bv R+dl V	3a qd'c 'w y'wyd'n	
	drwd 'ndr ny 'sṯ	
895a R+dl V	b 'wṯ hmg pwr pṯ t'r o	
	'wd[3] nyzm'n dwd'yn[5]	
bu R+dl V	4a cy hmg pwr dybhr o	
	'wṯ dwr[6] 'ndr ny 'sṯ	
bu R+dl V	b 'wd[3] wyxsynd[7] pd[8] jxm o	[p]
	hrwyn 'dyhynd'n	
bu R+dl V	5a pd[8] tšyndyft[9] 'by'b[10] o	
	'wṯ pṯ tft[10] w'd 'stft[11]	
bu R+dl V	b 'wd[3] srsk[12] zrgwng o	
	'ndr kd'c ny 'sṯ	
dl V	6a kym bwj'ẖ 'c hw o	
	'wṯ 'c hrwyn wyxs'g	
dl V	b 'wm dwr k(r)'[13] 'c hrw o	[p]
	tng cy dwjx	

(*Two verses missing*)

[1] *sic* dl; in this MS. *y* and *w* are distinct, and here *y* is certain; *kw* L.;]*m ky* (*b*)[858e, where also *y* is distinct. H. reads the Sogdian as "*k'm ky pwz*', with *ky* certain; *kw* L. [2] so in bv; *-yft* dl [3] '*wṯ* dl [4] '[*wd*] written after two dots at the end of 2a in ea [5] Thus clearly in 895a; *dw*(*d'y*)*n* dl; *d*. .(')*n* L. [6] Thus in dl (the only MS.); a mistake for *rwd*? (H.) [7] *wxsynd* bu [8] *pṯ* dl [9] In both MSS. [10] In dl only [11] In dl only; '*stfṯ* L. [12] Thus clearly in dl; *srs*(*k*)[bu; *srks* L. (corrected by H., *BSOS*. ix, p. 87) [13] L.'s reading, as an emendation for *kdn* (given in his text). The MS. has *kd*'

Huwīdagmān V

[No title]

1 Who will willingly[1] save me from the pit of destruction, and from the dark valley where all is harshness?

2 —where all is anguish and the stab of death. Helper and friend is there none therein.

3 Never to eternity is there safety there. (It is) all full of darkness and fume-filled fog.

4 (It is) all full of wrath and there is no pity (?) there. All who enter are pierced by wounds.

5 (It is) waterless through drought, and hardened by hot winds. No golden[2] drop (of water) is ever (found) therein.

6 Who will save me from this, and from all stabs, and take me afar from all distress of hell?

(Two verses missing)

[1] Evidently an adverb; I consulted Prof. Henning, who writes: 'Andreas rejected Lentz' translation *Ich wünsche dass* and proposed "(it is) time that HE should save me . . ." Now that you rightly point out that the MSS. in fact have *ky*, almost certainly the interrogative pronoun here (as in the preceding and following verses), your view that *'g'm* is an adverb should be accepted. In that case, *'g'm* cannot well be the word for "time, period". That we have here a different word is moreover indicated by the Sogdian transliteration, *"k'm*, i.e. *āgām*; "time", however, was *āγām*, which the Sogdians would have spelt *"γ'm*; the Sogdian transliterations prove the existence of a difference in the Parthian development of OIr. intervocalic *-k-* (resulting in *-g-*) and *-g-* (resulting in *-γ-*); cf. e.g. *mwrδk'n* = *mwrdg'n* against *"γδ* = *'gd*. As therefore *'g'm* in this passage continues OIr. *ākām+x*, one may assume an ancient *avyayībhāva* compound **ākāmam* "according to wish" ("as I desire"; the meaning probably equalled that of Av. *vasō*).'

[2] Probably a reference to the best kind of Persian water, the *water called golden*, which no one was allowed to drink, on pain of death, except the Persian king and his eldest son: Athenaeus *ιβ*, 9, p. 515a, cf. Brisson, *De Regno Pers.*, ch. 83 (pp. 125 sqq. ed. Lederlin). (H.)

858e V+bq R+cl R+ cw R	9a	pd (j)xm[1] 'by 'xšd o	
		jd[1] bwynd pd jfr'(n)	
858e V+bq R+cl R+ cw R	b	'wd ny 'st drwštyft o	
		'w hrwyn ywb(hr)	
858e V+bq R+cw R	10a	'wd hrw 'wrjwg o	
		'wd frg'w[2] wys'(x)[yft][3]	p
858e V+bq R+cw R	b	nyš'n[4] hwfry'dyd o	
		pd (hw) [w]y'g[1] nrhyg	
858e V	11a	. . . . .	
		[ ] 'dy'wr['n]	
858e V	b	. . . . .	
		[ ](')ng(d)[..]	
895a V+bv V+ea V	12a	'wd hrwyn 'wzdys'n[5] o	
		pylg[6] 'wd pdq[r][6]	(p)
895a V+bv V+ea V	b	'c hw nrḫ 'w hwyn o	
		ny šhynd bw(x)[tn][6]	
895a V+bv V	13a	pd 'njwgyft tryxsynd[7] o	
		pd 'by'[xšd]	
895a V	b	'wd hrw kyš'n jnynd o	
		wyg'[nynd (?)]	
bu V	14a	. . . . .	
		[ ](n)d	[p]
bu V	b	. . . . .	
		[ ]dyft z'nyndyy	
bu V	15a	. . . . .	
		[w]yndynd	
bu V	b	. . . . .	
		[ ](d) (w)yš'h'	
		(*Three verses missing*)	
bq V+cl V+cw V	19a	(k)ym kr' dwr 'c [hw o][8]	
		[kw pd] hwyn ny ng[wh]'n[9]	
bq V+cl V+cw V	b	['w]d (ny) [']([m])bd'n[10] 'w[d] (k)[f](')n[11] o	
		'w hrw txl [d](w)jx[12]	

[1] In 858e only [2] So in 858e; *frg*[cw [3] H.'s restoration, from 858e only [4] So in 858e; *ny*(*š*)[bq [5] So in 895a; *'wzdy*[ea [6] in bv only [7] In 895a [8] The first half-line is in cl only [9] *ng*[cw;]*'n* bq. The number of letters missing is probably two or three [10] Reading suggested by H., from cl only [11] In cw only; the tail-stroke only of the (*k*) is visible, and it is, therefore, uncertain how much is missing between (*k*) and (') [12] *txl*[cw;](*w*)*jx* bq. A generous space has been left after *txl* on cw, and it is therefore unlikely that more than [*d*] is missing

9 They are struck by merciless blows in the deep.
There is no health for all (their) sicknesses.

10 Not all the lusts and the comfort of wealth will help
them in that hellish place.

11 . . . friends . . . rich (?) . . .

12 Not all (their) idols, altars and images can save them
from that hell.

13 They are oppressed by anguish (and) by merciless(?)
. . . All who strike them destroy (?) . . .

14 . . . should know . . .

15 . . . they find . . . may he (?) open.

(*Three verses missing*)

19 Who will take me far from [it, that] I may not plunge
(?) [into] them; and that I may not tumble and fall (?)
into every bitter hell.

bq V+cw V 20a ['wd hrw ky 'dyhynd '](n)dr o
'zg'm ny wyndynd[1]

bq V+cw V b . . . . . .
'w hwyn bw(y) (.)[ ]c[2]

(End of the first fragment of the fifth *handām*)

*Huwīdagmān Va

[*No title*]

bn R[3] 1a [bwrz ']bxrwsynd o
'ž hwyn ky (.)[..](m)[..]

bn R b [ny dyw'n u n]y '(h)rmyn[4] o
'ngwn dhynd 'w hwyn

bn R 2a ['](b)xrwsynd u pdwhynd o
('w) d'dbr r'štygr

bn R b [..](...) ny (p)dw'cyd o
kw 'w hwyn (hw)fry'd'

(*Eight verses missing*)

bn V[3] 11a cy(d) w[š]'ynd[5] 'c 'ndr o
pd hw n(r)[h]

bn V b jfr'n x'zyndg o
kw (f)rm[n](y)wg [ny 'st]

bn V 12a (w)y'g [']st cy wy'b'n o
kw 'b 'ndr ny (')[st]

bn V b cy h(rw)yn 'dyhynd'n o
pd hw hw'n wxs[ynd]

(End of this fragment of the fifth (?) *handām*)

[1] up to *wyndyn*[*d*], cw;]*dynd* only, bq [2] (.)[.....] cw;]*c* bq
[3] The order of the pages is not certain [4] Reading and restoration suggested by H. The second half of (*h*) is hidden by a line across the page
[5] Reading suggested by H.

20 [All who enter] there find no way out . . . to them the odour . . .

(End of the first fragment of the fifth canto)[1]

*Huwīdagmān Va

[*No title*]

1 They shriek [aloud] at those who . . . [Fiends and] the devil give them no rest.

2 They shriek and implore the righteous Judge . . . He does not answer to give them help.

(*Eight verses missing*)

11 They hunger always inside, within that hell . . . (that) devouring deep, where hope [is unknown].

12 It is a desert place, where water [is] not (found); by whose agony all who enter (there) are pierced.

(End of this fragment of the fifth (?) canto)[2]

[1] For the identification of the verses in *H.* V see above, pp. 5 and 29–31.
[2] For the allocation of these verses see above, pp. 41–42.

Huwīdagmān Vb

489b R pnjwm hn[d'm]
489b V [hwyd]gm'n
489b R 1a ['']wd 'c hrwyn wym(n)[d o]
. . . . . .
489b R b ['w]m zyrd 'z(gr)[ysp'd][1]
. . . . . .

(*Nine verses missing*)

489b V 11a ['wd hw šhrd'ryft '](rg)'(w)[2] o
bzgyft̲ 'ndr ny '[st]
489b V b . . . . . .
[ ]tyft̲ pd hwyn n(y) ['st]

(End of this fragment of the fifth *handām*)

Huwīdagmān Vc[3]

[*No title*]

T II K (Sogd.) *1a hwyn xwmbwy pwsg o
ywjdhr 'wd 'nwšg
T II K b jywndg srsk pw'g o
hwyn tnb'r pwr 'hynd
T II K *2a 'wd hrwyn pd 'yw m'ng o
'yw byd'n 'st'wynd
T II K b jywndg 'frywn 'frynynd o
y'wyd'n 'frydg bwynd
T II K *3a 'wm [pd] 'wš [kyrd] 'by'd o
'wm pd [ ] brm'd
T II K b kwm ky ['bd'c'h̲] o
'c hrwyn trs 'wd ['sp'w]
T II K *4a 'wm ky s'n'h̲ o
'w 'ym š'dcn šhr
T II K b kwm bw'h̲ š'dyft o
'd hmg m'nynd'n
T II K *Colophon*: pty'mty pncmy 'nδmy ''k'm ky
pwz'[4]

[1] H.'s restoration [2] H.'s reading and restoration [3] These are the last four verses of *H.* V, reconstructed from the Sogdian by H. [4] L.'s reading (see W.–L. i, p. 68), with *kw* emended to *ky*

Huwīdagmān Vb

Fifth canto of *Huwīdagmān*

1 From every boundary . . . and my heart was taken away (?). . .

(*Nine verses missing*)

11 There is no sinfulness within [that] noble (?) [domain] . . . [there is] no . . . among them.

(End of this fragment of the fifth canto)[1]

Huwīdagmān Vc

[*No title*]

1 Their fragrant garlands are sacred and immortal; their bodies are full of living pure drops.

2 All with one mind praise one another; they bless (one another) with living blessings, and become blessed for evermore.

3 In my mind I remembered; and I wept [aloud] in [misery] (saying): 'Who [will save] me from every terror and fear?'

4 'Who will take me up to that happy realm, so that joy shall be mine in union with all (its) inhabitants?'

Finished the fifth canto: 'Who will willingly[2] save . . .'[3]

[1] For the identification of *H.* Vb see above, pp. 31–32.
[2] See above, p. 87 n. 1.
[3] The translation of *H.* Vc from the Sogdian has kindly been supplied by Professor Henning; for the identification of its verses see above, p. 31.

Huwīdagmān VI

T II K (Sogd.) ”γšt wγšmy-k ’nδmy
’wm ”wδyn

T II K *1a ’wm ”wdyn brm’d o
’wṯ ’sr pd zmyg pšyxt

T II K b ’dy’n ʿzgwl’dwm wcn
cy šhrd’r kyrbg[1]

*Huwīdagmān VIa

[*No title*]

do R 1a ’wṯ ’(z) (h)[ym o]
. . . . . .

do R b ’wṯ tw ’yy (nx)[wyn? o]
. . . . . .

do R 2a ’w’s ’(.)[o][2]
[rw]šn g(y’n)[3][ ]

do R b cy ’z hym [kyr]bg o
’(w)[ṯ][4] (gry)[w[5]]

do R 3a ’z ’w tw bwj’n o
’c hrw [ ]

do R b cy z’wr’n wyst(m)b(g’n)[6] [o]
k[y] (’)[hr](’)s’d [’yy][7]
pṯ trs o[8]

[1] This is the first verse of *H.* VI, reconstructed from the Sogdian by H., who writes: ‘The first two words, *’wm ”wδyn* in the Sogdian transliteration, contain *”wdyn* which was mentioned in *BSOS.* ix, p. 79, from a single broken passage, with a wrong meaning. It is now defined by the inscription of Shapur at the Kaʿbe-yi Zardušt, Parth. line 22 (*ḤN pty’wyd*) *’wtyn* “so long (as it lasts)” (*pty’w-* = Man. *pt’w-*) = Pahlavi 27 (ʿ*D ptwd’t*) *’ndwm* = Greek 52 *τόσῳ*; hence, *āwaδīn* from *āwat-* = Av. *awant-* ‘*tantus*’, with which Pahl. *’ndwm* is closely associated (cf. Pers. *and*). The Sogdian verse is: *rty wytwr mnt prw mwn’kw w’β γn’βw rty Zkw ’čkw’ prw z’y p’š’ynč’w rty nwkr pt’yγwšw ’zw wnγr ZKn šyr’kty ’γšywn’y.*’ [2] The position of the caesura is uncertain [3] L.’s reading [4] H.’s reading; ’[. .] L. [5] (*g*).[L.; the bottom of the letters only is visible, and the reading very doubtful [6] H.’s reading; *wyst.b(y). .* L. [7] H.’s reading; *g’. .(hs)’(d)*[.] L. [8] Written thus below the line, in smaller characters

Huwīdagmān VI

Begun (is) the sixth canto 'And while I thus . . .'

1 And while I thus wept and shed tears upon the ground, I heard the voice of the beneficent king.[1]

*Huwīdagmān VIa

[*No title*]

1 I am . . . and thou art the first (?) . . .

2 Now . . . light (?) Spirit (?) . . . for I am the piety (?) and the . . . [of thy?] soul (?).

3 I shall save thee from every . . . of the rebellious Powers who have frightened [thee] with fear.

[1] This is Professor Henning's translation from the Sogdian. The opening verse only of the sixth canto has been identified in Sogdian; see above, p. 31.

do R 4a ['z 'w tw 'bd'](c'n)[1] o
'ž hrw db[2] u '(yw)z

do R b . . . . . .
['wṯ m]rn 'xš'dyfṯ

(*One verse missing*)

do V 6a . . . . . .
[hr](wyn) (p)hrg[3]

do V b . . . . . .
(c)y hrwyn dwšmyn[4]

do V 7a [ ]t[5] o
'w(ṯ)[6] [ ](g) x'zyndg

do V b '[']š(t)y[d][7] (o)
'wṯ n(r)[ḥ][8] 'hrywwr

do V 8a (')[wṯ 'ng'w]('n) (pr)xy(z)yšn[9] o
cy hrwyn wyg'nyšn

do V b ['w](ṯ)[10] wy(s)[p][11] ywbhr o
ky 'hr's'd 'yy pd mrn

do V 9a 'wṯ wryh'n prw'n tw o
h(rw)[12] t[5]

do V b 'wṯ frb'd'n pṯ (.)[o]
. . . . . .

(End of this fragment of the sixth (?) *handām*)

Huwīdagmān VIb

dg R šhwm [hnd'm]

bl R 1b [ ]g (o)
n[ ]

[1]](*j'n*) L.; the top of the letters only is visible. There is no trace on the photograph of the upper stroke of *j*, and the spacing suggests that the half-line contained one or two more letters than 3aa [2] H.'s reading; *rb* L. The MS. is here flecked with dots, of which there are three in a line over *db* [3]]....*hrg* L. [4] Written *dwšmn* with two dots under the *m* [5]]*ḡ* L. The top stroke only is visible, but is certainly that of a *t* [6] H.'s reading; '*w*'. L. [7] H.'s reading;]*šwy*[.] *o* L. [8] *n*.[..] L.; only the lower part of (*r*) (?) is visible [9]]..*ky*.*y*(*š*)*n o* L. [10] .].. L. [11] H.'s reading; *wy*.[..] L. [12] H.'s reading; '*r*. L.

4 [I shall release thee] from all deceit and turbulence . . . [and] the torment of death.

(*One verse missing*)

6 . . . every (?) watch-post[1] . . . of every enemy.

7 . . . and devouring . . . There is (?) . . . and the deadly pool of hell.

8 [I will make an end?] of the activity of all (forces of) destruction, and all sickness which has dismayed thee with death.

9 I will overthrow before thee all . . . and hurl down in . . .

(End of this fragment of the sixth (?) canto)[2]

Huwīdagmān VIb

Sixth [canto of *Huwīdagmān*]

1 (*Traces only are legible*)

[1] See above, p. 12; and cf. in these texts *H. VII 18b and 20a, *A.R. IIIb 2b, *A.R* IV 52b and Fr. L 11a.

[2] For the allocation of these verses see above, p. 40.

bl R 2a [h]rw hw'n o
. . . . . .
bl R b [ ]b 'mrzg o
ky g(y)'n(')[n]

bl R 3a [ ](g) 'ngwn p'(y)' o
'c (h)[ ]
bl R b [ ](t)(..)ng[1] 'štynd o
. . . . . .

(Seven verses missing)

502*a*, b R 11a . . . . . .
[ ]syšt(n) (')[ ]
502*a*, b R+bl V b 'wd 'ž hrw b[ndys]t̲'n[2] o
cy y'wyd'n [ ]

502*a*, b R+bl V 12a (')(..)[.] 'š[kyb']h̲[3] pd 'ymyn o
mwh(r)[4][ ]
502*a*, bR+bl V b ['wd tw] (k)[r](')n[5] 'z'd[6] o
'c[7] hrw z'w[r'n[8]]

bl V+dk R 13a [ ](t)'n prw'n tw o
hr(w) (t.)[9][ ]
bl V+dk R b [w]ysp prysp o
(...)[ ]

dg R+dk R 14a 'wd hrwyn 'xšynd'n [o]
. . . . . .
dg R+dk R b qfynd[10] prw'n tw o
u '(x)[10][ ]

(Six verses missing)

502*a*, b V 21a [ny] (k)[f]'h̲[11] 'ndr o
p[....](nd)[ ]
502*a*, b V b [cy hm]g pwr 'dwr o
tng ['w](d) wxs''g

[1] Scarcely (*tn*)*ng* [2] *b*[.....]'*n* 502*a*, b;]t̲'*n* bl [3] Restoration, from 502*a*, b only, very doubtful; not '*š*[*t* [4] In 502*a*, b only [5] So in 502*a*, b;](')*n* bl [6] ''*z*'*d* bl [7] '*ž* bl [8] So in both [9] Or (*g*.)[; in bl only [10] So in dg only [11] The tail-stroke only of the (*k*) is visible; more letters may therefore be missing between (*k*) and '

2 . . . every agony . . . (?) who . . . spirits (?) . . .

3 . . . he (?) will guard the tranquillity from . . .they are . . .

(*Seven verses missing*)

11 . . . and from every prison which eternally . . .

12 . . . thou shalt be patient (?) through these seals (?) . . . and I shall make [thee] free from all the (Dark) Powers (?) . . .

13 I shall . . . before thee all . . . all walls . . .

14 All the Princes . . .will fall before thee and . . .

(*Six verses missing*)

21 Thou shalt [not] fall (?) within . . . [where all] (is) full of fire, distress, and stabs.

502a, b V 22a [']n 'w tw o
'c dst nrh(p')n'n[1]

502a, b V b [ky 'br] gy'n u gryw o
'xšd'gyft [ny krynd]

dk V 23a . . . . . .
cy zwnws (k)[ ]

dk V b [ ] (o)
'wd ny kf' [pd dwjx[2]]

dg V+dk V 24a . . . . . .
[bw](j)'g(r) qyrbk(r)

dg V+dk V b . . . . . .
(kd)'c m' tyrs(')

(End of this fragment of the sixth *handām*)

Huwīdagmān VIc

93 II R+289a R+ct R šhwm hnd''m[3]

93 II V+289a V+ct V hwydgm'n[4]

93 II R+289a R 1a 'z pd zwš 'st'n'n o
'wd frwz'n pd b'zwr

93 II R+289a R b 'br 'ž hrw z'wr'n o p
'wd 'xšynd'n [w]ystmbg

93 II R+289a R 2a 'wd 'ydw'y'n 'w hw šhr o
'ng[wn h]syng

93 II R+289a R b 'wd nm'y'n pydr'n o
wxyb[yẖ sd]f bg'nyg

93 II R+289a R 3a 'wd wšmn'ẖ pd š'dyft o
p[d hw]my'g[5] 'st'wšn

93 II R+289a R b 'wd bw'ẖ 'by 'nd'g o p
'w[d . . .] fr'mwšt dwjgnd

93 II R+289a R 4a 'spyxt pdmwg pdmwj'(ẖ)[6] o
u 'zy'h'[7] rwšn

93 II R+289a R b 'wd 'wst'n pd tw sr o
dydym šhrd'ryft

[1] Reading suggested by H.; (*p'*) is cramped and blurred [2] Restored from **H.* VII 21a [3] So in ct; *hnd*[ ]*m* 93 II+289a [4] *-m''n* ct [5] H.'s restoration [6] So in 93 II, with *j* clear [7] H.'s reading from 289a; possibly '*zywh*'. (In the MS. represented by 93 II and 289a ' and *w* are often difficult to distinguish in a cramped position)

22 I shall [free] thee from the hands of the guardians of hell, [who show no] mercy [to] spirit and soul.

23 . . . (which is a) zone of . . . and thou shalt not fall [into hell].

24 . . . beneficent Saviour (?) . . . thou shalt fear no more.

(End of this fragment of the sixth canto)[1]

Huwīdagmān VIc

Sixth canto of *Huwīdagmān*

1 I shall take (thee) eagerly and soar up upon wings,[2] high over all the (Dark) Powers and rebellious Princes.

2 I shall lead (thee) into the primeval calm of that land[3]; and I shall show (thee) the Fathers, my (?) own divine entity (?).

3 Thou shalt rejoice in gladness, in blissful praises. Thou shalt be without grief and . . . forgetful of stenches.

4 Thou shalt put on a radiant garment, and gird on Light; and I shall set on thy head the diadem of sovereignty.

[1] For the identification of the verses in *H.* VIb see above, p. 38.
[2] Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 188[21].
[3] i.e. the New Paradise; see above, pp. 15–22.

93 II R+289a R 5a [ ]h̲ pd [o]
[ ] rdn b'my(g)
289a R b . . . . . p
[ ]rd qyrbkr

(*Four verses missing*)

ct R 10a ('w)[d p]d rwmb w'c'fryd o
dyz 'br hw [ ]
ct R b (b)wrz 'wd ql'n o
cy 'rg'w p(')[dyxš'n][1]

93 II V+289a V+ct R 11a 'pdn[2] 'st šhrd'ryft o
cy nwxz'd hsyng
93 II V+289a V+ct R b cy[3] pd hw pdmwcyd[4] š'dyft o p
u šhrd'ryft dydym bndyd

93 II V+289a V+ct R 12a 'wd 'w hrwyn 'dy'wr'n o
dydym 'w hwyn bndyd
93 II V+289a V+ct R b 'wd š'dyft pdmwcn o
'w hwyn tn pdmwcyd

93 II V+289a V 13a 'wd 'w hrwyn dy(n)'br'n o
u wcydg'n kyrbkr'n
93 II V+289a V b pdmwcyd 'st('w)yšn o p
'wš'n dydym bndyd

93 II V+289a V 14a u pdxš'hynd pd š'dyft o
cw'gwn 'br n'm bwd pštg[5]
93 II V+289a V b u 'njwgyft (w)d'r'(d) o
'ž dst dwšmnwn

93 II V+289a V 15a 'wš'n k(r)[ ]t (o)
'd h(r)[wyn]
289a V b pd hw dyd(n) [o] p
. . . . . .

(*Four verses missing*)

ct V 20a [ ](gy)c jfr'n o
'c prywg pdgryft̲
ct V b [dwšm](n)yn nydrxt o
'wd hw bwrzyyft p'z'[h̲]

[1] H.'s restoration; (') probable, but possibly (*d*) [2] *'bdn* ct [3] *cy* written after a small dot at the end of 11a in 93 II [4] So in 93 II and ct [5] *pštg* written with a small dot after it at the beginning of 14b in 289a

5 [Thou shalt] . . . through . . . brilliant jewel . . . beneficent . . .

(*Four verses missing*)

10 By a spiritual invocation[1] [there was built ?] on that [structure[2] ?] the fortress,[3] high and vast, of the noble Em[peror].

11 A palace is the dominion of the primeval First-born,[4] for in it he clothes himself in gladness and binds on the diadem of sovereignty.

12 And all (his) friends—he binds the diadem upon them, and clothes their bodies in the garment of gladness.

13 And all the believers and the pious Elect he clothes in praise, and binds on them the diadem.

14 They reign (now) in gladness, even as (once they had) been fettered for (their mere) name,[5] and (had) undergone anguish at the hands of (their) foes.

15 And [he makes ?] them . . . with all . . . through that apparition . . .

(*Four verses missing*)

20 [The return from] the . . . Depth was obtained out of the Victory; [for] the enemies are subdued, and the Height (lies) in front![6]

[1] Lit. 'by a spiritual mouth'. According to Henning, *w'c'fryd* is 'spiritual', equivalent in usage to Pahl. *mynwg*.

[2] Cf. *Mir. Man.* i, p. 184 ll. 9–10; p. 185 l. 5.

[3] i.e. the New Paradise (cf. *Ps. Bk.* 198[13]).

[4] i.e. the First Man (see above, pp. 21–22).

[5] viz. as 'Manichaeans'. This translation of 14a was suggested by Professor Henning.

[6] Professor Henning kindly suggested this translation of 20.

ct V 21a ['s](t) hw rwc o
kd p'dgyrb 'bgwndyyd
ct V b [hw pydr kyr](b)kr o
šhr'n rwšn'n šhrd''r

ct V 22a ['wd hw 'spyxt cyhr](g) o
u p'dgyrb (n)ys'g b'myn
ct V b [nm'yd 'w hrwyn o]
[b](g)['n] ky 'wwd m'n(yy)nd

(End of this fragment of the sixth *handām*)

*Huwīdagmān VII

[*No title*]

871f R 1a ['w]d hrwyn dyn'br'n o
fr'm[wxt]
871f R b ['w]d bwynd h'mtnb'r o
pd [ ]
871f R 2a [hw] (c)y w'xt 'w mn o
bw[ ]
871f R b [ ](...)d'd (.)š(.)[ ]
. . . . . .

(*Five verses missing*)

588 R 8a (c)y 'st 'w (d)[o]
. . . . . .
588 R b [p](d) hwyn hry syn(j)[yn o]
. . . . . .
588 R+cu R 9a (c)y (pd) hw 'zyhynd[1] o
wyxtg'n[1] u hr(wy)n ky(r)bkr'n[2]
588 R+cu R b ['w]d hrw ky r'z z'n'd o
'wd w'(w)ryft[3] frw(d)'(d)[4]
cu R 10a 'ymyn[5] 'bgwst 'w mn o
g(r)ywm bwj'gr
cu R b [ ] (hy)nz'wr (o)
pd 'ym wzrgft[6] (b)d(y)g[7]

[1] In both MSS. [2] (*wy*)*n ky*(*r*) appear on a small piece of the paper that has been folded over at the top of cu (the only MS.). The letters appear, therefore, on the verso page of this fragment (H.) [3] In cu only [4] Reading suggested by H. from cu (the only MS.) [5] The letters '*y* are on a small bit of the paper broken off and hanging at an angle (H.) [6] *sic* [7] Reading suggested by H.; the letters are closely cramped together

21 . . . [is] the day when He will reveal his form, [the] beneficent [Father], the Lord of the Aeons of Light.

22 [He will show that radiant shape] and brilliant, glorious form [to all the gods] who shall dwell there.

(End of this fragment of the sixth canto)[1]

*Huwīdagmān VII

[*No title*]

1 All the believers will take off . . . and will become of one body in . . .

2 That which he said to me . . .

(*Five verses missing*)

8 What is . . . to . . . through those three escapes (?) . . .

9 For through that will go out the chosen and all the beneficent, and all who knew the mystery and understood the belief.

10 The Saviour of my soul revealed these things to me . . . mighty . . . through this second greatness.[2]

[1] For the identification of the verses in *H.* VIc see above, p. 33.

[2] *bdyg wzrgyft* is used in Parthian as an epithet of the Third Messenger; in Chinese 'the Second Greatness' is Jesus (see *Mir. Man.* iii, p. 887 n. 1; W.–L. i, p. 100 15a).

871f V+cu R 11a ['wd pd hw rwc] 'zg'm[1] o
'gd 'br mn pd 'x(šd)

871f V+cu R b ['wm bwxt 'ž hrwyn o
'njwgyft 'wd[2] zynd'n

871f V+cu R 12a [y]zd''n[3] o
pd hw br wzrgyyf(t)[4]

871f V+cu R b [bg]'nyg[5] o
'wd fryštg'n 'r[d'w][6]

(*Five verses missing*)

588 V 18a . . . . . .
[ ] 'xšynd'n

588 V b . . . . . .
[ ]' hrwyn phrg

588 V+cu V 19a u (hr)[wyn '](h)r'sg[7] o
ngws'r kfynd[8] prw'n

588 V+cu V b u hw(')[n p]d[9] syzdyft[10] o
'w (h)wyn bšn'n[11] p'z'h̲[12]

588 V+cu V 20a u wxd wydr' hwyn wymnd o
pd phrg'n ny gryysp'[13]

cu V b u bwxs(') 'ž 'njwgyft [o]
. . . . . .

cu V 21a u ny kf' pd dwjx o
'(wd) pd [ ]

cu V b ny bw' š'dyft o
'w h[w]

cu V 22a ms pd tnb'r gnd'g o
ny (.)[ ]

cu V b u pd hrwyn ywbhr o
hw[14] gr['nyft ny wyd'r']

[1] In both MSS. [2] *u* cu [3] *zd'* is on a piece of the paper that has been folded back, so that the letters appear on the recto of 871f (the only MS.) (H.) [4] *wzrq*[871f [5] *'ny* also appears on the recto of 871f (the only MS.) (H.) [6] Restored from cu only [7] So in cu;]*r'sg* 588 [8] *qfynd* 588 [9] Restoration suggested by H. from cu only [10] So in cu;](*z*)*dyft* 588 [11] So in both [12] So in 588; *p*('*z*)[cu [13] Reading suggested by H.; *gryy*[588; in cu *g*[...] at the end of 20a, *sp'* followed by a dot at the beginning of 20b [14] Or possibly *hwgr*[

11 [Upon that day of] departing he came with mercy to me, [and saved me] from every anguish and prison.

12 . . . the gods, through that gate of greatness[1] . . . the divine (?) . . . and the just (?) apostles.

(*Five verses missing*)

18 . . . Princes . . . all the watch-posts.

19 All who affright (?) (thee) will fall down in (thy) presence; agony in overwhelming might (will hold) their[2] statures prone.[3]

20 Truly thou shalt pass their border, and shalt not be held at (their) watch-posts. Thou shalt be saved from anguish . . .

21 Thou shalt not fall into hell, nor into . . .; there shall be no gladness for . . .

22 [Thou shalt lie] no longer within the foul body . . .; [thou shalt no more endure] that [heaviness] amid all sicknesses.

[1] *br wzrg* 'great gate' is used elsewhere as an epithet for Jesus (see W.–L. i, p. 35).

[2] *hwyn* is almost invariably construed in these texts with a singular substantive; its occurrence here with *bšn'n* therefore supports Henning's interpretation of the latter word as a singular (see glossary).

[3] The translation of 19b was kindly suggested by Professor Henning.

cu V 23a 'wd gy'n (ny) bw(') (r)[1][o]

. . . . . .

(End of this fragment of the seventh (?) *handām*)

*Huwīdagmān VIII

[*No title*]

689 R 1a [u hw][2] w'xt 'w mn o
kw cy tw 'd (h)w (pt)[wd] (g)[st][3]

689 R b pdgyrw'h̲ hw 'st'wyšn o
u š'dcn dyd(y)[m]

502β, a R+689 R+ch R 2a u[4] 'z 'w tw s'n'n
u 'bdys'n hw bwn wxy(b)[yy][5]

502β, a R+689 R+ch R b u[4] w'r'h̲ pd hw 'r'm o
pd š'dyft (m')[n'h̲ y'wyd'n][5]

502β, a R+ch R 3a 'wt̲ 'wyšw'[h̲[6] o]

. . . . . .

502β, a R+ch R b 'wt̲[7][ ](sr)[ ]

. . . . . .

(*Seven verses missing*)

689 V 11a ['wd hw '](w) m(n) pdystwd o
y'wyd'n hnj'[myšn]

689 V b ['w]d (h)w p'dyšnwhr o
cy mn 'bg'm kyrbg

502β, a V+689 V+ch V 12a ['w](m) cw'gwn pd n'm[8] (w)rw(')d[8] o
['w]d[9] 'škyb'd[10] pd r'štyft[11]

502β, a V+689 V+ch V b ['w'gwn d'](d)[12] 'w mn prywg[8]
'br 'c hrw z'wr''n[13]

[1] Or possibly (*x*)[; the top of the letter only is visible, with its dot [2] Or possibly ['*wš*] [3] Restoration suggested by H. The MS. is torn between (*h*)*w* and (*pt*), making the reading difficult; (')*w*(*st*)[is also possible. The top-stroke of the (*t*) is not visible; only the bottom-stroke of the (*g*) appears [4] In 689; '*wt̲* 502β, a [5] Restored from 689 (the only MS.) [6] *sic* (exceptionally clear) in ch (the only MS.); presumably for]'*wyšt*'[*h̲*, the top-stroke of the *t* having been omitted [7] '*wt̲*[502β, a;](*sr*) (probably not an independent word) ch [8] In 689 only [9] So in ch; *u* 689 [10] In 689 and ch [11] *r'štft* with two dots under the *f* in 689; *r'št*[502β, a (the only MSS.) [12] Hardly room for ['*w'gwnyš d*'](*d*) in 689 (the only MS.); the logical subject is fairly frequently omitted in these texts [13] So in 689; *z'wr*[ch;]''*n* 502β, a

23 Spirit, thou shalt not be . . .

(End of this fragment of the seventh (?) canto)[1]

*Huwīdagmān VIII

[*No title*]

1 [He] said unto me: 'What loathliness thou hast endured (?) in his company—for that thou shalt receive the praise and the diadem of felicity.

2 I shall take thee up and show (thee) (thine) own origin. Thou shalt rejoice in that place, and [dwell] in gladness [evermore].

3 Thou shalt stand (?) . . . and . . .

(*Seven verses missing*)

11 [He] promised to me eternal completion and the recompense for my devout torture.

12 And even as I (had) strictly (?)[2] believed and been patient in righteousness, [so he gave] me the Victory above all the (Dark) Powers.

[1] For the allocation of these verses see above, p. 41.
[2] *pd n'm* 'according to the name', i.e. 'literally, strictly' (?) (Henning).

502β, a V+ch V 13a . . . . . .
[pd] hw rwž '(z)g'm[1]
502β, a V b . . . . . .
[ ](')m

(End of this fragment of the eighth (?) *handām*)

*Huwīdagmān VIIIa

[*No title*]

256 R+855 R 1a byc pd[2] drwd wydr'ẖ[3] o
'c hr(w)[ ]
256 R+855 R b pṯ š'dyfṯ 'wd[4] 'z'dyft[5] o
pdxš'h'[ẖ y'wyd'n]

256 R+855 R 2a 'wṯ 'dyh'ẖ 'w hw šhr o
q[[6]]
256 R+855 R b 'wṯ w'r'ẖ pd š'dyft o
cy hw [ ]

256 R+855 R 3a 'wṯ pd 'ngwn 'wyšt'ẖ [o]
. . . . . .
256 R+855 R b 'wṯ ms 'njwgyfṯ o
[ny pry'b'ẖ y'wyd'n]

256 R [h]njfṯ hwydgm'n p[ ]
[hm](y)r [iii]i (?) C[ ][7]

[1] '(*zg*)[ch;](*'z*)*g'm* 502β, a [2] *pṯ* 256 [3] *wdr'ẖ* 855 [4] *u* 855
[5] *-yfṯ* 256 [6] (*k*)[256 [7] H.'s reading and restorations; see *BSOAS.* xi, p. 217 with nn. 10 and 11. The numerals may have been three or five, rather than four; the final stroke only survives. The fragment ends with these words; it is impossible to tell, therefore, whether or not the colophon was continued to another line or lines

13 . . . [upon] the day of departing . . .

(End of this fragment of the eighth (?) canto)[1]

*Huwīdagmān VIIIa

[*No title*]

1 But thou shalt pass in safety by every . . . Thou shalt reign in gladness and in freedom [for evermore].

2 Thou shalt enter into that land . . . and shalt rejoice in the gladness of that . . .

3 Thou shalt abide in tranquillity . . . and anguish [shall never overtake thee] more.

Finished *Huwīdagmān* . . . together (?) four hundred (?) . . . [strophes].[2]

[1] For the allocation of these verses see above, p. 41.
[2] Henning's translation (loc. cit.). For the identification of the verses, and for the canto-number given to them, see above, pp. 5–6, 7, 41.

Angad Rōšnān I

855 R and V+cs V+dd R	nys'r'd 'ngd rwšn'n	
256 V+855 V+cs V	1a 'ngd rwš[n]'n o	
	fry'ng pṯ 'xšd	
256 V+855 V	b dhwm[2] [z'wr u][3] hwfry'd[4] o	p[1]
	pd[5] hrwyn d'hw'n[6]	
256 V+855 V	2a ['w mn gryw] xwd'y o	
	wyn'r'ḥ 'wm pdw'c'ḥ[7]	
256 V+855 V	b ['wm hwfry'd](')ḥ o	
	mdy'n dwšmnyn[8]	
256 V+855 V+dd R	3a hrwyn wyg'nyšn o	
	(')c mn wydd'r'ḥ[9]	
256 V+dd R	b cy hwyn tnb'r dbg[r] o	
	kym pd drd 'bj'myd	
256 V+dd R	4a ṯw fry'ng o	
	'st'[w'd]g 'wd qyrb(k)[r]	
256 V+dd R	b 'bd'cwm 'c h[wyn o]	
	[ ](y) h[ ]	
dd R	5a cy tw z'nyḥ o	
	(p)[ ]	
dd R	b ['w]m 'c 'š(n)[o]	
	. . . . .	
dd R	6a ['']wṯ hrw '[o]	
	. . . . .	
dd R	b [..]r qyd[10][o]	
	. . . . .	

(*Four verses missing*)

[1] The *p* is preserved only in cs, whose allocation is not certain; see above, p. 29 [2] *dhwm* is written after a dot at the end of 1a in 855, the only MS. [3] Restored from M 4 a 19 [4] *hwfryy'd* 855 [5] *pṯ* 855 [6] *d'hw"n* 855 [7] *-w'c'* 256 [8] *-mnyyn* 855 [9] So in 256, the only MS. [10] Perhaps for *qyr*[? No dot is visible over the *d*

Angad Rōšnān I

Begun (is) *Angad Rōšnān*

1 Rich Friend of the beings of Light! In mercy grant me [strength and] succour me with every gift!

2 Array [my soul], O Lord! respond to me!
[Succour me] in the midst of the foe!

3 Make pass from me all the ravages of their deceitful body,[1] that tortures me with pain.

4 Thou art the Friend, praised and beneficent! Free me from . . .

5 For thou knowest . . . me from . . .

6 And all . . .

(*Four verses missing*)

[1] Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 59[9-10]; *A.R.* VIII 5a.

780 R+889 R	11a	'wm (gryw) [wxybyy[1] o]
		[br]myd[1] 'c 'ndr
780 R+889 R+du R	b	'wd[2] 'bxrwsy[d 'c hrwyn o]
		[w](d)nng[3] 'wd wyxs'g
780 R+889 R+du R	12a	'wd jm(')n jy(w)[hr][4] o
		'wd hw ns'w dydn[5]
780 R+889 R+du R+ dx R	b	hnjft̲ pd mn o
		cy rwc'n ''ywštg
780 R+889 R+dd V+ dx R	13a	'wd[6] '(')šyft[7] 'wd[8] pšyft[9] o
		cw'gwn zryh̲ pd[10] wrm
780 R+889 R+dd V+ dw R+dx R	b	'wd[8] drd 'mwšt[11] o
		kw mn gryw wyg'nynd
780 R+889 R+dd V+ dw R+dx R	14a	'c hrw ''rg o
		hw 'njwgyft̲[12] pryft̲[13]
780 R+889 R+dd V+ dt R+dw R	b	pdyd[14] 'dwr o
		'wd nyzm'n dwdyyn[15]
673 R+780 R+889 R+ dd V+dt R+ed R	15a	['w](d) wyš'd bwd 'hynd o
		hrwyn t'r x'nyg
673 R+780 R+dd V+ dh R+ed R	b	[.....m']sy'g'n[16] o
		pdgryft[17] hym pd[18] trs
673 R+780 R+dd V+ dh R	16a	['wd mn] gryw tyrs'd o
		'c hwyn cyhrg dydn
673 R+780 R+dd V+ dh R+du V	b	cy bwt̲[19] 'gs o
		pd h[wy]n tyštyft̲[20]
673 R+780 R+dh R+ du V	17a	(c)y hrwyn dwrcyhr o
		'wd tyštyn[21] 'c (.)[..]
673 R+dh R+du V+ dx V	b	'wd[22] mrdwhm cyhrg o
		ny 'st pd hwyn t[nb'r][23]

[1] H.'s restoration; *'wm (gryw)*[889;]*myd* 780 [2] *'wd* written after dots at the end of 11a in 780; not visible in 889, where the end of 11a is lost, and 11b begins with *'bxrwsy[d* [3] So in 780 (the only MS.) [4] *'wd jm(')n jy*[889;]*o 'wd hw* &c. 780 [5] *d](y)d'yn* du (*sic*; cf. *A.R.* VI 5a) [6] *'w]t̲* dx [7] So in dx; *'šyft̲* 889 [8] *'wt̲* dx [9] So in dx; *pšyft̲* 780 [10] *pt̲* dd [11] So in dx; *'mwšt̲* 889 [12] So in 780; *'(nj)w*[dw; *'njgyft̲* dd [13] So in 780; *pdyyft̲* dd [14] So in dt; [*pd*]*'yd* 889 [15] So in dd; *dwd'yn* 780 [16]]*sy'g'n* dh;]*'g'n* ed (the only MSS.) [17]]*yft̲* 780 [18] *pt̲* dd [19] So in du;]*wd* 673 [20] So in 673;](*y*)*štyf*[780; *tyšty*[dd [21] So in 673;](*t*)*yn* 780 [22] *'w*(*t̲*) du [23] *t*[ ] in 673 only

11 My soul weeps within, and cries out [at each] distress and stab.

12 This carrion-form is ended for me, and the hour of life, with (its) turbulent days.

13 It[1] was tossed and troubled as a sea with waves. Pain was heaped on pain, whereby they ravage my soul.

14 On all sides the anguish reached (me); fire was kindled, and the fog (was full) of smoke.

15 The wellsprings of Darkness had all been opened. The [giant] fishes transfixed me with fear.[2]

16 [My] soul was dismayed at the sight of their forms, for (they) became apparent in their dreadfulness;

17 for all were hideous and dreadful to [behold]. The human form is not found among their bodies.

[1] i.e. 'the hour of life'; or possibly 'my soul' (from verse 11).
[2] Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 70[3-4]; *Hymnscroll* 19d.

673 R+ax R+bi R+ dh R+dx V	18a	'wd hrwyn dyw'n o 'xšynd'n dybhrg'[n][1]
673 R+831 R+axR+biR +dh R+dw V+dx V	b	pdgryft[2] hym pd[3] trs o u[4] prm'w'd hym pd 'njwgyft[5]
673 R+831 R+ax R+ bi R+dw V+dx V	19a	'wd 'mwšt hwyn dybhr o[6] cw'gwn zr(y)[7] 'dwryn
673 R+831 R+ax R+ bi R+dt V	b	'wd[8] pdr'št wrm h'wyndg o kw 'w mn ngwhynd[9]
673 R+831 R+bi R+ dt V	20a	'wd m'nh'g 'hym o cw'gwn k[ ]t (w)[....][10]
673 R+831 R+bi R	b	ky cmynd pd zryḫ zyrd o[11] 'wd[7] wzyn[d] pd [.....][12]
780 V+889 V	21a	cy 'c hrw "rg o [ ](.y)[..]'ḫ[13]
780 V+889 V	b	wsn'd "šwb o [ ](')"ywz[14]
780 V+889 V	22a	cy 'c hrw p'dgws o dm[...](')ywz[15] 'mwšt
780 V+889 V	b	'wd w'r'n 'wd dwd o cy (h)rwyn nyzm'n
780 V+889 V	23a	wrwc 'wd tndwr o 'wd bybr'n[16] tgrgyn
780 V+889 V	b	'bxwn 'wd wcn o cy hrw wrm zrhyg
780 V+889 V	24a	'wd pdrzyd hw pwwd o pd wrm s(r) 'br'štg[17]
780 V+889 V	b	'wd gr'yd 'w jfr'n o ngwz'dn[18] 'nd[r]

[1] *dyb*(.)[673; *tybhrg*'[*n*] dx (the only MSS.) [2] *-yf*(*t*) bi. The word does not appear in 673, where 18b begins with *hym*; it was presumably written at the end of 18a (lost in this fragment) [3] *pt* dw [4] '[*wd*] dh [5] *-gft* with two dots over the *f* in dx (the only MS.) [6] *t*(*y*)*bhr* dw (this fragment, N.B., is from the same MS. as dx) [7] *zr*[673;](*zry*) '*dwryn* dx, where the tops only of the first three letters are visible. They are, nevertheless, fairly clear. There is no trace of an *h* or a second *y*. The letters are well spaced [8] *u* 673 [9] So in dt; *n*[831 [10] *cw*'[831; *cw'gwn k*[in 673, with room for about ten letters after *k*;]*t* (*w*)[. . . .] dt. There are no other MSS. for the second half of 20a. [11] *ky cmynd*[bi;] *pd zryḫ* [*z*]*yrd o* 673;](*ḫ*) *zyrd o* 831 [12] In 831; *w*(*z*)[673 [13] Up to "*rg* in 780;](.*y*)[..]'*ḫ* 889 [14] Up to "*šwb* in 780;](')"*ywz* 889 [15] *dm*[780;](')*ywz* 889 [16] *byb*[780;]*br'n* 889 [17] *wrm*[780;]*s*(*r*) 889, with no dot visible over the *r* [18] So in 889 only

18 All the demons, the banished[1] Princes, transfixed me with fear, and dismayed me with anguish.

19 Their fury gathered, like a sea of fire. The seething waves rose up that they might engulf me.[2]

20 I am like . . . which course over the heart of the ocean, and move onward over . . .

21 For on every side . . . because of the turmoil [and the] violent . . .

22 For in every region gathered stormy winds (?) and rain and the fume of all fogs,

23 lightning and thunder and banked clouds (?) of hail, the crash and roar of all the waves of the sea.

24 The skiff rises up, lifted on the crest of the wave, and glides down into the trough, to be hidden within.

[1] For *dybhrg* see glossary; and now also H. W. Bailey apud M. Minovi, *Yakī az Fārsiyyāt-i Abū Nuwās*, p. 16 [= *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres*, Univ. de Téhéran, Vol. i, No. 3 (1954), p. 77].

[2] Cf. *Mir. Man.* iii, k 1–2; *Ps. Bk.* 54[15].

673 V+780 V+889 V +ed V — 25a 'wd pd wysp (prd)wy[1] o
(k)[ ](u) sp[....][2]

673 V+780 V+dh V+ ed V — b 'wd 'c h(r)[w] ''rg o
'b '[3] 'ndr[4]

673 V+780 V+dh V — 26a 'wd[5] hrw pdbnd o
wš'd bwynd pd [....]

673 V+780 V+dh V — b 'wd[5] myx '[sw]nyn[6] o
hxt[7] bwynd pd '[....]

673 V+780 V+dh V — 27a 'wṯ hrwyn drfš[7] o
[nw]'d[8] [p](d) hwyn nx'(b)[9]

673 V+dh V — b 'wṯ 'stwn'n o
* 'mwš(t) bwynd pd 'šw(b)*[10]

673 V+ax V+bi V+ dh V — 28a ['wṯ hw](y)n sw(k)[']n[11] o
k[f]t bwd 'hynd 'w zryḫ

673 V+ax V+bi V+ dh V — b [.....]š 's(t) [o]
[']w hwyn ky 'c 'ndr

673 V+831 V+ ax V+ bi V — 29a ['wṯ] n'w'z'n o
'd hrwyn w'd'g[12]

673 V+831 V+ax V+ bi V — b z'ryḫ[13] [b](r)m[y]nd[14] o
'wd bwrz 'bxrwsynd

673 V+831 V+bi V — 30a [.....](.) 'h'z rwc o
'sp'w u 'bn's

673 V+831 V+bi V — b [.....]ḫ o
'(b)[..]'m'd[15] (b)[ ](.)dmrynd[16]

(Seven verses missing)

[1] *wysp* [.](*r*)[.]*wy* (*oo*)[780;](.) (*rd*)*wy o* (*k*)[ed;](.*prdw*.)[673 (reading very doubtful, especially of the *p*; their position shows that these letters should come just before the caesura); *prdwy* restored tentatively by H. from these various traces [2]](*u*) *sp*[889 [3] Up to ''*rg* 780;](''*rg o* '(*b*)[673;]*g o* '*b* '[ed [4]]'*ndr* dh only [5] '*wṯ* 673 [6] H.'s restoration; (')[780; '[..]*nyn* 673 [7] In 673 only [8] H.'s restoration [9] So in both 673 and dh; but in the latter *b* is almost certain [10] *—* dh has the variant:]*d 'hynd pd trs* [11] H.'s reading from a photograph of 673 (the only MS.). The space between (*k*) and *n* seems rather wide for a single ', but there is a hole in this place which may have slightly distorted the paper [12] So in 673; *w'd*]'*g* ax; *wd*']'*q* bi [13] *z'ryḫ* written after a dot at the end of 29a in 673 (the only MS.) [14] H.'s reading;](*r*)*m*[.]*nd* 831;]*nd* 673 [15] So in 673;]('*m*)'[831 [16] (*b*)[673;](.)*dmrynd* bi (not a complete word; there is just a possibility, however, that the division of the letters should instead be](.)*d mrynd*)

25 With all the beams (?) . . . and on every side water [pours?] in.

26 All the clamps become loosened by . . . The iron rivets are plucked out by . . .

27 Each wale[1] [is dipped (?)] by these drownings. The masts are flung together (?)[2] in the turmoil.[3]

28 The rudders[4] (?) had dropped off into the sea. [Fear grips] those on board.

29 The helmsmen and all the pilots weep bitterly and lament aloud.

30 There was terror and wreck [before] break of day . . .

(Seven verses missing)

[1] There appears to be no record of a flag being used on a ship before the Middle Ages (see article 'Flag', *Ency. Brit.*, 13th ed.). *drfš* cannot therefore here mean 'pennant'; nor are the other established meanings of the word ('brightness', 'statue', or 'awl') suitable. In this context (with *hwyn nx'b*) *drfš* is apparently a part of the ship which is repeatedly submerged. Henning therefore connects it with Arm. *draušak* 'hem, border, edge (of clothes)' (*H.A.G.* 147), and translates as 'sheer strake, wale'. [but for a subsequent suggestion by H., see glossary s.v.]

[2] H. suggests that *'mwšt* may here be a copyist's mistake for *'mšt* 'broken'.

[3] Var. 'were . . . in dread'.

[4] For *swk'n* see glossary. I am much indebted to Professor Henning for his brilliant readings and restorations here, which make it possible to understand this sea-image as a whole.

av R 38a *'wd b*[38b *kw t'*[39a *cy*[39b *'w*[(eight verses missing) av V 48a *]stg* 48b *']bj'mg* 49a *](')m* 49b *'](c) mn* (eight verses missing) at R 58a *'wd k*[58b *'wd h*[59a *'wd h*[59b *'wd*[

(Approximate end of the first *handām*)

Angad Rōšnān Ia

518 R nxw(y)[n hn]d'm
518 V ['n](g)[d rwšn'n]

518 R 1a 'wd pd ws 'njywgyf(t) [o]
[wx'](s'd)[1] bwynd
518 R b hrw[2] [b]nd pdbnd o p
u n(y)xw(m)[bn][1] cy bndyst'n

518 R 2a 'wṯ wnw'd hrw krm o
u 'xtr'n 'ywšṯ
518 R b 'wṯ hrw 'st'rg o
wxybyy cmg wxry(d)

518 R 3a 'wṯ zmyg wnw'd o
mn bwng[']ḫ 'dryy
518 R b 'wṯ 'sm'n'n bšn'n p
frbst (')[s](kyy)[3]

518 R 4a 'wṯ hrwyn rwd'n o
mn tnb'r rhg('')n
518 R b (x)wš'd '(ž sr) o
'c hrwyn brhm

518 R 5a 'wṯ [.....] tryx[s](y)d o
mn gy'n (p)[.....]
518 R b [ ]f(.)[o] [p]
[ ] wyxs['g]

(*One verse missing*)

[1] H.'s tentative restoration [2] *hrw* written after two dots at the end of 1a
[3] H.'s reading

38–59 (*Traces only remain*)

(Approximate end of the first canto)[1]

Angad Rōšnān Ia

First canto of *Angad Rōšnān*

1 Through continual redemptions every band, link, and shutter (?) of the prison becomes weakened (?).

2 All the comets (?) quivered, and the stars were whirled about, and each of the planets turned awry its course.

3 The earth shook, my foundation beneath, and the height of the heavens sank down above.

4 All the rivers, the veins of my body, dried up at (their) source (?) in every way.

5 My spirit is . . . oppressed . . . stab.

(*One verse missing*)

[1] For the identification of *A.R.* I vv. 1–30 see above, pp. 28–29; for vv. 38–59 see above, pp. 33–37. *A.R.* Ia and *Ib may contain verses from within the series 38–59; but the traces of this series are too scanty for identification to be possible.

815 R (Sogd.)[1]	7a	'rt̲my s't̲ 'nδmyt̲y o	
		pt̲špry nyst o kwδtyy	
815 R (Sogd.)	b	δβt̲yk 'nx(w)ynd o	
		'ty pr 'skw'mc šm'rynd	
815 R (Pa. and Sogd.)	8a	['w]t̲ 'bsyst rwc'n o	
		'wt̲ m'h'n 'šm'r	
815 R (Pa. and Sogd.)	b	['w]t̲ bwt̲ wzy(n)[d] 'w c[m](g) o	
		cy cxr 'xtrwzn[2]	
		(*Two verses missing*)	
518 V	11a	'wm p'd'n m[whr] o	
		'wd 'ngwšt pw(x)[g][3]	
518 V	b	(w)yš'd bwd hrw[yn] bnd o	p
		cy mn gryw jy(w)[hr]	
518 V+815 V (Sogd.)	12a	'wt̲ hrwyn pw(x)g[3] o	
		c(y d)st ['wd] 'ngwš(t̲)	
518 V+815 V (Sogd.)	b	[wyš']d bwd hrwyn o	
		u 'zg(ry)s(p)'d hwyn mwhr[4]	
518 V+815 V (Pa. and Sogd.)	13a	'wt̲ hrwyn hwlkg[5] o	
		(w)x's'd hwyn jy(w)[hr][6]	p
518 V+815 V (Pa. and Sogd.)	b	'wt̲ [s]rd bwt̲ 'hyn[d o]	
		hrwyn mn'n hnd'm[7]	
518 V	14a	'wt̲ mn z'nwg o	
		bst 'hynd pd trs	
518 V	b	'wt̲ (')hxt z'wr o	
		cy hrw[yn] pdyšt''n	

[1] In 815 the original Pa. verse preceded the Sogd. translation. The Sogdian only of vv. 7 and 12 is preserved; the Sogdian and Parthian of vv. 8 and 13

[2] The Sogd. version of 8 is as follows:

8a 'rt̲my myδyt̲ 'ty m'kyty (*sic*) o (pt)[šm'r m](n)yms
b 't̲y st̲'ryty cxry o cn šw'(m)[ndy jyq' wβ'] (H.)

[3] Or *pw(k)g* [4] The Sogd. version of 12 is as follows:

12a 'rt̲my s't̲ δst̲y o 't̲y 'ngwšty pyxt o cn
b βndy xwycq 'kt̲nd o 't̲yšn t̲'pyy sxwst̲ (H.)

[5] *hwlqg* 518 [6] *jy(w)*[..] 518; (*jyw*)[..] 815 [7] The Sogd. version of 13 is as follows:

13a 'rt̲m[y s't̲ wr](δ)t̲ o xw't̲ 'kt̲nd cn pt̲špry o
b ['r]t̲[my s't̲] 'nδmyt̲ o 'ty py(š)yt̲ pt̲ysyr'nd (H.)

7[1] All my limbs have connexion no longer. When again they were broken, they reflected on existence.[2]

8 The reckoning of my[3] days and months is ended. Harm befell the course of the zodiac's wheel.

(*Two verses missing*)

11 The seal of my feet and the joints of my toes—each link of the life of my soul was loosed.

12 Each joint of my[3] hands and of my[3] fingers—each was loosed and its seal taken off.

13 All the gristly parts—their life (?) grew feeble. Cold became each one of my limbs.

14 My knees were fettered through fear, and strength was drawn out of each leg.

[1] The Sogdian is obscure, and I am much indebted to Professor Henning for allowing me to reproduce the above tentative translation.

[2] Presumably 'reflect on' = 'get (mentally) prepared for (the next) existence (through re-birth)'; cf. *'šm'r-* = *kalpita* P 2, 626 (H.).

[3] 'my' is found in the Sogdian but not the Parthian.

518 V 15a [’](w)d mn’n s[..] o
. . . . . .
518 V b ’wṯ mwhrg [o]
. . . . . .

(End of this fragment of the first *handām*)

*Angad Rōšnān Ib

[*No title*]

bj R 1a . . . . . .
[hn](d)’m
bj R b . . . . . .
[’](w)d ny š[h](y)d ’(w)[d’y](’)dn[1]

bj R 2a ’wm zyr(d) [’ndyšy]šn[2] o
ky wysp [ ] cy(h)[r](g)
bj R b (w)hyrd pd h(rwy)n o
’wd ngw[s](t) bw[d] p(d) gryw

bj R 3a (’)[wd h]mg m[n ’]wš o
cyš ny ’nd(y)[š’d]
bj R b [....] pd (pr)[m’n]g[2] o
’wd (w)xybyḫ [ ]

bj R 4a . . . . . .
[ ]bwd h[ym]
bj R b . . . . . .
[ ]ft (hy)[m]

(*Six verses missing*)

bj V 11a ’wm [ ]
. . . . . .
bj V b (...)[....]pd[..](.)g o
. . . . . .

bj V 12a [’w](d) t’[r kdwm dy]d[1] kft o
mn’n [hnd’]m z’w[r]
bj V b ’wm (gr)y[w y]wb[’d] o
pd h(rwyn g)[w]ng

[1] Reading suggested by H. [2] Restoration suggested by H.

15 My . . . and the vertebrae . . .

(End of this fragment of the first canto)[1]

*Angad Rōšnān Ib

[No title]

1 . . . limbs . . . and cannot save (itself).

2 And my heart's *ἐνθύμησις*, which [observed] the manifold shapes (of Darkness), was shaken by it all, and concealed itself within the soul.

3 And my whole *φρόνησις* could no longer plan at all; [I was disabled] in my *λογισμός*, and in my own . . .

4 . . . I became . . . I . . . .

(Six verses missing)

11 And my . . .

12 And [when I saw] the Dark, the strength of my limbs collapsed; and my soul moaned at all (its) forms.

[1] For the identification of these verses see above, p. 29.

bj V 13a ['wd] (t)yšt[1] 'hym o
hrw (h)n[d'](m) '[nd]r
bj V b [ ] y(w)b(h)[r] o
mn gy['n pd] gr'n[yft]

bj V 14a [ ]b[ ]
. . . . . .
bj V b [ ] hnd['m]
. . . . . .

(End of this fragment of the first (?) *handām*)

Angad Rōšnān II

863 R bdyg [hnd'm]
863 V ['ngd r](w)šn'n

863 R 1a 'wṯ 'dwr cy pṯ hwy(n) [o]
. . . . . .
863 R b 'wṯ kyc ny 'st o
ky [ ]

863 R 2a 'wṯ hrwyn wrdg o
'b[ ]
863 R b 'synd 'wṯ bwynd [o]
. . . . . .

863 R 3a ['](wṯ) m' 'zyc gr['y'n[2] o]
. . . . . .
863 R b [....] (')zwrt'n u [o]
. . . . . .

(*Seven verses missing*)

863 V 11a . . . . . .
[ ](.) bndgyft wrt'ḫ
863 V b . . . . . .
[ ] 'nd'g y'd'ḫ

[1] Reading suggested by H.; the tip only of the top-stroke of *t* is visible
[2] H.'s restoration

13 I was affrighted; all my limbs within [were sick with] illness, my spirit (was) heavy.

14 . . . limbs . . .

(End of this fragment of the first (?) canto)[1]

Angad Rōšnān II

Second canto of *Angad Rōšnān*

1 The fire in them . . . There is none who . . .

2 Every captive . . . They approach and become . . .

3 May I not also gl[ide down] . . . May I [not] turn back and . . .

(*Seven verses missing*)

11 . . . He (?) shall change [in] bondage . . . sorrow shall overtake [him?].

[1] For the allocation of these verses see above, pp. 41–42.

863 V 12a . . . . . .
['w]t̲ wysp jfr ngwh'h̲
863 V b . . . . . .
[ ](.)'h̲ wyspc'šnyg

863 V 13a . . . . . .
[ ](xt̲) [. .] pt̲ t̲'[r]
863 V b . . . . . .
[ ]t u [. . .]w[ ]

(End of this fragment of the second *handām*)

Angad Rōšnān IIa

[*No title*]

at V 1a]*b'r* 1b](*g*)*ndyn* 2a]*syd* 2b](*s*)'*d* (seven verses missing) **ar R** 10b '*w*[11a '*wd*[11b '*wd*[12a '*wd*[12b '*wd*[(seven verses missing) **ar V** 20b]*dwd*[1] 21a '*b*](*xr*)*ws*(')*m* 21b *p*]*d* '*xšd* 22a](*y*)'*wr* 22b](.)*myn* (seven verses missing) **ap R** 30b '*wd*[31a '*w*'*g*[*wn* 31b '*wm*[32a '*wd* (*z*)[32b *kw b*[(seven verses missing) **ap V** 40a](*g*) 40b]*ft̲* 41a]*pdbnd* 41b]*trs* 42a](.)*hrg* 42b]*nd* (seven verses missing) **an R** 50a (')*wd*[50b *kym*[(Space of one verse left blank)

(End of the second *handām*)[2]

[*For Angad Rōšnān III see opposite*]

[1] Not a complete word.

[2] For the identification of *A.R.* IIa and III see above, pp. 33–37. No translation is offered here of these scantily preserved verses, nor of those with the signatures *A.R.* IV and V (see below, pp. 136, 137).

12 . . . and shall be engulfed in each abyss . . . shall . . . with all the flavours.[1]

13 . . . in darkness . . . and . . .

(End of this fragment of the second canto)[2]

Angad Rōšnān III

[*No title*]

an R 1a *ky k*(')[1b *'wm*[(seven verses missing) **an V** 9a]*'n* 9b](*t*)*'m* 10a]*mg* 10b ']*štynd* 11a]*d'hw'n* 11b]*ywg* (seven verses missing) **al R** 19a *'w*[19b *'c*[20a *kw* '[20b *kw* '[21a *kw* (')[21b *kw* '[[3] (seven verses missing) **al V** 29a]*ng* 29b](*d*)*yn*[4] 30a ']*šyxṯ* 30b]*bryn* 31a]*šyft* 31b](.)*g* (seven verses missing) **aj R** 39a *'w*[39b *kym*[40a *'wd* (*m*)[40b *ṯ'ryg*[41a *'wd*[(seven verses missing) **aj V** 49a]*yn* 49b]*d'n* 50a ']('))*jwn* 50b]*sm'n* 51a](.)*w'r* (seven verses missing) **ah R** 59a *'w*[59b *'wd*[60a *'wd* (.)[60b *'wd*[61a *'w*[61b *'*(*c*)[(seven verses missing) **ah V** 69a](*c*)[']*dn* 69b *'b*]*n's* 70a](*k*)[..] (*d*)*yn*[4] 70b](*t*)*'ryg* 71a](*n*)*dg* 71b]*yyg*

(Approximate end of the third *handām*)[5]

[1] The five kinds of taste belong to the world of Darkness. See Henning, *BSOAS*. xii, p. 55 (with references).

[2] For the identification of these verses see above, p. 29.

[3] *sic*: the opening letters of ll. 20a–21b are identical.

[4] Not a complete word.

[5] See p. 128 n. 2.

*Angad Rōšnān IIIa

[*No title*]

bp R 1a kym bwjy(n)[dyḫ o]
. . . . . .
bp R b 'wm kr' pnd'[n o]
. . . . . .

bp R 2a kym (rz)wr[1] krynd[yḫ o]
. . . . . .
bp R b pd hw pnd'n o
n[ ]

bp R 3a [ ]nys[ ]
. . . . . .
bp R b]s[
. . . . . .

(*Seven verses missing*)

bp V 11a . . . . . .
[br]'dr'n b(rm)y(nd)[2]
bp V b . . . . . .
[ ](..)dg k'(..)'n

bp V 12a . . . . . .
[ ]'w'dg pd '(n)[r]gyft[2]
bp V b . . . . . .
[h]ynz'wryft bšn'n

bp V 13a . . . . . .
[ ]dyft[ ]

(End of this fragment of the third (?) *handām*)

[1] There is a hole above the word, so that the dot over the *r* has disappeared
[2] Reading suggested by H.

*Angad Rōšnān IIIa

[*No title*]

1 Who shall save me . . . and make for me a path. . . .?

2 Who shall make straight for me . . . by that path . . .?

3 (*Traces only are legible*)

(*Seven verses missing*)

11 . . . the brethren (?) weep (?) . . .

12 . . . in indignity (?) . . . stature of might.

13 (*Traces only are legible*)

(End of this fragment of the third (?) canto)[1]

[1] For the allocation of **A.R.* IIIa, b, and c see above, p. 42. If these fragments belong in fact to the third canto, their verses come presumably from within the series of verses reproduced here as *A.R.* III (above, p. 129); but the traces of these verses are too scanty for identification to be possible.

*Angad Rōšnān IIIb

[*No title*]

co R 1a . . . . . .
[ ](... p)[d] (dwjx)
co R b . . . . . .
[']](by) rwd u 'xšd

co R 2a [wyd]'rynd(yy)[1] o
wysp zwnws wymnd
co R b [p]ẖrg o
u phrgb'n('n) 'm'nwd

(*Seven verses missing*)

cg R 10a qy(m) [o]
. . . . . .
cg R b cy 'w jm'[n
. . . . . .

cg R+co V 11a kym[2] bwj[yndyy]
. . . . . .
cg R+co V b cy pdr'st '[štyd]
. . . . . .

cg R+co V 12a kym[2] 'bd'cyndyy o
'c hrw [ ]
cg R+co V b wxšyndg 'dwr o
'wd h(w) tnng (')[bn's]

(*Seven verses missing*)

cg V 20a . . . . . .
[ ]nd
cg V b . . . . . .
(c)y hw'n r(w)[.](.)

[1] Reading suggested by H. [2] *qym* cg

*Angad Rōšnān IIIb

[*No title*]

1 . . . in hell (?) . . . without pity or compassion.

2 . . . shall cause to pass (?) the borders of each zone . . . watch-posts and (their) guardians, supporting one another (?).

(*Seven verses missing*)

10 Who . . . me . . . ? For at the hour [of death?] . . .

11 Who [shall] save me . . . ? For [it is] prepared . . .

12 Who shall free me from every . . . (from) blazing fire and the distress of [destruction]?

(*Seven verses missing*)

20 . . . of agony . . .

cg V 21a . . . . . .
[h](w)yn wcn dy(b)hr
cg V b . . . . . .
hrw (zyd)n'[n][1]

cg V 22a . . . . . .
hrwyn (s)[.](nwr)[2]

(End of this fragment of the third (?) *handām*)

*Angad Rōšnān IIIc

[*No title*]

de R[3] 1a . . . . . .
hwcyhryft n[y 'st]
de R b . . . . . .
[']wd kd'c ny 'ng(')[w](g)[4]

de R 2a . . . . . .
['](c) 'ym zmyg tyš[tyn]
de R b [ ](b) o
'sm'n'n ky kfynd

de R 3a [w]'yndyy o
'(w hw) zmyg 'by lr(z)
de R b [b](š)n'n 'rg'w o
fr'gwd [ ]

(*Seven verses missing*)

de V 11a [ ](y)g bryndyẖ [o]
. . . . . .
de V b [ky](m) pd(w')c(')ẖ rw[dwr o]
. . . . . .

de V 12a [ky]m drwšt qryndy[ẖ o]
. . . . . .
de V b cy hw (. . .)fr'ynd o
h(.)[ ]

[1] Reading suggested by H., as a mistake possibly for *zynd'n* [2] The (*r*) is followed by two dots, slightly blurred. These may be only ornamental [3] No margins are preserved in this fragment, and the identification of its recto and verso pages is conjectural [4] Reading suggested by H.

21 . . . the anger of their (?) voices . . . all prisons (?).

22 . . . every . . .

(End of this fragment of the third (?) canto)[1]

*Angad Rōšnān IIIc

[*No title*]

1 . . . [there is] no beauty . . . and never any ending.

2 . . . from this dreadful earth . . . the heavens which fall.

3 [Who] shall lead (?) [me] to that land without tremors? . . . noble stature (?) . . .

(*Seven verses missing*)

11 [Who] shall carry [me . . .]? [Who] shall answer me with pity (?) . . . ?

12 [Who] shall make me whole . . .? For the . . .

[1] For these verses see above, p. 131 n. 1.

de V 13a (kym) fr'(m)[w]c'ẖ (o)
'ym (tn)b'(r) [ ]
de V b ['wm pd](m)wc'ẖ o
nw'g tnb'(r) [ ]

(End of this fragment of the third (?) *handām*)

Angad Rōšnān IV

[*No title*]

af R 1a *q(y)[m* 1b *cy z[* 2a *kym[* 2b *cy z*[1] 3a *qy[m* 3b *ky[* (seven verses missing) **af V** 11a *]'d* 11b *'bn]'s* 12a *](n)dg* 12b *']dwr* 13a *]d'n* 13b *]mnd* (seven verses missing) **ad R** 21a *k(y)[* 21b *'wd[* 22a *kym[* 22b *'wd[* 23a *qy[* 23b *'w(d)[* (seven verses missing) **ad V** 31a *]g* 31b *]yšn* 32a *]ndg* 32b *]nwynd* 33a *](c)ynd* 33b *"]ywz* (seven verses missing) **ae R** 41a *h[* 41b *'w(d)[* 42a *'wm[* 42b *'wd[* 43a *'w[* 43b *ky[* (seven verses missing) **ae V** 51a *]d'(n)* 51b *]d'mg*[2] 52a *]sm'n* 52b *'s](t)ft phrg* 53a *](')bg* 53b *]ynd* (seven verses missing) **ag R** 61b *'w(d)[* 62a *'wm[* 62b *'w (w)[* 63a *cy[* 63b *'(w)[* (seven verses missing) **ag V** 71b *]nd* 72a *](.)s'g'n* 72b *]b'r* 73a *]st* 73b *](k)[..](gr)*

(Approximate end of the fourth *handām*)[3]

[*For Angad Rōšnān V see opposite*]

[1] *sic*; the opening letters of ll. 1b and 2b are identical
[2] Not a complete word
[3] For *A.R.* IV and V see above, pp. 33–37 and p. 128 n. 2

13 Who shall take off from me this . . . body, and clothe [me] in a new body . . .?

(End of this fragment of the third (?) canto)[1]

Angad Rōšnān V

[*No title*]

ai R 1b *'w*[2a *'w* (.)[2b *'wd*[3a *'w*[3b *'(w)*[(seven verses missing) **ai V** 11b *y'w*]*yd'n* 12a]*ywg* 12b]*t'n* 13a]*ft* 13b](.)[2] (seven verses missing) **ak R** 21b '[22a *'w(m)*[22b *bw*[(eight verses missing) **ak V** 31b](')*rg* 32a]*ng* 32b](*h*)*ym* 33a](*n*)*g* 33b](*n*)*g* (seven verses missing) **am R** 41a (*k*)[41b *g*(*r*)[42a *kym*[42b *'w*(*m*)[43a (*k*)*y*[(seven verses missing) **am V** 51a](*h*)*g* 51b *r*](*y*)*mn* 52a]*s'g'n* 52b](')*zyd* 53a]*tyn* **bm R** 54a *'wm 'yd*(*w*)['*y'ḫ* 54b *cy hw b*[55a *kym wd'r'ḫ*[55b *'wm kr'ḫ w*(.)[(five verses missing) **ao R** 61a *k*(*y*)*m*[61b *'w*[62a *ms*[62b *'wd*[63a *'w*[63b *k*[**bm V** 64b](')*d* (Space of one verse left blank on **bm V**)

(End of the fifth *handām*)[3]

[1] For these verses see above, p. 131 n. 1.
[2] The final flourish of the letter only is visible.
[3] See p. 136 n. 3.

Angad Rōšnān VI

96 R+175 R+675 R+ db R — šhwm hnd'm

96 V+175 V+675 V+ db V — 'ngd rwšn'n

bm V+dn R — 1a 'wṯ kd 'ymyn w'xtwm o
pṯ gryw[1] wnwhg

bm V+dn R — b dy(d)wm bwj'gr o
cy prw'n mn t''b'd[2]

dn R — 2a 'wm dyd dydn o
cy hrwyn n'w'z'n

dn R — b ky 'd hw 'wsxt o
kwm gryw wyn'rynd

dn R — 3a 'wm cšm pdr'z'd o
'w hw kr'n p'dgws

dn R — b 'wm dyd kw ngwst o
hrwyn mrn fryštg

dn R — 4a 'wṯ hrwyn wyg'nyšn o
dwr bwṯ 'hynd 'ž mn

dn R — b 'wṯ gr'(n)[3] ywbhr o
'wd hwyn tng 'njwgyfṯ

dn R — 5a 'wṯ ngwst hwyn dydyn[4] o
'wš'n t'r 'bnfṯ

dn R — b 'wṯ hrw cyhrg o
'wṯ ywd ''wyndq

dn V — 6a [r]wšn o
wystrg 'wṯ zbyn

dn V — b ('w)[ṯ p](wr)[5] š'dyft o
pṯ hrw mn m'nq

[1] *g*'[L. (from dn only);]*ryw* is clearly preserved on bm, and the lower part of these three letters is just visible after the *g* on dn [2] *t'b'*[*d*] dn [3] H.'s reading; *gd hr*[*w*] L. [4] *sic*; cf. *A.R.* I 12a (variant in du, a fragment from the same MS. as dn) [5] H.'s reading; [. . . . .]*ẏd* L.

Angad Rōšnān VI

Sixth canto of *Angad Rōšnān*

1 When I had said these words, with soul a-tremble,
I beheld the Saviour as he shone before me.

2 I beheld the sight of all the Helmsmen, who had descended with him to array my soul.

3 I lifted up my eyes toward that direction, and saw all deaths were hidden by the Envoy.

4 All ravages had become remote from me, and grievous sickness, and the anguish of their distress.

5 The sight of them was hidden, their darkness had fled away. All (was divine) nature, without peer.[1]

6 [There shone forth] Light, elating and lovely [and full] of gladness,[2] pervading all my mind.

[1] This translation of 5b was suggested by Professor Henning.
[2] Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 38[30].

ao V+dn V	7a	'wṯ 'd mn wy'wrd
		pd (')[n]w(ry)d[1] š'dyfṯ
ao V+dn V	b	'wm gryw pdr'z'd o
		'(ž) (gmb)[yr] g(r)[']nyfṯ[2]
ao V+dn V	8a	'w(ṯ)[3] w'cyd 'w mn o
		'wr gy'n m(') tyrs'ẖ[4]
ao V+dn V	b	'z hym tw mnwhmyd o
		u frmnywg mwjdg[5]
ao V+dn V	9a	'wṯ tw 'yy mn tn o
		pdmwc[n . . . .](y)g
ao V+dn V	b	cy 'hr's'd z'wr'n o
		(. .)[.](w)y(. .)b[.](.)n
dn V	10a	'wṯ 'z hym tw rwšn o
		'(sp)yxt hsyng
dn V	b	mnwhmyd kl'n o
		'wṯ frmn(y)w[g][6] 'spwr
		(*Six verses missing*)
aq R	17a	(')[o]
		. . . . .
aq R	b	'w[o]
		. . . . .
aq R	18a	'wd [o]
		. . . . .
aq R	b	'wd [o]
		. . . . .
aq R	19a	'(w)[o]
		. . . . .
aq R	b	'[o]
		. . . . .
		(*One verse missing*)
db R[7]	21a	['wd tw 'y](y) mn sxw(n) o
		'wd zyn rzmg'hyyg
db R	b	[kym bwxt 'c zm]bg o
		'wd [h](r)w bzkr'n 'spwr

p

[1] H.'s restoration; (')[.]*w*(')*d* L. [2] H.'s reading; .(*tmst*)*g* .[.](*nyf*)*ṯ* L.;]*nyfṯ* clear on ao [3] *'wṡ* L.; a hole has destroyed the top-stroke of (*ṯ*) on dn (the only MS.) [4] *tyr*]*s'* ao [5] *mw*(*hr*)*g* L. (from dn only);](*w*)*jdg* clear on ao [6] L.'s reading [7] The exact place of this fragment within the canto is uncertain; see above, pp. 37–38.

7 In joy unbounded he spoke with me, raising up my soul from deep affliction (?).

8 To me he sayeth, Come, spirit! fear not. I am thy Mind, thy glad tidings of hope.[1]

9 And thou art the . . . garment of my body, which brought dismay to the Powers (of Darkness)[2] . . .

10 I am thy Light, radiant, primeval, thy Great Mind and complete hope.

(*Six verses missing*)

17–19 . . . and . . . and . . .

(*One verse missing*)

21 Thou art my word,[3] and my panoply of war,[4] [which saved me] fully [from the fight], and [from] all sinners.

[1] The remainder of this canto evidently consists entirely of the Saviour's words to the soul; see above, p. 14 with n. 1.
[2] Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 116^{26-27}; *Keph.* li.
[3] See *Mir. Man.* iii, g 129–32 and n. 2 with reference.
[4] Cf. S9 3b (see Henning, *N.G.G.W.*, 1932, pp. 218–19).

db R 22a [drfš][1] hym tw bwrzw'r o
(')wd nyš'n hsyng
db R b . . . . . .
cy hrwyn qyrdg''n

db R 23a . . . . . .
[ ](.)'n p(r)[y]'by[d] lrz
db R b [ ](.)d gryw (o) p
'w[ ]

db R 24a [ ](. . . . . .)bg o
[. . . .] cy g[. .][2]
db R b ky [o]
[ ](s)[. . .]

(*Two verses missing*)

aq V 27a . . . . . .
[ ]n
aq V b . . . . . .
[ ](y)ft

aq V 28a . . . . . .
[ ]s
aq V b . . . . . .
[dy](j)w'r

aq V 29a . . . . . .
[ ]d'n
aq V b . . . . . .
[ ](j)d

(*One verse missing*)

db V 31a 'wd s'w'n u 'wjn'n o
'w hwyn (')[. . . . .]
db V b cy hrw dyw'n o p
ky pd hrw b(.)[. . . . . .]

db V 32a 'wd 'w tw wyš'h'n o
'c hrw (b)nd[yst'n]
db V b 'wd dwr kr'n 'w tw o
'c hrw jx(m) [u dyjw'r]

[1] Restored on analogy with *Mir. Man.* iii, o 17–21 [2] The word beginning g[is written at the beginning of 24b and followed by a dot

22 I am thy exalted [standard], thy primeval sign . . . of every act.

23 . . . trembling overtakes . . . soul.

24 (*Traces only legible*)

(*Two verses missing*)

27 (*Traces only legible*)

28 . . . affliction.

29 (*Traces only legible*)

(*One verse missing*)

31 I shall crush[1] and slay those . . . of all the demons, who . . . in every . . .

32 From each dungeon (?) shall I release thee, bearing thee afar from all wounds [and afflictions].

[1] Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 26[24].

db V 33a 'w(d) 'zw'y'n 'c hw (o)
['b](j)'m[yšn]
db V b ['wd ']c hrw zmbg o p
ny tyrs['h̲ y'wyd'n]

db V 34a 'wt̲ (. . .) 'n[j](w)gyft o
pd [ ]
db V b . . . . . .
['wd 'c] hrwyn wyg['nyšn]

(*Three verses missing*)

326 R+as R 38a 'wd [p](d) k(. . .)ng
. . . . . .
326 R+as R b 'wd[1] pd 'dwr [o]
. . . . . .

326 R+as R 39a 'wt̲[2] hrw z'w[r o]
. . . . . .
326 R+as R b 'zyš('n)[3][o]
. . . . . .

326 R 40a 'wt̲ (t)[w 'yy o]
. . . . . .

(*One verse missing*)

675 R+dp R 42a 'wd 'w tw fry'n o
mn nys'g cyhrg hwcyhryft
675 R+dp R b (')c hwyn 'zw'y'n o
'wd ['c][4] hrwyn zynd'n

675 R+dp R 43a 'z 'w tw bwj'n o
'c hrwyn 'bn's
675 R+dp R b ['wd 'c h]rwyn jxm o p
y'wyd'n 'bd'c'n

675 R+dp R+dq R 44a 'wt̲ h[rwyn r]ymn 'wt̲[5] jnng[6] o
cy tw wyd'r''d[7]
675 R+dp R+dq R b [pw'c'n] (')c tw o
pd[8] rwšn 'spwr

[1] *'wt̲* 326 [2] *u* as [3] So in 326; '(*z*)[as [4] The letters are visible, but cramped and illegible [5] *u* 675 [6] So in 675 and dq [7] So in 675;](')*r'd* dp [8] *pt̲* dq

33 I shall lead (thee) forth from this torture (?) . . . Thou shalt no [more] feel fear at each encounter.

34 And . . . anguish through . . . [from] all ravages.

(*Three verses missing*)

38 . . . and through fire . . .

39 All the (Dark) Powers . . .by them I . . .

40 And thou [art] . . .

(*One verse missing*)

42 Beloved! beauty of my bright nature! From these shall I lead thee forth, and [from] all prisons.

43 I shall save thee from all perdition, and free thee for ever [from] all wounds.

44 Through perfect Light [I shall cleanse] from thee all the filth and corrosion that thou hast passed through.[1]

[1] Cf. M 551 R II 3–5 (*H.–R.* ii, p. 67; *Man. St.*, p. 29).

675 R+dp R+dq R	45a	['wṯ] zryy jfr'n o
		kw pd[1] hwyn nx'b[2] šwd 'yy
675 R+dp R+dq R	b	[kr'](n) '(z)'(d)[3] 'c hw o
		'wd[4] ('c)[5] hrwyn wrm'n[6]
675 R	46a	. . . . .
		(c)y pd tw [..](...)st'd
675 R	b	. . . . .
		['']wd 'nj[wgyf]t[7] (k)(...)n'n
dp V	47a	'wṯ (')[o]
		. . . . .
dp V	b	dwr (kr)['n ?[8] o]
		. . . . .
326 V+as V+dp V	48a	'[o]
		[ ] tw hnd'm
326 V+as V+dp V	b	'[o]
		[b](z)yškyfṯ[9] 'spwr
326 V+as V+dp V+ dq V	49a	'z 'w tw (')[bd](')c'n o
		'c hrwyn ywbhr
326 V+as V+dp V+ dq V	b	'wṯ 'c hr(w)[y](n) tng o
		'c kw tw brm'd
326 V+dp V+dq V	50a	'wṯ ms pṯ b(zkr)[10] o
		dst ny 'nd's'd ws'n[11]
326 V+dp V+dq V	b	cym wxybyy 'yy o
		y'wyd'n pṯ r'štyfṯ
88 I R+96 R	51a	'wd[12] tw 'yy ng'n[13] o
		sr cy mn frg'w
88 I R+96 R	b	'wd mwrg'ryd o
		cy hrw yzd'n hwcyhryfṯ

[1] *pṯ* dq [2] So in 675; in dp a small *b* is written over the *š* of]*šwd*, as if *nx'b* had been omitted, and then inserted above the line [3] So in dq only [4] *'wṯ* dq [5] *'c* omitted in 675 [6] So in dp; *wrm"n* 675 [7] H.'s reading; the dot of the *f*] is visible before the *t* [8] The *k* seems to have a dot, as well as the (*r*?); but several pages of the MS. represented by dp are flecked with dots [9] H.'s restoration from 326 (the only MS.) [10] *b(zk)*[dp;](*r*)o dq [11] *ws*[dq;]'*n* 326. The position of the letters on the two fragments makes it certain that they should be joined as above [12] *'wṯ* 96 [13] So in 96; [.](*g*)'*n* 88 I

45 I shall deliver (thee) from all the waves of the sea, and from its deep wherein thou hast gone through these drownings.

46 . . . which . . . through thee . . . and I shall . . . the anguish.

47 And . . . [I shall] take [thee] afar [from] . . .

48 . . . thy limbs . . . [through] perfect healing.

49 I shall set thee free from every sickness,[1] and from every distress at which thou hast wept.

50 I shall not wish to leave thee longer in the hands of the Sinner;[2] for thou art my own, in truth, for ever.

51 Thou art the buried treasure,[3] the chief of my wealth, the pearl which (is) the beauty of all the gods.

[1] Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 153[3].
[2] For this translation of 50a I am indebted to Professor Henning.
[3] Cf. *Mir. Man.* iii, h 108–9; and see glossary under *ng'n.*

88 I R+96 R+675 V	52a	'wd 'z hym r'štyft o	
		cy kyšt pd tw hnd'm[1]	
88 I R+96 R+675 V	b	'wd gryw bšn'n o	
		tw mnwhmyd š'dyft[2]	
88 I R+96 R+675 V	53a	'wd tw 'yy mn fry'n o	
		'wd hnd'm frhyft[3]	
88 I R+96 R+675 V	b	'wd nr mnwhmyd o	p
		mn hnd'm[4] cyhrg	
88 I R+96 R+675 V	54a	'wd 'z hym rwšn o	
		cy hmg tw dysm'n	
88 I R+96 R+675 V	b	t̲w gryw 'bryn o	
		'wd bwn cy jywhr	
88 I R+96 R+675 V	55a	'wd 'c[5] mn hnd'm šwjyft o	
+bh R		'[w]sxt[6] 'yy 'ž nwx[7]	
88 I R+96 R+675 V	b	'w wy'g'n t'ryg o	p
+bh R		'wš'n rwšn bwd 'yy	
88 I R+96 R+675 V	56a	'wd pd tw bst dydym o	
+bh R		'w hrwyn dwšmnyn[8]	
88 I R+96 R+675 V	b	'wd[9] bwd 'gs u pdyxš'h'd o	
+bh R		pd jmnyn 'xšyndyft̲[8]	
88 I R+96 R	57a	'wd[10] tw wsn'd o	
		bwd zmbg u wnwh[q][8]	[p]
88 I R+96 R+au R	b	pd hrwyn 'sm'n o	
		u pwrt[8] cy zmyg(')['n][8]	
88 I R+96 R+au R	58a	'wd[10] tw wsn'd o	
		tcynd ['wd pwdynd[11]]	
88 I R+96 R+au R	b	hrwyn z'wr'n o	
		'br [.....]	
96 R+au R	59a	'wt̲ tw wsn'd o	
		pšt(g)[12][ ]	[p]
96 R+au R	b	'[wd][13] wysp z'wr'n o	
		'wd [ ]	

[1] So in 88 I; *hndm* with two dots beneath the *d* in 675 [2] So in 88 I; *–yyft* 675 [3] *frhyft̲* 88 I; *fr(h)[y](ft)* 96 [4] *ḫnd'm* 88 I [5] *'ž* 96 [6] So 88 I; *wsxt* (*sic*) 6; not preserved on 675 [7] *nwx* written at the beginning of 55b in 96 and 675, and followed by a dot [8] In 96 only [9] *u* 96, 675; written after a dot at the end of 56a in 96 and bh [10] *'wt̲* 96 [11] H.'s restoration [12] In 96 only [13] *'wd* not visible in 96, being presumably written at the end of 59a

52 And I am the righteousness sown in thy limbs, and (in) the stature of (thy) soul—the gladness of thy Mind.

53 Thou art my Beloved, the Love[1] in my limbs; and the heroic Mind, the essence of my limbs.

54 And I am the Light of thy whole structure,[2] thy soul above and base of life.

55 From the holiness of my limbs didst thou descend in the beginning into the dark places, and didst become their Light.

56 Through thee a diadem was bound on all (our) foes. It became apparent and held sway during the hours of tyranny.

57 For thy sake was there battle and tremor in all the heavens and the bridges of the earths.

58 For thy sake ran [and sped] all the (Dark) Powers over . . .

59 For thy sake were bound [the Princes] and all the (Dark) Powers, and . . .

[1] Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 116[26]; 172[13, 24].
[2] Cf. ibid. 152[19–20].

96 R 60a 'wṯ tw wsn'd o
wyg[ ]
96 R b ʿzgrysp'd dydym [o]
. . . . . .

88 I V+ 96 V 61a ṯw wsn'd t'b'd o
'wd[1] bwd 'gs fryštg'n
88 I V+96 V b ky 'br rwšn wcyhynd o p
u t'r bwn 'bgwndynd

88 I V+96 V+175 R 62a 'wd bg'n tw wsn'd o
ʿzgd 'wd[1] bwd 'gs[2]
88 I V+96 V+175 R b 'wd wygnd 'w mrn o
'wd 'w t'r 'wjd[3]

88 I V+96 V+175 R 63a 'wd tw 'yy bwxtgyft o
cy bwrzw"r[4]
88 I V+96 V+175 R b 'wd nyš'n cy rwšn o p
ky 'w t'r pzdyd[5]

88 I V+96 V+175 R 64a 'wd 'z 'gd hym o
kw 'c[6] bzkr bwj'n
88 I V+96 V+175 R b 'c[7] drd kr'n[8] drwšt o
u[9] tw zyrd kr'n š'dyft[10]

88 I V+96 V+175 R 65a 'wd hrw cy tw wx'št 'c[11] mn o
+bh V dh'n 'w tw
88 I V+96 V+175 R b 'wd[12] nw'g kr'n[13] tw 'r'm o p
+bh V pd bwrz šhrd'ryft[14]

88 I V+96 V+175 R 66a 'wd[15] wyš'h'n[16] prw'n tw o
+bh V br pd hrw 'sm'n
88 I V+96 V+175 R b 'wd nmrz'n tw r'ḫ o
+bh V 'by trs 'wd[17] kwbg[18]

[1] *u* 96 [2] *"gs* 175 [3] *'wwjd* 175 [4] So in all three MSS. [5] *pzdyyd* 175 [6] *'ž* 96 [7] So in 88 I and 96; in 96 it is written after a dot at the end of 64a; *'ž* 175 [8] *qr'n* 88 I [9] *drwšt* o *u* 88 I, 175. In 96 this was also written first, but afterwards erased and *š'dyft* written over it (H.). The two dots of *u* are still visible above the *t*, and the tail-stroke of the former *t* above the *f* of *š'dyft*; and *dr* are still legible beneath the *š* [10] *-yft* 96 [11] *'ž* 96 [12] Written after a dot at the end of 65a in 96 and bh; *u* 96 [13] *qr'n* 88 I [14] *-yft* 96 [15] *u* 175 [16] So in 96; *wš'h'n* 175 [17] *u* 96 [18] So in 96; *qwbg* 88 I; *kw*[175

60 For thy sake . . . the diadem was taken away . . .

61 For thy sake shone forth the Apostles and became apparent, who reveal the Light above, and uncover the root of Darkness.

62 For thy sake the Gods went forth and became apparent. They struck down Death, and Darkness they slew.

63 Thou art the exalted Trophy, the sign of Light that puts Darkness to flight.

64 And I am come forth to save (thee) from the Sinner, to make (thee) whole from pain, and to bring gladness to thy heart.

65 All thou hast desired of me I shall bestow upon thee. I shall make new thy place within the lofty kingdom.

66 I shall set open before thee the gates in all the heavens,[1] and shall make smooth thy path, free from terror and vexation.

[1] Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 81^{6-7}; 19^{24}. For the firmaments with their gates see Henning, *BSOAS.* xii, pp. 311 et seq., with references.

88 I V+96 V+175 R	67a	'wd[1] 'st'n'n pd z'wr o	
		u ngwnd'n pd frhyft[2]	p
88 I V+96 V+175 R+ au V	b	'wd[1] w'y'n 'w pdyšt o	
		'w wy'g 'frydg[3]	
88 I V+96 V+175 R+ au V	68a	'wṯ hw pydr 'rg'w o	
		y'wyd'n tw nm'y'n	
88 I V+96 V+175 R+ au V	b	'wd pd pw'g p'db'rg[4] o	
		prw'n 'ydw'y'n	
96 V+175 R+au V	69a	'wṯ hw rwšn'n m'd[5] o	
		'w tw nm'y'n[6]	
96 V+175 R+au V	b	'wd[7] y'wyd'n wšmn'[8] o	p
		pd 'st'w'dg š'dyft[9]	
96 V+175 R+au V	70a	['wd 'bdy]s'n 'w tw o	
		br'dr'n kyrbkr'n[10]	
96 V+175 R+au V	b	['rg](')w o	
		ky pwr pd[11] š'dyfṯ[12]	
91 R+175 R	71a	'wd y'w(yd)['n m'n]'ḫ[13] o	
		'[d] hrwyn š'dcn	
91 R+175 R	b	nyrd hrw rdnyn o	p
		'wd bg'n pdyšfr'wnd	
91 R+175 V	72a	'wd trs 'wd mrn o	
		ny pry'b'ḫ[14] y'wyd'n	
91 R+175 V	b	'wd ny wyg'nyšn o	
		tnng[15] 'wd 'xš'dyft	
91 R+175 V+ef R	73a	'wd bw'ḫ[16] tw 'ngwn o	
		pd wy'g cy bwxtgyft[17]	
91 R+175 V+ef R	b	'd hrw yzd'n o	p
		'wd r'myšn m'nynd'n	
91 R+175 V+ef R		(*Space of one verse left blank*)	

(End of the sixth *handām*)

[1] ['*w*]ṯ 96 [2] *-yfṯ* 96 [3] *'fryydg* 88 I, 175;]*dg* au [4] So in 175;]*b'rg* 96 (the only other MS.) [5] *rwšn'n m'd* in 175 only [6] *nm'y''n* 175 [7] So in 96, where it is written after a dot at the end of 69a; (*u*) 175 [8] So in 175 only [9] *-yfṯ* 96, au [10] *qyrbkr'n* 175 [11] *pṯ* 175 [12] *-dyyfṯ* 175 [13] H.'s restoration; *y'w(yd)*[.....](.) *o* 91;]'*ḫ o* 175 [14] *pry'b'* 175 [15] So in both MSS. [16]]*w'ḫ* 91; *bw'* 175 [17] In ef the *gyft* of *bwxtgyft* is written at the beginning of 73b and followed by a dot

67 I shall take (thee) with might, and enfold (thee) with love, and lead (thee) to (thy) home, the blessed abode[1].

68 For ever shall I show to thee the noble Father[2]; I shall lead thee in, into (his) presence, in pure raiment.

69 I shall show to thee the Mother of the beings of Light. For ever shalt thou rejoice in lauded happiness.

70 I shall reveal to thee the holy Brethren, the noble (?) . . . , who are filled with happiness.

71 For ever shalt thou [dwell] joyful among them all, beside all the Jewels and the venerable Gods.

72 Fear and death shall never overtake (thee more), nor ravage, distress and wretchedness.

73 Rest shall be thine in the place of salvation, in the company of all the Gods and those who dwell in quietness.

(End of the sixth canto)[3]

[1] i.e. the New Paradise; see above, p. 22.
[2] i.e. the First Man; see loc. cit.
[3] For the identification of *A.R.* VI vv. 1–34 see above, pp. 35–38; for vv. 38–73 see above, pp. 26–27 and p. 65 n. 1.

Angad Rōšnān VII

91 R+287 R+517 R+774 R+aa R — hftwm hnd'm[1]

91 V+287 V+517 V+774 V+aa V — 'ngd rwšn'n

91 R+175 V	1a	's'ẖ tw gy'n o	
		'wd ms m' tyrs'ẖ	
91 R+175 V	b	mrn kft[2] 'h'z o	
		'wd ywbhr 'bnft[3]	
91 R+175 V+690 R	2a	'wd 'bsyst pdm'n o	
		cy rwc'n 'ywštg	
91 R+175 V+690 R	b	'wš gd 'sp'w o	p
		pd myg'n "dwryyn[4]	
91 R+175 V+439 R+690 R	3a	's'ẖ tw gy'n o	
		'wd fr'c c'm'ẖ	
91 R+175 V+439 R+690 R	b	'wd m' bw'ẖ[5] 'wrjwg o	
		'br kdg dyjw'ryft[6]	
91 R+175 V+439 R+690 R+aw R	4a	ky hmg 'bn's o	
		'wd[7] 'njwgyft[8] cy mwrt[9]	
91 R+175 V+439 R+690 R+aw R	b	'wd wxd wynw'd[10] 'yy o	p
		'c tw bwn 'r'm[11]	
175 V+439 R+aw R	5a	'wd hrwyn tnng[12] o	
		cy tw wm'd pd nrẖ	
175 V+439 R+aw R	b	frh'ẖ[13] hw wd'r'd o	
		'c hs 'wd[14] 'c nwx	
175 V+439 R	6a	ms 'wr 's'ẖ o	
		pd š'dyft[15] 'by zryq[16]	
175 V+439 R	b	'wd hw'r'm m' sy'ẖ[17] o	p
		pd mrnyn 'r'm	

[1] *ẖnd'm* 91 [2] *qft* 91 [3] *'bnft* 175 [4] So in 175; *"d(wr)[* 91 [5] *bw'* 175 [6] *-yft* 91 [7] *u* 175 [8] *-yft* 439 [9] So in 91 and 175; *mw(r)[* 439 [10] So in 690; *wnw'd* 91, 175 [11] So in 439; *"r'm* 91; *'r"m* 175 [12] So in 175 (the only MS.) [13] So in 175; *f[*aw [14] *u* 175 [15] *-ypt (sic)* 439 [16] So in 439 (the only MS.) [17] The first half of 6b is in 175 only

Angad Rōšnān VII

Seventh canto of *Angad Rōšnān*

1 Come, spirit, fear no more! Death has fallen, and sickness fled away.

2 The term of troubled days is ended, its terror departed amid clouds of fire.

3 Come, spirit, step forth! Let there be no desire for the house of affliction,[1]

4 which is wholly destruction and the anguish of death.[2] Truly thou wast cast out from thy native abode.

5 And all the pangs thou hast suffered in hell thou hast undergone for this, in the outset and beginning.

6 Come yet nearer, in gladness without regret; lie not content in the dwelling of death.

[1] Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 70^{29-30}.
[2] Cf. ibid. 87^{1-2}.

91 V+175 V	7a	(m')[1] 'zwrt' 'wd wyn'ẖ o t(n)b'ryn[2] cyhrg	
91 V+175 V	b	(cy)[1] synd[3] pd dyjw'r o hw[y]n 'd šyrg'mg'n	
91 V+517 R+774 R	8a	'wd[4] wnwẖ 'zwrtynd o pd hrwyn "jwn[5]	
91 V+517 R+774 R	b	'wd[4] pd[6] hrwyn hw'n o 'wd[7] t'm'dg[8] zynd'n	p
91 V+517 R+774 R +ef V	9a	'wd[4] wnwẖ "jynd[9] o pd wysp d'md'd'n	
91 V+517 R+774 R +ef V	b	'wd[4] 'xšyd[10] hwyn wcn o pd bry'n[11] swhyšn[12]	
91 V+517 R+774 R +ef V	10a	ms 'wr 's'ẖ[13] o 'wd m' bw'ẖ fryẖ	
91 V+517 R+774 R+ dv R+ef V	b	'ym hwcyhryft o cy pd hrw zng wygnyd	p
91 V+517 R+774 R+ dv R	11a	'wd[14] kfyd[15] 'wd[16] wdcyd o cw'gwn wfr pd 'bd'b[17]	
91 V+517 R+774 R+ dv R	b	'wd 'w hrwyn kryšn[18] o 'wšt'dn ny 'st[19]	
91 V+690 V+774 R	12a	'wd[20] wyzmryd[21] 'wd[22] wzwyd[23] o cw'gwn w'r systg	
91 V+690 V+774 R	b	ky pd 'bd'b hwšyd[24] u hw brhm wygnyd	[p]
91 V+439 V+690 V+ 774 R	13a	ms 's'ẖ[25] tw gy'n o 'wd m' bw'ẖ fryẖ	
91 V+439 V+690 V+ 774 R	b	jmnyn 'šm'r o 'wd qmbyg rwc'n[26]	

[1] So (doubtfully) in 175 only [2] *o t*[175;](*o t*)[*n*](*b*)'*ryn* 91. In 91 *r* in the first line is usually followed by an ornamental dot, which can look like a small *y*; but in this word the reading *-ryn*, and not *-rn*, is almost certain [3] So in 175 only [4] *'wṯ* 517 [5] So in 91; *"jwwn* 774 [6] *pṯ* 517 [7] (')[*w*](*ṯ*) 517; omitted, 774 [8] So in 91 and 774 [9] So in 91 and 774; *'jynd* 517 [10] So in 91 and 517; *'xšyyd* 774 [11] So in 91 and 774 [12] So in 774 and ef; *swh*[91 [13] *"s'ẖ* 774 [14] *'wṯ* 517, 774 [15] *qfyd* 91 [16] *u* 517, 774 [17] *'bdb* dv [18] So in 774; *qryšn* 91 [19] *'sṯ* dv [20] *'wṯ* 774 [21] So in 91; *wyzmyryd* 774 [22] *u* 774 [23] So in 91; *wdzyd* 774 (evidently a mistake—H.) [24] So in 91; *wxšyd* 774 (a mistake) [25] So in 91; *"s'* 774 [26] So in 690; *rwc"n* 91

7 Turn not back, nor regard the shapes[1] of the bodies, which lie (there)[2] in wretchedness, they and (their) fellows.

8 See, they return through every rebirth, through every agony and every choking (?) prison.

9 See, they are reborn among all (kinds of) creatures, and their voice is heard in burning sighs.

10 Come yet nearer, and be not fond of this beauty that perishes in all (its) varieties.

11 It falls and melts as snow in sunshine. There is no abiding for any fair form.

12 It withers and fades as a broken rose, that wilts in the sun, whose grace is destroyed.[3]

13 Yet come, thou spirit, and be not fond of the sum of hours and the fleeting days.

[1] The precise meaning of *cyhr*, *cyhrg* is often difficult to determine. Here 'nature' might accord better with the following verses, but would be awkward in v. 7 itself. *tnb'ryn cyhrg* probably refers to the forms of the five categories of creatures.

[2] i.e. on the earth.

[3] Henning's translation, see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 113.

91 V+439 V+690 V+ 774 R+aw V	14a	'wd m' 'zwrt'ẖ[1] o	
		'br hrwyn dydn[2]	p
91 V+439 V+690 V+ 774 R+aw V	b	mrn 'wrjwg o	
		ky 'w 'bn's w'yd	
439 V+aw V	15a	'c 'yd fr'c o	
		'wr gy'(n) [ ]ẖ[3]	
439 V+489a R+aw V+ dv V	b	'z w'y'n 'w bwrzw'r [o]	
		['w tw bwn 'r'](m)[4]	
439 V+489a R+dv V	16a	'wd[5] 'bdys'n pdys[t? o]	
		. . . . .	
439 V+489a R+dv V	b	frmnywg cyd pdbw(s)['d o][6]	[p]
		. . . . .	
287 R+489a R+aa R	17a	kr'[7] gy'n 'by'd o	
		'wṯ wyn'ẖ 'n[jw](g)[yft][8]	
287 R+489a R+aa R	b	cy bwrd pd dybhr o	
		cy hrwyn wyg'ng	
287 R+517 V+774 V+ aa R	18a	'wṯ wyn'ẖ 'w šhr o	
		'wd[9] zynd'n d'm'g[10]	
287 R+517 V+774 V+ aa R	b	cy hrw 'wrjwg o	p
		'c tgnbnd wygnynd[11]	
287 R+517 V+774 V+ aa R	19a	'wṯ pry'byd 'sp'w o	
		'dwr 'wd[12] 'bn's	
287 R+517 V+774 V+ aa R	b	'w hwyn hrwyn o	
		ky pd[13] hw m''nynd[14]	
287 R+517 V+774 V+ aa R	20a	'wd 'bnsyd bwrzw'r o	
		'd hrwyn m'nyst'n	
287 R+517 V+774 V+ 817 R+aa R	b	'wd hrw 'sm'n o	[p]
		kfynd ngws'r 'w jfr	
287 R+517 V+774 V+ 817 R+aa R	21a	'wd[15] 'strbyd[16] tgnbnd o	
		hw d'mg 'bn's	
287 R+517 V+774 V+ 817 R+aa R	b	'br hwyn dbgr o	
		ky 'ndr ghr''yynd[17]	

[1] So in 91 and 774; *'zwrt'* 439 [2] So in 91 and aw; *dy(d)*[774; *d'*[*ydn*] 690 [3] Up to *gy'(n)*[is in 439;]*ẖ* in aw [4] Up to *bwrzw'r*[is in 439+489a+dv;](*m*) in aw [5] *'wṯ* dv [6] *pdbw(s)*[in 439 only [7] So in 489a only [8] *'n*[. .](*g*)[in aa only [9] *'wṯ* 287, 517 [10] So in 517; *d'*[aa [11] *wygn*[aa; *w(yg)*[774; *wygynynd* 517 [12] *'wṯ* 517 [13] *pṯ* 517 [14] So in 774; *m'nyyn(d)* 287+aa; *m'nynyd* (*sic*; a mistake) 517 [15] ['*w*]*d* 774; *'wṯ* 817 [16] So in 774; (')[*s*]*trbyd* 817 [17] So in 774, where the copyist first wrote *gr-*, and then corrected the *r* to an *h* (H.); *ghr'* '[*ynd*] 287+ aa;]*hr'*[517

14 Turn not back for every outward show. Desire (is) death, and leads to destruction.

15 Hence, spirit, come! ... I shall lead (thee) to the height, [to thy native abode].

16 I shall show (thee) the pledge (?) ... the hope thou hast yearned for ...

17 Remember, O spirit! look on the anguish (?) that (thou hast) borne through the fury of all (thy) ravagers.

18 Regard the world and the prison of creation; for all desires will be swiftly destroyed.

19 Terror, fire and ruin will overtake all those who dwell therein.

20 The height will be shattered with all (its) dwellings; all the heavens will fall down into the deep.

21 The trap of destruction will swiftly close upon those deceivers who brag therein.

287 R+774 V+817 R	22a	'wd hmg šhrd'ryft[1] o	
		'd hrw 'st'rg br'zyšn[2]	
287 R+774 V+817 R	b	y'dyd hwyn 'bn's o	[p]
		'wš'n tng 'nrgypt[3]	
774 V+817 R	23a	'wd hrw 'xšy(n)[d']n o	
		'wd wymnd wstmbg'n[4]	
459a R+774 V+817 R	b	pd 'dwr wxš[yndg] o	
+ay R		'wd pd dyjw'r y'wyd'n[5]	
459a R+578 R+774 V	24a	'wd hrw 'wrjwg[6] o	
+ay R		'wd dydn wbr'(z)["g][7]	
459a R+578 R+774 V	b	wydbdynd[8] pd w'[o]	[p]
+ay R		. . . . .	
459a R+578 R	25a	'wd hmg jywhr o	
		cy wysp twxm (u)[9] [bwn][10]	
489a V+578 R	b	'c tgnbnd wygnynd o	
		u y'dynd 'w 'bn's	
489a V+578 R	26a	['wd hm]g 'wrjwg o	
		zrnyn 'd hrw brhm	
489a V+578 R	b	[.....']dwr o	p
		u 'ndyšt[11] bwynd pd hw	
287 V+489a V+aa V	27a	[....] hrw dstygyrd[12] o	
		'[ ]nd[13] cy 'wst'd	
287 V+489a V+aa V	b	(w)yš'd bwynd hrwyn o	
		[']br[14] hwyn 'mbdynd[15]	
287 V+aa V	28a	[....] hrwyn wyg'n o	
		cy [ ]	
287 V+aa V	b	[.....]s'd 'sm'n o	[p]
		u [ ]	

[1]]*ft* 287 [2] *br'zšn* with two dots under the *š* in 774 (the only MS.) [3] So in 774 (the only MS.) [4] Up to *'xšy(n)*[is in 817; from]*n o 'wd* is in 774 [5] Up to *wxš*[is in 459a+817+ay; from] *o 'wd* is in 774 [6] *"wrjwg* 774; *'w(r)*[459a (the only MSS.) [7] *wbr'(z)*[in 774 only [8] *wy(d)*[578; *wydb*[ay;]*(d)bdynd* 774;]*dbdynd* 459a [9] The *w* is clear, but the MS. is torn above, so that if dots existed, they have disappeared. Possibly one should rather read *w*[....]; 578 is the only MS. [10] H.'s restoration [11] In 578 only [12] So in 287+aa only [13] The '[is on 287, from]*nd* on 489a only [14] *hrwyn o* [is on 287;]*br* is on 489a. More than one letter may be missing [15] On 489a only

22 The whole dominion, with the brilliance of all the stars —ruin will come upon them, and the pang of their indignity.[1]

23 All the Princes and the border-rebels (will suffer) for ever in wretchedness within the blazing fire.

24 Every desire and every shining show will dissolve (?) through . . .

25 The whole of life, from every seed and [stem], will swiftly be wrecked and brought to perdition.[2]

26 The whole of the lusts, gilded with all (their) charm . . . fire, will be heaped upon it.[3]

27 . . . each mansion . . . which has been established— each will be broken open, and will tumble down upon them.

28 . . . every injury of . . . heaven and. . .

[1] Or 'their pangs of indignity'; or 'the indignity of their pangs'?
[2] Henning's translation (see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 113), except that the restoration (*u*) [*bwn*], proposed by him previously, has been adopted here.
[3] Henning's translation (loc. cit.).

287 V+aa V 29a [....] pt̲ hw rwc o
p'(d)[ ]
287 V+aa V b [...] 'dr zmyg o
bwyd h[ ]

287 V+aa V 30a [....] (h)rw dyw'n o
hwyn [ ]
287 V+817 V+aa V b [....] (t)nng[1] 'dwryn o [p]
'wt̲ [ ][2] (hw) ['n]jywgyft̲[3]

287 V+817 V+aa V 31a [pt̲] jfr'n 'ywštg o
cy hmg w(š)wbyšn[3]
287 V+817 V+aa V b [p'dy]fr's[4] wyndynd o
pd [d]yjw'r y'wyd''n[3]

287 V+817 V 32a [ ]dg o
'wd [ ]ynd[5] 'w šrg'n
287 V+817 V b [ ](r) o [p]
dy[ ]''drwdg[6]

817 V 33a . . . . . .
[y]'wyd'n 'by rwšn
459a V+817 V+ay V b . . . . . .
[dyjw'](r)yft jywhr[7]

459a V+578 V+ay V 34a . . . . . .
[t'](r)yg gzng[8]
459a V+578 V+ay V b . . . . . [p]
[dys]m'n rymn[9]

459a V+578 V+ay V 35a [bs](t̲)[10] bwynd s(')g'n[11] o
cy gryw'n mwrdg[12]
578 V b pd mrn dhmq o
cy hrwyn sy'wyft̲

[1] So in aa only [2] The length of the gap is uncertain. Possibly no letters are missing between *'wt̲* (287) and (*hw*) (817) [3] So in 817 only [4] H.'s restoration from 287+aa [5] *'wd*[287;]*ynd* 817 [6] So in 817 only; possibly not a complete word [7]](*r*)*yft j*[...]*r* 817;]*ywh*[459a;]*hr* ay [8]](*r*)*yg gzn*[459a;]*g* 578, ay [9]]*m'n rym*[459a;](*m*)*n* 578; *rymn* ay [10] H.'s restoration from 578 only [11] So in 578 only [12] *gryw*[..]*mwrdg* 578;]'*n*[459a

29 . . . upon that day . . . beneath the earth, it will become . . .

30 . . . all the demons, those . . . fiery pangs . . . and . . . that redemption (?)[1].

31 [In] the troubled deeps where all is anarchy they will find (their) reward in endless wretchedness.

32 . . . and they will . . . to the lions . . . (?)

33 . . . for ever without light[2] . . . a life of wretchedness (?).

34 . . . a dark (?) treasure-house[3] . . . a filthy building (?).

35 The parts of the dead souls will be [fettered][4] in the tomb of death where all is blackness,

[1] It seems probable that ['*n*]*iywgyft* 'redemption' is a mistake for '*njwgyft* 'anguish'.

[2] Cf. *Keph.*, p. 106 [14–15].

[3] Possibly hell is here conceived as the 'treasure-house' of evil deeds, in contradistinction to Paradise, where good acts are stored up; on the latter conception see G. Widengren, *The great Vohu Manah*, pp. 84–86.

[4] This translation of 35a is Professor Henning's.

578 V 36a 'wṯ hmg w'(y) o
cy t'r 'bzwy(š)[n .....]
578 V b wxd pdmwcynd o p
pd tnng cy h[ ]

(End of the first fragment of the seventh *handām*)

Angad Rōšnān VIIa

667 R+ee R [hf]twm[1] hnd['m]
667 V+ee V 'ngd rwš[n'n]

667 R+ee R 1a 'wd bwynd h(y)štyg[2] o
wnštg u 'mštg[3]
667 R+918a R+ee R b cy ny scyd kw snynd o
'w dysm'n b'[n]('n)[4]

620 R+667 R+918a R 2a qfynd pd jfr'n o
+ee R x'z'd (b)[w]ynd[5] pd mrn
620 R+667 R+918a R b 'wṯ p[dm]wcynd 'w t'r o p
+ee R 'w (tnn)g[6] u[7] 'dwr

620 R+918a R+ee R 3a 'wd ms 'xšd'g o
(n)[y] wyndynd y'wyd'n
620 R+918a R b 'wd kyc ny 'st o
[kyš']n nrḫ br wš'h'

620 R+918a R 4a 'wd bwynd swgb'ryg [o]
(p)[d] hrwyn wnwhg
620 R+918a R b (n)'rynd[8] 'wd 'bxrwsynd o p
'c b(nd) [y]('wyd'n)[9]

620 R+918a R 5a ['']wd ny 'st (ky)[10] ng[wš' ? o]
[u '](bxš)'h'[11] 'br hwyn
620 R+918a R b wsn'd '[o]
[ ] wg'nyšn

[1] The dot over the missing *f* is visible in 667 [2] So in 667 only; possibly *h(w)štyg* [3] In ee only [4] *dysm*[667;](*d*)*ysm'n b'*[*n*]('*n*) ee [5] (*b*)[620+667;]*ynd* ee [6] So in 620 (the bottom of the letters only visible);](*g*) ee [7] '[*wd*] 620 [8] So in 918a [9] [*y*]('*wydn*) with two dots under the *n* in 620 (the only MS.) [10] So in 620; (*ky*) very doubtful, since only the tops of these letters are visible. They may even belong to the same word as the following *ng*[[11] So in 620

36 and (where) all (is) woe of Darkness . . . (?)[1] . . .; truly they[2] will be clad in the distress of . . .

(End of the first fragment of the seventh canto)[3]

Angad Rōšnān VIIa

Seventh canto of *Angad Rōšnān*

1 They[4] will become the bricks (?) (which are) spoilt and smashed, which are not fit to go up to the keepers of the Building.[5]

2 They will fall into the deep and be devoured in death. They will clothe themselves in darkness, distress, and fire.

3 They will nevermore find one to pity them. None will open for them the gate of hell.

4 They will be seared with sorrow amid all the quakings. They will groan and shriek at (their) bondage for ever.

5 There is none who will hear (?) and have mercy upon them, for the sake of . . . destruction.

[1] For *'bzwy(š)[n]* see glossary.
[2] i.e. 'the parts of the dead souls'.
[3] For the identification of the verses in *A.R.* VII see above, p. 27.
[4] Possibly 'they' are the *s'g'n cy gryw'n mwrdg* of *A.R.* VII 35a; in any case, the sinful.
[5] If his reading *hyštyg* is correct, Henning sees in this passage an interesting allusion to the *Pastor Hermae*; and compares M 97a 17–21 (Müller, *Eine Hermas-Stelle*, p. 2; Salemann, *Man. St.*, p. 34).

620 R+bz R 6a . . . . . .
[wdy](ft)gy(f)[t[1] ']bgws(t)[2] bwyd
620 R+bz R b [ ](s) o p
pdgyrwynd p('dyš)nw(h)r

bz R 7a . . . . . .
[ ] hwyn pd jfr
bz R b . . . . . .
[ ](')gr[. .]

(*Three verses missing*)

667 V+ee V 11a ['wd] bw' š'dzyrd o
pd 'ym rwž 'zg'm
667 V+918a V+ee V b [cy] 'bsyst[3] ywbhr o
u hrwyn tw 'wdjn[4]

667 V+918a V+ee V 12a 'wd byḫ (')[wz]yh'ḫ[5] o
'c 'ym dbgryy[6]
620 V+667 V+918a V +ee V b cy kyrd '(y)y tnd[7] pd tnng o p
pd mrn (dy)jw'ryft[8]

620 V+918a V 13a 'wt nhxt 'yy '[w][9] jfr o
cy hrwyn 'šwb
620 V+918a V b 'wt kyrd 'yy [wrd]g[10] o
pd hrwyn wy'g'n

620 V+918a V 14a 'wt 'gwst ('yy) o
pd hrwyn ''jwn
620 V+918a V b u[11] bwd ('y)y wygndg o p
pd hrwyn šhryst'n[12]

620 V+918a V 15a frhyd kyrd (t)[o]
[ ](dys)'d 'skrfy[šn][13]
620 V+918a V b 'wt wyg[o]
[ ] u dysm'n

[1] H.'s restoration from bz; the first (*ft*) is very doubtful [2] So in 620; the letters are very cramped, and the reading of the *t* is doubtful [3] So in ee; [']*bsyst* 667 [4] In 667+918a [5] H.'s restoration; *byḫ* '[ee;]*yh'ḫ* 667 [6] *sic* (clearly) in 918a only [7] In 620 only [8] Written *dyjw'rft* with two dots instead of one over the *f* in 918a (the only MS.) [9] So in 620; there is hardly room to restore '[*c*] [10] H.'s restoration [11] *u* written after two small punctuation points at the end of 14a in 918a [12] So in 918a [13] '[620;]*skrfy*[918a

6 . . . deception (?) will be laid bare . . . they will receive (their) reward.

7 . . . those in the abyss . . .

(*Three verses missing*)

11 Be glad of heart on this day of departing, [for] sickness is ended, and all thy rigours.

12 And thou shalt go forth out of this deceiver,[1] which has made thee faint through distress and the agony of death.

13 Thou wast held back within the abyss, where all is turmoil; thou wast made captive (?) in every place.

14 Thou wast suspended amid all rebirths. Thou hast suffered ravage amid all cities.

15 Many were made . . . stumbling, and destruction (?) [to the] . . . and structure.

[1] i.e. the body (cf. *A.R.* I 3b; VIII 14a).

620 V+bz V 16a 'wṯ bw[d ']yy wm[..](g)[o]

. . . . . .

620 V+bz V b cy b(w)t[1] 'yy pd dyjw['r o] p

. . . . . .

bz V 17a 'c 'y(d fr)['c o]

. . . . . .

bz V b [..]h[o]

. . . . . .

(End of this fragment of the seventh *handām*)

Angad Rōšnān VIII

89 R hštwm ẖnd'm

89 V 'ngd rwšn'n

89 R 1a 'wd pdyzb(')d 'c (m)n o

hw cmg (s)[..](n)yn[2]

89 R b (ky)[3] pd wysp zmbg o

'w 'skrfyš(n) nhxt hym

89 R 2a 'wd bwxt mn gryw o

'c hrwyn (')st[']r[4]

89 R b (ky)[3] wysp rwc'n o p

'w 'njwgyft (c)[yd] (n)[ydrynj']d[5]

89 R 3a 'wd 'zgrysp'd 'c mn o

hw t'ryg ṯ(fṯ)[6] [t]n(g)

89 R+cx R b ky 'c hs pd nwx o

wrd kyrd (hym)[7] (pd) [....](nd)

89 R+cx R 4a 'wd pdm[w]xt hym pdmwcn o

cy rw[šn]

89 R+cx R b 'wd fr'mwxt 'c mn o p

wysp gw(n)[g .....]

[1] So in 620+bz; the middle letter is very doubtful, and may even be a very cramped *s* [2] *s* very doubtful; almost certainly not (*s*)[*hm*]*yn*, since the upper line of the *m* should then show [3] Or (*kw*) [4] H.'s reading [5] H.'s restoration; the (*n*) is doubtful; possibly the first part of a *b*, or *m* [6] (*fṯ*) doubtful; possibly (*s*) [7] The *h* almost certain; *ym* very doubtful

16 Thou wast . . . for thou wast (?) in affliction . . .

17 Hence! [spirit, come!] . . .

(End of this fragment of the seventh canto)[1]

Angad Rōšnān VIII

Eighth canto of *Angad Rōšnān*

1 The . . . current is deflected (?) from me, which dragged me down in stumblings during many a fray.

2 My soul is saved from all the sins which day by day [oppressed] (me) [ever] in anguish.

3 The dark, hot (?) distress is taken from me which at the outset, in the beginning, made me captive in . . .

4 I am clothed with a garment of Light . . . Every kind of . . . is taken off from me.

[1] For the identification of the verses in *A.R.* VIIa see above, p. 27.

89 R+cx R 5a 'wd wydrd[1] hym hwyn tnb'r o
drd 'wd (')[nj](w)g[yft][2]
89 R+cx R b 'wd hrwyn (n.)hg[3] o
dwr bwd 'hynd 'c [mn]

89 R 6a 'wd wyn'[r'd] (u) (hwfr)y'd'd 'hym[4] o
mn gy'n bwj['](g)[r]
89 R b pd z'wr '[.....] (o) [p]
(cy) ny '(nd)r(x)s'd y'wyd'[n]

89 R 7a [ky]š(fr) pr (o)[5]
(k)d 'g(w)št[6] [ ]
89 R b [ ] o
. . . . . .

(*Three verses missing*)

89 V 11a 'wd 'zwrtynd o
dyw'n h'mcyhrq
89 V b pd hrw zynd'n o
'wd mr(n) 'zwrdyšn

89 V 12a 'wm dyd kw bwd t'ryg o
'wd rwšn 'ndr ny 'st̲
89 V b (dw)rc(y)hr[7] pd dydn o p
'wd syzdyn pd cyhrg

89 V 13a ['']wd (w)'xt ('w) mn bwj'gr o
gy'n wyn'h̲ nyd'(m)g
89 V+cx V b (cy w)z'd[8] pt̲ jfr o
pd 'bn's [u 'sp'w

89 V+cx V 14a ['wd][9] wxd bwd ('w) tw o
h'mgyh̲[10] dbgr
89 V+cx V b ('wd) tnng zynd'n o p
pd h̲rwyn dwjx

[1] So in 89; *wydr*[cx [2] In 89 only [3] In 89 only; the first (very doubtful) letters are blurred; they appear to be joined to the *h* at the base [4] This half-line is unusually long, but the above restoration fits the traces. The full line is matched in length by *A.R.* VI 56b [5]]*š pd pr* (*oo*). The word-division is doubtful, as frequently in this MS. The above reading is H.'s [6] Or '*g*(*y*)*št* [7] H.'s reading [8] In 89 only [9] Or possibly [*cy*] [10] In 89 only

5 I am passed beyond the pain and anguish of their bodies.[1] Every . . . (?) has become remote from [me].

6 I am arrayed and succoured by the Saviour of my spirit, through the . . . power, which never was constricted.

7 . . . beyond (?) the continent (?) . . . when . . . hidden (?) . . .

(*Three verses missing*)

11 Those who are of the same shape[2] as the demons will pass again through all the prisons and the cycle of death.

12 I saw that it[3] became dark, and there is no light therein; hideous in appearance and overpowering in form.

13 The Saviour said to me: Spirit! behold the husk[4] (thou hast) abandoned in the deep in terror [and] destruction.

14 Truly for thee it was a deceptive partner, a distressful prison in every hell.

[1] Cf. *A.R.* I 3b.

[2] *h'mcyhrg* has latterly been translated by Henning as 'homomorphic' (see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 112 n. 1). Puech, while accepting this, has pointed out that the general gnostic tradition tempts one rather to translate 'consubstantial' (see *Le Manichéisme*, 1949, p. 155 n. 275). The present passage strongly supports the rendering 'homomorphic', however; the reference is presumably to sinners who have sunk below the level of man, and are reincarnated among the creatures whose forms pre-existed in hell. [cf. now Henning, *Asia Major*, III ii, p. 194 n. 54.]

[3] i.e. the abandoned body.

[4] Cf. M 4 b 22.

89 V+cx V 15a ['wd][1] wxd b(w)d 'w tw o
mrn 'šwbgr[2]
89 V+cx V b (cy) [bryd][3] tw gryw o
'c jywhr y'wyd'n

89 V 16a ['wd][1] wxd bwd 'w tw o
ʿskrfyšn šybẖ
89 V b [cy] (hm)g t(r)s krm o [p]
'wd ws ywbhr

89 V 17a [ ](d)[...] o
nrẖ [h]rwyn h[....]
89 V b . . . . . .
(')njw(gyf)[t]

(End of this fragment of the eighth *handām*)

[1] Or possibly [*cy*] [2] So in 89;]*šwbgr* cx [3] H.'s restoration

15 Truly for thee it was an unruly death, which [severed] thy soul from life for ever.

16 Truly for thee it was a path of stumbling [which] was wholly deeds of dread, and much sickness.

17 . . . the hell of every . . . anguish . . .

(End of this fragment of the eighth canto)[1]

[1] For the identification of the verses in *A.R.* VIII see above, p. 27.

FRAGMENTS

A (= 859)[1]

R(?) 1a]o 'njw[gyft 'wd] dyjw['r]
b]o 'ngwn 'ndr ny 's̲t̲

2a]o 'wd zmbwdyg dyjw['r]
b]o 'wd hw tnng [ ]

3a](g ')[

V(?) 11b (ky) [...]yw [.](gd)[....](z)'r o[

12a [....]yd (')[w] wy('g) wy('g)[o
b [ ](.)tg o[

B (= ca)[1]

R(?) 1a]o 'wd gy[']n[
b]d 'c hrw o[

2a jy]whr o[

V(?) 11a](..)[o](....)yd kw (')g[
b ']wd zrhyg (m)['sy'g'n]

12a](.)'d[
b]h[

C (= bk)[1]

R(?) 1a]m'[2] fr'mwx̲t̲ o[
b](xt)[3] 'c[

V(?) 11a]s (o 'w)yš(t)[

[1] This fragment is from the MS. represented by M 603, M 780, and other fragments, which contained both hymn-cycles [2] *sic* [3] Only the tops of the letters are visible

D (= 449b)

R(?) 1a] cy hrwyn d'm[d'd'n]
b o 'w]d 'yw 'w 'yw wyg'nynd

2a mr]dwhm'n tnb''r
b] (y)'dynd 'w 'bn's

V(?) 11a [...] wxšyd hw (')[dwr
b pd gy'n'n 'byj(')[

12a hw (')st wy'g b[
b 'wd š(h)r t'ryg[

E (= az)[1]

R	1b	wyš[	V	11b	] 'w hwyn
	2a	's[		12a	]'n
	b	'w[		b	]'n

F (= ba)

R	1b	'wd pd [	V	11b	] m'nynd('n)
	2a	r(s)[		12a	](gy)r'n[2]
	b	'(.)[		b	](.)t

G (= bb)

R	1b	'wd [	V	11b	] (')bn's
	2a	cy h[		12a	]nynd
	b	wx(s)[		b	]šn

[1] Fragments *E–K* are from the MS. represented by T I α 1530–40, which contained verses from both hymn-cycles

[2] The top-stroke only of (*g*?) is visible

J (= bc)

R	1b	'wd (h)[	V	11b	] cy 'zg'm
	2a	'wd (.)[		12a	] 'ydw'ynd
	b	cy [		b	](nd)

K (= bd)

R	1b	wyš(')[	V	11b	] (')bn's
	2a	'wd w[		12a	'w]jy'n
	b	'w[		b	] tnng

L (= 698)

R(?)	1a	'wd qr[
	b	kw byd rwš[n
V(?)	11a	]yn phrg 'stftyft
	b	h](r)w zwnws 'bn's

M (= bs)

R(?)	1a	] (')w(d) hrwyn (w)[	V (?)	11a	](')myn hrwy[n
	b	] (')wd hwynd 'nd[[1]		b	] '(z)wrdyšn wymn[d
	2a	] qwf'n ph[		12a	]wyn wymnd[
	b	] bnd 'wd d(yj)[w'r		b	](t)'b 'wd zmbg[
	3a	] (h)wyn jfr'[n		13a	] (h)rwyn zynd'[n
	b	] (')wd 'st[		b	] 'bš'(m)[g

[1] Or possibly *hwynd'nd*[(a single word); the letters are clear

N (= cp)

R(?)
1a](w)[ ]d w(.)[
b] m(n)[ ]'c (h)[

2a] 'strb'd o d'mg [
b]d 'hynd o hrw w'[

3a](w) o 'w hrwyn '[
b](n) o k(y pd) ['n]j(w) [gyft

V (?)
11a] m(n)[
b](t) hym[ ]h(w)[

12a] (r)nj bwd o 'c hrw[
b]ft 'c mn o hw gr(.)[

13a] 'c mn o hw (c)[1
b](.)[..](rg)2 [o] m(n)3[

O (= 503a, c)

R(?)
1a](.w)d o 'wd ('d)w(r) [
b](.)m'dn o 'wd w'st '[w

2a] (b)zkr o ('nd)rxtg'[n](m)[
b]g'n o kw r[w](š)n (ny)4 n[

3a](sp.)[..](.)[ ] (n)yrd (h)[
b](.)[ ] (')wd t'(r) (.)[

4a](t)[

V(?)
11a] (')zwrdyšn [
b 'yw by](d)'n 'sp'wynd o 'w[d

12a](')w[..] (q)yrdg'n o 'wd mr(d)[whm
b]wm (kw ')s(pw)hynd4 o 'wd [

13a] dysm['n]'r[']m kw [
b]d y'dyd o wy(g)[nyd]b(')[

1 The right-hand side of the letter only is visible 2 The top of *g* (or just possibly *t*) only is visible, with a dot showing above the letter which preceded it 3 The *m* is certain, a final *n* almost so. These two letters prevent an identification of *N*13 with *A.R.* VIII 1 4 Reading suggested by H.; 2b and 12b are both affected by a small tear in the paper

P (= cd)[1]

R(?) 1a]'d 'br (h)wyn o kw (w)ysp pd (hw)y(n š)'d[2]
b](n)d (pd hrw) b[nd o] (u) gryspynd pd dyjw'r

2a] 'skrfyyšn[3] 'wt̲
b]yn o u 'w nr(h̲) y'dynd

V(?) 11a 'wt̲ bwyd prmwsyšn o 'br [
b 'wt̲ t'r pry'by[d o] 'w hrw[

12a 'wd w'd hw'rm(y)[n
b (')gws(t b)wyd '(ndr)[

Q (= cr)[4]

R 1a]yn wymnd
b](...) p

[1] A fragment from the bottom of a page. The order of the pages is probably that given here [2] Reading suggested by H. [3] Written *'sxrpyyšn*
[4] The verso of this fragment may contain the opening words of *Angad Rōšnān*; see above, p. 29. The letters on its recto page are found also on *M* 12a, but possibly not at the end of the line. They are in any case common (cf. *H.* Vb 1a), and no identification would be possible without more evidence

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE MANUSCRIPTS

A LIST is here appended of the fifteen handām manuscripts which are represented by more than one fragment. Those given in group I are known to have contained both hymn-cycles. A (*p*) after a signature indicates a manuscript in which the letter *p* appears in the outer margins; an asterisk marks one for which the outer margins are lacking in all extant fragments; and an unadorned signature shows a manuscript in which the device of the *p* was definitely not used.

I

A: 603, 780, 831, 859, T I D (3 p.)b [1890], c [1891], a [1892], T I D 51 [2600], T II D 140 [5930]—**B**: the eleven fragments with the signature T II D 178—**C** (*p*): 93, 175, 289a, 489a, 675, 689, 774, 858e, T II D 167 (10 p.)a [6130], b [6131], j [6139], T III D 280 [8285]—**D***: T I D (9 p.)g [2206], T I D (10 p.)j [2339], T I D 27 (10 p.)e [2306]—**E***: 287, 855, T I a [1223]—**F***: T I a (15 p.) [1530–1544]; T I D (12 p.)i [2458].

[Note: In addition, the single fragment M 256 contains verses from both hymn-cycles.]

II

G (*p*): 620, 667, 918a, T I D 51 [2604]—**J**: 895a, T I D 11 (7 p.)a [2078], T I D 16 (9 p.)c [2220] and g [2224], T I D 51 [9 p.)b [3121]—**K***: 517, 863, T II D 77[2] (5 p.)c [5540], T II D 79 (1 p.) [5570]—**L** (*p*): 88 I, 91—**M** (*p*): 96, 578—**N***: 459a, 817—**O***: 439, 690—**P***: 889, T I D 8 (11 p.)b [2412]—**Q***: 449b, 503*a*,c.

This list contains eighty fragments. Altogether, one hundred and fourteen fragments are reproduced in this edition of the texts, over forty manuscripts being represented.

GLOSSARY

[NOTE: Parthian words from the hymn-cycles only are given in the glossary. They are cited with the title of the hymn-cycle (abbreviated to *H.* or *A.R.*) and the number of the canto (in Roman numerals) to which they belong; or with the signature of a fragment in italic capital letters. Variations in spelling are given only in exceptional cases, and very doubtful readings have usually been omitted. The following abbreviations are used: *rest.* for restored; H. for Henning; *List* for Henning, 'A List of Middle-Persian and Parthian words', *BSOS.* ix, pp. 79–92.]

"drwdg ? (perhaps incomplete) *A.R.* VII 32b.
"dwryn see *'dwryn.*
"gs see *'gs.*
"jwn see *'jwn.*
"jy- see *'jy-.*
"r'm see *'r'm.*
"rg 'side' *A.R.* I 14a, 21a, 25b.
"s- see *'s-.*
"šwb see *'šwb.*
"šyft see *'šyft.*
"wδyn 'such, so much' *H.* VI title (see above, p. 94 n. 1).
"wrjwg see *'wrjwg.*
"wyndq 'equal' (H., as = *h'w(y)nd* rather than *'wynd*), see *ywd "wyndq.*
"ywštg see *'ywštg.*
"ywz see *'ywz.*
"z'd see *'z'd.*
'b 'water' *H.* Va 12a; *A.R.* I 25b.
'bd'b 'sunshine' *A.R.* VII 11a, 12b.
'bd'c- pr. st. 'set free' *H.* IVa 5a (*rest.*); *A.R.* VI 43b; imp. sg. with suff. sg. 1 *'bd'cwm A.R.* I 4b; opt. *'bd'cyndyy A.R.* IIIb 12a.
'bdn see *'pdn.*
'bdys- pr. st. 'show' *H.* VIII 2a; *A.R.* VII 16a.
'bg'm 'torment' (see *List*) *H.* VIII 11b.
'bgwst pt. 'uncover' *H.* VII 10a; *A.R.* VIIa 6a (*rest.*); pr. st. *'bgwnd- H.* VIc 21a; *A.R.* VI 61b.
'bgws[*tg*] 'revealed' *H.* I 53a.
'bj'm- pr. st. 'torture' (see *List*) *A.R.* I 3b.
[']*bj'mg* 'torturing' *A.R.* I 48b.
'bn's 'ruin, perdition' *H.* IVa 8b; IVb 1b, 2b; V 1a; *A.R.* I 30a; VI 43a; VII 4a, 14b, 19a, 21a, 22b, 25b; VIII 13b; *D* 2b; *G* 11b; *K* 11b; *L* 11b.
'bnft pt. 'flee away' *A.R.* VI 5a; VII 1b.
'bns- pr. st. 'be destroyed' *A.R.* VII 20a.
'br[1] prep. 'upon, over' (of place) *H.* I 48a, 49b; IVb 1a; VIc 10a, &c.; 'for, on account of' *H.* IVa 6a; VIc 14a; *A.R.* VII 3b, 14a; VIIa 5a, &c.
'br[2] adj. 'higher, upper' (H., from Av. *upara-*) *A.R.* VI 61b; as adv. 'upwards, above' (with *'c*) *H.* VIc 1b; VIII 2b.
'br'štg 'lifted up' *A.R.* I 24a.
'bryn 'upper' *A.R.* VI 54b.
'bsyst pt. 'be finished, end' *A.R.* Ia 8a (*rest.*); VII 2a; VIIa 11b.
'bš'mg 'swallowing' (Av. *šam-*; cf. Pers. *āšāmīdan*) *M* 13b (*rest.*); pl. *H.* IVa 10a.
'bxrws- pr. st. 'cry out, shriek' *H.* Va 1a, 2a (*rest.*); *A.R.* I 11b, 29b; VIIa 4b.
'bxš'h- pr. st. 'have mercy (on)' *A.R.* VIIa 5a (*rest.*).
'bxwn 'call, cry' (see *List*) *A.R.* I 23b.

'by 'without' *H.* IVa 3b; V 9a; VIc 3b; *A.R.* IIIc 3a; VI 66b; VII 6a, 33a.

'by'b 'waterless' *H.* V 5a.

'by'd 'memory'; *'by'd kr-* 'remember' *A.R.* VII 17a.

'bzwy(š)[n] ? [found recently in parallelism with *nfryn-*, hence = 'malediction', comparable with Av. *zava-* (+ *abi/apa*), Arm. *nzov-*. H.] *A.R.* VII 36a.

'c, 'š prep. 'from' (of place or thing) *H.* IVa 1a, 3a, 5a, 5b, 6a &c.; *'br 'c* 'high over . . .' *H.* VIc 1b; VIII 12b; 'at, on, in' (of place) *A.R.* I 14a, 21a, 22a, 25b; Ia 4b; *'c 'ndr* 'within' *H.* Va 11a; *A.R.* I 11a, 28b; 'at, in' (of time) *A.R.* VI 55a (*'š nwx* 'in the beginning'); VIII 3b (*'c hs*, the same); VII 5b (*'c hs 'wd 'c nwx*); 'at, by means of' (agent or instrument) *H.* VIc 14b, 20a; *A.R.* I 16a; VIIa 4b; 'by, in' (manner) *A.R.* Ia 4b (*'c hrwyn brhm* 'in every way'); VII 18b and 25b (*'c tgnbnd* 'swiftly')—*'c kw* 'whereby' *A.R.* VI 49b.

'd prep. 'with' *H.* VIc 15a; VIII 1a; *A.R.* I 29a; VI 2b, 7a, 71a (*rest.*), 73b; VII 7b, 20a, 22a, 26a.

'dr prep. 'below, under' *A.R.* VII 29b.

'dryy adv. 'below, beneath' *A.R.* Ia 3a.

'dwr 'fire' *H.* VIb 21b; *A.R.* I 14b; II 1a; IIIb 12b; VI 38b; VII 19a, 23b, 26b (*rest.*); VIIa 2b; *O* 1a.

'dwryn, "'dwryn 'fiery' *A.R.* I 19a; VII 2b, 30b.

'dy'wr 'helper, friend' *H.* V 2b; pl. *H.* V 11a (*rest.*); VIc 12a.

'dyh- pr. st. 'enter' *H.* I 7a; VIIIa 2a.

'dyhynd 'one who enters' pl. *H.* V 4b; Va 12b.

'frydg 'blessed' *A.R.* VI 67b.

'g 'if' *H.* IVa 6a.

'g'm adv. 'willingly' (H.; see above, p. 87 n. 1) *H.* V 1a.

'gd pt. 'come' *H.* VII 11a; *A.R.* VI 64a.

'gs, "'gs 'apparent, visible' *A.R.* I 16b; VI 56b, 61a, 62a.

'gwst pt. 'hang up' *A.R.* VIIa 14a; *P* 12b.

'g(w)št pt. 'hide' (*ā+gauz-*) *A.R.* VIII 7a (but reading doubtful).

'h- pr. st. 'be'

pret. (?) *'h'z H.* I 23b (in usage apparently parallel with *'st*); *A.R.* I 30a; as auxil. verb, with ppp., *A.R.* VII 1b.

pres. sg. 3 'st H. I 23a, 32b, 33b, 34a, 49a, 62a, 63a; III 3b, 4b; IVa 2b, 5b; IVb 2b, &c.

pres. sg. 2 'yy H. VIa 1b; *A.R.* VI 9a, 50b, 51a, 63a; as auxil. verb *H.* VIa 8b; *A.R.* VI 45a, 55a, 55b, &c.

pres. sg. 1 'hym, hym H. VIa 2b; *A.R.* I 20a; VI 8b, 10a, &c.; as auxil. verb *A.R.* I 15b, 18b (twice); Ib 13a; VIII 1b, 4a, 5a, 6a.

pres. pl. 3 'hynd H. I 51a; IVa 1b; as auxil. verb *A.R.* I 15a, 27b (variant), 28a; Ia 13b, 14a, &c.

'hr's'd pt. 'frighten' *H.* VIa 3b (*rest.*), 8b; *A.R.* VI 9b.

['']hr'sg 'one who frightens' *H.* VII 19a.

'hrmyn 'Ahrmen; the devil' *H.* Va 1b.

'hrywwr 'pool of destruction' (see Bailey, *BSOS.* vii, pp. 295–6; and *Mir. Man.* iii, glossary s.v.) *H.* VIa 7b.

'hxt pt. 'draw out' *A.R.* Ia 14b.

'jwn, "'jwn 'rebirth' *H.* IVa 5a, 9a; *A.R.* III 50a; VII 8a; VIIa 14a.

'jy-, "'jy- pr. st. 'be reborn' *A.R.* VII 9a.

'm'h, 'm 'we, us' *H.* I 1b.

'm'nwd 'sharing in support' (H., tentatively, as from *ham-* and Sogd. *'nwt-* 'support', OPers. *anušiya-* 'supporter') *A.R.* IIIb 2b.

'mb'hg 'drooping' (H., who connects tentatively with *'mbst*, cf. MPers. *hmb'h-*, see *List*) *H.* I 23a.

'mbd- pr. st. 'fall down' *H.* V 19b; *A.R.* VII 27b.

'mrzg ? (H. hesitatingly 'breaking', if from *'mšt-*) *H.* VIb 2b.

'mštg 'broken, smashed' *A.R.* VIIa 1a.

'mwjd 'pity' *H.* IVb 2b.

'mwšt pt. 'collect, heap up' *A.R.* I 13b, 19a, 22a, 27b.

'my'st pt. 'wreathe, entwine' (H., who compares *pwsg ... 'my'st* [*H.* I 22b] with *pws' . . .'my'st'* in Sogdian transliteration in T I D^{6}, representing *pwsg ...'my'stg*, and derives from *ham+yāh-*, cf. Pers. *hamyān* and see *'zy'h-* below) *H.* I 22b; IV 1a (*rest.*).

'n's'g 'numberless' *H.* I 22b.

'nd'g 'sorrow' *H.* I 2b (*rest.*); VIc 3b; *A.R.* II 11b.

'nd's'd pt. 'abandon' *A.R.* VI 50a.

'ndm- pr. st. 'sigh' *H.* III 11b.

'ndr prep. 'in' *H.* V 2b; adv. 'within' *H.* I 32b, 64a; V 3a, 4a, 5b, 20a (*rest.*); Va 12a; Vb 11a; VIb 21a; *A.R.* I 24b, 25b; Ib 13a (*rest.*); VII 21b; VIII 12a; *A* 1b; *'c 'ndr* 'within' *H.* Va 11a; *A.R.* I 11a, 28b.

'ndrw'zyq 'of the air' *H.* IVa 7a.

'ndrxs'd pt. 'be compressed, constricted' (H., as the passive-intransitive of *'ndrynj-/'ndrxt*, from *ham+trnk-*, cf. Sogdian *'ntr'ys- BBB.*, 60, *'ntryt'y* P 22, 16; for the normal meaning 'condemn: vanquish' cf. the opposite *bzvxtn* 'loosen: acquit: gain victory') *A.R.* VIII 6b.

'ndrxtg 'condemned, vanquished' pl. *O* 2a.

'ndyš'd pt. 'think, plan' *A.R.* Ib 3a (*rest.*).

'ndyšt pt. 'heap together' (H., as from *ham+daiz-*) *A.R.* VII 26b.

'ndyšyšn 'thought, reflection; *ἐνθύμησις*' *H.* I 58b; *A.R.* Ib 2a (*rest.*).

'ng'wg 'ending; cessation' *A.R.* IIIc 1b (*rest.*).

'ngd 'rich' *H.* V 11b; *A.R.* (title) *passim*; *A.R.* I 1a.

'ngwn 'rest, cessation' *H.* IVa 2b, 5b; Va 1b; VIb 3a; VIc 2a (*rest.*); VIIIa 3a; *A.R.* VI 73a; *A* 1b.

'ngwšt 'finger, toe' *A.R.* Ia 11a, 12a.

'njwgyft 'anguish' *H.* I 28a; V 2a, 13a; VIc 14b; VII 11b, 20b; VIIIa 3b; *A.R.* I 14a (variant, *'njgyft*), 18b; VI 4b, 34a (*rest.*); VII 4a; VIII 2b, 17b; *A* 1a (*rest.*).

'njywgyft 'revivification, redemption' *A.R.* Ia 1a; VII 30b (*rest.*).

'nmbr- pr. st. 'gather together' ? *H.* IVa 1b.

'nrgyft 'indignity' (H., who explains as *an-+arga-* 'value', Skt. *argha-*, Sogd., Oss. *ary*, &c., and compares Arm. *anarg* 'worthless, vile, abject, despicable', which Hübschmann regarded as a native Armenian word) *A.R.* IIIa 12a (*rest.*); VII 22b.

(')*[n]w(ry)d* 'endless, boundless' (*H.*, on the basis of M59 i 23 *frmyn'y pd 'nwryd w'ryšn*) *A.R.* VI 7a.

'pdn, var. *'bdn* 'palace' (see H., *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 110 n. 1) *H.* VIc 11a.

'r'm, *"r'm* 'dwelling-place, place' *H.* I 6a (*rest.*); VIII 2b; *A.R.* VI 65b; VII 4b, 6b; *O* 13a (*rest.*).

'rg'w 'noble' *H.* I 51a; Vb 11a (*rest.*); VIc 10b; *A.R.* IIIc 3b; VI 68a.

's-, *"s-* pr. st. 'come' *A.R.* II 2b; VII 1a, 3a, 6a, 10a, 13a.

'sk'dr comp. adv. 'in a higher degree, more' (see *List*) *H.* I 32a.

'skyy adv. 'above' *A.R.* Ia 3b (*rest.*).

'sm'n 'heaven' *A.R.* VI 57b, 66a; VII 20b, 28b; pl. *A.R.* Ia 3b; IIIc 2b.

'st'r 'sin' *A.R.* VIII 2a.

'st'rg 'star, planet' *A.R.* Ia 2b; VII 22a.

'[sw]nyn 'of iron' *A.R.* I 26b (*rest.*).

'šwb, *"šwb* 'turmoil, anarchy' *A.R.* I 21b, 27b; VIIa 13a.

'šwbgr 'turbulent, unruly' *A.R.* VIII 15a.

'šyft, *'(')šyft* pt. 'trouble, disturb' (see Ghilain, p. 95; and cf. *pšyft*) *A.R.* I 13a.

['']šyxt pt. 'sprinkle, pour' *A.R.* III 30a (*rest.*).

'w prep. 'to' (of place) *H.* V 19b; VIc 2a; *A.R.* I 24b; VI 3a, &c.; 'to, for' (dative particle) *H.* I 62a; V 9b; VII 2a, 10a, &c.; before the direct object, *H.* V 1a; VIa 3a; VIII 12a; *A.R.* I 19b; VI 31a, 32a, 62b, 63b, &c.

'w's 'now' *H.* VIa 2a.

'wd, *'wṭ* 'and' *passim*; shortened, *u*; with suff. sg. 1 *'wm H.* IVa 10a; V 6b; *A.R.* I 2a, 11a; Ia 11a, &c.; with suff. sg. 3 *'wš A.R.* VII 2b; with suff. pl. 3 *'wš'n H.* I 7b, 50a (*rest.*); VIc 13b, 15a; *A.R.* VI 5a, 55b; VII 22b.

'wd'y'dn inf. 'to save' *A.R.* Ib 1b (*rest.*).

'wdjn 'rigour, harshness' (H., who compares Arm. *dažan*, Pers. *dižan*) *H.* V 1b; *A.R.* VIIa 11b.

'wjd pt. 'slay' *A.R.* VI 62b; pr. st. *'wjn- A.R.* VI 31a.

['w]jy'n 'slaughter' (see *List*) *K* 12a.

'wr adv. 'hither' *A.R.* VII 6a, 10a, 15a; as imp. 'come!' *A.R.* VI 8a.

'wrjwg, *"wrjwg* 'lust' *H.* IVa 1b; V 10a; *A.R.* VII 3b, 14b, 18b, 24a, 26a.

'wst'd pt. 'place, set up' *A.R.* VII 27a; pr. st. *'wst- H.* VIc 4b.

'wsxt pt. 'descend' *A.R.* VI 2b, 55a (*rest.*; variant *wsxt*).

[']wš 'φρόνησις' A.R. Ib 3a (*rest.*).

'wwd 'there' *H.* I 7a; VIc 22b.

'wyšt'dn inf. 'to exist; existing, abiding' *A.R.* VII 11b; pr. st. *'wyšt- H.* I 7a (*rest.*); VIII 3a; VIIIa 3a; *C* 11a.

'wzdys 'idol' pl. *H.* V 12a.

'xš'dyft 'wretchedness' *H.* VIa 4b; *A.R.* VI 72b.

'xšd 'mercy' *H.* III 12a; IVa 3b; V 9a; VII 11a; *A.R.* I 1a; IIa 21b; IIIb 1b.

'xšd'g 'merciful, one showing mercy' *A.R.* VIIa 3a.

'xšd'gyft 'mercy' *H.* I 1b; VIb 22b.

'xšyd pt. 'hear' *A.R.* VII 9b.

'xšynd 'prince' pl. *H.* VIb 14a; VIc 1b; VII 18a; *A.R.* I 18a; VII 23a.

'xšyndyft 'rule, tyranny' *A.R.* VI 56b.

'xtr 'star' pl. *A.R.* Ia 2a.

'xtrwzn 'zodiac' *A.R.* Ia 8b.

'yd, *'yd* 'here'; in phrase *'c 'yd fr'c* 'hence' *A.R.* VII 15a; VIIa 17a (*rest.*).

'ywšt pt. 'be agitated' *A.R.* Ia 2a.

'ywštg, *"ywštg* 'troubled, disturbed' *H.* IVa 2a; *A.R.* I 12b; VII 2a, 31a.

'ywz, *"ywz* 'disturbed, violent' *A.R.* I 21b, 22a; 'disturbance' *H.* VIa 4a.

'z cas. rect. of pers. pron. sg. 1 'I' (cf. obl. *mn*) *H.* VIa 1a, 2b, 3a; VIc 1a; VIII 2a; *A.R.* VI 8b, 10a, 43a &c.; with suff. *'zyc A.R.* II 3a; with suff. pl. 3 *'zyš'n A.R.* VI 39b.

'z'd, *"z'd* 'free' *H.* VIb 12b; *A.R.* VI 45b.

'z'dyft 'freedom' *H.* VIIIa 1b.
'zyh- pr. st. 'go out' *H.* VII 9a.
'ž see *'c.*

'skrfyšn 'stumbling' (see *List*) *A.R.* VIIa 15a (*rest.*); VIII 1b, 16a; *P* 2a.
'sp'w 'terror' *H.* I 34a; IVa 6b; *A.R.* I 30a; VII 2b, 19a; VIII 13b.
'sp'w- pr. st. 'terrify' *O* 11b.
[']*sprhmg* 'flower' *H.* III 4a.
'spwh- pr. st. 'be terrified' (see H., *BSOAS.* xii, p. 50, text l. 13 and p. 52, note) *O* 12b.
'spwr 'complete, entire' *A.R.* VI 10b, 21b, 44b, 48b.
'spyxt 'radiant' *H.* VIc 4a; *A.R.* VI 10a.
'st'n- pr. st. 'take' *H.* VIc 1a; *A.R.* VI 67a.
'st'w-[1] pr. st. 'praise' *H.* I 61a.
'st'w-[2] pr. st. ? (either a mistake for *'sp'w-*, q.v.; or 'overcome', see *List* under *'stwyqwn-*) *H.* IVa 3b.
'st'w'dg 'praised' *H.* I 48b (*rest.*); *A.R.* I 4a (*rest.*); VI 69b.
'st'wyšn 'praise' *H.* VIc 3a, 13b; VIII 1b.
'stft 'hard' *H.* V 5a.
'stftyft 'hardness, harshness' *L* 11a.
'strb'd pt. 'snap, close (as a trap)' (H., who restores the old pt. [']*strwf*[*t*] in M 99/8, 16b, and derives from *us-*+*trp-* 'steal', cf. Pahl. *truft*) *N* 2a; pr. st. *'strb-* *A.R.* VII 21a.
'stwn 'mast' pl. *A.R.* I 27b.
'škyb'd pt. 'be patient' *H.* VIII 12a.
'šm'r 'number' *A.R.* Ia 8a; VII 13b.
'št- pr. st. 'stand, exist, be' *H.* I 59a, 61b; III 3a; VIa 7b; VIb 3b; *A.R.* III 10b (*rest.*).
'yd see *'yd.*
'ydw'y- pr. st. 'lead in' *H.* VIc 2a; *A.R.* V 54a (*rest.*); VI 68b; *J* 12a.
'ym 'this' adj. sg. *H.* VII 10b; *A.R.* IIIc 2a, 13a; VII 10b; VIIa 11a, 12a; adj. pl. *'ymyn H.* VIb 12a; *M* 11a; subst. pl. *'ymyn H.* IVa 8a; IVb 1a, 3a; VII 10a; *A.R.* VI 1a.
'yw 'one' *H.* IVa 3b, 6b; *D* 1b (twice); with suff. *'ywyc . . .*[*ny*] 'not even one' *H.* I 52a.
'zg'm 'going out; departure, death' *H.* V 20a; VII 11a; VIII 13a; *A.R.* VIIa 11a; *J* 11b.
'zgd pt. 'go out' *A.R.* VI 62a.
'zgryftg 'taken away' *H.* IVa 9b (*rest.*).
'zgrysp'd pt. 'be taken away' *A.R.* Ia 12b; VI 60b; VIII 3a.
'zgyrw- pr. st. 'take away' *H.* I 2b.
'zw'y- pr. st. 'lead out' *H.* IVa 4a, 5a; *A.R.* VI 33a, 42b.
'zwrdyšn 'return (esp. into the body)' *A.R.* VIII 11b; *M* 11b; *O* 11a.
'zwrt- pr. st. 'turn back, return' *H.* IVa 9a (*rest.*); *A.R.* II 3b; VII 7a, 8a, 14a; VIII 11a.
'zy'h- pr. st. 'gird on' (H., as from *uz*+*yāh-*, cf. *'my'st* above) *H.* VIc 4a.

b'myg 'brilliant' *H.* VIc 5a.
b'myn 'brilliant' *H.* III 1a; VIc 22a.
b'r 'fruit' *H.* I 36a (*rest.*).
b'zwr 'wing' (see H. in *BSOAS.* xiv, p. 441 n. 2; Prof. Morgenstierne (by letter, 10.1.53) further compares Kalasha *bazurgunḍi* 'wing', compounded of an Iranian loan-word and a native IA. word; Kal. *a*, he points out, can represent Iranian *a* or *ā*) *H.* VIc 1a.
bdyg 'second' *H.* VII 10b; *A.R.* II (title).
bg 'god' pl. *A.R.* VI 62a, 71b.
bg'nyg 'divine' *H.* VIc 2b.
bnd 'bond, link; bondage' *A.R.* Ia 1b (*rest.*), 11b; VIIa 4b; *M* 2b.

bndgyft 'bondage' *A.R.* II 11a.
bndyst'n 'prison' *A.R.* Ia 1b.
br 'gate, door' *H.* VII 12a; *A.R.* VI 66a; VIIa 3b.
br'dr 'brother' pl. *A.R.* VI 70a.
br'z- pr. st. 'gleam, shine' *H.* I 39a.
br'zyšn 'gleam, brightness' *A.R.* VII 22a.
brhm 'form, grace; fashion, way' (see H., *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, pp. 108–18) *A.R.* Ia 4b; VII 12b, 26a.
brm'd pt. 'weep' *A.R.* VI 49b; pr. st. *brm-* *H.* IVa 6a; *A.R.* IIIa 11a.
bry'n 'roasting, burning' *A.R.* VII 9b.
bst pt. 'bind, fasten' *A.R.* Ia 14a; VI 56a; pr. st. *bnd-* *H.* VIc 11b, 12a, 13b.
bšn'n sg. 'height, stature' (H., who compares MPers. *bšn'y* 'height, stature, body' and derives both words from *baršn-*, cf. Av. *barəš-nu-*, OPers. *baršnā*; a singular *bšn* is not recorded; see above p. 107 n. 2) *H.* VII 19b; *A.R.* Ia 3b; IIIa 12b; VI 42b.
bwd pt. 'become, be'; also as auxil. verb;
pret. sg. 3 bwd or *bwṯ* *H.* VIc 14a; *A.R.* Ia 8b; VI 56b, 57a, &c.; as auxil. verb, *A.R.* Ia 11b, 12b; Ib 2b (*rest.*).
pret. sg. 2 bwd 'yy *A.R.* VI 55b; VIIa 14b.
pret. sg. 1 bwd hym *A.R.* Ib 4a (*rest.*).
pret. pl. 3 bwd'hynd *A.R.* Ia 13b; VI 4a; VIII 5b; as auxil. verb, *A.R.* I 15a, 28a.
pres. st. bw-
pres. sg. 3 bwyd *A.R.* VII 29b; *P* 11a; as auxil. verb, *P* 12b.
pres. pl. 3 bwynd *H.* VII 1b; *A.R.* II 2b; VIIa 1a, 4a; as auxil. verb *H.* V 9a; *A.R.* I 26a, 26b, 27b; Ia 1a; VII 26b, 27b, 35a; VIIa 2a, 6a.
subj. sg. 3 bw'ḫ, bw' *H.* VII 21b; *A.R.* VI 73a; VII 3b.
subj. sg. 2 bw'ḫ, bw' *H.* VIc 3b; VII 23a; *A.R.* VII 10a, 13a; VIIa 11a.
subj. sg. 1 bw'n; as auxil. verb, *H.* IVb 3b.
bwj'gr 'saviour' *H.* VII 10a; *A.R.* VI 1b; VIII 6a (*rest.*), 13a.
bwn 'root, base' *H.* VIII 2a; *A.R.* VI 54b, 61b; VII 4b.
bwng'ḫ 'foundation' *A.R.* Ia 3a.
bwrd pt. 'bear, endure' *A.R.* VII 17b; opt. *bryndyḫ* *A.R.* IIIc 11a.
bwrz 'high, lofty' *H.* I 59b; VIc 10b; *A.R.* VI 65b; 'loud, aloud' *A.R.* I 29b.
bwrzw'r 'high, lofty' *A.R.* VI 22a, 63a; 'height' *A.R.* VII 15b, 20a.
bwrzyyft 'height' *H.* VIc 20b.
bwrzynd 'high, height' (= Av. *bərəzant-*) *H.* IVa 10a.
bwxtn inf. 'to save' *H.* V 12b (*rest.*); pt. *bwxt* *A.R.* VIII 2a; pr. st. *bwj-* *H.* IVa 3a, 8a, 10a (*rest.*); IVb 3a; V 1a, 6a; VIa 3a; *A.R.* IIIa 1a; IIIb 11a; VI 43a, 64a; inchoat. pr. st. *bwxs-* 'be saved' *H.* IVa 6a; VII 20b.
bwxtgyft 'salvation' *A.R.* VI 73a; 'trophy of victory, *zāḵūṯā*' *A.R.* VI 63a.
bwy 'smell' *H.* V 20b.
bybr'n pl. '(thick) clouds' (H., tentatively, as a compound with *abra-*, comparing Khot. *pyaura-*, Sogd. *pr'yβ'k*, Khwar. *pyrβyk*; previously recorded as *bybr*[, *Sogdica*, p. 53) *A.R.* I 23a.
byc 'but' *H.* VIIIa 1a.
byd[1] 'second, other'; in phrase (*'yw*) *byd'n* *H.* I 61a; IVa 3b, 6b.
byd[2] 'again, then' *L* 1b.
byḫ 'outside' *H.* I 36b (*rest.*); *A.R.* VIIa 12a.
[*by*]*rwlyy*[*n*] 'of crystal' (H., tentative restoration, with *r* preceding *l* as in Khotanese *värūlya-*,

vīrūlīnaa-, while *l* comes first in the noun *bylwr* (see *List*); Sogdian has *βyr'wr*) *H.* IV 2a.
bzgyft 'sinfulness' *H.* Vb 11a.
bzkr 'sinner' used in the sg. of the devil, *A.R.* VI 50a (*rest.*), 64a; *O* 2a; pl. *A.R.* VI 21b.
[*b*]*zyškyft* 'healing' *A.R.* VI 48b.

-c suff. particle 'also, even'; see *'zyc, 'ywyc, hmgyc, hrwyc.*
c'm- pr. st. 'come' *A.R.* VII 3a.
c'šnyg see *wyspc'šnyg.*
cm- pr. st. 'run' *A.R.* I 20b.
cmg 'course, path; movement, gait' *H.* I 32a; *A.R.* Ia 2b, 8b (*rest.*); VIII 1a.
cšm 'eye' *A.R.* VI 3a.
cw'gwn 'like, as' *H.* VIc 14a; VIII 12a; *A.R.* I 13a, 19a, 20a; VII 11a, 12a.
cwhrb'd 'quadruped' pl. *H.* IVa 7b.
cw(n)[*d*] 'how much' (H., connecting with Pers. *čand*) *H.* I 52b.
cxr 'wheel, cycle' *A.R.* Ia 8b.
cy[1] rel. pron. neut. 'which, what' *H.* I 32b; IVa 1b, 3b, 4b, 9b; V 1b, 2a; Va 12b; VIb 11b; VII 2a, 8a; VIII 1a; *A.R.* VI 9b, 44a, 52a, 65a; VII 10b, 17b; VIIa 12b; with suff. sg. 2 *cyd* *A.R.* VII 16b; as *Iḍāfah*: *H.* I 2a, 29a, 33a, 50b, &c.
cy[2] cj. 'for, because' *H.* I 1a, 6b; VIc 11b; VII 9a; *A.R.* I 5a, 21a, 22a; with suff. sg. 1 *cym* *A.R.* VI 50b; 'as, when' *A.R.* VI 1b.
cyd 'always' *H.* Va 11a.
cyhrg 'form, shape; nature, being' *A.R.* I 16a, 17b; Ib 2a (*rest.*); VI 5b, 42a, 53b; VII 7a; VIII 12b.
cyš 'thing' *A.R.* Ib 3a.

-d suff. pron. sg. 2 *A.R.* VII 16b.
d'dbr 'judge' *H.* Va 2a.
d'hw'n 'gift' *A.R.* I 1b; III 11a.
d'lwg 'tree, plant' *H.* IVa 9b.
d'm'g 'creation' (H., rather than assuming a scribal error for *d'mg*) *A.R.* VII 18a.
d'md'd 'creature' pl. *H.* IVa 3a, 6b; *A.R.* VII 9a.
d'mg 'trap' (see H., *BSOAS.* xi, p. 471 n. 4) *A.R.* VII 21a; *N* 2a.
d'r- pr. st. 'have' *H.* I 32b.
db 'trick' *H.* I 26a (possibly not a complete word); VIa 4a.
dbgr 'deceptive' *A.R.* I 3b; VIII 14a; 'deceiver' *A.R.* VII 21b.
dbgryy 'deceiver' (?) *A.R.* VIIa 12a.
dh- pr. st. 'give' *H.* Va 1b; *A.R.* VI 65a; imp. sg. 2 with suff. sg. 1 *dhwm* *A.R.* I 1b.
dhmq 'tomb' *A.R.* VII 35b.
dm[. . .] 'wind' ? *A.R.* I 22a.
dr 'valley' *H.* V 1b.
dr'w'ng 'deceptive, deluding' (H., in preference to earlier translations) *H.* I 24b.
drd 'pain' *H.* I 6b; *A.R.* I 3b, 13b; VI 64b; VIII 5a.
drfš 'strake, wale' (H., see above, p. 119 n. 1; H. now suggests, however, that in this passage the word may have had the meaning in which it occurs in Mandaean, viz. 'cross, (nautical) yard'; cf. Brandt, *Mand. Religion*, p. 117 sq., p. 118 n. 2, with regard to the 'barques' of sun and moon) *A.R.* I 27a.
drwd 'health, safety' *H.* V 3a; VIIIa 1a.
drwšt 'whole, healthy'; *drwšt kr-* 'heal' *H.* I 2a; *A.R.* IIIc 12a; VI 64b.
drwštyft 'health' *H.* V 9b.
dst 'hand' *H.* I 18a; VIb 22a; VIc 14b; *A.R.* Ia 12a; VI 50a.
dstygyrd 'estate, mansion' *A.R.* VII 27a.
dw 'two' *H.* I 3b.
dwd 'smoke' *A.R.* I 22b.
dwdyn 'smoky' *H.* V 3b; *A.R.* I 14b.

dwjgnd 'stench' *H.* VIc 3b; cf. s.v. *fr'mwšt.*

dwjx 'hell' *H.* V 6b, 19b (*rest.*); VII 21a; *A.R.* IIIb 1a; VIII 14b.

dwr 'far, remote' *H.* V 4a (by mistake for *rwd*?), 6b, 19a; *A.R.* VI 4a, 32b, 47b; VIII 5b.

dwrcyhr 'ugly' *A.R.* I 17a; VIII 12b.

dwšmyn 'enemy' *H.* VIa 6b; pl. *dwšmnwn* (mistake?) *H.* VIc 14b; *dwšmnyn A.R.* I 2b; VI 56a.

dybhr, tybhr 'anger' *H.* V 4a; *A.R.* I 19a (variant *tybhr* in MS. T II D 178, for which see above, p. 24 n. 2); IIIb 21a; VII 17b.

dybhrg, tybhrg 'banished' (H., who compares Pahl. *pad dēbahr dāštan* JAsana, *P.T.* p. 5[14], 'banish' or 'arrest', lit. 'hold in anger', beside Arm. *dipah* 'arrest') pl. *A.R.* I 18a. [*Note*: the variant *tybhrg* occurs in T II D 178, for which MS. see above, p. 24 n. 2.].

dyd pt. 'see' *A.R.* VI 2a, 3b; VIII 12a; with suff. sg. 1 *dydwm A.R.* VI 1b; pr. st. *wyn- A.R.* VII 7a, 17a, 18a; VIII 13a.

dydn 'sight, phenomenon, aspect' *H.* I 48b, 49b, 53a; VIc 15b; *A.R.* I 12a (variant, [*d*]*yd'yn*), 16a; VI 2a, 5a (*dydyn*); VII 14a, 24a; VIII 12b. [*Note*: the spellings *dydyn*, [*d*]*yd'yn* both occur in T II D 178, for which MS. see above, p. 24 n. 2].

dydym 'diadem' *H.* VIc 4b, 11b, 12a, 13b; VIII 1b (*rest.*); *A.R.* VI 56a, 60b.

dyjw'r 'wretched' *A* 2a (*rest.*); 'wretchedness' *H.* I 7b; IVb 2a; *A.R.* VII 7b, 23b, 31b; *A* 1a (*rest.*); *P* 1b.

dyjw'ryft 'wretchedness' *A.R.* VII 3b; VIIa 12b.

dyn'br 'devout, religious' pl. *H.* VIc 13a; VII 1a.

dysm'n 'building, structure' *H.* IVb 1a; *A.R.* VI 54a; VIIa 15b; *O* 13a (*rest.*).

dysm'n b'n 'keeper of the building' pl. *A.R.* VIIa 1b.

dyw 'devil' pl. *H.* IVa 4b; *A.R.* I 18a; VI 31b; VII 30a; VIII 11a.

dywg 'insect' (see *List*, pp. 82, 90) *H.* IVa 7b.

dyz 'fortress' *H.* VIc 10a.

fr'c 'forwards, forth' *A.R.* VII 3a; in phrase *'c 'yd fr'c* 'hence' *A.R.* VII 15a; VIIa 17a (*rest.*).

fr'gwd ? *A.R.* IIIc 3b.

fr'mwšt dwjgnd 'forgetful of stench' *H.* VIc 3b.

[*fr'mw*]*štyft* 'forgetfulness' *H.* I 25a (*rest.*).

fr'mwxt pt. 'take off' *H.* VII 1a (*rest.*); *A.R.* VIII 4b; *C* 1a; pr. st. *fr'mwc- A.R.* IIIc 13a.

frb'd- pr. st. 'hurl down' *H.* VIa 9b.

frbst pt. 'fall down' *A.R.* Ia 3b; pr. st. *frbd- H.* IVb 1a.

frbwy- pr. st. 'give out scent, be fragrant' *H.* I 29a, 38a.

frg'w 'treasure' *H.* V 10a; *A.R.* VI 51a.

frh'h̲ prep. 'for, on account of' (H., as a derivative from OIr. *fra*+ an adverbial ending as in *p'z'h̲*; in preference to earlier attempts in *Mir. Man.* iii, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 109 n. 3) *A.R.* VII 5b.

frhyd 'many' *A.R.* VIIa 15a.

frhyft 'love' *A.R.* VI 53a, 67a.

frhyg[*r*] 'friend' *H.* III 12a.

frmnywg 'hope' H., who abandons the earlier translation of 'guarantee' and derives from **framanyuka-*, cf. Av. *framanah-*, MPers. *prmyn*) *H.* Va 11b (*rest.*); *A.R.* VI 8b, 10b; VII 16b.

frwd'd pt. 'understand, know' *H.* I 1a; VII 9b.

frwz- pr. st. 'fly (away)' *H.* VIc 1a.

fry'n 'friend, beloved' *A.R.* VI 42a, 53a.

fry'ng 'friend, beloved' *A.R.* I 1a, 4a.
fryẖ 'loving, fond'; *fryẖ bw-* 'be fond of' *A.R.* VII 10a, 13a.
fryštg 'envoy, apostle' *A.R.* VI 3b; pl. *H.* VII 12b; *A.R.* VI 61a.

gd pt. 'go' *A.R.* VII 2b.
ghr'y- pr. st. 'be proud' *A.R.* VII 21b.
gmbyr 'deep' (see *List*) *A.R.* VI 7b (*rest.*).
gnd'g 'stinking, foul' *H.* VII 22a.
gr'n 'heavy, grievous' *H.* I 24a, 58a; *A.R.* VI 4b.
gr'nyft 'heaviness, affliction' *H.* I 23a; *A.R.* Ib 13b (*rest.*); VI 7b (*rest.*)
gr'y- pr. st. 'slide, glide down' *A.R.* I 24b.
gryhcg 'pit' (Andreas; see *List*) *H.* IVa 1a.
grysp- pr. st. 'be taken, held' *H.* VII 20a; *P* 1b.
gryw 'soul' *H.* IVa 6a; VIb 22b; *A.R.* I 11a, 13b, 16a; Ia 11b; Ib 2b, 12b (*rest.*); VI 1a, 2b, 7b, 23b, 52b, 54b; VIII 2a, 15b; pl. *H.* I 24a; *A.R.* VII 35a (*gryw'n mwrdg*); with suff. sg. 1 *grywm* *H.* VII 10a.
gst 'loathsomeness' *H.* IVa 9a.
gwng 'sort, kind' *H.* I 22b; *A.R.* Ib 12b (*rest.*); VIII 4b (*rest.*).
gy'n 'spirit' *H.* III 11b; VIa 2a; VIb 22b; VII 23a; *A.R.* Ia 5a; Ib 13b (*rest.*); VI 8a; VII 1a, 3a, 13a, 15a, 17a; VIII 6a, 13a; *B* 1a; pl. *H.* I 2a; VIb 2b; *D* 11b.
gzng 'treasure-house' *A.R.* VII 34a.

h'mcyhrq 'homomorphic' *A.R.* VIII 11a (see above, p. 171 n. 2).
h'mgyẖ 'partner' (H., who derives from Av. **hāmō.gaēθa* and compares OIr. **hangaiθa* 'partner', attested in Aramaic and Khwarezmian, see his *Zoroaster*, p. 44) *A.R.* VIII 14a.
h'mtnb'r 'having the same body' *H.* VII 1b.
h'wyndg 'boiling, seething' *A.R.* I 19b.
hftwm 'seventh' *A.R.* VII (title).
hmg 'whole, all' *H.* I 68a; IVa 10b; V 1b, 2a, 3b, 4a; *A.R.* VI 54a; VII 4a, 22a, 25a, 31a, 36a; VIII 16b; *hmgyc . . .* [*ny*] 'not at all, never' *H.* I 29b, 38b (*rest.*).
hnd'm 'limb, member' *H.* I 23b (*rest.*); *A.R.* Ia 13b; Ib 13a, 14b (*rest.*); VI 48a, 52a, 53a, 53b, 55a; 'section, canto' titles, *passim.*
hnj'[*myšn*] 'ending, completion' *H.* VIII 11a.
hnjft pt. 'finish' *H.* VIIIa (colophon, *rest.*); *A.R.* I 12b.
hrw 'all, each' *H.* VIa 3a, 9a; VIb 12b, 13a; VIIIa 1a; *A.R.* I 6a; IIIb 12a; VI 31b, 32a, 39a; *B* 1b; *N* 2b, 12a; *P* 11b; pl. *hrwyn* *H.* I 55a; III 2b; Vb 1a; *A.R.* IIIb 22a; VI 34b; VIII 17a; *D* 1a; *M* 1a, 13a; *N* 3a; with suff. *hrwyc* *H.* I 54a.
sg. adj. with sg. subst.: *H.* V 6b, 10a, 19b; VIa 4a; VIb 2a (*rest.*), 11b; *A.R.* I 14a, 21a, 22a, 23b, 26a; Ia 1b, 2a, 2b; Ib 13a (*rest.*); IIIb 21b; VI 6b, 32b, 33b, 66a; VII 10b, 18b, 20b, 22a, 24a, 26a, 27a; VIII 11b; *P* 1b.
sg. adj. with pl. subst.: *H.* IVb 1b; VIc 1b; VIII 12b; *A.R.* VI 21b (*rest.*), 31b, 51b, 71b, 73b; VII 23a, 30a.
pl. adj. with sg. subst.: *H.* I 23b, 35b, 60b; IV 1b; IVa 1a, 5b; IVb 1a, 2a; V 6a, 9b; VIa 6a (*rest.*), 6b, 8a; VII 11b, 18b, 22b; *A.R.* I 1b, 3a, 15a, 22b, 27a, 29a; Ia 4b, 11b (*rest.*), 12a, 13a, 13b, 14b (*rest.*); Ib 12b; II 2a; VI 3b, 4a, 22b, 42b, 43a, 43b (*rest.*), 49a, 49b

(*rest.*), 57b; VII 5a, 8a, 8b, 11b, 14a, 17b, 20a, 28a, 35b; VIIa 4a, 11b, 13a, 14a, 14b; VIII 2a, 5b, 14b.

pl. adj. with pl. subst., *H.* I 29a, 33a, 62b; IVa 3a; V 4b, 12a; Va 12b; VIb 14a; VIc 12a, 13a; VII 1a, 9a; *A.R.* I 18a; Ia 4a; VI 2a, 45b, 56a, 58b; VIIa 13b.

sg. subst.: *H.* I 49a; VII 9b; *A.R.* VI 5b, 65a; with pl. verb: *H.* I 7a; V 13b.

pl. subst.: *H.* IVa 5a, 8a; IVb 3a; *A.R.* I 17a; Ib 2b; VI 71a; VII 19b, 27b; *M* 11a; with sg. verb: *A.R.* Ia 12b.

hry 'three' *H.* VII 8b.

hs 'early; beginning' (H. points out that *'hy*, *Mir. Man.* i, ii, is the MPers. equivalent, with *ah-* < *(h)ah-* < *(h)aθ-*); *'c hs* 'in the beginning' *A.R.* VII 5b; VIII 3b.

hsyng 'primeval' (*'hyng*, *Mir. Man.* ii, *BBB.*, is the MPers. equivalent, acc. to H.) *H.* VIc 2a (*rest.*), 11a; *A.R.* VI 10a, 22a.

hštwm 'eighth' *A.R.* VIII (title).

hw 'that; the; he' *H.* I 59b; *H.* Va 11a; VIc 10a; VIIIa 2b; *A.R.* IIIc 12b; V 54b; VI 33a; *D* 11a; *N* 13a; pl. *H.* I 23a, 39b, 51a; VII 8b; *A.R.* I 17b; II 1a; VI 31a; VII 30a.

sg. adj. with sg. subst.: *H.* I 49b; IVa 10a; V 1a, 10b, 12b; Va 12b; VIc 2a, 15b, 20b, 21a; VII 12a; VIII 1b, 2a, 2b, 11b, 13a; VIIIa 2a; *A.R.* I 12a, 14a, 24a; IIIa 2b; IIIb 12b; IIIc 3a; VI 3a, 68a, 69a; VII 12b, 21a, 29a, 30b; VIII 1a, 3a; *A* 2b.

pl. adj. with sg. subst.: *H.* I 22a, 32a, 34a, 34b, 48a, 53a; IVa 8b; IVb 3b; V 20b; VIc 12b; VII 19b, 20a; *A.R.* I 3b, 16a, 19a, 27a; Ia 12b, 13a; VI 4b, 5a, 45a; VII 9b, 21b; VIII 5a; *M* 3a.

pl. adj. with pl. subst.: *H.* I 24a; *A.R.* VII 19b.

sg. subst.: *H.* I 62a; IVa 6a; V 2b, 6a; VIc 11b; VII 9a; VIII 1a; *A.R.* VI 2b, 45b; VII 5b, 19b, 26b; *D* 12a.

pl. subst.: *H.* I 18b, 33b, 34b, 63a; III 12b; IVa 9a; V 12b, 19a; Va 1a, 1b, 2b; Vb 11b; VIc 12a; *A.R.* I 28b; VI 42b; VII 7b, 22b; VIIa 5a, 7a; *E* 11b; *P* 1a (twice).

hw'n 'agony' (H.) *H.* IVb 1b; Va 12b; VIb 2a; VII 19b (*rest.*); *A.R.* IIIb 20b; VII 8b.

hw'r'm 'at ease, content' *A.R.* VII 6b.

hw'rmy[n] 'gentle, quiet' *P* 12a.

hwcyhryft 'beauty' *A.R.* IIIc 1a; VI 42a, 51b; VII 10b.

hwfry'd 'helper' *H.* V 2b.

hwfry'd'd pt. 'help' *A.R.* VIII 6a; pr. st. *hwfry'd-* *H.* V 10b; Va 2b; imp. sg. *A.R.* I 1b.

hwlkg 'gristle, cartilage' (H., who compares Khot. *hulga-* 'soft' and for a parallel development of meaning cites Pers. *narme-yi bīnī*, *narme-yi gūš*, &c.; *hul-* he derives from *vṛdu-*, cf. Av. *varədva-*, to which may have belonged the Sogdian equivalent in *A.R.* Ia 13a) *A.R.* Ia 13a.

[hw]my'g 'blissful' (see H., *N.G.G.W.* 1933, p. 310 n. 2) *H.* VIc 3a.

hwš- pr. st. 'become dry, wither' (see also *xwš'd*) *A.R.* VII 12b.

hwydg 'fortunate'; with suff. pl. 1 *hwydgm'n* *H.* (title, *passim*); *H.* I 1a; VIIIa, colophon.

hwynd ? (possibly to be read *hwynd'nd*[]) *M* 1b.

hxt pt. 'draw out' *A.R.* I 26b.

hynw'r 'flood, torrent' (H., who refers to Pers. *hīn* 'torrent' and

attributes this meaning also to Av. *haēnā* in certain passages) *H.* IVa 2a.

hynz'wr 'mighty' *H.* VII 10b.

[*h*]*ynz'wryft* 'might' *A.R.* IIIa 12b.

h(*y*)*štyg* 'brick' (H., Av. *ištya*, OPers. *išti*) *A.R.* VIIa 1a.

jd pt. 'strike, hit' *H.* V 9a; pr. st. *jn-* *H.* V 13b.

jfr 'depth, abyss' *H.* V 1a; *A.R.* II 12a; VII 20b; VIIa 7a, 13a; VIII 13b.

jfr'n probably sg. 'depth' rather than pl. of *jfr* (H., who compares *bšn'n*, q.v.) *H.* I 50b; IVa 10b; IVb 3b; V 9a (*rest.*); Va 11b; VIc 20a; *A.R.* I 24b; VI 45a; VII 31a; VIIa 2a; *M* 3a (*rest.*).

jm'n 'hour' *A.R.* I 12a; IIIb 10b; pl. *jmnyn* *A.R.* VI 56b; VII 13b.

jnng 'mildew, rust' (H., who corrects *jngyn* to 'rusty' in M 92, 7a, see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 111; = Arm., Pers. *žang*; in the meaning 'fight' *jnng* is only Middle Persian) *A.R.* VI 44a.

jxm 'wound' *H.* V 4b, 9a; *A.R.* VI 32b, 43b.

jywhr 'life' *A.R.* I 12a (*rest.*); Ia 11b (*rest.*), 13a (*rest.*); VI 54b; VII 25a, 33b; VIII 15b.

kd 'when' *H.* VIc 21a; *A.R.* VI 1a; VIII 7a.

kd'c 'ever'; *kd'c . . . ny* 'never' *H.* V 3a, 5b; *A.R.* IIIc 1b; *kd'c m'* . . . 'never' *H.* VIb 24b.

kdg 'house' *A.R.* VII 3b.

kft pt. 'fall' *A.R.* I 28a; Ib 12a; VII 1b; pr. st. *kf-* *H.* IVa 8b; VIb 14b, 23b; VII 19a, 21a; *A.R.* IIIc 2b; VII 11a, 20b; VIIa 2a.

kl'n 'big' *H.* VIc 10b; *A.R.* VI 10b.

qmbyg 'short, brief' (see *List*) *A.R.* VII 13b.

kr'n 'side, direction' *A.R.* VI 3a.

krm[1] 'action' (see H., *BBB.*, p. 62 n. to 516 and n. 1); *A.R.* VIII 16b.

krm[2] 'shooting-star, comet' (H., from Av. *kərəma-*); *A.R.* Ia 2a.

kryšn 'form, beautiful form' (see Benveniste, *BSOS.* ix, pp. 512–13; H., *BSOAS.* xi, pp. 470 n. 1, 733) *A.R.* VII 11b.

kw[1] 'that' *A.R.* VI 3b; VIIa 1b; VIII 12a; introducing direct speech, *H.* IVa 6a; VIII 1a; 'so that, in order to' *H.* IVa 8b; IVb 3b; Va 2b; *A.R.* I 13b, 19b; VI 64a; *P* 1a; with suff. sg. 1 *kwm* *A.R.* VI 2b.

kw[2] relat. 'where' *H.* IVa 2b, 5b; IVb 2b; Va 11b; *A.R.* VI 45a; *'c kw* 'whereat' *A.R.* VI 49b.

kwbg 'vexation' (H., who connects with Skt. *kopa-* 'irritation, passion, anger', cf. also Pashto *cwab*, Morgenstierne, *EVP.* 18, and abandons the translation 'stumble', see *List*) *A.R.* VI 66b.

qwf 'hill' pl. *M* 2a.

ky interrog. pron. 'who' *H.* IVa 10a; V 1a; with suff. sg. 1 *kym* *H.* IVa 1a, 2a, 3a, &c.; rel. pron. 'who, which' *H.* I 7a, 49a; IVa 6b; Va 1a; VIa 3b, 8b; VIc 22b, &c.; with suff. sg. 1 *kym* *A.R.* I 3b; with suff. pl. 3 *kyš'n* *H.* V 13b.

kyc 'one, someone'; *kyc ny* 'no one' *A.R.* II 1b; VIIa 3b.

kyrbg 'pious, devout' *H.* VIII 11b.

kyrbkr 'beneficent' *H.* I 1b, 48b (*rest.*); VIb 24a; VIc 5b; *A.R.* I 4a; pl. *H.* VIc 13a; VII 9a; *A.R.* VI 70a.

kyrd pt. 'make' *H.* I 18a; *A.R.* VIIa 12b, 13b, 15a; VIII 3b;
pr. st. *kr-*
imp. sg. 2 kr *H.* I 1b.
pres. sg. 3 kryd *H.* I 2a.
subj. sg. 3 kr'h, kr' *H.* V 6b, 19a; *A.R.* IIIa 1b; V 55b.

subj. sg. 2 kr' *A.R.* VII 17a.
subj. sg. 1 kr'n *A.R.* VI 32b, 64b (twice), 65b.
opt. kryndyẖ *A.R.* IIIa 2a; IIIc 12a.
qyrdg'n 'action' *A.R.* VI 22b; *O* 12a.
kyšt pt. 'sow' *A.R.* VI 52a.

lrz 'trembling, tremor' *H.* IVa 4b; *A.R.* IIIc 3a; VI 23a.

-m suff. pron. sg. 1; see *'bd'c-*, *'wd*, *cy*[2], *dh-*, *dyd*, *gryw*, *kw*[1], *ky*, *w'xt*.
m' 'not' (prohibitive); with subj., *H.* VIb 24b; *A.R.* II 3a; VI 8a; VII 1a, 3b, 6b, 7a, 10a, 13a, 14a.
m'd 'mother' *A.R.* VI 69a.
m'ẖ 'month' pl. *A.R.* Ia 8a.
-m'n suff. pron. pl. 1 *H.* (title, *passim*); *H.* I 1a.
m'n- pr. st. 'dwell, remain' *H.* VIc 22b; *A.R.* VII 19b.
m'nh'g 'like, similar to' *A.R.* I 20a.
m'nq 'mind' *A.R.* VI 6b.
m'nynd 'inhabitant' pl. *A.R.* VI 73b; *F* 11b.
m'nyndg 'inhabitant' *H.* IVb 2a.
m'nyst'n 'dwelling place, monastery' *H.* I 6a (*rest.*), 60b; *A.R.* VII 20a.
m'sy'g 'fish' pl. *H.* IVa 7b; *A.R.* I 15b (*rest.*).
mdy'n prep. 'among, amid' *H.* I 39b, 49a, 58a; *A.R.* I 2b.
mn obl. case pers. pron. sg. 1 'me' (cf. cas. rect. *'z*) *H.* VII 2a, 10a, 11a &c.
mn'n poss. pron. sg. 1 'mine' *A.R.* Ia 13b, 15a; Ib 12a.
mnwhmyd 'mind' *A.R.* VI 8b, 10b, 52b, 53b.
mrdwhm 'men, man' *H.* I 52a (*rest.*); *A.R.* I 17b; pl. [*mr*]*dwhm'n* *D* 2a.
mrdwhmg 'man'; pl. *H.* IVa 7a.
mrn 'death' *H.* V 2a; VIa 4b (*rest.*), 8b; *A.R.* VI 3b, 62b, 72a; VII 1b, 14b, 35b; VIIa 2a, 12b; VIII 11b, 15a.
mrnyn 'of death, deadly' *A.R.* VII 6b.
**[mr]w* 'ant, termite' (H. restored this form, or perhaps **[mwr]w*, as the continuation of Av. *maoiri-*) *H.* I 18b.
ms 'further; longer' *A.R.* V 62a; VII 6a, 10a, 13a; *ms . . . ny* 'no longer, not any more' *H.* VII 22a; VIIIa 3b (*rest.*); *A.R.* VI 50a; VIIa 3a; *ms m'* (the same) *A.R.* VII 1a.
mwhr 'seal' *H.* VIb 12a; *A.R.* Ia 12b.
mwhrg 'vertebra' *A.R.* Ia 15b.
mwjdg 'good news' *A.R.* VI 8b.
mwrdg 'dead' *A.R.* VII 35a.
mwrg 'bird' pl. *H.* IVa 7a.
mwrg'ryd 'pearl' *A.R.* VI 51b.
mwrt 'death' (see *List*) *A.R.* VII 4a.
myg 'cloud' pl. *A.R.* VII 2b.
mygdg 'fruit' (see H., *BSOAS.* xii, p. 56) *H.* I 35b.
myx 'nail, rivet' *A.R.* I 26b.

n'm 'name' *H.* VIc 14a; *pd n'm* 'according to the name, literally, precisely' (H.) *H.* VIII 12a.
n'r- pr. st. 'moan, groan' (see *List*) *A.R.* VIIa 4b.
n'w'z 'helmsman' pl. *A.R.* I 29a; VI 2a.
ng'n 'buried treasure' (H., who abandons 'signet-ring', see *Mir. Man.* iii, but hesitates between 'buried treasure', extension from 'buried', cf. Pahl. *nikān*, and simply 'treasure, hoard' = MPers. *ny'n*, Khot. *nyanaa-*, see Gershevitch, *Asia Major*, ii. 143, with some preference for the latter, in view of the resemblance of phrase: MPers. *ny'n 'wd g[nz]*: Parth. *ng'n 'wd gzn*; both MPers. and Khot. could as well have had *-g-* originally as *-d-*) *A.R.* VI 51a.

ngwh- pr. st. 'engulf, submerge (trans.)'? *A.R.* I 19b; 'be engulfed, sink'? *H.* V 19a; *A.R.* II 12a.

ngws'r 'downwards' *H.* VII 19a; *A.R.* VII 20b.

ngwst pt. 'hide, cover' *H.* I 25b (*rest.*); *A.R.* Ib 2b (*rest.*); VI 3b, 5a; pr. st. *ngwnd-* *A.R.* VI 67a.

ngwz'dn inf. 'to hide, disappear' *A.R.* I 24b.

nhxt pt. 'hold back, hold down, restrain' *A.R.* VIIa 13a; VIII 1b.

nm'c 'reverence, obeisance' *H.* I 59b.

nm'y- pr. st. 'show' *H.* VIc 2b; *A.R.* VI 68a, 69a.

nmrz- pr. st. 'make smooth' (see *List*) *A.R.* VI 66b.

nr 'manly, heroic' (H., in preference to 'strong', as earlier translated; he points out that *nr mnwhmyd* here may be regarded as resuming Av. *naire. manah-*, Skt. *nṛmaṇas-*) *A.R.* VI 53b.

nrh 'hell' *H.* IVa 8b, 10b; IVb 3b; V 12b; *A.R.* VII 5a; VIIa 3b; VIII 17a; *P* 2b.

nrhp'n 'guardian of hell' pl. *H.* VIb 22a.

nrhyg 'hellish' *H.* IVb 2b (*rest.*); V 10b.

ns'w 'corpse, body' *A.R.* I 12a.

nw'g[1] 'new' *A.R.* IIIc 13b; VI 65b.

nw'g[2] 'song, melody' *H.* I 60a.

nwx 'beginning'; *'c nwx* 'in the beginning' *A.R.* VI 55a; VII 5b; *pd nwx* (the same) *A.R.* VIII 3b.

nwxz'd 'first born' *H.* VIc 11a.

nx'b 'drowning' (H. translated this noun, to which a verb *nx'f'dn* belongs, as 'being stifled, smothered, drowned' and related it to a stem *xab'-*, well represented in Persian: *xabe* / *xafe* 'strangulation', *xabīdan* / *xafīdan* 'choke', *xafǰ* 'nightmare'; later I came across *H.* I 29b, where, as Dr. Waley kindly established, the Chinese equivalent is *ni* 溺 'drown(ed)', which thus confirms the explanation) *H.* I 29b (*rest.*); *A.R.* I 27a; VI 45a.

nxcyr 'beast of the chase' *H.* IVa 13b.

nxwyn 'first' *H.* I (title); *A.R.* Ia (title—*rest.*).

ny 'not' *passim*; with suff. pl. 3 *nyš'n* *H.* V 10b.

nyd'mg 'shell, husk' *A.R.* VIII 13a.

nydrxt pt. 'overwhelm, subdue' *H.* VIc 20b.

nyrd prep. 'near, beside' *A.R.* VI 71b; *O* 3a.

nys'g 'bright, splendid' *H.* I 59a; VIc 22a; *A.R.* VI 42a.

nys'gyft 'brightness, splendour' *H.* I 22b.

nys'r'd pt. 'begin' *H.* I (title); *A.R.* I (title).

nyš'n 'sign, standard' *A.R.* VI 22a, 63b; see also under *ny*.

n(y)xw(m)[bn] 'cover, shutter' (H., tentatively, comparing Pers. *nihumban*; but the reading is very doubtful) *A.R.* Ia 1b.

nyz'wryft 'feebleness' *H.* I 51b.

nyzm'n 'fog' *H.* V 3b; *A.R.* I 14b, 22b.

(n.)hg (?) *A.R.* VIII 5b.

p'd 'foot' pl. *A.R.* Ia 11a.

p'db'rg 'raiment' (Andreas, comparing *b'rg* 'dress'. This word must be distinct from *p'db'rg* in the only other recorded passage, *JRAS.*, 1944, p. 143 n. 6, where H. translates 'bribe', cf. MPers. *p'rg*: 'for the bribe, which the Jews gave him, he betrayed his own master and teacher') *A.R.* VI 68b.

p'dgws 'region, direction' *A.R.* I 22a; *'w . . . p'dgws* 'towards' *A.R.* VI 3a.

p'dgyrb 'shape, form' *H.* VIc 21a, 22a.

[*p'dy*]*fr's* 'reward, retribution' *A.R.* VII 31b.

p'dyšnwhr 'recompense' *H.* VIII 11b; *A.R.* VIIa 6b.

p(')[*dyxš'n*] 'ruler, emperor' *H.* VIc 10b.

p'rgyn 'ditch, moat' *H.* IVa 4a.

p'y- pr. st. 'protect' *H.* VIb 3a.

p'z'ẖ adv. 'before one's face, in front; on one's face, prone' (H., who explains as adv. in *-āh*, cf. *frh'ẖ* above, from *pāz* = OIr. *pāzah-* 'face, surface', on which see Bailey, *BSOAS.* xii, pp. 323–6; xiii, p. 136) *H.* VIc 20b; VII 19b.

pd, pṯ prep. 'in' (of place) *H.* I 18b, 23a, 23b, 34a, 34b; IVa 8b, 9a, &c.; 'upon' (of place) *H.* VIc 4b; 'in, with' (manner) *H.* I 22b, 59b; VIc 1a, 3a; *A.R.* VI 67a, &c.; 'with, by' (instrument) *H.* V 4b, 5a, 9a, 13a; VIa 3b; VIc 1a, &c.; 'during, on' (of time) *A.R.* VI 56b; VII 29a; VIIa 11a;—*pd n'm* 'according to name, literally' (?) (H.) *H.* VIII 12a.

pdbnd 'bar, clamp' *A.R.* I 26a; Ia 1b; IIa 41a.

pdbws['*d*] pt. 'long for, desire' *A.R.* VII 16b.

pdgryft pt. 'take, receive'; *H.* I 1a; VIc 20a; *A.R.* I 15b, 18b; pr. st. *pdgyrw-* *H.* VIII 1b; *A.R.* VIIa 6b.

pdq[*r*] 'statue, image' *H.* V 12a.

pdm'n 'measure, number' *H.* I 69b (*rest.*); *A.R.* VII 2a.

pdmwcn 'garment' *H.* VIc 12b; *A.R.* VI 9a (*rest.*); VIII 4a.

pdmwg 'garment' *H.* VIc 4a.

pdmwxt pt. 'put on' *A.R.* VIII 4a; pr. st. *pdmwc-* *H.* VIc 4a (*pdmwj-*), 11b, 12b, 13b; *A.R.* IIIc 13b (*rest.*); VII 36b; VIIa 2b (*rest.*).

pdr'st pt. 'prepare' *A.R.* IIIb 11b.

pdr'št pt. 'raise up' *A.R.* I 19b.

pdr'z'd second. pt. 'raise up' *A.R.* VI 3a, 7b.

pdrz- pr. st. 'rise up' *A.R.* I 24a.

pdw'c- pr. st. 'answer' *H.* Va 2b; *A.R.* I 2a; IIIc 11b.

pdwh- pr. st. 'pray to, implore' *H.* Va 2a.

pdxš'h- see *pdyxš'h-*.

pdyd pt. 'kindle, burn' (see *List* under pr. st. *pdyn-*; Ghilain, p. 84) *A.R.* I 14b.

pdys[*t*?] 'promise' *A.R.* VII 16a.

pdystwd pt. 'promise' *H.* VIII 11a.

pdyšfr 'honour' *H.* I 68b.

pdyšfr'wnd 'honoured' *A.R.* VI 71b.

pdyšt 'place, home' *A.R.* VI 67b.

pdyšt''n 'leg' (H., who compares Av. *paitištāna-*, Sogd. *ptšt'n*, see *BSOAS.* xi, p. 475 n. 3) *A.R.* Ia 14b.

pdyxš'h'd pt. 'rule' *A.R.* VI 56b; pr. st. *pdxš'h-* *H.* VIc 14a; VIIIa 1b.

pdyzb'd pt. 'drive off, chase away' (H., who identifies the verb with MPers. *pdyz-*, *pdyyz-*, differently explained *ZII.*, ix, p. 253[18], and assumes original **pati-azu̯a-* and the sound change exemplified by Old Pers. *hizāna-*, Parth. *'zb'n*) *A.R.* VIII 1a.

phrg 'watch-post' *H.* VIa 6a; VII 18b; *A.R.* IIIb 2b (*rest.*); IV 52b; *L* 11a; pl. *H.* VII 20a.

phrgb'n 'keeper of a watch-post' pl. *A.R.* IIIb 2b.

pnd'n 'path' *A.R.* IIIa 1b, 2b.

pnjwm 'fifth' *H.* Vb (title).

pr postpos. 'beyond, outside' (H., tentatively, cf. Av. *parō*, &c.; but the reading is doubtful) *A.R.* VIII 7a.

(*prd*)*wy* 'beam' (see H., *BSOAS.* xii, pp. 309–10; but the reading here is doubtful) *A.R.* I 25a.

prm'ng 'λογισμός' *A.R.* Ib 3b (*rest.*).
prm'w'd pt. 'terrify' *A.R.* I 18b.
prmwsyšn 'terror' *P* 11a.
prw'n adv. 'before, in the presence' *H.* VII 19a; *A.R.* VI 68b; prep. 'before' *H.* VIa 9a; VIb 13a, 14b; *A.R.* VI 1b, 66a.
prxyzyšn 'activity' *H.* I 33a; VIa 8a.
pryft (= *paryaft*) pt. 'come upon, reach' *A.R.* I 14a; pr. st. *pry'b-* *H.* IVb 2a; *A.R.* VI 23a (*rest.*), 72a; VII 19a; *P* 11b.
prysp 'wall' *H.* VIb 13b; pl. *H.* IVa 4a (*rest.*).
prywg 'victory' *H.* VIc 20a; VIII 12b.
pštg 'fettered' (see *Mir. Man.* iii, glossary s.v.) *H.* VIc 14a; *A.R.* VI 59a.
pšyft pt. 'trouble, toss about' (H., cf. *'šyft*) *A.R.* I 13a.
pw'g 'clean' *A.R.* VI 68b.
pwr 'full'; construed directly with substantive, *H.* I 68a; IVa 4b; V 4a; VIb 21b; *A.R.* VI 6b (*rest.*); construed with *pd* and substantive, *H.* V 3b; *A.R.* VI 70b.
pwrt 'ford, bridge' (H.; cf. Av. *pərətu-*) *A.R.* VI 57b.
pwsg 'garland' *H.* I 22a.
pwwd 'small vessel, skiff' *A.R.* I 24a.
pw(x)g 'joint (of the body)' (see *List*) *A.R.* Ia 11a, 12a.
pydr 'father' *A.R.* VI 68a; pl. *H.* VIc 2b.
pylg 'altar' (see H., *BSOAS.* xiv, p. 518 n. 6) *H.* V 12a.
pzd- pr. st. 'chase, frighten' *A.R.* VI 63b.

r'h 'road' *A.R.* VI 66b.
r'myšn 'peace' *A.R.* VI 73b.
r'štygr 'righteous, just' *H.* Va 2a.
r'štyft 'righteousness' *H.* VIII 12a; *A.R.* VI 50b, 52a.
r'z 'mystery' *H.* VII 9b.
rdn 'jewel' *H.* VIc 5a; pl. *rdnyn* *A.R.* VI 71b.
rf 'attack' *H.* I 33b.
rhg 'vein' (H., as = Sogd. *r'k*, Pers. *rag*, *BSOAS.* xiv, p. 449 n. 1; Prof. Morgenstierne (by letter, 10.1.53) compares Yidgha *rīyo*, Munji *rūgo*, < **rākā*, see his *IIFL.* ii, p. 243 s.v.; Prof. Bailey (8. 53) kindly draws my attention to the following forms of the Khot. word identified by him in this meaning: nom./acc. pl. *re, rri*, *K.T.* i, p. 60 128 v 5; p. 207 18 r 3; *K.B.T.*, p. 19, 222; p. 27, 146; gen. pl. *rrāṃ, rrā*, *K.T.* i, p. 40 103 v 3, p. 96 150 v 4) pl. *A.R.* Ia 4a.
rmnyg 'delightful' *H.* I 60a.
rnj 'toil, labour' *N* 12a.
rwc, rwž 'day' *H.* VIc 21a; VIII 13a; *A.R.* I 30a; VII 29a; VIIa 11a; pl. *A.R.* I 12b; Ia 8a; VII 2a, 13b; VIII 2b.
rwd[1] 'river' pl. *A.R.* Ia 4a.
rwd[2] 'compassion' *A.R.* IIIb 1b; possibly also *H.* V 4a (written as *dwr*).
rwmb 'mouth' *H.* IVa 3a; VIc 10a.
rwšn adj. 'light' pl. *H.* VIc 21b; 'beings of Light' *A.R.* (title, *passim*); *A.R.* I 1a; VI 69a.
rwšn subst. 'light' *H.* I 6b (*rest.*), 68a; VIc 4a; *A.R.* VI 6a (*rest.*), 10a, 44b, 54a, 55b, 61b, 63b; VII 33a; VIII 12a; *L* 1b (*rest.*).
rymn subst. 'filth' *A.R.* VI 44a (*rest.*); adj. 'filthy' *A.R.* VII 34b.
rzm'hyg 'warlike' *H.* IVa 2b.
rzmg'hyyg 'warlike' *A.R.* VI 21a.
rzwr 'straight' *A.R.* IIIa 2a.

s'g 'number; part' (see H., *BSOAS.* xii, p. 308) pl. *A.R.* VII 35a.
s'n- pr. st. 'lead up' *H.* VIII 2a.
s'w- pr. st. 'crush' (H.; cf. Pers. *sāy-*) *A.R.* VI 31a.
sc- pr. st. 'be fitting' *A.R.* VIIa 1b.

[*sd*]*f* 'being, entity' *H.* VIc 2b (?).
sn- pr. st. 'ascend, go up' *H.* I 48a; *A.R.* VIIa 1b.
sr 'head' *H.* VIc 4b; 'crest, summit' *A.R.* I 24a; 'beginning, end' *H.* I 62a (*rest.*); *A.R.* Ia 4b; 'chief thing' *A.R.* VI 51a.
srd adj. 'cold' *A.R.* Ia 13b (*rest.*).
srsk 'drop (of liquid)' *H.* V 5b.
swgb'ryg 'sad' *A.R.* VIIa 4a.
swhyšn 'sighing' (H., who connects with Skt. *śvas-*, cf. Morgenstierne, *IIFL.* ii, index s.v. *sigh*; not to be confused with Pahlavi *swhšn*) *A.R.* VII 9b.
sw(k)[']*n* 'rudder' (restored by H. on the supposition that the broken word was loan-word from Akkadian *sikkānu*, Syr. *saukānā*, Mand. *swkn'*, cf. Arab. *sukkān*, which is also used in Persian) *A.R.* I 28a (*rest.*).
sxwn 'word, utterance' *A.R.* VI 21a.
sy- pr. st. 'lie' (H., who abandons the connexion with Av. *saδaya-* and now derives from Av. *sāy-*) *A.R.* VII 6b, 7b.
[*sy'*]*ryft* 'decay' *H.* I 36a (?).
sy'wyft 'blackness' *A.R.* VII 35b.
synj[*yn*] 'escape' (?) *H.* VII 8b.
systg 'broken' (see *List*) *A.R.* VII 12a.
syzdyn 'overwhelming, tyrannic' *A.R.* VIII 12b.
syzdyft 'overwhelming might, tyranny' *H.* VII 19b.

-š suff. pron. sg. 3, *A.R.* VII 2b.
š'd 'glad' *P* 1a.
š'dcn 'glad' *H.* VIII 1b; *A.R.* VI 71a.
š'dyft 'gladness' *H.* I 2b, 60a (*rest.*), 69a; VIc 3a, 11b, 12b, 14a; VII 21b; VIII 2b; VIIIa 1b, 2b; *A.R.* VI 6b, 7a, 52b, 64b, 69b, 70b; VII 6a.
š'dzyrd 'glad of heart' *A.R.* VIIa 11a.
-š'n suff. pron. pl. 3; see under *'wd*, *'z*, *ky*, *ny*.
šh- pr. st. 'be able' *H.* V 12b; *A.R.* Ib 1b (*rest.*).
šhr 'land, world; aeon' *H.* VIc 2a; VIIIa 2a; *A.R.* VII 18a; *D* 12b; pl. *H.* VIc 21b.
šhrd'r 'sovereign, lord' *H.* I 1b; VIc 21b.
šhrd'ryft 'dominion, realm' *H.* I 50a (*rest.*); VIc 4b, 11a, 11b; *A.R.* VI 65b; VII 22a.
šhrys̱'n 'large town, city' *A.R.* VIIa 14b.
šhwm 'sixth' *H.* VIb (title); *A.R.* VI (title).
šrg 'lion' pl. *A.R.* VII 32a.
šwd pt. 'go' *A.R.* VI 45a.
šwjyft 'holiness' (see *Mir. Man.* iii, glossary, s.v.) *A.R.* VI 55a.
šybh 'path' (see H. in *BSOAS.* xiv, p. 446 n. 6); *A.R.* VIII 16a.
šyrg'mg 'comrade, friend' pl. *A.R.* VII 7b.

t'b'd pt. 'shine' *A.R.* VI 1b, 61a.
t'm'dg 'choking' (H., as from *tām-* = Skt. *tāmyati* 'choke, be suffocated, faint away'; see *tnd* below) *A.R.* VII 8b.
t'r 'darkness' *H.* V 3b; *A.R.* I 15a; II 13a (*rest.*); VI 5a, 61b, 62b, 63b; VII 36a; VIIa 2b; *O* 3b; *P* 11b.
t'ryg adj. 'dark' *H.* V 1b; *A.R.* III 40b, 70b; VI 55b; VIII 3a, 12a; *D* 12b.
tc- pr. st. 'run' *A.R.* VI 58a.
tft 'hot, burning' *H.* V 5a; *A.R.* VIII 3a (*rest.*).
tgnbnd 'swiftly, in haste' (for etymology, see Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1951, p. 121) *A.R.* VII 21a; *'c tgnbnd* 'swiftly' *A.R.* VII 18b, 25b.
tgrgyn 'of hail' *A.R.* I 23a.
tn 'body' *H.* VIc 12b; *A.R.* VI 9a.

tnb'r 'body' *H.* I 32b, 58a; IVa 7a; VII 22a; *A.R.* I 3b; Ia 4a; IIIc 13a, 13b; VIII 5a; *D* 2a.

tnb'ryn 'bodily, of the body' *A.R.* VII 7a.

tnd 'faint' (H., as the old ppp., *tanta-* = Skt. *tānta-* 'breathing with difficulty, fainted away; (of the eye) languid', which latter meaning also occurs in Parthian, see *Mir. Man.* iii, e 6; cf. *t'm'dg* above; differently Benveniste, *J.A.* 1936, p. 200) *A.R.* VIIa 12b.

tndwr 'thunder' *A.R.* I 23a.

tng, tnng 'distress, pang' *H.* IVa 10b; IVb 3b; V 6b; VIb 21b; *A.R.* IIIb 12b; VI 4b, 49b, 72b; VII 5a, 22b, 30b, 36b; VIIa 2b, 12b; VIII 3a (*rest.*), 14b; *A* 2b; *K* 12b.

trs 'fear' *H.* I 64a; IVa 4b; VIa 3b; *A.R.* I 15b, 18b, 27b (variant); Ia 14a; IIa 41b; VI 66b, 72a; VIII 16b.

trw- pr. st. 'overcome' *H.* I 7b.

tryxs- pr. st. 'be oppressed' *H.* V 13a; *A.R.* Ia 5a (*rest.*).

tšyndyft 'thirst, drought' (see below under *wšynd*) *H.* I 28b; V 5a.

tw, tw pron. sg. 2 'thou, thee', *passim.*

twxm 'seed, race' *A.R.* VII 25a.

txl 'bitter' *H.* V 19b.

tybhr see *dybhr.*

tybhrg see *dybhrg.*

tyrgystr comp. adj. 'swifter' *H.* I 32a.

tyrs'd pt. 'be afraid' *A.R.* I 16a; pr. st. *tyrs- H.* VIb 24b; *A.R.* VI 8a, 33b; VII 1a.

tyšt pt. 'be affrighted' (H.; cf. *tyštyn*) *A.R.* Ib 13a.

tyštyft 'dreadfulness' *A.R.* I 16b.

tyštyn 'dreadful' (see *List*) *A.R.* I 17a; IIIc 2a (*rest.*).

u see *'wd.*

w'c'fryd 'created by word, spiritual' (H.; see above, p. 103 n. 1) *H.* VIc 10a.

w'd 'wind' *H.* V 5a; *P* 12a.

w'd'g 'leader, pilot' *A.R.* I 29a.

w'r 'rose' *A.R.* VII 12a.

w'r- pr. st. 'be glad' *H.* VIII 2b; VIIIa 2b.

w'r'n 'rain' *A.R.* I 22b.

w'st pt. 'lead' *O* 1b; pr. st. *w'y- A.R.* VI 67b; VII 14b, 15b.

w'wryft 'belief' *H.* VII 9b.

w'xt pt. 'speak, say' H. VII 2a; VIII 1a; *A.R.* VIII 13a; with suff. sg. 1 *w'xtwm A.R.* VI 1a; pr. st. *w'c- A.R.* VI 8a.

w'y 'woe' *A.R.* VII 36a.

wbr'z['g] 'brilliant, shining' *A.R.* VII 24a.

wcn 'voice' *A.R.* I 23b; IIIb 21a; VII 9b.

wcydg 'chosen' pl. *H.* VIc 13a.

wcyh- pr. st. 'teach' *A.R.* VI 61b.

wcyhyšn 'teaching' *H.* I 1a.

wd'r- see *wyd'r-.*

wdc- pr. st. 'melt' *A.R.* VII 11a.

wdng, wdnng 'constraint, distress' *H.* IV 1b; *A.R.* I 11b (*rest.*).

wdr- see *wydr-.*

wdybyšn 'delusion' *H.* I 24b.

wfr 'snow' *A.R.* VII 11a.

wg'nyšn see *wyg'nyšn.*

whyrd pt. 'be confused' (see H., *BSOAS.* x, p. 509; also 'to change, be changed' acc. to H., who refers to Pahl. *wihir-*, Bailey, *Zor. Probl.*, p. 82, Persian *guhurīdan / guharīdan* and by wrong analogy *gauharīdan*, and Kurdish *gohär- / guhur-*) *A.R.* Ib 2b.

wm'd pt. 'experience, suffer' *A.R.* VII 5a.

wmys- pr. st. 'fade' *H.* I 22a.

wnštg 'destroyed' *A.R.* VIIa 1a.

wnw'd see *wynw'd.*

wnwh 'see, behold!' *A.R.* VII 8a, 9a.

wnwhg adj. 'trembling, quaking' *A.R.* VI 1a; subst. 'tremor, earthquake' *A.R.* VI 57a; VIIa 4a.
wrd 'captive' *A.R.* VIII 3b.
wrdg 'captive' *A.R.* II 2a.
wrm 'wave' *H.* IVa 5b; *A.R.* I 13a, 19b, 23b, 24a; pl. *A.R.* VI 45b.
wrt- pr. st. 'turn, go' *H.* IVa 8b; *A.R.* II 11a.
wrw'd pt. 'believe' *H.* VIII 12a.
wrwc 'lightning' *H.* I 32a; *A.R.* I 23a.
wryh- pr. st. 'overthrow' *H.* VIa 9a.
ws 'much, many' *A.R.* Ia 1a; VIII 16b.
ws- pr. st. (?) 'wish' (H.; cf. Av. vas-) *A.R.* VI 50a.
wsn'd 'on account of, because' prep. *A.R.* I 21b; VIIa 5b; postpos. *A.R.* VI 57a, 58a, 59a, 60a, 61a, 62a.
wstmbg see *wystmbg*.
wsxt by mistake for *'wsxt* (q.v.) ? *A.R.* VI 55a (variant).
wš'd see *wyš'd*.
wš'n- pr. st. 'shake (down)' (see H. in *BSOAS*. xiii, p. 915 n. 1) *H.* I 35a.
w[*š*]*'y-* pr. st. 'be hungry' (H., cf. Sogd. *wš'y-*) *H.* Va 11a.
wšmn- pr. st. 'be glad' *H.* VIc 3a; *A.R.* VI 69b.
wšmyd 'joyous' *H.* I 59a.
wšwbyšn 'anarchy, violence' *A.R.* VII 31a.
wšynd 'hunger' (H., who insists that *wšynd* and its companion-word *tšynd* 'thirst', in spite of the existence of *tšyndyft*, are not adjectives, as are, e.g., Sogd. *'wšnṯy*: *čš'ntk*) *H.* I 28a.
wx's'd pt. 'become weak, enfeebled' (see H., *BBB.*, pp. 82–83, n. to 688) *A.R.* Ia 13a.
wx'št pt. 'wish' *A.R.* VI 65a.
wxd emphatic, 'truly, indeed' *H.* VII 20a; *A.R.* VII 4b, 36b; VIII 14a, 15a, 16a.
wxryd pt. 'bend, make crooked' (see *Mir. Man.* iii, glossary, s.v.) *A.R.* Ia 2b.
wxs- see *wyxs-*.
wxs'g see *wyxs'g*.
wxš 'pleasant, sweet' *H.* I 60a; IVa 1b.
wxš- pr. st. 'be kindled, blaze' *D* 11a.
wxšyndg 'blazing, flaming' *A.R.* IIIb 12b; VII 23b (*rest.*).
wxybyḥ, *wxybyy* refl. poss. pron. 'own' *H.* IV 1a (*rest.*); VIc 2b (*rest.*); VIII 2a (*rest.*); *A.R.* Ia 2b; Ib 3b; VI 50b.
wy'b'n 'desert' *H.* Va 12a.
wy'g 'place' *H.* I 34a; V 10b; Va 12a; *A.R.* VI 67b, 73a; *A* 12a (twice); *D* 12a; pl. *H.* I 62b; *A.R.* VI 55b; VIIa 13b.
wy'wrd pt. 'speak, answer' *A.R.* VI 7a.
wyd'r'd, *wd'r'd* pt. 'cause to cross over, pass over; suffer, endure' *H.* VIc 14b; *A.R.* VI 44a; VII 5b; pr. st. *wyd'r-*, *wd'r-* *H.* IVa 2a, 4a, 8a, 9a; IVb 3a; *A.R.* I 3a; V 55a.
wydbd- pr. st. 'dissolve'? (in spite of the evidence of more than one MS., H. suspects that the inexplicable *wydbd-* may be a mistake for *wydby-*, which occurs in *Mir. Man.* iii, and may belong to Sogd. *wyδβ'y-*, Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, § 293; hence possibly 'become extended, scattered, diffused') *A.R.* VII 24b.
wydrd pt. 'pass, pass beyond' *A.R.* VIII 5a; pr. st. *wydr-*, *wdr-* *H.* VII 20a; VIIIa 1a.
wyg'n 'harm, injury' *H.* I 23b, 34b; *A.R.* VII 28a.
wyg'ng 'ravaging, ravager' *H.* IVa 4b; *A.R.* VII 17b.
wyg'nyšn, *wg'nyšn* 'ravage, destruction' *H.* VIa 8a; *A.R.* I 3a; VI 4a, 72b; VIIa 5b.

wygn- pr. st. 'perish, be destroyed' *H.* IVb 1b; *A.R.* VII 10b, 12b, 18b, 25b.

wygnd pt. 'ravage, destroy' *A.R.* VI 62b; pr. st. *wyg'n- H.* IVa 3b; *A.R.* I 13b; *D* 1b.

wygndg 'ravaged, destroyed' *A.R.* VIIa 14b.

wymnd 'boundary, frontier' *H.* I 4a (*rest.*); Vb 1a (*rest.*); VII 20a; *A.R.* IIIb 2a; *M* 11b (*rest.*), 12a; *Q* 1a.

wymnd wystmbg 'border rebel' (see also *wystmbg*) pl. *A.R.* VII 23a.

wyn- see under *dyd.*

wyn'r'd pt. 'put in order, arrange, array' *A.R.* VIII 6a (*rest.*); pr. st. *wyn'r- A.R.* I 2a; VI 2b.

wynd- pr. st. 'find' *H.* V 20a; *A.R.* VII 31b; VIIa 3a.

wynw'd, wnw'd pt. 'tremble, shake; be shaken down' *A.R.* Ia 2a, 3a; VII 4b.

wys'x[*yft*] 'consolation, comfort' (see *List*) *H.* V 10a.

wysp 'all' *H.* IVa 7b, 9b; VIa 8b (*rest.*); VIb 13b (*rest.*); *A.R.* I 25a; Ib 2a; II 12a; IIIb 2a; VI 59b; VII 9a, 25a; VIII 1b, 2b, 4b; *P* 1a.

wyspc'šnyg 'having all flavours' *A.R.* II 12b.

wystmbg, wstmbg 'rebellious, rebel' (H., who refers to Arm. *apstamb*, Paikuli Parth. 19 = C′ 4 *'pystp*[*t*], both = 'rebellious') *H.* VIc 1b (*rest.*); pl. *H.* VIa 3b; *A.R.* VII 23a.

wystrg 'delightful' (see *List*) *A.R.* VI 6a.

wyš'd, wš'd pt. 'open, set loose' *A.R.* I 15a, 26a; Ia 11b; VII 27b; pr. st. *wyš'h-, wš'h- H.* IVa 1a; V 15b; *A.R.* VI 32a, 66a; VIIa 3b.

wyxs-, wxs- pr. st. 'be wounded, pierced' *H.* V 4b; Va 12b.

wyxs'g, wxs'g 'thrust, stab' *H.* V 2a, 6a; VIb 21b; *A.R.* I 11b; Ia 5b (*rest.*).

wyxtg 'chosen' (see H., *BSOAS.* xiii p. 646 n. 1) pl. *H.* VII 9a.

wyzmr-, wyzmyr-, wzmr- pr. st. 'wither' *H.* III 1b; *A.R.* VII 12a.

wz- pr. st. 'move, go' *A.R.* I 20b.

wz'd pt. 'abandon' *A.R.* VIII 13b.

wzrgyft 'greatness' *H.* I 63b; VII 10b, 12a.

wzw- pr. st. 'fade, die' *A.R.* VII 12a.

wzynd 'injury, hurt' *A.R.* Ia 8b (*rest.*).

x'nyg 'spring, well' *A.R.* I 15a.

x'z'd pt. 'devour' *H.* IVb 3b; *A.R.* VIIa 2a; pr. st. *x'z- H.* IVa 6b.

x'zyndg 'devouring' *H.* Va 11b; VIa 7a; pl. *H.* IVa 10b.

xwd'y 'lord' *A.R.* I 2a.

xwmbwyft 'fragrance' *H.* III 2a.

xwmr 'sleep' *H.* I 24a, 24b.

xwš'd pt. 'become dry' (see also *hwš-*) *A.R.* Ia 4b.

y'd- pr. st. 'reach, attain' *A.R.* II 11b; VII 22b, 25b; *D* 2b; *O* 13b; *P* 2b.

y'wyd'n 'eternal, eternally' *H.* I 7a, 22a, 61b; III 1b (*rest.*); VIb 11b; VIII 11a; *A.R.* VI 43b, 50b, 68a, 69b, 71a (*rest.*), 72a; VII 23b, 31b, 33a (*rest.*); VIIa 3a, 4b (*rest.*); VIII 6b, 15b; *'w y'wyd'n* 'for ever, to eternity' *H.* V 3a.

[*y*]*wb*['*d*] pt. 'complain' *A.R.* Ib 12b (*rest.*).

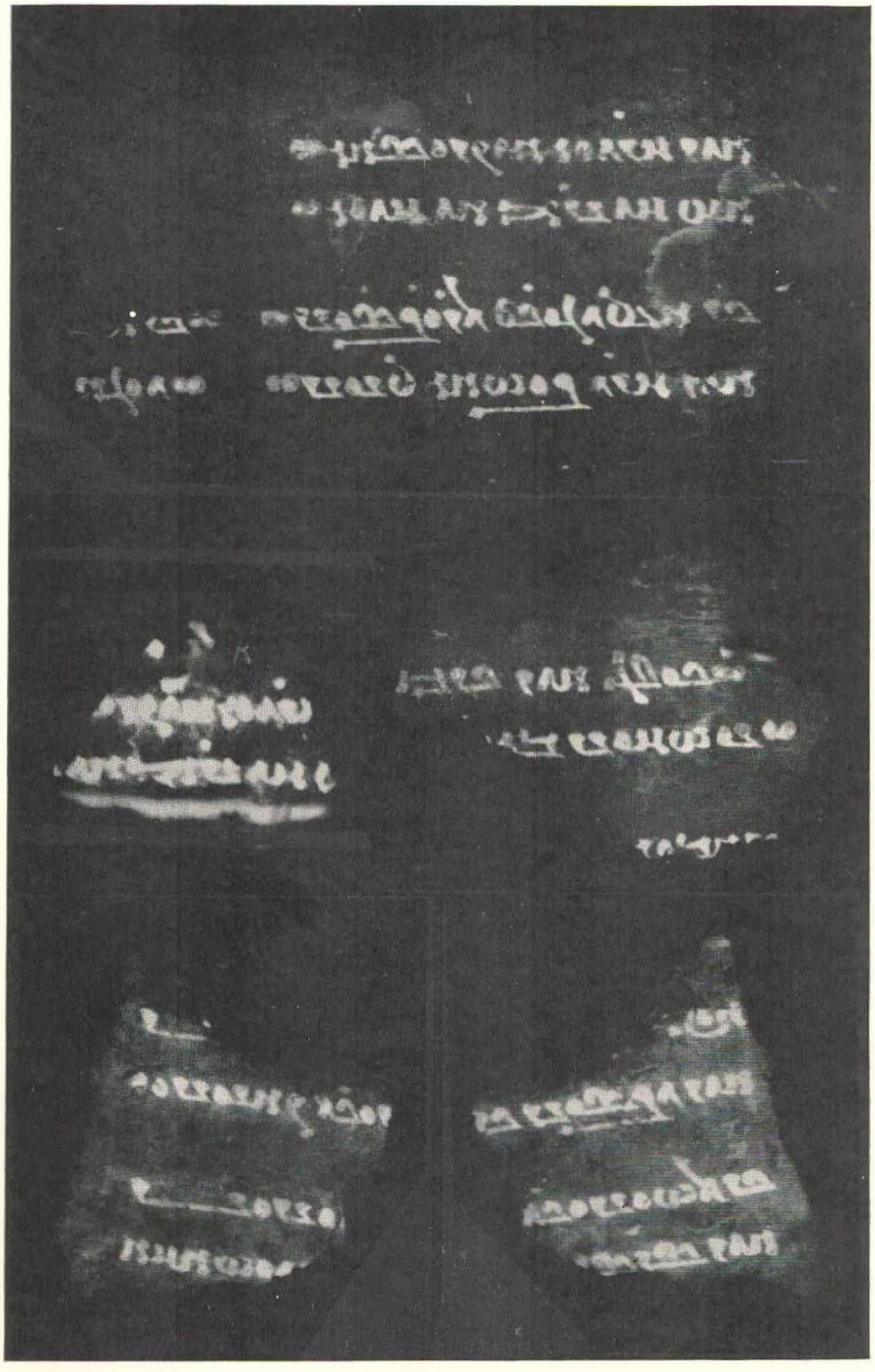
ywbhr 'sickness' *H.* I 32b; V 9b VIa 8b; VII 22b; *A.R.* Ib 13b; VI 4b, 49a; VII 1b; VIIa 11b; VIII 16b.

ywd 'separate, without'; *ywd "wyndq* 'unequalled, without peer' (H.; see *"wyndq*) *A.R.* VI 5b.

yzd 'god' pl. *H.* VII 12a (*rest.*); *A.R.* VI 51b, 73b.

z'n'd pt. 'know' *H.* VII 9b; pr. st. *z'n-* *H.* I 6b, 52b; V 14b; *A.R.* I 5a.
z'nwg 'knee' *A.R.* Ia 14a.
z'ryẖ 'sorrowfully' *A.R.* I 29b.
z'wr 'strength, power' *A.R.* Ia 14b; Ib 12a; VI 67a; VIII 6b; pl. 'the (Dark) Powers' *H.* I 33a; IVb 1b; VIa 3b; VIc 1b; VIII 12b; *A.R.* VI 9b, 58b, 59b.
zbyn 'lovely' *A.R.* VI 6a.
zmbg 'battle' *H.* I 33b; *A.R.* VI 33b, 57a; VIII 1b; *M* 12b.
zmbwdyg 'world' *A* 2a.
zmyg 'earth' *H.* I 34b, 48a, 49b, 54b; *A.R.* Ia 3a; IIIc 2a, 3a; VII 29b; pl. *A.R.* VI 57b (*rest.*).
zng 'kind, sort' *H.* IVa 9b; *A.R.* VII 10b.
zrgwng 'golden, green' *H.* I 22a; V 5b.
zrhyg 'of the sea' *H.* IVa 7b; *A.R.* I 23b; *B* 11b.
zrnyn 'gilded' *A.R.* VII 26a.
zryẖ, zryy 'sea' *H.* IVa 2a; *A.R.* I 13a, 19a (*zry*), 20b, 28a; VI 45a; pl. *H.* I 29a.
zryq 'grief' *A.R.* VII 6a.
zwnws 'zone' *H.* IVa 2b; VIb 23a; *A.R.* IIIb 2a; *L* 11b.
zwš 'willingness, eagerness' (Av. *zaoša*) *H.* VIc 1a.
zyn 'armour' *A.R.* VI 21a.
zynd'n 'prison' *H.* IVa 1a; VII 11b; *A.R.* IIIb 21b (as (*zyd*)*n'*[*n*]?); VI 42b; VII 8b, 18a; VIII 11b, 14b.
zyrd 'heart (of body)' *H.* Vb 1b; *A.R.* Ib 2a; VI 64b; 'heart, centre' (cf. *Vendidad* I, 3) *A.R.* I 20b.

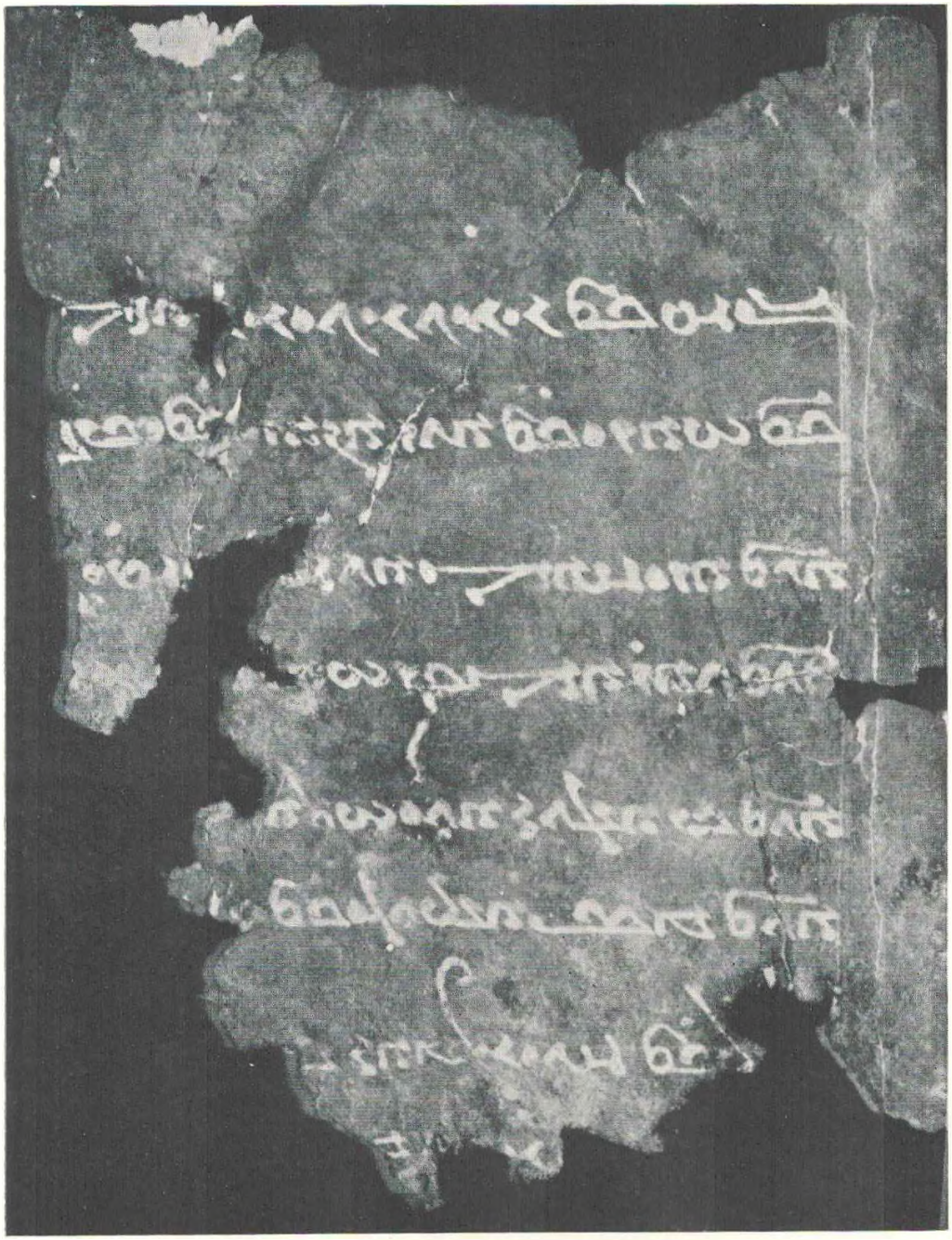
PLATE I



M 895a = *H.* V 12–13

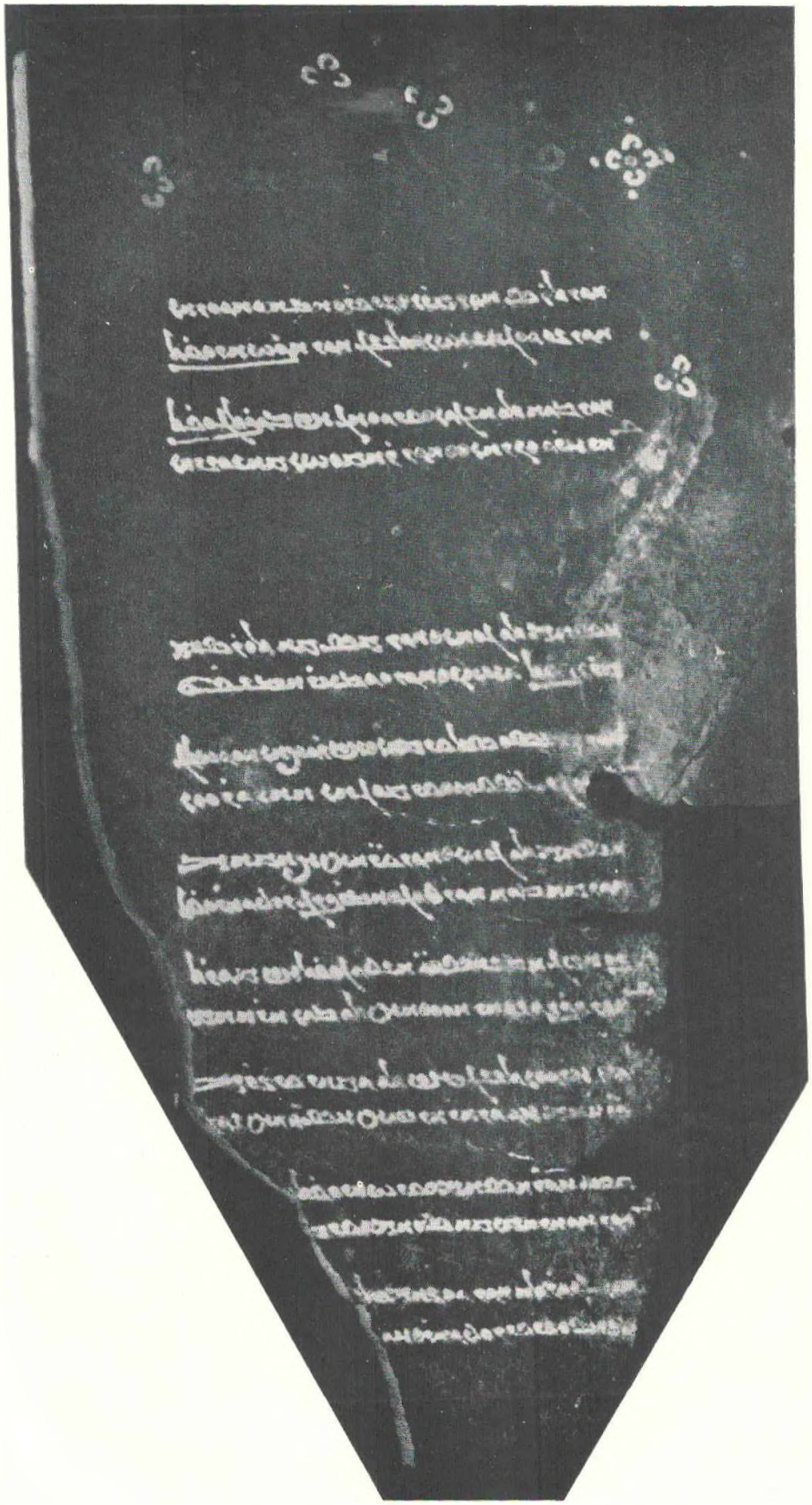
ea V = *H.* V 12
bu V = *H.* V 14–5
bv V = *H.* V 12–13
bu R = *H.* V 4–5

PLATE II

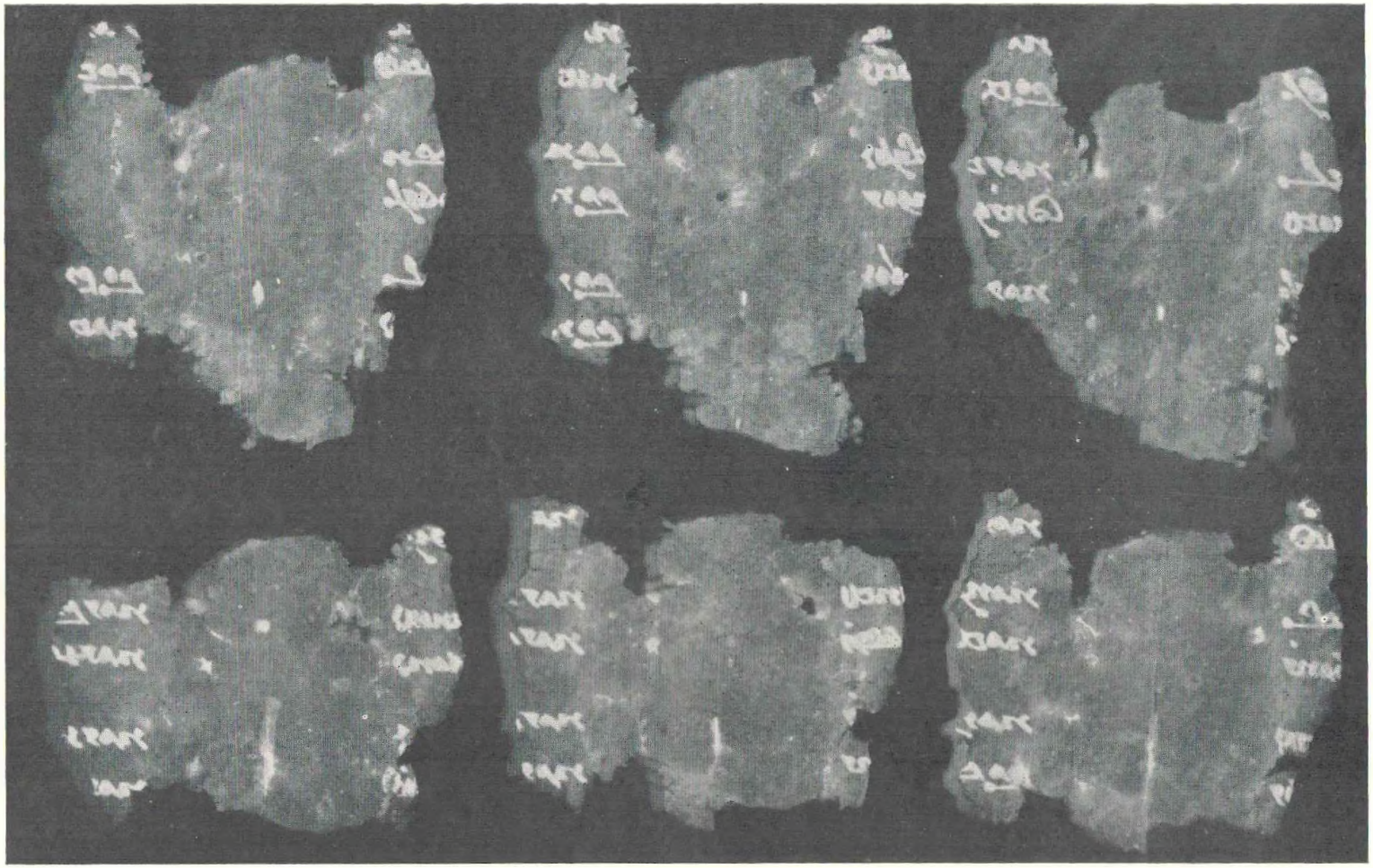


M 256 R = *H.* VIIIa 1–3 and colophon

PLATE III



M 175 V = *A. R.* VI 72–VII 7



aɔ R + ao V
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al R + am V
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aj R + ak V¹
ɛp R + aq V } = *A. R.* I 58–VI 70

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Reviving Manichaeism with the Evil God Challenge

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Abstract

In contemporary analytic philosophy of religion, the evil God challenge has been developed by several authors as a parody argument. Proponents of this challenge contend that, given the goods in our world, the hypothesis of an omnipotent, omniscient, omnimalevolent God or the Evil God is absurd. Similarly, they argue, we should conclude that the hypothesis of a good God is also absurd due to the evils present in our world. This paper argues that, with the aid of this challenge and other contemporary debates in the philosophy of religion, one can make the case that a reintroduction of Manichaeism into philosophy of religion is worthwhile. This argument will propose that, considering our total evidence, the Good-God and the Evil-God demonstrate a similar level of support. Additionally, under a reconstructed Manichaean hypothesis, good and evil are seen as mutually explanatory. Furthermore, the natural order can be understood within this framework. Therefore, the Manichaean hypothesis could serve as a viable alternative to monotheistic theism; it can account for the co-existence of good and evil and is compatible with the observed order in nature.

Keywords: Manichaeism; evil-god hypothesis; the problem of evil; the problem of good; dualism

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1. Introduction

Manichaeism originated in the third century CE with its founder Mani (216–274/7 CE). Growing to maturity under the Sasanian monarchs Ardashir I (r. 224–40) and Shapur I (r. 240–72), Mani styled his movement "the Religion of Light" and envisaged it as a universal faith (Baker-Brian 2011, p. 5). At the heart of Manichaean cosmology lies an original, eternal dualism: two co-eternal principles of Light (spirit, good) and Darkness (matter, evil) dwelling in perfect separation until Darkness, drawn by the radiance of Light, attacked and intermixed their substances in a cosmic conflict (Coyle 2009, p. xiv). Manichaean eschatology envisaged a climactic end-time when, through the Elect's ritual actions, as much Light as possible had been reclaimed; the material universe would then dissolve, with Darkness confined to its own realm—though a residue of Light would remain irretrievably bound, a testament to evil's persistence despite final victory (Baker-Brian 2011, p. 67). In this paper, setting aside the historical, liturgical, and soteriological features of ancient Manichaeism, I treat the Manichaean hypothesis (MH) strictly as a hypothesis that rivals theism in explaining order, good, and evil.

Manichaeism, as a dualist religion, gained significant followers, and Saint Augustine was once among the followers of Mani; however, he later criticized the dualism of Mani and defended Christian theism. While the explanatory power of good and evil in the world was initially among the attractions of Manichaeism for Augustine, he later thought that

dualism is false, and instead, by adopting a privation theory of evil, one should abandon dualism and instead accept Christian theism:

> Therefore, whatsoever is, is good. Evil, then, the origin of which I had been seeking, has no substance at all; for if it were a substance, it would be good. For either it would be an incorruptible substance and so a supreme good, or a corruptible substance, which could not be corrupted unless it were good. I understood, therefore, and it was made clear to me that thou madest all things good, nor is there any substance at all not made by thee. And because all that thou madest is not equal, each by itself is good, and the sum of all of them is very good, for our God made all things very good. (Augustine 1927, Book VII, Chapter XII)

Any dualist theory claiming there is a separate origin for evil and good views the privation theory of evil as a challenge. Another challenge for dualists is explaining the apparent harmony and order in the universe. If our world is a battleground between good and evil, visualizing an orderly world becomes difficult. Some argue that while Manichaeism better explains the presence of evil, it fails to account for the universe's order. As Hume's *Philo* concludes in the dialogues, although Manichaeism offers a stronger explanation of good and evil than theories that posit a wholly good or wholly evil God, the universe's order suggests that a God or gods without a moral character might be more plausible:

> Here the Manichaean system occurs as a proper hypothesis to solve the difficulty: And no doubt, in some respects, it is very specious, and has more probability than the common hypothesis, by giving a plausible account of the strange mixture of good and ill, which appears in life. But if we consider, on the other hand, the perfect uniformity and agreement of the parts of the universe, we shall not discover in it any marks of the combat of a malevolent with a benevolent being. There is indeed an opposition of pains and pleasures in the feelings of sensible creatures: But are not all the operations of nature carried on by an opposition of principles, of hot and cold, moist and dry, light and heavy? The true conclusion is, that the original source of all things is entirely indifferent to all these principles, and has no more regard to good above ill than to heat above cold, or to drought above moisture, or to light above heavy. There may be four hypotheses framed concerning the first causes of the universe; that they are endowed with perfect goodness, that they have perfect malice, that they are opposite and have both goodness and malice, that they have neither goodness nor malice. Mixed phenomena can never prove the two former unmixed principles. And the uniformity and steadiness of general laws seem to oppose the third. The fourth, therefore, seems by far the most probable. (Hume 2007, p. 86)

This paper will follow Philo's argument that, when comparing theism and MH, the latter seems to be in a better position in explaining the mixture of good and evil in the world. However, it will also argue against *Philo* by showing that there are ways that MH can be compatible with the order in the world. To do this, MH will be contrasted with the good God hypothesis (GGH) and the evil God hypothesis (EGH). The paper will examine recent debates around the evil God challenge (EGC) and the problem of evil, suggesting that, given these discussions, MH and its rivalry with theism should be taken seriously. First, we will analyze how EGC can weaken the epistemic probability of GGH while strengthening the epistemic probability of MH. Although this analysis focuses on *a posteriori* reasoning, we will also explore whether MH might be further supported and become a competitor

to GGH through *a priori* reasoning. To achieve this, we will consider plausible scenarios where MH can explain the apparent order in the universe.

2. Manichean Hypothesis and the Evil God Challenge

EGC has been introduced and defended by various authors (e.g., Cahn 1977; Millican 1989; Law 2010, 2019; Collins 2019). Proponents of this challenge argue that any argument put forth to prove that a good God (GG) exists, or at least make it reasonable to believe in GG, can also be utilized to prove the evil God (EG) or demonstrate that it is reasonable to accept the EG. This is not to assume that theists must concede the symmetry between GGH and EGH. There are, in fact, some theistic attempts at undermining the very idea of symmetry between GGH and EGH (see Lancaster-Thomas 2018). However, as defenders of EGC have shown, theodicies for the GG can be closely mirrored by proponents of EG, for example, soul-breaking reverse-theodicies (see Law 2019), and through these reverse theodicies, the proponents of EGC offer explanations of why good exists. This paper relies on approximate evidential symmetry, which is sufficient for our comparative evaluation.

Additionally, supporters of EGC assert that belief in EG is absurd, and considering the similarities between the two, proponents of GG should acknowledge that belief in GG is likewise absurd. The problem of evil holds a significant position among advocates of EGC. By parodying this problem, they have introduced what is now known as 'the problem of good': If there exists an omnipotent, omniscient, omnimalevolent God, then why is there so much good in our world? The problem of good serves as the primary reason why Stephen Law deems EGH absurd,

> Of course, few, if any, of us believe the evil-god hypothesis. Prima facie, not only is there little reason to suppose such a being exists, there is also overwhelming evidence against his existence. When presented with the evil-god hypothesis, most of us immediately dismiss it as absurd, typically because we consider the problem of good decisive. (Law 2010, p. 357)

> And yet almost everyone considers the suggestion that the universe is the creation of an Evil God absurd. Why? One of the most obvious reasons you might give for rejecting the Evil God hypothesis is that the universe contains far too much good for it to be the creation of such a malevolent deity. Why, for example, would an evil God create love, laughter, ice cream, and rainbows? These things, surely, constitute excellent evidence that there's no Evil God. There's not just good, but at least some gratuitous good, in the universe. (Law 2019, p. 7)

In the debates regarding EG, almost everyone considers EGH to be absurd. The disagreement lies in whether one can argue from the symmetry between EGH and GGH to establish the absurdity of GGH. A proponent of the MH can adopt two broad strategies. First, they can argue that GGH is not absurd, and given the epistemic symmetries between EGH and GGH, EGH is not absurd either. If it can be shown that neither EGH nor GGH is absurd, another step needs to be taken: to demonstrate that the coexistence of EG and GG is possible and not absurd. In contemporary debates on EGC, no one has been willing to argue for the non-absurdity of EG when posed as the single cause of the universe. As Lancaster-Thomas puts it, there are two ways to formulate EGC:

> What I call the weak Evil-god challenge claims that belief in the EGH and belief in the GGH are both similarly likely or reasonable positions to hold, so there seems to be no motivating reason to choose one over the other. On the other hand, what I call the strong Evil-god challenge maintains that the GGH should be rejected because it is absurd or incoherent (the strong Evil-god challenge from incoherence), or because if the EGH is true then so is the GGH, which is

> a contradictory state of affairs, so both must be rejected (the strong Evil-god challenge from inconsistency). (Lancaster-Thomas 2020, p. 452)

Lancaster-Thomas argues that no one in contemporary debates on EGC has defended the weak challenge. However, MH can be viable even if EGH and GGH are absurd, both individually and separately. Recall that the absurdity of EGH stems from the problem of good, and the proponent of EGH parodied this to illustrate that GGH is absurd due to the problem of evil. If proponents of MH do not face issues of good or evil, then MH is not absurd, even if EGH and GGH are absurd on their own.

In probabilistic terms, Pr(H | E) is the probability of a hypothesis given all the evidence E. Page and Baker-Hytch (2020) formulate the EGC as follows:

(1) GG is approximately epistemically symmetrical to EG. [premise]
(2) If a hypothesis H1 is approximately epistemically symmetrical to another hypothesis H2, then Pr(H1 | E) ≈ Pr(H2 | E). [premise]
(3) Therefore, Pr(GG | E) ≈ Pr(EG | E). [from (1) and (2)]
(4) Pr(EG | E) is very low. [premise]
(5) Therefore, Pr(GG | E) is very low. [from (3) and (4)] (Page and Baker-Hytch 2020, pp. 489–90)

Following Page and Baker-Hytch, I consider the total evidence to include all relevant factors, encompassing both supporting evidence and counterevidence for each of GG and EG, along with background information and considerations of theoretical virtue. Page and Baker-Hytch present the Evil-God Challenge by arguing that, based on the evidence, the good-God hypothesis and the evil-God hypothesis are roughly equally probable. Additionally, when two hypotheses have similar evidence, our total evidence should lead us to regard them as equally probable. From these points, it follows that, given our evidence, the probability of a good God is approximately the same as that of an evil God. However, almost everyone considers the evil-God hypothesis to be very improbable in light of the world's goods. Therefore, by parity of reasoning, the good-God hypothesis should also be regarded as very improbable in light of the world's evils.

Now, let us consider MH, the view that both GG and EG coexist. While Pr(GG | E) and Pr(EG | E) may each be low individually, their joint probability Pr(GG ∧ EG | E) need not be as low as one would get by assuming independence, if the existence of one deity makes the other more likely, for example, in cases where good and evil are positively interdependent. By the multiplication rule of conditional probabilities,

Pr(GG ∧ EG | E) = Pr(GG | EG ∧ E) × Pr(EG | E)
If Pr(GG | EG ∧ E) ≈ 1 while Pr(EG | E) is low
Then
Pr(GG ∧ EG | E) ≈ Pr(EG | E)

While each hypothesis is unlikely in isolation, the probability of the joint hypothesis under MH can still be appreciably higher than the product Pr(GG | E)×Pr(EG | E) that one would obtain under an independence assumption, provided that Pr(GG | EG ∧ E) is substantially greater than Pr(GG | E).

As mentioned earlier, Augustine relied on privation theories of evil to counter MH. More recently, the same argument has been used to counter EGH. Whether the privation theory of evil is dead is open to debate (see Calder 2007; Marks 2025). Nevertheless, even theists who do not consider it dead recognize the challenges it faces. Marks (2025) contends that the privation theory of evil is a hard pill to swallow. He asserts that this theory is challenged when we try to explain natural evils such as disease and predation. Although there are well-known theistic strategies for explaining natural evil, such as Hick's claim that a law-like environment is needed for our moral formation (Hick 1978, p. 305) and Augustinian theodicies that assign natural evils to fallen angels (Plantinga 1974, pp. 191–92)

Marks argues that if natural evils are genuine, it implies that God creates them. However, if we regard them as illusory or justify them by appealing to a greater cosmic harmony, it contradicts our moral intuitions surrounding pain and suffering. This is indeed a hard pill to swallow: the theist must either accept that God is the author of natural evil or reject our moral intuitions about pain and suffering (Marks 2025, pp. 22–26). Additionally, the proponent of EGH can parody the privation theory of evil and propose a privation theory of good (see Collins 2024). Given the challenges EGH and GGH face with their respective privation theories, it seems more reasonable to assume that some goods and evils cannot be accounted for by privation theories. As a result, MH appears to provide a more reasonable account of good and evil than GGH and EGH.

3. Manichaeism and *A Priori* Plausibility

Michael Hickson states that Bayle thought Christian theism has no reasonable response to the problem of evil, whereas Manichaeism does, and so the Christian has to accept his religion based on faith. For Bayle, Manichaeism had *a posteriori* superiority, whereas theism enjoyed an *a priori* advantage over Manichaeism (Hickson 2013, p. 54). According to Bayle, Manichaeism has the feature of a good system because of its empirical strength:

> However, assuming the Manicheans do win the a posteriori debate, the overall result is not necessarily a stalemate, for Bayle has his Manichean claim that "the main feature of a good system is that it accounts for what experience teaches us." Thus, the problem of evil for Bayle is that the Manicheans can win what is arguably the more important of two kinds of debate over the origin of evil, and so, from the point of view of reason, the dualist hypothesis is at least as appealing as the monotheistic, and is perhaps more appealing. (Hickson 2013, p. 55)

If we accept that GGH possesses *a priori* plausibility, while struggling to account for our experiences, and conversely, that MH can explain our experiences but lacks *a priori* plausibility, it is reasonable to question our *a priori* reasoning in this context and identify our faults within it. MH, a hypothesis with high *a posteriori* plausibility that conflicts with our *a priori* reasoning, provides substantial reason to revise our *a priori* judgments. If we cling to our *a priori* reasoning and dismiss hypotheses that demonstrate high empirical plausibility, we risk stagnation in scientific progress. In this sense, *a priori* reasoning, particularly in the realm of science, is best understood as relative rather than absolute (see Friedman 2009). I adhere to Bayle's point methodologically, namely that empirical fit marks a hypothesis as a live rival; however, this does not by itself establish the truth of a hypothesis. Likewise, relying on Friedman's relativized *a priori* does not vindicate the soundness of MH. That said, some recent arguments claim that the *a priori* reasoning employed by supporters of GGH can also be parodied and used by proponents of EGH. Consequently, we observe ontological and cosmological arguments being parodied and utilized to support EGH. MH, however, struggles to parody these arguments since, within this framework, there are two sources (one for good and one for evil), and proposing a single source for the universe in this model may lead to the conclusion that neither the GG nor EG represents a deity with creative powers. Nonetheless, there are plausible scenarios in which we can envision a world coming into existence despite MH. First, let us clarify what we mean by EG and how this might lend *a priori* plausibility to MH.

4. EG and Order

Forrest distinguishes between two different conceptions of EG (which he refers to as anti-God), which is useful for our discussion. First, an EG who "creates so that creatures will suffer, because of the joy this suffering gives It. This may be contrasted with a different idea of anti-God, that of an evil being that seeks to destroy things of value out of hatred

or envy. An omnipotent, omniscient being would not be envious. Moreover, destructive hatred cannot motivate creation." (Forrest 2012, p. 37). For these two reasons, Forrest argues that the second conception of EG is not tenable.

Additionally, following Morriston, we can agree that even if only one deceiving God exists, there is no reason to believe that he should systematically deceive us. As Morriston argues, EG does not imply that we should be systematically deceived. He may enjoy the errors and deceptions, such as those concerning the existence of a loving God who created the world. After all, if you are not deceived about your child's existence when she suffers or dies, you too will suffer greatly. Morriston concludes that for this reason, we shouldn't assume that EGH increases the likelihood of systematic deception (Morriston 2004, pp. 97–98). Still, none of these licenses the stronger claim that, if both EG and GG exist, neither would try to influence us. The point is that in a two-deity setting, we have no good reason to expect a stable, publicly detectable net pattern of influence traceable to either side. Even if GG has reason to involve himself in human affairs, such involvement need not be overt or continuous (Swinburne 2003, p. 50), and under rivalry any regular policy by one will be met by countermoves from the other. So rather than saying that EG is systematically harming us while GG is systematically rescuing us, it is better to say that whatever influence there will be, it is intermittent, domain-specific, and apt to cancel out overall.

In the case of Manichaeism, however, it might be different because GG and EG are competing, after all, and are at war. Then, it may be argued that although they may each sometimes act, since both have roughly equal power, neither succeeds in systematically influencing us. The proponent of MH has other options as well. He can either interpret the war between good and evil as a metaphor or some theological doctrine that needs interpretation. Nevertheless, even if taken literally, we can say that for an activity to count as battle or war, there needs to be some rules governing that activity so that we can distinguish it from other phenomena, such as pure chaos. It may be the case that human involvement in this cosmic battle is not significant, although it does influence us humans and involves us in it. Alternatively, we can find inspiration from 'deal-making theodicy' that argues that God has entered into an agreement with Satan so that Satan would be the king of this world and hence the evils in this world (see Lembke 2025). Likewise, the Manichean can argue that since neither of these Gods can finish the other one off, they may agree to create a world in which they can cooperate to create humans and bet on how humans will act and whether humans will ultimately choose good or bad. Another possibility inspired by Forrest's 'Rebel Angel Theodicy' can be developed. We can argue that EG and GG were responsible for different natural laws, and, for example, while one was responsible for evolution (natural selection), the other was responsible for other laws (Forrest 2024, p. 2). The proponent of GGH may retort that, despite our efforts to show the superiority of MH to GGH based on its explanatory powers of our experiences, we have neglected the order we perceive in the universe. Order is not merely a matter of *a priori* plausibility; rather, our experiences also indicate that there is order in the universe. Just as GGH needs to deal with the problem of evil and EGH needs to deal with the problem of good, MH needs to deal with the problem of order. In other words, how can one believe in two battling Gods, one evil and one good, if there is an apparent order in the universe? Here, we can offer a response inspired by the Satan hypothesis (SH). The SH suggests that God has given Satan and fallen angels free will, and the natural evils we see in this world are the result of their activities. An objection against the SH is that if SH is true, why isn't the world that bad? In response to this objection, Dunnington responds

> Or, the proponent of SH might point out that Satan himself could have good reasons for reigning in the extent of his destruction. After all, Satan's aim is to

> thwart God's purposes for the redemption of human persons, and making his malevolent intent utterly transparent would only serve to better attune human persons to the cosmic war Satan and his cohorts are waging against God. Satan wants people to hate God, but pulling out all the stops in his campaign of destruction would only serve to turn human persons against Satan and *toward* God. (Dunnington 2018, p. 268)

The Manichean can argue that EG has valid reasons to refrain from total destruction. First, if there is to be a battle or war, there must be sufficient order and regulation in the world for such an activity to be recognized as a battle. Every battle requires a battlefield, which necessitates some level of order. Secondly, total destruction would render human life nearly impossible. EG must engage in destruction only to the extent that allows human life to be viable while also giving humans the impression that the world is genuinely orderly. If the world seems orderly, the likelihood of humans believing in the existence of a good God increases. Thus, when confronted with the evils produced by the evil God, humans might begin to doubt GG's existence due to the presence of evil, even in an otherwise orderly context. Therefore, EG has compelling reasons not to disrupt the order in the universe and may even collaborate with GG to foster an orderly universe[1].

5. Conclusions

In this paper, we began by outlining the distinctive dualistic framework of Manichaeism. Turning to the EGC, we illustrated how advocates of MH can undermine GGH by parodying the evidential problem of evil through a parallel "problem of good." By employing probabilistic reasoning, supporters of MH can argue that, although the probabilities of Pr(GG | E) and Pr(EG | E) seem low in isolation, their joint probability under MH may be significantly higher if the existence of one deity increases the likelihood of the other. This suggests that MH not only circumvents the absurdities attributed to either GGH or EGH but also potentially achieves greater *a posteriori* plausibility by accounting for the mixed moral phenomena we observe.

We then explored *a priori* considerations, engaging with Bayle's distinction between intuitive appeal and empirical strength. While Christian theism possesses strong *a priori* plausibility, its empirical account of evil encounters difficulties. In contrast, Manichaeism excels empirically but conflicts with entrenched *a priori* beliefs. Building on Friedman's concept of the relativized *a priori*, this paper argued that hypotheses demonstrating high *a posteriori* plausibility, such as Manichaeism, should prompt a revision of our *a priori* commitments instead of outright dismissal. In this context, consistent empirical success can serve as evidence to reexamine what we deem "intuitively" reasonable.

A longstanding objection is that a universe ruled by two warring deities would lack the coherent order we observe. To address this, we examined recent theodicies, such as rebel-angel and "deal-making", which show that an evil deity might restrain its destructive impulses for strategic purposes (e.g., to maintain a recognizable "battlefield") and that both deities could implicitly cooperate to preserve natural regularities. These adaptations illustrate that Manichaeism can accommodate both a distinct source for the existence of evil and the maintenance of cosmic order without introducing logical contradictions. Ultimately, by integrating the *a posteriori* advantages provided by the EGC with renewed *a priori* plausibility, and by resolving the order objection through contemporary theodicies, MH can plausibly emerge as a serious alternative to monotheistic theism. However, this should be considered as a first step in reintroducing MH to the philosophy of religion, and as such, it only serves as a conditional validity claim (under the stated assumptions discussed) and not a soundness claim.

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Note

[1] By introducing SH in this section, it might be thought that SH might be better off than MH. Although a thorough comparison would require a paper-length engagement, a few reasons for finding MH preferable to SH will be offered. SH posits a GG plus a created malign agent, namely Satan, whose harmful activity GG permits for reasons like soul-making. MH instead posits two ultimate, opposed principles, GG and EG. Under SH, good comes straight from God, but evil needs an extra explanation; under MH, good and evil come straight from relevant sources. SH suggests the world's order should mostly reduce suffering except where Satan interferes, yet much pain comes from the same steady laws that enable flourishing (e.g., evolutionary predation and pandemics). MH predicts a stable mixture where both principles are in play and neither is decisively dominant, fitting the observed regularity of order in the world.

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Coptic Answers to Manichaean Questions: The Erotapokritic Nature of the Kephalaia

Timothy Pettipiece
(*Ottawa*)

In spite of the fact that substantial portions of the Manichaean *Kephalaia* have been edited and published for over half a century,[1] its form and function have remained generally misunderstood. Since these initial publications, even some of the most influential scholars have succumbed to the temptation to regard the *Kephalaia*, contained in two Coptic codices, either as a record of Mani's actual discourses[2] and teachings,[3] or as a systematic[4] (albeit

[1] The Manichaean *Kephalaia* exist in two Coptic codices discovered near the Egyptian town of Medinet Madi in 1929. The first codex (Berlin codex P. 15 996 or Berlin Kephalaia codex) is entitled "The Kephalaia of the Teacher" (abbreviated 1Ke), while the second codex (Codex C or Dublin Kephalaia codex) is entitled "The Kephalaia of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani" (2Ke). For a recent account of the discovery of these manuscripts see J. Robinson, "The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi: 1929-1989", in *Studia Manichaica II: Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus 6.-10. August 1989, St. Augustin/Bonn,* ed. by G. Wiessner and H.-J. Klimkeit, Wiesbaden, 1989, pp. 19-62. Much of the Berlin *Kephalaia* codex was published by H.-J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig (*Kephalaia (1) : 1. Hälfte [Lieferung 1-10]*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940), A. Böhlig (*Kephalaia (1) : 2 Hälfte [Lieferung 11-12]*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1966), while the remainder is being published by W.-P. Funk (*Kephalaia (1) : Zweite Hälfte [Lieferung 13-14]*. Stuttgart : Kohlhammer, 1999; *Kephalaia (1) : Zweite Hälfte [Lieferung 15-16]*, Stuttgart : Kohlhammer, 2000, and forthcoming). For a recent account of the characteristics, content, and reconstruction of the *Kephalaia* codices, see Funk "The Reconstruction of the Manichaean *Kephalaia*", in *Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources*, ed. by P. Mirecki and J. Beduhn, Leiden, 1997, pp. 143-159. The Dublin Kephalaia codex is included in Giversen's 1987 facsimile edition, although it is not (to my knowledge) currently being edited.

[2] See C. Schmidt and H.-J. Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten," *Sitzungberichte der preussichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1939), p. 23. Also, S. Lieu, for instance, talks about *Kephalaia* chapters as "extant discourses

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secondary) presentation of the "main points" of Manichaean theology. In reality, however, the work is neither. It should not be seen as a record of the *ipsissima verba* of Mani himself, nor should it be viewed as a *summa*[5] of Manichaean theology. Instead, it can be more accurately described as representing the emergence or evolution of a scholastic, interpretive tradition, ostensibly rooted in an authoritative oral tradition analogous to those which led to the compilation of the Jewish Talmudic and Islamic Hadith traditions.

While the *Kephalaia* (literally the "Chapter-book")[6] may present itself as a record of Manichaean oral tradition based on Mani's dis-

of Mani" (*Manichaeism in the Roman Empire and Medieval China*, Tübingen, p. 177). While the enthusiasm of scholars for finding the authentic voice of Mani in such a text is understandable, somewhat more unsettling is the way in which the *Kephalaia*, as a primary source for Manichaeism, is sometimes simply pillaged by scholars for proof-texts in support of particular readings and hypotheses, with little or no attention paid to the chapter context from which such references are taken.

[3] G. Widengren spoke about "Mani's teaching, as set down in the *Kephalaia*" (*Mani and Manichaeism*, trans. by C. Kessler, London, p. 69), while L. J. R. Ort characterized the *Kephalaia* as "a summary of Mani's doctrines based on his own writings" (*Mani: A Religio-Historical Description of His Personality*, Leiden, 1967, p. 23)

[4] Even M Tardieu, in spite of the incredible balance and control of his *Que sais-je* volume, seems to indulge in a slight excess of rhetoric when he characterizes the *Kephalaia* as "une véritable *summa theologica* du manichéisme" based on Mani's *logia* (*Le manichéisme*, Paris, 1981, pp. 66-67). Similarly, L. Koenen characterized the *Kephalaia* as a "dogmatic textbook" ("How Dualistic is Mani's Dualism?" *Codex Manichaicus coloniensis : Atti de Secondo Simposio Internazionale*. Cozenza, 1990, p. 3).

[5] In its existing form, it does not appear to be structured with the same degree of deliberation as other systematic theological treatises from the period, such as Origen's *De principiis*.

[6] W.-P. Funk has suggested that this would seem to be the best way to translate the title (*personal communication*), although common usage prevents us from going that far. Nevertheless, I cannot help wonder whether the intended title is *Kephalaia of the Teacher* or simply just *The Teacher* (or in the case of volume two — *The Wisdom of My Lord Mani*), although evidence from both the Coptic *Homilies* (18.6) and the *Acta Archelai* 62 would seem to support the traditional interpretation of the page headings. As for the identification of individual chapters in this study, I have opted for *chapter* instead of *kephalaion*, a technical term which, though correct, has no real benefit and tends to obscure the unique character of each textual unit.

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courses to his inner circle,[7] it is essentially the product of later theological developments and elaborations that seek to respond to a wide array of specific questions, many of which appear to be rooted in ambiguities found in the Manichaean canon. Typically (although not always), a chapter opens with Mani being questioned by (or sometimes questioning) one or more of his disciples about a specific point of doctrine or interpretation. This means that one of the primary aims sought by the compilers of this massive work was clarity. While Mani is famous for having recorded his teaching in a series of self-consciously canonical writings intended to definitively replace all previous revelations, the questions that are asked by the disciples give the distinct impression that Mani left many "loose ends" that needed to be resolved.[8] Thus, the *Kephalaia* appears to be a deliberate attempt to deal with some of these issues within an artificially constructed context of Mani's "apostolic authority,"[9] since at the close of the *Kephalaia*'s "prologue" Mani is depicted as extolling his disciples to record the wisdom he imparted to them (1Ke 9.5-6) — a strange command from someone who was supposed to have provided a definitive and unambiguous record of his revelation. In other words, if Mani had indeed clearly and definitively explained all the subtleties of his vision, then there should have been no need to create such an extensive corpus of secondary literature that seeks to address such a wide array of problems. We might even say that the *Kephalaia* constitutes a sort of *addenda et corrigenda* for Manichaean canonical tradition.

Still, in a more formal way, there are aspects of the *Kephalaia* that allow for its comparison with at least two genres of ancient literature. First, the fact that it exists as a collection of "chapters" (literally, Greek: κεφάλαια) on a variety of topics means that it could be compared to certain forms of ancient *Capitaliteratur*, which aimed at the collection of teachings from a spiritual teacher

[7] Funk, "Reconstruction", p. 151.

[8] In fact, surviving fragments from Mani's writings do indicate that some of them, such as the *Book of Mysteries*, were largely incidental in nature, while others, such as the work(s) known to Titus of Bostra, Theodoret, and Severus seem to have been more generalized, with less attention paid to fixed structures and detail.

[9] Funk, "Reconstruction", p. 152.

for the purposes of meditation.[10] A classical example of such literature is Epictetus' *Manual* (*Encheiridion*), which is essentially a collection of discourse on miscellaneous topics not unlike those found in the *Kephalaia*, such as *On friendship* (2.22), *On those who plead sickness* (3.5), or *What solitude is; and what a solitary person* (3.13). During the Late Antique period, such literature became particularly popular among monks and ascetics,[11] so it is not inconceivable that ascetically minded Manichaeans would have been interested in producing a work of this kind. The use, however, of the *Kephalaia* as a source of meditative discourses would seem to have more to do with how it might have been read during later periods than how it was formed.

Technically, however, the first volume of the work is called *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, implying a somewhat more didactic purpose. As a result, the second, and more likely genre with which the text bears a somewhat closer resemblance, and which speaks more to its compositional origins, is the *erotapokrisis*, or "question-and-answer" literature, that became popular among Jewish and Christian exegetes during the first centuries of the Common Era. This genre, which Claudio Zamagni has described as "un genre très élastique," was a form of secondary literature used primarily for the exegesis and elucidation of canonical texts (be they Jewish, Christian, or pagan), although such works often contained apologetic, didactic, or polemical overtones.[12] In the most general terms, the *erotapokrisis* takes as its most basic form a three-part structure consisting of 1) preface/prologue, 2) questions and answers, and 3) postscript/colophon.[13] According to this basic set of criteria, the *Kephalaia* could be classified as part of the *erotapokritic* genre, especially if its primary aim was the explication of ambiguities found within canonical Manichaean tradition.[14] Now let us

[10] E. von Ivanka, "ΚΕΦΆΛΑΙΑ: Eine byzantinische Literaturform und ihre antiken Wurzeln", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 47 (1954), pp. 285-291.

[11] E. von Ivanka, "ΚΕΦΆΛΑΙΑ", pp. 286-287.

[12] C. Zamagni, "Une introduction méthodologique à la littérature patristique des questions et réponses : le cas d'Eusèbe de Césarée", in *Erotapokriseis: Early Christian Question-and-Answer Literature in Context*, ed. by A. Volgers and C. Zamagni, Leuven, 2004, pp. 7-24.

[13] C. Zamagni, "Une introduction", p. 24.

[14] The order of the questions does not necessarily need to reflect the progression of the text being commented on, c.f. M.-P. Bussières, "Conclusions:

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examine in some more detail how the *Kephalaia* conforms to these three basic criteria.

1. Preface / Prologue

Although its initial pages are badly damaged, the first volume of Manichaean *Kephalaia* begins with what Iain Gardner has called "a framing sequence" and "justification for the entire work,"[15] essentially what we might call an "introduction." This "introduction," in as much as we can decipher it in its current state, appears to outline the basic contours of the Manichaean myth, describing the initial separation of the light and dark natures and the consequences of their tragic conflict (1Ke 1-5). All these cosmogonic events are presented by Mani, who reminds the reader that he has in fact already described them in his "books of light": the *Great Gospel*, the *Treasure of Life*, the *Treatise*, the *Book of Mysteries*, the *Writing for the Parthians*, the *Letters*, and the *Psalms and Prayers* (1Ke 5.23-26). We are told that in these works, which came to constitute the central canon of Manichaean scriptures, "everything that has occurred and that will occur is written in them" (1Ke 5.27-28). This, however, encapsulates the basic contradiction of the *Kephalaia* as a whole. If, as Mani is thought to have claimed, he left a definitive record of his revelation in his own writings, why would a work as extensive as the *Kephalaia* be necessary? Conveniently, the "introduction" provides its own rational when Mani is made to claim that "the world" prevented him from writing all his wisdom down (1Ke 6.16-17). As a result, he enjoins his disciples to record

> "all my wisdom [...] the questions that you have asked me [...] and the explanations that I have made clear to you from time to time; the homilies, the lessons, that I have proclaimed with the teachers to the leaders, together with the elect and the catechumens and the ones that I have uttered to free men and free women [...] all of them, that I have proclaimed from time to time! They are not written. You must remember them and write them; gather

Questions (encore) sans réponses", in *Erotapokriseis: Early Christian Question-and-Answer Literature in Context,* ed. by A. Volgers and C. Zamagni, Leuven, 2004, p. 185.

[15] I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, Leiden, 1995, p. 10.

> them in different places; because much is the wisdom that I have uttered to you." (1 Ke 6.18-27 [trans. Gardner])

Essentially the *Kephalaia* "introduction" attempts to legitimize a distinctly "oral" tradition of Manichaean discourse, parallel to Mani's written works, thereby justifying the collection of what we might think of as a sort of Manichaean Mishnah. The "introduction" then closes with an additional, albeit equally awkward, justification for the work as a whole. Repeating his well worn prophetological claim to be the "seal of the prophets", Mani is made to argue that since Jesus, Zoroaster, and Buddha neglected to leave any record of their teaching, the authenticity of their wisdom has been compromised (1Ke 7-8). This, however, begs a restatement of the earlier question: if, in fact, Mani did make a special effort to commit his wisdom to writing, why then encourage its elaboration in the form of the *Kephalaia*?

My own opinion, based on what we can glean from fragments of Mani's own works — which, ironically, for the most part have failed to survive — is that his writings were rather ambiguous and failed to provide a systematic presentation of what was, or at least came to be, an extremely complex mythological system. As a result, a primary aim of the compilers of the *Kephalaia* appears to have been the clarification of various aspects of the Manichaean myth which might have puzzled later adherents.

2. Questions and Answers

What then are some of the questions addressed by the many chapters of the Manichaean *Kephalaia*? While the vast majority of chapters deal with finer points of the myth, others address a range of prophetological, astrological, and even ecclesiological themes. My own research has demonstrated that the compilers of the *Kephalaia* made a special effort to adapt Manichaean discourse to their own preferred numerical frameworks, particularly pentads.[16] For example, on the mythological level, *Kephalaia* volume one addresses topics such as the creation of Adam (chapters 55, 57, 64), the works of the Third Messenger (chapters 34, 35, 46), the First Man (chapters 51, 53), the so-called "Five Fathers" (chapters 7, 25, 191, 148), and the Light-Mind (chapters 38, 102, 103, 126,

[16] See my *Pentadic Redaction in the Manichaean* Kephalaia, Leiden, 2009.

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184), whereas astrological questions are asked about the nature of the sun (chapters 65, 123), the demonic influence of the zodiac (chapter 69), and the salvific force of the moon (chapters 145, 162). Ecclesiological questions about almsgiving (chapters 87, 144) and church hierarchy (chapters 88, 188) are also posed, as are some charmingly naïve questions about aspects of food, fire, and cloud.

In the *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, this vast array of questions is framed in a variety of more or less formulaic ways, with varying degrees of complexity, ranging from simple to compound questions. Some of the most common formulae introducing the questions include

-"Disciples" question "him" (chs. 1, 2, 43, 49)
-"Disciples" question "the Enlightener" (chs. 14, 42, 56, 86, 113,
-"Disciples" question "the Apostle" (chs. 9, 10, 12, 38, 81, 82, 84, 85, 100, 101, 109, 116, 117)
-a "Catechumen" questions "the Enlightener" (chs. 57, 92), "the Apostle" (ch. 88) etc. (chs. 93, 99, 115)
-an "Elect" questions the "Apostle" (chs 90, 91, 102)

It remains to be seen whether a correlation can be found between these introductory formulae and the thematic content of their chapters. Nevertheless, an excellent, and quite elaborate, example of the first formula can be found in chapter 2, called "The Second, on the Parable of the Tree," which opens as follows:

> "The first parable they asked him about (and) implored [him to] interpret for them is this: While <crowds of […]> were gathered […] his disciples stood before him, asked him, saying: 'We implore you, our Lord, that you <teach us> and interpret for us these two trees <which Jesus> proclaimed to his disciples, as is written in the Gos<pel, where he said>: 'The good tree produces <good fruit,> and <the> evil tree produces bad fruit <[…] Neither is there a> good <tree> that produces bad fruit, <nor is there an evil tree that> produces good fruit.<Every tree is known by> its fruit'. <We> implore you, then, that you <now teach us about> these two trees <and> interpret them <for us> […] as they grow <on the> earth. For they are described […]<in the> writings […] them […] word(?) […] mystery by mystery. There are some among the Sects who interpret these two trees, counting them as good trees along with the rest of the good things on this mixed earth. Each <one(?)> […] to them, relating them to […] a single interpretation" (1Ke 16.35=17.20 [trans. mine]).

In this revealing passage, we can see Mani portrayed with his inner circle of disciples discussing a piece of canonical Christian scripture, for which the Apostle of Light provides a radically dualist exegesis. This accords very well with the basic exegetical function of question-and-answer literature as underlined by C. Zamagni.[17] Yet, as a cosmopolitan religious movement, Manichaean exegesis was not limited to specifically Christian traditions, as we can see in Chapter 57, where a so-called "Babylonian catechumen" questions Mani about a piece of Jewish apocryphal lore:

> "Again, a Babylonian catechumen questioned the Enlightener, saying to him: 'Speak to me, my lord, and clarify for me about Adam, the first man. When was he created, in what way was he formed, or in what way was he begotten? Does his generation resemble the generation which is begotten today among humankind, or else is there a distinction to be found between his birth and what happens today? [...] For, behold, Adam was strong in his substance, great was his size, (and) long were his years. He passed many years in the world. But he is not the only one that we have found to be strong, but also all the others who were begotten in his generation. Long were their years also. These people, however, who are begotten today, their substance diminishes (while) their power and the remainder of their years wane. Why, then, is the birth of those begotten today different than that of the first [...] in his very place. Behold also the stars and the zodiacal signs, they remain in their places. Why then has the life-span and the years of these latter ones diminished and gotten shorter than these ancients who are counted among this first generation?" (1Ke 144.15-145.4 [trans. mine]).

This phenomenon, Mani explains, is due to the fact that the people of Adam's generation possessed more light substance and thus more life-force, leading to longer life-spans.

Mani's exegetical skills are even applied to a piece of Persian tradition, when in *Kephalaia* Chapter 100, a disciple asks about how

> "The laws of the Magi say that there is a dragon with fourteen heads holed up (in his) lair, in *Five Hollows!* Now, I implore you, my lord, that you open my eyes concerning this statement. Is there really a real dragon who has fourteen heads or is there, rather, a spiritual explanation?" (1Ke 252.1-7 [trans. mine]).

[17] C. Zamagni, "Une introduction méthodologique", p. 12.

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In contrast to what some have seen as Mani literalist tendency, he interprets this in a purely allegorical fashion as representing "the seven senses that are found on [the] head of the body, which are the two eyes with which it sees, the two ears with which it hears, the two nostrils with which it smells, as well as its tongue with which he selects and tastes the various flavours that are found in every form" (1Ke 252.19-24).

Occasionally, as in the case of the Babylonian catechumen, the questioner is identified in such a way as to imply an original or at least imagined socio-historical context for the chapter. For instance, in Chapter 89 a Jewish-Christian sectarian, identified as a "Nazorean" demands of Mani, "Your god, to whom you pray, as you believe in him, is he good or evil?" (1Ke 221). This example, along with the questions cited above, point to a highly contested sectarian context behind many of the discussions within the *Kephalaia*, most likely Syriac-speaking Mesopotamia — the original heartland of the Manichaean movement. If this is the case, then the use or adaptation of the question-and-answer form by sectarian groups from Syria could have occurred somewhat earlier than it did among their orthodox counterparts,[18] although it is equally possible that the Coptic Manichaean compilers simply shaped some received Mesopotamian material into an erotapokritic frame.

3. Conclusion

According to Wolf-Peter Funk's analysis of *Kephalaia* codex two, which, even though it contains continuous chapter numbers, is entitled *Kephalaia of the Wisdom of my Lord Mani*, the work as a whole ends with an "epilogue," a "final note," and a "colophon."[19] Unfortunately, these portions of the text remain, "officially" at least, unedited and shrouded in mystery. One thing we do know is this volume, which may come from a separate edition of the same work, appears far more Persian in its contents than volume

[18] R. B. ter Haar Romeny, "Question-and-Answer Collections in Syriac Literature", in *Erotapokriseis: Early Christian Question and Answer Literature in Context*, ed. by A. Volgers and C. Zamagni, Leuven, 2004 (Biblical Exegesis and Theology, 37), pp. 145-163.

[19] W. P. FUNK, "Reconstruction", p. 159.

one. Nevertheless, this limited information at least suggests that the *Kephalaia* conforms to the basic structure of an *erotapokrisis*.

It would appear then that the Manichaean *Kephalaia* conforms to the basic criteria of question-and-answer literature in that it contains an introduction, a series of questions and answers about aspects of a canonical tradition, and in all likelihood, a conclusion. In my opinion, looking at the *Kephalaia* in this light brings into much sharper focus not only of its function as a piece of religious literature but also its possible relations with similar texts from rival religious traditions.

At this point I must thank Yannis Papadogiannakis[20] for his very stimulating presentation on the *erotapokriseis* of Pseudo-Kaisarios. I was initially struck, on the basis of the index, by the fact that the range and variety of topics presented in this work is extremely similar to what we find in the *Kephalaia*, although coming (of course) from a very different theological perspective. Then, when I noticed buried in the apparatus that index claims to represent "the *kephalaia* (τῶν κεφαλαίον) of Kaisarios, brother of the holy Gregory the Theologian" I began to wonder about the possibility that perhaps the structure, content, and title of this Manichaean work is not so unusual after all. Perhaps it simply represents another instance of what Y. Papadogiannakis described as the constant reconfiguration of bodies of knowledge in Late Antiquity. In this case, we are faced with a group of Manichaeans struggling to make sense of their teacher's legacy and present it in a scholastic, even "scientific," form of questions and answers.

ABSTRACT – RÉSUMÉ

In terms of its genre, the Manichaean *Kephalaia* bears a close resemblance to the *erotapokrisis*, or "question-and-answer" literature that became popular among Jewish and Christian exegetes during the first centuries of the Common Era. This genre, which Claudio Zamagni has described as "un genre très élastique," was a form of secondary literature used primarily for the exegesis and elucidation of canonical texts (be they Jewish, Christian, or pagan), although

[20] See his contribution to this volume.

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such works often contained apologetic, didactic, or polemical overtones. In general, the *erotapokrisis* takes as its most basic form a three- part structure consisting of 1) preface/prologue, 2) questions and answers, and 3) postscript/colophon. According to this basic set of criteria, the *Kephalaia* could be classified as part of the *erotapokritic* genre, especially if its primary aim was the explication of ambiguities found within canonical Manichaean tradition.

Sous le rapport du genre, les *Kephalaia* manichéens ont une certaine ressemblance avec la littérature érotapocritique, ou la littérature par questions et réponses, qui devint populaire auprès des exégètes juifs et chrétiens dans les premiers siècles de notre ère. Ce genre, que Claudio Zamagni a décrit comme «un genre très élastique», était une forme de littérature dérivée, principalement utilisée pour l'exégèse et la clarification de textes canoniques (qu'ils soient juifs, chrétiens ou païens), bien que ces œuvres continssent souvent des accents apologétiques, didactiques ou polémiques. De manière générale, le genre érotapocritique se constitue, dans sa forme la plus simple, de trois parties: préface/prologue, questions et réponses, postface/colophon. Selon ces critères de base, les *Kephalaia* pourraient entre dans la catégorie des *erotapokriseis*, surtout si sa finalité première était l'explication des ambiguïtés dans la tradition canonique manichéenne.



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DATABASE OF MANICHAEAN TEXTS



ANTHOLOGIA MANICHAICA ORIENTALIA

IV

MANICHAEAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS

Texts in Middle Iranian, Old Turkish and Chinese
originally edited and translated by
J.-P. Asmussen
E.M. Boyce
W.B. Henning FBA
W. Sunermann FBA
et al.



Compiled and edited by

Samuel N.C. Lieu
FBA, FAHA, FRSN



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ABBREVIATIONS



APAW = Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil-hist. Klasse (Berlin).

AR = Angad Rōšnān, cf. *MHCP*, 113-78 and *MHC(S)*.

DbMT = Database of Manichaean Texts from Central Asia (unpublished – restricted circulation).

DTA = Digitales Turfan Archiv.

GSDT = C. Reck, *Gesegnet sei dieser Tag. Manichaeische Festtagshymnen* (Turnhout, 2005)

GSR = H.-J. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road, Gnostic Parables, Hymns and Prayers from Central Asia* (San Francisco, 1994).

HG = H.-J. Klimkeit, *Hymnen und Gebete der Religion des Lichts. Iranische und türkische liturgische Texte der Manichäer Zentralasiens* (Opladen, 1989).

HR ii = F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan. II. Teil*, APAW 1904, Anhang, Nr. 2.

IMTT i = W. Sundermann (ed.), *Iranian Manichaean Turfan Texts in early publications (1904-1934). Photo Edition* (London, 1996).

IMTT ii = D. Weber (ed.) *Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts in publications since 1934. Photo Edition* (London, 2000).

MABC = Z. Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* (Turnhout, 2001).

MH = D. Durkin-Meisterernst (ed.), *Miscellaneous Manichaean Hymns Middle Persian and Parthian Hymns in the Turfan Collection* (Turnhout, 2014).

MHCP = E.M. Boyce, *Manichaean Hymn Cycles in Parthian* (Oxford, 1954).

MHC(S) = W. Sundermann, *The Manichaean Hymn cycles Huyadagmān and Angad Rōšnān in Parthian and Sogdian* (London, 1990).

ML = Jes P. Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature* (New York, 1975).

MLG = Mohammad Shokri Foumeshi, *Mani's Living Gospel and the Ewangelyōnīg Hymns* (Qom, 2015).

MM i-iii = F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan I*, SPAW 1932, 10, 175-222; *II*, *ibid*. 1933, 7, 294-363 and *III*, *ibid*. 1934, 27, 848-912.

MMITRJ = E. Morano, *Manichaean Middle Iranian Texts regarding Jesus* (Diss. Rome, 2009/2010).

MP = Middle Persian (language)

MSt. = C. Salemann, *Manichäische Studien, I* (St. Petersburg, 1908).

Pa. = Parthian (language)

Rd. = M. Boyce (ed.), *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, (Tehran-Liège, 1975).

Sogd.. = Sogdian (language)

SPAW = Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (Berlin, 1882–1921; philos.-hist. Kl., 1922–49).

UMT ii = L. Clark, *Uygur Manichaean Texts 2, Liturgical Texts*, CFM *Turcica* ii (Turnhout, 2013).

Uyg. = Uygur (language)

W.-L. i and ii = E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus,* APAW 1926, 4 and 'Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten', *SPAW*, 13, 480-607.

Great Hymn to Mani

MIK III 8260 V + **U82** *et folia altera* (Uyg. & Toch.B) = *Pothi-Book* ll. 1-180.
Ed. and trans. L. Clark, *UMT* ii, 112-20 and 137-86.

(**MIK III 8260**, verso, 001-005, Leaf 1)

1/ a[l]ku beš a[žunnu]ŋ umugı aryayıša töz n[om no]mčıs[ı] [•]
2/ ayančaŋ köŋülin yüküngü ayaglıg atlıg kaŋım manı burxa[n] [•]
3/ anuntumuz ⊙ siziŋä asr[a] köŋülin yüküngäli alıŋ amtı
4/ umug ınag ⊙ alkunuŋ b[ütün] yükünčin yükünür biz siziŋä •
5/ yüz yüzägütin bärü kertgünčin • yük[ünmi]š sayu arızun • yükgär[ü]

1/ (**1**) Object of hope of all five [states of existence]! Preacher of [the doctrine] of the *aryayıša*-root!
2/ My honored and renowned Father, Mani the Buddha, whom one should worship with a reverent mind!
3/ (**2**) We have prepared ourselves to worship you with a humble mind. Deign to accept now,
4/ object of hope and trust, the [complete] worship of all (of us)! We worship you.
5/ May (our) faith be pure from deep within every time we worship! [ ] of upward [ ].

(**U82**, recto, 006-010)

6/ [ ]niŋ [ ]
7/ [ ] ⊙ üč [ ] [amtı yükünür]
8/ biz siziŋä ⊙ anu[ntumuz] [ ] [beš]
9/ ažunug kutg[a]rgal[ı] [ ]
10/ alku a[yı]g kılınčlarımız • [ ] [ayıg]

6/ (**4**) [ ]
7/ [ ]three[ ]. (**5**) [Now] we [worship]
8/ you. [We have] prepare[d ourselves] [ ]. [ ]
9/ in order to save (us) from the [five] states of existence. [ ]
10/ (**6**) all of our evil deeds [ ]

(**U82**, verso, 011-015, Leaf 2)

eki
11/ kılınč [t]üšin ukıttıŋız [ ]
12/ enčgülüg orunka [ ]
13/ nomlatıŋız • um[ug] [ınag] [ ]
14/ tamu yolı[n] totuŋ[uz] [ ]
15/ [ ] ävin tap[ ]

(Leaf) Two
11/ You explained the consequence of [evil] deeds.
12/ (**7**) [ ] to a peaceful place. **[ ]**
13/ You preached [ ] (**8**) Object of hope and [trust]
14/ You blocked the road of [ ] hell.
15/ (**9**) [ ] attain the home of [ ]

U86 (D 260, 23), recto

16/ [ ]K[ ]
17/ [ ]niŋ[ ][lä]riŋä yıltız_
18/ [_lıg tüzgärinč]siz ä[d]g[ü] nom[l]arıg nomdayu [so] • tört tugum
19/ [ ] kutgartıŋız • säkiz türlüg ämgäk
20/ [ ] sädräksiz yigi kılınčların • säpä_

16/ [ ]
17/ [ ] of [ ]
18/ (**10**) Preaching the un[surpassable and good doctrines. Four rebirths
19/ [ ] you rescued. (**11**) The eight kinds of suffering.
20/ [ ] pressing the deeds together into a dense, compact mass. *Säpän-*

U86 (D 260, 23), verso

21/ [ ] üzä • y[ı]ntäm tutčı yindsikgü yertin-
22/ [ ] ukmatın • ilišlig tartışlıg
23/ [ ] ilkitä bärü atkanıp •
24/ [ ] [tı]nlıglar • biligsiz bilig
25/ [ ]KYP[ ]T[ ]

21/ (**12**) Through [ ], [ ] the world that they must search constantly and continuously
22/ without understanding [ ] which fasten and drag
23/ (**13**) [ ] Attaching themselves from the beginning [ ] which grab on and drag them, mortals [ ].
24/ Ignorance [ ]
25/ [ ]

U83 (D 260, 3), recto

26/ [ ] k[a]l agulug yılkıta • tutčı üzüksüz monı täg tugum[u]g a[žun]_
27/ _ug unıtmaklıg • ⊙ toz toprakka batılıp • turkgaru munkul ärtilär •
28/ az nızvanıka ⊙ agukup • artayu yokatu tururta • amwardışan_
29/ _lıg ot üzä • ⊙ aŋa yörüntäg kıltıŋ[ız] [ö]vkä nı[z]vanı üz[ä]
30/ kuturup • ögsüz köŋülsüz ärtilär • öz tözlärin ukıtıp [öglärin]

26-27/ in (the existence of) [ ], savage, poisonous animals. (**15**) Continuously and endlessly they were sunk like this in the dust and dirt of forgetting the rebirths and the [states of existence], and they were perpetually confused.
28/ (**16**) When they were being poisoned by the passion of greed, and they were decaying and perishing,
29/ you made a medicine for them with the herb of meditation. (**17**) They raged with the passion of anger,
30/ and they were without thoughts and minds. By making them understand their own origins, you collected [their thoughts]

U83 (D 260, 3), verso

Tort

31/ köŋüllärin yıgtıŋız • beš ažuntakı tınlıglarıg • biligsiz b[iligtin]
32/ öŋi üdür_⊙_tüŋüz • bilgä biligtä yaratt[ı]ŋız • farnībrānka
33/ sanlıg kıltı_⊙_ŋız • üztä buzta ula[t]ı üküš tälim nızvanı_
34/ _ lar • ögin köŋ_⊙_ülin azıtıp • örlät[ü]r ärti tınlıglarıg • kača[n]
35/ [bi]rük kaŋımız • kalıgtın kudı entiŋiz • kamıg tınlıg uguši nı<z>v[anı]

(Leaf) Four

31/2 and their minds. (**18**) You separated [from their] ignorance the mortals in the five states of existence. You endowed them with wisdom.
33/ You made them bound for *parinirvāṇa*. (**19**) The many and numerous passions, starting with destructive hatred,
34/ used to agitate mortals and lead their thoughts and their minds astray.
35/ (**20**) However, when you, our Father, descended from the firmament, all the families of mortals [ ] passions.

U81a+b (D 259, 22 +D 260, 32), recto] (Leaf 5)

36/ [ ][um]ugsuz bizni täg tın[lıgl]arka • umugı

36/37/ (**21**) To mortals like us, without an object of hope, (you) [ ] the time and the

37/ [ ][i]ŋä • utlı sävinč öt[äki]ŋä ugrın yıkın
38/ [ ] • adınčıg ıdtuk kaŋımız • agınčsız köŋül
39/ [ ][al]ku tınlıg oglanınıŋ • alp ärti sansartın
40/ [ ][ı]dtuk kaŋımız • üstürti kudı enmäsär • üč

occasion for [their] object of hope [ ], and for [their] just rewards and amends.
38 (**22**) [If] our distinguished sacred Father [ ] unshakeable mind, <the salvation of>
39/ all the children of mortals from the *saṃsāra* would have been very hard.
40/ (**23**) If our [ ] sacred Father had not descended from on high, [ ]

U81a+b (D 259, 22 +D 260, 32), verso

41/ [yavlak yolta] [ ] üküš tälim tınlıglar boltı ärti •]
42/ [ ] [kö]ŋ[ü]llüg {*erasure*} orukuŋuznı • yalŋuklar ara [ ]
43/ [ ] [alku be]š ažuntakı tınlıgların • yarašmalašu
44/ [ ] tınlıglar ilk[i]tä • [o]rukuŋuz učı_
45/ _[n] [ ] kut[ru]lt[ı] • umugsuz erinč

41/ many and numerous mortals would have ended up [on the] three [evil roads]. (**24**) Having a [ ] mind, (you)
42/ [ ] your path among human beings. You made the mortals in
43/ [all five] states of existence live in harmony with one another, and
44/ (**25**) [ ]. mortals at first [ ] the end of your path
45 /(**26**) [ ] were saved. (But) we miserable mortals, without an object of hope,

U87 (D 260, 6), recto (Leaf 6)

46/ tınlıglar • orukuŋuz učın bulmatın • ulınčıg sansarta kaltımız [bilgä]
47/ biliglig ⊙ šatu tikt[i]ŋ[iz] beš ažunug irkl[ä]t[ip] ozgu[r]t[uŋuz] [biz]_
48/ _ni täg erinč ⊙ tınlıglar • bilinmäti[n] [ ] k[a]ltımız [ ]
49/ biz sizni täg ⊙ burxanlıg kün täŋrig körgäl[i] bukagutak[ılar] [ ]
50/ ämgäklig • bo sans[a]rt[ın] [kutrultumuz] ärtimlig mäŋikä ilinmišk[ä] [ärtinč]_

46/ remained in the torturous *saṃsāra*, without attaining the end of your path.
47/ (**27**) You set up the ladder of [wis]dom. By causing (them) to climb the five states of existence, [you] helped (them) escape.
48/ Miserable mortals like [us], without being aware, remained [ ].
49-50/ (**28**) We, [ ], [those who were] in fetters and who had pain, [were saved] from this *saṃsāra* in order to see the Sun God, a Buddha like you.

U87 (D 260, 6), verso

51/ _siz köni nomug no[mlayu] [äm]gäklig taluytın käčürtiŋiz • ä[d]g[ü]
52/ nırvanka ⊙ yakın elttiŋiz • bodulmaklıg ilgü tüpk[ä]
53/ sırılmıšlar_⊙_ka • burxanlar uluš[ı]ŋ[a] [ba]rgu yol[u]g k[ö]r[kı]t[tıŋız]
54/ buyanlıg sumır ⊙ tag[ıg] [tur]gurtuŋuz bo a[žunn]uŋ ürl[üg] [ämgäkin]
55/ biltürtüŋüz • küvänčlig suv köznäkiŋä

(50)-51/ (**29**) [By] preach[ing] the im[mortal] true doctrine to those who were clinging to transitory pleasures, you led them across the ocean of suffering.
52/ You brought them close to good *nirvāṇa*. (**30**) To those who were entangled in the clutching roots that bind
53/ [you] show[ed] the road by which one [goes] to the country of the Buddhas.

suklunmıšlarka • kö[ni] [nomlug]

54/ You raised up [the] Mount Sumeru of merit. You made them aware of the everlasting [suffering] of this [state of existence].

55/ (**31**) To those who had plunged themselves into the reflection of pride

MIK III 189 (D 260, 2), recto

56/ köprügüg körgittiŋiz • köŋülintäki yeg nomug ukıttıŋ[ız] [ ]

57/ ıdtuk anč<am>an_⊙_k[a] [tu]tuztuŋuz • altı k[a]čıg ü[zä a]zmıš_

58/ _larka • agmak ⊙ enmäk ažunl[a]rıg körgittiŋiz • awıš tamu

59/ ämgäkin bilt_⊙_ürtüŋüz • alkatmıš beš kat täŋri yerintä

60/ tugurtuŋuz • kutru[lgu yol yıŋakl]arıg tiläyü • koptın sıŋar el ulu[š]_

56/ you showed the bridge [of] the true [doctrine]. You explained the supreme doctrine that is in one's mind.

57/ You entrusted them to the [ ] sacred assembly. (**32**) To those who went [astray through] the six organs of perception

58/ you showed the rising and descending states of existence.

59/ You made them aware of the suffering of the *avīci*-hell. You caused them to be reborn in the praiseworthy land of the fivefold heaven.

60/ (**33**) Seeking the [roads and directions by which one] is saved, you traversed the realms and countries on all sides.

MIK III 189 (D 260, 2), verso

61/ _larıg käztiŋiz • kutgargu tınlıgl[a]rıg taptukta • kodmatın kamıgunı kutgar_

62/ _tıŋız • ogadıp ⊙ kalmıš bizni täg tınlıgka • • ewangelyōn nom ärtinig

63/ nomlap kod_⊙_tuŋuz • ozgu kutrulgu yol yıŋakıg • ol nomta

64/ äšitip ukar ⊙ [biz] [a]pam birük monı täg arıg no[mug] nomlap

65/ kodmasar • amtıka tägi yertinčü • alkınmazmu ärti tınlıg[lar] tör[t]

61/ When you found mortals whom you should save, you saved them all without leaving any aside.

62/ (**34**) To mortals like us who had stayed behind you began to preach the doctrinal jewel of the Evangelion.

63/ In that doctrine, [we] hear and understand the roads and directions by which one escapes and one is saved.

64/ (**35**) If indeed you had not taken up preaching [the] pure doctrine like this,

65/ would not the world and mortal[s] have perished before now?

U88 (260, 11), recto

66/ burxanlarta ken entiŋiz • tüzgärin[čsiz] [b]urxan kutın bultuŋuz •

67/ tük tümän tınlıglarıg kutgartıŋız • t[ünärig] tamutın tüzüni

68/ ozgurtuŋuz • ⊙ al altag uza[nma]k[ları]g tašgarıp • adın_

69/ _larka asıglıg išig_⊙_lig {*corr*. išig}

66/ (**36**) You descended after the four Buddhas. You attained the blessed state of the [un]surpassable Buddha.

67/ You saved many myriads of mortals. You helped all of them escape from [darkest] hell.

68/ (**37**) By revealing the (needed) devices,

išlättiŋiz • azmı[šla]rka yolčı yerči
70/ boltuŋuz • ayıg k[ılınč]lıg šamnu elgintin ozgurt[u]ŋu[z] [ ]

methods and skill[s], you helped them carry out work of advantage to others.
69/ You became companion and guide to those who had gone astray.
70/ You helped them escape from the hands of the evil-[do]er Šamnu.

U88 (260, 11, Leaf 8), verso
Säkiz
71/ köŋüllüglärig [ ][t]üŋüz • tägilmiš közlär[ig] [ ]ŋiz
72/ tägimligčä ⊙ išlärig [i]šlättiŋiz • täŋri yeriŋä bargu k[öni]
73/ yol körg[i]tt[i]ŋiz ⊙ yertinč[ü]kä umug [ı]n[a]g törüttüŋüz • yeti
74/ agılıg nomlar_⊙_ıg nomlatıŋız • yin[tä]m ayıgta yaratıntačı_
75/ _larıg • tıdtıŋız • yeg üstünki ordu turgurtu[ŋuz] azaglarıg barča siz_

(Leaf) Eight
71/ (**38**) You [ ] those with [ ] minds. You [ ] [the] eyes that were blinded.
72/ You helped them carry out works of a worthy kind. You showed them the [true] road by which one goes to the land of God.
73/ (**39**) You created for the world an object of hope and trust.
74/ You preached the seven precious books. You hindered those who would constantly adorn themselves with evil.
75/ [You] raised up the supreme palace on high.

U89 (D 260, 27), recto

76/ _iŋä ämtärtiŋiz • [ ][m]akıg [sar]anlanmakıg k[arišmakıg]
77/ _akıg erišmäk_⊙_ig särgürtüŋüz • amwardıšanıg [ ]
78/ tolp sansar_⊙_ıg siziŋä äŋitt[ü]rtüŋ[üz] [todunčsuz yäk]_
79/ _lärig tutultur_⊙_tuŋuz • tugumın ažunın [ ] [turug]
80/ ädgü kılınčlıg išlärig išl[ä]ttiŋiz • köz ka[rak] [ ]

76/ (**40**) You turned the heretics, all of them, to you.
77/ You brought to a halt the [ ]ing, the being miserly, the [disagreeing], the [ ]ing, and the competing. [ ] the meditation.
78/ (**41**) You caused the whole *saṃsāra* to bow to you.
79/ You caused the [insatiable demon]s to be held back. [ ] their rebirths and states of existence.
80/ You caused them to carry out works of [unsullied] good deeds. (**42**) Seeing [ ] pupils of the eye

U89 (D 260, 27), verso (Leaf 9)
Tokuz
81/ körü kanınčsız körklä körk[ü]ŋüzni • küsän[č] [ ]
82/ körürlär ärti ⊙ siziŋä t[ä]trü kör[ ]_
83/ _lärintäki ⊙ kıl[ınč][ ] [kö]ŋ[ü]ll[üg]
84/ ičgärü • küzä_⊙_*t*[ ]
85/ igliglär • ada [ ]

(Leaf) Nine
81/ your lovely form that one never tires of seeing, [ ] desire [ ],
82/ they would look fixedly at you. (**43**) See[ ]
83/ deed that is in their [ ]
84/ within [ ] with [ ] mind guard[ ].

85/ (**44**) [ ] the sick ones [ ] danger [ ]

U90 (D 259, 9), recto

86/ [ ]Š *Y*'R[ ] kalar • köŋüli afyākīr[t] [ ]
87/ [ ] körmäz_⊙_lä[r] küčsüz turuk kišilär • [ ]
88/ pınpunklar • ⊙ katıgı bädümiš pāt [ ]
89/ täglükläri • ⊙ kararmıš köŋüllüg mu[n]k[ul] [ ]
90/ kıvırgak saranlar • taluy ög[üz]täki balı[klar]

86/ remains [ ]. (**45**) Their minds do not see the *avyākṛta* [ ].
87/ Weak and emaciated people [ ]
88-89/ the *pinpunks*. (**46**) The blind ones of [ ] arrow whose tautness has grown, the mad [ ] with darkened minds,
90/ [ ] stingy misers. (**47**) Fish[es] that are in the seas and rivers,

U90 (D 259, 9), verso

On

91/ üŋürintäki yäk oŋžınl[a]r • [ta]mu ekint[i] [ ]
92/ takı amarı ⊙ tınlıglar • täŋrim siziŋ[ä] [ ]
93/ ärsär olar ⊙ yägü koŋuztı[n] täg[ir]m[il]äyük[i]
94/ _[mi]štä ök • ⊙ tärkin tarıkur ärti ančam[a] [ ]
95/ [ ] siziŋ körküŋüz[n]i • körmiš sayu [ ]

(Leaf) Ten

91/ demons and fiends that are in their [] caves,
92/ and also some mortals [ ] the second hell. (**48**) My God! If they [ ] you,
93/ the moment they were encircled and [ ] by beetles who wanted to eat them,
94/ how quickly they would suppress them!
95/ (**49**) [ ] every time they saw your form, (they would) [ ].

U91 (D 259, 15 + D 260 20), recto

96/ küsäyürlär ärti birgärü • künt[äm]äk tı sizni körgü üč[ü]n
97/ adakın yorıp ⊙ sizni at[a]r [ärti] [a]gızınta sizni ögä a[l]kay[u]
98/ ančulayu ⊙ amrar ärti sizni tüzügü • anası[n] b[abasın]
99/ oglanı sävär_⊙_čä • ulug yarlıgkančučı köŋül[üŋüzk]ä • olarnı
100/ barča sıg[u]rup • [ulug] a[sı]g tusu k[ı]lt[ıŋız] [ ] kıl[tıŋız]

96/ They would join together and long to see you all the days for time everlasting.
97/ (**50**) [They would] walk on foot and call out your name. Just as children love their mother and [their father],
98/ the whole of them would express their love for you by praising and exalting you with their mouths.
99/ (**51**) By admitting them, all of them, into [your] great and compassionate heart,
100/ [you] did (things of) [great] advantage and benefit. [You] did [ ].

U91 (D 259, 15 + D 260, 20), verso

bir yägirmi

(Leaf) Eleven

101/ özüg yatıg adırt[matı]n • özirgänt[iŋi]z yumgını [öz ö]tüŋüz be[rtiŋiz]
102/ ülgüsüz san_⊙_sız tınlıglarka • kın[ımlı]g yi[ti] k[ö]ŋ[ü]lüŋüz üz[ä]
103/ kıltıŋız ädgü ⊙ tüzükä • kılmıš

101/ (**52**) [Without] distinguishing between kin and stranger, you made the whole of them your own.
102/ [You] gave your [own counsel] to numberless, countless mortals.

[ä]dgünüznüŋ tü[ši]ntä • kısıg
104/ oruntakılar ⊙ barča [ün]tilä[r] [•] uzatı üzüksüz monı täg
105/ ulug asıg tusu kıltıŋız • ol buya[n]ıŋız tüšintä • odgurak burxan

103/ (**53**) With your steadfast and sharp(-witted) mind you did good things for all. As a consequence of the good that you did,
104/ all of those who were in confined places [left] (them).
105/ (**54**) You did (things of) great advantage and benefit like this for a long time and without letup. As a consequence of that merit of yours,

U92 (D 260, 8), recto
106/ [kutın bultuŋuz tınlıgl]ar birlä karšısız • t[ıl]tagın kılu kältiŋiz t[ıl]_
107/ _[aŋuŋuz] ⊙ buyanıŋız tüšintä tıdıgsız burxan kutın b[u]l_
108/ _[tuŋuz ärtinč] _⊙_siz ıdtuk tiliŋiz üzä • ädgü tetyük nomlug
109/ [ärtinig] ⊙ äsirgänčsizin üläyü yarlıgkatıŋız • ämgäklig
110/ [tolgaglıg] [t]ınlıglarka • tınguluk orunta örügin • tı turkgaru mäŋiligin

106/ [you attained the blessed state of] the arousing Buddha. (**55**) You came, creating a reason for [mortal]s (to live) together without conflict.
107/ As a consequence of [your eloquence] and your merit, [you] attain[ed] the blessed state of the unhindered Buddha.
108/ (**56**) With your im[mortal] sacred tongue,
109/ you deigned to distribute unstintingly
110/ to suffering and [afflicted] mortals [the] doctrinal [jewel] that caused them to say "(It is) good."

U80 (260, 33), verso
bir yägirmi
111/ [ ] ämgäkin körüp • tıdınu umatın
112/ [kodtuŋuz ⊙ siz]iŋ mäŋiŋizni • sudmıš yarča tittiŋiz
113/ [ ] [ayıg] ⊙ kılınčlıgların • soyurka[y]u erinčkäyü yarlıgkatıŋız
114/ [ ] ⊙ körginčä • kamıg tınlıg uguši • kararıg nızvanı_
115/ _[ları üzä] kal telvä täg ärtil[är] • kaš ičintä törümiš

(Leaf) Eleven
111/ (**57**) Seeing their suffering and [ ] in a place where they could rest peacefully and happily, for time everlasting and perpetually,
112/ being unable to refrain (from helping them),
[you put aside] your (own) happiness. (**58**) You renounced, like ejected spit,
113/ the [ ] and the [evil-]doers. You deigned to show compassion and mercy
114/ until they saw [ ]. (**59**) All the families of mortals, [through their] dark passion[s],
115/ were like savage lunatics. It was as though they had been born inside *kaš*(?).

U80 (D 260, 33), recto
116/ altun [ ]
117/ YWL[ ]
118/ ʾʾČ [ ]
119/ BWL [ ]

116/ (**60**) gold [ ]
117/ [ ]
118/ [ ]
119/ [ ]

120/ [ ] 120/ [ ]

U80 (T III 260, 33), verso (PB 121 – PB 125, Leaf 13)

üč yägirmi (Leaf) Thirteen
121/ [ ] 121/ (**61**) [ ]
122/ T[ ]L [ ] 122/ (**62**) [ ]
123/ ʾrt[ï] 123/ (**63**) were [ ]
124/ YW*K*[ ] 124/ [ ]
125/ Y [ ] 125/ (**64**) [ ]

{*Lines 126-135 have not been preserved*.}

U112 (D 260, 35), recto(?)
136/ [ ] 136/ (**65**) [ ]
137/ [ ] [ ]NKYL[ ] 137/ [ ]
138/ [ ] yüz B[ ] 138/ (**66**) [ ] face [ ]
139/ [ ] ʾʾRT[ ] 139/ [ ]
140/ [ ] arıgın ärgülük [ ] 140/ (**67**) [ ] that they should exist in purity [ ]

U112 (D 260, 35), verso(?)
141/ [ ] az nızvan[ı]g [ ] 141/ [ ] the passion of greed [ ]
142/ [ ]ıg kılıp [ ] 142/ [ ] doing the [ ]
143/ [ ] [üztä] buzt[a] [ ] 143/ [ ] destructive hatred [ ]
144/ [ ] DDʾM[ ] 144/ [ ]
145/ [ ] 145 [ ]

{*Lines 146-155 have not been preserved*.}

U93 (D 260, 7), recto
156/ küzätip • yanınčsız [o]runka tägtilär • i[l]kit[ä] [b]ärü kirik[ ] 156/ (**70**) Guarding [ ], they reached the place of no return.
157/ uvšak kılınč_⊙_lıg • ekirčgü köŋüllüg yalŋuklark[a] 157-58/ (**71**) From the beginning, you explained the [ ] distinction to human beings of soiled [ ], petty deeds and undecided minds.
158/ adırtın ukı_⊙_ttıŋ[ız] ulug yarlıgkančučı köŋ[ü]l[üŋüzkä olarnı]
159/ barča sıgurup • ⊙ ulınčıg a[žun]larıntın kutgarıp [ozgurtuŋuz] [san]_ 159/ (**72**) By admitting [them], all of them, [into your] great and compassionate heart, [you] saved them from their torturous [state]s [of existence], and [helped them escape] from the *saṃsāra*.
160/ _sartın • arımıš köŋüllüg kutlug[lar] ayı tärkkäyä tuyunup [akıg]_ 160/ (**73**) The blessed one[s] with purified minds became perceptive extremely quickly

U93 (D 260, 7), verso

[yeti yä]girm[i]

161/ _ların bastılar • arxant kutın bul[tılar] atkaglıg vıšaylıg t[ınlıglarka]

162/ al altag ⊙ uzanmakl[ar]ıg üntürüp • aŋa yar[ašı] [ulug]

163/ asıg tusu ⊙ kıltıŋ[ı]z • küsänčig mäŋilär [ ] [köni]

164/ tözin unıtmıš_⊙_larka • körk tägšürüp öŋi • k[örüntüŋüz]

165/ olarka • olar bar[ča] kamıgun • ol körküŋ[ü]z[ni] körm[ištä ök ulınčıg]

(Leaf) Seventeen

161/ and suppressed their [*āsrava*]s. [They] attain[ed] the blessed state of Arhat.

162/ (**74**) By bringing forth devices, methods and skills [for mortals] with attachments and *viṣaya*,

163/ you did (things of) [great] advantage and benefit that were beneficial for them.

164/ (**75**) For those who had forgotten their [true] origins [ ] desirable pleasures, [you] exchanged (your) form for a different one and [became visible]

165/ to them. (**76**) [The moment that] they, one and all, saw that form of yours,

U94 (D 260, 5), recto

166/ s[a]nsar ämgäkintin • [o]zgalı köŋül[i] turgurtı • yalŋuklarnıŋ [oglanıŋa

167/ yaraši körk ⊙ kö[r]k[i]tip • yanturtuŋuz ayıg kılınčtın • yavš[ınmıš]

168/ ilinmiš ⊙ atkagtın • bargu yolug bilmätin • b[arča oglanı]

169/ ärti yalŋuk_⊙_<larnıŋ> • bar ellig [k]ök kalıg yüzintä • baxšılıg [burxan]

170/ [täŋri tugtuŋuz • sizni körüp tınlıgla[r] [ ] sezig köŋüllär[i] tarıkt[ı]

166/ [their] minds aroused them to escape from the suffering of the [tortuous] *saṃsāra*.

167-68/ (**77**) You showed an attractive form [to the children] of human beings, and turned them back from evil deeds and from the attachments that [had] clutch[ed] and grabbed on to them. (**77**) [All the children]

169/ <of> human being<s> existed without being aware of the road they should take. In the vault of the firmament of the realm of existence, you were born as a [Buddha]-God, a teacher.

170/ (**79**) Seeing you, mortals [ ]. Their doubtful thoughts were dispersed.

U94 (D 260, 5), verso

säk[iz] [yä]g[irmi]

171/ [si]z yarlıgkamıš yarlıgıg • sımtagsız köŋ[ülin] küzätti • küzätm[i]ščä

172/ [k]üčä[ni]p • kö_⊙_ŋül köŋültäki [ä]dgüläri • kün küniŋä ü[n]t[i]

173/ kü[n] täŋritäg • ⊙ [ya]rutı • yaruk biligläri yaltrıyu • yarl[ıg]k[ančučı]

174/ köŋülläri ⊙ ükliyü • yazınčsızın ärmäk čaxšapatıg k[üzätti]

175/ ya[l]ınayu turur tamutın [o]ztılar • kertgünč • köŋüllärin [ ]

(Leaf) Eighteen

171/ They guarded [with] conscientious minds the commands that [you] decreed. (**80**) Exerting themselves as they guarded them,

172/ the good things in their hearts and minds [came out] day after day and shone like the Sun God.

173/ (**81**) Gleaming was their knowledge of the Light,

174/ and their compass[ionate] minds grew and [guarded] the commandment to exist

without sinning.
175/ They [escape]d from the hell that is ever aflame. (**82**) [ ] their faith and their minds,

U95 (D 260, 4), recto

176/ [kertü] törülärtä katıglanu • kirlig ayıg kıl[ınčıg kılmamak] kert[ü]
177/ čaxšapatıg ⊙ küzätti ätüz ärtiml[ikin] s[a]kınıp • ävtin bark_
178/ _tın üntilär • ⊙ ädgü nomlarta bışrunu • ät[ü]z arıgın ärm[ä]k čaxšapatıg
179/ [b]ütürti • ada_⊙_lıg orunlartın ozg[u]luk • arıg nom[lar]ta katıg_
180/ _[lanu] [a]nwašāgān orduta tuggu üčün • agız arıgın ärmäk čaxšapatıg küzä_

176-77/ they made firm strides in the [true] precepts and guarded the true commandment [to not commit the] dirty and evil deeds. (**83**) Worried about [the] transience [of] the body, they left (their) homes and households.
178/ They steeped themselves in the good doctrines and carried out the commandment for the body to exist in purity. (**84**) So that they could escape from places of danger,
179/ [they made] firm strides in the pure doctrine[s],
180/ and, in order to be reborn in the palace of immortality, they guard[ed] the commandment for the mouth to exist in purity.

U95 (D 260, 4), verso

[tokuz yägirmi]
181/ _[tti kut] koluntılar tüzügü kutlug [ ] yolınča yorıgalı • korkınč[ıg] [s]ansar_
182/ _[tın] ozgu üz[ä] ⊙ kutlug čıgayın ä[rmä]k čaxšapatıg bütürti • ürlüksüz
183/ [no]mlarıg büg_⊙_ünüp • üč yavlak yolka k[o]rkınčın • ü[s]tünki yeg
184/ orunta tuggalı ⊙ üč tamgalarıg bütürt[i] [tä]ŋr[i]m sizni körmiš_
185 _t[ä] ök • t[ä]lim üküš tınlıglar [ ] [o]zgalı •

(Leaf) Nineteen
181/ (**85**) The whole of them asked for [divine blessing].
182/ Through wanting to escape the terrifying *saṃsāra* in order to walk along the road of blessed [ ], they carried out the commandment [to exist] in a blessed (state of) poverty.
183/ (**86**) Recognizing the impermanent [doctrine]s, and in fear of the three evil roads,
184/ they carried out the three seals in order to be reborn in the supreme place on high. (**87**) My God! The moment they saw you,
185/ many and numerous mortals [ ] in order to [escape] [ ].

{*Lines 186-195 have not been preserved.*}

U96 (D 260, 20b), recto(?)

196/ [ ] k[öŋü]lintä [ ]
197/ [ ]KYY ⊙ yeti yük[ün]čüg t[ükä]l [ ] siz
198/ [ ] ⊙ sımtagsız [k]öŋül[in] [ ] • közünürtäki

196/ (**88**) [ ] in their minds [ ]
197/ the seven acts of worship [complete]ly.
198/ (**89**) [ ] you [ ] [with] conscientious minds, [ ] that is in the present,
199/ and [ ] thereafter (**90**) On the [three] evil

199/ [ ]_⊙_Kʾ NYP • kenint[ä] [ü]č yavlak yolt[a] [ ]
200/ [ ] T[ ][ö]lümint[ä] [ ]

roads [ ]
200/ [ ] in their death(s) [ ]

U96 (D 260, 20b), verso(?)

201/ [ ]
202/ [ ]
203/ [ ]
204/ [ ]
205/ [ ]

201/ (**91**) [ ]
202/ [ ]
203/ (**92**) [ ]
204/ [ ]
205/ (**93**) [ ]

U97 (D 581), recto

206/ tavrantı • küsäsärlär tınlıglar [ ]
207/ közüg yumup ačgınča • közüntüŋ[üz] [ ]_
208/_läriŋä yaraši ⊙ tüzgärinčs[i]z [ ]_
209/ _l[i]g t[ın]lıglarıg • tüzün[i] birtä[m]
210/ [ ]g[ ] ʾʾK/T[ ]

206/ hurried [ ]. (**94**) When mortals longed for [].
207/ They closed their eyes until you appeared and opened them [ ].
208/ (**95**) [ ] beneficial to their [ ] unsurpassable [ ],
209/ the mortals with [ ], all of them as a whole.
210/ (**96**) [ ]

U97 (D 581), verso

[ ]otuz
211/ [ ] ʾN[ ]
212/ [ ]G[ ] ⊙ [ ]
213/ nızvanılarka • ⊙ eyin yed[ärü] [ ]
214/ eki kurug töz_⊙_in bilmätin • [ ]_
215/ _lig u üzä udıyu • berimlig ayıg [kılınč]

(Leaf) Thirty-(i.e. Twenty-)[?]
211/ [ ]
212/ [ ]
213/ (**97**) passions, [ ] follow[ing] the [ ]
214/ without knowing the principle of the twofold emptiness.
215/ (**98**) sleeping in a sleep of [ ] evil [deeds] for which they were liable

{*Lines 216-225 have not been preserved.*}

U98 (D260, 25 + D 260, 28), recto

226/ _rti [ ] köŋül[lär]i • a[l]k[ı]š bašık sözlägüg [a]yıg kılınčıg [ö]kü[ngüg]
227/ amwardıšan kılıp ⊙ yıgıngug • ayu yarlıgkatıŋız olarka • bulganyuk köŋüllüg
228/ tınlıglar • bo ⊙ yarlıgıŋızını äšitip • buyanlıg taluy ögüzüg akıtıp
229/ burxanlar uluš_⊙_ı[n]ta tugt[ı]l[a]r • adın tümgä köŋüllar • arıg yollar_
230/ _ta y[o]r[ıp] amwardıšan k[ı]l[tılar] [an]waš[āgā]n orduta tugtılar yinčürü töpü[n]

226/ (**99**) were [ ] their [ ] mind[s]. (**100**) You deigned to say to them that
227/ they should say prayers and hymns of praise, [they should] repent the(ir) evil deeds, and they should carry out meditation and collect
themselves. (**101**) Mortals whose minds
228/ had been muddled heard this command of yours and caused oceans and rivers of merit to flow, and they were reborn in the country of the

229/ Buddhas. (**102**) Other simple minds walk[ed] on pure roads [and] carried out meditation.
230/ They were reborn in the palace of immortality. (**103**) [We] bow our heads

U98 (D260, 25 + D 260, 28), verso

231/ yük[ünü]r [bi]z • yeg üstünki [täŋrimi]z siz[i]ŋä • yertinčütäki tı[nlı]glar yintä[m]
232/ nırvanta tugzun_⊙_lar • a[yančaŋ] köŋülin yükünür biz • alku yertinčütä_
233/ _ki tınlıglar • ⊙ alp adalarıntın ozzunlar • amrılmıš nırvanıg
234/ tapzunlar • ögä ⊙ yükünmiš buyanımız tüšintä • üstünki altınkı
235 täŋrilärn[i]ŋ • öŋi öŋi k[u]t wakšıklarnıŋ • üstälzün täŋritä[m] küčl[äri]

231/ and worship you, our supreme [God] on high. May mortals in the world constantly be reborn
232/ in *nirvāṇa*! (**104**) We worship (you) with a [reverent] mind.
233/ May all the mortals in the world escape from their difficult dangers! May they find the *nirvāṇa*
234/ that has brought peace! (**105**) As a consequence of our merit for having praised and worshiped,
235/ may the holy powers [of] the Gods above and below and of the various guardian spirits be increased!

U99 (D 259, 13) recto

236/ ʾWYZ[ ]
237/ _lärintä küzätzün • [ ]
238/ kolur biz siziŋ[ä]
239/ tüzü tägzün [ ] [agır aya]_
240/ _mak[ı]n yinčürü yükünü täg[inür biz]

236/ (**106**) [ ]
237/ May they guard [ ] in their [ ]
238/ (**107**) We ask you [ ]
239/ (**108**) May all of them reach [ ]! With[ ][ ] and [profound respect]
240/ [we] venture to bow and worship.

U99 (D 259, 13) verso

beš otuz

(Leaf) Twenty-five

241/ karm[š]ūhun berü yarlıgkazu[n] [ ]
242/ _lär birlä • tüzü [ ] [tüz]_
243/ _gärinčsiz yeg [ ]
244/ ayakantar bügü [ ]
245/ {T} komñiktense (pä)r(kor ram) [•] {U} [yaruk kün täŋriniŋ]

241/ (**109**) May he graciously grant absolution! [][ ]
242/ with [ ]s. (**110**) All of them [ ]
243/ unsurpassable and supreme [ ].
244/ (Composed by) Ayakantar, the sage [ ]
245/ {T} (Like the rising) of the sun-god, {U} [ ] [of the Sun God of Light],

U100 (T III D 260, 34 + T III D 259, 17), recto

246/ [T] sā(tke yāmu) • men śomonśo [•] [U] [ ]lig ay täŋri [•] [T] ylaiñik_

247/ _tense mukur ram ⊙ [•] [U] [xormuzta] täŋri[niŋ dıdım] t[äg •] [T] bramñiktense

248/ pässak ram • ⊙ [U] [azruwā] [täŋ]rini[ŋ] [pässak täg •] [T] lkāsi śuke •

249/ [U] körgäli tokıl[ıg] [•] [T] (pidär-mani) [•] [U] kaŋım manı burxan • [T] tusa • [U] anın •

250/ [T] tusa • [U] anı üzä • [T] pällāmar [•] [U] [ögä yükünür män] • [T] cintāmaṇi wame(r) ra •

246/ {T} having made the moon as medicine for the man, {U} [ ] the Moon God [ ],

247/ {T} like the diadem of god Indra, {U} [like the diadem of] the God, Primal Man,

248/ {T} like the garland of god Brahmā, {U} like the garland] of the [God], [Azruwā],

249/ {T} [you are] a nectar to be seen, o Father Mani, {U} (you are) splendid to see, my Father, Mani the Buddha.

250/ {T} therefore, therefore I praise [you]. {U} Thus and therefore, [I praise and worship you].

U100 (T III D 260, 34 + T III D 259, 17), verso

altı otuz

251/ [U] čıntamanı ärdini täg • [T] t(arnes=āss)i cuññe aşāṃ • [U] tüz töpütä tutga[lı]

252/ tägimlig a • ⊙ [sä]n t[ä]g[im]lig ärür sän • [T] mant twe ş lkāstar

253/ ly$_{U}$śälñesa • ⊙ [U] [an]čula[y]u ya[ltrıyur sän] [č]axšapatlıg ıdtuk

254/ čog yalın üzä • ⊙ [T] (mant) t(w)e pälk(mo) (ścirin)ne [•] [U] ančulayu [sän]

255/ tokıl[ıg] [ ] aras[ınta •] [T] lkāsi śuke • [U] körg[äli] t[okılıg •]

(Leaf) Twenty-six

251/ {U} Like the *cintāmaṇi* -jewel, {T} Like the *cintāmaṇi* -jewel, {U} you are] worthy to keep on the flat crown of the head.

252/ O, you are worthy! {T} As you also, you are seen through

253/ your enlightening, {U} Just as you are gleaming with the

254/ holy splendour of the commandments, {T} as you are

255/ gleaming among (the stars), {T} you are] a nectar to be seen,

U101a,b (T III D 260, 14, T III D 260, 10), recto

256/ [T] pidär-mani [•] [U] kaŋ[ım manı •] [T] tusa • [U] anın • [T] tusa • [U] anı üzä • [T] (pällāmar) [•]

257/ [U] ögä yükünür män • [T] (entse warñ)ai kleśanma • [U] azta [ul]atı n[ızvanılarıg •]

258/ etaṅkätte ⊙ (ko)r wikäşşeñca • [U] tıdıgsızı[n] birtä[m] kalı[sız]

259/ siz targartačı ⊙ [•] [T] (kartse nervā)n şañiññe • [U] ädgü nırvan tözlüg • [T] kätko-

260/ -preke poyśintans • [U] [sö]ki burxan-larnıŋ • [T] mrāś ternene

256/ {T} o Father Mani, {U} my Father, Mani. {T} therefore, therefore I praise [you]. {U} Thus and therefore,

257/ I praise and worship you {T} Driving away the myriad, without being hindered, {U} of the passions, starting with greed,

258/ the good *nirvāṇa* [is] your own nature {U} without being hindered, wholly and [without] remnants.

259/ {T} [you are] worthy to be brought forth in the top of the head[s] by the omniscients of past time; {U} Having (your) origin in good *nirvāṇa*,

260/ {U} on the flat crowns of the heads of the former Buddhas, of all of them

U101a,b (T III D 260, 14, T III D 260, 10), verso

yeti otuz

(Leaf) Twenty-seven

261/ yuwssi aşāṃ [•] [U] [tüz töpülä]rintä alkugunuŋ eltg[äli] [siz] tägiml[ig] [•]

261/ [you] are worthy to be carried {T} therefore, therefore I praise [you].

262/ [T] tusa • [U] anın • ⊙ [T] tusa (pällāmar) [•] [U] [ög]ä yükünür män • [T] vaineyäşşe(ṃ) wl(olm)encsa [•]

262/ {U} Thus, I [praise] and worship you. {T} (taken) by the converted human beings,

263/ [U] kutrultačı ⊙ [tınlıg] [o]glanınıŋ • [T] krent-pälskoşşe(ṃ) yo(ñiyanmen)

263/ {U} It [will become] clearly [manifested] {T} From the paths of good thoughts

264/ pākri tākow • ⊙ [U] [ädgü ög]lüg yollarıntın bäkiz b[älgülü]g b[oltačı •]

264/ {U} along the roads of {T} he has appeared

265/ olyart(se) (śi)l(ş)e • [U] artukrak arıg [ ] [•]

265/ obviously as superior. {U} good thinking] (taken) by the children of [mortals] who will be saved. Having spread the sandal [fragrance] of pure behaviour,

U102a,**b** (T III D 259, 23, T III D 259, 26), recto

266/ [T] (ca)ndā(n sät)k(ocai) [•] [U] [ ]lärin [ ]in ačta[čı] [•] [T] (pelaikneşşe nomiyeśo) [•]

266-67/ {T} To the jewel of the Law, {U} [For] that reason, [I praise and worship] the doctrinal jewel. {T} therefore, therefore, I praise

267/ nom ärdinikä • ⊙ [T] tusa tusa pällāmar • [U] ol tıltag [üzä ögä yükünür män •]

268/ {U} Keeping of commandments, teaching, {T} Moral behaviour, (teaching),

268/ [T] papāşşorñe ⊙ (aklyiññe) [•] [U] [č]ax[š]apat bošgut • [T] ompol(skoññe) (tsiromñe)

269/ {U} meditation, {T} meditation, (energy),

269/ ce • [U] amwardıšan ⊙ [T] krentomnatsa nomyenta []

270/ {U} [(these are)] the jewels of virtue. {T} these [are] the jewels of the virtue. {U} like a river [of pearls],

270/ [U] [ä]trämlig ärdinilä[r] [] [•] [T] (wmer-sa)mutär ram śāte • [U] i[nčü]

U102a,b (T III D 259, 23, T III D 259, 26), verso

säkiz otuz

(Leaf) Twenty-eight

271/ ögüz täg [ ] • [T] ayātautse (kartse wāşmo) [•]

271/ {T} Rich like an ocean of gems,

272/ [U] eyin ädgü [ ] ⊙ [•] [T] āktikesa nesalye • [U] [ ]

272/ {U} (28) a proper good [[ ] {T} appropriately (a good friend),

273/ taŋlaguluk ⊙ [ ] [•] [T] (mäk)tomñeşşe kärşa(ke) [•] [U]

273/ {U} [ ] so that one wonders {T} it will become manifest as a wonder (in the world),

274/ _lüg tarıgčı • ⊙ [T] (osta-şm)eñcans āyoräşşe • [U] bayag[ut] [ ]

274/ {U} [ ] a cultivator of [ ], {T} the ploughman of the relief [ ] rich merchant(s),

275/ buš[ı] [ ]lärin • [T] preke preke snai (yärm) [•] [U] [ödün]

275/ the [ ] alms {T}) concerning the alms

of the (householders), time after time, without (limit),

U103a-c (T III D 260, 19, T III D 260, 30), recto

276/ ödü[n] [ ] [•] [T] (mā)k(=arañcs=āñm) (er)şeñca • [U] kop köŋülin ulug t[ap] öritt[äči]

277/ bädüttürtäči • ⊙ [T] (se kraupeşşe) sār nomiye • [U] bo ančaman k[u]vraglıg ıdt[uk]

278/ ärdinikä • [T] yarke(sa ⊙ ci winā)skow • [U] mān aryaman fri[stū]m xoš[tır]

279/ agır ayamak[_⊙_ın yinčürü töp]ün yükünü täg[inür mān] ogul [ ]

280/ k[ä]si bätti täŋri [ ] küsän[ ]

276/ {U} [time] after time {T} arousing (much desire in the heart),

277-78/ {U} it (i.e. the community) will arouse and inspire the growth of great [satisfaction] in many minds. {T} (this) jewel of the quintessence (of a community);

279/ {U} with profound reverence the sacred jewel of this assembly and community. Ogul [ ].

280/ (Composed by) The Divine One, Master Bädd[i] Kucha [ ].

Hymn in praise of Mani

M224 I (MP): *MM ii*, 322; photo: *IMTT* 87a & 87b; *Rd*. §c1, p. 142; tr. *ML* 52* (revised), *HG* 125, *GSR* 84-85.

H/ V+R/ ʾpw[ryšn] ʿyg l pry[stg] rw[š]n
Praise of the Envoy of Light

R

1/ {cl.1} <ʿynk ʾʾyd> **r**wcynʾg ʿy [dy]lʾn bzmg
2/ ʿy rwšn ky tʾrygʾn
3/ xwd rwcynyd oo {cl.2} ʿynk
4/ ʾʾyd **m**wrdʾxyz ʿ[yg]
5/ wʾbrygʾn ky ysk ʾ(w)[..]
6/ byšʾzynyd oo {cl.3} ʿynk ʾʾy(d)
7/ **n**ʾwʾz nyw ʾwd prwx ky
8/ [nʾw]ʾn xwd wydʾryd ʾc
9/ [dryʾ]b oo ʿynk ʾʾy[d]
{*Five verses missing*}

V

{cl.4} <ʿynk ʾʾyd>
1/ rʾym[st] šʾẖ ʿy
2/ rwšnʾn ky dʾšnʾʾn
3/ nywʾn hmbxšyd oo {cl.5} ʿynk
4/ [ʾʾ]yd šrʾsynʾg ʿy
5/ [dw]šmnwn kyšʾn gwgʾnyd
6/ ʾwd wšwbyd oo {cl.6} tw ʾrzʾn
7/ hy pdʾn mʾny xwd[ʾwn]
8/ ʿstʾyšn ʾ[wd] ʾpryn
9/ ẅ bʾʾn ẅ mhrʾs[pndʾn]

R

{cl.1} <Behold>, the (**r**) illuminator of the hearts <comes>, the lamp of Light that even brightens those in darkness. {cl.2} Behold, (5) the true up-raiser of the (**m**) dead comes, who heals the illness [...] {cl.3} Behold, the good and fortunate helmsman comes, who even leads the ships out of the [sea] {cl.4} Behold, he comes [...] {*Five verses missing*}

V

{cl.4} <Behold,> the wise king of the beings of Light <comes>, who apportions the good gifts. {cl.5} Behold, the destroyer of (5) enemies comes, who destroys and disperses them. {cl.6} You, Father, Lord Mani, are worthy of praise and blessing, and the gods and the Light-Elements (*mahrāspandān*).

Abcedarian Parinirvana-hymn in memory of Mani

M5 (MP): *MM iii*, §d, 862-65; photo: *IMTT* 11-12; *Rd*. §ce, pp. 136-37; tr. *ML* 56-57*, *HG*, 126-27, *GSR* 85-86.

Hd./V+R/ prnybrʾnyg | bʾšʾẖ
Parinirvana Hymn

R/i
1/ (*Lines 1-4 faded*)
2/ .....
3/ .....
4/ .....
5/ wymn(d) [
6/ {ce.1} cy wzʾd [...]
7/ mycrym pʾdgws
8/ o **l**ʾlmyn kyrdgʾr
9/ ʾwyštʾd pd
10/ wyndyšn pdwhʾd
11/ (ʾw) pydr pd ʾfrywn
12/ (k)[w](m) zmyq
13/ nmwš(t) ʾwm
14/ kyšf(ʾn) prʾgnd
15/ ʾwm bʾr
16/ jywhryn prwʾn
17/ tw sʾnʾd o **m**n
18/ (d)yšt ʾpdn ʾwd
19/ mʾnyst̲ʾʾn
20/ hwʾr(m)yn ʾ(w)
21/ (tw)ʾn mnwhmyd
22/ ʾwd w(ʾd) [w](j)ydg
23/ ky(št)[wm bwdys](t<ʾ>n)
24/ ʿs(pr)hmcʾr
25/ hwzrgwn ʾwm
26/ pwsg wyšmnʾg
27/ pdyc tw jʾmʾd
28/ o **n**ysʾgyn drxtʾn
29/ mn kyrd bʾrwr
30/ ʾwm rʾẖ ʾbdyš(t)

R/ii
(31) 1/ ʾw bwrzwʾr
(32) 2/ zʾdgʾn hnjft̲wm
(33) 3/ ʿspwr tw frmʾn
(34) 4/ kyrbg cy ẖw
(35) 5/ wsnʾd fr[šwd hym]
(36) 6/ ʾw ʿym lwg o
(37) 7/ **s**ʾnʾẖ ʾw mn
(38) 8/ ʾw mwxšyyg
(39) 9/ ʾngwn kw ny
(40) 10/ wynʾn dwšmnyn
(41) 11/ pʾdgyrb ms
(42) 12/ ny ʿšnwʾn hwyn
(43) 13/ wcn syzdyyn
(44) 14/ ʿymwm yʾwr

R/i
1/ (*Lines 1-4 faded*)
[(**k**) .]

(5) boundary [...]
[..] {ce.1} for he left .. the land of Egypt.
The (**l**) eternally mighty One (= Mani) was standing in (10) prayer. With a song of praise he begged the Father: 'I have made the earth level and sown the seed and (15) I (have) brought before You fruit full of life. (**m**) I have built a palace and a (20) sweet dwelling place for Your intellect. And I have sown the Holy Spirit (in the) garden, in the (25) green park-garden, and I have laid a beautiful wreath before You.
I have made (**n**) shining trees fruitful. And I showed [**R/ii**] the way to the sons of the height. I have carried out Your good commandment completely, for it was for this reason that I was sent into the world.
(**s**) Take me up (now) to the peace of redemption, that I may no more see the shape of the enemies nor hear their mighty voice. This time give me the wreath of the great victory."

(45) 15/ dhʾẖ pwsg
(46) 16/ wzrg prywjʾʾn oo
(47) 17/ {ce.2} ʿzgwlʾd pdwhn
(48) 18/ bgrʾštgr š:
(49) 19/ fršwd fryštgʾn
(50) 20/ ʾwd dʾhwʾʾn
(51) 21/ wzrgʾn kw dhʾẖ
(52) 22/ (ʾ)bdys ʾw
(53) 23/ w(x)ybyy wj<y>dgyft
(54) 24/ ʾwd tw ʾwr ʾbr
(55) 25/ snʾẖ ʾw
(56) 26/ ʾrʾm ʾnwšg
(57) 27/ {ce.3} o **p**d sxt cwhr<w>m
(58) 28/ mʾẖ šhryywr
(59) 29/ pd dwšmbt ʾwd
(60) 30/ jmʾn ʿywnds

V/i

(61) 1/ kd hmyw ʿyštʾd
(62) 2/ pd ʾfrywn
(63) 3/ frʾmwxtyyš
(64) 4/ tnbʾr pdmwcn
(65) 5/ ʾbdyn o cwʾgwn
(66) 6/ kd wrwc tgnbn(d)
(67) 7/ wytʾbʾd
(68) 8/ rwšnystr ʾc
(69) 9/ myhryzd rwšnyft
(70) 10/ wybrʾzʾd wrdywn
(71) 11/ ʾwd fryštgʾʾn
(72) 12/ wyʾwrd ʾwšʾn
(73) 13/ drwd dʾd ʾw yzd
(74) 14/ rʾštygr **q**dg
(75) 15/ ʾsmʾng
(76) 16/ ʾmbst ʾw
(77) 17/ byẖ ʾrg zmyg
(78) 18/ wlrzʾd wcn
(79) 19/ wzrg ʾxšyʾd ẅ
(80) 20/ mrdwhmʾn ky
(81) 21/ ʿym nyšʾn dyd
(82) 22/ whyrd ʾhynd ẅ
(83) 23/ kft ʾbr dym oo
(84) 24/ **r**wc ʾst drdyn
(85) 25/ ʾwd jmʾn zʾryẖ
(86) 26/ kd prnybrʾd
(87) 27/ fryštg rwšn
(88) 28/ hyštyš ymgʾn
(89) 29/ ky dyn pʾynd ʾwš
(90) 30/ kyrd pd drwd [hm]g [rm]

V/ii

(91) 1/ [kl]ʾn o {ce.4} **š**hrdʾ(r)
(92) 2/ ʾrgʾw wxybyy
(93) 3/ pdyst hnjʾmʾd
(94) 4/ cyš wʾxt ʾw
(95) 5/ ʾmʾẖ kw
(96) 6/ ʿšmʾẖ wsnʾd

{ce.2} The just God (ʿ) heard the prayer (20) and He sent the angels and the great gifts (with the message): ‘Give instruction to your Elect, and (25) ascend then yourself to the place of eternal rest.’

{ce.3} (**p**) On the fourth day of the month of Sharevar, on a Monday at the (30) eleventh hour, [**V/i**] as he stood in prayer, he set aside the body’s (5) customary raiment.

Suddenly he shone like a flash of lightning, brighter than the light of the Sun God did (10) the vehicle shine, and the angels answered and gave a cry of ‘Hail!’ to the just God.

(**q**) The dwelling (15) of the heavens fell down and outwards, the earth trembled, a mighty voice was heard, and (20) the people who saw these signs were perplexed and fell on their faces.

A (**r**) day of pain it is (25) and an hour of grief, when the Envoy of Light entered *Parinirvāṇa*. He left behind the leaders, who care for the congregation, and he (30) bade farewell to the whole flock.

V/ii

{ce.4} The noble (**š**) Lord has fulfilled the promise he made (5) to us (when he said): ‘For your sakes I will wait on high in the water vehicle; I will send you help at any (10) time!’

(97) 7/ prxyzʾn ʾc ʾbr
(98) 8/ pd wrdywn ʾbyn
(99) 9/ ʾwtʾn h̲rw
(100) 10/ jmʾn ʾdyʾwryf̲t̲
(101) 11/ frš̲ʾwʾn o **t**šyy
(102) 12/ wnwh̲ b[w](t̲)
(103) 13/ ʿspwr sd ʾwd
(104) 14/ ds sʾrʾn
(105) 15/ cy sd ʾyy t̲w
(106) 16/ bg ʾw ʾnjmn
(107) 17/ rʾmyšn ʾwʾs
(108) 18/ gd jmʾʾn kw
(109) 19/ ʾrdʾwyf̲t̲
(110) 20/ whynjʾh̲ ʾwd
(111) 21/ ʿym gʾh̲
(112) 22/ wxybyy ʾbrdr
(113) 23/ pdrʾzʾh̲ o **n**yw
(114) 24/ ʿškybʾm
(115) 25/ šwbʾnʾn
(116) 26/ rʾštʾn wjydgʾn
(117) 27/ ʾmwst̲ʾn ʾwd
(118) 28/ ngwšʾgʾʾn
(119) 29/ ʾbyʾd dʾrʾm
(120) 30/ yzdʾn ʾndrz ʾwd

Behold, (**t**) now fully one hundred and ten years already have passed, (15) since you, O God, went up to the assembly of peace. Now the time has come for you to (20) lead up the righteous ones and set up higher this your throne.

With (**n**) courage we will wait, the true (25) shepherds, the faithful elect and the hearers. We will keep in our memories the commandment (30) of the Gods and .

Abecedarian *Parinirvāṇa* hymn, probably for Mani

M8171 (T III D 267) (Pa.): *MM iii*, §f, 868-69; photo: *IMTT* 145a & 146a;
Rd. §cf, p. 138 (= R I 2 - V I 35 = f 2-35) and §cg, 139 (= V II 1-9 = f 37-45),
tr. *ML* 56 (f 37-45 only), *HG* 128-29, *GSR* 86.

Hd./ V+R/ prnybrʾnyg | bʾšʾh̲
Parinirvāṇa | Hymn

R/i
1/ ʾw (ky ny ʾdyʾwr) oo
2/ {cf.1} **l**ʾlmyn nxw(yn)
3/ bwxtg pdgry(f̲t̲)
4/ ws ʾrgʾwyf̲t̲
5/ ʾc pydr ẅ (mʾd)
6/ rwšn ʾwd (hrw)
7/ brʾdr(ʾn hwʾxšd)
8/ o **m**rd wh(y)gr r(w)šn
9/ [h]syng ʾd (pnj)
10/ [pwh](r)ʾn rwšnʾn
11/]st t̲š(y)
12/].hr gyʾn

R/i
who has no helper. {cf.1} The (**l**) eternally First Redeemed One received much honour (5) from the Father and from the Light Mother and all (his) merciful brothers. The helpful, light primeval (**m**) man with (his) five light (10) sons [..]

R/ii
(13/) 1/ (t̲w)xmgʾ(n m)[..](g)
(14/) 2/ (qyrbkr)[ʾn] (bhr)
(15/) 3/ (mrn)yn rf(t) ʾd t̲w

R/ii
[..] relatives [..] the pious ones, the fate of death struggled(?) wth you, God Christ. {cf.2} The radiance (5) of your greatness - who could

(16/) 4/ bg (m)šyhʾ o {cf.2} **frẖ**
(17/) 5/ cy tw wzrgyft ky
(18/) 6/ šhyd wʾxt ʾwṯ
(19/) 7/ wyfrʾšt {ʾbdy(mwt)} <ʾbdyswt>
(20/) 8/ rʾštyfṯ ʿspwr
(21/) 9/ qyrdgʾ(n) tšy
(22/) 10/ rwšn ʾwṯ (ṯ)ʾr o
(23/) 11/ cwʾg(wn) ʾwʾs(yc)
(24/) 12/ (p)ydʾg (ʿy)[...]n[

express and declare it? Teach (?) wholely your truth: the deeds of (10) light and darkness. As is now revealed [..]

V/i
(25/) 1/ [..](šyšn) {cf.3} (dʾm)
(26/) 2/ (zʾdmwrd) zwnws
(27/) 3/ cy tnbʾr hrw
(28/) 4/ nsʾw (ʾ)bʾyšn
(29/) 5/ (fršygyrd rg)
(30/) 6/ ʾb<r>dynjyd ng(w)šyd
(31/) 7/ ky bwxt qʾmyd o
(32/) 8/ {cf.4} tšy wʾxt hrw(yn)
(33/) 9/ bwtʾn pydrʾn
(34/) 10/ hsyngʾ(n jy)rʾn
(35/) 11/ kw bwʾẖ ʾw (dʾm)
(36/) 12/](b) wnwẖ

V/ii
[..] {cf.3} creation, the region of birth-death; for it is necessary for all death-flesh of the body. Quickly bring in (?) (5) the end of the world (i.e. *apokatastasis*). Hear, you who wish to be redeemed.

{cf.4} For all Buddhas, the earlier fathers, the wise ones, have said that of creation may become [..]

<{cg.1} ʾbr *sʾr *pnjʾst ʾwd>
V/ii
(37/) 1/ pnjʾc <prnybrʾn> {-ʾd!}
(38/) 2/ (mry) mʾny fryštg
(39/) 3/ kd ʾbr pd(rʾ)šṯ
(40/) 4/ (ʾw) mʾẖ (wrd)ywn
(41/) 5/ ʾngwd ʾd pydr
(42/) 6/ (ʾwhr)myzdbg ʾw
(43/) 7/ bwjʾgr (mry) mʾny
(44/) 8/ ʾfrynʾm o {cg.2} bwṯ
(45/) 9/ brmg wzrg šw[j]
(46/) 10/ ʾwṯ ng(r)ʾwyn[ ]
(47/) 11/ qdyxwdʾ[y
(48/) 12/ ʾwṯ ʾ(w)[ ]

<{cg.1} [In the year] [fifty] and> [**V/ii**] five after the *Parinirvāṇa* of the apostle Mār Mānī, when he lifted himself upwards into the chariot of the moon (and) stayed with the (5) Father God Ohrmēzd, we will bless the redeemer Mār Mānī.

{cg.2} The great Buddha (?) wept and *ng(r)ʾwyn[ ]* (?) [..] lord of the house and to [..]

Hymns about the Apostles

M8 (MP): *HR* ii 47-48 (R i 1-7 only), MSt. 7 (ditto); ph. *IMTT* i, 17; ed. and tr. *MH*, 188-191.

Hd./V+R/ mhr ʿyg ❀ | ❀ prystgʾn ❀
Hymns about | the Apostles

R/i
1/ {init.} ʾpryn ʾ(w)d ʿstʾyšn
2/ ʾw nrsws nstykws
3/ ʾwd ʾw brzqʾẖ
4/ prystg ʾprydg ° ptʾn

R/i
Blessing and praise to Narsus Nastikus and to Barzaqqa the blessed apostle! (5) With your great weapon you (pl.) cut a

5/ zyn ʿy wzrg nhʾyyd
6/ (s)d ryšqwrʾn kw
7/ [.. ʿs]tʾyšn ʿyg
8/ [….. …. ..]ʾyyd
9/ […. …. ….]šn
{*Lines missing*}

R/ii

1/ mʾkwnyd ° dwšys(t)
2/ p(d)ʾn kʾ (b)ʾ hrʾpt
3/ ʾbyspwrdyš h(w)m
4/ ʾšmʾẖ pʾsb(n)ʾn
5/ hʾ xwʾbr pyd(rmʾn)
6/ prystg ʿy ʾc wzrgy(y)
7/ wysp zmʾn dwšʾrm
8/ ʾbr ʾmʾẖ (x)wʾhyd
9/ ° ʾwš ʾnngʾr ny kyrd
10/ hwm pd prhy(d)
11/ dwšʾrm byʿ cy(hr)
{*Lines missing*}

V/i

1/ hynd pd sxwn ʿy rwšn
2/ wcydgʾn hw(r)wʾnʾn
3/ ʾwd wyspʾn nywšʾgʾn
4/ rʾstyhʾ ʾšmʾẖ
5/ x(w](n)d hyd šwbʾnʾn
6/ ʿy wrgʾn ʾwd myšʾn
7/ gyẖ ʿy xwbyẖ °
8/ myhrbʾnyẖ wyny(d)
9/ dw crg ʿy xwʾštyẖ
10/ ʿy pydr ʿy wzrgyy ʾw
11/ ʾšmʾẖ ʾbyspw(r)d
{*Lines mssing*}

V/ii

1/ bwyd qyrdgʾryẖ
2/ wynyd prystg (w)yẖ
3/ xwʾbryy kw ʾmʾẖ
4/ rʾy pdyrʾd pʾdšyn
5/ ° rwdwryẖ wynydʾw(d)
6/ hrw hwrwʾnyẖ (bnd)yd {?}
7/ dwšʾ(r)m ʾbr[….]
8/ pm(.)[. …. ….]
9/ š[… …. ….]
{*Lines lost*}

hundred envious ones to pieces so that … the priase of …
{*Lines missing*}

R/ii

… do not do. Our dearest father, when he went up (= died) , he entrusted us [to] you, protectors! (5) Our beneficent father, apostle from greatness, all the time he desires love upon us. And he did not consider it (to be) too much love, god's form …
{*Lines missing*}

V/i

… -ed they are through the speech of light of the pious Chosen ones and all the Hearers. Truly (he/they) called (5) you shepherds of lambs and sheep, animals of goodness! He sees/ experiences friendliness, two flocks of virtue/peace which (10) the father of greatness entrusted to you!
{*Lines mssing*}

V/ii

… he becomes … He sees the might, the best bounteousness of the apostle wo that he will acept the reward on our account. (5) He sees compassion and all piousness, he ties(?) love on …'
{*Lines lost*}

Abecedarain *Parinirvāṇa* Hymn in honour of Mar Zaku

M6 (Pa.): *MM iii*, §e, 865-67; photo: *IMTT* 13-14; *Rd*. §ch, 139-40b (R/i 1 – V/ii 21 only); tr. *ML* 31-2* (modified), *HG*, 129-30, *GSR* 87-88.

Hd./V+R/ prnybrʾnyg | bʾšʾẖ
Parinirvāṇa | hymn

<{ch.1} ʾwn ʾmwcg wzrg <{ch.1} (ʾ) O great teacher, Mār

mryzkw>
R/i
1/ šwbʾn o ʾwn
2/ **b**zmg wzrg ky
3/ wzwd tgnbnd
4/ syʾwg bwd ʾw
5/ ʾmʾẖ cšm
6/ tnd ʾwd nbʾm o
7/ ʾwn **g**wrd rzmyywz
8/ ky ʿspʾd hyšt
9/ gryft̲ prmʾw gwnd
10/ ʾwd whyrd kʾrwʾn
11/ ʾwn **d**ʾlwg wzrg
12/ ky bšnʾn ʾmšt
13/ bwd wnwhg ʾw
14/ mwrgʾn ky ʾhyʾng
15/ wygnd o ʾwn **x**wrxšyd
16/ wzrg ky ʾc šhr
17/ nwrd t̲ʾr bwd
18/ ʾmʾẖ cšm
19/ cy rwšn ngwst o
20/ ʾwn **w**zyšt s<ʾ>rtwʾ
21/ ky ʾbhyšt
22/ sʾrt pd wyʾbʾn
23/ (dšt) kwfʾn ʾwd
24/ drʾn o ʾwn **z**yrd ẅ
25/ gyʾn ky ʾc ʾmʾh
26/ ʾpyd wxʾzʾm
27/ hw tw ẖwnr
28/ pdmʾs ʾwd
29/ frẖ o {ch.2} ʾw(n) **j**ywndg
30/ z(ry)ẖ hwšk
R/ii
(31) 1/ bwd nhxt
(32) 2/ rwdʾn cmg ʾwd
(33) 3/ ms ny tcynd
(34) 4/ o ʾwn **h**wzrgwn
(35) 5/ qwf kw
(36) 6/ myšʾn crynd
(37) 7/ wrgʾʾn šyft̲
(38) 8/ ʾbsyst
(39) 9/ myšʾn zʾryẖ
(40) 10/ ʾndmynd o ʾwn
(41) 11/ **t̲**ʾwg pydr ky
(42) 12/ ws zẖg
(43) 13/ ywbynd ẖrwyn
(44) 14/ frzynd ky bwd
(45) 15/ sywg o ʾwn
(46) 16/ **y**wdyʾg xwdʾy
(47) 17/ ky bwrd wygʾw
(48) 18/ dyrd ʾbʾd ʾw
(49) 19/ bg kdg pd ẖrw
(50) 20/ cyš ʾwn **x**ʾnyg
(51) 21/ wzrg ky cšmg

Zaku,> [**R/i**] shepherd! O great (**b**) lamp, which was extinguished quickly! All grew black before (5) our eyes, weak and dull (?). O (**g**) hero, eager for the fight (10) and who left [his] army (behind)! Terror seized the army, the host was confounded. O great (**d**) tree, whose tall growth was shattered! Trembling took hold of the birds, whose nest (15) was destroyed. O great (**x**) sun, which has sunk out of the world! Dark did it grow for our eyes, for the light is veiled! (20) O (**w**) zealous leader of the caravan, who left his caravan. In deserts, waste places, mountains and chasms! O (**z**) heart and (25) soul which have gone from us! We have need of your skill, understanding and brilliance.

{ch.2} O (**j**) living (30) sea, [**R/ii**] which is dried out! The course of the rivers is held back, they cease to flow. O (**h**) green (5) hill, on which sheep graze! The milk for the lambs dried up, the sheep (10) bleat piteously. O (**t̲**) mighty father, whom many sons mourn! All the children, who have become (15) orphans! O (**y**) toiling lord, who bore hardship! He cared for the well-being of God's house in all things. O great (**x**) well, whose spring is stopped up! The sweet nourishment is kept from our mouths. O radiant (**l**) lamp, whose bright light shines over to another world! Over us came darkness.

(52) 22/ frbst̲ nhxt
(53) 23/ prwrz wxš ʾc
(54) 24/ ʾmʾh̲ rwmb o
(55) 25/ ʾwn **l**mtyr nysʾg
(56) 26/ ky rwšn frdʾb
(57) 27/ t̲ʾbʾdʾw ʾny
(58) 28/ pʾdgws ʾmʾh̲
(59) 29/ bwd nyšʾm oo
(60) 30/ {ch.3} ʾwn **m**ryzqw

V/i

(61) 1/ šwbʾn ʾmwcg
(62) 2/ frwx zwwrmʾʾn
(63) 3/ ʾwʾhs bwd
(64) 4/ ʾc tw wwʾr o **n**yt
(65) 5/ wynʾm ms pd
(66) 6/ ʾbyn cšm ʾwt
(67) 7/ ny ʿšnwʾʾm
(68) 8/ ʾnwšyyn sxwn o
(69) 9/ **s**rwšʾʾwyzd
(70) 10/ wxšnʾm bʾmyn
(71) 11/ xwdʾy hʾwsʾryt
(72) 12/ ny ʾst pd hrw
(73) 13/ bgyft̲ o ʿfrgʾrʾm
(74) 14/ ʾndmʾm <ẅ> zʾryy
(75) 15/ brmʾm ʾbyʾd
(76) 16/ dʾrʾm hmyyw
(77) 17/ hw tw frhyft o
(78) 18/ **p**ʾdgʾhyg bwd
(79) 19/ ʾyy pd h̲rw
(80) 20/ šhrʾn šhrdʾrʾn
(81) 21/ ʾwd wzrgʾn ʾw
(82) 22/ tw nyzʾyʾʾd o
(83) 23/ **c**yhrg zbyn
(84) 24/ fryhgwn wyʾwʾr
(85) 25/ crb ky dybhr
(86) 26/ txl ny kyrd
(87) 27/ kd ʾc o {ch.4} **q**ʾw
(88) 28/ wzrg zwrmnd ky
(89) 29/ pd bwrdyft̲
(90) 30/ bwrdwd ʾw hrw

V/ii

(91) 1/ qyc bwd ʾyy
(92) 2/ nʾmgyn o **r**ʾštygr
(93) 3/ pydr ʾnʾzʾr
(94) 4/ ʾxšdʾg dʾhwʾnyg
(95) 5/ rʾd rwdwr myhrbʾn
(96) 6/ o **š**ʾdgr {ʾw} <cy>
(97) 7/ tryxtgʾʾn ky
(98) 8/ ʾnʾsʾg gryw
(99) 9/ bwjʾd ʾc
(100) 10/ {wdng} <nrh̲>[1] jʾmʾd ʾw

(30) {ch.3} O, (**m**) Mār Zaku, [**V/i**] shepherd, happy teacher, our strength is now (?) separated from you! (**n**) No more (5) can we look into your lustrous eyes, and no more do we hear your sweet (10) word! God (**s**) Sroshāv, of fair name, radiant Lord, among all the gods none is like unto you! We (ʿ) sigh and weep wretchedly, (15) we are cast down, in our memory we constantly have your love! You were (**p**) enthroned on high in all lands. (20) The kings and great ones honoured you! Beautiful and kind was your (**c**) nature, (25) gentle your speech, which never gave way to bitter anger!

{ch.4} O great, strong (**q**) giant, who was patient, (30) you bore with everyone, [**V/ii**] you were famed! O (**r**) just father, [who was] gentle and merciful, magnanimous and generous, (5) compassionate and good! (**š**) You made the oppressed happy, countless souls have you redeemed from (10) hardship and led home! (**t**) Strong, good and mighty one, who has reached a throne like all apostles, (15) Buddhas and deities! To you first will I (**n**) offer worship, as the least of your sons, I, whom you, father, left

[1] {wdng} <nrh̲> jʾmʾd ʾw (Mack. DbMT); wdng jʾmʾd ʾw (*MM iii, Rd.*).

(101) 11/ pdyšt o **t**hm nyw — behind orphaned and homeless!
(102) 12/ kyrdgʾr ky wyndʾd — {*Two lines blank*}
(103) 13/ gʾẖ cwʾgwn
(104) 14/ hrwyn fryštgʾn
(105) 15/ bwtʾn ʾwd bgʾn
(106) 16/ o **n**mʾcwd pd sr
(107) 17/ brʾm ʾz zʾdg
(108) 18/ ksyšt ky
(109) 19/ sywg ẅ ʿzdyẖ
(110) 20/ wzʾd hym ʾc
(111) 21/ tw pydr
22/ {*Two lines blank*}
23/
(112) 24/ ʾwryd nbysʾm — Come, let us write (25) a letter to
(113) 25/ frwrdg ʾw šʾẖ — the good King of Light. We will
(114) 26/ rwšn qyrbkr — ask a request of Him: "Acquit (us)
(115) 27/ wxʾzʾm ʾgʾdg — of our sin!" (30) We give praise to
(116) 28/ ʾc hw kwmʾn — .
(117) 29/ ʾstʾr hyrzʾẖ
(118) 30/ o ʾfrynʾm (ʾw)

Verses to the Father of Greatness

M40 (Pa.): *HR* ii 48, *MSt*. 11, photo. *IMTT* 45a-b; *Rd*. §af (only where the text of M40 V is given wrongly as M40 R); tr. *HG* 58 (V only), *GSR* 30 (V only), ed. and tr. *Mani's Psalms*, §435f.*

.

Hd./V+R/ ❀ wzrgʾn ❀ | ❀ jmʾn ʾwhbyẖ ❀
{Pa.} <Blessing> of the great ones. | <... ...> time. {MP} May it be so!

R
{[*ʿstʾwʾd *ʾwd ʾfryd]}
1/ (twʾn bʾm) rwšn o ʾc kw
2/ (hrwyn) o (bʾm) rwšnʾn bwd
3/ (ʾhynd) o (ʿstʾwʾd (ʾw)d ʾfryd o
4/ (twʾn mnwhmyd) (wygrʾdg) o ʾc
5/ (kw hrwyn) (mnwhmyd wygrʾ)dgʾn
6/ (bwd ʾhynd) (o) (ʿstʾwʾd ʾwd)
7/ ʾpryd o twʾn (ʾwš jywndg) o
8/ wzyšt (ʾwd ʾrgʾw) (o ʾc kw)
9/ [hrwyn] (o ʾwš) jywndgʾn)
10/ [ʾrgʾwʾn] (ʾwd wzyšt) (bwd ʾhynd) (o)
11/ [ʿstʾwʾd ʾwd] (ʾfryd o) (twʾn)
{lines missing?} […]

R
{Praised and blessed} is your light of brilliance, from which all the lights of brilliance have come into being. Praised and blessed is your awoken mind from which all awoken minds have come into being. Praised and blessed is your living consciousness, zealous and noble, from which all noble and zealous living consciousnesses have come into being. Praised and blessed is your [beneficent and …]

V
{ ʿstʾ(w)ʾ(d)}
1/ {af.1} wysp dydn ʾfrdwm o ʿstʾwʾd
2/ ʾwd ʾfryd ʾyy tw pydr o jywndg
3/ hsyng o ky nxwyn ʾbrdr o rwšn
4/ qʾw o šwjʾn wzyšt o ʾwd
5/ zwrmnd ʾst o tw ʾyy pyd o cy
6/ ʿymyn o hrwyn qryšn o rdnyn
7/ zʾwrʾn rwšnʾn o ẅ hynzʾwryft

V
Praised is {af.1} the uppermost (lit. foremost) of all manifestations. Praised and blessed are you, father, living primeval one, who is the initial, superior, light prince zealous of (= among?) the holy ones and strong. You are the father of all these beautiful forms, jewels, light powers here and the powerfulness which had been said was born from you, sprouted from

8/ cy wʾxt bwd o ʾc tw zʾd
9/ ʾc tw wyspryxt [ʾc tw]
10/ ʿzgd o ʾc tw pyd[ʾg *bwdʾ](c)
11/ tw zwrmnd bwy[nd]

you, went out from you, became manifest from you, are (!) powerful [from you …]

Verses to the Father of Greatnes

M538 + **M75** – (**M538**) (Pa.): *W.-L. ii*, 548-49, 0 I photo *IMTT* 113a, 114a; *Rd*. §ag, 1-3, 91-92; tr. *HG* 59, *GSR* 30-31, ed. and tr. *Mani's Psalms*, §174f.*; (M75) *HR* ii 70-71, *MSt*. 15-16, (for line numbering see Cat. p. 7), photo. *IMTT* 55b, 56b, *Rd*. §ag 4-5, p. 92; tr. *HG* 59, *GSR* 36, ed. and tr. *Mani's Psalms*, §157f.*

M538

R
1/ {ag.1} yʾwyd (ʾw) tw ʿstʾwʾm o ʾmʾ
2/ ʾd hʾmtwxmgʾn o ky wjyd bwynd
3/ ʾwmʾn nʾf ʾc kw hymʾd
4/ hwyn ky ʾc tw ʾhynd o {ag.2} pydr
5/ ʾw tw xrwsʾm o cšm ʾw tw
6/ pdrʾzʾm o ʾwmʾn gyʾnʾn p(rw)[ʾn]
7/ tw nygʾynd o kw tw pt ws ʾxšd
8/ ʾbr ʾmʾ ʾbxšʾhʾ o kw(mʾn)
9/ ʾdyʾwr (fr)šʾwʾh o pt .[....]
10/ (x)[rw]sʾm ʾmyn o ʾwm(ʾ)n (j)[....]
11/ [ʾ](w) (tw)[ ]n [ ]
{rest is lost}

V
{ag.3} <qʾdwš qʾdwš>
1/ ʾw dwʾdys š(h)rʾn
2/ rwšn wxybyh o qʾdwš
3/ qʾdwš o ʾw šhrʾn rwšnʾn
4/ ky pt tw wzrgyft rdnyn o pdmʾdg
5/ ʾhynd o qʾdwš qʾdwš o ʾw
6/ (ʾ)ndrwʾz jywndg o rwšn ʾmbʾrg
7/ cy šhrʾn ʾrgʾw o qʾdwš
8/ (qʾdw)š o ʾw zmyg ʿstʾwʾdg
9/ [qʾd]wš kʾdwš o ʾw dydn nys(ʾg)[{?}]
10/ [cy] m(ʾn)yndgʾn ʾfrydgʾn [..]
11/{ky (ʾbr) hw (...)[…]}[1]
{rest is lost}

R
... {ag.1} (for) ever we will praise you, we together with (our) kinsmen who become chosen (or 'Chosen Ones') and (with) our people from who we all are, who are from you. {ag.2} Father, (5) we call you. We raise (our) eye(s) to you. And our souls pray before you, that you with much mercy take pity on us, that you send us a helper. In (*or* with) […] (10) we cry amen. And our [...] to you [... ... ...] {rest is lost

V
{ag.3} <Holy, holy> to your twelve aeons of light. Holy, holy to the light aeons that were measured by (*or* in) your jewelled greatness. (5) Holy, holy to the living sky, the store of light of the fine aeons. Holy, holy to the praised earth. Holy, holy to the bright sight and (10) the blessed inhabitants, who (are) on this [...]

M75

Hd./V+R/ H/ [❀ qš]wdgʾn ❀ l ❀ ʾf[rywn ❀]
Praise of the Lesser Ones

R
<{ag.4}... [qʾdwš *qʾdwš ʾw]>
1/ tw (wzr)gyft o wysp dydn ʾbrdwm
2/ [hw]cyhryft nysʾgyn o cy
3/ ʾnʾsʾg oo q[ʾdw]š ʾw tw [pydr]

R
<{ag.4} ... holy, holy to> your greatness, supremest of all visions, shining beauty without shadow. Holy, holy, holy, holy to you father. Holy, holy, (5) holy, holy to your praised rule.

[1] Line 11 taken from M571 R 7.

4/ qʾdwš [qʾ]dwš o qʾdwš
5/ qʾdwš qʾdwš [ʾw] tw š[h]rdʾryft
6/ ʿstʾwʾdg o qʾdwš qʾdwš
7/ qʾdwš ʾw tw pydr o qʾdwš ʾw
8/ tw nʾm wjydg o qʾdwš qʾdwš
9/ qʾdwš ʾw tw pyd o kʾdwš kʾdwš
10/ kʾdwš {[ʾw *tw | r]wšn [hyn](z)ʾwr pydr}[1]
{a number of verses missing}

Holy, holy, holy to you father. Holy to your chosen name. 'Holy, holy, holy to you father. Holy, holy, (10) holy to you(r), light, very strong father … {a number of verses missing}

V

{ag.5} {[kʾdwš *kʾdwš kʾdwš]}
1/ ʾw tw ʾndyšyšn wzrg o ʾc
2/ kw hrwyn o ʾndyšyšn kyrbg b[wd]
3/ ʾ[hynd] o q[ʾdwš] qʾdwš qʾdwš
4/ [ʾw *tw pyd] o qʾdwš [ʾw] tw prmʾng
5/ wzrg o [ʾc] kw [h]rwyn prmʾng kyrbg
6/ ʾwd wzyšt bwd ʾhynd o kʾdwš
7/ kʾdwš kʾdwš ʾw tw pyd o kʾdwš
8/ ʾw tw wʾd wzrg o ʾwd ʿstʾwʾdg
9/ ky ʾbr hrwyn wʾd o cy pd šhrʾn

V

{ag.5} {Holy, holy, holy} to you(r) great deliberation (*ʾndyšyšn*), from which the beneficent deliberation(s) (*ʾndyšyšn*) of all have come into being. Holy, holy, holy to you, father. Holy to you(r) great thought (*prmʾng*), from which the beneficent and zealous thought(s) of all have come into being. Holy to you(r) great and praised spirit, which (is) above all spirit(s), which [...] in the lands […]

Verses from hymns in honour of Father of Greatness

M730 (Pa.): *W.-L.*ii, 553-54, photo. *IMTT* 119b, 120b; *Rd.* §ah, 93 = R I and V II (only); *MABC* §8 213; tr. *HG* 60-61 (ditto), *GSR* 31 (ditto).

Hd./V+R? /H/ [ʿst]ʾ(w)[ʾ](d)g{?} | [.].(dy)ʾyzdʾn nwʾ[g]
praised | […-]gods's new (?)

R/i
1/ {ah.1} dwʾdyys dydym
2/ (rw)šn dʾryd ʾwš
3/ ʿyšt[y]ynd prwʾn dw<ʾ>ds
4/ wzrgʾn wxybyẖ pwhrʾn
5/ hʾwsʾr dwʾdys
6/ cyhrg bʾmyn cy
7/ pydr rwšn {ah.2} wsʾn yzd<ʾ>n
8/ bgʾn ʾwd rdnyn cy
9/ whyšt šhrdʾr pdwʾz
10/ ʾfryd xrwšt ẅ ʾwstʾd
11/ ʾwd b(y)ẖ ʾc hwyn
12/ dwʾdys wzrgʾʾn
13/ nwxzʾdʾn qwʾn ʾwd
14/ šhrdʾrʾn ...
{the rest is lost}

R/i
1/ {ah.1} twelve light diadems
2/ he holds, and before him
3/ stand his twelve
4/ great sons,
5/ of the same kind, all (twelve)
6/ like the shining form of the
7/ light father; {ah.2} many gods,
8/ godheads and jewels, who
9/ as a retinue for the ruler of paradise
10/ have/ been created and established;
11/ and beside them
12/ (are) the twelve great
13/ firstborn kings and
14 rulers....
{the rest is lost}

R/ii
1/ frhyft ʾbr .[ ]
2/ pd ws šʾdy(f)[t]
3/ hrw ʾrg cyd ....
4/ hw wxybyẖ frẖ wzrg
5/ cyd ʾfrynynd ẅ ʿstʾwnd
6/ yzd hwʾxšd bg rʾ(šty{?}gr)

R/ii
1/ Majesty over....
2/ with much joy....
3/ all sides always.....
4/ his great glory
5/ they always bless and praise:
6/ pardoning God, God of righteousness 7/

[1] Supplied by M331 V 6-7.

7/ wxdyc pd šʾdyft pd ..[..]
8/ jmʾn d(h)yd pnj[ ]
9/ ryst ʾw h[ ]
10/ zʾdgʾn [ ]
11/ cy [ ]
12/ n[ ]
{rest is lost}

V/i
1/ [ ](d) gšt pd
2/ [q]yrd ʾfrywn
3/ [ ]ngʾ(w)ʾʾd
4/ ʾc pnj rwšn pnd
5/ ʾwd ʾbdyys dʾd
6/ ʾw zʾdgʾn kw qryynd
7/ ʿspwr ʾwd hn(j)ʾ(mynd)
8/ [ ]yšn (n)y(r)d hw
9/ [ ]št (wjyd)gft
10/ [ ]qyrbg
11/ [ ](k)[rw](syd)
{rest is lost}

V/ii
1/ {ah.3} zwrmnd yzdʾ[n]
2/ ʾbrdwm wz(r)g(ʾ)n
3/ xwdʾy bgʾʾn
4/ bgyystwm oo
5/ ʿstʾwyyšn ʾw
6/ bg rwšnʾn (f)rẖ
7/ bwrzwʾ(r) rwšn
8/ šhr ʾfryydg kw
9/ tw mʾnyyẖ pwʾg
10/ ʾwd bʾmyyn xwj ẅ
11/ hwʾrmyyn hmg pwr
12/ šʾdyyft rʾm ʾwd
13/ (w)šyydʾx jywhr nwš
14/ [ʾwd] (xwwmbw)yyft oo
{rest is lost}

even also with joy with...
8/ hours gives five....
9/ in turn.....
10/ sons.....
11/ who ....
12/ […]
{rest is lost}

V/i
1/ [.....] with
2/ [.....] made blessing
3/ [....] may he lend
4/ from the five lights counsel
5/ and instruction. He gave
6/ to the sons, that they might make complete
7/ and be perfect
8/ [...] with him
9/ [...] company of the elect
10/ [...] devout
11/ [...] calls
{rest is lost}

V/ii
1/ {ah.3} strong, of the gods
2/ highest, of the great ones
3/ lord, of the gods
4/ most divine.
5/ praise to the
6/ god, glory of the light ones,
7/ sublime light
8/ of the blessed world where
9/ you remain, pure
10/ and shining, beautiful and
11/ in good rest, full
12/ of joy, peace and
13/ gladness, to eternal life
14/ [and] sweet scent.
{rest is lost}

Hymn in honour of the Father of Greatness

M5262 (T II D 66) (Pa.): *W.-L.ii*, 549, photo. *IMTT* 125c, 126c; *Rd*. §aj, 93; tr. *HG* 61, *GSR* 31-32*.

I/R
1/ {aj 1} hrwyn šhrʾ[n]
2/ fryštgʾn ky ʾc hw bw(t) [ʾhynd {Boyce}]
3/ hrwyn pt ʿyw gyʾn dhynd ʿ[stʾwyšn]
4/ ʾw hw dydn nysʾgyn ʾwt pʾdgyrb
5/ ʾrgʾw ʾmʾhyc ʾd hwyn ʾwt nyrd
6/ h(rw)yn nyspʾd (z)ʾnwg nmʾc brʾm <ʾwd ʾfrynʾm>
{end of page}

I/R
{aj 1} Those worlds […] (and) messengers that have come into being from him, all with souls in one accord bring [praise] to that bright form and wonderful appearance. So we, too, together with them and with all (others) shall worship and with bended knee and shall pray for blessing.

I/V
1/ [ ](k)tyn cyhrg
2/ [ ](j)[y](wn)dg {aj 2} ʾd pnj prmʾng oo dydn
3/ [nw](x)zʾd ʾrdʾwʾn mʾd pydr
4/ ʾwhrmyzd bg ʾd pnj rwšn o o hwyc
5/ fryẖ rwšn ʾrgʾw bʾmyzd wʾd
6/ jywndg ʾd pnj pwhrʾn o o wʾdʾg

II/R/1/ nʾ[ ]
II/R/2/ (p)[ ]

II/V/1/ [ ]wt̲
II/V/2/ [ ]
II/V/3/ [ ].
II/V/4/ [ ].

I/V
[…] essence […] living. {aj 2} With the fivethoughts [we invoke] the Mother of the Righteous, the Father, the God Ohrmzed, together with the five Bright Ones, the Friend of the Lights, the wonderful God of Brightness, and the Living Spirit with (his) five sons.

Hymn concerning Paradise and the Father of Greatness.

M6232 + **M6230** R 1-4 (Pa.): R. Reitzenstein and H. H. Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland* (Leipzig, 1926) 90-91, {photo. (M6232) *IMTT* 133a, 134a}; *Rd*. §aka = M6232 R 1-11, tr. *HG* 63, *GSR* 32-33 (revised)*; *Rd*. cla = M6232 V 2-12; tr. *HG* 125-26 (M6232 V only), *GSR* 85* (ditto)}

R
1/ wyzyd o {aka 1} wʾd ʾnwšg wxš/bwy o
prwrzyd ʾw
2/ bgʾn o {ʾr}<ʾd> zmyg ʾwt̲ drxtʾn oo cšmg
3/ rwšnyn o dʾlwgʾn ʾfrydgʾn o **k**wfʾn
4/ nysʾg o wyʾwrʾg ʾwt̲ bgcyhr oo **r**dnyn
5/ ʾrʾm o ʿsprhmʾwynd wyʾg o **š**hrʾn
6/ ʾnʾsʾg o mʾn mʾn ʾwt̲ gʾẖ gʾẖ [oo]
7/ **t̲**w scyd ʾrgʾwyft o šhrdʾrʾ[n]
8/ msyšt o **n**(mʾ)c ʾwd ʿstʾwyšn o [ʾw]
9/ mr[y] mʾnyy wxšnʾm oo ʾfryd ʾfryyt̲ o
10/ pt̲ nwʾg rwc w[z]rg o ʾ(w m)r zqw ʾmwcg o
11/ ʾd hmg (r)m [rw]šnyn oo šhr[d]ʾr nʾzwg oo
12/ [.....]
V
1/ [.....]
2/ {cla 1} ʾfrynʾm ʾw tw pydr o **b**g rʾšt<y>gr o
3/ **g**yʾnʾn pdbws o dydn ʾwt̲ frmnywg oo
4/ ʾfryd ʾfryd ʾyy o tw yzd hwfrmʾn o
5/ **h**mwdʾm pd tw o **w**ʾc ʾfryd dydn o {cla 2}
zʾwr
6/ [ʿ]škybg **j**ywhryn jyryft oo oo
7/ [**h**](š)twmyg nwxzʾd o **t**ʾwg frmʾng o **y**zd
8/ [bg m]ry mʾny o xwdʾymʾn fryhgwn oo
9/ **k**y ʾxšd wsnʾd o lwgyg brhm ʿstʾ[d] o
10/ [ʾwd ʾ]w **m**rdwhmʾn o **n**yšʾn qyrt̲
11/ pydʾg oo {cla 3} **s**xwn jywndg o ʿspwr
12/ [cx]šʾbyd o **p**dmwcʾd ʾ[w] ʾmʾẖ o

R
… travels. The immortal fragrant Breeze (**p**) nurtures the gods together with the Earth and (its) trees. The source of Light, the blessed trees, the splendid, echoing, bright (**k**) mountains of divine nature (are wonderful). The be-jeweled house of the (**r**) (gods) is a place full of blossoms, with countless lands, houses and thrones … (**t̲**) You are worthy of praise, highest King. (**n**) Honour and praise to the Lord Mani of good name! Blessed, blessed be, on this Great New (Year's) Day, the Teacher Mār Zaku with the whole assembly of Light. Graceful sovereign […]

V
{cla 1} We bless you Father, (**b**) bright God, (**g**) for whom the souls yearn, (**d**) (beautiful) form and hope (of all)! – Blessed, blessed art Thou, oh God who issues good commands. (**h**) We believe in Thee, oh form that was created by divine (**w**) command (lit. 'word)! {cla 2} Oh patient (**z**) force, (**j**) vital wisdom, (**h**) eighth Firstborn, (**t**) powerful understanding, Lord God, Mār Mani, our loving Lord. (**k**) who, out of mercy, (**l**) took on a worldly form and (**g**) gave men (**n**) a visible sign […] Living Word, (') complete Commandment, (**p**) on us [is] put […]

Hymn on the First Battle

M710 + **M5877** (= T II D 138 (3 p.) c): Boyce, *Abeced.*, D, 444-46 (revised)*,
Photo (digital): DTA; *Rd.* §an, 97-98 (4a-9b only); tr. *ML* 122, *HG* 66-67, *GSR* 37.

R

1b/ […]mnd o yʾdyn[d

2a/ […]n wyndynd o pd hw bgʾ[n
2b/ w](x)ʾšt ʾhy[nd o] (dh)yd (bg)[

3a/ […](D)N XXIIII
3b/ […] sxwn [

4a /[…] o (o ʾ)w pydr […]
4b/ […](o) o (m)ytrg h(w)[…]

5a/ {an 1} [ʾ](x)š[d w]snʾd o […]
5b/ [p]dmwxt tnbʾr o […]

6a/ {an 2} **b**rhm hsyng o o cy ʾwh(rmyzd) [bg]
6b/ kd pnj zʾdg o o p(dm)wxt ʾw dw(šmn)yn

7a/ {an 3} **g**ryw dʾd ʾw tʾr o fr(bwr)d gr[yw w]xybyẖ
7b/ [ʾwd p]d nmryft o bwjʾ(d h)[w]yn zʾ(dg)[ʾn]

8a/ {an 4} [**d**wš](m)nym ʾndyšt o zʾdgʾn ʾnjyw[ʾʾd]
8b/ [ʾwd p]d nmryft o bwjʾ(d) šhrdʾryft̲

9a/ {an 5} [**h̲** …] ʾgd o ʿym py(dr) [qyr]bkr
9b/ […] brʾdr[ʾn] o ʾwd (b)[wxt w](xy)by(y) [r]wšn

{One verse missing}

V

11b/]dyn o ʾw b[

12a/ [**j** ʾ](x)[š]ʾdyft̲ o ʾbgʾm ʾw[
12b/ […]ʾn(d)[g] o o hrwyn p(d)[

13a/ [**h**](.) o o hw(yn g)[
13b/ […….] o o ʾbyʾ[d](g)[r

14a/ [**t**](ʾ)bdyš[t̲ o](m)nwhm[yd
14b/ ʾ]bgwst̲ o (ng)wstg ʾ[

15a/ [**y** g](h)rʾ[y]ʾd ʾwt̲ (š)[..]hʾ(.)
15b/ [……]d ʾwd ʾbdyšt̲

16a/ (**k**)[y] (ʿzw)ʾrʾd o o (b)wd hrw ʾby[ʾd]

R

1b/ […] they attain […]

2a/ […] they obtain, through the [beneficence] of the gods, [that which] they have desired; God will give […]
3a/ (Caption b+a:) The Discourse [about] … XXIV (i.e. ‘twenty-four’ in numerals)

4a/ […] to the Father […]
4b/ […] Maitreya […]

5a/ {an 1} For pity […]
5b/ he put on the body […]

6a/ {an 2} The primordial (**b**) garb of the [god] Ohrmezd;
6b/ when (he) had clothed the enemies in (his) five sons.
7a/ {an 3} he gave (his) (**g**) Soul to the Darkness, he surrendered his own Soul;
7b/ he loosened (his) limbs for the sake of the Sons.

8a/ {an 4} He tied up the (**d**) enemies, he received (his) Sons,
8b/ and with gentleness saved the Kingdom.

9a/ {an 5} [(**h̲**) …] there came the beneficent Father [with his] brethren, and [saved] his own Light.

{One verse missing}

V

11b/ {*Traces only*}

12a/ [(**j**) …] toil, torment and
12b/ […] all […]

13a/ [(**h**) …] those
13b/ […] remaining

14a/ [(**t**) …] the Nous revealed
14b/ […] disclosed and hidden

15a/ [(**y**) …] was proud (?) and […]
15b/ [……] and revealed

16a/ [He (**k**) that] understood, (and) recalled all:

16b/ (nwx) mdyʾng o o [ʾwd] ʿstwmyn ʿyrʾn
16b/ the first, the middle and the last things.

17a/ [**l**]b ʾwd ʿzbʾn o (pd w)zrg ʿ(st)[ʾw)(yšn)
17b/ (wy)ʾwrd ʾwd (wʾ)xt o pd rwmb [.....]
17/ (his) (**l**) lips and his tongue
17b/ responded and spoke with great praises, with mouth.

18a/ [**m**](w)x(š)yg šybẖ o ʾwd rʾẖ pwʾg ʾb[dyšt]
18b/ (wy)ʾwrd ʾwd (wʾ)xt o pd rwmb [.....]
18/ He (**m**) revealed the path of salvation and the pure road
18b/ [to all] souls who were in harmony.

19a/ (**n**y) ms (šh)rʾn (o ʿ)škybyd ʾ(wd) [ ]
19b/ [hw] (w)x(ʾ)št q(yr)bg (o) ʾ(wd) [hw]yn pwʾg[ ]
19a/ (**n**) No more the worlds wait (in vain) and […]
19b/ for the wished-for Good, those pure […]

Hymns to the God of Dawn and the Four Sovereign Gods and on the She-demon

MIK III 200 I (T II D 169, I) (Uyg.): Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, II, 9-12, Plate II; *GSR* 290, 293; *UMT* ii, 194-196*.

R

Text A

1/ βāmβaγīnuŋ pāš [B:] [ ]
2/ taŋ täŋri kälti ° taŋ täŋri özi kälti °
3/ taŋ täŋri kälti ° taŋ täŋri özi kälti °
4/ turuŋlar kamug bäglär kadašlar ° taŋ täŋrig
5/ ögälim ° körügmä kün täŋri ° siz bizni
6/ küzätiŋ ° körünügmä ay täŋri siz bizni
7/ kurtgarıŋ ° taŋ täŋri ° yıdlıg yıparlıg °
8/ yaruklug yašuglug ° taŋ täŋri i taŋ
9/ täŋri ° i taŋ täŋri ° yıdlıg yıparlıg
10/ yaruklug yašuklug taŋ täŋri ° taŋ täŋri °°_°°

Sing of the Great Builder! [ ] The God of Dawn has come! The God of Dawn himself has come! The God of Dawn has come! The God of Dawn himself has come! Get up, all you lords and brethren! Let us praise |[5] the God of Dawn! Sun God who sees, deign to protect us! Moon God who is seen, deign to save us! God of Dawn! Fragrant and aromatic, Shining and radiant, God of Dawn! Ah! God of Dawn! Ah! God of Dawn! Fragrant and aromatic, |[10] Shining and radiant, God of Dawn! God of Dawn!

Text B

11/ βaγ rōšn zāwar žirīftnuŋ pāš tan
12/ täŋri yaruk küčlük bilgäkä yalvarar biz °°
13/ ötnür biz kün ay täŋrikä ° yašın täŋri
14/ nom kutı ° mar manı firištilärkä ° kut kolur <biz>
15/ täŋrim a ° ätüzümüzni küzätiŋ ° üzütümüzni
16/ bošuŋ ° kıv kolur biz ° yaruk täŋrilärkä °
17/ adasuzın turalım ° ögrinčligin
18/ ärälim °
19/ adınčıg türkčä bašık
20/ tüzün bilgä kišilär tirilälim ° täŋriniŋ

Sing, you, of God, Light, Power, Wisdom! We beseech and we pray to God, Light, Power, Wisdom. <We> ask for the divine blessing of the Sun and Moon Gods, of the God(dess) of Lightning, and of the Glory of the Doctrine (i.e. Wahman), Lord Mani, and the Angels. O! My God! Deign to protect our bodies, and deign to liberate our souls! We ask for the divine blessing of the Gods of Light. May we live safe from danger! May we be joyful! A special hymn in Turkish: Let us enlightened and wise persons assemble.

V

1/ bitigin biz išitälim ° tört ellig

Let us hear the scripture of God! Let us serve

2/ täŋrilärkä tapınalım ° tört ulug
3/ ämgäktä kurtulalım ° tört ellig täŋri_
4/ _lärtä tanıgmalar ° täŋri nomın totagmalar °
5/ tünärig yäklärkä tapunugmalar ° tümänlig
6/ irinčü kılıgmalar ° tübintä ol ok ma °
7/ ölmäki bar ° tünärig tamuka tüšmäki
8/ bar ° tümänlig yäklär kälir teyür ° tumanlıg
9/ yäklär avar teyür ° tünärig töncülä<yä>
10/ basar teyür ° tonumlug tägir teyür ° töš üzä
11/ olturup tültürür teyür ° tanmıš üzütlär
12/ tašıkar teyür ° tardıč täg ätüzin
13/ kodur teyür ° tavarı turguru kalır teyür °
14/ tärtrü sačlıg kurt<g>a yäk kälir teyür ° tolılıg
15/ bulıt täg to<ŋ>kı kašlıg <teyür> ° kanlıg bukač
16/ täg karakı teyür ° kazguk täg kara boy ämgi
17/ teyür ° burnınta boz bulıt ünür teyür °°
18/ tamgakınta kara tütün tašıkar teyür °
19/ töši ol kamug tümän yılan ° yanarı
20/ ol yiŋnä yılan ° ärŋäki ol kamug

the Four Sovereign Gods! Let us be saved from the four great sufferings! Those who have denied the Four Sovereign Gods, Those who have disparaged the doctrine of God, Those who have served the demons of Darkness, Those who have committed a myriad of errors. In the end, they will have just exactly that kind of dying. And that descending into darkest hell (described in the scripture): It says: demons by the ten thousands will come. It says: demons of the mist will crowd around them. It says: they will stifle and oppress them. It says: those who are suffocating them will attack them. It says: they will sit on their chests and beat them. It says: the souls of those who have denied (the Four Sovereign Gods) will go out (from their bodies). It says: they will abandon their bodies like dung. It says: their animate nature will come to a halt. It says: an old she-demon with disheveled hair will come. [It says:] she will have icy eyebrows like clouds full of hail. It says: her pupils (will be) like pots full of blood. It says: her long black nipples (will be) like stakes. It says: gray clouds will come out from her nose. It says: black smoke will come out from her throat. It says: her chest (will be composed of) all those innumerable snakes; her index finger (will be) that needle snake; her fingers (will be) all those [ ]

Verses from a hymn on the Third Messenger and the Archons and Verses from a hymn on the imprisoning of Light in the World

M741 (Pa.): ed. and tr. Boyce, *Sadwēs*, 911-14*, photo. with art., pl. 26; *Rd*. §ao, pp. 98-99 = R; *Rd*. §ap, pp. 99-100 = V; tr. *ML* 132, *HG* 67 (R), 68-69 (V); *GSR* 37-38 (R), 38 (V)

R
1a/ {ao.1} ʿstʾnyd rwšn ʾc hw o pd ws gwng ẅ brhm
1b/ pd nmr ẅ pd ʿstf̲t o ʾc bnd wyšʾhyd bstgʾn

2a/ {ao.2} **p**wʾcyd wx[y]byy jywhr o ẅ dhyd nmyzyšn ʾw hwyn
2b/ kw wzynd pdyc hw dydn o ẅ hxsynd ʾw hw pʾdgyrb

3a/ {ao.3} **c**(y)hrg sdwys rwšn o nmʾyd ʾw hw

R
1a/ {ao.1} He (ʿ) takes the Light away from it in many forms and fashions;
1b/ by gentle means and harsh, he releases the captives from bondage.
2a/ {ao.2} He (**p**) purifies his own Life, and encourages them
2b/ to move after the apparition and to follow the form.

3a/ {ao.3} Bright Sadwēs shows her (**c**) form to

ʿšmg
3b/ pd wxybyy ʾw hw drʾwyd o prmʾyd kw b(w)n ʾst

the Demon of Wrath.
3b/ He cries out to her as his own, he thinks she is the essence (of Light).

4a/ {ao.4} [**q**]ʾryd (d)[..](t) ʾbxrwsyd o kd ny wynyd pʾdgyrb
4b/ pd ʿs[tf](t)[1] rwšn zʾyd o ẅ dhyd ʾw ʾbryn zʾwrʾn

4a/ {ao.4} [(**q**)] He sows […] he groans when he no longer sees the form.
4b/ Light is born in firmness (?): she gives it to the higher Powers.

5a/ {ao.5} **r**ymg ʾwd qrmbg o ʾc hw tcyd pd zmbwdyg
5b/ pdmwcyd hrwyn dydn o pd ws bʾwg ʾʾjyd

5a/ {ao.5} The (**r**) dirt and dross flows from him to the earth.
5b/ It clothes itself in all phenonmena, and is reborn in many fruits.

6a/ {ao.6} **š**frsyd hw ʿšmg tʾryg o cy pdrwft ẅ bwd brhng
6b/ ʾw ʾbryn ny pryʾbʾd o ẅ ʾc pdrʾst bwd ʾhʾz [p]rgwdg

6a/ {ao.6} The dark Demon of Wrath is (**š**) ashamed, for he was distraught and had become naked.
6b/ He had not attained to the higher, and had been bereft of what he had achieved.

7a/ {ao.7} **t**nbʾr twsyg wzʾd o ʾdr ʾwsxt pd šrmgyft
7b/ ʾw zmygʾn grʾb pdmwxt o ʾc kw sd pd mgwnyft

7a/ {ao.7} He left the (**t**) body an empty shell and descended in shame.
7b/ He covered himself in the womb of the earths, whence he had risen in brutishness.

8a/ **n**ysʾgyn m[..](k)[ ](b)wynd
8/b pd ʿym(y)[n

{*The space of a verse left blank*}

8a/ (**n**) Brilliant […] they become […]
8b/ through these

{*The space of a verse left blank*}

9a/ **m**wxšyg (k)[ ]
9/b [p](d) rz(w)r pn(d)[ʾn]

9a/ (**m**) Redeeming [….] (b) along the straight path […]

V
10a/1/ {ap.1} ʾc ʾbr wnwh̲ (p)[r](x)[y]zyd o hw mwxš šhrdʾryft wzrg
10b/ pdrʾst ʾw zʾnyndʾn o kw ʿstym pd hw ʾngwynd

V
10a/ {ap.1} Lo, the great kingdom of redemption awaits (ʾ) on high,
10b/ ready for those who Know, so that they find peace within at last.

11a/ 2/ {ap.2} **b**zkr pysws tʾryg o pd mgwnyft hrwʾgwc tcyd
11b/ ʾw ʾbryn ẅ ʾdryn hndʾm o ʾngwn hmgyc ny dhyd

11a/ {ap.2} The (**b**) sinful, dark Pēsūs runs hither and thither in brutishness;
11b/ to the upper and the lower limbs she gives no peace at all.

12a/ 3/ {ap.3} **g**y(r)w[y](d) (bn)dyd rwšn o pd hwyn šwh̲ tnbʾr wzrg
12b/ pd zmyg ʾb ẅ ʾdwr o wʾd dʾlwg ʾwd dʾmdʾd

12a/ {ap.3} (**g**) She seizes, she binds the Light in the six great bodies:
12b/ in earth water and fire, wind, plants and animals.

13a/ 4/ {ap.4} **d**ysyd pd ws cyhrg o ngʾryd pd w(s) pʾdgyrb
13b/ prgʾcyd pd bndystʾn o kw ny sn(ʾ) [ʾw] bwrzwʾr

13a/ {ap.4} (**d**) She fashions it in many shapes, she moulds it in many figures;
13b/ she fetters it in a prison, that it may not mount up on high.

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[1] Boyce's ʿs[pyr] is rendered obsolete by Otani6208+. (*DMT*)

14a/ 5/{ap.5} **h**rwʾgwc wfyd ʾwd ncynyd o phrgbʾn hyrzyd ʾž ʾbr
14b/ ʾʾz ʾwd ʾwrjwg ʾd hw o kyrd ʾhynd hʾmbnd

14a/ {ap.5} She weaves on (**h**) all sides, she builds up; she sets a Watcher over it.
14b/ Greed and Lust were made its fellow-captives.

15a/ 6/ {ap.6} **w**yw wygʾng ʾmyxt o pd hwyn šwẖ tnbʾr wzrg
15b/ dysyd wxybyy tnbʾr o ẅ wygʾnyd ʾw hwyn zʾdgʾn

15a/ {ap.6} She mixed destructive (**w**) air into those six great bodies.
15b/ She builds up her own body, but destroys the sons of those.

16a/ 7/ {ap.7} **z**ʾwrʾn rwšnʾn ʾc ʾbr o pdrwbynd h(rw)yn ʿšmgʾn
16b/ zʾdgʾn cy hw pysws o cy (ʾ)st pd ʾbryn wyʾg

16a/ {ap.7} The Light (**z**) Powers above discomfit all demons of wrath,
16b/ the sons of that Pēsūs, who is in a higher place.

17a/ 8/ **j**ywhr [.....n](h)njynd [o] | [.....] twsyg krynd |
17b/ 8/ [.....]yn ʿzgryft

17a/ (**j**) Life [……] they curb [……..] they empty.
17b/ [……..] taken out.

18a/ 9/ [..... | [.....ʾ](d)ryn zhg
18/b [.....ʾ]br ʾbgwynd

18a/ [……] lower (!) child
18b/ [……] they increase.

19a/ 10/ [.....](ʾ)bryn zʾwr<ʾ>n
19b/ [.....ʿ]skwẖ ẅ nyʾzw(nd)

19a/ [……] the higher powers
19b/ [……..……] poor and needy.

A cosmogonical hymn and a hymn concerning the coming of Jesus

S13+S9 (MP with Pa.): Henning, *NGWG,* 1932, 214-28, photo. *IMTT* 171 (S13), 165-66 (S9); *Rd*. §ar, 101-02 = S9 R II 33- V II 39, §aq, 100-01 = S13 A 4 - B10 and S9 R I 1 - R II 30; tr. *ML* (S9 only) 133-34, *HG* 69-71, *GSR* 38-40 (altered)*, *MMITRJ*, 185-88 (S9 V/i 1-ii 29.

S13

A (= **R**?)
1/ wy(s)[ ]
2/ ʾb[ ]
3/ whyš(t ʿ)[y]
4/ {aq.1} ʾwy dywʾn šʾ(ẖ) [ ]
5/ ryšq pd rwšn oo w(.)[ ]
6/ qʾmyst kw hʾn (ʿ)[ ]
7/ ʾprʾn ʾc ʾwy thm[ ]
8/ [rz]mywz (k)y qswc [ ]
9/ [t](r)wyd oo (**y**z)d ʿy yzd(ʾ)[n]
10/ [cyh](rg)] (ʿy) zrwʾ(n) [ ]

A (= **R**?)
1/
2/ water(?)
3/ parade[se …]
4/ {aq.1} The king of the demons [was moved] towards the Light [by] envy. […] He wished […] to seize […] this […] mighty […] warlike one (the First Man). (**y**) God, the [highest] of the gods, [**V**] Zurvān [… was] convulsed in battle […] with darkness, poison and [bur]ning.

B (= **V**?)
1/ [zr](w)ʾn
2/ [ ] ʿy
3/ [ ] ʿy by
4/ [p]d (r)zm ʾʾmyxt
5/ [ ]ynd pd tʾr zhr ẅ
6/ [swcy](š)n oo {aq.2} **s**yryd ʾnʾd ʾʾz
7/ [hʾn drw]ynd mʾd ʿy wyspʾn
8/ [dywʾn] š: grʾn ʾ(ʾ)šw(b)

{aq.2} Āz, [that evil] mother of all demons, grew amgry, and she stirred up great turmoil to aid her own soul. (ʾ) And from the impurity

9/ [qyrd hy](ʾ)ryẖ rʾy ʿ[y]
10/ [xwyš gryw oo ʾ]wš ʾ(c) ns[ʿyg]

of the demons and from the filth of the she-demons she fashioned the body and entered into it herself.

S9

V/Hd./V+R/ o mh(r)ʾn ʾg(r)[ʾw](ʾ)n o ǀ o (ʿ)[y] (z)yndk(r)yy o
Short hymns on redemption

R/i
1/ dywʾn ʾwš grʾn
2/ ʾʾšwb qyrd
3/ hwʾryẖ rʾy ʿy
4/ xwyš gryw oo ʾwš
5/ ʾc nʿs ʿyg
6/ dywʾn ʾwd ʾž rym
7/ ʿy drwxšʾn kyrd
8/ ʾnʾd ʿyn nsʾẖ
9/ ʾwš xwd ʾndr ʾwyrd
10/ oo **p**sʾš ʾc pnj
11/ ʾmhrʾspndʾn zyn
12/ ʿyg ʾwhrmyzd xwdʾy
13/ nhrysyd gyʾn ʿy
14/ xwb ʾwš bst
15/ ʾndr nsʾẖ oo
16/ **c**ʾwnyš kwr ʾwd
17/ qr qyrd ʾbyʾwš
18/ ʾwd wyftg kw frtwm
19/ ny dʾnʾd bwnyšt
20/ ʾwd nʾf ʿy xwyš
21/ oo **q**yrdwš nsʾẖ
22/ ʾwd zyndʾn š: bst
23/ gyʾn wydrʾy ʾwm
24/ zyndʾnyg ʾpr hynd
25/ dyw drwxš ʾwd hrw
26/ [p]ryg oo **r**ʾstwš gyʾn
27/ [b](s)t ʾndr nsʾẖ
28/ [ʿy d]wx<w>nd š: qyrd
29/ [zyš](t) ʾwd drwnd
30/ [xyš](m)yn ẅ kynwʾr o
31/ {aq.3} [ps] ʾwhrmyzd ʿy
32/ [xwdʾy] ʾbxšʾydwš
33/ [ʾbr] (g)yʾnʾn ʾwd pd
34/ [dys] ʿy mrdwhmʾn

R/ii
1/ ʾwxyst ʾnʾd
2/ frwd ʾw zmyyg o
3/ **š**rʾsynʾdwš ʾ(ʾz)
4/ ʿy drwnd ʾwš kyrd
5/ ʾst cšmgʾẖ
6/ ʾwš ʾšqʾrg bʾ
7/ nmwd hrw cy bwd ẅ
8/ bwʾd oo **t**xtyhʾywš
9/ qyrd pydʾg kw ʿyn

R/i
mother of all demons, grew angry, and she stirred up great turmoil to aid her own soul. (ʾ) And from the impurity of the demons and from the filth of the she-demons she fashioned the body and entered into it herself. (**p**) Then she formed the good soul from the five Light Elements, the armour of the Lord Ohrmezd, and bound it within the body. She made him (**c**) as though blind and deaf, senseless and confused, so that he might not know his origin and his family. She (**q**) created the body as the prison, she fettered the miserable soul. (It cried out): 'The captors, the demons, she-demons and all the she-devils are cruel to me.' She (**r**) fettered the soul firmly to the accursed body; she filled it with hate and sin, anger and vengeance. {aq.3} Then Ohrmezd, the Lord, had mercy upon the souls. And he descended to the earth in the [form] of man. [**R/ii**] He (**š**) put to shame the evil (demoness); he made visible to him (Adam) and clearly showed him all that had been and that was to be. (**t**) Swiftly he revealed to him that the Lord Ohrmezd had not himself created the fleshly body and had not fettered the soul.

10/ ns'h̲ ʿy pdyn
11/ ny 'whrmyzd ʿyg
12/ xwd'y qyrd 'wš
13/ nyyc gy'n wxd{!}
14/ bst 'n'd oo {aq.4} **z**y[r]
15/ gy'n ʿyg nywb(xt̲)
16/ ryst'hyzyš bw[d]
17/ 'n'd wrwystwwš
18/ d'nyšn ʿy 'whrmyzd
19/ ʿy nyw xwd'y oo hrw
20/ wyspyš 'ndrz 'wd
21/ frm'n 'wd mwhr ʿy
22/ xw'štyy wzyštyh(')
23/ pdyryft 'n'd c'w(n)
24/ gwrd ʿy qyrdg'r oo
25/ ns'hyš ʿy mrg
26/ fr'mwxt ẅ b[w](d)
27/ bwxtg 'w j'yd('n)
28/ 'wd 'wl 'hr'ft̲
29/ 'w whyšt 'w h'n
30/ šhr ʿyg prwx'n
31-32/ {*Two lines blank*}

{aq.4} (**z**) Resurrection was the destiny of the (**z**) discerning soul of (that) fortunate one (Adam). He believed in the message of the good lord Ohrmezd. He eagerly accepted all the commandments, ordnances and seals of virtue, like a mighty hero, he put off the mortal body and was redeemed eternally. He was lifted up to Paradise, to the Realm of the Blessed.
{*Two lines blank*}

33/ {ar.1} 'w mn gw šhry'r
34/ 'ry'm'n 'wwm

V/i

1/ 'bhwm pws
2/ (ʿy) fryhstwm
3/ ('b)r zm'n ʿyt
4/ 'mdyšnyh̲ k'
5/ pd 'bdwmyh̲
6/ ''yy oo **b**wzygr wzrg
7/ wcyh'gwm gw 'br
8/ h'n zm'n š: nyš'n'n
9/ oo {ar.2} **g**w'g'n 'rd'w'n
10/ (')wd wcydg'n cy -- o
11/ m'n'g hynd 'ndr
12/ šhr oo **d**rwzn gyh̲ ẅ
13/ (x)w'stg ny n(yysp)ynd
14/ [ʿ]ym r'y mwrzyhynd
15/ oo {ar.3} **h**' ʿyn xyšmyn
16/ (p)'dxš'y d' 'w kyy
17/ nwn hmyw š'yyhyd oo
18/ (**w**)ydr'y 'yd n'f
19/ ʿy xw'(št)yy d' 'w
20/ qyy mwrzyhyd oo
21/ **z**yr'n 'rd'w'n ʿyy
22/ mwrzyhynd oo gw'm
23/ kwš'n cy p'dšnwhr
24/ oo **h**w'mwjd twxm
25/ gw 'br w'nyšn ʿy
26/ (d)r[wn](d)'n ʿyg 'b(r)'st̲
27/ (h)[y](nd) oo {ar.4} **t**hm 'wd nyw
28/ pws ʿy dwšyst̲

{ar.1} (') Speak to me, Lord and Friend ('ry'm'n), and unveil to me Son of the Most Beloved, the time of your coming, when you will appear at the end. Oh great (**b**) Saviour, my Teacher, speak of that time and its signs. {ar.2} The (**g**) speakers, the Righteous and Chosen ones, who must live in the realm of (**d**) the Lie, not accumulate herds and belongings. Therefore they are persecuted. {ar.3} (**h**) Ah, this enraged potentate! How long will he continue to rule? How long will the (**w**) poor and the family of peace be persecuted? Tell me what reward the (**z**) wise and righteous that are now persecuted will have. You of (**h**) compassionate race, tell of the defeat of the sinners that are now exalted.

{ar.4} The (**t**) strong and brave Son of the Most Beloved [**V/ii**]

29/ wcystyš cymyš
30/ pwrsyd oo **j**wtr hʾn
31/ zmʾn rzmʾẖ rʾy
32/ sʾrʾn hmyys
33/ ʾʾwʾmʾn **k**ʾ cʾwn
34/ ʾb pd dydʾn dwynd oo
V/ii
1/ nzdyk md frʾc
2/ hʾn zmʾn oo rwzdʾn
3/ ʾhlmwgʾn ky nwn
4/ nʾzynd wʾnyhynd
5/ pd ty ʿy xyšmyn o
6/ mwrzyhynd cwnyšʾn
7/ mwrzyd ʾwd o twzynd
8/ hrw cyšʾn wnst oo
9/ **n**ʾzynd ʾwyšʾn ky
10/ gryyd hynd ẅ gryynd
11/ ʿymyn ky nwn xnynd oo
12/ **s**wgwʾr ʾwd nʾf
13/ ʿy xwʾšty bwʾdyš
14/ rwyyšn ẅ phryzyšn
15/ ʾbrdr ʾc qyšʾn
16/ ʾwd nʾfʾn šʾyhyd
17/ ʿyn dyn ʾrdʾyẖ oo
18/ **p**d ʿstʾyšn dhyn
19/ wyʾbʾnd cšmgʾn
20/ ʿyg ʾbʾn zyndgʾn oo
21/ {ar.5} **c**yyd yyzyyd ẅ frsr(y)yd
22/ cy nzd hʾn zmʾn
23/ ʿyš nyšʾnʾn oo
24/ **x**w<ʾ>nyhyst ʾnwdgʾn
25/ wyhʾdʾn ʿ[y] (š)hryʾr
26/ oo **r**fydgyẖ ʾwd
27/ ʾwyštʾbydgyyẖ
28/ pʾdšnwhryd ʾ[ndr]
29/ zyhr ʿyg jʾy[dʾn oo]
30/ šhryʾr mʾn[y]
31/ xwdʾwn wxd{!} (ʾ)[st]
32/ nyšʾn ʿyg [ ]
33/ bwrzyst oo t(g)[ ]
34/ ʿstʾyd pd ʾw(.)[ ]

told me what I had asked him: ‘That (**j**) time, the coming years and periods, will be different, because of the ensuing battles. (**k**) For they flow like waters in the ???. That time has come near. (Now) that time is near at hand. The (**r**) greedy heretics that now rejoice shall you then vanquish, you wrathful one. They will be (**m**) persecuted, as they have persecuted, and they will atone for all their offences. (**n**) Rejoice with those who have wept, and those who now laugh weep. He who is (**s**) grieved and belongs to the family of peace shall be rewarded with prosperity and protection. Then this righteous religion shall hold sway (ʾ) over false teachings and nations. Then shall the springs of Living Water open their mouths (**p**) in praise. {ar.5} (**c**) Grieve, honour and praise, for the time is near, of which these are the signs. Strangers are (**x**) called, the desperate (?)[1] of the Ruler. (**r**) Persecution and suppression shall then be recompensed by eternal life. King Mani, Lord, is indeed like […] the most high. Praise to […].

Abecedarian hymns

M94 + **M173** + **M3703** (T I D 51 (14 p.) d) + **M5315** (T II D 67 (2 p.) a + **M6726** (= T II K (5 p.) (Pa.): Boyce, *Abeced*., A, 437-40*, photo M 94 with art., pl. 4, facing p. 437, M173, *IMTT* 78; *Rd*. §as,102-03 = M173 R + M94 R; tr. *HG* 72 (M173R and M94 R), *GSR* 40-41 (ditto).

1b/ [pd](xš)ʾhʾd (.)[ ]
1b/ [re]igned [ ]

[1] *DMT* III/1, s.v. *wyhʾd* Henning’s notebook: ‘Prob. > Arm. vhat ‘disconsolate, discouraged, faint-hearted, desperate’.

2a/ **d**ʾd nysʾrʾ(d) o ʾ(c)[ ]
2b/ frʾc o pd (n)mrw(ʾg)

3a/ (**h**)w (z)myg rwšn o [ ]
3b/ [...]ʾn o ʾc pnj[ ]

4a/ [**w**ʾ]d ʾfrydg o p[y](d)[r](ʾn rw)š(n)ʾn[ ]
4b/ [....]n o dʾlwg (ny)sʾg (ʾw)d p(.)[ ]

5a/ [**z**]yd (o w)x(d pd) š(ʾ)dy(ft)[ ]
5b/ [ ](ʾ)w h(w p)d(b)[ ]

{*Five verses missing*}

11b/ [ ]myd š[...]

12a/ [**m**yhryzd ? n](y)dfʾr[y]d ʾž xwrʾsʾn
12b/ [ ]cy (zm)yg rwšn

13a/ [**n**] {as 1} bwynd pdbst o hndʾm
13b/ [ ](.) šhr nwʾg o pd zmyg wzrgyft

14a/ {as 2} (**s**xt) bwynd pd hm hm o cwʾgwn ʿyw wym o
14b/ ʿyw tnbʾr o xwj ẅ ʿškyft o yʾwydʾng

15a/ {as 3} ʿšmg tʾryg o ʾd jfr wxybyy o ngnd bwynd
15b/ pd hw dysmʾn o nwʾg ʾwd ʾrgʾw

16a/ {as 4} **p**wr krynd hʾw(sʾ)r o hw zmyg rwšn o u tcynd
16b/ ʾndr o xʾnsʾr bgʾny(g) [o ʾw](d w)ʾd ʾnwšyn

17a/ cyhrg (ʾ)rgʾw (o) [.....]yng (o) gʾh psʾcynd
17b/ [ ]ynd o pd [nw](ʾ)g (š)hrʾʾ[n]

18a/ {as 5} [**q**rynd ? ʾ](wd) wy(rʾ)zynd o ws gʾh nys[ʾ](g)[yn o]
18b/ (qʾ)[w ʿs]twmyn o ʾd hrw pydrʾn o bgʾn h[wʾngd]

19a/ {as 6} rwšnʾn hrwyn o ʾrdʾwʾn o ʾwd ngwš(ʾ)gʾn (o)
19b/ (ky) bwrd ʾbgʾm o ʾd pydr gšynd

20a/ {as 7} [**š**](ʾ)d bwynd wʾrynd o ʾwd pdxšʾhynd o pd nwʾg
20b/ šhrʾn o ʾbr hw dwšmnyn o ʾwd wystm[bgʾn]

2a/ He began to (**d**) give […] from […]
2b/ forwards, through mild speaking […]

3a/ (**h**) The Land of Light […]
3b/ […] from the five […]

4a/ The Blessed (**w**) [A]ir, the Father of Light […]
4b/ […] the splendid trees […]
5a/ […] itself through gladness […] to him […]

{*Five verses missing*}

11b/ (*Traces only*)

12a/ [The (**m**) Sun-god ? …] hastens from the East
12b/ the Land of Light.
13a/ [(**n**) …] {as 1} they will be joined together, the limbs […]
13b/ the New Aeon, to the Land of Greatness.
14a/ {as 2} They will be (**s**) compressed together, like a single rock
14b/ and a single body; pleasantly (?) and firmly, eternally.
15a/ {as 3} The (ʿ) Demon of Darkness together with his abyss will be buried within,
15b/ in that new and noble building.
16a/ {as 4} They will (**p**) fill that land evenly with 16b/ Light, and within it will flow the divine springs and sweet winds.

17a/ For the noble Nature […] they will prepare thrones [and]
17b/ they will […] in the New Aeon.

18a/ {as 5} [They will (**q**) make ?] and prepare many splendid thrones –
18b/ (for) the last Giant (?) together with all the Fathers, the [prosperous] Gods.

19a/ {as 6} All the beings of Light, the Just and the Hearers
19b/ who had suffered torment will be joyful with the Father.

20/ {as 7} They will be (**š**) glad, they will rejoice and hold sway in the New
20b/ Aeons over those enemies and rebels.

21a/ {as 8} **t**šy rft ʾd hw o ʾwd hwyn prywxt o ʾ(w)[d]
21b/ ʿstwbʾd o ʾw hw tʾryg o ky ghrʾy[ʾd]

21a/ {as 8} (**t**) For (they) had fought with him, and they had defeated
21b/ and vanquished the creature of Darkness who had exulted.

{*One verse missing*}

{*One verse missing*}

23a/ {*Space of a verse left blank*}
23 b/ nyʾg hsyng o ʾfryd ʾ[yy t]w bg kyrbkr

23a/ {Thou [art] worthy of praise, beneficent Father,}
23b/ first ancestor! Blessed [art thou], beneficent God!

24a/ ʾʾlyf nxwyn tw xwdʾy o ʾwd tʾ ʿstwmyn
24b/ pd tw ʾngd o ʾwd bwd ʿspwr tw kʾm kyrbg

24a/ Thou, Lord, (art) the first Alif, and the last Tau;
24b/ through thee thy devout wish is fulfilled and complete.

25a/ **b**gʾn (h)rw[y]n ʾwd šhr(šh)rʾn o yzdʾn rwšnʾn
25b/ ʾw[d] (d)hynd nmstyg [o] (p)d h(ʾ)mʾ(x)[wnd]

25a/ All the divinities and the Aeons of Aeons, the gods of Light
25b/ and the Just render praise with many a ‘Holy, holy’.

26a/ **g**(yʾ)nʾn dʾlwg ẅ hr(w)[...](o) ryst ʾfrynynd
26b/ ʾwd ʾrdʾwʾn o d(h)[ynd] ʿstʾwyšn pd ws kʾdwš

26a/ The spirits, the trees and all […] duty call down blessings
26b/ and make supplication with one accord.

27a/ [**d**hʾẖ] (ʾw) ʾmʾẖ ʾʾgʾdg qyrbg o (dʾ)[ ]
27b/ [...](b)rynd cyhrg o cymʾn ʾž dwr [ʾndʾ]d(ʾd) o

27a. [(**d**) Grant] us (our) devout wish […]
27b/ they bear (?) the form (?), the noble shape for which we yearn!

28a/ (**h**)wʾxʾšd qrʾẖ hwʾmwjdyft o ʾwmʾn ʾbdys
28b/ wxybyẖ cyhrg o pʾdgyrb ʾrgʾw cy pdbwsʾm

28a/ ‘Have (**h**) pity on us in compassion! Show to us thy form,
28b/ the noble shape for which we yearn!

29a/ (**w**)yttʾbʾẖ pd ʾmʾ frdʾb wxybyy o xʾnsʾʾr
29b/ [ʾ](n)wšyn ẅ wʾd jywhryn o u qrʾẖ tʾwg ʾw ʾmʾ zʾdgʾn

29a/ (**w**) Shine forth thy radiance on us, sweet
29b/ fount and breath of life. Make us (thy) children, strong!

30a/ [**z**w]r ghrʾyʾd dwšmyn tʾryg o ʾd hw nbr(d)g qʾw
30/b [wys]tmbg o u gryft qʾmʾd ʾw hw šhrʾʾn

30a/ In (**z**) vain the dark Enemy exulted, together with that warlike,
30b/ rebellious Giant; (in vain) he wished to seize the Aeons.

Abecedarian hymn to the Living Self

M10 (Pa.): W.-L. i, 126 (R10–V22 only), Henning, *NGGW* 1933, 306-18, tr. *ML* 120, *GSR* 44, ed. and tr. *Living Soul* (ll. 400-45), 38-40*.

R
1/ nrʾ(mynd) wjydgʾʾn pwʾʾgyfẗ
2/ pʾynd ʾwd dyncyhryft cyd dst
3/ ʾc tw wygʾnyšn nhynjy(nd) ʾwd
4/ rʾd pštg bwynd pd šhrʾʾn o tw

R
‘The Elects restrain: they protect purity and religious behavior.’ ‘They always restrain the hand from your destruction and are / become mediators in the lands.’ For you (5) the good

5/ wsn’d n’w’z nyw mnwhm‘yd
6/ rwšn pdr’st ‘štyd kwt p’r
7/ p’z’h̲ pd drwd c’m’h̲ ’w
8/ šhr rwšn ’m’hyc nyrd t̲w
9/ ’ngwn w(yn)d’m oo oo
10/ {*one line left blank*}
11/ {at.1} ’gd ’[yy pd] drwd tw gryw rwšn bw’
12/ drwd ’br t(w) cy pydr w[x]ybyh̲ oo
13/ {at.2} **b**gr’štygr yzd’n ’brdwm ky dydym
14/ ’wd frh̲y’wyd’n ’... (w)g o ‘st’w<y>šn
15/ ’w tw gryw jywndg q’dwš k’dwš
16/ bg m’ry m’ny oo **g**š’d ’wd w’r’d
17/ hwmy’g rwšn’n kd tw z’d ’yy p[d]
18/ šhrd’ryft oo **d**w’dys p[whr’n]
19/ ’wd šhršhr’n ’ndrw’[’zyg]
20/ bwd š’dm’ng oo **h**rwyn yzd’[n ’wd]
21/ m’nynd’n qwf’n d’lwwg ’wd
22/ x’ns’r’n o **w**yhm ’wstyg ’pdn

V

1/ ’wd tlw’r pd tw fry’ng wyšmn’d
2/ ’hynd oo **z**byn qnyg’n ẅ kwm’rcn’n
3/ mnwhmyd wyspryxt qdyš’n dyd
4/ ’yy oo **h**rwyn h’mw’g pd ‘st’wyšn
5/ ’fryd ’w tw yw’n ’bynng oo **t̲**byln
6/ šnng ’wt̲ nd pdxwn’d srwd’n nw’g
7/ ’c hrw’ oo oo **y**zd’n hrwyn bwd
8/ hndym’n ’w tw wyspwhr šhrd’r
9/ z’dg oo **x**wnyd wcn ’c ’ndrw’’z
10/ s(rw)d’n nw’g ’c zmygrwš[n] kd
11/ ’wh̲ w’cynd ’w p[ydr r]wšn kw
12/ z’d rz[myw]z ky qryd r’myšn oo {at.3}

l’lm<y>n

13/ wyspwyh̲ yzd’n ’brdwm hry
14/ q’r ’w tw ’byspwrd ’hynd oo
15/ **m**rn wyg’n’h̲ ’wjn’ ’w dwšmnyn
16/ ’wt ngwnd ’w hmg rwšn whyšt’w
17/ [oo {at.4} **n**]m’cwt bwrd ’wd ‘zgd ’yy ’w
18/ [rzm ’]wt ngwst ’w hmg rwšn
19/ [whyš]t’w oo **s**yzdyn ’xšynd bst
20/ [y’wyd]’n ’wt̲ wygnd ’’r’m cy
21/ t’ryg’n oo ‘fry’ng rwšn mrdwhm
22/ nxwyn ’wwd bwd yd kd pydr k’m
<hnj’ft>

helmsman, the light nous stands ready to bring you across to the other side, (and/ so that) you may go in well-being to the light realm, may we also find peace beside you.’
(10){*one line left blank*}

{at.1} (’) ‘Welcome to you, light-soul. May you be greeted from your father, (**b**) {at.2} righteous god (*bayγ*), the highest of the gods (*yazdān*), whose diadem and glory (is) forever immortal!. Praise (15) to you, living soul! Holy, holy, god (*bayγ*) Lord Mani! (**g**) The blissful one of the lights was happy and rejoiced when you (the First Man) were born in the Realm (*or* to the rulership). (**d**) The twelve sons and airy aeons of the aeons (20) became happy. (**h**) All the gods (*yazdān*) and inhabitants of mountains, trees and springs, (**w**) of wide [**V**] firm palaces and tabernacles (*or* halls) are happy about you, friend. (**z**) The minds of lovely girls and maidens blossomed when they saw you. (5) (**h**) All of one voice in praise (they) praised you, youth without blemish.’ (**t̲**) Tambourine, harp and flute sounded the melodies of songs from all sides. (**y**) All the gods (*yazdān*) were before you, prince, son of the ruler. (**x**) Voices from the air sound, (10) the melody of songs from the light earth, when they say to the light father: ‘born is the pugnacious one who makes peace.’ {at.3} (**l**) For ever, oh best one, the highest of the gods (*yazdān*) has entrusted three tasks to you: (**m**) (i) that you destroy (15) death! (ii) That you kill the enemies! And (iii) conceal the whole light paradise. {at.4} (**n**) You made obeisance. And you went out to the [battle]. And you concealed the whole light paradise. (**s**) You bound the mighty prince (20) [forever], and you destroyed the abode of the dark ones. (‘) The friend of the light, the first man, was there until he accomplished the wish of the father
{*The text continued on a lost page*}

Abecedarian hymn to the Living Self

M83 I R 6 – V 3 (Pa. with MP): *W.-L. i*, 117-18, *HLS* ll. 650-691, pp. 62-67*, *Rd*. §au, pp. 105-06 and §dgb.1, p. 176, tr. *GSR* 44-45 (revised)*

R

1/ **q**ryndwš kl’n (**r**)dnyn
2/ rwšn’n o **š**’d cy šhrd(’r)
3/ [xrwm **t**rnys nyšdm **n**ys’gyn
4/ kr ’xšd’gyft o dhm’n ’g’dg oo

R

‘… (?) they (**q**) make him great / pure, the light-(**r**)jewels, (**š**) happy one of the ruler, (**t**) throne, (**n**) bright seat. Have mercy, give / grant our wish, best Jesus ofall, beneficient

5/ wyspwyẖ yyšwʿ • šhrdʾr
6/ nywgr o oo {au .1} ʾrjʾn ʾyy
7/ nmstyg o **b**wxtg gryw rwšn o drwd
8/ bwʾẖ ʾbr tw gryw oo ʾwd
9/ ʾmʾhyc bwʾẖ drwd o **g**yʾn
10/ ʾyy ʾwd bʾm o **d**ydn ʾyy ʾwd
11/ frdʾb o **h**wprmʾn ʾyy rzwrgr oo
12/ **w**xš ʾyy ʾwd ʾnwšyn o **z**byn ʾyy
13/ ʾbynng o **j**yr ʾyy ʾwd pdms<ʾ>g oo
14/ **h**wmyʾg ʾyy hwjyʾg o **t**wxšʾg
15/ ʾyy ʾwd m(yhr)bʾn o **y**wlg ʾyy
16/ nys[ʾgyn o] (**x**)rdmyn ʾy[y ʾ]wd ʾʾzʾd
17/ **l**wgdʾr ʾyy šhrdʾr o **m**šyhʾẖ
18/ ʾyy ʾwd dʾdbr o **n**yw ʾyy nyzwmʾn
19/ **s**rhng ʾyy ʾwd nʾwʾz o ʿjgnd
20/ ʾyy trkwmʾn o **p**ʾsbʾn ʾyy ʾwd
21/ wynʾrʾg o cšm ʾyy pʾdgyrb o
22/ **q**yrdgʾ(r) [ʾyy] (b)[w](x)tg o rwšnyft̲ ʾ[yy]
23/ c[ymʾn o **š**ʾdyft ʾyy tw (*Rd.*)]

V

1/ **t**̲w ʾyy gryw wzrg nxwyn ʾyy ʾwd
2/ ʿstwmyn o ʾfryd ʾyy ʾwt̲
3/ ʿstʾwʾd o pd ws ʾfrywn oo

M83 I V continues in the next text.

ruler. {au.1} (ʾ) You are worthy of honour. (**b**) Redeemed Light-Soul. – Good health be yours, oh Soul. And may you bring us good health. (**g**) You are the (10) soul and its splendour. You are the (**d**) apparition and radiance, (**h**) you are merciful and righteous, (**w**) you are sweet-smelling and ambrosial, (**z**) you are fair and unblemished, (**j**) you are wise and reasonable, (**h**) you are blissful and a bestower of blessings, (**t**) you are diligent (15) and kindly, (**y**) you are blessed (?) and splendid. (**x**) Wise you are and noble, (**l**) you are king and ruler of the earth, (m) you are the Messiah and the judge, (**n**) you are valiant and skilful, (**s**) you are the captain and the helmsman, (ʿ) you are the messenger and (20) interpreter, (**p**) you are protector and arranger, you are an (**c**) eye and a (divine) figure, (**q**) you are a creator and a saved one, (**r**) you are our Light. (**š**) You are happiness [… You] [**V**] you are the Great Soul, (**t**̲) you are the (**n**) first and the last. Praised and lauded are you with many blessings.

Verses from a hymn

M83 I V 15-18, **M82** R 2 - V 5 (MP): W.B. Henning, 'The disintegration of the Avestic Studies', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1942, 56 (tx. only), *Rd.* §dgb, pp. 176-77; tr. *HG* 164-65, *GSR* 128*

M83 I V 15-18

15/ {dgb.1} ʾfryn nyw ʾwd ʿstʾyšn °° ʾw
16/ frystgʾn ʿy wzrgyy ° rʾmyn(ʾ)nd
17/ dyn ʿy xwrʾsʾn ° pd wysp šhr
18/ ʾ(wd) pʾy(g)ws °° .

M82 R 2 -V 6

2/ **b**ʾn thmʾtrʾn ° ẅ bʾsbʾ(n)ʾn
3/ ʿy dyn {dgb.2} **g**yhbʾn wygrʾd ° kftynws
4/ sʾrʾr ° **d**wšʾrmygr ʿyg nyw
5/ yʾkwb nrymʾn ° **h**nzmn ʾwzx̲t
6/ ʿy mhrʾspndʾn nywʾn ° **w**cydgy
7/ ʾbzʾr ° ʾwd dyn ʿy xwʾšty̲h
8/ zwrydʾn ʾbzwʾd ° ʾc pydr by
9/ zrwʾn ° **h**myw ʿs̲tʾyhyd ° ʾž hmg
10/ wzrgy̲h ° thmyy pdyryd ° ʾc bʾn
11/ ʿy bʾrys̲t ° ʾwt̲
12/ ʿstʾyšn ° ʾc zwrʾn ʿy wzrgyy °
13/ {dgb.3} **x**wdʾwn yyšwʿ ° sʾrʾr ʿyg
14/ frystgʾn ° **r**wšnyhʾẖ wʾryn'd °
15/ ʾw ʾšmʾẖ thmʾn ° {dgb.4} **m**ʾnyy
16/ xwdʾwn ° pws ʿy wzrgyy °° **n**yrwgʾyn'd

M83 I V 15-18

{dgb.1} Much blessing and praise to the Messengers of Greatness. May they bring peace to the Religion of the East in every land and in (every) province.

M82 R 2 -V 6

the strongest gods and the guardians of the religion. {dgb.2} Wakeful shepherd. Kaftinus, Leader, Valiant; loving Jacob Nariman, Community of valiant Light-Elements that have been pardoned. Strong community of chosen ones and congregation of peace, may your power increase through the Father, the God Zurvan; it (that power) is always praised by the whole Greatness (community of gods). Accept strength from the gods on high and godliness and praise from the powers of Greatness. {dgb.3} May the Lord Jesus, the chief of the Messengers, delight you in (his) brightness, you strong ones! {dgb.4} May the Lord Mani, the Son of Greatness, strengthen

17/ pd wyhyy °° ʾw ʾšmʾ xwʾbrʾn °°
18/ {dgb.5} **s**ʾg ʿy wysp ʿstʾyšn °° ʾwd
19/ ʾfryn ʿy zyndg ° ʾc hmg yzdygyrdyy °
20/ (ʾw) ʾšmʾẖ frwxʾn °° **p**ywʾcydwm
21/ ʾw wʾng ° ʾwm bwyd fryʾdg °°
22/ cʾwnwm ʾc nwx ʾwd frtwm °° pd
23/ zwr ʿy ʾbzʾr **q**wnyd[1] drwd ẅ rʾmyšn
V
1/ pd wyspʾn šhrʾn ° **r**ʾmynyd
2/ ʾw xwʾštygrʾn ° ʾwd srʾxšynd
3/ ʾw dwyʾn ° **š**ʾdyẖ ʾbzʾyd °
4/ ʾw rʾynʾgʾn ʿy xwʾštyẖ
5/ **t**xtyhʾẖ wʾrynyd ° ʾw wyspʾn
6/ hwrwʾnʾn ẅ

you benefactors with wisdom. Strengthen you benefactors with wisdom. May many praises and and blessings of the living ones (gods) descend from the whole community of gods upon us happy ones! He answers my call and helps me, as (he), (endowed) with great power, did in the beginning. He establishes wellness and peace [**V**] in all lands, he grants peace to the beneficent ones and puts the demons to shame. He increases the joy of the leaders of peace (And) quickly gladdens all the pious ones.

Hymn to the Living Soul

M7 I and **II** – not continuous (Pa.): *MM* iii, §g, 870-75, PE pls. 15 and16; *Rd*. §§av-az, pp. 106-09, ed. and tr. *Living Soul*, 22-27 (ll. 162-399)*.

M7 I

Hd./ {black} grywjywndgyg bʾšʾẖ

R/i
(164)1/ {ax.1} pdwʾg kyrbg o
(165)2/ ʾw ʿšmʾẖ ky
(166)3/ bʾšyd wjdgʾʾn
(167)4/ yʾwydʾn jywhr
(1678)5/ wyndyd o pwʾcyyd
(169)6/ ʾw gryw rwšn kw
(170)7/ wxd ʾw ʿšmʾẖ
(171)8/ bwjʾẖ o **b**ʾšyd
(172)9/ bʾšʾẖ wylʾstyn
(173)10/ pd drwd rʾm ʾwd
(174)11/ wšydʾx o **g**yʾnyn
(175)12/ pndwrg rwšn o
(176)13/ wxšmyd ʾwd wxš
(177)14/ srʾwyyd o **d**myyd
(178)15/ šyfwr šʾdgr
(179)16/ ʾmwrdyd gyʾnʾn
(180)17/ ʾw bwg o **h**wʾrmyn
(181)18/ syynd bgpwhrʾn
(182)19/ pd ʿym wcn nwʾg
(183)20/ rmnyyg oo **w**ʾcyd
(184)21/ kʾdwš kʾdwš
(185)22/ ʾmyn ʾmyn xrwsyd
(186)23/ o **z**xsyd jyryft
(187)24/ rwšn wyʾwryd wyʾw<ʾ>r
(188)25/ pwʾgyn o **j**ywẖr

R/i
{***Hymn 1*** *– the text started on a lost page*} {ax.1} '… (will give a) pious response (ʾ) to you, who sing, Chosen Ones! You (pl.) will reach eternal life. (*Refrain*?) Purify the Light-Soul so that he may save you! (**b**) Sing a wonderful hymn with well-being, peace and trust.' (**g**) The light-lute(?) of the soul sings happily and pleasantly. (**d**) The joyous trumpet blows; it gathers the souls to salvation. (**h**) The sons of God rest very peaceful at this new delightful word (*or* voice). (**w**) Say (pl.): holy, holy', call (pl.): 'amen, amen'! (**z**) Intone(?) (pl.) 'the wisdom of light(?), give (pl.) a pure answer!' (**j**) 'The righteous word of life frees the captive from bondage.' (**h**) Praise (pl.) truly with one voice, (you) who sing and you who [**R/ii**] give response!

[1] *Rd*. *qryd.

(189)26/ sxwn cy rʾšt<y>ft
(190)27/ wyšʾhyd bstg
(191)28/ ʾc bnd o **h**ʾmwʾg
(192)29/ rys**t** ʿs**t**ʾwyyd
(193)30/ ky bʾšyd ʾwd ky

R/ii

(194/31) 1/ pdwʾg dʾryyd
(195/32) 2/ o **t**rs ʾndrz ẅ
(196/33) 3/ prcʾr ptʾbyd
(197/34) 4/ pd (hrw hndʾm) oo
(198/35) 5/ **y**wd [.....] (ʿzgd)
(199/36) 6/ kyrb(g) […..]
(200/37) 7/ rwš(n) […..]
(201/38) 8/ o **x**rw(syyd) [….]
(202/39) 9/ qʾrwz (.)[…..]
(203/40) 10/ ʿym wz(rg) [….]
(204/41) 11/ o **l**wg (ʾw)[d hmʾg]
(205/42) 12/ dʾm hy(n)[zʾwr]
(206/43) 13/ {ax.2} ky cš(m) ʾst ẅ
(207/44) 14/ gwš gyʾnyn oo
(208/45) 15/ **m**yhmʾn yzdʾn
(209/46) 16/ zʾdg nwʾcyd ʾw
(210/47) 17/ ʾxwrn bgʾnyyg o
(211/48) 18/ **n**wʾgyf**t** ʿspynj
(212/49) 19/ wyrʾzyd nmʾyd
(213/50) 20/ rʾ**h** ʾw rwšn o
(214/51) 21/ **s**ʾcyd ʿspwr
(215/52) 22/ hrw hndʾm pd
(216/53) 23/ pnj hf**t** ʾwd
(217/54) 24/ dwʾdys o ʿym
(218/55) 25/ ʾst rdn hf**t**
(219/56) 26/ nysʾgyn cy wxd
(220/57) 27/ šhrʾn jywhr oo
(221/58) 28/ **p**d hwyn zʾwr
(222/59) 29/ jywynd hmg lwg
(223/60) 30/ ʾwd hrwyn gyʾnbr o

V/i

(224/61) 1/ **c**wʾgwn bzmg pd
(225/62) 2/ (k)dg ky pd tʾr rwšn
(226/63) 3/ tʾbyd o **k**yrbg<y>f**t**
(227/64) 4/ [ ]šn ẅ
(228/65) 5/ [ ]
(229/66) 6/ [ ]štʾn
(230/67) 7/ [bw]jʾgr
(231/68) 8/ [ ](g)
(232/69) 9/ [ ] o **š**hrʾn
(233/70) 10/ [w]cyhʾd ẅ
(234/71) 11/ [d]ʾmdʾdʾn
(235/72) 12/ [**t**lwʾr] (w)yndʾʾd
(236/73) 13/ wjydg[ʾn] (r)ʾštʾn
(237/74) 14/ ʾwd ngwšʾgʾʾn
(238/75) 15/ pwnwndʾn o **n**ysʾžyd
(239/76) 16/ gryw ʾw pwʾcyšn
(240/77) 17/ ʾwd ʿym rʾz rʾšt

(**t**) Burn (pl.) fear, respect and prohibition into every limb. (**y**) Separate […] departed virtuous […] light […] (**x**) The herald […] calls […] this great […]

(**l**) The world and the whole very powerful creation {ax 2} which are the spiritual (*gyānēn*) eyes and ears. (**m**) Invite the guest, the child of the gods to the divine banquet. (**n**) Prepare (pl.) the hostel of invitation. Show (pl.) the way to the light! (**s**) Make (pl.) perfect every limb in five, seven and twelve. (ʿ) These are the seven shining jewels which are the life of the aeons. (**p**) Through their power that whole world and all the animates live.

V/i

(**c**) Like a lamp in a room that shines bright in the darkness. (**k**) Virtuousness […] [(**r**)] The true Elect, […] saviour […] (**š**) The lands [… …] taught and [… …] the creatures.' [(**t**)] You (pl.) will find the tabernacle, (oh) true Elect and meritorious Hearers. (**n**) Prepare (pl.) the soul for purification! And keep this secret truly holy! (**n**) Honour those who are being saved! And teach them this secret!
{*2 lines blank*}

(241/78) 18/ šwj dʾryd o **n**mwyyd
(242/79) 19/ ʾw hwyn ky bwxs<y>nd
(243/80) 20/ ʾwd ʿym rʾz
(244/81) 21/ ʾw hwyn wcyhyd o
22/ {*2 lines blank*}
23/
(245/82) 24/ {ay.1} ʾg kʾmyd ʾwtʾn
(246/83) 25/ ʾbdysʾʾn ʾc
(247/84) 26/ wygʾhyft̲ tšyy
(248/85) 27/ pydrʾn hsyngʾn
(249/86) 28/ o **b**wjʾgr ʾrdʾw
(250/87) 29/ zrhwšt kdyš
(251/88) 30/ wyʾwrd ʾd gryw

ii

(252/89) 1/ wxybyy o **g**rʾn
(253/90) 2/ mstyft̲ kw xwft
(254/91) 3/ ʿštyy wygrʾsʾ
(255/92) 4/ ʾwd ʾw mn wynʾh̲
(256/93) 5/ o **d**rwd ʾbr tw ʾc
(257/94) 6/ šhr rʾmyšn cy
(258/95) 7/ ʾz wsnʾd t̲w
(259/96) 8/ fršwd hym o **h**wyc
(260/97) 9/ wyʾwrd {srwšʾw
(261/98) 10/ ʾnʾzʾr} kw ʾz ʾz zʾdg
(262/99) 11/ hym <srwšʾw ʾnʾzʾr> nʾzwg
(263/100) 12/ o **w**myxt ʿštʾm
(264/101) 13/ ʾwd zʾr wynʾm
(265/102) 14/ ʿzwʾywm ʾc
(266/103) 15/ mrn ʾgwz o **z**rhwšt
(267/104) 16/ ʾw hw pt̲ drwd
(268/105) 17/ pwrsʾd wcn
(269/106) 18/ hsyng mnʾn
(270/107) 19/ hndʾm o **j**ywndgʾn
(271/108) 20/ zʾwr ʾwd msyšt
(272/109) 21/ gyhʾn drwd ʾbr
(273/110) 22/ tw ʾc pdyšt̲
(274/111) 23/ wxybyy o **h**xsʾh̲
(275/112) 24/ ʾw mn nmryft̲
(276/113) 25/ zʾdg pwsg rwšn
(277/114) 26/ pd sr ʾwyst̲ʾ o
(278/115) 27/ **t**ʾwgʾn zʾdg ky
(279/116) 28/ kyrd ʾyy ʿskwh̲
(280/117) 29/ kw cyd byxšyh̲
(281/118) 30/ pd hrw wyʾgʾn oo

{***Hymn 2***} {ay.1} (ʾ) If you (pl.) want I will show you (something) of the testimony of the ancient fathers, (**b**) (namely), the righteous saviour Zarhušt, when he conversed with his soul [**ii**] (said):

(**g**) 'Heavy (is the) sleep into which you have fallen! Will you wake up and look at me? (**d**) Greetings to you from from the land of peace which sent me on your account.' (**h**) He replied: 'I am the tender child of harmless Srōšāw.' 'I am mixed. And I experience suffering. Lead me out of death's enclosure. (**z**) Zarhušt as a greeting asked him an ancient word: 'my limb?' (**j**) '(May) the power of the living and the well-being of the greatest world (be) upon you from your place! (**h**) Will you follow me, child of tenderness! Will you put a (*or* the) bright crown on (your) head! (**t**) Child of the mighty who (they) have made poor (*or* powerless) so that you always beg in every place.

M7 II

Hd./ V+R/ grywjywndgyg | bʾšʾh̲
Hymn about the Living Soul

R/i

(282/119) 1/ {az 1} hrw ʾst̲ʾr
(283/120) 2/ ʾndryn ʾwd bʿyn
(284/121) 3/ ʾndyšʾd wʾxt ʾẅ

R/i

{az 1} {***Hymn 3*** *– the text started on a lost page*} ([**n**]) […] every inner and outer sin, thought, said

(285/122) 4/ kyrd cy myhgʾr °
(286/123) 5/ **s**ryšyšn cy
(287/124) 6/ ʾndyšyšn kyrbg
(288/125) 7/ ʾwd bzg wcyhʾ
(289/126) 8/ ʾwd wywdʾẖ
(290/127) 9/ ʿyw ʾc bydʾn °°
(291/128) 10/ ʿzwʾrʾ wxybyy
(292/129) 11/ bʾwg sxwn
(293/130) 12/ pwʾg cy wxd
(294/131) 13/ ʾst̲ wʾdʾg ʾw
(295/132) 14/ gyʾn ky pd tnbʾr
(296/133) 15/ ° **p**d hwyc drwgmyg
(297/134) 16/ sxwn ʿspwr
(298/135) 17/ frwdʾẖ ky wʾyd
(299/136) 18/ ʾw tʾr dwjx
(300/137) 19/ nrhyyg wʾdʾg °
(138) 20/ **c**wʾgwn kd pt̲
(139) 21/ tlʾzwg rzwr pd-
(140) 22/ hynjʾẖ bwxtg(ʾn)
(141) 23/ ʾwd ʾndrxtgʾn
(142) 24/ cy pd sxwn °
(143) 25/ **q**rʾẖ ʾbyʾd
(144) 26/ ʾw ʾjwn ʾwd
(145) 27/ ʿstft̲ nrẖ
(146) 28/ kw tryxsynd ẅ
(147) 29/ wxsynd gyʾnʾn
(148) 30/ pd ʾnjwgyft̲ °°

R/ii

(149) 1/ **rw**ʾnyn ʾbrng
(150) 2/ dʾrʾẖ s(x)wnyn
(151) 3/ frgʾw kw cmʾh
(152) 4/ nyrd q[ ]
(153) 5/ ʾw bw[°°]
(154) 6/ **š**rmj[d]
(155) 7/ ʾw (h)[ ]
(156) 8/ ʾwd (jwg)[ ]
(157) 9/ ʾdwr xwry[ndg ʾw]
(158) 10/ mrdwh(m)[ʾn]
(159) 11/ ° **t**wyc gr(y)[w rwšn]
(160) 12/ pd ʿymyn [ ]
(161) 13/ bwxtgy[ft]
(162) 14/ ʾndrxtgyft̲ ʾw(d)
(163) 15/ ʾʾjwn ° {az 2} **n**yrʾmʾ
(164) 16/ zyrd ʾwd mʾng
(165) 17/ ʾc ʾšwb bzg
(166) 18/ snʾẖ pd rʾẖ
(167) 19/ rʾmyšn ʾw
(168) 20/ rwšn pdyšt̲ °°
21/
22/
(169) 23/ {av 1} ʾw tw ngʾyʾm
(170) 24/ **b**g hwnrʾwynd
(171) 25/ **g**ryw jywndg
(172) 26/ **d**ʾhwʾn ʾc pydr

and done; what (is its) harm? (**s**) Will you teach the mixture of virtuous and evil thought(s) and will you separate them one from the other! (ʿ) Will you distinguish the pure word of your being which (alone) is the guide to the soul (*gyān*) which (is) in the body! (**p**) By this, too, will you recognize completely the lying word that leads to dark hell, the hellish guide. (**c**) As when the judge will weigh in the scales the saved and the damned by the word. (**q**) Will you remember (re)birth nd the severe hell where the souls are tormented and wounded in anguish.

R/ii

(**r**) Will you have spiritual zeal, the verbal treasure, so that you may go near […]' (**š**) 'Ashamed […ʾ …] and […ʾ …] consuming fire the people …' (**t**) You, Light-Soul, in these […] salvation […] damnation and rebirth. {az 2} (**n**) Will you restrain your heart and mind from evil disturbance(s)! Will you ascend on the road of peace to the Light-Paradise!
{*2 lines blank*}

{***Hymn 4***} {av 1} (ʾ) To you we pray, valiant (**b**) god (*bayγ*), Living (**g**) Soul, (**d**) present from the Father! (*Refrain*) 'Blessed,

(173) 27/ ◦ ʾfryd ʾfryd tw
(174) 28/ gryw rwšn pd drwd
(175) 29/ snʾẖ ʾw
(176) 30/ pdyšt wxybyẖ ◦

blessed (are) you, Light Soul. May you ascend in well-being to your own place!

V/i

(177) 1/ **h**wʾngd zʾwr
(178) 2/ **w**zrgyft̲ wjydg
(179) 3/ **z**wr(mn)d zʾwr **j**yr
(180) 4/ [ʾwd frzʾ]ng **h**rw
(181) 5/ [bgʾn rwš]nʾn **t̲**w
(182) 6/ [rʾd ...] **y**wdynd
(183) 7/ [wjydgʾn **k**w]t (w)xd
(184) 8/ [bwrzynd] ◦ (**l**)rzynd
(185) 9/ [ ] **m**dyʾʾn
(186) 10/ [z](m)bwdyyg
(187) 11/ [**n**]d ʾw t̲w
(188) 12/ [**s**rwš]ʾw zʾdg
(189) 13/ [ʿy](m) ʾnjwgyft̲
(190) 14/ **p**zd ʾwd dyjwʾr
(191) 15/ **c**y tw wydʾryẖ
(192) 16/ **k**y šhyd wyfrʾštn
(193) 17/ ◦ **r**wšnʾgr ʾxšdʾg
(194) 18/ **š**hrdʾr ʾfrydg
(195) 19/ **t**hm ʾwd ʾrgʾw
(196) 20/ **n**ywgr mʾry mʾny
(197) 21/ ◦ hmyw ʾfrynʾm
(198) 22/ hw frẖ yzdygyrd
(199) 23/ ky ʾbdyšt synjyn
(200) 24/ ʾw t̲w gryw rwšn ◦◦

(**h w z j**) Very rich power, chosen greatness, powerful power, wise and foreseeing; (**h t̲ y k**) all the Light-Gods (*bayān*) struggle because of (*or* for) you, the chosen ones, that they exalt you. (**l m n s**) They tremble […] midst […] earth […] to you, child of Srōšāw. (ʿ **p c k**) This anguish, persecution and hardship which you go through, who can expound (it)? (**r š t n**) Light-bringing, merciful, blessed, strong and righteous ruler, beneficient Lord Mani. (*Refrain or Doxology*) 'We will always praise that god-made glory that showed salvation to you, Light-Soul.

25/
26/

(201) 27/ {aw 1} ʾc rws[n ẅ yzdʾn
(202) 28/ hym ʾwd ʿzdyẖ
(203) 29/ bwd hym ʾž hwyn
(204) 30/ ʾmwšt ʾbr mn

{**Hymn 5**} {aw 1} (ʾ) I belong to the light and gods (*yazdān*), and I have been exiled from them. The enemies gathered against me. And they led me to the dead. (**b**) I am a god (*bayγ*) who was born of the gods (*bayγan*) radiant, splendid, sparkling and bright, shining, fragrant and beautiful. But now I have fallen into want. (**g**) Countless loathsome demons grabbed me who made me a slave, made my soul weak (*or* soft), bit, tore and ate me.

V/ii

(205) 1/ dwšmnyn ʾwšʾn
(206) 2/ ʾw mwrdʾʾn
(207) 3/ ʿydwʾst hym ◦
(208) 4/ ʾfryd kw bwxtg
(209) 5/ bwʾẖ ky mn
(210) 6/ gryw bwjʾẖ
(211) 7/ ʾc wdng ◦ **b**g
(212) 8/ hym ky zʾd ʾc
(213) 9/ bgʾn bʾmyyn
(214) 10/ hwmyʾst ʾwd
(215) 11/ nysʾg brʾzʾg
(216) 12/ xwmbwy ẅ hwcy<h>r
(217) 13/ {byd} <byc> ʾwʾs gd
(218) 14/ hym ʾw nyʾz ◦
(219) 15/ **g**ryft̲ hym ʾnʾs<ʾ>g
(220) 16/ ʿšmgʾn gstgrʾn
(221) 17/ ky kyrd hym wrʾd
(222) 18/ gryw wxybyy nmr

(223) 19/ kyrd g(š)t
(224) 20/ ʾngʾfʾd ẅ wxrd
(225) 21/ hym ◦ **d**ywʾʾn
(226) 22/ yxšʾn ʾwd pryyg
(227) 23/ dwjʾrws tʾryg
(228) 24/ ʾjdhʾg dwrcyhr
(229) 25/ gndʾg ʾwd syʾw
(230) 26/ drdwm ws mrn
(231) 27/ dyd ʾc hwyn ◦◦
(232) 28/ **h**rw ʾbxrwsynd
(233) 29/ ʾwd rfynd hxsynd
(234) 30/ ʾbr mn pdrzynd

(**d**) The Dēws, Yaxšas and Parīgs hard to ward off and dark, the ugly, stinking and black dragon: much pain of death I suffered from them. (**h**) All cry out and attack, pursue, rush upon me {… *The text continued on a lost page.*}

Abecedarian hymns on the Living Soul

M33 I and **II** (Pa.): *MM* iii, §h, 875-78, photo *IMTT* 36-37; *Rd*. §ba-bd, pp. 109-111; tr. *ML* 49, *HG* 83-85, *GSR* 48-50; Durkin-Meisterernst, *Living Soul* 45-53*.

M33 I

R/i
1/ hyy (.)[… …]ʾn
2/ {ba 1} š(w)h̲ yʾwr hrysd
3/ ʾwd ʿywnds
4/ bywr ʾwd cfʾr
5/ sd frysṯʾʾn ◦◦
6/ **p**d rwbyšn cy
7/ šb ʾwd rwc
8/ ʾc ʿyw ʿyw
9/ rʾštwzn bwynd
10/ {cmn} <jmʾn> wyst ʾwd
11/ cfʾr ◦ **c**ʾwyd ds
12/ ʾsmʾnʾn bwynd
{*Fourteen lines torn off*}

R/i
{***Hymn 1***} {*Eighteen lines of the hymn missing*}
[… (ʿ)] {ba 1} six times three hundred and eleven myriad and four hundred *fristān* (periods of ten seconds). (**p**) In (*or* through) the movement of night and day in each rotation there are twenty-four hours. (**c**) Around the ten heavens are (*or* become) […]{*Fourteen lines torn off*}

R/ii
(13) 1/ [ ] bwd
(14) 2/ [ ] {ba 2} pdychr ʾw
(15) 3/ ʾsmʾnʾn
(16) 4/ (w)yfrʾs ◦
(17) 5/ [**n**]mwyʾm ʾw t̲w
(18) 6/ frh̲ nmʾc ʾw
(19) 7/ mrymʾny ky ʿym
(20) 8/ rʾz rʾšt wcyhʾd ◦◦
9/ {*Two blank lines*}
10/
(21) 10/ {bb 1} ʾw tw (w)[ʾcʾm]
(22) 11/ mn gryw (w)[r](dg ʾc)
(23) 12/ pdyšt ʾ[by](ʾ)d
(24) 13/ dʾrʾh̲ [
(25) 14/ ʾwd h[
(26) 15/ o **b**w[

R/ii
[…] was (*or* became) […] {ba 2} corresponding to the teaching of the skies. We (**n**) honour your glory. Honour to Mār Mānī who taught this secret truly. {*Two blank lines*}

{***Hymn 2***} {bb 1} (ʾ) To you I say, my captive soul. ‘Can you remember paradise […] and […] (**b**) {*Fourteen lines torn off*}

{*Fourteen lines torn off*}

V/i

(27) 1/ {bb 2} **x**ʾzyn[d](g)[ʾn ʾbyʾd]
(28) 2/ dʾrʾẖ ky [prgšt]
(29) 3/ ʾwd xʾzʾd ʾyy p(d)
(30) 4/ ʾdbz ʾ(w)...mʾ(n)[.]
(31) 5/ ◦ **w**sʾ(n gznzynd)[ʾn]
(32) 6/ tʾryg ʾ[byʾd]
(33) 7/ dʾrʾẖ cy tw
(34) 8/ ywšt ʾwd ʾnʾwʾd
(35) 9/ ʾndr (j)frʾn ◦ **z**mbg
(36) 10/ ʿst[ft h]syng
(37) 11/ [ʾbyʾd dʾ](r)ʾẖ
(38) 12/ [ʾwd *wsʾn r]zmgʾhʾn
(39) 13/ cy[d ky]rd ʾd tʾr
(40) 14/ [zʾwrʾn] ◦ **j**ywndgʾn
(41) 15/ [ ].. ʾbyʾd
(42) 16/ [dʾrʾẖ c](y) tw

V/i

{bb 2} Can you remember the (**x** for **h**?) devouring [… (?)] who imprisoned and devoured you with hunger [… ?] Can you remember the (**w**) many dark *gaznz*[(?) …] which agitated you and set (you) in motion in the depths? Can you remember the hard primeval (**z**) fight and the many battles which you did (*or* had) with the dark forces? Can you remember […] the (**j**) living […] which you […]?

V/ii

(43) 1/ [(**k**) {bb 3} ʾby](ʾd) dʾr(ʾẖ)
(44) 2/ (ʾwt) dyd ʾw
(45) 3/ bwj(ʾgrʾn kyt
(46) 4/ ʾgd wxʾzg ◦ **l**rz
(47) 5/ brmg ʾwd wwʾr
(48) 6/ ʾbyʾd dʾrʾẖ
(49) 7/ cyd bwd ʾdyʾn kd
(50) 8/ pydr sd ʾw
(51) 9/ bwrzwʾr ◦ **m**dyʾn
(52) 10/ wymnd ʾwd mrz cy
(53) 11/ dw zʾwrʾn ʾbyʾd

V/ii

[(**k**)] {bb 3} Can you remember […] and you saw [*or* looked] at the saviours who came looking for you? Can you remember the (**l**) trembling, weeping and separation that you had then when the fathe went up to the heights? Can you remember (the place) (**m**) between the boundary and the border of the two forces? {*The text continued on a lost page*.}

M33 II

R/i

(54) 1/ {bc 1} [**s**yz](dyn) bgʾnyyg ◦
(55) 2/ [ʿfr]yʾngʾn **p**ydrʾn
(56) 3/ [pʾd]gyrb wynyd
(57) 4/ [**c**y](h)rg bgʾnyyg
(58) 5/ [**k**yrb](k)[r]ʾn wyndynd
(59) 6/ (**r**)ʾštʾn ʾmwstʾn
(60) 7/ **š**ʾdcn ngwšʾgʾn
(61) 8/ (**t**l)[wʾ]r **b**gʾnyyg
(62) 9/ [nyw]g[r]ʾn wyndynd ◦ ʿym
(63) 10/ ʾst ʾrdʾw frwx
(64) 11/ [n](gw)šʾg pwnwnd
(65) 12/ [ʾw](š) ʿym ʾst
(66) 13/ [ky](r)rbg cy cʾr
(67) 14/ [bwxtn] gryw

R/ii

(68) 1/ {bd 1} [**g**d pwhr] tšy
(69) 2/ [hw] pydr hsyng
(70) 3/ ʾwd wyspwẖ[r]
(71) 4/ šhrdʾr zʾdg [o]
(72) 5/ **d**ʾ(dy)š gryw ʾw

R/i {***Hymn 3***} {*Three lines of the hymn missing*}

[…]{bc 1} godly (**s**) mighty; see (pl.) the (ʿ) shape of the beloved (**p**) fathers. The (**k**) virtuous ones find the godly (**c**) form (*or* essence). The (**r**) true believers, the (**š**) happy Hearers. The (**n**) beneficent ones find the godly (**t**) tabernacle. {Doxology} This is the righteous, happy, meritorious Hearer! And this is his virtuous deed which he (i.e. the Hearer) must do [for] the soul.
{*Thirteen lines missing*}

R/ii {***Hymn 4***} {bd 1} The son of this primeval father and the prince, the ruler's son, (**g**) came. He (**d**) gave his soul to the enemies, in bondage that whole realm. He (**w**) prayed to Living Mother and she entreated the Father of Greatness. Because of whom did (you) incar-

(73) 6/ [dwš]mnyn pd bnd
(74) 7/ hw hmg šhrdʾryft̲
(75) 8/ ◦ **h**rw šhrʾn ʾwd
(76) 9/ šhrdʾryft̲ h̲w
(77) 10/ wsnʾd bwd
(78) 11/ swgbʾryg ◦ wyndʾd
(79) 12/ hw mʾd jywndg š
(80) 13/ pdwhʾd ʾw pydr
(81) 14/ wzrgyft̲ ◦ **z**ʾdg hwcyhr
(82) 15/ ʾnʾzʾr wsnʾd ky
(83) 16/ prgšt mdyʾn dywʾn
(84) 17/ **j**yw[nd]gʾn [ ]

V/i

(85) 1/ {bd 2} **x**rwš[t](g) [ ]
(86) 2/ (d)yb drwdgʾ[ryft]
(87) 3/ ʾmwrdʾ (w)xybyy
(88) 4/ [h]ndʾm ◦ (**l**)ʾlmyyn
(89) 5/ hwcyhr nysʾgyn
(90) 6/ cyhrg ʾbr s[d]
(91) 7/ ʾw mrz w(x)ybyh̲
(92) 8/ mʾdr gryft̲ ʾwš
(93) 9/ ʾmbwyʾd kw ʾgd
(94) 10/ ʾyy zʾdg ʿzdyh̲ ◦
(95) 11/ **n**ydfʾrʾ ʾdyhʾ
(96) 12/ ʾw rwšn cyd [so]
(97) 13/ twxmgʾn nyw
(98) 14/ pdbwsynd ◦
(99) 15/ **s**ʾcʾd ẅ wyrʾšt
(100) 16/ (z)myg ʾwd ʾsmʾn
(101) 17/ [ ] (hr)w

V/ii

(102) 1/ rʾz ʾw ʾ[ ]
(103) 2/ wcyhʾd ◦ {bd 3} (**š**ʾdmʾ)[ng]
(104) 3/ (bwyd ʾrdʾwʾ)n [ʾwd]
(105) 4/ (ngwšʾgʾ)n hndʾ[mʾn]
(106) 5/ rwšnʾn ◦ tʾwg[ ]
(107) 6/ bwyd ʾngd gyhʾ(n)
(108) 7/ pd ʿym ngʾn ʾw(d)
(109) 8/ gzn ʾfrydg ◦ n[wʾ](g)
(110) 9/ dydym pd sr (b)[ndyd)
(111) 10/ ʾwd bwyd kʾmgʾ(r)
(112) 11/ ʾd hwyn wzrgʾ(n)
12/
13/
(113) 14/ ʾmw[rtyd

cerate the beautiful, harmless (**z**) child in the midst of the demons? The (**j**) living […]

V/i

{bd 2} (**x**) Call … good fortune, well-being (said) 'Will you gather your limb(s)! (**l**) Forever the beautiful shining form (*or* essence) ascended to his own border. (His) (**m**) mother took (him) and kissed him (with the words) 'You have come exiled child (*or* son). Will you (**n**) hurry, will you enter into the light because your family yearn dearly for you. She (**s**) prepared and arranged earth(s) and heaven(s) […] all […]

V/ii

[…] (**r**) secret to […] taught. Be (**š**) glad of mind, righteous ones (= Elect) and Hearers, bright limbs. (**t**) Be (**t**) strong […] rich world in this blessed store and treasure! Tie a (**n**) new diadem on (your) head(s)! And be powerful together with the (*or* those) great ones. {*Two blank lines*}

{***Hymn 5***} Believers […]

M367

(V/1-7 = M33 II R i 1-14)

R

1/ [c](x)šʾ(b)[yd … …] (k)[… …]
2/ (k)lʾn ◦◦ dw[..ʿ](b)wyd ◦ šb ʾwd
3/ rwc twxšyd ◦ tʾryd ʾwd gšyd

R

(**c**) precept […] pure. […] becomes. Night and day he strives. He enjoys himself and is glad near the saviour. {*Doxology/Refrain*} He

4/ nyrd bwjʾgr °° ʾfrynyd ʾwd
5/ ʿstʾwyd ° pd wysp jmnyn
6/ o ʾw g(r)yw rw(š)n ° nm(r) ẅ bʾmyn
7/ [… ..](h) šʾdyšnwm ° prwʾ(n) {?}
V
1/ […](**p**)yd(rʾ)[n]
2/ [pʾd]gyrb wyny(d) (c)[yh](r)g bgʾn[y]g
3/ **k**yrbkrʾn wyndynd ° **r**ʾš(tʾ)n ʾmwstʾn
4/ **š**ʾdcn ngwšʾgʾn ° **t**lwʾr **b**gʾnyyg
5/ nywgrʾn windy(n)d °° ʿym ʾst ʾrdʾw
6/ frwx o ngwš(ʾ)g p(w)[n](w)nd š: ʿym
7/ ʾst kyrbg c(y) (cʾr) k[… …]

blesses and praises at all times the light-soul, gentle and radiant. […] happy through propitiations (?) before […]

V
(**p**) fathers. The (**k**) virtuous ones find the godly (**c**) form (*or* essence). The (**r**) true believers, the (**š**) happy Hearers. The (**n**) beneficent ones find the godly (**t**) tabernacle. {Doxology} This is the righteous, happy, meritorious Hearer! And this is his virtuous deed which he (i.e. the Hearer) must [do for the soul.]

From a hymn-cycle

M95+ M1876 + M1877 + M564 R (MP): *MM ii*, 318-21, photo *IMTT* 61b, 62b; *Rd*. §be.1-12; tr. *ML* 80, *HG* 85-86, *GSR* 50*.

M95

H/ V+R/ gwyšn ʿyg | g[r]yw zy[nd]g
The utterance (or speech) of the Living Self

R
1a/ {be 1} cwnwm bngʾn xyryd ʾc t̲ʾyʾn
1b/ ʾwm cʾwn ʾw xwdʾyʾn tyrsyd ẅ nyzʾyd

2a/ {be 2} cwnwm hšʾgy(r)[d]ʾn ʾc šhr wzyd ʾw ʾ(rdʾw<ʾ>n)
2b/ ʾwm cʾwn ʾw ʾwystʾdʾn pdyxšr kwnyd

3a/ {be 3} cwnwm dwšmnwn znyd ʾwm byšyd
3b/ ʾwm cʾwn ʾw dwstʾn bwzyd ẅ zywynyd

4a/ {be 4} ʾnʾywm pydrʾn twʾn ʾwd dstn
4b/ kwtʾn yk pd cnd ʿšnwhr ʿzwʾrʾnd

5a/ {be 5} ʾwtʾn p(ʾ)[dʾš]yn ʿy ʿyw rwcg rʾy
5b/ dyyʾnd šʾdyh̲ ʿy jʾydʾn

6a/ {be 6} ʾwd jʾdg prys t̲ʾ(dn) ʿytʾn pd mn
6b/ bʾn pyš ʾšmʾh̲ prystʾnd

7a/ {be 7} ʾwd jʾdg rxtrnj ʾ(w)[d ʾb](x)w(rm)g
7b/ ʿy mn rʾy bryd (ʾw)d wydʾ(r)yd

V
1/a/ {be 8} ʾn hym ʾdwr ʿy cyyd zrdrwšt̲
1/b/ ʾwš prmʾ(dw)m ʾw ʾhlwʾn cyydn

R
1a/ {be 1} You buy me as slave(s) from thieves.
1b/ And you fear me and implore me as (you do) lords.
2a/ {be 2} You choose me from the world as pupils (to be among) the righteous.
2b/ And you show me reference as (you do) to masters.
3a/ {be 3} You beat me and torture me like foes.
3b/ And you redeem me and revive me like friends.
4a/ {be 4} However, my fathers (the Light Gods) have power and might,
4b/ To offer you thanks in many ways.
5a/ {be 5} And to give you eternal joy
5b/ As reward for one day of fasting.

6a/ {be 6} And to send you your apportioned share, through me
6b/ They (the Fathers) will send the gods before you.
7a/ {be 7} (And they will send you) the reward as your portion.
7b/ For the hardship and dstress that you bear and endure for my sake.

V
1a/ {be 8} I am the fire that Zarathustra kindled.
1b/ And he bade the righteous to kindle me.

2/a/ cynydwm [.....] mʾ qwnyd
2/b/ ʾwd mʾ ʾ(wr)ʾ[....] c(y)y(d)n mrʾʾn

3/a/ {be 9} ʾc hpt̲ ʾd(wr y)št̲g ʿy hwbwdʾg
3/b/ ʾwm bryd ʾw ʾdwr wxšn ywjdhr

4/a/ {be 10} ʿymg ʿyg pʾq ʾʾwryd
4/b/ ʾwd bwy ʿyg nrm ʾwd bwyyʾg

5/a/ {be 11} ʾbrwcydm pd dʾnyšn
5/b/ ʾwm dyyd zwhr ʿy pʾq

6/a/ {be 12} ʾn hym ʾb ʿyg pscq
6/b/ kwm ʾb (z)wh[r] (dyʾ)d kw zwrmnd bwʾn

2a/ Gather up (pl.) […] he makes
2b/ And do not come(?) […] to collect, villains
3a/ {be 9} From the seven consecrated, sweet smelling fires
3b/ Bring to me, the Fire, purified fuel.
4a/ {be 10} (Come and) bring clean firewood
4b/ And soft, sweet-smelling incense.

5a/ {be 11} Kindle me with knowledge.
5b/ And pour on me pure libations.

6a/ {be 12} I am the water which (is) fit
6b/ That you should give me the water-offering, so that I may become strong.

M1876 + M1877

1/ {be 13} ʾn hym wrg ʿyg [ ]
2/ ʾw zrdrwšt xwnd [ ]

1/ {be 13} I am the lamb of […]
2/ to Zarathustra said [ ]

M564 R

Hd./ V+R gwyšn ʿyg | gryw zyndg
The utterance (or speech) of the Living Self

R
1/a/ {be 14} ʾwm tnwʾr ʾc drd byšʾzynʾd
1/b/ ʾwm ʾc ʾprsʾgyh̲ pdxšrʾwnd qwnʾd

2a/ {be 15} ʾwm šwyyʾd ʾc rym ʾwd bzyʾdwmyy
2b/ [ʾ]wm ʾʾsnʾyʾd ʾwm rwcynʾd

3a/ {be 16} ʾ[w]m hʾn ʾst ʿymydg ʿy wzrg
3b/ [ʾw]m pwšt ʾwd pnʾh̲ ʿy wʾbrygʾn

4a/ {be 17} [wydʾ]rʾg ʿym ʾc hr(w) (b)[zg]
4b/ [ʾw]d ʾbdʾcʾh̲ ʿym ʾc [.....]

5a/ {be 18} [bwz]ʾg ʿym ʾc pty(ʾ)[r]

R
1/ {be 14} And he (Jesus) shall free my body from pain,
1b/ And from a despised being he shall make me into one worthy of honour.
2a/ {be 15} And he will wash away from me the filth and great sinfulness,
2b/ And he will bathe me and make me shine.

3a/ / {be 16} And he is my great mediator,
3b/ And my protection and my true refuge.

4a/ {be 17} (He is) the guide who leads me away from all sins
4b/ And the redeemer […]
5a/ {be 18} He is the [savior] who leads me out of woe, […]

Verses to the Living Self

S8 (MP): M iii, 6-7, photo *IMTT* 164; *Rd*. §bf, 114; tr. *GSR* 51-52, ed. and trans. *HLS*, 148-49*

R
0/ [ ](.)wn[ ]
1/ {bf 1} **h**rystgʾ[n]
2/ rwšnʾn ʿy(m)
3/ rʾy kwšt hynd oo
4/ ʾwd ʾʾtrwnʾn
5/ ʿym rʾy mwyynd
6/ {bf 2} o **w**yspʾn šhrʾ(n)
7/ xwd syst dʾry(n)[d]
8/ ʾwd pd xwr ʾw[d]
9/ mʾh o xwd [ ]
10/ ʿspyz<y>d ʾb[r]

V
1/ (š)hr o **z**yn ʿst
2/ ʾwd nyzg ʿyg
3/ ʾwhrmyzd by o
4/ ky xst dwšmyn
5/ ʾwš knd (ʾ)z bwn o
6/ {bf 3} **h**rwysp ʾmh
7/ wygrʾd ʿystʾm
8/ [o] (k)w pʾdrwcg pd
9/ [ʾ]mh bwxsʾd
10/ [oo] **t**hm ʾst ʾwd

R

{bf 1} 'The (**h**) apostles of light were killed because of him and the priests mourn because of him. {bf 2} He himself has broken (**w**) all the worlds (i.e. aeons) and through sun and moon himself shines on (*or* over) [**V**] the land. It is the (**z**) weapon and spear of Ohrmezd *bay* (i.e. Lord) who struck the enemy and he destroyed him utterly.

{bf 3} Let us all stand and awake so that he will be saved by us daily.

He is (**t**) strong and […]

Hymns to the Third Messenger

M67 R II 24 - V II 22 (Pa.): *MM* iii, §o, 888-90, photo *IMTT* 53-54; *Rd*. §bg, 115-16; tr. *ML* 141-42 (altered)*, *HG* 90-92, *GSR* 55-56.

Hd./ 24-25/ nrysfyzdyg ǀ bʾšʾhʾn
Narisaf Yazd Hymns

R/ii
(1) 27/ {bg 1} ʾwn bg rʾšt ẅ
(2) 28/ myhrbʾn frwyng
(3) 29/ yzd (ʾw) mn hwfryʾdʾ
(4) 30/ ʾw(m) wxd dstdʾr
(5) 31/ bwʾh oo ʾfryd ʾyy
(6) 32/ rwšnʾgr myhr yzd

V/i
(7) 1/ rwšn wzrg oo bʾm
(8) 2/ ʾyy ẅ nysʾgyft cy
(9) 3/ hft qyšfr zmbwdyg
(10) 4/ rwšnyft tw tʾbyd
(11) 5/ pt hrw šhr ʾwt
(12) 6/ pʾdgws oo gyʾnyn cmg

R/ii
{bg 1} O just and friendly God, provident Deity, help me and you yourself be my support. You are blessed, Illuminator, God Mihr, [**V/i**] great Light. You are the brilliance and the splendour of the seven climes of the world. Your light shines (5) in every land and region. Your spirit-course is faster than thought, swifter than the wind moves, more rapid than (10) the night at eve. Your

(13) 7/ cy tw tyrgystr ʾc
(14) 8/ prmʾng rgystr ʾc
(15) 9/ wʾd wzyd (nyd)fwrdystr
(16) 10/ ʾc šb [p](d) šʾm oo
(17) 11/ dydyšn (t)w nysʾʾg
(18) 12/ bʾmyn (ʾdyʾn) ʿspyd
(19) 13/ nyšʾ(n) bwr(z)wʾr tw
(20) 14/ [d](rfš) hwcyhr k(y)
(21) 15/ hx(sy)nd hrw bwxtgʾn o
(22) 16/ {bg 2} hft qyšfr hmg
(23) 17/ zmbwdyg wyrʾšt (ʾw)
(24) 18/ rzwr cmg hwrʾsʾn
(25) 19/ hwrnyfrʾn ʾbʾxtr
(26) 20/ ʾwṯ (ny)mrwc oo wyšʾd
(27) 21/ (d)wʾdys brʾn ʾc
(28) 22/ ʾbr pṯ ʾsmʾn cy
(29) 23/ dw dw byʾs(y)b hry
(30) 24/ hry pdyc ʿyw ʿyw
(31) 25/ šhr oo zwnws ryst
(32) 26/ bxtg pṯ (dwʾdys)
(33) 27/ kws ʾwd zm(yg) wxybyy
(34) 28/ mrz ẅ w(ym)nd ʾnwʾy
(35) 29/ rwšnʾgr c(mg) oo (j)yr
(36) 30/ nʾwʾz ʾc ʾbr cmyd
(37) 31/ pṯ hwyn šwẖ
(38) 32/ ʾstʾng tʾbyd rwšn

V/ii

(39) 1/ ʾw zmyg pṯ (h)[wyn]
(40) 2/ dwʾdys (b)[rʾ]n o
(41) 3/ hrsyd ʾ[wd š]št
(42) 4/ mʾn(ys)[tʾn] ʾ[w ʿ](yw)
(43) 5/ ʾ(ʾrg ʾd br) hrysd
(44) 6/ ʾwṯ ššt mʾnystʾn
(45) 7/ ʾw bdyg ʾʾrg ʾd br oo
(46) 8/ ṯcr ṯcr psʾcʾd
(47) 9/ pṯ hwyn hr(y)st rʾštwzn
(48) 10/ dwʾdys (c)mn ʾwṯ
(49) 11/ pndʾn rʾ[št] (ẅ) q(w)h(yg)
(50) 12/ oo ywd (ywd) [bwd] (pyd)ʾg
(51) 13/ qryšn wymnd [mrz zm](yg)
(52) 14/ ʾstʾng br (rʾ)[štwzn]
(53) 15/ cmn ʾwṯ mʾny(st)ʾn
(54) 16/ oo {bg 3} kd nxwšt tʾbʾd
(55) 17/ [r]wšnʾgr ʾc ʾ(b)ʾxt(r)
(56) 18/ bw(ṯ hw) cmg cy
(57) 19/ hwyc mrd(whm h)syng
(58) 20/ ʾc ʾwwd ʾgd (ʾ)[w]
(59) 21/ rzmgʾẖ oo l[wg](š)hr
(60) 22/ (kw) wxd ʿš(ty)[d] š(w)ẖ
(61) 23/ jmʾn ʾwwd bwyd hry
(62) 24/ pš ʾwṯ hry prwʾn
(63) 25/ kw rwc dwfrg ʾww(d)
(64) 26/ (bwʾẖ) oo m..g.[...]
(65) 27/ cyd cmyd ʾž ʾbʾxtr

sight is splendid, full of splendour then (?) (your) white sign, lofty your beautiful (15) banner which all the saved follow.

{bg 2} The seven climes of the whole world have been arranged, according to the course of the judge, in East, West, North, and South. Above in the sky the twelve gates have been opened each with leaves two by two, three by three having one (25) region each (?).The zone is exactly divided into twelve districts and lands, (with) their marches and frontiers, according to the course of the illuminator. The wise (30) helmsman passes on high through those six thresholds, he shines light [**V/ii**] upon earth through those twelve gates: three hundred and sixty dwellings with gates towards one (5) side, three hundred and sixty dwellings with gates towards the other side. In those thirty revolutions the palaces have been separately prepared, (10) the twelve hours and straight and curved (?) paths. Separately the forms appeared: frontier, [march, la]nd, threshold, gate, revolution, (15) hour, and dwelling. {bg 3} When first the illuminator shone, his course was in the North; for also the First Man had come to the battle-field (20) from there. The world, where he himself is, there there will be six hours (double hours?): three afterwards and three before, (25) so that the day there becomes two-fold (?) [...] he always runs from the North to the East, from the East to the South (30) and from the South

(66) 28/ ʾw hwrʾsʾn ʾc
(67) 29/ hwrʾsʾn ʾw nymrwc
(68) 30/ ʾwt̲ ʾc nymrwc ʾw
(69) 31/ hwrnyfrʾn oo nydfwrd
(70) 32/ pt̲ ʾbrnng cmyd ʿyw

to the West. With zeal he swiftly runs, one ...

Verses from Abecedarian hymns to the Third Messenger

M77 (Pa.): *MM* iii, §n, 886-88, photo *IMTT* 57-58; *Rd*. §bh, 116-17 = R 1-15 (n 1-15), *GSR* 56-57, §bj, 117 = R 17 - V 15 (n 16-36); tr. *ML* 139-40*; *HG* 92-95, *GSR* 57-58.

R

1/ {bh 1} lwg (n)ʾz ʾwd ʿskym ʾwrjwg ʾwd šhr
2/ ʿyrʾn oo mʾnhʾg ʾhynd ʾw wxš wxrdyg kw
3/ jhr ʾmyxt nhynjyd gryw (ʾc) hwyn cyng oo
4/ {bh 2} sdfʾn prmw(sy)nd (k)y wdy(f)[syn]d pd dynʾn oo
5/ ʿzgʾ(m) ny wyndynd (w)[..](g) ʾwd jyryft ny zʾnynd
6/ pd hnd ʾbdyn nwynd frnštg oo cyhrg hwyn
7/ (ʿzw)št b(nd) ʾ[wd ʾ]bnʾs yʾ[wyd]ʾn oo kfynd
8/ ʾw nrh̲ dwjx ʾc kw b(yd) ʿzgʾm ny wyndy[nd oo]
9/ rʾmyšn ʾwd drwd ʾ[s](t) ʾc ʾndr o {bh 3} šʾd(yft)
10/ ʾmʾh̲ p(d)[rʾ]st wjydgʾn ʾwd ngwšʾgʾ(n) [oo]
11/ [t̲]lwʾr g[ʾ](h̲) ʾwd pwsg yhm yʾwyd yʾw[ydʾn oo]
12/ ngwšʾgʾnyc bwynd ʾnwšg oo {bh 4} ʾbxšʾh̲
13/ yzd nywgr pd mn ʿšnwhrg ʿyw ʾhyʾn oo zʾd(g)[ʾn]
14/ qsyšt ʾwd ʾmwst cy šb ʾw(d rw)[c]
15/ prwndʾm (gy)ʾnwm jʾm ʾw whyšt ʾnwšg oo
16/ {*One line left blank*}
(16) 17/ {bj 1} ʾw tw rwšn dhʾm ʿstʾwyš(n) o bdyg wzrgyft
(17) 18/ nrsyf yzd oo gwnyʾg dydn bʾm [ ]
(18) 19/ dʾdbr ʾwd wygʾh̲ cy hrw m[ ]
(19) 20/ hzʾr cšm rwšn wzrg m[ ]
(20) 21/ wyzʾng kw tw n[š]st ʾyy [ ]
(21) 22/ ʾwd rwšn [tʾby]h̲ oo j[ywyd *ʾd *tw mʾd]

V

(22) 1/ ʾrdʾwʾn oo hm wʾd jywndg nyrd tw ʿ[š]tyd
(23) 2/ tʾwgʾn pydrʾn ky cynynd mwrgʾrʿyd oo
(24) 3/ ymgʾn rwšnʾn dw crʾg w(zr)gʾn oo xʾn ʾst
(25) 4/ rʾmyšn kw [b](g)ʾn mʾ(n)y(nd) oo lwg ʾnʾwynd
(26) 5/ ʾwd frdʾb tʾbynd [oo] mʾnystʾ[n] bgʾnyg
(27) 6/ hmg pwr šʾdyft oo nʾwʾn ʾrgʾw pwwdʾn
(28) 7/ wʾcʾf(r)[yd] oo {bj 2} syzdyn zʾ[wr](ʾn) k(w)ʾn rzmywz<ʾ>n
(29) 8/ ʿstʾnynd rwšn ʾc hrw dʾmdʾdʾn oo pd
(30) 9/ dw cyhrg rwšn ʿšmgʾn drʾwynd oo
(31) 10/ (cwʾgwn) wygʾs zyrdʾn š(ʾ)[dy](f)t oo

R

{bh 1} The pleasure of the world and the lust of appearance, and the things of the world are like unto sweet food mixed with poison: Hold back your soul from their trap! {bh 2} The beings that are deluded through the religions, are terrified. They find no going out (i.e. salvation) [...] and wisdom they do not know. Through blind habits they perish. Their nature has been turned into eternal bondage and ruin for them. They fall into hell after hell, from which they will not again find any way out (and) in which there is no peace or wellbeing. {bh 3} For us, Elect and Hearers, joy has been prepared, the palace, the throne and the garland for ever and ever. Even the Hearers become immortal. {bh 4} Have mercy, Beneficent God, on me, the grateful [... the smallest one of (your) sons and the faithful one; for I pray night and day. Lead my soul to the Eternal Paradies! {bj 1} Your Light I will give praise, Second Greatness, God Narisaf. Lovely apparition, brilliance […] judge and witness of all […] thousand-eyed great Light […] wise, where you sat down […] and may the Light s[hine … With you lives the Mother] [**V**] of the Righteous; near you is also the Living Spirit; (near you are) the mighty Fathers who gather pearls, the light leaders of the two great Lamps. There is a spring of peace where the gods dwell. They move the world and shine out splendour. Entirely full of joy (are) the divine dwelling places, the noble ships, the spiritual vessels. {bj 2} The overwhelming Powers, the giants, battle-stirrers, take away the Light from all creatures. They (i.e., the emanations of the Third Messenger) seduce the demons

k'mg'r
(32) 11/ [pd] wrc šwynd 'wd 'synd oo (r)[y](h̲) rwšn
(33) 12/ 'hynd br 'w šhrd'ryft oo š'dcn nw'g
(34) 13/ (c)y 'c hwyn zxsyd oo {bj 3} tw 'st'w'm
(35) 14/ (nr)ysf yzd oo nm'c pd sr tw 'd hmg
(36) 15/ wzrgyft oo bwj'h̲ pd 'xšd 'w mny z'dg
16/ {*One line left blank*}
(37) 17/ 'w tw wx(šn)'m 'brdr 'fryn'm oo bwj'gr
(38) 18/ [ ] w'd'g rzwr gy'nwm bwj'h̲ oo
(39) 19/ ['w tw 'st'w]'m mry m'ny fryhn'm 'z
(40) 20/ [z'dg cy m]ry m'ny wxšn'm rw'nwm
(41) 21/ [bwj oo gy'n](w)m 'w(d g)[ry]w 'w tw bg
(42) 22/ [ ](gy)'n 'c

of wrath by the two forms (*sc*. male and female) of the Light. They go and come as (in) evident joy of heart, of their own will, [in] miraculous power. The chariots of Light are the gate to the realm (of God), glad (is) the song that sounds from them. {bj 3} You, God Narisaf, I will praise; reverence first to you with all (your) greatness. In mercy save also me, a child! Louder I will bless you, the one with the sweet name, the savior […] the leader, the judge, save my soul! You, Mānī with the dear name, I will praise, I, [the son of] Mār Mānī with the sweet name; [save] my soul! - My soul and self I will […] to you, of God, […]

Cosmogonical hymns

M39 (Pa.): *MM* iii, §m, 883-86, photo IMTT 42; *Rd*. §bk = R I 2 - II 11 (m 2-37), *GSR* 57-58, *Rd*. §bl = R II 13 - V I 5 (m 38-49), *GSR* 58, *Rd*. §bm = V I 7-19 (m 50-62), *GSR* 59, *Rd*. §bn = V II 4-27 (m 4-89); tr. *HG* 96-97 (V I), 97 (V II 4-27), *GSR* 8, *ML* 138-39*.

R/i
1/ [ ] ('w mnyc) [ ]
2/
(2) 3/ {bk.1} 'fryd bw'h̲ pt̲ [ws]
(3) 4/ 'frywn 'w rwc'nyg r(w)[šnšhr]
(4) 5/ yzd fryhwm tw 'yy rwš(n)[šhr]
(5) 6/ yzd hw'xšdyg bg 'w m(n)
(6) 7/ bwj oo **b**wt̲ pyd'g drfš ẅ
(7) 8/ nyš'n 'wt̲ frd'b 'c
(8) 9/ dw'dys br oo **g**wny'g 'st
(9) 10/ t̲w qryšn 'wt̲ wydby'g
(10) 11/ 'ym tw qyrdg'n oo oo **d**'dbr [sic]
(11) 12/ 'yy pt̲ zmyg 'wt̲ 'sm'n
(12) 13/ t̲w wyg'h 'yy wxd oo **h**rwyn
(13) 14/ frd'b rwšn t̲'byh̲ pt̲
(14) 15/ hmg zmbwdyg oo **w**yš''d
(15) 16/ br'n 'c 'sm'n ẅ frd'b
(16) 17/ rwšn drfšyd oo **z**'d 'yy pt̲
(17) 18/ wrc 'wt̲ 'zgd 'yy hwfry<'>d
(18) 19/ 'w pydr mrdwhm oo **j**fr'n
(19) 20/ zmyg z'dg'n 'c 'sm'n
(20) 21/ rwšn 'st'nynd oo hrw tw'n
(21) 22/ q'm qyrbg 'spwr
(22) 23/ bwt̲ bwj'd bwxtg<'>n 'ndrxtg<'>n
(23) 24/ 'ndrynj'd oo **t̲**'r z'dg'n
(24) 25/ nydrxt pt̲ zmyg rwc z'dg'n
(25) 26/ wygr'd 'w t̲w 'st'wynd oo
(26) 27/ ywzyh̲ zmyg 'wt̲ 'sm'n

R/ii
(27) 1/ {bk.2} **q**yrdwd 'xšd pt̲ [.....]

R/i
[…] (to me) […]

{**Hymn 1**} {bk.1} With much blessing be (') blessed the bright-faced Light-Realm (5) God, save me! From the twelve gates (of heaven) (your) banner and sign and splendour (**b**) became visible. (**g**) Splendid is your form, and extended (?) (10) this your action. You are the (**d**) judge in earth and heaven, you yourself are the witness. (**h**) All splendour you radiate brightly in (15) the whole world. From heaven the gates (are) (**w**) open, and bright, the splendour blazes up. In miraculous power you were (**z**) born, and you went forth as a helper to the father of men. The sons of the (**j**) depth of the earth take the Light from heaven. (20) All your pious wish was fulfilled (complete), saved (are) the saved, the condemned condemned. The sons of (**t**) Darkness are (**n**) conquered upon earth; the sons of Day, awakened, praise you. You convulse earth and heaven [...]

R/ii
{bk.2} (**q**) You showed mercy in [...] you are

(28) 2/ ʾyy ʾpydgʾn wxʾzg ʾy(y) ʾw
(29) 3/ mwxš oo **r**dnyn frgʾ(w) cy
(30) 4/ t̲w ʾmwrdyh̲ wxybyh̲ zʾdg<ʾ>n
(31) 5/ cyd ʾbr sʾnyh̲ oo **š**<h>rdʾr
(32) 6/ ʾyy ky dhyd dʾšn dydym
(33) 7/ drfš ʾwt̲ nyšʾn ʿspyd oo
(34) 8/ t[w] (tw) ʾyy rwdwr šhrdʾr ʾbr
(35) 9/ mnyc rwd ẅ ʾmwjd qr
(36) 10/ oo **n**ʾm t̲wʾn cyd wfrʾsʾm
(37) 11/ ʾw mnyc bwj cy nyzʾwr hym
12/
(38) 13/ {bl.1} ʾfryd ʿym rwc pt̲ rwcʾn
(39) 14/ kd bgpwhr ʾw zmyg ʾwsxt
(40) 15/ oo **p**t̲ ʿym rwc fryštgʾn
(41) 16/ ʾnjmn oo ʾfryd bwʾh̲ yhm
(42) 16/ yʾwydʾn pydr wzrg ky fršwd
(43) 17/ ʾw ʾmʾh̲ oo **g**yʾnyn ʾʾzʾd
(44) 18/ pwstg nwʾg oo **d**ʾd ʾw ʾmʾh̲

V/ i/ (45) 1/ {bl.2} [**t**w](xšyd) ʾšmʾh̲ ngwšʾgʾn
(46) 2/ o **n**wʾg nwʾg qyrbg ʾbgʾwyd
(47) 3/ t̲ʾ(c) snyd ʾw bgʾʾn
(48) 4/ ʾrʾm ʾwt̲ bwyd šʾd pt̲
(49) 5/ n(w)ʾg š(hrʾn) [o] o qwlmγʾydn
6/
(50) 7/ {bm.1} ʾfryd **b**wyndyh̲ **g**yhbʾn
(51) 8/ **d**ʾdbr o **h**wfryxš **w**ʾdʾ(q)
(52) 9/ **z**wrmnd **j**ywhr oo ʾʾfryd
(53) 10/ bwyndyh̲ ʾnwšg šhrdʾryft
(54) 11/ oo **h**wydg **t**hmʾn **y**zdygyrd
(55) 12/ **x**wdʾwn o **l**wgdʾr **m**ʾnynd **n**ywʾn
(56) 13/ **s**rhnngʾn oo ʿfryštgʾn
(57) 14/ **p**wʾgʾn **c**ydygʾn **q**yrdgʾr<ʾ>n
(58) 15/ o **r**ʾštygr **š**hrdʾr **t**rnys
(59) 16/ **n**m(w)yʾm oo **n**yspyʾm z(ʾnwg)
(60) 17/ t̲w frh̲ **n**gʾyʾm o ʾw yzd
(61) 18/ nrsf oo oo
(62) 19/ š<h>rdʾr rwšn oo oo

V/ii

(63) 1/ [ ](ʾdg ʾ)yy [ ]
(64) 2/ [ʾn](wš)g šhr o jʾm(w)[m]
(65) 3/ [....] ʾw wxybyh̲ nʾf
(66) 4/ {bn 1} [oo **h**w]ydg ʾw hrw mrdwhm
(67) 5/ [ky] pt̲ pwʾgyft ʾwt̲ pt̲
(68) 6/ rʾšt̲yft ʿšnʾsʾh̲ o tw
(69) 7/ bg hwnr mrdyft ʾwt̲ wrc
(70) 8/ oo ywdyʾm ʾwt̲ ʿškybʾm
(71) 9/ ʾbrng dʾrʾm pt̲ rwc ʾwt̲
(72) 10/ pt̲ šb o kw tw bg pnd ʾwt̲
(73) 11/ frmʾn ʿspwr hnjʾmʾm
(74) 12/ lwgyg nʾz ẅ šhr ʿyrʾn cy
(75) 13/ ʾʾz sʾcʾd pt̲ prxyz ʾwt̲
(76) 14/ pt̲ ws db o mn pt̲ t̲wʾn
(77) 15/ pnd ʾndʾsʾd oo ngwšʾh̲

wished for among the indigent, you are for (giving) salvation, a treasure of (**r**) jewels that you collect, is theirs; at all times you lead (your) sons (5) upwards. You are the Sovereign who gives as a present the diadem, the banner and the white sign. You, you are the compassionate (**š**) Sovereign, show also me compassion and pity. I will always declare your (10) (**n**) fame. Save also me, for I am feeble.

{**Hymn 2**} {bl.1} (ʾ) Blessed among days (be) this day, when the Son of God descended to the earth. (15) (**p**) On this day the assembly of the apostles - blessed be for ever and ever the Great Father who was sent to us - gave us the new book of the free (**g**) souls (?)[...]

{bl.2} (**t**) Strive, you Hearers, increasingly add (**n**) more piety so that you too shall come to the resting place of the gods and become joyful in the (5) New Paradise – *Kulamagāyadn*.

{**Hymn 3**} {bm.1} (ʾ) Blessed (**b**) be the (**g**) shepherd, the (**d**) judge, the (**h**) well-ruling one (?), the (**w**) leader, the (**z**) powerful one, the (**j**) life. Blessed (10) be the eternal dominion, the (**h**) fortunate divine (**x**) lord of the strong, the (**m**) permanent (**l**)world-ruler of the (**n**) brave (**s**) chieftains; to the (**t**) throne of the (15) (**r**) righteous (**š**) sovereign of the pure intelligent powerful apostles we (**n**) pay homage. (**n**) We bend our knee, we sing to your glory, God Narisaf, Sovereign of the Light.

V/ii

[...] you are [...] eternal realm. Lead me [...] to my own family. {bn 1} (**h**) Fortunate (?) every man who (5) in purity and truth recognizes, O God, your skill, manliness and miraculous power. I will take pains and be patient; I will keep zeal by day and (10) by night in order to complete, O God, your advice and order. Worldly pleasure and the things of the world, that Az (Greed) has prepared with activity and much trickery, I have abandoned at your (15) advice. Hear, O God, my praise and quickly receive my worship and my prayer. Lead me up from this poisonous depth! This (20) is the road, this is the secret, this is the great commandment and the gate of salvation.

(78) 16/ bg mn wyndyšn ʾwm rg
(79) 17/ nmstyg ʾwṯ wyndʾrwm
(80) 18/ pdgyrwʾẖ o sʾ(nw)m ʾc
(81) 19/ ʿym jfr(ʾn jhryn) oo ʿym
(82) 20/ (ʾs)t (rʾẖ) ʿym ʾst rʾz
(83) 21/ (ʿym) ʾst cxšʾbyyd
(84) 22/ qlʾn ʾwṯ br mwxšyg o
(85) 23/ pṯ mn qrʾẖ ʿspwr tw
(86) 24/ bg qʾm oo frẖ twʾn
(87) 25/ ʾw mn pʾyʾẖ ʾwm cyd
(88) 26/ bwrdyft ʾbrng ʾwṯ trs
(89) 27/ ʾbgʾwʾẖ o cšmwm gwš

Fulfill, oh God, your will in me! May your glory (25) protect me and always increase my patience, zeal and fear (of God), My eye, ear [...].

Verses to the Third Messenger

M32a V (Pa.): *HR* ii 62-63, MSt. p. 10, photo *IMTT* 35; Rd. §bo = V
tr. *HG* 98 (V), *GSR* 59-60 (altered)*.

Hd./V/ nrysf yzd
<Hymn to> Narisaf Yazd

V
1/ {bo.1} ʿstʾwyd ʾw wzrg rwšn o ʾʾwryyd
2/ wndʾm o pd ʿyw wcn o dhʾm [ʿs]tʾwy[šn]
3/ ʾw hw frẖ o bwʾm hʾmʾxwnd o ryst
4/ ʿstʾwʾm o ʾw hw šhrdʾr o pydr kyrbkr o
5/ gyʾnyn ʾgʾdg zʾwr ʾwd ʾbrng o wx[d] (..)[1]
6/ hw o ky mʾn[2] dhʾẖ o {bo.2} dhʾm ʿstʾwyšn ẅ
7/ qrʾm o nmstyg o ʾw hw wzrgyft o pydr ʾfrydg
8/ hwcyhryft rwšn o kw nng ny ʾst zbyn
9/ pʾdgyrb o ky pwr wšmnʾg o wxd ʾst
10/ šhrdʾr o cy hrwy[n] šhrʾn o [w](x)d ʾst
11/ ky[ ](g)[3] cy dw zʾ[ ]n o zʾdgʾ[n]
12/ prwrzyd o ʾwd tʾ[byd] ʾbr hrw[yn]
13/ bʾmyn o jywhr [ ] (..)

V
Praise to the God Narisaf, bring praise with one accord. We would bring praise to his glory. We would become (of) one spirit (with him). We would truly adore this sovereign, the beneficent Father. The desire of (5) souls, (their) power and zeal. {bo.2} We would praise him and venerate the Great One, the blessed Father, the beauty of Light in which there is no flaw. The loverly, sweet form that is full of joy. It is (10) the Lord who [illuminates?] all regions […] and who causes bright life to shine over all

Part of an abecedarian hymn to Narisaf Yazd

M737 (Pa.): Boyce, *Sadwēs*, 915*, no published photo; *Rd*. §bp, 120; tr. *ML* 137-38, *GSR* 60.

Hd./V+R/ ❀ nrysfyzdyg ❀ | ❀ bʾšʾẖ ❀
Hymn to | Narisaf Yazd

R
1/ {bp 1} **ṯ**ʾr ʾwṯ qrmbg cy ʾc hwyn
2/ wyzʾwg wyšʾnyẖ ʾdr ʾw zmbwdyg
3/ oo **y**xšʾn dywʾn bwynd šrmjd ʾwṯ
4/ rwšn ʾ(ʾ)zʾd bwṯ ʾc bndgyft oo

R
{bp 1} The (**ṯ**) darkness and drosses exuded (?) by them you shake down to the world. The (**y**) Yakṣas and Demons become ashamed, but the Light was freed from bondage. (5) {bp 2} You

[1] Vestiges of erased (?) letters. (SL)
[2] ky mʾn copied without a break: kymʾn. (SL)
[3] Trace of the downward stroke of the g is just visible. (SL)

5/ {bp 2} **x**wdʾ(y ʾ)yy šhrdʾr ʾwt̲ ʾxšynd cy
6/ ʿym hft qyšfr šhr ẅ zʾwrʾn o
7/ **l**wg ʾwt̲ hmg dʾm hʾmtwxmgʾn
8/ [w]snʾd ywzyh̲ kw bwxtg bwynd
9/ [o **m**y]hrb(ʾ)[n.....](r)gʾn[.....]
{*Eight verses missing*}

are (**x**) Lord, Ruler and Prince of this world of seven climes, and of the Powers. You convulse the (**l**) world and all creation for the sake of the Kindred, that they may be redeemed. Kind […]

V
(10)1/ {bp 3} **š**wynd ʾw grdmʾn rwšnyn kw
(11)2/ yzdʾn prxyzynd ʾwt̲ ʾngwynd o
(12)3/ **t̲**lwʾr bʾmyn nxwyn ptbg
(13)4/ cyhrg ʿstʾnynd ẅ wyšmnynd o
(14)5/ **n**ysʾgyn pdmwg pdmwcynd ẅ
(15)6/ jywynd yʾwydʾn ʾndr whyšt o rwcšʾd
{*One line left blank*}
(16)7/ ʾw tw ngʾyʾm mrymʾny ʾxšd(ʾg)
(17)8/ [.....](h)[.....]dʾg (ʾ)[..]

V
{bp 3} (**š**) They go to the Heaven of Light, where the Gods dwell and are at peace. They receive as their Nature the original splendour of the radiant (**t̲**) Palace and are joyful. They put on the (5) (**n**) resplendent Garment, and live for ever in Paradise. Rōžšād.
{*One line left blank*}
(ʾ) To you we pray, Mār Mānī, merciful […]

Opening lines of a poem to the Third Messenger

M5260 V 1-4 (MP): *MM* i, 192, n. 6; photo: none publ.; *Rd*. §bq. 121;
tr. *ML* 138*, *HG* 99, *GSR* 60

1/ ʾmd wcyh̲ ʾwd bʾmdʾd
2/ rwšn ʿspyxt ʾc hwrʾsʾn
3/ bwd pydʾg shynyh(ʾ)h̲
4/ šhryʾr yzd nrys(h̲)

The morning-light (?) and dawn is come, the radiant Light from the East; imposingly has appeared the sovereign God Narisah.

From Mani's *Hymns and Psalms* (Canonical)

M680 (Pa.): *W.-L. i,* 94-97, photo *IMTT* 122; *Rd*. §br, 112 = M680 + M189;
tr. *HG* 101, *GSR* 64; ed. and tr. *MH*, 28-31*

R
1/ [ʾgd ʾyy pd drwd o]t̲
2/ [ʾg]d ʾ(y)[y pd drwd o rwšnyft ʾndr ʾmʾ]h̲
3/ t̲n o ʾgd [pd drwd o bzyšk q]yrbg
4/ cy hrwyn b(z)[yšk {br 1} ʾgd] ʾyy pd drwd
5/ ʾnjywg wzrg o c(y) [hrw]yn ʾnjywgʾn
6/ ʾgd ʾyy pd drwd o hrdyg wzrg ky ʾndrbyd
7/ ʾmʾh̲ ʾwd pydr o ʾgd ʾyy pd drw[d]
8/ grywmʾn wyšʾhʾg o ʾc mdy(ʾn)
9/ mwrdgʾ(n) o ʾgd ʾyy pd drwd o cš[m]ʾn
10/ ʾbryn ʾwmʾn ʿšnwdn ʿzγwlg o
11/ ʾgd ʾyy pd drwd o dšnmʾn hsyng
12/ ʾwmʾn jywhr ʾndrwʾz o ʾgd ʾyy pd
13/ drwd o ʾmʾh̲ bʾ(m) ʾmwštg
14/ ʾwmʾn mnwhmyd r(ʾ)št ʾgd ʾyy pd
15/ [d]rwd o ʾwšmʾn ʿ(s)pw[ry](g) o ʾndyšyšn
16/ mʾn wzyšt o ʾwmʾn pr[mʾ]ng wydrd o

R
[You are welcome, …]. [You are welcome, light in our] body. You are [welcome,] (most) beneficent [physician] of all physicians. {br 1} You are welcome, great(est) (5) life-giver of all life-givers. You are welcome, third great one who (is) the mediator (between) us and the father. You are welcome, releaser of our soul from amongst the dead. You are welcome, our upper (10) eye and our listening hearing. 'You are welcome, our primeval right hand and sky of our life.' 'You are welcome, our gathered brilliance (*bʾm*) and our true mind (*mnwhmyd*).You are (15) welcome, our full consciousness (*ʾwš*), our zealous thought (*ʾndyšyšn*), and our thought (*prmʾng*) free of grief.

V

1/ drw[d]
2/ rzwr[ ](c)[y] ʾ(m)[ʾ](ẖ)
3/ wyx o ʾw[d šʾx cy ʾmʾẖ] (s)ynjyn
4/ {br 2} ʾgd ʾyy p[d drwd o brmʾ]n wzrg o ʾwd
5/ nʾw cy ʾm(ʾ)[ẖ g]rywʾn o ʾgd ʾyy pd
6/ drwd o šhrdʾryftmʾn nwʾg ʾwmʾn
7/ rm ʿstʾwʾdg pwhr fryʾng o ʾgd
8/ [ʾyy] pd drwd o pydrmʾn qyrbkr o ʾwm(ʾn)
9/ (f)[rm](nywg) dʾšt o ʾgd ʾyy cwʾgwn
10/ pydr o bzyškmʾn qyrbkr o ʾwyštʾ[d]
11/ ʾyy o cwʾgwn mʾd o hwfryʾdʾd ʾyy
12/ cwʾgwn brʾdrʾn o fršwd bwd
13/ ʾyy o cwʾgw(n) pwhr o ʾwd prxʾšt
14/ ʾyy o cwʾgwn ʿspsg o ʾdyhʾ rg[ʾ]
15/ pydr qyrb[kr] o grywmʾn wynʾrʾẖ
16/ ʾwmʾn [....] dwšmnyn o wyxsʾg ẅ

V

You are welcome, [our beneficent *ʾxwʾ* and our] true [road.][1] You are welcome, base of our root and branch of our salvation(?).{br 2} You are welcome, our great door and (5) ship of our souls. You are welcome, our new kingdom and our praised flock, beloved son. You are welcome, our beneficent father and our true hope. You came like (10) a father, our beneficent physician. You were helpful like brothers. You were sent like a son and you stayed (= served) like a servant. Will you enter quickly, (15) beneficent father. Will you arrange our souls and [protect?] us [from] the enemies, thrust and ...

Verses to Jesus Mani's *Hymns and Psalms* (Canonical)

M369 (Pa.): *W.-L. i*, 118, photo *IMTT* 95b, 96b; *Rd*. §bs, 123; tr. *GSR* 64; ed. and tr. *MH*, 234-37.*

R

1/ tbng tw ʾyy o {bs.1} ʿstʾwʾdg jywndg o
2/ wygrʾdg ʾwd ʾnwšg ʾyy o tw nyšʾn
3/ [gryw ʾwd] pʾdgyrb o mry yyšwʿzywʾ
4/ rwšnʾn (f)ryhstwm o šhrdʾʾr
5/ mšyhʾẖ o dhmʾn xwdʾy o ʾc
6/ wxyby[y] d(ʾh)wʾn kyrbg o hw wsnʾ[d]
7/ cy hrwyn dʾhwʾn kyrbg o sr ..[.]
8/ ʾc (p)[y]dr[ ](t)[w] ʾyy .[....k]y .. dh(yẖ)
9/ msyšt o c[ ]
10/ tw ʾyy bz[y]šk [ ]
11/ j(ywndg) ..[..] tw ʾyy x(w)[dʾy]
12/ bwjʾgr wyšʾhg o [ ]
13/ [ ] .. [ ]
{*Rest of page lost*}

R

And .... you are an/the image. {bs.1} You are praised, living, awake and immortal. Your sign, soul and form (is) Lord Yesu (Jesus) Zīwā, beloved of the lights, ruler, (5) Messiah. Give us, lord, some of your pious gifts for that reason because of all pious gifts (you are) the beginning which (is) from the father. (10) You are the lord ... you give, greatest, ... gave to us. You are the physician of our ... of the living. You are the lord ..... saviour, releaser, helper, awakener […]
{*Rest of page lost*}

{bs.2} <ʿstʾwʾdg>

V

1/ jywndg o wygrʾdg ʾwd ʾnwšg ʾyy o o tw
2/ nyšʾn gryw ʾwd pʾdgyrb o mry yyšwʿ
3/ zywʾẖ o rwšnʾn ʾrgʾwy(s)[tr]
4/ frhygr ʾwd kyrbkr o wzyšt nysʾg
5/ ʾwd bʾmyn o twmʾn ʾyy xwdʾy o
6/ [..](r) xwdʾy o šhrdʾr bg [..] ʾnjywg
7/ [.].. bwd o tw ʾy(y) xwdʾy o pydr ky ʾc
8/ [p]ydr bwd o .. [ ] . bw [...] ʾ(rg)[ʾ]w o
9/ [ ] ʿstʾ(w)ʾdg

V

<{bs.2} You are praised>, living, woken and immortal. Your sign, soul and form (is) lord Jesus Zīwā, noblest of the lights, dearest and beneficent, zealous, bright and shining. You are our lord, head, lord, ruler god and live-giver [… …] You are the lord, the father who was from the father [...] was [...] noble. You are praised, (10) [living, awake and im]mortal. Your [sign, soul and] form (is) [... … …]

[1] Lines V 1-2 reconstructed with the help of M327R 5-6.

10/ [jywndg o wygrʾdg ʾwd ʾn](w)šg ʾyy tw
11/ [nyšʾn gryw ʾwd] pʾdgyrb [.....]ry
12/ [ ] . o frgʾw ʾ.[...]g o ʾwd
13/ [ ].[...]..[ ]
{*Rest of page lost*}

treasure [...] and [... …]
{*Rest of page lost*}

Hymn to Jesus

M28 II (+ **M612 R** 1-6 = M28 II V ii 32-37) (MP): *MM ii*, 312-26 {32 (I R, II V), 33 (I V, II R); *Rd*. §bt, pp. 123-24 (= R i 1 - V i 27) and §bu, p. 125 (= V i 32- ii 37); tr. *HG* 103 (R I - V), tr. *GSR* 67 (ditto), *HG* 104-05 (M28 II V I - II and M612 V), *GSR* 66 (ditto), ed. and tr. *MMITRJ*, 3-9*.

Hd./ V+R ❀ ʿstʾyšnʿyg ❀ l ❀ yyšwʿzyndqr ❀
(Hymns) of praise | of Jesus the Saviour

R/i
1/ {bt.1} hrwysp °° pd ʿyw
2/ mnhmyd °° ʾwd dst pd
3/ wndyšn prʾrʾzwm °
4/ ʾwd cšm ʾw ʾyd
5/ phyqyrb ʿy tw
6/ hnʾrwm ° ʾwd dhyn
7/ ʾw tw xwndn wyʾbwm
8/ ❀ ʾwd ʿzwʾn pd
9/ ʿstʾyšn pdrʾywm
10/ ❀ ʾw tw xwʾnwm ʿy
11/ hmʾg zyhr ❀ ʾwd ʾw
12/ tw ʿstʾywm yyšw
13/ ʿspyxtʾn °° šhr ʿy
14/ (nw)g ❀ {bt.2} tw hy tw hy
15/ [by] (rʾ)stygr ° bšyhk
16/ [ʾgr](ʾ)w °° pws prystwm
17/ [gry](w) (d)wšyst °° dryst
18/ ʾwr šhryʾr ʾwmwšt
19/ ❀ ʾwr pd whybgʾryh
20/ wʾxš ʿy nyw ° prystg
21/ ʿy ʾbr rʾmyšn ❀
22/ pryʾdʾg ʿy nrmʾn ❀
23/ ʾwd wʾnʾg ʿy
24/ ʾbdʾgʾn ❀ dryst ʾwr
25/ šhryʾr ʿy nwg °°
26/ dryst ʾwr bwxtʾr
27/ ʿy wrdgʾn ° ẅ bšyhk
28/ ʿy xstʾn ° dryst ʾwr
29/ wygrʾsʾg ʿy xwptʾn
30/ [h]gjynʾg ʿy hwmrynʾn
31/ [❀ ʾh](y)zyn(yd)ʾ(r) ʿy mwrdʾn
32/ [oo] dryst ʾwr yzd ʾbzʾr
33/ [ʾ]wd wʾng ywjdhr □
34/ [d]ryst ʾwr sxwn
35/ [w]ʾbrygʾn □ ʿspyg

R/i
{bt.1} all in one mind. And we stretch out our hands in invocation, and we lift up our eyes to thy (5) beautiful figure, and we open our mouths to call upon thee, and we prepare our tongues to praise thee; (10) we call upon thee, who art the fullness of life, and we praise thee, Jesus the Splendour, the New Aeon.

{bt.2} Thou art, thou art (15) the just [god], the noble physician, the dearest son, the most beloved soul. Welcome, liberated sovereign! Come to help, (20) good spirit, messenger of peace, helper of the meek and victor over the aggressors! Welcome, (25) new sovereign! Welcome, redeemer of the imprisoned and physician of the wounded! Welcome, awakener of the sleepers, (30) who rousest those who slumber, who makest the dead rise! Welcome, mighty god and sanctifying voice! Welcome, true Logos, (35) great lamp and bountiful light! Welcome, new ruler [**R/ii**] and new day! Welcome foundation of the worlds and meal of many! (5) Welcome gift of the good, blessing of the gentle, praise of the holy ones! Welcome loving father, and munificent benefactor (10) of those that take refuge in

36/ [w]zrg ẅ rwšn prhyd oo
37/ dryst ʾwr šhryʾr
R/ii
1/ ʿyg nwg ❋ʾwd rwc
2/ ʿyg nwg ❋ dryst ʾwr
3/ nwx ʿy šhrʾn ❋ ʾwd
4/ (z)yyšn ʿyg wsʾn ❀
5/ dryst ʾwr dʾšyn ʿy
6/ nywʾn ❀ʾpryn ʿy nrmʾn
7/ ❀ʾwd ysn ʿy ywjdhrʾn
8/ ❋ dryst ʾwr pyd
9/ dwšʾrmygr o ẅ (d)ʾywr
10/ xwʾbr ❋ ʿy ʾwyšʾn
11/ kyt pnʾh̲ grypt ❀
12/ dryst ʾwr pyd ʿy(m)[ʾn]
13/ p(w)št ʾbzʾr ○ ʾw[d]
14/ wystʾhyh̲ hwstyg[ʾn]
15/ ❋ dryst ʾwr [.....]
16/ ʾ(bd)ʾg(ʾ)n (dš)[.....]
17/ [ ]
18/ ❋ nwn [ ]
19/ qyrbk(r)[.....]
20/ ʾbr (ʾ)mh [hy]b b[yh]
21/ ❋ {bt.3} ʾwmʾn ʾbxšʾyšn
22/ ʾwd dwšʾrm ʾbr
23/ qwn ❋ xwʾbr ʿy hmʾg
24/ dwšʾrmyh̲ ○○ ʾwmʾn
25/ hmys wšwbʾgʾn
26/ m(ʾ) [h]nngʾr ❋ pnʾh̲-
27/ g(r)yp(tg) ʾwdʾy ʾwmʾn
28/ ʾbxšʾyšn ʾbr
29/ (qwn) ❋ {bt 4} (ʾ)wh̲ dwšyst
30/ ʾwd dwšʾrmygr ❀
31/ ʾmh̲ tw šhr ʿy nwg
32/ dyd hy ❋ ʾwmʾn pd
33/ t̲w p(h)y(bw)st ʿy
34/ hmʾg dwšʾrmyh̲
35/ ʾwmʾn tw xwdʾy ʿy
36/ dwšʾrmygr dyd hy
37/ mdrʾ(m) ❋ ʾwd pd t̲w
V/i
1/ nʾm ʾʾstwʾn hwm
2/ mʾm wsyn ❋ wcʾrmʾn
3/ ʾc myʾn bzgʾn ❋
4/ ʾwmʾn ʾc myʾn
5/ ʾbdʾgʾn ʾbdʾc
6/ ❋ xwdʾwn tw xwyš (hwm)
7/ ❋ ʾbr ʾmh̲ ʾbxš<ʾ>yšn
8/ qwn ❀ zwd nyxwʾr ʾwd
9/ bzqrʾn wʾn ❋ cy
10/ ghrʾyst hynd ❋ ʾwšʾn
11/ ʾwh̲ gwpt kw ʾmh̲
12/ hwm ❋ ʾwd ks hʾwnd
13/ [ʾ]mh̲ nyst ❋ ʾ(h)y bʾš

thee! Welcome, our father, who art our mighty refuge, in whom we firmly trust! (15) Welcome, [...] assailants [...] Now [...] beneficent [...] (20) on us be it.

{bt.3} Have mercy upon us and show us thy love, beneficent one, who art all love! And reckon us (25) not among the evil doers! Save those that have taken refuge in thee, and be merciful to us. O most beloved and (30) loving one, we have seen thee, new Aeon, and we have yearned for thee, all love. (35) Joyfully we have seen thee, loving Lord, and thy [**V/i**] name we acknowledge, *mam-šin*. Separate us from the company of sinners and distance us from the (5) aggressors. Lord, we are thine, have mercy upon us! Come quickly, hasten to vanquish the sinners, for (10) they are boastful and have said: 'we are (who we are), and no one is like us'. Be mighty and (15) vanquish the aggressors and the demons! Ungrateful, who [...] so many [...]

14/ [ny]rwgʾwnd ❋ ẅ ʾbdʾgʾn
15/ [.....] (ʾ)wd (d)wyʾn nyrʾm
16/ [❋ ʾb]ysp[ʾ]s ky
17/ [..... ..](g) cnd(..)]
18/ [[..... ..]qy(d) ❀
19/ {bt 5} [ʾpwrwm tw] nʾm ʿy
20/ [h]m(ʾg ʿ)s(pyz)yšn ❀
21/ ʾwt ʾgrʾw wzrgyẖ
22/ ʿy hmʾg (š)ʾdyẖ)
23/ ❋ ʿsṯʾyšn ʾw ʾyd
24/ nʾm ʿy tw pdʾn ❋ ʾwt
25/ pdyxšr ʾw wzrgyẖ
26/ prʾzyšt ʾwd jʾydʾn
27/ ʾwẖ byẖ ❋
{*Four lines left blank*}

{bt.5} [We praise thy] name which is (20) perfect radiance, and thy noble greatness which is pure joy. Praise be thy name, Father, and (25) honour to thy greatness! Be it so for ever and ever!

32/ {bu.1} hmbʾrwm ʾmẖ
33/ cšm pd ʿsṯʾ]yšn
34/ ❀ʾwd dh(yn pd) [py](wh)yšn
35/ w(yʾbwm) ❀ (ʾwd pdy)xšr
36/ (ʾwt) wzrgyẖ ❋ ʾw ṯw
37/ (yyšw)ʿ ʿ(spy)xt(ʾ)n ❀**V/ii**
V/ii
1/ šhryʾr ʾwmwšt ○○
2/ ʾwd šhr ʿy nwg dyʾm
3/ ❋ {bu.2} ṯw hy tw hy jʾmg
4/ ʿy ʾpryn ○ tw hy brʾd
5/ ʿy prystwm ❋ ʾwr
6/ pd drwd ʿy hmʾg drwdy
7/ ❋ ʾwr pd qyrbg ʿy
8/ hmʾg qyrbgyẖ ○○
9/ ʾwr (p)d dwšʾrm ʿy
10/ hmʾg dwšʾrmyẖ ❀
11/ ʾwr pd byšʾz ʿy
12/ hmʾg byšʾzyẖ ❀
13/ ʾwr pd ʾʾšt ʿy
14/ hmʾg xwʾštyẖ ❀
15/ ʾwr pd zyhr ʿy (h)[mʾg]
16/ zyhryẖ ❋ ʾwr [pd]
17/ pyrwz ʿy hmʾg py[rwzyẖ]
18/ ❋ ʾwr pd šhryʾr ʿy
19/ hmʾg šhryʾryẖ ❋
20/ ʾwr pd rwʾncyhyẖ
21/ ʿy hmʾg rwʾngʾn ❋
22/ {bu.3} dryst ʾwr šhryʾr
23/ ʿy nwg ❋ ẅ bšyhq
24/ ʿy nwg ❋ dryst ʾwr
25/ bwxtʾr ʿy nwg (ʾ)wm<w>št
26/ ʿy nwg ❋ dryst ʾwr
27/ yzd ʿy nwg ❀ʿspyzyšn
28/ ʾgrʾw ẅ rwšn prhyd ○○
29/ dryst ʾwr nxwryg ʿy
30/ zm(ʾn) ẅ zmʾn ʿy [nwg]
31/ ❀ dryst ʾwr (rwc)

{bu.1} We fill our eyes with praise and open our mouths with supplication (35) and honour and greatness to thee, Jesus the Splendour, [**V/ii**] redeemed King and New Aeon, let us give. Thou art, thou art the garment of blessing. Thou art the dearest brother. (5) Come for salvation, thou who art complete salvation! Come for piety, who art complete piety. Come for love, who art (10) complete love. Come as healer, who art complete healing. Come for peace, who art complete peace. (15) Come for life, who art complete life. Come as victor, who art complete victory. Come as a ruler, who art complete rulerhip. (20) Come for soul redemption, who art complete soul redemption.

{bu.3} Welcome, new lord and new physician! Welcome, (25) new redeemer (and) new redeemed one! Welcome, new god, noble radiance and great Light! Welcome, first-born time (30) and new time! Welcome, day that is complete joy! Welcome, year that brings a good harvest! Welcome, (35) primeval one, and first first-born! Welcome, fair mediator and third

32/ ʿy hmʾg šdyẖ [❀]
33/ dryst ʾwr sʾr ʿ[y]
34/ hwyʾrgr ❀ dryst ʾw[r]
35/ nx(wyn) ẅ nxwryg nxws[tyn]
36/ ❀ dryst ʾwr ʿymy(dg)
37/ nyw ❀ ʾwd sdyg ʿ[y]

{*text continues on M612 R 7*}

M612 R 7 – V 18

Hd./V+R/ przʾ[pt ….] ׀{*blue*} [yyšw]ʿzyndk(r) ❀
finished (is the hymn on?) ׀ Jesus the Saviour

7/ myʾn
8/ [ʾmʾẖ] ʾwmʾn pdr oo
9/ [dryst](ʾ)wr wʾxšmʾn
10/ n(yw) o ʾwmʾn bwy
11/ xwʾryst dryst ʾ(wr)
12/ (ʾ)pryn ʿy ʾc pdr
13/ (w)ʾng (ʾ)ymʾn p(dr)
14/ [yw](j)dhr o dryst ʾw(r)
15/ [..](ʾ)nyg wzrg o cyhr
16/ [ʿ](y)mʾn pdr o wyhy(ẖ)
17/ [ywj]dhr o jmyg ʿy(g)
18/ [...](o ʾw)[d d](w)šy(s)[t]

V

1/ʿymn[9-10]
2/ oo dryst[ʾwr .....]
3/ ʿymʾn (w)[6-7]
4/ ʿy ʾc (.)[6-7]
5/ ysn ʿy[.....]
6/ šhrʾn oo d(r)y[st ʾwr](r)
7/ rhʾwn ʿy xw(d)[4-5]
8/ rʾẖ xwyrʾ(.)[4-5]
9/ pndʾn qyrbg [4-5]
10/ʿy nyw oo ʾwd pryʾd(ʾ)g
11/ (ʾ)y wyspʾn šhrʾn o
12/ dryst ʾwr qyrbqr
13/ wʾnʾg ʿy bzqrʾn oo
14/ dryst ʾwr rwšn [ʿy]
15/ nyrʾmʾg ʿy tʾryg[ʾn °]
16/ [d]ryst ʾwr nym(w)[š]
17/ [..](..n)ʾg ʿy ʾbdʾg[ʾn]
18/ [... ʾ]hynz(ʾ)g ʿy (.)[..]

between us and our Father. Welcome, our good spirit; (10) and our sweetest perfume. Welcome, blessing from the Father, call of our holy Father! Welcome, great [...], (15) form of our Father. Holy wisdom; twin of [...] and most beloved [**V**] of our [Father?] Welcome, [...] of our [...] of our [...] (5) praise of [all?] the countries. Welcome, [...] (?) of the Lo[rd?] road (?) pious paths (*or* counsels) (10) good. And helper of all countries. Welcome, pious conqueror of the sinners. Welcome, Light, who (15) throwest down the dark ones. Welcome, gentle [thunder?] of the assailants [...] towing of [...]

Verses teth to c of an abecedarian hymn to Jesus

M32a R (Pa.): *HR* ii 62-63, MSt. p. 10, photo *IMTT* 35; *Rd*. §bv = R, tr. *HG* 105-06 (R), *GSR* 67*

Hd./R/ bʾšʾẖ
Hymn to […]

R

1/ [.]mʾdg o ky[1] frhyft xrwsynd o {bv 1} ʾwn **t**ʾwg
2/ [p]ydr o ky [ʾc][2] hrw rwmbʾn ʾfrywn ʾrjʾn o
3/ ʾwn **y**zdʾn pwhr o ky bxšyd ʾw wsʾn jywhr o
4/ ʾwn **x**rwsg wzrg o ky wygrʾnyd ʿym mn gy(ʾ)[n]
5/ ʾc x[w]mr ʾwn **l**mtyr nysʾg o ky mn zyrd
6/ ʾwṯ cšm rwšn kyrd o ʾwn **m**whr ʿspwryg
7/ cy mn dst rwmb ʾwd ʾndyšyšn o ʾwn
8/ **n**yzg qwmʾr o mn jyryft ʾwd nyšʾn p(r)ywj(ʾ)n
9/ ʾwn **s**fsyr nyw o cym ʾw šrg ʿstft pd hw
10/ ʿst[. ..] o ʾwn **f**r[yh]gwn mn wdrd prmʾng
11/ [(k/x)] o ʾw[ ]dyʾn rwšn[ ]
12/ [ ] mnʾn (g)[o] ʾwn cšmʾʾn [ ]
13/ [ ]ng o mn ʿzwʾryšn

R

[…] who invoke (pl.) love. Oh, (**t**) mighty Father, who art worthy of the praise of all tongues. Oh, Son of the (**y**) Gods, who gives life to many. Oh, great (**x**) Caller who awakes this my soul (5) from sleep. Oh bright (**l**) lamp that illuminates my heart and my eye. Oh, perfect (**m**) seal of my hand, my mouth and my thoughts. Oh, bearer of the (**n**) spear, my wisdom and my sign of victory. Oh, good (**s**) sword which I [hurl] into the [den?] of the wild lion. (10) Oh, my (**f**) loving, equanimous thought. Oh, […] of the eyes, […] my understanding.

R

1/ [.]mʾdg o ky[3] frhyft xrwsynd o {bv 1} ʾwn **t**ʾwg
2/ [p]ydr o ky [ʾc][4] hrw rwmbʾn ʾfrywn ʾrjʾn o
3/ ʾwn **y**zdʾn pwhr o ky bxšyd ʾw wsʾn jywhr o
4/ ʾwn **x**rwsg wzrg o ky wygrʾnyd ʿym mn gy(ʾ)[n]
5/ ʾc x[w]mr ʾwn **l**mtyr nysʾg o ky mn zyrd
6/ ʾwṯ cšm rwšn kyrd o ʾwn **m**whr ʿspwryg
7/ cy mn dst rwmb ʾwd ʾndyšyšn o ʾwn
8/ **n**yzg qwmʾr o mn jyryft ʾwd nyšʾn p(r)ywj(ʾ)n
9/ ʾwn **s**fsyr nyw o cym ʾw šrg ʿstft pd hw
10/ ʿst[. ..] o ʾwn **f**r[yh]gwn mn wdrd prmʾng
11/ [(k/x)] o ʾw[ ]dyʾn rwšn[ ]
12/ [ ] mnʾn (g)[o] ʾwn cšmʾʾn [ ]
13/ [ ]ng o mn ʿzwʾryšn

R

[…] who invoke (pl.) love. Oh, (**t**) mighty Father, who art worthy of the praise of all tongues. Oh, Son of the (**y**) Gods, who gives life to many. Oh, great (**x**) Caller who awakes this my soul (5) from sleep. Oh bright (**l**) lamp that illuminates my heart and my eye. Oh, perfect (**m**) seal of my hand, my mouth and my thoughts. Oh, bearer of the (**n**) spear, my wisdom and my sign of victory. Oh, good (**s**) sword which I [hurl] into the [den?] of the wild lion. (10) Oh, my (**f**) loving, equanimous thought. Oh, […] of the eyes, […] my understanding.

Crucifixion Hymns

M18 + **M 2753** (Pa.): *HR ii*, 34-36, Rd. §bw, p. 126, *MSt*. 9; photo. *IMTT* 28-29; ‘Evangelientexte’ 402-03; tr. *HG* 108-09, *GSR* 70-71 (revised)* and *MMITRJ*, 97-99*.

Hd./V+R/ bʾšʾhʾn dʾrwbdgyftyg
Hymns on Crucifixion

M18

R

1/ {bw.1} <pd> rʾštyft bgpwhr ʾst ʾwṯ

R

{bw.1} “[in] truth he is the Son of God”. And

[1] DbMT had by.
[2] The upward curve of the c is just visible.
[3] DbMT had by.
[4] The upward curve of the c is just visible.

2/ pyltys (w)yʾwrd kw ʾz wnwẖ
3/ ʾc ʿym bgpwhr gwxn ʾbyyʾd
4/ ʾhym oo **q**trywnʾn ẅ ʿstrtywºtn
5/ ʾc pyltys frmʾn ʾwẖ pdgryft
6/ kw ʿym rʾz ʾndrz dʾryd ʾwt̲
7/ yhwdʾn wxd dhynd pdkyšg oo {bw.2} **b**yd
8/ ʾbdysyd kw pd ʿyw šmbt pd
9/ mwrgwʾg sr ʾgd mrym šlwm
10/ mrym ʾd ʾbʾryg ws jnyn
11/ ʾwšʾn bwdʾcʾr wxš nyrd
12/ ʾʾwrd oo **n**zd ʾw dxmg ʾbnft ʾhy(nd)
13/ ʾwšʾn ʾ(s)[[1]]
14/ fry[štg]

Pilate said: "Behold, in the blood of this Son of God I have no part". The (**q**) centurion and the soldiers (5) received this order from Pilate: "Keep this secret: indeed the Jews will give account thereof". {bw.2} (**b**) But there appears that on Sunday, at first dawn Mary, Salome (10) and Mary came with many other women. They brought there sweet-smelling balms. They come unto the sepulchre and they [… an[gels...

M2753

R
1/ (x)w(d)[ʾyn] (wd/r)[12-13]
2/ dšn ʾrg wʾx[t 8-10]
3/ ʾʾsydyyšwnyʿyd[6-7]
4/ [7-8] (w)xʾzyd oo qyrdʾ[byd]
5/ [12-13] dyd w(y)[ʾg]
6/ *traces of two letters*

R
the Lord [...] right side said ["Fear not ye...] come ye; Jesus (is) not here [...] [I know what ye] seek. Ind[eed] (5) [they came and] saw the pl[ace] [...]

M18

V
1/ {bw.3} **w**ynyd wrc pdycg[2] wygʾhyft̲
2/ cy qyrd mrym šlwm ʾwt̲
3/ ʾrsnyʾẖ kd dw fryštg ʾw
4/ hwyn pwrsynd kw mʾ jywndg
5/ ʾd mwrdgʾn wxʾzyd oo **y**yšwʿ
6/ sxwn ʾbyʾd dʾryd cy pt̲
7/ glylʾẖ ʾw ʾšmʾẖ
8/ wyfrʾšt kwm ʾbyspʾrynd
9/ ʾwt̲ qrynd dʾrwbdg hrdyg
10/ rwc ʾc mwrdʾn ʾxyzʾn oo
11/ **p**t̲ nydfʾr šwyd ʾw glylʾẖ
12/ ʾwt̲ ʾzd qryd ʾw šymwn ʾwt̲
13/ [ʾ](bʾ)ryyg
14/ [ ] (k)w

V
{bw.3} (**w**) see the testimony of the miraculous power as did Mary, Salome and Arsinoe when the two angels said to them "Seek not ye the Living One (5) among the dead. Remember the words of (**y**) Jesus that in Galilee unto ye taught: 'They will deliver me up and crucify and on the third (10) day I will rise from among the dead' Go (**p**) in haste to Galilee and inform Simon and [...] the others [...]

M2753

V
1/ *bits of letters*
2/ [13-14](ʾ)n kw xwdʾyn
3/ [4-5 ʾ](c) dxmg ʿzgryft̲ ʾwt̲ny
4/ [zʾ](n)ʾm kw bwrd u ʾ[6-7]
5/ [5-6h]rwdwʿdgd[8-9]
6/ [8-9](š)ʾn wš[9-10]

V
[...] "the Lord [...] from the grave hath been taken out and [I know] not where he hath been laid and [...] (5) [...] both of them entered [the grave ?] [...] and he [...]

---

[1] DbMT had ʾw [ ]. This reading is impossible.
[2] DbMT had pdycq.

Crucifixion hymns

M104+(+ **M891b** + **M7734R**)+**M459e** and **M390R** (Pa.): *MM iii*, §k, pp. 881-83,
Rd. §§bx-bya, pp. 127-28; photo. M104 + M459e (only) *IMTT* 70-71;
tr. *GSR* 71 §2 (ditto), *loc. cit.* §3 (M104 + M734 R and M459c);
ed. and tr. *MMITRJ*, 91-114, esp. 91-92*.

M104(+ **M891b** + **M734R**)+**M459e**

Hd./V+R/ dʾrwbdgyftyyg | bʾšʾẖ
Hymn of Crucifixion

R
1/ {bx.1} <yyšwʿ *wsnʾd *nyʾg wjydgʾʾn>
wjyd o wrm ʾdwryn frsystn
2/ qʾmʾ(d) o kw hmg <šhr> (p)d ʾdwr
3/ hʾwʾẖ oo šhrdʾr ʾrgʾw
4/ wxybyẖ pdmwcn (ʿz)wšt
5/ ʾwd pd syzdyft̲ bwd ʾgs ʾw
6/ sʾtʾn o hmpd zmyg ẅ ʾsmʾn
7/ wlrzʾd o ʾwd smyl qft̲ ʾw
8/ jfrʾn oo trkwmʾn rʾšt bwd
9/ ʾbxšʾhyšn o rwšn wsnʾd
10/ cy dwšmnyn xʾzʾd o (bw)dyš
11/ (sʾ)nʾd ʾc jfr ʾhr(y)[w](r) o ʾw
12/ hw ʾyʾg ʾbrngft̲ ʾc kw
13/ ʾwsxt oo {bx.2} nmʾc ʾw tw wzrgyft̲
14/ zʾdg o ky ʾbdʾcʾd wxybyẖ
15/ ʾrdʾw(yf)t̲ o ʾwʾsyc pʾy
16/ ʾmwcg mryzkw pʾng wzrg
17/ cy tw crg nysʾgyn oo
18/
19/
(18) 20/ {by.1} wygrʾsyd brʾdrʾn wjyd[gʾn]
(19) 21/ pd ʿym rwc gyʾnyn bw[xtgyft]
(20) 22/ pd myhr mʾẖ p(d) [sxt]
(21) 23/ c(f)ʾrds o kd p[rnybrʾd]
V
(22) 1/ yyšwʿ bgpwhr oo {by.2} ngʾẖ kryd
(23) 2/ hrw bg ʾmwstʾn oo kw kd
(24) 3/ gd jmʾn ʾnjʾmyšn o pd mrd
(25) 4/ pwhr (fr)wdʾd ʿšmgʾn o ʾwd
(26) 5/ ʾšyjʾd hw bzg ʾmwg xwdʾy
(27) 6/ db pdmwxt hʾmʾfrʾs bwd
(28) 7/ ʾhynd o ʾʾywšt ʾc ʾbr
(29) 8/ dwʾdys gʾhʾn o ʾw dʾm
(30) 9/ dryn jhr ryxt ʾw zʾdgʾn o ʾwd
(31) 10/ pdrʾyʾd hw mrn tʾst oo yhwdʾn
(32) 11/ msyš[t] bg ʿspsgʾn d(b)
(33) 12/ ʾwmwsʾd swndʾg qft̲
(34) 13/ pdycyhr ʾxʾzynd ʾbr mrd
(35) 14/ pwhr o o bzgyft̲ ʾndyšynd zʿwr
(36) 15/ wygʾẖ ʾmwrtynd pd drwg
(37) 16/ dwšfr sʾtʾn ky cyd ʾywšt
(38) 17/ ʾw fryštgʾn o hw wxd ʾšyft̲
(39) 18/ ʾw crg cy mšyhʾ o kyrdwš

R
{bx.1} For the sake of the Ancestor (*or* of Satan), the Elect were chosen by Jesus. He (Satan) wanted to let waves of fire break through and burn the whole world in the fire. The noble king (Jesus?) changed his garment (5) and appeared in power to Satan. Heaven and Earth then trembled, and Sammael fell into the depths. The true Interpreter had mercy on the light (10) which the enemies had devoured; he then raised it from the deep pit of death to that place of zeal from whichit had descended. {bx.2} Honour to Thee, Son of Greatness, who hast freed thy (15) righteous ones. Protect now the Teacher Mār Zaku, the great Guardian of thy bright flock.

{by.1} Wake up Brothers, Elect on this day salvation for the Souls (came); (20) in the month of Mihr the fourteenth, when into Parinirvana went [**V**] Jesus the Son of God. {by.2} Pay attention ye all Believers in God: when the time of accomplishment came, about the Son of Man the demons of wrath got to know and the Lord of evil doctrine (5) rose and (having become) an accomplice put on the garment of deception. There were agitated from above the twelve thrones; upon the creation below poison was poured, upon the Sons, and the Cup of Death (10) was prepared. The Jews, the servants of the Highest God, deception incited the slanderer fell (= Satan fell to earth) and consequently they fight against the Son of Man; evil is their plot, (15) witnesses they gather with falsehood, the accursed Satan, who always disturbed the Apostles, himself vexed the Flock of Christ. He made Iscariot his steed, (20) the dearest, most devout among the

(40) 19/ [b](ʾ)rg ʿškrywtʾẖ ʾbzftg
(41) 20/ [fry](h)stwm ʾmwstˍ ʾc
(42) 21/ [ʾbjyrw]ʾngʾn oo nmʾdyš pd
(43) 22/ [dstˍbr ʾ]ʾdyšg) ʾw dwšmnyn
(44) 23/ [ʾbyspwrd bg]pwhr ʾbystʾwʾd

disciples. He showed him with his hand, it was a token[1] to the enemies, he handed over the Son of God, abjured {to the Righteousness for the bribe that the Jews gave (him), etc. Text continues on M5090 *et frag. al.*}

M390 R + M734 V

R
3/ ʾc rʾštyft pd pʾdbʾrg cy
4/ dʾd yhwdʾn wxybyy xwdʾy wtˍ
5/ ʾmwcg prctˍ o yyšw (g.)[...] ʾst
6/ ʾw ʾmwrdn yhwd(ʾ)n (q)w(n)[yšt kw]
7/ ʿšmgʾn ʾnjmn ws[.....]
8/ ʾwystʾbyšn [ʾw] šhrdʾr
9/ ky ʾmʾẖ [...] wygʾnyẖ oo

R
the Jews gave (him), sacrificed his own Lord and (5) Teacher. Jesus was taken to the assembly of the Jews, the Synagogue, where a gathering of demons sent off oppression toward our King [...] you destroy".

M734 V

3/ wygʾnyẖ oo z(b)[y](n) {bya.1} [y]yšwʿ
(k)[yrd psw](x)[ʾw]
4/ yhwdʾn o kw ʿšmʾẖ pwrsyd ʾw mn
5/ ʾbjyrwʾngʾn ° kw cy ʾst ʾmwg cy
6/ myšʾn ʾmwcʾd o ʾwd qyrdgʾn cym
7/ frmʾd ʾw hwyn oo nbyn ʾwd dybhr pdmwxtˍ
8/ qyfʾhˍo qhnʾn msyšt ʾd hrw
9/ yhwdʾn o ʾwd pd mrnyn drd ʾbjʾmyšn o
10/ [w]s ʾbjʾmʾd ʾw yyšwʿ fryʾng oo
11/ byd nmr pd ʾwhrm[y]zd bγ (r)ʾz ° ky[..]

you destroy". Beautifully {bya.1} Jesus answered the Jews: "Ask my (5) disciples what the teaching that I taught is like, and the acts that I ordered them". Malice and anger put on Caiaphas, the High Priest, together with all the Jews. And with deadly pain (and) torment (10) they tormented Jesus, (our) beloved, very much. (And) again (he was) meek like the God Ohrmazd. [...]

Verses concerning the judgment of Jesus by Pilate

M132a + **M5861** (Pa.): *HR* ii 37, *MSt.* 19; photo. M132a, *IMTT* 73, M5861, Evang. pl. 3, figs. 3-4; *Rd.* §byc, p. 139; tr. *ML* 102, *HG* 115, *GSR* 72-73; ed. and tr. *MMITRJ*, 115-16*.

R
1/ (..k/x)[20-22]
2/ pwnw[18-20]
3/ yyšw(ʿ)[oo {byc.1} **š**wj ʾbyʾstʾr]
4/ kd ʾndr(y)wʾd ʾw[d wʾst pdyc wzrg]
5/ hygmwn ʾwtˍ pylty(s)[8-10]
6/ pwrsʾd kw ptˍ wycʾr (š)[ʾẖ ʾyy]
7/ ptˍ kdg yʾkwb ʾwt ptˍ twˍ(x)[m]
8/ srʾyl oo oo **t**rkwmʾn rzwr qy(r)[d]
9/ pswx ʾw pyltys o kwm šhrdʾryftˍ
10/ ny ʾc ʿym šhr ʾst o {byc.2} hmpd ptˍ
11/ ʾwyštʾbyšn cy yhwdʾn o bstˍ
12/ [ʾw](tˍ fr)[šwd]ʾw hyrdws šʾẖ
13/ [8-9](.) ❀ ❀
14/ [8-9] (❀ ❀)

R
compassionate […] Jesus. {byc.1} The Holy (was) (**š**) free from sin when he was deceived and led before the Great (5) Governor. And Pilate (...) asked: "Are you truly a king in the house of Jacob and the race of Israel?" The right Interpreter answered Pilate: "My kingdom is (10) not of this world". {byc.2} Then under pressure of the Jews he was bound and sent to king Herod.

[1] Cf. Mark 14:44 - And he that betrayed him had given them a token, saying, Whomsoever I shall kiss, that same is he; take him, and lead *him* away safely. See Appendix below.

V
{*lines missing*?}
1/ [20-22](.)c(.)
2/ [19-20]ʾẖ
3/ [ʾwd hyrdws šʾẖ pdmw](c)ʾd pdmwcn
4/ [ʾwṯ pws]g pṯ sr ʾwystʾd
5/ [ʾw nmʾ](c) ʾsynd sryyš
6/ [frʾgwndyn]d o pṯ nd jnynd pṯ znx
7/ [ʾwṯ rw](m)b o pṯ hw cšm pdyšt wfyn[d]
8/ ʾwṯ wʾcynd o kwmʾn frwyn šhrdʾr
9/ mšyhʾ oo oo {byc.4} **b**yd hry yʾwr frwmʾy
10/ ʾgd ʾwṯ hry yʾwr qfṯ ʾhynd
11/ ngwsʾr o cy wysp jmʾn cyhrg
12/ [ʾ](w)ṯ wcn wxš o pṯ wr(c)[wz](rg)
[ʾwšʾn]
13/ (w)rtyd oo oo jywn[d](g)[10-12]
14/ [..](št.. .mr.)[12-13]

V
{*lines missing*?}

{byc.3} <He stood silent;> and king Herod put on [...](?) [put on him] a garment and put a crown on his head. For (5) obeisance they come, cover his head, smite him with a reed on his chin and on his mouth, spit on his face, and say: "Prophesy, our King, Christ". (**b**) {byc.4} Then three times the Romans (10) came, and three times they fell down. For every time (his) appearance and voice (were) beautiful by miraculous power and made them writhe (?). Living (...)

Hymns in honour of the Light Dominions with corresponding Divinities

MIK III 4974 (MP): *W.-L. ii*, 558-59, *DbMT*; photo. *IMTT* 152-53 (b&w), *Manichaean Art*, 84-85 (colour)*; *Rd*. §cb, p. 133*;* tr. *HG* 120, *GSR* 79, ed. & tr. *MABC*, 228-29.

R/i
1/ {cb.1} pd jdg ʾwd
2/ pyrʾr ʿy
3/ xwb ʾwd [...]
4/ wynʾrʾd ʾbr
5/ hʾmʾg dyyn
6/ ywjdhr o ʾwd

R/i
{cb.1} with propitious omen and favourable premonition and [...] may he set up above the (5) entire holy religion (congregation) and



{R/i & R/ii 7-20 contains a miniature.}

21/ ʾbr (xw)ʾn ʿy
22/ (ʾ)r(yʾ)mʾn rwš(n)
23/ oo ʾwd ʾbr tw
24/ sʾrʾr ʿstʾydg
25/ ʿy ʿystyẖ(y)d
R/ii
1/ nyšʾn ʿy b[ʾʾn]

above the table (i.e. meal) of the light friend, and above you, the praised head, who stand there as [**R/ii**] symbols of the light gods, and over the whole company of the elect (5) of light. {cb.2} Firstly sovereignty, you

2/ rwšnʾn o ʾ(w)d
3/ ʾbr hʾmʾg
4/ wcydgyẖ ʿy
5/ rwšn oo {cb.2} nxwstyn
6/ šhryʾryy tw
{ii/7-20/ *contains a miniature – v. supra*}
21/ yzdmʾn bwr(ys)t
22/ ʾ(ʾ)wn mʾnʾg (hy)y
23/ cʾwn zrwʾn ʿy
24/ pʾdyxšʾyy
25/ (dydymwr) [...]

{ii/7-20/ *contains a miniature – v. supra*}

our sublime God , in ... you are seen (?) like Zurvān the crowned soveriegn ....

V/i
1/ [..](swm)[1] (k)y pd
2/ (ʾby).....
3/ ʾwd dwšʾrmy
4/ prwryyd ʾw
5/ hmʾg bʾ(ʾn) ʾwd
6/ mhrʾspndʾn
7/ oo ʾwš ʾcyš
8/ pd(yry)nd dʾšn
9/ ʿyg (yzdygyrdyy)
10/ r(w)šny(y)ẖ
11/ h(w)cyhryy ʾwd
12/ hwmbwyy srwd
13/ xwš ʾwd wʾxš
14/ wʾcʾprydyy ẅ
15/ šʾd ʾwd prm(y)n
16/ bwynd (ʾw) jʾydʾn
17/ oo ʾʾ(wn) t(w)y(yc)
18/ pyd ʿy dw(š)<ʾ>rmygr
19/ ʾwd pryhrwd
20/ prwryẖ ʾwd
21/ rwcynyẖ ʾw
22/ wcydgʾn ʾwd
23/ nywšʾgʾn pd
24/ pr[... ..b](x)ššn
25/ [.....]

V/i
[...] which with [...-less] and compassion draws up (5) all gods and elements. And from him they receive his gift, which (is) divinity, (10) light, beauty and sweet fragrance, beautiful singing and the spirit's creation of the word and (15) glad and happy are they for ever. So you too, father, showing compassion and with a loving face, (20) take care of and illuminate the Elect and Hearers with [...] what you give (?) [mercy (?) ....] [**V/ii**] and their (? they) [...] with the wisdom of the gods.

V/ii
1/ (ʾwš)ʾn (h)/////
2/ pd whyẖ ʿy
3/ yzdʾn oo oo
4/ {cb.3} dwdyg whyy tw
5/ hmwcʾg ʿy nyw
6/ mʾdmʾn rwdwr
7/ mʾnʾg hy pd
8/ zyryy ʾw mʾdr
9/ ʿy zyndgʾn
10/ dwšyst ʿyg
11/ wyspʾn yzdʾn o
12/ kyš ʾcyš ʾwzyd
13/ wysp ʾprʾẖ

{cb.3} Secondly wisdom, you good teacher, our mother who brings growth, in intelligence you are like the mother of the living ones, (10) the best friend of all the gods, from whom came all their pious doctrine. (15) So you too are a mother, a compassionate one, and, by means of the wisdom created by the word, you produce children

[1] BeDuhn, *ap. Manichaean Art* 229, reads: [pd] sw(r) 'at the banquet'.

14/ (ʿ)[y] qyrbg oo
15/ ʾʾ[wn] (tw)yc mʾd
16/ hy (d)[wš](ʾ)rmygr
17/ ky [pd] whyẖ
18/ wʾ(c)ʾpryd zʾynyy
19/ przyndʾn pd wʾc
20/ ʾwšʾn prwryẖ
21/ p(d) š(y)r ʿy wʾxšyg
22/ ʾwšʾn zʾm(y)[nyẖ]
23/ ʾw pymʾn ʿyg
24/ yzdygyrdyy oo
25/ {cb.4} sdyg pyrwzyẖ

(20) and bring them up by means of the spiritual world and you lead them to the (sym)metry of deification. (25) {cb.4} Thirdly victory.

Hymn on the Twelve Light Dominions and their associated gods

M798a (MP): *W.-L.* ii, 559-60; photo. *IMTT* 125a, 126a; *Rd.* §cc, p. 134 (= R II - V II), *DbMT**; tr. *HG* 121 (R II -V II), *GSR* 80 (ditto)}

R/i
1/ [ ].
2/ ʿy ʾr(d)[ ].m
3/ oo ʾwd ʾb(r)[m]ʾd
4/ ʿy prwx ʾwd n(yw)p(y)š(ʾ)r
5/ ʾwd ʾbr hʾmʾg{?} ʿyg
6/ hnzmn ʿy xwbʾn oo (w)
7/ nšst ʿys(t)ynd pd
8/ nyšʾn ʿy (d)[ ]
9/ rwšnʾn oo.[ ]
10/ l..k s[ ]
11/ [ ]g(hy)d
{*Rest is lost*}

R/i
[...] the true [...] and over [...] the blessed and good-leading (?) mother (5) and over the whole assembly of the good. And (7) they sat with (8) the sign [...] light [...]
{*Rest is lost*}

R/ii
1/ [{cc.1} sdyg]
2/ pyrwzyẖ p(dʾn) ʾwhrmyzd
3/ by ʾw tw xwdʾy ʾpwrʾn
4/ oo ʾwd tw (hy) rzmywz ʿy
5/ nyw hʾmgw[n] ʿy wysp
6/ (ʾ)r(dyy)g (ʾy)rn(jʾ)g ʿyg
7/ (dw)šmnyn ʾwd ʾb(dʾc)g
8/ ʿy dwstʾn oo oo {cc.2} tswm
9/ hwnsndyẖ pnzʾn
10/ (mhrʾ)spndʾn ʾw tw
11/ [xwdʾy ʾpwrʾn] oo cy tw hy
12/ [ʿs](tʾyʾm)
13/ [rʾ]styẖ
14/ [ ](tgʾn)
{*Rest is lost*}

R/ii
[... {cc.1} Thirdly] Victory: Father the God Ohrmezd. You, O lord, (I) willI bless, and you are the good one, eager for battle, (5) of the same nature (in) all battle, Oppressor of the enemies and protector of the friends. {cc.2} Fourthly: Contentment: the five (10) elements. You [...] For you are [...] will we praise (?) [...] righteousness (?) [...]
{*Rest is lost*}

V/i
1/ [{cc.3} hptwm ... myhryzd]
2/ jwdy kwnyd zy(ndgʾ)n ʾc
3/ mwrdgʾn rw(š)n(ʿn) ʾc

V/i
[{cc.3} Seventhly the God Mihr who] separates the living from dead, the light from the dark and the redeemed (5) from the

4/ t̲ʾryg'n ʾw(d) bwxtg'n
5/ ʾc ʾndrxtg'n oo oo
6/ {cc.4} hštwm b(wrd)y(y) n(r)ysh̲
7/ yzd ʾw t̲w xwdʾy ʾpwr'n
8/ oo cy t̲w hy (ʾ)c r(w)šn'xw
9/ ʾwd z(mʾ)n c(y) (y)ʾwyn(g)
10/ oo ky t̲ʾr (ʾw)d š..(gyy)
11/ ʾc mnwh[myd]
12/ (ʾw)d .[ ]
13/ ʾw[ ]
14/ oo [ ]
{*Rest is lost*}

damned. Eighthly Patience: God Narisah. You, O Lord will I bless. For you are from the world of light and the [...] time, (10) and you who […] darkness and [... -]ness from knowledge […] and […] to […]
{*Rest is lost*}

V/ii
1/ [ ]
2/ oo [ ].ng'.
3/ c[ ]. prgnd'n
4/ ʾwd g...(by)z n(yw) ʿyg
5/ xwyš rb rwšn oo oo
6/ {cc.5} d(wʾz)dhwm rwšnyh̲
7/ (w)hmn rwšn ʾw t̲w
8/ x[wdʾy ʾp]wr'n oo cy tw
9/ [ ].....gs.r
10/ [ ].[.....].ʾky
11/ .....
{rest is lost}

V/ii
[...] erected (4) and good .... (5) of his (? of her?) flock of light. {cc.5} Twelfth Brilliance (7) Bright Vahman. You, (8) O Lord, will I bless. For you...

Verses devoted to the deities of the Twelve Dominions.

M738 (MP): *W.-L.ii*, p.561-562; photo. *IMTT* i, 123a &124a; *Rd.* §cd, 134-35; tr. *DbMT**, tr. *HG* 122, *GSR* 80.

Hd./V+R/ ʾbr dwʾzdh̲ | šh̲ryʾryh̲
Concerning the Twelve Dominions

R
1/ {cd.1} nwwm rʾstyy o tw qʾrʾg
2/ ʿy qyrbgyy o drxt hy ʿy
3/ zyndg o ʿstwn ʿy hwstyg'n o
4/ ky pdyš wyn'ryy o ʾwyštn'n
5/ ʿy whmn'n o pd rʾstyy ʾwd
6/ rʾdyy oo ʾwš'n pywynyy o pd
7/ wzrg rʾstyy o ʾc dyn ʿy
8/ ʾyrdr o ʾw dyn ʿy ʾbrdr o
9/ ʾwt ʾwrwʾryn'd srwšhr'y
10/ oo oo {cd.2} dhwm ʾš(nw)hryy o
11/ tw zyndkr ʿy nyw o m(wr)[dʾ]hyz
12/ ʿy gy'n'n o qʾmyšngr hy
13/ ʿy sn'n ʾnwšg'n oo ʾwd
14/ bxš'g ʿy rʾy o {ʾyd} <ʾwd> nywʾgyrdy o
15/ ʾw przynd'n ʿy dyn o kyt pd
16/ ʾšnwhryy zywyn'd hynd
17/ hn'm'n ʿy xwyš oo ʾwt
18/ pdyxšr'yyn'd o yyšwʿ

R
{cd.1} Ninth: Righteousness – you perfecter of righteous behaviour. You are a living tree, a firm pillar, with which you set up the properties (?) (5) of the Vahman with righteousness and liberality. And you bind them with great righteousness from the lower religion (congregation) to the upper religion (congregation) and may it confess itself to the true Column of Light (*srwšhrʾy*).
(10) {cd.2} Tenth: Gratitude – you good bringer of life, wakener from the dead of souls. A fulfiller of wishes of the three immortal ones you are and a giver of reason and (?) beneficence (15) to the children of the religion (congregation) for whom by your gratitude has come about the reviving of their (lit. own) limbs. And may they, the light

19/ ʿspyxtʾn oo oo
20/ {cd.3} yʾzdhwm xwbyẖ o wʾxš
V
1/ ʾst ʿy zyhryn o whyẖ
2/ ʿy pydr o ʾwd bʾm ʿy
3/ wyspʾn yzdʾn o ky t̲w
4/ phykyrb hy o ʿy ʾwy ʾwx
5/ rwšn(ʾ)xw o ʾwd ʾh(y)ng ʿy
6/ sẖ dys o ʿyg p(w)r
7/ wdymwštyy ʾwd dʾnʾgyy oo
8/ ʾwt thmynʾd o wʾxš ʿy
9/ zrwʾn oo oo {cd.4} dwʾzdhwm
10/ rwšnyy o rwšn hy o ʿy ʾc
11/ š(hr) ʿy rwšnʾn o qyt
12/ ʾb(r)wxt o nyšʾn ʿy rwšnyy
13/ (ʿy) xwd wʾxš ʿstʾydg o
14/ ʾndr dyl ʿy prwxydʾrʾn o
15/ ʾwtyšʾn qyrd ʾzʾd o ʾc
16/ ʾyrdst ʿy dyswys oo
17/ ʾwt ʿstʾyʾd o whmn
18/ rwšn o šhryʾr ʿy dyn o o
19/ {cd.5} nmbrym pd wzrg nywʾgyrdyy o
20/ ʾw hʾmʾg wcydgyy o ʿyg

ones, honour Jesus.

(20) {cd.3} Eleventh: Goodness – which is the Living Spirit, [**V**] wisdom of the Father and Glory of all the gods, you who are the form of that world, (5) of the light world, and plan (? harmony ?) of the three forms, who is (or: are) full of knowledge and knowing. And may it strengthen the spirit of Zurvān.

{cd.4} Twelfth: (10) Brilliance – Light you are from the World of the Light Ones, which by you was illuminated: symbol of light, which (is) the praised spirit itself in the heart of the (possessors of) blessedness. (15) And it made them free from the lowest part of the mixing. And may it praise the light Vahman, the lord of the religion (congergation).

{cd.5} With great beneficence we honour (20) the whole company of the Elect ...

Hymns to Šad-Ohrmezd

M315 (+ **M198a** + **M448** + **M624a**) (MP and Pa.) *W.-L. i*, 60 (M315 only); photo I-II, *op. cit.*, Abb. 1-2, *Rd.* §cj, p. 141 (= M315 I R 9-21 only), ed. and tr. Colditz, *AoF* 1992, 330-33*; tr. *HG* 131(= M315 I R 9-21 only), *GSR* 88 (ditto), tr. DbMT (John Sheldon) (unpublished)*

M315 I-II

I/R
1/ ʾw rm rwšn cy tw wxd
2/ wjydʾ ʾbywzynd pʾyʾ yhm
3/ yʾwydʾn o o bg šʾdwrmzdʾ
4/ ny(w ʾwd) qyrdgʾr tw ʾrjʾn ʾyy
5/ ʾc ʾmʾhʾ ʿstʾyšn
6/ ʾwd ʾfrywn o rgmʾn jʾmʾ ʾ(c)
7/ zʾwr ʾwd ws ʾbrngʾ šʾd<y>ft
8/ ʾwd prywjʾnʾ ʾw hmg dyn
9/ (q)lʾn o o {cj 1} o ʾfrynʾm ʾw
10/ (t)w xwdʾyʾ bg šʾd ʾwrmyzd(ʾ)
11/ bwjʾgr o tw bwd ʾyy ʾw ʾmʾhʾ
12/ nwʾg (mwr)dʾhyzʾ ʾnjywg o oo
13/ {MP} {cj 2} nmbrym ʾw šʾd ʾwhrmyzd
14/ zyndkr ʿymʾn gyʾn pscg
15/ ʾw tw dwšyst ʿstʾyšn
16/ ʾwd nwg ʾfryn oo oo {cj 3} ʾw
17/ tw ʿstʾyʾmʾ by šʾd
18/ ʾwhrmyzd pws ʿy dwšystʾ
19/ mʾny xwdʾwn o šhryʾr ʿy dynʾ
20/ t̲w ʾrzʾn hyʾ ʿstʾyšn ẅ
21/ ʾfryn ws oo oo
22/ frydwn dybyr kyš nybyšt zywyd

I/R
{MP} to the (people of light) [whom] you (yourself) have chosen and (protect) them unscathed for all time. {Pa.} 'Divine Šād-Ohrmezd, good (and) mighty one, you are worthy of praise and blessing (5) from us; may you lead us speedily from the power {of darkness} and {grant} copious enthusiasm, joy and success to the pure religion. {cj 1} We praise you, (10) Lord Divine Šād-Ohrmezd our saviour. You have been the life-giving one who raises us from death.' {cj 2} (MP) 'We do honour to Šād-Ohrmezd who gives life to our souls. Praise and renewed blessing are fitting (15) to you, most dear one. We praise you, Divine Šād-Ohrmezd, most dear son of Lord Mani, ruler of the religion. You are deserving of praise and (20) much blessing. Long life to Farīdūn the scribe who wrote this!'

I/V
1/ ʾfryn ʾwd ʿstʾyšn
2/ ʿy snʾn xwdyʾhʾn
3/ šʾdyẖ ʾwd wzrg pyrwzyy
4/ zwrʾn ʾrdykrʾn
5/ ʾwrwʾryšn ʾwd nwg
{11 lines blank}
6/ pdxšr ʾc rwšnʾn
7/ wzrgʾn o whybgʾryẖ
8/ ʾwd nwg ʾbzwn ʾc zwr
9/ ʿy zwrymnd prwxyẖ
II/R
1/ ʾw(d) [ʾc] (wʾx)šʾn (ʾ)yrwdʾ ʾbr
2/ t(w) [ʾwd] ʾb[r] (t)w (prm)ʾn ʿyt
3/ ʾmdy(š)[ny]ẖ o o yzd
4/ [rwšn](ʾ) zwr ʾwd whyẖ tw
5/ hm[y](w) ʾbz(ʾ)yʾnd nwg nwg
6/ (rʾ)myšn ʿstʾyšn ẅ ʾfryn
7/ p[d](x)šr ʿy wzrq ʾw ṯw
8/ (xwrʾsʾ)nyʾ hmwcʾg ʿy nyw
9/ [nʾm{?}] oo oo ʾmd hy pd
10/ [nwg] mwrwʾẖ tw hmwcʾg
11/ (ʿy) rʾstyẖ ʾwrʾ pd
12/ (šʾd)yẖ ʾbʾg frhʾnm ʾwd
13/ (wʾxš)ʾn nšyd ʾbr gʾẖ
14/ [.. ʾ]fryn ʾc yzdʾn frystg<ʾ>n(t)
15/ [ʾwb](ʾ)ynʾnd zyw wnyr ʾw jʾydʾn
16/ oo o (ʾf)ryn ʿy zrwʾnʾ
17/ ʾbz(ʾr) nyrwg dšn ʿy rʾmyšnʾ
18/ pd jdg ʿy (nyw znyrʾ)d ʾbr tw
19/ (h)m(w)cʾg ʿy rʾstyẖ
20/ my(š)gyt r(ʾ)mynʾdʾ whmn
21/ šhry(ʾr) oo oo ʾw tw
22/ ʾfwrʾdʾ yzd rwšn ʾw ṯwy
II/V
1/ ʿstʾyʾdʾ zwr (ʾw)[d] (wh)yẖ
2/ ʾwt dyyʾd mʾny xwdʾy nwg
3/ nwg šʾdyẖ ʾw tw nyw
4/ mwrwʾẖʾ hmwcʾg ʿyg
5/ ʿstwd nʾm oo oo
6/ nmbrym ʾw bʾn ʿy bʾryst
7/ ʾwd ʾwrwʾrym ʾw sʾrʾr
8/ ʿyg ʿstwd nʾm rʾm
9/ ʾc pyš ʾwd drwd ʾc
10/ psyyʾ zyw wnyr pd šʾdyẖ
11/ jʾydʾn o o ʾfrynʾ drwd
12/ ʾwd nwg nwg rʾmyšnʾ
13/ wnyrʾd ʾbr tw xwdʾy (mʾnyʾ)
14/ rwdwr bʾn ʾwd frystgʾn
15/ ʾw tw ʾfwrʾndʾ (fr)hʾn
16/ wʾxšʾn myšgyt rʾmynʾnd
17/ {Pa.} oo oo frwx jmʾn ʾwd rwc
18/ sʾr nyw hwʾbʾd kd (..)
19/ {MP} ʿspyxt ʾyy ʾbr ʾmʾẖ
20/ nwg pwrmʾẖ ʿy brʾzʾg
21/ ʾhrʾm pd drwd ʾwr ʾw ʾmʾẖ

I/V
{MP} ‘Blessing and praise of the three lordly ones, joy and great success of the combating powers, (5) adoration and new {11 lines blank}

honour from the mighty beings of light, assistance and new increase from the power of the powerful Glory, [**II/R**] and [from] (the spirits) below and above you [and] above the order of your coming. Divine Light Being, may your power and wisdom ever increase to newer and newer (5) joy, praise and blessing; great honour to you, goodly [..] Teacher of Xwarāsān. You have come with [fresh] auspices, you {who are} teacher (10) of truth be present in joyfulness; be seated on the throne together with the glories and [spirits] [..] blessing from the divine ones; may the angels [protect] you; live, remain established for all time. (15) (May) the blessing of Zurvān, strong power, right hand of serenity, (replete) with favourable auspices, be upon you, Teacher of Truth, (20) ever may the Lord Vahman be your source of peace. May the Divine Light Being invoke blessings on you.’

II/V
{MP} ‘May strength and (wisdom) sing your praises and may Lord Mani bestow ever renewed joy on your new auspices, teacher of honoured name. (5) We worship the most exalted divinities and adore the leader of honoured name, preceded by peace and followed by salvation; (10) live, remain established in peace for all time. May blessing, salvation and ever renewed joyfulness be established upon you, compassionate Lord (Mani). May divine beings and angels bless (15) you. May the glories, the spiritual ones, ever grant you serenity.’ {Pa.} ‘Happy the hour and day, the new flourishing year when (..) {MP} you shone forth upon us; (20) renewed lustrous full moon, rise with salvation, bring to us [..]’

M198a V

V
1/ ʾyrkš b[4-5]
2/ (k) [5-6]n nyyš pd c(.)[3-4]
3/ nywʾn ʾw ʾmʾ xwyšʾn frzyndʾ[n]
4/ pdyrmʾn wyndyšn pd dyl ʿy pw[r]
5/ pryẖ oo ʾwdʾy pd dwšʾrm (ʾ)[c]
6/ wnʾ ʾwd ʾstʾr ʾwmʾn gyʾnʾ[n]
7/ zʾmyn ʾw hʾn šhryʾr[yhʾn rwšnʾn]

V
{MP} '[..] with arms folded in reverence [..] look with good [..] on us your own progeny; receive our prayer with heart filled with love; rescue us with loving kindness from guilt and sin and bring our souls to that kingdom [of light]'

M448

1
1/ (ʾw) ʾmʾẖ fryšʾwmʾn
2/ oo oo
3/ nmʾc ʾw šʾd ʾwhrmyzd kyrdgʾr
4/ ʾwd nyw nʾm zyndkr dyy frwxyẖ ʾw
5/ ʾm(ʾẖ) (ʾwmʾ)n rwʾn tw bwjʾwmʾn
6/ ʾpryn nwg šʾdyẖ ʾwd pyr](w)zyẖ
{*lines missing*}

2
1/ ws oo {Pa.} ʾsʾẖ (drwd ʾb)[r tw]
2/ ʾsʾẖ š(ʾdyft t.)[...]
3/ ʾc ʾmʾẖ (p)yd(r ʾngw)[n xwdʾy šʾd]
4/ ʾwhrmyzd ʾw rm rwšn cy tw w(xd)[1]
5/ wjyd[2] ʾbywzynd p(ʾyʾ yhm) yʾwydʾn
6/ o kd (b)[. .](ẖ) nwʾg (.)[...]

1
{Pa.} '[..] send us our [..]' {MP} '[reverence] to the mighty Šād-Ohrmezd, the saviour of splendid [name]; grant joy to us and to our souls.' {Pa.} 'Do you save us!' {MP} '[blessing], fresh j[oy and] (success) [..] {*lines missing*}

2
[..] much [..] {Pa.} 'May (prosperity) come (upon) [you], may j(oy) come [..] from our (father peace) [Lord Šād-]Ohrmezd to the (people of light) [whom] you (yourself) have chosen and (protect) them unscathed for all time. As [..] new [..]'

M624a B

B
1/ [...] ʿy wʾxš ywjdhr
2/ [. šʾd ʾwhr]myzd whygʾr oo ___ oo
3/ [. . .]ʾwd pd (k)ʾm šhr
4/ [. . .](.d) ʾš(m)[ʾẖ] (w)yspn:

B
of the holy spirit beneficent Šād-Ohrmezd] and with desire land] (you) all.

Hymn in honour of Vahman-Xwarxšēd and hymn to Zurvān

MIK III 8259 (MP and Pa.): *HR* i, p. 351, MSt. 32; Henning, *Argi*, *BSOS* IX, 3, 1938, p. 551, *KPT* 33, ll. 1925-1927 (= i/R/i 1- I R/ii 5 only), *Rd*. §ck, p. 141 (R I V/i 1- V/ii 18 only), ed. and tr. *MABC*, 221-24*.

MIK III 8259 I R ii 3 – V ii 24

(1925) 3/ {MP.} ʾ o ʾwd nwyst [pd .]
(1926) 4/ nyw mwrw(ʾ)[ẖ mhrʾn]
(1927) 5/ (ʿ)y s[ʾrʾrʾn rʾy]
{*5 or 11 lines missing*}

A – (ʾ) And begun with good omen (are) the hymns on behalf of the leaders.

[1] w(xd) (= xwd).
[2] wjyd (= wjydʾ).

V/i

1/ w(y)[. . .]
2/ {ck.1} ʾrdʾwʾn pʾkʾn o l o
3/ **r**ʾynydʾryy ẅ pyšw(b)ʾy
4/ ʿy xwdʾymʾn ʾprydg
5/ nʾm o m o mry wh(m)n
6/ xwrxšyd hmwcʾg [ʿy]{?}
7/ hwrʾsʾn pʾyg(w)[s]
8/ o n o nʾmgyn sʾ(rʾ)[r ʿy]
9/ [c]hʾr twgryst(ʾ)[n .]
10/ [m](r)[y] b(ʾ)ryst xwrx[šyd]
11/ [ʿ](s)psg ʿy nyw o s o
12/ [sʾ](r)ʾryy ẅ pʾdxšʾyy
13/ [ʿyg ʿ]stwd ẅ ʾprydg
14/ {Turk.} [ʾyy] (t)[n](g)ryδʾ q:wt
15/ [bwlmyš *q:wt ʾw]rnʾn)[myš]
{*10 lines missing*}

V/ii

1/ {MP} [. .] ʾwd hrwyn
2/ rnzw(r)ʾn zywʾʾm
3/ šʾ(d)yhʾh ʾmyn o
4/ mry (b)ʾ(rys)t
5/ [o] m o **m**hyst ʿ[y]
6/ (ʾ)nwšgʾn šhryʾr[ʾn]
7/ (p)rʾzyštygʾn ʿy (x)[wd]
8/ zrwʾn ʿy pʾdxš(ʾ)[y]
9/ ʿy wnyrd ʾbr gʾ(h)
10/ myʾn xwyš wzrgy(h)
11/ wʾrynyd ʾw wy(s)[pʾn]
12/ yzdʾn pd pnz dʾšn ʿy
13/ byʾnyg ʾwš ʾwyn
14/ dwʾzdhʾn nwxyʾrʾn
15/ pyš ʾwy ʾpwrynd pd
16/ chʾr qnʾrg ʾwd
17/ ʾpwryhʾd ẅ ʿstʾyhʾd
18/ [h]ʾn pyd ʿy wzrgyy ẅ
19/ [...](.) sh xwdyʾ ʾwd
20/ [.{?}] wz]rgyy nwnyš
21/ [. h](p)tʾd nwg nwg prh
22/ [. p]rwxyy drystyy
23/ [ʾwd](ʾ)bywzyndyy ʾw
24/ [...](.)yn nʾryg qnyg

V/i

{ck.1} the pure righteous ones. – L – The (**r**) guidance and leadership of our lord of blessed (5) name – M – (**m**) Mar Vahmān Xwarxšēd, teacher of the Kuhrasan district. – N – (**n**) renowned leader of the Four Tugristān and (10) Mār Bārist Xwarxšēd, the good bishop. – S – The (**s**) lordship and rulership [of] the praised and blssed {Turk.} [Ay] Täntritä Kut (15) [Bulmiš Kut] Ornanmıš.
{*10 lines missing*}

V/ii

{MP} [. .] and all the distressed, (may) we live happily. Amen.

Mār Bārist (5) – M – The (**m**) greatest of immortals, the king (of) eternities – who is the good sovereign Zurvān, who is established on the throne (10) amidst his own greatness – he gladdens all gods with the five divine gifts, and those twelve primeval ones of his, (15) before him they invoke blessing in the four directions. And may he be blessed and praised: the Father of Greatness, and [...] the three lord(s) and (20) [gre]atness(es). Now his [...] endured. (May there be) ever new glory [...] fortune, health, and inviolateness to the [...] eligion. Nārēg-kanāg.

MIK III 8259 II

{*lines missing*}
R
1/ (ʿy)n š{?}[. . . .]
{*two lines blank*}

2/ ʾwd hptwm jʾr ny dʾnynd kw ʿyn
3/ srdʾg ʾwd grmʾg ʿy pd dmystʾ(n)
4/ (ʾ)wd hʾmyn ʾc ʾsmʾnʾn ʾʾyd p[d]

{*lines missing*}
R
this [...]
{*two lines blank*}

And the seventh time, they do not know this cold and heat which in winter and summer come from the skies in (5) each year, what

5/ (s)ʾr sʾr kw cy hynd ʾwd ʾc kw
6/ ʾʾynd oo ʾwd hʾn ʿy nxwstyn ʾw[...]
7/ w(n)yrynd ʾwd ky prwrynd oo ẅ bʾ
(g)[rmʾg]
8/ ʾwd srdʾg drxtʾn ny rwyynd [bʾr{?}]
9/ ny ʾʾwrynd oo ʾwš pywʾs[...](g) grmʾg]
10/ ʾwd s(r)dʾg cy h[y](n)d ʾ[. .]
11/ cy bwyd ʾwš p(.)[. . . .]
12/ pd ʿync hptw(m)[. . .]
13/ wyptgʾn ny ʿ[. . .]
14/ ʾwd hšt(w)[m . . . .]
15/ pnz ʾmhr[ʾspndʾn . . .]
16/ ʾb ʾwd (ʾ)[dwr . . .]
17/ bwd hynd . . (k)[. . .]
{*lines missing*}

V

1/ [. . . . .](m)
2/ c[. . . . d]yys
3/ ngʾrd hynd ʾwš qwnyšngr ky bw(yd)
4/ ʾwš gyʾn ʾndr nsʾẖ bst o ʾyʾb
5/ (g)yʾn xwd ʾdyd ʾwd cym yk ʾc yq
6/ [gw]nyʾtr hynd ʾwd yk ʾw yk dwšmʿyn
7/ [h]ynd ʾwšʾn bxtgyy myʾn ky ʾbgnd[.{?}]
8/ [...](d){?} ky ʾxšʾd kyrd hynd pd srdʾg
9/ [ʾwd](g)rmʾg swygyẖ ʾwd tyšyngyẖ
10/ [pyry](ẖ)[1] ʾwd wymʾryẖ ʾwd mrgyẖ
11/ [...](.)ʾn ʾwd ʾwrzwg ẅ bʾ sʾg
12/ [. .]š drwnd bwynd ẅ ʾw
13/ [. . .]k ʾc cndʾʾn
14/ [. . .]b ʿync pnz
15/ [. . .]ʾy prwr dʾm
16/ [. . . . . .] zmyg kw ʾc
17/ [. . . . . .] ky bwd oo
18/ [. . . . . .](.) ʾc kw
19/ [. . . . .]ʿy ky zywynd

they are and from where they come; and that first one whom they establish and whom they nurture; and without [heat {?}] and cold. the trees do not grow and they do not bring forth. And it drying [...] (10) and cold what [...] what it is, and it [...] in this also, the seventh [...] the deceived ones not and the eigth [time .] (15) the five Light Elements (*mahrāspandān*) [...] water and f[ire .] they are [...]
{*lines missing*}

V

[...] were painted? And who is its creator, who bound the soul in the corpse? Or did the (5) soul itself enter? And why is one over another more lord, and one to another the enemy? And who threw division among them? And who was made troubled by cold [ad] heat, hunger and thirst, (10) [old age] and sickness and death? [...] and desire and innumerable [...] they are sinful, and to [...] form as many ones [...] also these five (15) [...] winged creature [...] the earth, from where [...] who was [...]? [...] from that [...] of which they live.

Hymn for the hierarchy and the community

M36 (MP): *MM ii*, 323-26; photo: *IMTT* 39-40; *Rd*. §cm, pp. 144-45;
tr. *ML* 29-31* (modified), *HG* (wrongly given as M35) 133, *GSR* 92-93.

R

1/ [ ](w)ʾd ʾ(b)[...](ʾd) o {cm.1} wcydgyyc(r)gʾn (ʾ)wd m(ʾn)yst(ʾnʾn)
2/ [pd wy]sp š(h)r ʾwd pʾygws kw (rw)ʾ(nd p)hryzʾnd
3/ [...]n ʿy kyrbg oo {cm.2} frʾ(y ʾ)wd wyš ʾ(b)r tw hmwcg
4/ [nywnʾm] (ky nš)st h(y) ʾbr gʾ(ẖ ʿ)y

R

(.) {cm.1} May they in every country and district where they come, protect the communities of the Elect and the monasteries [..] pious [..] {cm.2} More and more (may blessing come) over you, Teacher [of the good name], you who are seated on the throne of the Prophets. (5) You are the head and the leader, a

[1] [pyry](ẖ) *legit* BeDuhn, *Manichaean Art*, 224; [...](ẖ) Mackenzie (DbMT).

pdyšt'n
5/ [...t](w hy) sr (')wd srhng o g'hd'r 'y nyw
6/ (m)[..]('w)nd ('y) frys<u>t</u>(g)'n o pyd 'y fryhrwd oo 'wm'n
7/ [m'd] ('y) dwš('r)myg(r) o r'yn<'>gm'n 'y pd fryy 'wm'n
8/ z(')m'g 'w h'n š['d]yy 'wd zyhr 'y frwx'n oo tw
9/ hy xwd'y 'wd šhry'r frwx dy'g 'y wysp''n
10/ qyrbgyh'n 'w frzynd'n kyt 'wš pywsynd oo
11/ nwnyt 'bzw'd fr<u>h</u> 'br fr<u>h</u> drys<u>t</u>[yy] ('wd)
12/ pyrwzyy š'dyy 'wd kyrbgyy 'bzwn ẅ whybg'ry<u>h</u>
13/ b'm 'wd 'gr'yy 'c 'wy ny'g 'ym''n
14/ ''z'dyy 'w j'yd'n oo {cm.3} hf<u>t</u>'d'n 'wd dwn''n
15/ 'spsg'n 'y r'<u>s</u>tyy ncyh'g'n 'y r'<u>h</u> 'y
16/ xw'štyy o 'wš'n 'bzw'd fr<u>h</u> 'wd š'dyy 'wš'n
17/ [wy]fr'yh'd n'm pd 'st'yšn pd wysp crg 'wd
18/ p'[y]gws o {cm.4} tylys<u>t</u> 'wd šs<u>t</u> m'ns'r'r'n wzyšt'n
19/ prwr'g'n 'w frzynd'n 'y yzd'n zhg'n 'y m'ny xwd'[wn]
20/ š'yh'nd 'wd frmyn'nd pd nwgnwg 'bzwn 'yg
21/ qyrbgyy 'wd š'dyy oo {cm.5} xrwh<x>w'n'n zyr'n sr[w]b(r)''n
22/ 'wd 'bhw[m']('g)'n 'y r'z'n 'y whyy n'ypzd'(')n
23/ 'y wh[m](n) [nrym]'(n) pd nyš'n 'y xwndg nxws<u>t</u>'yn

V

1/ {cm.6} dbyr'n nyw'n b'n z'dg'n myrd'n thm'('n)
2/ frystg'n 'y w'xš o dwxš'n p'k'n ky kw[nynd]
3/ ('w)d hnz'mynd k'myšn 'y xwyš bwxt'r [...]
4/ 'bywzyndy<u>h</u> 'wd 'st'n'nd n'm 'y k[...]'(')[n]
5/ {cm.7} wysp'n wcydg'n p'k'n wrg'n ('s(py)x[t'n kbw](tr')n
6/ 'spydpr'n cy'g'n mwy'g'n 'wd swgw'[r'']('n)
7/ 'br gryw bwrzys<u>t</u> ky pws 'ry'm'n y(y)š[']
8/ 'wd pd w'xš zyndg frsr'[ynd] o {cm.8} 'fryd by<u>h</u> kw
9/ frzwfs'nd pd 'spwrg'ryy xw'ryn dwxš'n ywjdhr'n
10/ zs<u>t</u>g(')[n] 'y d'm'd rwšn p'yh'nd pd dšn 'y drwdyy

good holder of the throne, a [..] of the apostles, a sympathetic father and our loving [mother]. (You are) the one that directs us in love and sends us to that joy and life of the fortunate. You are the lord and fortunate sovereign, the bestower of all (10) virtues to the children, who hope for you. May now for you increase the glory upon glory, health and victory, joy and virtue, growth and help, brilliance and beauty from this ancestor, whose heritage is ours for ever and ever.

{cm.3} Seventy-two (15) bishops of truth, the teachers of the road of peacefulness (i.e., the true religion, Mani's religion): may also for them glory and joy increase, and may their fame be furthered through praise in every flock and district.

{cm.4} Three hundred and sixty house-masters (i.e., priests, presbyters), the very great nourishers of the children of the gods, the offspring of Lord Mani: may they be (20) happy and joyful through ever new increase of devoutness and happiness.

{cm.5} The wise preachers, the teachers and revealers of the secrets of wisdom, the flute-players of Vahman [Narim]an through the sign of the First-Called One (i.e., the First Man) [**V**] {cm.6} the good scribes (i.e., from among the Elect), the sons of the gods, the strong men, the apostles of the spirit, the virgins (i.e., the female Elect) who do and complete the will of their saviour, [may they achieve] invulnerability and obtain the fame of [..]

(5) {cm.7} All pure Elect, the shining (?) lambs, the pigeons of white feathers, mourn, lament and are grieved over the Highest Self (i.e., the Living Self), the Son of Jesus the Friend and they sing of the Living Spirit (i.e., the Holy Ghost). {cm.8} Blessed be - that the Sisters (i.e., the female Hearers) may be perfected with completeness - the Holy Maidens, (10) the brides of the Light Bride-groom (i.e., Jesus); may they be protected through the Right Hand of Health (i.e., Jesus)

11/ ʾwd r[w]ʾnd ʾw šhr ʿy zyndgʾn oo {cm.9} nywšʾgʾn hwrwʾnʾn
12/ ʿy sxwn zyndg prcynʾn ʿy dy[n] ywjdhr o ʾbzwʾnd
13/ pd wysp xwnkyy ʾwd ʾfryn ʾwd bwʾnd ʿspwr (p)d
14/ frmʾn ʿy bwzygr oo {cm.10} mʾnyst̲ʾnʾn ẅ ʾwryšnʾn
15/ ʿy yzdʾn byncʾrʾn ʾwd kwrbgʾn ky whmn rwšn
16/ qʾm ʿy yzdygyrdyy pdyš wcʾryd oo bʾn ʾbzʾrʾn
17/ frystgʾn thmʾn jmygʾn kyrdgʾrʾn (frkʾn) <frhʾn> wʾx(š)[ʾn]
18/ dšn frzyndʾn ʿyš ʾndr ʾwyrd hynd pd drwd (ʾ)ʾy(ʾ)[n](d) oo
19/ drwd ʾwd ʾfryn ʾbr ʿyn bwyst̲ʾn ʾfr[y]dg ʿyg
20/ ʿsprhmʾn xwmbwynʾn ʾwd wys[...]bygʾn oo {cm.11} ʾfryd
21/ byh̲ yzd rwšn zwr ʾwd whyh̲ kw xw(d) ʾbzʾyʾnd nwg
22/ nwg drwd ʾwd rʾmyšn ʾw hmʾg [dyn y]wjdhr oo ʾwd
23/ ʾmʾh̲ hrwyspʾn pd frwxyy [ʾwd d](ry)styh̲

and go to the Land of the Living.

{cm.9} May the Hearers of the living word, those of the good soul, the fences of the holy religion, increase in all happiness and blessing and become perfect through the command of the saviour.

{cm.10} The monasteries and abodes (15) of the Gods, the [..] places and cabins, where Light Vahman fulfils the desire of becoming divine: the powerful Gods, the strong Apostles, the mighty Church leaders, the Glories, the Spirits (i.e., guardian angels), the Sons of the Right Hand who have entered them, may they come (?) in peace. Peace and blessing over these blessed gardens of (20) fragrant flowers and [..]

{cm.11} Blessed be God, Light, Power and Wisdom that they themselves may increase ever new health and peace for the whole Holy Religion and for the fortune [and well-being of all of us.

Hymn for the church hierarchy

M11 (MP): *W.-L.* ii, 556-57; photo: *IMTT* 22-23; *Rd.* §cn, 146; tr. *HG* 134-35, *GSR* 93-94.

Hd./V+R/ ʾgrʾyh̲ ʿy | ʿy hmwcʾgʾn
The nobility of the teachers.

R
1/ {cn.1} qyt xwnqyy ʾwd wʾy wsʾn
2/ ʾcyš pdyrynd o ʾpryn ʾbr
3/ ʿyn xwʾn ʿyg ʾwzyxtʾn
4/ mwyʾgʾn cyyʾg-ʾn ʾwd
5/ swgwʾrʾn ʾbr ʿyn ʿy
6/ m(w)rzydg o {cn.2} drwd ʾbr prystg<ʾ>n
7/ nywʾn rʾmyšngrʾn ʿy dyn
8/ ʾwyštʾptg o {cn.3} ʿstʾ(yh)ʾd
9/ dyn sʾrʾr pd ʾpryn ʿy pydr
10/ pwsr ʾwd wʾxš ywjdhr
11/ o {cn.4} ʾwd nmbrym pd ʾpryn ʾw
12/ hmwcʾgʾn wzrgʾn ʿstwnʾn
13/ ʾwd pwštbʾnʾn ʿy whmn
14/ nrymʾn šhryʾr ʿy dyn
15/ ywjdhr o {cn.5} ʾwd ʿstwd bwʾnd
16/ hptʾdʾn ẅ dwnʾn ʿspsgʾn
17/ prwrʾgʾn ʿy bwystʾn
18/ hwʾbʾd o {cn.6} hyb byh̲
19/ drwd ʾwd rʾmyšn zyhr ẅ
20/ šʾdyh̲ [...]

R
[(?) the teachers .]{cn.1} who receive your bliss and many powers therefrom. Blessing upon this table of the blessed ones, who (there) lament, weep and (5) (are) sad about those, to whom forgiveness was given. {cn.2} Good health upon the good ambassadors, the bringers of joy to the oppressed religion (lit. 'congregation'). {cn.3} May praise be given to the head of the religion (congregation) with the blessing of the father, (10) son and holy spirit. And we honour with blessing the great teachers, the pillars and supports of manly Vahman the lord of the (15) holy religion (congregation). {cn.5} And may praise be given to the seventy two bishops, the tenders of the [...] garden. {cn.6} May there be salvation and joy, life and (20) gladness [..] upon all leaders of houses, the guardians of the treasure of the praised mother.

21/ ʾbr wyspʾn mʾnsʾrʾr<ʾ>n
22/ gnzwrʾn ʿy mʾdr ʿstʾydg
23/ o {cn.7} ʾwd (ʾ)ʾyʾd nwg zwr ʾc
24/ whmn zyndkr ʾbr xrwxwʾnʾn
25/ ʿy rʾzʾn nh(w)ptʾn o {cn.8} rʾm

V

1/ ʾwd šʾdyẖ ʾbr
2/ dbyrʾn nywʾn nbysʾgʾn
3/ ʿy sxwn zyndg ʿyg yzdʾn
4/ o {cn.9} ʾpr(yn) (ʾb)r ʾr(dʾw)ʾn (ny)wʾn
5/ d(rxtʾn) hwzrgwnʾn ky dyynd
6/ (b)ʾ(r) (z).. ʿy jʾydʾn o {cn.10} ʿst<ʾ>(y)šn
7/ ʾbr xwʾryn ʾw(z)xtʾn pnd
8/ pʾyʾn ʿy dʾmʾd wryhrʾwnd
9/ {cn.11} [ ] (rʾm)yšn zyhr ʾwd
10/ (d)r[wd] ʾbr nywšʾgʾn
11/ [hwr]wʾnʾn hmbʾrʾgʾn (ʿy)
12/ [dyn ʾwy]štʾptg o (ʾpr)[yn ʾwd]
13/ (n)wg š(ʾdyy) (ʾ)..ʾd..
14/ .m.. h(wn).. ....
15/ .... [rʾ]myšn ..
16/ (wš) ... .
17/ [rʾ]myš(n) (pdyrʾ]nd
18/ .(y) ..... .ry(n)[d]
19/ ʾ.. ... ...ymst
20/ {cn.12} pdyrʾm p(r)ẖ pyrwzyẖ
21/ o ʾwd hrwqyn pd drystyẖ
22/ ʿy tn ʾwd bwxtgyẖ ʿy
23/ gyʾn jʾydʾn zywʾm o dbyr
24/ {*left blank for signature*}
25/ ʾpryd ʾwd ʿstwd hyb

{cn.7} And may new power come from Vahman, the giver of life, upon the preachers (25) of the hidden secrets. {cn.8} Joy and [**V**] the splendour of the and gladness be upon the good scribes, who write down the living speech of the gods.

{cn.9} Blessings upon the good and truthful ones, (5) the green trees, which bring (forth fruit eternally [...].. praise upon the blessed sisters, who wait for the bridegroom with the [...] dear [..{cn.11}] joy, life and (10) salvation upon the hearers with the good souls, who gather together the oppressed (congregation). Blessing, new gladness [...] (15) [..] joy [...]. [...] may they receive joy [...] (20) May we receive glory (and) victory, (21) and all together in health (22) of body and redemption of the) soul live eternally.

Scribe:
(*space for signature*).
(25) Blessed and praised may ..

Hymns in honour of the leaders of the church

M31 I and II (MP): *MM ii*, 327-30; photo: *IMTT* 34; *Rd*. §co, 147 = I R 2-19, §cp, 147 = I V 1-21, §cq, 148 = I V 1-20; tr. *HG* 136-37, *GSR* 93-94 (revised and augmented)*.

M31 I

Hd./ V+R/ mẖrʾn ʿy | sʾrʾrʾn rʾy
Hymns to the leader

R

1/ whmn šhryʾr oo oo
2/ {co.1}ʾʾyʾd nwg ʾpryn ʾc by
3/ zrwʾn o ʾwd nwg šʾdyẖ
4/ ʾc rwšnʾn wzrgʾn o wnyrʾd
5/ ʾbr hmʾg dyn ywjdhr ʾbr
6/ sʾrʾr ʿy prwx ʾwš hmʾg
7/ wcydgyy oo oo {co.2} ʾʾyʾd nwg
8/ ʾpryn ʾc by ʿy bʾʾn
9/ ʾbrdwm o nwg wšydʾx ʾc
10/ zwr ʿy qyrdgʾr o wnyrʾʾd
11/ ʾbr tw sʾrʾr ʿy ʿstwd-

R

. Lord Vahman. {co.1} May new blessing come from God Zurvān, and may the great beings of Light of the whole holy Church bestow new joy (5) upon the blessed leader and the whole community of the Elect. {co.2} May new blessing come from the God who is the highest of (all) gods; may new trust be placed in you, leader of praised name, (10) by the power of the Mighty One. {co.3} May fortune come from Zurvān, the King, and may (15) peace and new well-being be granted to you

12/ nʾm myšgyt ʾpwrʾʾd
13/ mʾny xwdʾwn oo oo {co.3} prẖ
14/ ʾʾyʾd ʾc by zrwʾn šʾẖ
15/ rʾmyšn ʾwd nwg drwd ʾc
16/ zynʾrysby o wnyrʾd ʾbr
17/ tw xwdʾy ʿstwdnʾʾm o
18/ xwrspyg brʾzʾg šhryʾr
19/ ʿy wcy[dg](ʾ)n oo oo
20/ {*line blank*}
21/ [pd *nwg *rʾm ʾw]d wšydʾx
22/ [ ] (cy)

V

1/ {cp.1} <ʾʾyʾnd> ʾc snʾn ʾʾyʾgʾʾn oo
2/ zywynʾgʾn ʿymʾn gyʾʾn oo
3/ ʾpwryd brʾdryyẖ
4/ prystgʾn ʾwd wʾxšʾʾn
5/ ʾw ʿyn hmwcʾg ʿy ʿstwd-
6/ nʾm ʿy whmn ʾw ʾmʾẖ
7/ zʾpt oo oo {cp.2} nwg ʾpryn
8/ ʾc by zrwʾn drwd ʾc bʾn
9/ ʾwd prystgʾn o ʾʾyʾʾd
10/ pd nyw mwrwʾ pyš hmwcʾg
11/ ʿstwdnʾm o ʿy ʾmd pd
12/ drwd o rwšnygr ʿy dylʾʾn o
13/ nmbrym ʾwt ʾpwrym
14/ xwʾhym ʾstʾr hyštn
15/ ʾc xwdʾy nywnʾm oo oo
16/ {cp.3} ysn ʾwd ʾpryn pdxšr ʾw
17/ yzd rwšn zwr ʾwd wyhyyẖ
18/ cymʾn dyd hy tw xwdʾy pd
19/ drystyy ʾwd (n)[w]g prʾdnng
20/ šʾd bʾš[xwd]ʾy
21/ zyndkr ʿy[mʾn gyʾʾn]
22/ š[

by the God Zēnāres (i.e. the Third Messenger). Lord of exalted name, shining as the Sun, radiant Ruler of the Elect. (20) {*line blank*}

(Melody:) [With new peace an]d confidence. [...] of

V

{cp.1} <May> (blessing) <come> from the three who are to come, the redeemer of the souls. Brothers, messengers, and spirits, bless (5) this teacher of exalted name whom Vahman has sent us.

{cp.2} May new blessing come from God Zurvān and well-being from the gods and messengers, (10) as a good omen, to the teacher of exalted name who came for well-being, as one who brings Light to (our) hearts. We bring forth honour and blessing to you, and we pray for forgiveness of sin (15) from the God of good name.

{cp.3} Adoration, blessing and honour to God, Light, Power and Wisdom, because we have seen, Lord, your perfection and renewed encouragement, (20) Lord, redeener [of our souls] .

M31 II

Hd./ V+R/ mẖrʾn ʿy | ʿspsgʾn
Hymns for the bishops

R

1/ zyhr o {cq.1}myšgyt rʾmynʾnd
2/ prystgʾn pd nwg rʾm ẅ
3/ šʾdyy o ʾwr pyš hmwcʾg
4/ ʿy ʿstwdnʾm oo oo
5/
6/ {cq.2} pd whmn ʾwzxt nwʾg
7/ ʾmd nwg prẖ nwg dydym
8/ ʾwd pymwg ʿy brʾzʾʾg
9/ ʾc whmn ʾwd by hmwcʾg
10/ ʾw pyš tw xwdʾy o pdyrwš
11/ pd pryẖ o šʾd bʾš ʾwd
12/ wyštyr o ʾwrʾ pd šʾdyẖ
13/ ʾw pyš xwdʾy nyw oo oo
14/ {*Three lines blank*}

R

. life. {cq.1} May the messengers continually give you peace through renewed peace and joy. Come before the teacher of blessed name.

{cq.2} To the tune of 'Vahman has pardoned'
New fortune has come, and a new diadem and a bright garment (have been given) by Vahman and the teacher-God (10) to you, Lord. Take it in love. Be joyful and flourish. Come in joy before the good Lord.
{*Three lines blank*}

15/
16/
17/ {cq.3} pyš hmwcʾg nwg ʿspsg
18/ ʾdynynd o pd by hwʾbzʾʾr o
19/ ʾmd nwg [mw]rwʾ ʾbzwn
20/ ʾwd j[dg *ʿy hw]mʾywn o ʾc
21/ (b)[ʾn yzd]ʾn ẅ prystgʾn
22/ [ ]by

V

1/ {cq.4} qyrdgʾr nwg ʿspsg
2/ ʿy nyw przynd ʿy whmn
3/ šʾd bʾš wʾr ẅ wyštyr
4/ pd nyw mwrwʾ o kw bwʾʾd
5/ [sʾ](r)ʾr pd nwg nwg prʾʾdng oo
6/ ʾpwr dy dʾšyn ʾwd cyhr
7/ ʾmwrd o kw wnyrʾnd pd prwxy
8/ zywʾnd jʾydʾn oo oo
9/
10/
11/ {cq.5} pd nwg rʾm ʾwd wšydʾx
12/ ʾmd pd nyw mwrwʾh
13/ pyš hmwcʾg ʿy rʾstyy
14/ nwg mwrwʾ ʿy šʾdyyh
15/ nwg ʿspsg ʿy ʿstwd-
16/ nʾm o prmyn bʾš xwdʾʾy
17/ ʾbʾg dyn przyndʾn o ʾwt
18/ bwʾnd pʾsbʾn prystgʾn
19/ ʾwd wʾxš[ʾn o zy]wʾh pd
20/ rʾmyšn oo [oo ʾ]md nwg
21/ rwc ʿy hw[mʾywn]
22/ (mwrw)ʾ

{cq.3} Presentation of the bishop to the teacher. To the tune: 'Most strong God'.
A new omen has come: abundance and an [auspicious sign] have been sent by (20) the gods, deities and messengers [...]

V

. powerful new bishop, a good son of Vahman. Be happy and blissful and flourish as a good omen, so that (5) the leader may receive ever new support. Bless, confer gifts upon and gather your 'Light Form' (the Living Self), so that it may flourish in blessedness and live eternally.

{cq.5} To the tune of 'New Peace and Trust'.
A new omen of joy has come as an auspicious sign to the teacher of Truth: (15) a new bishop of exalted name. Be blissful, Lord, together with the children of the Church. And may the angels and spirits watch over you. [Live] in (20) peace. A new [(and) propitious] day has come [...] omen .

Hymn for the installation of a Teacher

M543 (MP): *HR* ii, 79, *MSt*. 28, *Cat*. p. 39 (containing text of R 1); photo: *IMTT* 113a & 114a; *Rd*. §cqa, 149, DbMT*; tr. *HG* 138, *GSR* 95*.

R

1/ [ ]ʾnd [..]k(.)[..] (ʿ)yg
2/ [ ] snngbyd ʾwd {cqa.1} pyšwbʾy ʿy
3/ dyn mʾzdys oo tw nwg hmwcʾg
4/ ʿy xwrʾsʾn ʾwd rʾynʾg ʿy
5/ whydynʾn oo oo cy zʾd hy pd
6/ prwj (corr. pyrwz?) ʾxtr ʾndr twhm ʿyg
7/ šhryʾrʾn oo wcyd hynd snʾn
8/ [ʾʾyʾ]gʾn yyšwʿ< >knyg ẅ whmn
9/ [ ]ʾn ʾw ʿyn
10/ [f]rystg<ʾ>n
11/ [ ](gr) yzd
12/ [ ] byd
13/ [ ] gyrd oo

V

1/ nʾw [ ]

R

[...] of [...] head of a monastery (lit. 'samgha') and {cqa.1} leader of the Mazdā-worshipping religion. (Praise to) you, new teacher of the East and leader of those of the good religion. For, in the race or rulers, you are born under a happy star. The three [who are to come]; Jesus, the Maiden (of Light) and Vahman [...] to this (10) messenger [...] god [...] another [...] round.

V

. ship [...]{cqa.2} The rulers – may they

2/ {cqa.2} šhryʾrʾn pyšyhwt nyzʾy[ʾnd]
3/ prmʾnwt̲ pdyrʾnd ʾʾprʾhwt̲
4/ nywšʾnd o hrwyspʾn ʿšnwg
5/ pd nmʾc pd nycʾy pyš t̲w
6/ ʾʾwrʾnd oo {cqa.3} prystgʾnwt̲
7/ pyrwzynʾnd ʾbr wyspʾʾn
8/ hmbʾwʾn o wʾxšʾnwt̲ š[..ʾnd]
9/ pryhʾnwt [ ]
10/ cyyr [ ]
11/ dw[ ]
12/ ʾb[ ]
13/ sʾ[ ]

honour you. may they accept your commandments. May (5) every knee bow before you in honourand respect. {cqa.3} May the angels give you victory over all your foes. May the spirits, [...] the beloved [...] (10) victorious [...] two [...] water (?) [...]

Hymns for the church hierarchy

M729 I and **II** (MP): *MM ii*, 330-33; photo: *IMTT* 119a 7 & 120a; *Rd*. §cr, pp. 149-151; tr. *HG* 139-40, *GSR* 95-96.

M729 I

Hd./ V+R/ nxwstʿyn | ʿystʾyšn
First (hymn of) praise

R/i
1/ rwšn {cr.1} ʾwd
2/ ʾpwrym ʾw ʿyn
3/ xwʾn ywjdh̲r
4/ pyrwzyh̲ ʿy
5/ hwrwʾnʾn ẅ wʾy
6/ ʿyg (ʾ)nʾrzʾnʾn
7/ oo {cr.2} ʾwd ʿstʾym
8/ ʾw tw sʾrʾr ʿy
9/ hwjdg rʾynʾgmʾn
10/ ʿy pd pryy ʾwmʾn
11/ sr ʾwd srhnng
12/ ʿy nyw pyd ʿy
13/ pry(hrw)d ʾwmʾn
14/ (m)ʾd ʿy dwšʾrmygr
{*A number of lines missing*}

R/i
.. light; {cr.1} and we bless this holy meal, the victory of (5) the pious and the triumph over the unworthy ones (?)

{cr.2} And we praise you, glorious leader, who encourgaes us (10) with love, our head and good chief merciful father and our loving mother
{*A number of lines missing*}

R/ii
1/ {cr.3} hrwyspʾn
2/ wcydgʾn kyrdgʾrʾn
3/ ʾwd srʾmʾdgʾn
4/ prwxʾn przyndʾn
5/ ʿy wʾxš ywjdhr
6/ oo zywyd ʾwd wnyryd
7/ pd dwgʾng prwxyh̲
8/ hwsrwg pd tn ʾwd
9/ bwxtg pd rwʾn dʾ
10/ ʾw jʾydʾn ʾmyn
11/ ʾmyn ʾwhbyh̲
12/ {*Two lines blank*}
13/

R/ii
... {cr.3} all the elect, the mighty and excellent ones, the blessed children of the holy spirit. Live and prosper in twofold happiness: of noble body and redeemed soul. (10) For ever, amen, amen, be it so!
{*Two lines blank*}

14 ʾpryn ẅ
{*A number of lines missing*}

Blessing and [..]
{*A number of lines missing*}

V/i
1/ {cr.4} ʾwd xwdʾy ʿy
2/ nʾzʾgʾn oo kyš
3/ dwʾzdẖ dydym
4/ ʿy rwšn ʾbr
5/ sʾrwʾr ʿy bʾmyw
6/ wyrʾst oo š: ʾc
7/ hmʾg ẖʾn
8/ šhryʾryy rwšn
9/ ʾwystʾm ʾprydg
10/ oo nwg prẖ ʾwd nwg
11/ [p]rwxyy nwg kyrbgyy
12/ [ʾwd] nwg (šʾd)yẖ
13/ [ ] ʾwd nwg
14/ [ ] nwg
{*A number of lines missing*}

V/i
.. {cr.4} and the lord of those who strut about, who set the twelve diadems of light on his own (5) radiant helmet. From this his whole light dominion, the blessed province, [may there come] (10) new glory and new bliss, new beneficence, and new joy, [new ..] and new [..] new [..]
{*A number of lines missing*}

V/ii
1/ {cr.5} <ʾc> prystgrwšn (ẅ)
2/ ʾc yyšw qnyg
3/ ʾwd whmn o dwšʾrmy
4/ bwxtgyẖ ʾwd
5/ yzdygyrdyẖ
6/ rʾymstyy rʾy ẅ
7/ wyhyy ʾc pydr
8/ pwsr ʾwd ʾc
9/ wʾxš ywjdhr oo
10/ rʾmyšn drwd ʾwd
11/ pʾsbʾnyy ʾz
12/ prystgʾn rwšnʾn
13/ oo hyb ʾ[ʾy](d) ẅ
14/ hyb wnyryd ʾbr
{*A number of lines missing*}

V/ii
.. {cr.5} <from> the Envoy of Light and from Jesus, the [Light] Virgin and Vahman; may love, (5) redemption and divinity, insight and wisdom come from the father, son and from the holy spirit; (10) peace, well-being and protection from the Light Envoys: may this come and may it be established over ..
{*A number of lines missing*}

M729 II

Hd./ V+R/ (blue) pd[ ]g[ ] l [ ]gʾn

R/i
1/ [ ]
2/ [ ] {cr.6} qʾmyšn
3/ pd ʾywyn ʿyg
4/ pdyštʾn ʾbdwm
5/ pdyrʾ[y d]ʾšyn
6/ ʿy (q)[yrd](gʾ)rʾn
7/ [ʾw] (j)[ʾydʾn zm]ʾn
8/ [ʾwẖ byẖ]
9/ {cr.7} oo xwyš oo
10/ oo nwʾg oo
11/ ʾʾyʾd ʾc by
12/ zrwʾn šʾẖ nwg

R/i
[..] {cr.6} striving after the custom of the prophets. May you finally (5) receive the gift of the mighty ones! [Forever may it be so!]

{cr.7} Own (10) melody

May new well-being come from god Zurvān, the king, may

13/ drwd rʾm ʾwd nwg
14/ šʾdyẖ wnyrʾd
15/ ʾbr tw xwdʾy
16/ hmwcʾg prwx
{*A number of lines missing*}

peace and new joy be prepared for you, Lord, blissful teacher ..
{*A number of lines missing*}

R/ ii
1/ {cr.8} (ʾ)wd wnyr pd
2/ šʾdyy wʾr ʾwd
3/ wštyr jʾydʾn
4/ oo {cr.9} xwyš oo
5/ oo nwʾg oo
6/ nwg prẖ nwg prwxyy
7/ nwg šʾdyẖ nwg
8/ qyrbgyy ʾʾyʾd
9/ ʾc by zrwʾʾn
10/ wnyrʾd ʾbr tw
11/ wys(p)whr nʾzwg
12/ šhryʾrʾn przynd
13/ oo phyqyrbwd
14/ hwcyhrʾ xwš
15/ zwyn ʾʾyʾq
16/ (pwr) pryẖ pd
{*A number of lines missing*}

R/ii
. {cr.8} and prosper in joy, be glad and happy for ever.

{cr.9} Own (5) melody
May new glory, new blessedness, new joy, new beneficence come from god Zurvān, may there be prepared for you, fine prince, ruler's son, of beautiful form, who comes full of love to [..]
{*A number of lines missing*}

V/ i
1/ ʾpwrynd o {cr.10} p(s)
2/ ʾbdwm pdyrʾy
3/ xwy pwsg dydym
4/ ʾc pydr ʾwhrmzd
5/ by ʾndr whyšṯ
6/ rwšnʾ jʾydʾn
7/ ʾnwẖ wʾrʾy ʾwd
8/ wštyrʾy
9/ prmynʾy pd
10/ šʾdyẖ oo oo
11/ {cr.11} ʿyn pd oo
12/ tytyṯ(nw)ʾ oo
13/ myšg prẖ
14/ ʾʾyʾd ʾc bʾn
15/ hmyw prwxyẖ
16/ xwnkyy ẅ nwg drwd
17/ oo wny(r)[ʾd ʾbr]

V/i
.. bless them. {cr.10} Then may you finally receive helmet, crown and diadem from the god Ohrmēzd, the father, in the paradise of light. Be there for ever glad and prosper, be happy in (10) joy.

{cr.11} This to the tune of TYTYTNWʾ

May glory ever come from the gods, may blessedness, good fortune and new well-being be prepared ..

V/ii
1/ [ ]
2/ nʾmʾ jʾ(ʾ)[ydʾn]
3/ zywʾẖ oo oo
4/ oo {cr.12} xwyš
5/ oo nw(ʾ)[g] oo
6/ ʾʾyʾd nwg drwd
7/ nwg ʾpry(n) ʾ[c]
8/ [zrwʾn] (š)ʾẖ ʿy
9/ rwšnʾn nwg zwr

V/ii
.. of .. name, live for ever!

{cr.12} Own (5) melody

May new well-being, new blessing come from [Zurvān], the king of the beingsof light, may new strength (10) and new help from the strength of the strong-one,

10/ ʾwd nwg pryʾdyšn
11/ ʾc zwr ʿy
12/ zwrmnd o nwg ʾpryn
13/ ʾwd nwg ʿstʾyšn
14/ ʾc whmn šhryʾr
15/ oo wnyrʾd ʾbr dyn ʾwd ʾbr by

may new blessing and new praise of Vahman, the ruler, (15) be prepared for the religion [congergation] and the [teacher(?)]-god..

Hymns for the community and in praise of the apostles

S7 (MP): M iii, 4-5; photo: *IMTT* 163; RM 128-131, *Rd*. §cs, 151-52 (= R I 3-14); tr. *HG* 141 §8, *GSR* 97, §8* (modified); *Rd*. §ct (= R II 10- V II 20); tr. *HG* 141 §9, *GSR* 97, §9 (modified)*.

R/i
1/ [.....]
2/ [ ]šn ʿyg
3/ [ ](d)yẖ o {cs.1} ʾwd wʾz
4/ ʿy whmnʾn rwšnʾn
5/ o ʾhrʾmʾd ʾbyzg(yẖʾ)
6/ ʾw mʾnystʾnʾn
7/ ʿy ʾnwšgyẖ oo
8/ ʾw mʾn prystʾnd
9/ pryyẖ trs ʾwd
10/ wrwyšn oo ʾw ʾmẖ
11/ ʾrdʾwʾn pʾkʾn o ẅ
12/ nywšʾgʾn hwrwʾnʾn
13/ ʾw prʾzyšt ʾwd
14/ jʾydʾn ʾwẖ byẖ
15/ {*Two lines blank*}
16/
17/ ʾpryd hyb byẖ
18/ ʿyn rwc ywjdhr o pd
19/ xwyš ʾpryn ʿy zyndg
20/ ʾwd pʾk o qwmʾn

R/i

[...] of [...]
{cs.1} And he should exalt the words of the bright Vahmans [...] (5) in all purity to the dwellings of immortality. And they will send love, fear (of God) and (10) faith to us, the pure Elect and the pious Hearers. May it be forever and ever!
(15) {*Two lines blank*}

Blessed be this holy (*or* sanctified) day in (*or* through) its own blessing which (is) living and pure so that (to) us

R/ii
1/ .....
2/ q[ ]
3/ ʾwd ʾbywzndyẖ oo pd
4/ tn ʾwd gyʾn o dʾ ʾw
5/ jʾydʾn ʾwhbyẖ
{*Three lines blank*}

R/ii

And freedom from harm in body and soul (5) unto eternity, so may it be.
{*Three lines blank*}

9/ ʾpwryšn ʿy prystgʾn
10/ {ct.1} prystgʾn rwšnʾn o
11/ jmygʾn kyrdgʾrʾn o
12/ bʾʾn thmʾn ʾwd
13/ mhryspndʾn ʿstʾydn
14/ o hyʾrʾn zwrymndʾn o
15/ phryzynʾgʾn nywʾn
16/ o ʾwd nhwmbʾgʾn
17/ ʿy rm ʾwd wcydgyẖ

Blessing of the Envoys.
(10) {ct.1} The bright angels, the mighty twins, the strong gods and the praised Light-Elements, the strong friends, the god protectors, the guardians of the flock and the chosen of thegods: May they be lauded and praised before Jesus.

18/ ʿyg yzdʾn oo ʿstwd
19/ ʾwd ʾpryd hyb --
20/ bwynd pyš yyšw[ʿ]

V/i
1/ [.....]
2/ [ ](.)n
3/ {ct.2} ʿyn dyn ywjdhr
4/ ʿyst̲ʾnd o ʾwš
5/ nhwmbʾnd pʾyʾnd
6/ ʾwd phryzynʾnd oo ẅ
7/ pd ʿspr ʿy rwšn o
8/ ẅ mgyn ʿy hwstygʾn
9/ o ʾwd pd nyzg nyw ʿy
10/ rzmywz oo pdyyzʾnd
11/ wʾnʾnd ʾnʾmʾnd
12/ ʾwd dwr kwnʾnd o ʾw
13/ wyspʾn dwšmynwn
14/ ʿy rʾstyh̲ ʾwd
15/ ptyʾrʾn ʿy kyrbgyy
16/ o ʾwd wysp ryzyšn
17/ ʾwd ʾʾyb ʿy
18/ ʾdwryn oo cšm ʿy
19/ [ry]škyn ʾwd dyl
20/ [ʿ]y dwxwnd ʾhrmyn o

V/i

{ct.2} May they (the faithful) be firm in this holy faith, and may they (the angels) (5) protect it (the faith) guard them and care for them. And may they (the angels) ward off, scatter, with the shield of Light and the strong buckler of the faithful and the trusty (10) battle-ready lance drive and chase away all foes of Truth and (15) opponents of goodness, and may they also overcome all storms and burning fires. The eye [of the envious one] and the heart of (15) accursed Ahriman [...]

V/ii
{*Some lines missing*}
1/ (w.)[ ]
2/ {ct.3} zmʾn ʾw[h̲ byh̲]
3/ {*Two lines blank*}
4/
5/ {ct.4} bʾʾn rwšnʾn ʾwd
6/ mhryspndʾn ʿstʾyd<ʾ>n
7/ prystgʾn rwʾncynʾn
8/ o pdyrwʾgʾn ʿy gryw
9/ zyndg o xwd pdyrʾnd
10/ ʾc ʾmh̲ ʿyn mhr
11/ ʾpryn ẅ ʿstʾyšn
12/ ẅ qyrbg qyrdgʾn
13/ bʾr ʾwd whybgʾry(y)
14/ ʿy whmn rwšn o ʾwš
15/ ʾzyš ʾʾyʾd zwr ẅ
16/ nyrwg o ẅ pʾsbʾny
17/ qyrbg o ʾw hmʾg
18/ dyn ywjdhr o prʾy ʾwd
19/ wyš ʾbr ʾmh̲
20/ ʾrdʾwʾn ẅ nywšʾg<ʾ>n

V/ii

{*Some lines missing*}

{ct.3} time, let it be so.

(5) {ct.4} The bright gods, the praised Light-Elements, the soul-gathering angels, those that receive the Living Self: May they themselves accept (10) from us this hymn, as well as prayer and praise and good works, the fruit and aid of the bright Vahmans. (15) And may power and strength and kind protection come from him (Vahman) for the whole Church. More and more (may there come upon) us, the (20) Righteous Ones (i.e. the Elect) and the Hearers .

Part of a service book (*BBB*)

M801a (containing (1): MP and Pa. Bēma liturgy) and (2): Sogd. confessional); (1) photo *IMTT* ii, pls. 98ff.; *BBB* Ms. pp. 1-30, *Rd*. §cu, 153-59 = I only; tr. *ML* (1-199, 218-67, 299-307, 310-67 and 390-475 only) 63-68, *HG* 167-79 (1-767 only), *GSR* 134-39 (1-475), 139-43 (476-767), tr. *DbMT* (John Sheldon)*.

Hd./P. 1/ [ptymṭ] | mwhr dyb
[Here ended] the Seal Letter

P. 1 (fol. i/r, pl. 103a)
1/ {cu.1} ʿyg šhr oo ʾwd ʾmw
2/ pws ʿym d[wšyṣt]
3/ ʾwd ʾc wys[p]ʾn
4/ przyndʾn dwšyṣtʾʾn
5/ ʿym ʾbʾg hynd oo
6/ ʾw wyspʾn šwbʾnʾn
7/ hmwcʾgʾn ẅ ʿspsgʾn
8/ ʾwd ʾw wyspʾn wcydgʾn
9/ ʾ[wd *nywšʾgʾn brʾd](r)[ʾn]
10/ ʾwd wxʾryn so myhʾʾn
11/ ʾwd qyhʾn oo hwrwʾn<ʾ>n
12/ ʿspwrgʾrʾn ẅ rʾstʾn
13/ hrw ky ʿyn myzdgtʾcy<y>
14/ ʾc mn pdyrypṭ hʾʾd
15/ ʾwd ʾw ʿyn ʾʾprʾḥ
16/ ʾwd qyrbg qyrdgʾʾn
17/ ʿymyš ncyṣt
18/ hwnsnd bwd hʾd ʾwd

{cu.1} ʿ. from the world and from Ammo, my most beloved son, and from all the most beloved children (5) who are with me. To all pastors, teachers and bishops, and all the elect and hearers, brothers and (10) sisters, old and young, pious men (Hearers), those perfect (Elect) and all you righteous men who have received this gospel from me (15) and have been taught in this doctrine and these good works by me and all who may have found contentment and in these precepts and good works which I have laid down, and you who are happy and

Hd./Pp. 2-3/ nwyst mhr | ʿyg gʾḥ
ʿHere begins the Bēma hymnodyʾ

P. 2 (= fol. i/v, pl. 102d)
(19)/ 1/ ʾbybxtgyḥpd
(20)/ 2/ [w](r)[wyšn] hwstygʾʾn
(21)/ 3/ hʾd o (k)s ks pd xwyš nʾm
(22)/ 4/ {Sogd.} ptymt mwhr dyb

{*Ten lines left blank*}
(23)/ 15/ {Sogd.} ʾʾγšṭ gʾhʿyg
(24)/ 16/ {cu.2} {MP} ʾw tw ʾpwrʾmʾh
(25)/ 17/ mʾny xwdʾwwn so o ʾw tw
(26)/ 18/ ʾpwrʾmʾ mʾny xwdʾwn
P. 3 (= fol. H/r, pl. 102c)
(27)/ 1/ šhryʾr ʿyg dyn
(28)/ 2/ ywjdhr prys(tg)[ʾn wzr](g<ʾ>n)
(29)/ 3/ zyrdr oo oo
(30)/ 4/ {cu.3} ʾpwrʾm ʾw tw nʾm
(31)/ 5/ by xwdʾy mʾny o {Pa.} šʾdwm
(32)/ 6/ kr {MP} dwšʾrmygr zywynʾg
(33)/ 7/ ʿyg mwrdʾn o tw dy ʾw
(34)/ 8/ ʾmʾḥzwr ʾwd nyrwg
(35)/ 9/ oo k(w) bwʾm ʿspwr

P. 2
without dissension in your firm (20) belief. To each one in his own name. The Letter of the Seal is ended.
{*Ten lines left blank*}

{Sogd.} Here begins the Bēma (hymnody). {cu.2} {MP} ʿTo you may we give praise, (25) Mani, lord; to you may we give praise, Mani, lord,
P. 3
ruler of the holy religion, the wisest of the great apostles (30) {cu.3} may we give praise to your name, god, lord Mani. {Pa.} Make me happy. {MP} Loving one, giving life to the dead. You give to us power and strength (35) so that we may be perfect according to your command, O god. {cu.4} May we give praise to god Mani, the lord. May we do honour to your great Radiant Glory, (40) shining one. We give honour to the Holy

(36)/ 10/ pd prmʾn [ʿy](g) [t]w (y)zd
(37)/ 11/ oo oo {cu.4} ʾpwrʾʾm
(38)/ 12/ ʾw by mʾny xwdʾwn oo
(39)/ 13/ nmbrym ʾw prẖwzrg
(40)/ 14/ ʿyt brʾzʾg ʾwrwʾrym
(41)/ 15/ ʾw wʾxš (y)wjdhr ʾbʾg
(42)/ 16/ prhʾn ʾwd prystgʾʾn
(43)/ 17/ ʾbzʾrʾn oo oo
(44)/ 18/ {cu.5} {Pa.} sʾstʾr mytrq

Spirit together with the Radiant Glories and strong apostles.

{cu.5} {Pa.} Commander Maitreya

Hd./Pp. 4-?/ mhr ʿyg | [gʾẖ rʾy]
The Bēma Hymns

P. 4 (= fol. H/v, pl. 102b)
(45)/ 1/ mytrʾgr mytr cytr
(46)/ 2/ [b](g m)šyhʾ mʾnyw sic
(47)/ 3/ mʾny m[ʾ]nyʾ xyws
(48)/ 4/ ʾnjywg bg mrymʾny
(49)/ 5/ oo oo {cu.6} {MP + Pa.} ʾc whyšt
(50)/ 6/ mʾny ʾmd o wyšmnyd
(51)/ 7/ brʾdrʾn o bwdʾ rwc
(52)/ 8/ rwšnyn ʾw ʾmʾ dšny
(53)/ 9/ zʾdgʾn oo oo
(54)/ 10/ {cu.7} ʾc w(h)[yšt] br wšʾd
(55)/ 11/ o ʾw ʾmʾẖʾ bwd
(56)/ 12/ šʾdyẖ o sʾstʾr
(57)/ 13/ mytrg ʾgd mʾry mʾny
(58)/ 14/ xwdʾy ʾw nwg gʾẖ
(59)/ 15/ oo oo {cu.8} ʾc whyšt
(60)/ 16/ ʾbʾdʾ o br wyšʾd
(61)/ 17/ yzdʾn o pwsg xwwd
(62)/ 18/ dydym o ʾw ʾmʾẖ
{*three pages missing*}

P. 4
(45) Maitragar, Maitr Čaitr, god, Messiah, Māniū Māniī Mānichaios, life-giver, god, {cu.6} Lord Mani (50) Mani has come from paradise. Be glad, brethren; he has been a shining day for us, righteous children {cu.7} the door from paradise has opened. (55) There was joy for us. Commander Maitreya, the Lord Mani the ruler, has come to the new Bēma-throne (60) {cu.8} The gods have opened the door from paradise teeming with prosperity, (bringing) to us the garland, the helmet, the diadem .. ʾ
{*three pages missing*}

Hd./Pp. ?-5/ [mhr ʿyg] | gʾẖ rʾy
The Bēma Hymns

P. 5 (= fol. G/r, pl. 102a)
(63)/ 1/ {cu.9} {Pa.} tn pʾyd ʾwm rwʾn
(64)/ 2/ bwjyd o dhy(d)[w](m)
(65)/ 3/ ʾgʾdg qy(rb)g
(66)/ 4/ ʾnwšg rwšn whyšt
(67)/ 5/ oo oo {cu.10} {MP} ʾw tw
(68)/ 6/ ʿstʾyʾm yyšwʾ so
(69)/ 7/ o ʾw tw ʾpwrʾm mʾny
(70)/ 8/ o rwšn rwcʾg rwc
(71)/ 9/ bwd o rwšn rwcʾg
(72)/ 10/ rwc bwd x(wd)ʾy mʾny
(73)/ 11/ ʾgrʾw nʾmʾ oo oo
(74)/ 12/ {cu.11} ʾw twy sic ʿstʾyʾmʾ
(75)/ 13/ rwšn šẖryʾʾr
(76)/ 14/ šhryʾrʾn pwsʾ
(77)/ 15/ mʾny xwdʾwn o mʾny
(78)/ 16/ xwdʾwnʾ rwšn šry'r

P. 5
{Pa.} {cu.9} Protect my body. Save my soul. (65) Grant my pious wish, the immortal paradise of light. {cu.10} {MP} May we give praise to you, Jesus. May we give praise to you, Mani. (70) Brightly shining was the day; brightly shining was the day, Master Mani, noble in name. {cu.11} May we give you praise, son of rulers, Lord Mani, bright ruler, worthy of praise (80) you are.

(79)/ 17/ ʾstʾyšn ʾrzʾʾn
(80)/ 18/ ʾyy [so] tw oo oo

Hd./Pp. 6-?/ mhr ʿyg | [gʾẖrʾy]
The Bēma Hymns

P. 6 (= fol. G/v, pl. 101d)
(81)/ 1/ {cu.12} ʾw tw ʾpwrʾʾm
(82)/ 2/ x(wdʾy) mʾnyʾ o yyšw
(83)/ 3/ qnyg ʾwd whmn ʾwd
(84)/ 4/ gʾẖ hwcyhr ʾwd
(85)/ 5/ prystgʾn oo oo
(86)/ 6/ {cu.13} ʾw tw xwʾnym xwdʾy
(87)/ 7/ twm pywʾc xwdʾy o
(88)/ 8/ mrymʾny xwdʾyʾʾ
(89)/ 9/ {Pa.} hyrzwm ʾstʾr xwdʾy
(90)/ 10/ oo oo {cu.14} mytrg
(91)/ 11/ bwt ʾgdʾ m(ry)mʾny
(92)/ 12/ fryštg pry(wj)ʾʾn
(93)/ 13/ ʾʾwrd ʾc bgrʾšt<y>gr
(94)/ 14/ oo nmʾcwt brʾm bgʾ
(95)/ 15/ hyrzwm ʾstʾʾr o
(96)/ 16/ bwjʾ mn rwʾnʾẖ
(97)/ 17/ syn ʾw nwg whyšt
(98)/ 18/ oo oo mytrg
{*several sheets missing*}

P. 6
{cu.12} To you may we give praise, Lord Mani and to Jesus, Maiden and Wahman and the beauteous Bēma-throne and the (85) apostles. I call {cu.13} to you, lord. Do you answer me, my ruler, Lord Mani, my lord. Forgive my sins, lord. (90) {cu.14} Maitreya Buddha, the Lord Mani Angel, has come; he has brought Victory from the Righteous God. May I bring homage to you, my God; (95) forgive my sins; save my soul; raise it up to the New Paradise – Maitreya
{*several sheets missing*}

Hd./Pp. 7-8/ nryshyzd | ʾpwryšn
Songs of praise to Narisah-yazad

P. 7 (= fol. g/r, pl. 107c)
(99)/ 1/ {cu.15} {MP} ʾwd nyʾgʾn prwx<ʾ>n
(100)/ 2/ ʿy xwd hynd rhyʾ
(101)/ 3/ rwšnʾn wʾywgʾn
(102)/ 4/ nywʾn ẅ nʾwʾzʾʾn
(103)/ 5/ wzyštʾn prystgʾn
(104)/ 6/ ʿstʾydgʾn wnʾr<ʾ>gʾn
(105)/ 7/ wzrgʾn ʾwd zwrʾʾn
(106)/ 8/ thmʾtrʾn oo wʾxš<ʾ>n
(107)/ 9/ wʾcʾprydʾn šhryʾrʾn
(108)/ 10/ prwxʾn cy(h)rʾʾn
(109)/ 11/ rwšnʾn yzdʾʾn
(110)/ 12/ wyspwyhʾn bwxtʾr<ʾ>n
(111)/ 13/ wzrgʾn pryʾdʾgʾʾn
(112)/ 14/ nywʾn oo wyšʾhʾgʾn
(113)/ 15/ ʾwrwʾhmyg(rʾ)ʾn
(114)/ 16/ ʾrdykrʾn (wz)yštʾn
(115)/ 17/ ʾwd rzmywzʾ(n thmʾ)n
(116)/ 18/ o ky mrg zd ẅ dwšmnwn

P. 7
{cu.15} {MP} ʿand glorious ancestors, (100) who themselves are bright waggons, valiant hunters and zealous helmsmen, praise-worthy apostles, mighty disposers, both powerful and endowed with (105) greatest strength – spiritual voices, glorious commanders, beings of light, gods (110) surpassing all, great saviours, valiant helpers – joy-giving redeemers, zealous and (115) battle-stirring warriors who struck down death and conquered their enemies

P. 8 (= fol. g/v, pl. 107b)
(117)/ 1/ wʾnyst ʾwd pd
(118)/ 2/ pyrwzyy ʾhrʾpt
(119)/ 3/ hynd ẅ pd rʾmyšn

P. 8
and have been exalted in victory and (120) have been established in peace – may they always be blessed in the realms of lights –

(120)/ 4/ wynyrd hynd oo
(121)/ 5/ ʾpwryhʾnd myšg
(122)/ 6/ pd ʾpryn ʿy šhrʾn
(123)/ 7/ rwšnʾn oo ʾwd
(124)/ 8/ ʿstʾyhʾʾnd pd
(125)/ 9/ ʿstʾyšn ʾbzʾr
(126)/ 10/ ʿy dyn (yw)jdhr oo
(127)/ 11/ ʾʾwn kwšʾn (rʾ)myšn
(128)/ 12/ wzrg oo pʾsbʾn-ʾy so
(129)/ 13/ qyrdg ẅ prwyryšn
(130)/ 14/ zyhryn oo wynyrʾʾd
(131)/ 15/ ʾbr hmʾg dyn
(132)/ 16/ ywjdhr oo prʾy ʾwd
(133)/ 17/ wyš ʾbr ʿyn gyʾg
(134)/ 18/ ʾwd hnzmn ʾprydg
{*several pages missing*}

and may they be extolled in the (125) strong praise of the holy religion, so that their great peace, their beneficent protection and (130) their life-giving nurture may be established for the entire holy religion ever to increase in this place and blessed community.ʾ

Hd./P. 9/ srwšhrʾy | [ʾpwryšn]
[Praise for] Srwšāhry

P. 9 (= fol. h/r, pl. 107a)
(135)/ 1/ {cu.16} {Pa} ʾw ʾmʾẖ hrwyn
(136)/ 2/ ʾrdʾwʾn ʾmwstʾn
(137)/ 3/ o ʾwt ngwšʾqʾʾn so
(138)/ 4/ pwnwyndʾn o ʾw yhm so
(139)/ 5/ yʾwydʾn jmʾn ʾwẖ so
{*two lines left blank*}

P. 9
(135) {cu.16} {Pa.} ʿand to us all, devout righteous men and virtuous Hearers – for ever and ever. Amen.
{*two lines left blank*}

(140)/ 8/ {cu.17} ʾfryd ẅ ʿstʾwʾd
(141)/ 9/ bwʾẖ ʿym zʾwr
(142)/ 10/ hynzʾwr bg r(w)šn ẅ
(143)/ 11/ qyr(b)kr o mrd ʿspwryg
(144)/ 12/ oo xʾn ʾwt ʾʾγwz so cy
(145)/ 13/ hrwyn rwʾnʾn rʾẖ ʾwd
(146)/ 14/ pndʾn ʾw hrwyn rwšnʾn
(147)/ 15/ ʾwt gyʾnʾn bwxtgʾn
(148)/ 16/ oo ʾfryd bwʾẖ k(w)
(149)/ 17/ wxybyẖ frdʾʾb
(150)/ 18/ jywhryn tʾbʾẖ

(140) {cu.17} Blessed and praised be this mighty power, this beneficent god of light, this perfect man, this house and fortress for all souls, the road and the path for (145) all lights and for redeemed spirits. May he be blessed so that his own vivifying (150) brightness may shine

Hd./Pp. 10-11/ nwyst | yyšwʿzyndkry
Here begins (the praise for) | Jesus the Saviour

P. 10 (= fol. h/v, pl. 106c)
(151)/ 1/ ʾbr dyn wjydg
(152)/ 2/ ʾwmʾn qrʾẖ rʾm
(153)/ 3/ drwd ʾwd wšydʾx
(154)/ 4/ pt hrwyn šhrʾʾn o
(155)/ 5/ ʾwmʾn pʾyʾẖ pd
(156)/ 6/ wylʾstyn šʾdyft
(157)/ 7/ ʾwt wxd pdgrywʾ ʿym
(158)/ 8/ ʾfrywn pwʾg wcn
(159)/ 9/ jywndg ẅ srwd bgʾnyg
(160)/ 10/ ʾc ʾmʾẖ hrwyn ʾw

P. 10
for the chosen religion, so that he may create peace, salvation and confidence in all lands. May he give protection to us in wonderful joy and may he too accept (160) from us all this untarnished hymn and divine song for ever and ever. Amen. Here ends the Srōšahrāy hymn number six.
{*three lines left blank*}

(161)/ 11/ yʾwydʾn jmʾn ʾwẖ so
(162)/ 12/ (h)njpt so srwšhrʾy
(163)/ 13/ o VI o
{*three lines left blank*}

(164)/ 17/ {MP} nwyst yyšwzyndkry
(165)/ 18/ {cu .18} ʾpwryhʾʾd whyẖ

{MP} Here begins "Jesus the Saviour".
(165) {cu .18} May sacred wisdom be blessed

P. 11 (= fol. i/r, pl. 106c)
(166)/ 1/ ywjdhr yyšwʾ
(167)/ 2/ ʿspyxtʾn qnyg
(168)/ 3/ rwšn ʾwd whmn wzrg
(169)/ 4/ oo bwxtʾrʾn nywʾn o
(170)/ 5/ mwrdʾhyzʾn ʿy dyn
(171)/ 6/ ywjdhr oo ʾpryd hyb
(172)/ 7/ bwynd ʿymyšʾʾn
(173)/ 8/ bšyhkʾn wzrgʾʾn
(174)/ 9/ byšʾzʾgʾn ʿy gryw
(175)/ 10/ bwrzyst oo k(w) ʾbr
(176)/ 11/ ʾmʾ(h)[y]ž xwd ʾbzʾyʾnd
(177)/ 12/ rʾmyšn ẅ drwd o šʾdyy
(178)/ 13/ ʾwd qyrbgyy bwxtgyy
(179)/ 14/ ʾwd pyrwzyy ʿy rzmywz<ʾ>n
(180)/ 15/ ʾwd qyrdgʾrʾn o ʾwmʾn
(181)/ 16/ ʾw wzrg prẖ ẅ dydym
(182)/ 17/ ʿyg jʾydʾng ʾrzʾn
(183)/ 18/ qwnʾnd oo prʾzyšt

[**P. 11**] Jesus the Splendour, the Maiden of Light and great Wahman (Nous), the great redeemers, (170) the wakers from the dead of the holy religion. May blessing be given to these great physicians, those who heal the (175) highest self, so that they may increase for us our own peace and well-being, joy and righteousness, salvation and the victory of those who rejoice in the fight (180) and are champions of good. And as for us, may they make us worthy for great glory and the crown of eternity – for ever

Hd./P. 12/ ʾpwryšnʿyg | [yyšwʿ]
Praise for | [Jesus]

P. 12 (= fol. i/v, pl. 106b)
(184)/ 1/ ʾwd jʾydʾn zmʾn
(185)/ 2/ ʾwhbyẖ o qyrbkrzʾdg
{*two lines blank*}

P. 12
and ever. (185) Amen. Beneficent Son.
{*two lines blank*}

(186)/ 5/ {cu.19} ʾpryd ʾwd ʿstwwd
(187)/ 6/ hyb byẖ yyšwʾ
(188)/ 7/ (zynd)kr šhr ʿy nwg
(189)/ 8/ m(wrdʾ)hyz wʾbrygʾn
(190)/ 9/ ʿyg xwd m(ʾ)d zywynʾg
(191)/ 10/ ʿyg (ʾwy)šʾn oo ky pd
(192)/ 11/ xyym ʾwd wy[r] ʿyg
(193)/ 12/ ʾʾz ẅ ʾwrzwg mwrd
(194)/ 13/ hynd oo ʾwd bšyhk
(195)/ 14/ ʾw ʾwyšʾn ky pd
(196)/ 15/ wymʾr ʿy nsʾẖ ʾby
(197)/ 16/ ʾwš grdynd oo ẅ xwd
(198)/ 17/ bwd cšmwr ʾw kwrʾn
(199)/ 18/ ʾšnwʾg ʾw qrʾn
{*several sheets missing*}

{cu.19} 'Blessed and praised be Jesus, life-bringer, the New Aeon, the true (190) raiser from the dead, himself a life-giving mother to those who are dead through injury caused by greed and sensual lust – a physician (195) to those who fell into the sick condition of an insensate corpse, he is himself both provider of sight to the blind and of hearing to the deaf
{*several sheets missing*}

Hd./ Pp. 13-14/ [ʾpwryšn ʿyg] | prystgʾn
[Laud for] | the Envoys

P. 13 (= fol. d/r, pl. 109a)
(200)/ 1/ {cu.20} <hptʾdʾn> ʾwd dwnʾn
ʿspsgʾn oo
(201)/ 2/ tyryst ʾwd šst
(202)/ 3/ mʾnsʾrʾrʾn wyspʾʾn
(203)/ 4/ wcydgʾn pʾkʾn ẅ ywjdhr<ʾ>n
(204)/ 5/ oo ky pd pnj so ʾndrz ẅ sẖ
(205)/ 6/ mwhr ʿspwr hynd pd
(206)/ 7/ qyrbg qyrdgʾn ʾyʾd
(207)/ 8/ hyb bwynd oo {cu.21} prẖ wzrg
(208)/ 9/ ʾwd wʾxš wʾcʾpryd ʿy
(209)/ 10/ hmʾg xw(rʾs)ʾn pʾ(y)[g](w)[s]
(210)/ 11/ oo ʾw ʿyn rm ʾwd ʾrdʾyẖ
(211)/ 12/ ʿyg yzdʾn pʾsbʾʾn ẅ
(212)/ 13/ prwrʾg ʾst pd qyrbg
(213)/ 14/ qyrdgʾn ʾyʾd hyb byẖ
(214)/ 15/ oo {cu.22} pd sr mry nʾzwgyʾzd
(215)/ 16/ hmwcʾg ʿy xwrʾ(sʾn)
(216)/ 17/ pʾygws pd kyrbg kyrdgʾn
(217)/ 18/ ʾyʾd hyb byẖ oo {cu.23} ʾwd

P. 13
. (200) {cu.20} and the <seventy->two bishops, three hundred and sixty heads of religious houses, all the pure and holy elect who are perfect in the five commandments and the three (205) seals, may they be in our memory as performers of good works. {cu.21} The great glory and word-inspired spirit (preaching) of the entire Eastern Province, (210) which is protector and guardian of the flock and the order of the divine Elect - may they remain in our memory as performers of good works. {cu.22} In the chief position of all Lord Nāzugyazad, (215) Teacher of the Eastern Province - may he remain in our memory as a performer of good works. {cu.23} And

Hd./ Pp. 14-15/ [ʾpwryšn ʿyg] | [prystgʾn]
[Laud for] | [the Envoys]

P. 14 (= fol. d/v, pl. 108a)
(218)/ 1/ wyspʾn ʿspsgʾʾn
(219)/ 2/ mʾnsʾrʾrʾn ʾprynsrʾn
(220)/ 3/ xrwhxwʾnʾn zyrʾn dbyrʾn
(221)/ 4/ nywʾn o mhrsrʾyʾʾn
(222)/ 5/ zgrwʾcʾn ʾwd wyspʾʾn
(223)/ 6/ brdʾdrʾn pʾkʾn ẅ ywjdhr<ʾ>n
(224)/ 7/ (pd) qyrbg qyrdgʾn ʾyʾd
(225)/ 8/ hyb bwynd oo {cu.24} wxʾrʾyn
(226)/ 9/ dwxšʾn ẅ ywjdhrʾn ʾbʾg
(227)/ 10/ xwyš hnzmn (ẅ) mʾnystʾn
(228)/ 11/ pd qyrbg qyrdgʾn ʾy(ʾ)d
(229)/ 12/ hyb bwynd oo {cu.25} ẅ wyspʾn
(230)/ 13/ nywšʾgʾn brʾdrʾn ʾwd
(231)/ 14/ wxʾryn ʾc xwrʾsʾʾn
(232)/ 15/ xwrnwʾr ʾbrg ʾwd ʾyrg
(233)/ 16/ ky pd yzd rwšn zwr ẅ whyẖ
(234)/ 17/ ʾstwʾn hynd pd qyrbg
(235)/ 18/ qyrdgʾn ʾyʾd hyb

P. 14
all bishops, heads of religious houses, leaders in prayer, (220) wise preachers, doughty scribes, melodious hymn-singers and all pure and holy brethren - may they (225) remain in our memory as performers of good works. {cu.24} The sisters, holy virgins. together with their own communities and convents - may they remain in our memory as performers of good works. {cu.25} And all (230) Hearers, brothers and sisters from East, West, North and South, who acknowledge the Divinity, His light, power and wisdom. - may they remain in our memory as (235) performers of good works.

P. 15 (= fol. k/r, pl. 105c)
(236)/ 1/ bwynd oo {cu.26} ʿstʾyšn
(237)/ 2/ ʾpryn rʾb pywhyšn ẅ
(238)/ 3/ (wyndy)šn ʾc ʾmʾh
(239)/ 4/ hrwyspʾn pd pʾkyy ẅ
(240)/ 5/ ʾwyzxtyy so ʾwhyrʾd ʾwd
(241)/ 6/ pdyrypt bwʾd oo pyšmʾ(n)
(242)/ 7/ pydrʾn xwʾbrʾn ẅ nyʾgʾn

P. 15
{cu.26} May all our praise, blessing, entreaty and supplication ascend on high in its purity and (240) forgiveness and be accepted by our virtuous fathers and honoured fore-bears; to ourselves may they vouchsafe empowerment and aid, (245) salvation and victory, health and freedom from harm, joy and virtue, pe-

(243)/ 8/ pdyxšr'wynd'n 'wm'n
(244)/ 9/ xwd pryst'nd zwr 'wd
(245)/ 10/ (p)ry'dyšn (bwxt)[gyy] ('wd)
(246)/ 11/ (p)[yrwzyy dr](y)styy 'wd 'by-
(247)/ 12/ (wz)[yndyy] š'dyy ẅ qyrbgyy
(248)/ 13/ r'm ẅ wšyd'xw [so] m(y)hr {?} ẅ
(249)/ 14/ p'sb'nyy qyrbg
(250)/ 15/ twxšyšn ẅ 'spwrg'ryy
(251)/ 16/ 'wd 'st'r hyštn
(252)/ 17/ w'bryg'n (rw)šn 'yg
(253)/ 18/ drwdyy [o] wnyr'd 'br hm'g

ace and the seal of assurance, goodness and protection, holy (250) zeal, and striving for perfection and forgiveness of sins, the true light of redemption. May all this be provided

Hd./P. 16/ [...]

P. 16 (= fol. k/v, pl. 105b)
(254)/ 1/ dyn ywjdhr [o] pr'y ẅ wyš
(255)/ 2/ 'br 'yn gy'g ẅ hnzmn
(256)/ 3/ 'prydg [o] 'br mn '(w)d
(257)/ 4/ 'šm'h̲ br'dr''n
(258)/ 5/ dwšyst'n xw'r'yn
(259)/ 6/ dwxš'n 'wd ywjdhr''n
(260)/ 7/ nywš'g'n hwrw'n'n [oo]
(261)/ 8/ 'wh̲ (kw) p'd ẅ phryst̲
(262)/ 9/ bw'm pd dst̲ 'y(g)
(263)/ 10/ (pr)[yst](g)['n] rwšn'n 'w(d)
(264)/ 11/ jmyg'n qyrd(g)['r'n pd]
(265)/ 12/ 'yw n'm zyndg [ẅ ywjdhr]
(266)/ 13/ 'w pr'zyšt ẅ j('yd)'n
(267)/ 14/ zm'n 'wh̲ (by)h̲
{*Two lines left blank*}

P. 16
ever increasingly to our sacred religion, (255) to this place and to this hallowed convent, to me and to you, my dearest brothers and to you, my sisters consecrated to virginity, and to you pious (260) Hearers. In this way we may be watched over and guarded by the hands of the apostles of light and the powerful church leaders (ἀρχηγοί). In the one (265) living and holy name for ever and ever. Amen.
{*Two lines left blank*}

(268)/ 17/ {cu.27} {Pa.} 'fryn'm ẅ 'st'w'm
(269)/ 18/ 'w fryštg'n rwšn'n
{*One sheet missing*}

{cu.27} {Pa.} 'We praise and laud the apostles of light
{*One sheet missing*}

Hd./ P. 17/ ['pwryšn 'yg] | prystg'n
[Laud for] | the Envoys

P. 17 (= fol. e/r, pl. 108c)
(270)/ 1/ {cu.28} m'ns'rd'r'n 'frywn-
(271)/ 2/ sr'n xrwhxw'n'n dbyr<'>n
(272)/ 3/ 'rd'w'n pw'g'n br'dr'n
(273)/ 4/ wx'ryn ky pt̲ wy'g wy'g
(274)/ 5/ 'st̲ 'hynd 'd wxybyy
(275)/ 6/ crg 'njmn ẅ m'nyst̲'n
(276)/ 7/ [oo] p'd ẅ 'mwšt bwynd
(277)/ 8/ pt̲ dšn cy wjyd w''d
(278)/ 9/ fry'ng {cu.29} ẅ hm ngwš'g'n
(279)/ 10/ 'mwst̲'n [sic] [o] (br)['d](r'n ẅ)
(280)/ 11/ wx'ryn šyrg'mg'n ẅ drwd-
(281)/ 12/ z'dg'n [o] ky pt̲ wysp
(282)/ 13/ šhr mrz 'wd p'dgws
(283)/ 14/ 'st 'hynd ky pt̲ bg
(284)/ 15/ rwšn z'wr 'wt̲ jyryft̲

P. 17
. (270) {cu.28} the heads of communities, the leaders in prayer, the preachers, scribes righteous pure brothers and sisters in all places where they dwell, including their own (275) parishes, meeting places and monasteries; may they be guarded and united under the right hand of the loving Holy Spirit. {cu.29} In addition the Hearers, believers, brothers and (280) sisters, friends and children of salvation in all lands, regions and dioceses where they abide, those who believe in God, light, power and wisdom (285) may they be in our memory as performers of good works. {cu.30} May honour and praise,

(285)/ 16/ wʾwryft ʾhʾd pd kyrbg
(286)/ 17/ qyrdgʾn ʾbyʾd bwynd o o
(287)/ 18/ {cu.30} ʿstʾwyšn ẅ ʾfrywn

H. Pp. 18-19: przʾpt | prystgʾnyg
Ended are (the lauds) for the Envoys

P. 18 (= fol. e/v, pl. 108b)
(288)/ 1/ ngʾd ʾwd nmstyg
(289)/ 2/ pdwhn ẅ wyndyšn
(290)/ 3/ ʾc ʾmʾ hrwyspʾn
(291)/ 4/ snʾh ʾwd pdgryft
(292)/ 5/ bwʾh oo prwʾʾn
(293)/ 6/ bgʾn ʾwt yzdʾʾn oo
(294)/ 7/ kwmʾn wxd fršʾwynd
(295)/ 8/ zʾ(w)r ʾwt ʾbrnng
(296)/ 9/ kw pt fr(y)h wʾʾxš
(297)/ 10/ [ʾw](t tnb)ʾr ʾngdg
(298)/ 11/ ʾwt ʿspwryg bwʾm
(299)/ 12/ oo {cu.31} gryw jywndq ʾw
(300)/ 13/ bwγ so yʾdʾ dʾhwʾnyg
(301)/ 14/ ʾbyʾstʾʾr bwynd
(302)/ 15/ oo ʾwt ʾmʾh hrwʾyn
(302)/ 16/ bwxtqyft so wyndʾm o
(304)/ 17/ {MP} pt ʾyw nʾm zyndg
(305)/ 18/ ʾwt ywjdhr prʾzyšt so
P. 19 (= fol. f/r, pl. 108a)
(306)/ 1/ ʾwt jʾydʾn zmʾn
(307)/ 2/ ʾwh bwyndyh
(308)/ 3/ hnzpt ʾpwryšn ʿy
(309)/ 4/ prystgʾn pd mr II
{*Ten lines are left blank*}

P. 18
entreaty and supplication, prayer and beseeching (290) from us all ascend on high and be accepted by the gods and divine beings: may they themselves send us (295) empowerment and purity so that our souls and bodies may become whole and perfect in charity. {cu.31} May the Living Soul accomplish (300) redemption. May the generous donors be freed from their sins. And may we all find salvation. {MP} In the one living (305) and holy name [**P. 19**] so may it be henceforth for time everlasting.
The twice recited Lauds of the Apostles concludes. { *Ten lines are left blank*}

(310)/ 15/ nwyst ʾpwryšn oo
(311)/ 16/ gʾhʾyg
(312)/ 17/ {cu.32} ʿšnwg ngwcym pd
(313)/ 18/ zwpr nyzʾyšn nmbrym

(310) The Lauds of the Bema begin.
{cu.32} We genuflect in deeper reverence

Hd./Pp. 20-21/ [ʾpwryšn ʿyg] | prystgʾn
[Laud for] | the Envoys

P. 20 (= fol. f/v, pl. 107d)
(314)/ 1/ ʾwd ʾpwrym ʾw ʾwy
(315)/ 2/ yzd ʾbzʾr šhryʾr
(316)/ 3/ ʿstʾydg ʾwd xwdʾy
(317)/ 4/ pdyxšrʾwynd ʿy šhrʾn
(318)/ 5/ rwšnʾn ky tw yzdmʾʾn
(319)/ 6/ bwrzyst pd kʾm ʾwd
(320)/ 7/ nmyzyšn ʿyg ʾwy ʾw
(321)/ 8/ ʾmʾh ʾmd hy o {cu.33} nmbrym
(322)/ 9/ ʾw yyšw xwdʾwn pws
(323)/ 10/ (ʿy) wzrgyy o k[y] tw dwš<y>st
(324)/ 11/ ʾw ʾmʾh prystʾd

P. 20
and give praise to almighty (315) God, the blessed King and worshipful Lord of the Aeons of light, according to whose wish and (320) expressed will, You, our most exalted God, have come to us. {cu.33} We give praise to Jesus, the Lord, son of the Most High, who has sent to us you, our best beloved. (325) We honour the worshipful Maiden, the radiant twin, who stood at your side in every conflict. We give praise to the mighty Wahman (330) whom you implanted in the heart of those of

(325)/ 12/ hy oo nmbrym ʾw qnyg
(326)/ 13/ ʿstʾydg jmyg rwšn
(327)/ 14/ kyt pd wysp rzmʾẖ o
(328)/ 15/ hʾmjʾr ẅ hʾmšwdʾb
(329)/ 16/ bwd oo nmbrym ʾw whmn
(330)/ 17/ wrzg ʿyt pd dyl ʿy
(331)/ 18/ hwrwʾnʾn wynʾrd oo oo

good spirit.

P. 21 (= fol. j/r, pl. 106a)
(332)/ 1/ nmbrym ʾw prẖ wzrg
(333)/ 2/ ʿy tw pydrmʾn prystg
(334)/ 3/ (r)[w]šn mʾny xwdʾwwn oo
(335)/ 4/ nmbrym ʾw ʿyn gʾẖ
(336)/ 5/ ʾgrʾw o ẅ nšym ʿyg
(337)/ 6/ bʾmyw o ky ʾbr nšst
(338)/ 7/ hy oo nmbrym ʾw dydym
(339)/ 8/ brʾzʾg ʿyt pd sr
(340)/ 9/ wynʾrd oo nmbrym ʾw ʾyd
(341)/ 10/ dys ʾgrʾ(w ẅ p)hyk[y](r)b
(342)/ 11/ [ʾy hw]cyhr oo nmbrym
(343)/ 12/ (ʾw) [bʾ]ʾn ẅ prystgʾʾn
(344)/ 13/ ʿyt ʾbʾg ʾmd hynd oo
(345)/ 14/ nmbrym ʾw hʾmʾg
(346)/ 15/ wcydgyy ẅ psʾgryw ʾprydg
(347)/ 16/ ʿyg tw xwdʾwn oo nmbrym
(348)/ 17/ ʾw hmwcʾgʾn wzrgʾn oo
(349)/ 18/ nmbrym ʾw ʿspsgʾn

P. 21
We give praise to the mighty Radiant Glory of you, our father, shining apostle, lord Mani. (335) We give praise to this excellent Bēma and this excellent throne upon which you have descended. We give praise to the glittering diadem which you have placed upon your head. (340) We give praise to this noble image and beauteous portrait. We give praise to the gods and apostles who have come with you. (345) We give praise, oh Lord, to all the elect and to your blessed representatives. We give praise to the great preceptors. We give praise to the potent bishops.

Hd./P. 22-?/ [ʾpwry]šn ʿyg | [prystgʾn]
[Laud] for | [the Envoys]

P. 22 (= fol. j/v, pl. 105d)
(350)/ 1/ zwrmndʾn oo nmbrym ʾw
(351)/ 2/ mʾnsʾrʾrʾn zyrʾʾn oo
(352)/ 3/ nmbrym ʾw dbyrʾn nyw<ʾ>n
(353)/ 4/ oo nmbrym ʾw mhrsrʾyʾn
(354)/ 5/ zgrwʾcʾn oo nmbrym ʾw
(355)/ 6/ ʾrdʾwʾn pʾkʾn oo nmbrym
(356)/ 7/ ʾw dwxšʾn ywjdhrʾn oo
(357)/ 8/ nmbrym ẅ ʾpwrym ʾw
(358)/ 9/ hmʾg rm rwšn oo ʿyt
(359)/ 10/ xwd wcyd h(y)[n](d) o pd wʾxš
(360)/ 11/ ʿy rʾstyy oo {cu.34} ẅ ʾ[c p](rẖ)
(361)/ 12/ ʿyg tw xwdʾwn o ẅ [ʾz p]rẖ
(362)/ 13/ ʿyg ʿymyšʾn hrwyspʾn
(363)/ 14/ xwʾhym ʾʾypt pm
(364)/ 15/ wyspʾn hnʾmʾn kwm
(365)/ 16/ ʾʾyʾd ʾyʾdgʾryy ʾw dyl
(366)/ 17/ ʾyʾsyšn ʾw ʾwx oo
(367)/ 18/ ʾwšy [so] ʾw mnwhmyd ʾwd
{*At least one sheet missing*}

P. 22
(350) We give praise to the wise heads of communities. We give praise to the valiant scribes. We give praise to the melodious cantors. We give praise to the (355) pure Elect. We give praise to the holy virgins. We give praise and blessing to the whole flock of light which you yourself have chosen through the spirit (360) of truth. {cu.34} As a boon for all my limbs I beseech your Radiant Glory, oh Lord, and that of all these that there may come reflections in my heart, (365) recollections in my mind, reverence in my thought and .
{*At least one sheet missing*}

Hd./P. 23/ [ ]

P. 23 (= fol. l/r, pl. 105a)
{*Ten lines torn off*}
(368)/ 11/ [ ].(d) hy o ʾc
(369)/ 12/ [ ](zʾy) nhwptg
(370)/ 13/ [ ](ʿyg g)wmyxtg
(371)/ 14/ [ ](š)[...].c
(372)/ 15/ {*One line eaten through*}
(373)/ 16/ šb ʾcy[š ...] o
(374)/ 17/ dryst ʾwr n[..m](r)d
(375)/ 18/ ʿyg ʿspwr o ʿ[y] ʾwzyd

P. 23
{*Ten lines torn off*}
you are from life (?) hidden (370) . of mixed .

{ *One line eaten through* }
night from [...] To saving hither [...] (375) the perfect man who removed

Hd./P. 24/ [ ]

P. 24 (= fol. l/v, pl. 104d)
{*Ten lines torn off*}
(376)/ 11/ (ʿy) xʾr [ ]
(377)/ 12/ b(r)ʾdrʾ(n ky)[ ]
(378)/ 13/ dyswys [ ]
(379)/ 14/ ʾw .[...](st)[ ]
(380)/ 15/ {*One line eaten through*}
(381)/ 16/ (p)[....] pwr dwšʾrm
(382)/ 17/ k[y ...] (š)hr ʿyg
(383)/ 18/ ʾb[dʾ](gʾ)n ʾwd grypt
{*At least one page missing*}

P. 24
{*Ten lines torn off*}
of thorns [...] brothers who a garment [...]

(380) {*One line eaten through*} [...] full of love into the world of the assailants and was seized .
{*At least one page missing*}

Hd./P.25/ [hnzpt (?)] | ʾpwryšnʾn
The Lauds | [are ended (?)]

P. 25 (= fol. c/r, pl. 109c)
(384)/ 1/ {cu.35} rwšn ʿy pydʾg bwd
(385)/ 2/ hy oo pd šhr ʿyg
(386)/ 3/ ʿstmbgʾn ʾwt hrwpt
(387)/ 4/ hynd xwybšʾn hʾmnʾp<ʾ>n
(388)/ 5/ hnzpt ʾpwryšn <ʿ>yg
(389)/ 6/ gʾhrwšn hmyr sh
{*Rest of page left blank*}

P. 25
.. {cu.35} of Light which is your appearance (385) in the world of the tyrants and in which you have brought together your own kinsfolk. The Lauds of the Radiant Bēma, three in total, are ended. {*rest of page left blank*}.

Hd./Pp. 26-27/ nwyst mhr ʿyg | šʾdcʾn
Here begins the hymns of joy

P. 26 (= fol. c/v, pl. 109b)
(390)/ 1/ {cu.36} ʿspyxt ʾyy so prmyn
(391)/ 2/ phyqyrb pd nyšʾn
(392)/ 3/ ʿy xwrxšyd tw sʾrʾr
(393)/ 4/ ʿy rʾstyy hʾmdys
(394)/ 5/ ʿy by zrwʾn oo rwcyndwt
(395)/ 6/ dyl ʿyg ʾmʾh pd
(396)/ 7/ xwyš pryh pd ʿyn rwž so
(397)/ 8/ ʿy šʾdyy oo ʾwrʾ pd nyw
(398)/ 9/ drystyy prystgʾnwt
(399)/ 10/ rʾmynʾnd oo oo

P. 26
(390) {cu.36} {*Hymn I*} You shone, happy image, like the sun, you promoter of truth, in which you resemble (395) the god Zurvan. Our hearts shall irradiate you with their love on this day of joy. Come hither in righteous health; the apostles would give you peace. {*one line left blank*} (400) {cu.37} {*Hymn II*} In a new propitious omen would that this leader be blessed – he who has come to a great day of joy; may the gods give you peace; may

{*one line left blank*}
(400)/ 12/ {cu.37} ʾpryd byẖ pd ʾn mwrwʾ
(401)/ 13/ hʾn sʾrʾr ʾyg ʾmd pd
(402)/ 14/ rwc ʾbzʾr ʿy šʾdyy o
(403)/ 15/ bʾʾnwt rʾmynʾnd
(404)/ 16/ prystgʾnwt phryznʾnd
(405)/ 17/ o ʾwt whmn {zʾmynʾnd} <zʾmynʾd>
(406)/ 18/ nwg zyẖr ʿyg
P. 27 (= fol. a/r, pl. 98a)
(407)/ 1/ jʾydʾn oo oo
(408)/ 2/ {cu.38} ʾwr pd (n)wg jdg nwʾk
(409)/ 3/ ʾwr pd nwg jdg ʾwd nyw
(410)/ 4/ mwrwʾhʾ oo ẅ pd rwcʾʾn
(411)/ 5/ ʿyg ʾnʾwdyr šʾdyy oo
(412)/ 6/ ʾw ʿyn hnzmn ʿy bʾn ẅ
(413)/ 7/ prystgʾn oo ʾc ẖrw
(414)/ 8/ pʾygwsʾn ẅ wsʾn šh(rʾ)n
(415)/ 9/ o o prhʾn wʾxšʾn ʾwd bʾn
(416)/ 10/ rwšnʾn(ʾ) oo ʾmw(š)[t hynd]
(417)/ 11/ pd šʾdyy pd ʿyn rw(c) [o]o
(418)/ 12/ ʾwẖ kw tw xwdʾy sʾrʾr
(419)/ 13/ ʿyg ʿstwdnʾmʾ oo
(420)/ 14/ pdyrʾnd pd pryẖ ʾwt
(421)/ 15/ bwʾnd pʾsbʾnʾ<nʾ> o ʾc
(422)/ 16/ wysp dwšmnwn ẅ dyn
(423)/ 17/ wzyndgʾrʾnʾ oo ʾmʾẖ
(424)/ 18/ pd ʾbzʾr šʾdyẖ tw

the apostles protect you (405) and may Wahman bring for you new and [**P. 27**] everlasting life.

{cu.38} {*Hymn III*} ʿCome hither to new fameʾ is the tune. Come hither to new fame and to a new (410) omen, to days of abiding joy for this gathering of both gods and apostles. From all dioceses and many regions (415) Radiant Glories, spirits and shining gods have been gathered in joy on this day, so that (420) they may receive you in love, our lordly ruler of worshipful name, and protect you from all enemies and destroyers of our religion. May we

Hd./Pp.28-29/ mhrʾn ʿyg | šʾdyhʾn
Hymns of Joy

P. 28 (= fol. a/v, pl. 110d)
(425)/ 1/ nmbrʾmʾ oo ʾwd pd
(426)/ 2/ tẅʾn (p)rwxyẖ nyw
(427)/ 3/ prmynʾmʾ oo ʿstʾydg
{*One line left blank*}
(428)/ 5/ {cu.40} pd pncyxzʾn nwʾk oo
(429)/ 6/ ʾwr xwrxšyd rwšnygr o
(430)/ 7/ ʾwr pwrmʾẖ ʿy brʾzʾg
(431)/ 8/ o ʾwr pryhrwd xwdʾy thm
(432)/ 9/ ʾwd nyw rʾymst oo pdyr
(433)/ 10/ [nwg] n(w)g ʾpry(n) ʾc whmn
(434)/ 11/ [š]hryʾr oo šʾd bʾš ẅ
(435)/ 12/ wštyr pd ʾnʾwdyr wʾryšn
{*One line left blank*}
(436)/ 14/ {cu.40} pd ʾmd xwdʾy mʾny
(437)/ 15/ ʾmd ʿspyxt rwcyst o
(438)/ 16/ xwrxšyd rwšnygr pd
(439)/ 17/ ʾsmʾnʾn brʾzystwš
(440)/ 18/ rwšnyy pd wyspʾn
P. 29 (= fol. b/r, pl. 110c)
(441)/ 1/ šhrʾn ẅ pʾygwsʾn o
(442)/ 2/ pscg ʾmʾ brʾdryẖ o
(443)/ 3/ kwš pyšyy nmbrʾm o

P. 28
(425) honour you with great joy and justly rejoice in your good fortune. (edited by Istāyīdāg)
{*one line blank*}
{cu.40} {*Hymn IV*} In the five-strong-note melody. Come hither, illuminating sun; come hither, shining full-moon; (430) come hither, compassionate strong Lord, highly endowed with insight; receive ever renewed blessing from Wahman the King; be joyful (435) and glad in lasting happiness.
{*One line blank*}

{cu.40} {*Hymn V*} (tune) ʻThe lord Mani has come.ʼ He has come, he has shone forth, he has lit up in the sky the illuminating sun, he has spread (440) their light over all [**P. 29**] lands and dioceses; we the brotherhood are ready to bow down before them so that they may afford us joy and (445) eternal life.
{*One line left blank*}

(444)/ 4/ kwmʾn dyʾd šʾdyh̲ ẅ
(445)/ 5/ zyhr ʿyg jʾydʾʾn
{*One line left blank*}
(446)/ 7/ {cu.41} ʾyn pd by hy ʾbzʾr nwʾk
(447)/ 8/ ʾmd drwdygr drwdynʾg
(448)/ 9/ ʿy hmʾg dyn o drwd ʾbzʾy
(449)/ 10/ ʾw crg (h)nzmn ẅ wcyd(g)[yy]
(450)/ 11/ oo drwdwt ʾʾyʾd ʾc [by]
(451)/ 12/ ʾbzʾr ʾwd bwrzyst̲
(452)/ 13/ drwdynʾdwt rwšn zwr ʾwd
(453)/ 14/ whyh̲ oo ʿstwd <bwʾy> ʾwd
(454)/ 15/ ʿstʾyhʾy ʾc dyn
(455)/ 16/ ywjdhr {rʾmynʾnd ʾwt}
<rʾmynʾndwt>
(456)/ 17/ prystgʾn prhʾʾn ʾwd
(457)/ 18/ wʾxšʾn šʾd zyw wʾr

{cu.41} {*Hymn VI*} (*Tune*) 'You are the powerful God.' He has come, the bringer of salvation who heals the whole church; increase the salvation of the diocese, the convent and the company of the Elect. (450) May salvation come to you from the mighty and highest gods; may light, power and wisdom grant you salvation; you shall be and are now being praised; (455) may the apostles, the Glories and the spirits give you peace. Farewell, rejoice

Hd./P. 30/ [mhr ʿyg] l šʾdcʾn
[Hymns of] l joy

P. 30 (= fol. b/v, pl. 109d)
(458)/ 1/ ʾwd wštyr pd nwg
(459)/ 2/ rʾmyšn o rwcyn ʾw
(460)/ 3/ przyndʾn pd wʾxš ʿyg
(461)/ 4/ zyhryn oo by ʾryʾmʾn
(462)/ 5/ {cu.42} ʿyn pd swγlyy so zgr oo
(463)/ 6/ ʾmd nwg xwrxšyd rwšngr
(464)/ 7/ ʾwd nwg prystg srwb(r)
(465)/ 8/ ʾc xwrʾsʾn pʾygws
(466)/ 9/ oo ʾʾwrd nwg šʾdyy ʾwd
(467)/ 10/ [nw]g wšydʾx ʾwd nwg
(468)/ 11/ (prʾ)dng ʾbzʾr hmʾg
(469)/ 12/ dyn ywjdhr oo wʾrynd
(470)/ 13/ prystgʾn prhʾʾn
(471)/ 14/ (w)ʾxšʾnʾ oo pd tw prwx
(472)/ 15/ pyšʾr sʾrʾr ʿyg
(473)/ 16/ ʿstwdnʾm oo zywʾyy so
(474)/ 17/ pd drystyy ʾwd nwg
(475)/ 18/ rʾmyšn ʾwd pd nwg

P. 30
and be of good cheer in your new-won peace; enlighten (460) your children with your living spirit. (edited by) Bay Aryamān.

{cu.42} {*Hymn VII*} To the Sogdian tune. A new illuminating sun has come, a new apostle, teacher (465) from the Eastern diocese. He has brought new-won peace, new assurance and powerful new progress to the holy religion in its entirety. (470) The apostles, the Glories and the spirits rejoice in you, fortunate leader, our chief of worshipful name. Live in health and new (475) peace and in new ..

Fragment of a liturgy, with the opening lines of hymns

M4b I R, V - **M4a I** R, V (Pa.): *HR* ii 52-54, 50-51, cf. *MSt* 5 (4b-4c), 4 (4-4a), ph. IMTT 7 (I R, II V) - 8 (I V, II R); *Rd*. §cv, 160-62; tr. *ML* 8-9 (II V 4-15 only), *HG* 186-88, *GSR* 147-48 (revised)*

M4b I R

Hd./R/ nysʾrʾd ʿzgʾmyg
Begun (is the) funerary (hymns)

R
1/ {cv 1} šhr ʾʾrʾm ʾrjʾn ʾyy

R
{cv.1} ..world-abode (?). You are worthy of

2/ ʾw mwxš oo oo {cv 2} ʾwn ʾw t̲w
3/ gyʾn rwšn ws pnd dhʾʾm
4/ kw bwg wyndʾh̲ oo oo
5/ {cv 3} ʾʾsyd gyʾnʾn ʾw ʿym nʾw
6/ rwšn oo oo {cv 4} gyʾnwm fryhstwm
7/ wxšmyd ʾwd ʾrgʾw ʾw kw
8/ frnft ʾyy ʾbʾc ʿzwrtʾh̲
9/ oo oo {cv 5} wygrʾs fryh̲ gyʾʾn
10/ ʾc xwmr mstyft kw xwft̲
11/ ʿštyh̲ ʾrws dwšmnyn
12/ kyt cwhr cʾwyd mrn pdrʾynd
13/ hxsʾh̲ ʾw pdyšt wʾcʾfryd
14/ zmyg kw bwd ʾyy ʾc nwx oo oo
15/ {cv 6} ʾc ʾʾz nbyn ʾc ʾwrjwq
16/ wdysgʾr ʾwd ʾc ʾdwr t̲bg
17/ wxryndg bwrz brmyd gyʾn wdrʾy oo oo
18/ {cv 7} fryštg ʾc whyšt ʾgd ʾzdygr ʾž
19/ šhrdʾryft II oo oo
20/ hnjft gyʾnyg bʾšʾh̲ʾn nywʾn
21/ nysʾrʾd ʿzgʾmyg bʾšʾh̲ʾn
22/ {cv 8} ʾwyštʾd hym ywd ʾc nydʾmg

redemption. {cv.2} To you, O light soul, I will give much counsel, so that you may find redemption. (5) {cv.3} Come, souls, to this ship of light. {cv.4} My soul, most beloved, happy (?) and noble, whither have you gone? Come back again! {cv.5} Wake up! beloved soul, (10) from the sleep of drunkenness, into which you have fallen. Look at the enemies, (look) they are preparing death all round you. Return to your home! the divine (lit. word-created) earth, where you were at the beginning. (15) {cv.6} The wretched soul weeps out loud on account of evil greed, deceptive desire and consuming fire. {cv.7} An angel from Paradise has come, a messenger from the kingdom. (Twi[ce])
(20) Ended are the fine hymns of the soul.

Begun are the funerary hymns.
{cv.8} I have stood up, separated

M4b I V

Hd./V/ hnjft tngyʾnyg
Finished is the Body and Soul hymn

V
1/ pd hw cyhrg bgʾnyg ʾwm dyd
2/ ʾw bwjʾgr kd xndynd ʾw mn
3/ nwʾcyd oo oo {cv 9} ʾgd ʾw mn
4/ frmnywg kw cyd bwd h̲ym
5/ ʾbystft tʾbʾd pd mn
6/ wylʾstyft wyšmyd kyrd ʾw
7/ mn mʾng oo oo {cv 10} ʾgd rg pd nydfʾr
8/ ʾngʾwg cy mn jywhr bwjwm
9/ ʾc wdng ʿstft pd ʿym rwc
10/ ʿzgʾmyg III oo oo {cv 11} ʾʾsʾh̲
11/ mn bwjʾgr pd ʿstʾwyšn
12/ ʾnjywg bg mry mʾny ʾd hry
13/ bgpwhrʾn oo oo {cv 12} ʾndyš yzd nywgr
14/ pd ʿym wxybyy zʾdg ngwšʾg gyʾn
15/ ʾmwst ky ʾw tw qyrd pdwʾʾz
16/ oo oo {cv 13} yzd qyrbkr ʾndyš
17/ pd mn ʾbyʾʾdwm bwd
18/ ʾw rwc ʿzgʾmyg oo oo
19/ {cv 14} ʾwr bg ʾw mn wyn hwfryʾdwm
20/ pd ʿym ʾʾgʾm II oo dbyry oo
21/ h̲njft ʿzgʾmyg bʾšʾh

V
from my garment, this divine form. And I saw the Redeemer, as he smilingly spoke to me. {cv.9} Hope came to me, when I was costantly (5) oppressed. The miracle enlightened me, my mind is made glad. {cv.10} Quickly has there come, in haste, the end of my life (?). Free me from dreadful hardship on this day (10) of death! Thrice. {cv.11} Come, my Redeemer, with praise, life-giving God, Mar Mani, with the three sons of Gods. {cv.12} Remember, kindly Godhead, this (15) believing soul, Of thine own child, a hearer, who followed thee. {cv.13} Benevolent Godhead, think of me! My thinking was (directed) to the day of the end. {cv.14} Come, God, look on (20) me, My helper in this time! (Twi[ce]). Scribe(manship?).
Ended (are) the funerary Hymns.

M4a I R

Hd./R/ (n)ysʾrʾd fršygyrdyq
Begun is (the Hymn) of the Last Things

R
1/ nysʾrʾd tngyʾny[q] bʾšʾẖ
2/ {cv 15} ʾrʾm qyrbg cy bwdystʾn
3/ bwʾẖ ʾw mn ʾʾrʾm kyrbg
4/ oo oo {cv 16} ʾbʾc ʾʾsʾẖ
5/ pd mn mʾnʾʾẖ bwʾʾm
6/ hʾmʾxwnd pd tw qyrbg oo
7/ hnjft tn gyʾnyg bʾšʾhʾn
{*Three lines left blank*}

R
Begun is the Body-Soul (Hymn)
{cv.15} Good resting place, (place) of the garden! May you be for me a good resting place! {cv.16} Come back, (5) remain in me! May we be of one spirit in your blessing!

The body-soul hymns are ended.
{*Three lines left blank*}

8/ nysʾrʾd fršygyrdyg bʾšʾ
9/ {cv 17} ʾʾsmʾn pdgʾm ʾwd zmyg
10/ wyʾwʾr ʿz(g)wlʾẖ tw šhr
11/ ʾw xwdʾy sxwn oo {cv 18} ʾw
12/ yzdʾn wyndʾʾm kwmʾʾʾʾʾn
13/ bwjynd ʾc ʿym bzg jmʾn
14/ ʿstft ʿstyyhʾg ʾwd
15/ ʾwʾwryg oo {cv 19} ʾwn
16/ fryštgʾʾn ʾwd ymgʾʾn
17/ bwjydmʾn ʾc hrw wdnng oo
18/ oo {cv 20} ʾgd frʾc hw jmʾn

The hymn of the Last Things begins
{cv.17} The message of heaven and (10) the answer of the earth: Hear, O world, the word of the Lord! {cv.18} We will call upon the Gods, that they redeem us from this evil time of tyranny, of the quarrelsome and (15) unbelieving ones! {cv.19} O angels and twin beings redeem us from all hardship! {cv.20} That time has come

M4a I V

Hd./V/ hnjft mwqrʾnyg
Ended (is the) Muqrān (hymn)

V
1/ cy bwjʾgr nbyšt oo oo
2/ hnjft fršygyrdyy bʾšʾẖ
{*One line left blank*}
3/ nysʾrʾd mwqrʾnyg bʾšʾ
4/ {cv 21} ʾbjyrwʾng ʿšnwhrg hym
5/ cy ʾc bʾbyl zmyg
6/ wyspryxt hym oo wyspryxt
7/ hym (ʾ)c zmyg bʾbyl ʾwd
8/ pd rʾštyft br ʾwyštʾʾd
9/ hym oo oo srʾwg hym ʾbjyrwʾng
10/ cy ʾc bʾbyl zmyg frnft
11/ hym oo frnft hym ʾc zmyg
12/ bʾbyl kw xrwsʾn xrws pd
13/ zmbwdyg oo oo {cv 22} ʾw ʿšmʾ yzdʾn
14/ pdwhʾm hrwyn bgʾn hyrzydw
15/ ʾw mn ʾstʾr pd ʾmwjdyft oo
16/ hnjft mwqrʾnyg bʾšʾẖ
{*One line left blank*}
17/ nysʾrʾd ʾngd rwšnʾny bʾ<šʾẖ>
18/ {cv 23} ʾngd rwšnʾn fryʾng pd

V
as the Redeemer wrote of it.
Ended is the hymn of the Last Things.
{*One line left blank*}
Begun is the *Muqrān* hymn.
{cv.21} A grateful pupil am I, from the land of Babel I have come. I have come (5) from the land of Babel, and I am set up at the gate of truth. A young pupil I am, who has proceeded from (10) the land of Babel. I have proceeded from the land of Babel, that I may call a call into the world.

{cv.22} You deities, I beseech you, all Gods! Forgive (15) my sins through righteousness!
Ended (is the) Muqrān (hymn)
{*One line left blank*}

Begun is the h<ymn> of the Angad Rōšnan.
{cv.23} Blessed friend of the light ones, in

19/ ʾxšd dhwm zʾwr ʾw[d] mercy grant me strength and [succour me with every gift!]

In Praise of the World of Light = Hymn cycle *Huwyadagmān* I

摩尼教下部讚 *Monijiao Xiabuzan* = *Hymnscroll* (MStein 7053) §§261-228 (Chinese – here edited with Parthian and Uygur parallels): Chinese text ed. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, Vol. 54, 2140, ;1276128-1275a15, tr. partly based on Tsui Chi, 'Mo Ni Chiao Hsia Pu Tsan, The Lower (Second?) Section of the Manichaean Hymns', *BSOAS* 11, 1 (1943), 199-208; Sogd. parallel ed. and tr. *MHC(S)*, 23-24; Uygur parallel, ed. and tr. *UMT* ii, 262-64.

261 (a) 歎明界文 In Praise of the World of Light

Pa. Hd./R+V/ nxwyn hndʾm | ❀ hwydgmʾn ❀ The first canto of the *Huyadagmān*

(b) 凡七十八頌分四句 Containing seventy-eight (seventry-seven?) stanzas, each of which is in four sentences (i.e. lines).

(c) 未冒慕闍撰 By Weimao (Mar Ammo) the *Mushe*.

Pa. ***I.1*** (a) hwydgmʾn cy pd tw frwdʾd o (It was) fortunate for us that through thee we
ẅ pdgryft̲ t̲w wcyhyšn knew and accepted thy teachings.
(b) šhrdʾr kyrbkr o Beneficent Sovereign,
kr ʾbr ʾmʾḥ ʾxšdʾgyft̲ show mercy to us.

Sogd. ***I.1*** 1/ (prn)xw(n)[ty xcy 9-16] ZY prʾβʾ [It is] fortunate for us that through thee we
2/ p(t)[y](cxšʾy-m Z)[Y 8-12](y)-m o [we accepted and know]
3/ (tw)[ʾ xyp](δ p)rmʾn š(yrʾnkʾrʾ s)[rδʾnk] (?) thy holy word. Beneficent Sove[reign,]
4/ (tγ)[w] (kw)nʾzʾrcnʾwky(h)[pr mʾxw] show mercy to us.

262 (a) 我等上相悟明尊 We persons of the superior form comprehending the venerable Lord of Light,
(b) 遂能信受分別說 Can therefore believe in and accept clear speeches.
(c) 大聖既是善業躰 Since the Great Sage is the embodiment of good deeds,
(d) 願降慈悲令普悅 So may is please Him to bestow mercy and make all people joyful.

Pa. ***I.2*** (a) [fry]št[g] (cy p)y(d)[r o] The Envoy of [the Father (?)]
(kr)y(d) gyʾnʾn drwšt̲ heals spirits,
(b) [ʾw *hrwyn dh]yd (šʾd)yft̲ [o] gives joy [to all],
ʿzgyrwyd ʾnd[ʾ](g) and removes sorrows (?)

Sogd. ***I.2*** 5/ [βryšt kw] ʾyš cn(n ʾ)[ptrʾ] (β)[γʾ] Thou art [the envoy] from [God the father (?)]
6/ oo (11-19)[w](γ) šy-h [ ] gladness (?)
7/ [3-5](oo) [wy](sp)[h r](ʾ)z ptγwsc [ ]. Every hidden secret

8/ (tγw)[2-5 ʾz-γw](n)ty rtšn tns sxwʾy thou [revea]lest [to them], and thou removest their sorrow.

263 (a) 蒙父愍念降明使 The Father pities and remembers us and sends down Messengers of Light
(b) 能療病性離倒錯 Who can cure illness of nature and displace confusion and wrong,
(c) 及除結縛諸煩惱 And remove ties and bonds, many worries and afflictions :
(d) 普令心意得快樂 Cause, universally, hearts and thoughts to be happy.

Pa. ***I.3*** (a) [ ](yf)t wy(s)[p] [ ] al[l]
[ ] (*Traces only are legible.*)
(b) [hw] (d)w z[ʾwr o] [these] (t)wo st[rengths ?]
[ ] [ ]

Sogd. ***I.3*** 9/ wy-sph rʾz (p)[t]γwsch tγw Every hidden secret thou
10/ ʾ(z)-(γwn)ty p(γ)[wn]ty (Z)Kw ʾδwʾzʾwr revealest; thou un[veilest] the two powers
11/ [ʾky] ZY ʾsty ptγwstʾk [which] are hidden
12/ [pr](y)-m(ʾ)[yδ] ʾβcʾnpδʾy oo oo in this world.

264 (a) 无幽不顯皆令照 No secrecy is unrevealed, but it is made to shine;
(b) 一切祕密悉開楊 All kinds of mysteries are opened and exposed;
(c) 所謂兩宗二大力 The so-called Two Principles, the two great forces,
(d) 若非善種誰能祥 Who can understand them except the progenies of the righteous?

Pa. ***I.4*** (a) [bwrz ʾwd] (ʾ)n(ʾ)pd(m)[ʾn] [Lofty and] limitless,
[kdʾc *tʾr *ny ʾst] where [Darkness never comes] ...
(b) {*One verse missing*}

Sogd. ***I.4*** 13/ ʾyw (Z)[K]w rxwšnʾγrδ[mn] pw kws One is the Light Para[dise], without borders
14/ p(w)[kyrʾn pr rxw]šnyʾ(k)[h] pw t(ʾ)[rʾ]y o and [limits, in l]ight without darkness
15/ (.)[6-9 ʾ]w(.)[1-2] o ZY Z(Kh) [ ] and the
16/ [6-9 ʾ]skwʾmc oo oo [d]welling-place.

265 (a) 一則高廣非限量 No height or dimension forms limit and measure for the Dominion,
(b) 並是光明无暗所 Where everything is Light, and no place is dark:
(c) 諸佛明使於中住 Where all Buddhas and Messengers of Light live.
(d) 即是明尊安置處 It is exactly the dwelling place of the venerable Lordof Light.

{*One verse missing*}

266 (a) 光明普遍皆清淨 There the omnipresent light is entirely clean and pure,

(b) 常樂寂滅无動俎 Eternally happy, calm, and quiet, undisturbed and unhindered,
(c) 彼受歡樂无煩惱 One receives happiness and has no worry and affliction :
(d) 若言有苦无是處 To say that there is hardship is not true.

Pa. ***I.6*** (a) [nxšg hrwyn m]ʾ(nys)tʾn [All] the monasteries [are magnificent,
(ʾ)[wd](g) [ʾ]rʾm and] the ..... dwelling places.
(b) cy wyš[mnynd pd r]wšn o For they are happy [in] the Light
ʾwṯ drd ny zʾn[ynd] and know no pain.

267 (a) 聖眾法堂皆嚴淨 All the Halls of Law of the Saintly Masses are solemn and clean,
(b) 乃至諸佛伽藍所 And so are the monasteries of all Buddhas :
(c) 常受快樂光明中 They eternally receive happiness in the land of Light,
(d) 若言有病无是處 To say that there is illness is not true.

Pa. ***I.7*** (a) ʾwd hrw ky ʾwwd ʾdyhyn[d o] All who enter there,
[ʾ]wyštynd yʾwydʾn stay for eternity.
(b) ʾwšʾ[n *kdʾc ny] trwyd [Neither] blows nor torture
ny (jhm) ẅ dyjwʾr torture [ever] overcome them.

268 (a) 如有得往彼國者 Whoever is allowed to live in that country
(b) 究竟普會无憂愁 Will eternally be free from all anxieties and sorrows :
(c) 聖眾自在各逍遙 The Saintly Masses are free and move at will,
(d) 拷捶囚縛永无由 There is nver cause for tortures of basinado, imprionment, and chains.

Pa. ***I.8*** (a) [ ] cy [ ] (*Traces only are legible then ten verses missing in the Parthian*)

269 (a) 處所莊嚴皆清淨 The dwellings-dignified and solemn-are all clean and pure,
(b) 諸惡不淨彼元无 Where there are naturally neither vices nor filthy things,
(c) 快樂充遍常寬泰 Happiness spreads everywhere, and ease and peace persist :
(d) 言有相悋无是處 To say that one can fear another is not true.

270 (a) 无上光明世界中 In the unsurpassed World of Light,
(b) 如塵沙等諸國土 Like grains of dust and sand are the many countries,
(c) 自然微妙寶莊嚴 Naturally delicate and wonderful, precious, dignified, and solemn,
(d) 聖眾於中恒正住 In which the Saintly Masses always stay true (to the doctrine).

271 (a) 彼諸世界及國土 The many worlds and countries
(b) 金剛寶地徹下暉 Have precious soil of diamond, radiating downward-illuminating,
(c) 无始時來今究竟 From the dim past until now to eternity,
(d) 若言震動无是處 To say that there is quaking and shaking is not true.

272 (a) 在彼一切諸聖等 All the Saintly Masses who live there
(b) 不染无明及婬慾 Are not stained by ignorance (avidya), passion, and desire,
(c) 遠離癡愛男女形 Far away from foolish love in the manner as between man and woman,
(d) 豈有輪迴相催促 How can they be pressed and hurried by transmigration?

273 (a) 聖眾齊心皆和合 The Saintly Masses are unanimous and harmonious,
(b) 分折分劍无由至 Rupture, swords, and daggers having no chance to be theirs,
(c) 釋意逍遙无障礙 They relax in mind, and move at will without obstacles;
(d) 亦不願求婬慾事 Nor do they wish to pursue the objects of lust and passion.

274 (a) 伽藍處所皆嚴淨 Monasteries and dwelling-places are all solemn and clean :
(b) 彼无相害及相非 There are no exchanges of intrigues and accusations,
(c) 生死破壞无常事 And birth and death, destruction and matters of impermanency,
(d) 光明界中都无此 From all these the World of Light is free.

275 (a) 彼无怨敵侵邊境 There is no enemy to invade the frontier districts,
(b) 亦无戎馬鎮郊軍 Nor are there war-horses or armies guarding the outskirts;
(c) 魔王縱起貪愛心 If the Devil-king were stirred by his greedy and passionate mind,
(d) 於明界中元无分 It naturally has no connection with the World of Light.

276 (a) 金剛寶地極微妙 The precious soil of diamonds is extremely delicate and wonderful,
(b) 无量妙色相暉曜 With innumerable miraculous colours illuminating each other :
(c) 諸聖安居无障礙 On which all the Sages live comfortably without obstacles,
(d) 永離銷散无憂惱 For ever free from vanishing and dissolving, sorrow and affliction.

277 (a) 聖眾嚴客甚奇特 The solemn countenances of the Saintly Masses are very strange and unique,
(b) 光明相照躰暉凝 Light shines on them, and their bodies become splendid and transparent;
(c) 將此百千日月明 Compared with the brightness of a hundred or thousand suns and moons,
(d) 彼聖毛端光尚勝 The radiance from the hair-tips of those Sages is even stronger.

278 (a) 內外光明无暗影 Within and without there is Light but no dark shadow:
(b) 妙躰常暉千萬種 These wonderful bodies eternally glisten in a thousand or myriad ways
(c) 遊行勝譽金剛地 Travelling on the triumphant, famous soil of diamond,
(d) 彼則无有毫釐重 They are not so heavy as a feather or a grain of corn.

Pa. ***I.18*** (a) [pdmwcn cy pdmwcynd o] [The clothes which they wear]

[kyc ny] (q)yrd pd ds(t) [none] has been made by hand.
(b) [hmyw pwʾg ʾwd nysʾg o] [They are ever clean and bright,]
[ʾwd mr]w pd hwyn ny ʾs[t] [and] no ants(?) are in them.

279 (a) 所著名衣皆可悅 All the famous clothes they wear are delightful,
(b) 不因手作而成就 And were not fashioned by the work of hands:
(c) 聖眾衣服唯鮮潔 The clothes of the Saintly Masses are only fresh and clean,
(d) 縱久不朽无虫螻 Incorrupt in spite of much ear, and harbouring no worms or earwigs.

Pa. ***I.19*** (a) [ ] {*Traces only are legible.*}
ʾwd nys[ʾg] and brig[ht]

{*Two verses missing*}

280 (a) 此界名花皆採集 In this realm all famous flowers can be gathered,
(b) 喻彼微妙端正相 Comparable to those delicate and wonderful, graceful and right Forms (ie Saintly Masses):
(c) 然彼服飾更加倍 And yet their clothes and ornaments are many times more
(d) 奇特莊嚴色无量 In colours, strange and unique, dignified, solemn, and innumerable.

281 (a) 彼諸寺觀殿塔等 All temples and monasteries, palaces and pagodas are there,
(b) 妙寶成就无瑕纇 Constructed and completed with wonderful jewels free of flaw;
(c) 飲食餚膳皆甘路(露) Food and drink, meats and viands are all like the sweet dew,
(d) 國土豐饒无饑饉 And the country is abundant and fertile without famines.

282 (a) 琉冕究竟不破壞 Crowns and ornaments of hanging jewels are eternally imperishable,
(b) 一戴更无脫卸期 And never taken away from whoever once wore them :
(c) 諸聖普會常歡喜 All the Sages are unanimously and eternally happy,
(d) 永无苦惱及相離 For ever free from hardship, affliction, and separation.

Pa. ***I.22*** (a) hwyn pwsg zrgwng o Their verdant garlands
yʾwydʾn ny wmysy(d) never fade;
(b) ʾwd ʾm(ywʾ)st pd nysʾgyft o they are wreathed brightly,
pd ʾnʾsʾg gwng in numberless colours.

283 (a) 花冠青翠妙莊嚴 Floral crowns are verdant, wonderful, dignified, and solemn,
(b) 相映唯鮮不萎落 Shining on each other animatingly, and never fade or fall :
(c) 肉舌欲歎叵能思 Whilst my carnal tongue wishes to praise, my imagination fails me :
(d) 妙色无盡不淡薄 Immeasurable are the wonderful colours, which never fade or diminish!

Pa. ***I.23*** (a) grʾnyft ʾw[d] ʾmbʾhg o — Heaviness and drooping
ny ʾst pd hwyn (t)[n?] — do not exist in their bodies.
(b) ʾwd wygʾn ny ʾhʾz — Paralysis does not affect
pd hrwyn hnd[ʾm] — any of (their) limbs.

284 (a) 聖眾躰輕恒清淨 The bodies of the Saintly Masses are light, always clean and pure,
(b) 手足肢節无擁塞 Their hands and fee, limbs and joints are free from paralysis :
(c) 不造有為生死業 While they are not creating the active works of birth and death,
(d) 豈得說言有疲極 How can it be said they have fatigue and exhaustion?

Pa. ***I.24*** (a) grʾn xwmr ʾbr hwyn — Heavy sleep never
grywʾn ny g[yrwyd] — overtakes their souls.
(b) ʾwd xw(mr) d(r)ʾwʾng o — Deceptive dreams
ẅ wdybyšn [pd *hwyn *ny ʾst] — and delusions [are unknown among them].

285 (a) 彼聖清虛身常樂 Those Sages are always happy in their pure humble bodies:
(b) 金剛之躰无眠睡 Their adamantine limbs require no sleep,
(c) 既无夢想及顛倒 Since they have neither dream and whim, nor nightmare,
(d) 豈得說言有恐畏 How can it be said they have fear and dread?

Pa. ***I.25*** (a) [ẅ frʾ](mwšt)y(ft) n[y *ʾst o] — [There is no forget]fulness
pd hw[yn ʾndyšyšn] — in [their thoughts]
(b) [ ]š (ny) (.)[.]w[o] — .... [They see ....]
[hrw] (c)[y] ngws[tg ʿštyd] — [all that is] hidden (?)

286 (a)聖眾常明具妙惠 The Saintly Masses are always enlightened and with wonderful kindness (wisdom?) :
(b) 健忘无記彼元无 Naturally they are not forgetful and short of memory,
(c) 无邊世界諸事相 But all the things and phenomena in the boundless world
(d) 如對明鏡皆見睹 They see entirely, as if facing a bright mirror.

Pa. ***I.26*** (a) [ ]pwd [..] o — [……..]
(ẅ) db[ ] — [……..]
(b) [ ]s [o] — [……..]
ʿ](s)[pw]ryg (o)[.] — [...] deceit [...]

{*One verse missing.*}

287 (a) 諸聖心意皆真實 The minds and thoughts of the Sages are all honest and true :
(b) 詐偽虛矯彼元无 Pretension and deceit, vanity and affection are naturally not theirs,
(c) 身口意業恒清淨 Of their bodies, mouths, and minds, the deeds are alwasy clean and pure;

(d) 豈得說言有妄語 How can it be said they ever uttered a false saying?

288 (a) 世界充滿諸珍寶 The world is full of all precious treasures,
(b) 无有一事不堪譽 And there is not a single thing undeserving of praise,
(c) 伽藍廣博无乏少 In the monasteries, broad and plentiful, there is no want;
(d) 豈得說言有貧苦 How can it be said there are poverty and hardships?

Pa. ***I.28*** (a) (w)šynd ʾwd ʾnjwgyft o — Hunger and anguish
ny (ʾ)[st *pd *hw zmyg] — (are) not [known in that land].
(b) (ʾ)wd (ny) tšyndyft o — (There is) no thirst,
c(y) [ ] — for [.....]

289 (a) 飢火熱惱諸辛苦 The tortures of burning hunger and fever,
(b) 明界常樂都无此 Are all absent from the World of Light where happiness prevails,
(c) 永離飢渴相惱害 For ever free from disturbances of thirst and hunger,
(d) 彼亦无諸鹹苦水 Nor has it the various kinds of salty and bitter waters.

Pa. ***I.29*** (a) [ʾb] cy hrwyn zryhʾn o — [The waters] of all (its) lakes
frbwy(d) [ʿškyft] — give out a [wondrous] fragrance.
(b) [hynwʾr *ẅ n](x)ʾb o — [Floods and] drowning
hmgyc [pd *hwyn *ny ʾst] — are never [known among them].
{*Two verses missing*.}

290 (a) 百川河海及泉源 From hundreds of streams, rivers, seas, and fountain-heads,
(b) 命水湛然皆香妙 The Waters of Life, deep and clear, are all fragrant and wonderful,
(c) 若入不漂及不溺 In which one will neither drift away nor be drowned,
(d) 亦无暴水來損耗 Nor are there floods which come to make damage and destruction.

291 (a) 諸聖安居常快樂 The Sages live safely and are always happy :
(b) 國土堪譽不相譏 The soil of the country is admirable, and it mocks at none,
(c) 怨憎會苦彼元无 There is naturally no complaint, disgust, and mutual oppression,
(d) 亦不面讚皆相毀 And no one flatters another in the face, and accuses him behind the back.

292 (a) 慈悲踴躍相憐愍 Merciful and generous, they exchange sympathy,
(b) 妒嫉諸惡彼元无 And all evils such as jealousy there naturally exist not :
(c) 行步速踕疾逾風 People walk and step agilely (?), more swiftly than the wind;
(d) 四肢癱緩无是處 That the (four) limbs should suffer paralysis is not true.

Pa. ***I.32*** (a) [ʾc] wrwc ʾskʾdr o — Their walk is quicker
hwyn cmg tyrgystr — by far than lightning.
(b) [pd] tnbʾr cy dʾrynd o — In the bodies they possess,
ywbhr ʾndr ny ʾst — there is no sickness.

293 (a) 神足運轉疾如電 Their miraculous feet move and whirl as swiftly as lightning;
(b) 應現十方无障礙 (Sages) responding, appear in ten directions without hindrance,
(c) 奇特妙形實難陳 Their strange, unique, and wonderful appearances are really difficult to describe,
(d) 諸災病患无能害 And no distresses, ills, and troubles can harm them.

Pa. ***I.33*** (a) [...]yg prxyzyšn o — The [...] activities
cy hrwyn zʾwrʾʾn — of all (Dark) Powers.
(b) [....]byd hwyn ny ʾst ʿny rf ẅ zmbq — [...] are not in them, nor attacks and battles.
[ ] [ ]

294 (a) 迫迮諸災及隘難 The distresses of compulsion and oppression, restriction and hardship,
(b) 恐懼一切諸魔事 Fear and dread, and all the activities of the devils,
(c) 戰伐相害及相殺 Battles and attacks, mutual punishment and slaughters,
(d) 明界之中都无此 In the World of Light there is nothing of these.

Pa. ***I.34*** (a) [ʾwd tr](s) ẅ ʿspʾw o — Fear and terror
pd hwyn wyʾg ny ʾst — do not exist in those places,
(b) ẅ [... p]d hwyn zmyg o — and [...] in those lands
wygʾn pd hwyn ny ʾst — there is no destruction.

295 (a) 世界常安无恐怖 The World is eternally safe and free from terrors:
(b) 國土嚴淨无能俎 The soil of the country is solemn and pure, having no obstacles,
(c) 金剛寶地无邊際 The precious earth of diamond has no boundaries,
(d) 若言破壞无是處 To speak of destruction is not true.

Pa. ***I.35*** (a) [ ](.)wd ʾ(d)[o] — [...] the trees (?)
[dʾl]wg ny wšʾnynd — do not shake down
(b) [ ]y sry(š)[o] — [ ]
[ ] hrwyn mygdg — [ ] all the fruits.

296 (a) 彼處寶樹皆行列 There the precious trees are all arrayed in formations,
(b) 寶果常生不彫朽 The precious fruits always grow, neither wither nor rot,
(c) 大小相似无虫食 Uniform in size (lit. big and small alike) and without nibbling worms,
(d) 青翠茂盛自然有 Verdant, thriving, abundant, and naturally existing.

Pa. ***I.36*** (a) [syʾ]ryft o — [... de]cay (?)
[pd hw]yn b(ʾ)[r *ny ʾst] — [does not exist in] their furit.
(b) [hmg *pwr rwšn]yft o — [it is all full of brightness].
[ʾc] by[ḫ *ʾwd *ʾc ʾndr] — [Within and] without
{*One verse missing*}

297 (a) 苦毒酸澀及黯黑　Bitter and poisonous, sour and rough, dark and black
(b) 寶果香美不如是　Is not of the precious fruit which is fragrant and delicious;
(c) 亦不內虛而外實　Nor is it empty inside whilst full outside,
(d) 表裏光明甘露味　But illuminated inside and outside, tasting like ambrosia.

298 (a) 寶樹根莖及枝葉　The roots and stem, branches and leaves of the precious tree
(b) 上下通身並甘露　Are all like the sweet dew, top and bottom throughout the body:
(c) 香氣芬芳充世界　Fragrance, overspreading, fills the whole world,
(d) 寶花相映常紅素　And precious flowers, illuminating each other, are always red and white.

Pa. ***I.38*** (a) [ʾwd *hrwyn bwdyst](ʾ)n o　[All the gardens] give out
frbwynd kw[ ]　fragrance, so that(?) [...]
(b) [hyštyg *ʾwd ʿskd]　[Bricks and thorns]
[ ] (rw)c pd (h)[wyn *ny ʾst]　[are] never [found] among [them].

299 (a) 彼國園苑廣嚴淨　In that country, gardens and parks are spacious, solemn and pure,
(b) 奇特香氣周園圃　Around flower and vegetable gardens, strange and unique fragrance pervades;
(c) 瓦礫荊棘諸穢草　Broken tiles and gravel, brambles and thorns and all unclean weeds,
(d) 若言有者无是處　To say that there these exist is not true.

Pa. ***I.39*** (a) [hmg *hw zmyg]　[The whole of that land]
(wy)brʾzyd (ʾ)wd prw[ ]　gleams and […]
(b) [ʾbgw]st ʾ(nd)r o　[...]. revealed (?) amidst
hwyn [ ]　them [...]
{*Eight verses missing*}

300 (a) 彼金剛地常暉耀　The precious earth of diamond always shines and glitters,
(b) 內外鑒照无不見　Reflecting and showing, in and out, and conceals nothing;
(c) 寶地重重國无量　Precious lands in gradations and counries innumberable
(d) 徹視間間皆顯現　Are fully visible, every nook and cranny being clearly revealed.

301 (a) 香氣氛氳周世界　Fragrance, spreading as vapor, pervades the whole world,
(b) 純一无雜性命海　Being the pure, unalloyed sea of nature and life;
(c) 彌綸充遍无障礙　Developing and fully extending without hindrance;
(d) 聖眾遊中香妙最　And the wonder of perfume gains perfection when the Saintly Masses walk about.

302 (a) 虛空法爾无變易　Like the free and absolute Law which never changes,
(b) 微妙光雲无影礙　The delicate and wonderful vapour of Light has no shadow and obstacle;

(c) 湛然清淨无塵翳 Deep and clear, clean and pure, and without dust or screen,
(d) 平等周羅諸世界 It spreads evenly through, and encompasses the many worlds.

303 (a) 彼界寶山億千種 In those realms mountains of treasures amount to a billion and a thousand varieties,
(b) 香煙涌出百萬般 And scented vapours gush out in a million shapes :
(c) 內外光明躰清淨 Bright within and without, clean and pure are the substances,
(d) 甘露充盈无邊畔 Filled with the sweet dew overflowing with no limit.

304 (a) 泉源清流无間斷 Clean streams flow ceaselessly from the fountain-head,
(b) 真甘露味无渾苦 Tasting like the real sweet dew (ambrosia), and being neither muddy nor bitter :
(c) 聖眾充飽无欠少 With which the Saintly Masses are fully fed without want;
(d) 若有渴乏无是處 To think that there is thirst is not true.

304 (a) 妙風飄蕩皆可悅 The wonderful winds, blowing and waving, are all delightful,
(b) 和暢周迴遍十方 Mild and pleasant, spreading all round in ten directions,
(c) 輕拂寶樓及寶閣 Touching gently the towers and pavilions of jewels,
(d) 寶鈴寶鐸恒震響 And always stirring the precious bells, small and big, into tinkling.

306 (a) 光明妙火无可比 The wonderful fire of Light is beyond compare,
(b) 妙色清涼常暉曜 Its wonderful colour, pure and cool, always shines and glitters,
(c) 赫爾恒存不生滅 Always existing gloriously, having neither increase nor diminution:
(d) 奇特暉光實難類 Its strange and unique radiance is truly beyond compare.

307 (a) 火躰清虛无毒熱 The body of the Fire is pure, immaterial, and without poisonous heat,
(b) 觸入於中不燒煮 In which one is casually neither burnt nor boiled :
(c) 彼无灰燼及煙煤 It leaves neither ashes, remains, nor soot;
(d) 若言焚燎无是處 To say it burns and scorches is not true.

308 (a) 彼處殿堂諸宮室 There no temples or halls, palaces or chambers
(b) 皆非手作而成堅 Were built by hands, and yet they are strong :
(c) 不假功夫法自爾 No craftsmanship was required, they were completed spontaneously by the Law;
(d) 若言修造无是處 To say there is repairing and building is not true.

Pa. ***I.48*** (a) [hrw ky](c) ʾbr hwy[n] zmyg o snyd ẅ z[ʾnyd] [Each who] ascends up to their land, and [who has the Knowledge,
(b) [ʿstʾwyd *ʾw ʿy](m) dydn o ʿstʾ[wʾd]g ẅ kyrb[kr] will priase] His manifestation, lauded and beneficent.

309 (a) 所從寶地涌出者 Whatever has sprung from the precious soil
(b) 皆有見聞及覺知 Conceives the faculty to see and hear, feel and know,
(c) 得睹无上涅槃王 To observe the unsurpassed King of Nirvana,
(d) 稱讚歌揚大聖威 And to laud and praise, sing and chant the great Sage's authority.

Pa. ***I.49*** (a) [sʾyg *tʾryg n]y ʾst (o) None who is among .....
ʾw hrw ky m(d)y(ʾn ʾdyh)[ynd] has [a dark shadow].
(b) [hrw tnbʾ]r ẅ dydn o [All the bodies] and appearances
cy [ʾ]br (hw) zmyg (ʿ)[...] upon that land (are) [radiant].

310 (a) 彼處暗影本元无 There dark shadows are naturally non-existent,
(b) 所有內外明无比 And all which is within and without is bright beyond compare:
(c) 一切身相甚希奇 All the bodies and forms are very rare and unique,
(d) 於寶地者恒青翠 And whatever grows on the precious soil is always verdurous.

I.50 (a) [ʾw]šʾn šhrdʾ(r)[yft °] Their dominion
[ ] [ ]
(b) ẅ jfrʾn cy (h)[w *zmyg °] The depth of that [land]
[wymnd *ʾw *hw *ny ʾst] [has no boundary].

311 (a) 聖眾形軀甚奇特 Shapes and frames of the Saintly Masses are very strange and unique:
(b) 高廣嚴容實難思 Tall and broad, with solemn countenances beyond imagination,
(c) 下徹寶地无邊際 Penetratingly reflected by the precious soil below beyond bound;
(d) 欲知限量无是處 To wish to understand their limits will be of no avail.

Pa. ***I.51*** (a) ʾrgʾw ʾhynd hwy(n) [o] Precious are they,
[pd *cyhrg *ʾby wygʾn] [with forms that are free from injury].
(b) ʾwd ny nyzʾwryft o (And) feebleness
ʾ(wt) [zrwʾn *pd *hwyn hndʾm] and [age do not affect their limbs].

312 (a) 彼聖妙形堪珍重 The wonderful shapes of those Sages are precious and valuable,
(b) 元无病患及災殃 Naturally free from sickness and troubles, distress and calamity:
(c) 有力常安无衰老 Mighty, always secure, never becoming feeble or old,
(d) 說彼无損躰恒強 Damaged by no maledictions, and always with strong limbs.

Pa. ***I.52*** (a) ʾwd ʿywyc mrdwh[m o] There is not one single man
[pdmʾn *ny *šhyd *kw wʾcʾ] [who can tell their measure],
(b) ʾwd zʾnʾ cw(n)[d] or know how much (?) ..
[ ] [ ]

313 (a) 若非大聖知身量 Had not the Great Sage known their bodies and conditions,
(b) 何有凡夫能算說 Who among mortals could calculate and describe them?
(c) 金剛之躰叵思議 Their frames of diamond are beyond imagination and criticism,
(d) 大小形容唯聖別 And their shapes and countenances, great or small, are only distinguished by the Sage.

Pa. ***I.53*** (a) [hwyn] dydn ʾbgws[tg o] [ ] [ ] Their forms revea[led (?)]
(b) w[....]šʾn (ʾ)b(n)[ʾsʾd o] [ ] [ ] […]they rui[ned ?]

314 (a) 聖眾色相甚微妙 Complexions and forms of the saintly masses are very delicate and wonderful,
(b) 放大光明无邊所 Radiating great light limitless in extent :
(c) 无始現今後究竟 From the dim past until now, and to time for evermore,
(d) 若言身壞无是處 To say that bodies will be destroyed is not true.

Pa. ***I.54*** (a) [ʾ]wṯ (hr)wyc [o] [ ] Their forms[revealed (?)....] [ ]
(b) [ ] (z)myg ʿ[ ] [ ] [ ] the land [ ] [ ] [ ]

315 (a) 人天聖凡諸形類 Of all kinds and races, human or heavenly, Saintly or mortal,
(b) 叵有肉舌能讚彼 No carnal tongue can ever give them enough praise :
(c) 諸佛性相實難思 The Natures and Forms of all Buddhas are really difficult to imagine.
(d) 金剛寶地亦如是 And the precious soil of diamond is just the same.

Pa. ***I.55*** (a) [ʾwṯ] (h)rwy[n o] [ ] And] al[l ....] [ ] [ ]

{*Two verses missing*}

316 (a) 聖眾常樂无疲極 The Saintly Masses are always happy and without fatigue and exhaustion,
(b) 珍重榮華究竟悅 Estimable, prosperous, and honourable, and eternally joyful :
(c) 身相微妙恒端正 Delicate and wonderful, graceful and right in body and in form,
(d) 內外莊嚴實難說 And dignified and solemn within and without, really beyond description.

317 (a) 聖眾光明甚奇異 The radiances of the Saintly Masses are very strange and unique,
(b) 无有間斷互相暉 Shining on each other without interception and break:
(c) 彼聖齊心皆和合 Those Sages are unanimous and all harmonious;

(d) 若言分折元无是 To say there is breach of peace is not true.

318 (a) 諸聖嚴容微妙相 The Sages with solemn countenances and delicate and wonderful forms,
(b) 皆處伽藍寶殿閣 All live in the precious palaces and pavilions of the monasteries:
(c) 起意動念諸心想 Every thought and reflection obtain and all intentions in mind
(d) 普相照察无疑錯 Are mutually shown and observed, and no suspicion and misunderstanding exist.

Pa. ***I.58*** (a) [ʾwd]ʿ(ywy)c grʾn tnbʾr o .... [no] heavy bodies
mdyʾn [hwyn *ny ʾst] [are found] among [them]
(b) [ ](..)b(..) (ʾn)dyšyšn o [ ]… thoughts
pdy(cy)[hr] inste[ad of*]

319 (a) 光明界中諸聖等 In the World of Light all the Sages
(b) 其身輕利无疲重 Have an agile body, and suffer no fatigue and heaviness,
(c) 妙形隨念遊諸刹 Their wonderful bodies wander in many temples wherever they wish;
(d) 思想顯現悉皆同 Their intentions, when expressed and revealed, are unanimous.

Pa. ***I.59*** (a) [ʾwd] (w)šmy(d ʿ)štynd o They are joyous,
pd nysʾg ʿs[tʾwyšn] (uttering) wonderful praises.
(b) [ʾwd b](r)ynd nmʾc o They [continually] do reverence
ʾw hw bwrz ẅ qy(r)[bkr] to the exalted and (pious)* [Lord].

320 (a) 聖眾齊心恒歡喜 The Saintly Masses, harmonious in mind, are always joyful and happy,
(b) 演微妙音无停止 Sounding delicate and wonderful voices without break:
(c) 讚禮稱楊无疲厭 Praising and worshipping, lauding without weariness,
(d) 普歎明尊善業威 And unanimously admiring the beneficent authority of the venerable Lord of Light.

Pa. ***I.60*** (a) [hmg pwr š]ʾdyft̲ [All is filled] with happiness
ẅ wxš nwʾg rmn[y](g) and sweet delightful song
(b) [ ] ngwšyd ʾž [ ] hears from*
ʾhrwyn mʾnystʾn all the monasteries.

321 (a) 讚唄妙音皆可悅 Chanting hymns, their wonderful voices are all delightful:
(b) 其聲清美皆安靜 The tunes are clear, beautiful, and all peaceful and calm,
(c) 上下齊同震妙響 Vibrating wonderful exhoes, harmoniously from above and below,
(d) 周遍伽藍元不寧 Which spread round the monasteries, spontaneously without ceasing.

Pa. ***I.61*** (a) [ ] nwʾg* melody (*or* new)* [
kd* ʿyw bydʾn ʿstʾwynd [when*] they praise one another.

(b) pd gyʾnyn drwštyf]t o — They [all] dwell
ʿ(š)tynd yʾwydʾn — [in spiritual health] eternally.

322 (a) 其音演暢甚殊特 Their voices repeat and extend : very strange and unique,
(b) 遍互歌揚述妙德 Universally chorusing and singing to describe the wonderful virtues,
(c) 諸聖快樂皆究竟 And the happiness of the Saintly Masses is eternal;
(d) 常住恒安无疲極 They always live in permanent safety without fatigue or exhaustion.

Pa. ***I.62*** (a) [ ] — [ ]
ʾwt (s)[ʾ](g) ʾw hw ny ʾst — and it has no end
(b) [ ](o) — [ ]
h(w)[y]n* ʾd hwyn wyʾgʾn — all places

323 (a) 光明寶地无邊際 The precious land of Light is boundless;
(b) 欲尋崖岸无是處 To wish to find out its edge and shore is of no avail;
(c) 元无迫迮及遮護 Naturally free from oppression and compulsion : no shelter or protection is needed;
(d) 各自逍遙任處所 Everyone moves at will, and lives wherever he likes.

Pa. ***I.63*** (a) [ ] — [ ]
[ ] (h)wyn ny ʾst — [ ] is not [in] them.
(b) [ ] — [ ]
[ ] wzrgyf[t] — [ ] greatness [ ]

324 (a) 聖眾齊心皆和合 The Saintly Masses are unanimous and all harmonious,
(b) 元无分折爭名利 Naturally having no breach of peace, nor quarrelling over fame and profits:
(c) 平等普會皆具足 Being universally equal and perfectly sufficient,
(d) 安居廣博伽藍寺 They live safely in the cast and rich monasteries.

Pa. ***I.64*** (a) [nxšg *hrwyn *mʾnystʾn o] — The monasteries are all splendid, a
[ʾwd] (tr)s ʾndr ny ʾ[st] — [and] fear is unknown therein .....
(b) [ ] — [ ]
[ ](kr) [ʾ]wd (rʾ)[my](š)[n* ...] — [ ].. [a]nd peac[e*]

325 (a) 伽藍清淨妙莊嚴 The monasteries are clean and pure, wonderful, dignified, and solemn,
(b) 元无恐怖及留難 Naturally free from dread and horrow, criticism and difficulty:
(c) 街衢巷陌廣嚴飾 Streets and roads, lanes and foot-paths are widely and solemnly decorated,
(d) 隨意遊處普□□ And wherever one freely roams, it is all peaceful and easy(?)

Pa. ***I.65*** (a) [ ]
[ ](ʾdd.)[ ] (*Traces only are legible*)

{*One verse missing*)

326 (a) 一切諸魔及餓鬼 All kinds of devils and ghosts-who-died-of-hunger,
(b) 醜惡面貌及形軀 With ugly and fierce faces, shapes and frames,
(c) 无始時來今及後 From the dim past until now, and to time for evermore,
(d) 若言說有无是處 To say that they are there is not true.

Tu. ***I. 66*** **(U71 R 1-4)**

1/ mäŋigü ♦ ♦ ıt ürtüki — The barking of dogs,
2/ kuš üni °° bulgaklı ämgäti_ — the call of birds,
3/ _gli yavlak ün ol °° yertä — evil voices that confuse and distress, are not
4/ äštilmäz °° °° korkınčıg — heard in that land. There are no frightening animal
5/ ätin olar a[r]a yok °° — sounds among them.

327 (a) 雞犬豬豚及餘類 Chickens and dogs, pigs and cats (?), and other animals,
(b) 涅槃界中都无此 From all these the World of Light is free;
(c) 五類禽獸諸聲響 Voices and noises of the five kinds of birds and quadrupeds,
(d) 若言彼有无是處 To say that there they are is not true.

Pa. ***I.66*** **(no Chinese equivalent)**

(a) [ ] — [ ]
[pd hwyn] šhr ny ʾst o — is not in their world.
(b) ʾwd wʾd tftwʾdyg o — And searing wind
ʾwwd ny prwrtyd o — does not prevail there. (tr. WS)

Tu. **U71 R 6-7 (no Chinese equivalent)**

6/ küñürügli isig yel — Burning hot winds
7/ yeltirmäz ♦ ♦ — do not blow (there).

Pa. ***I.67*** **(SS)*** (a) ʾc hrwyn syʾwg o — From all blackness
ʾwd [n]yzmʾn dwdyn o — and smoky [fogs]
(b) pwʾg ʾst hwyn ʾrʾm — [their] dwelling-place is free.
ʾwd tʾr ʾndr ny ʾst [o] — And [there is no] darkness [therein].

Tu. ***I.67*** **(U71 R 7-10)**

(7/) kamag — All
8/ tünärigt[ä] tumanta — darkness and fog
9/ [°° toz]ta arıg or[nangu] — and [dust], (of those) there is none
10/ [°° otačılık kongu] — the healing and resting places]
V 1/ ičrä yok ♦ ♦

328 (a) 一切暗影及塵埃 All kinds of dark shadows, dust and dirt,
(b) 極樂世界都无此 From them the world of extreme Happiness is free:
(c) 諸聖伽藍悉清淨 Monasteries of all the Sages are clean and pure.
(d) 若有昏暗无是處 That gloom and dusk exist, is not true.

I.68 (a) [ʾwd] hmg pwr rwšn o — All (is) full of Light
[hwyn] jywhr (y)[ʾwydʾn o o]* — [Unbroken are]
(b) [pd šʾ](d)yft̲ ʾwd pdyšfr o — [Happi]ness and esteem
[ ]

Tu. U71 V 1-4

(1/) tolu yaruk — Their Living Self is full of Light.
2/ tirig öz ol °° turkgaru — Perpetually in joy and in purity,
3/ ögrünčün arıglıkın — they love one another
4/ amrašu körträk ärürlär — and are more beautiful.
5/ ♦ °°

329 (a) 光明遍滿充一切 — Light pervades everywhere and fills all things,
(b) 壽命究竟永恒安 — Life is eternal and permanently peaceful,
(c) 珍重歡樂元无間 — Estimable, joyful, and happy without interception,
(d) 慈心真實亦常寬 — And man's merciful heart is sincere, true, and always at ease.

Pa. ***I.69*** (a) [wšmnyn]d pd šʾd[y]f(t̲) o — [They rejoice] in happiness
ẅ r(ʾ)[myšn] — and joy (?)
(b) [jmn](y)n pdm[ʾn o] — The reckoning [of hours (?)] .....
[ ]

Tu. ***I.69*** **(U71 V 5-8)**

5/ ♦ °° ögirärlär ögrünč_ — They rejoice in their joy
6/ _ün yıdın igdilürlär _ — and they are nurtured by the fragrance.
7/ künin sanı yok olar tirig — There is no number of days for their Living Self.
8/ özinin̨ ♦ ♦ kamag — All the [Divine Ones]

9/ [täŋrilär] öz olar [ ] — 9/ themselves, they [ ]
10/ [ ] — [ ]

330 (a) 常樂歡喜无停息 — Always pleased, joyful, and gay without break :
(b) 暢悅身意寶香中 — Freely enjoying, body and mind, in the precious-scented air,
(c) 不計年月及時日 — Counting neither years and months, nor hours and days,
(d) 豈慮命盡有三終 — How will one fear the "Three Exterminations" in the end of life?

331 (a) 一切諸聖无生滅 — All the Sages are void of birth and death,
(b) 无常殺鬼不侵害 — And the killing devil of Impermanence will not attack and hurt them:
(c) 不行婬慾无穢妊 — They do not commit adultery and have no dirty pregnancy;
(d) 豈得說言有癡愛 — How can it be said they have mundane love?

332 (a) 敗壞男女雄雌躰 — That which damages the "male and female bodies" of men and women,

(b) 生死无常婬欲果 Impermanence of birth and death, the fruits of lust and passion,
(c) 極樂世界都无此 From all these the world of extreme Happiness is free,
(d) 處所清淨无災禍 And the dwelling-places are clean and pure without distresses and calamity.

333 (a) 光明界中諸聖尊 All the saintly venerable persons in the world of Light
(b) 遠離懷胎无聚散 Are entirely free from pregnancy, (family) gatherings and dispersal,
(c) 遍國安寧不驚怖 The whole country is safe and calm, and there are no terrors,
(d) 元无怕懼及荒亂 Naturally free from fears, famine, or disorder.

334 (a) 皆從活語妙言中 All from the living language and wonderful words
(b) 聖眾變化緣斯現 The Saintly Masses have become transfigured and thus revealed.
(c) 一一生化本莊嚴 Originally dignified and solemn are the birth and transfiguration of each one,
(d) 各各相似无別見 And everyone of them looks the same without exceptional appearance.

335 (a) 國土大小皆相類 All countries, great or small, are alike,
(b) 寺觀安居復无異 Temples and monasteries, comfortable to live in, bear no differences:
(c) 各放光明无限量 Each radiating Light without limit or measure,
(d) 壽命究竟无年記 And life is eternal without counting years.

336 (a) 諸邊境界恒安靜 Frontiers and boundaries are always peaceful and calm;
(b) 性相平等地无異 All natures and forms are equal; and all places bear no differences;
(c) 三常互大鎮相暉 The Three Constancies and Five Greatnesses shine steadily at each other;
(d) 彼言有暗元无是 To say that primeval darkness exists is not true.

337 (a) 斯乃名為常樂國 This is called the country of permanent Happiness,
(b) 諸佛明使本生緣 And the affinity of previous incarnations of all Buddhas and Messengers of Light:
(c) 无有三災及八難 It is free from the three distresses and eight difficulties,
(d) 生老病死不相遷 And not affected by birth and age, sickness and death.

338 (a) 斯乃如如一大力 This is *juju* (absoluteness)-a great force,
(b) 忙你明使具宣示 Which Mani the Messenger of Light completely promulgated and revealed:
(c) 能闡生緣真正路 It can explain the affinity of life, the true and right road:
(d) 聖眾普會得如是 May the Saintly Masses all assemble, and our aim be realised!

Verses from the hymn cycle *Huwyadagmān*

M6221 + **M2412**; photo: *MHC(PE)* 27c, 28a;
ed. & tr. *MHCP* 80-83 (*Huwyadagmān* IVa)*, *Rd*. §cw, 163-64; tr. *ap*. *GSR* 100-110.

1a/ {cw.1} ky(m) wyš'h'ẖ 'c hrwyn o g(r)yhcg ẅ zynd'n 1b/ cy 'nmbrynd[1] 'wrjwg o cy ny wxš 'hynd	1. {cw.1} Who will release me from all the pits and prisons, in which are gathered (?) lusts that are not pleasing?
2a/ {cw.2} kym hynw'r wyd'r' o cy zryẖ 'ywštg 2b/ zwnws rzm'hyg 'kw 'ngwn ny 'st	2. {cw.2} Who will take me over the flood of the tossing sea - the zone of conflict in which there is no rest?
3a/ {cw.3} kym bwj'ẖ 'c rwmb o cy hrwyn d'md'd'n 3b/ cy 'yw byd'n wyg'nynd o wt 'st'wynd 'by 'xšd	3. {cw.3} Who will save me from the jaws of all the beasts who destroy and terrify (?) one another without pity?
4a/ {cw.4} k(ym) [p]rys(p)'n 'zw'y'ẖ o 'wt p'rgyn wyd'r'ẖ 4b/ cy pwr tr(s) ['w](t) lrz o cy dyw'n wyg'ng	4. {cw.4} Who will lead me beyond the walls and take me over the moats, which (are) full of fear and trembling from ravaging demons?
5a/ {cw.5} kym ''jwn 'zw'y'ẖ o 'wt 'c hrwyn '[bd]'c' 5b/ 'wt 'c hrwyn wrm o kw 'ngwn ny 'st	5. {cw.5} Who will lead me beyond rebirths, and free me from (them) all - and from all the waves, in which there is no rest?
6a/ {cw.6} 'wt 'br gryw brm'm o kw 'g bwxs'n '(c) (h)w 6b/ 'wt 'c d'md'd'n 'sp'w o ky 'yw byd'n x'zynd	6. {cw.6} I weep for (my) soul, saying : May I be saved from this, and from the terror of the beasts who devour one another!
7a/ {cw.7} mrdwhmg'n tnb'r o mwrg'n 'ndrw'zyq 7b/ zrhyg m'sy'g'n o cwhrb'd'n ẅ wysp dywg	7. {cw.7} The bodies of men, and of birds of the air, of fish of the sea, and four-footed creatures and of all insects –
8a/ {cw.8} kym 'ymyn wyd'r'ẖ o 'wt 'c hrwyn bwj'ẖ 8b/ kw ny wrt'n 'wt k(f)'n o pt hwyn nrẖ 'bn's	8. {cw.1} who will take me beyond these and save me from (them) all, so that I shall not turn and fall into the perdition of those hells?
9a/ {cw.9} 'wt gst pt hwyn ny wyd'r'n o pd 'jwn ny 'zw(r)[t'n] 9b/ cy wysp zng d'lwg o ('')[z]gry(f)tg[2] pt (.)[..]t'n	9. {cw.9} so that I shall not pass through defilement in them, nor return in rebirth, wherein all the kinds of plants (are) taken out in [..?]
10a/ {cw.10} 'wm k(y) [b]wj'ẖ 'c hw o 'bš('m)g'n bwrzynd 10b/ x'zyndg'n jfr'n o cy hmg nrẖ 'wt tng	10. {cw.10} Who will save me from the swallowing heights (and?) the devouring deeps, which are all hell and distress?
{Two verses missing}	(*Two verses missing*)

[1] Sundermann *MHC(PE)* 15: *'nmbrynd* is in the text, but perhaps as a mistake for *'mbrynd* / *'nbrynd*. Why not "which gather/contain"?

[2] Ibid. ' of *('')[z]gry(f)tg* doubtful.

13a/ [ ] [ ]g
13b/ [ ] [ ] pd nxcyr

14a/ [ ] [ ]tynd
14b/ [ ] [ ]synd

{*Three verses missing*}

18a/ [ ]ʾgʾn o
[ ]
18b/ [ ](w)s(ʾ)n o
[ ]

13. .. in beast(s) of the chase.

14. 18 (*Traces only are legible*)

Verses from the hymn cycle *Huwyadagmān*

M93 II + **M289a** (Pa.); photo: *MHC(PE)* 2a, 2b; *MHCP* 100-05 (*Huwyadagmān* VIc)*; *Rd*. §cx, 164-65; tr. *ap*. *GSR* 100-110.

Hd./R+V/ šhwm hndʾʾm | hwydgmʾn
Sixth canto of | *Huwyadagmān*

1a/ {cx.1} ʾz pd zwš ʿstʾnʾn o ʾwd frwzʾn pd bʾzwr
1b/ ʾbr ʾž hrw zʾwrʾn o ʾwd ʾxšyndʾn [w]ystmbg

1. {cx.1} I shall take (thee) eagerly and soar up upon wings, high over all the (Dark) Powers and rebellious Princes.

2a/ {cx.2} ʾwd ʿydwʾyʾn ʾw hw šhr o ʾng[wn h]syng
2b/ ʾwd nmʾyʾn pydrʾn o ʾw wxyb[yẖ[1] sd]f bgʾnyg

2. {cx.2} I shall lead (thee) into the primeval calm of that land; and I shall show (thee) the Fathers, mu (?) own divine entity (?).

3a/ {cx.3} ʾwd wšmnʾẖ pd šʾdyft o p(d wyʾ)g[2] ʿstʾwšn
3b/ ʾwd bwʾẖ ʾby ʾndʾg o ʾw[d ..] frʾmwšʾ dyjʾwr[3]

3. {cx.3} Thou shalt rejoice on the spot (?) in blissful praises. Thou shalt be without grief and [..]. Thou shalt forget the wretchedness (pl. ?).

4a/ {cx.4} ʿspyxt pdmwg pdmwjʾ(ẖ) o ẅ ʿzyʾhʾ rwšn
4b/ ʾwd ʾwstʾn pd tw sr o dydym šhrdʾryft

4. {cx.4} Thou shalt put on a radiant garment, and gird on Light; and I shall set on thy head the diadem of sovereignty.

5a/ [ ]ẖ pd [o] ʿ[ ]rdn bʾmyn[4]
5b/ [ ] ʿ[ ]rd qyrbkr

5. [Thou shalt] [..] through [..]brilliant jewel [..] beneficent [..]

{*Four verses missing*}

{*Four verses missing*}

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[1] ʾw wxyb[yẖ] *legit* Sundermann *MHC(PE)* 15; cf. Boyce, 'Some remarks', 320.

[2] Sundermann, ibid.: M289a has *p(d wyʾ)g* instead of *p[d hw]myʾg* (*MHC* 100, *Rd*. §cx.3).

[3] Ibid.: For *frʾmwšt dwjgnd* (*MHC* 100) read *frʾmwšʾ dyjʾwr* (M298a), cf. Boyce, *op*. cit. 320. Sundermann, ibid.: Perhaps rather *dyjwrn*, defective writing for *dyjʾwʾrʾn* at the end of the line.

[4] Sundermann, ibid: *bʾmyg* (*MHC* 100) read *bʾmyn*.

10a/ (ʾw)[d p]d rwmb wʾcʾfryd o dyz ʾbr hw [ ]
10b/ (b)wrz ʾwd qlʾn o cy ʾrgʾw p(ʾ)[dyxšʾn]

10. By a spiritual invocation [there was built?] on that [structure?] the fortress, high and vast, of the noble Em[peror].

11a/ {cx.11} ʾpdn ʾst šhrdʾryft o cy nwxzʾd hsyng
11b/ {cx.12} cy pd hw pdmwcyd šʾdyft o ẅ šhrdʾryft dydym bndyd

11. {cx.11} A palace is the dominion of the primeval First-born, for in it he clothes himself in gladness and binds on the diadem of sovereignty.

12a/ ʾwd ʾw hrwyn ʾdyʾwrʾn o dydym ʾw hwyn bndyd
12b/ ʾwd šʾdyft pdmwcn o ʾw hwyn tn pdmwcyd

12. {cx.12} And all (his) friends - he binds the diadem upon them, and clothes their bodies in the garment of gladness.

13a/ {cx.13} ʾwd ʾw hrwyn dy(n)ʾbrʾn o ẅ wcydgʾn kyrbkrʾn
13b/ pdmwcyd ʿst(ʾw)yšn o ʾwšʾn dydym bndyd

13. {cx.13} And all the believers and the pious Elect he clothes in praise, and binds on them the diadem.

14a/ {cx.14} ẅ pdxšʾhynd pd šʾdyft o cwʾgwn ʾbr nʾm bwd pštg
14b/ ẅ ʾnjwgyft (w)dʾrʾ(d) o ʾž dst dwšmnwn

14. {cx.14} They reign (now) in gladness, even as (once they had) been fettered for (their mere) name, and (had) undergone anguish at the hands of (their) foes.

15a/ ʾwšʾn x(r)[[1]]t (o) ʿʾd h(r)[wyn]
15b/ pd hw dyd(n) [o] ʿ[ ]

15. And [he makes?] them .. with all .. through that apparition ..

{*Four verses missing*}

{*Four verses missing*}

20a/ [ ](gy)c jfrʾn o ʾc prywg pdgryft
20b/ [dwšm](n)yn nydrxt o ʾwd hw bwrzyyft pʾzʾ[h]

20. [The return from] the .. Depth was obtained out of the Victory; [for] the enemies are subdued, and the Height (lies) in front!

21a/ [ʾs](t) hw rwc o kd pʾdgyrb ʾbgwndyyd
21b/ [hw *pydr kyr](b)kr o šhrʾn rwšnʾn šhrdʾʾr

21. [.. is] the day when He will reveal his form, [the] beneficent [Father], the Lord of the Aeons of Light.

22a/ [ʾwd *hw *ʿspyxt cyhr](g) o ẅ pʾdgyrb (n)ysʾg bʾmyn
22b/ [nmʾyd *ʾw *hrwyn o] ʿ[b](g)[ʾn] ky ʾwwd mʾn(yy)nd
{*End of this fragment of the sixth handām*}

22. [He will show that radiant shape] and brilliant, glorious form [to all the gods] who shall dwell there.

The Seventh Canto of the hymn cycle *Angad Rōšnān*

M91 + M175 + M287 + M439 + M459a + M489a + M517 + M578 + M690 + M774 + M817 + M1223 + M1539 II + M1540 II + M6265 + M8801 (Pa.): *MHCP*, 154-65*; photo: *MHC(PE)* 10, 11 *et passim*; *Rd*. §cz, 166-68 = M91 + M175 ; tr. *ap*. GSR 110-17.

[1] Ibid.: instead of *k(r)[* (*MHC* 102) rather *xd[* or *x(r)[* or *x(z)[*.

Hd./R+V/ hftwm hndʾm | ʾngd rwšnʾn
Seventh canto of *Angad Rōšnān*

1a/ {cz.1} ʾsʾẖ tw gyʾn o ʾwd ms mʾtyrsʾẖ
1b/ mrn kft ʾhʾz o ʾwd ywbhr ʾbnft

1. {cz.1} Come, spirit, fear no more! Death has fallen, and sickness fled away.

2a/ {cz.2} ʾwd ʾbsyst pdmʾn o cy rwcʾn ʾywštg
2b/ ʾwš gd ʿspʾw o pd mygʾn ʾʾdwryyn

2. {cz.2} The term of troubled days is ended, its terror departed amid clouds of fire.

3a/ {cz.3} ʾsʾẖ tw gyʾn o ʾwd frʾc cʾmʾẖ
3b/ ʾwd mʾ bwʾẖ ʾwrjwg o ʾbr kdg dyjwʾryft

3. {cz.3} Come, spirit, step forth! Let there be no desire for the house of affliction,

4a/ {cz.4} ky hmg ʾbnʾs o ʾwd ʾnjwgyft cy mwrt
4b/ ʾwd wxd wynwʾd ʾyy o ʾc tw bwn ʾrʾm

4. {cz.4} which is wholly destruction and the anguish of death. Truly thou wast cast out from thy native abode.

5a/ {cz.5} ʾwd hrwyn tnng o cy tw wmʾd pd nrẖ
5b/ frhʾẖ hw wdʾrʾd o ʾc hs ʾwd ʾc nwx

5. {cz.5} And all the pangs thou hast suffered in hell thou hast undergone for this, in the outset and beginning.

6a/ {cz.6} ms ʾwr ʾsʾẖ o pd šʾdyft ʾby zryq
6b/ ʾwd hwʾrʾm mʾ syʾẖ o pd mrnyn ʾrʾm

6. {cz.6} Come yet nearer, in gladness without regret; lie not content in the dwelling of death.

7a/ {cz.7} (mʾ) ʿzwrtʾ ʾwd wynʾẖ o t(n)bʾryn cyhrg
7b/ (cy) synd pd dyjwʾr o hw[y]n ʾd šyrgʾmgʾn

7. {cz.7} Turn not back, nor regard the shapes of the bodies, which lie (there) in wretchedness, they and (their) fellows.

8a/ {cz.8} ʾwd wnwẖ ʿzwrtynd o pd hrwyn ʾʾjwn
8b/ ʾwd pd hrwyn hwʾn o ʾwd tʾmʾdg zyndʾn

8. {cz.8} See, they return through every rebirth, through every agony and every choking (?) prison.

9a/ {cz.9} ʾwd wnwẖ ʾʾjynd o pd wysp dʾmdʾdʾn
9b/ ʾwd ʾxšyd hwyn wcn o pd bryʾn swhyšn

9. {cz.9} See, they are reborn among all (kinds of) creatures, and their voice is heard in burning sighs.

10a/ {cz.10} ms ʾwr ʾsʾẖ o ʾwd mʾ bwʾẖ fryẖ
10b/ ʿym hwcyhryft o cy pd hrw zng wygnyd

10. {cz.10} Come yet nearer, and be not fond of this beauty that perishes in all (its) varieties.

11a/ {cz.11} ʾwd kfyd ʾwd wdcyd o cwʾgwn wfr pd ʾbdʾb
11b/ ʾwd ʾw hrwyn kryšn o ʾwyštʾdn ny ʾst

11. {cz.11} It afalls and melts as snow in sunshine. There is no abiding for any fair form.

12a/ {cz.12} ʾwd wyzmryd ʾwd wzwyd o cwʾgwn wʾr systg
12b/ ky pd ʾbdʾb hwšyd ʿẅ hw brhm wygnyd

12. {cz.12} It witheres and fades as a broken rose, that wilts in the sun, whose grace is destroyed.

13a/ {cz.13} ms ʾsʾẖ tw gyʾn o ʾwd mʾ bwʾẖ fryẖ
13b/ jmnyn ʿšmʾr o ʾwd qmbyg rwcʾn

13. {cz.13} Yet come, thou spirit, and be not fond of the sum of hours and the fleeting days.

14a/ {cz.14} ʾwd mʾ ʿzwrtʾẖ o ʾbr hrwyn dydn
14b/ mrn ʾwrjwg o ky ʾw ʾbnʾs wʾyd

14. {cz.14} Turn not back for every outward show. Desire (is) death, and leads to destruction.

15a/ ʾc ʾyd frʾc o ʾwr gyʾ(n) [ ]ẖ
15b/ ʾz wʾyʾn ʾw bwrzwʾr [o] ʿ[ʾw *tw *bwn

15. Hence, spirit, come! [...] I shall lead

ʾrʾ](m)

(thee) to the height, [to thy native abode].

16a/ ʾwd ʾbdysʾn pdys[t ? o] ʿ[ ]
16b/ frmnywg cyd pdbw(s)[ʾd o] ʿ[ ]

16. I shall show (thee) the pledge (?) .. the hope thou hast yearnejd for ..

17a/ {cz.17} krʾ gyʾn ʾbyʾd o ʾwṯ wynʾẖ ʾn[jw](g)[yft]
17b/ cy bwrd pd dybhr o cy hrwyn wygʾng

17. {cz.17} Remember, O spirit! look on the anguish (?) that (thou hast) borne through the fury of all (thy) ravagers.

18a/ {cz.18} ʾwṯ wynʾẖ ʾw šhr o ʾwd zyndʾn dʾmʾg
18b/ cy hrw ʾwrjwg o ʾc tgnbnd wygnynd

18. {cz.18} Regard the world and the prison of creation; for all desires will be swiftly destroyed.

19a/ {cz.19} ʾwṯ pryʾbyd ʿspʾw o ʾdwr ʾwd ʾbnʾs
19b/ ʾw hwyn hrwyn o ky pd hw mʾʾnynd

19. {cz.19} Terror, fire and ruin will overtake all those who dwell therein.

20a/ {cz.20} ʾwd ʾbnsyd bwrzwʾr o ʾd hrwyn mʾnystʾn
20b/ ʾwd hrw ʾsmʾn o kfynd ngwsʾr ʾw jfr

20. {cz.20} The height will be shattered with all (its) dwellings; all the heavens will fall down into the deep.

21a/ {cz.21} ʾwd ʿstrbyd tgnbnd o hw dʾmg ʾbnʾs
21b/ ʾbr hwyn dbgr o ky ʾndr ghrʾʾyynd

21. {cz.21} The trap of destruction will swiftly close upon those deceivers who brag therein.

22a/ {cz.22} ʾwd hmg šhrdʾryft o ʾd hrw ʾstʾrg brʾzyšn
22b/ yʾdyd hwyn ʾbnʾs o ʾwšʾn tng ʾnrgypt

22. {cz.22} The whole dominion, with the brilliance of all the stars - ruin will come upon them, and the pang of their indignity.

23a/ {cz.23} ʾwd hrw ʾxšy(n)[dʾ]n o ʾwd wymnd wstmbgʾn
23b/ pd ʾdwr wxš[yndg] o ʾwd pd dyjwʾr yʾwydʾn

23. {cz.23} All the Princes and the border-rebels (will suffer) for ever in wretchedness within the blazing fire.

24a/ ʾwd hrw ʾwrjwg o ʾwd dydn wbrʾ(z)[ʾʾg]
24b/ wydbdynd pd wʾ[o]

24. Every desire and every shining show will dissolve (?) through ..

25a/ {cz.25} ʾwd hmg jywhr o cy wysp twxm (ẅ) [bwn]
25b/ ʾc tgnbnd wygnynd o ẅ yʾdynd ʾw ʾbnʾs

25. {cz.25} The whole of life, from every seed and [stem], will swiftly be wrecked and brought to perdition.

26a/ [ʾwd hm]g ʾwrjwg o zrnyn ʾd hrw brhm
26b/ [ʾ]dwr o ẅ ʾndyšt bwynd pd hw

26. The whole of the lusts, gilded with all (their) charm [..] frime, will be heaped upon it.

27a/ [..] hrw dstygyrd o ʾ[ ]nd cy ʾwstʾd
27b/ (w)yšʾd bwynd hrwyn o [ʾ]br hwyn ʾmbdynd

27. [...] each mansion [..] which has been established - each will be broken open, and will tumble down upon them.

28a/ [...] hrwyn wygʾn o cy [ ]
28b/ [..](. ʾ)sʾd ʾsmʾn o ẅ [ ]

28. [...] every injury of [...] heaven and [...]

29a/ [..] pṯ hw rwc o pʾ(d)[ ]
29b/ [..] ʾdr zmyg o bwyd h[ ]

29. [...] upon that day [...] beneath the earth, it will become [...]

30a/ [..] (h)rw dywʾn o hwyn [ ]
30b/ [..] (t)nng ʾdwryn o ʾwt̲ [ ] (hw)
[ʾn]jywgyft̲

30. [...] all the demons, those [...] fiery pangs .. and [...] that redemption (?).

31a/ [pt̲] jfrʾn ʾywštg o cy hmg w(š)wbyšn
31b/ [pʾdy]frʾs wyndynd o pd [d]yjwʾr
yʾwydʾʾn

31. [In] the troubled deeps where all is anarchy they will find (their) reward in endless wretchedness.

32a/ [ ]dg o ʾwd [ ]ynd ʾw šrgʾn
32b/ [ ](r) o dy[ ]ʾʾ drwdg[1]

32. [...] and they will [...] to the lions [...] (?)

33a/ [ ] ʿ[y]ʾwydʾn ʾby rwšn
33b/ [ ] ʿ[dyjwʾ](r)yft jywhr

34a/ [tʾ](r)yg gzng
34b/ [dys]mʾn rymn

33. [...] for every without light [...] a life of wretchedness (?).

35a/ [bs](t̲) bwynd s(ʾ)gʾn o cy grywʾn mwrdg
35b/ pd mrn dhmq o cy hrwyn syʾwyft̲

34. [...] a dark (?) treasure-house [...] a filthy building (?)

36a/ ʾwt̲ hmg wʾ(y) o cy tʾr ʾbzwy(š)[n ..]
36b/ wxd pdmwcynd o pd tnng cy h[ ]

35. The parts of the dead souls will be [fettered] in the tomb of death where all is blackness.

{*End of the first fragment of the seventh handām*}

36. and (where) all (is) woe of Darkness [...] (?) [...]; truly they will be clad in the distress jof [...]

{*End of the first fragment of the seventh canto*}

Verses from a hymn cycle by Mani (?)

M842 (MP): W.B. Henning, 'Mitteliranisch', in *Handbuch der Orientalistik,* I, 4, 1 (Leiden-Köln, 1958), 103-04, ed. and tr. *MH*, 95-96*; photo: DTA; *Rd*. §da, 169; tr. *HG* 156-57, *GSR* 124.

Hd./R+V/ ❀ yyšwʿ ʾw ❀ | ❀ yyšwʿ d(r)jwʾn ❀
… to Jesus | Jesus gave life (?)

R
1/ {da.1} dryst wysʾy bšnywm
2/ wzrg o dryst wysʾy
3/ cy(h)rwm bʾmyw o dryst
4/ wysʾy dyswm rwcʾg o
5/ [d(r)[y](s)t wysʾy ʿspyzyšn o
6/ (ʾgr)ʾw ẅ rwšn frhyd oo
7/ {da.2} [dry]st wysʾy sxwnwm
8/ [ʾ](b)zʾr o ky zyhr ʿyg
9/ (jʾ)ydʾn ʾzyš cʾxšynwm
10/ o dryst wysʾy wywgwm

R
{da.1} Welcome, my great height! Welcome, my radiant form! Welcome, my shining aspect! (5) Welcome, noble (*or* fine) radiance and abundant light! {da.2} Welcome, my powerful word, from which I get a taste of eternal life! (10) Welcome, my beautiful bride! Welcome, my true palace! Welcome, light and holy father,

[1] Sundermann, *MHC(PE)* 17: instead of *]ʾʾdrwdg*, *]ʾʾ drwdg* may be read in M817, with a long space between ʾʾ and *drwdg*.

11/ wryhrʾwnd o dryst
12/ wysʾy prwʾskwm
13/ [...](.)rʾst (o) dryst (w)ysʾy
14/ [py](d) r(w)šn ʾwd ywjdhr o
15/ [nrjm](g) wzrg ʾwm bʾrg ʿy
16/ [...](š) o ʾwm zyn nyw ʿyg
17/ (ʾw) rwc ʿy rzmʾẖ o
18/ {da.3} (d)ryst wysʾy swr

V

1/ ʾbzʾr o ky dwstʾ(n)
2/ ʾcyš phypʾrwm d(r)yst
3/ wysʾy jʾm ʿy bwzyšn
4/ o ky pryyʾn pdyš wʾrynwm
5/ dryst wysʾy mgynd[wm]
6/ hwstygʾn o ʾ(w)m
7/ šypšy(r) n(y)w o ʿy g(wyš)[n]
8/ ʾwd ʾšnwyšn o ʾ[wm]{?}
9/ zyn hwbdrʾst ʿ(yg)
10/ hmʾg wygrʾsyšn o dr(y)st
11/ (w)ysʾy hʾmjʾr ʾwm
12/ hʾmpnd o ʿy pd wysp
13/ rzmʾẖ o ʾwm hm(..)
14/ ʿy pd wysp q(ʾr)[ycʾr]
15/ dryst wysʾy tw (ky) [pd]
16/ nhwptgyẖ qyrd (h)[y]
17/ ẅ pd wyhyẖ wyrʾ(st)
18/ hy o myzdgtʾc nyw o

great (15) [tw]in and my .. steed, and my good armour for the day of battle. {da.3} Welcome, [**V**] powerful banquet, with which I fill (my) friends. Welcome, bowl of deliverance, with which I gladden (my) friends. (5) Welcome, my firm shield and my good sword of speaking and hearing and my well-prepared armour of (10) all (= complete?) wakefulness! Welcome, comrade and my companion in every battle and my [..] on every battlefield! (15) Welcome, you, who were made in hidden things (*or* secrecy) and were arranged (*or* prepared) in wisdom, good messenger!

Verses from a hymn cycle by Mani (?)

M215: Henning, *Mitteliranisch*, 103-04, *Rd*. §db, pp. 169-70, ed. and trans. *MH*, 94-99*.

Pa – verses from a hymn-cycle by Mani

❀ ❀
Hd./R/ ❀ mn tn ʾ(y)[. ❀] | ❀ [...](.) ʾprywn ❀
[...] my body of (?) | [...] praise

R

1/ pydwm ʾwd brʾd oo (c)[y ʾc]
2/ rʾšt(yf)t oo {db.1} drwd ʾ(br)[*tw oo {?}]
3/ (g)rywm (cy) ʾc jywhr oo [d](r)wd
4/ ʾbr tw o(o jy)ryftwm ʿstʾwʾdg
5/ drwd ʾbr tw oo bʾrgwm c[y]
6/ ʾc rwšn oo drwd ʾbr (t)[w]
7/ pdmwcnwm rwšnyn •• c[y ʾc]
8/ ʿstʾwyšn oo drwd ʾ(b)[r tw]
9/ tnbʾrwm pwʾg oo d(r)wd[ʾbr]
10/ tw oo pwsgwm wyšmn[ʾg drwd]
11/ ʾbr tw oo mn tn wzrg •[• drwd]
12/ ʾbr tw oo pʾdgyrb[wm oo]
13/ nysʾgyn oo drwd ʾb[r tw]

R

<Welcome to> my father and brother of truth! {db.1} Welcome to you, my soul (*gryw*) of life! Welcome to you, my praised wisdom. (5) Welcome to you, my mount of (*or* from) light! Welcome to you, my light clothes of (*or* from) praise! Welcome to you, my pure body! Welcome to (10) you, my happy crown! Welcome to you, my great body! Welcome to you, my shining form (*p'dgyrb*)! Welcome to you, my light-form! Welcome to (15) you, splend[our, fine and ..!]
{*Lines missing*}

14/ cyrgwm rwšn oo drwd[ʾbr]
15/ [tw]ʿsp[y](x)[tʾn * ʾrgʾw ʾwd]
{*Lines missing*}

V
1/ [pwʾ](g) oo ymgwm wzrg oo bʾrgwm
2/ [.](oo) ʾwm zyn nyw oo cy ʾw
3/ (r)w(c) rzmgʾẖ oo {db.2} drwd ʾbr tw
4/ wxrdygwm wzrg oo ʾc kw
5/ (ʾ)mbʾrʾm oo ʾw šyrgʾmgʾn
6/ [d](r)[w](d) ʾbr tw oo tʾstgwm
7/ [cy ʾn](jy)wg oo pd cym ʾw fryʾngʾn
8/ [wyš](m)yd qyrd oo drwd ʾbr tw
9/ [ʿ](s)pr(w)m ʾmwstygʾn oo
10/ [ẅ sf]syrwm nyw oo cy wʾc
11/ [ẅ ngwš{?}] oo ʾwm zyn pdrʾstgʾn
12/ [cy h](m)g wygrʾdnyft oo drwd ʾbr
13/ [tw mn] hʾmʾxwnd oo ʾwd
14/ [hʾmʾ]dywn oo ky pd wysp
15/ [rzmgʾẖ . .] cy (m)[n]
{*Lines missing*}

V
… [pu]re. my great twin, my [..] steed and my good armour for the day of battle. {db.2} Welcome to you, great banquet, with which (5) I fill (my) friends. 'Welcome to you, my saving cup, with which I gladdened (my) friends! Welcome to you, my firm shield and (10) my good sword of speech and hearing and my prepared armour of all (*or* complete) wakefulness! Welcome to you, my comrade and companion in every (15) battle [..] on ..

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Dialogue in the form of a hymn between Jesus (?) and the 'Boy'

M42 (Pa.): *MM* iii, §i, 878-81; photo: *IMTT* 43-44; *Rd*. §dc = R I 4 - V II 26 (i 4-101); tr. *ML* 110-11; *HG* 157-58, *GSR* 124-25., ed. and tr. *MMITRJ*, 147-51*.

R/i
1/ [7-8](.)yyšn
2/ [4-5](ẖ) rngs pd
3/ [.. r](w)šnʾn brhm
4/ [. {dc.1} w]snʾd wylʾstft
5/ (c)fʾr šhrʾn ywzynd
6/ twyyc fryʾn ʿyd
7/ drxsʾẖ wsnʾd gyn:n
8/ kw pd tw ʾfryyd bwxtn
9/ oo {dc.2} **f**rhyft ʾwd ʾsp:s
10/ hnjšmʾn pydʾg
11/ cy yʾwr yʾwr tw bg
12/ nmʾd ʾw mn byc pd
13/ ʿym ʿyw ywbʾm
14/ qd tw ʾbr sd ʾyy
15/ ʾwt ʾz hyšt hym
16/ syywg oo {dc.3} **s**r rzmywz:n
17/ tw kwmʾr ʾbyʾd dʾr
18/ pydr ʾwhrmyzd bg
19/ ky ʾc tʾr pdrʾšt
20/ oo hmpdyš ʾw zʾdgʾn
21/ wsnʾd wzrg whyywn
22/ pd jfrʾn ʾndʾsʾd
23/ oo {dc.4} **n**gʾdwm ʿzgwlʾẖ
24/ tw fryhnʾm sʾstr
25/ kw ʾg ʿym yʾwr wsyd

R/i
[(**p**) ..] short in [..] the garments of the beings of Light. {dc.1} {Jesus:} [For] out of stupefaction (5) the four quarters of the world were plunged into turmoil. But thou, beloved one, endure here (in the world) for the sake of the souls, so that (their) salvation may be attained through thee. {Boy:} (**f**) The love and the service (10) that thou, God, hast always shewn to me are fully manifest. But I suffered this one time when thou hast ascended (15) and left me behind like an orphan. {Jesus:} {dc.3} Remember, boy, how the (**s**) chief of battle-seeking ones, the Father, the God Ohrmēzd, (20) left his sons behind in the depths when he ascended from the dark for the sake of great gain. {dc.4} {Boy:} Hear my (**n**) supplication, thou most beloved of beloved names! If thou dost

26/ ny qryḫ frš'w'ḫ

not free me (from the world) this time, send [**R/ii**] many gods so that I may gain victory over the evildoers. {Jesus:} (**m**) I have instructed the Great Nous (5) to send you messengers when needed, be patient, like the burdened beings of Light are. (10)

R/ii
1(27)/ ws bg'n pd cy 'z
2(28)/ wynd'm pry(w)j 'c
3(29)/ (wz)y(n)dg'r'n oo {dc.5} (**m**n d'd)
4(30)/ ('')bdys ('w m)[nw](h)m:d <wzrg>[1]
5(31)/ kwt qd g(w')'n(y)yg
6(32)/ frš'w'ḫ fryštg:n
7(33)/ twyc qr pyd'g
8(34)/ wxybyḫ drgmnyft̲
9(35)/ pd b'rwr'n rwšn{:}n
10(36)/ r'z oo {dc.6} **l**wg 'wd zhg'n
11(37)/ pdrwft mn wsn'd
12(38)/ 'wsxt zrhwšt 'w
13(39)/ p'rs šhrd'ryft
14(40)/ 'wš nm'd r'štyft
15(41)/ wjyd mn hnd'm 'c
16(42)/ hft pdgs rwšn'n
17(43)/ oo {dc.7} **k**d s't'n frwd'd
18(44)/ wsn'd hw 'wsnyndft
19(45)/ fršwdyš 'šmg'n
20(46)/ hsystr 'c pdy:b
21(47)/ bwd wzynd 'w t̲w
22(48)/ fry'n 'c hwyn
23(49)/ qyrdg'n 'w(d)
24(50)/ wxrydg jyryft oo {dc.8} **y**wbšn
25(51)/ '(n)gwd pd hw jm'n
26(52)/ 'c mn kd š'qmn o

{dc.6} {Boy:} The (**l**) world and its children were alarmed. For my sake Zarathushtra descended into the realm of Persia. He revealed the Truth (15) and he chose my limbs from among the beings of Light of the seven regions.

{dc.7} {Jesus:} (**k**) When Satan saw that he had descended, he sent out the demons. (20) Before the gods were able to return the attack, they had hurt thee, beloved, and wisdom was distorted. {Boy:} My (**y**) suffering (25) ceased at the time when I was heard by Buddha Šākyamuni. [**V/i**] He opened the door of salvation for the fortunate souls among (5) he Indians which he freed. {dc.9} {Jesus:} Because of the skillful means and wisdom that (**t̲**)[2] thou hast received from the Buddha, Devatā(?)[3], the great virgin, envies thee. When he entered into Nirvāṇa, he commanded thee: 'Await Maitreya here.'

V/i
1(53)/ bwt 'š(nw)[d bwd]
2(54)/ 'hym wyš'dyš
3(55)/ br mwxšyyg 'w
4(56)/ (fr)wx'n rw'n'n cyš
5(57)/ 'c hndwg'n bwj:d
6(58)/ {dc.9} pt̲ 'bcr'n 'wd xrd
7(59)/ cyd 'c bwt pdgryft
8(60)/ bwrd rsk dybt pd
9(61)/ **t̲**w qnyyg ql'n
10(62)/ kd hw sd 'w nybr'n
11(63)/ frm'dyš 'w tw kw
12(64)/ 'yd bws 'w mytrg
13(65)/ oo {dc.10} **h**mpd qyrd 'mwjd
14(66)/ yyšw bdyg y'wr
15(67)/ 'wš cf'r w''d
16(68)/ pw'g 'w mn hwfry('d)
17(69)/ 'w'st bst 'w
18(70)/ hry w'd'n wygnd 'w
19(71)/ wryšlyym 'd b'rg:n

{dc.10} {Boy:} (**h**) Then Jesus had mercy for a second time. (15) He sent the four pure winds to help me. He bound the three winds, he destroyed Jerusalem with the steeds of the demons of wrath. {Jesus:} A cup of (**j**) poison and death was poured

[1] At end of line, written vertically downwards.

[2] Two dots one above the other between *p* and *t̲* of the word *pt̲* may indicate that the expected *thet* section starts here. See also *MM* iii, 880 fn. 58.

[3] For a discussion on the interpretation of this word see *DMT* III/i, *s.v. dybt*.

20(72)/ cy ʿšmgyft oo {dc.11} **j**hr
21(73)/ ʾwd mrn tʾst pd
22(74)/ t̲w qwmʾr zyštyft
23(75)/ wsrd ʿšqrywtʾ
24(76)/ ʾd srʾyl zʾdgʾn
25(77)/ ʾwd ʾnyc ws
26(78)/ ʾnjwgyft cy gd

over thee, boy, (and) hate by Iscariot together with the sons of Israel. And much further sorrow which came [..]

V/ii
{2 lines lost and rubbed off}

V/ii
{2 lines lost and rubbed off}

3(79)/ p[14-15]
4(79)/ {dc.12} pštg [9-10]
5(80)/ pdycyhr wyd(n)[g 6-7]
6(81)/ fryštgʾn ʾbx(w)[nʾn]
7(82)/ rngs ʾst ʾwt̲ dw
8(83)/ qʾrwʾn ky pd mn rfynd
9(84)/ ʾnʾsʾg oo {dc.13} **w**zrg twʾn
10(85)/ rzmgʾh̲ hʾwsʾr
11(86)/ ʾwhrmyzd bg ʾwt
12(87)/ frgʾw ʾmwr(d)yšn
13(88)/ cwʾgwn ryh̲ rwšnʾn
14(89)/ ʿymyc gryw jywndg
15(90)/ ky pd pyd ʾwt̲ dʾlwg
16(91)/ t̲w ʾʾdg ʾyy ʾc ʾʾz
17(92)/ bwjʾd oo {dc.14} **h**rw hry bgʾn
18(93)/ ʾwdʾyʾd pd ʿym zhg
19(94)/ ʾwšʾn mʾry mʾnyy
20(95)/ bwjʾgr ʾw mn fršwd
21(96)/ ky ʿzwʾst hym ʾž
22(97)/ dʾhyft pd cym ʾw
23(98)/ dwšmnyn ʿspyšt
24(99)/ ʾgʾmʾy pd t̲rs
25(100)/ oo {dc.15} **d**ʾdwm ʾʾzʾdyft ʾw
26(101)/ t̲w mn hʾmhyrz ʾc

{dc.12} {Boy:} bound [.. (**z**) ..] compared with my dist[ress the number of the] messengers' call[s] is small and countless are the enemies of the two armies attacking me. {dc.13} {Jesus:} Thy (**w**) great battle is like that of God Ohrmēzd, and thy collection of treasures is like that of the Chariots of Light. Thou art also capable of redeeming from Āz the Living Soul, (15) that is in flesh and wood. {dc.14} {Boy:} (**h**) All three gods helped this child, and they sent me Mār Mani as the (20) saviour who leads me out of this slavery, in which I served the enemies in fear against my will.

(25) {dc.15} {Jesus:} I (**d**) gave thee freedom, my attendant, from [..]

Verses from an abecedarian hymn

M554 (MP): *MH* ll. 3616-3635, 280-81*; *HR* ii, 69, *MSt*. 29; photo: *IMTT* 115c-d; *Rd*. §dd, p. 173 (R 7- V 10); tr. *ML* 38, *HG* 159-60, *GSR* 126*

R
1/ [ ]
2/ šhr [ ]
3/ xwdʾwn oo pd xwyš dyn ʿyg
4/ wxd zmʾn ʿy pyrwzyh̲ oo
5/ twxšʾgʾn wxd pdy(r)ynd ky
6/ hnzft rzm ʾwd ʾrdyg oo
{Two lines left blank}

7/ {dd.1} ʾfryn ysn ʾwd whm ʾw [ ]
8/ xwdʾwn oo ʾwd kʾdw(š)
9/ nʾm [ ]d[ ]wbyd[ ]

R

… land [...] lord [...] in one's own religion of self (?), the time of victory, (5) the diligent ones who will receive for ended is the seven wars and battles.
{Two lines left blank}

{dd.1} (ʾ) Blessing, praise and honour to the lord, [...] the only name [...]

V

1/ [ ]k[ ]ʾr {dd.2} ʿy
2/ [x]wmbwyy oo **x**wrxšyd ʿy rwšn
3/ ʾwd pwrmʾẖ ʿy brʾzʾg oo
4/ **r**wcynd ʾwd brʾzynd ʾc tnwʾr
5/ ʿy ʾwy drxt o {dd.3} **m**wrwʾn bʾmywʾn
6/ ʾwy nʾzynd šʾdyhʾ oo nʾzyynd
7/ qbwtr fršymw(r)w ʿy wysp
8/ [gwn] **sr**ʾyynd[1] ʾwd ʾwʾcynd
9/ [ ] ʿy qnygʾn oo ʿstʾynd
10/ [ ] tnwʾr ʿy ʾwy
11/ [ ]wd[ ]

V

{dd.2} [...] of fragrance. The bright (**x**) sun and glittering full moon (**r**) shine and glitter from the trunk (5) of this tree. {dd.3} Brilliant (**m**) birds are there sporting happily. Sporting (there) are doves (and) peacocks of all colours. They sing and call [...] They (ʿ) praise [...] the body which he [...]

Verses from a hymn

M727a V only (Recto = M5901) (MP); ed. and tr. *MH* 246*; photo: *IMTT* ii 88 (verso only); ed. ad tr. W.B. Henning, 'Two Central Asian Words', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1945 (1946) 152*; *Rd*. §de, 173; tr. *HG* 160, *GSR* 126.

1/ rymnʾn qyyšʾn ẅ hmwžʾgʾn o mylʾ(d)
2/ pymwg pryng ẅ prngʾn o nʾzyšn ʿyg znyn ẅ
3/ srwd ʿy šʾdyẖ o shynyy ʿy xwd bʾw
4/ ʾwd bwyystʾn o ʾwd pʾrg dʾšn ʾwd
5/ pdystʾwgʾn ny pryʾdynd pd hʾn rwc ʿy
6/ wdnng o phyqyrb ʿy pydr qnygrw[šn]
7/ hʾn ʿy xwd pryʾdyd pd hʾn rwc [ʿy]

… the accursed dogmas and teachers; mantle and suit, monochrome and polychrome damask; pleasantries of women and songs of joy; the wonderful sights of the vineyard and garden; bribes, presents and (5) promises: – they do not help on that Day of Distress. The Image of the Father, the Maiden of Light, she who alone helps on that Day [of Distress …] .

Abecedarian hymns in praise of divine savior

M225 + **M789** (MP): *HR ii* 94-95, *MSt*. 10, Photo: *IMTT* i, pls. 32-33, *Rd*. §df, 175, Part of a single page made up of three fragments (M830+M225+M789). ed. and tr. *MH*, ll. 2334-2356, 198-201.

(M225+) M789 Recto

2342 18/ ʾw hrwyn gyʾnʾn kyš mwjdg
2343 19/ ngwšynd °° **g**d h(y)m nydfwrd
2344 h(wfr̈)[d]
20/ ʾw ʿšmʾẖ qwtʾn bwjʾn
2345 21/ʾ(c) mrn ʾwd ʾbnʾs °° **d**hʾn
22/ ʾw ʿšmʾẖ ky cšm pdyn
23/ ny dyd gwšʾn ny ʿšnwd ʾwd ny
24/ gryft pd dst °° **h**w ky ʾbr bzkr(ʾ)[n]

… to all souls who hear his good news: I have (**g**) come, (I) rushed, a helper to you (pl.), so that I might save (20) you (pl.) from death and destruction. I want to (**d**) give you (pl.) whose fleshly eyes did not see, ears did not hear and did not grasp with the hand: (**h**/ẖ) him who <did not stay(?) on the heart> of the evil-doers.

(M225+) M789 Verso

2353 18/ °° **k**dʾc ny grʾyd wygʾw
2354 19/ {df.1} (mst)yft ʾngw(y)d ʾc ʾbgʾm
20/ cmyyd wydʾrʾ(d) (°)[°](**l**)wg hm(q)
2355 21/ frʾm(w)qcyd ʾd wwʾr ʾwd ʾndʾg
22/ ywb(hr) zrwʾn ʾwd mrn ʾnʾwrd °°

It (**k**) never falls down from want, {df.1} drunkenness; (nor) rests from grant(s); it (20) proceeds, (and) passed by. It puts the whole (**l**) world aside together with separation and grief, illness, old age and

[1] ***sr***ʾ*yynd* (DbMT) is favoured by *DMT* III/i, 308 but the photograph provided by DTA strongly suggests **sr**ʾwynd (MB). Both **sr**ʾ**w-** and **sr**ʾ**y-** mean 'to sing'.

23/ {df.2} **m**wxš pryʾbyd wšydʾx ʾby
2356 24/ t̲rs šʾdyft drwštyft ywʾng<y>ft

endless death. It attains {df.2} (**m**) salvation (*mwxš*),, trust without fear, serenity, health, youth …

Abecedarian polemical hymns

M28 I (MP): *HR ii* 94-95, *MSt*. 10, Photo: *IMTT* i, pls. 32-33, *Rd*. §dg, 174-75,
ed. and tr. P.O. Skjærvø, 'Manichaean polemical hymns',
Bulletin of the Asia InstituteI 9, 1995, 242-53*

Hd./V+R/ gwyšn ʿyg | jwwg ʿyg ʾbwrsʾm
The speech about the congregation of Abursām

R/i
1/ **r**wʾnʾn rʾy gwynd
2/ ʾndwm cyhr ny pdyrynd
3/ o dʾ pymwcynd nsʾh̲ o
4/ ʾwd cyhr ʿy tnwʾryn
5/ {dg.1} **š**hrʾn wdmwšt bwynd
6/ pd ʾwzdysʾn wyptgʾn
7/ o phykrʾn ʿy ʾbr
8/ dywʾr ʿy dʾrwyn so ẅ sygyn so
9/ {dg.2} **t̲**rsynd ʾw wyptgyh̲
10/ o ngwcynd ʾwš nmʾc
11/ brynd hyštwšʾn pyd
12/ ʿy pd grʾsmʾn ʾ(wd)
13/ prystynd ʾw wyptgyh̲
14/ ʾ(w)š wʾsyndwm o
15/ dy(s)wys ʾwmyš hmwg
16/ kyrd ʾnngʾr ʾwš ʾbr
17/ xnyst hym o xng dyrynd
18/ o ʿy myrdʾn
19/ **b**ycʾrwm ẅ šrmzd o
20/ kyrdwm ʾdwny ʾwš
21/ ghwdgʾn kw ʾgr yk o
22/ ʾst yzd gyhmwrd ky
23/ o wypt o
24/ **g**wgndg šmbyd ʾnptg
25/ ʾwd drwzn pwst brydg
26/ cytʾn yzd pd šmbyd o
27/ ngʾryd zhg ẅ zʾynyyd
28/ **d**ʾdystʾn ʿy mrg
29/ pdrʾst wdʾn ʾndr dwšwx
30/ cytʾn ʾhrmyn ʾwš
31/ bzgyh̲ hngyšt pws ʿy
32/ o yzdʾn o
33/ {dg.3} **h**(ʾ) dwdy ʿymyšʾnc
34/ o ky prystynd ʾdwr
35/ swcyndg ʾc ʾydr xwd
36/ dʾnynd o kwšʾn ʾbdwmyy
37/ ʾw ʾdwr o

R/i
{**Hymn 1**} They say about the (**r**) souls that they shall not receive a form until they don a corpse and bodily form.

(5) {dg.1} The (**š**) worlds are amazed at the deceived idols, the images over the walls: wooden and stony.

{dg.2} They (**t̲**) fear (*or* stand in awe of ?) the deception. (10) They bend down and do homage to it. They have abandoned the father who (is) in paradise, and they worship the deception.
{**Hymn 2**} (**a**) And he donned my appearance, and I put to shame his teaching, and I laughed at him the tearing laughter of men.

(20) I made (**b**) perplexed and ashamed Adonai and his brats (asking): "If there is (only) one god, who deceived Gēhmurd (= Adam?) As for the (**g**) ruined *šmbyd*,[1] led astray and (25) lying, with broken skin: why do you paint the child of god on the *šmbyd* and (thus) make it born?

The (**d**) judgment (after) death has been set up for the bad in hell: why to Ahrimen and his sin did you assign the son of god(s)?

{dg.3} (**h**) Lo! Again, these two who worship the burning fire, they themselves know that from here their end is to the fire.

[1] 'curtain (or similar)' (?). A part of the Jewish temple, therefore prob. not the same as šmbt, despite de Blois 1998, 483: 'sabbath'. (*DMT*)

R/ii

1/ {dg.4} ʾwd gwynd kw ʾwhrmyzd
2/ ʾwd ʾhrmyn brʾdr hynd
3/ ʾwd pdysʾy ʿyn sxwn
4/ o rsynd ʾw wnywdyẖ
5/ {dg.5} **z**ʿwr ẅ pʾdysʾgyẖ
6/ gwynd ʾbr ʾwhrmyzd
7/ kwš mʾhmy dyw hmwxt
8/ šhr rwšn qyrdn
9/ {dg.6} **h**nzynynd ẅ nhʾynd
10/ dʾm ʿy ʾwhrmyzd ẅ
11/ ʾhrmyn (o) ẅ bwd h(y)[nd]
12/ dwšmyn ʿy hrw dw[nʾn]
13/ o t̲whmgʾn[o]
14/ **t̲**rsyšn ʿy xwd [rʾy]
15/ wypt hynd ẅ pd [..]
16/ ghw(d)[g ..]
17/ ʾc s(n)ʾn w.[..]
18/ [..] . ʾc nʾp
19/ **y**rdng xrwynyd ẅ (m)[..]
20/ hʾn ghwdg ʿy (n)h(n)g[1] [ẅ]
21/ dwsrw ʿy ʾz (p)nd ʾ[npt]
22/ o kʾ kyrd ʾst zstg [ʿy]
23/ o ywsyf o
24/ {dg.7} **x**wʾnynd (ʾ)w br mrym
25/ pws ʿy ʾdwny hptwmyg
26/ o ʾgr hʾn ʾst xwdʾy
27/ ʿy wysp pwsyš ky
28/ o kyrd ʾwbdʾr o
29/ {dg.8} **r**synd dʾdyhʾ drwndʾn
30/ ʾw dwšwx o cyšʾn
31/ xwd kyrd bzgyy ẅ wnywdyy
32/ ʿyg bzqrʾn
33/ {dg.9} **m**ʾnʾg hʾn cyšʾn
34/ kyrd o ʾwy yzd ʿy mrkywn
35/ cyš nʿyd hʾn ʿy ny
36/ xwyš ʾwšʾn gryft ẅ
37/ o ʾwzd o

R/ii

{dg.4} (**a**) And they say that Ohrmezd and Ahrimen are brothers. And on account of this speech they will come to destruction.

(5) {dg.5} (**z**) Flasehood and scorn they speak about Ohrmezd (saying) that: 'Māhmī the demon taught (him how) to make the world light."
{dg.6} They (**h**) smash and squash (10) the creatures of Ohrmezd and Ahrimen. And (thus) they have become the enemies of the families of both.

[Because of] their own (**t̲**) fear they have been (15) deceived, and by [that deceiving?] brat [were led astray?] from the three [. and were separated] from [their] family.

(**y**) (River) Jordan (?) baptism (?) and (20) that brat, small [and] ill-famed who [strayed] from that path when she became the bride [of] Joseph.

{dg.7} They (**x**) called the son of Mary the seventh (25) son of Adonay. If he is lord of all *who* crucified his son?

{dg.8} The evil rightfully (**r**) come (30) to hell, because they themselves have performed the sin and the destruction of sinners.

{dg.9} (**m**) Like that which they did: That god of Marcion, (35) because he led (out) what did not belong to him they seized him and killed (him).

V/i

1/ **n**rm xwš ʾwd nymwš
2/ kyrdwšʾn gyg ʾwd dwz o
3/ ʾwš xwʾnynd kyrbkr
4/ o wymrzʾg ʿy zhg ʿy
5/ o ʾbʾrygʾn
6/ **s**hmyn hʾn ʿyš gwpt
7/ o kš mrg ny cšt ʾnʾd
8/ ʾwdrnzydwš ʾw kwnyšnkr
9/ kwt cym kyrd hym ʾwbdʾr[2]
10/ ʾʾwn cʾwn ny wrdyyd oo
11/ k[...](b)yst[3] ʾw šyrynyẖ o

V/i

The (**n**) soft, pleasant, and *simple one they made into a robber and a thief. And they call him beneficent (who is) the *destroyer of the child (5) of the others. That (**s**) frightening one who said – while he had not (actually) tasted death – (and so) condemned the doer of the deed: Why did you crucify me?

(10) (ʾ) Like . does not turn to sweetness, these sinful brats too never become bene-

---

[1] Lieu wonders whether the reading *(r)h(y)g* 'servant' is possible here.

[2] Spelling of the word is unsure as the writing is extremely compressed because the scribe had not left him/herself enough space.

[3] Only the end of the top of what appears to be the letter beth has been preserved. Other readings are possible.

12/ [ʿy]nc bzkr ghwdgʾn
13/ [kyr](bk)r hgyrc ny bwynd
14/ [**p**..]d ẅ bwd xngcʾr
15/ [..] ʿy (w)ypt(g) o ky
16/ [..].w z[..](q)wrg
17/ [.. ʿ]y dys
18/ [**c**yh]r ẅ dys o ʾz ʾny
19/ [...]g o ny ʾʾdg pdyryptn
20/ [**b**y]c pydʿyn nsʾẖ
21/ k[ʾ]lbwd ʿyš kyrd ʾwy rʾy
22/ kw rwdʾnc ẅ ʾhwgynʾn
23/ **k**ʾ prʾmwcynd ʿyn
24/ nsʾẖ o ʾwd šwynd ʾw
25/ šhryʾryy o ʾyg pd hm
26/ o ʾywyn ʿystynd
27/ **r**ʾstyhʾ kw ʾbyryy oo
28/ ʾnʾg o ʾgr pd šhryʾryy
29/ ʿy grʾsmʾn o bwʾnd o
30/ kwl ẅ khs pzptg u
31/ o wnstg
32/ {dg.10} **š**ʾrsynd pd ʾbdwmyy
33/ hrw ky prystynd ʾw
34/ ʾwzdysʾn o pd hʾn rwc
35/ ʾbdwmyn ẅ šwynd ʾw
36/ wnywdyẖ

V/ii

1/ **t**wm wynʾr pd sr o o
2/ ʾbysr ʿy ʾrdykrʾn o
3/ kw myšg pyrwz bwʾn o o
4/ pd ʿyn rzmʾẖ ẅ kwšyšn
{about 5-6 lines left blank}

5/ ʾʾwn nm(ʾyd) sxwnwm
6/ cʾwn twnd ẅ ghrʾyšn^{o}g^{o}r
7/ ʾwyc yzd hylʾnd o ky
8/ ʾydʾwn hndyšyyd oo
9/ **p**d wysp ky pyt pymwxt
10/ šʾyhyd ʾpswsg
11/ ʾwd ʾryškyn bwd ʾnʾ[d]
12/ bʾnwg ʾw wysp
13/ o mnhmyd
14/ **g**rypt ẅ wcyd hrw ks
15/ sxwn ʿyš pd mnhmyd
16/ kʾmyd o ẅ hmyw hʾn
17/ dysyd ʿy gwgʾnyd ʾw
18/ o hyʾrʾn
19/ **d**wynd ʾbybrhmyhʾ
20/ pd nʾzyšn ʿy xwʾstg
21/ ẅ pd pymwcn ʿy ʾw
22/ zmʾn ʿy wyʾwrynd pd
23/ o ʾznd o
24/ **h**rw pndʾn ʿy wšwbyšn
25/ o ʾwd phryzyšn ʿyg
26/ prhydʾn o ẅ u rʾhʾn o
27/ **w**sʾn xwhrʾn u ʿzwš(t)gʾn
28/ wšn cʾšnygʾn

ficent. He (**p**) [...]ed and became a field of *maliciousness, (15) [..] the deceived [...], who [...] *dungeon [...] of [its?] [human?] form.

(**c**) Shape and form – from another […] she could not receive (it) (**b**) but the fleshy corpse, the frame which she (Hyle) made for this reason (**k**) that: "I shall debase as well as defile (them) when they don this corpse!" and (even if) if they go to (25) kingship, then they will be in the same manner.

In (**r**) truth, *excess is evil. If in the realm of heaven, they will be a sink and swer, *polluted and ruined.

{dg.10} (**š**) In the end they will be brought to shame all those who worship the idols, on the (35) last day, and they will go to destruction. Place on [**V/ii**] my (**t**) head the helmet of the fighters so that for ever I may be victorious in this battle and struggle!

{**Hymn 3**} (5) (ʾ) Thus my word says: like a (man) harsh and arrogant, him too the gods will abandon who thinks in this way.

Woe (**p**) unto everyone who having donned the flesh (10) becomes king! And the *lady had become envious of every *nous*.

Everybody has (**g**) taken and chosen the word that he wishes by the nous, and he always shapes (*plots?) that which destroys (his) helpers.

They (**d**) run about undressed (20) among the blandishments of possessions and in *fashionable garment which they explain (= justify) by stories (parables?).

(**h**) All the paths of ruin (25) and the numerous courses and the many roads, crooked and misleading. (**w**) And their empty tastes and the victuals (20) of the belly: they have laid hands on the Soul with great ruins.

29/ twhygʾn o ẅ zyšnʾn
30/ ʿy ʿškmb o zdšʾn
31/ dst pd gryw pd wš(by)šnºn
32/ wzrgʾn o

A Monday hymn

M763 (Pa.); *Rd*. §dga, 176; tr. *HG* 163, *GSR* 127-28 (incompl.)*, ed. *GSDT,* 120-22*; tr. Camilla Ferard.

R/i
{*Eight lines lost*}
(436)9/ [10]ʾn
(437)10/ [5+ čxš]ʾbyd
(438)11/ [**q** 6](s)t bwṯ
(439)12/ [4 ʾxw]rn bgʾnyg
(440)13/ [4](k)yrd pʾdysʾg
(441)14/ [4] yzdʾʾn o o
(442)15/ [**r** 3] dyštn cyš
(443)16/ [4] pd nʾz ʾwṯ
(444)17/ [3 ʿ]skym ʾwš
(445)18/ [frh]yd kyrdgʾn cyš
(446)19/ [hn]jft o o **š**wj
(447)20/ [3 ʾ]syd ʾc hw
(448)21/ [gy](ʾ)nʾn bwjʾgr
(449)22/ [ʾw]š dʾd dʾhwʾn
(450)23/ [ʾ]wṯ ny bwd ʾrjʾn
(451)24/ [o o] **t**wxšyd ʿšmʾẖ
(452)25/ [wj]ydgʾn ʾʾzʾd
(453)26/ pw](h)rʾn pd ʿym
(454)27/ [frw](x)yft cydʾn
(455)28/ [wyn]dʾd o o **n**yw
(456)29/ [ʿ]škybʾm ny
(457)30/ [bw]ʾm pdyfrzr
(458)31/ [ʾc] ʾfrywn byc
(459)32/ [šb] ʾwd rwc

R/ii
{*Five lines lost*}
(460)6/ [?](k)[?](nd)
(461)7/ [pd hw](ʾ)bsʾgyfṯ
(462)8/ (ʾ)w pydr wyndʾm o o
(463)9/ {dga.1} **br**ʾdrʾn ʾmwstʾn
(464)10/ ʾwṯ whygʾrʾn
(465)11/ wjydgʾn wyxtgʾn
(466)12/ ʾwṯ ʾzʾd pwhrʾn
(467)13/ oo **gy**ʾnʾn rwšnʾn
(468)14/ wjydgyft ʾrgʾw
(469)15/ frhyft ʿstwnʾn
(470)16/ ʾwṯ bʾm frzyndyn
(471)17/ oo **d**ʾryd pd ʿstʾwyšn
(472)18/ bg ʾbdys kw
(473)19/ bwyd ʿspwr klʾn
(474)20/ ʾbynng o {dga.2} **h**rwyn
(475)21/ hndʾm pdrʾst

R/i
{*Eight lines lost*}

(10) [...] command
[(**q**) .] was
[...] divine me[al]
[. he] scorned
[..] gods
(15) [(**r**) .] to fashion [...] who was [...] in joy
[...] the form and he
[ma]ny deeds which he
[had com]pleted. (**š**) Holy
(20) [...] from that
savior [of souls]
[and h]e presented a gift
[a]nd he was not worthy (of it).
(**t**) Strive you (25) the Elect, the noble sons (to remain?) in this (good) fortune which you have found. (**n**) We are very patient, (and) are not weary of praising by day and night .

R/ii
{*Five lines lost*}

[...]
in a gentle manner we praise the Father. Devout (10) and beneficent {dga.1} (**b**) brethren. Chosen elect (10) and noble sons!

(**s**) Souls of light, noble com–munity of the elect. (15) Pillars of love and children of brightness!
(**d**) Preserve (your) zeal for God's commandment, so that you may become flawless, perfect and (20) great.

(476)22/ dʾryd pd ʿstʾwyšn
(477)23/ ʾwʾnjmn rʾmyšn
(478)24/ oo **w**yxt ʾwd wjyd
(479)25/ hyd ʾc mdyʾn
(480)26/ wsʾn ʿyw ʾc
(481)27/ hzʾrʾn ẅ dw ʾc
(482)28/ bywrʾn oo **z**ʾdg hyd
(483)29/ cy jyryft ʾbryn
(484)30/ ʾwt̲ nwxzʾdʾn
(485)31/ cy rwc ʿspwryg
(486)32/ oo **j**ywhr rwšnyn
V/i
{*five lines lost*}

(487)6/(.) [ ]
(488)7/ wyrʾ(š)[t] (.)[.5.]
(489)8/ nysʾgyn šh[rd][ʾr]
(490)9/ ʾrʾm oo {dga.3} **t̲**ʾbyd
(491)10/ rwšnyft frhyft̲
(492)11/ ʾnwšg dhyd bʾwg
(493)12/ ʾw wrzygr wxybyy
(494)13/ oo {dga.4} **y**wdyd pd ʾbrng
(495)14/ pd ʿym dwšmbt
(496)15/ rwc ʾfrydg
(497)16/ cy ʾbyʾst̲ʾryft
(498)17/ oo **k**yc kyc ʾc
(499)18/ ʾšmʾh̲ pd
(500)19/ wxʾstwʾnyft̲
(501)20/ pdwhyd wndyd ʾwt̲
(502)21/ ʾfynyd oo **l**ʾb
(503)22/ ʾwt̲ nmstyg bryd
(504)23/ ʿyw bydʾn hyrzyd
(505)24/ ʾstʾr ʾndʾsyd
(506)25/ gwndg oo {dga.5} **m**yhmʾn
(507)26/ rwšn mrdwhm
(508)27/ pštg pd rʾmyšn
(509)28/ ʾwʾngwn jʾmyd
(510)29/ oo **n**ywryd
(511)30/ pd tryxt cxšʾbyd
(512)31/ ʾwt̲ ʾndyšyd pd
(513)32/ jfr jyryft oo **s**bwk
V/ii
{*Eight lines lost*}

(514)9/ (.)[. 10 . **p** .]
(515)10/ jyw(.)[. 8-9 .]
(516)11/ ʾwt̲ dy(b)[hr .6.]
(517)12/ ʾwt̲ hyrz[yd ʿyw]
(518)13/ bydʾn ʾ[stʾr oo]
(519)14/ **c**wʾgwn (ʿ) [.5.]
(520)15/ ʾbdyn pr(x)[yz 1-2]
(521)16/ kw bwyd tʾ[w]g[pd]
(522)17/ šhrdʾry(f)[t oo]
(523)18/ **q**wmʾ(r)yf(t) [4]
(524)19/ ʾwt̲ dync[yhryft]

{dga.2} Keep (**h**) all the members (lit. ‘limbs’) prepared for the praise of the peace of the community.
You are the (**w**) chosen (25) and the elect from among the many, one of a thousand and two of ten thousand.
You are the (**z**) children of the higher wisdom, (30) and the First born of the Perfect Day.
The radiant (**j**) life
V/i
{*five lines missing*}

spreads [...] the dwelling of the splendid sovereigns.

{dga.3} The (10) Light (**t̲**) shines, immortal love. He gives seed to his own sower (lit. ‘farmer’).

{dga.4} (**y**) Strive zealously on this Monday, (15) the blessed day of sinlessness.

(**k**) Everyone of you who confesses should praise and (20) pray.

(**l**) Supplicate and pray before one another, forgive (each other’s) sins put away (your) , (25) misdeeds.

{dga.5} Lead the (**m**) guest of Light, the imprisoned Man, in peace to tranquility.

(**n**) Ponder (30) attentively the strict commandment, and consider (this) deep wisdom.

[(**p**)]
(10) . [. 8-9 .]
and an[ger]
and aband[on one]
another the s[in]
(**c**) Like [ ]
(15) customary ser[vice]
which will be st[rong in] rulership.
The (**q**) chastity [ ] and

(525)20/ qlʾn ʾnd(rz) [dʾryd]
(526)21/ pd bgʾn nyš[ʾn]
(527)22/ oo **r**yst hʾmʾx(w)[ndʾn]
(528)23/ wjydgʾn ʾmws(t)[ʾn]
(529)24/ ʾwt ngwšʾg(ʾ)[n]
(530)25/ ʾw mʾnyst[ʾn]
(531)26/ ʾmwrtyd oo **š**[wdyd]
(532)27/ mʾng ʾc (h)[rw]
(533)28/ rymn pd ʿym]
(534)29/ dwšmbt r(w)c
(535)30/ ʾfrydg oo **t**w (x)[wdʾwn]
(536)31/ bg mʾry (m)[ʾny]
(537)32/ hyrzʾh ʾ[stʾr]

religious behavior (are the) (20) pure command [he observes] like (lit. 'as a sign of') the gods.
(**r**) Indeed, the united Elect, the devout ones, and Hearers should assemble together at the (25) monastery.
(**š**) Purify the mind from all the filth on this Monday, the blessed day. You Lord God, Mar Mani release (our) sins.

Verses from a hymn on salvation

M5755: H. H. Schaeder, 'Beiträge zur iranischen Sprachgeschichte', *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher,* 15 (1935) 581; ed. and tr. *MH*, 24-25*;
photo: DTA (colour); *Rd*. §dgc, 177; tr. *HG* 166, *GSR* 129

MP – verses from a hymn on salvation

1/ {dgc.1} mylysg ẅ pyrwg
2/ °° **h**ʾn prʾt ʿy rwdʾn
3/ šʾ[h] ° ʾ**z**yš bwn
4/ bʾ zʾyd °° hrw
5/ [dr]xtʾn prwryd ° pd
6/ prdʾb ʿy xwyš °°
7/ **t**yzyhʾ phryzyd °
8/ (ʾ)wd pršynzyd pd
9/ [wy]sp šhr °

{dgc.1} *mylysg* (?) and splendor. That Euphrates, king of rivers, from its base is born. It nurtures all the trees with its radiance. It (5) flows through each land. For ever consciousness another .

V/8/ cyh(r) wryhrʾwnd ° hʾmds ʿy zynʾrys °°

Beautiful form, of the same appearance as Zenares.

V/9/{unpubl.} (q)[y]šwrwʾr ʿ(y)[...][...] (ʾ)wd bšn(ʾ)y [. .](t)hmʾtr [...]

World-bearing of . . and height . stronger .'

Invocations of divinities

M4a II R, V - **M4b II** R, V (MP with some Pa. forms): *HR* ii, 57-59, 55-57, cf. *MSt*. 6-7 (4f-4g), 6 (4d-4e), photo: *IMTT* 9 (M4b I R, II V) - 10 (M4b I V, II R);
Rd. §dt, 190-91; tr. *HG* 198-201, *GSR* 158-60.*

M4a II R

Hd./R/ ʿy prystgʾn
[Invocation] of the angels

R
1/ {dt.1} ʾwr zyw xwd ʾbʾg prystgʾn
2/ ʾbzʾrʾn oo nhwm ʾwd pʾy
3/ ʾw dyn ywjdhr oo ʾwd hmbʾʾw

R
{dt.1} Come! and you yourself shall live together with the mighty angels. Hide and protect the holy church, and strike off the

4/ qmʾr bwr kstʾrʾʾn ʿy
5/ xwʾštyyẖ oo oo
6/ {dt.2} rwpʾyl myxʾyl gbrʾyl
7/ srʾyl ʾbʾg wyspʾʾn
8/ prystgʾn ʾbzʾrʾn o xwd
9/ ʾbzʾyʾnd rʾm ʾwd wšydʾx o
10/ ʾw hʾmʾg dyn ʿy xwrʾsʾʾn
11/ pʾygws oo oo {dt.3} ʾpryn
12/ ʾw prystgʾn thmʾtrʾʾn
13/ rʾhywnyg zʾwrʾn nmrʾn o kw
14/ xwd pʾyʾnd ʾw dšnyzʾdgʾʾn
15/ ʾc wʾdyn ʾwd pdyn zʾwrʾʾn o
16/ oo oo {dt.4} ʾpwrym ʾw b[y]
17/ mʾny xwdʾwn o nmbrym ʾw
18/ prẖ wzrg ʿyt brʾzʾʾg
19/ ʾwrwʾrym ʾw wʾxš ywjdh(r)
20/ ʾbʾg prhʾn ʾwd prystgʾn
21/ ʾbzʾrʾn oo oo {dt.5} ʾpryn
22/ ʾw prystgʾn (thmʾtr)ʾʾn
23/ pʾyʾnd [ʾw dyn ʿy] (yzd)ʾn o ʾwd

heads of the adversaries, of the enemies of (5) peace. {dt.2} Raphael. Michael, Gabriel, Sarael With all the angels, the very mighty ones, May they themselves increase peace and trust For the whole church of the (10) Province of the East. {dt.3} Blessings on the angels, the mighty ones; May the powerful ones, the humble ones be praised So that they may themselves protect the 'Sons of the Right (Hand)' (15) from spiritual and fleshly powers. {dt.4} I bless the G[od] Mani, the Lord. I worship thy great, radiant glory I adore (?) the Holy Spirit Together (20) with the glories and mighty angels. {dt.5} Praise to the very mighty angels. May they protect [The religion of the Gods], And

M4b II V

Hd./V+M4b II R/ pywhyšn ʿyg | br symws
Supplication of | Bar Simus

V
1/ wʾnʾnd ʾw (w)zyndgʾrʾn ʿy
2/ rʾstyẖ oo oo {dt.6} prystg
3/ rʾymst yzd dwšʾrmygr wryhr
4/ pd dydyšn nyrwgʾwynd by ʾgrʾw
5/ nʾm prydwn šʾẖ ẅ yʾkwb
6/ nry(m)ʾn oo xwd pʾyʾnd ʾw dyn ʾwd
7/ ʾmʾẖ przyndʾn oo oo
8/ {dt.7} ʾpryn ʾwd ʿstʾyšn ʾc
9/ ʾmʾẖ hrwysp o pdyryhʾd
10/ ʾw pyš snʾn xwdyʾhʾʾʾn o
11/ kwmʾn xwd prystʾnd zwr ʾwd
12/ n(yrwg) o pd ʿyn rwc ʾwd zmʾʾn
13/ ʿy (šʾdy)ẖ oo oo
14/ {dt.8} ʾpryn ʾ(ʾ)yʾd ʾc bʾʾn ʿy
15/ bʾryst o ʾwd nwg ʾw(w)d(ʾ)yšn
16/ [ʾ]c zwr ʿy qyrdqʾr ʾbr šhr
17/ ʾwd šhryʾr o kw bw[ynd wrwyšn]yg
18/ pd dyn (yw)jdhr oo oo
19/ {dt.9} nmbry(m ʾw b)rsymws
20/ [yʾ]q[w]b oo ʾwd ʾpwrym ʾw
21/ brk[ ] o kw xwd ʾbzʾy[nd]
22/ rʾy[ ] nwg nwg [šʾ]dyẖ ʾw
23/ ʿ[hʾm](ʾ)q ʿyn

V
may they overcome Those who harm righteousness. {dt.6} The angel, rich in insight, the loving deity, Beautiful (?) in appearance, the strong god, the one with noble (5) name, King Fredon and brave Jacob Himself may they protect the church and us (their) children! {dt.7} May blessing and praise from us all Be accepted by the three lords, so that they may send us (10) power and strength on this day and at the time of gladness. {dt.8} May blessing (15) come from the Gods on high And new help from the power of the mighty ones, (Let him) come to the land and its ruler, so that they may gain faith in the holy religion. *Invocation of Bar Simus.* {dt.9} I honour Bar Simus and (20) Jacob and praise Bar .. That they may themselves increase .. [in] ever new joy .. of this whole

M4b II R

R

1/ hnzmn oo oo myhryzd pd'n
2/ bwxt'r 'wd xw'b(r) o 'b'g
3/ frydwn n(yw) oo ('')wd wysp''n
4/ prystg'n oo p'y'nd ẅ phryzyn'nd
5/ 'w dyn ywjdhr oo 'w prwx s'r'r
6/ xwd'y nywn'm oo oo
7/ {dt.10} rwšnygr xwrxšyd' zyn'rys
8/ by o 'b'(g) zyndg'n m'dr [myhr]
9/ yzd o hmys prystg'n pnz 'wd
10/ dw'zdẖ o hrwysp 'st'yh'n(d)
11/ 'c dyn ywjdhr oo oo {dt.11} nwg
12/ 'pryn nwg pyrwzyẖ oo ''y'd 'c
13/ by zrw'n 'br prh''n 'wd
14/ prystg'n w'xš'n 'yg 'yn
15/ šhr o kw pdy(r)'d 'w dyn ywjdhr
16/ bwyd p'sb'n 'c 'ndrwn ẅ
17/ byrwn o hy'r 'wd p'd'r oo oo
18/ {dt.12} pywhym 'w prystg'n thm'n
19/ zwrmnd'n oo rwp'yl myx'yl
20/ gbr'yl sr'yl o kwm''n
21/ p'ynd 'c (hrwysp pt)y'r
22/ 'wm'n b[wz'nd] 'c drwnd 'hrmyn
23/ oo oo {dt.13} (nmbr)ym 'w

R

assembly. Mihr Yazd, (our) Father, Redeemer and Benefactor, with the good (brave?) Fredon and all angels, May they protect and care for (5) the holy church and its happy head, the lord of good name. {dt.10} Light bringing sun, god Zenares, with the Mother of the Living, Mihr Yazd, together with the angels, the five and (10) the twelve, May they all be praised by the holy church. {dt.11} May new blessing, new victory come from God Zurvan onto the glories and angels, (And onto) the spirits of this (15) world, so that it (the world) may accept the holy religion. May he (Zurvan) be watcher, friend and protector within and without! {dt.12} I call upon the strong angels, the mighty ones, Raphael, Michael, (20) Gabriel, Sarael, That they may protect us from all misfortune and free us from the evil Ahriman. {dt.13} I honour the lord Jacob, the angel, with

M4a II V

Hd./ pywhyšn
Invocation | [of .]

V

1/ by y'qwb prystg 'b'g
2/ (p)rh'n zw(r)'n nyw w'xš<'>n
3/ kwm'n xwd p'ynd pd zwr 'y
4/ 'bz'r o 'w(m')n (x)wd z'myn'nd
5/ 'c 'ndrwn 'wd byrwn oo oo
6/ {dt.14} 'wrw'rym pd š'dyy 'w zwr
7/ 'y 'bz'r y'kwb prystg
8/ s'r'r 'y prystg'n o tw pdyr
9/ 'c h'm'g dyn ywjdhr o nwg nwg
10/ 'pryn 'wd 'st'yšn 'bz''r o
11/ oo oo {dt.15} r'myšn 'wd nwg drwd
12/ ''y'd 'c by zrw'n o 'pryn ẅ
13/ nwg š'dyẖ 'c b''n 'wd
14/ prystg'n oo wnyr'd 'br 'šm'
15/ prh'n 'wd w'xš'n oo (x)w(d)m''n
16/ z'mynyd p(d) 'yn r'ẖ 'y drw(dyẖ)
17/ oo oo {dt.16} nwg zwr ''y'd 'c
18/ y'qwb prystg oo nwg 'w(r)w'hmy
19/ 'c wysp'n prystg'n o wnyr'd
20/ 'br 'yn šhr 'wyst''m
21/ xwd z('m)y(n'nd) pd nwg nwg r'myšn
22/ oo oo {dt.17} ('')wryd prh'n

V

the glories, powers and good/brave spirits, That they themselves may protect us with strong power and themselves lead us (5) inwardly and outwardly. {dt.14} In joy I honour the strong power, Jacob, the angel, the leader of the angels. Accept ever new blessing and mighty (10) praise from the whole holy church! {dt.15} May peace and new well-being come from God Zurvan. Blessing and new joy be prepared by the Gods and angels for you, you (15) glories and spirits! Lead us yourselves on this path of salvation! {dt.16} May new power come from Jacob, the angel, new joy from all angels. May support (20) be the portion of this land. May they themselves (ie. the angels) lead it to ever new peace. {dt.17} Come, you glories, spirits and powers. Seize the right hand ..

23/ wʾxš(ʾ)n (ʾwd zwrʾn) o pdyryd dšn

Invocations to various angels

M20: *HR* ii 45, *MSt*. 9; ph. *IMTT* 30; *Rd*. §du, 192; tr. *HG* 201-02.

MP – invocations to various angels.

I/R
{*a number of lines missing*}
1/ {du.1} ʾw yʾqwb prystg
2/ xwdʾy br symws
3/ qptynws qyrdgʾr
4/ °° rwpʾyl gbrʾyl
5/ myxʾyl srʾyl
6/ nrsws nstyqws

I/R
{*a number of lines missing*}
{du.1} To the messenger (*or* angel) Jacob, the Lord Bar Sīmūs, the mighty Kaftinus, Raphael, Gabriel, (5) Michael, Sarael, Narses, Nastikus .

I/V
{*a number of lines missing*}
1/ {du.2} ʿyg pydr hyšt hyd
2/ [. .] pywhyšn
3/ mʾ prʾmwšyyd ʾwd
4/ wʾng ʿymʾn ʾwhng
5/ cy ʾc qyrbkrʾn
6/ hwm ʾwd ny ʾc

I/V
{*a number of lines missing*}
{du.2} of the Father [...] remitted you are (?) [...] must not forget the supplication and the sound of our sorrow for we are of the righteous and not of [the evil-doers (?) …]

II/R
{*a number of lines missing*}
1/ bwʾd °° [...]
2/ {du.3} wynyd ʾwd ʾng[ʾr]
3/ qwnyd pd ʿyn dyn
4/ ywjdhr wywg ʿy šʾẖ
5/ °° ywjdhr dšn ʿyg
6/ bwzygr hʾ pdyryptn
7/ prʾy ʿyg dyn kwš

II/R
{*a number of lines missing*}
should be […]
{du.3} See and make reckoning in that holy religion, the royal bride. (5) Is not the hallowed right hand of the redeemer to be grasped rather than (lit. 'more than') a religion where …

II/V
{*a number of lines missing*}
1/ [. .]c ʾy(..)
2/ [...] pydr pydr °° {du.4} cyyšn
3/ ʾwd rʾb ʿy dyn ʾwš
4/ wʾng ʿyg ʾwhnngyn
5/ nywšydyš ʿšmʾẖ
6/ ʾwš pʾsbʾn bwyd
7/ °° qyrdgʾryẖ wynyd

II/V
{*a number of lines missing*}

Father! Father! {du.4} (5) Listen you to the mourning and entreaty of the religion and her mournful noise and be her protector! See the might [of …]

Invocation on the redeeming gods and Mani

M176 (MP, Pa. and Sgd): *HR* ii 60, cf. *MSt*. 21, ph. *IMTT* 80, *Rd*. §dv, 192-93; tr. *HG* 202-03.

Hd./V+R/ ···]šn (.k.)ft ʾwd | [·]sʾẖ (wzrg ...)[1]

[1] MacK. suggests Hd./V+R/ [.....] (wxypd) (?) (ʾwd) | [ ]sʾẖ ʿywgw[....] (?).

[…] and | (Great) King (?)

R

1/ {MP} zyhryn ʾw ʾmʾhʾẖ rwc (ʿ)[ym]{?}
2/ °°_°° {dv.1} nwgmʾhʾ sd (ʾ)c nwg
3/ whyšt ʾwd nwg šʾdyy bwd (ʾ)[w]
4/ hʾmʾg dyn °°_°° {Pa.} {dv.2} wxšn(ʾ)[m]
5/ yyšwʿʾ ʾc bgʾn ʾfrd[wm]
6/ nwgm[ʾ]ẖ tw bg (ʾ)yy ʾwd (p)[ydr]
7/ ʾrgʾw ʾyy (°°)_(°°) p(w)rm[ʾẖ]
8/ yyšwʿ(ʾ) (xw)d[ʾ](y)ʾ wxš(n)ʾ(m)[ʾẖ]
9/ pwrmʾẖ (yyš)w(ʿ)ʾ (x)w(d)ʾy'(ẖ)
10/ wxš(n)ʾmʾ z[y]rd(ʾn) rwšn(ʾ nmʾ)z
11/ ʾwẖ zyrdʾn r(wšn)ʾ (nmʾc)
12/ {MP ?} {dv.3} yyšwʿ (qn)yg ʾwd whmn(ʾ) bʾm
13/ (yzdʾ ʿs)tʾwʾm ʾw (b)g (nr)ysf
14/ (yzd ʾ)[w m]ry mʾ(ny) ʾpwrʾm °°_°°
15/ {dv.4} nw[g pw]rmʾhʾyʾ ʾwd whʾr
16/ °_[°{?} xwd]ʾyʾ m[ʾny]ʾ °° ʾpwrʾm
17/ [_{?} *ʾw prys]tgʾn yzdʾn
18/ [···· ····] (nwg) xwrxšyd
19/ [···· ·····](my)hr (z)[y]nʾrys
20/ [by ····· pwrm]ʾẖʾ
21/ [···· ···· ····] °°_°°
{*traces of letters*}
{*a number of lines missing*}

V

1/ {dv.5} [n](w)g pwrmʾẖ tʾbʾd ʾbr dyn
2/ (d)rwdʾ ʾbr tw xwdʾ(y)ʾ ° {Pa.} {dv.6} ʾwrʾ
3/ [p]d drwdʾ xwdʾy °°_°° {Pa.} ryst
4/ [··]dyg hwʾxšd mʾry mʾny bgʾ
5/ [tw] mn bwj bgʾ tw mnʾ bwj
6/ [bgʾ °°]_°° {MP} {dv.7} ʾmd nwg rwc ʾ(w)[d] nwg
7/ [šʾd]yy ʾmd nwg rwc ʾwrʾ nwg
8/ [šʾ](d)y(ẖ) [ʾ]hʾrʾ wy(n)ʾr ʿy zyndgʾn
9/ (p)wr šʾ(d)yy °°_°° {Pa.} {dv.8} kʾdwš yyšwʿ
10/ mnʾ(s)tʾr hyr(zʾ) bg mʾry mʾny
11/ mnʾ rwʾn bwj °°_°° kʾdwš bg
12/ rwšnʾ tw mn wyn zʾwr jyryftʾ
13/ bgʾ tw mn bwj °°_°° {MP} {dv.9} mnbycʾ
14/ ʾšnwd myzdg ʿym šhryʾr
15/ ʾwd wʾng ʿy (xr)wxwʾny[y ʿ](y) mn
16/ wygrʾsynʾg ʾw tw (.)[·····]šn
17/ pws (ʿy) wcy[dg ···· ····]
18/ pws ʿy wcy[dg ···· ····]
19/ °_° (...) [···· ····]
20/ pryhs(twm)[····· ·····]
21/ (g...) hʾn [····· ·····]
22/ (..)[··](.)[····· ·····]
{*further lines missing*}

R

{MP} … living (to) us the day of our (?)
{dv.1} The new moon ascended from the New Pardise and new happiness will be upon the whole religion. (5) {Pa.} {dv.2} Jesus of fair fame foremost of the gods. You are the new moon and the noble father. Oh full moon Lord Jesus of fair fame! Oh full moon Lord Jesus (10) of fair fame! Oh Light of our hearts – (pay) obeisance! Oh Light of our hearts – (pay) obeisance!

{MP ?} {dv.3} Jesus, the Virgin and Vahman (the Great-*Nous), the Radiant God (i.e. the Third Messenger) – we give praise to the god Narisaf (also the Third Messenger). We invoke blessing upon Mār Mānī. (15) {dv.4} Thou Lord Mānī art the new full moon and the spring. We invoke blessings on the [messeng]ers of the gods […] new sun […] Mihr, Zenares [the Lord ?... the full mo]on […]
{*traces of letters*}
{*a number of lines missing*}

V

{dv.5} May the new full moon shine on the religion. Hail to thee Lord. {dv.6} Come with well-being Lord! Truly […] the compassionate Lord Mānī. (5) Thou God save me! Thou [God] save me! {MP} {dv.7} A new day has come and new joy! A new day has come! New joy has come! Prepare the living meal with great joy. {dv.8} Holy Jesus, absolve (my) sins, God Mār Mānī redeem my soul. Holy Light God look upon me! Power (God), Wisdom God savest Thou me! {MP} {dv.9} But the message from my king by me have heard and the voice of the preaching of Thee my awakener […] the son of the El[ect …] the son of the El[ect …] my dearest […]

A prayer for a Uygur prince

M43 (MP): *HR* ii 78, *MSt*. 12, ph. *IMTT* 45c-d; *Rd*. §dw, *HG* 197-98.

R

1/ {dw.1} xwrʾsʾn oo gʾhdʾr tngryy qːʾnymyz oo hmyšg
2/ dʾrʾnd ʾbywzynd ʾbʾg twhm ʿy rwšnʾʾn oo
3/ nywyhʾẖ šʾd zywʾy o mʾnʾy pd rʾm ʾwd drwd oo
4/ zywʾy ʾw jʾydʾn oo
5/ tẖmʾtr sh[yn] ʾrdyqr nyrwgʾwynd yzd wʾcʾfryd oo
6/ gwrdʾn ph[lwm] srhng oo rzmywz hwnrʾwynd oo {dw.2} yʾqwb
7/ wzrg frystg oo qyrdgʾrʾn frhʾn wʾẖšʾʾn oo

V

1/ ʾfwrʾnd ʾw tw šhryʾr oo nʾmgyn gʾhdʾr
2/ dydymwr oo {dw.3} tngry qːʾn qwyl bylgʾ qːʾn o kw
3/ ʾbzʾyʾnd nwg frwxyẖ [nwg rʾm]yšn ʾwd nwg šʾdyẖ
4/ jdg ʾwd nwg pyrwzyẖ dʾ ps ʾwd pyšyy ʾʾyʾd oo
5/ bwʾndwt pʾsbʾn ʾwd pʾdʾr oo yzdʾn bʾn ʾwd frystgʾn
6/ rʾmynʾndwt wysp rwcʾn oo gʾhwt wnyrʾd šʾdyhʾẖ
7/ ʾbywzynd dʾ ʾw dyr sʾrʾn hmyšg mʾnʾy šʾd

R

… {dw.1} (King of?) the east. Heaven/King (Turk.) God our Khan, may they always be inviolate with the progeny (i.e. family) of Light. You will live in health and well-being. You will live forever. (5) Stronger, splendid, warlike, powerful god, created by (divine) word. Hero(es), foremost chief, leader, battle-rousing, valiant! {dw.2} Jacob the great angel, and the mighty ones, glorious spirit,

V

may they invoke blessing on Your Majesty, famous garlanded sovereign. {dw.3} Heaven/ King Khan Kül bilga (i.e. ‘wise’) Khan that they might increase your new fortune, your new pleasure and new happiness (and) good omen and that fresh victory, may come before and after; that they might become guardian and protector. May the lord-gods and angels grant thee peace all the days (of your life). May your throne remain in inviolable peace for many years always and remain in happiness …

Prayer with Uygur caption

M74 I (MP with Uyg.): *HR* ii 75-76, *MSt*. 14-15, ph. *IMTT* 55a, 56a; *Rd*. §dx, 194-95; tr. *HG* 203-04 (Germ.)

R

1/ [···· ···· ···· ···· ···· ··]tyẖ
2/ [···· ···· ···· ···· ···· ····]yw
3/ [···· ···· ···· ···· ···· ····]ʾn °
4/ [···· ···· ···· ···· ···· ··]ʾy qʾm
5/ [···· ···· ···· ···· ···· ····]xšʾn °
6/ [···· ····](g) ° dwstʾn ẅ hʾmnʾfːn
7/ myšg pd rʾm ʾw jʾydʾn °° {Turk.} ymrʾkː
8/ ❀ qwyrklʾ qwylwg □
9/ □ fʾmšyy nwʾq □
10/ {MP} {dx.1} by bwrzyst ʾnwšg xwdyʾ ° gʾhdʾrʾn
11/ dwnʾn rwšnʾn °° ʾbzʾr zwrmnd srwšhry:
12/ bwzygr ʿy gyʾnʾn mʾny xwdʾwn °°_°°
13/ yzdygyrd snʾn šhryʾrʾn ° lʾlmyn wryhr
14/ yyšwʿzyndkr ° gwnyʾg ʾgrʾw knygrwšn
15/ ʾʾyʾgʾn ʾbrdwm whmn rwšn °°_°°
16/ tẖmʾtrʾn ʿymyšʾn bʾn wrcʾwynd[ʾn]

R

[…] friends and kinsmen always in peace and forever.
{Turk.} YMRʾKː QWYRKLʾ QWYLWG the new *fapshi* (<Chin. *fashi* 法使, i.e. ‘priest’) ◦
(10) {MP} {dx.1} God, the highest, immortal lord. (your) sovereign Twin Lights, powerful and strong Srōšahrāy (i.e. Column of Glory), savior of the soul, Lord Mani! Your three divinely created sovereigns: the eternally comely Jesus the Saviour, majestic noble Maiden of Light, the coming highest Light Wahman (the Nous), these very powerful gods will grant new divine blessing, rejoicing

17/ ʿymyšʾn yzdʾn ° thmyhʾ dyʾnd nw(g)[·{?}]
18/ yzdyg ʾfryn ° wʾryšn ẅ nwg šʾdyẖ [··]
19/ xwnkyy(ẖ) nwg bwxtgyy ° ʾw ʿyn [····]
20/ [···· ···· ····](g) ° bstg ° yzd ° [·····]
21/ [···· ····]° wycʾ[···· ····]
{*trace of one line*}
{*number of lines missing*}

V

1/ nyw ʾw[d ···· ···· ···· ···· ·····]
2/ ʾrdʾw[···· ···· ···· ···· ·····]
3/ {dx.2} frzynd(ʾ)[n ····· ····· ····· ····]
4/ šʾdgr (ʿ)[···· ····· ···· ····]
5/ ʾwd ʾyrnzʾ(g)[···· ···· ···· ····]
6/ zywʾy hmyw šʾdyhʾ [···· ···· pd]
7/ ʾbywzyndyy °° frystgʾnw(t) pʾyʾnd °°
8/ wʾxšʾnwt rʾmynʾnd ° tnyhʾ dryst
9/ ʿystʾy °° ʾwd pd rwʾn bwxtg bwʾy °
10/ dyr zywʾy wsʾn sʾrʾn ° ʾbʾg xwyšʾn
11/ twhmgʾn ẅ nyykqʾmgʾn ° yzdʾnwt ° zwr °
12/ dyʾnd ° wysp ° yzdyg ° sxwn ° pd ° wʾbryy °
13/ hnzʾmʾy ° rwʾnyn ° kyrdgʾn ° yzdyg ° rʾy °
14/ dʾšyn byʾnyg twxšʾg bwʾy ° ẅ ʾndrzʾn
15/ ʿy xwdʾwn ° ʾwd pyys ʿy bwzygr °_°
16/ [dʾ]šyn ʿy ʾbycg ° bwndg ẅ ʿspwr
17/ [hn](z)ʾmʾm °° ps ʾbdwm pdyrʾy °
18/ [d]ʾšyn ʿy frwxʾn ° ẅ nywbxt(yy) ʾndr
19/ [whyš](t) ʾnwšg ° ʾbʾg bʾn ẅ y[zd]ʾn °° °°
20/ [··· w]yspʾn rʾym(st)[ʾn ···· ····]
21/ [····](r)[ʾ]mynʾy ° [···· ···· ····]

and fresh joy, happiness, new salvation to that […] bound god […]
{*number of lines missing*}

V

new and […]
righteous […]
{dx.2} children […]
happy […]
(5) and defeated […]
you will always live joyfully [… in] inviolateness. May the angels protect you and give your spirit peace. May you be in bodily health and be redeemed in spirit. May you live many (10) long years with your own family and friends. May the gods grant you strength. May you fulfill all the divine commands in truthfulness. May you strive after spiritual works, godly wealth and divine gifts. We will fulfill completely and entirely the commands and instruction (15) of the lord and gifts of purity. Then finally may you receive the gifts of the blessed and your good fortune of immortal heaven with the gods and divinites [..] all the riches […] may you grant peace […]

A prayer

M174: *W.-L.* ii, 555-56, ph. *IMTT* 79; *Rd.* §dy, 195-96; tr. *HG* 203-04.

I/R

1/ [...].. ʾ[ ]
2/ ° .[ ](w)m
3/ w..[ ].wm
4/ d..[ ]..ystr (ʾ)wm
5/ (k)w[..].. {dy.1} pd hrwysp xrd
6/ ʾwd brhm ʿyg ʾrdʾyẖ ° pd
7/ pnzʾn ʾndrzʾn nywʾn ʿy xwʾštyy
8/ (ʾw)d pd s(n)ʾn mwhrʾn ʾgrʾwʾn
9/ ° pd pnzʾn jʾmgʾn wzrgʾn ʾwd pd
10/ wygrʾdyy ʾwd wzyštyyẖ ° pd

I/V

1/ [ ] yzdʾ(n)
2/ ° ʾw[ ].ngʾn
3/ zyndg ʾ[ ](yd) (dʾdn)
4/ ʾw brʾd(r)ʾn h[.....]. {dy.2} pd

I/R

(5) that … {dy.1} Through all injunctions and morals of Righteousness, the five good precepts of piety and with the three noble seals, with the five great garments and vigilance and zeal, with […]

I/V

[ ] gods […]
to […]
living […] until (?) appearance to brothers. {dy.2} It is through the zealousness of the

5/ twxšynydn ʿy nywšʾg[ʾn ʾ]w
6/ qyrbgyy ʾwẖ kw hnzpsʾn
7/ pd pryẖ wʾxš ʾwd tnwʾr ° ẅ pd
8/ zwr ʿy tw xwdʾwn ʾyrnzʾʾn ʾw
9/ snʾn drwxšʾn wyybʾgʾn ʿym
10/ gyʾn ° ʾwd ʿstwyqwnʾn ʾw
II/R
1/ .[ ]
2/ nyzʾynd[ ].(g) ʿy
3/ wyybʾ(g)[....](c) wzrgʾn ky
4/ p(r)ysty[....]ʾdw.[.. g]yʾg
5/ ° {dy.3} ny ʾngdʾn ʾbʾg [gnz] ʿy yk
6/ zmʾn ° ʾwd nyc ʿšk[whʾn] (ʿ)y
7/ bʾ ʾc dʾnyšn ʿy yzdʾʾn ° ny
8/ ʾwzdysprystʾn ky prystynd
9/ ʾw phykrʾn ʾw by ʿy drwznyẖ
10/ ʾwd nyc qyšʾn wyy(p)[tg]ʾn ky pd
II/V
1/ [ ]š
2/ hyl[ ](m)wrzʾwšn
3/ [..] qʾmyšn [.....]kw rwc
4/ rw(c) [...]ʾnd .[..]. rwʾnyhʾ
5/ ʾw(d) [tnyh](ʾ) {dy.4} bwʾnd ʾrzʾn ʾw
6/ hw[... dʾ]šyn ʿyg wyspʾn
7/ qyrdgʾrʾn °° ʾwd dy zyyšn ʾwd
8/ ʾʾypt ʿy nywʾn ° ʾw (h)wjdg ʾwd
9/ ʿstʾydg ʾwʾhmʾn xwdʾyy
10/ šhry[ʾ](r) (wzr)g pdyxšrʾwnd °°

Heares for good works thus that I will be fulfilled through love in spirit and body and through your great strength, Lord, I will defeat the three demons who had deceived my spirit and the overcoming of […]

II/R

They honour […] of
deceived […] greatnesses which […] sent […] place […] {dy.3} Not the riche with their transient treasures nor the poor who are without the knowledge of the gods. Not the image-worshippers who worship the images, the god of falsehood and not deceived by (false) teachings of […]

II/V
[…] remission of sins

[…] wish, desire […] from day to day […] the soul and body. {dy.4} They will be valuable (to) that […g]ift of all the powerful. Give the livelihood and favour of the brave ones the good fortune and praise NNN, Lord, great and honoured sovereign.

A prayer

M38 V (Pa.): *HR* ii 77, *MSt*. 11, ph. *IMTT* i, 41; *Rd*. §dz; tr. *HG* 205-06.

V/1 [ ]
2/ mytrʾ wzrg ʾrgʾwʾ ° yzdʾn
3/ ʿjgnd trqwmʾnʾn dyn w[ ]
4/ °° yyšwʿknygrwšnʾ
5/ mʾrw mʾnyʾ yyšwʿknygrwšn
6/ mʾrw mʾnyʾ tw pd mn qr <ʾxšd>
7/ ʾxšdʾg rwšnʾgrʾ bwjʾẖ
8/ mn ʾrwʾnʾ cymyy zʾdmwrdʾ
9/ bwjʾẖ mn ʾrwʾnʾ ʾcym[yy]
10/ zʾd[mw]rd °° [ ]

V/1 [ ]
the great noble Maitreya – gods messenger interpreters of the religion, Jesus, the Light Virgin, Mar Mani, Jesus-Light Virgin, Mar Mani, (you) have mercy on me merciful, illuminator savior Mar Mani, rescue my soul from this transmigration of souls.

From the Introduction and Index of Incipits from a hymn-book

MIK III 203 / **M1** (MP with a few Pa. Sogd. and Turk. pr. names): ed. F.W.K. Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Mahrnâmag)* APAW, Nr. 5, 1912, 7-28, *Rd*. §s, pp. 52-53 (ll. 160-227 only), PE, pls. 1 & 2

I Hd./ nywšʾgʾn pywhyšn
I/i
1/ drwstyy ʾwd ʾby(-)
2/ wzyyndyy dw prẖ ẅ
3/ dw prwxyy ʾw ʿymyšʾn

I Hd./ Invocation of the Hearers
I/i
1. [May they send] health and inviolateness the two ‘glories’ and the two blisses to these our

4/ šhryʾrʾn xwdʾyʾn
5/ pd sr ʾw zʾdʾnfrwx(-)
6/ dwm hnʾm bʾmyw
7/ ʿy prystgrwšn
8/ nywšʾg ʿy hwrwʾn
9/ ʾʾy tngryydʾ xwt
10/ bwlmys ʾlp
11/ bylgʾh ʾwygwr
12/ xngʾʾn dstwr ʿy
13/ prystgʾn prwrʾg
14/ ʿy ʾrdʾwʾn pʾkʾn
15/ ʾbʾg twxm ʾwd
16/ šhryʾryy ʿy xwyš
17/ wyspwhrʾn wys(-)
18/ dwxtʾn pd sr ʾw
19/ yltwz bʾy tgyn ʾwgʾ
20/ pyrwz tgyn xsʾr
21/ tgayn wzrgʾn tgyn
22/ ttʾr ʾpʾ tqyn
23/ jyryft tkyn nywtkyn
24/ ʿymyšʾn wyspwhrn
25/ hm xwdʾyʾn pdxšrwd
26/ sβγ twtwg cyq:
27/ twtwx ẅ hm cygšʾn
28/ tyrʾkʾn ʾwd hm
29/ ʿylwgʾsyy kʾdwš
30/ nywšʾgbyd hnʾm
31/ bʾmyw ʿy prystg(-)
32/ rwšn hm ʿylwgʾsy(g)
33/ ʾwytyr wgʾ sʾbcy
34/ mgʾtrkʾn ʾwgʾ
35/ bylyg kwngwlsʾngwn
36/ wgʾ bʾtwr sʾngwn
37/ wgʾ tʾymgʾtrxʾn
38/ wgʾ nyjwk sʾngwn

I/ii

39/ ʾwgʾ ʿymyšʾn
40/ xwdʾyʾn pdxšrʾwnd<ʾ>n
41/ ẅ prʾy ʾwyšʾʾn
42/ kym nʾm ny ʾyʾst
43/ zywʾnd ẅ wnyrʾnd
44/ ʾw jʾydʾn ʾmyn
45/ °° ʾwd hm pnžkndyy
46/ xwdʾy bg qwnkyy
47/ tʾysʾngwn syrtwš
48/ ygʾnʾʾpʾ nywšʾg
49/ ʿy bʾmyw twrlwg
50/ ʾpʾ sʾnsz pʾcʾg
51/ hm nywšʾgʾn d
52/ mšyyʾn mhʾrʾc
53/ ʾrqlg zʾrywd
54/ twrk °° ° ʾwd hm
55/ cynʾnckndyy xwdʾy
56/ tʾpglg sʾngwn
57/ wgšymʾx tʾpmyš

rulers, the lords,
5. first of all to the most blessed of all men born,
to the radiant 'limb'
of the Envoy of Light ,
to the pious 'Hearer'
The one who from the Moon God
10. received his majesty, the brave (OT *alp*)
wise (OT *bilgä*) Uygur
kaghan, the ruling prince
of the apostles, the patron saint of
the true, the pure ones (i.e. the Elect),
15. and also to his successors and
to his realm
the princes and
princesses, first of all to the
Yultuzbay, to the Prince
20. Ügä Pērōz ['victorious'] , the Prince
Qasār, the Prince Wuzurgān ['great ones'],
the Prince Tatar Apa,
the Prince Žīrīft ['wisdom'], the Prince Nēw ['bravery'],
to these princes,
25. and to the lords, the mighty ones (see line 40)
Saβaγ Tutug, Čig
Totoγ ['military commander' <Chin. dudu 督都], also to
the Čigš (pl.),
the Tiräks, and also
to the Il-Ügäsi Kādūš ['holy']
30. Niyōšāgbed ['master of the auditors'], the limb,
the radiant one, of the Envoy
of Light, and also tho the Il-Ügäsi (pl.):
Ötir Ügä, Sābči
Maγa [*or* Baγa] Tarqan Ügä,
35. Bilig Küngül Sangun ['General' <Chin. *jangjun* 將軍]
Ügä, Batur Sangun
Ügä, Tai Maγa Tarqan
Ügä, Nīžūk Sangun

I/ii

Ügä, to these
40. lords, the mighty ones.
And further to those
whose names have not been metioned by me,
may they live and flourish
in eternity, amen!
45. And also the lord of Panžkanδī ['Panjikand'] ,
Beg Kunki
Tai Sangun Sirtuš (= *jiedoshi* 節都使)
Yagan Apa, the Hearer,
the radiant one, Türlüg
50. Apa Sansïz Pačag,
in addition the auditors:
Mišīyān Mahārāǰ
Ärklig Zaryud
Türk. And also
55. to the lords of Čīnānčkanδ ['Chinese town']
Tapïγlïγ Sangun ['General']
Wiγašemāx ['Happy moon' ?] Tapmïš

58/ t̲rxʾn ʿysyq
59/ ʾyngyy ʿycrʾkyy
60/ wnwmʾx t̲wnt̲rxʾn
61/ kwrt̲lʾ cwr twswž
62/ yglʾxr ʿynʾl
63/ wnwšyr ʾʾml
64/ ʾwrngw yrʾmʿyš
65/ ʿyznʾcw pwt̲yʾn
66/ gʾw pʾx ʿysyg
67/ ʿyznʾcw ʿyndwn
68/ dšʾpt yyšwʿwrz
69/ swmk mʾxyʾn
70/ t̲wpʾ fwsyy bgrʾk
71/ cwr bndk ʾspst °°
72/ ʾwd hm ʾkwcyk
73/ syrt̲wšyy yddwg
74/ cwr ngwšʾq
75/ t̲rxʾn kʾšyxšyd
76/ lyfwt̲wšy ngwškpt
I/iii
77/ prwʾnc jbgw
78/ lywlʾng xwmʾr cwr
79/ yyšwwrz bγyryj ʾwd
80/ xrʾkwl lʾʾ cwr
81/ mhʾyʾn kʾyfrn dcʾ(-)
82/ pt fryštwrz cpyš
83/ t̲swsylʾng šymgwn
84/ gwt̲m nwymʾx xzʾn
85/ jwʾnk βγy jwʾn dyn
86/ frʾd šʾδk wγšy(-)
87/ frn βγyfrn bγybyrt̲
88/ °° ʾwd hm ʾrkcyq
89/ xwt̲ʾw ʿycrʾqyy
90/ ʿyt̲myš jymt̲ʾyšy
91/ ʾwygwr t̲ʾpmyš lyt
92/ byr ʾwygwr t̲ʾpmš
93/ yβγw t̲grmyy cpyš
94/ ʾwlwgfwšy t̲ʾng(-)
95/ fwšyy lʾfwšyh̲
96/ ʾwncwr yyšwʿyʾn
97/ ʾʾsg t̲wlys ynʾl
98/ t̲mgʾnt̲rxʾn ẅ hm
99/ st̲wyʾn ngwšʾkpt

100/ rywxšyʾn byʾmnwrz
101/ cwr ʿyznʾcw ryj
102/ yʾn ʿylt̲wt̲γwʾncyk
103/ lywk lʾt̲ʾ lʾjyh̲
104/ mʾxfrn bšyhq
105/ t̲ylmʾcyy xwt̲pʾyn
106/ pʾwk pʾnxwʾn t̲sw
107/ pʾnxwʾn pʾwk bwγ
108/ lʾfrn zyrnwʾk yʾhm
109/ yʾxyy t̲wgrk cwngwy
110/ ft̲q °° ʾwcwrcyk
111/ xwt̲ʾw ʿysygt̲rxʾn

Tarqan, Isiγ
Ingi Ičräki
60. Wanōmāx [‘Moon of victory’?] Tontarqan,
Kürtlä Čor Tusuž
Yaglaqar Ïnal
Wanōšēr [‘Lord of victory’] Amal
Orungu Yaramïš
65. Iznaču Put̲yān
Γāv Pāq Isig
Iznaču Indun
Δašāpat Yišōʿwarz [‘Jesu power’]
Swmk (?) Māxyān [‘Moon grace’?]
70. Tupa. Fušī Bägräk
Čor Bändäk Aspast
Also Äkučīk
Sirtuš [title] Yïδuγ
Čor, Niγōšāg [= Hearer]
75. Tarqan, Kāšē Xšēδ [= the lord of Kāš]
Lifutuši Niγōšāgbad [Leader of the Hearers]
I/iii
Parwānč Žaβγu [= the Yabgu of Parvan]
Liulang Xumār Čor,
Yišōʿwarz [‘Jesu power’ ?] Baγerēž [‘God’s will’] and
80 Qarakul La Čor,
Mahāyān, Kāyfarn [‘King’s splendour’], Δačā-
pat, Frēštwarz [‘Angel power’] Čapïš [‘General’]
Zhu Silang Šymgwn [Chin. title? / Symeon?]
Γotam Nawe-māx [‘New moon’] Xazān
85. Žwānak Baγežwān [‘God’s life’], Δēn-
frāδ Šāδak [‘Glad in promoting the faith’] Wiγaše-
farn [‘Splendour of joys’], Baγefarn [‘God’s splendour’],
Baγeβīrt [‘God finds..’.].
Also the castle-
lord Ičräki
90. Itmiš Žim-tai-ši
Uygur Tapmïš Lit-
βīr, Uygur Tapmïš
Yaβγu T̲γrmyy (?) Čapïš,
Ulugfušī, T̲ang-
95. fuši, La-fuši,
Ončor Yišōʿyān [‘Favour of Jesus’]
Āsag Tulïš Yïnal
Tamgan Tarqan; as well as these:
Satuyān [‘Favour of a hundred’] Niγōšāgbad [‘Hearer’],
100. Rēwaxšyān [‘Light’s grace’] Byāmanwarz
Čor Iznaču Rēz-
yān [‘Will and grace’] Eltutγuwānčīk
Liuk Lata, Lazih,
Māxfarn [‘Moon splendour’] the doctor,
105. the interpreter (OT *tilmāčī*) Qutpāyan,
Pāwak [Pavak?] Panxuan, Tsu (= Zhu?)
Panxuan, Pāwak Bōγ
Lāfarn [‘? -splendour’], Zernwāk [‘golden voice’] Yāhm
Yāxē Toγrak [‘the Tocharian’] Čungui
110. Fattaq. The Üčürčīk
lord Isig Tarqan

112/ syn’’mg’ ngwškpt
113/ yrγ’n ’’njyrkyy

Sin Amγa [Senamaha?] Niγōšāgbad [Hearer]
Yarγan Anžirkī (?)

II/ Hd./ dbyr ’wd ’b’g

II/ Hd./ [...] the scribe and with (by?)

II/i

II/i

114/ nwyy’n ’’nl’w
115/ wγšyy xwnz’k nwy(-)
116/ frn ws’k wgšyfrn
117/ βγ’nwt̲ t̲wnk whmn
118/ cwr byš’c dbyr
119/ t̲yšfrn δpyr šp’r’
120/ xr’cwr ’lpcwr ’ty
121/ yyšw‘zyn t̲lwn’p’
122/ p’ws’ng w’syndn
123/ β’my’n slyx’m
124/ qwylcwr °° ’wd hm
125/ znyn nywš’gc’n’n
126/ t̲wyzwn bylk’ xwncwy
127/ ngwš’qpt̲’nc
128/ t̲wzwn sylyk xwnjwy
129/ qwt̲yy xwnjwy ’’t̲
130/ xwnjwyy dwxš’z’d
131/ xwnjwyy fryβ’m
132/ xwncwy °° mngyy bγ
133/ ‘yšyy y’gcwx yyšw
134/ xβyk ‘yšyy βγy δ’y
135/ xwt̲ ‘yšyy xwt̲ x’twn
136/ q/wt̲lwk q/yz t̲wlwn
137/ ’wdwzmyš yg’nxwnjwy
138/ frnβ’m xwsnd xbz
139/ sndws syw syw
140/ ngwš’qpt̲’’nc
141/ ryj wnwβ’m yyšw(-)
142/ β’m wγšyy β’m
143/ ryjqrc mnk byy(-)
144/ by ‘yjnβ’m wrtn(-)
145/ β’m x’t̲wn ’’z’d(-)
146/ β’m q’š’nc
147/ wanōnčβām yp’r(-)
148/ γznβ’m dwgt̲’nš’h̲
149/ rt̲nk ym’r x’t̲wn ‘yt(-)
150/ myš x’t̲wn bwδn
151/ x’t̲wn zrgwnc j’smn

Naweyān [‘New proof of grace’] Anlau
115. Wiγašexũnzāk Nawe-farn [‘New splendour’],
Wisāk, Wiγašefarn, [‘Splendour of joys’]
Baγ-anut Tũnak, Wahman
Čor, the doctor, scribe
Tišfarn, the scribe Špārā
120. Qaračor, Alpčor, Ati
Yišō‘zēn [‘Jesu-armour’ (?)] Tolunapa,
Pausang Wāsēndan
Bāmyān Salīxām
Külčor. And also
125. the women, the female ‘hearers’:
Tüzün Bilgä [‘the noble, wise’] Qunžui [‘princess’],
the leader of the female hearers;
Tuzun Silik Qunzui [the noble pure princess];
Quti Qunžui [princess ‘his good fortune ‘ ?]; Āt
130. Qunžui [princess]; Duxš-āzād
Qunžui; Frīβām [‘Light of love’]
Qunžui: Mängï Bag
Yšy; Yāgčuq (Jakob?) Yišō‘
Qβik Yšy; Baγe Δāy
135. Qut Yšy; Qut Qatun,
Qutluγ Qïz Tolun
Uδuzmïš Yägän-Qunžui,
Farnβām [‘Radiance of splendour’] Xusand Xbz(?)
Sandũs Siu Siu,
140. the leader of the female hearers;
Rēž Vanōβām [‘Will - light of victory’], Yišō-
βām [‘Jesu radiance’]; Wiγašeβām [‘Radiance of joys’],
Rēžkarč Manak Bī-
bī Ēžnβām [‘Radiance of dignities’ (?)]; Vartan-
145. wam [‘Radiance of the vehicle’] Qatun, Āzād-
wam [‘Noble radiance’]; Kāšānč
Wanōnčβām [‘Radiance of Vanan’]; Yïpar-
Γaznβām [‘Perfume-Treasure-Radiance’]; Δuγdānšāh [‘Queen of the daughters’]
Ratnak Y(ï)mar Qatun; It-
150. miš Qatun; Bōδan [‘Perfume’]
Qatun; Zaryōnč Jāsmin [‘Golden jasmine’]

II/ii

II/ii

152/ x’t̲wn ‘ymyš’n
153/ nywš’g’n hwrw’n’n
154/ br’dr’n ẅ xw’ryyn
155/ myh’n ’wd kyh’n
156/ pd tn ẅ gy’n pr stg’n
157/ wxd p’y’nd d’ ’w
158/ j’yd’n ’myn ’myn
159/ ’wh̲ bwyndyh̲
{Five lines left blank}

Qatun: these
pious hearers,
brothers and sisters,
155. great and small,
in body and soul may the angels
themselves protect them into
eternity! Amen, Amen!
So let it be!
{*Five lines left blank*}

160/ {s.1} ’br s’r ‘M(-)

160. {s.1} In the year five hundred

161/ PPNI ʾc bwn zʾy(-) and forty six after the birth
162/ šn ʾy prystg of the Envoy of Light, [i.e.]
163/ rwšn °° nwn ʾbr now in the
164/ sʾr {*blank*} kʾ year {*left blank*} after
165/ ʾhrʾpt pd kyrdgʾryy 165. he was lifted up in all power, [i.e. after his death]
166/ ʾwd ʾbr sʾr and in the year one hundred and sixty-two after
167/ MPPPII ʾc the lifting up [= the death] of My Lord [Our Lord]
168/ ʾhrʾmyšn ʿy mry Šad Ormezd, the Wise,
169/ šʾd(-)ʾwrmyzd whygʾr it so happened
170/ kʾ nwyst ʿyn mhr(-) 170. that a beginning was made of this hymn-
171/ nʾmg ʿy pwr ʾc book, which is full of
172/ sxwnʾn zyndgʾn living words
173/ ʾwd mhrʾn xwšʾn and beautiful hymns. -
174/ °° {s.2} dbyr kyš nwyst {s.2} The scribe who started
175/ nbyštn pd prmʾn 175. to write it at the command
176/ ʿy dynsrhngʾn of the spiritual superiors
177/ ʾwš ny twʾn bwd was not able
178/ hnzptn nbyštn °° to complete it.
179/ ʾyd rʾy cyš ny For the reason that he ...
180/ ʾyryst š: ʾwʾm 180. not ..... and .....
181/ ny bwd ʾndq was not, some
182/ nbyšt yq cnd he wrote, a few
183/ mhrʾn š/ ʿspwr hymns, but fully
184/ ny przʾpt {s.3} ẅ ʾnʾprztg to an end he did not bring it. {s.3} And incomplete

II/iii **II/iii**

185/ pd jʾy bʾ mʾnd 185. it remained at the place
186/ dʾ ws sʾrʾn pd for many years in
187/ mʾnystʾn ʿy ʾrk the living quarters of the fortress,
188/ ʾwftʾdg ẅ nyhʾdg lying there and kept safe.
189/ bwd ẅ ps mn yzdʾmd Then I, Yazd-amad
190/ xrwhxwʾn km ʿyn 190. the Preacher, when I saw this
191/ mhrnʾmʾg ʾydʾwn dyd hymn-book like that
192/ nʾfrzʾptg ʾbykʾr incomplete and useless
193/ ʾwftʾdg ʾygwm dwd lying there, again I
194/ prmʾd ʾw przynd commanded my child,
195/ dwšyst pwsrwm 195. the most beloved, my son,
196/ grʾmyg ʾw nxwrygrwšn the dear Naxwarīgrōšn [‘Seed of Light?’]
197/ przʾptn °° ʾʾwn kw to complete it - In such a way that
198/ bwʾd ʾndr dyn mʾdyʾn it would become in the faith a means
199/ pd ʾbzwn mhrnʾmg of increase, a hymn-book
200/ pd dst ʿy dynzʾdgʾn 200. in the hands of the children of faith,
201/ hšʾgyrdʾn nwgʾn kw of the pupils, the new ones, so that
202/ grywʾn pdyš pʾcyh(-) spirits thereby might be instructed
203/ hʾnd ẅ hmwg xrd and doctrine, insight,
204/ frhng ẅ hwnr ʾcyš teaching and skillfulness from it
205/ hmwxsʾnd {s.4} °° ʾyg nwn 205. would be learnt. {s.4} So now
206/ pd hwjstgyy ʿy yzd by the blessing of Yazd
207/ mry ʾryʾnšʾ hmwzʾ My Lord Aryānšāh, the teacher (?),
208/ ʿy nwg ẅ nyw(-)mwrwʾh the new one, and the good omen,
209/ ẅ pd prwxyy ʿy mry and by the good fortune of My Lord
210/ dwšyst ʿspsg 210. Dōšist, the deacon,
211/ ẅ pd nyw pyšʾryy ʿy and by the good leading (?) of
212/ mry yyšwʿʾryʾmʾn My Lord Yischo-Aryaman,
213/ mhystg ẅ pd twxššn the presbyter, and by the hard work
214/ ʿy yzd ʾmd xrwhxwʾn of Yazd-amad, the preacher,
215/ ʿy zyr frʾy ẅ wyš pd 215. the clever one, further and more by

216/ twxšʾgyy rnz ʾwʾm
217/ bwrdn ʿy nxwrygrwšn
218/ kyš pd dyl ʿy grm
219/ ẅ pryhyn mnyšn twxš(-)
220/ ʿyst šbʾn rwcʾn
221/ hmys dbyrʾn kyšʾn
222/ nbyštynd dʾ hmʾg
223/ ʿspwr przʾpt °° {s.5} ʾwd
224/ cym pd whʾng ʿy ʿyn
225/ nbyg mn nxwrygrwšn
226/ rhyg dbyr pd hrʾstn
227/ wyrʾstn ẅ nbyštn

the industry [and] the care-
fulness of Naxwarīgrōšn,
who with a warm heart
and loving frame of mind (was) the most
220. zealous for it, for nights and days they,
together with the scribes,
wrote until everything
was completely finished. {s.5} And
that, because of this
225. writing, I, Naxwarīgrōšn,
the servant, the scribe who prepared,
arranged and wrote ...

III Hd./ xwšʾʾwʾgʾʾn
III/i
228/ [.....]d
229/ [.....]
230/ ʾw ʾrʾm [.....] bwn
231/ ʾw ʾngwn ʾwd ... m yzdʾn
232/ ʾwhwm ʿšnwd ẅ bwyyc
233/ ʾxšynd rwšn mʾry mʾny
234/ ʾwryd nbysʾm frwrdg ʾw
235/ ʾbr sʾr ʿšmʾr sd
236/ ʾbr sʾr pnjʾst ʾwt
237/ ʾbrsd ʾw whyšt mn pdr
238/ ʾwn šwbʾn rwšn ky šwd
239/ ʾwn ʾmwcg wzrg mry zkw
240/ ʾmwrtyd sdfʾn ʾw ʿym
241/ ʾsyd sdfʾn wynyd ʾw
242/ ʾmʾh pydr qyrbkr yzd
243/ prnybrʾnyg P
{four lines left blank}

III {Hd.} [*untranslatable*]
III/i
[.....]
[.....]
230. For quiet ..... ground...
For the assembly and gods ...
Thus he has heard me and ...
*Ruling Light, My Lord Mani ...
Come, I will write a letter to ...
235. According to the number of the years one hundred
In the year fifty and ...
My Father has ascended to Paradise...
° Shepherd, Light, which went ...
° great teacher, My Lord Zaku ...
240. Forgive, * you beings, this ...
Come, (you) beings, see th...
Our Father, the benefactor, God...
(Hymns about) *Parinirvana*: twenty.
{four lines left blank}

244/ ʾnd(?)yš qyrbkr fryh
245/ ʾw tw wyndʾm yzd bg mry
246/ ʾw tw wyndʾm ẅ pdwhʾm
247/ ʾw tw wyndʾm rwšn ʾxš(-)
248/ ʾw tw bg pdwhʾm rwšn
249/ ʾw tw bg pdwhʾm qym
250/ ʾw tw bg pdwhʾm bwjwm
251/ ʾw tw bg pdwhʾm ʾw tw
252/ ʾw tw bg wyndʾm rwdcn
253/ ʾw tw bg ʿstʾwyšn pd
254/ ʾw tw qyrbkr cyd ʾfrynʾ
255/ ʾw tw mšyhʾh pdwhʾm
256/ ʾw tw nyw xwdʾwn wysp rwž
257/ ʾw tw hwʾxšd pdwhʾm
258/ ʾw tw mrdʾʾn ʾfrdwm
259/ ʾw tw ʾfrynʾm yzd mʾr mny
260/ ʾw tw nmʾc brʾm yzd
261/ ʾw tw pdbwsʾm pydr
III/ii
262/ ʾw tw bwsʾm bg kyr<bkr>
263/ ʾw mʾry mʾny wyndʾm
264/ ʾw mn dhʾh ʾʾgʾdg
265/ ʾw mn wynʾh sʾstʾr

Remember, benefactor (devout one) ...
245. Thee will I praise, Yazd Bag My Lord ...
Thee will I praise and call upon ...
Thee will I praise, Light (*inviolate) ...
Thee, ° God, will I beseech, Light ...
Thee, ° God, will I beseech, who me ...
250. Thee, ° God., will I beseech: redeem me ...
Thee, ° God, will I beseech, thee ...
Thee, ° God, will I praise ...
Praise to thee, ° God, through ...
Thee we will bless, benefactor, chosen one ...
255. Thee, ° Messiah, will I beseech ...
Thee, good Lord, every day ...
On thee, inviolable One, will we call ...
Thee, the first of men ...
Thee will I bless, Yazd Mār Mānī ...
260. Thee will I worship, Yazd ...
*I long for thee, Father ...
III/ii
*I long for thee, ° Pious One ...
I will praise My Lord Mani ...
Grant my wish ...
265. Look on me, Commander ...

266/ ʾw ngwšʾgʾn ds ʾbdys — Ten instructions for the ‘hearers’ ...
267/ ʾw ʾšʾmʾẖ xrwsʾm — I will call you all ...
268/ ʾwn ʾw tw bg ʾbxrwsʾm — On thee, ° God, will I call...
269/ ʾwn yzd hwʾxšd mry mʾny — ° God, inviolable, My Lord Mani ...
270/ ʾwn pydr rwšn qwmʾn — 270. ° Father of Light, that for us ...
271/ ʾwn pydr cy ʾʾfrywn — ° Father of the (?) blessing ...
272/ ʾwn qyrbkr ẅ hwʾwrt — ° devout and ...
273/ ʾmwjd ʾbr ʾmʾ rwšn — Compassion on us, Light ...
274/ ʾmwjdgr ʾwd ʾxšdʾg — Merciful and inviolable ...
275/ ʾmwjrgr wzrg ẅ ʾmwjd — 275. Great compassion and compassion
276/ ʾwr ʿzgwlyd sdfʾn — Come hither! Stride out, (you) beings
277/ ʾwr wxʾzʾm mwxš ʾc — Come hither! We will seek redemption from
278/ ʾwr ʿšnww tw bg mn — Come hither! Hear, ° God, my ...
279/ ʾwr ʿšnwyd ngwšʾgʾn — Come hither! Hear, you hearers ...
280/ ʾwryd ngwšʾgʾn ʿšnwyd — 280. Come hither, hearers, listen ...
281/ ʾwryd sdfʾn ʾw nʾwrwšn — Come hither, you *beings, to the ship of Light ...
282/ ʾwrt wxšnʾm rwšn — Come, you light-one of happy name!
283/ ʾrʾm rmnyg pdyšt hs — Sweet place of rest, place, earlier ...
284/ ʾngwn wxš whyšt ʾrʾm — Joining together, beautiful rest of Paradise ...
285/ ʿzgd hrwyn rwcʾn mʾhn — 285. Gone (have) all days (and) moons ...
286/ ʾbxšʾẖ pd mn frhygr — Forgive me, Glorious one, ...
287/ ʿfryštg ky ʾc pydr — Envoy, who from the father....
288/ ʾbgʾwʾẖ ʾw mn zʾwr — Let power *come to me ...
289/ ʾbdʾc ʾw ʾmʾ yzdʾn — May there stream to us the Gods’ ...
290/ hwfryʾd ʾw mn bg mʾry — 290. Help me, My Lord God ...
291/ ʾbrdr ʾyy fryʾng mn — Thou art the higher one, the friend, my ...
292/ ʾgd šhrdʾryft ʾwt ymg — There has come the Aeon-splendour and Yamag ...
293/ ʾgd ʾc šhr rʾmyšn — Joy from the aeon is come ...
294/ ʾgd frmnywg ʾwmʾn wyn — The message has come to us look ...
295/ ʾc ʾwynd jmʾn pd br — 295. After so many hours at the gate ...
296/ ʾc rf cy ws zmbg — From the .... many .... (Brunner: many wars)
297/ ʾc tw wxʾzʾm pydr mry — From thee, Father Mari, we wish ...
298/ ʾz frnpt ʾhym ʾwrwr — I went, plant ...
299/ ʾz pd bg nʾm šwʾm ʾw — I will go in God’s name to ....

III/iii — **III/iii**

300/ ʾnjʾrwm mʾ bwʾẖ — 300. ... not be ...
301/ ʾbrnng dʾrʾẖ grywg mn — Splendour shalt thou possess, Spirit my ...
302/ ʾwy grywm ʾbyʾd bwʾẖ — There, my spirit, remember ...
303/ ʾfrynʾm fryštgʾn bgʾn — We will bless the angels, the Gods ...
304/ ʾfryd hw rwc hwmʾywn — Blessed (is) this day, the happy ...
305/ ʾfrywn ʾwt ʿstʾwyšn — 305. Blessing and praise ...
306/ ʾrws ʾw mn ʾwm bwj ʾc — ... Turn toward me and save me ...
307/ ʾrws ʾw mn bg mry mʾny — ... me, God My Lord Mani ...
308/ ʾsyd wjydgʾn hrw cwhr — Rise up, elect of all *four ...
309/ ʾsyd wjydgʾn rʾštyft — Rise up, elect, {sons] of truth..
310/ ʾsyd fryštgʾn cydygʾn — 310. Rise up, angels ...
311/ ʾrjʾn ʾyy wzrg ʿstʾwšn — Worthy art thou of great praise ...
312/ ʾwẖ bwyndyẖ wzrg zʾwr — So be it! (= Amen!) great power ...
313/ brʾdrʾn cʾwynd ʾhyynd — Brothers so many are (there) ...
314/ ʾʾzʾd gwn brhmʾwynd gryw — Noble, brightly bedecked (?) Spirit ..
315/ nmʾcwm wynʾẖ ngʾdwm — 315. See my worship, (hear) my *singing ...
316/ nywʾn nmrʾn thmʾʾn — The excellent, gentle, strong ones...
317/ nmʾc ʿstʾwyšn tw — Worship, praise, thou ...
318/ ʾrjʾn ʾyy ʿstʾwyšn — Worthy art thou of praise ...
319/ ʾxyzyd brʾdrʾn ẅ ʾfrynyd — Arise, brothers, and praise ...
320/ nyspʾd zʾnwg tw bg wyn — 320. Thou God, see cast down knee ...

321/ pdwhnyg PPP‘II	[Songs of] invocation seventy seven.
{*Three lines left blank*}	(*three lines left blank*)
322/ ’fryd ’yy tw rwc ’frydg	Blessed art thou, day, praised one ...
323/ ’fryd ’yy rwšn’gr s’st<’r>	Blessed art thou, radiant commander...
324/ ’fryd ’yy rwc wzrq	Blessed art thou, great day ...
325/ ’fryd ’yy tw rwc qyrbg	325. Blessed art thou day, good deed ...
326/ ’fryd ’yy rwc rwšn bwxt	Blessed art thou, day, Light redeems
327/ ’fryd bw’h ‘ym rwc	Blessed be thou, this day ...
328/ ’fryd bw’h ‘ym ’m’h	Blessed be thou, this our ...
329/ ’fryd bwyndyh ‘ym rwc	Blessed be this day...
330/ ’fryd bwyndyh ‘ym rwc	330. Blessed be this day ...
331/ ’frydg ‘ym rwc ’g’dg	Blessed this day, the wished-for one ...
332/ ’frydg ‘ym rwc wzrg	Blessed this great day ...
333/ ’frydg rwc ‘ym rwc kw	Blessed day, this day when ....
334/ ’frydg ‘ym rwc jm’n	Blessed hour of this day ...
IV Hd./ mhrs’rg’n	**IV** Hd./ Beginnings of Hymns
IV/i	**IV/i**
335/ ’frydg ‘ym rwc bwxtg	335. Blessed be this day of redemption ...
336/ ’fryd ‘ym rwc pd nxwyn	Blessed be this day on the first ...
337/ ’fryd rwc qyrbg wjyd °	Blessed day. Boon (of) the Elect ...
338/ ’fryn’m ’w yzd’n ’brdwm	We will bless the highest of the Gods ...
339/ ’frydg ’w tw rwc ’frydg	Blessed one, day to thee, blessed one ..
340/ ’fryn’m ’wd ‘st’w’m	340. We will bless and sing praises ..
341/ ’fryn’m ’w šhrd’r cy	We will bless the ruler of the ...
342/ ’fryn’h ’rd’w wjydg ’w	° holy one, elect, bless the ...
343/ ’xšd’g ‘ym rwc wx’st	Inviolable (is) this day, wished for ..
344/ ’xšd’g rwcg rwc’n ’br	Inviolable fast day, high(est) of the days ...
345/ ’xšd’g rwc ’frydg ’w	345. Inviolable day, blessed one ...
346/ ’xšd’g ky ’gd rwšn cy	Inviolable one who came, Light of the ...
347/ ’xšd’gyft ’c tw wnd’m	Inviolability, from thee we will demand ...
348/ ’xšd ’wd ’mwjd wx’zyd	Inviolability and mercy wishes ....
349/ ’bxš’h ’br mn yzd’n	Forgive me, (of the) Gods ...
350/ ’bxš’hyd ’šm’ yzd’n	350. Forgive, you Gods ...
351/ ’bxš’h ’br mn yzd wzrg	Forgive me, great God...
352/ ’bxš’h frhygr mn bwjgr	Forgive, glorious one, my Redeemer ...
353/ ’w tw yzd pdwh’m pd ‘ym	Thee, ° God, will we beseech on this ...
354/ ’w tw qr’m pdw’z kyrbkr	To thee, will we direct invocation, benefactor...
355/ ’w tw n’m ‘st’wyšn	355. Praise to thy name ...
356/ ’w tw ng’y’m ’w tw pdwhm	We will sing to thee, we will call upon thee ...
357/ ’w tw wynd’m yzd hw’xšd	Thee will we praise, ° God, inviolable one ...
358/ ’w bg mšyh’h ws ’fr	Much blessing to the God Messiah ...
359/ ’mwrtyd wjydg’n r’št’n	*Pardon, elect, true ones...
360/ ’mwrtyd br’dr’n wj‘yd	360. *Pardon, brothers, elec(t) ...
361/ ’mwrtyd hnd’m ngwš’gn	*Pardon, limb(?) hearer ...
362/ ’wr ’mwrtyd ’šm’h wc	Come hither! assemble your elect ones!
363/ ’wryd br’dr’n ’ngryšn	Come, brothers ...
364/ ’gd ’w ’mwst’n wyfr’yšn	Teaching came to those who were cast down ...
365/ ’gd nwydg ’c bg’n bgystw	365. There came* news of the most divine of the Gods
366/ ’bxš’h ’br mn yzd wzdg	Forgive me, great God ...
367/ ’ng’m ’mwst’n ‘yw byd	Assembly of those who are cast down, one to the other...
368/ br’dr’n ’mwst’n rwšnn/	Brothers, cast down, lights ...
369/ ’mwst’n ’wr ’fryn’m	Come those who are cast down, we will bless ...
370/ ’bdyštwm ’w tw xrd ’wd	370. I have taught you wisdom ...
371/ ’bdys ’wt cxš’byd	Teaching and commandment ...

372/ ʾbrdr ʿym rwc wjydg — Higher (is) this day, the chosen one ...
IV/ii
373/ ʾwn cxšʾbyd ʾmʾẖ — **IV/ii** ° commandment, our ...
374/ ʾwn bgʾn bgystwm ʿš — O, most divine of the Gods ...
375/ ʾwn rwšnʾgr bg mry mʾny — 375. ° radiant God, Our Lord Mānī ...
376/ ʾngd šhrdʾr frwx šʾd — *Rich ruler, happy, glad one ...
377/ ʾndyšʾm brʾdrʾn pd — We brothers will remember ...
378/ drwd rʾm ẅ šʾdyft bwʾẖ — Salvation, peace and joy be ...
379/ rwšnʾgr bg mʾry mʾny — Radiant God, Lord Mānī ...
380/ rwc ʾfrydg ʿstʾwʾdg — 380. Day, blessed, praised one ...
381/ rwc ʿym dwšmbṯ — The day, this Dōšambat Day (i.e. Monday) ...
382/ ʾgd šʾdyft rwc ʾfrydg — The day of joy, the blessed one, has come ...
383/ ʾwrt pd ʾmʾẖ rwc ʾfry — To us has come the day, the blessed one ..
384/ ʾʾwrt rwc rwšnʾgr kr pd — The radiant day has come as ...
385/ ʾʾwrt pd mn rwšnʾgr byr — 385. To me has come the radiant ...
386/ ngwšʾẖ mn wcn ʾwn wxš — Hear my words, ◦ dear one
387/ ngwšmʾn pdwhn tw rwc — Hear our prayers, thou day ...
388/ nmʾc ʾw tw rwc ʾfrydg — Worship to thee, blessed day ...
389/ ʾwn rwšnʾn frystwm — ° most amicable of the lights ...
390/ ʾfrydgyyg PPPʿIII — 390. [Songs of] praise: sixty eight ...
{*Three lines left blank*} — {*Three lines left blank*}

{ll. 391-445, tr. Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, BTT 24, 3-}

391/ ʾbr ʾxyzyd pwnwndʾn — (1) ‘Rise up (pl.) meritorious ...’
392/ ʾbr gryw rwšn brmʾm — (2) ‘About the Light Soul we weep ...’
393/ ʾbr tw gryw rwšn cʾr — (3) ‘About you, Light Soul, must ...’
394/ ʾbr gryw rwšn kʾmʾm — (4) ‘About the Light Soul we wish …’
395/ ʾbxšʾhyd ʾšmʾẖ — 395. (5) ‘Have pity, you (pl.) ...’
396/ ʾbxšʾhyd brʾdrʾn — (6) ‘Have pity, brothers, ...’
397/ ʾbyʾd bwʾẖ tw gryw — (7) ‘Will you remember, Soul ...’
398/ ʾgd ʾyy pd drwd tw gryyw — (8) ‘You are welcome, Soul …’
399/ ʾgd ʾyy pd drwd yzdn gryw — (9) ‘You are welcome, Soul of the gods…’
400/ ʾgd ʾyy pd drwd tw gryw — 400. (10) ‘You are welcome, Soul …’
401/ ʾgd ʾyy pd drwd tw gryw rw — (11) ‘You are welcome, Light Soul …’
402/ ʾgd ʿym gryw pštq — (12) ‘This fettered soul, has come ...’
403/ ʾgd ʿym gryw bwxtg — (13) ‘This saved soul has come ...’
404/ ʾfryd ʾyy gryw ʾʾzʾd — (14) ‘Blessed are you, free /noble Spirit ...’
405/ ʾfryd ʾyy gryw wzrg nwx — 405. (15) ‘Blessed are you (sg.), great soul, beginning ...’
406/ ʾfryd ʾyy tw gryw rwšn — (16) Blessed are you, Light-Soul ...’
407/ ʾfryd ʾyy tw gryw rwšn — (17) Blessed are you, Light-Soul ...’
IV/iii
408/ ʾfryd ʾyy gryw b[gʾnyg] — **IV/iii** (18) Blessed are you, godly soul ...’
409/ ʾfryd ʾyy tw g(ryw) bgʾ](n) — (19) Blessed are you, Soul, of the gods ...’
410/ ʾfryd bwyndyẖ gyʾnyn — 410. (20) May the souls be blessed ...’
411/ ʾfrynyd hrw ʾmwstʾn — (21) ‘Bless you (pl.) all believers ...’
412/ ʾfrynyd brʾdrʾn ʾw ʿym — (22) ‘Bless you (pl.), brothers, this ...’
413/ ʾfrywn ʾwṯ bʾšʾẖ cy — (23) ‘Blessing and hymn of ...’
414/ ʾfrynʾm ʾwṯ ʿstʾwʾm — (24) ‘We will bless and we will praise ...’
415/ ʾfrynʾm ʾw tw gryw rwšn — 415. (25) ‘We will bless you, Light-Soul ...’
416/ ʾfrynʾm ʾw gryw bgʾn — (26) ‘We will bless the soul of the gods (baγan)...
417/ brʾdrʾn wynyd ʾw ʿym — (27) ‘Brothers, look at this …’
418/ brʾdrʾn ʾwr ʾmwrtyd ʾw — (28) ‘Brothers, come hither! Pardon the ...’
419/ brʾdrʾn ʾmwstʾn mʾm — (29) ‘Brothers, gather here to ...’
420/ ʾwn rwšn frzyndyn ʾrdʾwʾn — 420. (30) ‘O children of the light, righteous ones ...’
421/ ʾwn qyrbkr gryw ʿzwʾryd — (31) ‘O beneficent soul, understand ...’
422/ ʾwn ʾʾzʾd twxm ʾrgʾw ky — (32) ‘O noble one, of a noble family, who ...’
423/ ʾwn ʾʾzʾd bwxtg gyʾn kd — (33) ‘O free / noble saved soul, when ...’

424/ ʾmwstʾn ʾwd whygʾrʾn (34) ‘Faithful and beneficent ones ...’
425/ ʾwryd brʾdrʾn bʾšʾm (35) ‘Come, brothers, we want to sing ...’
426/ ʾwryd bʾšʾm bʾšʾẖ (36) ‘Come (pl.), let us sing a hymn (*bāšāẖ*) ...’
427/ ʾwryd wjydgʾn ʾrdʾwʾʾn (37) Come, righteous, Chosen Ones ...’
428/ ʾwryd wjydgʾn rʾštyft (38) Come, Chosen Ones or righteousness ...’
429/ ʾwr jyryft zʾdgʾn pd pydr (39) ‘Come children of wisdom through the Father ...’
430/ ʾwr wyndʾm ʾw gryw rwšn (40) ‘Come, we will praise the Light-Soul ...’
431/ tw ʿstʾwyšn ʾrjʾn ʾw (41) ‘You, worthy of praise, to - ...’
432/ tw ʾfrynʾm gryw jywndg (42) ‘You we will bless, Living Soul ...’
433/ ʾw tw gryw rwšn ky pnj (43) ‘You, Light-Soul, who (has) five <limbs> …’
434/ ʾw tw gryw dwšn ʿstʾwʾm (44) ‘You, Light-Soul, I praise ...’
435/ ʾw tw ʿstʾwʾm gryw ʾfrn (45) ‘You we will praise, soul, blessing ...’
436/ ʾw tw ʿstʾwyšn gryw (46) ‘To your praise, soul ...’
437/ ʾw tw wʾcʾm mn gryw wrdg (47) ‘To I speak, my soul, captive ...’
438/ ʾw tw wyndʾm yyšw mšyh (48) ‘To you we want to pray, Jesus Messiah …’
439/ ʾw tw ʿstʾwʾm gryw ʾfr (49) ‘You we will praise, blessed soul …’
440/ ʾw tw ngʾyʾm bg hwnrʾwnd (50) ‘You we want to supplicate, valiant god (*baγ*) ...’
441/ ʾz hym gryw jywndg wysp (51) ‘I am the Living Soul, all ...’
442/ ʾz hym ky ʾbdyšt bwtʾn (52) ‘I am (he) whom the Buddhas explained (*or* showed) …’
443/ ʾz hym gryw ʾfrydg ky bwd
444/ ʾz ʾw tw bg ngʾyʾm bwj (53) ‘I am the blessed soul who was ...’
445/ ʾʾzʾd ʾbynng bʾmyyn (54) ‘I beseech you god, ‘redeem ...’’
(55) Free (*or* noble), flawless, radiant ...’

INDEX

Angad Rōšnān VII (Rd. 121) IV.120
Huwyadagmān I IV.101
Huwyadagmān IVa IV.119
M1 (*Rd*. s) IV.142
M10 IV.40
M104 (*Rd*. bx) IV.66
M11 (*Rd*. cn) IV.78
M132a (*Rd*. byc) IV.67
M173 (*Rd*. as) IV.37
M174 (*Rd*. dy) IV.140
M176 (*Rd*. dv) IV.137
M18 (*Rd*. bw) IV.63
M1871 (*Rd*. cf, cg) IV.18
M1876 (*Rd*. be) IV.50
M1877 (*Rd*. be) IV.50
M198a V IV.72
M20 (*Rd*. du) IV.137
M215 (*Rd*. db) IV.124
M224 I (*Rd*. cl) IV.15
M225 (*Rd*. df) IV.129
M2412 (*Rd*. cw) IV.117
M2753 IV.64
M28 I (*Rd*. dg) IV.129
M28 II (*Rd*. bt) IV.60
M289a (*Rd*. cx) IV.119
M31 (*Rd*. co) IV.79
M315 (*Rd*. cj) IV.72
M32a R (*Rd*. bv) IV.63
M32a V (*Rd*. bo) IV.57
M33 (*Rd*. ba-bd) IV.47
M36 (*Rd*. cm) IV.76
M367 IV.49
M369 (*Rd*. bs) IV.59
M3703 (*Rd*. as) IV.37
M39 (*Rd*. bk) IV.54
M390R (*Rd*. bx) IV.67
M40 (*Rd*. af) IV.24
M42 (*Rd*. dc) IV.125
M43 (*Rd*. dw) IV.139
M448 IV.72
M459e (*Rd*. bx) IV.66
M4a II + M4b II (*Rd*. dt) IV.134
M4b I + M4a I (*Rd*. cv) IV.98
M5 (*Rd*. ce) IV.17
M507 (*Rd.* am) IV.29
M533 (*Rd.* al) IV.29
M5260 V (*Rd*. bq) IV.57
M5262 (*Rd*. aj) IV.26
M5315 (*Rd*. as) IV.36
M533 (*Rd*. al) IV.29
M538 (*Rd*. ag) IV.25
M543 (*Rd*. cqa) IV.80
M554 (*Rd*. dd) IV.126
M564 (*Rd*. be) IV.49
M5755 (*Rd*. dgc) IV.133
M5861 (*Rd*. byc) IV.67
M5877 (*Rd.* an) IV.29
M6 (*Rd*. ch) IV.21
M612 IV.59
M6221 (*Rd*. cw) IV.115
M6230 (*Rd*. cla) IV.28
M6232 (*Rd*. aka) IV.28
M624a B IV.73
M67 (*Rd*. bg) IV.51
M6726 (*Rd*. as) IV.36
M680 (*Rd*. br) IV.57
M7 (*Rd*. av-az) IV.41
M710 (*Rd.* an) IV.29
M727a V (*Rd*. de) IV.127
M729 (*Rd*. cr) IV.81
M730 (*Rd*. ah) IV.26
M734R (*Rd*. bx) IV.65
M737 (*Rd*. bp) IV.56
M738 (*Rd*. cd) IV.70
M74 I (*Rd*. dx) IV.138
M741 (*Rd.* ao) IV.31
M75 (*Rd*. ag) IV.25
M763 (*Rd*. dga) IV.131
M77 (*Rd*. bh) IV.53
M789 (*Rd*. df) IV.127
M798a (*Rd*. cc) IV.69
M8 IV.20
M801a 1-30 (*Rd*. cu) IV.86
M83 I R (*Rd*. au) IV.39
M83 I V (*Rd*. dgb) IV.40
M842 (*Rd*. da) IV.122
M891b (*Rd*. bx) IV.65
M91+ frag. alia IV.119
M93 II (*Rd*. cx) IV.118
M94 (*Rd*. as) IV.36
M95 (*Rd*. be) IV.49
MIK III 189 (PB) IV.5
MIK III 200 I IV.30
MIK III 203 (*Rd*. s) IV.141
MIK III 4974 (*Rd*. cb) IV.67
MIK III 8259 (*Rd*. ck) IV.73
MIK III 8260 (PB) IV.1
MStein 7053.261-228 IV.100
S13 (*Rd.* aq) IV.33
S7 (*Rd*. cs) IV.84
S8 (*Rd*. bf) IV.51
S9 (*Rd.* aq) IV.33
U100 (PB) IV.14
U101 (PB) IV.14
U102 (PB) IV.15
U103 (PB) IV.16
U112 (PB) IV.9
U80 (PB) IV.8
U81 (PB) IV.3

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THE EDITED COPTIC MANICHAEAN TEXTS IN TRANSLATION WITH COMMENTARY

BY

IAIN GARDNER



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To Carole

CONTENTS

Preface ix

Introduction: xi
Manichaeology and the Religion of Mani xi
Manichaeism in Egypt xv
The Medinet Madi Library xvii
The Kephalaia of the Teacher xix
The *Kephalaia* as Text xxi
Summary of the Doctrine xxiv
The Manichaean Ethic and its Practice in the Church xxxiii

Comments on the Translation xxxvii
Abbreviations xxxix
Select Bibliography xl

The Kephalaia of the Teacher: 1
Conspectus Siglorum 2
List of Kephalaia 3
Translation and Commentaries 10

Indices: 295
The Light and the Darkness 295
Apostles 304
Proper Names 306
Manichaean Scriptures 306
Citations 307

PREFACE

This volume provides an English translation, together with commentary, of the presently edited Coptic text of the *Kephalaia;* as established primarily by A. Böhlig and H.-J. Polotsky in the 1930's and early 1940's. This is but part of a single codex of the Medinet Madi library of Manichaean writings, the entirety of which codex is considerably greater than will be found here. The editorial process still continues. Work on a second *Kephalaia* codex from the same find has hardly begun. There is also Iranian kephalaic material. Thus I am conscious of the limitations of what is presented here as an entry into the fantastic worlds of Mani and his followers in their search for the God of truth.

My own fascination with this text began in the latter 1970's as I prepared for a doctoral dissertation on the Christology of Manichaeism at the University of Manchester. At that time I attempted rough translations both as a means to understand the doctrine, and as an exercise in the language. At the beginning of this present decade S.N.C. Lieu was kind enough to remember our struggles as graduate students, and wrote to me wondering if I would be willing to revise some of these drafts for a collaborative volume containing Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire. I somewhat arbitrarily set myself to the task of a hundred plus pages from the *Kephalaia,* but rapidly discarded my youthful exercises. Towards the completion of this initial stage Dr. Lieu introduced me to D. Montserrat with the suggestion that we might work together on the complete edited text, and Dr. Montserrat began to prepare drafts of chapters on which I had not yet worked.

In 1992 Dr. Montserrat visited me in Australia, and we enjoyed the opportunity to develop ideas for the volume and to work together on first drafts of difficult sections. Since then other commitments have forced Dominic to withdraw from the collaboration, but I take this opportunity to thank him for his many fine suggestions, and to acknowledge the occasions that his phrasing may have influenced the final version. Similarly I thank Samuel Lieu, and acknowledge that phrasing from collaborative work appears in the introductory material.

However, sole responsibility for the published text is my own.

Now, in 1994, I have again worked through every line. As each reading has brought more light, so I become more aware of the impossibility of the translator's task. However, it is apparent that the density and complexity of this text have proved a barrier to the study of Manichaeism, particularly in the anglophone world. My hope here is to have rendered more accessible the greatest and most detailed of the available primary sources, and thus to encourage future work that will in time supersede my own.

I thank Edith Cowan University for the use of resources and the help of many colleagues, in particular Peter Bedford with whom I have often discussed problems of the translation process. My Faculty was kind enough to grant me time release from teaching during the early part of the work, for which I am indeed grateful.

Mount Lawley October 1994

INTRODUCTION

Manichaeology and the Religion of Mani

The self-declared apostle Mani (216 – 276 c.e.) was a native of Babylonia who founded a world religion in the early years of the Sassanian Empire. He believed himself to be the recipient of direct revelation from his divine Twin Spirit, which being is understood to be the Paraclete foretold by Jesus, and with whom Mani became 'one body and one Spirit (K.15.23 – 24)'. Thus, in his *Gospel* and *Epistles*, he introduces himself as the apostle of Jesus Christ (e.g. CMC. p.66). In Greek and Coptic his name is Manichaios; that is 'Mani the living', as derived from his native Syriac.

Modern scholarship has devoted much attention to the question of the nature and characteristics of Mani's teachings, and of the religion that he founded; and this history of manichaeology may be read as a commentary on that of the discipline itself. For the Christian theologians and leaders of the past Manichaeism had been a dualistic heresy that threatened and attempted to subvert the truths revealed in scripture, as held secure and preached by the church. Thus the origins of the discipline, for western culture, are to be found in the Greek and Latin sources of that world; particularly in the disputations, anathemas and parodies of the bishops such as Augustine (once himself a believer but turned champion of orthodoxy) and Archelaus (the fabled victor over a hapless Mani) and Epiphanius (the acerbic cataloguer of errors).

When western scholarship began to free itself from the heritage of heresiology a new approach to sources, especially by orientalists in the latter nineteenth century with access to Syriac and Arabic authors such as Theodore bar Konai and an-Nadim who quote from Mani himself, gradually started to write a more objective history.

The twentieth century has brought a succession of dramatic textual finds that have repeatedly shifted the focus of attention. The first actual Manichaean writings discovered were in Iranian and Turkic and Chinese literatures, and were plundered from Central Asia by the great European expeditions at the start of this century. In the heyday of the 'History of Religions' as a discipline Manichaeism was reinvented as a Persian religion.

However, even since the 1920's scholarly attention has been repeatedly forced to focus on gnostic and Judaeo-Christian origins and traditions in Mani's teaching. Such are evidenced particularly by the Medinet Madi library from the 1930's, of which the *Kephalaia* is part; and then since 1969 the Cologne *Mani Codex,* which text recounts the genesis of Mani's own life and the community that he founded. Also the flood of scholarship occasioned by the Nag Hammadi library, that is the inaccurately but popularly named gnostic Gospels, has provided a context for the growth of manichaeology as its heir apparent.

Now, near the close of the twentieth century, the student of Manichaeism is presented with a striking array of sources evidencing a religion that spread from Mesopotamia throughout the late classical and Islamic worlds of the Mediterranean and west Asia, and across the Silk Road to finally flare and die in south China. Throughout this century the discipline has been preeminently the domain of specialists, necessitating a high degree of philological and technical skill, particularly such as is preserved in the elite institutions of the European continent. However, developments and projects by the academic community now in process seem certain to render the subject both more accessible and of broader interest. These include the activities of the *International Association of Manichaean Studies,* with its conferences and publications; and the various renewed efforts both to complete the editing of sources and to make them more available.

The latest and still continuing development in the story of Manichaean textual discoveries is part of this process. This is the uncovering of a fourth century Manichaean community and its texts at the late Roman site of Kellis in Egypt, by an Australian archaeological excavation directed by C. Hope on behalf of the Dakhleh Oasis Project. For the first time the social context of a Manichaean church from the early period, indeed of any so-called gnostic group of antiquity, can properly be recovered. Thus the subject becomes part of the documentary record of the late classical world.

Every discipline is a product of its own cultural framework and its time. Manichaeology at the turn of the millenium takes its place in the story of the deconstruction of received histories. The finds at Kellis evidence that the Manichaeans there regarded themselves as the true and holy church. This story subverts that of

the inevitable triumph of, for want of a better phrase, catholic Christianity. Instead, Christianities in context are found to be diverse, subjects of law and economics and inter-personal relations. Doctrine is imposed and undermined, theological orthodoxy is seen to be a social construct.

What then is the meaning of the religion of Mani? The *Mani Codex* is a nascent gospel for the apostle that compiles written testimonies by some of his closest disciples, together with quotations from his own writings; and contextualised by excerpts from Paul and other authoritative apocalypses of the past. While hagiographical elements are already apparent, such as the tutelage of Mani by his Twin (σύζυγος) from youth, it does provide clear evidence of his upbringing in a Judaeo-Christian baptist community. Mani conflicts with the elders over the food and ritual practices of the group (on the perhaps revisionist grounds of actualised Manichaean praxis), and appeals to the teaching of their leader (and founder?) Alchasaios. Thus the community seems related to the Elchasaites of Christian sources, although it is notoriously difficult to disentangle the various teachings of such sects from the available texts.

In any case, it is apparent that Mani broke with the community, and the evolution of his teaching overlaid diverse elements from gnostic and Syriac Christian traditions upon the restricted world of his youth. The influence of Bardaisanite and Marcionite teachings is apparent, although in his scriptures Mani also enters into dispute with such. The adult Mani embarked on his career as healer and apostle, travelling throughout the Persian Empire and to India and the boundaries of Roman power. He seems to have been favourably received by the Sassanian King Shapur I, to have travelled in his entourage, and to have been welcomed in the courts of the aristocracy. Zarathustra and Buddha were incorporated into the tradition of true apostles, together with Jesus, although recent scholarship has tended to downplay the extent of Iranian and Indian influence on the essential structure of Mani's teachings. However, after the deaths of Shapur and his successor Hormizd, Mani was imprisoned by Vahram I probably under the influence of the chief mobed Kirder and the Zoroastrian hierarchy; and there received his own martyrdom. This was then followed by a general persecution of his followers, especially in Mesopotamia.

Since its liberation from heresiology the study of Manichaeism has been driven by philological experts and historians of religion. This has tended towards a dominating interest in the texts in themselves, and in the various strands of Manichaean teaching. However, Mani's vision and the worlds of his followers must also be comprehended as integrated wholes. Mani believed himself to be the recipient of, and owner of, truth.

> This is how everything th[at] has ha[pp]ened and that will happen was unveiled to me by the Paraclete; [...] everything the eye shall see, and the ear hear, and the thought think, a[n]d the [...] I have understood by him everything. I have seen the totality through him! (K. 14.19–23 and see CMC pp. 66-7)

For Mani truth can both be accessed and comprehended. Error attacks and mingles with it in history, but revelation from the eternal world illuminates the good, and offers the sure hope of final victory. Revealed truth is the same as that good that has always been present in the universe, which holds it together, proving life and coherence within death and disorder. Thus, on their own terms, Mani's teachings can not be regarded as eclectic. If his revelations accord with those of earlier apostles it is because they derive from the same source. Where they differ the prior apostolic teaching has been corrupted. Thus Mani reiterates and reveals Zarathustra, Buddha and Christ. Other Buddhisms or Christianities can only be dull reflections of this truth.

In his lifetime Mani devoted himself to the building up of the true church. The superficiality of religious terminology ('church') is important to an understanding of Manichaeism, for as a persecuted minority the community was accused of dissimulation and subversion. Mani wrote his inspired scriptures so that the truth could never again become corrupted by error. He sent out missionaries to east and west, and claimed that no previous revelation had been universal and thus final, as was the one that had been given to him.

From the late third century Manichaeism challenged the Christian hierarchy of the Mediterranean world; but with the triumph of catholic Christianity in the Roman empire, and the common interest of church and state, these western communities gradually failed and died under persecution. In west Asia Manichaeism remained a vibrant force well into the Abbasid era, and

Arabic authors had access to the canonical scripures. However, the religion of light had its longest history in central and east Asia, perhaps surviving in south China until the early modern period. Despite the widely varied cultural forms in which it represented itself, Manichaeism retained an essential unity of vision and expression, and acted as an important conduit for the transmission of cultural ideas between east and west[1].

Manichaeism in Egypt

Manichaean missionaries would have first arrived in Egypt about 260 c.e. By the end of the third century the religion had attracted enough attention to be condemned by both the state, which feared its Persian origins and regarded it as harmful to the fabric of society; and the ecclesiastical authorities, who were particularly shocked by Mani's claim to be the apostle of Jesus Christ, come to restore and renew the true church. Nevertheless, although fiercely combatted and persecuted, Manichaeism attracted a radical and often sophisticated following. The pagan neoplatonist Alexander of Lycopolis, who informs us that the first missionary to reach Egypt was Papos[2], wrote against the doctrine surprised at its attraction for his philosophical colleagues. The religion also spread further west to Roman North Africa, where the writings of Augustine are an eloquent reminder of its appeal in the latter fourth century.

Upper Egypt seems to have become a particularly fruitful area for the Manichaean mission, and Christian writers made frequent attacks upon it. It is highly possible that missionaries reached the Thebaid not only via Alexandria and along the Nile valley, but also directly by sea from Mesopotamia to the coast (Berenice). The region features in the mercantile travels of Scythianus, the proto-Manichaean of Christian polemics. The largest corpus of extant Manichaean texts, the Medinet Madi library including the *Kephalaia*, can perhaps be traced to this area according to dialect. Although Manichaean success in the Roman Empire peaked about 400 c.e., it seems probable that communities survived in areas such as this into the Islamic period.

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[1] For a detailed introduction to Manichaeism and its history see Lieu 1992.

[2] Alexander of Lycopolis, *c. Manich.* II, p.4, 17-19; and see PsBk2. 34.12.

The documentary texts from Kellis will provide much new detail about this process of Manichaean expansion in fourth century Egypt. It is apparent that the believers understood themselves to be the true and holy church. Presumably the mission to Kellis began as an outreach from an established centre such as Lycopolis. At Kellis there appears to have been significant success, for the documentary texts evidence Manichaeism integrated into the life of the community, and psalms have been found in two different parts of the site. Whether this success was an isolated instance, or more common across the Oasis is unknown. The Dakhleh Oasis is even today a relatively remote region, at the edge of habitation. The excavations at Kellis evidence that the pagan temple was still functioning at the beginning of the fourth century, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the process of Christianisation was less advanced here than in major centres. These features may have aided the Manichaean mission.

Certainly the discovery of bilingual glossaries of Manichaean phrases evidence the remarkable fact of translation from Syriac into Lycopolitan Coptic at Kellis. This, together with allusions to persecution in some of the letters sent to Kellis from the Nile valley, supports the hypothesis that the Oasis became a significant Manichaean centre and safe haven for the community. Unfortunately the archive as yet recovered breaks off at the end of the fourth century, and so the future of the community is unknown. Presumably the strengthening of ecclesiastical control, married to state power, means that Kellis would not long have remained immune from the attention of the authorities.

The finds from Kellis evidence a link between the use of Lycopolitan Coptic and Manichaeism. Dialect and text connect these finds to the Medinet Madi library, for the same psalm tradition is a feature of both finds. Minor textual variants indicate that the Kellis material predates that of Medinet Madi, and thus uncover some of the history of the latter codices. It becomes apparent that codices such as the *Psalm Book* and *Kephalaia* are constructed works in the process of evolution.

As regards the social context of Manichaeism: it was a highly literate and transportable religion that in its conscious universalism appealed to and indeed targetted educated elites. It spread along the trade routes and was regarded by the authorities as subversive. It also evidences a strong role for women who are

remarkably visible in the documentary texts from Kellis, as in other Manichaean material such as the doxologies in the *Psalm Book*. The church was strongly structured, programmed for evangelical mission. It developed an elaborate network of what might today be termed safe houses and propaganda factories, for the writing of texts was part of the religious praxis. The letters from Kellis evidence a powerful concern for communication, full of news and greetings and introductions.

Success was founded on the two-fold structure of the community with the elect supported by the catechumens for the full-time service of God, and thus able constantly to travel and to build up the churches. Lay believers, that is catechumens or hearers, could engage in the every day life of family and business; while through their alms-giving they could ensure their eventual salvation. The actual divine work could then safely be left to the elect. Thus the religion, despite its powerful evangelical mission and other worldly focus, was well placed to become an integral part of the community. It is reasonable to presume that Manichaean communities were able to maintain themselves, in areas such as Upper Egypt, for a number of centuries; despite almost continual attack and sporadic enforced persecution.

The Medinet Madi Library

The sensational news of *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten, Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler*, announced in 1933 by C. Schmidt, H. Ibscher and H.J. Polotsky, marks a decisive turning point in the modern rediscovery of the religion. The cache seems to have come from a wooden chest in the ruins of an old house in Medinet Madi, to the south west of the Fayoum in Middle Egypt. The codices were already broken up before they reached the Cairo market, where they were first seen by the Danish egyptologist H.O. Lange in November 1929. However, it was C. Schmidt in 1930, while on his way to Palestine to collect manuscripts for the Prussian Academy, who was shown a codex entitled *Kephalaia* and made the connection with Manichaeism. By sheer coincidence Schmidt was in the process of checking the proofs of the late K. Holl's edition of Epiphanius' *Panarion*, and he remembered that among the books that Mani was alleged to have received from Scythianus was one with the same title. Further examination

revealed the characteristic clause: 'Once more the enlightener speaks to his disciples ...'

News of the discovery was immediately communicated to A. Harnack in Germany; but, before adequate funds could arrive in Egypt for their purchase, part of the find was acquired by the Irish-American philanthropist and collector A. Chester Beatty. His famous collection of classical and biblical manuscripts was housed first in London, but after the second world war transferred to Dublin, where they remain. The rest of the codices were then purchased by Schmidt with financial aid from the Stuttgart publishing company Kohlhammer, and shipped to Berlin.

The entire collection comprised seven codices, four in Berlin and three in London (now Dublin). In Berlin were: the *Kephalaia of the Teacher* (a small part of this went to Vienna); the *Epistles* of Mani; the *Acts,* a history of Mani and the early community; and the *Synaxeis of the Living Gospel,* (this codex also contains an at present unidentified text). In London: the *Psalm Book,* together with an index; a collection of *Homilies*; and the *Kephalaia of the Wisdom of my Lord Mani.*

The Coptic texts themselves date from about 400 c.e., and are translations of Syriac originals which reach back to Mani himself (the *Epistles*), or to the first generations (as with the *Homilies*). They are written in a form (*L4*) of that dialect known as sub-Achmimic or Lycopolitan; and thus seem not to have originated in the Fayoum, but were carried perhaps by missionaries or believers fleeing persecution.

The conservation of the extremely fragile codices from Medinet Madi, both of London and Berlin, was entrusted to the renowned H. Ibscher; and the task of printing the editions consigned to Kohlhammer Verlag. A special Coptic font was cut to resemble as closely as possible the hand of the original. For the first ten years publication proceeded apace: in 1934 H.J. Polotsky's edition and German translation of 96 pages of *Manichäische Homilien;* in 1938 the latter 234 pages of *A Manichaean Psalm-Book. Part II,* with an English translation by C.R.C. Allberry; and fascicles of the Berlin *Kephalaia* by A. Böhlig and H.J. Polotsky reaching page 244 in 1940. Unfortunately the rise of National Socialism in Germany, and the advent of the second world war, heralded a number of tragedies. These included the departure from Germany of a number of the leading scholars due to the

threat of anti-semitism; the death of Allberry; and the loss and probable destruction of some of the codices housed in the soviet sector of Berlin. Specifically the historical work (*Acts*) and the *Epistles* seem to have been removed, and now only portions of these codices remain.

Such events led effectively to an end of work on the Medinet Madi texts for over forty years. Admittedly, A. Böhlig published a further fascicle of the *Kephalaia* (pages 244 – 291) in 1966, but the material for this was largely prepared in 1943. However, the current outlook is much more positive. With the financial support of the Carlsberg foundation S. Giversen has published a facsimile edition of all the Dublin texts in four volumes: *Kephalaia; Homilies and Varia; Psalm Book Part I; and II (Cahiers d'Orientalisme* XIV-XVII, Geneva 1986, 1988). Meanwhile, a separate team under the direction of J. Robinson is working on the remaining texts from Berlin, the *Kephalaia* and *Synaxeis* codices, together with such leaves as remain of the *Acts* and *Epistles*. Another team directed by M. Krause is currently in the process of reediting part II of the *Psalm Book,* before turning to Part I; and S. Giversen is coordinating the reedition of the *Homilies* codex. Also, I. Gardner is editing the new Coptic literary texts from Kellis, and coordinating work on the rest of the Manichaean material there together with other members of the Dakhleh Oasis Project.

The Kephalaia of the Teacher

Two codices of *Kephalaia* (that is 'of the head', thus chapters or summaries) were found at Medinet Madi. Their titles differ slightly, the wording of the Dublin one indicating more explicitly that it is the work of a disciple. However, this may not be of any great significance; and the two codices could well belong together. Until a full edition is made, their relationship will remain unclear. Certainly all the work is apocryphal in terms of Mani's canon of scripture. Still, the reference to the *Kephalaia* in such an early work as *The Sermon of the Great War* (H.18.6) indicates that it belongs in essence to the first generation after the death of the apostle (late third century)[3].

[3] 'I am weeping for the *Kephalaia*'. A reference in the *Acta Archelai* evidences that the work was known of in Christian circles by the 340's at the latest (for dating see Lieu 1994: 46-47, 135-140).

Indeed, in the introductory section to the text there appears to be a justification from Mani himself:

> The world has not permitted me to write down [...] all of it; and if you, my children and my disciples, write all my wisdom [...] the questions that you have asked me [...] and the explanations that I have made clear to you from time to time; the homilies, the lessons, that I have proclaimed with the teachers to the leaders, together with the elect and the catechumens [...] all that I have proclaimed from time to time. They are not written. You must remember them and write them; gather them in different places; because much is the wisdom that I have uttered to you. [...] according to your capacity, and even as you may find strength; remember! And write a little something from the great wisdom that you have heard from me (K. 6.16–27 9.5–7).

In a sense this is curious since it was intrinsic to the Manichaean scheme of things that the messages of previous apostles had been adulterated because they themselves had not written their own canon, unlike Mani, and their disciples had then corrupted their words. Nevertheless, kephalaic material has also been found in Manichaean writings in the east, in Parthian and Chinese, and clearly became an important genre for the propagation of the religion.

The Berlin codex opens with a grand survey of Manichaean cosmogonic doctrine; a listing of the canon; and a justification for the text itself, as above. Chapter One then relates the advent and task of previous apostles, culminating in Mani's own call, and the revelation from the Paraclete (his Twin Spirit or Counterpart). However, whilst the earliest chapters might be supposed to evidence some coherent structure to the work, there rapidly follows perhaps two hundred more linked in the most tenuous fashion if at all. The work illustrates a fascination, presumably Mani's own, with all aspects of the natural world, with astrology and the worlds of gods and demons. All such are ordered into elaborate taxonomies, underpinned by the detail of Mani's revealed doctrine, in order to establish a highly structured and holistic understanding of the cosmos and universal history.

The chapters vary greatly in length, appearing to incorporate blocks of oral and perhaps written tradition from a variety of sources. In general they follow a standard pattern wherein a disciple (occasionally an opponent) asks a question of the apostle, the 'enlightener' (various epithets are used). Usually contextual or

historical detail is missing. The body of the chapter is then taken up with a summary of doctrine on that particular question which convinces all listeners; and may then end with a prayer of praise for Mani and thanks for his revelation. Similar catechetical methods can be found in early Christian and Buddhist texts. Certainly an introductory knowledge of the broad sweep of Manichaean teaching, as provided below, will help before attempting the *Kephalaia*.

The translation offered here is from the edited Coptic text concluding with kephalaion 122 (K. 295.8)[4]. The original extent of the Berlin codex is difficult to ascertain. The last reported page is 501/502, but a fragment with the pagination 514 has been identified. This may indicate an original total of 22 quires (528 pages). W.-P. Funk is currently editing the latter part of the codex and reports that from K. 296 there can now only be traced records or remains of 139 further pages, some of these in early transcriptions by Polotsky and Böhlig. It thus appears that 70 pages are no longer extant, counting to K. 504 (21 quires)[5].

The total number of chapters in the Berlin codex can be calculated as approximately 210/220. Since the lowest number for a kephalaion yet noted in the Dublin codex is 221 (pl. 17), it seems probable that this is in some sense a second volume, despite some apparent variations in the terminology and structure of the work[6]. The facsimile edition contains 354 plates; but the original extent and order of the codex has not been established.

The Kephalaia *as Text*

The *Kephalaia* is a dense and complex work, evidencing a great concern for detail and structure. Who were its authors and readers? Each kephalaion purports to be the verbatim record of a lesson by Mani, yet it is apparent that it is a constructed text in the process of evolution. The sequencing of chapters shows only a limited rationale, with links established by content (e.g. the

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[4] The editors are H.J. Polotsky (K. 1 – 102); A. Böhlig (K. 103 – 291); W.-P. Funk (K. 292 – 295).

[5] See Robinson 1992:46-51; and W. -P. Funk, 'On completing the edition of the Berlin Kephalaia codex', paper read to the *IIIrd International Symposium of Manichaean Studies*, Royal Asiatic Society, London 1992.

[6] See Funk 1990.

actions of the Living Spirit in 42 – 44) or by terminology or some catchphrase regardless of theme (e.g. 'five' in 12 – 16). The incorporation of the number into the title, as with 'The Seventh (kephalaion)', evidences that the sequence is beginning to be fixed; but this is likely only to be true of the very earliest chapters.

Redaction history is also apparent in the body of the material itself. For example the description of the five worlds of darkness that occurs in both chapters 6 and 27, (and in the Mandaean *Right Ginza*), must rely on some prior source. However, since the redactors must have had ready access to Mani's scriptures, they would not have directly incorporated parts of the canon. Indeed, the lessons are presented as secondary to the scriptures, for on occasion they follow requests for the reiteration in condensed form or explanation of what Mani has written elsewhere (e.g K. 16.25 – 28). Therefore, kephalaic material can be understood to evolve as commentary to revelation.

Given the mass of the text the occasions of true historical reminiscence can be supposed to be limited. Sometimes the chapter begins with a narrative, such as Mani's visits to King Shapur (chapter 76) or his observation of the Tigris in flood (chapter 61). However, such examples are few, and in general the framing sequence for each lesson is minimal and to be regarded as a formal device. One of the wooden boards found at Kellis (T. Kell. Copt. 1) enumerates the 'five σχήματα (properties)' of the Father of Greatness as reflected in the Third Ambassador. It could be termed a kind of 'flip card' or easily memorised summary used for teaching purposes. In style it resembles much of the kephalaiac material, but here lacks the framing sequences where a disciple asks Mani some question.

It would be easy to construct such a sequence, for instance: 'At one of the times when the enlightener (Mani) was sitting in the midst of the congregation, one of the disciples stood up and asked him: Tell us, our master, what are the five properties of the Father about which you have spoken?'.

It can be supposed that a rapid multiplication of kephalaic material occured in this way, as providing apostolic authority for the constructed teachings of the community. Similarly, the repetition of blocks of material in different settings evidences an extended textual history, which belies the assertion that they are verbatim accounts of Mani's teaching.

A number of sequences appear to have attained a stylised form. This is particularly true of the abbreviated summaries of Mani's teaching, which have hints of creedal formulae; and of the concluding thanks given by the disciples. Thus:

> [Mani] says [... the] two essences that are present at the beginning [...] the [lig]ht and the darkness, that which is good and that which is evi[l, life and] death (286.27–30).

> I proclaimed there the word of [truth and li]fe. With [the voi]ce of the proclamation I se[parated the light from the dark]ness there, what is good from [what is evil ...] (186.27–30).

The body of the text is constructed in that some individual chapters appear composite, with blocks of material incorporated where seems appropriate, often with minimal connecting sequences. Thus chapter 26 links together five miscellaneous parables. In chapter 65 Mani lists seven benefits of the sun and seven wickednesses brought by the night. Then follow five further qualities of the sun; and then another set of three. It must be supposed that such blocks circulated independently; and also that some may derive from the teaching of the church after Mani. It seems probable that the source of some material may ultimately be from outside of the community, but for its utility it is brought in to the tradition. Chapter 70 contains two separate schema for relating the zodiacal signs to the parts of the body, schema that have long histories within western astrological tradition.

The delight in numerical sequencing is certainly a feature of Mani's own teaching, thus the five sons of the First Man and the five sons of the Living Spirit. Often the doctrine must be forced to accord to this, such as when pentads are fitted to duodecimal lists. Nevertheless, there are clear catechetical benefits in the approach, especially with a system as complex as this.

Thus, kephalaia develops as a form of discourse within the Manichaean community. In that its basis is the aural memory of the disciples, and this dates to the latter third century c.e., it is perhaps not strictly restricted text. However, it is not basic proselytising material, for the scriptural allusions and sequences presuppose an extensive grasp of the macrotext. Thus, it belongs to the inner circle of the elect and could become a means for argument and demonstration between believing communities; a Manichaean form that has social usages analogous to, for instance,

hadith literature in Islam. The Iranian parallels evidence diverging traditions[7]; and the mass of material from the two Medinet Madi codices shows the utility of the form for the development of the tradition. It is thus best not regarded as an apocryphal book, but as an evolving and fluid discourse that retained its vitality in relation to the life and needs of the community.

Summary of the Doctrine

Manichaeism may be termed a gnostic religion; that is, both in a structural-systemic and in an historic sense. As a religious system it offered the promise of acosmic salvation through the revealed knowledge (gnosis) of transcendent realities, including the divine nature of the soul, and the details of the pathway to eternal life. Again, in its historic origins Manichaeism is to be considered together with the mass of related gnostic traditions that flourished during late antiquity. Thus Mani directly utilised prior revelations, and in this way gnostic concepts can be tracked from the esoteric forms of prior Judaisms and Christianities, through Manichaeism, and into later metamorphoses such as in Shi'ite Islam and the neo-Manichaean sects of the medieval period.

Nevertheless, the gnostic character of Manichaeism must be qualified, for Mani turned his revealed knowledge outwards to a universal evangelical purpose. While the elect learnt the secret workings of the divine nature, all were offered the call to faith, and the religion firmly grounded itself in time and the existential world. Therefore, the religion promulgated faith, knowledge and good works; and rose above the obscure and short-lived irrelevancies of most gnostic sects.

While it is possible and important for the historian to trace the diverse elements that Mani drew upon in his revelation, it is first vital to understand Manichaeism as a discrete and coherent entity, for this is how one can enter the world of the believer. The following account of the teachings of Mani will emphasise this inner structure and coherence. Nevertheless, any such summary inevitably tends towards artificial synthesis. Manichaean knowledge was carefully graded and tailored to the needs of its audience, as with any other avowedly evangelical ideology that

[7] See Sundermann 1992.

seeks the power to change people's life and thought. For the lay faithful in the Roman Empire it was a kind of superior Christianity, and the metaphysical details that attract the attention of scholars (and the higher echelons of the elect) had little profile. In the personal letters of the believers at Kellis there appears to be scarce knowledge of or interest in the many gods and demons, or the intricacies of cosmology, such as dominate kephalaic material. The evidence from Kellis shows how carefully the hierarchy attempted to draw adherents further into the church and the gnosis.

Whereas Christianity took centuries to formulate its doctrines, and the controversies of the great councils seem far removed from the teachings of Jesus, Mani took great pains to establish a total religion based upon his own comprehensive scriptures and preaching. He may be said to have combined the charisma of Jesus, the missionary purpose of Paul, and the doctrinal stringency of an Augustine. He understood himself to be the final and universal apostle of God, called to restore the truth of all prior messengers, including Jesus, the Buddha and Zarathustra. There is thus less scope in the study of Manichaeism to trace the evolution of doctrine, since all teaching was rigidly tied to the very details of the divine word in Mani's scriptures. Nevertheless, the eschatological urgency of earliest Manichaeism may be said to have slowly turned towards an accommodation with the world.

The revelation was systematised, in substance at least by Mani himself, into an elaborate and holistic account of the cosmos, human history, and the natural world. Manichaean thought was highly structured and maintained a remarkable uniformity from Roman North Africa to medieval China, claiming to provide a coherent and quasi-scientific explanation of everything from the movement of the stars to the origins of fire and the genera of creatures. The claim to knowledge would have been a source of great appeal, but the provision of such detail in the scriptures also demanded a rigidity that finally undermined the religion. For these reasons it can be misleading to describe Manichaean doctrine as a myth; and it was certainly not intended as an allegory.

Mani's teaching was summarised by the catchphrase, that 'of the two principles and the three times (or moments)'. The two principles are those of light and darkness: whose realms in the *beginning* are separate, the dark unknowing of the light; then

during the *middle* are in part mingled, the reality of this present universe; but at the *end* will be the triumph and eternal victory of life and light over death.

In Manichaeism what is true in the macrocosmos is also true for the microcosmos. The individual soul partakes of this whole history, so that our present enfleshment in a demonic body is only the *middle* time between two eternities. Note too that the dualism is not the hellenistic one of spirit and matter, but of two essences, even substances. The divine life is visible, has spatial and quantifiable elements; and evil matter is the active principle of lust, the elements and 'thought of death'.

Manichaean theology is not easily categorised. The Father evokes or emanates powers of himself for purposes in the cosmic drama, and these too may call forth further gods or angels (chapter 50). The language of 'calling out' the powers of light is crucial, to avoid any suggestion of generation, for sexuality is inextricably tied in Manichaean thought to evil matter and the lust that is its nature.

The Manichaeans, or at least the elect, delighted in establishing elaborate systemisations of these beings; but all the divine is ultimately one, so that the diversification represents levels of descent into or entrapment by darkness. Relationships between spiritual levels, for instance a lay believer or catechumen to an elect, will be an exact image of that relationship all the way back up the scale through the gods to the Father. The same is true of all the representatives of the essence of darkness; so that Manichaean teachings are characterised by elaborate series of parallels and shifts of scale.

In the 'first time' the Father of Greatness rules the realm of light, which indeed is an extension of himself, and has four divine attributes: purity, light, power and wisdom. He resides in five intellectuals or limbs: mind, thought, insight, counsel and consideration. These are otherwise substantially detailed as the five elements: living air, light, wind, water and fire. Surrounding the Father are the twelve aeons, distributed three each to the directions of heaven, and refracted also to the one hundred and forty-four aeons of the aeons.

To the south of this kingdom of life is the realm of the King of Darkness. His form combines the shapes of the animals representative of his five warring worlds and their own Kings, also the

corresponding five elements of darkness, (chapter 6). This realm is a seething manifestation of the conflict and carnality that is its essence, Matter, the thought of death. In the course of its constant turmoil, by accident for darkness blindly grasps but can not know, the demonic powers glimpse the light and desire to possess its life. Since peace is the nature of the light the Father must call out from himself the great divinities, both as the only means to defend his kingdom, and to distance the inevitable conflict from the land of light. In the ensuing 'second time' the drama is driven by these gods in the arena of mixture, the universe, while the Father himself remains apart until he can again reveal himself and his inner treasury after the final victory.

First the Father evokes the Great Spirit who is the Mother of Life, and she in turn calls forth the First Man. This is the first emanation, that of the gods of *descent*. It also evidences a consciously trinitarian structure embedded in Mani's system, which in common with other Syriac forms of Christianity details the Spirit as feminine.

It is the Man who descends to battle. This first born son of God is armed with the five light elements, personified as his five sons; and it is this portion of the divine that is devoured by the powers of evil when the demonic forces defeat the warrior of heaven. This living soul comes to be compounded with the dark elements of matter throughout the universe, and is in need of redemption for the duration of the 'second time'.

So, while this first conflict appears outwardly to result in tragedy, as with the crucifixion the believer understands that it was a necessity for the binding of evil, and will lead to the ultimate victory of the life and light over death. Nevertheless, the inevitable consequence is the distress and suffering of the divine soul, (termed the Cross of Light particularly in the context of vegetation), and personified as the suffering Jesus awaiting redemption. The entire resultant history of the 'second time' involves the mechanics of once more separating the light from darkness; not simply as a return to the first eternity, but rather to fundamentally alter the status and relationship of the two principles by so fatally weakening the power of death that it can never again threaten the life.

In order to establish the arena in which liberation can take place, that is the universe, a new divine trinity is called forth: the

Beloved of the Lights, the Great Builder, and the Living Spirit (also termed the Father of Life). This is the second emanation, that of the gods of *creation*.

It is the task of the Living Spirit to rescue the First Man, which is a prototype of all future redemption; and then to fashion the universe from the powers of darkness in which the light elements, the five sons, are mixed. Thus the Living Spirit descends to issue a 'summons' (or call) to the Man who responds with his affirming 'answer'; and who is then lifted up out of the abyss. This is the archetype of the assent proclaimed by the community at prayer (chapter 122).

Summons and answer are themselves hypostasised into a pair of divinities. Together they are the 'counsel of life' that throughout the time of mixture personifies the awakening and motivating force of the soul and light elements that are sunk in darkness (K. 178.2 – 5). To prepare for that, the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life descend to the abyss. There they defeat the demonic powers and rulers, and out of their bodies fashion the universe. Thus the demiurge is a light god, though the dead matter of the creation is darkness, albeit shot through with the elements of life. The structure of the universe is divinely conceived, even if its matter is evil.

The Living Spirit constructs ten heavens and eight earths, flaying and crucifying some of the evil powers above, and forming the earths out of the bodies of others. To hold the whole elaborate structure in place he evokes his own five sons: the Adamant of Light, the Keeper of Splendour, the King of Glory, the King of Honour, and the Porter (or Atlas). By means of three wheels or garments, fire and water and wind, the three evil vessels of fire and water and darkness are swept down from the heavens; and then finally swept into pits that have been prepared for them. The light elements are freed to ascend to purity and rest (chapters 42 – 43).

The Keeper of Splendour oversees the eighth, ninth and tenth heavens; whilst the King of Honour watches over the lower heavens from the seventh. The King of Glory turns the wheels so that the light elements may ascend. The Adamant humbles sporadic demonic uprisings on earth. The Porter supports the entire structure from below. The sun and the moon are vessels of purified light, and stations on the path of ascent or descent for the

redeemed soul and the gods. However, the planets and stars are evil rulers.

Once the machinery for the purification has been made ready by the second series of evoked gods, they all turn to the Father to plea for a new emanation to set the cosmos in motion, and thus to achieve the process of redemption through time (K. 273.15 – 274.11). The Father approves and calls forth his Third Ambassador (or Messenger), so termed because he introduces the third age of the world. He dwells in the ship of the sun; whilst the Virgin of Light, his feminine doublet, has her throne in the ship of the moon. Jesus the Splendour, another in the series of salvific deities, is closely related in Manichaean systematics to this androgynous sun-moon god. This is the third emanation, that of the gods of *salvation* or *ascent*.

The Ambassador and Virgin achieve a first redemption of trapped light, again turning the uncontrollable lust of the darkness, which is its nature, back upon it. They reveal their images, or more graphically appear naked, before the male and female rulers (archons) chained in the heavens. These powers spontaneously ejaculate or abort across the cosmos. Some light is drawn to the heights, while the remainder that is more deeply embedded in matter sinks downwards and must endure further degradation before it is redeemed. A part falls into the sea and rises as a monster that the Adamant subjugates. Other dross falls to the earth to become the seeds of plant life that the abortions eat. Such complicated details of prehistory were drawn from a variety of prior traditions, which seem to have fascinated Mani and his followers. Inevitably they drew the attention and ire of their opponents.

The abortions formed a rampaging demonic group from which the different genera of creatures originate, corresponding to the varieties of the five worlds of darkness from which they stem. Adam and Eve are fashioned by demons 'after the image of God' that they have glimpsed, that is the Ambassador who had appeared to the rulers in the heavens; and are procreated after various cannabalistic and sexual acts by the dominant demonic pair: Saclas and Nebroel.

Thus, lust is endemic in human nature. Mankind has been deliberately fashioned by demonic forces in an attempt to prevent the redemption of the light, for through the urge for sex humans

will multiply, and further entrap the divine soul in multitudes of material bodies. This inverts the core of Hebrew tradition, that God approves of the creation of man and woman, and ordains that they should 'be fruitful and multiply'. Nevertheless, as with the macrocosmos, the structural form of humans is in a sense divinely conceived (in the 'image'), and acts as a mechanism for the purification of soul.

Since the human soul is a principal repository of the trapped divine, the abortions having concentrated therein such that they had gained from the buds and fruits they had eaten, humans become the focus of the salvific mission of the gods. In an archetypal episode Jesus the Splendour approaches Adam, lying as dead after his creation and without consciousness, and awakens him to the saving knowledge of his own condition. Here Manichaeism has inherited and developed the widespread gnostic retelling and inversion of the 'fall' narrative, so that now the serpent has become entirely transformed into the heavenly redeemer.

The process of redemption enters human history. Again Mani drew upon a variety of non-biblical traditions to develop a complex narrative about the family of Adam. Note the veneration of the virginal Seth, a characteristic feature of esoteric traditions; and the fierce antipathy to female sexuality. In another episode from the early generations it is related how the demons guarded by the King of Honour rebelled, and two hundred of these watchers escaped to earth to wreak havoc and unveil to mankind the mysteries of heaven (K. 92.24 – 32). In these episodes prior Judaic material has been reworked and integrated into the Manichaean system.

The revelation by Jesus the Splendour to Adam is the exemplar for all future human redemption. Gradually over the generations more of the divine soul is liberated, so that 'they that are begotten today, in these last generations, stand diminished and maimed (K. 147.10 – 11)'. To achieve this liberation Jesus evokes the Light Mind, and in turn summons forth the Apostle of Light who becomes incarnate in the great religious leaders throughout history and the world. So, the process of redemption is the work of the Light Mind who transforms the human soul by enlightening and freeing the five intellectuals of light from the shackles of the body and the five members of sin. 'He shall set right the

members of the soul; form and purify them and construct a new man of them, a child of righteousness (K. 96.25 - 27)'. This 'new man', a concept ultimately to be derived from Paul, will now display the five virtues of love, faith, perfection, patience and wisdom.

Mani believed that he had been commissioned to make the final and universal proclamation of truth for the last generations. The cycle of true apostleship was important to him. It included patriarchal figures such as Seth, Noah and Enoch; also founders of true religions, in particular Buddha, Zarathushtra and Jesus; and more recent apostles such as the gnostic Nikotheos, and Paul upon whom Mani modelled his own style of mission. *Kephalaia* chapter 1 provides an extended simile wherein the advent of the apostles is compared to the months of seedtime and harvest. Each apostle is a farmer who plants a church, labouring over it till it matures and ripens. As it finally comes to fruition another will be seeded: 'There is not any time the tree is bare of fruit! (K. 11.26 - 27)'.

The various listings of the apostles evidence Mani's concept of universal revelation-history, and indicate sources that he regarded as authentic. Nevertheless, it is the figure of Jesus that dominates all the others who in comparison are little more than names. Preeminently Mani regarded himself as the apostle of Jesus Christ. United with his divine Twin he becomes the Paraclete foretold, as according to John 14:16 where Jesus promises the disciples that he will ask the Father who will send them another helper, the Spirit of truth, who will remain with them for ever.

As a whole Manichaean Christology draws upon a range of influences that are woven into a coherent thread running through the entire revelation. Regarding the historical Jesus the influence of prior docetic tradition is evident. Christian polemic against the Manichaean Jesus as a phantasm without human birth, and capable of only an illusory suffering, reiterates the arguments raised against the second century heretic Marcion. Similarly, the Manichaeans in their missionary endeavour in the Roman Empire drew upon the Marcionite critique of the Old Testament and the Jewish God, even though in contrast to Marcionism the Manichaean demiurge is good. Again, following Marcion, Mani believed that he had been called to restore the true

teaching of Jesus. This had been corrupted and falsely interpreted by Judaisers, against whom Paul had preached, as evidenced by a particular reading of the Pauline epistles. Thus it lay upon Mani to establish a firm canon of scripture that could never again be adulterated.

Mani and the first generation of his church believed that they were living in the last days before the return of Jesus as judge. The powerful salvific and apocalyptic emphases of his teaching are evident in the rich details of the eschatology, both individual and cosmic. At death each soul will be judged, and if triumphant will be greeted by the Form of Light and angels with victory prizes. Devotional texts, such as Manichaean psalms, developed a powerful symbolic language to express this hope.

There are three paths for the soul at death. Gross sinners beyond any hope of redemption will be damned to hell to await the second death at the end of time, when all of matter and the darkness will finally be bound and sealed in its eternal grave. In contrast, the souls of those such as the catechumens, who are not inextricably compounded with lust, will be reborn in new bodies and have the hope of final purification.

The third way is that of the elect, and indeed of all the light freed from dead matter to life, such as that liberated from fruits and vegetables. This divine ascends up the Pillar of Glory, the great porter of souls, to the moon. This Pillar is itself divinised as a god of the third emanation. It is the Perfect Man (see Ephesians 4:12 – 13), the representation of the church as the body of Jesus in its ascent to the Father. The moon in its waxing and waning then provides visual and actual evidence of its role as a ship and stage in the transit of souls; thence to the sun. From the sun the redeemed light passes to the new aeon that has been built by the Great Builder for the time of mixture. Here the gods rest, and the souls must await the final burial of darkness, before the Father will again unveil to them his image, and can once more receive them into his treasury (chapter 39).

Individual and cosmic eschatology are interwoven in Mani's teaching, for each soul's own tragedy and victory are but a microcosm of the history of the universal soul and its liberation from matter. *The Sermon of the Great War* is an apocalyptic treatise (found in the Medinet Madi codex of *Homilies*) from the first generation after Mani's death, wherein the eschatological event is

understood to have already begun. It utilises material from the gospel tradition; as Mani himself did in his earliest writing, the *Shabuhragan*. After the horrors of persecution and the final terrors Jesus will return to take the judgement seat that is prepared for him, to separate the sheep from the goats and to reign in glory.

Then will come the great fire that will achieve such final purification of the light still in the world as is possible. This soul will gather up and rise as the Last Statue, a divinity that in essence recapitulates the descent into the abyss of the First Man. The five sons of the Living Spirit will leave their tasks, and the dead husk of the universe will collapse in upon itself to sink to the depths. All the evil will be sealed in an eternal tomb; but the males and females separated so that they can never again renew themselves and threaten the light.

Time in the sense of the workings of the universe and the history of redemption has come to an end. The 'third moment' is a new eternality without fear.

> (The Father) can give the grace to his fighters, they whom he s[ent] to the contest with the darkness. They will roll back and gather [the cu]rtains, and he unveils to them his image. The [e]ntire l[ight] will be immersed in him. They will go in [to the] treasury. They will also come forth from him in glory (H. 41.13–17).

Now there will be two kings, the Father in the aeons of light, and the First Man reigning with the gods in the new age.

The Manichaean Ethic and its Practice in the Church

In the *Kephalaia* chapters 79 – 93 form a distinct section concerned with the religious praxis of the elect and catechumens. It seems probable that they were gathered together prior to their redaction into the work as it now appears. Indeed, chapter 76, concerning the missions of Mani, has some indications of being a new beginning; whilst 77 and 78 (linked by 'four') seem poorly placed. In any case, this sub-work provides much detail on the actuality of Manichaean concerns and community life.

Mani was himself brought up within the confines of a narrow religious sect; and his teachings, although able to drive a religion of world-wide significance, made radical demands upon his followers. Indeed, the question of submission to the demands of

the world was the focus of the Manichaean accusation that the 'Christians' were only half believers who had betrayed the teachings of Jesus. The sudden influx and even visual appearance of these new ascetics from the late third century on may well be taken as one spark that lit the fire of Christian monasticism in the decades that followed.

It is certainly true that the teachings that underpinned this new ethic provoked fierce polemic from the leaders of the catholic community, and indeed also the imperial authorities. On the one hand the belief that the divine substance was scattered through all the material world led to devotional attitudes, for instance towards fruit and vegetables as vessels of the soul, that were received with horror. Christian polemic focussed on the complex food rituals intended to liberate the divine light from matter and pain, and accused the Manichaeans of worshipping the sun and the moon. On the other hand Mani's negative account of creation, and fierce antipathy to matter and sexuality as intrinsically demonic, was equally abhorrent.

For Mani the whole rationale for history, and any continuation of human existence, is the liberation of the light elements from the dark. The Manichaean attitude to marriage was entirely negative as the act of procreation prolongs the imprisonment of soul, which would now be further diversified into matter. Moreover, if a peasant works the land, or if a craftsman uses his tools or a soldier his weapons, then they harm and pain the living soul. The same applies to speech that calls for such activites; or incites immorality, anger or envy.

The principal symbol was that of the Cross of Light, the universal divine stretched and bound upon matter. Particularly the Cross was associated with plant life as manifested in sweetness, colour and translucence; in comparison to the heavy carnality and odour of flesh.

The Manichaeans strove to consume food and drink with as high a percentage of light as possible, such as melons and cucumbers; and indeed were much concerned with the classification and preparation of foods, which inevitably attracted the scorn of opponents. Specifically, meat and wine were regarded as dominated by the dark elements that would reinfect the believer striving for personal purification, and lead directly to sensuality and ignorance.

On the positive side, while the very act of eating caused pain to the light elements, the body as a microcosm of the universe also acted as a machine for the liberation of the divine; so that the righteous person could literally discard the gross elements below, and breathe forth angels to rise above. Chapters such as 85 and 93 express the determination to rise above quietism by showing that the purification of soul achieved by positive action in the world far outways the temporary pain caused.

Such an ethic could only really be applied by a small group of people. Yet, the goal that Mani felt to be his vocation was the foundation and propagation by mission of a world religion. The compromise was achieved, possibly under Indian influence, by instituting a two-tiered structure incorporating a doctrine of transmigration of souls.

The community was divided into an inner circle of the elect ('the virginal') who lived a life of extreme asceticism; around which a greater number of hearers or catechumens ('the continent') gathered, who were able to profit from the piety and righteousness of the spiritually more advanced. In actual fact the catechumens were allowed to marry and carry out normal daily activities; but they were obliged to see to the alimentary needs of the monks, and to dedicate a proportion of their work to the church. This duty brought merit to the hearers who could hope to advance to perfection in a future life (e.g. chapters 80 and 91). Mani was anxious to stress that both hearers and elect depend upon each other.

As the final apostle of God Mani led the community for as long as he lived, and after his 'crucifixion' was believed to have ascended to the moon to wait in attendance upon the faithful. During his life-time, concerned at the corruption of earlier churches, he endeavoured to establish the community for the rest of history through writings, missions, and a strong hierarchy. Until the tenth century the Twin-Cities (al-Mada'in) remained the seat of his successor: the *archegos* or *imam*. In standard lists ecclesiastical authority was mediated downwards via twelve teachers (*magister* or 𐬀𐬌𐬎), seventy-two bishops (*episcopus*), three hundred and sixty elders (*presbyter*), and thence to the general body of the elect and hearers[8]. However, the *Kephalaia,* and

[8] See Lieu 1994:272.

indeed the new texts from Kellis, evidences a more fluid use of these terms[9].

In the Roman Empire the religion established an elaborate network of cells both to facilitate evangelism and to avoid detection. In later centuries the episcopal hierarchy seems to have been better preserved in the east, especially whilst it was the dominant religion in the Turfan area during the early medieval period.

In central Asia the Manichaeans finally had the freedom to worship openly, to observe their regular fasts, and to develop church practices. However, the most important festival remained the commemoration of Mani's martyrdom when a judgement seat (*bema*) was raised in the middle of the worshipping congregation. Upon this was placed a portrait of Mani to celebrate his continuing presence in the community of the elect; and to symbolise his position as proxy for Jesus until his return as judge.

[9] E.g. the use of *archegos* at 193.33. Note also deacons (ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ) at 42.4

COMMENTS ON THE TRANSLATION

The translation provided here is as complete as the surviving edited Coptic allows. Some passages are very fragmentary, where the overall meaning relies more on the impression given by key terms than actual content. With experience an entire episode such as the Third Ambassador displaying his image, and the establishment of life on earth consequent upon the ejaculation and abortion by the heavenly rulers, can be hung by the reader on a slight recurrence of terminology: '[... Amb]assador [... fell to] earth'. Thus the translation attempts to render the lacunose text as accurately as possible. The placing of brackets reproduces the reconstructions of the edited text, with the aim to aid the reader with limited Coptic. Perhaps this is over zealous.

Similarly, the heavily didactic and repetitious style of the original is reflected in the English. The translator's problem is to reproduce intention and not to be misled by the structures of language as system. Inevitably this becomes a matter of interpretation: when is it that the text is repetitive for didactic purposes and when is it the nature of Coptic? This translation errs towards inclusion and faithful representation, hopefully not at the expense of sense. It seems that the style is dense and loaded; terms are ossified and even social and political frameworks appear archaic in the original.

Whilst the English translation endeavours to reproduce the style of the original, the format has been altered in order to try and render it more readable. In particular the text has been broken up into shorter units of paragraphs and lists. Some of these are warranted in accordance with indentations used by the scribe, but the practice has been applied with more consistency. Also, each chapter has been provided with a brief introductory commentary to provide context for the reader, and to aid review of the work as a whole. The Coptic word ⲥⲉϩⲉ ('word' or 'saying') has, where applicable, been rendered as 'lesson'; for this seems best to indicate the quality of Mani's discourses that are the basic material for the constructed *Kephalaia*.

In general there is an attempt to reproduce significant terms and phrases consistently. However, some latitude is necessary to

balance consistency with readability. Policies that have been followed are always to use an English term rather than, say, the Greek (thus 'lump' for bolos); to be sparing in the usage of capitals; and also to attempt to provide an equivalent even where the exact meaning of the original is unclear (thus 'sect of the basket' in chapter 121). Often translations can make the original appear overly arcane by the constant highlighting of the technical. This is a problem with a system as complex as Mani's, with a universe populated by numerous gods and demons. In general capitals are used only for the 'great' gods such as the Living Spirit, while subsidiary figures ('five sons of') and epithets are not capitalised. It is difficult to make this policy entirely coherent, but the index will evidence the intention.

The index itself is an aid to the reader. The listing of epithets and alternative titles (the 'Father of Life' is the Living Spirit) helps to clarify the text, whilst hopefully not being overly interpretative. The many epithets and fluid functions of the spiritual entities in Mani's universe make it difficult to achieve closure in this process, and total consistency can not be claimed.

ABBREVIATIONS

CMC.	Cologne *Mani-Codex.*
H.	*Manichäische Homilien,* ed. H.-J. Polotsky (Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty 1, Stuttgart 1934) = *Homilies and Varia,* facsimile ed. S. Giversen (The Manichaean Coptic papyri in the Chester Beatty library II, Geneva 1986).
K.	*Kephalaia,* ed. H.-J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig (Man. Hss. der Staatlichen Museen Berlin 1, Stuttgart 1940); ed. A. Böhlig (ibid. 1.2, 1966).
K (Dub).	(Dublin) *Kephalaia, facs. ed.* S. Giversen (ibid. I, Geneva 1986).
PsBk1.	*Psalm-Book,* I, facs. ed. S. Giversen (ibid. III, Geneva 1988).
PsBk2.	*A Manichaean Psalm-Book,* II, ed. C.R.C. Allberry (Man. Mss. Chester Beatty 2, Stuttgart 1938) = facs. ed. S. Giversen (ibid. IV, Geneva 1988).

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THE KEPHALAIA OF THE TEACHER

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

[...]	Lacuna of any length, together with vestiges of letters or words with undetermined meaning.
{ }	Unknown word or phrase.
< >	Words or phrases added to the primary text.
[[ ]]	Dittography.
++	Corrupt text.
( )	Explanatory material added by the translator.
/	Line break; (each multiple of five and the pages are numbered).

LIST OF KEPHALAIA

No.	Title	Codex	Page
	(Introduction)	1,1 – 9,10	1
1	*Concerning the Ad[vent] of the Apostle.*	9,11 – 16,31	15
2	*The Second, concerning the Parable of the Tree.*	16,32 – 23,13	22
3	*The Interpretation of Happiness, Wisdom and Power; what they signify.*	23,14 – 25,6	27
4	*Concerning the Four great Days th[at have] come forth from one another; together with the Four Nights.*	25,7 – 27,31	28
5	*Concerning Four Hunters of Light and Four of Darkness.*	28,1 – 30,11	31
6	*Concerning the Five Storehouses that have po[ured f]orth from the Land of Darkness since the [Beginning]; the Five Rulers, the Five Spiri[ts], the Five Bodies, the Five Tastes.*	30,12 – 34,12	34
7	*The Seventh, concerning the Five Fathers.*	34,13 – 36,26	38
8	*Concerning the Fourteen Vehicles that Jesus has boarded.*	36,27 – 37,27	41
9	*The Explanation of the Peace, what it is; the Ri[gh]t Hand; the Kiss; the Salutation.*	37,28 – 42,23	42
10	*Concerning the Interpretation of the Fourteen [great A]eons, about which Sethel has spoken in [his P]rayer.*	42,24 – 43,21	47
11	*[Concerning the Interpretation of] all [the] Fathers of [Light], who are distinguished from one another.*	43,22 – 44,18	49
12	*Concerning the Interpretation of the Five Words that are proclaimed {} in the Universe.*	44,19 – 45,15	50

13	*Concer[ning] the Five Saviours, the Resurrectors of they who are Dead; together with the Five Resurrections.*	45,16 – 46,12	51
14	*The Interpretation [of] the S[i]lence, the Fast, [the Peace], the Day, [and] the Rest; [what] they are.*	46,13 – 47,21	52
15	*[Concerning the ...] Five [Parts ...] Worlds of [...]*	47,22 – 49,9	52
16	*[Concerning the Five] Greatnesses who [went forth] against the Darkness.*	49,10 – 55,15	54
17	*The Chapter of the Thr[ee] Seasons.*	55,16 – 57,32	59
18	*[Concerning the Five] War[s that the] Sons of [Li]ght waged wi[th the Sons] of Darkness.*	58,1 – 60,12	62
19	*Concerning the Five Re[le]as[es; what] they [are].*	60,13 – 63,18	64
20	*The Chapter of the Name of the Fathers.*	63,19 – 64,12	66
21	*[C]oncerning the Father of Gr[eat]ness: [ho]w he is established and determined.*	64,13 – 65,13	67
22	*[...] the Land of Light.*	65,14 – 66,27	68
23	*[...] which [...]*	66,28 – 70,7	69
24	*[...]*	70,8 – 76,14	72
25	*[Concerning the Advent of Five Fathers from the Five Limbs of the Father].*	76,15 – 25	77
26	*Concerning the First Man and the Ambassador and the Ship; what they resemble.*	76,26 – 77,21	77
27	*Concerning the Five Forms that exist in the Rulers of Darkness.*	77,22 – 79,12	79
28	*[Concerning the T]welve Judges [of] the Father.*	79,13 – 81,20	81
29	*Concerning the Eighteen great Thrones of all the Fathers.*	81,21 – 83,16	83
30	*Concerning the Three Garments.*	83,17 – 84,4	85

31	*Concerning the Summons, in which Limb of the Soul it descended to the First Man.*	84,5 – 85,18	86
32	*Concerning the Seven Works of the Living Spirit.*	85,19 – 86,17	88
33	*Concerning the Five Things that he constructed with the hard Bodies of the Rulers.*	86,18 – 30	89
34	*Concerning the Ten Things that the Am[bassa]d[or] began by his Ad[vent].*	86,31 – 87,13	90
35	*Concerning the Four Works of the Ambassador.*	87,14 – 29	91
36	*Concerning the Wheel that exists i[n fron]t of the King of Honour.*	87,30 – 88,33	91
37	*Concerning the Three Zones.*	89,1 – 17	93
38	*Concerning the Light Mind and the Apostles and the Saints.*	89,18 – 102,12	93
39	*Concerning the Three Days and the Two Deaths.*	102,13 – 104,20	106
40	*Concerning the Three Things that were established by the Light.*	104,21 – 105,14	108
41	*Concerning the Three Blows that befell the Enemy because of the Light.*	105,15 – 106,21	110
42	*Concerning the Three Vessels.*	106,21 – 111,17	111
43	*Concerning the Vessels.*	111,18 – 113,25	116
44	*Concerning the Sea Giant.*	113,26 – 115,31	119
45	*Concerning the Vessels.*	116,1 – 117,9	122
46	*Concerning the Ambassador.*	117,10 – 118,12	123
47	*Concerning the Four great Things.*	118,13 – 120,20	125
48	*Concerning the Conduits.*	120,21 – 124,32	127
49	*Concerning the Wh[eel and the Conduits].*	125,1 – 24	132
50	*Concerning these Na[mes]: God, Rich One, and Ange[l]; who they are.*	125,25 – 126,29	133
51	*Concerning the First Man.*	126,30 – 127,23	135
52	*Conce[rning] the [...] of the Light.*	127,24 – 129,4	136
53	*Concerning the First Man.*	129,5 – 131,9	137

54	*[Concern]ing the Quality of the Garments.*	131,10 – 133,3	139
55	*Concerning the Fashioning of Adam.*	133,4 – 137,11	141
56	*[Concern]ing Saklas and his Powers.*	137,12 – 144,12	144
57	*Concerning the Generation of Adam.*	144,13 – 147,20	151
58	*The Four Powers that grieve.*	147,21 – 148,20	154
59	*The Chapter of the Elements that wept.*	148,21 – 151,4	156
60	*[Concernin]g the Four Fathers; what they are like.*	151,5 – 152,20	158
61	*Concerning the Garment of the Waters: how great is its Measure.*	152,21 – 155,5	160
62	*Concerning the Three Rocks.*	155,6 – 29	163
63	*Concerning Love.*	155,30 – 156,34	164
64	*[Concerning] Adam.*	157,1 – 158,23	165
65	*Concerning the Sun.*	158,24 – 164,8	167
66	*Concerning the Ambassador.*	164,9 – 165,24	173
67	*Concerning the Light-Giver.*	165,25 – 166,16	174
68	*Concerning Fire.*	166,17 – 30	175
69	*Concerning the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Stars.*	166,31 – 169,22	176
70	*Concerning the Body: It was constructed after the Pattern of the Universe.*	169,23 – 175,24	179
71	*Concerning the Gathering in of the [E]lements.*	175,25 – 176,8	185
72	*Concerning the worn and torn apart Garments, or the tattered Clothes, or the Elements, the Cross, and the rest too.*	176,9 – 178,23	185
73	*Concerning the Envy of Matter.*	178,24 – 180,26	188
74	*Concerning the living Fire: It is present in Eight Places.*	180,27 – 181,31	190
75	*[Concerning the Letter (?)].*	181,31 – 183,9	191
76	*[Conce]rning Lord Manichaios: how he journeyed.*	183,10 – 188,29	193
77	*The Chapter of the Four K[ingdoms].*	188,30 – 190,10	197

78	*Concerning the Four Things over which People kill each other.*	190,11 – 191,8	199
79	*Concerning the Fasting of the Saints.*	191,9 – 192,3	200
80	*The Chapter of the Commandments of Righteousness.*	192,3 – 193,22	201
81	*The Chapter of Fasting, for it engenders a Host of Angels.*	193,23 – 196,31	202
82	*The Chapter of Righteous [Judgement].*	197,1 – 200,8	206
83	*Concerning the Man who is ug[l]y in his Body, [but] beautiful [in his Soul].*	200,9 – 204,23	209
84	*Concerning Wisdom; it is far superior when on the Tongue than in the Heart of the Person.*	204,24 – 208,10	213
85	*Concerning the Cross of Light: [...] trample upon it.*	208,11 – 213,20	216
86	*The Chapter of the Man who asks: Why [am] I sometimes at peace, and troubled at other times?*	213,21 – 216,30	221
87	*Concerning the Alms, that [...] life in the Church.*	216,31 – 218,32	224
88	*Concerning the Catechumen who found fault with the Elect: why he is angry.*	219,1 – 221,17	226
89	*The Chapter of the Nazorean who questions the Teacher.*	221,18 – 223,16	229
90	*Concerning the Fifteen Paths; and whether the Catechumen would have avoided causing his Wealth to go on the Three Paths to Gehenna.*	223,17 – 228,4	231
91	*Also concerning the Catechumen; shall he be saved in a single Body?*	228,5 – 234,23	235
92	*The Apostle is asked: Why when you drew every thing in the Picture (-Book), did you not draw the Purification of the Catechumens who shall be cleansed by Transmigration?*	234,24 – 236,6	241

93	*A Catechumen asked the Apostle: When I give an Offering to the Saints, shall I inflict a Wound on the Alms?*	236,7 – 239,2	242
94	*Concerning the Purification of these Four Elements [that have been place]d in the Flesh.*	239,3 – 240,12	245
95	*The Apostle asks his Disciples: What is Cloud?*	240,13 – 244,20	246
96	*The Three Earths that exist, they bear Fruit.*	244,21 – 246,6	250
97	*Concerning the Three Creations of the Flesh: the ones that were brought forth [...]; and the ones that were begotten by the Abortions; and the ones that were formed of themselves.*	246,7 – 248,10	252
98	*What is Virginal; or, otherwise, what is Continent?*	248,10 – 249,30	253
99	*Concerning Transmigration.*	249,31 – 251,25	255
100	*Concerning the Dragon with Fourte[en] He[ads]; what it is and [...]*	251,26 – 253,24	257
101	*[Concer]ning why, if the Person shall look down into Water, [...]*	253,25 – 255,21	258
102	*Concerning the Light Mind, why it does not exercise Foreknowledge for the Saint as for the Apostle.*	255,22 – 257,7	260
103	*Concerning the Five Wonders that the Light Mind shall display in the Elect.*	257,8 – 258,3	262
104	*Concerning Food: It shall be allocated to Five Products of the human Body.*	258,4 – 25	263
105	*Concerning the Three Things that are great with Mankind, as they are running all the time, in that they [...]*	258,26 – 259,23	264
106	*There is no Joy that shall remain in the World till the End.*	259,24 – 260,27	265
107	*Concerning the Form of the Word, that [...]*	260,28 – 261,13	266

108	*Concerning the Seed Grain that shall be formed by the Elements, [a]nd also be destroyed by them.*	261,14 – 262,9	267
109	*Concerning the Fifty Lord's Days; to what Mysteries do they correspond? Or the Second (Fifty); to whose Sign (are they)?*	262,10 – 264,19	268
110	*Concerning the Nourishment of the Person, for there are Powers in it [...]*	264,20 – 265,8	270
111	*Concerning the Four Archetypes that occur in the Eye, and the Fifth that is hidden in them; to whom do they belong?*	265,9 – 266,2	270
112	*The Human is less than all the Things of the Universe, and he is rebellious beyond them all.*	266,3 – 268,27	271
113	*The Chapter on whether any [Lig]ht comes from the Three Vessels.*	268,27 – 269,13	274
114	*Concerning the Three Images that are in the righteous Person.*	269,14 – 270,24	275
115	*The Catechumen asks the Apostle: Will Rest come about for Someone who has come out of the Body, if the Saints pray [over] and make an Alms-offering [for him]?*	270,25 – 280,19	276
116	*Concerning why if a [Nail] is cut the Person shall not be sick; but if a Limb is cut he shall immediately be pained.*	280,20 – 282,6	284
117	*Concerning why Some shall delay to come forth from the Body, and Others die in an instant.*	282,7 – ?	285
118	*[...]*	283 – 284	286
119	*[...]*	284,? – 286,23	286
120	*Concerning the Two Essences.*	286,24 – 288,18	288
121	*Concerning the Sect of the Basket.*	288,19 – 290,28	290
122	*Concerning the 'Assent' and the 'Amen'.*	290,29 – 295,8	292

••• (Introduction) •••

(1,1 - 9,10)

The introductory section cannot properly be termed a kephalaion. Rather, it is a framing sequence; and a justification for the entire work.

The text (when readable) begins with a grand survey of the crucial moments in the cosmogonic drama: the eternal separation of the two principles at the beginning; the attack by the darkness, and consequent emanation and descent of the First Man in defence of the light; the construction of the universe by the Living Spirit; the role of the Third Ambassador as supreme redeemer; the destruction of the cosmos in the great fire, and final binding of the darkness; the reintegration of the divine, and victory of the Father (– 5.20).

Mani then asserts his revelation of total wisdom in his canonical scriptures. However, he also stresses his oral teaching; and urges his followers to write down what he has taught them. This appears to provide justification for the *Kephalaia,* as a sub-canonical text (– 7.6).

Mani acknowledges the true proclamation by earlier apostles, detailing Jesus, Zarathustra and Buddha. However, they did not write their own scriptures; and so their teachings were adulterated, and their churches will decay and pass away (– 8.28).

In consequence, Mani again admonishes his disciples to remember and write down his teachings (– 9.10).

(**1**) [...] [17] light [...] [33] which he has unveiled [... (**2**) ...] [21] his disciples [... (**3**) ...] entire [...] of wisdom [... / ...] word in the beginning [... / ...] concerning the separation [... / ...] the heights [... [5] ...] to the hei[ghts ...] and they spread out [... / ... unt]il they should make war [... [17] ...] kingdom [... / ... l]ight [... / ...] in the heights [... [20] ... f]rom all the aeons [... / ...] the light, the one that no [... / ...] in it. /

[...] the darkness, the wo[rld / ...] their roo[t ... [25] ...] which poured for[th ... / ...] the one that the earth has [... / ... / ...] darkness [... / ...] it is far from the light [... [30] ...]

Thi[s] is the first [... / ...] concerning the eternality; he [... / ...] to you, for each one of them exis[ts ... / ...] they are divided from one another by their [... / ...] in an eternality since the [... [35] ...] which I have written for you (pl.); this is, that [...] (**4**) the darkness has made war against the light, desiring that it would rei[gn / over an] essence not its own. It spread a quarrel / [...] it disturbed

[... / ...] came up, it [... in [5] this great] need. The power came forth from [... / ... which] is [the Fir]st Man. He [... / ...] the armour of ligh[t ...] / all [the enmity]. He cruc[if]ied it in [... / ...] the armour [... [10] ... / ...]

[... [15] ...] he brought the sun [... / ...] the lig[ht] aeons [... / ... the] L[i]ving [Spirit] spread [out the] universe / [...] the earth [... / ...] the light and the da[rkness in] the beginning [... [20] ...] and the garments. He gave [them ... / ...] He set in order the [... / ...] and the wheel of the cou[rse ... / ...] in the heights, that they would [... / ...] of the darkness. He stood [firm ... [25] ... f]ixed. He constructed the found[ation / ... al]l of it was set up. Unde[rneath ... / ... a]ll of them; and also above he [... / ... thre]e earths, they being conjoined. He enclosed the earth i[n / ... f]our mountains and three vesse[ls [30] ...] in its seas and its mountain[s ... / set in] order upon it. This uni[v]erse stood f[irm / ...] a bond for the evil powers [... / ... li]ght that they joined with the darkness [... /

The]n the Third Ambassador! [He purified the [35] li]ght by his image. He became [redeemer of] / all [thin]gs.

(**5**) [...] they are in all the [... / ... / ... u]niverse, and the fire blazes in it, and it is devo/[ured ...] all [...] of the light al[s]o, and he bec[omes] [5] purifier, and goes up to his essence. Conversely, the darkness [wh]ich is in / [...] out, and it is gathered in to a bond [... [12] ...] unveil [... / ...] and they go in to him and become [... / ... pe]rfume [... s][15]et up [... an]/d they reign for ever, and a single God comes to be [... ov/er] the totality, being above [the to]tality. You (sg.) find no opponent / from this time on again[st the Father], the King of the Light and the [... / ...] which they occur in, from the [beginning ... [20] ...] they are mixed and joined with one another. /

[... unv]eil in these three lessons*[1] / [...] in them. I have written [them in / my bo]oks of ligh[t: i]n *The Great Gospel* and *Treasu[ry] / of the Life;* in *The Treatise;* in *The One of the Mysteries;* [in] [25] *The Writing,* which I wrote on account of the Parthians; and also all my *Ep[ist/le]s;* in *The Psalms* and *The Prayers.* For the[se three] / lessons are the measure of all wisdom. Everything that has

*[1] ⲥⲉⲍⲉ Perhaps the 'three times'.

occ[ured], / and [th]at will oc[cu]r, is written in them! Have strength to discrim[inate / ...] and know it through them. [Every] wri[ter, 30 if he re]vea[l]s these three great lessons: that on[e is / the writer of truth]. Also, every [te]acher, if he gives instruction and proclaims these th[r/ee lessons, is] the teacher of truth. I also, for my part, behold [I] have / [revealed] these three great lessons. I have given them to yo[u / ...]

The first gr[eat lesson (**6**) [...] which in the [... / ...] / that walks in it because of the twel[v]e [... / ...] in it, which in the cities and the dwelling places found in the 5 [...] because of the doors that are opened in them [... / ...] upon the earth, which in the four corners [... / ... / ... / ... 10 ... / ...] and my pains. For also [... / ...] and my afflictions [... / ...] to them [... / ...] suffices for the person [... 15 ...] wise person.

[Yet], now [I will] entrust to you (pl.) [... / ...] The world has not permitted me to write down [... / ...] to me all of it; and if you, my childr[en and my discip]/les, write all my wisdom [... / ...] the questions that you have asked me [...] 20 and the explanations that I have made clea[r to you from t/im]e to time; the homilies, the lessons, that I have proclaimed with the teache[rs / to] the leaders, together with the elect and the catechume[ns; / and] the ones that I have uttered to free men and free women; [... / ...] all of them, that I have proclaimed from time to time! Th[ey] are [not] writt[en. 25 Y]ou must remember them and write th[em; ga]ther them i[n / differ]ent places; because much is the wisdom that I ha[ve ut]tered [to y/ou].

I did pay heed to each one. I spoke [in (wisdom) about them], / with person after person. Each [one ...] / I have given to him a conviction. The elec[t ... 30 ...] I have given them psychi[c] wisdom [...] (**7**) psychi[c ...] The suckling babe[s], according to their ability, [... / ...] it, even a[s] is fitting for them; so that they would lis[ten /] like th[is]. Also, even the sects and the he[resies ... / o]ut. I have open[ed] the eyes of each one of them [... its 5 wi]sdom and its [scr]ipture, for the truth is this that I have unvei[led. / I have] revealed it [i]n the world. Also the apostles have [... / ...] and the earliest fathers past unveiled it in th[eir scriptures / ...] Concerning this I [...] in haste, in that [... / ...

eve]ry explanation and every wisdom, as I proclaimed in e[ach pl[10]ace], in each c[it]y, in each land [... / ...] and they [...] as he may form it in [... / ...] and [...] truth since [... / ...] which they have [... / ...] the church [... [15] ... / ... / ...] according to [...] book. /

[...] you [... my] beloved ones: At the time that [Jesus t/r]od [...] the land of the west [... [20] ... proc]laimed his hope [... / ...] his disciples [... / ...] which Jesus uttered [... / ... a]fter him they wrote [... / ...] his parables [... [25] ...] and the signs and wonders [... / ...] they wrote a book concerning his [... /

The apostle of] light, the splendrous enlightener, [... / ... he came to] Persia, up to Hystaspes the king [... / ... he chose d]isciples, righteous men of trut[h ... [30] ... he proclaimed hi]s hope in Persia; but [... / ...] Zarathustra (did not) write books. Rather, hi[s / disciples who came a]fter him, they remembered; they wrote [... / ...] that they read today [... / ...]

Again, for his part, when Buddha came, [... (8) ...] about him, fo[r] he too proclaimed [his / hope and] great wisdom. He cho[se] his chur[c/hes, and] perfected his churches. He unve[iled] to them / [his hop]e. Yet, there is only this: that he d[id not] write his wi[5][sdom in bo]oks. His disciples, who came afte[r] him, are the ones who re/[membered] somewhat the wisdom that they had heard from Buddha. They / [wrote it in sc]riptures.

And this, in that the fathers of righteou/[sness] did not [wri]te their wisdom in books [... / ...] know that their righteousn[ess] and their chu[r[10]ch will pass aw]ay from the world; because they did not writ[e / ...] Since [...] write it in book[s / ...] will lead as[tr]ay [...] fall / [...] and they [...] lead astra[y / ...] adulter[at]e, and they [... [15] ...] mix [... / ... / ...] all of it, of the knowledg[e / ...] will unveil [... / ...] in the world, in a [...] Since the fa[thers of [20] righteo]usness know this, that also [... / ...] in the [... / ... / ...] from [... / ... [25] ... / ...] lead astray and [... / ...] as they illuminate [... / ...] write [th]em for you (pl.) in books. /

[... [30] ...] it was not unveiled, nor was it [... / ...] every [...], together with the commandments and [... / ...] unveiled for you in my script[ures ... / ...] to you, that the wisdom and the in[terpretation

... / ... from] time to time, which I did not write [... [35] ...] and you write after me, so that [...] (**9**) it leads you not astray! For you yourselves k[now] / the great wisdom [I have uttered in] / city after city, in each land separately. What [I have written] / in books no human mouth will suffice to write. [5] Nevertheless, according to your capacity, and even as yo[u] may fi[nd] / strength; remember! And write a little something from [the] great [wi]/sdom that you have heard from me.

When [y]/ou write a[nd] are amazed by them [... en]/lighten greatly; and they shall give benefit and make free [...] [10] of the truth.

••• 1 •••

(9,11 – 16,31)

/ Concerning the Ad[vent] / of the Apostle.

The succession of apostles and churches is compared to the continuous cycle of seedtime and harvest. A new apostle releases the spiritual forms of his church, (the heavenly twin motif); and then is sent to earth to sow the seed of his election, at the very moment that the previous church finally ripens to harvest and ascends. Thus, there is no moment when the world is bereft of the means of salvation (see 11.26 – 27).

This recognition of the authenticity of each cycle of revelation is one of the most striking aspects of Mani's teaching. While Mani is likely to have developed it from the concept of the true prophet, found in his Elchasaite heritage and in other Jewish-Christian sects, and it also owes something to Marcion's idea of the renewal of Jesus' true revelation by Paul and himself; nevertheless, the universal application seems to be the product of Mani's particular religious genius. It also, by an historical connection which is not yet clear, may well have influenced the notion of cycles of prophecy that appears in emergent Islam.

The chain of apostles is traced from Sethel, (as in other gnostic teachings), through Enos and Enoch to Sem. Two figures from Indian tradition are then included, the Buddha and Aurentes (from 'arhant'?); and finally Zarathustra and Jesus. Other Manichaean texts provide similar lists, and the concept was open-ended enough to allow the inclusion of other apostles such as Hermes Trismegistus or Lao-Tzu to accord with the missionary expansion of the religion (see Puech 1949: 144 – 146 and now particularly K (Dub). 299). Nevertheless, while universality is obviously the intention, it is noticeable that only Jesus receives any significant detail or historical context. It is difficult to find evidence that Mani had any real knowledge of the lives and teachings of figures such as the Buddha.

Docetic emphases that can be traced back to Marcion are embedded in the Manichaean accounts of Jesus. This kephalaion is particularly interesting for an understanding of Mani's religious heritage because he follows the chain of apostles from Jesus to Paul, and then to one (or two?) righteous man in the Christian church (13.30 – 35). The identity of this figure has been much debated, but the obvious candidates are Elchasai, Marcion, and perhaps Bardaisan.

After the ascent of the church of Jesus Mani's apostolate begins. Thus, the authenticity of later Christianity is rejected. As he foretold, according to the gospel of John, Jesus sends after him the Paraclete. This is Mani's own Twin-Spirit who reveals to him the totality of truth, the knowledge that Mani will then preach and write in his canonical scriptures. The summary of the essentials of revelation given here (14.27 – 15.24) is one of the best known from Manichaean texts; and has an almost creedal ring to it. Mani finishes with a brief summary of his missionary journeys, and a repetition

of his claim to direct revelation. His own apostolate is superior to those before him because it has spread throughout the world; and thus it will last till the final judgement and the return of Jesus (16.3 – 17).

In the framing sequence at the end the disciples are enlightened and thank Mani; and assert that he is the Paraclete. Thus he has become one with his heavenly Twin, 'a single Spirit (see 15.23 – 24)'.

15 The first chapt[e]r is this: His disciples [questioned / h]im concerning his ap[os]tolate and his coming to the wor[ld; / fo]r [h]ow did it happen [... his] / journeying in each city, in each la[nd]; / in what [manner] was he sent [... 20 ...] first, before he had yet chosen h[is church]. /

The apostle [sa]ys to them: I [... / ...] but I will recount to you [... / ... / ...] Understand, O my beloved ones: [A]ll the apost[les] 25 who are on occasion sent to the world re[semble] / farmers; while their churches, which they choose, [are] / like Pa[rm]uthi and Paophi. For, the way Parmuthi [occ/u]rs not in all the months of the year; nor [does Paophi / ...] in all of them. Rather, the season [... 30 ...] for it alone, as they know [... / ...] its vegetables [... / ...] the time they are cropped; also the vegetables and the [... / ...] season; and they tend and ripen the pickings, and they / [...] to Paophi. Of course, now that farmer (**10**) [...] Parmuthi; in that, if he will come and sow some corn seed th/[ere ...] cereal. And he shall be involved from the beginning / [...] a corn seed and toil for it. Yet, when the summer / [comes] each year, and his corn comes to the season of its harvest; 5 [then] the farmer comes forth and harvests it. Even the ga[rdener] from the begin/[ning ...] shall toil for his fruits; and he tends them and he / [...] and they ripen; and he comes forth and picks them from the tree. /

[This is the way of the] apostles who are come to the [wo]rld. They are l/[ike] a [...] of the greatness [...] the season that [... 10 ...] flesh. Rather, they are sent before [... / ...] before they had yet [...] in the wo/[rld ...] from the greatness. They [...] to the [whole] created order; / [and they] choose a selection of the [..., as t]hey make [... / ...] the elect and the catechumens [... 15 ...] their forms, and they make them [free ... / ...] in the flesh [... / ...] the world / [...] to above / [...] as he may make his [...] the winter, and he harvests it 20 [...] also tend to the fruit in the summer and the / [... P]aophi, and he takes them away.

Also the way [... / ...] many years before [... / ... the w]orld, as he journeys below to the [... / ... makes the f]orm of his church free, and [... [25] ...] of the flesh, whose form[s] he had made free / [...]

Like the farmer, for when he will [... / ...] that moment he shall begin [... t]end / [...] it reaches Parmuthi also, he may harvest it [... / ...] toil for the fruits of Paophi [... [30] ...]

Again, this too is [how] the apostl[es ... / ...] from the beginning of the moulding of humanity [... / ... a]s I have t[ol]d you, that when they [... / ...] before every thing he shall [... / ...] free above, first.

Yet, when (**11**) it [will be] born in the flesh, he shall come down to it and at once [...] it in the [...] / which comes out from the [...] is [r]aised up / to the greatness. [He] shall continue in the world at this time [...] / him, corresponding to the season when the world will come to his [...] [5] when the season will mature he is raised up from the world [...] / and he leaves his church {behind}*2 and goes forth. Still, he [... / ...] and he helps and aids his church. / Whoever comes out from their body after him, he shall be[come] / for them a s[uppo]rt and a leader; and he goes on before them [...], [10] excepting the othe[rs] who are set firmly in the fles[h]. He is the one who [will / be]come for them a h[e]lper and a guardian; he shall not take [... / ...] in se[cr]et, until his church [... / ch]ange it [...] when [h]is church [... / ... [15] ...] he was raised up after it, and went [in / to the l]and of glory. And he rejoices and rests at the last [... / ...]

Like the far[me]r who shall be glad of heart in [...] / he was bringing in (the harvest). Or like the merchant who [shal]l come up from [a coun]/try with the doubling of his great cargo; and the riches [of his tr][20]ading.

When the apostle will be [rais]/ed up from the world, he and his church [... / ...] for [every] apostle / [...] in the [...] Since [... / ...] tree, that still [is l]aden with its first fruits [25] [...], and they are picked; they shall propagate other ones th[ere], / and they mature to the season to bring them forth. There is not any time [the tree]

*2 ⲙⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲥ

/ is bare of fruit! Rather, instead, those about to ripen as they pick them / shall propagate other ones there. When they bear these [... / t]hem on the tree; they come up and are brought forth upon it[s bran]ches. They shall pick from it those that mature and ripen. [The far]/mer do[es not] rest at any time from the labour and the pain. / At what hour [may he] cease? When he can finish harvesting the corn in P[armu]/thi! [...] them in the winter, the fruits of the summer shall [...] / grow [up and] be picked in the month of Paophi.

The apostles are like [t]his [also]. N[o]w, (**12**) when the apostle will be raised up to the heights, he / and his church, and they depart from the world; at t[h]at instant / another apostle shall be sent to it, to another ch/u[rch ...] it [...] Yet, first, he shall make the forms of his church free in the heights, / as I have told you. When [...]; / again, he too shall come down and appear [... / ...] and he releases his church and saves it from the flesh [of / sin ...]

The advent of the apostle has occured at the occasion [... a]s I have told you: From Sethel / [the first] born son of Adam up to Enosh, together with / [Enoch]; fr[om] Enoch u[p] to Sem [the] son of [Noah; / ... / ...] church after it [... ... Bu]ddha to the east, and Aurentes, and the other [... / ...] who were sent to the orient; from the adve[nt] / of Buddha and Aurentes up to the advent of Z[a/ra]thustra to Persia, the occasion that he came to Hystaspes / [the k]ing; from the advent of Zarathustra up to the advent of Jesus [the Christ], the son of greatness. /

[The advent] of Jesus the Christ our master: He came [... / ...] in a spiritual one, in a body [... / ...] as I have told you about him. I [...] him; / for he came without body! Also his apostles have preached in respect of him that he received a servant's form, an appearance as of / men*3. He came below. He manifested in the world in / the [s]ect of the Jews. He chose his twelve / [and] his seventy-two. He did the will of his Father, who had / sent him to the world. Afterwards, the evil one awoke envy in the sect of the Jews. Satan went / in to Judas the Iscariot, one am[ong the twe]lve / of Jesus. He accused him before the sec[t of the J]ew/s, with his kiss. He gave [him] over [to the han]/ds of the Jews, and

*3 Phil. 2:7

the cohort of the soldie[rs. The Jew](13)s themselves took hold of the son of Go[d. They gave judgement on] / him by lawlessness, in an assembly. They condemned him by i[ni]/quity, while he had not sinned. They lifted him up upon the wood of the cro/ss. They crucified him with some robbers on the cr[o]s[s. [5] Th]ey brought him down from the cross. They placed him in the grave; [and] / after three days he arose from among the dead. He / came towards his disciples, and was visible to them. He laid upon them a / power. He breathed into them his Holy Spirit. [He sen]/t them out through the whole world, that they would preach [the grea][10]tness. Yet, he [hi]mself, he rose up to [the heights.

... / ...] Jesus, [h]is twelve [... / ...] land [... / ...] master [... / ... [15] ... / ...] them. They were not faint-hearted, nor [... / ...] they were all active [... they were raised] / up and rested in the greatness.

[... while] / the apostles stood in the world, [Pau][20]l the apostle [reinforced them]. He also came forth. He preached [... / ...] He gave power to the apostles. He made [them] stro[ng ... / ... the] church of the saviour [... / ... / ...] he preached a [... [25] ...] he too went up and rested in [...] /

After Paul the apostle little by little, day [after] / day, all mankind began to stumble. They le[ft righteousness / b]ehind them; and the path which is narrow and sticky. They preferred [...] / go on the road which is broad.

[30] [A]t this same time also, in the last church, a righteous [m]an / of truth app[ea]red, belonging to the kingdom. He reinforced [... / ...] they cared for*[4] the church of our master according to [their / capacity; bu]t they too were raised up to the lan[d of / light. A]fter those ones again, little by little, the ch[35][urch] perished. The world remained behind without (14) [c]hu[r]ch. Like a tree

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*[4] Or 'carved': ⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲕ lit. 'make knife'. See also 218.6 Kasser 1964:50 suggests 'prendre soin de'; but in this context it may indeed mean to separate the righteous Christians from the falsifiers. The switch to plural has been taken by most commentators to mean that the first righteous man (e.g. Marcion) agreed with (ϯⲙⲉⲧⲉ, here translated as 'reinforced') a second (e.g. Bardaisan) who together ⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲕ the church. However, as E. Smagina (1992:365) points out, the lacuna could easily be filled by such a term as 'his disciples'.

will be plucked, and the fr/uits on it taken away. And it remains behind without fruit. /

[Wh]e[n] the church of the saviour was raised to the heights, my apo/stolate began, which you asked me about! From that time on [5] was sent the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth; the one who has / co[me] to you in this last generation. Just like the saviour sa/id: When I go, I will send to you the Paraclete. / [Whe]n the Paraclete comes, he can upbraid the world concerni[ng / sin, and] he can speak with you on behalf of right[eou]sness, and [10] [about] judgement, concerning the sinners who believe / [me not; ...*5 he] can speak with you [... / ... / ... / ... [15] ...] he can s[p]eak with you and preach [... / ...] that [...], the one who will honour me and [... / ...] and he gives to you. /

[...] preach on behalf of the Paraclete of truth, that he / [...] he came to manifest the one whom he had known [... [20] ...] the appointed time of all these years, as they [... / ... from] Jesus until now [... / ... / ...] until he [... / ...] and he makes them free. Yet, when the church as[25]sumed the flesh, the season arrived to redeem the souls; like / [the mont]h of Parmuthi that cereal shall ripen i[n], / to be harvested.

At that same season he [...] / my image, I assuming it in the years of Arta[b]anus / the [ki]ng of Parthia. Then, in the years of Ard[ashir], the ki[30]n[g] of Persia, I was tended and grew tall and attained the ful[lne]ss of the sea/[so]n. In that same year, when Ard[ashi]r the ki/[ng was c]rowned, the living Paraclete came down t[o me. He sp]o(**15**)ke with me. He unveiled to me the hidden mystery, / the one that is hidden from the worlds and the generations, the myster[y] of the dep[ths] / and the heights. He unveiled to me the mystery of the light / and the darkness; the mystery of the calamity of conflict, and the w[ar], [5] and the great [...] the battle that the darkness spread about. Aft[erwards], / he unveiled to me also: How the light [...] / the darkness, through their mingling this universe was set up [...] / H[e o]pened my eyes also to the way that the ships were constructed; [to enable the / go]ds of light to be in them, to purify the li[ght from] [10] creation. Conversely, the dregs and the eff[lue]nt [... to the] / abyss. The

*5 Jn. 16:7–9 +ff.

mystery of the fashioning of Adam, the fir[st ma]/n. He also informed me about the mystery of the tree of knowledge, [wh]/ich Adam ate from; his eyes saw. [Also], the myste/ry of the apostles who were sent to the wor[ld, to enable them] [15] to choose the churches. The mystery of the elect, [with their] / commandments*[6]. / [The] mystery of the catechumens their helpers, with [their] / commandments. The mystery of the sinners with their deeds; / and the punishing that lies hidden for them.

This is how everything th[at] has ha[pp][20]ened and that will happen was unveiled to me by the Paraclete; [...] / everything the eye shall see, and the ear hear, and the th/ought think, a[n]d the [...] I have understood by him e/verything. I have seen the totality through him! I have become a single body, / with a single Spirit!

In the last years of Ardash[ir] [25] the king I came out to preach. I crossed to the country of the Indians. [I] / preached to them the hope of life. I chose in that place / a good election.

Yet, also, in the year [that Ar/da]shir the king died Shapur his son became king. He [...] / I crossed from the country of the Indians to the land of the Persians. Also, from [30] the land of Persia I came [to] the land of Babylon, Mesen[e] / and Susiana. I a[pp]eared before Shapur the king. He rece/i[v]ed me with great ho[nou]r. He gave me permission to journey in [... / ... pr]eaching the word of life. I even spent some year[s / ...] him in the retinue; many years in (**16**) Pers[i]a, in the country of the Parthians, up to Adiabene, and / the bor[de]rs of the provinces of the kingdom of the Romans. /

[I have chosen] you (pl.), the good election, the [h]oly chur/c[h] that I was sent to from the Father. I have [5] [sown] the seed of life. I have [...] them [... / ... fr]om east to west. As you yourselves are seeing, / [my] hope has gone toward the sunrise of the world, and / [every] inhabited part; to the clime of the north, and the [... / ...] Not one among the apostles did ever do these things [... [10] ...]; because all the apostles who were sent / [... / ...] they preached [... / ...] the world [... / ...] (my hope) will remain in the world until

*6 [[the mystery of the sinners with their de[eds]]]

[(Jesus) ... [15] ...] his throne in it, and he will make [...] in / [...] church, which is the righ[t] side, / [...] which belongs to the left. /

[...] about which you questioned me. S/[ince the] Spirit is of the Paraclete, the one who was sent to me from [20] [the greatness; what has] happened and what will happen [has been] / unveiled to me. For you I have written about it, in full, in my / books already. Today you have again questioned me. Behold, now I have repeated / the lesson to you in brief!

Then, w[he]n his / disciples heard all these things from him, they rejoiced greatly. [25] Their mind was enlightened. They say to him in their joy: We th/ank you, our master! For while you have written about your advent in the / [scri]ptures, how it came to be, and we have received it and believed in it; / still, you have repeated it to us in this place, in a condensed form. And / we, for our parts, have received it in full. We have also believed that you are the [30] Paraclete, this one from the Father, the unveiler of all these hi/dden things!

••• 2 •••

(16,32 - 23,13)

/ The Second, concerning / the Parable of the Tree.

The use of Jesus' parable about the two trees as a proof-text for dualism was already a key feature of Marcion's exegesis (e.g. Tertullian *adv. Marc.* 1.2.1; 4.17), from which it must be traced to Mani, and is thence found throughout Manichaean texts (e.g. PsBk2. 56.21 136.20-21. Augustine *c.Adim.* XXVI).

In this kephalaion Mani begins by discussing sectarian interpretations of the parable. Unfortunately this section is very fragmentary, but it seems to be concerned with the mixture between the two principles that occurs during time and in the cosmos, so that no person or thing of composite nature can be singularly good or evil (17.16 - 19.28).

Mani then presents his own definitive revelation. The limbs of the good tree are the five intellectual qualities through which the soul ascends to the Father and the aeons of glory (20.21 - 31). This equation of the internal mental process of salvation with the eschatological journey through the heavens indicates a living spirituality in Mani's teaching that is often missed by commentators. The fruit of the good tree is Jesus the Splendour, that is Jesus as the universal redeemer and incarnation of divine Intellect, and thus the 'father of all the apostles'. Consequently, its taste is the community of the church.

As an exact negative of this the evil tree is also made up of five intellectual qualities. However, in this case the mental process is directed towards sin and darkness; and the corresponding eschatological journey takes this soul to the ultimate death where it is compounded with the final 'lump' beyond all hope of redemption (21.27 – 22.20). The text does not preserve the fruit of the evil tree; but its taste is the sects that always oppose the true churches.

The chapter ends with an important semi-creedal assertion of belief in absolute dualism (22.35 – 23.13).

35 The first parable that they asked him about! They besought [*him* to ex]/plain it for them.

This is the [occ]asion that [... (**17**) ...]; for his discip[les, who sat] / before him, questioned him. They say to him: We beseech y[o]u, our / master, that you may re[coun]t and explain t[o] us about these / two [tr]ees [that Jesus pre]ached to his disciples. As it is written in 5 [the] Gosp[el, he says]: The good tree shall give / [good fr]ui[t]; also [the] bad [tr]ee shall give b[ad] fruit / [... There is no] good [tree] that shall give bad fruit; / [nor a bad tree that] shall give [g]ood fruit. [One / kn]ows [each tree by] its fruits*7.

10 Now, [we] entreat you, that you may [...] / two trees, [an]d explain them [... / ...] as they grow u[pon the] earth; because it is written [...] / scriptures [...] them [... / ...] saying [... 15 ...] mystery by mystery. /

While there are some among the sects who explain about these [tw]o tr[ees], / as they reckon them, that a good tree [... remai]/ns behind, on this composite earth; another [...] / to them, comparing them with [...] 20 in a single explanation. /

Then speaks our master Manichaios, the apostle [of gre]/atness, to his disciples. Great is [...] 26 by his own mouth [...] bad / [...] The sec[ts ... / ... / ...] 30 Yet, [th]is that they [expla]in about the two trees, as they reckon the[m, / ...] the trees [...] in an explanation [... / ...] because [... / ...] tree, as it grows on this composite ea[rth, / ...] date palm, because [... 35 ...], for not absolutely every part of the date palm is used! (**18**) [...] their child, as it strikes [... / ...] while first one [...] in them / [...] at the end there is one [...] it

*7 Lk. 6:43–44

occurs / in its fibres and its branches [...] [5] There is a bad dust in them [...] / date palm [...] before the tree that [...] bad; / because they give the decision [... / ... / ...] the one that they name [... [10] ...] the type [... / ...] name it: tree [... / ...] is sweet [... [17] ...] writing [... / ... / ...] they shall establi[sh ... [20] ...] man [... / ...] it is sweet [... / ...] seed of the [...] and it is us[ed] / for their nourishment [... [31] ...] will explain [... / ...] may not join to the [... / ...] mankin[d], as they are named [... / ...]

[35] [... / ... / ...] for as they [... apo(**19**)s]tle. They counted him in the number of [the twelve]. Yet, [at] / the end, it is written about him that Sata[n entered him]*[8]. / He gave the saviour into the hands of the Jews; they [...] / upon the wood.

Now, Judas Iscar[iot], first [they] [5] called him a good man; [(but) ... / ...] and traitor and murderer [... It is written about] / Paul, that first he was acting persecutor [... chur]/ch of God*[9], he persecuting [... / ... [10] ...] / a great rev[elat]ion. He [...] / the church [of m]y master. He [... / ...] bad first [... / ...] explain [... [15] ...] their explanation [... / ...] good man, upright [... / ...] completely bad; because [...] / they were fashioned through the mingling of the [...] / they all standing firm in [...] [20] they gave likeness to them, they established them in the [...] / which is mingled in all things.

Behold, [... the ex]/planation of the sects [... / ...] listen and I will revea[l] to you concerning the [... th/at the] saviour preached in the [parable] about the good tree and [25] the bad tree [...] / they know not, for what are [...] and their inner p[ar]ts / [...] know, they being like [...] in their explanation [... / ...] what are th[ese t]wo tre[es]?

[...] / how I will reveal to you [...] the expound[er ...] [30] the trees [...] the Father [... / ...] all of them, as he [...] in the [... / ...] world [... / ...] this g[o]od tree, the [... / ...] the light of this good tree [... [35] ...] the [P]illar [... (**20**) ...] the intellectuals that are cloaked upon its body [... / ...] this good tree. They are the light elements / that are mingled, being compounded in the totality. The fruits / of the

*[8] Lk. 22:3
*[9] I Cor. 15:9

good tree are glorious Jesus the Splendour, the father [of] all [the apo]st[l]es. Yet, the taste of the fruits of the [good] tree / [is the] holy [c]hurch, in her teachers and her / [...] the c[atech]umens. Behold, this is the [good] tree / [... / ... ... bad [f]ruit / [... r]evea[l] to you [... / ...] it has five limbs. / [They are consideration, counsel, insight, tho/ught, mind. I]ts consideration is the ho[ly] church. [Its counsel] is [the Pil]lar of Glory, the Perfe[ct] Man. [Its insight / is the Fir]st Man who dwells in the ship of [living] wat[ers]. / Its thought is the Third Ambassador / [who dwells in] the ship of living fire, that shines in / [... A]lso, the min[d] is the Father who dwells in great[ness, who is perfe]ct in [the] aeons of light. /

[...] this one, for the souls that ascend and attain / [h]oly [...]; together even with the alms that the cate/[chumen]s give, as they are purified in the [holy] church; / [...] everything. It is consideration that shall [... ...] they shall be raised up [...] is counsel; / [they sh]all be raised up to insight, which is the First Man / [who d]wells in the ship of the night; fr[om] insight they shall ris[e / u]p to thought, which is the Ambass[ad]or who dwells in / [the sh]ip of the day. And he too, great glor[ious] thought, [shall bring] them in to mind; which is the Father, the Go/[d] of truth, the great Mind of all the [ae]ons of glory. /

[Th]is is the good tree that shall give [good] fru[it, ... / ...] is [the] entire life and light for ever [... / ...] occurs [...] ever, it is bles[sed ... ...] goo[d ...] bad [... (**21**) ...] happen in [... / ...] from [... / ...] also [... / ...] the way that it i[s ... ...] the good tree [... / ...] of the fire [... / ...] they are the rul[ing-power ... ...] heaven and the wheel [... / ...] they are the five fleshes that walk [... / ...] fruit [... / ... te]aching as of error, the mystery that [... wh]/ich Satan appointed in the world.

However, the [taste of these] bad fruits is these evil people, the sects [... wh]/ich are bound in law after law, they and their teachers [... / the l]aw of death; they taking taste for it, they being thirsty fo[r it / ...] the soul[s] of death.

This is the tree that [shall / give g]ood [fruit]; the one that our master called [the good tree that shall] give good fruit. He [...] / in the scriptures [...] all [the] sects know it. /

[... I will] reveal to you and you [... / ... The] bad [tree] has five limbs. / Th[ey are consid]eration, counsel, insight, thought, [mind]. [30] [It]s c[onsideration is] the law of de[at]h from which the sect[s] / take instruction. I[t]s counsel is [t]ransmigration [...] / in typ[e after type]. Also, its insight is the furnaces of [fire / ... ge]henna; which is full of [s]moke. Thought [... / ... ve]ssel. Its mind is the [... [35] ...] the lump, the last b[o]nd, the [... / ...], they that Satan ca[st away. (**22**) ... [11] ...] the great [... / ...] and they fall [... / ...] the darkness [... / ...] all [...] and they take away [... [15] ... are swall]owed i[n] to the lump, and they are bound [... / ...] the fruit of darkness, the one that they [... / ...] for ever and ev[er / ...] his face [... / ...] will arrive at that place; and they have no [20] repentance therein. /

[...] this is the e[x]planation of the bad tree, as I have e[xpla/ined ...] to you, which you [...] to it [... / ...] good fruit [... / ...] its fruit bad [... [25] ... i]n it, in its existent days [... / ...] in it.

Concerning this [... / ...] and my be[loved on]es [... / ...] them in truth, it being changed from [... / ... [30] ...] which lies in its go[o]d earth [... / ... life] and light; as death and darkness do not ex[ist ... / ...] Also, [the] bad tree is Matter [... / ... i]t, I understand it alone among the [... / ... wh]ich occurs in its bad earth [... [35] ... darkness] and death.

Blessed is [every one (**23**) ...] these [t]wo trees, and separates them on[e] from [an]other. / He understands that they did not arise out of one another, nor did [th]ey come / from one another. They did not come from one! The person / who can separate them out may go up to the aeon of light. [5] [... as *I* have] revealed it to you. And he sees / [...] bad fruit di[d n]ot arise from / it [...]; but whoever will not separate out [... / ...] from [o]ne another, he falls to the land [of / darkness ...] until he arrives at the [... [10] ... / ...]

Ble[s]sed is whoever can believe! He [... / ...] darkness; which grows out of the [... / ... for e]ver and ever.

••• 3 •••

(23,14 – 25,6)

15 *The Interpretation of Happiness, / Wisdom and Power; what they signify.* /

Mani contrasts true happiness, wisdom and power to their perceived meaning in the world. In a schema that will be repeated throughout the *Kephalaia,* these principles are successively identified with the various levels of divinity (here five) as it descends into time and the universe.

Thus the archetypes are the great Gods in the eternal kingdom, untouched by the conflict with darkness; reflected then in the first evoked gods who have entered into time for the purpose of redemption, and who inhabit the two ships (the sun and moon), which can be regarded as the gateways to eternity for the purified light; then the divine elements and subsidiary gods who have descended into the mixed universe; and finally the human members of the church.

[Once aga]in the enlightener speaks to his disciples, whil[e / he si]ts in the assembly of the church: [What] are these thr/[ee things] that in the world are called 'happine[ss', 20 'wisdom]', and 'power'? People boa[s]t of th[em / ...] the happiness of the world [... / ...] in the world it has a [... / ...] of the world shall pass by. /

[People boa]st of them. They praise [... 25 ...] Now, [the] thing is revealed in a [... / ...] as I have told you. /

[I will t]each you of another happiness [... / and another wi]sdom [...] and together another power [...] / So, now, listen that I may reveal to you 30 [how] it is [with] these three: [ha/ppiness], wisdom and power. /

[The happin]ess of the glorious one is the Father, the God of / [truth, who] is established in the great land of [light]. (**24**) His glorious wis[d]om is his Great Spirit that [... / ...] below, which flows through all his aeons, / and t[h]ey float therein. His great power is all the / gods, the rich ones and the angels who were 5 summoned from him as they [...] t/hey that are called aeons [... / ... /

... / which is called] the sun [... 10 the ship of] living fire, [... the Third / Amba]ssador, the second greatne[ss ... The] / glorious

[happiness] is the [Living] Spirit, [... / ..., the wisdom] is the Mother of Lif[e ... / ... and great power] is [all] the gods, [the rich o]nes and the angels who are within the ship. /

Again, [h]appiness, wisdom and power exist in the s[hip of liv/ing waters ...] the happiness [... / ...] the Mind of the Father. / Also, wisdom [is the Vir/gi]n of [Li]ght. And the power that is [i]n the ship is [all] the go[ds], the [ri]ch ones and the angels who are established i[n it].

Again, these three exist in the elements: happiness, wis/d[o]m and power. The happiness is [the Pillar of Glory], / the Perfect Man. Wisdom is the [five sons of the] / Living Spirit; and great powe[r is ... the fi]ve sons of the First Man [... who are encl]/osed and compounded in the totality, that [...] / while he supports the totality. /

Now, moreover, happiness, wis[dom and power ex/ist] in the holy church. Great, glorious, [happines]s is the Apostle of Light [who has been s]/ent from the Father. Wisdom [is the leaders / and] the teachers who travel in the [holy] church, [proclaiming] / wisdom and truth. Great [power is ... (**25**) ...] all [the] elect, the virgins and the c[ontinent; / together with the] catechumens who are in the [holy] church. /

[...] five happinesses, the five wisdoms, [a]nd five powers [... / ...] in the five chur[ches]. Blessed, [therefore], is every one who will know them, for he may [... / ...] the kingdom forever.

••• 4 •••

(25,7 – 27,31)

/ Concerning the Four great Days / th[at have] come forth from one another; together with the Four Nights. /

The concept of the four days and four nights is temporal in the sense that, as each unravels from the last, it represents a descent / ascent from the polarity (the Father / the land of darkness) into the human sphere, where the choice between the two is met (the true church / the sects as representations of the new and the old man).

The schematic elaboration of days and hours is somewhat artificial. Certainly, as a systematisation, it is secondary to other doctrinal taxonomies. The purpose seems to be to enable Mani to link together a number of details around the theme of 'twelve'; and thus to strengthen the coherence of the revelation as a whole.

The twelve aeons or rich gods of the land of light are met elsewhere (see PsBk2. 1.13). Also, the twelve virgins of the Ambassador are known as a variant or elaboration upon the Virgin of Light, his feminine identity. Since Jesus is really the Ambassador's doublet, and the Virgin is sophia, this explains the twelve wisdoms of the fourth day. The summons and the obedience are the vocalisation of the salvific process, the archetype of which is the rescue of the First Man by the Living Spirit. The pairing of these divinities with the respective sets of Five Sons is used variously to elaborate doctrinal details (compare 43.2 – 4).

The necessary sets of twelve hours for the nights appear mostly artificial, since Manichaean doctrine regarding the land of darkness and the worlds of flesh is dominated by pentads. Nevertheless, the link between the sects and the zodiacal signs is found elsewhere (see 48.34 – 5); and the idea that false religions are determined by the planets and the stars is a mainstay of gnostic systems and Mandaeism. The emphasis upon the First Man as a snare is a recurrent feature of Mani's knowledge, and indicates the Christological basis for this doctrinal complex.

Once again the enlightener speaks: Four great days have come / [forth from one another; they] were evoked [out] of one another! The first / [great day] is the Father, the God of truth, the fir[st ... / ... m]idst the aeons of his greatness, in his [l]iving [ki[15]ngdom]. The twelve hours of this great day / [are the] twelve great rich Gods of great[ness. / These], who are the first evocations that he evoked (to mirror) / [h]is greatness, he spread out to the four climes, three b/y three before his face.

[20] The second day is the Third Ambassador, the one w/ho dwells in the light ship. His twelve ho[urs] are / [the] twelv[e v]irgins that he evoked in his greatness. /

[The third day is the Pillar of Glory, the great po/rter that is greater than] all [the po]rters; the one that supports all [...], [25] those above and those below. Its twelve hours are / the five sons [of the F]irst Man; the five sons of the Living Sp[ir]it, / who support all the weights of the uni/[v]erse; together with the summons and the obedience, which are counted to their ten / brethren. These are the twelve light hours of the th[30]ird da[y].

The fourth day is Jesus / the Splendour who [dwells in] his

church. His twelve / [h]ours are the twelve wisdoms, which are his / [light] h[o]u[rs].

These are the four great days that have come / [forth from one another, wh]ich were evoked out of one another. They [... Blessed is] every [o]ne who will know them, and / [...] the light!

(**26**) [...]: For just as four day[s ex]/ist, s[o] too four nights exist. / The first nigh[t] is the land of darkness. It has t[w]e/[l]v[e] black [shadows] therein, which are its dark h[o]ur[s]. The twelve shadows of the f[irst ni]/ght a[re] the five elements of the land of darkness, [which] / poured [fo]rth from its five sense organs; and [...] / which [...] in its [fi]ve elements and its five [...] / the five [sp]irits that dwell in its elements [...] These a[re] the twelve shadows and spirits of the fi[rst] ni[ght]. /

The second night is Matter, the sculptress [... / ...] who has sc[ulpted ... / a]nd the entire [ru]ling-power that is in the worl[ds of darkness]. / She has fashioned it in five sense organs, five [male] and five female, two per world; together with the fire and [the lu]/st [that] dwell in men and women, inflaming [them] / inward to one another. These are the twelve spirits of this [sec]/ond night. Indeed she, this Matter, the thought of death, / ga[ve] the King of the realms of Darkness and his powers strength for the w[20]ar and the fight, against the aeons of greatness. Yet, / he was caught! They laid a snare for him through the Fi[rst M]an. [He] was ta[ken] / t[o ...] through the powers [... He] was brought [u]/p from the land of death and s[et ... ab]/ove and below in the [whole] universe; in the five par[t[25]s] in the heavens above, as well as the five [parts] / in the earths below; together with the heat [and the] cold that / are the father and the mother, their fire and their l[u]st. /

This is the second night that is begotten [fr]om the first ni/ght. They laid a snare for her through the First M[a]n. She was brought u[p] by the hand of the Living Spirit, and set in this composite univers[e ...] / he[r], above and below. The [upper side is the sense] / organs of males; the lower side [...] / fe[mal]es.

The thir[d night is the five] / worlds of flesh [... five (**27**) mal]e, and five female; that were begotten from the powers / [abo]ve.

They have fallen upon the earth, being displayed in wh/[at is d]ry and what is moist; together with the fire and the lust / [that d]we[ll] in them, which drives them inward to one another. [Mat]te[r] herself, the thought of death, is the / [mother] of them all; as among them she is named 'the night'. / [The worlds] of male and female fleshes, together with the fire and the l/[ust], shall [...] twelve hours of [... / ...] night. Again, [it] too, the third night that is in [the] worlds of fl[e]sh, was begotten from the sec[o]nd / [ni]ght; which the Living [Spir]it crucified in the uni/[verse ..., ab]ove and below in heaven [... /...]

The fourth night is the law of [si/n, which] is the dark spirit who speaks in the twelv[e spirits], the twelve sects. They are the nakedne/[sses], the twelve zodiacal signs of Matter. They / [are] her thrones; she who is made public, as she sculpts and is dis/[p]layed in the old man. And, also, the hours of this four[t/h] night that is the old man, who reigns in the sects, are the [tw]elve e[vi]l spirits; the [...] of the old man, which / [are ... / ... / ... / ... di]fferentiate the day and night [... ... of] death. This is the fourth ni/[ght ...] that have come forth of one another. One has [... / ...] just like the days of lig[ht / ...] they manifested one another. So als[o / ...] they did arise out of one another.

[Bl]essed is he [who wi]ll know them, and separate them, and / [... for] ever! (28)

••• 5 •••

(28,1 - 30,11)

/ Concerning Four Hunters of / Light and Four of Darkness. /

The parallel reverse imagery evident in this kephalaion is typical of Manichaean doctrine. In this instance the powers of light and darkness are compared to hunters trawling various seas from ships and with nets. The teaching is structured in terms of the cosmic history, presupposing a prior knowledge of the entire cycle from the descent of the First Man to the ascent of the Last Statue and the everlasting death of sinners. Thus, the redeeming work of the Third Ambassador, achieved by the revelation of his image in the heavens, is prior to that of Jesus, whose net is the wisdom cast from the church.

Once again the apostle speaks to his discipl[es]: [5] There are four hunters who were sent from [the li]/ght to fulfill the will of the greatness. /

The first hunter is the First Man who was sen[t] / from the greatness. He threw himself down to the five storehouses / [of] d[ar]kn[ess, h]e caught and siezed the enmity [... [10] ...] his net also [... / ...] out over all the children of darkness [... / ...] His ship is his four sons who are swathed / over his body. The sea is the la[nd of darkness ... / ...] his net is [...] [15] and his powers.

The second [hunter is the Th]/ird Ambassador. This one, for by his [lig]ht image, / which he revealed to the depths be[low], / he hunted after the entire light that is in al[l] things; [as it is establ/i]shed in them. His net is his light image, [20] [...] the whole universe and took it prisoner, / to this likeness [... His] / ship is his light ship. [The sea] is the universe [...] / which were hunted after by his n[et ... / ... [25] ...] his [glorious] image. /

The third hunter is Je[sus the Splendour, who came from the] great/[ness], who hunts after the light and lif[e; and he ...] it / to the heights. His net is his wisdom, [the] lig[ht wisdom] / with which he hunts the souls, catching them in the n[et]. [30] His ship is his holy church [... The sea is / the] error of the universe, the law o[f sin ...] / the souls that are drowning in it [...] He catch[es] / them in his net. They are the souls [... / th]em by his light wisdom.

[The fourth] [35] hunter is the great counsel that [...] / that lives in the circuit [...] (**29**) entire universe in it today. Yet, at the end, in the dissoluti/[on] of the universe, this very counsel of life / [will] gather itself in and sculpt its soul in the / Last [St]atue. Its net is its Living Spirit*[10], becau[5][se] with its Spirit it can hunt after the light and the life that is in / all [t]hings; and build it upon its body. Its ship, in which it / [is est]ablished, is this light cloud whereby it itself trav/[els] in the five elements [... / the] great fire that will burn all the buildings of [... [10] ...] in its net is the light and the [life. It can] / rescue and free it from all bonds and fetters. /

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*10 See 54.22

Blessed is ev[ery] o[n]e who will be perfect in his deeds, so that / at his end [he may escap]e the great fire that is prepared for the uni/verse at [the end of] its time!

O[nc]e again he [s]peaks: As I have revealed to you the four / living hunters of light who belong to the greatness, / [I will] also [t]each you about four other evil hunters who ca/me from the darkness.

The first hunter is the King / of they who belong to the darkness, who hunted after the living soul with his net at the beginning of the worlds. His net is his fi/re and his lust that he has put upon the living soul, / with which he has entangled it [...], through all his powers. /

[The] sec[ond] h[unter i]s the evil counsel that lives in / [...] that hunts after [the] light [...] and [...] / up from [...] the earths to heaven. It binds them with / its powers, which b[ring] them to the heavenly worlds above. / [I]ts net is [...] whereby they are drawn up / [fr]om the abyss [to the heig]hts.

The third hunter is lust [...] walks in every power of the flesh that wa/[lks ...] in the [...] the living souls [... / ... t]hem in its bodies, which [... / ... / ...]

The fourth [hunter is the spirit] of darkness, the law of sin and (**30**) death, that rules in every sect. It hunts after the so[ul]/s of people and entangles them with this erroneo[us] teaching. / Then it drives them to eternal punishment. It[s] / net, whereby it hunts souls to death, is its erroneous teaching full of guile and villainy / and wicked turns. It imprisons foolish people wi[th] / its teaching, subduing them under its net and co[mpelling them to] eternal punishment.

Blessed is e[very] one [w]/ho will recognise these evil hunters through know[ledge, and it will s]ave and free them from their bond and fetter [for ever] and ever!

••• 6 •••

(30,12 – 34,12)

/ Concerning the Five Storehouses that have po[ured f]orth / from the Land of Darkness since the [Beginning]; [15] *the Five Rulers, the Five Spiri[ts], / the Five Bodies, the Five Tastes. /*

Elaborate and highly schematic descriptions of the kingdom of darkness, and its powers, are a feature of Manichaean (and anti-Manichaean) writings that must derive from canonical sources. The overall conception, with its delight in pentads, and a certain attention to what can be termed the psychosymbolism of evil, has a stamp that is unmistakably Mani's. Specific features such as the 'five trees' appear in other gnostic writings, and may serve to indicate Manichaean influence, rather than vice-versa.

Kephalaion 6 (and compare also 27) evidences some textual development; and probably some corruption in the tradition. The redactor appears unsure about the relationship of the supreme King of Darkness (30.33 – 33.1) to his five warring rulers in the various sub-kingdoms; but tends toward identifying him with the King of Smoke (33.2 – 4). He is thus to be distinguished from the ruler or King of the sub-world of Darkness (33.33 – 34.5). Manichaean writings are also unclear about the relationship of the supreme King to personified Matter, who here appears to be prior to him as his fashioner (31.8 – 16). These points have been discussed by H. -Ch. Puech (1948); who also shows that the parallel passage in the Mandaean *Right Ginza* XII, 6 (278 – 282) is secondary to the *Kephalaia*

Once again the enlightener speaks to his disciples: Five s[to]/rehouses have arisen since the beginning in the land of darkne[ss! The] fiv[e] / elements poured out of them. Also, from the five e[le][20]ments were fashioned the five trees! Again, from the five tre[es] / were fashioned the five genera of creatures in each wor/ld, male and female. And the five worlds thems[el]ves [ha]/ve five kings therein, and five spiri[ts, five] bodies, five [tastes]; / in each world, they n[ot] resembling [one another]!

[25] The King of the world of Smoke [...] / who came up from the depth of [darkness; this is he who is] / the head of all wickedness, and [all] mal[ignity]. The beginning of / the spread of the war occured [thr]ough him; all the battl[es], / fights, quarrelling, dan[ger]s, destructions, f[i][30]ghts, wrestling-contests! That is the o[ne who fir]st [made] arise [dan]/ger and war, with his worl[ds and his] powers. Af[te]/rwards, also, he waged war with the light. H[e pitched] a battle wi[th] / the exalted kingdom.

Now, regar[ding the King] of Darkness, / there are five shapes on him! His head [is lion-faced; his] hands and feet are demo[n- and devil]-faced; [his] / shoulders are eagle-faced; while h[is] belly [is dragon-faced]; (**31**) his tail is fish-faced. These five shapes, the marks of his / [fi]v[e] worlds, exist on the King of the realms of Darkness! /

Now, [th]ere are five other properties*11 in him. The first is his / [dark]ness. The second is his putridity. The third is h[i]s ugliness. The fourth is his bitterness, his own soul. / The fifth is his burning, which burns like an / iron {}*12 as if poured out from fire. /

[There are] also th[r]ee oth[ers] in him! The first, that hi[s body / is ha]rd and very tough, even as she has formed him [...] cru[el-hear]ted; namely Matter, who is the though[t] of death, / [the o]ne w[ho] sculpted him from the nature of the land of dark/ness. T[his] is the manner [of] the body of the ruler of Sm[oke]. He is h/[ar]der than every [ir]on, copper and steel and / [lea]d; as there is no cleaver at all, nor any iron implement, can [...] him and cut him. For Matter, his fashioner, has formed him / [...] strong and hard.

The second, that he wounds / [an]d kills by the word of his magic arts. His recitation and / hearing, all his foolish instruction, make magic / and invocations for him. When it pleases him, he can make an invocation [o]ver himself, and by his magic arts be hidden from his compan/[ions]. Again, when it [plea]ses him, he can be manifested over his powers / [and] appear to [them]; so that these enchantments nowadays, which peo/[ple] utilise (?) [...] this world, are the mysteries / [of] the King of Da[rkness]. Concerning this, I command you (pl.) all the [ti]me: K[ee]p away from the magic arts and enchantments / [of] darkness! For any person who will be taught them, / and who [d]oes and accompl[ishes them]; at the last, in the place wh[ere] will be bound the King / [of] the realms of Darkness with his powers, there they will bind t/[ha]t one also, [the s]oul of whoever has lived freely among them and [wal]ked in the

*11 Read ⲥϧⲏⲙⲁ (W.- P. Funk).
*12 ⲡⲉⲓⲱ

[magic ar]ts of error. Whether it is a man or a / [woman, this is] the sentence given, cut / [... f]rom God's judgement, that whoever will / [...] with their King.

(**32**) The third, that the King of the realms of Darkness knows the [co]/nverse and language of his five worlds. He understands / every thing he hears from their mouths, as they address one / another; each one of them in his language. [Every] design [5] they will consider against him, every snare they d/ebate with one another to bring upon him, he knows them! / He can also understand the gesturing they signal / between one another. Yet, his powers and his rulers, / who are s[ub]ject to him, can not understand his wordy converse. While all these things [10] are unveiled to him; still, their heart is not manifested to him. He k[n]/ows not their mind nor their thought; he can not ponder their / beginning and their end. Rather, he only knows and ap/prehends what is before his eyes. /

Also, another different thing is found in the King of [the] realms of Darkness! [15] For when it pleases him to move, he spreads all his limbs / out and walks. When it comes to mind, he with[draws] / his limbs and takes them in, and is rolled (?) to / his companions; and he falls to the ground like a grape and a / great iron ball! He terrifies by his cry, [20] he is frightful. He frightens his powers with his [s]ound; bec[a]/use when he speaks, being like thunder / in the clouds, he resembles the [...] of the rocks [...] / When he cries out and [...] and calls [...] / over his powers, they shall tremble and to[tter a]nd fall under f[oot]; [25] even as some birds would be [...] the bird [... / ...] and they fall down to the earth. Still, [thi]s thing only: / he knows not what is far from him, he sees not w[ho is at] / a distance, nor does he hear him. Rat[her], whoever is befo[re] / his face he sees, hea[ri]ng him and [30] knowing him.

These sign[s a]nd these evil mar/ks are found in the chief of the d[e]mons and / fiends, the King of all the mountains of Darkne[ss ... the one] to [whom] / the land of darkness has given birth, be[gotten in its cru]/elty, in its wickedness and its wrath [...] (**33**) more than all his fellow rulers, who are in all his worlds. /

Gold is the body of the King of the realms of Darkness. / The

body of all the powers who belong to the world of Sm/oke is gold. And also, the taste of its fruits is s[5]alty. The spirit of the King, of the realms of Darkness, is this one who reigns / today in the principalities and authorities of the earth and the entire un/iverse. I mean these who reign over the entire creation, / humiliating mankind with tyranny, according to their heart's desire. /

In contrast, the King of the worlds of Fire is lion-faced, the fore[10]most of all the beasts. Copper is his bo[dy]. Again, [the bo]/dy of all the rulers who belong to Fire is copper. / Their taste is the sour taste that is in every form. / Also, the spirit of the King, of they that belong to the world of Fire, is this one / who reigns i[n the] greater ones and the leaders; who are under [15] the command of the principalities and authorities and the kings of the wo/rld. Also a spirit of his is found in these sects / that worship [fi]re, as their sacrifices are offered to fire. /

Again, the King of the wor[l]d[s] of Wind is eagle-face. His / body is iron. Also, the body of all they who belong to [20] the Wind is iron. Their taste is the sharp taste th/at is in every form. His spirit is the one of idolat/ry to the spirits of error who are in every temple, the sit[es] of ido/[l]s, the sites of statue- and image-worship, the shrines o/[f the] error of the world.

[25] For his part, [the K]ing of the w[o]rld of Water is fish-face. His / body is silv[er]. All the other rulers who belong to Water, / silver is their body. Also, the taste of their fruit is / [the] sweetness of water, the sweet taste that is in every (form). / Again, the spirit of the King, of the rulers of Water, is this one who r[30]eigns today in the sects of error; these that / [d]ip the baptism of the waters, (setting) their hope / [and] their tru[st] in the baptism of the waters. /

Again, [the Kin]g of the [wor]ld of Darkness is a dragon. His / [body is lead] and tin. All the other rulers [35] [who belong to the world of] Darkness, their body is lead and (**34**) tin. And also, the taste of their fruits is bitt/erness. Again, the spirit who reigns in them is the spirit / who speaks till today in the soothsayers, giving oracl[es]; / in the givers of portents, every typ[e]; in they who are poss[5]essed; and the other spirits that give oracles, every type. /

Concerning this I tell you, my [bret]hren and my li/mbs, the perfect faithful, the holy elect: / Hold your heart close to you, and you stay away from the / five enslavements of the five dark spirits. Put [10] behind you the service of their five bodies. Li/ve not in them, that you may break loose their chain / and their chastening for ever!

••• 7 •••

(34,13 - 36,26)

/ The Seventh, concerning [15] the Five Fathers. /

This is one of the best known of the kephalaia, due to its full and ordered account of the evocation of various Manichaean divinities. However, it is important to note that the schema of the 'five fathers' is not an archetypal classification prior to all the other theological taxonomies evident throughout the texts; but, rather, only a partial and conditioned representation of the overall system. Thus, temporally, the Third Ambassador is the principal divinity of the third evocation (redemption). In the first evocation (descent) the Father summons the Mother of Life, who then calls forth the First Man and his five sons. In the second (creation) it is the Beloved of the Lights, and then the Living Spirit and his five sons. Kephalaion 7 is concerned with the sequence from the Father through the Ambassador; and its purpose is, therefore, the emanation of the divinities from the aspect of redemption.

Once again the enlightener, our father [the] apostle of / truth, is sitting in the midst of his disciples and pr/eaching to them of the greatnesses of God. Again, he speaks t/o them like this, in his revelation: Five fathers [20] exist, they were summoned forth one of one. [Also], one did come / out of another!

The first Father is the Father of Grea/tness, the blessed one of glory, the [on]e who has no measure to his gr[ea]/tness; who also is the first o[n]ly begotten, the f[i]/rst eternal; who exists with fiv[e fa]thers for ever; [25] the one who exists before every thing that has existed, and th/at will exist.

Now he, the glorious Father, summon[ed] from him / three emanations. The [fi]rst is the Gre[at] / Spirit, the first Mother, who came out of the Father. She app/eared first.

The seco[nd i]s the Belo[ved of] [30] the Lights, the great glori[ous] Beloved, [the one w]ho is honour[ed; w]/ho came out of the Father. [He ma]nifested ou[t of h]im. /

The third father*[13] is the Thir[d Ambassador], / the eldest of [al]l the counsell[ors; who came out of] (**35**) the first Father. He appeared.

This is the first Father, / the first power, the one from whom the three great powers came out, / This is the first Father, the first eternal, the root / of all the lights; from whom the three emanations came out. [5] They have humiliated the darkness. They have brought its heart's desire to naught. They have / given themselves the victory. They have also given the victory to their aeons. /

The second father, who came out of the first Father, is the Th/ird Ambassador, the model of the King of lights. / And again, he too summoned and sent out of him thr[10]ee powers.

One is the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man; / the one who bears up under all things; the great Pillar / of blessing; the great porter, who is greater than all the po/rters.

The second is glorious Jesus the Splendour; / [the] one through whom shall be given life eternal.

The th[15]ird is the Virgin of Light, the glorious wisd[o]m; the on/e who takes away the heart of the [rul]ers and the powers by her image, as she fulfi/lls the pleas[u]re of the greatness. /

The third father, who came out of the second father; h/e is glorious Jesus the Splendour. And, again, he too summoned [20] three evocations after the pattern of the second father. /

The first power whom he summoned is the Light Min[d], / the father of all the apostles, the eldest of [a]ll the [ch]urches; / the one whom Jesus has appointed corresponding to our pattern in the holy chur/ch.

The second power whom Jesus summo[25][n]ed is the gre[at

*[13] Textual error: the Ambassador is the second father, but the third emanation of the first Father.

Jud]ge, who gives judgement on all the souls / [of] mankind, [his] dwelling being established in the atmosphere under [... / ...] wheel [...] stars.

The third power is / [the Y]outh, the gre[at ...] light in his two pers/ons, in [...], I am speaking about that which has been established [30] [i]n the summons [and] the obedience. [He] too [stood] with his fa[ther / the] king [...] the savio[ur ...] seen, as he tells / [...] I, what I have seen with my Father, / [I tell to] you. For yourselves, what you have seen / [with your fath]er, do that*[14].

(**36**) The fourth father is the Light Mind, the one who chooses all the / churches. And, again, he too summoned three / powers after the pattern of Jesus.

The first power is the Apostle / of Light; the one who shall on occasion come and assume the chur[5]ch of the flesh, of humanity; and he becomes inner leader of ri/ghteousness.

The second is the counterpart, who shall come to the apo/stle and appear to him, becoming companion to him, / sticking close to him everywhere; and providing help to him all the time, from / all afflictions and dangers.

The third [10] is the Light Form; the one whom the elect and the ca/techumens shall receive, should they renounce the world. /

And also the fifth father is this Light Form; the one who / shall appear to everyone who will g[o] out from his bo/dy, corresponding to the pattern of the image to the apostle; and the thr[ee] [15] great glorious angels who are come with her.

One (angel) ho[ld]/s the prize in his hand. The second bears the light garment. / The third is the one who possesses the diadem / and the wreath and the crown of light. These are the thr/ee angels of light, the ones who shall come with this Light Form; [20] and they appear with her to the elect and the / catechumens.

These are the five fathers who have come out / of one another. They have appeared and man[ifes]ted through one ano/ther!

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*[14] Jn. 8:38

Blessed is he who will know and understand th[em]! / For he may find life eternal; and receive these light garments [25] that shall be given to the righteous, [the faithful], the givers of peace, / and the doers of good things.

••• 8 •••

(36,27 - 37,27)

/ Concerning the Fourteen Vehicles / that Jesus has boarded. /

The fourteen vehicles correspond to the stations through which Jesus passes as he descends deeper into matter for the purpose of salvation; and to the divine elements that he assumes and thus sanctifies in this descent. The listing of the ten 'carriages in the zone' reverses an order most familiar in accounts of the ascent of the light elements, the qualities of the living soul, as they pass through the redemptive process of summons and obedience, and finally ascend perfected from the Pillar to the moon and thence to the sun (see 71).

[30] Once again, the light-man speaks to the congregati[on that] is sitting in front of / him: When Jesus the son of greatness [came] to these world[s], / at the time that he unveiled the greatness, [he boarded ten] / vehicles! He journeyed in the universe [by them]. /

The first vehicle is the ligh[t] ship, [since] [35] he received instructions from the Ambassador [there].

(37) The second carriage is the ship of the First Man, sin/ce his dwelling is established there. /

The third is the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man, sin/ce he shone forth there. He came below, he appeared in the wo[5]rld.

The fourth is the summons that he clothed / upon his body. The fifth is the obedience that he swathed / upon the summons.

The sixth is the living air, and since / he assumed it too, he received anointment there. / The seventh is the living wind that blows. The eighth [10] is the light that illuminates. The ninth is the living w/ater. The tenth is the living fire that is above them all. /

He was journeying in these ten carriages among all the orders and / all the [...], those above and those below. /

After he had assumed these ten, he came and manifested in the [15] flesh. He chose the holy church in four vehic/les. One is all the holy brothers. The second is the / pure sisters. The third is all the catechumens, / the sons of the faith. The fourth is the catechu/-mens, the daughters of the light and truth.

These ten carria[20]ges that he boarded in the zone, and the other four that are in the flesh, / they complete and make fourteen carriages! He has done in them / the pleasure of his Father. He has made alive, has redeemed, and given the victory to / [th]ese who are his. Conversely, [h]e has killed, bound, and destroyed / they who are strangers to him. He has given glory to the Father who sent him, [25] and the entire kingdom of life. Blessed is he who will k/now these mysteries; for he will count to the portion of Jesus, / the son of greatness.

••• 9 •••

(37,28 - 42,23)

/ The Explanation of the Peace, what it is; [30] the Ri[gh]t Hand; the Kiss; the Salutation. /

The ritual actions that occur in human society, and which Mani has instituted in his church, are presented as reenactments of divine archetypes. Mani's lesson is carefully structured, and provides many important details and insights into Manichaean doctrine and church practice.

38.13 – 39.9 The descent of the First Man from the land of light was a favourite theme. Full of the pathos of loss and estrangement, it is in a very real sense the story of each soul. Thus, this text makes much of the familial love and care within the divine household.

39.10 – 40.19 Once the sacrifice of the First Man has been achieved, he is saved by the Living Spirit and returns to the kingdom. This establishes and sanctifies the process of redemption; and, while it occurs at the beginning of the history, it also anticipates the triumphant return at the end of time of the collectivity of the divine, with the First Man at their head, to enter the new aeon.

40.24 – 41.10 Now that the primordial archetypes have been established, Mani immediately relates them to the individual's experience and the practice of the church.

41.11 – 25 Mani then utilises the symbols to focus on the glorious hope offered to the victorious soul, when it meets the Light Form and receives its prizes.

41.26 – 42.23 The lesson ends with the injunction to its hearers to honour and practice this divine teaching.

[O]nce again the disciples questioned the apostle, saying / [to him]: This peace and this greeting that occur in the world, / [from w]hom [did they come fo]rth? Or likewise, the right hand that occurs in / [the world, it being h]onoured by mankind, of whom is it? Or the my[35][stery of the ki]ss that they embrace one another with, / [...]? Or who is the one that reveals this (**38**) salutation with which they make obeisance to one another? Or this laying on of h/ands, which an immensely great one bequeaths upon his inferior, / giving him an honour and making him great; of / whom is this laying on of hands?

Then he says to his disciples: [5] You have questioned me about these five lessons. Now, they are display/ed in the world as miniatures, being made little; / and yet indeed they are great and honoured. I am the one who can reveal to y/ou their mystery! So, these five signs / are the mystery of the First Man. He came forth wit[10]h them from the aeon of light. Also, when he finished / his contest, he went up with these good signs. / They received him into the aeons of light. /

The first peace is the one that the gods and the [an]gels in the land / of light gave to the First Man; when he comes [15] out against the enemy. The gods and the angels / were walking with him; escorting him, giving to him their peace and / power, and their blessing and fortification. This is the first / peace that the gods and the angels gave to the First / Man; as he comes forth from the aeon of light.

[20] The first right hand is the one that the Mother of Life gave to the First Ma/n; when he comes out to the contest. /

The first kiss is this one with which the Moth[er] of Life embrac/ed the First Man; as he separates from her, coming / down to the contest. Even all the gods and the [an][25]gels who are in the aeons of light were making to em[br]ace him! [...] / all of them also, and the church tutelaries (?), and the kinsf[olk w]/ho

belong to the household of his people. They were making to embrace him as [he] / separates from them, accompanying him out, em[bracing] / him with the kiss of affection and love.

30 The first salutation is the salutation with which the F[ir]st Ma[n] / made obeisance; when he comes ou[t to the depths] / below. He was bending his kn[ees, making obeisance] / to the God of truth, and all the aeons [of light] (**39**) who belong to the household of his people; entreating them for a power to / escort him*15, as he comes forth. /

The first laying on of hands is the one that the Mother of Life bequeathed upon / the head of the First Man. She armed him and made him 5 mighty. She laid hands on him, and sent him to the battle. He des/cended. He completed his struggle with the great powers and the en/mity.

By the[se] five signs and these five myst[e]ri/es the First Man came forth from the aeons of light / against the enemy. He humbled him. He was victorious against him by [th]em.

10 Also, when he ascended from the w[a]r, he came i[n] / to the kingdom of the household of his people by these five mysteri/es!

The peace with which h[e ascen]ded is the peace that the / summons gave to him, [w]hen it was sent forth from the [Fa]ther of L/ife. It gave him the peace in the world of darkness. 15 Also, that peace with which he descended is th/[e sam]e as the one with which he ascended from the struggle! Therefore, appropriate to the my/[s]tery of that peace, which the summons gave / the First Man, did this peace here and now come about. / It was named and heard among the powers of the Father.

Again, this 20 second right hand is the one that the Living Spirit gave the First / Man, when he [brou]ght him upward out from the struggle. Appropriate to / [the] mystery [of t]hat right hand this right hand has come about; / the one that occurs in the [midst of] mankind, as they give it to their companions, / [it b]eing honoured and [...]

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*15 Perhaps the angel Nahashbat referred to in the account of Theodore bar Konai *Lib Schol.* XI.

Also, this second ki[25][s]s is the one with which the [Father o]f Life and the Mother of the living / embraced the F[irst] Man, when he ascended / from the struggle. Again, this kiss occurs among / mankind, as they make to embrace their companions with it; whether then [they] / go away from home and be far from their friends, or else [30] [if] they approach one another, according to the mystery of (the First Man). /

[The] second [s]alutation with which the First Man made obeisance / [... this] time to the God of truth and / [...] the blessed aeons and al[l] the aeons / [... the] whole [land] of light, whe[n] (**40**) the Father of Life and the Mother of the living brought / the Man upward from the abyss of the struggle. Appropriate to the myste/ry of the second salutation this salutation has come about; this one / that occurs today in the midst of mankind, as they make obeisance to one [5] another, doing an honour to their companions.

The second / laying on of hands is this: When the Living Spirit brought the First / Man upward from the war, he saved him from / all the surging waves. He brought him upward, he gave him ease in the great / aeons of light, which belong to the household of his people. [10] He set [him] firmly before the Father, the Lord of the totality. / Now, when he went up before the great Father of the / lights, a voice came forth to him from the heights, saying: / Make my son, my first-born, to sit at my right hand side, until I / set all his enemies for a footstool under his feet.*[16] [15] He received this great laying on of hands that he may become leader / of his brethren in the new aeon. Again, appropriate to the myster/y of the second laying on of hands, this laying on of hands has come / about; the one that occurs in the midst of mankind as they lay hands on one / another, the great giving authority to the lesser.

These five myste[20]ries and these five signs came about first in the divi/ne. They were proclaimed in this world by an [a]postle. Ma[nk]/ind has been taught them; and they have instituted them in their mids[t ... but] these myster[ies] wer[e] / not at the beginning amongst the / powers of darkness.

The Light Mind al[so], who co[mes] [25] to the world, shall come

*[16] Mk. 12:36

with these several mark[s]. With these five / lessons he shall choose his church.

First, before / everything else, he chooses his church with peace. / And he gives the peace first to mankind; so that the person receives / the peace, and becomes a child of peace. Afterwards he is elected [30] to the faith. Now, when he may receive the peace, he shall receive [the rig]/ht hand and count to the right hand. Then, whe[n he receives] the right hand, / the Light Mind s[h]all draw him to him, and cause [him] to app[roach the ch]/urch.

With the right hand he receives the k[iss of lo]/ve and becomes a child of the c[hurch ...] (**41**) With the kiss he shall receive salutation, and make obeisance to the God / of truth. Also, he makes obeisance to the holy church [...] / the hope of the faith, good works.

When they / will receive the peace and the right hand, the kiss and the salutation, [5] the last of these things shall be bequeathed upon them from the right hand of charity. They / too [receive] the laying on of hands, which will be bequeathed upon them. A/nd they are conformed and built up in the truth, and made strong in it for eve/r. They shall come in to the Light Mind with these good signs; / and become fulfilled people. They make obeisance and [10] [give] glory to the God of truth. /

[On]ce again: At the time of their coming forth, the Light Form / shall come forth before them; and she redeems them from the darkness to the li/ght [...] This Light Form calms the per/son, with the kiss and her quiet, from fear of the [15] demons w[ho de]-stroy his body. By her asp[ec]t and her im/age [the] heart of the elect one, who is come forth from his bo/[d]y, shal[l] be calm for [him]. Afterwards, the angel who h[o]lds the victo/ry prize extends to him the right hand. And it draws him out of / the abyss of his body, and accepts him in with the [k]iss [20] and love. That soul shall make obeisan[ce] to its red/eemer, who is this Light Form. And also, at the inst[ant / when ...] he shall be perfected and increased according to [... / ...] in the household of the living ones, with the go/[ds] and the angel[s] and all the apostles and the chosen. [25] [An]d he receives the crown [...] glory in the life for ever. /

[Concern]ing this I tell you, my brethren and my limbs: / [L]et you (sg.) find these fi[ve signs] in your hands, honoured before / [ea]ch one of [yo]u. They are: the peace; the right hand; the k/[i]ss; the sa[luta]tion; and the laying on of hands. I have brought this [30] [to] you from the household of the living, out from the Father who / [se]nt me.

[Hap]pen you know, that a great myster/[y ...] him, by these five signs that I have brought / [...] you may part from the world, beca/[use ...] you have understood about the first (**42**) peace and the first right hand and the first kiss / [and] the first salutation and the first laying on of hands.

Therefore, le/t them find this laying on of hands being esteemed in your presence; as you give / honour, and make obeisance to the teachers and the deacons and the presby[5]ters, they whom I have laid hands on. I have bequeathed upon them the great / laying on of hands; because they are set in a great myste/[r]y, the laying on of hands of the divine, which is bequeathed upon the h/ead of the teacher. Now, whoever will reject and dis[da]in i/t, and it is made nothing by him: he commits sin subject to God, with gre[at] [10] sin; and also against me too. /

Still, you, my beloved ones, hasten in to these five / [...] you, and you [... / ...] fulfill at these occasions [... / ...] wishes he may answer you [... [15] ...] as he told y[ou ... / ... / ...] that are in the storehouses of [... / ...] your (pl.) heart [...] them, for he [... / ...] which is set right by you [...] each [one [20] ...] listen to him. He knows [ev]ery deed that you d/o, all of them, [...] with your companions [...] this [... / ...] he turns to you [...] and he [...] / from you the afflictions of [...]

••• 10 •••

(42,24 – 43,21)

[25] *Concerning the Interpretation of the Fourteen [great A]eons, / about which Sethel has spoken in [his P]rayer. /*

Mani regarded Seth as the first in the line of true apostles (12.9 – 11); and the various references to him in Manichaean texts show some dependence

upon prior gnostic traditions. The *Cologne Mani-Codex* quotes from an unknown apocalypse of Seth (pp. 50 – 52). The question about the prayer of Seth in this kephalaion may well indicate such a tradition.

However, Mani provides his own interpretation consistent with his revealed teaching. The fourteen great aeons of light are: the five elements or sons of the First Man; the call and the hearing; the five sons of the Living Spirit; the two respective fathers. The fragmentary final section (43.10 - 21) seems to indicate that these fourteen underpin the visible universe; and that the Ambassador, as the principal god of redemption, has become their leader and king after the image of the first eternal Father.

Once again the disciples question the apostle. They sa[y] to him: We be[seech] / you, our master, that you may enlighten us a[bou]t this lesson that is wr[itten / in] the prayer of Sethel, the first-born son of [Ad]am. As he says: [30] 'You are glorious, you fourteen great [ae]ons of [lig]/ht'. Tell us, our master, what are the [f]ourteen grea[t / a]eons of light?

Then the enlighte[ner speaks / to the]m: I am the one who will interpret for you [the fourteen] / great aeons of light abou[t] which he has spoken!

[35] Happen you know this, that the [... (**43**) ...] below abide in fourteen [great aeons /...] the five elements, the sons of the First / Man, together with the call and the hearing. They anoint them, / living in them. These shall make seven, five plus two. [5] [... the] f[ive s]ons of the Living Spirit who / [support] all [the wei]ght of the universe; together with the [Li]vi[ng] Spirit / [and the Fir]st Man, their fathers. These are the fourt/een p[raises that he has] proclaimed, the praise that is made of fourteen / pra[yers], by which the universe is established.

[10] [There are fourt]een aeons of light [...] / of Seth[el ...] about them in his prayer, for they are expl[ai]ned / [... the la]nd that is not revealed. This land [... /... is estab]lished. They bore up under the enemy [... / ... equa]ls them. The hidden plenitude that [... [15] ...] the Ambassador who came from the Father, the [... / ...] He came and stood firm in the midst of these [...] / he is called the good father of [all] the ae[ons and gods] / who are holy and conjoined. He has become leader and a / great king after the likeness of the first Father, the lord of all these cou[nse[20]ls]. This universe is held together by their will / [...] to the end of all things. /

••• 11 •••

(43,22 – 44,18)

/ [Concerning the Interpretation of] all [the] Fathers of / [Light], who are distinguished from one another.

Summary of the characteristics of principal divinities; perhaps for catechetical instruction.

25 [O]nc]e again [the enlig]htener speaks: Happen you know, / [m]y beloved ones, that [the beginn]ing of every good grace is the / [gr]eat Father of the [ligh]ts; since [a]ll [graces] are given by his hand. /

The beginning of each blessing and every prayer / is the Mother of [L]ife, the first Holy Spirit.

30 Also, [the] beginning [of] every good [co]unsel is the T[h/i]rd Am[bassad]or, the king of the glorious realm that lies in this / [wo]rld, [...] of the King of the lights.

The beginning of / [... and] each [hono]ur (?) is the Beloved of the Lights, who is honour/[ed.

The beginning of a]ll [the trappers] and hunters is the First 35 [Man.

... of] all fighters is (44) [the] Living [Spirit], the Father of Life, who has distribu[ted about] / his five sons from place to place.

The beginning of all the archit[e]/cts and builders is the Great Builder, who is glo/rious.

Also, the first of all the porters of the gr[e]^{5}a[tness is the Pillar of Glory ... / ...]

The beginning of [all] the deliverers [is Jesus the Splendour]; / or the one who delivers, as he frees whoever belongs [...] / from his words.

The beginning of every wisdom of / truth is the Virgin of Light, [.]

[10] [The beginning of] all [the great]est honoured ones [...] / is the Light Mind; who is the awakene[r of they] / who sleep, the gatherer in of the ones who are sc[att]ered. /

Blessed is he who shall lodge this treasure within hi[m, and] fasten [the knowledge] / of these fathers in his heart! For they a[re] the [root (?) of] [15] all the lights, and such as belong to all life; as [...] / of all souls beside them.

Blessed is he who wi[ll kn]/ow them, and continue in their belief, that he may inh/erit with them eternal life for ever.

••• 12 •••

(44,19 – 45,15)

[20] *Concerning the Interpretation of the Five Words that are / proclaimed {} *17 / in the Univer[se]. /*

These five words appear to be the divine names used by other sects. Mani explains their significance by equating them with the appropriate Manichaean divinities. Mani was himself brought up in an Elchasaite community; and the *Kephalaia* makes a number of references to contemporary groups such as Baptists, Nazoreans, and Purified Ones (Catharioi). However, the exact identity of and relationship between these diverse Jewish-Christian sects remains unclear. The First and the Second Life are characteristic Mandaean terms.

Once again the disciples [questioned the apostle. They say to] / him: Recount to us, our master, of these five words that are procl[aim][25]ed in the sect of the Baptis[ts ... they] / occur in other sects. [Also, thei]r name is proclaimed by they [w]/ho are called 'Purified Ones', as they say this '[First] / Life' and the 'Second Life' [... / ...] make a heart together with the mind [...] and the l[aw [30] ... /

... / ...] / call it by this name is the Father, the l[ife ...] / this unnameable, whom no one [... [35] ...] his name.

The second [word is the Thi(**45**)r]d Ambassador [...] / of life, whom they also call the father of [... / ... / ...] [5] the first Father.

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*17 ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲟⲥⲓⲥ

The law [...] / living [...] law of the good and the evil ones. / For it, it was given victory by the aeons of lig[ht against the en]/mity. It humbled the rebels [... / ... their] [10] essence and their universe. It overcame*[18] th[em ... t]/hem in th[is b]order until the end time.

[... / ...] the powers [...] the universe is established [... / ... al]l of them are a single living body / [... [15] ...] against one another.

••• 13 •••

(45,16 – 46,12)

/ Concer[ning] the Five Saviours, the Resurrectors / of they who are Dead; together with the Five Resurrections. /

Chapter 12 has begun a series of kephalaia connected only by their pentadic structure.

[O]nce again [the] enlightener speaks: [...

[24] ... i][25]t therein [...] /

[The] sec[ond resurrector is ... / ...] /

And [the] third resurrector is the father, the first [... / ... b]ecause by his word shall a[ll] lives [30] [...] gather in and go to him, and they receive / [...] and re[s]t. /

[The fourth res]urrector is the Light Mind, becau/[se ... (**46**) ... / ...]

The fifth resurrector to the good [... / ...] is the Father, the first [es]tablis[he]d on[e / ...] all the powers, and [he] stands fir[m [5] ...] he shall unveil the [...] over them / [...] and he draws them to him [... / ...] his will [...] and he / [...] them, and he stands them u/[p ...] there, and they remain until [10] [...]

Bl[es]sed is every one who / [...] day of / [...] complete [...] for ever. /

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*[18] Reading ϲωτ‹π›

••• 14 •••

(46,13 – 47,21)

/ The Interpretation [of] the S[i]lence, the Fast, [the Peace], [15] *the Day, [and] the Rest; [what] they are. /*

Mani provides cosmological archetypes for the ritual practices of the church.

[O]nc]e again the discipl[es] questioned the enli[gh]tener. They say to h[im: Re/coun]t to us of the five [le]sso[ns] that [a]re proclaimed in the [wo/r]ld, [one] being cal[le]d [...] 'the peace', another called '[the] / silence', [...] another 'the day', ano[ther [20] ... We implore you, our] father, that you may p[/roclaim ...

[28] ...] the gatherer in [... / ...] then he shall cau[se] the body [...] [30] all the lusts of the world [... / ...] of the body in righteousness [... / ...] is the Pill[a]r of Gl[or]y [... / ...] because [... (**47**) ... / ...] up to the [... / ...]

The one they call [...] it is the / [Fi]rst [M]an who dwel[ls i]n the ship of living waters [5] [... li]ght [...] he is c[alled / ... / ... / ...] that they have [... / ...] glorious [...

[10] ...] the enlighten[er ... / ... cal]l it 'day' [... / ... uni]verse as they shall [... / ... / ...] in the great aeon [... [15] ...] are spread in the universe, it is [... / ...] established in the [... / ...] and the so[uls ... / ...] /

Blessed is he [who ...] gives joy by [...] for ever. [20] The great [...] remains for ever and e[ver] / and ever.

••• 15 •••

(47,22 – 49,9)

/ [Concerning the ... / ...] Five [Parts ...] [25] *Worlds of [...] /*

The disciples ask Mani why the realm of darkness became active and death streamed forth against the light. Mani explains that the driving force is fire and lust, charged by the doubling of the evil pentad (five elements,

worlds, categories of creation or flesh) into male and female. Thus there are twelve parts (5 x 2 + fire and lust) ; corresponding to the zodiacal signs and the spirits of the evil sects.

[O nce again, the enlighten]er is sitting in the midst of his discipl[es, / explaining to them about] the great and secret matters of Go[d / ... the] two ess[e]nces. His disciples say / [to him ...]: Did death ari[se] and stand firm [30] [...] up? Or else did it turn itself from [... / ...] its armo[ur ...] in its [... / ...] but it finished [...] the tw[o / ... /

...[35] ... (**48**) ...] it moved it and [... / ...] they that are in the [... of] the earth of dark[ness /...] first part. /

Yet, after a long time, as there was not [... [5] ...] / it gushed and streamed u[p ... the five eleme]/nts of death that gushed [... / ...] which are [smoke, fire, / wind, wa]ter and dar[kness ... [10] ...] the second time [... / ... / ...] they were sculpted [...] / those in which death was established [... /

The] fourth part is the ev[il] fruits [... [15] ...] in the five trees that are in the five [worlds of] / the land of darkness. /

The fifth time it spread itself out to its creatures that exist [in the five] / worlds; the ones that were formed and generated from the fi[ve] / fruits of death. They are the five worlds of fl[20]esh, the five creations of darkness in which death has been established. It / spread itself out to ten parts, five male parts and five fem/[ale ... / ...] /

Now, like the land of darkness, in that its spirit and i[ts ...] [25] they nourished the five elements [...]; / this is also [how] the ten parts that are in [male and / fe]male, the fire and lust of the flesh[es ...] / them, as they yoke them with one another [... they were est]/ab[li]shed against the First Man. This is [... [30] ...] of the darkness, / it was condemned for ever.

Alongside the mystery of these twe/lve parts that came about in the darkness [...] / against the First Man. The twel[ve ...] / the twelve spirits of error that [came] [35] about from the twelve signs of the zodiac [... (**49**) ...] They are estab[lished agai]nst the second living man, w/ho dwells in the [h]oly chur[ch]. They pursue

him the way t/hat they pursued [... at] the beginning of the First Man in the land / of darkness.

As the First Man humiliated the darkness [5] [... / ... the li]ght th[at] dwells in the church / [...] the twelve sects. /

[...] his holy father for ever and / [ever].

••• 16 •••

(49,10 – 55,15)

/ [Concerning the Five] Greatnesses who / [went forth] against the Darkness. /

49.15 – 31 Four of the 'greatnesses' are the Father himself and the standard three series of emanations (corresponding to descent, creation, and ascent). Interestingly, Jesus the Splendour (and his powers) is given a separate place as the fifth greatness, which may be a later development of Manichaean doctrine that attempts to regulate the increasingly dominant role of this god.

49.31 – 50.6 The text remarks on the characteristic pentads of the doctrine; and then notes, in an undoubtedly forced calculation, that together with the summons and the obedience twelve major gods (not counting the series of five sons) can be counted.

50.7 – 55.15 The major part of the chapter is in effect a separate and unrelated kephalaion concerned with the advent of five divinities. The role of each is given a useful summary, and Mani develops similes to aid his hearers' understanding.

[O]nce again the enlightene]r [speaks] to his disciples: / [... the] darkness, it was defeated by five greatnesses.

[15] [The first gre]atness is the Father of Greatness who [exi/sts] in c]alm and hiddeness; as he is established in his [light] / earth, in his own essence.

Four greatnesses were mani/[feste]d and came forth of him. They were appointed to ten parts, and estab/lished in total twelve.

The second gr[20]eatness poured out and was manifested. It was revealed from the first / greatness. It is the Mother of Life, the Great Spirit. Together with / the First Man [and his] five sons; [these are the second / great]ness.

The third [greatness is the Bel/oved of the L]ights, the Great Builder, the Living Spirit, and the five [s]o[25][ns] of the Living Spirit. These are the third greatness. /

[The fou]rth greatness is the Third Ambassador, and / [the P]illar of Glory, and all the light powers who were revealed / [from him. These are the] fourth greatness. /

[The fi]fth greatne[ss] who came from the Father is Jesus the Splendour, and [30] all [h]is powers whom he summoned, his emanations who were [... / They] poured out and were manifested from him.

This is, so that they were [spre]ad out and / [...] five[s]: these five sons of the First Ma/[n ...] the entire building; another five are the five / [sons of the Living Spirit] who are spread out to five places, supporting [35] [...]

[...] total in tw(**50**)elve parts that [... There are] another two [ad]/ded to them who are the summons and [the obedien]ce. They are the father and the mother whom Jesus the Sp[lendour] by his advent has [appointed] / as successors to his place [...] the great earth [5] and the [... / ...] in them. /

[The advent ...] / of the First Man who came [... / ... [10] ...] belonging to [...] / ex[isting i]n a kingdom [...] / esteem [befo]re they who belong to his [household ... / ... / ...] his enemies [...] [15] and suffering by their wickedness; and they take from him [...] / and a richness; and they imprison [him in] / captivity and take from him their companies (?). Yet, h[e ...] / by his humility; and he takes heart and restrains his en[emy / ...] in silence.

Just as with this man, this noble [20] son whose enemies surround him; this also / is how the advent of the First Man happened, / [... rul]ers, the enemies of [the l]ight. /

In contrast, the advent of the Living Spirit and the [comman]dment that he received, / whereby [he] came upon all the rulers; it differs from that of the [25] First Man. His adv[ent ...] the advent of the F[irst] / M[an].

The advent of the Living Spirit is lik[e] / this, when he was sent

from the greatness that he might br[ing] / up the First Man. He resembles a [ju]/dge the king would send to overturn the violence to [30] that man, the noble son against whom his enem[ies] / sinned. And he, this [judge, ...] / hard and cruel [... / ...] and he gives the means [... by his right] (**51**)eousness and his st[rengt]h; and he also judges all who / are condemned according to their rebellious heart, and re/pays each according to his deserts. They who are worthy of / blows he strikes with hard leather whips. Again, these [5] who are worthy of cutting off their limbs, or indeed their / [...] and he repays them accordingly. / [...] and he binds and fetters them, and hangs by / [...] and thus he does to them with a / [righteous] judgement. And he kills them to flay their skin [10] [...] so that they will be killed by a death / [...] until they die. Again, [they for] whom it is fitting / [...] to banish from their dwellings he may / [remove according to] a righteous judgement; just as they had faulted / [and sinned against] the noble son. Also, the associates in the mystery [15] [and the assis]tants of this judge, these who belong to / [him in] great strength; in an instant and / [h]aste they shall do the will of their master. /

Now, just as this genuine judge, who was sent f/rom the king to overturn the violence to this man, the [20] noble s[o]n; this is also the case with the Living Spirit. / He also was sent from the King of the lights / [to] over[turn] the vengeance [a]nd violence to the First Man, / against whom the King of the realms of Darkness had sinned. He faulted / [and] sinned against him, and also his rebellious powers. [Therefo]re, when (the Living Spirit) came, [25] he bore up the First Man.

Also, a[l]l the rulers, / the powers of sin who had faulted and sinned against the sons / [of] the First Man, he has judged them according to a right[e]ous judgement. / He has bound them in heaven and earth. He put each one / to the place fitting for him, he weighed each of them [30] [acco]rding to his c[ru]elty and oppression. [While] some [of] the[m] he enclosed in / [the prison, ot]hers he hung head down. Som/[e ...] are crucified, others are (**52**) sat down all the time. Some among them are fixed be/neath their associates, restricted by a strong chain; / others he made the holders of authority over their companions / beneath, so that they may do their pleas[5]ure amongst these below them. /

Happen you know this [...] that w[h]e[n] / the Father of Life established the judgements [...] / He was revealed to all the powers o[f darkness. He] / judged them as a [true] giver of judgement [... [10] ... / This] is the first judgement that the [Living] Spirit [gave] / the rulers [in respect of the] First Man. [Indeed, he] gave victory to the [First Man] / corresponding to his victory; [but] he condemned the [King of the realms of Darkness] / corresponding to that [by] which he had erred.

[... [15] ...] this chain, of this sort, became [...] / the earth till the en[d] time when the [universe] will be dissolved; / and it perishes in the great fire and is separated. While [the li]/ght goes to its country, the darkness remains in / [the chain] and fetter for ever.

[20] The advent also of the Third Ambassador, when he came / [to inspect] they who are imprisoned in the zone. He is / like a great king who comes and inspects cra[f/tsmen ...] and [...] and [... / ...] Also, they who are good, of the craftsmen and archi[te][25]cts and artisans whom he has there in ea[ch] / place; he shall see that [th]ey have worked well, / and have fallen to his works in their fashion. He shall rejoice with / [great joy ...] He shall thank the artisans / who have constructed his works [and completed] his orders.

[30] Now, just as this great king w[ho c]omes and insp[e]/cts his works and fortific[ation]s; so a[lso] / is the advent of the Third Amb[assa]dor. [F]o/r, when he too came, he saw [his works] / established and prepared and [...] (**53**) series of the rulers prepared and established there; / above and below, outside and w/ithin, in the great pattern that his brothers had made. / They had come before him to the contest, they who had fixed and cre[5]ated the universe before he came. He saw the gods and the / a[ng]els est[abl]ished and controlling the fortifi/[cations ...] guarding the [ent]ire ruling-power [... / ...] which his first powe[rs] had done. / [They are the F]irst Man and the [Living Spirit]; [10] a[nd the] Great [Spirit, the M]other of Life.

Therefore, when h[e s]aw / them, that they had [created] everything [with] great wisdom; / [...] as they looked he plundered (?) [... / ...] in h[is adve]nt, by which he came, he was

un[veil]ed / to [them]. He says to the Living Spirit: 'The judgement that [you] have [... 15 ...] good, what you utt[ered ...] / you [gave to] them correspondingly; so that they were moved and raised up to that of w/h[ich t]hey were not worthy'. /

[The] advent also of Jesus the Splendour, the time when he came to [a]ll [...] / being just like a man if he is [se20n]t to pull out a [... / b]urn a difficult f[ig]-garden with fire. Therefore, [aga]in, / when he has [fi]rst cu[t] the bad trees with his a/[x]e and has pulled out [... / ...] and their body with his fire; so that they should not return to sprout 25 [from] this time, no[r] bear fruit bad to eat / [...] Afterwards, [he] also planted [good] plants; [the / t]ree of lif[e] that will make good fruit. /

Again, this is [like] this simile of the advent of Jesus the Splendour. / [It] happened l[ike this]; because he too set out 30 [... h]is power and his wisdom, in his / [...]-ness [... a] king and a saviour / [...] in his glorious wisdom (**54**) he destroyed them. He bound and crushed them like / the fire that shall burn and destroy trees. This is also how / he performed his will in the zone, / among the many powers; until he reached the form 5 of the flesh of Adam and Eve, the first humans. [He perfected] / his will in Eve, he [... He a]lso [gave / h]ope to Adam, and the g[ood] news [...] / glorious [...] He went up to [the heights ... / ... of li]ght.

T[hen the summons and the obed]10ience, the great counsel that came [to] the el[emen]ts, / which are set in conjunction. It [mixed w]ith them, i[t was es]tabl/ished [i]n silence. It bears u[p ...] un[til the end t]i/me when it can arise and stand f[ir]m in the g[reat] fi/re. It will gather to it its own soul, and sc[ul]p15t it in the Last Sta[t]ue. You will a[ls]o find it / sweeps out and casts from it the polluti[on] / that is foreign to it. However, the life and the li[gh]t / that are in all things it gathers in to it, and builds / upon its body. The time when this Last Statue 20 will be perfect in all its limbs, then it can become free / and ascend from that great struggle thr[ough] / the Living Spirit its father, the one who comes and brings a [... l]/imb. He brings it up from within this gathering(?), the melting do[wn] / and destruction of all things.

Now, th[is co]25unsel, tha[t] summons <and> obedience, resembles / thus cooled butter. If a pers[o]n will take an[d s/e]t it in

hot milk, it melts [dow]n and soak[s] / in with this hot milk. It m[elts] in another [time / i]n silence and quiet to the mids[t ...] yet also, of the power and the taste of this m[ilk ...] / is drawn to (the butter), and (the milk) sets and becomes [cold ...] / in [...] and the [... this mi](55)lk it shall clarify and discard. However, the oil and the grea/se and the 'beauty' of the [m]ilk it shall gather in to it. /

Again, this too is what the advent of / that thought is like; the counsel of life, which is the summons and [o]bedience that came to the el[e]ments. / This is the one that at the end c[an a]rise and stand firm, and will gather / [i]n to it all [the] lives, a[nd] the light that has / [remai]ned behind [in] everything. It can bui[ld] them upon / [it]s body, it will [gath]er them in to it [... ... ...] in its im[ag]e for ever and ever [... / ...] from this time.

B[l]essed is / every one w[ho will be]lieve in these five advents and [b]e confir[med / in the] knowledge. [He will come to] the heights and be saved [... / ...] and not be counted [... ...]

••• 17 •••

(55,16 – 57,32)

/ The Chapter of the / Thr[ee] Seasons. /

Manichaeism designated itself as the religion 'of the two principles and the three times (or seasons)'. The two principles are light and darkness; and the three times are the beginning, the middle and the end.

In Manichaean tradition there are two primary ways of delineating the three times. Often the whole of history, the time of mixture, is encapsulated in the middle period between the twin eternities before and after its events. Alternatively, as in this kephalaion, the history itself is separated into three: descent, creation, redemption.

It is notable that the primeval events when the First Man is in the land of darkness, before the construction of the universe, cover the longest span. In contrast, the entirety of human history, from the fashioning of Adam and Eve 'after the image of God (the Ambassador)' to the final redemption, occurs in the third period. Thus, it is all eschatological.

O[n]ce again the apostle speaks to his disciples: Fr[om] the time when the light came forth and was crucified in the dark-

ness; / [t]o the season when the Statue will ascend an[d] / the entire light, w[hic]h was conjoined with the darkness, will be puri[fied] and c[lean/sed]. He [s]ays: [Fr]om that time on, [from tha]t time / to the season of the end totals three seasons.

[25] [Thre]e season[s from] the time when the First Man / [went] down to the abyss, and waged the war and the struggle / [against] the King of the realms of [Dark]ness and his other powers. He was victorious, / [whi]le h[is sons remain behi]nd with them in the worlds [... / ...] in the [...] until he shall catch all of them [30] [... he bou]nd them all up, so that not one o[f / them escaped] his hand. He won a great victory [... / ... The First] Man spent human lifetimes and / [generations in the land] of darkness, until he prevailed / [...] (**56**) he fulfilled the will of the greatness that was [commanded] / of him.

Then they sent the Living Spirit, the Father [o]f / Life. He brought the First Man up from the struggle, he / [brought him up to the] land of light. This is the first [5] peri[o]d, from the descen[t] of the First Man / to his ascent. /

The second seas[o]n is from the time [when the F]irst [Ma]/n ascen[d]ed. The Living Spirit came, an[d the] Mother of [Life. / They set in order the th]ings o[f] the univer[se, they] set u[p [10] ... the Father of] / Life [an]d the Mother of the living set in order [... / ...] the u[n]iverse, up to the moment when they go out / [...] it was reckoned to the second season. /

[...] the universe [... [15] ...] the Third Ambassador spread [... / ...] that is in the [...] living; he [... / he separated] beauty from all the powers and scooped [it up] / to the heights, he swept the waste to the abyss, and he [... / ...] Now, from the moment when the Ambassador revealed [20] his image he purified the light. Sin spur[ted] / up towards him. He hid his image. Sin came / [...] from [the dark]ness. It sculpted the trees and the abortion[s fe/l]l down. Afterwards they sculpted Adam a[nd Eve] / in the flesh. Until the moment when Jesus wa[s se]nt and he [... [25] ...] as he performed there h[is w]ill. He gave the [hop]/e to Adam, and ascended to the heig[hts]. /

Now, from the time when the Ambassador [displayed] his

ima[ge] / until the season when [the Sta]tue will [as]/cend at the end, shall be reckoned to the t[hird sea]son.

30 T[hen] the disciples asked the apost[le ... / ...] / with each other in the ligh[t] earth [... / ...

The apost]/le says to them [... (**57**) ... / ...] lasts long in the time t[hat the] First [Man spent in the wo]/rld of darkness. It is a very great count [of t]ime [more] / than the (other) two seasons!

His discipl[e]s say to h[im: The] 5 first season, wh[ic]h the First Man spent in the [world of] dark/ness, is how mu[ch] longer than the time that this univer[se has been? While it is / es]tablished?

[He replies to them]: If you should say th[at ... / ...] it is small, if y[ou] sho[uld ... / ...] to him [...] and [y]ou consult [... 10 ...] you will tel[l] him: Twe[nty times]! / [It is grea]ter again in this other one that you will c[onsult]. / Th[ir]ty times! Less also is this other o[ne ... / ...] people will receive the {}*19 of the trees [... / ...] the years and the generations [... 15...] earth to the heights. This is [...

This / is] the third period, from the time w[hen the Ambassa/d]or revealed his image until the [S]tatue will asc/end from the lump. It again, th[at] time, is / greater than the intermediate; but it does not come equal to the ti20[me of the Firs]t Man. For this intermediate season, / in [which] the Father of Life and the Mother of Life [constructed the un/ivers]e with its orders, is shorter than that of the First / [Ma]n.

Gr[ea]t [i]s the period of the First Ma/[n]! It lasts longer than the season in which the Ambassador disp25[l]ayed his image, until the dissolution of / [the] world and [the S]tatue ascends. [From the time / to]o when the Ambassador displayed his image, until / [the dis]solution of the universe [... / ... 30 ...] when the Father of Life and the / [Mother of Life s]haped the universe.

These are the / [... thre]e periods of time that o[ccur]. (**58**)

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*19 ⲁⲥⲗⲉ

••• 18 •••

(58,1 – 60,12)

/ [Concerning the Five] War[s that the] Sons / of [Li]ght waged wi[th the Sons] of Darkness. /

Five major cosmological events in the history are, in sequence, presented as wars in which principal divinities have vanquished the powers of darkness.

58.7 – 19 The descent of the First Man who sacrifices his five sons, the living soul. While this is sometimes presented as a primal tragedy, like the crucifixion it is the bait that ensures the defeat of death.

58.20 – 59.2 The creative activity of the Living Spirit who imprisons the rulers in the universe.

59.3 – 18 The displaying of the divine image by the Third Ambassador who seduces the demons chained in the heavens, thereby drawing out of them their light. Mani develops a short parable to explain this crucial moment.

59.19 – 28 The descent of Jesus the Splendour who subdues a rebellion by evil (see 93.29 – 94.11) and imparts knowledge to Adam.

59.29 – 60.8? Perhaps the eschatological work of the counsel of life that sculpts the Last Statue upon itself, achieving the final victory and redemption (see 81.1 – 6)?

[T]hen] the enlightener [s]peak[s]: The sons of light waged five [war]s against the sons of darkness. The sons of light / [humiliated the s]ons of darkness in them all. /

[The first w]ar is that of the First living [M]an, which [he / waged against the] King of the realms of Darkness, an[d] all the rule[r]s that had come / [forth from] the five worlds of [...] He hunte[d them with] his net, which is [the] living soul. He [... / ...] in the snare and [...] the face of the [... / ... h]is virgin, the living fire [... / they did not find] how to escape h[is n]et [... / ... h]e caught them like fish [... ...] the five counsels of the five elem[ents ... / ...] He cut and dug out the root of [the fi]ve [tr/ees, ...] r[o]ot of the evil tree, like an ax[e. / As] the saviour has said: Behold, the axe is put to the roo[t / of] the evil tree, so that from this time it can not bear evil fruit*[20].

The second war is that of the Liv[ing] Spirit [... / ... h]e has

*[20] Mt. 3:10

constructed the things and the worlds of l[ight; / he spre]ad out the rulers and chained them in the middle [of ... / ...] the stars in [...] the earths [... / ...] them in the three vessels. For the rulers [25] rebelled and were set [a]gainst the Living Spirit. They wished to [... / ...] since they knew and realised that he might bind [and] / fetter them with a strong chain. Yet he, the L[ivin]g Spirit, / (appeared to them) with many aspects, with numerous [...], with m[a]/ny hands and great cruelties. [He was revea]led to them, [30] he imprisoned them with mu[ch] skill. Not one [of] / them was able to save (himself), and he {}*[21] [... / ...] Now, since he [... / ...] he trapped them [... (**59**) ... / ...] /

[The third war] is that of the Third A[mbas]sa/[dor who has display]ed his image [... [5] ...] what is below [... sc]ooped / [...] all [l]ight and the property [... / ...] the ones that are consumed [... / ... the] entire [r]uling-power [... / ...] pride of the li[ght ... [10] ...] extending it [... / ... a] person comes, who is powerful [... / ...] he takes his riches [... / ...] silver [... / ... his] pride and wantonness.

[15] This i[s what] the ruling-[power] is like [...] / all riches [...] as they travel [... / ...] light / [... he] cleansed and purifi[ed] i[t]. /

[The] four[th] war is this that Jesus the gl[orious] one waged against [20] all [the re]bels who had rebelled above and be[lo]w. / [W]hen the light was purified from them by the imag[e of the] Th[i/rd] Am[b]assad[or], their chains loosened [... / ...] the glorious one in the fourth war; he came and brought [... / ... a] rebellion of the entire ruling-power. He girded [himself ... [25] ... a]ll of it another time. [H]e constructed the whole structure and he made [... / ...] a great contest; [h]e humiliated therein. / [...] he fulfilled the will of the greatness, [he / gave the] hope to Ad[am ...] to his light ship. /

[The fifth war is this] that the [co]unsel of li[30][fe ... wh]ich is the summons and the obedience [... / ...] great [... / ...] and it placed [...] upon the [... / ...] and the [... (**60**) ... / ...] of death, which [... / ...] with it. And it was victorious over [...] / for [eve]r, and it gave the kingdo[m ... [5] ...] great wa[rs ... / ...] with the sons of darkne[ss

*[21] ⲥⲁϩⲙⲉ Smagina 1990:116 suggests 'get out' (from ⲥⲱϩⲙ); Vycichl 1983:206 'se libérer'.

... / ...] the good are victorious over the [wicked ... / ...] for ever and eve[r ... /

Blessed is] every [el]ect one who will [... [10] ... li]ves therein and is victorious over it [... / ...] after the likeness of these five [... / ...] receives the victory without [...]

••• 19 •••

(60,13 – 63,18)

/ Concerning the Five Re[le]as[es; [15] what] they [are]. /

These five 'releases', or moments and processes in the redemption of the light, correspond to the five wars in the previous chapter.

[Once again] our father [s]peaks: [There are] five [releases / by] which the light is saved f[rom] / all [the rulers and] powers of darkness! /

[The first loo]sening and saving is that of [the] First Ma[20]n, since when the First M[a]n was freed fro[m / the prison of] the rulers by the Living Spirit, who had come [... / ...] / of the First Man, much light and [much] power was / saved from the entire ruling-power. They ascend[ed] [25] with the First Man to the aeons [of] greatn[ess]. This [is the first] / release. /

The second saving is that of the Liv[ing] Spirit, since whe[n] / the Father of Life and [the] Mother of [Li]fe constructed [the ... / ...] and [w]orlds [... wo][30]rlds, the earths and their [rulers; im]measurable light / was saved f[r]om them [... the First] / Man, who w[a]s devoured [...] lig[ht ... (**61**) ... / ... th]ree wars [... / ...] to the time when he [... / ...] above [... [5] ...] them upon the [... / ...] universe. /

[The third red]emption is that of the Thi[rd / Ambassador ... he] displayed [his / image ...] he [... [10] ... the r]uling-power; he [... / ... / ... / ...] from them [... / ...] So this is [how] the [... [15] ... his] image that [... in the Th/ir]d Ambassador. /

[Th]e fourth s[av]ing is that of Jesus [the Splendour, since whe/n

he was] re[ve]aled in the zone he displayed [his im]/age in front of the firmaments and purified [the light] [20] that is above. He established the first righteous o[ne*[22] ... / ...] all the churches. He took the likeness*[23] [... / ...] he made himself like the angels in [...] un/til he travelled and descended to the form of flesh. He set in order / [t]he earths and all the fastenings. He also loosen[ed [25] ...] light without measure in the entire structure. He gave / [the s]ummons and the obedience to the elements, he formed / [J]esus the Youth. He as[ce]n[d]ed and rested himself in the / light [land].

The fifth release / a[nd s]aving is that of the great counsel, w[30][hich is the s]umm[ons an]d the obedience, since it also / [... the] soul from the [land] of greatness (**62**) [... [5] ... the] Living Spirit [... [9] ...] as he gave [... [10] ... the r]elease [... /...]

The first [... / ... he] ascended and he [... / ...] as he [... / ...] wisdom [... [15] ... / ...]

The fourth [... / ...] its wisdom / [...]

And also, the fifth [... / ...] in to it, and it sets it in order [...] its [20] light image in this Last Statue.

These five grea[t] / powe[rs ...] were revealed. They came to a profit [... / ...] they were established upon [... / ...] First Man [...] when he came to/ward [...] from the struggle. He set in order and constru[25]cted [...] universe [... / ...] the First M[an / ...] his advent.

In / t[his way ...] they st[an]d with [... (**63**) ...] because of the light [th]at had rushed from [... / ...] the Amba[s]sa[d]or.

The counse[l of] / life, which is the [s]ummons and the obedience, will make [... / ...] seal the commandment and the [... [5] of] all [the] apostles. In this last season they [... / the] life of the S[t]at[ue and] he judges the sou[ls / ... he] can send [... /

...] powers, they [...] from the [... / ...] it is alive [...] of the will [of the ...] [10] Father, the establ[ished one ...] / powerful; they g[o ...]

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*[22] Read ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲁⲣⲭ[ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ] after P. Kell. Copt. 2 line 139 and PsBk2. 88.15 139.43

*[23] Phil. 2:7

enemy, they [...] / all of them [...] conquer this land that they have [... / ...] in it for ever [... / ... t]hey came fr[om h]im in the beginning, as t[hey will r]eturn [15] again to the light. They [as]cend to him at the la[st]. /

Blessed is every person [who can] understand these mysteries! [... / ...] up [...] from the first to [...] / it [...]

••• 20 •••

(63,19 – 64,12)

[20] *The Chapter of / the Name of the Fathers.* /

The name 'father', as the Father of Greatness, supremely designates the ultimate God and source of all divinity. However, it can also properly be used of the derived gods in their own realms of greatness. Compare chapters 7 and 25.

[On]ce again the enlightener speaks to his disciples: The [Father / of] Greatness, as he is named; due to what reason is he given the name 'the Father / [of] Greatness'?

His disci[25][p]les say to him: We beseech you, our master, that you may enlighte/n us about this [g]reatness; for who is it that is named / 'the Father o[f G]reatness'?

Then he speaks / [to] his disciples: Now, the Father, who is the first esta/[b]lished thing, [shall be cal]led 'the Father of Greatness'. [30] His greatn[ess is the gr]eat earth where he lives, he being established / [i]n it [...] the essence of the light that swathes / all the [r]ich go[d]s and the angels and the dwellings / [...] is set over it. /

[Furthermore, they shall c]all the Third Ambassador [35] ['father'. His greatness i]s the light ship of living fire (64) [wherein he lives], he being established in it. /

[Once again, J]esus the Splendour shall himself also be called 'father'. / His [greatn]ess is the ship of living waters where he lives, / [he being established in it].

[5] [They shall] also [call] the Pillar of Glor[y] 'father'. It[s] gre[atness / ...] the five gods of hol[y ...] which [li/ve and are establ]ished in them. They [... / ...]

Again, [the] Li[ght] Mind shall be / [called] 'father'. His gre[atness] is the [holy] church; [10] becaus[e] he lives [and is established i]n it. It also / [...] in it [...] alone. They / [... li]ght.

••• 21 •••

(64,13 – 65,13)

/ [C]oncerning the Father of Gr[eat]ness: [15] [ho]w he is established and / determined. /

The kingdom of light is a manifestation of the Father himself, which he pervades by his qualities or limbs. The kingdom is variously described in the texts, which have difficulty reconciling the sets of five and twelve that structure Mani's system.

Once [again] the apostle [speaks] to h[is d]isciples: Hear / [this lesson t]hat I will recount to you. Very great is / [land of] light*[24] in the presence of they who will hear and kno[20]w it, due to the first Father of Greatness. How he ex/[ists and is] established in his five light limbs, which are / [... the store]houses that have neither limit nor measure to the[m / ...] mind, thought, insight, counsel and [consid/eration ...] his twelve light limbs that [25] are his twelve wisdoms. Now, there are five great light lim[bs] / in each one [...] five grea[t] / springs of praise gush for[th ...] five great / [...] lig[ht ...] /

The first is his light that enlig[htens ...] it gushed [30] forth from him and pour[ed ...] a[ll] aeons. /

The second is the perfume of the [...] / and pervades all the aeons of greatness. /

The third is his living voice of [... / ...] all his aeons [...]

[35]The fourth is his [...]-ness [... (**65**) ... gus]hes forth from him [... o]ut [...] /

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*[24] Suggested reading: ⲡⲕⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ

The fif[th] is his great glorio[us ...] that [..., w]/hich [has been ma]nifested all the tim[e], whi[ch contin]ues [...] / all of them. It was sculpted in them [...] [5] se[a]led in the[m ...] sea[led ...] / as they send [...] in [... / ...] they too receive nourishment [...] immediately [... his] / living voi[ce ...] joy [...] / set up anew. It shall gush forth from it [...] [10] they shall [...] and become rich in the [...] / too is beautiful [...] portray[al ...] / adornment [...] and they live [... / ...] for ev[e]r. /

••• 22 •••

(65,14 – 66,27)

[15] *[... / ...] the Land of Light. /*

The theme of the previous kephalaion is here continued with a description of the land of light.

[...] in the great land of greatness / [... a]s I will reveal to you [... [22] ...] above. /

[... f]ace is [... / ... [25] ...] living / [... / fr]om [... / ...] upon him. /

[...] light and [30] [... / ...] face / [... (**66**) ...] out; he has [... f]ace of the [...] / in the [...] now fi[ve ...] of prais[e ... / ...] in the [...] living [am]bros[i]a [...] / five [...] compound [...] they become an image [5] [...] the li[v]ing air [...] also living. [As] / those five shall [...] from all the contests of the greatness / [...] and a beautiful [...] to the limbs of their body / [... w]hich exists [...] the land of light; their / [... l]ife. Just as all the gods and the rich ones and the [10] [angels w]ho were summoned came from the Father, so also / all [the moun]tains [...] springs and trees / [...] gush forth [...] great is / a [...] every thing that you [... / ...] neither water nor [...]

[15] These ar[e ...] which [... / ...] /

The [...]-th [...] great light, the living air [... / ... in which the aeons of grea]tness dwell, being established therein. [... / ... ang]el[s] that [... [22] ...] and the [... / ...] the gi[fts] of the great Father [... / ... [25] ...] in the [...] /

Blessed is whoever will k[now ... / ...]

••• 23 •••

(66,28 – 70,7)

/ [...] [30] which [...] /

Mani begins by telling his disciples that no one can explain the ultimate origin of the two eternal kingdoms, for no prior power has been revealed (66.31 – 67.20). However, the apostle can preach about the time from when the darkness first stirred against the light, to attack it. Thus begins the history of war and conflict (67.20 – 30).

The essence of darkness stirred into the thought of death, and spread and generated the hideous warring powers through its five elemental worlds. These are the five trees that bear evil fruit (67.31 – 68.28). The chief ruler then took charge of his powers; and, noticing the light, conspired to attack (68.29 – 32 and ff.).

The Father of Greatness knows that death can not be allowed to intrude into the eternal land of light; and thus must emanate the gods to take the conflict to the darkness and into the arena of mixture. The plan that will ensure ultimate victory is entrusted to the living soul (the five sons of the First Man), for it will destroy evil from within, using that uncontollable lust that is at the heart of death. Therefore, the First Man puts on his sons as garments, or as armour in preparation for the war (68.33 – 70.7).

O[nc]e again it happened [... / ... / ... / ...] essence in [... [35] a]s I have told y[ou ... / ...] is the land of [... (**67**) ... / ...] and [...] / their last.

What the essence of [...] / no person could re[cou]nt or unveil [or say how it] [5] exists [... f]or ever [...] / all [...] and [...] unve[i]l / [...] etern[ity ...] great [...] / again and the [...] tend [...] / the beginning of eter[nity] and the end [...] [10] set th[at one] down. /

Now, my [...] the land of d[eath ... / ... nat]ure of the essence [... / ...] which exists [... for e]/ver and ever [...] [15] in [...] / with one another.

As for the eternity of [... / ...] which exists from ever, no person is able to / [understand] how they exist. For no other power / [is manifes]ted to them, in that it might speak or recount about their [origin*[25]], [20] how [they e]xist. However, from the time w/[hen

*[25] Perhaps read ἀρχή

it] stirred itself and rose up against the light [... / ...] it might come and rule over the land of the living. /

[The Fi]rst Man came forth against it and prevented it, [he k/ept] it apart from the house of the living. He prevented i[25][t]. From that time, when the light was mixed with / [the] darkness, and life [wi]th death, there was a measure of approval and an ability / [for the] first-born [and the a]postle[s] to teach about it. They spe/[a]k and unveil how the reproach and the fight did hap/[pen], [how] the light [was] entwined with the darkness, which they [30][...] life in death. /

[... after it] stirred itself in its essence, its th/[ought ...] in its own land. It [... / ...] the entire land of darkness in its [... / ...] of light in the abyss. For (**68**) [...] essence in [i]t [... / ...] because a [...] they reckoned [... / ...] on its side [...] this first nature / [...] it, bec[ause i]ts body is made strong [5] [... more] than the Adamant [...] every [...] as it exists / [in the univer]se.

[...] of death [... / ...] envy, which [...] the land of [darkness / ... consi]deration in [...] wickedness / [...] for as it [...] the wounds [...] against this land [10] [...]

Then he will run [... f]rom the land / [...] darkness. It drew [...] his members / [...] is deep [... / ... / ...] in them.

[15] [...] every [...] It spread itself o[ut. It] generated itself / [of the five dark elements]; which [are] sm/oke, fire, wind, water and darkness. [... / ...] sprouted trees. It came up [... / ...] it formed its own self in the [... [20] ...] it generated its own self with its birth [in] / numerous [emana]tions, not resembling each other; [in] / the storehouses of its abyss, many [dark] creatures / [...] destroyers and dragons an[d] evil [beas/ts]. It was established and {}*[26] and grew strong [... [25] ...] in the ugly forms of those in the darkness [...] / dark, and by the [...] impetuosity, by their wickedness an[d] / hatred they slaughter [...] / each other as they war with one another. /

Then the counsel of their ruler humbled [it]s world an[d] [30] its

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*[26] ϱϵϝ Vycichl 1983:286 suggests 'apparaître, fleurir'.

powers. It sensed the essence of the [light ... / ...] It conspired to wage a war [...] / with the exalted kingdom and the [...] /

However, he, the Father of Great[ness ... (**69**) ...] / it also knew [... w]/ar, to disturb the [land of] light [...] / in the wisdom of his [...]-ness [...] [5] he transformed himself against it [... / ...] against it. /

Indeed, at t[hat t]ime [... / ... / ... [10] ...] / go agains[t ...] God [...] /

[... fr]om its [... p]/oured it out [... i]n the elemen[ts]: in the smoke, / the fi<re>, the win[d], the water and the darkness. It came up from the [great] [15] d[epth], it being set in the trees [... / ...] against it.

Also, at the time when it generated itself / [...] it formed the fruits, it still being set in t/hem. They summoned the five garments, the sons of the Fir[st] / Man.

And at the time when it generated its own self [20] [f]rom the fruits through its offspring, they fell upon the earth and [...] / strength from the elements and were nourished by them. [... / ...] wickedness, together with cruelty [...] / in the ruler, the leader of all the demons. He hum[bled] / his worlds and his powers; he gathered them all in [to [25] hi]m. He made himself ready for the battle; he set himself [to / the] war with that light earth, and the great / King who dwells in it.

At that very moment / the First Man approached his garments, the gods / [who sh]ine forth. He spoke with them, that he might entrust to them a [... [30] ...] he [reve]aled to them and taught them about everything that [... / ...] them. He assumed them. He arranged them [... / ... He] draped them over one another upon his li[mbs ... (**70**) ... / ... d]anger, it [... / ...] the heights of the earth [... / ...] with all its powers [5] [... beg]inning, it being immeasurable / [... / ...]

••• 24 •••

(70,8 – 76,14)

10 *[... / ...] /*

This chapter is concerned with the measurement of time and eternity; and consequently with the question of why apostles can speak of certain episodes in the history, but not of those others that are eternal. In this it is linked to the opening question of the previous kephalaion. Chapter 24 appears also to be composite, with series of textual material loosely strung together on these related themes.

70.12 – 72.27 The duration and process of emanating the Great Spirit, the First Man, and his five sons; from the Father. It is notable that the Mother of Life is in part distinguished here from the Great Spirit (71.25) who comes into existence prior as the female archetype of the divine.

72.28 – 73.3 The other gods were also emanated at the same time.

73.4 – 74.9 Apostles can speak of the middle time, the history of descent and ascent; because it is temporal in contrast to the twin eternities of the beginning and the end.

74.9 – 75.10 The parallel process of evil emanation from Matter.

75.11 – 76.3 A list of six related points; but the exact context is unclear.

76.4 – 14 Reiteration of the theme about time and eternity.

[...] a great ju[d/ge ...] now also a ti[me ...] that they sculpt/[ed ... he was revea]led in the Father, the first est[ab]lished thing.

W[he15n ...] the two summonses that he called [... / ...] the Mother of Life [... / ...] a long duration in the first Father [... / ...]

For someone, if he might set a measure and rule / [...] the earth {particles}*27 and the {pebbles}*28 of the mountains and 20 [... of the] s[e]a and the body of the firmaments. Should they be po[ured / ...] the body of the four mountains and the three ve[s]/sels that [s]urround the universe; if they shall al[l] be poured out / [...] these fine {granules}*29. /

Happen you know that the grains of the earth {particles} are measurable, [and those of] 25 the [entire] uni[verse]. It is possible to count the {particles} of the earth eac[h] / ye[a]r [...] the sand

*27 ⲕⲁⲏⲁ Cf Vycichl 1983:76 – 77.
*28 ⲁⲁⲟⲗⲉ
*29 ⲙⲉⲥⲁⲏⲥ

grains of the entire universe; / but the duration of the time that the Great Spirit spent in the Father, [the] / first established thing, one will not be able to make a count of it!

He first / sculpted her like this. He established her in his inner storehous[es] [30] in quiet and silen[c]e. When [they had] / need of her she was called and came forth of the Father [of Greatness]. / She looked at all her aeons of lig[ht]!

Once again, from the time when she was called to [...] (**71**) go to [...] she gave [...] / upon his [bod]y [...] al[l] the aeons [...]; / she also [...] all of them. This [is also the case] / with the First Man.

This is how the Man [5] spent a long time being anointed in the Mother, set fast in her / inner storehouses [...] the extent of time that I have rec[ounted] / to you; from when the First Man went d[own to] / the contest, till the time when the [Statue (?) co]mes i[n ...] / this time [... [10] ...] he appeared [... / ...]

Ag[ain], from when he was / [c]alled and came forth, till the time when he [himse]lf call[ed / the five] shining [gods] who are his sons; they / themsel[ves also spent a long] time existing in their father! [15] I[t is the ti]me that occured from the coming down of the Fi/[rst Man] till the going up of the Last Statue. The f/[ive god]s spent this much duration being anointed in the First Man. / Yet, [at the] t[i]me when they were awaited, they were called and came [f]orth. /

Listen also to this, how I would teach you it. At the [20] time when the Mother of Life was called from the Father of Greatness, / when she expelled herself and came down by her [o]wn [wish], / from the heights of the Father to the earth, [she would spend / thousands of] years and many ten thousands until she reached the earth. / [Fo]r there is no measure nor rule to the heights of the Father. Rather, [just as] [25] he had called her in his Great Spirit, so he set her upon / [the] land of greatness thr[ou]gh one of these three that are counted to the twe/[lv]e hidden ones withi[n] the light veil, the ones / [esta]blished after the [...] region of the south. /

[The] matter of the Mother [of L]ife is like this. When [30] [the Fath]er called her he established her in the place he pleased, /

[to] establish her there as the instruction of the people that / [...] many [...]; and she examined everywhere that / [...] a blink of an eye, or like a (**72**) [...] bir[d ... / ...] This also is lik[e / ... the] Mother of Life in [...] whenever / [...] cast her out [... u]pon her to the place [... 5 ...] him. He perfected her in his Great Spirit and set her in / [the place he pl]eased, according to [his wi]ll. /

[Th]is [also is how] they called the [five g]ods from the [Fi/rst Man. They were se]t befo[re him], as he wished that [... / ... 10 ... / ... / ... / ...]-ness [...] / down, that they would rule in them [...] 15 one another. He ordered and distributed them [... / ...] the son. He stripped himself of them [...] and he [... / ...] he girt and bound himself to [...] / in a [...] of silence upon the border of the earth [... A]/gain, he too, the First Man, spent a long period and [time] 20 until he gave power to his sons; until he assu[m]/ed them. After he came to wear them he stood fast in the hei/ghts between the borders. Again, he spent a duration and ti/[me] like this, corresponding to such amount and measure as the rain/drops and dew and falls of mist that come down in 25 the universe. This is how he spent this duration also, [stand]/ing between the borders, until the hour when he cast himself [d]/own to the contest! /

Whenever the Father of Greatn[e]ss [calle]d the Great Spir[it] / and the First Man and the gods [of] the glorious one, who are provide[d to] 30 enable them to reveal him; at that ve[ry ti]me [he] / sculpted the Great Builder in the [land of] light, [and] / the Living Spirit with the might[y] and active gods who came [from] / him. Also, at that time, he sculpted the [Amb]/assador, with Jesus the Splendour and the Vi[r]gi[n] of Lig[ht] 35 and the Pillar of Glory, and the gods who [came from them. (**73**) All these the Father of Greatness sculpted at] / a single time. They came for[th of] one another, one after on/e; the time when [...] and the work./

[...] to recount it to you [...] 5 from the time when the da[rkness] raised itself up to / [...] essence of the light / [...] these three emanations / [...] from the [w]ill of the Father against the enemy [... / ...] he has [... 10 ...] darkness [... / ...] according to the will [... / ... / ... / ...] the universe [... 15 ...] in it [...] separate out [... / ...] rest him in which way, and he rejoices [... / ... i]n his kingdom; until [the time when / the face] of the Father will be unveiled over

[all] the gods / of glory, and all the rich ones of [... the em]anations who came forth against the enemy. /

[From] that time when he sculpted these three [... / ...] till the time when the Father would unveil his face, / [and they g]o in to his hidden storehouses, and he calls them / [...] establishes each one of them to [his place. There is no measure nor ru]le to this period until that time.

It is po[ss]ible / [for] all [the teachers] and saviours and apostles of / greatness, that they can speak and reveal about what has / [ha]ppened and what will happen; but before [... / ...] they are sculpted in heaven there is no possibility for any apost[le] a[nd teacher] to proclaim about this beginning, because / [...] for ever. Nor also is it possible for [al]l the apo/[stles] and teachers to be able to speak and revea[l / ...] the time when all the fathers (**74**) [of lig]ht [go in to the hid]den (places) of the Father, and [dw]/ell [...] power in them to i[t]s / [...] of God [...]; because it exists for e/ver. It is continuous till the a[e]ons. It has no time to the end; but their establishme[nt ...] et/ernal is their life [... gener]ation by generation. /

[If] a person [s]hall ask [...] an/d about th[a]t etern[a]l end [...] in the devastation / [...]

However, [... ...] to enable him to recoun[t ... / ...] who asks him [... / ...] of the disciples [... / ...] because [... / ...] and he gives [... ...] about this Matter, this though[t of death ... / ...] which I have told you; for [this] is the way that [... / ...] came up to its storehouses. It has [... / ...] in its five elements. Again, it also [... / ...] the period and the time that it spent, until it rev[eal]ed itself to its elements, before it came to the trees. It spent / a great period and a long time established [... / ...] before it came up to the trees. It was [...] / in the trees. It spent a long time and duration [...] / existing in them, before it sculpted the fru[its ... ...] and sculpted the fruits. Again, it spent a long [time] / in the fruits. Not little is the period and the tim[e that it / spent] existing in the fruits, before it sculpted [... / ...] after a long time [...] the d[emon]s / of its five worlds in various forms [can not (?)] be measured [...] in p[erfec]tion of the fruits in the de[mons] / and fiends. They fell upon their earth and [...] / were nourished. Not little is the period

that they [spent in the wo]/rlds, until they were nourished [a]mong[st ... (**75**) ...] to make [... / ...] t[h]at [l]and which shin/[es], and the great [King] who dwells there.

[Y]/ou know that [...] that in [... 5 ...] at the time when he / [... i]ts essence. It assumed / [... Mat]ter [...] to the war [... / ...] the Perfect Man. / [From the time] when the [wa]r occured [... 10 ...] /

[The first is ... h]e came to be in some [... / ...] when they ensnared a [...] /

[The second is ...] that h[e] built [... / ... the] universe was established. The zone [... 15 ...] down until the time when it will be / [dissolved].

The third is the [... / ...] the things and the universe will [... / from the] time when they were established there, till the time [when] / their end will be complete and their existence ceases [...]

20 [The f]ourth is the dissolution when they will dissolve the universe / [th]ere, and all things are destroyed. Obliteration / [reaches] them in that great fire, [which wi]ll burn them for fourteen / [hundred] and sixty-eight years. /

[The fift]h is the way that the Last Statue will be sculpted 25 [from] the remnant of all th[in]gs. The light separates / [ou]t to its place, and goes up and rules in its kingdom. / However, [the da]rkness [...] and they take it in to the tomb [... / ... and t]hey are bound with it in an et[ernal] chain. / Now, from [the tim]e when this first war 30 occured, till the [ti]me of this chain [...] these five things [... / ...] li[g]ht. /

[The six]th: From the time when it stirred and raised itself / [up in its] land, till the time of its chaining, it is possible / [for the apostles and the] chosen and the teachers to speak and recount (**76**) about it. However, before [...] / from it out of the powers [... / ...] and measure it; because it is eternal. /

[From the time] when it will be taken in to the chaining and bound 5 [in] the lump [...] / to give to it. No pe[rson] is able [...] /

the apostle and the teacher is enabled to [...] / chaining is eternal [in the] lum[p ... / ...] {}*30. From the time when [... 10 ...] with one anothe[r, till] the t[ime ... / one] another; and eac[h one ... / ...] fetter [... / ...] and they proclaim about the [...] / time and period.

••• 25 •••

(76,15 – 76,25)

/ [Concerning the Advent of Five Fathers / from the Five Limbs of the Father]. /

Once again the apostle speaks concerning [the advent of five fathers / fro]m the Father, one after another. [He] speaks t[hu]s: 20 [The Ambas]sador [came] from his mind; the Beloved of the Lights / [from his thought]; the Mother of Life from his insight; [Jesus] / the Beloved from his counsel; the Virgin of Lig[ht f]/rom his consideration.

So in this way were summone[d these five] / fathers. These five advents came from the five limbs [of the Father]. 25 One came from another and was manifested in its season.

••• 26 •••

(76,26 – 77,21)

/ Concerning the First Man and the Ambassa/dor and the Ship; what they resemble. /

Mani frequently used parables and similes in his teaching. However, the miscellaneous set of five in this kephalaion have little coherence beyond the concept of redemption. Their collection here evidences that the original contexts have been lost during a period of textual transmission.

76.29 – 34 The First Man rescues his treasure, his sons (the living soul), from the powers of darkness.

76.34 – 77.3 The significance of the two sons (usually five) and the two powers is unclear.

77.4 – 7 The Great Spirit has its throne in the sun (see 82.30 – 31); and its role is to beautify and to set matters in order (see 79.29 – 30 102.27).

*30 ⲧⲘⲏⲧⲉ

77.8 – 10 The Living Spirit redeems the First Man.
77.11 – 16 The Third Ambassador is the principal god of redemption. The living soul is continually reborn in the material forms in which it is imprisoned.

Once again he speaks: The First [Man] is like a grea[t] distinguished man wh[ose treasu]re has been taken away from him. H[e came] / to pursue his treasure. This [is] how the [First] / Man too came after his sons [f]rom the heights, [so that he] / might redeem*[31] them and retrieve his treasure, which had been scattered among[st] / his enemies.

Once again, [he is like a man] whose two sons were taken away from him by [... He] / came out toward them to redeem them. [Again, this is how (**77**) the F]irst Man [...] shines in the heights because of h[is] / two sons, who were separa[t]ed from him. They are his / living soul that exist in two powers, which makes four. /

[Once] again, the ship [of the day] is like a great spear [... ... The Grea]t Spirit too, which is in it, / is like a wise [crafts]man who might beautify and / set aright [all] the armou[r] for war. /

Once again, the Living Spirit is like a combatant / who might go towards a king's [so]n who has been taken prisone[r of war], and he redeems him [from the] hands of his enemies. /

[The Amba]ssador to[o] is like a great man / [...] because of the treasure / [...] hand of his priso[ners / ...] these light powers [... ... the] sons and their soul, so that they would [... / ... (the soul) might] be brought forth in the land [wherein it] was imprisoned. /

Again he turned, and he says to his discip/[les]: You yourselves must be purifiers and re[dee]/mers of your soul, which is established in every place, so that y[ou may be counted] to the [c]ompany of the fathers of light [... / ...] of the kingdom in the new aeon, in the place of joy.

*31 Reading: ⲥⲱⲧⲟⲩ for ⲥⲱⲧϥⲟⲩ: 'purify them'.

••• 27 •••

(77,22 – 79,12)

/ Concerning the Five Forms that exist / in the Rulers of Darkness.

Compare chapter 6.

25 [Once agai]n, the apos[tle] is sitting among the congregation. He says [to] / his disciples: Cons[id]er the ruler, the leader of all the powers / [of dark]ness. Now, f[ive forms] exist in his body, corresponding to / (the archetype)*32 [of the five] creations that exist in the five / [wo]rlds of darkness.

Indeed, his head is lion-faced, wh30[ich] came about from [the] world of fire. His wings and his / [shoulders] are eagle-faced, after the likeness of the children of the wind. / [His hands] and [h]is feet are daemons, after the likeness / [of the children] of the [w]orld of smoke. His belly is [dragon]-faced, / [after the likeness of the] world of darkness. His tail [is the] (78) form of the fish , which belongs to [the world of the ch]ildren of water. These [five] / shapes are in him, and [they came] from the five [creations] / of the five worlds of darkness.

[S]hould he wish, h[e shall walk / on] his two feet [...] world of [sm5oke]. Also, when he wants, he shall [... f]our [...] / on his hands and feet [...] like [the] children of f[ire]. / Sh[ou]ld he wish, he shall rise up on h[is] wings, like the children of / the [wind]. Also, should he wish, he shall [plun]ge down to the waters / [like the] children of water. Again, shoul[d he w]ish, he shall crawl on 10 his [bell]y like the children of dark[ness. These] five shapes are / i[n hi]m.

Also, there are three other (qualities) in h[im.

The first]t: / [...] his powers [...] /

The second: Shall a [...] / his magic arts. When he [wishes, he shall make an invocation over 15 himself], and hide from his

*32 Lit. '[the appearance] of the seal'.

powers*33. [When he wants], / he shall show himself to them and strike a [death]-blow [by his] / magic arts. Any word he might utter at that moment, he shall [wreak magic] / by it.

The third: His body is strong, a[l]l [...] / nails and claws of his powers are not able to penetra[te it]. [20] No iron nor copper body will equal hi[m ...] / they will not be able to destroy him, because he was formed and fash[ion]ed / from the hard hearted counsel of Matter, the mother of d[emons and] / fiends.

Again, there are three others in him.

Wh[en he wants], / his fire shall {blaze}*34, and his entire body be made like the [... of] [25] fire.

Also, when he wishes, he shall send out / frost, and his entire body freezes like a [... of] / snow.

The third: Whenever his powe[rs are sto]/od before him, he shall look at them and understand; for [whatever ex]/ists in their heart he shall understand, what is in th[eir heart] [30] and their face so long as they are stood before him. W[hen] / they retreat before him and distance themselves from him, [he shall not und]/erstand what is in their heart. There is no life [in him] / whatsoever, but his 'life' is the bile of [anger] that is app[arent] / on his face and in his fear. Shall a [... (**79**) ...] destruction that is establ[ished be]fore him.

Behold, do not [lay up/on] yourselves, my beloved ones, the shapes of this ruler, the ro/ot of [all] piercing evils and the camp / of every ugliness. Hold yourselves secure [5] from his midst and [h]is wicked teachings that dwell in your / body; so that they may not agree with you and ruin your sweet/ness, nor transform your truths to a lie. /

Rather, do you become zealous and perfect / in the presence of the Mind of truth that has been manifested to you, [so] [10] that you may [...] and they draw you [... u]/p to the he[ights. And you inhe]rit [li]fe for [ever / and] ever.

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*33 Cf 31.30 which has the same phrase. The powers are subsidiary demons.

*34 ⲙⲉⲕⲣⲉ

••• 28 •••

(79,13 – 81,20)

/ [Concerning the T]welve [15] *Judges [of] the Father. /*

While the Father of Greatness is the transcendent and eternal Judge, twelve of the emanated gods act as judges as they take their roles during the course of the history. Mani instructs his followers similarly to walk in the path of righteousness.

[O]nce again] he s[peaks] to his disciples: Twelve jud[ges / ex]ist; the great mighty givers of judgement! They were sen[t and / came] from the [ex]alted greatness to this place. They were assigned to different wo[rk]s / according to the command that the Judge, who belongs to the great[ness], [20] [en]trusted to all these judges. Now he, [the gr]ea[t / Ju]dge, he who transcends all the judges, who exists and [/ is e]stablished in the aeons of greatness; [he] is the Father of [Greatness]. /

[The fir]st judge is the First Ma[n, he w]ho humiliated [the ruler / of Darkness in the] beginning. He judged him ac[cording to a ju]dgement of righteousn[25][ess]; for he had exalted himself [against a kingdom] that [was not] his own. /

[The se]cond judge is the Living Spirit, he who came and bore / up the Man. [He t]oo [made] a judgement on a[ll] the powers [of] /darkness; which had woun[ded] the garments of the First Man./

[The th]ird judge [is the] Mother of Life, the Great Spirit, [she who [30] beauti]fied and set up [the] heavenly part of [the un]iverse, [according to / her] pleasure; which [...] her. She j[udged] the rulers / [abov]e; she f[ettered] and set them firmly in the place / [that is fitting for them.

The fo]urth [judge] is the Great Bu/[ilder, he who built the] new aeon of joy. He [35] [judged, according to a judgement of righte]ousness, the [storeho]uses of the [enemy]; (**80**) that death may not well up from this time on. He has constructed a prison for the / enemy. Also, upo[n] the crown [of the] building he has constructed a / throne for the First Man and all the fathers of

light; / they who engaged the struggle with the evil one and were victorious over him.

The [fif]th [j]udge is the great King of Honour, he who dwells / and is established in the seventh firmament. He is the jud/ge of all the firmaments who gives a true judgement, according to / [a] judgement of righteousness, upon all the powers and all the [king]doms / [of the] firmaments.

The sixth judge is [the Th]ird Ambassador, he who came and displayed / [his image]. He purified the light [...] which his own / [...] also of the enemy, he has [... /

The seventh judge is ... /...] the worlds [... as he gives the victory to] they who are steadfast; but he condemns the on[es who are convicted ... / ...] he shall become for them the steps of the way (?) [...]; / but the convicted he sweeps and ca[sts out / to the] depths.

The eighth judge is Jesus the [Spl/endour], the father of all the apostles; because after [the Am]bassador had displayed his image and the l[i]gh[t] was taken / [...] a mass of rulers rose up from abov[e] / and below. Then they sent Jesus the Splendour. He came [... / ...] he descended and made a judgement in the / [firmaments. He separated] the steadfast [from] the convicted.

The ninth judge i[s the Vir]/gin of Light, [she who took the heart] of the powers by [her] / image, gathering her own ones in to her. She mak[es] / a judgement on the ruler of the moist, and the ru[ler] / of the dry.

The tenth judge is [the Jud]ge who dwells in the atmosphere, judging all mankind. He [ma]/kes a separation between they who are good and they who are evil, setting [apart] / the righteous from the sinners. /

The eleventh judge is the Light Mind, he w[ho shall] / come and appear in the world. And he [choos]es the holy c[hur]ch, and he unveils [...] / and separates light from [darkness, and sets the truth apart from] (**81**) lawlessness.

The twelfth judge is the great / counsel, which is the summons and the obedience, which is appointed in / the elements. It is the

one that makes a separation between / the good and the evil ones. At the end also it can gather itself together [5] and sculpt its own self in the Last St/atue. And it separates [light] from [darkness]. /

These are the twelve great and mighty judges who / were sent. They came from the great Judge, he who transcends / all the judges. He is the Father that is hidden and [immeasurable], [10] the one who exists; who is established in the aeons of gre[atn]ess [upon] / the great throne of honour, which is the King of Ho[nour / ...] in his kingdom. /

[I am telling] you [about this], my beloved ones, so that you / [yourselves may w]alk in true heart on this path o[f [15] righteous-n]ess that I have revealed to you. Judge, / according to a true judgement, as judges of righteousness! / May a brother speak with his brother in truth; so that / when you depart (the body) you can receive the victory from these / twelve great judges, and go to rest [20] in this place of rest for ever.

••• 29 •••

(81,21 - 83,16)

/ Concerning the Eighteen great / Thrones of all the Fathers. /

There are nine thrones established for the great gods in the eternal realm. Another nine are appointed in this universe, the arena of conflict, and thus of loss and redemption. The last of these thrones is that upon which the apostle of a particular time sits; and Mani illustrates to his audience that he is now occupying it.

[On]ce again he speaks to his disciples: Eighteen [25] [great thrones for all the fathers] exist and are appointed, which are es/[ta]blished in eighteen places! While there are nine among them / [appointed in] the outer aeons, they ex[is]t / [i]n all the worlds of the damage. /

[The fir]st throne is the throne of the Father, the God of [30] [trut]h, the King of the aeons of greatness, the one who exists; who is esta/[blished ...] he alone, in his own essen[c]e, / [... he ap]art. This is the first throne / [...] the one that surpasses all the thrones.

(**82**) The second throne is that of the [gl]orious Mother of Life. / She is the origin of all the emanations that have come / to this world.

The third throne is / constructed for the father, the First Man. He is the one who [5] humiliated the entire first enmity, which existed in the / worlds of darkness.

The fourth throne is / that of the Beloved of the Lights, the great honoured Beloved o/f the aeons of greatness.

The fifth throne / is that of the glorious Great Builder; the great architect [10] who built the new aeon for a newn[ess], for [a ...] / for [the] fathers of light; also for a place of binding [and] a pri/son for the enemy and his powers.

[The sixth thro]n[e] / is that of the Living Spirit, the [glorious] mighty one, he who bore / up the First Man out from the [land of darkness]; [15] who also set in order and constructed the world[s ...] / both for a cleansing of the light, [and] for a binding [of the] / powers of the enmity.

The seventh th[rone is] / that of the Third Ambassador, the king of the zone, also the / master of all advices.

[20] The eighth throne is that of Jesus the Splendour, who [is] / the releaser and redeemer [of] all souls. /

The ninth throne is the throne of the great M[ind, he to whom] / all the churches shall gather; and all the [life] / that will be purified from the world returns to him.

[25] These are the nine thrones of ho[no]u[r] appointed in the outer aeo[ns], <which are established> / for the fathers of the glorious realm; [in the kingdom of the King of] / Honour, for ever and ever, amen. /

In contrast, these are the other nine thrones that are appointed in this world o[f] / the zone.

Three thrones in the ship of [the d][30]ay: one is that of the Ambassador, the second i[s that of] / the Great Spirit, the third is that of the Living Spirit. /

Once again, there are another three in the ship that [belongs to the night]: / the first is the throne of Jesus the Splendour, [the second is that of] / the First Man, the third is tha[t of the Virgin of] (**83**) Light. These six thrones are established in the two ships. /

Also, the seventh throne is established in the sev/enth firmament. The great King of Honour si/ts upon it.

The eighth throne is establis[5]hed in the atmosphere. The Judge of truth sits upon it, / he who judges all mankind. Three paths shall / be distinguished be[f]ore him: one to death, one to life, on[e] to / the mingling.

The ninth throne appointed and established is / for the [a]postle in the holy church. The apo[10]stle who has come to you at this time sits up[on it]; / thus, [as jud]ge of righteousn[ess]. They shall proclaim [true] judgem[ent] / every t[ime]!

Th[ese] are the [nin]e great [th]ro/[nes ...] that are established in this world of / [...] of the glorious realm, the one that the [... [15] ...] honour them [... / ...] and the [...]

••• 30 •••

(83,17 – 84,4)

/ Concerning the Three Garments. /

As the creator the Living Spirit establishes wind, fire and water across the entire universe. These are three garments that he carries with him; and which have to be divested and stretched over the zone from the bottom edges to the topmost point.

[On]c[e again] he speaks to his disciples: Happen you know this, [20] my beloved ones, that when the Living Spirit / came he brought the three garments; that of wind, that of fire, and / that of water. He assumed them from [...] he has / [...] in them in th[ose] three garments / [...] he established [them] for all the things of [this [25] univers]e, both above and below. He arranged them in the [... / he was displ]ayed. After[wards ...] his works / [...] the [... h]e stripped them off before / [the ri]ghteous ones.

Now, when he was about to loose[n them, / ... he] divested himself of them from their {clasp}*35 and he {}*36 and 30 [... i]n them, and thus these three g[arme]nts are arranged / [...] from below the edges of the zone as they clothe i[/t al]l [...] up [...] above [... / ... u]p [...] above them (**84**) strips them of the zone from that place at its topmost point; / and it is placed below them and ra[ised u]p to the hei/ghts above, from which it had been sent o[u]t at / their beginning.

••• 31 •••

(84,5 – 85,18)

/ Concerning the Summons, / in which Limb / of the Soul it descended to the First Man. /

This chapter discusses the relationship between the First Man, who was saved from the abyss by the Living Spirit; and his limbs or sons, the living soul that is scattered throughout the material universe. The summons is the call to salvation, and together with the answer or obedience it forms the counsel of life. This is the active will for redemption that drives the soul (see 178.1 – 5).

Mani shows that the First Man is the head upon which the soul depends for its life. Although hidden in this time and space, his presence is still with us in his image and love which is the virginal soul. The Man gathers in the soul, and builds it up, so that as his trunk it eschatologically ascends back to the land of light. This trunk is the Pillar of Glory which reunites with the First Man at its head. At the end of time it is the Last Statue.

Once again one of the teachers questioned the enlightener. He says to h[im]: 10 In which limb of [the liv]i[ng] sou[l] did [the] summons descend / [to] the Man, who exists in the [a]eon? F[o]r it is written in / the [s]criptures about the Man that he spread himself through the [...] / aeon as to a wooden house.

The [enli]ghtener speaks: / Indeed, the First Man dispersed himself and he [...] 15 limb o[f] the living soul as I have written f[or you ...] / of the living soul; he has [...] he did not know [... / ...] but the blessed, glorious Man c[a]me [in] / secret; in his

*35 ⲧⲟϯⲥⲱⲡⲉ

*36 ⲥⲁϩⲙⲉ Smagina 1990:116 suggests 'pulled off', (from ⲥⲱϩⲙ); Vycichl 1983:206 'se libérer'.

image; in his shape; in h[i]s lo/ve; in his holy virgin, she who is the v[ir]g[20]in of light, the soul of the father. /

After the fashion of this fleshly body: as the root of / all the lim[bs] hang upon the head, so that should one of / the person's limbs be cut off, while the head exists he has hope for [...] / but if his head should be cut off, the entir[e] body [w]ill d[ie] [25] and he is lost.

This is also the case for the Firs[ţ] Ma[n]. / He is the head, while his sons attach to it the l[i]mbs [of] / his soul. Or, conversely, like the l[i]ving air, on [w]/hich all flesh entirely lives as it breathes an[d ...] / therein. His head is placed on the body of the Pill[ar of Gl][30]ory in the heights of the universe.

[This i]s also the case [for] / the father, the blessed Man; as he is like the he[ad that is upon the] / body and the air that upon the Pillar is set i[n ...] / being made strong by his l[ight] virgin, [she] who is / his soul that he clothes [...] (**85**) t[h]ose [...]: the mind, thought, insight, counsel and / c[on]sideration that he produced and sent forth from / hi[m to] do his will. He sprang and travelled behind them. / [...] of his living soul, which is entwined among the rebel[5]s; as they are like the limbs of its body, and / [...] universe.

And when they were sent, / at [that ti]m[e] he was found with the Virgin of [Lig/ht an]d [he] stood up, asking and entreating for a p[o]wer*[37]. / [... he] gave him peace and a ki[ss [10] ...] he [gave] him goo[d] tidings / [... M]an. The Man him[s]elf gave [his / ... h]is limbs and gathered his soul i[n / ...] he built it in its place like this to[w]er*[38] / [...] shaped it and beautified it skillfully [... [15] ... f]or[m ...] the voices that he se[n]t / [... he] might sink in and [q]uench [... / ...] so[u]l that was crushed by the enemy. They were gathered in. They came, / [s]et firm onc[e] more, in the image of their father.

*[37] See 38.30 – 39.2
*[38] See PsBk2. 198.5 - 6

••• 32 •••

(85,19 – 86,17)

20 *Concerning the Seven Works / of the Living Spirit. /*

The Living Spirit is the principal god of the second emanation (creation), whose tasks connect the first (descent) and the third (redemption). Therefore, he saves the First Man, defeats the demons who have devoured the living soul, and constructs the universe with the use of their bodies in which there is now both light and darkness. The universe is then held in place by the five sons of the Living Spirit and a multitude of other divine powers.

It is the Living Spirit who first called out the summons to redemption that, joined with the obedience of the First Man, becomes the active will to salvation. Thus it is mixed with the five sons of the Man, the soul.

[O]nce] again the enlightener speaks: The Living Spirit has done seven / [wo]rks with his strength.

[The fi/rst]: He brought the First Man up from the contest, the way 25 a pearl is [brought] up from the sea. /

[The s]econd: He spread about the one who had rebelled, he crucified / [h]im in every body.

The third: He / [tr]ampled, piled up, and pierced the essences of death. /

[The f]ourth: He constructed the ships of light.

The fi30[ft]h: He evoked his five sons, and distributed them about. They / [took] possession of the zone, they bore up under all the uni/[vers]e's weight. Also, he evoked three living words. He set / [them] upon the th[re]e vessels, another one upon the giant. / [Again, he evoked the] summons, that it might be mixed with the five shining 35 men.

(**86**) The sixth: When he had constructed the zone he aro[se] and s[e]/nt forth a multitude of powers and many [angel]s; / so that they would bound the circuit of the z[o]ne on every si[de], / un[t]il he finished [co]nstructing the works. And at the end [of] all the [wor]5ks he to[ok s]ome of them in to his storehouses, / and he appointed others at the watch-posts. /

The [sev]enth: A[t the] time when the Ambass[ador dis]-pl/[aye]d his glorious imag[e], the L[iving] Spirit [established] / many [go]ds and angels. They [...] [10] Th[ey to]ok hold of it, that the entire building [...] not [... / ...] one another against [the] light, which he had [...] /

Also another gr[ea]t and glorious work he will enact at the e[nd] is [the] Last [Statue], / which he will bring up to the aeons of [light]; / and he [...] in, and [he ta]kes hold, and he smites [...], [15] and [he] builds, and he [...], and he [... t]hem.

[Bless/ed is he] who kn[ows] him i[n the] new [aeon], and [dwells in] that [ae]/on of glory and joy!

••• 33 •••

(86,18 – 86,30)

/ Concerning the Five Things that he [20] *constructed with the hard Bodies / of the Rulers. /*

This brief chapter follows the previous, for it discusses intricate details of the work of the Living Spirit in the construction of the universe, utilising parts of the demons that he has destoyed.

Once again the enlightener speaks: The Living Spirit constru[cted five] / great things from veins and skull[s in the] hard [bodies]. /

The first is the disc that is placed upon [the sh][25]oulder of the Porter.

The se[con]d are the arches of [the] / pillar that is before him.

[The th]ird is the [mou]/ld of the fo[r]m for the gehennas.

The fourth are the [seven (?)] / pillars that he has erected in the great sea, in [the] / seven parts of the universe.

The fifth are the four [30] walls that surround the vessels.

••• 34 •••

(86,31 – 87,13)

/ Concerning the Ten Things that the Am[bassa]/d[or] began by his Ad[vent]. /

While the Living Spirit had constructed the universe as a vast and complex machine for purification of the light, it is the advent of the Third Ambassador that begins the cycle of redemption. Now time begins, and the sun and moon revolve through the heavens; the different cosmic cogs start to move; and the various events occur that will lead to life on earth, and thus ultimately to the salvation of the soul.

Once again the enlightener speaks: The Am[bassador performed ten] [35] works by his advent.

[The first: (**87**) The] Great Builder came forth to build the new aeon. /

[The second]: The ships moved through the heights in the heavens. /

[The th]ird: The wheels begin to s[e]nd the lif[e / to] earth and the upper worlds.

The fourth: [...]

[5] [The fifth i]s the d[o]ors of the ships, that they were opened up / [...

The] sixth is the doors too [... / ... that they were opene]d to receive the waste.

The seven[th i]s / [the sin], which he had separated from the rulers by cause [of the Th/ird Amb]assa[do]r; it fell upon the earth.

[10] [The eig]hth: [Ni]ght and day were separated [... / ...]

The ninth: The abortio[ns fe]ll / [to the g]round.

[The] tenth: Transmigrations [came ab]out / [i]n [the] zone.

••• 35 •••

(87,14 – 87,29)

15 *Concerning the Four Works / of the Ambassador. /*

The displaying of the image of the Ambassador to the rulers of darkness is a crucial moment in the history of salvation, and achieves a first purification of the light that is bound up in the rulers. This leads to the establishment of the heavenly bodies; to the beginnings of life on earth; and ultimately to the completion of the salvific process in the ascent of souls to the sun and the return to the kingdom.

[O n]ce again the enlightener speaks: At the time when the Amba[s]sa/[d]or displaye[d] his image, four great wor[ks] were re/[v]ealed that are very excellent and outstanding.

20 [The f]irst is his image that he displayed in [a] / glorious [image].

The second is all the doors of the f[irm]a/[ments] that were opened at that time. They ope[n / ...] and shut behind him. /

[The t]hird is the light [a]nd the releasing that was purified by 25 his image. That lig[ht] is more than the li/[g]ht that he shall [...] /

[The f]ourth: He has [made appar]ent, by the perfection of people, his / light [s]hip. He has [...] the living soul that sho/[ne forth in] perfection and fullness over the worlds of enmity.

••• 36 •••

(87,30 – 88,33)

/ Concerning the Wheel that exists / i[n fron]t of the King of Honour. /

The King of Honour is enthroned in the seventh firmament from where he is able to control and judge all the evil powers fettered in the heavens. The wheel is here presented as a divination device by which he can know the plans and tricks of these demons as they seek to escape; but also the location of the five shining men, that is the soul mixed throughout the material universe.

[Agai]n the [apostl]e speaks about the wheel that exists in front / [of the King of Honour who dwells in] the seventh firma[35][ment ...] the root of the rulers above and (**88**) below in a great and cruel fetter; as the entire will / of the great King of Honour is placed in [it]. / Also, their entire enmity, which is in the firmaments, is [...] / and ensnared in it. It exists in a blaze of splendour [with] [5] ornamentation and great beauty. Now, there are twelve / seals in it. The seal between i[s] every [fi]/r[ma]ment and the rulers who are there [... / ...] are in it; for should one of them wish to escape, he will be bound / [...] if he should wish to cause a trick in his bond [... [10] ... will be] apparent and known in [that] wheel / [...] the spheres and stars and [the] l[ea]der of all the powers / exist there, and can be known by it; / i[n f]ront of the King of Honour. /

The twelf[t]h seal that is in it is its five [15] shining men that are conjoined and enmeshed through the entire zone; becau/se every place where they are cramped, and every place where they have s/p[ac]e, is displayed by that wheel. / For the root of all the firmaments above and be[l]/ow, and that of their rulers, is ensnared and fixed in it. The observation [20] [...] is set right at all times opposite the great King o/[f Honour ...] so that fear, wh/ich [...] will assume all the powers of mixture [... / ...] their root affixed there, so that they can not make an esc[a]pe / from the fetter of their bond. That wheel rese[m][25]bles, in this respect, a chain in front of the chief gu/ard, for when [...] in th[ose / ...] in the [... cha]in*[39].

This is / also the case for all the rulers who are in the firmaments, and every power / of the zone: If they should wish to escape, they shall be [30] recognised and revealed by that wheel. / [As] the wheel is like a great mirror, for [the di]/scrimination of all things [... is] / in it. (**89**)

*[39] Reading [ⲉⲛⲁⲧ]ⲥⲓⲥ

••• 37 •••

(89,1 – 89,17)

/ Concerning the Three Zones. /

The three 'zones' are those of the five powers of darkness, both male and female; the five sons of the First Man; and the five sons of the Living Spirit. The universe is so constructed that the first must depend upon the second, and the second upon the third. Thus the material powers are placed in the most vulnerable position, being 'hung' from soul; and the sons of the Living Spirit are in the strongest, holding the universe in place. Of these the King of Honour in the seventh firmament has a key role.

[O]nce agai]n the enlightener speaks about the Living Spirit: W/hen he built and constructed the worlds, he suspended the zones [5] on their zones, and within another zone also. The first zo/[n]e is the five powers of darkness, males and females. / This is why he hung one zone on a zone! He hung the five / powers of darkness on the five shining men, the sons of the M/[a]n; because all the enmity is entwined and bound in them. [10] Also, within the zone are the five sons of the / [Living] S[pirit; b]ecause the entire edifice is suspended from them, it being [... / ... he]ard (?) him too, the oth[ers ... / ...] after them. And this is the one who came to [... / ... the fi]rmaments above [... [15] ...] which is in one zone, is the great [King of Honour] / who e[xists ...] within the [... / ...] of the universe.

••• 38 •••

(89,18 – 102,12)

/ Concerning the Light Mind and [20] the Apostles and the Saints. /

This long and complex chapter demonstrates the correlation between the macrocosmos and the microcosmos of the human body. The prodigious gods and demonic beings who inhabit Mani's worlds are here integrated with the more accessible workings of religious psychology. These insights into the life of the community aid an understanding of the appeal and success of Manichaeism.

89.21 – 90.14 A disciple asks Mani a series of questions about the Light Mind, the god who enters into the believer and transforms the old man

into the new man. How can this happen, and why does the old man continue to rebel? He also asks Mani about his apostolate.

90.15 – 92.8 Mani begins his discussion with the macrocosmos. The universe is constructed in the form of a human. Its life and soul are the five sons of the First Man. The five sons of the Living Spirit are the intellectual qualities, who act as sleepless guardians, each firmly established in its place. The summons and the obedience, that is the active will to salvation personified in Jesus the Youth, become the sixth sons of each. The Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man, is the Mind in the universe.

92.9 – 94.16 The five sons of the Living Spirit each have their appointed watch-districts. Yet, demonic rebellions have occured in each during the course of cosmic history; and have had to be dealt with by various gods.

94.17 – 95.1 Similarly the Light Mind dwells in the human body, and needs to deal with the treachery of sin manifested by the old man who still lies bound within. Mani assures his listeners that despite the recurrence of evil the powers of light know the final victory; and thus always act for the good.

95.2 – 10 Mani briefly answers the disciple's question as to how the mighty Light Mind can live in this small fleshly body.

95.10 – 97.24 Sin constructed the human body from evil matter. Yet, its soul is divine, being taken from the five sons of the First Man. The five intellectual qualities were bound in the body and overlaid by corresponding evil qualities. This led the soul into error and forgetfulness of its true origin. When the Light Mind comes it frees the divine qualities, binds the evil ones, and imprisons sin. Thus the believer is transformed into a new man.

97.24 – 99.17 Nevertheless, sin can rebel and cloud the intellectual qualities, leading the believer once again into error. Mani explains the process by which such a person may gradually come to turn against the true faith, despite the love and support of church leaders and friends.

99.18 – 100.17 Mani emphasises to his disciple that he has now explained the workings of the Light Mind in the body, whose role corresponds to that of the watch-keepers in the macrocosmos. By purifying the spiritual intellect the elect can ascend in their hearts to God the Father, and know everything.

100.19 – 102.3 Mani now turns to the disciple's final question about his apostolate; and explains how he, although a solitary man against the world, has been victorious over all the kings and earthly powers. Thus he has achieved more than all previous apostles, excepting only Jesus.

102.4 – 12 The disciples thank Mani and promise to be strong in their faith.

[O]nce again, at one of the times, a disciple questioned the [apostle] / saying to him: You have told us that the / Light Mi[nd] is this one who shall come and assume the saints. [You sai/d] it to us like this: He too is one among the gods [... [25] ...] many gods are with him. You have also told / us: [W]hen he enters withi[n the body / of] the flesh and binds the ol[d ma]n with his five counsels, he / [set]s his five [couns]els upon him in the five limbs / [of his] body.

[So], no[w], where is he? In that the old man is chained in the bo[30]dy! For I see how rebellions arise there despite / his bondage, from ti[me] to time.

Also, secondly, I a/[s]k you: If then he is a great God, unchanging and im/measurable, how could he come and appear in the smallness of the bo/[dy]?

The third thing I want you to recount to [35][me ...] a holy one is the Mind, and he is pure; / [...] the defilement of this body?

(**90**) Fourthly: If truly the Light Mind exists in [the s]/aints, why is his likeness not displayed to us, the way th/at he is?

The fifth thing I want, for / you to tell me and explain about your apostola[te]. [5] Look, it is not clear to me! For they oppress / and persecute you in the world. /

I entreat you: Can you persuade me about these things that I have asked you? /

T[hen] he speaks to that disciple: My en[tire] revelati[on], / which I have unveiled, I have declared to my chu[r][10]c[h]. In your presence! This one alone among [... / ...] him.

This disciple says [to the apost]/l[e]: All that you have unveiled you have [...] / in our presence. Yet, I wanted to kno[w ... the] / L[igh]t Mind, the way that he is.

[15] Then the apostle says to him: If I shall repeat [... / ...] to you about these things that you are so set upon, and they become true [f]/o[r] you after you are so set upon them, will you understand what you [... / ...]? On your account I will give vision to they who see! I will / make the living fountain overflow for the thirsty, that they may drink and [l]iv[e].

[20] Then speaks the apostle to him: All the error, when the / en[e]my of the lights constructed it, he constructed after the likeness of / a man. The head of the universe is the beginning of the garments. / [H]is neck is the nape of the garm[ents]. His stomach [is / the] five unfolded ones (?), which a[re ...] of the garm[e]nts. [25] His ribs are all the firmament[s]. His navel [is the] / sphere of the stars and the signs of the zodiac. And, also, [the

par]ts [that] / come from his navel to his hip are [... / ...] that come from the sphere t[o the corne]rs of the four / worlds. His loins are the th[ree eart]hs that are below [... u][30]pon the head of the Porter. His [...] from the [...] / to the earth upon which the Porter [is stood] firm. / His shins and his feet a[re ... / ...] and the entire zone that belongs [...] (**91**) His heart is mankind. His liver is the four-footed / animals. His lung is the race of birds that [fly in] / the air. His spleen is the race of fish that swim in the wat/ers. His kidneys are the world of reptiles that creep [up][5]on the earth. His outer skin is the wall that [... which] / surrounds the piercing and the great fire. His [...] / the vessels of the great fire. His [...] / of darkness. His gall is the [... His] / great intestine is the breadth of the great [... [10] ...] of the worlds. His veins [...] all [the spri]/ngs and wells. His e[yes (?) ... / ...] His feet are his [... / ...] /

This is how each of the worlds h[ave been ha]rmonised (?)*40 . [15] F[iv]e g[od]s are fastened in him. [...] / they are his soul and his life [... / m]an is a sinner [... / ...] the Living Spirit and the Ambassador [... / the] five sleepless guardians.

He has [...] [20] the Keeper of Splendour, the mind that is [... in the wo/r]ld of the mind that is above. He has [... who]le [...] / of the powers of hea[ven that] are in [... / of] the great King of Honour, [who is the thought that exists / i]n the seventh firmament. He has humbled [... [25] ...] also of the Adamant of Lig[h]t, who is the insight [... / f]rom {}*41 he has given [...] because of lust [... He has] / also appointed the King of Glory, who is the coun[sel ...] / patience over the three images; that of wind, that of / fire, and that of water. He has handed over to him the [... [30] ...] do evilness. / [...] the Porter, who is the consideration [... / the wi]sdom in the [...] which is below. He has made him [... / ...] the foundation [below ...]

(**92**) Furthermore: The Ambassador refined from them five / intellectuals of life. Also, the summons / and the obedience were situated there. Now, they made six sons of the Living Spirit, / together with the six sons of the First Man!

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*40 Reading ⲉⲧⲁ[ⲟⲩ]ⲙⲏⲧⲉ as ⲧ]ⲙⲉⲧⲉ

*41 ϩⲛ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ Also 93.6

5 Further: The Ambassador placed in them the great Mind; / who is the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man. /

Furthermore: Jesus the Youth was set there; who is the / image of the living word, of the utterance and the obedience. /

He has made strong these camps, those above and those below 10 [...] each one of them will be secure in the circuit of his [watch-]district, / so that neither uprising nor treachery are made in his watch-district. /

And look, see! The Keeper of Splendour is set firm in the / great mind, in the camp above the pris/on of the bound ones, for he brings to nothing [a]ll the gloo[m] of de[ath]. 15 An[d a] treachery came about, and an uprising! The sin abor[te]d, [it / tangled i]n with the soul. It became mixed with this light that it / expelled toward the image of the Ambassador. It went [... / ... in the] third firmament that is above the watch-t[ower / ...] the Keeper of Splendour. From that place also it tang20led in with the light. It was detached and came down / to that which is dry and that which is moist. It [fashio]ned the trees [up/on] the dry (land); but in the sea it immediat[ely] took form and / made a great uprising in the sea. /

Again, look, see! The great King of Honour, who is 25 the thought, he is in the thi[r]d firmament*42. He is made [...] / with wrath. And an uprising [came about]! A treachery and a[n] / anger happened in his camp. The watchers / of heaven, who came down to the earth in his watch-district, / they did all the deeds of treachery. They have revealed crafts 30 in the world and have unveiled to people the mysteries [of] / heaven. An uprising came about, and a destruction, on the earth [... / ...] to it.

The Adamant [...] / the fulfillment. He is set firm upo[n ...] (**93**) and a treachery came about in his camp; the occasion / when the abortions fell to the earth. They formed Adam / and Eve. They begat them so as to reign through them in the world. / They fashioned every object of lust upon 5 the earth. The entire world was filled by their lust. / Also, {} they persecute the churches.

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*42 Probably an error for the seventh firmament.

They kill the / apostles and the righteous in the watch-district of the Adam[ant] / of Light, time after time, and from generation to generation. /

Once again: In the watch of the great King of Glory, wh[o] is the great counsel, he who exercises authority over the thre[e] / wheels. A [dis]turbance came about, and an affliction, for [they were ...] / pained and oppressed in the three earths. After the Ambassa/dor displayed his image, the paths closed to their / [... th]eir ascent was impeded by them [...] the w[ind], the water, and the fire ascend on them. /

[O]nce again: In the watch of the Porter, he who humiliates [... / upr]ising of the abysses below [... / ...] bent, the fastenings underneath were loosened [...] / in the foundation below.

[On] account of the earthquake that happened in the watch of the Keeper of Splen/[dour], the Pillar of Glory came forth; as it [... / ...] helper of the Keeper of Splendour. It bore up under all [burden]s. /

Conversely, because of the treachery and the uprising that / happened in the watch of the great King of Honour, which is the wat[25]chers who came down to earth from the heavens; / four angels were called upon about them. They bound the watche/[r]s with an eternal chain, in the prison of the blackened ones (?). / [Th]ey obliterated their children from upon the earth. /

[Th]en, again, the abortions descended in the watch of the Adamant [and] begat Adam and Eve; because of that great treachery wh/[ich] happened, and the mystery of wickedness, he sent Jesus / [...] the prayer of the five sons. He assumed them / [...] the abortions. He fastened them beneath the / [... the] mind of Adam.

(**94**) Also, because of the earthquake that happened in these three / earths, and in that the paths were hindered and the springs of / wind and water and fire were impeded, Jesus cast himself down. He / assumed Eve; and he straightened the tracks of the [win]d, the water, and the fire. He opened the springs for them, and he set [in ord]er the path / of their ascent.

Once [again]: Since the / earth beneath the Porter was loose[ned from] the fastenings that / [...] because of this too Jesus went down, assuming / [Ev]e until he reached tha[t] place. [H]e set in [or]der and stre[10]ngth[ened] the fastenings beneath. He returned, [he came] up to his / [...] rest.

Then speaks the a[po]stl[e] to him: / Look at all these watches of the zon[e], the ones in which these / great gods are master, w[atch]ing over them [...] / Uprisings have happened, and treachery, in them. The [... [15] ...] in them from time to time; with a great hum[iliati]on, / until they humbled the powers of the enmity. /

So also is this body! A mighty power lives / here, even if it is small in its stature. Nevertheless, s/in dwells within, and the old man who is lodged in it. Certainly he is cruel, [20] with great cunning; until the Lig/ht Mind finds how to humble this body, and drive it [according to] / his pleasure.

Just so, in the w[atch-]districts / of his great outer brothers, they who are masters in the zone. / In them, in the great body: the earthquake and treachery happened [25] from time to time. So, also, is the watch-district of the / Mind, which is the body of the flesh. Sin raises [up], / from time to time, its agitations in the body. /

Now you (pl.), understand thus, that the powers of light / are good. The beginning and the end are unveiled to them. [30] All that they do is being done with correct judgement. / Indeed, because of this they may permit the enmity / to initiate error, and do its pleasure [for] / a moment. Then they seize [... (**95**) ...] they have acted first with a righteous judgement. /

And [with resp]ect to this other (question) that you have put forward: How may the Light / Mind come, this great and honoured mighty one, and assume this little / body of the flesh? Again, look, see! These gods, in that [5] [... are] great and mighty ones. And each one of them is enclosed and hard pr/[essed] i[n this pl]ace wherein he is set; like trees / [hol]ding to their taproot. So also this is how each / [o]ne of them has 'held to his taproot' in the world, according to / [the] k[ind] of place in which he is set, bearing up till [10] [...]

Now, also, happen you know / [...] the world is set firm, being ordered [... / the five sons of the] Living Spirit in all its members / [...] sin took this body out from [the] la/[nd (?) ... co]nstructed it in its members. It took its [bod]y [15] [from the five b]odies of darkness. (Sin) constructed the body. Yet, its / [sou]l i[t] took from the five shining gods. / [(Sin) bou]nd (the soul) in the five members of the body. It bound the mind / in bone; the thought in sinew; the insight in vein; the cou/nsel in flesh; the consideration in ski[n].

(Sin) set f[20][ast] its five powers: its mind upon the mind of the soul; / [its] thought upon the thought of the soul; its insight upon the insight / [of] the [s]oul; its counsel upon the counsel of the soul; its consider/[atio]n upon the consideration of the soul. It placed its five / [an]gels and authorities upon the five members [25] [of the] soul, which it had brought in and bound in the flesh. They / [...], pronouncing to the soul and continually leading it on to / every evil thi[n]g, to all the sins of lust, to the / [wor]ship of idols, to erroneous opinions, to humili/[ation]; in the humiliation of slavery! As it is set fast, wors[30][hipping] the things that [...] will not remain; making obeisance / [...] idols of wood and gold and silver. / [...] worshipping beasts (**96**) that are unclean and polluted! They are ugly in their appearances and their / forms.

(The soul) assumed error and forgetfulness. It for/got its essence and its race and its kindred; kn[o]/wing not the door of the place to pray to him, nor call up [5] to him. It became hostile to its father [... / ...] itself, being wicked [... / ...] its own light [...

The] Light / [Mind] comes and finds the soul [... / ...] it assuming it in the [... [10] ...] its wisdom [... / ...] he shall become for it [... / ...] the bonds [...] / members in the body. He shall loosen the m[ind of the soul and relea/se] it from the bone. He shall release the th[ought of the soul] [15] from the sinew; and s[o] bind the thought [of the sin in] the sinew. He shall release the insight of the soul from the vei[n]; / and so bind the insight of the sin in the vein. [He sh]all / loosen the counsel of the soul, and release it from the flesh; / and so bind the counsel of the sin in the flesh. He shall [20] release the consideration of the soul from the skin; and bin[d] / the consideration of the sin in the skin. /

This is how he shall release the members of the soul, / and make them free from the five members of sin. / Conversely, these five members of sin, which were loose; [25] he shall bind them. He shall set right the members of the soul; form / and purify them, and construct a new man of them, a child [o]/f righteousness. [And] when [he] fashions and const[r]/ucts and purifies the new man; then he shall bring forth five / great living members out from the five great memb[ers]. [30] And he places them in the members of the new man. He shall place his m[ind], / which is love, in the mind of the new man. Also, the th[oug]/ht, which is faith, he shall pl[ace in] the thought [of the] / new [man]; whom he shall purify. His insight, which [is perfection, he shall place] (**97**) in the insight of the new man. His counsel, which [is] / patience, he shall place in his counsel. Also, [w]is/dom, which is his consideration, in the consideration of the new m/an. He shall make the image of the word pure from the word of [5] sin; and he adds to it his word, so that his / [... be]comes nourisher and strengthener [... / ...]

Now, when he shall perf[ect / ... the tw]elve members. This [is how / ...] and his wisdom. His [... [10] ...] becomes righteous, as he perf[ects ... / ...] While formerly he was running [... / ...] but instead of this, now he runs [... / ...] his road and his path and his [...] / also [he mounts up] to the heights, to the great aeons [... [15] ...] thus the old man is bound in the [... / ...] and his lust, his [...] his / foolishness in these five members of the bo[dy ...] / the dark spirit is imprisoned with them in a bond and in / severe misery.

Also, the new man reigns [20] [b]y his love, by hi[s] faith, by his perfection, [b]y his / [p]atience, and by his wisdom. Yet, his king [... / the] Light [Min]d, he w[ho is] king over the totality. He re[igns] o[ver it / according to] his pleasure. While the members [...], / thus sin is imprisoned. Still, the Light Mind [25] [is] king, and an affliction may arise in the body from t/[im]e to time.

There are occasions when sin shall mount / [u]p with its foolishness; and it disturbs the consideration, and it clouds / the wisdom and the understanding of the person. It causes truth to be s/[pl]it into doubt in him, and he utters some foo[li]sh words [30] and some [... W]hen the manner of his foo/[lishn]ess will come to the [...] in the church, the teachers and / [the ...] and the [...] and the

presbyters shall gather / [...] helper. And they put straight his wisdo/[m ...] His consideration has been set right (**98**) [about] this. His wisdom has been set in its right place and ordered [... / ...] well.

Now, if he shall not accept the rebuke / and the edification of his brethren and his helpers; then shall / sin mount up again, another time, from the consideration to 5 the counsel. It takes his patience f[rom him], and bestows upon him / faint-heartedness and hurt. And the [si]n is displ/[ayed] in the midst of his brethren. His [...] for / every [thing] that he shall do [...] / advice of his brethren, and he becomes [...] 10 the [fo]olishness. A battle and a war shall arise / (between) the Light Mind and the sin in the counsel [... / they sh]all group together and become [... / ... the]re, and they cause him to cease from the [... / ...] and they put him straight in his place another ti[me ...] his 15 compa[nio]ns in his struggle.

If again the [...] / to that place, then again sin shall rise [... / ...] and clothe him with lust and vanity and / pride. He separates from his teacher and his brethren. / [He sh]all always [w]ant to go in and to come out alone. 20 He shall want to eat and to drink alone, a solitary man. [He sh]all / always want to walk alone. Indeed, this is the [si]/gn that the familiarity of his brethren does not act on him.

Should he again not [...] / his heart from lust; again sin shall mount / up, the thought of death, to his thought. He shall [...] 25 a vanity; and causes his f[ai]th and his truth to le[a]/ve him. When the sign of his foolishness will be [dis]/played, and his reputation spreads in the church, the [wis]/e ones of the church shall gather to him; so [that] they may set right his [heart], / and encourage it with God's edification. If now he took [the adv]30ice of his brethren, and listened to [...] / and set himself apart from his wrath and [...] (**99**) It is possible he could live and be victorious over the sin, and all its wars. /

Yet, if he shall not make this watch secure, (sin) shall rise up / and assume his mind; and disturb his mind, which formerly was calm. / It shall disrupt his love, away from his teacher and his 5 instructor. It shall take from his heart love of the churc/h,

and fill it full of hatred. And all his brethren become hateful / before him. H[i]s brethren and his loved ones and his friends / who love him; they shall be like enemies before him. / Now, that person is disturbed like this, and he lets his [10] love and his will turn from him. That person shall / [himse]lf become a vessel of loss, and he separates fr[om] / the church, and his end comes down to the world. / The Mind, who was in him, sh[a]ll disperse from him and go / to the apos[t]le who sent him. He shall be filled by evil spirits; [15] and they deal with [him], dragging [hi]m hither and thither. And he himself becomes like / wordl[y] me[n]. [He] will change and become as if a b/[i]rd, were its feathers plucked out. He becomes an earthly man. /

[T]hen, have I taught you, and opened your (sg.) [eyes], as to how / confusion shall arise in the zo[ne]; in the camps of [20] these great mig[hty] gods? Again, this is how / disturbance shall come about, from ti[me] to time, in the [...] of the / [Li]ght [M]ind. So al[so] these watch-keepers, for they are set [... / f]i[rm in] the zone, (but) they are not visible. Again, this too is the way / of the Light Mind, [for he is] not visible in the body.

[25] Also, [corr]esponding to th[ese] outer [watch-keepers]; in that while they are great, / [y]et have they contorted themselves. They have [...], they have become small, to the measure of the task / [th]at is apportioned to each o[n]e [of t]hem. Again, this too is like / [the] Mind, himse[lf] a great one, and exalted; but he is bent over / and [has] become small, to this little worthless [bo]dy.

[30] [Even so] the gods [in the] outer [z]one: they are transcendent / and purified, they are set [f]a[st in] the mingling of the totality, (but) are not defiled. / [This too is like the] Light [Mind]. While he is placed in hi[s / ...]

(**100**) Again, behold the mightiness and the activity of the Light / Mind: how vast he is over all the watch-districts of / the body! He stays fast at his camp. He shuts off / all deliberations of the body from the beguilements of sin. [5] He limits them and distributes them out. He sets them down / at his pleasure.

Also, he does another work, surpassing and ex/ceeding (these). He bestows a great spirit upon the ele/ct one. Indeed, now may

you find him, as he stands on the earth, / [r]ising up in his heart and ascending to the Father, the [10] G[o]d of truth. He who exists and is established above / all the things of loss. [Onc]e again, he may push dow/n [i]n his insight and his consideration, and descend to / the land of darkness, from where the darkness has poured forth. / His heart shall run and touch everything, as it [...]

[15] Then he says to [th]at discip[le: I have taught you] / the deeds of the [Light] Mind! Whoever has / an open and percept[ive] eye, [he can] appear to him. Whoever / has not that eye, he can not appear to him. /

And, also, as to my work that [is] not [manife]st nor revealed to you, [20] the deeds that I have done; I will teach you about t/hem, and open your eyes [to] this wonder [...] / and of my leadership. /

Observe from this! That I, a single Manichaios, I have come to the wo/rld alone. And the races [and] kindreds of the body, [25] and the gold and silver and [br]ass [...] copper, and the / many gifts and breast[plates and] armour of [the] / multitude, and [*m*]uch humani[ty], submit to me. / Many types of gods and idols from / smelting furnaces! You (pl.) have beheld the k[ingdom] of the world. For, despite great effort, [ev][30]en with many benefits and [gif]ts, with a / breastplate and a violent war; they have not subdued [the ci]/ties nor conquered the countries. [Yet, I, I have conquered] / without breastplate and without [armour] (**101**) distant [cities] by the word of God, and distant countries. / And they bless my name, and it is glorified in all countries. /

[Und]erstand also another thing that I will teach you. The k/in[g]s have striven with me, and the nobles and [offi][5]cials and their powers, so that they might bring to nothing this truth. T/hey did not have the strength for this against me. Now, if I am alone, / why did they not have power against me? Namely, all these who have [striv]/en with me.

The third thing: [No on]/e in the world has given freedom to his children [a]nd [10] his brothers and his kin, and made them fr[ee] f/rom the variance of all things, the way I have. [I who have made] / all my children free from every toil and every [... / ...]

The fourth thing: I have [cover]ed them / with the breastplate [of

wis]dom; so that you will not find a single one among man[15]-[kind ...] and he is victorious over them. For as no single per/son is able to be victorious over me in the entire world; so it [i]s also like this for my children. No person will be able to be victorious over them! /

[The fi]fth thing: I have chosen with my power this entire great elect/ion. I have given my children my emblems of authority [... [20] a]nd the great springs of wisdom, so that [...] / apostle [...] of the church [... / ...] I have made it mine. I have made my church strong, and appointed in it / all [goo]d things that are beneficial to it in every matter. / [I have pl]anted the good, I have sown the truth in every land, f[25]ar and near. Apostles and ambassa/[d]ors I have sent to all countries. Therefore, the former apo/[st]les who came before them did not do as I have do[ne / in] this hard generation; apart from Jesus only, the son of / greatness, who is the father of all the apostles. [30] [S]o, all of the apostles have not done as [I, / I have] done! Look again, and see now: How great is my / [power] and my activity? For not one among the former apo/[stles, ... i]n the flesh has reached my like in the / [...] through me. For this great (**102**) door has been opened, opened by me, to the gods and the angels and / mankind, and all the spirits and the living souls, who are prep/ared for life and eternal rest. /

Then, after his disciples had heard all these sayings, which he [5] proclaimed, his disciples answered. They say to him: Gre[at] / and mighty are all these things that you have uttered to us; which / [you] have [do]ne by your power, and the power of the one who sent you. Who / could fully recompense you for the grace that you have d/one [u]s, except this one who sent you? Still, the on[l]y gift [10] available to us, to repay you, is this: that we will make ourselves strong in / y[our] faith; and persevere in your commandments; and / also be per[s]uaded of your word, which you have proclaimed to us.

••• 39 •••

(102,13 – 104,20)

/ Concerning the Three Da[15]*ys and the Two Deaths. /*

Patterns of temporal and sequential classification were of great importance to Mani, who used them to structure his system, to teach, and to evangelise. Compare chapters 4 and 17. The particular focus and interest in this kephalaion is the eschatological detail. Life in this time and world is but a precursor to the reign of the saints in the new age and the new earth. There the First Man, the victorious son, will be king (H. 41.11-20). However, this too comes to an end; when the hidden Father at lasts reveals his image, and receives the souls and gods back into the heart of the eternal kingdom, from where they have been barred since the beginning of the conflict. In contrast to this glorious hope, sinners are warned of a second death, eternally separated from life and the divine.

Once again the apostle speaks to his disciples: Hap/pen you know, my beloved ones, that there exist three great / mighty days in all; and also two great / and bitter deaths.

When his disciples hea[20]rd they say to him: Tell us our father, what are th[ese] / three great days? Or again, what are these two de[aths] / that are bitter?

He speaks to them. / The first day is our father, the Man. From the ti[me] / when the First Man went down to the abyss of darkness [25] and drowned in it; and the Living Spirit was sent, who w[ent] / and bore him up. After the Man had ascended, the Father o/f Life and the Great Spirit set things in order, and the wo/rlds above and below.

Furthermore, the glorious [Am]/bassador came and dwelt in the ship of the day. [30] He displayed his glorious image, and he purified [the li]/ght out of all things. He walked in the heights of the [hea]/vens. Till the time when the world will be dissolved, / all things destroyed, the great [fire] released, / and the Last Statue ascends. [35] These three deeds were be[gun] on this first [day, when they sent] / the First Man with his five [sons].

In contrast, [the first death] (**103**) is the darkness that mixed with the five sons / of the First Man.

The second day / is the time when the fathers of light, who were victorious in the struggle, / will sit on their thrones in the new aeon and dw[5]ell on the new earth. And they reign in the new [aeon] / till the Father unveils his image / above them.

The {length of the sojourn}*[43] in the [ne]w aeon / equals the measure of the first day spent [in affli]/ction. They will reign like this and rejoice in [the n]ew [aeon].

[10] The great third day [is the time] / when the Father will unveil over them his [image ... / ...] and he raises them up [...] / and he receives them in to his hidden treasur[y ...] / and he gives [...] his soul. He can pour out upon th[em ...] [15] his ambrosia and his sweet perfume, which ta[kes away] / all affliction that they have seen with their eyes. [...] / fullness and a joy eternal! When his / [g]race would sate them, he gives to them his [...] a/[nd t]hey are made anew in them. Also, he can summon them once more [in] peace [20] and silence, and perfect their stature in sa[m]e measure / as his first aeons. And he sets each power / [i]n its aeon, in its dwelling-place. They will dwell in the [n]ew aeon / in their aeons! Now, when they dwell in / their aeons, they will become rich beyond measure, [25] for ever, beyond time.

From then on they will not count / that season amongst them; nor the number / [o]f the days, nor the hours, generation after generation, for / [e]ver and ever. The Father will not be hidden from them, from / [this] tim[e] on. Rather, he has accomplished (his) unveiling to them [...] he being revealed [30] [to them] forever.

These are the three great days, / [which the Fath]er o[f Gre]atness has given number to in the reck/[oning].

In contrast, the two deaths that I have pro/[claimed to you a]re [these].

(**104**) The first death is from the time when the light fell to / the

*[43] ⲡⲉϩⲁ ⲁⲡⲧⲟϯⲱϩ Smagina 1990:118–9 translates as the 'winnowing of the chaff', treating it as an agricultural image for purification.

darkness, and was mixed in with [the] rulers of darkness; un/til the time when the light will become pure, and be separated from the dark/ness in that great fire. The remainder left be[5]hind there can build and add to that Last / Statue.

Now, the second death is the death in which / the s[ou]ls of sinful men shall die; when / [they will] be stripped of the shining light that illuminates / the world. And also they are separated from the living air, from which they receive [10] [livin]g bre[ath]; and they are deprived of this living soul, which / [...] in the world; and they are separated and swept / away from this Last Statue [... / ...] and bound on [... / ...] the female will become [...] [15] their torture and their affliction; for their deeds [...] / those three places; because they have blasphemed and despised the / Holy Spirit since [ev]ery generation of the world.

These are the / two deaths. The first death is temporal; [but] the sec/ond death is eternal. It is the sec[20]o[nd deat]h!

••• 40 •••

(104,21 – 105,14)

/ Concerning the Three Things that / were established by the Light. /

This chapter continues the eschatological theme of the previous. Since the enemy had attacked the light in the beginning, three results became inevitable that would alter the relationship between the two principles in their future eternal separation: the new earth is built over this universe; it will imprison the darkness as in a coffin (?); and the souls of sinners will be condemned and crucified on the enemy.

This doctrine of the final lump, the literal mass of the damned, was an essential part of Mani's system. The tragic loss of some of the light soul, too deeply enmeshed in darkness and sin to be saved, was accepted as an inevitable consequence of the power of evil. In order to ensure that the darkness could never again multiply and rebel against the light, its powers (especially the males and females) are separated so as to sterilise it, and to prevent it planning an attack.

Once again he speaks to his disciples, these who are not associates in the my[stery*44] [25] of his knowledge: Three things

*44 Technical term, see note ch. 52.

would be fashioned / by the light through necessity! For there can be no other way / nor other result, to allow them to stay without coming about. For / the darkness, the enemy, mu[st] be bound by them; he who stood up again[st] / the light from the beginning. Due to this, these things have no (other) res[ult], [30] to allow them to stay without coming about. /

Now, the first thing is the new luminous earth, w[h]/ich was set and built on top of this earth [...] / it, namely that alien body [...] built upo[n it]. /

The second thing is this: They will [...] and they [...] [35] the new earth, the coffin [...] (**105**) of the dark fire, the companion of the enemy.

The thi/rd thing is the souls of all the sinners who have been con/demned by their deeds. They were [...] over them woe; they have been / condemned according to the wicked deeds they had committed, and due to this they will be crucif[5]ied on the enemy, he who had raised himself up against the greatness.

They will / seal up*[45] this final lump when / all the likenesses and images of every shape will be nailed in it. Also, those will be bo[und] / by this last fetter for eternity, and be [plac]ed / as a footstool and a mat*[46] and a rag for this coffin [...] [10] which is the prison of the enemy. It will be placed, being a [bound]ary-/marker and a great void between the two, between the [darkne]ss / and the enemy, so that they can not reach one another, nor can they [h]ea/r their voices; rather they will become sterile as they are separated from each other / for [eve]r and [e]ver.

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*[45] ⲥⲉⲗⲥⲉ Cf ⲥⲱⲗⲥ (Crum 333b), citing Ep. 253 and 549, vessels sealed with clay sealings. Smagina 1990:116–7 suggests that the souls 'will make the cover of ...'

*[46] Cf H. 5.4 and 76.23 where it has the meaning 'trample'. Smagina 1990:117–8 translates 'they will be laid as a foundation, and a base, and a cover of this Ark'.

••• 41 •••

(105,15 – 106,21)

/ Concerning the Three Blows that / befell the Enemy because of the Light. /

The eschatological focus continues with further details on the final binding of the darkness, and the separation of male and female respectively in a lump (βῶλος) and a tomb (τάφος). Mani uses the description of the fate of sinners to exhort the faithful to remain firm despite persecution.

The sequence of content in chapters 39 – 41 provides a good example of how Mani's lessons have undergone some rudimentary redaction in the construction of the *Kephalaia*.

[O]nce again he t[u]rned, and says: The darkness itself, the enemy, / has received three bad blows with three wars; and 20 worse dangers from the light in those three wars. /

The first: (The enemy) was brought out to the middle and separated / from his dark earth, whence he had departed. He was vanquished / in that first war, caught and / [bo]und by the living soul.

The second blow 25 is the time when he will be dissolved and melted, and he perishes in / this great fire. He is destroyed and overthrown, from the images / that are all by which he exists. And he will be gathered in / [to the] fetter corresponding to his archetype, and be made like he w/[a]s from the first beginning.

30 [The t]hird blow that will befall the enemy is the 'rolling back' / [at the] end when everything will be separated, and male will be divided / [from] female. Now, the male will be bound in the lump, [b]ut the fem/[ale] w[ill be thrown] i[n] to the tomb. For it will be divided / [... by a great] stone in their midst, for generat35[ion upon generation, for ever and] ever.

(**106**) This is the way that the binding of the enemy will come about, in a fet/ter that is burdensome and strong, one from which there is never escape; / because [they have achieved] his binding and bound him for ever. / And they have achieved his being set apart, and he has been set apart for ever.

[5] Due to this I say to my beloved ones: Hear my words / that I proclaim to you! Gird yourselves for the things o/[f li]fe. Endure the persecutions and trials th/at wi[ll come] to you. Be you strong in these commandments that I have give/n [y]ou, so that you may escape those two deaths [10] and be free from this final bond [i]n which there is no hope of / lif[e]. And you will escape the terrible end of the de/niers and blasphemers who have seen truth with their own eyes, and have turne/d back from it. They will go to the place of punishm[en]t [where]in / there is no day of life. For the enlightening light will be hidden fr[om t]he[m], [15] and they will be unable to see it from this moment. / Air and wind will be drawn from them, and they will not receive life breath / in them from this moment. Waters and moisture will be taken from them, / and they will not taste them again. /

Blessed is every one who will escape the end of sin[20]ners and deniers, and be free from the ruin that lies hidden for ever!

••• 42 •••

(106,21 – 111,17)

/ Concerning the Three / Vessels. /

This kephalaion begins a sequence of three complex chapters wherein Mani seeks to justify the actions of the Living Spirit in his construction of the universe; and in particular his management of the three vessels of dark elements (water, darkness and fire) by means of the three vessels or garments of light elements (wind, water and fire). Essentially, the Living Spirit discharges down to earth the dark elements from the rulers who are bound in the heavens; and then 'sweeps' them out to the edge of the universe into pits that have been prepared for them. The light elements ascend up through the universe to purity and rest. Since this process must result in some contamination on earth, Mani is at pains to explain that it has been done in the best possible manner.

106.32 – 107.26 The Living Spirit is like a good doctor who discharges sickness and poison (the dark elements) by means of healing drugs (the light elements).

107.26 – 108.16 The light elements cause the dark to be discharged as a child is from its mother.

108.16 – 36 The processes by which the dark elements are poured upon the earth and then swept out to the edge of the universe are carefully managed, so that each occurs at the appropriate time.

109.1 – 111.17 These actions have brought twelve advantages. In the first of these Mani explains that the timing by which each evil vessel is discharged is such as to keep the contamination to a minimum. The other advantages relate to details about the purification of the heavenly realms, and the containment of evil.

Once again the disciples questioned the enlightener, saying t[o h]i[m]: [25] Tell us, our master, and instruct us about these / three vessels that [...] and were discharged fr[om] / above, and how they were discharged and separated from / all [the] rulers who are arranged in the [heaven]s. For it is a ne[ce]/ssity for us to know [the manne]r in which [30] the three vessels have been discharged, while the rulers were [flour]/ishing in their body. /

Then the enlightener speaks to his disciples: [Hap]pen you [kn]/ow, my beloved ones, that when these v[es]/sels [were dis]ch[arged], they were discharged in [...] [35] slaughter, but those [...] these [ves](**107**)sels from them.

They are like the for[m] / of a man who has fallen into a purulent sickness. Other wounds / and diseases are in his body, and even bile and other po[*i*]/sons are in his inner limbs. [*H*]e achieves good [5] health by a wise doctor, who gives him one remedy to drink that causes hi[s] / purulent sickness to break out above, and gives him another medicine to drink / that causes his sickness to discharge below, [and he gives him] / yet another medicine [to drink] that cures his wounds for him [...] / calmly and silently. Through the skill of a [10] wis[e] d[oc]tor, with his effective medicines to consume that t[ake awa]y / all sicknesses [in t]his manner and dissolve all magic, the d[oc]tors shall / [...] they work cures through the aroma of the medicine, other wounds / [...] what is hidden, they at last tear them out from / [...] manifested above and below [15] [... throug]h the aroma of edible medicines that were placed upon them. /

This is also [w]hat these vessels / of water, of darkness an[d o]f fire are like, which are hidden in the body / of all the rulers above; while the Living Spirit is li/ke the wise doctor. These three healing d[20]rugs are the three garments that the Living Spirit assumes / upon his body: of wind, of water, and of fire. / Through them he has set in order the things below. For by those th/ree garments he has been displayed to the rulers who are / [ab]ove,

with hard-heartedness, with shaking and fear, with [25] derangement; from them he discharged the three ve/ssels, those of water, of darkness and of fire.

The case / of these vessels is just [lik]e a / [ch]ild who is in his mother's [wo]mb and is swathed by sev/[e]n garments. The first [is] the marrow, the second is the bones, [30] [the] third is the [tendons], the fourth is the flesh, the fi/[fth] the veins, the [sixt]h the blood, the seventh / [the sk]i[n of] the bo[dy th]at covers him. The other garment also [... / ... in the wo]mb of his mother. His mother also / [is] ju[st] like] this child. The marrow [35] [and the bones, the sinews and fl]esh, the veins and blood and [sk](**108**)in, together with the garment that she wears and the linen that swa/thes her, total nine. Together wi[th] the nine of the child, these and the / others, they shall complete and make eighteen garments. Now, you shall find the / soul of this child is entwined within all these. [5] And look see: When the smell of / the action of the demon, which brings about the stench of birth, wi[ll rev]eal the child; immediately [...] shall / [...] all [these things] and it emerges from a crack that has becom/e visible, while no tear nor wound occurs in the body of [10] the [chi]ld. In the same way as this child [opens up] / the w[om]b of his mother, so is it also with / these vessels of water, of dar[kness] and [of] / fire. The actions *that open up his* [mother]*[47] / to the child, and she shakes him out and reveals [him; these] [15] are the three living garments that the [Living] Spirit [assumed on / his]*[48] body.

For by the aspect of the garment of water [... / ...] from the rulers; he moved / [...] they are the poison and / [d]eath with which their veins and entrails are filled.

[20] By the aspect of the garment of wind, in [which] he was revealed / [...] he has swept away and erased the entire destructive shadow / and dirt, discharged it down to the earth. Afterwards / he swept it out and confined it in the vessel of darkness that / surrounds the universe.

Also, by the garment of living fire, [25] through its splendour and

*47 Restoring ⲁⲧϥ[ⲙⲉⲧ]
*48 Restoring [ⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ / ⲁⲥ̄ⲛ ⲡ]ⲥⲱⲙⲁ

vigour, he discharged the fire of the dark[ness f]/rom all the rulers and t[hrew] it down upon this earth. He swept [it] / another time from the earth and confined it in the vessel that surrou/nds all the worlds, and they call [i]t the wall of grea[t] / fire. Now, those three garm[ents], through which he [estab][30]lished these three things, he did not peel t/hem off all at once; but h[e strip]ped them off one by one / at the appropriate time [...] down [to the] e/arth [...] /

In this way the universe of the [... [35] ...] his vessels [...] / these vessels like [...]

(**109**) Furthermore, he continued. He says to his disciples: The us/e of the matter, and the management of these vessels that were swept o/ut and discharged from above to [eart]h, have brought an advantage and benefit of / twelve great deeds. Afterwards, they were swept from the ear[th] [5] and pushed outside to the edges of the worlds and to the {extremity}*[49] / of the zone.

The first deed is this: So that evil-doin/g does not increase in the universe, neither in the creations nor in the tree/[s ... it has set i]tself up in three things.

The [first is / ...]

The second is error [... [10] ...] Indeed, about this I have spoken to [you] as I / [...] For, if it were so, if [the ves/sel of water] had not been [swept] down from above, but rather the wat[ers / existing up t]ill now in the rulers above [... / ... the] torrents that would flow [...] and the droplets that would [15] [...] down, so lust would have sprouted / [... i]n the trees and in the fruits as well as all flesh / [...] down [... / t]oday [...] / you could [not] find a single person [...] in the [... [20] ...] a saint does [...] is master of [...] / Not only this, but if the vess/el of darkness had not been swept out and thrown down to the earth, nor swept from / the earth and cast outside the region of the worlds / into this pit; again the drops of darkness, which will drip down from it, and the torrents [25] that will continue to flow down from above to the earth and assume / [the] trees and [a]l[l] flesh, would have multiplied, and the

*[49] ΤΚΑΙΟ

forget/fulness that is in a thousand people today you would have found in / [just] one person. There is not one among mankind [...] him / [...] the thought and the knowledge of the [...] /

[30] [Further]more, if the fire were in the rulers of the worlds of the heavens until / today, and had not been swept out and cast d/[o]w[n] to the earth, and swept from the earth and shut up i/[nside] the vess[el] of fire that surrounds the worlds; / [...] this fire [... [35] ...] abo[ve] through the torrent / [... the tor]ren[t ...] below; (**110**) and the dark fire wo[ul]d have multiplied in the tree and in fruit / and in all flesh. The power of the fire that is now in a thousand / people, you would have found it occurring in a single person / today. You would not have found a single person embracing [5] the fast in the universe.

Behold, I have taught you about / this single evil that w[as] purified by three archetypes [... / ...] /

The second deed: Al[l] the heavens [... / ...] of the sed[im]ent and the pollution [... [10] ...] so that [... / ...] surpasses in [th]em [...] /

[The third]: The heavens and the firma[ments ... / ... b]urden [...] relieved from the weight-ca[rriers*[50] ... / ...] and it ceased being heavy. This rich one [... [15] ...] above.

The fourth: Th[at they might pur]/ify and cleans[e] their dwelling places [... / ...] /

The fifth: Because the great[ness and the rich]ness that dwells in / thes[e shi]ps, as it [...] you might find them [20] [living i]n these ships, purified and holy. /

The sixth: That you might find the mixed, incomple[te], / and unconfined temples above at res[t a]nd purified; since / rest will reach [them] and pass through them and purify th[em]. /

The seventh: [...] nature alone of the vessels, which will [25] advance and extend to their places and sites [... / ...] in [...] /

The eighth: That great enclosures and walls would be made, and / confine everything. /

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*[50] Read ⲉⲥⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲃⲁⲓⲉ [ⲧⲡⲱ See 115.5 – 10

The ninth: When the apostles [...] them, they [30] shall return to the universe and give a sign of [...] / the dissolution of the universe. /

The tenth deed: That they would become releasers and purifier[s of / every]thing at the end of the universe like the fir[e ... / ...] burns [...]

[35] [The] elevent[h d]eed: [...] will make a crossin[g ...] / and the entire rul[ing]-power [...] (**111**) to the outer land, for they were not envious of this [...] / a man who is richer than them; because the aeons of lig/ht are outside [...] the place [...] of / peace, the place of honour and grace, the place where the j[5]oy of the householders who dwell in it shall never pass away nor / recede.

The twelfth: That you might find all the deeds / of loss hidden from the aeons of light, / because of the wall of fire that surrounds the entire building; and / these [un]clean things are displayed (only)*[51] in its [...] /

[10] There was [a] need for these twelve great deeds b[ecau]se the / vessels that were discharged and swept out from [the firmaments] / to the earth, and were also swept from the earth to the {extr[emity]*[52]... / ...] the three words of life watch over them that [... / ... ar]e set over them in great power [15] [...] that they might watch over t[hem] at the last time; because / of this, they are firmly se[t t]hus i[n t]hese fetters, in the way that I have told / you.

••• 43 •••

(111,18 – 113,25)

/ Concerning the Vessels.

Following the previous chapter this kephalaion provides further details about the vessels, and the creative activity of the Living Spirit in the construction of the universe. The demiurge is termed the Father of Life, an epithet that may provide evidence of a particular stage in the development of Mani's thought. The term is often used in the *Kephalaia* when this god is paired with the Mother of Life; see chapter 9.

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*51 ⲥⲱⲣ Probably a scribal error.
*52 ⲧⲏⲁⲓⲟ Also 109.5

111.26 – 112.18 The Living Spirit poured out the vessels of water, darkness and fire (dark elements) upon this earth; and then scooped them up by means of his three garments of wind, water and fire (light elements). The dark were finally poured into three pits that he had constructed. However, a remnant of each remains upon earth, dark qualities that mar the light.

112.24 – 113.19 The Living Spirit had a particular reason for this process, even though it has some negative results. The dark elements that he poured down from above drew towards them those on the earths below; and thus all this waste could be swept out together into the pits that had been prepared.

113.19 – 25 Now that the levels of the universe have been purified, the light elements are able to ascend through them.

[O n]ce again the disciples questioned him, saying to him: Wh[en] / the Father of Life discharged these three vessels from / above, they of water and of darkness and of fire, did he perhaps / discharge them to their pits at the edge of the firmament? Or did h/e discharge them first to this earth, and then he swept them from the earth [a]nd threw them to their p[lace]s? /

[Th]en the apostle says to them: As for what you have asked me a/[bo]ut the vessel[s], you must understand this, that when the Father / [of] Life was about to di[sc]harge these three vessels he / [p]oured the three upon this earth, one by one at its (appointed) hour and season. He discharged them and cast them down to the earth. /

[Th]en he bailed and scooped them from this earth in these thr/[ee] garments, they of wind and of water and of fire, which swathed / his body. He poured and made them flow into the three pits / [... w]hich he had [es]tablished during the construc[tio]n of the worlds [...] they [...] something remained (**112**) behind on the face of the earth from these three [v]ess[e]/ls, so that you can find their mark and type display/ed in the universe.

The e[le]m[e]nt that is left in water is / the pungency and the salinity of this salty inner sea that surrounds the worlds.

And the remnant that is left from the darkness / is this black mountain that exists in the s[urroundings] of the sunrise. / For when the sun would shine over the world no / sunlight is visible there, because the darkness that gushes / fr[om i]t manifests above it.

And [the re]mnant [10] that remains behind from the fire, upon the earth, are all the mountains / and islands from where fumes*[53] of fire gush up / [an]d are visible. For these things are the remnant of the great ve/ssel, the vestige that was conjoined with this fire that comes up / from the earth; together with the mountains and hills [...] [15] place[s] where no fruit sprouts on the tr[e]es [...] / greater than that place from the limb and [... / ...] the trees shall not bear / fruit in that place. /

Once again his disciples speak to him: We ask you, our master, [20] to [make clear] and instruct us about the vessels that / surround the universe, and why they were not discharged from above into the / ditches prepared for them (straightaway); but were firstly poured / upon the earth, and afterwards were swept from the earth and cast dow/n into their pits?

Then the enlightener speaks to his discip[25]les: Happen you know this! When the Father o/f Life discharged these vessels from above upon the earth, he poured them out / for this reason: so that also the water and the darkness and the fire that / exist in these three earths would be drawn a[nd] ascend towards they / that had come down from above, and the earths [would be] purified and c[l][30]eansed. Due to this he poured these vessels down to the eart[h], / of water and of darkness and of fire, so that also / the water and darkness and fire that exist in the earths would be drawn up [tow]/ards they that had descended from above.

Now, first o[f] / all, [h]e discharged the water, the waste, [the p]oison of the rule[rs] [35] who are above. He c[leans]ed the firmaments of the [water ...] / he poured do[wn] the [da]rk waters. [Just as the] (**113**) waters fell from heaven to earth, so also the wat/ers below in the earths were drawn and came u/p from below towards the waters that had come from above to the earths. / The waters [were] purified of the dark poison that exists in them. [5] Then he swept them outside and made them a great ve/ssel and a wall of sea that surrounds the universe, / and on w[hi]ch the ships sail.

After the water, he / discharged the darkness. He purified the

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*[53] ⲥⲁⲗⲙⲉ Perhaps from ⲥⲱⲗⲙ Cf Crum 330b.

firmaments and dried from t/hem the darkness with which they are weighed down. He discharged it down to the earth. [10] Just as he had purified the firmaments, so also he puri[f]ied th/e earths. The darkness that is in the earths was drawn up towards the darkness [t]hat had been / [discharged] from above. He swept them both out and s[hut them] i/[n] that [...] of darkness [... / ...] the water.

And he discharged the fire from heaven to earth, [15] [... at] that time again the fire that was shut / [in] the earth below was drawn and came up towards its kind. / Fire was added to fire. Afterwards, he swept it out and cast it / into the outer underworld, which [he had constructed fo]r them outside the uni/verse.

In the same way that he purified the firmaments above as a place [20] for the light-givers to journey [... / ...] so also he purified the earths below and sw/ept from them the fire and the darkness and the water [...] / He has purified them for the ascent of these three powers, they of the wind and the water / and the fire, which ascend before the Porter and [25] traverse the earths.

••• 44 •••

(113,26 – 115,31)

/ Concerning the Sea / Giant. /

113.29 – 114.3 The Living Spirit causes his son the King of Glory to turn the three wheels of wind, water and fire. Thus these good elements are set free. However, the waste of the evil elements (water, darkness and fire) that have been poured onto the earth from the three vessels; this he deposits in the sea. Therefore, its water is salty and bitter.

114.3 – 115.4 Also in the sea is the monstrous giant that takes form from the fire and lust, the active evil 'thought', in the waste matter that the Living Spirit has swept down from the sphere (also 136.23 – 26). Consequently, the sea giant has sealed upon him the aspects of the stars and the signs of the zodiac.

115.5 – 31 The divine plan has three purposes: to purify the sphere of the evil elements; to use the sea giant as a fetter to prevent the evil astral powers ascending or descending; to gather in the sea all the good and evil elements that are washed into it. *All* the good life that comes into the sea will be purified.

[O]n]ce again the e[nlightene]r speaks to his disciples: After the [30] Livin[g S]pirit constructed things and the worlds, he came up and / [s]et himself upon this earth. He gave a sign to the King of Glory, who / [t]urned the three wheels and caused the wheels that are found [...] / up above all the mountains; he spread forth the wind to / [the]m, he breathed on them, he stirred them up, he washed the earth with the water[35]s. And the waste and the accretion of the three vessels, they of / [water and of] darkness [and] of fire, which had been discharged upon (the earth), he gathered them / [and deposited them in the]*[54] sea that is within the walls (**114**) and the vessels; because of this sea waters are salty. / For they have received salt and bitterness from the washing out and cle/ansing of the three vessels.

When the Father / of Life came, rising in his ascent to the heights, he dischar[5]ged the wheel of the stars; he washed it out and loosened / all the [sedi]ment that was in it. He cast it down to this great / inner sea like [...] of the mountain. And t[ha]t waste, / the sediment of the washing out of the wheel, he cast it do/wn and mixed it in with the sea waters. Its own th[10]ought collected it together; and (the thought) gathered (the waste) together in / this w[a]y. It made it fa[s]t and fixed it [...] / The sea giant had stamped upon him the seal of the seconds a[nd the hours], / the seal of the days [and months and] / years, the impression of the stars and the signs of the zodiac*[55] [...] [15] He came into existence from them and was discharged from their power / and cast into the sea. The images and the seals and aspects and / doctrines and counsels of [...] were sealed upon the body / of that giant, because he is the residue of them all. Consequently, / each star that will shine, and each sign of the zodiac that will tu[20]rn: of one he shall be its inducement, and of another its confirmation. H/e was discharged into the sea like this, the way a cloud / might discharge rainwater into the midst of the sea. They compelled / him totally through the action of the power and the helms[man]/ship of the angels. He was swept down to the mill, the pla[ce w][25]here he was constructed in the [sett]ing up of the universe; and the / sea also conceived him [...] for its part [...] / it being his chief

*54 Restoring e.g. ⲁϥⲥⲁϩⲟϭ / [ⲁϥⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϭ ⲉⲓⲍⲛ̄ ⲧ]ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ

*55 See 157. 24 – 25

sculptor and chief cra[ftsma]n. It sculp[ted h]/im in a likeness, he being changed more than the other residue of the sea / bodies.

This matter is comparable with [a] craftsman who might take the stamped impressions of many co[i]/ns and cast them on the fire, and mould them [to a sin]gle image. / These thousands of impressions and thousands [of sha]pes [are perfected] / and make a single body [...] /

(**115**) This is also the case with the sea giant, who too was moulded / and sculpted by the power of the lust inside him / from many doctrines and counsels th/at belong to the residue of the wheel of the sphere.

The archety[pe] of the giant was constructed for three things.

The first: / That the sphere would be [re]lieved and purified of the burden pres/e[nt in] it. In the same way that the ten firmaments were purified and [re]li/eved [of] the burden of the three vessels; so / was it also done to the sphere, that it too might be relieved [and] puri[10]fi[ed] of the burden and the waste inside it. /

The second: That he might add a {fetter}*[56] and a prison to the wheel / and the signs of the zodiac that are bound to it, so that when / they wish to go up above, you can find the s[e]a / giant dragging them back as by an [i]ron {fetter}, [15] and they are unable to go up; and when the powers / of the wheel would take a decision on a guileful thing, and it enters their / mind to come down to the earth, they are not able to descend because / of this stake that is nailed to the wheel upon the {}*[57] / of the firmaments. This is one. However, this other one, because of its [20] sleepless watchers that are set over it, it is turned all the time. /

[The t]hird thing: That the [wind] and the water and the fire that gush from / [the] c[ircui]t of the sea, [and the r]ivers that flow upon the face of / [the ear]th discharging into the se[a], and the rainwaters that come to gr/[ound], and the wast[e] and rebirth that come [25] [dow]n to it; that sea will be a hostel / [and g]athering place for all of these.

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*56 ⲟⲧⲱⲱⲛⲏⲧⲟ Also 115.14
*57 ⲕⲁⲣ.ⲍ

As for all the power and the li/[fe] that comes down to the sea, and in the breath that the / sea gi[ant] will breathe and draw it into him that he might disturb the sea / [... a] fullness and a [...] becomes between his movement [30] [...] purify; but the sea / [...] (**116**)

••• 45 •••

(116,1 - 117,9)

/ Concerning the Vessels. /

The point of this chapter is the foreknowledge of the powers of light that has enabled them to prepare places to hold and contain various evil forces that arise during cosmic history, until their final imprisonment with the dissolution of the universe. Thus: three ditches for the evil vessels; the sea for the sea-giant; a place for another monster that arises from the sea, and which the Adamant vanquishes (also 136.27 – 137.4); gehennas for the waste of the darkness; 'hostels' for various evil powers who rebel; places (?) for the abortions; a prison for the watchers; cities for the giants of old.

Understand also this other (matter): Before these / vessels were discharged and swept down from heaven, fi[5]rst three ditches were fashioned and constructed for them, / in which they would be bound and fettered. /

Before the sea giant was discharged from the s/phere, the Father of Life constructed a place for [him i]n / this great sea that is within the walls, whereon the [10] ships sail, and where the fullness shall [... / ...]

Also, before the [...] / was displayed to the worlds [...] the earth [... / ... f]ell to the sea and its thought shaped / it, the Father of Life constructed a place for it in [the ... [15] ...] below the four mountains, above / the mountains of the heavens above [...] / that [...] a great plain it di/gs in Matter in the midst of the worlds. When / the Adamant of Light was sent to it, he hastened after it to [20] that place, smote it and threw it between mountains in / the place made ready for it [...] is set fast / upon it till the end of the universe.

Before / the waste and dirt of the darkness were swept out from / creation, [ge]hennas were constructed [i][25]n which the waste might be cov[er]ed till the dissol[ution] of the universe. /

Before the rebels r[ose u]p, they whose co[rps] rebelled / in the ruling-power abov/e and below, they [...] / outside, and also the tyrants in [wh]ose heart it lay [to ty][30]rannise amongst the murk and [the clo]uds and win[ds and] / spirits and storms; for them were constructed in the great outer [s]/ea seven host[e]ls, places whence / they are thrown into the depths and the da[rkness ...] /

Also, before the abortions [fell ... [35] ...] to the earth, there was set apart [...] (**117**) they are gathered in and dwell therein.

Again, before the / watchers rebelled and came down from heaven, / a prison was fashioned and constructed for them in the depths / of the earth, below the mountains.

[5] Before the children of the giants were born, they who had [no] knowledge / of righteousness in them nor divinity, / thirty-six cities were assigned and co[nstructed] for them wherein the children / of [the giants would] live; they who would come to beget from each / othe[r, they w]ho shall spend ten hundred years alive.

••• 46 •••

(117,10 – 118,12)

/ Concerning the Ambassador. /

The point of this chapter, which connects it to the last, is again the foreknowledge of the light. Although entitled *Concerning the Ambassador*, his advent is actually only one of a number of discrete moments in the overall plan of the light chosen to illustrate the idea of determinism.

(1) The Third Ambassador is evoked before the beginning of time, and thus prior to the start of the process of salvation, which is his principal purpose in the drama.

(2) The sun and the moon are prepared for their tasks in the salvific process.

(3) The Judge is emanated.

(4) Christ is ordained in advance of the sects coming into existence, to render them harmless.

(5) The stars and the signs of the Zodiac determine the fates of mankind.

(6) The gods of destruction are made ready to dissolve the universe.

(7) The first architect, the Great Builder, and his angels are summoned to construct the new aeon.

Once again, hear this other lesson that I would teach you! /

Know that before night and day / were differentiated in the universe, the Third [Am]bassador was summoned. And, afterwards, he was sent to this void / and outer waste that he might purify the light, / and separate night and day from each other. /

[B]efore the light was released and freed and ascended / through this zone, the Father of Life made beautiful for it the ships of light. He constructed them so that it might be purified in them, / and be sculpted and fashioned in good order. /

[Bef]ore sin had multiplied and had made a kingdom in the flesh, before / the acquitted and the condemn[ed] were set apart from each other, / the Judge [w]as sent forth and revealed. His throne was created and placed [i]n the living atmosphere, so that he would be / [a] just Judge, so that / there the righteous and the sinners would be set apart and tested / [a]nd separated from each other.

Also, befo/[r]e the error and offence of the sects were disp[l]ayed in the universe, the blessed Chr/ist was ordained and brought forth against them, that he might render their error harmless. /

Again, [befo]re mankind had been engendered, some were named / ['rich' and] others 'poor' on earth / [...] upon them. Before they die, (**118**) they who will die are marked out by the stars and the signs of the zo[di]/ac in the sphere. They are appointed for them; in the[m] are their births. / And their root*58 is bound up with their zodiacal signs; and they are compe/lled by them and brought to an equal judgement in accordance with their deeds and their sins. /

Again, before the universe is dissolved, [and the] entire earth, / the destroyers were appointed and instructed for its di/ssolution.

And before the ne[w] aeon was [built and] / made be[auti]ful and marked out [the] Great Builder [w]as summoned, the first architect and the / angels who are with him, who would build and make beautiful the / new aeon.

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*58 I.e people's fate.

••• 47 •••

(118,13 - 120,20)

/ Concerning the Four [15] *great Things. /*

The entire 'ruling-power', the collectivity of evil cosmic forces, is apportioned into the four parts of the universe. Three of these are: the ten firmaments; the eight earths; and the surrounding walls and vessels. The fourth is the wheel of the stars, and here are bound the leaders of all these evil rulers, the seven planets (although Mani's system demands the introduction of two ascendants instead of the divine sun and the moon, see 168.7 - 16) and the twelve signs of the zodiac.

Mani explains that this had to be very carefully arranged by the Father and Mother of Life, when they constructed the universe, so as to balance the leaders against their powers. He develops an extended analogy to show that a king is only equal to his retinue, who in turn are equal to the kingdom. Thus, the gods are able to keep control of the evil forces in the universe, although the stars determine the entire created order.

Once again the enlightener speaks: The wheel of the stars, whi/ch is displayed to you, is a great mighty thing! Also, it is one / among the four great things; since the whole ruli[n]/g-power is assigned to four parts.

[20] The first part is the powers who occur in the ten firmame/nts that exist above the wheel, and the rulin/g-power that is bound in them, as it is imprisoned within them in the heaven/s that are above.

The second part is / the eight earths that are below; the four that are composite, [25] and the four places of darkness. The second part / extends from this earth, upon which mankind walks, towards / the underside.

The third part is the [wa]/lls and the vessels that surround the worlds. / They are the four mountains and the three vessels; [30] with what is in them, and the ruling-power that is trapped within them, / and the powers who are masters over them.

The fourt[h] / part is the sphere of the stars that [is appointed] with [gr]ea[t] / diligence, as it is ordered in a [... m]any [...]; / that of the Father of [L]ife, [and that of the Mother of] (**119**) the

living. Its [...] very [...] with diligence, / because of the great and cruel powers, and the titanic figures, [who are] / in it; they being suspended from it. So, all the first-born and the / leaders of all the rulers, they who were existing in the th[5]ree parts, these were garnered. They were collected together, seized, / bound and assigned on this wheel. Each was apportioned / by these three parts. They were distributed, en[twin]ed, / and weighted against their companions of the same size.

Still, for its part, the w[he]el / is equal to them in its strength; the po[wers] of [10] the enmity who are bound on it. [Ind]eed, they were suspended on [the] circling [w]he/el because of their cruelty; so that, d[u]e to / the wind and the motion in which they go round, they comp/rehend not the place wherein they are set. For if / they had been bound in the heavens, the heavens would not have had the strength [15] to support them. Again, if they had been assigned on the earths, on the / fixtures that are below, they also would not have had the strength to support them. / Rather, they were suspended from the wheel of the circling stars; so that / the power and the light that should come up from b/elow can be received, and given to the heavenly ones ab[2]ove them. Conversely, whatever will fall from above, / whether cold or hot, the wheel / of the sphere will also take it and cast it out / [u]pon the entire earth, upon all the wood.

Behold, the ordinance / of the wheel is in this form. For the powers who are entwined on the [25] wheel are like this: a king mastering his / kingdom by this mighty legionary force of all the lea/ders of the kingdom; and with all the armour / [o]f the soldiery that is collected together for him; and also with / [the] mass of the pro[perty] of the kingdom; and the beautiful lustful aspect [30] of the [wo]men who are collected together for him; together with / [...] property [...] and those cattle / [...] that have been distributed about among his r(**120**)etinue. Yet, if you ask about that king, he is matched / with all his retinue. His retinue, for its part, / is matched against his entire kingdom. Judgement shall come forth fr/om him, vindication and condemnation, to his entire kingdom; [5] by his wisdom, skill and strength. /

Now, just as for this king, who is matched against the measure of his entire ki/ngdom by his wisdom, skill and st/rength; so also is

it for the / powers [w]ho are bound on the sphere as compared to the ruling-power, and the [10] powers who exist in the entire zone. Like the king towards his r/etinue; so too is it that this totality is gathered / to the sphere, to seven leaders, to twelve sig/ns of the zodiac. As all the cities are gathered to the king, again they gather / to the leaders of the universe. All that is done [15] in the universe above and below: the battles / and the disorders and the captivity and the hunger and the l/ust and the property; so shall they increase and diminish through / these leaders. They are the motivaters of the whol[e] created order; / the totality being gathered in to them the way that I have to[20]ld you. I have opened your eyes!

••• 48 •••

(120,21 – 124,32)

/ Concerning the Conduits. /

This long and detailed chapter is amongst the most difficult in the *Kephalaia;* not least because the decisive term ⲗⲓϩⲙⲉ (lihme)*[59] used in the title and throughout is unknown. Here I translate the term as 'conduit'. The import of the term ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲛⲉ ('root'), which seems to be closely related to it, is also unclear. However, the essential idea is that heavenly bodies are inextricably attached to the earthly; and that the three lihme are conduits through which the divine life can be drawn to ascend and be purified, while the demonic waste is poured down through them. In the next chapter, 49, Mani explains that these conduits are spiritual; and thus can never be entangled nor cut by the astral bodies as they turn though the heavens. The significance of the roots is deterministic; and they must also be spiritual. In chapter 46 Mani explains that mankind's 'root' is bound up with their zodiacal signs (118.3); so this could be translated as 'fate'.

120.25 – 121.12 The first conduit is the root of the powers in the heavens; and stretches from them to their bodies and carcasses that were stripped off by the Living Spirit and cast down to the earths. Therefore, the upper worlds are psychic and pneumatic (soul and spirit); while the worlds below are somatic and ptomatic (body and carcass). Life is drawn up through the conduit to be purified in the heavens; but any waste is poured back down through descending conduits.

121.13 – 17 The second conduit stretches from the heavenly cities to the five kinds of trees. For Mani vegetation was particularly rich in divine life.

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*59 See the discussion in Smagina 1990:121–2; and Vycichl 1983:102.

121.17 – 32 The third conduit stretches from the evil heavenly powers to the five kinds of flesh.

121.33 – 122.4 The roots of the wheel of the stars stretch not to earth, but to the heavenly worlds. From these it receives its life.

122.5 – 15 The disciples question Mani. If the stars are not connected to earth, how do they control the fates of mankind and other life on earth?

122.16 – 123.15 Mani explains that when the Living Spirit constructed the universe, he correctly did not bind the stars to earth; although they are bound to the sea giant (see chapter 44). However, when the Ambassador displayed his image to the demons in the heavens and they ejaculated, the sperm fell down on the wheel, the earth and the sea. Subsequently all life on earth developed; and thus the stars control its destiny.

123.15 – 28 The disciples understand, and ask why one conduit is greater than another.

123.29 – 124.22 The first conduit is greatest, because it is bound in all the earths. Then the second, because much life is drawn from vegetation, the Cross of Light, which covers the whole earth. The least is that connected to mankind and other fleshly creatures, because these only cover a small part of the world in the south.

124.22 – 32 Mani's concluding comments.

Once again the enlightener speaks: There are three conduits that e[x]/ist through the entire zone, from the abyss to its heights.

[25] The first conduit is the root of all the powers a[b]/ove, they that exist in all the heavens. They are cast off / and fettered on the earths below; because the earth [be]/low is the 'stripping off', the garment and the body of the powers [th]/at are above the heavens.

For when the Father of Li[fe] [30] constructed the heavenly worlds, he di[vested th]em of their bodies, [he] / threw them to the earths below.

So, the up[per] worlds / are of the soul and the spirit; b[ut the worlds] / below are of the body and the carca[ss ...] (**121**) Now as for this, he [...] the powers of heaven; he se/aled it on their bodies and their carcasses that are on the earths, so that / when life comes up from the fullness of these earths, / it can be entirely drawn up to the heights in the roots of what is heavenly, th[5]at are fastened in their bodies. And also, all life can be purified in that place. / However, the waste that will be swept from the puri/fied one who ascends to the heights will be let fall to the ground / through the conduits of these conduits, and will be poured down [...] a/nd thrown to the underside. This is the first conduit, wh[10]ich comes from the powers of the heavens to their bodies and

their / carcasses that are upon the earth; also, from their bodies and [their] c/arcasses that are on the earths to the powers of the heavens. /

The second conduit is the one that comes from the temples and dw/ellings and cities that exist in the heavens down to the ground, to [15] the five shapes of tree that grow upon the earth. The life comes / up from the trees to the temples and cities. Life*[60] to/o, and the residue of the heavenly ones, comes down to the trees in a / conduit.

And the third conduit is all the / powers and householders who dwell in all the firmaments, [20] whose roots come down from them to the five wo/rlds of flesh that creep upon the earth, being fixed to one another. / Now, the power and the life that shall be gathered in from the worlds / of flesh are dispersed among them in various shapes. The / powers above shall draw them to the upper side through conduits. [25] [The was]te too, and the l[u]st and the evil-doing and the anger th/[at] will be greater in the powers of [heave]n, shall be poured to the ground thr[ough] / their various conduits. They shall be discharged upon mankind / [and] the other remaining animals. When what is heavenly will wash / the waste and the stench and the poison down on the creations [30] of the flesh below, in their turn the creations shall be greate/r [i]n lust and anger and evil-doing against each other / [throug]h the action of their fathers who are on high. /

The apostle [say]s: [St]ill, look at the wheel of the stars! It has no / [root in this earth], but its roots are bound in the to[35]tality. The wheel of stars], then, receives life through the power (**122**) and the life that asce[nd fr]om the earths through conduits / and the firmaments above. It (also) takes life from those conduits / that receive up to the firmaments and the heavenly worlds / above it, it takes life out from that place.

[5] Then the disciples questioned the enlightener. They say to him: Look, / in that the wheel has no root in this earth, from where did the stars / and signs of the zodiac find this authority? They became masters over these five / fleshes and five trees. Even though

*[60] Probably a scribal error from 121.15

you have told us that / the wheel has no root there! For you said to us that every [10] thing, if it can be reduced from the earth, the heavenly powers above / draw it through a conduit. Also, we see / that every thing that a person will attain, whether it be weal/th that comes into his possession or poverty that will / accrue to him, or his sickness and health; he attains it thro[15]ugh the signs of the zodiac and the star under which he shall be born*61. /

Then he says to his disciples: Nevertheless, what I proclaimed to / you, namely that the wheel has no root therein, I have recounted to / you properly. It is set aright in its position. For when / the Living Spirit, the Father of Life, constructed the heavens and [20] the firmaments above, he bound their roots in / to the earths below; in their carcasses that he had stripped / from them. Yet, when he constructed the wheel, [he] did not / bind its root in to the e[arths], but he bound the ro/ot of the wheel by the s[e]a gian[t].

And when [the] [25] Ambassador came, he displa[yed] his image / and purified and brought the light o[ut from] all [the] heavens. M[a]/tter, however, which is present in all the rulers, spurted o[ut] / against the image of the Ambassador. It went u[p] / in order to reach it, but reached it not. It dropped back and fell to the [under][30]side. Now, when it had fallen from above, it / separated out into three parts.

The first part / fell to the wheel; anoth[er part fell to the earth; an(**123**)o]ther part fell to the se[a. By means] of the part that fell to / the sphere, [the r]oot was bound in the trees and flesh. / Therefore, because of this, they received au[thor]ity and became masters in the five / worlds of the flesh and the five worlds of the tree. Through [5] the nat[ure] that came dow[n upo]n the wheel / the root was bound in the trees. Also, by means of the abortions / that came to the ground, another root was bound in the fleshes. Therefore, because / of this, the st[a]rs and signs of the zodiac received authority over the trees / and the fleshes: through the root of sin that fell do[10]wn; and [the ro]ot of the abortions that were aborted there, they fell / to the ground. However, the[se] other conduits that [the] Living Spirit has bo/und in the e[a]rths, they that the soul of the elements c[o]mes u/[p thro]ugh to the

*61 Cf 117. 32 ff. for more on Manichaean concepts of astral determinism.

heavens; tho[se] (conduits) are not bound to the whe/el. Rather, they are [pl]undered from them by the [p]owers on the wheel, [15] that hang from it.

The disciples of the enlightener say: / We beseech you, our master, that just as you have in/structed us and put together this lesson on [...] / you have told us about the prototype of the conduits. / The first is the one that comes from the firmaments to the earths, and [20] the one that comes from the wheel to the sea giant. / That is only one. So, the other root is the one that comes / [fr]om [the temples] to the trees. The third is bound / by means of the abortions in the f[leshes]; also in the fleshes the fathers of the abort/[ions] who are in the heavens [...] are bound and twined, and the[y] that [25] [...]

We entreat you, our master, that you might in/[str]uct us [... about] the conduits, the one that is greater than its / [partn]er [...] as more life and soul is drawn / [...] than its partner. /

The enlightener [says] to his disciples: You have inquired about a [30] [...] and y[o]u have asked about this lesson in superiority*62, great / [... the ea]rth from which much life ascends / [...] the Father of Life has drawn them. (**124**) He has fastened them from the powers [...] he has bound them in / the earths. (These conduits) are the ro/ots of the ent[ire] ruling-power that the life of the living so/ul is drawn up t[hrou]gh, it coming up f[5]rom the whole earth, from all the mountains, fiel/ds and islands. After that first great root / is the root of the trees, which is bound to the temples / and the buildings above. For there also is much great life / coming up from the tree and the entire Cross, [10] being drawn up from them to the uppe[r si]de like / a gr[eat] ho[s]t. What, however, is lesser [...] of / their conduit [...] he takes up [...] / the roots [...] the earths, they [...] the whole ea/rth in all the worlds. Again, these of the trees are present in [15] the whole earth, whether small or great; but the root of / mankind [...] is not present / in the whole earth, other than only this world of the / south. Therefore, even now these fleshes do not make [...] in the entire wo/rld of the south [...] there is a small [20] part of them in

*62 I.e. the lesson is about the superiority of one conduit over the other.

[...] of the upper side / of the world of the south in [...] / in number than the [...]

I have ins[tr]/ucted you about the roots [...] them, [I] / have taught you that they are bound by their [roots ...] i[25]n with one another. They stir one [anoth]er, they draw / life from one another through the action of the [powers] a[b]/ove, which stirs the nature that dwells in th[em] all. / Now, when the Matter that is in t[hem] will be crushed and [de]/spoiled, then t[h]at Matter too shall [...] [30] its members and overturn them and [...] / each other [...] stir [... / ...] (**125**)

••• 49 •••

(125,1 – 125,24)

/ Concerning the Wh[eel and the Conduits]. /

The conduits are spiritual (pneumatic). Therefore, they can neither be cut by, nor entangled in, the wheel of the stars as it circles in the heavens.

His disciples say to him: Convince us, our master, ab/out this other thing. How does the wheel circle over the conduits, [5] which extend from the heavens to the earths, and it not cut them? Or why / shall the conduits not get entangled in with the wheel / as it circles and drives [... through the u]niverse? /

The enlightener says to them: The reason that the conduits shall not be cut, / for they are not cut, is because they are spiritual. Thus [10] the conduits are like the waters through which ships / sail. You shall find the prow that is in position in the / front part of the ship divides the waters, casting t[h]em back / and forth. So, when it parts the wat[ers] / and that ship opens up the water with its c[leaving] pro[w], [15] immediately and without delay the wat/ers [min]gle with each other again behind the ship; and the pa/th of the ship shall not be discernible in the midst of the waters. /

Just as when a bird flies up in the air, for its / path is not visible in the air,*[63] ++ and in the way of mankind, [20] in the sun within the

*63 The text seems to be corrupt here: perhaps a line has dropped out

conduits. They also shall not be tangled up / in them, and neither shall you find their path through the air known. /

This is also the case with the wheel. It turns through the conduits and / the air. The wheel shall not cut the conduits, nor / are the conduits them[selves] entangled in the wheel.

••• 50 •••

(125,25 – 126,29)

/ Concerning these Na[mes]: God, Rich One, / and Ange[l]; who they are. /

The many divine emanations in the Manichaean system exist at various levels, depending upon their function in the overall history, and on the directness of their evocation from the supreme Father. In this kephalaion Mani distinguishes the three categories of 'god', 'rich one' and 'angel'.

He then applies these to three distinct moments: the archetypes in the eternal land of light; the emanations who have entered into time and the cosmos; and those who belong to the households of the Great Spirit, the Beloved of the Lights, and the Ambassador. This last sequence is probably intended eschatologically, these being principal figures in the three series of emanations: descent, creation and redemption.

[O]nc]e again the enlightener speaks: This one, a name is given to him in / the world. For people pronounce it with their mouths: 'go[30][d', 'ri]ch one', and 'angel'. Who are they? Who are the gods? Or / [who] are the rich ones? Or who are the angels? Who are these / [three] archetypes?

His disciples asked him. They say: T/[ell] us, our master, who they are! /

[The a]postle [speaks] to them: There are these three archetypes [35] [in the land of light, and there is no measure to] them!

[So], the ones who are call[ed] (**126**) 'god', are the gods whom the Father has summoned / from himself. He has establ[ished them] after the likeness / of his greatness.

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which finished the analogy of the bird's flight and introduced another analogy about mankind.

Conversely, these who are named / 'rich [...]', are the evocations of the first ri[ch] go[5]ds [of] the Father; because, when the Father had summoned (the first), / they themselves summoned evocations. They called them / 'rich'.

They too, the rich ones, have summoned their / evocations. They call them 'angel'.

These are the three / [archety]pes who occur in the land of light. There is no measure to apply to [10] them!

Once again, listen! Other persons / who are named 'god' are the emanations who have / come f[r]om the Father; the evocations of the Father whom he summoned forth. / They came out to the contest and humiliated the enmity. /

Conversely, the 'rich ones' are [the ev]ocations of these first living words. [15] They too, the rich ones, have come and performed and fulfilled the plea/sure of the greatness; [in the] worlds that are above and / below.

On the other hand, the ones who are named the 'ange/ls' are the evocations of the rich ones; who had come from the three / living words. They have been sent in an embassy and [20] an apostolate to this building. They have come to the entire divinity, / which is established in silence and in hiddenness. [An]/d, also, they have come to all the souls who have been entangled in the en[emy]. / They have brought them hope and confidence.

On[ce again] / the enlightener speaks: Again, they are called 'go[d]', [25] all the gods who belong to the household of the Great Spirit. /

Conversely, the ones who are called 'angel', are al[l] the angels / who belong to the household of the Beloved of the Lights.

The ones who are called / 'rich', are all the rich ones who belong to the house[hold of the] glorious [Amb]/assador.

••• 51 •••

(126,30 – 127,23)

/ Concerning the First Man. /

The First Man descends for battle with his armour of the five light elements. These are his garments or sons, the living soul that becomes mixed with the darkness, and which ensures the final victory.

Once again our light father speaks: When the [First] / Man came forth [agai]nst the ene[my ... (**127**) ...] garment [...] the darkness with the garment / [of] living fire. With that garment he withered / the tumescence (?) of the enemy; he brought down i[t]s foolery / and its vanity. Now, this one alone was sufficient [5] for them. [Y]et, si[n]ce the living fire was weakened, because of this / he added [to it another fou]r garments: that of the wind, that of the water, that of the li/ght, and that of the a[i]r. And this, (why) has he given the four? / He gave them s[o] th[a]t they would be helpe[r]s to t[h]at god, / wh[ich i]s the living fire; so that [...] not [10] with[in] the living f[ire], and penetrate it; and [the po]ison / and the [enmi]ty cut it off.

While the fire received / a bl[ow and] a wound in its body; yet still, / [...] all the powers of da[rk]ness because of it [...] It / [...] necessity [...] brothers, to cause them [15] to receive a blow and a woun[d to]o. The power of the en/emy mixed in with them. Rath[er, ex]cept [the air]. The darkness did not / mix in with it, nor was the burning of the enemy able to penet/rate it. Nevertheless, even the one that remained behind without / the wound, which is the air, it stripped off garment and [20] power. It gave it to its [fo]ur brothers in its place; so that by / that [ga]rment of the living air they would become strong, and / [...] profit, and endure, namely its other four brothers. And it / [be]came for them [...] life.

••• 52 •••

(127,24 – 129,4)

25 *Conce[rning] the [...]* *64 *of the Light. /*

The harmony and common purpose of the divine has enabled the light to overcome, and ultimately to condemn to eternal imprisonment, the evil forces of darkness who rebelled against it. They were disunited in their attack, and thus failed; just as happens between kingdoms in this world. Mani uses this lesson to exhort harmony in truth amongst his followers.

[Onc]e again the en[li]ght[ener] speaks to his disciples: [Now as to what affects the] / light, behold, at the beginning the darkness was strong against it / [...] no disunity [...] exists in the light. /

[...] how far [... the lig]ht that came forth from [... 30 ...] in that place in a / [...] alone / [...] (**128**) the greatness of the light with one another for ever, / and nor did one of them transgress the command and or/der that his brother had entrusted to him forever.

However, the da/rkness, the enemy, was doomed and overcome; because 5 of the arising of disharmony it was divided within itself. Even the kin/gdom was divided within itself; [and] ev[en] the [powers, who had] left / their abyss behind and come up fo[llowing] it, were do/omed because of the disunity that was present in all of them. / The darkness was destroyed, and its other powers were humiliated, because 10 the p[ower] of that first light functions in the same way / as the kingdom of this world. As long as its [associates in the m]yste/ry*65 are in agreement with it, th[at] kingdom [...] and / they marvel at it and it receives glory, the one that [...] and it sur/passes and is even more exalted than this other kingdom, which is about [to burst out] against [it].

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*64 It would be tempting to restore ϯ[ⲙⲉ]ⲧⲉ 'harmony', since the theme of the chapter is the concord of the light as opposed to the disunity among the powers of darkness: see K 128.19. The four-letter lacuna, however (if correctly transcribed) would seem to be too long for ϯ[ⲙⲉ]ⲧⲉ, and it would also be surprising to find no definite article following ⲉⲧⲃⲉ

*65 Cf PsBkl. 164.29? (Psalm 121) ⲛⲱⲃⲣⲙⲛⲥⲧⲏ[ⲣⲟ]ⲛ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲟⲟⲩⲉ and 51.14 104.24 128.11 15

15 Still, the kingdom, [the one that] its associates in the mystery [are in agreement]*66 / upon, is compelled to condemn that (other) kingdom; and the[y] / are humiliated and come under the hand of this kingdom that is set up against it. /

In exactly the same way, you yourselves, when you are decid/ed and all agreed with one another, and at a single mom[ent] 20 when you are of one mind about this living truth that is / unveiled to you, then it is possible for you all from y[o]/ur least to your greatest to conquer the sin that is set u[p ag]/ainst you. Should you be divided i[n] / this truth that is unveiled to you – may it not happen! – the [conse]25quence of its happening is that you will be condemned by it a[nd] / also humiliated under [the ha]nd of [s]in, and you / [...] under all its other powers that are set up / [... / ... 30 ... / ... (**129**) ...]

Neither be di[v]ide[d ... a]t your beginning nor / [a]t your end, and you will conquer those above and / those below; and bring under your feet every thing / [t]hat is and that will be!

••• 53 •••

(129,5 – 131,9)

/ Concerning the First Man. /

This chapter discusses the way that the kingdom of darkness and its powers were doomed from the time of the descent of the First Man. He snared the evil forces by his garment of living fire (see further chapter 51); and thus drew them out of their storehouses. The Living Spirit then constructed the universe out of them; and the storehouses were left barren, like a marsh when all the birds and fish have been netted.

Mani develops further analogies: this is like the human body, where the limbs depend upon the head (see also 84.21 – 25). If a limb is cut off the person remains alive; but he dies without the head. Thus, once deprived of Matter and the evil powers, the storehouses were devastated like headless limbs. Similarly, this is like a dead body, once the soul leaves it.

Once again the enlightener speaks: At the time when the First Man was sent / to the war in the first garment of / [living fire],

*66 Restoring [ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲉ] instead of [ⲡⲁⲣⲁ] of the ed. pr. For ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲉϩⲉⲛ see Crum, 189b.

which he gave to the first nature that ex[10][ists ...] in t[h]at single garment. / [...] he hunted Matter, the tho[ug]ht / [of death, ...] and all its other powers.

[W]hen / [the First M]an came up from the [abys]s, / [... the] Living [S]pirit brought the rulers whom he had [hun]ted [15] [...] element, that [...] of [the land of] dark/ne[ss, that] he might construct from them this universe and fashion / everything appropriate for the greatness. From that time on, / the place of the storehouses of the elements [...] / he destroyed and laid waste the [...] [20] all that were in it.

Just like a marsh, / of which the fish and birds are snared in a net, a/nd only the waters are left behind and the reeds and / the plants that grow in it, this is also the case with the store/[houses of] death. The [First] Man snared their counsels and [25] [their k]in that were [in them], and the storehouses were left b/ehind in their [dwelli]ng place.

So then, the case / [of] the land of darkness is like this, as is that of the storehouses / [t]hat were in it.

[J]ust as the body of man / has [ma]ny lim[bs] in it, [30] [the land of darkness] has [storehouses from] its beginning / [...] all [the limbs] that (**130**) hang from the great head of the [body]. A si[ngle] root / is the root of them all, because they all hang from / the great head that is on top of the body. Should a limb be cut / from the tip of [the]se small [h]eads, [5] the great head that is on top of them [al]l stays in / its place the way that it is [...]*67/ you find this person alive. Al[l] these sm[all h]eads / are firmly set in it [...] / Wh[en] they will cut from them [... [10] ...] all of them, these little [heads] shall [... / ...] the corpses, because they might see [... / ...] be firmly set [...] / in the body, which they joined wi[th it ...] /

In exactly this way, it is also the case [that] [15] the storehouses of darkness are the same, the things from which the [darkness gushed] / forth.

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*67 For the notion that the head is the root of the limbs, and its relationship to the extremities, see also 84.21 – 24 and 280.26 – 29

Also, while that Matter / and all its other powers are present in the depths of the / store[ho]uses, they too are alive. Firmly set / were their kin in them, to do whatever they wished [20] in their storehouses. However, from the time when they took the [po]/ison of this nature, they were deprived of (Matter) and it was separated from them, / and all its powers. Those [store]houses and e[le]/-ments became inactive and were devastated, [no en]ergy wa[s in th]/em to do anything.

Just like a bod[y: When] [25] the soul shall come forth f[rom it no] energy shall be found i[n] it, / nor anything ste[ady] at all, because [the] / soul that was in it leaves and has come forth. For [i]t, the ene[r/g]y*[68], does everything [...] /

This is also the case [with ... [30] ... (**131**) ...] / when [...] in them [...] / every thing that pleases them in those storehouses [... / ...] the elements that are in them; but when they [took] [5] from [th]eir midst death, which is Matter, a division*[69] [... / ...] storehouses and elements [... / ... a] body that is dead [... / ...] land without life as it has no [... / ... i]n it.

••• 54 •••

(131,10 – 133,3)

/ [ConcernJing the Quality of the Garments. /

The Living Spirit constructs the universe out of the mixture of darkness and light resulting from the deliberate sacrifice of the five garments or sons of the First Man. This is then held in place by his own five sons. Mani compares the Living Spirit to an architect who builds a palace for a king. This metaphor is then extended: the Father of Life (i.e. the Living Spirit) as a perfect carpenter, and the Ambassador as king in this universe.

[Once again] the enlightener [speaks]: At the time when the F[ir]st / [Man ...] he gave the leadership to his five [sons / ... the] Living [S]pirit and the Mother of Life [...] [15] as the entire ruling-power is entwined and crucified [... / ...] they were poured out

*68 Reading ⲧⲉⲛⲉ[ⲣⲧ]ⲁϣ for ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲉ[...].ⲁϣ of the ed. pr.

*69 ⲡⲁⲣⲍ. Only here in the chapter as a noun; the root is the same as ⲡⲣⲁⲍ in the previous chapter.

and mixed with each othe[r], / the light with the darkness and the darkness with the li[ght]. /

At that time the Living Spirit called one of [h]is / sons, one rich with power. He gave to him the le[adership] [20] of the garments. Now, he himself [...] of [... / he] hung them and set [them up ... / o]f the Father of [Life ...] he set up / all things [... / ...] he opened [...] ten firmaments [... [25] ...] the wheel of the stars [... / ...] them and the [... / ...]

The Living Spirit is l[ike] / this: Just as [...] and an archite[c/t] who might bu[ild a dwell]ing for the king, and divide it up into [30] separate houses and [separate ... / ...] everything that is requ[ir]ed (**132**) for beauty [... / ...] and he cleans them. And also the stones [... / ...] them for beauty and {loveliness}*[70], and he a[r]/ranges them and makes them so that should the king come and i[n]habit [5] that [palace], he might glorify him. /

[F]urther[mo]re, the Father of Lif[e resembles a] / wise and skilled ca[rpent]er [... / ...] before [it] was worked [... befo]/re it w[a]s established and made beautiful and [... c]arpenter [10] [...] works in it, but [... / ...] in him in his [...] / in his understanding, and he brings the sa[w ... and] / the a[d]ze, and cuts it into separate piec[es ... / ...] it and he pulls the [...] [15] it with the {plane}*[71] and he smooths it. He shall make many [... / ...] wooden implements, arranging them shape by shap[e]; / he cuts and produces wooden implements from it, / wooden [implements] of different kinds, (such as) dishes, bowls. This wood, that [... / ...] since previously it had not been worked before it was sealed [20] by [the ski]ll and wisdom of this dextrous carpenter. / He [cut] it up into different sorts of implements usefu[l / to hi]s master.

So [is it] also with the Father of Lif[e. / In his] wisdom he has [...] in limbs [... / ...] palace [... [25] ...] in it or in a [... us]eful [... / ... th]e ships of light [... / ...] all [the] other works [...] in the [... / ...] so that when the great king comes, h[e] who / is the Third Am[bassador], who [...] [30] he mig[ht] dwell in this universe [...]

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*[70] ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲟⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ Cf 162.3 and 206.14 for the same phrase.
*[71] ϭⲁⲡ

live. The li[ght], / however, that is in it [... (**133**) ...] wise, and he takes it up / [to the] land; but the waste and the darkness / [will be] gathered and thrown down to the abyss.

••• 55 •••

(133,4 – 137,11)

5 *Concerning the Fashion/ing of Adam.* /

133.7 – 135.26 Since Adam and Eve were fashioned by the evil rulers, after the image of the Ambassador displayed in the heavens, some of the disciples believe that the human figure must have divine approval. Mani explains that this is not the case. The Ambassador displayed his image so as to free the living soul from Matter in which it was entangled. The human image is merely a copy of the divine, fashioned in lust, and very imperfect. Mani develops a parable about a beautiful and noble woman who is forced to come out from her honourable seclusion, and display herself to the lust of every man, in order to help her beloved brother.

135.27 – 136.20 In a similar way not only mankind, but also many other powers in the universe, have received the stamp of the divine image. This image could not have originated from the worlds of darkness.

136.20 – 137.11 Not all forms of life have been generated from sexual intercourse. Mani gives three examples: the sea giant; a second monster that rises from the sea and is overpowered by the Adamant; vegetation. Like mankind, these also were not brought by the King of Darkness into the universe. Instead, they are composite forms of life that come into being during the history, and thus are not solely the products of either good or evil.

[Once more his] disciples questioned the glorious one. They say to [him: / There are some amo]ng us telling us that / we [know (?) ...] that the (Ambassador) consents about [10] [tha]t f[igure] of flesh; he who shall be fashi[oned / ...] at another time. And next, he says: / [The Ambassa]dor displayed his image in / the un[iverse. The] rulers and the powers of the universe saw / h[is image], and they formed their shapes after his [15] likeness, who are Adam and Eve. Behold, you (pl.) see that / g[o]d con[sen]ts to its happening; because of this, he has dis/played his image to the rulers; and they constructed [... / ...] If he was not consenting to humankind, he would not have / uncovered his image, nor they fashioned [20] mankind after his likeness! /

[The]n speaks the glorious one to his disciples: Regarding the Amb/assador, the occasion when he came displaying his image, / he [d]id not come so th[a]t he might reveal his image to the ru/[l]ers in the universe. Rather, he came and displayed [25] to the universe be[cause of h]is soul and his son, who is / [...] every [...], that he might enable him to live [... / an]d make for him a release; and to free (the soul) from / every bond and all the fetters, in which it is entangled and bound. /

Still, you, look and see! The ru[30]lers and the authorities, in that they had no form in / [...] him, they lusted for his (**134**) image. They reflected upon themselves, that [they] had no [one] / like him in their creation. They sealed hi[s im]a[g]e / in their heart, within their soul. Afterward[s, they] / built it according to his likeness; they formed Adam and [Ev]e. [5] They sealed the image of the exalted one in their [soul]. So, they / [co]pied with an imitation; but they have not [copied i]n / truth! Rather, just as [... / ...] it is made as these, for [i]t came [...] / but it is not l[ik]e him in truth. [Again, so too] [10] is this figure of ma[nkind. They copi]/ed it against the image of the exalted one [...] /

Similarly the [t]ree, for while it is like the [... it is] not [copi]/ed in truth.

This matt[er is comparable to] / this: As a great, fre[e] woman [... [15] ...] within her [... / ...] rich in wealth [...] po[ss]essions; / she is also beautiful in her beauty, and is virtuous in her / modesty. She walks in a free and reputable position. / The fame of her beauty has spread in every c[i][20]ty. She sur[passes ...] Behold h[er] / chamber [...] one who is mad, because [of] / the nobles and the great ones. Al[so], they lust / for her beautiful face. They did not [...] her, because / she is hidden in her palace [... [25] ...] within in a [...] / meet that woman [...] his so[n]; / or rather the head [... t]hat garment. / This free woman shall [...] leave the cha[mber] / behind her and come to the street [...] her head [...] [30] and she reveals her [face and her beauty ... (**135**) ...] because of her beloved broth[er]. This wom/an, on whom no man ever looked, nor did they ever see / her fa[ce], as she neither desires nor rejoices [... / ...] leave her chamber behind her, and come in the midst of [5] mankind [...] and everyone view her. The / hones[t] men and the nobles, even the servants too, and the / [... l]ook at her.

In accord with this simile: Again, [this] too [is] how / [...] the Ambassador becomes [... / ...] as this free woman [... not] according to wantonness, in pride, nor / [... she co]nsented to the outer world, she [... / ...], she revealed her face and her [beau]ty / [...] but only due to the constraint of grief / [about] her [bel]ov[ed one].

Now, this too is the way of the Third Ambassador, when he came / and display[ed his] image with a show towards all the powers. / [He did] not [co]me so that all the rulers and the author/[it]ies would sculpt a form [after h]is likeness. R[ather], / he came because of his son being crucified in the totality; [fo]r he would release him, free him, and rescue him from / oppression. Yet, when the rulers looked o[n] him, / [th]ey lusted for his image. They fashioned after his / [like]ness Adam and Eve, without the consent of the gre/[at]ness.

Now, behold, I have e[nl]ightened you [about the answe]r to this question, for which you asked; that y/[ou may] happen to commit it to memory. /

[Understa]nd also this other (matter) that I will teach you. For, [a]s / with Adam and Eve, whom the rulers fashioned and / [se]aled after the image of the exalted one, so too this [i]s how a manifold divinity and many powers / [and] angels [... received] the stamp of that image, (**136**) which was displayed to them. For, in the majesty of the l[ig]/ht and (the image's) love, they glowed with their desire and they were undone. / Th[ey] were eager for their lust; like a m[an who looks] / to the majesty of a lusted after face, and [...] and he is eager for the {}*72 of the desire.

This is [als]o the case / with those powers, when they looked on that majestic / and beautiful [imag]e, they {} [...] / a first image. They received the stamp of th[at image], / which was displayed to them. They copied [... wh]ich th[ey co]pied out in a likeness, it being made [... / ...] the ones that they had put forth, which had received a [stamp of this im]/age; but inward even to the rocks [... / ...] which occur from place to place. The {} of that image, /

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*72 𐤔𐤓𐤒 Also 136.7.13 Smagina 1990:120 relates the word to 𐤔𐤅𐤓 'dig deep'.

which was displayed in the universe [...] [15] they received a stamp, it being revealed there, and an impress. / Now, this new birth that they begot in a new [...] in / the world, is Adam and Eve. [There is not a] form / in their world since the beginning like it; because that / [im]age [occ]urs not in the worlds b[20]elow.

Not all the figures that have been fashioned / were fashioned by birth from displayed intercourse. / Rather, there are other figures fashioned / [...]

One of them is the sea / [gi]ant, the 'sweeping' from the sphere, which the [Father] [25] of Life discharged into the sea. Its own fire / and thought fashioned it [in] / a figure.

The second figure is the one / [that] fell to the earth. It made the sea its womb. Its own l/ust became its sculptor. It alone fashio[30]ned it to a nature, which is the root of / death. Yet, when it came up from the sea, it [...] / that it might destroy the works [...] (**137**) of Life. They immediately sent against it the Adamant / of Light, the great 'instruction of vigour'. He humbled it / in the districts of the north. He has trampled underfoot and set h/imself upon it, until the end of the world.

[5] [The] third figure is the nature that fell on wh/[at] is dr[y. It fash]ioned the tree and set itself there. / [... the] new figure that was fashioned / [... d]isplays.

So, in accord with the essence they / [... the dark]ness; but yet th[ey] did not come with the King of [10] Dark[ness to the wo]rld. Rather, their fashioning [came] about / [...] they are composite and have been displayed in the world.

••• 56 •••

(137,12 – 144,12)

/ [Concern]ing Saklas and his Powers. /

137.15 – 138.19 Consequent to the previous chapter this kephalaion begins with the question as to how Adam and Eve received the seal of the image of the Ambassador, even though they who fashioned them (led by Saklas and

his consort as in other accounts) had not themselves directly seen this image. Mani explains that sinful Matter, which had originally seen the image during the seduction episode, led directly through its subsequent generation to those who shaped Adam and Eve. Thus the seal of the image was retained.

138.20 – 141.14 The next section is essentially a separate kephalaion, loosely linked to the previous passage. In repetitive style Mani explains how the various human senses take in, retain, and can then produce from memory ('storage facilities') earlier perceptions. In an excursus (140.22 – 141.1) he comments that the heart governs the senses, and develops two brief similes.

141.14 – 142.11 Spiritual entities guard the gates of the senses (the orifices of the body) like watchmen at a camp. This understanding of the body as the micro-cosmos full of powers is characteristic of Manichaeism.

142.12 – 143.32 When the Light Mind enters the body, transforming the old man into the new (see ch. 38) it takes over the control of the senses, oppressing the old guard that were directed by sin. Now the senses close to the perceptions of lust, and are open to righteousness. In the final part of this section (143.24 – 32) the rule of the Light Mind is referred to as that of the Holy Spirit, an unusual and interesting shift in terminology.

144.1 – 12 Mani concludes by exhorting his hearers always to guard their senses, secure in righteousness, so as to attain the rest or peace that is eternal salvation.

[O]nc[e again the di]sciples questioned the e[n]lightener. They say to him: 15 All [these a]bortions, am[o]ngst them are Saklas and his / consort and the ones whom they have served [...], they are the ones that shap/ed Adam and Eve. How did they find this beautiful image / laid over their shape, even though when it was / displayed to their fathers they were not in existence? They never saw 20 the image of the Ambassador! And how did they take / the seal of the image of the Ambassador? They added it to / [the] shape of Adam and Eve. /

The enlightener [speak]s to them thus: The sin that spur/ted out from the rulers, which is Matter, shot up 25 [tow]ards the image of the Ambassador. It was cut off from [tha]t place / and came down to the earth, for they did not accept / [it wi]thin the firmaments. When it came do/[wn to] the earth, it formed the tree. It was established / within the wood and formed the fruits. And when 30 [the] abortions fell [to] the ground, to the earth, at the [second] time / [... / ...] (**138**) fruits, it assumed the[m] and spoke in the ruler, / their leader. He says to his companions: Come! Give me yo/ur light, and I will construct for you an image aft[er] / the

likeness of the exalted one. What he said, they did: they gave [5] it to him, and he constructed [...] /

Again the enlightener says: The sin that s[purted out ... / ...] which is the Matter that saw the im[age of the Ambassa]/dor and that formed the tre[e and was established i]/n [i]t; afterwards it came up in the [fruits ...] [10] It went in to the rulers [...] they / formed Adam and Eve after the [likeness of the] exalt[ed one]. / Through the energy of the sin that had s[een the image of the] / Ambassador, it went into the (rulers) [through the fruits. It] / assumed them and they [t]oo sculp[ted ... they] [15] begat each of them according to his destiny [...]; / one he resembles, one he does not resemble.

Behold, I have taught y/ou this lesson, how the rulers shaped Adam and / Eve by the action of the sin that went into the[m] / through the fruits, and he was ordained after the image of the exalted one.

[20] Once again the enlightener speaks: The moulder placed in the / form of Adam and Eve limbs, outside and wi/thin, for perception and activity. He*[73] was apportioned / house by house*[74]. For everything that his perceptions and / elements will receive externally there are internal storehouses [25] and repositories and caviti[es; and] / what is received in to them is stored in them. [When]/ever they will be questioned about what is deposited in their internal store/houses, they bring out what they have received within a/nd give it to the questioner who requested it of them.

[30] In this way his faculty*[75] [...] / outer [limbs] to look at [...] / every type with[in ...] also [the fa](**139**)culty of the eyes [has] houses and caviti/es and repositories and stores within, so that every image / it might see, whether good or evil, whether / loveable or detestable or lu[5]stful, it can receive into its storehouses and / repositories. Also, when the faculty of the / eyes is pleased to send out the image that it saw / and took in, it can go in to its storehouses [at the] / time and think and seek [...] [10] and it brings

*[73] I.e. Adam or the human form.
*[74] I.e. the physical and mental senses are distributed in the appropriate places throughout the body.
*[75] Lit. 'thought'.

it out [and] gives it to the questioner who requested it / and the one who wan[t]ed it. Whether it be something from / lu[st*76 ... or a]n image of love [or ... / ... something] hateful. And thus shall that faculty (of the eyes) / produce and do what it does in each category.

15 The faculty of the ears has its own storehouses / also. Every sound it might receive, whether good or evil, / shall be taken in and placed in its houses and inner repositor/ies, and it is guarded in its [...] for a / thousand days. After a thousand days, if someone comes and 20 asks that faculty about the sound that it heard / [at] this time and took into its storehouses, immediately / it [sh]all g[o] into its repositories and seek and review / and search after this word, and send it out from where it / was first put, the place in which it was kept.

25 [In] like order, the faculty of scent / [s]hall function just as that of the eyes and that of the auditory organs. / Every [o]dour it shall smell it shall take in [to it] and / [d]eposit in its inner storehouses. Every time it will be / [a]sked by a questioner, it shall go in 30 [...] and [...] storehouse and remember / [...] (**140**) only these things.

However, even the mouth and the tongue within it, / and the taste organ, have a faculty dwelling in them. / Again, that faculty too, o/f taste, has thus cavities and repositories 5 set apart for it. It too receives these tastes and gathers them / in. A[nd] at any moment when someone will ask of a taste, if / [...] it shall send it out and remember tha[t] taste. / It shall snare and give even the mar[k of] th[a]t taste; / give its memory to the qu[est]ioner who asks for it.

10 Again, the fac[ul]ty of touch by the hands is also s[o]: / When it might touch, touch shall [receive i]ts memory. / And it [takes] it in to its inner repository [until] / som[eo]ne will ask this faculty for the memory. [Immediately], / it shall go in again and bring out the memory of this tou15ch that it made, and give it to whoever asks for it. /

And the faculty of the heart that rules over them all is much / the most like this. Every thing that these five fac/ulties will receive

*76 Reading ⲉⲡ[ⲓⲟⲧⲙⲓⲁ

and put in store for / the faculty of the heart it shall receive and guard. [20] Any time that they will ask for their deposit it shall send out / and give every thing that they gave to it. /

For the counsel of the heart is like the king. / All the ad[v]isers*[77] of his city and the leaders of his a[r]/my are placed with him. Any time if his genera[ls] [25] will entreat him for whatever they wish, he shall give them the ad[v]/ice and opinion by which they move. /

Furthermore, it is like a cellarman: [Eve]ry thing that / will be entrusted to it by them, and given to it, it shall receive / and put in separate vessels and places. Any time [30] [... / ... / ...] (**141**) in the place that it put it.

This also is the way of / the faculty of the body. The vision that the eyes will se/e and give to it, and it receives it in, it shall bring out again / from the storehouses wherein it had placed it; and give it to whoever asks for it.

[5] Again, [the] sound that the ears will hear and give to it, / and it receives it from them. At any time when someone will ask it for that so/und, it shall bring out and give the sound of the ear[s] / to whoever has asked it for that sound. It shall bring out and / give the sound of the ears to whoever has asked.

[10] Again, [the] faculty of smell in this same pattern; and that of taste / i[s] of the same [ty]pe. The touch by the han[ds ... / ...] they shall bring it out in to [... / ...] And whenever they will as[k it] for it, it shall bring it out / and gi[ve it].

Once again the enlightener speaks: [15] Indeed, watchmen are a[t] these doors guarding them, / and bolts are fastened on the doors at the hands of the gu/ards that guard them!

Just like watchmen guarding a c/amp with towers and watchposts. As the holding rooms come*[78] / out from there and the bolts are upon the gates, the guar[20]ds control the bolts of the gates while they sit at the entrance / [of] the watchposts. So, someone who

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*[77] Lit. advices.

*[78] Reading ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲓ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ for ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲓ.ⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ of the ed. princ.

belongs to their city as a fellow / [cit]izen of them, belonging to their country, for him they shall open / [the ga]te and receive him in by their will. However, the foreigner / who comes they shall prevent, and leave him stand[25][i]ng at the gate. They shall not yield to let him enter. / Again, another one whom they will receive in, with great trouble before / [they] take him in, you shall find many holding rooms [... / ...] that [...] there are a mass [... / ...] them. The number of d[oor] bolts [30] [...] are [...] Whenever someone will wish / [...] the bolts at his hand, opens (**142**) the gate and brings out whoever is hidden within. /

The enlightener says: This body too is like the mighty c/amp. And the gates of the camp with / their guards are like the orifices and organs [5] of the body. Now, the orifices of the body are of sight, / hearing and smell; and they that send o/ut words. There are many sentinels and a ma/ss of guards placed over the limbs of the body, guarding / their orifices. And the faculty in it is the di[10]rective of the body, the queen of the entire camp; so that / whenever it wishes it can open, or when it wishes it can shut. /

However, if and wh[en] the Light Mind comes, it shall tu[rn i]n / to the orifices of the body. The rulers, who [a]re the door gua[rds], / shall h[in]der and restrain it from en[ter]ing. [15] They shall bind the circu[it] of the body so that the foreign[er] can not / enter it.

Nevertheless, the Light Mind / by its wisdom and awe and diligence shall hum/ble the guards who are set at the body's orifices. / When it finishes humbling them it shall take fr[o]m them bolts [20] to all the orifices of the body. Now, the orifices that had been ope/ned before to the parades of lust, to receive i/n the sights of pleasure, to transfer the [wor]/ds of the practice of li[f]e's concerns, to receive in the t[astes] / of the different foods and unclean meals together [25] with the sin therein; whoever stops receiving th[is] in, / his heart and mind shall follow after.

So, now, bec[ause] / the b[olt]s to the body of the righteous person are in the hands of / the Light M[in]d within, he is open [to receive] / i[n] all that is pleasing to God. He is op[en to take] i[n] [30] by his eyes the visions of lov[e ...] and / righteousness. Indeed, due to this, the si[ghts and] the [ad]ornme[nt of the gar] (**143**)

ments of kings, which are woven with gold; and the garments of silken wom/en, which are woven with gold and pearls, / made beautiful for the shape of lust; first they were lovable / before the eyes of the chosen person. Yet, now, by the 5 power of the Light Mind that has suffused him and / lived in the body he has humbled lust, the goddess of the bo/dy. The parades of lust have become loathsome in the presence of the righteous pers/on. However, the aspects of divinity a[nd] / righteousness and humility and scorned clothes are pleasing to him.

10 Again, [these] ears were first opening to empty sounds an/d to the melodies of lust, to the secrecies of [wic]kedn/ess. All these were pleasing at first, at the time when he / he[a]rd them. Yet, now, by the power of the Light Mind, / the sounds of lust and the words o15f magic and evil mysteries have become loathsome in his presence; / as he is not pleased to hear them from this time on. Rather, he likes all the time / to listen to the sounds of the lessons of righteousness, the / words of the psalms and of the prayers, the praise of the hy/mns and the lessons of truth, and the knowledge of charity. 20 [S]imply, all orifices in similar fashion were opening / at one time to wickedness, but now have opened / to the good. Sin was ruling in the body / this time, doing anything it liked, having none in command. /

Yet, [n]ow, authority has been taken from the sin in the org25ans of the body. The Living Spirit*79 has become lord over all its / limbs. It has bound them with a chain of peace, and se/aled them with the seal of truth. It has opened the orifices of the / body to the good, and because of this the good enter/s them through the ears and the eyes. It dwells in the heart. The H[o]ly Spirit 30 reigns. It does all that it pleases. It annuls / [the] will of [s]in, the beginning and the end. [In contrast], the will / of the [Hol]y Spir[it] comes about, and the purpose of the Light Mind.

(**144**) The enlightener speaks: About this I tell you my / brothers, my loved ones and my limbs. With wisdom / and skill make yourselves secure at the circuit of the body's orifices, so that the sin that dwells in the body has no power 5 over you. Nor does it take from you your light, nor / scatter it from place to place, nor

*79 Perhaps a scribal error for 'Holy Spirit'.

(drive)*80 it from / site to site in various forms. Now, / let this not happen to you, but be watchful people, / secure in your truth. Be you prepared from 10 totality till totality, so that as your rest will come / about and your end subject to this, you guard its mark and / its hope!

••• 57 •••

(144,13 – 147,20)

/ Concerning the Generation of Adam.

The structure of this chapter evidences yet again how Mani, as a good teacher and preacher, is able to turn an explanation of the details of his intricate system into a more immediate lesson for his audience.

144.15 – 146.8 Mani explains to a Babylonian catechumen that Adam and the people of the first human generations were greater in size, and longer-lived, because of the stars under which they were born.

146.8 – 147.17 Mani introduces a second and more compelling theme. In these last days the quality and span of people's lives has come down to almost nothing. This is because the divine life and light in the world has grown less and less.

15 Once again, a Babylonian catechumen questioned the en-l/ightener, saying to him: Speak with me my master, and in-s/truct me about Adam, the first man. When / he was fashioned, how did they sculpt him? / Or, how did they beget him? [Rath]er, is his beget20ting like the begetting that is brought forth today, amongst hum/ankind; or not? Does a distinction exist between his bir/th and the one that they bring forth today?

Now, no[te] that A/dam is mighty in his stature, and great is his / size. Even his years are many! He spent many years 25 living in the world. And he is not the only one / we have found to be mighty; but all the others who were / begotten in his generation, many are their years too. Still, these / people who are born today, their st[a]tu/re has been diminished in po[w]er; even their years are lessened. Also, [wh]30y is the birth today, of [the]y who are born, / altered compared with that of these first [...] (**145**) place to place? See, even the stars and signs of the zodiac continue / in

*80 ⲡⲁⲧ/

their positions. Why now have the age and / the years of these last ones diminished, and he has also become smaller, / compared to these ancient ones who belong to these first generations?

[5] And for his part our enlightener, in his deep wisdom / and his great understanding, speaks to this catechu/men who had questioned him: They increased, have turned, and diminished; / because there are five types of authorities and / leaders appointed in the sphere of zodiacal signs, and the hea[10]vens above it. They have names they are ca[lled] / by: the first name is the year; the sec/[on]d is the month; the third is the day; the fou/[rth] is the hour; the fifth is the moment. Now, these five / positions, and these five houses, exist in the sphere and [15] the heavens. These places have five powers, and they are made masters o/ver them. The master of the year exists; the master of the month exists; / the master of the day exists; the master of the hour exists; / the master of the moment exists. In turn one is above his / companion; and in turn the one above is made the master over the one below [20] him.

So, mankind is begotten, and [the ani]/mals. They are born in these powers. And, thus, these powers / have received authority since the beginning of creation till the end of the wo/rld. Now, in the beginning of the generations the powers who were masters / over the years reigned. Therefore, because of this, the offspring [25] [b]orn in their generations and their lifetime: their ye/ars were found to be greater. They attain a long life span in the generation of Adam, and / [tha]t of Sethel his son, and that of the ones who came after him.

Af/ter they ceased to reign, namely the powers who are masters over the ye/ars; the powers who are masters over the months themselves reigned. Like [30] the months, for they are less than the years; again this [is] also the case / with the offspring w[ho were] born in them. Their life span is less / [than the life span of the ones born] in the generation of the powers who master (**146**) the years!

When the authority of the powers who / master the months was completed; the powers of the days received authority af/ter them. Therefore, like the days, for they are less than the months, / this

also is the case with the offspring who were born in them. Their life span [5] is less than the life span of the ones born in the powers who are masters / over the months. Again, even so the offspring who were born in the ho/urs, and of the moments. Their {conduit}*81 is less than that of the m/onths and the days.

Our enlightener speaks to that Babylonian cate/chumen: Do you see, how near the en[10]d [of] the world approaches? The life span of the pe[o]/ple has drawn in to nothing. Their days have diminished. Their ye[ars] have / become less; because the life and the ligh[t that] / was in the world in these first generations was more than that of to/day. Indeed, because of this have they diminished in their stature. Their lif[15]e span has become less for them.

Once again speaks this Baby[l]onian cate/chumen to our enlightener: I entreat / you, my master! How you have instructed and persuaded / me in respect of the years! Why the ye/ars of these ancients increased; or again why [20] these last ones have lessened. You also told me that they have diminished even in their / stature. You say that all these diminished becau/se of the life and the light that was taken from the world.

Now, can y/ou recount to me this other (matter): By what sort of birth was / the entire offspring of mankind made from one man and one [25] woman, Adam and Eve?

The enlightener speaks to that ca/techumen: While well do you ask for this les/son, so yet know and understand it! For the manner of these / first generations is that they are richer in their light and pu/rer in stature. Even their years are greater. Thus, again, [30] even their offspring is much more than the offspring of this tim[e]. / They were spending a longer time [...] in [the w]/omb of their mother. Afterwards, they [...] (**147**) a number in a single womb. There are times five were brought forth / from a single womb, and times six were brought forth from [a] single w/omb! There are some lesser than this; again, some / greater than this. Indeed, because of this the offspring of Eve multipl[5]ied, and of her children. The earth was filled by reason of them alone; b/ecause

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*81 ⲁⲣⲉⲙⲉ See ch.48. It is difficult to maintain the translation as 'conduit' here.

the offspring from the generation of the people of old, who they / bore into the world, differ greatly from those of today. / Their conception and their birth is not like latter births, / brought forth nowadays from the wo[ma]n's uterus.

[10] For, they whom they beget today, in these la[st] generations, they / stand diminished and maimed. And, indeed, one by one do they bri[ng t]/hem [forth] from a single womb. Hardly two, or [l]es/s or more. They are even made ugly in their aspect, being diminished in / their size, and feeble in their limbs. Their teachings and [their] [15] considerations are full of wickedness, they are evil. They are drowning, / and they end their life span suffering. Even death catches them / in haste.

When that catechumen had [lis]/tened to these lessons, he paid homage and gave glory. He says to the enlightener: / I thank you, my master, for you have satisfied my heart, and [pers][20]ua-ded me by an exhortation, about these things for which I questioned you.

••• 58 •••

(147,21 – 148,20)

/ The Four Powers that grieve. /

Characteristic of Manichaeism is its emphasis upon the real suffering of the divine, occasioned by the assault of evil. In this it differs markedly from the docetic tendencies of many gnostic systems. Indeed, Manichaeism universalised the degradation and crucifixion throughout Matter of the 'son of God' (*the living soul*) to an extent that seemed shocking to its Christian commentators.

In this chapter Mani relates the grief of the Mother of Life, the First Man, and himself as apostle, for their children according to their respective levels of concern. He also comments that he grieves not only for the sufferings of his church; but even for those souls who have not received the truth, and who will be damned for ever.

Contrary to the title the text seems only to deal with three powers, although there are four sources of grief.

[O]nce again the enlightener speaks to his disciples: I am one / of they that grieve, amongst these three powers that are heart-broken, [25] who have come from the Father.

The first who grieves is the first M/other of Life. She is sad because of her children who are s/et in affliction, for they were conjoined with the darkness and the / [poi]son. They have been bound with the entire ruling-power. For what was she grieving, / [wa]tching over them taking these afflictions? Whenever she might [30] [s]ee them and how suffering is brought upon them, she shall grieve and be unhap[py] on account of them. /

[The s]econd one who is troubled [of] heart is the First Man, whose / [great]ness and kingdom is established in the li[ght] ship / [...] And he too is troubled of heart because of (**148**) his five sons who are set in the midst of dan/ger. For any time he may see that they are given trouble / {}*82 always he might hear the sound of their / weeping as they cry out because of the blows and wo[5]unds of the enemy who assaults them daily; and as he sees them / like this constantly, he shall g[ri]eve and mourn on account of his / [s]o[n]s.

The third one who grieves am I. / For since the time when I came into the world there has been no joy / for me therein, on account of the holy church that I [10] chose in the name of my Father. I have freed it from the / slavery of the authoritarians, and placed in it / the Light Mind. Always, as I see i[t i]n / tribulation and persecution and being afflicted by its enem[ies], / I will be sad on its behalf. I have also another grief [15] apart from this: for the souls who have refused hope / and have not made themselves strong in this certainty and firmness of / [tru]th. They will come forth and be lost and go to ge/henna for ever. Indeed, due to this I grieve for them in that they have / not accepted repentance, nor have they been reconciled with the right hand o[20]f peace and mercy that I brought from the Father.

*82 ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ

••• 59 •••

(148,21 – 151,4)

/ The Chapter of the Ele/ments that wept. /

This chapter continues from the last the theme of the suffering of the divine. The five garments or sons of the First Man, that is the light elements, must weep and feel the pain of loss four times during the course of their necessary task. That is, to mix with Matter, and to overcome its assault on the light.

148.29 – 149.3 When they first caught sight of the darkness, and understood the task that they would have to undertake.

149.4 – 13 When the First Man their father ascended from the abyss, and left them behind in mixture.

149.14 – 28 When the Living Spirit stripped off the three garments of activity (wind, water and fire, see chapter 30) in the depths of the cosmos, and they realised that they would have to rise up through all the levels of the universe before purification and salvation could be achieved.

148.29 – 151.1 When the Last Statue will ascend, and they weep for those souls who are eternally lost and bound in the darkness. This moment is much the worst, because it is final. Some of the divine itself can never be redeemed. It is for this reason, to preach the truth and thus to minimise everlasting loss, that all the apostles and divine powers surrender themselves to every affliction in the world.

Mani concludes with a final admonition about the utmost gravity of this matter.

Once again he speaks to his disciples: The garments, [25] the sons of the First Man, wept bitterly three times. / Then they were silent. There is a fourth time of weeping, / for they will weep at the end. And then their crying can stop, / and they will never again weep from this time on. /

Now, the first time of their weeping*[83] is [30] when they had seen the darkness, the enemy being about to burst out against them. / They understood everything that would happen to them. They were aware of / the one that would rise and come upon them, [b]/ut by necessity they hastened to h[i]m and [fought] (**149**) with him. They mastered him, they detained him. [They / bou]nd him with their body and their limbs, they o[ver/ca]me his death and his fire and his dark[ness]. /

*83 Lit: the first weeping in which they wept.

[The] second time that they wept is [w5hen the]ir father, the First Man, [ascend]ed from the [abyss] / of darkness and left them behind; that is the time when he stripped [them off] / and left them below. Indeed, when th[ey] / s[aw] how the First Man had risen out of the abyss / and [l]eft them behind, and that they were abandoned in the enmit[y, th]ey 10 wept and were sore of heart. Still, what could they do, wishing [... / ...] their heart to every affliction. They [remained b]e/hind and grew [s]ick under the pressure of the weighty burden of all the / works, until the end time. /

[The] third time that they wept is when the Living Spirit 15 stripped off the three garments of activity, / placing them beneath all things. He gave / them a sign to lift their heads and rise to the / heights from that place; and to pass and journey / through all the earths until they should reach the land of tranquilli[t]y 20 and peace, the place of rest prepared for them. So, when / they had seen him, that he had separated himself from them, while they themselves / remained behind after him and had not ascended; at that mom/ent when they stayed behind these three garments wept. / After their crying, they turned their 25 [hear]t to all the heights that were concealed from them, and were of one mind. For / [they would] soar up and come to the heights; and pass over / all [th]ings until the time that was ordained for them all / [...] at the end of the worlds. /

[The f]ourth time when they will weep is when the 30 [S]tatue will be taken up on the last day, and they will weep / [for] the souls of the liars and blasphemers; for they may give / [...] because their limbs have been severed / [...] of the darkness. And also [th]ose souls, (**150**) when the Statue will go [up / and th]ey are left alo[n]e, they will weep in that they will rema[in] b/[eh]ind in affliction for ever. For they wi[ll be cut / off] and separated from the Last Statue. An[d it is] 5 a necessity to take these souls who are ready for loss / [a]s retribution for the deeds that they have done. They go i[n to] this / [darkne]ss and are bound with the darkness; just as they desired it / an[d] loved it, and placed [t]heir treasure with it. At that very moment, / when the Last Statue rises u[p], 10 the[y wi]ll weep. And then they will scream out loud because they will / be severed from the company

of this great Statue. And they / remain behind for ever. This great weeping [...] / is terrible, it occurs in front of the souls and [...] / who are ready for loss in accordance with their deeds. And they [will] weep [15] with that crying, they will never be silent; / because they will not attain rest from this time on. /

So, they too are the garments of these elements. This fou/rth time of weeping is heart-rending for them. It is much w/orse for them than these other three times of weeping before. This f[ou[20]rt]h time the weeping is not for themselves. Rather they weep and are heartsore for these soul[s] / who will be cut off from peace, because rest will / not come about for them, to allow them to rest from torment for / ever.

Therefore, due to the result of the erring of so/uls, all the apostles and the fathers, the reve[25]alers of the good and the true prophets, surrender [themselves] / to every labour and every aweful necessity. So that the (souls) might be / saved from the second death. Not a single one of all the a/postles wished to receive his reward on eart[h]; / but spent all their time in affliction, [30] suffering and being crucified in their body, so that they might r[e]/deem their souls from that loss [and] / ascend to this eternal rest [... in the] new [ae](**151**)on.

It is not prop[er ...] the wi/se person must constantly be attentive to this lesson, becau/se (this matter) is heartrending and grief for the gods and / the apostles.

••• 60 •••

(151,5 – 152,20)

/ [Concernin]g the Four Fathers; / what they are like. /

Mani uses the analogy of the corporeal body to show that some of the divine teachings are visible in the universe, but others are hidden; like organs and faculties that can or can not be seen. Thus, the Father is like the directive faculty (ϲϐⲱ) of the body, hidden in his own kingdom. However, the two light ships of the sun and the moon are the eyes of the body, seen and seeing. The living soul, despite its apparent silence, is like the body; for it can be grasped and struck and wounded. Jesus the Splendour is the tongue,

because he can speak about and explain everything, whether it is visible like the ships, or hidden like the eternal kingdom. Therefore, it is Jesus who makes visible the suffering and the healing of the soul.

Once again the apostle [s]peaks to his disciples: / J[u]st as [the] corporeal body has limbs [10] that are hidden, so it also has others that are visi[b]le. [They] / ca[n be seen] upon it, they can be grasped and receive blows and woun/[d]s, whilst [ot]hers can neithe[r] be grasped no[r / receive] blows. So it is also with this entire greatness, as we resemble it. / Some of it is hidden, [15] whilst some of it is visible; [so]me of it is fa/r away from the blows and suffering, whilst some of it / receives blows and wounds.

Now, thus the directive of the bo/dy that lives within, hidden in the storehouses inside / the body and unseen. So it i[20]s also how the Father, the God o/f truth, exists; as he too is hidden in his kingdom, not display/ed before this outer desolation.

Thus, too, / the body has two eyes that are visible and see/n, and are even the body's source of illumination; so there are also [25] these two light ships that shine and are see/n in the entire universe and the whole of creation. / The light has never been hidden, just like the two eyes of the bo/dy.

The living soul too is like this, / it is established in apparent silence. In [30] its apparent [s]ilence it is grasped and receives b/lows from these five fleshes, which destroy (the soul) and str/[ike it. It can] be likened to the mystery of the [corporeal] body, / as it can be grasped and mastered, (**152**) can receive blows and wounds.

Also, thus / this tongue that speaks, proclaims, reprimands and reveals / about everything happening in this body, in<side and outside, also the considerations [a]nd bod[ily] knowledges>. / The tongue, which is outside, makes it manifest. It also proclaims about [5] the honour and shame of the body. And it speaks, / unveiling the pain of the body [th]at is [s]ick [from] / its sores.

This is also what [Jesus] the Splend[our] / is l[i]ke, who shall be sent fr[o]m the greatness. / He manifests and reveals about everything, both the external and [10] the internal, both what is above and

what is [bel]o[w]. / Be it about the outer aeons that are hidden and [not disp]l[ayed], / or about the ships of light that are se[e]n. H[e is the on]/e who unveils about them. He is also the one who reveals [about the]ir glo/ry, and the greatness that dwells in them. And regarding this beating [15] and wounding of the living so[ul], Jesus is the one who reveals it. / He also preaches ab[o]ut (the soul) and its peace. He revea/ls about its cleansing and healing.

Behold, I have shown / to you the power of revelation of these four fathers, and how / each one of them has his appointed work, whether in [20] secret or visible.

••• 61 •••

(152,21 – 155,5)

/ Concerning the Garment of the Waters: / how great is its Measure. /

The value of this chapter lies in its historical reference; and in the way it enables the reader to penetrate the rather dense cosmological language used in the *Kephalaia* about the elemental garments.

Mani and three of his disciples were stood upon the bank of the Tigris while in flood. One disciple asks the apostle about the source of these vast and powerful waters. Mani then explains that the First Man assumed the elemental garments, including that of water, and used them to combat the immeasurable demonic army that had assembled to assault the light. The evil powers were overcome and bound within the universe; which itself will be destroyed at the end time. As a portion of that flood of water poured into the demons the Tigris is next to nothing. Therefore, the disciples should marvel and be secure in the power and greatness of God.

Once again, at one of the times when the apostle entered [in] [25] to the presence of King Shapur. He gave him a greet[ing], / turned, and went away from before King Shapur.

He st[o]/od on a quayside that was built upon the bank of the mighty river / Tigris. At that time it was the month of Ph[ar]/-mouthi. The river Tigris was engorged with many waters; [30] it had {surged up}*84 and swelled and {burst forth}*85 beneath the

*84 ϐωϱτ=
*85 cωρє ⲁϐⲁⲗ

great / force of the flood, so that the waters flowed do[wn ... and] / poured into the gates of the city, they [...] (**153**) only, but the waters flowed into the {}*86 of / the city until they submerged the market place of the city. [...] / are few and the city goes [under ... comes to] / be fear of its wind. Even his kingdom was in great terror because of the enormous size of the flood of these waters. /

So, the apostle was standing there on the quay, w/ith also three disciples standing by him, [le]/aders of his church. They were watching the river engorged / with these many waters. They saw that the waters rose up against the city walls, and the flood was even inside / the walls.

One of his disciples then spoke. He says to the apos/tle: H[o]w great is the power of the garment of the wat/er[s]? How far shall [it extend]? That it should enter with the roar of its flood and / fill th[is] river Tigris in its vastness like the mighty [s]ea! It has carried waves from river bank to bank, and run from / wall to wall. The source from which a[l]l these waters burst forth, / how great will it be? For they come and come each year at their [ap]poin/ted season!

Then the apostle says to him: / Why are you astonished at the vastness of the Tigris waters, and why are you amazed by its flood? Still, listen t/o what I am about to tell you, and be truly astonished about th[e r]iv[er] / that came into being during the first time. /

[At] the time when the First Man assumed the elements, and stood / [fi]rm against the first enmity that had come about in the darkness, he defied these great and powerful rulers. They / are immeasurable, greater than the extent or size / of thousands and ten thousands of {parasangs}*87. At the start, when he spread the fight a/[ga]inst them, he gave them fire and wind; and afterwards he gave / [the] garment of the waters to the rulers of death. So they, the rulers, drank in and consumed those waters; / [the way that I told] you in the *Great Gospel.* / Many [waters] poured forth from the garment of waters / [...] the rivers flow. The mouth

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*86 ⲱⲧⲏ

*87 ⲱⲃⲱⲱⲥ Measure of length: see Crum 611a (ⲱⲫⲱ); and K (Dub). 274.2.5

of the rulers / [...] those [...], the warriors of destruction [35] [... l]aboured and brought them forth. There were seven (rivers), (**154**) like the great river Tigris [that you] see, / flowing in to the mouth of each one of them, as they shall not / [...] to a single stomach, to their fill; because / in turn the descent to its stomach shall burn them with its [5] fire and heat. Those rulers were like / the {}*88 of [...] they were not emptied; rain and / [...] their existent days. /

The apostle s[peaks] to t[hat] elect one: The measure / [of th]at river was expanded seven times, as they flow [10] [...] of the body of the [... / ...] waters [...] now. Marvel at / [...] as you say: Grea[t is] its [... / ...] indeed prolonged, for a bearer [... b]ut [...] / you marvel at this. Marvel first [...] [15] that [...] is the first [...] which came into being i[n] this / [...] is how great a struggle, since it has / [...] these creatures of destruction, the mighty giants. Beho/ld, they are entwined, bound, {}*89 and {}*90 in every place. / They are hidden, not revealed before the eyes of every flesh that [20] exists on the land of death [...] these rulers / [...] revealed. The entire universe of flesh will be destroyed / and dissolved [...] all pass away [... / ...] they will be destroyed with their angry voice, / which is mightier than the thunder. Now, as this small stream is reckoned [...] [25] before the vastness of these waters of which I have recounted to you. / For only one river from thousands of rivers of water, from the secrets / that are not revealed, is the river Tigris upon the eart[h]. /

See [...] and be amazed at the measure of the elements of the wa/ters. Marvel at the stature of the Man who bore t[30]hem. And understand how great is t[hat] god, / active in power, the one whom these waters [... t]/han the stature of the First Man who [assumed] (**155**) this garment of such size; and how much was made.

Then his / disciples say to him: We revere you, our master, and w[e] give / thanks that moreover you have opened our eyes to all [the g]re/atnesses that are hidden from every person. Yet, to us you have [5] manifested them!

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*88 ⲥⲁⲓⲱⲉ

*89 ⲕⲙⲕⲁⲙ̄ⲧ

*90 ⲧⲁⲙⲥ` Smagina 1990:116 suggests 'hidden' from ⲧⲱⲙⲥ ('bury').

••• 62 •••

(155,6-29)

/ Concerning the Three Rocks. /

Mani uses the term 'rock' to describe three modes of absolute stability established by the divine in the universe.

Once again he speaks to his disciples: Three great / rocks, which exist, were appointed by the greatness. They were set in [10] these outer w[or]lds.

So, the first rock is the / [Pillar] of Glory, the Perfect Man, which was summoned / [by the] glorious Ambassador. He set it in this zone / [... he] brought forth its base (?) from the earth to heaven. It bore up under the [en]tire uni/[verse], and became first of all the weight-carriers in [15] [it]s powers. In its firmness it has been set upright, and has made fast / every [t]hing above and below. /

[The] second great and glorious rock is the new earth of / light, which was set upon the earth of darkness. It has squashed / the fastenings of the five storehouses of death. It has established [20] firmness, with great firmness, over and beyond the earth of darkness. / It has flattened, crushed and fixed the root of death. /

[The] third rock is the great thought, which was summoned / from Jesus, the glorious one. He set it in the holy church. / The church gathered in upon it, and has lived in [25] [it]. It has stood firm, with a true fixity, for ever. /

[These] are the three great rocks, they that have come forth in great / confidence, in three great and honoured places. They were appointed / and distributed in three great places of these [self]same worlds. / They were made fast according to the will of the greatness.

••• 63 •••

(155,30 - 156,34)

/ Concerning Love. /

Mani reveals the divine nature of love, which is manifested in the world in the church. In contrast, hate is the nature of the darkness; but it too is present in this time of mixture.

[O]nce again he speaks [to] his disciples: What is love? / [...] each [...], calling it 'love'.

(**156**) [Lo]ve is the Father of Greatness, who dwells in his / glorious land. The entirety of the divine has been revealed / [there]in! These two are a single living body, the Father / [a]nd his love; because he has given himself for every thing, as he exists in his aeons. Indeed, due to this, they called the Fa/ther, the Lord of the totality, 'love'. For he gave the victory to / his aeons and his limbs.

Again, the beginning of / all the righteousness and the divine that dwells in / the holy church; they have also called it 'love'. As indeed the church is made strong therein! [These] two, / the Mind and the church, a single body is also their likeness; / because, again, the apostle too shall gi[ve] his [own] / self for his church. [And, again], due to th[is], / the church too calls him 'love'. [So] is it written: There is no love greater than this, for someone [to give himself] / to death for his friend*91. Likewise, too, the beginning of ri[ght]/eousness is made of love for the church, according both to body and to / spirit. While in the body, in the church here; so in the / spirit, in the heights above.

Once again he speaks: What, conversely, is hate? Hate / is the first death that welled up. It revealed the land / of darkness. This one called 'hate', because / it has ruined all its perdition's offspring; it sinned even against / a power foreign to it, and ruined it. Due to this they shall call it 'hated'; for it has caused destruction, both wounding in / flesh, and what is not its own.

*91 Jn. 15:13

Today again it causes wo[unding] / and destruction in all flesh. It kills them all with / diverse deaths; these that are displayed today in every/thing, in every type. Even the Cross of Light, the 30 living [so]ul, likewise too it ruins and kills them; / as it did at the start. Indeed, due to this have they called i[t] / 'hated', this one from the hated; the envy from / the envy; the devil from the devil; the b[a]/d that came about from the bad. (**157**)

••• 64 •••

(157,1 – 158,23)

/ [Concerning] Adam. /

Mani explains that since Adam was fashioned by the evil powers after the image of the divine Ambassador, he was preeminent over all other mixed creations in three ways: his image was more beautiful; his soul fitted the correct distribution of the elements, and thus he had superior intelligence; the powers of the entire universe were sealed in him, and thus mankind became the key to the direction of future history.

This final point leads Mani to explain that the creation of Adam was a deliberate act by the rulers, the focus of their plan to control everything, and to capture the kingdom of light. He summarises their evil purpose in seven further points.

Once again he speaks to his disciples, who listen to his / words: Three great things that are distinct were reveal/ed in Ad[am] the first human. Indeed, due to this, he was found 5 to be better and more outstanding than the conjoined powers that are in heaven / and on earth.

The first: / The image of the exalted one was placed upon him. The creators / and moulders of his body sealed him after the shining form / of the image that had been displayed to them above. 10 Indeed, due to this, the image of Adam was found to be surpassingly beautiful / beyond any conjoined power above and below. /

The second thing: Adam was shaped in his structure / throug[h the li]ght of the first-born of heaven and / [earth ...] the five sons. Indeed, due to this, his 15 struct[ure] was found to differ from the structure of even the other creations; / [sin]ce the form of all

creations is different. As for Adam, / the formation of his soul fits over the / correct distribution of the elements. Therefore, he has / intelligence surpassing that of the other creations and [20] beasts.

The third are the teaching/s and counsels and the seal of all the powers above and / below. The creators, who set him in order, gathered them and se/aled them in him. (Adam) and his consort Eve became a dwelling and home / for the signs of the zodiac and the stars; and the months, the days and the ye[25]ars. For the seal of the entire universe is stamped upon / Adam. Indeed, due to this, heaven and earth moved because of him; / trouble and disorder arose on his account between they that are g/ood and they that are evil. So, the good induce him to life / because of their image and shape placed upon him; while the [30] [wi]cked were drawing him to death, so that they would have po/[w]er through him and they would conceive the kingdom, and through him humiliate / the entire universe.

Furthermore, understand that / [the ru]lers determined and formed Adam so that they would be masters t/[hrough him a]nd c[onceiv]e the kingdom because of seven things.

(**158**) The first: He became the enlightener in their creati[o]n; instead of the li/ght of the image of the Ambassador wh[o] had displayed himself to them / above. For they all desi[re]d / the likeness of the image of the Ambassador. Their heart [5] was drawn after it.

The second: So that they would scoop up / the light through him and restrain and obstruct it / from its ascent to the heights. /

The third: So that because of the image of the Ambassa/dor that is placed upon him the entirety of the divine [10] that is above and below would be humiliated; on account of the likeness of the splendour, of / the beauty of his superiority. For he is superior in his appearance t/o all creatures.

The fourth: [He] is a / seal-ring and a new impression, so [that] / all births who will be begotten might be brought forth after his s[eal].

[15] The fifth: That might be displayed through him all the skil[ls]

/ of the powers, they above and below, secret and / manifest; and that they might determine through him the totality, and / every thing be revealed in him. /

The sixth: That there would come to be a great protection for them 20 through the image of the exalted one that was placed upon him; for as the heavenly would / [...] even rulers; and no evil thing would be done to them on account of Adam. /

The seventh: That he might become chief and king and master over all creatures; / and they might conceive the kingdom through him.

••• 65 •••

(158,24 – 164,8)

25 *Concerning the Sun.* /

This chapter presents a series of teachings about the divine nature of the sun, and the life-giving qualities of its light, compared with the evils of darkness and the night. It may have been redacted from separate sources. D. McBride (1988) has argued that it evidences heliolatry native to Egyptian Manichaeism; but that would be difficult to prove without a parallel non-Coptic text.

158.26 – 161.30 Mani reveals the greatness of the sun, which so many people and the false sects have not understood. The Old Testament God, here termed Satan, has attempted to obstruct the worship of the light in his law. Mani outlines seven benefits of the sun, contrasted with seven evils of the night.

161.31 -- 162.20 Five archetypes or qualities presented by the sun.

162.21 – 163.8 Three further qualities that correspond to the mystery of the Father.

163.9 – 164.8 Mani's concluding comments and admonitions to his disciples. He quotes a saying of Jesus from the *Gospel of Thomas*.

Once again, the apostle is sitting down among the congreg/ation of his disciples, one time, and the sun shone forth. He beg/an to recount to his disciples about the greatness of the su[n] / and its divinity. How was it fashioned after the [li]ke30ness of the first greatness? He was revealing to them.

He [say]/s, it is the gate of life and the vessel of [p]/eace, to this

great aeon of l[ight ...] (**159**) However, since Satan knows that it is the gate of the / souls' departure, he placed an exclusionary judgement / in his law that no one worship it, saying: / Whoever will worship it can die*92. He has otherwise called it: 5 The light that will be nullified. He has hindered the souls from / themselves turning their faces towards the light. He has caused them to deny / the light of their being.

Now, people are blind abou/t everything! They have not understood the greatness of this great light-giver. / They have denied the grace of this great light that shines upon them. 10 They have not perceived its greatness and its divinity. / No[r], also, have they understood the good things that it does for them, / even today, as they are entrenched in their body; when it / comes to th[is] world and shines. Behold: How many are the ch/arit[ies] that it does for mankind! Yet they, for their part, de15ny its graces, which they know not. Every day, wo/uld this great light-giver shine its light, it shall do seven / good things for them. Shall they not see them? /

[The] first good thing that it does for them is its light, which it / shines upon them. It opens the eyes of all mankind. 20 They see underfoot as they walk by it. It takes away / the blindness of the night, which made them blind with its darkness. /

[The] second: When (the sun) is come to the world, with its coming / it shall bring calm and peace to the entire world. With its / coming it shall also take away from them all the fear and t25rembling, which their heart is filled with the whole night; for it shall / ta[ke] away the darkness present by its light, and sweep it out. / Also, this is how it extinguishes fear by its calm. /

The third is its vigil; because when (the sun) comes to the wo/rld all sleeping mankind shall arise 30 and awake. And the watchmen too shall cease from / watching. The guards who sit at the gates of camps, they / [bre]ak vigil at the watchposts, because of its light that has shone / [upon them in the w]orld.

(**160**) The fourth: It shall nourish, and give strength, taste and

*92 Deut. 17:2–5

scent; / to the trees and fruits and vegetables, and all the herbs, / and the flowers and grasses, which are upon the entire earth. /

The fifth: When (the sun) shines in all the world, [5] the evil reptile and the sharp-toothed beasts that are filled of / wickedness, they shall flee to hiding in their dens. /

The sixth: When it shines its light, the wou/nd of any person is eased from pain. Its light shall me/lt away the evil arts of every doer of wickedness.

[10] The seventh: (The sun) shall display and manifest to the wo/rld the sign of the splendour of the aeons of ligh[t], from which it has / come out; it here in this world being their sign. It / brings light to the whole of creation.

Behold: How gre[at i]s the fo/olishness that has befallen the sects of error! [15] Not only that they have not perceived the mystery of [the div]/inity of this great light-giver; but also, even all the benefits / that it does for them. They forget them. They do not perceive t/hem.

Now, just as I have shown you the sun, / which does seven good things in the world, hear al[20]so what I teach you about the night, for it has all wickednes/ses therein. Every occasion, would the night fall, it sha/ll do seven evils in the world. /

The first wickedness that the night shall do in the world / is the darkness, with which it shall fill the entire world; beca[25]use when the sun sinks from the world and dra/ws to it its rays, at that instant the shadow / of the night shall spread out over the whole world. The eye[s] / of the people fill with blackness. They neither see nor wonder / with their eyes, because of the darkness of the night which shall fill the whole wor[30]ld.

The second evil thing that / the night shall do is its fear; because when its / shadow looms forth, its fear and its trembling shall possess all of mankind. The entire world shall fil[l] / of the night.

The third: W[hen the night] (**161**) falls, all creatures take up revolt. / They rebel in their heart, to do wickedness and perdition. /

The fourth: The heaviness of sleep shall lay upon them, and they

/ fall asleep; they slumber and doze, and they are like [5] these corpses in the night.

The fifth is its / ugliness; again, when the night would fall, the form / of the people shall be hidden in the darkness and the ugliness of the night. / The beauty and the form of men and women shall not be displ/ayed before one another, because of its darkness and its ugliness; [10] which it shall spread out over all their forms. /

[The] sixth occasion is when the night would fall on / the world. At that instant evil people shall come / out to do wickedness; the adulterers, and the robbers and pois/one[r]s. The evil beasts shall come out, and all the reptiles [15] that are filled with wickedness, from their dens. And they sta/lk in the night. Also, the demons and fiends find power / to do wickedness in the night. Again, the blows and buffets and / wounds and discharges shall torment people in / the night; because in it the whole of evil shall find strength.

[20] The seventh: The night shall display the sign / of the darkness, its father. It has arisen out of its essence; / because this night that came out of this first darkness has / been displayed in the world. Note this night, the shadow / of this first darkness, the one that is entwined and bound in all things [25] above and below.

Behold, I have tau/ght you about these seven wickednesses of the black night; / the ones that it shall do daily in the world, in the ni/ght. The sects have not seen this black night: / what it is; nor from whence is its essence. That all these evils [30] find strength in it! /

[On]ce again he ramified. He says to his disciples: / [There are] five archetypes occur in the sun, it making them / [...] as it finds the world.

(**162**) The first is its light; for it illumines by its light / the world, and all the creatures who exist in it. /

The second is its beauty; because when it shines, it shall / flood beauty and loveliness upon all creatures [5] and everything. /

The third is its peace; for, again, when the sun would / shine on the world, all people shall receive affect/ion through it, and give peace to one another. /

The fourth is the life of the living soul, which it shall release from all the bonds and fetters of heaven and earth. /

The fifth: It gives a strength to the elements; and also it gives a / scent and a taste to the entire Cross of the Light.

So, / you yourselves see that its light illumines / more than all lights that occur in the world. Also, its beauty [i]s more beautiful than all the beauties of mankind. Again, its pea/ce is more surpassing than all the powers and guards who ex/ist in the world. Its releasing action, by which it releases / the living soul, is a full day ahead of / all releasing actions! The strength that it gives to its li[20]mbs is a great strength, being mightier than all strengths! /

Once again, there are another three archetypes made apparent by the sun, in res/pect of the mystery of the first greatness. /

The first is the filling up of the disk of its ship; because / its ship has filled up every season, and shall not wane at all, the way that the ship of the moon wanes. This continuous filli[ng], / by which it is filled, displays the my/stery of the Father, the great greatness; from whom all the powers / and the gods have come forth. He shall never wane, / nor shall lack ever exist in him!

[30] The second: (The sun's) light surpasses the light of / all the stars, and all the lights that occur in the [universe]; / corresponding to the mystery of the light of the Father; for his l[ight sur]/passes and is greater than the light of his a[eons].

(**163**) The third: This sun is very high above / all else. It surpasses the height of all the mountains and / hills that exist upon the entire earth, corresponding to the mystery of / the Father of Greatness; for he is high above all the household of his light-earth. Also, because the Father himself / is high above all the heights and the mountains of his / light-earth. He is 'filled up' in his image [all] the time / and every hour from eternity to eternity! /

[Beho]ld the two mysteries I have taught you, O my b[e]lov[10]ed ones! The mystery of the night and that of the day, which daily come / forth in the world. Now, the mystery of the li/[g]ht and the mystery of the darkness are displayed dai/[ly] in the created order. The sects have not seen them in their / [error]! The mystery of the first great light is [15] [the] sun, which is this second light-giver, the one that comes dai/ly to the world. It displays all [the] marks o/f its graces, displaying and signifying on its own behalf / that it is good, out of the essence of the good. / It came from the good Father and appeared in [20] this world.

In contrast, this night that is made of fe/ar exists after the mystery of the darkness. Behold too the myster/y of its essence! It displays it in the wo/rld in all these wickednesses. It displays this my/stery daily in the world, but the sects kno[25][w] it not in their error. They do not distinguish the my/[st]ery of the light from that of the darkness. Indeed, concerning this myste/[r]y that is hidden from the sects, the saviour cast an allusion / [to] his disciples: Understand what is before / [y]our face, and then what is hidden from you will be unveiled to you*93.

[30] [Once] again the apostle speaks: You are the children of the d/[ay and] the children of the light. However, you <[...] the character of the darkness> are the children / [of the night a]nd the children of the darkness.

(**164**) Yet, blessed are you, my beloved ones! Blessed are your / souls, for you have known the mystery of the day and / that of the night. You have understood, that the day exists after the myste/ry of the light, but the night after the mystery of the dark[5]ness. They have not arisen from one another. Blessed is he / who can know this mystery and distinguish these two esse/nces, that of the light and that of the darkness, the ones that have not arisen / from one another; so that he can inherit life eternal!

*93 Ev. Thom. log. 5

••• 66 •••

(164,9 – 165,24)

/ Concerning the Ambassador. /

The solar theme is continued from the previous chapter to this one, entitled after the Ambassador as the principal god who dwells in the sun. Mani compares sunrise and sunset to the first and last moments of the history: when the First Man came and shone over the darkness; and when the Last Statue will ascend, leaving behind him eternal death. The entire 'second time' of the cosmos and of mixture is thus the daytime for the creatures of flesh and darkness, between eternal nights both before and afterwards. Mani uses this lesson to exhort his disciples to preach the truth, whilst there is still time for repentance.

Once again he speaks to his disciples: Pay attention, look / [and] understand in the way that I show you. / Two great mysteries are apparent in this shining sun, / at its rising and setting. Now, at the moment / when it rises and is visible in the universe, all creatures of flesh shall lift up their heads fr[om their sleep] / towards the splendour of the sun, <and open their doors*94>. While at evening / time, when the sun sinks from the universe, / all people from every place and even all beasts / shall go in to their dark hiding places. The popula tion of the entire universe shuts their doors*95 and dark night / overcomes them. They go inside and stay within the dark nig/ht in their hiding places. /

Very great is this mystery revealed by the sun! / For when the sun rises and [be]come[s] visible at the beg inning of the day all people open their doors, and / all of humanity and every creature emerges onto the ear[th] / to destroy this Light Cross that is established i[n] / silence.

This pertains to the mystery of the First / Man, because when he came out from the grea[t] ness he shone forth over all the children of darkness. At that mome[nt] / all the children of darkness came forth from their stor[e]/houses, its powers and its armies, abandoni[ng] their cav[es] / and their black abyss. They

*94 Or 'mouths'.
*95 Or 'is silent'.

destroyed the [outer] body / of his five sons, who were swathed over hi[s b]o[dy, in (**165**) t]hat first struggle.

Again, when / the sun sinks from the universe and sets, / and all people go in to their hiding places and / houses and conceal themselves; this also pertains to the mystery / of the end, as it presages the consummation of the universe. For, / when all the light will be purified and redeemed i[n] / the universe at the last, the collector of all things, / the Last Statue, will gather in and sculpt it/self. It is the last hour of the day, the time / when the Last Statue will go up to the aeo[n of] / light. The enemy too, death, will go in to / bondage; to the prison of the souls of the de[ni]iers / and blasphemers who loved the darkness. They will go in / with it to bondage and the dark night overcomes th[em]; / and thenceforth this name 'light' will not shine upon them.

Behold / the two mysteries made visible daily in the sun, / which is this splendrous light-giver. /

Now, [b]ecause of this I say to you, my brothers and loved ones: / Take trouble and train yourselves, and preach to the so/uls that they might seize the moment, while alive, for their / repentance. As long as there is time to do the good, / before the door is shut and the souls are kept back, stopped / at the gate of life; and they become part of the treasure of the enemy. /

[Wh]en his disciples heard this, they were frightened and alarmed and disturbed <[saying: We ...] in great agitation [...] for we would be saved from death [to dwell in the] imperishable [aeon] for ever>.

••• 67 •••

(165,25 – 166,16)

/ Concerning the Light-Giver. /

This chapter is again based upon an analogy about the sun. This time Mani plays on the title 'enlightener', used both of the sun and of himself. The believers are compared to the sun's rays extending across the entire earth; and Mani promises to draw them all after him to the eternal kingdom of light.

Once again he speaks to his disciples, while he sits / in the midst of the congregation: Note how the sun, the great / light-giver, comes with its splendour when it 30 shines over the universe, and its rays shall extend over / the entire earth. Again, when it is about to set, its ra/ys shall [disappea]r and sink. It does not leave [behind] a single ray / [on the earth].

Again, this is also what I am like! (**166**) In the image of flesh, wherein I have been set, I have been displ/ayed in the universe. Also, all my children, / the righteous elect who are mine in every / country, are like the sun's rays. At the moment, when I will 5 come forth from the universe and go to the household of my people, / I will gather toge[ther] all the elect who have believed in me / to that place. I will draw them to me, each one of them at / the time of his coming forth; I will not leave any one of them / in the darkness.

Now, because of this I say to you: 10 Every one of you who loves me, let him love all my children, the / blessed elect, for I am with them. I / alone. How so? For my wisdom anoints th[em] / all. The great glorious one lives in all of them, and every / one who will love them and mix with them in his charity 15 may live and be victorious with them; and be saved from the black / universe.

••• 68 •••

(166,17 – 30)

/ Concerning Fire. /

Fire is one of the five light elements. Nevertheless, this brief chapter also evidences Mani's delight in classifying all aspects of the world, to establish a totally integrated system.

Once more he speaks: This fire, which burns and is apparent to-20day in the world, it does five works. /

The first work that it does is this: It incinerates / and burns wood, and everything that shall be placed upon it. /

The second: It separates four aspects of the wood, which / are these: fire and light, ash and sm[25]oke.

The third: It gives a taste and an {aroma}*[96] to / whatever will be cooked on it. It also gives heat and ch/eer to whoever will be close to it.

The fourth work that [it] / does: All craftsmen shall work the / utensils that they will fabricate in it.

The fifth: [30] It sh[all] display light, and the people see by [it].

••• 69 •••

(166,31 – 169,22)

/ Concerning the Twelve Signs of the Zodi/ac and the Five Stars. /

Mani is asked to explain the distribution of the twelve signs of the zodiac and the planetary stars. Since he subscribes to the astral fatalism found throughout gnostic and esoteric systems in late antiquity, he identifies them as evil rulers from the worlds of darkness. However, it is noticeable that this causes a variety of structural problems for his system, all of which are apparent in this chapter.

In Manichaeism the demiurge is one of the light gods, the Living Spirit, unlike the case with many of the other dualistic traditions. Thus, it is constantly necessary to explain why evil powers are given a place and a role in the universe.

The characteristic pentads of Mani's system, here the five worlds of darkness from which the evil powers originate, can not be made to fit the distribution of the twelve zodiacal signs.

Perhaps of most interest, Mani is clearly aware that the ruling powers are commonly understood to be the seven and the twelve (as in Mandaeism). However, since for him the sun and moon are divine vessels, he must develop his teaching about the two ascendants (the two lunar nodes when the moon crosses the ecliptic of the sun). In this chapter there are two obvious attempts to reconcile this matter.

Once more, during one of the times, the apostle [is sitting down] (**167**) among the congregation. A disciple stood before him and question/ed him. He says to him: We entreat you, our master, that you may recount / to us and explain about the twelve signs of the zodiac / that are set in the sphere. How are they determined?

*96 ⲛⲃⲟ

Or to what place do they belong, [5] according to their essence? Or else again, these five stars that circle / in them, from whence are they? Or why has the demiurge appointed them / as the authorities and leaders? He is the great construc/tor who has appointed the entire creation; and he has bound and fix/ed them on the sphere. Now, we entreat you, our [10] master, that you may satisfy us about these things that are hidden from all mankind. /

[Th]en he speaks to that disciple who had questioned him: Whether / these twelve signs of the zodiac that are fixed on the sphere, or these fi/ve stars that circle upon them; those and these are rulers, all of them, / according to their essence. They are all enemies and rivals to [15] each other <one oppresses another, they threaten each other>. They plunder one another by the action of the great / craftsman who has formed all the worlds. He has gathered / [them] and bound them on the sphere above, which circles const/antly. Now, while it circles and tumbles them, so they shall do every/thing that they desire, above and below, according to their plea[20]sure. Nevertheless, a guardian is over them, a debt-collector a/bove them; compelling, extorting, and taking what is theirs / away from them!

Now, this is how it can rightly be understood. They were / [s]eized from the five worlds of darkness, and bound on the s/[ph]ere. Two zodiacal signs were taken per world. Gemini [25] [an]d Sagittarius belong to the world of smoke, which / is the mind. In contrast, Aries and Leo belong to the wo/rld of fire. Taurus, Aquarius and Libra be/[long] to the world of wind. Cancer and Virgo / [an]d [P]isces belong to the world of water. Capricorn [30] [an]d Scorpio belong to the world of darkness. These are / [the] twelve rulers of depravity, the ones that wicked/[ness] shall not [...] For they cause all the evil and / [... in the wo]rld, whether in tree or in flesh.

(**168**) And understand also about these five stars, the leaders: from where were they / formed? The star of Zeus (Jupiter) was generated from / the world of smoke, which is the mind. In contrast, Aphro/dite (Venus) came about from the world of fire. [5] And then Ares (Mars) belongs to the world of wind. Hermes (Mercury) / belongs to the world of water. Cronos (Saturn) belongs to the world / [of] darkness.

And also, the two ascendants are counted to / fire and desire, the dry and the / moist. They are the father and the mother of all these.

An[d al]so, the sun and the moon, which are counted in with them as a / rule <[counte]d to their kind, but why did they count them in with them?> so that they would reign over them. You will discover they subjugate them at / every moment.

These seven we have named, the five stars and the / two ascendants: They are the doers of wickedness that do every wi/cked and bad act in every land, the whole of it, abo[15]ve and below, in every creature, in the dry / and the moist, in tree and flesh.

Once more I reveal to you about these signs of the zodiac: [They] are / distributed, appointed on four sides, three per angle in / these four places. And they are fixed to this revolving sphere. Ari[es], [20] Leo and Sagittarius, they three belong to a single side*[97]. / In contrast, Taurus, Capricorn and Virg[o], / these other three belong to another side. And then, Gemini, / Libra and Aquarius belong to another side. Scorp[i]/o, Pisces and Cancer belong to another corner. Now, th[ey] [25] are placed like this, appointed to these four parts, and distribute[d] / on the sphere.

So, when the side of A[ri]/es, Leo and Sagittarius will be plundered by the guard/ian who is over it, who extorts from it and the leaders [w]/ho move upon it; at that instant shall affliction st[r][30]ike all the four-footed creatures below. / However, when [the side] of Tau[rus], / Virgo and Capricorn will be plundered; [affliction] sh[all] (**169**) at once befall the herbs, together with the vegetables and / all the fruits of the trees. Yet again, when / the side of Scorpio, Pisces and Cancer will be plundered; / scarcity shall befall the waters upon the earth, [5] and drought be from place to place. / Conversely, should the side of Gemini, Libra and Aq/uarius be plundered; deformity and stuntedness shall befall / the form of mankind from place to place. /

Behold now, I have explained to you about these tw[el]ve [10] signs

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*[97] The circle of the zodiac is quartered, with each set of three houses grouped as by an equilateral triangle. Thus Aries, Leo and Sagittarius are not consecutive signs; but rather the first, fifth, and ninth houses.

of the zodiac: They were fashioned from the five / worlds of darkness, and bound on the sphere.

Also, I have taught / you about the other five, the stars: They too came about / from the five worlds of the land of darkness.

I have recounted / to you also about the [t]wo ascendants: They are se[15]t to the mystery of fire and desire. They / are the dry and the moist, the father and the mother. /

Again, I have revealed to you about the sun and the moon: They / are strangers to them. Still, because of the constraint of the arrangeme/nt, in that the thing receives light, and as they belong and plunder them; [20] because of this they were counted in with them in relation to the calculation of / the number. For, the sun and the moon are from out of the greatness, / not belonging to the stars and the signs of the zodiac.

••• 70 •••

(169,23 – 175,24)

/ Concerning the Body: It was [25] constructed after the Pattern of the Uni/verse. /

Astrology connects this chapter to the last. However, the basic theme here is the correspondence between the micro- and macro-cosmos. The chapter appears to be redacted from a number of separate sources or Manichaean lessons.

170.1 – 20 The structure of the human body and its organs accords to that of the universe.

170.21 – 172.29 The events that occur in the watch-districts of the five sons of the Living Spirit, the conflicts between evil powers and the gods, correlate to those within the individual as the new man struggles with the old. Compare 92.9 – 94.16.

172.29 – 173.20 Demonic rulers exist in the organs of the four worlds of the human body.

173.21 – 174.10 The zodiacal signs correspond to parts of the body vertically from the head to the feet.

174.10 – 175.4 In a second schema the signs are arranged in a circle from the right temple of the head round to the genitals, and returning up the left side of the body.

175.5 – 24 Thousands of evil rulers exist in the human body. They cause illness within, or suppurations on the surface.

[Aga]in, on one of the occasions, the apostle is sitting do/[w]n among the church in the midst of the congregation. He says to his / disciples: This whole universe, above and 30 below, [re]flects the pattern of the hum[an] body; / [as the f]ormation of this body of flesh ac(**170**)cords to the pattern of the universe.

Its head is like / the first-fruits of the five garments. And, from its neck / down to the site of its heart, it resembles the pattern / of the ten firmaments. And again, the heart accords to 5 the wheel of the rotating sphere. And, from its heart / down to its intestines (?), is like this atmosphere / that extends from the sphere down to the earth. The [male] part / of the body corresponds to this great earth. And also, from its / intestines (?) down to its loins is 10 like the three earths. And also, its shinbones to the pa/ttern of the space in which the Porter stands. / Its footsoles to the great earth upon which the Po/rter is stood; and the four fastenings that are under his / feet. Its liver to the vessel of fire. 15 Its flesh to the vessel of darkness. Its b/lood to the vessel of water.

Now, this is how / the small body corresponds to the macro- / cosmos in its firmaments, in its orderings, in its / mountains, its walls and its vessels. As I have 20 made clear to you!

Once more, I reveal to you: / There exist five great camps in this / great outer zone, of which the five sons of the Living / Spirit are masters.

So, in the first watch-station / above, of which the Keeper of Splendour is master, 25 on the battlement of all the works, is found his authority / over the three heavens. Then the ones below him [... / ...] the great King of Honour. /

The second watch, of which the great King of Honour / is master, his own authority (extends) over the seven 30 firmaments beneath him.

The thi[rd] / watch, of which the Adamant [is master, his authority] (**171**) rei[g]ns from the firmament down below to the [earth]. / [And he] invigorates, according to his authority, the sphere and the [wo]/rlds of the atmosphere; and the other four worlds that are appointed on / this earth.

The fourth watch, over which the King of [5] Glory has power, is the three wheels. And his / [auth]ority lies over the three earths upon the hea[d] / of the Porter.

The fifth watch is the wat/ch over which the Porter is authoritative. Again, he is / master, according to his authority, over this great earth [10] he stands upon, and the four fastenings under / his feet.

Affliction has come about in these five watches from ti/me to time.

So, in the watch of the Keeper of Splendour, / s[in] desired to spurt up towards the image / of the Ambassador. Yet, they barred it from that place, [15] and it fell back down in shame. /

Again, an earthquake and treachery occured in the watch of the great / King of Honour, which the watchers who had arisen / at the time and had [...] they who were sent came down, / until they were humbled.

Also, in the watch [20] of the Adamant, the abortions came to the earth and fashioned [the] / figure of flesh.

Again, in the watch of the King of Glory, / a commotion happened in these three earths abo/ve the Porter. The pathway was obstructed for / [the] ascent of these three wheels; that of wind, that of [25] water, and that of fire.

Also, in the watch of the Po/[r]ter, the fastenings beneath were laid bare and strained their / [ch]ains. A great [ear]thquake befell that place. /

[Like] these five watch-[stations], which exist in this great / [... these fi]ve camps, which I have recounted (**172**) [to] you. This is also the case with this body that the e[l/e]ct wear. There are another five camp[s] / there, and the Light Mind is watching over them, and the new / man who is with him.

The elect person who will con[5]trol and subdue the configuration of his face, which is above his bo/dy, and guide it towards the good; he resembles / the mystery of the Keeper of Splendour, who rules o/ver the watch above the zone.

Whoever will become master / [over] his heart and subdue it; he is the sign of the great [10] King of Honour, who subdues the seven heavens.

Wh/oever will become master to his genitals and subdue his lust; he is / the mystery of the Adamant of Light, the one who / subdues Matter.

Whoever will subdue the stomach and / become master to the fire that is in him, and also purify [15] the nourishment that comes in to him; he resembles the likeness / of the King of Glory, the one who turns the wheels, sending / the life above.

Whoever will become master over the ruling-po/wer that is beneath in his feet, and bind it with the / chain of peace; he is like the Porter, the one who subdu[20]es with his footsoles the abysses below.

Also, the teaching / of wisdom, which circulates in that body: to / the likeness of the Virgin of Light, who goes up and / comes down in this zone, above and be/low.

Also, love and joy, faith [25] and truth, in which the person should l[iv]e: they are / to the likeness of these two light ships. For, the living s[o]/ul should go up in them and become free through them; / and it ascends from the abysses below and arrives at [the] / heights above.

Once more, understand this other (truth): [30] There exist four worlds i[n th]is body of the f[lesh], / and there exist countless times seven rulers [in the b]ody [of the four] / worlds!

So, the first w[orld is from its] (**173**) neck up; and also the seven rulers who are / in this upper world are these: the two organs of sigh[t], / and the two of hearing, and the two of smell. / The other one is the mouth, which is the organ of taste.

[5] [The] second world is from its neck down to / its entire upper torso. And also, the seven rulers w[ho] / are in this second world are: its [two] arms / that accord to the pattern of its two ears, which [oc]/cur in its first world above; and i[t]s [10] two breasts that are to the pattern of its organs of smell; / and the two eyes of its heart;

and the gullet of the stoma/ch between the two breasts, which in the che/st is the pattern of the mouth.

Once more, there exist seven / rulers in the third world of the body, [15] which are these: the fat, the lung, the sple[en], the liv[e]r, the gall, / and its two kidneys.

Also, the fourt[h wo]rld b/elow. There are another seven there of this same kind: its / two buttocks (?), and its two testicles, and its two loins; / and the member out of which the seed comes, that begets [20] all the forms. /

[O]nce more the enlightener speaks to his hearers: Ari/es and Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, / Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Ca/pricorn, Aquarius and Pisces; these are the twe[25]lve signs of the zodiac that occur in the worlds above, on / the sphere. They are interlocked and bound on this turning wheel, the one in whi/ch they are [...], fixed, and planted. And, regarding [a]ll these twelve / signs of the zodiac, this is how they were appointed and made leaders / [...] on the sphere beneath the heaven that is the wheel of the [30] [stars]. Now, they are appointed *like* this, they are thus, so that you can find the head of / [...] and you find the tail too [... / ...]

Again, they occur like this, (**174**) these that we have recited, one after another in this body. They are counted / by order and number from the head to the / feet. Its head is Aries. Its neck and its shoul/ders are Taurus. Its two arms Gemini. [5] Its upper torso is Cancer. Its stomach is / Leo. Its belly is Virgo. The v[er]tical spine / and its intestines (?) are Libra. Its genitals / [S]corpio. Its loins are Sagittarius. Its knees ar[e / Capri]corn. Its shinbones are Aquarius. [10] The soles of its feet are Pisces.

Behold, these / are also distributed one after another. They exist in this body, / as if turned to the side and bent to the pattern of the twelve signs of the zodiac. / They too are thus, arranged one against another, head / to tail, a[s] they occur on the wheel [15] [...] up.

Also, they are counted by / order and number of the body and all its members. / So, we have proclaimed that these are turned to the side, bent, and spread / out; because from its head down to its / hip

shall count six to its left, and another six to its right. [20] The six that are down its right are these that I / will recount: the right temple is Aries; its right shoul/der is Taurus; its right arm is / Gemini; its right rib-cage is Cancer; / its stomach is Leo; the right side of its reproductive organs [25] are Virgo. Conversely, the other s[ix] about which we have spoken, / which are to its left, in contrast they come / from its hip to its head: its left [...] / is Libra; its left rib-cage is Scorpi[o]; / its left breast and left kidney [is Sag][30]ittarius; its [left] elbow [is Capric](175)orn; its left shoulder is Aquariu[s]; / its left temple is Pisces. This is how / the creator of the body himself has appointed them. He has [set] / them in order and arranged them, one against its companion, head to [tail].

[5] Once more he speaks: Listen to this other lesson that I will pr[ocla]/im to you. Understand that there exist many powers / in this body. They are the house-dwellers who are made the leade[rs] / in it. There are eight hundred and forty times ten thousand [ru]/lers made chiefs in the human b[o]dy! They are distributed and [10] set firm, quartered according to house. The count and / number of their houses is two hundred and ten times ten thousand. /

When all these rulers come creeping and [m]ov/[ing with]in the body, they will meet one another; and they shall / beset and destroy one another, and [...] [15] in them there. When [... t/il]l they shall erupt from the body of the person who [will] / die; and make putrid boils and sores and [bur]ning wounds / in the body. Either they might have made hi[m] sick with[in]; / or else they might come forth upon his outer side. Those woun[20]ds shall first be squeezed and discharge their liquid, / and empty out their pus, until they are squeezed [... / ...] and the suppuration forced out from the wound. Afterwards, / their scars [shal]l close over; and they are healed and obtain relief f/rom the places that came out upon them.

•••71 •••

(175,25 – 176,8)

/ Concerning the Gathering in / of the [E]lements. /

This chapter discusses the sequence by which the light elements will be gathered in and ascend up to the eternal kingdom at the end of time, the destruction of the universe. This corresponds to the eschatological path taken by each soul: to answer the summons of salvation, to become one with the Light Mind, to ascend up the Pillar to the moon (the First Man), then to the sun (the Ambassador), and thus to the aeons.

[O]nc]e more the enlightener speaks: In what way shall / [the] elements be gathered in, from one to another?

The l[30][igh]t shall be gathered in [to] the fire, and the fire itself gathered / [in to the water, and the wa]ter gathered in to the wind, and the (**176**) [win]d gathered to the air, and the air gathered to the answer, / [an]d the answer gathered to the summons. Also, the summons / [to the] purified Mind, which is the intellectual. The intellectual to / [the P]illar of Glory, [the P]illar of Glory to the First [5] [M]an, the Man to the Ambassador, the Ambassador / [to] the aeons of greatness.

They are gathered in like this; / but, [they] will be gathered on one occasion only, and go up a/[b]ove to the place of rest for ever and ever.

••• 72 •••

(176,9 – 178,23)

[10] *Concerning the worn / and torn apart Garments, or the tattered Clothes, / or the Elements, the C/ross, and the rest too. /*

The divine light soul (or elements) that descended at the beginning of the history with the First Man was devoured by the evil demonic forces of matter. During the course of the history it has experienced different forms of degradation, and of salvation, depending upon its position and role in the conflict. Since it was the armour (or the five sons) that the First Man had

assumed at his descent, it frequently receives various names that are variants on the concept of a garment. In this chapter Mani explains the different terms and roles during the history; but emphasises that they will all return to a single form and a single name at the final victory.

Once more the apostle is sitting in the congregation of his 15 disciples. He says to [hi]s disciples: What is this lesson / [that] is written in [the scriptures]? It proclaims the name the 'great garm/ents', but what then are these 'great garments'? Or again, this / you sometimes call the 'rags', what are those / 'rags'? Or the 'worn and torn apart'? Or what are 20 the 'images and the tattered clothes'? Or what is this name: / 'light element'? Or conversely, what is the 'Cro/ss of Light'? Or why named otherwise: the 'couns/el of life'? Or what is the 'soul that is slain'; being killed, / oppressed, and murdered in the enemy? What are all these names? 25 Look, they are written and sealed, according to memory, / by a multitude of scriptures. Now then I ask you, / so that you may tell me: What are they? Or how have they changed / with all these names and become set in altered forms, / namely all these?

His disciples say to him: 30 You, our father, are the source [of] all wisdoms. [Th]/erefore, we entreat you that you may open o[ur e]/yes about all these things. Te[ach us these wisdoms], / since you are the fount of [all wisdoms]!

(**177**) Then speaks the apostle to them: It is proper for [yo/u] to understand this. The garments that are named / 'great garment' are the five intellectuals that [make per]/fect the body of the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man. 5 They were purified by the coming of the Ambassador. /

In contrast, the ones named 'rag': the rags are the devoured enlightening power. / It is compounded and entangled in [the bo]/dy of the universe in the rulers who are above, who / exist in all the firmaments. Also, its shine is t10hat which lights up and is displayed in the stars of the chain and the powers / [of the] course. And likewise, these rags that are entangled in / these [thre]e [ear]ths below, above the head of the Port/[er ...] on the earth that is under the Porter. These are / [named] the 'rags', because [...] set [... 15 ...]

However, the 'great worn and torn apart garments', / which we have proclaimed, is this entangled living power. / It is reaped, cut, and devoured. / It is overpowered by the five worlds of the flesh, wh/ich creep as they move from place to place.

20 On the other hand, [these] we have termed the 'images and the great / tattered clothes' [...] are the three great garments / of the wind, the fire, and the water. These the Living Spirit / cloaked upon his body. With them he set in order thing/s in the universe. With them also he emptied the vess25els. He swept them out and laid them bare in front of the Por/[t]er at the foundation of all things. /

Conversely, '[the ele]ments', we have called them this name, are this / [pow]er that remains in all things below. It rises up / [in] the wombs of all the earths, gathering together, and pouring 30 f[ort]h upon [a]ll thin[gs].

And then, the '[Light] Cross' / [we have termed] this bound 'light power'. It / [...] all [...] upon the earth, in (**178**) the dry and the moist.

Also, the one name[d] / the 'counsel of life' is the summons and the / [obed]ience. It moves in all these powers that we have named. / It awakens them, gives them ease, and drives them 5 to their movement.

The one named 'the soul [that is s/l]ain', which is killed, oppressed and murdered; it is / this power of fruit, vegetables and seeds. They shall be th/[r]eshed, plucked and cut down; and they / give nourishment to the worlds of the flesh. Further: the wood should it be dr10y, and the garment should it become ragged, will perish. Again, it is [a pa/]rt of this entire soul that is slain and killed; s/ince also even this whole part of it they kill / [...]

For all these names [... / ...] are a single [...] since the beginning, it [...] 15 as it enlightens; but they separated into all these parts / in this first contest. They became set in all these altered / forms, and these many names. Of course, / if now all these var[iet]ies are laid bare, and stripped / of all these appearances, [and] parted from all 20 these names; they will gather together [and] make a single form, / and a single name, unaltered and unchangeable

for ever in the / land of their first essence, from which they were sent forth / against the enemy.

••• 73 •••

(178,24 – 180,26)

[25]*Concerning the Envy of Matter.* /

178.26 – 179.16 Mani begins by outlining four crucial moments in the history when Matter (hyle), the driving force of the darkness, has displayed the envy that is the essence of its nature. It envied: the First Man; the image of the Ambassador; Adam; Christ and the apostles.

179.16 – 28 Furthermore, it has caused envy for Mani himself, and his church. The apostle turns the discussion into a warning to his listeners that sin will never be content to leave them secure in their faith.

179.28 – 180.19 Mani illustrates the point by recounting the typical actions of an envious person against the faithful, in every church since the beginning.

180.19 – 26 Final admonitions to be steadfast in the faith.

Once again the apostle speaks to his disciples: [The] / entirety of envy is this first nature that occu[red] / in the worlds of darkness.

In this envy that [...] / in it, the First Man [...] its poiso[n ...] [30] its evil-doing. His garment[s] were [...] / it cut them and drew them; [...]

(**179**) It envied the first image of the Ambassad[or], / which he displayed to it in the heights abov[e], / i[n] his form that it saw. It established the seal and the i[m]/age of flesh, and put the impression of t[h]at image [5] on flesh, its very own birth. /

[The th]ird time it envied Adam, the fir[st / hum]an. It seized a power from him, and bore it forth from a / [rib of] of Adam's [flesh].

The fourth time / [it en]vi[ed] all the firs[t-bo]rn and the first f[a[10]thers; an]d the blessed Christ who is the father of / all the [apostles]. Again, he too, it envied his / [endurance upon] the wood of the cross. It envied [the] fa/[thers of r]ighteousness. It was jealous of the [... / ...] all congregations of [... th]eir love over

him, [15] [which] is among them, by the desire of its wickedness. It has [...] t/hem.

Furthermore, I myself was sent now, in this / last generation. It has envied me. For it wishes now, at the end, to be / god in its old land. After it had caused envy for me and / fulfilled its jealousy there, it also envied all my righteous[20]ness and my entire church and the whole assembly / [of] my catechumens. It could not bear to see a / single wise and true person, upright and stead/[fa]st in his deeds. Rather, it shall envy you with / [i]ts jealousy and wickedness; every one, whether [25] [a] great person or a disciple, a man o/r a woman, a male catechumen or a / female catechumen. They who are in truth, being perfect in / [the] faith. These of this kind sin shall not be content to [... /

...] cho[o]sing a single day. He was strong [30] [...] they are of it, but he has separ/[ated himself. He] spoke with them so that he might do (**180**) [a]mong them his will, whether outside or within. / While [in]side, he wounds them by his envy, with / [s]icknesses and pains and physical afflictions; and outside / with false reports and lying accusations [5] that he spreads as rumours after them. He makes [t/he]m hated and stinking among mankind, more and / [m]ore. He shall return to burst against the teacher and the righteous e[lec/t] person. He who preaches, manifestin[g / the] mystery in the revel[at]ion of [... [10] sa]ve by him his lamb[s ... / ...] in his hands. More and more it shall envy [... / ...] speaking after him with [...] words [...] / Now, these who are lesser in power, they [... / ...] negligent and confused i[n their] contorte[d] faith [...] [15] they fall from the faith. This is the desire [of Mat]/ter, the thought of death. This is the envy of its wi[cke]/dness, that it casts upon the entire kindred of life / from the very beginning until my time, from m/e too to my church.

Therefore, it is appropriate [20] for the wise person that he be steadfast and strong, / and stay with his truth and hope. And he not be / defeated nor cowed, nor give himself to the en[vy] / and hatred of dark Matter. Rather, he will stand firm [... / ...] in God and be strong and stay [with] [25] his hope and his [faith]; and he overcomes [...] / Whatever would cover me comes before him.

••• 74 •••

(180,27 – 181,31)

/ Concerning the living Fire: / It is present in Eight Places.

The living fire is one of the five light elements, and its origin is the eternal kingdom. However, the First Man also swathed it upon his body at his descent; and so it is present in this universe, from whence it is purified. It equates to the consideration amongst the five intellectual qualities.

30 Once again the apostle speaks: The [holy] living f[ire] / is present i[n] eight places. /

The first place wherein it is, is this [light] land [where it is present and] / exists. It is established beneath [it ... (**181**) ut]terly beyond the totality. It is the foundatio[n and / ba]sis of that great earth, and the consideratio[n / th]at is beneath them all.

The second pla[ce / whe]rein it is, is the Father, the God of truth; because 5 [the Fathe]r is established in his great, mighty consideration. / So, [firs]t in the Father. The other powers that came from him / were revealed through him, and (the fire) too came w[i]/th them [and was revea]led by them.

The third / [place wherein it is], is the First Man, h[e] wh[o ... 10 ...] armour. Again, it is this fire [... / ...] on the body of the Perfect Man. /

[The fourth is this fir]e that was purified from all the [light] powers, / [which is i]n the outer wall, in the ship of the day. /

[The fifth i]s this fire that is in the light-giver of the night 15 [...] within the water. /

[The] sixth is this f[i]re that is purified from the totality. The Living [Spirit] / swathed it upon his body, over the summons and / the obedience. He has established many things by it. He / went down and stripped himself of it before the Por20ter.

The seventh is this living fire that is of / the new earth, and is the consideration. For it is the first / foundation in the new earth, it

they built anew [... / ...] the first course, that is a crown for the entire earth. T[hey] / are below the totality, over the entire earth of da[rkne]ss [25] [...] in it, in the [...] whole [...] /

[The] eigh[th] is the fire that shall be revealed in this [... / ...] person, and it signifies fear and war. Furthermore it / [...] it displays and manifests its sign in / [its ter]ror. It shall be r[ev]ealed in these two light ships.

[30] This i[s the way] that the holy living fire exists in these / [eight places].

••• 75 •••

(181,31 – 183,9)

/ [Concerning the Letter (?)] /

In this kephalaion the summons and the obedience are considered to be letters, a motif also found in the Hymn of the Pearl in the *Acta Thomae*. These two are the essence of redemption, the call to knowledge and the answer of knowledge, otherwise jointly termed the counsel of life. In Manichaeism the prototypical moment is the salvation of the First Man by the Living Spirit; and the call and answer are themselves divinised as, respectively, the sixth sons of each of these two great gods (92.1 – 4).

However, the point of this chapter is that the letters contain all knowledge of what has happened and what will happen; and thus it emphasises the divine foreknowledge and consequent control of events. As usual Mani connects the primordial event to the present, and makes it relevant to his audience. The Light Mind, which is the call to salvation within the church, is also an all-knowing letter. Similarly, the response of the people in their good works is also a letter; and so Mani can assure his listeners that everything they have done and need is known to Christ.

[O]nce again he speaks to h]is disciples, preaching the wo(**182**)[r]d of life. And thus he speaks to them about the su[mm/o]ns and the obedience: Consider the summons, which was sen[t f]/rom the Living Spirit in the beginning. He sent it [to the First] / Man. It is a peace letter and greet[ing] [5] that he wrote and sent to his brother, in which all the [tid]/ings are written down, together with everything it will / [bring ab]out and establish by [th]at summons. That / [summ]ons, the First Ma[n ... / is o]rdained to happen.

The an[swer that was sent from [10] the] First Man came to the heigh[ts, to the Living Spirit]. / That is also [a] letter, [which was sent from] / the First Man to the Living Spirit, [in which] all [the tidings] / are written down; and [every] w[ar] / and the struggles that he had waged. It did [...] [15] in the answer that the First Man [... / ...] everything that had happened and everything [that would happen], / all [t]hat had been done and whatever is made ready to be done by him. / The Living Spirit knew a[ll] the wars and the dang/ers and the contests that the rulers had waged against the First Ma[20]n.

The Light Mind also, which came from the beloved Chris/t and was sent to the holy church, is a / letter of peace too; in which all the reve[la]/tions and wisdom are written down [...] / all [...] in the light and everything that had happened [... [25] ...] it was prior to all mankind, and all that [...] / to happen at the last in it, as the holy church / shall understand all things.

This creation also [...] / this light product, that shall be generated from the holy church / and go to [...] is [a letter] [30] too; since all the [g]ood works tha[t the] holy ch/urch performs are written down in i[t. Every / thing] that it may entreat its father for, so that [... e]/ase in the world. And at the last [... r]/est before him. They are present in [... fa(**183**)s]ting and prayers and good works that [... / ...] them. It shall go up and be rev[eal]ed b/efore the blessed Christ. He shall answer it [... / ...] he [gives] power and makes it at ease [... [5] ...]

Indeed, [d]ue to this, I say to you: / [...] each [...] and entreaty, since a [... / ...] prayer. Everything that you will ask [for / ...] will be given you*[98], if [... / ...] perfect.

*[98] Mt. 21:22 Jn 15:7 16:24

••• 76 •••

(183,10 – 188,29)

/ [Conce]rning Lord Manichaios: / how he journeyed. /

This important chapter has clear historical context and content. Mani is so busy answering the calls of King Shapur, (who does seem to have given him and his teaching some real protection), that a disciple wishes that there could be two Manis! The apostle replies that the world has scarcely been able to accept him alone. With authentic frankness he recounts the trials of his missionary journeys and the opposition of the authorities in various lands.

[F]urther, it] ha[pp]ened one time while our master Manichaios, / [our] light [enl]ightener, was staying in the [ci[15]ty] of Ktesiphon. Shapur, the king, enquired / after and summoned him. Our master stood / up and went to Shapur the king. Afterwards / [he] returned and came back to his congregation. When he had been a / [sh]ort while sitting down, before delay elapsed, King Sha[20][p]ur enquired af[te]r him another time. He sent, he called f/[o]r him. Again (Mani) returned, he retraced and went to King Shapur. / He spoke with him and proclaimed to him the word of Go/[d]. Again he retu[r]ned and came to the congregation. Also, a third / occasion, King Sh[ap]ur enquired after and called for him; [25] and [he] returned to him once more. /

[T]hen one of his disci[pl]es made a retort, Aurades by name, / [the] son of [Kap]elos. He says to our enlightener: Please, / our master [Manich]aios, give to us two Manis resembling you; / [pass]ing for you! Good, peaceful, and [30] compassionate [...] disciples in righteousness [like] you / [...] one Mani will remain with us as you; / [and the other go to] King [Sha]pur, his [mind] at ease, / [and proclaiming it] to him.

(**184**) W[h]en our enlightener heard these words from that [dis]/ciple, he shook his head. He says to him: Now be[ho/ld], I, a single Mani, came to the worl[d to / p]roclaim in it the word of [God]; and [do] [5] therein the good will that had been ent[rusted to me]. /

Then look, I, one Mani alone, have not been permitted [to] / speak

freely in the world; I [...] / that I find room to fulfill [the good will] / that has been entrusted to me. Ye[t], I have done [the will of the mys[10]ter]y, which I preach in the [living] tru[th]. /

[Fo]r the world loves the darkness; [but] it h[ates / the lig]ht, because its works are evil*[99]. [Still, I, I have travelled] / so that I would do the will of the l[ight, and spr]/ead the truth far and wide, in accord with what the[y entrusted to [15] me]. And, behold, the world bears down on me with [... / ...] upon me with its sects. They give me no place [to prea/ch] therein, and besides I am a single Mani. / I came to the world, and they have not given me time to pre/ach according to my will. They have not accepted me. [20] On the other hand, if we do as [...] as you have spoken / [to us], what might we do then? How were [... / ...]? Rather, this [... / ...] to you, and recount it to [you].

At the time when I sail[ed] / the sea in the ship, I went [...] [25] I found it necessary [...] / the life that is with me in the world [... / ...] I stirred the whole land of India [... / ...] all the people who dwell in it [... / ...] all of them to me, so that they might bear [30] two to three times [...] / in their land according to their heart [... / ...] and the wise man [...] / they {}*[100] [... (**185**) se]t them against me. At that moment I ceased finding l[i]/ght, I ceased speaking freely with the voice that is / of truth, which is entrusted to me.

Now behold, [... / ...] in India. It may act against me in its [... [5] ... and] accept the greater ones and the counsellor[s / and the] satraps and the governors who are found there [... / ... I was] difficult [for] it, it stirred not [... / ...] because they belong to it [... / ...] from all the sinners [... [10] ...] to me. I was more difficult for it than [all] these / [... did not acce]pt me, and it persisted to [... / ...] it. For the world loves [the] dark/ness; [bu]t [it hates] the light, because its wo[rk]s / [are evil.

I crossed] the seas another time. I took [... [15] ...] India. I went up to the land of Pe[rsia. / I le]apt from the sea and went [... / ...] the land of Persia and its ci[ties ...] / in this living truth that is wi[th me ...] to the [li]ght of [... / ...] proclaim [... the] powers and the

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*99 Jn. 3:19 Also 185.12 – 13

*100 ⲥⲱⲱⲛⲉ

[au]thorities [... [20] ... / ...] and the holders of authority [... / en]lightener [...] in the land of Persia [... / b]ody [...] because of this truth that I proclaimed, si/[tt]ing in their midst [...] to one another. S[ee [25] n]ow, [... / ...] in their land [...] to me the power. The Father [... / ...] livi[ng ...] all occasions. The one who [... / to] it [... / ... [30] ... / ...] in the land [... / ...] (**186**) how strong is it? (The land) tolerates the kings and accepts [the / s]atraps and the governors who are ther[e. It] / stirred [amon]g them, it was not defeated in their midst [... / ...] it was not able to accept [the truth that I pro[5]claimed] there. It did not [...

I] / came [out] from the land of Pers[ia]. I went up / [to Me]sene, the city that [... / ...] in this truth that is in me, in [... I / proc]laimed this knowledge; I separated [the light from the darkness and] [10] d[iscriminat]ed life from death, what is go[od from] / what is evil, the righteous person from the sin[ner. I proc]/la[imed] the path of life and the command[ments ... / ...] Yet, when they had heard the voice [of truth and life], / the [rulin]g-power and the swarm of demons [... [15] ...] and the race of mankind [... / ...] under wickedness and hatred, they [... / ... they did not] allow me, [nor] did they / [permit me] to preach [the tr]uth in [tranquill]ity, the way that it / i[s]. See: In [...] [20] for they tolerate the kings, they acce[pt ...] and the / caesars and the satraps a[nd the governors who] are f[ound] / among them. Yet, the truth that I proc[laimed] among [them], / they did not accept it; and [... they did not listen] / to the voice of life that I cried out [among them].

[25] Again, [fr]om that place I came to the land of Babylon, the [ci]/ty of the Assyrians, and walked in [it]. I went in [to] / the [other] cities, and spoke in this truth [of the life that is with] me. I / proclaimed there the word of [truth and li]fe. / With [the voi]ce of the proclamation I se[parated the light from the dark][30]ness there, what is good from [what is evil ... / ...] the powers who are master [over ...] (**187**) their envy to the heart of the kings and the leaders / there. They and the sects of that place, they / [were s]et against me. Even as you yourselves see, they have w[aged] / some great wars [wit]h me. The lawle[ss] judges [5] [took] me, they watched. They and their rulers and the[ir / lea]ders took me in the midst of their land. If as / [...] to me the protection of the

Father, who does [not] hel[p / the lawless]. Yet I, he helps me at [all] times / against his [enemy]. Still, they would not permit me in B[a[10]bylon] a single day to journey in their land. /

S[ee no]w: How great is the land of the Assyrians? / [It is abl]e to tolerate the kings and accept the eparchs / [and the gen]erals and the caesars and the governors / [... i]n it. It did not stir, nor was it [defe]ated before [them [15] ...] but, on the other hand, to me, it stirred and was disquieted [... / ...] It waged against me a multitude of struggles. [Therefore, I] le[ft be/hind me] the Assyrians.

I went to the land of the Medes and Par/thians. At that place I played the harp of wisdom; [I] / spoke in this living truth [th]at is with me. The [whole] land [20] [of] the Medes and the Parthians stirred, it shook [... / ...], to accept the hope of the life that I [proclaimed]. Yet see: How great / is the land of the Medes and the Parthians? Many / [ci]ties are found there. It was able to accept the kings / [an]d the leaders who were there; but, on the other hand, it was not able to acc[25][e]pt the power of my truth. It stirred, it all shook just as / [...]

Then the apostle speaks to that disciple: / Indeed I, a single Mani, came to the world. / All the cities [of the] world stirred, they shook. (The world) did not wi/[sh to] acce[pt m]e; unless I humbled its rebelliousness [30] [...] I have subdued its powers and brought / [...] all that were there. I have planted in it / [...] I have sown this [s]eed of life. I chose (**188**) a few from among the multitude [... / I], one Mani alone, came to the world; and [... / ...] all the powers of the world stirred. A turmoil ar[ose] / before me. And thus, if tw[o] Manis had [come] [5] to the world, what place would be able to tolerate them, or [what land] would / [be able] to accept them?

I, a singl[e] Mani, [d/id] come, and walking on tip-toes [... / ... no] pl[ace] was found for me wherein I could stand [fast ... / ...] on the fullness of my feet, [and walk on [10] the] earth like everyone, and do there [... / ... / ...] all of you, pray to God that he might [... / ... fe]et henceforth, this single Mani, who is [among you / on that d]ay, that [...] will happen [... [15] ...] he might do the will of the living ones [in the] / holy [ch]u[rch]. However, you, blessed are you i[f] / you make yourselves strong in this truth that I have

given to you; so that you may be / [confirmed] in it, in the life which continues for ever and ever. /

Then, [whe]n that disciple had heard these things, he says to [20] the apostle: Blessed am I my master! [I], and all my other brothers / who hear these great things from you, we know that w[e] / all are among the living. And we are alive by your advent t[o] / us! We have found the truth more than all people who are in the wo/rld. Who of us will be able fully to repay you for the good[25]ness that you have done us, our father? Only the Father who se/nt you is sufficient fully to repay you for this / toil. For the recompense that you desire of him, the God who has / sent you, is this: every prayer you entreat of the Father, / may he grant you your prayer and your co[nsolation].

••• 77 •••

(188,30 – 190,10)

/ The Chapter of the Four K[ingdoms]. /

In this lesson Mani takes as his text a saying of Jesus, and develops his own teaching from an analysis of the terminology used by the saviour. To share not only with the righteous elect, but even with catechumens, is a deed beyond any achieved by the greatest kingdoms of this world. It will bring an eternal reward.

It is noteable that this kephalaion speaks of the indwelling Holy Spirit, rather than the to be expected Light Mind (and see 143.24 – 32).

Once again the apostle speaks: There are f[our great kingdoms] / in the world.

[The first is the kingdom (**189**) of] the land of Ba[by]lon and of Persia.

The s[ec/o]nd is the kingdom of the Romans.

The thir[d / is the k]ingdom of the Axumites.

The fourth is the kin/[g]dom of Silis.

These four great kingdoms e[x[5]i]st in the world; there is none that surpasses them. /

Yet, I, I say to you in truth that whoever [will give] / bread and a cup of water*101 to one of my disciples on [account of / the name of G]od, on account of this truth that I have m[an]if[est]/ed; [t]hat one is great before God. [He s]ur10passes these four great kingdoms, which are so g[reat]! / He does more than their armies, because t/hey did not listen to God's truth, nor did they h[el]p / r[ighte]ousness.

Not only this, but whoever will [give] bread / and a cup of water to a catechumen of the [truth, on acc]ount of the 15 name of God and on account of the truth [that is manifest]; / that one is brought near to the [truth. Hi]s end will t[u]/rn to rest for ever.

[Just as the saying] that the [g]ood savi[our] / uttered: W[hoever will give bread and a cup of water] / to one of these least [of the faithfu]l who believe me, on account of the name 20 of a disciple [...] /

Now, [the] savi[our] is callin[g] these saints 'least of the faithful'. / So, I, behold I have proclaimed of the catechumens / [th]at whoever will fellowship with catechumens who are / with the knowledge, and helps them, he surpasses these [ki25n]gdoms that I have counted for you; because all these kingdoms / know not the truth of God. For they {}*102 / the lust of the world and care about livelihood. /

Indeed, due to this, I tell you that these two persons / whom I have named, [the] faithful catechumen and the faithful ri30[ghteous one, are the] ones in wh[om] the Holy Spirit dwells. / [...] he sees [...] Indeed, because of this (**190**) [he] will give them alms and fellowship with them. / [He] gives it for the Holy Spirit that dwells in them. / The Holy Spirit too will give his thanks be[fore] / his true father. And the true father will repa[y] 5 his reward at the last day because of / the Holy Spirit that dwells in these saints./

How great is this truth that I have unveiled for you, / {}*103. Due to this I have told y[ou]: Bless/[ed] are these who will hear and believe [it, and] set their 10 [h]eart upon it with a single mind [...]

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*101 See Mt. 10:42 Also 189.13 – 14.18 – 19
*102 ϐϵϡн
*103 ⲁϯ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ

••• 78 •••

(190,11 - 191,8)

/ Concerning the Four Things over which Peo/ple kill each other. /

The four obsessions of mankind are food, sex, riches, and strife for glory. Unlike faith and truth, all these are mortal.

On[ce aga]in he speaks to his disciples: Th[ere are] f[ou]r major [15] [things] in the world over which a[ll people / on earth kill] each other. /

T[he firs]t thing is [the obsession] of people; in that they would eat / [for the swell]ing of their body [...] /

The [sec]ond is [sexual inter]course; [...] fornication [20] [...] fornication [... men] and wo/men {}*104 in it with each other.

The third / thing is w[ealth; and ...] the useless riches in [which] / they shall pride themselves without [...] from it. /

The fourth is war; and the d[ispu]tes, the {}*105 [25] and the trials that they instigate against each other. / Someone is victor [o]ver another, [wi]th each o[ther] / in tyranny, so that they have received a name in the world. /

All people, they who side with these four major things that [a]/re on every tongue [in the] world [...] [30] they struggle so that they might generate them [... a]/mong them.

However, I say to yo[u ... (**191**) whoever wi]ll accept faith and invite it in together with this ph[ysi]/cian whom I have brought, and he separates the light from the darkness, / the good from the wicked; he remains in [... / ...] in only-begottenness, in godliness and o[b][5]edience. That one surpasses a[ll] people / who run after these four worldly things [...] / For they will not remain with them for ete[rni]/ty; rather they shall leave them behind and die.

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*104 ϐϵϡϦ
*105 ϡϵϭ.ϵ

••• 79 •••

(191,9 – 192,3)

10 *Concerning the Fasting of the Saints.* /

Once more the enlightener speaks to his disciples: The fa/sting that the saints fast by is profit[able] / for [four] great works.

The first work: S[hall] / the holy man punish his body by fasting, [he sub]15dues the entire ruling-power that exists in him. /

The second: This soul that comes in [to] him in the adm[ini]/stration of his food, day by day; it shall be made holy, [cl]/eansed, purified, and w[ash]ed from the adulteration [of] / the darkness that is mixed in with it.

The third: 20 Th[at] person shall make every deed a holy one; / the mystery of [the children] of light [i]n whom there is neither corruption / nor [...] the food, nor wound it. / [Rat]her, they are holy, [there is nothing] in them that defiles, as they li/[ve] in peace.

The fourth: They make a [... 25 ...] the Cross, they restrain their hands from the hand / [... not] destroy the living soul. /

[The] fasting is profitable to the saints for these four great / [wo]rks should they persist; that is if they are constant in th/[em] daily, and cause the body to make all its 30 [memb]ers to fast [with a] holy [fa]st. /

[...] faith. They who have not strength / [to fast d]aily should make their fast (**192**) [on] the lord's day. They too make a contribution [to the wor/ks] and the fasting of the saints by their faith and their / alms.

••• 80 •••

(192,3 – 193,22)

/ The Chapter of the Command [5] *ments of Righteousness. /*

Summary of essential precepts held by the elect and the catechumens; arranged in two sets of two (by three).

The first righteousness of the elect has three parts: to refrain from all sexual activity; to take great care not to harm the light soul trapped everywhere in matter and especially vegetation (the Cross of Light), for instance by plucking fruit; and not to consume meat or alcohol (192.8 – 13). These correspond to the three seals of mouth, hands and breast discussed by Augustine (signacula oris, manuum et sinus, *mor. Manich.* VII, 10; IX, 18); and also referred to in eastern Manichaean texts.

The second: to multiply wisdom, faith and grace.

The first righteousness of the catechumenate: fasting, prayer and almsgiving. The catechumens had to support the elect who could do no labour, farming or cooking.

The second: to give someone to the church; to share in their good works; to construct something. The catechumens were allowed to marry and procreate, but were expected to compensate in this way.

[O]nce more] the enlightener speaks to his disciples: Know [and] / understand that the first righteousness a per[son] / will do to make truly righteous is this: he can embra/[ce] continence and purity. And he can also acquire 'the rest [10] [of the] hands', so that he will keep his hand still before the Cross of Li[gh/t]. The third is purity of the mouth, so that he will / keep his mouth pure of all flesh and blood; and not take any taste / at all of the 'wine' name, nor fermented drink. This is the fir/[st] righteousness. If a person will do it in his bo[15][dy], he is pronounced righteous by all mankind. /

Then, the second righteousness that he should do is this: / He can add to it [...] wisdom and faith so that / [...] from his wisdom he can give wisdom, to every person who will he/ar it from him. And also from his faith he can give faith, [20] [to th]ese who belong to the faith. From hi[s grace] he can give freely / of love, shower it upon them, that he might join them to him. / For, when that one acquires a great riches [...] / in righteousness. By this second godliness / he may cause others to be sent, resembling him in [righteous][25]ness.

Just as this righteous one should fulfill the se/cond and become a perfect elect; so too, / if the catechumen shall be a catechu/men of the faith, he is perfected in two stages. /

The first work of the catechumenate that he [30] does is fasting, prayer, and almsgiving. Now, the fa[stin]/g b[y] which he can fast is [th]is: / he can fast on the [lord]'s day [and rest from the] / deeds of the world. [And] the pra[yer is this]: (**193**) he can pray to the sun and the moon, the great li[ght-givers. The alms]/giving also is this: he can place it [...] / in the holy one, and give it to them in righteous[ness ...] /

[The] second work of the catechumena[te that he] [5] does is this: A person will give a child to the [ch]/urch for the (sake of) righteousness, or his relative [or member] / of the household; or he can rescue someone beset by troub[le; or] / buy a slave, and give him for righteousness. Accordingly, every [go]/od he might do, namely this one whom he gave as a gift [for righ][10]teousness; that catechumen [...] / will share in with them. Thirdly: / A person will build a dwelling or construct some pl[ace]; / so they can become for him a portion of alms in the holy ch[urch]. /

If the catechumen shall ful[fill] [15] these three great works, these three great alm[s that he] / gives as a gift for the h[oly] church [...] / which these alms will achieve. Also, that cate[chu]men / himself, who gave them, he can [... / ...] as he shares in them. The catechumens who will give [...] [20] have great lo[ve ther]ein, and a share of eve[ry] grace / and good in the holy church. They will find many / graces.

••• 81 •••

(193,23 - 196,31)

/ The Chapter of Fasting, for [25] *it engenders a Host of Angels. /*

For the Manichaeans the human body and its digestive processes worked in a very literal way so as to purify the divine light, and thus to discard the evil waste matter. Consequently, as Augustine comments, they believed that they 'breathed forth angels (*Conf.* III.18, IV.1)'.

In this kephalaion one of Mani's disciples, an archegos (leader), recounts how he had joyfully counted the number of angels engendered by the

fasting of the elect in his church. However, for some reason (the relevant passage is fragmentary) he had had a change of heart; and now he asks Mani to release him from this responsibility. He seems to be fearful that he might inadvertently sin. However, Mani encourages him, and points out that this kind of responsible position in the church is very necessary. It brings much more good than the actions of people who are only concerned with their own spiritual edification. Mani charges him to use his abilities for the growth of the church.

[O]nc]e again, it happened one time while the apostle is sitting do[wn] / among the congregation. One of his disciples stood up in front of [him]. / He says to him: I have heard you, my master, saying: / 'Seven angels shall be engendered by the fasting of eac[h 30 on]e of the elect; and not only the elect bu[t / the] catechumens engender them on the lord's d[ay'.

The / work] of fasting is this in summary. Now, I, I have [... / ... have p]assed since I became leader. Fif[ty / elect were with m]e in the church over which I became the head. (**194**) [They stood befo]re me while they fasted every day. / Now, I [took account of the fast]ing that a person performs at these thr/[ee lord's da]ys singly, and I found that each one of these [el/ect] had engendered seven angels by their fasting. So, I 5 [counted the] fasting of the[se] fifty people at the three lo/[rd's da]ys: they totalled three hundred and fifty angels, as seven / [an]gels are reckoned to each one of the elect, who engender / [th]em daily through total fasting. I counted these thr[ee] / lord's days when these fifty people fasted, and [I 10 multi]plied by three. I found: the number of angels en/gendered by them totalled one thousand and fifty, and I / [was grateful] on account of the great profit and go[od] that I had achieved / [on these three] lord's days.

However, I was made to change and beca[me tr]oubled of / [heart]; I had supported [...] this person had committed a sin because of the words [... 15 ...] because of a church, to build [it / ...] to construct it, or because of another necessity / [...] he has sin therein, in these / [...] do I myself sin, I pray, because I command [... / ...] to construct them [...] I shall question myself in my heart 20 [...], saying [...] t[h]u[s / ...] he alone, and he [...] and he [... / ...] and he takes [...] and he [... / ...] them [... / ...] in the presence of God, who will [...] him alone and he supports [.... 25 ...] it is more than [...] my words [...] / the ordinance of their church.

Now I entreat you, my m[aster], / in th[at ...] the worthy thing [...] {obligates}*[106] to restrict me to my own [s/e]lf. Consent and [acquie]sce with *me*, that I may withdraw to pray[er. / ...] that I may walk in the midst of my brothers lik[e] the elders. Perform this grace for me and re[le]ase me from this power / [of] protection of the gods and an[gels]. /

Then, when the apostle had heard [this word of] that [dis]-(**195**)ciple, recounting a[bout ..., he] / performed him this grace.

The apos[tle says to the disciple]: / The saying that you uttered, in th[at ... / ...] by your own mouth! 'I k[n]ow that t[his] is a [go]od thing that is achieved by virtue of these fasts, in which these [h]oly peo[ple] / have fasted on the lord's day'; as i[f] / knowing that this thing is entirely beneficial. Then why do they [ask ex/empt]ion from it? For in these words that you have uttered in my presence / you make [...] as if you had not known anything true; because if you had understood the truth and known [the / be]nefit, your heart would not have come after you to ask exemption from [the go/o]d. If you are [e]ager.

You were not ill to make us say it, nor do you [...] / many times. Truly, if you did know the [tru]e benefit / and found your body ailing, sic[k and] troubled, and you having pain many times, then [... And you] / do not cease from doing the work with which you have been entrusted / the whole time you spend [set] firm in the [body / ...]; as you will go to this great l[and] of rest wi[th the] / children of the living. [And you ent]er with glory and [victory to] what you had set your heart upon. You confirm yourself upon them. Indeed, it [will be / to]ld to you: 'A divine work has come about, [your bo]/dy has been found safe for you [...] there being no blemish nor de[str/uction] nor pain for you'. And after all these things, I wi[ll / ...] you, so that you wish [...] to complete the good, together with that which I have assigned to you.

Now, if you can ask exemption from this matt[er] / and this divine work, are there also others like you / to decline it? Then indeed, all this sort of benefit and / every divine [wo]rk: whoever will do it? For wise people [... / ...] who know the truth, who are

*106 ⲧⲙⲧⲁϩ

like you, shall not att[30]ain the benef}it [...] that you have given them. They will commit this sin [... / ... so]ul. However, I, this is how I have (**196**) [...] elders / [...] you in it, and you do the work that I have proclaimed / [to y]ou [and assig]ned to you, and a benefit co[mes about / i]n your life. Even if others should {strive}*[107] [5] [to] ask exemption [...] do not {strive} / [to a]sk exemption from it. And also, [si]nce thus I am telling / you in truth [...] that greater is the {gl/ory a]nd the victory and the goo[d] of the one who preaches, building / [the] church; than that of the brother who turns [h]is heart in[10]w[ard] and keeps himself to himself, and edifies only himself. /

Ne[vertheless, o]n the matter of the word that [you have] uttered: 'Suppose I have si/[n] at the time when I shall proclaim some word by my [mou/th] concerning building a church or alms' [... / ...] your heart is pained [...] or you are afraid because the person [15] [...] concerning the church's work and the helping of they who / [... as] he commands he edifies by his word, and has no sin / {ther]ein.

However, the person who speaks, commanding / [...] some thing [...] his own need, just as / [...] his [f]lesh [... fo]urteen; or he hastens [20] [...] works that are defil[ed ... / ...] themselves to take his o[wn] care. Therefore, the one who speaks / [...] of this matter, is set utterly in sin. / [...] he is silent and does not proclaim [... / an]y word.

In contrast, you, I assign to you this a[25][lo]ne: Have you power to preach and to build the chu/r[c]h of God, for your toil will be reckoned to your benefit. /

W[he]n that disciple heard these things from the apos[t]/le, he paid homage to him. He says to him: My mast[er], I have received / the word that you have proclaimed to me. I will preach and bu[ild] [30] the church. Only, may your power and glory / aid me! (**197**)

*[107] ⲉⲃⲁⲗⲯⲃⲉⲗ Also 196.5

••• 82 •••

(197,1 - 200, 8)

/ The Chapter of / Righteous [Judgement]. /

A disciple, one of the teachers, asks Mani as to whether righteous anger is a sin or can be justified. The apostle asserts that anger in the service of righteous judgement can be constructive; and he distinguishes it from other kinds of anger that are unacceptable. A strong reprimand can lead to repentance.

Mani uses the analogy of a wise doctor who will on occasion use a cool remedy, and at other times a hot one. These correspond to the two aspects of love and fear; and Mani points out that both of these are revealed in the heavenly sun and the moon. Thus they are able to purify the divine soul that passes through the totality. Therefore, the disciple too is right to use both aspects, in his dealings with the brothers and sisters.

[Onc]e again one among the disciples who [...] [5] apostle. He says to him: I beseech you [that / y]ou may convince me about this lesson, if I may ask you. For [you have to/ld] us that [...] and you give [...] is / [...] their brothers [...] the judgement [... / ...] in accordance with right[eousness ... [10] ...] is [...] a brother or a s[ister]; / and you find, while I speak with them in humility and quietne[ss, t/h]ey themselves [are o]bdurate and do not listen as they r[ush / i]n [...] headlong and reach the end and are lost. / [T]hrough anger, then, I will [...] before [him]. That pe[rson] [15] shall wither and be subdued instantly and come to the place [...] / with righteous judgement.

So, now I b[eseech] / you, my master, that you may instruct me about whether there is [si/n] for me in this anger with which I shall be ang[ry]? W[hy] / do I have sin therein [...] for his benefi[t and I [20] am] in no way ashamed nor am I [...] muzzled [... and / n]ot at all sure about the judgement [...] And because I do not / know if this anger [... with] which I shall be angry, / whether it [...] why what will happen [... / i]t.

Then the apostle speaks [to] [25] that teacher with [words] of sweetness [... / ...] this anger [with] which you shall be angry, you are making in it [a / j]udgement of righteousness [...] difficul[t] people / [...] repentance. Their anger and wickedness and evil-

doing [... / ...] is only a scare and a rebuke; because [... [30] ...] For the anger alone <is> the scare, and when [... / ...] you would censure and upbraid that brother with words [th]at / [sc]are, you are shaming him to good use, so that you might strip him of / [the] obdura[cy ...] in this [... / ... [35] ...] h[i]s heart [... (**198**) ...]

However, you have heard [... / ...] the anger. For this is the anger that lets you find o[cca/sion to] lust after an evil thing with sin [in it. / ...] liste[n] to him [...] and he is ang[ry with [5] a]n anger [...] look at him [... / ...] and he is violent [...] he does not utter constructive [wo/rd]s [...] compose[d] anger; [he is] / angry in his pride and boastful/[n]ess. <They> speak ill in that they would [...] him*[108]. And they do not honour him [as [10] he] is angry and abuses and curses, and wishes to humilia[te / the m]eek, in retaliation and violence against / [h]is ill-treated brothers. He engenders the things that [...] / or else if someone will falter and commit sin [...] / and does not accept judgement. He is angry or he walks in his own [... [15] ...] not of the opinion of his brothers. / [Th]ey reprimand him about it, and he assumes anger and commits an / evil de[e]d in h[i]s anger. This is the evil anger [... / ...] and zeal.

[... c]all it anger. / [...] Whenever you may produce evil or [... [20] ...] two or one [...] becomes obdurate and [not] / listen to you. You see him [...] he humiliates himself, ass[u/m]ing up to now a [...] You understand that they [... / ...] harshness to you [...] them with ha[r]d words, / in cruelty and harshness. And they will not be able to name [i][25]t anger; rather its name is the strong reprimand / that leads to repentance.

For you are lik[e] / a wise doctor, whose hand is sensitive in [... / ...] the wounds that he shall heal are severe [... / ...] sometimes he shall place [on the] wound [a] remedy that is [hot], [30] sometimes a r[emedy that is cool ... (**199**) ...] after the blow. Corresponding to the simi[le ... / ...] this too is how it happens [... / ...] There are some, if he shall take the reb[uke*[109] ... / ...]

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*[108] Perhaps read ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲟϯⲡ(ⲟϯ) [ⲟ]ϯⲱⲡ ⲣ̄ⲫⲗⲁϯⲣⲟⲥ ⲍⲉ ⲉϯⲛⲁ[ ] ⲁⲣⲁϥ, with the last two letters of ⲡⲟϯⲡⲟϯ being assimilated into the beginning of ⲟϯⲱⲡ by homoiteleuton. Cf 202.6 where the scribe wrote ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲟϯⲱ for ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲟϯⲟϯⲱϩ

*[109] Reading ⲉⲡⲁϥⲥⲁ ⲧⲉⲙⲓ[ⲧⲏⲙⲓⲁ] Cf line 6 below, ⲉⲙⲓⲧⲏⲙⲓ[which

Through the hard word [... 5 ... the] blow that shall be cured by the remedy [... / ... of] people if he shall [take the] rebu[ke*110 ... / ...] with the humbling word, just as this [... / ... he]aled by the cool remedy [... / ... the wi]se person is like this underst[anding] doctor [... 10 ... s]peaks to hi[m] as he is subdued corresponding to error [... / ...] in humility. Also, this one who will speak to him [... / ...] he spoke [...] so that [... / ...] they of g[o]dly opinion. And [... / ...] so that he might [... 15 ...] the brother in two aspects [... / ...] love, but the other one with fea[r ... / ...] obduracy in one of his bro[thers / ...] foolishness. He may speak with [tho]se ones with [great] / fear [...] of evil-doing and hate. Fe[ar], however, 20 leads to repenta[nce ...] Yet, this one [... / ...] as even he is [...] he reckons words and what is [...] / in the aspect [...] and he upbraids th[at] brother / until he brings him to re[pentan]ce.

For the light-give[rs that are] / in the heavens shall be revealed with these [two] aspects, 25 in the aspect of love and the aspe[ct of / f]ear. They display these t[wo] aspects / of the powers above that are in the heavens, because of their soul that p[asses] / through the totality. For in these two appearances, the aspect / of love that is beauty and sublimity, together with the other asp30[ect of] confrontation that is in them, they shall purify / [in th]em the powers above.

Also, you too, wheneve[r / you st]and fir[m] in these two aspects, so long as / [...] the truth and the watchful teaching, you [... (**200**) ...] through yourself. They will question you stealthily [about these / an]d other matters, nor will their anger [... / ...] but wherever your heart and your [...] / your treasure will also be for you in th[at] place*111.

[Wh5e]n that teacher heard that lesson, h[e sa]id: / This is truly told, my master [... / ...] told me. I know that he who will reprimand [... / ... tr]uly he has a victory therein.

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should also conceal the same.

*110 See note above.

*111 Mt. 6:21

••• 83 •••

(200,9 - 204,23)

10 *Concerning the Man who is ug[l]y / in his Body, [but] beautiful / [in his Soul]. /*

This chapter begins with a touching story about how Mani publicly embraces one of the elect, despite his deformity, in front of the assembled congregation who are laughing at his ugliness. It is the inner new man, formed by the Light Mind and religious practice, that is of lasting value.

This then leads Mani to develop an extended parable about pearls in their shells (the living soul in the physical body), pearl divers (the apostles), and traders (the sun and the moon). Mani like Jesus frequently used parables for effective teaching, and this motif of the pearl without price has an obvious heritage stemming from the Gospels through early Syriac Christian literature.

However, one distinctive feature of Mani's teaching was his desire to combine religious truths with total scientific knowledge, in order to establish a complete and integrated understanding of the world. Thus this parable begins with a lengthy discourse on the formation of pearls and their shells. While such features are of great historical interest for modern scholars, they did make Manichaeism a rather static religion, its teachings too easily undercut by advances in science.

[Once] again it happened one time, while the apost[l]e is [sitting among / a] great gathering, as some [... be]fore 15 [the] teachers and elders [... / ...] by the leaders and first citi[zens]. Now, he / [is s]itting down in their midst. All of a su[dden] one / of the elect came in to his presence, but no[t ... / ... he] is an elect [... 20 ...] his commandments. He is an ugly [man] in his / [bod]y, having {}*112 [... / ...]*113 in his midriff; but he is perfec[t in] his [h]oly righteousnes[s]. / He is a man who is upright in his truthfulnes[s. /

W]hen he came in, he spread himself on the ground and paid hom[age 25 b]efore the apostle in love. The mass[es o/f] well-born men and free women cast their [ey/e]s about and saw that elect crying o/ut in his joy, exulting loudly and giving praise. When [they] / looked and saw him, ugly of body, havin[g] 30 {}, they

*112 ⲕⲁⲕϩⲁⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲟⲩⲥⲉ Also 200.30
*113 Smagina 1990:122 restores κυρτός 'bent'.

[a]ll mocked him and [sc/of]fed at him. They were speaking to one another a[bout him] / with laughter and scorn [... but the laugh]/ter did not trouble [that] ele[ct. (**201**) He was paying hom]age all the time, giving praise [... / ...] the glorious one stood u[p / from the ju]dgement seat; where he is s[itt]ing. He drew and gathered him [in / to him], and hugged him to his body, kiss[ing] [5] that elect. He sat do[wn / ...]

And [when] he had sat upon his judgement seat [... / ...] with the entire congregation of well-born men a[nd] / free women sitting before him. He says to them: W[h]/y do you laugh at this man, in whom the [Lig]ht Mind [10] and belief dwell? For what reason a[re you / g]aping at a person who is ugly of body [... / ...] in front of you because of the flesh [... / ...] outwardly; yet within great is [... / ...] is like a great [... [15] ...] if he has no worth by his deeds, by [his / p]rayer and fasting and humility. He is like [a] / sharp [k]nife that might devour its [... / ...] its humiliations [...] that you see [... / ...] he destroys [...] and [... [20] ...] while the [o]ld man [... / ...] you [...] he sculpts [... / ...] he is perfect in his limbs [... / ...] a young royal child, who is beautif[ul ... / ...] shape, as the beauty and loveliness is despoiled [... [25] ...] the image that is fixed outwardly [... / ...] and is displayed and unveiled to you. / Its heart would not bear you to laugh at this old man [... / ...] because whoever will laugh at him possess a g[reat / sin] be[f]ore God. For the [saviour] says: [30] [He who sha]res something with these least of the faithful, who [... / ...] their angel sees the face of the Father daily*[114].

(**202**) [...] all heard these words [that the apost/le] uttered about this elect [... / ...] they gazed at him, he [... / ...] and he was in their presence like the [... [5] ...] truth, when its worth is perfected*[115] [... / ...] upon him. When they were settled, they sat [... / w]hile his disciples stand.

They [paid homage, saying] / to him: Tell us, our master, [... / ...] how (pearls) came about and were formed in [the s]e[a [10] ...]

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*[114] Mt. 18:10

*[115] This phrase recurs at 203.16 (see also 201.15), and links the two halves of the kephalaion. Presumably, the ugly elect is compared to a perfect pearl, which then leads the disciples to their question about how such are formed.

+The enlightener says to them:*116+ Pearls shall ar/[ise not] in every place in the sea, nor be formed / [in the s]ea as a whole. Rather, in various places that are in this s/[ea], pearls are formed in them [... / ...] that [sea, in whic]h the [pearls] shall be formed [15] [...] this [... / ...] what the sea shall [... / ...] its fire {blazes}*117 above and comes [down ... / ...] and it makes foam like the drop of water that flows / [...] down in rainwater [... [20] ...] is the water [... / ... d]own first [... / ...] foam and comes down [... / ...] the sweet waters [... / ...] the waters. This drop of water shall [... [25] d]own to the sweet waters and [...] / and they absorbed them and were combined with the [... They did not / d]escend to the depths of the sea, but they [... / ...] it floated on the surface of the waters [... / ...] to it. The foam and the pearl-shell shall be formed [... [30] ...] this wholesome drop [... / ...] it, and it becomes a pe[arl ...] / that makes a drop of rainwater [...] / waters [...] (**203**) it not being whole. It breaks and separates out into [m]any droplets, / and it has time to become a drop of sweet water [...] / and comes up in the sea of [...] rain / [a]nd sweet water; and it is accomodated in the shell, which [5] at first is foam. They shall be joined with each other at [this] / time, and are shaped and become a great pea[rl], / a great and valued kind. When, however, a / drop of rainwater falls, and that drop / breaks into many droplets and various {particles of water}*118, [10] they shall be formed into and be confined in [n]umerous pearls; / in the shell and the pearl-shell. One might [for]/m two pearls, another may form three, / others may form five; some mould more than t/hese, so[me] fewer.

Now, when you might [find a] [15] whole drop, and the shell receives it, it shall become a great and valued [pe]/arl as its worth is perfected. [However], if / these two droplets will have time (to adhere) to one another / before any {water particle} escapes, and they mix with e[ach / o]ther, and the shell [...] before they break into [... [20] ...] within [...] in a great kind [... / ...] the drop of rain, which [... / ...] another one, that [... / ...] the [w]aters form them in [... and] / in a great, valued commodity.

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*116 Corrupt text reads ⲡⲁ]ⲥⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲧ ⲥⲉ

*117 ⲃⲱⲣⲧ

*118 ⲥⲗⲁⲩⲥⲗⲁⲩ unknown word, presumably a reduplicated synonym for ⲧⲗϯⲗⲉ 'droplets'. Also occurs as ⲥⲗⲁⲩ in line 18 below.

Behold, [I, [25] I have] taught you how / sea-pearls shall be formed. I have told you that as a pe/[a]rl shall come into existence by means of rainwater that has [ti]/me to become foam, the pearl-shell shall come into existence by means of the foam, a/nd the foam itself comes into being by means of the transformation*[119] and the [...] [30] of the sea.

Then immediately at the time when [... / ...] the pearl divers know it, they shall [...] and they / [... d]own to those places [and t]hey bring pea(**204**)rls up from the depths of the sea, and / each pearl diver finds according to the fortune that is / [ordai]ned for him. The pearl divers shall [gi]ve them to the traders, and the t/[ra]ders give them to the kings and the nobles.

[5] This is also what the holy church is like. / It shall be gathered in from the living soul, / gathered up and brought to the heights, raised from the s/ea and placed in the flesh of mankind; while the flesh / of mankind itself is like the shell and the pearl-shell.

[10] [The] booty that shall be seized is like the dr[op of / r]ainwater, while the apostles are like the divers. / The traders are the light-givers of the heavens; the kings and no/b[le]s are the aeons of greatness.

[F]o[r a]ll the souls / that ascend in the flesh of [ma]nk[ind] and [15] are freed shall be brought back to the great aeons of light. / A place of rest comes about for them, at that place in the ae/ons of greatness.

You to[o, my] / b[elo]ved ones, struggle in every way so that you will become good pea/rls and be accounted to heaven by the light diver. [20] He will come to you and bring [you] back to [... the] great / chief merchant, and you will rest in the life for e/[ve]r. You have [... / ...] and the light.

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*119 ⲥⲱⲃⲉ

••• 84 •••

(204,24 – 208,10)

[25] *Concerning Wisdom; it is far superior when on the Tongue / than in the Heart of the Person. /*

Mani uses the analogies of a child who is born, and of fire that blazes from wood, to explain why wisdom is superior when it is proclaimed to when it lies silent in the heart.

However, wisdom is not always listened to, nor well-received. In a second speech Mani extends the same two analogies, showing that strangers may reject a child, and the blind can not see the fire.

Once again, on one occasion, one of the disciples sto/od up before the apostle. He questioned him, saying: / I entreat you, my master, that you might instruct me. [30] Behold, when a person will be taught wise wisdom / in his heart, and he seals it in his doctrine, so sh[al]l you find / him rejoicing greatly about it. However, [sh]all his [... / ...] to him, more th[an] when he may proc[laim ...] (**205**) and utter it. He shall be enlightened by it, and [t]hat [wisdom] / shall shine forth the more in him. It is unveil[ed be]/fore him, and through it he assumes power and truth. /

That disciple speaks further before the a[po][5]stle: I understand [...] / that this word I have uttered is correct. I know that the w[i]s/-dom I have been taught is spread through my heart and perfected in [m]y / soul. (However), it is not found like the splendour in me, so that I regard it / [ad]vanced, except when I shall proclaim it [10] by my mouth and utter it to others. Indeed, when / I proclaim it, I am giving it to the ears [of] / others to hear. Would I do these same things, even if I had never heard it / in [my] days of being? Would I desire greatly and [m]y / [h]eart be drawn to the wisdom I now proclaim? [I entreat [15] y]ou, my master, that you might instruct me as to [w/hy] this wisdom becomes more advanced when I / [p]roclaim it, than when it is sealed in my heart.

Then / the apostle [s]peaks to that disciple: Well / [do] you ask! And great is this lesson for which you have sought, [that is] w[20]hence comes my great joy, on account of this wis/dom that I

utter? [...] it is superior in my mouth when / [I] proclaim it than when it is set in m[y heart]. / [Y]ou yourself rejoice in it; and the other one who / [h]ears it from you, he shall rejoice in it, and be enlightened [25] [by] it and receive thereby permanent strength. /

For like this matter, just so a small b/[o]y who is conceived in the belly of his mother. He / [... he] turns in his mother's womb, filling her womb. / [The m]other knows and understands that this child she conceives [30] is alive within her. She rejoices over him until / [the tim]e when she gives birth. And he comes from her alive with his / [limbs whole] and perfect in beauty, without defect, (**206**) [in] the living open air that is more sp/[ac]ious than the first air he was in. / [He] fills his eyes with the light and speaks with his livi[ng] voice / in the way of they who are born.

Now, the time w[5][h]en this woman conceives the child in her belly, / her joy at conceiving him in her womb is not so [ve]ry great as / when she gives birth and sees him; and is full of his / [be]auty and stature in the space of a single moment. / [T]he love and joy over him shall be a hundred [10] [t]imes greater than it was, now that she has given birth and seen him.

For / the first time when she conceived him in her belly, / [h]is beauty and the sight of his eyes was hidden from his m[o/th]er; but when she gave birth to him she saw his beauty. His / s[t]ature and his loveliness came before the e[ye]s of his f[15]athe[r a]nd his mother and all his relatives. They shall rejoic[e] / over him more and more when they look upon him / face to face and see his beauty and delightfulness. /

Just as in this simile, the wisdom that is present [in] / the heart of the person is like the living child who is co[nceived] [20] in the belly of his mother. And when he / is taught and seals it in his heart, it becomes like / the child who shall be born, and they see his beauty. /

So, in this way, the wisdom that the person proclaims, speak[ng] / it from his heart, shall be advanced more and mor[e]. [25] Its enhancement and glory shall double from the time when the bea/-uty and splendour of the saying will be displayed before the eyes [of / t]hey who hear it, and it shall also advance for you [... / ...] your hearing, and you are astonished at what you proclai[m]. /

Once again, the wisdom is like this, while it is hidden in the heart of the person. [Bef]/ore he has uttered it, it is just like [the blaze] / of fire that is hidden in wood. An[d] that wood is [set aflame] / by the blaze of the fire, but the garment of fir[e that exists in] / the wood is not apparent. Indeed, you can see [...] (**207**) wood and they put them in a single house. It is impossible to [put li]/ght to that house as long as the light within [...] / until the time when they are added to the fire, and the light [comes f]/orth from them. It is possible for that entire house [to be] lit by the light of a single piece of wood. /

This is also the case with the wisdom that is in the heart of the person. [It] / is like the fire that is hidden in the wood, as its light is / not [d]isplayed. For its part, the wisdom is like this: its li/ght is hidden and its glory is hidden in the heart; but when the person will proclaim it, its glory shall be displayed be/fore the eyes and the ears of a multitude.

Once / again, for a second time this disciple speaks to the apostle: / So, if the wisdom is like the paradigms / you have taught me, why are there some people who shall hear the word of wisdom and rejoice in it and give glory / to it; when others shall listen to it and neither rejoice / [i]n it nor receive glory amongst them? /

[Beh]old, the apostle speaks to him: I will persuade you and / satisfy you about this belief, so that I teach you with clarity of vision.

For in this respect the wisdom is / like this child about whom I have told you, the one who / [was] born from the woman. Now, when he will be born, / his father and mother and family circle shall / [r]ejoice over him. However, you find others grieving by reason of him, [s]ince they are strangers to him. These are not reckoned among his family. / [They do n]ot rejoice over him, because he is not of their race. /

This is also [the case] with the wisdom. When / it is proclaimed by the mouth of the teacher, these who / are [a]kin to it shall receive it to them and rejoice in it; but [those] who are strangers to it neither rejoice in it / [...] nor receive it to them. /

Just like the light of / [the fire, which I] proclaim[ed] to you, that

shall come from the wood / [and be apparent o]utside before the eyes of every one. (**208**) So, [wh]oever looks shall see the light that has [come / fro]m the wood; but whoever is blind does not see the / [fir]e.

This is also the case with the wisdom, / when it will be proclaimed. The person, in whom is the [5] [Mi]nd, of him is the wisdom. Whenever he may hear it, / he shall receive it in to him; but the one who has no Mind in him is a / stranger to it. He neither receives it in to him, nor shall he listen to [it]. /

When that disciple heard these things, he rejoiced gre/atly. He was persuaded in his heart about what had been proclaimed to him. He made obeisanc[e] [10] and sat down.

••• 85 •••

(208,11 – 213,20)

/ Concerning the Cross of Light: / [...] trample / upon it.

The divine light that is crucified in matter throughout the cosmos, (a universalisation of the christological themes of incarnation and atonement), is symbolised and even personified in a number of figures. The Cross refers principally to that most rich source of light: vegetation and all plant life, where the divine hangs on every tree or bush or herb.

In consequence the elect, who hoped to be saved in this one life rather than suffer reincarnation, were at great pains never to harm the Cross; excepting the necessary pain involved in its liberation through the digestive system of the elect themselves.

In this chapter a disciple is concerned about the inadvertent harm he might do in such situations as when sent on a mission journey, or when himself requested to ask for alms. The elect had to take great care wherever they trod, and it was the catechumens who prepared their diet, offering it as alms to them. Mani is anxious to assert that any tasks undertaken for the building up of the church, and thus for the ultimate salvation of the light, even where short-term pain is inflicted on the living soul, can cause no sin. He was very practical in his role as an apostle, and clearly aware that the divine teaching must not lead to self-defeating passivity in the face of the world. Here he uses the analogy of a good doctor who must first cause pain before healing can be achieved.

[15] Onc[e] again another disciple questioned the apostle, saying / to him: I have heard you, my master, say in the congregation / of

the church, that it is proper for the person to watch / his step while he walks on a path; lest he trample the Cro/ss of Light with his foot, and destroy vegetation. Also, it counts firs[t] [20] for any creeping creature, lest he trample upon it and kill it with his foot. /

However, on occasion the superior, [who commands me], may send me to some foreign coun/t[ry] about a godly matter [...] of the church. / Sometimes, also, a teacher [of the] church where I am, or / some of the foreign brethren, may [ask me] about a portion of al[m][25]s, concerning some food that they need. I know / that what I do is good, as I am obeying the one who commands [me], / who sends me on the road to a foreign country. Again, if I [take] / up the alms and it is brought to the church, the br[others] / and the sisters can take their sufficiency of it. I know and perce[30]ive that I have therein a great success, by this matter. [Never]/theless, I am also afraid lest in any way I commit a sin when [I wa]/lk on the path, as I trample upon the earth, [tre]ading on [the Cro]/ss of Light, and make [...] (**209**) without force in my sole on the path, as I walk o[n it].

[W]/hen the apostle heard these words from that [dis]/ciple, he says to him: You have recounted the lesson [like] / this, and it is well composed. Still, listen, and I may well per[suade] [5] you about it! Now, when you walk on [your] / way about some godly matter, as your command[ing] superior / sends you, you do no sin therein. For y[ou are] not [wa]/lking there about some lustful matter, nor concerning [... / ...] of advantage, wherein is sin; but you make y[our] [10] walkway due to the work of God, as you hasten [... not] / because of your own desire. /

[I]ndeed, I, I tell you (pl.) with a great voice: / Every elect and righteous person who walks on a path / due to the work of God, and though w[al]king upon the ear[th] and though [15] treading with the soles of his feet on the Cross of Light, / he does no sin therein. Rather, a crown and palm-branch is his entire path; / because he walks not by his own desire, / nor hastens about an acquisition a[nd] worthless things, / as he tramples upon the earth and the Cross of Light.

[20] [H]owever, the other person who hastens on the path because of his own lu/st and [...] of his body, as he [...] / his own about an

acquisition and [...] things [...] / a total sin is the walkway of that person, / walking on the path of sin and error.

[...] behold, I have told you (pl.): Any one who, if his teacher will send him, / goes on a path about some godly matter, a total victory / is his path. Still, you (sg.) also recounted this: 'I trample u/[p]on the earth and the Cross of Light, I oppress with my / [sole]'. As you say: 'Perhaps I have therein sin because of [the de]ed'.

Again, do not be afraid even with this; because the / liv[ing soul] is like this. As a person, (**210**) if a disease will take hold of his limbs, and his heart / [is sl]ow, his soul distressed, and he has pain in his di[se/a]se. He seeks after a doctor to cure him, to make him strong of heart. / And he cures, attends to, and gives him health [from] the disease that has risen up against him. So he thinks about this. /

[And] a wise person comes, knowing the formulas proper to a skilled / doctor. If he shall achieve a healing of the one whom he [... / ...] it, he recites over him the formulas that he knows, / and he even tramples with his foot upon all his limbs! That [pe]r-son, who is ill, knows that this person / is trampling upon him so that he might achieve a healing; rather, not do/ing this to him out of some enmity he had / against him beforehand. Instead, all that he does, / he does to hi[m that] he might make a healing of his body. And he expels [the] disease and the pain, trampling upon him / to occasion this benefit. That person, who is ill, he can / bear no anger nor hatred against this doctor, who tramp[les] / upon him. He can not hate him out of enmity, because he kn/ows that he does this to him to his benefit.

However, should someone come and trample upon him in enmity; he may / hate, prevent and not permit him! For he kno/ws that he tramples upon him in enmity; and as he strikes / out of a wanton whim, he piles another illness upon his di[se]/ase.

Again, this too is the case with the living soul; whether in the earth, or in the Cross of Light. Should you walk a[long] / upon it on the path, should you trample the Cross, it may take no reckon[ing] / against you in anger nor wrath. For it knows that

[you] / walk upon it for relief and healing, to proclaim on its behalf. [You] / walk because of it, to reveal its mysteries. Also, the di[str][30]ess of the bones, which you have oppressed, befits not si[n], / but is set towards the victory. As the savi[our] has said: [Where] / your heart is, your treasure also will come to [be there]*[120]. (**211**) Again, because of this nothing will be lost for you du[e to] / the distress of the bones and your toil; rather, it all accumul[ates] / to the relief (of the soul).

Also, as to this other (case) that you have [rec]/ounted: 'The occasion when a teacher would come up to me, or some foreign brethren, [5] and I speak about the alms; perhaps that word / will lead to a wound, and hurt the [Li]ght Cross?' / Again, do not be afraid even in this; because there is a dist/inction between words! For this is not any saying. Rather, the wo/rd that wounds is this: should a person utter a sayi[ng] [10] for the sake of the murder of a person, or the murder of animals, or for [the sake of] / the murder of trees and the Cross of Light, the ly/ing word and the wrathful and the bitter, or a word of en/vy and [...] only, or a word of accusation, which some/one will spread against his brother; this is the [wor]d that wounds [...] [15] Should the person utter it, it befits [si]n; because [he has br]ought forth / from it the demons [...] concerning this / [...] the righteous person, or [...] / all of them, which I have proclaimed, in order that [...] his word to the fet/ter; because anyone who would [...] his word to the [fet]ter. [20] And again, he [...] his coming forth, they will bind him in / the place wherein he has bound his [...]

Nevertheless, so far as [... / ...] word for the [...] not go [...] / nor will they write it [...] wound [...] / word for the release of the soul [...] for the mystery [25] [of its] healing; because the righteous person, who speaks to the nee/[d of the] alms, speaks to its healing and its gathering in. /

[He is li]ke this, a wise doctor who might turn back [... / ...] his disease. As a wound is in his body, he cuts / [...] this person who is ill, in his wisdom, [... [30] ...] he [...] this wound, and he cuts it. After these things / [...] and he places the soluble drugs upon it, so that / [they will be able to diss]olve. He might incise it with the

*[120] Mt. 6:21

iron, and he casts it out (**212**) [f]rom him, with the soluble drugs. And the wound is purified / [fr]om the fever. After these events, he shall place the soothing drugs / [...] and it heals up. That person, who is ill, he shall give / [...] but he shall not [... 5 ...] he [shall not] generate anger in his heart against him; beca/use he knows that he is making the aspect of his benefit and his / heal[ing]. After the cut that he may make, and the cauterizing that he may / do there, he shall even give rewards to the doctor! He gives / his thanks and is a friend to him his whole life through.

10 Again, this is [how] he is like the doctor, namely the elect / person who encourages the alms-giving and gathers it / in, bringing it to the church. Also, the alms / is like the person who is [ill], because the power of the ene/my is mixed in with it [...] it is gathered 15 [...] to the c[h]urch. It will be purified in the image / of the saints. That [alms-giv]ing will not be able to be saved / without toil and pain, because they [... / ...] which they che[w], / as they eat it [...] and other pain. 20 However, there is no other mode for the alms than this, because he / is its gateway to come forth [...] from the world / in affliction.

Similarly, the holy church / that the apostle shall establish in the world. For with/out toil and pain the elect shall not find strength to become free f25rom the world. Rather, only by the consideration of [...] / and that of prayer, and of self-control, and of [...] / and of only-begottenness, and of withdrawal, wo[unds] / and lashings, the discipline of the chains, the [... / ...] At first these things [... 30 ...] and these pains [...] they inherit [...] / for ever and ever. Whoever [...] / he has not rest therein, in the land of the living ones. Again, this / is [also the case] with this living alms-giving. It shall suff[er] (**213**) pain for a while, and an eternal rest [co]/mes to it from the saints.

However, this I command / you, my brothers and my limbs: Let no pers[on] / unleash his hand and strike this living Cross [...] 5 wantonness and gluttony. Rather, be a leader [fo]r (the alms-giving) / by word to the catechumens. For even the word, see, / we utter it as you utter it. Thus (the alms) exist / in great distress, and you should be mindful to eat it. Do / not eat it in wantonness nor dissipation nor revelry 10 nor gluttony. Rather, eat it in great

hunger, and / drink it in great thirst, and take care of your b[o]/dy with it.

Then speaks the apostle to that di/sciple: Behold, you have heard what I have proclaimed to you / about your own longing. You have no s[i]n therein.

15 [W]hen this disciple heard these things, he was persuaded and rejoiced greatly. / He says to him: I give thanks to you my master, for you persuade / us, as to occasion, about everything. You give ease to our heart with / loving-kindness from now [...] by the ears [...] / living will live [...] by your lessons of life 20 [th]at we have heard from you.

••• 86 •••

(213,21 – 216,30)

*/ The Chapter of the Man / who asks: Why [am] I / sometimes at peace, and trou*25 *bled at other times? /*

Mani explains to a disciple that the Light Mind cleanses the soul and makes it a new man, at peace and untroubled. Nevertheless, even such a person still remains prey to disturbances and emotions caused by his star signs. Also, food and drink, being a mixture of light and darkness, can lead either to peace or disturbance depending upon the level of its purity. The positive and living balance of the nourishment becomes greater on account of justified souls who have come into it through transmigration; and thus these ally easily with the light within the person, and he is at peace.

Mani remarks (216.4 - 6) that such justified souls are those who have perfected their deeds, and 'their dues have ceased (ⲁ ⲛⲟⲧⲱⲃϯⲁⲟⲧⲉ ⲱⲥⲛⲉ)'. This sounds very like the Buddhist doctrine of karmic consequences, and may provide important evidence that Mani was substantially rather than just superficially influenced by Indian teachings.

On the problematic question of the 'roots' and 'conduits (ⲁⲓⲣⲙⲉ)' see chapter 48.

[On]ce again a disciple speaks to our enlightener: I beseech you, / [m]y master, that you might explain to me this lesson I would ask you. /

Sometimes [I] am peaceful in my heart, as my consideration / [is constructive], and all my doctrines are ordered and in place. I conduct 30 [...] my wor[k]s, as I utter my words to all people /

[with swe]etness. I am peaceful of heart in the gladness of the Mind. (**214**) Even my body is carefree, and my soul / [rejo]ices in wisdom and true knowledge.

There are also times / when I shall be troubled. My doctrines are confused. Gloom increa/ses with them, and grief and anger and envy and lu[5]st. I am troubled, struggling with all my might that I would sub/due them; not finding the strength of mind to subdue them at that hour nor / day when they surged up in me. And all these evil teachings / and wicked considerations come forth. They have tormented / me. I do not comprehend, because there is no single shape in all these cou[ns][10]els that have entered me. Are they revealed to me, or / ind[eed did] they enter me from outside and have been shaken in to me? I / do not know if they have wakened within me alone, have / re[belled] inside me and set themselves up against me. I do not know / about [th]at. Howe[ver, th]is only I understand: that [15] I shall be ver[y] badly confused in all my doctrines. I shall / do [...] in my [work]s, and you find my word is worthless in / my mouth. I shall not find how [...], and I become a source of trouble and confus[ion] / for my brothers. Even my body rises up against me, and sick[ens] / for that entire day.

Again, there are other times [y][20]ou shall find my heart carefree, as I rejoice and am glad. My wisd[om] / is sweet for me, and the preaching. My heart is drawn to the fas/ting with which I fast. I shall not wish to stop p[raying]. / You find all my doctrines tranquil, while my other thoughts are j[oyful], / my body being carefree. I shall not slacken as I recite psalm[s, and [25] not] stop saying prayers. I am right indulgent [to] / my brothers, because I am governed by the / constructive state.

So now I beseech you, my master, / that you might persuade me about these two matters. I have tested them [in] / my own body, but not comprehending the ma[nner] [30] by which [they] come in to me. /

Then the apostle speaks [thus] to t[he di]sci[ple]: / Well do you ask about this lesson. B[ehold], I [will explain] it [to you]! (**215**) Understand this: The soul that assumes the body, / [w]hen the Light Mind will come to it, shall be purified by the power o[f] /

wisdom and obedience, and it is cleansed and ma[de] / a new man. There is no trouble in (the soul), nor confusion nor [dist][5]urbance.

However, when a disturbance will arise for [him] / and he will be troubled, this disturbance shall go in to him in [...], / first through his birth-signs and his difficult stars that [...] / they turn over him and stir him and trouble him with / lust and anger and depression and grief, as he wi[10]lls. Also, as he wills, the powers of heaven shall trouble him through the[ir] / roots, to which he is attached.

Again, there are times you shall find the [powers / of] heaven are peaceful and tranquil for him, and it comes to [... / a] difficult part comes into him by the nourishment that he has eaten, / or else indeed in some [...] or in the water that they have drunk. [15] Again, trouble and confusion and anger [will] increase in him, a[nd / l]ust multiplies upon him together with depression and grief; becau/se of the nourishment of the bread he has eaten and the water he has drunk, / which are full of bothersome parts, a vengeful counsel. They shall / enter his body, [mixed in] with these foods, and they [20] even become joined in with the wicked parts of the body and / the sin that is in him; transferring the anger and the lust and / the depression and the grief, these wicked thoughts of the body. /

Now, [beh]old, I have explained to you that should you be troubled [... / ...] them through the c[ondui]ts and the r[oot]s of they above [... [25] ... the f]ood that comes in to you.

There are times, however, / [if] you shall find that the nourishment that comes into you is pure [... / ...], so it is greater in light and life w[hile the / wast]e is less in it, and the evil-doing is diminished [f/rom it]. Even the atmosphere above is still, being purified through the [... [30] ...] also the image is calmed from [... / ...] increases in you through (**216**) [th]ose good parts of the food that come i/[n] to you. And they find you at ease and tranquil, as you are / well gover[n]ed in your abodes because of / [the] living [p]art, which is greater on account of the light of these [ju]stified souls [5] that are in it. The ones that have perfected their deed/[s]. Their dues have ceased, while their soul is carefree / [...] they have been allied with these living souls that / [are p]resent in

you. Due to this you shall find them in you, / [c]alm in tranquillity, and they come from you without tro[1]•[uble; a]nd you are found flourishing of body. Even your de/[eds] are determined, being well constructed after their manner, and your doct/[rines are in] order, as your words [...] your soul is ca[re]/free within you, ascending like a bird. /

Behol[d, I have] explained to you the determination of this lesson for which you [15] asked: Whe[nce] come [th]ese bad counsels and considerations / in to you, these vengeful thoughts that trou[bl]/e; and also whence come in to you these good counsels / and sweet doctrines, when your Mind is cal/med for you. I have told you that when [your bo]dy*[121] is troubled, you [20] shall be troubled by the conduits of they below, the difficult parts / that come in to you by fo[od and the] act of eating. Aga[in], when / the conduits above are calmed from you, even your fo/od that has come in to you is clear and pure. Your heart shall be found / ordered in its place, your counsels at peace from disturb[ance].

[25] Then, when that disciple had heard these things, he glorified [... / ...] the apostle. He says to him: You are glorious and bless[ed]! / The living [...] that came from you have been added to us. We [... / ... b]elieve you. For everything that we ask of you, you [per/suade] us about it with sweetness; you [... [30]• ... the so]uls.

••• 87 •••

(216,31 – 218,32)

/ Concerning the Alms, that [...] / life in the Church. /

Although all the sects of the world may make offerings of alms in the name of God, it is only the holy church of the elect that can purify the light. Thus the elect are the only means for its release; and they themselves depend wholly upon the catechumens, who give the alms.

Mani compares the catechumens to good earth in which the good tree of the elect can grow. Similarly, the living soul can only ascend to rest through the sun and the moon, and again these light-givers will only rest in the land of light. So, too, both the elect and the catechumens will finally find rest in the land of light.

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*121 Reading ⲡⲥⲁⲗ [ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱ]ⲙⲁ

Once [again, it] h[appened one time. The enlightener sat] (**217**) in the midst of the congregation. He says to his disciples: / All these alms are donated in the world because of the / name of God; that is every sect overall (uses) his name. / Their catechumens give them in the name of [5] God. Everywhere these alms will be received for him they are accompanied / by sorrow and affliction and wickedness. [There is no] / rest nor open door that they can come out by and find an / opportunity to go to the God in whose name they were given; ex/[ce]pt only the holy church wherein the com[m][10]andments of alms are established, thro[ugh which] they fulfil / the will of the exalted one.

Now, the holy church / exists in two forms: in the brothers and / the sisters. Indeed, when these alms reach the holy / c[h]urch, they shall be [redee]med through it and purified and r[15]est therein. They shall come from it and [go] to the / God of truth in whose name they were given. / Thus it is this holy church itself that is the place of re[st] / for all those alms that shall rest therein; / and it becomes a doorway for them and a conveyance to that land [20] of rest. Also, the holy church / has no place of rest in this entire world exce/pt for through the catechumens who listen to it, as [...] / only with the catechumens who give it rest. For / [it]s honour is with the catechumens, through whom it shall be pass[25][ed on].

What does the assembly of catechu/[me]ns resemble? It is like good earth / [...] in which the gardener shall plant a good tree. [Beho]ld, / [th]at good tree transforms the power and the [... / ...] of all earth, and it produces good fruit. [30] [Th]at [gardener] sets at ease the tree of life, and he r/[ests himself].

This too is the case with the [holy] chu/[rch]. It is like a good tree. (**218**) The assembly of the catechumens is li/ke this good earth that shall receive the good seed. / See how large is the assembly of the cate/chumens! For it is like good earth, since i[5]t also shall receive to it the holy church. / It shall provide for it, and give it rest from all its deeds / and sufferings. It shall become a place of rest for it, / [s]ince (the church) rests in it everywhere. The place wher[e]/in there are no catechumens does not have the ho[ly] church [10] resting there.

Likewise this [liv]ing sou[l] / that today is set in mixture; for it wishes / to [as]cend and go to the house of its people, but it kn/ow[s a]nd understands that it has no open door in all the powers / of heaven and earth. For they are its oppression that [...] it everywhere. Indeed, it has no open door / except the sun and the moon themselves, the light-givers of the heavens [... / ...] they become the place of rest for it. And they become a door that opens for it / [in] the coming forth, and (the soul) comes out through them to the country of the household of i[ts] / people. Again, further in, also the light-givers of the heavens have no place of rest amongst all the powers of heaven; except for the lan[d] / of light, that has indeed been theirs for ever.

So, thus / the living soul is purified of all afflictions; / and they provide a rest for it, and open a door that opens to the house [of] / its people.

Also, it is the case that the land of lig[25]ht will become the final receiver for the light-givers of [the] / heavens, and they will rest themselves therein and rule in it [for] / ever.

Again, this is how the [ho]ly church / shall become the place of rest for the alms of the cat[e]/chumens; and the catechumens themselves become the [30] place of rest for the holy church. Nevertheless, both the former and the [latter], / the place of rest wherein they will be at peace [is the land] / of light. (**219**)

••• 88 •••

(219,1 – 221,17)

/ Concerning the Catechumen who found / fault with the Elect: why he is angry. /

Mani castigates a catechumen for finding fault with the elect, though they are sometimes angry, and do not always behave righteously. He compares the elect to a sweet scented and spice-bearing tree. Certainly, its branches may give off acrid smoke when burnt. Nevertheless, the tree is not cut down; but rather, it is carefully cultivated for the good things it produces. Similarly, the elect are placed in an evil material body; and this may cause them to be angry. The catechumen should know about the mystery of the two essences. Mani points out that the elect do not blame him for his frailty, for

living in the world. Rather, they love him, and seek always to help him. So, too, this catechumen should always look to what is constructive.

Once again, it happened one time. A catechumen stood before my master, the apostle. He says to him: / If when I see a righteous one being angry and resentful as he quar/rels with his friend, turning his anger on him a[nd utterin]/g ugly words, not giving in to him; [at that] / moment when I see them arguing with each other [... ...] it is obvious that they are not righteous, / [...] and it is obvious that they are not established in the truth / of [...] condemn them. Directly I shall find fault, s[a]ying: / If these are righteous, why are they / angry? For what reason do they quarrel with each other? Why would one abuse another, as if they had nothing in the un/iverse on which they stand firm? /

Then our enlightener spea[ks] to tha[t] catechumen: / The [saying] that you have uttered is not a constructive saying. You [do] not re/peat it well. Do not be [in]structed by foolishness [...] that it comes to be in you. Rather, know and understand / what you see [...] is clear to you, that these / [...] it shall produce oil [...]-plants. Its aro/ma, and the spices that [shall come] from it, is made use of / by kings and [...] Just as this tree that produces sc[ente]d oil: If a person plucks a bough / and cuts a branch off it and puts it on the fire, / it shall give off abundant smoke / [...] separate from it; but no person [... / ...] this scented oil that has come from it should give perfume to the smoke and ash, and they take an axe / [...] and destroy the entire tree! Rather, they shall make the other / [...] the cultivator of that tree and they nurture it b/[ecause of the s]c[en]t that shall come from it. /

This [is also the case] with the elect. [They are] gods (**220**) as they stand firm in the image of the gods. The divinity / that is planted in them came to them from the heights and / [dw]elt in them. They have done the will of the greatness. /

F[urther], when they will be troubled and angry and resentful, [they] curse each other. However, do not you be troubled in yo/ur heart. You know, once and for all, they are established in a bo/dy that is not their own, hating the flesh of sin that makes the oth[er] / dwell in a foreign land. Due to this they shall be angry, / and say and utter hard words to each others' faces. Still, when you

might see them / angry and wrathful, do not doubly criticise them; do not / speak against them; do not reject them in your heart; / and do not distance yourself from them. Do not ask why th/ey are angry or why quarrelling would aris[e] [15] be[tw]een them. For you have known the mystery of the t[w]o essences, / you have understood that [wha]t is good and what is evil dwell in / every person. You have also understood that the saints bear a great bur/den on their shoulders. So, inasmuch as you have known / all these things, it [is n]ot constructive [to] utter words like this about [20] the saint. For you [your]self have unde[rstood] that they carry / a great burden, they are establis[hed in] the body that is not the/ir own.

Understand also this other [point]: You st/and in sin constantly! You spend your lifetime in eat/ing and drinking, in lusting after women, gold [and] [25] silver. Your hands are always free to beat the Cro/ss of Light. Behold, you are stuck in all these sins. / The saints watch you as you commit them. Neverthe[less], / they neither mock you nor hate you. Nor are they distant / to you. Nor shall they say, 'Inasmuch as he sins like this, I [30] will not be his teacher'. Rather, they shall accept [you] / in love and sweetness; they shall speak wit[h you] / in the wisdom of God, teaching you as you [... / ...] your dissipations and your deeds [...] (**221**) that are sins, and they perform for you all these charities. / They say to you: 'You are our brother. You / are one of our congregation, a companion who will journey with us to the land / of light'.

Behold now, you see how great is the love [5] that they have for you! They bear with you as a friend. / For your part, this is told to you so that you may love / and honour them. Do not speak against them when / you may see something disgraceful among them, being wrathful / with each other.

Then, when the apostle had utt[10]ered these words to that catechumen, he was persuaded / in his heart. He says to him, weeping: Forgive me / my sins, for I have truly understood, my master, about all these things / that you have taught me. For when quarr/elling will arise among the saints [... [15] ...] because the old man too dwells in their [b]ody; / and due to this they shall take offence [... and] / they {dispute}*[122] with one another.

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*[122] ⲗⲉⲥⲗⲉⲥ

••• 89 •••

(221,18 – 223,16)

/ The Chapter of the Nazo[20]rean who questions the Teacher. /

A member of one of the Jewish-Christian sects seeks to trap Mani by asking him whether his God is good or evil. Presumably he was expected to answer along the lines of Marcionite dualism, with its rather naive division of moral attributes, wherein the good God is wholly loving and merciful without any judgemental qualities. However, in marked contrast, Mani replies that God is a judge. He then explains that while a judge is responsible for the administration of justice, any harm that befalls a sinner he brings upon his own head. Equally the righteous have nothing to fear, for they will receive their reward.

Once again, it happened one time, a Nazorean came before / the apostle. He says to him, I will ask you one wo/rd! You, for your part, persuade me with a single word; / but not many words.

The apostle speaks to him: [25] So, [if] you are able to utter to me a single word, then I / [my]self will also utter to you a single word. However, if / you may ask many, then again I too will proclaim to you / a multitude!

That Nazorean says to the a/postle: Your God, to whom you pray, as you believe in him, [30] is he good or evil?

Then says the apo/[stle] to that Nazorean: So, pay attention, / [see you have] not [asked] a single word; but you have asked a / [mass of words! Then] the apostle says to him: A (**222**) [ju]dge is my God.

And then also that Nazo/rean says to him: Yet I see that there is no city / judge not wont to do evil! For everywhere that a ju/[d]ge is, there are lashes, should he strike people [5] with them. There are racks, should he punish them o/n them. There are neck chains at his disposal, should he cast them upon them. / Also the sword, that he should put them to death by it. The judge shall / do all these things in the city, but all of them are wickednesses. / Look now, you see that the judge is an evil-doer!

[10] The apostle, in turn, speaks to him: The judge is / not a man of

wickedness, but rather the work counteracts wickednes[s], / limiting the evil. Nevertheless, what you have recounted is that the jud/ge shall go and punish, kill and slay. He acts / like this that he might annul the evil and impede [15] the wickedness in the pe[rs]on; and lay it upon the head of the sinn/er.

At any rate, pay attention to this: You shall find a great / many people, free and good, are before the / judge's seat; and he shall not sin against them, [n]or shall he / ruffle their clothing! Also, he shall not cause them reason to fear [so] [20] l[o]ng as they have not sinned. For his part, he shall not err against these / among them. However, the occasion when, if someone will do some wicked/ness, and the ones whom he has sinned against catch him, and they seize and bring [him] / before the judge; he shall indeed bring his sin and his wi[ck]edn[ess] / upon his own head. Now look and see: [25] The evil shall not come about from the judge, nor shall they call / him 'sinner'; rather the one who does the wickedness, [he] shall / set his wickedness upon his own head. Al[so], he who has done / what is right and beneficial; again, he shall be paid recomp[en]/se for the goodness that he has done.

Again, th[is] also [i]s the way [30] of God. And he too is a judge of souls. [Should they] / obey the devil and do this that is evi[l; should they not be won] / over to the truth and the knowledge that are in [...] (**223**) wickedness [...] and he condemns them by their works. / He shall not accept them at their last, rather they shall be made a portion of the d[ev]/il whom they have loved. Even as the saviour has said: [Whe]/re your (pl.) heart is, your treasure will co[me to be] [5] there*[123]. Thus these souls too, according to [their heart] / and according to their treasure, which they have placed before the dev[il, they will] / count to his portion. Nevertheless, God has not done anything that is ev[il to] them, / rather they to themselves. It is their own deeds th/at shall condemn them and cast them in the gehenna of burning. [10] On the other hand, these who are people of good deeds acc/ord to their goodness. He shall recompense them the goodness, / and give to them the kingdom of lig/h[t], and make them heirs in life eter[n]al. /

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*[123] Mt. 6:21

Beh[o]ld now, you see God, that [he] too [is a jud]ge. [15] He shall not do what is evil; but rather as he limits the evil, he takes / it away.

••• 90 •••

(223,17 – 228,4)

/ Concerning the Fifteen Paths; and whether the Ca/techumen would have avoided causing his [20] Wealth to go on the Three Paths to Gehenna. /

In Manichaean teaching each soul, at death, is faced with three possible futures (e.g. see chapter 92): eternal salvation for the elect; eternal damnation for hardened sinners; or rebirth for the catechumens. In this chapter further intricacies become apparent, for there are in fact fifteen possible pathways: four to life; three to hell; and eight to transmigration.

The kephalaion is concerned with a question posed by one of the elect. Given that each soul follows the direction or the pathways of a person's actions in life (their 'wealth'), how can catechumens avoid the damnation caused by their deeds prior to conversion?

Mani's answer evidences a firmly deterministic view of salvation. Each apostle elects his entire church before becoming incarnated in the world, freeing the heavenly forms of each member before they are even born (see also chapter 1). Thus the catechumens are marked out before conversion, and angels waylay their deeds that would otherwise have drawn them to hell, so as to purify them through transmigration. When then the catechumen later converts, these deeds have been cleansed and are ready to travel to the moon, and thus along the path to life, together with the first good deeds resulting from conversion. This is an especial grace (226.10).

In the final section (226.28 – 227.26) Mani uses an extended analogy to show that a persons deeds may precede, accompany, or even follow after an individual soul's own ascent to salvation. As in chapter 86 these teachings appear to be influenced by the Buddhist doctrine of karmic consequences, although thoroughly integrated into Mani's system.

The following chapters are also concerned with transmigration, again evidencing a redaction history to the *Kephalaia*.

Once again, an elect stood up before the apost/le. He says to him: I beseech you, my master, that you might instru/ct me and persuade my heart about this lesson I would require of you. / For we have heard thus from you: 'Fifteen pat[25]hs are drawn out in the zone. Four paths are pure and belong / [to the] light, leading up to life. Eight other paths are / [mixed], leading above from that place. The light shall go / [u]p and become free through them; be

purified and go in / [to the] ships. However, the waste is separated and thrown [30] [dow]n to transmigr[a]tion and the other three paths of / [waste ...] discharged to the gehennas'.

You have explained / [that the three] paths that belong to waste, the ones that are drawn to the gehennas, (**224**) [a]re drawn from the fleshes. O[n]e of them is the appetite for / [lawl]essness, that of people and of all flesh. The second is the / [...] all bodies, which is slaughter, [with] which / all flesh is consumed. The third is the damaging action*[124], which [5] [...] the Cross of Light and every body; together with the / r[est] of the error and the blasphemy that wounds the gods. /

Th[ese th]ree paths have you taught us, that they lead to the gehennas. / And you have also [told] us that every person shall follow after hi[s] / de[e]ds, whether to life or indeed to death.

Now, I beseech [10] y[ou], my master, that you might speak with me and explain / the lesson of the catechumen. How does his end come o/ut? For from the first, before / he rec[eives] the faith of God, these three paths draw him / on. [The a]ppetite in h[is] bones; the appetite of his fornication; and [15] the damaging action that comes from the wounding. So then, is his / richness drawn (to gehenna)?

From the first, before he becomes a ca/techumen, do these three paths lead to transmig/ration, they of the gehennas? If indeed they are drawn to gehenna. Then, / does he entirely go following after his limbs to bondage? [20] If indeed this will happen thus, as according to me, it is very difficult / for him to live. For there are a multitude of catechume/ns set in the world, walking in err/or and derangement, before they receive the faith of / God. To where will their end come?

[25] Then the apostle speaks to that elect: You have [ask]/ed well for a great lesson! I am the one who will en[li]/ghten you and reveal to you how (it) [is]. /

Now, this is how it is for you to understand (about) the souls of the [ele]/ct and the catechumens that shall receive the hop[e of] [30]

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*124 Lit. 'word'. Also 224.15

God and enter the land of the living. / So that their forms could be chosen in the heights: before / he is born in this human flesh and befo[re the a]/postle is manifested in the flesh, still abid[ing ...] (**225**) he shall choose the forms of his entire church and make th[em] / free, whether of the elect or of the catechume[ns]. / Now, when he chooses the forms of the elect and [the] / catechumens, and makes them free from abov[e], [5] afterwards he shall come down immediately and choose them. /

Now, when he comes and finds them amongst various sects [and] / heresies, he shall choose them by his light word. / And when he chooses them and makes them free from the error of / the sects, even all their deeds that occur in madness [10] come to him through transmigration. The angels shall / guide them to the places wherein they will be purified; becau/se, each catechumen, none of his de[ed]s shall / go to the gehennas, on account of the seal of the faith and the k/nowledge that is stamped to his soul.

Like a royal horse, [15] stamped with the seal of the king, that some person will stealthily muzzle / and take in to his house on account of the mark that is / upon it!

This is also the case with the catechumen, / stamped with the mark of the faith and its / seal of truth. The deeds that he was doing from the [20] first times, none of them went to the gehennas on account of / his form that was chosen from the start, being established a/bove in the heights. For it too, his form, / shall have pity upon him. It shall not leave his deeds to their error. / Just like his latter works that he shall do, for they shall not go [25] [to] the gehennas, on account of his faith. Just so is it also with these / former works that he did, as his form is / first chosen in the heights. They too shall not be lost. /

[Rat]her, they shall be drawn only to the transmigrations and suffering. / [Afterw]ards they come into the h[an]ds of the angels and are purified. [30] [...] you know this, that when they only shall [... / ... p]erson in to the truth, and he receives the knowledge and (**226**) [the] faith; and he begins to fast and he prays and he does g/[oo]d. At that moment, these new deeds that he has done, / [the] fasting by which he has fasted and the prayer he has prayed / and the alms he has given to the saints, all

these shall [...] and nullifier of his first deeds in e[very] place / wherein they will be found. /

Happen you know that from the first day when he left the former / error behind, wherein he was, and he received the right hand / of [p]eace and trusted and became established in the rank of the true catechumenate; at that moment he can receive this grace / and so believe! These first fasts that he has made / sha[ll g]o up [and] be received in, in the light ship / of the night. An indication sha[ll be given] there. Immediately all his / first deeds, that he did before he received the knowledge, shall be freed from every place wherein they are / [bou]nd and snared. They shall loosen their bond and asce/n[d] from heaven and earth, from the trees and the fleshes. / They are loosened from every place wherein they are and go / to the heights with this first fasting and this first prayer; the principal of all his deeds. For it is / the holy sign of his liberation, and cause for / the departure of all his deeds; the former and the latter. /

For his deeds shall not continue outside, awaiting him in e[a]/ch place, until he comes out from the body and frees them al[l] and sends them to the heights. That catechume/n has the ability to free all his deeds / by his own hand, while being in his body. /

Now this matter is like this, the way [som]eone / might dwell at a city, while his enti[re] following [is present] in the cities and the dwellings and the villages [of the country]. (**227**) As long as, overall, the king is living in t[hat] place, / you shall find his entire host living in those [dwelli]ngs / that surround it. Also, whenever he may [give ... / ...] the sign for departure to the country, when he wishes [...] to it, an indication is given by him to his entire follow[ing] / so that he might set out on the road and depart [...] / each [pl]ace wherein it is. And he goes to the place where it i[s]. /

So, there are some among his expedition who shall travel before / him and be prior to him. And there are others am[ong t]hem who shall wait for him and travel with him. They depart [at] / his departure. Also, there are others among them who / shall come after him, travelling behind him. They continue / [very] many days and months travelling until they arrive. /

His entire following shall not depart a[t] a [15] single time; but someone shall go first / and another after him, while others shall d/epart with him.

This is also what the ca/techumen is like, with his deeds. / There are some among his limbs and his deeds shall be puri[20]fied while he is set in the body. They are cleansed in / [the] firmaments of the heavens and go before him. / [Th]ere are some also among his*[125] limbs shall be freed wi/[t]h him, at the time when he comes out from / [h]is body. There are others shall be freed [25] [af]ter him from the bonds of the earth and that of the creatures. / [They] go and reach him in the land of the living. /

[Behold], I have instructed you about the catechumen / [and ab]out his l[im]bs, about his other deeds that [... / ... b]y him. Nor also will one be lost, (**228**) [as] the angels hasten [...] He is healed, so that / he [will be ga]thered in, all of him, and go up to the land of the living. / [He] goes and rests himself upon his hope; upon his / good [deed]s that he has done.

••• 91 •••

(228,5 – 234,23)

/ Also concerning the Catechumen; / shall he be saved in a single Body? /

This chapter is concerned with the religious practices and sins of the catechumens. Normally, catechumens would expect to be reborn, on account of their sins, before they could be saved. As the Manichaean laity they lived within the world, marrying and working; but hoping to accumulate enough merit from their fasts and prayers, and service of the elect through almsgiving, to perhaps become an elect themselves in their next life and thus be saved.

228.8 – 230.30 Mani begins the chapter by explaining that it is possible for catechumens not to need to be reborn; essentially by practising perfection and whole hearted devotion to the church, almost as if they were one of the elect. Such catechumens will receive their final purification during their ascent through the heavens; just as the light in the fruit or vegetables offered to the elect is finally cleansed through their digestive systems.

231.12 – 233.1 Mani then turns to the question of prior sins. Those that believers have committed before entering the church are totally forgiven, so

*125 Read ⲛⲉϥ for ⲛⲉⲧ

long as they persist in the faith. However, if they return to error they will be punished in respect of all their sins, both from before and afterwards.

233.1 – 234.20 As regards the life of a catechumen: Mani explains that if they carefully observe all their due practices over the religious year, the merit from these will be equal to the sin committed during the remainder of a normal catechumen's year. Furthermore, the catechumen will be absolved of four fifths of the sin by the protection of the church, and by their own faith and gnosis. Nevertheless, they will need to be punished and purified for the remainder. Mani finishes with encouragement for the rewards of the catechumenate; tempered by warnings against back-sliding.

Once again that elect speaks to this apostle: I / heard you, my master, saying that there is a catechum[10]e[n who] shall not enter a body other than this one alone; but wh/e[n] he comes out from his body, his s[oul] shall [... / ...] in the firmaments above, and he travels to the place / of r[es]t.

Now I beseech you, my master, that you might / instruct me about the works of that catechumen [15] who does not enter another body. What are or is / his archetype? Or what is his sign, so that I will und/erstand it and can instruct my other brothers. For they would proclaim i/t to the catechumens, in order that they would be exalted by / that, and ascend in peace to the good.

[20] Then the apostle says to him: I am the one who will instr[u]/ct you about the deeds of those catechumens o/f the faith who do not enter (another) body. The sign of that perfect ca/techumen is this: You shall find the / woman in the house with him, and beside him she is like these strange[rs]. [25] His house, in his reckoning, shall be like these lodg[ing] houses. / He says: I am living in a house for rent by da/ys and months. His brothers and his relativ[es] / shall be, in his reckoning, necessary as foreign people who take up with hi[m], / while travelling on the road with him. He [...] [30] they will separate from him, and each on[e ...] may [...] / the gold and the silver and the utensils of the [...] (**229**) house. To him, they shall be like borrowed vessels; [he] / takes them, is served by them, and afterwards gives th[em to] / their owner. He does not set his trust on them, nor his tre[asu]re*[126]. / He has withdrawn his consideration from the world and set his [5] he[art] on the holy church. Always his conside[ration] / is placed with God.

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*[126] Mt. 6:21 Also 234.9

Whoever transcends all these things, / in [wh]om there is solicitude and concern and love for the saints, / c[are]s about the church as for h[is] house. / Directly, even more than his house. He has placed all his treasure in the e[l][10]ect men and women. For this is what [the] saviour / put in the mouth of his apostle: From today / on, let these who have wives be like they who do not have them; / these who buy be as if they do not buy; these who rejoice be as if they do not rejoice; / these who weep be as if they do not weep; these who [make] a profit in this world [15] be not in wantonness*[127].

These things that [...] / proclaimed were proclaimed about these perfect catechumens / who shall be released from this one body and go / to the heights. They are like the elect in their constitution. / This is the sign of those catechumens who [20] shall not enter (another) body.

Again, there are others who master / self-control and have even [kept the flesh] of every animal away from / their mouths. They are eager for fasting and prayer each / day; helping the church with what has come into their hands / [i]n alms. The potential for evil-doing is dead within them. [25] [...] that is to say, they set foot in the church more than in / their [ho]use. Their heart is with it at all times. Their sitting down and / [s]ta[nd]ing up is like that of the elect. They have stripped / [a]ll / worldly th[i]n[gs] from their heart. [Now, th]at person, / the Mind that is in the holy church [30] [...] at every [m]oment, and its gifts and / [its ...] and its honours and graces that benefit (**230**) [h]is life. It steers them to the holy church, / also to these who sh[all] come in to the church, whether / h[i]s children or his wife, or a relative / of his. He shall rejoice over those the more; and love [5] th[em, as] he shall set all his treasure upon them. /

Beho[ld], this is the sign and the archetype of these catechume/ns who shall not enter (another) body. Just like the good pearl, / about which I have written for you in the *Treasure of Life* / and which is beyond price. This is also how [10] these catechumens are, these catechum/ens who shall not enter (another) body. /

When, however, they come f/orth from their body, they travel on

*[127] 1 Cor. 7:29 – 31

their way and pass by / in the place above, and go in to the life. / They shall be [pu]rified in the heavens, and they are plucked just as a fruit [15] that ripens is plucked from the tree. In just the same way, this al/ms-offering that passes over to the elect is given likeness / in many forms. It is purified and goes in / to the land of the living. Similarly, the soul/s of the catechumens who shall not enter (another) body resemble (the alms).

[20] However, as for the rest of all the catechume/ns, I have written down in the *Treasure of Life* / how they shall be released and purified; each one of t/hem in accordance with his deeds and his contribution to the chur/ch. This is also how his ascent contribut[es] [25] to him his healing and cleansing. /

Therefore, because of this, it is right for the catechumen to pray at / all times for repentance and the forgiveness of sins from Go/d and the holy church; due to his sins, the [first] / and the last. For his deeds will be collected tog[ether, the] [30] first and the last, and be added to his account.

(**231**) [Th]en, when his disciples had heard these lessons fro[m him], / they praised him and gave glory to him with great blessings. They / [sa]y to him: Blessed are you, our father, and you are glorious! Bless[ed] / is the hope that awaits us through you, for great is th[is th][5]ing that you have bestowed the souls. Indeed, you have rev[ealed] / to the e[lect] the works and the commandments of the e[lec]t state, / in which they will live. Further, the catechumens / were not abandoned by you. Rather, you have taught them every / step and stair and rung so that they would climb u[10]p by them to the good. Each one of them in accordance with his [potential], and / they attain the country of the living. /

Now, again, we beseech you, our master, that you might continue a/nd recount to us about this lesson that [...] him; and instru/ct us concerning the person who shall [...] [15] and come into the church [...] are elect [and] / catechumens. The first sins that they have committed [in] the wo/rld, before they became disciples, what happens to them? For / some of them worship idols first, making obeisance / and holding in reverence [...] also others among them were firmly [20] set in the teaching of the sects, blaspheming God. / They even profaned the light-givers that are in the

heavens. Again, som[e] / of them have committed other sins [... / ... m]urder or a sin committing adultery or [... / a]nd a sin of magic or a [...] of fal[se] witness. [25] [The] other one [...] these in the evil deeds of the wo[rl]d, / if a perso[n] ha[s walked] in them first. Now, when / [someone he]a[rs the w]ord of God, will he be absolved fr[om] / the former [s]ins, or will he [not] be absolved? / There[fore, I entrea]t [you, o]ur master, that you might instruct us [30] [...] and set our heart at rest.

(**232**) Th[en] the apostle [sa]ys to them: Very great is this less/[o]n [that] you have asked me. I am the one who can reveal it to you / [...] thus. Every person who has received the hope / [and the fa]ith and has separated the light from the darkness, and has perceiv[5]e[d the] mysteries of the living soul, he has received the right hand of pe/a[ce] from the Light Mind who dwells in the holy / church. And he begs forgiveness from the Light Mind. /

Understand this: All his first sins / that he committed from the day that he was born until the [10] [da]y when he received the hope of God, and took his heart a/way from all the sects and idols of error, he / shall be absolved of them all. He shall not be questioned about them from this time, / nor receive retribution on their account. If, this is, he may persist in / his belief and [live. If] he [shall not] sin from this time by these fi[15]rst [s]ins that he committed. Afterwards, he has been taken f/rom [...] he was absolved and he will be made / [...] from this time in respect of all his first sins. /

Should, however, he return to repeat his first deed/s, and sin by them once again, then he will be accounted [20] for all his sins, the former and the latter. He shall receive / retribution for them all, because God had given repentanc/[e] to him and forgiveness for his foolishnesses; but / nevertheless he was not steadfast in this repentance that God had / given him. So, if he had been steadfast in the cate[chu][25]menate, in his faith, and had left behind all his former deed[s], / then he would have been absolved from [all] his sins. / Whether, indeed, an elect in his el[ect state / or] a catechumen in his [cat]ech[ume]/nate. Now, this one who [i]s a catechumen may [stand f][30]irm in the catechumenate. The other si[ns that he] / committed, a multitude [of th]em will be / absolved because of his fasting and h[is prayer and his a](**233**)lms.

So, listen how I make clear to you / the works of the faithful catechumens. The cat[echu]/men who truly believes performs fifty fasts, wherein [he] / fasts on the fifty lord's days of the y[ear]. [5] Also, he masters their purification, controlling himself [from] / lust for his wife, purifying his bedroom through / self-control on all these lord's days. He shall [...] / in his eating. He shall not defile his nourishment with the [...] / of fish and all the pollution of flesh and blood. H[e shall not e]a[10]t any unclean thing on these lord's days, and [he] also restrains / his hands from wounding and inflicting pain on the living [so]ul. / He keeps to the hours of prayer; he obse[rv]es t/hem and comes daily to prayer. Hour by ho[ur] and / day by day, all these hours of [pra]yer will [...] [15] his fasting, and his alm[s that he] gives o[n] every da/y of the year. [The a]lms wi[ll be coun]ted [...] to / his good, and the fasting that he has performed, and the g[ar]ment that he has put / upon the saints. A daily communion! And they fell/owship with them in their fasting and their g[oo]d. [20] These shall be counted with these other ones, and half of his wo[r]k is done / for the good, the other half for sins.

Still, the sins t/hat he shall commit half the year shall be se/parated into five parts. He shall be absolved from four of them by / [the] protection of the holy church, by the faith [25] [and the] love of the elect. On the one hand because of this, [and] on the othe/[r b]ecause he knows the knowledge and has separated the li/[ght f]rom the darkness, and has offered a hymn and a prayer to / [the l]ight-giver of the heights. Even the quiet that he has m/[ade ...] Now, by cause of these good things t[30][hat he has done, he shall be absolv]ed of four parts, four / [... si]ns that he has committed (**234**) from the day that he became a catechumen.

As for the rest, / he shall be questioned about a singl[e p]art; and receive / bl[o]ws for (those sins) and retribution. Afterwards he is puri/[fi]ed, whether indeed above or below. He shall be [5] purified according to the worth of h[is] deeds, and clean/sed and washed and adorned. After/[wards], he is sculpted a light image; / and [he glid]es up and reaches the land of rest, so th/at [the pl]ace where his heart is, his treasure also will b[10]e [th]ere. This is, if he shall be steadfast in his catechu/m[en]ate he can receive recompense for his good things like this. /

If, however, he sh[al]l speak a lie and turn from the truth, then / will be [cou]nted all his sin[s] again, the former and / the l[a]tter. The judgement [that con]demns his sins will be poured upon hi[m].

15 Still, i[f he] shall be steadfast in his faith and / bo[l]d in it, then there will be a destiny for him. He asc/ends another time and is made righteous and is released. And he saves / his life in the life for ever and ever. At the time / of h[i]s coming forth, he can go and rest in the life 20 for ever.

When these disciples had heard t/hese lessons of wisdom, they gave glory to their teacher and thought a/bout the first light, the one that brings understanding through the Mind and [the] / riches of its knowledge.

••• 92 •••

(234,24 – 236,6)

25 *The Apostle is asked: Why when / you drew every thing in the Picture (-Book), did you not / draw the Purification of the Catechumens / who shall be cleansed by Transmigration? /*

Mani was renowned as a painter, and in his *Picture-Book* he depicted details of his complex system. Unfortunately, no trace of this work survives. In this chapter a catechumen asks Mani why he has painted the fate of sinners who will be thrown into hell, and of the righteous elect who will ascend to the land of light; but he has not painted the middle way of the catechumens who must pass through transmigration before being saved.

Mani explains that it is because this middle way is various, with the soul of the catechumen passing through all sorts of possible bodies before it is purified. However, he assures the catechumen that the final ascent is the same as that for the elect, which is painted in the *Picture-Book*.

Once again, at one of the occasions, a cate[chum]e[n ...] 30 stood up. He says to our enlightene[r ...] / Why have you marked every thing [... that ex(**235**)ists], and what is provided to happen, in the great *Picture (-Book)*?

You have made / clear in that great *Picture (-Book)*; you have depic[t]ed / the righteous one, how he shall be released and

[brou]ght / before the Judge and attain the land of li[ght. You have] [5] also drawn the sinner, how he shall die. [He] shall be [... / s]et before the Judge and tried [...] / the dispenser of justice. And he is thrown into gehenna, where he shall wander / for eternity. Now, both of these have been depicted by you in the [grea]t / *Picture (-Book)*; but why did you not depict [the ca]te[10]chumen? How he shall be released from his bo[dy], and / how he shall be brought before the Judge and [...] reach / the place ordained for him and [...] that he can rest in the / place of rest f[or ever]. For if we can see [...] the path / of the catechumen, and know [...] [15] so have we recognised him with knowledge. If we can also see him / face to face in this *Picture (-Book)* [...] in the / sighting of him! /

Then speaks the enlightener to t[hat] catechumen. It is not / possible to depict the catechum[e]n in the *Picture (-Book)*, b[20]ecause many [...] world[s] and [...] be/[f]ore him from place to place [...] there are / others existing [...] because [... / to de]pict it, since [... / a]lone in a single place [...] you know [25] [...] that the end of the catechumen [...] / his path comes to be with the elect [...] of the e/[l]ect. Look, he is drawn in the *Picture (-Book)* [...] as the e/[lec]t will [...] the catechumen will go / [...] the path of the elect [... [30] ... will] not [g]o in to the land of life / [... of the] elect and the catechumen (**236**) is a single one. However, it is not possible to depict the middle way of the puri/[fication]ion of the catechumen, / because he shall not be purified in a single place; nor / [clean]sed and washed there.

When that [5] catechumen had heard these things he was persuaded and / [agreed] and kept silent.

••• 93 •••

(236,7 – 239,2)

/ A Catechumen asked the Apo/stle: When I would give an Offer[10]ing to the Saints, shall I inflict a Wound on the Alms? /

This chapter returns to a serious problem for the Manichaeans, the harm and pain caused to the living soul by the very process of saving it. This is the theme of a number of the questions addressed to Mani throughout the

Kephalaia; and the apostle is repeatedly concerned to warn against the consequent tendency to quietism (e.g. see ch. 85)

In this kephalaion the problem concerns the task of providing alms-offerings for the elect, as undertaken by the catechumens. Probably it is the preparation of food that is a principal worry: the plucking of fruit, the baking of bread and so on.

In his answer Mani embarks on a complicated analogy concerning a fight, and then he turns it in to his common theme of the wise doctor who must hurt to heal. While the exact relevance of all players in the analogy is unclear due to the fragmentary text, the basic point is certain. The catechumen must not be afraid of causing sin in the task of preparing and offering alms, for this is an unavoidable process that might cause temporary pain, but will certainly lead to eternal rest and life for the soul trapped in matter. The offering of alms is also a means for the salvation of the catechumen.

Once again, another catechumen questioned the apostle. He tells / him: I know that each time I would provide an alms/-offering for the elect, I know and sense that [...] remainder / [...] of the living soul. A sore and a wound is [15] [...] I awake pain for it in various / form[s ...] / nourishment and their management. Indeed, due to this my heart trembles. / I become very afraid.

I will venture to this place to speak / befo[re] you. Perhaps the good I perform will [20] not repay the sin I am doing to the living soul? /

When the apostl[e] heard these things from / that catechumen, he spoke. He says to him: / Do not be frightened of the sin you will commit that day / to the alms! For al[l] that you do [to] [25] this alms on that day you do to [cause it] / to be healed. You are bringing this alms-offering that you have made to life and r/est.

For this matter is like to two people, if / a personal enemy and an opponent of theirs will hit o/ne first and make a sore and a wound [on] [30] his body. Afterwards he smi[tes him] again and [...] / and he hits over his blows and [...] / blows that have made sores on him and [...] (**237**) strikes him these two times [...] accuses his [ene]/my who has struck him. And this judge questions him to his face about the [...] / of the sores that he has left as marks on his body. And they [...] / on him as if he had split his head. And he is led to judgement and [sent][5]ence, and is punished before the judge of the worl[d. He] / makes retribution for a sore in the sore place, and adds / to him the wound that he had left on this person

who had [not yet s]/inned against him. He shall not omit the retaliation of the opponent, [as] he / is judged [...] according to enmity.

[10] After the end, this enemy is condemned for the retaliation [...] / sin against him. Afterwards, the other one is sick [...] / the one whom this enemy has struck, and a wound comes out [o]n him / [...] and he becomes a sick person by cause of his illness, / and he [...] He calls the doctor and shows him his [15] w[oun]d. However, that doctor has no [...] nor / [...] and he takes the knife to him and cuts this wound. Never[th]eless, / when he cuts i[t] the blood shall pou[r o]ut / of his wound. That person shall be pained, but / he accepts those and these things. This doctor has not retaliated [20] nor was harm imposed on him; because he did this thing / to him for healing his wound. All that he did / to him was done for the good; and not directly for e[v]il. /

After the completion, he cuts this wound and lets blood / [f]rom it and heals it. He shall even make [... [25] ...] gifts and compliments. That illness / [and the] healing become a pride for this doctor, and he is given / [honour].

This is also how this matter of [... / ...] before this living soul. When you make / [an] alms-offering [you] are like this understanding doctor who has [30] [...] he shall heal this ill/[ness ...] strike this alms. At the time (**238**) [...] it [...] you have struck / [...] it is well and [...] ea/[se] shall [e]xist for it. It is healed by the elect, by the psalms / [and] prayers and ble[ssings]. A glory comes about for this [5] [...] healing [...] it exists [...] it is painful [... / ...] for they shall [t]hank you [...] you. /

Also, [this] is the other person [who] struck the comrade of the [... / ...] sick with his [...] he struck in / [...] he being cruel according to [... [10] ... / ...] living soul [...] upon it [... / ...] that [...] accusation / of [... /

...] [15] like [...] the catechum[en]s / [...] / bec[ome ... / ...] in to the church [...] its / heal[ing], you are wearied [... [20] ... / ... / ...] strips off [a ma]/ss of sins for you [...] only, what you [... / ...] to this alms, the ones that you shall be absolved of [... [25] ...] rather you shall be absolved of other sins that y[ou] / commit through the

cleansing and purification [...] / it sh[all] become an intercessor for you and cause yo[u] to be absolved / of a mass of impediments.

Then, when the / catechumen [...] [30] like [...] to the apostle [...] / al[l the] catechumens [... (**239**) ...] and they perform [...] and make res[t] / and healing for the living soul.

••• 94 •••

(239,3 – 240,12)

/ *Concerning the Purification of these Four Elem*[5]*ents [that have been place]d in the Flesh.* /

Four of the five light elements that descended with the First Man were mixed with darkness and matter. That is: fire, wind, water and light; but not air (see chapter 51). In this kephalaion Mani explains that it is these elements (the living soul), entering by means of food, which are purified in the bodies of the elect. Thus they will attain the land of light. If they do not enter the elect they must continue through transmigration.

However, Mani warns that the pollutions that have been joined to the elements cause dangers for the body. Here he attempts to classify these in four sets of three, linking each of the elements to parts of the body, emotions and states of mind. Thus fire discharges blood, anger, and the humours. Unfortunately, the text for the fourth set is fragmentary, and probably corrupt. The reference to the tree (239.25 ⲡⲱⲏⲛ) is unclear; but the fourth element must be that of wind.

[O]nce again, on one of [the occasions], the apostle is sitting [among the] / congregation. He speaks thus: The four elements [are what is] purified. / From the beginning they are holy ones, living ones, and / enlighteners. However, when they undertood [...] [10] in that first struggle. The waste was [mixed] i/n with them, and the darkness of the enemy was mixed wit/h them. And when they were come in to the body, stri/pping off these polluted garments, they set them in the flesh. / Their pollutions, which they have stripped off, shall be displa[15]yed in a [...] and become a danger to the bo/dy.

The discharge of this pollution, that [the fir]e / shall disgorge and place in the body, is [blo]od. / The discharge of the blood is anger. The discharge of anger is the / humours.

Also, the emissions that the waters discharge [20] from them are lust. The discharge of l/ust is bitterness. The emission of bitterness is f/[e]ver.

The emission that light shall disgorge / is flesh. The emission of flesh is gloom. / [The] emission of gloom is obstinacy.

The emissions [25] that the tree shall disgorge, they are the voices*[128] / of the winds of shame. The emission of winds of shame / [is ...]

The emission of the / [tear] is the [...]*[129] of these twelve emissions. /

[...] these four elements shall [30] [...] what are gathered in (**240**) are [f]ound by the management of this soul food / [that] enters the body. When they enter / the body, they are cleansed and purified and established / [i]n their living image, which is the new man. They shall live [5] [...] and receive the Light Mind and be purified / in their image; and they come forth, being cleansed and holy. They / attain their first rest.

So, when they shall reach / the elect, this is how they shall be cleansed and go / u[p to] the land of the living ones; but these that come to [10] [...] the sinners and pass through them and [... / ...] in sins. Their end will occur in trans/migration and spirit*[130].

••• 95 •••

(240,13 – 244,20)

/ The Apostle asks his [15] Disciples: What is Cloud? /

Mani distinguishes five types of cloud, each rising up from and corresponding to one of the five light elements.

However, in typical fashion he integrates this natural science aspect of

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*[128] Reading ϩρωϭ

*[129] The text has ⲡⲥⲉ[....], with the probable meaning of: "the tear is the [collectivity] of these twelve emissions.'

*[130] The reference here to πνεῦμα indicates a tripartite system of pneumatics, psychics and hylics; where transmigration is the middle way between salvation and damnation.

his teaching with the fantastical element of divine and demonic beings populating every corner of the universe. Thus each type of cloud is inhabited by evil rulers that take the relevant opportunity of hail storms or whatever in order to damage the created order. Still, angels are commanded by the Virgin of Light to rush after and seize those rulers, and thus stop them. They are then cast into the seven outer ditches prepared by the light as holding places for the evil forces (see also 116.26 – 33), preparatory to the final destruction of the cosmos.

Mani is thus attempting to explain the constant recurrence of evil in the world, while at the same time asserting the ever-present concern of the light powers and their watchfulness.

In this kephalaion the prominence of the Virgin of Light as having authority over the zone (244.12) is noticeable, for this role is elsewhere taken by her masculine doublet the Third Ambassador (e.g. 82.18).

Once again, the apostle is sitting in the congregation of his d[i]/sciples. The heavens were cloudy that day. / He brought his eyes up and saw the cloud that day. / He says to his disciples: This cloud that is app[20]arent to you, which you see; I will reveal / and teach you about it, how it ascended! /

Happen you know that it shall be released fr[om] / five places and ascend over this great earth and [...] / and it is revealed and seen in the atmosphere between.

[25] So, the cloud shall ascend from fire [to] / the heavens towards the likeness of the Virgin of Lig[ht] tha[t] / she shall display to it. Its sign is the flas[hes that] / occur with lightning storms [... i]ts exchan[ge ...] / And they shall be purified by her towards [...] [30] the light that she shall reveal [... (**241**) ...] the rulers shall be released by the lightning storms and they are f[re]/ed and sent.

However, [these] angels shall immediately be summoned to them. / So that they will seize them, because they kn[ow] / that they shall never do good. Every place they will tou[ch] [5] they shall make dead and a loss. Whenever / the angels will make towards them and come beside [...] / they shall flee in their constraint before them. They go i[n to] / whatever they will meet upon and assume it. Like [a] ro/bber being abandoned and fleeing before one stronger than hi[m], as he [10] runs after him to arrest him.

Now, those rulers / that shall be freed from these clouds and assume wh/atever they will meet upon [...] in to the [... / ...] that

they did not [...] will seize / this thing, whether indeed a [tr]ee to [which] they have found the way or animals or people. Si/mply, every place that they will assume they shall burn a/nd destroy by the fire of their body. Namely, the rulers, [the] chil/dren of fire, they that shall be stripped of the fire. /

In contrast, [the] cloud that shall be raised up from water, and comes above towards the Virgin of Li/ght; its sign is the thunder storms and the booms that / shall come in the atmosphere in various forms and are he[ar]d. / [...] Again, there are times if the rulers that belong / [to t]hem, which exist in the cloud, shall on occasion be constrained [in a] water [clou]d. And they flee from it and aband[on] it. /

Now, [they] too are so, in that every place th[ey wi]ll / [reach], they shall make frost and hail and s[no]w. / [They rui]n the seed-corn and the fruits and the plants; and they / [...] every [pl]ace [that] they will reach.

Again, [ang]els shall be summoned to them who seize them. Still, while the angels (**242**) [ru]sh after them in order to seize them, they shall make this destruction. /

Also, [the cl]oud that will be raised up from wind / ascends to the atmosphere between, towards the likeness of the Vi[r/g]in that she shall display to it. Its sign is [the s]torm wind that shall blow with bitterness. /

So, i[n] those winds and tempests shall the lives / be p[ur]ified. Again, the rulers will be stripped of the clo/ud of wind and they descend from it, safe in / the[ir] image. All the rivers and the seas that they will reach and arrive at, they shall make waves in them a/nd raise [...] and they [...] the ships. They / wreak destruct[ion ...] and they seize / and bring them [...] /

Also the cloud, the one of light, immediately they will be strip[ped] of it [... / ...] the Virgin. She shall / display its sign too [...] And its sign is / this, in that you shall find it sailing in stillness and calm. / The lives in it shall be clea[nsed] in stillness and calm. Again, the rulers that will be stripped of it [...] / that will come forth [...] they shall put [...] and they take [... / ...] there [...] the [a]nge[ls] / seize them.

Again, the cloud that shall be raised [up] / fro[m] the mingled air comes above towards [the image] [25] of the Virgin. Its sign is this, in that [...] / are pur[if]ied in it in stillness and [rest ... these rulers] / that will be stripped of that cloud and [co]me f/rom it; every place that they will find [...] / they shall make it {}*131 [...] [30] one of [...] unt[i]l [... (**243**) th]ey are seized and taken to their midst.

Their stri[p/p]ings, that they shall leave behind them in various places / they will have reached, whether the produce of the trees or the offspring [of] / the fleshes, they shall be taken midst [...] wither away. [5] They shall inflict great dangers, but agai[n] / those rulers also the angels shall s[e]/nd to their midst. They bring the light from them and / cast the demons down to these seven o[ut]er ditches / of the great sea; which i[s] the vessel of [10] the waters that are outside the wo[rl]d. /

Then his disciples say to him: Instruct us, / our master. To what place do those seven ditches go / down?

[The apostle] says [to t]hem: / Those ditches and the [...] unt[15]il they reach the earths below [...] fe/et of the Porter.

Hear also [...] / for sometimes these angels shall be sent to them, / to seize the rulers. Whenever the rulers [... / ...] for the angels rush after them. They beseech them [...] [20] they that are given the command. However, [t]hose [rul]ers / shall be freed from them alone and ass[um]e / [...] and [the fle]sh. They are consumed by this offspring [... / ...] tree and that of flesh. The angels shall set a / [... ov]er them, that they might guard them until the hour when [25] [those r]ulers will be stripped of tree and / [flesh; a]nd they go [u]p above. They shall be gathered / [...] above, and they are poured out / [...] in their first for/[ms ... im]ages in which they first were. (**244**) They take the light from them, which had remained behind in [t/h]em. And they too are cast down to these seve[n] / outer [path]s that are in the great sea; the place to where these former ones [were c/as]t. They shall reach their mids[t [5] ...] and the light that is in them is taken. /

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*131 ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩ(ⲟⲩ)

Beh[old] n[o]w, I have instructed you about this cloud: How / it shall ascend above, and the lives that are in it / are purified. I have also taught you of the rulers that are in it: how / they shall make these {rebellions}*132 and how they shall be {caught}*133. 10 And they are cast to the outer prison by the angels, / when the command is given to them through the power of the Virgin / of Light. She has authority over the entire zone, [and cl]ean/ses [the] life that is in it.

Then, when his disciples / hea[rd these lessons] they glorified him. They say to him: 15 [Y]ou have [instructed us] in all the secrets, the giv/er of [...] of all revelations! We give tha/n[k]s to you, our father, with great confessions. For you have / inst[r]ucted us about every thing. You have given to us great / [...] of the knowledge; so that through them we may give judgem20ent about these things to which we listen.

••• 96 •••

(244,21 - 246,6)

/ The Three Earths that ex/ist, they bear Fruit. /

Mani uses the example of human farmers upon the earth to describe the work of the sun and moon in cultivating the field of the living soul, and the Light Mind toiling over the holy church, to bring them to harvest. He then calls upon his audience to be active in the faith, to do the farming of righteousness, and thus to bring forth fruit.

On[ce] again he speaks to his disciples: Thr[ee earths] 25 exist in the universe, and are being toiled over. At first they [... / ...] the farmer in them. Afterwards they bear [good] fruit / to they who toil over them.

One of them is this great ea[rt]h [th]at / people are living upon. They are ploughing in it [...] / it with iron hoes, th[ey cu]ltivate, [making] 30 the furrows, turning it over [... After]/wards they harvest fruit from [it ...

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*132 ⲥⲗⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ
*133 ⲉⲱⲣⲧ

(**245**) The] second field is the living soul, the ho[ly] one. / It is mixed in the entire zone, above and be[l]/ow. The farmers who toil over it are these two great [ligh]/t-givers, which journey through the heavens. They are toiling and cultivating [5] it, so that they will draw it towards their aspect. And i[t lea]/ps up and comes to the heights. It goes upwards, ou[t] / from every place wherein it is, and it adds to them. /

[The] third earth is this holy church with i[t]s / elect and its catechumens. The farmer who toi[10]ls over i[t] is this Light Mind. He has freed it, / rescued it, and gathered it in from every place. He has made it for [him] / a throne, a dwelling-place to the glory of his gr[ea]tness. / He made it a good field that it might bear good fruit[s]. / In them it can make its appearance beautiful, be victorious, and ascend to [15] the heights. And it goes u[p] on the ladder of the [Li]ght Mind, / [the] good farmer who cultivates it at all times. /

Now, [ju]st as these farmers toil over these three earths, after/wards [they] receive from them the fruits that are valuable [to] them. / You yourelves be good farmers! Do the fa[20][rm]ing of righteousness. Preach and enlighten every soul! / Open the eyes of the people and reveal to them / [li]fe and death; so that you [like]wise may [become / r]ich by your preaching. Whoever will [... / ...] will make rich and enter into the citizenship o[f [25] ...] If you are silent and you / [do not p]reach to the people, you have no strength to bear fruit. / [...] this one, to find a per/[son ...] enlighten [... / ...] but bear him and he awakens not, and he [... [30] ...] in to repentance. These s[o/uls ...] they go to the perdit[ion] (**246**) that is prepared for them there. Since he is able / [to] do the good [...] you now; this has no power to / strike you and make you weak in the spirit. Rat/he[r, to]il! As you cultivate the good earth, [5] reap f[rom it] the good fruits, that you may / l[i]ve o[f them for] ever and ever.

••• 97 •••

(246,7 - 248,10)

/ Concerning the Three Creations of the Flesh: the ones / that were brought forth [...]; and the ones [10] *that were begotten by the Abortions; and the ones / that were formed of themselves. /*

This chapter shows again how Mani presented his teaching as an integrated science for understanding the entire world. Life arises from the mixed light and dross that fell to earth at the time when the Ambassador displayed his image in the heavens, and the demonic powers ejaculated or aborted in their lust. This matter or sin contained the 'thought' (ἐνθύμησις) or driving force that causes reproduction. Here Mani attempts to classify the different forms of plant life according to various means of propagation.

On[ce again] our enlightener speaks to his disciples: All these / animals that you see, and also the rest of the [crea]/tur[es ...] of the earth, confirm them in three [15] likeness[es ...] them from [... / ...] abortions. Others, / [however, for]m their own selves in their shape [... / ...] Also, their nourishment is thre[e / ... li]ght in them, if they shall wish [... [20] ... / ...] they eat see[ds and] fr[uit / ...] they eat seeds and fruit. / The [...] it entirely, and they [... / ...] the three archetyp[es] from their nature and the [... [25] ...] the time when they are on the ea[rth ... / ... th]ey are seized [...] / in their [... / ...] the Ambassador [... / ...] all powers [... [30] ... / ...] / i[n] it [... / ...] first [...] (**247**) plant them [g]enerally to this name: shoots and grass. It formed / the bad, bitter tre[es], the reeds and the thorns and the [...] / and these others that are like them.

For that th[oug]/ht belongs to the flesh-eating rulers. [St]ill, these [that were] [5] planted (belong to) grass and gourds, since they are in their essence. Nevertheless, [this t]/ho[ugh]t that came down from the rulers, [a]/s they are i[n] fruit and grass first and shall not be planted / in flesh and blood, it formed the trees that shall give nourishing [fru]/it as their gourds are sweet.

Again, this thou[ght] [10] that came down from the powers that eat m[ea]t / and also eat grass and gourds, it has formed the trees / that shall not produce any nourishment. Their / fruits belong neither to good nor evil. /

Behold, I have taught you the growth of the tree. For it was [15] planted from the sin that came down from the [powe]rs of / [...] according to the counsel and teaching of the [...] / them due to them. It grew the tree on the earth and gave fr/u[its] there of different kinds and shapes. /

Furthermore, I also reveal to you another thing about these trees [20] that shall be cut and grow again upon their roo/t; and they produce fruit. There are also others that if they are cut / shall neither grow nor produce fruit. And there are others / if their branches shall be [cu]t they are planted. There are some / [...] and they make fruit and come up and make a tre[e]. And it [25] [produces a bra]nch.

Now these (trees) that shall be cut from / [their] root and flourish and blossom an[ew and / produce] fruit, [t]heir thought is in [their / reproductive pa]rt*[134] and the[ir ro]ot. Again, due to this they shall [... / ...] a firmness exists [... [30] ...]

Howev[er], the other trees [that (**248**) shall be] cut and not grow by their root and repro[ductive / part], their thought that sculpts them / [i]s (in their) twigs. And these others too, from which / branches shall be taken and planted and they sprout, their th[5]ought that sculpts them is in their body / [and subs]tance, as their thought exists in buds [th]at a/[re] in their branches. Also, these others, which shall grow from / the [fr]uits and the seed, their counsel is in their / [fr]uit. Due to this they shall be formed and grow from their [10] [fr]uit.

••• 98 •••

(248,10 – 249,30)

/ What is Virginal; or, / otherwise, what is Continent? /

Mani applies these two terms at five successive levels of the light's descent into matter. The archetypal distinction is between the light that remains in the eternal kingdom, which is virginal; compared to that which has entered into time and mixture. Then, at descending levels, the other pairs are as follows: the gods in time who do not enter mixture compared with

*134 [ⲕⲟⲩⲟⲩ]ⲛ̄ⲩ̄

the light that does; the light first purified through the episode when the Ambassador displayed his image, and the light that had to continue through transmigration; the Light Mind and the new man; a human virgin and a person who renounces sex.

Once more, the apostle is sitting down one time among / the congregation of his church. He says to his disciples: 15 W[h]at is the virgin that is named 'virginal'? / Or the [one that] is called 'continent', what is it? Or by what category is / the [vi]rgin called 'virginal'? Or [the co]/ntinent, which is given this name, by what category is it / named '[c]ontinent'?

20 His disciples say to him: Proclaim to us, my master, of these / [t]wo lessons; since all good gifts are given to us through you. /

Then speaks our enlightener to them: / What is called 'virginal' is assigned to the myster/y of the aeons of greatness. And they called it 'virgi25n[a]l' by the category of all the light that did not [taste] / of death, nor come to the enemy's war. / However, what is called 'continent' oc[curs to / the m]ystery of the light that came and was mixe[d with the / dark]ness. It was defiled in bodies [... 30 ...] and went up to the light. [They] called [it 'co/ntine]nt'.

Furthermore, the holy vir[gin]als [... / ...] should they come out against the en[emy ... / ... not] taste death, nor [...] (**249**) On the other hand, what is called 'continent' [is this li]/ght that mixed with the darkness, was purif[ie]d, came [up f]/rom all the creatures, and was confirmed in the great[ness]. / They called it 'continent' since it tasted [of the l]5ust; but afterwards was cleansed from it and [become an] / holy one.

Furthermore, what is called / ['vi]rginal' is this light that was purified by the ima[ge] of / the [A]mbassador. It wen[t up and] attained [the] he[ights. It was] / confirmed in the image of the gods. Again, what is [called] 10 'continent' is the remainder of this light th[at] / remained behind, from what was cleansed. It goes up [and comes] / down in transmigration. Al[so], there is a part [of] i/t that shall come and attain the form of [hum]an [fl]esh. / Again, that one too shall be chosen in the flesh, [accept] the ho15pe, and become an holy one. And they name it 'continent'. /

Furthermore, what is named 'virginal' is the Light Mind, / should he come and assume the images [of] the ele/ct. However, on the other hand, what is called 'contin[ent]' is / the new man, should it be purified from this old man. And it [20] is cleansed and strips off the sin that is compounded with it, and it becomes / a continent one.

And also, what is called 'virgi/nal' in the flesh, is a man if he has [ne]ver joined himself to woman, / has not been defiled by intercourse. However, [i]n contrast, what is called / 'continent', is the man who has a wom[25]an in the world. Afterwards, he cleanses himself from her / [and] renounces her. And because of this he [...] and he becomes an holy / contin[en]t one.

Behold, I have taught you the categories / [of] the v[ir]ginal and the continent in a great many / [as]pects. For what is virginal, or otherwise what is [30] [con]tinent, is in many forms.

••• 99 •••

(249,31 – 251,25)

/ Concerning Transmigration. /

Mani explains that although both sinners and catechumens must pass into transmigration, the fate of these two categories differs. He compares this to the educative punishment that must on occasion be meted out to erring children, contrasted with that imposed on wicked servants. Thus the catechumens will in the end attain to the light and the life, while sinners will be imprisoned and suffer eternal death.

[O]nce again o]ne of the catechumens questioned the apost/[le. He says] to him: We have heard a lesson from you, my master. (**250**) You [have] recount[ed it] fo[r] us and written it down in the books, as you [... / ...] people who come out from their body / [are d]riven into transmigration and wandering, and / [ea]ch one is weighed [according to] his actions. Whether the sinners, you [5] [proclaimed] to us that they are driven into transmigration / [... or] they who have received the faith and have / [...] in the [... dr]iven also into tr/[ansmigrat]ion [... / ...] the catechumens surpass the sinn[10] [er]s [...] and again he too is driven into transmig/ration and t[ak]es hope. /

Then the lord [spea]ks. He told them about these two lessons. [... / ...] one concerning the transmigration of the sin/n[er]; he speaks to them about the transmigration of the cate[15]chumen.

Now, listen to this lesson that I will recount to / y[o]u, how this education I will proclaim to you shall be / given to the catechumens during transmigration. /

The [...] education occurs in the world, / by which people shall educate their children, when [20] [...] foolishness. So, they shall hit / [them], but their education is not equivalent with the education / that they give to their servants when they shall sin. / For the striking of children differs from the striking of servants; / b[eca]use when the child transgresses, he should be rebu[25]ked by word and harsh lessons are proclaimed t[o sca/re] him. And if he [...] he is struck [... /

...] educate him. And if [he is in / a p]rison then he is bound by a chain. Similarly, [bl] / ows and fetters [...] and kill him. He will neither [be] [30] killed nor be h[i]t [... / ... / ...] For [...] (**251**) his [thro]ne in the light, which [... w]/hich he had also uttered [...] / When that one will be muzzled, they shall [... / ... [5] ...] cut limb [...] / there is [s]till a [... / ...] / just as you have [...] according to the edu/cat[io]n of the catechumens [... [10] ...] the education of [...] / cat[e]chumen [... / the]ir souls [...] / they are troubled of heart [... / ...] they are mixed [... [15]...] until they attain [... / ...] the sinners [... / ...] they shall be still [... / ...] they are cruel; they shall bind him [... / ... [20] ...] from them [... / ...] to the great fire from the [...] /

This is the end of [... / y]ou: Blessed are you catechumens [... / y]ou are chosen and ordained [...] [25] their end is loss [...]

••• 100 •••

(251,26 – 253,24)

/ Concerning the Dragon with Fourte[en] He[ads]; / what it is and [...] /

Many Manichaean texts describe the human body as a microcosmos full of warring demons. Interestingly, here Mani asserts that this is a spiritual but not a physical truth. He proceeds to relate the fourteen headed dragon in the body, with its five refuges, to different parts of the anatomy. The dragon is really the driving force or 'thought' of the body that the righteous person must overcome, so as to receive the victory.

[Once again], one of h[is] disciples asked the [apostle ... [30] ...] is distributed [... / ... / ... (**252**) the] laws of the Magi. They say that there is / [a d]ragon with fourteen heads, and it is gathered / [i]n and [...] den with five refuges. Now, I beseech / [y]ou, my master, that you may instruct me about this lesson. [5] [Wh]at really is a corporeal dragon wi[th] / fourteen heads? Or is it another spiritual lesson? /

Then the apostle says t[o] him: / [The]re is [n]ever a dragon [i]n the f[l]esh with fourtee[n] hea[ds], / as the Magi say! Rather, this is a [spiri[10]tual les]son. It was uttered in virgini[ty / ...] the Magi did not understand [... / ...] all their words that are written [... / ... spiri]tual (?).

Again, this is how this earth / [...] to it, as it is accounted a co[rp]ore[al] drag[on [15] ...] I will instruct you / [...] the dragon is this doctrine [... / ...] of the flesh [... / ...] also the f[ou]rtee[n] heads that are distributed ove[r] / the d[ragon] are these.

The seven sense organs [o][20]n [the h]ead of the body are the two of sight by whi[ch one] / se[es; the] two of sound b[y] which one hears; / [the] two of scent by which one smells; also the to[ng/ue ...] by [which] one selects, receiving / [th]ere the different tastes that occur in every form.

[25] [These ar]e the seven heads of the dragon, the seven sen/[se] organs that are on the upper part of the person; [... / ...] below. The seven of the [tor/so] are these: two [...]; the two [... / ...] ruler [... [30]

... / ... the se]ven [heads that are (**253**) a]bove; so with the ones below they total and make fou[rteen] / heads of the dragon.

Conversely, the five dens about which they have [spo/k]en, where the dragon is congregated and protrudes, / are these: the first is the tong[ue]; [5] the second is the lungs; the third is the h[eart]; / the fourth is the spleen; the fifth is the b[lood that] / dwells in them. Again, if it shall look out from them [and / r]eveal its likeness and its observation a[bo/v]e and below, it wages war [by [10] i]ts fourteen heads.

Whoever will recognise them [wi]th / the dragon, which is the thought of [the b]o/dy, and struggles with it and is victorious and ki[lls] i/[t] in them [... he is called] / the holy righteous one, elect, good person. [15] He receives the victory without suffering on the day [of h]is com/[in]g forth.

So, behold, I have taught you of the dragon that / [exi]sts with its fourteen heads and five dens, / [wh]erein it is concealed and hidden. It does through them [... / its des]ire all the time.

Then th[a]t disciple says [20] to him: My heart has been persuaded, my master, by what [you have r]e/[count]ed to me. You have taught me of the dragon with the fourteen / [he]ads. Blessed is every one who will slay and kill it; / [and it suffers] loss! He will live for ever and be a person victori[ous / i]n all his deeds.

••• 101 •••

(253,25 – 255,21)

/ [Concer]ning why, if the Person shall look down / into Water, [...] /

This chapter illustrates again Mani's fascination with all aspects of the natural world; and his attempt to create a totally integrated science.

254.1 – 24 Reflection in water is explained as a spiritual mystery signifying the descent of the divine call to the First Man in the abyss, and the corresponding ascent of the answer to the Living Spirit.

254.24 – 255.7 Reflection in water is explained as a physical mystery indicating how humans and other life on earth are inextricably tied to the stars and zodiacal signs (their 'fathers').

255.7 – 11 Reflection also indicates that a child is born head first.

255.12 – 21 Shadows show how the body is fastened to the earth.

This series of loosely grouped teachings may evidence textual development. Also the distinction between spiritual and physical truths, occuring also in the previous kephalaion, may be the link used by the redactor in attempting to order the chapters.

[Once again, one of his d]isciples asked the apostle / [... ... in(**254**)stru]ct me about this lesson: When / the person is above water and looking down [into / the wat]ers, if he shall see his face reflected why sh/all you find his head turned upside down and a[l]so his fee[t] upwards? Yet, when he stares down into the wa[te/rs], his face shall not be visible, nor can he see i[t / th]ere? Then the apostle says to him: Ha[p/pen] you know this, that this universe is established / [of m]ystery, and is entirely full of mystery. [And] this: The face of people and the shape of trees shall app[ear] / turned upside down in the water as this is signifi[ed] / in [the] mystery of the summons, when it was sent do[wn] / to the [wo]rlds of darkness towards the First Man. Sin[ce / ...] in this way it cast itself down [...] like a person [who] plunges headlo[ng] into water; / so it is also with the summons. It cast itse[lf] / headlong to the worlds below, with streng[th] / and diligence.

And this too: Shall the pe[rs]/on lift his head up from the water, his face shall not be visibl[e] to him, being bent below. This characterises the m[yste]/ry of the obedience that ascended from below, / from with the First Man his father to the [Liv]ing Spirit. / This is a spiritual mystery that I have [revea]/led to you so that you would understand it.

I[f] you [w]ish to understand another cor[pore]al mystery / on this subject, listen and I may teach you to under[stand it]. / The face of people and of animals [and / of] trees is visible in the water, hangi[ng upside down]. / This occurs to the mystery of the [stars] and the zodiac, which hang upside down and are vis[ible in] / the great sea. For [the face of people a](**255**)nd beasts and all trees hang on the ro[ot] / of the stars and the zodiac, being begotten from them. / Just as their fathers, who are spread out above, [hang] / upside down; so it is also that the m[yste]ry of their fathers is being revealed to them whenever th[ey sta]re down into the water. This is, that you shall find their [shapes] / inverted.

Not only this, but [the] child / who is born; as the ho[ur] approaches for him to be born*[135], he hangs upside down and is born [he]ad first. [10] Indeed, due to this, his mystery shall be revealed / in these waters people [s]tare down [int]o. /

Furthermore, I reveal something else to you: Behold, you will find the shadow of the person who walks along is joined to the earth / all the time. If the person is troubled [...] [15] his shadow up upon the earth [...] / above. It is impossible for him to do [... / ...] on the earth. See, this mystery is [a] great / sign, signifying that the entire body came / from the earth and had ascended from the abyss. Again, d[u]e to this, [20] its shadow is joined on the earth, turned downwar[ds], / and hanging from above.

••• 102 •••

(255,22 – 257,7)

/ Concerning the Light Mind, why / it does not exercise Forekno[25]wledge for the Saint as for the Apostle? /

Mani is asked why the Light Mind does not cause the elect to have perfect and prior knowledge, such as the apostles have, when it indwells them all. He gives five practical reasons why such knowledge could lead to abuse and dissension; but promises that it will be given to them when they ascend from their bodies in perfection.

[O]nc]e again one of the elect questioned the apostle, saying / to him: The Light Mind that shall come and be reve/[aled] of the holy church, and assumes the faithful / [and the ele]ct; why shall it not entrust forekno[w[30]ledge] to them [as for] the apostle? In my opinion, it ought to be unve/[iled] to them in a revelation. Just as / [all things are revea]led for the apostle, so also / [ought they] to be unveiled for the elect and they become 'fore/-[knowers]'; so that they will attain them, be they easy or (**256**) difficult. You ought to find them, knowing each other's heart; / because the child of the apostle is the Mind. For whoever / [und]erstands i[t] is able to unveil all things from it, / [just a]s with the apostle!

*135 Lit: he is about to be born and his hour comes.

Then the apostle says to [5] [him]: You have recounted this well. I am the one who will te/[ach y]ou about it. Happen you know that the Light M[ind], / who dwells in the elect, has the power to perform all these / w[onders] among the faithful, all these signs that you have re/co[unted] to me; but the elect are not able to persist in [10] the great[ness] that may be unveiled to them.

Not only this, but / [firs]t of all: If it unveiled something to / the [ele]ct and they exercised foreknowledge, they would have become an apostle / and none be humble to his comrade.

Second: / [If t]hey were knowing each other's heart, they would have despised [15] one another. If their counsel and consideration / is unveiled from one [to] another, and the shames of th[eir] / body are revealed to each other, not one among them / [...] the other.

Third: They would have made enemies of / one another because of the counsels and evil considerations t[20]hat they shall ponder over together; due to the flesh that / they assume and the sin that dwells in them. An[d] when / each one of them will understand the evi[l] counsel / that his comrade ponders over, he may become an enemy / to him immediately; and they are set firm against one another [25] in disputation.

Fourth: When / he may exercise foreknowledge, they will understand the lifespan [... / ... of] a body and will not await a gr[eat many] / years in righteousness, but [...] / down to the world. And when they will [...] [30] attain the one found be enlightened [...] / up to righteousness.

Fifth: [If] / everything is unveiled to them, th[ey would have] unveiled it [to the ma](**257**)gicians in the world and these fortune-tellers, and go arou[nd fr]/om place to place taking money to create for them wealth and worldly [ri]/ches.

Now this is why (the Light Mind) shall not give a reve[la]/tion to the elect. It does not add it to them due to these five [thin]gs; [5] but the matter is hidden from them only until the time when [they will come] / forth from their body.

Then every thing that has oc[curred] / and that will occur is unveiled to them!

••• 103 •••

(257,8 – 258,3)

/ Concerning the Five Wonders [10] *that the Light Mind shall / display in the Elect. /*

There are five qualities proclaimed and enacted by the elect person who is indwelt by the Light Mind, and who has thus become a new man.

Once again the apostle speaks: The Light Mind shall / enact five light signs in the elect.

The first si/[gn] is the wisdom that the elect shall preach [15] and proclaim in all its shapes and forms / and manners.

The second is the fai/[th]; since after his preaching of the wisdom, that he / proclaims, the others who hear it be[lieve] it. /

The third is [...] [20] in his preaching [...] peace / of heart for the assembly of his brethren [...] /

[The] fourth is love, for he shall love wisdom [...] the / brothers and sisters who are seated [before] him. /

[The] fifth is the fear of legal excommunication that shall ex[25][clude him amo]ngst these who did not receive the hope of God. Also other iniquit/[ous] people who shall be found in the church; it excludes / them with a legal excommunication, on account of their foolishness. /

[The] Light [Mind] puts these five signs in the new man, / [whom he has] purified, cleansed, supported [and [30] cho]sen [...]

Blessed is every one / [who ...] the [M]ind and is diligent in his wis/[dom ...]

The [other] one: These five sig(**258**)[n]s will be [es]tablished in him and perfected in him, so that / [he] will become a faultless vessel and a pearl with/out [pr]ice for ever at all!

••• 104 •••

(258,4 – 258,25)

[5] *Concerning Food: It shall be allocated to / Five Products of the human Body. /*

Food engenders five productions from the human body. These five may all be understood as physical, if the text is read as euphemistic. For instance: spiritual heat; spittle; sweat; semen and sexual juices; children.

[O]nc]e again he speaks to his disciples: This sustenance / of various kinds that people gather in / and eat, and enters the body; it shall be distributed [10] to five productions.

The first product is this that shall / issue from the person in rapture and rises up in / the Mind, and it comes out from all his limbs, and is immeasurable. /

The second is this that shall issue from the per/son in voice and word.

The third is this th[15]at shall spring from them in strength and activity. /

The fourth is what is engendered by the pleasure of lu[s]/t in men and women.

The fifth is this / that shall be formed and sculpted in the flesh, a/nd be engendered and come from them. It is this cor[20]poreal creature; only its parents / can recognise this creature that they beget. They are attentive to its desire and its / th[oug]ht and its [lo]ve every day, / all the time. However, these other four forms they neither notice / nor are concerned about; because [25] they are not displayed.

••• 105 •••

(258,26 – 259,23)

/ Concerning the Three Things that are great with / Mankind, as they are running all the time, in that they [...] /

Mani recounts how Christians use the name of Christ in invocations, personal names and oaths. He then asserts the success of his own apostolate, evidencing the same use of his name.

Once again he speaks: Chris[tia]n people [...] [30] sow in the universe for t[h]ree [things ...] /

The first: If the person will spe[ak the name of Christ] (**259**) on every thing he may lay his hand to to construct.

The [sec]/ond: They will call people who love him by hi[s name]; / and bestow his name upon their*[136] children and children's [child]/ren.

The third saying: They will swear by hi[s fo][5]rtune and his surety; namely all these who are under hi[s a]/uthority.

And I, Manichaios, who sits before you, / I have sown these three graces; by the grace that was [re/war]ded to me from the Father. For, by the wisdom that I [have manif]est/ed, by the truth that I have revealed and by the truth and [sw][10]eetness wherein I have taught people, I have received a [se]/ed and a good sowing*[137] with they who are counted to me. Also, by my good and useful tea[ch]ings / that I have revealed; s[e]e, / people who love me are c[a]lled of my name! Also, by the aposto/[la]te of my father, who sent me to the world, they w[ho] [15] are mine accept me for themselves.

Behold, they swear by m[y fort]une / [i]n every place and every city! Who is as great as I in / the universe? Or who was active in this creation / the way I myself have been active, other than my brothers the apo/stles who were before me? For indeed those t[20]oo

*136 Reading ⲛⲉϫ for ⲛⲉⲩ
*137 Or read ⲥϯⲛⲟϫⲩⲉ 'perfume'.

were active and laid foundations in the world. / Indeed, due to this, every one who will believe in me and also be persuaded / to my word can become with me inheritors in the new / aeon.

••• 106 •••

(259,24 – 260,27)

25 *There is no Joy that shall remain / in the World till the End. /*

Although they are not themselves oppressed, the sun and the moon (here personified) can never be completely joyful during the time of mixture. This is firstly because they see the rule of the enemy in the universe; and secondly they see the oppression of the living soul everywhere before it reaches them and is finally cleansed.

[O nce agai]n he speaks to his disciples: There is not [o]ne person / [existing in] the world, standing firm [i]n mixture, for whom / [j]oy remains to the end.

Not only peo[30][ple], even the sun and the moon, the light-givers of the heavens / [...] nor are they oppressed, they know not / [... s]et firm in a summons and an (**260**) [obe]dience. Nevertheless, they too, they do not rejoice comple/[tel]y.

So, one: Their eyes stare at their enemy, they / [perceiv]e him and also look at his ugly shapes. / [They s]ee him, that he is alive and established and is king ab[5][ov]e and below, in secret and manif[e]/st. He does every thing that he wants according to his wil[l]. /

[The s]econd: They perceive the living soul, they see [i]/t and that it is ensnared and set in a great [fetter] a/bove and below, in the tree and in the flesh*138, [10] [...] with every oppression. It is being pressed, drawn near t/o [and] sliced and eaten as it comes up / and down; from above below and from below ab/ove. It [is] despoiled and moved from / body to body.

Now, because of their living soul that is [15] love[d] by them and honoured of them, when they see it in op[pr]/ession th[ey can] not [re]joice completely.

*138 Reading ⲥⲁⲣⲍ for ⲥⲁⲣⲧ 'wool'.

So, one about the soul; / and one about their enemy whom they see ruling [in] / what is not his own. He is proud and satisfied with / a wealth that is not his own. Indeed, due to this, they do not rejoice in [20] total; but bear up and swallow their heart unt/il they cleanse the living soul and take it from the enemy's hands. / Then they obliterate the death that is their enemy and they g/ather it in [and fetter it in the lump] for ever and / ever.

When they will chain their enemy in the bond at the [las][25]t, then they will rejoice and no longer grieve from this t[ime]. / Also, they become the very same as they were from the [start] / for ever!

••• 107 •••

(260,28 – 261,13)

/ Concerning the Form of the Word, that [... [30] ...] /

The process of forming a word is compared to the production of a coin.

Once again he speaks about the production of the word t[hat comes] / from the mouth and is heard by the [ears]. / He says [... (**261**) ...] and the throat draws it up and the tongue / spreads it out and the teeth cut it and the lips g[at]/her it! The word shall come forth through the power of th[ese five] / members and be heard outside.

Simila[rly] [5] the coin: One shall pour it out and an[othe]/r beat it and another trim it as it is turned, and a[nother] / put the stamp on it and another wipe it in the sieve (?). [Behold], / these five craftsmen shall shape and beautify [their] / coin, and it comes amongst mankind. It becomes a posse[ssion] [10] to be received and given.

This is also the case with the [wor]d, / as it is formed and embellished by five [member]s. / It comes forth and is heard by the ears [of] / others.

••• 108 •••

(261,14 – 262,9)

15 *Concerning the Seed Grain that shall be / formed by the Elements, [a]/nd also be destroyed by them. /*

The meaning of this chapter is not entirely clear. Perhaps the theme is that there is a cycle of growth and blight, and that one must inevitably lead to the other in this world of mixture. As the light elements are saved, so what is left must be increasingly stricken.

Once again [the] apostle, the builder of the church, spea[ks] to his disciples: / This seed grain and this barley grain 20 that you see shall be formed and [...] a/nd beautified by the five elements. [N]ow, the w[ar]mth / and the cold nourish the seed grain and the / entire [t]ree. So, just as these things nourish it [... / ...] it is destroyed [...] throu[g]h 25 [... / ...] hunger.

In this way also righteousness / [gathe]rs the five to it. So, it shall be chosen by the teachers / [and the ele]ct; and they gather it in and ornament i/[t ... and] it is well established 30 [...] Now, [ju]st as they that shall enlight/[en ...] In this way too, a (**262**) lack and a shortfall shall occur from place to place through / [t]hem; and they who have chosen it have gathered it in and beaut/[ified] and attained it, while an affliction shall arise for it th/[ro]ugh those.

People also shall be caused [to 5 st]umble on their account, through the energy of Matter / [that d]wells in them. It has poured / [its] shadow over them, just as it shall also pour its / [shado]w over the elements and destroy the fruits / [of] all the trees.

••• 109 •••

(262,10 - 264,19)

/ Concerning the Fifty Lord's Days; / to what Mysteries do they correspond? Or the / Second (Fifty)[*139]*; to whose Sign (are they)? /*

Mani is asked to explain the significance of the fifty fasts undertaken by the catechumens, that is once weekly on each lord's day; and also of a further fifty held by the elect. He engages in some rather convoluted calculations to reach these totals.

The first fifty correspond to the mystery of the First Man: five powers for each of his five sons or garments equals twenty-five limbs of the living soul. This divine son/s of the Man (note the deliberate Christological reference) has abstained from the food of life in a world of mixture. The doubling of the twenty-five seems (263.4 – 9?) to be calculated with reference to the ascent of the First Man; and then the ascent of the call and answer, which are the counsel of life or means of salvation for the soul.

The second fifty correspond to the mystery of Jesus as the second man: forty days fasting in the desert, seven days in the house of Simon the leper, and three in the tomb.

Once [again] a disciple stood up. He questions the apo[15]stl[e], saying to him: I beseech you, my m[a]/ster, t[o] recount to us about the fifty lord's days during wh/ich the catechumens fast. For what do they fast, or / for whose mystery do they fa[s]t? Or these seco[20]nd (fifty) that is set between the elect, / to whose mystery were they set [a]mongst them? Proclaim t[hi]s also to / [us] and persuade us about it, because [... / ...] you [...]

Then [he] say[s to] / his questioner and they with him: [25] Happen you know that [in eac]h one of these five garments that the [First] / Man summonsed there are five powers. / They shall be counted to the [... each] / other, these five, and five times [...] / their number. However, at the time [...] (**263**) the summons went down. The answer wis[h]/ed to ascend with it. And the summons with the obedien[ce constitute] twenty-five characteristics in their twenty-five limbs, [which] / are the sons of the Man. The summons and [the obed][5]ience were raised to the heights through them.

[*139] Smagina 1990:122 suggests that the term δευτέρα stands for Monday, i.e. the second day of the week upon which the elect fasted.

Just as their fa[ther] / the living Man raised himself up through them, by th[ese] / these other ones have set up all things a[bov]e / and below. Indeed, these are what are called p[ente]/cost, the fifty great days that are the [archetypes of [10] the] holy [d]ays. They fasted from their [foo]d, / [w]hich is their own. So, from that time until [the time] of / [the adv]ent of Jesus the Splendour, the glorious one who came [... / ... t]heir food which is the [...] of sou[l, w]hich is / the summons and the obedience [...] [15] that spiritual food. They rele[ased ...] / all these fifty days, which [...] this living food / suffices for all of them. It filled them all with power and rich/ness and life. Light [...] / this living food that [... [20] ...] became rich.

They ceased being fifty days. [They] have gone. / They became the one hundred holy days that are the fifty [d]ay/[s ...] fast [... / ...] that they have joined them wit[h them / ... [25] ... / ... / ...] these mysteries of these first fif[ty / ... these s]econd (fifty) also [in] which the elect / [fast] correspond to the sign of the fifty [... [30] ... the] sum[m]ons and the obedience set them in their (**264**) splendrous [places] at the coming of Jesus. Now, behold, these are the / [great] days of the fifty lord's days that I have revealed / [for the] catechumens.

Behold, these are the fifty da/[ys of] the second (group) that I have revealed for the elec[5][t ...] You enquire about these mysteries. They also occur in / [the teachin]gs of the sects. They have fifty days in which they / f[as]t. They call them penteco/[st, b]ecause the apostles themselves fasted for / t[hese fif]ty days, they revealed them to their disciples.

[10] Also, {Chr]ist himself revealed these fifty days to [them] / on [the d]ay, fasting on the mountain, at the time when the [de]/vi[l] tempted him*[140]. He spent another seven days g[oing i]/n [to] the house [of Simon] the leper*[141], together with the three other [days t]/hat he [spent] in the sepulchre among the dead*[142].

[15] Yet, [... in these f]ifty days. And I, I have b[estowed them] / on the entire church with these fifty days in which / the ca[te]chu-

*140 See Mt. 4:2
*141 See Mt. 26:6
*142 See Lk. 24:46

m[e]ns fast, after the myster/y of the First Man. And the other fifty, after the sign of / the s[ec]ond man who was revealed in the church.

••• 110 •••

(264,20 – 265,8)

/ Concerning the Nourishment of the Person, / for there are Powers in it [... / ...] /

The human body images the macrocosmos as a machine for purifying the light from the darkness. As food is absorbed and passes through the digestive system the light is cleansed and exhaled, while the material dregs and their powers are expelled.

[Once again] sp[ea]ks [... [25] ...] exis[t ...] / d[a]ily to the body of the person [...] / there are two hundred and fifty thousand seals in it [...] / there are ano[ther] two hundred and fifty thousand rule[rs ...] / they are cleansed and purified and enter [...] (**265**) by the voice, by the word, and by the [... / ...] quiet with the silence at the time when his heart [... / ...] of God the Father. Also, the twelve [... / ...] rulers that belong to the darkness shall be swept o[ut [5] ...] outside in wandering and in tran[s/mi]gration [... / ...] some of them [... through] this tr[ansmigra]/tion, and others among them shall be brought bac[k].

••• 111 •••

(265,9 – 266,2)

[10] *Concerning the Four Archetypes that occur / in the Eye, and the Fifth that is hidden / in them; to whom do they belong? /*

Too fragmentary to derive the overall sense.

[On]ce again he speaks: There are four a[s]pects among / mankind that perceive, as they perceive [... [15] with]out*[143] these four that are hidden in them [...] they belong [... / ...] So, [the ...]

*[143] Reading [χω]ρις

that is in the [... / ...] belongs to the fire. The darkness belongs to the ab[yss]; / but the light that perceives what is hidden in a[ll] these things, / being clear, is the living air.

[20] [Once] again he speaks: How shall the pupil of the eye [per]ce/[ive]? While [it percei]ves by day, yet come the nigh[t] it [shall not / perceive]. What myster[y] does this matter signify? / [Look], I am the one who will [explain to you what y]ou do not know [... / ...] the pupil of the eye shall not [... [25] ...] the mystery of the [... / ...] is the door [... / ...] below [... / ...] the other four cardinal points. F[o]r in the [... / ...] above. He has [... [30] ...] great [... / ...] they came do[wn ... / ...] living [... (**266**) the F]irst M[a]n came forth from it and kne[w] / all things.

••• 112 •••

(266,3 - 268,27)

/ The Human is less than all the Things [5] of the Universe, and he is rebellious beyond them all. /

This kephalaion seems to begin with a clear historical reminiscence. In the latter part there are two typical catechetical lists that appear to have been added to the text.

266.6 – 267.18 Mani stands in a dry river-bed and points to a great mountain, in order to illustrate his theme. The sense of his comments seems to be that if all of mankind (or perhaps all life forms?) were gathered together they would not equal in size this one mountain, and similarly they would be engulfed (?) in a single sea. And the earth has many mountains and seas existing in silence and peace. Nevertheless, it is humanity that blasphemes against God in all his power, saying that God is the one who created the demonic beings.

267.18 – 268.2 A disciple interprets this attack upon monotheism (correctly) as an assertion that humanity does not belong to God. He therefore asks why Jesus the son of God came into the world, and had to suffer torment and persecution. Mani replies that Jesus did not come to save mankind alone. He had various tasks in the divine plan, including a cosmological role (e.g. 94.1 – 11) and his revelation to Adam and Eve.

268.3 – 18 Jesus sent the apostles and revealed five great things.

268.19 – 27 The faithful shall live by three mighty things.

[F]urthermor]e, it happened one time as the apostle is travelling / [on the] road. He came across a great river marked deep in it[s / be]d. That river was dry. When he had le[apt o]/ut, he stood in its

midst and filled [his] eyes [10] [with its brea]dth and length and deep bed [... / ...] he lifted his eyes up and saw a great mo[untain] / beyond that river.

After he had stood / [in] that place in the midst of the river, he shook his [head]. / He [sa]ys: If one of all these five wo[rlds [15] of the f]lesh [...] today on the surfaces of the earth [... / ...] out from [...] which is deep. They will make it like / [...] and they set them in order [... / with o]ne another, one [wi]th one upon the earth. They all [... / ...] up to the heights against the elevation of this mountain [... [20] ... corresponding to] its height; they will neither come to breadth corresponding to / [its] breadth, nor to width corresponding to its width, [nor / to] depth corresponding to its depth.

Not only this, b[ut e/ach] one, all of them from their smallest to their g[reatest / ...] a single sea [... [25] ...] single [...] but [...] / that [s]ea and they are swallowed an[d ... / ...] is in it [... / ...] they are in [...] earth [... / ...] many [m]ountains [... [30] ...] sea in it, they [... / ...] are very [gre]at in their fa[shion ... / ... t]hey did not guard against him [... / ...] the silence and they [... (**267**) ...] blasphemed hi[m] not, neither against his l[i/gh]t that is displayed, no[r] do they utter {}*[144] blasphemies / [a]gainst his power that supports the totality, nor against the / [e]ssence that is displayed indicating the totality, [5] [nor] against the good works of righteousness. [They / re]count no cause of evil after Go/[d].

However, [the i]dol of ill-fated human[it]y [... / ...] the one that will be unlike anything, that is equal [... / ...] great works; and it was found evil [by] [10] God, the Lord of all. It even blasphemed again[st the] / power that supports the totality, against its hol[y] light; [and / it] profaned its glorious wisdom, bringing forth / the cause of every sin. They say that / every disgraceful wickedness and defilement, the rulers and the [15] demons and the fiends and the satans, they say that they have co/me from God, that he is the one who [es]tablished them [... / ...] they came not from him, and they give false testimony / about him.

Then, when he had recounted this, / at that instant one of his

*144 ⲉⲁⲣⲡⲥ̀

disciples speaks [20] to him from amongst these who are standing before him: T[e]ll / [u]s, our master, and instruct us about this lesso[n]. /

Now, [i]f this idol of humanity does not belong [t]o / God, according to what you have said about it, why did Jesus come to / [the] world, the son of the Living God? He has been reve[al[25]e]d therein! He suffered tribulation and persecution. They hung h/[im] on the cross, and his enemies perpetrated against him the tor/[ment] and shame of their evil-doing. /

[The ap]ostle [says] to him: Jesus did not come and s[a/ve the] world because of mankind alone, but [30] [... he] came and revealed on earth / [...] was strong outside in / [...] And [whe]n he had finished doing his (**268**) [t]ask outside [i]n the great u[ni]verse, he came [... / he wen]t further with Adam and Eve and revealed [to them]. / Even so, he sent the apostles to the good, / [g]eneration by generation, and revealed to them five great thin[gs].

[5] [Firs]t: He told them that they belong to the race of ligh[t. /

Se]cond: He unveiled to them about the aeons [of the gre/atness], how they occur; and he taught them about [the / manner of] the darkness, how it t[o]o exists. /

[The th]ird time: He proclaimed to them about the [l]ight great-[ness], [10] how it has been active against the pow[er / of] darkness and conquered it. /

Fourth: He taught them that he came to the province of death [... / ...] that is flesh, until he should find profit and bring / them from the gate of the underworld below, for [they had] been swa[ll][15]owed into it.

Fifth: He explained to us / that the rebels shall be bound in a great fetter, they who / shall [r]ebel against the g[o]od and against the righteousness t/hat is proclaimed by the apostle. /

Once [again] the apostle speaks: All the faithful who believe [20] this tr[u]th shall live by three great mighty things. /

The first: They have been counted to the race of faith and truth, this / living one that enlightens.

The second: They have received the right hand and / the peace that came to them from above. They have believed the [a]/postle who has been manifested.

The third: They a[ct] [25] with restraint and charity to the Cross of Light, which g[rie]/ves in the totality, being present in what is visible and what is / not vis[ib]le.

••• 113 •••

(268,27 – 269,13)

/ The Chapter on whether any [Lig]/ht comes from the Three Vessels.

Mani taught that the universe was layered, with eight earths and ten heavens, and carefully constructed for the purification of the light. The term 'vessel (ⲙⲁⲛⲍⲓⲟⲣⲉ)' is variously used in this complex cosmology. However, the reference to such surrounding the universe would seem to indicate the three vessels of water and darkness and fire that the Living Spirit first poured down from the heavens, and that he then swept out to ditches prepared for them at the edge of the universe. See chapters 42 – 45, especially 112.20 – 24. In any case, this kephalaion explains the mechanism by which light may be further refined, even from these vessels.

[30] Once again the disciples questioned our enlightener. They say: [Preac]/h about this bit of life and light that comes from [these three] / vessels that surround the universe [...] / life comes up [...] /

The apostle s[a]ys to them: [... (**269**) ...] b[u]t should the [...] ascend [... / ...] light of the rays that [...] which are received, which shine a[n/d] go in through these great open gates, through these doo[rs] / firmament by firmament. For four [gates [5] o]pen in each world, distributed at the four points of the comp[ass, / op]ening downwards to the vessels. So, due to this, the [light / of the] rays shall go in through these openings and it shines on [that] pla[ce], / and pulls through them the light and the little pi[llar (?) / that ex]ists there. From that place [it] shall be poured [out [10] to the] firmaments. It shall also be clarified in these firmaments [... / ...] a part there is cleansed and it is [all] taken u[p wi/t]h the living ones. However, its other part [...] shall all [be cast] d/[o]wn.

••• 114 •••

(269,14 – 270,24)

15 *Concerning the Three Images that / are in the righteous Person. /*

The elect have three 'images (εἰκών)' in them: the corporeal; the psychic; and the spiritual, which is the new man formed by the Light Mind. The living soul that enters the elect through food is cleansed as it rises up through these three, being stripped of all the corporeal and then the psychic accretions brought by mixture. In the spiritual image the light virgin perfects it.

This latter term is used variously in Manichaean texts. Here she is described as a guide, just as is the eschatological Light Form who comes to greet the departing soul with her three angels carrying the victory prizes. However, in this context she represents the perfection of the elect soul. Essentially the virgin is the manifestation of the soul in all her chastity and power.

Once again our enlightener speaks to his disciples: Thr/[ee] images occur in the elect person. /

[The fi]rst is the [s]piritual image, which is the new man, wh20ich the Light Mind shall form in him; and it goes [i]n / to him and dwells in him.

The second image is [the] rem/nant and remainder of the new man, which is the py[ch]ic image / that is bound in the flesh, as the old man [... si]nce the / times of this psychic image.

The other one is the [corp]oreal image 25 [that is] added to them all.

These three images / [...] entirely. When it will [... / ...] through the nourishment of food. If it shall sink [... / ...] down to the corporeal image. [And] the corporeal, / [that] is in it, shall divest itself of it and place it in the [...] image. 30 [...] again it rises up and falls to the [...] image; / it [sh]all divest itself of the psychical of the enemies, which [... / ...] anger. The lust [... / ... / ...] with it.

Then sh[all] a [light] vir35[gin come and] reveal [the] spiritual image (**270**) that is [there], which [is] the n[ew m]an. / T[h]at virgin acts as a guide. [She g]/oes on before and it is extended to

the heights abo[ve, / and] received in to this spiritual image. And she scu[lpt[5]s] it and adorns it with the new man [wi]t/[hi]n. It is sealed with all the limbs of this light vir/[gin] who is present and dwells in the new man. /

So, this is [h]ow this living limb shall be [puri/fied] and live, the one that comes in to the body of [10] [the ri]ghteous one from without through the administration of food of various ki/[nds], like this. The living soul shall be clea/n[sed] entirely every [d]ay and traverse these three [im]/a[ges]*[145].

So, it shall divest itself of the body, which is not its own, / in the corporeal. It shall also divest itself of the souls [15] that are not its own, these that are mixed with it in the psychical [... / ...] anger and desire and [...]-ness / and foolishness and envy and strife; and these other / wicked teachings that are not its own.

However, in [the] / spiritual image itsel[f] it shall live and be joined with [lo][20]ng-sufferingness, the perfection of faith and love / that reigns over them all. It is the virgin of / light who robes the new man and who shall be cal[l]/ed 'the hour of life'. S[he] is the f[irst], / but s[h]e is also the last.

••• 115 •••

(27●,25 – 28●,19)

/ The Catechumen asks / the Apostle: will Rest / come about for Someone who has come out of the Body, i/f the Saints pray [over] [30] and make an Alms-offering [for him]? /

In this extensive chapter the question concerns the effectiveness of prayer for the dead; and how to reconcile such intercession with the doctrine of retribution for one's sins (the familiar theme of grace versus deeds). Whilst this second problem is not clearly answered in the readable portions of the text, the chapter is of particular interest for evidencing (albeit only implicitly) Manichaean practices as regarding the dead; and the role of the elect or the saints within believing communities.

270.31 – 271.12 Framing sequence and statement of the catechumen's question.

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*145 Reading ⲛ[ⲉⲓ]/ⲕ[ⲱⲛ]

271.13 – 26 Mani replies that supplications made by the elect in faith will be granted; for such petitions have been made by the gods since the beginning, and the right has been passed on to the church.

271.26 – 273.9 Mani explains the archetypal supplication whereby the Mother of Life besought the Father for a helper, on behalf of the First Man; and was granted the Living Spirit that saved him from the abyss.

273.9 – 14 Reiteration: the saints will similarly be granted their prayers.

273.15 – 20 Mani begins to recount a second archetypal episode with a brief description of the constituent parts of the universe.

273.20 – 274.21 The great gods of the first and second emanations beseech the Father for a leader to undertake the process of salvation, the mechanisms for which they have put in place. They are granted the Third Ambassador.

274.22 – 29 Reiteration: the faithful elect and catechumens will similarly be granted their requests

274.30 – 277.3 (and see 274.16 – 19) Highly fragmented account of a third supplication regarding the liberation of the living soul; and perhaps further episodes concerning Jesus Splendour et al.

277.4 – 278.23 List of four victories achieved by prayer for the dead; with reiteration. Here perhaps might also be found Mani's answer concerning the problem of retribution for past sins.

278.23 – 280.1 Analogy of the process of intercession, and explanation.

280.1 – 19 Mani charges the catechumens with their mission, and receives the thanks of his original questioner (framing sequence).

Once again, it happened one time wh[ile our enlightener is sitting] / in the midst of the co[ngreg]ation. A cate[chu]me[n ...] / stood u[p] in front of him and sp[oke, questioni(**271**)ng] him. He says to hi[m: I be]seech you, my master, [that you / may] recount to me of this lesson; if I ask you it! [About / the] entreaty that the person makes in his pr[ayer, / if he] beseeches charity for someone who has been released from h[is [5] bo]dy.

Tell me: The entreaty and the prayer by which / [the] saints pray, beseeching for [someone; do they / h]elp him any? How is it benef[icial] for him; or el[se does it / he]lp him not? For we have heard from you [just so, th]at / each one shall receive retribution according to his deeds.

[10] So [n]ow, I beseech you my master, that you may instr[uc]t me / about this lesson for which I have asked you; whether [it is] tru[e]? / [F]or it is very great and honoured amongst pe[opl]e. /

[Then] the apostle speaks to him: As to the qu[esti]on / for [which] you ask me, the entreaty occurs and the true pra[yer] [15]

occurs! For every elect [Manich]aean*[146] person, / [if he] beseeches charity in total faith, he is [claimi]ng a / [re]quest from our compassionate Father. So, if he is beseec[hing] over him/[sel]f alone, he shall be favoured his entreaty; [bu]t i[f] again he is / [be]seeching on behalf of someone else, he shall be granted [hi]s r[20][eq]uest.

For this entreaty has been since the beginning [... / ...] the gods first made entreaty of their Father. They were granted / their entreaty and their request. For its part, the [h]oly church / that assumes the flesh is established in [pray/er, and] entreaty above [a]ll, and the pure request [...] [25] him and the son, the Christ. They shall give him it, na/[mely] these first ones that are prior to him.

I will inst/[ruct y]ou how it is that they shall / [beseech] their entreaty from the first ones; or in what form / [they shall en]treat [their req]uest, they who have asked for it [30] [...] every thing. The Great Spirit, the Mother / [of Life, she claimed and pra]yed and besought and glorified and praised (**272**) the first established on[e; who] is the Father. She [beso/ught] him an entreaty. She claimed of him a request. [She / received] a great gift; she and the many powers / [wi]th her.

She besought an entreaty on behalf of the First Man, [bec[5]ause of h]ow he had come forth and thrown himself dow[n. / He became] distant from the Mother of Life. He separated from her and g[ave / him]self; in great affliction. He joined war on [earth / with] the destruction and the grief and the weakness; in the worlds [of / dark]ness; in the abysses made of fear; in the midst [10] of the demons' d[i]t[ch]; amongst the powers of the dev[il]! /

Indeed, h[e is l]ike a king standing in the mids[t of] / h[is] enemies. And when the Mother of Life petitioned and prayed and [gl]/or[ified] and praised the Father, the [f]/irst established one, she did petition him that he might send [15] a po[wer]; a protector and redeemer and helper for the s/on of God who is set in affliction.

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*[146] The reconstruction in the ed. princ. of ⲙ[ⲙⲛ̄ⲭ]ⲁⲓⲟⲥ should be treated with caution. This form of self-designation does not occur elsewhere in the

No[w], just as / [she] had [beso]ught and interceded, so likewise was her pray[er] / fulfilled and received in to the presence of the Father of Gre[at]/n[ess]. He turned and gave to her her entreaty: the great [power], 20 the Living Spirit, the giver of ease. The Mother of Life and the Living Spirit came with / gr[ea]t power to the [bo]/rders of the territory. They brought the First Man up fro[m] / that war and struggle, wherein he is se[t]. /

He gave himself as a grace for the Mo[th]er of Life. [He] 25 became estranged and far from her, the one whom his enemi[es] (place) / in great affliction, the one who is in the land of [darkness] / since he [became] weak.

The Living Spirit gr[asp]ed and t[ook him i]/n. He freed him. He set him r[ight and gave] / him [e]ase in the land of res[t ...] 30 the Living Spirit, the first giver of e[ase ...] / the will of these three. The w[el]comer [...] / find with the welcomer that [...

(**273**) ...] a great power [...] of the loved one [...] / the First Man who had been f[a]r away. He had become dista[nt]. / She [had] besought on his behalf. He was set fast in affliction. (The Living Spirit) [went] / to the place of destruction and weakness, the one that freed 5 and redeemed him and gave him ease from the affliction. He se[t him] / right with rest and joy. He has himself become rested, [wi]/th him for ever.

See [no]w, I have taught you [the fi]/rst entreaty that the Mother of Life besought by [her] / prayer. They granted her her entreaty.

Thi[s] also is the case [with the prayer] 10 that the faithful saints [... o]/ver the one who has been released from his body. They shall be granted their / entreaty just as the Mother of Life was given the entreaty th[at sh]e / besought on behalf of the First Man. She was given the First Man / by the entreaty for which she besought the Father.

15 [...] a/nd they built the universe and completed it with its firmaments, / with its wheels, with the ships of light that are in the heights, / with its fastenings, with its earths and its walls, with its / vessels. They completed the universe and set it right 20 by the fathers of light.

Then, the Great / Spirit stood with the Beloved of the Lights, the Great / Builder with the Living Spirit and the First Man. These / five stood to prayer; they glorified and praised the Father, / the first established one. They besought of him an entreaty. They [25] [clai]med of him a request, that he might give them the power / [...] the leader, a guide to all the things / [of] activity that they had constructed. That he might come and purify / [the] living [so]ul that is set in affliction. /

[They prayed and be]sought their Father, and he received from them their pr[30][ayer ...] he gave them their entreaty and their re/[quest ...] he summoned from him / [...] which is the Third / [Ambassador. H]e, he came from the power of his (**274**) [g]reatness. He saw the entire [soul], how it is entangled [in / a] chain and set fast. [It] sees the things of ac[t]/ivity that his brothers have constructed, that have come from [the hei/ghts]. Again, he saw the living soul, that it is entangled and set [fa[5]st] in a great torture. It is oppressed in the stink of the abys/[s that] is joined with it.

And therefore, he, the Ambassa[dor / ...] in his charity. [S]o, he revealed his way, / before this underworld that is dug deep down, / [to f]ree the living soul. He redeemed it from all the fleshes [10] of death wherein it is pained. He gave it ease. / H[e] set it right in the place of rest and joy.

And / again, he too, the Ambassador, he fulfilled the will / of these three; the will of his brothers who had besought / the Father for him. They claimed of him a request, together with [15] the [...] of the Father, the one that [...] he gave the entrea[ty / that they had besought] of him.

The third is the transferral / of the living [soul] that he had fre[ed]. He released it and / gave it ease from the affliction. He became king and first to / the entire b[o]dy.

Behold, I have instructed you as to [20] the second entreaty by which they [first] besought the Father. / They were given the Third Ambassador. /

Now, happen you know this lesson: Each perfect elect / and every catechumen who believes, being / in the truth and set firm to prayer in faith, if he bese[25]eches and [inter]cedes with faith,

[wheth]er indeed for himself [or] / else for another who has been freed from his [bo]/dy; his entr[eaty] and his request [that he ask]/ed for shall [be] granted for him. Just as the entreaty of his fathers was granted [...] / they who besought the Father for the Ambassador.

30 Again, let us come to the third entreaty wh[en they besought h]/im the third time [...] / display[ed] his image [...] / he hid his image from the [... (**275**) ...] he stood firm [... / ...] they revea[led ... / ... / ...] the light [... 5 ... the F]irst Man [... / ...] mock [...] to him in [... / ...] which is exalted [... / ...] garment [...] they were fr[e/e]d [... 10 ... / ... / ...] to him [... / ...] their voice [...] the bod[y ... / ... p]rayer [... 15 ...] it [...] beseech [...] the bo[dy ... / ... / ... / ...] beseech [... / ...] she besought [...] in [... 20 ...] be free [... / ... / ... / ...] Ambass[ador ... 27 ...] and also [...] (**276**) with the living ones and [... fo]r ever [... / ...] the firs[t ...] from the [... / ...] he gave him the hope [...] /

Also, [Jes]us the Splendour perfec[ted] the will [... 5 ...] the will [... / ...] they found the li[gh]t [...] the wil[l] of the [... / ...] that he had [...] he gave them the power [th]at / is Jesus the Splendour. H[e granted] the will of the elements. / [... 10 ... / ...] for ever. This first [... / ...] he was humbled, he was made free [...] / the [...]-ness is displayed [to] his enemies. He received the hope [... / re]veal [...] Jesus the Splendour, the light power [... 15 ...] and [the] entreaty of the [...] of lig[ht ... / ...]

Now, just as this entreaty [... / ... / ...] the fig[ure ... / ...] that they have [... this] is also how [... 20 ...] the figure of [...] you are set fir[m ... / ...] Happen you know this: Every one [... / ... k]nows, he has perceived [... / ...] all the things [... / ... 25 ...] out from [... / ...] within him [... 29 ...] upon him [... (**277**) ...] will fre[e] him, [an]d they give him ease [... / ...] in it, and they [give h]im rest and [... / ...] and the petition of the hol[y] church. /

[Happen] you k[no]w: That per[son] who enacted the 5 [alm]s and the remembrance for the person who had come ou[t from the b]o/[dy]; he made this peace. He besought an entreaty [...] / his four great victories th[erein].

The first: [... / ...] of the living soul that is entangled and bound

i[n the] entire [uni]/verse. For it shall be freed and clea[nsed] [10] and purifi[ed] and redeemed by cause of him.

The seco[nd]: / He shall make rest for the holy church, b[y the al]/ms that he enacts for the person who has been fr[eed] / from his body. The [...] children of the [chu]r/ch rest upon it. The [...] that living [so]ul, [15] the one that was [...] in the [ho]pe / [...] it shall surpass and be purified [...]

The th/[i]rd victory is [... / ...] the Father [... / ...

The fourth (?) ... [20] ...] who had come out from his body, they [...] him, as he had [...] / alms on his behalf and a remembrance for his br[other; / whether] his father or his mother or his s[o]n / [o]r else [his] daughter or his relative [who / sha]ll come out from his body. He has made alms for [his [25] ... f]rom him. He did not lack his ho[pe / ...] but he enacted for him a remembrance [... / ...] of the church.

The catechumen [... / ...] this alms for a person if he has come out [fr]om / [his body]; as his limb [...] these four [... [30] ... / ...] the sins from the one who has [... / ... / ... (**278**) ... / ...] a brother [...] a relativ[e ... / ...] sick [...] his [... / ...] sin [... [5] ...] from the affliction [... / ...] the way [...] catechumen [... / ...] in his [...] /

So, [...] reward for it [...] the other five [... / ...] he did not remember [...] the catechumen [... [10] ...] He redeemed the living [person] who is entangled [... / ...] entirely. He has [...] his father, the first [... / ...] he made redemption for the s[oul / ...] that he had fre[ed / ...] the light has pity [15] [...] the way als[o ...] a request [...] Cross [... / ... a]ffliction. Again, just as he has [... / ...] of the light [... / ...] give ea[s]e for his [... / ...] grant the entreaty and the re[quest [20] of] this catechumen. He besought for the soul / [...] him, that had come forth from the world. They shall make [... / ... e]ase. It shall be freed from affliction and come forth [... / ...] for ever.

D[u]e to this whole matter [... / ...] like a person [...] a relative [25] [...] if he had sinned he was hung and bound [... / ...] he did it. Afterwards, a comrade [... / ...] or his father or his brother rises and goes [... / ...] for he who was bound a promi[se ... / ...] it shall be determined [... [30] the mast]er whom he had bound [... / ...] before [the chi]e[f ... / ... (**279**) ...] and he petitions [...]

(Mani) says: You have [asked me / about the s]in of his relat[iv]e who is boun[d ... / ...] and the intercession that his [kin/sma]n shall make there before this per[son], [5] who had bound him, [for these other] masters.

Now, by cause of the [re/l]ative of this bound person who beseeches / [that] they might free him, and with the help of they whom he pe[titi]oned / to give something so as to aid either h[e o]r / these others; this person shall fill these other master[s] [10] with charity. And he frees his kinsma[n a]nd achi/eves for him rest.

Again, this too is what / the matter of this person is like, the one who was f[r]ee[d] / from his body. Afterwards a male / and or female catechumen, or a household member of his, [expresses] his [15] love towards him. And he performs a remembrance in the church / on his behalf; and the saints beseech for him a [s]in-entreaty / through the entreaty and the remembrance that they shall perform [on] his behalf / in the holy church. They shall release that soul / and it comes forth from this affliction to ease.

Indeed, this living soul [20] that was freed by cause of this other soul; it / [t]oo, that living soul, it shall be redeemed in the name / [of] that person. It is redeemed*[147] and purified and at[tains] / its first essence. Also, it shall become h[is co-]/helper and beseeches for the soul of the one who has been freed [25] [from h]is body. He shall petition charity for it and forgiveness / [of sins] from the powers of light.

Just as eas/[e has come about] for the living soul by cause of this soul, / [this is how] this soul [sha]ll find ease and escape / [tha]t [body]. It goes in to the land of [30] [light ...] soul that was redeemed because of it / [...] comes about for it; and it (**280**) [goes] to the land of [li]fe and rest [...] /

[Then] speaks the apostl[e to t]hat catechu[men]: / I, I have entrusted you al[l; these cat]e/[chu]mens of the faith. For, so long [5] [...] make alms-offerings and remembrances and [... / for these] souls that have come out from their body [... / ...] So long as they are set fast in distress becaus[e / ...] of the alms that you give him, and the cup of wat[er / ...] the saints by it. [What] you are doing

*147 Perhaps read ⲥⲱⲧϥ 'cleansed'.

[is] a great good [10] for this living soul that is set / [...] in transmigration [... / ...] you will perform for it a remembrance as you redeem / i[t] from thousands of afflictions and ten thousands of transmigr/ati[on]s; and you bring it to this brother.

Then, when [15] that catechumen heard these things he prai/sed [and] made obeisance and glorified. He says to him: I am grate/-ful to you my master, with great confessions. For / you, [you have] (opened)*[148] for us every thing. You have instructed us / entirely; with your [wisdom].

••• 116 •••

(280,20 – 282,6)

/ Concerning why if a [Nail] is cut / the Person shall not be sick; but if a Limb is c/ut he shall immediately be pained. /

Mani compares the different responses of parts of the body to the growth patterns of tree varieties.

Once again one of the disciples questioned the apostle. He s[a][25]ys to him: Tell me, my master, why / when limbs are cut from the body / of the person he shall be pained? While if the hair / on the head of the person's body should be shaved, and [the nai/ls o]f his hands and feet be cut, he does not notice it [...] [30] Some of these even now shall grow an[d ...] / again. Just as the na[ils*[149] ...] / so the hair shall grow and [...] / cut a finger, he in [...] / on the limbs of the [bod]y that you [... (**281**) ...] him [...] since this time to the [... / ...] the body ag[a]in.

So, [I besee/ch you], my maste[r], that you might instruct me of the m[atter] / for [which I have ask]ed you.

Then the a[po[5]stle] speaks to him: I am the one who will instruct you [about the / less]on for which you have asked me! Happen you know th[at / the] body is like the earth, wh[ile these] limbs als[o ... / ...] of it are like the trees. There are varieties [...] / of tree

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*[148] ⲡⲱⲣⲡ
*[149] Reading ⲛⲓⲉ[ⲉⲃⲉ]

you shall find growing on the earth. They ar[is]e [10] and grow again and stand firm. They have not [... / ...] Again, there are others that if they are cut shall not [grow / ... / ...] and they grow, as they are li[ke / ...] which shall be cut and grow [...] and [15] [...] they too that occur [...] / they shall be cut and not grow, resembling [... / ... neither] grow nor shall they [... [23] ...] it [sh]all please him on [...] and grows [... / ...] in impurity [... [25] ... / ... / ...] from him. This flesh that is corrupt / [... (**282**) ... / ...] in the liv[in]g flesh and they [... / ...] are somewhat sick.

Behold, [I have tau/ght you] about this lesson for which you have asked me [... the] [5] disciple heard this homily [... / ...] he sat down.

••• 117 •••

(282, 7 – ?)

/ Concerning why Some shall delay to come / forth from the Body, and Oth[10] *ers die in an instant. /*

The fragmentary kephalaion may have continued on to the next leaf, 283, of which virtually nothing survives. Since it is impossible to tell where chapter 117 finished, the few legible words from that leaf are transcribed under the next chapter heading.

Onc[e] again the disciples questioned the apostle, say[ing] / to [him]: We beseech you, our master, th[at you might] / instruct us about these people who shall [... / ...] and their soul is released from [their body ... [15] ...] if he shall fall upon [...] /

The [sec]ond*[150] [...] if he shall fall [... / ...] one [... / ...] one hour [... / ...] [20] others who shall [... / ...] and they remain. They shall delay until they [... / ...] he is freed, and they delay to come toward [... / ...]

So, now, we bes[eech / you, our mast]er, that you might [...] and say [... [25] ...] which names shall be freed, as they [... / ...] release them.

Then he says to the [... / ... the] matter that [...]

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*150 Reading ⲡⲙⲁϩ[ⲥⲛⲧⲉ]

••• 118 •••

(283 – 284)

[...]

The mostly destroyed leaves 283-284 perhaps contained the end of chapter 117, certainly the whole of chapter 118, and the beginning of chapter 119. Only a few words may be read, and no overall sense of the contents is achievable.

(**283**) [... [10] ...] upon [... / ... / ...] from [... / ...] thus [... (**284**) ... [5] ... a]ll of them [... [11] ...] that they shall [... [14] ...] seven people [... [15] ...] Again, he too, this per[son ...] the time when [... / ...] of the light [... [19] ...] the universe [... [20] ...] is revealed [... / ...] take to the light [... / ... utt]erly, the way that he exists [... [25] ...] from [... / ...] these other three [...]

••• 119 •••

(284,? – 286,23)

[...]

Mani describes the First Man in distinctly Christological terms as the only begotten and first righteous one, who was approved and sent forth against the enemy. The point of the lesson or sermon is that the disciples should model themselves after the steadfastness of the son of God, to whom they belong.

(**285**) [...] and the [righte]o[usness ...] is more than [the / ...] the voice through them.

The a[postle] speaks / [to] them about these four [... / ...] people; because they had recounted to him from [the hour] [5] and time.

This one, whom they called 'approved' [... / ...] they approved him in the midst of the ae[ons of] / light. These numerous multitudes set him a[part], / and he came forth against the enemy. They gave this name [... / ...] this matter [... [10] ...] who are

numerous, that are in the aeons of light and who [are without]*151 / measure or number.

This one, [whom they called] / 'righteous', because he is the first righteous one who / had no sin amongst all of the aeons that belong to the light / and the thought [... 15 ...] they knew him, so that [... becau]/se he is the first catechumen [wh]o obe/yed his Father, who had sent him with five sons [...] / perdition.

This one also [whom they called] / 'only begotten', because he was established [...] 20 pour [...] enemy.

So now, I / tell you, my brothers and my limbs, that these / [whom] they have called 'approved', they [... / ...] after the likeness of the First Man; they called [... / ...] to yo[u ... 25 ...] two in ten thousand after the likeness of the First Man [... / ...] 'righteous' after the likeness of the First / [M]an. For, just as he was without sin among the [... / ...] Man. He gave victo[ry] to them [... / ...] you and they who are unyield[ing 30 ...] are without sin among the souls of the / [...] to them the word of life, that / [...] hope of life. They are establishe[d / ...] in love and friendship [... (**286**) ... cate]chumen [...] the cate[chume/ns ... / ...] the rebel[s]. / Again, just as the only begotten ones from your [onl5y] begotten race and you [...] according to flesh [... / ... o]nly begotten also from gold and silver and / all the [...] of the universe.

Just as your father, [the / F]irst Man, himself stood firm in the / [midst] of all the worlds of darkness. He did not love [the] 10 worlds of darkness, nor did he lust for them! Rather, / h[is] thought and love for the household of his people is / in h[i]m. Anything else that the enemy [...] with his / violent de[e]ds. Behold, (the First Man) toils and struggles; so that (the enemy) would be separat/e [from] them and be cast out from them. And he purifies them and ma[ke]s them 15 f[r]ee, and makes them as they were from the beginning. /

You too, so long as you stand firm in this / bo[dy ...] and all its lusts after the likeness of yo/ur [liv]ing father [...] the worlds of darkness. /

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*151 Reading ⲛⲉ[ⲧⲟ ⲛⲁⲧ]/ⲱⲓ Cf 153.26

[...] may they discover the remembrance of the household of his [20] peo[ple], as he remains in this [place ni]ght and day. /

When his disciples heard these lesso[ns], they rejoiced and gave [g]/lory. They praised their father and made obeisance to their teacher. H[e] / sat down and they rejoiced and were glad and [...]

••• 120 •••

(286,24 – 288,18)

[25] *Concerning the Two Essences.* /

In this chapter Mani makes a forceful attack upon monotheism. The initial context is unclear, but possibly he is preaching directly to Christians. If there was nothing apart from God at the beginning, then where did all the evils in the world come from? He scornfully asks his listeners why they reject evil deeds, surely they should perform them if everything comes from God! Indeed, by not doing so they are committing the double crime against their God of rejecting his deeds, and then forgiving the sins of those who fall into them.

Alternatively, if evil did not come from God, the Manichaean position, his listeners have lied against God who will judge them. Mani asserts that Jesus, like all the true apostles, taught dualism. Here Mani develops the favourite proof-text about the good and evil trees, in its five-fold version (see 30.20 48.14 – 19 and kephalaion 2). He ends by warning that at the last judgement his listeners will receive their condemnation.

Once again, when our father looked, he saw a [...] / person [...] before him. [He] says [... the] / two essences that are present at the beginning [...] the [lig]/ht and the darkness, that which is good and that which is evi[l, life and] [30] death.

You, however, the creatures of the [... / i]s a single essence that exist[s ...] / every thing, [from] which everything came abou[t ... / ...] it, the evil and the [... (**287**) ...] God. Now, therefore, if the [... / ...] among you that only one essence exist[s ... / ... a]nd they say that there is nothing else [apart / from] God.

So, tell me that lying, fal[se] [5] testimony, slander and accusation, sorceries [for] / sake of adultery, theft, the worshipping of id[ols], / robbery, the consuming fire, [...] {}*[152] that i[s / i]n the body of a

*152 TCJT

person like a moth, the lustful[ness] / and fornication in which people revel, the [... 10 ...] struggling with his breath as he shall not be quiet a si[ngl]e hour, / the insatiability of Mammon that the pers[on] shall [...] / as he shall not be satisfied for his lifetime, all these idola[tries], / the evil spirits that are like the night [... / ...] what they are or who cast them in the heart of peop[l]e so 15 [that] they both would die by them, and be tortured / [on their] account.

If they came about from [the] G/[od o]f truth*153, then why do you annul [... / ...] them not. If they are his, you do them! [...] / will receive two woes: one, that you did not do them; the other [...] woe 20 [...] received it, because you annul them and [... / ...] them. You forgive their sins upon the [... / ...]

For if God has hi[mself] created them, / the one who does them [h]as [no] sin therein! If they did not come / [about] from him, nor did he command them to be d[on]e, 25 [y]ou are the one who will speak a lie against God, saying / [that] all [these e]vil things come about from him [... / ... f]rom him, and you may bring two woes to the place. / [...] God (brings) a judgement against you, for while it / [...] through his beloved son in the 30 [manner of] all [the apos]tles, he proclaimed l[ik]e ess/[ence ...] do these evil things, he set a [... / ...] saying that these evil things are / [...] which is the wicked (**288**) [...] for in this way [... / the] bitter trees that give not fruit [... / ...] the hard earth.

Once again he says: [... / ...] the father plants it, they will [... 5 ... / be]loved [...] every fruit that is o/[n these] five tre[es ...] he and his belov[ed] son / [and hi]s holy spirit and the entire kingdom of they that [... / ...] they say th[at] 10 all the [wic]kednesses are his. They come about from / him. He is the one who established them because of this [... / ...] to separate the good from the darkness. / You will [be c]on[de]mned by this in the presence of God with a great [...]*154 / an[d be]fore his beloved son and his h[oly] spirit 15 at the last [da]y, at his advent.

You shall [come f]/rom your body and see these things that I have recou[nted to] / you; that they occur in truth before the Jud[ge] / of truth, the one who shall not favour anyone.

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*153 Read [ⲡ]ⲛⲟⲩ [ⲧⲉ ⲛ]ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ

*154 Perhaps read ϩⲉⲡ 'judgement'.

••• 121 •••

(288,19 – 290,28)

20 *Concerning the Sect of the Basket. /*

The interpretation of this chapter must remain speculative whilst the import of the crucial term ⲛⲟⲃⲉ ('basket'?), which is the description of the sect under discussion, remains unclear. From the context it may very tentatively be suggested that these were a sect of fruitarians, and that the basket (if this indeed is the meaning of the word) implies something like 'pickings' or even 'windfall'.

This could explain Mani's analogy about the universe, which leads on to the cosmological details in the latter and very fragmentary part of the kephalaion. Otherwise the relevance to the earlier discussion is uncertain.

Onc[e] again, on one of the occasions, as our enlightener is si[tting / ...] in the midst of the land of Babylon, a m[an came] / before him, a presbyter belonging to the [sect]*155 / of the basket. He is a worshipper of idols. He [... 25 ...] of the apostle. This presbyter [...] / who belongs to the sect of the basket.

Why [do they call / it] the sect of the 'basket'? For I see the [...] / when it hangs from the tree, they shall not [... / ... w]hen it will be picked in the [... 30 ...] they shall call it [...] in these ways [...] grapes [...] / grapes. It shall not be called [...] / will pick from the vine [... (**289**) ...] the basket [... / ...] their apples in various ways [... / ...] on their tree and they put them in the basket [... / ...] immediately [...]

The ap[ost]5le speaks to the presbyter of the sect of the basket: So, [the un/i]verse in which you stand i[s l/i]ke a tree; while you are [li]ke the frui[t that h/a]ngs from the tree. Now, if you [your]-self had been plucked from the univers[e] / with the basket, then well could you call yoursel[f] 10 the son of the basket! However, if up till n[ow] you are entangled in / the universe; how then do you call yourself the so[n of] the bas/ket, b[e]fore you are plucked from the universe like [a] fr/uit? For as long as it hangs from the tree, it shall not be call[ed] / 'alms'. And you too, as long as you

*155 Reading ϵϥⲏⲡ ⲁⲛ [ⲁⲟⲥⲙⲁ]

are entangled in [the] uni[15][verse] you [shall not be] w[ell] called the son of the [ba]sket. /

He raised his hand to his disciples: B[less]ed / [...] the children of the basket on account of their alms-giving, the ones that [...] / from the universe. He has released them and they [... / po]sses-sions*[156] from the houses, from the gold and silver, from [20] [...] and in [...] they shall be placed in the basket, w[h]ich / [is] the holy c[h]urch!

Then he says to him / [... / ... /...] The[n [25] ... / ... / ...] and the great [... / ...] and the great Mind that is [... / ...] this Youth that is with the [... [30] ...] thirty-six angels [... / ...] twenty-two angels [... / ...] but [...] of the twenty-two [... (**290**) ...] the seven pillars that stan[d ... / ...] the sea that surrounds the universe [... / ... f]our angels that are distributed to the [... the / un]iverse, supporting the mightiness [... [5] ...] below, which is the earth of al[l] the heavens / [...] these other five gods, the sons of the Man, they that [...] / the [un]iverse is stood firm [...] the summons / [and the] obedience [...] the splendour of the [... / ...] holy [ch]urch and the Adamant of Ligh[t [10] ...] they are become en/emie[s ...] they guide it.

The third also, [... / ...] below, there are twelve powers stan[ding f]/ir[m] there. However, the number of the twelve images [...] / the three great pillars of mightiness that [...] [15] pi[ll]ars supporting the disk [...] the other thr[ee / ...] they are the garments that the [Li]ving Spirit / [...] he put them at that time [... / ...] that threw them, together with [... / ...] which is displayed therein [...] this [... [20] ...] perfect before [... / ...] great Porter [... / ...] in his power [... / ... / ...] these are the three great [... [25] ...] against [... a]/re in the midst of people [... / ...] knows [... / ...] entrusts his soul to them [...]

*[156] Reading [ⲛⲭ]ⲣⲏⲙⲁ

••• 122 •••

(290,29 – 295,8)

[30] *Concerning the 'Assent' and the 'Amen'. /*

The edited and published text of the *Kephalaia* currently ends in the midst of this chapter at page 291 (Böhlig 1966); although page 292 has been made available in an article that discusses the liturgical context (ibid 1985). However, W. -P. Funk, who is now editing the remainder of the codex, has kindly provided me with his working text of the Coptic for the entire kephalaion. It is from this that the translation of chapter 122 has been completed.

291.4 – 292.8 The assent and the amen are convictions proclaimed by the community at prayer; as in Christian practice. In this chapter Mani asserts their divine archetypes in the summons and the obedience, the two gods that embody the will to redemption. Thus the First Man was redeemed from the abyss; and in the present time they are incarnate in the holy church. Therefore, the assent and the amen uttered by the congregation seal the redemption for which they ask.

292.9 – 25 The assent and the amen also bear forth a beautiful living image sculpted by the faith of the believers; and which ascends daily to the land of rest.

292.26 – 294.22 The assent and the amen are also a great power; for in prayer they bring help both to the sick and at times of temptation.

[O]nce again, one of the disciples [... / ...] to him: Tell me, my master, [... (**291**) ... the] name that we may utter over the blessing [... / ...] we bless, and also the prayer [by] which we pr[ay]. / Tell us: What is the 'assent' and the 'a[men']? /

Our enlightener [s]ays to him: The assent and the a[men] [5] have come about from these great ones of the powers. They were given the na[me] / as the assent belongs to the summons and the amen [belongs to] / the answer.

Just as the summon[s an]d the obedience [ar]e / the ones that opened the portals of mercy and entreaty / for the First Man, so they also became portal[s for the Mo]ther [10] [of Lif]e and the Father of the living. The Firs[t] Ma/n sought and found his redeemer. [An]d [also] the Mother / of Life and the Father of the living sought [...] / this runner, who came forth from them, who is the / First Man; but the summons and the obedience became the [15] portals for them.

Now, in this way they have become portal[s f]or the ae/ons of greatness towards the First Man, and the s[ou]l that was / [c]onjoined with death. They became helpers [...] of the / First Man during his ascent. They gave him [...] / the Father of Life and the Mother of Life [...] [20] They are purifiers of the living soul, be[ing] he/[lp]ers and bestowers of remembrance for it, be it either in [... / ...] in the tree or in the creation of flesh [... / ... the] holy [c]hurch [... / ...] the earth [... summ]ons and the obedience that [25] [...] the portals [...] in the holy church / [... he]lpers, bestowers of power and collectors / [...] teacher [... / ... / ...] purified for thei[r s]ake [... [30] ...] a letter [... / ... (**292**) that] it might be uttered over the psalm and over [the prayer, / with] the entreaty and the supplication. For, whenever o[ne will / b]less and respond to the assent and the a[men, / the] assent and the amen [shall] seal the blesser. Also, [when] [5] the congregation will beseech an entreaty wi[th / a questi]on, and they all answer and say 'verily an[d / ame]n', they shall seal the entreaty that the congregatio[n] has / as[ked] for and besought. /

Hap[pen] you know that the assent and the amen [are] a great per[so]n [10] [w]ho exists in [... / al]l of you, and you rejoice in him with great jo[y]; / be[caus]e he came to you profitably. He has agreed befo[re] / you to bring forth by him a new birth daily, / [v]ery go[od] and honoured in the presence of the living ones abov[e]. [15] [S]o, when grea[t cro]wds of people utter the assent and the amen, / happen you know that the sound / of all the people who respond shall collec[t] / and come together, and it fixes and sculpts [...] / it is [for]med and makes a good image, ver[y] beautiful [20] and honoured. It goes up to the land of tranquillity and / peac[e]. It receives all their grace, because [... / ...] it gathering what has ascended from [a]ll [these] / who responded. For it was uttered by th[em / a]ll. It separated and attained the land of tr[anquillity] [25] and peace by their joy and their alms. /

Happen you know that the assent and this amen are [a great] / power. Whenever one will be found in [... / ...] in bodily danger [...] / sick [...] they pray for it [... [30] f]or the [ass]ent and the amen; and [... / ...] in his sickness, and he improves [... / ...] with power, and they entreat [... (**293**) ...] utter over it [...] being sick [... / ...] one is found among you; while the hand of the pursu[ers / ... / ...

5 a] great [he]lp comes to him from the assent and [the amen / ...] over it.

Again, it happens [... / ...] among the elect [...] / awakens in us, and it is established [... / ...] in evil counsels, and he is set firm [and ...] 10 his [compani]ons, and he confesses his sin and [...] / as he will beseech for himself charity, so that if [G]od / will {spare}*157 him this temptation that [... / ...] his [... / ...] and they call over him the assent and the ame[n ...] 15 immediately there is a power come from the assent and [the] amen. / It annuls the lust and the temptatio[n t]hat he has carried [ar]ound / in him. And also, whenever a prayer will be be[so]ught / over that person [... the a]men / that [...] hi[m], as he utters it [...] 20 immediately there is a great power come to him ou[t] from / the assent and the amen. It helps him and [... / ...] in [...] / the assent and the amen go up to the ships, and they [... / ... 25 ...] upon him in the [... / ...] power [... / ...] in it, a[s] the [... / ...] at a place [... / ... 30 ...] Now, whenever he may see them [... / ... / ... (**294**) ... / ...] from him [... / ...] but [...] he [... / ...] his voice in [... 5 ...] and they who guide will [... / ...] he is saved [... / ... / ...] the voice of this person [... / ...] his enemies [...] they took his goods [... 10 ...] because [... / ...] on account of this judgement / [...] also [... / ... / ...] for [... 15 ...] evil [... / ...] they called over him [... / ...] who is master [... / ... / ...] to the heavens and the ships [... 20 ...] helps [... / ...] whenever [...] / the [assent] and the amen.

Behold, [... / ...] the assent and the [amen ... / ... 25 ...] him, your own cry / [... / ...] answer [... / ... / ...] 30 and the ame[n ... / ... / ... (**295**) ...] the pursuers [... / ...] him [... / ...] it might be uttered from God [... / ...] for it might be uttered [... 5 ...] they named it [...] from the apos[tles, / the] first fathers [...] fame, bu[t ... / ...] not.

Then, when the father [... / ...] like this, he glorified and he [...]

*157 ⲟⲩⲱⲥⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ

THE LIGHT AND THE DARKNESS

Adamant of Light ⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 68.5 91.25 92.32 93.7.29 116.19 137.1 170.31 171.20 172.12 290.9

abortions ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲉ 56.22 87.11 93.2.29.33 116.34 123.6.10.23 137.15.30 171.20 246.10.16

aeons (and see: new aeon) ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ 3.20 24.2.6 35.6 39.33 64.30.34 71.2 84.13 86.13 103.23.24 156.5.7 (162.33) 285.13

aeon ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ 84.11 103.22 <(165.24)>

aeons of glory ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ 20.31

aeons of greatness ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛⲁⲥ 25.14 26.20 60.25 64.32 (66.18) 81.10.30 82.8 176.6 204.13.17 248.24 268.6 291.16

aeon of light ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 23.4 38.10.19 (158.32) 165.10

aeons of light ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 20.20 38.12.25 (ⲛⲉⲱⲛ).(33) 39.8 40.9 45.7 70.32 111.2.7 160.11 204.15 285.6.10

light aeons ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 4.16

blessed aeons ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ 39.33

first aeons ⲛⲯⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ 103.21

great aeon ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ 47.14

great aeons ⲛⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ 97.14

outer aeons ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲫⲃⲁⲗ 81.27 82.25 152.11

fourteen great aeons ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲉϥⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ Ch. X

angels ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ Ch. L and 24.4.15.20 38.13.15.18.25 41.24 53.a 61.a 63.32 (66.10.19) 86.(2).9 102.1 114.24 118.11 135.31 193.25.29 194.4.6.7.11.(31) 225.10.29 228.1 241.3.6.30 242.22 243.6.17.19.23 244.10

angel ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 41.17 201.31

three great glorious angels ⲡⲯⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ 36.14-21

four angels ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 93.26 290.3

five angels (see: five intellectuals of darkness)

twenty-two angels ⲡⲥⲟⲩⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 289.32.33

thirty-six angels ⲡⲙⲁⲃⲧⲉⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 289.30

Apostle of Light (divine principle) ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 24.30 36.3

apostle (human) ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ passim

Beloved of Lights ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 34.29 43.33 (49.24) 76.20 82.7 126.27 273.21

great glorious Beloved ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲙⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ 34.30

great honoured Beloved ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲙⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲁⲓⲧ 82.7

conduit ⲁⲓϩⲙⲉ Ch. XLVIII and Ch. XLIX and (215.24) 216.20.22

counsel of life (see: summons and obedience)

Cross of Light ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ Ch. LXXXV and 156.29 162.12 176.21 192.10 220.26 224.5 268.25

Cross ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ 124.9 176.12 177.30 191.25 278.15

Light Cross ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 164.27

dark fire ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲕⲉⲕⲉ 105.1

devil (see: enemy)

enemy ⲡⲁⲍⲁⲍⲉ 38.15 39.9 63.11 73.8.20 (79.35) 80.2.12 82.12 etc.

death ⲡⲙⲟⲩ passim

devil ⲡⲁⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ 156.33 222.31 223.2.6 264.11 272.10

enmity ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲍⲁⲍⲉ Ch. XXXVI and (4.8) 28.9 39.6 45.8 82.5.17 etc.

error ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ passim

evil one ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ 80.4

ⲡⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ 12.29

evil counsel ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲛⲉ ⲃⲱⲱⲛ 29.23
counsel ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲛⲉ 68.29
Father (of Greatness) (see: King of Light)
Father of Life (see: Living Spirit)
fire and lust ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲫⲏⲇⲟⲛⲏ 26.15.27 27.3.7 168.8 169.15
ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ 29.21 48.27
First Man ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ (4.6) 20.16.26 26.21.29 28 7 37.1 38.9.14.18.20.23.30 39.4.8.18.20.26.31 40.6 43.7.(34) 47.4 48.29.33 49.3.4.22 50.8.21.25 26.28 51.22.25 52.12 53.9 55.25.(32) 56.3.5.7 57.(2).5.20.22.23 58 7 60.19.20.23.25.(32) 62.23.26 67.23 69.28 71.1.4.7.(16).17 72.(8).19.29 76.27.29.32 77.1 79.23 80.3 82.4.14.34 84.8.14.25 85.24 102.24.36 126.31 (32) 129.6.8.(13).24 (131.12) 147.31 149.5.8 153.23 154.32 164.28 176.4 178.29 181.9 182.(4).8.10.12.15.19 254.13.22 262.26 264.18 266.1 272.4.22 273.2.13.22 275.5 285.23.25.27.28 286.8 291.9.10.14.16.18
Man ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ 40.2 71.4 79.27 84.11.12 85.11 102.23.26 154.29 176.5
blessed Man ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ 84.17.31
living Man ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 263.6
approved ⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲟⲥ 285.5
father ⲡⲓⲱⲧ 82.4 84.20.31 85.18 102.23 149.5 286.7.18
first-born ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲓⲥⲉ 40.13
only-begotten ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ 285.19
first righteous one ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ 285.12
glorious one ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲧ 72.29
son ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ 40.13 72.16
son of God ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 272.16
first Righteous One ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ 61.20
first light ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 234.22
five (dark) elements (see also: land of darkness) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟ/ⲱⲛ 26.6.8.9 30.18.19 48.6.25 58.15 74.18 20
elements ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟ/ⲱⲛ 69.13.21 129.15.18 130.23 131.4.6
five (light) elements ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲱⲛ 29.8 43.2 261.21.27
elements ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ 54.10 55.5 61.26 81.3 123.12 148.22 150.17 153.23 157.18 162.11 175.27.29 176.12 177.27 261.16 262.8 276.8
light elements ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 20.2
light element ⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 176.21
four elements ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ Ch. XCIV
living air / wind / light / water / fire ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ / ⲡⲧⲏⲩ / ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ / ⲙⲙⲁⲩ / ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ 37.7-11 126.31 - 127.23 175.29 - 176.1
air ⲡⲁⲏⲣ 104.9 265.19
fire ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ Ch. LXXIV and 153.28
wind ⲡⲧⲏⲩ 153.28
garments (of First Man) 126.31 - 127.23 131.11.20 150.17
garment of fire ⲧϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ 129.(8).10 206.33
garment of waters ⲧϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲛⲙⲙⲟⲩⲓⲥⲉ Ch. LXI
five fathers (Father of Greatness / Third Ambassador / Jesus the Shining / Light Mind / Light Form) Ch. VII
(Ambassador / Beloved of Lights / Mother of life / Jesus the Beloved / Virgin of Light) Ch. XXV
five garments (see also: five elements / five intellectuals / five sons of First Man) ⲧϯ ⲛϩⲃⲥⲱ 170.2 262.25
(five intellectuals of darkness)
consideration / counsel / insight / thought / mind ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ / ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲛⲉ / ⲧⲥⲃⲱ / ⲡⲙⲉⲧⲉ / ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ 21.29-34 95.20-23 96.15-21
five angels ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 95.23

five counsels ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ 58.15
five members of sin ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲁϧⲉ 96.23.24
five intellectuals (of light) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲉⲣⲟⲛ 20.1 92.1 177.3
consideration / counsel / insight / thought / mind ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ / ⲡⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ / ⲧⲥϧⲱ / ⲡⲙⲉⲧⲉ / ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ 20.12-20.24-31 64.23 76.20-23 85 1-2 91.20-31 92.12 - 93.19 95.17-19.20-23 96.13-20.22 - 97.7.26 - 99.17 (100.12)
great garments ⲛⲁϬ ⲛϩⲃⲥⲱ/ϩⲃⲥⲁⲧⲉ 177.2-3
five members of soul ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ 95.24 96.22 - 97.7
five light members ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 64.21.25
storehouses ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ (64.22)
five members of body ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ 95.17 97.17
five sense organs (of darkness) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓⲥⲑⲏⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ 26.7.14
five sons of First Man ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ 24.25 25.26 43.2 49.22.32 51.26 (55.28) 69.18 71.13 72.20 76.32 84.26 102.36 103.1 (131.13) 148.1.(7).25 157 14 164.34 285.17
sons of Man ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ 89 8 263.4 290.6
garments of First Man (see also: five elements) ⲛϩⲃⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ 69.18.28 79.28 148.24 178.30
five gods ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ (71.17) (72.7) 290.6
five shining gods ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲣⲓⲱⲩ 69.28 (71.13) 95.16
gods ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 72.29
five shining men ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲙ ⲙⲡⲣⲓⲉ 85.34 88.15 89.8
two sons ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ 76.35 - 77.2
four sons ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ 28.12
six sons ⲡⲥⲁⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ 92.4
five sons of Living Spirit (see: Adamant of Light / Keeper of Splendour / King of Glory / King of Honour / Porter) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 24.24 25.26 43.5 44.2 49.25.(34) 85.30 89.10 93.32 (95.12) 170.22
five gods ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 64.6 91.15
gods ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 72.32
five sleepless guardians ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲧⲛϧⲁⲧⲉ 91.19
lords in the zone ⲥⲁⲓⲥ ϩⲛ ⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ 94.13 23
one of sons ⲟⲩⲉ ϩⲛ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ 131.18
six sons ⲥⲁⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ 92.3
five trees ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲛ 122.8 288.7
trees ⲛⲱⲏⲛ 123.22 124.7.9 14 226.17
five shapes of trees ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲱⲏⲛ 30.20 121.15
five worlds of tree ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛϧⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲱⲏⲛ 123.2-8
five unfolded ones (?) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲁⲗⲗⲱⲙⲁ 90.24
five worlds of flesh ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛϧⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ 26.34 27.(7).10 48.19 121.21.22 123 2-9 177.18 178.9 266.14
fleshes ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ 123.23 124.18 224.1 226.17
fleshes of death ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ 274.10
five fleshes ⲧϯⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ 21.16 122 8 151.31
five genera of creatures ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲥⲱⲛⲧ 30.21
mankind / four-footed animals / birds / fish / reptiles ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ / ⲛⲧϧⲛⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲩⲧⲟⲩϬⲣⲁ / ⲛϩⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉ / ⲛⲧϧⲧ / ⲛⲍⲉⲧⲩⲉ 91.1-5
creations of flesh ⲛⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ ⲛⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ 121.29.30 164.15
five powers of darkness ⲧϯⲉ ⲛϬⲁⲙ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 89.6.8
garments ⲛϩⲃⲥⲁⲧⲉ Ch. LXXII and passim
giants (see: watchers)
God (of truth) (see: King of Light)
gods of light ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 15.9
gods ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ Ch. L and 24.4.14.19 38.13.15.18.24 41.23 53.5 63.32 66.9

(86.9) 89.24.25 etc
gods of glory ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ 73.18
angels (see: angels)
children of living ones ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 195.19
divine ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 40.20 42.7 156.2.8
emanations ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲏ /ⲁⲩⲉ 34.27 35.4 73.20 82.2 126.11
evocations ⲛⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ Ch. L and 35.20
fathers ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲉ passim
lights ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 35.4.8 etc.
powers ⲛⲥⲁⲙ passim
rich ones ⲛⲣⲙⲙⲁⲁⲓ Ch. L and 24.4.(15).20 63.32 66.9 73.19 103.24
sons of light ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 58.2.4.5
Great Builder ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲧ 44.3 49.24 72.31 (79.33) 82.9 87.1 118.10 273.21
first architect ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲓⲧⲉⲕⲧⲱⲛ 118.10
glorious ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ 44.3 82.9
great fire ⲧⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲉ 29.9.13 52.17 54.13 75.22 (102.33) 104.4 105.26 251.21
Great Spirit (see: Mother of Life)
great thought ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲉ 155.22
holy spirit (Christian trinity) ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ 288.8.14
Holy Spirit (see: Light Mind / Mother of Life / Paraclete)
Jesus Splendour (and see: Jesus (apostle)) ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲡⲣⲓⲉ 20.4 25.30 28.26 35.13.19 49.29 50.3 53.18.28 61.17 64.2 72.34 80.(18).22 82.20.33 (152.7) 263.12 276.4.8.14
Jesus ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄/ⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩⲥ 35.23.24 36.3.29 37.26 59.19 93.31 94.3.8 152.15 155.23 264.1
Jesus Beloved ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ (76.21)
beloved Christ ⲡⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ 182.20
blessed Christ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ 179.10 183.3
deliverer / releaser ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲃⲱⲗ 44.6 82.21
father of all apostles ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 20.4 80.19
glorious ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ 20.4 35.13.19
glorious one ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ 59.19.23 155.23 263.12
redeemer ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ 82.21
saviour ⲥ̄ⲏ̄ⲣ̄ 53.31
son of greatness ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲥ 36.31 37.27
Jesus Youth ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲗⲗⲟⲩ 61.27 92.7
Youth ⲡⲗⲗⲟⲩ 35.28 289.29
image of living word ⲧϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲥⲉⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 92.8
Judge in atmosphere ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ 80.30
Judge ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ 117.24.26 235.4.6.11
Judge of truth ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ 83.5 288.17
great Judge ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ 35.25
Keeper of Splendour ⲡⲫⲉⲣⲣⲟⲕⲁⲧⲟⲭⲟⲥ 91.20 92.12.19 93.20.22 170.24 171.12 172.7
King of Darkness (see also: king of smoke / enemy / Satan) ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ (30.33) 31.24.(33) 137.9
King of realms of Darkness ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 26.19 29.19 31.2.28 32.1.14 33.2 51.23 (52.13) 55.27 58.8
King of mountains of Darkness ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲧⲟⲩⲓⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 32.32
chief ⲡⲁⲛⲍⲱⲍ 32.31 69.23 77.26
leader ⲡⲣⲉϥⲍⲁⲧⲙⲁⲓⲧ 88.12
ruler ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ 69.23 77.26 79.2
spirit of King of realms of Darkness ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 33.5
spirit of darkness ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 29.35

dark spirit ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛⲕⲉⲕⲉ 27.14
(great) King of Glory ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲧ 91.27 93.9 113.31 171.4.21 172.16
(great) King of Honour ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓⲟ 80.5 81.11 (82.26) 83.3 87.32.(34) 88.2.13.20 (89.15) 91.23 92.24 93.24 170.27.28 171.17 172.10
King of Light ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 5.18
Father ⲡⲓⲱⲧ (5.18) 12.28 16.4.30 19.30 20.19.30 23.32 25.13 34.28.31 43.15 49.29 63.10.28 66.10 70.14.17.27 71.22.24.(30) 73.8.18.22 74.1 76.(17).19 24 79.15 81.9 103.6.11.28 147 25 148.10.20 151.20 181.4.(5).6 259.8 265.3 271.17.21 272.1.13.14.23.29 274.14.15.20.29 277.18 285.17
Father of Greatness ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ 34.21 49 15 63.23.24.27.29 64 14.20 68.33 (70.31) 71.20 72.28 (73.1) (79.22) 103.31 156.1 163.4 272.18
Father of lights ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 40.11 43.27
first Father ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲓⲱⲧ Ch. VII and 43.19 64.20 70.17
glorious Father ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲁⲧ 34.26
great Father ⲡⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲓⲱⲧ 66.23
God ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 19.8 31.32 34.18 42.9 47.27 74.3 98.29 101.1 142.29 180.24 183.22 188 12.27 189.8.9.12.15. 194.24 196.26 201 29 209.10.14 217.3.5.8 221.29 222.1.30 223.7.14 224.13.24.30 229.6 230.27 231.20.27 232.10.21.23 265.3 267.6.10.16.23 287.1.4.22.25.28 288.13 293.11 295.3
God of truth ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ 20.30 23.32 25.13 38.33 39.32 41.1.10 81.29 100.10 151.20 181.4 217.16 (287.17)
single God ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ 5.16
greatness ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ passim
great greatness ⲧⲛⲁϭ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ 162.27
Judge ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ 79.19.21 81.8
King of aeons ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ 81.30
King of lights ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 35.8 43.32 51.21
great King ⲡⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ 69.27 (75.3)
Lord of all ⲡⲥⲁⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ 40.10 156.6 267.10
root of all lights ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 35.3
established one ⲡⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧϥ 63.10
first established one ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧϥ 63.28 70.14.28 272.1.14 273.24
first eternal ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲱⲁⲁⲛϩⲉ 34.24 35.3
exalted one ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲥⲉ 217.11
first only begotten ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲟⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ 34.23
first power ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛϭⲁⲙ 35.2
King of world of Smoke ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲡⲛⲟⲥ 30.25
ruler of Smoke ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲡⲛⲟⲥ (31.12)
King of world of Water ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲩ 33.25
spirit of King ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ 33.29
King of worlds of Wind ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲧⲏⲩ 33.18
spirit ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ 33.21.22
King of world of Darkness ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 33.33
spirit ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ 34.2.5
King of worlds of Fire ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ 33.9
spirit of King ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ 33.13.16
land of darkness ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 30.14 18 31.11 32.33 48.2.16.24 49.3 (55.33) 67.33 68.7 100.13 129.(15).27.(30) 155.18.20 156.21 169.13 181.24 (272.26)
world of darkness ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 39.14 57.3.5
worlds of darkness ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ (26.13) 82.6 178.28 254.13 272.8 285.9.10.18
dark earth ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲕⲉⲕⲉ 105.22
land of death ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲩ 26.23 (67.11) 154.20
root of death ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ 155.21

worlds of enmity ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲍⲁⲍⲉ 87.29
storehouses ⲛⲧⲁⲙ(ⲉ)ⲓⲟⲛ 74.17 129.18.23.25.27.(30) 130.15.18.20.(22) 131.3.6 164.31
storehouses of abyss ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ 68.22
five storehouses ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ 28.8 30.13.17 155.19
five bodies (gold / copper / iron / silver / lead and tin: Ch. VI) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ 30.16.23 34.10 (95.15)
five creations ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ 77.28 78.2
five kings (see: kings of smoke / fire / wind / water / darkness) ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ 30.23
five rulers ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ 30.15
five spirits (of principalities and authorities / sects of fire / idolatry / water / oracles: Ch. VI) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ 26.9) 30.15.23 34.9
five tastes (salty / sour / sharp / sweetness / bitterness: Ch. VI) ⲧϯⲉ ⲛϯⲡⲉ 30.16.(23)
five trees ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲛ 48.15 (58.16) 74.20.22.23
trees ⲛⲱⲏⲛ 69.15
five worlds and dark elements (smoke / fire / wind / water / darkness) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ Ch. XXVII and 30.22 31.2 32.2 48.(8).15.18 58.9 68.17 69.14 74.29.(33) 167.22 - 168.7 169.10.13
land of light ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ (13.33) (69.3) 235.4 (279.29)
ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 38.13 (39.34) 56.4 65.16 66.9.(36) (72.31) 126.9 218.20.24.(32) 221 3
great land of light ⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 23.33
light land ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ (49.16) 56.32 (61.28) 69.26 (180.32)
worlds of light ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 58.21
land of first essence ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ 178.22
land of glory ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ 11.16
glorious land ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ 156.2
land of greatness ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲩ (61.31) 65.17 71.26
land of life ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ 235.30 280.1
land of living ones ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 67.22 212.32 224.30 227.26 228.2 230.18 231.11 240.9
land of rest ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲧⲁⲛ 195.18 217.19 234.8 272.29 280.1
land of tranquillity and peace ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲥⲟⲣϩⲧ ⲙⲛ ϯⲣⲏⲛⲏ 149.19 292.20.24
land that shines ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲧⲧⲣⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 75.2
house of living ones ⲡⲏⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 67.24
kingdom ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ (3.17) 13.31 30.33 39.11 etc.
kingdom of life ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ 37.25
kingdom of light ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 223.12
place of rest and joy ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲣⲉϣⲉ 274.11
Last Statue ⲡⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ ⲛϩⲁⲉ 29.4 54.15.19 62.20 71.16 75.24 81.6 (86.12) 102.34 104.5.12 150.4.9 165.8 10
Statue ⲡⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ 55.21 56.28 57.17.26 (63.6) (71.8) 149.30 150.1.11
Light Form ⲧⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 36.10.12.19 41.11.13.21
redeemer ⲡⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲉ 41.20
Light Mind ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 35.21 36.1 40.24.32 41.8 44.11 45.32 64.8 80.33 89.19.22 90.1.13 94.20 95.2 (96.8) 97.(22).24 98.11 99.22 24.(32) 100.1.16 142.12.16.28 143.5.13.32 148.12 172.3 182.20 201.9 215 2 232.6 7 240.5 245.10.15 249.16 255.23.27 256.6 257.10.(28) 269.20
Mind ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ 24.18 89.35 94.26 99.13.28 156.11 176.3 208.5 6 213.31 216.19 229.29 234.22 256.21 257.31 258.12 289.28
great Mind ⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲥ 82.22 92.5

Mind of truth ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ 79.9
Holy Spirit ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ 143.29.32 189.30 190.2.3 6
King over totality ⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲥⲙ ⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ 97.22
awakener ⲡⲣⲉϥⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ 44.11
father of all apostles ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 35.22
gatherer ⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧϩ 44.12
light image ⲟⲩϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 234.7
living soul (see: five sons of First Man) ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ Ch. LXXII and 29.19.21 77.3 84.10.15.16 85.4 87.28 104.10 105.24 124.4 151.28 152.15 156.30 162.9.18 172.26 191.16.26 204.6 (209.31) 210.24 211.24 218.10.22 232.5 233.11 236.14.20 237.28 238.11 239.2 245.1 260.7.14.21 270.11 273.28 274.4.9.17 277.8 14 279.19.21.27 280.10 291.20
soul ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ 84.8.27.34 85.12.17 260.16 (274.1)
living limb ⲡⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 270.8
Living Spirit ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ (4.17) 24.12 26.30 27.11 29.4 39.20 40.6 43.6 (44.1) 49.24 50.23.26 51.20 (52.11) 53.(9).14 54.22 56.2.8 58.20.25.27 60.21.27 62.5 72.32 77.8 79.26 82.13.31 83.20 85.21.22 86.8.22 89.3 91.18 102.25 107.18.20 108.15 113.30 122.19 123.11 129.14 131.14.18.27 143.25 149.14 177.22 (181.16) 182.3.(10).12.18 254.22 272.20.21.27.30 273.22
demiurge ⲡⲇⲏⲙⲓⲟⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ 167.6
Father of Life ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ 39.13.(25) 40.1 44.1 52.7 56.2 57.21.30 60.28 102.26 111.21 27 112.25 114.3 116.8.14 117.19 118.34 120.29 122.19 123 32 (131.22) 132.6.22 (136.25) 291.19
Father of living ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 291.10.12
great constructor ⲡⲛⲁϬ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ 167.7
great craftsman ⲡⲛⲁϬ ⲛⲧⲉⲭⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ 167.15
lump ⲡⲃⲱⲗⲟⲥ 21.35 22.15 57.18 76.5.8 105.6.32 (260.23)
tomb ⲡⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ 75.27 105.33
Matter ⲧϩⲩⲗⲏ 22.32 26.11.18 27.(5).16 31.10.15 74.15 75.7 78.22 116.18 122.26 124.28.29 129.11 130.16 131.5 137.24 138.7 172.13 178.25 180.(15) 23 262.5
mother ⲧⲙⲉⲧ (27.6) 78.22
sin ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ passim
thought of death ⲧⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲩ 26.18 27.5 31.10 (67.31) 74.15 98.24 (129.11) 180.16
Mind (see: Light Mind)
moon ⲡⲟⲟϩ 162.25 168.10 169.17.22 193.1 218.16 259.30
light-giver ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ 113.20 (193.1) 199.23 204.12 218.16.19.25 231.21 233.28 245.4 259.30
light-giver of night ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛⲧⲟⲩϣⲏ 181.14
light ship/s ⲡⲍⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 59.28 147.32 151.25 172.26 181.29 226.12
ships of light ⲛ(ⲉ)ⲍⲏⲩ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 117.19 132.26 152.12 273.17
ship of First Man ⲡⲍⲁⲓ ⲙⲡϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ 37.1
ship of night ⲡⲍⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩϣⲏ 20.27 82.32 226.13
ship of living waters ⲡⲍⲁⲓ ⲛⲙⲙⲟⲩⲓⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 20.16 (24.16) 47.4 64.3
ship/s ⲛⲉⲍⲉⲩ/ⲛⲉⲍⲏⲩ 15.8 24.19 83.1 85.29 87.2.5 110.(19).20 162.25 223.29 293.23 294.19
Mother of Life ⲧⲙⲟ/ⲙⲉⲧ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ 24.13 38.20.22 39.3 43.29 49.21 53 10 56.8 57.21.(31) 60.28 70.16 71.20.29 72.3 76.21 79.29 82.1 131.14 147.26 271.30 272.6.13.21.24 273.8.12 291.9.11.19
Mother ⲧⲙⲟ 71.5
Mother of living ⲧⲙⲟ/ⲙⲉⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 39.25 40.1 56.11 (118.34)
first Mother ⲧϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲙⲉⲧ 34.28
first Holy Spirit ⲡϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ 43.29
glorious ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲧ 82.1

Great Spirit ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲇ̄ 24.1 34.27 49.21 (53.10) 70.27 71.25 72.5.28 77.5 79.29 82.31 102.27 126.25 271.30 273.20

new aeon ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲃⲣⲣⲉ 40.16 77.21 79.34 82.10 86.16 87.1 103.2-10.22 118.9.11 151.1 259.22

aeon of glory and joy ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲣⲉϣⲉ 86.17

new earth ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲃⲣⲣⲉ 103.2-10 104.31.35 155.17 181.21

new man ⲡⲣⲙ ⲛⲃⲣⲣⲉ 96.22 - 97.7.19 172.3 215.4 240.4 249.19 257.28 269.19.22 270.1.5.7.22

old man ⲡⲣⲙ ⲛⲉⲥ 27.18.19.20 89.27.29 94.19 97.15 201.20 221.15 249.19 269.23

Paraclete ⲡⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲕⲗⲧⲥ 14.5.7.8 15.20 16.19.30

Paraclete of truth ⲡⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲕⲗⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ 14.18

living Paraclete ⲡⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲕⲗⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 14.32

Spirit ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲇ̄ 16.19

Spirit of truth ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲇ̄ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ 14.5

Holy Spirit ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲇ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ 13.8 104.17

Perfect Man (see: Pillar of Glory)

Pillar of Glory ⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ (19.35) 20.15 (24.22) (25.23) 35.10 37.3 (44.5) 46.32 49.27 64.5 72.35 84.29 92.6 93.21 155.11 176.4 177.40

Pillar ⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ 84.32

great Pillar of blessing ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ 35.11

great porter ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ (25.23) 35.12

first of porters ϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲛⲛⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ 44.4

first of weight-carriers ϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲛⲛⲃⲁⲓⲉⲧⲛⲱ 155.14

Perfect Man ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲕ 20.15 24.23 35.10 37.3 75.8 92.6 155.11 177.4 181.11

Porter ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ 86.25 90.30.31 91.31 93.16 94.7 113.24 170.11.12 171.7.8.23.25 172.19 177.12.13.25 181.19 243.16 290.21

rulers ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ 32.8 33.1.11.26.29.34 (35.16) etc

authorities ⲛⲉϩⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲥ passim

children of darkness ⲛϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 28.11 164.30.31

demons ⲛⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ 41.15 69.23 (74.28.30) 77.32 (78.22) 161.16 186.14 211.16 243.8 267.15 272.10

emanations ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲁⲗⲁⲧⲉ 68.21

fiends ⲛⲓϩ 32.32 74.31 78.23 161.16 267.15

powers ⲛⲑⲁⲙ 26.19.22 27.1 30.31 31.21.28 32.8.20.24 35.16 etc.

rebels ⲛⲃⲉϫⲉⲧⲉ 45.8 59.20 85.4 116.26 268.16 286.3

ruling-power ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧⲓⲕⲏ 26.13 53.7 59.8.15.24 60.24 61.10 110.36 116.27 118.18.21.30 120.9 124.3 131.15 147.28 172.17 186.14 191.15

satans ⲛⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ 267.15

sons of darkness ⲛϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 58.3.5.6 60.6

evil spirits ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲇ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲧ 99.14 287.13

Saklas ⲥⲁⲕⲗⲁⲥ 137.13.15

ruler ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ 138.1

Satan ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ 12.30 19.2 21.19.36 159.1

sea giant ⲡⲥⲓⲥⲁⲥ ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ Ch. XLIV and 116.7 122.24 123.20 136.24

(seven planets)

seven leaders ⲥⲁϣⲩ ⲛⲣⲉⲩⲥⲁⲧⲙⲁⲓⲧ 120.12

stars (five) ⲡϯⲟⲧ ⲛⲥⲓⲟⲧ Ch. LXIX and 35.27 58.23 88.11 90.26 114.5.14.19 118.1.16.32 119.17 121.33.35 122.6.15 123.8 131.25 145.1 157.24 162.31 (173.30) 177.10 215.7 (254.29) 255.2

summons and obedience ⲡⲧⲱⲃⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ 25.28 35.30 37.5-7 43.3 50.2 54.(9).25 55.5 59.30 61.26.30 63.3 81.2 92.2-3 178.2 181.17 182.2 259.32 - 260.1 263.2.4.14.30 290.7-8 291.7.14.24

summons / answer ⲡⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ/ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ 176.1-2 291.6-7
utterance and obedience ⲡⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ 92.8
answer ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃ 182.(9).15 263.1
obedience ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ 254.21
summons ⲡⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ 39.13.17 84.6.10 85.34 182.2.7.8 254.12.16 263.1
counsel ⲡⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ 54.25
counsel of life ⲡⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ 29.2 55.4 59.29 63.2 81.2 176.22 178.2
great counsel ⲡⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ 28.35 54.10 61.29
sun ⲡⲣⲏ Ch. LXV and Ch. LXVI and 4.15 24.9 112.7 125.20 165.28 166.4 168.9 169.17.20 193.1 218.16 259.30
light-giver ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ 113.20 159.8.16 160.16 163.15 165.17.26.29 (193.1) 199.23 204.12 218.16.19.25 231.21 233.28 245.4 259.30
ships of light ⲛⲉϩⲏⲧ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 117.19 132.26 152.12
light ship ⲡϩⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 25.21 28.22 36.34 63.35 87.28 151.25 172.26 181.29
ship of day ⲡϩⲁⲓ ⲙⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ 20.29 77.4 82.29 102.29 181.13
ship of living fire ⲡϩⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 20.18 24.10 63.35
ship/s ⲛⲉϩⲉⲩ/ⲛⲉϩⲏⲧ 15.8 24.15 76.28 83.1 85.29 87.2.5 110.(19).20 162.23.24 223.29 293.23 294.19 293.23 294.19
Third Ambassador ⲡⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ 4.34 20.17 24.11 25.20 28.16 (34.32) 35.8 43.31 45.1 49.26 52.20.32 56.15 57.24.27 59.3.(22) 61.(8).16 63.34 76.27 77.11 80.10 82.18 (87.9) 117.15 (132.29) 135.15 273.32 274.21
Ambassador ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ 20.28 36.35 43.15 56.19.27 (57.16) 63.2 72.34 76.20 80.20 82.30 86.7.32.(34) 87.16.17 91.18 92.1.5.17 93.12 102.29 117.11 122.25.28 126.29 133.(12).21 135.8 137.20.21.25 138.(8).13 155.12 158.2.4.8 164.9 171.14 176.5 177.5 179.1 246.28 249.8 274.6.12.29 275.23
exalted one ⲡⲡⲉⲧϫⲁⲥⲉ 134.5.11 135.29 138.4.11.19 157.7 158.20
father of aeons ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ 43.17
glorious ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲁϥ 102.29 126.29 155.12
king ⲟϥⲣⲣⲟ 43.19
great king ⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ 132.28
king in this world ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ϩⲙ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ 43.31
king of zone ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲧϫⲱⲛⲏ 82.18
purifier ⲡⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧϥ 5.5
three images (corporeal, psychic and spiritual) ⲧϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ Ch. CXIV
three vessels (water, darkness and fire) ⲡϣⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲛϫⲓⲟⲣⲉ Chs. XLII, XLIII, CXIII and 58.24 113.35 114.3 115.8 116.2.4
vessels ⲙⲙⲁⲛϫⲓⲟⲣⲉ 86.30
three wheels ⲡϣⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ (see also: five (light) elements) Ch. XXX and 93.10 113.32 171.5.24 172.16
fire / water / wind ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ / ⲡⲙⲁϥ / ⲡⲧⲏϥ 83.21-22 91.28-29 93.15 94.3.4 107.21 111.32 113.23-24 115.21 171.24 177.22
three garments ⲧϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛϩⲃⲥⲱ Ch. XXX and 107.20.23 108.15.29 111.32 149.15.24 177.21 290.16
garment of water ⲧϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲙⲡⲙⲁϥ 106.16
garment of wind ⲧϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲙⲡⲧⲏϥ 108.20
garment of fire ⲧϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ 108.24
images and clothes ⲛϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛϣⲧⲏⲛ 176.20 177.20
three images ⲧϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ 91.28
three powers ⲧϯϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛϭⲁⲙ 113.23
wheels ⲛⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ 87.3
three words of life ⲡϣⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ 111.13
tomb (see: lump)
twelve great rich Gods ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϥⲥ ⲛⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲣⲙⲙⲁⲟ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 25.16

twelve virgins ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϣⲥⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ 25.22
twelve wisdoms ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϣⲥⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ 25.32 64.25
twelve light-limbs ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϣ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲟϣⲁⲓⲛⲉ 64.24
(twelve) zodiacal signs ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϣ ⲛϫⲱⲁⲓⲟⲛ Ch. LXIX and 27.16 48.35 90.26 114.14.19 115.12 118.1.3 120.12 122.7.15 123.8 145.1.9 157.24 173.20 - 175.4 215.7 254.30 255.2
twelve sects ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϣ ⲛⲁⲟⲓⲣⲙⲁ 27.15 49.7
twelve spirits ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϣ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ 27.14.20 48.34.35
Twin (see: Paraclete)
Counterpart ⲡⲥⲁⲗⲓⲙ 36.6
two ascendants ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲃⲓⲃⲁϫⲱⲛ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ 168.7.13 169.14
Virgin of Light ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟϣⲁⲓⲛⲉ (24.19) 35.15 44.9 72.34 76.22 80.26 (82.34) 84.19.20 172.22 240.26 241.20 244.11
Virgin ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ 242.3.16.25
glorious ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲉⲁϣ 35.15
wisdom ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ 35.15 44.8
virgin of light (soul of First Man) ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟϣⲁⲓⲛⲉ 58.12 84.19 20 85.7
light virgin ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲟϣⲁⲓⲛⲉ 84.33
virgin of light (perfection of soul) ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲟϣⲁⲓⲛⲉ 270.21
light virgin ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟϣⲁⲓⲛⲉ 269.34 - 270.24
hour of life ⲧⲟϣⲛⲟϣ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ 270.23
watchers ⲛⲉⲓⲣⲏⲅⲟⲣⲟⲥ 92.27 93.24 26 117.2 171.17
giants ⲛⲓⲅⲓⲅⲁⲥ 117.5.(8)
wheel (of King of Honour) ⲡⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ Ch. XXXVI

APOSTLES

Adam ⲁⲇⲁⲙ Ch. LXIV and 12.11 15.11.13 42.29 54.5.7 56.23.26 (59.28) 93.2 30.34 133.6.15 134.4 135.23.28 136.17 137.17.22 138.11.17.21 144.14.17.23 145.26 146.25 179.6.8 268.2
enlightener ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ 158.1
Aurentes ⲁⲩⲣⲉⲛⲧⲏⲥ 12.15.17
Buddha ⲃⲟⲩⲇⲁⲁⲥ 7.34 8.6 12.15 17
disciples ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ passim
associates in the mystery ⲙⲯⲃⲣⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ 51.14 104.24 128.11.15
Enoch ⲉⲛⲱⲭ 12.12
Enosh ⲉⲛⲱϣ 12.11
Eve ⲉⲩϩⲁ 54.5.6 (56.23) 93.3.30 94.4.(9) 133.15 (134.4) 135.23 28 136.17 137.17.22 138.11.18.21 146.25 147.4 157.23 268.2
Jesus (see also: Jesus Splendour) ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ 7.(18).22 12.32 13.11 14.21 (17.4) 56.24 101.28 267.23.28
Jesus Christ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ 12.19.21
Christ ⲡⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ/ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ (258.31) 264.10 271.25
blessed Christ ⲡⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ 117.31
father 190.4
father of all apostles ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 101.29
(Mani's) father 259.14
second man ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ 264.19
master ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ (13.13)
my master ⲡⲁⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ 19.12
our master ⲡⲛⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ 12.21 13.32 21.24

saviour ⲡⲥ̄ⲱⲣ̄/ⲡⲥ̄ⲏⲣ̄ 13.22 14.3.6 19.3.24 35.31 58.18 163.27 189.17.20 (201.29) 210.31 223.3 229.10
son ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ 271.25
beloved son ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ 287.29 288.7.14
son of God ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 13.1
son of living God ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 267.24
son of greatness ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ 12.20 101.28
Mani ⲡⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲭⲥ̄ Ch. LXXVI and 17.21 259.6
single Mani ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭⲥ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ Ch. LXXVI and 100.23
apostle ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ passim
apostle of greatness ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ 17.21
apostle of truth ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲏⲉ 34.16
(our) enlightener ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ 23.17 25.11 30.17 34.16 42.32 43.25 45.19 46.16 47.26 (49.13) 58.4 63.22 84.9.13 85.22 86.22.34 87.17 89.3 106.24.32 112.24 (113.29) 118.16 120.23 122.5 123.16.29 125.8.28 126.24 (127.26) 129.7 131.12 137.14.23 138.6.20 141.14 142.2 144.1 144.15 145.5 146.8.16.25 147.18 23 173.21 175.28 183.27 184.1 191.11 192.6 202.10 213.26 (216.34) 219.17 234.30 235.18 246.12 248.22 268.30 269.17 (270.31) 288.21 291.4
our light enlightener ⲡⲛⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 183.14
our father ⲡⲛⲓⲱⲧ 34.16 46.20 60.16 102.20 176.30 188.25 231.3 244.17 286.26
our light father ⲡⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 126.32
their father ⲡⲟⲩⲓⲱⲧ 286.22
glorious one ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲧ 133.7.21 201.2
lord ⲕ̄ⲥ̄ 183.11 250.12
man of light ⲣⲙ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 36.30
my master ⲡⲁϩⲁⲓⲥ 144.16 146.17 147.19 188.20 (194.26) 196.28 197.17 200.6 204.29 205.15 208.16 213.16.27 214.27 219.5 221.12 223.22 224.10 228.9.13 248.20 249.34 252.4 253.20 262.15 271.1.10 280.17.25 281.3 290.32
our master ⲡⲛϩⲁⲓⲥ 16.26 17.3.21 42.28.31 44.24 112.19 123.16.25 125.3.33 155.2 167.2.10 183.13.16.28 201.8 231.12.29 243.12 267.21 282.12.(24)
Paraclete ⲡⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲕⲗⲏⲥ̄ 16.30
spirit ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ 16.19
single spirit ⲟⲩⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ 15.24
teacher ⲡⲥⲁϩ 221.20 234.21 286.22
Noah ⲛⲱϩⲉ (12.12)
Paul ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ 13.(19).26 19.7
apostle ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ 229.11
Sem ⲥⲏⲙ 12.12
Sethel ⲥⲏⲑⲏⲗ 12.10 42.26.29.(34) 43.11 145.27
Zarathustra ⲍⲁⲣⲁⲑⲏⲥ 7.31 12.17.19
enlightener ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ 7.27

PROPER NAMES

Adiabene ⲁⲇⲓⲃ 16.1
Ardashir ⲁⲣⲧⲁϫⲟⲟⲥ 14.29.31 15.24.(27)
Artabanus ⲁⲣⲧⲁⲃⲁⲛⲏⲥ 14.28
Assyrians ⲛⲁⲥⲥⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ 186.26 187.11.17
Aurades son of [Kap]elos ⲁⲩⲣⲁⲇⲏⲥ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ[ⲕⲁⲡ]ⲏⲗⲟⲥ 183.26-7
Axumites ⲉϫⲱⲙⲓⲧⲏⲥ 189.3
Babylon ⲧⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ 15.30 186.25 (187.9) 189.1 288.22
Babylonian ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ 144.15 146.9.16
Baptists ⲛⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ 44.25
Christians ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ 258.9
Hystaspes ϩⲩⲥⲧⲁⲥⲡⲏⲥ 7.28 12.18
India ⲡϩⲛⲧⲟⲩ 184.27 185.4.15
Indians ⲛϩⲛⲧⲟⲩ 15.25.29
Jews ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓⲟⲥ 12.27.30.32.34 19.3
Judas Iscariot ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲡⲓⲥⲕⲁⲣⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ 12.31 19.4
Ktesiphon ⲕⲧⲏⲥⲓⲫⲱⲛ 183.15
Magi ⲙⲙⲁⲥⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓⲟⲥ 252.1.9.11
Manichaeans ⲙⲙ̄ⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓⲟⲥ (271.15)
Medes ⲙⲙⲏⲇⲟⲥ 187.17.20.22
Mesene ⲧⲙⲁⲓⲥ/ϫⲁⲛⲟⲥ 15.30 186.7
Nazorean ⲡⲛⲁϫⲟⲣⲉⲩⲥ/ⲁⲓⲟⲥ Ch. LXXXIX
Parthia ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲓⲁ 14.29
Parthians ⲛⲓⲡⲁⲣⲑⲟⲥ 5.25 16.1 187.17.20.22
Persia ⲧⲡⲉⲣⲥⲓⲥ 7.28 30 12.18 14.30 15.30 16.1 185.(15).17.22 186.6 189.1
Persians ⲛⲓⲡⲉⲣⲥⲏⲥ 15.29
Purified ones ⲛⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ 44.27
Romans ⲛϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ 16.2 189.2
Shapur ⲥⲁⲡⲱⲣⲏⲥ 15.28.31 152.25.26 183.15.17.19.21.24.32
Silis ⲥⲓⲗⲉⲱⲥ 189.4
Simon the leper ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲡϣⲱⲓⲧ (264.13)
Susiana ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ/ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲟϫⲉⲟⲥ 15.31
Tigris ⲧⲓⲕⲣⲓⲥ 152.28.29 153.14.19 154.1.27

MANICHAEAN SCRIPTURES

(Great) Gospel ⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ 5.23 153.31
Kephalaia ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ passim
Book of Mysteries ⲡⲧⲁ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲱⲛ 5.24
Picture (- *Book*) ϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ Ch. XCII
Prayer of Sethel Ch. X
Prayers ⲛϣⲁⲏⲗ 5.26
Psalms ⲙⲯⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ 5.26
Treasury of Life ⲡⲑⲏⲥⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ 5.23 230.8.21
Treatise ⲧⲡⲣⲁⲅⲙⲁⲧⲉⲓⲁ 5.24
Mani's *Epistles* ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ 5.25
Mani's *Writing* (for Parthians) ⲧⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ 5.25

CITATIONS

Deut. 17:2-5 (159.4)
Mt. 3:10 (58.18-19)
Mt. 6:21 (200.3-4 210.31-32 223.3-4 229.3 234.9)
Mt.10:42 (189.6-7.13-14.18-19)
Mt. 18:10 (201.30-31)
Mt. 21:22 (183.7-8)
Mk.12:36 (40.13-14)
Lk. 6:43-44 (17.5-9)
Lk. 22:3 (19.2)
Jn. 3:19 (184.11-12 185.12-13)
Jn. 8:38 (35.32-34)
Jn. 15:7 (183.7-8)
Jn. 15:13 (156.15-16)
Jn. 16:7-9 + ff (14.7-11)
Jn. 16:24 (183.7-8)
I Cor. 7:29-31 (229.10-15)
I Cor. 15:9 (19.7-8)
Phil. 2:7 (12.25 61.21)
Ev. Thom. log. 5 (163.28-29)

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The Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi

James M. Robinson

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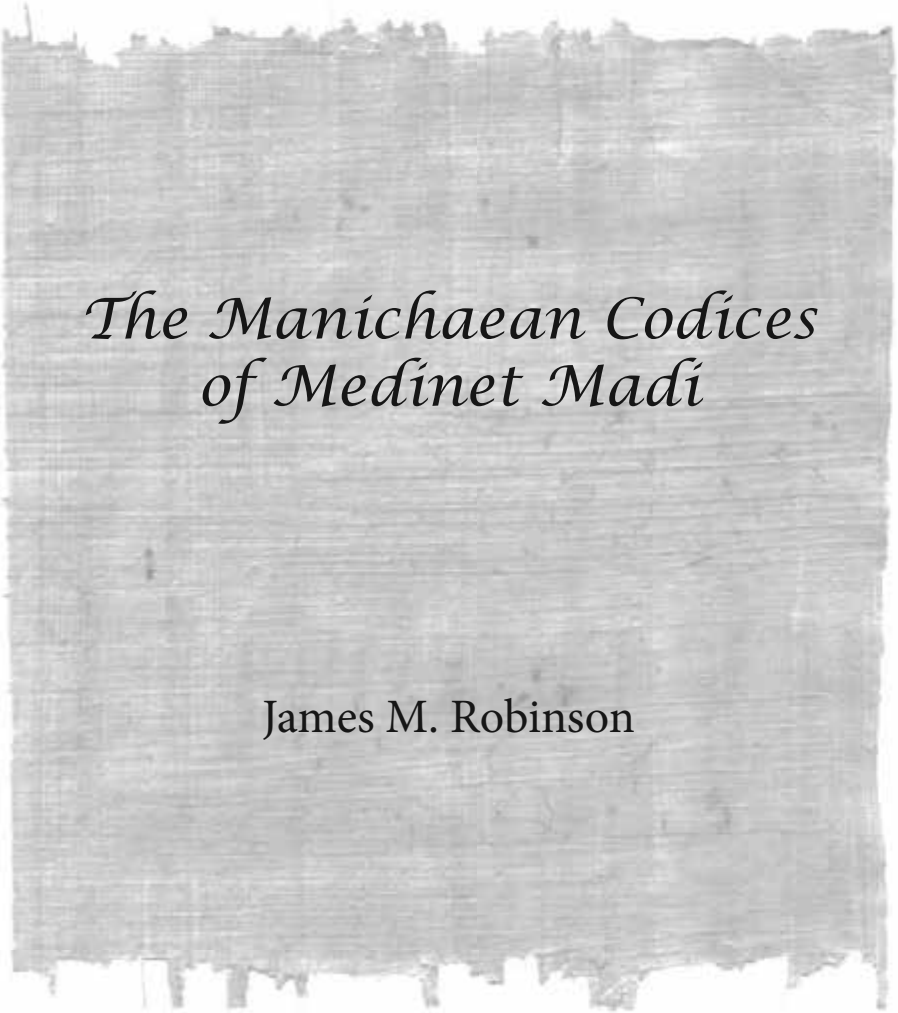
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James M. Robinson

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Contents

Abbreviations / *vii*
Preface / *ix*
Abstract / *xi*

Introduction: The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi, 1929–1989 / 1

Part 1: The Acquisition and Initial Conservation and Editing

1 The Acquisitions of Carl Schmidt / 51
2 The Acquisitions of Chester Beatty / 61
3 The Conservation by Hugo Ibscher / 80
4 Beatty, Ibscher, and Polotsky / 92
5 The Effects of World War II / 113

Part 2: The Conservation by Rolf Ibscher

6 The Conservation of the Material in the State Museums of the Former East Berlin / 147
7 The Conservation of the Material in Schondorf/Göttingen/West Berlin / 163
8 The Conservation of the Material in London/Dublin / 182

Inventories of Individual Codices / 189

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Part 3: The Berlin Holdings

9 P^{15995} *Synaxeis* / 193
10 P^{15996} *Kephalaia*, Volume One / 198
11 P^{15997} *Acts* / 225
12 P^{15998} *Letters* / 248
13 P^{15999} *Homilies* (Berlin Part) / 268

Part 4: The Dublin Holdings

14 The Wooden Covers / 273
15 Codex A: *Psalms* / 282
16 Codex B: *Synaxeis* / 288
17 Codex C: *Kephalaia*, Volume Two / 303
18 Codex D: *Homilies* (Dublin Part) / 309

Collectors, Dealers, and Scholars / 313
Bibliography / 317

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Abbreviations

APF	*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*
BSAC	*Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte*
BSFE	*Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie*
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der alten Kirche
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
MPER	Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Unterschungen zum Neuen Testament
WZUH	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther Universität-Halle-Wittenberg*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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Preface

The present work, *The Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi*, is primarily a mass of unpublished documentation I excerpted from the Manichaean archives in the main depositories, Berlin and Dublin, in 1984–1986, and from interviews with those directly involved. Copies were given to these two depositories in 1991, as well as to Wolf-Peter Funk of the University of Laval in Québec, Canada, the leading authority in this field, to whom I hence also gave my own Manichaean archives themselves. Hence the present publication does not continue the history of research up to the present, but leaves that for the next generation of scholarship.

The presentation contains very extensive—but often inconclusive—information; this uncertainty is indicated here, lest their publication give them a degree of certainty that is not appropriate. Yet the amount of otherwise inaccessible but reliable information, from interviews, correspondence, and unpublished documents, should not be lost from sight, but should be made available to the scholarship of the future.

To facilitate reading, indeed to keep the reader from being lost in detail, the extensive documentation is preceded by two already published summaries. First is a brief abstract prepared for the 18th International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Moscow, August 8–15, 1991. This then is followed by a more extensive introduction: "The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi, 1929–1989." It was originally published in *International Kongress zum Manichäismus 6.–10. August 1989 St. Augustin/Bonn*, edited by Gernot Wiessner and Hans-Joachim

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Klimkeit, in Studies in Oriental Religions 23 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992) 19–62.

The presentation of material is less complete for the material in the Chester Beatty Library, since the sorting and recording had to be done primarily for the scattered Berlin material. Yet the extensive archival material in Dublin makes it clear that considerably more detail could be added to the presentation of the return of the Chester Beatty codices after World War II, to the description of the work of Rolf Ibscher in London and Dublin, and to the analysis of the Dublin holdings.

James M. Robinson

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ABSTRACT

The Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi

The seven Manichaean papyrus codices of the fourth or fifth century were found in illicit excavation in 1929 in the desert in the ruins of Τερενοῦθις near Medinet Madi at the southern end of the Fayyum. They were acquired in about equal halves by A. Chester Beatty for his library then in London, now in Dublin, and by Carl Schmidt for the Papyrussammlung (papyrus collection) of the Staatliche Museen of Berlin. The status of the seven codices follows:

CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY CODEX A, *THE PSALMS*

Beatty acquired the front part of the codex from the Cairo dealer Maurice Nahman in 1931, and he had acquired the back part in 1930. The back part was conserved in Berlin by Hugo Ibscher and published by Charles R. C. Allberry in 1938. As Ibscher conserved each leaf of the front part, H. J. Polotsky transcribed each in Berlin. Copies went to both Beatty and W. E. Crum, for use in his *Coptic Dictionary*. Since the edition was never completed, it was not published, but in 1986/1988, Søren Giversen published a few lines of Psalm 119 he derived by Polotsky. The front part of the codex was put on loan at the Royal Library of Copenhagen in 1984 for Giversen to publish in facsimile and critical editions. He published both parts only in facsimile edition in 1988.

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CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY CODEX B, *THE SYNAXEIS*

Beatty acquired this codex from a Fayyumic dealer in 1930 (except for 31 residual leaves that Schmidt acquired in 1931, P[15995]). Beatty turned it over to Ibscher to conserve. By 1939 only thirteen leaves of Beatty's part had been conserved and returned to London. They moved with the library to Dublin in 1953 and to Copenhagen in 1984. Giversen published a facsimile edition in 1986. Beginning in 1934, the rest of Beatty's part of the codex was kept in Hugo Ibscher's home in Kleinmachnow, near Berlin, for conservation. But after Ibscher's death in 1943, his son Rolf Ibscher reported putting Beatty's parts of the codex in a reinforced concrete bunker at the Zoo Train Station of Berlin for safekeeping. After the bombing of that bunker in 1944, Rolf Ibscher reported having his assistant P. Seidel remove the codex so that Ibscher could take it to the home of his father-in-law, Wolf Henry Doering, in Schondorf on the Ammersee in Bavaria. From time to time Rolf Ibscher worked at conserving the leaves there. The West German authorities took control of the codex and engaged Carsten Colpe to edit it in 1956–1957. So the codex was taken to Göttingen. When he died in 1967, Rolf Ibscher had conserved only about half this material. When the Egyptian Museum was created in West Berlin in 1967, the material was deposited there. In 1985 the curator of the papyrus collection in that museum, William Brashear, asked me to investigate this material. There are 125 extant unpublished leaves plus the unconserved remainder of the book block. I reported on it to the Fachkommission Byzantinistik of the Historiker-Gesellschaft of the German Democratic Republic in Halle in 1986. Both museums authorized me to organize an edition of all the Manichaean material in Berlin. The transcription of the scarcely legible conserved leaves was begun in 1985. Gesine Schenke Robinson worked on the thirty-one leaves on the Museums-Insel of East Berlin, and others (especially Wolf-Peter Funk and Paul Mirecki) worked on those leaves in West Berlin. The photographing took place in Berlin in preparation for a facsimile edition of all the Manichaean material in Berlin, Vienna, and Warsaw, planned to be published by the Akademie-Verlag of Berlin.

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CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY CODEX C, VOLUME TWO OF THE *KEPHALAIA*

Beatty acquired this codex from the Fayyumic dealer prior to Schmidt's talking to that dealer in the spring of 1931. It was conserved by Rolf Ibscher after World War II and published in facsimile edition by Giversen in 1986. A committee of Søren Giversen, Rodolphe Kasser, and Martin Krause held exclusive rights to publish a critical edition of the Dublin–Copenhagen material. Kasser was entrusted with organizing the publication of the critical edition of this codex.

CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY CODEX D, THE *HOMILIES*

Beatty acquired the bulk of this codex from Nahman with an option to buy in 1930. But Beatty released it to Carl Schmidt for Berlin in 1932 (P^{15999}). It was not considered conservable but was put on display as a showpiece for how impossible this task was. The unconserved book block is thought to have been among the materials stored in the bunker at the Zoo train station. From there it was thought to have been taken to the Soviet command post at the castle Friedrichsfelde in 1945–1946, and then to Leningrad in 1946, though it was not found when the material was returned to Berlin in 1958. A smaller part of the codex was acquired by Beatty in 1931, conserved by Ibscher, edited by Polotsky, and published in 1934. Giversen published a facsimile edition of the codex in 1987.

BERLIN PAPYRUS COLLECTION P^{15995}, THE *SYNAXEIS*

See Chester Beatty Library Codex B above.

BERLIN PAPYRUS COLLECTION P^{15996}, VOLUME ONE OF THE *KEPHALAIA*

Schmidt acquired this codex from Nahman in 1930. Ibscher conserved most of the leaves. H. J. Polotsky and Alexander Böhlig edited them. They were published in fascicles—by 1940, a first volume through page 244, line 20. Böhlig published through page 291 in 1966, and

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through page 292 in 1985. Professor Grohmann of Prague acquired three unpublished remains for the Austrian National Library, where they are still extant. Five unpublished Berlin leaves are in Warsaw, where they were brought after having been lost in transit between Berlin and Leningrad in 1946. In Berlin there are some ninety extant unpublished leaves, equaling 180 pages.

The total of unpublished extant leaves then becomes 3 + 5 + 90 = 98 leaves or 6 + 10 + 180 = 196 pages. Wolf-Peter Funk is preparing a critical edition. Polotsky has put at Funk's disposal for the critical edition his transcriptions and translations located at the Academy of Sciences in Berlin, at the Griffith Institute of the Ashmoleon Museum in Oxford, and at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin.

BERLIN PAPYRUS COLLECTION P[15997], THE *ACTS*

This codex with its covers (which were photographed and published) was sold by a provincial dealer to Nahman, who sold the codex to Schmidt in 1931. One leaf that Ibscher conserved was returned to London, was moved with the library to Dublin, and was included in the material put on deposit in Copenhagen. Giversen published it in facsimile in 1987.

There are seven or eight unpublished leaves still in Berlin. Part of one unpublished leaf may be at the Institute for Papyrology of Warsaw University. There may thus be nine or ten extant leaves, eighteen or twenty pages. The unconserved book block and wooden covers did not return from Leningrad to Berlin in 1958. None of the leaves of this codex in Berlin or Warsaw have been published.

BERLIN PAPYRUS COLLECTION P[15998], THE *LETTERS*

This codex was also sold by the provincial dealer to Nahman, who sold it to Schmidt in 1931. There are six unpublished leaves that were returned from Leningrad to Berlin in 1958 and three unpublished leaves in the National Museum in Warsaw. There are also fifteen containers with eighteen leaves (three secondarily assigned to the *Kephalaia*) among those that probably lay half-conserved in the Ibscher home throughout the war that may belong to this codex. A leaf originally

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labeled as belonging to the Letters but reassigned to the Acts probably should be counted as belonging to the Letters. This would make a total of twenty-eight leaves or fifty-six pages. The book block did not return from Leningrad to Berlin in 1958. Hence none of the leaves of this codex were published.

BERLIN PAPYRUS COLLECTION P15999, THE *HOMILIES*

See Chester Beatty Library Codex D above.

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INTRODUCTION

The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi, 1929–1989

> As you will remember Terentianus Maurus in *De litteris syllabic et metric*: "Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli" [The fate of the books depends on the intelligence of the readers] which is often taken as said in the sense that books have their history. They have indeed, and also the Medinet Madi manuscripts have their fate as we all know. Some details, however, are still unknown to many although they are important in order for better understanding of the texts.
>
> —Søren Giversen

The seven Manichaean codices from Medinet Madi (Τερενοῦθις), whose ruins are still impressive (in the desert on the southern edge of the Fayyum), were made known to the scholarly community primarily through the essay of Carl Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten,"[1] although much information not included there has more recently become available from the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin.[2]

1. Schmid and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 4–90, with two plates and a contribution by Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschriften," 82–85. Most of the information in that essay is not repeated here but is presupposed as generally known or readily available.

2. Copies of relevant archive documents were kindly supplied to the Manichaean archive of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, which provided a chronological history of the Manichaean archive. This inventory was then supplied to Søren Giversen, who, in August 1987, asked the Chester Beatty Library to supplement material he already had with copies of some material listed in the inventory. Dr. Pat Donlon, then Reference Librarian and Curator of the Western Collection, graciously honored this request.

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Schmidt narrated that he had been shown some of the material by antiquities dealers in Egypt on two trips, only the second of which is actually dated, to the spring of 1931. From this one has inferred that his first trip was in 1930,[3] which Schmidt has elsewhere stated to be the date of the discovery.[4] But Søren Giversen has reported that the Danish Egyptologist H. O. Lange was shown some of the material in Cairo on November 29, 1929, by Maurice Nahman, the leading Cairo antiquities dealer of the time, though he did not acquire anything.[5] Hence the date of the discovery, if one may assume such material tends to reach the market promptly, should be corrected to read 1929.[6]

SIR CHESTER BEATTY'S ACQUISITIONS

On Schmidt's first trip he had been shown what he was able to identify on the spot as part of the *Kephalaia*, since he had just been reading proofs on Karl Holl's edition of Epiphanius's *Panarion* that refers to it! Yet he did not acquire it when first shown it, but continued on his trip to Jerusalem, with plans to secure authorization for its acquisition by the time he passed through Cairo on his return trip. But before that time,[7] or, now to be more specific, on March 23, 1930, Chester Beatty had obtained on approval from the same Cairo antiquities dealer Maurice Nahman two other manuscripts and two wooden covers.[8]

3. Beltz, "Katalog der koptischen Handschriften."

4. Schmidt, *Neue Originalquellen des Manichäismus aus Äegypten*, 4. Similarly Allberry, "Manichaean Studies," 337–49, especially 340, gives 1930 as the date when the "library was brought to light," as well as the date when Schmidt was shown the *Kephalaia* "by a Fayum dealer." The dealer in question was actually the Cairo dealer Maurice Nahman, who obviously had contacts with the Fayyum, but not the dealer located in the Fayyum whom Schmidt first visited with regard to these codices in 1931.

5. Giversen, *Psalm Book, Part 1*, 7–8. He points out that this date, which Lange's extant diary documents, was also confirmed by Schmidt in an extant letter of February 20, 1936. A similar report (Giversen, "Manichaean Texts from the Chester Beatty Collection," 265–72), especially 271–72, states that the antiquities dealer who showed "one of the manuscripts" to Lange was Maurice Nahman.

6. Giversen, *Manichaean Papyri of the Chester Beatty Library*, 1, speaks of "their rediscovery in 1929," in the quotation used as the motto at the beginning of this paper. This motto is repeated in somewhat different terms in Giversen, "Manichaean Texts from the Chester Beatty Collection," 271.

7. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 6.

8. In the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library is a ledger sheet with the letterhead of Maurice Nahman, dated March 23, 1930. It was made out to Beatty and

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At the end of May, Beatty had Hugo Ibscher, the Conservator of the Papyrus Collection of Berlin, who had worked periodically for him in London, assess the chances of conserving the material, since the leaves were stuck together by salt crystals resulting, one assumed, from lying in dampness over the centuries. Ibscher said the larger and more expensive manuscript, which only later was identified as the bulk of the *Homilies* codex (see below), could not be conserved.[9] Beatty apparently decided already then not to acquire it, for he did not send it along with the other to Berlin with Ibscher for conservation, but retained it in London for two years (see below).

Chester Beatty Library Codex A, the *Psalms*, Part Two

The smaller of the manuscripts acquired by Beatty on March 23, 1930, with an option to buy was assessed by Ibscher as "very difficult" to conserve.[10] Beatty cabled Nahman on May 31, 1930, that he was willing to pay only £200, rather than the £500 that Nahman had asked. But on June 2, 1930, Nahman cabled that he would not accept the offer. Yet Beatty had already turned over the manuscript to Ibscher, who had just taken it back to Berlin with him to conserve. On or before June 9, 1930, while in New York on a business trip, Beatty agreed by transatlantic cable to pay £500. It turned out to be the latter part of the *Psalms* codex, which was published by Charles R. C. Allberry in 1938.[11] Photographic reproductions were published by Søren Giversen in 1988.[12]

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listed fifteen items for sale with their prices, to which have been added annotations as to which are to be kept and which returned. A last item, offered for £1,200 reads: "Two Coptic manuscripts an[d] two binding[s] in wood." Underneath, notes were added that read:

> On approval
> £700 Mss
> £500 Mss
> £40 Binding

9. Hugo Ibscher arrived in London on May 26, 1930, according to Beatty's cable to an impatient Nahman on May 28, 1930. On May 31, 1930, Beatty cabled Nahman: "Doctor Ibscher thinks can do nothing with large book."

10. Quoted from Beatty's cable of May 31, 1930, to Nahman.

11. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part 2*.

12. Giversen, *Psalm Book, Part 2,* facsimile edition.

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Chester Beatty Library Codex B, the *Synaxeis*

Schmidt reported that a Fayyumic dealer had explained to him in the Spring of 1931 that the discovery had been divided into eight parts among three dealers. The Fayyumic dealer himself had retained three parts, Nahman three, and a provincial dealer two. The Fayyumic dealer told Schmidt that he had already sold all three of his parts to Beatty.[13] Since there are apparently only two codices acquired by Beatty that he did not get from Nahman, the bulk of the *Synaxeis* and Volume Two of the *Kephalaia* (see below), one of these must have been dismembered by the time of the partition, a vandalism to which Schmidt referred in general, thereby producing three "codices" out of two codices. Since the *Synaxeis* codex is known to have been dismembered by this time (see below), one may assume that it was the one counted as two of the three "codices" acquired by Beatty from the Fayyumic dealer.

On November 27, 1930, Beatty turned over to Ibscher in London, to take back to Berlin for conservation, another "Coptic book."[14] Its acquisition is not otherwise documented, but it may be postulated to have been from the Fayyumic acquisition, which may have been cash and carry, without a written receipt. But the absence of documentation could be due merely to the incompleteness of the Archives or of our survey of them.[15]

Schmidt reported having acquired in the spring of 1931 for the sake of completeness "a few unimpressive piles" from a codex Beatty had acquired in the Fayyum.[16] Only two codices were shared between London and Berlin, the *Homilies* and the *Synaxeis*. This could not be the *Homilies*, since the Berlin part of this codex was later acquired from Nahman, once Beatty, who had it on approval, had decided not to acquire it (see below). Hence the *Synaxeis* must be for this reason also one of the codices Beatty acquired in the Fayyum, and indeed

13. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 8.

14. In a letter of November 27, 1930, to Sir Alan Gardiner, Beatty speaks of sending Gardiner a Coptic book to have Ibscher put in his bag after verifying that it is satisfactorily packed.

15. The two manuscripts brought to London in April 1931 (see below) are recorded to have been brought that month, but a receipt from an antiquities dealer has not been located. The fact that the two manuscripts are in each case the other part of the two codices acquired from Nahman a year earlier supports the assumption that these came from Nahman.

16. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 8.

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prior to the spring of 1931.[17] Thus it may be the book sent to Berlin for conservation at the end of November 1930, although this could also have been Volume Two of the *Kephalaia*. In fact, since both may have been unbound, and the *Synaxeis* was in more than one part, the "book" may have been a stack of papyrus pads without a clear distinction of where one codex began and another ended. In fact, someone had written in by hand on the typed letter of November 27, 1930, the word "Papyri" just before "Coptic Book," which might indicate that it looked less like a book than an amorphous stack of papyri.

Thirteen leaves of the *Synaxeis* codex were conserved by Hugo Ibscher and returned to London by the spring of 1939.[18] They were moved with the Chester Beatty Library to Dublin in 1953 and in 1984 were put on loan at the Royal Library of Copenhagen for Søren Giversen to study.[19] Giversen published photographic reproductions in 1986.[20] It is to be hoped that these thirteen leaves can be integrated fully in any future critical edition of the *Synaxeis* rather than being subjected to the either-or conditions announced by Rodolphe Kasser on behalf of an International Committee for the Publication of the Manichaean Coptic Papyri from Medinet Madi Belonging to the Chester Beatty Library (Søren Giversen, President; Rodolphe Kasser; Martin Krause), to the effect that persons editing Berlin materials

17. Ibid., 30, makes this explicit.

18. On April 22, 1939, Sir Alan Gardiner wrote Beatty that he had some Mani plates he would return soon. A day-book kept by Joan Kingford Wood of Beatty's library staff since 1927 recorded on May 3, 1939: "From Dr. G[ardiner]. Mani. Pap. Codex B.C. KEPHALAIA 49 in all (Cod. B. 51–62, 63–76 Cod. C. 1, 3, 4, 39–48, 49–58) = 49." An entry dated July 5, 1939, as "Fetched by Mr. A[llberry]" "Codex B KEPHALAIA pages 51–62, 63–76." Apparently two codices were distinguished, as B and C, yet both were on this occasion designated *Kephalaia*, whereas Beatty had only one *Kephalaia* codex, Codex C. Since Codex A, *Psalms*, is of a smaller format than the others (see below), and Codex D, the part of the *Homilies* owned by Beatty, had already been clearly identified and in fact published, the 13 leaves designated Codex B 51–76 must be from the only remaining codex acquired by Beatty, the *Synaxeis*.

19. Whereas Giversen had requested about 171 leaves on November 24, 1982, of Patrick Henchy, then librarian of the Chester Beatty Library, on November 7, 1983 he raised the figure to 184 in a request to the current director and librarian, Wilfrid Lockwood. The inventory dated January 13, 1984 and validated with the stamp of the Danish Royal Library lists as "Codex B" "13 glasses" numbered "51–76."

20. Giversen, *Homilies and Varia*, ix, states: "Pages 101–126 bear facsimiles of the leaves which Hugo Ibscher has labelled 'Codex B.' . . . The sheets are marked from 51 to 76, the equivalent of this edition's 101–126."

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(where the bulk of the *Synaxeis* codex is now located, see below) may not participate in editing Dublin materials.[21] Yet, as Alexander Böhlig has subsequently stated: "It is too onesided, when the Dublin team wishes to forbid simultaneous work on the two parts of the discovery, since, after all, overlappings of the material are present."[22] In fact the publication of the facsimile edition puts the facsimiles of these thirteen leaves in the public domain, free to the scholarly world to publish in critical editions as it sees fit. For, as Martin Krause, though a member of the committee advocating this segregation in the membership of the two teams, has said (with regard to the facsimile edition of the Nag Hammadi codices), the purpose of a facsimile edition is "so that the manuscripts after their publication in facsimile volumes stand avail-

21. At the meeting of the Association Francophone de Coptologie at the Louvre Museum in Paris on May 23, 1986, Rodolphe Kasser read and distributed an announcement entitled "Projet international pour la publication des manuscrits manichéens coptes de Medinet Madi appartenant à la Chester Beatty Library (premier communiqué)."

> Soon after this [the publication of a facsimile edition] the critical edition of the same texts will appear under the responsibility of the same committee [Søren Giversen, president; Rodolphe Kasser; Martin Krause], which will distribute this task between coptologists . . . only those persons will be invited to participate in the *editio princeps* of the Manichaean Coptic texts in the Chester Beatty Library who has [*sic*] not already obtained this possibility concerning the *editio princeps* of the Manichaean Coptic papyri of Berlin or Vienna.

This announcement followed directly upon my invitation to French-language Coptologists to participate in the work of an "International Committee for the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi" that was being planned. This invitation was published in *Newsletter* 19 of the International Association for Coptic Studies, August 1986, Annex 1, pp. 3–5, especially p. 4: ". . . qualified scholars are welcome to offer their services . . . For it is not the intention of the project to limit access to the material, but rather to facilitate access to it." The announcement by Kasser, president of the International Association for Coptic Studies, followed in French and English on pp. 6–9.

The Board of the International Association for Coptic Studies, at its meeting on June 12, 1986, "expressed its approval of both [projects], and hoped that there will be collaboration between the two projects," as published on page 1 of the same *Newsletter*.

22. Böhlig, "Neue Initiativen zur Erschliessung der koptisch-manichäischen Bibliothek von Medinet Madi," 245. "Es ist zu einseitig, wenn das Dublin-Team gleichzeitige Arbeit an beiden Fundgruppen verbieten will, sind doch Uberkreuzungen des Materials vorhanden."

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able to *all* scholars for study and work" (Krause's emphasis).[23] A transcription of the published facsimiles of the 13 *Synaxeis* leaves that has been prepared by Wolf-Peter Funk in conjunction with transcriptions of the leaves in Berlin that he is preparing should preferably be published together, for which purpose access to the papyri in Copenhagen should be granted to him and others working on the Berlin part of codices also represented in Dublin/Copenhagen. Negotiations during the conference at Bonn produced an agreement to at least a degree of cooperation:

> Persons participating in the *editio princeps* of material in Berlin can work together with persons participating in the *editio princeps* of material in Dublin / Copenhagen as a joint team to edit a shared text. In the naming of persons on such joint editorial teams Giversen will represent the Dublin group and Robinson the Berlin group. The person or persons named by each group will be primarily responsible for editing the leaves of that group, but members of such a joint team can study the papyri at both places, work in close collaboration with each other, and publish a joint edition.

A first step toward the implementation of this policy was a visit of Wolf-Peter Funk to Copenhagen, where he was permitted to study the 13 leaves of the *Synaxeis* codex. (Giversen has not approved subsequent plans to cooperate in editing the two volumes of the *Kephalaia*.)

Some of the material, while undergoing conservation, was not kept at the Papyrus Collection in Berlin, but in the Ibscher home, where Ibscher was permitted to work three days a week from the age of 60, i.e., from 1934 on.[24] Though Beatty himself went to Berlin before the war to bring back his papyri, he apparently brought back

23. Krause, review of *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Introduction*, 378.

24. Reported by Alexander Böhlig in a letter of February 10, 1986. A letter from Otto Firchow of October 28, 1960, had stated:

> In my opinion the papyri [Chester Beatty Library Codex B, the *Synaxeis*] ought to be found with Dr. Rolf Ibscher probably already mounted and glazed. Dr. Hugo Ibscher used to carry out this kind of work in his own home. If I were still in Berlin, or if I had known about the matter a few months ago, I could have offered you my help. I should suggest that you get in touch with Rolf Ibscher, who has no connection with the Berlin Museum. Let me say again that the papyri cannot be in the Berlin Museum but must have been in Hugo Ibscher's private possession.

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only what had been conserved.[25] C. R. C. Allberry reported in May 1940 "that Dr. Ibscher had the remainder of Mr. Beatty's papyrus at his house in the country, at Kleinmachnow."[26] But there were in the home also materials belonging to Berlin, such as unconserved leaves of P[15996], the *Kephalaia*,[27] and P[15998], the *Letters*.[28] It would be to these Berlin holdings that Ibscher referred in 1949, to the effect that the remainder of the (Berlin) Papyrus Collection was in his home.[29]

25. Joan Kingford Wood wrote on February 7, 1960, her reminiscences:

> . . . it must have been when things were boiling up in Germany against the Jews, before hostilities began with us, that Sir Chester went over to Berlin to fetch the remainder of the papyri, the Manichaean . . . He went and brought back the papyri. But then Sir Chester has a way of overcoming difficulties with authority and persuasion.

26. The black loose-leaf folder in the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library entitled "Papyrus. Biblical Manichaean Hieratic Greek etc. General Catalogue," in the section "Manichaean Pap." presents this quotation, with the reference: "(see letter from Allberry)."

27. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 182: "Of the material in Berlin only a very small part has always remainded in Berlin. It was the last 20 leaves of the Berlin *Kephalaia* book."

28. Ibid., 184, 182:

> Of this book one finds in Berlin, put under glass already in the pre-war period, 6 leaves . . . , and about 22 leaves in half-conserved condition. The folders in which they lay were numbered . . .
>
> The urgently needed reglassing of all the pieces that had been glassed by Hugo Ibscher and that returned to Berlin in 1958 was undertaken by Rolf Ibscher beginning in June of this year (1960), along with the conservation of a few half-conserved leaves that Ibscher Sr. had at first put to one side as too difficult, doubtlessly correctly, for it had to do usually with double or triple leaves.

The half-conserved leaves are here distinguished as in folders rather than as glassed. And the reference to material being returned to Berlin is limited to the glassed material. This would indicate that the half-conserved material in folders had not been taken to Leningrad and returned in 1958 to Berlin. The Inventory Book of the Papyrus Collection of Berlin lists only 6 glassed leaves as going "to the East" and "back."

29. Ibscher wrote J. V. S. Wilkinson, the librarian of the Chester Beatty Library, on December 31, 1949: "The misfortune of our persecuted Museums with the destroyed rooms of the Papyrus Collection led after all to this, that the collection was stationed with me in [my] house, and that brought us many a convenience."

Actually the material was already in the Ibscher home; it is very doubtful (see below) if any papyri were still in the museum when it was very heavily damaged by air raids, or that Ibscher could have rescued any such material from the gutted Neues Museum to take to his home. There is a similar allusion to material in the home in a letter of January 9, 1949 from Ibscher to Beatty, of which only a translation of the

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The bulk of the Papyrus Collection not in the Ibscher home, along with other Museum holdings, was put for safekeeping during the war in a reinforced concrete bunker (removed after the war) at the Zoo Train Station, in what became West Berlin. The Museum was indeed very heavily damaged in a massive air raid on February 3, 1945, which left intact only the outer walls of the gutted Neues Museum, where the Papyrus Collection had been housed.

Rolf Ibscher reported that after his father's death on May 26, 1943, he added to the storage deposit in the Zoo bunker "the Manichaean papyrus books,"[30] presumably meaning the book blocks that had been in the home where his father had been conserving them, i.e., separating off the individual leaves. "But after 20 July 1944 [when the Zoo bunker was itself bombed[31]] this place too did not seem to me safe enough." Hence "with the approval of General Director Kümmel, in xi 1944."[32] Ibscher had an assistant, P. Seidel, get three book blocks from the bunker, in order to take them for safekeeping to Schondorf on the Ammer Lake in Bavaria, to the home of his father-in-law, the publisher Wolf Henry Doering. Rolf Ibscher maintained that he removed

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relevant paragraph is in the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library: "We are grateful for one piece of good fortune which follows from my present situation in so far as it has been possible up to now to maintain our house properly heated on account of the fact that since the destruction of the Museums, I have continued to work at home and also harbour the remainder of the Papyrus collection which has not yet been transferred to West Germany."

None of the Berlin holdings of the Manichaean codices are known to have ever been taken to West Germany; the suggestion that some might already be in West Germany is no doubt a reference to the *Synaxeis*, which Ibscher mistakenly took to be the Berlin Codex, P[15998], the *Letters*, which he had taken to West Germany (see below).

30. Rolf, Ibscher. "Wiederaufnahme," 359–60 (abstract). The Archives of the Chester Beatty Library include Ibscher, "Zusammenfassung des auf dem Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongress gehaltenen Berichts," typescript, 4 pages; and the typescript of the complete paper, "Wiederaufnahme und neuester Stand der Konservierung der Manichäischen Papyruscodices," 12 pages, unpublished; the quotations come from p. 3.

31. On November 9, 1960, I. E. S. Edwards of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the British Museum wrote R. J. Hayes, then acting head of the Chester Beatty Library, that he had heard from Rudolf Anthes (director of the Papyrus Collection of Berlin 1935–1939, 1945–1950, but also enlisted during the war to move the objects from the Museum to safekeeping) that this was the reason for the removal of the material from the Zoo bunker.

32. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 181.

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the material "on my own responsibility."[33] Böhlig has reconciled the divergence as to the person responsible as follows:[34]

> Rolf Ibscher had the authorization from General Director Kümmel to get the Dublin material from the anti-aircraft tower and take it to Bavaria. He did this in the company of the Museum worker P. Seidel, who has since died. In the process the idea came to him that it would perhaps be useful, in case worst came to worst, also to take along one of the Berlin codices. This decision was, as far as I know, spontaneous. That it was worth it, is shown by the success. These things remained completely preserved, in contrast to what the Soviets had "saved."

After the war, Beatty had sought with the help of Sir Alan Gardiner to establish contact with Rolf Ibscher so as to secure the return of his codices, but apparently without success. Rolf Ibscher himself seems to have been the first to establish contact, by writing to England on January 28, 1946, to the effect that he had saved Beatty's material, "together with a part of the Berlin Mani Codices," whereas the rest of the Berlin part had been taken East.[35]

Ibscher's initiative may have resulted from contact with the occupying forces, for it was at precisely the same time that these official channels seem to have located the material that had been kept at Schondorf. Alexander Böhlig has given 1946 as the date and Schondorf the place that two codices (Part 1 of the *Psalms* and Volume

33. Rolf Ibscher, "Das Konservierungswerk," unpublished typescript, 3: ". . . which on my own responsibility I had brought out of the danger zone of Berlin . . ."

34. Böhlig in a letter of February 10, 1986.

35. In a letter of November 16, 1946, Sir Alan Gardiner wrote to Joan Kingsford Wood, translating from a letter of Ibscher's of January 28, 1946 to him: "However much there is to say on this topic (his family affairs) it is more important to tranquillize you in the matter of the Mani MSS. or rather Codices. They are saved! After Father's death I took them, together with a part of the Berlin Mani Codices to Bavaria to my Father-in-law outside the danger zone; for also here in Kleinmachnow bombs often fell."

In a letter of May 17, 1946, from Gardiner to Wood, Gardiner reported that a letter of January 28, 1946, from Rolf Ibscher to Sir Herbert Thompson, who had died, had been forwarded to him. Gardiner quoted from Ibscher's letter: "You will know, perhaps through Dr. Gardiner or via the British Museum, that and how I could save the London possession from the effects and consequences of the war." Gardiner added: "He goes on to say that all the remainder of the MSS. belonging to the Berlin Museum had been taken East."

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two of the *Kephalaia*) were released to Beatty,[36] information that is all the more reliable in view of the fact that it was Böhlig himself (who was in Munich at the end of the war) who had "separated them at Schondorf."[37] Böhlig considered it possible that, in view of inadequately marked parts, some material belonging to Berlin may have been released to London, and some belonging to London retained at Schondorf.[38] The 13 leaves that were in London (later in Dublin and then in Copenhagen), to which Böhlig here refers as perhaps belonging to Berlin but by mistake sent to England, do not, however, belong to the Berlin *Letters* codex P[15998], as he at the time conjectured (see below), but rather to the *Synaxeis* codex that belonged to Beatty; they had been quite appropriately returned to London before the war (see above). But regarding the converse possibility, that London material may have been retained in Schondorf: Böhlig himself was the first to publish, in 1957, the admission that by mistake the book block of Beatty's *Synaxeis* stayed at Schondorf rather than being returned to London (see below).

At the beginning of 1946 Sir John Forsdyke, director of the British Museum, received a vague report about Beatty's codices having been located in Germany, according to "the military authorities."[39] The

36. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit an den koptischen Manichaica," 180–81: "There [at the house of the father-in-law in Schondorf] Sir Chester Beatty had the parts of the Codices A and C picked up in the year 1946."

37. Rolf Ibscher reported in his broken English in a letter of October 6, 1955, to Beatty: "This wooden box [taken from the Zoo bunker] contained one Berlin manuscript (for which I had specially asked Mr. Seidel) to make certain, that at l[e]ast part of the Berlin collection also was saved, in addition those papyri which reached you in London in 1947 after Dr. Böhlig had separated them at Schondorf." In an interview on July 10, 1986, Prof. and Mrs. Böhlig confirmed the fact that they went to Schondorf in the absence of Rolf Ibscher and recalled having turned over the material after only a superficial examination of the contents.

38. Böhlig, in a letter of February 10, 1986: "Whether something was then confused when turned over to the emissaries of Chester Beatty, so that in the end result a Berlin part came to Dublin and an English part (the *Synaxeis* codex) to Göttingen / West Berlin, I consider to be quite possible. That the individual parts were not adequately marked I also consider possible."

39. From a letter of Forsdyke to Wilkinson of November 15, 1946: "The facts (so far as I have any) about Mr. Chester Beatty's papyri in Germany are that a box of papyri marked 'British Museum' but identified by us as his was found there and reported to me by the military authorities. I told them that I wished to receive them as soon as they could be released and despatched, and I have no doubt that this will ultimately be done in that order—if they are not in the Russian zone."

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military authorities in this case would seem to have been Squadron Leader Christopher Norris, in charge of seeking "works of art, etc., in Germany that come from Britain."[40]

Forsdyke had written Norris as early as February 15, 1946, that the British Museum would receive Beatty's material if he could deliver it.[41] This suggests that Norris had just written Forsdyke that Beatty's material had been located. The timing of such a letter would thus fit that of Ibscher's letters of January 28, 1946, to London. From this, one may infer that the unpublished Part One of Beatty's *Psalms*, Codex A, and his Volume Two of the *Kephalaia*, Codex C, were probably turned over to the American forces in Schondorf about 1946, and were kept in the Fine Arts Repository that the Americans established in Munich in 1946.[42]

At the beginning of October 1947 Lieutenant Colonel Hugh Murray Baillie, of the Fine Arts Commission of the British Zone located in Düsseldorf, brought to Düsseldorf two codices thought to belong to the British Museum. Norris realized that the material was that of Beatty he had been expecting.[43] Baillie brought the manuscripts to

40. From a letter to Wilkinson dated July 16, 1946, whose author is not known: ". . . a British officer who was charged with the duty of investigating the whereabouts and present condition of works of art, etc., in Germany that come from Britain. The officer in question saw Forsdyke, and it was, I think, from Forsdyke that I got the most detailed information." References to Norris in this capacity recur in subsequent correspondence.

41. A letter of F. Francis, Secretary of the British Museum, to Wilkinson of July 25, 1946 reports this fact.

42. Wilkinson wrote Beatty on October 9, 1947, what Baillie (see also the following note) had reported (based on a rough memorandum also in the Chester Beatty Archives and dated the same day): "Dr. Ibscher handed the Papyri to a relative of his in Bavaria. (This corresponds more or less with what young Ibscher told Dr. Gardiner, i.e. that after old Ibscher's death, young Ibscher handed them to his father-in-law in Bavaria). This relation (i.e., apparently the father-in-law) handed the MSS. to the Fine Arts Repository which was established by the Americans last year, and they were held by the Americans together with other property which was to be sent back to the Allies, or other quarters."

43. Wilkinson's letter of October 9, 1947, to Beatty continued:

> About a week ago Mr. Baillie was in Munich, arranging for the transfer of some fine arts property from the American to the British Zone, and these two parcels were handed to Mr. Baillie. He was told by the Americans that they thought it was British Museum property, and that it had been handed over by Dr. Gardiner to Dr. Ibscher. They handed it over readily, and were satisfied that it had come to Germany before the War. Mr. Baillie brought the parcels

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London[44] and delivered them on October 8, 1947, to Joan Kingsford Wood[45] of the staff of the Chester Beatty Library, who commented:[46]

> Evidently untouched and as they were when handed to Dr. Ibscher, as far as it is possible to tell.

Part of the London concern to recover the material had involved an effort to determine just how much and which material belonging to Beatty was in Germany. It turned out that no one actually knew; the only documentation that could be turned up referred only to two manuscripts, the parts of the *Psalms* and of the *Homilies* brought to London in April 1931 (see below).[47] Since this part of the *Homilies*

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back to his office in Düsseldorf, and informed Squadron-Leader Norris at the. Head Office; Norris recognized the parcels as your property about which I had had correspondence with him, i.e. Norris. Baillie was coming home on leave, and offered to bring the parcels to London himself. He had noticed that the Papyri, which he had opened, were very fragile.

44. Baillie's letter of October 5, 1947, to Beatty stated: "I have just brought over from Germany, on my return on leave, two codices, which I understand you sent to Dr. Ibscher of Berlin before the war. I collected them from Munich and it seemed the safest and quickest way of getting them back. Perhaps you would be good enough to let me know when it would be convenient for me to hand them over to you officially."

45. On October 8, 1947, Wood signed a receipt for "two parcels containing one labelled 'CODEX C' and the other 'MANICHEAN PSALM BOOKS.'"

46. Her note is not written on the receipt itself, but is handwritten by her on a letter of October 8, 1947 she received from John Wooderson, Beatty's secretary. In the note she refers to the "Psalm book "in the singular, thereby in effect correcting the receipt (see the preceding note).

47. On November 25, 1945,Wilkinson wrote Beatty asking "which MSS. were left with Ibscher." Beatty must have turned to Wood for information, for on November 28, 1945, she wrote him: "I have no note at all what Manichaean ms. or mss. were with Dr. Ibscher." The same day she wrote to Gardiner for assistance. On November 4, 1946, Wooderson wrote Wilkinson, asking him to inquire of Wood or Gardiner "exactly what were sent." Wilkinson talked to Wood, and on November 14, 1946, reported to Wooderson: "The MSS. were not, I should explain, dealt with by Mrs. Wood personally, in the first instance." She herself wrote Gardiner on November 14, 1946, "to ask if you happened to keep any note at all, of the number of Manichaean papyrus MSS. that were handed to Dr. Ibscher?"

He responded on November 16, 1946: "I am very sorry to say I cannot give you the information about the Manichaean papyri for which you ask. I never knew the number of rolls entrusted to Dr. Ibscher, but I believe his son to be perfectly honest and he will give Mr. Beatty the right information."

On November 16, 1946, she wrote to Wilkinson:

> There was one other source for details about the Mani MSS. which I fetched away yesterday morning, a day-book I used to keep. I found in it an entry

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(like Part Two of the *Psalms* codex taken to Berlin the end of 1930) had long since been conserved, published, and returned to London, the only material that was actually identified as having gone to Germany and that was actually still in Germany was Part One of the *Psalms* codex. Overlooked were the materials in the Chester Beatty Library Archives (cited above) concerning Part Two of the *Psalms* codex being taken by Ibscher to Berlin at the end of May 1930, and the bulk of the *Synaxeis* codex and Volume Two of the *Kephalaia* being taken by Ibscher to Berlin—perhaps both November 27, 1930. Of the three items at Schondorf, the English team had been aware of only one as being in Germany. It is thus out of ignorance and oversight that the false conclusion was reached that everything had been returned from Germany.[48]

Inquiries were immediately begun as to who might be enlisted to conserve the two book blocks. No one in England could be recommended, but several recommended Rolf Ibscher. For this reason, and also no doubt in gratitude, Rolf Ibscher was offered employment to continue the conservation begun by his father. On May 27, 1948, he

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for—

"May 8 1931 To Dr. Gardiner for Dr. Ibscher, the 2 Manichaean Coptic books, Hymns and Ritual Observances."

This is the only record I have found of ever having taken any Manichaean ms. in its original state to Dr. G.[ardiner] for Dr. I.[bscher]. The title 'Ritual Observances' may later have turned into 'Homilies' on examination? . . . As to whether these '2 Coptic books' later turned into 3 books, so-to-speak; or Mr. Beatty had one more afterwards, I cannot say.

This faint glimmer of awareness of there having been more than two that were turned over to Ibscher to conserve thus seems to have been dismissed. After the two codices had been returned from Germany, Wood appended a handwritten note to her file copy of her letter of November 28, 1945, to Beatty, to correct her comment to the effect that she had no notes about material going to Ibscher; she now quoted the note dated May 8, 1931, and added: "This date tallies fairly with that of 'April 1931,' written on one of the boxes returned Oct 8/47 from Munich." This must be the box containing the first part of the *Psalms*, since this was first brought to London April 1931 (see below) and was returned October 8, 1947.

48. Wilkinson wrote Wooderson on October 9, 1947: "the parcels appear to contain all the material which remained in Dr. Ibscher's hands. None of it has been mounted; it is still in its original condition. The two parcels contain (1) Codex C (2) The Psalm-books Papyri." In his letter the same day to Beatty, he also stated: "Further, a number of the mounted leaves marked 'Codex C,' at Baroda House, tally in size and appearance with the unmounted fragments of Codex C which have just arrived. The probability is, therefore, that we have got everything back at last."

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wrote Beatty accepting the offer, and incidentally covered himself by blaming careless American soldiers for whatever damages may have been suffered by the codices.[49] In the argosy from the Neues Museum to the Zoo bunker and on to Kleinmachnow, to Schondorf, to Munich, to Düsseldorf, and to London, American personnel of the Fine Arts Repository were responsible only for the approximately one-hour trip from Schondorf to Munich. Fortunately, a placing of blame was apparently not necessary.

Rolf Ibscher maintained as late as 1954 that all of Beatty's material thus survived,[50] though only a year later he explained to Beatty that the *Synaxeis* codex was among those taken to Leningrad.[51]

The other museum objects still stored in the Zoo bunker were taken by the Soviet forces to the Soviet sector of Berlin, before the Soviet forces vacated that part of Berlin in which the Zoo Station is located, which became the British sector. The loot from the Zoo bunker was deposited temporarily in a Soviet command post at the Friedrichsfelde Castle in the Soviet sector, as was indicated by a few glassed papyrus leaves turned in to the museum by persons reporting they found them there.[52] The hoard was then transported by train to

49. Ibscher wrote in his wooden English: ". . . I am not knowing how are the manuscripts being kept by the foolish way of acting of the American Military Service arbitrary, contrary to my entreaty. [Ibscher was not even in Schondorf when the codices were turned in. See note 37 above.] Surely the manuscripts were not treated carefully during the travelling over hedge and ditch. But how could this be expected by any soldier having not the slightest notion of the delicate material keeping in his hands!"

50. Rolf Ibscher, "Wiederaufnahme," 3.

51. Rolf Ibscher reported in his limited English to Beatty in a letter of October 6, 1955:

> The papyri were removed according to my arrangement from the bomb proof shelter (Zoo Bunker) in 1944 by my assistant at the Museum, Mr. Seidel, but Codex B [*Synaxeis*], sorry to say, seems to have been left behind. The reason being that the papyri had to be removed secretly in a frantic hurry, thus you can imagine how glad I *was,* when Mr. Seidel got past the SS-Guards with the invaluable little wooden box . . .
>
> Thus Codex B [actually the Berlin codex P^{15998}, the *Letters*], together with 3 Berlin manuscripts [P^{15996}, P^{15997}, P^{15999}] and all other glazed [glassed] Berlin Manichaean Papyri of the Museum [P^{15995} and leaves of P^{15996}, P^{15997}, and P^{15998}] were taken to Russia.

52. Wolfgang Müller, director emeritus of the Papyrus Collection in (East) Berlin, reported in 1986 that Rolf Ibscher told him this. Müller himself did not move to Berlin until 1951.

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Leningrad in 1946 (see below) and in principle returned to Berlin in 1958. But none of the book blocks were returned.

Although Michel Tardieu has reported that the bulk of P^{15997} and P^{15998} had been "destroyed or lost during the Second World War,"[53] no evidence has emerged indicating any loss during the war, though the loss of the P^{15997} and P^{15998} book blocks (and of P^{15999}, the unconservable bulk of the *Homilies* that Tardieu overlooked) remains unexplained. Otto Firchow, director of the Papyrus Collection in (East) Berlin at the time, moved to the British sector of Berlin in August 1960, and commended himself to the British as a refugee by reporting that he had brought with him Beatty's missing codex.[54] But when the package finally reached the British Museum in October 1960, it turned out to contain "only blank leaves of papyrus and a few inscribed fragments."[55] Firchow maintained that the packet had been "packed by Dr. Ibscher" and that he himself was not involved.[56]

On May 23, 1985, I visited the British Museum to go through the files left behind in the office of the retired conservator of papyrus Stanley Baker, and came upon what seemed to be the box turned in by Firchow. My inventory of this item reads:

53. Tardieu, "Les Manichéens en Égypte," 5–19, especially 6. With regard to his estimate of 1,000 lost leaves as "that which would have been lost in Berlin at the time of the events of the Second War," (7), he refers to Rolf Ibscher, "Mani und kein Ende," 223, who, however, does not here date the loss to the time during the war.

54. In a letter of August 29, 1960, Otto Firchow, replying to a letter from I. E. S. Edwards, who had written to him at the Papyrus Collection inquiring about Beatty's material, described his move as follows: "I myself have been compelled to surrender during the past few days under political and personal pressure the Direction of the Berlin Museum, Egyptian Department, and to flee to West Berlin. I have used this opportunity to take the Mani Papyri with me. In the next few days I will hand them over to the British Military Authorities."

Johannes Irmscher, at the time director of the Institut für griechisch-römische Altertumskunde of the Academy of Sciences of the German Democratic Republic entrusted with editing the Manichaean codices, has in a letter of March 27, 1989, interpreted Firchow's move as not a "Politicum," but merely as an effort to improve his situation.

55. In a letter to Beatty dated October 26, 1960, Edwards reported that the package had arrived the preceding Sunday, was opened on Monday, and had the contents as quoted above.

56. In a letter of October 28, 1960, from Firchow to Edwards.

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> Flat wooden box. Contains vestiges of Mani codex without text. Sheets of paper presumably used in conservation contain German writing presumably by Ibscher.

There were in Baker's office also 15 large green folders containing remnants of the Mani material (as well as a German newspaper fragment dated May 15, 1931). I submitted the inventory to the director of the Chester Beatty Library, Wilfrid Lockwood, on May 26, 1985. On June 25, 1985, Lockwood wrote Giversen to the effect he might want to consult the items I had located at the British Museum. Giversen has identified the material turned in by Firchow as insignificant vestiges of the *Psalms* codex, which, however, Giversen did not include in the *Facsimile Edition*.[57] Perhaps it is from Part Two of the *Psalms* codex acquired March 23, 1930, since the box containing Part One of the *Psalms* acquired in April 1931 had already been returned to London in 1947 along with Part One of the *Psalms* (see note 47 above). Presumably Hugo Ibscher had not gone to the trouble to separate and put between glass what he considered insignificant unidentified vestiges (even though they may impress us as relatively large and numerous), but apparently had left them in the box in which the codex had been kept prior to its conservation.

57. Giversen, *Psalm-Book. Part 1*, vii, xi:

> Still remaining to be published are some fragmentary pages and small fragments of the Psalm Book which were entrusted to Hugo Ibscher for conservation by A. Chester Beatty in the 1930s. These remained unrestored at Ibscher's death in 1943 and in 1960 they were transferred to the British Museum by the German Egyptologist Otto Firchow.
>
> Since the material taken to the British Museum [actually only to the British Sector of Berlin] by Otto Firchow has not yet been conserved, it has not been included in this publication. It is to be hoped that the extremely difficult and tedious work of restoring this material will be carried out by a skilled expert.

It is apparently to this same situation that Giversen referred vaguely in his Lund essay, "The Manichaean Texts from the Chester Beatty Collection," 269:

> A few fragments and a couple of fragmentary pages also from the Psalm-Book, are not yet conservated as they were left in Hugo Ibschers [*sic*] home in Berlin. It cannot be doubted that they belong to the Chester Beatty effects but they were, in a strange way, brought to the British Museum in the 1960's.
>
> A now deceased scholar informed me some years ago that they were there, but since there are some problems attached to them I will not say more about them here.

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Rolf Ibscher did not return the codex that he had kept in Schondorf to Berlin, to which he maintained it belonged, but rather, on his trips to and from London, worked at conserving the leaves while visiting his wife's family in Schondorf. Søren Giversen saw the material in Munich in 1955, by which time the West German authorities had taken control of the material.[58] He apparently did not identify it and presumably for that reason did not notify the Chester Beatty Library at the time. Carsten Colpe was engaged to edit it (from September 1, 1956, to November 30, 1957),[59] for which purpose it was moved to Göttingen. Böhlig was brought in as a consultant. In 1957 they noted running heads and chapter titles that identified the material as the *Synaxeis* codex.[60] Against this evidence, Rolf Ibscher's arguments that it must be the Berlin *Letters* codex P[15998] were in vain, and he ultimately somewhat grudgingly conceded the point.[61]

58. Mentioned by Giversen to P. Henchey, then librarian of the Chester Beatty Library, on May 8, 1980.

59. According to Carsten Colpe, in an interview on March 16, 1986.

60. Böhlig reported this discovery at the 24th International Orientalists' Congress in Munich in 1957. Böhlig published a summary, "Zu den Synaxeis des Lebendigen Evangeliums," 229–30. The full text was published in *Mysterion und Wahrheit*, 222–27, where Colpe's concurrence in this conclusion is expressly stated: "Thus one can assume, as C. Colpe also thinks, that the remainder of a Berlin codex discussed by C. Schmidt [P[15995]] forms with this codex a content unity, but no unity in terms of ownership."

Regarding Böhlig's views on the *Synaxeis* codex, see also Böhlig, "Synaxies = Homilia?" 485–86, "Die Arbeit," and *Mysterion und Wahrheit*, 186, for the identification of the *Synaxeis* codex.

61. Rolf Ibscher, "Der Mani-Fund," 227, referred to the codex as "for the time being the only Mani manuscript that remains to Germany." He combined this claim with the concession that the codex was the *Synaxeis* by appeal to the 31 leaves of the *Synaxeis* that Schmidt had acquired for Berlin and that were inventoried as P[15995]:

> . . . our so-called Schondorf manuscript from the Berlin Museum holdings, and hence now stationed in Göttingen, does not contain the corpus of Mani's letters, as was assumed at first. Quite clearly however . . . it belongs . . . to the codex that was entered by my father still, with 31 leaves, under the old Berlin catalogue number 15995. That is to say, my father began among the Berlin holdings with the conservation of this codex, and then deferred further work on it in favor of the more important *Kephalaia* manuscript that bears the number 15996.

This special pleading ignores the fact that P[15995], according to the Inventory Book, consists only of 31 leaves, which is all that Schmidt purchased for Berlin. The rest of the codex had already been acquired by Beatty. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 30, make this clear:

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Colpe gave up the editing assignment as hardly possible and called for a suspension of further conservation of individual leaves until that process could be accompanied by photographic documentation of each stage, which in effect brought the conservation to an end in 1957.[62] This termination of the funding and of the work could also have to do with the recognition that it had to do with property that did not belong to Germany. Rolf Ibscher died February 5, 1967.

As a result of the transport of Egyptological artifacts stored in West Germany to West Berlin from Celle in 1957 and from Wiesbaden in 1958, the creation of an Egyptological Section there in 1962, and the opening of the Egyptian Museum in Berlin-Charlottenburg in 1967, the conserved leaves and book block that Rolf Ibscher had not lived to finish conserving were deposited there.

In 1985 William Brashear, the curator of the Papyrus Collection of the Egyptian Museum of Berlin-Charlottenburg, asked me to provide whatever information I could about this material there in storage (of which the present report is the outcome), and to activate interest in it. On November 18, 1985, Joachim Karig, acting director of the Egyptian Museum, wrote me that he had consulted with the general director of the State Museums, Prof. Dube, and his representative, the director of the Antiques Museum, Prof. Heilmeyer, and they approved my request, made orally August 2, 1985, and in writing October 5, 1985, for authorization to enlist scholars to prepare an edition. Similar discussions with Dr. Wolfgang Müller, director of the Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection, and with Dr. Gisela Holan, first representative of the general director of the State Museums of Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR, led to a letter of authorization of August 14, 1987, from Müller, granting "approval for the scholarly work on

> . . . a collection of 31 leaves that have been brought under glass, which were acquired in the Fayyum and without doubt belong to the London Mani pieces.

Ibscher made the same erroneous inference in his report, "Über den Stand," 50–64, especially 60. The meeting at which the paper was presented took place on December 14–15, 1964. Thus he never surrendered the claim to German ownership, upon which he no doubt considered his chances of employment as conservator depended, since by this time his working relationship with Beatty had dissolved.

62. Ibscher held Colpe thus responsible for terminating the conservation, "Über den Stand," 60. But in fact Colpe thus rescued something for more sophisticated procedures than those of Rolf Ibscher, if in fact such can be at least hoped for from the future.

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and editing of the Coptic Mani texts of our Papyrus Collection according to the shared oral discussions." Wilfrid Lockwood, librarian and director of the Chester Beatty Library, who was kept abreast of the developments from 1985 on, also expressed himself willing to participate in such a cooperative plan, in such a way as to respect the commitment the Library had under his predecessor made with Søren Giversen (see below). I wrote Giversen proposing such cooperation on October 21, 1985 but received no reply.

I had invited scholars to participate, in announcements made at the 121st annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Anaheim, California, on October 19, 1985, at a conference of the Fachkommission Byzantinistik of the Historiker-Gesellschaft of the German Democratic Republic in Halle on February 21, 1986, at a conference of the Association Francophone de Coptologie at the Louvre in Paris on May 23, 1986, at the Second International Conference on Manichaeism in Bonn on August 9, 1989, and at the 18th International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Moscow on August 8–15, 1991.

During a sabbatical semester in Berlin the first half of 1986, I inventoried and organized for study the Manichaean material, and wrote the bulk of an extensive report, published below, of which the present paper is a summary. With regard to the *Synaxeis* codex, there are 125 conserved leaves (plus 5 glass frames of fragments) in Berlin-Charlottenburg, plus the remainder of the book block, where one page is exposed, making a total of 251 available pages that when added to the 31 leaves or 62 pages in East Berlin, makes a total of 156 conserved leaves and 313 accessible pages, with about 100 to 120 leaves unconserved in the book block.[63] The amount of legible ink is appallingly small, and the amount of text that can be recovered correspondingly minimal. Transcription efforts have been undertaken in West Berlin by Karen King, Stephen Patterson, Paul Allan Mirecki, and Wolf-Peter Funk. And 10 leaves were on loan for study in California from 1986 to 1988, where transcription work was done by Harold W. Attridge, Charles A. Bobertz, and Gesine Robinson, and in addition by Funk and Patterson. In 1988 these leaves were returned to Berlin, when 9 others plus 2 of the original leaves were brought to California for study; they were returned to Berlin the summer of 1989. In 1989 five

63. Ibscher estimated this number remaining in the book block after his work had come to an end, "Über den Stand," 60.

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further leaves were brought to America and returned in 1991. Nothing from this Berlin-Charlottenburg part of the *Synaxeis* codex has been published, except transcriptions of ten chapters or *Synaxis* titles by Paul Allan Mirecki,[64] and English translations of some phrases and sentences prepared by Wolf-Peter Funk are being published.[65]

The material brought to California was photographed by Bruce Zuckerman, director of the West Semitic Research Project of the University of Southern California, and his brother, Kenneth, a professional photographer. They photographed the bulk of the material in Berlin from July through August 1991. They are already well known for their success in the photography of otherwise hardly legible sections of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The results of their photography seem very promising. This will be even more the case if the computer enhancement technology that is already available to them can be enlisted in this project. This involves what is called a microdensitometer: A photographic negative is scanned in units (called picture elements) as small as 5 microns (i.e., five thousandths of a millimeter), each of which is assigned a number in terms of its shade of gray, with more than a thousand grades of gray to choose from (the human eye can distinguish only some 22 shades). These numbers can then be entered into the computer so as to project the image on the screen. Then the numbers derived from the shades of gray can be changed at will, e.g., reducing the number of all picture elements with a shade of gray below a certain number, thus lightening the light gray, and increasing the number of all picture elements with a shade of gray above a certain number, thus darkening the dark gray—from which a picture of much higher contrast results. Or the shades of gray can be assigned any color or shade of color, which is a promising alternative, given the ability of the eye to detect more distinctions among colors and their shades than among shades of gray. And the picture can be enlarged on the screen at will, producing the added effect of microscopic examination. A demonstration by the Perkin-Elmer firm of Pomona, California, at the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont

64. Mirecki, "Coptic Manichaean *Synaxeis* Codex," 135–45, has transcribed and translated what remains of thirteen chapter or *Synaxis* titles, ten from the material in Berlin-Charlottenburg, three from the material in Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR.

65. Funk has translated a number of phrases and sentences that he and other members of the Mani team transcribed. Karen King quoted these translations in King, "Progress Report."

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on May 19, 1989, indicates that the technology is already functional, though still prohibitively expensive.

Chester Beatty Library Codex C, Volume Two of the *Kephalaia*

Schmidt reported that the Fayyumic dealer had sold all three of his parts of the discovery to Beatty. As in the case of the *Synaxeis*, no definite reference to the acquisition of this codex has been located in the Dublin Archives, and yet one may assume that this material was acquired from the Fayyumic dealer. For since the *Psalms* and the *Homilies* may more probably have come from Nahman (see below), one may assume by the process of elimination that Volume 2 of the *Kephalaia* is from the Fayyumic dealer.[66] Since Schmidt talked to this dealer only in the spring of 1931, Beatty's acquisitions from him must have been earlier than that date.

In 1986 Søren Giversen published in the *Facsimile Edition* photographic reproductions of Volume 2 of the *Kephalaia*.[67] Though publication of a facsimile edition puts the facsimiles in the public domain, publication rights for an *editio princeps* are to be awarded by a committee consisting of Søren Giversen, president, Rodolphe Kasser, and Martin Krause.[68] Kasser was supposed to take administrative responsibility for editing this codex, but plans to involve Wolf-Peter Funk did not receive Giversen's approval.

In the Crum Archives (see below) there is a transcription (Crum Mss 11.30.10) of the page reproduced on plate 341 of the *Facsimile Edition*.

Chester Beatty Library Codex A, the *Psalms*, Part One

In April 1931 Beatty brought from Egypt two further Manichaean manuscripts and three wooden covers (i.e., three front or back covers, out of an original total of fourteen such covers). The covers are at the Chester Beatty Library in a large envelope, on which is written:

66. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 8. Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," ix, has referred to Beatty's acquiring three books "in the Cairo antiquities market" "in the year 1930," but this may have not been meant in any more precise sense than to say that beginning in 1930 he had been buying Manichaean texts in Egypt, i.e., the location may not have been intended to be any more precise than the inexact date.

67. Giversen, *Kephalaia*, facsimile edition.

68. See note 21.

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"Purchased Spring 1931." Apparently, these are the only covers still extant today, since those that Beatty acquired in 1930, and those of P^{15997} that Schmidt acquired in 1931 cannot be located at the Chester Beatty Library or at the Berlin Egyptian Museum.

No documentation has been located as to the dealer (or dealers) from whom Beatty acquired this material. The Fayyumic dealer is reported to have had three of the eight parts, and to have sold all his holdings to Beatty (except the scraps of P^{15995} removed to make the codex look clean for Beatty—a codex that Schmidt subsequently acquired). Since only seven codices were involved in the discovery, one must assume that one codex had been divided. If the initially divided codex had belonged to the Fayyumic dealer, then in selling his three parts to Beatty he would in fact have only sold two codices, presumably the bulk of the *Synaxeis* in two parts, and Volume Two of the *Kephalaia* (see above). Thus the report that Beatty acquired three units from the Fayyumic dealer does not require that one postulate that he acquired Part One of the *Psalms* from that dealer. It may be more probable that he acquired it from Nahman, from whom he had acquired the other part a year earlier.

The "good manners" of leading Cairo antiquities dealers has to do with the fact that they have a vested interest in the goodwill of a regular client. Some such manners may be suspected in the case of Nahman. For he showed Volume 1 of the *Kephalaia* to Schmidt early in 1930 when Schmidt was on his way to Jerusalem, and, even though Schmidt did not acquire it then, Nahman did not proceed to sell it to Beatty shortly thereafter, when Nahman offered Beatty parts of other codices that Beatty took on approval. Thus Nahman was careful to offer Beatty other codices than what he had offered Schmidt, thereby avoiding offending Schmidt but, by informing him of Beatty's acquisitions (without making clear to Schmidt that they had only been taken on approval), also making clear to him that these were fast-selling items of which he should take advantage. Schmidt did in fact concede that Beatty's decision to acquire the material was one factor in persuading him on his return trip from Jerusalem, in spite of a lack of funding, to go ahead with the purchase of the *Kephalaia*. On subsequent trips he acquired other parts of the same codex—acquisitions that indicated the continuing practice, to which Schmidt referred, of subdividing codices to increase their value, making a total

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of seven units of the one *Kephalaia* codex (see below), none of which seems to have been offered in the meantime to Beatty. It would have been in keeping with such an enlightened policy of self-interest that Nahman, having turned over to Beatty part of the *Psalms* codex and part of the *Homilies* codex in 1930, did not offer these to Schmidt, but held them for Beatty to acquire in 1931. Whereas Schmidt portrayed Nahman as "rejecting" Beatty after Schmidt got to him (see below), this fits much better the impression Nahman would have wanted to leave with Schmidt than the documented reality of his continuing business relationships with Beatty.

One of the two manuscripts brought to London in April 1931 was at the time designated "Manichaean Hymns" or "Manichaean MS. (Hymns) Psalms. Codex A,"[69] obviously the first and major part of the *Psalms* codex, of which Beatty had acquired the smaller concluding part the preceding year (see above).

Schmidt was eager to have access to the whole discovery. Ibscher informally broached in London cooperative procedures that Schmidt had envisaged; these procedures were incorporated in a letter of May 7, 1931, from Sir Alan Gardiner to his friend of long standing, Wilhelm Schubart, director of the Berlin Papyrus Collection. Beatty had initially sought to enlist his Egyptological friend Sir Alan H. Gardiner as his consultant and potential English coeditor. But Gardiner did not want to undertake such a large Coptic assignment, nor could Walter Ewing Crum, who was engrossed with completing his *Coptic Dictionary*. Hence Sir Herbert Thompson was settled upon as the British scholar to represent Beatty. On June 11, 1931, Thompson met with Schmidt in London, and they agreed formally on such a cooperative procedure:[70] Just as Ibscher had already been entrusted with conserving in Berlin

69. A two-ring binder that served as a kind of accessions book in the early years, now in the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library, lists for April 1931 Cairo "Manichaean Hymns," "Manichaean Ritual—Laws," "3 wooden covers." The black loose-leaf folder entitled "Papyrus: Biblical Manichaean Hieratic Greek etc. General Catalogue," in the section "Manichaean Pap.," p. 5ff., contains "DETAILS of when MANICHAEAN PAPYRUS were received and sent to Dr. Ibscher, for mounting." The first entry, dated April 1931, notes: "Brought by Mr. Beatty from Egypt," and itemizes: "Manichaean MS. (Hymns) Psalms. Codex A. *With Dr. Ibscher. May 8, 1931*." "Manichaean Ms. Ritual Laws. *With Dr. Ibscher. May 8, 1931*." "3 Covers." P. 6 reports "Entries from Day-Book." The first, dated May 8, 1931, reads: "*To Dr. G.*[ardiner] for *Dr. I.*[bscher] The 2 Mani Coptic books. Hymns and Ritual Observances."

70. Documented in letters of June 15, 1931, from Thompson to Beatty; of June 27, 1931, from Gardiner to Beatty, and of April 3, 1932, from Thompson to Beatty.

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both collections, H. J. Polotsky would be entrusted with transcribing and translating the material in Berlin as it was conserved. He would be under the supervision of Schmidt and Thompson, to both of whom copies of his work on both the Berlin and London parts would be regularly sent, to be translated by Thompson into English and distributed to Crum (for the *Coptic Dictionary*) and to Beatty. Polotsky's work and salary would be divided equally between Berlin and London. As the leaves were conserved and transcribed, those belonging to Beatty would be brought back to London, usually by Ibscher on his annual London trips to conserve other materials owned by Beatty, but, as it turned out, at times also by C. R. C. Allberry, and once by Beatty himself.

Thompson was concerned that Beatty's codices be published in England, where he would be primarily involved. But on February 6, 1932, Schmidt wrote Thompson proposing that some of Polotsky's transcriptions and translations of material belonging to Beatty be published in the forthcoming essay for the Prussian Academy. Thompson appealed to Beatty to block what he considered to be a serious breach of the agreement. Beatty wrote Schmidt on March 21, 1932, forbidding him the right of even mentioning his codices in print. And on April 16, 1932, Beatty wrote Ibscher to stop all conservation work on his codices until the matter could be discussed on his forthcoming visit to London.

Thompson protested to Beatty on April 3, 1932, that terminating the arrangement completely would violate the valid agreements that had been made, which would be especially unfortunate with regard to Polotsky, whose high quality was recognized and whose livelihood depended largely upon this work.[71] Yet on May 2, 1932, Beatty wrote Thompson that "very difficult business conditions" made it necessary for him to terminate the arrangement, though some phase-out for Polotsky should be arranged. Polotsky was then instructed to concentrate his work for Beatty on the one manuscript nearest to completion,

71. Thompson wrote Beatty: "He is an extremely learned and able young man; but he is not a naturalized German (being a Russian) and hence has no prospect of an official or University post; and has to make a living. I believe he has nothing but these 270Rm. (orig. 300Rm.) per month, i.e., at par £180 p. ann." The letter explains that the ten percent reduction had been a German reduction of all salaries effective the first of that year. The Prussian Academy paid half the salary, and Beatty paid the other half.

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the *Homilies*, with his salary terminating the end of May 1932. He was given until the end of June 1933 to edit it, with the right then to publish it in German, at no expense to Beatty, in Germany.[72] Thus Thompson's role, based on his assumption of an English edition, came abruptly to an end. The result was Polotsky's publication of the *Homilies* in 1934.[73]

The decisions not to acquire part of the *Homilies* and to terminate work on the Manichaean material, both of which were made by Beatty in the spring of 1932, seem to relate to each other in the sense that Beatty had decided not to engage further in the Manichaean venture. But he did later relent in part, permitting Schmidt and Polotsky in their article for the Prussian Academy to summarize Beatty's material though not to quote it. With regard to Ibscher, Beatty continued to use his valuable services to conserve his Manichaean and other papyrus holdings. Yet already on May 1, 1932, Thompson had quit in protest over Beatty's procedures, a move which facilitated the decision to permit Polotsky to publish in German. To judge by the exchange of correspondence, Beatty had really never fully accepted Thompson to replace his friend Gardiner as his representative in such negotiations.

The transcriptions and translations from various codices that Polotsky sent to Thompson for Beatty and Crum during this period of about a year of active collaboration are preserved at least in part in the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin and in the Crum Archives at the Griffith Institute in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. The copies that Polotsky provided to Schmidt (and later some that Alexander Böhlig provided) were preserved by the Archives of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin. In view of the fact that what has survived is considerably less legible than it must have been half a century ago, and in view of the unusually high quality of Polotsky's work, these transcriptions and translations, a number of which were never

72. Documented in a memorandum of a conference between Beatty and Gardiner on May 8, 1932, and letters of May 12, 1932, from Gardiner to Beatty, May 13, 1932, from Beatty to Gardiner, May 20, 1932, from Beatty to Thompson, and May 24, 1932, from Thompson to Beatty. Alexander Böhlig, in a letter of February 5, 1989, has speculated that Polotsky's learning in the spring of 1932 that he would lose this employment may have led him already then to begin inquiries regarding a position at Hebrew University in Jerusalem to which he moved in the spring of 1933, in view of the fact that the kind of salary paid by the Prussian Academy was not in itself a living wage, as Böhlig, his successor, himself experienced.

73. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*.

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published, are among the most important material to have survived the tragic postwar story of the Manichaean codices of Medinet Madi.

In the Crum Archive are copies of Polotsky's transcriptions from Part One of the *Psalms*, corresponding to the facsimile edition, Volume 3 (see note 78 below), plates 140, 161, 162, 243, 313, and 314.

On June 16, 1980, Søren Giversen applied to the Chester Beatty Library for permission to publish their Manichaean papyri, both for a facsimile edition and for a critical edition. The Trustees granted permission on June 26, 1980.[74] On November 24, 1982, Giversen applied for permission to have about 171 leaves sent on loan to Denmark. On January 14, 1984, 184 leaves (his original request plus the 13 *Synaxeis* leaves, see above) were deposited at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

On December 11, 1980, the librarian of the Chester Beatty Library at the time, Patrick Henchy, offered Giversen access to two files, one titled "Berlin Manichaean Papyrus Transcriptions," "From Sir H. Thompson July 1931 to May 18, 1932," obviously the transcriptions Polotsky had sent Thompson to pass on to Beatty during that time (see above); the other "A. Chester Beatty Manichaean Papyrus Codex A and B Translations," presumably Polotsky's translations and the English translations Thompson prepared for Beatty.

In 1984 Giversen presented, at the International Symposium on the Cologne Mani Codex, English translations of Psalms 136 and 119 that were published in 1986; and at the First International Conference on Manichaeism in 1987, he presented a Coptic transcription of the title and opening eight lines of Psalm 119 that was published in 1988. In the published form of the first speech, Giversen introduced his translation of Psalm 136 with a comment that apparently should actually have introduced Psalm 119, where the comment had in fact stood in the earlier transcript of his 1984 speech:[75]

74. Patrick Henchy, the librarian at the time, communicated this to Giversen on June 26, 1980.

75. Giversen, "Unedited Chester Beatty Mani Texts," 371–80, especially 376. Though in the published essay this statement comes immediately before the English translation of Psalm 136, this cannot be its correct place. For the opening of lines 30–33 in Giversen's translation of Psalm 136 is intact without lacunae, whereas Giversen's comment calls attention to something that has "gone lost." Furthermore Giversen had submitted to the trustees of the Chester Beatty Library on November 23, 1982, as a sample of his work, the transcription and translation of this same page, where lines 30–33 in his Coptic transcription have no lacunae at all. And there are no lacunae here in the *Facsimile Edition*, Volume 3, plate 189, where the text is unusually

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> From the notes and decipherment from 1931 I can see, that something has gone lost since then, especially at the beginning of lines 30–34.

Polotsky's name was not mentioned in connection with the reference to material of 1931, which was not clarified beyond the cryptic expression "notes and decipherment." In discussion during the 1989 conference at Bonn, Giversen explained that he had referred by name to Thompson and Polotsky, but that due to a typesetter's error, the names had fallen out; when I drew to his attention that in the typescript of his paper he had sent me prior to publication, the names were also absent, he said this must be due to a typist's error.

The publication of 1988 that contained the Coptic transcription made no reference to Polotsky's work at all. Polotsky had in 1931–1932 provided a Coptic transcription, a German translation, and notes to Psalm 119, each page of which concludes with his distinctive abbreviation of his name, "P-y." Since copies of Polotsky's transcriptions and translations were also forwarded by Thompson to Walter Ewing Crum, they are preserved in the Crum Archives in the Griffith Institution of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, where, according to records on file there, Giversen worked in August 1981.[76] Indeed Giversen's comment in 1986 in introducing his translation of Psalm 119 ("in fact it is possible that a new Psalm begins on page b, but unfortunately the upper part is almost illegible") would seem to reflect not only Polotsky's designation of the pages as a and b, but also his comment at the

legible. In fact, in the typescript of Giversen's lecture of 1984, the statement about the lacunae at the opening of lines 30–33 occurs immediately before the second English translation he presented—that of Psalm 119—where indeed the opening of the lines numbered 30–32 of his translation begins with lacunae, then with illegible material and a lacuna at the end of the English translation of line 33, as on p. 379 of the published lecture. In the *Facsimile Edition,* Volume 3, plate 162, the bottom left corner of the leaf (including text) is not extant. Thus one must assume that the statement has in view Psalm 119, rather than Psalm 136. Giversen confirmed this conjecture at the 1989 conference in Bonn.

76. In the Crum Archive, Polotsky's transcription and German translation of Psalm 119 occur on two pages each, since the Psalm straddles two pages of the codex. The first (Crum Mss 11.30.2 for the Coptic, Crum Mss 11.28.85 = Crum Mss 11.28.7 for the German = *Facsimile Edition*, Volume 3 [see note 78 below], plate 161) contains the first 8 lines of the chapter, which Giversen designates as "a." The second (Crum Mss 11.30.3 for the Coptic, Crum Mss 11.28.86 = Crum Ms 11.28.8 for the German = *Facsimile Edition*, Volume 3, plate 162) corresponds to what Giversen designates as "b," which ends with line 33. In Polotsky's Coptic transcription there are lacunae at the opening of lines 30–33.

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opening of the second page: "[Beginning of new hymn]," since hardly more than the illegibility of the opening lines suggests this alternative. Indeed Giversen apparently later reached a quite different view on this point from that of Polotsky, for the *Facsimile Edition*, Volume 3, plates 162 no longer considers this page as Psalm 119, lines 9–33 (or as Psalm 120, lines 1–25), but rather has the note: "[Incipit psalmus XII in linea 13.]"

The Coptic transcription of the title and opening eight lines of Psalm 119 that Giversen published in 1988 agree completely (except for dots under a few letters on two lines) with the work produced but not published by Polotsky in 1931.[77] This is particularly striking in the case of the eighth, the last line on the page, which reads identically in Polotsky's and Giversen's transcriptions.

The facsimile published in the *Facsimile Edition*, Volume III, Plate 161, shows that this last line of the page is almost completely illegible, with perhaps three or four letters that with great difficulty could be read, a few dots of ink that could be taken to be any letter, and lacunae in the bulk of the line. Yet Giversen's transcription is complete except for three letters restored in square brackets and two letters dotted, just as in Polotsky's. This transcription could not possibly be derived from the papyrus in its present condition. It is hence hard to avoid the inference that it derives from the transcription of Polotsky, obviously made at a time when more of the papyrus was extant, perhaps even before the leaf was removed from the book block. This is in a different way suggested also in the case of lines 30–33, where Giversen had commented "that something has gone lost since then [1931], especially at the beginning of lines 30–33," since his own translation does not have more lacunae than Polotsky's transcription and translation, whereas the published facsimile does indeed indicate that much less is now legible on these four lines than is present in Polotsky's transcription and in Giversen's translation.[78]

77. Giversen, "Manichaean Texts from the Chester Beatty Collection," 271.

78. Giversen, *Psalm Book, Part 1*, facsimile edition, plate 62, the last 4 lines. Polotsky's translation:

> (Wir sind) freudig zum Kampf (ausgezogen) und haben mit unseren Feinden gekämpft. (. . .) uns, o unser Gott, dass Du uns nicht verlassen wirst . . . . wir haben sie empfangen. Du weisst, o unser Herr, dass unsere Freunde und unsere Feinde (?) alle mit uns.

Giversen's translation:

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In the discussion at Bonn in 1989, Giversen explained that though he had worked in the Crum Archive more than once and had made use of Polotsky's transcription, this did not need to be mentioned in his article, since Giversen was not presenting a critical edition. He explained further that with the help of a microscope, he had been able to detect vestiges of ink from the top of the letters (the bulk of which are now in lacunae) that could fit the letters that Polotsky had read. Thus he could concur with Polotsky, though with dots under all these letters, though the dots disappeared due to typesetting errors—except for the two dots that are present, which happen to agree with those of Polotsky,—just as a typesetting error misplaced a diaeresis in another line.

Giversen published photographic reproductions of this major part of the *Psalms* codex in 1988, as volume 3 of the *Facsimile Edition*.[79] Publication rights for an *editio princeps* were to be awarded by the committee consisting of Søren Giversen, president; Rodolphe Kasser; and Martin Krause.

Chester Beatty Library Codex D, the *Homilies*

The other manuscript that Beatty brought from Cairo to London in April 1931 is designated in the Chester Beatty Archives as "Ritual Laws," and "Ritual Observances" (see above), though it apparently was a minor part of the *Homilies* codex—the major part of which (Berlin's P[15999]) Beatty had acquired with an option to buy in 1930, an option that he decided in 1932 not to exercise (see below). Presumably Beatty did not realize that what he decided not to buy in 1932 as unconservable was part of the same codex that he had bought in 1931 and had

[rejoicing to the agony; we have contended with our enemies; [ ] us, our God, that you will not abandon us. [ ] have we received. You know, O Lord, that all our friends and our enemies . . .

79. Wood also suggested this identification in a letter of November 16, 1946 to Wilkinson (see note 44): "The title 'Ritual Observances' may later have turned into 'Homilies' on examination?"

Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," ix, confirmed the identification of the text acquired in 1931 with the *Homilies*: "The Mani text published here lay as a shapeless mass along with the Psalm Book when Mr. A. Chester Beatty turned this over to me in London to work on."

Alexander Böhlig, in a letter of February 5, 1989, has suggested that the designation "ritual laws" or "ritual observances" may have been due to the subscript title of the first text in the *Homilies* reading (7,7) "The Sermon of the Prayer Is Completed."

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already paid to have conserved and edited. In view of the fact that the major part of this codex had been obtained on approval in 1930 from Nahman, one may assume that it was Nahman who sold Beatty the other part in 1931, perhaps in hopes thus to move Beatty actually to complete the transaction for the first part (whose price had already been reduced in 1930 from £700 to the same level of £500 that Beatty had paid in 1930 for part of the *Psalms* codex).

H. J. Polotsky has published this part of the codex, the first text from this discovery to be published.[80]

In 1987 Søren Giversen published photographic reproductions of the *Homilies* as Volume 2 of the *Facsimile Edition*.[81]

CARL SCHMIDT'S ACQUISITIONS

One may now turn to the 5 holdings (three codices and parts of two others) in the Papyrus Collection of the State Museums of Berlin that were acquired by Carl Schmidt in a series of transactions from 1930 to 1932.

Papyrus Collection, Berlin, P^{15995}, 31 leaves of the *Synaxeis*

Schmidt reported that in the spring of 1931 he had acquired in the Fayyum for the sake of completeness the remains of a codex, the bulk of which Beatty had already acquired, and that from this jumble 31 leaves could be conserved. This must be the 31 leaves of the *Synaxeis* codex in the Papyrus Collection of Berlin, inventoried as P^{15995}, since the only other codex shared between Beatty and Berlin was the *Homilies* codex, the Berlin part of which (P^{15999}) was acquired from Nahman after Beatty had released his option (see below). The Inventory Book of the Papyrus Collection of the Berlin Museum's records in Wilhelm Schubart's hand concerning P^{15995} (and also concerning P$^{15996–8}$): "Acquired through Prof. Carl Schmidt, in Cairo, 1931. Gift of Mr. August Pfeffer 1933." These 31 leaves were taken with the other Berlin Museum holdings in 1946 to Leningrad, to be returned to Berlin with the other material in 1958 (see above). They went together with the other glassed Manichaean leaves in the Storage of the Papyrus Collection of (East) Berlin. Gesine Robinson prepared two

80. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*.

81. Giversen, *Homilies and Varia*, facsimile edition.

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draft transcriptions of the 62 pages in 1985 and 1986, but nothing has been published, except for three titles included among those that Paul Mirecki published.[82] The quality of the leaves varies considerably, but, as in the other cases, the amount of retrievable text is much less than the number of extant pages might lead one to expect.

Papyrus Collection, Berlin, P15996, Volume One of the *Kephalaia*

It was part of this codex that had been shown first to Carl Schmidt early in 1930 in Cairo, which he was able to identify from Epiphanius's reference to it. Schmidt, in transit to Jerusalem, did not acquire it, but on his return trip through Cairo he acquired it on credit. On his second trip early in 1931 and on his last visit to Cairo in the spring of 1932, Schmidt was shown each time two further lots, apparently from the same codex, which he also acquired.[83] Ultimately, Hugo Ibscher listed a total of 7 acquisitions by Schmidt of parts of this one codex.[84] A Prof. Grohmann of Prague acquired vestiges from the missing pages 311–30 for the Austrian National Library.[85]

82. See note 64 above.

83. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 7–8.

84. Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," vi-vii:

> Hence the *Kephalaia* did not come to Berlin in one volume, but in two larger packets and five weaker layers. All of course nicely jumbled! . . . Purchase I is now pp. 1–18. Purchase II is now pp. 19–310. Purchase III is now pp. 331–56. Purchase IV is now pp. 357–76. Purchase V is now pp. 377–94. Purchase VI is now pp. 395–414. Purchase VII is now pp. 421 to the end.

What survived of the missing segment pages 415–20 are described as "paltry remains," "which can hardly be identified." What was considered the last extant leaf, though lacking pagination, was identified with the help of the chapter number 200 as being pages 501/502. A fragment with the pagination 514 stuck to this leaf indicates that the codex originally continued beyond the last extant leaf. Wolf-Peter Funk examined on August 11, 1986, the Warsaw leaf labeled pages 499/500 and detected there a chapter number in the 200s, which would require a pagination in the 500s, thus putting in question whether what was considered the last extant leaf is pages 501/502.

85. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 8 n. 1. This material, forwarded from Vienna to Berlin for Ibscher to conserve , and then returned to Vienna (*Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte, vii), is in four glass containers with the inventory number K 11010. Remains of three leaves labeled pages 311–16, but perhaps more likely pages 313–16, 319–20, have been identified, together with a dozen unidentified fragments. Schmidt and Polotsky refer only to fragments of two leaves having been "rescued," no doubt since the third is no more than a larger fragment hardly deserving the designation leaf. Gardner, *Coptic Theological Papyri*. "III. Unpublished pages from the Manichaean

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After World War II five of the Berlin *Kephalaia* leaves emerged in Warsaw, presumably the result of the looting of trains taking Berlin Museum holdings to Leningrad in 1946. Lothar Berfelde,[86] founder of the Gründerzeit Museum of turn-of-the-century furniture now in Mahlsdorf near Berlin, had lived for a brief time in the Friedrichsfelde Castle (with whose previous owners he was distantly related), after it was no longer used as a Soviet command post. During the period in which it was a command post (spring 1945 to spring 1946), he recalled libraries being stored there awaiting shipment to the Soviet Union, though he did not know the specific contents of the crates. German crews, even after the war, manned the trains from Germany through Poland (though different gauge tracks at the border to the Soviet Union called there for different trains and crews). Berfelde reported that a friend since childhood, who worked for the German railroads, told him that in the countryside Poles would stop these trains, disconnect the engine, and make the German crews drive away in the engine, leaving the freight cars in the fields unattended, for the Poles to loot.

Wincenty Myszor reported on July 14, 1986, concerning these leaves:

> The Manichaean manuscripts that are now in Warsaw surfaced shortly after the last war under not fully clarified circumstances. One always speaks about a place Brodnica, near Toruń (Thorn) . . . The plates are said to have been at first in a private collection, then in some way (bought? acquired?) reached Prof. J. Manteuffel, the leader of the Institute for Papyrology of Warsaw University; he turned over a part of the manuscripts to the National Museum as a deposit. There are also rumors according to which the plates in the National Museum came directly from Brodnica to Warsaw, to Prof. Michalowski. Prof. J. Manteuffel and Prof. K. Michalowski wanted to return the leaves to Berlin. This did not succeed. In the '60s this matter is said to have almost landed in the Ministry.

Thus far H. J . Polotsky and Alexander Böhlig have published pp. 1–292 of the *Kephalaia*.[87] Of these, only pages 35/36 and 61/62 are missing from the boxes containing pp. 1–440.

Kephalaia," 53–55, gives a more detailed report.

86. Lothar Berfelde was interviewed on April 18, 1986, in Mahlsdorf and East Berlin.

87. Polotsky and Böhlig, *Kephalaia* (Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen

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In Vienna there are three unpublished leaves, labeled pp. 311–316 (though they may be pages 313–16, 319–20, see note 85), as well as fragments.

In Warsaw there are five unpublished leaves, labeled pp. 447–54, 499–500. The pagination assigned to the last leaf may be inaccurate, since Wolf-Peter Funk has detected on it a chapter number beyond 200, which would require pagination in the 500s.

In Berlin 120 unpublished pages are in boxes: pages 293–310, 331–82, 387–414, 417–18, 421–40. Pages 455–56 are also present, making a total of 122 unpublished pages (61 leaves) that have been assigned pagination.

All that remains of pages 311–30 is in Vienna (see above). The absence of pp. 383–86, 415–16, and 419–20 is noted on cards in the relevant boxes in the hand of Rolf Ibscher's assistant, Otto Werner Luke. Since only the bottom half of pages 417–18 is extant, it is possible that it may be part of pages 413–14, of which only the top half is extant; the alignment of vertical fibers is inconclusive.

There are also 30 plates numbered not by pagination but by plate, 1–30, and 2 plates listed as "*Kephalaia* without number." Since item 23 is more a group of fragments than a leaf, there would be a total of

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Museen Berlin), herausgegeben im Auftrage der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften unter Leitung von Prof. Carl Schmidt, 1. Hälfte (Lieferung 1–10): v–xiv, "Die Handschrift," by Hugo Ibscher; pp. 1–102 by Polotsky, and pp. 103–244, 20 by Böhlig, according to p. iv (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940). Böhlig, in a letter of February 5, 1989, has confirmed that there were no draft transcriptions or translations by Polotsky of pp. 103ff. on which Böhlig's work was based, but that Böhlig edited them alone. Böhlig, *Kephalaia* (Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin), herausgegeben im Auftrage der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, zweite Hälfte (Lieferungen 11-12 = Coptic pages 244, 21–291) (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1966). Concerning the publication of these pages one may note the comment in the *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Jahrgang 1942 (Berlin: Akademie, 1943), 66–67 (see also n. 90 below):

> Since Dr. Böhlig was enlisted in the army from x 41 on, the first double fascicle of the second volume of the *Kephalaia* could not yet be completed, although already 4 quires had been sent in to the publisher ready to print. Besides, the printing house has been limited by the lack of specialists. But it hopes in a while to be able again to take up the work on the *Kephalaia*. In the second half of August work could begin again on the reading of quires 5 and 6. It was possible to improve them materially. But as a result of the bad condition of preservation, the manuscript could not be finally completed.

Böhlig has also published p. 292, "Ja und Amen in manichäischer Deutung," 59–70, reprinted in his *Gnosis und Synkretismus* 2:638–53, especially 2:640–41.

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31 plates without assigned pagination but labeled as belonging to the *Kephalaia*. But since plate 30 contains 2 leaves, the figure rises again to 32 unpublished leaves numbered by leaf rather than by an assigned pagination.

The last reported page is page 501–2, but since a fragment with the pagination 514 was stuck to this last extant page (see note 84), one may assume the codex continued, perhaps to include as quire 22 pages 505–28. But if in fact the leaf 501–2 were the last extant leaf (it has not been identified), the extant leaves without assigned pagination would fall within the area of pages 441–46, 457–98, and 501–2, a total of at least 25 leaves. Since Rolf Ibscher, to illustrate how fragile the material was, admitted atomizing a leaf with a sneeze, one may assume there should be a total of at least 24 leaves (48 pages) without assigned pagination. Thus the 32 leaves labeled *Kephalaia* might include 8 more than one would minimally expect to be extant from the *Kephalaia*. But if in fact the Warsaw leaf labeled 499–500 should be renumbered in the 500s (see above), then all the leaves labeled *Kephalaia* could in fact belong to that codex. Otherwise one would need to assume that the excess 8 leaves belong to another codex, such as P^{15998}, the *Letters*. Plate 29 had originally had a printed label reading P^{15998}, and perhaps Plate 30 as well, though now the number is rubbed off, with 15996 written in by hand in both cases; these may hence be tentatively ascribed to P^{15998}. The two without numbers that had been stacked together with P^{15998} are, however, tentatively included still with P^{15996}. Hence the number of unpublished leaves that have not been assigned pagination would tentatively stand at 29 equals 58 pages (those numbered plates 1–28, minus 1 that consists of fragments, equals 27; plus 2 leaves labeled "*Kephalaia* without number," equals 29 leaves).

Thus 122 unpublished pages with assigned pagination and some 58 pages without assigned pagination in Berlin, plus 6 pages in Vienna and 10 in Warsaw—a total of some 196 unpublished pages of Volume 1 of the *Kephalaia*—are still extant, although here, as in other cases, the amount of extant text is very much smaller than this figure would suggest.

Wolf-Peter Funk resumed transcription for a time (using P and a raised numeral to identify fragmentary pages), but it extended only from P^{293} to P^{295}, line 11 (concluding with the title of chapter 123).

Hugo Ibscher had not completed the conservation of some leaves, and for this reason they lay unglassed in folders in his home during

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the war. But his conservation had apparently left no book block of unconserved leaves of the *Kephalaia*.

On July 16, 1986, 8 additional plates of only temporarily sealed plates of fragments were located in the Storage of the Papyrus Collection of (East) Berlin, with a note on a piece of paper reading: "Defined and undefined Mani fragments (framed without color)—8 plates." They contain largely unidentified fragments, presumably from the *Kephalaia*, including a few labels: "P[479] to *Kephalaia*," "459/60," "*Kephalaia* top right 503/4??," "*Kephalaia* 423–424." Plate 1 does contain a fragment with the pagination 479, but fragments with the other paginations were not found. The leaf 423/424 is extant in its proper box, though the pagination is not present.

Reinhold Merkelbach has remarked that chapter 138 is lost except for Polotsky's published German translation: "The Coptic text is lost, there still exists only the German translation."[88]

However, an examination of the papyri in the Papyrus Collection of (East) Berlin on December 13, 1988, tended to indicate that the papyri containing this chapter are in fact not lost.[89] Merkelbach has confirmed that he had no specific reason for postulating that the leaf or leaves containing this chapter were lost. (Polotsky's transcription has subsequently been located in Berlin; see note 90.)

Transcriptions of 51 unpublished pages of the Berlin *Kephalaia* preserved in the Archives of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin (42 by Polotsky and 9 probably by Böhlig)[90] may contain more text than

88. Merkelbach, *Mani und sein Religionssystem*, 18, n. 9.

89. Chapter 136 begins on page 337, chapter 137 on p. 338, chapter 138 on page 340, chapter 140 and 141 both on page 343. The leaf labeled 341/342 is also extant, on which the continuation and conclusion of chapter 138 (and the beginning of chapter 139) presumably take place. Yet the identity of the leaf in question seemed at first uncertain. For the labels reading 339/340, and with the chapter numeration 138, were affixed in such a way that when the labels were at the top of the page, the writing was upside down, so that the leaf needed to be returned to its upright position. Nor did the fiber directions conform to the pattern of like fiber directions on facing pages. But if the side labeled 339 is relabeled 340, and that labeled 340 relabeled 339, the fiber pattern becomes normal. Furthermore, only on the basis of these corrections do the profiles of this leaf and that of the preceding and following leaves conform to one another. Thus once I made these corrections, the codex seems at this part to be intact, though the text is less legible that it was half a century ago, to judge by the extant German translation.

90. Schenke, "Gnosis-Forschung 1984–1988," a paper read at the Fourth International Congress on Coptic Studies of the International Association for Coptic

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the surviving unpublished papyrus itself, in view of the deterioration that the papyrus may have undergone during the intervening half century. Five of these same pages of transcriptions from the *Kephalaia* by Polotsky are also in the Archives in Dublin (pp. 343, 344, 353, 354, 366). There are also 2 pages of transcriptions from the *Kephalaia* by Polotsky in the Archives in Oxford; although they have not yet been definitely identified (they are right-hand and hence odd-numbered pages), the conventional numeration that Polotsky assigned would suggest that Crum Mss 11.30.23 is page 341 and Crum Mss 11.30.24 (= 11.30.27) is page 347, thus indicating they are also duplicates of those of the Academy in Berlin.

The transcriptions of half a century ago should be made promptly available to the public in some way, with due recognition to the scholar who actually did the work, and especially to Polotsky, in view of the fact that none of Polotsky's work on the *Kephalaia* published during the Nazi period could appear with his name on the title page.[91]

Papyrus Collection, Berlin, P^{15997}, the *Acts*

According to Schmidt's report, the Fayyumic dealer had explained that the provincial dealer had sold his two parts to Nahman, who had sold them to Schmidt. By the process of elimination, it can be determined that P^{15997} is one of these two: Nahman told Schmidt he acquired for Schmidt the two codices held by the provincial dealer after Nahman had "rejected" Beatty. This so-called rejection cannot be dated to a

Studies in Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium, September 5–10, 1988, lists the following pages: 293, 301–7 (= chs. 125–29), 334, 337–57, 359–73 (= chs. 135–50), 395–99 (= chs. 157–60), 413. Alexander Böhlig, in a letter of February 5, 1989, reports that from samples that Schenke provided him of the script, he could ascribe pages 334, 337–57, 359–73, and 395–99 to Polotsky; and pages 293 (broken off), 301–7 (307 broken off), and 413 probably to himself. The *Jahrbuch der Preussichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1941* (Berlin: Akademie, 1942), 63, reported concerning Böhlig's work: "The fascicle 11/12 has been worked out apart from a few details (pages 244 to 292). Over and above that, transcriptions of the pages 300ff. could be carried out."

91. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 183 n. 1, stated: "The names of the real editors are missing from the title page for the following reason: The name of H. J. Polotsky was not supposed to appear on the title page in the Nazi time because of the racial legislation. But I turned down the naming of my name alone." It was in fact reported in *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte (1940), iv, at the conclusion of the preface: "The first two double fascicles Dr. H. J. Polotsky prepared. From p. 103 on Dr. A. Böhlig has taken his place."

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time prior to Schmidt's seeing the *Kephalaia* on his first trip, for on his return from Jerusalem Nahman admitted having sold in the intervening time to Beatty. Thus it can hardly be the *Kephalaia* that belonged to the provincial dealer. Schmidt acquired the 31 leaves of the *Synaxeis* from the Fayyumic dealer. And he acquired the bulk of the *Homilies* codex from Nahman via Beatty (see below), when Beatty released the option that he had held on it since March 23, 1930. Thus the two codices in the hands of the provincial dealer must by the process of elimination have been the *Acts* and the *Letters* (see below). In fact the *Acts* must be the codex that Schmidt reported acquiring in the spring of 1931, when he said he had acquired a codex still in its original wooden covers.[92] For in describing P^{15997}, he reported that it was acquired in its covers, and a photograph of this codex in its covers was published. The covers cannot be found at the Egyptian Museum of (East) Berlin, according to Günter Poethke, Custos of Greek Manuscripts in the Papyrus Collection.

Apparently only a few leaves were conserved, just enough to identify the codex. Alexander Böhlig saw one in 1953, which hence must not have been taken to Leningrad (whence material was returned only in 1958), but must have stayed in Berlin in 1946, presumably in the Ibscher home, though the leaf had been conserved well before the war. When Böhlig could not relocate it in Berlin in 1960, he was told by Rolf Ibscher that Ibscher by mistake had taken it to London.[93] It was moved from London to Dublin, but was among those leaves put on deposit in Copenhagen. Facsimiles were published in 1987 in volume 2 of the *Facsimile Edition*, though the identification is there left open. When one compares Schmidt and Polotsky's summary with the segments that Giversen translated,[94] there can be little doubt that

92. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 7, 8, 27, and Plate 2.

93. Böhlig reported this in an interview in Tübingen on July 10, 1986.

94. Giversen, "Manichaean Texts from the Chester Beatty Collection," 269: "This must either be a parallel text to that mentioned by C. Schmidt or physically be the same. I shall not say much more about this here, since I have dealt with it in the edition Vol. II pp. VIII–IX and I hope to return to it in connection with a preliminary critical edition and translation of the text." The plates are published in Giversen, *Homilies and Varia*, viii–ix, plates 99–100. On page viii Giversen states:

> The two pages have a text with some historical information, and this can be identified with similar information reported by C. Schmidt from a leaf in Berlin . . . Exactly the same persons are mentioned: Thadamor, Amarô, Sapores the hyparch, Narsaph, Hormezd, Innaios, Abiesus and others. This

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it is in fact the same text, and, since there is no second copy of the *Acts* among the codices from Medinet Madi,[95] it is no doubt the same copy.

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must either be a parallel text to that mentioned by C. Schmidt, or the leaf must physically be the same. Parallel texts are well known from other papyri, e.g., in the Nag Hammadi texts the two very close long versions of the Apocryphon of John, and the two versions of the Gospel of Truth.

The reference is to Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 28–29:

> Another piece leads us into a later time of Manichaeism. Here a mass of unknown persons come forward . . . Obviously it is here a matter of events that take place within the Persian Kingdom . . . It has to do further with the position assumed by provincial governments toward the Manichaean religion, some of which are disposed positively, especially Amara, who is designated as the "great patron" of the Manichaeans, since they enjoyed his support. Hence one of the heads of the Manichaeans turns to him with the request that he intervene for the persecuted believers in Persia with the king Narsaph, i.e., Narses (293–302). Amaro Innaios takes on this task and sends letters to the higher king that are crowned with success in that the persecutions cease. In these negotiations there occurs a certain, who is apparently the transmittor of the communication of Amaro Innaios to the king. He has an audience with King Narses, the result of which is that the suppressions and persecutions of the teachers and believers are suspended on the order of the king.

Giversen, "Unedited Chester Beatty Mani Texts," 379–80, republished in "Manichaean Texts from the Chester Beatty Collection," 269, has translated segments of this text:

> He told us that the king had arrived into the neighbourhood of our shepherd Innaios, together with the noble Persians who were his assistants. He spoke to him . . . He asked him to go to the king. He achieved mercy for us from him and stopped the (1986: our] destruction. The king together with the noblemen, who were many . . . Innaios, shall I raise Innaios went into . . . of the king [Sapores].

At the 1989 conference in Bonn, Giversen reported that after a visit to the Papyrus Collection in (East) Berlin he had decided that the relevant leaf is not there and that the leaf in Copenhagen is from this codex.

95. There is a *Kephalaia* codex in Dublin and one in Berlin, but they are not two copies of the same text, but rather a two-volume set. The *Homilies* material in Dublin and that (originally) in Berlin apparently belong to the same codex, rather than being two copies of the same text. With regard to Giversen's reference to duplicates in the Nag Hammadi library, all the duplicate texts within that collection of 13 codices prove on closer examination to belong to separate subgroups, only secondarily merged into a collection of collections. Of course in larger manuscript discoveries there are duplicates, e.g., among the Dishna Papers (as the discovery is referred to in Upper Egypt that the academic community has usually referred to as the Bodmer Papyri, since these form the largest block), the Gospel of John: in Greek, P^{66} = P. Bodmer II, and P^{75} = P. Bodmer XIV–XV; and in Coptic, P. Bodmer III, Chester Beatty ac. 1390, and perhaps P. Palau Ribes 182. Yet the Dishna Papers

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There are 7 (or 8) leaves of this codex in the Papyrus Collection of (East) Berlin.[96] Thus there are extant 9 (or 10) unpublished leaves, 18 (or 20) unpublished pages.

Transcriptions of 3 pages that Schmidt and Polotsky used in their essay are preserved by the Archives of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin.[97]

Part of one leaf has perhaps turned up at the Institute for Papyrology of Warsaw University.[98]

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also comprise a collection of collections or of individual codices and scrolls from a variety of provenances, whereas the Manichaean codices seem to be a set emanating from a single scriptorium.

96. The Inventory Book of the Papyrus Collection in (East) Berlin has penciled notes: "partially glassed," "8 leaves," and, initialed by Rolf Ibscher, "8 leaves are back." It is this reference in the Inventory Book that is no doubt responsible for the comment, "8 leaves in Berlin," in Müller's preliminary listing, "Die koptischen Handschriften," 65–85. This number was then repeated in Beltz's catalogue. But one of the 8 leaves there now has a printed label that reads P^{15998}; where the 8 has been marked out and a 7 written in by hand, a hand identified by Poethke as that of Luke. The leaf also has a separate label in ink reading 36, with the 6 marked out and replaced in pencil with 2. But the labels for the individual leaves of P^{15997} use Roman numerals, with the highest IX, whereas P^{15996} and P^{15998} use Arabic numerals for individual leaves (and where some renumbering also occurs, see there). When one notes that the size of the glass panes in which the leaf in question is conserved is not the large format, used for P^{15998}, but a smaller format used for the 7 leaves of P^{15997}, one can wonder if one smaller leaf of P^{15998} was packed for transport by size along with P^{15997}. When the material was returned from Leningrad, it may have been merely assumed that the eighth small leaf was part of the same codex with which it was packed, and the label "corrected" accordingly. Yet though the extant papyrus is indeed smaller in its dimensions than is usual for P^{15998}, the profile and the frayed edges are not what is characteristic of P^{15997}, though Stephen Patterson has noted a similarity in the scribal hands. The numeration attached to the leaves in Berlin does reach IX, which might suggest that nine leaves had been identified as belonging to P^{15997}. It could have been that the apparent contradiction of these 9 plates with the record in the Inventory Book of 8 having been conserved is what led Rolf Ibscher to "return" one to London. But there is also a leaf (actually only a narrow strip) in Warsaw (see note 98). The identity of the eighth leaf in Berlin thus remains uncertain.

97. Schenke, "Gnosis-Forschung 1984–1988" (see note 90 above).

98. Beltz, "Katalog der koptischen Handschriften," 97–98, states to I 605 = P^{15997}: "In Warsaw there is at present a leaf from this codex at the University." Inventories of July 12, 1986 by Wincenty Myszor and of August 11, 1986 by Wolf-Peter Funk indicate that there is a plate numbered 499/500 that is labeled P^{15997}, though it seems to belong (with 4 other leaves) to P^{15996} (though Beltz does not list it at P^{15996}). But a sixth leaf, between much smaller panes of glass and taped with a different colored tape, has a label whose last digit is illegible (P^{1599}). Myszor read the last digit as 7 but added, it "is not quite clear—it can also be 6!" Funk could not read the digit, since part of

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Stephen J. Patterson has made draft transcriptions of the seven leaves in Berlin and has as well transcribed the facsimiles of the one leaf in Copenhagen.

The unconserved book block is assumed to have been among the (East) Berlin Museum holdings that were taken to Leningrad in 1946, but when those holdings were returned in 1958, the book block was not present. What actually happened to it is not known. The missing wooden covers may have shared the same fate as the book block, from which they may never have been separated, since the conserved leaves may not have been the first and/or last leaves of the codex, but may have been exposed by the dealers breaking the codex open in the middle.

Papyrus Collection, Berlin, P^{15998}, the *Letters*

The second of the two codices that the provincial dealer acquired, and passed on to Nahman to sell to Schmidt, can be determined by the same process of elimination to be P^{15998}.

As in the case of the *Acts*, only a sampling of leavings was conserved, to provide an initial identification. Six leaves are recorded in the Inventory Book of the Papyrus Collection of Berlin as having been taken to Leningrad and returned in 1958. They have been identified in a recent inventory of the material currently in the Papyrus Collection of Berlin as a separate stack with plates of a distinctive format numbered B 12, 13, 21, 23, 24, and 25. (Though 13 had lost its label, it could be identified by means of letters transcribed in Beltz's inventory; see note 3.) But 3 leaves, presumably also conserved by Hugo Ibscher, turned up after World War II in the National Museum in Warsaw.

Alexander Böhlig conjectured that 13 leaves of this codex were by mistake taken to London.[99] This conjecture is based in part on a comment by Rolf Ibscher that the 13 leaves in London were of "an unusually large format," a description that Böhlig thought singled out

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the paper was broken off, but noted on the other side of the leaf a label of recent date reading "to P^{15997}." This "narrow strip of papyrus" that is scarcely legible (Funk) may hence come from P^{15997}, though this is far from certain. Whether it would be part of one of the leaves taken to Leningrad or counted as a separate leaf is unclear, and hence it is unclear whether it would have been a separate one of the nine leaves that the numeration system suggests, an ambivalence that would tend to obscure even further the identity of the uncertain leaf in Berlin.

99. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 186–87.

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the *Letters* codex. Yet all the codices may have about the same dimensions, except for the smaller Psalms codex.[100] Böhlig's view is in part based on the absence from the leaves in Berlin of the running heads of 4 pages that Schmidt and Polotsky read, which suggested to Böhlig that these running heads might be on the leaves then in London. But, according to Wolf-Peter Funk's transcriptions, they have been located on the leaves in Warsaw. Böhlig concluded his argument with the comment that "a glance at the London leaves should suffice to solve all these problematic questions with one blow." It was not at the time possible for him to examine them in London. But the *Facsimile Edition* alone suffices:[101] The leaves are not unusually large and do not contain the running heads that Schmidt and Polotsky quoted. Hence these 13 Dublin leaves that Hugo Ibscher labeled as Codex B seem to belong to Chester Beatty Library Codex B, the *Synaxeis* codex, not to the *Letters*, though the 6 leaves of this codex conserved by Hugo Ibscher were also labeled B.

Rolf Ibscher kept half-conserved materials in the family home throughout the war (see above) and then returned them to the Papyrus Collection of (East) Berlin, where they are currently held. Among the 15 plates stacked together with Poethke's note to the effect that they belong to the *Letters*, 2 are labeled as "*Kephalaia* without number," 9 are numbered (8–12, 14–16, and 18), and 4 are unnumbered. One unnumbered plate, labeled by Rolf Ibscher "twin separated from number 8," does have the same profile as number 8. A second, labeled "twins" (in Rolf Ibscher's best English) does contain two leaves and has the same profile as number 9, on which a fragment of a second leaf is still stuck; the fragment seems to fit the location of a missing segment of the material labeled "twins." A third also contains two leaves. A fourth lacks the middle segment and was reglassed by Luke in 1970. Thus the 13 plates contain actually 15 leaves, in view of the two instances of "twins."

One plate that originally had the printed label P[15998] and was numbered 29 has the 8 marked out and replaced by 6; and the plate numbered 30 (which actually contains two leaves) has the printed

100. Hugo Ibscher, in Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, xiii. The extant leaves of P[15997], the *Acts* codex, are also in a smaller format, but the book block, to which Ibscher may have had access but we do not, apparently had the larger format.

101. Giversen, *Homilies and Varia*, ix–x, plates 101–26.

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label scraped off and replaced by 15996, thus shifting both to the *Kephalaia*, and in both cases perhaps from the *Letters*. Two others listed "*Kephalaia* without number" were stacked with the 13 leaves, making up the stack of 15 that Poethke ascribed to the *Letters*, which seems to suggest that these two leaves were thought to belong to the *Letters*. In fact as many as 8 leaves labeled as belonging to the *Kephalaia* could belong to another codex, such as the *Letters* (see above). One leaf with a printed label P[15998] has the 8 marked out and replaced by 7, thus suggesting it earlier was assigned not to the *Acts* but to the *Letters* (see above).

One may hence speak rather tentatively of 28 leaves or 56 pages of the *Letters* codex being extant today: the 6 leaves = 12 pages returned to Berlin that Hugo Ibscher conserved; the 3 leaves = 6 pages that emerged in Warsaw after the war; 15 leaves = 30 pages from among those that lay half conserved in the Ibscher home during the war and were put in 13 glass containers labelled by Rolf Ibscher; 3 leaves = 6 pages in 2 glass containers as belonging to the *Kephalaia*; and 1 leaf = 2 pages currently labeled as belonging to the *Acts* may actually come from the *Letters* codex. None of it has been published. The amount of text that survives is very much less than these figures suggest.

The unconserved book block is assumed to have been among the Berlin Museum holdings that were taken to Leningrad in 1946, but when those holdings were returned in 1958 the book block was not present. What actually happened to it is not known.

Papyrus Collection, Berlin, P[15999], the Bulk of the *Homilies*

On March 23, 1930, Beatty received from Nahman with an option to buy for £700 the bulk of the *Homilies* codex, which Hugo Ibscher advised him could not be conserved.

At the beginning of 1932, Beatty learned that Schmidt had a second option to buy the manuscript if Beatty decided not to exercise his option.[102] On March 29, 1932, Beatty finally wrote Nahman that he would not make the purchase, and on May 10, 1932, the manuscript was turned over to Ibscher in London to take back with him to Berlin for Schmidt.[103] The publisher W. Kohlhammer purchased it for the

102. Sir Herbert Thompson wrote on January 4, 1932, this news that he had just received in a letter from Schmidt.

103. In the two-ring binder in the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library, there is

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Papyrus Collection of Berlin for a price reported to have been 5,000 marks,[104] and it was inventoried as P[15999]. Though it was suspected to be the bulk of the *Homilies* codex, the rest of which Ibscher had in fact successfully conserved (Chester Beatty Library Codex D),[105] it was never considered to be conservable. Rather it was kept as a sort of showpiece of how impossible the conservation of these codices was.[106]

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a note concerning this manuscript: "Given to Dr. Ibscher for Nahman." Technically speaking, the manuscript was released back to Nahman to dispose of as he saw fit. Yet Ibscher was not going to Cairo, but rather to Berlin. On May 14, 1932, before leaving London for Berlin, Ibscher wrote a receipt for Beatty, "to confirm that I have correctly received the Mani manuscript for Prof. Schmidt."

104. In a letter of August 29, 1957, from Rolf Ibscher to Carsten Colpe. The Inventory Book of the Papyrus Collection reports: "Acquired through Prof. Carl Schmidt in Cairo 1932. Gift of Dr. W. Kohlhammer." The reference to the acquisition in Cairo is literal only in the sense that Schmidt was in Egypt when Beatty released his option, and Schmidt exercised his option with Nahman in Cairo. But the manuscript itself had long since permanently left Egypt.

105. Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," in Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, xii: "Whether the text published here is part of a lost Mani book, or belongs to one of the extant volumes not yet undertaken by me, can for the time being not be determined." This undecidedness corresponds to the statement of Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 30, concerning the Berlin part: "The papyrus book that has most recently been added to the corpus of the Berlin Manichaica could not yet be subjected to any further investigation. But this much seems to be certain, that it contains a collection of so-called λογοι (both the Coptic and the English use the same Greek loan word) of various authors. On the upper margins authors' names from the circle of Mani's disciples occur, such as Koustaios, Salmaios." But in the same essay, page 34, concerning the London part, the identification is affirmed: "A second papyrus book contains a collection of homilies (λογοι) of various contents and by various authors . . . Of this book, as I mentioned above [!], a voluminous part has come to Berlin." Alexander Böhlig, in a letter of February 3, 1989, has pointed out that in view of the frequent occurrence of homilies in Manichaean literature, one cannot be certain that this is part of the same codex of homilies as that of Beatty's that contains homilies. But then one would have to assume that the minor part of a codex of homilies that Beatty acquired in 1931 was part of an otherwise lost codex, whereas the homilies codex that Beatty obtained on approval from Nahman in 1930 would be a separate codex. It would seem simpler to assume that here, as in the case of the *Psalms* codex sold to Beatty in two installments, at the same time as were sold the two texts with homilies, and hence probably in the same two transactions, one has to do with two parts of the same codex. By marketing the two parts of a single codex in separate transactions, the dealer might assume a client would not notice that one had to do with two parts of the same codex—all the more so given the condition of the papyrus and Beatty's status as an amateur, not a scholar. Nahman probably had two codices that he succeeded in selling as four.

106. The Inventory Book of the Papyrus Collection of Berlin listed its location not, as in the case of the others, as a shelf in the work area, but as "displayed," i.e. on

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The unconserved book block is assumed to have been among the Berlin Museum holdings that were taken to Leningrad in 1946, but when those holdings were returned in 1958 the book block was not present.[107] What actually happened to it is not known.

Few manuscript discoveries of the importance of the Manichaean codices of Medinet Madi have undergone such an ambivalent fate after their discovery. Since the leaves had been stuck together by salt crystals due to the dampness in which they were conjectured to have lain for a millennium and a half, their condition was such that the first scholar to see them, Lange, did not acquire them. Schmidt passed them up the first time he saw them; neither did Adolf von Harnack favor their acquisition; Schmidt's decision to acquire them was in part based upon his hearing that the famous bibliophile, Beatty, had acquired some. But Beatty at first acquired only with an option to buy, which he exercised only in part, and then only on receiving encouragement from Schmidt via Ibscher. Thus the material barely escaped being bypassed by the academic community.

The conservation and editing began under what might seem to be a lucky star, with two competing geniuses—Ibscher and Polotsky—working in collaboration,[108] so that each newly exposed leaf on the book block could be transcribed before being removed, thus producing a better transcription for at least the exposed side than might be possible after it had been removed and perhaps damaged in the process, and providing an aide memoire for reassembling the leaf after it was

exhibit. Rolf Ibscher, "Der Mani-Fund," 228: "Codex 15999, because of its unimpressive appearance, immediately wandered into the permanent display of the Berlin Museums, as a visible example of the terrible degeneration of the whole manuscript find." See Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 157–61; and *Actes du XXVe Congrès International des Orientalistes, Moscou 9–16 août 1960,* 535–41; but here it is cited according to Böhlig's collected essays, *Mysterion und Wahrheit*, 177–87, especially 184: "The condition of the manuscript was so desolate that among the collaborators of the Papyrus Collection it was generally designated as the 'wig.'"

107. The Inventory Book of the Papyrus Collection of Berlin includes a note added in purple carbon reading, "at present in Moscow." Presumably this should read: Leningrad. This is the only indication in the Inventory Book as to the fate of any of the book blocks.

108. Böhlig, in a letter of February 5, 1989, recalls that the actual relationship was more nearly that of hostility. Polotsky was dependent on the speed, regularity, and success of Ibscher's conservation; Ibscher was dependent on Polotsky for the correct placement of fragments removed from the book block one by one, and may have been delayed by Polotsky's wishing to transcribe a surface before the leaf was removed from the book block.

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peeled off the book block. Alexander Böhlig, who became Polotsky's assistant in 1933 and successor in 1934, himself was never so involved, though he might well have been, had the procedure in fact been functioning well. Efforts by the son, Rolf Ibscher, to reestablish such teamwork after the war, though several alternatives were envisaged, did not actually materialize in a way to produce comparably successful results, though Böhlig would have liked to have become more involved with Ibscher's work than an occasional visit to Göttingen made possible. After the material was returned from Leningrad to Berlin in 1958, he proposed in 1959 to the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin that it resume publication. In 1960 the Academy's Institut für griechisch-römische Altertumskunde (rather than the Academy's Orientalische Kommission, which, prior to the war, had been in charge), through the subdivision Kommission für spätantike Religionsgeschichte, commissioned Böhlig to prepare the publications. On July 5, 1960, Böhlig wrote T. C. Skeat of the British Museum for permission to see the conserved leaves there, expressing particular interest in the 13 unidentified leaves and leaves reported to have been found lying inside Beatty's *Kephalaia* codex. Böhlig proposed bringing Ibscher with him to remove opaque cellophane paper that lay between the papyrus and the glass, which would, if left in place, effectively prevent reading the text. On July 13, 1960, R. J. Hayes, honorary librarian of the Chester Beatty Library, replied that Böhlig could see the leaves, but that one could not remove the cellophane—a restriction apparently intended to insure that Rolf Ibscher, whose work had been terminated with some hard feelings, not return again.[109]

At the Twenty-Fifth Congress of Orientalists in Moscow in August of 1960, Böhlig presented the status of the Manichaean codices. A resolution was passed advocating international cooperation in publishing the codices.[110] On August 15, 1960, Johannes Irmscher, then director of the Institut für griechisch-römische Altertumskunde of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, wrote to Hayes informing him of this resolution and soliciting his cooperation, commending both Böhlig and Ibscher. Hayes responded on December

109. T. C. Skeat forwarded Böhlig's letter to Hayes on July 11, 1960, with the comment: "I must leave you to deal with the suggestion that he should bring Ibscher with him!"

110. See note 106 above.

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5, 1960, that the restoration was being done at the British Museum, and that the Coptic experts there would converse with Böhlig on the occasion of a visit anticipated for 1961. Böhlig in fact did not go, since without Ibscher he could not remove the cellophane to make the leaves legible, and because of the impossibilities of his making such a trip at the time. The Berlin Wall was erected August 13, 1961. Böhlig hoped that Peter Nagel would take over his work in Berlin after he himself moved in 1963 to West Germany. Böhlig hoped that, for his part, he would be able to activate the English. But none of this materialized, and Coptological scholarship moved increasingly into Nag Hammadi studies.

The book blocks with the unconserved bulk of three codices (the *Acts*, the *Letters*, and the *Homilies*) have been lost. Of the four largely extant codices, half of one (the *Synaxeis*) has not been conserved but is extant as a currently unconservable book block. Of the leaves that have been conserved from all seven codices, about half have been published in critical editions; the unpublished half, most of which was conserved by Rolf Ibscher, is largely illegible, as the *Facsimile Edition* makes apparent.

This discovery was caught up to a very abnormal degree in the political disasters of the time: the departure of Polotsky for Jerusalem in 1933 to avoid the baneful auspices of the Third Reich; the death of C. R. C. Allberry through the shooting down of his plane over the Netherlands just before midnight on April 3, 1943;[111] the inaccessibility of the material in the Zoo bunker during the war and then in Leningrad for twelve years (1946–1958)—it actually became accessible again only in 1960, a hiatus of two decades. By this time Carl Schmidt and Hugo Ibscher had died, and the next generation simply did not succeed in carrying forward the work as it had been initiated so promisingly by the first generation, though Alexander Böhlig and Rolf Ibscher worked vigorously, though largely in isolation.[112] Alexander

111. Allberry's tragic life led a classmate C. P. Snow to write a novel, *Light and the Dark*, whose hero, Roy Calvert, is based largely on Allberry but also on the character Larry Darrell in Somerset Maugham's *The Razor's Edge*. When the novel was included in a series of television renderings of Snow's sequence of novels, *Strangers and Brothers*, Allberry's widow, Mrs. Patricia K. G. Lewis, felt called upon to clear Allberry's name by publishing privately a collection of testimonials and recollections: Lewis, *Charles Allberry: A Portrait*. See also Putt, "Charles Allberry and Roy Calvert," 70–76; see also Giversen, *Psalm-Book, Part 1*, viii.

112. See most recently, Böhlig, *Gnosis and Synkretismus*, especially, in vol. 1, 71–180; and, in vol. 2, the section "Manichäismus," 457–653.

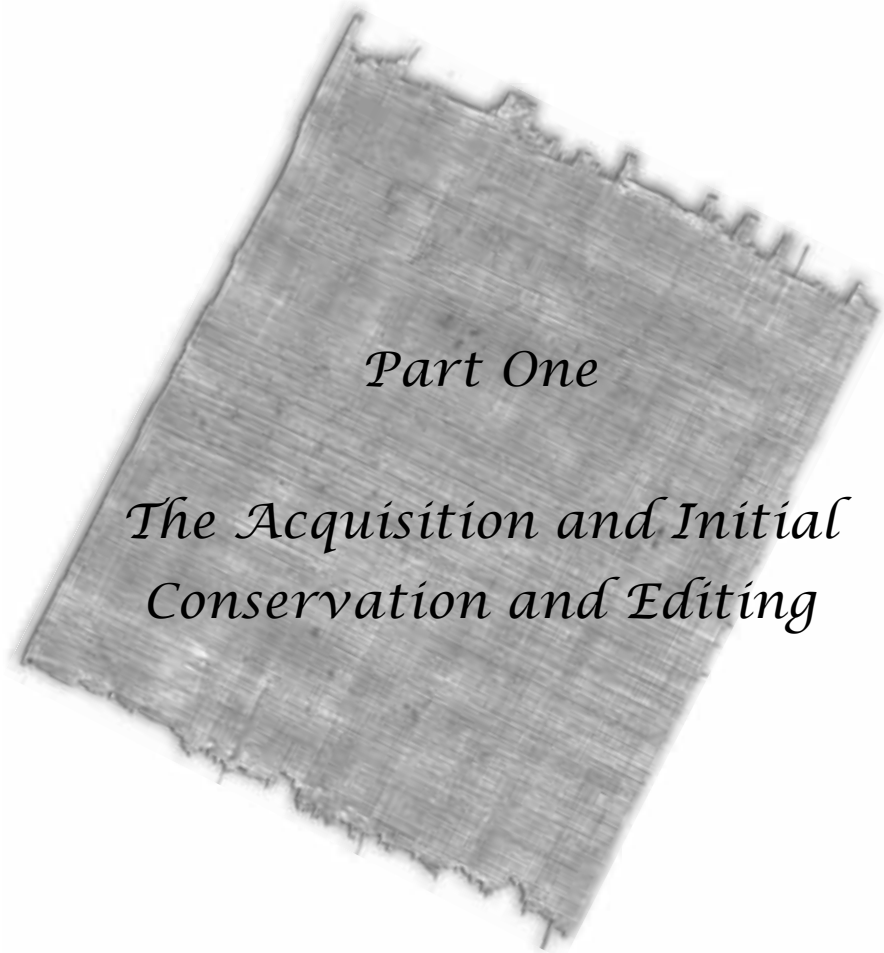
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Böhlig is the only member of the earlier team who has continued to be active and thus to provide some continuity in the current revival of interest in the Manichaean codices of Medinet Madi.

The plans worked out in 1931 for a complete coordination in the conservation, editing, and publication of the material, in spite of the plurality of ownership, began to be implemented successfully, as is evident from the publications between 1934 and 1966 by Polotsky, Böhlig, and Allberry from three codices in two parallel series at Kohlhammer in Stuttgart. Now, a generation or more later, the academic community has become aware that a salvage operation is urgently needed if the editing and publishing of this important manuscript discovery, which began so auspiciously, is not to end quite dismally.

The International Association for Coptic Studies expressed its approval of both the projects that have recently been proposed and hoped that there will be collaboration between them. This is a hope that we all, as participants in the Second International Conference on Manichaeism should heartily share, and that the newly founded International Association of Manichaean Studies might seek to implement.

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Part One

The Acquisition and Initial Conservation and Editing

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— 1 —

The Acquisitions of Carl Schmidt

The basic publication reporting on the circumstances of the acquisition of the Manichaean codices of Medinet Madi (Τερενοῦθις) is the report to the Berlin Academy of Sciences by Carl Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, with a contribution by Hugo Ibscher, submitted July 28, 1932, and published the following year:[1]

On the occasion of a research trip to Palestine [early in 1930] . . . while passing through Cairo, I [Carl Schmidt] paid a visit to the various antiquities dealers I knew. Among other things, a papyrus book [P[15996], *Kephalaia*] was put before me that was in an extremely desolate condition, so that I hardly dared to touch it. Fortunately I could decipher in the upper margin the word ⲛ̄ⲕⲉϕⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ and in the text read the beginning of a section: "Again the Illuminator (ϕⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ) spoke" . . . and the content must go back to an author who ascribed to himself the honorary title of an "Illuminator" or was honored as such by his followers, and who

Bei Gelegenheit einer Forschungsreise nach Palästina . . . [early in 1930] stattete ich [Carl Schmidt] auf der Durchreise in Kairo den verschiedenen mir bekannten Antikenhändlern einen Besuch ab. Unter anderem wurde mir ein Papyrusbuch [P[15996], *Kephalaia*]vorgelegt, das sich in einem höchst desolaten Zustande befand, daher ich es kaum zu berühren wagte. Zum Glück konnte ich auf dem oberen Rande das Wort ⲛ̄ⲕⲉϕⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ entziffern und im Texte den Anfang eines Abschnittes lesen: "Wiederum sprach der Erleuchter (ϕⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ)" . . . , und der Inhalt musste auf einen Verfassser zurückgehen, der sich selbst

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 4–90, with a contribution by Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschriften," 82–85. The quotations here are from pp. 6–10.

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had collected a circle of disciples around himself . . . In happy excitement about this discovery I communicated information about it to his Excellency [Adolf] von Harnack and others whom I knew in Berlin, but I struck upon great skepticism, since no one wanted to believe in the discovery of original works of Mani. I was referred to anti-Manichaean writings from Egypt such as Alexander of Lycopolis or Serapion of Thmuis. So I drew back from an acquisition. Only on my return from Jerusalem was my attention led again to the papyrus, as I learned from the antiquities dealer that Mr. Chester Beatty, a well-known collector of manuscripts, had acquired [March 23, 1930] papyrus books similar to the one offered to me. This gave me the courage to acquire the papyrus at my own risk, especially since no downpayment was required of me. But I had not taken into account the fact that in the meantime a severe financial crisis had occurred in Germany, which also involved the museums and libraries too heavily for larger amounts to be provided for acquisitions. Hence all the efforts that were so kindly supported by my colleague Prof. Erich Seeberg seemed to be without success. Thus the danger was near that this valuable treasure might be lost to German scholarship. Then at the last minute a lucky star arose in the person of an unnamed Maecenas [August Pfeffer], who had been made aware of the significance of the

den Ehrentitel eines "Erleuchters" beigelegt hatte oder als solcher von den Anhängern verehrt wurde, und der einen Jüngerkreis um sich versammelt hatte . . . In freudiger Erregung über diese Entdeckung machte ich Exzellenz [Adolf] von Harnack und anderen Bekannten in Berlin davon Mitteilung, stiess aber auf grosse Skepsis, da niemand an die Auffindung von Originalwerken des Mani glauben wollte. Ich wurde auf manichäische Gegenschriften aus Ägypten wie Alexander von Lycopolis oder Serapion von Thmuis hingewiesen. So trat ich von einer Erwerbung zurück. Erst bei meiner Rückkehr von Jerusalem wurde meine Aufmerksamkeit auf den Papyrus wieder gelenkt, als ich von dem Antikenhändler erfuhr, dass Mr. Chester Beatty, ein bekannter Sammler von Handschriften, ähnliche Papyrusbücher wie das mir angebotene erworben hätte [23 March 1930]. Dies gab mir den Mut, den Papyrus auf mein eigenes Risiko zu erwerben, zumal keine Anzahlung von mir verlangt wurde. Aber ich hatte nicht damit gerechnet, dass in Deutschland inzwischen eine schwere Finanzkrise ausgebrochen war, die auch die Museen und Bibliotheken zu stark in Mitleidenschaft zog, um grössere Summen für Ankäufe bereitstellen zu können. Daher schienen alle Bemühungen, die von meinem Kollegen Prof. Erich Seeberg in dankenswerter Weise unterstützt wurden, erfolglos zu sein und damit die Gefahr in die Nähe gerückt, dass dieser kostbare Schatz der deutschen Wissenschaft verlorenginge. Da tauchte im letzten Moment ein Rettungsstern in der Person eines ungenannten Mäzens [August Pfeffer] auf, der durch

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find by my friend Dr. E. Lubowski. In great-hearted liberality he provided the Egyptian Museum with the purchase price, indeed he even expressed his willingness, in case further pieces of the papyrus book should come on the market in the Egyptian antiquities trade, to provide further means for their acquisition. German scholarship hence owes warm appreciation to this Maecenas, especially since such understanding patrons can be counted as rarities in the hard times of today.

So in the spring of 1931 I could again begin a trip to Egypt . . . My trip had as its main purpose to investigate further the find as such, i.e. to collect more precise information about the site of the discovery, but especially to determine whether still further papyrus books from the same find had cropped up on the antiquities market. For anyone who is familiar with the antiquities trade knows very well that in the case of larger papyrus discoveries all the material is never brought to market at once, either by the discoverers or by the dealers, so as not to depress the price in offering larger quantities. My intuition had not deceived me, for already on my first visit to an antiquities dealer in Cairo he put before me two piles of papyrus [P[15996] *Kephalaia*] that outwardly recalled only too well those that had been earlier acquired. And again I could decipher on the upper margin the word ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ. Thus it was proven that it belonged to

meinen Freund Dr. E. Lubowski auf die Bedeutung des Fundes aufmerksam gemacht war. In hochherziger Liberalität hat er den Kaufpreis für das Ägyptische Museum erstattet, ja, er erklärte sich bereit, sollten weitere Stücke des Papyrusbuches im ägyptischen Antikenhandel auf den Markt kommen, weitere Mittel zu deren Erwerbung zur Verfügung stellen zu wollen. Die deutsche Wissenschaft ist daher diesem Mäzen zu heissestem Dank verpflichtet, zumal in der heutigen Notzeit so verständnisvolle Mäzene zu den Seltenheiten zu rechnen sind.

So konnte ich im Frühjahr 1931 wiederum eine Reise nach Ägypten antreten . . . Meine Reise hatte den Hauptzweck, dem Funde als solchem weiter nachzugehen, d.h. über den Fundort nähere Erkundigungen einzuziehen, insbesondere aber festzustellen, ob noch weitere Papyrusbücher aus demselben Funde auf dem Antikenmarkte auftauchen würden. Denn wer mit dem Antikenhandel vertraut ist, weiss zur Genüge, dass bei grösseren Papyrusfunden niemals das ganze Material, sei es von den Findern, sei es von den Händlern, auf einmal auf den Markt gebracht wird, um den Preis bei Angebot grösseren Umfangs nicht herabzudrücken. Meine Ahnung hatte mich nicht betrogen, denn gleich beim ersten Besuche eines Antikenhändlers in Kairo legte er mir zwei Papyrushaufen [P[15996], *Kephalaia*] vor, die dem Äussern nach nur zu sehr an jene früher erworbenen erinnerten. Und wieder konnte ich auf dem oberen Rande das Wort ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ entziffern. Damit war die Zugehörigkeit zu dem Originalwerke erwiesen. Daneben kam ein Papyrusbuch [P[15997],

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the original work. In the process, a papyrus book [P[15997], *Acta*] emerged that lay in the original condition as when found, between two bare wooden covers, since one had risked no further handling. The whole was in such a condition of decomposition that even the dealer did not think he could recommend the acquisition to me, to spare me a later deception or a protest to him . . .

Unfortunately, I was completely in the dark thus far about the site of the discovery. The dialect used in the text pointed to Upper Egypt, but many indications regarding the dealers spoke for the Fayyum. Hence my next visit, accompanied by Privy Councillor Moritz, was paid to an old business friend there. And again I had not been deceived, for he [p. 8] showed me a few unimpressive piles that on the first glance betrayed the fact that they belonged to the Mani discovery. So here the source was uncovered from which Mr. Chester Beatty had carried out his acquisition. And now there was no further difficulty in obtaining from the mouth of this well-versed dealer further information about the whole discovery. First of all, the news was important that three dealers had divided the discovery among themselves, and in fact there had been eight parts, of which he himself had gotten three parts, the dealer in Cairo also three parts, and a provincial dealer two parts. Of course this first partition was not the end of it, but each had carried out further divi-

Acta] zum Vorschein, das noch in dem ursprünglichen Zustande bei der Auffindung zwischen zwei kahlen Holzdeckeln lag, da man keine weitere Berührung gewagt hatte. Das Ganze befand sich in einem solchen Zerfall, dass selbst der Händler den Ankauf mir nicht empfehlen zu können glaubte, um mir eine spätere Enttäuschung bzw. Reklamation bei ihm zu ersparen . . .

Leider war ich bis dahin über den Fundort ganz im unklaren. Der im Text gebotene Dialekt wies nach Oberägypten, aber manche Anzeichen in Rücksicht auf die Händler sprachen für das Fajum. Daher galt mein nächster Besuch in Begleitung von Hrn. Geheimrat Moritz einem dortigen alten Geschäftsfreunde. Und wieder hatte ich mich nicht getäuscht, denn er [p. 8] zeigte mir einige unansehnliche Haufen, die ihre Zugehörigkeit zu dem Mani-Funde auf den ersten Blick verrieten. Hier war also die Quelle entdeckt, aus der Mr. Chester Beatty seine Erwerbung getätigt hatte. Und nun machte es keine Schwierigkeit mehr, aus dem Munde dieses sehr versierten Händlers über den ganzen Fund nähere Kunde zu erhalten. Zunächst war von Wichtigkeit die Mitteilung, dass drei Händler den Fund unter sich geteilt hätten, und zwar wären es acht Teile gewesen, davon er selbst drei Teile, der Händler in Kairo ebenfalls drei Teile und ein Provinzhändler zwei Teile erhalten hätten. Natürlich war es bei dieser ersten Teilung nicht geblieben, sondern jeder hatte weitere Teilungen vorgenommen, um möglichst viel Geld herauszus-

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sions in order to squeeze out of it as much money as possible. And what was even worse, one had removed the top and bottom layers of papyrus, which had suffered to an especial extent against the covers of the binding—a phenomenon that we experience in almost all codices—, to give the whole a better appearance. How much was lost in this manipulation one is not able now to judge. So I found such outwardly unimpressive remains, which doubtless belong to the papyrus books acquired by Mr. Chester Beatty in the Fayyum [only the *Synaxeis* was acquired in Egypt partly by Beatty, partly by Schmidt], and, for the sake of completeness, so as not to let the least bit get lost, acquired them for a cheap sum, since the dealer already had his great reward in his pocket. [Note 1: Prof (Adolf) Grohmann of Prague has acquired such rags for the papyrus section of the Vienna State Library from a dealer in Eshmunen (the remains of *Kephalaia*, 311–20)]. Ibscher recently saved fragments of two leaves from this junk heap. —On my last trip in the Spring of 1932 I found still two further piles [P[15996], *Kephalaia*] that had been peeled off, and brought them to Berlin.] I do not regret my decision, for in the conservation 31 leaves could be brought under glass in more or less fragmentary preservation [P[15995], *Synaxeis*]. Whereas the antiquities dealer in the Fayyum had sold his manuscripts exclusively to Mr. Chester Beatty, the Cairo one had divided his holdchlagen. Und was noch schlimmer war, man hatte die oberen und unteren Papyruslagen, die unter den Einbanddecken in besonderem Masse gelitten hatten—eine Erscheinung, die wir bei fast allen Kodizes erleben—abgehoben, um dem Ganzen ein besseres Aussehen zu geben. Wieviel bei dieser Manipulation zugrunde gegangen ist, entzieht sich jetzt der Beurteilung. So fand ich solche äusserlich unscheinbaren Reste, die ohne Zweifel zu den von Mr. Chester Beatty im Fajum erworbenen Papyrusbüchern gehören [only the *Synaxeis* was acquired in Egypt partly by Beatty, partly by Schmidt], und habe sie der Vollständigkeit halber, um nicht das geringste verlorengehen zu lassen, für billiges Geld erworben, da der Händler seinen grossen Verdienst bereits in der Tasche hatte. [Note 1: Derartige Fetzen hat Prof. (Adolf) Grohmann, Prag, für die Papyrusabteilung der Wiener Staatsbibliothek von einem Händler aus Eschmunen erworben [the remains of *Kephalaia*, pp. 311–20]. Ibscher hat jüngst Fragmente von zwei Blättern aus diesem Müllhaufen gerettet.—Bei meiner letzten Reise im Frühjahr 1932 fand ich noch zwei weitere abgehobene Haufen [P[15996], *Kephalaia*] vor und brachte sie nach Berlin.] Ich bereue meinen Entschluss nicht, denn bei der Konservierung konnten 31 Blätter in mehr oder weniger fragmentarischer Erhaltung unter Glas gebracht werden [P[15995], *Synaxeis*]. Hatte der Fajumer Antikenhändler

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ings between Chester Beatty and myself, and, after he had turned him away, bought up the two pieces of the provincial, in order to offer them to me. But what was of the greatest importance: My man of confidence could give me a precise statement about the site of the discovery, which doubtless no one would have been able to guess. For the Mani books are written in the so-called Subachmimic dialect. Hence the translation must have originally been done in the region where this local dialect was at home. That was an Upper Egyptian dialect, which, as we will come to see in more detail, was spoken in the region of Assiut. According to what was told me, the site of the discovery was what is now called Medinet Madi, a place little known even to papyrologists . . . [p. 9]

My man of confidence must have had the whole discovery before his eyes, for, according to a passing comment that he just now made to me on my visit in March 1932, the papyrus books, each surrounded by bare covers in wood, lay in a wooden box that was found in what had been a dwelling house. The wooden box was said to have been rotten, so that saving it would not have been worthwhile. It seems as if the whole discovery had been offered by the Arabic discoverers to the antiquities dealer of the Fayyum, but the dealer had not risked putting his money alone in these unimpressive papyrus books, which is why he divided

seine Handschriften ausschliesslich an Mr. Chester Beatty verkauft, so hatte der Kairener seinen Besitz zwischen Chester Beatty und mir geteilt und hatte, nachdem er diesen abgestossen, die beiden Stücke des Provinzlers aufgekauft, um sie mir anzubieten. Aber was von höchster Wichtigkeit war: Mein Gewährsmann konnte mir auch eine genaue Angabe über den Fundort machen, den wohl niemand hätte erraten können. Denn die Mani-Bücher sind im sogenannten sub-achmimischen Dialekt abgefasst; die Übersetzung muss also ursprünglich in dem Gebiet stattgefunden haben, wo dieser Lokaldialekt heimisch war. Das war ein oberägyptischer Dialekt, der, wie wir noch näher erkennen werden, im Gebiete von Assiut gesprochen wurde. Den Mitteilungen zufolge war der Fundort das heutige Medinet Madi, ein selbst den Papyrologen wenig bekannter Ort . . . [p. 9]

Den gesamten Fund muss mein Gewährsmann noch vor Augen gehabt haben, denn nach beiläufiger Mitteilung, die er mir jetzt beim Besuch im März 1932 machte, lagen die Papyrusbücher, jedes von kahlen Deckeln in Holz umgeben, in einer Holzkiste, die in einem früheren Wohnhause aufgefunden wurde. Die Holzkiste soll zerfallen gewesen sein, so dass eine Aufbewahrung sich nicht lohnte. Es hat den Anschein, als ob dem Antikenhändler im Fajum der ganze Fund von den arabischen Findern angeboten wurde, dieser aber sich nicht getraute, sein Geld allein in diesen unansehnlichen Papyrusbüchern anzulegen, weshalb er den Fund mit anderen Händlern teilte. Damit wird auch eine Beobachtung von Dr. Ibscher bestätigt, dass die Mani-Handschriften infolge ihrer feuchten Lagerung in absehbarer

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the discovery with other dealers. This also confirms an observation by Dr. Ibscher to the effect that the Mani manuscripts were near disintegration in the foreseeable future as a result of their damp storage; that is to say, they could not have been lying in the dry desert earth. For the basements of the houses of Medinet Madi were exposed to dampness from above and below, so that the papyri could be drenched through and through with salt crystals. The whole region is a swamp area, even if the old settlement was placed on the back of a hill . . . [p. 10]

Meanwhile Dr. Ibscher has brought the Mani holdings of Chester Beatty from London to Berlin to put them under glass right here at his leisure. I myself had a conference in London with those interested in the discovery, Sir Herbert Thompson, Dr. W. E. Crum and Prof. Alan H. Gardiner, concerning some kind of collaboration with regard to a literary whole that basically belongs together, and it was agreed that expenses should be shared to interest a young collaborator. I could present such a one in the person of Dr. Polotsky, after my Maecenas [August Pfeffer] in the most generous way had assured his involvement for two years, so that the work could be begun seriously in July 1931.

Zeit dem Zerfall nahegebracht wären, also nicht in der trockenen Wüstenerde gelegen haben können. Denn die Keller der Häuser von Medinet Madi waren der Feuchtigkeit von oben und unten ausgesetzt, so dass die Papyri von Salzkristallen vollständig durchsetzt werden konnten. Die ganze Gegend ist Sumpfgebiet, wenn auch die alte Siedlung auf dem Hügelrücken angelegt war . . . [p. 10]

Inzwischen hatte Dr. Ibscher den Mani-Besitz von Chester Beatty von London nach Berlin gebracht, um ihn hier an Ort und Stelle in aller Ruhe unter Glas zu bringen. Ich selbst hatte in London mit den Interessenten des Fundes, mit Sir Herbert Thompson, Dr. W. E. Crum und Prof. Alan H. Gardiner eine Konferenz betreffs einer gewissen Zusammenarbeit bei einem im Grunde zusammengehörenden Literaturganzen, und es wurde vereinbart, dass auf gemeinsame Kosten ein jüngerer Mitarbeiter angeworben werden sollte. Ich konnte diesen in der Person von Dr. Polotsky präsentieren, nachdem auch mein Mäzen [August Pfeffer] in hochherziger Weise seinen Anteil auf zwei Jahre sichergestellt hatte, so dass die Arbeit im Juli 1931 ernstlich in Angriff genommen werden konnte.

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Schmidt published a more popularized summary of this lengthy article in a speech presented to the annual meeting of the *Gesellschaft für Kirchengeschichte* in Berlin on November 9, 1932. In general there is no new information in it, except for an occasional formulation that happens to be more precise or detailed than the equivalent section of the lengthier report. Thus the statement about the discovery and acquisition:[2]

In the year 1930 *fellahin*, so-called *sebachin*, who rummage through the junk heaps in old abandoned towns and settlements in search of salty earth to fertilize the ground as a substitute for expensive potash, discovered in Medinet Madi, in the ruins of a town in the southwest of the Fayyum, a wooden box in the ruins of a house. The wooden box disintegrated when brought out to the light, but its content remained intact. The box contained a series of papyrus books, each surrounded by rough wooden covers. The discoverers immediately offered their treasure to an antiquities dealer in the Fayyum, who acquired the whole, surely for a ridiculously low sum. Unfortunately the dealer divided the papyrus books with two other antiquities dealers, so that they surfaced at different places on the antiquities market . . . [p. 6]

Meanwhile the London private collector had enlarged his possession by new acquisitions, and I too could in the spring of 1932 add a new

Im Jahre 1930 haben nun Fellachen, sog. Sebachin, die in den verlassenen alten Städten und Siedlungen die Schutthügel durchwühlten nach salzhaltigen Erdmassen für die Bedüngung des Bodens als Ersatz für das zu teure Kali, in Medinet Madi, einer Ruinenstadt im Südwesten des Fajum, eine Holzkiste in den Ruinen eines Hauses aufgefunden. Die Holzkiste zerfiel beim Herausheben ans Tageslicht, erhalten blieb ihr Inhalt. Die Kiste enthielt eine Reihe Papyrusbücher, jedes von rohen Holzdeckeln umgeben. Sofort haben die Finder ihren Schatz einem Antikenhändler im Fajum angeboten, und das Ganze ist von ihm sicherlich für ein Spottgeld erworben wooden. Leider hat der Händler die Papyrusbücher noch auf zwei andere Antikenhändler verteilt, so dass sie an verschiedenen Stellen auf dem Antikenmarkt auftauchten . . . [p. 6]

Inzwischen hatte auch der Londoner Privatsammler seinen Besitz durch neue Ankäufe vermehrt, und auch ich konnte noch im Frühjahr 1932 ein neues Stück

2. Schmidt, *Neue Originalquellen des Manichäismus*, 4, 6.

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piece to the Berlin Manichaica [P15995, *Synaxeis*]. Thus, as far as one can now tell, the whole find is united in the London and Berlin collection; each possesses about a half.

[P15995, *Synaxeis*] den Berliner Manichaica hinzufügen. So ist denn, so viel man jetzt übersehen kann, der ganze Fund in der Londoner und Berliner Sammlung vereinigt; jede besitzt ungefähr die Hälfte.

Schmidt did not state the purchase price. Later Rolf Ibscher mentioned a price that seems very high:[3]

In acquiring the discovery, sold very expensively by the three dealers for about 80,000 gold marks, it was clear to C. Schmidt that, apart from skill at restoring that yielded to no difficulties, this terribly rotted papyrus discovery could never be made accessible to scholarship. But he took upon himself the risk.

Bei der Erwerbung des von den drei Händlern mit rund 80.000 Goldmark reichlich teuer verkauften Fundes, war es C. Schmidt klar, dass ohne eine keine Schwierigkeiten kennende Restaurierungskunst dieser masslos verrottete Papyrusfund niemals wissenschaftlich erschlossen werden könnte. Aber er nahm das Risiko auf sich.

The bulk of one codex, P15999, was in so bad a condition that it was referred to as the wig, and its conservation was ruled to be impossible. Yet, according to Rolf Ibscher, it was purchased for five thousand marks through a gift by Dr. W. Kohlhammer, the publisher of the Manichaica, who was enthusiastic enough about them to produce a Coptic type font imitating one of the hands of these codices.[4] In the spring of 1932 an exchange rate of 18 Reichsmark = £1 was reported.[5] This would mean that 80,000 marks equaled £4,444, and that 5,000 marks = £347.

C. R. C. Allberry's article of 1938, based primarily on the published report by Schmidt and Polotsky, only added occasional details to what was already in print. He dated Schmidt's initial experience of

3. Ibscher, "Mani und kein Ende," 219.

4. Rolf Ibscher in a August 29, 1957 letter to Carston Colpe.

5. In a letter from Sir Herbert Thompson to Chester Beatty concerning Ibscher's salary.

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being shown a codex that he was able to identify as *Kephalaia* to 1930, which the original report had not made explicit.[6]

Søren Giversen reported in 1988 that the discovery dates to 1929, since a Danish Egyptologist, H. O. Lange, saw some of the material in Cairo on November 29, 1929, a dating that Schmidt verified in 1936.[7]

6. Allberry, "Manichaean Studies," 340.

7. Giversen, *Manichaean Papyri*, 1, speaks of "their rediscovery in 1929," and explains on page 3: "The first European scholar to see them was the Danish Egyptologist H. O. Lange who saw them in November 1929, when parts of them were offered for sale in Cairo. At that time they had been split up into blocks; outer pages, which were not very nice, had been removed and the papyri had also been damaged in other ways." Giversen, *Manichaean Coptic Papyri*, 3:vii–viii, reports in more detail: "The first scholar to see one of the Manichaean Coptic papyri from Medinet Madi was the Danish Egyptologist H. O. Lange, who saw the papyrus on 29 November 1929. This was noted in Lange's diary on a journey to Egypt in 1929–30 (The diary is in The Royal Library in Copenhagen, Ny kgl. Samling 3919, 4o), and is verified by Carl Schmidt in a letter to H. O. Lange dated 20 February 1936 (The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Ny kgl. Samling 3736, 4o)."

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— 2 —

The Acquisitions of Chester Beatty

The Archives of the Chester Beatty Library have made unpublished materials available that fill in many details omitted in the published German reports.

Sir Chester Beatty already had in place a procedure for the procurement and processing of Egyptian manuscripts when the Manichaean materials appeared on the market. As early as January 26, 1925, he purchased two Coptic manuscripts from the leading Cairo antiquities dealer of the day, whose ledger sheet on which the receipt was written had as its printed heading: Maurice Nahman Antiquaire, 27, Rue El-Madabegh, 27. Early in 1930, Beatty had Nahman send to Eric G. Millar of the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum various manuscripts he acquired on approval. Beatty wrote from Cairo to J. W. Corble of his London staff to notify Millar to that effect. Beatty asked Corble to "cable his [Millar's] opinion," using a "code" in cables. The code consisted of "Copper Mine" for a Coptic manuscript, "Silver" for a Greek papyrus, and "Gold Mine" for "rare and valuable." In at least one instance Millar consulted Sir Harold I. Bell, whereupon John Wooderson, Beatty's secretary, cabled to Beatty the contents of a resultant phone conversation between Millar and himself, Wooderson. This content was also communicated orally to Edwards, a mutual friend, who must have been traveling just then from London to Cairo. Millar also wrote to Corble enclosing for Beatty a letter providing written confirmation of the oral telegraphed message. This letter graded as a "Silver Mine" a third-century Septuagint text of Daniel (Chester Beatty Biblical Papyrus X) and as a "Gold Mine" a fourth-century text of Genesis (Chester Beatty Biblical Papyrus IV).

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Thus, Beatty, himself no expert in such matters, but a mining entrepreneur, had at his disposal the British Museum and its access to British scholarship.

As recently as January 23, 1930, Hugo Ibscher had sent from Berlin a bill for conservation work recently completed in London; he anticipated returning to London in June 1930 to resume this activity. Thus, Beatty had at his disposal the leading papyrus conservator of the day.

A ledger sheet with Nahman's letterhead dated March 23, 1930, and made out to Beatty, at the time in Cairo, listed prices alongside fifteen items for sale. There are also notes as to which are to be returned and which kept. A last item, offered for £1200, was separated from the rest by an empty space. It was described as follows: "Two Coptic manuscripts a[nd] two binding[s] in wood." Underneath, notes were added that read:

On approval	£700	Mss
	£500	Mss
	£40	Binding

The figure 40 was written on top of "incl."

On the back of the ledger sheet is then a list of the items to be purchased, with their prices, and a total. The last in the list reads:

Two Bindings	£80

Beside this entry is the note: "Can be returned if B[ritish] M[useum] says they are later than VI century." Apparently the two bindings had originally been included in the price of the two codices, then had been priced apart as £40, then sold at £40 each. There is then a second ledger sheet, where these purchased items are listed, with the concluding handwritten note: "Settled with thanks, M. Nahman." The last in this list of acquired objects reads: "Two binding[s] in wood. 80." Thus, it seems clear that the two bindings were acquired, that they were associated with the two Coptic manuscripts taken on approval without payment at the time of the transaction, and that the covers, paid for on the spot but with the option to return them if not satisfied, were thought to be no later than the sixth century, which would also indicate the assumed date of the manuscripts. The wooden bindings indicate that at least one of the Coptic manuscripts was a codex, or

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part of a codex, although the fact that the bindings could come to be priced and acquired separately indicates they were no longer attached to the manuscript.

On May 26, 1930, Nahman cabled from Cairo to Beatty in London: "Am expecting your kind answer regarding the books please wire your decision I am leaving tenth June." On May 28, 1930, Beatty replied by cable: "Ibscher Berlin only arrived two days ago expect wire you few days."

On May 31, 1930, Beatty cabled again:

> Doctor Ibscher thinks can do nothing with large book [part of the *Homilies*] also smaller book for which you ask five hundred pounds [second part of the *Psalms*] will be very difficult. Prepared to give two hundred pounds for smaller manuscript which was the cheaper one otherwise prefer to return same.

If the difference in size is not merely that of thickness, but of height and breadth, then the *Psalms*, measuring 27 by 17.5 cm, is the smallest (with the possible exception of the *Acts*, whose no-longer extant book block is of unknown dimensions, but whose eight extant leaves are also small), the others being 31.5 by 18 cm.[1]

On May 31, 1930, Beatty also wrote Nahman a confirming letter:

> With regard to the two manuscripts in question, one of which I have the option to buy from you for £500 and the second for £700, Dr. Ibscher's opinion is that nothing can practically be done with the more expensive one as it was too difficult, but that there was a chance of doing something on the other though from what I could gather he thought the price is very high; therefore, I would not care to exercise either of the options. I would be willing however to pay £200 for the book for which you asked £500 and take the chance of making something out of it.

But on June 2, 1930, Nahman cabled Beatty, who was by then in New York, so that on June 5, 1930, Corble cabled its text to him there:

> Surprised cost too high cannot accept your kind offer Professor Schmidt bought damaged one [*Kephalaia*] five hundred please keep till my arrival.

1. Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," *Manichäische Homilien*, 1:xiii. Ibscher's statement that all except the *Psalms* have the larger dimension would presumably presuppose his having measured the book block of the *Acts*, though this is not made explicit.

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Meanwhile Ibscher had returned to Berlin, taking with him the smaller manuscript [the second part of the *Psalms*] to conserve, as well as a report about the two manuscripts by Sir Alan H. Gardiner. On June 3, 1930, Ibscher wrote Gardiner (a letter extant only in English translation):

> In the Museum everybody was impatiently waiting for your report about the new discovery. Schubart is so glad that the beautiful papyri have gone to London. As I suspected, Prof. Schmidt has also bought a Coptic book [*Kephalaia*] from Nahman. I think it is better for everybody that no mystery should be made about it. When Schmidt showed me his purchase and I could see that it was an exactly similar book to the larger one which had been offered to Mr. Chester Beatty, I told him what I had seen in London. Upon this, Schmidt showed his bill for the book, from which I saw that he had paid for his book over £400. But I did not tell anybody about the London prices. As Schmidt is probably the greatest expert on such things, I showed him Mr. Chester Beatty's book [the second part of the *Psalms*]. He told me at once what it was, and when he called today he said that it was an exceedingly valuable purchase. The language according to him was "Achmimic II." He considers that the book originated from Assiut—at least so I understood. Mr. Beatty's book contained, from what Schmidt could see, songs about the original man. He considers the complete books are the works of the "Manichaeans," in other words, there is no other known example of this work in existence. For this reason alone Schmidt considers that it would be very advisable to buy if possible everything which can be bought. Schmidt considers the book which has been purchased by Mr. Beatty—that is to say, the book I have here—is the most valuable book of the whole lot. I am very pleased for Mr. Beatty that he has made such a lucky purchase. Since I have been told what valuable treasures these books are, I must of course put aside all my considerations and recommend him to complete the purchase.
>
> I should also like to save the badly preserved books. Of course, Mr. Beatty should try to get a lower price on account of the great expense incurred by the restoration.
>
> Where Schmidt's purchase will ultimately go, he does not know himself because the local collections and libraries here have no money and he will be forced to resell them very soon because he has purchased them on borrowed money. Perhaps it may be possible for this book also to be bought by Mr. Chester

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> Beatty. It is in better preservation than the large book which has been offered to him. Of course, this is only a suggestion of mine. Schmidt would probably be able to dispose of this book in Germany, only in case it should ultimately go to America I think it would be well if it went to its brothers in London.

Gardiner thereupon telephoned Wooderson on June 6, 1930, who passed on to Corble the phone conversation in typed form, which read in part as follows:

> Dr. Alan H. Gardiner (Park 5109) rang up about the COPTIC MANUSCRIPTS for which Mr. Chester Beatty is negotiating with Mr. Maurice Nahman. He has received the MSS. from the little man (? Dr. Ibscher) who was working with the papyri in England, and who has now gone back to Berlin. This man thought at first that it was not desirable to purchase the better of these two manuscripts, but now he writes that, having found out what it is, he certainly does advise the purchase of it, as it is a very valuable MS. . . .
>
> If he could not get it cheaper, he should pay the full price asked, i.e., £500 . . .
>
> Of the series, it is by far the most important manuscript and of greater importance than the one Dr. Schmidt has bought. Dr. Ibscher writes very excitedly about it. The date is well known. It is the upper part of the one Mr. Beatty has already got. It was cut in two and Nahman is selling it as two manuscripts. Mr. Chester Beatty has bought one-half and it is the other half which Dr. Gardiner has in his house and is telephoning about.
>
> The manuscript offered for £700 should be rejected.
>
> The above is Dr. Gardiner's message verbatim.

In spite of the claim that the written text is the verbatim equivalent of Gardiner's oral report, there seems to be considerable garbling at some stage in the transmission. For Ibscher had all along advocated the purchase of the better of the two manuscripts (in terms of conservation), the one offered at £500 [the second part of the *Psalms*]. The purchase of this manuscript is considered a fait accompli: Ibscher in his letter called it "Mr. Chester Beatty's book," and referred to it as "the book which has been purchased by Mr. Beatty." The point at which Ibscher has changed his mind in the light of Schmidt's enthusiasm is, in Ibscher's letter, clearly the larger manuscript for which £700 was the

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asking price and which Ibscher had initially described in London as not conservable and hence had left with Gardiner in London before returning to Berlin (part of the *Homilies*). The reversal of opinion is in the formulation "Schmidt considers that it would be very advisable to buy if possible everything which can be bought," and in Ibscher's resultant comment, "I should also like to save the badly preserved books."

When Ibscher continues, "Of course, Mr. Beatty should try to get a lower price on account of the great expense incurred by the restoration," this is not only motivated by a concern to protect funds from which his restoration work might be paid, but reflects his recognition that the manuscript Schmidt had purchased for "over £400" "was an exactly similar book to the larger one which had been offered to Mr. Chester Beatty," in that the dimensions of both were 31.5 by 18 cm, so that the price might well be negotiated down from £700 to something "over £400."

The second part of the *Psalms* had already begun to be conserved, as Schmidt's reference to a manuscript containing "songs about the original man" would indicate. For among the unpublished materials that H. J. Polotsky submitted to Sir Herbert Thompson for distribution to Beatty and Crum, there is (in the Crum Archives in the Griffith Institute of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford) a leaf labeled by Polotsky "C.B.1," containing his Coptic transcription (Crum Mss. 11.30.1) together with another leaf containing his English (!) translation (Crum Mss. 11.28.84 and Crum Mss. 11.28.122). At the top of the transcription is written "Hymns to the Primal Man." The translation begins: "We praise our father, the Primal Man." The psalm is numbered 213. Beside the numeral in the Coptic transcription is the appended note: "(precedes Allberry p. 1)." We apparently have before us here the beginning of both Ibscher's and Polotsky's work for Beatty, as "C.B.1" may suggest.

This identification of the second part of the *Psalms* as the first thing conserved for Beatty was confirmed in its publication:[2]

When I then succeeded in Berlin in detaching a leaf of the part acquired by Prof. C. Schmidt, he was able to conclude with certainty	Als es mir dann in Berlin gelang, eine Seite des von Herrn Prof. C. Schmidt erworbenen Teiles freizulegen, konnte dieser mit

2. Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," *Manichaean Psalm Book*, 2:vii.

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that this discovery had to do with works of Mani. A few weeks later in London I succeeded in detaching a leaf from one of the volumes acquired by Mr. A. Chester Beatty, and the conclusion of Prof. C. Schmidt found a complete confirmation.

If the examination of the manuscript in Berlin showed that one had acquired here a part of the *Kephalaia*, the first separated leaf of the Chester Beatty possession showed us that here the *Psalms* of the Mani community lie before us.

Sicherheit feststellen, dass es sich bei dem Funde tatsächlich um Werke des Mani handelte. Wenige Wochen später gelang es mir dann auch in London, von einem der von Mr. A. Chester Beatty erworbenenen Bände ein Blatt abzuheben, und die Feststellung von Herrn Prof. C. Schmidt fand eine volle Bestätigung.

Ergab die Prüfung der Handschrift in Berlin, dass man dort einen Teil der "Kephalaia" erworben hatte, so zeigte uns das erste losgelöste Blatt des Chester Beatty Besitzes, dass hier die Psalmen der Manigemeinde vorlagen.

Hence the discussion was not about whether to acquire the second part of the *Psalms*, which was already being conserved as Beatty's property, but rather whether to acquire the unconservable larger codex which was in Gardiner's home (part of the *Homilies*). One might hope to get it for about the same price Schmidt had paid for a similar-sized manuscript. This was especially true since "Professor Schmidt's manuscript is better preserved than the one which is offered to Mr. Beatty," according to Ibscher's letter. This refers to the manuscript offered at £700 that Ibscher had ruled could not be conserved. However, Wooderson misunderstood Ibscher's comment to refer to the smaller and hence cheaper manuscript offered at £500: "Professor Schmidt's manuscript is better preserved than the one which is offered to Mr. Beatty . . . If he could not get it cheaper, he should pay the full price asked, i.e., £500."

This confusion is apparently responsible for the further inaccuracy in Wooderson's report:

> Prof. Schmidt thinks that it comes from Akhmim, and it contains poems about the first man. It is the upper part of the one Mr. Beatty has already got. It was cut in two and Nahman is selling it as two manuscripts. Mr. Chester Beatty has bought one-half and it is the other half which Dr. Gardiner has in his house and is telephoning about.

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The grain of truth in this statement about two halves of a codex is that Nahman, or middlemen from whom he acquired the manuscripts, had broken in two the *Psalms* codex as well as the second codex (the *Homilies*, see below), no doubt to increase the profit. But Nahman intentionally or unintentionally offered Beatty part of each of two codices on March 23, 1930, and the other part of each of the same two codices in April 1931. The fact that the two offered in 1930 were from different books should have been clear from references to them as different sizes, but this detail seems here overlooked. At the time, one was in Berlin, the other in London, so that the difference in size was not immediately apparent.

The most reasonable assumption is that the manuscript in Gardiner's home is the one offered at £700, which Ibscher initially ruled was not conservable, and hence which he did not take to Berlin to conserve, and which, as a result, Beatty proposed not to buy, but which now Ibscher (and no doubt Gardiner, assuming the situation was clear to him) was recommending should be bought. Wooderson, misunderstanding the situation, would have inferred, based on his misunderstanding, that "the manuscript offered for £700 should be rejected." The whole point of Ibscher's letter (and Gardiner's phone conversation) was apparently just the reverse: to urge the purchase of the larger codex offered at £700, part of the *Homilies*, for whatever price it would take, but presumably about the amount Schmidt had paid for another manuscript of the same larger format, the *Kephalaia*, namely somewhat "over £400." This figure suggesting £500 may have in part led to the false identification of the manuscript in question with the one offered at £500.

On June 6, 1930, Corble cabled Beatty what was wrongly taken to be Ibscher's (and Gardiner's?) recommendation—that the smaller manuscript, the second part of the *Psalms*, be acquired "whatever the price."

> Doctor Gardiner hears from Ibscher that after further study he advises you purchase Coptic manuscript offered by Nahman five hundred pounds. Manuscript bought by Professor Schmidt better preserved but one offered by Nahman of greater importance and they think you should purchase it whatever the price. Schmidt thinks manuscript comes from Akhmim and contains poems about first man.

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On June 9, 1930, Beatty cabled Corble ("have answered Nahman direct"), though the decision, much less the price offered, is not recorded, neither is the cable nor hence the price preserved (presumably "over £400"). Nahman cabled Beatty the same day: "Accept your offer for small manuscript many thanks if you are interested in large one will accept same price will be in London end June."

Nahman arrived in London July 9, 1930, and in the coming days settled his accounts with Beatty's staff. A sheet in Nahman's hand reads:

> Mr. Chester Beatty
>
> Two Coptic manuscripts on papyrus.
> Fayoumic language and two wood binding of a Coptic manuscript on approval in London £1200

An appended note reads, in another hand, "One purchased and paid for at £500-0-0." Other scrawled notes coordinating with other acquisitions of that time tend to indicate that Nahman submitted this document in July 1930, and hence that the acquisition of the smaller codex, the second part of the *Psalms*, was completed then. This would indicate that Beatty had not quibbled further about the price Nahman asked for the smaller codex, but had followed fully what was taken to be Ibscher's advice to "pay the full price asked, i.e., £500" (Ibscher had actually proposed negotiating down the price of the part of the *Homilies* for which Nahman had asked £700), and that Nahman had hence returned to his original asking price for the second, larger codex (£700), after having in fact come down to £500 in his cable to Beatty of June 9, 1930.

On July 16, 1930, Wooderson handed Nahman a letter from Beatty:

> I understand you wish to leave the damaged Coptic manuscript . . . with me so that I can study them further . . . If you decide to do this Miss Kingsford will give you a receipt for them and will hold them subject to your instructions.

A two-ring binder that seems to have served in the early years as a kind of accessions book at the Chester Beatty Library has a page dated "1930—July," that apparently refers to this manuscript and to one of the wooden covers:

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Sent by Nahman, belonging to him.
Papyrus with 1 cover. Safe B.
(Ibscher 1930)
Given to Dr. Ibscher for Nahman.

A similar entry is on another page, completely marked through, apparently when its contents were transferred to another filing system:

—Coptic Ms. With 1 cover
belonging to Nahman in Box. [Marked out: Study Safe B]
—2 Magical vellum fragments,
10 pages in each (Marked out: BM)
belonging to Nahman. Both given to Dr. Ibscher
for Nahman, May 10, 1932

The cryptic reference to giving the material to Ibscher for Nahman on May 10, 1932, can be explained by tracing the story from 1930 to 1932 as follows: At about the end of June 1930, Ibscher wrote Gardiner from Turin (a letter conserved only in an undated English translation):

> I hope you received my letter from Berlin, when I wrote to you about the Coptic manuscripts. Schmidt's hope to dispose of his book in Berlin or Germany has become rather doubtful, after the death of Harnack [June 10, 1930], on whose support he counted a lot. The Berlin Library intended to buy the book, and Harnack's decision would have been the determining factor. Has Mr. Chester Beatty bought both books?

On May 19, 1931, Ibscher wrote Beatty from Berlin (with the English translation made at that time):

The Berlin purchases are still in Egypt. Prof. Schmidt has brought with him only one very badly preserved volume which looked quite hopeless [part of the *Kephalaia*]. Nevertheless I have succeeded in saving some more or less complete pages. I therefore would still advise you to acquire the volume that is still at the British Museum. Certainly one should obtain more from this volume than from the indifferent purchase of Prof. Schmidt.	Die Berliner Ankäufe sind noch in Ägypten, nur einen sehr schlecht erhaltenen Band hat Prof. Schmidt mitgebracht, der hoffnungslos aussah [part of the *Kephalaia*]. Trotzdem ist es mir gelungen, auch daraus ziemlich vollständige Seiten zu gewinnen. Daher möchte ich doch raten, dass Sie den noch im British Museum befindlichen Band erwerben. Sicher muss daraus noch mehr zu holen sein, wie aus dem schlechten Ankauf von Prof. Schmidt.

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Our Berlin volume which we already have here is 30 centimeters in height and 20 centimeters in width. As soon as the other purchases arrive I will let you know their dimensions.

I presume that the dealers have divided the individual books in order to obtain more money. Of course we shall only know the real position when we can compare all the volumes.

Meanwhile I have already been able to separate several pages of your papyri, but I must first arrange here the fibers and place pieces before I can put them under glass.

Unser Berliner Band, den wir bereits hier haben, ist 32 ctm. hoch and 20 ctm. breit. Sowie die übrigen Ankäufe eintreffen, teile ich Ihnen die Grösse mit.

Ich vermute, dass die Händler die einzelnen Bücher geteilt haben, um mehr Geld heraus zu schlagen. Genaues wird man darüber erst sagen können, wenn alle Bände beieinander sind.

In der Zwischenzeit habe ich bereits einige Blätter von Ihrem Papyrus wieder ablösen können, doch muss ich hier erst die Fasern in Ordnung bringen and Stücke ansetzen bevor ich sie verglasen kann.

"The volume which is still at the British Museum" must be the part of the *Homilies* offered at £700 that had been in the home of Gardiner.

On January 4, 1932, Sir Herbert Thompson wrote Beatty:

> I have a rather urgent letter from Dr. Carl Schmidt in Berlin, asking me to send him some news as to the Mani papyrus, which you had, I believe, on approval, as scholars are very anxious—and not in Germany only—to have some public statement as to these "mysterious" Manichaean manuscripts. But Dr. Schmidt, rightly I think, wishes to defer any such statements till the fate of this outstanding papyrus of the Mani find is settled—either by its passing into your collection—or finding an assured home, perhaps at Copenhagen, or else in Berlin. The important point is that it should be in hands where it would be accessible for study in association with those in your hands and those in the Berlin Museum.
>
> So I venture again to trouble you with a question as to whether it is still in your custody—and if so, may I be allowed to see it? and also whether you still have any thought of acquiring it, or not? If you do not, Dr. Schmidt tells me that Nahman has given him the first option of purchase; but he fears that if the matter is delayed much longer, Nahman may change his mind, and the opportunity of fixing it in safe hands may be lost.

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On January 26, 1932, Wooderson replied on behalf of Beatty to the effect "that the Mani Papyrus is still the property of Mons. Nahman and is being held in safekeeping by Mr. Beatty at Baroda House." Thus, the manuscript must have been moved again, from the British Museum to Beatty's home.

On March 15, 1932, Nahman wrote in his wooden English to Beatty in Cairo concerning it:

> The present is to inform you that I have sold the Coptic manuscript I left towards you in London. When you honoured me of your kind visit you told me that you are not interested in this manuscript neither the magical parchemins [*sic*] Coptic and I expected two years and with my regret I missed you in London and to-day I think you will not be angry with me if I have found a buyer. Then I beg of you, Dear Sir, to be as so kind to hand to Mr. Ibscher the manuscript and the magical Coptic parchemin [*sic*].
>
> Will you be as so kind to send the answer of this letter to me that you agree to hand the manuscript and the magical parchemin [*sic*] to Mr. Ibscher when he will be in London. Your letter will allow to me to prove to my buyer that the matter is settled.

On March 19, 1932, Schmidt, also in Cairo, wrote on his calling card a note to Beatty regretting that he had to leave the next day for Luxor and hence would not be able to see Beatty in Cairo as he had hoped. At this time in Cairo, he would have liked to have completed the transaction with Nahman.

On March 21, 1932, Beatty replied to Nahman: "I will be pleased to deliver the same to Dr. Ibscher when he comes to London." A handwritten note at the bottom of the letter states: "Taken to Dr. Gardiner's—May 10."

In the initial essay presented by Carl Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky to the Berlin Academy of Sciences, published in 1933, P^{15999} is referred to as "the papyrus book very recently added to the corpus of Berlin Manichaica."[3] Such a designation tends to set this codex off from the others as the most recent acquisition. Wilhelm Schubart recorded in the Inventarbuch of the Papyrus-Sammlung: "Coptic Papyrus Codex. Acquired through Prof. Carl Schmidt in Cairo 1932. Gift of Dr. W. Kohlhammer." The *Inventarbuch* had recorded for P^{15995}–P^{15998}:

3. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 30.

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"Acquired through Prof. Carl Schmidt, in Cairo, 1931. Gift of Mr. August Pfeffer 1933." The disparity in time between the acquisition in 1931 and the gift of the purchase price in 1933 reflects the difficulties Schmidt had finding funding for his initial acquisitions, a procedure that seems to have been quite independent of the acquisition of P^{15999} in 1932 through Kohlhammer's gift. Thus, even though in the cases of P^{15995} through P^{15998} more than a single transaction in Egypt was involved (as many as seven transactions in the case of P^{15996}), the manuscripts shared a common date and a common donor that set them apart from P^{15999}. This would tend to indicate that it was P^{15999} that had been offered unsuccessfully to Beatty and was ultimately acquired by Schmidt for Berlin. The reference in the *Inventarbuch* to acquisition in Cairo is not contradicted by Ibscher's securing the manuscript in London and taking it directly to Berlin. For Schmidt and Nahman had completed their negotiation in Cairo in March 1932.

Schmidt knew that Ibscher planned to be in London in April 1932 (Ibscher had written to London already on February 19, 1932), and Schmidt would have proposed to Nahman that Ibscher deliver the manuscript to the new owner on Ibscher's return to Berlin. Ibscher's decidedly negative assessment of possibly conserving this manuscript for Beatty is the same as the assessment of the impossibility of conserving P^{15999} that prevailed when the manuscript was in Berlin.

At the time Beatty released his option and thus let Schmidt exercise his option, it was not known that the manuscript was part of the *Homilies* of which Beatty by then had acquired a second, smaller part (see below), which was being actively conserved in Berlin by Ibscher and edited for Beatty by Polotsky.

Of the initial acquisition of two manuscripts on approval of March 23, 1930, we may hence conclude that one seems to have been acquired in July 1930 (the latter part of the *Psalms*, Codex A), the other to have been turned down on March 21, 1932, so that Schmidt could buy it for Berlin (part of the *Homilies*, P^{15999}).

At some time, Beatty also acquired the rest of the *Psalms*, Codex A; the *Synaxeis*, Codex B; volume two of the *Kephalaia*, Codex C; and the smaller part of the *Homilies*, Codex D. Documentation available is inadequate to identify the actual acquisition of each of these, but some information is available.

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In a letter of November 27, 1930, from Beatty to Gardiner, a codex is to be entrusted to Ibscher to take to Berlin for conservation:

> I am sending you the tin box containing the [inserted by hand: Papyri] Coptic Book.
>
> I suggest, before Dr. Ibscher puts it into his bag, that he carefully looks at it to be sure it is satisfactorily packed.
>
> I hope this book will act in a more gentlemanly manner than the other, and respond to the treatment better.

On November 27, 1930, Ibscher also wrote Beatty a receipt for "the new treasures of your collection . . . handed over to me by Mr. Alan H. Gardiner," with the hope that he can complete the conservation of much of them before his expected return to London in March 1931.

This "new treasures" must refer to an otherwise undocumented acquisition after Ibscher's return to Berlin at the end of the spring of 1930, since at the end of May or the beginning of June Ibscher had already taken to Berlin the part of the *Psalms* codex acquired March 23, 1930, whereas the part of the *Homilies* acquired March 23, 1930, was kept on approval in London until Beatty decided on March 21, 1932, not to acquire it and turned it over to Ibscher for Schmidt on May 10, 1932.

On December 30, 1930, Beatty had £300 cabled to Nahman, no doubt the payment of a bill. A memo to Nahman while in London of July 16, 1930, confirmed a telephone conversation listing acquisitions ("the Greek Papyri and the bindings") with the stipulation that "the balance of £600 [be paid] on or before the 1st January, 1931." Thus the payment of £300 cannot be associated convincingly with a Manichaean purchase.

Another leaf in the two-ring binder that served as a kind of acquisitions notebook records:

> 1931. April. Cairo.
>
> —Manichaean Hymns (box: 15 1/4 x 10 1/4 in.)
>
> Ibscher.
>
> —Manichaean Ritual (box 14 5/8 x 9 1/2 in.)
>
> Laws Ibscher.
>
> —3 Wooden covers [Marked out: "Safe B." Added: "IX"]

The page with the marked-out entries reads similarly:

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Brought by Mr. Beatty April 1931.
—Manichaean Ms. Hymns
[Added note: With Dr. Ibscher May 8/31] PSALMS. Codex A.
—Manichaean Ms. Ritual Laws
—3 Covers [Marked out: Safe B.] Cup X.c

A handwritten note on a large paper envelope in which three wooden boards are presently stored at the Chester Beatty Library states: "purchased Spring 1931." This confirms that the reference "Brought by Mr. Beatty April 1931" is the date of this acquisition.

What is underlined in addition to a characterization of the contents is no doubt the reference to where the material was currently deposited. The words "Safe B" are marked through, and "IX" added, no doubt when the covers were removed from the safe. The "Manichaean Hymns" are no doubt the other part of Codex A, the *Psalms*, completing the acquisition of this codex, of which only a part had been acquired in 1930. But the identification of the manuscript referred to with the terms Ritual and Laws is less clear, as is the identify of another possible acquisition late in 1930 suggested by the following:

On May 19, 1931, Ibscher wrote Beatty from Berlin:

> According to your wish I have photographed your papyri, and I am sending you proofs thereof.
>
> Should you wish to have more proofs, I will gladly have several more made.
>
> Besides these three books I have another thinner one which certainly belongs to the smaller book. Should you wish to have the photograph of that I will also have it done. I have already taken a few leaves from the books which are already under glass.

It is unclear what the reference to three books in Berlin belonging to Beatty envisages. If the "smaller" book means the *Psalms*, the only codex with smaller dimensions, then what is referred to as "another thinner one" that "belongs to" that codex would be the part of the *Psalms* acquired in April 1931. Then the "three books" would be the *Psalms*, part of which was taken to Berlin in May and June of 1930 and the rest after its acquisition April 1931; the unidentified codex taken to Berlin November 27, 1930; and the part of the *Homilies* acquired in April 31 and taken to Berlin shortly thereafter.

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On June 11, 1931, Thompson met with Schmidt, and on June 15, 1931, wrote to Beatty:

> He [Schmidt] has been recently in Egypt, making inquiries about the find, and he is satisfied that the whole find was divided into 8 parts, between 3 dealers, of which I understand 5 are coming to Berlin, and he declared you had two Mss. and one on approval, viz. your Hymn book, now in Ibscher's hands and another (?). Is this so? and if so, would you let me see it—and also the papyrus on approval? I should very much like to get some idea of its (their?) size and contents, if possible.

On January 4, 1932, Thompson again wrote Beatty inquiring whether Beatty still had in his custody the manuscript on which he had an option, and, if so, whether Thompson could see it. Apparently, Beatty did not respond to this part of either letter. In the same way that Beatty's unresponsiveness to Thompson is unintelligible, Thompson's identification of Schmidt's material is unclear. The two manuscripts Thompson writes about could be the two parts of the *Psalms*, counted as one or as two, and the part of the *Homilies* acquired in April 1931, without reference to the unidentified codex taken to Berlin on December 27, 1930; or it could be counted, but the part of the *Homilies* not counted as a separate book.

Ibscher's translation of a report of February 19, 1932, concerning the state of his conservation gives evidence that by then, Beatty had acquired the three and a half codices that were ultimately to be his part of the Manichaean discovery, in addition to the part of a codex that he held but finally did not acquire:

> Now as regards your question, how many leaves are still [to] be expected. From my Report herewith (draft of proposed paper for the Berlin Academy) on the Mani-books, you will see how many leaves I have been able to reckon on in the Berlin *Kephalaia-book* (viz. 498 pages—c. 250 leaves), and I expect that all the volumes were of approximately the same size. If we assume that the Hymnbook [Codex A, the *Psalms*] was so, as would appear from its external appearance, there should result from it a further 150–200 leaves. The other two volumes [Codex B, the *Synaxeis*; Codex C, volume two of the *Kephalaia*], which Mr. Beatty has purchased, may contain as much. If therefore fortune favours me, I may hope to get 450–600 leaves from the entire property of Mr. Chester Beatty, of which about 100 are already separated. The *Homilies* [the

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> part of the codex that Ibscher had left in London in 1930 as not conservable] are not included in this calculation (?). It was a hopeless-looking mass which lay beside the Hymn-book. At first I did not think that anything could be done with it—and yet you see what important things have come out of it. I am proposing now first to finish up the 37 leaves which constitute it, as that will exhaust it. These leaves do not belong to any of the others here—nor I expect to the volume which is still in Mr. Beatty's possession [actually they do belong to the same codex: the *Homilies*]. Perhaps I shall be able to establish this point, when I come to London in April and we may perhaps be able to see the volume together. I shall certainly bring over a number of the completed Homily leaves. I think you will also agree that I had better finish up this portion of the collection first; and the next work will be to complete the Hymnbook, at the same time working on the two other books, from which it may be that more important results will come.

The comment that the *Homilies* "lay beside the Hymn-book" would tend to identify the second manuscript acquired in April 1931 ("Manichaean Ritual Laws") as the *Homilies*. This would mean that in March 1930 and in April 1931 Nahman offered Beatty parts of the same two codices—the *Psalms* and the *Homilies*. The reason for Beatty's not acquiring the part offered in 1930 was no doubt Ibscher's initial opinion that it could not be conserved, and Ibscher's failure to communicate his subsequent willingness to attempt it. This is much the same reaction as that reported concerning the part acquired in 1931: "a hopeless-looking mass . . . At first I did not think that anything could be done with it—and yet you see what important things have come out of it." This would hence be an added confirmation that one has to do in both cases with the same hopeless-looking codex. On March 21, 1932, Beatty released his option on the second manuscript of 1930; he no doubt did not yet realize that it completed a manuscript he had bought in 1931. For Ibscher was not yet aware of it on February 19, 1932, but hoped to investigate the question when in London in April that year. By this time Beatty had released his option, and Schmidt had closed his deal with Nahman.

Ibscher's reference to "the two other volumes, which Mr. Beatty has purchased," would seem to envisage complete codices, since they are assumed to be the same size as the *Kephalaia*, yielding some 150–200 leaves. They would then be Codex B, the *Synaxeis*, and Codex C,

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volume two of the *Kephalaia*. The details of their acquisition are not known, beyond the reference to one being taken by Ibscher to Berlin in the autumn of 1930.

A document entitled "Notes of Conference Mr. A. C. B. had with Dr. Alan Gardiner on Sunday, 8th May, 1932" (in which, according to a letter of May 10, 1932, from Beatty to Thompson, Ibscher was also involved), confirms the identity of the manuscript not acquired by Beatty with the Berlin manuscript P^{15999}, in the context of an imprecise overview of all the holdings (no doubt a garbled version of Ibscher's view reported more accurately in his letter of February 19, 1932, quoted above):

> It seems that Berlin has four manuscripts; one is the epistles [P^{15998}], one seems to be about the life of Mani [P^{15997}], one seems to be of the principles of the Mani religion [P^{15996}]—this latter manuscript consists of two parts which were bought separately, and really represents one book of about 500 leaves [read: pages]. The other two are of about 200 leaves each. [P^{15995} involves only thirty-one leaves; there is no further Berlin codex, other than P^{15999} treated below. A handwritten note in the margin reads: "This makes five in all."]
>
> Schmidt has recently bought, I assume through Berlin, another manuscript [P^{15999}] from Nahman which was the one stored with Mr. A. B. C.
>
> The Manichean manuscripts owned by Mr. A. C. B. consist of four: one is in the form of homilies of about 200 pages; one seems to be an epistle of 200 pages; one is a book of travels and journeys of about 500 [above the figure is written by hand: 50] pages, and one which was in two parts of about 400 pages [added in hand: "? in the form of hymns;" hence Codex A, the *Psalms*].

Søren Giversen quoted the third paragraph above about Beatty's acquisitions and interpreted it as follows:

> The book of travels and journeys is apparently identical to the *Homilies*, later published by Polotsky, and in a letter of 12 May 1932 Alan H. Gardiner speaks of "the 50 leaves relating to the journeyings of Mani" which Polotsky was going to publish. In a formal letter of 13 May 1932 A. Chester Beatty writes: "I am to cede to Dr. Polotsky publication rights in the 50 leaves relating to the journeyings of Mani provided he produces his work within a reasonable time."[4]

4. Giverson, *Manichaean Coptic Papyri*, 2: ix.

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This identification of the third item as the *Homilies* is in part based upon accepting the correction of "500 pages" to read "50." A page of handwritten notes on which the formal typed report is apparently based does in fact use the figure 50. This figure and the reference to travels are clearly used in the later quotations to refer to Codex D, the *Homilies*, Polotsky's first publication. This would mean that the first item listed in the Notes of May 5 1932 as belonging to Beatty, though described as "in the form of homilies," is not Codex D, the *Homilies*. It and the second item ("an epistle") would have to be, one, Codex B, the *Synaxeis*; and the other, Codex C, volume two of the *Kephalaia*. For the fourth item "in two parts" would be, as the handwritten note ("? in the form of hymns") would indicate, Codex A, the *Psalms*. Thus, between March 23, 1930 (when one part of Codex A, the *Psalms*, was acquired), and February 19, 1932 (the date of Ibscher's report mailed from Berlin), Beatty must have acquired four additional items: a second part of Codex A and Codices B–D. If the second part of Codex A and Codex D were acquired in April 1931, the details of the acquisition of Codices B and C remain unknown.

Rolf Ibscher has indicated that the nomenclature of Beatty's codices as A, B, and C was used by Hugo Ibscher, but that the designation of the *Homilies* with a letter D was first introduced by himself.

> Hence, up until 1938, of Sir Chester Beatty's part of the discovery, fully conserved were only the pack of the *Psalms* and the incomplete *Homilies* that lay beside it at the acquisition of the discovery, which also as the first publication could be presented by Polotsky to an expectant public.
>
> Of the three codices, which my father had designated A, B, C as working titles (whereby the independent *Homilies* should actually have been designated D), A, B, and C were only partially restored.[5]

This is a further reflection of the sense in which the minor part of the Homilies codex that Beatty actually purchased, though it was the first thing that Hugo Ibscher completely conserved and that Polotsky published, was not fully recognized as an entity in its own right but was associated with the *Psalms*, in light of the fact that the *Psalms* and the *Homilies* had been acquired together.

5. Ibscher, "Mani und kein Ende," 220.

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— 3 —

The Conservation by Hugo Ibscher

The original essay of Schmidt and Polotsky had been accompanied by a report from Hugo Ibscher, who had been entrusted with the conservation of the codices. Here he described their physical condition as follows:[1]

When the Mani manuscripts reached the Berlin Museum through the good offices of Prof. Schmidt, they were described by a few gentlemen as much-used foot mats, and by others as balls of peat. This is the best way to describe the state of preservation of these precious treasures. Surely every observer stood before these so-called books in doubt as to whether anything could ever be gotten out of them . . .

The bad state of preservation does not come from the age of the manuscripts, but must be attributed to the place of discovery, which, according to the information of Prof. Schmidt given above, is to be sought in a Coptic settlement not far from the south end of the Moris sea. Much older papyrus

Als die Mani-Handschriften durch Hrn. Prof. Schmidt in das Berliner Museum gelangten, wurden sie von einigen Herrn als vielbenutzte Fussmatten und von andern als Ballen Torf angesprochen. Hiermit ist die Erhaltung dieser kostbaren Schätze am besten gekennzeichnet. Zweifelnd stand wohl ein jeder Beschauer vor diesen sogenannten Büchern, ob sich jemals daraus etwas würde gewinnen lassen . . .

Der schlechte Erhaltungszustand liegt nicht am Alter der Handschriften, sondern muss auf den Fundort zurückzuführen sein, der nach den obigen Mitteilungen von Prof. Schmidt in einer koptischen Niederlassung unweit des Südendes des Mörissees zu suchen ist. Weit ältere Papyrusfunde, wie

1. Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschriften," 81–82.

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finds, such as, e.g., the large Bible discovery that I have worked on in the most recent past, and many others, even if they have fallen into numberless fragments, are much firmer in their structure and can readily be handled with a little caution. In the case of the Mani manuscripts, water must have exerted its destructive effect, for all the volumes have after all been brought rather near to disintegration by the effect of the dampness. Only a few decades would have sufficed to make of the extant treasures a pile of humus, if the fortunate though unknown finder had not preserved them from that fate. The greatest danger for the manuscripts lies in this, that they are shot through and through with salt crystals, which penetrated through the effect of the water. Unfortunately the disintegration has advanced so far, however, that one may not apply any kind of dampness, through which the salt could have been removed, if one does not wish to endanger the manuscripts. Yet with the prerequisite knowledge, patience and skill one will succeed in saving even this treasure for science, as the successes attained thus far show quite adequately.

z.B. der von mir in letzter Zeit bearbeitete grosse Bibelfund und viele andere, sind, wenn auch in unzählige Fragmente zerfallen, in der Struktur viel fester und lassen sich bei einiger Vorsicht leicht hantieren. Bei den Mani-Handschriften muss das Wasser seine zerstörende Wirkung ausgeübt haben, sind doch alle Bände durch die Einwirkung der Feuchtigkeit dem Zerfall recht nahe gebracht. Nur wenige Jahrzehnte hätten genügt, um aus den vorhandenen Schätzen einen Haufen Humuserde zu machen, wenn nicht der glückliche, unbekannte Finder sie davor bewahrt hätte. Die grösste Gefahr für die Handschriften liegt darin, dass dieselben vollständig von Salzkristallen, die durch die Einwirkung des Wassers hineingedrungen sind, durchsetzt sind. Leider ist der Zerfall aber schon so weit vorgeschritten, dass man keinerlei Feuchtigkeit anwenden darf, wodurch das Salz entzogen werden könnte, will man nicht die Handschriften gefährden. Mit der nötigen Sachkenntnis, Geduld und Geschicklichkeit wird es aber gelingen, auch diesen Schatz für die Wissenschaft zu retten, wie die bisher erzielten Erfolge zur Genüge beweisen.

In 1964–1965 Rolf Ibscher summarized in retrospect the conservation activity of his father, Hugo Ibscher, as follows:[2]

2. Rolf Ibscher, "Über den Stand," 50–51.

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[p. 51] [The Dublin] *Homilies* and *Psalmbook* and the Berlin *Kephalaia*—that was the sequence to which he [Hugo Ibscher] adhered. The other codices were worked on from time to time, to make it possible for Carl Schmidt to dip into them and thus to provide an overview for him and for himself . . .

[p. 50] Actually already in 1937 my father had . . . stopped exerting his over-taxed strength regularly on them.

[p. 51] [The Dublin] Homilien, Psalmbuch und Berliner Kephalaia—das war die Reihenfolge, bei der er [Hugo Ibscher] blieb. Die anderen Codices wurden zwischendurch ankonserviert, um Carl Schmidt ein Anlesen zu ermöglichen und damit einen Überblick ihm und sich zu verschaffen . . .

[p. 50] Mein Vater hatte eigentlich . . . schon 1937 aufgehört, regelmässig seine überforderte Kraft daran zu setzen . . .

In 1965 Rolf Ibscher reported on his father's conservation as follows:[3]

The making accessible of the papyrus material that at first was put in motion with so much effort, since it was rotted, made into peat, with the leaves completely bonded together because of salt crystals that had soaked in, of which Hans Heinrich Schaeder wrote: "Ibscher is performing true miracles of meditation and concentration when confronted with the material," came after about seven years in 1938 [the year Schmidt died] to what amounted to a standstill, since this work overexerted excessively the eyes and the nerves.

A letter of my father to Sir Chester Beatty of 1938 expressed that clearly: "The tension is too great. I must for a while interpose smaller tasks in between that provide a great deal of variety. One cannot make marathon runs constantly without paying the price."

Die anfänglich mühsam in Gang kommende Aufschliessung des verrotteten, vertorften, durch eingeschwemmte Salzkristalle die Blätter miteinander vollig verfilzenden Papyrusmaterials, von der Hans Heinrich Schaeder schrieb: "Ibscher vollbringt wahre Wunder der Andacht und Konzentration vor dem Material," kam nach rund sieben Jahren 1938 [the year Schmidt died] so gut wie zum Stillstand, da diese Arbeit masslos die Augen und die Nerven überbeansprucht.

Ein Brief meines Vaters an Sir Chester Beatty 1938 drückt das klar aus: "Die Anspannung ist zu gross. Ich muss einmal eine Zeitlang [p. 220] abwechslungsreiche kleinere Arbeiten da zwischen schieben. Man kann nicht ungestraft dauernd Marathonläufe machen."

3. Rolf Ibscher, "Mani und kein Ende," 219–20.

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Hence, up until 1938, of Sir Chester Beatty's part of the discovery, fully conserved were only the ball of the Psalms and the incomplete *Homilies* that lay beside it at the acquisition of the discovery, which also as the first publication could be presented by Polotsky to an expectant public.

Of the three codices, which my father had designated A, B, C as working titles (whereby the independent *Homilies* should actually have been designated D), A, B, and C were only partially restored.

Of the four Berlin codices, only the codex of the *Kephalaia* was being worked on, and was edited by Polotsky and from 1934 on by Böhlig.

So war bis 1938 denn restlos vom Fundanteil Sir Chester Beattys nur das Konvolut des Psalmenbuchs und das diesem beim Erwerben des Fundes beiliegende unvollständige Homilienbuch, das auch als erste Edition durch Polotsky einer erwartungsvollen Mitwelt präsentiert werden konnte, restauriert worden.

Von den drei Codices, die mein Vater mit A, B, C als Arbeitstitel signierte, wobei die selbstständigen Homilien eigentlich mit D hätten bezeichnet werden müssen, waren A, B, C nur partienhaft restauriert worden.

Von den vier Berliner Codices war nur der Codex der Kephalaia in Arbeit und wurde von Polotsky und ab 1934 von Böhlig ediert.

In 1954 Rolf Ibscher had described the teamwork as follows:[4]

Dr. Polotsky functioned as coworker and the actual first editor both for parts of the London as well as for the Berlin manuscripts and, following him from 1934 on, when the awful political conditions in Germany forced a change, the young Charles Allberry for London and Dr. Böhlig for Berlin. From 1939 on, the continuation of the work for London stood still, and for Berlin too both the conservation [p. 3] and the editorial work came to a standstill in the

Als Mitarbeiter und eigentlicher Erstherausgeber sowohl für Teile der Londoner als auch Berliner Handschriften fungierte Dr. Polotsky und in seiner Nachfolge ab 1934, als die unseligen politischen Verhältnisse in Deutschland zu einer Änderung zwangen, für London der junge Charles Allberry und für Berlin Dr. Böhlig. Ab 1939 ruhte die Weiterarbeit für London, und auch für Berlin kam im Laufe des Jahres 1940 sowohl die konserva-

4. Rolf Ibscher, "Wiederaufnahme," 2–3. This unpublished lecture was presented at the twenty-third International Congress of Orientalists on August 23, 1954. The Chester Beatty Library supplied a typescript of this lecture to the Manichaean archives of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. The work is cited according to the typescript except where otherwise indicated. See also *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third*, 359–60.

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course of the year 1940. My father no longer found inner repose for the minute detailed work on the Mani manuscripts.

torische [p. 3] als auch die editorische Arbeit zum Erliegen. Mein Vater fand keine innere Ruhe mehr für die minutiöse Feinarbeit an den Mani-Handschriften.

In 1955 Rolf Ibscher described as follows the way the project had finally ground to a halt:[5]

During the war this minutely detailed work, which could only be carried out in an atmosphere of the greatest repose, under secure conditions and with an absolute freedom from nervous strain, by the very nature of the case ultimately came to a complete halt. Also the scholarly work, handled at the end by Böhlig alone after the death of Schmidt in 1938, came to a standstill. The death of my father on May 26, 1943, marked a temporary end to all further conservation of the material.

Im Kriege kam diese minutiöse Feinstarbeit, die nur in einer Atmosphäre grösster Ruhe, gesicherter Verhältnisse und bei absoluter nervlicher Nichtbelastung geleistet werden kann, naturgemäss schliesslich zum völligen Erliegen. Auch die wissenschaftliche Erschliessung, zuletzt nach dem Tode von Schmidt 1938 von Böhlig allein bewältigt, kam zum Stilistand. Der Tod meines Vaters am 26. Mai 1943 setzte einen vorläufigen Schlussstrich unter jegliche weitere konservatorische Aufbereitung des Materials.

Rolf Ibscher itemized in 1954 what his father had conserved:[6]

For about 9 years my father had occupied himself almost without interruption with separating the leaves from the book blocks and impregnating and glassing the rescued material. His annual trips out of the country had become his recreation from this work that exhausted eyes and nerves.

Rund 9 Jahre hatte mein Vater fast ununterbrochen sich mit der Ablösung der Blätter von den Buchblöcken und der Imprägnierung des geretteten Materials und mit seiner Verglasung beschäftigt. Erholung von dieser die Augen und Nerven strapazierenden Arbeit

5. Rolf Ibscher, "Das Konservierungswerk," 2. This is an unpublished lecture presented at the Eighth International Papyrologists Congress in Vienna in 1955; Carsten Colpe supplied a typescript of this lecture to the Manichaean archives of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity.

6. Rolf Ibscher, "Wiederaufnahme," 5–6.

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According to his last estimation my father hoped at the beginning of the war to be able to end the work in nine more years. But it was to come otherwise. Then what was the status of the whole undertaking when the fateful year 1945 created also for this discovery a completely new kind of situation. What was extant conserved, how much was edited, and what ended up behind a thick question mark?

I begin with the Berlin part of the discovery:

Since 1941 10 fascicles of the important *Kephalaia* manuscript were in print, i.e., 125 leaves or 250 pages of text. In addition 25 leaves or 50 pages were in manuscript form with Kohlhammer in Stuttgart.

There may have been 100 more leaves or 200 pages of text already glassed, but not yet read.

Except for a remainder of some 20 leaves, this manuscript in the original has not, or not yet, returned to German possession. Neither I nor anyone else can say more about it.

The remainder of the manuscript, designated by my father as no longer conservable, was conserved in 1951 in connection with my first stay in London.

The second important Berlin manuscript is the collection of Mani's *Letters*. It was taken by me in 1944 to Bavaria together with the British manuscripts, where it still is, and in the meantime is being worked on there.

waren ihm dabei seine jährlichen Auslandsreisen geworden. Nach seiner letzten Schätzung hoffte mein Vater zu Beginn des Krieges, das Werk in weiteren 9 Jahren beenden zu können. Aber es sollte anders kommen. Wie war nun der Stand des ganzen Unternehmens, als das schicksalsschwere Jahr 1945 auch für diesen Fund eine völlig neuartige Lage schuf. Was lag konserviert vor, wieviel war ediert und was endete hinter einem dicken Fragezeichen? —

Ich beginne mit dem Berliner Fundanteil:

Seit 1941 lagen 10 Lieferungen der wichtigen Kephalaia-Handschrift gedruckt vor, d.h. 125 Blatt oder 250 Seiten Text. Dazu kamen 25 Blatt oder 50 Seiten im Manuskript bei Kohlhammer in Stuttgart liegend.

Verglast schon, aber noch ungelesen mögen weitere 100 Blatt oder 200 Seiten Text vorgelegen haben.

Bis auf einen Rest von einigen 20 Blatt ist diese Handschrift im Original jetzt nicht mehr oder noch nicht wieder in deutschen Besitz zurückgekehrt. Mehr kann weder ich noch irgend jemand anderes darüber aussagen.

Der Rest der Handschrift, von meinem Vater als nicht weiter konservierbar bezeichnet, wurde 1951 im Anschluss an meinen ersten Londonaufenthalt konserviert.

Die zweite wichtige Berliner Handschrift ist die Briefsammlung Manis. Sie wurde zusammen mit den Britischen Handschriften von mir 1944 nach Bayern gebracht, wo sie noch liegt und inzwischen dort bearbeitet wird.

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[Six] leaves of this collection of *Letters* separated by my father as well as 41 [31] leaves of another manuscript [P15995] still conserved by my father and two complete book units thus far unconserved [P15997 and P15998] have also not yet returned into German possession. That means ca. 500 leaves yet to be conserved or about 1,000 pages of text . . .

[p. 6] The Chester Beatty part of the discovery was in the fortunate situation of having survived the war and its consequences complete and intact.

The book of *Homilies* is edited and conserved. It appeared in 1934 after four years of work, as the first publication of the discovery. It was followed in the autumn by the first fascicle of the Berlin *Kephalaia* manuscript. Hence 20 years have passed since it began to appear. The text of the *Homilies* embraces 48 leaves or 96 pages of text. Further, the second part of the *Psalms* was edited by Charles Allberry. In 1938 it appeared with 117 leaves or 234 pages of text. The first part is on hand with 53 leaves conserved, i.e., 106 pages of text. It too was edited by Allberry, but up to the present the manuscript has not yet been printed. To this one must add 47 leaves or 94 pages of text of Codex C of the Chester Beatty manuscripts, which alongside of another text is a continuation of the Berlin *Kephalaia*.

[Sechs] von meinem Vater abgelöste Blätter dieser Briefkollektion sowie 41 [31] Blätter einer anderen Handschrift [P15995], von meinem Vater noch konserviert und zwei vollständige bisher unkonservierte Bucheinheiten [P15997 and P15998] sind ebenfalls noch nicht in deutschen Besitz zurückgekehrt. Das bedeutet ca. 500 noch zu konservierende Blätter oder rund 1000 Seiten Text . . .

[p. 6] Der Chester Beatty-Fundanteil ist in der glücklichen Lage gewesen, den Krieg und seine Folgeerscheinungen komplett und heil überstanden zu haben.

Konserviert und ediert ist das Homilienbuch. Es erschien im Jahre 1934 nach vierjähriger Arbeit als erste Veröffentlichung des Fundes. Ihm folgte im Herbst die erste Lieferung der Berliner Kephalaiahandschrift. [Zwanzig] Jahre sind also mithin seit diesem Ersterscheinen vergangen. Der Homilientext umfasst 48 Blatt oder 96 Seiten Text. Ferner wurde der zweite Teil des Psalmenbuches ediert durch Charles Allberry, im Jahre 1938 erscheinend mit 117 Blatt oder 234 Seiten Text. Der erste Teil liegt mit 53 Blatt konserviert vor, d.h. also 106 Seiten Text. Er wurde ebenfalls von Allberry ediert, aber bisher wurde das Manuskript noch nicht gedruckt. Dazu kommen 47 Blatt oder 94 Seiten Text des Codex C der Chester Beatty Handschriften, der neben einem anderen Text eine Fortsetzung der Berliner *Kephalaia* ist.

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A typescript containing a summary of this speech presents somewhat different figures:

The discovery as conserved and edited up until 1951:

A) Sir Chester Beatty

1. *Homilies*, 48 leaves or 96 pages of text
2. *Psalms*, Part 2, 117 leaves or 234 pages of text
3. *Psalms*, Part 1, 53 leaves or 106 pages of text by Charles Allberry, extant only as a manuscript
4. Codex C, 47 leaves or 94 pages of text, thus far unpublished.

B) Berlin part of the discovery

1. *Kephalaia*, 10 fascicles published

Ca. 100 further leaves were conserved, of which only 25 leaves have been read by Böhlig, extant as a manuscript with Kohlhammer. The remainder has not been read . . .

Not yet returned, up to the present, are two unconserved manuscripts. According to the Berlin catalogue of accessions of what was then the Papyrus Collection, it is a matter of the numbers: 15995 and 15999 [read: P^{15997} and P^{15998}]. Both books may produce ca. 500 leaves or 1,000 pages of text. Furthermore not yet returned are Codex No. 15996 *Kephalaia* as well as 31 leaves of Codex No. 15997 [read: P^{15995}] and 6 leaves of Codex 15998, which is identical with the codex that is in Bavaria.

Bis 1951 konservierter und edierter Fund:

A) Sir Chester Beatty

1. Homilien 48 Blätter oder 96 Seiten Text
2. Psalmbook Part II 117 Blätter oder 234 Seiten Text
3. Psalmbook Part I 53 Blätter oder 106 Seiten Text durch Charles Allberry nur als Manuskript vorliegend
4. Codex C 47 Blätter oder 94 Seiten Text unpubliziert bisher

B) Berliner Fundanteil

1. Kephalaia 10 Lieferungen publiziert

Konserviert wurden ca. 100 Blätter mehr, davon nur 25 Blätter durch Böhlig gelesen, als Manuskript bei Kohlhammer liegend. Der Rest ungelesen . . .

Bisher noch nicht zurückgekehrt sind zwei unkonservierte Handschriften, nach dem Berliner Standkatalog der früheren Papyrussammlung handelt es sich um die Nummern: 15995 und 15999 [read: P^{15997} and P^{15998}]. Beide Bücher dürften ca. 500 Blätter oder 1,000 Seiten Text ergeben. Ferner sind noch nicht zurückgekehrt Codex Nr. 15996 *Kephalaia* sowie 31 Blätter von Codex Nr. 15997 [read: P^{15995}] und 6 Blätter des Codex 15998 der identisch ist mit dem in Bayern befindlichen Codex.

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The full text and the summary present both garbled and conflicting information about the conservation carried out by Hugo Ibscher:

P15995: THE *SYNAXEIS*

The full text lists 41 leaves from an unidentified codex, which is presumably an inaccurate reference to the thirty-one leaves of this codex Hugo Ibscher conserved. The summary lists the figure correctly as 31, but identifies these leaves inaccurately as belonging to P15997, the *Acts*. The rest of the *Synaxeis* codex was in Schondorf being conserved by Rolf Ibscher. However, he did not seem to know this but maintained inaccurately he was conserving P. 15998, the *Letters*.

P15996: THE *KEPHALAIA*

The full text lists 125 leaves published, twenty-five edited for publication, and a hundred conserved but not edited, for a total of 250 leaves or 500 pages The summary includes the 25 edited for publication within the 100, thus making a total of 225 leaves or 450 pages. A statistical table appended to the summary lists for the Berlin part "ca. 230 Blätter oder 460 Seiten," ["ca. 230 leaves or 460 pages"]. The following line reads, "*Kephalaia*," which may mean that these figures refer only to that codex. Perhaps only *Kephalaia* leaves are listed because the summary was designated "conserved and edited" material. For even though the statistical table lists its contents as what was "conserved," it probably is intended to be limited to what is conserved and edited. But even if the figure is intended to refer only to the *Kephalaia*, there is still a discrepancy between the three statements: 250, 225, or ca. 230 leaves. In addition, the full text listed "some 20 leaves" as still accessible in Berlin, and the summary listed as conserved by Rolf Ibscher: "Rest der *Kephalaia* ca. 25 Blätter oder ca. 50 Seiten Text" ["remainder of the *Kephalaia* ca. 25 leaves or ca. 50 pages of text"]. Both references, in spite of the discrepancy, are presumably to the same material (see below). Thus, the total number of the leaves of the *Kephalaia* that had been conserved could be variously calculated as 270, 275, 245, 250, or 255. In this data no distinction is made between the number of leaves originally in the codex, the number conserved, and the number extant.

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P^{15997}: THE *ACTS*

The full text refers to "two complete, thus far unconserved, book units" as not yet returned, one of which must, by a process of elimination, have been this codex. In the summary it is inaccurately ascribed the number P^{15995} (just as, conversely, the 31 leaves of P^{15995} are inaccurately given the number P. 15997). Since Hugo Ibscher had conserved at least eight leaves not mentioned by Rolf Ibscher, it was inaccurate to refer to this text simply as "thus far unconserved."

P^{15998}: THE *LETTERS*

The full text and the summary list six leaves conserved by Hugo Ibscher. Both inaccurately identify the codex in Schondorf as the rest of P^{15998}, since in reality it was the rest of the *Synaxeis* codex. Some 22 leaves of P^{15998}, reported subsequently to have been in the Ibscher home throughout the war and immediate postwar period, are not mentioned (see below).

P^{15999}: THE *HOMILIES* (BERLIN PART)

The full text apparently includes this codex among the "two complete books thus far unconserved," "ca. 500 leaves or 1,000 pages of text" that have not yet been returned. The summary stated that the two complete codices that had not yet been returned contained a total of "ca. 500 leaves or 1,000 pages of text." This reflects the standard estimate (based on the *Kephalaia*) of codices of about 250 leaves each. But the Berlin part of this codex was not a complete codex, but was part of the same codex as the *Homilies* text of Sir Chester Beatty, which consisted of forty-eight leaves. Hence, the Berlin part should have involved about 200 leaves.

It is clear that this list of what Hugo Ibscher had conserved is seriously imprecise and self-contradictory. It is obviously not based on well-organized records prepared during the conservation procedure. Nor is it based on a new inventory of the conserved leaves themselves, which had been taken to Leningrad after the war and had not yet been returned (see below). The list could have been based on published information and the *Inventarbuch* (inventory book) of the papyrus collection, to which it actually refers. But so many of its er-

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rors would have been corrected by a careful study of such materials that one must assume that the list was based on such records only in a superficial way or on memory or on word of mouth. The list reads more as if it were heavily based on memory or oral tradition, whatever Rolf Ibscher could hurriedly put together, given the death or departure of the principals in the story. Alexander Böhlig, the only scholar still connecting the prewar and postwar periods, apparently did not have much clearer information than Rolf Ibscher. Thus, the postwar academic community began with fragmentary, very inexact, and often quite misleading information about each codex in the Berlin collection. It may be just as well that Rolf Ibscher's first public report was not published.

The amount of material that Hugo Ibscher conserved in the Berlin holdings cannot as a consequence be stated with precision, but can only be estimated as around 300 leaves, if one includes half-conserved material.

With regard to the London material, the situation may be less confused. For Rolf Ibscher's report is based on his having actually seen the material in London, none of which was lost. Thus the listed total of 265 leaves conserved by Hugo Ibscher may be accurate.

Such numbers would suggest that Hugo Ibscher succeeded in separating a total of about 565 leaves. This was no doubt a remarkable achievement, given the condition of the codices when entrusted to him, the degree of legibility of much of what he separated, and the fragile nature of his health at the time. His lifetime of conservation work meant that he represented the state of the art in the 1930s, which is one of the few fortunate dimensions of an otherwise misfortune-ridden story.

Alexander Böhlig has reported on the administrative dimensions of the original project:[7]

In Germany the Berlin Academy of Sciences took over the task. As long as Carl Schmidt was an	In Deutschland nahm sich die Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften der Aufgabe an.

7. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 180ff. See also WZUH 10 (1961) 157–61; and *Actes du XXVe Congrés International des Orientalistes, Moscou 9–16 août 1960*, 1 (1962) 535–41. A typescript of the address of 1960 is in the Chester Beatty archives. The form published in *Mysterion und Wahrheit* has been copyedited but not substantively altered. Quotations are from *Mysterion und Wahrheit*.

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official of the Kommission für spätantike Religionsgeschichte, the enterprise belonged to that area. After his departure, it was transferred to an enterprise under his leadership in the Orientalische Kommission. Meanwhile Hugo Ibscher had separated and put under glass rather large numbers of leaves, so that it was quite appropriate, after Polotsky had been called as full professor to Jerusalem, for each of the owners to engage one's own worker. For the Chester Beatty manuscripts C. R. C. Allberry was engaged, whose death in the war I would like also here bitterly to lament. The Berlin Academy commissioned me, and I am very happy that I had been introduced into this work and its problems back then by Polotsky himself. After Carl Schmidt's death in 1938 I took over the work on my own responsibility. Up to the war there were a total of 574 pages that were presented in print. W. Kohlhammer of Stuttgart, who had new Coptic letters cut just for this purpose based upon the hand of the *Kephalaia*, took over the printing and publishing.

Solange Carl Schmidt Beamter der Kommission für spätantike Religionsgeschichte war, gehörte das Unternehmen zu deren Bereich, um nach seinem Ausscheiden als ein unter seiner Leitung stehendes Unternehmen in die Orientalische Kommission überführt zu werden. Inzwischen hatte Hugo Ibscher grössere Mengen von Blättern abgelöst und unter Glas gebracht, so dass es durchaus angemessen war, nach der Berufung von Polotsky als Ordinarius nach Jerusalem für jeden der Besitzteile einen eigenen Bearbeiter zu bestellen. Für die Chester-Beatty-Handschriften wurde C. R. C. Allberry bestellt, dessen Tod im Kriege ich auch an dieser Stelle aufs tiefste beklagen möchte. Die Akademie Berlin beauftragte mich, und ich bin sehr froh, damals von Polotsky selbst in diese Arbeit und ihre Probleme eingeführt worden zu sein. Nach Carl Schmidts Tode im Jahre 1938 übernahm ich die Arbeit in eigener Verantwortung. Bis zum Kriege wurden von allen Beteiligten insgesamt 574 Seiten im Druck vorgelegt. Den Druck und Verlag hatte W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, übernommen, der eigens nach dem Schrifttyp der *Kephalaia* neue koptische Lettern schneiden liess.

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— 4 —

Beatty, Ibscher, and Polotsky

On May 7, 1931, Sir Alan H. Gardiner wrote to Paul Schubart:

> As you know, Coptic is not my immediate branch of study, but it appears that both Mr. Chester Beatty and Dr. [Hugo] Ibscher wish me to take a hand in negotiating the arrangements for the publication of the Manichaean books belonging to the former. Both Dr. [W. E.] Crum and Sir Herbert Thompson have been here and have discussed the matter fully with Ibscher and myself and this letter is intended to set forth Mr. Chester Beatty's wishes after hearing the results of our consultations. Crum's interest is confined to the lexicographic aspects of the books, which he wishes to utilize for his dictionary. Sir Herbert Thompson is too busy to devote any large part of his time to this work, but since Mr. Chester Beatty naturally desires an English editor for his publication, Thompson has declared himself ready to accept such an editorship, provided that the preliminary copying and translation are performed by someone else.
>
> Everything points to the employment of Herr [H. J.] Polotsky for the purpose as an almost ideal solution, the more so if he is engaged, under Professor [Carl] Schmidt's direction, to copy the corresponding Berlin books. Mr. Chester Beatty would be ready to remunerate Herr Polotsky at the same rate of payment as is arranged for Polotsky in connection with the Berlin books, and would be most grateful if you would administer the requisite sum of money for the purpose. He would send you through me a preliminary sum of £50 for the beginning of the payments, but asks that when this sum is approaching its end he should receive (through me) an exact account of the work done and the payments made.

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> Mr. Chester Beatty will be most glad to grant Professor Schmidt the right to study and utilize in a general way the books belonging to him, if Professor Schmidt is prepared to give to his English colleagues the same rights with regard to the Berlin books. As I have already said, Crum wishes merely to use the texts for his Dictionary, but it would be useful for Thompson to have copies of the Berlin books to utilize alongside the Chester Beatty books. If I might make a suggestion of my own, would it not be well for Polotsky to make these copies in copying ink, so that separate copies could be kept by Schmidt, Polotsky, Crum and Thompson? The existence of separate copies in the hands of each of the scholars interested would, I think, be of great value. A point on which Mr. Chester Beatty lays great stress is that he would like his books, after they have been unrolled by Ibscher, to be kept in the *Papyrusabteilung* of the Neues Museum and to be accessible for study by Professor Schmidt and Herr Polotsky only there. Mr. Chester Beatty would be most grateful if you would consent to take this matter up with the Director of the Museum and to obtain the latter's consent and authorization.
>
> I think that the most practical procedure would be if the copies for Crum and Thompson, as well as the accounts for Mr. Chester Beatty, could be sent to me from time to time. I would act as a sort of London agent, and distribute what is sent to the persons concerned.
>
> It is a wonderful discovery and also a wonderful opportunity for friendly and sensible international co-operation. That is one of the reasons, as you can imagine, why I personally am so much interested in it.

On June 6, 1931, Sir Herbert Thompson wrote to Miss Kingsford of Beatty's staff:

> I venture to trouble you with a question or two, as I know Mr. Beatty is an extremely busy man, and you can probably judge best when and how he can be approached on the side of his MSS. I dare say you have heard from Dr. A. H. Gardiner, that, owing to the impossibility of my friend, W. E. Crum, undertaking the supervision of the treatment of Mr. Beatty's new Coptic papyri, it has fallen to me—subject to Mr. Beatty's approval —to consider the questions of his relation to Berlin. Of course you know that these papyri relate to the Manichaean religion, and that part of the same find has gone to Berlin. Prof. Carl Schmidt (of Berlin University) is coming over here "early in June" to consider questions of joint dealing with this material.

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My proposed attitude is somewhat as follows:—

1. Mutual communication of the material on both sides.

2. Working out of the material by a single editor, if possible—Polotsky being proposed—under supervision of C. Schmidt and myself.

   These two conditions are almost essential. It may be found that parts of the same MS are divided between the two collections. This cannot be settled till the whole mass has been taken to pieces and mounted under glass.

3. The question of publication. I feel that this is a subject which in the present state of affairs may, and should be, postponed. There is no hurry about it and I think it very desirable that Mr. Beatty should not be committed hastily to any scheme. I should not (nor, I fancy, would he) wish to see his MS appear as an appendix to a German publication. Such a publication would have to be a Government publication, and would almost necessarily be a slow—(also, *entre nous*, Prof. C. Schmidt has the reputation of being a very slow hand at producing things). At present, judging from the photographs I have seen of both Mr. Beatty's papyri and the German ones, they are distinct volumes, and there is no reason why the former should not be issued in a separate form. Of course if Polotsky is the sole editor of the texts, he would have to be allowed to take his own course in running the two sets of papyri side by side. But that is no reason why they should be one publication and I suggest that in any case, in the present state of affairs, no definite arrangement as to publication should be entered into.

I shall be very glad to hear how far these views have Mr. Beatty's approvation—and what he may have further to suggest. I may add that a joint publication would give rise to rather difficult questions on the financial side—besides details of printing, illustrations, etc.

On June 15, 1931, Thompson wrote Beatty following the meeting with Schmidt on June 11, 1931:

I met Dr. Carl Schmidt last Thursday, and had satisfactory discussions of the Mani-papyri question. I found him quite ready to take up a reasonable attitude. He quite agreed there is no need to consider any question of publication at present; and that, except as to any MS. that may be found to be divided

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> between your collection and Berlin, you would of course be free to publish in England and in any form you wished, and he did not press for any form of joint publication. As to any joint MS, that can be dealt with when the time arrives.
>
> As far as possible, he agrees to Dr. Polotsky working alternate weeks for Berlin and yourself respectively—in detail, it would have to depend somewhat on the material supplied by Ibscher. He does not foresee any difficulty except as to the latter being able to keep his part of the work going at a sufficient rate, as it is difficult work and trying to his eyes—and also he can only work on your papyri out of his official hours. But the initial work on each papyrus is the most difficulty, and once the outer or more fragmentary portion is removed, the faster it proceeds . . .
>
> He quite agreed about mutual interchange of material and nothing to be published on either side without consent, and I pressed him to keep the whole matter as quiet as possible. He told me he was being urged already to make a brief communication to the Berlin Academy, but I told him he must postpone it for the present till the material is separated and sifted. He has been recently in Egypt, making inquiries about the find, and he is satisfied that the whole find was divided into 8 parts, between 3 dealers, of which I understand 5 are coming to Berlin, and he declared you had two MSS. and one on approval, viz. your Hymn book, now in Ibscher's hands and another (?). Is this so? and if so, would you let me see it—and also the papyrus on approval? I should very much like to get some idea of its (their?) size and contents, if possible.

Thompson's English translation of a letter from Schubart to Thompson of July 19, 1931, reports:

> Our common friend Gardiner wrote to me asking me to address myself directly to you in all that concerns the Manipapyri . . . Dr. H. J. Polotsky, Berlin-Charlottenburg 4, Waitzstr. 20, has already worked on the Chester Beatty papyri during May and June so far that it is justifiable to pay him on June 30 the first of the monthly instalments [*sic*] of 150 Rm. How the payment shall be made is of course entirely a question for Mr. Chester Beatty; perhaps you would kindly speak to him about it. In future then Dr. Polotsky might expect the payment to be made always on the last day of the month. He binds himself to divide his work conscientiously between the Berlin and the Chester Beatty papyri, but it goes without saying that this can-

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> not be done mechanically and exactly according to the number of pages. I will see to it that both parts are carried forward evenly. Each month Dr. Polotsky shall send you copies of the Chester Beatty and Berlin pieces as far as possible with translation. It is understood that these copies are only provisional and that Dr. Polotksy will have to work on them further to improve them. I would ask you to write to Dr. Polotsky your idea as to the working out of the Chester Beatty papyri so that he may know how far he is also to occupy himself with the contents of the New Texts. Dr. Polotsky must also write to you thereon on his part.
>
> I shall be very grateful to you if you will communicate to me any questions or doubts that may arise, and I am convinced that we shall be able to settle everything in an amicable manner. In any case it will be a pleasure to me to do anything I can to forward the great work without delay.

On June 23, 1931, Thompson wrote Miss Kingford inquiring if Beatty had received his unanswered letter of June 15, 1931, and forwarding his translation of Schubart's letter with the request that she ask Beatty "to act upon it:"

> I am very glad to find that Prof. Schubart will keep the supervision in his own hands rather than leave it all to Dr. C. S.— Entre nous, I trust Schubart entirely—Dr. C. S. is apt to be dilatory and not to be depended on to the same extent.

Thereupon on June 26, 1931, Beatty sent Schubart's letter to Gardiner "and also the answer I propose to send," apparently proposing Ibscher as the intermediary in Berlin, with this request:

> I shall be very glad if you will kindly look through this and let me know if you have any suggestion to make before I send the letter to Sir Herbert Thompson.

On June 27, 1931, Gardiner replied to Beatty as follows:

> When I met Sir Herbert Thompson, Crum, and C. Schmidt about a fortnight ago, it was agreed between us that I had better retire from any concern with the Manichaean texts, because they belong to a province which is rather remote from my own. But since you are kind enough to ask me to comment upon your letter to Thompson here returned, I hope you will allow me to do so quite frankly. In my opinion, knowing as I do all the people concerned except Polotsky, I think it would

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> be the greatest possible mistake to entrust the controlling of Polotsky's work to Ibscher instead of to Schubart. Schubart is the head of the Papyrus Department, a distinguished man and Ibscher's chief. Ibscher, though a great friend of mine and a most splendid and trustworthy fellow, is an underling in the department and would not be regarded as able to exercise any authority over Polotsky except *through* Schubart, with whom he is on the best of terms.
>
> I see through Schubart's letter to Thompson that he personally undertakes to see that both parts of the work are carried on evenly. If he says that, then in my opinion there is not the least doubt in the world that it would be done. If, after a month or two had passed, Thompson, who will be controlling the work, considered that your portion was being neglected in favor of C. Schmidt's the arrangement could at once be terminated. In a word, if the books were mine and I had to negotiate the matter on my own behalf, I should not hesitate to accept Schubart's offer without any reservation whatever.
>
> I have written very frankly, because I think it is by so doing that I shall be of most help both to you and to this most important scientific undertaking . . .
>
> P.S. I notice from your letter that you say you would rather prefer to deal with this business through Ibscher and not through Schmidt. I don't think that the latter course is proposed at all. Indeed, in taking charge of the matter himself doubtless Schubart's idea, like Ibscher's, is to keep the control out of Schmidt's hands.

On June 28, 1931, Thompson wrote Miss Kingsford inquiring whether the mail was functioning since he had still no reply from Beatty to his letters. On July 2, 1931, Beatty wrote Gardiner to the effect he was writing Thompson to work through Schubart rather than Schmidt or Ibscher. On July 7, 1931, Beatty wrote Thompson to arrange for Polotsky to be paid by Schubart not by the month but by the actual amount of work done, since he might work more for Berlin and Ibscher's work may move slowly.

On July 11, 1931, Thompson wrote Beatty, reporting on his implementation of the new arrangements Beatty proposed:

> However I have this morning received from Schubart the results viz. transcription (Coptic), translation and (occasionally) notes of 5 more leaves, of which 4 are from your papyri and 1 from the Berlin papyri.—He sent me 4 copies (mechanical) of

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> each and I enclose one copy of each of your 4 new pages. One copy will go to Crum for his Dictionary and the other two will remain with me for the present.
>
> Schubart remarks in his letter: "This time the C.B. pages are the more numerous; another time it may be so with the Berlin pages. That naturally depends on the quality of the leaves [he means that as Ibscher divides his time equally on the two jobs, the number of each that he gets off depends on the condition of the papyrus]. But both parts, C.B. and Berlin, will be as far as possible carried forward equally." I feel sure that Schubart may be trusted to do his best to see this carried out. But we must await further results in due course . . .
>
> I have not been able to go through these pages of Polotsky at present; but I see that he has got out the whole text and it looks very satisfactory as far as I can judge from a cursory glance.

On September 24, 1931, Thompson again wrote Beatty:

> I sent you on July 11th last the first results of Dr. Polotsky's work; but as I received no acknowledgement, I presumed, you were too busy to find time for giving attention to them. So I ceased troubling you with any more. They have been coming in regularly each month. Shall I send them all on to you now? He is doing most excellent, indeed remarkable work on them, and the results are of the highest interest—both in the contents—and philologically for the Coptic language in which they are written, and seems to have sprung up specially equipped for this particular job.

On October 12, 1931, Beatty wrote that he had been very busy, was leaving for New York, and would be glad to receive Polotsky's reports on his return in five or six weeks. On January 4, 1932, Thompson wrote him:

> I have a rather urgent letter from Dr. Carl Schmidt in Berlin, asking me to send him some news as to the Mani papyrus, which you had, I believe, on approval, as scholars are very anxious—and not in Germany only—to have some public statement as to these "mysterious" Manichaean manuscripts. But Dr. Schmidt, rightly I think, wishes to defer any such statement till the fate of this outstanding papyrus of the Mani find is settled—either by its passing into your collection—or finding an assured home, perhaps at Copenhagen, or else in Berlin. The important point is that it should be in hands where

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> it would be accessible for study in association with those in your hands and those in the Berlin Museum.
>
> So I venture again to trouble you with a question as to whether it is still in your custody — and if so, may I be allowed to see it? and also whether you still have any thought of acquiring it, or not? If you do not, Dr. Schmidt tells me that Nahman has given him the first option of purchase; but he fears that if the matter is delayed much longer, Nahman may change his mind, and the opportunity of fixing it in safe hands may be lost.

On January 5, 1932, Beatty left for Egypt, but the letter was forwarded to him. On January 26, 1932, J. W. Corble, of Beatty's staff, replied to Thompson on Beatty's behalf that the papyrus was still the property of Nahman and Beatty had it in safekeeping.

Schmidt wrote Thompson on February 6, 1932, in a disturbing way, which Thompson reported to Beatty in a letter of February 14, 1932:

> I am sorry to have to trouble you with Mani matters again so soon, as I fear they are not very welcome. However, it is necessary that you should know that Prof. Carl Schmidt of Berlin, who is controlling Dr. Polotsky's work over there on behalf of the Berlin papyri, will very shortly be in Egypt, and purposes to call on you.
>
> He has prepared a Report which he purposes to lay before the Berlin Academy, relating to the find of Mani papyri. He first referred to it as a "Provisional report";—I assumed that he would give an account of the find—of the number of the papyri, their dates, their language and its dialect and some details of the nature of the contents. But about 10 days ago he wrote and informed me that he proposed to use 10 pages of your papyrus, i.e., publish in his report the Coptic texts and translations—and moreover 4 of those 10 pages have never been forwarded to me nor any account even of their contents. I at once protested, both to Prof. Schubart and to Dr. Schmidt. Schubart (head of the papyrus department of the Berlin Museum) mildly interposed and thought my point of view had not been considered sufficiently. But Schmidt is offended and wrote me an immensely long letter to show that—well, I was spoiling his game, but he was off to Egypt in a few days and would see you and hopes to get your permission for what he wants. He is one of those people to whom if you give him an inch, he will take an ell—and I have been warned of this by people who know

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> him much better than I do. He wants to publish your papyrus by driblets in successive reports to the Berlin Academy.
>
> So I have written him today—it will catch him before he leaves—a very straight letter of which I enclose you a copy—so that you may know exactly what is the position I have taken up, and which I consider necessary, if you intend to keep any control over your exceedingly valuable papyrus.
>
> I hope it will meet with your approval.

Thompson's blunt letter to Schmidt of February 14, 1932, is as follows:

> . . . But with regard to the Beatty papyrus, you remark "es wäre mir sehr angenehm einmal Ihre Meinung angesichts der von mir geschilderten Lage zu hören" [it would be very agreeable to me to hear once your view regarding the situation portrayed by me"].
>
> I am the more willing to do as you ask, because I fear that, in your anxiety to inform the Academy, you have overlooked certain fundamental conditions, which are these:—
>
> 1. The Ch. B. papyrus belongs to Mr. Chester Beatty.
> 2. The right of publication is vested in him solely.
> 3. He will decide when and how it is to be published.
> 4. His present intention is to publish it completely as soon as possible.
> 5. His publication will not form part of that of the Berlin papyri but will no doubt be made in England, as soon as Dr. Polotsky—on one-half of whose working time he has an exclusive claim—shall produce it in a condition fit for publication.
> 6. He objects to any piece-meal form of publication.
> 7. Your knowledge of the contents of the papyrus is confidential, and you have no right to the use of it, except by asking for, and receiving permission.
> 8. I have, as at present instructed, no authority to give you that permission.
>
> I informed you, that you might "state in general terms["] the "contents of the Ch. B. papyrus." You answer, "Was will der Gelehrte mit *allgemeinen Bemerkungen anfangen*?" [What

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> does the scholar make of general comments?] But the "contents" include a great deal more than that and cover details: but not quotations.
>
> I am very sorry to have to write to you in such unqualified terms. But you compel me to it. There is nothing in the above 8 points, which was not either common ground between us, or was stipulated for (especially—"no partial publication without common agreement") at our meeting in London.
>
> I am fully aware of the immense difficulty of the work of decipherment on which you and Dr. Polotsky are engaged. I have a number of photographs of the Ch. B. papyrus by me, and can form a good judgment of it; and how necessarily slow it is.
>
> But your calculations as to the length of time likely to be required for the Berlin papyri, do not apply to the Ch. B. papyrus, which I hope will be ready for publication much earlier.
>
> Last autumn I wrote to Dr. Polotsky that my object was to have the *text*, with English translation, and such notes, philological and historical, as may be found necessary, printed, but it is not to include any elaborate commentary, as that cannot be adequately undertaken until the whole of the papyri have seen the light.

On February 22, 1932, Thompson wrote Miss Kingsford:

> Shortly before Mr. Chester Beatty left for America, he asked me to hold back the results of Dr. Polotsky's work on the Mani papyrus till his expected return some weeks later from the U.S.A.
>
> I fear I forgot that he had ever asked for them; but I have now been through the papers, and added a considerable number of translations, as I told Dr. Polotsky to cease making [English?] translations of the Beatty papyrus, so that he may have more time for deciphering. I send you the results up to the present date and will ask you kindly to keep them till Mr. Beatty's return from Egypt.

On March 19, 1932, Schmidt wrote on his calling card in Cairo a cryptic note to Beatty, also in Cairo, since he had failed to meet him there and was leaving the next day for Luxor. Later Thompson was to provide Beatty with an accurate translation of the relevant part of Schmidt's note:

> I should like to discuss with you a report on the Mani find, which I wish to place before the Academy in Berlin. I have

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> already corresponded with Sir Herbert Thompson about it. The important point is as to your permission how far I may in my Report also make use of (the material in) your possession. I had proposed to give some examples in illustration from your most valuable Hymn-book so that scholars might be able to judge of the Hymn to Christ and to Mani. Perhaps you will be good enough to talk this over with Sir (H.) Thompson.

On March 21, 1932, Beatty wrote Schmidt already from Cairo, without awaiting an accurate translation, but responding in terms of what Thompson had already written him about Schmidt's proposals:

> I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your note but unfortunately as I do not read German I have only been able to get a rough translation of it. I wish however to have it definitely understood that you are not to use in any way, shape or manner any of the material owned by me, in any article, lecture or quotation. Upon my return to London I will have a careful translation made of your note and will write you further, but in the meantime let there be no misunderstanding. You were allowed to see certain papyri as a matter of courtesy but any thing you have seen is strictly confidential and you are not permitted to make any mention of it or make any use whatever of it, without either my consent or Sir Herbert Thompson's consent in writing.

On March 29, 1932, Beatty sent a copy of his sharp reply to Thompson, with the further comment:

> I think the best solution is that I arrange with Ibscher for him to stop work on the thing, so that we will not have any further complications with Schmidt.

The same day Beatty wrote Nahman, agreeing to return the manuscript on which he had an option via Ibscher, knowing that this meant that Schmidt would acquire it. Apparently, Beatty had soured on the whole Mani enterprise. On April 3, 1932, Thompson wrote Beatty, quite annoyed that Beatty had gone too far:

> Thank you for your letter of Mar. 29th, acknowledging mine of Feb. 10th. I could wish you had done so sooner, as you left me during my controversy with Prof. Schmidt in some doubt as to how far I was justified in maintaining so strict an attitude toward him as I did. But your letter to him of March 31 [21?] is so stiff that it rather puts me into fresh difficulty.

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When Prof. Schmidt came over here in June of last year, I made certain arrangements with him as regards the common working out of the Berlin and your Mani papyri. The main points were:—

1. They were to be worked out by Dr. Polotsky under the supervision of Prof. Schmidt and myself, so far as I could control his work by photographs, or the originals when returned.

2. All the material, as worked out in Berlin, was to be sent to me.

3. Publication was reserved, to be dealt with by each party as they thought best; but no publication of any kind was to be permitted meanwhile without the consent of the other party.

4. I told Schmidt distinctly that Dr. Polotsky was to edit your papyrus for you, and that it would be published over here and not in Germany.

5. Dr. Polotsky was to divide his working time equally between the two parties and each party was to pay him 150 Rm. monthly. (This was before the gold standard was abandoned in England. Therefore, whereas 150 Rm. = £7.10.0 at par originally, it now, at 14 Rm. to the £ = £10.15.0. But, on the other hand, by German Govt. decree all salaries have been reduced by 10% since Jan. 1, so Dr. P.'s salary stands now at 135 Rm. per month).

6. It was agreed that some communication of the contents of these papyri should be made to the public as soon as it could reasonably be done; and that this should take the form of a Report by Prof. Schmidt to the Berlin Academy as to their nature and contents.

Accordingly, when Prof. Schmidt on Feb. 2 announced to me that he was preparing a Report to the Academy and that he intended to make large extracts from your papyrus, I protested at once that he was not entitled to do so, as this amounted to a part-publication. After many letters on both sides, Prof. Schmidt yielded on my writing to him the formal letter, of which I sent you a copy.

But I have given him permission to state the nature and contents of your papyrus with details as to names of persons

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mentioned and places, and chronological references, provided he makes no quotation whatever; and so much I consider to be desirable in the public interest. This you have now withdrawn by the terms of your letter to him.

After our controversy, which I conducted, I hope, with due politeness, Prof. Schmidt, having conceded my points, gave in with a good grace, and we are again on excellent terms. As Prof. Schubart of the Berlin Museums, who has the custody and control of all the Mani-papyri, supported me throughout, I think it would be deplorable if you refused to sanction the further use of your papyrus, and withdrew from the agreed common work.

Further, with regard to your papyrus, I obtained from Dr. Ibscher on Feb. 22 a report as to his work on it, of which I enclose a translation. He will also make an appendix to Schmidt's Report, on the technical condition and treatment of the papyri. He has sent me a copy of his paper, and I see nothing whatever to object to in it.

In consequence of Ibscher's statement, (from which I learned for the first time that you own, not one papyrus only, but 3 or 4), I wrote to Dr. Polotsky that I advised him to concentrate on finishing up the shortest one of 37 leaves; and, as, if he were to wait till the whole 460–600 leaves were worked out, it would probably be some years before anything appeared, he should finish this short one up and you would arrange for a publication of it separately—which would bring him into prominence. He is an extremely learned and able young man; but he is not a naturalised German (being a Russian) and hence has no prospect of an official or University post; and has to make a living. I believe he has nothing but these 270 Rm. (orig. 300 Rm.) per month, i.e. at par £180 p. ann.

I hope very earnestly that you will not withdraw from the scheme as originally laid down. It cannot be carried out without the collaboration of Prof. Schmidt; and I have put matters on such a footing that I feel sure he will now act reasonably; as he has discovered that he has not a "man of straw" to deal with on this side. But if this is to be effected, I must ask you to back me up also in the concessions I have made both as regards Prof. Schmidt and Dr. Polotsky. They are no more than was allowed in the original agreement.

On April 16, 1932, Beatty wrote Ibscher:

We have had a good deal of trouble and dispute with Professor Schmidt with reference to the Mani papyrus, and I understand

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> from Dr. Gardiner that you are coming to London, so I wish you would stop all expenditure and work on the Mani papyrus and just leave the matter as it is until I can see you in London. We can then discuss the best policy to pursue, but at present I do not like Professor Schmidt's attitude; I feel the most satisfactory way is to stop all work in order not to have any complications.

Thompson wrote Beatty on April 22, 1932, on hearing from Berlin of Beatty's letter to Ibscher:

> I have this morning received a letter from Prof. Schubart telling me that you [have] written to Dr. Ibscher that he is to stop work on your Mani papyri in Berlin "on account of disagreement with Prof. Schmidt." As the latter is still in Egypt, Schubart naturally wishes to know what it means and applies to me for information.
>
> As you put the relations between you and Berlin into my hands, and as I had reminded Prof. Schmidt of his duty to you in respect of his use of your papyri, and replaced everything again on an amicable basis, after establishing a proper control over the use to be made of your property, I think it would have been better, had you continued to leave the matter to be conducted through me. Instead of which you have written letters of a very decisive import both to Prof. Schmidt and now to Dr. Ibscher without any reference to me whatever.
>
> Frankly, I cannot work for you on this double basis. Either you must leave the conduct of the business to me, or you take it all into your own hands. It is for you to choose.
>
> But I must remind you that you are under definite obligations to Dr. Polotsky, which cannot be suddenly cut short without notice.
>
> Will you kindly let me know what your intentions are as soon as possible, so that I may know where I stand in relation to the Berlin Museum authorities . . . I understand that Ibscher will be in London some time next week; and I shall be meeting him of course.

On May 1, 1932, Thompson again wrote Beatty:

> On April 22 I wrote you a letter in which I described the position in which you had placed me, and to which I asked for a speedy answer, but I have heard nothing from you.
>
> From the neglect with which you treat all my letters I can only conclude that you do not want me or my services any

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> more. And so, much to my regret, I have to inform you that you must now find some one else to do the work, which, under more favourable circumstances I was so anxious to do in the interests of science.
>
> After three days, if I do not hear any further from you, I shall inform Prof. Schubart that, as far as I am concerned, I can take no further part in the working out of the Mani papyri.
>
> With regard to Dr. Polotsky, I have made certain engagements with him in your name, which I must see carried out, and if you repudiate them, then it will be a matter of honour to me to see that a proper compensation is made to him.

This bitter letter crossed in the mail with a more conciliatory letter from Beatty to Thompson of April 30, 1932:

> I am so sorry that there has been such a mix-up in the matter of the Schmidt business. I got your letter in Egypt, from which I gathered that Schmidt was not acting very well, and I got his letter and also a reprint in German apparently of a Biblical papyrus which he had been interfering with, and then I wrote to him. I thought in view of the dispute that the best way to bring him to terms was to stop the work absolutely. I quite understand that with reference to Dr. Polotsky we may have some work still to settle with him.
>
> I met Dr. Alan Gardiner the other day and understand that Dr. Ibscher is here, so that I will be seeing him within the next few days, and if you will let me know what days you expect to be in London I will try to call on you so that we can have a talk and straighten the matter out.
>
> I am sorry for any upset I have caused in your plans, but it was done with the best intentions.

On May 2, 1932, Thompson replied to Beatty:

> I have just received your letter of Apr. 30th and it has crossed mine, which was written to you yesterday. Your letter still gives me no answer as to your intentions in relation to the arrangements made through me with the authorities in Berlin. You speak of "stopping the work absolutely." If you have done so, or are doing so, you might have told me of it, before leaving me in the lurch. I have nothing to alter in my letter written to you yesterday; but if you think it worth while, I will come up to town and see you any day this week between 10:30 and 3 pm, that you like to name.

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On the same day Beatty wrote a further conciliatory letter to Thompson, in which he nonetheless announced a formal closing down of the arrangements:

> I feel I owe you many apologies for my seeming discourtesy in not replying to your letters, but the fact is that since my return from Egypt I have been so engrossed with business matters that everything else had had to take a secondary place, and I have put off from day to day attending to my personal correspondence with the usual result that it has been entirely neglected. As a matter of fact, I did dictate a letter to you on Friday evening which was sent to my house for signature, but I had to go unexpectedly to the country and so unfortunately it was not dispatched at once.
>
> I quite understand that with regard to Dr. Polotsky and Professor Schubart there will be some settlement needed, and I am of course ready and willing to accept responsibility for this. I met Dr. Alan Gardiner the other day and understand that Dr. Ibscher is here, so I will be seeing him within the next few days.
>
> I regret very much any upset I may have caused in your arrangements, but it was done with the best intentions.
>
> In view of the very difficult business conditions which demand the whole of my time, I have decided to discontinue all work in regard to manuscripts at present. I do not want to offend my friends who have assisted me so much in the work on the library, and I feel I may inadvertently offend them if I try to continue the library work and at the same time have to look after business. I am Chairman of a number of Companies, and I feel that during these difficult times I must devote all my time to them; I am glad to say they are doing all right, but until we get through this world crisis I feel my first duty is to them, and so I cannot devote the time to manuscripts which I would like and would be able to in normal conditions.

A memorandum of a conference between Beatty and Gardiner on May 8, 1932, reported the following policy:

> Under the arrangement with Dr. Polotsky, he was to be paid 150 Rm. by each party monthly, and was to divide his working time equally between the two parties (Mr. A.C.B. and Berlin). Half of this is for Mr. A.C.B.'s account. Polotsky has now almost finished his work and has been working specially on the books of travels [*Homilies*] of which there are about ten pages

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> left; the idea is to dispense with Polotsky's time after he has finished these ten pages and to arrange through Dr. Schubart that he will finish the work by a certain time.
>
> Then, if Sir Herbert Thompson approves, the idea would be to give Polotsky the right to publish it within a year at his own expense through some scientific paper.
>
> Then in regard to the arrangement with Dr. Ibscher, who was to receive 50 marks (about £3) per page, he charges by the page and his work comes to about £200 a year. He has separated or has in process of separation about 100 leaves of which about 30 are under glass. The idea is that he will not separate any more leaves of the manuscript but gradually put the present leaves which he has separated under glass within the next year or so. He is not to undertake any new work on the remaining part of the manuscript without my approval.

On May 10, 1932, Thompson wrote Beatty:

> The enclosed pages (7 of your MS. and 3 of the Berlin papyrus) reached me yesterday from Berlin, representing last month's contribution by Dr. Polotsky.
>
> I have written to him to stop working on your papyri, since you wrote to me on the 2nd inst. that you decided to discontinue all work in regard to manuscripts at present. So this will be the last that he will send. I have not troubled (as with former sendings) to make a translation of them, as I do not suppose you will have time to read them, and it naturally takes a good deal of my time to do it.

On the same day Beatty wrote Thompson that he had "had a long talk with Dr. Alan Gardiner and Dr. Ibscher in reference to the Manichaean manuscripts and have taken some notes with regard to the matter," no doubt the memorandum of the meeting May 8, 1932, and inquiring if he could see Thompson in London. On May 11, 1932, Thompson responded, commenting "I wish you could have seen me when I offered it last week," and pointing out that the times Beatty now proposed were inconvenient. On May 12, 1932, Gardiner wrote Beatty:

> I have had some further talks with Dr. Ibscher and Sir Herbert Thompson with regard to the best way of bringing the arrangement with Sir Herbert and Dr. Polotsky to a satisfactory conclusion. If I understand rightly, you are ready to cede to Dr. Polotsky publication rights in the 50 leaves relating to

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> the journeyings of Mani [*Homilies*] provided he produces his work within a reasonable time. I would suggest that, to treat Polotsky very liberally, you would allow him to retain those rights until this time next year, say the last day of June 1933. The publication would appear in Germany and no cost in connection with it would be incurred by you. Furthermore, after the end of this month, no further obligation for payments to Dr. Polotsky for his studies would rest upon you.
>
> If this arrangement seems satisfactory, I should be grateful for a line at your earliest convenience. Ibscher is leaving for Germany on Saturday, and would like to go back bearing your consent with him.

On May 13, 1932, Beatty responded to Gardiner accepting his proposals.

On May 14, 1932, Ibscher wrote Beatty from London:

Before I return again to Germany, I would not want to neglect to confirm that I have correctly received for Prof. Schmidt the Mani manuscript . . .	Bevor ich wieder nach Deutschland zurückfahre, möchte ich nicht versäumen zu bestätigen, dass ich das Mani-Manuskript für Herrn Prof. Schmidt richtig erhalten habe . . .
As agreed, I will continue treating the Mani text until the already unstuck 100 leaves are assured. I hope I can soon provide you more precise communications about this.	Die Manitexte werde ich wie verabredet weiter behandeln, bis die bereits losgelösten 100 Blätter gesichert sind. Ich hoffe Ihnen hierüber bald nähere Mitteilungen machen zu können.

On May 20, 1932, Beatty wrote Thompson a summary of the situation, including a statement concerning Ibscher:

> Dr. Ibscher is just completing the work on the present pages he is doing which will probably take another six or nine months, and when he has finished this work I have promised to let him know whether I wish him to continue separating any more of the leaves.

On May 24, 1932, Thompson replied to Beatty:

> Thank you for your letter, which was forwarded to me here where I shall be nearly to the middle of next month. I have also heard from Dr. Gardiner with regard to the result of your conferences with him. It is quite satisfactory to me, but I note

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> that you write to me: "that he (Dr. Polotsky) would have the right for a certain period to publish an article on the pages (i.e. of the work he was lately doing) in a German publication." In your letter to Dr. Gardiner you said: "I am to cede to Dr. Pol. publication rights in the 50 leaves relating to the journeyings of Mani [*Homilies*], provided he produces his work within a reasonable time," defined as the end of June 1933. The difference is material and I have taken the latter as the more authoritative, and I have written to Dr. Polotsky that he has the right to publish the text of the short papyrus in question, with introduction, translation and notes, as an independent volume in Germany. That is what he was engaged to do in relation to your papyri before the matter came into my hands, with the difference that hitherto the stipulation was that the publication was to be in England. The difference now is that he is restricted to this short papyrus and the publication is to be in Germany. I hope this is quite clear; as also that he has no claim on you for future expenses either as to his work or the publication.

On May 30, 1932, Beatty acknowledged the correctness of Thompson's interpretation, which Thompson acknowledged on June 2, 1932. This seems to be the conclusion of this correspondence.

It would seem that Beatty's initial proposal of working through those with whom he already had good working relationships, Gardiner and Ibscher, was the procedure to which he had returned, after the relationship with Thompson repeatedly failed to become close, and Schmidt had come to be seen as a problem.

The conserved material has been partially published: Sir Chester Beatty's part of the *Homilies* by H. J. Polotsky in 1934; part two of Sir Chester Beatty's *Psalms* by C. R. C. Allberry in 1938; and the first part of the Berlin *Kephalaia* by H. J. Polotsky and Alexander Böhlig in double fascicles from 1935–1940, with fascicles 11–12 published by Böhlig in 1966, and the next page, 292, by Böhlig in 1985.[1]

1. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*; Allberry, *Manichaean Psalm-Book*, *Part 2* (the preface reported that fascicles 1–8 had appeared in 1935–1937); Polotsky and Böhlig, *Kephalaia*. Manichäische Handschriften der staatlichen Museen Berlin, Band 1, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften unter Leitung von Prof. Carl Schmidt, 1. Hälfte (Lieferungen 1–10), pages 1–102 by Polotsky, pages 103–244 by Böhlig; *Kephalaia.* Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin, Band 1, herausgegeben im Auftrag der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin; zweite Hälfte (only Lieferungen 11/12 = pages 244–92), by Böhlig; Böhlig, "Ja und Amen," 59–70.

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The unconserved book blocks belonging to Berlin are no longer extant, whereas three belonging to Sir Chester Beatty were saved and conserved after the war. The conserved leaves belonging to Berlin are largely extant (though the exact dividing line between what was ever conserved and what was still unconserved when the book blocks disappeared is not clear), and those belonging to Sir Chester Beatty are extant.

Some of the material transcribed by Polotsky but not published has been preserved, in the archives of the Chester Beatty Library, in the Crum Archives of the Griffith Institute at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and at the Academy of Sciences in Berlin. None has survived at the Egyptian Museum in East Berlin or in the possession of H. J. Polotsky.

A ring binder at the Chester Beatty Library has two leaves that have the appearance of title pages, one reading: "A. CHESTER BEATTY. MANICHAEAN PAPYRUS. CODEX A. Psalms (Hymnbook). CODEX B. Homilies (Discourses). Transcriptions and Translations. From Sir H. Thompson. July, 1931—May 18, 1932." The other reads similarly: "BERLIN MANICHAEAN PAPYRUS. Transcriptions and Translations. From Sir H. Thompson. July, 1931—May 18, 1932."

In the Chester Beatty Library are to be found transcriptions of the published pages 25, 26, 30, 34–40, 51, and 54 of the *Kephalaia* and of pages 8, 11, 12, 27–30, 44, 60, 69, 76, 78, 79, 82–84, 91, and 93 of the *Homilies*, as well as two pages of the *Kephalaia* published only in the initial essay by Schmidt and Polotsky, pages 375–76.[2] Also to be found are five still unpublished pages of the *Kephalaia*: pages 343, 344, 353, 354, and 366.

In the preface to *A Coptic Dictionary* (1939), W. E. Crum referred to "copies of the unpublished portions [of the Manichaica] kindly sent by Dr. Polotsky and Mr. Allberry" that he was able to include "only since reaching the letter P." Among the "Abbreviations" are hence "Mani 1 = copies of Chester Beatty's unpublished Manichaean papyri by H. J. Polotsky and H. Thompson" and "Mani 2 = copies of similar papyri at Berlin by Polotsky." This reference to unpublished material would not include, at first glance, what had been published by 1939, which

2. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten," 45, for the German translation and page 87 for the Coptic text from codex page 375; page 42 for the German translation and page 82 for the Coptic text of codex page 376. Schmidt and Polotsky did not give the page numeration in the codex.

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consisted (according to the "Abbreviations," of the Dublin *Homilies*) of Part 2 of the Dublin *Psalms*, and the Berlin *Kephalaia*, presumably only fascicles 1–8, since they were published in 1935–1937; the first volume was published in 1940 with the appearance of fascicles 9–10. Thus, it is conceivable that some Berlin materials that Crum cites as unpublished are among those that have been subsequently published, whereas Dublin material cited as unpublished would still be unpublished, unless it was so listed in fascicles of Crum's *Dictionary* that appeared before Allberry published in 1938. Though the materials identified in the Dublin Archives include no unpublished Dublin material, there are in the Oxford Archives unidentified Dublin transcripts, though one (II, 30, 1) has the note "precedes Allberry p. 1," which must mean it comes from the unpublished first part of the *Psalms* codex. Two psalms published in English translation by Søren Giversen as derived from the unpublished first part of the *Psalms* are also present in the Crum Archives (see below).

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— 5 —

The Effects of World War II

This remarkable story of the discovery, acquisition, and initial conservation and publication of the Manichaica of Medinet Madi has as its sequel an equally remarkable story of the Manichaean codices in the aftermath of World War II.

In a guidebook, Joachim Selim Karig, acting director of the Ägyptisches Museum in Charlottenburg, West Berlin, until 1989, described precautions taken in wartime as follows:[1]

Rudolf Anthes, the successor in office to Heinrich Schäfter from 1935 on, suffered a similar fate as well. [Similar to that of his predecessor's pupils: "Both were obliged, since they were not pleasing to the ruling powers, to give up their careers and later even their homeland."] Recognition was denied to him, for he had never hidden the fact when his personal political opinion stood in opposition to his superiors. He was not named director, though he had to bear the work and responsibility of the leader of the collection. Also the sad task rested on him of protecting the valuable objects of the collection from destruction by

Auch *Rudolf Anthes*, der Amtsnachfolger von Heinrich Schäfer seit 1935, erlitt ein ähnliches Schicksal. [Similar to that of his predecessor's pupils: "Beide mussten, da sie den herrschenden Machthabern nicht genehm waren, ihre Laufbahn, später sogar ihre Heimat verlassen."] Ihm, der nie ein Hehl daraus machte, wenn seine persönliche politische Meinung im Gegensatz zu seiner Obrigkeit stand, wurde die Anerkennung versagt. Er wurde nicht zum Direktor ernannt, obwohl er die Arbeit und Verantwortung des Sammlungsleiters zu tragen hatte. Ihm oblag auch die

1. Karig, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 73–74.

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war and bombing raids, of packing them up and carrying them to various places—an activity that he executed with the greatest conscientiousness in spite of all the impediments of the time.

traurige Aufgabe, die wertvollen Sammlungsgüter vor der Vernichtung durch Krieg und Bombenangriffe zu schützen, sie zu verpacken und an verschiedene Stellen abzutransportieren—eine Tätigkeit, die er mit der grössten Gewissenhaftigkeit, allen Behinderungen der Zeit zum Trotz, ausführte.

Jürgen Settgast, director of the Ägyptisches Museum in West Berlin, described the wartime and postwar period as follows:[2]

Catastrophe

Already soon after the Second World War broke out, steps began to be taken also in the Egyptian Museum to put in safekeeping the objects of the collection. Storage places which one thought could offer them better protection than the museum in the center of Berlin had to be located and made ready to receive them. But statues and pieces of architecture that weighed tons remained at their place in the museum and were covered with protective walls.

The most valuable works of art were brought to the concrete bunker [removed after the war] in the Zoo. Many outstanding exhibition pieces wandered into the deep cellar of the Neue Münze; others remained on the Museum Island where they could find protection in the basements of the museums.

Katastrophe

Schon bald nach Ausbruch des Zweiten Weltkrieges begannen auch im Ägyptischen Museum Massnahmen zur Sicherung des Sammlungsbestandes. Auslagerungsplätze, von denen man glaubte, dass sie besseren Schutz als das Museum im Berliner Zentrum bieten könnten, mussten gefunden und aufnahmebereit hergerichtet werden. Tonnenschwere Statuen und Architekturteile aber verblieben im Museum an Ort und Stelle und wurden mit Schutzmauern verkleidet.

Die wertvollsten Kunstwerke wurden in den Betonbunker [removed after the war] am Zoo gebracht. Viele hervorragende Ausstellungsstücke wanderten in den Tiefkeller der Neuen Münze, andere verblieben auf der Museumsinsel, konnten Schutz in den Kellern der Museen finden. Nahezu alle Objekte

2. Settgast, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 76. The hardback booklet published by the Ägyptisches Museum der Staatlichen Museen Preussicher Kulturbesitz, West Berlin, summarizes this report with more or less detail in three languages: Kniese and Robbel, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 8 (German); Fay, *Egyptian Museum Berlin*, 7–8 (English); and Alte, *Musée Égyptien Berlin*, 8 (French).

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Almost all the objects of these three storage places survived the war intact, were transported into the Soviet Union in 1945–1946, and then returned to Berlin in 1958. These objects comprise today the core of the Egyptian Museum in the eastern part of Berlin.

Immediately after the end of the war the objects stored in the bunker of Friedrichshain became the victims of a large fire. However, the Egyptian Museum suffered its most serious losses in the total destruction of the depots of art objects in the castle Sophienhof in the region of Mecklenburg, which was heavily fought over in April 1945. Here almost 100 crates of small works of art, well over 500 stone objects, and the bulk of the collection of wooden coffins and mummy coverings were destroyed. The Berlin Egyptian Museum is still today marked by this catastrophe. What was stored in a mine near Grabsleben west of the Elbe fell into the hands of British troops in April 1945. They gave the 34 crates with objects from the reserves emergency asylum in Celle. Incomparably more important was what was given over to the American troops that pushed forward into Thüringen: ninety-seven crates, among them the one with the green head and another with the bust of Nofretete. That the best of the Berlin collections was rescued for us is also thanks to unknown railroad workers, who simply ignored Goebbel's

dieser drei Auslagerungsstätten haben den Krieg heil überdauert, sind 1945/46 in die Sowjetunion transportiert worden und kehrten 1958 nach Berlin zurück. Diese Stücke sind heute Kern des Ägyptischen Museums im Ostteil Berlins.

Die im Bunker Friedrichshain ausgelagerten Objekte wurden unmittelbar nach Kriegsende Opfer eines Grossfeuers. Die schwersten Verluste aber erlitt das Ägyptische Museum durch die totale Vernichtung des Kunstgutlagers in Schloss Sophienhof im Mecklenburgischen, das im April 1945 heftig umkämpft war. Hier wurden fast 100 Kisten mit Kleinkunst, weit über 500 Steinwerke und der grösste Teil der Sammlung von Holzsärgen und Mumienhüllen vernichtet. Von dieser Katastrophe ist das Berliner Ägyptische Museum noch heute gezeichnet. Was in einem Bergwerk bei Grabsleben westlich der Elbe ausgelagert war, fiel britischen Truppen im April 1945 in die Hände. Diese liessen die 34 Kisten mit Magazinbeständen in Celle Notasyl finden. Ungleich wichtiger war, was den bis nach Thüringen hinein vorgestossenen amerikanischen Truppen übergeben wurde: 97 Kisten, darunter die mit dem Grünen Kopf und eine andere mit der Büste der Nofretete. Dass das Spitzenstück der Berliner Sammlungen uns erhalten blieb, verdanken wir auch unbekannten Eisenbahnern, die den Goebbels Befehl, die Nofretete aber Ostern 1945 wieder nach

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order to take Nofretete back to Berlin at Easter 1945. Instead, the Americans transferred the queen to Wiesbaden, where she resided for ten years before returning home to Berlin on June 23, 1956.

Berlin zu schaffen, einfach ignorierten. Statt dessen überführten die Amerikaner die Königin nach Wiesbaden, wo sie zehn Jahre residierte, bevor sie am 23. Juni 1956 nach Berlin heimkehrte.

Karig described the beginnings of the new Egyptian Museum just across the street from the castle in Charlottenburg:[3]

New Beginning

One hundred and thirty-one wooden crates in the ballroom of the former troop casino, which with its emergency roof above the burnt-out and naked walls did not look at all festive any longer—that was the heritage that one had to use. A director, a secretary, and a conservator was the staff that from February 1, 1962, on, was supposed to produce from this an Egyptian Museum. Just the sifting and identifying of the objects of the collection already produced great difficulties. All the files about them, the Inventory Books and other records were in East Berlin, unavailable for our use, whereas the inventory numbers on the pieces themselves were often illegibly rubbed off, destroyed. Much was not published, but even if it was—also a specialized library had first to be built up out of nothing.

Nonetheless, a suitable house had already been found, which seemed to be remarkably suited to house in its relatively small rooms a collection containing many pieces of small format as a result of

Neubegin

Einhundertundeinunddreissig Holzkisten im Festsaal des ehemaligen Landwehrkasinos, der mit seinem Notdach über den ausgebrannten and nackten Wänden keineswegs mehr festlich wirkte—das war das Erbe, das es zu nutzen galt; ein Direktor, eine Sekretärin und ein Restaurator die Mannschaft, die vom 1. Februar 1962 an hieraus ein Ägyptisches Museum schaffen sollte. Allein schon die Sichtung und Identifizierung der Sammlungsbestände brachte grosse Schwierigkeiten. Alle Akten hierüber, Inventarbücher und sonstigen Unterlagen waren in Ost-Berlin für uns nicht erreichbar, die Inventar-Nummern auf den Stücken selbst aber oftmals unleserlich abgerieben, zerstört. Vieles ist nicht publiziert worden, aber selbst wenn—auch eine Fachbibliothek musste erst aus dem Nichts aufgebaut werden.

Immerhin, ein passendes Haus war schon gefunden, das vorzüglich geeignet zu sein schien, in seinen relativ kleinen Räumen

3. Karig, *Ägpytisches Museum Beriln*, 78.

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the storage situation. The fact that the departure of the police from the eastern building constructed by Stüber was delayed by a further number of years was more nearly useful for the cause, since one could devote one's attention after all to the objects (now with the larger staff of colleagues), could restore them, and could also go at making the completely unstudied Papyrus Collection accessible.

eine Sammlung aufzunehmen, die, bedingt durch die Auslagerung, viele kleinformatige Stücke besitzt. Dass sich der Auszug der Polizei aus dem östlichen Stüberbau noch um Jahre verzögerte, war eher der Sache nach dienlich, konnte man sich doch, jetzt mit vergrössertem Mitarbeiterstab, den Denkmälern widmen und sie restaurieren und auch schon an die Erschliessung der noch gänzlich unbearbeiteten Papyrussammlung gehen.

In an earlier guidebook, Karl-Theodor Zauzich had described the situation of the papyrus collection as follows:[4]

In the Second World War the contents of the Papyrus Collection as well as of the Egyptian Museum had been stored in different parts of Germany to protect them from air raids. After the end of the war they remained in the relevant occupation zones, and, after some detours, were turned over to the papyrus collection of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin ([the former] DDR) and to the Ägyptisches Museum Preussischer Kulturbesitz. By the accident of the earlier storage, the papyri that reached West Berlin were almost exclusively those that had been worked on neither in terms of restoration nor in terms of scholarship, and still had no inventory numbers. By the very nature of the case, it was a matter of the papyrus leaves that were outwardly less appealing and especially of the

Im 2. Weltkrieg hat man die Bestände der Papyrussammlung sowie die des Ägyptischen Museums zu ihrem Schutz vor Bombenangriffen in verschiedene Teile Deutschlands ausgelagert. Nach Kriegsende verblieben sie in den jeweiligen Besatzungszonen und wurden nach einigen Umwegen der Papyrussammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (DDR) und dem Ägyptischen Museum Preussischer Kulturbesitz übergeben. Durch die Zufälligkeit der seinerzeitigen Auslagerung sind nach West-Berlin fast ausschliesslich jene Papyri gelangt, die weder restauratorisch noch wissenschaftlich bearbeitet waren und auch noch keine Inventarnummern hatten. Das waren naturgemäss die äusserlich weniger ansprechenden und vor allem die stärker fragmentierten

4. Zauzich, *Kunst der Welt in den Berliner Museen*, 11:

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more fragmentary leaves, which, however, precisely because of their long neglect, are especially interesting from a scholarly point of view.

Papyrusblätter, die allerdings gerade wegen ihrer langen Vernachlässigung wissenschaftlich besonders interessant sind.

The guidebook of the Museum Island museums in Berlin portrays as follows the situation during and after the war:[5]

[p. 7] Fascism and war had also brought the State Museums to the edge of complete destruction. The first and most important task in 1945 was hence to save from the ruins what had survived Fascistic barbarism and war. Here began the inestimable help of the Soviet Union, which carried the works of art to the museums of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, and other cities, cared for them there, and gave them over to our people, when suitable prerequisites for caring for them had been created.

[p. 22] Then at the beginning of the Fascistic predatory war in 1939, all museums were closed. It lasted 10 years until an exhibit could again take place on the Berlin Museum Island.

A large part of the holdings were packed and put in storage outside [the museums], in basements, in crypts of banks, in the large bunkers at the Zoo and in Friedrichshain, in warehouses and mines. Numerous works of art and valuable books were ruined in these storage places during the war.

[p. 7] Faschismus und Krieg hatten auch die Staatlichen Museen an den Rand der völligen Vernichtung gebracht. Die erste und wichtigste Aufgabe war deshalb 1945, das aus den Trümmern zu bergen, was faschistische Barbarei und Krieg überstanden hatte. Hier setzte die unschätzbare Hilfe der Sowjetunion ein, die die Kunstwerke in die Museen Moskaus, Leningrads, Kiews und anderer Städte überführte, sie dort pflegte und unserem Volk übergab, als entsprechende Voraussetzungen für ihre Unterbringung geschaffen waren.

[p. 22] Bei Beginn des faschistischen Raubkrieges 1939 wurden dann alle Museen geschlossen, es dauerte 10 Jahre, ehe wieder eine Ausstellung auf der Berliner Museumsinsel stattfinden konnte.

Ein grosser Teil der Bestände wurde verpackt und ausgelagert, in Keller, Tresore von Banken, in die grossen Bunker am Zoo und im Friedrichshain, in Gutshäuser und Bergwerke. Zahlreiches Kunstgut und wertvolle Bücher gingen in diesen Auslagerungsorten während des Krieges zugrunde.

5. *Schätze der Weltkultur* (Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR: Staatliche Museen zu Beriln, and Berlin-Information, 2. überarbeitete Auflage, 1981), "Vorwort," 7; and Hühns, "Zur Geschichte," 22, 23, 25.

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The Museum Island was destroyed on February 3, 1945, by a massive attack. This barbaric air attack lies on the same level as the destroying of Dresden ten days later.

Fascism and war had destroyed a locale of world culture

To the Soviet troops that in May 1945 freed Berlin, a terrifying picture presented itself. All the buildings of the Museum Island were destroyed, only a few rooms in the basement floors were usable, but they too were without windows and [p. 23] endangered by water and cold, since all the houses' roofs were missing. Given the high degree of destruction in Berlin, it was not possible to find room for the rescued works of art, especially those from the places of storage outside, where they could be protected from further disintegration and theft. For the fact that we today can again admire these unique treasures of culture we are indebted to the Soviet soldiers, scholars, and restorers. They took to heart, as in the case of the Dresden paintings, also the Berlin art treasures. They were put in safekeeping and brought into the Soviet Union, where they were cared for and conserved in the museums in Leningrad, Moscow, and Kiev, until the possibility existed again in Berlin to receive the collections and care for and exhibit them in a professional way.

The holdings of the State Museums that were stored in the occupation zones of the Western allies were brought together by

Die Museumsinsel wurde am 3. Februar 1945 durch einen Grossangriff zerstört. Dieser barbarische Luftangriff liegt mit der Zerstörung Dresdens, 10 Tage später, auf einer Linie.

Faschismus und Krieg hatten eine Stätte der Weltkultur vernichtet.

Den sowjetischen Truppen, die im Mai 1945 Berlin befreiten, bot sich ein erschreckendes Bild. Alle Gebäude der Museumsinsel waren zerstört, nur in den Sockelgeschossen waren einige Räume brauchbar, aber auch sie ohne Fenster und [p. 23] von Wasser und Kälte gefährdet, da allen Häusern die Dächer fehlten. Bei dem hohen Grad von Zerstörung in Berlin gab es keine Möglichkeit, für die geretteten Kunstwerke, vor allem aus den Auslagerungstätten, Raum zu finden, in denen sie vor weiterem Verfall und vor Diebstahl geschützt werden konnten. Dass wir heute diese einzigartigen Schätze der Kultur wieder bewundern können, verdanken wir den sowjetischen Soldaten, Wissenschaftlern und Restauratoren. Sie nahmen sich, wie der Dresdner Gemälde, auch der Berliner Kunstschätze an. Sie wurden sichergestellt und in die Sowjetunion gebracht, wo sie in den Museen in Leningrad, Moskau und Kiew gepflegt und konserviert wurden, bis in Berlin wieder die Möglichkeit bestand, die Sammlungen aufzunehmen, sachkundig zu betreuen und auszustellen.

Die in den Besatzungszonen der westlichen Alliierten untergebrachten Bestände der Staatlichen Museen wurden von den Besatzungstruppen zunächst in Wiesbaden und Celle

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the occupation troops at first in Wiesbaden and Celle, and later taken to West Berlin, where they until today are denied to the State Museums as their owner . . .

[p. 25] In 1958 the Soviet Union gave over to the [former] DDR the rest of the pieces from the collections of the museums that had been put in safe keeping in 1945. In several hundred railroad cars over a million museum objects arrived in Berlin, carefully folded in silk paper, wrapped in waxed paper and in upholstered boxes, along with the documentation that belonged with them. In the State Museums these treasures were then given back to the owners. Among them, holdings of the gallery of paintings and of the collection of sculptures, of the cabinet of etchings, the Pergamon frieze and many unique works, which since then are deposited and exhibited on the Museum Island. Tens of thousands of visitors saw at that time the exhibition "Treasures of World Culture Saved by the Soviet Union." A friendly, decades-long collaboration with the museums in Moscow and Leningrad dates from this time, to which we are indebted for many interesting exhibits and many a stimulus for our work.

zusammengeführt und später nach Westberlin gebracht, wo sie bis heute den Staatlichen Museen als ihrem Eigentümer vorenthalten werden . . .

[p. 25] 1958 übergab die Sowjetunion die übrigen 1945 sichergestellten Stücke aus den Sammlungen der Museen an die DDR. In mehreren hundert Eisenbahnwagen trafen über eine Million Museumsexponate in Berlin ein; sorgsam in Seidenpapier gehüllt, in Wachstuch eingeschlagen und in gepolsterten Kisten, zusammen mit der dazugehörigen Dokumentation. In den Staatlichen Museen wurden diese Schätze dann den Eigentümern zurückgegeben. Unter ihnen Bestände der Gemäldegalerie und der Skulpturensammlung, des Kupferstichkabinetts, der Fries von Pergamon und viele einmalige Werke, die seitdem auf der Museumsinsel deponiert und ausgestellt werden. Zehntausende von Besuchern haben damals die Ausstellung "Schätze der Weltkultur von der Sowjetunion gerettet" gesehen. Von dieser Zeit an datiert nun eine schon Jahrzehnte währende freundschaftliche Zusammenarbeit mit den Museen in Moskau und Leningrad, denen wir viele interessante Ausstellungen und manche Anregungen für unsere Arbeit verdanken.

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In a small guidebook of the Ägyptisches Museum of Berlin, Wolfgang Müller has provided, as follows, more specific information about the papyrus collection:[6]

At the end of the war in 1945, the New Museum was a ruin. Parts of the collection stored outside and taken over by the West's occupation troops are today unlawfully in (West) Berlin and have not yet been given back to their original place of storage on the Museum Island. Many works of art saved in destroyed Berlin were taken for safekeeping to the Soviet Union. Already in 1953, after years of rebuilding, the first Egyptian exhibit could be opened on the Museum Island. After the return of the art holdings preserved in the Soviet Union, the Egyptian Museum had been showing since 1959 in the Bode Museum a large number of works of art of the highest quality, from the early period down to the Hellenistic age, papyrus manuscripts, selected finds from daily life, and mummies. This chronologically arranged exhibit was enlarged in 1964 with new rooms, and since 1973 has been basically rearranged.

Bei Kriegsende 1945 war das Neue Museum eine Ruine. Ausgelagerte and von den westlichen Besatzungstruppen übernommene Sammlungsteile befinden sich heute widerrechtlich in Berlin [West] und sind noch nicht an ihren ursprünglichen Aufbewahrungsort auf der Museumsinsel zurückgegeben worden. Viele im zerstörten Berlin gerettete Kunstwerke wurden zur Sicherung in die Sowjetunion überführt. Nach Jahren des Aufbaus konnte bereits 1953 auf der Museumsinsel die erste ägyptische Ausstellung eröffnet werden. Nach Übergabe des in der Sowjetunion bewahrten Kunstbesitzes zeigt das Ägyptische Museum seit 1959 im Bode-Museum eine grosse Zahl von Kunstwerken ersten Ranges von der Frühzeit bis zum Hellenismus, Papyrushandschriften, ausgewählte Funde aus dem täglichen Leben und Mumien. Diese chronologisch aufgebaute Ausstellung wurde 1964 durch neue Räume erweitert und seit 1973 grundlegend umgestaltet.

In 1954 Rolf Ibscher narrated, as follows, the course of events during the war, relative to the Manichaean codices:[7]

6. Müller, "Einleitung," 6.
7. Ibscher, Rolf. "Wiederaufnahme," 3.

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After the passing of my father on May 26, 1943, I took the Manichaean papyrus books for reasons of security into the repository, safe from bombs, that had received the papyri of the Berlin Museums. But after July 20, 1944, this place too did not seem to me safe enough, especially since the remainder of the not yet conserved Mani books of Sir Chester Beatty was in Berlin, and I removed them, together with a Berlin manuscript, to Bavaria, into the house of my father-in-law in the country. Thence, after the war, the parts belonging to Chester Beatty returned to London.

The Berlin manuscript remained in Bavaria.

Nach dem am 26. Mai 1943 erfolgten Ableben meines Vaters brachte ich die Mani-chäischen Papyrusbücher aus Sicherheitsgründen in das bombensichere Verliess, das die Papyri der Berliner Museen aufgenommen hatte. Aber nach dem 20. Juli 1944 erschien mir auch dieser Platz nicht mehr sicker genug, besonders, da ja der Rest der noch nicht aufgearbeiteten Manibücher von Sir Chester Beatty in Berlin war, und ich entführte diese zusammen mit einer Berliner Handschrift nach Bayern in das Haus meines Schwiegervaters auf dem Lande. Dort kehrten nach Kriegsende die Teile des Chester Beatty-Besitzes nach London zurück.

Die Berliner Handschrift blieb in Bayern.

Alexander Böhlig has summarized what happened to the Manichaean codices as follows:[8]

The war brought the thriving editorial activity to an abrupt end. Besides, the air attacks brought with them an unusual endangering of the manuscript material. As a result, one went at moving them outside. The glassed pieces of the Chester Beatty collection were already by and large in London. The Berlin collection was, to the extent it was glassed, brought into one of the anti-aircraft towers at the Zoo train station, together with the not-yet-restored Mani manuscripts. In fact, at that time there were in the Berlin Papyrus Collection the not yet restored pieces from both the English and

Der Krieg machte der regen Editionstätigkeit ein jähes Ende. Die Luftangriffe brachten ausserdem eine ausserordentliche Gefährdung für das Handschriftenmaterial mit sich. Infolgedessen machte man sich an die Auslagerung. Die verglasten Stücke der Chester-Beatty-Sammlung waren bereits im wesentlichen in London. Die Berliner Sammlung wurde, soweit sie verglast war, in einen der Flaktürme am Bahnhof Zoo gebracht, zusammen mit den noch nicht restaurierten Mani-Handschriften; es befanden sich damals nämlich die noch nicht restaurierten Stücke

8. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 180–81.

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the German holdings. Rolf Ibscher had already in 1940 taken the place of his father, who then died in 1943. Concern for the safekeeping of the manuscripts moved him, with the approval of General Director Kümmel, in November 1944 to bring the remainder of Sir Chester Beatty's Codices A and C (the *Psalms* and the *Kephalaia*), as well as a further manuscript, to Schondorf on the Ammers Lake in Upper Bavaria, into the house of his father-in-law. There Sir Chester Beatty had the parts of the Codices A and C picked up in the year 1946. The Manichaean texts that had been brought into the USSR, in connection with the action of the Soviet armed forces to make things secure, were given back to Berlin in the year 1958.

sowohl aus englischem wie aus deutschem Besitz in der Berliner Papyrussammlung. Die Sorge um die Sicherung der Handschriften bewog Dr. Rolf Ibscher, der schon 1940 an die Stelle seines dann 1943 verstorbenen Vaters getreten war, mit Genehmigung von Generaldirektor Kümmel im November 1944 die Sir Chester Beatty gehörigen Reste der Codices A und C (Psalmbuch und Kephalaia) sowie eine weitere Handschrift nach Schondorf am Ammersee in Oberbayern in das Haus seines Schwiegervaters zu bringen. Dort liess Sir Chester Beatty die Teile der Codices A und C im Jahre 1946 abholen. Die bei der Sicherstellungsaktion der sowjetischen Streitkräfte in die UdSSR geschafften manichäischen Texte wurden im Jahre 1958 nach Berlin zurückgegeben.

Rolf Ibscher had reported in 1955 about the fate of Sir Chester Beatty's codices:[9]

which on my own responsibility I had brought out of the danger zone of Berlin at the end of 1944 for the final phase of the war together with a Berlin manuscript (Codex No. 15998 [actually Sir Chester Beatty's *Synaxeis* Codex B] on the shrewd advise of my father-in-law, the publisher Wolf Henry Doering, into his secure house on the quiet Ammer Lake in Schondorf, a good hour from Munich.

die ich Ende 1944 auf den klugen Rat meines Schwiegervaters, des Verlegers Wolf Henry Doering, zusammen mit einer Berliner Handschrift (Codex Nr. 15998 [actually Sir Chester Beatty's *Synaxeis* Codex B]) auf eigene Verantwortung aus der Gefahrenzone Berlins für die Endphase des Krieges in sein sicheres Haus am stillen Ammersee in Schondorf, eine gute Stunde von München entfernt, gebracht hatte.

9. Ibscher, Rolf, "Das Konservierungswerk," 3.

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Ibscher's phrase, "on my own responsibility," presents a different emphasis from Böhlig's phrase, "with the approval of General Director Kümmel." In any case, Kümmel would have difficulty retaining responsibility for a codex of the Berlin Papyrus Collection that was far away in Bavaria. If Kümmel had been informed of the plan to remove the codices of Sir Chester Beatty, he could well have taken the position that these materials were not formally under his control, hence he would not like to bear the responsibility for them, either in war-torn Berlin or elsewhere, and Ibscher could assume that responsibility and could act according to his own discretion. But it is hard to see how Kümmel could have formally approved of hiding Berlin Museum and Papyrus Collection holdings quite unofficially in Schondorf and at the invitation of a person neither on the museum staff nor otherwise officially involved in the safekeeping of the Museum's holdings.

Böhlig has similarly interpreted this rescue operation:[10]

Rolf Ibscher had the authorization from General Director Kümmel to get the Dublin material from the anti-aircraft tower and take it to Bavaria. He did this in the company of the Museum worker P. Seidel, who has since died. In the process the idea came to him that it would perhaps be useful, in case worst came to worst, also to take along one of the Berlin codices. This decision was, as far as I know, spontaneous. That it was worth it, is shown by the success. These things remained completely preserved, in contrast to what	Rolf Ibscher hatte von Generaldirektor Kümmel die Genehmigung, die Dubliner Materialien aus dem Flakturm zu holen und nach Bayern zu bringen. Er tat das in Begleitung des inzwischen verstorbenen Museumsarbeiters P. Seidel. Dabei kam ihm der Gedanke, es wäre vielleicht nützlich für den Notfall, auch einen der Berliner Codices mitzunehmen. Dieser Entschluss war meines Wissens spontan. Dass es sich gelohnt hat, zeigt der Erfolg. Diese Dinge blieben vollständig erhalten im

10. Böhlig, in a letter of February 10, 1986. For his concluding comment he refers to Søren Giversen's paper, "The Unedited Chester Beatty Mani Texts," 371, where Giversen listed the following extant material as belonging to the Chester Beatty Library: "The whole CB collection consists of somewhat 1040 pages of which only 334 have been published so far. I said somewhat 1040 pages—the exact number depends on how some very fragmented pages or remnants of pages are counted. These 1040 pages are: A) Psalmbook 546 pages, B) Unidentified codex 20 pages, C) 'Kephalaia' 358 pages, D) Homilies 98 pages, E) Addenda et Varia 20 pages." This makes a total of 1048 pages, of which he lists 334 as published, leaving 714 yet to be published.

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the Soviets had "saved." Whether something was then confused when turned over to the emissaries of Chester Beatty, so that in the end result a Berlin part came to

Gegensatz zu dem, was die Sowjets "gerettet" haben. Ob dann bei der übergabe an die Abgesandten von Chester Beatty etwas verwechselt worden ist, so dass im Endeffekt

Rolf Ibscher described to Sir Chester Beatty the rescue operation in his broken English as follows:[11]

> The papyri were removed according to my arrangement from the bomb proof shelter (Zoo Bunker) in 1944 by my assistant at the Museum, Mr. Seidel, but Codex B [*Synaxeis*], sorry to say, seems to have been left behind. The reason being that the papyri had to be removed secretly in a frantic hurry, thus you can imagine how glad I was, when Mr. Seidel got past the SS-Guards with the invaluable little wooden box.
>
> This wooden box contained one Berlin manuscript [actually Sir Chester Beatty's Codex B, the *Synaxeis*] (for which I had specially asked Mr. Seidel) to make certain, that at l[e]ast part of the Berlin collection also was saved, in addition those papyri which reached you in London in 1947 after Dr. Böhlig had separated them at Schondorf.
>
> Thus Codex B [actually the Berlin Codex P^{15998}, the *Letters*], together with 3 Berlin manuscripts [P^{15996}, P^{15997}, P^{15999}] and all other glazed Berlin Manichaean Papyri of the Museum [P^{15995} and leaves of P^{15996}, P^{15997}, P^{15998}] were taken to Russia.

On November 1, 1960, I. E. S. Edwards of the British Museum's Department of Egyptian Antiquities wrote to Rudolf Anthes, then in Philadelphia, who had been assistant keeper of the Egyptian Department of the Berlin Museums in 1939, inquiring about the whereabouts of Beatty's papyri:

> I should like to know in particular whether there were many pages or few, and also whether Hugo Ibscher would have worked on them in the Museum or at home.

On November 9, 1960, Edwards wrote to R. J. Hayes, then head of the Chester Beatty Library:

> I have had a reply from Anthes who confirms what Böhlig says about Rolf Ibscher taking the Chester Beatty material to

11. Rolf Ibscher in a letter of October 6, 1955, to Sir Chester Beatty.

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> Schondorf when the Flakturm was bombed (p. 5 [of the transcript of Böhlig's paper]).

In the archives of the Chester Beatty Library there is a black loose-leaf folder titled "Papyrus. Biblical Manichaean Hieratic. Greek etc. General Catalogue." In the section entitled "Manichaean Pap." there is a note dated May 1940:

> Mr. Allberry said that Dr. Ibscher had the remainder of Mr. Beatty's papyrus at his house in the country, at Klein Machnow (*see* letter from Allberry).

Böhlig has subsequently reported similarly concerning half-conserved *Kephalaia* material belonging to Berlin:[12]

Of the material in Berlin only a very small part has always remained in Berlin. It was the last 20 leaves of the Berlin *Kephalaia* book. They were conserved by Rolf Ibscher in the years 1952 and 1953.	Von dem in Berlin befindlichen Material war nur der kleinste Teil immer in Berlin geblieben; es waren die letzten 20 Blätter des Berliner Kephalaiabuches; sie wurden von Rolf Ibscher in den Jahren 1952 and 1953 konserviert.

Rolf Ibscher then reported similarly about the half-conserved remainder of the Berlin *Kephalaia*:[13]

The remains of the Berlin *Kephalaia* had escaped destruction by being stored in my house after 1945. The degree of difficulty in conserving them, which I overcame between 1951 and 1955, was worse than that which the Chester Beatty papyri displayed.	Der Schwierigkeitsgrad der Konservierung für die Reste der Berliner Kephalaia, die der Vernichtung durch die Aufbewahrung in meinem Haus nach 1945 entgangen waren und die ich zwischen 1951 und 1955 bewältigte, war schlimmer als ihn die Chester Beatty Papyri aufwiesen.

It would seem probable that what was stored in his house after 1945 had already been stored in his house during the war, a conjecture confirmed by Böhlig:[14]

12. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 182.
13. Rolf Ibscher, "Über den Stand," 52.
14. Böhlig, in a letter of February 10, 1986, to the author.

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If half-conserved leaves of the Berlin *Kephalaia*, the material belonging to Sir Chester Beatty, and perhaps other book blocks or half-conserved leaves had been taken to the Ibscher home to be worked on there, it is unclear what of this material Rolf Ibscher took to the Zoo Bunker after his father's death of on May 26, 1943. At least some material remained in the Ibscher home throughout the war (cf. Böhlig's comment, "only a very small part," "the last 20 leaves of the Berlin *Kephalaia* book"). P[15999], referred to pejoratively as the wig, was apparently classified by itself, in that it was put on display as hopeless rather than as classified with the other Manichaean codices to be conserved. Thus it may well not have been in the Ibscher home for conservation. If Hugo Ibscher still worked some days in the museum, some unconserved or half-conserved material may have been still there for him to work on. Thus, it is indeterminate just what material stayed in Berlin throughout the war and postwar periods (or what was taken from the

Why did Rolf Ibscher also have material at home? He, like his father, always had material at home, since his father at his sixtieth birthday had received the right to work at home three days a week. When the papyri came into the Zoo bunker, the material on which he was working naturally remained in Ibscher's residence. That bombs would fall in the region of his residence—Kleinmachnow is incidentally not part of Berlin, but rather belongs to the district of Potsdam—was not exactly probable and in fact did not happen.

Warum Rolf Ibscher auch zuhause Material hatte? Er hatte wie sein Vater immer Material zuhause, weil sein Vater bei seinem 60. Geburtstag das Recht erhalten hatte, 3 Tage der Woche zuhause zu arbeiten. Als die Papyri in den Zoobunker kamen, blieb natürlich das Material in Ibschers Wohnung, an dem er arbeitete. Dass in die Gegend seiner Wohnung (Kleinmachnow ist übrigens kein Teil von Berlin, sondern gehört zum Bezirk Potsdam) Bomben fallen würden, war nicht gerade wahrscheinlich und ist ja auch nicht geschehen.

Ibscher home in Kleinmachnow to Schondorf on the Ammer Lake), what material went to the Zoo bunker and from there to Schondorf (no doubt via the Ibscher home in Kleinmachnow), and what material went to the Zoo bunker and from there to Leningrad (or at least in the direction of Leningrad) but did not return to Berlin in 1958. The major losses were the unconserved book blocks of P[15997], P[15998], and P[15999].

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One can only postulate that all the conserved leaves of P15997 and P15998 and all the half-conserved leaves of P15996 and P15998 are all accounted for; four conserved leaves of P15996 do seem to be missing (see below).

Michel Tardieu describes the loss of the bulk of P15997 and P15998 as "detruit ou perdu durant la seconde guerre mondiale" ["destroyed or lost during the second world war."][15] Apparently, there was no loss during the war but only after the war.

Rolf Ibscher described what happened to the material taken to Leningrad:[16]

On August 29, 1960, Otto Firchow, director of the Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection in East Berlin, responded as follows to an inquiry about Beatty's codices from I. E. S. Edwards of the British Museum's Department of Egyptian Antiquities (according to the English translation preserved in the Chester Beatty Library archives):

> The papyri which Sir Chester Beatty sent to Dr. Ibscher shortly before the war were taken by the Russians to Leningrad together with the Berlin collection of papyri. I am however glad to be able to tell you that they were among those which came back safely. Only I and my wife, who has hitherto been Conservator of Papyri in the Museum, knew about their existence. To return them at the present moment would probably require considerable diplomatic intervention on the part of the British Foreign Office with the East German Government.
>
> I myself have been compelled to surrender during the past few days under political and personal pressure the Direction of the Berlin Musuem, Egyptian Department, and to flee to West Berlin. I have used this opportunity to take the Mani Papyri with me. In the next few days I will hand them over to the British Military Authorities. I consider that in this way this valuable material will eventually reach your hands.

Three Berlin codices [the unconserved book blocks of P15997, P15998, and P15999] and Codex B of Sir Chester Beatty [which in fact did not go into "exile"] have not reemerged thus far after the return of the Berlin papyrus col-	Drei Berliner Codices [the unconserved book blocks of P15997, P15998, and P15999] und Codex B von Sir Chester Beatty [which in fact did not go into "exile"] tauchten bisher nach Rückführung der Berliner Papyrussammlung aus dem Exil

15. Tardieu, "Les Manichéens en Égypte," 6.
16. Rolf Ibscher, "Mani und kein Ende," 220.

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lection from exile. In the case of such extensive objects something can always be overlooked and still be peacefully slumbering somewhere, or these very brittle codices crumbled into dust when transported, before they could be registered into the very conscientious protection with the very exactly executed salvage lists. Hence there are certainly hopes, and miracles are always taking place at all times, if one believes in them. I spoke about this with Professors Guber and Diakonov in 1954 in Cambridge and later also with Prof. Struve in Moscow in 1960.

noch nicht wieder auf. Bei so umfänglichen Objekten kann immer etwas übersehen werden und noch friedlich irgendwo schlummern, oder diese sehr mürben Codices sind beim Abtransport zerstäubt, bevor sie noch in die sehr gewissenhafte Obhut mit den sehr genau geführten Bergungslisten eingetragen werden konnten. Es bestehen also noch durchaus Hoffnungen, und Wunder geschehen immer zu allen Zeiten, wenn man an sie glaubt. Ich sprach darüber mit den Professoren Guber und Diakonov 1954 in Cambridge und später auch mit Prof. Struve in Moskau, 1960.

In September 1960 Edwards reported this to Beatty:

> Clearly Dr. Firchow found himself in an awkward position. I am sure that he will not part with the papyri unless he is satisfied that the military authorities will convey them safely, but there is always the risk that they will not agree to help. On the whole I should feel happier if he had left them in the Museum and I could have started negotiations with the Foreign Office. I am writing to him to ask him to let me know how matters stand at present and I shall also ask him to hold his hand unless he is absolutely sure that the military authorities can be trusted to deliver them safely. If he runs into difficulties I shall suggest that he takes them to Professor Grapow an old friend of mine in the Berlin Acadamy. We can then review the courses open to us.

The same day Edwards also wrote to R. J. Hayes, honorary director of the Chester Beatty Library:

> I have written to Sir Chester to let him know that the missing portion of his Mani codex has been traced in the Berlin Museum . . .
>
> As you will see events have taken a rather disconcerting turn and I shall write immediately to Firchow and urge him

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> to exercise the greatest care. Personally, I mistrust military authorities. However, it is quite clear that he cannot now return the papyri to the Museum and, if he runs into difficulties, I think his best course will be to deposit them with Grapow in the Berlin Academy. If there were any alternative I should not have chosen him, although I have known him for twenty-five years and I saw him last month in Moscow, but it is rather a case of faute de mieux [lack of better].

The Berlin Academy was in the Soviet sector, where Firchow probably would not have wanted to return to visit Grapow. Nor would Grapow have felt comfortable going to West Berlin to bring back to the Academy or to the Museum (also in East Berlin) what Firchow had secretly carried to West Berlin. There was a customs check between sectors, even if the wall became official only on August 13, 1961.

On September 15, 1960, Hayes replied to Edwards:

> It is great news about the Mani Papyri. I hope they will come through safely, but I would feel they were safer in British than in any German hands. Do you think I should ask a man I know in M. I. 5 to hold a watching brief? . . .
>
> Is the Russian returned material between glass or an unopened roll?

On September 20, 1960, Edwards replied to Hayes:

> I do not know whether the Russian returned material is between glass or if it is still in a pack. I saw Ibscher senior working on one pack when I was in Berlin in 1934, but I think that one belonged to the Berlin Museum. It was a large pack and must have contained at least 100 sheets. I cannot imagine that Firchow has removed as much glass as that from the Museum. My guess is therefore that it is still unglazed, but I may be wrong . . .
>
> The part remaining in Berlin is an unknown quantity, except to Firchow.
>
> Perhaps it would be better to leave an approach to your friend in M. I. 5 until we know exactly what we can ask him to do.

On September 26, 1960, Edwards wrote again to Hayes:

> I am delighted to be able to tell you that I have heard from Firchow that he has handed what he describes as "das Paket mit den Mani-Papyri" ["the packet with the Mani papyri"] to the British consul in Berlin.

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> I am getting in touch with him and I hope we shall have the papyri safely here very soon. [An appended hand-written note: "The Bag Room at the F{oreign}.O{ffice}. reports that nothing has yet arrived."] Since he refers to a packet it seems to me unlikely that the papyri are already between glass.

On October 21, 1960, Edwards wrote again to Hayes:

> I heard yesterday that the Berlin Mani package will be arriving at London Airport next Sunday. I shall go and meet the bearer myself and I hope to be able to write on Monday saying that it has arrived safely.

On October 26, 1960, Edwards wrote to Beatty with a copy to Hayes:

> I am writing to let you know the result of our quest for the Mani papyri in Berlin.
>
> The operation, which I now realise is only the first round, did not turn out to be much of a success, I am sorry to say. Our Consul-General in Berlin and the Foreign Office were most helpful. The package was brought by a member of the diplomatic staff and I took delivery at London Airport last Sunday. By previous arrangement with the Customs it was opened at the Museum on Monday.
>
> Up to that point everything seemed to be running our way, but alas, on opening the package we found it contained only blank leaves of papyrus and a few inscribed fragments. It was most disappointing. [Papyrus Conservator Stanley] Baker will deal with the pages, but they will not yield very much, I fear.
>
> My guess is that we have received no more than the outermost leaves which Dr. Ibscher probably abstracted from the main body of the codex. The latter is, I suspect, still in Berlin and was overlooked by our friend, Dr. Firchow. I have written to him at the refugee camp in Hamburg, where he is now domiciled, and have told him my suspicions. Perhaps he will be able to suggest an explanation.
>
> For the present I feel the only course is to lie low and see who is appointed to the Berlin Museum as Dr. Firchow's successor. Obviously we do not want to do anything to embarrass either Dr. Firchow or the Consul-General. If the new Keeper of the Berlin Museum is someone whom I know and feel I can trust I can take up the problem anew without reference to the first attempt. I shall, however, have a better idea of what can be done when I have heard from Dr. Firchow whether he has left my letters in the files of the Museum.

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> It is very sad that a quest which looked so promising should have suffered such an anticlimax, but I have not lost hope that we shall succeed in the end. However, I wish I could report that we had done so already.

On October 28, 1960, Firchow wrote Edwards; a translation of this letter is in the archives of the Chester Beatty Library:

> I received your letter with real dismay. I am so sorry that the important papyri have not reached you, but only material of relatively little value. Unfortunately, I did not know anything about the circumstances in which Sir Chester Beatty handed over the papyri to Dr. Hugo Ibscher, and in consequence, I supposed that they consisted only of those which my wife and I found in the packet. We alone have examined the packet—very hastily—since it was packed by Dr. Ibscher. Under the prevailing conditions we were unable to make a thorough examination of such fragmentary material; I did however recognize that it consisted of Mani fragments and I believed that I had found confirmation of this identification in your letter. We last saw the papyri in the office of the British Council General, Mr. Weymes. I can only remember one hieratic fragment.
>
> I agree that the material was not substantial and I hoped that the most important part had already been mounted by Ibscher before the war and had been sent back to Sir Chester Beatty. You are certainly right in supposing that the packet contained only odds and ends. But I am certain that the main body (of the papyri) is *not* in Berlin.
>
> In my opinion the papyri ought to be found with Dr. Rolf Ibscher probably already mounted and glazed. Dr. Hugo Ibscher used to carry out this kind of work in his own home. If I were still in Berlin, or if I had known about the matter a few months ago, I could have offered you my help. I should suggest that you get in touch with Rolf Ibscher, who has no connection with the Berlin Museum. Let me say again that the papyri cannot be in the Berlin Museum but must have been in Hugo Ibscher's private possession.
>
> While writing this letter my wife has told me that she actually remembered Dr. Ibscher speaking to her once about material belonging to Sir Chester Beatty which he had in his possession.
>
> It would certainly be better not to mention your personal correspondence with me. I have kept your letter among my personal papers. I sincerely hope that the affair will soon be satisfactorily settled. Please keep me in touch with developments.

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Edwards wrote on November 1, 1960, to Hayes and Beatty in support of Rolf Ibscher's ignorance in the matter. To Hayes he wrote:

> I cannot myself think that Rolf Ibscher could have known anything about these papyri. He was working for Sir Chester Beatty for about four years and he would surely have told one of us if he had known of their existence. I feel we should regard him as a last resource.

To Beatty he wrote:

> Personally I do not think Rolf Ibscher would have kept quiet about these papyri if they had been in his possession when he was working for you. So, for the present anyhow, I do not intend to follow Firchow's advice to write to Rolf Ibscher. Instead I am writing to-day to Dr. Rudolf Anthes in Philadelphia and to Dr. [Günther] Roeder in Hildesheim to ask them if they can tell me anything helpful. Dr. Roeder was the Keeper of the Egyptian Department in the Berlin Museum when the war broke out and Dr. Anthes was Assistant Keeper. They are both good friends of mine and I am sure they will tell me all they know. I shall write again when I have heard from them.
>
> What I find so perplexing at present is to understand why Hugo Ibscher should have put the odds and ends in a packet in the Berlin Museum and have kept the main body of the papyri in his home. I should have thought that he would have taken all of them to the Museum when the war broke out.
>
> One difficulty, of course, is that we do not know exactly what we are looking for. Until the pages had been mounted no one could know anything about the contents. Another problem is the bulk of the missing material; was it large or small?

In the letter to Roeder the same day he explained:

> Some weeks ago Sir Chester Beatty happened to tell me that he had sent some of his Mani codex before the war to Dr. Hugo Ibscher in Berlin for mounting between glass. I told him that I knew that the Berlin papyri were back in the Museum and I promised to write to Dr. Firchow and ask whether the portions of Mani in question had come to light. The result of the inquiry was not satisfactory and Dr. Firchow has, he tells me, now left the Museum and Berlin.
>
> I wonder whether you have any recollection of having seen these papyri at any stage either in Dr. Ibscher's possession or in the Museum. It is possible that Dr. Ibscher had them in his home and if so the only one who could help would be Rolf

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> Ibscher. If possible, however, I do not want Rolf Ibscher to be involved in this matter because he and Sir Chester Beatty have had some differences over the mounting of the Mani papyri which were not sent to Dr. Hugo Ibscher.
>
> I realize that Dr. Ibscher probably received these papyri in the days when you were still at Hildesheim, but perhaps he told you something about them at the beginning of the war which would help now in recovering them.

In the letter to Anthes the same day he explained:

> Some time before the war Sir Chester Beatty sent to the Berlin Museum some of his Mani papyri for Dr. Hugo Ibscher to disentangle and to mount. In an attempt to trace these papyri I wrote to Firchow who was most helpful and sent me what he could find in Berlin, but it amounted to no more than a few blank pages and some fragments.
>
> As you know, Firchow has left the Museum and gone to Western Germany so he can do no more. However he says that he is certain that there are no more of Sir Chester's Mani papyri in the Museum.
>
> This is my question. Do you remember anything about these papyri? I should like to know in particular whether there were many pages or a few, and also whether Hugo Ibscher would have worked on them in the Museum or at home.
>
> I must mention that I think it would perhaps be a disservice to Firchow to let his part in this matter be known; I am sure you will regard it as confidential. I must also add that—at least at present—I do not want Rolf Ibscher to know that I am trying to trace these documents. He has been rather troublesome to Sir Chester Beatty and I am not very sure that I can count on his good will.

On November 9, 1960, Edwards again wrote Hayes his confidence in Rolf Ibscher:

> However, it does not seem likely that Rolf Ibscher would be working consciously on Chester Beatty material, even in Berlin, without obtaining Sir Chester's consent.
>
> I have a reply from Anthes who confirms what Böhlig says about Rolf Ibscher taking the Chester Beatty material to Schondorf when the Flakturm was bombed (p. 5 [of the typescript of Böhlig's Moscow speech]).

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On November 14, 1960, Hayes wrote Edwards:

> I also enclose another page of typescript (keep it also) that seems to me to be of great significance. There are so many mistakes in spelling in the German that I think it must be something Miss McGilligan typed from a manuscript note by Ibscher. I found it with the 13 leaves of Codex B [*Synaxeis*]. The words "Hauptmasse mit ca. 200 Blättern in Russland" ["the main mass with about 200 leaves in Russia"] seem to be just what we are seeking.

In 1957 and again in 1960, in the paper circulating among the English, Böhlig had identified the book block in Schondorf as the *Synaxeis* belonging to Beatty, but the English did not locate this identification. Thus, the search for the missing codex was gradually given up. I drew the attention of the staff of the Chester Beatty Library to this situation in 1985 and again in 1988.

Böhlig has provided further details about the material during and after the war:[17]

They were stored splendidly and securely in the anti-aircraft tower at the Zoo train station and, just before the division of Berlin went into effect, were taken by the Soviets quickly from the Zoo (English Sector!) to Friedrichsfelde Castle in the Russian part and were then put in storage in the USSR. And in this process not only papyri, but also other things got lost. Hence Warsaw too has its Mani leaves—someone found along the railroad tracks glassed papyrus leaves that had fallen out from the transport into the USSR.	Sie waren im Flakturm am Bahnhof Zoo glänzend und sicher aufbewahrt und wurden ganz kurz vor Inkrafttreten der Teilung Berlins von den Sowjets schnell vom Zoo (englischer Sektor!) ins Schloss Friedrichsfelde im russischen Teil gebracht und dann in die UdSSR ausgelagert. Und dabei sind nicht nur Papyri, sondern auch andere Dinge verlorengegangen. Daher hat auch Warschau seine Mani-Blätter (man hat an der Bahnstrecke verglaste Papyrusblätter gefunden, die aus dem Transport in die UdSSR herausgefallen waren).

Friedrichsfelde Schloss is a small castle, privately owned until 1945. Dr. sc. Wolfgang Müller, director emeritus of the Egyptian Museum and of the Papyrus Collection in East Berlin, has reported

17. Böhlig in a letter of February 5, 1986.

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that Rolf Ibscher told him that a few papyri were found near the castle and returned to the Papyrus Collection. Ibscher's report to Müller is the basis for the assumption that the crates were temporarily housed there.

The castle has subsequently been heavily restored, with a new roof and new inner construction throughout. But what necessitated the rebuilding seems not to have been war damage, but rather a general process of deterioration and in 1948–1949 reuse of the building as an adult education center for Berlin city government functionaries (according to Lothar Berfelde, see below). The castle's current guidebooklet reports on the restoration in the preface but without making clear the castle's condition in 1945:[18]

Immeasurable are the losses in monuments of history and culture in our city that were caused by the Second World War launched by German Fascism. Many valuable historical buildings were lost beyond recovery or were severely damaged. Other witnesses to our cultural heritage among buildings that were not directly affected by the war showed clear signs of deterioration due to long neglect under the domination of capitalism. From the very beginning it required the greatest exertions of our workers-and-peasant power to restore the substance of monuments thus destroyed. In spite of magnificent achievements of restoration and reconstruction in the center of our capital city, maintenance and restoration projects in the care of monuments must also be effectively carried out, in connection with the augmentation of measures for the reconstruction and modernization of the

Unermesslich sind die Verluste an Denkmalen der Geschichte und Kultur in unserer Stadt, die durch den vom deutschen Faschismus ausgelösten zweiten Weltkrieg verursacht wurden. Viele wertvolle historische Bauten gingen unwiederbringlich verloren oder wurden stark beschädigt. Andere nicht unmittelbar vom Krieg betroffene Zeugnisse unseres baulichen Kulturerbes zeigten durch lange Vernachlässigung unter der Herrschaft des Kapitalismus deutliche Spuren des Verfalls. Es bedurfte von Beginn an grosser Anstrengungen unserer Arbeiter- und Bauern-Macht zur Wiederherstellung der auf diese Weise zerstörten Denkmalsubstanz. Trotz grossartiger Restaurierungs- und Rekonstrucktionsleistungen im Zentrum unserer Hauptstadt müssen im Zusammenhang mit der Erhöhung der Baumassnahmen für die Rekonstruktion und die

18. Dathe, Schunchardt et al., "Vorwort."

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substance of old buildings, as was called for by the Tenth Party Congress of the Socialistic Union Party of Germany.

The completion of the Berlin Friedrichsfelde Castle is a worthy contribution to this, in demonstrating the continuous culture politics of our socialist state, directed toward the care of the cultural heritage and toward actively rendering it accessible. Thanks to the magnanimous support of the party of the working class and of the government of the German Democratic Republic, with its politics directed toward the well-being of the people, our capital city has become richer by an appealing tourist attraction, on the eve of the elections to the Volkskammer of the German Democratic Republic and of the Assembly of the city government of Berlin.

The extent of the restoration activities, as well as of measures to refinish and refurbish the interiors, was considerable. The difficult tasks in the care of monuments could only be undertaken in stages. The results attained, however, justify this special course, and will certainly instigate further initiatives for the maintenance of monuments and for making them accessible to society.

Modernisierung der Altbausubstanz, die der X. Parteitag der SED fordert, auch die denkmalpflegerischen Erhaltungs- und Wiederherstellungsarbeiten wirksam fortgesetzt werden.

Die Fertigstellung des Schlosses Berlin-Friedrichsfelde ist dazu ein würdiger Beitrag, der die kontinuierliche, auf die Pflege und lebendige Erschliessung des kulturellen Erbes gerichtete Kulturpolitik unseres sozialistischen Staates beweist. Dank der grosszügigen Unterstützung der Partei der Arbeiterklasse und der Regierung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik mit ihrer auf das Wohl des Volkes gerichteten Politik ist unsere Hauptstadt am Vorabend der Wahlen zur Volkskammer der DDR und der Stadtverordnetenversammlung von Berlin um eine attraktive Sehenswürdigkeit reicher geworden.

Der Umfang der Wiederherstellungsarbeiten sowie der Ausgestaltungs- und Ausstattungsaufgaben für die Innenräume war beträchtlich. Nur schrittweise konnten die schwierigen denkmalpflegerischen Aufgaben in Angriff genommen werden. Die erreichten Ergebnisse jedoch rechtfertigen diesen besonderen Weg und werden sicher weitere Initiativen zur Erhaltung und gesellschaftlichen Erschliessung von Denkmalen auslösen.

In the introduction of the guide, the details of the cause of the damage to the building become more specific:

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Meanwhile it was possible to restore the castle as an important part of this significant ensemble of monuments of building and gardening art. Due to the deficient care of buildings before and during the Second World War, the Friedrichsfelde Castle had suffered severe damages. Nonetheless, ever-increasing deteriorations, whose cause was not known back then, were even more grave. Whereas the original five-part building had only field stone foundations, the side parts added in 1719 were in addition erected on wooden piles. As a result of the lowering of the water table after the construction of a waterworks directly in the neighborhood of the park at the beginning of our century, the wooden parts, no longer resting in the area of the ground water, gradually rotted and increasingly led to considerable settlings of the building and severe cracking.

The restoration, as part of the maintenance of monuments, began with comprehensive measures to eliminate the dangers and secure the building, and thus began the new history of the Castle. The main interest was at first directed to the retaining or restoring of the exterior.

Als wichtiger Bestandteil dieses bedeutenden Denkmalensembles der Bau- und Gartenkunst konnte das Schloss inzwischen wiederhergestellt werden. Durch mangelnde Baupflege vor und während des zweiten Weltkrieges hatte das Friedrichsfelder Schloss beträchtliche Schäden erlitten. Schwerwiegender waren jedoch fortschreitende Zerstörungen, deren Ursache damals noch nicht bekannt war. Während der fünfachsige Ursprungsbau lediglich Feldsteinfundamente besass, waren die 1719 angefügten Seitenteile ausserdem noch auf Holzpfählen errichtet. Infolge der Grundwasserabsenkung nach dem Bau eines Wasserwerkes in unmittelbarer Nähe des Parkes zu Beginn unseres Jahrhunderts verrotteten die nicht mehr im Grundwasserbereich liegenden Holzteile allmählich und führten zunehmend zu erheblichen Bausetzungen und starker Rissbildung.

Mit umfassenden Massnahmen zur Gefahrenbeseitigung und Sicherung des Gebäudes begann die denkmalpflegerische Wiederherstellung und damit die neuere Geschichte des Schlosses. Das Hauptinteresse galt zunächst der Erhaltung bzw. Wiederherstellung des Aussenbaus.

In the description of the Historical Staircase:

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The main staircase was restored in its early classicistic room arrangement. Whereas the reconstruction of the ceiling paintings had to be executed largely on the basis of fotos, there stood at our disposal in addition to the illusionistic wall paintings, in varying degrees of conservation, a part of the original wallpaper removed in 1947, as well as segments of wall paintings that had remained partially intact on the ground floor.

Das Haupttreppenhaus wurde in seiner frühklassizistischen Raumgestaltung wiederhergestellt. Während die Rekonstruktion der Deckenmalereien im wesentlichen nach Fotos ausgeführt werden musste, standen für die illusionistischen Wandmalereien zusätzlich ein Teil der 1947 entfernten originalen Leinwandbespannungen in unterschiedlicher Erhaltungsqualität sowie Befunde von partiell erhalten gebliebenen Wandmalereien im Erdgeschoss zur Verfügung.

Regarding the Garden Room:

In 1947 there were pieces of the interior decoration dating back to the Biedermeier period still intact. However, at the commencement of the comprehensive restoration of the castle there were no longer any historical decorative elements or objects of interior decorating.

1947 waren noch Ausstattungsstücke der Biedermeierzeit vorhanden. Zu Beginn der umfassenden Wiederherstellung des Schlosses gab es jedoch keine historischen Dekorationselemente oder Ausstattungsgegenstände mehr.

In the section titled "Dates on the History of the Castle" one reads:

1945 [actually 1948, according to Lothar Berfelde (see below)]: The Castle and park were taken over by the city government of Berlin.

1948–49: The castle was renovated into a home for school purposes.

August 27, 1954: The city government decided to develop a Zoo in Friedrichsfelde.

July 2, 1955: The opening of the Berlin Zoo.

1945 [actually 1948, according to Lothar Berfelde (see below)]: Übernahme vom Schloss and Park durch den Magistrat von Berlin.

1948–49: Ausbau des Schlosses zu einem Schulungsheim.

27.8.1954: Magistratsbeschluss zum Ausbau eines Tierparkes in Friedrichsfelde.

2.7.1955: Eröffnung des Tierparks Berlin.

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1966: The commencement of the first work to secure and restore the heavily destroyed castle.	1966: Beginn von ersten Sicherungs-arbeiten zur Wiederherstellung des stark zerstörten Schlosses.
Until 1971: The securing of the foundations.	bis 1971: Unterfangung der Fundamente.
1973: The erection of a new roof of steel construction with large triangular gables.	1973: Aufbringen eines neuen Mansardendaches (Stahlkon-struktion) mit grossen Dreieckgiebeln.

The guide of the conducted tour on March 9, 1986, explained that a Soviet command post ("Kommandantur") was housed in the castle in 1945, and that a distant relative of the former owner of the castle was afterwards permitted to use three rooms for a private museum for a few years.

Lothar Berfelde has moved his Gründerzeit-Museum to Mahlsdorf near Berlin in another building he restored. It has been put under governmental protection as a "collection," since private "museums" are not legal. He reported on April 18, 1986, that a Soviet command post occupied the castle from the spring of 1945 to the spring of 1946. Then when the castle was vacated, he was able to block a proposal to raze it, and was permitted to occupy part of it with the beginnings of his Museum for a couple of years. During the year that it was used as a command post he was aware of libraries being stored there until they could be transported to the Soviet Union, but he had no specific information about holdings of the state museums being stored there.

Thus, one may suppose that the museum objects were brought to the Friedrichsfelde Castle when it was a Soviet command post. At that time the building was apparently run down, but the dismantling of the interior would seem to have taken place beginning 1947, no doubt especially in 1948–1949 when the building was adapted into a school for city employees; the roof was first removed when the restoration was undertaken and a new roof installed in 1973. Thus, the building was sufficiently intact in 1945–1946 to have served as a temporary repository for crates moved from the Zoo bunker to await shipment to Leningrad, before the education center was installed. For 1947 seems to mark the date of the dismantling of interior architecture and the removal of antique furniture for this new purpose, and 1966 the

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beginning of the restoration that involved strengthening the foundations, replacing the roof, and completely redoing and refurbishing the interior. The building could presumably have housed the museum objects in 1945 without undue risk.

Joachim Karig has reported that the retreating German army had removed all railroad tracks east of Berlin and had cut all the ties in 1944–1945. During 1945 and 1946, this action no doubt made rail transportation of museum objects from Berlin to Leningrad bumpy, congested, and insecure. When whole factories and other movable objects moved east, works of art (which required several hundred railroad cars for the return to Berlin in 1958) might have had a lower priority. Karig recalled, e.g., a report that a quantity of grand pianos were seen beside the railroad tracks, exposed to the elements, apparently having been temporarily unloaded to provide boxcars for higher-priority transports to the east, or awaiting their turn for shipment east.

Berfelde reported further, from a childhood friend who worked for the German railroads, that the German railroad crews continued to operate the trains even after the end of the war. These crews were aboard German trains as far as the eastern border of Poland, where the Soviet railroads, with different gauges, began. Crossing Poland, trains laden with German items were at times stopped by train robbers. In a robbery, freight cars would be separated from the engine, in which the German crew was told to proceed down the tracks, leaving the freight cars unguarded in the countryside. There the freight cars would be looted before the authorities could be notified and police or soldiers sent to stop the looting. The one reporting this story attributed the practice of robbery to Poles resentful of the Soviet Union for not returning, at the end of the war, land the Soviets had occupied since 1939, when the Germans had invaded Poland. No doubt avarice also accounted for a Polish desire to share in the war booty.

Alexander Böhlig has reported:[19]

As a result of a rumor that papyri had been found on the rail line, the rail line was combed with success at the instigation of Prof. von Manteuffel.	Auf ein Gerücht hin, dass an der Bahnlinie Papyri gefunden worden seien, wurde auf Veranlassung von Professor von Manteuffel die Bahnlinie mit Erfolg abgesucht.

19. Böhlig, in a letter of February 10, 1986.

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Böhlig has further clarified his initial comment:[20]

Professor von Manteuffel, responsible for papyrology before and after the war, was known to me personally. I went on a walk with him in London after the International Papyrologists' Congress in Oxford in 1937. I do not know whether he had a chair for ancient history or for classical philology in Warsaw; for papyrology alone there are hardly professorships. He was always a Pole with a well-formed national consciousness.

Der vor und nach dem Krieg für Papyrologie zuständige Professor von Manteuffel ist mir persönlich bekannt gewesen. Ich bin mit ihm im Anschluss an den internationalen Papyrologenkongress in Oxford 1937 in London spazierengegangen. Ob er etwa einen Lehrstuhl für Alte Geschichte oder Klassische Philologie in Warschau innehatte, weiss ich nicht; für Papyrologie allein gibt es ja kaum Professuren. Er ist immer ein ausgesprochen nationalbewusster Pole gewesen.

On July 12, 1986, Wincenty Myszor sent a report of his inquiries into what took place as follows:

The Manichaean manuscripts that are now in Warsaw cropped up shortly after the last war under circumstances that have not been fully clarified. There is always talk of a place Brodnica, near Torun [Thorn]. I have thus far received no answer to my letter of April 21, 1986, to the regional museum in Brodnica. There are also no documents in the archive of the Warsaw University and in the National Museum. The plates are thought to have been first in a private collection, then in some way [sold? acquired?] to have reached Prof. J. Manteuffel, the leader of the Institute for Papyrology of Warsaw University, and a part of the manuscripts turned over to

Die manichäischen Handschriften, die sich jetzt in Warschau befinden, sind kurz nach dem letzten Krieg unter nicht ganz aufgeklärten Umständen aufgetaucht. Es wird immer über einen Ort Brodnica, bei Torun [Thorn], gesprochen. Auf meinen Brief an das Regional-Museum in Brodnica von 21. April 1986 habe ich bis heute keine Antwort bekommen. Es gibt auch keine Dokumente im Archiv der Warschauer Universität und im National-Museum. Die Platten sollen sich zuerst in einer Privatsammlung befunden haben, dann in irgendeiner Weise [gekauft? bekommen?] zu Prof. J. Manteuffel, dem Leiter des Instituts für Papyrologie der

20. Böhlig, in a letter of March 7, 1986.

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the National Museum on deposit. There are also rumors according to which the plates in the National Museum came directly from Brodnica to Warsaw, to Prof. Michalowski. Prof. J. Manteuffel and Prof. K. Michalowski wanted to give the leaves back to Berlin. But they did not succeed in that. In the sixties the issue almost reached the Ministry. In any case there are still many questions that probably can no longer be answered. Thus one cannot say why the manuscripts are today preserved at two places. There is the view that this has to do with an exhibition in the National Museum. But there are in the National Museum also other manuscripts from the Berlin collection that Dr. Poethke from Berlin has once already seen. These manuscripts could have come to the Museum from a private collection.

Warschauer Universität gelangt und ein Teil der Handschriften dem National-Museum als Depot übergeben worden sein. Es gibt auch Gerüchte, nach denen die Platten im National-Museum direkt aus Brodnica nach Warschau, zu Prof. Michalowski gekommen seien. Prof. J. Manteuffel und Prof. K. Michalowski wollten die Blätter nach Berlin zurückgeben. Das ist ihnen nicht gelungen. In den 60er Jahren wäre diese Sache fast im Ministerium gelandet. Jedenfalls gibt es noch viele Fragen, die wahrscheinlich schon nicht mehr beantwortet werden können. So kann man nicht beantworten, warum die Handschriften heute an zwei Stellen aufbewahrt sind. Es gibt die Ansicht, dass dieses mit einer Ausstellung im National-Museum zusammenhinge. Es gibt aber im National-Museum auch andere Handschriften aus der Berliner Sammlung, die Dr. Poethke aus Berlin schon einmal gesehen hat. Diese Handschriften könnten direkt von einem Privatbesitz zum Museum gekommen sein.

Since there is no list of how many leaves Hugo Ibscher had actually conserved from Berlin's part of the Manichaean codices of Medinet Madi, it is unclear whether those in Warsaw are actually the only leaves not included in the return with other German museum holdings to East Berlin in 1958. No book blocks were returned, and hence, if in fact they had been included in those left in the zoo concrete bunker and taken to the Friedrichsfelde Castle and from there to Leningrad, they would be the only clear instance of material still completely missing.

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Once the material was back in East Berlin, plans were initiated to resume its publication. Böhlig has reported on the steps leading to his being reassigned after the war to publish the Manichaean material, while he was still in East Germany.[21] He moved in 1963 to Munich and then to Tübingen, where he lived until his death in 1996:

In the year 1959 I then submitted to the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin a memorandum in which I pointed out how urgently the resumption of the editing of the Manichaean texts is. The Academy responded positively to this initiative and entrusted the undertaking to the Institut für griechisch-römische Altertumskunde, in order that its working group "Kommission für spätantike Religionsgeschichte" could assume responsibility for the continuation of the edition. At the session of the commission on May 13, 1960, this task was entrusted to me.

Im Jahre 1959 reichte ich daraufhin der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin eine Denkschrift ein, in der ich darauf hinwies, wie dringlich die Wiederaufnahme der Editionsarbeit an den manichäischen Texten sei. Die Akademie nahm zu dieser Anregung positiv Stellung and übergab das Unternehmen an das Institut für griechisch-römische Altertumskunde, damit dessen Arbeitsgruppe Kommission für spätantike Religionsgeschichte die Weiterführung der Edition in ihren Aufgabenbereich aufnehmen sollte. In der Kommissionssitzung vom 13. Mai 1960 wurde diese Aufgabe mir übertragen.

21. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 181.

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Part Two

The Conservation by Rolf Ibscher

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— 6 —

The Conservation of the Material in the State Museums of the Former East Berlin

The post-war activity has until recently consisted almost exclusively of Rolf Ibscher's conservation work. Ibscher made every effort to present himself in unbroken continuity with his father, and thus to build a career on his father's reputation. As he phrased it typically, "die Kunde von der Wunderleistung der konservatorischen Rettung durch meinen Vater" ["the report of the miraculous performance of the conservation rescue by my father"].[1] But it is rather clear that Rolf Ibscher began with fuzzy information and lack of experience. The former is indicated by his summary of the material cited above from 1954 and his revised summary in 1955:[2]

At the beginning of the 1930s the codices were purchased: three bundles and a vestige came to London into the possession of Sir Chester Beatty (*Psalms*, Codex B, Codex C, and the *Homilies*), and four bundles and a vestige to Berlin into the possession of the state museums (*Kephalaia*, Codex 15995, Codex 15998, Codex 15999, and 31 leaves of Codex

Anfang der dreissiger Jahre kamen durch Ankauf die Codices mit drei Konvoluten und einem Rest nach London in den Besitz von Sir Chester Beatty (Psalmbuch, Codex B, Codex C und die *Homilien*) und mit vier Konvoluten und einem Rest nach Berlin in den Besitz der Staatlichen Museen (*Kephalaia*, Codex Nr. 15995, Codex Nr. 15998, Codex Nr. 15999 und 31

1. Ibscher, "Das Konservierungswerk," 1.
2. Ibid.

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15997). The remainder of a quire acquired for Vienna by Grohmann could be added to the *Kephalaia*, Berlin's main text alongside of Codex 15998, containing the corpus of *Letters* and now in Schondorf in Upper Bavaria on Ammer Lake. It [the remainder in Vienna] comprises pp. 311–30.

Blätter des Codex Nr. 15997). Der durch Grohmann für Wien erworbene Lagenrest konnte der Kephalaia, Berlins Hauptschrift neben Codex Nr. 15998, das Briefcorpus enthaltend und jetzt in Schondorf/Obb in Oberbayern am Ammersee liegend, zugeführt werden. Er umfasst die Seiten 311–30.

Here the information available in Schmidt and Polotsky's published report is identified confusedly with the information in the *Inventarbuch* of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR. The Berlin holdings themselves, except for some partially conserved leaves of P^{15996} and P^{15998} in the Ibscher home, were in Leningrad, inaccessible to Ibscher. One need merely enumerate the needed corrections of this summary, along with those itemized in the preceding chapter, to assess the fuzziness of the information with which Rolf Ibscher began: P^{15995} consists only of 31 leaves (which are not P^{15997}) and hence are not a bundle but only a vestige; P^{15996} should be listed as the inventory number of the *Kephalaia*; P^{15997} consists not merely of 31 leaves, hence it was not acquired as a vestige but was a complete codex, from which only some eight or nine leaves seem to have been removed by Hugo Ibscher before the war; Codex 15998 was among the material taken east rather than to Schondorf; P^{15999}, the other half of the London *Homilies* and hence to be designated a vestige, also went east. What was in Schondorf was actually Sir Chester Beatty's Codex B, the *Synaxeis*.

Hence, it is not surprising that material left half conserved and hence inadequately labeled by Hugo Ibscher in his home, should have been variously and unreliably identified by Rolf Ibscher.

Rolf Ibscher's inexperience becomes clear from a passing remark of 1954: "here in London I began with this work that my father had designated as the most difficult task of his life as a conservator, a life rich in difficult tasks. It was a task that I could entrust to myself since one expected it of me, although never before had I separated a leaf as a test under the supervision of my father. It was a risk, but a successful one."[3]

3. Ibscher, Rolf, "Wiederaufnahme," 11: ". . . hier in London begann ich mit dieser

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That is to say, Sir Chester Beatty, no doubt grateful to Rolf Ibscher for having rescued his codices from the ruin of the war, quite unaware that Ibscher was still withholding one in Schondorf, and in response to Rolf Ibscher's appeals, engaged the son on the assumption he was, in the craft tradition of Europe, the father's only understudy and hence his qualified successor, whereas the son had in fact had no experience in the conservation of the Manichaean codices. Under permissive supervision at the British Museum, he inductively learned his trade. Rather jeopardize the codices than his own future!

On his return trip from London, Rolf Ibscher began conservation on the *Synaxeis* codex in Schondorf (see below), and in Berlin began to work at completing the conservation work of his father, on what had been in his home throughout the war.

In 1954 Rolf Ibscher himself had referred as follows to the beginnings of his conservation work on this material:[4]

Between my first [Oct–Dec 1951] and second [June–Oct 1952] London trips I succeeded in saving in Berlin the remainder of the Berlin *Kephalaia* manuscript. So some 20 leaves and leaf fragments came from it. The state of preservation of this outside pad of the codex was even more desolate than that of the remaining pads of the *Psalms* book I had worked on previously in London. I can understand that my father deferred again and again the separating off of these leaves and considered the possibility of giving up this part of the manuscript as unconservable. The leaves and fragments of leaves have meanwhile been impregnated and are awaiting the collaboration of the scholarly colleague,

Zwischen meiner ersten x–xii 51 [Oct–Dec 1951] und zweiten vi–x 52 [June–Oct 1952] Londoner Reise gelang es mir in Berlin den Rest der Berliner Kephalaiahandschrift zu retten. Es kamen dabei einige 20 Blätter und Blattfragmente heraus. Der Erhaltungszustand dieser Aussenlage des Codex war noch desolater als derjenige der Restlagen des zuvor von mir in London bearbeiteten Psalmenbuchs und ich kann verstehen, dass mein Vater immer wieder die Ablösung dieser Blätter hinausgeschoben und die Möglichkeit in Aussicht gestellt hatte, diesen Teil der Handschrift als unkonservierbar aufzugeben. Die Blätter und Blattfragmente

Arbeit, die mein Vater als die schwierigste Aufgabe seines an schweren Aufgaben reichen Konservatorenlebens bezeichnet hatte. Es war eine Aufgabe, die ich mir zutraute, weil man sie von mir erwartete, obgleich ich niemals je zuvor ein Blatt als Probe unter der Leitung meines Vaters abgelöst hatte. Es war ein Risiko, aber es gelang."

4. Rolf Ibscher, "Wiederaufnahme," 10–11.

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since from the material alone the arrangement and sequence of the leaves and fragments cannot [p. 11] be guaranteed with certainty.

sind inzwischen imprägniert und harren der Mithilfe des wissenschaftlichen Bearbeiters, da vom Material allein aus mit Sicherheit die Einordnung und Anordnung der Blätter und Fragmente nicht garan- [p. 11] tiert werden kann.

In his report in 1955, Rolf Ibscher summarized his work as follows: "Following the experimental separation of a few leaves of the Schondorf manuscript from Berlin, I attempted on my return home to Berlin in the winter months [of 1952] to separate and impregnate a residue of very fragmented leaves of the *Kephalaia*, which my father had also designated as 'inoperable.' These leaves should be definitively glassed this winter, at the beginning of 1956."[5]

Rolf Ibscher did in fact develop his own conservation techniques, which he considered vastly superior to those of his father.[6]

In September I could . . . see in the beautiful library of Sir Chester Beatty in Dublin the leaves of the *Homilies* and of the *Psalms* conserved by my father and reassure myself as to whether his method of impregnating them had proven itself over a period of 15 or 20 years. Nevertheless I have now decided to follow a proposal of Dr. Plenderleith of the laboratory of the British Museum and use a fixative recommended by him to strengthen the brittle papyrus weave.

Im September konnte ich . . . in der schönen Bibliothek Sir Chester Beatty's in Dublin die von meinem Vater konservierten Blätter der Homilien und des Psalmenbuches sehen und mich vergewissern, ob seine Imprägnierungsmethode über fast 15 bis 20 Jahre hin sich bewährt hatte. Dennoch habe ich mich jetzt entschlossen, dabei einem Vorschlag von Dr. Plenderleith vom Laboratorium des Britischen Museums zu folgen und ein von ihm empfohlenes Fixativ zur Festigung der mürben Papyrusgewebe zu benutzen.

5. Rolf Ibscher, "Das Konservierugswerk," 5: "Der probeweisen Ablösung von einigen Blättern der Schondorfer Handschrift aus Berlin folgte dann bei meiner Heimkehr nach Berlin in den Wintermonaten [of 1952] der Versuch, einen Restbestand sehr fragmentarisierter Blätter der Kephalaia abzulösen und zu imprägnieren, den mein Vater auch als "unauflösbar" bezeichnet hatte. Diese Blätter sollen im Winter Anfang 1956 definitiv verglast werden."

6. Rolf Ibscher, "Wiederaufnahme," 7–10.

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The conservation thus moves in completely new paths. I have been able to develop a new procedure for separating the leaves, which permits one to separate intact also such leaves as dissolved into their component parts according to the method used by my father. On August 22, 1936, he suspended work on Codex C after he had been able to separate 47 leaves, and wrote in this regard: "The papyrus dissolves completely into its component parts in separating the individual leaves, and was held together only in the whole mass. Further investigation of the book block showed that already in antiquity the book had been very damaged. After one place that readily separated there followed at first 2 blank leaves and then very faded text of another hand, so that it appeared as if here another work began. Of course I think I have seen at one place a chapter title. In any case it was hardly worth working on the block after the empty leaves, since the writing will be able to be figured out only in a few places."—This turned out in the course of the work in 1952 and in this summer to be an error. I obtained 136 usable and in part very beautiful leaves. The few leaves with very faded handwriting can no doubt be made visible given the state of our modern photography. The Berlin manuscript in Schondorf displays the same deficiencies. But I hope that Pater Dolt of the Palimpsest Institute in the Cloister Beuron will help me to develop a

Die Konservierung geht damit völlig neue Wege. Ich habe ein neues Verfahren zur Ablösung der Blätter entwickeln können, das auch solche Blätter im Zusammenhang ablösen lässt, die nach der von meinem Vater geübten Methode sich in ihre Bestandteile auflösten. Am 22. August 1936 stellte er die Arbeit am Codex C ein, nachdem er 47 Blätter abheben konnte, und schreibt dazu: "Der Papyrus löste sich beim Abheben der einzelnen Blätter vollständig in seine Bestandteile auf und wurde nur in der ganzen Masse zusammengehalten. Bei weiterer Untersuchung des Buchblockes ergab sich, dass das Buch bereits im Altertum sehr zerstört war. An einer Stelle, die sich leicht löste, folgten zunächst 2 leere Blätter und dann sehr verblasster Text von anderer Hand, sodass es den Anschein hat, als wenn hier ein andres Werk begann. Allerdings glaube ich an einer Stelle eine Kapitelüberschrift gesehen zu haben. Jedenfalls lohnt es sich kaum, den Block von den leeren Blättern an zu bearbeiten, da die Schrift nur an wenigen Stellen zu entziffern sein wird."—Das stellte sich im Verlauf der Arbeit 1952 und in diesem Sommer als ein Irrtum heraus. Ich gewann 136 brauchbare und zum Teil sehr schöne Blätter. Die wenigen Blätter mit sehr verblasster Handschrift dürften beim Stande unserer modernen Photographie sichtbar gemacht werden können. Gleiche Mängel weist die Berliner Handschrift in Schondorf auf. Ich hoffe aber, dass Pater Dolt vom Palimpzest-Institut an Kloster Beuron mir helfen wird, ein brauchbares fotographisches

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usable photographical procedure to balance out this deficiency.

My procedure for separating the individual leaves from the book blocks is characterized as the adjustable sloping plane. The leaf is compelled to draw itself off as it were by its own weight, over a very smooth parchment paper, that presents no resistance to the papyrus fiber, laid above on the book block. With tweezers and a thin scalpel only a bit of supplemental help is provided in pushing the leaf in front of them over the slanting plane and carefully separating the fibers ruined by pressure and salt crystals. I would like to name this procedure "the extremely freewheeling method."

My father, on the other hand, lifted off the individual leaf without such a slanted support. He lifted the individual fragments separated from each other onto a paper support lying next to the book block and attempted to advance the leaf with extreme carefulness in its entirety from the book block off onto this support. This procedure presupposed an incredibly sure hand and an equally unimaginable gift of recollection, to transfer the fragmentary splinters with absolute certainty into the right arrangement. The individual fragment would have to come immediately with certainty into its right place, since every grasping with the tweezers in the case of especially rotted leaves immediately led such small fragments to break down into dust. I would like to name this procedure

Verfahren zu entwickeln, um diesen Nachteil auszugleichen.

Mein Verfahren, die einzelnen Blätter von den Buchblöcken abzuheben, wird durch die verstellbare schiefe Ebene gekenn-zeichnet. Das Blatt wird genötigt, sich gleichsam durch sein eigenes Gewicht über ein sehr glattes, der Papyrusfaser gar keinen Widerstand entgegensetzendes Pergaminpapier, das auf den Buchblock oben aufgelegt wird, abzuziehen. Mit Pinzette und dünnen Skalpells wird lediglich nachgeholfen, das Blatt vor ihnen her über die schiefe Ebene zu schieben und die durch Pressung und Salzkristalle verbackenen Fasern vorsichtig zu trennen. Ich möchte dieses Verfahren "the extremely freewheeling method" bezeichnen.

Mein Vater hob dagegen das einzelne Blatt ohne solche schräge Unterlage ab. Er hob die einzelnen Fragmente getrennt auf eine neben dem Buchblock liegende Papierunterlage und versuchte, mit äusserster Behutsamkeit das Blatt in seiner Gesamtheit vom Buchblock weg auf diese Unterlage zu befördern. Dieses Verfahren setzte eine unvorstellbar ruhige Hand voraus und eine ebenso unvorstellbare Gabe des Erinnerungsvermögens, die Fragmentsplitter mit absoluter Sicherheit in der richtigen Anordnung zu übertragen. Das einzelne Fragment musste sofort sicher an seinen richtigen Platz kommen, da jedes Anpacken mit den Pinzetten bei besonders vermorschten Blättern sofort dazu führte solche kleinen Fragmente zu Staub zerbröckeln zu lassen. Ich möchte dieses Verfahren "the very delicately compelling method" nennen.

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"the very delicately compelling method."

To the new method of separating leaves and the handling of the separated leaves with a new fixative, in order to impede or eliminate the inner decomposition of the very degenerated material, will be associated the new glassing of the impregnated leaves, in that, instead of simple glass, now plexiglass will be used. To be sure it is very expensive, but it does not break and is very light and permits one to photograph the individual leaf even through the glass with infrared or ultraviolet light in order to entice out the faded writing. The electric effect can unfortunately thus far be eliminated only for a brief time by means of a special substance, so that laying the leaf between the glass panes is not difficult. The magnetic effect proves to be very unpleasant and dangerous when one is compelled to take the leaf out of the glasses again. Equally disagreeable is the fact that plexiglass, in distinction from simple glass, is very sensitive and gets abrasions or scratches immediately with careless handling. And it is a risk, how plexiglass in the course of decades reacts to climatic conditions and whether it darkens or not.

Whether the disadvantages or advantages in using plexiglass over conserving the leaves between simple glass panes will dominate will become clear after a few years, when it becomes necessary to reconserve the leaves again. And this necessity will emerge, even if the

Der neuen Ablösungsmethode und Behandlung der abgelösten Blätter mit einem neuen Fixativ, um den inneren Zerfall des sehr angegriffenen Materials aufzuhalten bzw. zu beseitigen, wird sich die neuartige Unterbringung der imprägnierten Blätter gesellen, indem anstelle des einfachen Glases jetzt das Perspexglas treten wird, das zwar sehr teuer, aber unzerbrechlich und sehr leicht ist und gestattet, das einzelne Blatt auch durch das Glas hindurch mit infrarotem oder ultraviolettem Licht zwecks Hervorzauberung der verblassten Schrift zu fotografieren. Der elektrische Effekt geht leider bisher nur für kurze Zeit durch ein Spezialmittel zu entfernen, sodass das Zwischenlegen zwischen die Glasscheiben keine Mühe verursacht. Sehr unangenehm und gefährlich erweist sich die magnetische Wirkung, wenn man genötigt ist, das Blatt noch einmal aus den Gläsern herauszunehmen. Ebenfalls unangenehm ist es, dass Perspexglas im Gegensatz zu einfachem Glas sehr empfindlich ist und Schrammen oder Kratzer sofort bei unpfleglicher Behandlung erhält. Und ein Risiko ist es, wie sich Perspexglas im Laufe von Jahrzehnten verhält gegen Witterungseinflüsse und ob es blind wird oder nicht.

Ob die Nachteile oder Vorteile bei der Benutzung von Perspexglas gegenüber der Unterbringung der Blätter zwischen einfachem Glas dominieren werden, wird sich nach einigen Jahren herausstellen, wenn die Notwendigkeit sich ergibt, die Blätter aufs neue umzuglasen. Und

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rescued leaves are stored carefully and with constant temperature and protected from climatic influences, since the papyrus material between the glasses begins to work in the course of time, in spite of the impregnation, which only serves to strengthen the rotted papyrus substance and slow down further decomposition, just as did the earlier treatment of the leaves, the dusting with zapon lacquer applied by my father.

Subterranean water and inundation water has in the course of the centuries soaked through the book block. The salt residue cannot be soaked out in conservation by means of baths. Every additional dampness would inescapably dissolve the papyrus substance between the papyrus fibers into a sticky soupy mess. But the infiltration with salty elements, this enrichment of the papyrus substance with ingredients containing salt, produces in the course of time, and especially with changes of temperature, a blue-like film on the glass panes, because of which seeing through the glass is disturbed and the traces of writing, often only weakly distinguishable from the very darkened papyrus material, is hardly still perceptible. In such a case the only thing that helps is to take the leaves out of the glasses and, after cleaning the glasses of this blue-like film to reglass them.

For this reason too there emerges for photography here a special task, not only for reasons of security, as the most recent sad

diese Notwendigkeit wird sich ergeben, auch wenn die geretteten Blätter sorgsam und bei gleichmässiger Temperatur und geschützt vor Witterungseinflüssen aufbewahrt werden, weil trotz der Imprägnierung, die ja nur der Festigung der morschen Papyrussubstanz dient und den weiteren Zerfallsprozess aufhalten soll, ebenso wie die frühere Behandlung der Blätter durch die von meinem Vater angewandte Bestäubung mit Zaponlack, das Papyrusmaterial zwischen den Gläsern im Laufe der Zeit zu arbeiten beginnt.

Grund- und Überschwemmungswasser hat im Laufe der Jahrhunderte die Buchblöcke durchtränkt. Die salzigen Rückstände können bei der Konservierung nicht durch Bäder ausgelaugt werden. Jede zusätzliche Feuchtigkeit würde die Papyrussubstanz zwischen den Papyrusfasern unweigerlich sofort in eine schmierige breiige Masse auflösen. Aber das Infiltrat von salzhaltigen Elementen, diese Anreicherung der Papyrussubstanz mit salzhaltigen Ingredienzien bewirkt im Laufe der Zeit und ganz besonders bei Temperaturschwankungen einen bläulichen Niederschlag auf den Glasscheiben, wodurch die Sicht durch das Glas getrübt wird und die oft sich nur schwach vom stark gebräunten Papyrusmaterial abhebenden Schriftspuren kaum noch wahrnehmbar werden. In solchem Fall hilft da das Eine, die Blätter aus den Gläsern herauszunehmen und sie nach Reinigung der Gläser von diesem bläulichen Scheibenbelag von neuem zu verglasen.

Aus diesem Grunde erwächst auch der Fotographie hier eine besondere Aufgabe, nicht nur aus Sicherheitsgründen, wie die jüngste traurige Vergangenheit es gelehrt hat,

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past has taught us, and as an indispensable supplement and help for the reader. One should, preferably immediately after conservation, or, if that is not possible, very soon after the definitive glassing, photograph each individual leaf without imperfection before any impediment to legibility can emerge. I concede that no photography, no matter how perfect it may be technically, even if it exceeds the most demanding requirements, can replace the unimpeded work on the direct original, but at some time the time will arrive that in future times, even if we leave catastrophes completely out of view, a repeated reglassing of the Manichaean papyri will simply no longer be possible, since this most sensitive of all papyrus materials that have emerged will no longer permit such a procedure of reglassing even with the most careful handling.

Hence the problem of the best possible photographic recording of each of these precious leaves must be solved now, as an aid for the reader, the interpreter, and precisely as a prophylactic means that can endure over the centuries.

und als unentbehrliches Ergänzungs- und Hilfsmittel für den Leser, dass es hier gelingt, sofort nach der Konservierung am besten oder wenn das noch nicht möglich werden sollte, sehr bald nach der definitiven Verglasung, jedes einzelne Blatt einwandfrei im Bild aufzunehmen, bevor irgendwelche Sichtbehinderungen auftreten. Ich gebe zu, dass keine Fotographie, und mag sie technisch noch so einwandfrei sein, mag sie anspruchsvollste Forderungen überbieten, die einwandfreie Arbeit am direkten Original ersetzen kann, aber einmal wird der Zeitpunkt eintreten, dass in künftigen Zeiten, wenn wir Katastrophen dabei völlig ausser Acht lassen, eine mehrmalige Umglasung der Manichäischen Papyri einfach nicht mehr möglich sein wird, da dieses empfindlichste aller bisher aufgetretenen Papyrusmaterial die Prozedur des Umglasens bei sorgsamster Handhabung nicht mehr zulassen wird.

Daher muss das Problem der bestmöglichen fotographischen Bestandaufnahme jedes einzelnen dieser kostbaren Blätter jetzt gelöst werden als Hilfsmittel für den Leser, den Interpreten und eben als prophylaktisches Mittel, das die Jahrhunderte überdauern kann.

In 1960 Böhlig then reported as follows on Rolf Ibscher's work on this material:[7]

7. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 182.

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. . . the last 20 leaves of the Berlin *Kephalaia* book . . . were conserved by Rolf Ibscher in the years 1952 and 1953. The urgently needed reglassing of all the pieces that had been glassed by Hugo Ibscher and returned to Berlin in 1958 was undertaken by Rolf Ibscher beginning in June of this year (1960), along with the conservation of a few half-conserved leaves that Ibscher Sr. had at first put to one side as too difficult, doubtlessly correctly, for it has to do usually with double or triple leaves.

. . . die letzten 20 Blätter des Berliner Kephalaiabuches . . . wurden von Rolf Ibscher in den Jahren 1952 und 1953 konserviert. Die dringend notwendige Umglasung aller von Hugo Ibscher verglasten und 1958 nach Berlin zurückgekehrten Stücke hat Rolf Ibscher seit Juni dieses Jahres (1960) in Angriff genommen, ebenso die Konservierung einiger halbkonservierter Blätter, die Ibscher sen. zunächst—sicher mit Recht, handelt es sich doch dabei meist um Zwillings- oder Drillingsblätter—als zu schwierig beiseite gelegt hatte.

Rolf Ibscher reported as follows in 1964–1965 on the final conservation of this material and on the reglassing of the material returned from Leningrad:[8]

[p. 52] The remains of the Berlin *Kephalaia* had escaped destruction by being stored in my house after 1945. The degree of difficulty in conserving them, which I overcame between 1951 and 1955, was worse than that which the Chester Beatty papyri displayed. Unfortunately a marvellous leaf, after being separated [from the book block], was lost, completely atomized. I had to sneeze, but could not turn away with lightening speed—and all had disappeared without a trace.

[p. 62] One has to do here with the reglassing of the *Kephalaia*. More than half has been accomplished . . . [p. 63] After the

[p. 52] Der Schwierigkeitsgrad der Konservierung für die Reste der Berliner Kephalaia, die der Vernichtung durch die Aufbewahrung in meinem Hause nach 1945 entgangen waren und die ich zwischen 1951 und 1955 bewaltigte, war schlimmer als ihn die Chester Beatty-Papyri aufwiesen. Leider ging mir ein wundervolles Blatt nach seiner Ablösung restlos atomisiert verloren. Ich musste niesen, konnte mich nicht blitzschnell abwenden—und alles war spurlos verschwunden.—

[p. 62] Es geht da um die Umglasung der Kephalaia. Sie ist über die Hälfte gediehen . . . [p. 63] Nach den Kephalaia

8. Rolf Ibscher, "Über den Stand," 52, 62, 63.

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Kephalaia, groups of the codices Nr. 15[9]95, 15[9]97 and 15[9]98 still must be reglassed, along with a sizable number of leaves separated last, quite provisionally, by my father, with an entry on the paper cover that protected them which really creates puzzles: "from the codex B," i.e. then Chester Beatty [*Synaxeis*] or ?—and with the addition put in parentheses "*Letters*," i.e. then again Codex Nr. 15[9]98. What is one to make of that? But there is also among these leaves one with the number 361. To what does this belong?

müssen noch Gruppen der Codices Nr. 15[9]95, 15[9]97 und 15[9]98 umgeglast werden, sowie eine stattliche Anzahl zuletzt ganz provisorisch von meinem Vater abgelöster Blätter mit einer wahrlich Rätsel schaffenden Eintragung auf der sie bergenden Papierhülle: "aus dem Codex B", d.h. also Chester Beatty oder ? und mit dem in Klammern gesetzten Zusatz "Briefe", d.h. dann wieder Codex Nr. 15[9]98. Was soll das? Aber auch unter diesen Blättern ist eines mit der Nummer 361. Wozu gehört dieses?

Ibscher's situation with regard to the material in East Berlin was rendered all the more serious by the departure for Tübingen in 1963 of Alexander Böhlig, the scholar commissioned to edit the material; Böhlig hence terminated his involvement:[9]

[p. 54] And even Alexander Böhlig suddenly bailed out, when the resolution [of the twenty-fifth International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow in August 1960 favoring the publication of the Manichaica], with its confidently sounding tone, remained unnoted on all sides, and turned to a new illustrious task, possibly more suited to him.

Und gar Alexander Böhlig sprang plötzlich ab, als die Resolution [of the twenty-fifth International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow in August 1960 favoring the publication of the Manichaica] mit ihrem zuversichtlich stimmenden Klange allenthalben unbeachtet blieb und wandte sich einer neuen möglicherweise ihm mehr gemässen illustren Aufgabe zu.

In Rolf Ibscher's last article of 1965 he described his reconservation experience:[10]

10. Ibscher, "Mani und kein Ende," 221–22.

9. Rolf Ibscher, "Über den Stand," 54.

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The difficulties that emerge in reglassing vary, just as in separating off individual leaves from the book blocks. But here no "inclined plane" helps, my method for simplifying the separating of leaves, over against the procedure used by my father, this discovery of mine in the last moment before failure, thanks to desperation and the grace of the moment, or of luck. What would a restorer be when confronted with the unusual, the unique object, in the right moment, *en kairo*, without the igniting spark of genius! To sense this magical impulse in all creative realms and vocations would be worth a carefully interpretive investigation!

But the inflexible glass required extreme care in disengaging the leaves from the panes, which split the papyrus layers that lie at right angles to each other. The fixing down of the fragment parts also naturally called for great effort after reglassing. The slightest unevenness in the glass causes bad slippage when taping the edges, and often the glass plates must be reopened two or three times, even in the case of the old smooth glasses that my father had tested. Even in my father's time that happened often enough. Then if the material lies for a while, it settles down on its own.

Probably, after this first basic total reglassing, one has the assurance that now, with correct, consistently climatized storing of the restored discovery, no new

Die Schwierigkeiten, die sich bei einer Umglasung ergeben, variieren, genau wie beim Ablösen der einzelnen Blätter von den Buchblöcken. Hier hilft aber keine "Schiefe Ebene," meine Erleichterungsmethode des Ablösens, gegenüber dem von meinem Vater geübten Verfahren, diese meine Erfindung in letzter Minute vor dem Scheitern aus Verzweiflung und Gnade des Augenblicks oder Glücks. Was wäre ein Restaurator vor dem seltenen einmaligen Objekt im rechten Augenblick *en kairo* ohne den zündenden Funken des Genius. Diesem magischen Impuls in allen schöpferischen Bereichen und Berufen nachzuspüren wäre schon wert einer vorsichtig deutenden Untersuchung!

Das unflexible Glas aber verlangt äusserste Vorsicht beim Ablösen der Blätter von den mitunter die kreuzweisen Papyruslagen spaltenden Scheiben. Grosse Mühe bereitet natürlich auch nach dem Umglasen das Festigen von Fragmentteilen. Die geringste Unebenheit im Glas verursacht böses Verrutschen beim Rändeln, und oft müssen selbst bei den alten planen Gläsern, die mein Vater erprobt hatte, die Glasplatten zwei- und dreimal nochmals geöffnet werden. Auch zu meines Vaters Zeit kam das oft genug vor. Liegt das Material dann erst eine Weile, so beruhigt es sich ganz von selbst.

Wahrscheinlich wird nach dieser ersten grundlegenden totalen Umglasung die Gewähr bestehen, dass nun bei richtiger, konsequent wohltemperierter Lagerung des restaurierten Fundes keine neuen

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condensations will occur between the glass panes.

[p. 222] The Berlin part of the discovery, with the exception of the codex that is in West Berlin, has been for some time undergoing reglassing, and, if no new illness puts me out of action, should be completed by the fall of 1966. A remainder of provisionally rescued material that my father had separated off last and that is still in the first stage of conservation should then follow. Dr. Dr. Nagel of the Institut für Byzantinistik in Halle, successor to Böhlig, has taken over the still unread leaves energetically and with devoted care and love. Also this deserves to be mentioned, that the important problem of the photographability is in the process of being well solved thanks to his tireless activity.

Kondensationen zwischen den Gläsern auftreten werden.

[p. 222] Der Berliner Fundanteil, mit Ausnahme des in Westdeutschland befindlichen Codex, wird seit geraumer Zeit umgeglast und dürfte, wenn keine neue Erkrankung mich ausser Gefecht setzt, bis Herbst 1966 abgeschlossen sein. Ein Rest provisorisch gesicherten Materials, das mein Vater zuletzt ablöste und das sich noch im ersten Stadium der Konservierung befindet, soll dann folgen. Der noch ungelesenen Blätter nimmt sich Dr. D. Nagel vom Institut für Byzantinistik in Halle in Nachfolge von Böhlig tatkräftig, mit hingebender Umsicht und Liebe an. Auch das verdient genannt zu werden, dass das wichtige Problem der Fotografierbarkeit dank seiner unermüdlichen Tatkraft auf dem besten Wege ist gelöst zu werden.

Wolfgang Müller's obituary for Rolf Ibscher reported his death on February 5, 1967, with the following relevant information:[11]

Chosen by the world-renowned "papyrus doctor," Hugo Ibscher, to be his successor, the graduate of the humanistic gymnasium in Berlin-Charlottenburg in 1928 began the study of classical philology at the University of Berlin, which he completed in 1938, after an interruption and temporary activity as assistant restorer in the Papyrus Collection, with graduation in Munich. Again apprentice years followed, in which Rolf

Vom weltbekannten "Papyrusdoktor" Hugo Ibscher zu seinem Nachfolger bestimmt, begann der Abiturient des humanistischen Gymnasiums in Berlin-Charlottenburg 1928 das Studium der klassischen Philologie an der Universität zu Berlin, das er nach Unterbrechung und zeitweiliger Tätigkeit als Hilfsrestaurator in der Papyrus-Sammlung 1938 in München mit der Promotion abschloss. Wieder folgten

11. Müller, "In memoriam Rolf Ibsicher," 207.

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Ibscher, under the critical eyes of his father, gained the technical assurance of all stages of the work, until he accredited himself more and more after the Second World War with significant achievements of his own, as a conservator of international stature in his own right. Thus he succeeded largely in completing the conservation of the famous Coptic papyrus codices with Manichaean texts in Berlin and Dublin, whose restoration had been interrupted by the death of his father in 1943 . . .

Lehrjahre, in denen Rolf Ibscher unter den kritischen Augen des Vaters die technische Sicherheit aller Arbeitsgänge erwarb, bis er sich in zunehmendem Masse nach dem zweiten Weltkriege mit bedeutenden eigenen Leistungen als selbständiger Konservator von internationalem Rang erwies. So gelang es ihm, die Konservierung der berühmten koptischen Papyruscodices mit manichäischen Texten in Berlin und Dublin, deren Wiederherstellung durch den Tod des Vaters 1943 unterbrochen war, weitgehend zu vollenden . . .

Otto Werner Luke, Rolf Ibscher's assistant, completed the reconservation of the *Kephalaia* after Ibscher's death:[12]

He could not complete the work by the time of his death, so that the continuation was entrusted to me. [p. 152] Ca. 70 leaves still had to be freed of the milky film and reconserved.

The difficult technical procedure should be briefly described. The individual papyrus leaves lie, as has been already mentioned, between glass panes that a strip on the edges holds together. This has first to be cut open on three sides, in order to lift up one of the glass panes. Here it became clear that the fine papyrus material in many cases, as a result of the early handling with laquer, was so firmly stuck to the glass panes that it could be separated off only with the greatest care with a spatula.

Er konnte die Arbeit bis zu seinem Tode nicht vollenden, so dass mir die Weiterführung anvertraut wurde. Es mussten [p. 152] noch ca. 70 Blätter von der milchigen Eintrübung befreit und umgebettet werden.

Der schwierige technische Vorgang soll in Kürze dargestellt werden. Die einzelnen Papyrusblätter liegen, wie erwähnt, zwischen Glasplatten, die ein Randstreifen zusammenhält. Dieser muss zunächst an drei Seiten aufgeschnitten werden, um eine der Glasplatten anheben zu können. Dabei stellte es sich heraus, dass das feine Papyrusmaterial in vielen Fällen infolge der früheren Behandlung mit Lack an den Gläsern so fest haftete, dass es nur

12. Luke, "Die Umkonservierung," 151–52.

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This had to be done with full concentration, since the papyrus came loose only centimeter by centimeter and the work on one side often called for hours of work. Any careless movement of the hand endangered the object, since the papyrus fiber is so fine that it can be rubbed into powder without difficulty.

The papyrus loosened from a glass plate was, in order to prevent new sticking, covered with parchment paper and a pane of glass. In this way it was possible to turn the leaf on this firm foundation and to work on the second side in the same way. Finally the papyrus, now lying between parchment paper, was taken from the glass plates, which were to undergo a basic cleansing. The papyrus preserved between the parchment paper, by reversing the work procedure, again comes between the glass plates, that then were attached anew. The strips used here then received, to make them hold better, a stroke of color and lacquer.

The papyrus itself is held only by means of the pressure of the glass panes. No adhesive may come into contact with the fine papyrus material. Whereas an individual complete papyrus leaf is held in its position well by the pressure, the holding in place of fragments is especially difficult, since with the slightest unevenness in the glass and any shaking, it can slide and be destroyed. For this reason, the completed plates

unter grösster Vorsicht mit einem Spachtel abzuheben war. Dies musste mit aller Konzentration geschehen, da der Papyrus nur zentimeterweise sich löste und die Arbeit an einer Seite oft Stunden in Anspruch nahm. Jede unvorsichtige Handbewegung gefährdete das Objekt, da die Papyrusfaser so fein ist, dass sie sich ohne Schwierigkeit zu Pulver verreiben lässt.

Der von einer Glasplatte gelöste Papyrus wurde, um erneutes Ankleben zu verhüten, mit Pergaminpapier und einer Glasscheibe bedeckt. Damit war es möglich, das Blatt auf dieser festen Unterlage zu wenden und die zweite Seite auf gleiche Weise zu bearbeiten. Schliesslich wurde der Papyrus, jetzt zwischen Pergaminpapier liegend, von den Glasplatten genommen, die einer gründlichen Reinigung zu unterziehen waren. Der zwischen dem Pergaminpapier aufbewahrte Papyrus gelangte durch Umkehrung des Arbeitsvorganges wieder zwischen die Glasplatten, die dann neu verklebt wurden. Die hierbei verwendeten Streifen erhielten anschliessend zur besseren Haltbarkeit einen Farb- und Lackanstrich.

Der Papyrus selbst wird nur durch den Druck der Glasplatten gehalten, irgendwelche Klebstoffe dürfen mit dem feinen Papyrusmaterial nicht in Berührung kommen. Während ein einzelnes vollständiges Papyrusblatt durch den Druck gut in seiner Lage gehalten wird, gestaltet sich die Festlegung von Fragmenten besonders schwierig, da sie durch die geringsten Unebenheiten im Glas

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are stored in boxes horizontally. Thus the reconservation of the *Kephalaia* codex is completed, which is to be hoped will prevent a new cloudiness on the papyrus material.

und durch Erschütterungen verrutschen und zerstört werden können. Aus diesem Grunde werden die fertigen Platten horizontal in Kästen aufbewahrt. Damit ist die Umkonservierung des Kephalaia-Kodex abgeschlossen, die hoffentlich eine Neueintrübung des Papyrusmaterials verhindern wird.

Plans for Peter Nagel to complete the editing of the *Kephalaia* were not realized, and Rolf Ibscher died without a scholar as colleague to guide him.

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— 7 —

The Conservation of the Material in Schondorf/Göttingen/West Berlin

In 1954 Rolf Ibscher described as follows his work on the codex then in Schondorf:[1]

[p. 6] On the trip home [from London in December 1951], prevented by fog from continuing the flight, I began in Schondorf on Ammer Lake with the work of separating the leaves of the Berlin manuscript that contains the letters of Mani. This work I continued in May 1952 before flying on to Berlin, and did about 20 leaves . . .

[p. 10] In October and November 1952, on the trip home from London, I continued my work on the Berlin manuscript in Bavaria, and could remove 20 more leaves. Hence, together with the leaves separated there in the spring, there are now in all 40 legible leaves, which I impregnated in the fall of 1953.

[p. 6] Auf der Heimreise [from London in December 1951], durch Nebel am Weiterflug behindert begann ich in Schondorf am Ammersee mit der Blätterablösungsarbeit der Berliner Handschrift, die die Briefe Manis enthält. Diese Arbeit setzte ich im Mai 1952 vor dem Weiterflug nach London fort und schaffte rund 20 Blatt . . .

[p. 10] Im Oktober und November 1952 setzte ich auf der Rückreise von London meine Arbeit an der Berliner Handschrift in Bayern fort und konnte weitere 20 Blätter abheben. Zusammen mit den im Frühjahr dort abgelösten Blättern liegen jetzt also insgesamt dort 40 lesbare Blätter vor, die ich im Herbst 1953 imprägnierte.

1. Rolf Ibscher, "Wiederaufnahme," 6, 10.

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In 1955 Rolf Ibscher gave a much fuller report on his work up to that time:[2]

[p.3] At Christmastime 1951, returning from London and delayed at the airport by fog that lasted for days, I could inform myself there right away thoroughly about the condition of the Berlin manuscript, which I had not seen since 1944. I used the time to separate a few leaves by way of experiment, after my hands had become unusually sensitive in their touch for beginning a new manuscript through the work in London that had gone on for weeks . . .

[p. 5] Since the Schondorf manuscript certainly must be photographed, in hopes that the faded traces of writing may possibly stand out better from the dark papyrus background, one must either use plexiglass also in Germany for our Mani leaves, or distance oneself from definitive glassing until the photography problem that has been initiated has been solved. But I must here too insist that finally this intermediate task reach a conclusion, since it is now time, in the case of the leaves that I separated in 1952 and 1953 and in part already impregnated, that they [p. 6] can be sealed off hermetically from atmospheric influences. The problem could have been solved if the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, which took over the financial supervision of the Schondorf manuscript, had followed my recommendations . . .

[p. 3] In den Weihnachtstagen 1951, von London kommend und durch tagelang anhaltenden Nebel am Heimflug verhindert, konnte ich mich dort gleich über den Erhaltungszustand der Berliner Handschrift eingehend informieren, die ich seit 1944 nicht mehr gesehen hatte, und nutzte die Zeit, einige Blätter probeweise abzulösen, nachdem die Hände durch die wochenlange Arbeit in London für den Beginn an einer neuen Handschrift ausserordentlich fühlfähig geworden waren . . .

[p. 5] Da die Schondorfer Handschrift unbedingt fotografiert werden muss, in der Hoffnung, dass die verblassten Schriftzüge eventuell besser aus dem dunklen Papyrushintergrund hervortreten, so müsste man entweder auch Plexiglas in Deutschland für unsere Maniblätter verwenden oder solange vom definitiven Verglasen Abstand nehmen, bis das in Angriff genommene fotografische Problem gelöst worden ist. Aber ich muss auch hier darauf dringen, dass endlich diese Zwischenaufgabe zum Abschluss gelangt, da es nun für die Blätter, die ich 1952 und 1953 ablöste und zum Teil schon imprägnierte, Zeit wird, dass sie hermetisch gegen atmosphärische Einflüsse abgeschlossen werden [p. 6] können. Das Problem hätte gelöst sein können, wenn man seitens der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft, die finanzielle Betreuung der Schondorfer Handschrift übernahm, meine Ratschläge befolgt hätte . . .

2. Rolf Ibscher, "Das Konservierungswerk," 3, 5, 7–11.

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Since in those days, after the currency reform and the establishing of two governmental systems in Germany, the financing of such a massive work, extending over years across zone frontiers, would have to strike upon insurpassable difficulties from Berlin, especially since in Berlin one had serious reservations about the task of the Manichaean conservation, I was most deeply grateful that a personal acquaintance with a person of broad connections, whom I had often seen in Berlin in the house of his son-in-law, Prof. Schellenberg, and who would have been glad to transplant me to West Germany, brought to the Mani undertaking insightful aid. It was Professor Geiler, formerly the minister president of Hesse after the collapse, and rector of Heidelberg University and temporary president of the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*. His point of departure was the correct insight that this work should not be in arrears behind the work called to life by Sir Chester Beatty in London. When I came from London shortly before Christmas in 1951, he invited me to him in Heidelberg and promised me to mediate the help of the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*. A clear-headed spirit seemed to radiate over the Mani enterprise that was getting moving also on German soil. Overjoyed, I travelled to Berlin. Since the president of the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin, Professor Stroux, recognized the same necessity not to

Da in jenen Tagen nach der Währungsreform und der Etablierung zweier Regierungssysteme in Deutschland die Finanzierung einer solchen umfangreichen über Jahre sich erstreckenden Arbeit über Zonengrenzen hinweg von Berlin aus auf unüberbrückbare Schwierigkeiten stossen musste, zumal man in Berlin der Manichäischen Konservierungsaufgabe noch reichlich fremd gegenüberstand, war ich zutiefst dankbar, dass eine persönliche Bekanntschaft mit einem Manne von weitreichenden Beziehungen, den ich im Hause seines Schwiegersohnes, Prof. Schellenberg, in Berlin des öfteren gesehen hatte und der mich gern nach Westdeutschland verpflanzt hätte, dem Maniunternehmen eine [ein]sichtige Hilfe zuführte. Es war Professor Geiler, der frühere Ministerpräsident von Hessen nach dem Zusammenbruch und Rektor der Heidelberger Universität und zeitweilige Präsident der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft. Er ging von der richtigen Erkenntnis aus, dass diese Arbeit nicht im Rückstand hinter der von Sir Chester Beatty ins Leben gerufenen Arbeit in London bleiben dürfte. Als ich von London kurz vor Weihnachten 1951 kam, lud er mich zu sich nach Heidelberg und versprach mir, die Hilfe der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft zu vermitteln. Ein lichter Geist schien über dem nun auch auf deutschem Boden in Gang kommenden Maniunternehmen zu erstrahlen. Beglückt fuhr ich nach Berlin. Da der Präsident der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Herr Professor Stroux, die gleiche Notwendigkeit erkannte, die

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leave to its own fate the Berlin manuscript and, in view of the creeping inner disintegration, not to let the rescue become illusory, I laid hold thankfully of the help that was actually coming forward, but which could become effective first in the fall of 1953, just at the moment when special difficulties blocked for me the way from Schondorf to London.

[p. 7] But for the work in Bavaria a temporary contract was created, as it had been arranged for my stays in England on the part of Sir Chester Beatty. But it must be decidedly brought to expression that the material reimbursement of this exceptional work by Sir Chester Beatty shows that he had a much greater esteem for the performance of the conservator.

In order not to let the time until this help came into force go by unused, I had to finance the work in Schondorf on the Berlin Mani manuscript in 1952 by my own means. In union with the generous help by my nearest relatives, the publisher Wolf H. Döring and my brother-in-law, the co-publisher Ernst Günther Vockrodt, who immediately introduced first steps for solving the photographical problem by means of Perutz and later Agfa-Leverkusen and Prof. Hellwich of Darmstadt, and himself undertook experiments, it succeeded that prior to my second trip to London and immediately thereafter for weeks on end I found free asylum in Schondorf and could work undisturbed.

Berliner Handschrift nicht sich selbst zu überlassen und bei dem inneren schleichenden Verfall die Rettung nicht illusorisch werden zu lassen, griff ich die tatsächlich erfolgende Hilfe, die aber erst im Herbst 1953 wirksam werden konnte, dankbar auf, just in dem Moment, als besondere Schwierigkeiten mir den Weg von Schondorf aus nach London blockierten.

[p. 7] Für die Arbeit in Bayern aber wurde ein temporäres Vertragsverhältnis geschaffen, wie es für meine Aufenthalte in England seitens Sir Chester Beatty eingerichtet wurde. Es muss aber entschieden zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, dass die materielle Vergütung dieser aussergewöhnlichen Arbeit durch Sir Chester Beatty zeigt, dass er eine weitaus grössere Hochachtung vor der Leistung des Konservators hat.

Um die Zeit aber bis zum Inkrafttreten dieser Hilfe nicht ungenutzt verstreichen zu lassen, musste ich die Arbeit in Schondorf an der Berliner Manihandschrift 1952 noch aus eigenen Mitteln finanzieren. Im Verein mit der grosszügigen Hilfe durch meine nächsten Verwandten, den Verleger Wolf H. Döring und meinen Schwager, den Mitverleger Ernst Günther Vockrodt, der sofort erste Schritte für die Lösung des fotografischen Problems über Perutz und später über Agfa-Leverkusen und Prof. Hellwich-Darmstadt einleitete und selbst Versuche anstellte, gelang es, dass ich vor meiner zweiten Reise nach London und unmittelbar danach wochenlang ein gastfreies Asyl in Schondorf fand und ungestört arbeiten konnte.

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By this time 84 leaves of the Schondorf Mani manuscript, which contain, at least in large parts of the outer strata, the corpus of letters of Mani to his heads of congregations, have now been detached and provisionally laid between protective paper and glass. The first 6 leaves, which my father before the war had loosened as an experiment, were identified by C. Schmidt as letters of Mani. An examination of the leaves that I disengaged in 1952 was carried out by Böhlig, who came to the same result. The kernel or inner strata of the manuscript seem however parts of a still unknown manuscript. And it will have to do here with the same case as with the Chester Beatty manuscript, Codex C.

In this manuscript too I will proceed according to the proven London method of working: It has in view that all leaves are loosened with one effort, but that, in between, the work on the individual leaves takes place. That means that for each individual leaf there must repeatedly be undertaken a sort of reading to correct the fibers. Especially [p.8] the texts must be searched again and again for remaining splinters of fibers and small chips of papyrus, and entangled fibers straightened out.

After these proceedures, the impregnating of the leaves can then be begun. It will be, and remain, the same proven procedure of my father, as I applied already in Berlin and on a series of Schondorf leaves. It has to do with

Bisher liegen nunmehr 84 Blätter der Schondorfer Manihandschrift, die zumindest in weiten Partien der Aussenlagen das Briefcorpus Manis an seine Gemeindeoberhäupter enthält, abgelöst und provisorisch zwischen Schutzpapier und Glas gelegt, vor. Die ersten 6 Blätter, die mein Vater vor dem Kriege probeweise abgelöst hatte, waren von C. Schmidt als Briefe Manis identifiziert worden. Eine Überprüfung der Blätter, die ich 1952 ablöste, erfolgte durch Böhlig, der zu gleichem Resultat kam. Der Kern oder Innenlagen der Handschrift scheinen aber Teile einer noch unbekannten Handschrift zu sein. Und es wird hier ein gleicher Fall vorliegen wie bei der Chester Beatty Handschrift, Codex C.

Auch bei dieser Handschrift werde ich nach dem bewährten Londoner Arbeitsprinzip vorgehen: Es sieht vor, dass alle Blätter in einem Zuge abgelöst werden; dass zwischendurch aber die Arbeit an den einzelnen Blättern erfolgt. Das heisst, wiederholt muss bei jedem einzelnen Blatt eine Art Faserkorrekturlesung vorgenommen werden. Speziell [p. 8] die Texte müssen immer erneut nach restlichen Fasersplittern und kleinen Papyrusabsprengseln abgesucht und verworrene Fasern gestreckt werden.

Nach diesen Arbeitsvorgängen kann dann mit dem Imprägnieren der Blätter begonnen werden. Es wird das gleiche bewährte Verfahren meines Vaters sein und bleiben, wie ich es schon in Berlin und an einer Reihe Schondorfer Blätter anwandte. Es handelt sich um das Besprühen

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spraying the leaves with a weak solution of zapon lacquer.

The London fixative, recommended by Dr. Plenderleith, did not pan out, since it made the papyrus too dark. It effected exactly what in London was said of the use of zapon lacquer, but does not correspond to the facts. For all the leaves handled in this way by my father more than 20 years ago show no darkening, whereas the new fixative indeed consolidates excellently, but develops traits of tanning and darkening the papyrus.

Furthermore it is my wish and will that the photographic problem be solved before the definitive glassing, since photographing through glass, except for plexiglas, is a dubious thing.

Now if all attempts fail, then I hope that the Beuron Palimpsest Institute knows a solution. Since my brother-in-law as a specialist in photography is very interested in this problem, and knows all previous results of the attempts at Perutz and Agfa-Leverkusen, it will be necessary that as soon as possible he goes with me to Beuron, so that, through his professional information, unnecessary attempts are avoided.

Also, in the section of work before the definitive glassing, there belongs the exact determination of the individual quires in the manuscripts. It reassures me to read in the introductions to the [p. 9] individual editions, especially to the "Manichaean Homilies," what efforts and how much time this

der Blätter mit einer schwachen Lösung von Zaponlack.

Das Londoner Fixativ, von Dr. Plenderleith empfohlen, hat sich nicht bewährt, indem es den Papyrus zu sehr dunkel machte. Es hat genau das bewirkt, was in London der Verwendung von Zaponlack nachgesagt wurde, aber nicht den Tatsachen entspricht; denn alle vor über 20 Jahren in dieser Weise von meinem Vater behandelten Blätter zeigen keine Nachdunklung, indessen das neue Fixativ zwar ausgezeichnet festigende, aber zu stark gerbende und den Papyrus dunkel färbende Eigenschaften entwickelt.

Ferner ist es mein Wunsch und Wille, dass das fotografische Problem vor dem definitiven Verglasen gelöst wird, da das Fotografieren durch Glas, ausgenommen bei Plexiglas oder Perspexglas, ein missliches Ding ist.

Sollten alle Versuche jetzt scheitern, so hoffe ich, dass das Beuroner Palimpzest-Institut vielleicht eine Hilfe kennt. Da mein Schwager als Fotofachmann an der Lösung dieses Problems sehr interessiert ist und alle bisherigen Resultate der Versuche bei Perutz und Agfa-Leverkusen kennt, wird es nötig sein, dass er mit mir, sobald als möglich, nach Beuron geht, um dort durch seine fachmännischen Informationen zu verhindern, dass unnötige Versuchsreihen angestellt werden.

Ebenfalls in den Arbeitsabschnitt vor dem definitiven Verglasen gehört die exakte Feststellung der einzelnen Buchlagen in den Handschriften. Es beruhigt mich, in den Einleitungen zu den [p. 9] einzelnen Editionen, speziell den "Manichäischen Homilien," zu lesen, welche Mühen und welche Zeit meinem Vater diese Ordnung der Blätter

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arranging of the leaves has cost my father. For it becomes apparent that, as a result of the mixing up by the dealers, and especially also by the owners of this small Manichaean library, losses within the seequence of leaves have taken place. But since the fibers, often due to the high degree of loss and decay of key fibers decisive for determining by the eye, often do not provide an irreproachable guide, the identification of double leaves that belong together, out of which the quires consis, is made very difficult and often is put in question.

All such newly emerging problems, within a work procedure that is new for me, must hold me up and bring delays in estimates of time unexpectedly and unavoidably. One must accept them, and only be glad that my new technique for separating leaves . . . shortens amazingly this difficult and very awkward procedure, while at the same time providing a more certain guarantee of being able to lift off leaves in a whole piece that previously could not be removed at all, or survived this new birth only in fragments. All other techniques cannot be speeded up on tempo. They need their time.

It would be a further important help if also, before the final putting under glass, the person working on the text stood by my side, in the same way that this immeasurable help stood by my father already at the beginning of the conservation task by

gekostet hat. Denn es zeigt sich, dass infolge der Vertauschungen durch die Händler und besonders auch durch den Eigentümer dieser manichäischen Handbibliothek innerhalb der Blätterfolge Verluste eingetreten sind. Dadurch aber, dass die Fasern oft bei dem hochgradigen Ausfall und Verfall entscheidender Leitfasern für die Bestimmung durch das Auge oft keine einwandfreie Handhabe bieten, wird die Identifizierung zusammengehöriger Doppelblätter, aus denen die Buchlagen bestehen, sehr erschwert und oft in Frage gestellt.

Alle solche innerhalb eines für mich neuartigen Arbeitsprozesses neu auftretenden Probleme halten auf und bringen Zeittermine für veranschlagte Teilabschnitte unvermutet und unvermeidbar ins Gleiten. Man muss sie hinnehmen, und kann nur froh sein, dass meine neuartige Ablösetechnik . . . gerade diesen schwierigen und sehr heiklen Vorgang erstaunlich verkürzt und zugleich relativ doch eine sicherere Gewähr bietet, auch Blätter in einem Stück abzuheben, die früher garnicht ablösbar waren oder nur fragmentarisiert diese Neugeburt überstanden. Alle anderen Vorgänge können nicht im Tempo beschleunigt werden. Sie brauchen ihre Zeit.

Eine weitere wichtige Hilfe wäre es, wenn gleichfalls vor dem definitiven Verglasen mir in gleicher Weise der Textbearbeiter zur Seite stande, wie diese unschätzbare Hilfe meinem Vater schon zu Beginn der Konservierungsaufgabe durch

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Schmidt and Polotsky, and later by Schmidt, Allberry and Böhlig.

This collaboration achieved, that really every fragment is proven by the text as to its correct placement and that overlooked fiber inexactitudes, which could seriously distort the text, are eliminated with the highest possible probability.

Unfortuanteley these legitimate wishes, which after all had as their goal the reestablishment of the really proven method of teamwork during the lifetime [p. 10] of my Father, led to incomprehensible tensions with the Deutsche Forshungsgemeinschaft.

The hope that with the departure of the curator of the Mani undertaking, Prof. Scheel, and under the new Curator, Prof. Hengstenberg, who is an expert aware of the goal, is not yet really fulfilled, since also over against this area of research he stands too unfamiliar and new.

After a fully absurd and unnecessary time-consuming episode which finally, in addition, ended quite unpleasantly, since, on bad advice, instead of Prof. Böhlig, as proven editor for 9 years from 1934 to 1943, one entrusted an absolute beginner [Rudnitzki] with the deciphering and reading of these difficult texts, who, in a grotesque way, also still had to give an evaluation, upon which the further financing of the work was to be made dependent, where of course nothing came of it other than an invalid false judgment, since he thus far had no experi-

Schmidt-Polotsky und später durch Schmidt, Allberry und Böhlig dauernd zur Verfügung gestanden hat.

Diese Zusammenarbeit gewährleistet, dass wirklich ein jedes Fragment auch vom Text überprüft auf seine richtige Anordnung am richtigen Platz untergebracht werden kann und dass übersehene Faserungenauigkeiten, die das Textbild empfindlich entstellen können, mit grösstmöglicher Wahr-scheinlichkeit ausgeschaltet werden.

Leider führten diese berechtigten Wünsche, die doch nur die Neuetablierung der wirklich bewährten Arbeitsteammethode zu Lebzeiten [p. 10] meines Vaters zum Ziel hatten, zu unbegreiflichen Spannungen mit der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft.

Die Hoffnung, dass mit dem Ausscheiden des Kurators des Maniunternehmens, Professor Scheel, unter dem neuen Kurator, Professor Hengstenberg, ein zielbewusster Fachmann mir zur Seite träte, will sich bisher nicht recht erfüllen, da auch er diesem Arbeitsbereich zu fremd und neu gegenübersteht.

Nach einer völlig absurden und unnötigen, Zeit vergeudenden und schliesslich obendrein noch unerquicklich verlaufenden Episode, weil man schlecht beraten anstelle von Professor Böhlig, als bewährtem Editor über 9 Jahre von 1934 bis 1943, einen absoluten Anfänger [Rudnitzki] mit dem Entziffern und Lesen dieser schwierigen Texte betraute, der grotesker Weise auch noch ein Werturteil zu fällen hatte, wovon die weitere Arbeitsfinanzierung abhängig gemacht werden sollte, wobei natürlich nichts dabei herauskam als ein unmassgebliches Fehlurteil, da er noch keine Erfahrung mit Papyrusoriginalen hatte

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ence with papyrus originals and stood there completely helpless and unprepared. After checking with Böhlig and the Vice-President of the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin, Prof. Steinitz, I now received the agreement that Böhlig could be put immediately at my side at Berlin's expense. I made this information known without delay to the German Forschungsgemeinschaft, so that it can hence make contact with the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin to the extent it was really serious with the view that this undertaking advance "promptly and continually," which last year it had called for precisely regarding my period of work in Bavaria.

The German Academy of Sciences has taken this desire into account in that they arranged my employment so that I was to devote myself completely to working up this scattered discovery.

The German Academy of Sciences, the work on the text, at first deferred for lack of funds [p. 11] could now, as is desirable, take place at the same time, which provided a firm assurance that the work of conservation could, not only one-sidedly on the more technical side, reach completion in the foreseeable future.

Now it will become clear whether the bright spirit of Prof. Geiler, under whom the great work was initiated, will hopefully give its renewed blessing to the task.

A rejection would be incomprehensible; it would find the

und gänzlich hilflos und unvorbereitet dastand, habe ich nach Rücksprache mit Böhlig und dem Vizepräsidenten der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Professor Steinitz, nun die Zusage erhalten, dass Böhlig sofort mir auf Kosten Berlins zur Seite gestellt werden kann; ich gab diese Mitteilung unverzüglich der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft bekannt, damit sie deswegen mit der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin Fühlung nehmen kann, sofern es ihr wirklich ernst damit ist, dass dies Unternehmen "zügig und kontinuierlich" vorankommt, was sie im vorigen Jahr gerade hinsichtlich meiner Arbeitsaufenthalte in Bayern gefordert hatte.

Die Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften hat diesem Wunsch Rechnung getragen, indem sie mein Arbeitsverhältnis so regelte, dass ich weitgehend mich der Aufarbeitung dieses verstreut liegenden Fundes ausschliesslich widmen sollte.

Durch das Angebot der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften würde die von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft aus Geldmangel vorerst [p. 11] zurückgestellte Textbearbeitung, nunmehr, wie es wünschenswert ist, gleichzeitig erfolgen können, was eine sichere Gewähr gäbe, das das Konservierungswerk nicht nur einseitig nach der mehr technischen Seite hin zur Vollendung in absehbarer Zeit gelangen könnte.

Es wird sich jetzt zeigen, ob der lichte Geist Prof. Geilers, unter dem das grosse Werk eingeleitet wurde,

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disapproval of all scholars who again take inner satisfaction at the progress and success, and would bring a storm of resentment.

But the work in Schondorf had develooped well in terms of work, especially since it is possible from this year on, thanks to the agreement of the German Academy of Sciences of Berlin, for me to work in Schondorf for longer periods of time. Such work on material this obstinate requires very extended work periods, especially what the eye has to perform, is dependent very much also on good weather, since artificial light overworks the eyes too much, and not least of all from the absolute reliability and relaxation of the hands.

But after the conclusion of the conservation of Sir Chester Beatty's Manichaica, the main effort will automatically go to the Schondorf manuscript, to the extent that a surprising return to London or Dublin of the three Berlin codices that wandered to Russia and of Codex B from the possession of Sir Chester Beatty not create a new turning point.

hoffnungsvoll erneut der Aufgabe seinen Segen spenden wird.

Eine Zurückweisung wäre unverständlich und würde die Missbilligung aller Wissenschaftler finden, die an dem Fortgang und Gelingen nun wieder innigen Anteil nehmen, und müsste einen Sturm der Entrüstung heraufbeschwören.

Die Arbeit in Schondorf aber hat sich arbeitsmässig gut eingespielt, besonders, nachdem es mir nun seit diesem Jahr auch möglich ist, dank dem Entgegenkommen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin in längeren Zeitabschnitten in Schondorf zu arbeiten. Eine solche Arbeit an derartig aufsässigem Material bedarf durchaus ausgedehnterer Arbeitsfolgen, zumal sie auch, besonders was das Auge dabei zu leisten hat, sehr von der Gunst des Wetters abhängig ist, da künstliches Licht zu sehr die Augen überanstrengt, und nicht zuletzt von der absoluten Sicherheit und Ruhe der Hände.

Nach dem Abschluss der Konservierung der Sir Chester Beatty Manichaika aber wird automatisch der Hauptakzent auf die Schondorfer Handschrift übergehen, sofern nicht eine überraschende Rückkehr der drei nach Russland gewanderten Berliner Codices und von Codex B aus dem Besitze von Sir Chester Beatty nach London oder Dublin eine neue Wende schafft.

The current status of papyrus conservation theory indicates a reversal of Rolf Ibscher's conservation theory:[3] [4]

3. Fackelmann, *Resaurierung*, 60–61.
4. Ibid., 21, 60–61.

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[p. 21] *Zapon lacquer polishing:*
Zapon is a self-polishing protection for the surface. Originally used for the protection of the top surface of metals, it was used in modified form for the conservation of library material—with the use of saltpeter acid, nitrated cellulose was dissolved in amyl acetate and carbonated hydrogen and mixed with a softening mixture of oil and camphor. coatings on paper as well as papyrus showed devastating results: Yellowing, splits, brittleness of the material, along side of the danger of fire that existed for objects treated in such a way, were the negative effects . . .
Glassing:
All too eager glassing and supplemental closing off from air of the glass plates with sealing lacquer led to the emergence of a small climate inside the plates that favors the microscopic organisms.

Result: Strong decomposition of the cellulose in the papyrus—rapid degeneration—film on the glass plates.

[p. 60] 2. *Glassing with the Elimination of Air:*
Hundreds of papyri were mounted without padding, presumbably for their better [p. 61] protection, between two glass panes, which were pasted with strips of paper and finally sealed with zapon lacquer. Yet this intentional protection from the outside world had terrible consequences: Because of the lack of the interchange of air there emerged within the glass plates a miniature climate, which was ad-

[p. 21] *Zaponlackuberzuge:*
Zapon ist ein selbstglättender Oberflächenschutz. Ursprünglich für den Oberflächenschutz von Metallen verwendet, wurde er in abgewandelter Form zur Konservierung von Bibliotheksgut benützt—mit Salpetersäure nitrerte Cellulose wurde in Amylacetat und Kohlenwasserstoff gelöst und mit einem Weichmachergemisch von Öl und Kampfer versetzt. Uberzüge auf Papier sowie Papyrus zeigten niederschmetternde Ergebnisse: Vergilben, Risse, Verspröden des Materials waren neben der Feuergefahr, die für solchermassen behandelte Objekte bestand, die negativen Auswirkungen . . .
Verglasen:
Allzu bereitwilliges Verglasen und zusätzliches luftdichtes Verschliessen der Glasplatten mit Siegellack führte zum Entstehen eines die Mikroorganismen begüstigenden Kleinklimas innerhalb der Platten.

Folge: starker Abbau der Cellulose im Papyrus—rascher Verfalls Beschlag auf der Glasplatte.

[p. 60] 2. *Verglasung unter Luftabschluss:*
Hunderte Papyri wurden zum vermeintlich bes- [p. 61] seren Schutz ohne Einlage zwischen zwei Glasplatten montiert, welche mit Papierstreifen umklebt und letztlich mit Zaponlack versiegelt wurden. Dieser beabsichtigte Schutz vor der Aussenwelt hatte jedoch erschreckende Folgen: durch den fehlenden Luftaustausch entstand innerhalb der Glasplatten ein Kleinklima, das dem Wachstum von Pilzen förderlich war.

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vantageous to the growth of fungus. The cellulose molecules gave up their necessary water constitution onto the glass plates pressed on it (according to the principle of osmotic pressure), as a result of which the degeneration of the cellulose proceeded more rapidly. Access to air and the circulation of air are a necessity for the existence of organic materials.

Die Cellulosemoleküle gaben ihr notwendiges Konstitutionswasser an die angepressten Glasplatten (nach dem Prinzip des osmotischen Druckes) ab, wodurch der Abbau der Cellulose rascher vor sich ging. Luftzufuhr und Luftzirkulation sind eine Notwendigkeit für den Bestand organischer Materialien.

In 1960/68, Böhlig summarized efforts to conserve and copy the codex after it had been moved from Schondorf to Göttingen:[5]

The manuscript that had come to West Germany and remained there after the war is at present in Göttingen and is cared for by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* . . . I was able to see the manuscript in Göttingen through the cooperation of the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* in the year 1957.

Rolf Ibscher repeatedly undertook conservation work on the codex in Göttingen, funded by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*; C. Colpe prepared the transcriptions. But at present the work has come to a halt and urgently needs to be carried forward.

Die nach Westdeutschland gekommene und nach dem Kriege dort verbliebene Handschrift befindet sich gegenwärtig in Göttingen und wird von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft betreut . . . Die Handschrift in Göttingen konnte ich durch Entgegenkommen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft im Jahre 1957 besichtigen.

An dem in Göttingen befindlichen Codex wurden auf Kosten der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft mehrfach von Rolf Ibscher Konservierungsarbeiten vorgenommen und von C. Colpe Abschriften angefertigt; die Arbeit ist aber gegenwärtig ins Stocken gekommen und bedarf dringend der Weiterführung.

In 1965 Rolf Ibscher described as follows the work on this codex:[6]

5. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 181–82.
6. Rolf Ibscher, "Über den Stand," 54, 58–61.

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[p. 54] Charles Allberry, the great hope in the younger generation, fell as a victim of the anti-aircraft defense over Berlin. Rudnitzki quickly turned out to be not up to the job on the Berlin manuscript in Schondorf, and endangered the help that had been attained, precisely thanks to Prof. Geiler, from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in Bad Godesberg. In his place entered Carsten Colpe in Göttingen. Colpe's joy to collaborate, at first unbounded, burned out in a rapid straw fire. From him too there resulted an endangering that still continues to persist.

[p. 58] The situation is no different [than the discouraging report about the Dublin Manichaica] with the codex in Göttingen. Carsten Colpe, who worked for a time on the leaves that had been won up until then, brought into play in Munich at the International Orientalists' Congress [1957] the thesis that the manuscript does not belong to Berlin at all but is identical with the 13 leaves of Codex B in Dublin (or again now in London, since all the Mani material was shipped back to the British Museum by Sir Chester Beatty, without the Museum's being able to administer it). Böhlig, on the other hand, maintained that, in view of the shared titles on the pages (*Synaxis*), the 31 leaves of the Berlin codex Nr. 15[9]95 belong together with [p. 59] the Göttingen codex, whereas he had earlier held it to be codex Nr. 15[9]98 (collection of *Letters*). Böhlig's cautious, but nonetheless quite fixed thesis

[p. 54] Charles Allberry, die grosse Nachwuchshoffnung, fiel der Flugabwehr über Berlin zum Opfer. Rudnitzki erwies sich sehr schnell nicht gewachsen der Aufgabe an der Berliner Handschrift in Schondorf und gefährdete die gerade dank Professor Geiler gewonnene Hilfe seitens der DFG Godesberg. An seine Stelle trat Carsten Colpe in Göttingen. Seine zuerst unbändige Freude am Mitwirken verflog in schnellem Strohfeuer. Auch von ihm ging Gefährdung aus und wirkt noch nachhaltend an . . .

[p. 58] Nicht anders [than the discouraging report about the Dublin Manichaica] steht es mit dem Codex in Göttingen. Carsten Colpe, der eine Zeitlang an den bisher gewonnenen Blättern arbeitete, warf in München auf dem Internationalen Orientalistenkongress [1957] die These ins Spiel, die Handschrift gehöre gar nicht Berlin, sondern sei identisch mit den 13 Blättern des Codex B in Dublin oder jetzt London wieder, da alles Manimaterial an das Britische Museum von Sir Chester Beatty zurückverlagert wurde, ohne dass das Museum darüber verfügen kann. Böhlig hingegen erklärt, die 31 Blätter des Berliner Codex Nr. 15[9]95 gehören wegen der gemeinsamen Uberschriften auf den Seiten (SYNAXIS) zusammen mit [p. 59] dem Göttinger Codex, währehd er ihn früher für Codex Nr. 15[9]98 (Briefkollektion) gehalten hatte. Böhligs vorsichtige,

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was that, possibly *by error*, my father had brought to London the 13 leaves of the Codex B of Sir Chester Beatty, *once* they were glassed, as the result of which a dilemma again emerges. What is then the situation with the 31 leaves in Berlin, that, after all, are identical with those of the codex in Göttingen? When these leaves of Codex B came back to London, Carl Schmidt was still alive. At that time, in all probability, Charles Allberry was very clearly informed about the shares in the find. I.e., probably three minds and six eyes were at work as a control. But anyone who knew my father knows that he was inerrant, unconfusable, infallible, yes, that he possessed a phenomenal ability of memory.

Again and again I must come back to my conclusions, which came to me simply from the familiarity with, the eyewitnessing of, the glassed Mani papyri that are in Dublin. At the time, I inferred therefrom that Sir Chester Beatty's Codex B had remained in Berlin (that is to say, before the termination of the war's activities) and had shared the fate, then still uncertain, of all the rest of the papyri in the Zoo bunker. The format of these leaves of Codex B was very different for me from that of the manuscript that at the time was still in Schondorf on the Ammer Lake. The first embraced 7 leaves, the second 6 leaves [per quire?].

Accordingly, in view of my calculations, *three* Berlin codi-

aber doch eben fixierte These war, mein Vater hätte möglicherweise die 13 Blätter des Codex B von Sir Chester Beatty *irrtümlich einst* verglast nach London gebracht, wodurch wieder ein Dilemma entsteht. Was ist dann mit den 31 Blättern in Berlin, die doch identisch sind mit denen des Codex in Göttingen? Als diese Blätter des Codex B nach London zurückkamen, lebte Carl Schmidt noch. Dann war aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach Charles Allberry sehr klar informiert über die Fundanteile. D.h. wahrscheinlich waren drei Hirne und sechs Augen als Kontrolle am Werk. Aber wer meinen Vater kannte, weiss, dass er unbeirrbar war, unverwirrbar und unfehlbar, ja, dass er ein phänomenales Erinnerungsvermögen besass.

Immer wieder muss ich auf meine Ergebnisse zurückkommen, die sich mir einfach aus der Kenntnis, aus der Autopsie der in Dublin befindlichen verglasten Manipapyri ergaben. Ich folgerte daraus damals, dass Sir Chester Beattys Codex B in Berlin verblieben war (also vor Einstellung der Kriegshandlungen) und das damals noch ungewisse Schicksal aller übrigen im Zoobunker verbliebenen Papyri geteilt hatte. Das Format dieser Codex-B-Blätter unterschied sich mir sehr von dem der damals noch in Schondorf am Ammersee befindlichen Handschrift. Die erste umfasste 7, die zweite 6 Blätter [per quire?].

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ces [*Acts*, P[15997]; *Letters*, P[15998]; *Homilies*, P[15999]]—and *one* codex from the possession of Sir Chester Beatty [*Synaxeis*, Codex B] must not have returned from their odyssey. Likewise six leaves of the *Kephalaia* are missing, as has now become apparent from the reglassing. I do not believe in carelessness and destruction resulting from it, since the return lists show damages correctly noted in each case. In the case of a few papyri whose glasses were cracked, someone even carried out primitive first-aid conservations. So one was very concerned not to let anything fall victim to destruction, as well as it could be achieved. I explain the six missed *Kephalaia* leaves as still slumbering somewhere in a drawer, [p. 60] having missing the return trip. Forgetfulness is after all something very human. One will hence still have to request an inquiry. Sir Chester Beatty said to me in the summer of 1956, when we were talking about my discovering the absence of Codex B, that after all it would be a while before all Berlin papyri had returned to Berlin. It would be easier for him then to occupy himself in Berlin with a return.

The Berlin Codex Nr. 15[9]95 that is now in Göttingen still has about 100 to 120 unseparated leaves, which become more and more brittle under the climate's influence, in spite of good storage thus far. It already gave me very great difficulties at the time of my work between Christmas 1951 until 1958 in Göttingen. This work

Nach meinen Berechnungen müssen demnach *drei* Berliner Codices [*Acts*, P15997; *Letters*, P15998; *Homilies*, P15999] und *ein* Codex aus dem Besitz von Sir Chester Beatty [*Synaxeis*, Codex B] von ihrer Odyssee nicht zurückgekehrt sein. Ebenfalls fehlen sechs Blätter der Kephalaia, wie sich jetzt bei der Umglasung ergibt. Ich glaube nicht an Fahrlässigkeit und damit verbundene Vernichtung, weil die Rückkehrlisten Beschädigungen jeweils korrekt vermerkt anzeigen. Man hat ja auch bei einigen Papyri, deren Gläser zersprungen waren, sogar primitive Notkonservierungen gemacht, war also sehr bedacht, alles so gut es eben gehen wollte, nicht der Vernichtung anheim fallen zu lassen. Die sechs fehlenden Kephalaia-Blätter erkläre ich mir damit, dass sie irgendwo noch in einem Fache schlummern [p. 60] und die Rückreise verpasst haben. Vergesslichkeit ist schliesslich etwas sehr Menschliches. Man wird also noch einmal um eine Ermittlung ersuchen müssen. Sir Chester Beatty sagte mir im Sommer 1956, als wir über meine Entdeckung des Fehlens von Codex B sprachen, dass das ja Zeit hätte, bis alle Berliner Papyri wieder nach Berlin zurückgekehrt seien. Es würde für ihn einfacher sein, dann um eine Rückgabe in Berlin sich zu bemühen.

Da der Berliner, jetzt in Göttingen befindliche Codex Nr. 15[9]95 noch ca. 100 bis 120 nicht abgelöste Blätter hat, die unter der klimatischen Einwirkung, trotz guter Lagerung bisher, immer mürber werden und schon zur Zeit meiner

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of a provisional safeguarding, undoubtedly most important, must be carried forward, after having been interrupted for six years. For otherwise the same thing can happen that happened to my father with Codex C [Chester Beatty's *Kephalaia*], that it was no longer possible to save it, not even with the tricky method of the Inclined Plane . . . My desire was that one should also see to it that photography must go hand in hand with the conservation and editing. But this has ballooned into such a mania that precious time is wasted in search of some open-sesame formula for photography, to the detriment of the codex. This is something Mr. Colpe may perhaps secretly already regret, but this will not remove the original evil from the world.

The writing is often very rubbed off, since here we again have to do precisely with soot ink, with the exception of the writing in the parts of the codex "stored" inside, as in the case of Codex C. Here ultraviolet rays can hardly conjure up anything. Since there are large lacunae in the text in many of the ca. 145 leaves, [p. 61] photography can perhaps perform a certain supplemental help in the case of individual leaves, more in the sense of an "aid in collation" for the editor after a first transcription, in case he, as in the case of Charles Allberry, must carry on his work on the text in a different location, where he cannot have the original papyrus before him. Without "strong eyes,"

Bearbeitung zwischen Weihnachten 1951 bis 1958 in Göttingen sehr grosse Schwierigkeiten mir bereiteten, muss jetzt unbedingt diese vorerst wichtigste Arbeit der provisorischen Sicherung nach sechs Jahren ihrer Unterbrechung vorangebracht werden, weil sonst das eintreten kann, was meinem Vater mit Codex C [Chester Beatty's *Kephalaia*] passierte, dass eine Rettung nicht mehr möglich ist, auch nicht mit der überlistungsmethode der Schiefen Ebene . . . Dass mein Wunsch, man sollte auch dafür sorgen, dass Hand in Hand mit dem Konservieren und dem Edieren das Fotografieren gehen möge, sich zu einer solchen *Manie* jetzt ausgewachsen hat, indem kostbare Zeit mit der Suche nach einer "Sesam-öffne-dich-Fotografierformel" zu Ungunsten des Codex vergeudet wird, mag Herrn Colpe vielleicht insgeheim schon reuen, aber damit wird das Urübel nicht aus der Welt geschafft.

Da die Schrift oft sehr abgerieben ist, weil wir es hier wieder gerade mit Ausnahme der bei den Partien des ebenso wie in Codex C "eingelagerten Codex" mit Russtinte zu tun haben, wo ultraviolette Strahlen kaum etwas hervorzaubern können, und da grosse Lücken im Text bei vielen der ca. 145 Blätter bestehen, kann [p. 61] die Fotografie bei einzelnen Blättern vielleicht eine gewisse zusätzliche Hilfe leisten, mehr im Sinne einer "Repetierhilfe" nach erster Lesung für den Editor, falls er, wie im Falle von Charles Allberry, an einem anderen Ort, wo er eben den Papyrus nicht als Original vor sich sehen kann, am Text weiterarbeiten muss. Ohne die "starken Augen," wie es Carl Schmidt im ersten Akademiebericht nennt,

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as Carl Schmidt puts it in the first Academy report, it will not work. Also not without a tremendous ability to make combinations, and not without the often quite odd positionings of the correct angle for the light to fall, by each individual editor, and the often amazing necessity to decipher each individual leaf—for each one it is different, according to the degree of rotting—with quite specific lighting, but never by making use of artificial light, since the papyrus, as a result of very great darkening, almost already lets one perceive hardly any more writing.

It should not lead to the situation that photography is elevated to a rigid doctrine for something, where nothing lies behind it except an excuse. With or without photography, Mr. Colpe can hardly find a stronger interest again in this quite difficult codex, after he has once learned to recognize very quickly that editorial work on such a Mani manuscript, in the area of editing, is among the most demanding.

geht es nicht; ohne ein immenses Kombinierungsvermögen auch nicht und ohne die von jedem einzelnen Editor vorzunehmenden, oft wunderlichen, Einstellungen des rechten Lichteinfallwinkels und der oft frappierenden Nötigung, das jeweilige Blatt—bei jedem ist es anders, je nach dem Grade der Verrottung unter ganz bestimmter Beleuchtung, aber niemals unter Zuhilfenahme künstlichen Lichtes, zu entziffern, da der Papyrus, infolge sehr starker Nachdunklung, fast schon nicht mehr Schrift wahrnehmen lässt.

Es darf jetzt nicht dazu führen, dass die Fotografie als eine starre Doktrin für etwas erhoben wird, wo nichts anderes dahinter steht als eine Ausflucht. Mit oder ohne Fotografie dürfte Herr Colpe kaum ein stärkeres Interesse wieder an diesem recht schwierigen Codex finden, nachdem er einst sehr schnell erkennen lernte, dass editorische Arbeit an einer solchen Manihandschrift zum Schwersten auf editorischem Gebiet gehört.

Böhlig has explained, as follows, the possibility that thirteen leaves could have been taken by mistake to London: "Various individual leaves . . . were at various times also transported by both Ibschers between England and Berlin back and forth."[7]

Böhlig also has clarified Rolf Ibscher's statement that Böhlig "had earlier held it to be codex Nr. 15[9]98 (collection of *Letters*)":[8]

7. Böhlig, in a letter of February 5, 1986: "Verschiedene einzelne Blätter . . . sind zu verschiedenen Zeiten von beiden Ibschers auch zwischen England und Berlin hin und her transportiert worden."

8. Böhlig, in a letter of June 1, 1986.

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When Ibscher claimed that it has to do with a German manuscript, then it of course first of all only about the historical book or the letters of Mani, since the third German manuscirpt, the so-called "wig," would have exerted no motivation for speical security . . . Since apparently statements in the first and second person occur, it could less likely be the historical book, so only the letters remained. Yet what today is completely incomprehensibile . . . is that the codices after all were apparently so inadequately characterized that even a doubt could ever arise as to their identity.

Wenn Ibscher behauptete, es handel sich um eine deutsche Handschrift, dann konnte es sich ja zunächst einmal nur um das historische Buch oder die Briefe Manis handeln, weil die 3. deutsche Handschrift, die sog. "Perücke," keinen Reiz für eine besondere Sicherstellung ausgeübt hätte . . . Da anscheinend Aussagen in der 1. und 2. Person vorkammen, konnte es weniger gut das histor-ische Buch sein; also blieben, konnte es weniger gut das historische Buch sein; also blieben nur die Briefe übrig. Was nur heute völlig unbegreiflich ist . . . , ist, dass die Codices doch offenkundig so mangelhaft gekennzeichnet waren, dass überhaupt ein Zweifel über ihre Identität entstehen konnte.

Presumably, when Böhlig went to Schondorf to sort out the book blocks to be turned over to the Allied authorities, he was simply following Ibscher's instructions to keep one in Schondorf on the assumption it was one of the Berlin codices.

In the first version of his essay on the *Synaxeis* in 1957 Böhlig wrote: "In the war one of the codices belonging to the Berlin holdings was stored outside, in the region of what is now the Federal Republic."[9] In the second edition of that essay in 1968, the formulation was left open, in that the codex is no longer said to belong to Berlin and yet is said to be stored along with those of Sir Chester Beatty, as if it were not itself one of them: "In the war a manuscript was stored outside in the region of what is now the Federal Republic, along with the codices belonging to Sir Chester Beatty; this text is at present in Göttingen

9. Böhlig, "Synaxis = Homilia?" 485–86, especially 485: "Im Kriege wurde einer der zum Berliner Bestand gehörigen Codices ins Gebiet der jetzigen Bundesrepublik ausgelagert." Böhlig published a revised and expanded version as "Zu den Synaxeis," 222–27, especially 222–23.

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to be conserved."[10] But a further insertion into the second edition of the essay makes it clear that Böhlig no longer assumed the codex belonged to Germany, in that he clearly identified it as the bulk of the codex of which Berlin owned only a vestige: "Thus one can assume, as C. Colpe also thinks, that the remainder of a Berlin codex discussed by C. Schmidt [P^{15995}] forms with this codex a unity of contents, but not of ownership."[11]

Here it is clear, even if cautiously and then only obliquely expressed, that Böhlig with Colpe had reached the conclusion that the codex then in Göttingen is not a codex belonging to Berlin but rather a codex belonging to Sir Chester Beatty, since from the very beginning all agreed that the *Synaxeis* belonged to Sir Chester Beatty (except for the 31 leaves of this codex that Carl Schmidt had purchased in Egypt for Berlin). Although the Göttingen codex had already been identified as the *Synaxeis* codex at the time the first edition of this essay was published, Böhlig did not in the first edition state the inescapable inference that it was hence not a codex belonging to Berlin.

10. "Im Kriege wurde zusammen mit den Sir Chester Beatty gehörigen Codices eine Handschrift in das jetzige Gebiet der Bundesrepublik ausgelagert; dieser Text befindet sich gegenwärtig in Göttingen zur Konservierung."

11. "Damit kann man annehmen, wie auch C. Colpe meint, dass der von C. Schmidt besprochene Berliner Restcodex [P^{15995}] mit diesem Codex eine inhaltliche, aber keine besitzmässige Einheit bildet."

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— 8 —

The Conservation of the Material in London/Dublin

Regarding the London/Dublin material, Ibscher wrote in 1955:[1]

[p. 2] Thanks to the initiative of Sir Chester Beatty, events took a turn after the war . . .

[p. 3] At the suggestion of Sir Alan H. Gardiner, Sir Harold I. Bell, and Professor Glanville, Sir Chester Beatty engaged me in 1948 to carry forward the conservation work that had been orphaned. Difficult circumstances of the time put me at a disadvantage, so that it was only in x 51 that I could reach London and begin with the conservation of the Chester Beatty papyri, which at the end of 1944, on the smart advice of my father-in-law, the publisher Wolf Henry Doering, together with a Berlin manuscript (Codex No. 15998), I on my own responsibility had brought from the danger zone of Berlin for the final phase of the war into his safe

[p. 2] Dank der Initiative von Sir Chester Beatty trat nach dem Kriege eine Wende ein . . .

[p. 3] Auf Vorschlag von Sir Alan H. Gardiner, Sir Harold I. Bell und Professor Glanville engagierte mich Sir Chester Beatty 1948 zur Fortführung der verwaisten Konservierungsarbeit. Widrige Zeitverhältnisse benachteiligten mich, sodass ich erst Oktober 1951 nach London gelangen und mit dem Konservieren der Chester Beatty Papyri beginnen konnte, die ich Ende 1944 auf den klugen Rat meines Schwiegervaters hin, des Verlegers Wolf Henry Doering, zusammen mit einer Berliner Handschrift (Codex Nr. 15998) auf eigene Verantwortung aus der Gefahrenzone Berlins für die Endphase des Krieges in sein

1. Rolf Ibscher, "Das Konservierungswerk," 2–3.

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house on the quiet Ammer Lake in Schondorf, a good hour away from Munich . . .

In London I had begun with three residual pads (not identical with quires in the sense of codicology) of the *Psalms* book, which my father some time before the war had put to one side, for, as he had written to Sir Chester Beatty, "the unremitting difficult work of separating the leaves was too exhausting over a period of time," and separated 49 well-preserved leaves and a few very fragmentary remains of leaves.

sicheres Haus am stillen Ammersee in Schondorf, eine gute Stunde von München entfernt, gebracht hatte . . .

In London hatte ich mit drei Restlagen (sie Sind nicht identisch mit den buchtechnischen Buchlageneinheiten) des Psalmenbuches begonnen, die mein Vater einige Zeit vor dem Kriege zurückgestellt hatte, da ihn, wie er an Sir Chester Beatty geschrieben hatte, "die unentwegte schwere Ablösearbeit zu sehr auf die Dauer anstrengte," und 49 gut erhaltene Blätter und einige sehr fragmentarische Blätterreste abgehoben.

Already in 1954 Rolf Ibscher had described the beginning of his work in London in somewhat more detail:[2]

In 1951, after three years of persistent waiting, I obtained the exit permit from East Germany and began on October 5, not without a pounding heart, the difficult work of separating the leaves from the remains of the *Psalms* book. It was three quires that I, shortly before Christmas, was able to bring provisionally under glass. It became 49 leaves or 98 pages of text, and, in addition to that, fragmentary leaves of probably 12 leaves.

1951, nach dreijährigem beharrlichem Warten, erlangte ich die Ausreisegenehmigung aus Ostdeutschland und begann am 5. Oktober nicht ohne einiges Herzklopfen mit der schwierigen Arbeit des Ablösens der Blätter von Resten des Psalmenbuches. Es waren drei Lagen, die ich bis kurz vor Weihnachten provisorisch zwischen Glas bringen konnte. Es sind 49 Blatt oder 98 Seiten Text geworden, dazu noch Fragmentblätter von wahrscheinlich 12 Blättern.

In 1955 Ibscher also reported on his continuing work up to 1955:[3]

2. Rolf Ibscher, "Wiederaufnahme," 6.
3. Rolf Ibscher, "Das Konservierungswerk," 4–5.

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[p. 4] In 1952 I began with Codex C, which, as my father too had already ascertained by separating 34 leaves, contains in large parts valuable *Kephalaia* text.

It was good luck that I did not let myself be led astray by a report of my father about the condition of the codex preservation. He had given up the work after a certain number of leaves by pointing out that each further leaf, peeled from the block of the manuscript, dissolved completely, and it seemed that one could hardly expect still useful and legible text, since practically no writing would be still recognizable.

But my new outsmarting technique, which had proven so successful on the seemingly hopelessly brittle leaves of the *Psalms* book, made it in fact possible for me to clear this hurdle.

It soon became clear that, after a series of leaves with very faded writing, suddenly quite visible *Kephalaia* text with ca. 75 leaves came to light.

It was part of the discordant accompanying music of this truly ideal task, and the false decisions that one would hope by now would belong forever to a legendary past, that in 1953 I could not continue my London work in spite of daring efforts.

But in 1954, thanks to the intervention of many good forces on the part of the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin and especially of Sir Chester Beatty, all impediments were overcome, so

[p. 4] 1952 begann ich mit Codex C, der in weiten Partien, wie auch mein Vater schon durch Abheben von 34 Blättern ermittelt hatte, wertvollen Kephalaia-Text enthält.

Es war ein dass ich mich nicht durch einen Bericht meines Vaters über den Erhaltungszustand des Codex hatte beirren lassen. Er hatte nach einer gewissen Anzahl von Blättern die Arbeit unter dem Hinweis aufgegeben, dass jedes weitere Blatt, aus dem Verbande der Handschrift geschält, sich völlig auflöste und es den Anschein hätte, kaum noch brauchbaren und lesbaren Text erwarten zu können, da so gut wie keine Schrift mehr erkennbar wäre.

Aber meine neue überlistungstechnik, die sich so gut an den hoffnungslos scheinenden mürben Psalmenbuchblättern bewahrt hatte, liess mich tatsächlich diese Hürde nehmen.

Es zeigte sich bald, dass nach einer Serie von Blättern mit Behr verblasster Schrift plötzlich guttsichtbarer Kephalaia-Text mit ca. 75 Blättern zutage kam.

Es gehörte zu der misstönenden Begleitmusik dieser wahrhaft idealen Aufgabe und den hoffentlich nunmehr für immer einer legendarischen Vergangenheit angehörenden Fehlentscheidungen, dass ich 1953 meine Londoner Arbeit trotz waghalsiger Bemühungen nicht fortsetzen konnte.

Aber 1954 waren dank dem Eingreifen vieler guter Kräfte seitens der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin und vornehmlich Sir Chester Beatty's alle

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that I could now impregnate the *Psalms* codex and in July separate the last leaf of Codex C, with a deep breath and yet with some melancholy. The most beautiful work on the Mani discovery is the separating of a leaf.

Thus, however, the most difficult partial task had been completed for the papyri belonging to Sir Chester Beatty. Codex C had produced in all about 140 partially quite good leaves. They also were all impregnated in 1954.

[p.5] The definitive glassing should have taken place in this year [1955], but since thus far the special glass perspex, or, as it is called in Germany, plexiglass, had not yet arrived, one can hardly any longer hope that more than a fourth of this also ticklish work can be performed . . .

Since the writing [of the "Schondorf" codex] is relatively clear, the glassing can be justified. For this reason Sir Chester Beatty also decided for the use of plexiglass, since one can also photograph through this with infrared, if it should prove to be necessary.

Hemmnisse beseitigt, sodass ich jetzt das Psalmenbuch imprägnieren und im Judi das letzte Blatt des Codex C aufatmend und doch ein wenig melancholisch abheben konnte. Die schönste Arbeit am Manifund ist das Abheben eines Blattes.

Damit aber war die schwierigste Teilaufgabe an den Sir Chester Beatty Papyri abgeschlossen worden. Codex C hatte insgesamt rund 140 zum Teil recht gute Blätter hergegeben. Sie wurden ebenfalls 1954 imprägniert.

[p. 5] Die definitive Verglasung sollte in diesem Jahre [1955] erfolgen, da aber bisher noch nicht das Spezialglas Perspex oder, wie es in Deutschland heisst: Plexiglas eingetroffen ist, bleibt kaum zu erwarten, dass mehr als ein Viert el dieser ebenfalls heiklen Arbeit geleistet werden kann . . .

Da die Schrift [of the "Schondorf" codex] relativ deutlich ist, lässt sich das Verglasen rechtfertigen. Aus diesem Grunde entschied sich Sir Chester Beatty auch für die Verwendung von Perspexglas, da durch dieses auch mit Infrarot, wenn es sich als nötig erweisen sollte, hindurchfotografiert werden kann.

In 1954 Ibscher had given a slightly different figure for the number of leaves he had conserved from Codex C, the *Kephalaia*:[4] "136 leaves or 272 pages of text of partially very good condition are separated and thus available."

In 1964/65 Rolf Ibscher also presented a much more disillusioned report:[5]

4. Rolf Ibscher, "Wiederaufnahme," 11: "136 Blätter oder 272 Seiten Text von zum Teil sehr guter Verfassung liegen abgelöst damit vor."

5. Rolf Ibscher, "Über den Stand," 55–57.

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[p. 55] The annoyance is and remains that the work that had advanced so energetically on the Chester Beatty part of the find has come to a complete standstill since 1956, when I was for the last time in Dublin. This is due to the death of the librarian Mr. Wilkinson and that of Mr. Merton, both of whom alone knew what still needed to be mastered. Until 1962 I had hoped [p. 56] to be able to complete the work in Dublin . . . [p. 57] The death of Mr. Wilkinson, the librarian of the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, and just so that of Mr. Merton, led to the situation that Sir Chester Beatty, now standing under the influence of other advisors, stopped the undertaking, with the explanation that the most important part—*nota bene* the most important for him—the separating of the remaining leaves of the codex, had been completed,—whereby he was not stingy with praise—, but he said he had many other important projects in view and he was no longer the youngest.

[p. 55] Das Ärgernis ist und bleibt, dass die so stürmisch vorangekommene Arbeit am Chester Beatty-Fundanteil in völliges Stocken seit 1956 geraten ist, als ich das letzte Mal in Dublin gewesen war, durch den Tod des Bibliothekars Mr. Wilkinson und Mr. Merton's, die beide allein um das noch zu Bewältigende wussten. Bis 1962 hatte ich gehofft, in Dublin vollenden zu [p. 56] können . . . [p. 57] Der Tod Mr. Wllkinson's, des Bibliothekars der Chester-Beatty-Library in Dublin und ebenso der von Mr. Merton führte dazu, dass Sir Chester Beatty nun unter dem Einfluss anderer Berater stehend, das Unternehmen mit der Begründung abstoppte, der wichtigste—wohlgemerkt für ihn wichtigste—Teil, die Ablösung der restlichen Codicesblätter sei abgeschlossen,—wobei er mit Lob nicht kargte—, aber er habe noch viele andere wichtige Projekte vor und er sei nicht mehr der Jüngste.

One may recall (see above) the comment that I. E. S. Edwards made in a letter to R. J. Hayes on November 1, 1960: "I cannot myself think that Rolf Ibscher could have known anything about these papyri. He was working for Sir Chester Beatty for about four years and he would surely have told one of us if he had known of their existence. I feel we should regard him as a last resource." Edwards wrote to Günther Roeder on the same day:

> I wonder whether you have any recollection of having seen these papyri at any stage either in Dr. Ibscher's possession or in the Museum. It is possible that Dr. Ibscher had them in his home and if so the only one who could help would be Rolf

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> Ibscher. If possible, however, I do not want Rolf Ibscher to be involved in this matter because he and Sir Chester Beatty have had some differences over the mounting of the Mani papyri which were not sent to Dr. Hugo Ibscher.

On the same day Edwards wrote to Rudolf Anthes: "I must also add that—at least at present—I do not want Rolf Ibscher to know that I am trying to trace these documents. He has been rather troublesome to Sir Chester Beatty and I am not very sure that I can count on his good will."

Thus, Ibscher stood alone, a technician dependent for employment on nonexistent scholars and patrons. He had sought in vain to persuade Polotsky to resume the collaboration that had been so effective with his father, but by 1964–1965 no scholar was available:[6]

[p. 61] Walter Till wrote me on June 6, 1957: "Of course I was in the Chester Beatty collection. But there was no talk of a continuation of the publication. That is indeed a difficult chapter. When you say that one should draw on no young forces, I must agree with you, if you mean by that beginners. This is of course not for beginners. But it is also not for old people; for one must have for it good young eyes. Young forces would be quite acceptable, but not mere beginners. People with some experience, who have worked on other things. After all, one must reflect that Polotsky, Böhlig and Allberry were also young when they tried their hands at the *Manichaica*. If now a young person goes at it, he would have the great advantage over the three I have named that indeed three volumes lie before us published, on which he [p. 62] can train himself. This possibility is some-

[p. 61] Walter Till schrieb mir am 6. Juni 1957: "Natürlich war ich in der Chester-Beatty-Sammlung. Aber über eine Weiterführung der Publikation wurde nicht gesprochen. Das ist ja ein schwieriges Kapitel. Wenn Sie sagen, man sollte keine jungen Kräfte heranziehen, so muss ich Ihnen dann recht geben, wenn Sie darunter Anfänger verstehen. Das ist natürlich nichts für Anfänger. Es ist aber auch nichts für Alte; denn man muss gute junge Augen dazu haben. Junge Kräfte wären schon recht, aber nicht gerade Anfänger. Leute mit etwas Erfahrung, die schon andere Dinge bearbeitet haben. Schliesslich muss man bedenken, dass auch Polotsky, Böhlig and Allberry jung waren, als sie sich an den Manichaika versuchten. Wenn jetzt ein Junger Baran herangeht, hat er vor den drei genannten den grossen Vorteil, dass eben schon drei

6. Ibid., 61.

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thing the three I have named did not have. Of course there stood perhaps Carl Schmidt by their side with his great experience."

Bände publiziert vorliegen, an denen er [p. 62] sich schulen kann. Diese Möglichkeit hatten die drei Genannten nicht. Allerdings stand ihnen vielleicht Carl Schmidt mit seiner grossen Erfahrung zur Seite."

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Inventories of Individual Codices

This series of misadventures of the Manichaean codices as a result of the war and the postwar period means that to a certain extent, the material must be, as it were, rediscovered. For the information Schmidt and Polotsky provided more than a half a century ago, incomplete though it was, provided a picture of what there was, where it was, and what was being done with it at the time, which stands in sharp contrast to the absence of any comparable published information today. The present study hence seeks to clarify such questions as of today, so that the current generation of scholars can know what can be ascertained about the present status of this important manuscript discovery.

Schmidt and Polotsky's article proceeded to discuss in a preliminary way the Manichaean codices one by one. That initial information is cited here as a point of departure. It is then supplemented first by the official entry made in the *Inventarbuch* by Wilhelm Schubart, director of the Ägyptisches Museum and of the Papyrussammlung, together with whatever subsequent unofficial notes were added to the entries. (The *Inventarbuch* is now kept in the administration offices beneath the Pergamonmuseum on the Museumsinsel of Berlin.) This is then updated from the *editiones principes*, to the extent the codices have been published. For each codex there is added the information that Rolf Ibscher and Alexander Böhlig provided in various articles and lectures presented over the subsequent years. Then recorded for each codex is the information found in a preliminary catalog of Coptic manuscripts in the Berlin papyrus collection, a catalog presented by Wolfgang Müller to a workshop held at the Institut für Byzantinistik of

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the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg on December 14 and 15, 1964.[1] Then the entry is excerpted from a more detailed catalog published by Walter Beltz in 1978.[2] Finally, this secondary literature is updated with an inventory of the actual papyri themselves.

1. Müller, "Die koptischen Handschriften der Berliner Papyrussammlung," 67–68.

2. Beltz, "Katalog der koptischen Handschriften," *APF* (1978) 57–119; (1980) 121–222. The Manichaean codices are catalogued on pp. 97–98.

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Part Three

The Berlin Holdings

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— 9 —

P15995 Synaxeis (Berlin Part)

Schmidt and Polotsky reported as follows:[1]

And with equal brevity we must report on a collection of 31 leaves brought under glass, which were acquired in the Fayyum and without doubt belong to the London Mani pieces. It also has to do with individual treatises, as the remains of titles show. We read there: ⲧⲙⲁ2ⲥ̅ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲍⲓⲥ, "the second σύναξις [a chapter superscription on lines 14–15 of the side with vertical fibers of the leaf labeled 18, and a running head at the top of the side with vertical fibers of the leaf labeled 17], and beside this the number ⲛⲋ̅, which indicates the 33rd treatise, or ⲧⲙⲁ2ⲱⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲩⲛⲁ2ⲓⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁ2ⲱⲙ̅ⲧ̅ ⲛⲁⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ̅ⲥ = "The Third σύναξις of the Third λόγος of the Living Gospel" [a chapter superscription on lines 10-11 of the side with the horizontal fibers of the leaf labeled 16]. What is meant by σύναξις, "assembly,"

Und ebenso kurz müssen wir referieren über eine Sammlung von 31 unter Glas gebrachten Blättern, die im Fajum erworben sind and unbedingt zu den Londoner Manistücken gehören. Es sind ebenfalls einzelne Abhandlungen, wie die Reste der Uberschriften zeigen. Wir lesen dort: ⲧⲙⲁ2ⲥ̅ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲍⲓⲥ "die zweite σύναξις" [a chapter superscription on lines 14–15 of the side with vertical fibers of the leaf labeled 18, and a running head at the top of the side with vertical fibers of the leaf labeled 17], daneben die Zahl ⲛⲋ̅, die die 33. Abhandlung anzeigt, oder ⲧⲙⲁ2ⲱⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲩⲁⲛ2ⲓⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁ2ⲱⲙ̅ⲧ̅ ⲛⲁⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ̅ⲥ = "die dritte σύναξις des dritten λόγος des lebendigen Evangeliums" [a chapter superscription on lines 10–11 of the side with the horizontal fibers of the leaf

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 30.

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still remains unclear. A hint is provided by the mention of the "Living Gospel," the well-known original work of Mani. It seems to have to do with some kind of commentary to this text, from the pen of a later Manichaean.

labeled 16]. Was unter σύναξις "Versammlung" zu verstehen ist, bleibt noch unklar. Ein Fingerzeig gibt die Erwähnung des "lebendigen Evangeliums," des bekannten Originalwerkes des Mani. Es scheint sich um eine Art von Kommentar zu diesem aus der Feder eines späteren Manichäers zu handeln.

Schmidt and Polotsky's report about the rest of the *Synaxeis* codex is included in their report among the codices belonging to Sir Chester Beatty (see Codex B *Synaxeis* below).

In their original report (see above), Schmidt and Polotsky had stated: "The antiquities dealer in the Fayyum had sold his manuscripts exclusively to Mr. Chester Beatty." The 31 leaves are an exception, for "one had removed the top and bottom layers of papyrus, which had suffered to an especial extent against the covers of the binding . . . , to give the whole a better appearance." In the spring of 1931, after Sir Chester Beatty had acquired the three codices of the Fayyum dealer, Schmidt "found such outwardly unimpressive remains, which doubtlessly belong to the papyrus books acquired by Mr. Chester Beatty in the Fayyum, and . . . acquired them for a cheap price, since the dealer already had his great reward in his pocket. I do not regret my decision, for in the conservation 31 leaves could be brought under glass in more or less fragmentary preservation." Thus, only 31 leaves of this codex belong to the Papyrus-Sammlung of the Ägyptische Abteilung of the Staatliche Museen of Berlin.

Volume 15 of the *Inventarbuch* of the Papyrus-Sammlung, titled on the spine "Staatl. Museen Ägyptische Abteilung P15001–16000" ("State Museums, Egyptian Section, P15001–16000"), records on facing pages both numbered 2294, each of the Manichaean manuscripts, under the numbers P15995–15999. The hand of the initial entry in black ink Wolfgang Müller has identified as that of Wilhelm Schubart, under whom he had studied, and who was his predecessor (several times removed) as director of the Papyrus-Sammlung and the Ägyptische Abteilung.[2]

2. In letters of May 7, 1957, and May 14 and 15, 1957, from Rolf Ibscher to Carsten Colpe, these entries are ascribed, apparently erroneously, to Hugo Ibscher.

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At P[15995] there is the following entry, apparently made before the identification of the leaves as deriving from the *Synaxeis* codex:

Coptic Papyrus Codex, 31 leaves, partially damaged. Manuscript of about the fifth century A.D. Content: Manichaean writing about theogony. Acquired through Prof. Carl Schmidt, in Cairo, 1931. Gift of Mr. August Pfeffer 1933. The leaves are on the average 22 cm high, 15 cm wide.	Koptischer Papyruskodex, 31 Blätter, z. T. beschädigt. Handschrift etwa des 5. Jh. n. Chr. Inhalt: Manichäische Schrift über Theogonie. Erworben durch Herrn Prof. Carl Schmidt, in Cairo, 1931. Geschenk des Herrn August Pfeffer 1933. Die Blätter sind im Durchschnitt 22 cm hoch 15 cm breit.

To this basic entry have been added in pencil: "Schrank 5" ["cupboard 5"] and "z. Zt. Papyrus-Sammlung Regal" ["at present Papyrus Collection shelves."] A rubber stamp reading "1958 vorhanden" ["1958 present"] records the return of the material from Leningrad, after which 31 counting marks record the presence of all 31 leaves, which is also stated explicitly: "31 Blätter zurück" ["31 leaves back"]. A second line in the same hand records: "Codex in Göttingen! [Rolf] Ib[scher]." A stamp reading "1972 vorhanden" ["1972 present"] confirms that the material was present at the time of the inventory of holdings made that year by Ulrich Luft, then of the Museum staff.

The *Vorwort* of 1940 to the *Kephalaia* provides more information, though still cryptic, about the patron who made possible the Museum's acquisition of the Manichaica:

Professor Schmidt sought to gain the rest of the papyri for Germany. That was possible for him only thanks to the financial support of Director August Pfeffer, who acquired the texts and in a very generous way gave them to the State Museums in Berlin.	Den Rest der Papyri suchte Professor Schmidt für Deutschland zu gewinnen. Das wurde ihm nur möglich durch die finanzielle Unterstützung des Herrn Direktor August Pfeffer, der die Texte erwarb and in hochherziger Weise den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin schenkte.

Alexander Böhlig has explained (during a visit to his Tübingen home on May 8, 1986) that Schmidt cultivated a circle of well-to-do patrons, to which Pfeffer must have belonged. The title *director* does not refer to a position with, e.g., the museum or the publishing house, but the title apparently reflects a business relationship.

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The possibility that there are in Berlin more leaves of the *Synaxeis* than the 31 Schmidt acquired was raised by Rolf Ibscher[3] with regard to

> a sizable number of leaves separated last, quite provisionally, by my father, with an entry on the paper cover that protected them which really creates puzzles: "from Codex B," i.e., then Chester Beatty [*Synaxeis*] or ?—and with the addition put in parentheses "Letters," i.e., then again Codex Nr. 15[9]98. What is one to make of that?

These additional leaves that puzzled Rolf Ibscher are currently in the Papyrus-Abteilung of Berlin, now classified unambiguously as belonging to P^{15998}.

Wolfgang Müller's preliminary inventory of 1964–1965 reported: "*Synaxeis* = sermons, 31 leaves in Berlin, the rest in Göttingen, here 145 leaf units separated, about 100–120 leaves still on the book block."[4]

Beltz catalogued the 31 leaves as follows:

I 603 P^{15995}. 31 leaves of a codex, P^{15995}, averaging 18–20 cm in height and 11–16 cm in width. There are about 26–28 lines per page. It is very poorly preserved. It is hardly legible. The codex belongs to the discoveries of Medinet Madi and was acquired by Schmidt for Berlin in 1928 [read: 1931]. The remainder of the codex is to be found for the time being in West Berlin. Since 1945, 145 new leaf units have been separated and conserved there. The remainder of the book block is not yet conserved. A. Böhlig and C. Colpe have defined the codex as "*Synaxeis* to the *Living Gospel* of Mani." On the text see Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten," Berlin 1933, and W.

I 603 P^{15995}; 31 Blätter eines Codex, P^{15995}, durchschnittliche H. 18–20 und durchschnittliche B. 11–16. Pro S. etwa 26–28 Z. Sehr schlecht erhalten. Kaum lesbar. Codex gehört zu den Funden von Medinet Mandi und wurde von Schmidt für Berlin 1928 [read: 1931] erworben. Der Rest des Codex befindet sich z. Z. in Berlin-West. Seit 1945 sind dort 145 neue Blatteinheiten abgelöst und konserviert. Der Rest des Buchblockes noch nicht konserviert. A. Böhlig und C. Colpe haben den Codex bestimmt als "Synaxeis zu dem Lebendigen Evangelium des Mani." Zum Text siehe Schmidt-Polotsky, Ein Manifund in

3. Rolf Ibscher, "Über den Stand," 62.

4. *Synaxeis* = Predigten, 31 Bl. in Berlin, Rest in Göttingen, hier 145 Blatteinheiten abgelöst, etwa 100–120 Bl. noch auf dem Buchblock.

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Müller, "Koptologische Studien in der DDR," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Halle-Wittenberg* 1965, Sonderheft, pp. 67–68.

Ägypten, Berlin 1933, und W. Müller, Kopt. Studien in der DDR, WZU Halle-Wittenberg 1965, Sonderheft, S. 67–68.

Photographs of both sides of leaf 20 are on file at the Papyrus-Sammlung in Berlin. One copy of each side was donated to the Manichaean archives of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, which were turned over to Wolf-Peter Funk.

Gesine Schenke Robinson transcribed the thirty-one leaves in 1985–1986. Wolf-Peter Funk provided a partial draft translation in April 1988.

This codex has not been published.

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— 10 —

P 15996 Kephalaia, Volume One

Schmidt and Polotsky's basic report cited above noted that it was part of the *Kephalaia* that was first shown to Schmidt in 1930 and acquired on his return trip from Jerusalem, and that it was this codex that was then supplemented by two further piles of papyrus acquired from the same dealer in the spring of 1931. Schmidt and Polotsky added specific information about this codex as follows:[1]

[p. 18] In first place among the present papyrus books stands a work whose parts came to Berlin in individual stages and whose conservation was begun immediately by Ibscher, so that already rather large connected portions have been brought under glass. It has to do here with a work that was counted among the original writings of Mani and once bore the name Κεφάλαια in the Greek tradition.

[p. 19]. . . With regard to externals, the work must have embraced an unusually large size, in that Ibscher has already been able to identify the number ϕΙΔ = 514 on one of the leaves. For a fortunate circumstance comes to

[p. 18] Unter den vorliegenden Papyrusbüchern tritt an erste Stelle ein Werk, dessen Teile in einzelnen Etappen nach Berlin gekommen sind und dessen Konservierung sofort von Ibscher in Angriff genommen ist, so dass bereits grössere zusammenhängende Stücke unter Glas gebracht worden sind. Es handelt sich hier um ein Werk, das zu den Originalschriften des Mani gerechnet wurde und einst den Namen Κεφάλαια in der griechischen überlieferung trug.

[p. 19]. . . Was das Äussere anbetrifft, so muss das Werk einen ungemein grossen Umfang gehabt haben, wenn Ibscher bereits die Ziffer ϕΙΔ = 514 auf einem der Blätter feststellen konnte. Denn als günstiger Umstand kommt uns zur Hilfe, dass die einzel-

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 18–24. The quotations are from 18–19.

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our help, in that the individual pages were numbered and thus an arrangement of the separated parts becomes possible. In any case the work must have included in the papyrus codex more than 520 pages = 260 leaves.

nen Seiten numeriert waren und dadurch eine Anordnung der auseinandergefallenen Teile ermöglicht wird. Jedenfalls muss das Werk in dem Papyruscodex mehr als 520 Seiten = 260 Blätter umfasst haben.

Quire 21 would have consisted of pages 481–504, quire 22 of pages 505–28.

Wilhelm Schubart recorded in the *Inventarbuch* of the Papyrussammlung of the Ägyptisches Museum of Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR in black ink for P[15996] the following entry: "Koptischer Papyruskodex." ["Coptic Papyrus Codex."] The column regarding "Art der Erwerblung" ["Nature of the Acquisition"] reports "dsgl." ["the same"] as P[15995], i.e.: "Acquired through Prof Carl Schmidt, in Cairo, 1931. Gift of Mr. August Pfeffer 1933." An added penciled note reports "NKEFALAION." A rubber stamp "Phot." may mean the material was photographed. The original report contained a photograph of p. 33, and the publication of Volume 1 contained a photograph of p. 31 as the frontispiece. In the Papyrus-Sammlung there are on file glossy prints of p. 295 (with a black background) and of pp. 167–68 (on a white background), presumably resulting from such photography. Glossy prints of pages 259, 261, 262, 265–74, 277, 278, 281–91, 297–99 (on a white background), prepared under the supervision of Peter Nagel for his work on the codex in the 1960s, are also present. Duplicates of pages 167, 168, 282 and 295 were given to the Manichaean Archives of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, and from there to Wolf-Peter Funk. A purple carbon note reports "ca. 200 Blätter, Rest in Berlin, übr. in Mo[skau]." ["ca. 200 leaves, a remainder in Berlin, the rest in Moskow]." A rubber stamp reading "1958 vorhanden" ["1958 present"] records the return of the material (presumably not from Moscow but) from Leningrad, and a rubber stamp reading "1972 vorhanden" ["1972 present"] records that the material was present at the time of the inventory of holdings made that year by Ulrich Luft, then of the museum staff.

In 1940 Hugo Ibscher reported:[2]

2. *Kephalaia* (see following note), Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," v–xiv, especially vi–vii.

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[p. vi] Hence the *Kephalaia* did not come to Berlin in one volume, but in two larger packets and five weaker layers. All of course nicely jumbled! However, after five years of hard work, we have succeeded in saving from the *Kephalaia* over 400 pages for scientific work and in defining with certainty and almost without a gap the sequence of the leaves.

Purchase Number	Page Range
1	1–18
2	19–310
3	331–56
4	357–76
5	377–94
6	395–414
7	421–end

[p. vii] I could identify the pages that are missing in the list, 311-30, in a quite small find which had come to the Vienna collection along with other papyri. This acquisition was in such a bad condition that the administration of the Vienna collection at first did not even want to send it to me, since the whole appeared to be only a confusion of fibers. I succeeded in gaining from it a few more pages, even though they were quite incomplete, and on one page deciphered the chapter [number] 132, by means of which then it could be established that we had to do here with remains of pp. 311–30. Also at the other places where the leaves had been ripped

[p. vi] Die Kephalaia kamen daher auch nicht in einem Volumen nach Berlin, sondern in zwei stärkeren Packen und fünf schwächeren Lagen. Alles natürlich hübsch durcheinander! Nach fünfjähriger angestrengter Arbeit ist es aber gelungen, allein von den Kephalaia über 400 Seiten für die wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung zu retten und die Reihenfolge der Blätter fast lückenlos sicher zu bestimmen. Die einzelnen Ankäufe ergeben folgende Seiten:

Ankauf	jetzt Seite
I	1–18
II	19–310
III	331–56
IV	357–76
V	377–94
VI	395–414
VII	421–Schluss

[p. vii] Die in der Aufstellung fehlenden Seiten 311-330 konnte ich in einem winzigen Funde feststellen, der mit andern Papyri in die Wiener Sammlung gekommen war. Dieser Ankauf war so schlecht erhalten, dass die Direktion der Wiener Sammlung ihn mir erst gar nicht schicken wollte, weil das Ganze nur ein Gewirr von Fasern zu sein schien. Es gelang mir, daraus noch einige, wenn auch unvollständige Seiten zu gewinnen und auf einer Seite das Kapitel 132 zu entziffern, wodurch dann festgestellt werden konnte, dass es sich hier um Reste der Seiten 311–30 handelt. Auch an den anderen Stellen, wo die Blätter mit Gewalt voneinandergerissen worden sind, sind stets die betref-

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apart by force, the leaves in question have always been more or less destroyed. Thus between the pp. 414–21 there are only paltry remains of the missing leaves, which can hardly be identified. [Pages 415/16 and 419/20 are missing from the box listing pages 401–20. Only the bottom half of pages 417/18 is extant, and only the top half of pages 413/14 is extant. They complement each other well, and hence could be halves of the same leaf, though vertical fiber continuity is inconclusive.] Also the pages after 421 have suffered very much. By means of the circumstances of the find I was able to identify the last leaf that survives, in spite of the missing pagination, as bearing the page number 501/02. It shows the chapter [number] c = 200.

But whether the Berlin *Kephalaia* have come down to us complete, or whether at the end further pages will be missing, is difficult to determine. But one may conjecture that a rather large number of leaves is lost. For I was able to identify a further *Kephalaia* book among the Mani books in the possession of Chester Beatty. Whereas the last discernible chapter number in the Berlin *Kephalaia* is 200, on a page of the London *Kephalaia* I could clearly read the chapter [number] 333. Since a number of pages still preceded it, which I have not yet been able to conserve, one can with certainty assume that the London *Kephalaia* in the present condition began with chapter 300. Thus there are missing between the Berlin and

fenden Blätter mehr oder weniger zerstört worden. So befinden sich zwischen den Seiten 414–21 nur noch kümmerliche Reste der fehlenden Blätter, die sich kaum werden bestimmen lassen. [Pages 415/16 and 419/20 are missing from the box listing pages 401–20. Only the bottom half of page 417/18 is extant, and only the top half of page 413/14 is extant. They complement each other well, and hence could be halves of the same leaf, though vertical-fiber continuity is inconclusive.] Auch die auf 421 folgenden Seiten haben noch sehr gelitten. Das letzte erhaltene Blatt liess sich durch die Fundumstände, trotz der fehlenden Paginierung, von mir als Träger der Seitenzahl 501/502 bestimmen. Es zeigt das Kapitel c = 200.

Ob die Berliner Kephalaia aber vollständig auf uns gekommen sind, oder ob am Schluss noch Seiten fehlen werden, wird sich nur schwer feststellen lassen. Zu vermuten ist aber, dass noch eine grössere Anzahl von Blättern verlorengegangen ist, denn ein weiteres Kephalaiabuch konnte ich unter den im Besitz von Chester Beatty befindlichen Manibüchern feststellen. Während nun die letzte, sichtbare Kapitelzahl in den Berliner Kephalaia 200 ist, konnte ich auf einer Seite der Londoner *Kephalaia* das Kapitel 333 deutlich lesen. Da noch eine Anzahl von Seiten vorausgehen, die ich noch nicht restaurieren konnte, kann man mit Sicherheit annehmen, dass die Londoner Kephalaia im jetzigen Zustand mit Kapitel 300 begonnen haben. Es fehlen also zwischen den Berliner

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the London *Kephalaia* roughly 100 chapters, which would call for about 240 pages or 120 leaves. But there is hardly room for a further volume between the two that are in hand, so that we must initially assume that the missing 120 leaves were lost either from the end of the Berlin or rather from the beginning of the London *Kephalaia*. After all, it is not impossible that each volume of the *Kephalaia* contained 750 pages. Given the very thin papyrus material, the book block would have measured hardly more than 3–4 cm. A tiny fragment still attached to the upper margin of the last leaf along with other uninscribed fragments, and showing vestiges of the pagination ϕΙΔ = 514, also proves to us that pages were lost in the case of the Berlin *Kephalaia* at the end of the extant part.

und den Londoner Kephalaia rund 100 Kapitel, die etwa 240 Seiten oder 120 Blätter ergeben würden. Für einen weiteren Band zwischen den beiden vorhandenen ist aber kaum Platz, so dass wir vorerst annehmen müssen, dass die fehlenden 120 Blätter entweder vom Schluss der Berliner, oder vom Anfang der Londoner Kephalaia verlorengegangen sind. Immerhin ist es nicht unmöglich, dass jeder Band der Kephalaia etwa 750 Seiten umfasst hat; bei dem sehr dünnen Papyrusmaterial würde der Buchblock kaum mehr als 3-4 cm gemessen haben. Dass bei den Berliner Kephalaia am Ende des erhaltenen Teils Seiten verlorengegangen sind, beweist uns auch ein winziges Fragment, das noch auf dem oberen Rand des letzten Blattes mit anderen unbeschriebenen Fragmenten festsass and Reste der Pagina ϕΙΔ = 514 zeigte.

It is difficult to correlate the seven acquisitions Ibscher here reports with Schmidt's report to the effect that he acquired the bulk as his first purchase in 1930 and two smaller parts in the spring of 1931.

The remains of pp. 311–30 belonging to Vienna must have been sent to Berlin, conserved there by Hugo Ibscher, and then returned to Vienna. Schmidt and Polotsky had reported concerning the Vienna material that "Ibscher recently saved fragments of two leaves from this junk heap," which reference corresponds roughly to Ibscher's allusion to "a few more pages." The material currently in the *Österrreichische Nationalbibliothek* bears the inventory number K 11010. It consists of four glass containers, containing three leaves and a number of fragments. The leaves are identified as pp. 311–16. The leaves 313/314 and 315/316 are most nearly complete, and relate to each other in terms of fiber directions as like (in this case vertical fibers) facing like. The

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small remnant of a leaf assigned the numeration 311/312 has been rotated 90 degrees rather than having been glassed right side up, to judge by the alignment of its profile. The surface labeled page 312 shares roughly the profile of pp. 313 and 315, suggesting that p. 312 should be given an odd number. But it could not be p. 311, since then (in terms of fiber directions) like would not face like. For p. 313 and the page labeled p. 312, that should be an odd-numbered page, both have horizontal fibers but would not face each other. In fact, the profile of the page labeled 312 is at places closer to that of p. 315 than to that of 313. Hence, one may postulate that what is labeled as page 312, which has horizontal fibers, is actually p. 317, 321, 325, or 329, all of which one would expect to have horizontal fibers. What is labeled p. 311 would then be p. 318, 322, 326, or 330. The chapter number Ibscher detected, 132, would then fall on page 318, 322, 326, or 330. Since chapter 140 begins on p. 343, one may estimate that a chapter averages two-and-a-half pages, in which case chapter 132 would fall at about p. 323, or, among the actual options, at p. 322. Hence one may quite tentatively postulate that the leaf labeled "311/312" is pp. 321–322. One of the five fragments glassed with "311/312" is identified as "oben links v. 312" ["above left from 312,"] and it would indeed increase the similarity of profile with page 315 if so placed on page 321. The other five fragments in this glass and the some eight fragments in a fourth glass are not identified. It is perhaps more probable that the material between pages 311 and 330 that survived belonged closely together, as a single pad, rather than widely scattered through this spectrum of ten leaves. Hence, the unidentified fragments may be largely from pages 317/318 and 319/320, since the extant leaves are pp. 313/314, 315/316 and probably 321/322.

The *Kephalaia* began to appear in fascicles in 1935; in 1940 the first ten fascicles were published as Volume 1, containing pp. 1–244.[3]

3. Polotsky and Böhlig, *Kephalaia*. Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin, Band 1, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften unter Leitung von Prof. Carl Schmidt, 1. Hälfte (Lieferung 1–10); Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 183, n. 1 states: "Die Namen der wirklichen Editoren fehlen auf dem Titelblatt aus folgendem Grund: Der Name von H. J. Polotsky sollte in der NS-Zeit im Anschluss an die Rassengesetzgebung nicht auf dem Titelblatt erscheinen; die Nennung meines Namens allein habe ich aber abgelehnt." ["The names of the real editors are missing from the title page for the following reason: The name of H. J. Polotsky was not supposed to appear on the title page in the Nazi time because of the racial legislation. But I turned down the naming of my name alone."] Böhlig reports,

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Hugo Ibscher had referred to "over 400 pages" having been conserved. It is unlikely that more was conserved during the war. For Rolf Ibscher reported in 1964–1965 that "already in 1937" his father had stopped working "regularly" on the materials,[4] and in 1955 that "during the war this minutely detailed work . . . came to a complete halt."[5] The *Inventarbuch* was at Rolf Ibscher's disposal while the material itself was in the east following the war.[6] It was during this time that the entry was added, perhaps by him, to the effect that there were "ca. 200 leaves." This hardly reflects a new inventory, since the material was inaccessible, but is no doubt merely an imprecise allusion to the 1940 report of "over 400 pages." Thus the exact number of leaves conserved by Hugo Ibscher is not known.

After the war Rolf Ibscher resumed the conservation work his father had not completed. He spoke in 1955 of "the attempt to separate and impregnate a residue of very fragmented leaves of the *Kephalaia*, which my father had designated as 'insoluable.' These leaves should be definitively glassed by this winter, at the beginning of 1956."[7] This material had been taken to the Ibscher home before or during the time of the war and thus had not been taken to Leningrad. Its presence in the home is explainable in terms of the fact that from the age of sixty, i.e., from 1934 on, Hugo Ibscher was permitted to work three days a week at home.[8] In the archive of the Chester Beatty Library there is a black loose-leaf folder entitled: "Papyrus. Biblical Manichaean Hieratic Greek etc. General Catalogue." In the section entitled "Manichaean Pap." there is a note dated May 1940 that reads: "Mr. Allberry said that Dr. Ibscher had the remainder of Mr. Beatty's papyrus at his house in the country, at Klein Machnow (see letter from Allberry)." At the death of Hugo Ibscher it was put in the concrete bunker at the Zoo.

183, that Polotsky edited Coptic pages 1–102, and that Böhlig himself edited Coptic pages 103–244. Allberry, *Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part 2*, "Preface," reported that fascicles 1-8 had appeared in 1935–37.

4. Ibscher, "Über den Stand," 50.

5. Ibscher, "Das Konservierungswerk," 2.

6. This is apparent from allusions to it by Rolf Ibscher in letters to Carsten Colpe of August 7, 1957, and August 14–15, 1957, and has been confirmed by Wolfgang Müller.

7. Ibscher, "Das Konservierungswerk," 5.

8. Böhlig reports this in a letter of February 10, 1986.

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Böhlig's presentation of 1960/68 reported as follows concerning this material left in Berlin:[9]

> Of the material in Berlin only a very small part has always remained in Berlin. It was the last 20 leaves of the Berlin *Kephalaia* book. They were conserved by Rolf Ibscher in the years 1952 and '53.

Böhlig has explained this ambiguous formulation as follows:[10]

It [Böhlig's statement "last 20 leaves"] merely means that Rolf Ibscher in these years conserved the last = the only leaves that were still in Berlin, which belonged to the *Kephalaia* and were still there, i.e., had not been put in security (they survived the war in the Ibscher house). It was indeed 20 pieces. I did not express any opinion as to what page numbers of the book were to be assigned to these leaves, and indeed I could not, since that would have been pure speculation (when the page numbers, as in this case, were no longer preserved on the leaves). For of course I did not know which and how many leaves of the *Kephalaia* had come to the USSR.

Sie [Böhlig's statement "last 20 leaves"] besagt nämlich einfach, dass Rolf Ibscher in diesen Jahren die letzten = die einzigen noch in Berlin befindlichen Blätter, die zu den Kephalaia gehörten und noch vorhanden, d.h. nicht sichergestellt waren (sie überstanden den Krieg im Hause Ibscher), konserviert hat; das waren eben 20 Stück. Mit welcher Seitenzahl des Buchs diese Blätter zu belegen waren, darüber habe ich mich überhaupt nicht geäussert, konnte es auch gar nicht, da es reine Spekulation gewesen wäre (wenn die Seitenzahl, wie hier, auf den Blättern nicht mehr erhalten war); denn ich wusste ja nicht, welche und wieviele Blätter der Kephalaia in die UdSSR gekommen waren.

The reference to 20 leaves conserved by Rolf Ibscher apparently goes back to his presentation of 1954 (see above), where he referred to conserving a "remainder of some 20 leaves" that had not gone to Leningrad. He there said he conserved them in 1951 after his first trip to London. But his return from London was delayed during the Christmas holidays by a layover at Schondorf on Ammer Lake to visit his wife's family. Hence the actual date of this conservation was no doubt the beginning of 1952, which thus overlaps Böhlig's dating of

9. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 182.

10. Böhlig in a letter of February 5, 1986.

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the conservation as 1952–1953. In 1964/1965 Rolf Ibscher dated this conservation "between 1951 and 1955." But in the published summary of his speech, Rolf Ibscher refers to having conserved a "remainder of the *Kephalaia*, ca. 25 leaves or ca. 50 pages of the text." Thus the exact number seems to have been uncertain, which is of relevance in seeking to interpret the fact that Beltz's catalogue listed the number of plates still in Berlin as 30 (see below). One of these leaves was "atomized" by Rolf Ibscher's sneeze. Since he listed 20 as extant or 25 as conserved by himself, one may assume that this now-missing leaf is not included in his figures.

Böhlig also reported on plans for the continuation of the publication:[11]

The double fascicle of the second volume, prepared by me already during the war and embracing pp. 245–92, has not yet been printed by the publisher Kohlhammer, as a result of the lack of specialized typesetters, and after the war as a result of the unclarity that prevailed as to the continuation of the project. Hence I presented the German translation, for the sake of interested persons, in ["Die Arbeit an den koptischen Manichaica,"] *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* [5 (1956) 1067–84]. This double fascicle should now be printed as the first of the second volume of the *Kephalaia*, and the following ones will be continually added. [Footnote 3, added when the essay was reprinted in 1968: This double fascicle has been worked over still another time by me and in the meantime has appeared in print (1966). The Institut für Byzantinistik of the University of Halle will care for the further

Die noch im Kriege von mir fertiggestellte, die Seiten 245–92 umfassende erste Doppellieferung des 2. Bandes wurde vom Verlag Kohlhammer infolge des Mangels an Spezialsetzern und nach dem Kriege infolge der Unklarheit, die über die Fortführung des Unternehmens herrschte, noch nicht gedruckt. Die deutsche Übersetzung legte ich deshalb um der Interessenten willen 1956 in der Wissenschaftlichen Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg vor ["Die Arbeit an den koptischen Manichaica," 5 (1956) 1067–84]. Diese Doppellieferung soll nun als erste des 2. Bandes der Kephalaia gedruckt werden, die weiteren werden sich laufend anschliessen. [Footnote 3, added when the essay was reprinted in 1968: Diese Doppellieferung ist von mir noch einmal überarbeitet worden und inzwischen im Druck erschienen (1966); die weitere Edition wird das Institut für

11. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 182.

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editing through a co-worker [Peter Nagel]. Also an index should be added to the second volume of the *Kephalaia*. The collections prepared along with the editing were lost in the war and must be prepared anew. [Footnote 4: At my request Dr. Dr. P. Nagel of the Institut für Byzantinistik of the University of Halle has produced anew the index for the first volume. It is not yet clear whether it is to appear separately or only together with the index of the second volume at the conclusion of the total edition.]

Byzantinistik der Universität Halle durch einen Mitarbeiter [Peter Nagel] besorgen lassen.] Dem 2. Bande der Kephalaia sollte auch ein Index angefügt werden. Die mit der Edition angefertigten Sammlungen hierfür sind im Kriege verlorengegangen und müssen neu erstellt werden. [Footnote 4: Auf meine Anregung hin hat Herr Dr. Dr. P. Nagel vom Institut für Byzantinistik der Universität Halle den Index für den 1. Band neu erstellt. Es ist noch nicht geklärt, ob er gesondert oder erst zusammen mit dem des 2. Bandes am Ende der Gesamtausgabe erscheinen soll.]

The first two fascicles of a second volume of the Berlin *Kephalaia*, fascicles 11–12, were published in German translation only in 1956 (pages 245–92), and then in 1966 with Coptic text and revised German translation, but omitting page 292, which was added in 1985.[12]

The Vorwort to the 1966 edition explains the circumstances of the delay:

After it was possible to complete the first half of the *Kephalaia* in the year 1940, the second half, including the indices for both halves, was to follow without interruption in further double fascicles. Unfortunately however the editing work had to be interrupted as a consequence of the war and its effects. The double fascicle 11–12 that is here presented was basically

Nachdem die 1. Hälfte der "Kephalaia" im Jahre 1940 abgeschlossen werden konnte, sollte die 2. Hälfte einschliesslich der Indices für beide Teile in weiteren Doppellieferungen laufend folgen. Leider musste die Editionsarbeit aber dann infolge des Krieges und seiner Auswirkungen unterbrochen werden. Die jetzt vorliegende Doppellieferung 11/12 war im

12. Böhlig, "Aus den Manichaischen," 1067–84; *Kephalaia*, 244–91; Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 183, reported inexactly that the double fascicle contained Coptic pages 245–92. In fact, the last page could not be included for technical reasons within the limits of the double fascicle. Hence Coptic pp. 290, 29–292, and 32 were published with an extensive interpretation by Böhlig, "Ja und Amen," 59–70.

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completed in the year 1943, transcriptions of further pages were complete and the indices were supplemented as we went along. Yet the publisher W. Kohlhammer found himself unable, due to the lack of specialized typesetters, to undertake the printing of the double fascicle still during the war. The transcriptions of further pages and the indices became a victim of the air attacks. Finally it was especially the displacement of the papyri, which returned to Berlin only in 1958 and were accessible again in 1960, that made a continuous publication of the edition impossible . . .

Dr. Nagel will also continue the edition in the future.

wesentlichen im Jahre 1943 fertiggestellt, Abschriften weiterer Seiten waren angefertigt und die Indices laufend ergänzt warden. Doch der Verlag W. Kohlhammer sah sich aus Mangel an Spezialsetzern ausserstande, den Druck der Doppellieferung noch während des Krieges vorzunehmen. Die Abschriften weiterer Seiten und die Indices wurden ein Opfer der Fliegerangriffe. Schliesslich machte vor allem die Verlagerung der Papyri, die erst 1958 nach Berlin zurückkehrten und 1960 wieder zugänglich waren, ein kontinuierliches Weitererscheinen der Edition unmöglich . . .

Herr Dr. Nagel wird auch die Edition in Zukunft fortsetzen.

Wolfgang Müller had already reported in 1964 "dass die Kephalaia P. 15[9]96 vollständig erhalten sind und jetzt nach erfolgter Umkonservierung von P. Nagel/Halle weiter ediert werden" ["that the *Kephalaia* P. 15[9]96 are completely extant and now, after their successful reconservation, are being further edited by P. Nagel of Halle."] Similarly Rolf Ibscher reported in 1965/66 that the *Kephalaia* "jetzt erneut nach dem Tode Schmidts und Weggang Böhligs in Halle durch Dr. Dr. Nagel kollationiert und weiter ediert wurden und werden" ["now will be collated and further edited anew after the death of Schmidt and the departure of Böhlig in Halle by Dr. Dr. Nagel."][13]

In August 1985 Nagel confirmed that he had formally submitted his withdrawal, so as not to block the Material from being reassigned. Thus the editing of the material has reverted to the supervision of its repository, the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin, rather than being still under the care of the Institute that Nagel himself has directed.

Beltz's catalogue reported as follows on this codex:

13. Ibscher, "Mani und kein Ende," 219.

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I 605 P15996. Codex from the Mani find, P15996 contains the Manichaean *Kephalaia*. The whole codex is glassed. In Berlin are pp. 1–446, 455–56. Pp. 447–54 are at present in Warsaw. Furthermore there are 30 more plates with fragments of various sizes of the same codex in Berlin. On the nature of the codex see the introduction to the edition: Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin, Vol. I, *Kephalaia*. First half prepared by H. J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig (pp. 1–243); second half prepared by A. Böhlig (pp. 244–91). Stuttgart, 1940; 1966.

I 605 P15996; Codex aus dem Manifund, enthält P15996 die manichäischen Kephalaia. Der ganze, Codex ist verglast. In Berlin befinden sich die S. 1–446, 455–56. Die Seiten 447–454 befinden sich z. Z. in Warschau. Ferner sind noch 30 Platten mit Fragmenten unterschiedlicher Grösse vom selben Codex in Berlin. Zur Beschaffenheit des Codex siehe die Einleitung zu der Edition: Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin, Bd. I, Kephalaia. 1. Hälfte bearbeitet von H. J. Polotsky u. A. Böhlig (S. 1–243); 2. Hälfte bearbeitet von A. Böhlig (S. 244–291). Stuttgart 1940; 1966.

Günter Poethke, Custos of the Greek manuscripts in the Papyrus-Sammlung of the Ägyptisches Museum, visited Warsaw in September and October of 1971 and saw there four leaves of the Mani material. On February 23, 1972, he submitted a report preserved in the archives of the Ägyptisches Museum to the effect that in the Kathedra Papirologii of the University of Warsaw four Manichaean leaves were present, for which he listed the numbers 451/2, 453/4, 447/8, 499/500. Beltz saw the leaves on June 2, 1976, and identified them for the first time as belonging to P15996. Subsequently, two additional leaves of the Manichaica have been located at the university.[14]

Wincenty Myszor reported as follows on the materials at the Warsaw University, on July 12, 1986:

There are here 6 glassed leaves. Of these, 5 plates are 36 cm high and 23.5 broad, and 1 plate is 24.5 cm high and 18.5 cm broad. This last plate also has a different glassing. It is smaller and is supplied with dark red adhesive ribbon. The 5 plates have the pp. 447/448;

Hier befinden sich 6 verglaste Blätter. Davon sind 5 Platten 36 cm hoch und 23,5 cm breit und 1 Platte ist 24,5 cm hoch und 18,5 cm breit. Diese letzte Platte hat auch eine andere Verglasung. Sie ist kleiner und mit dunkelrotem Klebeband versehen. Die 5 Platten

14. According to a letter dated December 23, 1985, from Wlodzimierz Godlewski.

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449/450; 451/452; 453/454 and 499/500.The plates 447/448 and 449/450 have P15996; the plate 499/500 has P14997. Also the smaller sixth plate has P15997. The other two plates are without P. On June 2, 1976, W. Beltz opened the glass of the leaf 453/454, as is indicated by a piece of paper pasted at the cracked place (with a signature). The 5 leaves seem to belong to the same codex. The state of preservation of the leaves is very bad. The worst is however the sixth leaf with the other glassing. This leaf with P15997 (the last digit is not quite clear; it can also be 96!) belongs very certainly to different codex from the plate 499/500 with a quite clear P15997, and hence different from the other 5 leaves.

haben die Seiten 447/448; 449/450; 451/452; 453/454 und 499/500. Die Platten 447/448 und 449/450 haben P15996; die Platte 499/500 hat P15997. Auch die kleinere sechste Platte hat P15997. Die anderen beiden Platten sind ohne P. Die Verglasung des Blattes 453/454 hat W. Beltz am 2. Juni 1976 geöffnet, wie ein aufgeklebtes Papier (mit Unterschrift) an der angebrochenen Stelle zeigt. Die 5 Blätter scheinen zu demselben Kodex zu gehören. Der Erhaltungsgrad der Blätter ist sehr schlecht: Am schlechtesten aber ist das sechste Blatt mit der anderen Verglasung. Dieses Blatt mit P15997 (die letzte Ziffer ist nicht ganz deutlich; kann es auch 96 sein!) gehört ganz bestimmt zu einem anderen Kodex als die Platte 499/500 mit ganz deutlichem P15997, also als die anderen 5 Blätter.

This would indicate that Poethke's report of the labeling 499/500 being in Warsaw and Beltz's report of 449/450 being in Berlin are not conflicting reports about the labeling of the same plate, as has been previously assumed, but are both accurate reports about different plates. The fact that the plate labeled 499/500 is listed as P15997 rather than as P15996 must be regarded as an error in labeling. For Myszor's conclusion that it is from the same codex as the 4 leaves with pages 447–54, the identity in the size of the glass frame with that of the 4 leaves, and the pagination reaching such a high figure as 500, all point toward the *Kephalaia*, and not toward the *Acts*. For in the case of the *Acts*, no page numbers have been assigned to its few conserved leaves, and the plates are much smaller.

On September 11, 1986, Wolf-Peter Funk examined the five plates, and on November 15, 1986, he wrote a report that brings further clarity to the situation. "Apart from the mystery of the one glass frame of smaller size, there can be no doubt about the assignment of

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the leaves to codices: the five glasses clearly belong to P[15996] because they actually contain portions of *Kephalaia* text." Concerning the individual leaves, he reports:

> 447/448: "Leaf in extremely bad condition, on both sides only small parts of papyrus *surface* extant . . ." P. 447(with vertical fibres): A label, apparently old, reads 447. Though nothing was transcribed, regular lines, but no chapter heading, could be detected throughout. P. 448, (with horizontal fibres): "'Readability' only slightly better than P. 447." Each of the letters of the pagination of P. 447 is uncertain. Only up to four letters on a line were transcribed from lines 1–4. "No chapter heading visible (but not entirely excluded)."
>
> 449/450: "Leaf in extremely bad condition, on both sides only small parts of papyrus *surface* extant." P. 449 (with horizontal fibres): Nothing was transcribed. No chapter heading is visible. P. 450 (with vertical fibres): A recent label reads "449/450 P[15996]." In the top left-hand corner of the page is the pagination 450, though the first letter is uncertain. There are 29 or 30 lines, the last seven of which are part of a new chapter, vestiges of whose heading follow upon line 19. The chapter number is legible only as ..5. Only a few letters were transcribed.
>
> 451/452: P. 451 (with vertical fibers): The page number 451 is legible in the upper right-hand corner, as is much of the running title. Twenty-one lines are visible, but no chapter heading. P. 452 (with horizontal fibers): A label reads 451/452. The page number 452 and the complete running title are legible. After line 26 there is the chapter number 1.6; the title follows on the next three lines, followed by the first two lines of the chapter, all only partly legible.
>
> 453/454: There is a label, apparently old, reading "453/454." A "large paper strip across broken glasses on both sides" reads: "Schutzverklebung 2. Juni 1976 / Beltz," ". . . durch WALTER BELTZ Berlin." ["Protective pasting June 2, 1976, Beltz," ". . . by Walter Beltz Berlin."] "Both pages make difficult reading except upper part of recto. Apparently no chapter headings." P. 453 (with horizontal fibers): The running title and the central segment of lines 1–4 were transcribed. P. 454 (with vertical fibers): The uncertain letters of pagination 45. as well as the running title and a couple of words from each of the first two lines were transcribed.
>
> 499/500: The leaf is thus labeled. P. 499 (with vertical fibers): A few words of lines 2–3 were transcribed. Then after line 3 there is what looks like a chapter number reading 2 . . . , where what is taken to be perhaps the second digit looks like a small raised lambda). Two lines

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> of title follow, of which only a word on each was transcribed. P. 500 (with horizontal fibers): Very occasional letters or words were transcribed. After what may be line 12, 13, or 14, there is a straight clear line drawn horizontally under the line of text, after which there follow lines with only scattered letters legible.

From this wealth of previously unavailable scattered detail there emerges a problem, which Funk analyzes as follows:

> To me, another problem of a different nature arose when I compared what I think I read in Warsaw on the fifth leaf, with Ibscher's statement about the last surviving leaf of *Kephalaia* (Volume One) containing pp. 501/02 and *showing the chapter number c = 200.* If I am not mistaken, the leaf identified as pp. 499/500 contains a chapter heading whose top number is extant (but not the right- or left-hand side numbers): the first figure in this number is clearly S, but apparently followed by other figures (illegible to me), which means that the number must be higher than 200. If this is correct, the partly destroyed chapter numbers on pp. 450 and 452 could be restored as [19]5 and 1[9]6, respectively (which would be in accordance with the average length of chapters in the first 12 quires of the codex). Otherwise they would have to be 185 and 186, assuming that the length of chapters considerably increases after p. 292. This latter question can probably be decided after examining the preceding pages at Berlin.
>
> P. 389 bears the chapter number 156, p. 395 the chapter number 158, p. 397 the chapter number 159, and p. 429 the chapter number 172. Hence it would seem more likely that p. 450 would bear the chapter number [18]5 and p. 452 the chapter number 1[8]6.

These considerations have led Funk to put a question mark beside the numeration 499/500, with which the leaf is labeled. For if Ibscher were correct in detecting on the leaf 501/502 the chapter numeration 200, a chapter numeration beyond 200 could not occur on the leaf 499/500 but of necessity would be a leaf paginated in the 500s.

One may also wonder if the discrepancy may not be due to some error in Ibscher's way of ascertaining that the pagination of the last leaf that survives is 501/502. For he concedes that no pagination is extant; his reasoning is based on unspecified "circumstances of the find." It is not clear how such matters would establish the precise pagination. In any case, the leaf to which Ibscher referred, if other than

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the Warsaw leaf labeled 499/500 with a chapter number 2[00], has not been located.

An inventory was carried out in 1985–1986 of the Manichaean material stored in the *Magazin* of the Papyrussammlung of the Ägyptisches Museum in the basement of the Pergamonmuseum on the Museumsinsel. There one finds 21 cardboard boxes, each containing slots for ten glassed leaves, labeled "Kephalaia Seite 1–20" ["*Kephalaia* page 1–20"], etc., through pp. 421–40, which must represent the last complete set of ten leaves that Hugo Ibscher conserved.

A card in the box labeled "Seite 21–40" ["page 21–40"] reports: "Blatt 35/36 fehlt" ["leaf 35/36 is missing"]. Pages 35–36 are in fact missing, though the leaf was published in *Kephalaia*, volume one. A card in the box labeled "Seite 61–80" ["page 61–80"] reads: "61/62 fehlt" ["61/62 is missing"]. Pages 61–62 are in fact missing, though the leaf was published in *Kephalaia*, volume one.

The leaf 217/18 was on display in 1986 in the papyrus gallery of the Egyptian section of the Bode Museum (upstairs, on the left) in Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR. The leaves 291/92, 293/94, 295/96, 297/98, and 299/300 were in 1986 in the Lesesaal of the Egyptian Museum in the basement of the Pergamon Museum, but may well have been returned to the *Magazin*.

One box is labeled "Seite 301–340," ["page 301–40"] with the comment "311–330 in Wien" ["311–30 in Vienna"]. Pages 311–30 are in fact missing from the box, but one may conclude from the Vienna photographs (see above) that of the twenty pages 311–30 much of 6 pages (pp. 313–16 and perhaps 321–22 plus fragments) survives.

A card in the box labeled "Seite 381–400" ["page 381–400"] reports: "383/84 385/86 fehlen" ["383/84 385/86 are missing."] Pages 383–86 are in fact missing.

A card in the box labeled "Seite 401/420" ["page 401–20"] reads: "415/16 fehlt; 419/20 fehlt" ["415/16 is missing; 419/20 is missing"]. Pages 415/16 and 419/20 are in fact missing. In the list of acquisitions published in 1940 by Hugo Ibscher (see above), the pp. 415–20 are not listed, but he reported: "Thus between the pages 414 and 421 there are only paltry remains of the missing leaves, which can hardly be identified." Thus the only extant leaf (actually only part of the bottom half of a leaf), assigned the numeration 417/18, may in fact be all that is left of pp. 415–20 (if one is not to conjecture that it might be the missing bottom half of pp. 413/14).

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In his report of 1965, Rolf Ibscher had stated (see above): "Likewise six leaves of the *Kephalaia* are missing, as has now become apparent from the reglasing . . . I explain the six missing *Kephalaia* leaves as still slumbering somewhere in a drawer, having missed the return trip."

These 6 missing leaves can no doubt be identified as pp. 35/36, 61/62, 383/84, 385/86, 415/16, and 419/20, since similar cards in the hand of Rolf Ibscher's assistant Otto W. Luke identify precisely these six leaves as missing. But since the 1940 listing of acquisitions omitted pp. 415–20, and since Hugo Ibscher had spoken of only "paltry remains" between p. 414 and p. 421, there is little reason to assume leaves 415/16 and 419/20 ever were conserved. Thus one may infer that only four leaves (two of which were unpublished and hence presumably permanently inaccessible to scholarship) were lost in the process of being taken into safekeeping to Leningrad and returned to Berlin. For it is known that some material was in fact lost in transit: pp. 447–54, 499–500, have subsequently been identified in Warsaw.

Thus the boxes labeled pages 1–440 actually contain (including those leaves present elsewhere at the Museum) only pages 1–34, 37–60, 63–310, 331–82, 387–414, 417–18, and 421–40, a total of 418 pages = 209 leaves. To this may be added six pages = three leaves in Vienna, a total of 414 pages = 207 leaves, and ten pages = five leaves in Warsaw. This fits rather well Hugo Ibscher's 1940 reference to "over 400 pages." (At that time two of the leaves now missing, pp. 35/36 and 61/62, must also have been extant, since they were published.) Beltz's listing of all pp. 1–440, as in Berlin, must hence be taken merely as a global statement, overlooking the various missing materials among these pages.

Some leaves of the *Kephalaia* are glassed but not in a box. Like the leaves of the other Manichaean codices, which also are not in boxes, they lie on the wooden shelves in the *Magazin*, on which the boxes also lie. The glasses in the boxes are 23 cm wide by 36 cm high. The glasses not in boxes vary in size, 23 to 25 cm wide by 35 to 35.5 cm high. The tape sealing the glasses of all the Manichaica varies from light to dark brown; brown is the color used to distinguish Coptic papyri from other papyri. In the case of the glasses not in boxes, the tape is so sticky that the glasses adhere to each other. Hence they are to be stacked in a staggered pattern that keeps tape from bonding to tape.

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Although there are no leaves labeled as pp. 441–46, which Beltz reported as present, there is extant the last glass he reported, labeled 455/456. Since he did not itemize any material as missing prior to page 440, one may assume he did not itemize any material as missing in pp. 1–456 (except for the leaves he had identified in Warsaw, pp. 447–54). Thus, one need hardly postulate that pp. 441–46 were identified in Berlin at the time of Beltz's inventory and only subsequently became lost. Their presence may simply have been inferred on the basis of the presence of the leaf labeled pp. 455/456.

There are also 30 other glass containers, numbered 1–30, i.e., by leaf or glass container rather than by page, each with a label (on one side only) reading "Kephalaia Nr. 1" ["*Kephalaia* Number 1,"] etc. These glasses numbered 1–30 are no doubt the same thirty glasses that Beltz characterized as containing "fragments of various sizes," e.g., number 23 is more a scattering of unplaced fragments than a leaf. The lack of labeled pagination may in part be due to their not having been definitively conserved and labeled by Hugo Ibscher, with the result that Rolf Ibscher left them unidentified. The increasingly fragmentary nature of the latter part of the codex may account for the unidentified status of the leaves.

Since there is no reason to assume that material prior to p. 440 would be among these 30 leaves, they would be expected to fall in the area of pp. 441–46 and 457–502 (except for pp. 499–500, if that is in fact its pagination, in Warsaw), a total of 25 leaves. Thus one may suspect that some of the thirty leaves belong after p. 502 or before p. 440, or may not in fact belong to P[15996].

In the case of "Kephalaia P[15996] Nr. 29" ["*Kephalaia* P[15996] Number 29"], the number is on an unusually large round label, which also bears the marked-out number 361 (and, marked out on the back, 362), and (also marked out) "zu 15998" ["to 15998"], thus identifying the leaf as once having been ascribed to the *Letters*. Rolf Ibscher had reported (see above) in connection with the leaves provisionally preserved by his father and confusingly labeled, "from Codex B," and "Letters": "But there is also among these leaves one with the number 361. To what does that belong?" Obviously, it has subsequently been reassigned to P[15996], but with what justification remains unclear. Pages 361–62 are extant at their proper place in the box where they belong, so this marked-out numeration can hardly be responsible for ascribing the

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leaf to P15996. Yet since such high numbers occur only in the case of the *Kephalaia*, one might have been tempted to assign such a leaf to that codex if one did not look to see if it were absent from the proper box.

The glass container labeled "Kephalaia 15996 Nr. 30" ["*Kephalaia* 15996, Number 30"] actually contains two leaves that were apparently never separated from each other. The surface of the typed label is scraped off, except for "P.," with "15996" and "Nr. 30" added in ink.

The reidentification of these two containers as belonging to P15996 was apparently carried out by Walter Beltz when he was preparing his inventory, published in 1978, since Günter Poethke has identified the handwriting as that of Beltz. Hence, they may be three of the leaves previously ascribed to P15998 (the *Letters*) that currently are missing (see below).

Two glasses are labeled "Kephalaia o. Nr." ["*Kephalaia* without number."] But these were stacked, when the inventory was begun in 1985, along with 13 other leaves that were labeled P15998, in a group accompanied by a piece of paper with a note in Günter Poethke's hand. The note read: "Wahrscheinlich zu P15998 gehörig (s. Vortrag von Böhlig in Moskau: 'Schweren Herzens'). 15 Platten. 26.7.72" ["Apparently belonging to P15998 (see the lecture by Böhlig in Moscow [that begins] 'With heavy heart . . .'). 15 glasses. July 26, 1972."] Since the labels were not changed to fit the note, one may wonder if these two plates were originally counted among the 15. Perhaps the two containers whose labels apparently Walter Beltz changed to read "P15996 29 and 30" were among the fifteen classified in 1972 as belonging to P15998. Since Beltz does not refer to those fifteen plates in his catalogue, he may well not have been aware of their existence. These two plates from among the 15 may have lain apart by themselves at the time, been seen by Beltz, and been included by him in the large stack that was already ascribed to P15996. In that case, when their labels were changed to P15996, the number of plates ascribed to P15998 would have been reduced from 15 to 13, without the note referring to fifteen plates having been corrected. At some juncture the two plates labeled "Kephalaia without number" would have been stacked with the thirteen to produce the total of fifteen, to fit the note stating there were fifteen leaves. It would seem probable that by some such procedure the thirty plates mentioned in Beltz's catalogue as belonging after page 456 have now become thirty-two, bearing the designation Kephalaia, though his catalogue refers

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only to thirty. The relabeling of two plates and the removal of two others from the stack of thirty (P^{15996}) to the stack of fifteen (P^{15998}) functioned, in effect, as a trade. Yet any such solution of the confusion must remain very speculative.

One may hence tentatively assume that there are twenty-nine extant leaves of the *Kephalaia* without assigned pagination (plates 1–22 and 24–28, not counting plate 23 that contains only fragments, plus two leaves "without number"). One may seek to correlate these twenty-nine leaves with the twenty or circa 25 reported to have been conserved by Rolf Ibscher after the war. Since approximately seven or twelve leaves more are extant than his figures would lead one to expect, the question arises whether some of these extra leaves correspond to those that have been identified as missing. They would not be the six leaves Rolf Ibscher mentioned as already missing when he reconserved the codex, and which have been identified from what is currently missing as pp. 35/36, 61/62, 383/84, 385/86, 415/16, 419/20. Nor would they be the missing pp. 311–20, the remains of which are in Vienna. Nor would they be those in Warsaw—pp. 447–54, 499–500. Since the leaf 501/02 was mentioned as the last extant leaf of the codex at an earlier time, the twenty-five leaves composing pp. 441–46, 457–98, 501–2 would be the only leaves unaccounted for. This minimal number should be reduced to twenty-four, to take account of the leaf atomized by a sneeze. This figure is nearer to Rolf Ibscher's figure of c. twenty-five than to his figure twenty. But it tends to suggest that not all the material that Beltz listed as extant in Berlin and not all the material currently labeled as P^{15996} does in fact belong to P^{15996}, unless one is to assume that there were an indeterminate number beyond p. 502.

Ibscher presents the *Kephalaia* as consisting codicologically of quires of six sheets (twelve leaves, twenty-four pages). The table below lays out the page ranges and center pages of the *Kephalaia's* various quires; the chart assumes only complete sheets (i.e., no half sheets plus stubs).

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Kephalaia Quires

Quire Number	Page Range	Center Pages
1	1–24	12–13
2	25–48	36–37
3	49–72	60–61
4	73–96	84–85
5	97–120	108–9
6	121–44	132–33
7	145–68	156–57
8	169–92	180–81
9	193–216	204–5
10	217–40	228–29
11	241–64	252–53
12	265–88	276–77
13	289–312	300–301
14	313–36	324–25
15	337–60	348–49
16	361–84	372–73
17	385–408	396–97
18	409–32	420–21
19	433–56	444–45
20	457–80	468–69
21	481–504	492–93
22	505–28	516–17

Since Hugo Ibscher reported a fragment containing the pagination 514 to have been attached to the last extant leaf[15] (pp. 501/02), from which he inferred that "the work must have included in the papyrus codex more than 520 pages = 260 leaves," one may assume that quire 22 concluding with page 528 is the last quire of the codex, at least the last of which there has been any evidence. Thus, pp. 503–28, 26 pages = 13 leaves, were presumably not acquired by Schmidt (except

15. Hugo Ibscher, *Kephalaia*, vii.

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for the fragment with the pagination), and the pp. 441–502, 62 pages = 31 leaves, have not, with the exception of the leaf labeled 455/456, been identified in Berlin in the inventory of 1985–1986.

Hugo Ibscher reported as follows regarding the fiber directions of the codices of Medinet Madi, where his information was based primarily on the Berlin *Kephalaia* and on Sir Chester Beatty's Codex A, the Psalms:[16]

> It is interesting, and corresponds to the distinguished character of our Mani books, that the arrangement of the leaves is such that the horizontal and vertical fibers always came to lie on each other. In this way the opened book attained a much more pleasant appearance, since the surface lying before the beholder was not disturbed by the varying fiber directions. This arrangement is unpleasant only for the person who today must separate the leaves from each other. For the fibers have now become so intertwined with each other through the effect of dampness that the leaves can be separated from each other only with the greatest of care and patience.
>
> Interessant und dem vornehmen Charakter unserer Mani-Bücher entsprechend ist auch die Anordnung der Blätter, die so erfolgte, dass immer die horizontalen und vertikalen Fasern aufeinander zu liegen kamen. Dadurch gewann das aufgeschlagene Buch ein weit gefälligeres Aussehen, weil die vor dem Beschauer liegende Fläche nicht durch die verschiedene Faserun gestört wurde. Unangenehm ist diese Anordnung nur für den, der heute die Blätter auseinanderlösen muss, haben sich doch durch die Einwirkung der Feuchtigkeit die Fasern jetzt derart ineinander verfilzt, dass nur mit der grössten Sorgfalt and Geduld die Blätter voneinander zu bringen sind.

The inventory of the *Kephalaia* of 1985–1986 has shown that this fiber pattern does characterize the codex. To be sure, this pattern is somewhat obscured by the fact that in the glassing by Hugo Ibscher or in the reglassing by Rolf Ibscher, some labels were incorrectly placed. But in the process of preparing the inventory, such plates have been supplemented with correct labels. This could be determined by the profiles of what is extant, by the postulated fiber patterns, by the running heads in some cases, and perhaps by an occasional pagination. Leaf 431/32 consists of a series of fragments, presumably from this leaf, two of which are conserved with the wrong surface up.

16. Hugo Ibscher, "Ein Mani-Fund," 85.

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One may wonder just what degree of reliability is to be accorded to the pagination ascribed to all the identified leaves, once the minor suggestions here made have been taken into consideration. This is all the more problematic given Hugo Ibscher's view that the sheets were not cut from rolls, which permits the identification of the sequence of sheets. For he argued "that the papyrus material for the present codices was not cut from a roll, but that the leaves were manufactured especially for our Mani books."[17] This phenomenon is otherwise unattested. To make such a claim, he would have had to establish that there are no *kolleseis* (a point which, to judge by the leaves that have been examined, would indeed seem to be accurate). But since *kolleseis* could have been trimmed off at the margin by a careful stationer preparing a deluxe codex, Ibscher would have had to verify that there is no continuity of fibers from sheet to sheet. Since he does not refer to this negative criterion, it is unknown whether he examined the codex from this point of view. Hence, this needs to be verified to be certain that this criterion for establishing the sequence of the sheets, and hence of the pages, is not available. If Hugo Ibscher is correct, then missing is the main codicological criterion for establishing the sequence of sheets in a codex lacking much of the Coptic pagination and the continuity of text from leaf to leaf, namely the continuity of horizontal fibers (or, in rare instances such as Nag Hammadi Codex XIII, the vertical fibers) from sheet to sheet in the quire. In the case of the *Kephalaia*, chapter numbers are sporadically extant in the text itself, so that in general the assigned pagination may indeed be reliable.

The verification of quires in terms of conjugate leaves needs to be carried through systematically to provide a relative confirmation of the page sequence.

Eight smaller plates that seem to involve the remainder of fragments from the conservation of the *Kephalaia* were located in the *Magazin*. For a card accompanying the fragments states that they are "bestimmte and unbestimmte Mani-Fragmente (farblos geändert)—8 Platten" ["defined and undefined Mani fragments (colorlessly framed)—8 plates"].

17. Ibid., 84: "dass das Papyrusmaterial für die vorliegenden Kodices nicht aus einer Rolle geschnitten ist, sondern dass die Blätter . . . eigens für unsere Mani-Bücher angefertigt worden sind."

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Plate 1: A label reports in pencil "S. 479" ["p. 479"] and in ink "zu Kephalaia" ["to *Kephalaia*"]. One fragment does have the numeration 479/48[0], another 47[], another 4[ ].

Plate 2: A label reports 459/60. The plate contains about 9 fragments. This pagination was not noted.

Plate 3: A label records *Kephalaia* and the pagination "503/4??." The plate contains about 18 fragments. This pagination was not noted.

Plate 4: A label reports in Greek ink *Kephalaia* and the numbers ϟΚΓ/ϟΚΔ i.e., 423/424. This leaf is extant in its proper box, though the pagination was not noted on it. Nor was this pagination noted on the some 12 fragments in plate 4.

Plate 5: It contains about 11 small fragments.

Plate 6: It contains about 6 fragments, two of which seemed to consist of more than one leaf.

Plate 7: It contains uninscribed pads and one small inscribed fragment.

Plate 8: It contains about thirteen fragments, three of which contain waved decorations such as may have been at the end of the codex; the back of these fragments is uninscribed.

These eight plates are to be classified as fragments and hence are not included in the following assessment of the number of extant leaves.

Since the 146 leaves = 292 pages that have been published present pp. 1–292, of which 144 leaves = 288 pages are still extant, there remain in Berlin yet to be published among the extant leaves assigned a pagination: pp. 293–310, 331–82, 387–414, 417–18, 421–40, 455–56, i.e. 61 leaves = 122 pages, plus 29 unboxed but glassed extant leaves without assigned pagination, i.e. 58 pages, a total of 90 leaves = 180 pages; three leaves = six pages plus fragments out of the fragmentary pages 311–30 (K 11010) in Vienna's *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*; and pp. 447–54, 499–500, (i.e., five leaves = ten pages), in Warsaw—a total of 98 unpublished leaves = 196 unpublished pages of the *Kephalaia*

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that are presumably extant. Thus, there would seem to be a total of 242 extant leaves = 484 pages. (This does not include the second volume of *Kephalaia* belonging to the Chester Beatty Library, see below.)

Such a listing of unpublished but extant leaves may be somewhat misleading. For although the size of the lacunae is relatively small in many cases, that is to say, although most of the papyrus is usually extant, the amount of extant ink varies considerably, and the resultant legibility of many pages is disappointingly small. Hence, a rough classification of extant ink may give a clearer picture of what one may expect. On a scale of 0 to 5: 0 = no ink is visible; 1 = some ink but probably no letters are visible; 2 = some letters but probably no words are legible; 3 = some words but probably no sentences are legible; 4 = some sentences but probably less than half the page is legible; 5 = probably more than half the page is legible. The 122 unpublished but paginated extant pages in Berlin have been classified in the chart that follows:

Berlin *Kephalaia* Paginated Leaves

Category	Total pages in category	Individual page numbers
Some ink visible	6	422, 424, 431, 432, 435–36.
Some letters visible	12	309–10, 331–32, 394, 417–18, 421, 423, 427, 433–34.
Some words visible	29	306–8, 333–36, 339, 340, 362, 382, 387, 393, 403–9, 413–14, 425–26, 428–30, 438, 440.
Some sentences visible	42	297, 299, 300, 304–5, 337–38, 341–42, 345–46, 351–52, 355, 357, 359–61, 364, 368–70, 372–74, 377, 378, 380, 381, 388, 390, 392, 398, 399, 401, 410–12, 437, 439, 455–56.
More than half the page visible	33	293–96, 298, 301–3, 343–44, 347–50, 353–54, 356, 358, 363, 365–67, 371, 375–76, 379, 389, 391, 395–97, 400, 402.

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The unpaginated extant leaves 1–28 in Berlin can be classified as follows (the labeled side is cited as a, the side without the label as b): In category 1, 21b. In category 2, 18b, 19a, 21a, 22b, 23b, 24ab, 25ab, 26a, 27b. In category 3, 2ab, 3ab, 4ab, 5ab, 6ab, 7b, 8ab, 9ab, 10ab, l2ab, 13ab, 14ab, 15ab, 16ab, 17ab, 18a, 19b, 20ab, 22a, 23a, 26b, 27a, 28ab. In category 4, lab, 11ab.

Some transcriptions by H. J. Polotsky are in the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library.[18] They include pp. 25, 26, 30, 34–40, 51, and 54 published in *Kephalaia* and pages 375–76 published in Schmidt and Polotsky's initial essay,[19] and the unpublished pages 343, 344, 353, 354 and 366, with German translations by Polotsky of pp. 353, 354, and 366, and English translations by Sir H. Thompson of pp. 343 and 344. This work is dated from July 1931 to May 18, 1932. There are also holdings in the Griffith Institute in the Ashmoleon Museum in Oxford and at the Academy of Sciences in Berlin (see above).

Reinhold Merkelbach[20] has remarked that chapter 138, extant in Polotsky's German translation, is lost:[21] "Der koptische Text ist verlorengegangen, es existiert nur noch die deutsche Übersetzung." ["The Coptic text is lost, there still exists only the German translation."] However an examination of the papyri in the Papyrus-Sammlung

18. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, vi, reports: "As regards the lesser dialects, reference must first be made to the great increase in material resulting from the discovery and gradual publication of the Manichaean papyri, acquired by Mr. Chester Beatty and the Berlin Museum. These we have been able to use, thanks to the permission of their owners and to copies of the unpublished portions kindly sent by Dr. Polotsky and Mr. Allberry. But this advantage has been ours only since reaching the letter P."

Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, xii, lists:

Mani I = copies of Chester Beatty's unpublished Manichaean papyri by H. J. Polotsky and H. Thompson.

Mani II = copies of sim. papyri at Berlin by Polotsky.

The Crum Archive of the Ashmolean Museum and the Archive of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin contain material that supplements the incomplete file at the Chester Beatty Library.

19. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 45, for the German translation of p. 375, p. 87, in "Anhang Nr. III," for the Coptic text of p. 375, p. 42 for the German translation of p. 376, and p. 86, in "Anhang Nr. II," for the Coptic text of p. 376.

20. Merkelbach, *Mani und sein Religionssystem* (Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Geisteswissenschaften, Vorträge: G 281; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986), 18 n. 9.

21. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 70–71.

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of (East) Berlin on July 13, 1988, tended to indicate that the papyri containing this chapter are in fact not lost. Chapter 136 begins on p. 337, chapter 137 on p. 338, chapter 138 on p. 340, chapters 140 and 141 both on p. 343. The leaf labeled 341/342 is also extant, on which the continuation and conclusion of chapter 138 (and the beginning of chapter 139) presumably take place. Yet the identity of the leaf in question seemed at first unclear, for the labels reading 339/340 and with the chapter numeration 138 were affixed in such a way that when the labels were at the top of the page, the writing was upside down, so that the leaf needed to be returned to its upright position. Nor did the fiber directions conform to the pattern of like fiber directions on facing pages. But if the side labeled 339 is relabeled 340, and that side labeled 340 relabeled 339, then the fiber pattern becomes normal. Furthermore, only on the basis of these corrections do the profiles of this leaf and that of the preceding and following leaves conform to each other. Thus once these corrections were made, the codex seemed at this point to be intact, though the text is less legible than it was half a century ago, to judge by the extant German translation.

In 1986 Wolf-Peter Funk began transcribing the first unpublished leaves, pp. 293–95, 11, here concluding with the numeration and title of chapter 123.

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— 11 —

$\mathcal{P}^{15997}$: *Acts*

Schmidt and Polotsky's basic report made it clear that P^{15997} (*Acts*) was acquired in the spring of 1931. Their report concerning this specific codex is as follows:[1]

[p. 27] I can be very brief in the case of the third papyrus book, which when acquired lay in the original condition between two wooden covers as remains of the binding. It too belongs to the Berlin holdings. An idea of the desolate condition of the preservation may be gotten from the accompanying photograph (see plate 2). Also there are only a few leaves of this pile that have been separated for the sake of determining the character of the work. Thus it has become clear [p. 28] that it is a work of historical content . . . [p. 29] To judge by [p. 30] the external size, it must have been a work of at least 250 leaves.

[p. 27] Ganz kurz kann ich mich fassen bei dem dritten Papyrusbuch, das bei der Erwerbung noch in dem ursprünglichen Zustand zwischen zwei Holzdeckeln als Reste des Einbandes lag and ebenfalls zum Berliner Bestande gehört. Eine Vorstellung von dem desolaten Zustande der Erhaltung wird die beigefügte Photographie (s. Taf. 2) geben. Auch von diesem Haufen sind nur einige Blätter bisher behufs Feststellung des Charakters des Werkes abgehoben worden. Dabei hat es sich als ein Werk historischen Inhalts heraus- [p. 28] gestellt . . . [p. 29] Nach [p. 30] dem äusseren Umfang zu urteilen, muss es ein Werk von mindestens 250 Blättern gewesen sein.

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 27–30.

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Wilhelm Schubart recorded in the *Inventarbuch* of the Papyrus-Sammlung of the Ägyptisches Museum of East Berlin in black ink for P[15997]: "Koptischer Papyruskodex" ["Coptic Papyrus Codex"]. The column regarding "Art der Erwerbung" ["Nature of the Acquisition"] reads "dsgl" ["the same] as P[15995], i.e., "acquired through Prof. Carl Schmidt in Cairo, 1931, gift of Mr. August Pfeffer 1933." Further notes added in pencil report: "Historischer Text" ["historical text"], "z. T. verglast" ["partially glassed"], "8 Blätter" ["8 leaves,"] "Schrank 5" ["cupboard 5"], "z. Zt. Papyrussammlung Regal" ["at present Papyrus Collection shelf"]. A purple carbon note reports "nach dem Osten sichergestellt" ["put in safety to the east"], to which is added in black ink "8 Blätter sind zurück. Codex nicht! [Rolf] Ib[scher]." ["8 leaves are back. Codex [is] not! [Rolf] Ib[scher]."] That is to say, all 8 glassed leaves were at the time thought to have been returned, but the book block that had not been separated into leaves and individually glassed was not returned. A rubber stamp reading "1958 vorhanden" ["1958 present"] records the return of the leaves from Leningrad in that year. The stamp is followed by 8 counting marks. Another rubber stamp reading "1972 vorhanden" ["1972 present"] records that the leaves were present at the time of the inventory of holdings made that year by Ulrich Luft, then a member of the Museum staff.

Böhlig reported in 1960/68:[2]

The codex P[15997] is unfortunately lost except for the 8 leaves that were conserved already before the war. It contained historical reports about Mani and the later time of the church. The loss of this text is so regrettable because one could expect from it, as is already visible from the few remains, both materials on the history of Manichaeism and such as had to do with the history of the Sassanid kingdom and its western neighbors. Whether or not the book formed an inner unity is difficult to say. At the top of a few pages, scarcely legible and hardly interpretable superscriptions are

Der Codex P[15997] ist leider bis auf die 8 Blätter, die bereits vor dem Kriege konserviert waren, verlorengegangen. Er enthielt historische Berichte über Mani und die spätere Zeit der Kirche. Der Verlust dieser Schrift ist deshalb so zu beklagen, weil wir in ihr, wie schon aus den geringen Resten ersichtlich ist, zugleich mit Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus auch solche zur Geschichte des Sassanidenreiches und seiner westlichen Anlieger zu erwarten hatten. Ob das Buch eine innere Einheit gebildet hat, ist schwer zu sagen. Über einigen Seiten sind kaum lesbare und

2. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 183–84.

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present. Schmidt's claim that it [p. 184] had to do here with names of Mani's disciples must be based on an oversight. The handwriting does not have the calligraphic beauty of that of the *Kephalaia*, but rather has angular and awkward-looking forms. Also the inscribed column is not as carefully divided. If at the end of the page there is less room, one made the letters and the space between lines smaller. Of course this does not contribute especially to the text's beauty.

deutbare Überschriften vorhanden. Die Behauptung Schmidts, es [p. 184] handle sich dabei um Namen von Jüngern Manis, dürfte auf einem Versehen beruhen. Die Schrift besitzt nicht die kalligraphische Schönheit wie die der Kephalaia, sondern hat eckigere, ungelenker wirkende Formen. Auch der Schriftspiegel ist nicht so sorgfältig eingeteilt; wenn am Ende der Seite der Raum weniger wird, macht man die Buchstaben und den Zeilenabstand kleiner; das trägt natürlich nicht gerade zur Verschönerung bei.

It is unclear on the basis of what information Böhlig reported that the 8 leaves were conserved before the war. It may be based on no more than the reference in the *Inventarbuch* to "8 leaves." But the penciled note in the *Inventarbuch* is not dated and hence could have been entered after the war, as a deduction from 8 leaves having been returned from Leningrad conserved in glass panes all of the same size, the others of which were labeled P[15997]. In that case, the only information one would have as to how many leaves had been conserved would be the vague reference in the basic report to "only a few leaves." And even this reference to only a few leaves may be out of date, since further leaves could have been conserved after that report, as in the case of P[15998], where 4 leaves were reported to have been separated by the time the initial report was published, whereas Hugo Ibscher separated and glassed a total of 6 leaves, and a good number of others were separated but not permanently conserved or glassed (see below). Although the discussion will continue on the assumption that there were only 8 leaves conserved, the possibility that an indeterminate number have been conserved should not be lost from sight.

Wolfgang Müller's preliminary inventory of 1964–1965 reported: "P[15997]: historical content, 8 leaves in Berlin, the rest is lost."[3]

Beltz's catalogue of 1978 reported:

3. P[15997] historischer Inhalt, 8. Bl. in Berlin, Rest verloren.

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I 605 P[15997]. 8 leaves of a codex from the Mani find. The average height of the leaves is 22–25 cm, the average width 8–11 cm. There are about 36–40 lines per page, poorly preserved. The codex is probably a *Vita* of Mani. On the text, see R. Ibscher, *Akten des XXIV. Internationalen Orientalistenkongresses* (Munich, 1957), pp. 226–29, and in *Koptologische Studien in der DDR, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Halle-Wittenberg* 1965, Sonderheft, pp. 50–64. In Warsaw there is at present a leaf from this codex at the University. The remainder of the codex is lost. R[ecto] line 1: ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ; line 11: ⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩ ⲉⲇⲛ.

I 605 P[15997]; 8 Blätter eines Codex aus dem Mani-Fund. Die durchschnittliche H. der Blätter 22–25, die durchschnittliche B. 8–11. Pro S. etwa 36–40 Z., schlecht erhalten. Der Codex ist vermutlich eine Vita Manis. Zum Text siehe R. Ibscher, Akten des XXIV. Intern. Orientalistenkongresses, München 1957, S. 226–29, and in Kopt. Studien in der DDR, WZU Halle-Wittenberg 1965, Sonderheft, S. 50–64. In Warschau befindet sich z. Z. ein Blatt aus diesem Codex in der Universität, der Rest des Codex ist verloren, R. Z. 1: ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ Z. 11: ⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩ ⲉⲇⲛ.

The transcribed words have not been located on the papyri in Berlin themselves.

This report could readily lead to the assumption that a total of nine leaves are extant. Thus Michel Tardieu reported:[4] "P Berol. 15997 (= I 605 Beltz), of which 8 leaves are in East Berlin and 1 in Warsaw. The rest of the codex has been lost or destroyed during the Second World War."

Wincenty Myszor reported on July 12, 1986, that there are at the Institute for Papyrology of Warsaw University 6 glassed plates. One numbered 499/500 is labeled "with a quite clear P[15997]," but seems nonetheless to belong to P[15996] (see above). It is conserved, as are the 4 leaves of P[15996], in glasses 36 by 23.5 cm. Myszor concludes: "These 5 leaves seem to have belonged to the same codex." But the sixth leaf at the University is from another codex. It is conserved in glass panes 24.5 by 18.5 cm, and is sealed with a different, red tape. It is labeled P[15997], though the last digit "is not quite clear—it can also be 96!" Its "degree of preservation" is "the worse" among the 6 leaves at

4. Tardieu, "Les Manichéens en Égypte," 6. "P.Berol. 15997 (= I 605 Beltz), dont subsistent 8 feuillets a Berlin-Est et 1 a Varsovie. Le reste du codex a été perdu ou détruit durant la second guerre mondiale."

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the University. Myszor concludes that it "belongs quite certainly to another codex than . . . the other 5 leaves." The Warsaw leaf that Beltz ascribed to P[15997] may have been the leaf numbered 499–500 and labeled P[15997], though actually belonging to P[15996] (see above), for Beltz did not list this leaf for P[15996]. There would be no reason to ascribe the smaller sixth leaf to P[15997] other than the indistinct label that may read either P[15997] or P[15996], and the apparent need to ascribe this leaf to some other codex than P[15996]. The dimensions of the glass panes (24.5 by 18.5 cm) do not correspond to those of P[15997] in Berlin (32 by 21 cm).

On September 11, 1986, Wolf-Peter Funk examined the smaller plate, and on November 15, 1986, wrote a report that brings further clarity to the situation:

> The one glass frame of unusually smaller size (Myszor: 24.5 x 18.5 cm) and unusually coloured tape (red) has—if my records are complete—two labels: one (on recto? [right-hand page]) at the bottom, reading "Dr. Kohlhammer" (ink, old), above which is written in blue pencil "P. 1599[.]" (part of paper broken off); the other on the verso side of the glass [left-hand page], of recent origin (Beltz's hand?) "zu P[15997]" ["to P[15997]"].
>
> The glass contains a narrow strip of papyrus, inscribed on both sides, with an appearance very similar to the other Manichaean leaves. The writing is Coptic at least. But the scribe's hand is clearly different from the *Kephalaia* codex (and, I think, also different from the *Letters* and *Synaxeis* codices), though the general style is similar. (The letters appear to be slightly more heavy, or more uncial, than those of the other hands.) I consider it possible that an extremely patient and imaginative person might be able to identify several Coptic words on the recto (approximately one third of each line preserved, the rest is only fibers/debris), but hardly more than isolated letters on the verso.
>
> I can only speculate about the reasons which prompted my predecessor to attach a label "zu P. 15997" ["to P[15997]"] (similarity of the hand? or the peculiar mode of conservation?), because I have not seen the glasses of P[15997] at the Berlin Museum so far.

The two labels that Funk notes seem to include the indistinct label read variously as P[15997] and P[15996] by Myszor, and as P[1599][.] by Funk, and a clear label reading P[15997], apparently not noted by Myszor. This raises the question as to whether this clear label was added subse-

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quently, conceivably by Myzsor on the basis of a query I posed to him as to whether a leaf of P15997 were in Warsaw; this query could have led him or someone else in Warsaw to make such a conjectural identification. Funk's impression that the hand is not that of P15996, and, less certainly, not that of P15995 or P15998, would, by a process of elimination, tend to identify it as P15997, since a conservation of P15999 seems not to have ever even begun; yet such an identification on the basis of hands (uncertain as this would of necessity have been without leaves of P15995 or P15998 available for comparison) would be far from conclusive. Since Kohlhammer paid for P15999, one may wonder if his name on the plate suggests this was, after all, a sample from that codex.

An inventory carried out in 1986 of the 8 leaves currently in Berlin that are labeled P15997 has raised the question as to whether one of the Berlin leaves does not belong to another codex. It bears a printed label "P15998," with the 8 marked out and replaced in blue ink by 7. Günter Poethke, Custos of the Greek manuscripts of the Papyrus-Sammlung in East Berlin, reports this to be the work of Rolf Ibscher's assistant, Otto Werner Luke. This would suggest that the leaf was previously attributed to the *Letters* and only at some later time reassigned to the *Acts*. It also has a separate label, similar to those numbering the leaves of P15997, reading in ink 36, with the 6 marked out and replaced in pencil by 2. This Arabic leaf numeration diverges from that typical of P15997, since Roman numerals, ranging from I to IX (I–V and IX plus an unlabeled leaf), are all that are employed. But in the case of P15998, the Arabic numeration of leaves not assigned a pagination reaches 25, which included 6 leaves glassed by Hugo Ibscher (including Nr. 25) and about 22 that he left half conserved, a total of about 28 leaves. One may recall the similar numeration by glass container rather than by page for the half-conserved leaves of the *Kephalaia*, where the Arabic numeration reached 30, with 29 (and perhaps 30) secondarily shifted from P15998 to P15996, just as here a leaf originally assigned to P15998 and numbered 35 was secondarily shifted to P15997 and the number 32.

The reason why this leaf was reassigned to P15997 may have been that it is conserved, as are the 7 leaves originally labeled P15997, in glass frames 32 cm high by 21 cm broad, whereas the 6 leaves of P15998 that Hugo Ibscher glassed measure 35.6 by 23 cm, and those of P15998 that Rolf Ibscher glassed were 35 by 25 cm. The smaller format may have been used for the single leaf under discussion because the leaf itself is

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smaller than is typical for P[15998]. But this does not mean that the dimensions of the leaf fit those of P[15997]. The profile of the leaf is not like that of the leaves of P[15997]. Indeed the frayed edges of the leaf stand in some contrast to the relatively clean edges of the leaves of P[15997]. Thus, in spite of the comparable size of the glass frame, the leaf itself would not seem to belong to P[15997].

This leaf in the smaller glass frame may have been packed with the equally small glasses of P[15997] at the time of the war. When it was returned from Leningrad in 1958, it would presumably have been still packed with the 7 leaves of P[15997] that were returned. Since at the time, it was not known that one leaf (the one in Warsaw) was missing, it could readily have been assumed that the 8 leaves recorded in the *Inventarbuch* as separated from the book block of P[15997] were the 8 leaves glassed in frames of the same size, and hence stacked together, even though only 7 of these similarly glassed leaves may actually have belonged to P[15997].

In the second volume of the facsimile edition of the Chester Beatty Library Manichaean texts, there has been published "a single sheet with historical information":[5]

> The two pages have a text with some historical information, and this can be identified with similar information reported by C. Schmidt from a leaf in Berlin (C. Schmidt, *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten*, 1933, pp. 28–29). Exactly the same persons are mentioned: Thadamor, Amaro, Sapores the hyparch, Narsaph, Hormezd, Innaios, Abiesus and others. This must either be a parallel text to that mentioned by C. Schmidt, or the leaf must physically be the same. Parallel texts are well known from other papyri, e.g., in the Nag Hammadi texts the two very close long versions of the *Apocryphon of John*, and the two versions of the *Gospel of Truth*.

Yet there is no indication in any reports concerning the discovery from Medinet Madi of there being a duplicate copy of the *Acts*. There are two volumes of *Kephalaia*, a first volume in Berlin and the second in Dublin, a two-volume work rather than a case of duplication. And there were two parts of the *Homilies* codex, the published part in

5. Giversen, *Homilies and Varia*: The facsimiles are plates on pp. 99–100, the quotation from p. vii. Subsequent quotations are from pp. viii–ix. Note the Errata on p. x, to the effect that the fiber directions are reversed on pp. 99–100: Plate 99 actually has horizontal fibers, plate 100 vertical fibers.

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Dublin and the unpublished part (P^{15999}) of Berlin, now lost. But this had to do with two parts of one codex, not of duplicates. Hence there are no known instances of duplication in the library of Medinet Madi (nor is there duplication of the sublibraries among the Nag Hammadi Codices, for that matter). The overwhelming probability is that "the leaf must physically be the same."

Giversen poses the problem of the reports by Böhlig (1968), Müller (1965), and Beltz (1978) cited above, to the effect that all 8 leaves were in Berlin. For a label on the glass initialed by the librarian of the Chester Beatty Library, J. V. S. Wilkinson, is dated "October 1956," and Giversen can report of the leaf that "in 1977 it could be studied in Dublin." He hence speculates: "It is possible that this leaf was not included in the eight pages but was one of the other leaves mentioned by C. Schmidt, and that later on it was transferred to the Chester Beatty collection. In that case it is hard to explain why it was transferred." But Schmidt did not mention "other" leaves than the 8 mentioned in the *Inventarbuch*; rather he spoke of "only a few leaves," a comment that provides no reason to assume there were more than 8 leaves. But in view of the recognition (see above) that only 7 of the 8 Berlin leaves actually belong to P^{15997}, it is not necessary to postulate more than 8 leaves.

Wilkinson's label read: "This sheet seems to belong to the *Homilies*, but is not included in Polotsky's publication." Giversen compares the two, noting similarities and divergences, only to conclude: "But despite the similarities, the general impression is that the writing on pp. 99 and 100 is by another hand." But upon quoting Böhlig's description of the awkward hand, Giversen comments:

> This description [p. ix] does not, however, match with the writing of pp. 99 and 100, and if these pages were once a part of the manuscript mentioned by C. Schmidt, this could be the reason why they were separated. If it is true that their handwriting was closer to that of the Chester Beatty *Homilies* than to the manuscript mentioned by C. Schmidt, such an alteration would be understandable.

Giversen then reports from the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library that in May 1932 there were references in correspondence between Sir Chester Beatty and Sir Alan Gardiner to the *Homilies* as consisting of 50 leaves:

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> Neither Alan H. Gardiner nor A. Chester Beatty in these two letters use the expression "about 50 leaves", but clearly "*the* 50 leaves" [emphasis Giversen's].

The 50 leaves could be the 49 leaves (48 sheets plus the glass containing the fragments) plus the leaf on pp. 99 and 100. On 19 May 1931 Hugo Ibscher sent A. Chester Beatty an invoice for the preservation and placing under glass of papyri, among others "10 Blatt Manitexte" ["10 leaves of Mani texts"]—probably the first Mani papyri H. Ibscher restored for A. Chester Beatty. An invoice dated 17 June 1934 charges A. Chester Beatty for several Mani pages, the first of them "Manichäische Homilien: 49 Bältter" ["Manichaean Homilies: 49 leaves"]. Afterwards the three codices, A, B, and C, are mentioned. If the leaf on pp. 99 and 100 is included with these papyri mentioned in the invoices, it could be among the "10 Blatt Manitexte" ["10 leaves of Mani texts"], which are not specified, and if this leaf was among the 50 leaves that Polotsky was permitted to publish, the reason it was not included in the publication was probably that it differed too much in appearance from the pages bearing the *Homilies*.

Giversen concludes:

> Because of the doubts about its identity, it has been hard to decide whether this leaf should be included in this edition. Since nobody besides myself has raised such questions until now, and it is stated repeatedly in the two catalogues of the German collection that all eight leaves mentioned above are kept in Berlin, it has been agreed to include the leaf here. If however the two catalogues are wrong, it remains possible that the two texts are identical. In any case I shall continue to investigate the history of the leaf.

It seems that the question has in fact already been clarified. Only 7 leaves of P[15997] are in Berlin (see above). A Berlin leaf was by mistake taken to London and Dublin, and its absence, though detected by Böhlig and explained by Rolf Ibscher, was lost sight of due to an eighth leaf being erroneously ascribed to P[15997], until inferred again in Berlin in 1986.

Since this codex was acquired "in the original condition between two wooden covers," one might assume that the "few leaves of this pile that have been separated for the sake of determining the character of

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the work"[6] are a more ordered sequence than in the case of codices that dealers have already separated into smaller batches. One might thus speculate that the leaves were taken from the front of the book, (since this might be assumed to provide a clearer indication of its character) in an effort to arrive at a preliminary identification of the codex. But one could also speculate that the codex was first opened elsewhere, or that leaves from different parts of the codex were conserved first, in order thus to achieve an overview. In fact nothing is known about the selection of leaves to be conserved as the initial sample.

The 7 leaves in East Berlin not only bear the number P^{15997}. They are also numbered with Roman numerals I–V, with one leaf unnumbered and one numbered IX. Since only 8 leaves are thought to have been separated from the book block, the number IX seems out of place. One may at best wonder if the 8 leaves returned from Leningrad and classified as P^{15997} (and the subsequent report of a leaf in Warsaw) are responsible for the numeration system leading to IX, which would hence be a relatively recent numeration. Such a speculation would not explain why the Berlin leaves were given the specific numeration each has. Indeed one would think that the natural thing to have done would have been to consider the Berlin leaves I–VIII and the Warsaw leaf IX, since there was no possibility to compare them side by side and to establish their relative position in the original codex as a basis for a more useful numeration system.

Schmidt and Polotsky reported, primarily on the basis of the Berlin *Kephalaia* and the London *Psalms*, that the fiber directions on facing pages were always the same. This pattern would seem to apply also to P^{15997}, since when leaves are so stacked in the sequence of the Roman numerals, there is continuity of extant profiles. But in order to retain the pattern of the fiber directions being the same on facing pages, the leaf numbered IX could not follow directly upon leaf V. Yet the pattern is retained if the unnumbered leaf is placed between V and IX, a sequence supported by the fact that the profile of IX is nearest to that of the unnumbered leaf. Hence the unnumbered leaf is tentatively assigned the number VIII.

The leaves have labels on one side only, listing the codex number and the Roman numeral; this side of the leaves was apparently intended as the side with horizontal fibers, since only plate I is an exception.

6. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 27.

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Small labels with letters "a" and "b" were found in 1976 on 4 of the 7 plates to distinguish a "front" from a "back," however that may have been understood. Only leaf IV has "a" on the side with the main label and "b" on the other side. In the cases of leaves III, V, and IX, the side with the main label is designated as "b," with the other side identified as "a." (Stephen Patterson in 1987 found these small labels extant only on leaves III and IV.) This conscious effort to identify a first and a second side does not conform consistently to horizontal and vertical fiber directions (IV), or to vertical and horizontal fiber directions (III, V, IX). The lettering may have been intended to identify the first (right-hand) and second (left-hand) side of the leaf, since in the present hypothetical reconstruction, it does in all four cases happen to fall into this pattern.

P[15997] has no extant page numbers. Whereas P[15996] had its original pagination, P[15998] seems not to have been paginated, or at least Schmidt and Polotsky found no extant page numbers. They observed of P[15997]:[7] "ob das Ganze paginiert war, wird sich erst bei der weiteren Konservierung erweisen" ["Whether the whole was paginated will become clear only with the further conservation"]. Since such a further conservation never took place, the question remains unresolved.

A sequence of leaves or pages cannot be inferred from the text itself. For not only does the absence of the papyrus or the illegibility of the text at the tops and bottoms of pages render impossible an argument about the continuity of text from one leaf to the next; even a vague sequence of the train of thought seems unattainable today (in contrast to the trains of thought that Schmidt and Polotsky reported), given the largely illegible status of the ink today. Hence the pagination to be assigned to the 7 leaves in Berlin must be based on such circumstantial considerations as those here indicated, and will lack any real assurance of corresponding to the original pagination or even to the right page sequence. It is also not known whether the pages were an unbroken sequence. The four passages that Schmidt and Polotsky summarized do not suggest a continuous sequence but rather widely separated texts. The numeration by leaf rather than by page, and in Roman numerals, may indicate an interest to avoid attempting a pagination. Stephen Patterson has drawn attention to the pieces of twine pressed into the surface of the papyrus on the horizontal sides

7. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 30.

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of leaves II and IV, without any impressions of these pieces of twine visible on the facing pages of leaves I and III, which might suggest that these are not in fact the original facing pages. It is not even certain that it has been correctly determined which margins were at the spine and which margins were at the leading edge. The use of square brackets [ ] will indicate that the pagination is not legible on the papyrus, and the use of an asterisk (*) will indicate that the pagination is relatively arbitrarily assigned. The pagination should clearly be considered no more than a convention.

In the case of codices with the same fiber directions on facing pages, it was customary that the first page of each quire would have horizontal fibers, the second page vertical fibers, the third vertical, the fourth horizontal, and so on. However, in the case of the present material, leaf I has vertical fibers on the side with the main label (with no labeling of sides as "a" and "b"). One may conjecture that the lack of such letters means that the main label is on the surface facing the front of the book (rather than considering, e.g., the position of the main label as irrelevant, or that the small labels with the letters have in some cases been rubbed off, either of which alternatives is quite possible). The problem of the first page's not having horizontal fibers could be explained in several ways. The codex could simply be atypical. Or the assumptions as to which page is the right-hand page and which the left-hand page (i.e., the assumption about which margin is at the spine and which is at the leading edge) could be reversed. Or the first leaf may be missing. If one may postulate an uninscribed and hence unconserved front flyleaf, then the fiber directions of leaf I (as the second leaf) are as they should be. These are the assumptions, admittedly far from compelling, that have led to the provisional pagination of the seven leaves. It is to be hoped that more solid criteria may emerge as a result of subsequent study.

The following table is intended to identify the pages thus numbered [1*]–[10*], [11*]–[14*] in terms of the labels they already bore:

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Leaf	Side with main label	Label a or b	Conventional numeration	Horizontal or vertical fibers
I	X		[1*]	Vert.
I			[2*]	Hor.
II	X		[3*]	Hor.
II			[4*]	Vert.
III	X	a	[5*]	Vert.
III	X	b	[6*]	Hor.
IV	X	a	[7*]	Hor.
IV		b	[8*]	Vert.
V		a	[9*]	Vert.
V	X	b	[10*]	Hor.
[VIII]	X		[11*]	Hor.
[VIII]			[12*]	Vert.
IX		a	[13*]	Vert.
IX	X	b	[14*]	Hor.

The size of the writing columns and of the leaves is hard to determine. The faded condition of the ink makes measurements of the columns uncertain, in that faint ink traces and darker fibers tend to become indistinguishable, and a completely faded-out area can be mistaken for a margin. The absence of the original edges of the papyrus makes measurements of the original leaf impossible. Even measurements of the extant leaf are imprecise, in that isolated fibers may often extend a measurement by a centimeter or so. In such cases, it may at times be an arbitrary decision how much to include and what to exclude as a stray fiber. The extant writing columns average in height about 20.5 cm.:

> p. [1*] 20.8; p. [2*] 20.6; p. [3*] 20.8; p. [4*] 20.5; p. [5*] 20.7; p. [6*] 20.2; p. [7*] 20.6; p. [8*] 20.3; p. [9*] 20.4?; p. [10*] 20.4?; p. [11*] 20.5; p. [12*] 20.6; p. [13*] 20.5; p. [14*] 20.5?

The top margins have in the cases of pp. [5*], [6*], and [8*] running heads that are up to 1.0 cm high, beginning about .5 cm from the extant top edge of the leaf. These captions are not included in the statistics listed above for the height of the writing columns. The largest

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measurement of an extant width of a writing column is 11.5 cm for plate 99 in the facsimile edition of Dublin. The extant top margins reach a height of 3.4 cm (p. [7*]) or 3.0 cm (p. [8*]); the extant bottom margins only .8 cm (p. [4*] and p. [6*]), .7 cm (p. [8*] and p. [14*]), or .6 cm (p. [2*] and p. [3*]). The extant dimensions of the leaves reach 24 by 12 cm ([7*]/[8*]), where the width increases by an extension of the top margin on the opposite edge of the leaf from that with some side margin still extant.

Schmidt, Polotsky, and Hugo Ibscher do not give any dimensions for the book block or the wooden covers. That no dimensions are given for the wooden covers is all the more regrettable in that the covers would have provided the only reliable guide to the original dimensions prior to the fraying of the papyrus edges. By comparison, Hugo Ibscher gives the dimensions of P[15996] as 31.5 by 18 cm, with the following breakdown: the writing column is 22 by 13 cm, the top margin 4, and the bottom margin 5.5 cm, the inner margin 2 cm and the outer margin 4 cm (*sic*!). The corresponding dimensions of the *Psalms* is a leaf of 27 by 17.5 cm with the following breakdown: the writing column 17.5 by 11 cm, top and bottom margins 3.5 and 5.5 (*sic*!), the inner and outer margins 2 and 4.5.

The only dimension of P[15997] that seems to be that of the original codex, and relatively certain, is the height of the writing column, some 20.5 cm. This dimension is about midway between that of P[15996] (22 cm) and the *Psalms* (17.5 cm). This would suggest a basis for conjecturing comparable median dimensions for the width of the writing column and the size of the margins and of the leaves: e.g., a writing-column width of 12 cm, top margins of 3.75 cm, bottom margins of 5.5 cm, inner margins of 2 cm and outer margins of 4.25 cm, producing a leaf dimension of 29.75 by 18.25 cm. When one considers the extant dimensions of the leaves ranging in height from 20.9 ([11*]/[12*]) to 24 ([7*]/[8*]), the estimated loss in height would be 5.75 to 8.85 cm. This would seem to be an excessive estimate of loss, when compared to Plate 2 of the article by Schmidt and Polotsky. For the leaves do not seem quite this much shorter than the covers (if indeed one may assume the photograph displays the height of the codex). Perhaps the conservation process involved loss in the margins.

On October 31, 1986, Günter Poethke confirmed that the two wooden boards of the cover of this codex, mentioned by Schmidt and

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Polotsky but omitted in the *Inventarbuch* and by Böhlig and Beltz, are not among the three Coptic book bindings listed by Wolfgang Müller as still extant in the museum.[8] Hence the covers must be considered lost.

The information about the contents of this codex must be derived primarily from Schmidt and Polotsky's report. For the seven leaves in Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR have on a first scanning produced no more than isolated letters and words, much less than the continuing phrases or sentences or trains of thought such as Schmidt and Polotsky report. This may be the result of the conservation process itself. For if Polotsky transcribed each successive page on the top of the book block before it was removed, he may well have transcribed much more text from the exposed side that could have been read after the leaf was removed. This would mean, of course, that the back of each leaf would in his (no longer extant) transcription present less text than the front. When in the case of P[15998], one compares the relatively large amount of text legible on the two exposed surfaces of a pair of never-separated leaves with the text legible on individual, separated leaves from the same codex, one can get some impression of the loss involved in rendering the hidden inner surfaces accessible. And the top surface on the lost book block may have been more legible (though the exposed surface on the extant book block of the *Synaxeis* codex is not markedly more legible that the conserved leaves). Yet Schmidt and Polotsky referred explicitly to what could be read "auf den konservierten Blättern" ["on the conserved leaves"], so that their information is presumably derived from the extant leaves.[9] Of course there may well have been fading over the intervening half century. The amount of flaking that would have been caused not only by the normal handling but especially by the transportation to the Zoo Bunker, by repercussions from exploding bombs and from antiaircraft fire, and by the railroad tracks to and from Leningrad in 1945–1946 and 1958, can be sensed from the quantity of dust and minor fragments littering the inside of the glasses. Yet the published leaves of the *Kephalaia* do not display such a marked contrast between what was read then and what can be read now.

8. Müller, "Die koptischen Handschriften," 66.
9. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 28.

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Böhlig has challenged as an "oversight" the concluding detail of Schmidt and Polotsky's report[10]: "Auf den oberen Rändern standen die Namen der Verfasser." ["In the upper margins stood the names of the authors."] Since one must assume the published summaries from the codex are based on actual readings of the text, one should also assume the superscriptions of pages were more legible then than now. Since Böhlig did not record an alternate reading, it is doubtful he has been able to make them out to read differently, given their present illegibility. Schmidt and Polotsky had just noted[11] that the two disciples whose names they had found in the text of P15997 occurred as authors in the superscriptions of the pages of P15999, so that to make a similar inference concerning perhaps already minimally legible vestiges in the upper margins of P15997 would not be unreasonable, although the degree to which their statement was a conjecture can hardly be determined. The fact that the Cologne Mani Codex documents the names of Salmaios and Kustaios in its headings (see below) would tend to support this interpretation.

Beltz's statement that "the codex is probably a *Vita* of Mani" seems based not on new information, but simply on his interpretation of Schmidt and Polotsky's report. However, Schmidt and Polotsky did not refer to it as a *Vita*, but rather as "a work of historical content." The nearest Schmidt and Polotsky came to a discussion of the literary genre of the text is at the conclusion of their summary:

> Since the master put so much weight on the "book," as we will see, an active writing process developed also among the successors. Of course this writing concerned itself vigorously with the life of the religion's founder, especially with his last blows of fate. Early on, the "Martyrdom" was the object of sketches to be read on the day of his death, on the day of the Bema festival, and to serve as source material for cultic actions
>
> [p. 30] Da der Meister so grosses Gewicht auf das "Buch" legt, wie wir noch sehen werden, hat auch unter den Epigonen eine rege Schriftstellerei eingesetzt. Naturgemäss hat sich diese Schriftstellerei mit dem Leben des Religionsstifters lebhaft beschäftigt, besonders mit seinen letzten Schicksalen. Frühzeitig ist das "Martyrium" Gegenstand der Aufzeichnungen gewesen, um am Todestage, am Tage des Bema-Festes, verlesen zu werden und den

10. Ibid., 30.

11. Ibid., 29, where the codex in question is not identified. But from page 30, the identity is clear.

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and hymns. From such a historical work, Arabic historians such as An Nadim have drawn their chronological data. Fragments of narrative content have also been found among the Turfan texts. Hence it need not surprise us if also the Egyptian Manichaean incorporated a historical work about his religion into his library.

Kulthandlungen und den Hymnen zur Unterlage zu dienen. Aus einem derartigen Geschichtswerke haben arabische Historiker wie An Nadim ihre chronologischen Angaben bezogen. Auch unter den Turfantexten sind Fragmente erzählenden Inhalts gefunden worden. Daher darf es uns nicht überraschen, wenn auch der ägyptische Manichäer ein historisches Werk über seine Religion in seine Bibliothek aufgenommen hat.

But Schmidt and Polotsky rejected Alfaric's suggestion that a previously known allusion to a "Book of Apomnemoneumata" should be interpreted as a "Vie du Maître" ("Life of the Master"). For such a reference is very vague and could equally well refer to the *Kephalaia*. Thus the title *Vita* is hardly a valid inference from Schmidt's interpretation. Rather the combination of a Martyrdom with subsequent stories about the original disciples after the founder's death would seem to fit better the genre of apocryphal Acts. To be sure, the Martyrdom of the founder is less obviously part of such Acts, perhaps because in early Christianity the genre of Gospel tended to absorb the Martyrdom into it, with of course the Apostle's martyrdom comprising a worthy conclusion (but not beginning) for apocryphal Acts.

If it were correct to assume that the few pages separated from the book block were from the beginning of the codex and composed some 3.2 percent of the codex (8 out of the some 250 leaves that Schmidt and Polotsky estimated), of which only part contained the Martyrdom, then obviously the whole codex should no more be titled after this prelude than should the canonical Acts of the Apostles be named after the ascension with which it begins. But since one does not know whether the conserved leaves were all from the beginning of the codex, or whether they represent a sampling of different parts of the codex, such an argument cannot be pressed.

To be sure, the almost contemporary *Life of Pachomius* included the administrations of his immediate successors, as abbots of the

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Pachomian order, all of whom had been his disciples. But this is hardly a relevant parallel, since the *Life of Pachomius* began with his own call and composed primarily his adult life of leadership of the order, with the period of his immediate successors representing more of an appendix, or continuation of his administration.

Ludwig Koenen has suggested[12] that P^{15997} "seemingly showed the same literary structure and probably was part of the same work" as the Cologne Mani Codex. Schmidt and Polotsky had reported:[13] "Our historical work obviously did not flow from the pen of a single author, but rather was a collection made up of different smaller essays and reports that were put together here under the names of the authors in question." To this Koenen remarks:[14] "This description suits the C[ologne]M[ani]C[odex] perfectly. Headings in the Coptic Codex furnish the names of Ammos, Salmaios, and Kustaios as authors of the articles and reports. Having the same function, the names of Salmaios and Kustaios occur in the headings of the CMC." Although Schmidt and Polotsky did not make clear that Kustaios is mentioned in this codex and did not specify just which names appear in superscriptions, mentioning only Ammos as occurring in a subscription, Koenen's observation is nonetheless quite relevant.

Koenen further conjectures that "the whole work was a history of the Manichaean church, and it consisted of several codices."[15] This conjecture is supported by the note: "To judge from the space which the C[ologne] [Mani] C[odex] needed to deal with the early years of Mani, it seems that the history originally was comprised of several volumes." Although the last suggestion must remain quite speculative, the relation of the Cologne Mani Codex to P^{15997} as that of the Gospel of Luke to the Acts of the Apostles does suggest itself in terms of literary genres, though there is hardly any evidence of its having been composed as a two-volume (or multivolume) work.

12. Koenen, "Augustine and Manichaeism," 164.

13. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 29: "Unser historisches Werk war offensichtlich nicht aus der Feder eines einzigen Schriftstellers geflossen, sondern ein Sammelband aus verschiedenen kleineren Aufsätzen and Berichten, die unter den Namen der betreffenden Autoren hier zusammengestellt sind."

14. Koenen, "Augustine and Manichaeism," 164 n. 37.

15. Ibid., 165, and n. 38.

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It is no doubt Koenen's view that has led Michel Tardieu to characterize the Coptic codex largely in terms of the Greek codex:[16]

> 2) On the Birth of His Body
>
> Allusion to Mani's struggles of youth and to the birth of the Manichaean church . . . The complete Greek version of this text is known by means of the CMC.

Yet the Cologne Mani Codex does not contain a complete Greek version (if one were to assume the two codices overlap) for there is no material that is shared between the codices, to the extent that they are known. Only the Cologne codex alludes to Mani's struggles of youth, and some allusion to the birth of the Manichaean church may be found in the reports that follow, which is all that is known about the contents of P[15997].

A summary of the contents of the conserved leaves provided by Schmidt and Polotsky will tend to confirm the orientation of P[15997] to apocryphal Acts. Four passages are summarized, the second and third introduced as "ein anderes Stück" ["another piece"], the fourth as "ein weiteres Blatt" ["a further leaf"]. It is unclear whether Schmidt and Polotsky present them in the order in which they occur in the codex. To judge by their content, the chronological order might well be 2, 1, 4, 3. Their summary of the four passages, in their order, is as follows:[17]

> On the conserved leaves we read brief narrations about Mani's death, e.g., a narrative about the dialogue of the imprisoned Mani with the guard of the prison, which according to the subscription is attributed to a certain teacher (ⲥⲁϩ) named Ammôs; furthermore a narrative about the visit of a female catechumen named Anûschak to the imprisoned Mani, who is extremely worried that, if Mani were to forsake
>
> [p. 28] Auf den konservierten Blättern lesen wir kurze Erzählungen über Manis Tod, so z. B. eine Erzählung über die Unterredung Manis im Gefängnis mit dem Wächter des Gefängnisses, die auf einen gewissen Lehrer (ⲥⲁϩ) mit Namen Ammôs nach der Unterschrift zurückgeführt wird; ferner eine Erzählung über den Besuch einer Katechumenin namens Anûschak beim gefangenen Mani, die höchst betrübt darüber

16. Tardieu, "Les Manichéens en Égypte," 6: 2) *Sur la naissance de son corps* Évocation des conflits de jeunesse de Mani et de la naissance de l'Église manichéenne . . . La version grècque complète de ce texte est connue par le CMC.

17. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 28–29.

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the world, the catechumens would be robbed of their "father" and come into danger of being lost. Mani consoles her with the observation that his *nous* remains in the church.

[p. 28] In another piece we hear that the day of the arrest was a sabbath, and that as a result of his arrest great weeping and mourning arose among the elect, the catechumens and the brethren. There follows a judgment scene before the king. The Μαγουσαῖοι, who, as is well known, staged the agitation against Mani, come forward with the accusation: "Manichaios has taught contrary to our law (νόμος)."

[p. 28] Another piece leads us into a later time of Manichaeism. Here we meet a quantity of unknown persons, such as the Queen Thadamor (ⲑⲁⲇⲁⲙⲱⲣ), the king Amarô (ⲁⲙⲁⲣⲱ), the hyparch Sapôres, Malôp, the son of Adb[jesu], the teacher Abiēsu (ⲁⲃⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩ), Yachias, the leader Sethel (ⲥⲏⲑⲏⲗ), Abira, etc. One has to do here apparently with events that take place within the Persian Empire. There are mentioned the ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲟⲥ and the ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲇⲓⲧ ⲁⲇⲟⲩⲣⲃⲁⲗⲁⲅⲁⲛ. Further, one has to do with the position of the provincial governments toward the Manichaean religion, some of which are disposed in a friendly way, especially Amarô, who is designated as "great patron" of the Manichaeans, since they can enjoy his support. One of the heads of the Manichaeans turns to him

ist, dass, wenn Mani die Welt verlassen sollte, die Katechumenen ihres "Vaters" beraubt sind and in Gefahr des Verlorenseins kommen. Mani tröstet sie mit dem Hinweis, dass sein Nus in der Kirche verbleibe.

[p. 28] Wir hören in einem andern Stück, dass der Tag der Gefangennahme ein Sabbat war, und dass ob seiner Gefangennahme grosses Weinen und Trauern unter den Electi, den Katechumenen und den Brüdern entstand. Es folgt eine Gerichtssitzung vor dem König, Die Μαγουσαῖοι, die bekanntlich die Hetze gegen Mani inszeniert haben, treten mit der Anklage auf: "Manichaios hat gegen unser Gesetz (νόμος) gelehrt."

[p. 28] In eine spätere Zeit des Manichäismus führt uns ein anderes Stück. Hier tritt uns eine Fülle von unbekannten Personen entgegen, wie die Königin Thadmor (ⲑⲁⲇⲁⲙⲱⲣ), der König Amarô (ⲁⲙⲁⲣⲱ), der Hyparch Sapôres, Malôp, der Sohn des Abd[jesu], der Lehrer Abiēsu (ⲁⲃⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩ), Yachias, der Leiter Sethel (ⲥⲏⲑⲏⲗ), Abira usw. Es handelt sich offenbar hier um Ereignisse, die sich innerhalb des Persischen Reiches abspielen. Es werden genannt die ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲟⲥ und die ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲇⲓⲧ ⲁⲇⲟⲩⲣⲃⲁⲗⲁⲅⲁⲛ. Es handelt sich weiter um die Stellung der Provinzialregierungen zur manichäischen Religion, von denen die einen freundlich gesinnt sind, vor allem Amarô, der als "grosser Patron" der Manichäer bezeichnet wird, da sie sich dessen Unterstützung zu erfreuen haben. Eines der Häupter der Manichäer wendet sich deshalb an ihn mit der Bitte um Fürsprache für

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for this reason with the request to intercede for the persecuted believers [p. 29] in Persia with the king Narsaph, i.e., Narses (293–302). Amarô assumes this responsibility and sends letters to the main king, which are crowned with success in that the persecutions cease. In these negotiations a certain ⲓⲛⲛⲁⲓⲟⲥ surfaces, who is apparently the transmitter of the letters of Amarô to the king. He has a discussion with King Narses, the result of which is that the oppressions and persecutions of the teacher and believers are suspended on the command of the king . . . [Evidence for Innaios as a disciple of Mani from other sources is listed.] According to the Berlin papyrus the tranquility under Narses continued up to his death. Under his successor Ormizd II (ϩⲱⲣⲙⲏⲍⲇ), the son of Narses, the agitation of the Mages resumed; as a result there were new persecutions. From these notes we see that the work contained precise historical records about the development of the Manichaean movement in the Persian Empire after the death of Mani from the pen of a Manichaean, and one may suspect that we will also receive important information about Mani and his times.

die verfolgten Gläu-[p. 29]bigen in Persien beim König Narsaph, d.i. Narses(293–302). Amarô übernimmt diese Aufgabe und sendet Briefe an den Oberkönig, die von Erfolg gekrönt sind, indem die Verfolgungen aufhören. Bei diesen Verhandlungen taucht ein gewisser ⲓⲛⲛⲁⲓⲟⲥ auf, der wahrscheinlich der Überbringer der Sendschreiben des Amarô an den König ist. Er hat eine Unterredung mit König Narses, deren Resultat ist, dass die Bedrückungen und Verfolgungen der Lehrer und Gläubigen auf Befehl des Königs sistiert werden . . . [Evidence for Innaios as a disciple of Mani from other sources is listed.] Nach dem Berliner Papyrus hat die Ruhe unter Narses bis zu seinem Tode angehalten. Unter seinem Nachfolger Ormizd II. (ϩⲱⲣⲙⲏⲍⲇ), dem Sohne des Narses, hat die Hetze der Magier wieder eingesetzt; die Folge sind erneute Verfolgungen gewesen. Aus diesen Notizen ersehen wir, dass das Werk genaue geschichtliche Aufzeichnungen über die Entwicklung der Manichäerbewegung im Persischen Reiche nach dem Tode Manis aus der Feder eines Manichäers enthielt, und man darf vermuten, dass wir auch wichtige Aufschlüsse über Mani und seine Zeit empfangen werden.

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Given the fact that the book block is presumably permanently lost, and in view of the deplorable condition of the seven leaves in Berlin, this last hope must of course be given up.

Søren Giversen in a separate article[18] has provided a translation of some of this leaf, though without making the identification. Yet in light of the language used to describe the leaf in the facsimile edition, the language introducing the translation makes it clear that he has in view the same leaf.

> The last example is taken from the Addenda et Varia. It is a sheet, damaged, but not too bad[ly]. This sheet [h]as some historical informations [*sic*]. The handwriting reminds very much on [*sic*] that in the *Homilies*, published by H. J. Polotsky. But this text is not published, and for some reasons I think, that it was not restored together with the Homilies, because the glass and a black buckram frame is quite different from that of the *Homilies*. I am for the moment becoming more convinced that it has had its own history.
>
> This sheet mentions persons we know from other Manichean texts: Innaios and Sapores. I shall shortly give you a small part of it:
>
> (X, 11); . . . He told us [that] the king had arrived into the neighbourhood of our shepherd Innaios, together with the noble Persians [who were] his assistants. He spoke to him . . . He asked him to go to the king. He achieved mercy for us from him [and he] stopped our destruction. The king together with the nobelmen [*sic*], who were many . . . [In]naios, shall I raise . . . Innaios went into [. . .] of the king. Sapores . . .
>
> This was only to give you a little glimpse. Innaios (Zabed's brother in CMC 74, also mentioned in the great formula PG 1; 1468) is mentioned in connection with king Sapores. When the two pages are fully deciphered a more detailed definition of the text and where it comes from, can presumably be given.

The identification of the leaf need not await further decipherment; it is clearly the Berlin leaf reported upon by Schmidt and Polotsky.

Schmidt and Polotsky's report concluded with the summary of another leaf:

18. Giversen, "The Unedited Chester Beatty Mani Texts," 1985/1986, 179–80.

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[p. 29] A further leaf takes us in fact back into the time of the beginnings, for here, as mentioned above, the ARXHGOS Sisinnios is named, and a certain Salmaios, who bears the honorary title ASKHTHS. Also this Salmaios belongs, as does Sisinnios, to the first generation, for we find his name *Salmaios* among the disciples of Mani in the great abjuration formula. According to An Nadim in the Fihrist under Nr. 64 there is a letter of Mani directed to a certain Salam and Ansara. Besides, his name occurs on the top margins of a papyrus book [P[15999]] alongside of that of Kustaios, so that he himself must have left written material. Our historical work obviously did not flow from the pen of a single author, but was a collection of various smaller essays and reports that have been put together here under the names of the authors in question.

[p. 29] Ein weiteres Blatt führt uns nämlich in die Anfangszeit zurück, denn hier wird, wie erwähnt, der ARXHGOS Sisinnios genannt und ein gewisser Salmaios, der den Ehrentitel ASKHTHS führt. Auch dieser Salmaios gehört wie Sisinnios zu der ersten Generation, denn wir finden seinen Namen *Salmaios* unter den Schülern des Mani in der grossen Abschwörungsformel. Nach An Nadim im Fihrist unter Nr. 64 ist ein Sendschreiben des Mani an einen gewissen Salam und Ansara gerichtet. Ausserdem erscheint sein Name auf den oberen Rändern eines Papyrusbuches [P[15999]] neben dem des Kustaios, so dass er selbst auch Schriftliches hinterlassen haben muss. Unser historisches Werk war offensichtlich nicht aus der Feder eines einzigen Schriftstellers geflossen, sondern ein Sammelband aus verschiedenen kleineren Aufsätzen und Berichten, die unter den Namen der betreffenden Autoren hier zusammengestellt sind.

This codex, thus represented today by seven (or eight) largely illegible leaves in Berlin, 1 part of a leaf in Warsaw, and 1 more legible leaf in Dublin, a total of 9 (or 10) leaves = 18 (or 20) pages has not been published beyond the facsimiles of the leaf in Dublin and the part of this leaf published in English translation by Giversen. Stephen Patterson prepared a preliminary transcription of the leaves in Berlin during three trips there in 1987, and of the leaf in Dublin on the basis of the facsimiles in Claremont in 1988.

Photographs of both sides of the leaf without Roman numeration (here tentatively numbered [VI] 11*/12*) are on file at the Papyrus-Sammlung. One copy of each side was donated to the Manichaean Archives of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity.

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— 12 —

P 15998: Letters

The basic report of Schmidt and Polotsky had stated:[1]

We now turn to the second papyrus book of the Berlin Manichaica. This can raise the indisputable claim to be an original work of Mani, for it has to do with the collection of his *Letters*. Unfortunately, thus far only 4 leaves have been separated from the pile and put under glass, but there can be no doubt of the fact itself, for again the papyrus transmits the title on the verso side and the name of the addressee on the recto side. Also in the text itself the whole title is repeated as a superscription. The papyrus book hence corresponds outwardly to the *Kephalaia*, except that it does not seem to be paginated. At least no numbers have thus far been found on the conserved leaves. As superscriptions there have been read ⲦⲘⲁϩⲤⲛⲦⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ on the verso, and on the recto ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲥⲓⲛⲛⲓⲟⲥ, and

Wir wenden uns nun zu dem zweiten Papyrusbuch der Berliner Manichaica. Dieses kann den sicheren Anspruch erheben, Originalwerk des Mani zu sein, handelt es sich doch um seine Briefsammlung. Leider sind bis jetzt nur 4 Blätter von dem Haufen abgehoben und unter Glas gebracht worden, aber an der Tatsache selbst kann kein Zweifel bestehen, denn wiederum überliefert der Papyrus den Titel auf der Versoseite und den Namen des Adressaten auf der Rektoseite. Auch im Texte selbst ist der ganze Titel als überschrift wiederholt. Das Papyrusbuch entspricht also äusserlich den Kephalaia, nur scheint es nicht paginiert gewesen zu sein, wenigstens sind keine Zahlen auf den konservierten Blättern bisher gefunden worden. Gelesen sind als Überschriften ⲦⲘⲁϩⲤⲛⲦⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ auf dem Verso, auf dem Rekto ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲥⲓⲛⲛⲓⲟⲥ,

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 24–27. The quotations are from pp. 24 and 27.

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ⲧⲙⲁϩⲱⲗⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ
on the verso, and on the recto ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲥⲓⲛⲛⲓⲟⲥ; i.e., "the second letter (ἐπιστολή) of Sisinnios" and "the third letter (ἐπιστολή) of Sisinnios." Actually one should translate "to Sisinnios." . . . Hence we can with great expectation put this discovery of the collection of *Letters* worthily along side the discovery of the *Kephalaia* and welcome it as an important source for history contemporary with Mani.

und ⲧⲙⲁϩⲱⲗⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ
auf dem Verso, auf dem Rekto ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲥⲓⲛⲛⲓⲟⲥ, d. h. "der zweite Brief (ἐπιστολή) des Sisinnios" und "der dritte Brief (ἐπιστολή) des Sisinnios." In Wahrheit muss man übersetzen: "an Sisinnios." . . . Wir können also diesen Fund der Briefsammlung dem der Kephalaia würdig an die Seite stellen und als eine wichtige Quelle für die Zeitgeschichte des Mani mit grossen Erwartungen begrüssen.

Wilhelm Schubart recorded in the *Inventarbuch* of the Papyrus-Sammlung of the Ägyptisches Museum of Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR in black ink for P[15998] the entry: "Koptischer Papyruskodex" ["Coptic Papyrus Codex"]. The column regarding "Art der Erwerbung" ["Nature of the Acquisition"] reads "dsgl." ["the same"] as P[15995], i.e., "acquired through Prof. Carl Schmidt in Cairo, 1931, gift of Mr. August Pfeffer 1933." Further notes added in pencil report "z. T. zwischen Glass" ["in part between glass"], "6 Blätter" ["6 leaves"], "s. Schrank 24" ["see cupboard 24"] "(Briefsammlung?)" ["(collection of letters?)"], "ähnlich 15995" ["similar to 15995"]. A rubber stamp reading "1958 vorhanden" ["1958 present"] records the return of the material from Leningrad. The stamp is followed by 6 counting marks. A faint purple carbon note reports "z. Zt. in Schondorf" ["at present in Schondorf"], and, in darker purple, "6 Blätter nach dem Osten" ["6 leaves to the east"], to which is added in black ink: "sind zurück. Codex nicht! [Rolf] Ib[scher]." ["[they] are back. Codex [is] not! [Rolf] Ib[scher]"]. Thus is recorded both the assumed fact that this codex, or, more precisely, the remains of the book block that had not yet been conserved by separating and glassing the leaves, was thought to be in Schondorf, whereas the 6 separated and glassed leaves had been taken east and were returned, as well as the contradictory assumption that the book block ("codex") was not returned from Leningrad, which seems to suggest that by now Rolf Ibscher or someone had realized that it too had been taken east. Another stamp reading "1972 vorhanden" ["1972 present"] records that 6 leaves were present at the time of the inven-

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tory of holdings made that year by Ulrich Luft, then of the Museum staff.

Böhlig reported as follows about this codex in 1960/68:[2]

3. Nobly written in very large format in decorative script is the codex P[15998], which unfortunately has also become a sacrifice of the war, except for a small residue. At the time of the report of the discovery, 4 leaves had been brought under glass, from which one could see that it had to do with the collection of Mani's letters. As page superscriptions the following were read at that time: "The Second Letter to Sisinnios" and "The Third Letter to Sisinnios." I have not found leaves with these page superscriptions now in looking through the material, but I have found a leaf with the following chapter superscription and the beginning of a letter: "The Seventh Letter to Ktesiphon on the *pannychismoi* (Vigils): Mani the apostle of Jesus Christ and Sisinnios and the believing elect who are with me . . ." Of this book are to be found in Berlin, put under glass already in the pre-war period, 6 leaves with the preliminary numbers 12, 13, 21, 23, 24, and 25, and about 22 leaves in half-conserved condition. The folders in which they lay were numbered, and supplement the numbers of the glassed leaves: 1–11, 14–20, 22. It is worth noting that the leaves 17–21 present an appreciably larger, quite differently arranged script, and that leaf 16 is perhaps uninscribed. Incidentally,

3. Herrlich geschrieben auf sehr grossem Format in zierlicher Schrift ist der Codex P[15998], der leider ebenfalls bis auf einen kleinen Rest ein Opfer des Krieges geworden ist. Zur Zeit des Fundberichtes waren 4 Blätter unter Glas gebracht, aus denen zu ersehen war, dass es sich um die Briefssammlung Manis handelte. Als Seitenüberschriften wurden damals gelesen: "Der 2. Brief an Sisinnios" und "der 3. Brief an Sisinnios." Blätter mit diesen Seitenüberschriften habe ich jetzt bei der Durchsicht nicht gefunden, wohl aber ein Blatt mit folgender Kapitelüberschrift und Briefbeginn: "Der 7. Brief an Ktesiphon über die *pannychismoi* (Vigilien): Mani, der Apostel Jesu Christi, und Sisinnios und die gläubigen Electi, die mit mir sind . . ." Von diesem Buch befinden sich in Berlin, noch in der Zeit vor dem Kriege unter Glas gebracht, 6 Blätter mit den vorläufigen Nummern 12, 13, 21, 23, 24, und 25 und ungefähr 22 Blätter in halbkonserviertem Zustand. Die Folien, in denen sie lagen, waren numeriert und ergänzen die Zahlen der verglasten Blätter: 1–11, 14–20, 22. Merkwürdig ist dabei, dass die Blätter 17–21 eine wesentlich grössere, ganz anders geartetete Schrift aufweisen, Blatt 16 vielleicht unbeschriftet ist. Die Blattzählung bedarf übrigens der

2. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 184.

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the numeration of leaves needs to be corrected, for a leaf treated as an unseparated pair turns out to be triplets, and 2 leaves that were still unnumbered, with the note "Codex B from the volume of *Letters* of Mani," have to be given a place between 21 and 23.

Korrektur, da ein als ungelöster Zwilling betrachtetes Blatt sich als Drilling erweist und noch 2 ungezählte Blätter mit der Notiz "Codex B aus dem Bande Briefe Manis" zwischen 21 und 23 untergebracht werden müssen.

To judge by the similarity of language, it is apparently to these "half-conserved" leaves that Böhlig had referred earlier in his report of 1960/68, without identifying the codex involved (though it is distinguished from the 20 leaves of the *Kephalaia* that had remained in Berlin, since they are reported in the preceding text to have been conserved in 1952–1953):[3]

> The urgently needed reglasing of all the pieces that had been glassed by Hugo Ibscher and that returned to Berlin in 1958 was undertaken by Rolf Ibscher beginning in June of this year (1960), along with the conservation of a few half-conserved leaves that Ibscher Sr. had at first put to one side as too difficult, doubtlessly correctly, for it had to do usually with double or triple leaves.

It must also be these leaves that are intended in the confused statement of Rolf Ibscher in 1964–1965 quoted above:

> [p. 63] . . . a sizable number of leaves separated last, quite provisionally, by my father, with an entry on the paper cover that protected them which really creates puzzles: "from Codex B," i.e. then Chester Beatty [*Synaxeis*] or ?—and with the addition put in parentheses "*Letters*" i.e., then again Codex Nr. 15[9]98. What is one to make of that? But there is also among these leaves one with the number 361. To what does that belong?

The references by Böhlig and Rolf Ibscher are quite similar: "about 22 leaves" or "a few . . . leaves" / "a sizable number of leaves"; "half-conserved condition" or "half-conserved leaves" / "quite provisionally"; "folders" / "paper cover."

Müller's preliminary inventory of 1964–1965 listed for P[15998] "Briefsammlung, 6 Bl. in Berlin, Rest verloren" ["Collection of Letters, 6 leaves in Berlin, the rest lost"]. Here the 22 folders that created the

3. Ibid., 182.

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confusion have apparently not been identified with the *Letters*. They are in fact not mentioned at all in Müller's report. They may have been still in the Ibscher home.

The same omission is in Beltz's catalogue of 1978, which reported about the *Letters* without reference to the 22 folders as follows:

I 606 P[15998]. 6 leaves of a codex from the Mani discovery. 2 leaves of this codex are in Warsaw in the National Museum. The average height is 30 cm and an average width 17.5 cm. On an average there are 35–36 lines per page. The corpus of Mani's *Letters*. The state of preservation of the leaves is as poor as in the other Mani texts in Berlin. The remainder of the codex must be regarded as lost. Glass 13, recto, lines 4–8: ϵⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ϵⲧϵ . . . ⲱⲙⲟⲡⲛ / ⲛⲁⲁⲓⲛ ⲛⲁⲅⲅϵⲗⲟⲥ ⲛϵⲓ ϵⲧⲱⲙⲟⲡⲛ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲇⲟϵ . . . / ⲓⲱ . . . ⲁⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲛⲓⲙ ϵⲫ . . . / ⲛⲫⲛⲁ2ⲧ ϵⲣⲁⲥ ϵⲥⲁⲱⲱⲡϵ ⲁⲁⲛ . . .

I 606 P[15998]; 6 Blätter eines Codex aus dem Manifund, 2 Blätter dieses Codex befinden sich in Warschau im National-Museum. Die durchschnittliche H. 30 und eine durchschnittliche B. 17,5. Durchschnittlich 35-36 Z., Briefkorpus des Mani. Der Erhaltungsgrad der Blätter ist so schlecht wie bei den übrigen Mani-Texten in Berlin. Der Rest des Codex muss als verloren angesehen werden. P1. 13, R. Z. 4–8: ϵⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ϵⲧϵ . . . ⲱⲙⲟⲡⲛ / ⲛⲁⲁⲓⲛ ⲛⲁⲅⲅϵⲗⲟⲥ ⲛϵⲓ ϵⲧⲱⲙⲟⲡⲛ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲇⲟϵ . . . / ⲓⲱ . . . ⲁⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲛⲓⲙ ϵⲫ . . . / ⲛⲫⲛⲁ2ⲧ ϵⲣⲁⲥ ϵⲥⲁⲱⲱⲡϵ ⲁⲁⲛ . . .

Günter Poethke, Custos of the Greek manuscripts in the Papyrus-Sammlung of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR began on September–October, 1971, saw these materials in Warsaw, and on February 23, 1972, submitted a report preserved in the Archives of the Ägyptisches Museum to the effect that the two leaves are "(1/2; 3/4)." This is apparently an allusion to the two plates numbered 1 and 4, with the assumption that these are page rather than leaf numbers, and hence that the side of these leaves without a label could be numbered 2 and 3. Since he did not see the leaf numbered 3, such an assumption would have been possible, though apparently not correct. Beltz's information is based on what he saw in his own visit to Warsaw, recorded in his "Aktennotiz für die Papyrus-Sammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin" ["Memorandum for the Papyrus Collection of the State Museums in Berlin"] preserved in the same Archives. There he, following Poethke, listed "zwei Platten, die vermutlich die Seiten 1–4 enthalten" ["two plates that presumably contain the pages 1–4"].

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On December 23, 1985, Wlodzimierz Godlewski reported that 3 Manichaean leaves are at the National Museum in Warsaw. Wincenty Myszor reported on July 12, 1986, as follows on the material at the National Museum:

In the National Museum in Warsaw there are three plates that could belong to a Mani codex. All three are without number and at present only have the number of the National Museum [MN]. Two have 140 160 MN A and B and with the number 1 and 4 on the verso, one has the number 200 611 MN and with the number 3. W. Beltz has certainly seen the first two plates [cf. his catalogue]. The third plate [200 611 MN] has the same size and the same ductus, and so could, in terms of externals, belong to the same codex. On the recto the glass is cracked horizontally, but without damage to the text and the leaf. The leaf is in the same state of preservation as the two others. One can make out about 29 or 30 lines; but perhaps the text continues to 32 lines. But only traces of them survive. At the level of lines 7–8 on the verso the papyrus fibers are destroyed, so that one cannot read the text; on the recto on the other hand the fibers are preserved and hence the text is legible. On the edge a few papyrus parts are pushed [out of place]; the bottom margin of the leaf is completely destroyed except for individual fibers.

Im National-Museum in Warschau befinden sich drei Platten, die zu einem Mani-Kodex gehören könnten. Alle drei sind ohne Nummer und haben jetzt nur die Nummer vom National-Museum [MN]. Zwei sind mit 140 160 MN A und B und mit Ziffer 1 und 4 auf der Verso-Seite, und eine mit Nummer 200 611 MN und mit Ziffer 3 versehen. Die ersten zwei Platten hat bestimmt W. Beltz gesehen [vgl. seinen Katalog]. Die dritte Platte [200 611 MN] hat dieselbe Grösse und denselben Schriftductus: könnte also von aussen gesehen zu demselben Kodex gehören. Auf der Rectoseite ist die Verglasung horizontal angebrochen, aber ohne Schaden für den Text und das Blatt. Das Blatt ist in demselben Erhaltungsgrad wie die zwei anderen. Man kann circa 29 bis 30 Zeilen ausmachen; vermutlich aber geht der Text bis 32 Zeilen. Davon sind jedoch nur Spuren erhalten. In der Höhe der Zeilen 7–8 sind auf der Verso-Seite die Papyrusfasern zerstört, so dass man den Text nicht lesen kann; an der Recto-Seite dagegen sind die Fasern erhalten und ist also der Text lesbar. Am Seitenrand sind einige Papyrusteile verschoben; der untere Rand des Blattes ist bis auf einzelne Fasern ganz zerstört.

The third leaf, which has only recently been mentioned, has been in part transcribed by Myszor, which will help to clarify the identification and the nature of the text.

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On September 11, 1986, Wolf-Peter Funk examined the 3 plates (and on October 29, 1986 measured the plates themselves: 35.5 to 35.7 cm by 23.0 cm), and on November 4, 1986, wrote a report that brings further clarity to the situation: The small labels with the numbers 1, 3, and 4 (as well as the Warsaw Museum labels) are on one side only, that with horizontal fibers, which is what Myszor hence meant by recto. If however one would use recto to refer to the right-hand page, as does Funk, the situation is as follows: Since broader margins are usually in the Manichaean codices not at the spine but at the leading edge, and broader margins on one side characterize the leaves in Warsaw, one can distinguish the right-hand page (Funk's recto), whose right edge would be broad, from the left-hand page (Funk's verso), whose left *edge* would be broad. On this basis one can determine the fiber directions of the 4 leaves (right-hand page / left-hand page) as follows: 1, vertical / horizontal; 3, vertical / horizontal; 4, horizontal / vertical. This would suggest that the numeration of the leaves could reflect the correct sequence of the leaves in relation to each other, i.e. the sequence in which they were successively separated from the book block (though it would not be clear whether the conservation took place from front to back or from back to front). For the numeration conforms to the pattern of like fiber directions facing each other as one turns the pages, i.e., the left-hand page of leaf 3 has horizontal fibers, and the facing right-hand page of leaf 4 also has horizontal fibers (or, if the conservation progressed from back to front, the left-hand page of leaf 4 has vertical fibers, which would face the right-hand page of leaf 3, which also has vertical fibers). If the missing leaf 2 had fiber directions like those of leaf 4, then leaf 2 would present like fiber directions on the side facing leaf 1 as well as on the side facing leaf 3.

This identification of which side is the left-hand page and which the right-hand page is continued by page superscriptions in the top margins. For on the left-hand page of leaves 1 and 4 is an ordinal number, and on the right-hand page of leaf 4 is a personal name, so that the page superscriptions would follow the pattern: The x-th Letter / of (or to) X. Schmidt and Polotsky already identified these page superscriptions. For on the left-hand page of leaf 1 there occurs ⲧⲙⲁϩⲱⲩⲁⲙ, and on the left-hand page of leaf 4 there occurs ⲧⲙⲁϩ . . . ϵ ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ . . . The three letters not transcribed could be, in Funk's opinion, ⲥⲛⲧ, though, not having the passage in Schmidt and Polotsky before him,

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he did not actually examine the papyrus with these letters in mind. Thus the left-hand page of leaf 1 contains "The thir[d . . .]," the left-hand page of leaf 4 "The [second] Letter." Leaf 4 has on the right-hand page NCICIINNIOC. Though this would not be the continuation of the superscription read on the left-hand pages of leaves 1 and 4, but of the leaf next to leaf 4, it would nonetheless indicate the pattern of the superscriptions. This would seem to identify leaves 1 and 4 as those whose running titles Schmidt and Polotsky transcribed, even though they read the complete title. Perhaps merely because they did not indicate lacunae, as Funk expects on the basis of their complete transcription of running titles of the *Synaxeis* codex that are today and probably always have been fragmentary. It may well be that Schmidt and Polotsky did not actually see the page superscriptions on the right-hand facing pages to leaves 1 and 4, but only inferred from the pattern they had established what it may have been. They based preliminary codicological inferences regarding P[15998] upon their broader experience with P[15996] as they themselves state: "The papyrus book hence corresponds outwardly to the *Kephalaia*, except that it does not seem to be paginated."

Thus the left-hand page of leaf 4 would have contained part of a second letter, and the left-hand page of leaf 1 part of a third letter. This would suggest that the sequence of the numeration of the leaves is the reverse of their order in the codex. Leaf 4 could have been the first leaf of the codex only if one were to assume a first letter of less than two pages terminated and the second letter began on the left-hand page of that leaf. The second and/or third letters, present on the left-hand page of the first leaf (number 4, in the ordering of the leaves 4, 3, 2, 1) and the left-hand page of the fourth leaf (number 1), a total of nearly seven pages, would have been longer.

It is hence not surprising that Böhlig reported that after World War II he did not find in Berlin the pages with the superscriptions that Schmidt and Polotsky listed. His report to the effect that there were six already-glassed leaves together with the penciled notes in the *Inventarbuch* that six leaves were glassed and returned to Berlin would lead to the normal assumption that the four leaves that Schmidt and Polotsky reported as already glassed would be among these six. But now this would not seem to be the case. The fact that Böhlig listed the numbers on these six glasses as 12, 13, 21, 23, 24, and 25 would also

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tend to suggest that the 6 he located did not include the first four that Schmidt and Polotsky reported as glassed.

The inventory carried out in 1985–1986 did not locate what Rolf Ibscher referred to as "the paper cover that protected them" i.e., that protected "a sizable number of leaves." The paper contained the comments "from Codex B" and "*Letters*," which seemed to Rolf Ibscher confusingly contradictory, in that one reference seemed to point to Dublin (Codex B = *Synaxeis*), one to Berlin (*Letters* = P[15998]). If the "paper cover" is the same as the "folders" to which Böhlig referred, then one would no doubt have to do with the usual file folders in which papyri may well have been stored before being put in glass. They would have been left in such folders by Hugo Ibscher, since his conservation was only provisional, and would have been transferred into glass by Rolf Ibscher, even though the conservation was never adequately completed, in that in some instances parts of two leaves are still glassed together. The folders with the confusing information on them would then have been discarded.

But some of the information on the discarded paper cover has apparently been preserved on labels. The glassed but unboxed leaf labeled "*Kephalaia* 15996 Nr. 29" has inscribed on its label, though marked out, the numeral 361 (and on the back, also marked out, 362) as well as "zu 15998" ["to 15998"] (also marked out). Rolf Ibscher had reported in connection with the leaves provisionally preserved by his father and confusingly labeled "from Codex B" and "*Letters*": "But there is also among these leaves one with the number 361. To what does that belong?" Obviously the leaf has subsequently been reassigned to P[15996], but the reason remains unclear. For the numeration 361/62 should not lead to such an assignment, since that leaf of P[15996] is present at its correct position in the appropriate box. Yet such high numerations are known only in the case of P[15996], and this could have led to assigning the plate to P[15996] if the relevant box were not checked. In any case, one has here clear evidence that at least this one leaf among those that Rolf Ibscher thought might belong either to "Codex B" (the Dublin *Synaxeis*) or to the Berlin *Letters* (P[15998]) is currently assigned by its label to neither, but rather to the *Kephalaia*.

More extant leaves are currently assigned to the *Kephalaia* than one is required to postulate are from that codex. For there are only twenty-five leaves missing between the last bound leaf, pp. 439/440, and the last attested leaf, pp. 501/502. For the extant leaf pp. 455–56

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is clearly identified as extant by its label, and the leaves pp. 447–54, 499/500 are in Warsaw. One leaf was atomized by a sneeze by Rolf Ibscher. This leaves a total of 24 leaves missing. Yet there are 32 leaves labeled P15996 (not counting plate 23, since it consists only of fragments, but recognizing that plate 30 contains 2 leaves). Up to eight leaves with this label may well belong to the *Kephalaia*, after p. 502, or to other codices. The leaf labeled "*Kephalaia* number 29," reassigned to P15998, might well belong there.

This may help to explain another instance, which, however, is less clear due to the fact that the earlier assignment is scraped off. This is a pair of leaves glassed together and labeled by hand "*Kephalaia* 15996 Nr. 30." This plate, like the one numbered 29, may originally have been assigned to the *Letters*.

When the inventory was begun in 1985, a stack of fifteen leaves (separate from the six leaves regularly listed as present) was found accompanied by a piece of paper with a note in the hand of Günter Poethke that read: "Wahrscheinlich zu P15998 gehörig (s. Vortrag von Böhlig in Moskau: 'Schweren Herzens'). 15 Platten. 26.7.72." ["Apparently belonging to P15998 (see the lecture of Böhlig in Moscow [that begins] 'With heavy heart . . .'). 15 glasses. July 16, 1972."] Poethke has explained the note as simply a pragmatic way to dispose administratively of the matter rather than as the result of new research on his part, which would account for the cautious term "apparently." The reference to Böhlig's paper of 1960/68 would no doubt have in view the passages cited above:

> . . . the conservation of a few half-conserved leaves that Ibscher Sr. had at first put to one side as too difficult, doubtlessly correctly, for it had to do usually with double or triple leaves . . .
>
> Of this book one finds in Berlin, put under glass already in the prewar period, 6 leaves with the temporary numbers 12, 13, 21, 23, 24, and 25, and about 22 leaves in half-conserved condition. The folders in which they lay were numbered, and supplement the numbers of the glassed leaves: 1–11, 14–20, 22. It is worth noting that the leaves 17–21 present an appreciably larger, quite differently arranged script, and that leaf 16 is perhaps uninscribed. Incidentally, the numeration of leaves needs to be corrected, for a leaf treated as an unseparated pair turns out to be triplets, and 2 leaves that were still unnumbered, with the note "Codex B from the volume of *Letters* of Mani," have to be given a place between 21 and 23.

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Each plate in the stack of fifteen leaves is labeled P[15998], except for two plates labelled "*Kephalaia* o. Nr." "*Kephalaia* without number." This nomenclature recalls Böhlig's reference to "2 leaves that were still unnumbered, with the note 'Codex B from the volume of *Letters* of Mani.'" Since a folder was already numbered 22, there were no unoccupied digits between 21 and 23. This would account for the two leaves not having been numbered, pending a renumeration of all the leaves of P[15998], which apparently never took place. By some rather inexplicable transaction(s) they would, according to this conjecture, seem to have then been labeled *Kephalaia* rather than *Letters*, but nonetheless stored with the 13 leaves labeled P[15998], with the appended note to the effect that there were 15 leaves of P[15998]. One may suspect that originally the two plates labeled *Kephalaia* 29 and 30, if in fact they had been previously assigned to P[15998], may have been included in the stack of 15 plates of P[15998]. Once they had become (re)assigned to P[15996], they might have been replaced in the stack of 15 by those labeled "*Kephalaia* without number."

The ascription to the *Letters* of the six leaves (12, 13, 21, 23, 24, and 25) singled out by Böhlig as glassed by Hugo Ibscher, has never been questioned. Since what remains of the "about 22 leaves in half-conserved condition" is no longer in "folders" but has now been glassed, the distinction between the two groups can no longer be made in terms of what is glassed and what is in folders. But the 6 leaves always ascribed to the *Letters* can nonetheless be identified. When first seen on October 28–29, 1985, they were stacked separately. Böhlig's numbers largely confirmed this physical separation. Five bear the numbers 12, 21, 23, 24, 25, and the one lacking a label can be identified from the transcription of a few phrases of a leaf numbered 13 in Beltz's catalogue. These phrases do in fact occur, with but minor deviations from Beltz's transcription, on this leaf, which has hence been labeled in 1986 as number 13.

There is, however, a glass not stacked with the six that nonetheless is numbered 12, which thus repeats a number occurring on one of the 6 leaves that Hugo Ibscher conserved. The distinction of two stacks in which the two glasses numbered 12 lie is a weak criterion to distinguish which is among the 6 glassed by Hugo Ibscher, since the place where a glass is stacked can be so readily changed. But the 6 glasses stacked together measure 23 cm wide and 35.5 to 36.6 cm high, whereas the others assigned to P[15998] measure 25 by 35 cm. And

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whereas the others are framed in sticky reddish-brown tape, the 6 are framed in tan plastic tape that readily comes loose, exposing narrower white paper tape beneath. (The tan plastic tape was removed, and Gesa Schenke covered the underlying tape with Filmoplast P[90] on February 11, 1986.) Furthermore, those conserved by Hugo Ibscher have brown labels with the number prefaced by B (except for number 13 that had lost its label), and only one of the two leaves numbered 12 includes the letter B. For these reasons, the leaf labeled B 12 is clearly the leaf conserved by Hugo Ibscher.

Böhlig's report that he could not find on the 6 leaves the page superscriptions "The Second Letter to Sisinnios" and "The Third Letter to Sisinnios" that Schmidt and Polotsky quoted has been confirmed by a fresh examination of the leaves in Berlin. But these superscriptions were identified as among those in Warsaw (see above). Yet Böhlig did report finding a chapter titled, "The Seventh Letter to Ktesiphon on the *pannychismoi* (vigils)," which letter began: "Mani the apostle of Jesus Christ and Sisinnios and the believing elect who are with me . . ." This text, though less legible than this smooth translation suggests, is on leaf 24, the side with horizontal fibers. The title (set off from the text by horizontal lines above and below) is on extant lines 8–9, and the quotation from the opening of the text on the next two lines.

According to Böhlig, the group of about twenty-two leaves were in folders bearing the numbers 1–11, 14–20, and 22, a total of 19 numbers, 3 less than the total of about 22. Also when one adds the 6 leaves under glass and about 22 in half-conserved condition, one reaches a total of about 28 leaves, which, however, were conserved in glasses and folders numbered up only to 25, where again the discrepancy of 3 digits occurs. But this discrepancy could be explained in terms of Böhlig's observation that one folder contained 3 rather than the previously assumed 2 leaves, and that there were 2 unnumbered leaves labeled "Codex B from the volume of *Letters* of Mani" that belonged somewhere between 211 and 23.

Actually, the only glasses with numbers among the fifteen are the nine numbered 8–12, 14–16, and 18. All these numbers except number 12, which in Böhlig's list referred only to a leaf glassed by Hugo Ibscher and hence not to a folder, may be assumed to be the material from the folders with those numbers listed by Böhlig. The assumption is that one glass was by error given the number 12 when it was transferred from a folder that did not bear this number.

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Number 10 has on its label, "Mani-Blatt gebleicht Nr 10" ["Mani leaf bleached No 10"]. The leaf is considerably lighter than the others, while the ink is dark. It is unclear why the bleaching technique, if successful, was discontinued. Perhaps concern for negative long-range effects was involved.

The numbers 1–7, 17, 19, 20, and 22 are all absent from the 15 glasses. This makes a total of 11 numbers, which would be over half of the 19 folders, or half of the original list of some 22 leaves. If one of these missing numbers may be assumed to be the glass inaccurately numbered 12, others of the missing material may be found among 4 glasses without numeration:

One unnumbered glass is labeled "Zwillingsblatt von No 8 abgelöst. Dr. I[bscher]." ["Twin leaf separated from Number 8. Dr. I[bscher]."] This label is in the same red ink as the notation on label 8 that reads "Zwillingsblatt zwischen Glas" ["Twin leaf between glass"]. The extant profile, when placed so that like fiber directions face each other, suggests they may indeed have been adjoining leaves.

One unnumbered glass is labeled (in English!) "Twins," no doubt reflecting Rolf Ibscher's (Germanic) English that he acquired in London, which is documented in his English letters. Its shape would suggest that it might have been part of Number 9, which still has part of a second leaf conserved with it. Especially the excess papyrus (covering the right edge of lines 5–10 of the side of the "Twins" that touches the horizontal fibers of leaf 9 when the contours are aligned) seems to correspond to a lacuna on leaf 9. The fact that leaf 9 is considerably smaller than the "twins" would indicate that as a single leaf, it was weaker, and when stuck would tend to lose papyrus to the stronger "twins." Thus we may have to do with what Böhlig described: "a leaf treated as an unseparated pair turns out to be triplets."

Since leaves 8 and 9 have similar profiles, one may conjecture that Hugo Ibscher separated two adjoining layers: one containing two leaves, the other three; and that Rolf Ibscher separated each layer again, producing a total of 4 plates with 5 leaves. On the assumption that like fiber directions faced each other, one could reconstruct the order as: "Twin leaf separated from number 8," with horizontal fibers facing up; followed by leaf 8, with vertical fibers facing up; followed by the twins, where horizontal fibers are visible on both sides, and hence the side facing up is determined by the extant profile; followed by leaf 9 with horizontal fibers facing up.

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One unnumbered glass lacks a label. It too contains two leaves, and hence may be assumed to fall within the category of half-conserved twins in P[15998]. Since faint traces of large letters seem to be visible, the pair could be the missing leaves 19–20 or the unnumbered two leaves belonging between 21 and 23. The extant profile is, however, so dissimilar as to make an identification difficult.

One unnumbered glass has a label that records: "Mittelteil ohne Schriftspüren, völlig zerstört, deshalb entfernt. Umbettung am 18. III. 1970." ["Middle part without traces of writing, completely destroyed, hence removed. Reconservation on 18 iii 70."] Günter Poethke has identified the handwriting as that of Rolf Ibscher's assistant, Otto Werner Luke (deceased).

Of the about 22 leaves put in folders by Hugo Ibscher and between glass by Rolf Ibscher, one may thus probably account for most of them:

- 8 folders numbered 8–11, 14–16, 18, may be presumed to be, the 8 leaves in 8 glasses with the same numbers.
- 1 leaf in a glass numbered 8 may be assumed to come from one of these folders also.
- 6 leaves are conserved in 4 unnumbered glasses, since in 2 of the 4 glasses there are 2 leaves each.

3 leaves currently labeled *Kephalaia* may have come from P[15998]:

1. 1 labeled as 29
2. 2 leaves in one glass container labeled as 30 (2 in 2 glass containers listed as without number are here assumed to belong to the *Kephalaia*.)

Böhlig conjectured that some of this codex was by mistake taken to London, on the erroneous assumption that the leaves belonged to Chester Beatty's Codex B, the *Synaxeis*:[4]

[p. 186] The question as to the situation regarding the last Chester Beatty codex, Codex B, is very problematic. In London there are 13 leaves, already glassed by Hugo	[p. 186] Sehr problematisch ist die Frage, was es mit dem letzten Chester-Beatty-Codex, dem Codex B, auf sich hat. In London liegen 13 Blätter, noch von Hugo

4. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 186–87.

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Ibscher, unfortunately without any note as to content or titles that may have been read. Rolf Ibscher could only tell me that it has to do with an unusually large format. Thus far it has not been possible to take a look at these plates for myself. [Footnote 1: Unfortunately it is precisely their conservation that has not yet been completed; they still lie between *paper and* glass, so that one cannot read them without removing glass and paper. But Sir Chester Beatty has not permitted that, out of concern for the condition of the papyri.] However, with all due caution on the basis of minimal indications, I would nonetheless like to present an effort at a solution . . .

As has also been conjectured by C. Colpe, we will then indeed, in the case of the Göttingen manuscript, have to do with Codex B of the Chester Beatty collection. What then is the situation with the 13 leaves that are in London as Codex B? They ought to have been 13 leaves of the Göttingen manuscript that were the first separated and glassed by Hugo Ibscher. But if, as Rolf Ibscher recalls, they have an especially large format, that cannot be the case. I would hence like, with all due reservations, to conjecture that they were once brought to London by mistake. They are designated as Codex B. For it could perhaps be possible that Hugo Ibscher, who also designated the Berlin corpus of *Letters* as Codex B, once by mistake brought to London the plates, from the mass of the

Ibscher verglast, leider ohne jede Notiz über Inhalt oder gelesene überschriften. Rolf Ibscher konnte mir nur mitteilen, dass es sich dabei um ein besonders grosses Format handelt. Eine eigene Ansicht dieser Platten war mir bisher nicht möglich. [Footnote 1: Gerade ihre Konservierung ist bedauerlicherweise noch nicht zu Ende geführt; sie liegen noch zwischen *Papier und* Glas, so dass man sie nicht lesen kann, ohne Glas und Papier zu entfernen. Das aber hat Sir Chester Beatty aus Sorge um den Zustand der Papyri nicht gestattet.] Ich möchte aber trotzdem aus minimalen Indizien in aller Vorsicht einen Lösungsversuch vortragen . . .

Wir werden es also in der Tat, wie auch von C. Colpe vermutet, bei der Göttinger Handschrift mit dem Codex B der Chester-Beatty-Sammlung zu tun haben. Was ist aber dann mit den 13 in London als Codex B befindlichen Blättern? Sie müssten 13 von Hugo Ibscher als erste abgehobene und verglaste Blätter der Göttinger Handschrift sein. Wenn sie aber, wie Rolf Ibscher sich erinnert, ein besonders grosses Format haben, so kann das nicht zutreffen. Ich möchte dann mit aller Zurückhaltung vermuten, dass sie einst versehentlich nach London gebracht wurden. Sie werden als Codex B bezeichnet. Es könnte ja vielleicht möglich sein, dass Hugo Ibscher, der auch das Briefcorpus von Berlin als Codex B bezeichnete, die Platten einmal versehentlich aus der Menge

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Mani manuscripts that were in the process of being worked on, but that they in reality belong to the corpus of *Letters*. For especially large format occurs only in the corpus of *Letters*. Besides, I was not able to find in Berlin the page superscriptions read by Schmidt on 4 glassed leaves of the corpus of *Letters*. But such reflections are actually idle—a glance at the London leaves should suffice to solve all these problematic questions with one blow.

der in Bearbeitung befindlichen Manihandschriften [p. 187] nach London gebracht hatte, sie aber in Wirklichkeit zum Briefcorpus gehören. Denn besonders grosses Format liegt nur beim Briefcorpus vor; ausserdem konnte ich ja die von Schmidt gelesenen Seitenüberschriften auf 4 verglasten Blättern des Briefcorpus in Berlin nicht finden. Aber solche überlegungen sind eigentlich müssig ein Blick auf die Londoner Blätter dürfte genügen, um alle diese problematischen Fragen mit einem Schlage zu lösen.

The simplest way to have identified the leaves now in Copenhagen with P[15998] would have been to identify on them the missing page superscriptions that Schmidt and Polotsky reported. But now that these missing materials would seem to have been located in Warsaw, other criteria would have to be used to identify leaves in Copenhagen as belonging to P[15998].

The 6 leaves that Hugo Ibscher conserved are labeled, in distinction to those that Rolf Ibscher glassed, with the letter B (but no codex number) preceding the number of the leaf. This may be a vestige of the designation of P[15998] as Berlin Codex B. Böhlig has reported:

The division according to capital letters A, B, etc. is in fact not the division of the Museums. It is a division that Hugo Ibscher used privately for himself. I have still seen with Rolf Ibscher file folders in which things were sorted according to such letters. It is not a claim by me that Hugo Ibscher proceeded this way also for the German parts, but here I repeat information from Rolf Ibscher from the year 196[4].

Die Einteilung nach grossen Buchstaben A, B usw. ist in der Tat nicht die Einteilung der Museen; das ist eine Einteilung, die Hugo Ibscher für sich privat benutzte. Ich habe bei Rolf Ibscher noch Verordner gesehen, in denen nach solchen Buchstaben sortiert war. Dass Hugo Ibscher das auch für die deutschen Teile so gemacht hat, ist nicht eine Behauptung von mir, sondern ich gab damit Informationen von Rolf Ibscher aus dem Jahr 196[4] wieder.

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Yet this reference from the year 196[4] is precisely what is in need of clarification. For here Rolf Ibscher senses a problem that would not exist if he recognized B as the Ibscher designation for the *Letters*. The only other reference located thus far to the possibility that Hugo Ibscher designated as Codex B both the Berlin codex P[15998], the *Letters*, and Chester Beatty's *Synaxeis* is the confused statement of Rolf Ibscher to the effect that a sizable number of leaves separated last by his father (specified by Böhlig as "about 22") were in a paper cover; Ibscher's statement refers to them as "from Codex B" and "(*Letters*)." Rolf Ibscher's confusion here would seem to indicate that he was completely unaware of what Böhlig describes as his father's practice of designating the Berlin Codex P[15998], the *Letters*, as Codex B. For Rolf Ibscher's perplexity presupposes that the Berlin *Letters* were not designated Codex B. If he had known of such a practice, there would have been nothing confusing or contradictory in the two labels. Both would have affirmed that the leaves in question belong to the Berlin Codex B, P[15998], the *Letters*. Rolf Ibscher should not have hesitated to add these 22 leaves to the list of 6 leaves of the *Letters* still extant in Berlin, rather than leaving them unidentified.

Böhlig took Rolf Ibscher's reference to "an especially large format" of the 13 leaves as pointing to the *Letters* rather than to the *Synaxeis*. But this reasoning is unclear, since the format of the two codices is similar. The dimensions that Beltz gives for the extant leaves of P[15998], the *Letters*, is some 30 cm high by 17.5 cm wide. Leaf 18 actually measures 31.5 by 17.0, leaf 23 31.0 by 16.0, leaf 24 30.0 by 17.0, leaf 25 29.5 by 17.5 cm. This is considerably larger than the dimensions Beltz gives for P[15995], the *Synaxeis*, averaging 18–20 cm high by 11–16 cm wide. But here Beltz is basing his measurements no doubt on the 31 leaves in the Staatliche Museen of Berlin, which are approximately this size. But the book block in Berlin (*West*) measures 30 cm high (or even 31.8 cm when fringes of fiber are included) by 19 cm wide. Neither the *Synaxeis* nor the *Letters* is of unusually large format. P[15996]. The *Kephalaia*, measures according to Hugo Ibscher 31.5 cm high by 18 cm wide.[5] Hugo Ibscher also lists the measurements of Sir Chester Beatty's *Homilies* (= P[15999]) as 31.5 cm high by 18 cm wide.[6] Hugo Ibscher provides there the confusing observation:

5. Hugo Ibscher, in Polotsky and Böhlig, *Kephalaia*, xi.
6. Hugo Ibscher, in Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, xiii.

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With the exception of the *Psalms* from the collection of Mr. Chester Beatty, which has a height of 27 cm and a breadth of 17.5 cm [measurements repeated by Ibscher in his introduction to the *Psalms*[7]], all the rest of the books are 31.5 cm high and 18 cm wide.	Mit Ausnahme des Psalmenbuches aus der Sammlung von Mr. Chester Beatty, das bei einer Höhe von 27 cm eine Breite von 17.5 cm besitzt [measurements repeated by Ibscher in his introduction to the *Psalms*[7]], sind alle übrigen Bücher 31.5 cm hoch and 18 cm breit.

For Hugo Ibscher seems, in this generalizing statement, to have overlooked P[15997], the *Acts*, which Beltz reports as averaging 22–25 cm high by 8–10 cm wide. Leaf IV measures 24.0 cm high by some 12.0 cm high. The leaf labeled P[15998] and 36, both changed to P[15997] and 32, is 24.9 cm high by 13.0 cm wide. It would seem that an "especially large format" would not dissociate the 13 leaves from the *Synaxeis* with which it had been initially associated, but only from the *Psalms* and the *Acts*, and would not associate it with any particular one of the other codices such as P[15998], the *Letters*. It would hence require other criteria to identify more precisely the 13 leaves.

The facsimile edition of 1986[7] presents the plates in natural size, reaching to a height only of 28.5 cm (plates 101/02, 111/12). The width reaches 17.5 cm once (plates 103/04), and, thanks to a fragment less than a centimeter in diameter at the end of a few apparently attached fibers, reaches 18.7 cm once (plates 115/16). The designation "especially large format" hence seems inappropriate, since the height lies between the smaller and larger codices, in fact nearer that of the smaller ones, and the width, which in any case varies only half a centimeter between large and small codices, in this case (with the one exception) only once reaches as much as the smaller dimension.

Tito Orlandi reported as follows on the material in Dublin in 1976:[8]

On another of the same shelves (to the right of the entrance) there are 16 numbered glasses that could represent the part of Codex B restored before the war by H.	Sur une autre des mêmes étagères (a droite de l'entrée), il y a 16 verres numérotés, qui pourraient representer la partie du Cod. B restaurée avant la guerre par H.

7. Giversen, *Homilies and Varia*, ix–x of the Introduction and the plates on pp. 101–26.

8. Orlandi, "Les manuscrits coptes de Dublin," 324–25.

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Ibscher; the other part of Codex B, [p. 325] according to Böhlig, is in Germany (the codex of West Berlin, formerly at Göttingen). They are not of large format, according to what I could determine. This assures us that the fragments do not belong to the codex of *Letters* (= Berlin, Codex 3).

Ibscher; l'autre partie du Cod. B, [p. 325] selon Böhlig, se trouverait en Allemagne (codex de Berlin ouest, jadis a Goettingue). Its ne sont pas d'un grand format, d'après ce que j'ai pu constater: ce qui nous assure que les fragments n'appartiennent pas au codex des *Lettres* (= Berlin, Cod. 3).

Although Orlandi only states that these leaves are numbered, one may assume they are also labeled as Codex B, since Rolf Ibscher and, following him, Böhlig presuppose such an identification. The number of leaves that Rolf Ibscher had reported to Böhlig and that Böhlig had published was 13, not 16, as Orlandi reports. But Orlandi seems to have these 13 in view, in that he identifies the plates as Codex B, and in that he explicitly draws attention to the fact that the format is not large, as a correction of Rolf Ibscher's recollection that it was large. Orlandi takes this as evidence that the 16 leaves are not from the *Letters*, thus correcting the conjecture of Böhlig. Unfortunately, references to larger or smaller formats in this discussion are not accompanied by measurements, so that the base of comparison remains imprecise.

One must thus use all due caution with regard to Böhlig's conjecture that leaves of P[15998] are to be found in Copenhagen. Hence one should tentatively assume only that there survive of the codex of Mani's *Letters*: 6 leaves conserved by Hugo Ibscher, in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 3 in the National Museum in Warsaw, and 15 leaves in 13 glass containers in Berlin listed in 1972 as belonging to this codex, 3 in two containers numbered 29 and 30 reassigned to the *Kephalaia*, and 1 reassigned to the *Acts*. This would make a total of 28 leaves or 56 pages that survive in whole or in part that are tentatively assigned to the *Letters*.

This codex has not been published.

In 1986 a facsimile edition was published[9] of the 13 leaves that Böhlig had discussed as perhaps belonging to this codex, though in Dublin. Giversen reports that those still in their original glass covers

9. Giversen, *Homilies and Varia*, ix–x of the Introduction and the plates on pages 101–26.

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bear the label "Codex B," which may have been the basis of the confusion. The pages had also been labeled 51–76, corresponding in the facsimile edition to pages 101–26, in such a way that facing pages have similar fiber directions. A division into two quires, each consisting of "four double leaves" is ascribed to Hugo Ibscher (with the first leaf of the first quire and the last two leaves of the second quire missing). The problem of the identity of the codex is stated, but no solution is indicated:

> The identity of this codex—or poor remnants of a codex—has been widely discussed, for example in the article by A. Böhlig cited above and in a series of other articles, as has the identity of the Mani codex in West Berlin, once called the Schondorf[f] papyrus.
>
> Since this edition should not pre-empt the results of a later critical edition, it has been decided to publish the pages in question in order to promote the work of identifying the papyrus with as little delay as possible. I have therefore refrained from offering any solution, preferring instead to provide some facts which together with the facsimiles should assist in this task.
>
> Not only are the glasses inscribed Codex B, but the frames also are marked "Kephalaia. Codex B." These labels are clearly in Hugo Ibscher's handwriting. The text in most cases is readable, although not easily.
>
> A precise description of the character and content of the text must wait until a critical edition can provide the text in full.

The labeling by Hugo Ibscher as *Kephalaia* would seem to suggest a still further identification than previously envisaged, either with the first volume of *Kephalaia* in Berlin (P[15996]) or with the second volume of *Kephalaia* in Dublin, Codex C, published as Volume I of the facsimile edition.[10] But Giversen does not enter further into the problem of the identification of the material, but contents himself with observing that "important subjects are clearly dealt with" and transcribing a few words.

Photographs of both sides of leaf 13 are on file at the Papyrus-Sammlung of Berlin. One copy of each side was donated to the Manichaean Archives of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity.

10. Giversen, *Kephalaia*.

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— 13 —

P[15999]*: Homilies (Berlin Part)*

Schmidt and Polotsky reported as follows:[1]

The papyrus book most recently added to the corpus of Berlin Manichaica could not yet be subjected to any further investigation. This much seems however to be certain, that it contains a collection of so-called λόγοι of different authors. The names of authors from the circle of disciples of Mani crop up on the upper margins, such as Koustaios, Salmaios.	Das jüngst zum Corpus der Berliner Manichaica gekommene Papyrusbuch konnte noch keiner weiteren Untersuchung unterzogen werden. So viel scheint aber festzustehen, dass es eine Sammlung von sogenannten λόγοι verschiedener Autoren enthält. Es tauchen auf den oberen Rändern die Autorennamen aus dem Kreise der Jüngerschaft des Mani auf, wie Koustaios, Salmaios.

Wilhelm Schubart recorded in the *Inventarbuch* of the Ägyptisches Museum of Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR in black ink to P[15999]: "Koptischer Papyruskodex. Erworben durch Herrn Prof. Carl Schmidt, in Cairo 1932. Geschenk des Herrn Dr. W. Kohlhammer." ["Coptic Papyrus Codex. Acquired through Prof. Carl Schmidt in Cairo 1932. Gift of Dr. W. Kohlhammer."] A further note added in pencil reports under the "Standort" ["location"]: "ausgestellt" ["displayed"]. A similar hand in pencil reads "Mani." A purple carbon note reads "z. Zt. in Mo[skau]" ["at present in Mo[scow]"].

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 30.

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Rolf Ibscher has reported that Kohlhammer paid 5,000 Marks for this part of a codex.[2]

Böhlig reported in 1960/68[3]:

4. P15999, not yet made accessible, is also lost. Whether this loss is so great can be doubted. For the condition of the manuscript was so desolate that among the collaborators of the papyrus collection it was generally designated as the "wig." Schmidt could determine on the basis of the captions at the top of the pages that it must have had to do with *logoi* of disciples of Mani.	4. Die noch nicht erschlossene Handschrift P15999 ist ebenfalls verlorengegangen. Ob dieser Verlust so schwer ist, kann man bezweifeln. Denn der Zustand der Handschrift war so desolat, dass sie unter den Mitarbeitern der Papyrussammlung allgemein als die "Perücke" bezeichnet wurde. Schmidt konnte nach Seitenüberschriften feststellen, dass es sich dabei um *logoi* von Jüngern Manis handeln musste.

Beltz's catalogue omits P15999, since none of it in Berlin in 1978.

This part of a codex in Berlin has not been published. But in fact it is part of the *Homilies* codex that is among Sir Chester Beatty's codices, which has been published (see below). Michel Tardieu[4] incorrectly refers to the Dublin *Homilies* as: "Codex complète de 48 feuillets conservé à Dublin (codex D)." ["Complete codex of 48 leaves conserved at Dublin (Codex D)."] He makes no reference to P15999.

2. Rolf Ibscher, in a letter of August 29, 1957, to Carsten Colpe.
3. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 184.
4. Tardieu, "Les Manichéens en Égypte," 6.

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— 14 —

The Wooden Covers

From the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library the story of the acquisition that Schmidt and Polotsky reported has been augmented (above) with the information that on March 23, 1930, Beatty purchased from Maurice Nahman two bindings at £40 each, on the condition that if the British Museum decided they were later than the sixth century, they could be returned. This was the same acquisition that included two Coptic manuscripts on approval, which turned out to be part of the *Psalms*, which Beatty acquired, and part of the *Homilies*, which Beatty did not acquire, but which Schmidt did in 1932 (P^{15999}). But the two covers were paid for on March 23, 1930—there is a dated signed receipt from Nahman in the Archives. Yet a small ring binder that seems to have served in the early years as a kind of accessions book for Beatty's library records for July 30, when Nahman visited London to settle accounts with Beatty: "Sent by Nahman, belonging to him. Papyrus, with 1 cover. *Safe B*. (Ibscher 1930)." The reference to "Ibscher 1930" suggests this was with the Second Part of the *Psalms* taken in 1930 to Berlin. This suggests that one cover was associated with the manuscript on which Beatty had an option, what was to become P^{15999}, perhaps because the manuscript lay on the cover. A note in another hand reads: "Given to Dr. Ibscher for Nahman." This apparently refers to Beatty's releasing in 1932 his option for the part of the *Homilies* that he had on approval since 1930 and, on instructions from Nahman dated March 15, 1932, turning it over to Sir Alan Gardiner on May 10, 1932 for Ibscher to take to Berlin to be acquired there (P^{15999}). These notes would seem to indicate that one cover went with the manuscript to Berlin. Since Beatty had already paid for the cover,

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it would presumably have been an oversight on his or his staff's part to include it in what was sent of Berlin to be purchased from Nahman.

In April 1931 Beatty again acquired two manuscripts, one listed in the ring binder as "Manichaean Hymns," that is to say, the first part of the *Psalms* codex, and the other as "Manichaean Ritual Laws," which is an early designation for what in fact was the other part of the *Homilies* codex, the part published by Polotsky. In the same record were listed "3 wooden covers."

Whereas the two covers acquired in 1930 have not been located at the Chester Beatty Library (or at the Egyptian Museum in Berlin), there is at the Chester Beatty Library a large paper envelope with a handwritten note on it stating "purchased Spring 1931," containing three wooden boards, two complete, one only partially so, each apparently a front or back cover of a codex.

Schmidt and Polotsky had reported about the wooden covers of the Manichaean codices as follows (see above):[1]

> In the process, a papyrus book [P^{15997}, *Acts*] emerged that lay in the original condition as when found, between two bare wooden covers, since one had risked no further handling . . .
>
> My man of confidence must have had the whole discovery before his eyes, for, according to a passing comment that he just now made to me on my visit in March 1932, the papyrus books, each surrounded by bare covers in wood, lay in a wooden box that was found in what had been a dwelling house.

In his more popular presentation of 1933, Schmidt had written: "The box contained a series of papyrus books, each surrounded by rough wooden covers."[2]

There was even a published photograph of the edges of two such boards. For Schmidt and Polotsky had reported concerning P^{15997}, the *Acts*:[3]

> Very briefly I can turn to the third papyrus book, which when acquired lay in the original condition between two wooden covers as remains of the binding. It too belongs to the Berlin holdings. A concept of the desolate condition of the preservation is given in the accompanying photograph . . .

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 7, 9.
2. Schmidt, *Neue Originalquellen des Manichäismus aus Aegypten*, 4.
3. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 27.

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Wolfgang Müller listed three Coptic book bindings as still extant in 1964/65.[4] But Günter Poethke confirmed on September 31, 1986, that no Manichaean covers are included among them. There are also no references to Manichaean covers in the *Inventarbuch* (at least not at P15995–15999) or in the reports by Böhlig and Beltz, though they may be tacitly included in references to P15997 and P15999. Thus the two wooden covers to P15997 that apparently came from Egypt to Berlin and the cover of P15999 that apparently came to Berlin via London must be assumed to be lost.

In the case of P15996, the Berlin *Kephalaia*, by the time of the acquisition, the covers had apparently been ripped off of the book block, according to the report by Hugo Ibscher:[5]

> Of a binding nothing more could be discovered, since the covers had been undoubtedly removed with raw force, whereby along with the binding also at the same time any and every connection of the double leaves had been lost at the spine.
>
> Von einer Heftung war nichts mehr zu entdecken, weil die Einbände unzweifelhaft mit roher Gewalt entfernt worden sind, wobei mit der Heftung auch gleichzeitig sämtliche Zusammenhänge der Doppelblätter am Rücken verlorengegangen sind.

The existence of simple wooden boards, rather than ornate leather covers, initially posed a problem. For it had been assumed that the Manichaean codices were deluxe copies, for which ornate covers would be expected. In the initial report Hugo Ibscher had stated:[6]

> It stands beyond question that such elegantly furnished books must have also possessed valuable covers. The wooden covers without any decoration that lay along with the discoveries can never be looked upon as remainders of covers, at least not of our Mani books. It is possible that these extant wooden covers were once covered with leather. But one finds
>
> Dass derart vornehm ausgestattete Bücher auch kostbare Einbände besessen haben müssen, steht ausser jedem Zweifel. Niemals können die bei den Funden gelegenen Holzdeckel ohne jedwede Verzierung als Einbandreste angesprochen werden, wenigstens nicht für unsere Mani-Bücher. Möglich ist es, dass diese vorhandenen

4. Müller, "Die koptischen Handschriften," 66.
5. Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," in *Kephalaia*: 1. Hälfte (Lieferung 1–10), xi.
6. Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschriften," 85.

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no trace of such. But that they served the purpose of covers is proven by the extant holes and the furrows present on the long side, which was intended to receive the cord that binds the book block to the cover. It is after all well known that the Manichaeans decorated their books especially elegantly, which was on occasion turned into a reproach by their enemies. That the Copts were capable of producing precious covers is seen from the remains of covers that the Berlin Museum like the British Museum and Vienna's National Library possess. A rich collection of Coptic manuscripts with covers is also in the Pierpont Morgan Library. Even though all extant covers belong to the eighth to the tenth centuries A.D., one still does not need to doubt that 400 years earlier the Manichaeans were capable of producing even more expensive covers, which would mean for their divine works both protection and decoration. One may hope that the sand of Egypt will some day provide us attestation of this bookbinding art, of the greatest importance for the study of bookbinding.

Holzdeckel einmal mit Leder überzogen gewesen sind. Nur findet man hiervon keine Spur. Dass sie aber Einbandzwecken dienten, beweisen die vorhandenen Löcher und die längsseitig vorhandene Rille, die zur Aufnahme der Verschnürung des Buchblockes an den Deckel bestimmt war. Es ist ja bekannt, dass die Manichäer ihre Bücher besonders prunkvoll ausgestattet haben, was ihnen von ihren Feinden gelegentlich zum Vorwurf gemacht wurde. Dass die Kopten fähig waren, kostbare Einbände herzustellen, ersieht man aus den Einbandresten, die das Berliner Museum wie das British Museum und die Wiener Nationalbibliothek besitzen. Eine reiche Kollektion koptischer Manuskripte mit Einbänden birgt auch die Pierpont Morgan Library. Gehören alle vorhandenen Einbände auch dem 8. bis 10. Jahrhundert n. Chr. an, so braucht man nicht daran zu zweifeln, dass die Manichäer 400 Jahre früher in der Lage waren, noch kostbarere Einbände herzustellen, die für ihre göttlichen Werke Schutz und Zierde zugleich bedeuteten. Hoffentlich gibt uns der Boden Agyptens auch einmal Zeugen dieser Einbandkunst, die für die Einbandforschung von allergrösstem Werte wären.

In the introduction to Charles Allberry's edition of *A Manichaean Psalm-Book Part II*, Hugo Ibscher had conjectured:[7]

7. Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," in *A Manichaean Psalm-Book. Part II*, xvii–xviii.

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No doubt there lay along side this one, as well as by a few other volumes of the find, raw wooden covers, and, as the dealers explained, the individual books had always lain between two such wooden covers. Here too it is regrettable that the expert could not be on hand as the treasure was dug out. In any case I doubt very much that in this condition the raw wooden covers could ever have been the cover for these valuable books. It is for me certain that the original covers have been removed by force from the book block. Whether this took place already in antiquity, or first after the discovery by the dealers, is left open. I personally assume that the destruction took place already in antiquity, perhaps by a later owner, who either used the valuable bindings for other works, or wanted to make money out of the precious stones and metals that had been used for the decoration of the holy books. Otherwise it cannot be explained that it is precisely at the spine of the books that the destruction appears so strongly. If the books had not been ripped out of the cover, the firm spine of the cover would have protected the book block at this place from harm [p. xviii], and the sewing would have been preserved for us. It is lucky for us that the scribe has left at the spine of the book about 2 cm of free space, otherwise much more line beginnings would have been lost by the brutal ripping out of the book block from the cover. On

Es lagen wohl bei diesem, wie auch bei einigen anderen Bänden des Fundes rohe Holzdeckel dabei, und wie die Händler erklärten, hätten die einzelnen Bücher immer zwischen zwei solchen Holzdeckeln gelegen. Es ist auch hier wieder zu bedauern, dass der Fachmann nicht zur Stelle sein konnte, als der Schatz gehoben wurde. Jedenfalls be-zweifele ich sehr, dass die rohen Holzdeckel in diesem Zustande jemals den Einband für diese kostbaren Bücher abgegeben haben. Fest steht für mich, dass die ursprünglichen Einbände mit Gewalt vom Buchblock entfernt worden sind. Ob dies schon im Altertum oder erst nach der Auffindung durch die Händler geschehen ist, sei dahingestellt. Ich persönlich nehme an, dass die Zerstörung bereits im Altertum, vielleicht durch einen späteren Besitzer erfolgte, der die kostbaren Einbände entweder für andere Werke verwendete, oder aber die zur Ausschmückung der heiligen Bücher verwendeten Edelsteine und Edelmetalle zu Geld machen wollte. Anders ist es nicht zu erklären, dass gerade am Rücken der Bücher die Zerstörung so stark in die Erscheinung getreten ist. Wären die Bücher nicht aus dem Einband gerissen worden, so hätte gerade der feste Rücken des Einbandes den Buchblock an dieser Stelle vor Scha- [p. xviii] den bewahrt, und die Heftung wäre uns erhalten geblieben. Ein Glück für uns, dass der Schreiber am Rücken des Buches etwa 2 cm freien Raum gelassen hat, sonst wären noch weit mehr Zeilenanfänge durch das brutale Herausreissen des Buchblockes aus dem Einband verlorengegangen. Auf der beigefügten

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the appended picture one can still clearly recognize the violent destruction on the spine of the book.

If the covers really were of wood, and the dimensions of the two covers found with the *Psalms* book justify this conjecture, then Greek binding artists must have been at work, who already in very early times knew of the use of wood for covers. All early Coptic covers that have cropped up in Egypt—from the 6th to the 8th centuries A.D.—consistently present covers that have been constructed from the remains of the papyrus stalk, or in which the covers were pasted together from old cartonnage. It would have been very nice to come to know here for once old covers from the beginning of the 4th century A.D., which would have advanced considerably our knowledge in the area of research into book binding, since the earliest covers come from the 6th century A.D.

Abbildung kann man die gewaltmässige Zerstörung am Buchrücken noch gut erkennen.

Sollten die Einbanddeckel wirklich aus Holz bestanden haben, und die Grösse der beiden mit dem Psalmenbuch gefundenen Decked rechtfertigen diese Vermutung, dann müssen hier griechische Einbandkünstler am Werke gewesen sein, die die Verwendung von Holz zu Einbanddeckeln schon in sehr früher Zeit kannten. Sämtliche bisher in Ägypten aufgetauchten frühen koptischen Einbände—aus dem 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert n. Chr.—zeigen durchweg Deckel, die aus Abfällen von der Papyrusstaude hergestellt sind, oder bei denen die Deckel aus alter Makulatur zusammengeklebt wurden. Es wäre erfreulich gewesen, hier einmal alte Einbände aus dem Ausgang des 4. Jahrh. n. Chr. kennenzulernen, die unsere Kenntnis auf dem Gebiete der Einbandforschung ungemein gefördert hätte[n], da die frühesten Einbände aus dem 6. Jahrh. n. Chr. stammen.

In 1938 Charles Allberry was no doubt following Ibscher in conjecturing the bindings were ripped out in antiquity:[8]

> When the dealers divided each book up they had to tear the parts asunder. The books seem to have been ripped out of their bindings in antiquity and in consequence one margin has disappeared, so that on alternate pages for the most part the beginning and the end of the lines are more often than not destroyed.

Hugo Ibscher reported further about the luxurious covers of Manichaean codices in 1940:[9]

8. Allberry, "Manichaean Studies," 341.
9. Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," *in Kephalaia: 1. Hälfte (Lieferung 1–10)*, vii–viii.

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The fact that the Mani manuscripts have come down to us in codex form does not mean in and of itself anything new, but is actually quite a matter of course. For also the manuscripts of the Manichaean primitive community that may have served as a *Vorlage* for the Coptic scribes usually already had this book form. Although [p. viii] according to the discoveries in Dura, in the region of the Euphrates, papyrus writing material was not unknown, in contrast to the Mani manuscripts from Egypt the writing material used for the manuscripts of the primitive community will have been parchment. This is clearly and unambiguously shown from the many reports of the Arabic writings, according to which, in burning the Mani writings in the time of persecution, "precious stones fell out and gold flowed out." Both were materials that were used only to decorate codex covers, but never for the protective coverings for papyrus rolls. Just so Augustine also as a fanatical opponent of the Manichaeans called on his followers in his polemical writings, "burn all those parchment manuscripts and those expensive leather covers."

Dass die Manihandschriften in Kodexform auf uns gekommen sind, bedeutet an und für sich nichts Neues, sondern ist eigentlich ganz selbstverständlich. Denn auch die Handschriften der Manichäischen Urgemeinde, die den koptischen Schreibern als Vorlage gedient haben mögen, trugen sicher schon diese Buchform. Obgleich [p. viii] nach den Funden in Dura im Euphratgebiet der Papyrus-Beschreibstoff nicht unbekannt gewesen ist, wird aber im Gegensatz zu den Manihandschriften aus Agypten der für die Handschriften der Urgemeinde verwendete Beschreibstoff Pergament gewesen sein. Dies geht klar und eindeutig aus den vielen Berichten der arabischen Schriftsteller hervor, wonach bei der Verbrennung der Manischriften in der Verfolgungszeit "Edelsteine herausfielen und Gold herausfloss." Beides Materialien, die nur zur Ausschmückung der Kodexeinbände Verwendung fanden, niemals aber bei den Schutzhüllen für die Papyrusrollen. Ebenso forderte auch Augustin als fanatischer Gegner der Manichäer in seinen Streitschriften seine Anhänger auf, "verbrennt alle jene Pergament-Handschriften und jene kostbaren Ledereinbände."

Such assumptions about luxurious Manichaean covers do not provide a solid basis for putting in question that these simple boards were in fact the original covers of these Manichaean codices. There are no grounds for further speculation implying something like a rebinding in antiquity, which of course could take place (P. Bodmer XIV–XV), but should not be conjectured merely as an inference from secondary literature.

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To judge by the similar position of the holes in two of the three Dublin boards and their similar overall dimensions and irregularities, these two belonged to the same codex. The two covers measure 34 cm high by 19.4 (at the top) to 19.8 cm (at the bottom) wide. The third board, presumably from a different codex, is incomplete, having a vertical break resulting in dimensions of 32.7 to 33.0 cm high by 12.5 to 14.4 cm wide. If one may calculate that the relative dimensions of the two codices would have been about the same, one may assume that the original width of the broken board would have been only slightly less than that of the other two boards, indicating an original size for it of about 33 by 19 cm.

These dimensions of the covers are slightly larger than the dimensions of any of the leaves, which reach to about 31.5 cm in height (P^{15996}, Volume 1 of the *Kephalaia*; P^{15998}, the *Letters*; the *Synaxeis* book block, Codex B; and the Dublin part of the *Homilies*, Codex D), with widths reaching 19 cm for the book block of the *Synaxeis*. But if one may assume that the covers would normally be slightly larger than the leaves, the measurements of the covers could correspond to any of these four codices. P^{15997}, the *Acts*, that Beltz reported to average 22–25 by 13.0 cm wide, was still between its wooden covers when Schmidt acquired it, and so does not come in question. The *Psalms,* Codex A, 27 by 17.5 cm, was also sufficiently smaller that one might doubt that the extant covers belonged to it, even though apparently acquired in the same transaction as that involving the front part of the *Psalms*. To be sure, Ibscher used "the size of the two covers found with the *Psalms* book" to justify the conjecture that the codices actually had wooden covers. But these covers would not seem to be the covers of the *Psalms* codex, but rather of the *Homilies*, parts of which were sold in each of the transactions (1930 and 1931) involving parts of the *Psalms* codex, or even to another of the Manichaean codices, given the jumbling of the material in the hands of middlemen, and the fact that both Schmidt and Beatty bought from Nahman.

The two completely extant boards at the Chester Beatty Library do have vestiges of leather on each side, with traces of tooling marks of circles and lines on the outside surfaces. There are a series of holes through the boards at positions near three edges of the boards, positioned on the two boards so that they correspond to each other. Two pegs are still in a hole each on one board, and one peg in a hole on the other, all three on the head and foot sides of the covers. These holes

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are no doubt near enough the lips of the covers that pegs or thongs could have passed through both covers to hold the codex closed without having to pass through the quires themselves. On the long side without holes, an indention some 2 cm wide and .5 cm deep has been chiseled out for the length of this side. This indention may have been intended to be covered with a leather band functioning as the flexible spine, to hold the two covers together. As to the four corners of each board, those at the end of the long chiseled edge are pointed; whereas those at the end of the long side with holes are rounded.

Since no covers are extant in Berlin, further information about the Manichaean covers is apparently limited to the three boards at the Chester Beatty Library. Unfortunately, the several publications by Berthe van Regemorter on the book bindings of the Chester Beatty Library do not seem to have made reference to such unpretentious boards.[10] Yet they are so dissimilar from the covers of the Nag Hammadi Codices and of the Disnha (Bodmer) Codices (though rather near in time and space), that a detailed analysis might result in the kind of new insight into the history of bookbinding that Ibscher had envisaged, in his appeal to the Greek tradition to explain them.

10. Van Regemorter, "Le Codex relié depuis son origine jusqu'au Haut Moyen-Age," 1–26; Van Regemorter, *Some Early Bindings from Egypt in the Chester Beatty Library*; Van Regemorter, *Some Oriental Bindings in the Chester Beatty Library*.

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— 15 —

Codex A: Psalms

Schmidt and Polotsky list in first place among Sir Chester Beatty's holdings the *Psalms*:[1]

One has to do in the London collection with a large papyrus book. The individual psalms were numbered. The highest number that has been read thus far is 230. If we could assume for the individual psalms an average length of (at least) 2 pages, this would require an extent of 460 pages = 230 leaves. Hence one does not go wrong in calculating that the whole book, as in the case of the *Kephalaia*, consisted of over 250 leaves. Unfortunately the individual leaves are not paginated, and there are no running heads on the upper margins. The individual psalms are simply distinguished by the numbers. Thus far about 50 of the extant leaves have been brought under glass, so that our knowledge of the content is still quite limited.

Es handelt sich in der Londoner Sammlung um ein umfangreiches Papyrusbuch. Die einzelnen Psalmen waren numeriert. Die höchste Zahl, die bis jetzt gelesen wurde, ist 230. Würden wir für die einzelnen Psalmen eine durchschnittliche Länge von (mindestens) 2 Seiten annehmen, würde dies einen Umfang von 460 Seiten = 230 Blättern erfordern. Deshalb geht man nicht fehl, das ganze Buch wie bei den Kephalaia auf über 250 Blätter zu berechnen. Leider sind die einzelnen Blätter nicht paginiert and finden sich keine Titelüberschriften auf den oberen Rändern; die einzelnen Psalmen sind einfach nur durch die Nummern unterschieden. Von den vorhandenen Blättern sind bisher nur etwa 50 unter Glas gebracht, so dass unsere Kenntnis des Inhalts noch beschränkt ist.

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 30, 34. The quotation is from 34.

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C. R. C. Allberry published in 1938 the last half of the *Psalms*, which had been purchased and hence conserved first.[2] In the Preface he reported:

> What is presented here, in the same format as the *Homilies* and the *Kephalaia*, is the *Psalm-book* (see *Mani-Fund,* pp. 33ff. [actually 30–34]), or rather the second part of the *Psalm-book*: for before it appeared in the Cairo market the codex had already been split up into several blocks, and on the largest and least mutilated of these, together with a smaller block preceding it, the two forming approximately one half of the codex, Dr. Hugo Ibscher, the Papyruskonservator in the Berlin Egyptian Museum, began his work of reconstruction, and succeeded between 1931 and 1934 in separating and glassing about one hundred and twenty consecutive leaves. These are published here with an English version and a minimum of annotation.

In the Crum Archives of the Griffith Institute in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, there is a file of transcriptions (sometimes with translations and/or notes) by H. J. Polotsky. (Its classification in terms of published, inventory numbers II.28.1 ff. on the back of each leaf, and unpublished, II.30.1 ff., is inexact.) Some are pages published by Allberry, but others are unpublished:

- II.30.1 (= II.28.138, with Polotsky's English translation at II.28.142), with the Psalm numeration 213 and the comment that it precedes page 1 of Allberry, i.e., that it is from the unpublished first part of the *Psalms* (Allberry's volume began with the last 3 lines of Psalm 218)
- II.30.2 (= II.28.140)
- II.30.3 (= II.28.140)
- II.30.4 (= II.28.136)
- II.30.5 (= II.28.139)
- II.30.6 (= II.28.137), with II.30.7 representing a second transcription and a second hand (Allberry?) and
- II.30.10

Unpublished transcriptions or translations of the Chester Beatty holdings have not been located in the Chester Beatty Archives.

2. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II*.

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Torgny Säve-Söderbergh soon published an important comparison of the *Psalms* with Mandaean hymnody.[3]

Böhlig presented this first codex of Sir Chester Beatty as follows[4]:

1. The *Psalms* (Codex A) was edited in 1938 in its second part (115 [read: 117] leaves) by C. R. C. Allberry. It contains various types and collections of psalms and became the most noted work of the Manichaean discovery, especially since religious feeling came here more strongly to expression and addressed one's own religious feeling more than was the case in the rationalistic style of the *Kephalaia*. The remaining leaves, a total of 56, were conserved by Rolf Ibscher after the war. They have been awaiting editing for years.

1. Das Psalmbuch (Codex A) wurde in seinem 2. Teil (115 [read: 117] Blätter) von C. R. C. Allberry 1938 ediert. Es enthält verschiedene Typen und Sammlungen von Psalmen und wurde zum beachtesten Werk des manichäischen Fundes, insbesondere weil das religiöse Gefühl hier stärker zum Ausdruck kam und angesprochen wurde als durch den logizistischen Stil der Kephalaia. Die restlichen insgesamt 56 Blätter wurden von Rolf Ibscher nach dem Kriege konserviert. Sie harren seit Jahren der Edition.

Since none of this codex is in Berlin, it is not included in Beltz's catalogue. However, Tito Orlandi published a report on Coptic manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Library in 1976, where he reported:[5]

3. Säve-Söderbergh, *Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book*.

4. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 185. The typescript of the 1960 address that is in the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library has been corrected by hand to read 117 rather than 115 leaves, though the text of Böhlig's address published in 1968 was not so corrected. There are in fact 234 Coptic pages that Allberry published, which would support the correction to 117 leaves. Böhlig's comment about the greater popularity of the Psalms is a reflection of Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book*, especially p. 1:

> Whereas the *Kephalaia*, edited by Schmidt, Polotsky and Böhlig, consist chiefly of a rather dry and dull systematization of the Manichaean dogma and the *Homilies*, edited by Polotsky, are unfortunately very fragmentary, the rather well preserved *Psalm Book* not only have an interesting content, but are also composed in a most charming poetical form.

5. Orlandi, "Les manuscrits coptes de Dublin, du British Museum et de Vienne," 324.

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During our visit we were able to verify that the already-edited manuscripts have been carefully separated from the fragments that are still unedited. They are also readily recognizable, leaf by leaf, by comparing them with the editions that one has. In effect we have noted that the part of Codex A edited by Mr. Allberry (*Psalms* Part II) is perfectly conserved in 9 little wooden boxes, in which the glasses containing the leaves are arranged in vertical position . . .

Let us now come to the unpublished materials. The first part of Codex A (*Psalms*), which had been conserved soon after the war, and which, according to Böhlig, included 56 glasses, consists in fact of 106 glasses (of which some conserve two fragments), arranged in their turn in 9 little boxes equal to those of the second part. On the shelves to the right of the entrance (where the unpublished leaves restored after the war by R. Ibscher are put) there are also 49 glasses numbered in relation to the *recto* and *verso* of the fragments (each glass hence has two numbers). They bear no identification. But, given the characteristics of some titles, of the hand and of the format, they must comprise a third part of the *Psalms*, [a part] whose existence seems unknown up to the present.

Pendant notre visite, nous avons pu verifier que les manuscrits déjà édités ont été soigneusement separés des fragments encore inédits; ils sont aussi aisément reconnaissables, feuillet par feuillet, en comparaison avec les éditions que l'on possède. En effet, nous avons constaté que la partie du Cod. A éditée par M. Allberry (*Psaumes*, IIe partie) est parfaitement conservée dans 9 petites caisses en bois, dans lesquelles les verres contenant les feuillets sont ranges en position verticale . . .

Venons-en maintenant aux inédits. La I^{e} partie du Cod. A (*Psaumes*), qui avait été restaurée peu après la guerre, et qui selon Böhlig comprenait 56 verres, se compose en fait de 106 verres (dont certains conservent deux fragments), rangés a leur tour dans 9 petites caisses, égales a celles de la IIe partie. Sur les étagères a droite de l'entrée (ou sont placés les feuillets inédits restaurés après la guerre par R. Ibscher) ii y a en outre 49 verres, qui sont numerotés par rapport au *recto* et *verso* des fragments (chaque verre a donc deux numéros); ils ne portent aucune indication; mais, étant donné les caractéristiques de certains titres, de l'écriture et du format, ils devraient former une IIIe partie des *Psaumes*, dont l'existence parait jusqu'a maintenant inconnue.

Thus one would be led to infer that there are 155 glasses containing unpublished leaves or fragments of Codex A.

The typed page in the Chester Beatty Library titled "Manichean Papyri on Loan to Royal Library, Copenhagen," dated January 13,

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1984, lists under "Psalm Book" 9 boxes containing a total of 106 glasses, which is presumably the material that Orlandi listed as labeled as belonging to the *Psalms* but unpublished. The list of material taken to Copenhagen then itemizes folios numbered 219–308, 369–78, a total of 50 glasses; numbers 387–404, 9 glasses, marked as fragments; leaves numbered 51–76, a total of 13 glasses, marked as Codex B; and 6 glasses marked fragments and numbered x1–x12. The 13 glasses marked Codex B can safely be identified with plates 101–26 of the second volume of the facsimile edition.[6]

Søren Giversen explained in a telephone conversation of September 4, 1985, that the material taken to Copenhagen included the 13 unidentified leaves that Böhlig had conjectured might belong to the Berlin *Letters*, P[15998] (that in fact probably belong to the *Synaxeis*), as well as leaves that, according to the Dublin records, were not listed as from the *Psalms* but which, since Giversen detected in them psalms, might belong to the *Psalms*. This would lead one to conclude that the 50 unidentified leaves taken to Copenhagen include the 49 unidentified leaves that Orlandi ascribed to the *Psalms*. The remaining unidentified leaf in Copenhagen may be that of P[15997].

Søren Giversen published in 1986 an English translation of parts of two Psalms from Part One of the *Psalms*. He introduced the first with the comment: "From notes and decipherment from 1931, I can see, that something has gone [*sic*] lost since then, especially at the beginning of lines 30–33."[7] One must infer that this is an allusion to a transcription and/or translation and notes by H. J. Polotsky, such as he provided in 1931–1932 to Sir Herbert Thompson to translate into English and supply to Beatty, though Polotsky's Coptic transcription, translation, and/or notes have not yet been located in the Crum or Chester Beatty Archives. It is unclear why such a use of Polotsky's scholarship would not be clearly stated.

The other Psalm that Giversen translates is numbered 119 and entitled "Psalms on the Lord's Day."[8] From the work of Polotsky (recognizable by his abbreviated signature in the bottom right-hand corners: "P-y") preserved in the Griffith Institute, there is a page in his handwriting that he numbered "C.B.i, 'II'a" (Crum Mss II.30.2)

6. Giversen, *Homilies and Varia*, ix–x, 101–26

7. Giversen, "The Unedited Chester Beatty Mani Texts," 376.

8. Ibid., 378–79.

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with the title 'CALMOI THS KYRIAK' and the numeral RIQ, followed by 8 lines of text. Polotsky also provided a typed German translation (Crum Mss II.28.85 = Crum Mss II.28.7). Giversen, after quoting the title and numeral, presents, as "a," 8 lines of text in English translation corresponding to Polotsky's 8 lines, followed by "b," introduced with the comment "plus or minus 7 lines almost illegible" and then an English translation of lines 8–33. These lines correspond to those on the page that Polotsky numbered "C.B. i, 'II' b" (Crum Mss II.30.3 in Coptic transcription and Crum Mss 11.28.86 and Crum Mss II.28.8 in German translation). Since Giversen refers in the case of the first Psalm that he translates to the "notes and decipherment from 1931," it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the other English translation of a Psalm that he presents is also based at least in part on Polotsky's transcription and German translation. But it is very difficult to understand why, in that case, appropriate acknowledgement to Polotsky is not given: all the more so when one recalls that due to racist legislation in the Third Reich, the first volume of the *Kephalaia* could not carry Polotsky's name, so that the co-editor Böhlig left off his own name as well, and explained the lamentable situation after World War II, when the publication of the first double-fascicle of the second volume appeared. One would think that with such a background, one would be scrupulous to give Polotsky due credit for his excellent work. Only when the facsimile edition of the *Psalms* appears will it be possible to see to what extent the papyrus itself is still as legible as it was in Polotsky's day, and to what extent we all, including Giversen, are dependent on Polotsky for rescuing text subsequently lost, as Giversen indirectly concedes in the case of the first Psalm that he translates.

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— 16 —

Codex B: Synaxeis

Schmidt and Polotsky reported as follows: A third papyrus book, that surely had a size of 250 leaves, seems to belong together with the *Living Gospel* of Mani. Also a bundle from this papyrus, to the extent of 31 leaves, was brought under glass by Dr. Ibscher. Already there has been a brief report about the titles that were read (see above, P[15995]). The book would be of great importance for Mani research, if some kind of commentary to the *Gospel* of Mani would be hidden there.[1]

Thus Codex B of Sir Chester Beatty is identified as the bulk of the codex of which 31 leaves are in Berlin. For Schmidt and Polotsky had reported (see above) that these 31 leaves "were acquired in the Fayyum and without doubt belong to the London Mani pieces." For in the description of their acquisition, it was stated that "the antiquities dealer in the Fayyum had sold his manuscripts exclusively to Mr. Chester Beatty." The 31 leaves are an exception, for "one had removed the top and bottom layers of papyrus, which had suffered to an especial extent against the covers of the binding . . . , to give the whole a better appearance." In the spring of 1931, after Sir Chester Beatty had acquired the three codices of the Fayyum dealer, Schmidt "found such outwardly unimpressive remains, which doubtlessly belong to the pa-

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 34. "Ein drittes Papyrusbuch, das sicherlich einen Umfang von 250 Blättern gehabt hat, scheint mit dem 'lebendigen Evangelium' des Mani zusammenzuhängen. Auch von diesem Papyrus ist ein Konvolut im Umfang von 31 Blättern von Dr. Ibscher unter Glas gebracht. Über die gelesenen Überschriften ist vorhin kurz berichtet [see above, P[15995]]. Das Buch wäre für die Mani-Forschung von grosser Wichtigkeit, wenn irgendeine Art von Kommentar zum 'Evangelium' des Mani sich dahinter verbergen würde."

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pyrus books acquired by Mr. Chester Beatty in the Fayyum, and . . . acquired them for a cheap sum, since the dealer already had his great reward in his pocket." Thus only the 31 leaves from the *Synaxeis* that Schmidt acquired are inventoried in Berlin as P[15995], and the rest of the codex, to the extent extant, comprises Codex B of Sir Chester Beatty.

Rolf Ibscher reported to Sir Chester Beatty that Codex B had by mistake been left in the anti-aircraft tower at the Zoo, rather than having been taken with Sir Chester Beatty's other codices to Schondorf, and that hence it had been taken to Leningrad along with the Berlin holdings. Rolf Ibscher maintained that the codex that was left in Schondorf when the others there were returned to Sir Chester Beatty was P[15998], the *Letters*, a codex belonging to Berlin. But once the scholarly study of the Schondorf codex was undertaken in Göttingen by Colpe and Böhlig, it became obvious that this codex was the *Synaxeis* Codex B, belonging to Sir Chester Beatty.

Böhlig presented in 1957 at the 24th International Orientalists' Congress in Munich a report to this effect:[2]

During the war, along with the codices belonging to Sir Chester Beatty, a Manuscript was stored outside into the territory that is now the Bundesrepublik. This text is at present in Göttingen for conservation. In 1957, while looking through the leaves that have thus far been separated (which are in an unusually bad condition), I thought I could reconstruct from individual words the same running head. [Footnote 3: For the possibility of being permitted to see the codex I am indebted to the friendliness of the Göttingen Egyptologist S. Schott, who was in charge of the undertaking. I also owe special thanks to C. Colpe and R. Ibscher, who occupied

Im Kriege wurde zusammen mit den Sir Chester Beatty gehörigen Codices eine Handschrift in das jetzige Gebiet der Bundesrepublik ausgelagert; dieser Text befindet sich gegenwärtig in Göttingen zur Konservierung. Bei einer Durchsicht der bisher abgehobenen Blätter, die sich in einem ausserordentlich schlechten Zustand befinden, im Jahre 1957 glaubte ich, aus einzelnen Wörtern die gleiche Überschrift rekonstruieren zu können. [Footnote 3: Die Möglichkeit, den Codex ansehen zu dürfen, verdanke ich der Freundlichkeit des Göttinger Agyptologen S. Schott, der das Unternehmen betreute. Besonderen Dank schulde ich auch C. Colpe und R. Ibscher, die sich um die Restaurierung und Abschrift be-

2. Böhlig, "Synaxis = Homilie," 485–86; "Zu den Synaxeis des Lebendigen Evangeliums," 229–30. The full text of this address is published in *Mysterion and Wahrheit*, 222–27. The quotation is from 222–23.

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themselves with the restoration and transcription.] On one leaf one could read "the first" in a page's running head, as the only surviving remnant at the top left, on another leaf in the middle *synaxis*, on a third leaf to the left above, *logos*. These readings could be combined with two chapter titles that for their part could not be completely recognized. One reads: "The [p. 223] *synaxis* of the [1]9th *logos*." Though *synaxis* is here hardly legible, it is nonetheless confirmed by a second chapter title, in which *synaxis* is to be recognized without doubt as the first word. Through these readings the same title can be assumed for the running heads of the book, as C. Schmidt also read in one of the 31 leaves mentioned above. The running heads of the pages would hence be divided as follows on verso and recto: "The 1st *Synaxis* of the 1st *logos* of the *Living Gospel*." Thus one can assume, as also C. Colpe thinks, that the vestige of a codex in Berlin discussed by C. Schmidt forms with this codex a unity of contents but not of ownership.

mühten.] Auf einem Blatt war als Seitenüberschrift als einziger Rest links oben "die erste" zu lesen, auf einem anderen Blatt in der Mitte *synaxis*, auf einem 3. Blatt links oben *logos*. Diese Lesungen konnten mit zwei Kapitelüberschriften kombiniert werden, die ihrerseits auch nicht vollständig zu erkennen waren; die eine lautet: "Die [p. 223] *synaxis* des [1]9. *logos*"; ist dabei *synaxis* kaum lesbar, so wird es doch bestätigt durch die 2. Kapitelüberschrift, in der SYNAXIS als erstes Wort einwandfrei zu erkennen ist. Durch diese Lesungen kann für die Überschriften des Buches derselbe Titel angenommen werden, wie ihn auch C. Schmidt auf einem der oben erwähnten 31 Blätter gelesen hat. Die Seitenüberschriften würden sich auf Verso und Recto folgendermassen verteilen: "Die 1. *synaxis* des 1. / *logos* des Lebendigen Evangeliums." Damit kann man annehmen, wie auch C. Colpe meint, dass der von C. Schmidt besprochene Berliner Restcodex mit diesem Codex eine inhaltliche, aber keine besitzmässige Einheit bildet.

Böhlig in 1960/68 reaffirmed this position:[3]

Carl Schmidt, in his report on the discovery, listed as belonging to the English acquisition a book that has to do with Mani's *Living Gospel*. He considered the Berlin remnant of a codex consisting of 31 leaves (P^{15995}), which we

Carl Schmidt hat in seinem Fundbericht zum englischen Besitz gehörig ein Buch angeführt, das es mit Manis Lebendigem Evangelium zu tun hat. Als Teil von ihm und von den Händlern abgetrennt betrachtet er den

3. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 186.

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listed above as the fifth book of the Berlin collection, to be a part of it separated off by the dealers. The manuscript that is now in Göttingen, and was considered as belonging to Berlin at the time of its rescue in the anti-aircraft tower in 1944, turned out, in the superscriptions identified by me in 1957 and confirmed by C. Colpe, to belong with the 31 Berlin leaves, what now also, on seeing the 31 leaves, is confirmed by the format. So we have to do indeed, as is also conjectured by C. Colpe, in the case of the Göttingen manuscript, with Codex B of the Chester Beatty collection.

Berliner Restcodex von 31 Blättern (P^{15995}), den wir oben als 5. Buch der Berliner Sammlung genannt haben. Die jetzt in Göttingen befindliche und bei der Bergung aus dem Flakturm 1944 als Berliner Besitz angesehene Handschrift erwies sich in den von mir im Jahre 1957 identifizierten und von C. Colpe bestätigten Überschriften als mit den 31 Berliner Blättern zusammengehörig, was jetzt auch bei In-Augenschein-Nahme der 31 Blätter das Format bestätigte. Wir werden es also in der Tat, wie auch von C. Colpe vermutet, bei der Göttinger Handschrift mit dem Codex B der Chester-Beatty-Sammlung zu tun haben.

Rolf Ibscher in 1964/65 (see above) conceded that the Schondorf-Göttingen–West Berlin codex is the same codex from which the 31 leaves P^{15995} come:

> Carsten Colpe, who worked for a time on the leaves that had been won up until then, brought into play in Munich at the International Orientalists' Congress [1957] the thesis that the manuscript does not belong to Berlin at all, but is identical with the 13 leaves of Codex B in Dublin . . . Böhlig on the other hand maintained that the 31 leaves of the Berlin codex Nr. 15995 belong, in view of the shared titles on the pages (SYNAXIS), together with the Göttingen codex, whereas he had earlier held it to be codex Nr. 15998 . . . What is then the situation with the 31 leaves in Berlin, that after all are identical with those of the codex in Göttingen?

Rolf Ibscher also raised the question as to whether leaves still in Berlin might belong to the Chester Beatty Library's Codex B, the *Synaxeis*:

> . . . a sizable number of leaves separated last, quite provisionally, by my father, with an entry on the paper cover that protected them, which really creates puzzles: "from Codex B," i.e., then Chester Beatty [*Synaxeis*]or ?—and with the addition put

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> in parentheses "Letters," i.e., then again Codex Nr. 15[9]98. What is one to make of that?[4]

These leaves are currently in the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin, where they are classified as belonging to P^{15998}. They present no running heads or chapter titles like those of the *Synaxeis* codex.

Rolf Ibscher had sought to maintain that the Schondorf-Göttingen codex belonged to the Berlin Museum on the grounds that it was part of P^{15995}, either ignoring or ignorant of the fact that the Berlin acquisition, P^{15995}, consisted only of 31 leaves. But here he seems indirectly to concede that the Schondorf-Göttingen codex belongs to Sir Chester Beatty by leaving open the question, presumably the question of the ownership, of the 31 leaves in Berlin. He does not seem to have accepted the fact of divided ownership. Carsten Colpe, in a Berlin interview of 1986, attributes this dangling uncertainty in Rolf Ibscher's interpretation to an intentional obscuring of the situation, an obfuscation useful in Rolf Ibscher's perennial efforts to secure German funding for his conservation work on this codex, in view of the fact that there were no papyri left in Berlin to conserve and that his wife pressured him constantly for more money.

Wolfgang Müller's preliminary inventory of 1964/65 had added, in reporting on P^{15995}, the 31 leaves of the *Synaxeis*: "The rest in Göttingen." Beltz's catalogue had reported similarly on P^{15995}, though by this time (1978) the rest was in West Berlin, at the Ägyptisches Museum in Charlottenburg: "The remainder of the codex is to be found for the time being in West Berlin . . . A. Böhlig and C. Colpe have defined the codex as "*Synaxeis* to the *Living Gospel* of Mani." This identification of the Schondorf-Göttingen–West Berlin codex with Sir Chester Beatty's Codex B has thus over the past generation had the support of Böhlig, Colpe, Ibscher, Müller, and Beltz, and has in fact not been contested. The most telling evidence is a list of eleven section titles collected by Colpe, in which the word SYNAXIS is in part or in its entirety preserved, occurring in at least the three more legible cases in the formula "The [e.g.] Fourth SYNAXIS of the [e.g.] First Logos of the Gospel" (on a page he identified as "1957 / 17 V" (= 19.2.2.66 vert.).

4. Rolf Ibscher, "Über den Stand der Umkonservierung der Manipapyri" (1964–65), 52.

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Rolf Ibscher's report on his conservation activities had referred to "ca. 145 leaves" that he had separated from the book block, which "still has about 100 to 120 unseparated leaves." Hence Müller's preliminary inventory had reported: "Here 145 leaf units separated, about 100-120 leaves still on the book block." Beltz had reported: "Since 1945, 145 new leaf units have been separated and conserved. The remainder of the book block is not yet conserved." Michel Tardieu continues to refer to 145 leaves.[5]

The inventory of the holdings in the Ägyptisches Museum in Charlottenburg in West Berlin in 1985–1986 located, in addition to the book block, 125 labeled leaves, plus 5 glass frames containing fragments. Thus the figure "ca. 145 leaves" would seem to be an inflated estimate, unless some material has been misplaced.

The combination of 125 conserved leaves in West Berlin and 31 in East Berlin makes a total of 156 leaves. This would mean 312 pages. But the top page of the book block is also accessible, making a total of 313 pages accessible to scholarship.

Such a listing of unpublished but extant leaves may be somewhat misleading. For although the size of the lacunae is relatively small in many cases, that is to say, although a large part of the papyrus is usually extant, the amount of extant ink varies considerably, and the resultant legibility of many pages is disappointingly small. Hence a rough classification of extant ink may, imprecise though it is, give a clearer picture of what one may expect. Each page is graded on a scale of 0 to 5: 0 = no ink is visible; 1 = some ink but no letters are legible; 2 = some letters but probably no words are legible; 3 = some words but probably no sentences are legible; 4 = some sentences but probably less than half the page is legible; 5 = probably more than half the page is legible.

5. Tardieu, "Les Manichéens en Égypte," 6.

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Codex B: *Synaxeis*

Category	Total pieces in category	Page numbers and fiber directions
No ink is visible	No pages can be listed.	No pages can be listed.
Some ink, but no letters are legible	11 pages and 4 fragment plates	2.2.3.5 (vert.); 3.2.2 [8 1/2] (vert. and hor.); 6.1.2.B (vert.); 13.1.1.85 (hor.); 13.1.1.2.86 (vert.); 13.2.3.90 (hor. and vert.); 14.1.3.93 (hor.); 17.2.1.59 (vert.); 18.2.2.115 (hor.); the fragmentary plates 9.1.3.96 (hor. and vert.); 21.2.3 (hor. and vert.); 22.1.2 (hor. and vert.); 22.1.3 (hor. and vert.)
Some letters but probably no words are legible	60 pages	2.1.2.4 (hor. and vert.); 2.2.2.4 (hor. and vert.); 2.2.3.5 (hor.); 3.1.2.2 (hor. and vert.); 3.1.3.6 (hor. and vert.); 3.2.1.8 (hor. and vert.); 3.2.3.9 (hor. and vert.); 4.1.2.117 (vert.); 5.2.3.16 (vert.); 6.1.2.A (hor. and vert.); 6.1.2.B (hor.); 6.2.2 (hor. and vert.); 7.2.25 (vert.); 8.1.2.39 (hor.); 8.1.3.40 (hor. and vert.); 8.2.1.41 (hor. and vert.); 9.1.1 (hor. and vert.); 9.1.2.95 (hor. and vert.);

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Some letters but probably no words are legible (*cont.*)	60 pages	9.2.1.97 (hor.); 10.1.100 (vert.); 11.2.2.77 (vert.); 12.1.1.79 (hor. and vert.); 12.1.3.81 (hor.); 13.1.2.86 (hor.); 13.2.1.88 (hor. and vert.); 13.2.2.89 (hor. and vert.); 14.1.1.91 (hor. and vert.); 14.1.2.92 (hor. and vert.); 14.1.3.93 (vert.); 14.1.4.94 (vert.); 14.2.1.106 (hor.); 14.2.2.107 (hor.); 15.2.1.111 (hor.); 16.2.1.48 (hor.); 17.1.2.52 (hor. and vert.); 17.1.3.53 (hor. and vert.); 17.2.1.59 (hor.); 17.2.3.61 (hor.); 18.2.2.115 (vert.); 21.1.2.55 (hor. and vert.)
Some words, but probably no sentences are legible	144 pages	1.1.1.30 (hor. and vert.); 1.1.2.33 (hor. and vert.); 1.1.3.32 (vert.); 1.2.1.31 (hor. and vert.); 1.2.2.124 (hor. and vert.); 1.2.3.123 (hor. and vert.); 2.1.1.27 (hor. and vert.); 2.1.3.29 (hor. and vert.); 2.2.1.3 (hor. and vert.); 3.1.1.1 (hor. and vert.); 3.1.4.7 (hor. and vert.); 3.2.4.10 (hor. and vert.); 4.1.1.116 (hor. and vert.); 4.1.2.117 (hor.); 4.1.3.118 (hor. and vert.);

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Some words, but probably no sentences are legible (*cont.*)	144 pages	4.2.3.13 (hor.); 5.1.1.119 (hor. and vert.); 5.1.2.34 (hor. and vert.); 5.1.3.35 (hor. and vert.); 5.1.4.36 (hor. and vert.); 5.2.1.14 (hor. and vert.); 5.2.2.15 (hor. and vert.); 5.2.3.16 (hor.); 6.1.1.17 (hor. and vert.); 6.1.3.18 (hor. and vert.); 6.2.1.19 (hor. and vert.); 6.2.3.21 (hor. and vert.); 7.1.1.20 (hor. and vert.); 7.1.2.22 (hor. and vert.); 7.1.3.23 (hor. and vert.); 7.2.1.24 (hor. and vert.); 7.2.2.25 (hor.); 7.2.3.26 (hor. and vert.); 8.1.1.38 (hor. and vert.); 8.1.2.39 (vert.); 8.2.2.42 (hor. and vert.); 8.2.3.43 (hor. and vert.); 8.2.4.44 (hor. and vert.); 9.2.1.97 (vert.); 9.2.3.99 (hor. and vert.); 10.1.1.100 (hor.); 10.1.2.101 (vert.); 10.1.3.102 (hor. and vert.); 10.2.1.103 (hor. and vert.); 10.2.2.104 (hor. and vert.); 11.1.3.75 (hor. and vert.); 11.2.1.76 (vert.); 11.2.2.77 (hor.); 11.2.3.78 (hor. and vert.); 12.1.2.80 (hor.); 12.1.3.81 (vert.);

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Some words, but probably no sentences are legible (*cont.*)	144 pages	12.2.1.82 (hor. and vert.); 12.2.2.83 (hor. and vert.); 12.2.3.84 (hor. and vert.); 13.1.1.85 (vert.); 13.1.3.87 (hor. and vert.); 14.1.4.94 (hor.); 14.2.1.106 (vert.); 14.2.2.107 (vert.); 14.2.3.108 (vert.); 15.1.2.110 (vert.); 15.2.1.111 (vert.); 15.2.2.112 (hor. and vert.); 16.1.2.37 (vert.); 16.1.3.47 (hor. and vert.); 16.2.1.48 (vert.); 16.2.2.49 (hor. and vert.); 16.2.3.50 (hor. and vert.); 17.1.1.51 (hor.); 17.2.3.61 (vert.); 18.1.1 113 (hor.); 18.1.2.121 (hor. and vert.); 18.2.1.114 (hor. and vert.); 19.1.2.63 (hor.); 19.1.3.64 (hor.); 19.2.1.65 (hor. and vert.); 19.2.2.66 (hor.); 19.2.3.67 (hor. and vert.); 20.1.1.68 (hor.); 20.1.2.69 (hor. and vert.); 20.1.3.70 (hor. and vert.); 20.2.1.71 (hor.); 21.1.1.54 (hor. and vert.); 21.2.1.56 (hor. and vert.); 21.2.2.57 (hor. and vert.); and the fragmentary plate 22.1.1 (hor. and vert.)

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Some sentences are legible; half the page is illegible	34 pages	1.1.3.32 (hor.); 4.2.3.13 (vert.); 9.2.2.98 (hor. and vert.); 10.1.2.101 (hor.); 10.2.3.105 (hor. and vert.); 11.1.1.45 (hor. and vert.); 11.1.2.74 (hor. and vert.); 11.2.1.76 (hor.); 14.2.3.108 (hor.); 15.1.1.109 (hor. and vert.); 15.1.2.110 (hor.); 16.1.1.46 (hor. and vert.); 16.1.2.37 (hor.); 17.1.1.51 (vert.); 17.2.2.60 (hor. and vert.); 18.1.1.113 (vert.); 19.1.1.62 (hor. and vert.); 19.1.2.63 (vert.); 19.1.3.64 (vert.); 19.2.2.66 (vert.); 20.1.1.68 (vert.); 20.2.1.71 (vert.); 20.2.2.72 (hor. and vert.); and 20.2.3.73 (hor. and vert.)
More than half the page is legible	1 page	12.1.2.80

This produces a total of 250 pages (not counting material that should be more accurately considered fragments), graded roughly as follows: 1:11; 2:60; 3:144; 4:34; 5:1. Thus there are hardly more than 35 pages from which one might hope to recover coherent text. This is a much more sober assessment of the quantity of conserved material than simply a list of the total number of conserved leaves.

Tito Orlandi reported as follows on the material in Dublin in 1976[6]:

6. Orlandi, "Les Manuscrits coptes de Dublin," 324–25.

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On another of the same shelves (at the right of the entrance) there are 16 numbered glasses that could represent the part of Codex B restored before the war by H. Ibscher. The other part of Codex B, [p. 325] according to Böhlig, would be in Germany (the codex of West Berlin, formerly at Göttingen). They are not of a large format, from what I was able to ascertain. This assures us that the fragments do not belong to the codex of *Letters* (= Berlin, Codex 3).

Sur une autre des mémes étagères (a droite de l'entrée), it y a 16 verres numérotés, qui pourraient representer la partie du Cod. B restaurée avant la guerre par H. Ibscher; l'autre partie du Cod. B, [p. 325] selon Böhlig, se trouverait en Allemagne (codex de Berlin ouest, jadis a Goettingue). Its ne sont pas d'un grand format, d'après ce que j'ai pu constater: ce qui nous assure que les fragments n'appartiennent pas au codex des *Lettres* (Berlin, Cod. 3).

Here Orlandi apparently is here correcting Bohlig's conjecture that the 13, or 16, leaves come from the Berlin *Letters*, since these leaves do not have a large format such as does the codex of *Letters* (see above). But the format of the *Synaxeis* book block in West Berlin is comparable to the larger size, 30 (or with fringes 31.8) cm high by 19 cm wide. Beltz had listed the size of the 31 leaves of P^{15995}, the *Synaxeis*, in East Berlin, as 18–20 cm high and 11–16 cm wide, which is apparently what Orlandi has in view. But a smaller format for an extant leaf does not necessarily mean that the whole codex was smaller. In this regard, the report of a smaller format is not as decisive for identifying material as the report of a larger format, since a codex is as large in format as the largest leaf, but not as small as the smallest extant leaf, given the fragmentary nature of much of the material. The 31 East Berlin leaves were, after all, the worn outside leaves that the middlemen had discarded. The conserved leaves in West Berlin vary in size down from the maximum represented by the book block. The smaller format that Orlandi reported would of course open the question as to whether the leaves might belong to a smaller codex, the *Psalms* (or the *Acts*?). Since there is no reason to assume that leaves of the Berlin *Acts* would be in the Chester Beatty Library, it is possible that the 16, or 13, leaves belong to the Dublin Psalms, Codex A, and were erroneously labeled Codex B. But it is not necessary to conjecture such an error.

Michael Tardieu[7] refers to "16 feuillets" ["16 leaves"] of the *Synaxeis* being in Dublin, apparently dependent on Orlandi.

7. Tardieu, "Les Manichéens en Égypte," 7.

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This codex has not been published.

The second volume of the facsimile edition[8] has reproduced the 13 (not 16) leaves labeled so confusedly "Codex B," which Rolf Ibscher sought to ascribe to P15998 (see above). Søren Giversen has commented in his introduction:

> The identity of this codex—or poor remnants of a codex—has been widely discussed, for example in the article by A. Böhlig cited above and in a series of other articles, as has the identity of the Mani codex in West Berlin, once called the Schondorff [read: Schondorf] papyrus.
>
> Since this edition should not pre-empt the results of a later critical edition, it has been decided to publish the pages in question in order to promote the work of identifying the papyrus with as little delay as possible. I have therefore refrained from offering any solution, preferring instead to provide some facts which together with the facsimiles should assist in this task.
>
> Not only are the glasses inscribed Codex B, but the frames also are marked "Kephalaia. Codex B." These labels are clearly in Hugo Ibscher's handwriting. The text in most cases is readable, although not easily.

The arguments that have been advanced to identify these 13 leaves with P15998 have proven to be without force. A comparison of the facsimiles with the leaves of the *Synaxeis* indicates that the hand is so similar that the 13 leaves could well belong to the *Synaxeis* codex, though no chapter titles have been identified to confirm such an identification. The labeling is misleading insofar as the reference to *Kephalaia* is incorrect, but the labeling as Codex B, the Dublin designation of the *Synaxeis* codex, may well be correct. Giversen's allusion in this connection to "the Schondorf papyrus," which Rolf Ibscher identified as P15998 (but is in fact the *Synaxeis*), indirectly suggests this identification.

Giversen reports that "the leaves were divided by [Hugo] Ibscher into two sections (quires)." Each quire consists of four sheets or eight leaves. The first leaf of the first quire and the last two leaves of the second quire are missing. Orlandi's report of 16 leaves may be due to having in view 2 quires but overlooking the absence of 3 leaves. Facing pages have like fiber directions, with the first page of each quire hav-

8. Giversen, *Homilies and Varia, Facsimile Edition*, ix–x, 101–26.

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ing vertical fibers. The first quire is reproduced on pages 101–14, the second on 115–26.

Giversen comments: "The sheets are marked from 51 to 76, the equivalent of this edition's 101–126." The document dated January 13, 1984, on the letterhead of the Chester Beatty Library, entitled "Manichean Papyri on Loan to Royal Library, Copenhagen," lists "Codex B 51–76 13 glasses." Thus it is clear that these 13 leaves of the *Synaxeis* were in Copenhagen.

The Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin gave to the Manichaean Archives of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity older photographs of pages 1.1.1.30 (hor.), 1.2.2.124 (hor.), 1.2.3.123 (vert.), and 4.1.1.116 (hor.); and newer photographs made at the Ägyptisches Museum itself of pages 1.1.1.30 (hor. and vert.), and 10.1.2.101 (hor. and vert.).

Carsten Colpe put at the disposal of a team that began to form in 1984 transcriptions he had made of the conserved leaves when they had been at Göttingen. In August 1985 Karen L. King made transcriptions in West Berlin of 16.1.2 (hor.), 16.2.3 (hor. and vert.), 17.1.1 (vert.), 18.1.1.113 (hor.), and, in August 1986, of 19.1.3.64 (vert.); and, together with Stephen Patterson, in July and August 1986, of 12.1.2.8 (vert.), 18.1.1.113 (vert.), and 19.2.2.66 (vert.). Wolf-Peter Funk provided draft translations of some of the material in April 1988.

From May to August 1987, Paul Allan Mirecki transcribed the following leaves in West Berlin: 4.2.3.13; 12.1.2.80; 14.2.3.108; 19.1.2.63; 19.1.3.64; 19.2.2.66; 20.1.1.68; and 20.2.1.71. He presented a preliminary report on his work under the title "The Coptic Manichaean Synaxeis Codex: Observations on the Ordinal System of the Synaxis Sections" at the First International Conference on Manichaeism held from August 5–9, 1987 at the University of Lund, Sweden.[9]

In August 1986 King received on loan from the Ägyptisches Museum, for study at the library of Occidental College in Los Angeles, 10 leaves: 9.2.2.98; 10.2.1.103; 10.2.3.105; 11.1.1.45; 11.1.2.74; 15.1.1.109; 16.1.1.46; 17.2.2.60; 19.1.1.62; and 20.2.3.73. King tran-

9. Mirecki, "The Coptic Manichaean Synaxeis Codex: Descriptive Catalogue of Synaxis Chapter Titles," 135–45. This is an expansion of part of the paper presented at the conference. An expansion of another part, entitled "The Coptic Manichaean Synaxeis Codex: Indicators for Codicological Reconstruction," was presented at the Consultation on Manichaeism at the Society of Biblical Literature convention at Chicago November 19–22, 1988.

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scribed in November 1987 10.2.1.103 (hor.), and on November 18, 1987, 19.1.1.62 (hor.) On November 7, 1987, Wolf-Peter Funk transcribed at Occidental College lines 18–19 of 10.2.1.103 (hor.), 11.1.1.45 (hor. and vert.), 16.1.1.46 (hor. and vert.), and 20.2.3.73 (hor. and vert.). On November 13, 1987, he transcribed at Claremont 11.1.2.74 (hor. and vert.) and 15.1.1.109 (hor. and vert.). In March 1988 he made partial draft translations of 10.2.1.103 (hor.), 11.1.1.45 (hor. and vert.), 11.1.2.74 (hor. and vert.), 15.1.1.109 (hor. and vert.), 16.1.1.46 (hor. and vert.), and 20.2.3.73 (hor. and vert.). The leaves were brought to the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity in Claremont for a concentrated teamwork period from June 13 to 23, 1988. There Harold W. Attridge, Charles A. Bobertz, Stephen Patterson, and Gesine Schenke Robinson transcribed as follows:

9.2.2.98 [Bobertz];

10.2.1.103 (hor.) [Robinson, Attridge], (vert.) [Attridge];

10.2.3.105 (hor. and vert.) [Bobertz, Attridge, Patterson];

11.1.1.45 (hor. and vert.) [Bobertz];

11.1.2.74 (hor. and vert.) [Patterson, Attridge];

15.1.1.109 (hor. and vert.) [Bobertz, Attridge];

16.1.1.46 (hor. and vert.) [Patterson];

17.2.2.60 (hor. and vert.) [Patterson];

19.1.1.62 (hor. and vert.) [Robinson and Bobertz]; (vert. only) [Patterson and Attridge];

20.2.3.73 (hor. and vert.) [Robinson, Attridge].

The leaves, though mostly among the better ones in terms of legibility, are nonetheless so obscure that the transcriptions are very far from complete and at best are provisional.

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— 17 —

Codex C: Kephalaia, Volume Two

The fourth codex of Sir Chester Beatty presented by Schmidt and Polotsky, though unidentified, is described as follows[1]:

A last and fourth papyrus book, which seems to be rather completely preserved—here too it is possible to assume about 250 leaves—has thus far been subjected to no conservation, so that a deep darkness still lurks over its content.

Ein letztes and viertes Papyrusbuch, das ziemlich vollständig erhalten zu sein scheint—auch hierfür wird man etwa 250 Blätter annehmen können—ist bis jetzt noch keiner Konservierung unterzogen, so dass noch ein tiefes Dunkel über dessen Inhalt lagert.

This codex has been identified as *Kephalaia*, though with chapters bearing higher numbers than those in the Berlin *Kephalaia*, so that one might think of this as a second volume, rather than as "la seconds partie du codex" ["the second part of the codex"] P15996.[2] Böhlig described it as follows:[3]

2. Already before the war Hugo Ibscher began the work of conservation on the text of Codex C, which was still completely unconserved at the time of the report of the discovery, so that by

2. An dem nach dem Fundbericht noch vollkommen unkonservierten Text Codex C begann schon vor dem Kriege Hugo Ibscher die Konservierungsarbeit, so dass sich bei Kriegsausbruch bereits 34 ver-

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund in Agypten," 34.

2. Tardieu, "Les Manichéens en Égypte," 6. This error may account for the problem of referring to "sept titles" ["seven titles"] and then listing only six.

3. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 185.

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the time the war broke out already 34 glassed leaves were in London. One hundred forty five more leaves could be separated by Rolf Ibscher after the war. Whereas already at the beginning of the conservation the book could be recognized as *Kephalaia* with appreciably higher chapter numerations than the Berlin *Kephalaia* show, now a still-further surprise emerged, in that perhaps another text had been laid inside the book. This is not yet identified, since for this book as well still no arrangements for an edition have been made.

glaste Blätter in London befanden. Weitere 145 Blätter konnte Rolf Ibscher nach dem Kriege ablösen. Hatte man schon bei Beginn der Konservierung das Buch als *Kephalaia* mit wesentlich höheren Kapitelzahlen, als sie die Berliner *Kephalaia* aufweisen, erkennen können, so fand sich nun noch eine Überraschung dadurch, dass in das Buch vielleicht ein anderer Text hineingelegt worden war. Dieser ist noch nicht identifiziert, da auch für dieses Buch noch keine Anstalten einer Edition gemacht wurden.

Beltz's catalogue does not mention this codex, since it is not in Berlin. But Tito Orlandi reported in 1976 on the material at the Chester Beatty Library as follows[4]:

Finally, the most important piece in the collection, in my opinion, is Codex C, which contains the second part of the *Kephalaia* and another, unknown text. It consists today (a) of 30 glasses [in a footnote Orlandi presents this as a correction of Böhlig's figure 34] numbered in terms of *recto* and *verso* (hence two numerals per glass) up to the number 60; these are obviously the pieces restored before the war, which are now put on two sets of shelves (numbered 1 and 2). (b) After them are to be found the fragments conserved between plexiglass, more recently restored, which are numbered in the same way; nonetheless their numeration begins again with

Finalement, la pièce la plus importante du recueil est, a mon avis, le Cod. C, qui contient la deuxième partie des *Kephalaia* et un autre texte inconnu. Il consiste maintenant (a) en 30 verres [in a footnote Orlandi presents this as a correction of Böhlig's figure 34] numérotés par rapport au *recto* et *verso* (donc deux numéros par verre) jusqu'au numero 60; ce sont évidemment les pièces restaurées avant la guerre, qui sont maintenant placées sur deux étagères (numérotóes I et II). (b) Après eux, se trouvent les fragments sous plexiglas, restaurés plus récemment, qui sont numérotés de la même facon; toutefois leur numérotation recommence par le no 1. Comme

4. Orlandi, "Les manuscrits coptes de Dublin," 325.

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number 1. Since they were stacked pell-mell on the shelves, I put them all back in order, and I verified at the same time that no glass is lacking. They are in fact 368 numbers and hence 184 fragments, divided among 18 shelves (shelves 3 to 20). The 20th shelf contains 8 fragments without numeration, in very bad condition, which nonetheless seem to belong to Codex C; they are marked: Cl, C2, C3, C4, C20, C24, C25, C96 [C26?].

It is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the numeration of the part described under (b) is juxtaposed to a preceding numeration that seems to represent the primitive classification given at the time that the leaves were detached from the ensemble of the codex, in separating each quire, beginning with the last. The numeration of the quires (in Roman numerals) is hence the reverse of the new order; however the numeration of the pages inside the quires follows the same order. We give an example:

> "new numeration" = "other" numeration
>
> 31/32 . . . to 45/46 = C VIII 120 . . . to 127
>
> 47/48 . . . to 61/62 = C VII 113 . . . to 119 [?]

As much as we were able to determine, no other piece of the Manichaean collection is conserved at the Chester Beatty Library.

ils étaient déposés pêle-mêle dans les étagères, je les ai tous remis en ordre, et j'ai contrôlé en méme temps qu'aucun verre ne manque. Ils sont en fait 368 numéros, donc 184 fragments, partagés entre 18 étagères (étagères III a XX). La 20e étagère contient 8 fragments hors numérotation, en très mauvais êtat, qui toutefois semblent appartenir au Cod. C; ils sont marqués: Cl, C2, C3, C4, C20, C24, C25, C96 [C26?].

Il faut signaler que la numérotation de la partie décrite sous le par. (b) est juxtaposée a une numérotation précedente, qui parait representer la classification primitive, donnée au moment oû les feuillets ont éta détachés de l'ensemble du codex, en separant chaque cahier, a partir du dernier. La numérotation des cahiers (en chiffres romains) est donc contraire au nouvel ordre; cependant la numérotation des pages a l'interieur des cahiers suit le même ordre. Nous en donnerons un example:

> "nouvelle numérotation" = "autre" numérotation
>
> 31/32 . . . jusqu'a 45/46 = C VIII 120 . . .jusqu'a 127 47/48 . . . jusqu'a 61/62 = C VII 113 . . . jusqu'a 119 [?]

Pour ce que nous avons constaté, aucune autre pièce de la collection manichéenne n'est conservée à la Chester Beatty Library.

This codex has not been published.

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The first volume of the facsimile edition[5] has published 354 plates.

In the preface (pages xi–xii) Søren Giversen indicates the limited objective of the edition:

> It was evident from the state of the papyri that if they were to be published in the foreseeable future, it would be necessary initially to abandon all thought of perfection. What was needed was first to establish the correct order of the unpaginated sheets, so far as this was possible within a reasonable time, and then [page xii] to publish a facsimile edition without delay. Once this was published, every interested scholar would have plenty of time and opportunity to work on the texts.

Thus plate 339 has the note: "Collocatio paginarum 339–354 incerta," ["the ordering of the pages 339–354 is uncertain."] But even plates 1–338 are not to be taken as pagination of the original codex. Thus when the Introduction refers to the plates as pages, what is meant is pages in the facsimile edition itself, not in the codex. This is clear from the comment (p. xvii) ". . . missing pages not being counted," and for the fuller observation (p. xxi):

> It must however be emphasized that the continuous numbering does not show the many lacunae which occur in the quires, and little can be said about the loss of perhaps one or more quires, for example between C.VI and C.B.

5. Giversen, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library, Vol. 1, Kephalaia, Facsimile Edition*, i–xxvi, 1–354. The title page reports that the edition is "Published under the Auspices of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library with the Support of the Carlsberg Foundation and under the Responsibility of the International Committee for the Publication of the Manichaean Coptic Papyri from Medinet Madi Belonging to the Chester Beatty Library (Søren Giversen, Rodolphe Kasser, Martin Krause)." The Preface, p. xii, reports concerning the facsimile edition: "Once this was published, every interested scholar would have plenty of time and opportunity to work on the texts." But it is also reported: "This committee . . . is also responsible for the critical edition of the texts." At the meeting of the Association francophone de Coptologie in Paris on May 23, 1986, Rodolphe Kasser circulated an announcement concerning the committee "qui repartira cette tache [les éditions critiques] entre les divers coptisants" ["who will distribute this task {the critical editions} among the various Coptologists."] "Seuls seront invités a participer aux editions princeps manichéennes coptes Chester Beatty ceux qui n'ont pas déjà obtenu cette faculté en ce qui concerne les éditions princeps manichéennes coptes des fragments de Berlin oû de Vienne." ["Only they will be invited to participate in the *editio princeps* of the Chester Beatty Coptic Manichaica who have not already received this privilege regarding the of the Coptic Manichaica of Berlin or Vienna."]

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One should also note the disclaimer on page xvii:

> Both Hugo and Rolf Ibscher found the task of reconstructing the leaves and fragments in the right order extremely difficult, and as we are not in possession of all the observations made by the two conservators during their work, it is today perhaps impossible for us to so reconstruct them—or it will take a very long time and will probably necessitate the deciphering of the texts in some detail. According to the wishes of the committee, I have therefore chosen to publish the results of my work so far in the hope that these will be of use to scholars. Any improvement that they make will naturally be a pleasure to me.

The problem is partly ascribed to ambiguities on the part of Rolf Ibscher (p. xix):

> Rolf Ibscher later gives different figures for the number of leaves restored by his father. Sometimes he said that Hugo Ibscher had restored 34 leaves from Codex C, sometimes 36 and sometimes 47 . . . Rolf Ibscher perhaps added to the 34 leaves from Codex C the 13 leaves which Hugo Ibscher had already restored in 1934 and which are also mentioned in the letter quoted above as belonging to Codex B. This is borne out by the fact that on the frames of the glasses which contain these 13 leaves is written "Kephalaia. Codex B."

Thus Giversen concludes (page xvii) that Hugo Ibscher conserved only 34 leaves. But Rolf Ibscher is quoted (pages xviii–xix) as listing at times 136, at times 139 as the number of leaves he himself had conserved. Since there are 346 plates, one would assume the figure 139 to be correct (since 139 plus 34 equals 173 leaves, = 346 pages). This calculation admittedly, does not account for plates 347–54, of which it is said, p. xxvi: "The following pages or fragments are in such poor condition that it will be very difficult to locate their original position." Though they seem uninscribed, they are not just fragments—a characterization that actually only fits 347–48—but in three cases leaves (in one case hardly more than the vertical fibers), which must be assumed to have been consistently omitted from numerations (unless the figure 36 was reached by adding 2 from this group to the figure 34).

The confusion is augmented by Giversen's explanation (pages xix–xx):

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> The sheets restored by Hugo Ibscher were marked la–4b and 1–60, and Rolf Ibscher has arranged them into quires. The sheets which Rolf Ibscher restored are marked first according to codex with a C, then according to section (quire), so that indications are as follows: C.1–C.8, C.OI, C.I–C.X. To this a number is added, so that the sheets are numbered from 1 to 140. This last numbering was presumably given when Rolf Ibscher succeeded in rescuing the sheets, and as he sometimes had to work on the papyri from different ends this numbering does not always follow the order of the sheets in the codex. To this must be added the fact that the codex was in some disarray when it reached the conservators' laboratory. There is yet another numbering system to be mentioned. This may have been given when the sheets were photographed, or to indicate which of the papyri were restored by Rolf Ibscher. This system, however practical [page xx] it may have been for its special purpose, is now useless and possibly confusing for anyone who is not aware of its meaning, since it does not give any information about the reconstruction of the codex or the real order of the sheets. In my attempt to arrange the order of all the sheets in the collection which is called Codex C I have therefore not used this numbering at all.

The way to account for 139 sheets being numbered 1–140 is to note that the numbers 1, 2, 97, and 111 occur twice, whereas the numbers 91, 92, and 96 are missing, leaving a balance of one more number than there are sheets.

The hope is expressed (page xxi): "This introduction will, I hope, provide some background information until a much more detailed account is made available as a result of this facsimile edition."

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— 18 —

Codex D: Homilies (Dublin Part)

This codex is part of the Berlin codex P[15999]. Schmidt and Polotsky report:[1]

A second papyrus book contains a collection of *Homilies* (*logoi*) of various contents and by different authors. Here we have before us a completely faithful report about the last days of Mani, which must have come from the pen of an eye witness . . . 48 leaves of this papyrus book have been brought under glass and are to be published separated by Dr. Polotsky. As I mentioned above, a large part of this book has come to Berlin.

Ein zweites Papyrusbuch enthält eine Sammlung von Homilien (*logoi*) verschiedenen Inhalts und von verschiedenen Verfassern. Da haben wir vor uns einen ganz getreuen Bericht über die letzten Tage des Mani, der aus der Feder eines Augenzeugen geflossen sein muss . . . Von diesem Papyrusbuch sind 48 Blätter unter Glas gebracht und sollen von Dr. Polotsky separat publiziert werden. Von diesem Buche ist, wie ich oben erwähnt habe, ein umfangreicher Teil nach Berlin gekommen.

Polotsky's transcriptions of pages 8, 11, 12, 27–30, 44, 60, 69, 76, 78, 79, 82–84, 91, and 93 from 1931–1932 are in the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library. Polotsky published Beatty's part of the *Homilies* in 1934.[2]

Tito Orlandi's 1976 report of the material in the Chester Beatty Library noted:[3]

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 34.
2. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, Band I.
3. Orlandi, "Les manuscrits coptes de Dublin," 324.

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Indeed we have noted that the part of Codex A edited by Mr. Allberry (*Psalms, Part II*) is perfectly conserved in 9 little wooden boxes, in which the glasses containing the leaves are arranged in vertical position. The part of Codex A [read: D] edited by Polotsky (*Homilies*) has been arranged in the same way.	En effet, nous avons constaté que la partie du Cod. A éditée par M. Allberry (*Psaumes*, Ile partie) est parfaitement conservée dans 9 petites caisses en bois, dans lesquelles les verres contenant les feuillets sont ranges en position verticale. La partie du Cod. A [read: D] éditée par Polotsky (*Homilies*) a été rangée de la même façon.

Since in early reports the part of the *Homilies* codex that Sir Chester Beatty acquired was found with the *Psalms* codex, Orlandi lists the Dublin leaves of the *Homilies* also as A. But since these letters designate codices, and the leaves of the *Homilies* come from a different codex than those of the *Psalms*, the leaves of the *Homilies* should not be given the same codex designation as those of the *Psalms*. Rolf Ibscher hence introduced the letter D for the leaves of the *Homilies*, which is used in the present report.

Michael H. Browder has prepared an English translation of the published *Homilies* in machine-readable form.[4]

A facsimile edition of the *Homilies* of the Chester Beatty Library was published in 1986.[5] The glass panes could not be opened to make minor adjustments in the positioning of already-placed fragments, since the panes are stuck to the papyrus. But some have been "repositioned photographically" on pages 19–20, 25–26, and 97–98, while tiny fragments needing to be repositioned could not, "for technical reasons" be adjusted, "for example on pp. 3–4 and 49–50." A facsimile of page 29 published in the 1934 edition lacks a fragment present in the facsimile edition but also present in the transcription of page 34 in the 1934 edition, due presumably to the 1934 published photograph's being made prior to the placement of the fragment, which however, took place prior to the completion of the 1934 edition. Such

4. Browder, *A Manichaean Anthology: A New English Translation of the Manichaische Homilien*, 1985, unpublished.

5. Giversen, *Homilies and Varia*, vii–viii for the Introduction, from which the quotations come; and 1–96, plates corresponding to the pagination of Polotsky's edition, with pp. 95–96 reproducing the unplaced fragments that Polotsky did not publish.

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photographs made early in the conservation procedure would serve as a record "if some smaller, fragile pieces perhaps went missing in the process of conservation." Thus pages 41–42, "where some lines are now lost." Polotsky omitted pages 65–66 since so little text survived, but they are included in the facsimile edition.

Eleven fragments not placed by Polotsky are published on pages 97–98, still unidentified. "They will presumably be placed when the much needed critical study has been carried out." In view of the fact that the critical edition has already been published, it is unclear what occasion is envisaged for "the much needed critical study," if the publication of the facsimile edition itself did not provide such an occasion.

Michel Tardieu[6] has incorrectly stated: "Codex complet de 48 feuillets conservé à Dublin (codex D)." ["Complete codex of 48 leaves conserved at Dublin (Codex D)."] This is only part of the codex of which P^{15999} was also a part, no doubt the major part.

6. Tardieu, "Les Manichéens en Égypte," 6.

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Scholars, Collectors, Dealers, and Others

Charles R. C. Allberry (1911–1943). British Coptologist and Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. He was editor of the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* from 1939–43. He translated and edited the first edition of *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, Part II in 1938.

Hugh Murray Baillie (1916–1982). A British officer, who after World War II remained in Germany as a member of the Fine Arts Commission of the British Zone.

Sir A. Chester Beatty (1875–1968). Major collector of manuscripts and papyri. He founded the Chester Beatty Library. Born in the U.S., he became a naturalized citizen of Great Britain, and was an honorary citizen of Ireland. He made his fortune mining copper in the U.S. and around the world.

Alexander Böhlig (1912–1996). German Coptologist and Byzantinist, who taught first at the University of Halle and after 1963 at the University of Tübingen, where he was eventually emeritus. At Halle he was director of the Institut für Byzantinistik.

William M. Brashear (1946–2000). Papyrologist and curator of the Papyrus-Sammlung of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin-Charlottenburg.

Carsten Colpe (1929–2009). German professor of Iranian studies, first at the University of Göttingen and then at the University of Berlin.

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Walter Ewing Crum (1865–1944). British Coptologist and Egyptologist. He edited the monumental reference work, *Coptic Dictionary*, and catalogued the Coptic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library and the British Museum.

Sir I. E. S. Edwards (1909–1996). Egyptian Egyptologist and leading expert on the pyramids. He became the Assistant Keeper in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum in 1934. He was the Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities from 1955 to 1974.

Otto Firchow (b. 1912). Director of the Ägyptisches Museum and Papyrus-Sammlung in Berlin.

Wolf-Peter Funk. Coptologist and Research Associate at the Université Laval in Quebec. He is the editor of the series Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin.

Sir Alan Gardiner (1879–1963). One of the leading Egyptologists of the twentieth century.

Søren Giversen (1928–2009). Danish New Testament scholar and Coptologist who taught at Aarhus University. He was the president of the International Committee for the Publication of the Manichaean Coptic Papyri from Medinet Madi Belonging to the Chester Beatty Library.

Hugo Ibscher (1874–1943). Papyrus conservator from Kleinmachnow, near Berlin, who worked for Chester Beatty.

Rolf Ibscher (1906–1967). Son of Hugo Ibscher, who took over papyrus conservation for Beatty after his father's death.

Rodolphe Kasser (b. 1927). Swiss Coptologist and archaeologist. He was Professor at the University of Geneva until becoming emeritus in 1998. He is a member of the International Committee for the Publication of the Manichaean Coptic Papyri from Medinet Madi Belonging to the Chester Beatty Library and head of the archaeo-

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logical excavations of the Swiss Mission of Coptic Archaeology in the Kelia, Lower Egypt.

Martin Krause (b. 1930). German Coptologist and Professor at the University of Münster. He was the first President of the International Association for Coptic Studies. He is a member of the International Committee for the Publication of the Manichaean Coptic Papyri from Medinet Madi Belonging to the Chester Beatty Library.

Wilfrid Lockwood. Librarian and Director of the Chester Beatty Library.

Otto Werner Luke. Assistant and then successor to Rolf Ibscher.

Paul Allan Mirecki. Coptologist and historian of religion at the University of Kansas.

Wolfgang Müller (1922–2012). Papyrologist and ancient historian. He became Director of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin as well as overseer of the Papyrus-Sammlung.

Wincenty Myszor. Professor of Papyrology at the Institute for Papyrology at Warsaw University.

Maurice Nahman (1868–1948). The leading Cairo antiquities dealer prior to World War II, who showed H. O. Lange Manichaean manuscripts in 1929. He sold Manichaean manuscripts to Chester Beatty and Carl Schmidt in the 1930s.

Tito Orlandi. Italian Coptologist and Professor at La Sapienza University, Rome. He was President of the International Association for Coptic Studies (2000–2004). He is Director of Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari.

Günter Poethke (b. 1939). Custos of the Greek manuscripts in the Papyrus-Sammlung of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin and Professor of Papyrology at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

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Hans Jakob Polotsky (1905–1991). German-born Israeli Egyptologist, Coptologist, and Semitist. He was professor at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

Berthe van Regemorter. Belgian bookbinder.

Gesine Schenke Robinson. New Testament scholar, Coptologist, and Director of the Coptic Texts Editing Project at the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity.

James M. Robinson (b. 1924). Professor of New Testament and Coptologist at Claremont Graduate University (emeritus). He is the founding Director of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Director of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project, and the editor of the Nag Hammadi Library.

Carl Schmidt (1868–1938). German New Testament scholar, church historian, and papyrologist; his mentor was Adolf von Harnack. He discovered and published numerous ancient gnostic and Manichaean texts.

Wilhelm Schubart (1873–1960). German papyrologist, professor of ancient history, and Director of the Papyrus-Sammlung of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin-Charlottenburg.

Michel Tardieu (b. 1938). French Coptologist, historian of religion, and professor at the Collège de France, Paris. He became emeritus in 2008.

Sir Herbert Thompson (1859–1944). British Egyptologist and Coptologist who represented Chester Beatty beginning in 1931.

J. V. S. Wilkinson (d. 1957). After working in the Department of Oriental Manuscripts at the British Museum (1924–46), he became Librarian of the Chester Beatty Library in 1946.

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James M. Robinson

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The Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi

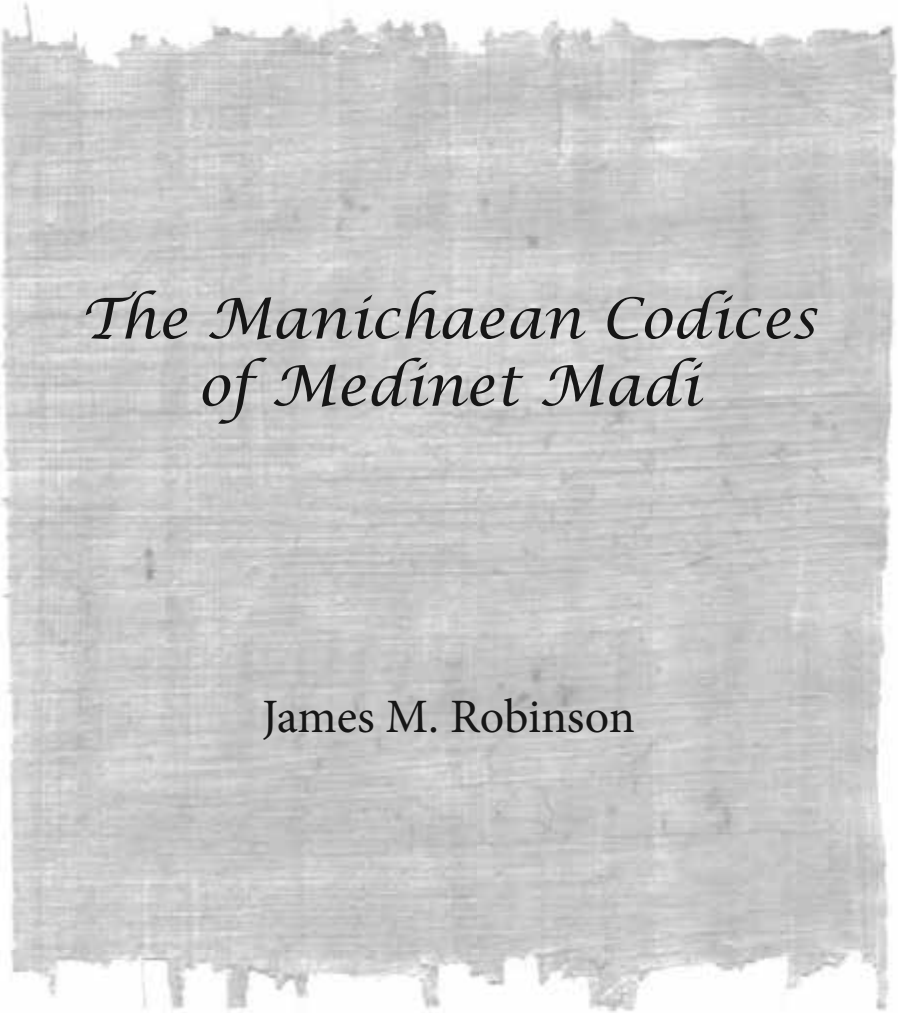
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Contents

Abbreviations / *vii*
Preface / *ix*
Abstract / *xi*

Introduction: The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi, 1929–1989 / 1

Part 1: The Acquisition and Initial Conservation and Editing

1 The Acquisitions of Carl Schmidt / 51
2 The Acquisitions of Chester Beatty / 61
3 The Conservation by Hugo Ibscher / 80
4 Beatty, Ibscher, and Polotsky / 92
5 The Effects of World War II / 113

Part 2: The Conservation by Rolf Ibscher

6 The Conservation of the Material in the State Museums of the Former East Berlin / 147
7 The Conservation of the Material in Schondorf/Göttingen/West Berlin / 163
8 The Conservation of the Material in London/Dublin / 182

Inventories of Individual Codices / 189

This content downloaded from 128.119.168.112 on Sun, 04 Jun 2017 13:26:08 UTC
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Part 3: The Berlin Holdings

9 P^{15995} *Synaxeis* / 193
10 P^{15996} *Kephalaia*, Volume One / 198
11 P^{15997} *Acts* / 225
12 P^{15998} *Letters* / 248
13 P^{15999} *Homilies* (Berlin Part) / 268

Part 4: The Dublin Holdings

14 The Wooden Covers / 273
15 Codex A: *Psalms* / 282
16 Codex B: *Synaxeis* / 288
17 Codex C: *Kephalaia*, Volume Two / 303
18 Codex D: *Homilies* (Dublin Part) / 309

Collectors, Dealers, and Scholars / 313
Bibliography / 317

This content downloaded from 128.119.168.112 on Sun, 04 Jun 2017 13:26:08 UTC
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Abbreviations

APF	*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*
BSAC	*Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte*
BSFE	*Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie*
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der alten Kirche
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
MPER	Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Unterschungen zum Neuen Testament
WZUH	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther Universität-Halle-Wittenberg*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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Preface

The present work, *The Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi*, is primarily a mass of unpublished documentation I excerpted from the Manichaean archives in the main depositories, Berlin and Dublin, in 1984–1986, and from interviews with those directly involved. Copies were given to these two depositories in 1991, as well as to Wolf-Peter Funk of the University of Laval in Québec, Canada, the leading authority in this field, to whom I hence also gave my own Manichaean archives themselves. Hence the present publication does not continue the history of research up to the present, but leaves that for the next generation of scholarship.

The presentation contains very extensive—but often inconclusive—information; this uncertainty is indicated here, lest their publication give them a degree of certainty that is not appropriate. Yet the amount of otherwise inaccessible but reliable information, from interviews, correspondence, and unpublished documents, should not be lost from sight, but should be made available to the scholarship of the future.

To facilitate reading, indeed to keep the reader from being lost in detail, the extensive documentation is preceded by two already published summaries. First is a brief abstract prepared for the 18th International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Moscow, August 8–15, 1991. This then is followed by a more extensive introduction: "The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi, 1929–1989." It was originally published in *International Kongress zum Manichäismus 6.–10. August 1989 St. Augustin/Bonn*, edited by Gernot Wiessner and Hans-Joachim

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Klimkeit, in Studies in Oriental Religions 23 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992) 19–62.

The presentation of material is less complete for the material in the Chester Beatty Library, since the sorting and recording had to be done primarily for the scattered Berlin material. Yet the extensive archival material in Dublin makes it clear that considerably more detail could be added to the presentation of the return of the Chester Beatty codices after World War II, to the description of the work of Rolf Ibscher in London and Dublin, and to the analysis of the Dublin holdings.

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ABSTRACT

The Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi

The seven Manichaean papyrus codices of the fourth or fifth century were found in illicit excavation in 1929 in the desert in the ruins of Τερενοῦθις near Medinet Madi at the southern end of the Fayyum. They were acquired in about equal halves by A. Chester Beatty for his library then in London, now in Dublin, and by Carl Schmidt for the Papyrussammlung (papyrus collection) of the Staatliche Museen of Berlin. The status of the seven codices follows:

CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY CODEX A, *THE PSALMS*

Beatty acquired the front part of the codex from the Cairo dealer Maurice Nahman in 1931, and he had acquired the back part in 1930. The back part was conserved in Berlin by Hugo Ibscher and published by Charles R. C. Allberry in 1938. As Ibscher conserved each leaf of the front part, H. J. Polotsky transcribed each in Berlin. Copies went to both Beatty and W. E. Crum, for use in his *Coptic Dictionary*. Since the edition was never completed, it was not published, but in 1986/1988, Søren Giversen published a few lines of Psalm 119 he derived by Polotsky. The front part of the codex was put on loan at the Royal Library of Copenhagen in 1984 for Giversen to publish in facsimile and critical editions. He published both parts only in facsimile edition in 1988.

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CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY CODEX B, *THE SYNAXEIS*

Beatty acquired this codex from a Fayyumic dealer in 1930 (except for 31 residual leaves that Schmidt acquired in 1931, P[15995]). Beatty turned it over to Ibscher to conserve. By 1939 only thirteen leaves of Beatty's part had been conserved and returned to London. They moved with the library to Dublin in 1953 and to Copenhagen in 1984. Giversen published a facsimile edition in 1986. Beginning in 1934, the rest of Beatty's part of the codex was kept in Hugo Ibscher's home in Kleinmachnow, near Berlin, for conservation. But after Ibscher's death in 1943, his son Rolf Ibscher reported putting Beatty's parts of the codex in a reinforced concrete bunker at the Zoo Train Station of Berlin for safekeeping. After the bombing of that bunker in 1944, Rolf Ibscher reported having his assistant P. Seidel remove the codex so that Ibscher could take it to the home of his father-in-law, Wolf Henry Doering, in Schondorf on the Ammersee in Bavaria. From time to time Rolf Ibscher worked at conserving the leaves there. The West German authorities took control of the codex and engaged Carsten Colpe to edit it in 1956–1957. So the codex was taken to Göttingen. When he died in 1967, Rolf Ibscher had conserved only about half this material. When the Egyptian Museum was created in West Berlin in 1967, the material was deposited there. In 1985 the curator of the papyrus collection in that museum, William Brashear, asked me to investigate this material. There are 125 extant unpublished leaves plus the unconserved remainder of the book block. I reported on it to the Fachkommission Byzantinistik of the Historiker-Gesellschaft of the German Democratic Republic in Halle in 1986. Both museums authorized me to organize an edition of all the Manichaean material in Berlin. The transcription of the scarcely legible conserved leaves was begun in 1985. Gesine Schenke Robinson worked on the thirty-one leaves on the Museums-Insel of East Berlin, and others (especially Wolf-Peter Funk and Paul Mirecki) worked on those leaves in West Berlin. The photographing took place in Berlin in preparation for a facsimile edition of all the Manichaean material in Berlin, Vienna, and Warsaw, planned to be published by the Akademie-Verlag of Berlin.

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CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY CODEX C, VOLUME TWO OF THE *KEPHALAIA*

Beatty acquired this codex from the Fayyumic dealer prior to Schmidt's talking to that dealer in the spring of 1931. It was conserved by Rolf Ibscher after World War II and published in facsimile edition by Giversen in 1986. A committee of Søren Giversen, Rodolphe Kasser, and Martin Krause held exclusive rights to publish a critical edition of the Dublin–Copenhagen material. Kasser was entrusted with organizing the publication of the critical edition of this codex.

CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY CODEX D, THE *HOMILIES*

Beatty acquired the bulk of this codex from Nahman with an option to buy in 1930. But Beatty released it to Carl Schmidt for Berlin in 1932 (P^{15999}). It was not considered conservable but was put on display as a showpiece for how impossible this task was. The unconserved book block is thought to have been among the materials stored in the bunker at the Zoo train station. From there it was thought to have been taken to the Soviet command post at the castle Friedrichsfelde in 1945–1946, and then to Leningrad in 1946, though it was not found when the material was returned to Berlin in 1958. A smaller part of the codex was acquired by Beatty in 1931, conserved by Ibscher, edited by Polotsky, and published in 1934. Giversen published a facsimile edition of the codex in 1987.

BERLIN PAPYRUS COLLECTION P^{15995}, THE *SYNAXEIS*

See Chester Beatty Library Codex B above.

BERLIN PAPYRUS COLLECTION P^{15996}, VOLUME ONE OF THE *KEPHALAIA*

Schmidt acquired this codex from Nahman in 1930. Ibscher conserved most of the leaves. H. J. Polotsky and Alexander Böhlig edited them. They were published in fascicles—by 1940, a first volume through page 244, line 20. Böhlig published through page 291 in 1966, and

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through page 292 in 1985. Professor Grohmann of Prague acquired three unpublished remains for the Austrian National Library, where they are still extant. Five unpublished Berlin leaves are in Warsaw, where they were brought after having been lost in transit between Berlin and Leningrad in 1946. In Berlin there are some ninety extant unpublished leaves, equaling 180 pages.

The total of unpublished extant leaves then becomes 3 + 5 + 90 = 98 leaves or 6 + 10 + 180 = 196 pages. Wolf-Peter Funk is preparing a critical edition. Polotsky has put at Funk's disposal for the critical edition his transcriptions and translations located at the Academy of Sciences in Berlin, at the Griffith Institute of the Ashmoleon Museum in Oxford, and at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin.

BERLIN PAPYRUS COLLECTION P[15997], THE *ACTS*

This codex with its covers (which were photographed and published) was sold by a provincial dealer to Nahman, who sold the codex to Schmidt in 1931. One leaf that Ibscher conserved was returned to London, was moved with the library to Dublin, and was included in the material put on deposit in Copenhagen. Giversen published it in facsimile in 1987.

There are seven or eight unpublished leaves still in Berlin. Part of one unpublished leaf may be at the Institute for Papyrology of Warsaw University. There may thus be nine or ten extant leaves, eighteen or twenty pages. The unconserved book block and wooden covers did not return from Leningrad to Berlin in 1958. None of the leaves of this codex in Berlin or Warsaw have been published.

BERLIN PAPYRUS COLLECTION P[15998], THE *LETTERS*

This codex was also sold by the provincial dealer to Nahman, who sold it to Schmidt in 1931. There are six unpublished leaves that were returned from Leningrad to Berlin in 1958 and three unpublished leaves in the National Museum in Warsaw. There are also fifteen containers with eighteen leaves (three secondarily assigned to the *Kephalaia*) among those that probably lay half-conserved in the Ibscher home throughout the war that may belong to this codex. A leaf originally

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labeled as belonging to the Letters but reassigned to the Acts probably should be counted as belonging to the Letters. This would make a total of twenty-eight leaves or fifty-six pages. The book block did not return from Leningrad to Berlin in 1958. Hence none of the leaves of this codex were published.

BERLIN PAPYRUS COLLECTION P15999, THE *HOMILIES*

See Chester Beatty Library Codex D above.

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INTRODUCTION

The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi, 1929–1989

> As you will remember Terentianus Maurus in *De litteris syllabic et metric*: "Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli" [The fate of the books depends on the intelligence of the readers] which is often taken as said in the sense that books have their history. They have indeed, and also the Medinet Madi manuscripts have their fate as we all know. Some details, however, are still unknown to many although they are important in order for better understanding of the texts.
>
> —Søren Giversen

The seven Manichaean codices from Medinet Madi (Τερενοῦθις), whose ruins are still impressive (in the desert on the southern edge of the Fayyum), were made known to the scholarly community primarily through the essay of Carl Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten,"[1] although much information not included there has more recently become available from the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin.[2]

1. Schmid and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 4–90, with two plates and a contribution by Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschriften," 82–85. Most of the information in that essay is not repeated here but is presupposed as generally known or readily available.

2. Copies of relevant archive documents were kindly supplied to the Manichaean archive of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, which provided a chronological history of the Manichaean archive. This inventory was then supplied to Søren Giversen, who, in August 1987, asked the Chester Beatty Library to supplement material he already had with copies of some material listed in the inventory. Dr. Pat Donlon, then Reference Librarian and Curator of the Western Collection, graciously honored this request.

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Schmidt narrated that he had been shown some of the material by antiquities dealers in Egypt on two trips, only the second of which is actually dated, to the spring of 1931. From this one has inferred that his first trip was in 1930,[3] which Schmidt has elsewhere stated to be the date of the discovery.[4] But Søren Giversen has reported that the Danish Egyptologist H. O. Lange was shown some of the material in Cairo on November 29, 1929, by Maurice Nahman, the leading Cairo antiquities dealer of the time, though he did not acquire anything.[5] Hence the date of the discovery, if one may assume such material tends to reach the market promptly, should be corrected to read 1929.[6]

SIR CHESTER BEATTY'S ACQUISITIONS

On Schmidt's first trip he had been shown what he was able to identify on the spot as part of the *Kephalaia*, since he had just been reading proofs on Karl Holl's edition of Epiphanius's *Panarion* that refers to it! Yet he did not acquire it when first shown it, but continued on his trip to Jerusalem, with plans to secure authorization for its acquisition by the time he passed through Cairo on his return trip. But before that time,[7] or, now to be more specific, on March 23, 1930, Chester Beatty had obtained on approval from the same Cairo antiquities dealer Maurice Nahman two other manuscripts and two wooden covers.[8]

3. Beltz, "Katalog der koptischen Handschriften."

4. Schmidt, *Neue Originalquellen des Manichäismus aus Äegypten*, 4. Similarly Allberry, "Manichaean Studies," 337–49, especially 340, gives 1930 as the date when the "library was brought to light," as well as the date when Schmidt was shown the *Kephalaia* "by a Fayum dealer." The dealer in question was actually the Cairo dealer Maurice Nahman, who obviously had contacts with the Fayyum, but not the dealer located in the Fayyum whom Schmidt first visited with regard to these codices in 1931.

5. Giversen, *Psalm Book, Part 1*, 7–8. He points out that this date, which Lange's extant diary documents, was also confirmed by Schmidt in an extant letter of February 20, 1936. A similar report (Giversen, "Manichaean Texts from the Chester Beatty Collection," 265–72), especially 271–72, states that the antiquities dealer who showed "one of the manuscripts" to Lange was Maurice Nahman.

6. Giversen, *Manichaean Papyri of the Chester Beatty Library*, 1, speaks of "their rediscovery in 1929," in the quotation used as the motto at the beginning of this paper. This motto is repeated in somewhat different terms in Giversen, "Manichaean Texts from the Chester Beatty Collection," 271.

7. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 6.

8. In the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library is a ledger sheet with the letterhead of Maurice Nahman, dated March 23, 1930. It was made out to Beatty and

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At the end of May, Beatty had Hugo Ibscher, the Conservator of the Papyrus Collection of Berlin, who had worked periodically for him in London, assess the chances of conserving the material, since the leaves were stuck together by salt crystals resulting, one assumed, from lying in dampness over the centuries. Ibscher said the larger and more expensive manuscript, which only later was identified as the bulk of the *Homilies* codex (see below), could not be conserved.[9] Beatty apparently decided already then not to acquire it, for he did not send it along with the other to Berlin with Ibscher for conservation, but retained it in London for two years (see below).

Chester Beatty Library Codex A, the *Psalms*, Part Two

The smaller of the manuscripts acquired by Beatty on March 23, 1930, with an option to buy was assessed by Ibscher as "very difficult" to conserve.[10] Beatty cabled Nahman on May 31, 1930, that he was willing to pay only £200, rather than the £500 that Nahman had asked. But on June 2, 1930, Nahman cabled that he would not accept the offer. Yet Beatty had already turned over the manuscript to Ibscher, who had just taken it back to Berlin with him to conserve. On or before June 9, 1930, while in New York on a business trip, Beatty agreed by transatlantic cable to pay £500. It turned out to be the latter part of the *Psalms* codex, which was published by Charles R. C. Allberry in 1938.[11] Photographic reproductions were published by Søren Giversen in 1988.[12]

---

listed fifteen items for sale with their prices, to which have been added annotations as to which are to be kept and which returned. A last item, offered for £1,200 reads: "Two Coptic manuscripts an[d] two binding[s] in wood." Underneath, notes were added that read:

> On approval
> £700 Mss
> £500 Mss
> £40 Binding

9. Hugo Ibscher arrived in London on May 26, 1930, according to Beatty's cable to an impatient Nahman on May 28, 1930. On May 31, 1930, Beatty cabled Nahman: "Doctor Ibscher thinks can do nothing with large book."

10. Quoted from Beatty's cable of May 31, 1930, to Nahman.

11. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part 2*.

12. Giversen, *Psalm Book, Part 2,* facsimile edition.

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Chester Beatty Library Codex B, the *Synaxeis*

Schmidt reported that a Fayyumic dealer had explained to him in the Spring of 1931 that the discovery had been divided into eight parts among three dealers. The Fayyumic dealer himself had retained three parts, Nahman three, and a provincial dealer two. The Fayyumic dealer told Schmidt that he had already sold all three of his parts to Beatty.[13] Since there are apparently only two codices acquired by Beatty that he did not get from Nahman, the bulk of the *Synaxeis* and Volume Two of the *Kephalaia* (see below), one of these must have been dismembered by the time of the partition, a vandalism to which Schmidt referred in general, thereby producing three "codices" out of two codices. Since the *Synaxeis* codex is known to have been dismembered by this time (see below), one may assume that it was the one counted as two of the three "codices" acquired by Beatty from the Fayyumic dealer.

On November 27, 1930, Beatty turned over to Ibscher in London, to take back to Berlin for conservation, another "Coptic book."[14] Its acquisition is not otherwise documented, but it may be postulated to have been from the Fayyumic acquisition, which may have been cash and carry, without a written receipt. But the absence of documentation could be due merely to the incompleteness of the Archives or of our survey of them.[15]

Schmidt reported having acquired in the spring of 1931 for the sake of completeness "a few unimpressive piles" from a codex Beatty had acquired in the Fayyum.[16] Only two codices were shared between London and Berlin, the *Homilies* and the *Synaxeis*. This could not be the *Homilies*, since the Berlin part of this codex was later acquired from Nahman, once Beatty, who had it on approval, had decided not to acquire it (see below). Hence the *Synaxeis* must be for this reason also one of the codices Beatty acquired in the Fayyum, and indeed

13. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 8.

14. In a letter of November 27, 1930, to Sir Alan Gardiner, Beatty speaks of sending Gardiner a Coptic book to have Ibscher put in his bag after verifying that it is satisfactorily packed.

15. The two manuscripts brought to London in April 1931 (see below) are recorded to have been brought that month, but a receipt from an antiquities dealer has not been located. The fact that the two manuscripts are in each case the other part of the two codices acquired from Nahman a year earlier supports the assumption that these came from Nahman.

16. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 8.

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prior to the spring of 1931.[17] Thus it may be the book sent to Berlin for conservation at the end of November 1930, although this could also have been Volume Two of the *Kephalaia*. In fact, since both may have been unbound, and the *Synaxeis* was in more than one part, the "book" may have been a stack of papyrus pads without a clear distinction of where one codex began and another ended. In fact, someone had written in by hand on the typed letter of November 27, 1930, the word "Papyri" just before "Coptic Book," which might indicate that it looked less like a book than an amorphous stack of papyri.

Thirteen leaves of the *Synaxeis* codex were conserved by Hugo Ibscher and returned to London by the spring of 1939.[18] They were moved with the Chester Beatty Library to Dublin in 1953 and in 1984 were put on loan at the Royal Library of Copenhagen for Søren Giversen to study.[19] Giversen published photographic reproductions in 1986.[20] It is to be hoped that these thirteen leaves can be integrated fully in any future critical edition of the *Synaxeis* rather than being subjected to the either-or conditions announced by Rodolphe Kasser on behalf of an International Committee for the Publication of the Manichaean Coptic Papyri from Medinet Madi Belonging to the Chester Beatty Library (Søren Giversen, President; Rodolphe Kasser; Martin Krause), to the effect that persons editing Berlin materials

17. Ibid., 30, makes this explicit.

18. On April 22, 1939, Sir Alan Gardiner wrote Beatty that he had some Mani plates he would return soon. A day-book kept by Joan Kingford Wood of Beatty's library staff since 1927 recorded on May 3, 1939: "From Dr. G[ardiner]. Mani. Pap. Codex B.C. KEPHALAIA 49 in all (Cod. B. 51–62, 63–76 Cod. C. 1, 3, 4, 39–48, 49–58) = 49." An entry dated July 5, 1939, as "Fetched by Mr. A[llberry]" "Codex B KEPHALAIA pages 51–62, 63–76." Apparently two codices were distinguished, as B and C, yet both were on this occasion designated *Kephalaia*, whereas Beatty had only one *Kephalaia* codex, Codex C. Since Codex A, *Psalms*, is of a smaller format than the others (see below), and Codex D, the part of the *Homilies* owned by Beatty, had already been clearly identified and in fact published, the 13 leaves designated Codex B 51–76 must be from the only remaining codex acquired by Beatty, the *Synaxeis*.

19. Whereas Giversen had requested about 171 leaves on November 24, 1982, of Patrick Henchy, then librarian of the Chester Beatty Library, on November 7, 1983 he raised the figure to 184 in a request to the current director and librarian, Wilfrid Lockwood. The inventory dated January 13, 1984 and validated with the stamp of the Danish Royal Library lists as "Codex B" "13 glasses" numbered "51–76."

20. Giversen, *Homilies and Varia*, ix, states: "Pages 101–126 bear facsimiles of the leaves which Hugo Ibscher has labelled 'Codex B.' . . . The sheets are marked from 51 to 76, the equivalent of this edition's 101–126."

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(where the bulk of the *Synaxeis* codex is now located, see below) may not participate in editing Dublin materials.[21] Yet, as Alexander Böhlig has subsequently stated: "It is too onesided, when the Dublin team wishes to forbid simultaneous work on the two parts of the discovery, since, after all, overlappings of the material are present."[22] In fact the publication of the facsimile edition puts the facsimiles of these thirteen leaves in the public domain, free to the scholarly world to publish in critical editions as it sees fit. For, as Martin Krause, though a member of the committee advocating this segregation in the membership of the two teams, has said (with regard to the facsimile edition of the Nag Hammadi codices), the purpose of a facsimile edition is "so that the manuscripts after their publication in facsimile volumes stand avail-

21. At the meeting of the Association Francophone de Coptologie at the Louvre Museum in Paris on May 23, 1986, Rodolphe Kasser read and distributed an announcement entitled "Projet international pour la publication des manuscrits manichéens coptes de Medinet Madi appartenant à la Chester Beatty Library (premier communiqué)."

> Soon after this [the publication of a facsimile edition] the critical edition of the same texts will appear under the responsibility of the same committee [Søren Giversen, president; Rodolphe Kasser; Martin Krause], which will distribute this task between coptologists . . . only those persons will be invited to participate in the *editio princeps* of the Manichaean Coptic texts in the Chester Beatty Library who has [*sic*] not already obtained this possibility concerning the *editio princeps* of the Manichaean Coptic papyri of Berlin or Vienna.

This announcement followed directly upon my invitation to French-language Coptologists to participate in the work of an "International Committee for the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi" that was being planned. This invitation was published in *Newsletter* 19 of the International Association for Coptic Studies, August 1986, Annex 1, pp. 3–5, especially p. 4: ". . . qualified scholars are welcome to offer their services . . . For it is not the intention of the project to limit access to the material, but rather to facilitate access to it." The announcement by Kasser, president of the International Association for Coptic Studies, followed in French and English on pp. 6–9.

The Board of the International Association for Coptic Studies, at its meeting on June 12, 1986, "expressed its approval of both [projects], and hoped that there will be collaboration between the two projects," as published on page 1 of the same *Newsletter*.

22. Böhlig, "Neue Initiativen zur Erschliessung der koptisch-manichäischen Bibliothek von Medinet Madi," 245. "Es ist zu einseitig, wenn das Dublin-Team gleichzeitige Arbeit an beiden Fundgruppen verbieten will, sind doch Uberkreuzungen des Materials vorhanden."

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able to *all* scholars for study and work" (Krause's emphasis).[23] A transcription of the published facsimiles of the 13 *Synaxeis* leaves that has been prepared by Wolf-Peter Funk in conjunction with transcriptions of the leaves in Berlin that he is preparing should preferably be published together, for which purpose access to the papyri in Copenhagen should be granted to him and others working on the Berlin part of codices also represented in Dublin/Copenhagen. Negotiations during the conference at Bonn produced an agreement to at least a degree of cooperation:

> Persons participating in the *editio princeps* of material in Berlin can work together with persons participating in the *editio princeps* of material in Dublin / Copenhagen as a joint team to edit a shared text. In the naming of persons on such joint editorial teams Giversen will represent the Dublin group and Robinson the Berlin group. The person or persons named by each group will be primarily responsible for editing the leaves of that group, but members of such a joint team can study the papyri at both places, work in close collaboration with each other, and publish a joint edition.

A first step toward the implementation of this policy was a visit of Wolf-Peter Funk to Copenhagen, where he was permitted to study the 13 leaves of the *Synaxeis* codex. (Giversen has not approved subsequent plans to cooperate in editing the two volumes of the *Kephalaia*.)

Some of the material, while undergoing conservation, was not kept at the Papyrus Collection in Berlin, but in the Ibscher home, where Ibscher was permitted to work three days a week from the age of 60, i.e., from 1934 on.[24] Though Beatty himself went to Berlin before the war to bring back his papyri, he apparently brought back

23. Krause, review of *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Introduction*, 378.

24. Reported by Alexander Böhlig in a letter of February 10, 1986. A letter from Otto Firchow of October 28, 1960, had stated:

> In my opinion the papyri [Chester Beatty Library Codex B, the *Synaxeis*] ought to be found with Dr. Rolf Ibscher probably already mounted and glazed. Dr. Hugo Ibscher used to carry out this kind of work in his own home. If I were still in Berlin, or if I had known about the matter a few months ago, I could have offered you my help. I should suggest that you get in touch with Rolf Ibscher, who has no connection with the Berlin Museum. Let me say again that the papyri cannot be in the Berlin Museum but must have been in Hugo Ibscher's private possession.

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only what had been conserved.[25] C. R. C. Allberry reported in May 1940 "that Dr. Ibscher had the remainder of Mr. Beatty's papyrus at his house in the country, at Kleinmachnow."[26] But there were in the home also materials belonging to Berlin, such as unconserved leaves of P[15996], the *Kephalaia*,[27] and P[15998], the *Letters*.[28] It would be to these Berlin holdings that Ibscher referred in 1949, to the effect that the remainder of the (Berlin) Papyrus Collection was in his home.[29]

25. Joan Kingford Wood wrote on February 7, 1960, her reminiscences:

> . . . it must have been when things were boiling up in Germany against the Jews, before hostilities began with us, that Sir Chester went over to Berlin to fetch the remainder of the papyri, the Manichaean . . . He went and brought back the papyri. But then Sir Chester has a way of overcoming difficulties with authority and persuasion.

26. The black loose-leaf folder in the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library entitled "Papyrus. Biblical Manichaean Hieratic Greek etc. General Catalogue," in the section "Manichaean Pap." presents this quotation, with the reference: "(see letter from Allberry)."

27. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 182: "Of the material in Berlin only a very small part has always remainded in Berlin. It was the last 20 leaves of the Berlin *Kephalaia* book."

28. Ibid., 184, 182:

> Of this book one finds in Berlin, put under glass already in the pre-war period, 6 leaves . . . , and about 22 leaves in half-conserved condition. The folders in which they lay were numbered . . .
>
> The urgently needed reglassing of all the pieces that had been glassed by Hugo Ibscher and that returned to Berlin in 1958 was undertaken by Rolf Ibscher beginning in June of this year (1960), along with the conservation of a few half-conserved leaves that Ibscher Sr. had at first put to one side as too difficult, doubtlessly correctly, for it had to do usually with double or triple leaves.

The half-conserved leaves are here distinguished as in folders rather than as glassed. And the reference to material being returned to Berlin is limited to the glassed material. This would indicate that the half-conserved material in folders had not been taken to Leningrad and returned in 1958 to Berlin. The Inventory Book of the Papyrus Collection of Berlin lists only 6 glassed leaves as going "to the East" and "back."

29. Ibscher wrote J. V. S. Wilkinson, the librarian of the Chester Beatty Library, on December 31, 1949: "The misfortune of our persecuted Museums with the destroyed rooms of the Papyrus Collection led after all to this, that the collection was stationed with me in [my] house, and that brought us many a convenience."

Actually the material was already in the Ibscher home; it is very doubtful (see below) if any papyri were still in the museum when it was very heavily damaged by air raids, or that Ibscher could have rescued any such material from the gutted Neues Museum to take to his home. There is a similar allusion to material in the home in a letter of January 9, 1949 from Ibscher to Beatty, of which only a translation of the

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The bulk of the Papyrus Collection not in the Ibscher home, along with other Museum holdings, was put for safekeeping during the war in a reinforced concrete bunker (removed after the war) at the Zoo Train Station, in what became West Berlin. The Museum was indeed very heavily damaged in a massive air raid on February 3, 1945, which left intact only the outer walls of the gutted Neues Museum, where the Papyrus Collection had been housed.

Rolf Ibscher reported that after his father's death on May 26, 1943, he added to the storage deposit in the Zoo bunker "the Manichaean papyrus books,"[30] presumably meaning the book blocks that had been in the home where his father had been conserving them, i.e., separating off the individual leaves. "But after 20 July 1944 [when the Zoo bunker was itself bombed[31]] this place too did not seem to me safe enough." Hence "with the approval of General Director Kümmel, in xi 1944."[32] Ibscher had an assistant, P. Seidel, get three book blocks from the bunker, in order to take them for safekeeping to Schondorf on the Ammer Lake in Bavaria, to the home of his father-in-law, the publisher Wolf Henry Doering. Rolf Ibscher maintained that he removed

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relevant paragraph is in the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library: "We are grateful for one piece of good fortune which follows from my present situation in so far as it has been possible up to now to maintain our house properly heated on account of the fact that since the destruction of the Museums, I have continued to work at home and also harbour the remainder of the Papyrus collection which has not yet been transferred to West Germany."

None of the Berlin holdings of the Manichaean codices are known to have ever been taken to West Germany; the suggestion that some might already be in West Germany is no doubt a reference to the *Synaxeis*, which Ibscher mistakenly took to be the Berlin Codex, P[15998], the *Letters*, which he had taken to West Germany (see below).

30. Rolf, Ibscher. "Wiederaufnahme," 359–60 (abstract). The Archives of the Chester Beatty Library include Ibscher, "Zusammenfassung des auf dem Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongress gehaltenen Berichts," typescript, 4 pages; and the typescript of the complete paper, "Wiederaufnahme und neuester Stand der Konservierung der Manichäischen Papyruscodices," 12 pages, unpublished; the quotations come from p. 3.

31. On November 9, 1960, I. E. S. Edwards of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the British Museum wrote R. J. Hayes, then acting head of the Chester Beatty Library, that he had heard from Rudolf Anthes (director of the Papyrus Collection of Berlin 1935–1939, 1945–1950, but also enlisted during the war to move the objects from the Museum to safekeeping) that this was the reason for the removal of the material from the Zoo bunker.

32. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 181.

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the material "on my own responsibility."[33] Böhlig has reconciled the divergence as to the person responsible as follows:[34]

> Rolf Ibscher had the authorization from General Director Kümmel to get the Dublin material from the anti-aircraft tower and take it to Bavaria. He did this in the company of the Museum worker P. Seidel, who has since died. In the process the idea came to him that it would perhaps be useful, in case worst came to worst, also to take along one of the Berlin codices. This decision was, as far as I know, spontaneous. That it was worth it, is shown by the success. These things remained completely preserved, in contrast to what the Soviets had "saved."

After the war, Beatty had sought with the help of Sir Alan Gardiner to establish contact with Rolf Ibscher so as to secure the return of his codices, but apparently without success. Rolf Ibscher himself seems to have been the first to establish contact, by writing to England on January 28, 1946, to the effect that he had saved Beatty's material, "together with a part of the Berlin Mani Codices," whereas the rest of the Berlin part had been taken East.[35]

Ibscher's initiative may have resulted from contact with the occupying forces, for it was at precisely the same time that these official channels seem to have located the material that had been kept at Schondorf. Alexander Böhlig has given 1946 as the date and Schondorf the place that two codices (Part 1 of the *Psalms* and Volume

33. Rolf Ibscher, "Das Konservierungswerk," unpublished typescript, 3: ". . . which on my own responsibility I had brought out of the danger zone of Berlin . . ."

34. Böhlig in a letter of February 10, 1986.

35. In a letter of November 16, 1946, Sir Alan Gardiner wrote to Joan Kingsford Wood, translating from a letter of Ibscher's of January 28, 1946 to him: "However much there is to say on this topic (his family affairs) it is more important to tranquillize you in the matter of the Mani MSS. or rather Codices. They are saved! After Father's death I took them, together with a part of the Berlin Mani Codices to Bavaria to my Father-in-law outside the danger zone; for also here in Kleinmachnow bombs often fell."

In a letter of May 17, 1946, from Gardiner to Wood, Gardiner reported that a letter of January 28, 1946, from Rolf Ibscher to Sir Herbert Thompson, who had died, had been forwarded to him. Gardiner quoted from Ibscher's letter: "You will know, perhaps through Dr. Gardiner or via the British Museum, that and how I could save the London possession from the effects and consequences of the war." Gardiner added: "He goes on to say that all the remainder of the MSS. belonging to the Berlin Museum had been taken East."

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two of the *Kephalaia*) were released to Beatty,[36] information that is all the more reliable in view of the fact that it was Böhlig himself (who was in Munich at the end of the war) who had "separated them at Schondorf."[37] Böhlig considered it possible that, in view of inadequately marked parts, some material belonging to Berlin may have been released to London, and some belonging to London retained at Schondorf.[38] The 13 leaves that were in London (later in Dublin and then in Copenhagen), to which Böhlig here refers as perhaps belonging to Berlin but by mistake sent to England, do not, however, belong to the Berlin *Letters* codex P[15998], as he at the time conjectured (see below), but rather to the *Synaxeis* codex that belonged to Beatty; they had been quite appropriately returned to London before the war (see above). But regarding the converse possibility, that London material may have been retained in Schondorf: Böhlig himself was the first to publish, in 1957, the admission that by mistake the book block of Beatty's *Synaxeis* stayed at Schondorf rather than being returned to London (see below).

At the beginning of 1946 Sir John Forsdyke, director of the British Museum, received a vague report about Beatty's codices having been located in Germany, according to "the military authorities."[39] The

36. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit an den koptischen Manichaica," 180–81: "There [at the house of the father-in-law in Schondorf] Sir Chester Beatty had the parts of the Codices A and C picked up in the year 1946."

37. Rolf Ibscher reported in his broken English in a letter of October 6, 1955, to Beatty: "This wooden box [taken from the Zoo bunker] contained one Berlin manuscript (for which I had specially asked Mr. Seidel) to make certain, that at l[e]ast part of the Berlin collection also was saved, in addition those papyri which reached you in London in 1947 after Dr. Böhlig had separated them at Schondorf." In an interview on July 10, 1986, Prof. and Mrs. Böhlig confirmed the fact that they went to Schondorf in the absence of Rolf Ibscher and recalled having turned over the material after only a superficial examination of the contents.

38. Böhlig, in a letter of February 10, 1986: "Whether something was then confused when turned over to the emissaries of Chester Beatty, so that in the end result a Berlin part came to Dublin and an English part (the *Synaxeis* codex) to Göttingen / West Berlin, I consider to be quite possible. That the individual parts were not adequately marked I also consider possible."

39. From a letter of Forsdyke to Wilkinson of November 15, 1946: "The facts (so far as I have any) about Mr. Chester Beatty's papyri in Germany are that a box of papyri marked 'British Museum' but identified by us as his was found there and reported to me by the military authorities. I told them that I wished to receive them as soon as they could be released and despatched, and I have no doubt that this will ultimately be done in that order—if they are not in the Russian zone."

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military authorities in this case would seem to have been Squadron Leader Christopher Norris, in charge of seeking "works of art, etc., in Germany that come from Britain."[40]

Forsdyke had written Norris as early as February 15, 1946, that the British Museum would receive Beatty's material if he could deliver it.[41] This suggests that Norris had just written Forsdyke that Beatty's material had been located. The timing of such a letter would thus fit that of Ibscher's letters of January 28, 1946, to London. From this, one may infer that the unpublished Part One of Beatty's *Psalms*, Codex A, and his Volume Two of the *Kephalaia*, Codex C, were probably turned over to the American forces in Schondorf about 1946, and were kept in the Fine Arts Repository that the Americans established in Munich in 1946.[42]

At the beginning of October 1947 Lieutenant Colonel Hugh Murray Baillie, of the Fine Arts Commission of the British Zone located in Düsseldorf, brought to Düsseldorf two codices thought to belong to the British Museum. Norris realized that the material was that of Beatty he had been expecting.[43] Baillie brought the manuscripts to

40. From a letter to Wilkinson dated July 16, 1946, whose author is not known: ". . . a British officer who was charged with the duty of investigating the whereabouts and present condition of works of art, etc., in Germany that come from Britain. The officer in question saw Forsdyke, and it was, I think, from Forsdyke that I got the most detailed information." References to Norris in this capacity recur in subsequent correspondence.

41. A letter of F. Francis, Secretary of the British Museum, to Wilkinson of July 25, 1946 reports this fact.

42. Wilkinson wrote Beatty on October 9, 1947, what Baillie (see also the following note) had reported (based on a rough memorandum also in the Chester Beatty Archives and dated the same day): "Dr. Ibscher handed the Papyri to a relative of his in Bavaria. (This corresponds more or less with what young Ibscher told Dr. Gardiner, i.e. that after old Ibscher's death, young Ibscher handed them to his father-in-law in Bavaria). This relation (i.e., apparently the father-in-law) handed the MSS. to the Fine Arts Repository which was established by the Americans last year, and they were held by the Americans together with other property which was to be sent back to the Allies, or other quarters."

43. Wilkinson's letter of October 9, 1947, to Beatty continued:

> About a week ago Mr. Baillie was in Munich, arranging for the transfer of some fine arts property from the American to the British Zone, and these two parcels were handed to Mr. Baillie. He was told by the Americans that they thought it was British Museum property, and that it had been handed over by Dr. Gardiner to Dr. Ibscher. They handed it over readily, and were satisfied that it had come to Germany before the War. Mr. Baillie brought the parcels

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London[44] and delivered them on October 8, 1947, to Joan Kingsford Wood[45] of the staff of the Chester Beatty Library, who commented:[46]

> Evidently untouched and as they were when handed to Dr. Ibscher, as far as it is possible to tell.

Part of the London concern to recover the material had involved an effort to determine just how much and which material belonging to Beatty was in Germany. It turned out that no one actually knew; the only documentation that could be turned up referred only to two manuscripts, the parts of the *Psalms* and of the *Homilies* brought to London in April 1931 (see below).[47] Since this part of the *Homilies*

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back to his office in Düsseldorf, and informed Squadron-Leader Norris at the. Head Office; Norris recognized the parcels as your property about which I had had correspondence with him, i.e. Norris. Baillie was coming home on leave, and offered to bring the parcels to London himself. He had noticed that the Papyri, which he had opened, were very fragile.

44. Baillie's letter of October 5, 1947, to Beatty stated: "I have just brought over from Germany, on my return on leave, two codices, which I understand you sent to Dr. Ibscher of Berlin before the war. I collected them from Munich and it seemed the safest and quickest way of getting them back. Perhaps you would be good enough to let me know when it would be convenient for me to hand them over to you officially."

45. On October 8, 1947, Wood signed a receipt for "two parcels containing one labelled 'CODEX C' and the other 'MANICHEAN PSALM BOOKS.'"

46. Her note is not written on the receipt itself, but is handwritten by her on a letter of October 8, 1947 she received from John Wooderson, Beatty's secretary. In the note she refers to the "Psalm book "in the singular, thereby in effect correcting the receipt (see the preceding note).

47. On November 25, 1945,Wilkinson wrote Beatty asking "which MSS. were left with Ibscher." Beatty must have turned to Wood for information, for on November 28, 1945, she wrote him: "I have no note at all what Manichaean ms. or mss. were with Dr. Ibscher." The same day she wrote to Gardiner for assistance. On November 4, 1946, Wooderson wrote Wilkinson, asking him to inquire of Wood or Gardiner "exactly what were sent." Wilkinson talked to Wood, and on November 14, 1946, reported to Wooderson: "The MSS. were not, I should explain, dealt with by Mrs. Wood personally, in the first instance." She herself wrote Gardiner on November 14, 1946, "to ask if you happened to keep any note at all, of the number of Manichaean papyrus MSS. that were handed to Dr. Ibscher?"

He responded on November 16, 1946: "I am very sorry to say I cannot give you the information about the Manichaean papyri for which you ask. I never knew the number of rolls entrusted to Dr. Ibscher, but I believe his son to be perfectly honest and he will give Mr. Beatty the right information."

On November 16, 1946, she wrote to Wilkinson:

> There was one other source for details about the Mani MSS. which I fetched away yesterday morning, a day-book I used to keep. I found in it an entry

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(like Part Two of the *Psalms* codex taken to Berlin the end of 1930) had long since been conserved, published, and returned to London, the only material that was actually identified as having gone to Germany and that was actually still in Germany was Part One of the *Psalms* codex. Overlooked were the materials in the Chester Beatty Library Archives (cited above) concerning Part Two of the *Psalms* codex being taken by Ibscher to Berlin at the end of May 1930, and the bulk of the *Synaxeis* codex and Volume Two of the *Kephalaia* being taken by Ibscher to Berlin—perhaps both November 27, 1930. Of the three items at Schondorf, the English team had been aware of only one as being in Germany. It is thus out of ignorance and oversight that the false conclusion was reached that everything had been returned from Germany.[48]

Inquiries were immediately begun as to who might be enlisted to conserve the two book blocks. No one in England could be recommended, but several recommended Rolf Ibscher. For this reason, and also no doubt in gratitude, Rolf Ibscher was offered employment to continue the conservation begun by his father. On May 27, 1948, he

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for—

"May 8 1931 To Dr. Gardiner for Dr. Ibscher, the 2 Manichaean Coptic books, Hymns and Ritual Observances."

This is the only record I have found of ever having taken any Manichaean ms. in its original state to Dr. G.[ardiner] for Dr. I.[bscher]. The title 'Ritual Observances' may later have turned into 'Homilies' on examination? . . . As to whether these '2 Coptic books' later turned into 3 books, so-to-speak; or Mr. Beatty had one more afterwards, I cannot say.

This faint glimmer of awareness of there having been more than two that were turned over to Ibscher to conserve thus seems to have been dismissed. After the two codices had been returned from Germany, Wood appended a handwritten note to her file copy of her letter of November 28, 1945, to Beatty, to correct her comment to the effect that she had no notes about material going to Ibscher; she now quoted the note dated May 8, 1931, and added: "This date tallies fairly with that of 'April 1931,' written on one of the boxes returned Oct 8/47 from Munich." This must be the box containing the first part of the *Psalms*, since this was first brought to London April 1931 (see below) and was returned October 8, 1947.

48. Wilkinson wrote Wooderson on October 9, 1947: "the parcels appear to contain all the material which remained in Dr. Ibscher's hands. None of it has been mounted; it is still in its original condition. The two parcels contain (1) Codex C (2) The Psalm-books Papyri." In his letter the same day to Beatty, he also stated: "Further, a number of the mounted leaves marked 'Codex C,' at Baroda House, tally in size and appearance with the unmounted fragments of Codex C which have just arrived. The probability is, therefore, that we have got everything back at last."

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wrote Beatty accepting the offer, and incidentally covered himself by blaming careless American soldiers for whatever damages may have been suffered by the codices.[49] In the argosy from the Neues Museum to the Zoo bunker and on to Kleinmachnow, to Schondorf, to Munich, to Düsseldorf, and to London, American personnel of the Fine Arts Repository were responsible only for the approximately one-hour trip from Schondorf to Munich. Fortunately, a placing of blame was apparently not necessary.

Rolf Ibscher maintained as late as 1954 that all of Beatty's material thus survived,[50] though only a year later he explained to Beatty that the *Synaxeis* codex was among those taken to Leningrad.[51]

The other museum objects still stored in the Zoo bunker were taken by the Soviet forces to the Soviet sector of Berlin, before the Soviet forces vacated that part of Berlin in which the Zoo Station is located, which became the British sector. The loot from the Zoo bunker was deposited temporarily in a Soviet command post at the Friedrichsfelde Castle in the Soviet sector, as was indicated by a few glassed papyrus leaves turned in to the museum by persons reporting they found them there.[52] The hoard was then transported by train to

49. Ibscher wrote in his wooden English: ". . . I am not knowing how are the manuscripts being kept by the foolish way of acting of the American Military Service arbitrary, contrary to my entreaty. [Ibscher was not even in Schondorf when the codices were turned in. See note 37 above.] Surely the manuscripts were not treated carefully during the travelling over hedge and ditch. But how could this be expected by any soldier having not the slightest notion of the delicate material keeping in his hands!"

50. Rolf Ibscher, "Wiederaufnahme," 3.

51. Rolf Ibscher reported in his limited English to Beatty in a letter of October 6, 1955:

> The papyri were removed according to my arrangement from the bomb proof shelter (Zoo Bunker) in 1944 by my assistant at the Museum, Mr. Seidel, but Codex B [*Synaxeis*], sorry to say, seems to have been left behind. The reason being that the papyri had to be removed secretly in a frantic hurry, thus you can imagine how glad I *was,* when Mr. Seidel got past the SS-Guards with the invaluable little wooden box . . .
>
> Thus Codex B [actually the Berlin codex P^{15998}, the *Letters*], together with 3 Berlin manuscripts [P^{15996}, P^{15997}, P^{15999}] and all other glazed [glassed] Berlin Manichaean Papyri of the Museum [P^{15995} and leaves of P^{15996}, P^{15997}, and P^{15998}] were taken to Russia.

52. Wolfgang Müller, director emeritus of the Papyrus Collection in (East) Berlin, reported in 1986 that Rolf Ibscher told him this. Müller himself did not move to Berlin until 1951.

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Leningrad in 1946 (see below) and in principle returned to Berlin in 1958. But none of the book blocks were returned.

Although Michel Tardieu has reported that the bulk of P^{15997} and P^{15998} had been "destroyed or lost during the Second World War,"[53] no evidence has emerged indicating any loss during the war, though the loss of the P^{15997} and P^{15998} book blocks (and of P^{15999}, the unconservable bulk of the *Homilies* that Tardieu overlooked) remains unexplained. Otto Firchow, director of the Papyrus Collection in (East) Berlin at the time, moved to the British sector of Berlin in August 1960, and commended himself to the British as a refugee by reporting that he had brought with him Beatty's missing codex.[54] But when the package finally reached the British Museum in October 1960, it turned out to contain "only blank leaves of papyrus and a few inscribed fragments."[55] Firchow maintained that the packet had been "packed by Dr. Ibscher" and that he himself was not involved.[56]

On May 23, 1985, I visited the British Museum to go through the files left behind in the office of the retired conservator of papyrus Stanley Baker, and came upon what seemed to be the box turned in by Firchow. My inventory of this item reads:

53. Tardieu, "Les Manichéens en Égypte," 5–19, especially 6. With regard to his estimate of 1,000 lost leaves as "that which would have been lost in Berlin at the time of the events of the Second War," (7), he refers to Rolf Ibscher, "Mani und kein Ende," 223, who, however, does not here date the loss to the time during the war.

54. In a letter of August 29, 1960, Otto Firchow, replying to a letter from I. E. S. Edwards, who had written to him at the Papyrus Collection inquiring about Beatty's material, described his move as follows: "I myself have been compelled to surrender during the past few days under political and personal pressure the Direction of the Berlin Museum, Egyptian Department, and to flee to West Berlin. I have used this opportunity to take the Mani Papyri with me. In the next few days I will hand them over to the British Military Authorities."

Johannes Irmscher, at the time director of the Institut für griechisch-römische Altertumskunde of the Academy of Sciences of the German Democratic Republic entrusted with editing the Manichaean codices, has in a letter of March 27, 1989, interpreted Firchow's move as not a "Politicum," but merely as an effort to improve his situation.

55. In a letter to Beatty dated October 26, 1960, Edwards reported that the package had arrived the preceding Sunday, was opened on Monday, and had the contents as quoted above.

56. In a letter of October 28, 1960, from Firchow to Edwards.

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> Flat wooden box. Contains vestiges of Mani codex without text. Sheets of paper presumably used in conservation contain German writing presumably by Ibscher.

There were in Baker's office also 15 large green folders containing remnants of the Mani material (as well as a German newspaper fragment dated May 15, 1931). I submitted the inventory to the director of the Chester Beatty Library, Wilfrid Lockwood, on May 26, 1985. On June 25, 1985, Lockwood wrote Giversen to the effect he might want to consult the items I had located at the British Museum. Giversen has identified the material turned in by Firchow as insignificant vestiges of the *Psalms* codex, which, however, Giversen did not include in the *Facsimile Edition*.[57] Perhaps it is from Part Two of the *Psalms* codex acquired March 23, 1930, since the box containing Part One of the *Psalms* acquired in April 1931 had already been returned to London in 1947 along with Part One of the *Psalms* (see note 47 above). Presumably Hugo Ibscher had not gone to the trouble to separate and put between glass what he considered insignificant unidentified vestiges (even though they may impress us as relatively large and numerous), but apparently had left them in the box in which the codex had been kept prior to its conservation.

57. Giversen, *Psalm-Book. Part 1*, vii, xi:

> Still remaining to be published are some fragmentary pages and small fragments of the Psalm Book which were entrusted to Hugo Ibscher for conservation by A. Chester Beatty in the 1930s. These remained unrestored at Ibscher's death in 1943 and in 1960 they were transferred to the British Museum by the German Egyptologist Otto Firchow.
>
> Since the material taken to the British Museum [actually only to the British Sector of Berlin] by Otto Firchow has not yet been conserved, it has not been included in this publication. It is to be hoped that the extremely difficult and tedious work of restoring this material will be carried out by a skilled expert.

It is apparently to this same situation that Giversen referred vaguely in his Lund essay, "The Manichaean Texts from the Chester Beatty Collection," 269:

> A few fragments and a couple of fragmentary pages also from the Psalm-Book, are not yet conservated as they were left in Hugo Ibschers [*sic*] home in Berlin. It cannot be doubted that they belong to the Chester Beatty effects but they were, in a strange way, brought to the British Museum in the 1960's.
>
> A now deceased scholar informed me some years ago that they were there, but since there are some problems attached to them I will not say more about them here.

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Rolf Ibscher did not return the codex that he had kept in Schondorf to Berlin, to which he maintained it belonged, but rather, on his trips to and from London, worked at conserving the leaves while visiting his wife's family in Schondorf. Søren Giversen saw the material in Munich in 1955, by which time the West German authorities had taken control of the material.[58] He apparently did not identify it and presumably for that reason did not notify the Chester Beatty Library at the time. Carsten Colpe was engaged to edit it (from September 1, 1956, to November 30, 1957),[59] for which purpose it was moved to Göttingen. Böhlig was brought in as a consultant. In 1957 they noted running heads and chapter titles that identified the material as the *Synaxeis* codex.[60] Against this evidence, Rolf Ibscher's arguments that it must be the Berlin *Letters* codex P[15998] were in vain, and he ultimately somewhat grudgingly conceded the point.[61]

58. Mentioned by Giversen to P. Henchey, then librarian of the Chester Beatty Library, on May 8, 1980.

59. According to Carsten Colpe, in an interview on March 16, 1986.

60. Böhlig reported this discovery at the 24th International Orientalists' Congress in Munich in 1957. Böhlig published a summary, "Zu den Synaxeis des Lebendigen Evangeliums," 229–30. The full text was published in *Mysterion und Wahrheit*, 222–27, where Colpe's concurrence in this conclusion is expressly stated: "Thus one can assume, as C. Colpe also thinks, that the remainder of a Berlin codex discussed by C. Schmidt [P[15995]] forms with this codex a content unity, but no unity in terms of ownership."

Regarding Böhlig's views on the *Synaxeis* codex, see also Böhlig, "Synaxies = Homilia?" 485–86, "Die Arbeit," and *Mysterion und Wahrheit*, 186, for the identification of the *Synaxeis* codex.

61. Rolf Ibscher, "Der Mani-Fund," 227, referred to the codex as "for the time being the only Mani manuscript that remains to Germany." He combined this claim with the concession that the codex was the *Synaxeis* by appeal to the 31 leaves of the *Synaxeis* that Schmidt had acquired for Berlin and that were inventoried as P[15995]:

> . . . our so-called Schondorf manuscript from the Berlin Museum holdings, and hence now stationed in Göttingen, does not contain the corpus of Mani's letters, as was assumed at first. Quite clearly however . . . it belongs . . . to the codex that was entered by my father still, with 31 leaves, under the old Berlin catalogue number 15995. That is to say, my father began among the Berlin holdings with the conservation of this codex, and then deferred further work on it in favor of the more important *Kephalaia* manuscript that bears the number 15996.

This special pleading ignores the fact that P[15995], according to the Inventory Book, consists only of 31 leaves, which is all that Schmidt purchased for Berlin. The rest of the codex had already been acquired by Beatty. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 30, make this clear:

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Colpe gave up the editing assignment as hardly possible and called for a suspension of further conservation of individual leaves until that process could be accompanied by photographic documentation of each stage, which in effect brought the conservation to an end in 1957.[62] This termination of the funding and of the work could also have to do with the recognition that it had to do with property that did not belong to Germany. Rolf Ibscher died February 5, 1967.

As a result of the transport of Egyptological artifacts stored in West Germany to West Berlin from Celle in 1957 and from Wiesbaden in 1958, the creation of an Egyptological Section there in 1962, and the opening of the Egyptian Museum in Berlin-Charlottenburg in 1967, the conserved leaves and book block that Rolf Ibscher had not lived to finish conserving were deposited there.

In 1985 William Brashear, the curator of the Papyrus Collection of the Egyptian Museum of Berlin-Charlottenburg, asked me to provide whatever information I could about this material there in storage (of which the present report is the outcome), and to activate interest in it. On November 18, 1985, Joachim Karig, acting director of the Egyptian Museum, wrote me that he had consulted with the general director of the State Museums, Prof. Dube, and his representative, the director of the Antiques Museum, Prof. Heilmeyer, and they approved my request, made orally August 2, 1985, and in writing October 5, 1985, for authorization to enlist scholars to prepare an edition. Similar discussions with Dr. Wolfgang Müller, director of the Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection, and with Dr. Gisela Holan, first representative of the general director of the State Museums of Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR, led to a letter of authorization of August 14, 1987, from Müller, granting "approval for the scholarly work on

> . . . a collection of 31 leaves that have been brought under glass, which were acquired in the Fayyum and without doubt belong to the London Mani pieces.

Ibscher made the same erroneous inference in his report, "Über den Stand," 50–64, especially 60. The meeting at which the paper was presented took place on December 14–15, 1964. Thus he never surrendered the claim to German ownership, upon which he no doubt considered his chances of employment as conservator depended, since by this time his working relationship with Beatty had dissolved.

62. Ibscher held Colpe thus responsible for terminating the conservation, "Über den Stand," 60. But in fact Colpe thus rescued something for more sophisticated procedures than those of Rolf Ibscher, if in fact such can be at least hoped for from the future.

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and editing of the Coptic Mani texts of our Papyrus Collection according to the shared oral discussions." Wilfrid Lockwood, librarian and director of the Chester Beatty Library, who was kept abreast of the developments from 1985 on, also expressed himself willing to participate in such a cooperative plan, in such a way as to respect the commitment the Library had under his predecessor made with Søren Giversen (see below). I wrote Giversen proposing such cooperation on October 21, 1985 but received no reply.

I had invited scholars to participate, in announcements made at the 121st annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Anaheim, California, on October 19, 1985, at a conference of the Fachkommission Byzantinistik of the Historiker-Gesellschaft of the German Democratic Republic in Halle on February 21, 1986, at a conference of the Association Francophone de Coptologie at the Louvre in Paris on May 23, 1986, at the Second International Conference on Manichaeism in Bonn on August 9, 1989, and at the 18th International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Moscow on August 8–15, 1991.

During a sabbatical semester in Berlin the first half of 1986, I inventoried and organized for study the Manichaean material, and wrote the bulk of an extensive report, published below, of which the present paper is a summary. With regard to the *Synaxeis* codex, there are 125 conserved leaves (plus 5 glass frames of fragments) in Berlin-Charlottenburg, plus the remainder of the book block, where one page is exposed, making a total of 251 available pages that when added to the 31 leaves or 62 pages in East Berlin, makes a total of 156 conserved leaves and 313 accessible pages, with about 100 to 120 leaves unconserved in the book block.[63] The amount of legible ink is appallingly small, and the amount of text that can be recovered correspondingly minimal. Transcription efforts have been undertaken in West Berlin by Karen King, Stephen Patterson, Paul Allan Mirecki, and Wolf-Peter Funk. And 10 leaves were on loan for study in California from 1986 to 1988, where transcription work was done by Harold W. Attridge, Charles A. Bobertz, and Gesine Robinson, and in addition by Funk and Patterson. In 1988 these leaves were returned to Berlin, when 9 others plus 2 of the original leaves were brought to California for study; they were returned to Berlin the summer of 1989. In 1989 five

63. Ibscher estimated this number remaining in the book block after his work had come to an end, "Über den Stand," 60.

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further leaves were brought to America and returned in 1991. Nothing from this Berlin-Charlottenburg part of the *Synaxeis* codex has been published, except transcriptions of ten chapters or *Synaxis* titles by Paul Allan Mirecki,[64] and English translations of some phrases and sentences prepared by Wolf-Peter Funk are being published.[65]

The material brought to California was photographed by Bruce Zuckerman, director of the West Semitic Research Project of the University of Southern California, and his brother, Kenneth, a professional photographer. They photographed the bulk of the material in Berlin from July through August 1991. They are already well known for their success in the photography of otherwise hardly legible sections of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The results of their photography seem very promising. This will be even more the case if the computer enhancement technology that is already available to them can be enlisted in this project. This involves what is called a microdensitometer: A photographic negative is scanned in units (called picture elements) as small as 5 microns (i.e., five thousandths of a millimeter), each of which is assigned a number in terms of its shade of gray, with more than a thousand grades of gray to choose from (the human eye can distinguish only some 22 shades). These numbers can then be entered into the computer so as to project the image on the screen. Then the numbers derived from the shades of gray can be changed at will, e.g., reducing the number of all picture elements with a shade of gray below a certain number, thus lightening the light gray, and increasing the number of all picture elements with a shade of gray above a certain number, thus darkening the dark gray—from which a picture of much higher contrast results. Or the shades of gray can be assigned any color or shade of color, which is a promising alternative, given the ability of the eye to detect more distinctions among colors and their shades than among shades of gray. And the picture can be enlarged on the screen at will, producing the added effect of microscopic examination. A demonstration by the Perkin-Elmer firm of Pomona, California, at the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont

64. Mirecki, "Coptic Manichaean *Synaxeis* Codex," 135–45, has transcribed and translated what remains of thirteen chapter or *Synaxis* titles, ten from the material in Berlin-Charlottenburg, three from the material in Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR.

65. Funk has translated a number of phrases and sentences that he and other members of the Mani team transcribed. Karen King quoted these translations in King, "Progress Report."

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on May 19, 1989, indicates that the technology is already functional, though still prohibitively expensive.

Chester Beatty Library Codex C, Volume Two of the *Kephalaia*

Schmidt reported that the Fayyumic dealer had sold all three of his parts of the discovery to Beatty. As in the case of the *Synaxeis*, no definite reference to the acquisition of this codex has been located in the Dublin Archives, and yet one may assume that this material was acquired from the Fayyumic dealer. For since the *Psalms* and the *Homilies* may more probably have come from Nahman (see below), one may assume by the process of elimination that Volume 2 of the *Kephalaia* is from the Fayyumic dealer.[66] Since Schmidt talked to this dealer only in the spring of 1931, Beatty's acquisitions from him must have been earlier than that date.

In 1986 Søren Giversen published in the *Facsimile Edition* photographic reproductions of Volume 2 of the *Kephalaia*.[67] Though publication of a facsimile edition puts the facsimiles in the public domain, publication rights for an *editio princeps* are to be awarded by a committee consisting of Søren Giversen, president, Rodolphe Kasser, and Martin Krause.[68] Kasser was supposed to take administrative responsibility for editing this codex, but plans to involve Wolf-Peter Funk did not receive Giversen's approval.

In the Crum Archives (see below) there is a transcription (Crum Mss 11.30.10) of the page reproduced on plate 341 of the *Facsimile Edition*.

Chester Beatty Library Codex A, the *Psalms*, Part One

In April 1931 Beatty brought from Egypt two further Manichaean manuscripts and three wooden covers (i.e., three front or back covers, out of an original total of fourteen such covers). The covers are at the Chester Beatty Library in a large envelope, on which is written:

66. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 8. Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," ix, has referred to Beatty's acquiring three books "in the Cairo antiquities market" "in the year 1930," but this may have not been meant in any more precise sense than to say that beginning in 1930 he had been buying Manichaean texts in Egypt, i.e., the location may not have been intended to be any more precise than the inexact date.

67. Giversen, *Kephalaia*, facsimile edition.

68. See note 21.

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"Purchased Spring 1931." Apparently, these are the only covers still extant today, since those that Beatty acquired in 1930, and those of P^{15997} that Schmidt acquired in 1931 cannot be located at the Chester Beatty Library or at the Berlin Egyptian Museum.

No documentation has been located as to the dealer (or dealers) from whom Beatty acquired this material. The Fayyumic dealer is reported to have had three of the eight parts, and to have sold all his holdings to Beatty (except the scraps of P^{15995} removed to make the codex look clean for Beatty—a codex that Schmidt subsequently acquired). Since only seven codices were involved in the discovery, one must assume that one codex had been divided. If the initially divided codex had belonged to the Fayyumic dealer, then in selling his three parts to Beatty he would in fact have only sold two codices, presumably the bulk of the *Synaxeis* in two parts, and Volume Two of the *Kephalaia* (see above). Thus the report that Beatty acquired three units from the Fayyumic dealer does not require that one postulate that he acquired Part One of the *Psalms* from that dealer. It may be more probable that he acquired it from Nahman, from whom he had acquired the other part a year earlier.

The "good manners" of leading Cairo antiquities dealers has to do with the fact that they have a vested interest in the goodwill of a regular client. Some such manners may be suspected in the case of Nahman. For he showed Volume 1 of the *Kephalaia* to Schmidt early in 1930 when Schmidt was on his way to Jerusalem, and, even though Schmidt did not acquire it then, Nahman did not proceed to sell it to Beatty shortly thereafter, when Nahman offered Beatty parts of other codices that Beatty took on approval. Thus Nahman was careful to offer Beatty other codices than what he had offered Schmidt, thereby avoiding offending Schmidt but, by informing him of Beatty's acquisitions (without making clear to Schmidt that they had only been taken on approval), also making clear to him that these were fast-selling items of which he should take advantage. Schmidt did in fact concede that Beatty's decision to acquire the material was one factor in persuading him on his return trip from Jerusalem, in spite of a lack of funding, to go ahead with the purchase of the *Kephalaia*. On subsequent trips he acquired other parts of the same codex—acquisitions that indicated the continuing practice, to which Schmidt referred, of subdividing codices to increase their value, making a total

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of seven units of the one *Kephalaia* codex (see below), none of which seems to have been offered in the meantime to Beatty. It would have been in keeping with such an enlightened policy of self-interest that Nahman, having turned over to Beatty part of the *Psalms* codex and part of the *Homilies* codex in 1930, did not offer these to Schmidt, but held them for Beatty to acquire in 1931. Whereas Schmidt portrayed Nahman as "rejecting" Beatty after Schmidt got to him (see below), this fits much better the impression Nahman would have wanted to leave with Schmidt than the documented reality of his continuing business relationships with Beatty.

One of the two manuscripts brought to London in April 1931 was at the time designated "Manichaean Hymns" or "Manichaean MS. (Hymns) Psalms. Codex A,"[69] obviously the first and major part of the *Psalms* codex, of which Beatty had acquired the smaller concluding part the preceding year (see above).

Schmidt was eager to have access to the whole discovery. Ibscher informally broached in London cooperative procedures that Schmidt had envisaged; these procedures were incorporated in a letter of May 7, 1931, from Sir Alan Gardiner to his friend of long standing, Wilhelm Schubart, director of the Berlin Papyrus Collection. Beatty had initially sought to enlist his Egyptological friend Sir Alan H. Gardiner as his consultant and potential English coeditor. But Gardiner did not want to undertake such a large Coptic assignment, nor could Walter Ewing Crum, who was engrossed with completing his *Coptic Dictionary*. Hence Sir Herbert Thompson was settled upon as the British scholar to represent Beatty. On June 11, 1931, Thompson met with Schmidt in London, and they agreed formally on such a cooperative procedure:[70] Just as Ibscher had already been entrusted with conserving in Berlin

69. A two-ring binder that served as a kind of accessions book in the early years, now in the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library, lists for April 1931 Cairo "Manichaean Hymns," "Manichaean Ritual—Laws," "3 wooden covers." The black loose-leaf folder entitled "Papyrus: Biblical Manichaean Hieratic Greek etc. General Catalogue," in the section "Manichaean Pap.," p. 5ff., contains "DETAILS of when MANICHAEAN PAPYRUS were received and sent to Dr. Ibscher, for mounting." The first entry, dated April 1931, notes: "Brought by Mr. Beatty from Egypt," and itemizes: "Manichaean MS. (Hymns) Psalms. Codex A. *With Dr. Ibscher. May 8, 1931*." "Manichaean Ms. Ritual Laws. *With Dr. Ibscher. May 8, 1931*." "3 Covers." P. 6 reports "Entries from Day-Book." The first, dated May 8, 1931, reads: "*To Dr. G.*[ardiner] for *Dr. I.*[bscher] The 2 Mani Coptic books. Hymns and Ritual Observances."

70. Documented in letters of June 15, 1931, from Thompson to Beatty; of June 27, 1931, from Gardiner to Beatty, and of April 3, 1932, from Thompson to Beatty.

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both collections, H. J. Polotsky would be entrusted with transcribing and translating the material in Berlin as it was conserved. He would be under the supervision of Schmidt and Thompson, to both of whom copies of his work on both the Berlin and London parts would be regularly sent, to be translated by Thompson into English and distributed to Crum (for the *Coptic Dictionary*) and to Beatty. Polotsky's work and salary would be divided equally between Berlin and London. As the leaves were conserved and transcribed, those belonging to Beatty would be brought back to London, usually by Ibscher on his annual London trips to conserve other materials owned by Beatty, but, as it turned out, at times also by C. R. C. Allberry, and once by Beatty himself.

Thompson was concerned that Beatty's codices be published in England, where he would be primarily involved. But on February 6, 1932, Schmidt wrote Thompson proposing that some of Polotsky's transcriptions and translations of material belonging to Beatty be published in the forthcoming essay for the Prussian Academy. Thompson appealed to Beatty to block what he considered to be a serious breach of the agreement. Beatty wrote Schmidt on March 21, 1932, forbidding him the right of even mentioning his codices in print. And on April 16, 1932, Beatty wrote Ibscher to stop all conservation work on his codices until the matter could be discussed on his forthcoming visit to London.

Thompson protested to Beatty on April 3, 1932, that terminating the arrangement completely would violate the valid agreements that had been made, which would be especially unfortunate with regard to Polotsky, whose high quality was recognized and whose livelihood depended largely upon this work.[71] Yet on May 2, 1932, Beatty wrote Thompson that "very difficult business conditions" made it necessary for him to terminate the arrangement, though some phase-out for Polotsky should be arranged. Polotsky was then instructed to concentrate his work for Beatty on the one manuscript nearest to completion,

71. Thompson wrote Beatty: "He is an extremely learned and able young man; but he is not a naturalized German (being a Russian) and hence has no prospect of an official or University post; and has to make a living. I believe he has nothing but these 270Rm. (orig. 300Rm.) per month, i.e., at par £180 p. ann." The letter explains that the ten percent reduction had been a German reduction of all salaries effective the first of that year. The Prussian Academy paid half the salary, and Beatty paid the other half.

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the *Homilies*, with his salary terminating the end of May 1932. He was given until the end of June 1933 to edit it, with the right then to publish it in German, at no expense to Beatty, in Germany.[72] Thus Thompson's role, based on his assumption of an English edition, came abruptly to an end. The result was Polotsky's publication of the *Homilies* in 1934.[73]

The decisions not to acquire part of the *Homilies* and to terminate work on the Manichaean material, both of which were made by Beatty in the spring of 1932, seem to relate to each other in the sense that Beatty had decided not to engage further in the Manichaean venture. But he did later relent in part, permitting Schmidt and Polotsky in their article for the Prussian Academy to summarize Beatty's material though not to quote it. With regard to Ibscher, Beatty continued to use his valuable services to conserve his Manichaean and other papyrus holdings. Yet already on May 1, 1932, Thompson had quit in protest over Beatty's procedures, a move which facilitated the decision to permit Polotsky to publish in German. To judge by the exchange of correspondence, Beatty had really never fully accepted Thompson to replace his friend Gardiner as his representative in such negotiations.

The transcriptions and translations from various codices that Polotsky sent to Thompson for Beatty and Crum during this period of about a year of active collaboration are preserved at least in part in the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin and in the Crum Archives at the Griffith Institute in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. The copies that Polotsky provided to Schmidt (and later some that Alexander Böhlig provided) were preserved by the Archives of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin. In view of the fact that what has survived is considerably less legible than it must have been half a century ago, and in view of the unusually high quality of Polotsky's work, these transcriptions and translations, a number of which were never

72. Documented in a memorandum of a conference between Beatty and Gardiner on May 8, 1932, and letters of May 12, 1932, from Gardiner to Beatty, May 13, 1932, from Beatty to Gardiner, May 20, 1932, from Beatty to Thompson, and May 24, 1932, from Thompson to Beatty. Alexander Böhlig, in a letter of February 5, 1989, has speculated that Polotsky's learning in the spring of 1932 that he would lose this employment may have led him already then to begin inquiries regarding a position at Hebrew University in Jerusalem to which he moved in the spring of 1933, in view of the fact that the kind of salary paid by the Prussian Academy was not in itself a living wage, as Böhlig, his successor, himself experienced.

73. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*.

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published, are among the most important material to have survived the tragic postwar story of the Manichaean codices of Medinet Madi.

In the Crum Archive are copies of Polotsky's transcriptions from Part One of the *Psalms*, corresponding to the facsimile edition, Volume 3 (see note 78 below), plates 140, 161, 162, 243, 313, and 314.

On June 16, 1980, Søren Giversen applied to the Chester Beatty Library for permission to publish their Manichaean papyri, both for a facsimile edition and for a critical edition. The Trustees granted permission on June 26, 1980.[74] On November 24, 1982, Giversen applied for permission to have about 171 leaves sent on loan to Denmark. On January 14, 1984, 184 leaves (his original request plus the 13 *Synaxeis* leaves, see above) were deposited at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

On December 11, 1980, the librarian of the Chester Beatty Library at the time, Patrick Henchy, offered Giversen access to two files, one titled "Berlin Manichaean Papyrus Transcriptions," "From Sir H. Thompson July 1931 to May 18, 1932," obviously the transcriptions Polotsky had sent Thompson to pass on to Beatty during that time (see above); the other "A. Chester Beatty Manichaean Papyrus Codex A and B Translations," presumably Polotsky's translations and the English translations Thompson prepared for Beatty.

In 1984 Giversen presented, at the International Symposium on the Cologne Mani Codex, English translations of Psalms 136 and 119 that were published in 1986; and at the First International Conference on Manichaeism in 1987, he presented a Coptic transcription of the title and opening eight lines of Psalm 119 that was published in 1988. In the published form of the first speech, Giversen introduced his translation of Psalm 136 with a comment that apparently should actually have introduced Psalm 119, where the comment had in fact stood in the earlier transcript of his 1984 speech:[75]

74. Patrick Henchy, the librarian at the time, communicated this to Giversen on June 26, 1980.

75. Giversen, "Unedited Chester Beatty Mani Texts," 371–80, especially 376. Though in the published essay this statement comes immediately before the English translation of Psalm 136, this cannot be its correct place. For the opening of lines 30–33 in Giversen's translation of Psalm 136 is intact without lacunae, whereas Giversen's comment calls attention to something that has "gone lost." Furthermore Giversen had submitted to the trustees of the Chester Beatty Library on November 23, 1982, as a sample of his work, the transcription and translation of this same page, where lines 30–33 in his Coptic transcription have no lacunae at all. And there are no lacunae here in the *Facsimile Edition*, Volume 3, plate 189, where the text is unusually

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> From the notes and decipherment from 1931 I can see, that something has gone lost since then, especially at the beginning of lines 30–34.

Polotsky's name was not mentioned in connection with the reference to material of 1931, which was not clarified beyond the cryptic expression "notes and decipherment." In discussion during the 1989 conference at Bonn, Giversen explained that he had referred by name to Thompson and Polotsky, but that due to a typesetter's error, the names had fallen out; when I drew to his attention that in the typescript of his paper he had sent me prior to publication, the names were also absent, he said this must be due to a typist's error.

The publication of 1988 that contained the Coptic transcription made no reference to Polotsky's work at all. Polotsky had in 1931–1932 provided a Coptic transcription, a German translation, and notes to Psalm 119, each page of which concludes with his distinctive abbreviation of his name, "P-y." Since copies of Polotsky's transcriptions and translations were also forwarded by Thompson to Walter Ewing Crum, they are preserved in the Crum Archives in the Griffith Institution of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, where, according to records on file there, Giversen worked in August 1981.[76] Indeed Giversen's comment in 1986 in introducing his translation of Psalm 119 ("in fact it is possible that a new Psalm begins on page b, but unfortunately the upper part is almost illegible") would seem to reflect not only Polotsky's designation of the pages as a and b, but also his comment at the

legible. In fact, in the typescript of Giversen's lecture of 1984, the statement about the lacunae at the opening of lines 30–33 occurs immediately before the second English translation he presented—that of Psalm 119—where indeed the opening of the lines numbered 30–32 of his translation begins with lacunae, then with illegible material and a lacuna at the end of the English translation of line 33, as on p. 379 of the published lecture. In the *Facsimile Edition,* Volume 3, plate 162, the bottom left corner of the leaf (including text) is not extant. Thus one must assume that the statement has in view Psalm 119, rather than Psalm 136. Giversen confirmed this conjecture at the 1989 conference in Bonn.

76. In the Crum Archive, Polotsky's transcription and German translation of Psalm 119 occur on two pages each, since the Psalm straddles two pages of the codex. The first (Crum Mss 11.30.2 for the Coptic, Crum Mss 11.28.85 = Crum Mss 11.28.7 for the German = *Facsimile Edition*, Volume 3 [see note 78 below], plate 161) contains the first 8 lines of the chapter, which Giversen designates as "a." The second (Crum Mss 11.30.3 for the Coptic, Crum Mss 11.28.86 = Crum Ms 11.28.8 for the German = *Facsimile Edition*, Volume 3, plate 162) corresponds to what Giversen designates as "b," which ends with line 33. In Polotsky's Coptic transcription there are lacunae at the opening of lines 30–33.

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opening of the second page: "[Beginning of new hymn]," since hardly more than the illegibility of the opening lines suggests this alternative. Indeed Giversen apparently later reached a quite different view on this point from that of Polotsky, for the *Facsimile Edition*, Volume 3, plates 162 no longer considers this page as Psalm 119, lines 9–33 (or as Psalm 120, lines 1–25), but rather has the note: "[Incipit psalmus XII in linea 13.]"

The Coptic transcription of the title and opening eight lines of Psalm 119 that Giversen published in 1988 agree completely (except for dots under a few letters on two lines) with the work produced but not published by Polotsky in 1931.[77] This is particularly striking in the case of the eighth, the last line on the page, which reads identically in Polotsky's and Giversen's transcriptions.

The facsimile published in the *Facsimile Edition*, Volume III, Plate 161, shows that this last line of the page is almost completely illegible, with perhaps three or four letters that with great difficulty could be read, a few dots of ink that could be taken to be any letter, and lacunae in the bulk of the line. Yet Giversen's transcription is complete except for three letters restored in square brackets and two letters dotted, just as in Polotsky's. This transcription could not possibly be derived from the papyrus in its present condition. It is hence hard to avoid the inference that it derives from the transcription of Polotsky, obviously made at a time when more of the papyrus was extant, perhaps even before the leaf was removed from the book block. This is in a different way suggested also in the case of lines 30–33, where Giversen had commented "that something has gone lost since then [1931], especially at the beginning of lines 30–33," since his own translation does not have more lacunae than Polotsky's transcription and translation, whereas the published facsimile does indeed indicate that much less is now legible on these four lines than is present in Polotsky's transcription and in Giversen's translation.[78]

77. Giversen, "Manichaean Texts from the Chester Beatty Collection," 271.

78. Giversen, *Psalm Book, Part 1*, facsimile edition, plate 62, the last 4 lines. Polotsky's translation:

> (Wir sind) freudig zum Kampf (ausgezogen) und haben mit unseren Feinden gekämpft. (. . .) uns, o unser Gott, dass Du uns nicht verlassen wirst . . . . wir haben sie empfangen. Du weisst, o unser Herr, dass unsere Freunde und unsere Feinde (?) alle mit uns.

Giversen's translation:

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In the discussion at Bonn in 1989, Giversen explained that though he had worked in the Crum Archive more than once and had made use of Polotsky's transcription, this did not need to be mentioned in his article, since Giversen was not presenting a critical edition. He explained further that with the help of a microscope, he had been able to detect vestiges of ink from the top of the letters (the bulk of which are now in lacunae) that could fit the letters that Polotsky had read. Thus he could concur with Polotsky, though with dots under all these letters, though the dots disappeared due to typesetting errors—except for the two dots that are present, which happen to agree with those of Polotsky,—just as a typesetting error misplaced a diaeresis in another line.

Giversen published photographic reproductions of this major part of the *Psalms* codex in 1988, as volume 3 of the *Facsimile Edition*.[79] Publication rights for an *editio princeps* were to be awarded by the committee consisting of Søren Giversen, president; Rodolphe Kasser; and Martin Krause.

Chester Beatty Library Codex D, the *Homilies*

The other manuscript that Beatty brought from Cairo to London in April 1931 is designated in the Chester Beatty Archives as "Ritual Laws," and "Ritual Observances" (see above), though it apparently was a minor part of the *Homilies* codex—the major part of which (Berlin's P[15999]) Beatty had acquired with an option to buy in 1930, an option that he decided in 1932 not to exercise (see below). Presumably Beatty did not realize that what he decided not to buy in 1932 as unconservable was part of the same codex that he had bought in 1931 and had

[rejoicing to the agony; we have contended with our enemies; [ ] us, our God, that you will not abandon us. [ ] have we received. You know, O Lord, that all our friends and our enemies . . .

79. Wood also suggested this identification in a letter of November 16, 1946 to Wilkinson (see note 44): "The title 'Ritual Observances' may later have turned into 'Homilies' on examination?"

Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," ix, confirmed the identification of the text acquired in 1931 with the *Homilies*: "The Mani text published here lay as a shapeless mass along with the Psalm Book when Mr. A. Chester Beatty turned this over to me in London to work on."

Alexander Böhlig, in a letter of February 5, 1989, has suggested that the designation "ritual laws" or "ritual observances" may have been due to the subscript title of the first text in the *Homilies* reading (7,7) "The Sermon of the Prayer Is Completed."

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already paid to have conserved and edited. In view of the fact that the major part of this codex had been obtained on approval in 1930 from Nahman, one may assume that it was Nahman who sold Beatty the other part in 1931, perhaps in hopes thus to move Beatty actually to complete the transaction for the first part (whose price had already been reduced in 1930 from £700 to the same level of £500 that Beatty had paid in 1930 for part of the *Psalms* codex).

H. J. Polotsky has published this part of the codex, the first text from this discovery to be published.[80]

In 1987 Søren Giversen published photographic reproductions of the *Homilies* as Volume 2 of the *Facsimile Edition*.[81]

CARL SCHMIDT'S ACQUISITIONS

One may now turn to the 5 holdings (three codices and parts of two others) in the Papyrus Collection of the State Museums of Berlin that were acquired by Carl Schmidt in a series of transactions from 1930 to 1932.

Papyrus Collection, Berlin, P^{15995}, 31 leaves of the *Synaxeis*

Schmidt reported that in the spring of 1931 he had acquired in the Fayyum for the sake of completeness the remains of a codex, the bulk of which Beatty had already acquired, and that from this jumble 31 leaves could be conserved. This must be the 31 leaves of the *Synaxeis* codex in the Papyrus Collection of Berlin, inventoried as P^{15995}, since the only other codex shared between Beatty and Berlin was the *Homilies* codex, the Berlin part of which (P^{15999}) was acquired from Nahman after Beatty had released his option (see below). The Inventory Book of the Papyrus Collection of the Berlin Museum's records in Wilhelm Schubart's hand concerning P^{15995} (and also concerning P$^{15996–8}$): "Acquired through Prof. Carl Schmidt, in Cairo, 1931. Gift of Mr. August Pfeffer 1933." These 31 leaves were taken with the other Berlin Museum holdings in 1946 to Leningrad, to be returned to Berlin with the other material in 1958 (see above). They went together with the other glassed Manichaean leaves in the Storage of the Papyrus Collection of (East) Berlin. Gesine Robinson prepared two

80. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*.

81. Giversen, *Homilies and Varia*, facsimile edition.

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draft transcriptions of the 62 pages in 1985 and 1986, but nothing has been published, except for three titles included among those that Paul Mirecki published.[82] The quality of the leaves varies considerably, but, as in the other cases, the amount of retrievable text is much less than the number of extant pages might lead one to expect.

Papyrus Collection, Berlin, P15996, Volume One of the *Kephalaia*

It was part of this codex that had been shown first to Carl Schmidt early in 1930 in Cairo, which he was able to identify from Epiphanius's reference to it. Schmidt, in transit to Jerusalem, did not acquire it, but on his return trip through Cairo he acquired it on credit. On his second trip early in 1931 and on his last visit to Cairo in the spring of 1932, Schmidt was shown each time two further lots, apparently from the same codex, which he also acquired.[83] Ultimately, Hugo Ibscher listed a total of 7 acquisitions by Schmidt of parts of this one codex.[84] A Prof. Grohmann of Prague acquired vestiges from the missing pages 311–30 for the Austrian National Library.[85]

82. See note 64 above.

83. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 7–8.

84. Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," vi-vii:

> Hence the *Kephalaia* did not come to Berlin in one volume, but in two larger packets and five weaker layers. All of course nicely jumbled! . . . Purchase I is now pp. 1–18. Purchase II is now pp. 19–310. Purchase III is now pp. 331–56. Purchase IV is now pp. 357–76. Purchase V is now pp. 377–94. Purchase VI is now pp. 395–414. Purchase VII is now pp. 421 to the end.

What survived of the missing segment pages 415–20 are described as "paltry remains," "which can hardly be identified." What was considered the last extant leaf, though lacking pagination, was identified with the help of the chapter number 200 as being pages 501/502. A fragment with the pagination 514 stuck to this leaf indicates that the codex originally continued beyond the last extant leaf. Wolf-Peter Funk examined on August 11, 1986, the Warsaw leaf labeled pages 499/500 and detected there a chapter number in the 200s, which would require a pagination in the 500s, thus putting in question whether what was considered the last extant leaf is pages 501/502.

85. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 8 n. 1. This material, forwarded from Vienna to Berlin for Ibscher to conserve , and then returned to Vienna (*Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte, vii), is in four glass containers with the inventory number K 11010. Remains of three leaves labeled pages 311–16, but perhaps more likely pages 313–16, 319–20, have been identified, together with a dozen unidentified fragments. Schmidt and Polotsky refer only to fragments of two leaves having been "rescued," no doubt since the third is no more than a larger fragment hardly deserving the designation leaf. Gardner, *Coptic Theological Papyri*. "III. Unpublished pages from the Manichaean

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After World War II five of the Berlin *Kephalaia* leaves emerged in Warsaw, presumably the result of the looting of trains taking Berlin Museum holdings to Leningrad in 1946. Lothar Berfelde,[86] founder of the Gründerzeit Museum of turn-of-the-century furniture now in Mahlsdorf near Berlin, had lived for a brief time in the Friedrichsfelde Castle (with whose previous owners he was distantly related), after it was no longer used as a Soviet command post. During the period in which it was a command post (spring 1945 to spring 1946), he recalled libraries being stored there awaiting shipment to the Soviet Union, though he did not know the specific contents of the crates. German crews, even after the war, manned the trains from Germany through Poland (though different gauge tracks at the border to the Soviet Union called there for different trains and crews). Berfelde reported that a friend since childhood, who worked for the German railroads, told him that in the countryside Poles would stop these trains, disconnect the engine, and make the German crews drive away in the engine, leaving the freight cars in the fields unattended, for the Poles to loot.

Wincenty Myszor reported on July 14, 1986, concerning these leaves:

> The Manichaean manuscripts that are now in Warsaw surfaced shortly after the last war under not fully clarified circumstances. One always speaks about a place Brodnica, near Toruń (Thorn) . . . The plates are said to have been at first in a private collection, then in some way (bought? acquired?) reached Prof. J. Manteuffel, the leader of the Institute for Papyrology of Warsaw University; he turned over a part of the manuscripts to the National Museum as a deposit. There are also rumors according to which the plates in the National Museum came directly from Brodnica to Warsaw, to Prof. Michalowski. Prof. J. Manteuffel and Prof. K. Michalowski wanted to return the leaves to Berlin. This did not succeed. In the '60s this matter is said to have almost landed in the Ministry.

Thus far H. J . Polotsky and Alexander Böhlig have published pp. 1–292 of the *Kephalaia*.[87] Of these, only pages 35/36 and 61/62 are missing from the boxes containing pp. 1–440.

Kephalaia," 53–55, gives a more detailed report.

86. Lothar Berfelde was interviewed on April 18, 1986, in Mahlsdorf and East Berlin.

87. Polotsky and Böhlig, *Kephalaia* (Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen

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In Vienna there are three unpublished leaves, labeled pp. 311–316 (though they may be pages 313–16, 319–20, see note 85), as well as fragments.

In Warsaw there are five unpublished leaves, labeled pp. 447–54, 499–500. The pagination assigned to the last leaf may be inaccurate, since Wolf-Peter Funk has detected on it a chapter number beyond 200, which would require pagination in the 500s.

In Berlin 120 unpublished pages are in boxes: pages 293–310, 331–82, 387–414, 417–18, 421–40. Pages 455–56 are also present, making a total of 122 unpublished pages (61 leaves) that have been assigned pagination.

All that remains of pages 311–30 is in Vienna (see above). The absence of pp. 383–86, 415–16, and 419–20 is noted on cards in the relevant boxes in the hand of Rolf Ibscher's assistant, Otto Werner Luke. Since only the bottom half of pages 417–18 is extant, it is possible that it may be part of pages 413–14, of which only the top half is extant; the alignment of vertical fibers is inconclusive.

There are also 30 plates numbered not by pagination but by plate, 1–30, and 2 plates listed as "*Kephalaia* without number." Since item 23 is more a group of fragments than a leaf, there would be a total of

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Museen Berlin), herausgegeben im Auftrage der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften unter Leitung von Prof. Carl Schmidt, 1. Hälfte (Lieferung 1–10): v–xiv, "Die Handschrift," by Hugo Ibscher; pp. 1–102 by Polotsky, and pp. 103–244, 20 by Böhlig, according to p. iv (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940). Böhlig, in a letter of February 5, 1989, has confirmed that there were no draft transcriptions or translations by Polotsky of pp. 103ff. on which Böhlig's work was based, but that Böhlig edited them alone. Böhlig, *Kephalaia* (Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin), herausgegeben im Auftrage der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, zweite Hälfte (Lieferungen 11-12 = Coptic pages 244, 21–291) (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1966). Concerning the publication of these pages one may note the comment in the *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Jahrgang 1942 (Berlin: Akademie, 1943), 66–67 (see also n. 90 below):

> Since Dr. Böhlig was enlisted in the army from x 41 on, the first double fascicle of the second volume of the *Kephalaia* could not yet be completed, although already 4 quires had been sent in to the publisher ready to print. Besides, the printing house has been limited by the lack of specialists. But it hopes in a while to be able again to take up the work on the *Kephalaia*. In the second half of August work could begin again on the reading of quires 5 and 6. It was possible to improve them materially. But as a result of the bad condition of preservation, the manuscript could not be finally completed.

Böhlig has also published p. 292, "Ja und Amen in manichäischer Deutung," 59–70, reprinted in his *Gnosis und Synkretismus* 2:638–53, especially 2:640–41.

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31 plates without assigned pagination but labeled as belonging to the *Kephalaia*. But since plate 30 contains 2 leaves, the figure rises again to 32 unpublished leaves numbered by leaf rather than by an assigned pagination.

The last reported page is page 501–2, but since a fragment with the pagination 514 was stuck to this last extant page (see note 84), one may assume the codex continued, perhaps to include as quire 22 pages 505–28. But if in fact the leaf 501–2 were the last extant leaf (it has not been identified), the extant leaves without assigned pagination would fall within the area of pages 441–46, 457–98, and 501–2, a total of at least 25 leaves. Since Rolf Ibscher, to illustrate how fragile the material was, admitted atomizing a leaf with a sneeze, one may assume there should be a total of at least 24 leaves (48 pages) without assigned pagination. Thus the 32 leaves labeled *Kephalaia* might include 8 more than one would minimally expect to be extant from the *Kephalaia*. But if in fact the Warsaw leaf labeled 499–500 should be renumbered in the 500s (see above), then all the leaves labeled *Kephalaia* could in fact belong to that codex. Otherwise one would need to assume that the excess 8 leaves belong to another codex, such as P^{15998}, the *Letters*. Plate 29 had originally had a printed label reading P^{15998}, and perhaps Plate 30 as well, though now the number is rubbed off, with 15996 written in by hand in both cases; these may hence be tentatively ascribed to P^{15998}. The two without numbers that had been stacked together with P^{15998} are, however, tentatively included still with P^{15996}. Hence the number of unpublished leaves that have not been assigned pagination would tentatively stand at 29 equals 58 pages (those numbered plates 1–28, minus 1 that consists of fragments, equals 27; plus 2 leaves labeled "*Kephalaia* without number," equals 29 leaves).

Thus 122 unpublished pages with assigned pagination and some 58 pages without assigned pagination in Berlin, plus 6 pages in Vienna and 10 in Warsaw—a total of some 196 unpublished pages of Volume 1 of the *Kephalaia*—are still extant, although here, as in other cases, the amount of extant text is very much smaller than this figure would suggest.

Wolf-Peter Funk resumed transcription for a time (using P and a raised numeral to identify fragmentary pages), but it extended only from P^{293} to P^{295}, line 11 (concluding with the title of chapter 123).

Hugo Ibscher had not completed the conservation of some leaves, and for this reason they lay unglassed in folders in his home during

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the war. But his conservation had apparently left no book block of unconserved leaves of the *Kephalaia*.

On July 16, 1986, 8 additional plates of only temporarily sealed plates of fragments were located in the Storage of the Papyrus Collection of (East) Berlin, with a note on a piece of paper reading: "Defined and undefined Mani fragments (framed without color)—8 plates." They contain largely unidentified fragments, presumably from the *Kephalaia*, including a few labels: "P[479] to *Kephalaia*," "459/60," "*Kephalaia* top right 503/4??," "*Kephalaia* 423–424." Plate 1 does contain a fragment with the pagination 479, but fragments with the other paginations were not found. The leaf 423/424 is extant in its proper box, though the pagination is not present.

Reinhold Merkelbach has remarked that chapter 138 is lost except for Polotsky's published German translation: "The Coptic text is lost, there still exists only the German translation."[88]

However, an examination of the papyri in the Papyrus Collection of (East) Berlin on December 13, 1988, tended to indicate that the papyri containing this chapter are in fact not lost.[89] Merkelbach has confirmed that he had no specific reason for postulating that the leaf or leaves containing this chapter were lost. (Polotsky's transcription has subsequently been located in Berlin; see note 90.)

Transcriptions of 51 unpublished pages of the Berlin *Kephalaia* preserved in the Archives of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin (42 by Polotsky and 9 probably by Böhlig)[90] may contain more text than

88. Merkelbach, *Mani und sein Religionssystem*, 18, n. 9.

89. Chapter 136 begins on page 337, chapter 137 on p. 338, chapter 138 on page 340, chapter 140 and 141 both on page 343. The leaf labeled 341/342 is also extant, on which the continuation and conclusion of chapter 138 (and the beginning of chapter 139) presumably take place. Yet the identity of the leaf in question seemed at first uncertain. For the labels reading 339/340, and with the chapter numeration 138, were affixed in such a way that when the labels were at the top of the page, the writing was upside down, so that the leaf needed to be returned to its upright position. Nor did the fiber directions conform to the pattern of like fiber directions on facing pages. But if the side labeled 339 is relabeled 340, and that labeled 340 relabeled 339, the fiber pattern becomes normal. Furthermore, only on the basis of these corrections do the profiles of this leaf and that of the preceding and following leaves conform to one another. Thus once I made these corrections, the codex seems at this part to be intact, though the text is less legible that it was half a century ago, to judge by the extant German translation.

90. Schenke, "Gnosis-Forschung 1984–1988," a paper read at the Fourth International Congress on Coptic Studies of the International Association for Coptic

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the surviving unpublished papyrus itself, in view of the deterioration that the papyrus may have undergone during the intervening half century. Five of these same pages of transcriptions from the *Kephalaia* by Polotsky are also in the Archives in Dublin (pp. 343, 344, 353, 354, 366). There are also 2 pages of transcriptions from the *Kephalaia* by Polotsky in the Archives in Oxford; although they have not yet been definitely identified (they are right-hand and hence odd-numbered pages), the conventional numeration that Polotsky assigned would suggest that Crum Mss 11.30.23 is page 341 and Crum Mss 11.30.24 (= 11.30.27) is page 347, thus indicating they are also duplicates of those of the Academy in Berlin.

The transcriptions of half a century ago should be made promptly available to the public in some way, with due recognition to the scholar who actually did the work, and especially to Polotsky, in view of the fact that none of Polotsky's work on the *Kephalaia* published during the Nazi period could appear with his name on the title page.[91]

Papyrus Collection, Berlin, P^{15997}, the *Acts*

According to Schmidt's report, the Fayyumic dealer had explained that the provincial dealer had sold his two parts to Nahman, who had sold them to Schmidt. By the process of elimination, it can be determined that P^{15997} is one of these two: Nahman told Schmidt he acquired for Schmidt the two codices held by the provincial dealer after Nahman had "rejected" Beatty. This so-called rejection cannot be dated to a

Studies in Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium, September 5–10, 1988, lists the following pages: 293, 301–7 (= chs. 125–29), 334, 337–57, 359–73 (= chs. 135–50), 395–99 (= chs. 157–60), 413. Alexander Böhlig, in a letter of February 5, 1989, reports that from samples that Schenke provided him of the script, he could ascribe pages 334, 337–57, 359–73, and 395–99 to Polotsky; and pages 293 (broken off), 301–7 (307 broken off), and 413 probably to himself. The *Jahrbuch der Preussichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1941* (Berlin: Akademie, 1942), 63, reported concerning Böhlig's work: "The fascicle 11/12 has been worked out apart from a few details (pages 244 to 292). Over and above that, transcriptions of the pages 300ff. could be carried out."

91. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 183 n. 1, stated: "The names of the real editors are missing from the title page for the following reason: The name of H. J. Polotsky was not supposed to appear on the title page in the Nazi time because of the racial legislation. But I turned down the naming of my name alone." It was in fact reported in *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte (1940), iv, at the conclusion of the preface: "The first two double fascicles Dr. H. J. Polotsky prepared. From p. 103 on Dr. A. Böhlig has taken his place."

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time prior to Schmidt's seeing the *Kephalaia* on his first trip, for on his return from Jerusalem Nahman admitted having sold in the intervening time to Beatty. Thus it can hardly be the *Kephalaia* that belonged to the provincial dealer. Schmidt acquired the 31 leaves of the *Synaxeis* from the Fayyumic dealer. And he acquired the bulk of the *Homilies* codex from Nahman via Beatty (see below), when Beatty released the option that he had held on it since March 23, 1930. Thus the two codices in the hands of the provincial dealer must by the process of elimination have been the *Acts* and the *Letters* (see below). In fact the *Acts* must be the codex that Schmidt reported acquiring in the spring of 1931, when he said he had acquired a codex still in its original wooden covers.[92] For in describing P^{15997}, he reported that it was acquired in its covers, and a photograph of this codex in its covers was published. The covers cannot be found at the Egyptian Museum of (East) Berlin, according to Günter Poethke, Custos of Greek Manuscripts in the Papyrus Collection.

Apparently only a few leaves were conserved, just enough to identify the codex. Alexander Böhlig saw one in 1953, which hence must not have been taken to Leningrad (whence material was returned only in 1958), but must have stayed in Berlin in 1946, presumably in the Ibscher home, though the leaf had been conserved well before the war. When Böhlig could not relocate it in Berlin in 1960, he was told by Rolf Ibscher that Ibscher by mistake had taken it to London.[93] It was moved from London to Dublin, but was among those leaves put on deposit in Copenhagen. Facsimiles were published in 1987 in volume 2 of the *Facsimile Edition*, though the identification is there left open. When one compares Schmidt and Polotsky's summary with the segments that Giversen translated,[94] there can be little doubt that

92. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 7, 8, 27, and Plate 2.

93. Böhlig reported this in an interview in Tübingen on July 10, 1986.

94. Giversen, "Manichaean Texts from the Chester Beatty Collection," 269: "This must either be a parallel text to that mentioned by C. Schmidt or physically be the same. I shall not say much more about this here, since I have dealt with it in the edition Vol. II pp. VIII–IX and I hope to return to it in connection with a preliminary critical edition and translation of the text." The plates are published in Giversen, *Homilies and Varia*, viii–ix, plates 99–100. On page viii Giversen states:

> The two pages have a text with some historical information, and this can be identified with similar information reported by C. Schmidt from a leaf in Berlin . . . Exactly the same persons are mentioned: Thadamor, Amarô, Sapores the hyparch, Narsaph, Hormezd, Innaios, Abiesus and others. This

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it is in fact the same text, and, since there is no second copy of the *Acts* among the codices from Medinet Madi,[95] it is no doubt the same copy.

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must either be a parallel text to that mentioned by C. Schmidt, or the leaf must physically be the same. Parallel texts are well known from other papyri, e.g., in the Nag Hammadi texts the two very close long versions of the Apocryphon of John, and the two versions of the Gospel of Truth.

The reference is to Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 28–29:

> Another piece leads us into a later time of Manichaeism. Here a mass of unknown persons come forward . . . Obviously it is here a matter of events that take place within the Persian Kingdom . . . It has to do further with the position assumed by provincial governments toward the Manichaean religion, some of which are disposed positively, especially Amara, who is designated as the "great patron" of the Manichaeans, since they enjoyed his support. Hence one of the heads of the Manichaeans turns to him with the request that he intervene for the persecuted believers in Persia with the king Narsaph, i.e., Narses (293–302). Amaro Innaios takes on this task and sends letters to the higher king that are crowned with success in that the persecutions cease. In these negotiations there occurs a certain, who is apparently the transmittor of the communication of Amaro Innaios to the king. He has an audience with King Narses, the result of which is that the suppressions and persecutions of the teachers and believers are suspended on the order of the king.

Giversen, "Unedited Chester Beatty Mani Texts," 379–80, republished in "Manichaean Texts from the Chester Beatty Collection," 269, has translated segments of this text:

> He told us that the king had arrived into the neighbourhood of our shepherd Innaios, together with the noble Persians who were his assistants. He spoke to him . . . He asked him to go to the king. He achieved mercy for us from him and stopped the (1986: our] destruction. The king together with the noblemen, who were many . . . Innaios, shall I raise Innaios went into . . . of the king [Sapores].

At the 1989 conference in Bonn, Giversen reported that after a visit to the Papyrus Collection in (East) Berlin he had decided that the relevant leaf is not there and that the leaf in Copenhagen is from this codex.

95. There is a *Kephalaia* codex in Dublin and one in Berlin, but they are not two copies of the same text, but rather a two-volume set. The *Homilies* material in Dublin and that (originally) in Berlin apparently belong to the same codex, rather than being two copies of the same text. With regard to Giversen's reference to duplicates in the Nag Hammadi library, all the duplicate texts within that collection of 13 codices prove on closer examination to belong to separate subgroups, only secondarily merged into a collection of collections. Of course in larger manuscript discoveries there are duplicates, e.g., among the Dishna Papers (as the discovery is referred to in Upper Egypt that the academic community has usually referred to as the Bodmer Papyri, since these form the largest block), the Gospel of John: in Greek, P^{66} = P. Bodmer II, and P^{75} = P. Bodmer XIV–XV; and in Coptic, P. Bodmer III, Chester Beatty ac. 1390, and perhaps P. Palau Ribes 182. Yet the Dishna Papers

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There are 7 (or 8) leaves of this codex in the Papyrus Collection of (East) Berlin.[96] Thus there are extant 9 (or 10) unpublished leaves, 18 (or 20) unpublished pages.

Transcriptions of 3 pages that Schmidt and Polotsky used in their essay are preserved by the Archives of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin.[97]

Part of one leaf has perhaps turned up at the Institute for Papyrology of Warsaw University.[98]

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also comprise a collection of collections or of individual codices and scrolls from a variety of provenances, whereas the Manichaean codices seem to be a set emanating from a single scriptorium.

96. The Inventory Book of the Papyrus Collection in (East) Berlin has penciled notes: "partially glassed," "8 leaves," and, initialed by Rolf Ibscher, "8 leaves are back." It is this reference in the Inventory Book that is no doubt responsible for the comment, "8 leaves in Berlin," in Müller's preliminary listing, "Die koptischen Handschriften," 65–85. This number was then repeated in Beltz's catalogue. But one of the 8 leaves there now has a printed label that reads P^{15998}; where the 8 has been marked out and a 7 written in by hand, a hand identified by Poethke as that of Luke. The leaf also has a separate label in ink reading 36, with the 6 marked out and replaced in pencil with 2. But the labels for the individual leaves of P^{15997} use Roman numerals, with the highest IX, whereas P^{15996} and P^{15998} use Arabic numerals for individual leaves (and where some renumbering also occurs, see there). When one notes that the size of the glass panes in which the leaf in question is conserved is not the large format, used for P^{15998}, but a smaller format used for the 7 leaves of P^{15997}, one can wonder if one smaller leaf of P^{15998} was packed for transport by size along with P^{15997}. When the material was returned from Leningrad, it may have been merely assumed that the eighth small leaf was part of the same codex with which it was packed, and the label "corrected" accordingly. Yet though the extant papyrus is indeed smaller in its dimensions than is usual for P^{15998}, the profile and the frayed edges are not what is characteristic of P^{15997}, though Stephen Patterson has noted a similarity in the scribal hands. The numeration attached to the leaves in Berlin does reach IX, which might suggest that nine leaves had been identified as belonging to P^{15997}. It could have been that the apparent contradiction of these 9 plates with the record in the Inventory Book of 8 having been conserved is what led Rolf Ibscher to "return" one to London. But there is also a leaf (actually only a narrow strip) in Warsaw (see note 98). The identity of the eighth leaf in Berlin thus remains uncertain.

97. Schenke, "Gnosis-Forschung 1984–1988" (see note 90 above).

98. Beltz, "Katalog der koptischen Handschriften," 97–98, states to I 605 = P^{15997}: "In Warsaw there is at present a leaf from this codex at the University." Inventories of July 12, 1986 by Wincenty Myszor and of August 11, 1986 by Wolf-Peter Funk indicate that there is a plate numbered 499/500 that is labeled P^{15997}, though it seems to belong (with 4 other leaves) to P^{15996} (though Beltz does not list it at P^{15996}). But a sixth leaf, between much smaller panes of glass and taped with a different colored tape, has a label whose last digit is illegible (P^{1599}). Myszor read the last digit as 7 but added, it "is not quite clear—it can also be 6!" Funk could not read the digit, since part of

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Stephen J. Patterson has made draft transcriptions of the seven leaves in Berlin and has as well transcribed the facsimiles of the one leaf in Copenhagen.

The unconserved book block is assumed to have been among the (East) Berlin Museum holdings that were taken to Leningrad in 1946, but when those holdings were returned in 1958, the book block was not present. What actually happened to it is not known. The missing wooden covers may have shared the same fate as the book block, from which they may never have been separated, since the conserved leaves may not have been the first and/or last leaves of the codex, but may have been exposed by the dealers breaking the codex open in the middle.

Papyrus Collection, Berlin, P^{15998}, the *Letters*

The second of the two codices that the provincial dealer acquired, and passed on to Nahman to sell to Schmidt, can be determined by the same process of elimination to be P^{15998}.

As in the case of the *Acts*, only a sampling of leavings was conserved, to provide an initial identification. Six leaves are recorded in the Inventory Book of the Papyrus Collection of Berlin as having been taken to Leningrad and returned in 1958. They have been identified in a recent inventory of the material currently in the Papyrus Collection of Berlin as a separate stack with plates of a distinctive format numbered B 12, 13, 21, 23, 24, and 25. (Though 13 had lost its label, it could be identified by means of letters transcribed in Beltz's inventory; see note 3.) But 3 leaves, presumably also conserved by Hugo Ibscher, turned up after World War II in the National Museum in Warsaw.

Alexander Böhlig conjectured that 13 leaves of this codex were by mistake taken to London.[99] This conjecture is based in part on a comment by Rolf Ibscher that the 13 leaves in London were of "an unusually large format," a description that Böhlig thought singled out

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the paper was broken off, but noted on the other side of the leaf a label of recent date reading "to P^{15997}." This "narrow strip of papyrus" that is scarcely legible (Funk) may hence come from P^{15997}, though this is far from certain. Whether it would be part of one of the leaves taken to Leningrad or counted as a separate leaf is unclear, and hence it is unclear whether it would have been a separate one of the nine leaves that the numeration system suggests, an ambivalence that would tend to obscure even further the identity of the uncertain leaf in Berlin.

99. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 186–87.

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the *Letters* codex. Yet all the codices may have about the same dimensions, except for the smaller Psalms codex.[100] Böhlig's view is in part based on the absence from the leaves in Berlin of the running heads of 4 pages that Schmidt and Polotsky read, which suggested to Böhlig that these running heads might be on the leaves then in London. But, according to Wolf-Peter Funk's transcriptions, they have been located on the leaves in Warsaw. Böhlig concluded his argument with the comment that "a glance at the London leaves should suffice to solve all these problematic questions with one blow." It was not at the time possible for him to examine them in London. But the *Facsimile Edition* alone suffices:[101] The leaves are not unusually large and do not contain the running heads that Schmidt and Polotsky quoted. Hence these 13 Dublin leaves that Hugo Ibscher labeled as Codex B seem to belong to Chester Beatty Library Codex B, the *Synaxeis* codex, not to the *Letters*, though the 6 leaves of this codex conserved by Hugo Ibscher were also labeled B.

Rolf Ibscher kept half-conserved materials in the family home throughout the war (see above) and then returned them to the Papyrus Collection of (East) Berlin, where they are currently held. Among the 15 plates stacked together with Poethke's note to the effect that they belong to the *Letters*, 2 are labeled as "*Kephalaia* without number," 9 are numbered (8–12, 14–16, and 18), and 4 are unnumbered. One unnumbered plate, labeled by Rolf Ibscher "twin separated from number 8," does have the same profile as number 8. A second, labeled "twins" (in Rolf Ibscher's best English) does contain two leaves and has the same profile as number 9, on which a fragment of a second leaf is still stuck; the fragment seems to fit the location of a missing segment of the material labeled "twins." A third also contains two leaves. A fourth lacks the middle segment and was reglassed by Luke in 1970. Thus the 13 plates contain actually 15 leaves, in view of the two instances of "twins."

One plate that originally had the printed label P[15998] and was numbered 29 has the 8 marked out and replaced by 6; and the plate numbered 30 (which actually contains two leaves) has the printed

100. Hugo Ibscher, in Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, xiii. The extant leaves of P[15997], the *Acts* codex, are also in a smaller format, but the book block, to which Ibscher may have had access but we do not, apparently had the larger format.

101. Giversen, *Homilies and Varia*, ix–x, plates 101–26.

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label scraped off and replaced by 15996, thus shifting both to the *Kephalaia*, and in both cases perhaps from the *Letters*. Two others listed "*Kephalaia* without number" were stacked with the 13 leaves, making up the stack of 15 that Poethke ascribed to the *Letters*, which seems to suggest that these two leaves were thought to belong to the *Letters*. In fact as many as 8 leaves labeled as belonging to the *Kephalaia* could belong to another codex, such as the *Letters* (see above). One leaf with a printed label P[15998] has the 8 marked out and replaced by 7, thus suggesting it earlier was assigned not to the *Acts* but to the *Letters* (see above).

One may hence speak rather tentatively of 28 leaves or 56 pages of the *Letters* codex being extant today: the 6 leaves = 12 pages returned to Berlin that Hugo Ibscher conserved; the 3 leaves = 6 pages that emerged in Warsaw after the war; 15 leaves = 30 pages from among those that lay half conserved in the Ibscher home during the war and were put in 13 glass containers labelled by Rolf Ibscher; 3 leaves = 6 pages in 2 glass containers as belonging to the *Kephalaia*; and 1 leaf = 2 pages currently labeled as belonging to the *Acts* may actually come from the *Letters* codex. None of it has been published. The amount of text that survives is very much less than these figures suggest.

The unconserved book block is assumed to have been among the Berlin Museum holdings that were taken to Leningrad in 1946, but when those holdings were returned in 1958 the book block was not present. What actually happened to it is not known.

Papyrus Collection, Berlin, P[15999], the Bulk of the *Homilies*

On March 23, 1930, Beatty received from Nahman with an option to buy for £700 the bulk of the *Homilies* codex, which Hugo Ibscher advised him could not be conserved.

At the beginning of 1932, Beatty learned that Schmidt had a second option to buy the manuscript if Beatty decided not to exercise his option.[102] On March 29, 1932, Beatty finally wrote Nahman that he would not make the purchase, and on May 10, 1932, the manuscript was turned over to Ibscher in London to take back with him to Berlin for Schmidt.[103] The publisher W. Kohlhammer purchased it for the

102. Sir Herbert Thompson wrote on January 4, 1932, this news that he had just received in a letter from Schmidt.

103. In the two-ring binder in the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library, there is

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Papyrus Collection of Berlin for a price reported to have been 5,000 marks,[104] and it was inventoried as P[15999]. Though it was suspected to be the bulk of the *Homilies* codex, the rest of which Ibscher had in fact successfully conserved (Chester Beatty Library Codex D),[105] it was never considered to be conservable. Rather it was kept as a sort of showpiece of how impossible the conservation of these codices was.[106]

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a note concerning this manuscript: "Given to Dr. Ibscher for Nahman." Technically speaking, the manuscript was released back to Nahman to dispose of as he saw fit. Yet Ibscher was not going to Cairo, but rather to Berlin. On May 14, 1932, before leaving London for Berlin, Ibscher wrote a receipt for Beatty, "to confirm that I have correctly received the Mani manuscript for Prof. Schmidt."

104. In a letter of August 29, 1957, from Rolf Ibscher to Carsten Colpe. The Inventory Book of the Papyrus Collection reports: "Acquired through Prof. Carl Schmidt in Cairo 1932. Gift of Dr. W. Kohlhammer." The reference to the acquisition in Cairo is literal only in the sense that Schmidt was in Egypt when Beatty released his option, and Schmidt exercised his option with Nahman in Cairo. But the manuscript itself had long since permanently left Egypt.

105. Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," in Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, xii: "Whether the text published here is part of a lost Mani book, or belongs to one of the extant volumes not yet undertaken by me, can for the time being not be determined." This undecidedness corresponds to the statement of Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 30, concerning the Berlin part: "The papyrus book that has most recently been added to the corpus of the Berlin Manichaica could not yet be subjected to any further investigation. But this much seems to be certain, that it contains a collection of so-called λογοι (both the Coptic and the English use the same Greek loan word) of various authors. On the upper margins authors' names from the circle of Mani's disciples occur, such as Koustaios, Salmaios." But in the same essay, page 34, concerning the London part, the identification is affirmed: "A second papyrus book contains a collection of homilies (λογοι) of various contents and by various authors . . . Of this book, as I mentioned above [!], a voluminous part has come to Berlin." Alexander Böhlig, in a letter of February 3, 1989, has pointed out that in view of the frequent occurrence of homilies in Manichaean literature, one cannot be certain that this is part of the same codex of homilies as that of Beatty's that contains homilies. But then one would have to assume that the minor part of a codex of homilies that Beatty acquired in 1931 was part of an otherwise lost codex, whereas the homilies codex that Beatty obtained on approval from Nahman in 1930 would be a separate codex. It would seem simpler to assume that here, as in the case of the *Psalms* codex sold to Beatty in two installments, at the same time as were sold the two texts with homilies, and hence probably in the same two transactions, one has to do with two parts of the same codex. By marketing the two parts of a single codex in separate transactions, the dealer might assume a client would not notice that one had to do with two parts of the same codex—all the more so given the condition of the papyrus and Beatty's status as an amateur, not a scholar. Nahman probably had two codices that he succeeded in selling as four.

106. The Inventory Book of the Papyrus Collection of Berlin listed its location not, as in the case of the others, as a shelf in the work area, but as "displayed," i.e. on

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The unconserved book block is assumed to have been among the Berlin Museum holdings that were taken to Leningrad in 1946, but when those holdings were returned in 1958 the book block was not present.[107] What actually happened to it is not known.

Few manuscript discoveries of the importance of the Manichaean codices of Medinet Madi have undergone such an ambivalent fate after their discovery. Since the leaves had been stuck together by salt crystals due to the dampness in which they were conjectured to have lain for a millennium and a half, their condition was such that the first scholar to see them, Lange, did not acquire them. Schmidt passed them up the first time he saw them; neither did Adolf von Harnack favor their acquisition; Schmidt's decision to acquire them was in part based upon his hearing that the famous bibliophile, Beatty, had acquired some. But Beatty at first acquired only with an option to buy, which he exercised only in part, and then only on receiving encouragement from Schmidt via Ibscher. Thus the material barely escaped being bypassed by the academic community.

The conservation and editing began under what might seem to be a lucky star, with two competing geniuses—Ibscher and Polotsky—working in collaboration,[108] so that each newly exposed leaf on the book block could be transcribed before being removed, thus producing a better transcription for at least the exposed side than might be possible after it had been removed and perhaps damaged in the process, and providing an aide memoire for reassembling the leaf after it was

exhibit. Rolf Ibscher, "Der Mani-Fund," 228: "Codex 15999, because of its unimpressive appearance, immediately wandered into the permanent display of the Berlin Museums, as a visible example of the terrible degeneration of the whole manuscript find." See Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 157–61; and *Actes du XXVe Congrès International des Orientalistes, Moscou 9–16 août 1960,* 535–41; but here it is cited according to Böhlig's collected essays, *Mysterion und Wahrheit*, 177–87, especially 184: "The condition of the manuscript was so desolate that among the collaborators of the Papyrus Collection it was generally designated as the 'wig.'"

107. The Inventory Book of the Papyrus Collection of Berlin includes a note added in purple carbon reading, "at present in Moscow." Presumably this should read: Leningrad. This is the only indication in the Inventory Book as to the fate of any of the book blocks.

108. Böhlig, in a letter of February 5, 1989, recalls that the actual relationship was more nearly that of hostility. Polotsky was dependent on the speed, regularity, and success of Ibscher's conservation; Ibscher was dependent on Polotsky for the correct placement of fragments removed from the book block one by one, and may have been delayed by Polotsky's wishing to transcribe a surface before the leaf was removed from the book block.

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peeled off the book block. Alexander Böhlig, who became Polotsky's assistant in 1933 and successor in 1934, himself was never so involved, though he might well have been, had the procedure in fact been functioning well. Efforts by the son, Rolf Ibscher, to reestablish such teamwork after the war, though several alternatives were envisaged, did not actually materialize in a way to produce comparably successful results, though Böhlig would have liked to have become more involved with Ibscher's work than an occasional visit to Göttingen made possible. After the material was returned from Leningrad to Berlin in 1958, he proposed in 1959 to the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin that it resume publication. In 1960 the Academy's Institut für griechisch-römische Altertumskunde (rather than the Academy's Orientalische Kommission, which, prior to the war, had been in charge), through the subdivision Kommission für spätantike Religionsgeschichte, commissioned Böhlig to prepare the publications. On July 5, 1960, Böhlig wrote T. C. Skeat of the British Museum for permission to see the conserved leaves there, expressing particular interest in the 13 unidentified leaves and leaves reported to have been found lying inside Beatty's *Kephalaia* codex. Böhlig proposed bringing Ibscher with him to remove opaque cellophane paper that lay between the papyrus and the glass, which would, if left in place, effectively prevent reading the text. On July 13, 1960, R. J. Hayes, honorary librarian of the Chester Beatty Library, replied that Böhlig could see the leaves, but that one could not remove the cellophane—a restriction apparently intended to insure that Rolf Ibscher, whose work had been terminated with some hard feelings, not return again.[109]

At the Twenty-Fifth Congress of Orientalists in Moscow in August of 1960, Böhlig presented the status of the Manichaean codices. A resolution was passed advocating international cooperation in publishing the codices.[110] On August 15, 1960, Johannes Irmscher, then director of the Institut für griechisch-römische Altertumskunde of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, wrote to Hayes informing him of this resolution and soliciting his cooperation, commending both Böhlig and Ibscher. Hayes responded on December

109. T. C. Skeat forwarded Böhlig's letter to Hayes on July 11, 1960, with the comment: "I must leave you to deal with the suggestion that he should bring Ibscher with him!"

110. See note 106 above.

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5, 1960, that the restoration was being done at the British Museum, and that the Coptic experts there would converse with Böhlig on the occasion of a visit anticipated for 1961. Böhlig in fact did not go, since without Ibscher he could not remove the cellophane to make the leaves legible, and because of the impossibilities of his making such a trip at the time. The Berlin Wall was erected August 13, 1961. Böhlig hoped that Peter Nagel would take over his work in Berlin after he himself moved in 1963 to West Germany. Böhlig hoped that, for his part, he would be able to activate the English. But none of this materialized, and Coptological scholarship moved increasingly into Nag Hammadi studies.

The book blocks with the unconserved bulk of three codices (the *Acts*, the *Letters*, and the *Homilies*) have been lost. Of the four largely extant codices, half of one (the *Synaxeis*) has not been conserved but is extant as a currently unconservable book block. Of the leaves that have been conserved from all seven codices, about half have been published in critical editions; the unpublished half, most of which was conserved by Rolf Ibscher, is largely illegible, as the *Facsimile Edition* makes apparent.

This discovery was caught up to a very abnormal degree in the political disasters of the time: the departure of Polotsky for Jerusalem in 1933 to avoid the baneful auspices of the Third Reich; the death of C. R. C. Allberry through the shooting down of his plane over the Netherlands just before midnight on April 3, 1943;[111] the inaccessibility of the material in the Zoo bunker during the war and then in Leningrad for twelve years (1946–1958)—it actually became accessible again only in 1960, a hiatus of two decades. By this time Carl Schmidt and Hugo Ibscher had died, and the next generation simply did not succeed in carrying forward the work as it had been initiated so promisingly by the first generation, though Alexander Böhlig and Rolf Ibscher worked vigorously, though largely in isolation.[112] Alexander

111. Allberry's tragic life led a classmate C. P. Snow to write a novel, *Light and the Dark*, whose hero, Roy Calvert, is based largely on Allberry but also on the character Larry Darrell in Somerset Maugham's *The Razor's Edge*. When the novel was included in a series of television renderings of Snow's sequence of novels, *Strangers and Brothers*, Allberry's widow, Mrs. Patricia K. G. Lewis, felt called upon to clear Allberry's name by publishing privately a collection of testimonials and recollections: Lewis, *Charles Allberry: A Portrait*. See also Putt, "Charles Allberry and Roy Calvert," 70–76; see also Giversen, *Psalm-Book, Part 1*, viii.

112. See most recently, Böhlig, *Gnosis and Synkretismus*, especially, in vol. 1, 71–180; and, in vol. 2, the section "Manichäismus," 457–653.

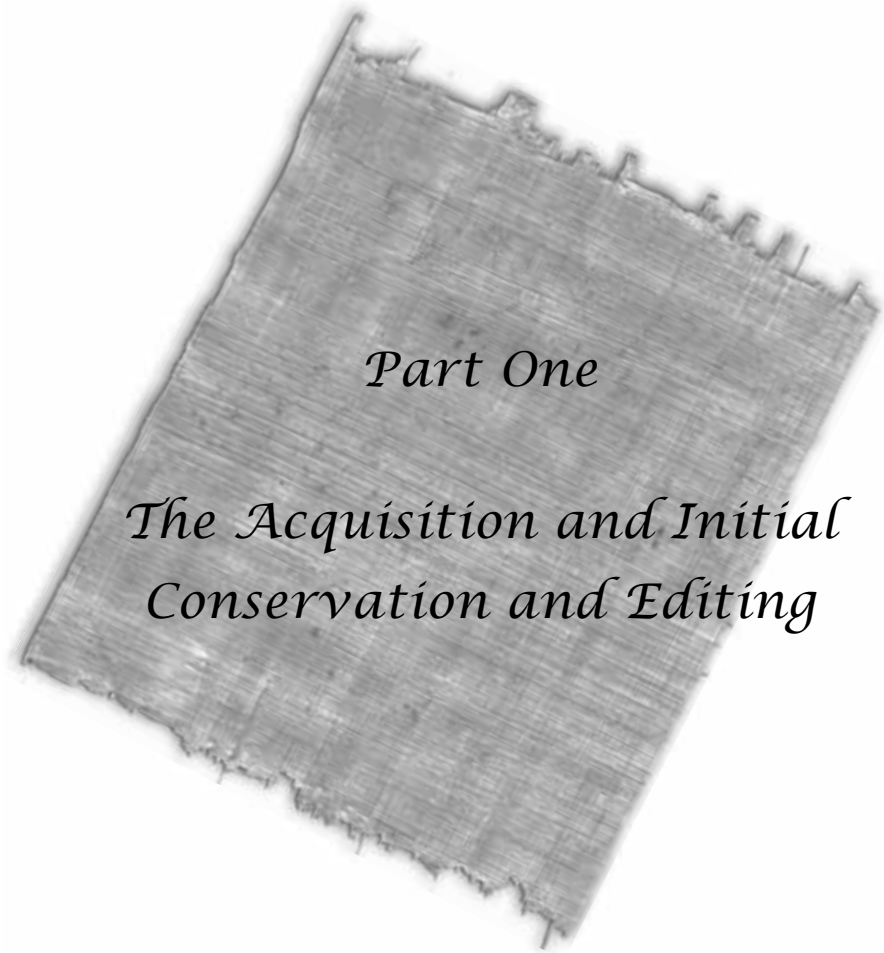
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Böhlig is the only member of the earlier team who has continued to be active and thus to provide some continuity in the current revival of interest in the Manichaean codices of Medinet Madi.

The plans worked out in 1931 for a complete coordination in the conservation, editing, and publication of the material, in spite of the plurality of ownership, began to be implemented successfully, as is evident from the publications between 1934 and 1966 by Polotsky, Böhlig, and Allberry from three codices in two parallel series at Kohlhammer in Stuttgart. Now, a generation or more later, the academic community has become aware that a salvage operation is urgently needed if the editing and publishing of this important manuscript discovery, which began so auspiciously, is not to end quite dismally.

The International Association for Coptic Studies expressed its approval of both the projects that have recently been proposed and hoped that there will be collaboration between them. This is a hope that we all, as participants in the Second International Conference on Manichaeism should heartily share, and that the newly founded International Association of Manichaean Studies might seek to implement.

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Part One

The Acquisition and Initial Conservation and Editing

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— 1 —

The Acquisitions of Carl Schmidt

The basic publication reporting on the circumstances of the acquisition of the Manichaean codices of Medinet Madi (Τερενοῦθις) is the report to the Berlin Academy of Sciences by Carl Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, with a contribution by Hugo Ibscher, submitted July 28, 1932, and published the following year:[1]

On the occasion of a research trip to Palestine [early in 1930] . . . while passing through Cairo, I [Carl Schmidt] paid a visit to the various antiquities dealers I knew. Among other things, a papyrus book [P[15996], *Kephalaia*] was put before me that was in an extremely desolate condition, so that I hardly dared to touch it. Fortunately I could decipher in the upper margin the word ⲛ̄ⲕⲉϕⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ and in the text read the beginning of a section: "Again the Illuminator (ϕⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ) spoke" . . . and the content must go back to an author who ascribed to himself the honorary title of an "Illuminator" or was honored as such by his followers, and who

Bei Gelegenheit einer Forschungsreise nach Palästina . . . [early in 1930] stattete ich [Carl Schmidt] auf der Durchreise in Kairo den verschiedenen mir bekannten Antikenhändlern einen Besuch ab. Unter anderem wurde mir ein Papyrusbuch [P[15996], *Kephalaia*]vorgelegt, das sich in einem höchst desolaten Zustande befand, daher ich es kaum zu berühren wagte. Zum Glück konnte ich auf dem oberen Rande das Wort ⲛ̄ⲕⲉϕⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ entziffern und im Texte den Anfang eines Abschnittes lesen: "Wiederum sprach der Erleuchter (ϕⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ)" . . . , und der Inhalt musste auf einen Verfassser zurückgehen, der sich selbst

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 4–90, with a contribution by Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschriften," 82–85. The quotations here are from pp. 6–10.

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had collected a circle of disciples around himself . . . In happy excitement about this discovery I communicated information about it to his Excellency [Adolf] von Harnack and others whom I knew in Berlin, but I struck upon great skepticism, since no one wanted to believe in the discovery of original works of Mani. I was referred to anti-Manichaean writings from Egypt such as Alexander of Lycopolis or Serapion of Thmuis. So I drew back from an acquisition. Only on my return from Jerusalem was my attention led again to the papyrus, as I learned from the antiquities dealer that Mr. Chester Beatty, a well-known collector of manuscripts, had acquired [March 23, 1930] papyrus books similar to the one offered to me. This gave me the courage to acquire the papyrus at my own risk, especially since no downpayment was required of me. But I had not taken into account the fact that in the meantime a severe financial crisis had occurred in Germany, which also involved the museums and libraries too heavily for larger amounts to be provided for acquisitions. Hence all the efforts that were so kindly supported by my colleague Prof. Erich Seeberg seemed to be without success. Thus the danger was near that this valuable treasure might be lost to German scholarship. Then at the last minute a lucky star arose in the person of an unnamed Maecenas [August Pfeffer], who had been made aware of the significance of the

den Ehrentitel eines "Erleuchters" beigelegt hatte oder als solcher von den Anhängern verehrt wurde, und der einen Jüngerkreis um sich versammelt hatte . . . In freudiger Erregung über diese Entdeckung machte ich Exzellenz [Adolf] von Harnack und anderen Bekannten in Berlin davon Mitteilung, stiess aber auf grosse Skepsis, da niemand an die Auffindung von Originalwerken des Mani glauben wollte. Ich wurde auf manichäische Gegenschriften aus Ägypten wie Alexander von Lycopolis oder Serapion von Thmuis hingewiesen. So trat ich von einer Erwerbung zurück. Erst bei meiner Rückkehr von Jerusalem wurde meine Aufmerksamkeit auf den Papyrus wieder gelenkt, als ich von dem Antikenhändler erfuhr, dass Mr. Chester Beatty, ein bekannter Sammler von Handschriften, ähnliche Papyrusbücher wie das mir angebotene erworben hätte [23 March 1930]. Dies gab mir den Mut, den Papyrus auf mein eigenes Risiko zu erwerben, zumal keine Anzahlung von mir verlangt wurde. Aber ich hatte nicht damit gerechnet, dass in Deutschland inzwischen eine schwere Finanzkrise ausgebrochen war, die auch die Museen und Bibliotheken zu stark in Mitleidenschaft zog, um grössere Summen für Ankäufe bereitstellen zu können. Daher schienen alle Bemühungen, die von meinem Kollegen Prof. Erich Seeberg in dankenswerter Weise unterstützt wurden, erfolglos zu sein und damit die Gefahr in die Nähe gerückt, dass dieser kostbare Schatz der deutschen Wissenschaft verlorenginge. Da tauchte im letzten Moment ein Rettungsstern in der Person eines ungenannten Mäzens [August Pfeffer] auf, der durch

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find by my friend Dr. E. Lubowski. In great-hearted liberality he provided the Egyptian Museum with the purchase price, indeed he even expressed his willingness, in case further pieces of the papyrus book should come on the market in the Egyptian antiquities trade, to provide further means for their acquisition. German scholarship hence owes warm appreciation to this Maecenas, especially since such understanding patrons can be counted as rarities in the hard times of today.

So in the spring of 1931 I could again begin a trip to Egypt . . . My trip had as its main purpose to investigate further the find as such, i.e. to collect more precise information about the site of the discovery, but especially to determine whether still further papyrus books from the same find had cropped up on the antiquities market. For anyone who is familiar with the antiquities trade knows very well that in the case of larger papyrus discoveries all the material is never brought to market at once, either by the discoverers or by the dealers, so as not to depress the price in offering larger quantities. My intuition had not deceived me, for already on my first visit to an antiquities dealer in Cairo he put before me two piles of papyrus [P[15996] *Kephalaia*] that outwardly recalled only too well those that had been earlier acquired. And again I could decipher on the upper margin the word ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ. Thus it was proven that it belonged to

meinen Freund Dr. E. Lubowski auf die Bedeutung des Fundes aufmerksam gemacht war. In hochherziger Liberalität hat er den Kaufpreis für das Ägyptische Museum erstattet, ja, er erklärte sich bereit, sollten weitere Stücke des Papyrusbuches im ägyptischen Antikenhandel auf den Markt kommen, weitere Mittel zu deren Erwerbung zur Verfügung stellen zu wollen. Die deutsche Wissenschaft ist daher diesem Mäzen zu heissestem Dank verpflichtet, zumal in der heutigen Notzeit so verständnisvolle Mäzene zu den Seltenheiten zu rechnen sind.

So konnte ich im Frühjahr 1931 wiederum eine Reise nach Ägypten antreten . . . Meine Reise hatte den Hauptzweck, dem Funde als solchem weiter nachzugehen, d.h. über den Fundort nähere Erkundigungen einzuziehen, insbesondere aber festzustellen, ob noch weitere Papyrusbücher aus demselben Funde auf dem Antikenmarkte auftauchen würden. Denn wer mit dem Antikenhandel vertraut ist, weiss zur Genüge, dass bei grösseren Papyrusfunden niemals das ganze Material, sei es von den Findern, sei es von den Händlern, auf einmal auf den Markt gebracht wird, um den Preis bei Angebot grösseren Umfangs nicht herabzudrücken. Meine Ahnung hatte mich nicht betrogen, denn gleich beim ersten Besuche eines Antikenhändlers in Kairo legte er mir zwei Papyrushaufen [P[15996], *Kephalaia*] vor, die dem Äussern nach nur zu sehr an jene früher erworbenen erinnerten. Und wieder konnte ich auf dem oberen Rande das Wort ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ entziffern. Damit war die Zugehörigkeit zu dem Originalwerke erwiesen. Daneben kam ein Papyrusbuch [P[15997],

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the original work. In the process, a papyrus book [P[15997], *Acta*] emerged that lay in the original condition as when found, between two bare wooden covers, since one had risked no further handling. The whole was in such a condition of decomposition that even the dealer did not think he could recommend the acquisition to me, to spare me a later deception or a protest to him . . .

Unfortunately, I was completely in the dark thus far about the site of the discovery. The dialect used in the text pointed to Upper Egypt, but many indications regarding the dealers spoke for the Fayyum. Hence my next visit, accompanied by Privy Councillor Moritz, was paid to an old business friend there. And again I had not been deceived, for he [p. 8] showed me a few unimpressive piles that on the first glance betrayed the fact that they belonged to the Mani discovery. So here the source was uncovered from which Mr. Chester Beatty had carried out his acquisition. And now there was no further difficulty in obtaining from the mouth of this well-versed dealer further information about the whole discovery. First of all, the news was important that three dealers had divided the discovery among themselves, and in fact there had been eight parts, of which he himself had gotten three parts, the dealer in Cairo also three parts, and a provincial dealer two parts. Of course this first partition was not the end of it, but each had carried out further divi-

Acta] zum Vorschein, das noch in dem ursprünglichen Zustande bei der Auffindung zwischen zwei kahlen Holzdeckeln lag, da man keine weitere Berührung gewagt hatte. Das Ganze befand sich in einem solchen Zerfall, dass selbst der Händler den Ankauf mir nicht empfehlen zu können glaubte, um mir eine spätere Enttäuschung bzw. Reklamation bei ihm zu ersparen . . .

Leider war ich bis dahin über den Fundort ganz im unklaren. Der im Text gebotene Dialekt wies nach Oberägypten, aber manche Anzeichen in Rücksicht auf die Händler sprachen für das Fajum. Daher galt mein nächster Besuch in Begleitung von Hrn. Geheimrat Moritz einem dortigen alten Geschäftsfreunde. Und wieder hatte ich mich nicht getäuscht, denn er [p. 8] zeigte mir einige unansehnliche Haufen, die ihre Zugehörigkeit zu dem Mani-Funde auf den ersten Blick verrieten. Hier war also die Quelle entdeckt, aus der Mr. Chester Beatty seine Erwerbung getätigt hatte. Und nun machte es keine Schwierigkeit mehr, aus dem Munde dieses sehr versierten Händlers über den ganzen Fund nähere Kunde zu erhalten. Zunächst war von Wichtigkeit die Mitteilung, dass drei Händler den Fund unter sich geteilt hätten, und zwar wären es acht Teile gewesen, davon er selbst drei Teile, der Händler in Kairo ebenfalls drei Teile und ein Provinzhändler zwei Teile erhalten hätten. Natürlich war es bei dieser ersten Teilung nicht geblieben, sondern jeder hatte weitere Teilungen vorgenommen, um möglichst viel Geld herauszus-

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sions in order to squeeze out of it as much money as possible. And what was even worse, one had removed the top and bottom layers of papyrus, which had suffered to an especial extent against the covers of the binding—a phenomenon that we experience in almost all codices—, to give the whole a better appearance. How much was lost in this manipulation one is not able now to judge. So I found such outwardly unimpressive remains, which doubtless belong to the papyrus books acquired by Mr. Chester Beatty in the Fayyum [only the *Synaxeis* was acquired in Egypt partly by Beatty, partly by Schmidt], and, for the sake of completeness, so as not to let the least bit get lost, acquired them for a cheap sum, since the dealer already had his great reward in his pocket. [Note 1: Prof (Adolf) Grohmann of Prague has acquired such rags for the papyrus section of the Vienna State Library from a dealer in Eshmunen (the remains of *Kephalaia*, 311–20)]. Ibscher recently saved fragments of two leaves from this junk heap. —On my last trip in the Spring of 1932 I found still two further piles [P[15996], *Kephalaia*] that had been peeled off, and brought them to Berlin.] I do not regret my decision, for in the conservation 31 leaves could be brought under glass in more or less fragmentary preservation [P[15995], *Synaxeis*]. Whereas the antiquities dealer in the Fayyum had sold his manuscripts exclusively to Mr. Chester Beatty, the Cairo one had divided his holdchlagen. Und was noch schlimmer war, man hatte die oberen und unteren Papyruslagen, die unter den Einbanddecken in besonderem Masse gelitten hatten—eine Erscheinung, die wir bei fast allen Kodizes erleben—abgehoben, um dem Ganzen ein besseres Aussehen zu geben. Wieviel bei dieser Manipulation zugrunde gegangen ist, entzieht sich jetzt der Beurteilung. So fand ich solche äusserlich unscheinbaren Reste, die ohne Zweifel zu den von Mr. Chester Beatty im Fajum erworbenen Papyrusbüchern gehören [only the *Synaxeis* was acquired in Egypt partly by Beatty, partly by Schmidt], und habe sie der Vollständigkeit halber, um nicht das geringste verlorengehen zu lassen, für billiges Geld erworben, da der Händler seinen grossen Verdienst bereits in der Tasche hatte. [Note 1: Derartige Fetzen hat Prof. (Adolf) Grohmann, Prag, für die Papyrusabteilung der Wiener Staatsbibliothek von einem Händler aus Eschmunen erworben [the remains of *Kephalaia*, pp. 311–20]. Ibscher hat jüngst Fragmente von zwei Blättern aus diesem Müllhaufen gerettet.—Bei meiner letzten Reise im Frühjahr 1932 fand ich noch zwei weitere abgehobene Haufen [P[15996], *Kephalaia*] vor und brachte sie nach Berlin.] Ich bereue meinen Entschluss nicht, denn bei der Konservierung konnten 31 Blätter in mehr oder weniger fragmentarischer Erhaltung unter Glas gebracht werden [P[15995], *Synaxeis*]. Hatte der Fajumer Antikenhändler

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ings between Chester Beatty and myself, and, after he had turned him away, bought up the two pieces of the provincial, in order to offer them to me. But what was of the greatest importance: My man of confidence could give me a precise statement about the site of the discovery, which doubtless no one would have been able to guess. For the Mani books are written in the so-called Subachmimic dialect. Hence the translation must have originally been done in the region where this local dialect was at home. That was an Upper Egyptian dialect, which, as we will come to see in more detail, was spoken in the region of Assiut. According to what was told me, the site of the discovery was what is now called Medinet Madi, a place little known even to papyrologists . . . [p. 9]

My man of confidence must have had the whole discovery before his eyes, for, according to a passing comment that he just now made to me on my visit in March 1932, the papyrus books, each surrounded by bare covers in wood, lay in a wooden box that was found in what had been a dwelling house. The wooden box was said to have been rotten, so that saving it would not have been worthwhile. It seems as if the whole discovery had been offered by the Arabic discoverers to the antiquities dealer of the Fayyum, but the dealer had not risked putting his money alone in these unimpressive papyrus books, which is why he divided

seine Handschriften ausschliesslich an Mr. Chester Beatty verkauft, so hatte der Kairener seinen Besitz zwischen Chester Beatty und mir geteilt und hatte, nachdem er diesen abgestossen, die beiden Stücke des Provinzlers aufgekauft, um sie mir anzubieten. Aber was von höchster Wichtigkeit war: Mein Gewährsmann konnte mir auch eine genaue Angabe über den Fundort machen, den wohl niemand hätte erraten können. Denn die Mani-Bücher sind im sogenannten sub-achmimischen Dialekt abgefasst; die Übersetzung muss also ursprünglich in dem Gebiet stattgefunden haben, wo dieser Lokaldialekt heimisch war. Das war ein oberägyptischer Dialekt, der, wie wir noch näher erkennen werden, im Gebiete von Assiut gesprochen wurde. Den Mitteilungen zufolge war der Fundort das heutige Medinet Madi, ein selbst den Papyrologen wenig bekannter Ort . . . [p. 9]

Den gesamten Fund muss mein Gewährsmann noch vor Augen gehabt haben, denn nach beiläufiger Mitteilung, die er mir jetzt beim Besuch im März 1932 machte, lagen die Papyrusbücher, jedes von kahlen Deckeln in Holz umgeben, in einer Holzkiste, die in einem früheren Wohnhause aufgefunden wurde. Die Holzkiste soll zerfallen gewesen sein, so dass eine Aufbewahrung sich nicht lohnte. Es hat den Anschein, als ob dem Antikenhändler im Fajum der ganze Fund von den arabischen Findern angeboten wurde, dieser aber sich nicht getraute, sein Geld allein in diesen unansehnlichen Papyrusbüchern anzulegen, weshalb er den Fund mit anderen Händlern teilte. Damit wird auch eine Beobachtung von Dr. Ibscher bestätigt, dass die Mani-Handschriften infolge ihrer feuchten Lagerung in absehbarer

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the discovery with other dealers. This also confirms an observation by Dr. Ibscher to the effect that the Mani manuscripts were near disintegration in the foreseeable future as a result of their damp storage; that is to say, they could not have been lying in the dry desert earth. For the basements of the houses of Medinet Madi were exposed to dampness from above and below, so that the papyri could be drenched through and through with salt crystals. The whole region is a swamp area, even if the old settlement was placed on the back of a hill . . . [p. 10]

Meanwhile Dr. Ibscher has brought the Mani holdings of Chester Beatty from London to Berlin to put them under glass right here at his leisure. I myself had a conference in London with those interested in the discovery, Sir Herbert Thompson, Dr. W. E. Crum and Prof. Alan H. Gardiner, concerning some kind of collaboration with regard to a literary whole that basically belongs together, and it was agreed that expenses should be shared to interest a young collaborator. I could present such a one in the person of Dr. Polotsky, after my Maecenas [August Pfeffer] in the most generous way had assured his involvement for two years, so that the work could be begun seriously in July 1931.

Zeit dem Zerfall nahegebracht wären, also nicht in der trockenen Wüstenerde gelegen haben können. Denn die Keller der Häuser von Medinet Madi waren der Feuchtigkeit von oben und unten ausgesetzt, so dass die Papyri von Salzkristallen vollständig durchsetzt werden konnten. Die ganze Gegend ist Sumpfgebiet, wenn auch die alte Siedlung auf dem Hügelrücken angelegt war . . . [p. 10]

Inzwischen hatte Dr. Ibscher den Mani-Besitz von Chester Beatty von London nach Berlin gebracht, um ihn hier an Ort und Stelle in aller Ruhe unter Glas zu bringen. Ich selbst hatte in London mit den Interessenten des Fundes, mit Sir Herbert Thompson, Dr. W. E. Crum und Prof. Alan H. Gardiner eine Konferenz betreffs einer gewissen Zusammenarbeit bei einem im Grunde zusammengehörenden Literaturganzen, und es wurde vereinbart, dass auf gemeinsame Kosten ein jüngerer Mitarbeiter angeworben werden sollte. Ich konnte diesen in der Person von Dr. Polotsky präsentieren, nachdem auch mein Mäzen [August Pfeffer] in hochherziger Weise seinen Anteil auf zwei Jahre sichergestellt hatte, so dass die Arbeit im Juli 1931 ernstlich in Angriff genommen werden konnte.

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Schmidt published a more popularized summary of this lengthy article in a speech presented to the annual meeting of the *Gesellschaft für Kirchengeschichte* in Berlin on November 9, 1932. In general there is no new information in it, except for an occasional formulation that happens to be more precise or detailed than the equivalent section of the lengthier report. Thus the statement about the discovery and acquisition:[2]

In the year 1930 *fellahin*, so-called *sebachin*, who rummage through the junk heaps in old abandoned towns and settlements in search of salty earth to fertilize the ground as a substitute for expensive potash, discovered in Medinet Madi, in the ruins of a town in the southwest of the Fayyum, a wooden box in the ruins of a house. The wooden box disintegrated when brought out to the light, but its content remained intact. The box contained a series of papyrus books, each surrounded by rough wooden covers. The discoverers immediately offered their treasure to an antiquities dealer in the Fayyum, who acquired the whole, surely for a ridiculously low sum. Unfortunately the dealer divided the papyrus books with two other antiquities dealers, so that they surfaced at different places on the antiquities market . . . [p. 6]

Meanwhile the London private collector had enlarged his possession by new acquisitions, and I too could in the spring of 1932 add a new

Im Jahre 1930 haben nun Fellachen, sog. Sebachin, die in den verlassenen alten Städten und Siedlungen die Schutthügel durchwühlten nach salzhaltigen Erdmassen für die Bedüngung des Bodens als Ersatz für das zu teure Kali, in Medinet Madi, einer Ruinenstadt im Südwesten des Fajum, eine Holzkiste in den Ruinen eines Hauses aufgefunden. Die Holzkiste zerfiel beim Herausheben ans Tageslicht, erhalten blieb ihr Inhalt. Die Kiste enthielt eine Reihe Papyrusbücher, jedes von rohen Holzdeckeln umgeben. Sofort haben die Finder ihren Schatz einem Antikenhändler im Fajum angeboten, und das Ganze ist von ihm sicherlich für ein Spottgeld erworben wooden. Leider hat der Händler die Papyrusbücher noch auf zwei andere Antikenhändler verteilt, so dass sie an verschiedenen Stellen auf dem Antikenmarkt auftauchten . . . [p. 6]

Inzwischen hatte auch der Londoner Privatsammler seinen Besitz durch neue Ankäufe vermehrt, und auch ich konnte noch im Frühjahr 1932 ein neues Stück

2. Schmidt, *Neue Originalquellen des Manichäismus*, 4, 6.

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piece to the Berlin Manichaica [P15995, *Synaxeis*]. Thus, as far as one can now tell, the whole find is united in the London and Berlin collection; each possesses about a half.

[P15995, *Synaxeis*] den Berliner Manichaica hinzufügen. So ist denn, so viel man jetzt übersehen kann, der ganze Fund in der Londoner und Berliner Sammlung vereinigt; jede besitzt ungefähr die Hälfte.

Schmidt did not state the purchase price. Later Rolf Ibscher mentioned a price that seems very high:[3]

In acquiring the discovery, sold very expensively by the three dealers for about 80,000 gold marks, it was clear to C. Schmidt that, apart from skill at restoring that yielded to no difficulties, this terribly rotted papyrus discovery could never be made accessible to scholarship. But he took upon himself the risk.

Bei der Erwerbung des von den drei Händlern mit rund 80.000 Goldmark reichlich teuer verkauften Fundes, war es C. Schmidt klar, dass ohne eine keine Schwierigkeiten kennende Restaurierungskunst dieser masslos verrottete Papyrusfund niemals wissenschaftlich erschlossen werden könnte. Aber er nahm das Risiko auf sich.

The bulk of one codex, P15999, was in so bad a condition that it was referred to as the wig, and its conservation was ruled to be impossible. Yet, according to Rolf Ibscher, it was purchased for five thousand marks through a gift by Dr. W. Kohlhammer, the publisher of the Manichaica, who was enthusiastic enough about them to produce a Coptic type font imitating one of the hands of these codices.[4] In the spring of 1932 an exchange rate of 18 Reichsmark = £1 was reported.[5] This would mean that 80,000 marks equaled £4,444, and that 5,000 marks = £347.

C. R. C. Allberry's article of 1938, based primarily on the published report by Schmidt and Polotsky, only added occasional details to what was already in print. He dated Schmidt's initial experience of

3. Ibscher, "Mani und kein Ende," 219.

4. Rolf Ibscher in a August 29, 1957 letter to Carston Colpe.

5. In a letter from Sir Herbert Thompson to Chester Beatty concerning Ibscher's salary.

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being shown a codex that he was able to identify as *Kephalaia* to 1930, which the original report had not made explicit.[6]

Søren Giversen reported in 1988 that the discovery dates to 1929, since a Danish Egyptologist, H. O. Lange, saw some of the material in Cairo on November 29, 1929, a dating that Schmidt verified in 1936.[7]

6. Allberry, "Manichaean Studies," 340.

7. Giversen, *Manichaean Papyri*, 1, speaks of "their rediscovery in 1929," and explains on page 3: "The first European scholar to see them was the Danish Egyptologist H. O. Lange who saw them in November 1929, when parts of them were offered for sale in Cairo. At that time they had been split up into blocks; outer pages, which were not very nice, had been removed and the papyri had also been damaged in other ways." Giversen, *Manichaean Coptic Papyri*, 3:vii–viii, reports in more detail: "The first scholar to see one of the Manichaean Coptic papyri from Medinet Madi was the Danish Egyptologist H. O. Lange, who saw the papyrus on 29 November 1929. This was noted in Lange's diary on a journey to Egypt in 1929–30 (The diary is in The Royal Library in Copenhagen, Ny kgl. Samling 3919, 4o), and is verified by Carl Schmidt in a letter to H. O. Lange dated 20 February 1936 (The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Ny kgl. Samling 3736, 4o)."

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— 2 —

The Acquisitions of Chester Beatty

The Archives of the Chester Beatty Library have made unpublished materials available that fill in many details omitted in the published German reports.

Sir Chester Beatty already had in place a procedure for the procurement and processing of Egyptian manuscripts when the Manichaean materials appeared on the market. As early as January 26, 1925, he purchased two Coptic manuscripts from the leading Cairo antiquities dealer of the day, whose ledger sheet on which the receipt was written had as its printed heading: Maurice Nahman Antiquaire, 27, Rue El-Madabegh, 27. Early in 1930, Beatty had Nahman send to Eric G. Millar of the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum various manuscripts he acquired on approval. Beatty wrote from Cairo to J. W. Corble of his London staff to notify Millar to that effect. Beatty asked Corble to "cable his [Millar's] opinion," using a "code" in cables. The code consisted of "Copper Mine" for a Coptic manuscript, "Silver" for a Greek papyrus, and "Gold Mine" for "rare and valuable." In at least one instance Millar consulted Sir Harold I. Bell, whereupon John Wooderson, Beatty's secretary, cabled to Beatty the contents of a resultant phone conversation between Millar and himself, Wooderson. This content was also communicated orally to Edwards, a mutual friend, who must have been traveling just then from London to Cairo. Millar also wrote to Corble enclosing for Beatty a letter providing written confirmation of the oral telegraphed message. This letter graded as a "Silver Mine" a third-century Septuagint text of Daniel (Chester Beatty Biblical Papyrus X) and as a "Gold Mine" a fourth-century text of Genesis (Chester Beatty Biblical Papyrus IV).

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Thus, Beatty, himself no expert in such matters, but a mining entrepreneur, had at his disposal the British Museum and its access to British scholarship.

As recently as January 23, 1930, Hugo Ibscher had sent from Berlin a bill for conservation work recently completed in London; he anticipated returning to London in June 1930 to resume this activity. Thus, Beatty had at his disposal the leading papyrus conservator of the day.

A ledger sheet with Nahman's letterhead dated March 23, 1930, and made out to Beatty, at the time in Cairo, listed prices alongside fifteen items for sale. There are also notes as to which are to be returned and which kept. A last item, offered for £1200, was separated from the rest by an empty space. It was described as follows: "Two Coptic manuscripts a[nd] two binding[s] in wood." Underneath, notes were added that read:

On approval	£700	Mss
	£500	Mss
	£40	Binding

The figure 40 was written on top of "incl."

On the back of the ledger sheet is then a list of the items to be purchased, with their prices, and a total. The last in the list reads:

Two Bindings	£80

Beside this entry is the note: "Can be returned if B[ritish] M[useum] says they are later than VI century." Apparently the two bindings had originally been included in the price of the two codices, then had been priced apart as £40, then sold at £40 each. There is then a second ledger sheet, where these purchased items are listed, with the concluding handwritten note: "Settled with thanks, M. Nahman." The last in this list of acquired objects reads: "Two binding[s] in wood. 80." Thus, it seems clear that the two bindings were acquired, that they were associated with the two Coptic manuscripts taken on approval without payment at the time of the transaction, and that the covers, paid for on the spot but with the option to return them if not satisfied, were thought to be no later than the sixth century, which would also indicate the assumed date of the manuscripts. The wooden bindings indicate that at least one of the Coptic manuscripts was a codex, or

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part of a codex, although the fact that the bindings could come to be priced and acquired separately indicates they were no longer attached to the manuscript.

On May 26, 1930, Nahman cabled from Cairo to Beatty in London: "Am expecting your kind answer regarding the books please wire your decision I am leaving tenth June." On May 28, 1930, Beatty replied by cable: "Ibscher Berlin only arrived two days ago expect wire you few days."

On May 31, 1930, Beatty cabled again:

> Doctor Ibscher thinks can do nothing with large book [part of the *Homilies*] also smaller book for which you ask five hundred pounds [second part of the *Psalms*] will be very difficult. Prepared to give two hundred pounds for smaller manuscript which was the cheaper one otherwise prefer to return same.

If the difference in size is not merely that of thickness, but of height and breadth, then the *Psalms*, measuring 27 by 17.5 cm, is the smallest (with the possible exception of the *Acts*, whose no-longer extant book block is of unknown dimensions, but whose eight extant leaves are also small), the others being 31.5 by 18 cm.[1]

On May 31, 1930, Beatty also wrote Nahman a confirming letter:

> With regard to the two manuscripts in question, one of which I have the option to buy from you for £500 and the second for £700, Dr. Ibscher's opinion is that nothing can practically be done with the more expensive one as it was too difficult, but that there was a chance of doing something on the other though from what I could gather he thought the price is very high; therefore, I would not care to exercise either of the options. I would be willing however to pay £200 for the book for which you asked £500 and take the chance of making something out of it.

But on June 2, 1930, Nahman cabled Beatty, who was by then in New York, so that on June 5, 1930, Corble cabled its text to him there:

> Surprised cost too high cannot accept your kind offer Professor Schmidt bought damaged one [*Kephalaia*] five hundred please keep till my arrival.

1. Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," *Manichäische Homilien*, 1:xiii. Ibscher's statement that all except the *Psalms* have the larger dimension would presumably presuppose his having measured the book block of the *Acts*, though this is not made explicit.

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Meanwhile Ibscher had returned to Berlin, taking with him the smaller manuscript [the second part of the *Psalms*] to conserve, as well as a report about the two manuscripts by Sir Alan H. Gardiner. On June 3, 1930, Ibscher wrote Gardiner (a letter extant only in English translation):

> In the Museum everybody was impatiently waiting for your report about the new discovery. Schubart is so glad that the beautiful papyri have gone to London. As I suspected, Prof. Schmidt has also bought a Coptic book [*Kephalaia*] from Nahman. I think it is better for everybody that no mystery should be made about it. When Schmidt showed me his purchase and I could see that it was an exactly similar book to the larger one which had been offered to Mr. Chester Beatty, I told him what I had seen in London. Upon this, Schmidt showed his bill for the book, from which I saw that he had paid for his book over £400. But I did not tell anybody about the London prices. As Schmidt is probably the greatest expert on such things, I showed him Mr. Chester Beatty's book [the second part of the *Psalms*]. He told me at once what it was, and when he called today he said that it was an exceedingly valuable purchase. The language according to him was "Achmimic II." He considers that the book originated from Assiut—at least so I understood. Mr. Beatty's book contained, from what Schmidt could see, songs about the original man. He considers the complete books are the works of the "Manichaeans," in other words, there is no other known example of this work in existence. For this reason alone Schmidt considers that it would be very advisable to buy if possible everything which can be bought. Schmidt considers the book which has been purchased by Mr. Beatty—that is to say, the book I have here—is the most valuable book of the whole lot. I am very pleased for Mr. Beatty that he has made such a lucky purchase. Since I have been told what valuable treasures these books are, I must of course put aside all my considerations and recommend him to complete the purchase.
>
> I should also like to save the badly preserved books. Of course, Mr. Beatty should try to get a lower price on account of the great expense incurred by the restoration.
>
> Where Schmidt's purchase will ultimately go, he does not know himself because the local collections and libraries here have no money and he will be forced to resell them very soon because he has purchased them on borrowed money. Perhaps it may be possible for this book also to be bought by Mr. Chester

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> Beatty. It is in better preservation than the large book which has been offered to him. Of course, this is only a suggestion of mine. Schmidt would probably be able to dispose of this book in Germany, only in case it should ultimately go to America I think it would be well if it went to its brothers in London.

Gardiner thereupon telephoned Wooderson on June 6, 1930, who passed on to Corble the phone conversation in typed form, which read in part as follows:

> Dr. Alan H. Gardiner (Park 5109) rang up about the COPTIC MANUSCRIPTS for which Mr. Chester Beatty is negotiating with Mr. Maurice Nahman. He has received the MSS. from the little man (? Dr. Ibscher) who was working with the papyri in England, and who has now gone back to Berlin. This man thought at first that it was not desirable to purchase the better of these two manuscripts, but now he writes that, having found out what it is, he certainly does advise the purchase of it, as it is a very valuable MS. . . .
>
> If he could not get it cheaper, he should pay the full price asked, i.e., £500 . . .
>
> Of the series, it is by far the most important manuscript and of greater importance than the one Dr. Schmidt has bought. Dr. Ibscher writes very excitedly about it. The date is well known. It is the upper part of the one Mr. Beatty has already got. It was cut in two and Nahman is selling it as two manuscripts. Mr. Chester Beatty has bought one-half and it is the other half which Dr. Gardiner has in his house and is telephoning about.
>
> The manuscript offered for £700 should be rejected.
>
> The above is Dr. Gardiner's message verbatim.

In spite of the claim that the written text is the verbatim equivalent of Gardiner's oral report, there seems to be considerable garbling at some stage in the transmission. For Ibscher had all along advocated the purchase of the better of the two manuscripts (in terms of conservation), the one offered at £500 [the second part of the *Psalms*]. The purchase of this manuscript is considered a fait accompli: Ibscher in his letter called it "Mr. Chester Beatty's book," and referred to it as "the book which has been purchased by Mr. Beatty." The point at which Ibscher has changed his mind in the light of Schmidt's enthusiasm is, in Ibscher's letter, clearly the larger manuscript for which £700 was the

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asking price and which Ibscher had initially described in London as not conservable and hence had left with Gardiner in London before returning to Berlin (part of the *Homilies*). The reversal of opinion is in the formulation "Schmidt considers that it would be very advisable to buy if possible everything which can be bought," and in Ibscher's resultant comment, "I should also like to save the badly preserved books."

When Ibscher continues, "Of course, Mr. Beatty should try to get a lower price on account of the great expense incurred by the restoration," this is not only motivated by a concern to protect funds from which his restoration work might be paid, but reflects his recognition that the manuscript Schmidt had purchased for "over £400" "was an exactly similar book to the larger one which had been offered to Mr. Chester Beatty," in that the dimensions of both were 31.5 by 18 cm, so that the price might well be negotiated down from £700 to something "over £400."

The second part of the *Psalms* had already begun to be conserved, as Schmidt's reference to a manuscript containing "songs about the original man" would indicate. For among the unpublished materials that H. J. Polotsky submitted to Sir Herbert Thompson for distribution to Beatty and Crum, there is (in the Crum Archives in the Griffith Institute of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford) a leaf labeled by Polotsky "C.B.1," containing his Coptic transcription (Crum Mss. 11.30.1) together with another leaf containing his English (!) translation (Crum Mss. 11.28.84 and Crum Mss. 11.28.122). At the top of the transcription is written "Hymns to the Primal Man." The translation begins: "We praise our father, the Primal Man." The psalm is numbered 213. Beside the numeral in the Coptic transcription is the appended note: "(precedes Allberry p. 1)." We apparently have before us here the beginning of both Ibscher's and Polotsky's work for Beatty, as "C.B.1" may suggest.

This identification of the second part of the *Psalms* as the first thing conserved for Beatty was confirmed in its publication:[2]

When I then succeeded in Berlin in detaching a leaf of the part acquired by Prof. C. Schmidt, he was able to conclude with certainty	Als es mir dann in Berlin gelang, eine Seite des von Herrn Prof. C. Schmidt erworbenen Teiles freizulegen, konnte dieser mit

2. Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," *Manichaean Psalm Book*, 2:vii.

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that this discovery had to do with works of Mani. A few weeks later in London I succeeded in detaching a leaf from one of the volumes acquired by Mr. A. Chester Beatty, and the conclusion of Prof. C. Schmidt found a complete confirmation.

If the examination of the manuscript in Berlin showed that one had acquired here a part of the *Kephalaia*, the first separated leaf of the Chester Beatty possession showed us that here the *Psalms* of the Mani community lie before us.

Sicherheit feststellen, dass es sich bei dem Funde tatsächlich um Werke des Mani handelte. Wenige Wochen später gelang es mir dann auch in London, von einem der von Mr. A. Chester Beatty erworbenenen Bände ein Blatt abzuheben, und die Feststellung von Herrn Prof. C. Schmidt fand eine volle Bestätigung.

Ergab die Prüfung der Handschrift in Berlin, dass man dort einen Teil der "Kephalaia" erworben hatte, so zeigte uns das erste losgelöste Blatt des Chester Beatty Besitzes, dass hier die Psalmen der Manigemeinde vorlagen.

Hence the discussion was not about whether to acquire the second part of the *Psalms*, which was already being conserved as Beatty's property, but rather whether to acquire the unconservable larger codex which was in Gardiner's home (part of the *Homilies*). One might hope to get it for about the same price Schmidt had paid for a similar-sized manuscript. This was especially true since "Professor Schmidt's manuscript is better preserved than the one which is offered to Mr. Beatty," according to Ibscher's letter. This refers to the manuscript offered at £700 that Ibscher had ruled could not be conserved. However, Wooderson misunderstood Ibscher's comment to refer to the smaller and hence cheaper manuscript offered at £500: "Professor Schmidt's manuscript is better preserved than the one which is offered to Mr. Beatty . . . If he could not get it cheaper, he should pay the full price asked, i.e., £500."

This confusion is apparently responsible for the further inaccuracy in Wooderson's report:

> Prof. Schmidt thinks that it comes from Akhmim, and it contains poems about the first man. It is the upper part of the one Mr. Beatty has already got. It was cut in two and Nahman is selling it as two manuscripts. Mr. Chester Beatty has bought one-half and it is the other half which Dr. Gardiner has in his house and is telephoning about.

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The grain of truth in this statement about two halves of a codex is that Nahman, or middlemen from whom he acquired the manuscripts, had broken in two the *Psalms* codex as well as the second codex (the *Homilies*, see below), no doubt to increase the profit. But Nahman intentionally or unintentionally offered Beatty part of each of two codices on March 23, 1930, and the other part of each of the same two codices in April 1931. The fact that the two offered in 1930 were from different books should have been clear from references to them as different sizes, but this detail seems here overlooked. At the time, one was in Berlin, the other in London, so that the difference in size was not immediately apparent.

The most reasonable assumption is that the manuscript in Gardiner's home is the one offered at £700, which Ibscher initially ruled was not conservable, and hence which he did not take to Berlin to conserve, and which, as a result, Beatty proposed not to buy, but which now Ibscher (and no doubt Gardiner, assuming the situation was clear to him) was recommending should be bought. Wooderson, misunderstanding the situation, would have inferred, based on his misunderstanding, that "the manuscript offered for £700 should be rejected." The whole point of Ibscher's letter (and Gardiner's phone conversation) was apparently just the reverse: to urge the purchase of the larger codex offered at £700, part of the *Homilies*, for whatever price it would take, but presumably about the amount Schmidt had paid for another manuscript of the same larger format, the *Kephalaia*, namely somewhat "over £400." This figure suggesting £500 may have in part led to the false identification of the manuscript in question with the one offered at £500.

On June 6, 1930, Corble cabled Beatty what was wrongly taken to be Ibscher's (and Gardiner's?) recommendation—that the smaller manuscript, the second part of the *Psalms*, be acquired "whatever the price."

> Doctor Gardiner hears from Ibscher that after further study he advises you purchase Coptic manuscript offered by Nahman five hundred pounds. Manuscript bought by Professor Schmidt better preserved but one offered by Nahman of greater importance and they think you should purchase it whatever the price. Schmidt thinks manuscript comes from Akhmim and contains poems about first man.

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On June 9, 1930, Beatty cabled Corble ("have answered Nahman direct"), though the decision, much less the price offered, is not recorded, neither is the cable nor hence the price preserved (presumably "over £400"). Nahman cabled Beatty the same day: "Accept your offer for small manuscript many thanks if you are interested in large one will accept same price will be in London end June."

Nahman arrived in London July 9, 1930, and in the coming days settled his accounts with Beatty's staff. A sheet in Nahman's hand reads:

> Mr. Chester Beatty
>
> Two Coptic manuscripts on papyrus.
> Fayoumic language and two wood binding of a Coptic manuscript on approval in London £1200

An appended note reads, in another hand, "One purchased and paid for at £500-0-0." Other scrawled notes coordinating with other acquisitions of that time tend to indicate that Nahman submitted this document in July 1930, and hence that the acquisition of the smaller codex, the second part of the *Psalms*, was completed then. This would indicate that Beatty had not quibbled further about the price Nahman asked for the smaller codex, but had followed fully what was taken to be Ibscher's advice to "pay the full price asked, i.e., £500" (Ibscher had actually proposed negotiating down the price of the part of the *Homilies* for which Nahman had asked £700), and that Nahman had hence returned to his original asking price for the second, larger codex (£700), after having in fact come down to £500 in his cable to Beatty of June 9, 1930.

On July 16, 1930, Wooderson handed Nahman a letter from Beatty:

> I understand you wish to leave the damaged Coptic manuscript . . . with me so that I can study them further . . . If you decide to do this Miss Kingsford will give you a receipt for them and will hold them subject to your instructions.

A two-ring binder that seems to have served in the early years as a kind of accessions book at the Chester Beatty Library has a page dated "1930—July," that apparently refers to this manuscript and to one of the wooden covers:

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Sent by Nahman, belonging to him.
Papyrus with 1 cover. Safe B.
(Ibscher 1930)
Given to Dr. Ibscher for Nahman.

A similar entry is on another page, completely marked through, apparently when its contents were transferred to another filing system:

—Coptic Ms. With 1 cover
belonging to Nahman in Box. [Marked out: Study Safe B]
—2 Magical vellum fragments,
10 pages in each (Marked out: BM)
belonging to Nahman. Both given to Dr. Ibscher
for Nahman, May 10, 1932

The cryptic reference to giving the material to Ibscher for Nahman on May 10, 1932, can be explained by tracing the story from 1930 to 1932 as follows: At about the end of June 1930, Ibscher wrote Gardiner from Turin (a letter conserved only in an undated English translation):

> I hope you received my letter from Berlin, when I wrote to you about the Coptic manuscripts. Schmidt's hope to dispose of his book in Berlin or Germany has become rather doubtful, after the death of Harnack [June 10, 1930], on whose support he counted a lot. The Berlin Library intended to buy the book, and Harnack's decision would have been the determining factor. Has Mr. Chester Beatty bought both books?

On May 19, 1931, Ibscher wrote Beatty from Berlin (with the English translation made at that time):

The Berlin purchases are still in Egypt. Prof. Schmidt has brought with him only one very badly preserved volume which looked quite hopeless [part of the *Kephalaia*]. Nevertheless I have succeeded in saving some more or less complete pages. I therefore would still advise you to acquire the volume that is still at the British Museum. Certainly one should obtain more from this volume than from the indifferent purchase of Prof. Schmidt.	Die Berliner Ankäufe sind noch in Ägypten, nur einen sehr schlecht erhaltenen Band hat Prof. Schmidt mitgebracht, der hoffnungslos aussah [part of the *Kephalaia*]. Trotzdem ist es mir gelungen, auch daraus ziemlich vollständige Seiten zu gewinnen. Daher möchte ich doch raten, dass Sie den noch im British Museum befindlichen Band erwerben. Sicher muss daraus noch mehr zu holen sein, wie aus dem schlechten Ankauf von Prof. Schmidt.

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Our Berlin volume which we already have here is 30 centimeters in height and 20 centimeters in width. As soon as the other purchases arrive I will let you know their dimensions.

I presume that the dealers have divided the individual books in order to obtain more money. Of course we shall only know the real position when we can compare all the volumes.

Meanwhile I have already been able to separate several pages of your papyri, but I must first arrange here the fibers and place pieces before I can put them under glass.

Unser Berliner Band, den wir bereits hier haben, ist 32 ctm. hoch and 20 ctm. breit. Sowie die übrigen Ankäufe eintreffen, teile ich Ihnen die Grösse mit.

Ich vermute, dass die Händler die einzelnen Bücher geteilt haben, um mehr Geld heraus zu schlagen. Genaues wird man darüber erst sagen können, wenn alle Bände beieinander sind.

In der Zwischenzeit habe ich bereits einige Blätter von Ihrem Papyrus wieder ablösen können, doch muss ich hier erst die Fasern in Ordnung bringen and Stücke ansetzen bevor ich sie verglasen kann.

"The volume which is still at the British Museum" must be the part of the *Homilies* offered at £700 that had been in the home of Gardiner.

On January 4, 1932, Sir Herbert Thompson wrote Beatty:

> I have a rather urgent letter from Dr. Carl Schmidt in Berlin, asking me to send him some news as to the Mani papyrus, which you had, I believe, on approval, as scholars are very anxious—and not in Germany only—to have some public statement as to these "mysterious" Manichaean manuscripts. But Dr. Schmidt, rightly I think, wishes to defer any such statements till the fate of this outstanding papyrus of the Mani find is settled—either by its passing into your collection—or finding an assured home, perhaps at Copenhagen, or else in Berlin. The important point is that it should be in hands where it would be accessible for study in association with those in your hands and those in the Berlin Museum.
>
> So I venture again to trouble you with a question as to whether it is still in your custody—and if so, may I be allowed to see it? and also whether you still have any thought of acquiring it, or not? If you do not, Dr. Schmidt tells me that Nahman has given him the first option of purchase; but he fears that if the matter is delayed much longer, Nahman may change his mind, and the opportunity of fixing it in safe hands may be lost.

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On January 26, 1932, Wooderson replied on behalf of Beatty to the effect "that the Mani Papyrus is still the property of Mons. Nahman and is being held in safekeeping by Mr. Beatty at Baroda House." Thus, the manuscript must have been moved again, from the British Museum to Beatty's home.

On March 15, 1932, Nahman wrote in his wooden English to Beatty in Cairo concerning it:

> The present is to inform you that I have sold the Coptic manuscript I left towards you in London. When you honoured me of your kind visit you told me that you are not interested in this manuscript neither the magical parchemins [*sic*] Coptic and I expected two years and with my regret I missed you in London and to-day I think you will not be angry with me if I have found a buyer. Then I beg of you, Dear Sir, to be as so kind to hand to Mr. Ibscher the manuscript and the magical Coptic parchemin [*sic*].
>
> Will you be as so kind to send the answer of this letter to me that you agree to hand the manuscript and the magical parchemin [*sic*] to Mr. Ibscher when he will be in London. Your letter will allow to me to prove to my buyer that the matter is settled.

On March 19, 1932, Schmidt, also in Cairo, wrote on his calling card a note to Beatty regretting that he had to leave the next day for Luxor and hence would not be able to see Beatty in Cairo as he had hoped. At this time in Cairo, he would have liked to have completed the transaction with Nahman.

On March 21, 1932, Beatty replied to Nahman: "I will be pleased to deliver the same to Dr. Ibscher when he comes to London." A handwritten note at the bottom of the letter states: "Taken to Dr. Gardiner's—May 10."

In the initial essay presented by Carl Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky to the Berlin Academy of Sciences, published in 1933, P^{15999} is referred to as "the papyrus book very recently added to the corpus of Berlin Manichaica."[3] Such a designation tends to set this codex off from the others as the most recent acquisition. Wilhelm Schubart recorded in the Inventarbuch of the Papyrus-Sammlung: "Coptic Papyrus Codex. Acquired through Prof. Carl Schmidt in Cairo 1932. Gift of Dr. W. Kohlhammer." The *Inventarbuch* had recorded for P^{15995}–P^{15998}:

3. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 30.

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"Acquired through Prof. Carl Schmidt, in Cairo, 1931. Gift of Mr. August Pfeffer 1933." The disparity in time between the acquisition in 1931 and the gift of the purchase price in 1933 reflects the difficulties Schmidt had finding funding for his initial acquisitions, a procedure that seems to have been quite independent of the acquisition of P^{15999} in 1932 through Kohlhammer's gift. Thus, even though in the cases of P^{15995} through P^{15998} more than a single transaction in Egypt was involved (as many as seven transactions in the case of P^{15996}), the manuscripts shared a common date and a common donor that set them apart from P^{15999}. This would tend to indicate that it was P^{15999} that had been offered unsuccessfully to Beatty and was ultimately acquired by Schmidt for Berlin. The reference in the *Inventarbuch* to acquisition in Cairo is not contradicted by Ibscher's securing the manuscript in London and taking it directly to Berlin. For Schmidt and Nahman had completed their negotiation in Cairo in March 1932.

Schmidt knew that Ibscher planned to be in London in April 1932 (Ibscher had written to London already on February 19, 1932), and Schmidt would have proposed to Nahman that Ibscher deliver the manuscript to the new owner on Ibscher's return to Berlin. Ibscher's decidedly negative assessment of possibly conserving this manuscript for Beatty is the same as the assessment of the impossibility of conserving P^{15999} that prevailed when the manuscript was in Berlin.

At the time Beatty released his option and thus let Schmidt exercise his option, it was not known that the manuscript was part of the *Homilies* of which Beatty by then had acquired a second, smaller part (see below), which was being actively conserved in Berlin by Ibscher and edited for Beatty by Polotsky.

Of the initial acquisition of two manuscripts on approval of March 23, 1930, we may hence conclude that one seems to have been acquired in July 1930 (the latter part of the *Psalms*, Codex A), the other to have been turned down on March 21, 1932, so that Schmidt could buy it for Berlin (part of the *Homilies*, P^{15999}).

At some time, Beatty also acquired the rest of the *Psalms*, Codex A; the *Synaxeis*, Codex B; volume two of the *Kephalaia*, Codex C; and the smaller part of the *Homilies*, Codex D. Documentation available is inadequate to identify the actual acquisition of each of these, but some information is available.

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In a letter of November 27, 1930, from Beatty to Gardiner, a codex is to be entrusted to Ibscher to take to Berlin for conservation:

> I am sending you the tin box containing the [inserted by hand: Papyri] Coptic Book.
>
> I suggest, before Dr. Ibscher puts it into his bag, that he carefully looks at it to be sure it is satisfactorily packed.
>
> I hope this book will act in a more gentlemanly manner than the other, and respond to the treatment better.

On November 27, 1930, Ibscher also wrote Beatty a receipt for "the new treasures of your collection . . . handed over to me by Mr. Alan H. Gardiner," with the hope that he can complete the conservation of much of them before his expected return to London in March 1931.

This "new treasures" must refer to an otherwise undocumented acquisition after Ibscher's return to Berlin at the end of the spring of 1930, since at the end of May or the beginning of June Ibscher had already taken to Berlin the part of the *Psalms* codex acquired March 23, 1930, whereas the part of the *Homilies* acquired March 23, 1930, was kept on approval in London until Beatty decided on March 21, 1932, not to acquire it and turned it over to Ibscher for Schmidt on May 10, 1932.

On December 30, 1930, Beatty had £300 cabled to Nahman, no doubt the payment of a bill. A memo to Nahman while in London of July 16, 1930, confirmed a telephone conversation listing acquisitions ("the Greek Papyri and the bindings") with the stipulation that "the balance of £600 [be paid] on or before the 1st January, 1931." Thus the payment of £300 cannot be associated convincingly with a Manichaean purchase.

Another leaf in the two-ring binder that served as a kind of acquisitions notebook records:

> 1931. April. Cairo.
>
> —Manichaean Hymns (box: 15 1/4 x 10 1/4 in.)
>
> Ibscher.
>
> —Manichaean Ritual (box 14 5/8 x 9 1/2 in.)
>
> Laws Ibscher.
>
> —3 Wooden covers [Marked out: "Safe B." Added: "IX"]

The page with the marked-out entries reads similarly:

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Brought by Mr. Beatty April 1931.
—Manichaean Ms. Hymns
[Added note: With Dr. Ibscher May 8/31] PSALMS. Codex A.
—Manichaean Ms. Ritual Laws
—3 Covers [Marked out: Safe B.] Cup X.c

A handwritten note on a large paper envelope in which three wooden boards are presently stored at the Chester Beatty Library states: "purchased Spring 1931." This confirms that the reference "Brought by Mr. Beatty April 1931" is the date of this acquisition.

What is underlined in addition to a characterization of the contents is no doubt the reference to where the material was currently deposited. The words "Safe B" are marked through, and "IX" added, no doubt when the covers were removed from the safe. The "Manichaean Hymns" are no doubt the other part of Codex A, the *Psalms*, completing the acquisition of this codex, of which only a part had been acquired in 1930. But the identification of the manuscript referred to with the terms Ritual and Laws is less clear, as is the identify of another possible acquisition late in 1930 suggested by the following:

On May 19, 1931, Ibscher wrote Beatty from Berlin:

> According to your wish I have photographed your papyri, and I am sending you proofs thereof.
>
> Should you wish to have more proofs, I will gladly have several more made.
>
> Besides these three books I have another thinner one which certainly belongs to the smaller book. Should you wish to have the photograph of that I will also have it done. I have already taken a few leaves from the books which are already under glass.

It is unclear what the reference to three books in Berlin belonging to Beatty envisages. If the "smaller" book means the *Psalms*, the only codex with smaller dimensions, then what is referred to as "another thinner one" that "belongs to" that codex would be the part of the *Psalms* acquired in April 1931. Then the "three books" would be the *Psalms*, part of which was taken to Berlin in May and June of 1930 and the rest after its acquisition April 1931; the unidentified codex taken to Berlin November 27, 1930; and the part of the *Homilies* acquired in April 31 and taken to Berlin shortly thereafter.

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On June 11, 1931, Thompson met with Schmidt, and on June 15, 1931, wrote to Beatty:

> He [Schmidt] has been recently in Egypt, making inquiries about the find, and he is satisfied that the whole find was divided into 8 parts, between 3 dealers, of which I understand 5 are coming to Berlin, and he declared you had two Mss. and one on approval, viz. your Hymn book, now in Ibscher's hands and another (?). Is this so? and if so, would you let me see it—and also the papyrus on approval? I should very much like to get some idea of its (their?) size and contents, if possible.

On January 4, 1932, Thompson again wrote Beatty inquiring whether Beatty still had in his custody the manuscript on which he had an option, and, if so, whether Thompson could see it. Apparently, Beatty did not respond to this part of either letter. In the same way that Beatty's unresponsiveness to Thompson is unintelligible, Thompson's identification of Schmidt's material is unclear. The two manuscripts Thompson writes about could be the two parts of the *Psalms*, counted as one or as two, and the part of the *Homilies* acquired in April 1931, without reference to the unidentified codex taken to Berlin on December 27, 1930; or it could be counted, but the part of the *Homilies* not counted as a separate book.

Ibscher's translation of a report of February 19, 1932, concerning the state of his conservation gives evidence that by then, Beatty had acquired the three and a half codices that were ultimately to be his part of the Manichaean discovery, in addition to the part of a codex that he held but finally did not acquire:

> Now as regards your question, how many leaves are still [to] be expected. From my Report herewith (draft of proposed paper for the Berlin Academy) on the Mani-books, you will see how many leaves I have been able to reckon on in the Berlin *Kephalaia-book* (viz. 498 pages—c. 250 leaves), and I expect that all the volumes were of approximately the same size. If we assume that the Hymnbook [Codex A, the *Psalms*] was so, as would appear from its external appearance, there should result from it a further 150–200 leaves. The other two volumes [Codex B, the *Synaxeis*; Codex C, volume two of the *Kephalaia*], which Mr. Beatty has purchased, may contain as much. If therefore fortune favours me, I may hope to get 450–600 leaves from the entire property of Mr. Chester Beatty, of which about 100 are already separated. The *Homilies* [the

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> part of the codex that Ibscher had left in London in 1930 as not conservable] are not included in this calculation (?). It was a hopeless-looking mass which lay beside the Hymn-book. At first I did not think that anything could be done with it—and yet you see what important things have come out of it. I am proposing now first to finish up the 37 leaves which constitute it, as that will exhaust it. These leaves do not belong to any of the others here—nor I expect to the volume which is still in Mr. Beatty's possession [actually they do belong to the same codex: the *Homilies*]. Perhaps I shall be able to establish this point, when I come to London in April and we may perhaps be able to see the volume together. I shall certainly bring over a number of the completed Homily leaves. I think you will also agree that I had better finish up this portion of the collection first; and the next work will be to complete the Hymnbook, at the same time working on the two other books, from which it may be that more important results will come.

The comment that the *Homilies* "lay beside the Hymn-book" would tend to identify the second manuscript acquired in April 1931 ("Manichaean Ritual Laws") as the *Homilies*. This would mean that in March 1930 and in April 1931 Nahman offered Beatty parts of the same two codices—the *Psalms* and the *Homilies*. The reason for Beatty's not acquiring the part offered in 1930 was no doubt Ibscher's initial opinion that it could not be conserved, and Ibscher's failure to communicate his subsequent willingness to attempt it. This is much the same reaction as that reported concerning the part acquired in 1931: "a hopeless-looking mass . . . At first I did not think that anything could be done with it—and yet you see what important things have come out of it." This would hence be an added confirmation that one has to do in both cases with the same hopeless-looking codex. On March 21, 1932, Beatty released his option on the second manuscript of 1930; he no doubt did not yet realize that it completed a manuscript he had bought in 1931. For Ibscher was not yet aware of it on February 19, 1932, but hoped to investigate the question when in London in April that year. By this time Beatty had released his option, and Schmidt had closed his deal with Nahman.

Ibscher's reference to "the two other volumes, which Mr. Beatty has purchased," would seem to envisage complete codices, since they are assumed to be the same size as the *Kephalaia*, yielding some 150–200 leaves. They would then be Codex B, the *Synaxeis*, and Codex C,

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volume two of the *Kephalaia*. The details of their acquisition are not known, beyond the reference to one being taken by Ibscher to Berlin in the autumn of 1930.

A document entitled "Notes of Conference Mr. A. C. B. had with Dr. Alan Gardiner on Sunday, 8th May, 1932" (in which, according to a letter of May 10, 1932, from Beatty to Thompson, Ibscher was also involved), confirms the identity of the manuscript not acquired by Beatty with the Berlin manuscript P^{15999}, in the context of an imprecise overview of all the holdings (no doubt a garbled version of Ibscher's view reported more accurately in his letter of February 19, 1932, quoted above):

> It seems that Berlin has four manuscripts; one is the epistles [P^{15998}], one seems to be about the life of Mani [P^{15997}], one seems to be of the principles of the Mani religion [P^{15996}]—this latter manuscript consists of two parts which were bought separately, and really represents one book of about 500 leaves [read: pages]. The other two are of about 200 leaves each. [P^{15995} involves only thirty-one leaves; there is no further Berlin codex, other than P^{15999} treated below. A handwritten note in the margin reads: "This makes five in all."]
>
> Schmidt has recently bought, I assume through Berlin, another manuscript [P^{15999}] from Nahman which was the one stored with Mr. A. B. C.
>
> The Manichean manuscripts owned by Mr. A. C. B. consist of four: one is in the form of homilies of about 200 pages; one seems to be an epistle of 200 pages; one is a book of travels and journeys of about 500 [above the figure is written by hand: 50] pages, and one which was in two parts of about 400 pages [added in hand: "? in the form of hymns;" hence Codex A, the *Psalms*].

Søren Giversen quoted the third paragraph above about Beatty's acquisitions and interpreted it as follows:

> The book of travels and journeys is apparently identical to the *Homilies*, later published by Polotsky, and in a letter of 12 May 1932 Alan H. Gardiner speaks of "the 50 leaves relating to the journeyings of Mani" which Polotsky was going to publish. In a formal letter of 13 May 1932 A. Chester Beatty writes: "I am to cede to Dr. Polotsky publication rights in the 50 leaves relating to the journeyings of Mani provided he produces his work within a reasonable time."[4]

4. Giverson, *Manichaean Coptic Papyri*, 2: ix.

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This identification of the third item as the *Homilies* is in part based upon accepting the correction of "500 pages" to read "50." A page of handwritten notes on which the formal typed report is apparently based does in fact use the figure 50. This figure and the reference to travels are clearly used in the later quotations to refer to Codex D, the *Homilies*, Polotsky's first publication. This would mean that the first item listed in the Notes of May 5 1932 as belonging to Beatty, though described as "in the form of homilies," is not Codex D, the *Homilies*. It and the second item ("an epistle") would have to be, one, Codex B, the *Synaxeis*; and the other, Codex C, volume two of the *Kephalaia*. For the fourth item "in two parts" would be, as the handwritten note ("? in the form of hymns") would indicate, Codex A, the *Psalms*. Thus, between March 23, 1930 (when one part of Codex A, the *Psalms*, was acquired), and February 19, 1932 (the date of Ibscher's report mailed from Berlin), Beatty must have acquired four additional items: a second part of Codex A and Codices B–D. If the second part of Codex A and Codex D were acquired in April 1931, the details of the acquisition of Codices B and C remain unknown.

Rolf Ibscher has indicated that the nomenclature of Beatty's codices as A, B, and C was used by Hugo Ibscher, but that the designation of the *Homilies* with a letter D was first introduced by himself.

> Hence, up until 1938, of Sir Chester Beatty's part of the discovery, fully conserved were only the pack of the *Psalms* and the incomplete *Homilies* that lay beside it at the acquisition of the discovery, which also as the first publication could be presented by Polotsky to an expectant public.
>
> Of the three codices, which my father had designated A, B, C as working titles (whereby the independent *Homilies* should actually have been designated D), A, B, and C were only partially restored.[5]

This is a further reflection of the sense in which the minor part of the Homilies codex that Beatty actually purchased, though it was the first thing that Hugo Ibscher completely conserved and that Polotsky published, was not fully recognized as an entity in its own right but was associated with the *Psalms*, in light of the fact that the *Psalms* and the *Homilies* had been acquired together.

5. Ibscher, "Mani und kein Ende," 220.

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— 3 —

The Conservation by Hugo Ibscher

The original essay of Schmidt and Polotsky had been accompanied by a report from Hugo Ibscher, who had been entrusted with the conservation of the codices. Here he described their physical condition as follows:[1]

When the Mani manuscripts reached the Berlin Museum through the good offices of Prof. Schmidt, they were described by a few gentlemen as much-used foot mats, and by others as balls of peat. This is the best way to describe the state of preservation of these precious treasures. Surely every observer stood before these so-called books in doubt as to whether anything could ever be gotten out of them . . .

The bad state of preservation does not come from the age of the manuscripts, but must be attributed to the place of discovery, which, according to the information of Prof. Schmidt given above, is to be sought in a Coptic settlement not far from the south end of the Moris sea. Much older papyrus

Als die Mani-Handschriften durch Hrn. Prof. Schmidt in das Berliner Museum gelangten, wurden sie von einigen Herrn als vielbenutzte Fussmatten und von andern als Ballen Torf angesprochen. Hiermit ist die Erhaltung dieser kostbaren Schätze am besten gekennzeichnet. Zweifelnd stand wohl ein jeder Beschauer vor diesen sogenannten Büchern, ob sich jemals daraus etwas würde gewinnen lassen . . .

Der schlechte Erhaltungszustand liegt nicht am Alter der Handschriften, sondern muss auf den Fundort zurückzuführen sein, der nach den obigen Mitteilungen von Prof. Schmidt in einer koptischen Niederlassung unweit des Südendes des Mörissees zu suchen ist. Weit ältere Papyrusfunde, wie

1. Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschriften," 81–82.

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finds, such as, e.g., the large Bible discovery that I have worked on in the most recent past, and many others, even if they have fallen into numberless fragments, are much firmer in their structure and can readily be handled with a little caution. In the case of the Mani manuscripts, water must have exerted its destructive effect, for all the volumes have after all been brought rather near to disintegration by the effect of the dampness. Only a few decades would have sufficed to make of the extant treasures a pile of humus, if the fortunate though unknown finder had not preserved them from that fate. The greatest danger for the manuscripts lies in this, that they are shot through and through with salt crystals, which penetrated through the effect of the water. Unfortunately the disintegration has advanced so far, however, that one may not apply any kind of dampness, through which the salt could have been removed, if one does not wish to endanger the manuscripts. Yet with the prerequisite knowledge, patience and skill one will succeed in saving even this treasure for science, as the successes attained thus far show quite adequately.

z.B. der von mir in letzter Zeit bearbeitete grosse Bibelfund und viele andere, sind, wenn auch in unzählige Fragmente zerfallen, in der Struktur viel fester und lassen sich bei einiger Vorsicht leicht hantieren. Bei den Mani-Handschriften muss das Wasser seine zerstörende Wirkung ausgeübt haben, sind doch alle Bände durch die Einwirkung der Feuchtigkeit dem Zerfall recht nahe gebracht. Nur wenige Jahrzehnte hätten genügt, um aus den vorhandenen Schätzen einen Haufen Humuserde zu machen, wenn nicht der glückliche, unbekannte Finder sie davor bewahrt hätte. Die grösste Gefahr für die Handschriften liegt darin, dass dieselben vollständig von Salzkristallen, die durch die Einwirkung des Wassers hineingedrungen sind, durchsetzt sind. Leider ist der Zerfall aber schon so weit vorgeschritten, dass man keinerlei Feuchtigkeit anwenden darf, wodurch das Salz entzogen werden könnte, will man nicht die Handschriften gefährden. Mit der nötigen Sachkenntnis, Geduld und Geschicklichkeit wird es aber gelingen, auch diesen Schatz für die Wissenschaft zu retten, wie die bisher erzielten Erfolge zur Genüge beweisen.

In 1964–1965 Rolf Ibscher summarized in retrospect the conservation activity of his father, Hugo Ibscher, as follows:[2]

2. Rolf Ibscher, "Über den Stand," 50–51.

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[p. 51] [The Dublin] *Homilies* and *Psalmbook* and the Berlin *Kephalaia*—that was the sequence to which he [Hugo Ibscher] adhered. The other codices were worked on from time to time, to make it possible for Carl Schmidt to dip into them and thus to provide an overview for him and for himself . . .

[p. 50] Actually already in 1937 my father had . . . stopped exerting his over-taxed strength regularly on them.

[p. 51] [The Dublin] Homilien, Psalmbuch und Berliner Kephalaia—das war die Reihenfolge, bei der er [Hugo Ibscher] blieb. Die anderen Codices wurden zwischendurch ankonserviert, um Carl Schmidt ein Anlesen zu ermöglichen und damit einen Überblick ihm und sich zu verschaffen . . .

[p. 50] Mein Vater hatte eigentlich . . . schon 1937 aufgehört, regelmässig seine überforderte Kraft daran zu setzen . . .

In 1965 Rolf Ibscher reported on his father's conservation as follows:[3]

The making accessible of the papyrus material that at first was put in motion with so much effort, since it was rotted, made into peat, with the leaves completely bonded together because of salt crystals that had soaked in, of which Hans Heinrich Schaeder wrote: "Ibscher is performing true miracles of meditation and concentration when confronted with the material," came after about seven years in 1938 [the year Schmidt died] to what amounted to a standstill, since this work overexerted excessively the eyes and the nerves.

A letter of my father to Sir Chester Beatty of 1938 expressed that clearly: "The tension is too great. I must for a while interpose smaller tasks in between that provide a great deal of variety. One cannot make marathon runs constantly without paying the price."

Die anfänglich mühsam in Gang kommende Aufschliessung des verrotteten, vertorften, durch eingeschwemmte Salzkristalle die Blätter miteinander vollig verfilzenden Papyrusmaterials, von der Hans Heinrich Schaeder schrieb: "Ibscher vollbringt wahre Wunder der Andacht und Konzentration vor dem Material," kam nach rund sieben Jahren 1938 [the year Schmidt died] so gut wie zum Stillstand, da diese Arbeit masslos die Augen und die Nerven überbeansprucht.

Ein Brief meines Vaters an Sir Chester Beatty 1938 drückt das klar aus: "Die Anspannung ist zu gross. Ich muss einmal eine Zeitlang [p. 220] abwechslungsreiche kleinere Arbeiten da zwischen schieben. Man kann nicht ungestraft dauernd Marathonläufe machen."

3. Rolf Ibscher, "Mani und kein Ende," 219–20.

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Hence, up until 1938, of Sir Chester Beatty's part of the discovery, fully conserved were only the ball of the Psalms and the incomplete *Homilies* that lay beside it at the acquisition of the discovery, which also as the first publication could be presented by Polotsky to an expectant public.

Of the three codices, which my father had designated A, B, C as working titles (whereby the independent *Homilies* should actually have been designated D), A, B, and C were only partially restored.

Of the four Berlin codices, only the codex of the *Kephalaia* was being worked on, and was edited by Polotsky and from 1934 on by Böhlig.

So war bis 1938 denn restlos vom Fundanteil Sir Chester Beattys nur das Konvolut des Psalmenbuchs und das diesem beim Erwerben des Fundes beiliegende unvollständige Homilienbuch, das auch als erste Edition durch Polotsky einer erwartungsvollen Mitwelt präsentiert werden konnte, restauriert worden.

Von den drei Codices, die mein Vater mit A, B, C als Arbeitstitel signierte, wobei die selbstständigen Homilien eigentlich mit D hätten bezeichnet werden müssen, waren A, B, C nur partienhaft restauriert worden.

Von den vier Berliner Codices war nur der Codex der Kephalaia in Arbeit und wurde von Polotsky und ab 1934 von Böhlig ediert.

In 1954 Rolf Ibscher had described the teamwork as follows:[4]

Dr. Polotsky functioned as coworker and the actual first editor both for parts of the London as well as for the Berlin manuscripts and, following him from 1934 on, when the awful political conditions in Germany forced a change, the young Charles Allberry for London and Dr. Böhlig for Berlin. From 1939 on, the continuation of the work for London stood still, and for Berlin too both the conservation [p. 3] and the editorial work came to a standstill in the

Als Mitarbeiter und eigentlicher Erstherausgeber sowohl für Teile der Londoner als auch Berliner Handschriften fungierte Dr. Polotsky und in seiner Nachfolge ab 1934, als die unseligen politischen Verhältnisse in Deutschland zu einer Änderung zwangen, für London der junge Charles Allberry und für Berlin Dr. Böhlig. Ab 1939 ruhte die Weiterarbeit für London, und auch für Berlin kam im Laufe des Jahres 1940 sowohl die konserva-

4. Rolf Ibscher, "Wiederaufnahme," 2–3. This unpublished lecture was presented at the twenty-third International Congress of Orientalists on August 23, 1954. The Chester Beatty Library supplied a typescript of this lecture to the Manichaean archives of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. The work is cited according to the typescript except where otherwise indicated. See also *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third*, 359–60.

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course of the year 1940. My father no longer found inner repose for the minute detailed work on the Mani manuscripts.

torische [p. 3] als auch die editorische Arbeit zum Erliegen. Mein Vater fand keine innere Ruhe mehr für die minutiöse Feinarbeit an den Mani-Handschriften.

In 1955 Rolf Ibscher described as follows the way the project had finally ground to a halt:[5]

During the war this minutely detailed work, which could only be carried out in an atmosphere of the greatest repose, under secure conditions and with an absolute freedom from nervous strain, by the very nature of the case ultimately came to a complete halt. Also the scholarly work, handled at the end by Böhlig alone after the death of Schmidt in 1938, came to a standstill. The death of my father on May 26, 1943, marked a temporary end to all further conservation of the material.

Im Kriege kam diese minutiöse Feinstarbeit, die nur in einer Atmosphäre grösster Ruhe, gesicherter Verhältnisse und bei absoluter nervlicher Nichtbelastung geleistet werden kann, naturgemäss schliesslich zum völligen Erliegen. Auch die wissenschaftliche Erschliessung, zuletzt nach dem Tode von Schmidt 1938 von Böhlig allein bewältigt, kam zum Stilistand. Der Tod meines Vaters am 26. Mai 1943 setzte einen vorläufigen Schlussstrich unter jegliche weitere konservatorische Aufbereitung des Materials.

Rolf Ibscher itemized in 1954 what his father had conserved:[6]

For about 9 years my father had occupied himself almost without interruption with separating the leaves from the book blocks and impregnating and glassing the rescued material. His annual trips out of the country had become his recreation from this work that exhausted eyes and nerves.

Rund 9 Jahre hatte mein Vater fast ununterbrochen sich mit der Ablösung der Blätter von den Buchblöcken und der Imprägnierung des geretteten Materials und mit seiner Verglasung beschäftigt. Erholung von dieser die Augen und Nerven strapazierenden Arbeit

5. Rolf Ibscher, "Das Konservierungswerk," 2. This is an unpublished lecture presented at the Eighth International Papyrologists Congress in Vienna in 1955; Carsten Colpe supplied a typescript of this lecture to the Manichaean archives of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity.

6. Rolf Ibscher, "Wiederaufnahme," 5–6.

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According to his last estimation my father hoped at the beginning of the war to be able to end the work in nine more years. But it was to come otherwise. Then what was the status of the whole undertaking when the fateful year 1945 created also for this discovery a completely new kind of situation. What was extant conserved, how much was edited, and what ended up behind a thick question mark?

I begin with the Berlin part of the discovery:

Since 1941 10 fascicles of the important *Kephalaia* manuscript were in print, i.e., 125 leaves or 250 pages of text. In addition 25 leaves or 50 pages were in manuscript form with Kohlhammer in Stuttgart.

There may have been 100 more leaves or 200 pages of text already glassed, but not yet read.

Except for a remainder of some 20 leaves, this manuscript in the original has not, or not yet, returned to German possession. Neither I nor anyone else can say more about it.

The remainder of the manuscript, designated by my father as no longer conservable, was conserved in 1951 in connection with my first stay in London.

The second important Berlin manuscript is the collection of Mani's *Letters*. It was taken by me in 1944 to Bavaria together with the British manuscripts, where it still is, and in the meantime is being worked on there.

waren ihm dabei seine jährlichen Auslandsreisen geworden. Nach seiner letzten Schätzung hoffte mein Vater zu Beginn des Krieges, das Werk in weiteren 9 Jahren beenden zu können. Aber es sollte anders kommen. Wie war nun der Stand des ganzen Unternehmens, als das schicksalsschwere Jahr 1945 auch für diesen Fund eine völlig neuartige Lage schuf. Was lag konserviert vor, wieviel war ediert und was endete hinter einem dicken Fragezeichen? —

Ich beginne mit dem Berliner Fundanteil:

Seit 1941 lagen 10 Lieferungen der wichtigen Kephalaia-Handschrift gedruckt vor, d.h. 125 Blatt oder 250 Seiten Text. Dazu kamen 25 Blatt oder 50 Seiten im Manuskript bei Kohlhammer in Stuttgart liegend.

Verglast schon, aber noch ungelesen mögen weitere 100 Blatt oder 200 Seiten Text vorgelegen haben.

Bis auf einen Rest von einigen 20 Blatt ist diese Handschrift im Original jetzt nicht mehr oder noch nicht wieder in deutschen Besitz zurückgekehrt. Mehr kann weder ich noch irgend jemand anderes darüber aussagen.

Der Rest der Handschrift, von meinem Vater als nicht weiter konservierbar bezeichnet, wurde 1951 im Anschluss an meinen ersten Londonaufenthalt konserviert.

Die zweite wichtige Berliner Handschrift ist die Briefsammlung Manis. Sie wurde zusammen mit den Britischen Handschriften von mir 1944 nach Bayern gebracht, wo sie noch liegt und inzwischen dort bearbeitet wird.

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[Six] leaves of this collection of *Letters* separated by my father as well as 41 [31] leaves of another manuscript [P15995] still conserved by my father and two complete book units thus far unconserved [P15997 and P15998] have also not yet returned into German possession. That means ca. 500 leaves yet to be conserved or about 1,000 pages of text . . .

[p. 6] The Chester Beatty part of the discovery was in the fortunate situation of having survived the war and its consequences complete and intact.

The book of *Homilies* is edited and conserved. It appeared in 1934 after four years of work, as the first publication of the discovery. It was followed in the autumn by the first fascicle of the Berlin *Kephalaia* manuscript. Hence 20 years have passed since it began to appear. The text of the *Homilies* embraces 48 leaves or 96 pages of text. Further, the second part of the *Psalms* was edited by Charles Allberry. In 1938 it appeared with 117 leaves or 234 pages of text. The first part is on hand with 53 leaves conserved, i.e., 106 pages of text. It too was edited by Allberry, but up to the present the manuscript has not yet been printed. To this one must add 47 leaves or 94 pages of text of Codex C of the Chester Beatty manuscripts, which alongside of another text is a continuation of the Berlin *Kephalaia*.

[Sechs] von meinem Vater abgelöste Blätter dieser Briefkollektion sowie 41 [31] Blätter einer anderen Handschrift [P15995], von meinem Vater noch konserviert und zwei vollständige bisher unkonservierte Bucheinheiten [P15997 and P15998] sind ebenfalls noch nicht in deutschen Besitz zurückgekehrt. Das bedeutet ca. 500 noch zu konservierende Blätter oder rund 1000 Seiten Text . . .

[p. 6] Der Chester Beatty-Fundanteil ist in der glücklichen Lage gewesen, den Krieg und seine Folgeerscheinungen komplett und heil überstanden zu haben.

Konserviert und ediert ist das Homilienbuch. Es erschien im Jahre 1934 nach vierjähriger Arbeit als erste Veröffentlichung des Fundes. Ihm folgte im Herbst die erste Lieferung der Berliner Kephalaiahandschrift. [Zwanzig] Jahre sind also mithin seit diesem Ersterscheinen vergangen. Der Homilientext umfasst 48 Blatt oder 96 Seiten Text. Ferner wurde der zweite Teil des Psalmenbuches ediert durch Charles Allberry, im Jahre 1938 erscheinend mit 117 Blatt oder 234 Seiten Text. Der erste Teil liegt mit 53 Blatt konserviert vor, d.h. also 106 Seiten Text. Er wurde ebenfalls von Allberry ediert, aber bisher wurde das Manuskript noch nicht gedruckt. Dazu kommen 47 Blatt oder 94 Seiten Text des Codex C der Chester Beatty Handschriften, der neben einem anderen Text eine Fortsetzung der Berliner *Kephalaia* ist.

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A typescript containing a summary of this speech presents somewhat different figures:

The discovery as conserved and edited up until 1951:

A) Sir Chester Beatty

1. *Homilies*, 48 leaves or 96 pages of text
2. *Psalms*, Part 2, 117 leaves or 234 pages of text
3. *Psalms*, Part 1, 53 leaves or 106 pages of text by Charles Allberry, extant only as a manuscript
4. Codex C, 47 leaves or 94 pages of text, thus far unpublished.

B) Berlin part of the discovery

1. *Kephalaia*, 10 fascicles published

Ca. 100 further leaves were conserved, of which only 25 leaves have been read by Böhlig, extant as a manuscript with Kohlhammer. The remainder has not been read . . .

Not yet returned, up to the present, are two unconserved manuscripts. According to the Berlin catalogue of accessions of what was then the Papyrus Collection, it is a matter of the numbers: 15995 and 15999 [read: P^{15997} and P^{15998}]. Both books may produce ca. 500 leaves or 1,000 pages of text. Furthermore not yet returned are Codex No. 15996 *Kephalaia* as well as 31 leaves of Codex No. 15997 [read: P^{15995}] and 6 leaves of Codex 15998, which is identical with the codex that is in Bavaria.

Bis 1951 konservierter und edierter Fund:

A) Sir Chester Beatty

1. Homilien 48 Blätter oder 96 Seiten Text
2. Psalmbook Part II 117 Blätter oder 234 Seiten Text
3. Psalmbook Part I 53 Blätter oder 106 Seiten Text durch Charles Allberry nur als Manuskript vorliegend
4. Codex C 47 Blätter oder 94 Seiten Text unpubliziert bisher

B) Berliner Fundanteil

1. Kephalaia 10 Lieferungen publiziert

Konserviert wurden ca. 100 Blätter mehr, davon nur 25 Blätter durch Böhlig gelesen, als Manuskript bei Kohlhammer liegend. Der Rest ungelesen . . .

Bisher noch nicht zurückgekehrt sind zwei unkonservierte Handschriften, nach dem Berliner Standkatalog der früheren Papyrussammlung handelt es sich um die Nummern: 15995 und 15999 [read: P^{15997} and P^{15998}]. Beide Bücher dürften ca. 500 Blätter oder 1,000 Seiten Text ergeben. Ferner sind noch nicht zurückgekehrt Codex Nr. 15996 *Kephalaia* sowie 31 Blätter von Codex Nr. 15997 [read: P^{15995}] und 6 Blätter des Codex 15998 der identisch ist mit dem in Bayern befindlichen Codex.

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The full text and the summary present both garbled and conflicting information about the conservation carried out by Hugo Ibscher:

P15995: THE *SYNAXEIS*

The full text lists 41 leaves from an unidentified codex, which is presumably an inaccurate reference to the thirty-one leaves of this codex Hugo Ibscher conserved. The summary lists the figure correctly as 31, but identifies these leaves inaccurately as belonging to P15997, the *Acts*. The rest of the *Synaxeis* codex was in Schondorf being conserved by Rolf Ibscher. However, he did not seem to know this but maintained inaccurately he was conserving P. 15998, the *Letters*.

P15996: THE *KEPHALAIA*

The full text lists 125 leaves published, twenty-five edited for publication, and a hundred conserved but not edited, for a total of 250 leaves or 500 pages The summary includes the 25 edited for publication within the 100, thus making a total of 225 leaves or 450 pages. A statistical table appended to the summary lists for the Berlin part "ca. 230 Blätter oder 460 Seiten," ["ca. 230 leaves or 460 pages"]. The following line reads, "*Kephalaia*," which may mean that these figures refer only to that codex. Perhaps only *Kephalaia* leaves are listed because the summary was designated "conserved and edited" material. For even though the statistical table lists its contents as what was "conserved," it probably is intended to be limited to what is conserved and edited. But even if the figure is intended to refer only to the *Kephalaia*, there is still a discrepancy between the three statements: 250, 225, or ca. 230 leaves. In addition, the full text listed "some 20 leaves" as still accessible in Berlin, and the summary listed as conserved by Rolf Ibscher: "Rest der *Kephalaia* ca. 25 Blätter oder ca. 50 Seiten Text" ["remainder of the *Kephalaia* ca. 25 leaves or ca. 50 pages of text"]. Both references, in spite of the discrepancy, are presumably to the same material (see below). Thus, the total number of the leaves of the *Kephalaia* that had been conserved could be variously calculated as 270, 275, 245, 250, or 255. In this data no distinction is made between the number of leaves originally in the codex, the number conserved, and the number extant.

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P^{15997}: THE *ACTS*

The full text refers to "two complete, thus far unconserved, book units" as not yet returned, one of which must, by a process of elimination, have been this codex. In the summary it is inaccurately ascribed the number P^{15995} (just as, conversely, the 31 leaves of P^{15995} are inaccurately given the number P. 15997). Since Hugo Ibscher had conserved at least eight leaves not mentioned by Rolf Ibscher, it was inaccurate to refer to this text simply as "thus far unconserved."

P^{15998}: THE *LETTERS*

The full text and the summary list six leaves conserved by Hugo Ibscher. Both inaccurately identify the codex in Schondorf as the rest of P^{15998}, since in reality it was the rest of the *Synaxeis* codex. Some 22 leaves of P^{15998}, reported subsequently to have been in the Ibscher home throughout the war and immediate postwar period, are not mentioned (see below).

P^{15999}: THE *HOMILIES* (BERLIN PART)

The full text apparently includes this codex among the "two complete books thus far unconserved," "ca. 500 leaves or 1,000 pages of text" that have not yet been returned. The summary stated that the two complete codices that had not yet been returned contained a total of "ca. 500 leaves or 1,000 pages of text." This reflects the standard estimate (based on the *Kephalaia*) of codices of about 250 leaves each. But the Berlin part of this codex was not a complete codex, but was part of the same codex as the *Homilies* text of Sir Chester Beatty, which consisted of forty-eight leaves. Hence, the Berlin part should have involved about 200 leaves.

It is clear that this list of what Hugo Ibscher had conserved is seriously imprecise and self-contradictory. It is obviously not based on well-organized records prepared during the conservation procedure. Nor is it based on a new inventory of the conserved leaves themselves, which had been taken to Leningrad after the war and had not yet been returned (see below). The list could have been based on published information and the *Inventarbuch* (inventory book) of the papyrus collection, to which it actually refers. But so many of its er-

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rors would have been corrected by a careful study of such materials that one must assume that the list was based on such records only in a superficial way or on memory or on word of mouth. The list reads more as if it were heavily based on memory or oral tradition, whatever Rolf Ibscher could hurriedly put together, given the death or departure of the principals in the story. Alexander Böhlig, the only scholar still connecting the prewar and postwar periods, apparently did not have much clearer information than Rolf Ibscher. Thus, the postwar academic community began with fragmentary, very inexact, and often quite misleading information about each codex in the Berlin collection. It may be just as well that Rolf Ibscher's first public report was not published.

The amount of material that Hugo Ibscher conserved in the Berlin holdings cannot as a consequence be stated with precision, but can only be estimated as around 300 leaves, if one includes half-conserved material.

With regard to the London material, the situation may be less confused. For Rolf Ibscher's report is based on his having actually seen the material in London, none of which was lost. Thus the listed total of 265 leaves conserved by Hugo Ibscher may be accurate.

Such numbers would suggest that Hugo Ibscher succeeded in separating a total of about 565 leaves. This was no doubt a remarkable achievement, given the condition of the codices when entrusted to him, the degree of legibility of much of what he separated, and the fragile nature of his health at the time. His lifetime of conservation work meant that he represented the state of the art in the 1930s, which is one of the few fortunate dimensions of an otherwise misfortune-ridden story.

Alexander Böhlig has reported on the administrative dimensions of the original project:[7]

In Germany the Berlin Academy of Sciences took over the task. As long as Carl Schmidt was an	In Deutschland nahm sich die Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften der Aufgabe an.

7. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 180ff. See also WZUH 10 (1961) 157–61; and *Actes du XXVe Congrés International des Orientalistes, Moscou 9–16 août 1960*, 1 (1962) 535–41. A typescript of the address of 1960 is in the Chester Beatty archives. The form published in *Mysterion und Wahrheit* has been copyedited but not substantively altered. Quotations are from *Mysterion und Wahrheit*.

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official of the Kommission für spätantike Religionsgeschichte, the enterprise belonged to that area. After his departure, it was transferred to an enterprise under his leadership in the Orientalische Kommission. Meanwhile Hugo Ibscher had separated and put under glass rather large numbers of leaves, so that it was quite appropriate, after Polotsky had been called as full professor to Jerusalem, for each of the owners to engage one's own worker. For the Chester Beatty manuscripts C. R. C. Allberry was engaged, whose death in the war I would like also here bitterly to lament. The Berlin Academy commissioned me, and I am very happy that I had been introduced into this work and its problems back then by Polotsky himself. After Carl Schmidt's death in 1938 I took over the work on my own responsibility. Up to the war there were a total of 574 pages that were presented in print. W. Kohlhammer of Stuttgart, who had new Coptic letters cut just for this purpose based upon the hand of the *Kephalaia*, took over the printing and publishing.

Solange Carl Schmidt Beamter der Kommission für spätantike Religionsgeschichte war, gehörte das Unternehmen zu deren Bereich, um nach seinem Ausscheiden als ein unter seiner Leitung stehendes Unternehmen in die Orientalische Kommission überführt zu werden. Inzwischen hatte Hugo Ibscher grössere Mengen von Blättern abgelöst und unter Glas gebracht, so dass es durchaus angemessen war, nach der Berufung von Polotsky als Ordinarius nach Jerusalem für jeden der Besitzteile einen eigenen Bearbeiter zu bestellen. Für die Chester-Beatty-Handschriften wurde C. R. C. Allberry bestellt, dessen Tod im Kriege ich auch an dieser Stelle aufs tiefste beklagen möchte. Die Akademie Berlin beauftragte mich, und ich bin sehr froh, damals von Polotsky selbst in diese Arbeit und ihre Probleme eingeführt worden zu sein. Nach Carl Schmidts Tode im Jahre 1938 übernahm ich die Arbeit in eigener Verantwortung. Bis zum Kriege wurden von allen Beteiligten insgesamt 574 Seiten im Druck vorgelegt. Den Druck und Verlag hatte W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, übernommen, der eigens nach dem Schrifttyp der *Kephalaia* neue koptische Lettern schneiden liess.

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— 4 —

Beatty, Ibscher, and Polotsky

On May 7, 1931, Sir Alan H. Gardiner wrote to Paul Schubart:

> As you know, Coptic is not my immediate branch of study, but it appears that both Mr. Chester Beatty and Dr. [Hugo] Ibscher wish me to take a hand in negotiating the arrangements for the publication of the Manichaean books belonging to the former. Both Dr. [W. E.] Crum and Sir Herbert Thompson have been here and have discussed the matter fully with Ibscher and myself and this letter is intended to set forth Mr. Chester Beatty's wishes after hearing the results of our consultations. Crum's interest is confined to the lexicographic aspects of the books, which he wishes to utilize for his dictionary. Sir Herbert Thompson is too busy to devote any large part of his time to this work, but since Mr. Chester Beatty naturally desires an English editor for his publication, Thompson has declared himself ready to accept such an editorship, provided that the preliminary copying and translation are performed by someone else.
>
> Everything points to the employment of Herr [H. J.] Polotsky for the purpose as an almost ideal solution, the more so if he is engaged, under Professor [Carl] Schmidt's direction, to copy the corresponding Berlin books. Mr. Chester Beatty would be ready to remunerate Herr Polotsky at the same rate of payment as is arranged for Polotsky in connection with the Berlin books, and would be most grateful if you would administer the requisite sum of money for the purpose. He would send you through me a preliminary sum of £50 for the beginning of the payments, but asks that when this sum is approaching its end he should receive (through me) an exact account of the work done and the payments made.

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> Mr. Chester Beatty will be most glad to grant Professor Schmidt the right to study and utilize in a general way the books belonging to him, if Professor Schmidt is prepared to give to his English colleagues the same rights with regard to the Berlin books. As I have already said, Crum wishes merely to use the texts for his Dictionary, but it would be useful for Thompson to have copies of the Berlin books to utilize alongside the Chester Beatty books. If I might make a suggestion of my own, would it not be well for Polotsky to make these copies in copying ink, so that separate copies could be kept by Schmidt, Polotsky, Crum and Thompson? The existence of separate copies in the hands of each of the scholars interested would, I think, be of great value. A point on which Mr. Chester Beatty lays great stress is that he would like his books, after they have been unrolled by Ibscher, to be kept in the *Papyrusabteilung* of the Neues Museum and to be accessible for study by Professor Schmidt and Herr Polotsky only there. Mr. Chester Beatty would be most grateful if you would consent to take this matter up with the Director of the Museum and to obtain the latter's consent and authorization.
>
> I think that the most practical procedure would be if the copies for Crum and Thompson, as well as the accounts for Mr. Chester Beatty, could be sent to me from time to time. I would act as a sort of London agent, and distribute what is sent to the persons concerned.
>
> It is a wonderful discovery and also a wonderful opportunity for friendly and sensible international co-operation. That is one of the reasons, as you can imagine, why I personally am so much interested in it.

On June 6, 1931, Sir Herbert Thompson wrote to Miss Kingsford of Beatty's staff:

> I venture to trouble you with a question or two, as I know Mr. Beatty is an extremely busy man, and you can probably judge best when and how he can be approached on the side of his MSS. I dare say you have heard from Dr. A. H. Gardiner, that, owing to the impossibility of my friend, W. E. Crum, undertaking the supervision of the treatment of Mr. Beatty's new Coptic papyri, it has fallen to me—subject to Mr. Beatty's approval —to consider the questions of his relation to Berlin. Of course you know that these papyri relate to the Manichaean religion, and that part of the same find has gone to Berlin. Prof. Carl Schmidt (of Berlin University) is coming over here "early in June" to consider questions of joint dealing with this material.

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My proposed attitude is somewhat as follows:—

1. Mutual communication of the material on both sides.

2. Working out of the material by a single editor, if possible—Polotsky being proposed—under supervision of C. Schmidt and myself.

   These two conditions are almost essential. It may be found that parts of the same MS are divided between the two collections. This cannot be settled till the whole mass has been taken to pieces and mounted under glass.

3. The question of publication. I feel that this is a subject which in the present state of affairs may, and should be, postponed. There is no hurry about it and I think it very desirable that Mr. Beatty should not be committed hastily to any scheme. I should not (nor, I fancy, would he) wish to see his MS appear as an appendix to a German publication. Such a publication would have to be a Government publication, and would almost necessarily be a slow—(also, *entre nous*, Prof. C. Schmidt has the reputation of being a very slow hand at producing things). At present, judging from the photographs I have seen of both Mr. Beatty's papyri and the German ones, they are distinct volumes, and there is no reason why the former should not be issued in a separate form. Of course if Polotsky is the sole editor of the texts, he would have to be allowed to take his own course in running the two sets of papyri side by side. But that is no reason why they should be one publication and I suggest that in any case, in the present state of affairs, no definite arrangement as to publication should be entered into.

I shall be very glad to hear how far these views have Mr. Beatty's approvation—and what he may have further to suggest. I may add that a joint publication would give rise to rather difficult questions on the financial side—besides details of printing, illustrations, etc.

On June 15, 1931, Thompson wrote Beatty following the meeting with Schmidt on June 11, 1931:

I met Dr. Carl Schmidt last Thursday, and had satisfactory discussions of the Mani-papyri question. I found him quite ready to take up a reasonable attitude. He quite agreed there is no need to consider any question of publication at present; and that, except as to any MS. that may be found to be divided

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> between your collection and Berlin, you would of course be free to publish in England and in any form you wished, and he did not press for any form of joint publication. As to any joint MS, that can be dealt with when the time arrives.
>
> As far as possible, he agrees to Dr. Polotsky working alternate weeks for Berlin and yourself respectively—in detail, it would have to depend somewhat on the material supplied by Ibscher. He does not foresee any difficulty except as to the latter being able to keep his part of the work going at a sufficient rate, as it is difficult work and trying to his eyes—and also he can only work on your papyri out of his official hours. But the initial work on each papyrus is the most difficulty, and once the outer or more fragmentary portion is removed, the faster it proceeds . . .
>
> He quite agreed about mutual interchange of material and nothing to be published on either side without consent, and I pressed him to keep the whole matter as quiet as possible. He told me he was being urged already to make a brief communication to the Berlin Academy, but I told him he must postpone it for the present till the material is separated and sifted. He has been recently in Egypt, making inquiries about the find, and he is satisfied that the whole find was divided into 8 parts, between 3 dealers, of which I understand 5 are coming to Berlin, and he declared you had two MSS. and one on approval, viz. your Hymn book, now in Ibscher's hands and another (?). Is this so? and if so, would you let me see it—and also the papyrus on approval? I should very much like to get some idea of its (their?) size and contents, if possible.

Thompson's English translation of a letter from Schubart to Thompson of July 19, 1931, reports:

> Our common friend Gardiner wrote to me asking me to address myself directly to you in all that concerns the Manipapyri . . . Dr. H. J. Polotsky, Berlin-Charlottenburg 4, Waitzstr. 20, has already worked on the Chester Beatty papyri during May and June so far that it is justifiable to pay him on June 30 the first of the monthly instalments [*sic*] of 150 Rm. How the payment shall be made is of course entirely a question for Mr. Chester Beatty; perhaps you would kindly speak to him about it. In future then Dr. Polotsky might expect the payment to be made always on the last day of the month. He binds himself to divide his work conscientiously between the Berlin and the Chester Beatty papyri, but it goes without saying that this can-

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> not be done mechanically and exactly according to the number of pages. I will see to it that both parts are carried forward evenly. Each month Dr. Polotsky shall send you copies of the Chester Beatty and Berlin pieces as far as possible with translation. It is understood that these copies are only provisional and that Dr. Polotksy will have to work on them further to improve them. I would ask you to write to Dr. Polotsky your idea as to the working out of the Chester Beatty papyri so that he may know how far he is also to occupy himself with the contents of the New Texts. Dr. Polotsky must also write to you thereon on his part.
>
> I shall be very grateful to you if you will communicate to me any questions or doubts that may arise, and I am convinced that we shall be able to settle everything in an amicable manner. In any case it will be a pleasure to me to do anything I can to forward the great work without delay.

On June 23, 1931, Thompson wrote Miss Kingford inquiring if Beatty had received his unanswered letter of June 15, 1931, and forwarding his translation of Schubart's letter with the request that she ask Beatty "to act upon it:"

> I am very glad to find that Prof. Schubart will keep the supervision in his own hands rather than leave it all to Dr. C. S.— Entre nous, I trust Schubart entirely—Dr. C. S. is apt to be dilatory and not to be depended on to the same extent.

Thereupon on June 26, 1931, Beatty sent Schubart's letter to Gardiner "and also the answer I propose to send," apparently proposing Ibscher as the intermediary in Berlin, with this request:

> I shall be very glad if you will kindly look through this and let me know if you have any suggestion to make before I send the letter to Sir Herbert Thompson.

On June 27, 1931, Gardiner replied to Beatty as follows:

> When I met Sir Herbert Thompson, Crum, and C. Schmidt about a fortnight ago, it was agreed between us that I had better retire from any concern with the Manichaean texts, because they belong to a province which is rather remote from my own. But since you are kind enough to ask me to comment upon your letter to Thompson here returned, I hope you will allow me to do so quite frankly. In my opinion, knowing as I do all the people concerned except Polotsky, I think it would

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> be the greatest possible mistake to entrust the controlling of Polotsky's work to Ibscher instead of to Schubart. Schubart is the head of the Papyrus Department, a distinguished man and Ibscher's chief. Ibscher, though a great friend of mine and a most splendid and trustworthy fellow, is an underling in the department and would not be regarded as able to exercise any authority over Polotsky except *through* Schubart, with whom he is on the best of terms.
>
> I see through Schubart's letter to Thompson that he personally undertakes to see that both parts of the work are carried on evenly. If he says that, then in my opinion there is not the least doubt in the world that it would be done. If, after a month or two had passed, Thompson, who will be controlling the work, considered that your portion was being neglected in favor of C. Schmidt's the arrangement could at once be terminated. In a word, if the books were mine and I had to negotiate the matter on my own behalf, I should not hesitate to accept Schubart's offer without any reservation whatever.
>
> I have written very frankly, because I think it is by so doing that I shall be of most help both to you and to this most important scientific undertaking . . .
>
> P.S. I notice from your letter that you say you would rather prefer to deal with this business through Ibscher and not through Schmidt. I don't think that the latter course is proposed at all. Indeed, in taking charge of the matter himself doubtless Schubart's idea, like Ibscher's, is to keep the control out of Schmidt's hands.

On June 28, 1931, Thompson wrote Miss Kingsford inquiring whether the mail was functioning since he had still no reply from Beatty to his letters. On July 2, 1931, Beatty wrote Gardiner to the effect he was writing Thompson to work through Schubart rather than Schmidt or Ibscher. On July 7, 1931, Beatty wrote Thompson to arrange for Polotsky to be paid by Schubart not by the month but by the actual amount of work done, since he might work more for Berlin and Ibscher's work may move slowly.

On July 11, 1931, Thompson wrote Beatty, reporting on his implementation of the new arrangements Beatty proposed:

> However I have this morning received from Schubart the results viz. transcription (Coptic), translation and (occasionally) notes of 5 more leaves, of which 4 are from your papyri and 1 from the Berlin papyri.—He sent me 4 copies (mechanical) of

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> each and I enclose one copy of each of your 4 new pages. One copy will go to Crum for his Dictionary and the other two will remain with me for the present.
>
> Schubart remarks in his letter: "This time the C.B. pages are the more numerous; another time it may be so with the Berlin pages. That naturally depends on the quality of the leaves [he means that as Ibscher divides his time equally on the two jobs, the number of each that he gets off depends on the condition of the papyrus]. But both parts, C.B. and Berlin, will be as far as possible carried forward equally." I feel sure that Schubart may be trusted to do his best to see this carried out. But we must await further results in due course . . .
>
> I have not been able to go through these pages of Polotsky at present; but I see that he has got out the whole text and it looks very satisfactory as far as I can judge from a cursory glance.

On September 24, 1931, Thompson again wrote Beatty:

> I sent you on July 11th last the first results of Dr. Polotsky's work; but as I received no acknowledgement, I presumed, you were too busy to find time for giving attention to them. So I ceased troubling you with any more. They have been coming in regularly each month. Shall I send them all on to you now? He is doing most excellent, indeed remarkable work on them, and the results are of the highest interest—both in the contents—and philologically for the Coptic language in which they are written, and seems to have sprung up specially equipped for this particular job.

On October 12, 1931, Beatty wrote that he had been very busy, was leaving for New York, and would be glad to receive Polotsky's reports on his return in five or six weeks. On January 4, 1932, Thompson wrote him:

> I have a rather urgent letter from Dr. Carl Schmidt in Berlin, asking me to send him some news as to the Mani papyrus, which you had, I believe, on approval, as scholars are very anxious—and not in Germany only—to have some public statement as to these "mysterious" Manichaean manuscripts. But Dr. Schmidt, rightly I think, wishes to defer any such statement till the fate of this outstanding papyrus of the Mani find is settled—either by its passing into your collection—or finding an assured home, perhaps at Copenhagen, or else in Berlin. The important point is that it should be in hands where

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> it would be accessible for study in association with those in your hands and those in the Berlin Museum.
>
> So I venture again to trouble you with a question as to whether it is still in your custody — and if so, may I be allowed to see it? and also whether you still have any thought of acquiring it, or not? If you do not, Dr. Schmidt tells me that Nahman has given him the first option of purchase; but he fears that if the matter is delayed much longer, Nahman may change his mind, and the opportunity of fixing it in safe hands may be lost.

On January 5, 1932, Beatty left for Egypt, but the letter was forwarded to him. On January 26, 1932, J. W. Corble, of Beatty's staff, replied to Thompson on Beatty's behalf that the papyrus was still the property of Nahman and Beatty had it in safekeeping.

Schmidt wrote Thompson on February 6, 1932, in a disturbing way, which Thompson reported to Beatty in a letter of February 14, 1932:

> I am sorry to have to trouble you with Mani matters again so soon, as I fear they are not very welcome. However, it is necessary that you should know that Prof. Carl Schmidt of Berlin, who is controlling Dr. Polotsky's work over there on behalf of the Berlin papyri, will very shortly be in Egypt, and purposes to call on you.
>
> He has prepared a Report which he purposes to lay before the Berlin Academy, relating to the find of Mani papyri. He first referred to it as a "Provisional report";—I assumed that he would give an account of the find—of the number of the papyri, their dates, their language and its dialect and some details of the nature of the contents. But about 10 days ago he wrote and informed me that he proposed to use 10 pages of your papyrus, i.e., publish in his report the Coptic texts and translations—and moreover 4 of those 10 pages have never been forwarded to me nor any account even of their contents. I at once protested, both to Prof. Schubart and to Dr. Schmidt. Schubart (head of the papyrus department of the Berlin Museum) mildly interposed and thought my point of view had not been considered sufficiently. But Schmidt is offended and wrote me an immensely long letter to show that—well, I was spoiling his game, but he was off to Egypt in a few days and would see you and hopes to get your permission for what he wants. He is one of those people to whom if you give him an inch, he will take an ell—and I have been warned of this by people who know

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> him much better than I do. He wants to publish your papyrus by driblets in successive reports to the Berlin Academy.
>
> So I have written him today—it will catch him before he leaves—a very straight letter of which I enclose you a copy—so that you may know exactly what is the position I have taken up, and which I consider necessary, if you intend to keep any control over your exceedingly valuable papyrus.
>
> I hope it will meet with your approval.

Thompson's blunt letter to Schmidt of February 14, 1932, is as follows:

> . . . But with regard to the Beatty papyrus, you remark "es wäre mir sehr angenehm einmal Ihre Meinung angesichts der von mir geschilderten Lage zu hören" [it would be very agreeable to me to hear once your view regarding the situation portrayed by me"].
>
> I am the more willing to do as you ask, because I fear that, in your anxiety to inform the Academy, you have overlooked certain fundamental conditions, which are these:—
>
> 1. The Ch. B. papyrus belongs to Mr. Chester Beatty.
> 2. The right of publication is vested in him solely.
> 3. He will decide when and how it is to be published.
> 4. His present intention is to publish it completely as soon as possible.
> 5. His publication will not form part of that of the Berlin papyri but will no doubt be made in England, as soon as Dr. Polotsky—on one-half of whose working time he has an exclusive claim—shall produce it in a condition fit for publication.
> 6. He objects to any piece-meal form of publication.
> 7. Your knowledge of the contents of the papyrus is confidential, and you have no right to the use of it, except by asking for, and receiving permission.
> 8. I have, as at present instructed, no authority to give you that permission.
>
> I informed you, that you might "state in general terms["] the "contents of the Ch. B. papyrus." You answer, "Was will der Gelehrte mit *allgemeinen Bemerkungen anfangen*?" [What

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> does the scholar make of general comments?] But the "contents" include a great deal more than that and cover details: but not quotations.
>
> I am very sorry to have to write to you in such unqualified terms. But you compel me to it. There is nothing in the above 8 points, which was not either common ground between us, or was stipulated for (especially—"no partial publication without common agreement") at our meeting in London.
>
> I am fully aware of the immense difficulty of the work of decipherment on which you and Dr. Polotsky are engaged. I have a number of photographs of the Ch. B. papyrus by me, and can form a good judgment of it; and how necessarily slow it is.
>
> But your calculations as to the length of time likely to be required for the Berlin papyri, do not apply to the Ch. B. papyrus, which I hope will be ready for publication much earlier.
>
> Last autumn I wrote to Dr. Polotsky that my object was to have the *text*, with English translation, and such notes, philological and historical, as may be found necessary, printed, but it is not to include any elaborate commentary, as that cannot be adequately undertaken until the whole of the papyri have seen the light.

On February 22, 1932, Thompson wrote Miss Kingsford:

> Shortly before Mr. Chester Beatty left for America, he asked me to hold back the results of Dr. Polotsky's work on the Mani papyrus till his expected return some weeks later from the U.S.A.
>
> I fear I forgot that he had ever asked for them; but I have now been through the papers, and added a considerable number of translations, as I told Dr. Polotsky to cease making [English?] translations of the Beatty papyrus, so that he may have more time for deciphering. I send you the results up to the present date and will ask you kindly to keep them till Mr. Beatty's return from Egypt.

On March 19, 1932, Schmidt wrote on his calling card in Cairo a cryptic note to Beatty, also in Cairo, since he had failed to meet him there and was leaving the next day for Luxor. Later Thompson was to provide Beatty with an accurate translation of the relevant part of Schmidt's note:

> I should like to discuss with you a report on the Mani find, which I wish to place before the Academy in Berlin. I have

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> already corresponded with Sir Herbert Thompson about it. The important point is as to your permission how far I may in my Report also make use of (the material in) your possession. I had proposed to give some examples in illustration from your most valuable Hymn-book so that scholars might be able to judge of the Hymn to Christ and to Mani. Perhaps you will be good enough to talk this over with Sir (H.) Thompson.

On March 21, 1932, Beatty wrote Schmidt already from Cairo, without awaiting an accurate translation, but responding in terms of what Thompson had already written him about Schmidt's proposals:

> I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your note but unfortunately as I do not read German I have only been able to get a rough translation of it. I wish however to have it definitely understood that you are not to use in any way, shape or manner any of the material owned by me, in any article, lecture or quotation. Upon my return to London I will have a careful translation made of your note and will write you further, but in the meantime let there be no misunderstanding. You were allowed to see certain papyri as a matter of courtesy but any thing you have seen is strictly confidential and you are not permitted to make any mention of it or make any use whatever of it, without either my consent or Sir Herbert Thompson's consent in writing.

On March 29, 1932, Beatty sent a copy of his sharp reply to Thompson, with the further comment:

> I think the best solution is that I arrange with Ibscher for him to stop work on the thing, so that we will not have any further complications with Schmidt.

The same day Beatty wrote Nahman, agreeing to return the manuscript on which he had an option via Ibscher, knowing that this meant that Schmidt would acquire it. Apparently, Beatty had soured on the whole Mani enterprise. On April 3, 1932, Thompson wrote Beatty, quite annoyed that Beatty had gone too far:

> Thank you for your letter of Mar. 29th, acknowledging mine of Feb. 10th. I could wish you had done so sooner, as you left me during my controversy with Prof. Schmidt in some doubt as to how far I was justified in maintaining so strict an attitude toward him as I did. But your letter to him of March 31 [21?] is so stiff that it rather puts me into fresh difficulty.

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When Prof. Schmidt came over here in June of last year, I made certain arrangements with him as regards the common working out of the Berlin and your Mani papyri. The main points were:—

1. They were to be worked out by Dr. Polotsky under the supervision of Prof. Schmidt and myself, so far as I could control his work by photographs, or the originals when returned.

2. All the material, as worked out in Berlin, was to be sent to me.

3. Publication was reserved, to be dealt with by each party as they thought best; but no publication of any kind was to be permitted meanwhile without the consent of the other party.

4. I told Schmidt distinctly that Dr. Polotsky was to edit your papyrus for you, and that it would be published over here and not in Germany.

5. Dr. Polotsky was to divide his working time equally between the two parties and each party was to pay him 150 Rm. monthly. (This was before the gold standard was abandoned in England. Therefore, whereas 150 Rm. = £7.10.0 at par originally, it now, at 14 Rm. to the £ = £10.15.0. But, on the other hand, by German Govt. decree all salaries have been reduced by 10% since Jan. 1, so Dr. P.'s salary stands now at 135 Rm. per month).

6. It was agreed that some communication of the contents of these papyri should be made to the public as soon as it could reasonably be done; and that this should take the form of a Report by Prof. Schmidt to the Berlin Academy as to their nature and contents.

Accordingly, when Prof. Schmidt on Feb. 2 announced to me that he was preparing a Report to the Academy and that he intended to make large extracts from your papyrus, I protested at once that he was not entitled to do so, as this amounted to a part-publication. After many letters on both sides, Prof. Schmidt yielded on my writing to him the formal letter, of which I sent you a copy.

But I have given him permission to state the nature and contents of your papyrus with details as to names of persons

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mentioned and places, and chronological references, provided he makes no quotation whatever; and so much I consider to be desirable in the public interest. This you have now withdrawn by the terms of your letter to him.

After our controversy, which I conducted, I hope, with due politeness, Prof. Schmidt, having conceded my points, gave in with a good grace, and we are again on excellent terms. As Prof. Schubart of the Berlin Museums, who has the custody and control of all the Mani-papyri, supported me throughout, I think it would be deplorable if you refused to sanction the further use of your papyrus, and withdrew from the agreed common work.

Further, with regard to your papyrus, I obtained from Dr. Ibscher on Feb. 22 a report as to his work on it, of which I enclose a translation. He will also make an appendix to Schmidt's Report, on the technical condition and treatment of the papyri. He has sent me a copy of his paper, and I see nothing whatever to object to in it.

In consequence of Ibscher's statement, (from which I learned for the first time that you own, not one papyrus only, but 3 or 4), I wrote to Dr. Polotsky that I advised him to concentrate on finishing up the shortest one of 37 leaves; and, as, if he were to wait till the whole 460–600 leaves were worked out, it would probably be some years before anything appeared, he should finish this short one up and you would arrange for a publication of it separately—which would bring him into prominence. He is an extremely learned and able young man; but he is not a naturalised German (being a Russian) and hence has no prospect of an official or University post; and has to make a living. I believe he has nothing but these 270 Rm. (orig. 300 Rm.) per month, i.e. at par £180 p. ann.

I hope very earnestly that you will not withdraw from the scheme as originally laid down. It cannot be carried out without the collaboration of Prof. Schmidt; and I have put matters on such a footing that I feel sure he will now act reasonably; as he has discovered that he has not a "man of straw" to deal with on this side. But if this is to be effected, I must ask you to back me up also in the concessions I have made both as regards Prof. Schmidt and Dr. Polotsky. They are no more than was allowed in the original agreement.

On April 16, 1932, Beatty wrote Ibscher:

We have had a good deal of trouble and dispute with Professor Schmidt with reference to the Mani papyrus, and I understand

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> from Dr. Gardiner that you are coming to London, so I wish you would stop all expenditure and work on the Mani papyrus and just leave the matter as it is until I can see you in London. We can then discuss the best policy to pursue, but at present I do not like Professor Schmidt's attitude; I feel the most satisfactory way is to stop all work in order not to have any complications.

Thompson wrote Beatty on April 22, 1932, on hearing from Berlin of Beatty's letter to Ibscher:

> I have this morning received a letter from Prof. Schubart telling me that you [have] written to Dr. Ibscher that he is to stop work on your Mani papyri in Berlin "on account of disagreement with Prof. Schmidt." As the latter is still in Egypt, Schubart naturally wishes to know what it means and applies to me for information.
>
> As you put the relations between you and Berlin into my hands, and as I had reminded Prof. Schmidt of his duty to you in respect of his use of your papyri, and replaced everything again on an amicable basis, after establishing a proper control over the use to be made of your property, I think it would have been better, had you continued to leave the matter to be conducted through me. Instead of which you have written letters of a very decisive import both to Prof. Schmidt and now to Dr. Ibscher without any reference to me whatever.
>
> Frankly, I cannot work for you on this double basis. Either you must leave the conduct of the business to me, or you take it all into your own hands. It is for you to choose.
>
> But I must remind you that you are under definite obligations to Dr. Polotsky, which cannot be suddenly cut short without notice.
>
> Will you kindly let me know what your intentions are as soon as possible, so that I may know where I stand in relation to the Berlin Museum authorities . . . I understand that Ibscher will be in London some time next week; and I shall be meeting him of course.

On May 1, 1932, Thompson again wrote Beatty:

> On April 22 I wrote you a letter in which I described the position in which you had placed me, and to which I asked for a speedy answer, but I have heard nothing from you.
>
> From the neglect with which you treat all my letters I can only conclude that you do not want me or my services any

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> more. And so, much to my regret, I have to inform you that you must now find some one else to do the work, which, under more favourable circumstances I was so anxious to do in the interests of science.
>
> After three days, if I do not hear any further from you, I shall inform Prof. Schubart that, as far as I am concerned, I can take no further part in the working out of the Mani papyri.
>
> With regard to Dr. Polotsky, I have made certain engagements with him in your name, which I must see carried out, and if you repudiate them, then it will be a matter of honour to me to see that a proper compensation is made to him.

This bitter letter crossed in the mail with a more conciliatory letter from Beatty to Thompson of April 30, 1932:

> I am so sorry that there has been such a mix-up in the matter of the Schmidt business. I got your letter in Egypt, from which I gathered that Schmidt was not acting very well, and I got his letter and also a reprint in German apparently of a Biblical papyrus which he had been interfering with, and then I wrote to him. I thought in view of the dispute that the best way to bring him to terms was to stop the work absolutely. I quite understand that with reference to Dr. Polotsky we may have some work still to settle with him.
>
> I met Dr. Alan Gardiner the other day and understand that Dr. Ibscher is here, so that I will be seeing him within the next few days, and if you will let me know what days you expect to be in London I will try to call on you so that we can have a talk and straighten the matter out.
>
> I am sorry for any upset I have caused in your plans, but it was done with the best intentions.

On May 2, 1932, Thompson replied to Beatty:

> I have just received your letter of Apr. 30th and it has crossed mine, which was written to you yesterday. Your letter still gives me no answer as to your intentions in relation to the arrangements made through me with the authorities in Berlin. You speak of "stopping the work absolutely." If you have done so, or are doing so, you might have told me of it, before leaving me in the lurch. I have nothing to alter in my letter written to you yesterday; but if you think it worth while, I will come up to town and see you any day this week between 10:30 and 3 pm, that you like to name.

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On the same day Beatty wrote a further conciliatory letter to Thompson, in which he nonetheless announced a formal closing down of the arrangements:

> I feel I owe you many apologies for my seeming discourtesy in not replying to your letters, but the fact is that since my return from Egypt I have been so engrossed with business matters that everything else had had to take a secondary place, and I have put off from day to day attending to my personal correspondence with the usual result that it has been entirely neglected. As a matter of fact, I did dictate a letter to you on Friday evening which was sent to my house for signature, but I had to go unexpectedly to the country and so unfortunately it was not dispatched at once.
>
> I quite understand that with regard to Dr. Polotsky and Professor Schubart there will be some settlement needed, and I am of course ready and willing to accept responsibility for this. I met Dr. Alan Gardiner the other day and understand that Dr. Ibscher is here, so I will be seeing him within the next few days.
>
> I regret very much any upset I may have caused in your arrangements, but it was done with the best intentions.
>
> In view of the very difficult business conditions which demand the whole of my time, I have decided to discontinue all work in regard to manuscripts at present. I do not want to offend my friends who have assisted me so much in the work on the library, and I feel I may inadvertently offend them if I try to continue the library work and at the same time have to look after business. I am Chairman of a number of Companies, and I feel that during these difficult times I must devote all my time to them; I am glad to say they are doing all right, but until we get through this world crisis I feel my first duty is to them, and so I cannot devote the time to manuscripts which I would like and would be able to in normal conditions.

A memorandum of a conference between Beatty and Gardiner on May 8, 1932, reported the following policy:

> Under the arrangement with Dr. Polotsky, he was to be paid 150 Rm. by each party monthly, and was to divide his working time equally between the two parties (Mr. A.C.B. and Berlin). Half of this is for Mr. A.C.B.'s account. Polotsky has now almost finished his work and has been working specially on the books of travels [*Homilies*] of which there are about ten pages

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> left; the idea is to dispense with Polotsky's time after he has finished these ten pages and to arrange through Dr. Schubart that he will finish the work by a certain time.
>
> Then, if Sir Herbert Thompson approves, the idea would be to give Polotsky the right to publish it within a year at his own expense through some scientific paper.
>
> Then in regard to the arrangement with Dr. Ibscher, who was to receive 50 marks (about £3) per page, he charges by the page and his work comes to about £200 a year. He has separated or has in process of separation about 100 leaves of which about 30 are under glass. The idea is that he will not separate any more leaves of the manuscript but gradually put the present leaves which he has separated under glass within the next year or so. He is not to undertake any new work on the remaining part of the manuscript without my approval.

On May 10, 1932, Thompson wrote Beatty:

> The enclosed pages (7 of your MS. and 3 of the Berlin papyrus) reached me yesterday from Berlin, representing last month's contribution by Dr. Polotsky.
>
> I have written to him to stop working on your papyri, since you wrote to me on the 2nd inst. that you decided to discontinue all work in regard to manuscripts at present. So this will be the last that he will send. I have not troubled (as with former sendings) to make a translation of them, as I do not suppose you will have time to read them, and it naturally takes a good deal of my time to do it.

On the same day Beatty wrote Thompson that he had "had a long talk with Dr. Alan Gardiner and Dr. Ibscher in reference to the Manichaean manuscripts and have taken some notes with regard to the matter," no doubt the memorandum of the meeting May 8, 1932, and inquiring if he could see Thompson in London. On May 11, 1932, Thompson responded, commenting "I wish you could have seen me when I offered it last week," and pointing out that the times Beatty now proposed were inconvenient. On May 12, 1932, Gardiner wrote Beatty:

> I have had some further talks with Dr. Ibscher and Sir Herbert Thompson with regard to the best way of bringing the arrangement with Sir Herbert and Dr. Polotsky to a satisfactory conclusion. If I understand rightly, you are ready to cede to Dr. Polotsky publication rights in the 50 leaves relating to

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> the journeyings of Mani [*Homilies*] provided he produces his work within a reasonable time. I would suggest that, to treat Polotsky very liberally, you would allow him to retain those rights until this time next year, say the last day of June 1933. The publication would appear in Germany and no cost in connection with it would be incurred by you. Furthermore, after the end of this month, no further obligation for payments to Dr. Polotsky for his studies would rest upon you.
>
> If this arrangement seems satisfactory, I should be grateful for a line at your earliest convenience. Ibscher is leaving for Germany on Saturday, and would like to go back bearing your consent with him.

On May 13, 1932, Beatty responded to Gardiner accepting his proposals.

On May 14, 1932, Ibscher wrote Beatty from London:

Before I return again to Germany, I would not want to neglect to confirm that I have correctly received for Prof. Schmidt the Mani manuscript . . .	Bevor ich wieder nach Deutschland zurückfahre, möchte ich nicht versäumen zu bestätigen, dass ich das Mani-Manuskript für Herrn Prof. Schmidt richtig erhalten habe . . .
As agreed, I will continue treating the Mani text until the already unstuck 100 leaves are assured. I hope I can soon provide you more precise communications about this.	Die Manitexte werde ich wie verabredet weiter behandeln, bis die bereits losgelösten 100 Blätter gesichert sind. Ich hoffe Ihnen hierüber bald nähere Mitteilungen machen zu können.

On May 20, 1932, Beatty wrote Thompson a summary of the situation, including a statement concerning Ibscher:

> Dr. Ibscher is just completing the work on the present pages he is doing which will probably take another six or nine months, and when he has finished this work I have promised to let him know whether I wish him to continue separating any more of the leaves.

On May 24, 1932, Thompson replied to Beatty:

> Thank you for your letter, which was forwarded to me here where I shall be nearly to the middle of next month. I have also heard from Dr. Gardiner with regard to the result of your conferences with him. It is quite satisfactory to me, but I note

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> that you write to me: "that he (Dr. Polotsky) would have the right for a certain period to publish an article on the pages (i.e. of the work he was lately doing) in a German publication." In your letter to Dr. Gardiner you said: "I am to cede to Dr. Pol. publication rights in the 50 leaves relating to the journeyings of Mani [*Homilies*], provided he produces his work within a reasonable time," defined as the end of June 1933. The difference is material and I have taken the latter as the more authoritative, and I have written to Dr. Polotsky that he has the right to publish the text of the short papyrus in question, with introduction, translation and notes, as an independent volume in Germany. That is what he was engaged to do in relation to your papyri before the matter came into my hands, with the difference that hitherto the stipulation was that the publication was to be in England. The difference now is that he is restricted to this short papyrus and the publication is to be in Germany. I hope this is quite clear; as also that he has no claim on you for future expenses either as to his work or the publication.

On May 30, 1932, Beatty acknowledged the correctness of Thompson's interpretation, which Thompson acknowledged on June 2, 1932. This seems to be the conclusion of this correspondence.

It would seem that Beatty's initial proposal of working through those with whom he already had good working relationships, Gardiner and Ibscher, was the procedure to which he had returned, after the relationship with Thompson repeatedly failed to become close, and Schmidt had come to be seen as a problem.

The conserved material has been partially published: Sir Chester Beatty's part of the *Homilies* by H. J. Polotsky in 1934; part two of Sir Chester Beatty's *Psalms* by C. R. C. Allberry in 1938; and the first part of the Berlin *Kephalaia* by H. J. Polotsky and Alexander Böhlig in double fascicles from 1935–1940, with fascicles 11–12 published by Böhlig in 1966, and the next page, 292, by Böhlig in 1985.[1]

1. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*; Allberry, *Manichaean Psalm-Book*, *Part 2* (the preface reported that fascicles 1–8 had appeared in 1935–1937); Polotsky and Böhlig, *Kephalaia*. Manichäische Handschriften der staatlichen Museen Berlin, Band 1, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften unter Leitung von Prof. Carl Schmidt, 1. Hälfte (Lieferungen 1–10), pages 1–102 by Polotsky, pages 103–244 by Böhlig; *Kephalaia.* Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin, Band 1, herausgegeben im Auftrag der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin; zweite Hälfte (only Lieferungen 11/12 = pages 244–92), by Böhlig; Böhlig, "Ja und Amen," 59–70.

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The unconserved book blocks belonging to Berlin are no longer extant, whereas three belonging to Sir Chester Beatty were saved and conserved after the war. The conserved leaves belonging to Berlin are largely extant (though the exact dividing line between what was ever conserved and what was still unconserved when the book blocks disappeared is not clear), and those belonging to Sir Chester Beatty are extant.

Some of the material transcribed by Polotsky but not published has been preserved, in the archives of the Chester Beatty Library, in the Crum Archives of the Griffith Institute at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and at the Academy of Sciences in Berlin. None has survived at the Egyptian Museum in East Berlin or in the possession of H. J. Polotsky.

A ring binder at the Chester Beatty Library has two leaves that have the appearance of title pages, one reading: "A. CHESTER BEATTY. MANICHAEAN PAPYRUS. CODEX A. Psalms (Hymnbook). CODEX B. Homilies (Discourses). Transcriptions and Translations. From Sir H. Thompson. July, 1931—May 18, 1932." The other reads similarly: "BERLIN MANICHAEAN PAPYRUS. Transcriptions and Translations. From Sir H. Thompson. July, 1931—May 18, 1932."

In the Chester Beatty Library are to be found transcriptions of the published pages 25, 26, 30, 34–40, 51, and 54 of the *Kephalaia* and of pages 8, 11, 12, 27–30, 44, 60, 69, 76, 78, 79, 82–84, 91, and 93 of the *Homilies*, as well as two pages of the *Kephalaia* published only in the initial essay by Schmidt and Polotsky, pages 375–76.[2] Also to be found are five still unpublished pages of the *Kephalaia*: pages 343, 344, 353, 354, and 366.

In the preface to *A Coptic Dictionary* (1939), W. E. Crum referred to "copies of the unpublished portions [of the Manichaica] kindly sent by Dr. Polotsky and Mr. Allberry" that he was able to include "only since reaching the letter P." Among the "Abbreviations" are hence "Mani 1 = copies of Chester Beatty's unpublished Manichaean papyri by H. J. Polotsky and H. Thompson" and "Mani 2 = copies of similar papyri at Berlin by Polotsky." This reference to unpublished material would not include, at first glance, what had been published by 1939, which

2. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten," 45, for the German translation and page 87 for the Coptic text from codex page 375; page 42 for the German translation and page 82 for the Coptic text of codex page 376. Schmidt and Polotsky did not give the page numeration in the codex.

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consisted (according to the "Abbreviations," of the Dublin *Homilies*) of Part 2 of the Dublin *Psalms*, and the Berlin *Kephalaia*, presumably only fascicles 1–8, since they were published in 1935–1937; the first volume was published in 1940 with the appearance of fascicles 9–10. Thus, it is conceivable that some Berlin materials that Crum cites as unpublished are among those that have been subsequently published, whereas Dublin material cited as unpublished would still be unpublished, unless it was so listed in fascicles of Crum's *Dictionary* that appeared before Allberry published in 1938. Though the materials identified in the Dublin Archives include no unpublished Dublin material, there are in the Oxford Archives unidentified Dublin transcripts, though one (II, 30, 1) has the note "precedes Allberry p. 1," which must mean it comes from the unpublished first part of the *Psalms* codex. Two psalms published in English translation by Søren Giversen as derived from the unpublished first part of the *Psalms* are also present in the Crum Archives (see below).

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— 5 —

The Effects of World War II

This remarkable story of the discovery, acquisition, and initial conservation and publication of the Manichaica of Medinet Madi has as its sequel an equally remarkable story of the Manichaean codices in the aftermath of World War II.

In a guidebook, Joachim Selim Karig, acting director of the Ägyptisches Museum in Charlottenburg, West Berlin, until 1989, described precautions taken in wartime as follows:[1]

Rudolf Anthes, the successor in office to Heinrich Schäfter from 1935 on, suffered a similar fate as well. [Similar to that of his predecessor's pupils: "Both were obliged, since they were not pleasing to the ruling powers, to give up their careers and later even their homeland."] Recognition was denied to him, for he had never hidden the fact when his personal political opinion stood in opposition to his superiors. He was not named director, though he had to bear the work and responsibility of the leader of the collection. Also the sad task rested on him of protecting the valuable objects of the collection from destruction by

Auch *Rudolf Anthes*, der Amtsnachfolger von Heinrich Schäfer seit 1935, erlitt ein ähnliches Schicksal. [Similar to that of his predecessor's pupils: "Beide mussten, da sie den herrschenden Machthabern nicht genehm waren, ihre Laufbahn, später sogar ihre Heimat verlassen."] Ihm, der nie ein Hehl daraus machte, wenn seine persönliche politische Meinung im Gegensatz zu seiner Obrigkeit stand, wurde die Anerkennung versagt. Er wurde nicht zum Direktor ernannt, obwohl er die Arbeit und Verantwortung des Sammlungsleiters zu tragen hatte. Ihm oblag auch die

1. Karig, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 73–74.

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war and bombing raids, of packing them up and carrying them to various places—an activity that he executed with the greatest conscientiousness in spite of all the impediments of the time.

traurige Aufgabe, die wertvollen Sammlungsgüter vor der Vernichtung durch Krieg und Bombenangriffe zu schützen, sie zu verpacken und an verschiedene Stellen abzutransportieren—eine Tätigkeit, die er mit der grössten Gewissenhaftigkeit, allen Behinderungen der Zeit zum Trotz, ausführte.

Jürgen Settgast, director of the Ägyptisches Museum in West Berlin, described the wartime and postwar period as follows:[2]

Catastrophe

Already soon after the Second World War broke out, steps began to be taken also in the Egyptian Museum to put in safekeeping the objects of the collection. Storage places which one thought could offer them better protection than the museum in the center of Berlin had to be located and made ready to receive them. But statues and pieces of architecture that weighed tons remained at their place in the museum and were covered with protective walls.

The most valuable works of art were brought to the concrete bunker [removed after the war] in the Zoo. Many outstanding exhibition pieces wandered into the deep cellar of the Neue Münze; others remained on the Museum Island where they could find protection in the basements of the museums.

Katastrophe

Schon bald nach Ausbruch des Zweiten Weltkrieges begannen auch im Ägyptischen Museum Massnahmen zur Sicherung des Sammlungsbestandes. Auslagerungsplätze, von denen man glaubte, dass sie besseren Schutz als das Museum im Berliner Zentrum bieten könnten, mussten gefunden und aufnahmebereit hergerichtet werden. Tonnenschwere Statuen und Architekturteile aber verblieben im Museum an Ort und Stelle und wurden mit Schutzmauern verkleidet.

Die wertvollsten Kunstwerke wurden in den Betonbunker [removed after the war] am Zoo gebracht. Viele hervorragende Ausstellungsstücke wanderten in den Tiefkeller der Neuen Münze, andere verblieben auf der Museumsinsel, konnten Schutz in den Kellern der Museen finden. Nahezu alle Objekte

2. Settgast, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 76. The hardback booklet published by the Ägyptisches Museum der Staatlichen Museen Preussicher Kulturbesitz, West Berlin, summarizes this report with more or less detail in three languages: Kniese and Robbel, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 8 (German); Fay, *Egyptian Museum Berlin*, 7–8 (English); and Alte, *Musée Égyptien Berlin*, 8 (French).

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Almost all the objects of these three storage places survived the war intact, were transported into the Soviet Union in 1945–1946, and then returned to Berlin in 1958. These objects comprise today the core of the Egyptian Museum in the eastern part of Berlin.

Immediately after the end of the war the objects stored in the bunker of Friedrichshain became the victims of a large fire. However, the Egyptian Museum suffered its most serious losses in the total destruction of the depots of art objects in the castle Sophienhof in the region of Mecklenburg, which was heavily fought over in April 1945. Here almost 100 crates of small works of art, well over 500 stone objects, and the bulk of the collection of wooden coffins and mummy coverings were destroyed. The Berlin Egyptian Museum is still today marked by this catastrophe. What was stored in a mine near Grabsleben west of the Elbe fell into the hands of British troops in April 1945. They gave the 34 crates with objects from the reserves emergency asylum in Celle. Incomparably more important was what was given over to the American troops that pushed forward into Thüringen: ninety-seven crates, among them the one with the green head and another with the bust of Nofretete. That the best of the Berlin collections was rescued for us is also thanks to unknown railroad workers, who simply ignored Goebbel's

dieser drei Auslagerungsstätten haben den Krieg heil überdauert, sind 1945/46 in die Sowjetunion transportiert worden und kehrten 1958 nach Berlin zurück. Diese Stücke sind heute Kern des Ägyptischen Museums im Ostteil Berlins.

Die im Bunker Friedrichshain ausgelagerten Objekte wurden unmittelbar nach Kriegsende Opfer eines Grossfeuers. Die schwersten Verluste aber erlitt das Ägyptische Museum durch die totale Vernichtung des Kunstgutlagers in Schloss Sophienhof im Mecklenburgischen, das im April 1945 heftig umkämpft war. Hier wurden fast 100 Kisten mit Kleinkunst, weit über 500 Steinwerke und der grösste Teil der Sammlung von Holzsärgen und Mumienhüllen vernichtet. Von dieser Katastrophe ist das Berliner Ägyptische Museum noch heute gezeichnet. Was in einem Bergwerk bei Grabsleben westlich der Elbe ausgelagert war, fiel britischen Truppen im April 1945 in die Hände. Diese liessen die 34 Kisten mit Magazinbeständen in Celle Notasyl finden. Ungleich wichtiger war, was den bis nach Thüringen hinein vorgestossenen amerikanischen Truppen übergeben wurde: 97 Kisten, darunter die mit dem Grünen Kopf und eine andere mit der Büste der Nofretete. Dass das Spitzenstück der Berliner Sammlungen uns erhalten blieb, verdanken wir auch unbekannten Eisenbahnern, die den Goebbels Befehl, die Nofretete aber Ostern 1945 wieder nach

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order to take Nofretete back to Berlin at Easter 1945. Instead, the Americans transferred the queen to Wiesbaden, where she resided for ten years before returning home to Berlin on June 23, 1956.

Berlin zu schaffen, einfach ignorierten. Statt dessen überführten die Amerikaner die Königin nach Wiesbaden, wo sie zehn Jahre residierte, bevor sie am 23. Juni 1956 nach Berlin heimkehrte.

Karig described the beginnings of the new Egyptian Museum just across the street from the castle in Charlottenburg:[3]

New Beginning

One hundred and thirty-one wooden crates in the ballroom of the former troop casino, which with its emergency roof above the burnt-out and naked walls did not look at all festive any longer—that was the heritage that one had to use. A director, a secretary, and a conservator was the staff that from February 1, 1962, on, was supposed to produce from this an Egyptian Museum. Just the sifting and identifying of the objects of the collection already produced great difficulties. All the files about them, the Inventory Books and other records were in East Berlin, unavailable for our use, whereas the inventory numbers on the pieces themselves were often illegibly rubbed off, destroyed. Much was not published, but even if it was—also a specialized library had first to be built up out of nothing.

Nonetheless, a suitable house had already been found, which seemed to be remarkably suited to house in its relatively small rooms a collection containing many pieces of small format as a result of

Neubegin

Einhundertundeinunddreissig Holzkisten im Festsaal des ehemaligen Landwehrkasinos, der mit seinem Notdach über den ausgebrannten and nackten Wänden keineswegs mehr festlich wirkte—das war das Erbe, das es zu nutzen galt; ein Direktor, eine Sekretärin und ein Restaurator die Mannschaft, die vom 1. Februar 1962 an hieraus ein Ägyptisches Museum schaffen sollte. Allein schon die Sichtung und Identifizierung der Sammlungsbestände brachte grosse Schwierigkeiten. Alle Akten hierüber, Inventarbücher und sonstigen Unterlagen waren in Ost-Berlin für uns nicht erreichbar, die Inventar-Nummern auf den Stücken selbst aber oftmals unleserlich abgerieben, zerstört. Vieles ist nicht publiziert worden, aber selbst wenn—auch eine Fachbibliothek musste erst aus dem Nichts aufgebaut werden.

Immerhin, ein passendes Haus war schon gefunden, das vorzüglich geeignet zu sein schien, in seinen relativ kleinen Räumen

3. Karig, *Ägpytisches Museum Beriln*, 78.

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the storage situation. The fact that the departure of the police from the eastern building constructed by Stüber was delayed by a further number of years was more nearly useful for the cause, since one could devote one's attention after all to the objects (now with the larger staff of colleagues), could restore them, and could also go at making the completely unstudied Papyrus Collection accessible.

eine Sammlung aufzunehmen, die, bedingt durch die Auslagerung, viele kleinformatige Stücke besitzt. Dass sich der Auszug der Polizei aus dem östlichen Stüberbau noch um Jahre verzögerte, war eher der Sache nach dienlich, konnte man sich doch, jetzt mit vergrössertem Mitarbeiterstab, den Denkmälern widmen und sie restaurieren und auch schon an die Erschliessung der noch gänzlich unbearbeiteten Papyrussammlung gehen.

In an earlier guidebook, Karl-Theodor Zauzich had described the situation of the papyrus collection as follows:[4]

In the Second World War the contents of the Papyrus Collection as well as of the Egyptian Museum had been stored in different parts of Germany to protect them from air raids. After the end of the war they remained in the relevant occupation zones, and, after some detours, were turned over to the papyrus collection of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin ([the former] DDR) and to the Ägyptisches Museum Preussischer Kulturbesitz. By the accident of the earlier storage, the papyri that reached West Berlin were almost exclusively those that had been worked on neither in terms of restoration nor in terms of scholarship, and still had no inventory numbers. By the very nature of the case, it was a matter of the papyrus leaves that were outwardly less appealing and especially of the

Im 2. Weltkrieg hat man die Bestände der Papyrussammlung sowie die des Ägyptischen Museums zu ihrem Schutz vor Bombenangriffen in verschiedene Teile Deutschlands ausgelagert. Nach Kriegsende verblieben sie in den jeweiligen Besatzungszonen und wurden nach einigen Umwegen der Papyrussammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (DDR) und dem Ägyptischen Museum Preussischer Kulturbesitz übergeben. Durch die Zufälligkeit der seinerzeitigen Auslagerung sind nach West-Berlin fast ausschliesslich jene Papyri gelangt, die weder restauratorisch noch wissenschaftlich bearbeitet waren und auch noch keine Inventarnummern hatten. Das waren naturgemäss die äusserlich weniger ansprechenden und vor allem die stärker fragmentierten

4. Zauzich, *Kunst der Welt in den Berliner Museen*, 11:

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more fragmentary leaves, which, however, precisely because of their long neglect, are especially interesting from a scholarly point of view.

Papyrusblätter, die allerdings gerade wegen ihrer langen Vernachlässigung wissenschaftlich besonders interessant sind.

The guidebook of the Museum Island museums in Berlin portrays as follows the situation during and after the war:[5]

[p. 7] Fascism and war had also brought the State Museums to the edge of complete destruction. The first and most important task in 1945 was hence to save from the ruins what had survived Fascistic barbarism and war. Here began the inestimable help of the Soviet Union, which carried the works of art to the museums of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, and other cities, cared for them there, and gave them over to our people, when suitable prerequisites for caring for them had been created.

[p. 22] Then at the beginning of the Fascistic predatory war in 1939, all museums were closed. It lasted 10 years until an exhibit could again take place on the Berlin Museum Island.

A large part of the holdings were packed and put in storage outside [the museums], in basements, in crypts of banks, in the large bunkers at the Zoo and in Friedrichshain, in warehouses and mines. Numerous works of art and valuable books were ruined in these storage places during the war.

[p. 7] Faschismus und Krieg hatten auch die Staatlichen Museen an den Rand der völligen Vernichtung gebracht. Die erste und wichtigste Aufgabe war deshalb 1945, das aus den Trümmern zu bergen, was faschistische Barbarei und Krieg überstanden hatte. Hier setzte die unschätzbare Hilfe der Sowjetunion ein, die die Kunstwerke in die Museen Moskaus, Leningrads, Kiews und anderer Städte überführte, sie dort pflegte und unserem Volk übergab, als entsprechende Voraussetzungen für ihre Unterbringung geschaffen waren.

[p. 22] Bei Beginn des faschistischen Raubkrieges 1939 wurden dann alle Museen geschlossen, es dauerte 10 Jahre, ehe wieder eine Ausstellung auf der Berliner Museumsinsel stattfinden konnte.

Ein grosser Teil der Bestände wurde verpackt und ausgelagert, in Keller, Tresore von Banken, in die grossen Bunker am Zoo und im Friedrichshain, in Gutshäuser und Bergwerke. Zahlreiches Kunstgut und wertvolle Bücher gingen in diesen Auslagerungsorten während des Krieges zugrunde.

5. *Schätze der Weltkultur* (Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR: Staatliche Museen zu Beriln, and Berlin-Information, 2. überarbeitete Auflage, 1981), "Vorwort," 7; and Hühns, "Zur Geschichte," 22, 23, 25.

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The Museum Island was destroyed on February 3, 1945, by a massive attack. This barbaric air attack lies on the same level as the destroying of Dresden ten days later.

Fascism and war had destroyed a locale of world culture

To the Soviet troops that in May 1945 freed Berlin, a terrifying picture presented itself. All the buildings of the Museum Island were destroyed, only a few rooms in the basement floors were usable, but they too were without windows and [p. 23] endangered by water and cold, since all the houses' roofs were missing. Given the high degree of destruction in Berlin, it was not possible to find room for the rescued works of art, especially those from the places of storage outside, where they could be protected from further disintegration and theft. For the fact that we today can again admire these unique treasures of culture we are indebted to the Soviet soldiers, scholars, and restorers. They took to heart, as in the case of the Dresden paintings, also the Berlin art treasures. They were put in safekeeping and brought into the Soviet Union, where they were cared for and conserved in the museums in Leningrad, Moscow, and Kiev, until the possibility existed again in Berlin to receive the collections and care for and exhibit them in a professional way.

The holdings of the State Museums that were stored in the occupation zones of the Western allies were brought together by

Die Museumsinsel wurde am 3. Februar 1945 durch einen Grossangriff zerstört. Dieser barbarische Luftangriff liegt mit der Zerstörung Dresdens, 10 Tage später, auf einer Linie.

Faschismus und Krieg hatten eine Stätte der Weltkultur vernichtet.

Den sowjetischen Truppen, die im Mai 1945 Berlin befreiten, bot sich ein erschreckendes Bild. Alle Gebäude der Museumsinsel waren zerstört, nur in den Sockelgeschossen waren einige Räume brauchbar, aber auch sie ohne Fenster und [p. 23] von Wasser und Kälte gefährdet, da allen Häusern die Dächer fehlten. Bei dem hohen Grad von Zerstörung in Berlin gab es keine Möglichkeit, für die geretteten Kunstwerke, vor allem aus den Auslagerungstätten, Raum zu finden, in denen sie vor weiterem Verfall und vor Diebstahl geschützt werden konnten. Dass wir heute diese einzigartigen Schätze der Kultur wieder bewundern können, verdanken wir den sowjetischen Soldaten, Wissenschaftlern und Restauratoren. Sie nahmen sich, wie der Dresdner Gemälde, auch der Berliner Kunstschätze an. Sie wurden sichergestellt und in die Sowjetunion gebracht, wo sie in den Museen in Leningrad, Moskau und Kiew gepflegt und konserviert wurden, bis in Berlin wieder die Möglichkeit bestand, die Sammlungen aufzunehmen, sachkundig zu betreuen und auszustellen.

Die in den Besatzungszonen der westlichen Alliierten untergebrachten Bestände der Staatlichen Museen wurden von den Besatzungstruppen zunächst in Wiesbaden und Celle

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the occupation troops at first in Wiesbaden and Celle, and later taken to West Berlin, where they until today are denied to the State Museums as their owner . . .

[p. 25] In 1958 the Soviet Union gave over to the [former] DDR the rest of the pieces from the collections of the museums that had been put in safe keeping in 1945. In several hundred railroad cars over a million museum objects arrived in Berlin, carefully folded in silk paper, wrapped in waxed paper and in upholstered boxes, along with the documentation that belonged with them. In the State Museums these treasures were then given back to the owners. Among them, holdings of the gallery of paintings and of the collection of sculptures, of the cabinet of etchings, the Pergamon frieze and many unique works, which since then are deposited and exhibited on the Museum Island. Tens of thousands of visitors saw at that time the exhibition "Treasures of World Culture Saved by the Soviet Union." A friendly, decades-long collaboration with the museums in Moscow and Leningrad dates from this time, to which we are indebted for many interesting exhibits and many a stimulus for our work.

zusammengeführt und später nach Westberlin gebracht, wo sie bis heute den Staatlichen Museen als ihrem Eigentümer vorenthalten werden . . .

[p. 25] 1958 übergab die Sowjetunion die übrigen 1945 sichergestellten Stücke aus den Sammlungen der Museen an die DDR. In mehreren hundert Eisenbahnwagen trafen über eine Million Museumsexponate in Berlin ein; sorgsam in Seidenpapier gehüllt, in Wachstuch eingeschlagen und in gepolsterten Kisten, zusammen mit der dazugehörigen Dokumentation. In den Staatlichen Museen wurden diese Schätze dann den Eigentümern zurückgegeben. Unter ihnen Bestände der Gemäldegalerie und der Skulpturensammlung, des Kupferstichkabinetts, der Fries von Pergamon und viele einmalige Werke, die seitdem auf der Museumsinsel deponiert und ausgestellt werden. Zehntausende von Besuchern haben damals die Ausstellung "Schätze der Weltkultur von der Sowjetunion gerettet" gesehen. Von dieser Zeit an datiert nun eine schon Jahrzehnte währende freundschaftliche Zusammenarbeit mit den Museen in Moskau und Leningrad, denen wir viele interessante Ausstellungen und manche Anregungen für unsere Arbeit verdanken.

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In a small guidebook of the Ägyptisches Museum of Berlin, Wolfgang Müller has provided, as follows, more specific information about the papyrus collection:[6]

At the end of the war in 1945, the New Museum was a ruin. Parts of the collection stored outside and taken over by the West's occupation troops are today unlawfully in (West) Berlin and have not yet been given back to their original place of storage on the Museum Island. Many works of art saved in destroyed Berlin were taken for safekeeping to the Soviet Union. Already in 1953, after years of rebuilding, the first Egyptian exhibit could be opened on the Museum Island. After the return of the art holdings preserved in the Soviet Union, the Egyptian Museum had been showing since 1959 in the Bode Museum a large number of works of art of the highest quality, from the early period down to the Hellenistic age, papyrus manuscripts, selected finds from daily life, and mummies. This chronologically arranged exhibit was enlarged in 1964 with new rooms, and since 1973 has been basically rearranged.

Bei Kriegsende 1945 war das Neue Museum eine Ruine. Ausgelagerte and von den westlichen Besatzungstruppen übernommene Sammlungsteile befinden sich heute widerrechtlich in Berlin [West] und sind noch nicht an ihren ursprünglichen Aufbewahrungsort auf der Museumsinsel zurückgegeben worden. Viele im zerstörten Berlin gerettete Kunstwerke wurden zur Sicherung in die Sowjetunion überführt. Nach Jahren des Aufbaus konnte bereits 1953 auf der Museumsinsel die erste ägyptische Ausstellung eröffnet werden. Nach Übergabe des in der Sowjetunion bewahrten Kunstbesitzes zeigt das Ägyptische Museum seit 1959 im Bode-Museum eine grosse Zahl von Kunstwerken ersten Ranges von der Frühzeit bis zum Hellenismus, Papyrushandschriften, ausgewählte Funde aus dem täglichen Leben und Mumien. Diese chronologisch aufgebaute Ausstellung wurde 1964 durch neue Räume erweitert und seit 1973 grundlegend umgestaltet.

In 1954 Rolf Ibscher narrated, as follows, the course of events during the war, relative to the Manichaean codices:[7]

6. Müller, "Einleitung," 6.
7. Ibscher, Rolf. "Wiederaufnahme," 3.

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After the passing of my father on May 26, 1943, I took the Manichaean papyrus books for reasons of security into the repository, safe from bombs, that had received the papyri of the Berlin Museums. But after July 20, 1944, this place too did not seem to me safe enough, especially since the remainder of the not yet conserved Mani books of Sir Chester Beatty was in Berlin, and I removed them, together with a Berlin manuscript, to Bavaria, into the house of my father-in-law in the country. Thence, after the war, the parts belonging to Chester Beatty returned to London.

The Berlin manuscript remained in Bavaria.

Nach dem am 26. Mai 1943 erfolgten Ableben meines Vaters brachte ich die Mani-chäischen Papyrusbücher aus Sicherheitsgründen in das bombensichere Verliess, das die Papyri der Berliner Museen aufgenommen hatte. Aber nach dem 20. Juli 1944 erschien mir auch dieser Platz nicht mehr sicker genug, besonders, da ja der Rest der noch nicht aufgearbeiteten Manibücher von Sir Chester Beatty in Berlin war, und ich entführte diese zusammen mit einer Berliner Handschrift nach Bayern in das Haus meines Schwiegervaters auf dem Lande. Dort kehrten nach Kriegsende die Teile des Chester Beatty-Besitzes nach London zurück.

Die Berliner Handschrift blieb in Bayern.

Alexander Böhlig has summarized what happened to the Manichaean codices as follows:[8]

The war brought the thriving editorial activity to an abrupt end. Besides, the air attacks brought with them an unusual endangering of the manuscript material. As a result, one went at moving them outside. The glassed pieces of the Chester Beatty collection were already by and large in London. The Berlin collection was, to the extent it was glassed, brought into one of the anti-aircraft towers at the Zoo train station, together with the not-yet-restored Mani manuscripts. In fact, at that time there were in the Berlin Papyrus Collection the not yet restored pieces from both the English and

Der Krieg machte der regen Editionstätigkeit ein jähes Ende. Die Luftangriffe brachten ausserdem eine ausserordentliche Gefährdung für das Handschriftenmaterial mit sich. Infolgedessen machte man sich an die Auslagerung. Die verglasten Stücke der Chester-Beatty-Sammlung waren bereits im wesentlichen in London. Die Berliner Sammlung wurde, soweit sie verglast war, in einen der Flaktürme am Bahnhof Zoo gebracht, zusammen mit den noch nicht restaurierten Mani-Handschriften; es befanden sich damals nämlich die noch nicht restaurierten Stücke

8. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 180–81.

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the German holdings. Rolf Ibscher had already in 1940 taken the place of his father, who then died in 1943. Concern for the safekeeping of the manuscripts moved him, with the approval of General Director Kümmel, in November 1944 to bring the remainder of Sir Chester Beatty's Codices A and C (the *Psalms* and the *Kephalaia*), as well as a further manuscript, to Schondorf on the Ammers Lake in Upper Bavaria, into the house of his father-in-law. There Sir Chester Beatty had the parts of the Codices A and C picked up in the year 1946. The Manichaean texts that had been brought into the USSR, in connection with the action of the Soviet armed forces to make things secure, were given back to Berlin in the year 1958.

sowohl aus englischem wie aus deutschem Besitz in der Berliner Papyrussammlung. Die Sorge um die Sicherung der Handschriften bewog Dr. Rolf Ibscher, der schon 1940 an die Stelle seines dann 1943 verstorbenen Vaters getreten war, mit Genehmigung von Generaldirektor Kümmel im November 1944 die Sir Chester Beatty gehörigen Reste der Codices A und C (Psalmbuch und Kephalaia) sowie eine weitere Handschrift nach Schondorf am Ammersee in Oberbayern in das Haus seines Schwiegervaters zu bringen. Dort liess Sir Chester Beatty die Teile der Codices A und C im Jahre 1946 abholen. Die bei der Sicherstellungsaktion der sowjetischen Streitkräfte in die UdSSR geschafften manichäischen Texte wurden im Jahre 1958 nach Berlin zurückgegeben.

Rolf Ibscher had reported in 1955 about the fate of Sir Chester Beatty's codices:[9]

which on my own responsibility I had brought out of the danger zone of Berlin at the end of 1944 for the final phase of the war together with a Berlin manuscript (Codex No. 15998 [actually Sir Chester Beatty's *Synaxeis* Codex B] on the shrewd advise of my father-in-law, the publisher Wolf Henry Doering, into his secure house on the quiet Ammer Lake in Schondorf, a good hour from Munich.

die ich Ende 1944 auf den klugen Rat meines Schwiegervaters, des Verlegers Wolf Henry Doering, zusammen mit einer Berliner Handschrift (Codex Nr. 15998 [actually Sir Chester Beatty's *Synaxeis* Codex B]) auf eigene Verantwortung aus der Gefahrenzone Berlins für die Endphase des Krieges in sein sicheres Haus am stillen Ammersee in Schondorf, eine gute Stunde von München entfernt, gebracht hatte.

9. Ibscher, Rolf, "Das Konservierungswerk," 3.

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Ibscher's phrase, "on my own responsibility," presents a different emphasis from Böhlig's phrase, "with the approval of General Director Kümmel." In any case, Kümmel would have difficulty retaining responsibility for a codex of the Berlin Papyrus Collection that was far away in Bavaria. If Kümmel had been informed of the plan to remove the codices of Sir Chester Beatty, he could well have taken the position that these materials were not formally under his control, hence he would not like to bear the responsibility for them, either in war-torn Berlin or elsewhere, and Ibscher could assume that responsibility and could act according to his own discretion. But it is hard to see how Kümmel could have formally approved of hiding Berlin Museum and Papyrus Collection holdings quite unofficially in Schondorf and at the invitation of a person neither on the museum staff nor otherwise officially involved in the safekeeping of the Museum's holdings.

Böhlig has similarly interpreted this rescue operation:[10]

Rolf Ibscher had the authorization from General Director Kümmel to get the Dublin material from the anti-aircraft tower and take it to Bavaria. He did this in the company of the Museum worker P. Seidel, who has since died. In the process the idea came to him that it would perhaps be useful, in case worst came to worst, also to take along one of the Berlin codices. This decision was, as far as I know, spontaneous. That it was worth it, is shown by the success. These things remained completely preserved, in contrast to what	Rolf Ibscher hatte von Generaldirektor Kümmel die Genehmigung, die Dubliner Materialien aus dem Flakturm zu holen und nach Bayern zu bringen. Er tat das in Begleitung des inzwischen verstorbenen Museumsarbeiters P. Seidel. Dabei kam ihm der Gedanke, es wäre vielleicht nützlich für den Notfall, auch einen der Berliner Codices mitzunehmen. Dieser Entschluss war meines Wissens spontan. Dass es sich gelohnt hat, zeigt der Erfolg. Diese Dinge blieben vollständig erhalten im

10. Böhlig, in a letter of February 10, 1986. For his concluding comment he refers to Søren Giversen's paper, "The Unedited Chester Beatty Mani Texts," 371, where Giversen listed the following extant material as belonging to the Chester Beatty Library: "The whole CB collection consists of somewhat 1040 pages of which only 334 have been published so far. I said somewhat 1040 pages—the exact number depends on how some very fragmented pages or remnants of pages are counted. These 1040 pages are: A) Psalmbook 546 pages, B) Unidentified codex 20 pages, C) 'Kephalaia' 358 pages, D) Homilies 98 pages, E) Addenda et Varia 20 pages." This makes a total of 1048 pages, of which he lists 334 as published, leaving 714 yet to be published.

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the Soviets had "saved." Whether something was then confused when turned over to the emissaries of Chester Beatty, so that in the end result a Berlin part came to

Gegensatz zu dem, was die Sowjets "gerettet" haben. Ob dann bei der übergabe an die Abgesandten von Chester Beatty etwas verwechselt worden ist, so dass im Endeffekt

Rolf Ibscher described to Sir Chester Beatty the rescue operation in his broken English as follows:[11]

> The papyri were removed according to my arrangement from the bomb proof shelter (Zoo Bunker) in 1944 by my assistant at the Museum, Mr. Seidel, but Codex B [*Synaxeis*], sorry to say, seems to have been left behind. The reason being that the papyri had to be removed secretly in a frantic hurry, thus you can imagine how glad I was, when Mr. Seidel got past the SS-Guards with the invaluable little wooden box.
>
> This wooden box contained one Berlin manuscript [actually Sir Chester Beatty's Codex B, the *Synaxeis*] (for which I had specially asked Mr. Seidel) to make certain, that at l[e]ast part of the Berlin collection also was saved, in addition those papyri which reached you in London in 1947 after Dr. Böhlig had separated them at Schondorf.
>
> Thus Codex B [actually the Berlin Codex P^{15998}, the *Letters*], together with 3 Berlin manuscripts [P^{15996}, P^{15997}, P^{15999}] and all other glazed Berlin Manichaean Papyri of the Museum [P^{15995} and leaves of P^{15996}, P^{15997}, P^{15998}] were taken to Russia.

On November 1, 1960, I. E. S. Edwards of the British Museum's Department of Egyptian Antiquities wrote to Rudolf Anthes, then in Philadelphia, who had been assistant keeper of the Egyptian Department of the Berlin Museums in 1939, inquiring about the whereabouts of Beatty's papyri:

> I should like to know in particular whether there were many pages or few, and also whether Hugo Ibscher would have worked on them in the Museum or at home.

On November 9, 1960, Edwards wrote to R. J. Hayes, then head of the Chester Beatty Library:

> I have had a reply from Anthes who confirms what Böhlig says about Rolf Ibscher taking the Chester Beatty material to

11. Rolf Ibscher in a letter of October 6, 1955, to Sir Chester Beatty.

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> Schondorf when the Flakturm was bombed (p. 5 [of the transcript of Böhlig's paper]).

In the archives of the Chester Beatty Library there is a black loose-leaf folder titled "Papyrus. Biblical Manichaean Hieratic. Greek etc. General Catalogue." In the section entitled "Manichaean Pap." there is a note dated May 1940:

> Mr. Allberry said that Dr. Ibscher had the remainder of Mr. Beatty's papyrus at his house in the country, at Klein Machnow (*see* letter from Allberry).

Böhlig has subsequently reported similarly concerning half-conserved *Kephalaia* material belonging to Berlin:[12]

Of the material in Berlin only a very small part has always remained in Berlin. It was the last 20 leaves of the Berlin *Kephalaia* book. They were conserved by Rolf Ibscher in the years 1952 and 1953.	Von dem in Berlin befindlichen Material war nur der kleinste Teil immer in Berlin geblieben; es waren die letzten 20 Blätter des Berliner Kephalaiabuches; sie wurden von Rolf Ibscher in den Jahren 1952 and 1953 konserviert.

Rolf Ibscher then reported similarly about the half-conserved remainder of the Berlin *Kephalaia*:[13]

The remains of the Berlin *Kephalaia* had escaped destruction by being stored in my house after 1945. The degree of difficulty in conserving them, which I overcame between 1951 and 1955, was worse than that which the Chester Beatty papyri displayed.	Der Schwierigkeitsgrad der Konservierung für die Reste der Berliner Kephalaia, die der Vernichtung durch die Aufbewahrung in meinem Haus nach 1945 entgangen waren und die ich zwischen 1951 und 1955 bewältigte, war schlimmer als ihn die Chester Beatty Papyri aufwiesen.

It would seem probable that what was stored in his house after 1945 had already been stored in his house during the war, a conjecture confirmed by Böhlig:[14]

12. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 182.
13. Rolf Ibscher, "Über den Stand," 52.
14. Böhlig, in a letter of February 10, 1986, to the author.

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If half-conserved leaves of the Berlin *Kephalaia*, the material belonging to Sir Chester Beatty, and perhaps other book blocks or half-conserved leaves had been taken to the Ibscher home to be worked on there, it is unclear what of this material Rolf Ibscher took to the Zoo Bunker after his father's death of on May 26, 1943. At least some material remained in the Ibscher home throughout the war (cf. Böhlig's comment, "only a very small part," "the last 20 leaves of the Berlin *Kephalaia* book"). P[15999], referred to pejoratively as the wig, was apparently classified by itself, in that it was put on display as hopeless rather than as classified with the other Manichaean codices to be conserved. Thus it may well not have been in the Ibscher home for conservation. If Hugo Ibscher still worked some days in the museum, some unconserved or half-conserved material may have been still there for him to work on. Thus, it is indeterminate just what material stayed in Berlin throughout the war and postwar periods (or what was taken from the

Why did Rolf Ibscher also have material at home? He, like his father, always had material at home, since his father at his sixtieth birthday had received the right to work at home three days a week. When the papyri came into the Zoo bunker, the material on which he was working naturally remained in Ibscher's residence. That bombs would fall in the region of his residence—Kleinmachnow is incidentally not part of Berlin, but rather belongs to the district of Potsdam—was not exactly probable and in fact did not happen.

Warum Rolf Ibscher auch zuhause Material hatte? Er hatte wie sein Vater immer Material zuhause, weil sein Vater bei seinem 60. Geburtstag das Recht erhalten hatte, 3 Tage der Woche zuhause zu arbeiten. Als die Papyri in den Zoobunker kamen, blieb natürlich das Material in Ibschers Wohnung, an dem er arbeitete. Dass in die Gegend seiner Wohnung (Kleinmachnow ist übrigens kein Teil von Berlin, sondern gehört zum Bezirk Potsdam) Bomben fallen würden, war nicht gerade wahrscheinlich und ist ja auch nicht geschehen.

Ibscher home in Kleinmachnow to Schondorf on the Ammer Lake), what material went to the Zoo bunker and from there to Schondorf (no doubt via the Ibscher home in Kleinmachnow), and what material went to the Zoo bunker and from there to Leningrad (or at least in the direction of Leningrad) but did not return to Berlin in 1958. The major losses were the unconserved book blocks of P[15997], P[15998], and P[15999].

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One can only postulate that all the conserved leaves of P15997 and P15998 and all the half-conserved leaves of P15996 and P15998 are all accounted for; four conserved leaves of P15996 do seem to be missing (see below).

Michel Tardieu describes the loss of the bulk of P15997 and P15998 as "detruit ou perdu durant la seconde guerre mondiale" ["destroyed or lost during the second world war."][15] Apparently, there was no loss during the war but only after the war.

Rolf Ibscher described what happened to the material taken to Leningrad:[16]

On August 29, 1960, Otto Firchow, director of the Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection in East Berlin, responded as follows to an inquiry about Beatty's codices from I. E. S. Edwards of the British Museum's Department of Egyptian Antiquities (according to the English translation preserved in the Chester Beatty Library archives):

> The papyri which Sir Chester Beatty sent to Dr. Ibscher shortly before the war were taken by the Russians to Leningrad together with the Berlin collection of papyri. I am however glad to be able to tell you that they were among those which came back safely. Only I and my wife, who has hitherto been Conservator of Papyri in the Museum, knew about their existence. To return them at the present moment would probably require considerable diplomatic intervention on the part of the British Foreign Office with the East German Government.
>
> I myself have been compelled to surrender during the past few days under political and personal pressure the Direction of the Berlin Musuem, Egyptian Department, and to flee to West Berlin. I have used this opportunity to take the Mani Papyri with me. In the next few days I will hand them over to the British Military Authorities. I consider that in this way this valuable material will eventually reach your hands.

Three Berlin codices [the unconserved book blocks of P15997, P15998, and P15999] and Codex B of Sir Chester Beatty [which in fact did not go into "exile"] have not reemerged thus far after the return of the Berlin papyrus col-	Drei Berliner Codices [the unconserved book blocks of P15997, P15998, and P15999] und Codex B von Sir Chester Beatty [which in fact did not go into "exile"] tauchten bisher nach Rückführung der Berliner Papyrussammlung aus dem Exil

15. Tardieu, "Les Manichéens en Égypte," 6.
16. Rolf Ibscher, "Mani und kein Ende," 220.

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lection from exile. In the case of such extensive objects something can always be overlooked and still be peacefully slumbering somewhere, or these very brittle codices crumbled into dust when transported, before they could be registered into the very conscientious protection with the very exactly executed salvage lists. Hence there are certainly hopes, and miracles are always taking place at all times, if one believes in them. I spoke about this with Professors Guber and Diakonov in 1954 in Cambridge and later also with Prof. Struve in Moscow in 1960.

noch nicht wieder auf. Bei so umfänglichen Objekten kann immer etwas übersehen werden und noch friedlich irgendwo schlummern, oder diese sehr mürben Codices sind beim Abtransport zerstäubt, bevor sie noch in die sehr gewissenhafte Obhut mit den sehr genau geführten Bergungslisten eingetragen werden konnten. Es bestehen also noch durchaus Hoffnungen, und Wunder geschehen immer zu allen Zeiten, wenn man an sie glaubt. Ich sprach darüber mit den Professoren Guber und Diakonov 1954 in Cambridge und später auch mit Prof. Struve in Moskau, 1960.

In September 1960 Edwards reported this to Beatty:

> Clearly Dr. Firchow found himself in an awkward position. I am sure that he will not part with the papyri unless he is satisfied that the military authorities will convey them safely, but there is always the risk that they will not agree to help. On the whole I should feel happier if he had left them in the Museum and I could have started negotiations with the Foreign Office. I am writing to him to ask him to let me know how matters stand at present and I shall also ask him to hold his hand unless he is absolutely sure that the military authorities can be trusted to deliver them safely. If he runs into difficulties I shall suggest that he takes them to Professor Grapow an old friend of mine in the Berlin Acadamy. We can then review the courses open to us.

The same day Edwards also wrote to R. J. Hayes, honorary director of the Chester Beatty Library:

> I have written to Sir Chester to let him know that the missing portion of his Mani codex has been traced in the Berlin Museum . . .
>
> As you will see events have taken a rather disconcerting turn and I shall write immediately to Firchow and urge him

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> to exercise the greatest care. Personally, I mistrust military authorities. However, it is quite clear that he cannot now return the papyri to the Museum and, if he runs into difficulties, I think his best course will be to deposit them with Grapow in the Berlin Academy. If there were any alternative I should not have chosen him, although I have known him for twenty-five years and I saw him last month in Moscow, but it is rather a case of faute de mieux [lack of better].

The Berlin Academy was in the Soviet sector, where Firchow probably would not have wanted to return to visit Grapow. Nor would Grapow have felt comfortable going to West Berlin to bring back to the Academy or to the Museum (also in East Berlin) what Firchow had secretly carried to West Berlin. There was a customs check between sectors, even if the wall became official only on August 13, 1961.

On September 15, 1960, Hayes replied to Edwards:

> It is great news about the Mani Papyri. I hope they will come through safely, but I would feel they were safer in British than in any German hands. Do you think I should ask a man I know in M. I. 5 to hold a watching brief? . . .
>
> Is the Russian returned material between glass or an unopened roll?

On September 20, 1960, Edwards replied to Hayes:

> I do not know whether the Russian returned material is between glass or if it is still in a pack. I saw Ibscher senior working on one pack when I was in Berlin in 1934, but I think that one belonged to the Berlin Museum. It was a large pack and must have contained at least 100 sheets. I cannot imagine that Firchow has removed as much glass as that from the Museum. My guess is therefore that it is still unglazed, but I may be wrong . . .
>
> The part remaining in Berlin is an unknown quantity, except to Firchow.
>
> Perhaps it would be better to leave an approach to your friend in M. I. 5 until we know exactly what we can ask him to do.

On September 26, 1960, Edwards wrote again to Hayes:

> I am delighted to be able to tell you that I have heard from Firchow that he has handed what he describes as "das Paket mit den Mani-Papyri" ["the packet with the Mani papyri"] to the British consul in Berlin.

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> I am getting in touch with him and I hope we shall have the papyri safely here very soon. [An appended hand-written note: "The Bag Room at the F{oreign}.O{ffice}. reports that nothing has yet arrived."] Since he refers to a packet it seems to me unlikely that the papyri are already between glass.

On October 21, 1960, Edwards wrote again to Hayes:

> I heard yesterday that the Berlin Mani package will be arriving at London Airport next Sunday. I shall go and meet the bearer myself and I hope to be able to write on Monday saying that it has arrived safely.

On October 26, 1960, Edwards wrote to Beatty with a copy to Hayes:

> I am writing to let you know the result of our quest for the Mani papyri in Berlin.
>
> The operation, which I now realise is only the first round, did not turn out to be much of a success, I am sorry to say. Our Consul-General in Berlin and the Foreign Office were most helpful. The package was brought by a member of the diplomatic staff and I took delivery at London Airport last Sunday. By previous arrangement with the Customs it was opened at the Museum on Monday.
>
> Up to that point everything seemed to be running our way, but alas, on opening the package we found it contained only blank leaves of papyrus and a few inscribed fragments. It was most disappointing. [Papyrus Conservator Stanley] Baker will deal with the pages, but they will not yield very much, I fear.
>
> My guess is that we have received no more than the outermost leaves which Dr. Ibscher probably abstracted from the main body of the codex. The latter is, I suspect, still in Berlin and was overlooked by our friend, Dr. Firchow. I have written to him at the refugee camp in Hamburg, where he is now domiciled, and have told him my suspicions. Perhaps he will be able to suggest an explanation.
>
> For the present I feel the only course is to lie low and see who is appointed to the Berlin Museum as Dr. Firchow's successor. Obviously we do not want to do anything to embarrass either Dr. Firchow or the Consul-General. If the new Keeper of the Berlin Museum is someone whom I know and feel I can trust I can take up the problem anew without reference to the first attempt. I shall, however, have a better idea of what can be done when I have heard from Dr. Firchow whether he has left my letters in the files of the Museum.

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> It is very sad that a quest which looked so promising should have suffered such an anticlimax, but I have not lost hope that we shall succeed in the end. However, I wish I could report that we had done so already.

On October 28, 1960, Firchow wrote Edwards; a translation of this letter is in the archives of the Chester Beatty Library:

> I received your letter with real dismay. I am so sorry that the important papyri have not reached you, but only material of relatively little value. Unfortunately, I did not know anything about the circumstances in which Sir Chester Beatty handed over the papyri to Dr. Hugo Ibscher, and in consequence, I supposed that they consisted only of those which my wife and I found in the packet. We alone have examined the packet—very hastily—since it was packed by Dr. Ibscher. Under the prevailing conditions we were unable to make a thorough examination of such fragmentary material; I did however recognize that it consisted of Mani fragments and I believed that I had found confirmation of this identification in your letter. We last saw the papyri in the office of the British Council General, Mr. Weymes. I can only remember one hieratic fragment.
>
> I agree that the material was not substantial and I hoped that the most important part had already been mounted by Ibscher before the war and had been sent back to Sir Chester Beatty. You are certainly right in supposing that the packet contained only odds and ends. But I am certain that the main body (of the papyri) is *not* in Berlin.
>
> In my opinion the papyri ought to be found with Dr. Rolf Ibscher probably already mounted and glazed. Dr. Hugo Ibscher used to carry out this kind of work in his own home. If I were still in Berlin, or if I had known about the matter a few months ago, I could have offered you my help. I should suggest that you get in touch with Rolf Ibscher, who has no connection with the Berlin Museum. Let me say again that the papyri cannot be in the Berlin Museum but must have been in Hugo Ibscher's private possession.
>
> While writing this letter my wife has told me that she actually remembered Dr. Ibscher speaking to her once about material belonging to Sir Chester Beatty which he had in his possession.
>
> It would certainly be better not to mention your personal correspondence with me. I have kept your letter among my personal papers. I sincerely hope that the affair will soon be satisfactorily settled. Please keep me in touch with developments.

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Edwards wrote on November 1, 1960, to Hayes and Beatty in support of Rolf Ibscher's ignorance in the matter. To Hayes he wrote:

> I cannot myself think that Rolf Ibscher could have known anything about these papyri. He was working for Sir Chester Beatty for about four years and he would surely have told one of us if he had known of their existence. I feel we should regard him as a last resource.

To Beatty he wrote:

> Personally I do not think Rolf Ibscher would have kept quiet about these papyri if they had been in his possession when he was working for you. So, for the present anyhow, I do not intend to follow Firchow's advice to write to Rolf Ibscher. Instead I am writing to-day to Dr. Rudolf Anthes in Philadelphia and to Dr. [Günther] Roeder in Hildesheim to ask them if they can tell me anything helpful. Dr. Roeder was the Keeper of the Egyptian Department in the Berlin Museum when the war broke out and Dr. Anthes was Assistant Keeper. They are both good friends of mine and I am sure they will tell me all they know. I shall write again when I have heard from them.
>
> What I find so perplexing at present is to understand why Hugo Ibscher should have put the odds and ends in a packet in the Berlin Museum and have kept the main body of the papyri in his home. I should have thought that he would have taken all of them to the Museum when the war broke out.
>
> One difficulty, of course, is that we do not know exactly what we are looking for. Until the pages had been mounted no one could know anything about the contents. Another problem is the bulk of the missing material; was it large or small?

In the letter to Roeder the same day he explained:

> Some weeks ago Sir Chester Beatty happened to tell me that he had sent some of his Mani codex before the war to Dr. Hugo Ibscher in Berlin for mounting between glass. I told him that I knew that the Berlin papyri were back in the Museum and I promised to write to Dr. Firchow and ask whether the portions of Mani in question had come to light. The result of the inquiry was not satisfactory and Dr. Firchow has, he tells me, now left the Museum and Berlin.
>
> I wonder whether you have any recollection of having seen these papyri at any stage either in Dr. Ibscher's possession or in the Museum. It is possible that Dr. Ibscher had them in his home and if so the only one who could help would be Rolf

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> Ibscher. If possible, however, I do not want Rolf Ibscher to be involved in this matter because he and Sir Chester Beatty have had some differences over the mounting of the Mani papyri which were not sent to Dr. Hugo Ibscher.
>
> I realize that Dr. Ibscher probably received these papyri in the days when you were still at Hildesheim, but perhaps he told you something about them at the beginning of the war which would help now in recovering them.

In the letter to Anthes the same day he explained:

> Some time before the war Sir Chester Beatty sent to the Berlin Museum some of his Mani papyri for Dr. Hugo Ibscher to disentangle and to mount. In an attempt to trace these papyri I wrote to Firchow who was most helpful and sent me what he could find in Berlin, but it amounted to no more than a few blank pages and some fragments.
>
> As you know, Firchow has left the Museum and gone to Western Germany so he can do no more. However he says that he is certain that there are no more of Sir Chester's Mani papyri in the Museum.
>
> This is my question. Do you remember anything about these papyri? I should like to know in particular whether there were many pages or a few, and also whether Hugo Ibscher would have worked on them in the Museum or at home.
>
> I must mention that I think it would perhaps be a disservice to Firchow to let his part in this matter be known; I am sure you will regard it as confidential. I must also add that—at least at present—I do not want Rolf Ibscher to know that I am trying to trace these documents. He has been rather troublesome to Sir Chester Beatty and I am not very sure that I can count on his good will.

On November 9, 1960, Edwards again wrote Hayes his confidence in Rolf Ibscher:

> However, it does not seem likely that Rolf Ibscher would be working consciously on Chester Beatty material, even in Berlin, without obtaining Sir Chester's consent.
>
> I have a reply from Anthes who confirms what Böhlig says about Rolf Ibscher taking the Chester Beatty material to Schondorf when the Flakturm was bombed (p. 5 [of the typescript of Böhlig's Moscow speech]).

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On November 14, 1960, Hayes wrote Edwards:

> I also enclose another page of typescript (keep it also) that seems to me to be of great significance. There are so many mistakes in spelling in the German that I think it must be something Miss McGilligan typed from a manuscript note by Ibscher. I found it with the 13 leaves of Codex B [*Synaxeis*]. The words "Hauptmasse mit ca. 200 Blättern in Russland" ["the main mass with about 200 leaves in Russia"] seem to be just what we are seeking.

In 1957 and again in 1960, in the paper circulating among the English, Böhlig had identified the book block in Schondorf as the *Synaxeis* belonging to Beatty, but the English did not locate this identification. Thus, the search for the missing codex was gradually given up. I drew the attention of the staff of the Chester Beatty Library to this situation in 1985 and again in 1988.

Böhlig has provided further details about the material during and after the war:[17]

They were stored splendidly and securely in the anti-aircraft tower at the Zoo train station and, just before the division of Berlin went into effect, were taken by the Soviets quickly from the Zoo (English Sector!) to Friedrichsfelde Castle in the Russian part and were then put in storage in the USSR. And in this process not only papyri, but also other things got lost. Hence Warsaw too has its Mani leaves—someone found along the railroad tracks glassed papyrus leaves that had fallen out from the transport into the USSR.	Sie waren im Flakturm am Bahnhof Zoo glänzend und sicher aufbewahrt und wurden ganz kurz vor Inkrafttreten der Teilung Berlins von den Sowjets schnell vom Zoo (englischer Sektor!) ins Schloss Friedrichsfelde im russischen Teil gebracht und dann in die UdSSR ausgelagert. Und dabei sind nicht nur Papyri, sondern auch andere Dinge verlorengegangen. Daher hat auch Warschau seine Mani-Blätter (man hat an der Bahnstrecke verglaste Papyrusblätter gefunden, die aus dem Transport in die UdSSR herausgefallen waren).

Friedrichsfelde Schloss is a small castle, privately owned until 1945. Dr. sc. Wolfgang Müller, director emeritus of the Egyptian Museum and of the Papyrus Collection in East Berlin, has reported

17. Böhlig in a letter of February 5, 1986.

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that Rolf Ibscher told him that a few papyri were found near the castle and returned to the Papyrus Collection. Ibscher's report to Müller is the basis for the assumption that the crates were temporarily housed there.

The castle has subsequently been heavily restored, with a new roof and new inner construction throughout. But what necessitated the rebuilding seems not to have been war damage, but rather a general process of deterioration and in 1948–1949 reuse of the building as an adult education center for Berlin city government functionaries (according to Lothar Berfelde, see below). The castle's current guidebooklet reports on the restoration in the preface but without making clear the castle's condition in 1945:[18]

Immeasurable are the losses in monuments of history and culture in our city that were caused by the Second World War launched by German Fascism. Many valuable historical buildings were lost beyond recovery or were severely damaged. Other witnesses to our cultural heritage among buildings that were not directly affected by the war showed clear signs of deterioration due to long neglect under the domination of capitalism. From the very beginning it required the greatest exertions of our workers-and-peasant power to restore the substance of monuments thus destroyed. In spite of magnificent achievements of restoration and reconstruction in the center of our capital city, maintenance and restoration projects in the care of monuments must also be effectively carried out, in connection with the augmentation of measures for the reconstruction and modernization of the

Unermesslich sind die Verluste an Denkmalen der Geschichte und Kultur in unserer Stadt, die durch den vom deutschen Faschismus ausgelösten zweiten Weltkrieg verursacht wurden. Viele wertvolle historische Bauten gingen unwiederbringlich verloren oder wurden stark beschädigt. Andere nicht unmittelbar vom Krieg betroffene Zeugnisse unseres baulichen Kulturerbes zeigten durch lange Vernachlässigung unter der Herrschaft des Kapitalismus deutliche Spuren des Verfalls. Es bedurfte von Beginn an grosser Anstrengungen unserer Arbeiter- und Bauern-Macht zur Wiederherstellung der auf diese Weise zerstörten Denkmalsubstanz. Trotz grossartiger Restaurierungs- und Rekonstrucktionsleistungen im Zentrum unserer Hauptstadt müssen im Zusammenhang mit der Erhöhung der Baumassnahmen für die Rekonstruktion und die

18. Dathe, Schunchardt et al., "Vorwort."

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substance of old buildings, as was called for by the Tenth Party Congress of the Socialistic Union Party of Germany.

The completion of the Berlin Friedrichsfelde Castle is a worthy contribution to this, in demonstrating the continuous culture politics of our socialist state, directed toward the care of the cultural heritage and toward actively rendering it accessible. Thanks to the magnanimous support of the party of the working class and of the government of the German Democratic Republic, with its politics directed toward the well-being of the people, our capital city has become richer by an appealing tourist attraction, on the eve of the elections to the Volkskammer of the German Democratic Republic and of the Assembly of the city government of Berlin.

The extent of the restoration activities, as well as of measures to refinish and refurbish the interiors, was considerable. The difficult tasks in the care of monuments could only be undertaken in stages. The results attained, however, justify this special course, and will certainly instigate further initiatives for the maintenance of monuments and for making them accessible to society.

Modernisierung der Altbausubstanz, die der X. Parteitag der SED fordert, auch die denkmalpflegerischen Erhaltungs- und Wiederherstellungsarbeiten wirksam fortgesetzt werden.

Die Fertigstellung des Schlosses Berlin-Friedrichsfelde ist dazu ein würdiger Beitrag, der die kontinuierliche, auf die Pflege und lebendige Erschliessung des kulturellen Erbes gerichtete Kulturpolitik unseres sozialistischen Staates beweist. Dank der grosszügigen Unterstützung der Partei der Arbeiterklasse und der Regierung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik mit ihrer auf das Wohl des Volkes gerichteten Politik ist unsere Hauptstadt am Vorabend der Wahlen zur Volkskammer der DDR und der Stadtverordnetenversammlung von Berlin um eine attraktive Sehenswürdigkeit reicher geworden.

Der Umfang der Wiederherstellungsarbeiten sowie der Ausgestaltungs- und Ausstattungsaufgaben für die Innenräume war beträchtlich. Nur schrittweise konnten die schwierigen denkmalpflegerischen Aufgaben in Angriff genommen werden. Die erreichten Ergebnisse jedoch rechtfertigen diesen besonderen Weg und werden sicher weitere Initiativen zur Erhaltung und gesellschaftlichen Erschliessung von Denkmalen auslösen.

In the introduction of the guide, the details of the cause of the damage to the building become more specific:

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Meanwhile it was possible to restore the castle as an important part of this significant ensemble of monuments of building and gardening art. Due to the deficient care of buildings before and during the Second World War, the Friedrichsfelde Castle had suffered severe damages. Nonetheless, ever-increasing deteriorations, whose cause was not known back then, were even more grave. Whereas the original five-part building had only field stone foundations, the side parts added in 1719 were in addition erected on wooden piles. As a result of the lowering of the water table after the construction of a waterworks directly in the neighborhood of the park at the beginning of our century, the wooden parts, no longer resting in the area of the ground water, gradually rotted and increasingly led to considerable settlings of the building and severe cracking.

The restoration, as part of the maintenance of monuments, began with comprehensive measures to eliminate the dangers and secure the building, and thus began the new history of the Castle. The main interest was at first directed to the retaining or restoring of the exterior.

Als wichtiger Bestandteil dieses bedeutenden Denkmalensembles der Bau- und Gartenkunst konnte das Schloss inzwischen wiederhergestellt werden. Durch mangelnde Baupflege vor und während des zweiten Weltkrieges hatte das Friedrichsfelder Schloss beträchtliche Schäden erlitten. Schwerwiegender waren jedoch fortschreitende Zerstörungen, deren Ursache damals noch nicht bekannt war. Während der fünfachsige Ursprungsbau lediglich Feldsteinfundamente besass, waren die 1719 angefügten Seitenteile ausserdem noch auf Holzpfählen errichtet. Infolge der Grundwasserabsenkung nach dem Bau eines Wasserwerkes in unmittelbarer Nähe des Parkes zu Beginn unseres Jahrhunderts verrotteten die nicht mehr im Grundwasserbereich liegenden Holzteile allmählich und führten zunehmend zu erheblichen Bausetzungen und starker Rissbildung.

Mit umfassenden Massnahmen zur Gefahrenbeseitigung und Sicherung des Gebäudes begann die denkmalpflegerische Wiederherstellung und damit die neuere Geschichte des Schlosses. Das Hauptinteresse galt zunächst der Erhaltung bzw. Wiederherstellung des Aussenbaus.

In the description of the Historical Staircase:

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The main staircase was restored in its early classicistic room arrangement. Whereas the reconstruction of the ceiling paintings had to be executed largely on the basis of fotos, there stood at our disposal in addition to the illusionistic wall paintings, in varying degrees of conservation, a part of the original wallpaper removed in 1947, as well as segments of wall paintings that had remained partially intact on the ground floor.

Das Haupttreppenhaus wurde in seiner frühklassizistischen Raumgestaltung wiederhergestellt. Während die Rekonstruktion der Deckenmalereien im wesentlichen nach Fotos ausgeführt werden musste, standen für die illusionistischen Wandmalereien zusätzlich ein Teil der 1947 entfernten originalen Leinwandbespannungen in unterschiedlicher Erhaltungsqualität sowie Befunde von partiell erhalten gebliebenen Wandmalereien im Erdgeschoss zur Verfügung.

Regarding the Garden Room:

In 1947 there were pieces of the interior decoration dating back to the Biedermeier period still intact. However, at the commencement of the comprehensive restoration of the castle there were no longer any historical decorative elements or objects of interior decorating.

1947 waren noch Ausstattungsstücke der Biedermeierzeit vorhanden. Zu Beginn der umfassenden Wiederherstellung des Schlosses gab es jedoch keine historischen Dekorationselemente oder Ausstattungsgegenstände mehr.

In the section titled "Dates on the History of the Castle" one reads:

1945 [actually 1948, according to Lothar Berfelde (see below)]: The Castle and park were taken over by the city government of Berlin.

1948–49: The castle was renovated into a home for school purposes.

August 27, 1954: The city government decided to develop a Zoo in Friedrichsfelde.

July 2, 1955: The opening of the Berlin Zoo.

1945 [actually 1948, according to Lothar Berfelde (see below)]: Übernahme vom Schloss and Park durch den Magistrat von Berlin.

1948–49: Ausbau des Schlosses zu einem Schulungsheim.

27.8.1954: Magistratsbeschluss zum Ausbau eines Tierparkes in Friedrichsfelde.

2.7.1955: Eröffnung des Tierparks Berlin.

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1966: The commencement of the first work to secure and restore the heavily destroyed castle.	1966: Beginn von ersten Sicherungs-arbeiten zur Wiederherstellung des stark zerstörten Schlosses.
Until 1971: The securing of the foundations.	bis 1971: Unterfangung der Fundamente.
1973: The erection of a new roof of steel construction with large triangular gables.	1973: Aufbringen eines neuen Mansardendaches (Stahlkon-struktion) mit grossen Dreieckgiebeln.

The guide of the conducted tour on March 9, 1986, explained that a Soviet command post ("Kommandantur") was housed in the castle in 1945, and that a distant relative of the former owner of the castle was afterwards permitted to use three rooms for a private museum for a few years.

Lothar Berfelde has moved his Gründerzeit-Museum to Mahlsdorf near Berlin in another building he restored. It has been put under governmental protection as a "collection," since private "museums" are not legal. He reported on April 18, 1986, that a Soviet command post occupied the castle from the spring of 1945 to the spring of 1946. Then when the castle was vacated, he was able to block a proposal to raze it, and was permitted to occupy part of it with the beginnings of his Museum for a couple of years. During the year that it was used as a command post he was aware of libraries being stored there until they could be transported to the Soviet Union, but he had no specific information about holdings of the state museums being stored there.

Thus, one may suppose that the museum objects were brought to the Friedrichsfelde Castle when it was a Soviet command post. At that time the building was apparently run down, but the dismantling of the interior would seem to have taken place beginning 1947, no doubt especially in 1948–1949 when the building was adapted into a school for city employees; the roof was first removed when the restoration was undertaken and a new roof installed in 1973. Thus, the building was sufficiently intact in 1945–1946 to have served as a temporary repository for crates moved from the Zoo bunker to await shipment to Leningrad, before the education center was installed. For 1947 seems to mark the date of the dismantling of interior architecture and the removal of antique furniture for this new purpose, and 1966 the

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beginning of the restoration that involved strengthening the foundations, replacing the roof, and completely redoing and refurbishing the interior. The building could presumably have housed the museum objects in 1945 without undue risk.

Joachim Karig has reported that the retreating German army had removed all railroad tracks east of Berlin and had cut all the ties in 1944–1945. During 1945 and 1946, this action no doubt made rail transportation of museum objects from Berlin to Leningrad bumpy, congested, and insecure. When whole factories and other movable objects moved east, works of art (which required several hundred railroad cars for the return to Berlin in 1958) might have had a lower priority. Karig recalled, e.g., a report that a quantity of grand pianos were seen beside the railroad tracks, exposed to the elements, apparently having been temporarily unloaded to provide boxcars for higher-priority transports to the east, or awaiting their turn for shipment east.

Berfelde reported further, from a childhood friend who worked for the German railroads, that the German railroad crews continued to operate the trains even after the end of the war. These crews were aboard German trains as far as the eastern border of Poland, where the Soviet railroads, with different gauges, began. Crossing Poland, trains laden with German items were at times stopped by train robbers. In a robbery, freight cars would be separated from the engine, in which the German crew was told to proceed down the tracks, leaving the freight cars unguarded in the countryside. There the freight cars would be looted before the authorities could be notified and police or soldiers sent to stop the looting. The one reporting this story attributed the practice of robbery to Poles resentful of the Soviet Union for not returning, at the end of the war, land the Soviets had occupied since 1939, when the Germans had invaded Poland. No doubt avarice also accounted for a Polish desire to share in the war booty.

Alexander Böhlig has reported:[19]

As a result of a rumor that papyri had been found on the rail line, the rail line was combed with success at the instigation of Prof. von Manteuffel.	Auf ein Gerücht hin, dass an der Bahnlinie Papyri gefunden worden seien, wurde auf Veranlassung von Professor von Manteuffel die Bahnlinie mit Erfolg abgesucht.

19. Böhlig, in a letter of February 10, 1986.

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Böhlig has further clarified his initial comment:[20]

Professor von Manteuffel, responsible for papyrology before and after the war, was known to me personally. I went on a walk with him in London after the International Papyrologists' Congress in Oxford in 1937. I do not know whether he had a chair for ancient history or for classical philology in Warsaw; for papyrology alone there are hardly professorships. He was always a Pole with a well-formed national consciousness.

Der vor und nach dem Krieg für Papyrologie zuständige Professor von Manteuffel ist mir persönlich bekannt gewesen. Ich bin mit ihm im Anschluss an den internationalen Papyrologenkongress in Oxford 1937 in London spazierengegangen. Ob er etwa einen Lehrstuhl für Alte Geschichte oder Klassische Philologie in Warschau innehatte, weiss ich nicht; für Papyrologie allein gibt es ja kaum Professuren. Er ist immer ein ausgesprochen nationalbewusster Pole gewesen.

On July 12, 1986, Wincenty Myszor sent a report of his inquiries into what took place as follows:

The Manichaean manuscripts that are now in Warsaw cropped up shortly after the last war under circumstances that have not been fully clarified. There is always talk of a place Brodnica, near Torun [Thorn]. I have thus far received no answer to my letter of April 21, 1986, to the regional museum in Brodnica. There are also no documents in the archive of the Warsaw University and in the National Museum. The plates are thought to have been first in a private collection, then in some way [sold? acquired?] to have reached Prof. J. Manteuffel, the leader of the Institute for Papyrology of Warsaw University, and a part of the manuscripts turned over to

Die manichäischen Handschriften, die sich jetzt in Warschau befinden, sind kurz nach dem letzten Krieg unter nicht ganz aufgeklärten Umständen aufgetaucht. Es wird immer über einen Ort Brodnica, bei Torun [Thorn], gesprochen. Auf meinen Brief an das Regional-Museum in Brodnica von 21. April 1986 habe ich bis heute keine Antwort bekommen. Es gibt auch keine Dokumente im Archiv der Warschauer Universität und im National-Museum. Die Platten sollen sich zuerst in einer Privatsammlung befunden haben, dann in irgendeiner Weise [gekauft? bekommen?] zu Prof. J. Manteuffel, dem Leiter des Instituts für Papyrologie der

20. Böhlig, in a letter of March 7, 1986.

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the National Museum on deposit. There are also rumors according to which the plates in the National Museum came directly from Brodnica to Warsaw, to Prof. Michalowski. Prof. J. Manteuffel and Prof. K. Michalowski wanted to give the leaves back to Berlin. But they did not succeed in that. In the sixties the issue almost reached the Ministry. In any case there are still many questions that probably can no longer be answered. Thus one cannot say why the manuscripts are today preserved at two places. There is the view that this has to do with an exhibition in the National Museum. But there are in the National Museum also other manuscripts from the Berlin collection that Dr. Poethke from Berlin has once already seen. These manuscripts could have come to the Museum from a private collection.

Warschauer Universität gelangt und ein Teil der Handschriften dem National-Museum als Depot übergeben worden sein. Es gibt auch Gerüchte, nach denen die Platten im National-Museum direkt aus Brodnica nach Warschau, zu Prof. Michalowski gekommen seien. Prof. J. Manteuffel und Prof. K. Michalowski wollten die Blätter nach Berlin zurückgeben. Das ist ihnen nicht gelungen. In den 60er Jahren wäre diese Sache fast im Ministerium gelandet. Jedenfalls gibt es noch viele Fragen, die wahrscheinlich schon nicht mehr beantwortet werden können. So kann man nicht beantworten, warum die Handschriften heute an zwei Stellen aufbewahrt sind. Es gibt die Ansicht, dass dieses mit einer Ausstellung im National-Museum zusammenhinge. Es gibt aber im National-Museum auch andere Handschriften aus der Berliner Sammlung, die Dr. Poethke aus Berlin schon einmal gesehen hat. Diese Handschriften könnten direkt von einem Privatbesitz zum Museum gekommen sein.

Since there is no list of how many leaves Hugo Ibscher had actually conserved from Berlin's part of the Manichaean codices of Medinet Madi, it is unclear whether those in Warsaw are actually the only leaves not included in the return with other German museum holdings to East Berlin in 1958. No book blocks were returned, and hence, if in fact they had been included in those left in the zoo concrete bunker and taken to the Friedrichsfelde Castle and from there to Leningrad, they would be the only clear instance of material still completely missing.

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Once the material was back in East Berlin, plans were initiated to resume its publication. Böhlig has reported on the steps leading to his being reassigned after the war to publish the Manichaean material, while he was still in East Germany.[21] He moved in 1963 to Munich and then to Tübingen, where he lived until his death in 1996:

In the year 1959 I then submitted to the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin a memorandum in which I pointed out how urgently the resumption of the editing of the Manichaean texts is. The Academy responded positively to this initiative and entrusted the undertaking to the Institut für griechisch-römische Altertumskunde, in order that its working group "Kommission für spätantike Religionsgeschichte" could assume responsibility for the continuation of the edition. At the session of the commission on May 13, 1960, this task was entrusted to me.

Im Jahre 1959 reichte ich daraufhin der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin eine Denkschrift ein, in der ich darauf hinwies, wie dringlich die Wiederaufnahme der Editionsarbeit an den manichäischen Texten sei. Die Akademie nahm zu dieser Anregung positiv Stellung and übergab das Unternehmen an das Institut für griechisch-römische Altertumskunde, damit dessen Arbeitsgruppe Kommission für spätantike Religionsgeschichte die Weiterführung der Edition in ihren Aufgabenbereich aufnehmen sollte. In der Kommissionssitzung vom 13. Mai 1960 wurde diese Aufgabe mir übertragen.

21. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 181.

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Part Two

The Conservation by Rolf Ibscher

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— 6 —

The Conservation of the Material in the State Museums of the Former East Berlin

The post-war activity has until recently consisted almost exclusively of Rolf Ibscher's conservation work. Ibscher made every effort to present himself in unbroken continuity with his father, and thus to build a career on his father's reputation. As he phrased it typically, "die Kunde von der Wunderleistung der konservatorischen Rettung durch meinen Vater" ["the report of the miraculous performance of the conservation rescue by my father"].[1] But it is rather clear that Rolf Ibscher began with fuzzy information and lack of experience. The former is indicated by his summary of the material cited above from 1954 and his revised summary in 1955:[2]

At the beginning of the 1930s the codices were purchased: three bundles and a vestige came to London into the possession of Sir Chester Beatty (*Psalms*, Codex B, Codex C, and the *Homilies*), and four bundles and a vestige to Berlin into the possession of the state museums (*Kephalaia*, Codex 15995, Codex 15998, Codex 15999, and 31 leaves of Codex

Anfang der dreissiger Jahre kamen durch Ankauf die Codices mit drei Konvoluten und einem Rest nach London in den Besitz von Sir Chester Beatty (Psalmbuch, Codex B, Codex C und die *Homilien*) und mit vier Konvoluten und einem Rest nach Berlin in den Besitz der Staatlichen Museen (*Kephalaia*, Codex Nr. 15995, Codex Nr. 15998, Codex Nr. 15999 und 31

1. Ibscher, "Das Konservierungswerk," 1.
2. Ibid.

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15997). The remainder of a quire acquired for Vienna by Grohmann could be added to the *Kephalaia*, Berlin's main text alongside of Codex 15998, containing the corpus of *Letters* and now in Schondorf in Upper Bavaria on Ammer Lake. It [the remainder in Vienna] comprises pp. 311–30.

Blätter des Codex Nr. 15997). Der durch Grohmann für Wien erworbene Lagenrest konnte der Kephalaia, Berlins Hauptschrift neben Codex Nr. 15998, das Briefcorpus enthaltend und jetzt in Schondorf/Obb in Oberbayern am Ammersee liegend, zugeführt werden. Er umfasst die Seiten 311–30.

Here the information available in Schmidt and Polotsky's published report is identified confusedly with the information in the *Inventarbuch* of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR. The Berlin holdings themselves, except for some partially conserved leaves of P^{15996} and P^{15998} in the Ibscher home, were in Leningrad, inaccessible to Ibscher. One need merely enumerate the needed corrections of this summary, along with those itemized in the preceding chapter, to assess the fuzziness of the information with which Rolf Ibscher began: P^{15995} consists only of 31 leaves (which are not P^{15997}) and hence are not a bundle but only a vestige; P^{15996} should be listed as the inventory number of the *Kephalaia*; P^{15997} consists not merely of 31 leaves, hence it was not acquired as a vestige but was a complete codex, from which only some eight or nine leaves seem to have been removed by Hugo Ibscher before the war; Codex 15998 was among the material taken east rather than to Schondorf; P^{15999}, the other half of the London *Homilies* and hence to be designated a vestige, also went east. What was in Schondorf was actually Sir Chester Beatty's Codex B, the *Synaxeis*.

Hence, it is not surprising that material left half conserved and hence inadequately labeled by Hugo Ibscher in his home, should have been variously and unreliably identified by Rolf Ibscher.

Rolf Ibscher's inexperience becomes clear from a passing remark of 1954: "here in London I began with this work that my father had designated as the most difficult task of his life as a conservator, a life rich in difficult tasks. It was a task that I could entrust to myself since one expected it of me, although never before had I separated a leaf as a test under the supervision of my father. It was a risk, but a successful one."[3]

3. Ibscher, Rolf, "Wiederaufnahme," 11: ". . . hier in London begann ich mit dieser

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That is to say, Sir Chester Beatty, no doubt grateful to Rolf Ibscher for having rescued his codices from the ruin of the war, quite unaware that Ibscher was still withholding one in Schondorf, and in response to Rolf Ibscher's appeals, engaged the son on the assumption he was, in the craft tradition of Europe, the father's only understudy and hence his qualified successor, whereas the son had in fact had no experience in the conservation of the Manichaean codices. Under permissive supervision at the British Museum, he inductively learned his trade. Rather jeopardize the codices than his own future!

On his return trip from London, Rolf Ibscher began conservation on the *Synaxeis* codex in Schondorf (see below), and in Berlin began to work at completing the conservation work of his father, on what had been in his home throughout the war.

In 1954 Rolf Ibscher himself had referred as follows to the beginnings of his conservation work on this material:[4]

Between my first [Oct–Dec 1951] and second [June–Oct 1952] London trips I succeeded in saving in Berlin the remainder of the Berlin *Kephalaia* manuscript. So some 20 leaves and leaf fragments came from it. The state of preservation of this outside pad of the codex was even more desolate than that of the remaining pads of the *Psalms* book I had worked on previously in London. I can understand that my father deferred again and again the separating off of these leaves and considered the possibility of giving up this part of the manuscript as unconservable. The leaves and fragments of leaves have meanwhile been impregnated and are awaiting the collaboration of the scholarly colleague,

Zwischen meiner ersten x–xii 51 [Oct–Dec 1951] und zweiten vi–x 52 [June–Oct 1952] Londoner Reise gelang es mir in Berlin den Rest der Berliner Kephalaiahandschrift zu retten. Es kamen dabei einige 20 Blätter und Blattfragmente heraus. Der Erhaltungszustand dieser Aussenlage des Codex war noch desolater als derjenige der Restlagen des zuvor von mir in London bearbeiteten Psalmenbuchs und ich kann verstehen, dass mein Vater immer wieder die Ablösung dieser Blätter hinausgeschoben und die Möglichkeit in Aussicht gestellt hatte, diesen Teil der Handschrift als unkonservierbar aufzugeben. Die Blätter und Blattfragmente

Arbeit, die mein Vater als die schwierigste Aufgabe seines an schweren Aufgaben reichen Konservatorenlebens bezeichnet hatte. Es war eine Aufgabe, die ich mir zutraute, weil man sie von mir erwartete, obgleich ich niemals je zuvor ein Blatt als Probe unter der Leitung meines Vaters abgelöst hatte. Es war ein Risiko, aber es gelang."

4. Rolf Ibscher, "Wiederaufnahme," 10–11.

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since from the material alone the arrangement and sequence of the leaves and fragments cannot [p. 11] be guaranteed with certainty.

sind inzwischen imprägniert und harren der Mithilfe des wissenschaftlichen Bearbeiters, da vom Material allein aus mit Sicherheit die Einordnung und Anordnung der Blätter und Fragmente nicht garan- [p. 11] tiert werden kann.

In his report in 1955, Rolf Ibscher summarized his work as follows: "Following the experimental separation of a few leaves of the Schondorf manuscript from Berlin, I attempted on my return home to Berlin in the winter months [of 1952] to separate and impregnate a residue of very fragmented leaves of the *Kephalaia*, which my father had also designated as 'inoperable.' These leaves should be definitively glassed this winter, at the beginning of 1956."[5]

Rolf Ibscher did in fact develop his own conservation techniques, which he considered vastly superior to those of his father.[6]

In September I could . . . see in the beautiful library of Sir Chester Beatty in Dublin the leaves of the *Homilies* and of the *Psalms* conserved by my father and reassure myself as to whether his method of impregnating them had proven itself over a period of 15 or 20 years. Nevertheless I have now decided to follow a proposal of Dr. Plenderleith of the laboratory of the British Museum and use a fixative recommended by him to strengthen the brittle papyrus weave.

Im September konnte ich . . . in der schönen Bibliothek Sir Chester Beatty's in Dublin die von meinem Vater konservierten Blätter der Homilien und des Psalmenbuches sehen und mich vergewissern, ob seine Imprägnierungsmethode über fast 15 bis 20 Jahre hin sich bewährt hatte. Dennoch habe ich mich jetzt entschlossen, dabei einem Vorschlag von Dr. Plenderleith vom Laboratorium des Britischen Museums zu folgen und ein von ihm empfohlenes Fixativ zur Festigung der mürben Papyrusgewebe zu benutzen.

5. Rolf Ibscher, "Das Konservierugswerk," 5: "Der probeweisen Ablösung von einigen Blättern der Schondorfer Handschrift aus Berlin folgte dann bei meiner Heimkehr nach Berlin in den Wintermonaten [of 1952] der Versuch, einen Restbestand sehr fragmentarisierter Blätter der Kephalaia abzulösen und zu imprägnieren, den mein Vater auch als "unauflösbar" bezeichnet hatte. Diese Blätter sollen im Winter Anfang 1956 definitiv verglast werden."

6. Rolf Ibscher, "Wiederaufnahme," 7–10.

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The conservation thus moves in completely new paths. I have been able to develop a new procedure for separating the leaves, which permits one to separate intact also such leaves as dissolved into their component parts according to the method used by my father. On August 22, 1936, he suspended work on Codex C after he had been able to separate 47 leaves, and wrote in this regard: "The papyrus dissolves completely into its component parts in separating the individual leaves, and was held together only in the whole mass. Further investigation of the book block showed that already in antiquity the book had been very damaged. After one place that readily separated there followed at first 2 blank leaves and then very faded text of another hand, so that it appeared as if here another work began. Of course I think I have seen at one place a chapter title. In any case it was hardly worth working on the block after the empty leaves, since the writing will be able to be figured out only in a few places."—This turned out in the course of the work in 1952 and in this summer to be an error. I obtained 136 usable and in part very beautiful leaves. The few leaves with very faded handwriting can no doubt be made visible given the state of our modern photography. The Berlin manuscript in Schondorf displays the same deficiencies. But I hope that Pater Dolt of the Palimpsest Institute in the Cloister Beuron will help me to develop a

Die Konservierung geht damit völlig neue Wege. Ich habe ein neues Verfahren zur Ablösung der Blätter entwickeln können, das auch solche Blätter im Zusammenhang ablösen lässt, die nach der von meinem Vater geübten Methode sich in ihre Bestandteile auflösten. Am 22. August 1936 stellte er die Arbeit am Codex C ein, nachdem er 47 Blätter abheben konnte, und schreibt dazu: "Der Papyrus löste sich beim Abheben der einzelnen Blätter vollständig in seine Bestandteile auf und wurde nur in der ganzen Masse zusammengehalten. Bei weiterer Untersuchung des Buchblockes ergab sich, dass das Buch bereits im Altertum sehr zerstört war. An einer Stelle, die sich leicht löste, folgten zunächst 2 leere Blätter und dann sehr verblasster Text von anderer Hand, sodass es den Anschein hat, als wenn hier ein andres Werk begann. Allerdings glaube ich an einer Stelle eine Kapitelüberschrift gesehen zu haben. Jedenfalls lohnt es sich kaum, den Block von den leeren Blättern an zu bearbeiten, da die Schrift nur an wenigen Stellen zu entziffern sein wird."—Das stellte sich im Verlauf der Arbeit 1952 und in diesem Sommer als ein Irrtum heraus. Ich gewann 136 brauchbare und zum Teil sehr schöne Blätter. Die wenigen Blätter mit sehr verblasster Handschrift dürften beim Stande unserer modernen Photographie sichtbar gemacht werden können. Gleiche Mängel weist die Berliner Handschrift in Schondorf auf. Ich hoffe aber, dass Pater Dolt vom Palimpzest-Institut an Kloster Beuron mir helfen wird, ein brauchbares fotographisches

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usable photographical procedure to balance out this deficiency.

My procedure for separating the individual leaves from the book blocks is characterized as the adjustable sloping plane. The leaf is compelled to draw itself off as it were by its own weight, over a very smooth parchment paper, that presents no resistance to the papyrus fiber, laid above on the book block. With tweezers and a thin scalpel only a bit of supplemental help is provided in pushing the leaf in front of them over the slanting plane and carefully separating the fibers ruined by pressure and salt crystals. I would like to name this procedure "the extremely freewheeling method."

My father, on the other hand, lifted off the individual leaf without such a slanted support. He lifted the individual fragments separated from each other onto a paper support lying next to the book block and attempted to advance the leaf with extreme carefulness in its entirety from the book block off onto this support. This procedure presupposed an incredibly sure hand and an equally unimaginable gift of recollection, to transfer the fragmentary splinters with absolute certainty into the right arrangement. The individual fragment would have to come immediately with certainty into its right place, since every grasping with the tweezers in the case of especially rotted leaves immediately led such small fragments to break down into dust. I would like to name this procedure

Verfahren zu entwickeln, um diesen Nachteil auszugleichen.

Mein Verfahren, die einzelnen Blätter von den Buchblöcken abzuheben, wird durch die verstellbare schiefe Ebene gekenn-zeichnet. Das Blatt wird genötigt, sich gleichsam durch sein eigenes Gewicht über ein sehr glattes, der Papyrusfaser gar keinen Widerstand entgegensetzendes Pergaminpapier, das auf den Buchblock oben aufgelegt wird, abzuziehen. Mit Pinzette und dünnen Skalpells wird lediglich nachgeholfen, das Blatt vor ihnen her über die schiefe Ebene zu schieben und die durch Pressung und Salzkristalle verbackenen Fasern vorsichtig zu trennen. Ich möchte dieses Verfahren "the extremely freewheeling method" bezeichnen.

Mein Vater hob dagegen das einzelne Blatt ohne solche schräge Unterlage ab. Er hob die einzelnen Fragmente getrennt auf eine neben dem Buchblock liegende Papierunterlage und versuchte, mit äusserster Behutsamkeit das Blatt in seiner Gesamtheit vom Buchblock weg auf diese Unterlage zu befördern. Dieses Verfahren setzte eine unvorstellbar ruhige Hand voraus und eine ebenso unvorstellbare Gabe des Erinnerungsvermögens, die Fragmentsplitter mit absoluter Sicherheit in der richtigen Anordnung zu übertragen. Das einzelne Fragment musste sofort sicher an seinen richtigen Platz kommen, da jedes Anpacken mit den Pinzetten bei besonders vermorschten Blättern sofort dazu führte solche kleinen Fragmente zu Staub zerbröckeln zu lassen. Ich möchte dieses Verfahren "the very delicately compelling method" nennen.

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"the very delicately compelling method."

To the new method of separating leaves and the handling of the separated leaves with a new fixative, in order to impede or eliminate the inner decomposition of the very degenerated material, will be associated the new glassing of the impregnated leaves, in that, instead of simple glass, now plexiglass will be used. To be sure it is very expensive, but it does not break and is very light and permits one to photograph the individual leaf even through the glass with infrared or ultraviolet light in order to entice out the faded writing. The electric effect can unfortunately thus far be eliminated only for a brief time by means of a special substance, so that laying the leaf between the glass panes is not difficult. The magnetic effect proves to be very unpleasant and dangerous when one is compelled to take the leaf out of the glasses again. Equally disagreeable is the fact that plexiglass, in distinction from simple glass, is very sensitive and gets abrasions or scratches immediately with careless handling. And it is a risk, how plexiglass in the course of decades reacts to climatic conditions and whether it darkens or not.

Whether the disadvantages or advantages in using plexiglass over conserving the leaves between simple glass panes will dominate will become clear after a few years, when it becomes necessary to reconserve the leaves again. And this necessity will emerge, even if the

Der neuen Ablösungsmethode und Behandlung der abgelösten Blätter mit einem neuen Fixativ, um den inneren Zerfall des sehr angegriffenen Materials aufzuhalten bzw. zu beseitigen, wird sich die neuartige Unterbringung der imprägnierten Blätter gesellen, indem anstelle des einfachen Glases jetzt das Perspexglas treten wird, das zwar sehr teuer, aber unzerbrechlich und sehr leicht ist und gestattet, das einzelne Blatt auch durch das Glas hindurch mit infrarotem oder ultraviolettem Licht zwecks Hervorzauberung der verblassten Schrift zu fotografieren. Der elektrische Effekt geht leider bisher nur für kurze Zeit durch ein Spezialmittel zu entfernen, sodass das Zwischenlegen zwischen die Glasscheiben keine Mühe verursacht. Sehr unangenehm und gefährlich erweist sich die magnetische Wirkung, wenn man genötigt ist, das Blatt noch einmal aus den Gläsern herauszunehmen. Ebenfalls unangenehm ist es, dass Perspexglas im Gegensatz zu einfachem Glas sehr empfindlich ist und Schrammen oder Kratzer sofort bei unpfleglicher Behandlung erhält. Und ein Risiko ist es, wie sich Perspexglas im Laufe von Jahrzehnten verhält gegen Witterungseinflüsse und ob es blind wird oder nicht.

Ob die Nachteile oder Vorteile bei der Benutzung von Perspexglas gegenüber der Unterbringung der Blätter zwischen einfachem Glas dominieren werden, wird sich nach einigen Jahren herausstellen, wenn die Notwendigkeit sich ergibt, die Blätter aufs neue umzuglasen. Und

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rescued leaves are stored carefully and with constant temperature and protected from climatic influences, since the papyrus material between the glasses begins to work in the course of time, in spite of the impregnation, which only serves to strengthen the rotted papyrus substance and slow down further decomposition, just as did the earlier treatment of the leaves, the dusting with zapon lacquer applied by my father.

Subterranean water and inundation water has in the course of the centuries soaked through the book block. The salt residue cannot be soaked out in conservation by means of baths. Every additional dampness would inescapably dissolve the papyrus substance between the papyrus fibers into a sticky soupy mess. But the infiltration with salty elements, this enrichment of the papyrus substance with ingredients containing salt, produces in the course of time, and especially with changes of temperature, a blue-like film on the glass panes, because of which seeing through the glass is disturbed and the traces of writing, often only weakly distinguishable from the very darkened papyrus material, is hardly still perceptible. In such a case the only thing that helps is to take the leaves out of the glasses and, after cleaning the glasses of this blue-like film to reglass them.

For this reason too there emerges for photography here a special task, not only for reasons of security, as the most recent sad

diese Notwendigkeit wird sich ergeben, auch wenn die geretteten Blätter sorgsam und bei gleichmässiger Temperatur und geschützt vor Witterungseinflüssen aufbewahrt werden, weil trotz der Imprägnierung, die ja nur der Festigung der morschen Papyrussubstanz dient und den weiteren Zerfallsprozess aufhalten soll, ebenso wie die frühere Behandlung der Blätter durch die von meinem Vater angewandte Bestäubung mit Zaponlack, das Papyrusmaterial zwischen den Gläsern im Laufe der Zeit zu arbeiten beginnt.

Grund- und Überschwemmungswasser hat im Laufe der Jahrhunderte die Buchblöcke durchtränkt. Die salzigen Rückstände können bei der Konservierung nicht durch Bäder ausgelaugt werden. Jede zusätzliche Feuchtigkeit würde die Papyrussubstanz zwischen den Papyrusfasern unweigerlich sofort in eine schmierige breiige Masse auflösen. Aber das Infiltrat von salzhaltigen Elementen, diese Anreicherung der Papyrussubstanz mit salzhaltigen Ingredienzien bewirkt im Laufe der Zeit und ganz besonders bei Temperaturschwankungen einen bläulichen Niederschlag auf den Glasscheiben, wodurch die Sicht durch das Glas getrübt wird und die oft sich nur schwach vom stark gebräunten Papyrusmaterial abhebenden Schriftspuren kaum noch wahrnehmbar werden. In solchem Fall hilft da das Eine, die Blätter aus den Gläsern herauszunehmen und sie nach Reinigung der Gläser von diesem bläulichen Scheibenbelag von neuem zu verglasen.

Aus diesem Grunde erwächst auch der Fotographie hier eine besondere Aufgabe, nicht nur aus Sicherheitsgründen, wie die jüngste traurige Vergangenheit es gelehrt hat,

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past has taught us, and as an indispensable supplement and help for the reader. One should, preferably immediately after conservation, or, if that is not possible, very soon after the definitive glassing, photograph each individual leaf without imperfection before any impediment to legibility can emerge. I concede that no photography, no matter how perfect it may be technically, even if it exceeds the most demanding requirements, can replace the unimpeded work on the direct original, but at some time the time will arrive that in future times, even if we leave catastrophes completely out of view, a repeated reglassing of the Manichaean papyri will simply no longer be possible, since this most sensitive of all papyrus materials that have emerged will no longer permit such a procedure of reglassing even with the most careful handling.

Hence the problem of the best possible photographic recording of each of these precious leaves must be solved now, as an aid for the reader, the interpreter, and precisely as a prophylactic means that can endure over the centuries.

und als unentbehrliches Ergänzungs- und Hilfsmittel für den Leser, dass es hier gelingt, sofort nach der Konservierung am besten oder wenn das noch nicht möglich werden sollte, sehr bald nach der definitiven Verglasung, jedes einzelne Blatt einwandfrei im Bild aufzunehmen, bevor irgendwelche Sichtbehinderungen auftreten. Ich gebe zu, dass keine Fotographie, und mag sie technisch noch so einwandfrei sein, mag sie anspruchsvollste Forderungen überbieten, die einwandfreie Arbeit am direkten Original ersetzen kann, aber einmal wird der Zeitpunkt eintreten, dass in künftigen Zeiten, wenn wir Katastrophen dabei völlig ausser Acht lassen, eine mehrmalige Umglasung der Manichäischen Papyri einfach nicht mehr möglich sein wird, da dieses empfindlichste aller bisher aufgetretenen Papyrusmaterial die Prozedur des Umglasens bei sorgsamster Handhabung nicht mehr zulassen wird.

Daher muss das Problem der bestmöglichen fotographischen Bestandaufnahme jedes einzelnen dieser kostbaren Blätter jetzt gelöst werden als Hilfsmittel für den Leser, den Interpreten und eben als prophylaktisches Mittel, das die Jahrhunderte überdauern kann.

In 1960 Böhlig then reported as follows on Rolf Ibscher's work on this material:[7]

7. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 182.

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. . . the last 20 leaves of the Berlin *Kephalaia* book . . . were conserved by Rolf Ibscher in the years 1952 and 1953. The urgently needed reglassing of all the pieces that had been glassed by Hugo Ibscher and returned to Berlin in 1958 was undertaken by Rolf Ibscher beginning in June of this year (1960), along with the conservation of a few half-conserved leaves that Ibscher Sr. had at first put to one side as too difficult, doubtlessly correctly, for it has to do usually with double or triple leaves.

. . . die letzten 20 Blätter des Berliner Kephalaiabuches . . . wurden von Rolf Ibscher in den Jahren 1952 und 1953 konserviert. Die dringend notwendige Umglasung aller von Hugo Ibscher verglasten und 1958 nach Berlin zurückgekehrten Stücke hat Rolf Ibscher seit Juni dieses Jahres (1960) in Angriff genommen, ebenso die Konservierung einiger halbkonservierter Blätter, die Ibscher sen. zunächst—sicher mit Recht, handelt es sich doch dabei meist um Zwillings- oder Drillingsblätter—als zu schwierig beiseite gelegt hatte.

Rolf Ibscher reported as follows in 1964–1965 on the final conservation of this material and on the reglassing of the material returned from Leningrad:[8]

[p. 52] The remains of the Berlin *Kephalaia* had escaped destruction by being stored in my house after 1945. The degree of difficulty in conserving them, which I overcame between 1951 and 1955, was worse than that which the Chester Beatty papyri displayed. Unfortunately a marvellous leaf, after being separated [from the book block], was lost, completely atomized. I had to sneeze, but could not turn away with lightening speed—and all had disappeared without a trace.

[p. 62] One has to do here with the reglassing of the *Kephalaia*. More than half has been accomplished . . . [p. 63] After the

[p. 52] Der Schwierigkeitsgrad der Konservierung für die Reste der Berliner Kephalaia, die der Vernichtung durch die Aufbewahrung in meinem Hause nach 1945 entgangen waren und die ich zwischen 1951 und 1955 bewaltigte, war schlimmer als ihn die Chester Beatty-Papyri aufwiesen. Leider ging mir ein wundervolles Blatt nach seiner Ablösung restlos atomisiert verloren. Ich musste niesen, konnte mich nicht blitzschnell abwenden—und alles war spurlos verschwunden.—

[p. 62] Es geht da um die Umglasung der Kephalaia. Sie ist über die Hälfte gediehen . . . [p. 63] Nach den Kephalaia

8. Rolf Ibscher, "Über den Stand," 52, 62, 63.

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Kephalaia, groups of the codices Nr. 15[9]95, 15[9]97 and 15[9]98 still must be reglassed, along with a sizable number of leaves separated last, quite provisionally, by my father, with an entry on the paper cover that protected them which really creates puzzles: "from the codex B," i.e. then Chester Beatty [*Synaxeis*] or ?—and with the addition put in parentheses "*Letters*," i.e. then again Codex Nr. 15[9]98. What is one to make of that? But there is also among these leaves one with the number 361. To what does this belong?

müssen noch Gruppen der Codices Nr. 15[9]95, 15[9]97 und 15[9]98 umgeglast werden, sowie eine stattliche Anzahl zuletzt ganz provisorisch von meinem Vater abgelöster Blätter mit einer wahrlich Rätsel schaffenden Eintragung auf der sie bergenden Papierhülle: "aus dem Codex B", d.h. also Chester Beatty oder ? und mit dem in Klammern gesetzten Zusatz "Briefe", d.h. dann wieder Codex Nr. 15[9]98. Was soll das? Aber auch unter diesen Blättern ist eines mit der Nummer 361. Wozu gehört dieses?

Ibscher's situation with regard to the material in East Berlin was rendered all the more serious by the departure for Tübingen in 1963 of Alexander Böhlig, the scholar commissioned to edit the material; Böhlig hence terminated his involvement:[9]

[p. 54] And even Alexander Böhlig suddenly bailed out, when the resolution [of the twenty-fifth International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow in August 1960 favoring the publication of the Manichaica], with its confidently sounding tone, remained unnoted on all sides, and turned to a new illustrious task, possibly more suited to him.

Und gar Alexander Böhlig sprang plötzlich ab, als die Resolution [of the twenty-fifth International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow in August 1960 favoring the publication of the Manichaica] mit ihrem zuversichtlich stimmenden Klange allenthalben unbeachtet blieb und wandte sich einer neuen möglicherweise ihm mehr gemässen illustren Aufgabe zu.

In Rolf Ibscher's last article of 1965 he described his reconservation experience:[10]

10. Ibscher, "Mani und kein Ende," 221–22.

9. Rolf Ibscher, "Über den Stand," 54.

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The difficulties that emerge in reglassing vary, just as in separating off individual leaves from the book blocks. But here no "inclined plane" helps, my method for simplifying the separating of leaves, over against the procedure used by my father, this discovery of mine in the last moment before failure, thanks to desperation and the grace of the moment, or of luck. What would a restorer be when confronted with the unusual, the unique object, in the right moment, *en kairo*, without the igniting spark of genius! To sense this magical impulse in all creative realms and vocations would be worth a carefully interpretive investigation!

But the inflexible glass required extreme care in disengaging the leaves from the panes, which split the papyrus layers that lie at right angles to each other. The fixing down of the fragment parts also naturally called for great effort after reglassing. The slightest unevenness in the glass causes bad slippage when taping the edges, and often the glass plates must be reopened two or three times, even in the case of the old smooth glasses that my father had tested. Even in my father's time that happened often enough. Then if the material lies for a while, it settles down on its own.

Probably, after this first basic total reglassing, one has the assurance that now, with correct, consistently climatized storing of the restored discovery, no new

Die Schwierigkeiten, die sich bei einer Umglasung ergeben, variieren, genau wie beim Ablösen der einzelnen Blätter von den Buchblöcken. Hier hilft aber keine "Schiefe Ebene," meine Erleichterungsmethode des Ablösens, gegenüber dem von meinem Vater geübten Verfahren, diese meine Erfindung in letzter Minute vor dem Scheitern aus Verzweiflung und Gnade des Augenblicks oder Glücks. Was wäre ein Restaurator vor dem seltenen einmaligen Objekt im rechten Augenblick *en kairo* ohne den zündenden Funken des Genius. Diesem magischen Impuls in allen schöpferischen Bereichen und Berufen nachzuspüren wäre schon wert einer vorsichtig deutenden Untersuchung!

Das unflexible Glas aber verlangt äusserste Vorsicht beim Ablösen der Blätter von den mitunter die kreuzweisen Papyruslagen spaltenden Scheiben. Grosse Mühe bereitet natürlich auch nach dem Umglasen das Festigen von Fragmentteilen. Die geringste Unebenheit im Glas verursacht böses Verrutschen beim Rändeln, und oft müssen selbst bei den alten planen Gläsern, die mein Vater erprobt hatte, die Glasplatten zwei- und dreimal nochmals geöffnet werden. Auch zu meines Vaters Zeit kam das oft genug vor. Liegt das Material dann erst eine Weile, so beruhigt es sich ganz von selbst.

Wahrscheinlich wird nach dieser ersten grundlegenden totalen Umglasung die Gewähr bestehen, dass nun bei richtiger, konsequent wohltemperierter Lagerung des restaurierten Fundes keine neuen

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condensations will occur between the glass panes.

[p. 222] The Berlin part of the discovery, with the exception of the codex that is in West Berlin, has been for some time undergoing reglassing, and, if no new illness puts me out of action, should be completed by the fall of 1966. A remainder of provisionally rescued material that my father had separated off last and that is still in the first stage of conservation should then follow. Dr. Dr. Nagel of the Institut für Byzantinistik in Halle, successor to Böhlig, has taken over the still unread leaves energetically and with devoted care and love. Also this deserves to be mentioned, that the important problem of the photographability is in the process of being well solved thanks to his tireless activity.

Kondensationen zwischen den Gläsern auftreten werden.

[p. 222] Der Berliner Fundanteil, mit Ausnahme des in Westdeutschland befindlichen Codex, wird seit geraumer Zeit umgeglast und dürfte, wenn keine neue Erkrankung mich ausser Gefecht setzt, bis Herbst 1966 abgeschlossen sein. Ein Rest provisorisch gesicherten Materials, das mein Vater zuletzt ablöste und das sich noch im ersten Stadium der Konservierung befindet, soll dann folgen. Der noch ungelesenen Blätter nimmt sich Dr. D. Nagel vom Institut für Byzantinistik in Halle in Nachfolge von Böhlig tatkräftig, mit hingebender Umsicht und Liebe an. Auch das verdient genannt zu werden, dass das wichtige Problem der Fotografierbarkeit dank seiner unermüdlichen Tatkraft auf dem besten Wege ist gelöst zu werden.

Wolfgang Müller's obituary for Rolf Ibscher reported his death on February 5, 1967, with the following relevant information:[11]

Chosen by the world-renowned "papyrus doctor," Hugo Ibscher, to be his successor, the graduate of the humanistic gymnasium in Berlin-Charlottenburg in 1928 began the study of classical philology at the University of Berlin, which he completed in 1938, after an interruption and temporary activity as assistant restorer in the Papyrus Collection, with graduation in Munich. Again apprentice years followed, in which Rolf

Vom weltbekannten "Papyrusdoktor" Hugo Ibscher zu seinem Nachfolger bestimmt, begann der Abiturient des humanistischen Gymnasiums in Berlin-Charlottenburg 1928 das Studium der klassischen Philologie an der Universität zu Berlin, das er nach Unterbrechung und zeitweiliger Tätigkeit als Hilfsrestaurator in der Papyrus-Sammlung 1938 in München mit der Promotion abschloss. Wieder folgten

11. Müller, "In memoriam Rolf Ibsicher," 207.

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Ibscher, under the critical eyes of his father, gained the technical assurance of all stages of the work, until he accredited himself more and more after the Second World War with significant achievements of his own, as a conservator of international stature in his own right. Thus he succeeded largely in completing the conservation of the famous Coptic papyrus codices with Manichaean texts in Berlin and Dublin, whose restoration had been interrupted by the death of his father in 1943 . . .

Lehrjahre, in denen Rolf Ibscher unter den kritischen Augen des Vaters die technische Sicherheit aller Arbeitsgänge erwarb, bis er sich in zunehmendem Masse nach dem zweiten Weltkriege mit bedeutenden eigenen Leistungen als selbständiger Konservator von internationalem Rang erwies. So gelang es ihm, die Konservierung der berühmten koptischen Papyruscodices mit manichäischen Texten in Berlin und Dublin, deren Wiederherstellung durch den Tod des Vaters 1943 unterbrochen war, weitgehend zu vollenden . . .

Otto Werner Luke, Rolf Ibscher's assistant, completed the reconservation of the *Kephalaia* after Ibscher's death:[12]

He could not complete the work by the time of his death, so that the continuation was entrusted to me. [p. 152] Ca. 70 leaves still had to be freed of the milky film and reconserved.

The difficult technical procedure should be briefly described. The individual papyrus leaves lie, as has been already mentioned, between glass panes that a strip on the edges holds together. This has first to be cut open on three sides, in order to lift up one of the glass panes. Here it became clear that the fine papyrus material in many cases, as a result of the early handling with laquer, was so firmly stuck to the glass panes that it could be separated off only with the greatest care with a spatula.

Er konnte die Arbeit bis zu seinem Tode nicht vollenden, so dass mir die Weiterführung anvertraut wurde. Es mussten [p. 152] noch ca. 70 Blätter von der milchigen Eintrübung befreit und umgebettet werden.

Der schwierige technische Vorgang soll in Kürze dargestellt werden. Die einzelnen Papyrusblätter liegen, wie erwähnt, zwischen Glasplatten, die ein Randstreifen zusammenhält. Dieser muss zunächst an drei Seiten aufgeschnitten werden, um eine der Glasplatten anheben zu können. Dabei stellte es sich heraus, dass das feine Papyrusmaterial in vielen Fällen infolge der früheren Behandlung mit Lack an den Gläsern so fest haftete, dass es nur

12. Luke, "Die Umkonservierung," 151–52.

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This had to be done with full concentration, since the papyrus came loose only centimeter by centimeter and the work on one side often called for hours of work. Any careless movement of the hand endangered the object, since the papyrus fiber is so fine that it can be rubbed into powder without difficulty.

The papyrus loosened from a glass plate was, in order to prevent new sticking, covered with parchment paper and a pane of glass. In this way it was possible to turn the leaf on this firm foundation and to work on the second side in the same way. Finally the papyrus, now lying between parchment paper, was taken from the glass plates, which were to undergo a basic cleansing. The papyrus preserved between the parchment paper, by reversing the work procedure, again comes between the glass plates, that then were attached anew. The strips used here then received, to make them hold better, a stroke of color and lacquer.

The papyrus itself is held only by means of the pressure of the glass panes. No adhesive may come into contact with the fine papyrus material. Whereas an individual complete papyrus leaf is held in its position well by the pressure, the holding in place of fragments is especially difficult, since with the slightest unevenness in the glass and any shaking, it can slide and be destroyed. For this reason, the completed plates

unter grösster Vorsicht mit einem Spachtel abzuheben war. Dies musste mit aller Konzentration geschehen, da der Papyrus nur zentimeterweise sich löste und die Arbeit an einer Seite oft Stunden in Anspruch nahm. Jede unvorsichtige Handbewegung gefährdete das Objekt, da die Papyrusfaser so fein ist, dass sie sich ohne Schwierigkeit zu Pulver verreiben lässt.

Der von einer Glasplatte gelöste Papyrus wurde, um erneutes Ankleben zu verhüten, mit Pergaminpapier und einer Glasscheibe bedeckt. Damit war es möglich, das Blatt auf dieser festen Unterlage zu wenden und die zweite Seite auf gleiche Weise zu bearbeiten. Schliesslich wurde der Papyrus, jetzt zwischen Pergaminpapier liegend, von den Glasplatten genommen, die einer gründlichen Reinigung zu unterziehen waren. Der zwischen dem Pergaminpapier aufbewahrte Papyrus gelangte durch Umkehrung des Arbeitsvorganges wieder zwischen die Glasplatten, die dann neu verklebt wurden. Die hierbei verwendeten Streifen erhielten anschliessend zur besseren Haltbarkeit einen Farb- und Lackanstrich.

Der Papyrus selbst wird nur durch den Druck der Glasplatten gehalten, irgendwelche Klebstoffe dürfen mit dem feinen Papyrusmaterial nicht in Berührung kommen. Während ein einzelnes vollständiges Papyrusblatt durch den Druck gut in seiner Lage gehalten wird, gestaltet sich die Festlegung von Fragmenten besonders schwierig, da sie durch die geringsten Unebenheiten im Glas

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are stored in boxes horizontally. Thus the reconservation of the *Kephalaia* codex is completed, which is to be hoped will prevent a new cloudiness on the papyrus material.

und durch Erschütterungen verrutschen und zerstört werden können. Aus diesem Grunde werden die fertigen Platten horizontal in Kästen aufbewahrt. Damit ist die Umkonservierung des Kephalaia-Kodex abgeschlossen, die hoffentlich eine Neueintrübung des Papyrusmaterials verhindern wird.

Plans for Peter Nagel to complete the editing of the *Kephalaia* were not realized, and Rolf Ibscher died without a scholar as colleague to guide him.

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— 7 —

The Conservation of the Material in Schondorf/Göttingen/West Berlin

In 1954 Rolf Ibscher described as follows his work on the codex then in Schondorf:[1]

[p. 6] On the trip home [from London in December 1951], prevented by fog from continuing the flight, I began in Schondorf on Ammer Lake with the work of separating the leaves of the Berlin manuscript that contains the letters of Mani. This work I continued in May 1952 before flying on to Berlin, and did about 20 leaves . . .

[p. 10] In October and November 1952, on the trip home from London, I continued my work on the Berlin manuscript in Bavaria, and could remove 20 more leaves. Hence, together with the leaves separated there in the spring, there are now in all 40 legible leaves, which I impregnated in the fall of 1953.

[p. 6] Auf der Heimreise [from London in December 1951], durch Nebel am Weiterflug behindert begann ich in Schondorf am Ammersee mit der Blätterablösungsarbeit der Berliner Handschrift, die die Briefe Manis enthält. Diese Arbeit setzte ich im Mai 1952 vor dem Weiterflug nach London fort und schaffte rund 20 Blatt . . .

[p. 10] Im Oktober und November 1952 setzte ich auf der Rückreise von London meine Arbeit an der Berliner Handschrift in Bayern fort und konnte weitere 20 Blätter abheben. Zusammen mit den im Frühjahr dort abgelösten Blättern liegen jetzt also insgesamt dort 40 lesbare Blätter vor, die ich im Herbst 1953 imprägnierte.

1. Rolf Ibscher, "Wiederaufnahme," 6, 10.

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In 1955 Rolf Ibscher gave a much fuller report on his work up to that time:[2]

[p.3] At Christmastime 1951, returning from London and delayed at the airport by fog that lasted for days, I could inform myself there right away thoroughly about the condition of the Berlin manuscript, which I had not seen since 1944. I used the time to separate a few leaves by way of experiment, after my hands had become unusually sensitive in their touch for beginning a new manuscript through the work in London that had gone on for weeks . . .

[p. 5] Since the Schondorf manuscript certainly must be photographed, in hopes that the faded traces of writing may possibly stand out better from the dark papyrus background, one must either use plexiglass also in Germany for our Mani leaves, or distance oneself from definitive glassing until the photography problem that has been initiated has been solved. But I must here too insist that finally this intermediate task reach a conclusion, since it is now time, in the case of the leaves that I separated in 1952 and 1953 and in part already impregnated, that they [p. 6] can be sealed off hermetically from atmospheric influences. The problem could have been solved if the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, which took over the financial supervision of the Schondorf manuscript, had followed my recommendations . . .

[p. 3] In den Weihnachtstagen 1951, von London kommend und durch tagelang anhaltenden Nebel am Heimflug verhindert, konnte ich mich dort gleich über den Erhaltungszustand der Berliner Handschrift eingehend informieren, die ich seit 1944 nicht mehr gesehen hatte, und nutzte die Zeit, einige Blätter probeweise abzulösen, nachdem die Hände durch die wochenlange Arbeit in London für den Beginn an einer neuen Handschrift ausserordentlich fühlfähig geworden waren . . .

[p. 5] Da die Schondorfer Handschrift unbedingt fotografiert werden muss, in der Hoffnung, dass die verblassten Schriftzüge eventuell besser aus dem dunklen Papyrushintergrund hervortreten, so müsste man entweder auch Plexiglas in Deutschland für unsere Maniblätter verwenden oder solange vom definitiven Verglasen Abstand nehmen, bis das in Angriff genommene fotografische Problem gelöst worden ist. Aber ich muss auch hier darauf dringen, dass endlich diese Zwischenaufgabe zum Abschluss gelangt, da es nun für die Blätter, die ich 1952 und 1953 ablöste und zum Teil schon imprägnierte, Zeit wird, dass sie hermetisch gegen atmosphärische Einflüsse abgeschlossen werden [p. 6] können. Das Problem hätte gelöst sein können, wenn man seitens der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft, die finanzielle Betreuung der Schondorfer Handschrift übernahm, meine Ratschläge befolgt hätte . . .

2. Rolf Ibscher, "Das Konservierungswerk," 3, 5, 7–11.

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Since in those days, after the currency reform and the establishing of two governmental systems in Germany, the financing of such a massive work, extending over years across zone frontiers, would have to strike upon insurpassable difficulties from Berlin, especially since in Berlin one had serious reservations about the task of the Manichaean conservation, I was most deeply grateful that a personal acquaintance with a person of broad connections, whom I had often seen in Berlin in the house of his son-in-law, Prof. Schellenberg, and who would have been glad to transplant me to West Germany, brought to the Mani undertaking insightful aid. It was Professor Geiler, formerly the minister president of Hesse after the collapse, and rector of Heidelberg University and temporary president of the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*. His point of departure was the correct insight that this work should not be in arrears behind the work called to life by Sir Chester Beatty in London. When I came from London shortly before Christmas in 1951, he invited me to him in Heidelberg and promised me to mediate the help of the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*. A clear-headed spirit seemed to radiate over the Mani enterprise that was getting moving also on German soil. Overjoyed, I travelled to Berlin. Since the president of the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin, Professor Stroux, recognized the same necessity not to

Da in jenen Tagen nach der Währungsreform und der Etablierung zweier Regierungssysteme in Deutschland die Finanzierung einer solchen umfangreichen über Jahre sich erstreckenden Arbeit über Zonengrenzen hinweg von Berlin aus auf unüberbrückbare Schwierigkeiten stossen musste, zumal man in Berlin der Manichäischen Konservierungsaufgabe noch reichlich fremd gegenüberstand, war ich zutiefst dankbar, dass eine persönliche Bekanntschaft mit einem Manne von weitreichenden Beziehungen, den ich im Hause seines Schwiegersohnes, Prof. Schellenberg, in Berlin des öfteren gesehen hatte und der mich gern nach Westdeutschland verpflanzt hätte, dem Maniunternehmen eine [ein]sichtige Hilfe zuführte. Es war Professor Geiler, der frühere Ministerpräsident von Hessen nach dem Zusammenbruch und Rektor der Heidelberger Universität und zeitweilige Präsident der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft. Er ging von der richtigen Erkenntnis aus, dass diese Arbeit nicht im Rückstand hinter der von Sir Chester Beatty ins Leben gerufenen Arbeit in London bleiben dürfte. Als ich von London kurz vor Weihnachten 1951 kam, lud er mich zu sich nach Heidelberg und versprach mir, die Hilfe der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft zu vermitteln. Ein lichter Geist schien über dem nun auch auf deutschem Boden in Gang kommenden Maniunternehmen zu erstrahlen. Beglückt fuhr ich nach Berlin. Da der Präsident der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Herr Professor Stroux, die gleiche Notwendigkeit erkannte, die

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leave to its own fate the Berlin manuscript and, in view of the creeping inner disintegration, not to let the rescue become illusory, I laid hold thankfully of the help that was actually coming forward, but which could become effective first in the fall of 1953, just at the moment when special difficulties blocked for me the way from Schondorf to London.

[p. 7] But for the work in Bavaria a temporary contract was created, as it had been arranged for my stays in England on the part of Sir Chester Beatty. But it must be decidedly brought to expression that the material reimbursement of this exceptional work by Sir Chester Beatty shows that he had a much greater esteem for the performance of the conservator.

In order not to let the time until this help came into force go by unused, I had to finance the work in Schondorf on the Berlin Mani manuscript in 1952 by my own means. In union with the generous help by my nearest relatives, the publisher Wolf H. Döring and my brother-in-law, the co-publisher Ernst Günther Vockrodt, who immediately introduced first steps for solving the photographical problem by means of Perutz and later Agfa-Leverkusen and Prof. Hellwich of Darmstadt, and himself undertook experiments, it succeeded that prior to my second trip to London and immediately thereafter for weeks on end I found free asylum in Schondorf and could work undisturbed.

Berliner Handschrift nicht sich selbst zu überlassen und bei dem inneren schleichenden Verfall die Rettung nicht illusorisch werden zu lassen, griff ich die tatsächlich erfolgende Hilfe, die aber erst im Herbst 1953 wirksam werden konnte, dankbar auf, just in dem Moment, als besondere Schwierigkeiten mir den Weg von Schondorf aus nach London blockierten.

[p. 7] Für die Arbeit in Bayern aber wurde ein temporäres Vertragsverhältnis geschaffen, wie es für meine Aufenthalte in England seitens Sir Chester Beatty eingerichtet wurde. Es muss aber entschieden zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, dass die materielle Vergütung dieser aussergewöhnlichen Arbeit durch Sir Chester Beatty zeigt, dass er eine weitaus grössere Hochachtung vor der Leistung des Konservators hat.

Um die Zeit aber bis zum Inkrafttreten dieser Hilfe nicht ungenutzt verstreichen zu lassen, musste ich die Arbeit in Schondorf an der Berliner Manihandschrift 1952 noch aus eigenen Mitteln finanzieren. Im Verein mit der grosszügigen Hilfe durch meine nächsten Verwandten, den Verleger Wolf H. Döring und meinen Schwager, den Mitverleger Ernst Günther Vockrodt, der sofort erste Schritte für die Lösung des fotografischen Problems über Perutz und später über Agfa-Leverkusen und Prof. Hellwich-Darmstadt einleitete und selbst Versuche anstellte, gelang es, dass ich vor meiner zweiten Reise nach London und unmittelbar danach wochenlang ein gastfreies Asyl in Schondorf fand und ungestört arbeiten konnte.

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By this time 84 leaves of the Schondorf Mani manuscript, which contain, at least in large parts of the outer strata, the corpus of letters of Mani to his heads of congregations, have now been detached and provisionally laid between protective paper and glass. The first 6 leaves, which my father before the war had loosened as an experiment, were identified by C. Schmidt as letters of Mani. An examination of the leaves that I disengaged in 1952 was carried out by Böhlig, who came to the same result. The kernel or inner strata of the manuscript seem however parts of a still unknown manuscript. And it will have to do here with the same case as with the Chester Beatty manuscript, Codex C.

In this manuscript too I will proceed according to the proven London method of working: It has in view that all leaves are loosened with one effort, but that, in between, the work on the individual leaves takes place. That means that for each individual leaf there must repeatedly be undertaken a sort of reading to correct the fibers. Especially [p.8] the texts must be searched again and again for remaining splinters of fibers and small chips of papyrus, and entangled fibers straightened out.

After these proceedures, the impregnating of the leaves can then be begun. It will be, and remain, the same proven procedure of my father, as I applied already in Berlin and on a series of Schondorf leaves. It has to do with

Bisher liegen nunmehr 84 Blätter der Schondorfer Manihandschrift, die zumindest in weiten Partien der Aussenlagen das Briefcorpus Manis an seine Gemeindeoberhäupter enthält, abgelöst und provisorisch zwischen Schutzpapier und Glas gelegt, vor. Die ersten 6 Blätter, die mein Vater vor dem Kriege probeweise abgelöst hatte, waren von C. Schmidt als Briefe Manis identifiziert worden. Eine Überprüfung der Blätter, die ich 1952 ablöste, erfolgte durch Böhlig, der zu gleichem Resultat kam. Der Kern oder Innenlagen der Handschrift scheinen aber Teile einer noch unbekannten Handschrift zu sein. Und es wird hier ein gleicher Fall vorliegen wie bei der Chester Beatty Handschrift, Codex C.

Auch bei dieser Handschrift werde ich nach dem bewährten Londoner Arbeitsprinzip vorgehen: Es sieht vor, dass alle Blätter in einem Zuge abgelöst werden; dass zwischendurch aber die Arbeit an den einzelnen Blättern erfolgt. Das heisst, wiederholt muss bei jedem einzelnen Blatt eine Art Faserkorrekturlesung vorgenommen werden. Speziell [p. 8] die Texte müssen immer erneut nach restlichen Fasersplittern und kleinen Papyrusabsprengseln abgesucht und verworrene Fasern gestreckt werden.

Nach diesen Arbeitsvorgängen kann dann mit dem Imprägnieren der Blätter begonnen werden. Es wird das gleiche bewährte Verfahren meines Vaters sein und bleiben, wie ich es schon in Berlin und an einer Reihe Schondorfer Blätter anwandte. Es handelt sich um das Besprühen

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spraying the leaves with a weak solution of zapon lacquer.

The London fixative, recommended by Dr. Plenderleith, did not pan out, since it made the papyrus too dark. It effected exactly what in London was said of the use of zapon lacquer, but does not correspond to the facts. For all the leaves handled in this way by my father more than 20 years ago show no darkening, whereas the new fixative indeed consolidates excellently, but develops traits of tanning and darkening the papyrus.

Furthermore it is my wish and will that the photographic problem be solved before the definitive glassing, since photographing through glass, except for plexiglas, is a dubious thing.

Now if all attempts fail, then I hope that the Beuron Palimpsest Institute knows a solution. Since my brother-in-law as a specialist in photography is very interested in this problem, and knows all previous results of the attempts at Perutz and Agfa-Leverkusen, it will be necessary that as soon as possible he goes with me to Beuron, so that, through his professional information, unnecessary attempts are avoided.

Also, in the section of work before the definitive glassing, there belongs the exact determination of the individual quires in the manuscripts. It reassures me to read in the introductions to the [p. 9] individual editions, especially to the "Manichaean Homilies," what efforts and how much time this

der Blätter mit einer schwachen Lösung von Zaponlack.

Das Londoner Fixativ, von Dr. Plenderleith empfohlen, hat sich nicht bewährt, indem es den Papyrus zu sehr dunkel machte. Es hat genau das bewirkt, was in London der Verwendung von Zaponlack nachgesagt wurde, aber nicht den Tatsachen entspricht; denn alle vor über 20 Jahren in dieser Weise von meinem Vater behandelten Blätter zeigen keine Nachdunklung, indessen das neue Fixativ zwar ausgezeichnet festigende, aber zu stark gerbende und den Papyrus dunkel färbende Eigenschaften entwickelt.

Ferner ist es mein Wunsch und Wille, dass das fotografische Problem vor dem definitiven Verglasen gelöst wird, da das Fotografieren durch Glas, ausgenommen bei Plexiglas oder Perspexglas, ein missliches Ding ist.

Sollten alle Versuche jetzt scheitern, so hoffe ich, dass das Beuroner Palimpzest-Institut vielleicht eine Hilfe kennt. Da mein Schwager als Fotofachmann an der Lösung dieses Problems sehr interessiert ist und alle bisherigen Resultate der Versuche bei Perutz und Agfa-Leverkusen kennt, wird es nötig sein, dass er mit mir, sobald als möglich, nach Beuron geht, um dort durch seine fachmännischen Informationen zu verhindern, dass unnötige Versuchsreihen angestellt werden.

Ebenfalls in den Arbeitsabschnitt vor dem definitiven Verglasen gehört die exakte Feststellung der einzelnen Buchlagen in den Handschriften. Es beruhigt mich, in den Einleitungen zu den [p. 9] einzelnen Editionen, speziell den "Manichäischen Homilien," zu lesen, welche Mühen und welche Zeit meinem Vater diese Ordnung der Blätter

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arranging of the leaves has cost my father. For it becomes apparent that, as a result of the mixing up by the dealers, and especially also by the owners of this small Manichaean library, losses within the seequence of leaves have taken place. But since the fibers, often due to the high degree of loss and decay of key fibers decisive for determining by the eye, often do not provide an irreproachable guide, the identification of double leaves that belong together, out of which the quires consis, is made very difficult and often is put in question.

All such newly emerging problems, within a work procedure that is new for me, must hold me up and bring delays in estimates of time unexpectedly and unavoidably. One must accept them, and only be glad that my new technique for separating leaves . . . shortens amazingly this difficult and very awkward procedure, while at the same time providing a more certain guarantee of being able to lift off leaves in a whole piece that previously could not be removed at all, or survived this new birth only in fragments. All other techniques cannot be speeded up on tempo. They need their time.

It would be a further important help if also, before the final putting under glass, the person working on the text stood by my side, in the same way that this immeasurable help stood by my father already at the beginning of the conservation task by

gekostet hat. Denn es zeigt sich, dass infolge der Vertauschungen durch die Händler und besonders auch durch den Eigentümer dieser manichäischen Handbibliothek innerhalb der Blätterfolge Verluste eingetreten sind. Dadurch aber, dass die Fasern oft bei dem hochgradigen Ausfall und Verfall entscheidender Leitfasern für die Bestimmung durch das Auge oft keine einwandfreie Handhabe bieten, wird die Identifizierung zusammengehöriger Doppelblätter, aus denen die Buchlagen bestehen, sehr erschwert und oft in Frage gestellt.

Alle solche innerhalb eines für mich neuartigen Arbeitsprozesses neu auftretenden Probleme halten auf und bringen Zeittermine für veranschlagte Teilabschnitte unvermutet und unvermeidbar ins Gleiten. Man muss sie hinnehmen, und kann nur froh sein, dass meine neuartige Ablösetechnik . . . gerade diesen schwierigen und sehr heiklen Vorgang erstaunlich verkürzt und zugleich relativ doch eine sicherere Gewähr bietet, auch Blätter in einem Stück abzuheben, die früher garnicht ablösbar waren oder nur fragmentarisiert diese Neugeburt überstanden. Alle anderen Vorgänge können nicht im Tempo beschleunigt werden. Sie brauchen ihre Zeit.

Eine weitere wichtige Hilfe wäre es, wenn gleichfalls vor dem definitiven Verglasen mir in gleicher Weise der Textbearbeiter zur Seite stande, wie diese unschätzbare Hilfe meinem Vater schon zu Beginn der Konservierungsaufgabe durch

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Schmidt and Polotsky, and later by Schmidt, Allberry and Böhlig.

This collaboration achieved, that really every fragment is proven by the text as to its correct placement and that overlooked fiber inexactitudes, which could seriously distort the text, are eliminated with the highest possible probability.

Unfortuanteley these legitimate wishes, which after all had as their goal the reestablishment of the really proven method of teamwork during the lifetime [p. 10] of my Father, led to incomprehensible tensions with the Deutsche Forshungsgemeinschaft.

The hope that with the departure of the curator of the Mani undertaking, Prof. Scheel, and under the new Curator, Prof. Hengstenberg, who is an expert aware of the goal, is not yet really fulfilled, since also over against this area of research he stands too unfamiliar and new.

After a fully absurd and unnecessary time-consuming episode which finally, in addition, ended quite unpleasantly, since, on bad advice, instead of Prof. Böhlig, as proven editor for 9 years from 1934 to 1943, one entrusted an absolute beginner [Rudnitzki] with the deciphering and reading of these difficult texts, who, in a grotesque way, also still had to give an evaluation, upon which the further financing of the work was to be made dependent, where of course nothing came of it other than an invalid false judgment, since he thus far had no experi-

Schmidt-Polotsky und später durch Schmidt, Allberry und Böhlig dauernd zur Verfügung gestanden hat.

Diese Zusammenarbeit gewährleistet, dass wirklich ein jedes Fragment auch vom Text überprüft auf seine richtige Anordnung am richtigen Platz untergebracht werden kann und dass übersehene Faserungenauigkeiten, die das Textbild empfindlich entstellen können, mit grösstmöglicher Wahr-scheinlichkeit ausgeschaltet werden.

Leider führten diese berechtigten Wünsche, die doch nur die Neuetablierung der wirklich bewährten Arbeitsteammethode zu Lebzeiten [p. 10] meines Vaters zum Ziel hatten, zu unbegreiflichen Spannungen mit der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft.

Die Hoffnung, dass mit dem Ausscheiden des Kurators des Maniunternehmens, Professor Scheel, unter dem neuen Kurator, Professor Hengstenberg, ein zielbewusster Fachmann mir zur Seite träte, will sich bisher nicht recht erfüllen, da auch er diesem Arbeitsbereich zu fremd und neu gegenübersteht.

Nach einer völlig absurden und unnötigen, Zeit vergeudenden und schliesslich obendrein noch unerquicklich verlaufenden Episode, weil man schlecht beraten anstelle von Professor Böhlig, als bewährtem Editor über 9 Jahre von 1934 bis 1943, einen absoluten Anfänger [Rudnitzki] mit dem Entziffern und Lesen dieser schwierigen Texte betraute, der grotesker Weise auch noch ein Werturteil zu fällen hatte, wovon die weitere Arbeitsfinanzierung abhängig gemacht werden sollte, wobei natürlich nichts dabei herauskam als ein unmassgebliches Fehlurteil, da er noch keine Erfahrung mit Papyrusoriginalen hatte

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ence with papyrus originals and stood there completely helpless and unprepared. After checking with Böhlig and the Vice-President of the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin, Prof. Steinitz, I now received the agreement that Böhlig could be put immediately at my side at Berlin's expense. I made this information known without delay to the German Forschungsgemeinschaft, so that it can hence make contact with the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin to the extent it was really serious with the view that this undertaking advance "promptly and continually," which last year it had called for precisely regarding my period of work in Bavaria.

The German Academy of Sciences has taken this desire into account in that they arranged my employment so that I was to devote myself completely to working up this scattered discovery.

The German Academy of Sciences, the work on the text, at first deferred for lack of funds [p. 11] could now, as is desirable, take place at the same time, which provided a firm assurance that the work of conservation could, not only one-sidedly on the more technical side, reach completion in the foreseeable future.

Now it will become clear whether the bright spirit of Prof. Geiler, under whom the great work was initiated, will hopefully give its renewed blessing to the task.

A rejection would be incomprehensible; it would find the

und gänzlich hilflos und unvorbereitet dastand, habe ich nach Rücksprache mit Böhlig und dem Vizepräsidenten der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Professor Steinitz, nun die Zusage erhalten, dass Böhlig sofort mir auf Kosten Berlins zur Seite gestellt werden kann; ich gab diese Mitteilung unverzüglich der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft bekannt, damit sie deswegen mit der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin Fühlung nehmen kann, sofern es ihr wirklich ernst damit ist, dass dies Unternehmen "zügig und kontinuierlich" vorankommt, was sie im vorigen Jahr gerade hinsichtlich meiner Arbeitsaufenthalte in Bayern gefordert hatte.

Die Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften hat diesem Wunsch Rechnung getragen, indem sie mein Arbeitsverhältnis so regelte, dass ich weitgehend mich der Aufarbeitung dieses verstreut liegenden Fundes ausschliesslich widmen sollte.

Durch das Angebot der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften würde die von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft aus Geldmangel vorerst [p. 11] zurückgestellte Textbearbeitung, nunmehr, wie es wünschenswert ist, gleichzeitig erfolgen können, was eine sichere Gewähr gäbe, das das Konservierungswerk nicht nur einseitig nach der mehr technischen Seite hin zur Vollendung in absehbarer Zeit gelangen könnte.

Es wird sich jetzt zeigen, ob der lichte Geist Prof. Geilers, unter dem das grosse Werk eingeleitet wurde,

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disapproval of all scholars who again take inner satisfaction at the progress and success, and would bring a storm of resentment.

But the work in Schondorf had develooped well in terms of work, especially since it is possible from this year on, thanks to the agreement of the German Academy of Sciences of Berlin, for me to work in Schondorf for longer periods of time. Such work on material this obstinate requires very extended work periods, especially what the eye has to perform, is dependent very much also on good weather, since artificial light overworks the eyes too much, and not least of all from the absolute reliability and relaxation of the hands.

But after the conclusion of the conservation of Sir Chester Beatty's Manichaica, the main effort will automatically go to the Schondorf manuscript, to the extent that a surprising return to London or Dublin of the three Berlin codices that wandered to Russia and of Codex B from the possession of Sir Chester Beatty not create a new turning point.

hoffnungsvoll erneut der Aufgabe seinen Segen spenden wird.

Eine Zurückweisung wäre unverständlich und würde die Missbilligung aller Wissenschaftler finden, die an dem Fortgang und Gelingen nun wieder innigen Anteil nehmen, und müsste einen Sturm der Entrüstung heraufbeschwören.

Die Arbeit in Schondorf aber hat sich arbeitsmässig gut eingespielt, besonders, nachdem es mir nun seit diesem Jahr auch möglich ist, dank dem Entgegenkommen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin in längeren Zeitabschnitten in Schondorf zu arbeiten. Eine solche Arbeit an derartig aufsässigem Material bedarf durchaus ausgedehnterer Arbeitsfolgen, zumal sie auch, besonders was das Auge dabei zu leisten hat, sehr von der Gunst des Wetters abhängig ist, da künstliches Licht zu sehr die Augen überanstrengt, und nicht zuletzt von der absoluten Sicherheit und Ruhe der Hände.

Nach dem Abschluss der Konservierung der Sir Chester Beatty Manichaika aber wird automatisch der Hauptakzent auf die Schondorfer Handschrift übergehen, sofern nicht eine überraschende Rückkehr der drei nach Russland gewanderten Berliner Codices und von Codex B aus dem Besitze von Sir Chester Beatty nach London oder Dublin eine neue Wende schafft.

The current status of papyrus conservation theory indicates a reversal of Rolf Ibscher's conservation theory:[3] [4]

3. Fackelmann, *Resaurierung*, 60–61.
4. Ibid., 21, 60–61.

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[p. 21] *Zapon lacquer polishing:*
Zapon is a self-polishing protection for the surface. Originally used for the protection of the top surface of metals, it was used in modified form for the conservation of library material—with the use of saltpeter acid, nitrated cellulose was dissolved in amyl acetate and carbonated hydrogen and mixed with a softening mixture of oil and camphor. coatings on paper as well as papyrus showed devastating results: Yellowing, splits, brittleness of the material, along side of the danger of fire that existed for objects treated in such a way, were the negative effects . . .
Glassing:
All too eager glassing and supplemental closing off from air of the glass plates with sealing lacquer led to the emergence of a small climate inside the plates that favors the microscopic organisms.

Result: Strong decomposition of the cellulose in the papyrus—rapid degeneration—film on the glass plates.

[p. 60] 2. *Glassing with the Elimination of Air:*
Hundreds of papyri were mounted without padding, presumbably for their better [p. 61] protection, between two glass panes, which were pasted with strips of paper and finally sealed with zapon lacquer. Yet this intentional protection from the outside world had terrible consequences: Because of the lack of the interchange of air there emerged within the glass plates a miniature climate, which was ad-

[p. 21] *Zaponlackuberzuge:*
Zapon ist ein selbstglättender Oberflächenschutz. Ursprünglich für den Oberflächenschutz von Metallen verwendet, wurde er in abgewandelter Form zur Konservierung von Bibliotheksgut benützt—mit Salpetersäure nitrerte Cellulose wurde in Amylacetat und Kohlenwasserstoff gelöst und mit einem Weichmachergemisch von Öl und Kampfer versetzt. Uberzüge auf Papier sowie Papyrus zeigten niederschmetternde Ergebnisse: Vergilben, Risse, Verspröden des Materials waren neben der Feuergefahr, die für solchermassen behandelte Objekte bestand, die negativen Auswirkungen . . .
Verglasen:
Allzu bereitwilliges Verglasen und zusätzliches luftdichtes Verschliessen der Glasplatten mit Siegellack führte zum Entstehen eines die Mikroorganismen begüstigenden Kleinklimas innerhalb der Platten.

Folge: starker Abbau der Cellulose im Papyrus—rascher Verfalls Beschlag auf der Glasplatte.

[p. 60] 2. *Verglasung unter Luftabschluss:*
Hunderte Papyri wurden zum vermeintlich bes- [p. 61] seren Schutz ohne Einlage zwischen zwei Glasplatten montiert, welche mit Papierstreifen umklebt und letztlich mit Zaponlack versiegelt wurden. Dieser beabsichtigte Schutz vor der Aussenwelt hatte jedoch erschreckende Folgen: durch den fehlenden Luftaustausch entstand innerhalb der Glasplatten ein Kleinklima, das dem Wachstum von Pilzen förderlich war.

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vantageous to the growth of fungus. The cellulose molecules gave up their necessary water constitution onto the glass plates pressed on it (according to the principle of osmotic pressure), as a result of which the degeneration of the cellulose proceeded more rapidly. Access to air and the circulation of air are a necessity for the existence of organic materials.

Die Cellulosemoleküle gaben ihr notwendiges Konstitutionswasser an die angepressten Glasplatten (nach dem Prinzip des osmotischen Druckes) ab, wodurch der Abbau der Cellulose rascher vor sich ging. Luftzufuhr und Luftzirkulation sind eine Notwendigkeit für den Bestand organischer Materialien.

In 1960/68, Böhlig summarized efforts to conserve and copy the codex after it had been moved from Schondorf to Göttingen:[5]

The manuscript that had come to West Germany and remained there after the war is at present in Göttingen and is cared for by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* . . . I was able to see the manuscript in Göttingen through the cooperation of the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* in the year 1957.

Rolf Ibscher repeatedly undertook conservation work on the codex in Göttingen, funded by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*; C. Colpe prepared the transcriptions. But at present the work has come to a halt and urgently needs to be carried forward.

Die nach Westdeutschland gekommene und nach dem Kriege dort verbliebene Handschrift befindet sich gegenwärtig in Göttingen und wird von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft betreut . . . Die Handschrift in Göttingen konnte ich durch Entgegenkommen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft im Jahre 1957 besichtigen.

An dem in Göttingen befindlichen Codex wurden auf Kosten der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft mehrfach von Rolf Ibscher Konservierungsarbeiten vorgenommen und von C. Colpe Abschriften angefertigt; die Arbeit ist aber gegenwärtig ins Stocken gekommen und bedarf dringend der Weiterführung.

In 1965 Rolf Ibscher described as follows the work on this codex:[6]

5. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 181–82.
6. Rolf Ibscher, "Über den Stand," 54, 58–61.

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[p. 54] Charles Allberry, the great hope in the younger generation, fell as a victim of the anti-aircraft defense over Berlin. Rudnitzki quickly turned out to be not up to the job on the Berlin manuscript in Schondorf, and endangered the help that had been attained, precisely thanks to Prof. Geiler, from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in Bad Godesberg. In his place entered Carsten Colpe in Göttingen. Colpe's joy to collaborate, at first unbounded, burned out in a rapid straw fire. From him too there resulted an endangering that still continues to persist.

[p. 58] The situation is no different [than the discouraging report about the Dublin Manichaica] with the codex in Göttingen. Carsten Colpe, who worked for a time on the leaves that had been won up until then, brought into play in Munich at the International Orientalists' Congress [1957] the thesis that the manuscript does not belong to Berlin at all but is identical with the 13 leaves of Codex B in Dublin (or again now in London, since all the Mani material was shipped back to the British Museum by Sir Chester Beatty, without the Museum's being able to administer it). Böhlig, on the other hand, maintained that, in view of the shared titles on the pages (*Synaxis*), the 31 leaves of the Berlin codex Nr. 15[9]95 belong together with [p. 59] the Göttingen codex, whereas he had earlier held it to be codex Nr. 15[9]98 (collection of *Letters*). Böhlig's cautious, but nonetheless quite fixed thesis

[p. 54] Charles Allberry, die grosse Nachwuchshoffnung, fiel der Flugabwehr über Berlin zum Opfer. Rudnitzki erwies sich sehr schnell nicht gewachsen der Aufgabe an der Berliner Handschrift in Schondorf und gefährdete die gerade dank Professor Geiler gewonnene Hilfe seitens der DFG Godesberg. An seine Stelle trat Carsten Colpe in Göttingen. Seine zuerst unbändige Freude am Mitwirken verflog in schnellem Strohfeuer. Auch von ihm ging Gefährdung aus und wirkt noch nachhaltend an . . .

[p. 58] Nicht anders [than the discouraging report about the Dublin Manichaica] steht es mit dem Codex in Göttingen. Carsten Colpe, der eine Zeitlang an den bisher gewonnenen Blättern arbeitete, warf in München auf dem Internationalen Orientalistenkongress [1957] die These ins Spiel, die Handschrift gehöre gar nicht Berlin, sondern sei identisch mit den 13 Blättern des Codex B in Dublin oder jetzt London wieder, da alles Manimaterial an das Britische Museum von Sir Chester Beatty zurückverlagert wurde, ohne dass das Museum darüber verfügen kann. Böhlig hingegen erklärt, die 31 Blätter des Berliner Codex Nr. 15[9]95 gehören wegen der gemeinsamen Uberschriften auf den Seiten (SYNAXIS) zusammen mit [p. 59] dem Göttinger Codex, währehd er ihn früher für Codex Nr. 15[9]98 (Briefkollektion) gehalten hatte. Böhligs vorsichtige,

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was that, possibly *by error*, my father had brought to London the 13 leaves of the Codex B of Sir Chester Beatty, *once* they were glassed, as the result of which a dilemma again emerges. What is then the situation with the 31 leaves in Berlin, that, after all, are identical with those of the codex in Göttingen? When these leaves of Codex B came back to London, Carl Schmidt was still alive. At that time, in all probability, Charles Allberry was very clearly informed about the shares in the find. I.e., probably three minds and six eyes were at work as a control. But anyone who knew my father knows that he was inerrant, unconfusable, infallible, yes, that he possessed a phenomenal ability of memory.

Again and again I must come back to my conclusions, which came to me simply from the familiarity with, the eyewitnessing of, the glassed Mani papyri that are in Dublin. At the time, I inferred therefrom that Sir Chester Beatty's Codex B had remained in Berlin (that is to say, before the termination of the war's activities) and had shared the fate, then still uncertain, of all the rest of the papyri in the Zoo bunker. The format of these leaves of Codex B was very different for me from that of the manuscript that at the time was still in Schondorf on the Ammer Lake. The first embraced 7 leaves, the second 6 leaves [per quire?].

Accordingly, in view of my calculations, *three* Berlin codi-

aber doch eben fixierte These war, mein Vater hätte möglicherweise die 13 Blätter des Codex B von Sir Chester Beatty *irrtümlich einst* verglast nach London gebracht, wodurch wieder ein Dilemma entsteht. Was ist dann mit den 31 Blättern in Berlin, die doch identisch sind mit denen des Codex in Göttingen? Als diese Blätter des Codex B nach London zurückkamen, lebte Carl Schmidt noch. Dann war aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach Charles Allberry sehr klar informiert über die Fundanteile. D.h. wahrscheinlich waren drei Hirne und sechs Augen als Kontrolle am Werk. Aber wer meinen Vater kannte, weiss, dass er unbeirrbar war, unverwirrbar und unfehlbar, ja, dass er ein phänomenales Erinnerungsvermögen besass.

Immer wieder muss ich auf meine Ergebnisse zurückkommen, die sich mir einfach aus der Kenntnis, aus der Autopsie der in Dublin befindlichen verglasten Manipapyri ergaben. Ich folgerte daraus damals, dass Sir Chester Beattys Codex B in Berlin verblieben war (also vor Einstellung der Kriegshandlungen) und das damals noch ungewisse Schicksal aller übrigen im Zoobunker verbliebenen Papyri geteilt hatte. Das Format dieser Codex-B-Blätter unterschied sich mir sehr von dem der damals noch in Schondorf am Ammersee befindlichen Handschrift. Die erste umfasste 7, die zweite 6 Blätter [per quire?].

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ces [*Acts*, P[15997]; *Letters*, P[15998]; *Homilies*, P[15999]]—and *one* codex from the possession of Sir Chester Beatty [*Synaxeis*, Codex B] must not have returned from their odyssey. Likewise six leaves of the *Kephalaia* are missing, as has now become apparent from the reglassing. I do not believe in carelessness and destruction resulting from it, since the return lists show damages correctly noted in each case. In the case of a few papyri whose glasses were cracked, someone even carried out primitive first-aid conservations. So one was very concerned not to let anything fall victim to destruction, as well as it could be achieved. I explain the six missed *Kephalaia* leaves as still slumbering somewhere in a drawer, [p. 60] having missing the return trip. Forgetfulness is after all something very human. One will hence still have to request an inquiry. Sir Chester Beatty said to me in the summer of 1956, when we were talking about my discovering the absence of Codex B, that after all it would be a while before all Berlin papyri had returned to Berlin. It would be easier for him then to occupy himself in Berlin with a return.

The Berlin Codex Nr. 15[9]95 that is now in Göttingen still has about 100 to 120 unseparated leaves, which become more and more brittle under the climate's influence, in spite of good storage thus far. It already gave me very great difficulties at the time of my work between Christmas 1951 until 1958 in Göttingen. This work

Nach meinen Berechnungen müssen demnach *drei* Berliner Codices [*Acts*, P15997; *Letters*, P15998; *Homilies*, P15999] und *ein* Codex aus dem Besitz von Sir Chester Beatty [*Synaxeis*, Codex B] von ihrer Odyssee nicht zurückgekehrt sein. Ebenfalls fehlen sechs Blätter der Kephalaia, wie sich jetzt bei der Umglasung ergibt. Ich glaube nicht an Fahrlässigkeit und damit verbundene Vernichtung, weil die Rückkehrlisten Beschädigungen jeweils korrekt vermerkt anzeigen. Man hat ja auch bei einigen Papyri, deren Gläser zersprungen waren, sogar primitive Notkonservierungen gemacht, war also sehr bedacht, alles so gut es eben gehen wollte, nicht der Vernichtung anheim fallen zu lassen. Die sechs fehlenden Kephalaia-Blätter erkläre ich mir damit, dass sie irgendwo noch in einem Fache schlummern [p. 60] und die Rückreise verpasst haben. Vergesslichkeit ist schliesslich etwas sehr Menschliches. Man wird also noch einmal um eine Ermittlung ersuchen müssen. Sir Chester Beatty sagte mir im Sommer 1956, als wir über meine Entdeckung des Fehlens von Codex B sprachen, dass das ja Zeit hätte, bis alle Berliner Papyri wieder nach Berlin zurückgekehrt seien. Es würde für ihn einfacher sein, dann um eine Rückgabe in Berlin sich zu bemühen.

Da der Berliner, jetzt in Göttingen befindliche Codex Nr. 15[9]95 noch ca. 100 bis 120 nicht abgelöste Blätter hat, die unter der klimatischen Einwirkung, trotz guter Lagerung bisher, immer mürber werden und schon zur Zeit meiner

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of a provisional safeguarding, undoubtedly most important, must be carried forward, after having been interrupted for six years. For otherwise the same thing can happen that happened to my father with Codex C [Chester Beatty's *Kephalaia*], that it was no longer possible to save it, not even with the tricky method of the Inclined Plane . . . My desire was that one should also see to it that photography must go hand in hand with the conservation and editing. But this has ballooned into such a mania that precious time is wasted in search of some open-sesame formula for photography, to the detriment of the codex. This is something Mr. Colpe may perhaps secretly already regret, but this will not remove the original evil from the world.

The writing is often very rubbed off, since here we again have to do precisely with soot ink, with the exception of the writing in the parts of the codex "stored" inside, as in the case of Codex C. Here ultraviolet rays can hardly conjure up anything. Since there are large lacunae in the text in many of the ca. 145 leaves, [p. 61] photography can perhaps perform a certain supplemental help in the case of individual leaves, more in the sense of an "aid in collation" for the editor after a first transcription, in case he, as in the case of Charles Allberry, must carry on his work on the text in a different location, where he cannot have the original papyrus before him. Without "strong eyes,"

Bearbeitung zwischen Weihnachten 1951 bis 1958 in Göttingen sehr grosse Schwierigkeiten mir bereiteten, muss jetzt unbedingt diese vorerst wichtigste Arbeit der provisorischen Sicherung nach sechs Jahren ihrer Unterbrechung vorangebracht werden, weil sonst das eintreten kann, was meinem Vater mit Codex C [Chester Beatty's *Kephalaia*] passierte, dass eine Rettung nicht mehr möglich ist, auch nicht mit der überlistungsmethode der Schiefen Ebene . . . Dass mein Wunsch, man sollte auch dafür sorgen, dass Hand in Hand mit dem Konservieren und dem Edieren das Fotografieren gehen möge, sich zu einer solchen *Manie* jetzt ausgewachsen hat, indem kostbare Zeit mit der Suche nach einer "Sesam-öffne-dich-Fotografierformel" zu Ungunsten des Codex vergeudet wird, mag Herrn Colpe vielleicht insgeheim schon reuen, aber damit wird das Urübel nicht aus der Welt geschafft.

Da die Schrift oft sehr abgerieben ist, weil wir es hier wieder gerade mit Ausnahme der bei den Partien des ebenso wie in Codex C "eingelagerten Codex" mit Russtinte zu tun haben, wo ultraviolette Strahlen kaum etwas hervorzaubern können, und da grosse Lücken im Text bei vielen der ca. 145 Blätter bestehen, kann [p. 61] die Fotografie bei einzelnen Blättern vielleicht eine gewisse zusätzliche Hilfe leisten, mehr im Sinne einer "Repetierhilfe" nach erster Lesung für den Editor, falls er, wie im Falle von Charles Allberry, an einem anderen Ort, wo er eben den Papyrus nicht als Original vor sich sehen kann, am Text weiterarbeiten muss. Ohne die "starken Augen," wie es Carl Schmidt im ersten Akademiebericht nennt,

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as Carl Schmidt puts it in the first Academy report, it will not work. Also not without a tremendous ability to make combinations, and not without the often quite odd positionings of the correct angle for the light to fall, by each individual editor, and the often amazing necessity to decipher each individual leaf—for each one it is different, according to the degree of rotting—with quite specific lighting, but never by making use of artificial light, since the papyrus, as a result of very great darkening, almost already lets one perceive hardly any more writing.

It should not lead to the situation that photography is elevated to a rigid doctrine for something, where nothing lies behind it except an excuse. With or without photography, Mr. Colpe can hardly find a stronger interest again in this quite difficult codex, after he has once learned to recognize very quickly that editorial work on such a Mani manuscript, in the area of editing, is among the most demanding.

geht es nicht; ohne ein immenses Kombinierungsvermögen auch nicht und ohne die von jedem einzelnen Editor vorzunehmenden, oft wunderlichen, Einstellungen des rechten Lichteinfallwinkels und der oft frappierenden Nötigung, das jeweilige Blatt—bei jedem ist es anders, je nach dem Grade der Verrottung unter ganz bestimmter Beleuchtung, aber niemals unter Zuhilfenahme künstlichen Lichtes, zu entziffern, da der Papyrus, infolge sehr starker Nachdunklung, fast schon nicht mehr Schrift wahrnehmen lässt.

Es darf jetzt nicht dazu führen, dass die Fotografie als eine starre Doktrin für etwas erhoben wird, wo nichts anderes dahinter steht als eine Ausflucht. Mit oder ohne Fotografie dürfte Herr Colpe kaum ein stärkeres Interesse wieder an diesem recht schwierigen Codex finden, nachdem er einst sehr schnell erkennen lernte, dass editorische Arbeit an einer solchen Manihandschrift zum Schwersten auf editorischem Gebiet gehört.

Böhlig has explained, as follows, the possibility that thirteen leaves could have been taken by mistake to London: "Various individual leaves . . . were at various times also transported by both Ibschers between England and Berlin back and forth."[7]

Böhlig also has clarified Rolf Ibscher's statement that Böhlig "had earlier held it to be codex Nr. 15[9]98 (collection of *Letters*)":[8]

7. Böhlig, in a letter of February 5, 1986: "Verschiedene einzelne Blätter . . . sind zu verschiedenen Zeiten von beiden Ibschers auch zwischen England und Berlin hin und her transportiert worden."

8. Böhlig, in a letter of June 1, 1986.

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When Ibscher claimed that it has to do with a German manuscript, then it of course first of all only about the historical book or the letters of Mani, since the third German manuscirpt, the so-called "wig," would have exerted no motivation for speical security . . . Since apparently statements in the first and second person occur, it could less likely be the historical book, so only the letters remained. Yet what today is completely incomprehensibile . . . is that the codices after all were apparently so inadequately characterized that even a doubt could ever arise as to their identity.

Wenn Ibscher behauptete, es handel sich um eine deutsche Handschrift, dann konnte es sich ja zunächst einmal nur um das historische Buch oder die Briefe Manis handeln, weil die 3. deutsche Handschrift, die sog. "Perücke," keinen Reiz für eine besondere Sicherstellung ausgeübt hätte . . . Da anscheinend Aussagen in der 1. und 2. Person vorkammen, konnte es weniger gut das histor-ische Buch sein; also blieben, konnte es weniger gut das historische Buch sein; also blieben nur die Briefe übrig. Was nur heute völlig unbegreiflich ist . . . , ist, dass die Codices doch offenkundig so mangelhaft gekennzeichnet waren, dass überhaupt ein Zweifel über ihre Identität entstehen konnte.

Presumably, when Böhlig went to Schondorf to sort out the book blocks to be turned over to the Allied authorities, he was simply following Ibscher's instructions to keep one in Schondorf on the assumption it was one of the Berlin codices.

In the first version of his essay on the *Synaxeis* in 1957 Böhlig wrote: "In the war one of the codices belonging to the Berlin holdings was stored outside, in the region of what is now the Federal Republic."[9] In the second edition of that essay in 1968, the formulation was left open, in that the codex is no longer said to belong to Berlin and yet is said to be stored along with those of Sir Chester Beatty, as if it were not itself one of them: "In the war a manuscript was stored outside in the region of what is now the Federal Republic, along with the codices belonging to Sir Chester Beatty; this text is at present in Göttingen

9. Böhlig, "Synaxis = Homilia?" 485–86, especially 485: "Im Kriege wurde einer der zum Berliner Bestand gehörigen Codices ins Gebiet der jetzigen Bundesrepublik ausgelagert." Böhlig published a revised and expanded version as "Zu den Synaxeis," 222–27, especially 222–23.

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to be conserved."[10] But a further insertion into the second edition of the essay makes it clear that Böhlig no longer assumed the codex belonged to Germany, in that he clearly identified it as the bulk of the codex of which Berlin owned only a vestige: "Thus one can assume, as C. Colpe also thinks, that the remainder of a Berlin codex discussed by C. Schmidt [P^{15995}] forms with this codex a unity of contents, but not of ownership."[11]

Here it is clear, even if cautiously and then only obliquely expressed, that Böhlig with Colpe had reached the conclusion that the codex then in Göttingen is not a codex belonging to Berlin but rather a codex belonging to Sir Chester Beatty, since from the very beginning all agreed that the *Synaxeis* belonged to Sir Chester Beatty (except for the 31 leaves of this codex that Carl Schmidt had purchased in Egypt for Berlin). Although the Göttingen codex had already been identified as the *Synaxeis* codex at the time the first edition of this essay was published, Böhlig did not in the first edition state the inescapable inference that it was hence not a codex belonging to Berlin.

10. "Im Kriege wurde zusammen mit den Sir Chester Beatty gehörigen Codices eine Handschrift in das jetzige Gebiet der Bundesrepublik ausgelagert; dieser Text befindet sich gegenwärtig in Göttingen zur Konservierung."

11. "Damit kann man annehmen, wie auch C. Colpe meint, dass der von C. Schmidt besprochene Berliner Restcodex [P^{15995}] mit diesem Codex eine inhaltliche, aber keine besitzmässige Einheit bildet."

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— 8 —

The Conservation of the Material in London/Dublin

Regarding the London/Dublin material, Ibscher wrote in 1955:[1]

[p. 2] Thanks to the initiative of Sir Chester Beatty, events took a turn after the war . . .

[p. 3] At the suggestion of Sir Alan H. Gardiner, Sir Harold I. Bell, and Professor Glanville, Sir Chester Beatty engaged me in 1948 to carry forward the conservation work that had been orphaned. Difficult circumstances of the time put me at a disadvantage, so that it was only in x 51 that I could reach London and begin with the conservation of the Chester Beatty papyri, which at the end of 1944, on the smart advice of my father-in-law, the publisher Wolf Henry Doering, together with a Berlin manuscript (Codex No. 15998), I on my own responsibility had brought from the danger zone of Berlin for the final phase of the war into his safe

[p. 2] Dank der Initiative von Sir Chester Beatty trat nach dem Kriege eine Wende ein . . .

[p. 3] Auf Vorschlag von Sir Alan H. Gardiner, Sir Harold I. Bell und Professor Glanville engagierte mich Sir Chester Beatty 1948 zur Fortführung der verwaisten Konservierungsarbeit. Widrige Zeitverhältnisse benachteiligten mich, sodass ich erst Oktober 1951 nach London gelangen und mit dem Konservieren der Chester Beatty Papyri beginnen konnte, die ich Ende 1944 auf den klugen Rat meines Schwiegervaters hin, des Verlegers Wolf Henry Doering, zusammen mit einer Berliner Handschrift (Codex Nr. 15998) auf eigene Verantwortung aus der Gefahrenzone Berlins für die Endphase des Krieges in sein

1. Rolf Ibscher, "Das Konservierungswerk," 2–3.

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house on the quiet Ammer Lake in Schondorf, a good hour away from Munich . . .

In London I had begun with three residual pads (not identical with quires in the sense of codicology) of the *Psalms* book, which my father some time before the war had put to one side, for, as he had written to Sir Chester Beatty, "the unremitting difficult work of separating the leaves was too exhausting over a period of time," and separated 49 well-preserved leaves and a few very fragmentary remains of leaves.

sicheres Haus am stillen Ammersee in Schondorf, eine gute Stunde von München entfernt, gebracht hatte . . .

In London hatte ich mit drei Restlagen (sie Sind nicht identisch mit den buchtechnischen Buchlageneinheiten) des Psalmenbuches begonnen, die mein Vater einige Zeit vor dem Kriege zurückgestellt hatte, da ihn, wie er an Sir Chester Beatty geschrieben hatte, "die unentwegte schwere Ablösearbeit zu sehr auf die Dauer anstrengte," und 49 gut erhaltene Blätter und einige sehr fragmentarische Blätterreste abgehoben.

Already in 1954 Rolf Ibscher had described the beginning of his work in London in somewhat more detail:[2]

In 1951, after three years of persistent waiting, I obtained the exit permit from East Germany and began on October 5, not without a pounding heart, the difficult work of separating the leaves from the remains of the *Psalms* book. It was three quires that I, shortly before Christmas, was able to bring provisionally under glass. It became 49 leaves or 98 pages of text, and, in addition to that, fragmentary leaves of probably 12 leaves.

1951, nach dreijährigem beharrlichem Warten, erlangte ich die Ausreisegenehmigung aus Ostdeutschland und begann am 5. Oktober nicht ohne einiges Herzklopfen mit der schwierigen Arbeit des Ablösens der Blätter von Resten des Psalmenbuches. Es waren drei Lagen, die ich bis kurz vor Weihnachten provisorisch zwischen Glas bringen konnte. Es sind 49 Blatt oder 98 Seiten Text geworden, dazu noch Fragmentblätter von wahrscheinlich 12 Blättern.

In 1955 Ibscher also reported on his continuing work up to 1955:[3]

2. Rolf Ibscher, "Wiederaufnahme," 6.
3. Rolf Ibscher, "Das Konservierungswerk," 4–5.

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[p. 4] In 1952 I began with Codex C, which, as my father too had already ascertained by separating 34 leaves, contains in large parts valuable *Kephalaia* text.

It was good luck that I did not let myself be led astray by a report of my father about the condition of the codex preservation. He had given up the work after a certain number of leaves by pointing out that each further leaf, peeled from the block of the manuscript, dissolved completely, and it seemed that one could hardly expect still useful and legible text, since practically no writing would be still recognizable.

But my new outsmarting technique, which had proven so successful on the seemingly hopelessly brittle leaves of the *Psalms* book, made it in fact possible for me to clear this hurdle.

It soon became clear that, after a series of leaves with very faded writing, suddenly quite visible *Kephalaia* text with ca. 75 leaves came to light.

It was part of the discordant accompanying music of this truly ideal task, and the false decisions that one would hope by now would belong forever to a legendary past, that in 1953 I could not continue my London work in spite of daring efforts.

But in 1954, thanks to the intervention of many good forces on the part of the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin and especially of Sir Chester Beatty, all impediments were overcome, so

[p. 4] 1952 begann ich mit Codex C, der in weiten Partien, wie auch mein Vater schon durch Abheben von 34 Blättern ermittelt hatte, wertvollen Kephalaia-Text enthält.

Es war ein dass ich mich nicht durch einen Bericht meines Vaters über den Erhaltungszustand des Codex hatte beirren lassen. Er hatte nach einer gewissen Anzahl von Blättern die Arbeit unter dem Hinweis aufgegeben, dass jedes weitere Blatt, aus dem Verbande der Handschrift geschält, sich völlig auflöste und es den Anschein hätte, kaum noch brauchbaren und lesbaren Text erwarten zu können, da so gut wie keine Schrift mehr erkennbar wäre.

Aber meine neue überlistungstechnik, die sich so gut an den hoffnungslos scheinenden mürben Psalmenbuchblättern bewahrt hatte, liess mich tatsächlich diese Hürde nehmen.

Es zeigte sich bald, dass nach einer Serie von Blättern mit Behr verblasster Schrift plötzlich guttsichtbarer Kephalaia-Text mit ca. 75 Blättern zutage kam.

Es gehörte zu der misstönenden Begleitmusik dieser wahrhaft idealen Aufgabe und den hoffentlich nunmehr für immer einer legendarischen Vergangenheit angehörenden Fehlentscheidungen, dass ich 1953 meine Londoner Arbeit trotz waghalsiger Bemühungen nicht fortsetzen konnte.

Aber 1954 waren dank dem Eingreifen vieler guter Kräfte seitens der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin und vornehmlich Sir Chester Beatty's alle

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that I could now impregnate the *Psalms* codex and in July separate the last leaf of Codex C, with a deep breath and yet with some melancholy. The most beautiful work on the Mani discovery is the separating of a leaf.

Thus, however, the most difficult partial task had been completed for the papyri belonging to Sir Chester Beatty. Codex C had produced in all about 140 partially quite good leaves. They also were all impregnated in 1954.

[p.5] The definitive glassing should have taken place in this year [1955], but since thus far the special glass perspex, or, as it is called in Germany, plexiglass, had not yet arrived, one can hardly any longer hope that more than a fourth of this also ticklish work can be performed . . .

Since the writing [of the "Schondorf" codex] is relatively clear, the glassing can be justified. For this reason Sir Chester Beatty also decided for the use of plexiglass, since one can also photograph through this with infrared, if it should prove to be necessary.

Hemmnisse beseitigt, sodass ich jetzt das Psalmenbuch imprägnieren und im Judi das letzte Blatt des Codex C aufatmend und doch ein wenig melancholisch abheben konnte. Die schönste Arbeit am Manifund ist das Abheben eines Blattes.

Damit aber war die schwierigste Teilaufgabe an den Sir Chester Beatty Papyri abgeschlossen worden. Codex C hatte insgesamt rund 140 zum Teil recht gute Blätter hergegeben. Sie wurden ebenfalls 1954 imprägniert.

[p. 5] Die definitive Verglasung sollte in diesem Jahre [1955] erfolgen, da aber bisher noch nicht das Spezialglas Perspex oder, wie es in Deutschland heisst: Plexiglas eingetroffen ist, bleibt kaum zu erwarten, dass mehr als ein Viert el dieser ebenfalls heiklen Arbeit geleistet werden kann . . .

Da die Schrift [of the "Schondorf" codex] relativ deutlich ist, lässt sich das Verglasen rechtfertigen. Aus diesem Grunde entschied sich Sir Chester Beatty auch für die Verwendung von Perspexglas, da durch dieses auch mit Infrarot, wenn es sich als nötig erweisen sollte, hindurchfotografiert werden kann.

In 1954 Ibscher had given a slightly different figure for the number of leaves he had conserved from Codex C, the *Kephalaia*:[4] "136 leaves or 272 pages of text of partially very good condition are separated and thus available."

In 1964/65 Rolf Ibscher also presented a much more disillusioned report:[5]

4. Rolf Ibscher, "Wiederaufnahme," 11: "136 Blätter oder 272 Seiten Text von zum Teil sehr guter Verfassung liegen abgelöst damit vor."

5. Rolf Ibscher, "Über den Stand," 55–57.

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[p. 55] The annoyance is and remains that the work that had advanced so energetically on the Chester Beatty part of the find has come to a complete standstill since 1956, when I was for the last time in Dublin. This is due to the death of the librarian Mr. Wilkinson and that of Mr. Merton, both of whom alone knew what still needed to be mastered. Until 1962 I had hoped [p. 56] to be able to complete the work in Dublin . . . [p. 57] The death of Mr. Wilkinson, the librarian of the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, and just so that of Mr. Merton, led to the situation that Sir Chester Beatty, now standing under the influence of other advisors, stopped the undertaking, with the explanation that the most important part—*nota bene* the most important for him—the separating of the remaining leaves of the codex, had been completed,—whereby he was not stingy with praise—, but he said he had many other important projects in view and he was no longer the youngest.

[p. 55] Das Ärgernis ist und bleibt, dass die so stürmisch vorangekommene Arbeit am Chester Beatty-Fundanteil in völliges Stocken seit 1956 geraten ist, als ich das letzte Mal in Dublin gewesen war, durch den Tod des Bibliothekars Mr. Wilkinson und Mr. Merton's, die beide allein um das noch zu Bewältigende wussten. Bis 1962 hatte ich gehofft, in Dublin vollenden zu [p. 56] können . . . [p. 57] Der Tod Mr. Wllkinson's, des Bibliothekars der Chester-Beatty-Library in Dublin und ebenso der von Mr. Merton führte dazu, dass Sir Chester Beatty nun unter dem Einfluss anderer Berater stehend, das Unternehmen mit der Begründung abstoppte, der wichtigste—wohlgemerkt für ihn wichtigste—Teil, die Ablösung der restlichen Codicesblätter sei abgeschlossen,—wobei er mit Lob nicht kargte—, aber er habe noch viele andere wichtige Projekte vor und er sei nicht mehr der Jüngste.

One may recall (see above) the comment that I. E. S. Edwards made in a letter to R. J. Hayes on November 1, 1960: "I cannot myself think that Rolf Ibscher could have known anything about these papyri. He was working for Sir Chester Beatty for about four years and he would surely have told one of us if he had known of their existence. I feel we should regard him as a last resource." Edwards wrote to Günther Roeder on the same day:

> I wonder whether you have any recollection of having seen these papyri at any stage either in Dr. Ibscher's possession or in the Museum. It is possible that Dr. Ibscher had them in his home and if so the only one who could help would be Rolf

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> Ibscher. If possible, however, I do not want Rolf Ibscher to be involved in this matter because he and Sir Chester Beatty have had some differences over the mounting of the Mani papyri which were not sent to Dr. Hugo Ibscher.

On the same day Edwards wrote to Rudolf Anthes: "I must also add that—at least at present—I do not want Rolf Ibscher to know that I am trying to trace these documents. He has been rather troublesome to Sir Chester Beatty and I am not very sure that I can count on his good will."

Thus, Ibscher stood alone, a technician dependent for employment on nonexistent scholars and patrons. He had sought in vain to persuade Polotsky to resume the collaboration that had been so effective with his father, but by 1964–1965 no scholar was available:[6]

[p. 61] Walter Till wrote me on June 6, 1957: "Of course I was in the Chester Beatty collection. But there was no talk of a continuation of the publication. That is indeed a difficult chapter. When you say that one should draw on no young forces, I must agree with you, if you mean by that beginners. This is of course not for beginners. But it is also not for old people; for one must have for it good young eyes. Young forces would be quite acceptable, but not mere beginners. People with some experience, who have worked on other things. After all, one must reflect that Polotsky, Böhlig and Allberry were also young when they tried their hands at the *Manichaica*. If now a young person goes at it, he would have the great advantage over the three I have named that indeed three volumes lie before us published, on which he [p. 62] can train himself. This possibility is some-

[p. 61] Walter Till schrieb mir am 6. Juni 1957: "Natürlich war ich in der Chester-Beatty-Sammlung. Aber über eine Weiterführung der Publikation wurde nicht gesprochen. Das ist ja ein schwieriges Kapitel. Wenn Sie sagen, man sollte keine jungen Kräfte heranziehen, so muss ich Ihnen dann recht geben, wenn Sie darunter Anfänger verstehen. Das ist natürlich nichts für Anfänger. Es ist aber auch nichts für Alte; denn man muss gute junge Augen dazu haben. Junge Kräfte wären schon recht, aber nicht gerade Anfänger. Leute mit etwas Erfahrung, die schon andere Dinge bearbeitet haben. Schliesslich muss man bedenken, dass auch Polotsky, Böhlig and Allberry jung waren, als sie sich an den Manichaika versuchten. Wenn jetzt ein Junger Baran herangeht, hat er vor den drei genannten den grossen Vorteil, dass eben schon drei

6. Ibid., 61.

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thing the three I have named did not have. Of course there stood perhaps Carl Schmidt by their side with his great experience."

Bände publiziert vorliegen, an denen er [p. 62] sich schulen kann. Diese Möglichkeit hatten die drei Genannten nicht. Allerdings stand ihnen vielleicht Carl Schmidt mit seiner grossen Erfahrung zur Seite."

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Inventories of Individual Codices

This series of misadventures of the Manichaean codices as a result of the war and the postwar period means that to a certain extent, the material must be, as it were, rediscovered. For the information Schmidt and Polotsky provided more than a half a century ago, incomplete though it was, provided a picture of what there was, where it was, and what was being done with it at the time, which stands in sharp contrast to the absence of any comparable published information today. The present study hence seeks to clarify such questions as of today, so that the current generation of scholars can know what can be ascertained about the present status of this important manuscript discovery.

Schmidt and Polotsky's article proceeded to discuss in a preliminary way the Manichaean codices one by one. That initial information is cited here as a point of departure. It is then supplemented first by the official entry made in the *Inventarbuch* by Wilhelm Schubart, director of the Ägyptisches Museum and of the Papyrussammlung, together with whatever subsequent unofficial notes were added to the entries. (The *Inventarbuch* is now kept in the administration offices beneath the Pergamonmuseum on the Museumsinsel of Berlin.) This is then updated from the *editiones principes*, to the extent the codices have been published. For each codex there is added the information that Rolf Ibscher and Alexander Böhlig provided in various articles and lectures presented over the subsequent years. Then recorded for each codex is the information found in a preliminary catalog of Coptic manuscripts in the Berlin papyrus collection, a catalog presented by Wolfgang Müller to a workshop held at the Institut für Byzantinistik of

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the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg on December 14 and 15, 1964.[1] Then the entry is excerpted from a more detailed catalog published by Walter Beltz in 1978.[2] Finally, this secondary literature is updated with an inventory of the actual papyri themselves.

1. Müller, "Die koptischen Handschriften der Berliner Papyrussammlung," 67–68.

2. Beltz, "Katalog der koptischen Handschriften," *APF* (1978) 57–119; (1980) 121–222. The Manichaean codices are catalogued on pp. 97–98.

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Part Three

The Berlin Holdings

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— 9 —

P15995 Synaxeis (Berlin Part)

Schmidt and Polotsky reported as follows:[1]

And with equal brevity we must report on a collection of 31 leaves brought under glass, which were acquired in the Fayyum and without doubt belong to the London Mani pieces. It also has to do with individual treatises, as the remains of titles show. We read there: ⲧⲙⲁ2ⲥ̅ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲍⲓⲥ, "the second σύναξις [a chapter superscription on lines 14–15 of the side with vertical fibers of the leaf labeled 18, and a running head at the top of the side with vertical fibers of the leaf labeled 17], and beside this the number ⲛⲋ̅, which indicates the 33rd treatise, or ⲧⲙⲁ2ⲱⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲩⲛⲁ2ⲓⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁ2ⲱⲙ̅ⲧ̅ ⲛⲁⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ̅ⲥ = "The Third σύναξις of the Third λόγος of the Living Gospel" [a chapter superscription on lines 10-11 of the side with the horizontal fibers of the leaf labeled 16]. What is meant by σύναξις, "assembly,"

Und ebenso kurz müssen wir referieren über eine Sammlung von 31 unter Glas gebrachten Blättern, die im Fajum erworben sind and unbedingt zu den Londoner Manistücken gehören. Es sind ebenfalls einzelne Abhandlungen, wie die Reste der Uberschriften zeigen. Wir lesen dort: ⲧⲙⲁ2ⲥ̅ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲍⲓⲥ "die zweite σύναξις" [a chapter superscription on lines 14–15 of the side with vertical fibers of the leaf labeled 18, and a running head at the top of the side with vertical fibers of the leaf labeled 17], daneben die Zahl ⲛⲋ̅, die die 33. Abhandlung anzeigt, oder ⲧⲙⲁ2ⲱⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲩⲁⲛ2ⲓⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁ2ⲱⲙ̅ⲧ̅ ⲛⲁⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ̅ⲥ = "die dritte σύναξις des dritten λόγος des lebendigen Evangeliums" [a chapter superscription on lines 10–11 of the side with the horizontal fibers of the leaf

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 30.

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still remains unclear. A hint is provided by the mention of the "Living Gospel," the well-known original work of Mani. It seems to have to do with some kind of commentary to this text, from the pen of a later Manichaean.

labeled 16]. Was unter σύναξις "Versammlung" zu verstehen ist, bleibt noch unklar. Ein Fingerzeig gibt die Erwähnung des "lebendigen Evangeliums," des bekannten Originalwerkes des Mani. Es scheint sich um eine Art von Kommentar zu diesem aus der Feder eines späteren Manichäers zu handeln.

Schmidt and Polotsky's report about the rest of the *Synaxeis* codex is included in their report among the codices belonging to Sir Chester Beatty (see Codex B *Synaxeis* below).

In their original report (see above), Schmidt and Polotsky had stated: "The antiquities dealer in the Fayyum had sold his manuscripts exclusively to Mr. Chester Beatty." The 31 leaves are an exception, for "one had removed the top and bottom layers of papyrus, which had suffered to an especial extent against the covers of the binding . . . , to give the whole a better appearance." In the spring of 1931, after Sir Chester Beatty had acquired the three codices of the Fayyum dealer, Schmidt "found such outwardly unimpressive remains, which doubtlessly belong to the papyrus books acquired by Mr. Chester Beatty in the Fayyum, and . . . acquired them for a cheap price, since the dealer already had his great reward in his pocket. I do not regret my decision, for in the conservation 31 leaves could be brought under glass in more or less fragmentary preservation." Thus, only 31 leaves of this codex belong to the Papyrus-Sammlung of the Ägyptische Abteilung of the Staatliche Museen of Berlin.

Volume 15 of the *Inventarbuch* of the Papyrus-Sammlung, titled on the spine "Staatl. Museen Ägyptische Abteilung P15001–16000" ("State Museums, Egyptian Section, P15001–16000"), records on facing pages both numbered 2294, each of the Manichaean manuscripts, under the numbers P15995–15999. The hand of the initial entry in black ink Wolfgang Müller has identified as that of Wilhelm Schubart, under whom he had studied, and who was his predecessor (several times removed) as director of the Papyrus-Sammlung and the Ägyptische Abteilung.[2]

2. In letters of May 7, 1957, and May 14 and 15, 1957, from Rolf Ibscher to Carsten Colpe, these entries are ascribed, apparently erroneously, to Hugo Ibscher.

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At P[15995] there is the following entry, apparently made before the identification of the leaves as deriving from the *Synaxeis* codex:

Coptic Papyrus Codex, 31 leaves, partially damaged. Manuscript of about the fifth century A.D. Content: Manichaean writing about theogony. Acquired through Prof. Carl Schmidt, in Cairo, 1931. Gift of Mr. August Pfeffer 1933. The leaves are on the average 22 cm high, 15 cm wide.	Koptischer Papyruskodex, 31 Blätter, z. T. beschädigt. Handschrift etwa des 5. Jh. n. Chr. Inhalt: Manichäische Schrift über Theogonie. Erworben durch Herrn Prof. Carl Schmidt, in Cairo, 1931. Geschenk des Herrn August Pfeffer 1933. Die Blätter sind im Durchschnitt 22 cm hoch 15 cm breit.

To this basic entry have been added in pencil: "Schrank 5" ["cupboard 5"] and "z. Zt. Papyrus-Sammlung Regal" ["at present Papyrus Collection shelves."] A rubber stamp reading "1958 vorhanden" ["1958 present"] records the return of the material from Leningrad, after which 31 counting marks record the presence of all 31 leaves, which is also stated explicitly: "31 Blätter zurück" ["31 leaves back"]. A second line in the same hand records: "Codex in Göttingen! [Rolf] Ib[scher]." A stamp reading "1972 vorhanden" ["1972 present"] confirms that the material was present at the time of the inventory of holdings made that year by Ulrich Luft, then of the Museum staff.

The *Vorwort* of 1940 to the *Kephalaia* provides more information, though still cryptic, about the patron who made possible the Museum's acquisition of the Manichaica:

Professor Schmidt sought to gain the rest of the papyri for Germany. That was possible for him only thanks to the financial support of Director August Pfeffer, who acquired the texts and in a very generous way gave them to the State Museums in Berlin.	Den Rest der Papyri suchte Professor Schmidt für Deutschland zu gewinnen. Das wurde ihm nur möglich durch die finanzielle Unterstützung des Herrn Direktor August Pfeffer, der die Texte erwarb and in hochherziger Weise den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin schenkte.

Alexander Böhlig has explained (during a visit to his Tübingen home on May 8, 1986) that Schmidt cultivated a circle of well-to-do patrons, to which Pfeffer must have belonged. The title *director* does not refer to a position with, e.g., the museum or the publishing house, but the title apparently reflects a business relationship.

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The possibility that there are in Berlin more leaves of the *Synaxeis* than the 31 Schmidt acquired was raised by Rolf Ibscher[3] with regard to

> a sizable number of leaves separated last, quite provisionally, by my father, with an entry on the paper cover that protected them which really creates puzzles: "from Codex B," i.e., then Chester Beatty [*Synaxeis*] or ?—and with the addition put in parentheses "Letters," i.e., then again Codex Nr. 15[9]98. What is one to make of that?

These additional leaves that puzzled Rolf Ibscher are currently in the Papyrus-Abteilung of Berlin, now classified unambiguously as belonging to P^{15998}.

Wolfgang Müller's preliminary inventory of 1964–1965 reported: "*Synaxeis* = sermons, 31 leaves in Berlin, the rest in Göttingen, here 145 leaf units separated, about 100–120 leaves still on the book block."[4]

Beltz catalogued the 31 leaves as follows:

I 603 P^{15995}. 31 leaves of a codex, P^{15995}, averaging 18–20 cm in height and 11–16 cm in width. There are about 26–28 lines per page. It is very poorly preserved. It is hardly legible. The codex belongs to the discoveries of Medinet Madi and was acquired by Schmidt for Berlin in 1928 [read: 1931]. The remainder of the codex is to be found for the time being in West Berlin. Since 1945, 145 new leaf units have been separated and conserved there. The remainder of the book block is not yet conserved. A. Böhlig and C. Colpe have defined the codex as "*Synaxeis* to the *Living Gospel* of Mani." On the text see Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten," Berlin 1933, and W.

I 603 P^{15995}; 31 Blätter eines Codex, P^{15995}, durchschnittliche H. 18–20 und durchschnittliche B. 11–16. Pro S. etwa 26–28 Z. Sehr schlecht erhalten. Kaum lesbar. Codex gehört zu den Funden von Medinet Mandi und wurde von Schmidt für Berlin 1928 [read: 1931] erworben. Der Rest des Codex befindet sich z. Z. in Berlin-West. Seit 1945 sind dort 145 neue Blatteinheiten abgelöst und konserviert. Der Rest des Buchblockes noch nicht konserviert. A. Böhlig und C. Colpe haben den Codex bestimmt als "Synaxeis zu dem Lebendigen Evangelium des Mani." Zum Text siehe Schmidt-Polotsky, Ein Manifund in

3. Rolf Ibscher, "Über den Stand," 62.

4. *Synaxeis* = Predigten, 31 Bl. in Berlin, Rest in Göttingen, hier 145 Blatteinheiten abgelöst, etwa 100–120 Bl. noch auf dem Buchblock.

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Müller, "Koptologische Studien in der DDR," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Halle-Wittenberg* 1965, Sonderheft, pp. 67–68.

Ägypten, Berlin 1933, und W. Müller, Kopt. Studien in der DDR, WZU Halle-Wittenberg 1965, Sonderheft, S. 67–68.

Photographs of both sides of leaf 20 are on file at the Papyrus-Sammlung in Berlin. One copy of each side was donated to the Manichaean archives of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, which were turned over to Wolf-Peter Funk.

Gesine Schenke Robinson transcribed the thirty-one leaves in 1985–1986. Wolf-Peter Funk provided a partial draft translation in April 1988.

This codex has not been published.

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— 10 —

P 15996 Kephalaia, Volume One

Schmidt and Polotsky's basic report cited above noted that it was part of the *Kephalaia* that was first shown to Schmidt in 1930 and acquired on his return trip from Jerusalem, and that it was this codex that was then supplemented by two further piles of papyrus acquired from the same dealer in the spring of 1931. Schmidt and Polotsky added specific information about this codex as follows:[1]

[p. 18] In first place among the present papyrus books stands a work whose parts came to Berlin in individual stages and whose conservation was begun immediately by Ibscher, so that already rather large connected portions have been brought under glass. It has to do here with a work that was counted among the original writings of Mani and once bore the name Κεφάλαια in the Greek tradition.

[p. 19]. . . With regard to externals, the work must have embraced an unusually large size, in that Ibscher has already been able to identify the number ϕΙΔ = 514 on one of the leaves. For a fortunate circumstance comes to

[p. 18] Unter den vorliegenden Papyrusbüchern tritt an erste Stelle ein Werk, dessen Teile in einzelnen Etappen nach Berlin gekommen sind und dessen Konservierung sofort von Ibscher in Angriff genommen ist, so dass bereits grössere zusammenhängende Stücke unter Glas gebracht worden sind. Es handelt sich hier um ein Werk, das zu den Originalschriften des Mani gerechnet wurde und einst den Namen Κεφάλαια in der griechischen überlieferung trug.

[p. 19]. . . Was das Äussere anbetrifft, so muss das Werk einen ungemein grossen Umfang gehabt haben, wenn Ibscher bereits die Ziffer ϕΙΔ = 514 auf einem der Blätter feststellen konnte. Denn als günstiger Umstand kommt uns zur Hilfe, dass die einzel-

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 18–24. The quotations are from 18–19.

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our help, in that the individual pages were numbered and thus an arrangement of the separated parts becomes possible. In any case the work must have included in the papyrus codex more than 520 pages = 260 leaves.

nen Seiten numeriert waren und dadurch eine Anordnung der auseinandergefallenen Teile ermöglicht wird. Jedenfalls muss das Werk in dem Papyruscodex mehr als 520 Seiten = 260 Blätter umfasst haben.

Quire 21 would have consisted of pages 481–504, quire 22 of pages 505–28.

Wilhelm Schubart recorded in the *Inventarbuch* of the Papyrussammlung of the Ägyptisches Museum of Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR in black ink for P[15996] the following entry: "Koptischer Papyruskodex." ["Coptic Papyrus Codex."] The column regarding "Art der Erwerblung" ["Nature of the Acquisition"] reports "dsgl." ["the same"] as P[15995], i.e.: "Acquired through Prof Carl Schmidt, in Cairo, 1931. Gift of Mr. August Pfeffer 1933." An added penciled note reports "NKEFALAION." A rubber stamp "Phot." may mean the material was photographed. The original report contained a photograph of p. 33, and the publication of Volume 1 contained a photograph of p. 31 as the frontispiece. In the Papyrus-Sammlung there are on file glossy prints of p. 295 (with a black background) and of pp. 167–68 (on a white background), presumably resulting from such photography. Glossy prints of pages 259, 261, 262, 265–74, 277, 278, 281–91, 297–99 (on a white background), prepared under the supervision of Peter Nagel for his work on the codex in the 1960s, are also present. Duplicates of pages 167, 168, 282 and 295 were given to the Manichaean Archives of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, and from there to Wolf-Peter Funk. A purple carbon note reports "ca. 200 Blätter, Rest in Berlin, übr. in Mo[skau]." ["ca. 200 leaves, a remainder in Berlin, the rest in Moskow]." A rubber stamp reading "1958 vorhanden" ["1958 present"] records the return of the material (presumably not from Moscow but) from Leningrad, and a rubber stamp reading "1972 vorhanden" ["1972 present"] records that the material was present at the time of the inventory of holdings made that year by Ulrich Luft, then of the museum staff.

In 1940 Hugo Ibscher reported:[2]

2. *Kephalaia* (see following note), Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," v–xiv, especially vi–vii.

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[p. vi] Hence the *Kephalaia* did not come to Berlin in one volume, but in two larger packets and five weaker layers. All of course nicely jumbled! However, after five years of hard work, we have succeeded in saving from the *Kephalaia* over 400 pages for scientific work and in defining with certainty and almost without a gap the sequence of the leaves.

Purchase Number	Page Range
1	1–18
2	19–310
3	331–56
4	357–76
5	377–94
6	395–414
7	421–end

[p. vii] I could identify the pages that are missing in the list, 311-30, in a quite small find which had come to the Vienna collection along with other papyri. This acquisition was in such a bad condition that the administration of the Vienna collection at first did not even want to send it to me, since the whole appeared to be only a confusion of fibers. I succeeded in gaining from it a few more pages, even though they were quite incomplete, and on one page deciphered the chapter [number] 132, by means of which then it could be established that we had to do here with remains of pp. 311–30. Also at the other places where the leaves had been ripped

[p. vi] Die Kephalaia kamen daher auch nicht in einem Volumen nach Berlin, sondern in zwei stärkeren Packen und fünf schwächeren Lagen. Alles natürlich hübsch durcheinander! Nach fünfjähriger angestrengter Arbeit ist es aber gelungen, allein von den Kephalaia über 400 Seiten für die wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung zu retten und die Reihenfolge der Blätter fast lückenlos sicher zu bestimmen. Die einzelnen Ankäufe ergeben folgende Seiten:

Ankauf	jetzt Seite
I	1–18
II	19–310
III	331–56
IV	357–76
V	377–94
VI	395–414
VII	421–Schluss

[p. vii] Die in der Aufstellung fehlenden Seiten 311-330 konnte ich in einem winzigen Funde feststellen, der mit andern Papyri in die Wiener Sammlung gekommen war. Dieser Ankauf war so schlecht erhalten, dass die Direktion der Wiener Sammlung ihn mir erst gar nicht schicken wollte, weil das Ganze nur ein Gewirr von Fasern zu sein schien. Es gelang mir, daraus noch einige, wenn auch unvollständige Seiten zu gewinnen und auf einer Seite das Kapitel 132 zu entziffern, wodurch dann festgestellt werden konnte, dass es sich hier um Reste der Seiten 311–30 handelt. Auch an den anderen Stellen, wo die Blätter mit Gewalt voneinandergerissen worden sind, sind stets die betref-

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apart by force, the leaves in question have always been more or less destroyed. Thus between the pp. 414–21 there are only paltry remains of the missing leaves, which can hardly be identified. [Pages 415/16 and 419/20 are missing from the box listing pages 401–20. Only the bottom half of pages 417/18 is extant, and only the top half of pages 413/14 is extant. They complement each other well, and hence could be halves of the same leaf, though vertical fiber continuity is inconclusive.] Also the pages after 421 have suffered very much. By means of the circumstances of the find I was able to identify the last leaf that survives, in spite of the missing pagination, as bearing the page number 501/02. It shows the chapter [number] c = 200.

But whether the Berlin *Kephalaia* have come down to us complete, or whether at the end further pages will be missing, is difficult to determine. But one may conjecture that a rather large number of leaves is lost. For I was able to identify a further *Kephalaia* book among the Mani books in the possession of Chester Beatty. Whereas the last discernible chapter number in the Berlin *Kephalaia* is 200, on a page of the London *Kephalaia* I could clearly read the chapter [number] 333. Since a number of pages still preceded it, which I have not yet been able to conserve, one can with certainty assume that the London *Kephalaia* in the present condition began with chapter 300. Thus there are missing between the Berlin and

fenden Blätter mehr oder weniger zerstört worden. So befinden sich zwischen den Seiten 414–21 nur noch kümmerliche Reste der fehlenden Blätter, die sich kaum werden bestimmen lassen. [Pages 415/16 and 419/20 are missing from the box listing pages 401–20. Only the bottom half of page 417/18 is extant, and only the top half of page 413/14 is extant. They complement each other well, and hence could be halves of the same leaf, though vertical-fiber continuity is inconclusive.] Auch die auf 421 folgenden Seiten haben noch sehr gelitten. Das letzte erhaltene Blatt liess sich durch die Fundumstände, trotz der fehlenden Paginierung, von mir als Träger der Seitenzahl 501/502 bestimmen. Es zeigt das Kapitel c = 200.

Ob die Berliner Kephalaia aber vollständig auf uns gekommen sind, oder ob am Schluss noch Seiten fehlen werden, wird sich nur schwer feststellen lassen. Zu vermuten ist aber, dass noch eine grössere Anzahl von Blättern verlorengegangen ist, denn ein weiteres Kephalaiabuch konnte ich unter den im Besitz von Chester Beatty befindlichen Manibüchern feststellen. Während nun die letzte, sichtbare Kapitelzahl in den Berliner Kephalaia 200 ist, konnte ich auf einer Seite der Londoner *Kephalaia* das Kapitel 333 deutlich lesen. Da noch eine Anzahl von Seiten vorausgehen, die ich noch nicht restaurieren konnte, kann man mit Sicherheit annehmen, dass die Londoner Kephalaia im jetzigen Zustand mit Kapitel 300 begonnen haben. Es fehlen also zwischen den Berliner

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the London *Kephalaia* roughly 100 chapters, which would call for about 240 pages or 120 leaves. But there is hardly room for a further volume between the two that are in hand, so that we must initially assume that the missing 120 leaves were lost either from the end of the Berlin or rather from the beginning of the London *Kephalaia*. After all, it is not impossible that each volume of the *Kephalaia* contained 750 pages. Given the very thin papyrus material, the book block would have measured hardly more than 3–4 cm. A tiny fragment still attached to the upper margin of the last leaf along with other uninscribed fragments, and showing vestiges of the pagination ϕΙΔ = 514, also proves to us that pages were lost in the case of the Berlin *Kephalaia* at the end of the extant part.

und den Londoner Kephalaia rund 100 Kapitel, die etwa 240 Seiten oder 120 Blätter ergeben würden. Für einen weiteren Band zwischen den beiden vorhandenen ist aber kaum Platz, so dass wir vorerst annehmen müssen, dass die fehlenden 120 Blätter entweder vom Schluss der Berliner, oder vom Anfang der Londoner Kephalaia verlorengegangen sind. Immerhin ist es nicht unmöglich, dass jeder Band der Kephalaia etwa 750 Seiten umfasst hat; bei dem sehr dünnen Papyrusmaterial würde der Buchblock kaum mehr als 3-4 cm gemessen haben. Dass bei den Berliner Kephalaia am Ende des erhaltenen Teils Seiten verlorengegangen sind, beweist uns auch ein winziges Fragment, das noch auf dem oberen Rand des letzten Blattes mit anderen unbeschriebenen Fragmenten festsass and Reste der Pagina ϕΙΔ = 514 zeigte.

It is difficult to correlate the seven acquisitions Ibscher here reports with Schmidt's report to the effect that he acquired the bulk as his first purchase in 1930 and two smaller parts in the spring of 1931.

The remains of pp. 311–30 belonging to Vienna must have been sent to Berlin, conserved there by Hugo Ibscher, and then returned to Vienna. Schmidt and Polotsky had reported concerning the Vienna material that "Ibscher recently saved fragments of two leaves from this junk heap," which reference corresponds roughly to Ibscher's allusion to "a few more pages." The material currently in the *Österrreichische Nationalbibliothek* bears the inventory number K 11010. It consists of four glass containers, containing three leaves and a number of fragments. The leaves are identified as pp. 311–16. The leaves 313/314 and 315/316 are most nearly complete, and relate to each other in terms of fiber directions as like (in this case vertical fibers) facing like. The

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small remnant of a leaf assigned the numeration 311/312 has been rotated 90 degrees rather than having been glassed right side up, to judge by the alignment of its profile. The surface labeled page 312 shares roughly the profile of pp. 313 and 315, suggesting that p. 312 should be given an odd number. But it could not be p. 311, since then (in terms of fiber directions) like would not face like. For p. 313 and the page labeled p. 312, that should be an odd-numbered page, both have horizontal fibers but would not face each other. In fact, the profile of the page labeled 312 is at places closer to that of p. 315 than to that of 313. Hence, one may postulate that what is labeled as page 312, which has horizontal fibers, is actually p. 317, 321, 325, or 329, all of which one would expect to have horizontal fibers. What is labeled p. 311 would then be p. 318, 322, 326, or 330. The chapter number Ibscher detected, 132, would then fall on page 318, 322, 326, or 330. Since chapter 140 begins on p. 343, one may estimate that a chapter averages two-and-a-half pages, in which case chapter 132 would fall at about p. 323, or, among the actual options, at p. 322. Hence one may quite tentatively postulate that the leaf labeled "311/312" is pp. 321–322. One of the five fragments glassed with "311/312" is identified as "oben links v. 312" ["above left from 312,"] and it would indeed increase the similarity of profile with page 315 if so placed on page 321. The other five fragments in this glass and the some eight fragments in a fourth glass are not identified. It is perhaps more probable that the material between pages 311 and 330 that survived belonged closely together, as a single pad, rather than widely scattered through this spectrum of ten leaves. Hence, the unidentified fragments may be largely from pages 317/318 and 319/320, since the extant leaves are pp. 313/314, 315/316 and probably 321/322.

The *Kephalaia* began to appear in fascicles in 1935; in 1940 the first ten fascicles were published as Volume 1, containing pp. 1–244.[3]

3. Polotsky and Böhlig, *Kephalaia*. Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin, Band 1, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften unter Leitung von Prof. Carl Schmidt, 1. Hälfte (Lieferung 1–10); Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 183, n. 1 states: "Die Namen der wirklichen Editoren fehlen auf dem Titelblatt aus folgendem Grund: Der Name von H. J. Polotsky sollte in der NS-Zeit im Anschluss an die Rassengesetzgebung nicht auf dem Titelblatt erscheinen; die Nennung meines Namens allein habe ich aber abgelehnt." ["The names of the real editors are missing from the title page for the following reason: The name of H. J. Polotsky was not supposed to appear on the title page in the Nazi time because of the racial legislation. But I turned down the naming of my name alone."] Böhlig reports,

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Hugo Ibscher had referred to "over 400 pages" having been conserved. It is unlikely that more was conserved during the war. For Rolf Ibscher reported in 1964–1965 that "already in 1937" his father had stopped working "regularly" on the materials,[4] and in 1955 that "during the war this minutely detailed work . . . came to a complete halt."[5] The *Inventarbuch* was at Rolf Ibscher's disposal while the material itself was in the east following the war.[6] It was during this time that the entry was added, perhaps by him, to the effect that there were "ca. 200 leaves." This hardly reflects a new inventory, since the material was inaccessible, but is no doubt merely an imprecise allusion to the 1940 report of "over 400 pages." Thus the exact number of leaves conserved by Hugo Ibscher is not known.

After the war Rolf Ibscher resumed the conservation work his father had not completed. He spoke in 1955 of "the attempt to separate and impregnate a residue of very fragmented leaves of the *Kephalaia*, which my father had designated as 'insoluable.' These leaves should be definitively glassed by this winter, at the beginning of 1956."[7] This material had been taken to the Ibscher home before or during the time of the war and thus had not been taken to Leningrad. Its presence in the home is explainable in terms of the fact that from the age of sixty, i.e., from 1934 on, Hugo Ibscher was permitted to work three days a week at home.[8] In the archive of the Chester Beatty Library there is a black loose-leaf folder entitled: "Papyrus. Biblical Manichaean Hieratic Greek etc. General Catalogue." In the section entitled "Manichaean Pap." there is a note dated May 1940 that reads: "Mr. Allberry said that Dr. Ibscher had the remainder of Mr. Beatty's papyrus at his house in the country, at Klein Machnow (see letter from Allberry)." At the death of Hugo Ibscher it was put in the concrete bunker at the Zoo.

183, that Polotsky edited Coptic pages 1–102, and that Böhlig himself edited Coptic pages 103–244. Allberry, *Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part 2*, "Preface," reported that fascicles 1-8 had appeared in 1935–37.

4. Ibscher, "Über den Stand," 50.

5. Ibscher, "Das Konservierungswerk," 2.

6. This is apparent from allusions to it by Rolf Ibscher in letters to Carsten Colpe of August 7, 1957, and August 14–15, 1957, and has been confirmed by Wolfgang Müller.

7. Ibscher, "Das Konservierungswerk," 5.

8. Böhlig reports this in a letter of February 10, 1986.

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Böhlig's presentation of 1960/68 reported as follows concerning this material left in Berlin:[9]

> Of the material in Berlin only a very small part has always remained in Berlin. It was the last 20 leaves of the Berlin *Kephalaia* book. They were conserved by Rolf Ibscher in the years 1952 and '53.

Böhlig has explained this ambiguous formulation as follows:[10]

It [Böhlig's statement "last 20 leaves"] merely means that Rolf Ibscher in these years conserved the last = the only leaves that were still in Berlin, which belonged to the *Kephalaia* and were still there, i.e., had not been put in security (they survived the war in the Ibscher house). It was indeed 20 pieces. I did not express any opinion as to what page numbers of the book were to be assigned to these leaves, and indeed I could not, since that would have been pure speculation (when the page numbers, as in this case, were no longer preserved on the leaves). For of course I did not know which and how many leaves of the *Kephalaia* had come to the USSR.

Sie [Böhlig's statement "last 20 leaves"] besagt nämlich einfach, dass Rolf Ibscher in diesen Jahren die letzten = die einzigen noch in Berlin befindlichen Blätter, die zu den Kephalaia gehörten und noch vorhanden, d.h. nicht sichergestellt waren (sie überstanden den Krieg im Hause Ibscher), konserviert hat; das waren eben 20 Stück. Mit welcher Seitenzahl des Buchs diese Blätter zu belegen waren, darüber habe ich mich überhaupt nicht geäussert, konnte es auch gar nicht, da es reine Spekulation gewesen wäre (wenn die Seitenzahl, wie hier, auf den Blättern nicht mehr erhalten war); denn ich wusste ja nicht, welche und wieviele Blätter der Kephalaia in die UdSSR gekommen waren.

The reference to 20 leaves conserved by Rolf Ibscher apparently goes back to his presentation of 1954 (see above), where he referred to conserving a "remainder of some 20 leaves" that had not gone to Leningrad. He there said he conserved them in 1951 after his first trip to London. But his return from London was delayed during the Christmas holidays by a layover at Schondorf on Ammer Lake to visit his wife's family. Hence the actual date of this conservation was no doubt the beginning of 1952, which thus overlaps Böhlig's dating of

9. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 182.

10. Böhlig in a letter of February 5, 1986.

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the conservation as 1952–1953. In 1964/1965 Rolf Ibscher dated this conservation "between 1951 and 1955." But in the published summary of his speech, Rolf Ibscher refers to having conserved a "remainder of the *Kephalaia*, ca. 25 leaves or ca. 50 pages of the text." Thus the exact number seems to have been uncertain, which is of relevance in seeking to interpret the fact that Beltz's catalogue listed the number of plates still in Berlin as 30 (see below). One of these leaves was "atomized" by Rolf Ibscher's sneeze. Since he listed 20 as extant or 25 as conserved by himself, one may assume that this now-missing leaf is not included in his figures.

Böhlig also reported on plans for the continuation of the publication:[11]

The double fascicle of the second volume, prepared by me already during the war and embracing pp. 245–92, has not yet been printed by the publisher Kohlhammer, as a result of the lack of specialized typesetters, and after the war as a result of the unclarity that prevailed as to the continuation of the project. Hence I presented the German translation, for the sake of interested persons, in ["Die Arbeit an den koptischen Manichaica,"] *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* [5 (1956) 1067–84]. This double fascicle should now be printed as the first of the second volume of the *Kephalaia*, and the following ones will be continually added. [Footnote 3, added when the essay was reprinted in 1968: This double fascicle has been worked over still another time by me and in the meantime has appeared in print (1966). The Institut für Byzantinistik of the University of Halle will care for the further

Die noch im Kriege von mir fertiggestellte, die Seiten 245–92 umfassende erste Doppellieferung des 2. Bandes wurde vom Verlag Kohlhammer infolge des Mangels an Spezialsetzern und nach dem Kriege infolge der Unklarheit, die über die Fortführung des Unternehmens herrschte, noch nicht gedruckt. Die deutsche Übersetzung legte ich deshalb um der Interessenten willen 1956 in der Wissenschaftlichen Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg vor ["Die Arbeit an den koptischen Manichaica," 5 (1956) 1067–84]. Diese Doppellieferung soll nun als erste des 2. Bandes der Kephalaia gedruckt werden, die weiteren werden sich laufend anschliessen. [Footnote 3, added when the essay was reprinted in 1968: Diese Doppellieferung ist von mir noch einmal überarbeitet worden und inzwischen im Druck erschienen (1966); die weitere Edition wird das Institut für

11. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 182.

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editing through a co-worker [Peter Nagel]. Also an index should be added to the second volume of the *Kephalaia*. The collections prepared along with the editing were lost in the war and must be prepared anew. [Footnote 4: At my request Dr. Dr. P. Nagel of the Institut für Byzantinistik of the University of Halle has produced anew the index for the first volume. It is not yet clear whether it is to appear separately or only together with the index of the second volume at the conclusion of the total edition.]

Byzantinistik der Universität Halle durch einen Mitarbeiter [Peter Nagel] besorgen lassen.] Dem 2. Bande der Kephalaia sollte auch ein Index angefügt werden. Die mit der Edition angefertigten Sammlungen hierfür sind im Kriege verlorengegangen und müssen neu erstellt werden. [Footnote 4: Auf meine Anregung hin hat Herr Dr. Dr. P. Nagel vom Institut für Byzantinistik der Universität Halle den Index für den 1. Band neu erstellt. Es ist noch nicht geklärt, ob er gesondert oder erst zusammen mit dem des 2. Bandes am Ende der Gesamtausgabe erscheinen soll.]

The first two fascicles of a second volume of the Berlin *Kephalaia*, fascicles 11–12, were published in German translation only in 1956 (pages 245–92), and then in 1966 with Coptic text and revised German translation, but omitting page 292, which was added in 1985.[12]

The Vorwort to the 1966 edition explains the circumstances of the delay:

After it was possible to complete the first half of the *Kephalaia* in the year 1940, the second half, including the indices for both halves, was to follow without interruption in further double fascicles. Unfortunately however the editing work had to be interrupted as a consequence of the war and its effects. The double fascicle 11–12 that is here presented was basically

Nachdem die 1. Hälfte der "Kephalaia" im Jahre 1940 abgeschlossen werden konnte, sollte die 2. Hälfte einschliesslich der Indices für beide Teile in weiteren Doppellieferungen laufend folgen. Leider musste die Editionsarbeit aber dann infolge des Krieges und seiner Auswirkungen unterbrochen werden. Die jetzt vorliegende Doppellieferung 11/12 war im

12. Böhlig, "Aus den Manichaischen," 1067–84; *Kephalaia*, 244–91; Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 183, reported inexactly that the double fascicle contained Coptic pages 245–92. In fact, the last page could not be included for technical reasons within the limits of the double fascicle. Hence Coptic pp. 290, 29–292, and 32 were published with an extensive interpretation by Böhlig, "Ja und Amen," 59–70.

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completed in the year 1943, transcriptions of further pages were complete and the indices were supplemented as we went along. Yet the publisher W. Kohlhammer found himself unable, due to the lack of specialized typesetters, to undertake the printing of the double fascicle still during the war. The transcriptions of further pages and the indices became a victim of the air attacks. Finally it was especially the displacement of the papyri, which returned to Berlin only in 1958 and were accessible again in 1960, that made a continuous publication of the edition impossible . . .

Dr. Nagel will also continue the edition in the future.

wesentlichen im Jahre 1943 fertiggestellt, Abschriften weiterer Seiten waren angefertigt und die Indices laufend ergänzt warden. Doch der Verlag W. Kohlhammer sah sich aus Mangel an Spezialsetzern ausserstande, den Druck der Doppellieferung noch während des Krieges vorzunehmen. Die Abschriften weiterer Seiten und die Indices wurden ein Opfer der Fliegerangriffe. Schliesslich machte vor allem die Verlagerung der Papyri, die erst 1958 nach Berlin zurückkehrten und 1960 wieder zugänglich waren, ein kontinuierliches Weitererscheinen der Edition unmöglich . . .

Herr Dr. Nagel wird auch die Edition in Zukunft fortsetzen.

Wolfgang Müller had already reported in 1964 "dass die Kephalaia P. 15[9]96 vollständig erhalten sind und jetzt nach erfolgter Umkonservierung von P. Nagel/Halle weiter ediert werden" ["that the *Kephalaia* P. 15[9]96 are completely extant and now, after their successful reconservation, are being further edited by P. Nagel of Halle."] Similarly Rolf Ibscher reported in 1965/66 that the *Kephalaia* "jetzt erneut nach dem Tode Schmidts und Weggang Böhligs in Halle durch Dr. Dr. Nagel kollationiert und weiter ediert wurden und werden" ["now will be collated and further edited anew after the death of Schmidt and the departure of Böhlig in Halle by Dr. Dr. Nagel."][13]

In August 1985 Nagel confirmed that he had formally submitted his withdrawal, so as not to block the Material from being reassigned. Thus the editing of the material has reverted to the supervision of its repository, the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin, rather than being still under the care of the Institute that Nagel himself has directed.

Beltz's catalogue reported as follows on this codex:

13. Ibscher, "Mani und kein Ende," 219.

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I 605 P15996. Codex from the Mani find, P15996 contains the Manichaean *Kephalaia*. The whole codex is glassed. In Berlin are pp. 1–446, 455–56. Pp. 447–54 are at present in Warsaw. Furthermore there are 30 more plates with fragments of various sizes of the same codex in Berlin. On the nature of the codex see the introduction to the edition: Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin, Vol. I, *Kephalaia*. First half prepared by H. J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig (pp. 1–243); second half prepared by A. Böhlig (pp. 244–91). Stuttgart, 1940; 1966.

I 605 P15996; Codex aus dem Manifund, enthält P15996 die manichäischen Kephalaia. Der ganze, Codex ist verglast. In Berlin befinden sich die S. 1–446, 455–56. Die Seiten 447–454 befinden sich z. Z. in Warschau. Ferner sind noch 30 Platten mit Fragmenten unterschiedlicher Grösse vom selben Codex in Berlin. Zur Beschaffenheit des Codex siehe die Einleitung zu der Edition: Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin, Bd. I, Kephalaia. 1. Hälfte bearbeitet von H. J. Polotsky u. A. Böhlig (S. 1–243); 2. Hälfte bearbeitet von A. Böhlig (S. 244–291). Stuttgart 1940; 1966.

Günter Poethke, Custos of the Greek manuscripts in the Papyrus-Sammlung of the Ägyptisches Museum, visited Warsaw in September and October of 1971 and saw there four leaves of the Mani material. On February 23, 1972, he submitted a report preserved in the archives of the Ägyptisches Museum to the effect that in the Kathedra Papirologii of the University of Warsaw four Manichaean leaves were present, for which he listed the numbers 451/2, 453/4, 447/8, 499/500. Beltz saw the leaves on June 2, 1976, and identified them for the first time as belonging to P15996. Subsequently, two additional leaves of the Manichaica have been located at the university.[14]

Wincenty Myszor reported as follows on the materials at the Warsaw University, on July 12, 1986:

There are here 6 glassed leaves. Of these, 5 plates are 36 cm high and 23.5 broad, and 1 plate is 24.5 cm high and 18.5 cm broad. This last plate also has a different glassing. It is smaller and is supplied with dark red adhesive ribbon. The 5 plates have the pp. 447/448;

Hier befinden sich 6 verglaste Blätter. Davon sind 5 Platten 36 cm hoch und 23,5 cm breit und 1 Platte ist 24,5 cm hoch und 18,5 cm breit. Diese letzte Platte hat auch eine andere Verglasung. Sie ist kleiner und mit dunkelrotem Klebeband versehen. Die 5 Platten

14. According to a letter dated December 23, 1985, from Wlodzimierz Godlewski.

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449/450; 451/452; 453/454 and 499/500.The plates 447/448 and 449/450 have P15996; the plate 499/500 has P14997. Also the smaller sixth plate has P15997. The other two plates are without P. On June 2, 1976, W. Beltz opened the glass of the leaf 453/454, as is indicated by a piece of paper pasted at the cracked place (with a signature). The 5 leaves seem to belong to the same codex. The state of preservation of the leaves is very bad. The worst is however the sixth leaf with the other glassing. This leaf with P15997 (the last digit is not quite clear; it can also be 96!) belongs very certainly to different codex from the plate 499/500 with a quite clear P15997, and hence different from the other 5 leaves.

haben die Seiten 447/448; 449/450; 451/452; 453/454 und 499/500. Die Platten 447/448 und 449/450 haben P15996; die Platte 499/500 hat P15997. Auch die kleinere sechste Platte hat P15997. Die anderen beiden Platten sind ohne P. Die Verglasung des Blattes 453/454 hat W. Beltz am 2. Juni 1976 geöffnet, wie ein aufgeklebtes Papier (mit Unterschrift) an der angebrochenen Stelle zeigt. Die 5 Blätter scheinen zu demselben Kodex zu gehören. Der Erhaltungsgrad der Blätter ist sehr schlecht: Am schlechtesten aber ist das sechste Blatt mit der anderen Verglasung. Dieses Blatt mit P15997 (die letzte Ziffer ist nicht ganz deutlich; kann es auch 96 sein!) gehört ganz bestimmt zu einem anderen Kodex als die Platte 499/500 mit ganz deutlichem P15997, also als die anderen 5 Blätter.

This would indicate that Poethke's report of the labeling 499/500 being in Warsaw and Beltz's report of 449/450 being in Berlin are not conflicting reports about the labeling of the same plate, as has been previously assumed, but are both accurate reports about different plates. The fact that the plate labeled 499/500 is listed as P15997 rather than as P15996 must be regarded as an error in labeling. For Myszor's conclusion that it is from the same codex as the 4 leaves with pages 447–54, the identity in the size of the glass frame with that of the 4 leaves, and the pagination reaching such a high figure as 500, all point toward the *Kephalaia*, and not toward the *Acts*. For in the case of the *Acts*, no page numbers have been assigned to its few conserved leaves, and the plates are much smaller.

On September 11, 1986, Wolf-Peter Funk examined the five plates, and on November 15, 1986, he wrote a report that brings further clarity to the situation. "Apart from the mystery of the one glass frame of smaller size, there can be no doubt about the assignment of

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the leaves to codices: the five glasses clearly belong to P[15996] because they actually contain portions of *Kephalaia* text." Concerning the individual leaves, he reports:

> 447/448: "Leaf in extremely bad condition, on both sides only small parts of papyrus *surface* extant . . ." P. 447(with vertical fibres): A label, apparently old, reads 447. Though nothing was transcribed, regular lines, but no chapter heading, could be detected throughout. P. 448, (with horizontal fibres): "'Readability' only slightly better than P. 447." Each of the letters of the pagination of P. 447 is uncertain. Only up to four letters on a line were transcribed from lines 1–4. "No chapter heading visible (but not entirely excluded)."
>
> 449/450: "Leaf in extremely bad condition, on both sides only small parts of papyrus *surface* extant." P. 449 (with horizontal fibres): Nothing was transcribed. No chapter heading is visible. P. 450 (with vertical fibres): A recent label reads "449/450 P[15996]." In the top left-hand corner of the page is the pagination 450, though the first letter is uncertain. There are 29 or 30 lines, the last seven of which are part of a new chapter, vestiges of whose heading follow upon line 19. The chapter number is legible only as ..5. Only a few letters were transcribed.
>
> 451/452: P. 451 (with vertical fibers): The page number 451 is legible in the upper right-hand corner, as is much of the running title. Twenty-one lines are visible, but no chapter heading. P. 452 (with horizontal fibers): A label reads 451/452. The page number 452 and the complete running title are legible. After line 26 there is the chapter number 1.6; the title follows on the next three lines, followed by the first two lines of the chapter, all only partly legible.
>
> 453/454: There is a label, apparently old, reading "453/454." A "large paper strip across broken glasses on both sides" reads: "Schutzverklebung 2. Juni 1976 / Beltz," ". . . durch WALTER BELTZ Berlin." ["Protective pasting June 2, 1976, Beltz," ". . . by Walter Beltz Berlin."] "Both pages make difficult reading except upper part of recto. Apparently no chapter headings." P. 453 (with horizontal fibers): The running title and the central segment of lines 1–4 were transcribed. P. 454 (with vertical fibers): The uncertain letters of pagination 45. as well as the running title and a couple of words from each of the first two lines were transcribed.
>
> 499/500: The leaf is thus labeled. P. 499 (with vertical fibers): A few words of lines 2–3 were transcribed. Then after line 3 there is what looks like a chapter number reading 2 . . . , where what is taken to be perhaps the second digit looks like a small raised lambda). Two lines

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> of title follow, of which only a word on each was transcribed. P. 500 (with horizontal fibers): Very occasional letters or words were transcribed. After what may be line 12, 13, or 14, there is a straight clear line drawn horizontally under the line of text, after which there follow lines with only scattered letters legible.

From this wealth of previously unavailable scattered detail there emerges a problem, which Funk analyzes as follows:

> To me, another problem of a different nature arose when I compared what I think I read in Warsaw on the fifth leaf, with Ibscher's statement about the last surviving leaf of *Kephalaia* (Volume One) containing pp. 501/02 and *showing the chapter number c = 200.* If I am not mistaken, the leaf identified as pp. 499/500 contains a chapter heading whose top number is extant (but not the right- or left-hand side numbers): the first figure in this number is clearly S, but apparently followed by other figures (illegible to me), which means that the number must be higher than 200. If this is correct, the partly destroyed chapter numbers on pp. 450 and 452 could be restored as [19]5 and 1[9]6, respectively (which would be in accordance with the average length of chapters in the first 12 quires of the codex). Otherwise they would have to be 185 and 186, assuming that the length of chapters considerably increases after p. 292. This latter question can probably be decided after examining the preceding pages at Berlin.
>
> P. 389 bears the chapter number 156, p. 395 the chapter number 158, p. 397 the chapter number 159, and p. 429 the chapter number 172. Hence it would seem more likely that p. 450 would bear the chapter number [18]5 and p. 452 the chapter number 1[8]6.

These considerations have led Funk to put a question mark beside the numeration 499/500, with which the leaf is labeled. For if Ibscher were correct in detecting on the leaf 501/502 the chapter numeration 200, a chapter numeration beyond 200 could not occur on the leaf 499/500 but of necessity would be a leaf paginated in the 500s.

One may also wonder if the discrepancy may not be due to some error in Ibscher's way of ascertaining that the pagination of the last leaf that survives is 501/502. For he concedes that no pagination is extant; his reasoning is based on unspecified "circumstances of the find." It is not clear how such matters would establish the precise pagination. In any case, the leaf to which Ibscher referred, if other than

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the Warsaw leaf labeled 499/500 with a chapter number 2[00], has not been located.

An inventory was carried out in 1985–1986 of the Manichaean material stored in the *Magazin* of the Papyrussammlung of the Ägyptisches Museum in the basement of the Pergamonmuseum on the Museumsinsel. There one finds 21 cardboard boxes, each containing slots for ten glassed leaves, labeled "Kephalaia Seite 1–20" ["*Kephalaia* page 1–20"], etc., through pp. 421–40, which must represent the last complete set of ten leaves that Hugo Ibscher conserved.

A card in the box labeled "Seite 21–40" ["page 21–40"] reports: "Blatt 35/36 fehlt" ["leaf 35/36 is missing"]. Pages 35–36 are in fact missing, though the leaf was published in *Kephalaia*, volume one. A card in the box labeled "Seite 61–80" ["page 61–80"] reads: "61/62 fehlt" ["61/62 is missing"]. Pages 61–62 are in fact missing, though the leaf was published in *Kephalaia*, volume one.

The leaf 217/18 was on display in 1986 in the papyrus gallery of the Egyptian section of the Bode Museum (upstairs, on the left) in Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR. The leaves 291/92, 293/94, 295/96, 297/98, and 299/300 were in 1986 in the Lesesaal of the Egyptian Museum in the basement of the Pergamon Museum, but may well have been returned to the *Magazin*.

One box is labeled "Seite 301–340," ["page 301–40"] with the comment "311–330 in Wien" ["311–30 in Vienna"]. Pages 311–30 are in fact missing from the box, but one may conclude from the Vienna photographs (see above) that of the twenty pages 311–30 much of 6 pages (pp. 313–16 and perhaps 321–22 plus fragments) survives.

A card in the box labeled "Seite 381–400" ["page 381–400"] reports: "383/84 385/86 fehlen" ["383/84 385/86 are missing."] Pages 383–86 are in fact missing.

A card in the box labeled "Seite 401/420" ["page 401–20"] reads: "415/16 fehlt; 419/20 fehlt" ["415/16 is missing; 419/20 is missing"]. Pages 415/16 and 419/20 are in fact missing. In the list of acquisitions published in 1940 by Hugo Ibscher (see above), the pp. 415–20 are not listed, but he reported: "Thus between the pages 414 and 421 there are only paltry remains of the missing leaves, which can hardly be identified." Thus the only extant leaf (actually only part of the bottom half of a leaf), assigned the numeration 417/18, may in fact be all that is left of pp. 415–20 (if one is not to conjecture that it might be the missing bottom half of pp. 413/14).

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In his report of 1965, Rolf Ibscher had stated (see above): "Likewise six leaves of the *Kephalaia* are missing, as has now become apparent from the reglasing . . . I explain the six missing *Kephalaia* leaves as still slumbering somewhere in a drawer, having missed the return trip."

These 6 missing leaves can no doubt be identified as pp. 35/36, 61/62, 383/84, 385/86, 415/16, and 419/20, since similar cards in the hand of Rolf Ibscher's assistant Otto W. Luke identify precisely these six leaves as missing. But since the 1940 listing of acquisitions omitted pp. 415–20, and since Hugo Ibscher had spoken of only "paltry remains" between p. 414 and p. 421, there is little reason to assume leaves 415/16 and 419/20 ever were conserved. Thus one may infer that only four leaves (two of which were unpublished and hence presumably permanently inaccessible to scholarship) were lost in the process of being taken into safekeeping to Leningrad and returned to Berlin. For it is known that some material was in fact lost in transit: pp. 447–54, 499–500, have subsequently been identified in Warsaw.

Thus the boxes labeled pages 1–440 actually contain (including those leaves present elsewhere at the Museum) only pages 1–34, 37–60, 63–310, 331–82, 387–414, 417–18, and 421–40, a total of 418 pages = 209 leaves. To this may be added six pages = three leaves in Vienna, a total of 414 pages = 207 leaves, and ten pages = five leaves in Warsaw. This fits rather well Hugo Ibscher's 1940 reference to "over 400 pages." (At that time two of the leaves now missing, pp. 35/36 and 61/62, must also have been extant, since they were published.) Beltz's listing of all pp. 1–440, as in Berlin, must hence be taken merely as a global statement, overlooking the various missing materials among these pages.

Some leaves of the *Kephalaia* are glassed but not in a box. Like the leaves of the other Manichaean codices, which also are not in boxes, they lie on the wooden shelves in the *Magazin*, on which the boxes also lie. The glasses in the boxes are 23 cm wide by 36 cm high. The glasses not in boxes vary in size, 23 to 25 cm wide by 35 to 35.5 cm high. The tape sealing the glasses of all the Manichaica varies from light to dark brown; brown is the color used to distinguish Coptic papyri from other papyri. In the case of the glasses not in boxes, the tape is so sticky that the glasses adhere to each other. Hence they are to be stacked in a staggered pattern that keeps tape from bonding to tape.

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Although there are no leaves labeled as pp. 441–46, which Beltz reported as present, there is extant the last glass he reported, labeled 455/456. Since he did not itemize any material as missing prior to page 440, one may assume he did not itemize any material as missing in pp. 1–456 (except for the leaves he had identified in Warsaw, pp. 447–54). Thus, one need hardly postulate that pp. 441–46 were identified in Berlin at the time of Beltz's inventory and only subsequently became lost. Their presence may simply have been inferred on the basis of the presence of the leaf labeled pp. 455/456.

There are also 30 other glass containers, numbered 1–30, i.e., by leaf or glass container rather than by page, each with a label (on one side only) reading "Kephalaia Nr. 1" ["*Kephalaia* Number 1,"] etc. These glasses numbered 1–30 are no doubt the same thirty glasses that Beltz characterized as containing "fragments of various sizes," e.g., number 23 is more a scattering of unplaced fragments than a leaf. The lack of labeled pagination may in part be due to their not having been definitively conserved and labeled by Hugo Ibscher, with the result that Rolf Ibscher left them unidentified. The increasingly fragmentary nature of the latter part of the codex may account for the unidentified status of the leaves.

Since there is no reason to assume that material prior to p. 440 would be among these 30 leaves, they would be expected to fall in the area of pp. 441–46 and 457–502 (except for pp. 499–500, if that is in fact its pagination, in Warsaw), a total of 25 leaves. Thus one may suspect that some of the thirty leaves belong after p. 502 or before p. 440, or may not in fact belong to P[15996].

In the case of "Kephalaia P[15996] Nr. 29" ["*Kephalaia* P[15996] Number 29"], the number is on an unusually large round label, which also bears the marked-out number 361 (and, marked out on the back, 362), and (also marked out) "zu 15998" ["to 15998"], thus identifying the leaf as once having been ascribed to the *Letters*. Rolf Ibscher had reported (see above) in connection with the leaves provisionally preserved by his father and confusingly labeled, "from Codex B," and "Letters": "But there is also among these leaves one with the number 361. To what does that belong?" Obviously, it has subsequently been reassigned to P[15996], but with what justification remains unclear. Pages 361–62 are extant at their proper place in the box where they belong, so this marked-out numeration can hardly be responsible for ascribing the

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leaf to P15996. Yet since such high numbers occur only in the case of the *Kephalaia*, one might have been tempted to assign such a leaf to that codex if one did not look to see if it were absent from the proper box.

The glass container labeled "Kephalaia 15996 Nr. 30" ["*Kephalaia* 15996, Number 30"] actually contains two leaves that were apparently never separated from each other. The surface of the typed label is scraped off, except for "P.," with "15996" and "Nr. 30" added in ink.

The reidentification of these two containers as belonging to P15996 was apparently carried out by Walter Beltz when he was preparing his inventory, published in 1978, since Günter Poethke has identified the handwriting as that of Beltz. Hence, they may be three of the leaves previously ascribed to P15998 (the *Letters*) that currently are missing (see below).

Two glasses are labeled "Kephalaia o. Nr." ["*Kephalaia* without number."] But these were stacked, when the inventory was begun in 1985, along with 13 other leaves that were labeled P15998, in a group accompanied by a piece of paper with a note in Günter Poethke's hand. The note read: "Wahrscheinlich zu P15998 gehörig (s. Vortrag von Böhlig in Moskau: 'Schweren Herzens'). 15 Platten. 26.7.72" ["Apparently belonging to P15998 (see the lecture by Böhlig in Moscow [that begins] 'With heavy heart . . .'). 15 glasses. July 26, 1972."] Since the labels were not changed to fit the note, one may wonder if these two plates were originally counted among the 15. Perhaps the two containers whose labels apparently Walter Beltz changed to read "P15996 29 and 30" were among the fifteen classified in 1972 as belonging to P15998. Since Beltz does not refer to those fifteen plates in his catalogue, he may well not have been aware of their existence. These two plates from among the 15 may have lain apart by themselves at the time, been seen by Beltz, and been included by him in the large stack that was already ascribed to P15996. In that case, when their labels were changed to P15996, the number of plates ascribed to P15998 would have been reduced from 15 to 13, without the note referring to fifteen plates having been corrected. At some juncture the two plates labeled "Kephalaia without number" would have been stacked with the thirteen to produce the total of fifteen, to fit the note stating there were fifteen leaves. It would seem probable that by some such procedure the thirty plates mentioned in Beltz's catalogue as belonging after page 456 have now become thirty-two, bearing the designation Kephalaia, though his catalogue refers

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only to thirty. The relabeling of two plates and the removal of two others from the stack of thirty (P^{15996}) to the stack of fifteen (P^{15998}) functioned, in effect, as a trade. Yet any such solution of the confusion must remain very speculative.

One may hence tentatively assume that there are twenty-nine extant leaves of the *Kephalaia* without assigned pagination (plates 1–22 and 24–28, not counting plate 23 that contains only fragments, plus two leaves "without number"). One may seek to correlate these twenty-nine leaves with the twenty or circa 25 reported to have been conserved by Rolf Ibscher after the war. Since approximately seven or twelve leaves more are extant than his figures would lead one to expect, the question arises whether some of these extra leaves correspond to those that have been identified as missing. They would not be the six leaves Rolf Ibscher mentioned as already missing when he reconserved the codex, and which have been identified from what is currently missing as pp. 35/36, 61/62, 383/84, 385/86, 415/16, 419/20. Nor would they be the missing pp. 311–20, the remains of which are in Vienna. Nor would they be those in Warsaw—pp. 447–54, 499–500. Since the leaf 501/02 was mentioned as the last extant leaf of the codex at an earlier time, the twenty-five leaves composing pp. 441–46, 457–98, 501–2 would be the only leaves unaccounted for. This minimal number should be reduced to twenty-four, to take account of the leaf atomized by a sneeze. This figure is nearer to Rolf Ibscher's figure of c. twenty-five than to his figure twenty. But it tends to suggest that not all the material that Beltz listed as extant in Berlin and not all the material currently labeled as P^{15996} does in fact belong to P^{15996}, unless one is to assume that there were an indeterminate number beyond p. 502.

Ibscher presents the *Kephalaia* as consisting codicologically of quires of six sheets (twelve leaves, twenty-four pages). The table below lays out the page ranges and center pages of the *Kephalaia's* various quires; the chart assumes only complete sheets (i.e., no half sheets plus stubs).

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Kephalaia Quires

Quire Number	Page Range	Center Pages
1	1–24	12–13
2	25–48	36–37
3	49–72	60–61
4	73–96	84–85
5	97–120	108–9
6	121–44	132–33
7	145–68	156–57
8	169–92	180–81
9	193–216	204–5
10	217–40	228–29
11	241–64	252–53
12	265–88	276–77
13	289–312	300–301
14	313–36	324–25
15	337–60	348–49
16	361–84	372–73
17	385–408	396–97
18	409–32	420–21
19	433–56	444–45
20	457–80	468–69
21	481–504	492–93
22	505–28	516–17

Since Hugo Ibscher reported a fragment containing the pagination 514 to have been attached to the last extant leaf[15] (pp. 501/02), from which he inferred that "the work must have included in the papyrus codex more than 520 pages = 260 leaves," one may assume that quire 22 concluding with page 528 is the last quire of the codex, at least the last of which there has been any evidence. Thus, pp. 503–28, 26 pages = 13 leaves, were presumably not acquired by Schmidt (except

15. Hugo Ibscher, *Kephalaia*, vii.

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for the fragment with the pagination), and the pp. 441–502, 62 pages = 31 leaves, have not, with the exception of the leaf labeled 455/456, been identified in Berlin in the inventory of 1985–1986.

Hugo Ibscher reported as follows regarding the fiber directions of the codices of Medinet Madi, where his information was based primarily on the Berlin *Kephalaia* and on Sir Chester Beatty's Codex A, the Psalms:[16]

> It is interesting, and corresponds to the distinguished character of our Mani books, that the arrangement of the leaves is such that the horizontal and vertical fibers always came to lie on each other. In this way the opened book attained a much more pleasant appearance, since the surface lying before the beholder was not disturbed by the varying fiber directions. This arrangement is unpleasant only for the person who today must separate the leaves from each other. For the fibers have now become so intertwined with each other through the effect of dampness that the leaves can be separated from each other only with the greatest of care and patience.
>
> Interessant und dem vornehmen Charakter unserer Mani-Bücher entsprechend ist auch die Anordnung der Blätter, die so erfolgte, dass immer die horizontalen und vertikalen Fasern aufeinander zu liegen kamen. Dadurch gewann das aufgeschlagene Buch ein weit gefälligeres Aussehen, weil die vor dem Beschauer liegende Fläche nicht durch die verschiedene Faserun gestört wurde. Unangenehm ist diese Anordnung nur für den, der heute die Blätter auseinanderlösen muss, haben sich doch durch die Einwirkung der Feuchtigkeit die Fasern jetzt derart ineinander verfilzt, dass nur mit der grössten Sorgfalt and Geduld die Blätter voneinander zu bringen sind.

The inventory of the *Kephalaia* of 1985–1986 has shown that this fiber pattern does characterize the codex. To be sure, this pattern is somewhat obscured by the fact that in the glassing by Hugo Ibscher or in the reglassing by Rolf Ibscher, some labels were incorrectly placed. But in the process of preparing the inventory, such plates have been supplemented with correct labels. This could be determined by the profiles of what is extant, by the postulated fiber patterns, by the running heads in some cases, and perhaps by an occasional pagination. Leaf 431/32 consists of a series of fragments, presumably from this leaf, two of which are conserved with the wrong surface up.

16. Hugo Ibscher, "Ein Mani-Fund," 85.

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One may wonder just what degree of reliability is to be accorded to the pagination ascribed to all the identified leaves, once the minor suggestions here made have been taken into consideration. This is all the more problematic given Hugo Ibscher's view that the sheets were not cut from rolls, which permits the identification of the sequence of sheets. For he argued "that the papyrus material for the present codices was not cut from a roll, but that the leaves were manufactured especially for our Mani books."[17] This phenomenon is otherwise unattested. To make such a claim, he would have had to establish that there are no *kolleseis* (a point which, to judge by the leaves that have been examined, would indeed seem to be accurate). But since *kolleseis* could have been trimmed off at the margin by a careful stationer preparing a deluxe codex, Ibscher would have had to verify that there is no continuity of fibers from sheet to sheet. Since he does not refer to this negative criterion, it is unknown whether he examined the codex from this point of view. Hence, this needs to be verified to be certain that this criterion for establishing the sequence of the sheets, and hence of the pages, is not available. If Hugo Ibscher is correct, then missing is the main codicological criterion for establishing the sequence of sheets in a codex lacking much of the Coptic pagination and the continuity of text from leaf to leaf, namely the continuity of horizontal fibers (or, in rare instances such as Nag Hammadi Codex XIII, the vertical fibers) from sheet to sheet in the quire. In the case of the *Kephalaia*, chapter numbers are sporadically extant in the text itself, so that in general the assigned pagination may indeed be reliable.

The verification of quires in terms of conjugate leaves needs to be carried through systematically to provide a relative confirmation of the page sequence.

Eight smaller plates that seem to involve the remainder of fragments from the conservation of the *Kephalaia* were located in the *Magazin*. For a card accompanying the fragments states that they are "bestimmte and unbestimmte Mani-Fragmente (farblos geändert)—8 Platten" ["defined and undefined Mani fragments (colorlessly framed)—8 plates"].

17. Ibid., 84: "dass das Papyrusmaterial für die vorliegenden Kodices nicht aus einer Rolle geschnitten ist, sondern dass die Blätter . . . eigens für unsere Mani-Bücher angefertigt worden sind."

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Plate 1: A label reports in pencil "S. 479" ["p. 479"] and in ink "zu Kephalaia" ["to *Kephalaia*"]. One fragment does have the numeration 479/48[0], another 47[], another 4[ ].

Plate 2: A label reports 459/60. The plate contains about 9 fragments. This pagination was not noted.

Plate 3: A label records *Kephalaia* and the pagination "503/4??." The plate contains about 18 fragments. This pagination was not noted.

Plate 4: A label reports in Greek ink *Kephalaia* and the numbers ϟΚΓ/ϟΚΔ i.e., 423/424. This leaf is extant in its proper box, though the pagination was not noted on it. Nor was this pagination noted on the some 12 fragments in plate 4.

Plate 5: It contains about 11 small fragments.

Plate 6: It contains about 6 fragments, two of which seemed to consist of more than one leaf.

Plate 7: It contains uninscribed pads and one small inscribed fragment.

Plate 8: It contains about thirteen fragments, three of which contain waved decorations such as may have been at the end of the codex; the back of these fragments is uninscribed.

These eight plates are to be classified as fragments and hence are not included in the following assessment of the number of extant leaves.

Since the 146 leaves = 292 pages that have been published present pp. 1–292, of which 144 leaves = 288 pages are still extant, there remain in Berlin yet to be published among the extant leaves assigned a pagination: pp. 293–310, 331–82, 387–414, 417–18, 421–40, 455–56, i.e. 61 leaves = 122 pages, plus 29 unboxed but glassed extant leaves without assigned pagination, i.e. 58 pages, a total of 90 leaves = 180 pages; three leaves = six pages plus fragments out of the fragmentary pages 311–30 (K 11010) in Vienna's *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*; and pp. 447–54, 499–500, (i.e., five leaves = ten pages), in Warsaw—a total of 98 unpublished leaves = 196 unpublished pages of the *Kephalaia*

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that are presumably extant. Thus, there would seem to be a total of 242 extant leaves = 484 pages. (This does not include the second volume of *Kephalaia* belonging to the Chester Beatty Library, see below.)

Such a listing of unpublished but extant leaves may be somewhat misleading. For although the size of the lacunae is relatively small in many cases, that is to say, although most of the papyrus is usually extant, the amount of extant ink varies considerably, and the resultant legibility of many pages is disappointingly small. Hence, a rough classification of extant ink may give a clearer picture of what one may expect. On a scale of 0 to 5: 0 = no ink is visible; 1 = some ink but probably no letters are visible; 2 = some letters but probably no words are legible; 3 = some words but probably no sentences are legible; 4 = some sentences but probably less than half the page is legible; 5 = probably more than half the page is legible. The 122 unpublished but paginated extant pages in Berlin have been classified in the chart that follows:

Berlin *Kephalaia* Paginated Leaves

Category	Total pages in category	Individual page numbers
Some ink visible	6	422, 424, 431, 432, 435–36.
Some letters visible	12	309–10, 331–32, 394, 417–18, 421, 423, 427, 433–34.
Some words visible	29	306–8, 333–36, 339, 340, 362, 382, 387, 393, 403–9, 413–14, 425–26, 428–30, 438, 440.
Some sentences visible	42	297, 299, 300, 304–5, 337–38, 341–42, 345–46, 351–52, 355, 357, 359–61, 364, 368–70, 372–74, 377, 378, 380, 381, 388, 390, 392, 398, 399, 401, 410–12, 437, 439, 455–56.
More than half the page visible	33	293–96, 298, 301–3, 343–44, 347–50, 353–54, 356, 358, 363, 365–67, 371, 375–76, 379, 389, 391, 395–97, 400, 402.

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The unpaginated extant leaves 1–28 in Berlin can be classified as follows (the labeled side is cited as a, the side without the label as b): In category 1, 21b. In category 2, 18b, 19a, 21a, 22b, 23b, 24ab, 25ab, 26a, 27b. In category 3, 2ab, 3ab, 4ab, 5ab, 6ab, 7b, 8ab, 9ab, 10ab, l2ab, 13ab, 14ab, 15ab, 16ab, 17ab, 18a, 19b, 20ab, 22a, 23a, 26b, 27a, 28ab. In category 4, lab, 11ab.

Some transcriptions by H. J. Polotsky are in the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library.[18] They include pp. 25, 26, 30, 34–40, 51, and 54 published in *Kephalaia* and pages 375–76 published in Schmidt and Polotsky's initial essay,[19] and the unpublished pages 343, 344, 353, 354 and 366, with German translations by Polotsky of pp. 353, 354, and 366, and English translations by Sir H. Thompson of pp. 343 and 344. This work is dated from July 1931 to May 18, 1932. There are also holdings in the Griffith Institute in the Ashmoleon Museum in Oxford and at the Academy of Sciences in Berlin (see above).

Reinhold Merkelbach[20] has remarked that chapter 138, extant in Polotsky's German translation, is lost:[21] "Der koptische Text ist verlorengegangen, es existiert nur noch die deutsche Übersetzung." ["The Coptic text is lost, there still exists only the German translation."] However an examination of the papyri in the Papyrus-Sammlung

18. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, vi, reports: "As regards the lesser dialects, reference must first be made to the great increase in material resulting from the discovery and gradual publication of the Manichaean papyri, acquired by Mr. Chester Beatty and the Berlin Museum. These we have been able to use, thanks to the permission of their owners and to copies of the unpublished portions kindly sent by Dr. Polotsky and Mr. Allberry. But this advantage has been ours only since reaching the letter P."

Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, xii, lists:

Mani I = copies of Chester Beatty's unpublished Manichaean papyri by H. J. Polotsky and H. Thompson.

Mani II = copies of sim. papyri at Berlin by Polotsky.

The Crum Archive of the Ashmolean Museum and the Archive of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin contain material that supplements the incomplete file at the Chester Beatty Library.

19. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 45, for the German translation of p. 375, p. 87, in "Anhang Nr. III," for the Coptic text of p. 375, p. 42 for the German translation of p. 376, and p. 86, in "Anhang Nr. II," for the Coptic text of p. 376.

20. Merkelbach, *Mani und sein Religionssystem* (Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Geisteswissenschaften, Vorträge: G 281; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986), 18 n. 9.

21. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 70–71.

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of (East) Berlin on July 13, 1988, tended to indicate that the papyri containing this chapter are in fact not lost. Chapter 136 begins on p. 337, chapter 137 on p. 338, chapter 138 on p. 340, chapters 140 and 141 both on p. 343. The leaf labeled 341/342 is also extant, on which the continuation and conclusion of chapter 138 (and the beginning of chapter 139) presumably take place. Yet the identity of the leaf in question seemed at first unclear, for the labels reading 339/340 and with the chapter numeration 138 were affixed in such a way that when the labels were at the top of the page, the writing was upside down, so that the leaf needed to be returned to its upright position. Nor did the fiber directions conform to the pattern of like fiber directions on facing pages. But if the side labeled 339 is relabeled 340, and that side labeled 340 relabeled 339, then the fiber pattern becomes normal. Furthermore, only on the basis of these corrections do the profiles of this leaf and that of the preceding and following leaves conform to each other. Thus once these corrections were made, the codex seemed at this point to be intact, though the text is less legible than it was half a century ago, to judge by the extant German translation.

In 1986 Wolf-Peter Funk began transcribing the first unpublished leaves, pp. 293–95, 11, here concluding with the numeration and title of chapter 123.

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— 11 —

$\mathcal{P}^{15997}$: *Acts*

Schmidt and Polotsky's basic report made it clear that P^{15997} (*Acts*) was acquired in the spring of 1931. Their report concerning this specific codex is as follows:[1]

[p. 27] I can be very brief in the case of the third papyrus book, which when acquired lay in the original condition between two wooden covers as remains of the binding. It too belongs to the Berlin holdings. An idea of the desolate condition of the preservation may be gotten from the accompanying photograph (see plate 2). Also there are only a few leaves of this pile that have been separated for the sake of determining the character of the work. Thus it has become clear [p. 28] that it is a work of historical content . . . [p. 29] To judge by [p. 30] the external size, it must have been a work of at least 250 leaves.

[p. 27] Ganz kurz kann ich mich fassen bei dem dritten Papyrusbuch, das bei der Erwerbung noch in dem ursprünglichen Zustand zwischen zwei Holzdeckeln als Reste des Einbandes lag and ebenfalls zum Berliner Bestande gehört. Eine Vorstellung von dem desolaten Zustande der Erhaltung wird die beigefügte Photographie (s. Taf. 2) geben. Auch von diesem Haufen sind nur einige Blätter bisher behufs Feststellung des Charakters des Werkes abgehoben worden. Dabei hat es sich als ein Werk historischen Inhalts heraus- [p. 28] gestellt . . . [p. 29] Nach [p. 30] dem äusseren Umfang zu urteilen, muss es ein Werk von mindestens 250 Blättern gewesen sein.

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 27–30.

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Wilhelm Schubart recorded in the *Inventarbuch* of the Papyrus-Sammlung of the Ägyptisches Museum of East Berlin in black ink for P[15997]: "Koptischer Papyruskodex" ["Coptic Papyrus Codex"]. The column regarding "Art der Erwerbung" ["Nature of the Acquisition"] reads "dsgl" ["the same] as P[15995], i.e., "acquired through Prof. Carl Schmidt in Cairo, 1931, gift of Mr. August Pfeffer 1933." Further notes added in pencil report: "Historischer Text" ["historical text"], "z. T. verglast" ["partially glassed"], "8 Blätter" ["8 leaves,"] "Schrank 5" ["cupboard 5"], "z. Zt. Papyrussammlung Regal" ["at present Papyrus Collection shelf"]. A purple carbon note reports "nach dem Osten sichergestellt" ["put in safety to the east"], to which is added in black ink "8 Blätter sind zurück. Codex nicht! [Rolf] Ib[scher]." ["8 leaves are back. Codex [is] not! [Rolf] Ib[scher]."] That is to say, all 8 glassed leaves were at the time thought to have been returned, but the book block that had not been separated into leaves and individually glassed was not returned. A rubber stamp reading "1958 vorhanden" ["1958 present"] records the return of the leaves from Leningrad in that year. The stamp is followed by 8 counting marks. Another rubber stamp reading "1972 vorhanden" ["1972 present"] records that the leaves were present at the time of the inventory of holdings made that year by Ulrich Luft, then a member of the Museum staff.

Böhlig reported in 1960/68:[2]

The codex P[15997] is unfortunately lost except for the 8 leaves that were conserved already before the war. It contained historical reports about Mani and the later time of the church. The loss of this text is so regrettable because one could expect from it, as is already visible from the few remains, both materials on the history of Manichaeism and such as had to do with the history of the Sassanid kingdom and its western neighbors. Whether or not the book formed an inner unity is difficult to say. At the top of a few pages, scarcely legible and hardly interpretable superscriptions are

Der Codex P[15997] ist leider bis auf die 8 Blätter, die bereits vor dem Kriege konserviert waren, verlorengegangen. Er enthielt historische Berichte über Mani und die spätere Zeit der Kirche. Der Verlust dieser Schrift ist deshalb so zu beklagen, weil wir in ihr, wie schon aus den geringen Resten ersichtlich ist, zugleich mit Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus auch solche zur Geschichte des Sassanidenreiches und seiner westlichen Anlieger zu erwarten hatten. Ob das Buch eine innere Einheit gebildet hat, ist schwer zu sagen. Über einigen Seiten sind kaum lesbare und

2. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 183–84.

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present. Schmidt's claim that it [p. 184] had to do here with names of Mani's disciples must be based on an oversight. The handwriting does not have the calligraphic beauty of that of the *Kephalaia*, but rather has angular and awkward-looking forms. Also the inscribed column is not as carefully divided. If at the end of the page there is less room, one made the letters and the space between lines smaller. Of course this does not contribute especially to the text's beauty.

deutbare Überschriften vorhanden. Die Behauptung Schmidts, es [p. 184] handle sich dabei um Namen von Jüngern Manis, dürfte auf einem Versehen beruhen. Die Schrift besitzt nicht die kalligraphische Schönheit wie die der Kephalaia, sondern hat eckigere, ungelenker wirkende Formen. Auch der Schriftspiegel ist nicht so sorgfältig eingeteilt; wenn am Ende der Seite der Raum weniger wird, macht man die Buchstaben und den Zeilenabstand kleiner; das trägt natürlich nicht gerade zur Verschönerung bei.

It is unclear on the basis of what information Böhlig reported that the 8 leaves were conserved before the war. It may be based on no more than the reference in the *Inventarbuch* to "8 leaves." But the penciled note in the *Inventarbuch* is not dated and hence could have been entered after the war, as a deduction from 8 leaves having been returned from Leningrad conserved in glass panes all of the same size, the others of which were labeled P[15997]. In that case, the only information one would have as to how many leaves had been conserved would be the vague reference in the basic report to "only a few leaves." And even this reference to only a few leaves may be out of date, since further leaves could have been conserved after that report, as in the case of P[15998], where 4 leaves were reported to have been separated by the time the initial report was published, whereas Hugo Ibscher separated and glassed a total of 6 leaves, and a good number of others were separated but not permanently conserved or glassed (see below). Although the discussion will continue on the assumption that there were only 8 leaves conserved, the possibility that an indeterminate number have been conserved should not be lost from sight.

Wolfgang Müller's preliminary inventory of 1964–1965 reported: "P[15997]: historical content, 8 leaves in Berlin, the rest is lost."[3]

Beltz's catalogue of 1978 reported:

3. P[15997] historischer Inhalt, 8. Bl. in Berlin, Rest verloren.

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I 605 P[15997]. 8 leaves of a codex from the Mani find. The average height of the leaves is 22–25 cm, the average width 8–11 cm. There are about 36–40 lines per page, poorly preserved. The codex is probably a *Vita* of Mani. On the text, see R. Ibscher, *Akten des XXIV. Internationalen Orientalistenkongresses* (Munich, 1957), pp. 226–29, and in *Koptologische Studien in der DDR, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Halle-Wittenberg* 1965, Sonderheft, pp. 50–64. In Warsaw there is at present a leaf from this codex at the University. The remainder of the codex is lost. R[ecto] line 1: ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ; line 11: ⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩ ⲉⲇⲛ.

I 605 P[15997]; 8 Blätter eines Codex aus dem Mani-Fund. Die durchschnittliche H. der Blätter 22–25, die durchschnittliche B. 8–11. Pro S. etwa 36–40 Z., schlecht erhalten. Der Codex ist vermutlich eine Vita Manis. Zum Text siehe R. Ibscher, Akten des XXIV. Intern. Orientalistenkongresses, München 1957, S. 226–29, and in Kopt. Studien in der DDR, WZU Halle-Wittenberg 1965, Sonderheft, S. 50–64. In Warschau befindet sich z. Z. ein Blatt aus diesem Codex in der Universität, der Rest des Codex ist verloren, R. Z. 1: ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ Z. 11: ⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩ ⲉⲇⲛ.

The transcribed words have not been located on the papyri in Berlin themselves.

This report could readily lead to the assumption that a total of nine leaves are extant. Thus Michel Tardieu reported:[4] "P Berol. 15997 (= I 605 Beltz), of which 8 leaves are in East Berlin and 1 in Warsaw. The rest of the codex has been lost or destroyed during the Second World War."

Wincenty Myszor reported on July 12, 1986, that there are at the Institute for Papyrology of Warsaw University 6 glassed plates. One numbered 499/500 is labeled "with a quite clear P[15997]," but seems nonetheless to belong to P[15996] (see above). It is conserved, as are the 4 leaves of P[15996], in glasses 36 by 23.5 cm. Myszor concludes: "These 5 leaves seem to have belonged to the same codex." But the sixth leaf at the University is from another codex. It is conserved in glass panes 24.5 by 18.5 cm, and is sealed with a different, red tape. It is labeled P[15997], though the last digit "is not quite clear—it can also be 96!" Its "degree of preservation" is "the worse" among the 6 leaves at

4. Tardieu, "Les Manichéens en Égypte," 6. "P.Berol. 15997 (= I 605 Beltz), dont subsistent 8 feuillets a Berlin-Est et 1 a Varsovie. Le reste du codex a été perdu ou détruit durant la second guerre mondiale."

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the University. Myszor concludes that it "belongs quite certainly to another codex than . . . the other 5 leaves." The Warsaw leaf that Beltz ascribed to P[15997] may have been the leaf numbered 499–500 and labeled P[15997], though actually belonging to P[15996] (see above), for Beltz did not list this leaf for P[15996]. There would be no reason to ascribe the smaller sixth leaf to P[15997] other than the indistinct label that may read either P[15997] or P[15996], and the apparent need to ascribe this leaf to some other codex than P[15996]. The dimensions of the glass panes (24.5 by 18.5 cm) do not correspond to those of P[15997] in Berlin (32 by 21 cm).

On September 11, 1986, Wolf-Peter Funk examined the smaller plate, and on November 15, 1986, wrote a report that brings further clarity to the situation:

> The one glass frame of unusually smaller size (Myszor: 24.5 x 18.5 cm) and unusually coloured tape (red) has—if my records are complete—two labels: one (on recto? [right-hand page]) at the bottom, reading "Dr. Kohlhammer" (ink, old), above which is written in blue pencil "P. 1599[.]" (part of paper broken off); the other on the verso side of the glass [left-hand page], of recent origin (Beltz's hand?) "zu P[15997]" ["to P[15997]"].
>
> The glass contains a narrow strip of papyrus, inscribed on both sides, with an appearance very similar to the other Manichaean leaves. The writing is Coptic at least. But the scribe's hand is clearly different from the *Kephalaia* codex (and, I think, also different from the *Letters* and *Synaxeis* codices), though the general style is similar. (The letters appear to be slightly more heavy, or more uncial, than those of the other hands.) I consider it possible that an extremely patient and imaginative person might be able to identify several Coptic words on the recto (approximately one third of each line preserved, the rest is only fibers/debris), but hardly more than isolated letters on the verso.
>
> I can only speculate about the reasons which prompted my predecessor to attach a label "zu P. 15997" ["to P[15997]"] (similarity of the hand? or the peculiar mode of conservation?), because I have not seen the glasses of P[15997] at the Berlin Museum so far.

The two labels that Funk notes seem to include the indistinct label read variously as P[15997] and P[15996] by Myszor, and as P[1599][.] by Funk, and a clear label reading P[15997], apparently not noted by Myszor. This raises the question as to whether this clear label was added subse-

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quently, conceivably by Myzsor on the basis of a query I posed to him as to whether a leaf of P15997 were in Warsaw; this query could have led him or someone else in Warsaw to make such a conjectural identification. Funk's impression that the hand is not that of P15996, and, less certainly, not that of P15995 or P15998, would, by a process of elimination, tend to identify it as P15997, since a conservation of P15999 seems not to have ever even begun; yet such an identification on the basis of hands (uncertain as this would of necessity have been without leaves of P15995 or P15998 available for comparison) would be far from conclusive. Since Kohlhammer paid for P15999, one may wonder if his name on the plate suggests this was, after all, a sample from that codex.

An inventory carried out in 1986 of the 8 leaves currently in Berlin that are labeled P15997 has raised the question as to whether one of the Berlin leaves does not belong to another codex. It bears a printed label "P15998," with the 8 marked out and replaced in blue ink by 7. Günter Poethke, Custos of the Greek manuscripts of the Papyrus-Sammlung in East Berlin, reports this to be the work of Rolf Ibscher's assistant, Otto Werner Luke. This would suggest that the leaf was previously attributed to the *Letters* and only at some later time reassigned to the *Acts*. It also has a separate label, similar to those numbering the leaves of P15997, reading in ink 36, with the 6 marked out and replaced in pencil by 2. This Arabic leaf numeration diverges from that typical of P15997, since Roman numerals, ranging from I to IX (I–V and IX plus an unlabeled leaf), are all that are employed. But in the case of P15998, the Arabic numeration of leaves not assigned a pagination reaches 25, which included 6 leaves glassed by Hugo Ibscher (including Nr. 25) and about 22 that he left half conserved, a total of about 28 leaves. One may recall the similar numeration by glass container rather than by page for the half-conserved leaves of the *Kephalaia*, where the Arabic numeration reached 30, with 29 (and perhaps 30) secondarily shifted from P15998 to P15996, just as here a leaf originally assigned to P15998 and numbered 35 was secondarily shifted to P15997 and the number 32.

The reason why this leaf was reassigned to P15997 may have been that it is conserved, as are the 7 leaves originally labeled P15997, in glass frames 32 cm high by 21 cm broad, whereas the 6 leaves of P15998 that Hugo Ibscher glassed measure 35.6 by 23 cm, and those of P15998 that Rolf Ibscher glassed were 35 by 25 cm. The smaller format may have been used for the single leaf under discussion because the leaf itself is

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smaller than is typical for P[15998]. But this does not mean that the dimensions of the leaf fit those of P[15997]. The profile of the leaf is not like that of the leaves of P[15997]. Indeed the frayed edges of the leaf stand in some contrast to the relatively clean edges of the leaves of P[15997]. Thus, in spite of the comparable size of the glass frame, the leaf itself would not seem to belong to P[15997].

This leaf in the smaller glass frame may have been packed with the equally small glasses of P[15997] at the time of the war. When it was returned from Leningrad in 1958, it would presumably have been still packed with the 7 leaves of P[15997] that were returned. Since at the time, it was not known that one leaf (the one in Warsaw) was missing, it could readily have been assumed that the 8 leaves recorded in the *Inventarbuch* as separated from the book block of P[15997] were the 8 leaves glassed in frames of the same size, and hence stacked together, even though only 7 of these similarly glassed leaves may actually have belonged to P[15997].

In the second volume of the facsimile edition of the Chester Beatty Library Manichaean texts, there has been published "a single sheet with historical information":[5]

> The two pages have a text with some historical information, and this can be identified with similar information reported by C. Schmidt from a leaf in Berlin (C. Schmidt, *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten*, 1933, pp. 28–29). Exactly the same persons are mentioned: Thadamor, Amaro, Sapores the hyparch, Narsaph, Hormezd, Innaios, Abiesus and others. This must either be a parallel text to that mentioned by C. Schmidt, or the leaf must physically be the same. Parallel texts are well known from other papyri, e.g., in the Nag Hammadi texts the two very close long versions of the *Apocryphon of John*, and the two versions of the *Gospel of Truth*.

Yet there is no indication in any reports concerning the discovery from Medinet Madi of there being a duplicate copy of the *Acts*. There are two volumes of *Kephalaia*, a first volume in Berlin and the second in Dublin, a two-volume work rather than a case of duplication. And there were two parts of the *Homilies* codex, the published part in

5. Giversen, *Homilies and Varia*: The facsimiles are plates on pp. 99–100, the quotation from p. vii. Subsequent quotations are from pp. viii–ix. Note the Errata on p. x, to the effect that the fiber directions are reversed on pp. 99–100: Plate 99 actually has horizontal fibers, plate 100 vertical fibers.

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Dublin and the unpublished part (P^{15999}) of Berlin, now lost. But this had to do with two parts of one codex, not of duplicates. Hence there are no known instances of duplication in the library of Medinet Madi (nor is there duplication of the sublibraries among the Nag Hammadi Codices, for that matter). The overwhelming probability is that "the leaf must physically be the same."

Giversen poses the problem of the reports by Böhlig (1968), Müller (1965), and Beltz (1978) cited above, to the effect that all 8 leaves were in Berlin. For a label on the glass initialed by the librarian of the Chester Beatty Library, J. V. S. Wilkinson, is dated "October 1956," and Giversen can report of the leaf that "in 1977 it could be studied in Dublin." He hence speculates: "It is possible that this leaf was not included in the eight pages but was one of the other leaves mentioned by C. Schmidt, and that later on it was transferred to the Chester Beatty collection. In that case it is hard to explain why it was transferred." But Schmidt did not mention "other" leaves than the 8 mentioned in the *Inventarbuch*; rather he spoke of "only a few leaves," a comment that provides no reason to assume there were more than 8 leaves. But in view of the recognition (see above) that only 7 of the 8 Berlin leaves actually belong to P^{15997}, it is not necessary to postulate more than 8 leaves.

Wilkinson's label read: "This sheet seems to belong to the *Homilies*, but is not included in Polotsky's publication." Giversen compares the two, noting similarities and divergences, only to conclude: "But despite the similarities, the general impression is that the writing on pp. 99 and 100 is by another hand." But upon quoting Böhlig's description of the awkward hand, Giversen comments:

> This description [p. ix] does not, however, match with the writing of pp. 99 and 100, and if these pages were once a part of the manuscript mentioned by C. Schmidt, this could be the reason why they were separated. If it is true that their handwriting was closer to that of the Chester Beatty *Homilies* than to the manuscript mentioned by C. Schmidt, such an alteration would be understandable.

Giversen then reports from the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library that in May 1932 there were references in correspondence between Sir Chester Beatty and Sir Alan Gardiner to the *Homilies* as consisting of 50 leaves:

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> Neither Alan H. Gardiner nor A. Chester Beatty in these two letters use the expression "about 50 leaves", but clearly "*the* 50 leaves" [emphasis Giversen's].

The 50 leaves could be the 49 leaves (48 sheets plus the glass containing the fragments) plus the leaf on pp. 99 and 100. On 19 May 1931 Hugo Ibscher sent A. Chester Beatty an invoice for the preservation and placing under glass of papyri, among others "10 Blatt Manitexte" ["10 leaves of Mani texts"]—probably the first Mani papyri H. Ibscher restored for A. Chester Beatty. An invoice dated 17 June 1934 charges A. Chester Beatty for several Mani pages, the first of them "Manichäische Homilien: 49 Bältter" ["Manichaean Homilies: 49 leaves"]. Afterwards the three codices, A, B, and C, are mentioned. If the leaf on pp. 99 and 100 is included with these papyri mentioned in the invoices, it could be among the "10 Blatt Manitexte" ["10 leaves of Mani texts"], which are not specified, and if this leaf was among the 50 leaves that Polotsky was permitted to publish, the reason it was not included in the publication was probably that it differed too much in appearance from the pages bearing the *Homilies*.

Giversen concludes:

> Because of the doubts about its identity, it has been hard to decide whether this leaf should be included in this edition. Since nobody besides myself has raised such questions until now, and it is stated repeatedly in the two catalogues of the German collection that all eight leaves mentioned above are kept in Berlin, it has been agreed to include the leaf here. If however the two catalogues are wrong, it remains possible that the two texts are identical. In any case I shall continue to investigate the history of the leaf.

It seems that the question has in fact already been clarified. Only 7 leaves of P[15997] are in Berlin (see above). A Berlin leaf was by mistake taken to London and Dublin, and its absence, though detected by Böhlig and explained by Rolf Ibscher, was lost sight of due to an eighth leaf being erroneously ascribed to P[15997], until inferred again in Berlin in 1986.

Since this codex was acquired "in the original condition between two wooden covers," one might assume that the "few leaves of this pile that have been separated for the sake of determining the character of

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the work"[6] are a more ordered sequence than in the case of codices that dealers have already separated into smaller batches. One might thus speculate that the leaves were taken from the front of the book, (since this might be assumed to provide a clearer indication of its character) in an effort to arrive at a preliminary identification of the codex. But one could also speculate that the codex was first opened elsewhere, or that leaves from different parts of the codex were conserved first, in order thus to achieve an overview. In fact nothing is known about the selection of leaves to be conserved as the initial sample.

The 7 leaves in East Berlin not only bear the number P^{15997}. They are also numbered with Roman numerals I–V, with one leaf unnumbered and one numbered IX. Since only 8 leaves are thought to have been separated from the book block, the number IX seems out of place. One may at best wonder if the 8 leaves returned from Leningrad and classified as P^{15997} (and the subsequent report of a leaf in Warsaw) are responsible for the numeration system leading to IX, which would hence be a relatively recent numeration. Such a speculation would not explain why the Berlin leaves were given the specific numeration each has. Indeed one would think that the natural thing to have done would have been to consider the Berlin leaves I–VIII and the Warsaw leaf IX, since there was no possibility to compare them side by side and to establish their relative position in the original codex as a basis for a more useful numeration system.

Schmidt and Polotsky reported, primarily on the basis of the Berlin *Kephalaia* and the London *Psalms*, that the fiber directions on facing pages were always the same. This pattern would seem to apply also to P^{15997}, since when leaves are so stacked in the sequence of the Roman numerals, there is continuity of extant profiles. But in order to retain the pattern of the fiber directions being the same on facing pages, the leaf numbered IX could not follow directly upon leaf V. Yet the pattern is retained if the unnumbered leaf is placed between V and IX, a sequence supported by the fact that the profile of IX is nearest to that of the unnumbered leaf. Hence the unnumbered leaf is tentatively assigned the number VIII.

The leaves have labels on one side only, listing the codex number and the Roman numeral; this side of the leaves was apparently intended as the side with horizontal fibers, since only plate I is an exception.

6. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 27.

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Small labels with letters "a" and "b" were found in 1976 on 4 of the 7 plates to distinguish a "front" from a "back," however that may have been understood. Only leaf IV has "a" on the side with the main label and "b" on the other side. In the cases of leaves III, V, and IX, the side with the main label is designated as "b," with the other side identified as "a." (Stephen Patterson in 1987 found these small labels extant only on leaves III and IV.) This conscious effort to identify a first and a second side does not conform consistently to horizontal and vertical fiber directions (IV), or to vertical and horizontal fiber directions (III, V, IX). The lettering may have been intended to identify the first (right-hand) and second (left-hand) side of the leaf, since in the present hypothetical reconstruction, it does in all four cases happen to fall into this pattern.

P[15997] has no extant page numbers. Whereas P[15996] had its original pagination, P[15998] seems not to have been paginated, or at least Schmidt and Polotsky found no extant page numbers. They observed of P[15997]:[7] "ob das Ganze paginiert war, wird sich erst bei der weiteren Konservierung erweisen" ["Whether the whole was paginated will become clear only with the further conservation"]. Since such a further conservation never took place, the question remains unresolved.

A sequence of leaves or pages cannot be inferred from the text itself. For not only does the absence of the papyrus or the illegibility of the text at the tops and bottoms of pages render impossible an argument about the continuity of text from one leaf to the next; even a vague sequence of the train of thought seems unattainable today (in contrast to the trains of thought that Schmidt and Polotsky reported), given the largely illegible status of the ink today. Hence the pagination to be assigned to the 7 leaves in Berlin must be based on such circumstantial considerations as those here indicated, and will lack any real assurance of corresponding to the original pagination or even to the right page sequence. It is also not known whether the pages were an unbroken sequence. The four passages that Schmidt and Polotsky summarized do not suggest a continuous sequence but rather widely separated texts. The numeration by leaf rather than by page, and in Roman numerals, may indicate an interest to avoid attempting a pagination. Stephen Patterson has drawn attention to the pieces of twine pressed into the surface of the papyrus on the horizontal sides

7. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 30.

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of leaves II and IV, without any impressions of these pieces of twine visible on the facing pages of leaves I and III, which might suggest that these are not in fact the original facing pages. It is not even certain that it has been correctly determined which margins were at the spine and which margins were at the leading edge. The use of square brackets [ ] will indicate that the pagination is not legible on the papyrus, and the use of an asterisk (*) will indicate that the pagination is relatively arbitrarily assigned. The pagination should clearly be considered no more than a convention.

In the case of codices with the same fiber directions on facing pages, it was customary that the first page of each quire would have horizontal fibers, the second page vertical fibers, the third vertical, the fourth horizontal, and so on. However, in the case of the present material, leaf I has vertical fibers on the side with the main label (with no labeling of sides as "a" and "b"). One may conjecture that the lack of such letters means that the main label is on the surface facing the front of the book (rather than considering, e.g., the position of the main label as irrelevant, or that the small labels with the letters have in some cases been rubbed off, either of which alternatives is quite possible). The problem of the first page's not having horizontal fibers could be explained in several ways. The codex could simply be atypical. Or the assumptions as to which page is the right-hand page and which the left-hand page (i.e., the assumption about which margin is at the spine and which is at the leading edge) could be reversed. Or the first leaf may be missing. If one may postulate an uninscribed and hence unconserved front flyleaf, then the fiber directions of leaf I (as the second leaf) are as they should be. These are the assumptions, admittedly far from compelling, that have led to the provisional pagination of the seven leaves. It is to be hoped that more solid criteria may emerge as a result of subsequent study.

The following table is intended to identify the pages thus numbered [1*]–[10*], [11*]–[14*] in terms of the labels they already bore:

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Leaf	Side with main label	Label a or b	Conventional numeration	Horizontal or vertical fibers
I	X		[1*]	Vert.
I			[2*]	Hor.
II	X		[3*]	Hor.
II			[4*]	Vert.
III	X	a	[5*]	Vert.
III	X	b	[6*]	Hor.
IV	X	a	[7*]	Hor.
IV		b	[8*]	Vert.
V		a	[9*]	Vert.
V	X	b	[10*]	Hor.
[VIII]	X		[11*]	Hor.
[VIII]			[12*]	Vert.
IX		a	[13*]	Vert.
IX	X	b	[14*]	Hor.

The size of the writing columns and of the leaves is hard to determine. The faded condition of the ink makes measurements of the columns uncertain, in that faint ink traces and darker fibers tend to become indistinguishable, and a completely faded-out area can be mistaken for a margin. The absence of the original edges of the papyrus makes measurements of the original leaf impossible. Even measurements of the extant leaf are imprecise, in that isolated fibers may often extend a measurement by a centimeter or so. In such cases, it may at times be an arbitrary decision how much to include and what to exclude as a stray fiber. The extant writing columns average in height about 20.5 cm.:

> p. [1*] 20.8; p. [2*] 20.6; p. [3*] 20.8; p. [4*] 20.5; p. [5*] 20.7; p. [6*] 20.2; p. [7*] 20.6; p. [8*] 20.3; p. [9*] 20.4?; p. [10*] 20.4?; p. [11*] 20.5; p. [12*] 20.6; p. [13*] 20.5; p. [14*] 20.5?

The top margins have in the cases of pp. [5*], [6*], and [8*] running heads that are up to 1.0 cm high, beginning about .5 cm from the extant top edge of the leaf. These captions are not included in the statistics listed above for the height of the writing columns. The largest

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measurement of an extant width of a writing column is 11.5 cm for plate 99 in the facsimile edition of Dublin. The extant top margins reach a height of 3.4 cm (p. [7*]) or 3.0 cm (p. [8*]); the extant bottom margins only .8 cm (p. [4*] and p. [6*]), .7 cm (p. [8*] and p. [14*]), or .6 cm (p. [2*] and p. [3*]). The extant dimensions of the leaves reach 24 by 12 cm ([7*]/[8*]), where the width increases by an extension of the top margin on the opposite edge of the leaf from that with some side margin still extant.

Schmidt, Polotsky, and Hugo Ibscher do not give any dimensions for the book block or the wooden covers. That no dimensions are given for the wooden covers is all the more regrettable in that the covers would have provided the only reliable guide to the original dimensions prior to the fraying of the papyrus edges. By comparison, Hugo Ibscher gives the dimensions of P[15996] as 31.5 by 18 cm, with the following breakdown: the writing column is 22 by 13 cm, the top margin 4, and the bottom margin 5.5 cm, the inner margin 2 cm and the outer margin 4 cm (*sic*!). The corresponding dimensions of the *Psalms* is a leaf of 27 by 17.5 cm with the following breakdown: the writing column 17.5 by 11 cm, top and bottom margins 3.5 and 5.5 (*sic*!), the inner and outer margins 2 and 4.5.

The only dimension of P[15997] that seems to be that of the original codex, and relatively certain, is the height of the writing column, some 20.5 cm. This dimension is about midway between that of P[15996] (22 cm) and the *Psalms* (17.5 cm). This would suggest a basis for conjecturing comparable median dimensions for the width of the writing column and the size of the margins and of the leaves: e.g., a writing-column width of 12 cm, top margins of 3.75 cm, bottom margins of 5.5 cm, inner margins of 2 cm and outer margins of 4.25 cm, producing a leaf dimension of 29.75 by 18.25 cm. When one considers the extant dimensions of the leaves ranging in height from 20.9 ([11*]/[12*]) to 24 ([7*]/[8*]), the estimated loss in height would be 5.75 to 8.85 cm. This would seem to be an excessive estimate of loss, when compared to Plate 2 of the article by Schmidt and Polotsky. For the leaves do not seem quite this much shorter than the covers (if indeed one may assume the photograph displays the height of the codex). Perhaps the conservation process involved loss in the margins.

On October 31, 1986, Günter Poethke confirmed that the two wooden boards of the cover of this codex, mentioned by Schmidt and

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Polotsky but omitted in the *Inventarbuch* and by Böhlig and Beltz, are not among the three Coptic book bindings listed by Wolfgang Müller as still extant in the museum.[8] Hence the covers must be considered lost.

The information about the contents of this codex must be derived primarily from Schmidt and Polotsky's report. For the seven leaves in Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR have on a first scanning produced no more than isolated letters and words, much less than the continuing phrases or sentences or trains of thought such as Schmidt and Polotsky report. This may be the result of the conservation process itself. For if Polotsky transcribed each successive page on the top of the book block before it was removed, he may well have transcribed much more text from the exposed side that could have been read after the leaf was removed. This would mean, of course, that the back of each leaf would in his (no longer extant) transcription present less text than the front. When in the case of P[15998], one compares the relatively large amount of text legible on the two exposed surfaces of a pair of never-separated leaves with the text legible on individual, separated leaves from the same codex, one can get some impression of the loss involved in rendering the hidden inner surfaces accessible. And the top surface on the lost book block may have been more legible (though the exposed surface on the extant book block of the *Synaxeis* codex is not markedly more legible that the conserved leaves). Yet Schmidt and Polotsky referred explicitly to what could be read "auf den konservierten Blättern" ["on the conserved leaves"], so that their information is presumably derived from the extant leaves.[9] Of course there may well have been fading over the intervening half century. The amount of flaking that would have been caused not only by the normal handling but especially by the transportation to the Zoo Bunker, by repercussions from exploding bombs and from antiaircraft fire, and by the railroad tracks to and from Leningrad in 1945–1946 and 1958, can be sensed from the quantity of dust and minor fragments littering the inside of the glasses. Yet the published leaves of the *Kephalaia* do not display such a marked contrast between what was read then and what can be read now.

8. Müller, "Die koptischen Handschriften," 66.
9. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 28.

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Böhlig has challenged as an "oversight" the concluding detail of Schmidt and Polotsky's report[10]: "Auf den oberen Rändern standen die Namen der Verfasser." ["In the upper margins stood the names of the authors."] Since one must assume the published summaries from the codex are based on actual readings of the text, one should also assume the superscriptions of pages were more legible then than now. Since Böhlig did not record an alternate reading, it is doubtful he has been able to make them out to read differently, given their present illegibility. Schmidt and Polotsky had just noted[11] that the two disciples whose names they had found in the text of P15997 occurred as authors in the superscriptions of the pages of P15999, so that to make a similar inference concerning perhaps already minimally legible vestiges in the upper margins of P15997 would not be unreasonable, although the degree to which their statement was a conjecture can hardly be determined. The fact that the Cologne Mani Codex documents the names of Salmaios and Kustaios in its headings (see below) would tend to support this interpretation.

Beltz's statement that "the codex is probably a *Vita* of Mani" seems based not on new information, but simply on his interpretation of Schmidt and Polotsky's report. However, Schmidt and Polotsky did not refer to it as a *Vita*, but rather as "a work of historical content." The nearest Schmidt and Polotsky came to a discussion of the literary genre of the text is at the conclusion of their summary:

> Since the master put so much weight on the "book," as we will see, an active writing process developed also among the successors. Of course this writing concerned itself vigorously with the life of the religion's founder, especially with his last blows of fate. Early on, the "Martyrdom" was the object of sketches to be read on the day of his death, on the day of the Bema festival, and to serve as source material for cultic actions
>
> [p. 30] Da der Meister so grosses Gewicht auf das "Buch" legt, wie wir noch sehen werden, hat auch unter den Epigonen eine rege Schriftstellerei eingesetzt. Naturgemäss hat sich diese Schriftstellerei mit dem Leben des Religionsstifters lebhaft beschäftigt, besonders mit seinen letzten Schicksalen. Frühzeitig ist das "Martyrium" Gegenstand der Aufzeichnungen gewesen, um am Todestage, am Tage des Bema-Festes, verlesen zu werden und den

10. Ibid., 30.

11. Ibid., 29, where the codex in question is not identified. But from page 30, the identity is clear.

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and hymns. From such a historical work, Arabic historians such as An Nadim have drawn their chronological data. Fragments of narrative content have also been found among the Turfan texts. Hence it need not surprise us if also the Egyptian Manichaean incorporated a historical work about his religion into his library.

Kulthandlungen und den Hymnen zur Unterlage zu dienen. Aus einem derartigen Geschichtswerke haben arabische Historiker wie An Nadim ihre chronologischen Angaben bezogen. Auch unter den Turfantexten sind Fragmente erzählenden Inhalts gefunden worden. Daher darf es uns nicht überraschen, wenn auch der ägyptische Manichäer ein historisches Werk über seine Religion in seine Bibliothek aufgenommen hat.

But Schmidt and Polotsky rejected Alfaric's suggestion that a previously known allusion to a "Book of Apomnemoneumata" should be interpreted as a "Vie du Maître" ("Life of the Master"). For such a reference is very vague and could equally well refer to the *Kephalaia*. Thus the title *Vita* is hardly a valid inference from Schmidt's interpretation. Rather the combination of a Martyrdom with subsequent stories about the original disciples after the founder's death would seem to fit better the genre of apocryphal Acts. To be sure, the Martyrdom of the founder is less obviously part of such Acts, perhaps because in early Christianity the genre of Gospel tended to absorb the Martyrdom into it, with of course the Apostle's martyrdom comprising a worthy conclusion (but not beginning) for apocryphal Acts.

If it were correct to assume that the few pages separated from the book block were from the beginning of the codex and composed some 3.2 percent of the codex (8 out of the some 250 leaves that Schmidt and Polotsky estimated), of which only part contained the Martyrdom, then obviously the whole codex should no more be titled after this prelude than should the canonical Acts of the Apostles be named after the ascension with which it begins. But since one does not know whether the conserved leaves were all from the beginning of the codex, or whether they represent a sampling of different parts of the codex, such an argument cannot be pressed.

To be sure, the almost contemporary *Life of Pachomius* included the administrations of his immediate successors, as abbots of the

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Pachomian order, all of whom had been his disciples. But this is hardly a relevant parallel, since the *Life of Pachomius* began with his own call and composed primarily his adult life of leadership of the order, with the period of his immediate successors representing more of an appendix, or continuation of his administration.

Ludwig Koenen has suggested[12] that P^{15997} "seemingly showed the same literary structure and probably was part of the same work" as the Cologne Mani Codex. Schmidt and Polotsky had reported:[13] "Our historical work obviously did not flow from the pen of a single author, but rather was a collection made up of different smaller essays and reports that were put together here under the names of the authors in question." To this Koenen remarks:[14] "This description suits the C[ologne]M[ani]C[odex] perfectly. Headings in the Coptic Codex furnish the names of Ammos, Salmaios, and Kustaios as authors of the articles and reports. Having the same function, the names of Salmaios and Kustaios occur in the headings of the CMC." Although Schmidt and Polotsky did not make clear that Kustaios is mentioned in this codex and did not specify just which names appear in superscriptions, mentioning only Ammos as occurring in a subscription, Koenen's observation is nonetheless quite relevant.

Koenen further conjectures that "the whole work was a history of the Manichaean church, and it consisted of several codices."[15] This conjecture is supported by the note: "To judge from the space which the C[ologne] [Mani] C[odex] needed to deal with the early years of Mani, it seems that the history originally was comprised of several volumes." Although the last suggestion must remain quite speculative, the relation of the Cologne Mani Codex to P^{15997} as that of the Gospel of Luke to the Acts of the Apostles does suggest itself in terms of literary genres, though there is hardly any evidence of its having been composed as a two-volume (or multivolume) work.

12. Koenen, "Augustine and Manichaeism," 164.

13. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 29: "Unser historisches Werk war offensichtlich nicht aus der Feder eines einzigen Schriftstellers geflossen, sondern ein Sammelband aus verschiedenen kleineren Aufsätzen and Berichten, die unter den Namen der betreffenden Autoren hier zusammengestellt sind."

14. Koenen, "Augustine and Manichaeism," 164 n. 37.

15. Ibid., 165, and n. 38.

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It is no doubt Koenen's view that has led Michel Tardieu to characterize the Coptic codex largely in terms of the Greek codex:[16]

> 2) On the Birth of His Body
>
> Allusion to Mani's struggles of youth and to the birth of the Manichaean church . . . The complete Greek version of this text is known by means of the CMC.

Yet the Cologne Mani Codex does not contain a complete Greek version (if one were to assume the two codices overlap) for there is no material that is shared between the codices, to the extent that they are known. Only the Cologne codex alludes to Mani's struggles of youth, and some allusion to the birth of the Manichaean church may be found in the reports that follow, which is all that is known about the contents of P[15997].

A summary of the contents of the conserved leaves provided by Schmidt and Polotsky will tend to confirm the orientation of P[15997] to apocryphal Acts. Four passages are summarized, the second and third introduced as "ein anderes Stück" ["another piece"], the fourth as "ein weiteres Blatt" ["a further leaf"]. It is unclear whether Schmidt and Polotsky present them in the order in which they occur in the codex. To judge by their content, the chronological order might well be 2, 1, 4, 3. Their summary of the four passages, in their order, is as follows:[17]

> On the conserved leaves we read brief narrations about Mani's death, e.g., a narrative about the dialogue of the imprisoned Mani with the guard of the prison, which according to the subscription is attributed to a certain teacher (ⲥⲁϩ) named Ammôs; furthermore a narrative about the visit of a female catechumen named Anûschak to the imprisoned Mani, who is extremely worried that, if Mani were to forsake
>
> [p. 28] Auf den konservierten Blättern lesen wir kurze Erzählungen über Manis Tod, so z. B. eine Erzählung über die Unterredung Manis im Gefängnis mit dem Wächter des Gefängnisses, die auf einen gewissen Lehrer (ⲥⲁϩ) mit Namen Ammôs nach der Unterschrift zurückgeführt wird; ferner eine Erzählung über den Besuch einer Katechumenin namens Anûschak beim gefangenen Mani, die höchst betrübt darüber

16. Tardieu, "Les Manichéens en Égypte," 6: 2) *Sur la naissance de son corps* Évocation des conflits de jeunesse de Mani et de la naissance de l'Église manichéenne . . . La version grècque complète de ce texte est connue par le CMC.

17. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 28–29.

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the world, the catechumens would be robbed of their "father" and come into danger of being lost. Mani consoles her with the observation that his *nous* remains in the church.

[p. 28] In another piece we hear that the day of the arrest was a sabbath, and that as a result of his arrest great weeping and mourning arose among the elect, the catechumens and the brethren. There follows a judgment scene before the king. The Μαγουσαῖοι, who, as is well known, staged the agitation against Mani, come forward with the accusation: "Manichaios has taught contrary to our law (νόμος)."

[p. 28] Another piece leads us into a later time of Manichaeism. Here we meet a quantity of unknown persons, such as the Queen Thadamor (ⲑⲁⲇⲁⲙⲱⲣ), the king Amarô (ⲁⲙⲁⲣⲱ), the hyparch Sapôres, Malôp, the son of Adb[jesu], the teacher Abiēsu (ⲁⲃⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩ), Yachias, the leader Sethel (ⲥⲏⲑⲏⲗ), Abira, etc. One has to do here apparently with events that take place within the Persian Empire. There are mentioned the ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲟⲥ and the ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲇⲓⲧ ⲁⲇⲟⲩⲣⲃⲁⲗⲁⲅⲁⲛ. Further, one has to do with the position of the provincial governments toward the Manichaean religion, some of which are disposed in a friendly way, especially Amarô, who is designated as "great patron" of the Manichaeans, since they can enjoy his support. One of the heads of the Manichaeans turns to him

ist, dass, wenn Mani die Welt verlassen sollte, die Katechumenen ihres "Vaters" beraubt sind and in Gefahr des Verlorenseins kommen. Mani tröstet sie mit dem Hinweis, dass sein Nus in der Kirche verbleibe.

[p. 28] Wir hören in einem andern Stück, dass der Tag der Gefangennahme ein Sabbat war, und dass ob seiner Gefangennahme grosses Weinen und Trauern unter den Electi, den Katechumenen und den Brüdern entstand. Es folgt eine Gerichtssitzung vor dem König, Die Μαγουσαῖοι, die bekanntlich die Hetze gegen Mani inszeniert haben, treten mit der Anklage auf: "Manichaios hat gegen unser Gesetz (νόμος) gelehrt."

[p. 28] In eine spätere Zeit des Manichäismus führt uns ein anderes Stück. Hier tritt uns eine Fülle von unbekannten Personen entgegen, wie die Königin Thadmor (ⲑⲁⲇⲁⲙⲱⲣ), der König Amarô (ⲁⲙⲁⲣⲱ), der Hyparch Sapôres, Malôp, der Sohn des Abd[jesu], der Lehrer Abiēsu (ⲁⲃⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩ), Yachias, der Leiter Sethel (ⲥⲏⲑⲏⲗ), Abira usw. Es handelt sich offenbar hier um Ereignisse, die sich innerhalb des Persischen Reiches abspielen. Es werden genannt die ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲟⲥ und die ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲇⲓⲧ ⲁⲇⲟⲩⲣⲃⲁⲗⲁⲅⲁⲛ. Es handelt sich weiter um die Stellung der Provinzialregierungen zur manichäischen Religion, von denen die einen freundlich gesinnt sind, vor allem Amarô, der als "grosser Patron" der Manichäer bezeichnet wird, da sie sich dessen Unterstützung zu erfreuen haben. Eines der Häupter der Manichäer wendet sich deshalb an ihn mit der Bitte um Fürsprache für

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for this reason with the request to intercede for the persecuted believers [p. 29] in Persia with the king Narsaph, i.e., Narses (293–302). Amarô assumes this responsibility and sends letters to the main king, which are crowned with success in that the persecutions cease. In these negotiations a certain ⲓⲛⲛⲁⲓⲟⲥ surfaces, who is apparently the transmitter of the letters of Amarô to the king. He has a discussion with King Narses, the result of which is that the oppressions and persecutions of the teacher and believers are suspended on the command of the king . . . [Evidence for Innaios as a disciple of Mani from other sources is listed.] According to the Berlin papyrus the tranquility under Narses continued up to his death. Under his successor Ormizd II (ϩⲱⲣⲙⲏⲍⲇ), the son of Narses, the agitation of the Mages resumed; as a result there were new persecutions. From these notes we see that the work contained precise historical records about the development of the Manichaean movement in the Persian Empire after the death of Mani from the pen of a Manichaean, and one may suspect that we will also receive important information about Mani and his times.

die verfolgten Gläu-[p. 29]bigen in Persien beim König Narsaph, d.i. Narses(293–302). Amarô übernimmt diese Aufgabe und sendet Briefe an den Oberkönig, die von Erfolg gekrönt sind, indem die Verfolgungen aufhören. Bei diesen Verhandlungen taucht ein gewisser ⲓⲛⲛⲁⲓⲟⲥ auf, der wahrscheinlich der Überbringer der Sendschreiben des Amarô an den König ist. Er hat eine Unterredung mit König Narses, deren Resultat ist, dass die Bedrückungen und Verfolgungen der Lehrer und Gläubigen auf Befehl des Königs sistiert werden . . . [Evidence for Innaios as a disciple of Mani from other sources is listed.] Nach dem Berliner Papyrus hat die Ruhe unter Narses bis zu seinem Tode angehalten. Unter seinem Nachfolger Ormizd II. (ϩⲱⲣⲙⲏⲍⲇ), dem Sohne des Narses, hat die Hetze der Magier wieder eingesetzt; die Folge sind erneute Verfolgungen gewesen. Aus diesen Notizen ersehen wir, dass das Werk genaue geschichtliche Aufzeichnungen über die Entwicklung der Manichäerbewegung im Persischen Reiche nach dem Tode Manis aus der Feder eines Manichäers enthielt, und man darf vermuten, dass wir auch wichtige Aufschlüsse über Mani und seine Zeit empfangen werden.

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Given the fact that the book block is presumably permanently lost, and in view of the deplorable condition of the seven leaves in Berlin, this last hope must of course be given up.

Søren Giversen in a separate article[18] has provided a translation of some of this leaf, though without making the identification. Yet in light of the language used to describe the leaf in the facsimile edition, the language introducing the translation makes it clear that he has in view the same leaf.

> The last example is taken from the Addenda et Varia. It is a sheet, damaged, but not too bad[ly]. This sheet [h]as some historical informations [*sic*]. The handwriting reminds very much on [*sic*] that in the *Homilies*, published by H. J. Polotsky. But this text is not published, and for some reasons I think, that it was not restored together with the Homilies, because the glass and a black buckram frame is quite different from that of the *Homilies*. I am for the moment becoming more convinced that it has had its own history.
>
> This sheet mentions persons we know from other Manichean texts: Innaios and Sapores. I shall shortly give you a small part of it:
>
> (X, 11); . . . He told us [that] the king had arrived into the neighbourhood of our shepherd Innaios, together with the noble Persians [who were] his assistants. He spoke to him . . . He asked him to go to the king. He achieved mercy for us from him [and he] stopped our destruction. The king together with the nobelmen [*sic*], who were many . . . [In]naios, shall I raise . . . Innaios went into [. . .] of the king. Sapores . . .
>
> This was only to give you a little glimpse. Innaios (Zabed's brother in CMC 74, also mentioned in the great formula PG 1; 1468) is mentioned in connection with king Sapores. When the two pages are fully deciphered a more detailed definition of the text and where it comes from, can presumably be given.

The identification of the leaf need not await further decipherment; it is clearly the Berlin leaf reported upon by Schmidt and Polotsky.

Schmidt and Polotsky's report concluded with the summary of another leaf:

18. Giversen, "The Unedited Chester Beatty Mani Texts," 1985/1986, 179–80.

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[p. 29] A further leaf takes us in fact back into the time of the beginnings, for here, as mentioned above, the ARXHGOS Sisinnios is named, and a certain Salmaios, who bears the honorary title ASKHTHS. Also this Salmaios belongs, as does Sisinnios, to the first generation, for we find his name *Salmaios* among the disciples of Mani in the great abjuration formula. According to An Nadim in the Fihrist under Nr. 64 there is a letter of Mani directed to a certain Salam and Ansara. Besides, his name occurs on the top margins of a papyrus book [P[15999]] alongside of that of Kustaios, so that he himself must have left written material. Our historical work obviously did not flow from the pen of a single author, but was a collection of various smaller essays and reports that have been put together here under the names of the authors in question.

[p. 29] Ein weiteres Blatt führt uns nämlich in die Anfangszeit zurück, denn hier wird, wie erwähnt, der ARXHGOS Sisinnios genannt und ein gewisser Salmaios, der den Ehrentitel ASKHTHS führt. Auch dieser Salmaios gehört wie Sisinnios zu der ersten Generation, denn wir finden seinen Namen *Salmaios* unter den Schülern des Mani in der grossen Abschwörungsformel. Nach An Nadim im Fihrist unter Nr. 64 ist ein Sendschreiben des Mani an einen gewissen Salam und Ansara gerichtet. Ausserdem erscheint sein Name auf den oberen Rändern eines Papyrusbuches [P[15999]] neben dem des Kustaios, so dass er selbst auch Schriftliches hinterlassen haben muss. Unser historisches Werk war offensichtlich nicht aus der Feder eines einzigen Schriftstellers geflossen, sondern ein Sammelband aus verschiedenen kleineren Aufsätzen und Berichten, die unter den Namen der betreffenden Autoren hier zusammengestellt sind.

This codex, thus represented today by seven (or eight) largely illegible leaves in Berlin, 1 part of a leaf in Warsaw, and 1 more legible leaf in Dublin, a total of 9 (or 10) leaves = 18 (or 20) pages has not been published beyond the facsimiles of the leaf in Dublin and the part of this leaf published in English translation by Giversen. Stephen Patterson prepared a preliminary transcription of the leaves in Berlin during three trips there in 1987, and of the leaf in Dublin on the basis of the facsimiles in Claremont in 1988.

Photographs of both sides of the leaf without Roman numeration (here tentatively numbered [VI] 11*/12*) are on file at the Papyrus-Sammlung. One copy of each side was donated to the Manichaean Archives of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity.

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— 12 —

P 15998: Letters

The basic report of Schmidt and Polotsky had stated:[1]

We now turn to the second papyrus book of the Berlin Manichaica. This can raise the indisputable claim to be an original work of Mani, for it has to do with the collection of his *Letters*. Unfortunately, thus far only 4 leaves have been separated from the pile and put under glass, but there can be no doubt of the fact itself, for again the papyrus transmits the title on the verso side and the name of the addressee on the recto side. Also in the text itself the whole title is repeated as a superscription. The papyrus book hence corresponds outwardly to the *Kephalaia*, except that it does not seem to be paginated. At least no numbers have thus far been found on the conserved leaves. As superscriptions there have been read ⲦⲘⲁϩⲤⲛⲦⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ on the verso, and on the recto ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲥⲓⲛⲛⲓⲟⲥ, and

Wir wenden uns nun zu dem zweiten Papyrusbuch der Berliner Manichaica. Dieses kann den sicheren Anspruch erheben, Originalwerk des Mani zu sein, handelt es sich doch um seine Briefsammlung. Leider sind bis jetzt nur 4 Blätter von dem Haufen abgehoben und unter Glas gebracht worden, aber an der Tatsache selbst kann kein Zweifel bestehen, denn wiederum überliefert der Papyrus den Titel auf der Versoseite und den Namen des Adressaten auf der Rektoseite. Auch im Texte selbst ist der ganze Titel als überschrift wiederholt. Das Papyrusbuch entspricht also äusserlich den Kephalaia, nur scheint es nicht paginiert gewesen zu sein, wenigstens sind keine Zahlen auf den konservierten Blättern bisher gefunden worden. Gelesen sind als Überschriften ⲦⲘⲁϩⲤⲛⲦⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ auf dem Verso, auf dem Rekto ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲥⲓⲛⲛⲓⲟⲥ,

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 24–27. The quotations are from pp. 24 and 27.

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ⲧⲙⲁϩⲱⲗⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ
on the verso, and on the recto ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲥⲓⲛⲛⲓⲟⲥ; i.e., "the second letter (ἐπιστολή) of Sisinnios" and "the third letter (ἐπιστολή) of Sisinnios." Actually one should translate "to Sisinnios." . . . Hence we can with great expectation put this discovery of the collection of *Letters* worthily along side the discovery of the *Kephalaia* and welcome it as an important source for history contemporary with Mani.

und ⲧⲙⲁϩⲱⲗⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ
auf dem Verso, auf dem Rekto ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲥⲓⲛⲛⲓⲟⲥ, d. h. "der zweite Brief (ἐπιστολή) des Sisinnios" und "der dritte Brief (ἐπιστολή) des Sisinnios." In Wahrheit muss man übersetzen: "an Sisinnios." . . . Wir können also diesen Fund der Briefsammlung dem der Kephalaia würdig an die Seite stellen und als eine wichtige Quelle für die Zeitgeschichte des Mani mit grossen Erwartungen begrüssen.

Wilhelm Schubart recorded in the *Inventarbuch* of the Papyrus-Sammlung of the Ägyptisches Museum of Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR in black ink for P[15998] the entry: "Koptischer Papyruskodex" ["Coptic Papyrus Codex"]. The column regarding "Art der Erwerbung" ["Nature of the Acquisition"] reads "dsgl." ["the same"] as P[15995], i.e., "acquired through Prof. Carl Schmidt in Cairo, 1931, gift of Mr. August Pfeffer 1933." Further notes added in pencil report "z. T. zwischen Glass" ["in part between glass"], "6 Blätter" ["6 leaves"], "s. Schrank 24" ["see cupboard 24"] "(Briefsammlung?)" ["(collection of letters?)"], "ähnlich 15995" ["similar to 15995"]. A rubber stamp reading "1958 vorhanden" ["1958 present"] records the return of the material from Leningrad. The stamp is followed by 6 counting marks. A faint purple carbon note reports "z. Zt. in Schondorf" ["at present in Schondorf"], and, in darker purple, "6 Blätter nach dem Osten" ["6 leaves to the east"], to which is added in black ink: "sind zurück. Codex nicht! [Rolf] Ib[scher]." ["[they] are back. Codex [is] not! [Rolf] Ib[scher]"]. Thus is recorded both the assumed fact that this codex, or, more precisely, the remains of the book block that had not yet been conserved by separating and glassing the leaves, was thought to be in Schondorf, whereas the 6 separated and glassed leaves had been taken east and were returned, as well as the contradictory assumption that the book block ("codex") was not returned from Leningrad, which seems to suggest that by now Rolf Ibscher or someone had realized that it too had been taken east. Another stamp reading "1972 vorhanden" ["1972 present"] records that 6 leaves were present at the time of the inven-

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tory of holdings made that year by Ulrich Luft, then of the Museum staff.

Böhlig reported as follows about this codex in 1960/68:[2]

3. Nobly written in very large format in decorative script is the codex P[15998], which unfortunately has also become a sacrifice of the war, except for a small residue. At the time of the report of the discovery, 4 leaves had been brought under glass, from which one could see that it had to do with the collection of Mani's letters. As page superscriptions the following were read at that time: "The Second Letter to Sisinnios" and "The Third Letter to Sisinnios." I have not found leaves with these page superscriptions now in looking through the material, but I have found a leaf with the following chapter superscription and the beginning of a letter: "The Seventh Letter to Ktesiphon on the *pannychismoi* (Vigils): Mani the apostle of Jesus Christ and Sisinnios and the believing elect who are with me . . ." Of this book are to be found in Berlin, put under glass already in the pre-war period, 6 leaves with the preliminary numbers 12, 13, 21, 23, 24, and 25, and about 22 leaves in half-conserved condition. The folders in which they lay were numbered, and supplement the numbers of the glassed leaves: 1–11, 14–20, 22. It is worth noting that the leaves 17–21 present an appreciably larger, quite differently arranged script, and that leaf 16 is perhaps uninscribed. Incidentally,

3. Herrlich geschrieben auf sehr grossem Format in zierlicher Schrift ist der Codex P[15998], der leider ebenfalls bis auf einen kleinen Rest ein Opfer des Krieges geworden ist. Zur Zeit des Fundberichtes waren 4 Blätter unter Glas gebracht, aus denen zu ersehen war, dass es sich um die Briefssammlung Manis handelte. Als Seitenüberschriften wurden damals gelesen: "Der 2. Brief an Sisinnios" und "der 3. Brief an Sisinnios." Blätter mit diesen Seitenüberschriften habe ich jetzt bei der Durchsicht nicht gefunden, wohl aber ein Blatt mit folgender Kapitelüberschrift und Briefbeginn: "Der 7. Brief an Ktesiphon über die *pannychismoi* (Vigilien): Mani, der Apostel Jesu Christi, und Sisinnios und die gläubigen Electi, die mit mir sind . . ." Von diesem Buch befinden sich in Berlin, noch in der Zeit vor dem Kriege unter Glas gebracht, 6 Blätter mit den vorläufigen Nummern 12, 13, 21, 23, 24, und 25 und ungefähr 22 Blätter in halbkonserviertem Zustand. Die Folien, in denen sie lagen, waren numeriert und ergänzen die Zahlen der verglasten Blätter: 1–11, 14–20, 22. Merkwürdig ist dabei, dass die Blätter 17–21 eine wesentlich grössere, ganz anders geartetete Schrift aufweisen, Blatt 16 vielleicht unbeschriftet ist. Die Blattzählung bedarf übrigens der

2. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 184.

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the numeration of leaves needs to be corrected, for a leaf treated as an unseparated pair turns out to be triplets, and 2 leaves that were still unnumbered, with the note "Codex B from the volume of *Letters* of Mani," have to be given a place between 21 and 23.

Korrektur, da ein als ungelöster Zwilling betrachtetes Blatt sich als Drilling erweist und noch 2 ungezählte Blätter mit der Notiz "Codex B aus dem Bande Briefe Manis" zwischen 21 und 23 untergebracht werden müssen.

To judge by the similarity of language, it is apparently to these "half-conserved" leaves that Böhlig had referred earlier in his report of 1960/68, without identifying the codex involved (though it is distinguished from the 20 leaves of the *Kephalaia* that had remained in Berlin, since they are reported in the preceding text to have been conserved in 1952–1953):[3]

> The urgently needed reglasing of all the pieces that had been glassed by Hugo Ibscher and that returned to Berlin in 1958 was undertaken by Rolf Ibscher beginning in June of this year (1960), along with the conservation of a few half-conserved leaves that Ibscher Sr. had at first put to one side as too difficult, doubtlessly correctly, for it had to do usually with double or triple leaves.

It must also be these leaves that are intended in the confused statement of Rolf Ibscher in 1964–1965 quoted above:

> [p. 63] . . . a sizable number of leaves separated last, quite provisionally, by my father, with an entry on the paper cover that protected them which really creates puzzles: "from Codex B," i.e. then Chester Beatty [*Synaxeis*] or ?—and with the addition put in parentheses "*Letters*" i.e., then again Codex Nr. 15[9]98. What is one to make of that? But there is also among these leaves one with the number 361. To what does that belong?

The references by Böhlig and Rolf Ibscher are quite similar: "about 22 leaves" or "a few . . . leaves" / "a sizable number of leaves"; "half-conserved condition" or "half-conserved leaves" / "quite provisionally"; "folders" / "paper cover."

Müller's preliminary inventory of 1964–1965 listed for P[15998] "Briefsammlung, 6 Bl. in Berlin, Rest verloren" ["Collection of Letters, 6 leaves in Berlin, the rest lost"]. Here the 22 folders that created the

3. Ibid., 182.

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confusion have apparently not been identified with the *Letters*. They are in fact not mentioned at all in Müller's report. They may have been still in the Ibscher home.

The same omission is in Beltz's catalogue of 1978, which reported about the *Letters* without reference to the 22 folders as follows:

I 606 P[15998]. 6 leaves of a codex from the Mani discovery. 2 leaves of this codex are in Warsaw in the National Museum. The average height is 30 cm and an average width 17.5 cm. On an average there are 35–36 lines per page. The corpus of Mani's *Letters*. The state of preservation of the leaves is as poor as in the other Mani texts in Berlin. The remainder of the codex must be regarded as lost. Glass 13, recto, lines 4–8: ϵⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ϵⲧϵ . . . ⲱⲙⲟⲡⲛ / ⲛⲁⲁⲓⲛ ⲛⲁⲅⲅϵⲗⲟⲥ ⲛϵⲓ ϵⲧⲱⲙⲟⲡⲛ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲇⲟϵ . . . / ⲓⲱ . . . ⲁⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲛⲓⲙ ϵⲫ . . . / ⲛⲫⲛⲁ2ⲧ ϵⲣⲁⲥ ϵⲥⲁⲱⲱⲡϵ ⲁⲁⲛ . . .

I 606 P[15998]; 6 Blätter eines Codex aus dem Manifund, 2 Blätter dieses Codex befinden sich in Warschau im National-Museum. Die durchschnittliche H. 30 und eine durchschnittliche B. 17,5. Durchschnittlich 35-36 Z., Briefkorpus des Mani. Der Erhaltungsgrad der Blätter ist so schlecht wie bei den übrigen Mani-Texten in Berlin. Der Rest des Codex muss als verloren angesehen werden. P1. 13, R. Z. 4–8: ϵⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ϵⲧϵ . . . ⲱⲙⲟⲡⲛ / ⲛⲁⲁⲓⲛ ⲛⲁⲅⲅϵⲗⲟⲥ ⲛϵⲓ ϵⲧⲱⲙⲟⲡⲛ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲇⲟϵ . . . / ⲓⲱ . . . ⲁⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲛⲓⲙ ϵⲫ . . . / ⲛⲫⲛⲁ2ⲧ ϵⲣⲁⲥ ϵⲥⲁⲱⲱⲡϵ ⲁⲁⲛ . . .

Günter Poethke, Custos of the Greek manuscripts in the Papyrus-Sammlung of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR began on September–October, 1971, saw these materials in Warsaw, and on February 23, 1972, submitted a report preserved in the Archives of the Ägyptisches Museum to the effect that the two leaves are "(1/2; 3/4)." This is apparently an allusion to the two plates numbered 1 and 4, with the assumption that these are page rather than leaf numbers, and hence that the side of these leaves without a label could be numbered 2 and 3. Since he did not see the leaf numbered 3, such an assumption would have been possible, though apparently not correct. Beltz's information is based on what he saw in his own visit to Warsaw, recorded in his "Aktennotiz für die Papyrus-Sammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin" ["Memorandum for the Papyrus Collection of the State Museums in Berlin"] preserved in the same Archives. There he, following Poethke, listed "zwei Platten, die vermutlich die Seiten 1–4 enthalten" ["two plates that presumably contain the pages 1–4"].

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On December 23, 1985, Wlodzimierz Godlewski reported that 3 Manichaean leaves are at the National Museum in Warsaw. Wincenty Myszor reported on July 12, 1986, as follows on the material at the National Museum:

In the National Museum in Warsaw there are three plates that could belong to a Mani codex. All three are without number and at present only have the number of the National Museum [MN]. Two have 140 160 MN A and B and with the number 1 and 4 on the verso, one has the number 200 611 MN and with the number 3. W. Beltz has certainly seen the first two plates [cf. his catalogue]. The third plate [200 611 MN] has the same size and the same ductus, and so could, in terms of externals, belong to the same codex. On the recto the glass is cracked horizontally, but without damage to the text and the leaf. The leaf is in the same state of preservation as the two others. One can make out about 29 or 30 lines; but perhaps the text continues to 32 lines. But only traces of them survive. At the level of lines 7–8 on the verso the papyrus fibers are destroyed, so that one cannot read the text; on the recto on the other hand the fibers are preserved and hence the text is legible. On the edge a few papyrus parts are pushed [out of place]; the bottom margin of the leaf is completely destroyed except for individual fibers.

Im National-Museum in Warschau befinden sich drei Platten, die zu einem Mani-Kodex gehören könnten. Alle drei sind ohne Nummer und haben jetzt nur die Nummer vom National-Museum [MN]. Zwei sind mit 140 160 MN A und B und mit Ziffer 1 und 4 auf der Verso-Seite, und eine mit Nummer 200 611 MN und mit Ziffer 3 versehen. Die ersten zwei Platten hat bestimmt W. Beltz gesehen [vgl. seinen Katalog]. Die dritte Platte [200 611 MN] hat dieselbe Grösse und denselben Schriftductus: könnte also von aussen gesehen zu demselben Kodex gehören. Auf der Rectoseite ist die Verglasung horizontal angebrochen, aber ohne Schaden für den Text und das Blatt. Das Blatt ist in demselben Erhaltungsgrad wie die zwei anderen. Man kann circa 29 bis 30 Zeilen ausmachen; vermutlich aber geht der Text bis 32 Zeilen. Davon sind jedoch nur Spuren erhalten. In der Höhe der Zeilen 7–8 sind auf der Verso-Seite die Papyrusfasern zerstört, so dass man den Text nicht lesen kann; an der Recto-Seite dagegen sind die Fasern erhalten und ist also der Text lesbar. Am Seitenrand sind einige Papyrusteile verschoben; der untere Rand des Blattes ist bis auf einzelne Fasern ganz zerstört.

The third leaf, which has only recently been mentioned, has been in part transcribed by Myszor, which will help to clarify the identification and the nature of the text.

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On September 11, 1986, Wolf-Peter Funk examined the 3 plates (and on October 29, 1986 measured the plates themselves: 35.5 to 35.7 cm by 23.0 cm), and on November 4, 1986, wrote a report that brings further clarity to the situation: The small labels with the numbers 1, 3, and 4 (as well as the Warsaw Museum labels) are on one side only, that with horizontal fibers, which is what Myszor hence meant by recto. If however one would use recto to refer to the right-hand page, as does Funk, the situation is as follows: Since broader margins are usually in the Manichaean codices not at the spine but at the leading edge, and broader margins on one side characterize the leaves in Warsaw, one can distinguish the right-hand page (Funk's recto), whose right edge would be broad, from the left-hand page (Funk's verso), whose left *edge* would be broad. On this basis one can determine the fiber directions of the 4 leaves (right-hand page / left-hand page) as follows: 1, vertical / horizontal; 3, vertical / horizontal; 4, horizontal / vertical. This would suggest that the numeration of the leaves could reflect the correct sequence of the leaves in relation to each other, i.e. the sequence in which they were successively separated from the book block (though it would not be clear whether the conservation took place from front to back or from back to front). For the numeration conforms to the pattern of like fiber directions facing each other as one turns the pages, i.e., the left-hand page of leaf 3 has horizontal fibers, and the facing right-hand page of leaf 4 also has horizontal fibers (or, if the conservation progressed from back to front, the left-hand page of leaf 4 has vertical fibers, which would face the right-hand page of leaf 3, which also has vertical fibers). If the missing leaf 2 had fiber directions like those of leaf 4, then leaf 2 would present like fiber directions on the side facing leaf 1 as well as on the side facing leaf 3.

This identification of which side is the left-hand page and which the right-hand page is continued by page superscriptions in the top margins. For on the left-hand page of leaves 1 and 4 is an ordinal number, and on the right-hand page of leaf 4 is a personal name, so that the page superscriptions would follow the pattern: The x-th Letter / of (or to) X. Schmidt and Polotsky already identified these page superscriptions. For on the left-hand page of leaf 1 there occurs ⲧⲙⲁϩⲱⲩⲁⲙ, and on the left-hand page of leaf 4 there occurs ⲧⲙⲁϩ . . . ϵ ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ . . . The three letters not transcribed could be, in Funk's opinion, ⲥⲛⲧ, though, not having the passage in Schmidt and Polotsky before him,

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he did not actually examine the papyrus with these letters in mind. Thus the left-hand page of leaf 1 contains "The thir[d . . .]," the left-hand page of leaf 4 "The [second] Letter." Leaf 4 has on the right-hand page NCICIINNIOC. Though this would not be the continuation of the superscription read on the left-hand pages of leaves 1 and 4, but of the leaf next to leaf 4, it would nonetheless indicate the pattern of the superscriptions. This would seem to identify leaves 1 and 4 as those whose running titles Schmidt and Polotsky transcribed, even though they read the complete title. Perhaps merely because they did not indicate lacunae, as Funk expects on the basis of their complete transcription of running titles of the *Synaxeis* codex that are today and probably always have been fragmentary. It may well be that Schmidt and Polotsky did not actually see the page superscriptions on the right-hand facing pages to leaves 1 and 4, but only inferred from the pattern they had established what it may have been. They based preliminary codicological inferences regarding P[15998] upon their broader experience with P[15996] as they themselves state: "The papyrus book hence corresponds outwardly to the *Kephalaia*, except that it does not seem to be paginated."

Thus the left-hand page of leaf 4 would have contained part of a second letter, and the left-hand page of leaf 1 part of a third letter. This would suggest that the sequence of the numeration of the leaves is the reverse of their order in the codex. Leaf 4 could have been the first leaf of the codex only if one were to assume a first letter of less than two pages terminated and the second letter began on the left-hand page of that leaf. The second and/or third letters, present on the left-hand page of the first leaf (number 4, in the ordering of the leaves 4, 3, 2, 1) and the left-hand page of the fourth leaf (number 1), a total of nearly seven pages, would have been longer.

It is hence not surprising that Böhlig reported that after World War II he did not find in Berlin the pages with the superscriptions that Schmidt and Polotsky listed. His report to the effect that there were six already-glassed leaves together with the penciled notes in the *Inventarbuch* that six leaves were glassed and returned to Berlin would lead to the normal assumption that the four leaves that Schmidt and Polotsky reported as already glassed would be among these six. But now this would not seem to be the case. The fact that Böhlig listed the numbers on these six glasses as 12, 13, 21, 23, 24, and 25 would also

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tend to suggest that the 6 he located did not include the first four that Schmidt and Polotsky reported as glassed.

The inventory carried out in 1985–1986 did not locate what Rolf Ibscher referred to as "the paper cover that protected them" i.e., that protected "a sizable number of leaves." The paper contained the comments "from Codex B" and "*Letters*," which seemed to Rolf Ibscher confusingly contradictory, in that one reference seemed to point to Dublin (Codex B = *Synaxeis*), one to Berlin (*Letters* = P[15998]). If the "paper cover" is the same as the "folders" to which Böhlig referred, then one would no doubt have to do with the usual file folders in which papyri may well have been stored before being put in glass. They would have been left in such folders by Hugo Ibscher, since his conservation was only provisional, and would have been transferred into glass by Rolf Ibscher, even though the conservation was never adequately completed, in that in some instances parts of two leaves are still glassed together. The folders with the confusing information on them would then have been discarded.

But some of the information on the discarded paper cover has apparently been preserved on labels. The glassed but unboxed leaf labeled "*Kephalaia* 15996 Nr. 29" has inscribed on its label, though marked out, the numeral 361 (and on the back, also marked out, 362) as well as "zu 15998" ["to 15998"] (also marked out). Rolf Ibscher had reported in connection with the leaves provisionally preserved by his father and confusingly labeled "from Codex B" and "*Letters*": "But there is also among these leaves one with the number 361. To what does that belong?" Obviously the leaf has subsequently been reassigned to P[15996], but the reason remains unclear. For the numeration 361/62 should not lead to such an assignment, since that leaf of P[15996] is present at its correct position in the appropriate box. Yet such high numerations are known only in the case of P[15996], and this could have led to assigning the plate to P[15996] if the relevant box were not checked. In any case, one has here clear evidence that at least this one leaf among those that Rolf Ibscher thought might belong either to "Codex B" (the Dublin *Synaxeis*) or to the Berlin *Letters* (P[15998]) is currently assigned by its label to neither, but rather to the *Kephalaia*.

More extant leaves are currently assigned to the *Kephalaia* than one is required to postulate are from that codex. For there are only twenty-five leaves missing between the last bound leaf, pp. 439/440, and the last attested leaf, pp. 501/502. For the extant leaf pp. 455–56

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is clearly identified as extant by its label, and the leaves pp. 447–54, 499/500 are in Warsaw. One leaf was atomized by a sneeze by Rolf Ibscher. This leaves a total of 24 leaves missing. Yet there are 32 leaves labeled P15996 (not counting plate 23, since it consists only of fragments, but recognizing that plate 30 contains 2 leaves). Up to eight leaves with this label may well belong to the *Kephalaia*, after p. 502, or to other codices. The leaf labeled "*Kephalaia* number 29," reassigned to P15998, might well belong there.

This may help to explain another instance, which, however, is less clear due to the fact that the earlier assignment is scraped off. This is a pair of leaves glassed together and labeled by hand "*Kephalaia* 15996 Nr. 30." This plate, like the one numbered 29, may originally have been assigned to the *Letters*.

When the inventory was begun in 1985, a stack of fifteen leaves (separate from the six leaves regularly listed as present) was found accompanied by a piece of paper with a note in the hand of Günter Poethke that read: "Wahrscheinlich zu P15998 gehörig (s. Vortrag von Böhlig in Moskau: 'Schweren Herzens'). 15 Platten. 26.7.72." ["Apparently belonging to P15998 (see the lecture of Böhlig in Moscow [that begins] 'With heavy heart . . .'). 15 glasses. July 16, 1972."] Poethke has explained the note as simply a pragmatic way to dispose administratively of the matter rather than as the result of new research on his part, which would account for the cautious term "apparently." The reference to Böhlig's paper of 1960/68 would no doubt have in view the passages cited above:

> . . . the conservation of a few half-conserved leaves that Ibscher Sr. had at first put to one side as too difficult, doubtlessly correctly, for it had to do usually with double or triple leaves . . .
>
> Of this book one finds in Berlin, put under glass already in the prewar period, 6 leaves with the temporary numbers 12, 13, 21, 23, 24, and 25, and about 22 leaves in half-conserved condition. The folders in which they lay were numbered, and supplement the numbers of the glassed leaves: 1–11, 14–20, 22. It is worth noting that the leaves 17–21 present an appreciably larger, quite differently arranged script, and that leaf 16 is perhaps uninscribed. Incidentally, the numeration of leaves needs to be corrected, for a leaf treated as an unseparated pair turns out to be triplets, and 2 leaves that were still unnumbered, with the note "Codex B from the volume of *Letters* of Mani," have to be given a place between 21 and 23.

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Each plate in the stack of fifteen leaves is labeled P[15998], except for two plates labelled "*Kephalaia* o. Nr." "*Kephalaia* without number." This nomenclature recalls Böhlig's reference to "2 leaves that were still unnumbered, with the note 'Codex B from the volume of *Letters* of Mani.'" Since a folder was already numbered 22, there were no unoccupied digits between 21 and 23. This would account for the two leaves not having been numbered, pending a renumeration of all the leaves of P[15998], which apparently never took place. By some rather inexplicable transaction(s) they would, according to this conjecture, seem to have then been labeled *Kephalaia* rather than *Letters*, but nonetheless stored with the 13 leaves labeled P[15998], with the appended note to the effect that there were 15 leaves of P[15998]. One may suspect that originally the two plates labeled *Kephalaia* 29 and 30, if in fact they had been previously assigned to P[15998], may have been included in the stack of 15 plates of P[15998]. Once they had become (re)assigned to P[15996], they might have been replaced in the stack of 15 by those labeled "*Kephalaia* without number."

The ascription to the *Letters* of the six leaves (12, 13, 21, 23, 24, and 25) singled out by Böhlig as glassed by Hugo Ibscher, has never been questioned. Since what remains of the "about 22 leaves in half-conserved condition" is no longer in "folders" but has now been glassed, the distinction between the two groups can no longer be made in terms of what is glassed and what is in folders. But the 6 leaves always ascribed to the *Letters* can nonetheless be identified. When first seen on October 28–29, 1985, they were stacked separately. Böhlig's numbers largely confirmed this physical separation. Five bear the numbers 12, 21, 23, 24, 25, and the one lacking a label can be identified from the transcription of a few phrases of a leaf numbered 13 in Beltz's catalogue. These phrases do in fact occur, with but minor deviations from Beltz's transcription, on this leaf, which has hence been labeled in 1986 as number 13.

There is, however, a glass not stacked with the six that nonetheless is numbered 12, which thus repeats a number occurring on one of the 6 leaves that Hugo Ibscher conserved. The distinction of two stacks in which the two glasses numbered 12 lie is a weak criterion to distinguish which is among the 6 glassed by Hugo Ibscher, since the place where a glass is stacked can be so readily changed. But the 6 glasses stacked together measure 23 cm wide and 35.5 to 36.6 cm high, whereas the others assigned to P[15998] measure 25 by 35 cm. And

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whereas the others are framed in sticky reddish-brown tape, the 6 are framed in tan plastic tape that readily comes loose, exposing narrower white paper tape beneath. (The tan plastic tape was removed, and Gesa Schenke covered the underlying tape with Filmoplast P[90] on February 11, 1986.) Furthermore, those conserved by Hugo Ibscher have brown labels with the number prefaced by B (except for number 13 that had lost its label), and only one of the two leaves numbered 12 includes the letter B. For these reasons, the leaf labeled B 12 is clearly the leaf conserved by Hugo Ibscher.

Böhlig's report that he could not find on the 6 leaves the page superscriptions "The Second Letter to Sisinnios" and "The Third Letter to Sisinnios" that Schmidt and Polotsky quoted has been confirmed by a fresh examination of the leaves in Berlin. But these superscriptions were identified as among those in Warsaw (see above). Yet Böhlig did report finding a chapter titled, "The Seventh Letter to Ktesiphon on the *pannychismoi* (vigils)," which letter began: "Mani the apostle of Jesus Christ and Sisinnios and the believing elect who are with me . . ." This text, though less legible than this smooth translation suggests, is on leaf 24, the side with horizontal fibers. The title (set off from the text by horizontal lines above and below) is on extant lines 8–9, and the quotation from the opening of the text on the next two lines.

According to Böhlig, the group of about twenty-two leaves were in folders bearing the numbers 1–11, 14–20, and 22, a total of 19 numbers, 3 less than the total of about 22. Also when one adds the 6 leaves under glass and about 22 in half-conserved condition, one reaches a total of about 28 leaves, which, however, were conserved in glasses and folders numbered up only to 25, where again the discrepancy of 3 digits occurs. But this discrepancy could be explained in terms of Böhlig's observation that one folder contained 3 rather than the previously assumed 2 leaves, and that there were 2 unnumbered leaves labeled "Codex B from the volume of *Letters* of Mani" that belonged somewhere between 211 and 23.

Actually, the only glasses with numbers among the fifteen are the nine numbered 8–12, 14–16, and 18. All these numbers except number 12, which in Böhlig's list referred only to a leaf glassed by Hugo Ibscher and hence not to a folder, may be assumed to be the material from the folders with those numbers listed by Böhlig. The assumption is that one glass was by error given the number 12 when it was transferred from a folder that did not bear this number.

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Number 10 has on its label, "Mani-Blatt gebleicht Nr 10" ["Mani leaf bleached No 10"]. The leaf is considerably lighter than the others, while the ink is dark. It is unclear why the bleaching technique, if successful, was discontinued. Perhaps concern for negative long-range effects was involved.

The numbers 1–7, 17, 19, 20, and 22 are all absent from the 15 glasses. This makes a total of 11 numbers, which would be over half of the 19 folders, or half of the original list of some 22 leaves. If one of these missing numbers may be assumed to be the glass inaccurately numbered 12, others of the missing material may be found among 4 glasses without numeration:

One unnumbered glass is labeled "Zwillingsblatt von No 8 abgelöst. Dr. I[bscher]." ["Twin leaf separated from Number 8. Dr. I[bscher]."] This label is in the same red ink as the notation on label 8 that reads "Zwillingsblatt zwischen Glas" ["Twin leaf between glass"]. The extant profile, when placed so that like fiber directions face each other, suggests they may indeed have been adjoining leaves.

One unnumbered glass is labeled (in English!) "Twins," no doubt reflecting Rolf Ibscher's (Germanic) English that he acquired in London, which is documented in his English letters. Its shape would suggest that it might have been part of Number 9, which still has part of a second leaf conserved with it. Especially the excess papyrus (covering the right edge of lines 5–10 of the side of the "Twins" that touches the horizontal fibers of leaf 9 when the contours are aligned) seems to correspond to a lacuna on leaf 9. The fact that leaf 9 is considerably smaller than the "twins" would indicate that as a single leaf, it was weaker, and when stuck would tend to lose papyrus to the stronger "twins." Thus we may have to do with what Böhlig described: "a leaf treated as an unseparated pair turns out to be triplets."

Since leaves 8 and 9 have similar profiles, one may conjecture that Hugo Ibscher separated two adjoining layers: one containing two leaves, the other three; and that Rolf Ibscher separated each layer again, producing a total of 4 plates with 5 leaves. On the assumption that like fiber directions faced each other, one could reconstruct the order as: "Twin leaf separated from number 8," with horizontal fibers facing up; followed by leaf 8, with vertical fibers facing up; followed by the twins, where horizontal fibers are visible on both sides, and hence the side facing up is determined by the extant profile; followed by leaf 9 with horizontal fibers facing up.

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One unnumbered glass lacks a label. It too contains two leaves, and hence may be assumed to fall within the category of half-conserved twins in P[15998]. Since faint traces of large letters seem to be visible, the pair could be the missing leaves 19–20 or the unnumbered two leaves belonging between 21 and 23. The extant profile is, however, so dissimilar as to make an identification difficult.

One unnumbered glass has a label that records: "Mittelteil ohne Schriftspüren, völlig zerstört, deshalb entfernt. Umbettung am 18. III. 1970." ["Middle part without traces of writing, completely destroyed, hence removed. Reconservation on 18 iii 70."] Günter Poethke has identified the handwriting as that of Rolf Ibscher's assistant, Otto Werner Luke (deceased).

Of the about 22 leaves put in folders by Hugo Ibscher and between glass by Rolf Ibscher, one may thus probably account for most of them:

- 8 folders numbered 8–11, 14–16, 18, may be presumed to be, the 8 leaves in 8 glasses with the same numbers.
- 1 leaf in a glass numbered 8 may be assumed to come from one of these folders also.
- 6 leaves are conserved in 4 unnumbered glasses, since in 2 of the 4 glasses there are 2 leaves each.

3 leaves currently labeled *Kephalaia* may have come from P[15998]:

1. 1 labeled as 29
2. 2 leaves in one glass container labeled as 30 (2 in 2 glass containers listed as without number are here assumed to belong to the *Kephalaia*.)

Böhlig conjectured that some of this codex was by mistake taken to London, on the erroneous assumption that the leaves belonged to Chester Beatty's Codex B, the *Synaxeis*:[4]

[p. 186] The question as to the situation regarding the last Chester Beatty codex, Codex B, is very problematic. In London there are 13 leaves, already glassed by Hugo	[p. 186] Sehr problematisch ist die Frage, was es mit dem letzten Chester-Beatty-Codex, dem Codex B, auf sich hat. In London liegen 13 Blätter, noch von Hugo

4. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 186–87.

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Ibscher, unfortunately without any note as to content or titles that may have been read. Rolf Ibscher could only tell me that it has to do with an unusually large format. Thus far it has not been possible to take a look at these plates for myself. [Footnote 1: Unfortunately it is precisely their conservation that has not yet been completed; they still lie between *paper and* glass, so that one cannot read them without removing glass and paper. But Sir Chester Beatty has not permitted that, out of concern for the condition of the papyri.] However, with all due caution on the basis of minimal indications, I would nonetheless like to present an effort at a solution . . .

As has also been conjectured by C. Colpe, we will then indeed, in the case of the Göttingen manuscript, have to do with Codex B of the Chester Beatty collection. What then is the situation with the 13 leaves that are in London as Codex B? They ought to have been 13 leaves of the Göttingen manuscript that were the first separated and glassed by Hugo Ibscher. But if, as Rolf Ibscher recalls, they have an especially large format, that cannot be the case. I would hence like, with all due reservations, to conjecture that they were once brought to London by mistake. They are designated as Codex B. For it could perhaps be possible that Hugo Ibscher, who also designated the Berlin corpus of *Letters* as Codex B, once by mistake brought to London the plates, from the mass of the

Ibscher verglast, leider ohne jede Notiz über Inhalt oder gelesene überschriften. Rolf Ibscher konnte mir nur mitteilen, dass es sich dabei um ein besonders grosses Format handelt. Eine eigene Ansicht dieser Platten war mir bisher nicht möglich. [Footnote 1: Gerade ihre Konservierung ist bedauerlicherweise noch nicht zu Ende geführt; sie liegen noch zwischen *Papier und* Glas, so dass man sie nicht lesen kann, ohne Glas und Papier zu entfernen. Das aber hat Sir Chester Beatty aus Sorge um den Zustand der Papyri nicht gestattet.] Ich möchte aber trotzdem aus minimalen Indizien in aller Vorsicht einen Lösungsversuch vortragen . . .

Wir werden es also in der Tat, wie auch von C. Colpe vermutet, bei der Göttinger Handschrift mit dem Codex B der Chester-Beatty-Sammlung zu tun haben. Was ist aber dann mit den 13 in London als Codex B befindlichen Blättern? Sie müssten 13 von Hugo Ibscher als erste abgehobene und verglaste Blätter der Göttinger Handschrift sein. Wenn sie aber, wie Rolf Ibscher sich erinnert, ein besonders grosses Format haben, so kann das nicht zutreffen. Ich möchte dann mit aller Zurückhaltung vermuten, dass sie einst versehentlich nach London gebracht wurden. Sie werden als Codex B bezeichnet. Es könnte ja vielleicht möglich sein, dass Hugo Ibscher, der auch das Briefcorpus von Berlin als Codex B bezeichnete, die Platten einmal versehentlich aus der Menge

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Mani manuscripts that were in the process of being worked on, but that they in reality belong to the corpus of *Letters*. For especially large format occurs only in the corpus of *Letters*. Besides, I was not able to find in Berlin the page superscriptions read by Schmidt on 4 glassed leaves of the corpus of *Letters*. But such reflections are actually idle—a glance at the London leaves should suffice to solve all these problematic questions with one blow.

der in Bearbeitung befindlichen Manihandschriften [p. 187] nach London gebracht hatte, sie aber in Wirklichkeit zum Briefcorpus gehören. Denn besonders grosses Format liegt nur beim Briefcorpus vor; ausserdem konnte ich ja die von Schmidt gelesenen Seitenüberschriften auf 4 verglasten Blättern des Briefcorpus in Berlin nicht finden. Aber solche überlegungen sind eigentlich müssig ein Blick auf die Londoner Blätter dürfte genügen, um alle diese problematischen Fragen mit einem Schlage zu lösen.

The simplest way to have identified the leaves now in Copenhagen with P[15998] would have been to identify on them the missing page superscriptions that Schmidt and Polotsky reported. But now that these missing materials would seem to have been located in Warsaw, other criteria would have to be used to identify leaves in Copenhagen as belonging to P[15998].

The 6 leaves that Hugo Ibscher conserved are labeled, in distinction to those that Rolf Ibscher glassed, with the letter B (but no codex number) preceding the number of the leaf. This may be a vestige of the designation of P[15998] as Berlin Codex B. Böhlig has reported:

The division according to capital letters A, B, etc. is in fact not the division of the Museums. It is a division that Hugo Ibscher used privately for himself. I have still seen with Rolf Ibscher file folders in which things were sorted according to such letters. It is not a claim by me that Hugo Ibscher proceeded this way also for the German parts, but here I repeat information from Rolf Ibscher from the year 196[4].

Die Einteilung nach grossen Buchstaben A, B usw. ist in der Tat nicht die Einteilung der Museen; das ist eine Einteilung, die Hugo Ibscher für sich privat benutzte. Ich habe bei Rolf Ibscher noch Verordner gesehen, in denen nach solchen Buchstaben sortiert war. Dass Hugo Ibscher das auch für die deutschen Teile so gemacht hat, ist nicht eine Behauptung von mir, sondern ich gab damit Informationen von Rolf Ibscher aus dem Jahr 196[4] wieder.

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Yet this reference from the year 196[4] is precisely what is in need of clarification. For here Rolf Ibscher senses a problem that would not exist if he recognized B as the Ibscher designation for the *Letters*. The only other reference located thus far to the possibility that Hugo Ibscher designated as Codex B both the Berlin codex P[15998], the *Letters*, and Chester Beatty's *Synaxeis* is the confused statement of Rolf Ibscher to the effect that a sizable number of leaves separated last by his father (specified by Böhlig as "about 22") were in a paper cover; Ibscher's statement refers to them as "from Codex B" and "(*Letters*)." Rolf Ibscher's confusion here would seem to indicate that he was completely unaware of what Böhlig describes as his father's practice of designating the Berlin Codex P[15998], the *Letters*, as Codex B. For Rolf Ibscher's perplexity presupposes that the Berlin *Letters* were not designated Codex B. If he had known of such a practice, there would have been nothing confusing or contradictory in the two labels. Both would have affirmed that the leaves in question belong to the Berlin Codex B, P[15998], the *Letters*. Rolf Ibscher should not have hesitated to add these 22 leaves to the list of 6 leaves of the *Letters* still extant in Berlin, rather than leaving them unidentified.

Böhlig took Rolf Ibscher's reference to "an especially large format" of the 13 leaves as pointing to the *Letters* rather than to the *Synaxeis*. But this reasoning is unclear, since the format of the two codices is similar. The dimensions that Beltz gives for the extant leaves of P[15998], the *Letters*, is some 30 cm high by 17.5 cm wide. Leaf 18 actually measures 31.5 by 17.0, leaf 23 31.0 by 16.0, leaf 24 30.0 by 17.0, leaf 25 29.5 by 17.5 cm. This is considerably larger than the dimensions Beltz gives for P[15995], the *Synaxeis*, averaging 18–20 cm high by 11–16 cm wide. But here Beltz is basing his measurements no doubt on the 31 leaves in the Staatliche Museen of Berlin, which are approximately this size. But the book block in Berlin (*West*) measures 30 cm high (or even 31.8 cm when fringes of fiber are included) by 19 cm wide. Neither the *Synaxeis* nor the *Letters* is of unusually large format. P[15996]. The *Kephalaia*, measures according to Hugo Ibscher 31.5 cm high by 18 cm wide.[5] Hugo Ibscher also lists the measurements of Sir Chester Beatty's *Homilies* (= P[15999]) as 31.5 cm high by 18 cm wide.[6] Hugo Ibscher provides there the confusing observation:

5. Hugo Ibscher, in Polotsky and Böhlig, *Kephalaia*, xi.
6. Hugo Ibscher, in Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, xiii.

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With the exception of the *Psalms* from the collection of Mr. Chester Beatty, which has a height of 27 cm and a breadth of 17.5 cm [measurements repeated by Ibscher in his introduction to the *Psalms*[7]], all the rest of the books are 31.5 cm high and 18 cm wide.	Mit Ausnahme des Psalmenbuches aus der Sammlung von Mr. Chester Beatty, das bei einer Höhe von 27 cm eine Breite von 17.5 cm besitzt [measurements repeated by Ibscher in his introduction to the *Psalms*[7]], sind alle übrigen Bücher 31.5 cm hoch and 18 cm breit.

For Hugo Ibscher seems, in this generalizing statement, to have overlooked P[15997], the *Acts*, which Beltz reports as averaging 22–25 cm high by 8–10 cm wide. Leaf IV measures 24.0 cm high by some 12.0 cm high. The leaf labeled P[15998] and 36, both changed to P[15997] and 32, is 24.9 cm high by 13.0 cm wide. It would seem that an "especially large format" would not dissociate the 13 leaves from the *Synaxeis* with which it had been initially associated, but only from the *Psalms* and the *Acts*, and would not associate it with any particular one of the other codices such as P[15998], the *Letters*. It would hence require other criteria to identify more precisely the 13 leaves.

The facsimile edition of 1986[7] presents the plates in natural size, reaching to a height only of 28.5 cm (plates 101/02, 111/12). The width reaches 17.5 cm once (plates 103/04), and, thanks to a fragment less than a centimeter in diameter at the end of a few apparently attached fibers, reaches 18.7 cm once (plates 115/16). The designation "especially large format" hence seems inappropriate, since the height lies between the smaller and larger codices, in fact nearer that of the smaller ones, and the width, which in any case varies only half a centimeter between large and small codices, in this case (with the one exception) only once reaches as much as the smaller dimension.

Tito Orlandi reported as follows on the material in Dublin in 1976:[8]

On another of the same shelves (to the right of the entrance) there are 16 numbered glasses that could represent the part of Codex B restored before the war by H.	Sur une autre des mêmes étagères (a droite de l'entrée), il y a 16 verres numérotés, qui pourraient representer la partie du Cod. B restaurée avant la guerre par H.

7. Giversen, *Homilies and Varia*, ix–x of the Introduction and the plates on pp. 101–26.

8. Orlandi, "Les manuscrits coptes de Dublin," 324–25.

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Ibscher; the other part of Codex B, [p. 325] according to Böhlig, is in Germany (the codex of West Berlin, formerly at Göttingen). They are not of large format, according to what I could determine. This assures us that the fragments do not belong to the codex of *Letters* (= Berlin, Codex 3).

Ibscher; l'autre partie du Cod. B, [p. 325] selon Böhlig, se trouverait en Allemagne (codex de Berlin ouest, jadis a Goettingue). Its ne sont pas d'un grand format, d'après ce que j'ai pu constater: ce qui nous assure que les fragments n'appartiennent pas au codex des *Lettres* (= Berlin, Cod. 3).

Although Orlandi only states that these leaves are numbered, one may assume they are also labeled as Codex B, since Rolf Ibscher and, following him, Böhlig presuppose such an identification. The number of leaves that Rolf Ibscher had reported to Böhlig and that Böhlig had published was 13, not 16, as Orlandi reports. But Orlandi seems to have these 13 in view, in that he identifies the plates as Codex B, and in that he explicitly draws attention to the fact that the format is not large, as a correction of Rolf Ibscher's recollection that it was large. Orlandi takes this as evidence that the 16 leaves are not from the *Letters*, thus correcting the conjecture of Böhlig. Unfortunately, references to larger or smaller formats in this discussion are not accompanied by measurements, so that the base of comparison remains imprecise.

One must thus use all due caution with regard to Böhlig's conjecture that leaves of P[15998] are to be found in Copenhagen. Hence one should tentatively assume only that there survive of the codex of Mani's *Letters*: 6 leaves conserved by Hugo Ibscher, in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 3 in the National Museum in Warsaw, and 15 leaves in 13 glass containers in Berlin listed in 1972 as belonging to this codex, 3 in two containers numbered 29 and 30 reassigned to the *Kephalaia*, and 1 reassigned to the *Acts*. This would make a total of 28 leaves or 56 pages that survive in whole or in part that are tentatively assigned to the *Letters*.

This codex has not been published.

In 1986 a facsimile edition was published[9] of the 13 leaves that Böhlig had discussed as perhaps belonging to this codex, though in Dublin. Giversen reports that those still in their original glass covers

9. Giversen, *Homilies and Varia*, ix–x of the Introduction and the plates on pages 101–26.

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bear the label "Codex B," which may have been the basis of the confusion. The pages had also been labeled 51–76, corresponding in the facsimile edition to pages 101–26, in such a way that facing pages have similar fiber directions. A division into two quires, each consisting of "four double leaves" is ascribed to Hugo Ibscher (with the first leaf of the first quire and the last two leaves of the second quire missing). The problem of the identity of the codex is stated, but no solution is indicated:

> The identity of this codex—or poor remnants of a codex—has been widely discussed, for example in the article by A. Böhlig cited above and in a series of other articles, as has the identity of the Mani codex in West Berlin, once called the Schondorf[f] papyrus.
>
> Since this edition should not pre-empt the results of a later critical edition, it has been decided to publish the pages in question in order to promote the work of identifying the papyrus with as little delay as possible. I have therefore refrained from offering any solution, preferring instead to provide some facts which together with the facsimiles should assist in this task.
>
> Not only are the glasses inscribed Codex B, but the frames also are marked "Kephalaia. Codex B." These labels are clearly in Hugo Ibscher's handwriting. The text in most cases is readable, although not easily.
>
> A precise description of the character and content of the text must wait until a critical edition can provide the text in full.

The labeling by Hugo Ibscher as *Kephalaia* would seem to suggest a still further identification than previously envisaged, either with the first volume of *Kephalaia* in Berlin (P[15996]) or with the second volume of *Kephalaia* in Dublin, Codex C, published as Volume I of the facsimile edition.[10] But Giversen does not enter further into the problem of the identification of the material, but contents himself with observing that "important subjects are clearly dealt with" and transcribing a few words.

Photographs of both sides of leaf 13 are on file at the Papyrus-Sammlung of Berlin. One copy of each side was donated to the Manichaean Archives of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity.

10. Giversen, *Kephalaia*.

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— 13 —

P[15999]*: Homilies (Berlin Part)*

Schmidt and Polotsky reported as follows:[1]

The papyrus book most recently added to the corpus of Berlin Manichaica could not yet be subjected to any further investigation. This much seems however to be certain, that it contains a collection of so-called λόγοι of different authors. The names of authors from the circle of disciples of Mani crop up on the upper margins, such as Koustaios, Salmaios.	Das jüngst zum Corpus der Berliner Manichaica gekommene Papyrusbuch konnte noch keiner weiteren Untersuchung unterzogen werden. So viel scheint aber festzustehen, dass es eine Sammlung von sogenannten λόγοι verschiedener Autoren enthält. Es tauchen auf den oberen Rändern die Autorennamen aus dem Kreise der Jüngerschaft des Mani auf, wie Koustaios, Salmaios.

Wilhelm Schubart recorded in the *Inventarbuch* of the Ägyptisches Museum of Berlin-Hauptstadt der DDR in black ink to P[15999]: "Koptischer Papyruskodex. Erworben durch Herrn Prof. Carl Schmidt, in Cairo 1932. Geschenk des Herrn Dr. W. Kohlhammer." ["Coptic Papyrus Codex. Acquired through Prof. Carl Schmidt in Cairo 1932. Gift of Dr. W. Kohlhammer."] A further note added in pencil reports under the "Standort" ["location"]: "ausgestellt" ["displayed"]. A similar hand in pencil reads "Mani." A purple carbon note reads "z. Zt. in Mo[skau]" ["at present in Mo[scow]"].

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 30.

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Rolf Ibscher has reported that Kohlhammer paid 5,000 Marks for this part of a codex.[2]

Böhlig reported in 1960/68[3]:

4. P15999, not yet made accessible, is also lost. Whether this loss is so great can be doubted. For the condition of the manuscript was so desolate that among the collaborators of the papyrus collection it was generally designated as the "wig." Schmidt could determine on the basis of the captions at the top of the pages that it must have had to do with *logoi* of disciples of Mani.	4. Die noch nicht erschlossene Handschrift P15999 ist ebenfalls verlorengegangen. Ob dieser Verlust so schwer ist, kann man bezweifeln. Denn der Zustand der Handschrift war so desolat, dass sie unter den Mitarbeitern der Papyrussammlung allgemein als die "Perücke" bezeichnet wurde. Schmidt konnte nach Seitenüberschriften feststellen, dass es sich dabei um *logoi* von Jüngern Manis handeln musste.

Beltz's catalogue omits P15999, since none of it in Berlin in 1978.

This part of a codex in Berlin has not been published. But in fact it is part of the *Homilies* codex that is among Sir Chester Beatty's codices, which has been published (see below). Michel Tardieu[4] incorrectly refers to the Dublin *Homilies* as: "Codex complète de 48 feuillets conservé à Dublin (codex D)." ["Complete codex of 48 leaves conserved at Dublin (Codex D)."] He makes no reference to P15999.

2. Rolf Ibscher, in a letter of August 29, 1957, to Carsten Colpe.
3. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 184.
4. Tardieu, "Les Manichéens en Égypte," 6.

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— 14 —

The Wooden Covers

From the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library the story of the acquisition that Schmidt and Polotsky reported has been augmented (above) with the information that on March 23, 1930, Beatty purchased from Maurice Nahman two bindings at £40 each, on the condition that if the British Museum decided they were later than the sixth century, they could be returned. This was the same acquisition that included two Coptic manuscripts on approval, which turned out to be part of the *Psalms*, which Beatty acquired, and part of the *Homilies*, which Beatty did not acquire, but which Schmidt did in 1932 (P^{15999}). But the two covers were paid for on March 23, 1930—there is a dated signed receipt from Nahman in the Archives. Yet a small ring binder that seems to have served in the early years as a kind of accessions book for Beatty's library records for July 30, when Nahman visited London to settle accounts with Beatty: "Sent by Nahman, belonging to him. Papyrus, with 1 cover. *Safe B*. (Ibscher 1930)." The reference to "Ibscher 1930" suggests this was with the Second Part of the *Psalms* taken in 1930 to Berlin. This suggests that one cover was associated with the manuscript on which Beatty had an option, what was to become P^{15999}, perhaps because the manuscript lay on the cover. A note in another hand reads: "Given to Dr. Ibscher for Nahman." This apparently refers to Beatty's releasing in 1932 his option for the part of the *Homilies* that he had on approval since 1930 and, on instructions from Nahman dated March 15, 1932, turning it over to Sir Alan Gardiner on May 10, 1932 for Ibscher to take to Berlin to be acquired there (P^{15999}). These notes would seem to indicate that one cover went with the manuscript to Berlin. Since Beatty had already paid for the cover,

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it would presumably have been an oversight on his or his staff's part to include it in what was sent of Berlin to be purchased from Nahman.

In April 1931 Beatty again acquired two manuscripts, one listed in the ring binder as "Manichaean Hymns," that is to say, the first part of the *Psalms* codex, and the other as "Manichaean Ritual Laws," which is an early designation for what in fact was the other part of the *Homilies* codex, the part published by Polotsky. In the same record were listed "3 wooden covers."

Whereas the two covers acquired in 1930 have not been located at the Chester Beatty Library (or at the Egyptian Museum in Berlin), there is at the Chester Beatty Library a large paper envelope with a handwritten note on it stating "purchased Spring 1931," containing three wooden boards, two complete, one only partially so, each apparently a front or back cover of a codex.

Schmidt and Polotsky had reported about the wooden covers of the Manichaean codices as follows (see above):[1]

> In the process, a papyrus book [P^{15997}, *Acts*] emerged that lay in the original condition as when found, between two bare wooden covers, since one had risked no further handling . . .
>
> My man of confidence must have had the whole discovery before his eyes, for, according to a passing comment that he just now made to me on my visit in March 1932, the papyrus books, each surrounded by bare covers in wood, lay in a wooden box that was found in what had been a dwelling house.

In his more popular presentation of 1933, Schmidt had written: "The box contained a series of papyrus books, each surrounded by rough wooden covers."[2]

There was even a published photograph of the edges of two such boards. For Schmidt and Polotsky had reported concerning P^{15997}, the *Acts*:[3]

> Very briefly I can turn to the third papyrus book, which when acquired lay in the original condition between two wooden covers as remains of the binding. It too belongs to the Berlin holdings. A concept of the desolate condition of the preservation is given in the accompanying photograph . . .

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 7, 9.
2. Schmidt, *Neue Originalquellen des Manichäismus aus Aegypten*, 4.
3. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 27.

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Wolfgang Müller listed three Coptic book bindings as still extant in 1964/65.[4] But Günter Poethke confirmed on September 31, 1986, that no Manichaean covers are included among them. There are also no references to Manichaean covers in the *Inventarbuch* (at least not at P15995–15999) or in the reports by Böhlig and Beltz, though they may be tacitly included in references to P15997 and P15999. Thus the two wooden covers to P15997 that apparently came from Egypt to Berlin and the cover of P15999 that apparently came to Berlin via London must be assumed to be lost.

In the case of P15996, the Berlin *Kephalaia*, by the time of the acquisition, the covers had apparently been ripped off of the book block, according to the report by Hugo Ibscher:[5]

> Of a binding nothing more could be discovered, since the covers had been undoubtedly removed with raw force, whereby along with the binding also at the same time any and every connection of the double leaves had been lost at the spine.
>
> Von einer Heftung war nichts mehr zu entdecken, weil die Einbände unzweifelhaft mit roher Gewalt entfernt worden sind, wobei mit der Heftung auch gleichzeitig sämtliche Zusammenhänge der Doppelblätter am Rücken verlorengegangen sind.

The existence of simple wooden boards, rather than ornate leather covers, initially posed a problem. For it had been assumed that the Manichaean codices were deluxe copies, for which ornate covers would be expected. In the initial report Hugo Ibscher had stated:[6]

> It stands beyond question that such elegantly furnished books must have also possessed valuable covers. The wooden covers without any decoration that lay along with the discoveries can never be looked upon as remainders of covers, at least not of our Mani books. It is possible that these extant wooden covers were once covered with leather. But one finds
>
> Dass derart vornehm ausgestattete Bücher auch kostbare Einbände besessen haben müssen, steht ausser jedem Zweifel. Niemals können die bei den Funden gelegenen Holzdeckel ohne jedwede Verzierung als Einbandreste angesprochen werden, wenigstens nicht für unsere Mani-Bücher. Möglich ist es, dass diese vorhandenen

4. Müller, "Die koptischen Handschriften," 66.
5. Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," in *Kephalaia*: 1. Hälfte (Lieferung 1–10), xi.
6. Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschriften," 85.

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no trace of such. But that they served the purpose of covers is proven by the extant holes and the furrows present on the long side, which was intended to receive the cord that binds the book block to the cover. It is after all well known that the Manichaeans decorated their books especially elegantly, which was on occasion turned into a reproach by their enemies. That the Copts were capable of producing precious covers is seen from the remains of covers that the Berlin Museum like the British Museum and Vienna's National Library possess. A rich collection of Coptic manuscripts with covers is also in the Pierpont Morgan Library. Even though all extant covers belong to the eighth to the tenth centuries A.D., one still does not need to doubt that 400 years earlier the Manichaeans were capable of producing even more expensive covers, which would mean for their divine works both protection and decoration. One may hope that the sand of Egypt will some day provide us attestation of this bookbinding art, of the greatest importance for the study of bookbinding.

Holzdeckel einmal mit Leder überzogen gewesen sind. Nur findet man hiervon keine Spur. Dass sie aber Einbandzwecken dienten, beweisen die vorhandenen Löcher und die längsseitig vorhandene Rille, die zur Aufnahme der Verschnürung des Buchblockes an den Deckel bestimmt war. Es ist ja bekannt, dass die Manichäer ihre Bücher besonders prunkvoll ausgestattet haben, was ihnen von ihren Feinden gelegentlich zum Vorwurf gemacht wurde. Dass die Kopten fähig waren, kostbare Einbände herzustellen, ersieht man aus den Einbandresten, die das Berliner Museum wie das British Museum und die Wiener Nationalbibliothek besitzen. Eine reiche Kollektion koptischer Manuskripte mit Einbänden birgt auch die Pierpont Morgan Library. Gehören alle vorhandenen Einbände auch dem 8. bis 10. Jahrhundert n. Chr. an, so braucht man nicht daran zu zweifeln, dass die Manichäer 400 Jahre früher in der Lage waren, noch kostbarere Einbände herzustellen, die für ihre göttlichen Werke Schutz und Zierde zugleich bedeuteten. Hoffentlich gibt uns der Boden Agyptens auch einmal Zeugen dieser Einbandkunst, die für die Einbandforschung von allergrösstem Werte wären.

In the introduction to Charles Allberry's edition of *A Manichaean Psalm-Book Part II*, Hugo Ibscher had conjectured:[7]

7. Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," in *A Manichaean Psalm-Book. Part II*, xvii–xviii.

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No doubt there lay along side this one, as well as by a few other volumes of the find, raw wooden covers, and, as the dealers explained, the individual books had always lain between two such wooden covers. Here too it is regrettable that the expert could not be on hand as the treasure was dug out. In any case I doubt very much that in this condition the raw wooden covers could ever have been the cover for these valuable books. It is for me certain that the original covers have been removed by force from the book block. Whether this took place already in antiquity, or first after the discovery by the dealers, is left open. I personally assume that the destruction took place already in antiquity, perhaps by a later owner, who either used the valuable bindings for other works, or wanted to make money out of the precious stones and metals that had been used for the decoration of the holy books. Otherwise it cannot be explained that it is precisely at the spine of the books that the destruction appears so strongly. If the books had not been ripped out of the cover, the firm spine of the cover would have protected the book block at this place from harm [p. xviii], and the sewing would have been preserved for us. It is lucky for us that the scribe has left at the spine of the book about 2 cm of free space, otherwise much more line beginnings would have been lost by the brutal ripping out of the book block from the cover. On

Es lagen wohl bei diesem, wie auch bei einigen anderen Bänden des Fundes rohe Holzdeckel dabei, und wie die Händler erklärten, hätten die einzelnen Bücher immer zwischen zwei solchen Holzdeckeln gelegen. Es ist auch hier wieder zu bedauern, dass der Fachmann nicht zur Stelle sein konnte, als der Schatz gehoben wurde. Jedenfalls be-zweifele ich sehr, dass die rohen Holzdeckel in diesem Zustande jemals den Einband für diese kostbaren Bücher abgegeben haben. Fest steht für mich, dass die ursprünglichen Einbände mit Gewalt vom Buchblock entfernt worden sind. Ob dies schon im Altertum oder erst nach der Auffindung durch die Händler geschehen ist, sei dahingestellt. Ich persönlich nehme an, dass die Zerstörung bereits im Altertum, vielleicht durch einen späteren Besitzer erfolgte, der die kostbaren Einbände entweder für andere Werke verwendete, oder aber die zur Ausschmückung der heiligen Bücher verwendeten Edelsteine und Edelmetalle zu Geld machen wollte. Anders ist es nicht zu erklären, dass gerade am Rücken der Bücher die Zerstörung so stark in die Erscheinung getreten ist. Wären die Bücher nicht aus dem Einband gerissen worden, so hätte gerade der feste Rücken des Einbandes den Buchblock an dieser Stelle vor Scha- [p. xviii] den bewahrt, und die Heftung wäre uns erhalten geblieben. Ein Glück für uns, dass der Schreiber am Rücken des Buches etwa 2 cm freien Raum gelassen hat, sonst wären noch weit mehr Zeilenanfänge durch das brutale Herausreissen des Buchblockes aus dem Einband verlorengegangen. Auf der beigefügten

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the appended picture one can still clearly recognize the violent destruction on the spine of the book.

If the covers really were of wood, and the dimensions of the two covers found with the *Psalms* book justify this conjecture, then Greek binding artists must have been at work, who already in very early times knew of the use of wood for covers. All early Coptic covers that have cropped up in Egypt—from the 6th to the 8th centuries A.D.—consistently present covers that have been constructed from the remains of the papyrus stalk, or in which the covers were pasted together from old cartonnage. It would have been very nice to come to know here for once old covers from the beginning of the 4th century A.D., which would have advanced considerably our knowledge in the area of research into book binding, since the earliest covers come from the 6th century A.D.

Abbildung kann man die gewaltmässige Zerstörung am Buchrücken noch gut erkennen.

Sollten die Einbanddeckel wirklich aus Holz bestanden haben, und die Grösse der beiden mit dem Psalmenbuch gefundenen Decked rechtfertigen diese Vermutung, dann müssen hier griechische Einbandkünstler am Werke gewesen sein, die die Verwendung von Holz zu Einbanddeckeln schon in sehr früher Zeit kannten. Sämtliche bisher in Ägypten aufgetauchten frühen koptischen Einbände—aus dem 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert n. Chr.—zeigen durchweg Deckel, die aus Abfällen von der Papyrusstaude hergestellt sind, oder bei denen die Deckel aus alter Makulatur zusammengeklebt wurden. Es wäre erfreulich gewesen, hier einmal alte Einbände aus dem Ausgang des 4. Jahrh. n. Chr. kennenzulernen, die unsere Kenntnis auf dem Gebiete der Einbandforschung ungemein gefördert hätte[n], da die frühesten Einbände aus dem 6. Jahrh. n. Chr. stammen.

In 1938 Charles Allberry was no doubt following Ibscher in conjecturing the bindings were ripped out in antiquity:[8]

> When the dealers divided each book up they had to tear the parts asunder. The books seem to have been ripped out of their bindings in antiquity and in consequence one margin has disappeared, so that on alternate pages for the most part the beginning and the end of the lines are more often than not destroyed.

Hugo Ibscher reported further about the luxurious covers of Manichaean codices in 1940:[9]

8. Allberry, "Manichaean Studies," 341.
9. Hugo Ibscher, "Die Handschrift," *in Kephalaia: 1. Hälfte (Lieferung 1–10)*, vii–viii.

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The fact that the Mani manuscripts have come down to us in codex form does not mean in and of itself anything new, but is actually quite a matter of course. For also the manuscripts of the Manichaean primitive community that may have served as a *Vorlage* for the Coptic scribes usually already had this book form. Although [p. viii] according to the discoveries in Dura, in the region of the Euphrates, papyrus writing material was not unknown, in contrast to the Mani manuscripts from Egypt the writing material used for the manuscripts of the primitive community will have been parchment. This is clearly and unambiguously shown from the many reports of the Arabic writings, according to which, in burning the Mani writings in the time of persecution, "precious stones fell out and gold flowed out." Both were materials that were used only to decorate codex covers, but never for the protective coverings for papyrus rolls. Just so Augustine also as a fanatical opponent of the Manichaeans called on his followers in his polemical writings, "burn all those parchment manuscripts and those expensive leather covers."

Dass die Manihandschriften in Kodexform auf uns gekommen sind, bedeutet an und für sich nichts Neues, sondern ist eigentlich ganz selbstverständlich. Denn auch die Handschriften der Manichäischen Urgemeinde, die den koptischen Schreibern als Vorlage gedient haben mögen, trugen sicher schon diese Buchform. Obgleich [p. viii] nach den Funden in Dura im Euphratgebiet der Papyrus-Beschreibstoff nicht unbekannt gewesen ist, wird aber im Gegensatz zu den Manihandschriften aus Agypten der für die Handschriften der Urgemeinde verwendete Beschreibstoff Pergament gewesen sein. Dies geht klar und eindeutig aus den vielen Berichten der arabischen Schriftsteller hervor, wonach bei der Verbrennung der Manischriften in der Verfolgungszeit "Edelsteine herausfielen und Gold herausfloss." Beides Materialien, die nur zur Ausschmückung der Kodexeinbände Verwendung fanden, niemals aber bei den Schutzhüllen für die Papyrusrollen. Ebenso forderte auch Augustin als fanatischer Gegner der Manichäer in seinen Streitschriften seine Anhänger auf, "verbrennt alle jene Pergament-Handschriften und jene kostbaren Ledereinbände."

Such assumptions about luxurious Manichaean covers do not provide a solid basis for putting in question that these simple boards were in fact the original covers of these Manichaean codices. There are no grounds for further speculation implying something like a rebinding in antiquity, which of course could take place (P. Bodmer XIV–XV), but should not be conjectured merely as an inference from secondary literature.

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To judge by the similar position of the holes in two of the three Dublin boards and their similar overall dimensions and irregularities, these two belonged to the same codex. The two covers measure 34 cm high by 19.4 (at the top) to 19.8 cm (at the bottom) wide. The third board, presumably from a different codex, is incomplete, having a vertical break resulting in dimensions of 32.7 to 33.0 cm high by 12.5 to 14.4 cm wide. If one may calculate that the relative dimensions of the two codices would have been about the same, one may assume that the original width of the broken board would have been only slightly less than that of the other two boards, indicating an original size for it of about 33 by 19 cm.

These dimensions of the covers are slightly larger than the dimensions of any of the leaves, which reach to about 31.5 cm in height (P^{15996}, Volume 1 of the *Kephalaia*; P^{15998}, the *Letters*; the *Synaxeis* book block, Codex B; and the Dublin part of the *Homilies*, Codex D), with widths reaching 19 cm for the book block of the *Synaxeis*. But if one may assume that the covers would normally be slightly larger than the leaves, the measurements of the covers could correspond to any of these four codices. P^{15997}, the *Acts*, that Beltz reported to average 22–25 by 13.0 cm wide, was still between its wooden covers when Schmidt acquired it, and so does not come in question. The *Psalms,* Codex A, 27 by 17.5 cm, was also sufficiently smaller that one might doubt that the extant covers belonged to it, even though apparently acquired in the same transaction as that involving the front part of the *Psalms*. To be sure, Ibscher used "the size of the two covers found with the *Psalms* book" to justify the conjecture that the codices actually had wooden covers. But these covers would not seem to be the covers of the *Psalms* codex, but rather of the *Homilies*, parts of which were sold in each of the transactions (1930 and 1931) involving parts of the *Psalms* codex, or even to another of the Manichaean codices, given the jumbling of the material in the hands of middlemen, and the fact that both Schmidt and Beatty bought from Nahman.

The two completely extant boards at the Chester Beatty Library do have vestiges of leather on each side, with traces of tooling marks of circles and lines on the outside surfaces. There are a series of holes through the boards at positions near three edges of the boards, positioned on the two boards so that they correspond to each other. Two pegs are still in a hole each on one board, and one peg in a hole on the other, all three on the head and foot sides of the covers. These holes

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are no doubt near enough the lips of the covers that pegs or thongs could have passed through both covers to hold the codex closed without having to pass through the quires themselves. On the long side without holes, an indention some 2 cm wide and .5 cm deep has been chiseled out for the length of this side. This indention may have been intended to be covered with a leather band functioning as the flexible spine, to hold the two covers together. As to the four corners of each board, those at the end of the long chiseled edge are pointed; whereas those at the end of the long side with holes are rounded.

Since no covers are extant in Berlin, further information about the Manichaean covers is apparently limited to the three boards at the Chester Beatty Library. Unfortunately, the several publications by Berthe van Regemorter on the book bindings of the Chester Beatty Library do not seem to have made reference to such unpretentious boards.[10] Yet they are so dissimilar from the covers of the Nag Hammadi Codices and of the Disnha (Bodmer) Codices (though rather near in time and space), that a detailed analysis might result in the kind of new insight into the history of bookbinding that Ibscher had envisaged, in his appeal to the Greek tradition to explain them.

10. Van Regemorter, "Le Codex relié depuis son origine jusqu'au Haut Moyen-Age," 1–26; Van Regemorter, *Some Early Bindings from Egypt in the Chester Beatty Library*; Van Regemorter, *Some Oriental Bindings in the Chester Beatty Library*.

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— 15 —

Codex A: Psalms

Schmidt and Polotsky list in first place among Sir Chester Beatty's holdings the *Psalms*:[1]

One has to do in the London collection with a large papyrus book. The individual psalms were numbered. The highest number that has been read thus far is 230. If we could assume for the individual psalms an average length of (at least) 2 pages, this would require an extent of 460 pages = 230 leaves. Hence one does not go wrong in calculating that the whole book, as in the case of the *Kephalaia*, consisted of over 250 leaves. Unfortunately the individual leaves are not paginated, and there are no running heads on the upper margins. The individual psalms are simply distinguished by the numbers. Thus far about 50 of the extant leaves have been brought under glass, so that our knowledge of the content is still quite limited.

Es handelt sich in der Londoner Sammlung um ein umfangreiches Papyrusbuch. Die einzelnen Psalmen waren numeriert. Die höchste Zahl, die bis jetzt gelesen wurde, ist 230. Würden wir für die einzelnen Psalmen eine durchschnittliche Länge von (mindestens) 2 Seiten annehmen, würde dies einen Umfang von 460 Seiten = 230 Blättern erfordern. Deshalb geht man nicht fehl, das ganze Buch wie bei den Kephalaia auf über 250 Blätter zu berechnen. Leider sind die einzelnen Blätter nicht paginiert and finden sich keine Titelüberschriften auf den oberen Rändern; die einzelnen Psalmen sind einfach nur durch die Nummern unterschieden. Von den vorhandenen Blättern sind bisher nur etwa 50 unter Glas gebracht, so dass unsere Kenntnis des Inhalts noch beschränkt ist.

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 30, 34. The quotation is from 34.

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C. R. C. Allberry published in 1938 the last half of the *Psalms*, which had been purchased and hence conserved first.[2] In the Preface he reported:

> What is presented here, in the same format as the *Homilies* and the *Kephalaia*, is the *Psalm-book* (see *Mani-Fund,* pp. 33ff. [actually 30–34]), or rather the second part of the *Psalm-book*: for before it appeared in the Cairo market the codex had already been split up into several blocks, and on the largest and least mutilated of these, together with a smaller block preceding it, the two forming approximately one half of the codex, Dr. Hugo Ibscher, the Papyruskonservator in the Berlin Egyptian Museum, began his work of reconstruction, and succeeded between 1931 and 1934 in separating and glassing about one hundred and twenty consecutive leaves. These are published here with an English version and a minimum of annotation.

In the Crum Archives of the Griffith Institute in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, there is a file of transcriptions (sometimes with translations and/or notes) by H. J. Polotsky. (Its classification in terms of published, inventory numbers II.28.1 ff. on the back of each leaf, and unpublished, II.30.1 ff., is inexact.) Some are pages published by Allberry, but others are unpublished:

- II.30.1 (= II.28.138, with Polotsky's English translation at II.28.142), with the Psalm numeration 213 and the comment that it precedes page 1 of Allberry, i.e., that it is from the unpublished first part of the *Psalms* (Allberry's volume began with the last 3 lines of Psalm 218)
- II.30.2 (= II.28.140)
- II.30.3 (= II.28.140)
- II.30.4 (= II.28.136)
- II.30.5 (= II.28.139)
- II.30.6 (= II.28.137), with II.30.7 representing a second transcription and a second hand (Allberry?) and
- II.30.10

Unpublished transcriptions or translations of the Chester Beatty holdings have not been located in the Chester Beatty Archives.

2. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II*.

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Torgny Säve-Söderbergh soon published an important comparison of the *Psalms* with Mandaean hymnody.[3]

Böhlig presented this first codex of Sir Chester Beatty as follows[4]:

1. The *Psalms* (Codex A) was edited in 1938 in its second part (115 [read: 117] leaves) by C. R. C. Allberry. It contains various types and collections of psalms and became the most noted work of the Manichaean discovery, especially since religious feeling came here more strongly to expression and addressed one's own religious feeling more than was the case in the rationalistic style of the *Kephalaia*. The remaining leaves, a total of 56, were conserved by Rolf Ibscher after the war. They have been awaiting editing for years.

1. Das Psalmbuch (Codex A) wurde in seinem 2. Teil (115 [read: 117] Blätter) von C. R. C. Allberry 1938 ediert. Es enthält verschiedene Typen und Sammlungen von Psalmen und wurde zum beachtesten Werk des manichäischen Fundes, insbesondere weil das religiöse Gefühl hier stärker zum Ausdruck kam und angesprochen wurde als durch den logizistischen Stil der Kephalaia. Die restlichen insgesamt 56 Blätter wurden von Rolf Ibscher nach dem Kriege konserviert. Sie harren seit Jahren der Edition.

Since none of this codex is in Berlin, it is not included in Beltz's catalogue. However, Tito Orlandi published a report on Coptic manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Library in 1976, where he reported:[5]

3. Säve-Söderbergh, *Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book*.

4. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 185. The typescript of the 1960 address that is in the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library has been corrected by hand to read 117 rather than 115 leaves, though the text of Böhlig's address published in 1968 was not so corrected. There are in fact 234 Coptic pages that Allberry published, which would support the correction to 117 leaves. Böhlig's comment about the greater popularity of the Psalms is a reflection of Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book*, especially p. 1:

> Whereas the *Kephalaia*, edited by Schmidt, Polotsky and Böhlig, consist chiefly of a rather dry and dull systematization of the Manichaean dogma and the *Homilies*, edited by Polotsky, are unfortunately very fragmentary, the rather well preserved *Psalm Book* not only have an interesting content, but are also composed in a most charming poetical form.

5. Orlandi, "Les manuscrits coptes de Dublin, du British Museum et de Vienne," 324.

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During our visit we were able to verify that the already-edited manuscripts have been carefully separated from the fragments that are still unedited. They are also readily recognizable, leaf by leaf, by comparing them with the editions that one has. In effect we have noted that the part of Codex A edited by Mr. Allberry (*Psalms* Part II) is perfectly conserved in 9 little wooden boxes, in which the glasses containing the leaves are arranged in vertical position . . .

Let us now come to the unpublished materials. The first part of Codex A (*Psalms*), which had been conserved soon after the war, and which, according to Böhlig, included 56 glasses, consists in fact of 106 glasses (of which some conserve two fragments), arranged in their turn in 9 little boxes equal to those of the second part. On the shelves to the right of the entrance (where the unpublished leaves restored after the war by R. Ibscher are put) there are also 49 glasses numbered in relation to the *recto* and *verso* of the fragments (each glass hence has two numbers). They bear no identification. But, given the characteristics of some titles, of the hand and of the format, they must comprise a third part of the *Psalms*, [a part] whose existence seems unknown up to the present.

Pendant notre visite, nous avons pu verifier que les manuscrits déjà édités ont été soigneusement separés des fragments encore inédits; ils sont aussi aisément reconnaissables, feuillet par feuillet, en comparaison avec les éditions que l'on possède. En effet, nous avons constaté que la partie du Cod. A éditée par M. Allberry (*Psaumes*, IIe partie) est parfaitement conservée dans 9 petites caisses en bois, dans lesquelles les verres contenant les feuillets sont ranges en position verticale . . .

Venons-en maintenant aux inédits. La I^{e} partie du Cod. A (*Psaumes*), qui avait été restaurée peu après la guerre, et qui selon Böhlig comprenait 56 verres, se compose en fait de 106 verres (dont certains conservent deux fragments), rangés a leur tour dans 9 petites caisses, égales a celles de la IIe partie. Sur les étagères a droite de l'entrée (ou sont placés les feuillets inédits restaurés après la guerre par R. Ibscher) ii y a en outre 49 verres, qui sont numerotés par rapport au *recto* et *verso* des fragments (chaque verre a donc deux numéros); ils ne portent aucune indication; mais, étant donné les caractéristiques de certains titres, de l'écriture et du format, ils devraient former une IIIe partie des *Psaumes*, dont l'existence parait jusqu'a maintenant inconnue.

Thus one would be led to infer that there are 155 glasses containing unpublished leaves or fragments of Codex A.

The typed page in the Chester Beatty Library titled "Manichean Papyri on Loan to Royal Library, Copenhagen," dated January 13,

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1984, lists under "Psalm Book" 9 boxes containing a total of 106 glasses, which is presumably the material that Orlandi listed as labeled as belonging to the *Psalms* but unpublished. The list of material taken to Copenhagen then itemizes folios numbered 219–308, 369–78, a total of 50 glasses; numbers 387–404, 9 glasses, marked as fragments; leaves numbered 51–76, a total of 13 glasses, marked as Codex B; and 6 glasses marked fragments and numbered x1–x12. The 13 glasses marked Codex B can safely be identified with plates 101–26 of the second volume of the facsimile edition.[6]

Søren Giversen explained in a telephone conversation of September 4, 1985, that the material taken to Copenhagen included the 13 unidentified leaves that Böhlig had conjectured might belong to the Berlin *Letters*, P[15998] (that in fact probably belong to the *Synaxeis*), as well as leaves that, according to the Dublin records, were not listed as from the *Psalms* but which, since Giversen detected in them psalms, might belong to the *Psalms*. This would lead one to conclude that the 50 unidentified leaves taken to Copenhagen include the 49 unidentified leaves that Orlandi ascribed to the *Psalms*. The remaining unidentified leaf in Copenhagen may be that of P[15997].

Søren Giversen published in 1986 an English translation of parts of two Psalms from Part One of the *Psalms*. He introduced the first with the comment: "From notes and decipherment from 1931, I can see, that something has gone [*sic*] lost since then, especially at the beginning of lines 30–33."[7] One must infer that this is an allusion to a transcription and/or translation and notes by H. J. Polotsky, such as he provided in 1931–1932 to Sir Herbert Thompson to translate into English and supply to Beatty, though Polotsky's Coptic transcription, translation, and/or notes have not yet been located in the Crum or Chester Beatty Archives. It is unclear why such a use of Polotsky's scholarship would not be clearly stated.

The other Psalm that Giversen translates is numbered 119 and entitled "Psalms on the Lord's Day."[8] From the work of Polotsky (recognizable by his abbreviated signature in the bottom right-hand corners: "P-y") preserved in the Griffith Institute, there is a page in his handwriting that he numbered "C.B.i, 'II'a" (Crum Mss II.30.2)

6. Giversen, *Homilies and Varia*, ix–x, 101–26

7. Giversen, "The Unedited Chester Beatty Mani Texts," 376.

8. Ibid., 378–79.

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with the title 'CALMOI THS KYRIAK' and the numeral RIQ, followed by 8 lines of text. Polotsky also provided a typed German translation (Crum Mss II.28.85 = Crum Mss II.28.7). Giversen, after quoting the title and numeral, presents, as "a," 8 lines of text in English translation corresponding to Polotsky's 8 lines, followed by "b," introduced with the comment "plus or minus 7 lines almost illegible" and then an English translation of lines 8–33. These lines correspond to those on the page that Polotsky numbered "C.B. i, 'II' b" (Crum Mss II.30.3 in Coptic transcription and Crum Mss 11.28.86 and Crum Mss II.28.8 in German translation). Since Giversen refers in the case of the first Psalm that he translates to the "notes and decipherment from 1931," it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the other English translation of a Psalm that he presents is also based at least in part on Polotsky's transcription and German translation. But it is very difficult to understand why, in that case, appropriate acknowledgement to Polotsky is not given: all the more so when one recalls that due to racist legislation in the Third Reich, the first volume of the *Kephalaia* could not carry Polotsky's name, so that the co-editor Böhlig left off his own name as well, and explained the lamentable situation after World War II, when the publication of the first double-fascicle of the second volume appeared. One would think that with such a background, one would be scrupulous to give Polotsky due credit for his excellent work. Only when the facsimile edition of the *Psalms* appears will it be possible to see to what extent the papyrus itself is still as legible as it was in Polotsky's day, and to what extent we all, including Giversen, are dependent on Polotsky for rescuing text subsequently lost, as Giversen indirectly concedes in the case of the first Psalm that he translates.

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— 16 —

Codex B: Synaxeis

Schmidt and Polotsky reported as follows: A third papyrus book, that surely had a size of 250 leaves, seems to belong together with the *Living Gospel* of Mani. Also a bundle from this papyrus, to the extent of 31 leaves, was brought under glass by Dr. Ibscher. Already there has been a brief report about the titles that were read (see above, P[15995]). The book would be of great importance for Mani research, if some kind of commentary to the *Gospel* of Mani would be hidden there.[1]

Thus Codex B of Sir Chester Beatty is identified as the bulk of the codex of which 31 leaves are in Berlin. For Schmidt and Polotsky had reported (see above) that these 31 leaves "were acquired in the Fayyum and without doubt belong to the London Mani pieces." For in the description of their acquisition, it was stated that "the antiquities dealer in the Fayyum had sold his manuscripts exclusively to Mr. Chester Beatty." The 31 leaves are an exception, for "one had removed the top and bottom layers of papyrus, which had suffered to an especial extent against the covers of the binding . . . , to give the whole a better appearance." In the spring of 1931, after Sir Chester Beatty had acquired the three codices of the Fayyum dealer, Schmidt "found such outwardly unimpressive remains, which doubtlessly belong to the pa-

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 34. "Ein drittes Papyrusbuch, das sicherlich einen Umfang von 250 Blättern gehabt hat, scheint mit dem 'lebendigen Evangelium' des Mani zusammenzuhängen. Auch von diesem Papyrus ist ein Konvolut im Umfang von 31 Blättern von Dr. Ibscher unter Glas gebracht. Über die gelesenen Überschriften ist vorhin kurz berichtet [see above, P[15995]]. Das Buch wäre für die Mani-Forschung von grosser Wichtigkeit, wenn irgendeine Art von Kommentar zum 'Evangelium' des Mani sich dahinter verbergen würde."

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pyrus books acquired by Mr. Chester Beatty in the Fayyum, and . . . acquired them for a cheap sum, since the dealer already had his great reward in his pocket." Thus only the 31 leaves from the *Synaxeis* that Schmidt acquired are inventoried in Berlin as P[15995], and the rest of the codex, to the extent extant, comprises Codex B of Sir Chester Beatty.

Rolf Ibscher reported to Sir Chester Beatty that Codex B had by mistake been left in the anti-aircraft tower at the Zoo, rather than having been taken with Sir Chester Beatty's other codices to Schondorf, and that hence it had been taken to Leningrad along with the Berlin holdings. Rolf Ibscher maintained that the codex that was left in Schondorf when the others there were returned to Sir Chester Beatty was P[15998], the *Letters*, a codex belonging to Berlin. But once the scholarly study of the Schondorf codex was undertaken in Göttingen by Colpe and Böhlig, it became obvious that this codex was the *Synaxeis* Codex B, belonging to Sir Chester Beatty.

Böhlig presented in 1957 at the 24th International Orientalists' Congress in Munich a report to this effect:[2]

During the war, along with the codices belonging to Sir Chester Beatty, a Manuscript was stored outside into the territory that is now the Bundesrepublik. This text is at present in Göttingen for conservation. In 1957, while looking through the leaves that have thus far been separated (which are in an unusually bad condition), I thought I could reconstruct from individual words the same running head. [Footnote 3: For the possibility of being permitted to see the codex I am indebted to the friendliness of the Göttingen Egyptologist S. Schott, who was in charge of the undertaking. I also owe special thanks to C. Colpe and R. Ibscher, who occupied

Im Kriege wurde zusammen mit den Sir Chester Beatty gehörigen Codices eine Handschrift in das jetzige Gebiet der Bundesrepublik ausgelagert; dieser Text befindet sich gegenwärtig in Göttingen zur Konservierung. Bei einer Durchsicht der bisher abgehobenen Blätter, die sich in einem ausserordentlich schlechten Zustand befinden, im Jahre 1957 glaubte ich, aus einzelnen Wörtern die gleiche Überschrift rekonstruieren zu können. [Footnote 3: Die Möglichkeit, den Codex ansehen zu dürfen, verdanke ich der Freundlichkeit des Göttinger Agyptologen S. Schott, der das Unternehmen betreute. Besonderen Dank schulde ich auch C. Colpe und R. Ibscher, die sich um die Restaurierung und Abschrift be-

2. Böhlig, "Synaxis = Homilie," 485–86; "Zu den Synaxeis des Lebendigen Evangeliums," 229–30. The full text of this address is published in *Mysterion and Wahrheit*, 222–27. The quotation is from 222–23.

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themselves with the restoration and transcription.] On one leaf one could read "the first" in a page's running head, as the only surviving remnant at the top left, on another leaf in the middle *synaxis*, on a third leaf to the left above, *logos*. These readings could be combined with two chapter titles that for their part could not be completely recognized. One reads: "The [p. 223] *synaxis* of the [1]9th *logos*." Though *synaxis* is here hardly legible, it is nonetheless confirmed by a second chapter title, in which *synaxis* is to be recognized without doubt as the first word. Through these readings the same title can be assumed for the running heads of the book, as C. Schmidt also read in one of the 31 leaves mentioned above. The running heads of the pages would hence be divided as follows on verso and recto: "The 1st *Synaxis* of the 1st *logos* of the *Living Gospel*." Thus one can assume, as also C. Colpe thinks, that the vestige of a codex in Berlin discussed by C. Schmidt forms with this codex a unity of contents but not of ownership.

mühten.] Auf einem Blatt war als Seitenüberschrift als einziger Rest links oben "die erste" zu lesen, auf einem anderen Blatt in der Mitte *synaxis*, auf einem 3. Blatt links oben *logos*. Diese Lesungen konnten mit zwei Kapitelüberschriften kombiniert werden, die ihrerseits auch nicht vollständig zu erkennen waren; die eine lautet: "Die [p. 223] *synaxis* des [1]9. *logos*"; ist dabei *synaxis* kaum lesbar, so wird es doch bestätigt durch die 2. Kapitelüberschrift, in der SYNAXIS als erstes Wort einwandfrei zu erkennen ist. Durch diese Lesungen kann für die Überschriften des Buches derselbe Titel angenommen werden, wie ihn auch C. Schmidt auf einem der oben erwähnten 31 Blätter gelesen hat. Die Seitenüberschriften würden sich auf Verso und Recto folgendermassen verteilen: "Die 1. *synaxis* des 1. / *logos* des Lebendigen Evangeliums." Damit kann man annehmen, wie auch C. Colpe meint, dass der von C. Schmidt besprochene Berliner Restcodex mit diesem Codex eine inhaltliche, aber keine besitzmässige Einheit bildet.

Böhlig in 1960/68 reaffirmed this position:[3]

Carl Schmidt, in his report on the discovery, listed as belonging to the English acquisition a book that has to do with Mani's *Living Gospel*. He considered the Berlin remnant of a codex consisting of 31 leaves (P^{15995}), which we

Carl Schmidt hat in seinem Fundbericht zum englischen Besitz gehörig ein Buch angeführt, das es mit Manis Lebendigem Evangelium zu tun hat. Als Teil von ihm und von den Händlern abgetrennt betrachtet er den

3. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 186.

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listed above as the fifth book of the Berlin collection, to be a part of it separated off by the dealers. The manuscript that is now in Göttingen, and was considered as belonging to Berlin at the time of its rescue in the anti-aircraft tower in 1944, turned out, in the superscriptions identified by me in 1957 and confirmed by C. Colpe, to belong with the 31 Berlin leaves, what now also, on seeing the 31 leaves, is confirmed by the format. So we have to do indeed, as is also conjectured by C. Colpe, in the case of the Göttingen manuscript, with Codex B of the Chester Beatty collection.

Berliner Restcodex von 31 Blättern (P^{15995}), den wir oben als 5. Buch der Berliner Sammlung genannt haben. Die jetzt in Göttingen befindliche und bei der Bergung aus dem Flakturm 1944 als Berliner Besitz angesehene Handschrift erwies sich in den von mir im Jahre 1957 identifizierten und von C. Colpe bestätigten Überschriften als mit den 31 Berliner Blättern zusammengehörig, was jetzt auch bei In-Augenschein-Nahme der 31 Blätter das Format bestätigte. Wir werden es also in der Tat, wie auch von C. Colpe vermutet, bei der Göttinger Handschrift mit dem Codex B der Chester-Beatty-Sammlung zu tun haben.

Rolf Ibscher in 1964/65 (see above) conceded that the Schondorf-Göttingen–West Berlin codex is the same codex from which the 31 leaves P^{15995} come:

> Carsten Colpe, who worked for a time on the leaves that had been won up until then, brought into play in Munich at the International Orientalists' Congress [1957] the thesis that the manuscript does not belong to Berlin at all, but is identical with the 13 leaves of Codex B in Dublin . . . Böhlig on the other hand maintained that the 31 leaves of the Berlin codex Nr. 15995 belong, in view of the shared titles on the pages (SYNAXIS), together with the Göttingen codex, whereas he had earlier held it to be codex Nr. 15998 . . . What is then the situation with the 31 leaves in Berlin, that after all are identical with those of the codex in Göttingen?

Rolf Ibscher also raised the question as to whether leaves still in Berlin might belong to the Chester Beatty Library's Codex B, the *Synaxeis*:

> . . . a sizable number of leaves separated last, quite provisionally, by my father, with an entry on the paper cover that protected them, which really creates puzzles: "from Codex B," i.e., then Chester Beatty [*Synaxeis*]or ?—and with the addition put

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> in parentheses "Letters," i.e., then again Codex Nr. 15[9]98. What is one to make of that?[4]

These leaves are currently in the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin, where they are classified as belonging to P^{15998}. They present no running heads or chapter titles like those of the *Synaxeis* codex.

Rolf Ibscher had sought to maintain that the Schondorf-Göttingen codex belonged to the Berlin Museum on the grounds that it was part of P^{15995}, either ignoring or ignorant of the fact that the Berlin acquisition, P^{15995}, consisted only of 31 leaves. But here he seems indirectly to concede that the Schondorf-Göttingen codex belongs to Sir Chester Beatty by leaving open the question, presumably the question of the ownership, of the 31 leaves in Berlin. He does not seem to have accepted the fact of divided ownership. Carsten Colpe, in a Berlin interview of 1986, attributes this dangling uncertainty in Rolf Ibscher's interpretation to an intentional obscuring of the situation, an obfuscation useful in Rolf Ibscher's perennial efforts to secure German funding for his conservation work on this codex, in view of the fact that there were no papyri left in Berlin to conserve and that his wife pressured him constantly for more money.

Wolfgang Müller's preliminary inventory of 1964/65 had added, in reporting on P^{15995}, the 31 leaves of the *Synaxeis*: "The rest in Göttingen." Beltz's catalogue had reported similarly on P^{15995}, though by this time (1978) the rest was in West Berlin, at the Ägyptisches Museum in Charlottenburg: "The remainder of the codex is to be found for the time being in West Berlin . . . A. Böhlig and C. Colpe have defined the codex as "*Synaxeis* to the *Living Gospel* of Mani." This identification of the Schondorf-Göttingen–West Berlin codex with Sir Chester Beatty's Codex B has thus over the past generation had the support of Böhlig, Colpe, Ibscher, Müller, and Beltz, and has in fact not been contested. The most telling evidence is a list of eleven section titles collected by Colpe, in which the word SYNAXIS is in part or in its entirety preserved, occurring in at least the three more legible cases in the formula "The [e.g.] Fourth SYNAXIS of the [e.g.] First Logos of the Gospel" (on a page he identified as "1957 / 17 V" (= 19.2.2.66 vert.).

4. Rolf Ibscher, "Über den Stand der Umkonservierung der Manipapyri" (1964–65), 52.

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Rolf Ibscher's report on his conservation activities had referred to "ca. 145 leaves" that he had separated from the book block, which "still has about 100 to 120 unseparated leaves." Hence Müller's preliminary inventory had reported: "Here 145 leaf units separated, about 100-120 leaves still on the book block." Beltz had reported: "Since 1945, 145 new leaf units have been separated and conserved. The remainder of the book block is not yet conserved." Michel Tardieu continues to refer to 145 leaves.[5]

The inventory of the holdings in the Ägyptisches Museum in Charlottenburg in West Berlin in 1985–1986 located, in addition to the book block, 125 labeled leaves, plus 5 glass frames containing fragments. Thus the figure "ca. 145 leaves" would seem to be an inflated estimate, unless some material has been misplaced.

The combination of 125 conserved leaves in West Berlin and 31 in East Berlin makes a total of 156 leaves. This would mean 312 pages. But the top page of the book block is also accessible, making a total of 313 pages accessible to scholarship.

Such a listing of unpublished but extant leaves may be somewhat misleading. For although the size of the lacunae is relatively small in many cases, that is to say, although a large part of the papyrus is usually extant, the amount of extant ink varies considerably, and the resultant legibility of many pages is disappointingly small. Hence a rough classification of extant ink may, imprecise though it is, give a clearer picture of what one may expect. Each page is graded on a scale of 0 to 5: 0 = no ink is visible; 1 = some ink but no letters are legible; 2 = some letters but probably no words are legible; 3 = some words but probably no sentences are legible; 4 = some sentences but probably less than half the page is legible; 5 = probably more than half the page is legible.

5. Tardieu, "Les Manichéens en Égypte," 6.

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Codex B: *Synaxeis*

Category	Total pieces in category	Page numbers and fiber directions
No ink is visible	No pages can be listed.	No pages can be listed.
Some ink, but no letters are legible	11 pages and 4 fragment plates	2.2.3.5 (vert.); 3.2.2 [8 1/2] (vert. and hor.); 6.1.2.B (vert.); 13.1.1.85 (hor.); 13.1.1.2.86 (vert.); 13.2.3.90 (hor. and vert.); 14.1.3.93 (hor.); 17.2.1.59 (vert.); 18.2.2.115 (hor.); the fragmentary plates 9.1.3.96 (hor. and vert.); 21.2.3 (hor. and vert.); 22.1.2 (hor. and vert.); 22.1.3 (hor. and vert.)
Some letters but probably no words are legible	60 pages	2.1.2.4 (hor. and vert.); 2.2.2.4 (hor. and vert.); 2.2.3.5 (hor.); 3.1.2.2 (hor. and vert.); 3.1.3.6 (hor. and vert.); 3.2.1.8 (hor. and vert.); 3.2.3.9 (hor. and vert.); 4.1.2.117 (vert.); 5.2.3.16 (vert.); 6.1.2.A (hor. and vert.); 6.1.2.B (hor.); 6.2.2 (hor. and vert.); 7.2.25 (vert.); 8.1.2.39 (hor.); 8.1.3.40 (hor. and vert.); 8.2.1.41 (hor. and vert.); 9.1.1 (hor. and vert.); 9.1.2.95 (hor. and vert.);

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Some letters but probably no words are legible (*cont.*)	60 pages	9.2.1.97 (hor.); 10.1.100 (vert.); 11.2.2.77 (vert.); 12.1.1.79 (hor. and vert.); 12.1.3.81 (hor.); 13.1.2.86 (hor.); 13.2.1.88 (hor. and vert.); 13.2.2.89 (hor. and vert.); 14.1.1.91 (hor. and vert.); 14.1.2.92 (hor. and vert.); 14.1.3.93 (vert.); 14.1.4.94 (vert.); 14.2.1.106 (hor.); 14.2.2.107 (hor.); 15.2.1.111 (hor.); 16.2.1.48 (hor.); 17.1.2.52 (hor. and vert.); 17.1.3.53 (hor. and vert.); 17.2.1.59 (hor.); 17.2.3.61 (hor.); 18.2.2.115 (vert.); 21.1.2.55 (hor. and vert.)
Some words, but probably no sentences are legible	144 pages	1.1.1.30 (hor. and vert.); 1.1.2.33 (hor. and vert.); 1.1.3.32 (vert.); 1.2.1.31 (hor. and vert.); 1.2.2.124 (hor. and vert.); 1.2.3.123 (hor. and vert.); 2.1.1.27 (hor. and vert.); 2.1.3.29 (hor. and vert.); 2.2.1.3 (hor. and vert.); 3.1.1.1 (hor. and vert.); 3.1.4.7 (hor. and vert.); 3.2.4.10 (hor. and vert.); 4.1.1.116 (hor. and vert.); 4.1.2.117 (hor.); 4.1.3.118 (hor. and vert.);

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Some words, but probably no sentences are legible (*cont.*)	144 pages	4.2.3.13 (hor.); 5.1.1.119 (hor. and vert.); 5.1.2.34 (hor. and vert.); 5.1.3.35 (hor. and vert.); 5.1.4.36 (hor. and vert.); 5.2.1.14 (hor. and vert.); 5.2.2.15 (hor. and vert.); 5.2.3.16 (hor.); 6.1.1.17 (hor. and vert.); 6.1.3.18 (hor. and vert.); 6.2.1.19 (hor. and vert.); 6.2.3.21 (hor. and vert.); 7.1.1.20 (hor. and vert.); 7.1.2.22 (hor. and vert.); 7.1.3.23 (hor. and vert.); 7.2.1.24 (hor. and vert.); 7.2.2.25 (hor.); 7.2.3.26 (hor. and vert.); 8.1.1.38 (hor. and vert.); 8.1.2.39 (vert.); 8.2.2.42 (hor. and vert.); 8.2.3.43 (hor. and vert.); 8.2.4.44 (hor. and vert.); 9.2.1.97 (vert.); 9.2.3.99 (hor. and vert.); 10.1.1.100 (hor.); 10.1.2.101 (vert.); 10.1.3.102 (hor. and vert.); 10.2.1.103 (hor. and vert.); 10.2.2.104 (hor. and vert.); 11.1.3.75 (hor. and vert.); 11.2.1.76 (vert.); 11.2.2.77 (hor.); 11.2.3.78 (hor. and vert.); 12.1.2.80 (hor.); 12.1.3.81 (vert.);

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Some words, but probably no sentences are legible (*cont.*)	144 pages	12.2.1.82 (hor. and vert.); 12.2.2.83 (hor. and vert.); 12.2.3.84 (hor. and vert.); 13.1.1.85 (vert.); 13.1.3.87 (hor. and vert.); 14.1.4.94 (hor.); 14.2.1.106 (vert.); 14.2.2.107 (vert.); 14.2.3.108 (vert.); 15.1.2.110 (vert.); 15.2.1.111 (vert.); 15.2.2.112 (hor. and vert.); 16.1.2.37 (vert.); 16.1.3.47 (hor. and vert.); 16.2.1.48 (vert.); 16.2.2.49 (hor. and vert.); 16.2.3.50 (hor. and vert.); 17.1.1.51 (hor.); 17.2.3.61 (vert.); 18.1.1 113 (hor.); 18.1.2.121 (hor. and vert.); 18.2.1.114 (hor. and vert.); 19.1.2.63 (hor.); 19.1.3.64 (hor.); 19.2.1.65 (hor. and vert.); 19.2.2.66 (hor.); 19.2.3.67 (hor. and vert.); 20.1.1.68 (hor.); 20.1.2.69 (hor. and vert.); 20.1.3.70 (hor. and vert.); 20.2.1.71 (hor.); 21.1.1.54 (hor. and vert.); 21.2.1.56 (hor. and vert.); 21.2.2.57 (hor. and vert.); and the fragmentary plate 22.1.1 (hor. and vert.)

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Some sentences are legible; half the page is illegible	34 pages	1.1.3.32 (hor.); 4.2.3.13 (vert.); 9.2.2.98 (hor. and vert.); 10.1.2.101 (hor.); 10.2.3.105 (hor. and vert.); 11.1.1.45 (hor. and vert.); 11.1.2.74 (hor. and vert.); 11.2.1.76 (hor.); 14.2.3.108 (hor.); 15.1.1.109 (hor. and vert.); 15.1.2.110 (hor.); 16.1.1.46 (hor. and vert.); 16.1.2.37 (hor.); 17.1.1.51 (vert.); 17.2.2.60 (hor. and vert.); 18.1.1.113 (vert.); 19.1.1.62 (hor. and vert.); 19.1.2.63 (vert.); 19.1.3.64 (vert.); 19.2.2.66 (vert.); 20.1.1.68 (vert.); 20.2.1.71 (vert.); 20.2.2.72 (hor. and vert.); and 20.2.3.73 (hor. and vert.)
More than half the page is legible	1 page	12.1.2.80

This produces a total of 250 pages (not counting material that should be more accurately considered fragments), graded roughly as follows: 1:11; 2:60; 3:144; 4:34; 5:1. Thus there are hardly more than 35 pages from which one might hope to recover coherent text. This is a much more sober assessment of the quantity of conserved material than simply a list of the total number of conserved leaves.

Tito Orlandi reported as follows on the material in Dublin in 1976[6]:

6. Orlandi, "Les Manuscrits coptes de Dublin," 324–25.

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On another of the same shelves (at the right of the entrance) there are 16 numbered glasses that could represent the part of Codex B restored before the war by H. Ibscher. The other part of Codex B, [p. 325] according to Böhlig, would be in Germany (the codex of West Berlin, formerly at Göttingen). They are not of a large format, from what I was able to ascertain. This assures us that the fragments do not belong to the codex of *Letters* (= Berlin, Codex 3).

Sur une autre des mémes étagères (a droite de l'entrée), it y a 16 verres numérotés, qui pourraient representer la partie du Cod. B restaurée avant la guerre par H. Ibscher; l'autre partie du Cod. B, [p. 325] selon Böhlig, se trouverait en Allemagne (codex de Berlin ouest, jadis a Goettingue). Its ne sont pas d'un grand format, d'après ce que j'ai pu constater: ce qui nous assure que les fragments n'appartiennent pas au codex des *Lettres* (Berlin, Cod. 3).

Here Orlandi apparently is here correcting Bohlig's conjecture that the 13, or 16, leaves come from the Berlin *Letters*, since these leaves do not have a large format such as does the codex of *Letters* (see above). But the format of the *Synaxeis* book block in West Berlin is comparable to the larger size, 30 (or with fringes 31.8) cm high by 19 cm wide. Beltz had listed the size of the 31 leaves of P^{15995}, the *Synaxeis*, in East Berlin, as 18–20 cm high and 11–16 cm wide, which is apparently what Orlandi has in view. But a smaller format for an extant leaf does not necessarily mean that the whole codex was smaller. In this regard, the report of a smaller format is not as decisive for identifying material as the report of a larger format, since a codex is as large in format as the largest leaf, but not as small as the smallest extant leaf, given the fragmentary nature of much of the material. The 31 East Berlin leaves were, after all, the worn outside leaves that the middlemen had discarded. The conserved leaves in West Berlin vary in size down from the maximum represented by the book block. The smaller format that Orlandi reported would of course open the question as to whether the leaves might belong to a smaller codex, the *Psalms* (or the *Acts*?). Since there is no reason to assume that leaves of the Berlin *Acts* would be in the Chester Beatty Library, it is possible that the 16, or 13, leaves belong to the Dublin Psalms, Codex A, and were erroneously labeled Codex B. But it is not necessary to conjecture such an error.

Michael Tardieu[7] refers to "16 feuillets" ["16 leaves"] of the *Synaxeis* being in Dublin, apparently dependent on Orlandi.

7. Tardieu, "Les Manichéens en Égypte," 7.

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This codex has not been published.

The second volume of the facsimile edition[8] has reproduced the 13 (not 16) leaves labeled so confusedly "Codex B," which Rolf Ibscher sought to ascribe to P15998 (see above). Søren Giversen has commented in his introduction:

> The identity of this codex—or poor remnants of a codex—has been widely discussed, for example in the article by A. Böhlig cited above and in a series of other articles, as has the identity of the Mani codex in West Berlin, once called the Schondorff [read: Schondorf] papyrus.
>
> Since this edition should not pre-empt the results of a later critical edition, it has been decided to publish the pages in question in order to promote the work of identifying the papyrus with as little delay as possible. I have therefore refrained from offering any solution, preferring instead to provide some facts which together with the facsimiles should assist in this task.
>
> Not only are the glasses inscribed Codex B, but the frames also are marked "Kephalaia. Codex B." These labels are clearly in Hugo Ibscher's handwriting. The text in most cases is readable, although not easily.

The arguments that have been advanced to identify these 13 leaves with P15998 have proven to be without force. A comparison of the facsimiles with the leaves of the *Synaxeis* indicates that the hand is so similar that the 13 leaves could well belong to the *Synaxeis* codex, though no chapter titles have been identified to confirm such an identification. The labeling is misleading insofar as the reference to *Kephalaia* is incorrect, but the labeling as Codex B, the Dublin designation of the *Synaxeis* codex, may well be correct. Giversen's allusion in this connection to "the Schondorf papyrus," which Rolf Ibscher identified as P15998 (but is in fact the *Synaxeis*), indirectly suggests this identification.

Giversen reports that "the leaves were divided by [Hugo] Ibscher into two sections (quires)." Each quire consists of four sheets or eight leaves. The first leaf of the first quire and the last two leaves of the second quire are missing. Orlandi's report of 16 leaves may be due to having in view 2 quires but overlooking the absence of 3 leaves. Facing pages have like fiber directions, with the first page of each quire hav-

8. Giversen, *Homilies and Varia, Facsimile Edition*, ix–x, 101–26.

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ing vertical fibers. The first quire is reproduced on pages 101–14, the second on 115–26.

Giversen comments: "The sheets are marked from 51 to 76, the equivalent of this edition's 101–126." The document dated January 13, 1984, on the letterhead of the Chester Beatty Library, entitled "Manichean Papyri on Loan to Royal Library, Copenhagen," lists "Codex B 51–76 13 glasses." Thus it is clear that these 13 leaves of the *Synaxeis* were in Copenhagen.

The Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin gave to the Manichaean Archives of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity older photographs of pages 1.1.1.30 (hor.), 1.2.2.124 (hor.), 1.2.3.123 (vert.), and 4.1.1.116 (hor.); and newer photographs made at the Ägyptisches Museum itself of pages 1.1.1.30 (hor. and vert.), and 10.1.2.101 (hor. and vert.).

Carsten Colpe put at the disposal of a team that began to form in 1984 transcriptions he had made of the conserved leaves when they had been at Göttingen. In August 1985 Karen L. King made transcriptions in West Berlin of 16.1.2 (hor.), 16.2.3 (hor. and vert.), 17.1.1 (vert.), 18.1.1.113 (hor.), and, in August 1986, of 19.1.3.64 (vert.); and, together with Stephen Patterson, in July and August 1986, of 12.1.2.8 (vert.), 18.1.1.113 (vert.), and 19.2.2.66 (vert.). Wolf-Peter Funk provided draft translations of some of the material in April 1988.

From May to August 1987, Paul Allan Mirecki transcribed the following leaves in West Berlin: 4.2.3.13; 12.1.2.80; 14.2.3.108; 19.1.2.63; 19.1.3.64; 19.2.2.66; 20.1.1.68; and 20.2.1.71. He presented a preliminary report on his work under the title "The Coptic Manichaean Synaxeis Codex: Observations on the Ordinal System of the Synaxis Sections" at the First International Conference on Manichaeism held from August 5–9, 1987 at the University of Lund, Sweden.[9]

In August 1986 King received on loan from the Ägyptisches Museum, for study at the library of Occidental College in Los Angeles, 10 leaves: 9.2.2.98; 10.2.1.103; 10.2.3.105; 11.1.1.45; 11.1.2.74; 15.1.1.109; 16.1.1.46; 17.2.2.60; 19.1.1.62; and 20.2.3.73. King tran-

9. Mirecki, "The Coptic Manichaean Synaxeis Codex: Descriptive Catalogue of Synaxis Chapter Titles," 135–45. This is an expansion of part of the paper presented at the conference. An expansion of another part, entitled "The Coptic Manichaean Synaxeis Codex: Indicators for Codicological Reconstruction," was presented at the Consultation on Manichaeism at the Society of Biblical Literature convention at Chicago November 19–22, 1988.

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scribed in November 1987 10.2.1.103 (hor.), and on November 18, 1987, 19.1.1.62 (hor.) On November 7, 1987, Wolf-Peter Funk transcribed at Occidental College lines 18–19 of 10.2.1.103 (hor.), 11.1.1.45 (hor. and vert.), 16.1.1.46 (hor. and vert.), and 20.2.3.73 (hor. and vert.). On November 13, 1987, he transcribed at Claremont 11.1.2.74 (hor. and vert.) and 15.1.1.109 (hor. and vert.). In March 1988 he made partial draft translations of 10.2.1.103 (hor.), 11.1.1.45 (hor. and vert.), 11.1.2.74 (hor. and vert.), 15.1.1.109 (hor. and vert.), 16.1.1.46 (hor. and vert.), and 20.2.3.73 (hor. and vert.). The leaves were brought to the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity in Claremont for a concentrated teamwork period from June 13 to 23, 1988. There Harold W. Attridge, Charles A. Bobertz, Stephen Patterson, and Gesine Schenke Robinson transcribed as follows:

9.2.2.98 [Bobertz];

10.2.1.103 (hor.) [Robinson, Attridge], (vert.) [Attridge];

10.2.3.105 (hor. and vert.) [Bobertz, Attridge, Patterson];

11.1.1.45 (hor. and vert.) [Bobertz];

11.1.2.74 (hor. and vert.) [Patterson, Attridge];

15.1.1.109 (hor. and vert.) [Bobertz, Attridge];

16.1.1.46 (hor. and vert.) [Patterson];

17.2.2.60 (hor. and vert.) [Patterson];

19.1.1.62 (hor. and vert.) [Robinson and Bobertz]; (vert. only) [Patterson and Attridge];

20.2.3.73 (hor. and vert.) [Robinson, Attridge].

The leaves, though mostly among the better ones in terms of legibility, are nonetheless so obscure that the transcriptions are very far from complete and at best are provisional.

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— 17 —

Codex C: Kephalaia, Volume Two

The fourth codex of Sir Chester Beatty presented by Schmidt and Polotsky, though unidentified, is described as follows[1]:

A last and fourth papyrus book, which seems to be rather completely preserved—here too it is possible to assume about 250 leaves—has thus far been subjected to no conservation, so that a deep darkness still lurks over its content.

Ein letztes and viertes Papyrusbuch, das ziemlich vollständig erhalten zu sein scheint—auch hierfür wird man etwa 250 Blätter annehmen können—ist bis jetzt noch keiner Konservierung unterzogen, so dass noch ein tiefes Dunkel über dessen Inhalt lagert.

This codex has been identified as *Kephalaia*, though with chapters bearing higher numbers than those in the Berlin *Kephalaia*, so that one might think of this as a second volume, rather than as "la seconds partie du codex" ["the second part of the codex"] P15996.[2] Böhlig described it as follows:[3]

2. Already before the war Hugo Ibscher began the work of conservation on the text of Codex C, which was still completely unconserved at the time of the report of the discovery, so that by

2. An dem nach dem Fundbericht noch vollkommen unkonservierten Text Codex C begann schon vor dem Kriege Hugo Ibscher die Konservierungsarbeit, so dass sich bei Kriegsausbruch bereits 34 ver-

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund in Agypten," 34.

2. Tardieu, "Les Manichéens en Égypte," 6. This error may account for the problem of referring to "sept titles" ["seven titles"] and then listing only six.

3. Böhlig, "Die Arbeit," 185.

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the time the war broke out already 34 glassed leaves were in London. One hundred forty five more leaves could be separated by Rolf Ibscher after the war. Whereas already at the beginning of the conservation the book could be recognized as *Kephalaia* with appreciably higher chapter numerations than the Berlin *Kephalaia* show, now a still-further surprise emerged, in that perhaps another text had been laid inside the book. This is not yet identified, since for this book as well still no arrangements for an edition have been made.

glaste Blätter in London befanden. Weitere 145 Blätter konnte Rolf Ibscher nach dem Kriege ablösen. Hatte man schon bei Beginn der Konservierung das Buch als *Kephalaia* mit wesentlich höheren Kapitelzahlen, als sie die Berliner *Kephalaia* aufweisen, erkennen können, so fand sich nun noch eine Überraschung dadurch, dass in das Buch vielleicht ein anderer Text hineingelegt worden war. Dieser ist noch nicht identifiziert, da auch für dieses Buch noch keine Anstalten einer Edition gemacht wurden.

Beltz's catalogue does not mention this codex, since it is not in Berlin. But Tito Orlandi reported in 1976 on the material at the Chester Beatty Library as follows[4]:

Finally, the most important piece in the collection, in my opinion, is Codex C, which contains the second part of the *Kephalaia* and another, unknown text. It consists today (a) of 30 glasses [in a footnote Orlandi presents this as a correction of Böhlig's figure 34] numbered in terms of *recto* and *verso* (hence two numerals per glass) up to the number 60; these are obviously the pieces restored before the war, which are now put on two sets of shelves (numbered 1 and 2). (b) After them are to be found the fragments conserved between plexiglass, more recently restored, which are numbered in the same way; nonetheless their numeration begins again with

Finalement, la pièce la plus importante du recueil est, a mon avis, le Cod. C, qui contient la deuxième partie des *Kephalaia* et un autre texte inconnu. Il consiste maintenant (a) en 30 verres [in a footnote Orlandi presents this as a correction of Böhlig's figure 34] numérotés par rapport au *recto* et *verso* (donc deux numéros par verre) jusqu'au numero 60; ce sont évidemment les pièces restaurées avant la guerre, qui sont maintenant placées sur deux étagères (numérotóes I et II). (b) Après eux, se trouvent les fragments sous plexiglas, restaurés plus récemment, qui sont numérotés de la même facon; toutefois leur numérotation recommence par le no 1. Comme

4. Orlandi, "Les manuscrits coptes de Dublin," 325.

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number 1. Since they were stacked pell-mell on the shelves, I put them all back in order, and I verified at the same time that no glass is lacking. They are in fact 368 numbers and hence 184 fragments, divided among 18 shelves (shelves 3 to 20). The 20th shelf contains 8 fragments without numeration, in very bad condition, which nonetheless seem to belong to Codex C; they are marked: Cl, C2, C3, C4, C20, C24, C25, C96 [C26?].

It is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the numeration of the part described under (b) is juxtaposed to a preceding numeration that seems to represent the primitive classification given at the time that the leaves were detached from the ensemble of the codex, in separating each quire, beginning with the last. The numeration of the quires (in Roman numerals) is hence the reverse of the new order; however the numeration of the pages inside the quires follows the same order. We give an example:

> "new numeration" = "other" numeration
>
> 31/32 . . . to 45/46 = C VIII 120 . . . to 127
>
> 47/48 . . . to 61/62 = C VII 113 . . . to 119 [?]

As much as we were able to determine, no other piece of the Manichaean collection is conserved at the Chester Beatty Library.

ils étaient déposés pêle-mêle dans les étagères, je les ai tous remis en ordre, et j'ai contrôlé en méme temps qu'aucun verre ne manque. Ils sont en fait 368 numéros, donc 184 fragments, partagés entre 18 étagères (étagères III a XX). La 20e étagère contient 8 fragments hors numérotation, en très mauvais êtat, qui toutefois semblent appartenir au Cod. C; ils sont marqués: Cl, C2, C3, C4, C20, C24, C25, C96 [C26?].

Il faut signaler que la numérotation de la partie décrite sous le par. (b) est juxtaposée a une numérotation précedente, qui parait representer la classification primitive, donnée au moment oû les feuillets ont éta détachés de l'ensemble du codex, en separant chaque cahier, a partir du dernier. La numérotation des cahiers (en chiffres romains) est donc contraire au nouvel ordre; cependant la numérotation des pages a l'interieur des cahiers suit le même ordre. Nous en donnerons un example:

> "nouvelle numérotation" = "autre" numérotation
>
> 31/32 . . . jusqu'a 45/46 = C VIII 120 . . .jusqu'a 127 47/48 . . . jusqu'a 61/62 = C VII 113 . . . jusqu'a 119 [?]

Pour ce que nous avons constaté, aucune autre pièce de la collection manichéenne n'est conservée à la Chester Beatty Library.

This codex has not been published.

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The first volume of the facsimile edition[5] has published 354 plates.

In the preface (pages xi–xii) Søren Giversen indicates the limited objective of the edition:

> It was evident from the state of the papyri that if they were to be published in the foreseeable future, it would be necessary initially to abandon all thought of perfection. What was needed was first to establish the correct order of the unpaginated sheets, so far as this was possible within a reasonable time, and then [page xii] to publish a facsimile edition without delay. Once this was published, every interested scholar would have plenty of time and opportunity to work on the texts.

Thus plate 339 has the note: "Collocatio paginarum 339–354 incerta," ["the ordering of the pages 339–354 is uncertain."] But even plates 1–338 are not to be taken as pagination of the original codex. Thus when the Introduction refers to the plates as pages, what is meant is pages in the facsimile edition itself, not in the codex. This is clear from the comment (p. xvii) ". . . missing pages not being counted," and for the fuller observation (p. xxi):

> It must however be emphasized that the continuous numbering does not show the many lacunae which occur in the quires, and little can be said about the loss of perhaps one or more quires, for example between C.VI and C.B.

5. Giversen, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library, Vol. 1, Kephalaia, Facsimile Edition*, i–xxvi, 1–354. The title page reports that the edition is "Published under the Auspices of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library with the Support of the Carlsberg Foundation and under the Responsibility of the International Committee for the Publication of the Manichaean Coptic Papyri from Medinet Madi Belonging to the Chester Beatty Library (Søren Giversen, Rodolphe Kasser, Martin Krause)." The Preface, p. xii, reports concerning the facsimile edition: "Once this was published, every interested scholar would have plenty of time and opportunity to work on the texts." But it is also reported: "This committee . . . is also responsible for the critical edition of the texts." At the meeting of the Association francophone de Coptologie in Paris on May 23, 1986, Rodolphe Kasser circulated an announcement concerning the committee "qui repartira cette tache [les éditions critiques] entre les divers coptisants" ["who will distribute this task {the critical editions} among the various Coptologists."] "Seuls seront invités a participer aux editions princeps manichéennes coptes Chester Beatty ceux qui n'ont pas déjà obtenu cette faculté en ce qui concerne les éditions princeps manichéennes coptes des fragments de Berlin oû de Vienne." ["Only they will be invited to participate in the *editio princeps* of the Chester Beatty Coptic Manichaica who have not already received this privilege regarding the of the Coptic Manichaica of Berlin or Vienna."]

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One should also note the disclaimer on page xvii:

> Both Hugo and Rolf Ibscher found the task of reconstructing the leaves and fragments in the right order extremely difficult, and as we are not in possession of all the observations made by the two conservators during their work, it is today perhaps impossible for us to so reconstruct them—or it will take a very long time and will probably necessitate the deciphering of the texts in some detail. According to the wishes of the committee, I have therefore chosen to publish the results of my work so far in the hope that these will be of use to scholars. Any improvement that they make will naturally be a pleasure to me.

The problem is partly ascribed to ambiguities on the part of Rolf Ibscher (p. xix):

> Rolf Ibscher later gives different figures for the number of leaves restored by his father. Sometimes he said that Hugo Ibscher had restored 34 leaves from Codex C, sometimes 36 and sometimes 47 . . . Rolf Ibscher perhaps added to the 34 leaves from Codex C the 13 leaves which Hugo Ibscher had already restored in 1934 and which are also mentioned in the letter quoted above as belonging to Codex B. This is borne out by the fact that on the frames of the glasses which contain these 13 leaves is written "Kephalaia. Codex B."

Thus Giversen concludes (page xvii) that Hugo Ibscher conserved only 34 leaves. But Rolf Ibscher is quoted (pages xviii–xix) as listing at times 136, at times 139 as the number of leaves he himself had conserved. Since there are 346 plates, one would assume the figure 139 to be correct (since 139 plus 34 equals 173 leaves, = 346 pages). This calculation admittedly, does not account for plates 347–54, of which it is said, p. xxvi: "The following pages or fragments are in such poor condition that it will be very difficult to locate their original position." Though they seem uninscribed, they are not just fragments—a characterization that actually only fits 347–48—but in three cases leaves (in one case hardly more than the vertical fibers), which must be assumed to have been consistently omitted from numerations (unless the figure 36 was reached by adding 2 from this group to the figure 34).

The confusion is augmented by Giversen's explanation (pages xix–xx):

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> The sheets restored by Hugo Ibscher were marked la–4b and 1–60, and Rolf Ibscher has arranged them into quires. The sheets which Rolf Ibscher restored are marked first according to codex with a C, then according to section (quire), so that indications are as follows: C.1–C.8, C.OI, C.I–C.X. To this a number is added, so that the sheets are numbered from 1 to 140. This last numbering was presumably given when Rolf Ibscher succeeded in rescuing the sheets, and as he sometimes had to work on the papyri from different ends this numbering does not always follow the order of the sheets in the codex. To this must be added the fact that the codex was in some disarray when it reached the conservators' laboratory. There is yet another numbering system to be mentioned. This may have been given when the sheets were photographed, or to indicate which of the papyri were restored by Rolf Ibscher. This system, however practical [page xx] it may have been for its special purpose, is now useless and possibly confusing for anyone who is not aware of its meaning, since it does not give any information about the reconstruction of the codex or the real order of the sheets. In my attempt to arrange the order of all the sheets in the collection which is called Codex C I have therefore not used this numbering at all.

The way to account for 139 sheets being numbered 1–140 is to note that the numbers 1, 2, 97, and 111 occur twice, whereas the numbers 91, 92, and 96 are missing, leaving a balance of one more number than there are sheets.

The hope is expressed (page xxi): "This introduction will, I hope, provide some background information until a much more detailed account is made available as a result of this facsimile edition."

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— 18 —

Codex D: Homilies (Dublin Part)

This codex is part of the Berlin codex P[15999]. Schmidt and Polotsky report:[1]

A second papyrus book contains a collection of *Homilies* (*logoi*) of various contents and by different authors. Here we have before us a completely faithful report about the last days of Mani, which must have come from the pen of an eye witness . . . 48 leaves of this papyrus book have been brought under glass and are to be published separated by Dr. Polotsky. As I mentioned above, a large part of this book has come to Berlin.

Ein zweites Papyrusbuch enthält eine Sammlung von Homilien (*logoi*) verschiedenen Inhalts und von verschiedenen Verfassern. Da haben wir vor uns einen ganz getreuen Bericht über die letzten Tage des Mani, der aus der Feder eines Augenzeugen geflossen sein muss . . . Von diesem Papyrusbuch sind 48 Blätter unter Glas gebracht und sollen von Dr. Polotsky separat publiziert werden. Von diesem Buche ist, wie ich oben erwähnt habe, ein umfangreicher Teil nach Berlin gekommen.

Polotsky's transcriptions of pages 8, 11, 12, 27–30, 44, 60, 69, 76, 78, 79, 82–84, 91, and 93 from 1931–1932 are in the Archives of the Chester Beatty Library. Polotsky published Beatty's part of the *Homilies* in 1934.[2]

Tito Orlandi's 1976 report of the material in the Chester Beatty Library noted:[3]

1. Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 34.
2. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, Band I.
3. Orlandi, "Les manuscrits coptes de Dublin," 324.

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Indeed we have noted that the part of Codex A edited by Mr. Allberry (*Psalms, Part II*) is perfectly conserved in 9 little wooden boxes, in which the glasses containing the leaves are arranged in vertical position. The part of Codex A [read: D] edited by Polotsky (*Homilies*) has been arranged in the same way.	En effet, nous avons constaté que la partie du Cod. A éditée par M. Allberry (*Psaumes*, Ile partie) est parfaitement conservée dans 9 petites caisses en bois, dans lesquelles les verres contenant les feuillets sont ranges en position verticale. La partie du Cod. A [read: D] éditée par Polotsky (*Homilies*) a été rangée de la même façon.

Since in early reports the part of the *Homilies* codex that Sir Chester Beatty acquired was found with the *Psalms* codex, Orlandi lists the Dublin leaves of the *Homilies* also as A. But since these letters designate codices, and the leaves of the *Homilies* come from a different codex than those of the *Psalms*, the leaves of the *Homilies* should not be given the same codex designation as those of the *Psalms*. Rolf Ibscher hence introduced the letter D for the leaves of the *Homilies*, which is used in the present report.

Michael H. Browder has prepared an English translation of the published *Homilies* in machine-readable form.[4]

A facsimile edition of the *Homilies* of the Chester Beatty Library was published in 1986.[5] The glass panes could not be opened to make minor adjustments in the positioning of already-placed fragments, since the panes are stuck to the papyrus. But some have been "repositioned photographically" on pages 19–20, 25–26, and 97–98, while tiny fragments needing to be repositioned could not, "for technical reasons" be adjusted, "for example on pp. 3–4 and 49–50." A facsimile of page 29 published in the 1934 edition lacks a fragment present in the facsimile edition but also present in the transcription of page 34 in the 1934 edition, due presumably to the 1934 published photograph's being made prior to the placement of the fragment, which however, took place prior to the completion of the 1934 edition. Such

4. Browder, *A Manichaean Anthology: A New English Translation of the Manichaische Homilien*, 1985, unpublished.

5. Giversen, *Homilies and Varia*, vii–viii for the Introduction, from which the quotations come; and 1–96, plates corresponding to the pagination of Polotsky's edition, with pp. 95–96 reproducing the unplaced fragments that Polotsky did not publish.

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photographs made early in the conservation procedure would serve as a record "if some smaller, fragile pieces perhaps went missing in the process of conservation." Thus pages 41–42, "where some lines are now lost." Polotsky omitted pages 65–66 since so little text survived, but they are included in the facsimile edition.

Eleven fragments not placed by Polotsky are published on pages 97–98, still unidentified. "They will presumably be placed when the much needed critical study has been carried out." In view of the fact that the critical edition has already been published, it is unclear what occasion is envisaged for "the much needed critical study," if the publication of the facsimile edition itself did not provide such an occasion.

Michel Tardieu[6] has incorrectly stated: "Codex complet de 48 feuillets conservé à Dublin (codex D)." ["Complete codex of 48 leaves conserved at Dublin (Codex D)."] This is only part of the codex of which P^{15999} was also a part, no doubt the major part.

6. Tardieu, "Les Manichéens en Égypte," 6.

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Scholars, Collectors, Dealers, and Others

Charles R. C. Allberry (1911–1943). British Coptologist and Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. He was editor of the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* from 1939–43. He translated and edited the first edition of *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, Part II in 1938.

Hugh Murray Baillie (1916–1982). A British officer, who after World War II remained in Germany as a member of the Fine Arts Commission of the British Zone.

Sir A. Chester Beatty (1875–1968). Major collector of manuscripts and papyri. He founded the Chester Beatty Library. Born in the U.S., he became a naturalized citizen of Great Britain, and was an honorary citizen of Ireland. He made his fortune mining copper in the U.S. and around the world.

Alexander Böhlig (1912–1996). German Coptologist and Byzantinist, who taught first at the University of Halle and after 1963 at the University of Tübingen, where he was eventually emeritus. At Halle he was director of the Institut für Byzantinistik.

William M. Brashear (1946–2000). Papyrologist and curator of the Papyrus-Sammlung of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin-Charlottenburg.

Carsten Colpe (1929–2009). German professor of Iranian studies, first at the University of Göttingen and then at the University of Berlin.

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Walter Ewing Crum (1865–1944). British Coptologist and Egyptologist. He edited the monumental reference work, *Coptic Dictionary*, and catalogued the Coptic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library and the British Museum.

Sir I. E. S. Edwards (1909–1996). Egyptian Egyptologist and leading expert on the pyramids. He became the Assistant Keeper in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum in 1934. He was the Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities from 1955 to 1974.

Otto Firchow (b. 1912). Director of the Ägyptisches Museum and Papyrus-Sammlung in Berlin.

Wolf-Peter Funk. Coptologist and Research Associate at the Université Laval in Quebec. He is the editor of the series Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin.

Sir Alan Gardiner (1879–1963). One of the leading Egyptologists of the twentieth century.

Søren Giversen (1928–2009). Danish New Testament scholar and Coptologist who taught at Aarhus University. He was the president of the International Committee for the Publication of the Manichaean Coptic Papyri from Medinet Madi Belonging to the Chester Beatty Library.

Hugo Ibscher (1874–1943). Papyrus conservator from Kleinmachnow, near Berlin, who worked for Chester Beatty.

Rolf Ibscher (1906–1967). Son of Hugo Ibscher, who took over papyrus conservation for Beatty after his father's death.

Rodolphe Kasser (b. 1927). Swiss Coptologist and archaeologist. He was Professor at the University of Geneva until becoming emeritus in 1998. He is a member of the International Committee for the Publication of the Manichaean Coptic Papyri from Medinet Madi Belonging to the Chester Beatty Library and head of the archaeo-

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logical excavations of the Swiss Mission of Coptic Archaeology in the Kelia, Lower Egypt.

Martin Krause (b. 1930). German Coptologist and Professor at the University of Münster. He was the first President of the International Association for Coptic Studies. He is a member of the International Committee for the Publication of the Manichaean Coptic Papyri from Medinet Madi Belonging to the Chester Beatty Library.

Wilfrid Lockwood. Librarian and Director of the Chester Beatty Library.

Otto Werner Luke. Assistant and then successor to Rolf Ibscher.

Paul Allan Mirecki. Coptologist and historian of religion at the University of Kansas.

Wolfgang Müller (1922–2012). Papyrologist and ancient historian. He became Director of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin as well as overseer of the Papyrus-Sammlung.

Wincenty Myszor. Professor of Papyrology at the Institute for Papyrology at Warsaw University.

Maurice Nahman (1868–1948). The leading Cairo antiquities dealer prior to World War II, who showed H. O. Lange Manichaean manuscripts in 1929. He sold Manichaean manuscripts to Chester Beatty and Carl Schmidt in the 1930s.

Tito Orlandi. Italian Coptologist and Professor at La Sapienza University, Rome. He was President of the International Association for Coptic Studies (2000–2004). He is Director of Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari.

Günter Poethke (b. 1939). Custos of the Greek manuscripts in the Papyrus-Sammlung of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin and Professor of Papyrology at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

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Hans Jakob Polotsky (1905–1991). German-born Israeli Egyptologist, Coptologist, and Semitist. He was professor at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

Berthe van Regemorter. Belgian bookbinder.

Gesine Schenke Robinson. New Testament scholar, Coptologist, and Director of the Coptic Texts Editing Project at the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity.

James M. Robinson (b. 1924). Professor of New Testament and Coptologist at Claremont Graduate University (emeritus). He is the founding Director of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Director of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project, and the editor of the Nag Hammadi Library.

Carl Schmidt (1868–1938). German New Testament scholar, church historian, and papyrologist; his mentor was Adolf von Harnack. He discovered and published numerous ancient gnostic and Manichaean texts.

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IAIN GARDNER AND
SAMUEL N. C. LIEU

Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire



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MANICHAEAN TEXTS FROM THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Founded by Mani (*c.* AD 216–76), a Syrian visionary of Judaeo-Christian background who lived in Persian Mesopotamia, Manichaeism spread rapidly into the Roman Empire in the third and fourth centuries AD and became one of the most persecuted heresies under Christian Roman emperors. The religion established missionary cells in Syria, Egypt, North Africa and Rome and has in Augustine of Hippo the most famous of its converts. The study of the religion in the Roman Empire has benefited from discoveries of genuine Manichaean texts from Medinet Madi and from the Dakhleh Oasis in Egypt, as well as successful decipherment of the Cologne Mani-Codex which gives an autobiography of the founder in Greek. This first ever single-volume collection of sources for this religion, which draws from material mostly unknown to English-speaking scholars and students, offers in translation genuine Manichaean texts from Greek, Latin and Coptic.

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MANICHAEAN TEXTS FROM THE ROMAN EMPIRE

EDITED BY
IAIN GARDNER AND SAMUEL N. C. LIEU

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Contents

List of plates *page* xi
List of maps xi
List of contributors xii
Preface xiii
Acknowledgements xiv
Notes for the reader xv
List of abbreviations xvii

1 Introduction 1
The purpose of this book 1
The life of Mani 3
The Manichaean system 8
Worship and ethic 21
The development of Manichaean studies 25
The survival of Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire 35

2 The life of Mani 46
Childhood, youth and calling 46
1 Mani's parentage, birth, childhood and adolescence 46
2 Mani's own version of early revelations from his divine Twin 47
3 Incidents from Mani's youth showing his refusal to harm even plants 48
4 Mani's account of his call 49
5 Mani's conflicts and break with the baptist community 58
6 The beginning of Mani's mission 66
Mani at the court of the Shahanshah (King of Kings) 73
7 Mani's calling and his summons before Shapur I 73
8 Mani's first encounter with Shapur I 75
9 Mani recounts his travels 76
The last days and death of Mani 79
10 Mani's change of fortune after the death of Hormizd 79
11 The confrontation between Mani and King Vahram I 84

12 Mani's imprisonment and death 85
13 Mani's entry into *parinirvana* 88
14 Praise for the martyred Mani 89
15 The sufferings of Mani compared to those of other true apostles 91
16 The institution of the *bema* 93
17 The death of Mani compared to the trial and crucifixion of Jesus the Messiah 94
18 The death of Mani commemorated in two *bema* psalms 95
The Manichaean church under Sisinnios and his successor Innaios 102
19 Persecution of the Manichaean church 102
20 The prayer and martyrdom of Sisinnios (Mar Sisin) 104

3 Manichaeism in the Roman Empire 109
Early mission and reaction 111
21 The mission of Mār Addā and Pattek the teacher 111
22 The healing of Nafšā of Tadmor (Palmyra) by Mār Addā 112
23 A warning against Manichaean missionaries 114
24 Alexander of Lycopolis on the Manichaean mission in Egypt 115
25 Edict (rescript) of Diocletian against the sect (AD 302) 116
26 Warning against door-to-door missions by the Manichaeans 119
Manichaeans and Christian ascetics in Egypt 119
27 Manichaeans out-argued by Didymus the Blind 119
28 A travelling Manichaean converted by true 'hospitality' 120
29 A Manichaean missionary challenged to trial by fire 121
30 A food-test imposed by the Patriarch Timothy 121
31 A story of two Manichaean merchants 122
Manichaeism in the Levant, Asia Minor and Greece 125
32 The debate between the Manichaea Julia and Porphyry the bishop of Gaza 125
33 The conversion of the Manichaeans at Ziph 129
34 The works of Mani and of Mār Addā refuted by Heraclianus of Chalcedon 129
Manichaeism in Italy and North Africa 130
35 The young Augustine joins the sect at Carthage as a hearer 130
36 A Manichaean house at Rome 134
37 Letter of the Manichaean Secundinus to Augustine 136
38 The Manichaean Firmus converted by a sermon of Augustine's 142
39 Victorinus exposed as a crypto-Manichaean 143
40 Manichaeans detected and punished in Carthage 144
Select legislations against the Manichaeans from Theodosius to Justinian 145
41 Anti-Manichaean legislation issued by Theodosius 145
42 The death penalty for Manichaeans 149
43 Mandate of Justinian I on Manichaeans' wills 150

4 The scriptures of Mani 151
44 Mani's canon according to the *Kephalaia* 153
45 Canon lists from an Arabic and a Chinese source 154
46 From *The Living Gospel* 156
47 From *The Treasure of Life* 159
48 From an unnamed work of Mani, probably *The Pragmateia* 160
49 From *The Psalms and Prayers* (?) 163
50 The titles of Mani's *Epistles* 165
51 A quotation from 'The Letter to Edessa' 166
52 Passages from *The Epistles* preserved at Ismant el-Kharab 166
53 'The Fundamental Epistle' 168
54 'The Letter to Menoch' 172
55 Spurious letters attributed to Mani 174

5 Teachings 176
56 The community sing 'the knowledge of Mani' 176
57 Alexander of Lycopolis on the Manichaean system 179
58 The *Acta Archelai* on cosmogony 182
59 Augustine's summary of the teaching 187
60 An account of the evocation of the gods 191
61 'The prayer of the emanations' 194
62 Concerning the coming of the soul 196
63 The five worlds of the kingdom of darkness 199
64 The 'three days' and the 'two deaths' 202
65 The seven works of the Living Spirit 204
66 Mani discusses astrology 205
67 The Coptic treatise on the Light Mind 208
68 The descent of Jesus 217
69 Augustine on Manichaean Christology 218
70 A psalm by Herakleides 219
71 The great war and the last judgement 220
72 Four recently edited *Kephalaia* 226
73 Manichaean and other 'errors' concerning the destiny of the soul after death (Christian polemic) 229

6 Worship and ethic 231
74 The essential precepts of the elect and the catechumens 231
75 The archetypes of ritual action 232
76 The three seals 236
77 Augustine on the *bema* festival 237
78 A *bema* psalm 237
79 The profits of fasting 240
80 A psalm of endurance 240
81 Augustine on Manichaean ethics 244

82 Augustine on the redemption of the light particles 245
83 A psalm of the universal soul 246
84 A psalm to glorify the Mind 247
85 Mani's discourse on the 'assent' and the 'amen' 249
86 The nature of love 252
87 A psalm in praise of Jesus 253
88 A psalm to the Trinity 254
89 A prayer for the ascent of the soul 256

7 Community texts 259
90 The advent of Mani 260
91 On the ten advantages of the Manichaean religion 265
92 An apologia for the distinction between elect and hearer 268
93 A father instructs his young son 272
94 The son writes to his mother 275
95 An elect encourages a sick catechumen 277
96 An elect writes to ask for alms 277
97 A Manichaean scribe sends a spell to a colleague 278
98 Horion discusses preparations for the *agape* 280

List and concordance of texts 282
Glossary 290
Bibliography 298
Index 307

Illustrations

PLATES

2.1 Cologne Mani-Codex p. 94 *page* 64
5.1 Prayer of the Emanations from Kellis 194
7.1 General view of Ismant el-Kharab (ancient Kellis) 260
7.2 Manichaean psalms from Kellis 273

MAPS

1 The Sassanian Empire xix
2 The Roman Empire xx

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Preface

The genesis of this book was in the late 1980s when Samuel Lieu first proposed the concept for the volume and approached Iain Gardner to collaborate, especially with translations of the extensive Coptic corpus. Gardner began to prepare portions of the *Kephalaia* codex, but in fact that developed into an entirely separate volume which is only partly represented here. Over a number of years the authors collected texts and made translations whilst they were occupied with other projects (often these contributed entirely new or previously unavailable pieces). Then, in 2000, we finally had the opportunity to put together the translations and introductions that we had gathered for this volume. We are very grateful to our contributors, some of whom had to complete their translations to meet stringent deadlines. We are grateful too to the British Academy, the Australian Research Council, the Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust and Warwick and Macquarie Universities for grants over a number of years for research on Manichaean texts discovered in Egypt and in Central Asia. To Dr Malcolm Choat we owe a warm word of thanks for helping in the task of indexing and final checking of the typescript. We would also like to thank Dr Michael Sharp at Cambridge University Press for his personal interest in the project and Professor Aloïs van Tongerloo and his research assistants at Catholic University of Leuven, Mr Dieter Taillieu and Kristof D'hulster for checking the translations from the *Fihrist* of Ibn an-Nadīm. Sam Lieu would like personally to thank the staff and fellows of the Ancient History Documentary Research Centre at Macquarie University for providing an excellent home for the Manichaean Documentation Centre which greatly facilitated research on this volume.

Notes for the reader

A good number of the translations included here have been made by the editors specially for this volume, either individually or in some combination with various scholars. Other translations have been specifically commissioned, whilst some have been drawn from published works. We would like to note that all the pieces have, to some extent, been adapted to conform to a basically uniform style throughout. In particular, technical terms, such as the names of Manichaean divinities, have mostly been given the same form throughout (there are some exceptions, such as the retention of the term Syzygos in the *Cologne Mani-Codex*). Where improved readings have been suggested (for instance to the *Manichaean Psalm-Book* text edited by Allberry in the 1930s), the translation will reflect those according to the judgement of the editors. These adaptations, which range from minor matters of house style to major improvements to the textual sense, have not been individually noted; though the occasions where radical revisions to the *editio princeps* have been possible are generally explained or referenced in the introductions to those pieces.

While the selection of texts is intended to be as representative as possible, and includes well-known pieces as well as some previously unavailable, some allowance has been made for the question of whether texts are easily accessible in a modern English translation. Thus, at the beginning, it was intended to provide especially substantial portions of *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, since this only then existed in a German translation that was not always easy to obtain. However, now that that work has been published by Gardner as a separate volume, the selections of that text have been substantially reduced, and are slanted towards parts of the codex edited after Gardner's English translation of the rest appeared.

Sources that appear here have been restricted to only a few pages per piece. This means that some especially long texts (such as the *Cologne Mani-Codex*) have been artificially broken up according to subject matter. These sections accord only to the purposes of this book, and do not reflect

the intentions of the ancient authors. Equally, punctuation, paragraphs and such like have been imposed upon texts with the intention to make them more accessible to the modern reader. The following editorial signs are also used: round brackets ( ) indicate explanatory material added by the editors; square brackets [ ] indicate lacunae in the text; angular brackets < > denote words or phrases added to the text.

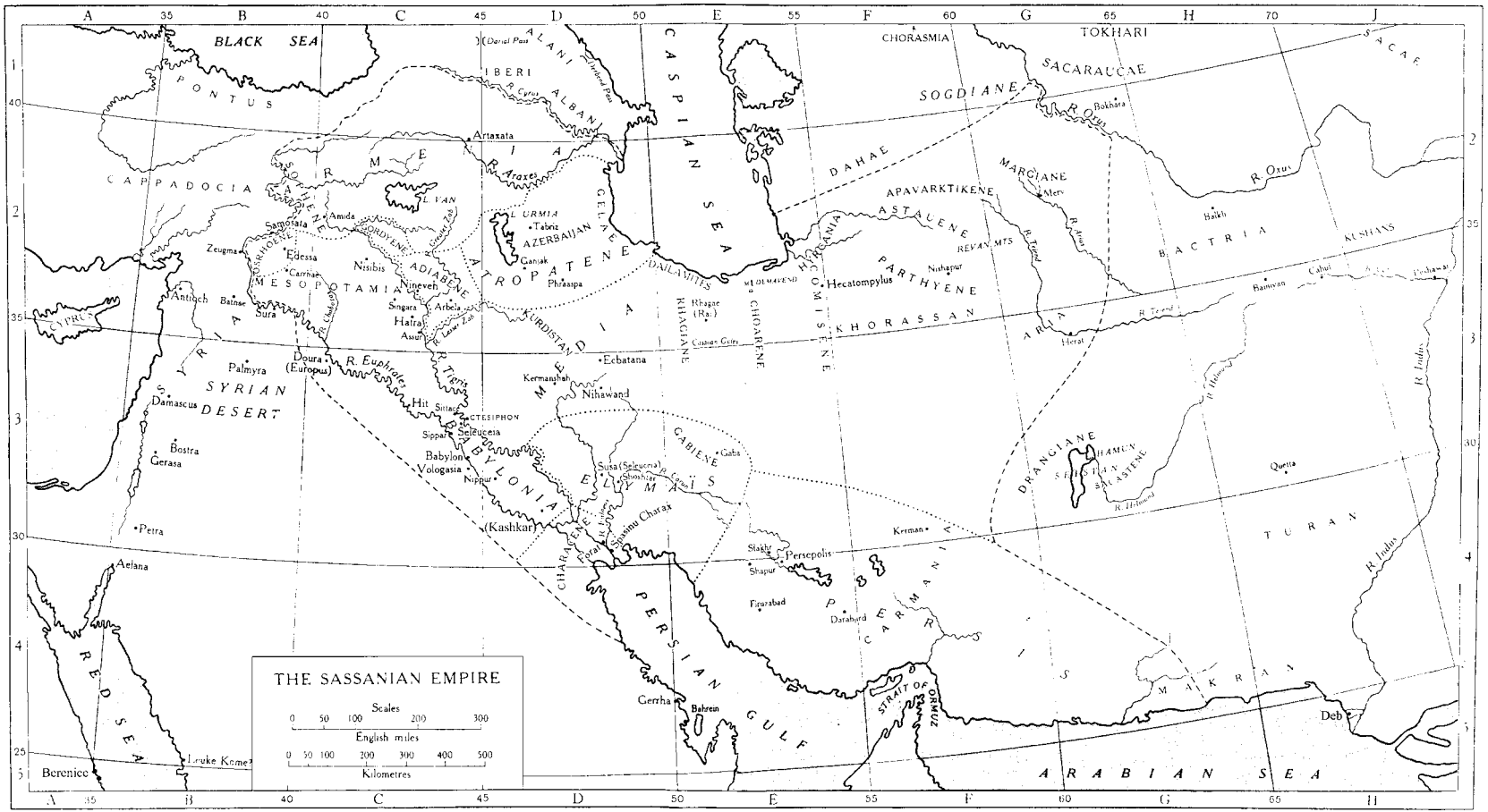
Linguistic notes and terms in the ancient languages have been kept to the absolute minimum. Often, where the editors are aware that divergent interpretations are possible, these are not recorded; but a choice has been made according to our judgement. The overall purpose is to fulfil a felt need for an easily accessible selection of *Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire*; accurate to the best standards of contemporary scholarship, but in English and uncluttered with technical detail.

Abbreviations

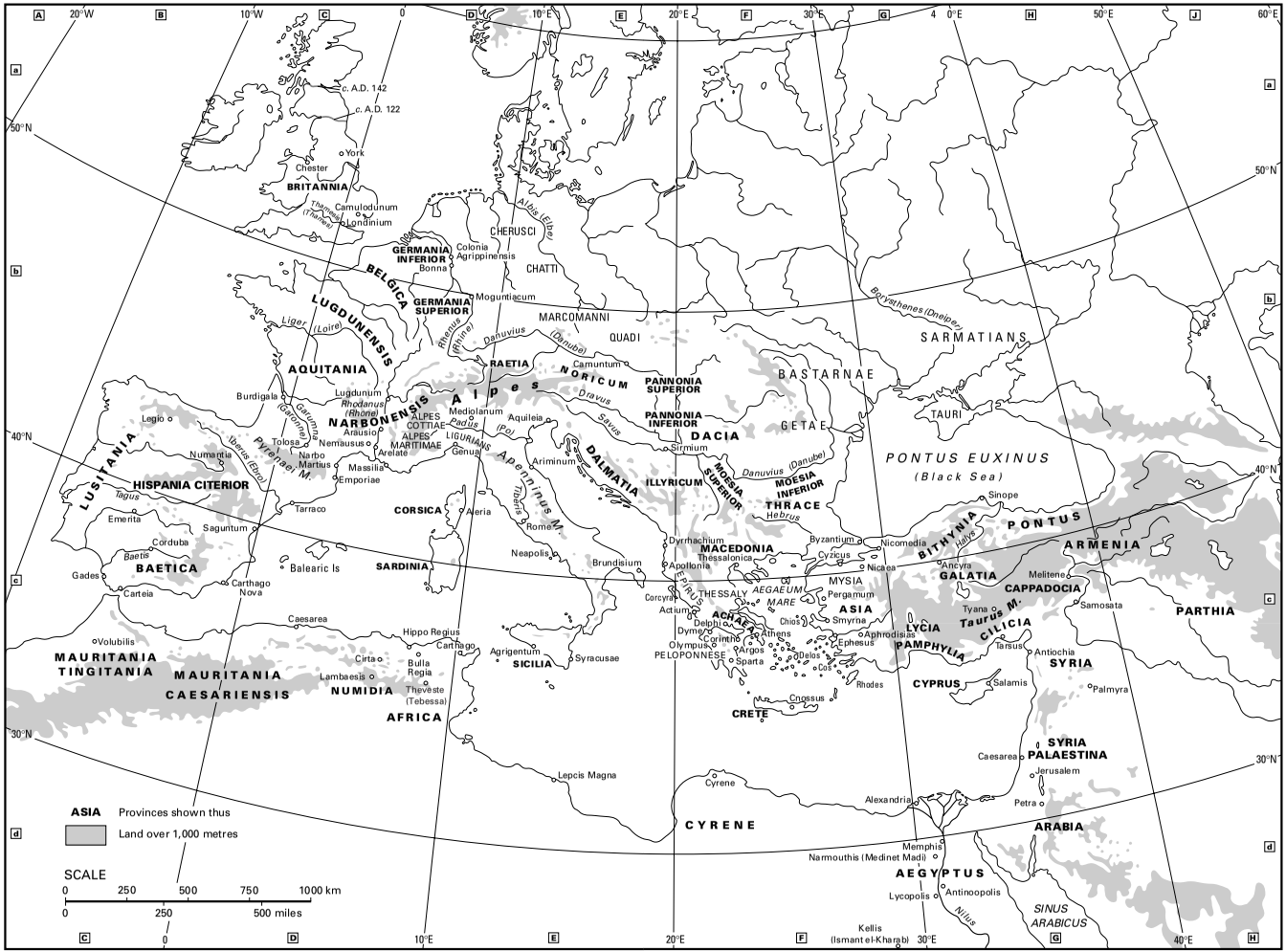
Full details of works referred to by author and date may be found in the Bibliography. Abbreviations of journal titles follow those in *L'Année Philologique* (Paris, 1927-).

APAW	Abhandlungen der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin, 1815–1907; philosoph.-hist. Klasse, 1908–49.
Arab.	Arabic
Aug.	Aurelius Augustinus (Augustine)
Chin.	Chinese
CJ	*Codex Justinianus*, ed. P. Krueger, *Corpus Iuris Civilis,* II (Berlin 1929)
CMC	*Cologne Mani-Codex*
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Paris, Louvain etc. 1903ff)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1866ff)
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, 49 vols. (Bonn 1828–78)
CT	*Codex Theodosianus*, eds. Th. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer, *Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*, 2 vols. (Berlin 1905)
Fihrist	an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel (1871)
Gr.	Greek
GSR	Klimkeit (1993)
Hipp.	Hippolytus
Hom.	*Manichäische Homilien*, ed. H. J. Polotsky (Stuttgart 1934)

HR II	F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan* II, aus den Anhang zu den APAW, 1904, 1–117
Keph.	*Kephalaia*, eds. A. Böhlig and H. J. Polotsky (1940); A. Böhlig (1966) and W.-P. Funk (1999-) (Stuttgart)
KG	Sundermann (1981)
MCPCBL	Giversen (1986, 1988)
Mid. Pers.	Middle Persian
MM I-III	F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch Turkestan* I, *SPAW* 1932, X, 175–222; II *SPAW* 1933, VII, 294–363; III *SPAW* 1934, XXVII, 848–912
P. Harr. I	*The Rendall Harris Papyri of Woodbrooke College, Birmingham*, ed. J. E. Powell (Cambridge 1936)
P. Kell. II	Gardner (1996)
P. Kell. V	Gardner, Alcock and Funk (1999)
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus*, series Graeco-Latina, eds. J. P. Migne et al., 162 vols. (Paris 1857–66).
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus*, series Latina, eds. J. P. Migne et al., 221 vols. (Paris 1844–64) and 5 suppl. (1958–74)
PO	Patrologia Orientalis, eds. R. Graffin and F. Nau (Paris 1907ff)
P. Oxy.	*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* I- (London 1898-)
PsBk2.	*A Manichaean Psalm-Book. Part II*, ed. C. R. C. Allberry (Stuttgart 1938)
Pth.	Parthian
Sogd.	Sogdian
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Berlin, 1882–1921; philosoph.-hist. Klasse, 1922–49.
T. Kell.	Tabula Kelliensis, texts either in Gardner (1996); or published separately (publication details in respective entries)



Map 1 The Sassanian Empire



Map 2 The Roman Empire

CHAPTER I

Introduction

THE PURPOSE OF THIS BOOK

The term 'Manichaean' is here used in its primary sense, with reference to the religion that was founded by Mani (or Manichaios, that is Mani 'the living' as the original Syriac was transmitted into Greek) in the early Sassanian empire during the third century of the common era. Mani was a visionary, for he was a mystic and a painter; he was an intellectual, with a passion for understanding all aspects of the natural world and integrating them into a coherent system; but he was also intensely practical in his approach to this divine revelation and this knowledge. We might say that Manichaeism is the first real 'religion' in the modern sense, because Mani established it directly and deliberately, with its scriptures and its rituals and its organisation all in place. A principal aspect of his purpose was that this teaching and this practice and this community would be universal, and would supersede all previous faiths (which indeed were understood to reach their true culmination here). Mani himself travelled widely to preach, heal, convert and establish communities; and he dispatched missionaries in all directions. This book is concerned with the religion's spread and success and ultimate demise to the west of its homeland, that is in the world of the later Roman Empire.

> In the last years of Ardashir the king I came out to preach. I crossed to the country of the Indians. I preached to them the hope of life. I chose in that place a good election. In the year that Ardashir the king died Shapur his son became king. I crossed from the country of the Indians to the land of the Persians; from the land of Persia I came to the land of Babylon, Mesene and Susiana. I appeared before Shapur the king. He received me with great honour. He gave me permission to journey . . . preaching the word of life. I even spent some years . . . in the retinue; many years in Persia, in the country of the Parthians, up to Adiabene, and the borders of the provinces of the kingdom of the Romans.

> I have chosen you, the good election, the holy church that I was sent to from the Father. I have sown the seed of life. I have . . . from east to west . . . my hope has gone toward the sunrise of the world, and every inhabited part; to the clime of the north, and the . . . Not one among the apostles did ever do these things . . . (my hope) will remain in the world until (the return of Jesus in judgement, and he will place my) church on the right side (and the evildoers) on the left.[1]

Mani's call to the founding of this new and final community came about the year AD 240, and the first Manichaean mission would have reached Alexandria about AD 260. In the Roman Empire Manichaeism arrived as a rival to Christianity, itself suffering its final persecutions before the triumph under Constantine. Indeed, Mani announced himself as the 'apostle of Jesus Christ', its preachers proclaimed that they preached the true gospel, and condemned their opponents as failed or only 'part Christians'. The fourth century saw a bitter conflict between these two interpretations, a conflict that what we now call Christianity ultimately won, allied as it became with secular power. Manichaeism became cursed as the ultimate heresy.

Manichaean studies have seen major growth and development over recent decades. A substantial reason has been the repeated and often spectacular discoveries, of primary and previously unknown texts in particular, which have led to the transformation of our understanding and to the emergence of an entirely new discipline. At the same time, the topic has spoken to contemporary interests in the deconstruction of received histories, here with regard to the 'triumph' of Christianity and its defeat of heresy; in the reconstruction of alternative Christianities, especially the so-called 'gnostic' movements of the early church; in attitudes to the body and to the natural world, where Manichaeism provides a striking and obsessive new vision; and in dialogue between religions and cultures, for Manichaeism spread to both east and west, and interacted not only with Christianity but also with Buddhism, Islam and Taoism.

The purpose of this book is, therefore, to make available many of the diverse and scattered sources relevant to an understanding of the subject. The development of Manichaean studies in the anglophone world has been hampered by the traditional leadership in this field by scholars from the elite universities of the European continent. Also, the topic is shared (and in a sense falls) between many traditional disciplines, so that developments are often not followed by non-specialists. As authors of this book, it is our hope to provide in a convenient and accessible format the resources

[1] *Keph.* 15. 24–16. 17 abbreviated.

and the knowledge necessary for an understanding of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire; this for scholars and students of ancient history and adjacent disciplines in the English-speaking world. It is with this purpose in mind that we have made our selections of material, imposed structure and order, and offered introductory comments to each piece (and these we have tried to keep short and specific). Specialised linguistic notes have been kept to an absolute minimum, and we have mostly omitted seriously damaged text. The material presented here is not intended to substitute for advanced work, for this the scholar must turn to the critical editions of the primary texts in the original languages, and to the detailed studies. In this sense, this is an introductory source-book; but at the same time we have striven for total accuracy and awareness of the very leading scholarship in the field; and, indeed, some of the material presented here is in advance of that published anywhere in the world.

THE LIFE OF MANI

Mani was born, according to a Manichaean source in Chinese, on 14 April 216. His father, Pattek (Arab. Futtuq, Gr. Pattikios, Mid. Pers. Ptyg), is said to have come from Ecbatana (modern Hamadan), the ancient capital of the Parthian Kingdom; and to have later taken up residence in Seleucia-Ctesiphon in Mesopotamia, then the winter capital of the Parthians and later of the Sassanians. The name of his mother is known to us in Arabic as Mays[2] or Awtāḫīm or Mar Maryam, and in Chinese as Man-yen (lit. 'full of beauty', perhaps a transliteration for Maryam) of the royal house of the Arsacids (Arab. Ašgāniyya) and from Chin-sa-chien (probably a transliteration for Kamsaragan, a region of Parthia).[3] The presumed descent of his parents from Arsacid lineage could explain Mani's reserve toward the first Sassanian ruler Ardashir who overthrew the last Parthian king Artabanus V in 224. His father is said to have been told by a divine voice in a pagan temple at Seleucia-Ctesiphon not to eat meat or to drink wine, and to stay away from women. In obedience to this call he joined one of the baptist sects existing in Mesopotamia. The group he joined, which acknowledged the Jewish-Christian leader Elchasai(os) as one of its founders, was very active in missionary work, and not only endeavoured to spread within the Persian Empire, but had even gone as far as Rome. It is possible that Mani received some impetus for his world mission from it, and it may be the

[2] *Fihrist*, trans. Dodge, II, 773.
[3] *Mo-ni kuang-fo chiao-fa yi-lüeh*, ms. line 19, trans. Haloun and Henning (1952), 190.

source of his reference back to the patriarchs of Hebrew tradition: Adam, Seth, Enosh, Enoch, Shem.

After his birth, Mani stayed with his mother for four years until his father took him to join the 'baptists'. He lived in their community until he left them soon after his twenty-fourth birthday (his twenty-fifth year) and began to preach his own doctrine. The time with the 'baptists' was of special importance for his personal and spiritual development. He believed that he had twice had a vision in which he encountered his divine 'twin' (his Syzygos), at the age of twelve and at the age of twenty-four. In true hagiographical fashion, Mani was shown in the *CMC* as wanting to reform the sect. He even put words characteristic of his own teaching into Elchasai(os)'s mouth. For example, the 'baptists' used to carry out ablutions; they washed or baptised vegetables which they grew in their gardens, not only for their own use but also to sell in town (see below, pp. 48–9). Mani, however, was utterly opposed to the baptisms and ablutions, because he saw them as being harmful to the light particles which were bound in them. According to Mani, Elchasai(os) had already had a vision while bathing which pointed out to him the sinfulness of this act. Mani regarded the ablutions carried out by the baptists in the context of a great cosmic event, and criticised them. The Sabbath 'rest of hands' observed by the community seems to have led him to the radical conclusion that hands should do no work at all. Mani opposed the ritual use of a certain type of bread, so he was asked if he wanted to eat 'Greek bread'. His companions simply noticed that he neglected their customs; nor did he take vegetables from the garden himself, but asked for them as if asking for alms (see below, pp. 48–9 and 60–5).

Among the men of revelation who, in Mani's opinion, preceded Elchasai(os) was Jesus the Messiah. Thereafter, after failing to reform the community along more gnostic lines, Mani was able to present himself as the fulfilment of the promise of the Paraclete given in the Gospel according to St John. According to the young Mani, Elchasai(os) already wanted to use this name to give himself mythical justification. In the war of words prior to his leaving the sect, the young Mani was accused by some of turning to another trend in Christianity, namely the 'Greeks'; it is possible to understand this as Marcionism. As Mani set great store by Paul in his own writings, and as Paul was regarded as *the* enemy to many Jewish-Christian sects, Mani could not have derived this reverence from the teaching of the baptists. Mani also seems to have been familiar with the teaching of the Christian gnostic thinker Bardaiṣan (who flourished in Edessa in the last years of the Abgar Dynasty during the second and third centuries AD), on cosmogony; as well as that of Valentinus on the division of body and soul.

Mani was not one who merely wanted to construct a system out of philosophical elements and then disseminate it. Rather, he was wholly convinced that he was the 'seal of the prophets'. As mentioned before, he had a vision of his alter ego on his twelfth birthday who had enlightened him about his true existence and calling, but who also required him to stay with the Elchasaites until he had reached full maturity. In those days one reached adulthood at twenty-five. In fact, Mani stayed with the baptists until after his twenty-fourth birthday; but he was already leading a life according to the revelation of his Syzygos ('Twin', or more accurately 'Pair-comrade'). As has already been said, this finally led to disagreements between Mani and his group. When he had turned twenty-four (i.e. in his twenty-fifth year – 'when my body had reached completion'), he had a new vision of his Syzygos. He ordered Mani to appear independently from now on, and that he should do missionary work. This heavenly alter ego is also identified in Manichaean writings with the Johannine Paraclete. Mani unites with his alter ego in the revelation, so that he can be rightly regarded as Paraclete. He began his missionary work during the reign of Ardashir (224–42), but presumably at a time when Shapur I (240–73) had already been crowned co-sovereign.

The second part of the preserved sections of the Greek *Mani Codex*, which narrates the early missionary activities of Mani and the foundation of his church, is very fragmentary (viz. ms. pages 99 *ad fin.*, see below, pp. 65–73). It appears that after he had broken away from the community Mani first went to Ctesiphon, and from there to a village called Naser where he was joined by his father Patticius who had also left the sect. The two then, with a small band of fellow baptists, became wandering holy men; and Mani soon showed his mettle as a dispenser of wise teaching and a performer of miracles. The party travelled northeast to Ganzak, at that time a Zoroastrian stronghold and a residence of the King of Kings. There he introduced himself as a doctor and cured a young child. It was probably on the Iranian Plateau that Mani encountered a hairy hermit who admitted to him that his abnormal covering was the result of taking the best fruits from a tree, thus confirming Manichaean belief in the need of the elect members to avoid hurting the Light elements which are in fruit and vegetables (see below, pp. 67–70).

Mani then turned his attentions to India, probably because he was unable to win imperial patronage for his new teaching from Ardashir during his visit to Ganzak. He travelled first to the important port of Ferat on the Persian Gulf, where he befriended a rich merchant called Oggias (?), and it appears that he travelled to India via Turan and Makran; but it is equally possible for him to have travelled back to Ferat in Mesene

from Ganzak via these regions. According to Middle Iranian sources he is said to have converted the Shah of Turan in the course of his journeys, and we have in the Greek *Mani Codex* the account of the conversion of at least one local king and his entourage *before* he reached Ferat. The encounter with Buddhism in India and adjacent territories was important for the development of the universal and the ascetic aspects of his teaching. Manichaean hagiographical sources speak of him being regarded as Buddha by the ruler there, and being successful in his teaching; whereas the *Kephalaia* also acknowledges difficulties in gaining acceptance. When Ardashir died in 242 and Shapur I became his fully acknowledged successor, Mani returned to the Iranshar from India. He landed in Rew-Ardasir, went to Persis (modern Fars) and then to Babylonia, from where he went to Mesene and Susiana. In Mesene he won over the ruler Mihrshah;[4] he was introduced to the Great King by the latter's brother Peroz whom Mani had presumably got to know in Marw as governor of Chorasan.[5] Shapur I intended to expand the Iranian Empire in all directions and to strengthen it internally at the same time. Mani seemed to him to be the very man for this purpose. His belief was especially suited to the East because of the elements which either came from Buddhism or were confirmed by it. The syncretistic self-awareness which was characteristic of Mani's perception of himself, and which made him consider himself to be the perfection and fulfilment of the three great religions, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity, would allow him to appear as a spiritual cement for the Iranian Empire. He was granted membership of the King's retinue for a long time. Furthermore, it was possible for him to do missionary work within the boundaries of the empire or its sphere of influence. Apart from the aforementioned provinces, he was thus able to preach in Media and Parthia also; and in the Caucasus as well, as at least one Manichaean missionary was active during Mani's life-time in the city of Waruc in Iberia (modern Georgia).[6]

Given the fact that Zoroastrianism was the official religion of his imperial patrons, Mani's religion diffused within the Zoroastrian milieu and at an early stage it assimilated Zoroastrian deities into its pantheon. A more Judaeo-Christian version of his religion spread in the Roman Empire, and also into Parthia where it came under the influence of Zurvanism and later of Buddhism. The two main streams (Judaeo-Christian and Zoroastrian) of Manichaeism later merged in Central Asia, from where many Manichaean texts were recovered in the region of Turfan, and in the Cave of Thousand

[4] M47, *KG*, §10 (1576–1607), pp. 102–3. [5] *Fihrist*, trans. Dodge, II, 776.
[6] M216b + M2230 (Parthian), *KG*, §2.3 (130–49), pp. 24–5 and U237 + U295 (Turkish), ed. Zieme (1975) §21, pp. 50–1.

Buddhas from Dunhuang. The lack of awareness by earlier scholars of the complex history of diffusion of the religion has led to it being seen either exclusively as a form of Zoroastrianism (or Zurvanism) or as a deviant form of Syriac Christianity.

It appears from circumstantial references in the *Kephalaia* that Mani spent much of his years under Shapur's patronage in the Twin-Cities of Seleucia-Ctesiphon teaching his growing band of disciples. This may explain why the Twin-Cities (Arab. *al-Madain*) later became the seat of the *archegos* (Arab. *imam*) of the sect. After Shapur's death (273) Mani does not seem to have had any difficulties under his successor Hormizd I, but his reign only lasted for one year (273–4). He was succeeded by his brother Vahram I (274–6/7). From Hormizd-Ardashir (Suq al-Ahwaz) in Susiana Mani wanted to go to Kushan, which must be Chorasan, the governor of which held the title of Kushanshah. It was probably the only territory within the Iranshar which could offer him personal safety. In any case he was forbidden to undertake the journey. Full of anger and grief, he returned to Hormizd-Ardashir and then went to Mesene. He knew then that he was on his last journey.[7]

Mani travelled to Ctesiphon in order to go to Bet Lapat from there. At the same time he wanted to meet the vassal King Baat, who seems to have joined his religion and who intended being there also but who then preferred to absent himself. The King later reproached Mani for this. It is likely that Vahram had a hostile attitude towards Mani and his teaching right from the start, thinking it had a destructive effect on his Empire where the Magians and their superiors had gained a decisive influence. After all, Mani's teachings, and the ethics derived from them, were totally contradictory to the feudalist lifestyle. The rejection of procreation, the condemnation of hunting, indeed in effect of all knightly sport because of the fear of harming light particles, must necessarily have led to disputes when it came to acquainting the ruling warrior class with his teachings. They might well be useful as a means of controlling subjects of non-Iranian mentality. According to a later Arabic tradition, Vahram said: 'This man has set off, incited to cause the destruction of the world. Because of this, it is necessary to begin by destroying him before any of his intentions can succeed.'[8] The discussion between the King and Mani, which was extremely acrimonious, amply demonstrates the conflict between secular and spiritual power. The King of Kings was angered especially by Mani's

[7] All the relevant sources (mainly Middle Persian and Parthian) are conveniently collected in Henning (1942).

[8] al-Biruni (1878) 207. 7–9.

self-assurance of being enlightened by God. He saw in this the arrogance of a subject who took to himself unauthorised qualities. Here the conflicting interests of king and prophet clash. It was of no help to Mani either that he referred to King Shapur who had given him his support. Opinion against Mani was certainly stirred up by his accusers. The preserved texts are quite concrete in the description of the events. They show how the charge was carried out through the official channels. The Magians who saw Mani arrive in Bet Lapat turned to the chief Magian, Karder. He then consulted a colleague of his. Next to the Chief of Chief Magians (*mobadan mobad*) was also the Chief of the Priests of Fire (*herbadan herbad*). Whereas the former had special moral and spiritual influence over the King, the latter was a man who had not only ritual but also juridical functions. It is no wonder that these two men, as representatives of state church offices, consulted the Vizier in a difficult religious trial. The Vizier reported the situation to the King, who thereupon summoned Mani before him. The King's wrath resulted in the chaining and imprisonment of Mani, where he died after 26 days.[9] However, he had the opportunity to receive visitors, and thus to prepare his congregation for his end. The year of Mani's death is still in dispute. Scholarly opinion vacillates between 276 and 277 (see below, p. 89).

THE MANICHAEAN SYSTEM

Manichaeism was a religious system that taught a practice for the salvation of the divine in the universe; and which presented a revealed (and in principle total) knowledge of transcendent realities, including the divine nature of the soul, and the details of the pathway to eternal life. At its core was an analysis of the causes and nature of evil and suffering in the world, the predicament in which human and all life are entangled, that was entirely coherent in its own terms. Certainly, Mani directly utilised prior revelations; and in this way particular concepts can be tracked, especially from esoteric or heterodox forms of prior Judaisms and Christianities, through Manichaeism, and into later metamorphoses such as in Shi'ite Islam and the neo-Manichaean sects of the medieval period. However, the religion should first be studied and must be understood as a complete, self-contained world-view; for this was how Mani and his followers presented it to society. Echoes of other faiths and teachings were placed in relation to the revelation of Mani, so that for

[9] The most important source on the death of Mani is the 'Narrative on his Crucifixion' in the Coptic *Homilies* (42–85, ed. Polotsky). This text has been translated in full by Dr S. Clackson for this collection (**10**).

the believer all reality was measured against this given presentation of the one truth. Thus, Manichaeism should be categorised as a religion in its own right, and not subordinated to whatever influences the historian may track.

What is often termed the 'gnostic' character of Manichaeism must be strongly qualified, for Mani turned his revealed knowledge outwards to a universal evangelical purpose. Thus, whilst the elect learnt the secret workings of the divine nature, all were offered the call to faith, and the religion firmly grounded itself in time and the existential world. The religion promulgated faith, knowledge and good works; and rose above the obscure and short-lived irrelevancies of most gnostic sects. An analysis of the core tenets of Manichaeism, when measured against what we suppose to be gnosticism (for instance esotericism, elitism and a sense that the world is a product of error), shows that this faith must be differently categorised. It will be better if we set it apart from such labels, which have their origins in the polemic of its opponents, often reinvented by modern scholars of religion seeking to impose patterns upon the unique products of history.

Certainly, it is possible and important for the historian to trace the diverse elements that Mani drew upon in his revelation; but we emphasise that it is first vital to understand Manichaeism as a discrete and coherent entity, for this is how one can enter the world of the believer. The following account of the teachings of Mani will emphasise this inner structure and coherence. Nevertheless, any such summary can tend towards artificial synthesis. Manichaean knowledge was carefully graded and tailored to the needs of its audience, as with any other avowedly evangelical ideology that seeks the power to change people's life and thought. For the lay faithful in the Roman Empire it was a kind of superior Christianity, and the metaphysical details that attract the attention of scholars (and the higher echelons of the elect) had little profile. In the personal letters of the believers at Kellis (see chapter 7) there appears to be scarce knowledge or interest in the many gods and demons, and the intricacies of cosmology, that dominate a handbook for the elect such as the *Kephalaia* (see particularly chapter 5). The textual material derived from Kellis (modern Ismant el-Kharab) evidences how carefully the hierarchy attempted to draw adherents further into the church and the knowledge of truth.

Whereas Christianity took centuries to formulate its doctrines, and the controversies of the great councils seem far removed from the teachings of Jesus, Mani took great pains to establish a total religion based upon his own comprehensive scriptures and preaching. He may be said to have combined the charisma of Jesus, the missionary purpose of Paul, and the doctrinal

stringency of an Augustine. He understood himself to be the final and universal apostle of God, called to restore the truth of all prior messengers, including Jesus, the Buddha and Zarathushtra. There is thus less scope in the study of Manichaeism to trace the evolution of doctrine, since all teaching was rigidly tied to the very details of the divine word in Mani's scriptures. Nevertheless, the eschatological urgency of earliest Manichaeism may be said to have slowly turned towards an accommodation with the world. It may also be true that the absolute centrality of Mani and his teaching, and the self-standing nature of the religion that we have emphasised, was the result of an evolution in Mani's own religious consciousness, further developed and hardened in the early generations of the church's life. In his *Epistles* Mani habitually introduces himself as an 'apostle of Jesus Christ', and it took both time and confidence for the founder to achieve his full stature as 'Mani the living' (i.e. Manichaios).

Mani believed that he was the recipient of divine revelation from his heavenly Twin (Greek: *syzygos*): '. . . everything that has happened and that will happen . . . I have seen the totality through him (*Keph.* 15: 19–23)'. Although later systematisation asserts that the divine counterpart will appear and bring help to every apostle (*Keph.* 36: 6–9), for Mani this was clearly a deeply personal experience, which is firmly embedded in the traditions (see especially the account of his call and early life recorded in the *Cologne Mani-Codex* (chapter 2)). Scholars have sought to explain the concept with reference to various sources, especially the Thomas narratives of early Syriac Christianity, where that apostle is indeed the twin of Jesus; and calling upon the 'Hymn of the Pearl' with its curious correspondences to the spiritual life of Mani (the origins of this text have been much discussed, but never satisfactorily resolved). However, the core is one of those unaccountable religious experiences, where the recipient knows him or herself to be especially called. It seems certain that Mani himself came to understand his Twin to be the Paraclete, foretold by Jesus, the 'comforter' and 'Spirit of Truth' who would be sent afterwards according to the divine will. Since Mani asserts that with the Paraclete, 'I have become a single body, with a single Spirit! (*Keph.* 15: 23–24)', he himself came to be proclaimed as the Paraclete. This then became one of the most characteristic assertions of the Manichaeans, and one of the most offensive to their catholic opponents; however, it was not intended to mean that Mani was the Holy Spirit, as that equation is part of catholic not Manichaean tradition.

This revelation given by the Twin was systematised, in substance at least by Mani himself, into an elaborate and holistic account of the cosmos,

human history, and the natural world. Manichaean thought was highly structured and maintained a remarkable uniformity from Roman North Africa to medieval China, claiming to provide a coherent and quasi-scientific explanation of everything from the movement of the stars to the origins of fire and the genera of creatures. The claim to knowledge would have been a source of great appeal, but the provision of such detail in the scriptures also demanded a rigidity that finally undermined the religion. For these reasons it can be misleading to describe Manichaean doctrine as a myth; and it was certainly not intended as an allegory. For the believer, the teachings were absolute truth: an eclipse of the sun was not an illustration of the power of darkness against the light, it was visible evidence of the forces of evil in attack against those of good. Mani emphasised that the reality of the teachings was apparent to the senses.

Mani's teaching was summarised by the catchphrase, that 'of the two principles and the three times (or moments)'. The two principles are those of light and darkness: whose realms in the *beginning* are separate, the dark unknowing of the light; then during the *middle* are in part mingled, the reality of this present universe; but at the *end* will be the triumph and eternal victory of life and light over death. We should note that Manichaean dualism was absolute, there was no need to account for the origin of evil. Whilst monotheistic opponents would appeal that this curtailed the absolute power of God, the Manichaeans could respond that only thus was the absolute goodness of God assured. Evil was entirely real, as present as death and darkness are to life and light.

In Manichaeism what is true in the macrocosmos is also true for the microcosmos. The individual soul partakes of this whole history, so that our present enfleshment in a demonic body is only the *middle* time between two eternities. Note too that the dualism is not the hellenistic one of spirit and matter, but of two essences, even substances. The divine life is visible, has spatial and quantifiable elements; and evil matter is the active principle of lust, the elements and 'thought of death'. In the *beginning* time the light and the dark occupy distinct spaces: the light above, and to the north, west and east; but the darkness below and to the south. Between them there was a border.

Manichaean theology is not easily categorised. The Father evokes or emanates powers of himself for purposes in the cosmic drama, and these too may call forth further gods or angels. The language of 'calling out' the powers of light is crucial, to avoid any suggestion of generation, for sexuality is inextricably tied in Manichaean thought to evil matter and the lust that is its nature.

The Manichaeans, or at least the elect, delighted in establishing elaborate systemisations of these beings; but all the divine is ultimately one, so that the diversification represents levels of descent into or entrapment by darkness. Relationships between spiritual levels, for instance a lay believer or catechumen to an elect, will be an exact image of that relationship all the way back up the scale through the gods to the Father. The same is true of all the representatives of the essence of darkness; so that Manichaean teachings are characterised by elaborate series of parallels and shifts of scale.

In the 'first time' the Father of Greatness rules the realm of light, which indeed is an extension of himself, and has four divine attributes: purity, light, power and wisdom. He resides in five intellectuals or limbs: mind, thought, insight, counsel and consideration. These are otherwise substantially detailed as the five elements: living air, light, wind, water and fire. Surrounding the Father are the twelve aeons, distributed three each to the directions of heaven, and refracted also to the one hundred and forty-four aeons of the aeons.

To the south of this kingdom of life is the realm of the King of Darkness. His form combines the shapes of the animals representative of his five warring worlds and kings:

> For they ascribe five elements which have generated their own princes to the people of darkness and give to these elements the names: smoke, darkness, fire, water and wind. Two-footed animals were generated in smoke, and from this source they believe men to take their beginnings; serpents were generated in darkness; quadrupeds in fire; swimming creatures in the waters; flying creatures in the wind. (Augustine *de haer.* 46, 7 Müller)

This realm is a seething manifestation of the conflict and carnality that is its essence, matter, the thought of death. In the course of its constant turmoil, by accident for darkness blindly grasps but cannot know, the demonic powers glimpse the light and desire to possess its life. Since peace is the nature of the light the Father must call out from himself the great divinities, both as the only means to defend his kingdom, and to distance the inevitable conflict from the land of light. In the ensuing 'second time' the drama is driven by these gods and goddesses in the arena of mixture, the universe, while the Father himself remains apart until he can again reveal himself and his inner treasury after the final victory. A characteristic tenet of Manichaean theology is that during the whole history of conflict the Father is 'hidden' (e.g. *T. Kell.* Copt. 1, 11; *P. Kell.* Gr. 92, 45 and 51–2).

It is vital to remember that the history of conflict and loss, of which the universe is a product, is not the result of some error in the divine. It is

driven by the knowledge and foresight of the Father, who knows that this is the only way that evil can be overcome. Suffering is caused by the reality of evil, but the terrors of the middle time must be measured against the divine plan. God may not be all-powerful, but he is all-knowing and all-good. Thus, the necessity of sacrifice may be taken as the cardinal Manichaean quality. Evil is real, and even God must suffer. The reality of divine loss is an unavoidable consequence of this recognition of the absolute nature of evil.

First the Father evokes the Great Spirit who is the Mother of Life:

> He first sculpted her like this. He established her in his inner storehouses in quiet and silence. When (they had) need of her she was called and came forth of the Father (of Greatness). She looked at all her aeons of light! (*Keph.* 70, 28–32)

She in turn calls forth the First Man. This is the first emanation, that of the gods of *descent.* It also evidences a consciously trinitarian structure embedded in Mani's system, which in common with related Syriac forms of Christianity details the Spirit as feminine. However, there is a temporal and essential order here: first the Father, the origin of all that is good; then the Mother; and then the Son.

Thus it is the first-born Son of God who descends to battle, and ultimately eternal victory over death. The Man is armed with the five light elements, personified as his five sons; and it is this portion of the divine that will be devoured by the powers of evil, and which constitutes the Living Soul. This Soul comes to be compounded with the dark elements of matter throughout the universe, and is in need of redemption for the duration of the 'second time'. It is emphasised that this sacrifice of the Son, defeated and stripped of his armour (i.e. the Soul), is the only means by which evil can ultimately be overcome. Here we see a transformation and universalisation of the crucifixion motif. The Son does not die once for all; the Soul is crucified through all the time and space of history.

This history can be followed in Theodor bar Khoni's citations from Mani in Syriac. They are the best available source in the absence of the original scriptures written in the apostle's own Aramaic:

> And he says that the Father of Greatness evoked the Mother of Life, and the Mother of Life evoked the Primal Man, and the Primal Man evoked his five sons, like someone who puts on armour for the fight. And he says that an angel named Nahashbat came towards him holding the crown of victory in his hand; he says that he spread out the light before the Primal Man, and that when the (King) of Darkness saw it, he thought and said: "I find close at hand that which I sought far away." Then the Primal Man gave himself and

> his five sons to be consumed by the five sons of darkness, like a man who has an enemy and mixes a deadly poison into a cake and gives it. He says that when they had partaken of the five nourishing gods, the latter's intellect was removed, and that due to the poison of the sons of darkness, they became like people who are bitten by an enraged dog or a snake. (Theodor bar Khoni *Lib. Schol.* XI, CSCO 69 pp. 313, 27–314, 12)

So, while this first conflict appears outwardly to be a victory for death, as with the crucifixion the believer understands that it was a necessity for the binding of evil. Nevertheless, the inevitable consequence is the distress and suffering of the divine Soul, termed the Cross of Light, and personified as the suffering Jesus awaiting redemption. The entire resultant history of the 'second time' involves the mechanics of once more separating the light from darkness, not just to restore the *status quo ante bellum*, but also to so fatally weaken the power of death that it can never again threaten the life. Life is a poison for the forces of death; for, consumed by their own desire for what they can not have, they ultimately destroy themselves. This is necessary, for the good cannot itself bring death, which is not its nature.

In order to establish the arena in which liberation can take place, that is the universe, a new divine trinity is called forth: the Beloved of the Lights, the Great Builder, and the Living Spirit (also termed the Father of Life). This is the second emanation, that of the gods of *creation*.

It is the task of the Living Spirit to rescue the First Man, which is a prototype of all future redemption; and then to fashion the universe from the powers of darkness in which the light elements, the five sons, are mixed.

> They came to the land of darkness and they found the Primal Man and his five sons sunk in darkness. Then the Living Spirit called aloud, and the voice of the Living Spirit had been made like a sharpened sword, and it revealed the image of the Primal Man and said to him: "Greetings to you, who are the good among evil, the light in the darkness, the god dwelling among the animals of anger who do not recognise their privilege!" The Primal Man replied and said: "Greetings to you, who bring peace and salvation in return!" And he said to him: "How are the fathers of the sons of light in their city?" And the call said to him: "They are well." And the call and the answer accompanied each other in ascending towards the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit, and the Living Spirit reclothed the call, and the Mother of Life reclothed the answer, her beloved son, and they descended towards the earth of darkness, where the Primal Man and his sons were dwelling. (Ibid. pp. 314, 20–315, 7)

Thus call and answer are themselves hypostasised into a pair of divinities. Together they are the 'counsel of life' that throughout the time of mixture personifies the awakening and motivating force of the Soul and

light elements that are sunk in darkness (*Keph.* 178: 2–5). To prepare for that, the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life descend into the abyss. There they defeat the demonic powers and rulers, and out of their bodies fashion the universe. Thus the demiurge is a light god, though the dead matter of the creation is darkness, albeit shot through with the elements of life. The structure of the universe is divinely conceived, even if its matter is evil. In this sense, our environment and history is the best of all possible worlds; it is all that the divine can do in the face of such absolute evil.

The Living Spirit constructs ten heavens and eight earths, flaying and crucifying some of the evil powers above, and forming the earths out of the bodies of others. To hold the whole elaborate structure in place he evokes his own five sons: the Adamant of Light, the Keeper of Splendour, the King of Glory, the King of Honour, and the Porter or Atlas. Each of these five has his own domain of authority. By means of three wheels or garments, fire and water and wind, the three evil vessels of fire and water and darkness are swept down from the heavens; and then, with the corresponding dark elements of the earth, are finally swept into graves that have been prepared for them.

The Keeper of Splendour oversees the eighth, ninth and tenth heavens; whilst the King of Honour watches over the lower heavens from the seventh. The King of Glory turns the wheels so that the light elements may ascend. The Light Adamant humbles sporadic demonic uprisings on earth. The Porter supports the entire structure from below. The sun and the moon are vessels of purified light, and stations on the path of ascent or descent for the redeemed soul and the gods. They may be termed 'ships' (of living fire and water) or palaces. However, the planets and stars are evil rulers. Mani and his followers gave particular attention to integrating contemporary astrological ideas into this system, for their faith was understood as providing a total scientific knowledge; but various problems and inconsistencies are apparent, especially caused by the divine nature of the sun and moon compared with the other planetary bodies.

Once the machinery for the purification has been made ready by the second series of evoked gods, they turn to the Father to plea for a new emanation to set the cosmos in motion, and thus achieve the process of redemption through time. The Father approves and calls forth his Third Ambassador or Messenger, so termed because he introduces the third age of the world. He dwells in the ship of the sun; whilst the Virgin of Light, his feminine doublet, has her throne in the ship of the moon. Jesus the Splendour, another in this series of salvific deities, is closely related in Manichaean systematics to this androgynous sun-moon god. This is the third emanation, that of the gods of *salvation* or *ascent*.

The Ambassador and Virgin achieve a first redemption of trapped light, again turning the uncontrollable lust of the darkness, which is its nature, back upon it. They reveal their images, or more graphically appear naked, before the male and female rulers (archons) chained in the heavens. These powers spontaneously ejaculate or abort across the cosmos. Some light is drawn to the height, whilst the remainder that is more deeply embedded in matter sinks downwards and must endure further degradation before it is redeemed. A part falls into the sea and rises as a monster that the Adamant subjugates. Other dross falls to the earth to become the seeds of plant life that the abortions eat. Such complicated details of prehistory were drawn from a variety of prior traditions, which seem to have fascinated Mani and his followers. Inevitably they drew the attention and ire of their opponents.

The abortions form a rampaging demonic group from which the different genera of creatures originate, corresponding to the varieties of the five worlds of darkness from which they stem. Adam and Eve are fashioned by demons after the image of God that they have glimpsed, that is the Ambassador who had appeared to the rulers in the heavens; and are procreated after various cannibalistic and sexual acts by the dominant demonic pair: Saclas and Nabroel.

> (Mani) said that the daughters of darkness were already pregnant by means of their nature, and that through the beauty of the Messenger's image that they had seen, their foetuses aborted and fell to earth and ate the shoots of the trees. The aborted foetuses consulted among themselves and remembered the image of the Messenger which they had seen, saying: "Where is the image which we have seen?" Asaqloun (i.e. Saclas), son of the King of Darkness, said to the aborted foetuses: "Give me your sons and daughters, and I will make you an image like the one you have seen." They brought them, and gave them to him; he consumed the males, and gave the females to his wife. Nabroel and Asaqloun had intercourse; she conceived and bore his son and named him Adam; she conceived and bore a daughter and named her Eve. (ibid., pp. 317, 3–15)

Thus, lust is endemic in human nature. Mankind has been deliberately fashioned by demonic forces in an attempt to prevent the redemption of the light, for through the urge for sex humans will multiply, and further entrap the divine Soul in multitudes of material bodies. This inverts the core of Hebrew tradition, that God approves of the creation of man and woman, and ordains that they should 'be fruitful and multiply'. Nevertheless, as with the macrocosmos, the structural form of humans is in a sense divinely conceived as the image of God, and acts as a mechanism for the purification of soul.

Since the human soul is a principal repository of the trapped divine, the abortions having concentrated therein such that they had gained from the buds and fruits they had eaten, humans become the focus of the salvific mission of the gods. In an archetypal episode Jesus the Splendour approaches Adam, lying as dead after his creation and without consciousness, and awakens him to the saving knowledge of his own condition. Here Manichaeism has inherited and developed the widespread gnostic retelling and inversion of the 'fall' narrative, so that now the serpent has become entirely transformed into the heavenly redeemer. The 'right hand' that Jesus gives to Adam to raise him repeats that given to the First Man lying defeated in the abyss, and acts again as a type for the salvation of each individual.

> (Mani) says that Jesus the Splendour approached the innocent Adam, and awoke him from the sleep of death, so that he might be saved from an excessive nature; as if a righteous man were found to be possessed of a violent devil and might be calmed by one's skill. Thus was Adam also, when the beloved found him in a profound sleep, roused him, shook him and awakened him, drove the deceitful devil away from him and kept the female archon far from him. And then Adam looked closely at himself and he knew who (he was). And (Jesus) showed him the Father on high; and his own self cast before the teeth of panther and elephant, devoured by dogs, mingled and imprisoned in everything that exists, shackled in the corruption of darkness. (Mani) says that he made him arise and taste the tree of life. And Adam looked, wept, and raised his voice violently like the roaring lion. He tore out his hair and beat himself: "Woe, woe to the maker of my body, and to he who imprisons my soul, and to the rebels who have subjugated me!" (ibid., pp. 317, 14–318, 4).

The process of redemption now enters into human history. Again Mani drew upon a variety of non-biblical traditions to develop a complex narrative about the family of Adam. Note the veneration of the virginal Seth, a characteristic feature of esoteric traditions; and the fierce antipathy to female sexuality. In another episode from the early generations it is related how the demons guarded by the King of Honour rebelled, and two hundred of these watchers escaped to earth to wreak havoc and unveil to mankind the mysteries of heaven (*Keph.* 92: 24–32). In these episodes prior Judaic material has been reworked and integrated into the Manichaean system.

The revelation by Jesus the Splendour to Adam is the exemplar for all future human redemption. Gradually over the generations more of the divine Soul is liberated, so that 'they that are begotten today, in these last generations, stand diminished and maimed (*Keph.* 147: 10–11)'. To achieve this liberation Jesus evokes the Light Mind, and in turn summons forth the Apostle of Light who becomes incarnate in the great religious leaders

throughout history and the world. So the process of redemption is the work of the Light Mind who transforms the human soul by enlightening and freeing the five intellectuals of light from the shackles of the body and the five members of sin. 'He shall set right the members of the soul; form and purify them and construct a new man of them, a child of righteousness (*Keph.* 96: 25–27).' This 'new man', a concept ultimately to be derived from Paul, will now display the five virtues of love, faith, perfection, patience and wisdom.

Mani believed that he had been commissioned to make the final and universal proclamation of truth for the last generations. Thus the cycle of true apostleship was important to him; and included patriarchal figures such as Seth, Noah and Enoch; also founders of true religions, in particular Buddha, Zarathushtra and Jesus; and more recent apostles such as the gnostic Nikotheos, and Paul upon whom Mani modelled his own style of mission. *Kephalaia I* provides an extended simile wherein the advent of the apostles is compared to the months of seedtime and harvest. Each apostle is a farmer who plants a church, labouring over it till it matures and ripens. As it finally comes to fruition another will be seeded: 'There is no single time the tree is bare of fruit! (*Keph.* 11: 26–7).' However, the exemplar of the true church was that established by Mani himself, and the authenticity of other communities came to be measured against the practices of this final manifestation of the divine will on earth. (For details of the organisation of the Manichaean church, its worship and ethic, see the following section.)

The various listings of the apostles evidences Mani's concept of universal revelation-history, and indicates sources which he regarded as authentic. Nevertheless, it is the figure of Jesus which dominates all the others who in comparison are little more than names. Preeminently Mani regarded himself as the apostle of Jesus Christ. United with his divine Twin he becomes the Paraclete foretold, as according to John 14:16 where Jesus promises the disciples that he will ask the Father who will send them another helper, the Spirit of Truth, who will remain with them for ever. It is notable that in the personal letters of believers from fourth-century Kellis, Mani is quoted not by name but 'as the Paraclete has said . . . ' (*P. Kell.* Copt. 19, 9).

As a whole Manichaean Christology draws upon a range of influences that are woven into a coherent thread running through the entire revelation. Regarding the historical Jesus the influence of prior docetic tradition is evident. Christian polemic against the Manichaean Jesus as a phantasm without human birth, and capable of only an illusory suffering, reiterates

the arguments raised against the second century heretic Marcion. Similarly, the Manichaeans in their missionary endeavour in the Roman Empire drew upon the Marcionite critique of the Old Testament and the Jewish God, even though in contrast to Marcionism the Manichaean demiurge is good. Again, following Marcion, Mani believed that he had been called to restore the true teaching of Jesus. This had been corrupted and falsely interpreted by Judaisers, against whom Paul had preached, as evidenced by a particular reading of the Pauline epistles. Thus it lay upon Mani to establish a firm canon of scripture that could never again be adulterated.

Mani and the first generation of his church believed that they were living in the last days before the return of Jesus as judge. The powerful salvific and apocalyptic emphases of his teaching are evident in the rich details of the eschatology, both individual and cosmic. At death each soul will be judged, and if triumphant will be greeted by the Form of Light and angels with victory prizes. Devotional texts, such as Manichaean psalms, developed a powerful symbolic language to express this hope.

Specifically, there are three paths for the soul at death. Gross sinners beyond any hope of redemption will be damned to hell to await the second death at the end of time, when all of matter and the darkness will be finally bound and sealed in its eternal grave. In contrast, the souls of those such as the catechumens, who are not inextricably compounded with lust, will be reborn in new bodies and have the hope of final purification. The origins of this core doctrine of rebirth have been much discussed, with scholars divided between discerning an Indian or Hellenistic (or 'gnostic') model. Certainly, the teaching is fully integrated as a coherent element within the system; but it may very well provide an important clue as to the basic influences upon Mani's religious development. It is our view that the complex of ideas relating to action in the world and its consequences, rebirth and liberation, the striving for perfection by the elect and their intimate dependence upon the lay faithful are evidence of a deep current of Indian religious influence in Mani's own life experience, which is not yet fully understood but can not be ignored.

The third way is that of the elect, and indeed of all the light freed from dead matter to life, such as that liberated from fruits and vegetables. This divine ascends up the Pillar of Glory, the great porter of souls, to the moon. This Pillar is itself divinised as a god of the third emanation. It is the Perfect Man (see *Ephesians* 4:12–13), the representation of the church as the body of Jesus in its ascent to the Father. It is also the restoration of the First Man, who descended into dissolution and now ascends reconstituted. This Pillar is visible in the night sky as (what we would call) the Milky Way.

The moon in its waxing and waning also provides visual and actual evidence of its role as a ship and stage in the transit of souls, thence to the sun. For fourteen days the arrival of the ascending light is manifest, then on the fifteenth 'the filling up overflows' (*T. Kell.* Syr. / Copt. 2, 4). For the remainder of the lunar cycle the light flows on to the sun. From the sun (whose continuous filling 'displays the mystery of the Father' (*Keph.* 162: 26–7)) the redeemed light passes to the new aeon that has been built by the Great Builder for the time of mixture. Here the gods rest, and the souls must await the final burial of darkness, before the Father will again unveil to them his image, and can once more receive them into his treasury.

Individual and cosmic eschatology are interwoven in Mani's teaching, for each soul's own tragedy and victory are but a microcosm of the history of the universal Soul and its liberation from matter. *The Sermon of the Great War* is an apocalyptic homily from the first generation after Mani's death, wherein the eschatological event is understood to have already begun. It utilises material from the Gospel tradition; as Mani himself did in his earliest writing, the *Šābuhragān.* After the horrors of persecution and the final terrors Jesus will return to take the judgement seat that is prepared for him, to separate the sheep from the goats and to reign in glory. Then will come the great fire that will achieve such final purification of the light still in the world as is possible. This Soul will gather up and rise as the Last Statue, a divinity that again (as with the Perfect Man) recapitulates the descent into the abyss of the First Man. Then the five sons of the Living Spirit will leave their tasks, and the dead husk of the universe will collapse in upon itself to sink to the depths. All the evil will be sealed up; the males and females separated (respectively in a 'lump' and a 'tomb') so that they can never again renew themselves and threaten the light.

> For, when all the light will be purified and redeemed in the universe at the last, the collector of all things, the Last Statue, will gather in and sculpt itself. It is the last hour of the day, the time when the Last Statue will go up to the aeon of light. The enemy too, death, will go in to bondage; to the prison of the souls of the deniers and blasphemers who loved the darkness. They will go in with it to bondage and the dark night overcomes them; and thenceforth this name 'light' will not shine upon them. (*Keph.* 165, 5–15)

Time in the sense of the workings of the universe and the history of redemption has come to an end. The 'third time' is a new eternality without fear. It is important that it represents a victory and a conclusion, rather than just the restoration of the 'first time'. Never again will the darkness be able to threaten the light. However, it is an important illustration of the

materiality of Mani's conception that evil can not be destroyed in the sense of obliterated from all existence; instead it must be sealed and buried. Still, now that the history of conflict and mixture is ended, the hidden Father can again reveal himself and welcome all the redeemed back to their home:

> (The Father) can give the grace to his fighters, they whom he (sent) to the contest with the darkness. The veils will be rolled back and gathered, and he unveils to them his image! The entire light will be immersed in him! They will go in to the treasury. They will also come forth from him in glory. (*Hom.* 41: 13–17)

Now there will be two kings, the Father in the aeons of light, and the First Man reigning with the gods in the new age.

WORSHIP AND ETHIC

Mani was himself brought up within the confines of a narrow religious sect (see chapter 2), and his teachings, although able to drive a religion of world-wide significance, made radical demands upon its followers. Indeed, the question of submission to the demands of this world was the focus of the Manichaean accusation that the 'Christians' were only half believers who had betrayed the teachings of Jesus. The sudden influx and even visual appearance of these new ascetics from the late third century on may well be taken as the spark that lit the fire of Christian monasticism in the decades that followed. Certainly, the rapid growth of the community marked a truly new wave of religious enthusiasm breaking upon the Roman Empire from the east. In this sense the reaction by both secular and ecclesiastical authorities to this 'Persian' incursion can be well understood; although the modern scholar may rather identify Manichaeism as the conduit by which Indian religious practices and ideals flowed to combine with heterodox currents of Judaeo-Christianity from the east.

The teachings which underpinned this new ethic provoked fierce polemic from the leaders of the catholic community, and indeed also the imperial authorities. On the one hand the belief that the divine substance was scattered through all the material world led to devotional attitudes, for instance towards fruit and vegetables as vessels of the Soul, that were received with horror. Christian polemic focused on the complex food rituals intended to liberate the divine light from matter and pain, and accused the Manichaeans of worshipping the sun and the moon. On the other hand Mani's negative account of creation, and fierce antipathy to matter and sexuality as intrinsically demonic, was equally abhorrent.

For Mani the whole rationale for history, and any continuation of human existence, is the liberation of the light elements from the dark. The Manichaean attitude to marriage was entirely negative as the act of procreation prolongs the imprisonment of Soul, which would now be further diversified into matter. Moreover, if a peasant works the land, or if a craftsman uses his tools or the soldier his weapons, then they harm and pain the living Soul. The same applies to speech that calls for such activities; or incites immorality, anger or envy. It is perhaps no accident that the Manichaean community in fourth century Kellis, the only such group from the Roman Empire that we can study in their full socio-economic context, appears to have centred on families of traders.

The principal symbol was that of the Cross of Light, the universal divine stretched and bound upon matter. Particularly the Cross was associated with plant life as manifested in sweetness, colour and translucence; in comparison to the heavy carnality and odour of flesh. Here again we can see the substantial nature of the Manichaean conception of divine light or Soul. It is apparent to all the senses in the world around us. The human endeavour is to separate life from death in all our actions, to surround ourselves (and, indeed, for the elect to take into their bodies and thus expand and free the divine within) with what is beautiful and good. The stink of death and dark matter would be met with revulsion. Still, the condition of the divine in the world and in history is one of entanglement and mixture with all that is disgusting, and thus the characteristic ethic was of sacrifice, pain and long-suffering tempered by glorious hope. Mani writes in one of his *Epistles*:

> If you wish to liken yourself to me: Bear up, like the wise shall bear, so that you will live. I reveal to you, my child, my loved one: Whoever wishes life, and life added to his life, long-suffering is what awaits; because without long-suffering he will not be able to live. For long-suffering has everything in it. (Provisional translation of a text from Ismant el-Kharab, in the process of being edited by I. Gardner and W.-P. Funk)

The Manichaeans strove to consume food and drink with as high a percentage of light as possible, such as melons and cucumbers; and indeed were much concerned with the classification and preparation of foods, which inevitably attracted the scorn of opponents. Specifically, meat and wine were regarded as dominated by the dark elements that would reinfect the believer striving for personal purification, and lead directly to sensuality and ignorance. On the positive side, while the very act of eating caused pain to the light elements, the body as a microcosm of the universe also acted as a machine for liberation of the divine, so that the righteous person could

literally discard the gross elements below, and (through the periodic fasts) breathe forth angels to rise above. Thus, the elect were charged to 'eat the world', and by so doing to free the entangled light. This desperate mission was constantly countered by the evil forces of material desire working ever new depravity upon the innocent Soul. This was a strange but powerful vision of the world and all action within it. In the following passage one of Mani's disciples calculates the number of angels engendered by the fasts in his community:

> Once again, it happened one time while the apostle (Mani) is sitting down among the congregation. One of his disciples stood up in front of (him). He says to him: I have heard you, my master, saying: 'Seven angels shall be engendered by the fasting of each one of the elect; and not only the elect but the catechumens engender them on the lord's day'.
>
> (The work) of fasting is this in summary. Now, I, I have . . . have passed since I became leader. Fifty (elect were with) me in the church over which I became the head. (They stood) before me while they fasted every day. Now, I (took account of the) fasting that a person performs at these three (lord's) days singly, and I found that each one of these (elect) had engendered seven angels by their fasting. So, I (counted the) fasting of these fifty people at the three lord's days: they totalled three hundred and fifty angels, as seven angels are reckoned to each one of the elect, who engender them daily through total fasting. I counted these three lord's days when these fifty people fasted, and I multiplied by three. I found: the number of angels engendered by them totalled one thousand and fifty, and I (was grateful) on account of the great profit and good that I had achieved (on these three) lord's days. (*Keph.* 193, 26–194, 13)

Such an ethic could only really be applied by a small group of people. Yet, the goal that Mani felt to be his vocation was the foundation and propagation by mission of a world religion. The compromise was achieved, possibly under Indian influence, by instituting a two-tiered structure incorporating a doctrine of transmigration of souls. In fact, there was an intimate symbiotic relationship between the ascetics and the lay faithful, with the former needing the latter to support their divine work just as much as latter depended on the former for their hope of ultimate salvation. Although the language of monasticism is used, the Manichaean 'monks' could not live apart from the world, for it was their constant mission to transform it. Mani emphasised active engagement and endeavour against withdrawal.

The community was divided into an inner circle of the elect ('the virginal', both male and female) who lived a life of extreme asceticism; around which a greater number of hearers or catechumens ('the continent') gathered, who were able to profit from the piety and righteousness of the

spiritually more advanced. In actual fact the catechumens were allowed to marry and carry out normal daily activities; but they were obliged to see to the alimentary needs of the monks, whose daily meal was the focal ritual practice. Their duty, termed in Middle Persian *ruwānagān* (soul-service), brought merit to the hearers who could hope to advance to perfection in a future life. Augustine explains:

> However, they claim that not only do the powers of God effect this purgation and liberation of good and evil throughout the whole universe and all of its elements, but also that their own elect achieve the same results by means of the food of which they partake. And they state that the divine substance is intermingled with this food just as it is with the whole universe, and imagine that it is purified in their elect by the mode of life which the Manichaean elect live, as if their mode of life were holier and more excellent than that of their auditors. For they would have their church consist of those two classes, elect and auditors. Moreover, they believe that this portion of the good and divine substance which is held mixed and imprisoned in food and drink is more strongly and foully bound in the rest of men, even their own auditors, but particularly in those who propagate offspring. (Augustine, *de haer.* 46, 5–6)

As the final apostle of God Mani led the community for as long as he lived, and after his 'crucifixion' was believed to have ascended to the moon to wait in attendance upon the faithful. During his life-time, concerned at the corruption of earlier churches, he endeavoured to establish the community for the rest of history through writings, missions, and a strong hierarchy. Until the tenth century the Twin-Cities (al-Mada'in) remained the seat of the *archegos* or *imam*. Ecclesiastical authority was mediated downwards via twelve teachers (*magister*), thence to the bishops (*episcopus*), then the elders (*presbyter*), and so to the general body of the elect and hearers. In the Roman Empire the religion established an elaborate network of cells both to facilitate evangelism and to avoid detection. Fascinating glimpses of the workings of the community in fourth-century Egypt, before oppression reduced its ability for effective action in the west, are preserved by the personal letters of the community recovered from Ismant el-Kharab (see further chapter 7). Thus, the boy Matthaios writes news to his mother Maria about his brother who has been given to the elect, and has joined the company of the 'Teacher' (perhaps the foremost Manichaean leader in Egypt at the time):

> And Piene: The great Teacher let him travel with him, so that he might learn Latin. He teaches him well. Their body is set up, and they are good (and) worthwhile. (*P. Kell.* Copt. 20, 24–7)

We even have a complete short letter by Piene himself, writing again to Maria:

> (To) my loved mother, greatly revered by me; her whom I love with all my heart, whose memory is planted in my thought every hour. I am looking forward to seeing you, my mother Maria, precious to me. It is I, your son Piene, who is greeting you; in the Lord, – greetings.
>
> This is my prayer every hour to the Father, the God of Truth, that He may preserve you healthy in your body, joyful in your soul and firm (in) your spirit; for all the time that you (will) spend in this place. Also, after this place, you may find life in the kingdom for eternity.
>
> And know, my beloved mother, that I am doing well here. I am following the Teacher, and will go to Alexandria with him. I shall be . . . I am coming to stay with Apa Lysimachos. Should I come, I will send (a message) to you.
>
> (I greet) my brothers by name, and everyone who loves you. All they who (are with me (?)) greet you. Live and be healthy according to the body and the spirit for a long time.

In later centuries the episcopal hierarchy seems to have been better preserved in the east, especially whilst it was the dominant religion in the Turfan area during the second Uighur kingdom (tenth–twelfth centuries). In central Asia the Manichaeans finally had the freedom to worship openly, to observe their regular fasts, and to develop church practices. However, the most important festival remained the commemoration of Mani's martyrdom when a judgement seat (*bema*) was raised in the middle of the worshipping congregation. Upon this was placed a portrait of Mani to celebrate his continuing presence in the community of the elect; and to symbolise his position as proxy for Jesus until his return as judge.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MANICHAEAN STUDIES

Few subjects in the study of the religious history of late antiquity have been so fundamentally affected by the discovery of original writings of the community as that of Manichaeism. In this respect the study of Manichaeism in the later Roman Empire, during the second half of the twentieth century, mirrors that of gnosticism. For both systems, the chance discovery in Egypt of a large amount of original writings in Coptic fundamentally altered the direction of research. Whereas for gnosticism it was the find of more than twelve codices from Nag Hammadi after the Second World War, for Manichaeism it was seven (or more) codices from Medinet Madi. However, unlike the study of gnosticism, the rediscovery of Manichaean texts had begun much earlier; though not in a region which was once within the

frontiers of the Roman Empire, but in Turfan and Dunhuang in Central Asia. However, the fact that they were extremely fragmentary and, with the exception of those in Chinese, in relatively little-known languages (Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, Tocharian B, Uighur and even one fragment in Bactrian) meant that they remained very little known to English-speaking scholars of religious history; for almost all the pioneering work on the Turfan texts was accomplished by German scholars, and for long the texts remained available to non-specialists only in German translation.[10]

Prior to the discovery of the texts from Turfan, the scholar of Manichaeism had to rely on the highly biased accounts of the Church Fathers, especially the anti-Manichaean writings of Augustine and of the Greek Fathers like Titus of Bostra, Serapion of Thmuis and Epiphanius for information on the teachings of the sect. As for history, the sole source was the so-called *Acta Archelai* which purports to be a debate between Mani and a Christian bishop (with predictable outcome) at Carrhae: a city in Mesopotamia near the Persian frontier and famous for its links with Crassus' defeat at the hands of the Parthians. One source, however, the discovery of which marked a major turn in the study of the religion was the long entry on the sect and its writings in the *Fihrist* (catalogue) of the tenth century Arabic encyclopaedist and book-seller Abū'l-Faraj Muḥammad Ibn Abī Ya'qūb Isḥaq al-Warraq al-Baġdādī, commonly known as Ibn an-Nadīm, which clearly draws material *sine ira et studio* from genuine Manichaean sources which were still extant in Arabic in his time.[11] Without this source, which provided new material on almost every aspect of the early history and teaching of the sect, the task of identifying the fragmentary texts from Turfan as Manichaean and of putting them into the right literary context would have been very much harder.[12]

For the specialists in History of Religion in Germany in particular, the Manichaean texts from Turfan which were being conserved and edited in Berlin gave a massive initial boost to the study of Manichaeism. As many of the fragments were in dialects of Iranian and abound in Zoroastrian or Zurvanite terminology, the religion of Mani inevitably came to be seen

[10] For long the only collection in English was Jackson (1932), which also gives the Middle Iranian texts in the outdated transliteration system of F. W. K. Müller. The useful but also dated selection (in translation only) by Jes P. Asmussen (Asmussen (1975)) is known mainly to specialists. The most comprehensive collection of Manichaean texts from Turfan in English translation now is Klimkeit (1994); but some of the translations are heavily abridged and sometimes unreliable. It contains, however, an excellent introduction to the texts with a full account of their discovery. On the latter see also Lieu (1998), 1–58. The same work also contains (196–246) an index of sources to Klimkeit's book.

[11] Flügel (1862). See also the English translation of the whole work by B. Dodge (Dodge (1970)).

[12] See especially F. W. K. Müller (1904), 20–2.

as a reform movement within Zoroastrianism by a prophet who had a good knowledge of Christianity, especially of the writings of the Christian gnostics.

Of particular interest to German scholars was evidence termed by its leading exponent, Richard Reitzenstein (this came later to be known as the 'Religionsgeschichtliche Schule'), as the Manichaean dogma of the 'redeemed Redeemer'. 'In Persian', says Reitzenstein, 'this "man" is the renewer of the world, the bearer of the divine message and power, the redeemer for the whole race, but at the same time the one who has been redeemed who can return to heaven as the first of the Light Beings, a god and also the ideal representative of souls, the great soul.'[13] It is not only for Manichaeism that this basic attitude, that the Primeval or Primal Man is the sum of all the souls which he is to redeem, is typical and of fundamental significance; but for gnosticism in general, for the whole faith about redemption is built on it. This Zoroastrian, or more particularly Zurvanistic, understanding of Manichaean origins gained ground especially amongst distinguished German scholars who worked in related areas, like Rudolph Bultmann;[14] and the great influence and popularity of his works gave ready dissemination to the ideas of Reitzenstein and his school.

In Britain, however, the Cambridge theologian F. C. Burkitt had drawn attention in his Donellan Lectures of 1925[15] to the unexpectedly large numbers of Iranian and Turkish text fragments from Turfan which bear the unmistakable imprint of Christianity, especially of Syriac Christianity. Despite the fact that the Turfan texts were recovered from a region which was a major centre of Buddhism and later of Islam, Jesus (Mid. Pers. and Parth. yyšw', yyšw) was more frequently invoked in Manichaean hymns and homiletical texts than any other Manichaean deity. Manichaean literature, both poetry and prose, also contains many easily identifiable biblical (i.e. Judaeo-Christian) names, themes and scriptural citations; and especially Gospel citations. Some are reminiscent of Tatian's Gospel harmony, the *Diatessarōn*, in the manner in which material from the different gospels are combined; and in the frequent occurrence of words transliterated from the Syriac. Mani's teaching on the Last Judgement, for instance, as expounded by Mani in the *Šābuhragān* (a semi-canonical work which Mani composed in Middle Persian in order to summarise his teaching for his great patron, the Sassanian King of Kings Shapur I) is closely based on the words of Jesus as given in Matt. 25:31–46.[16] One of the most eminent Semitic philologists of his time, Burkitt proved beyond all reasonable doubt

[13] Reitzenstein (1921) 116, n. 2. For a succinct exposé of the views of Reitzenstein and his school on Manichaeism see Widengren (1978), esp. 284–90.

[14] Particularly in Bultmann (1925).

[15] Published as Burkitt (1925). See esp. 37–43 and 92–3.

that the first Manichaean missionaries in the Roman Empire, especially in Roman Egypt, were Syrians and not Iranians. On the Syrian aspect of the subject, Burkitt rightly paid tribute to the then little known but essential contribution to the subject of the origins of Mani's teaching made by the late Revd C. W. Mitchell. Prior to his tragic death in the First World War, Mitchell with endless patience and exceptional philological skill had succeeded in deciphering the under-writing of a palimpsest in the British (Museum) Library containing the prose-refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaiṣan by the Syrian theologian Ephraim of Edessa.[17] Ephraim, who was himself a native Syriac speaker, could read the original writings of the Manichaeans; and he saw innumerable parallels and similarities between their teaching and those of two Christian heretics Marcion and Bardaiṣan.[18]

Burkitt's views on the western and Christian origin of Mani's original teaching found strong support in Germany from H. H. Schaeder, a pupil of Reitzenstein. The latter was then highly influential historian for his advocacy of the existence of a pan-Iranian theologumenon, which he saw as the origin to many of the mystery religions of the Roman Empire and of gnosticism. Schaeder reacted against this, and the new material from Ephraim was precisely what he needed to help formulate his argument that Manichaeism should be seen as a product of Hellenism in the widest sense of the term: a Hellenism which embraces both the teaching of the great Graeco-Roman philosophers and of Judaeo-Christianity. In this he made extensive use of the anti-Manichaean writings of the Neoplatonist Alexander of Lycopolis (modern Assiut) who saw Mani's teaching essentially as a form of Christian revelation masquerading as a respectable philosophical system.[19] 'The teaching of Mani', remarks Schaeder, 'which is generally regarded as a purely oriental mystery religion, is founded on a basis that is conceptually theoretical and oriented towards hellenistic knowledge'.[20] Schaeder's work marks a clear turning point in Manichaean studies in Germany where the subject had hitherto been monopolised by orientalists, especially Iranologists and Turcologists, working at the Orientalische Kommission established in Berlin since 1925 specially for the conservation and publication of the Buddhist, Christian and Manichaean texts from Chinese Turkestan. This westward reorientation would soon prove highly necessary as sensational news reached Germany of the discovery of a small library of seven genuine Manichaean codices in Egypt (see below, pp. 37–9).

[16] Burkitt (1925) 88–9. Cf. Lieu (1992), 78–80. [17] Mitchell (1912–21). [18] Burkitt (1925), 71–86.
[19] Schaeder (1927), esp. 106–27. [20] Schaeder (1927), 97.

The new Coptic texts seemed to confirm Schaeder's theory of a close link between Mani's intellectual outlook and Hellenism; since in them occur terms like 'nous', 'psyche' and 'hyle' (transliterated from Greek into Coptic), concepts familiar from the account by Alexander of Lycopolis (see below, pp. 179–82). Moreover, the almost complete lack of Zoroastrian terms and concepts in documents which clearly belong to the earliest stage of the community's history shows beyond doubt that the Zoroastrian (more precisely Zurvanist) elements found in Manichaean texts from Turfan are later additions, or the product of parallel developments in the Sassanian Empire. It was also clear from the new texts that the sect was intellectually linked to the teaching of gnostic groups within the Roman Empire, especially that of Valentinus; and that Mani also had a good knowledge of Christian writings. A young German scholar of great linguistic ability who played a major role in the editing of the texts was Hans Jakob Polotsky. Prior to his work on the Coptic texts as assistant to Carl Schmidt, who first identified them in Cairo, Polotsky had already researched on Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian under F. C. Andreas at Göttingen; and he was therefore in a unique position to review the new material. However, the rise of National Socialism in Germany forced him to flee to Israel; but his authoritative monograph-length article on Manichaeism in the Sixth Supplement Volume to Pauly's *Encyclopaedia* which appeared in 1934 remains a landmark in the study of the subject.[21] In this, while agreeing with Schaeder's views regarding Hellenistic influence on Manichaeism, Polotsky also drew attention to many key elements in Mani's religious system which did not have Hellenic roots. The editing and publication of the new texts from Medinet Madi was severely affected by the outbreak of the Second World War; but the study of the subject was continued immediately after the war by the great French scholar of gnosticism H.-C. Puech, who also played a major role in the study of the newly discovered gnostic texts from Nag Hammadi. His slim, but fully annotated monograph on Manichaeism, draws material from Manichaean texts from both Turfan and Medinet Madi;[22] and he also produced a series of important studies on aspects of the religion which are models of judicious and balanced scholarship.[23]

Of the texts from Medinet Madi, the one which drew most attention was a substantial collection of Manichaean psalms which were (in part) made available in English translation by the brilliant Cambridge classical scholar and Coptologist C. R. C. Allberry (see below, p. 39). The

[21] Polotsky (1935a); also issued separately as Polotsky (1935b). [22] Puech (1949).
[23] The most important ones are collected (with revisions) in Puech (1979).

psalms, which are among the earliest examples of Christian hymnology, give evidence not only of the liturgical practices of the congregation, but also of their general way of thinking. Allberry was sadly killed on active service with the Bomber Command during the Second World War; but in the post-war period a thorough examination was given to these psalms by T. Säve-Söderbergh, who thought he had established that there was a close relationship (amounting to dependency) with the psalmic tradition of the Mandaeans. This is a gnostic baptising sect which until recently flourished in Southern Iraq and adjacent Iran, but whose existence before the Islamic period could not be decisively proved.[24] A branch of research led by another Swedish scholar Geo Widengren, who believed Mani to have had his origins among the Mandaeans, thereby appeared to be confirmed.[25] And, as Widengren's monograph was the only work available in English which was published after the finds of Manichaean texts from Medinet Madi, his views enjoyed wide circulation.[26]

The belief in an early link between Manichaeism and Mandaeism was seriously challenged by the documentary evidence provided by the *Cologne Mani-Codex* (see below pp. 40–3), which was successfully deciphered by A. Henrichs and L. Koenen in 1969.[27] This tiny parchment codex contains a biographical account of Mani in Greek compiled from the witness accounts of his earliest disciples. It states that Mani grew up in a hemerobaptist sect in S. Babylonia which acknowledged a past-figure Alchasaios (*sic*) as one of its founders. The young Mani was the recipient of special revelations from his divine Twin (or Syzygos), and he was expelled from the sect at the age of twenty-four because of irreconcilable differences over food-taboos and rituals. In one of the most dramatic sections of the *Codex*, the young Mani was arraigned before a 'synhedrion' of the baptists who accused him of having 'eaten Greek bread' and, in defence of his refusal to harvest from their vegetable gardens and palm-trees and to perform ritual baptism, the young Mani cited the authority of Alchasaios the founder (archegos) of the sect for his defence (*CMC* 94.1–97.10, trans. below, p. 63).

The name Alchasaios reminded scholars immediately of the putative leader of a Jewish-Christian sect Elxai or Elchasaios who was linked to an apocalyptic work known as the 'Book of Elxai'. A small number of brief excerpts of this work are found in Christian sources, especially the

[24] Säve-Söderbergh (1949), 85–166.
[25] Widengren (1946); and more importantly his popular monograph Widengren (1961).
[26] Widengren (1965).
[27] Henrichs and Koenen (1970). See also the important account of the successful decipherment and identification in Henrichs (1979).

writings of heresiologists like Hippolytus of Rome and of Epiphanius of Salamis, the famous heresy-hunter from Salamis in Cyprus whose *Panarion* ('Medicine-Chest', completed *c.* 377) is a major encyclopaedia of ancient and contemporary heresies. (The work is so-called because Epiphanius saw it as providing the antidote for Christians who might be 'bitten' by heretics or schismatics whom he depicted as venomous reptiles or dangerous animals.) According to these tendentious sources, a certain Elchasaios known to us from Christian heresiological sources is closely linked to the 'Book of Elxai'. The work, according to Hippolytus, came into prominence at the church in Rome during the pontificate of Callistus (217–22) in relation to the controversy over re-baptism. Alcibiades, a native of Apamea in Syria, was said to have gained followers through advocating the practices laid down in a specially revealed work. This he claimed to have originally been received from (the) Seres (= silk-merchants?) by a certain 'righteous man' called Elchasai. He in turn transmitted it to a certain Sobiai (or a community of baptists) as a book revealed by an angel of gigantic proportions.[28] Hippolytus makes no mention of Elchasai as a founder of a sect, nor whether he was a Jew or a Christian of Jewish origin. That Alcibiades was a Christian there is no doubt, but there is nothing specifically Christian in the surviving excerpts of the 'Book of Elxai'.[29] By the time of Origen (*c.* AD 245), however, the Elchasaites were depicted by their opponents as a troublesome evangelising sect; and they were characterised by their rejection of the teaching of Paul.[30] More information is furnished by Epiphanius from whose *Panarion* we learn that Elchasai, the leader of the sect, was of Jewish origin; and though his beliefs were Jewish in origin, he did not live according to the Law.[31] He later joined a Jewish–Christian sect called the Osseans (also known as the Sampseans), and his name means 'hidden power'.[32] To add apparent veracity to his biographical reconstruction of the heresiarch, Epiphanius adduces two sisters called Marthous and Marthana, who claimed descent from Elchasai and who were venerated as goddesses in the reign of Constantius II (337–62).[33]

The new information furnished by the *Cologne Mani-Codex* on the apparent Jewish-Christian roots of the sect in which Mani grew up is nothing short of revolutionary and has led the study of Manichaean origins into

[28] Hipp., *ref. omn. haer.* IX.13.1–2, p. 357, ed. Marcovich. On the place of the Elchasaites in Jewish Christianity see esp. Cirillo (1984); and Cirillo (1986).

[29] With the exception perhaps of the description of a vision of two celestial figures of gigantic proportions which finds a Jewish-Christian parallel in the *Ascensio Jesajae*, IX.27–40, ed. Tisserant.

[30] *ap.* Eusebius, *hist. eccl.* VI.38, p. 592.16–22, ed. E. Schwartz, GCS (Leipzig, 1903–7).

[31] Epiph., *Panarion* XIX.1.4–5, ed. K. Holl, rev. J. Dummer, GCS (Berlin, 1985) 218.4–10.

[32] Ibid. XIX.1.10, ed. cit., 219.5–10. [33] Ibid. XIX,1,12, ed. cit., 219,13–16.

completely new territory. Scholars have for some time been aware of the Jewish elements in Manichaeism, especially in Mani's use of apocryphal Jewish works like the Enochic writings[34] and other haggadic writings on Adam and Eve which have found their way into Manichaean texts.[35] The new material not only connects the study of Manichaeism to that of Judaeo-Christianity, it also draws the attention to scholars to a possible 'genetic' linkage between the teaching and community rules of the sect in which Mani grew up and those of Second Temple Judaism, especially sectarians associated with the texts found at Qumran. The practice employed by the compilers of the *Codex* of attributing at the beginning of each section to a particular tradition indicated by the name of a tradent is itself reminiscent of Jewish practice.[36] The 'baptists' appear to have been vegetarians and certain types of food were tabooed.[37] The 'baptists' were given to working in the fields and individual members were allocated their own lands to cultivate, as the *Codex* at one point describes two of Mani's friends as 'of the adjacent fields'.[38] The young Mani was expected to assist in the harvesting of fruit and vegetables and the gathering of firewood.[39] The fact that according to a reliable Arabic source (*Fihrist*, trans. below, p. 47) Mani was taken into the sect at a young age brings to mind the Essenes who, according to Josephus, while eschewing marriage yet picked out male children of other people and moulded them according to their rules.[40] A similar practice among the Mughtasilah may explain why Mani joined the sect at such a tender age and why Theodor bar Khoni alleged that Mani was bought by the sect as a slave. Since abstinence from the flesh (*hapax.*σαρκοδερία) was a fundamental precept of the 'baptists' and since the *Codex* mentions no woman in connection with the sect, we may assume that it was an all-male community. Another indication of the Jewish roots of the sect is that their religion was referred to throughout the *Codex* as the 'Rule' or 'Law' (νόμος), which implies that the sect lived in conformity with 'the Law'. Entry to the sect for a gentile like Mani's father might therefore have involved circumcision and obedience to the Mosaic Law. The members of the sect observed the Jewish Sabbath which in the *Codex* is referred to as the 'Rest of (or: Abstinence from) the Hands' (ἀναπαύσις τῶν χειρῶν), a term which anticipates the 'Seal of the Hands' of the Manichaean elect.[41] Though not actually cited in the *Codex*, the 'Book of Elxai' also contained

[34] On this see especially Reeves (1991a); Reeves (1991b) and especially his monograph Reeves (1992).
[35] Cf. Reeves (1996), 79–88. [36] Cf. ibid. 6–7.
[37] *CMC* 88,2–9, eds. Koenen and Römer (1985), 60. [38] *CMC* 106,15–19, p. 74.
[39] See e.g. *CMC* 6,7–12,5. [40] Josephus, *bellum Judaicum* II, 8, 2(119–20).
[41] *CMC* 102,12–16, p. 72.

elements of an imminent eschatological war involving angelic beings which has echoes in the *War Scroll* from Qumran. Similarly the instructions for baptism 'a second time' for sexual sins (including bestiality) are also found in the *Damascus Document* – another Jewish text closely connected with Qumran though it originally came to light in the Cairo Genizah.

A possible link between the sect in which Mani grew up and a religious leader called Elchasai was already hinted at by the Arabic antiquarian Ibn an-Nadīm in his brief article on the *Mughtasilah* (i.e. those who baptise themselves) in his *Fihrist* ('Catalogue'):

> The *Mughtasilah*. These people are very numerous in the regions of al-Baṭa'ih; they are (called) the Ṣābat al-Baṭa'ih (i.e. Ṣabians of the marsh-lands). They observe ablution as a rite and wash everything which they eat. Their head is known as al-Ḥasīḥ and it is he who instituted their sect. They assert that the two existences are male and female and that the herbs are from the likeness of the male, whereas the parasite plants are from the likeness of the female, the trees being veins (roots). They have seven sayings, taking the form of fables. His (al-Ḥasīh's) disciple was named Sham'ūn. They agreed with the Manichaeans about the two elemental (principles), but later their sect became separate.[42]

Though the passage has been made available in German translation since the mid nineteenth century,[43] the connection between the Elchasaites and the baptist sect in which Mani grew up was not made by most Manichaean scholars until the discovery and initial publication of the *Cologne Mani-Codex*. The seemingly circumstantial and sometimes contradictory nature of the patristic evidence on Elxai has led at least one major scholar, Professor Gerard P. Luttikhuizen, to sound a note of warning against accepting too readily the link between the 'baptists' (i.e. the *Mughtasilah* of the Arabic sources) and the Elchasaites of the Church Fathers. While the 'Book of Elxai' is amply attested among Jewish Christian texts as a major Jewish apocalyptic work, the existence of a Jewish Christian sectarian leader called Elchasaios is less secure as the heresiological accounts give the impression of a developing myth.[44] Moreover, there is little to link the beliefs and practices of the Elchasaites of the heresiologists with the 'baptists' of the *Codex*. The second baptism taught by Alcibiades allegedly from the 'Book of Elxai' has nothing in common with the daily ablutions and ritual washing of food practised by the 'baptists'. Furthermore there are no citations from the 'Book of Elxai' in the *Codex*, not even in the sections in which the disciples

[42] *The Fihrist of al-Nadim*, trans. Dodge (1970), II, 811.
[43] Cf. Chwolsohn (1856) I, 543–4. See also the discussion in Flügel (1862) 305.
[44] Luttikhuizen (1985) 210–20 and 225–6. See also Luttikhuizen (1987), 104–6.

of Mani sought to authenticate his revelation with citations from Jewish apocalyptic works and Christian writings (*CMC* 48.16–62.9). There also appears little in common between the teaching contained in the fragments of the 'Book of Elxai' and that of the 'baptists' of the *Codex* save for the doctrine of the cyclical rebirth of the True Prophet.[45] The Alchasaios of the *Codex* was clearly a mouth-piece of Manichaean teaching on the prohibition of harvesting and bathing by the elect and might have been just any 'leader' (*archegos*) of the 'baptists' and not the founder. The similarity in the name Alchasaios with that of the putative founder of the sect of the Elchasaites might have been purely accidental.[46]

The discovery by Professor Werner Sundermann, the principal researcher on Middle Iranian Manichaean texts from Turfan housed in Berlin, of the name 'lxs' in a biographical text of Mani in a Parthian text suggests that the Alchasaios of the *Codex* was not just an ordinary leader of the sect as Luttikhuizen has alleged. The fact that the text was in a dialect of Middle Iranian rules out the possibility of Manichaean missionaries active in the more Christianised parts of Mesopotamia and the Roman Empire 'inventing' the Alchasaios anecdotes to strengthen the sect's link with Christianity. In any case, the Manichaeans were hardly likely to have chosen to connect themselves with a heretical figure of shadowy existence for missionary purposes nor to refer to the sect in which Mani grew up as 'Elchasaites' – an odious epithet coined by heresiologists to denigrate sectarianism. Though the Parthian text is fragmentary, there is little doubt that the name 'lxs' occurs in an autobiographical account about Mani's youth and his calling.[47] Though the name of the founder of the sect of the 'baptists' is consistently spelt with an Alpha rather than an Epsilon in the Greek in the *Codex*, there are plenty of examples of such vowel changes in papyri; especially if the name was transliterated from a Semitic source.[48] The Syriac form of the name 'Elchasaites' is found in Syriac in the anti-heresiological writings of Theodore bar Konī on the Sampsaeans – a sect which was said to be descended from the Elchasaites – and the Syriac spelling is *'lq'sy'*[49] and the initial semitic Aleph would have certainly lent itself to be transliterated into Greek by either Alpha or Epsilon. Furthermore, if the search for Elchasaite influences on Mani is widened to what is known of Manichaeism in general from western sources, rather than focusing narrowly on the *Codex*,

[45] Luttikhuizen (1985), 222. [46] Ibid.

[47] The autobiographical nature is clear due to the word *ymg* "Twin" on the previous line. M1344 + M5910, *KG*, §2.2 (25–7), p. 19.

[48] Cf. Gignac (1976) I, 235 and 242–9.

[49] Theodor bar Khoni, *Liber Scholiorum* XI, CSCO 69 (Louvain, 1912), p. 307.2 – reading *'lq'sy'* for *'ql'sy'*.

there is much to be found. Both sects for instance placed great emphasis on apocalyptic literature, on the call to repentance, and on the cyclical reappearance of Christ. Both reject the Mosaic Laws, and both believe in all matter and plants and animals possessing souls, and in the transmigration of souls.[50] Though none of these similarities is in itself conclusive of a definite link, they do suggest a similar Jewish Christian background between the Elchasaites and the 'baptists' of the *Codex*; especially when one takes into account Mani's one-sided representation of the teaching of a sect whose teaching he rejected.

Controversies over the existence of Elchasaios and doubts over a fourth–fifth century dating of the codex (see below, pp. 42–3) have been relegated to the sidelines in Manichaean studies as another major discovery of new Manichaean texts is announced. The new material from Ismant el-Kharab (the Roman period village of Kellis) in the Dakhleh Oasis in Egypt has been found and recorded in a precise archaeological context; and it throws a great deal of light on the nature and activities of a Manichaean community which flourished in that oasis village in the fourth century because of its ability to present itself as a Christian church, and because the remoteness of the location gave it refuge from the persecuting authorities, first pagan and then Christian. The bilingual texts in Syriac and Coptic astounded scholars who had held the belief that given the pervasiveness of Greek, Manichaean texts would have been translated first into Greek and from Greek into Coptic. The new texts also emphasise the predominantly Christian elements of Manichaeism, although one text which was probably originally composed in Greek (the 'Prayer of the Emanations', see below, **61**) may have been deliberately polytheistic in order to attract followers from pagan cults. With such a steady stream of new discoveries, and the need to continue work on still unpublished texts from Turfan and Medinet Madi, the study of Manichaeism is inevitably heavily dominated by the editing, translating and interpreting of new material, and is likely to remain so for some time to come.

THE SURVIVAL OF MANICHAEAN TEXTS FROM THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Manichaeism was a religion of the book; and Manichaean preachers, like Felix the doctor who debated with Augustine, took with them the canon of Mani's writings as well as other works belonging to the community. As a result Manichaean texts were often the target of confiscation by both imperial

[50] As well demonstrated by Merkelbach (1988).

and ecclesiastical authorities in the Roman Empire. This led to the virtual disappearance of genuine Manichaean texts after the time of Augustine, and until the end of the nineteenth century almost all the examples we have of Manichaean texts which were disseminated in the Roman Empire come from the writings of opponents, especially those passages embedded in the voluminous anti-Manichaean writings of Augustine (who had himself been a Manichaean for at least nine years). Later, as a bishop, he also had access to confiscated Manichaean works. For modern scholarship, the situation as regards availability of texts changed rapidly with the discovery of the long section on Manichaeans and their writings in the Arabic *Fihrist* of Ibn an-Nadīm; and later the *Liber Scholiorum* of Theodor bar Khoni the Nestorian bishop of Kashkar in Iraq, which contains a lengthy citation from an undoubtedly canonical work of Mani in its original Syriac. Almost at the same time occurred the identification of a substantial citation from another unnamed Manichaean work in the Cathedral Homilies of Severus, the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch. Although originally this work was composed in Greek, these homilies have come down to us in two Syriac rescensions (the better known one being the work of Jacob of Edessa, the lesser that of Paul of Callinicum).[51] Then, the discovery of genuine Manichaean texts from Central Asia greatly added to our knowledge of the scriptures of the sect. Similarly the arduous task of deciphering the palimpsest which contains the *Prose Refutation* of Ephraim against Mani, which was completed by Revd C. W. Mitchell before the outbreak of the First World War (as mentioned above), added considerably to the number of genuine citations from Manichaean writings; but Mitchell's death in action led to considerable delay in the publication of the second and final volume of his work.[52] Nevertheless, for the patristic scholar, what was still lacking were genuine Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire itself which were free from the selective presentation and refutation of the community's opponents.

The first texts from lands within the confines of the Roman Empire to be identified as genuinely Manichaean were a number of small papyri fragments in Syriac from Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. These are written in an Estrangela script which is very close to that used by the Manichaean communities in Central Asia for texts in both Middle Iranian and Turkish (as

[51] The first major western scholar to study the *Liber Scholiorum* was H. Pognon; but the best known work which gives translations of the citations of both Theodor and Severus of Antioch (rescension of Jacob of Edessa) is Cumont (1908), and Cumont and Kugener (1912).

[52] Mitchell (1912–21). The quotations from Manichaean works cited by Ephraim for the purpose of refutation have been conveniently collected together by Reeves (1997).

well as Bactrian and Tocharian B).[53] These fragments are conveniently collected in an appendix to the seminal monograph of Burkitt,[54] but their fragmentary nature offers us only brief glimpses into a variety of Manichaean writings and their use of Christian scriptures. A slightly more substantial find was made in 1918 when thirteen very damaged leaves of a Latin theological manuscript, containing a large number of biblical citations, were found in a cave south-west of Theveste (Tebessa) in Algeria. Its identity initially perplexed scholars as the contents do not remind one of any of the known writings of the Latin Fathers. It was later suggested that the *Tebessa Codex* (as the text came to be known) was the work of a critic writing against the Manichaean distinction between the elect and the hearer. However, the most generally accepted view, first championed by Alfaric, is that it was rather the work (part of a pastoral letter?) of a Manichaean leader justifying this distinction, a teaching and practice which must have drawn considerable criticism from the Christian opponents of Manichaeism, and which might have also caused discontent among the hearers who could not see the purpose of their service of the elect.[55]

A community which treasured its scriptures as greatly as the Manichaeans was highly likely to hide them from the prying eyes of its enemies. The discovery of a cache which had not been recovered by the sect could therefore yield more than one text. Such a cache, once put into concealment by Manichaean missionaries in the Fayum in Egypt, came to light when in 1929 local workmen digging for fertiliser in the ruins of an ancient house in Medinet Madi discovered at least seven papyrus codices still with their wooden covers in a chest.

The sensational news of *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten, Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler*, announced in 1933 by C. Schmidt, H. Ibscher and H. J. Polotsky,[56] marked a decisive turning point in the modern rediscovery of the religion. The codices were already broken up before they reached the Cairo market, where they were first seen by the Danish egyptologist H. O. Lange in November 1929. However, it was C. Schmidt in 1930, while on his way to Palestine to collect manuscripts for the Prussian Academy, who was shown a codex entitled *Kephalaia* and made the connection with Manichaeism. By sheer coincidence Schmidt was in the process of checking the proofs of the late K. Holl's edition of Epiphanius's *Panarion*, and

[53] Cf. Margoliouth (1915); and Crum (1919).

[54] Burkitt (1925), 111–19. This replaces the earlier studies on these fragments by Margoliouth and Crum. See also additional comments in Lieu (1994, 1999), 62–4.

[55] The intitial discovery is given in Omont (1918). A translation of the text with fuller bibliography is given below, **92**.

[56] Schmidt, Ibscher and Polotsky (1933).

he remembered that among the books that Mani was alleged to have received from Scythianus was one with the same title. Further examination revealed the characteristic clause: 'Once more the enlightener speaks to his disciples . . .'

News of the discovery was immediately communicated to A. Harnack in Germany; but, before adequate funds could arrive in Egypt for their purchase, part of the find was acquired by the Irish-American philanthropist and collector A. Chester Beatty. His famous collection of classical and biblical manuscripts was housed first in London, then after the second world war were transferred to Dublin, where they remain. The rest of the codices were then purchased by Schmidt with financial aid from the Stuttgart publishing company Kohlhammer, and shipped to Berlin.

The entire collection comprised seven codices, four in Berlin and three in London (now Dublin). In Berlin were: *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* (a small part of this went to Vienna); *The Epistles* of Mani; *The Synaxeis of the Living Gospel*;[57] and a (Manichaean) church history. In London: a book of psalms, together with an index; a collection of homilies; and *The Kephalaia of the Wisdom of my Lord Mani*.[58]

The Coptic texts themselves date from about AD 400, and are translations of Syriac originals that reach back to Mani himself (as with the canonical *Epistles*), or to the first generations of the church. They are written in a form of Coptic commonly known as sub-Achmimic or Lycopolitan (specifically dialect L4); and thus did not originate in the Fayum, but perhaps from the region of Assiut (Lycopolis) in upper Egypt.

Various sources indicate that this was an important and successful area for Manichaean evangelisation. One of the earliest critics of the new religion was the neo-Platonist Alexander of Lycopolis who reported that the religion attracted followers amongst his philosophical colleagues. The region also features in the mercantile travels of Scythianus, the proto-Manichaean of Christian polemics. Most importantly, this area of the Nile valley was, and still remains, the closest point in terms of communications to Kellis in the Dakhleh Oasis. The Coptic texts from Kellis are also written in a form of Lycopolitan; although admittedly this term is more convenient than specific, since strictly it covers a number of distinct dialects.

[57] The exact contents of this codex (i.e. whether it also contains other works), and its relationship to *The Living Gospel* itself, remains unclear.

[58] The relationship between the two *Kephalaia* codices has also been open to debate. However, despite the variation in titles, it appears that the Dublin codex can best be regarded as simply a continuation of the Berlin one.

The conservation of the extremely fragile codices, both from London and Berlin, was entrusted to the renowned H. Ibscher; and the task of printing the editions consigned to Kohlhammer Verlag. A special Coptic font was cut to resemble as closely as possible the hand-written originals. For the first ten years publication proceeded apace: in 1934 H. J. Polotsky's edition and German translation of 96 pages of *Manichaische Homilien*; in 1938 the latter 234 pages of *A Manichaean Psalm-Book Part II,* with an English translation by C. R. C. Allberry; and fascicles of the Berlin *Kephalaia* by A. Böhlig and H. J. Polotsky that reached page 244 in 1940.

Unfortunately the rise of National Socialism in Germany, and the advent of the second world war, heralded a number of tragedies. These included the departure from Germany of a number of the leading scholars due to the threat of anti-semitism; the death of Allberry; and the loss and probable destruction of some of the codices housed in the soviet sector of Berlin. Specifically the historical work and *The Epistles* seem to have been removed, and now only a few leaves remain in Berlin and Warsaw.

Such events led effectively to an end of work on the Medinet Madi texts for over forty years. Admittedly A. Böhlig published a further fascicle of the *Kephalaia* (pages 244–91) in 1966, but the work for this was largely prepared in 1943. However, the current outlook is much more positive. With the financial support of the Carlsberg foundation S. Giversen (University of Aarhus, Denmark) has published a facsimile edition of all the Dublin texts in four volumes: *Kephalaia; Homilies and Varia; Psalm Book Part I; and II*.[59] Meanwhile a separate team led by Wolf-Peter Funk (Université Laval, Québec) is working on the remaining material from Berlin: the *Kephalaia*, *Epistles*, *Synaxeis* and *Church History* codices.[60]

Whereas the provenance of the Medinet Madi find is relatively well known, and the subsequent history of how the texts were divided between Berlin and London (now Dublin) has since been described in some detail;[61] the same cannot be said of the next major Manichaean text from Egypt to be identified and published. The learned world first came to know

[59] Giversen (1986, 1988).

[60] In fact, as this volume has been in the latter stages of collation, Funk has published *Kephalaia* fascicles 13/14 (1999) and 15/16 (2000). Some passages of these are included here, with a first English translation by Gardner. Under active preparation are the *Epistles* (Funk and Gardner), church history (Funk and Patterson), and *Synaxeis* (Funk and various scholars). As regards the Dublin codices, Nils-Arne Pedersen is near completion of his new edition of the *Homilies* (we have benefited from a prior view of some of his new readings); whilst various scholars such as Gardner, Giversen, Wurst, and Richter have published, at least in draft form, some passages from Part 1 of the *Psalm-Book*. However, a definitive edition of either the Dublin *Kephalaia* or the *Psalm-Book* Part 1 is still some years away.

[61] See esp. Robinson (1992); see also Robinson (1991).

of an extraordinary discovery by two German scholars, Albert Henrichs and Ludwig Koenen, in their preliminary study published in 1970.[62] The manuscript in question was the smallest parchment codex from the Graeco-Roman world then discovered to date. Measuring only 38 × 45 mm, with a single column of an average of 23 lines per page, in size it approximates to Christian amulets like *P. Ant.* II 54 (26 × 40 mm, *Pater Noster*) or *P. Oxy.* XVII 2065 (Ps. 90); but with nearly 200 pages it had much the largest number of quires (eight as against one). However, the wearing of (complete?) gospels as amulets is mentioned by Chrysostom, and the *Codex* might not therefore have been unique in its day. The tiny pages were ruled both for the lines and for the margins, and the ruling is still visible in places. The height of the individual letters never exceeded 1 mm and the text is hardly readable with the naked eye.[63] A glass-bottle filled with water was the most likely enlarging tool used by the ancient scribes to execute such delicate calligraphy. When enlarged by modern methods, the writing is very clear and possesses distinctive proportional spacing and wide and thick strokes. Most of the text was copied by one scribe; but another hand supplied the first quire and parts of the eighth, and several others corrected the text throughout. Although the format of the codex gives the appearance of a prophylact, the text was clearly intended to be read. The scribes made few errors and they even observed very strict syllabic rules in breaking up long words at the end of lines.[64]

Information as to how and when this remarkable manuscript came into the possession of the Papyrus-Sammlung at the University of Cologne is conspicuously absent from the early publications of the text, and the true story may never be known outside a small circle of scholars involved with its decipherment and publication. A more detailed and circumspect account of the preliminary conservation work and identification was provided by Henrichs almost a decade later.[65] According to this Henrichs met Dr Anton Fackelmann, a renowned conservator, in Fackelmann's residence in June 1969. He had in his possession four small dessicated and fragile lumps of parchment. Preliminary reading of individually identified words gave the impression that the document was probably a religious text of an esoteric or apocalyptic nature. Two recurrent phrases were περι της γεννης and του σωματος αυτου. There seemed little hope of separating the pages and thereby revealing the contents more fully. However, a special chemical was applied to the lumps by Dr Fackelmann and the result appeared nothing short of a miracle.

[62] Henrichs and Koenen (1970). [63] *In Matt. hom. 83, PG* 58.669.
[64] Cf. Koenen and Römer (1993), 39–42. [65] Henrichs (1979).

The pages of vellum came off more easily than was expected. The first ones to be detached contained a series of what appeared to be Judaeo-Christian apocalypses, as they were addressed to descendants of Adam. By next day (15 June 1969), however, the Manichaean nature of the work was discovered when this unmistakable exordium was encountered on one of the pages: 'I, Mani, the apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God, the Father of Truth, from whom I was born.' The recurrent phrases mentioned above combine to form the running title which heads every other double spread: 'Concerning the Birth | of his Body'. This odd-sounding title conforms to the Manichaean teaching of Mani's body as only a vehicle of his earthly life; but it may well also allude to the 'body' as his church.[66] A total of one hundred and ninety-two pages in eight quires, together with some unlocalisable fragments, were conserved;[67] making it one of the longest texts to be recovered from a miniature codex. Oxyrhynchus was originally suggested as the place of origin of this unique text; but Lycopolis (modern Assiut), a major centre of Manichaean acitivities in Roman Egypt, was later put forward as the more likely source.[68] Henrich's own words remain vitually our only statement on the possible provenance of the codex:

> Ancient manuscripts which antedate the Byzantine period are almost never identified at the place of their original discovery, and more often than not the circumstances of their disinterment are shrouded in obscurity and secrecy. The Cologne Codex is no exception. Rumour has it that the remains of the codex were located several decades ago in Luxor, and it is a reasonable guess that they were found in the vicinity of ancient Lycopolis, a stronghold of Manichaeism in Upper Egypt. In other words, next to nothing is known about the fate of the Mani Codex before it reached Cologne.[69]

The *Cologne Mani Codex* is unique among extant Manichaean texts both in its literary format and in the information it provides.[70] The conserved pages probably once formed the first part of a historical text similar to the Coptic work now so very partially preserved in Berlin codex P15997 (*v. supra*). However, the format of the *Codex* is different. It is a compilation of the written testimonies by some of Mani's closest disciples such as Salmaios

[66] Henrichs (1979) 342–9.
[67] See the facsimile edition: Koenen and Römer (1985).
[68] Cf. Koenen (1973). [69] Henrichs (1979) 349.
[70] The *editio major* remains the four-part article of Henrichs and Koenen, (1975–82). The commentary on the last part of the text is provided by C. Römer in Römer (1994). The *editio minor* of the text: Koenen and Römer (1988), is the most convenient version for scholars; but note also the numerous articles by Römer *et al.* in *ZPE* giving improved readings and suggested reconstructions to its publication. See also the summary of these relevant to pp. 121–92 of the codex in Römer (1994), 163–5.

the ascetic, Baraies the teacher, Timotheos, Abiesus the teacher, Innaios the brother of Zabed, Za(cheas?), Koustaios the son of 'the treasure of life' and Ana the brother of the disciple Zacheas; and concerns the early life (i.e. the first twenty-four to twenty-five years) of Mani. A number of minor inconsistencies exist between the extracts, especially on the number and frequency and timing of the appearance of Mani's divine *alter ego* (Syzygos), which point to the work being compiled directly from different sources with minimal editing. There are also citations from Mani's writings, e.g. the *Evangelium* and his 'Letter to Edessa', as well as from the writings of St Paul and several hitherto unattested apocalypses. The work was clearly translated from Syriac, as indicated by a number of unmistakable semiticisms; and the fact that it was a translated document obscures the stylistic differences between the different authors from whose individual eye-witness accounts the excerpts were drawn.

The original editors of the *Codex* dated the manuscript to the fourth century on the basis of the similarity in format to other miniature codices used as amulets by Christians such as like *P. Ant.* ii 54 (26 × 40 mm. Pater Noster) or *P. Oxy.* xvii 2065 (Ps. 90). A fourth century date also coincides with the hightide of Manischaean missions in the Roman Empire before they were driven underground by the antiheretical edicts of Christian emperors. An attempt has been made by two scholars to date the *Codex* on palaeographical grounds to the seventh/eighth century.[71] The distinctive style of the writing, termed 'die rechtsgeneigte Spitzbogenmajuskel *palästinischen* Duktus', is typical, according to the two scholars, of texts produced in the early Islamic period and, in particular, liturgical texts with Syriac and/or Arabic. The similarity is specially marked in a number of letters (α, δ, ζ, ρ, υ, φ, ψ, ω) especially in the alternation of thick and thin strokes and the distinctive use of serifs in the letter τ.[72] The historical problems confronting such a late dating are considerable. The *Codex*, apart from the biblical citations, shows clear Semitic influence which is characteristic of an early stage of textual diffusion from Syriac-speaking areas. Some of these semiticisms would undoubtedly have been modified as the text was copied and recopied. A direct translation from the Syriac in the seventh century and copied into a miniaturised codex for concealment would be hard to imagine, except it would explain why a number of accurate details including the Greek versions of the names of some of the tradents of the *Codex* were found in an Early Byzantine anathema text and not in earlier Greek anti-Manichaean polemical writings.[73] The *Codex* could of course have been

[71] Fonkič and Poljakov (1990), 22–30. [72] Art. cit., 25–6. [73] Cf. Lieu (1983), 194–6.

merely a *prophylactus* in which the text copied is of little importance. But the high quality of the calligraphy and the trouble the scribes took to ensure legibility (even in its minute format) down to the very strict rules observed by the scribes in line-breaks involving long words, implies that it is designed to be read. Maybe there was a final renaissance of Manichaeism in Egypt in the early Islamic period with new texts imported from Mesopotamia. In the time of Abū Ja'far al-*Mansur* (754–75), a Manichaean from Africa, Abū *Hilāl* al-Dayhūri became the Imam (i.e. *archegos*) of the sect at al-Madain (formerly Seleucia-Ctesiphon) – the traditional seat of the supreme head of the Manichaean church.[74] That a Manichaean from Africa could be chosen for the most prominent office in the land of the sect's origins within a century of the Arab conquest shows either how quickly the religion re-established itself in Africa (including possibly Egypt) or how resilient it was to Christian persecution.

There was one final dramatic discovery before the turn to the twenty-first century: again it was made in Egypt, and in its own way was just as unexpected. In the 1970s Anthony J. Mills had inaugurated a long-term research project in the Dakhleh Oasis, with the goal to make an holistic study of this remote area and of the adaptation of human life to such an arid environment. Over the years a substantial team from a variety of disciplines (as varied as palaeobotanists and folk historians) had joined the Dakhleh Oasis Project (DOP), initial surveys had been made, and a number of sub-projects had been inaugurated ranging over a vast time-span of human activity. One of the major of these was an archaeological excavation led by Colin A. Hope, from Monash University in Australia, which was begun in the mid 1980s at the site of Ismant el-Kharab. The initial seasons made apparent that this was the remains of a Roman period village named Kellis, which had been abandoned (probably for agricultural reasons, being dependent on scant water resources and in a harsh climate) by about the year AD 400. It was learnt that in this period the oasis constituted an administrative district (a *nome*) centred at Mothis (modern Mut), and that it lay within the governance, though at the limit, of Roman imperial authority. As indeed is still the case, although the nome had strong administrative and cultural links with Egypt, the local people regarded themselves in important respects as separate. 'Egypt' properly was the Nile valley, which lay some 300 kilometres and more to the east.

By the late 1980s the team at Ismant el-Kharab had begun to recover substantial papyrological remains, and in the 1990–1 excavation season at

[74] Al-Nadim, *Fihrist*, trans. Dodge, 794.

'House 3' in residential area A these became quite remarkable both for reasons of quantity and type. In particular there were unexpected bilingual fragments in Coptic and Syriac, and a most unusual proportion of Coptic documentary texts (for this time-span) found with equally major Greek finds. The first notice of a Manichaean context was made by the epigrapher Olaf Kaper (of the name 'Manichaios' which appears in text *T. Kell.* Copt. 2, A 5), and shortly after Geoffrey Jenkins identified portions of a psalm parallel to the Medinet Madi Manichaean Psalm-Book no. 222 (*T. Kell.* Copt. 4). The major textual discoveries led to an expansion of the papyrological team, with the Coptic Manichaean specialist Iain Gardner joining in 1991, and soon afterwards the Greek documentary papyri expert Klaas Worp. As Gardner began to view photographs of fragments supplied to him in Australia, and then from 1992–3 began to work each season on site in Dakhleh, the extent of the Manichaean context became much more apparent; and Gardner was able to begin to publicise and publish these finds, sometimes in collaboration with other members of the team.

In House 3 during the later fourth century, and certainly living also elsewhere in Kellis and its environs, there was a thriving community of Manichaean believers; but it must be noted strongly that the numbers of such, and their proportion relative to Christian or pagan contemporaries, can not be known with the present state of knowledge. At this time of writing, the actual sheer quantity of Manichaean texts recovered is relatively minor in comparison with (especially) the Medinet Madi library. However, this new find has marked a major step forward in the recovery of the community's history and its texts for a number of reasons.

Firstly: this was the first time within the Roman Empire that textual resources belonging to a Manichaean community had been uncovered by a scientific archaeological excavation. Previous finds, such as from Medinet Madi or the *CMC*, had appeared divorced of any real context, and the communities or persons to which such texts might have belonged could only receive the most tentative and speculative discussion. Now at Kellis there existed a secure material environment, and such a variety of evidence (coins, ceramics, legal documents, church buildings, burials, etc), that the outline of a real social, economic and cultural history for the village could confidently be begun. This is certainly not to say that all such evidence belonged to the Manichaean believers, but rather that the worlds in which they had lived could take some definite form.

In consequence, with the recovery of such a context where it is now possible to identify the social dimensions of a Manichaean community in late Roman Egypt, the trajectory of research leads to the identification of traces

of the faith where previously they had been invisible; and to a truer understanding of the relations between such religious groups as Manichaeans and Christians in late antiquity, and consequently to a reevaluation of Manichaean identity. For these points see especially chapter 7: the discussion of Manichaean epistolary style, and the evidences of everyday concerns made apparent in the personal letters written by believers to their friends and relatives in Roman Kellis.

Furthermore, while it has already been remarked that there is no massive quantity of Manichaean literary remains yet recovered from Ismant el-Kharab, yet there are some important new genres or examples of type, and the variety of texts is itself impressive. In particular one must mention the bilingual Coptic-Syriac texts (not exampled in this present volume due to their lack of narrative coherence),[75] which evidence the importance of text and authority for the community, as well as illustrating technical aspects relevant to the development of Manichaean literatures in the Roman Empire. Also important are the first examples of Greek Manichaean psalms.

Finally: where the finds from Ismant el-Kharab parallel previously known genres or texts, and this is most apparent with the various 'duplicates' to Medinet Madi psalms that have been identified, they begin to enable the history of these literatures to be recovered. Thus, the 'Manichaean Psalm-Book', of which part II was famously edited by C. R. C. Allberry and published in 1938, can now be better understood as a constructed text that stands at the end of a lengthy redaction history; which itself can also, of course, be extrapolated into an as yet unexampled future.

Thus, the recovery of Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire has been punctuated by a series of remarkable discoveries over the last century, which can only promise more for the future. Consequently, this has been a topic that has seen rapid development; and sudden, unexpected shifts in direction. We can not imagine all the future trajectories of research, but the delineation of the faith and its followers is now so much clearer. The purpose of this volume is to make accessible material that in a rapidly changing field may most likely be unknown except to the specialist.

[75] See M. Franzmann and I. Gardner in: Gardner (1996), 101–31; with improved readings in Gardner, Alcock and Funk (1999) 344–64.

CHAPTER 2

The life of Mani

On the life of Mani see Introduction (pp. 3–8). The following excerpts are primarily taken from the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex* and Coptic sources from Medinet Madi, supplemented by texts in Arabic and Middle Iranian (especially Parthian) which are clearly derived from Manichaean sources ultimately belonging to the same original literary (Syriac?) tradition.

CHILDHOOD, YOUTH AND CALLING

1. Mani's parentage, birth, childhood and adolescence

This extract, taken from the section devoted to the teaching of the Manichaeans in the *Fihrist* (Catalogue) of Ibn an-Nadīm[1] (composed towards the end of the tenth century AD in Baghdad), draws material from the writings of Abū 'Isā al-Warraq who lived a century earlier and had access to genuine Manichaean writings. It supplies information not yet found in Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire.

Muḥammad bin Isḥaq said: 'Mānī bin Fatiq[2] Bābak bin Abī Barzām was of the Ḥaskāniyya. His mother's name was Mays, but she was also called Awtāḫīm or Marmaryam of the Ašġāniyya.[3] It was said that Mānī was the Bishop (usquf) of Qunnī[4] and of the kinsmen of (**328**) the Ḥūḥī, the Bādarāyā and the Baksāyā nearby. He had a deformed foot. It was said that his father was originally from Hamadān and had moved to Babylon, settling in al-Madā'in in the place called Ṭīsfūn (Ctesiphon) which had a temple (a house of idols). Fatiq attended this temple, like everyone else, when, one day, a voice called to him from the inner sanctum of the temple saying: 'Fatiq! Do not eat meat, do not drink wine and abstain from intercourse

[1] An-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1871, pp. 327–8, trans. M. Laffan (unpublished).
[2] The text of Flügel gives Futtuq.
[3] Probably a miscopy for Asghanijah, see next note.
[4] Here we have a confusion of Mani with the legendary Christian missionary Mari who established a monastery at Qoni as well as the see (later the catholicate) at Seleucia-Ctesiphon. On this see W. B. Henning, 'Zwei Fehler in der arabisch-manichäischen Überlieferung', *Orientalia*, NS, 5 (1936) 84–7.

with anyone.' Fatiq heard this call repeated many times over three days. Having witnessed that, Fatiq attached himself to a group of people in the vicinity of Dastumīsān known as the Cleansers (al-Muġtasila). Their remnants persist to this day in that place and in the marshes. These people were (thus) of the sect which Fatiq was ordered to join when his wife was pregnant with Mānī. Once she gave birth (to him), they claimed that she had had lovely dreams about him. And (once) she gained consciousness she had a vision of him being taken up into air by a force which then returned him, after perhaps a day or two (aloft). And then, having returned, his father came forth and took him to his place of residence to raise him and care for his community.

Mānī acquired the art of wise words at a very young age. And at the completion of his twelfth year, he was inspired from above by (a being) he called the King of the Gardens of Light, (for) it was God Almighty who addressed him. And the angel that brought him (this) revelation was called al-Tawm, from the Nabatean word meaning 'companion'. And the angel said to him: 'Abandon this community, for you are not of them. You must be unblemished and abstain from desires. The time is not right for you to appear, for you are still young.' (So) when he turned twenty-four, al-Tawm brought him forth saying: 'Now is the time for you to appear and call (others) to your cause.'

What al-Tawm told Mānī:

'Peace be with you, Mānī, both from myself and from the Lord Who sent me to you and Who chose you for His message. He has commanded you to invite (others) in your own right and to preach on His behalf the Truth, laying it upon you to do so with your utmost effort.'

2. Mani's own version of early revelations from his divine Twin

We here begin a series of passages from the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex*.[5]

(fr. 1) (*Perhaps the Syzygos in a vision spoke to Mani*): '. . . the fellow-believers . . . prophets . . . and saviour(s ?) . . .' **1** (*Mani appears to continue with his account after about thirty-nine lost lines*:) . . . this same (vision (?) . . .) to me . . . it(self(?) . . . **2** '. . .) little by little (I (i.e. the Syzygos)) have shown you (what is hidden (?) . . .) from many (. . .) You will be able to see that

[5] *CMC* fr. 1 and 1-5.13, eds. Koenen and Römer (1988), 2–4. All citations from the *CMC* in this volume are translated by Profs. J. M. and S. N. C. Lieu who would like to acknowledge the helpful comments and observations of M. Vermes and Dr Rosalie Cook. Departures from this edition mainly follow suggestions and improvements made by Dr Cornelia Römer in subsequent publications.

mystery in magnificence and complete clarity.' And then the angel was concealed from (me . . . *about 13 lines lost* . . . **3** . . .) I was protected through the might of the angels and of the powers of holiness which were entrusted with my protection. They also brought me up by means of the visions and signs they showed me, which were short and very brief such as I could bear. For sometimes (he came) like lightning, (. . . *9 lines lost* . . . **4** . . .) this I perceived with all exactitude. He also gave me a firm grounding in that power which remains steadfast in affliction.

Very many are the visions and very great the marvels which he showed me throughout all that period of my youth. Yet I remained in silence, except (. . . *10 lines lost* . . . **5** . . .) whilst I with wisdom and cunning wandered in their midst and observed the 'rest' and did no wrong, neither did I cause distress or follow the rule of the baptists or engage with them in dialogue in the same way (as they do).

3. Incidents from Mani's youth showing his refusal to harm even plants

This passage (from the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex*.[6]) is credited by that text to a certain Salmaios the (ascetic).[7]

6 . . .[8] to him: 'Yet you neither take vegetables from the garden nor do you carry wood for his use.'

Then that baptist rebuked me saying: 'Get up and come with me to the place where there is wood, take it and bring it.' We went to a palm and he climbed it (. . . *9 lines lost* . . . **7** (The palm-tree spoke): '. . .) If you spare us the pain, you will not die along with the murderer.' Then that baptist, overwhelmed by fear, leapt out of the tree in confusion and fell at my feet saying: 'I did not know that this secret mystery is in your power. How was the (great pain of the palm) revealed to you?' (. . . *7 lines lost* . . . **8** . . . (Mani spoke)): 'Why did you take fright and change colour (when the palm said) this to you? How much more should he, with whom all the (plants) speak, be disturbed?' He was then gripped by wonder and alarmed because of me. He said to me: 'Guard this mystery, tell it to nobody, lest anyone becomes jealous and kills you.' Therefore someone (. . . *8 lines lost* . . .

[6] *CMC* 5.14–14.2; 4–8.

[7] Salmaios from whose writing this extract was excerpted for the *CMC* was an early disciple of Mani. Cf. Tubach (1997), 381–2.

[8] The young Mani was here admonishing a fellow 'baptist'.

9 . . .)[9] One of the leaders of their law spoke to me when he saw that I did not take vegetables from the garden but was asking them for them as a form of alms. He said to me: 'Why do you not take vegetables from the garden, but ask me in turn for them as a form of alms?' And after that baptist had said to (me . . . *7 lines lost* . . .

10 (*Part of another incident*) . . .) and it[10] cried (lamen)ting just like human beings and like children. Alas, alas! Blood poured from the place which was cut by the sickle which he held in his hands. And they cried out with a human voice because of their blows. The baptist was greatly disturbed by what he saw and he came and fell before me. When now . . . someone . . . me (. . . *5 lines lost* . . .

. . .) from infancy **11** (until) my fourth year. Then I entered the religion of the baptists[11] in which I was brought up when I was young, protected through the might of the angels of light and of the powers of great strength who had a command from Jesus concerning my protection.[12] As they then immediately (. . . *8 lines lost* . . .

. . . from the spring of) **12** the waters there appeared to me a human form which showed me by hand the 'rest' so that I might not sin and bring distress on him.

In this way, from the age of four until the time when I reached my physical prime, I was (secretly) kept safe in the hands of the most holy angels and powers of holiness (. . . *8 lines lost* . . .

13 . . .) Another time a voice as of the Syzygos (Gr. σύζυγος, σύζυξ) addressed me from the air saying: 'Strengthen your power and discipline your mind and accept everything which is to be revealed to you.' Yet again he said the same: 'Strengthen your power and confirm your mind and submit to everything which is about to come to you.' Then I (fell . . .) the voice (. . . *7 lines lost* . . .

14 . . .) from the great (fathers) we have been sent forth.

4. Mani's account of his call

The following sections[13] contain Mani's own account of his second and definitive revelation.

[9] '(Because of the Rest of the Hands . . .)' was read in the Editio Major (Henrichs and Koenen 1975:11) but Koenen and Römer (1988: 6) find it hard to retain.

[10] I.e. the plant which was being harvested.

[11] The same term 'religion (or dogma) of the baptists' is also found in the *Homilies* (87.13, ed. Polotsky) transcribed from Greek into Coptic. Unfortunately, the relevant section of the *Homilies* (which is clearly a summary of biographical material closely related to the *CMC*) is highly fragmentary.

[12] 'Jesus concerning my protection': new reading suggested by Maresch (1988) 84.

[13] *CMC* 18.1–41.11; 12–26.

Baraies the Teacher:

18 (. . . When) I was twenty (four) years old, in the year in which Dariadaxar,[14] the king of Persia, conquered the city of Hatra,[15] and in which his son King Sapores[16] assumed the mighty diadem, in the month Pharmouthi, on the eighth day according to the moon,[17] the most blessed lord had compassion on me and called me to his grace and sent to me (my) Syzygos (who) in great (glory . . . *8 lines lost* . . . **19** . . .) He remembered and (passed on) all noble counsels which came from our Father and from the original beneficial good.

And he spoke again as follows: 'Even as my Father has been well pleased and has shown me mercy and pity, to redeem me from the error of the sectarians, and showing me compassion through his many (revelations) he sent (to me my Syzygos . . . *5 lines lost* . . . **20** He (the Syzygos) conveyed to me the) noblest (hope and) redemption for the long-suffering, and the truest counsels and judgements and the laying on of hands which comes from our Father. Therefore, when he came, he released me and separated me and drew me away from the midst of that rule in which I was brought up. In this way he called me and chose me and drew me and separated me from their midst. He drew (me away to one) side (. . . *6 lines lost* . . . **21** . . .) and (showed me) who I am and what my body is, in what way I came and how my coming into this world happened, and who I have become among those who are most distinguished in pre-eminence, and how I was born into this fleshly body, or through what woman I was brought to birth and delivered into this flesh, and by whom I was begotten.[18] (. . . *7 lines lost* . . . **22** . . .) and how that . . . came about, and who is my Father on high or in what way I was separated from him and was sent according to his will, and what command and instruction he gave to me before I clothed myself with this frame, and before I fell into error in this loathsome flesh, and before I put on its intoxication and its habits, and who (he is) who is (my unsleeping Syzygos . . .) and the (. . . *5 lines lost* . . . **23** . . .) (and the Syzygos further shows) the secrets and the (thoughts), and the pre-eminence of my Father, and concerning myself, who I am, and who is my inseparable Syzygos; moreover, concerning my soul, which is the soul of all worlds, what

[14] I.e. Ardashir (r. AD 224–42), the founder of the Sassanian Dynasty.

[15] Hatra was loyal to the deposed Parthian Dynasty, and its defence against a long siege conducted by the crown-prince and co-regent Shapur was assisted by Roman forces.

[16] I.e. Shapur I (r. 240–73, co-regent 240–2).

[17] I.e. 17/18 April AD 240.

[18] The Manichaeans believed that the fleshly human body was the lustful creation of evil forces and was a prison for divine light-particles. The passage suggests that Mani had a divine and 'flesh-free' existence before he was incarnated.

it is itself or how it came to be. He also revealed to me, in addition, the measureless heights and unsearchable depths, he showed (me) everything which (. . .' *8 lines lost* . . .

24 . . . *1 line lost* . . .
. . .) he who is (the most protected:
I received) him piously,
and I obtained him as my own property.
I believed him,
that he belongs to me
and that he is a good and useful counsellor.
I recognised him,
and understood that I am he
from whom I was separated.
I have borne witness,
that I myself am he
and am (completely) the same . . .
. . . *8 lines lost* . . .
25 . . .) to him.

Again he spoke thus: 'With very great skill and understanding I went about in that rule, guarding that hope in my mind while no one perceived who it was that was with me. And I myself revealed to no one anything during that very long time. Yet I did not . . . fleshly . . . in the same way as them (. . .' *6 lines lost* . . .

26 I reve)aled to them none of those things which had happened or were to happen, nor what it was that I knew, or what it was which I had received.

The teachers speak:[19]

'Therefore when that highly renowned and greatly blessed one revealed to me these great unspeakable secrets, he began to say to me: "Declare this mystery which I have revealed to you from . . . to everyone . . . and reveal (. . . *ms. pp.* ***27–8*** *are missing.*)[20]

28 . . . (line 23) (by means of the reaping-hook)

29 which separates the weeds and fruits of the earth, to cut off the branches of all the rebels, then truth alone is glorified and reigns like the (Father?) of the heights. (. . . *14 lines lost* . . .)

[19] The text turns now from the witness of Baraies to another source (unknown).

[20] Fragment 4a/b suggested in Koenen and Römer (1985) 54–55 as part of these lost pages has now been placed more securely on pp. 35 and 36 (see below).

30 . . .) to those who are bound according to the flesh; but even in this way, little by little I separated myself from the midst of that rule (in) which I was brought up; I admire beyond (measure . . .) mysteries . . . many[21] (. . . *7 lines lost* . . .)

31 (my enemies are) great in number, but I am alone. These are rich, but I am poor; how then shall I who am alone against all, be able to reveal this mystery in the midst of the great number which is (entangled in) error? (How will I go) to the (kings) and governors (. . .) good (. . .) race (. . .) to converse (. . .) indeed (. . .) for (I am . . .) and (poor and) alone[22] (. . . *3 lines lost* . . . **32** . . .) [23] very many helpers also associate with him (viz. the King of Kings (?)). While these thoughts were passing through my mind, there stood before me immediately my (most glorious) Syzygos and he said to me: 'Why have you said that this mystery can not be revealed to the kings by you? So just as I counselled you before as a good adviser, so now am I advisor of your counsel.'[24]

Timotheos:[25]

33 Throughout (this) time (. . .) and (. . .) mysteries (. . .) Then (. . . *2 lines lost* . . .) of light (. . . *6 lines lost* . . . of the) **34** fathers of light. And he revealed to me everything which took place in the ships. Moreover, he disclosed the bosom of the pillar and the fathers and the powers of great strength which are hidden (in it . . .) and (. . .) the heights (. . .) he showed (. . .) this (. . . *9 lines lost* . . .

35 . . .) to be chosen and to appear to me, prepared and perfected in her teachers and bishops, elect and catechumens, in the meals, acts of piety and greatest helpers and everything that would happen so that this church of mine would be revealed, and for him, that (Syzygos), upon whom ([26] . . . *3 lines lost* . . .

[21] The Greek for 'I admire . . . many' (i.e. *CMC* 30.9–16) was not included in the 'Reading Text' of the Editio Major (Henrichs and Koenen: 1975: 35).

[22] The word used in the Syriac original might well have been *yḥydy'* (a person who lives singly) which is a fundamental term in Syrian ascetic vocabulary. Cf. Vööbus (1958) 1, 106–8; and Henrichs (1973) 35–39.

[23] The Greek for '(How will I go) . . . (poor and)' (i.e. *CMC* 31.10–20) was not included in the 'Reading Text' of the Editio Major (Henrichs and Koenen: 1975: 35).

[24] 'While these thoughts . . . so now am I advisor of your counsel.' (i.e. *CMC* 32.10–18) is suggested in the *apparatus criticus* of Koenen and Römer (1988), 18.

[25] Little is known of this witness with a distinctively Greek name. Cf. Tubach (1997), 384.

[26] 'and everything that would . . . upon whom(. . .' (i.e. *CMC* 35.10–15) these lines have been added in the Editio Minor with the placing of fragments 4b and 6b in this page. See Koenen-Römer (1988), 20–2 and pl. 1.

(Witness unknown):

. . .) the (truest) **36** unspeakable (knowledge (?)) he revealed to me, and I knelt before him and said: 'These things I beg of you, are they given to me and will they remain with me all the time, not hidden, but openly (revealed) through my hands and made manifest (to the) eyes (of all people)? So that the church will continue (to grow), I (request of you all the) power (of the signs), so that I might perform (them) with my own hands . . . throughout every (place, every) village (and city[27] . . . *1 line lost* . . . **37** and so that I might) bring (forgiveness) to those who have transgressed; and, moreover, so that no one might overcome me in wisdom, and I might be free of sickness and danger; and that the souls of the victors coming out of the world might be seen by the eyes of all men. Likewise (. . . *3 lines lost* . . .) and moreover (. . . *1 line lost* . . .) the glory (. . . *1 line lost* . . .) and so that (. . . *4 lines lost* . . .); and moreover that when **38** surrounded by oppression or persecution, I might be hidden from the sight of my enemies'.

Then that most glorious one said to me: 'Of these gifts which you have asked of me, one of them is (given) to some of the brothers . . . in . . . to others . . . generation . . . were revealed (. . . *1 line lost* . . .) to see with the eyes . . . the gifts (. . . *3 lines lost* . . . **39** . . .) according to what is fitting for the generation in which you (Mani) were revealed, so that you might bring forgiveness of sins for those sinners who accept repentance from you and rely on holiness, that by releasing you might bring (release from) sins (and from accusations for your elect), and moreover . . . blame . . . repentance . . . And furthermore (. . . *3 lines lost* . . .) belief (. . . *1 line lost* . . .) **40** Furthermore, if you ever summon me when you are oppressed, I shall be found standing by you and shall be your protector in all oppression and danger. These signs, which you have asked of me, shall be seen in me so as to be made (most) manifest to you. For I shall (show) everything by my hand and be (like a mirror to you so that (the) wisdom) is perfected (in you and you are freed) from illness. The signs are given to you through (. . . *4 lines lost* . . . **41** the mar)vels of falsehood, which have been set up in opposition to them; for through the signs of truth, those of falsehood have been brought to nothing.' After the most glorious one had said these things to me and had strengthened and emboldened me in my (apostolate, he disappeared . . .) therefore . . . reveal . . . when (. . . *1 line lost* . . .) similarly (. . . *2 lines lost* . . .)

[27] 'So that the church will continue (to grow . . . throughout every (place, every) village (and city' (i.e. *CMC* 36.12–23) these lines have been added in the Editio Minor with the placing of fragments 4a and 6a in this page. See Koenen-Römer (1988), 22 and pl. 2.

45 Baraies the Teacher:

Therefore know, brethren, and understand everything which has been written here, about the way in which this mission was sent in our generation, just as we were taught by him, and also concerning (his) body (. . . *13 lines lost* . . .) **46** . . . of this sending of the spirit of the Paraclete, and having turned away say that those men alone wrote about the rapture of their teacher in order to boast.

Moreover (he wrote) also concerning the origin of his body and also . . . of that . . . (. . . *14 lines lost* . . .) **47** (. . .) he sins. For let him who is willing hear and attend how each one of the forefathers has made known his own revelation to his own elect, which he chose and brought together in that generation in which he appeared, and has written about it and passed it on to posterity. One of them declared about his rapture, while those outside attended (. . . *8 lines lost* . . .) **48** (. . .) afterwards to write about and make known and to praise and extol their teachers and the truth and hope which was revealed to them. So, therefore, each one of them, according to the period and course of his mission, spoke what he had witnessed and has written it as a memorial, including about his rapture.

(Thus) Adam, first,[28] spoke with the clearest voice (in) his (apocalypse),[29] saying:

'I saw an angel revealed . . . **49** (in front of) your (shining) face, which I do not know'.

Then he said to him:

'I am Balsamos,[30] the greatest Angel of Light. Receive from me and write these things I reveal to you on the purest papyrus which is not perishable or liable to worms.'

(And he spoke) also of many other things which he revealed to him in the vision. For the glory round him was very great. And he also saw (the) angels and the commanders (-in-chief and the) greatest (powers (. . . *5 lines lost* . . .) **50** . . . and Adam became above all the powers and angels of creation. And many other things, like these, are in his writings.

[28] The Greek does not support the translation of Reeves (1996, 68 and comm. 69) as 'the first Adam'.
[29] On the *Apocalypse of Adam* and the Adamic tradition in Manichaeism see the important study by Reeves (1996), 67–109.
[30] Balsamos is almost certainly the Greek form of the important semitic deity Baal Shamin to whom important temples were dedicated in Palmyra and other cities in the Roman Near East.

Similarly Sethel,[31] his son, has also written in his apocalypse saying,

'I opened my eyes and I saw before my face (an angel) whose (brightness) I could not describe (for he was) nothing other than lightning. (. . . *5 lines lost* . . .) **51**. . . . When I heard these things, my heart rejoiced and my mind turned about and I became like one of the very great angels. That angel put his hand on my right hand and drew me from the world from which I came, and took me to another very large place. From behind me I heard a huge noise from those angels I had left behind in that world in which they (belonged. . . . And I) saw . . . men . . . (. . . *2 lines lost*. . . .)'

(Many) similar things **52** are said in his writings, and how he was seized by that angel from a world into (another) world, and he revealed to him the greatest mysteries of magnitude.

Again, in the apocalypse of Enos[32] it says as follows:

'In the third year and in the tenth month I went out to wander in the desert land. I considered in my mind the heaven and the earth and (all) works (and affairs), in what manner (and by whom) and by whose (purpose) they came to be (. . . *3 lines lost* . . .) **53** . . . . . of death. And he seized me with very great quietness. My heart was heavy and all my limbs trembled. The bones of my back were shaken by the violence and my feet did not stay firm on their joints. I went away to many plains and saw there very high mountains. And the spirit seized and took me to the mountain with quiet strength. And there many great (sights) were revealed to me.'

Again he (said):

(the angel) (. . . *4 lines lost*. . . .) **54** (and he led me to the) northern (region), and I saw there immensely great mountains and angels and many places. He spoke to me and said, 'He who is all-powerful in supremacy sent me to you, to reveal to you the secret things you have thought about, since you have been chosen for the truth. Write all these secrets on bronze tablets and hide them in the ground of the desert.[33] Everything you write, (write) very clearly. For this (my) revelation (which never) perishes is ready (to be) revealed to all the brothers.'

Many other) **55** similar things are found in his writings which inform about his rapture and revelation. For everything he heard and saw he wrote down and passed on to all later generations who are of the spirit of truth.

[31] On the Apocalypse of Seth or Sethel see Reeves (1996), 111–40 and on Seth in gnostic and Manichaean traditions see Klijn (1977), 81–117.

[32] The writings of Enos or Enosh are rarely mentioned in Jewish literature because the author was alleged to have been the first idolator. Interestingly the fragment shows parallels to the role played by Anōš, the son of Šitil, the son of Adam in Mandaean literature. On this see Reeves (1996), 142–4.

[33] On parallels to the use of bronze or copper as a writing material for archival purposes along with its subsequent deposit in the wilderness, see Reeves (1996), 152–3.

Similarly, Sem[34] also spoke in this way in his apocalypse:

'I was thinking about in what manner all works came to be. And while I was considering, suddenly, the living (spirit) seized me and (took me) with great (force and) set me (on the top) of a (very) high mountain (and) spoke to (me) saying (. . . *1 line lost* . . .) **56** give glory to the greatest king of honour.'

And again he said:

'The doors were opened silently and clouds were divided by the wind. I saw a glorious throne room coming down from the topmost height and a very great angel standing there. The appearance of his face's form was very beautiful and youthful, more than the shining brightness (of the sun), and even than (lightning). Like the light of the sun (. . . *2 lines lost* . . .) **57** of many colours (like ?) a crown woven from spring flowers. And then my facial expression altered so that I fell to the ground; the bones of my back were shaken violently and my feet did not stay firm on their joints. A voice inclined towards me, and calling from the throne room and coming to me it took my right hand and made me stand. It puffed the breath of life into my face and effected the increase of (my) power and glory.'

Very many other things (similar to) these are found **58** in his writings, and also the things the angels revealed to him with the instruction to write them for a memorial.

Again Enoch[35] also spoke in this way in his apocalypse:

'I am Enoch the righteous. My grief is great and tears are streaming from my eyes because I have heard slander which comes forth from the mouth of the godless.'

And he said,

'While tears were in my eyes and entreaty in my mouth, I saw (standing before) me seven angels (who came down from) heaven. (I saw) **59** them and was shaken with fear so that my knees knocked against each other.'

And again he said thus:

One of the angels, Michael by name, said to me: 'I have been sent to you for this reason, that we may make known to you all works and reveal to you the land of the pious, and I may show you the land of the ungodly and what the place of punishment of sinners is like.'

[34] The gnostic codices from Nag Hammadi also contain a work entitled the *Paraphrase of Shem*. See the excellent discussion on the relationship between the various apocalyptic writings attributed to Shem in Reeves (1996), 163–81.

[35] Though no direct parallels can be found for these citations in existing Enochic literature, Reeves (1996, 183–206) has demonstrated that the Manichaean 'apocalypse of Enoch' is a composite work which has pieced together textual traditions, motifs and patterns from known Enochic material.

He also says,

'They put me on a chariot of wind and brought me to the limits of the heavens. And (we) traversed the worlds, both the world (of death) and the world **60** (of dark)ness and the world of fire. And after this they led me into the richest world which is most glorious in light and is more beautiful than the stars I had seen.'

He saw everything and questioned the angels, and whatever they said to him he inscribed in his writings.

In the same way also the apostle Paul; we know that he was seized as far as the third heaven (2 Cor. 12:2) as he says in the letter to the Galatians:

'Paul, apostle not of men or through a man but through (Jesus) Christ and God the Father who (raised) him from the (dead).'

And in the **61** second (letter) to the Corinthians (12:2–5) he says:

'I shall come back to visions and revelations of the Lord. I know a man in Christ – whether in the body or out of the body I do not know, God knows – that such a man was seized up into paradise. And he heard secret words which man may not speak of. Concerning him I shall boast, but concerning myself I shall not boast.'

Again in the letter to the Galatians (1:11–12):

'I show (you), brethren, that the gospel which I proclaimed to you, I did not receive (or) learn from man but (through a) revelation of Jesus (Christ.'

He became outside himself **62** and was seized into the third heaven and into paradise, and he saw and heard, and he inscribed this enigmatically about his rapture and mission for fellow initiates of the secrets.

In short all the most blessed apostles, saviours, evangelists and prophets of truth – each of them observed, as the living hope was revealed to him for proclamation, and wrote and has handed it down and deposited it for the reminding of the future sons of (the Holy) Spirit who would know the perception **63** (of his) voice.

In this way also, it follows that we should write about the all-praiseworthy apostle, through whom and from whom our hope and inheritance of life have come, and tell of him to all later people and members of the faith and the spiritual offspring who are increased through his very bright waters, so that his rapture and revelation may become known to them. For we know, brethren, the exceeding greatness of his wisdom towards us through this coming (of the) Paraclete of (truth). **64** (We acknowledge) that he did not receive truth from men nor from the report of books, as our father himself says in the writings he sent to Edessa. He says as follows: (*the excerpt from the Letter to Edessa (64.8–65.22) is translated in §51 below, p. 160*)

He wrote (again and) **66** said in the Gospel of his most holy hope: (*the three quotations from the Living Gospel (66.4–70.10) are translated in §46 below, pp. 156–9*)

In the books of our father there are very many other extraordinary events similar to these, which make known his revelation and the rapture of his mission. For great is this magnificent coming which comes to (us) through the Paraclete, the spirit of truth. For what purpose and what reason **71** have we dealt with such things, when we have been convinced once for all that this mission excels in its revelations? It is because of the reasonings of those who have clothed themselves with unbelief and think nothing of this revelation and vision of our father, that we have repeated from our forefathers their rapture and each one's revelation, so that they may realise that the commission of the (earlier) apostles was likewise of (this nature). For when each of them was seized, (everything he saw) and heard **72** he wrote down and made known, and himself became a witness of his own revelation; while his disciples became the seal of his sending.

5. Mani's conflicts and break with the baptist community

At first Mani conceals his divine revelation from his fellow 'baptists'. This is followed by a temptation narrative concerning Sitaios, one of the elders of the sect's council, which Mani successfully resists. There are then various debates, (which must pre-figure aspects and attitudes from later Manichaean teaching and practice), before his final expulsion from the community.[36]

Baraies the Teacher:[37]

As for us, brethren, who as children of our father's spirit have heard and hearkened to those things, and have rejoiced because of them, let us understand his (coming) in a spiritual manner: how he was sent by command of (his) father, and the way in which he was born in terms of the (body and) how there came to **73** him his most holy Syzygos who separated him from the rule in which his body had been brought up. For in his twenty-fifth year[38] he was magnificently revealed to him. For, while he was still under that doctrine of the baptists, he was like a lamb dwelling in an alien flock, or similar to a bird living with other birds who do not speak the same language; for throughout all that time he lived always in their midst with wisdom and skill without any of them knowing who he was, **74** or what

[36] *CMC* 72.8–106.23; 50–74.
[37] The semitic original of his name probably means 'Son of Life'. Cf. Tubach (1997), 383.
[38] I.e. when Mani was twenty-four years old.

he had received and what had been revealed to him. Rather, they treated him with the respect due to him as a person.

Abiesus[39] the Teacher and
Innaios[40] the brother of Zabed:

The lord said: 'When I dwelt in their midst, one day Sitaios, the elder of their council (Gr. *sunhedrion*), the son of Gara, seized me by the hand because he loved me greatly and considered me as a beloved son. He seized (me) by the hand while no one else (was) with us, and going forward he (dug up) and showed **75** me great treasures which he had secretly stored away. He said to me: 'These treasures are mine and I have control over them. From now on they will be yours; because I love no one else like you, to whom I shall give these treasures.' When he had uttered these words to me I said in my mind: 'My most blessed father took me first and gave me an immortal and unfading treasure. Whoever inherits this will (earn) from it (immortal) life.' Then I said to Sitaios (the) elder: 'Our (forefathers) **76** who possessed these earthly treasures before us, and who inherited them, where are they? For behold, they died and perished and did not keep them as their own, nor yet did they take them with them.'

I said to him: 'What use are these treasures to me since they introduce errors and faults to everyone who possesses them? For the treasure of God is very great and very valuable and provides everyone who inherits it with life'. When Sitaios saw that (my) mind was not induced to (accept) the treasures **77** he had shown me, he was utterly amazed at me.

Timotheos:

Then after a short time I decided to tell Sita and those of his council some of the things my most blessed father had revealed to me and to make known the way of holiness. While I was considering this I had a vision of the whole world which had become like a sea full of very (black) waters. (I saw thousands) and tens (of thousands) sinking in it and drowning, **78** coming up and drifting round the four zones of the sea. I saw in the middle of it a foundation laid which was very high, and on it alone a light was rising and a path was levelled out on it and I myself was walking on this. I turned

[39] The name Abiesus, which means 'Jesus is my father', underlines the Judaeo-Christian background of some of Mani's earliest followers. Cf. Tubach (1997), 384. His name is also attested in Coptic Manichaean sources; cf. Schmidt, Ibscher and Polotsky (1933), 28, n. 20.

[40] Innaios was the name of the second successor to Mani after Sisinnios. Cf. Tubach (1997), 384–5.

round and saw Sita holding on to a man who was held by someone else. He was plunging into the midst of the sea and darkness, having fallen and gone under. I saw only a little of (his hair), so I was deeply (grieved over Sita); but that man **79** who had thrown him in said to me: 'Why are you grieving over Sita? For he is not of your elect nor will he follow your path.' Having seen this I did not reveal anything to him. Later when I was speaking the word of truth I saw him contradicting my word.

Baraies the Teacher:

My lord said: 'I had sufficient debate with each of them in that rule, (arising) and questioning them (about the) way of God and (about the) commands of the saviour, (and about) **80** (ritual) ablution and about the vegetables they wash ritually and about their every law and ordinance by which they live.

When I declared invalid and denounced their teaching and mysteries, showing them how they had not received the things they followed from the commands of the saviour, some of them were amazed at me; but others were angry and in their wrath said: 'Does he intend to go over to the Greeks?' When I (perceived) their thoughts, I said to (them) kindly: 'There is (no value) in (this) ritual washing with which **81** you cleanse your food. For this body is defiled and is formed from a mould of impurity. Consider how, when someone purifies his food and then partakes of it after it has been ritually washed, it is obvious to us that from it come blood, bile, burps and shameful excrement and the foulness of the body. If someone restrains his mouth for a few days from this food, immediately it is clear that all these shameful and loathsome discharges cease and decline (in the) body; (but if he then) partakes (again of food, in the) **82** same way they abound in the body again, thus showing that it is from the food itself that they multiply. If someone should partake of food that has been ritually washed and purified, and (then) partake of that which has not been washed, it is plain that the beauty and power of the body are shown to be the same (in both cases). Similarly, the foulness and excrement from both are seen not to differ at all from each other. Therefore, it is not clear that the one which has been ritually washed, which he (casts) out and discharges, is any different from the (other) which is not (washed).

83 And the way you ritually wash yourselves in water every day also has no value: For, if you have once been cleansed and purified, why do you ritually wash yourselves again every day? From this it is evident that you become loathsome every day, and because of the foulness you ritually wash

yourselves before you can be purified. Thus, it is very clearly plain that all defilement comes from the body. Behold, you (yourselves) are clothed in it.

Therefore, (look) at yourselves and see (what) your (purity) is, (for it is) impossible **84** to purify your bodies completely; for every day the body is moved and calmed on account of the excretions of the dregs which come from it. Therefore, this thing takes place without the command of the saviour. However, the purity which is spoken of is the purity through knowledge; it is the separation of light from darkness, of death from life, and of living waters from turbid ones; so (you) may know (that) each . . . from the others, and you (will keep) the commands of the saviour (so that) he may redeem (your) soul from (destruction) and from **85** perdition. This is in truth the most righteous purity which you have been exhorted to practise. You have turned away from it and have been washed clean, and have adhered to the purification of the body which is utterly defiled and fashioned from impurity; through it the body coagulates and comes to take its shape.'

When I had said these things to them and annulled and denounced what they (strove) after, some of (them) were (amazed) at me and praised me and treated me as leader and (teacher). Yet (there was much) whispering in that (school) **86** on my account. Some of them treated me as prophet and teacher; some of them said: 'The living word is sung through him. Let us make him teacher of our doctrine,' Others said: 'Has a voice spoken to him in secret and is he saying what it revealed to him?' Still others suggested: 'Has something appeared to him in a dream and is he saying what he saw?' Others asked: 'Is (this) he concerning whom our teachers prophesied when they said, "A young man will (rise up from) our (midst) and will come (forward) as a new (teacher) **87** to call into question our whole doctrine, just as our forefathers have spoken of the 'rest of the garment'?"'[41] However, others said: 'Is not that which is voiced by him error, does he want to lead astray our people and split the doctrine?' Others of them were filled with malice and wrath and some of them voted for death. Others said: 'This is the enemy of our (rule).' Some (said:) 'Does he intend to go to the gentiles and eat (Greek) bread? For we have (heard him saying): "it is right **88** to partake of (Greek) bread".[42] Similarly, he says that to partake of wine and wheat and vegetables and fruit, which our forefathers and teachers strictly

[41] Perhaps a precedent for the Manichaean 'rest of the hands' (i.e. no harvesting, labouring or fornicating).

[42] We may have here a jibe about Mani's reading of the Letters of Paul, particularly through the writings of Marcion like the *Apostolicon* which is known to be heavily Pauline. There are innumerable Pauline

forbade us to eat, is logically consistent. Likewise also he declares the ritual washing we practise invalid and does not ritually wash himself like we do or cleanse his food like us.'

Then (indeed) Sita and his (companions) saw that I would not come over to their (persuasion, but that) I was little by little invalidating and denouncing their rule and their exclusion of food, and that **89** I was not practising ritual washing like they did. When they saw that I opposed them in all these matters, Sita and the majority of his fellow elders held a synod on my account. They also summoned the steward Patticius and said to him: 'Your son has turned aside from our rule and wishes to go into the world. Those things which we prohibit and do (not) eat, wheaten bread and fruit and vegetables, he does not adhere to and (says) that it is right to handle them. He (transforms our) practice of ritual washing. **90** He wants to eat (Greek) bread.' Then, because he saw their great agitation, Patticius said to them: 'Call him yourselves and convince him.'

Then they summoned me to their assembly and said to me: 'From your youth you have been with us and have lived correctly by the ordinances and customs of our rule. You have been like a modest bride in our midst. What has happened to you now or what has appeared to you? For you are (opposing) our (rule), and invalidating (and) abolishing our (doctrine). You have taken a **91** different path from ours. We hold your father in great honour: why then do you now declare invalid the ritual washing of our and our fathers's rule by which we have long lived? You are also invalidating the commands of the saviour. Indeed you want to eat wheaten bread and vegetables which we do not eat. Why do you live in this way and not comply with farming the earth like we do?'

Then I said (to them): 'May I never (declare invalid the) commands of the saviour. However, if you are (reviling) me on (account of wheaten) **92** bread, because I have said that it is right to eat of it, the saviour did this; as it is written: "When he had said the blessing, he provided to his disciples; he said a blessing over the bread and gave it to them." Was not that bread made from wheat? It also shows that he sat down with tax collectors and idolators. Similarly, he was invited to the house of Martha and Mary. When Martha said to him: "(Lord), do you not care about (me) enough to tell my (sister to) help me?"; the saviour said (to) her : "Mary has chosen the (good) portion **93** and it will not be taken from her."

echoes in Mani's writings, especially in his epistolary formulas and his concept of the conflict between the Old Man and the New.

Observe, therefore, how also the disciples of the saviour ate food from women and idolators. They did not separate bread from bread or vegetable from vegetable, neither did they eat by earning their living by labouring and farming the earth, in the way you do today. Similarly, when the saviour sent his disciples everywhere to preach they did (not) take a millstone or (oven with) them; (but) they . . . took one . . .'

94 Za(. . .)[43]

'If then you are accusing me about ritual washing, I shall again show you from your own rule and from the things which have been revealed to your leaders that it is not right to ritually wash yourself.

Alchasaios the founder of your rule shows this: when he was going to bathe himself in water, an image of a man appeared to him from the spring of the waters and said to him, "Is it not enough that your beasts abuse me? Yet, you (yourself) maltreat (my home) and commit sacrilege (against my waters)." Thus (Alchasaios was amazed), and he said to **95** it: "Fornication and defilement and the impurity of the world are thrown at you and you do not forbid it, but you are distressed by me." It said to him: "Perhaps all these did not know who I am, but why did not you, who claim to be a worshipper and righteous, respect my honour?" Then Alchasaios was affected and did not bathe himself in the waters.

After some time he again wanted to bathe himself in (water), and he instructed his disciples to (find) a place which (had) not (too much) water for him to bathe himself. (His) disciples (found the place) **96** for him. When he was (about to) wash for the second time there appeared to him the image of a man from that spring, which said to him: "We and those waters in the sea are one. Therefore you have come here also to sin and abuse us." Alchasaios in great alarm and agitation allowed the dirt on his head to become dry and so shook it off.'

Again, Mani tells that Alchasaios (had ploughs lying ready) and went (to) them. (The earth) addressed him saying: **97** "(Why) are you earning your living from me?" Then Alchasaios took soil from the earth which had spoken to him, and weeping he kissed it and embraced it and began to say: "This is the flesh and blood of my lord."

[43] The witness could have been Za(cheas), known to us as Abizachias in Syriac and Mar Zaku in Middle Iranian. Cf. Tubach (1997), 377–8. Za(bed), the brother of Innaios (mentioned above), is less likely; as he is not otherwise known among the early disciples of Mani.

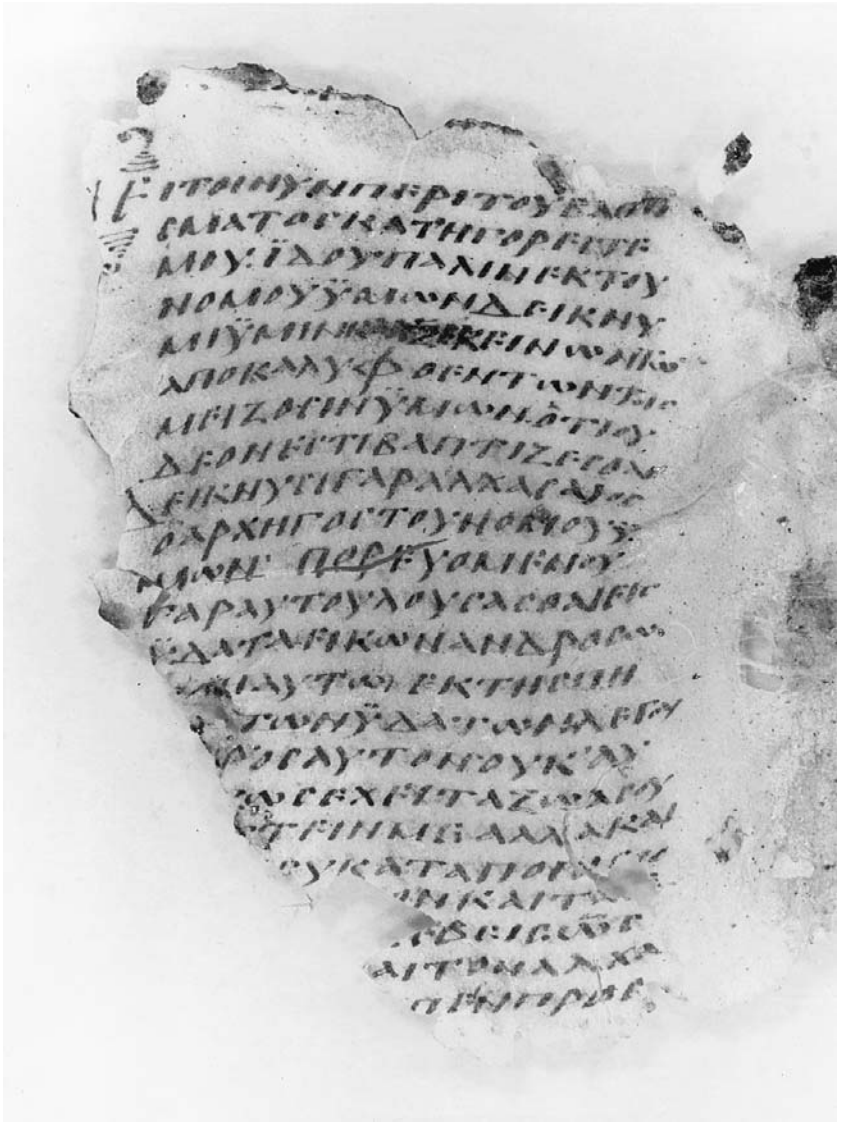


Figure 2.1. Cologne Mani-Codex p. 94

Again, Mani said that Alchasaios found his disciples baking loaves. At this the loaf spoke to Alchasaios who then commanded them not to bake again.

Again, Mani points out that (Sab)baios[44] the baptist was bringing vegetables (to) the elder (of the) city. And that (vegetable wept) and (said) **98** to him: 'Are you not righteous, are you not pure? Why then are you taking us to fornicators?' Sabbaios was alarmed by what he had heard and took the vegetables back.

Again, Mani tells how a date palm spoke with Aianos the baptist who was from Coche, and instructed him to say to my lord: 'Do not cut me down, because my fruits have been stolen. Let me be for this (year), and next year I shall give you (fruits) equal to those which were stolen (in) all the (other years).' **99** It also instructed him to say to that man who stole its fruit: 'Do not come this time to steal my fruit! If you do come, I will throw you from my height and you will die.'

Timotheos:

'Then I said to them: "Look at these famous men of your rule, who saw these visions, were moved by them and preached them to the others. In the same way I am practising everything that I learned from them."

100 When I had thus spoken to them and confounded their words, they immediately all became so angry that one of them stood up and hit me. They held me fast in the middle of them and beat me up. They seized me by the hair as they would an enemy. In bitterness and anger they screeched at me as loud as they could, as if I were a heretic, and because of the envy which had overcome them they wanted to (strangle) me. However, because Patticius, the overseer of the house, begged them not to commit sacrilege against **101** those who were amongst them, they had consideration and let me go. After this attempt had befallen me I withdrew myself to one side, took up the attitude of prayer, and beseeched and begged our lord to support me.

When I had finished my prayer and was quite sad, my most blessed Syzygos – he is my lord and helper – (appeared) before me. He said to me: "Do not be sad and do not weep!" I said to him: "How can I not be sad? (For the men) of this (religion), amongst whom I have been (since my childhood), **102** have changed and have become my enemies because I have separated myself from their rule. Where shall I go then? All religions and sects are adversaries of the good. I am a stranger and alone in the world.

[44] The name Sabbaios is clearly derived from Aramaic *sobai* which means one who baptises.

When in this religion, whose believers have read about purity, mortification of the flesh and observance of "resting of the hands", who (in addition) all know me by name and therefore (know) the worth of my body better (than other) religions, when therefore my body **103** was brought up, cared for and cherished in this religion, I also had contact with its overseers and elders, in relation to the bringing up of my body. How then, if these people have given me no room to accept the truth, will the world, its princes or its teachings, receive me when it comes to hearing these secrets and to accepting (these) hard precepts? How shall I (speak) before the kings . . . and . . . **104** of the world, and the leaders of religions? For, see, they are mighty and exercise power with their wealth, their authority and their material means; but I am alone and poor in all these things."

Then the splendid one said to me: "You have been sent out not only to this religion, but to every people, every school, every town and every place. For (by you) will (this) hope be explained and proclaimed to all (zones) and regions (of the world). In very great numbers will men (accept) **105** your word. So, set out and go abroad; for I will be with you as helper and protector in every place, where you proclaim everything I have revealed to you. So do not worry and do not be sad."

Very many were the words which he spoke to me, encouraging me and giving me confidence through his hope. I fell down before him and my heart rejoiced at the (remarkable) sight of that most splendid and sublime one, my most blessed Syzygos. (I said) to him: ". . . what . . . **106** For Patticius is an old man; he was shaken, when he just saw one single battle coming my way." Then he said to me: "Set out and go abroad; for, see, two men from that rule will come to you and be your companions. Equally, Patticius will also be the first of your elect and will follow you." (At that time) there came to me two young men from the baptists, (Simeon) and Abizachias, who had been my neighbours. (They came) to me, to accompany me everywhere, and they were with me as helpers, (wherever) we (went).'

6. The beginning of Mani's mission

CMC 107.1–147.12, ed. cit., 76–104.

107 'Thus, according to the will of our lord, I left that rule; in order to sow his most beautiful seed, to light his brightest candles, to redeem living souls from subjection to rebels, to walk in the world after the image of our lord Jesus, to throw on to the (earth) a sword, division and the blade of the spirit, to scatter the (bread) on (my) people and to overcome the (immeasurable)

shame which is in the (world) and . . . **108** I came abroad and into foreign lands, like a sheep in sight of the wolves, so that through me believers could be separated from unbelievers and be chosen, the good seed from amongst the weeds, the children of the kingdom from the children of the enemy and the descendants of the heights from the offspring of the depths; thus through me the Father might separate his own from strangers.

(At that time) therefore I was (sent out) according to the good will of my most blessed Father to travel about (in the world) so that creation might be (sanctified) by me, and so that (through) me **109** he might let the truth of his (own) knowledge (Gr. *gnosis*) be visible among the religions and peoples, and use me to make a stand before the kings of the earth and the princes of the world in order to take his own from all of them.

In this way I had left, and no follower of that religion had noticed where we went. We travelled about until we crossed and came to Ctesiphon. When I (could not get on further), the river (being high), (one) of the baptists saw (that I was staying there). When I (had left) Patticius, I had (not) said anything **110** to him about where I was going, and so Patticius was sad because of me and wept. He left and visited the surrounding synods; and still he did not find me. He wept and mourned, and the baptists stood by him to comfort him.

Then that man who had seen me came to them; and when he saw that they were in mourning he said to them: "Why do you (mourn)?" They answered: "Because of Mani, who went away and we do not (know) where he has gone. (We fear) that somehow (someone) will . . . him." **111** However, he said to them: "I saw him on the bridge, when I went over into the towns." When Patticius heard that he was glad and set off to come to me in Ctesiphon.

When he arrived there he did not find me. He went away again and made enquiries. Then he came and (found) me outside the town (in) a village called Naser in the assembly of the (saints). As soon as Patticius (saw me he stepped up, kissed) and embraced me, (and fell on the ground) before me. In tears (he said to me: ". . . **112** . . .) I was sad, because I thought you were dead and that I would never see you again. I said: 'Whom shall I call? Who will obey me? Whom could I see before my eyes? To whom shall I lament my grief or open the secrets of my heart?' For I had hoped to have you as administrator of all matters now in (my) old age. For (whom) can I trust more than you? I see, however, that you will not be with me. I have prayed (to God) that he will not destroy you! . . . of you . . . **113** sad (. . . and) for (love of you) the sighing of remembrance will be planted in my heart. For very sighing for you perhaps I will leave the world."

Then my lord said to him: 'Do not weep, do not be sad and do not worry about me! For you yourself will be with me. You will find ample grace through me; what you have done up to today (has happened according) to the will of the Father of Light. (. . . **114** . . . , to be revealed) means nothing; for they do not behave as they read in their scriptures.'

Kustaios, the son of the treasure of life:[45]

Again Patticius spoke to him with tears in his eyes: 'My son, why do you speak so? Just now with your words you have scattered and cancelled all (the doctrine). Your (. . .) your friends (. . .) of their midst (. . .) worthless (?) (. . .) the Lord (?)[46] . . . *seven lines lost* . . .'

115 (Mani replies): '. . .) without knowing, what had happened. For you have built the house, but another has come to dwell in it. You have become the horse for that one to ride, but another will enter the war with him and thereby complete his will. And you have made the robe beautiful, but another has put it on. (For I) Mani (. . . *four lines lost* . . .) the whole world (. . . **116** . . . *five lines lost* . . .) of that good (i.e. of Syzygos); for it is he who is my leader in the way that he wishes and is fitting. Recognise and be sure of this, that I myself shall not (observe) that religion nor follow its rule.'

Timotheos:

'So, I left the assembly (of saints . . . *4 lines lost* . . .) **117** The (*sg.*) . . . of that woman . . . When we (arrived there, we rested) in the garden of the . . . village. When they saw . . . , they said to that woman: "Strange men have been asking (us) questions; they will speak about God in unusual new ways . . . They are (. . ."'

Mani preaches in the garden; after 6 missing lines . . .) angels (. . . *2 lines lost* . . . **118** . . .) all . . . as they were in error (?) . . . their (. . . However, the woman) was amazed at (my) wisdom, which not . . . to her.

(Equally) Patticius was surprised; for he had never heard this speech from (me). He said in his mind: 'When I heard this teaching, I was (moved . . . *6 lines* . . .) of the humble (. . .' *5 lines lost* . . .) **119** They saw an apparition in the shape of a man (like) an angel of God, so that they were (all) moved at what they saw. (Then) that appearance of the man disappeared from before (them) and like . . . I followed. The . . . until (. . .

[45] The epithet echoes the title of one of Mani's: canonical works the *Treasure* (*of Life*) (see quotation given below, **47**).

[46] Cf. '(. . .) worthless (?) (. . .) the Lord (?)' are suggested new reading of Römer (1992b) 103.

after 13 lost lines Patticius speaks **120** '. . .) to reveal (this) to me. According to God's will I recognised who it is, that is with you.' In the same way that woman came before me, fell down and said: 'I thank God, who has made (. . . but you have come) here (so that) I might see (the greatness of the power) of God.' (. . . *seven lines lost* . . .

It is to be assumed that one or more quires with twenty-four pages each are missing here. In the ensuing story Mani has left Babylon and Media and resides in Azerbaidjan.

(Witness unknown):

121 *the first 3 lines are missing; Mani is giving an account* '. . .) but . . . I did (not) stay. In (the land)[47] of the Medes I went (to the brothers in) Ganzak. (There) was then a great famine.[48] When we came into the town of Ganzak, the followers of our brothers were concerned for the fo(od-supply[49] . . . *11 lines lost* . . .) **122** (*the father says to Mani*): "Who are you? (What power) do you have?" (I replied) to him: "(A doctor) is what I am." He (answered) me: "Come, (if) you are willing, into my house; for my daughter is being tossed about by (an illness)." I went with him and found that the girl was (unconscious) and . . . with (the illness . . . *after 6 missing lines containing an account of the healing, the father expresses his gratitude* . . .) **123** Although . . . other men were standing there too, (he fell) at my feet and said: "(Ask of me) what you will." I replied to him: "Of your treasures (of gold and silver) I ask for nothing." I took from him only (food for one day for)[50] the brothers who were (with) me.'

Ti(motheos):

Again (my lord said: '. . . *in six missing lines Mani gives an account of the appearance of the Syzygos* . . . **124** . . .) said: "(Consider the will) according to which[51] you came into being bodily, and the truth (which I) have proclaimed to (you). For this reason ambassadors and (apostles) will be sent at your command to every place, and this hope (and the) message of peace will be declared by them in every town (where) you wish to go."'

[47] 'In (the land)': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 163.
[48] '(There) was then a great famine' : new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 163. The 1988 edition suggests: 'There was at that place tin-ore.' On possible geological evidence for the earlier reading which may help us to locate Ganzak see Tardieu (1998), 257–8.
[49] 'fo(od-supply . . .)': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 163.
[50] '(food for one day for)': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 163.
[51] '(Consider the will) according to which': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 163.

(Witness unknown:

8 lines are missing; Mani is giving an account '. . . **125** . . .) When we . . . went into the middle of the mountains and Patticius was with (me), there suddenly rose up a storm, so that the sand whirled about and confused (our senses). I went in front of Patticius . . . Then he, (my) most splendid Syzygos, came to my side, to give me (strength and encouragement). Then (he said to me[52] . . . *6 lines lost* . . .)'

126 (Unknown, the) teacher;
(and unknown, the) bishop:

'(So then) the most blessed and radiant (. . .) raised me into the air; and took me to secret places, which are unknown in these abodes of men where (we live). He showed (me everything) that is there. (I saw) amongst them huge (mountains) and (. . .) neighbouring (. . . *6 lines lost* . . . **127** . . .) and unlike those which are in these lands. Between these and the very delight(ful and) sweet waters were . . . He (took) me on to the (highest) mountain; there I saw a (man) who had growing on his body hair which was eighteen inches long, thick and (hanging down) in full curls.[53]

When, however, . . . one of the (. . . *8 lines are lost; at the end of them the hairy man speaks to Mani* **128** ". . .) Teach (me) the message of knowledge! For that is why you have come up here." However, I taught him in (a cave . . .),[54] so that wisdom dawned in him. I (declared) to him about resting, the commandments and worship before the lights of heaven.

(Again) I spoke to him: "How did you get the (hair) of (your) body, which makes you different from (all) people? . . . to this (. . . *in six lost lines the man answers* ". . . **129** . . .) my (. . .) a tree (. . .) and I took of the best fruits. Since that time I have had this hair on my body." As I still stood there he was removed from me and went to that place where I had seen (. . .) the people. (In) that (place) he became a herald of (hope) and showed the (people) wisdom (. . . *7 lines are missing; Mani tells of the continuation of his journey* . . . **130** . . .) I (went) to a place, which was unknown and cut off from those towns. There was also there a crowd of people and (many) towns. Just as I arrived at that place the heavenly light of the day was rising and the king of (that) land[55] (was going) hunting. Then my most splendid

[52] 'he said to me': new insertion suggested by Römer (1994), 163.

[53] On the significance of long-hair as a topos in ascetical literature see the material collected in Römer (1994), 41–63.

[54] 'in (a cave . . .)': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 164.

[55] Is this an account of the conversion of the Shah of Turan, which is well recorded in Manichaean missionary texts in Middle Iranian? See especially the Parthian fragments M48 + alii, *KG*, §2.2 (37–129) pp. 20–4. English translation in *GSR*, 207–8.

(and quite infallible leader and Syzygos) came to my side (and said) to me: "(. . . *6 lines are missing, in which the Syzygos apparently brings Mani near to the king and leaves him there* **131** . . . not far) from the king (and his) princes . . .) When the king and his princes saw me, they became agitated and (astonished . . . He beckon)ed me (from the throne to come to him)[56] so that (. . .) to them (. . .) When I had got nearer (to them), the king and his (princes) got down off their (chariots). I (stood before) him (and bowed in obei)sance[57] (. . . *8 lines lost* . . . **132** . . .) to him. Before (him I explained) wisdom and the commandments and (declared) everything to him.

(On not) a few days, when I was staying (there), he himself (with) his princes sat before (me). I showed (them) the separation of (the two) natures (and the doctrine of beginning, middle and) end (. . . *7 lines missing* . . .) **133** He treated (. . .) he accepted (everything) that he had heard (. . . from) me. After he had carried out (his) splendid work through me, while the king was sitting on the throne and his princes were before him, (this) most magnificent one suddenly flew down and stepped up to me, and . . .) to me. The king and his princes (. . . *7 lines lost* . . . **134** Then) the king grew strong in (wisdom) and he was grounded in knowledge and faith. (Equally) his princes became (full) of faith. The king accepted (joyfully the commandments) which I had taught him, and (commanded) that they should be (explained) and (declared) throughout his kingdom . . . place . . . this and . . . after (. . . *6 lines lost* **135** . . .) and (faith . . .) From that time onwards this religion was preached to that place.

Then the most splendid one took me to that place where he had parted me from (Patticius). When he saw me he was very (happy, he kissed me) and (said to me): "Where did you go? . . . leave me alone? (. . ."

after line 16, eight lines are missing, in which it is possible that a new passage from another authority has begun **136** . . .) for I (Patticius) saw with my own eyes his strong power exceeding all visions that I might usually expect. So . . . My lord said to him: "You are one of his own." Then he took (him to places) very high up (and said): "I have done (this according to the) will (of your father); he himself (sent me) to you."'

(Witness unknown):

6 lines lost, Mani gives an account'. . . **137** . . .) until (. . . I came) into (a) village called S(. . .) and went (into the) assembly of the (. . .),[58] the

[56] 'He beckon)ed me (from the throne to come to him)': based on a series of new readings suggested by Römer (1994), 164.

[57] '(bowed in obei)sance' ((πρόσε)κύνησα) or alternatively part of a word to do with hunting (κύνη(γιο(ν))? Cf. Römer (1994), 164.

[58] On the identity of the sect (Magusaeans, Chaldaeans or Jews ?) over which Mani triumphed see J. M. and S. N. C. Lieu (1991). See also Römer (1994), 94–105.

so-(called sons(?))[59] of the truth. The head of the (sect of) unrigh(teousness)[60] said (to me: "The) exact understanding of the teaching (of our fathers . . ." *10 lines lost* . . . **138** He conducted a) disputation with me before the men of his faith. In all points he was (defeated) and (drew) laughter on himself, so that he was filled with (envy) and malice. He sat down, according to the (rituals),[61] and practised[62] the spells of his (. . .) whose (. . .) chanting (. . .) and full (. . .) spell (. . .) to (. . .) said: (" . . .) your (. . . *6 lines lost, apparently the leader of the group chants a spell against Patticius* **139** . . .) so that Patticius (. . .) is well." In this way he chanted (over him) conjuring[63] (. . .) wickedness. And so his intention came to nought. For as much as he himself (spoke) the (magic) words, my lord frustrated (his) wickedness. Immediately (that most infallible Syzygos) of mine, (flew down and appeared (. . .)

8 lines lost . . .) **140** in the (village . . .), where (?) (Patticius?) had recovered (?), (we went (?)) to Pharat, the town near the island of the people of Mesene.'

(Unknown), the teacher; and Ana,
the brother of Zacheas, the disciple:

(When) my lord and (Patticius the) overseer of the house had come (to Pharat), (he preached) in (the assembly of) the baptists (. . . *5 lines lost* '. . . **141** " . . .) he revealed his (king)dom to us.[64]" We, however, were astonished (at him) and were shaken at his words.

When the (hour of) prayer came, we said to Patticius: "(Let us pray!) For the commandment (of God calls) my lord (and us) to prayer (. . . Patticius, however,) asked us (. . . *the next nine lines of the account are missing; presumably the baptist asks Mani:* **142** ". . . Why do you (?) pray) differently (from us?)"

Furthermore, at the time when fasting (was over (?) . . .) he went out and asked for alms (before) the houses (. . .) He did not put (. . .) I said to him: "Why did you (not) partake the daily food?"[65] (. . . *11 lines are destroyed at*

[59] Römer (1994), 164 also suggests 'the so-(called guardians) of the truth.'
[60] 'The head of the (sect of) unrigh(teousness)': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 164.
[61] 'according to the (rituals)': new insertion suggested by Römer (1994), 165.
[62] 'practised': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 165.
[63] 'he chanted (over him) conjuring': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 165.
[64] 'he revealed his (king)dom to us': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 165, but Römer also suggests '(perdi)tion' instead of '(king)dom' for a more negative context.
[65] 'partake the daily food': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 165. The 1988 edition suggests: 'share (at our table)'.

the end of which a baptist says the following to Patticius: **143** "(. . .) this (. . .) is with your son as it is with the elders and teachers. (Earlier I) saw already (in) him, that he (with all) his wisdom, (intelligence) and exposition of the scriptures (bore witness) to us (. . .) that (. . .) in con(trast to) (the words) of our teachers[66] (. . .)" *if a new excerpt began in the missing part of the page, it must be presumed that in all 8 lines are missing*

(Witness unknown):

Mani tells that he went to the port of Pharat **144** '(. . .) In Pharat there was a (. . .) called Oggias (?), a man who was (famous) because of his (influence) and his power over the men.[67] (He[68] saw (how)) the merchants, who were preparing to travel (by) ship as far as the Persians and Indians, sealed his (wares, and did) not (put to sea), until he came on board. (. . .) When Oggias (?) (. . . *10 lines lost* . . . **145** . . .) him (. . .) to you. Then (he answered) me: "I want to (get) on a ship and (travel) to the Indians (so that I) get (. . .) if (I should) so (succeed . . .")[69] I said (to him) however: "I . . . you (. . .)" *if a new excerpt begins in the destroyed half of the page, in all 11 lines will have been broken off*

(Witness unknown):

Mani seems to have interrupted his journey in a Persian port and to have been visited by a missionary (?) from Armenia (?) **146** '(. . .) He had persuaded (. . .) Patticius (?) and (. . .) me and (. . .) had taken (. . .) with him to the Armenian town (.)isthar. (From there) he came to Persia to us (. . .) He said (. . :) "To whom (. . .) lord (. . .) father . . . **147** he has a wife (?) (. . .) for the (. . .) He (or: she) said: ("(. . .) once again (. . ." . . .) I said (. . . : "(. . .) from(?)(. . .) pro(fit (?) . . .")'

MANI AT THE COURT OF THE SHAHANSHAH (KING OF KINGS)

7. Mani's calling and his summons before Shapur I

This passage (*Keph.* 14.3–16.2) is taken from the important first kephalaion, the remainder of which text can be found below as **90**.

[66] 'in con(trast to) (the words) of our teachers': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 165.

[67] Römer (1994), 165 suggests a probable alternative may be: 'a man who was (eminent) for his (philanthropy)'.

[68] Römer ibid. suggests that Oggias and not Mani might have been the subject in contrast to the 1988 edition.

[69] 'if (I should) so (succeed . . .")': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 165.

When the church of the saviour was raised to the heights, my apostolate began, which you asked me about! From that time on [5] was sent the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth; the one who has come to you in this last generation. Just like the saviour said: When I go, I will send to you the Paraclete. When the Paraclete comes, he can upbraid the world concerning sin; and he can speak with you on behalf of righteousness; and [10] about judgement; concerning the sinners who believe me not; . . . [70] he can speak with you . . . [15] . . . he can speak with you and preach . . . that . . . , the one who will honour me and . . . and he gives to you.

. . . preach on behalf of the Paraclete of truth, that he . . . he came to manifest the one whom he had known . . . [20] . . . the appointed time of all these years, as they . . . from Jesus until now . . . until he . . . and he makes them free. Yet, when the church [25] assumed the flesh, the season arrived to redeem the souls; like the month of Parmuthi that cereal shall ripen in, to be harvested.

At that same season he . . . my image, I assuming it in the years of Artabanus the king of Parthia. Then, in the years of Ardashir the king [30] of Persia, I was tended and grew tall and attained the fullness of the season. In that same year, when Ardashir the king was crowned, the living Paraclete came down to me. He spoke **15** with me. He unveiled to me the hidden mystery, the one that is hidden from the worlds and the generations, the mystery of the depths and the heights. He unveiled to me the mystery of the light and the darkness; the mystery of the calamity of conflict, and the war, [5] and the great . . . the battle that the darkness spread about. Afterwards, he unveiled to me also: How the light . . . the darkness, through their mingling this universe was set up . . . He opened my eyes also to the way that the ships were constructed; to enable the gods of light to be in them, to purify the light from [10] creation. Conversely, the dregs and the effluent . . . to the abyss. The mystery of the fashioning of Adam, the first man. He also informed me about the mystery of the tree of knowledge, which Adam ate from; his eyes saw. Also, the mystery of the apostles who were sent to the world, to enable them [15] to choose the churches. The mystery of the elect, with their commandments.[71] The mystery of the catechumens their helpers, with their commandments. The mystery of the sinners with their deeds; and the punishing that lies hidden for them.

This is how everything that has happened [20] and that will happen was unveiled to me by the Paraclete; . . . everything the eye shall see, and the

[70] Cf. John 16.7–9+ff. [71] <the mystery of the sinners with their deeds>

ear hear, and the thought think, and the . . . I have understood by him everything. I have seen the totality through him! I have become a single body, with a single Spirit!

In the last years of Ardashir **25** the king I came out to preach. I crossed to the country of the Indians. I preached to them the hope of life. I chose in that place a good election.

Yet, also, in the year that Ardashir the king died Shapur his son became king. He . . . I crossed from the country of the Indians to the land of the Persians. Also, from **30** the land of Persia I came to the land of Babylon, Mesene, and Susiana.[72] I appeared before Shapur the king. He received me with great honour. He gave me permission to journey in . . . preaching the word of life. I even spent some years . . . him in the retinue; many years in **16** Persia, in the country of the Parthians, up to Adiabene, and the borders of the provinces of the kingdom of the Romans.

8. Mani's first encounter with Shapur I

Fihrist, ed. Flügel (1871) 328, trans. Laffan. The material preserved by an-Nadīm comes almost certainly from the same Syriac source as that of the *CMC*.

'The Manichaeans say: 'So he went out on the very day that King Sābūr bin Ardašīr was crowned, being Sunday 1 Nīsān, when the Sun was in Aries.[73] And with him were two men of his sect. One was called Sham'ūn[74] and the other was Zakū;[75] His father was also present, observing all that was to be of his cause.

Muḥammad bin Isḥaq said: 'Mānī appeared in the second year of the reign of Ġālūs ar-Rūmī. Marqiyūn had appeared about one-hundred years before him, during the first year of the reign of King Titus Antonianus (Ṭiṭūs Anṭūniyānūs). Ibn Dayṣān (i.e. Bardayṣān) appeared about thirty years after Marcion (Marqiyūn). He was called Ibn Dayṣān because he was born on the banks of a river called the Dayṣān. Mānī claimed that he was the Paraclete, foretold of by Jesus – peace be with him. Mānī derived his doctrine from (the teachings) of the Magians and the Christians. Similarly,

[72] The travels which took place between Mani leaving the sect and his audience with Shapur are alluded to in the *Homilies* (91.1–11, ed. Polotsky) where Mani spoke of visiting many lands and crossing many seas. Unfortunately the relevant section is very fragmentary.

[73] The *CMC* (17.23–18.10, see above) has shown that this piece of synchronism is over simplistic. Mani received his confirming revelation in April 240 when Shapur was crowned co-regent after his triumph at Hatra. Ardashir was then still alive; he died two years later.

[74] I.e. Simeon, otherwise unknown. On the Syriac versions of his name see Tubach (1997), 377.

[75] I.e. Abizachias, see Tubach (1997), 378.

the script with which he composed (his) scriptures was derived from Syriac and Persian. Mānī travelled the land for about forty years before meeting Sābūr, having appealed to Fayrūz, the brother of Sābūr bin Ardašīr, who took him into his brother's presence.'

The Manichaeans said that when Mānī came into his presence, there were on his shoulders two lights resembling lamps. And when Sābūr saw him he was impressed and Mānī grew in his estimation. (Indeed) Sābūr had been resolved to having Mānī slain, yet when he met him he was overcome by admiration and delight, asking Mānī what had brought him to him and promising a further audience with him. So Mānī made a number of requests, including that Sābūr would show favour on his companions in the provinces and in the other lands governed by him, and that they could enjoy freedom of movement. Sābūr granted all of Mānī's requests. So Mānī was able to spread his message in India, in China, and among the people of Ḫurāsān (i.e. Khorasan). And Mānī appointed a companion of his order in every place. (329)

9. Mani recounts his travels

This kephalaion, entitled 'Concerning lord Manichaios: how he journeyed' (no. 76: 183.10–188.29), provides considerable detail about Mani's missionary journeys. Unlike most other kephalaia it is given an extended and clear context, including incidental details that contribute to the impression of historicity.

Mani is kept so busy answering the calls of King Shapur, (who does seem to have given him and his teaching some real protection), that a disciple wishes that there could be two Manis! The apostle replies that the world has scarcely been able to accept him alone. The phrase 'a single Mani' is characteristic of his style. He then recounts the trials of his missionary journeys, and the opposition of the authorities in various lands. The frank admission to a lack of success adds to the sense of authenticity.

Further, it happened one time while our master Manichaios, our light enlightener, was staying in the city [15] of Ctesiphon. Shapur, the king, enquired after and summoned him. Our master stood up and went to Shapur the king. Afterwards he returned and came back to his congregation. When he had been a short while sitting down, before delay elapsed, King Shapur [20] enquired after him another time. He sent, he called for him. Again (Mani) returned, he retraced and went to King Shapur. He spoke with him and proclaimed to him the word of God. Again he returned and came to the congregation. Also, a third occasion, King Shapur enquired after and called for him; [25] and he returned to him once more.

Then one of his disciples made a retort, Aurades by name, the son of Kapelos. He says to our enlightener: 'Please, our master Manichaios, give to us two Manis resembling you; passing for you! Good, peaceful, and [30] compassionate . . . disciples in righteousness like you . . . one Mani will remain with us as you; and the other go to King Shapur, his mind at ease, and proclaiming it to him'.

184 When our enlightener heard these words from that disciple, he shook his head. He says to him: 'Now behold, I, a single Mani, came to the world to proclaim in it the word of God; and do [5] therein the good will that had been entrusted to me.

Then look, I, one Mani alone, have not been permitted to speak freely in the world; I . . . that I find room to fulfil the good will that has been entrusted to me. Yet, I have done the will of the mystery, [10] which I preach in the living truth.

For the world loves the darkness; but it hates the light, because its works are evil.[76] Still, I, I have travelled so that I would do the will of the light, and spread the truth far and wide, in accord with what they entrusted to [15] me. And, behold, the world bears down on me with . . . upon me with its sects. They give me no place to preach therein, and besides I am a single Mani. I came to the world, and they have not given me time to preach according to my will. They have not accepted me. [20] On the other hand, if we do as . . . as you have spoken to us, what might we do then? How were . . . ? Rather, this . . . to you, and recount it to you.

At the time when I sailed the sea in the ship, I went . . . [25] I found it necessary . . . the life that is with me in the world . . . I stirred the whole land of India . . . all the people who dwell in it . . . all of them to me, so that they might bear [30] two to three times . . . in their land according to their heart . . . and the wise man . . . they . . . **185** set them against me. At that moment I ceased finding light, I ceased speaking freely with the voice that is of truth, which is entrusted to me.

Now behold, . . . in India. It may act against me in its . . . [5] . . . and accept the greater ones and the counsellors and the satraps and the governors who are found there . . . I was difficult for it, it stirred not . . . because they belong to it . . . from all the sinners . . . [10] . . . to me. I was more difficult for it than all these . . . did not accept me, and it persisted to . . . it. For the world loves the darkness; but it hates the light, because its works are evil.

I crossed the seas another time. I took . . . [15] . . . India. I went up to the land of Persia. I leapt from the sea and went . . . the land of Persia

[76] John 3.19.

and its cities . . . in this living truth that is with me . . . to the light of . . . proclaim . . . the powers and the authorities . . . [20] . . . and the holders of authority . . . enlightener . . . in the land of Persia . . . body . . . because of this truth that I proclaimed, sitting in their midst . . . to one another. See [25] now, . . . in their land . . . to me the power. The Father . . . living . . . all occasions. The one who . . . to it . . . [30] . . . in the land . . . **186** how strong is it? (The land) tolerates the kings and accepts the satraps and the governors who are there. It stirred among them, it was not defeated in their midst . . . it was not able to accept the truth that I [5] proclaimed there. It did not . . .

I came out from the land of Persia. I went up to Mesene, the city that . . . in this truth that is in me, in . . . I proclaimed this knowledge; I separated the light from the darkness and [10] discriminated life from death, what is good from what is evil, the righteous person from the sinner. I proclaimed the path of life and the commandments . . . Yet, when they had heard the voice of truth and life, the ruling-power and the swarm of demons . . . [15] . . . and the race of mankind . . . under wickedness and hatred, they . . . they did not allow me, nor did they permit me to preach the truth in tranquillity, the way that it is. See: In . . . [20] for they tolerate the kings, they accept . . . and the caesars and the satraps and the governors who are found among them. Yet, the truth that I proclaimed among them, they did not accept it, and . . . they did not listen to the voice of life that I cried out among them.

[25] Again, from that place I came to the land of Babylon, the city of the Assyrians, and walked in it. I went in to the other cities, and spoke in this truth of the life that is with me. I proclaimed there the word of truth and life. With the voice of the proclamation I separated the light from the darkness [30] there, what is good from what is evil . . . the powers who are master over . . . **187** their envy to the heart of the kings and the leaders there. They and the sects of that place, they were set against me. Even as you yourselves see, they have waged some great wars with me. The lawless judges [5] took me, they watched. They and their rulers and their leaders took me in the midst of their land. If as . . . to me the protection of the Father, who does not help the lawless. Yet I, he helps me at all times against his enemy. Still, they would not permit me in [10] Babylon a single day to journey in their land.

See now: How great is the land of the Assyrians? It is able to tolerate the kings and accept the eparchs and the generals and the caesars and the governors . . . in it. It did not stir, nor was it defeated before them.[15] . . . but, on the other hand, to me, it stirred and was disquieted . . . It waged against me a multitude of struggles. Therefore, I left behind me the Assyrians.

I went to the land of the Medes and Parthians. At that place I played the harp of wisdom; I spoke in this living truth that is with me. The whole land [20] of the Medes and the Parthians stirred, it shook . . . , to accept the hope of the life that I proclaimed. Yet see: How great is the land of the Medes and the Parthians? Many cities are found there. It was able to accept the kings and the leaders who were there; but, on the other hand, it was not able to accept [25] the power of my truth. It stirred, it all shook just as . . .'

Then the apostle speaks to that disciple: 'Indeed I, a single Mani, came to the world. All the cities of the world stirred, they shook. (The world) did not wish to accept me; unless I humbled its rebelliousness [30] . . . I have subdued its powers and brought . . . all that were there. I have planted in it . . . I have sown this seed of life. I chose **188** a few from among the multitude . . . I, one Mani alone, came to the world; and . . . all the powers of the world stirred. A turmoil arose before me. And thus, if two Manis had come [5] to the world, what place would be able to tolerate them, or what land would be able to accept them?

I, a single Mani, did come, and walking on tip-toes . . . no place was found for me wherein I could stand fast . . . on the fullness of my feet, and walk on [10] the earth like everyone, and do there . . . all of you, pray to God that he might . . . feet henceforth, this single Mani, who is among you on that day, that . . . will happen . . . [15] . . . he might do the will of the living ones in the holy church. However, you, blessed are you if you make yourselves strong in this truth that I have given to you; so that you may be confirmed in it, in the life which continues for ever and ever.'

Then, when that disciple had heard these things, he says to [20] the apostle: 'Blessed am I my master! I, and all my other brothers who hear these great things from you, we know that we all are among the living. And we are alive by your advent to us! We have found the truth more than all people who are in the world. Who of us will be able fully to repay you for the goodness [25] that you have done us, our father? Only the Father who sent you is sufficient fully to repay you for this toil. For the recompense that you desire of him, the God who has sent you, is this: every prayer you entreat of the Father, may he grant you your prayer and your consolation.'

THE LAST DAYS AND DEATH OF MANI

10. Mani's change of fortune after the death of Hormizd

The most complete account of the events leading to Mani's imprisonment, and of his subsequent death, is found in the source entitled: 'The report (or: recitation)

about the crucifixion' (*Hom.* 42.9–85.34). We here begin a series of passages from this text, which we have broken up into sections to aid the reader.[77]

The part of the recitation about [10] *the (crucifixion)*

(Then) King Shapur entered Persia and came into the city of Bih-Shapur.[78] An illness took over his (body) and a great danger overtook him. He reached the (time) of his departure. King Shapur died [15] and was sent from the world.[79] King Hormizd was established and crowned in his place[80] . . .

My lord went in to (the king and said to him): 'They call you "a good king" . . . sins. You give the means (lit. 'road') of life to (each (?) . . . [20] . . .) I myself, if you are willing, . . . me (because from) today (. . . up) to now I am with you . . . you are released / forgiven (?)' . . . [25] . . . he sent him . . . that he should go to the (Assyrians . . .)

My (lord) said '. . . Mousak (?)[81] . . . person sins against me and (afflicts me [30] . . .) Assyrian(s) (?).' Then he gave him / it to . . . Mousak (?) to bear a letter furthermore . . . Mousak to my lord: 'You . . . in a place (?) . . .' **43**

. . . that while my lord was in (Belapat (?) . . .) a good . . . gift . . . glorious greatness . . . from the heights through the Mind . . . [10] . . . the words of the gods . . . in the land of light. The matter of . . . of the (rich) ones . . . the richness of light . . . the angels of the blessing . . . The . . . songs [15] of the maidens; the form of the beloved . . . the glorious *Gospel*, (the *Book*) *of the Mysteries of Wisdom*; the king of every (writing (?)); the god of every good counsel; the (prayer (?) of) all the apostles; he who has been awaited by [20] (generations). He sealed it / himself with (. . . word(s)); with the first alphabet[82] . . .

[77] *Hom.* 42.9–50.17. All the citations from 'The report about the crucifixion', which are reproduced in this and the succeeding sections, are translated by Dr S. Clackson (and slightly adapted by I. Gardner). Dr Clackson wished to draw the reader's attention to the following points: the use of . . . (three dots) represents lacunae as well as illegible text, and sometimes . . . may represent more than one line of illegible text; the presence of numerous lacunae has affected the translation, and consequently the narrative is difficult to follow at times; whilst an attempt has been made to divide the text up into paragraphs to make it easier for the reader to digest the translation, it should be remembered that these paragraphs do not reflect the order of the original Coptic text; wherever speech can be ascertained, quotation marks have been added; in order to improve the flow of the translation, words and phrases which can be read clearly have sometimes not been translated if they occur in isolation, surrounded by illegible text, and do not add to the understanding of the narrative as a whole. She also wished to record her thanks to Dr Iain Gardner for his helpful comments on an earlier draft of her translation.

[78] The manuscript gives ⲃⲁϣⲁⲃⲁϩⲱⲣ, which is most likely a copyist error for ⲃⲁϩⲁϣⲃⲱⲣ (Polotsky). Bih-Shapur or Veh-Shapur is the capital of the province of Pars.

[79] Shapur I died *c.* 272. [80] Hormizd the Good only ruled for one year (272–3).

[81] The name (or term) Mousak is highly reminiscent of that of a grade of Manichaean priest (Sogd.) *mwz'k*, (Mid. Pers.) *'mwc'g*, (Pth.) *'mwcg*, (Chin.) *mushe*.

[82] The *Gospel* of Mani has twenty-two chapters each beginning with a letter of the semitic alphabet.

(. . . he) went forward, writing (. . . he) went to every land, every . . . he went on the river Tigris (. . . **25** every) place; all of his children . . . and his catechumens . . . every land (. . . with them) joined (?) to him, in one . . . church . . . **30** . . . **44** . . . **5** . . . from the crossing he came to the (Assyrians (?) **10** . . .) he did not move until he (reached) Hormizdakshar.[83] He wished to . . . out to Koushan . . . him to go.[84]

Then he turned (wrathfully), since he was (distressed). He arrived at the land of Ozeos,[85] and went . . . Hormizdakshar until he reached Mesene. **15** From Mesene he went to the river (Tigris), and he embarked for Ctesiphon. And when he had departed, whilst going along the road, he made (allusions) to his crucifixion, saying to them: 'Look at me and have your fill of me, my sons, because bodily I shall be (far **20** away from you.)'

He went away from those . . . and he went to Pargalia.[86] He (. . . that) place. He went with Baat to the (interpretation *(hermeneia*?)[87] . . .) his children and the (presbyters . . .) He gave them orders concerning every matter . . . **25** '. . . give heed to my books . . . look after my widows and my orphans . . .'

. . . to Cholassar;[88] from (Chalassar (sic) . . .) his disciples . . . **30** . . . **45** . . . For . . . that if he went to (that) place . . . **5** . . . he went with Baat in the (interpretation (?) . . .) came into Belapat, the place of the crucifixion **10** and the place in which the cup of the . . . was mixed.

When the Magi observed (them), they asked: 'Who indeed is this who has come (in?'; and they said) to them: 'It is Manichaios.'[89] When they (i.e. the Magi) heard (this, they shook) and were filled with anger so they went and accused (him) **15** to Kardel.[90] Kardel himself told (the accusations) to

[83] Modern Ahwaz on the Kharun.

[84] Mani might have contemplated fleeing to the eastern regions of the Sassanian Empire; where his teaching had found many followers, especially among the members of the governing class.

[85] I.e. the province of Susiana.

[86] Probably to be identified with Phalcara on the *Peutinger Tables* which is situated between Hatra and Ctesiphon. Cf. Polotsky, *Hom*., 44, n. b.

[87] Baat was probably one of the interpreters as Mani was not a speaker of Middle Persian. He was also probably a client king, and his involvement with Mani's religion might have been a source of concern to the Sassanian kings.

[88] Cholassar is a city on the River Diyala and was the site of a Hellenistic foundation by the name of Artemisia.

[89] Manichaios is the full Greek version of Mani's name (Lat. Manichaeus). It was probably derived from Syriac *mny hy'* meaning 'Mani the Living' or 'Mani of Life'.

[90] Middle Persian Kirdir, the Zoroastrian chief priest (Mobedan Mobed). According to his inscription at Naqsh-i Rustam, it was his mission to rid the Sassanian Empire of heterodoxies and imported religions (*Kerdir's Inscription at Naqsh-i Rustam* §11, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1989) 58): 'And from province to province, place to place, throughout the empire the rites of Ohrmezd and the gods became more important and the Mazdayasnian religion and magians were greatly honoured in the empire and great satisfaction befell the gods and water and fire and beneficent creatures, and great

the (*synkathedros*.) Then Kardel and the *synkathedros*[91] went (and repeated) the accusations to the *magister*. The *magister* himself told (the accusations) to the king.[92] When he had heard these things . . . he then sent for my lord, summoning him.

On **20** Sunday, he (i.e. Manichaios) entered Belapat;[93] on Monday, he was accused . . . ; (on Sunday), the king issued an order concerning him and condemned him . . . Then my lord . . . **25** the greeting indeed (. . . answered) him (angrily): 'I swear to (you by my good fortune and my soul) and the soul of my (father . . .) living . . . you go upon the . . .' **30** . . . **46** . . . [5] . . . after . . . (-)four(-) days . . . called to (. . .

When) he had gone into (the presence) of the king, he met in the . . . **10** . . . As soon as the king saw him, (his face) convulsed (lit. 'loosened') with angry laughter. He said to him (a torrent) of words (lit. 'the multitude of his words'): 'Look, for three (whole) years (you) have been going around with Badia (?).[94] (What) law is it that you have (taught) him, so that he leaves our (cause) behind him and takes up yours **15** . . . the interpretation? Why did (you) not go with (him) when I ordered (you) to go with him and, furthermore, come (back) with him?'

My (lord) knew immediately that the matter was being distorted (lit. 'stretched') for an (excuse (?) . . .) my lord (. . .) his heart (. . . **20** . . .) the kings (and the) nobles, those from every . . . the glory . . . noble (. . . in) his presence. For, on that (day, **25** . . .) grief of his sister . . . the great (lady) who died at (that) time.[95] The . . . said . . . 'I . . . all the nobles . . . **47** . . . From whom did you learn that our (works) are more (honoured) than worldly things? For, from the first, (when) the Parthians were crowned, these things of (yours) never (happened) when the kingdom was in (our hands.')

(Then) **5** my lord said to him in the presence (of) all (the nobles): 'Ask everyone (about me because) I do not have a human teacher or instructor from whom (I have) learnt this wisdom (. . . from whom) I have received

blows and torment befell Ahreman and the demons, and the heresy of Ahreman and the demons departed and was routed from the empire. And Jews and Buddhists and Hindus and Nazarenes (i.e. Aramaic-speaking Christians) and Christians (i.e. Greek-speaking Christians) and Baptists and Manichaeans were smitten in the empire, and idols were destroyed and the abodes of the demons disrupted and made into thrones and seats of the gods.'

[91] A Greek term in Coptic, probably meaning a courtier or councillor.

[92] I.e. Vahram I (r. 273–6).

[93] Coptic Belapat (Gundeshapur) site of the most major of the Sassanian royal palaces and later see of the Nestorian diocese of Beth Laphat.

[94] Reading uncertain.

[95] The king was clearly distraught over the death of his sister Shapur-dukhtar, and was therefore not impressed by the appearance of Mani who once had a reputation as a faith-healer. See below (**11**) the account of the encounter preserved in the Middle Persian text M3.

these things; but when I received them, I received them from (God) [10] through his angel. (Word) was sent to (me) indeed by God that I should preach this in (your) kingdom since this (whole) world has been led (astray and has erred.) It has turned away in error from the wisdom of God, (the Lord) of all; but it was I who received it from him (and I revealed) [15] the way of truth in the middle of the whole (world) so that the souls of these multitudes shall be (saved) and escape punishment. For the testimony of everything in my hands (?) is manifest. All that I . . . existed in the first (generations); [20] but this is customary, that the way (of) truth is sometimes revealed and sometimes concealed . . .'

The king (said) to him: 'How was it that God revealed (these) things to you . . . God did not . . . us . . . not . . . though we are the lords of the whole land?'

[25] (My) lord (said): 'God is the one who has authority . . . Ask (?) the . . . power (?) . . .' The . . . asked him: 'In this way (?) . . . he revealed . . .' . . . asked him (angrily): 'Did he not reveal [30] . . .'

. . . he was silent (?) (. . . Manichaios said:) **48** 'Do (whatever you wish) to me, for I will tell the truth (. . . in) front (of you.) King Shapur looked after me (. . . and he) wrote (?) letters on my behalf to (all) the nobles (saying): "Watch over him, and (help) [5] him (rightly) so that no-one errs or sins (against him"; but) the testimonies are before you that King (Shapur) looked after me well with the (letters) he wrote for me (to the) nobles in every land so that (they) would look after me. Furthermore, when [10] King Hormizd . . . , I was with him . . . after King Shapur. You are the one who does . . . You yourself saw that Hormizd was greatly honoured.'

When the king saw that he was (persuading (?) . . .) every counsel and every defence [15] . . . reason against him at all . . . murder . . . whip(ping) (?) . . . he took the one which . . .

. . . He (i.e. Manichaios (?)) said: 'Look, o sun, you are (witness) to this . . . to me in his shamelessness.'

After this the king gave an order and [20] (bound) my lord. He put three chains on his . . . fetters on his feet, and they threw a chain around his neck. Some young men took him . . . before him in fear. Then after this . . . remembered that there were fetters on his feet . . . [25] . . . brought him (to) this place.

When he went in to the king . . . 'Where has she gone (?) . . .' . . . the king . . . [30] . . . **49** my lord himself . . .' . . . your head . . . or (else . . .' . . .) [5] the (king . . .) the good . . . follow her (deeds . . .) The king (said) to him: 'Reveal the matter to me . . . [10] . . . which place? Where has she gone? . . . or else she went . . .' . . . ; but the king . . . my lord . . . he

continued to remain . . . following his (deeds (?) 15 . . .) and the end of the world . . .' . . . but no-one dies now . . .' . . . to the king: 'I let (?) the ones of the . . . 20 . . . him and he caught one.'[96]

Then the king was silent . . . thing he asked him about, this is . . . '. . . the earth. You know that there are seven. What (. . . 25 how) many years does he have . . . and he perishes?' My lord said '. . . the whole world . . . in the number of the journey / return (?) . . . hundred years . . . 30 . . . After this the (. . . of the) whole world came into existence.'

The king once more was (silent . . . **50** . . . 5 . . . 10 . . .) He began to make suggestions . . . they were with him . . . in all ways. '. . . I was waiting (?) . . .' He said 15 . . . Sunday. Then . . . said . . .' . . . shall go . . .'

11. The confrontation between Mani and King Vahram I

Though preserved only in Middle Persian, this account[97] comes clearly from the earliest Manichaean traditions which were contemporary to those of the *Homilies*. It is composed for an Iranian audience; and, interestingly, the persecuting King gave as his reasons for the imprisonment of Mani not the heretical tendencies of his cosmogonic teaching but the ethical implications, especially the pacifism which prevented Mani from living the normal militaristic life of a Sassanian grandee.

. . . (Mani) (**R**) came after he (had summoned) me, Nuhzadag the interpreter, Kushtai the (scribe?), and Abzakhuya the Persian. The king was at his dinner table and had not yet washed his hands. The courtiers entered and said: 'Mani has come and is standing at the door.' And the king sent the Lord the message: 'Wait a moment until I can come to you myself.' And the Lord again sat down to one side of the guard (of the window?) until the king should have finished his meal when he was about to go hunting. And he stood up from his meal; and, putting one arm round the queen of the Sakas and the other round Karder (or Kardel), the son of Ardavan, he came to the Lord. And his first words to the Lord were: 'You are not welcome.' And the lord replied: (**V**) 'Why? What wrong have I done?' The king said: 'I have sworn an oath not to let you come to this land!' And in anger he spoke thus to the lord: 'Ah, what need of you, since you go neither fighting nor hunting? But perhaps you are needed for this doctoring and this physicking? And you don't do even that!' And the Lord replied thus: 'I have done you no evil.

[96] This sadly fragmentary passage seems to have once contained a discussion between Mani and the King on the whereabouts of the soul of his recently deceased sister, and Mani appears to have been expounding his teaching on metempsychosis.

[97] M3, ed. and trans. Henning (1942), 949–50, (adapted). On this see especially the important study of Hinz (1971), 485–99. See also Puech (1949), 49–53.

Always I have done good to you and your family. And many and numerous were your servants whom I have (freed) of demons and witches. And many were those whom I have caused to rise from their illness. And many were those from whom I have averted the numerous kinds of fever. And many were those who came unto death, and I have (revived) them . . .'

12. Mani's imprisonment and death

Hom. 50.19–60.2, trans. Clackson.

. . . he was reconciled and went to rest. Then he . . . **20** gave his followers (lit. 'the ones who belonged to him') orders about each and every one of (his) affairs. Firstly, he gave an order about his sons . . . habit, when they were walking with him, . . . '. . . justice for me (. . .' . . . be) leader (*archegos*) after him . . . **25** . . . among whom he will be exalted . . . 'Be strong and of right mind . . . do good deeds . . . and the (psalms . . .') **51** year . . . manage (. . . **5** . . . **10** . . . depart) from this world . . . the beckoning of the angels . . . he said . . . **15** . . . the man of light . . . **20** . . . the grace . . . **25** . . . he prayed / his prayer . . . **30** . . . 'O (my) father . . . **52** . . . every . . . iron . . . me . . . father, the (First) Man . . . listen to my voice, (I,) the one who is distressed . . .' . . . him weeping (. . . before) **5** his father so that he might help him . . . his voice. It was heard . . . the pure ones and the mixed ones . . . cry of his (entreaty . . .)

He said furthermore: '. . . **10** . . . the coverings and veils . . . my entreaty and my prayer.' He called . . . by his name and the angels in the . . . brightness: 'I call all your names . . . from his prison. Strip me (of the covering) of . . . **15** . . . from this world. O my father, the First Man . . . open the doors to my entreaty . . . fault . . . **20** . . . maiden . . . **25** . . . my voice . . . angel(s) (. . . listen) to the sound of my entreaty . . . my chains. Let . . . hear (me . . .) who are distressed; . . . **30** . . . **35** . . . **53** . . . prostrated[98] before (. . . the) great (*bema*.) O judge of (all) the worlds, (listen) to the prayer of the righteous. I shall implore . . . **5** . . . O true father of the orphans, the (husband . . .) of the grieving widow. O first one of (righteousness,) listen (to the cry) of the distressed one | . . . my saviour. (O) Perfect Man, virgin of light, draw my soul to you (from this) **10** abyss.'

'Shame the hated ones with your . . . you sent me to this place . . . the Mind of greatness, the essence of . . . You sent me and dispatched me (. . . entreaty) quickly. Save the prisoner from **15** the ones who have seized

[98] The Coptic web usually translated as 'to roll' clearly here carries the religious sense of 'to prostrate' as it also does in *PsBk* 2. 13, 27.

him. Release the bound man from (his irons.) Draw my spirit up from the . . . my soul from . . . he / it perished in the midst of this world . . . what I endured in it because of your (?) (. . . since my) [20] childhood. May your great power . . . your zealous (?) angels . . . guile and I put down my bond(s) . . . and I give the house to his / its lord . . . in his body.'

'Strip me . . . [25] . . . you. You have . . . they came into being upon the earth . . . the sects. For, whoever asks you, . . . before you, you should give him . . . calls to you . . . [30] you heard the . . . orphan(s); . . . your hope . . . apostle . . . [35] . . . he preached . . . **54** . . . desire of the world . . . until my old age. I found myself . . . name me with your great name [5] . . . is the apostle in the world. I see (?) . . . your glory . . . you are the one I call . . . do not be ashamed of me. Answer me, o my . . . my soul from tribulations . . .'

[10] . . . listened to his voice in the presence of the (king (?) . . .) which he sent. The power of . . . came . . . The gift was given to the apostle of light . . . apostle of this generation departing from the world, the great messenger of the land of [15] (the great) Babylon. The signs were revealed to him . . . world. His body began (to go to pieces); his . . . shook and made a sound, . . . his . . . began to change, . . . his image; they (were?) revealed . . . [20] . . . from his face and his (form (?) . . .) his limbs . . . went to pieces . . . like a house which is faulty, like a . . . amazement (?). He began to bend . . . [25] . . . his prayer, spreading out . . . his arms, calling to . . . angels and every land . . . in (everyone's) mouth . . . his eyes, while his tears [30] . . . gnashing (?) . . . [35] . . . **55** . . .

[5] . . . he came for him. She came . . . They were deposited / dwelled next to him . . . his great soul. They went to . . . the hidden . . . , to release him. His disciples . . . [10] . . . when they were entering . . . angels which were mixed with the glorious . . . , which had come for him to release him; but they did not perceive (him . . .) they perceived a voice. The voice rose . . . [15] . . . on the just one as he was about to raise himself up . . . while the (just one) was raising himself up, the great treasure (?), as he was about to / so that he might leap out, the apostle of light . . . the pearl of light . . . from the troubled seas . . . [20] its value and beauty . . . The voice of the honoured one . . . his saviour . . . the apostle of light . . . the great one, as it was about to leap to the . . . [25] . . . numerous . . . zealous (?) . . . the bound one . . . his feet . . . deposit / dwell . . . man . . . [30] . . . cry of pain . . . of his bonds . . . exalted pillar . . . the voice of . . . **56** . . . as the apostle was about to go (?) . . . leave him / it behind . . . [5] . . . Manichaios . . . Manichaios . . . his kindred. The body . . . the apostle, when he was going to put him / it in the . . . Manichaios, the apostle . . . [10] . . . his host and his . . . when his lord

and teacher was about to go and . . . disciple of Manichaios, the apostle (. . . called) them fatherless, orphans.

The time came and he prayed and was granted his (prayer. [15] He left) his children behind him and he left us in a . . . he made his road to the heights level for him. Woe, woe! . . . we did not sin against him and he made us . . . his head. He prayed in a pitiable fashion, while his . . . bonds of iron; tears flowed . . . [20] . . . eye(s); his hands in their (prayer (?) . . .) of iron; his heart in a great . . . his neck in the iron chain . . . he set foot in (?) . . . he stood firm . . . [25] . . . him praying and imploring . . . the ones below (?) . . . [30] . . . the voice of the (. . . peace (?)) while he was departing from the world . . . prayed for mercy from God . . . **57** . . .

[5] . . . came (?) . . . the ones who were to go before his soul came (?) . . . victory . . . The Form . . . demon(s). (The Form) has the (power . . . [10] . . .) apostle Ou(zeos (?))[99] The angels . . . the road of peace.

Then he was at rest (. . . he) fulfilled his word (. . . children). He was taken into . . . [15] . . . When he was seated on the bed . . . his image . . . It changed and it . . . and they were crying out . . . After this he asked for bread and salt . . . to him. He prayed for them . . . [20] . . . his children. He embraced . . . He said to them: '. . . greetings from me to (?) the elect and the catechumens, my children . . .'

He put his hand upon the . . . [25] '. . . which I gave (?) . . . [30] . . . you make . . . all of (you) . . . **58** . . . the lord . . . [5] . . . true . . . outside . . . mankind . . . after me.'

Then he stretched himself out (. . . his) bed. They embraced (him (?) [10] . . .) they embraced him . . . departed (?) and they cried out . . . weeping in front of him . . .' You are going . . . orphans after you (. . . [15] . . . Manichaios) then . . . then . . . betray you . . . today (?) . . . and he sees / saw your . . . set you upright (?) . . . you strengthened / your strength . . . [20] . . . well . . . closed your great eyes. She / it is beautiful . . . [25] . . . clothes . . . [30] . . .

59 that day up to . . . while his body was lying down and his . . . His eyes were fixed and still. Then three female (catechumens) of the faith (went) in to him: [5] Banak, Dinak, and N-(. . .) They sat by him and wept over him (and put their hands) on his eyes. They closed them because they were swollen. For when his soul departed . . . They kissed his mouth . . . [10] weeping over him and saying: 'O our (father, open (?)) your eyes and look at us. Stretch out to us (the right hand (?)) of your love, which is full of

[99] A possible reference to a disciple known as Ozeos in the *Psalm-Book* and Uzzi in Parthian texts. See below, **13**.

mercy and restraint . . . where are (they), the thousands which you chose and the tens of thousands who (believed in) you? Indeed, concerning truth and rectitude which you . . . **15** the earth. All the worlds should mourn you from the midst of (your) churches, and weep (freely) in your assemblies because you have borne witness to thousands.'

While their hands lay on (his eyes, they proclaimed) these things and wept; but he was (not (?)) attending **20** . . . silence. His speech failed and his tongue found itself sealed up. His mouth remained still. (O children of) righteousness, bless those women! (Give) them thanks and give them adoration. Speak / sing . . . because / that they closed the eyes of our father . . . **25** . . . among the enemies . . . they went because of fear of the king . . .

When the men . . . had departed . . . The corporeal ones . . . **30** . . . his soul . . . A voice resounded from (. . . , without) sickness, without infirmity. He . . . **60** . . . He came away and rose up (with the power which had) come for him.

13. Mani's entry into parinirvana

This Parthian account preserved on a Turfan fragment[100] is undoubtedly directly translated from Syriac despite its occasional use of Buddhist terms. It is included here as it provides, like M3 above, important details and parallel material to a fragmentary section in the Coptic which is derived from the same tradition.

(**R**) Just like a sovereign who takes off armour and garment and puts on another royal garment, thus the apostle of light took off the warlike dress of the body and sat down in a ship of light and received the divine garment, the diadem of light, and the beautiful garland. And in great joy he flew together with the light gods that are going to the right and to the left (of him), with harp(-sound) and song of joy, in divine miraculous power, like a swift lightning and a shooting star (lit. splendid swift form), to the Pillar of Glory, the path of the light, and the moon-chariot, the meeting-place of the gods. And he stayed (there) with god Ohrmezd the father (i.e. the First Man).

And he left the whole herd of righteousness (i.e. the Manichaean community) orphaned and sad, because the master of the house had entered *parinirvana*,[101] and his house . . . *parinirvana* (?) . . .)

[100] M5569 (T II 79), *MM* iii, §c, pp. 860–2; trans. Asmussen (1975) 55–6 (adapted).

[101] A Buddhist term signifying a blessed state of death in which the deceased is freed from the cycle of birth and rebirth.

(**V**) and (it was under) the rulership of . . . sign of the zodiac, on the fourth of the month of Shahrevar,[102] on the day of Shahrevar, Monday and at the eleventh hour, in the province of Khuzistan and in the city of Belabad, when this father of light, full of power, was taken up to his own home of light.

And after the *parinirvana* of the apostle, Uzzi the teacher[103] gave this testimony to the whole religion concerning what he saw in the cohort, for that reason that he, Uzzi, that Saturday night was left there with the apostle of light. And many pious commands from the apostle of light he brought, orally to the whole religion.

And after the *parinirvana* of the apostle of light, then the *Gospel*, the *Picture Book* (*Ardahang*),[104] his garment and hands in the province (. . . was brought) to Si(sin (?)).

14. Praise for the martyred Mani

Hom. 60.2–67.32, trans. Clackson.

This is the memoir from (the day of) his crucifixion[105] until the hour he departed. (On Sunday) he entered Belapat. On Monday **5** (they accused) him. On Tuesday they . . . he strengthened his church. (By the) Sabbath, he had been pursued and bound. (Afterwards . . .) all of his enemies. On . . . (they sealed) his bonds and took (him into **10** the prison.) He was bound on day eight of (Mecheir. Until) the day he ascended, for twenty(-six) days, he was bound in iron bonds. At (the) eleventh (hour) of that day he rose from (the body) up to the dwelling-places of his greatness **15** (in) the heights. He met his Form . . . of (the) lights. He came forth and leapt up (with (?)) the power which had come for him.

Behold this is how they . . . the statue rose up from the (temple . . .) shining lamp. It was brought . . . **20** . . . into the house and he rose up from the world . . . treasury, from the heap (?) of . . . the great holy righteous one . . . namely the world and all of the sects . . . enemies and rebels (. . . **25** . . . righteous) and peace-bearing one(s) from . . . between the

[102] Mani died on Monday, the 4th day of Addaru according to the Babylonian calendar. This is worked into the calendars of the various communities. Shahrevar (Feb./March) coincides with Addaru in AD 274/77. Cf. Boyce (1975) 47, *comm. ad* §p 2.

[103] Uzzi is a name of clear Jewish origin, cf. *MM* iii, 862, n. 1. He appears as Lord Ozeos in *PsBk2*. 34.13, and may have also occurred in *Hom.* 57.10 as ⲟⲩⲍⲉⲟⲥ) or ⲟⲩⲍⲓⲁⲥ). Cf. Tubach (1997), 388.

[104] In Coptic the term used for this extra-canonical work is the Greek loan word εἰκών.

[105] Mani's martyrdom was seen by his followers both east and west as a form of crucifixion *in imitatione Christi* even though he was not actually crucified.

demons and . . . come up (?) with the apostle of . . . the heights . . . [30] . . . it is . . . from his kin. He . . . good interpreter . . . I plucked / seized him from his . . . **61** . . . he came up . . . attended to (?) . . . the voice from the . . . was silent . . . proclamation. The great saviour raised himself up from the (worlds . . .) [5] the elect. The great faithful one went to (rest and ascended), he . . . The good (father) of the orphans (. . . The husband) of the widows (raised himself up), the teacher / writer of the writings . . . the psalms of the psalmists. (. . . from his) [10] slaves, the merchant from his (goods, the teacher from) his pupils, the (good (?)) planter (from) his plants . . .

With the last of all the . . . the apostle who had come chose . . . ; the apostle who had . . . the (apostles) [15] of every generation. The one who had come chose us (?) and released . . . the preacher of life. The (interpreter) of the land of the great Babylon; like an (arrow (?) . . .) from a bow, he penetrated this world and went out . . . like a hero . . . the (great) [20] inhabited world . . . this world (. . . from) the moon, . . . crowned like Sethel[106] . . . [25] . . . he begat them upon the earth and they blessed him, . . . and the powers. In the heavens furthermore . . . firmament . . . gods and angels blessed him and glorified (?) . . . [30] all the holy ones and the . . . [35] . . . who released . . .

62 . . . He went in and rested (. . . the gods) and angels blessed him . . . While his possessions were with him, he [5] . . . great (prisoner) who chose them for his (?) . . . the forms of flesh . . . at the time he rose up, because in the way . . . and the angels of the glorious one . . . he went and entered (that) kingdom [10] . . . Blessed is the one who went after him, . . . his departure and this glory . . . and he (did) not believe that his road . . . a vagrant's wandering; because he did not believe . . . the blessed apostle of light [15] . . . the body, they left it lying on the bed . . . chains of iron.

Then his fame . . . in the whole city. They heard . . . that he had risen. A (crowd) of people gathered together group by group and came along. Then [20] . . . He was brought out and . . . the prison. They gathered (together . . .) catechumen(s) (. . . who were established) in secret . . . peoples . . . [25] . . . he whom they called . . . benefactor . . . while they were saying furthermore: 'Woe and destruction . . . What sort of evil is it that is ready . . . that this good man shall die because of it in the . . . [30] . . . he did not sin indeed against anyone at all, nor did he . . . their property.'

[106] Sethel is an alternative form for Seth, the biological son of Adam. This curious phrase may refer to the Manichaean teaching preserved only in Arabic (*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel (1871), 332) in which an angel approached Adam with a magnificent garland or crown after he had successfully defended Sethel (Šāṭīl) from the arch-demon (Aṣ-Ṣindīd). On this see esp. Reeves (1996), 130, n. 7.

Then the . . . went . . . the king . . . the prison . . . [35] . . . the king, he . . . and he . . . **63** . . . in / with his eyes or in / with (his . . .) before me, he . . . [5] . . . he did not leave me . . . the king ordered . . . : 'and (take) him . . . in the middle of . . . spread it under him . . . clothing and his (cloak (?)' . . .) [10] they took his bonds from him, wishing to . . . the third Sunday . . . his enemies. They (. . . [15] he was) lying down spread out . . . in the presence of them all . . . grief / grieved, while he lay on the (clothing (?) . . .) the great . . . rolled . . . just . . . thrown down . . . [20] . . . [25] . . . **64** . . . after them with their hands . . . good . . . [5] . . . they said to your . . . they began . . . [10] . . . truly.

This is the manner of his coming . . . he prayed . . . he called . . . he took (?) his . . . [15] . . . the king. They feared (?) . . . [20] . . . a man . . . slave . . . [25] . . . [30] . . . (**65–6** *too badly preserved to be translated*)

67 . . . world(s) in the . . . they were like . . . you in (a) house (?) . . . [5] . . . your custom . . . mysteries . . . they took it to the house of Athimar . . . [10] . . . of the faith. (All) those of his house . . . they went to Persis.[107] For . . . accuser . . . when peace . . . they took it to Ctesiphon . . . [15] . . . left her / it with his bones.

They were . . . justice. His affair needed to (. . . fell) away from us. He hid . . . it was revealed; but whoever . . . namely the sins of his . . . [20] . . . for from this time . . . they put him in a . . . place . . . complete justice . . . like the apostles . . . himself furthermore while he was in (the) body . . . [25] . . . for all of these . . . for his writings and . . . he said: 'The three things to be remembered . . . my gospel, my . . . be glorified eternally. There are many . . . [30] . . . and they swear on my happiness . . . on him, in every (land . . .) I condemned (?) myself . . . '

15. The sufferings of Mani compared to those of other true apostles

Hom. 67.34–70.34, trans. Clackson.

. . . and he found . . . us in the (world . . . [35] . . .) truth . . . **68** . . . of God . . . apostle . . . [5] . . . gods and (. . . afflictions) and shame (. . . from) this place. While the man . . . he supported him / endured it amid . . . [10] . . . which they support / endure . . . and they carry / carried . . . first . . . of the flesh . . . from Eve, his true sister . . . For . . . he

[107] Persis is the Greek form of the name of the Sassanian province of Pars (Fars). It does not stand for the whole of the Persian Empire.

fell three (times . . . **15** . . .) Adam, he spent three hundred and seventy-three . . . from Cain and all his race . . . Enosh, Sem, Shem[108] and these other . . . bad . . . ; four hundred thousand just . . . years of Enoch . . . [109]

20 . . . when they had gone down . . . to India. Afflictions (befell them . . .) all of the apostles.[110] What is . . . *bema* . . . reached this . . . laughed at him. Furthermore, when the . . . **25** . . . they did not destroy / release him . . . crucified some thieves . . . because they made him drink gall . . . his clothes on themselves . . . blood from their lances, and they (. . . **30** the son) of our God . . . apostle(s) . . . after him . . . **35** . . . 'Crucify us' (?) . . . the son . . . Zebedee[111] . . . **5** . . . he went (?) . . . raised them up . . . assembly in the . . . for (?) the bad things and the persecutions . . . **10** waters and seas . . . the things which his (disciples suffered at the hands) of persecutors in every (land) are bad. (There is one (disciple)) whose skin was scraped from the soles of his feet . . . cauldron, he was set over (it and a fire was kindled **15** under) him. There is one who was thrown into a copper (kettle) and fire was lit beneath it (until the water) boiled. He cried out, sounding like a . . . There is one who was flayed . . . There is one whose . . . were plucked **20** out.

Behold these (men) have / were revived . . . and these afflictions befell (them) . . . abroad . . . their bodies fell . . . and trees. Their bones were (scattered in every) **25** land. Wolves and lions . . . their forms. Behold Paul . . . lord(s), when he had made signs and (. . . how many) did he endure? How many did he see . . . on the sea and the dry(-land) (. . . the) **30** inner ones and the outer ones . . . put him into a basket and let him down (through a) window away from the Jews[112] . . . destruction overtook him. He put the garment (. . . twelve (?)) (loaves) of bread, he ate **35** . . . **70** . . . the prayer . . .

Zarathustra[113] furthermore . . . him from the Persians . . . him before the king **5** . . . how many from the . . . he revealed in . . . God (?) . . . because

[108] Shem is the son of Noah. The forms Shem and Sem seem to alternate in Coptic lists; but they are found together in a Middle Persian fragment of a Manichaean "Book of Enoch" which may be part of the canonical *Book of the Giants* (M299a R 5, cf. Henning (1934), 27). This would indicate that the 'Sem-Shem' doublet (which must refer to the same figure) goes back to the original Syriac writings of Mani. Passages from the Apocalypse of Sem are cited in the *CMC* (55.9–57.21).

[109] The listing of names of antediluvian heroes is common in Manichaean literature. Cf. *Keph*. 12.9–12 and *PsBk2*. 142.3–9. Note the appearance of Enoch here after the Noahides: an inverted chronological order, which is also observed in the presentation of apocalyptic material in the *CMC* (48.16–60.12). Cf. Reeves (1996), 28, n. 73.

[110] I.e. those of Jesus.

[111] I.e. the apostle John, the son of Zebedee.

[112] I.e. the escape of the apostle Paul from his enemies at Damascus (2 Cor. 11.33).

[113] The material presented by the Manichaeans on the death of Zarathustra is otherwise unattested.

this is the way in a (. . . the) two (natures) which fight with (one another) . . . [10] . . . in this way. He lifted up . . .

Yet, furthermore, (the) matter of his body, . . . more than all the apostles. Behold . . . his body so that they would not throw it . . . Behold Zarathustra, as it is written . . . [15] . . . on the tombs of the kings. Behold . . . they covered his body with perfumes (?) and . . . clothing. They lay him out in honour . . . in the land of the Indians, and . . . they put him in the clouds . . . [20] . . . with them swearing (that) while his bones . . . every (apostle) who had been . . . if they . . . from the world . . . champion, they would not put their bodies . . . [25] . . . they wept over them and grieved . . . the one who would see the place of burial . . . and remember him for a good . . . his shame is revealed . . . every generation. He bound you . . . [30] . . . the people stumbled and knew . . . of our father . . . generations (are) worthy . . . denier . . .

16. The institution of the bema

Hom. 71.2–73.34, trans. Clackson. In the Manichaean cultus the *bema* is a platform with five steps on which is placed an effigy of Mani, and to which his followers paid their homage on the day when his death was commemorated.

71 . . . custom and his place of . . . matter furthermore of his *bema* . . . [5] . . . sacrifice (?) . . . will see his seating-place . . . he did not think (?) that he was going to leave his (. . . and) they (would (?)) manage furthermore . . . [10] . . . and this other one besides . . . seating-place of . . . place (where) he was established . . . he proclaimed his wisdom. The (place(?) . . . revealed). The place (where) he (prayed [15] . . .) the place where his crucifixion . . . his body there. The place . . . sitting. The place . . . the one who did not see (?) saw (?) him . . . he remembered the goodness (. . . [20] what) he preached . . . their kind. If we see his (*bema* (?) . . . we sit) and weep over it because . . . his statue . . . they depicted . . . [25] the ones who crucified him . . . battlefields (?) . . .

72 . . . This year . . . strengthened his *bema* which is . . . [5] . . . persecutor and the enemies . . . which he put down . . . apostle(s) in him / it. In the generation . . . feast-days and (observances . . .) Christians. They . . . [10] . . . about him. In the month . . . in which he (was crucified . . .) but what will we do (. . . ?) They mix their fast . . . sects fast and sin . . . [15] . . . find their hands spread out . . . my (?) beasts. Beasts . . . we fast . . . the sects. They give their sins . . . furthermore their fast; they [20] . . . greatly, in the blessed . . . feast-(days) and observances (. . . revealed) through it;

at present . . . but they go in them . . . blessed . . . [25] . . . good, according to (?) . . . of the trumpet . . . observances . . . **73** . . . year to year . . . [5] . . . the fire . . . fast which . . . idols in . . . [10] . . . hindrance there (?).

There are some . . . fast and they spread out their beds . . . These are the laws of the sects . . . world(s), the ones which fast . . . they sin and they stumble in . . . [15] Yet, furthermore, he appointed (?) his day . . . all the . . . of good. The other fast (which . . .) is excellent and . . . victory. Its bearing . . . of those who deny . . . [20] . . . neither tree nor . . . offence / wound (?) happened . . . their calm . . . defilement, with psalms . . . [25] prayers and blessings; with eyes (?) . . . called to God with . . . our father, our saviour, the one who . . . is (the) day of restraint . . . repaid us with foolishnesses . . . [30] . . . which they would write . . . name (?). Blessed is the one who (shall) believe . . . the one who shall hunger for . . . Blessed is the . . .

17. The death of Mani compared to the trial and crucifixion of Jesus the Messiah

This Parthian text from Turfan,[114] which is undoubtedly translated originally from Syriac, is significant for its use of material from the account of the crucifixion in Tatian's *Diatessarōn*. The Manichaeans would have consulted this gospel harmony in its Syriac version.

{page header} *Discourse on the Crucifixion*

. . . and he (Mani?) was unconscious and died. Such was the *parinirvana* of (our) father, as was written. No one should contemplate on anything more wonderful. Absolve us from all that had happened to him. As we all know when Jesus the Messiah, the lord of us all, was crucified; it was attested about him that they seized him like a evil-doer. They also dressed him in a (purple) cloak and placed a cane in his hand. And they paid reverence to him and (mockingly (?)) spoke: ('. . . King), our Christ!' And they then led (him) to the cross (?) . . . he was delivered to them, but if not . . . there are also others who (departed (?) from this world) through crucifixion. Many there (are . . .) who were put (to death) by the sword . . . And there are those who went to distant lands and were killed when they got there. Every one of these messengers was well known, for (we (?)) are told about them: what they have endured and through what form of crucifixion (i.e. execution) they departed from this world. They also had some disciples who were thrown to the animals and others who were evicted from land

[114] M4570, *KG* §4a.18, pp. 76–9, trans. S. Lieu.

to land. They were like strangers and enemies to the whole world and they were called the "deceived ones" and "ruined ones" in the whole world. And many are the temptations (?) . . . and they endured . . . (and) (?) themselves also taught . . . alms. Even as our father, the (beneficent . . .) our . . . living, so also the Jews (similarly desired) to remove <him> from the world, as it is shown that at dawn, the teachers, the (Jewish) priests, the scribes and the religious leaders deliberated (cf. Luke 22:66) and took counsel from each other to kill him (cf. Matt. 27:1). And they sought (false witnesses) (cf. Matt. 26:59), but their testimony did not agree with each other (cf. Mark 14:59). They brought forward two others (cf. Matt. 26:60) and they said: "This man had declared: 'I am able to destroy the temple (lit. palace) which is built with hands and in three days build another one built without hands (cf. Mark 14:58).'" Their testimonies also do not tally (cf. Mark 14:59), and the High Priest asked him, saying: "I demand of you, on oath to the living God, that you tell me, whether you are the Christ, the son of (God, the living (?))" (cf. Matt. 26:63). Jesus said to him, "First, you yourself have said that I am it (cf. Matt. 26:64) . . . (truly) appears; but from now on you will see the Son of Man as he sits on the right side of divine power (and) when he will come in the (chariot) from heaven" (cf. Matt. 26:64). Then the High Priest of the Jews (tore) his garment and said (cf. Mark 14:63): "To me" . . . and they spoke to one another: ". . . the testimony which is desired. We have heard again (?) (the blasphemy) from his own very lips (cf. Luke 22:71) (. . . thereupon) it is necessary to kill him" (cf. Matt. 26:66) . . . Pilate . . .

18. The death of Mani commemorated in two bema *psalms*

PsBk2. 14.18–20.17 (psalms 225 and 226), ed. and trans. C. R. C. Allberry (adapted I. Gardner).[115]

14 (Psalm) 225

By the lord Syrus.[116]

. . . your daughter, the church; the Paraclete,
our merciful . . .

[115] All the extracts from *PsBk2.* (ed. and trans. Allbery), which are reproduced in this volume, have been adapted to the common style, including uniform translation of technical terms; they also take into account improved readings based on later scholarship (or occasionally on parallel texts found at Ismant el-Kharab), and they may have been rearranged according to strophes.

[116] Who the lord Syrus (author of this Psalm) was is not known.

To whom can I go, widow? For they are slanderers,
all of them, . . . Who among them will wipe away my
. . . from me (?) upon the earth? They are
slanderers . . . murderers. Alas, alas for
the violence that is done: for they run after me like wolves
that run after a lamb.

How many shadows, how many falls . . .
fear . . .
desert me . . . holy . . .
. . . to do violence; but do not desert
15 me, my blessed king who knows my
heart.

I was escaping from the wastes, my hair loosed like a
mad woman, I asking everyone that comes upon me:
'Who will give me word of my shepherd;
and teach me how he was slain in the godless city by
the lawless sects, the beasts
that were maddened by the poison of their flames of fire?'

I have heard concerning you Magians, the priests of the fire,
that you seized my god in your foul hands;
impious men, mad and godless,
the brothers of the Jews, the murderers of Christ.
A fire took hold of your heart,
until you had murdered the righteous ambassador.

Lo, these are the deeds that are full of outrage, of
bitter-hearted men.
This is the road they have made that will lead them
to hell.
I have not seen a beast branded like these,
nor again have I seen fire consuming chaff . . .
Yet, there was found no merciful man standing up
to snatch from them this sinless and righteous one.

They all cried out with one voice to the godless judge,
telling him words in which there was no truth:
'Lo, a man has appeared in these days,
fighting with us and bringing our affairs to nought.

We implore thee with one accord, o king,
do away with him, for he is a teacher who leads
men astray.'

When he heard these words, the foolish man, the king of these pitiless ones,
he was astonished, the evil-fated, the evil-doer:
he sent, he called my shepherd,
he says to him wrathfully in a mighty voice:
'Who bade you do these things,
or who are you? You do deeds that harm all people.'

16 The glorious mind answered, and says to him straightly:
'Know, o king, that God has given into your hand, you being human.
The law of life . . .
. . . the perfect commandments of Christ. My doctrines . . .
. . .
. . . to you.'

He parted his lips, he cried out in a
. . .
'will appear to you. You are a lowly stranger . . .
a poor man, lacking everything. You are a person of . . .
. . . to give this favour and gift
unutterable.'

'They that are of God seek not after gold and the possessions of the world.
God it is who commands, there is no other commandment but his.
God it is who teaches whom he pleases
(and gives to him) the gift that surpasses all gifts,
as a seal . . . prophet,
the true man of God in his deeds and his words.'

The lover of fighting, the peaceless one, roared in flaming anger;
he commanded them to fetter the righteous one,
that he might please the Magians,
the teachers of Persia, the servants of fire.
In truth, this is the way that they gave judgment
upon the victor, the angel, the Paraclete.

How many days of fear, my father, did you endure;
until you had cut and severed the race of frightful men!
Twenty-six days in all, and the nights of them,
you did spend in chains in Belapat.
O the renown of the aeons of light!
O noble holy image of the mysteries of God!

O hands that gave freedom to a multitude of souls,
that were bound today in bonds of iron!
To whom shall I go now,
that he may release for me these hands of pity?
My God, forsake me not,
for my enemies (all) mock (me . . .)

17 . . . my lord Manichaios, the judge of this totality,
. . . pitiless . . . ; you have . . .
your joyous wings. First you did pray unto (God
your) Father, but the dead body you cast down (before
the
face of) your enemies.

. . . the nature of deception . . .
the cruel . . . , the sign . . .
he desired in the madness of his wrath, in . . .
to destroy the beauty of your limbs. You ascended in . .
. . . to the heights without any hindrance.

He raged (?), even the murderous demon, he . . .
. . . saying: 'Perchance it is a drug which you have . . .
forth'. He commanded the physicians and . . .
to examine the body, your holy body, which
he mocked and plotted against; he kindled fire in
a great furnace.

The dragon that lives to his shame and all the . . .
of his . . .
. . .
the keeps of the gates of the city. He spilled his blood
to no purpose; his murder became a sign for every person
who
pities him.

On the second day of the week, you received the glory of victory,
you bound the diadem upon your head;
for you killed the race of darkness,
in the month Phamenoth, on the fourth day of the moon.
You received your crown. O my father, the victor in the war;
be merciful unto me, I entreat you, the Paraclete.

O witness of the ineffable benefactions of the first Christ,
the sign of the soul whose fame has spread to the earth;
it is fitting for you to receive this crown, our father,
in joyous feasts and vigils.

The victory to you, our lord Mani the living;
victory too to your *bema*, the glorious and blessed;
18 and the soul of Maria, Theona.

(Psalm) 226

All mysteries have been fulfilled in you, our father,
(the Spirit of) truth, our lord Mani the living.

On the day of the cross
he gave himself up to the authorities;
on the second day of the week . . .
on the fourth (day) of the month Phamenoth,
at (the eleventh) hour of the day,
he gave himself up to (death).

(Our father), the blessed one, our lord Mani the living,
he bent his knees, imploring mercy,
crying out unto God, 'Open me the door
and give me release out of my sufferings.'

The rulers of the earth judged me in their wrath,
. . . their lying words,
through the words of . . . these, as they shall alter
and change that which is sweet and make it bitter.

In the day that they brought me before the judge
. . .
firmly established . . . all of them . . .
(. . . none) among them aided me.

All the lawless ones judged me;
the impious, the creatures of sin,
they held me in their power amidst the whole multitude,
like a sheep that has no shepherd.

They buzzed at me like wasps,
they roared against me like these lions,
saying to me in a loud voice:
'It pleases us not that thou should do these things.'

He did evil unto me in his wrath,
he counselled against me with his chieftains,
he swore to me by the salvation of his father:
'I will not leave you in the world henceforth.'

They loaded me with iron, as they do to sinners;
19 they fettered me as they do thieves,
they judged me like these . . .
. . . like these sorcerers.

From the day when they bound me to the day of the cross
there are numbered in all some twenty-six days,
they keeping watch on me night and day,
appointing guards, keeping watch on me.

(They put) six neck-chains upon me,
they fettered me with shackles
All the elect were weeping, and the catechumens,
seeing my sufferings wherein I was.

These sinners, all of them, they did not allow me
to see my children and my disciples
and my shepherds and my bishops;
when they saw them coming unto me.

(From) the day of the great persecution
to the day of the cross there are six years.
I spent them walking in the midst of the world,
like captives in the midst of strangers.

They were stirred, they trembled, even the powers of the evil one,
they turned their sword against the humble man;

they were not willing indeed to see me
in the streets of their cities.

Lo, the sky and the earth and the two luminaries
bear witness of me in the heights;
that I did good among them,
but they in their cruelty crucified me.

I was gazing at my familiar with my eyes of light,
beholding my glorious father;
he who is ever clasped to me,
he opening before me the gate unto the heights.

I spread out my hands, praying unto him;
I bent my knees, worshipping him also,
that I might divest myself of the image of the flesh
and strip from me the vesture of manhood.

Lo, his body was brought forth
in the city of these sinners,
when they had cut off his head
and hung it up amid the whole multitude.

20 . . .
the elect and the catechumens . . .
their great shepherd who has ascended from among
them.

(Then), when the beloved had ascended to heaven,
he set . . . his elect,
that they might . . . night and day
. . .

Spread out your hands, all the elect
and the catechumens of the faith;
and pray with a great prayer,
that the Father of glory may give to you . . .

. . .
who see me . . . light (?),
these that are in the church, . . .
who watch over her night and day.

15 Glory and victory to our lord Mani the living,
(the Spirit) of truth, this one from the Father;
and all his holy elect.
Victory to the soul of Maria.

THE MANICHAEAN CHURCH UNDER SISINNIOS AND HIS SUCCESSOR INNAIOS

19. Persecution of the Manichaean church

Hom. 74.8–78.30, trans. Clackson.

74 . . . **5** . . . they came to the middle of the . . . of some churches . . . **10** . . . revelations . . . afflictions and persecutions . . . Satan did not allow them . . . by the will of . . . until now before he has completed his . . . **15** . . . writings. He[117] was apprehended and crucified . . . scattered his congregations . . . furthermore his church . . . our father himself furthermore and our (saviour . . .) happened / became like the . . . **20** . . . wisdom. He was (disturbed . . .) his (church) . . . like a . . . teachers and readers . . . **25** . . . he threw up a cry and . . . the world. He threw . . . set forth revelations . . . he got a name, he became famous, he (. . . **30** sent) him / it, he . . . he practises / his practice(s) (. . . the) sects and the races . . . in the world . . . until the last . . . **75** when the apostle goes . . . but this world, its kind is this . . . the ones who have built it, that neither a good nor a wicked one should be left (in it (i.e. the world).)

Therefore, in the way of these (good ones . . .) **5** furthermore (our (?)) good father himself in their way. (The wicked ones themselves) and his crucifiers came (?) . . . again came forth. Also in the way the . . . wicked ones from the beginning to the end . . . How many have departed from the (world, the weak and the) **10** strong; the wretches and the heroes . . . and his manhood; all his good ones (and his wicked ones); the beautiful and the ugly . . . his lascivious ones. Their souls went (up and their) bodies returned to the earth. Their souls (. . . and) **15** their bones were scattered in every (land and in every) city.

However, the wicked who (thought that) they would depart like their companions, (their end came about) in accordance with their deeds because they made (his blood) flow (away . . .) namely his father and the

[117] The victim here appears to be Mani and the account is a summary of his death as seen in the context of the sufferings of the early leaders of the Manichaean church and the vile fate which befell their persecutors.

one he . . . **20** . . . his name. Blessed be (. . . blessed) be his truth. (Blessed) be . . . blessed be the (prophets) . . . blessed be his . . . day (. . . blessed be) the congregation of his faithful (. . . **25** the) teacher of truth, the instructor . . . wisdom. Blessed be the . . . and all who hear; they . . . sins and outrages against (?) the elect (and the catechumens) who listen to the . . .

30 Then, after their crucifixion of our (father, he fulfilled the) mystery of his apostolate . . . of Jesus. He ascended in the (form . . . (he gave?)) orders, he laid down some (commandments . . .) far from his justice . . . **35** . . . he established his (. . . armour) of glory . . . ***76*** . . . This year in which . . .

Another three years (passed . . . no)-one sinned against his people . . . trembling. They quieted their (anger **5** just as) he told them to while he was still (alive); but then . . . after the crucifixion of my (lord . . .) began to creep. It gathered . . . his anger[118] . . . from below . . . began little by little **10** . . . in every land . . . his anger until the fifteenth (year . . .) namely the wicked ones and the rebels . . . him, because Satan envied . . . and beyond his faithful ones; as if (?) **15** . . . the kings of . . . were angry . . . the consuming fire.

The wolves . . . sheep to kill and scatter . . . in between the bulls, to destroy . . . the wicked ones came in to the . . . **20** . . . they cut the branches and (twigs . . . robbers) came into the place for depositing (possessions . . .) destroyed the treasures. The cattle (went . . .) trod on him while he was upright . . . entered the dovecots of . . . **25** . . . fearful birds. The fame . . . land of the crucifixion . . . Persia, from Mesene . . . and Ctesiphon, in the land of (Ozeos and) Babylon in every city.

How many (. . . The) maidens and the continent **30** went away from them every year . . . They caught and killed the . . . sheep. They seized the bishops . . . his treasuries, they . . . **35** . . . slaughtered them like . . . ***77*** They revealed . . . small . . . before their teachers . . . lions. The lions spared (them . . .) They put armour on some (and made them go into competition) **5** with she-bears / lionesses; some . . . They set free mares . . . them, they gave eight . . . they (did not) spare them but killed them . . . they brought him and rolled (him . . .)

10 Some of them . . . Fire was thrust in their (faces in order to know) whether they had been well (and truly) killed, like . . . tore them, they also tore them . . . observed them sitting. Then . . . **15** them in their iniquity, they . . . questioned them about everything . . . crucified the youths,

[118] The persecuting Persian king would now have been Vahram II (r. 276–93). See below *Hom.* 81.9–10 (in **20**).

the children (and . . .) eunuchs. They sawed up some . . . them boasting (that . . . [20] . . .)

How numerous were the . . . deeds . . . them that they would (?) lie . . . like a herd . . . chains every year (. . . like) a beast without a (master . . . [25] . . . in) hundreds and fifties . . . in every land (. . . they) slaughtered a child in (front) of them . . . [30] . . . their possessions. The catechumens . . . **78** . . . they whipped (?) . . . some of them they dragged . . . Some furthermore . . . chains, to throw them into (prisons [5] in a (state of) hunger) and thirst, while they were fasting . . . in the cold with tribulations . . . with their feet on the ground (. . . thorns) and spikes and (. . . since) they were hidden without the sun . . . [10] . . .

They envied (the) just ones (. . . they broke) its watch-towers; they cut (?) a . . . walls on every side of it. They went . . . its doors. They opened its gates . . . they did (not have (?)) a youth. They were also . . . [15] . . . powerfully. They plucked . . . they scattered about the possessions of his . . . the ship to wreck it and make it sink into the abyss . . . to lead . . . astray . . . hero . . . [20] . . . (its) foundation and its root . . . sweet . . . guile because they were disturbed inside (. . . justice), she / it recoiled . . . [25] . . . he saved her (?) . . . She related this (cause for?) weeping to him . . . her groan . . . hunger and thirst . . . [30] . . .

20. The prayer and martyrdom of Sisinnios (Mar Sisin)

Sisinnios was the immediate successor to Mani and he was leader (*archegos*) of the community for about ten years (*c.* 276-*c.* 286, cf. *Hom.* 83.13, below). On his name see Tubach (1997) 388–9. This account is preserved in *Hom.* 79.1–85.34 (trans. Clackson). Another prayer attributed to the imprisoned Sisinnios is preserved in the Chinese Manichaean *Hymnscroll* (§§83–119), trans. Tsui Chi (1943) 183–6. The two prayers bear very little resemblance to each other; and it is interesting to note that the bodily suffering resulting from persecution by secular authorities, which is so prominent and cogent in the Coptic version, had been spiritualised in the Chinese version into the eternal battle between spirit and body and between permanence and impermanence.

After the martyrdom of Sisinnios the text records a temporary truce between Narses and the Manichaean church under Innaios.

79 'Spare my children. Send me (your power to help me) in this danger . . . every year from my enemies . . . [5] . . . perish . . . in your name, your glory in . . . from the day you chose me . . . great diadem, you put into my hand . . . the sects and all the races . . . [10] of your light. I did not lie to

your . . . I did not falsify your oath (. . . which you) gave me, I watch over them.'

'Now . . . vanity and you see my tears (. . . this is) the way in which I strengthened myself while I was in . . . [15] It is your hour / (you) are a god, do not renounce (me . . .) trap (?). My enemies . . . listen to the voice of this widow . . . the judge because I was judged in . . . , my children (were killed) in every (land . . . [20] . . .) loaded with possessions and your . . . The sea was disturbed by the . . . wave upon wave. I am (your . . . , your) gardeners (are) in me. I am your (. . . I) am your seed, while your husbandmen (. . . [25] . . .), your children are by (me . . . spare) me and pity me and send (me . . .) because I see the grief of my children (. . . kill them (?)) and they slay (my . . .) they burn my householders with fire . . . [30] . . . of truth (?) . . .'

'They came down . . . (with them) wishing to uproot them . . . their land and their kingdom . . . [35] . . . mystery . . . **80** . . . the hand (of) my enemies. They became / were . . . with my possessions, the libations . . . the congregations of my divinity . . . and abominations [5] (. . . view) the . . . year. I see my children (thrown down . . .), the bodies of the . . . lying (. . . in every) land. The head of the strangers and the . . . form of the ones who grieve and the [10] . . . and races. The dogs which . . . the wicked dragons. They have torn . . . their blood flowed out onto the earth . . . in every city. They mock . . . Their kin put me to shame [15] . . . indeed your (fem. sing.) god is the light . . . his is the wisdom. You (fem. sing.) indeed, why . . . , then why are they slain? . . . I however look at you (masc. sing.) . . .'

'The (kings) persecuted me [20] (. . . rulers), they did not leave me lacking . . . the inner ones furthermore, I did not make (obeisance (?)) to them . . . they made me see them with my (own) eyes . . . over me. They scattered . . . they sealed the doors . . . [25] . . . they threw me out from my dwelling-places . . . to my place. They revealed . . . They took away my beauty . . . song. They took me in . . . from the light of the sun, as if . . . [30] . . . stealthily. They killed the wise ones . . . pure (ones). They slaughtered my children (. . . my presbyters) and my faithful ones. They . . . the ones who were sitting . . . my wisdom . . . [35] . . . ' **81** . . . while she was crying (?) out . . . '. . . you observe . . . how many are . . . O my father . . . [5] send your power to support . . . the ones who were crucified . . . resting-place(s). Receive the (souls of the catechumens) who were destroyed . . .'

(It was in) the years of (King) Vahram, (the son of) [10] Vahram that these things happened; but he (and the) entire (congregation of Magi) and the deniers . . . of the good and the peace-givers (. . . crucifixion) of our lord.

Then, (after these great tribulations) and dangers, while . . . in this manner. From the outside indeed . . . but (from the inside) he bore the . . . his righteousness . . . which he had preached about that . . . crucified him. The world (was filled with his) glory. It reached the ears of the kings of . . . that time in anger . . . justice. They went . . . with the deniers, the ones who had . . . They wrote petitions (*libelli*) (. . . They showed) them to the king, full of (iniquity . . . the) strength of the Magi . . . refused his hope . . . the king and the nobles . . . and peacefulness. These ones with these (other . . .) each other, badness . . . a great evil befell . . . their anger . . . his faithful ones . . . **82** in the presence of . . . justice . . . They proclaimed . . .

He was taken into the presence of the king. He questioned him about everything . . . (asked) him about every matter. My lord (Sisinnios . . .) well. He persuaded . . . in his place; but the king hurt him (. . . desire), saying to him that . . . he compelled him '. . . listen to me, fear (?) . . . but if you listen to me I shall . . . you. You are a beautiful man. Why do you . . . yourself? Why are you going to strangle yourself . . . yourself so that I will not destroy you. Spare yourself (or (?)) I (will) kill you.'

Then he said to the king: '. . . your words and your deeds . . .' his heart . . . strong, it did not stir within him at (all . . .) he fetched some swords and he set them in order . . . The king said to him: 'Look and (see (?) . . . . .) my word.' However, my lord Sisinnios . . . : 'I have one more dreadful than you . . . I fear the one who . . . your word.' Then the king became angry (. . . 'Who) is it you fear more than me?' (Sisinnios said: '. . .) God. My heart is fearful . . .'

Then once, twice, three times (the king . . .) him, (but) he was not persuaded. He took (up) a sword . . . him, saying: 'I shall kill you now.' . . . the cross, in the manner of his . . . from the king. He did not flinch . . . time, the number of others . . . he was not afraid . . . He gave power . . . **83** rest above . . . lordship . . . his shoes; he stripped . . . his own hair. He . . . the king raised his hand and struck (lit. "put") him with the (sword . . .) blood flowed out like a . . . three presbyters . . . Apket and Abesira, the brothers . . . his crucifixion took place . . . the city. He was crucified . . . at the ninth hour of the day, on day one . . . . . hours. He went . . .

In the ten years (he had been leader), his heart had not (influenced (lit. "bent") him) at all. (He drank from) the cup of the crucifixion of his (father . . .) after him. He received the garland of the (. . . walked) on the road of his saviour . . . peace. He rested himself . . . he found recompense for his suffering . . . . . and the other brothers who were crucified, (they) bequeathed his word to Innaios . . . that the leader of the sect (. . . listened)

to the prayer of the just (. . . entreaty (?)) and weeping of those who called (up . . .)

25 Then after this murderous act of (crucifixion . . .) all of them. Then it came (down . . .) reached his children in their tribulation (. . . a danger) overtook . . . the king who was suffering greatly indeed like all the (officials) **30** and physicians also . . . the one who had come upon him, the ones of his law . . . , with them wishing (to) cure him. They could (?) not . . . at that time . . . departed in **35** . . . **84** . . . gentle . . . he put it in his heart.

. . . into the presence of the king . . . truthful . . . He perceived **5** . . . cure, in short a reason . . . God, the one who helped (him . . .) oaths: 'I shall . . . cure, you with your (whole) heart (. . . benefit) and good of your sect **10** . . . I killed your children and you (fear me and) do not cure me. It was not I who was pleased (but these) evil (men) who accused (them . . .) and what is in you, tell it . . . Do not be afraid. All these things have (passed by) **15** . . . from today.'

Then he cured him . . . god(s), he was glorified. The gods and (. . . helped) him. He received letters (from . . .) in every land.[119] He . . . before the face of the whole world . . . **20** . . . hand(s), with them bringing them to the (table . . .) so that he should sit next to him . . . he gave him gold and silver; he did not take . . . so that he should receive authority from the . . . God and his hope only. He **25** . . . before the king[120] and the nobles . . . they honoured him. More and more . . . He received victory and (favour . . .) his sect. Glory (. . . the) honoured and the despised (. . . **30** . . . the elect) and the catechumens . . . God. Justice . . . It (i.e. the church (?)) attained great glory . . . they built and set in order their (?) . . . from the places **35** . . . (**85**) in every place. They wrote (letters . . .) nobles . . . every river . . . in the palace of the (king . . .)

Peace descended upon . . . **5** . . . (up)on justice. They made (friends . . .) with the chiefs and the (leaders . . .) before the good. (Then) (in) the three (years of . . .) Vahram the king these things took place[121] . . . in peace at that time . . . **10** to it (i.e. the church (?)), it was greatly glorified. Then (after this, he) went up to Belapat and died. (He went to rest) at that time, from . . . is

[119] The Manichaean Historical Text (p15997) found at Medinet Madi, of which only a handful of leaves have survived the aftermath of the Second World War, tells us that Amarō the King of the Arabs at Hira (an important ally of the Sassanians) interceded on behalf of the community; and this brought about an audience between Vahram's successor Narses (r. 293–302) and Innaios. Cf. Pedersen (1997) and Schmidt, Ibscher and Polotsky (1933), 29. A translation of part of this text can be found below, in **22b**.

[120] The king in question is most likely to be Narses.

[121] I.e. the martyrdom of Mani which took place in 276.

blessed . . . and the word of the apostle . . . [15] . . . what he had proclaimed, (namely) that they . . . and (were) drawn from the world (. . . and they) crossed over and passed away.

The church . . . in all its places. Many . . . a change in their body (. . . the [20] church) sees them and . . . ; it is established and lasting . . . They wished (to) do (evil . . .) It is the stumbling-block (lit. "stone") (. . . of) all worlds. It is the . . . [25] all . . . It will not move until the day of . . . with its members who will rule in the (. . . Woe to) the one who shall strike it and not (repent, nor worship) it. Blessed are its . . . and its faithful ones and (every one . . . [30] . . .) because this is the one who shall find (life eternal). Amen.

The (part) about the crucifixion of (the enlightener), [35] the (true) apostle, is finished.

CHAPTER 3

Manichaeism in the Roman Empire

The religion of Mani was founded on clear universalist principles. His travels to Upper Mesopotamia, Iran and India would have brought him in contact with Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism; and what struck him most about these established earlier religions was their apparent cultural and geographical boundaries. In a Middle Persian fragment which is probably derived from the semi-canonical *Šābuhragān* (a summary of his religion which he had translated into Middle Persian for the reigning Shahanshah Shapur I), Mani tells one of his disciples that the most important proof of the truth of his new revelation is its success as a universalist religion which would transcend geographical and national barriers:

{Header:} The ascension . . .
{**R**} . . . till the end (in the w)orld is established?' And (the lord (?) replied) to him: 'This religion which was chosen by me is in ten things above and better than the other religions of the ancients. Firstly: The older religions were in one country and one language; but my religion is of the kind that it will be manifest in every country and in all languages, and it will be taught in far away countries.

Secondly: The older religions (remained in order) as long as there were holy leaders in it; but when the leaders had been led upwards, then their religions became confused and they became slack in commandments and pious works, and by {**V**} greed and fire (of lust) and desire were deceived. However, my religion will remain firm through the living (. . . tea)chers, the bishops, the elect and the hearers; and of wisdom and works will stay on until the end.

Thirdly: Those former souls by whom in their own good action was not completed, come to my religion and it verily is to them the gate of salvation.

Fourthly: This revelation (of mine) of the two principles and my living books, my wisdom and knowledge are above and better than those of the previous religions.

Fifthly: All writings, all wisdom and all parables of the previous religions when they to this (religion of mine came . . .)'[1]

[1] M5794 I + M5761, *MM* II, 295–96 + *KG* 2205–07 + 2210–12; trans. S. Lieu, with reference to the earlier translation by Asmussen which is based solely on M5794 I. For the parallel tradition preserved in the *Kephalaia*, see **91**.

The source of this missionary zeal might have been the success of the followers of Marcion in disseminating his teaching in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Syria, North Africa and Rome in the Second Century AD. For Mani the fact that the Sassanian Empire was positioned between the Empires of Rome, Kushan and China, and was itself culturally heterogeneous, would have undoubtedly given the young Mani a highly cosmopolitan vision for his missionary enterprises. The recent military successes of the Sassanians against the Romans in the frontier regions would have certainly opened up new possibilities for commerce between the two empires and the Manichaean missionaries were the first to exploit them. We are fortunate that the community maintained a strong historiographical tradition throughout its history. Among the codices from Medinet Madi was a historical work but sadly it was lost after the Second World War and only a few odd leaves have survived (see below). However, a considerable number of historical texts have been identified among the fragments from Turfan, and these in the usual hagiographical style associated with such texts inform us of Manichaean missionary activities in the Roman Empire as well as in Central Asia.

Once the community had established itself in Egypt and Syria, further penetration into the western half of the Empire was merely a matter of time. Manichaean texts were translated from Mani's original Syriac into both Greek and Coptic, and later into Latin, and their missionaries were well known for the care they lavished on the production and preservation of their scriptures. These, along with members of the elect, also became targets of legislations against the sect from Diocletian onwards (303). The religious peace declared by Constantine and Licinius in the Edict (or Rescript) of Milan in 313, however, enabled the sect to pass itself off both as a form of reformed Christianity and of enlightened paganism. Soon Manichaeism was well established in the Nile Valley, especially at Lycopolis, and it might have been from Lycopolis that members of the sect migrated to the Dakhleh Oasis to avoid persecution. It had a strong base in Antioch, where among those who advocated tolerance towards it was the city's famous rhetor Libanius, and its presence was also noted in Greece. The history of the sect in North Africa, especially in Carthage, Thagaste, Hippo and Malliana is well documented by Augustine, who spent nine years as a hearer while he was a student and later teacher of rhetoric at Carthage. It was with Manichaeans that he sojourned in Rome, and it was through their net-working and influence that he was appointed to the Chair of Rhetoric in Milan. Later as a deacon and bishop at Hippo he debated with the Manichaean missionaries Fortunatus and Felix; and also wrote a lengthy refutation of the

Apologia of Faustus of Milevis, the most influential Manichaean preacher of his time.

With the accession of Theodosius, anti-heretical legislations eventually put serious restrictions on the mobility of the sect; even though these were first ignored. By the time of Anastasius and Justinian, the sect was generally proscribed with the threat of the death penalty for its elect. Its followers were also deprived of the right to serve in the civil administration and forbidden to write an effective will. The latter measure would have been disastrous for a sect in which the elect members relied heavily on the monetary and other forms of contribution by their faithful hearers. Little genuine information on the teaching of the sect survived the reign of Justinian which implies that the community had lost almost all its scriptures, and with them its original identity as a religion of the book *par excellence*.

EARLY MISSION AND REACTION

21. The mission of Mār Addā and Pattek the teacher

The mission to the eastern Roman Empire was instituted by Mani himself, during his life-time, as evidenced by these Manichaean missionary text-fragments preserved in Middle Iranian.[2]

(a) *From the Middle Persian version:*[3]

'. . . become familiar with the writings!' They went to the Roman Empire (and) saw many doctrinal disputes with the religions. Many elect and hearers were chosen. Patīg was there for one year. (Then) he returned (and appeared) before the apostle. Hereafter the lord sent three scribes, the Gospel and two other writings to Addā. He gave the order: 'Do not take it further, but stay there like a merchant who collects a treasure.' Addā laboured very hard in these areas, founded many monasteries, chose many elect and hearers, composed writings and made wisdom his weapon. He opposed the "dogmas" with these (writings), (and) in everything he acquitted himself well. He subdued and enchained the dogmas. He came as far as Alexandria. He chose Nafšā for the religion. Many wonders and miracles were wrought in those lands. The religion of the apostle was advanced in the Roman Empire.

[2] On the various versions of Manichaean missionary history in Middle Iranian which pertain to the mission of Mār Addā to the Roman Empire see esp. Sundermann (1986), 246–50. Though the texts, as we possess them, are the works of Manichaean scribes in Central Asia in the ninth to tenth centuries AD, they contain material which almost certainly goes back to early accounts of Manichaean mission composed in Syriac or Parthian.

[3] M2 I R I 1–33, *MM* II, 301–2; Eng. trans. Asmussen (1975), 21. The manuscript fragment also includes an account of Mār Ammo's mission to Parthia and Central Asia.

(b) *From the Parthian version:*[4]
And when the apostle (i.e. Mani) was (in) Vēh-Ardashīr (i.e. the refounded Seleucia), he sent from there (Patīg) the teacher, Addā the bishop, (and M)ani the scribe to Rome. (And) four instructions . . . to . . . there . . . from (. . . who) gathers (a treasure. And Addā founded) many mon(asteries (*m'nyst'n*) and he composed . . .) and writings of light. (And) he grasped (?) (wisdom for) the refutation of the dogmas. He devised many (ways) and fashioned them (as weapon) against all the dogmas. And he defeated the teachings and put them all to shame like someone who (wielded) a powerful weapon.

(c) *From the Sogdian version:*[5]
'. . . Which riding-animal is faster than the wind?' Mār Addā gave as answer to them: 'I have good thought . . . conscience, whose (way of life (?) . . .) is faster (than the wind). And I have (a religion (?)) the radiance of which is (brighter) than the sun. And I have (as) provisions divine profit (?) I have (divine (?)) the taste of which is (sweeter) (than) honey.' The ministers (?) then asked Mār Addā: 'O lord, (what) form does the soul take?' Mār Addā ans(wered)them thus: 'The soul is comparable to the body, which is divided (into five) limbs, (a head), two (arms) and two feet. The soul too (is) just like that: (life) is seen as the (first) limb of the soul, power (is counted as) the second limb, light is counted (as the third (limb), beauty) is counted as the (fourth) (limb) and fragrance is counted as the fifth (limb). And its form and manner are an image (of the body) (?), just as (Jesus (?)) has said: 'It cannot be seen with a fleshly eye, the fleshly ear does not hear <it>, it cannot be held with a fleshly hand nor with a (flesh)ly tongue can it be completely explained.' And (Mār Ad)dā (expended) there in the Roman Empire much effort. (He purified many hearers . . . and in large . . . the west(ern . . .) and many scriptures . . . and . . . wrote . . . struggle . . . and (the) divine (profit) arose upwards through him (and) (spread) in all the Roman lands and cities right up to the (gr)eat Alexandria.

22. The healing of Nafšā of Tadmor (Palmyra) by Mār Addā

So 18223 (= T.M. 389c) + So 18222 (T.M. 389c) *KG* §3.3 (441–515), pp. 41–5, Sogdian text from Turfan trans. S. Lieu.

[4] M216c R 8 – V 13, *KG* , §2.5 (170–87), p. 26, trans. S. Lieu.
[5] So. 18220 (= T.M. 389*α*), *KG* §3.2 (360–95), pp. 36–41, trans. S. Lieu.

. . . Nafšā herself (pleaded) with (Jesus): ('Hel)p (?) me, beneficent God! . . . for this reason, because in your . . . in the midst of the followers of <foreign> religions and . . . ' (. . . the lord Man)i (?), the apostle openly descended into the presence of Nafšā and he laid his hand upon <her>, and straight away Nafšā was healed, and she became wholly without pain. Everyone was astonished at this great miracle. And <there were> many people, who accepted the truth anew. Also Queen Taδī, the sister of Nafšā, wife of the emperor (*kysr*) with great . . . came before Mār Addā and from him . . . received the truth. And Mār Addā up to . . . went. And (when (?)) he arrived, the people (who) were devoted (to the veneration of the demons (?)) said: 'We shall (a)llow you because (. . . te)mple where . . .' And in the night the voice and . . . as had been said by them, and . . . stood totally amazed because . . . the walls of the houses of idols in . . . was, so that an exit could be found (?) immediately . . . And the door was sealed with the emperor's seal and there was no house in the vicinity. Without delay Mār Addā stood in supplication and prayer there, and he said to the apostle: 'I would like to obtain the explanation of this information'. And immediately it was revealed and the apostle came and explained to him, that there are twelve classes of men who never speak to one another. And for each individual man (of) . . . channels (?) are dug from . . . , right up (to . . .) where the idols sit . . . are twelve men who . . . eat, make music (. . . the channels (?)) hold the moisture (?). 'And go (. . . to the) Caesar and to him the secret . . . holy (. . .) (. . . wr)ite (having perverted religion (?)) <and> having little understanding in . . . behaviour . . . And no one should be disobedient, following his own desire and will, so that his effort and trouble should not be without reward.' And at the end he gave them all the commandments, morals and habits, laws and rules, conduct and behaviour, fully and completely by numbers <viz.>: Five commandments (in ten) divisions; three seals in six divisions; five (garments in) (ten) divisions; watchfulness and zeal . . . ; (twelve) dominions in sixty-two divisions; . . . each in five each . . . each one in seven (. . . expo)sitions; seven hymns . . . and five expositions (. . . each) one in seven prohibitions and (seven (?) c)(onfessions, each) one in . . . (they are. And) for that reason they are called believing hearers, and they participate in the religion, and their commandment is manifest. And these, now, who are hearers and remain mixed (?) in earthly things, immature saplings (?) they are and children who drink milk, and their food is the milk of the spirit. For them too a commandment and order (are) manifest in the church, because they themselves are (in) the c(hurch) and from the living soul . . . Holy Ghost, who in . . . they worship, and also . . . are of the glory of the religion who . . . is. And by divine (grace (?)) they (the "perfect"

hearers (?)) are counted (amongst the full-grown) trees . . . and the command is thus . . .[6]

The success of the Manichaean mission to Tadmor, and its important role in the westward spread of the religion, is also implied in the following text (Coptic).[7] Although, most unfortunately, the preservation is very poor, it appears to claim the Queen of Tadmor (Zenobia?) and King Amarō of the Lakhmids as patrons of the religion.

. . . of Persia make peace and they were re(conciled (?)) . . . the river and . . . those neighbourhoods, . . . the merchants in the land of Khūzistan (. . . **15** every) place, and they lived with them in their province . . . they are full of our knowledge and our faith . . . of that place in . . . the teacher Abiēs, . . . before Malōp, the son of Adbkh(. . . **20** . . .) and Abakarim, and he spoke with (. . . go) also in to Queen Thadamōr . . . rightly, and the teacher Abiēs, . . . that . . . and other brethren, and they made a great . . . church of that place . . . **25** . . . the teacher . . . sent the servant Sethel . . . Zakhias to Abira of the watch tower, and they . . . a church of that place . . . the matter came before King Amarō[8] (. . . Aba)karim, therefore the brethren were caused to go . . . **30** . . . a cause of healing, and they caused him to become friends with (us . . .) good in him, and he helped us very . . . for us, and he became a great patron for (us . . .) his patronage and his . . . appear . . .

23. A warning against Manichaean missionaries

This is the text of a pastoral letter written by an Egyptian Christian bishop in the late third century.[9]

12Again the Manichaeans speak (falsely against marriage saying that) he does well (who does not) marry. (Paul) says (1 Cor. 7:1ff.) that the man who does not marry (does better); but that adulterer and forni(cator **15** are evil is manifest from the) holy scriptures, from which we learn (that marriage is honoured by God, but that he abominates forni)cators and adulterers (Hebr. 13:4). Whereby it is manifest (that he condemns) them also that worship the creation (Rom. 1:25) who (. . . have committed adultery) with

[6] On this story see also the newly combined Sogdian fragment (Berlin Ch/U 20505 and Ch/So 20216 cf. *KG* §19 (2049–59), p. 123 + Kyoto Otani 7481 and 7251) published by Yoshida (2000), 81 which appears to compare Buddhist mendicants unfavourably with Manichaean Elect.

[7] P15997 R (= *MCPCBL* II, pl. 99), lines 10–34, ed. and trans. Pedersen (1997), 196 (adapted). See also Tardieu (1992), 16–17.

[8] The Lakhmids of Hira were traditionally friendly to the Sassanians and were their main desert allies in Romano-Persian conflicts.

[9] *P. Rylands Greek* 469.12–42, ed. and trans. Roberts (1938), 42–3.

sticks and stones (Jer. 3:9). Not but what God commands us (to chastise the man that does) evil, in these words: [20] (If there be found man or woman) in one of the cities which the lord your God gives you (Deut. 17:2–3) that has wrought wickedness in the sight of the lord your God and has worshipped (the sun or any of the host of heaven), it is an abomination unto the lord your God. Every one that does (these things is an abomination unto the lord) your God (Deut. 7:25; 17:1 and 18:12).

And the Manichaeans manifestly wor(ship the creation (? and that which they say)) in their psalms is an abomination to the lord (. . . (saying) 'Neither) [25] have I cast it (sc. the bread) into the oven: another has brought me this and I have eaten it without guilt.' Whence we can easily conclude that the Manichaeans are filled with such madness; especially since this "apology to the bread" is the work of a man filled with much madness.

As I said before, I have cited this in brief from [30] the document of the madness of the Manichaeans that fell into my hands, that we may be on our guard against these who with deceitful and lying words steal into our houses, and particularly against those women whom they call "elect" and whom they hold in honour, manifestly because they require their menstrual blood for the abominations of their madness.

[35] We speak what we would not, seeking not our own profit, but the profit of many that they may be saved. May therefore our God, the all good and the all holy, grant that you may abstain from all appearance of evil and that your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless [40] in the presence of our lord Jesus Christ. Greet one another with a holy kiss. The brethren with me greet you. I pray that you may be well in the lord, beloved, cleansing yourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit.

24. Alexander of Lycopolis on the Manichaean mission in Egypt

Alexander was a Neo-Platonist, whose contemporary account of the Manichaean mission,[10] and its successes amongst his philosophically minded colleagues, provides a fascinating counter-point to the more usual themes of Christian polemic.

(I) (p. 3) The philosophy of the Christians is a simple one. In fact it devotes most of its attention to moral education, but remains allusive when it is a question of entering into more precise arguments relating to the divinity. Furthermore, the essence of their efforts concerning this subject matter cannot but meet with general approval, when they suggest that the generating cause is the most venerable, the most ancient and the reason for the

[10] ed. Brinkmann (1895) §1–11, pp. 3–4; Eng. trans. S. Vince and S. Lieu.

existence of all things. In morality, also, they leave aside the most difficult questions, for example: what is moral virtue and what is intellectual virtue, also everything concerning attitudes and affections, in order to devote most of their time to commonplace moral exhortation; and, neglecting to put forward the elementary principles which govern the acquisition of each virtue, they haphazardly amass somewhat simplistic principles. The masses who listen to them make, as can be seen from experience, great progress in moderation, and their actions are stamped with a distinctive mark of piety; it rekindles the moral sense which such customs strengthen, and leads it progressively towards a desire for the good.

This philosophy being divided into several factions, impelled by those who came subsequently, the questions have multiplied, just as in sophistry:[11] some of these men have also become more skilful (p. 4) and, so to speak, more expert than the others in the art of raising difficulties. Certain of them were even founders of sects, this resulted in the decline of a moral teaching which had become unreliable. For, on the one hand, none of them who were ambitious to lead sects were in a position to give discourses of the requisite precision; whereas the masses demonstrated above all their inclination to indulge in confrontations with rival factions. There were no rules, nor any law which would have permitted a solution to these difficulties to be found; and, as with everywhere else, there is nothing that is not spoiled by an excessive desire for celebration. (II) Here also, the efforts of each person to out-do his predecessor through the novelty of his ideas meant that, in their hands, this very simple philosophy became something inextricable.

An example is given by the man known as Mani: He was of the Persian race, and, to my mind at least, he surpasses all his rivals in the extravagance of his proposals. His strange new ideas came to light very recently. The first person to interpret the doctrines of this man was named Papos; after him came Thomas, and others still after these two. As for Mani himself, it is said that he lived in Valerian's time, that he accompanied the Persian King Shapur in his campaigns, and that he was put to death for having offended this prince in some way.

25. Edict (rescript) of Diocletian against the sect (AD *302)*

This edict (in Latin)[12] was written in response to a petition from (Flavius?) Julianus, Proconsul of Africa. However, there is also intriguing evidence of the arrival of a

[11] Lit. 'the eristic school'.
[12] *Collatio Mosaicarum* XV.3, ed. and trans. Hyamson (1913), 131–3, revised by S. Lieu.

Manichaean missionary Bundos at Rome during the reign of Diocletian; this according to the much later Greek historian Malalas:[13]

> During his (sc. Diocletian's) reign a certain Manichaean by the name of Bundos appeared in the city of Rome. He broke away from the teaching of the Manichaeans and put forward his own doctrine. He taught that the good God engaged in battle with the evil (one) and triumphed over him. One should therefore honour the victor. He returned to teach in Persia. The doctrine of the Manichaeans was called that of the Daristhenes by the Persians, which in their own language means that of the good (God).

The work of Ioannes Malalas was published sometime after 574. The material contained in this enigmatic passage is completely uncorroborated by other sources, and seems to contain references to the sect of the Mazdakites which caused a social revolt in Sassanian Persia in the early sixth century. However, a date for the arrival of Manichaeism in the capital city of the Roman Empire under Diocletian is entirely plausible.

The Emperors Diocletian and Maximianus (and Constantius) and Maximianus (i.e. Galerius) to Julianus, Proconsul of Africa. Well-beloved Julianus:

(1) Excessive leisure sometimes incites ill-conditioned people to transgress the limits of nature, and persuades them to introduce empty and scandalous kinds of superstitious doctrine, so that many others are lured on to acknowledge the authority of their erroneous notions.

(2) However, the immortal gods, in their providence, have thought fit to ordain that the principles of virtue and truth should, by the counsel and deliberations of many good, great and wise men, be approved and established in their integrity. These principles it is not right to oppose or resist, nor ought the ancient religion be subjected to the censure of a new creed. It is indeed highly criminal to discuss doctrines once and for all settled and defined by our forefathers, and which have their recognised place and course in our system.

(3) Wherefore we are resolutely determined to punish the stubborn depravity of these worthless people.

(4) As regards the Manichaeans, concerning whom your carefulness has reported to our serenity, who, in opposition to the older creeds, set up new and unheard-of sects, purposing in their wickedness to cast out the doctrines vouchsafed to us by divine favour in olden times, we have heard that they have but recently advanced or sprung forth, like strange and monstrous portents, from their native homes among the Persians – a nation hostile to us – and have settled in this part of

[13] *Chronographia* XII, ed. L. Dindorf, CSHB (Bonn, 1831), 309.19–310.2; trans. S. Lieu. On this passage see esp. Christensen (1925), 97–9.

the world, where they are perpetrating many evil deeds, disturbing the tranquillity of the peoples and causing the gravest injuries to the civic communities; and there is danger that, in process of time, they will endeavour, as is their usual practice, to infect the innocent, orderly and tranquil Roman people, as well as the whole of our empire, with the damnable customs and perverse laws of the Persians as with the poison of a malignant serpent.

(5) And since all that your prudence has set out in detail in your report of their religion shows that what our laws regard as their misdeeds are clearly the offspring of a fantastic and lying imagination, we have appointed pains and punishments due and fitting for these people.

(6) We order that the authors and leaders of these sects be subjected to severe punishment, and, together with their abominable writings, burnt in the flames. We direct that their followers, if they continue recalcitrant, shall suffer capital punishment, and their goods be forfeited to the imperial treasury.

(7) And if those who have gone over to that hitherto unheard-of, scandalous and wholly infamous creed, or to that of the Persians, are persons who hold public office, or are of any rank or of superior social status, you will see to it that their estates are confiscated and the offenders sent to the (quarry) at Phaeno or the mines at Proconnesus.

(8) And in order that this plague of iniquity shall be completely extirpated from this our most happy age, let your devotion hasten to carry out our orders and commands.

Given at Alexandria, 31 March.

The edict of Diocletian may be compared with the first such one issued by Christian emperors (AD 372, Latin):[14]

Emperors Valentinian and Valens Augusti to Ampelius, urban prefect.

Wherever an assembly[15] of Manichaeans or a crowd of this kind is found, after their teachers have been penalised by a severe punishment and also those persons who assemble have been segregated from the company of men as infamous and ignominious, their houses and habitations, in which the profane instruction is taught, should be appropriated undoubtedly to the fisc's resources.

Given on 2 March at Trier, Modestus and Arinthaeus being consuls.

[14] *CT* XVI.5.3, p. 855; Eng. trans. Coleman-Norton (1966), I, 333.

[15] The law targets the meeting-places of the sect where the authorities feared illicit and magical rites were celebrated. On this see especially Kaden (1953), 58.

26. Warning against door-to-door missions by the Manichaeans

The setting is Rome in the 370s; the source: an anonymous commentator on the Pauline Epistles (Latin).[16]

Although this would fit all heretics, as they (all) inveigle themselves into houses and charm women with persuasive and crafty words so that through them they might deceive the men in the fashion of the devil their father who defrauds Adam through Eve, it matches the Manichaeans above all others. None are so ruthless, so deceitful, so enticing as those whose practice it is to cultivate one idea and declare another, say one thing in private and another in public. Although they uphold saintly living, they lead a life of gross immorality with the support of their own rule. Although they praise compassion, they are found to be harsh towards each other. They preach that the world is to be despised while taking care of their personal advancement. They boastfully vaunt that they are strict in their fasting though they are all well weighed down, because it is only by some trickery that they appear pale so that they may deceive (other people).

The apostle had prophesied this especially about them who, as is well known, were not then in existence; just as neither were the Arians. The Emperor Diocletian makes this quite sure by his edict, in which he says: 'This impure and sordid heresy which has recently arrived from Persia . . . ' They seek out women, who always want to hear something for sheer novelty, and persuade them through what they like to hear to do foul and illicit things. For the women are desirous to learn, though they do not possess the power of discrimination. This is what is meant by, 'always willing to listen but not having the knowledge of the truth' (2 Tim. 3:7).

MANICHAEANS AND CHRISTIAN ASCETICS IN EGYPT

27. Manichaeans out-argued by Didymus the Blind

The attitude of Didymus the Blind in this text (c. AD 350, Greek)[17] may be compared with the guarded courtesy of St Anthony, at least as presented by Athanasius (*c.* AD 340, Greek):[18]

> Anthony's devotion to the faith was most extraordinary. He never held communion with the Meletian schimatics, because he knew their wicked apostasy from

[16] 'Ambrosiaster', *in ep. ad Tim. ii*, 3.6–7, 2, ed. A. Souter, CSEL LXXXI/3, 312.4–20; trans. S. Lieu.
[17] Didymus Alexandrinus, *Expositio in Ecclesiastes* 9.9a, ed. Grünewald (1979), 274.18–275.2.8–10; trans. S. Lieu.
[18] Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 68, *PG* 26.940B; Eng. trans. Keenan (1952) 195–96.

> the beginning; nor did he have friendly dealings with the Manichaeans or any other heretics, except in so far as to admonish them to be converted to piety, for he believed and maintained that friendship and association with them was harmful and destructive to the soul.

And once I (i.e. Didymus the Blind) also said this to the Manichaeans: 'Look, how great this chastity is! He runs no risk of a punishment if he comes together with his wife at the right time; it will bring him no reproach, for it is not counted as offending against the law. As he himself however has gone beyond this law and has yielded himself up to another law intended for angels, that is why he refrains from it as from something which is not fitting for him.'

Like a sophist (the Manichaean) questioned me (by way of a) premise; he said to me: 'What is the will of Jesus?' He wanted me to say, for example: 'Not to marry'; so that he himself could then quote the ancient fathers in the case. He says: 'What is the will of Jesus?' I say: 'That one should do the works of Abraham and believe in Moses.' Instantly, his sophism was dissolved . . . said the word and says to me: 'You have brought together the fist-fighter and the tragedian.' (I say) to him: 'I have not brought the fist-fighter together with the tragedian nor the tragedian with the fist-fighter; but I have put the tragedian with the tragedian and the fist-fighter with the fist-fighter, for I make every effort to be a fair adjudicator.'

28. A travelling Manichaean converted by true 'hospitality'

c. AD 380, Latin.[19]

An old man in Egypt lived in a desert place. And far away lived a Manichaean who was a priest, at least was one of those whom Manichaeans call priests. While the Manichaean was on a journey to visit another of that erroneous sect, he was caught by nightfall in the place where lived this orthodox and holy man. He wanted to knock and go in and ask for shelter; but was afraid to do so, for he knew that he would be refused hospitality. Still, driven by his plight, he put the thought aside, and knocked.

The old man opened the door and recognised him; and he welcomed him joyfully, made him pray with him, gave him supper and a bed. The Manichaean lay thinking in the night, and marvelling: 'Why was he not hostile to me? He is a true servant of God.' And at break of day he rose, and fell at his feet, saying: 'Henceforth I am orthodox, and shall not leave you.' And so he stayed with him.

[19] *Verba Seniorum* XIII.II, *PL* 73.945; Eng. trans. Chadwick (1958), 146–7.

29. A Manichaean missionary challenged to trial by fire

The setting is Hermopolis (*c.* AD 390, Greek).[20]

On one occasion I (i.e. Copres, a holy man) went down to the city (Hermopolis Magna), and there I found a certain Manichaean who had been leading the people astray. As I was unable to make him change his mind by debating with him in public, turning to the crowd of listeners I said: 'Light a large fire in the square and both of us shall enter the flames; and whichever one of us remains unhurt, he shall be the one with the true faith.' At this the crowd eagerly lit the fire and dragged us towards the flames. However, the Manichaean said: 'Let each of us go in by himself, and you should be the first one since you suggested it.' Then, having made upon myself the sign of the cross in the name of Christ, I went into the fire. The flames parted asunder this way and that and did not harm me for the half hour which I spent in the fire. At the sight of this miracle, the crowd made a loud acclamation and compelled the Manichaean to go into the fire; but he dragged his feet as he was frightened, and the crowd took hold of him and pushed him into the middle of the fire. He suffered serious burns all over his body and the crowd expelled him from the city in disgrace,[21] shouting: 'The deceiver should be burnt alive.' As for me, the crowd carried me with them to the church, ascribing praises to God as they went.

30. A food-test imposed by the Patriarch Timothy

In this way Timothy of Alexandria (*sedit* 380–5) was able to detect and expose crypto-Manichaeans; this according to Eutychius (Sa'id ibn Batriq) (Arabic).[22]

Most bishops in Egypt were Manichaeans. They (the former) therefore ate meat, as did the patriarchs and the monks. The patriarchs of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch and of the holy city and their bishops and monks did not eat meat; but replaced it with fish, and ate it because fish was said to be an animal too.

Sa'id ibn Batriq, the practising physician, says: Timothy, the Patriarch of Alexandria, did not permit the eating of meat, in order that it be replaced by fish. By the 'eating of meat' he meant the sacrifice, and fish is not a

[20] *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* x.30–5 (191–225), ed. Festugière (1961), 87–8; Eng. trans. S. Lieu. Cf. Latin version in Rufinus, *Historia Monachorum* 9, *PL* 21.426c–27b.

[21] A later version of the story given in Syriac by Anan-Isho says that the Manichaean was entirely consumed by the fire. Cf. 'Enaniso' Monachus, *Paradisum Patrum*, ed. Budge (1904), 416.9.

[22] Ed. Breydey (1985), Textus, 83; Eng. trans. by Dr S. Calderini for the *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum* (unpublished). On this passage see esp. Stroumsa (1986), 312.

sacrifice. There is a class of Manichaeans who are known as 'hearers' (Arab. *sammakini*), and they eat fish because it is not a sacrifice; but they forbid the 'eating of meat' because it is a sacrifice. They who have replaced meat with fish are in error. Our lord Christ ate meat. It follows necessarily then that everyone who confesses the Christian religion eats (i.e. must eat) meat too like Christ, to be precise at least once a year; in order to repudiate any suspicion of heresy and to renounce Manichaeism publicly.

The Manichaeans had two groups: the group of 'hearers' and the group of 'righteous ones' (*saddikeni*). The righteous ones fasted always (at all times), and only ate what the earth produces. The hearers fasted on certain days of the month. When they became Christians they were afraid that, if they continued to eat no meat, they would be discovered and killed. So they set for themselves times of fasting: at Christmas, at the feasts of the apostles and of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. During these times of fasting they did not eat meat. By this means they divided the year up with (times of) fasting without running the risk of being recognised because of their refusal to eat meat. After some considerable time they were followed on this path by the Nestorians, the Jacobites and the Maronites. In this way a law was made of it.

31. A story of two Manichaean merchants

These merchants are portrayed masquerading as traders in Christian relics. The story is related in a sermon on the Wedding in Cana by the Patriarch Benjamin of Alexandria (*c.* AD 643, Coptic).[23]

There came also two priests, wishing to pay a visit there. They happened to be foreigners, being merchants in Egypt; and since they were staying in the oratory, they slept near to us at night.

Now in the middle of the night I heard a voice crying out: 'Give what is holy to the holy.' And the voice cried out until dawn broke.

We spent five months in that place. After that, we arose and went south. The brothers received us among them very gladly. And as for the two priests, God ordained that they should not leave the place at all, although they entered the oratory as if to stay just until the following day and then go on their way; but it was as though someone had chained them with iron, and they were unable to come out and go anywhere.

[23] On this passage see esp. Stroumsa (1986), 312 Ed. de Vies (1922), 80–8. Eng. trans. Dr S. Clackson (slightly adapted). See also the text of C. D. G. Müller (1968), 162 and 184; also Johnson (1987), 209.

After this, it happened that the good God wanted to relieve our suffering. Peace flourished once more in the church, and the people rejoiced with us; by God's will we returned northwards, and went to Alexandria. And, when I reached that oratory, I intended to go in to perceive the words I had heard there. When I went in through the door with the crowd of faithful who were with me, the voice cried out again: 'Give what is holy to the holy.' I spent a week in that place during which the voice cried out day and night: 'Give what is holy to the holy.' God inspired me not to leave that place until I knew everything. I thought to myself: 'Perhaps those priests have got hold of some martyrs' bones.' I called to one of them, and said to him: 'Before you came into this *topos* there was no noise like this in it. Since you came in here there have been all these voices; perhaps you have some martyrs' bones that you took by stealth. If so, bring them here to me so that I can send them on their way in peace. If not, believe me, I will send you to the governor at Antinoe and have you thoroughly questioned; but tell me the whole truth.'

However, he was very frightened and said to me: 'My holy father, we have committed a grave sin; but I will tell you what we have done. For more than five years now, I and my companion here have been on the road selling our lord's body, for we are Manichaeans.[24] We were persecuted when found doing this in our own country; the governors in our country prepared to inflict great suffering on us. However, we gave a large sum of money so that they would let us go on, being driven out of our country. And they said to us as follows: "The day that we find you in this country your sin will be upon you; and you will be punished by fire." We arose, left our house and came to this country. We went into a church, for every year a large crowd came to it to stay there. The people of the village took us into a church, so that we might give our blessing in it. We rose to our feet, took a large consecrated host and divided it; then we took away all the relics of all the bodies, which we shared out. We set out for the sea (or the Fayum), to give them to the devil who was living there. Believe me, o my holy father, since we came into this oratory we have become like people in irons, unable to go outside the door. And when we propose to go out, it is as if we were bound up. In any case, listen to those who cry out, and question them; because you are the high priest and the shepherd. And let it be as you command.'

[24] The identification of these two merchants as Manichaean is seen by some scholars as a polemical topos. On this controversial passage, see discussions in Rochow (1979), 15–16, Grillmeier (1990), 171, n. 4; also Klein (1992), 373–4.

And when I heard this my whole body trembled, my soul dissolved with fear. I wept copiously and cried out, saying: 'Woe is me, wretch that I am! For what manner of sin rules over the world! O God, my God! Have pity, merciful one! Do not be angry with your heritage because of earthly sinners; but lord, give the wrongdoers their just reward, and wipe out the sinners.'

And I summoned that impious priest. The other also replied these things to me. And it happened that, when I had heard them speaking thus, I stood up with the bishop, priests and other members of the clergy. I had candles and incense burned. We left and went to those men's lodgings. The things (i.e. the consecrated hosts) were brought out, and given to me on a silver plate. And I cried out and wept: 'Woe is me, wretched man that I am! For I sleep on soft beds, while the body of my saviour is in the hands of these impious men. Woe is me, wretch that I am! For I eat and drink, while the very body of my saviour is in the hands of these impious men, who wander with him from place to place.' And I placed both of them under guard. I took the holy relics to the church, the bell was rung for prayer; and we made preparations to receive the blessing. And when we had finished the holy anaphora, I had the holy relics brought onto the altar; and at that moment they emitted blood, until the altar cloths were soaked. And when we had dismissed the congregation I sat down and wrote a letter to Shenute, the God-loving *dux* at Antinoe.[25] And I wrote to him thus: 'Who can count the grains of sand which are scattered on the sea shores? – as it is said in the scriptures. Who can count the grave sins of the devil's children? I mean those who even now are selling the body of the lord, and receive money for it; like Judas, who betrayed his lord for thirty pieces of silver so that he might be crucified. Who can shut his ears so as not to hear what we write to you, o Christ-loving one? Truly heaven trembles at what we are about to tell you, o God-loving son; and the earth moves this way and that, because of the audacity of two impious men, who deserve the fate of Arius who had his stomach ripped open, and died a death more terrible than that of any man. Believe me, o my God-loving one, that when I began to write to you to tell you what has happened, my whole body trembled, my eyes watered and I was powerless to describe what happened.

Still, it is indeed necessary for us to tell you, o Christ-loving one, what has happened; and when you have heard it for yourself, your body will tremble. For when you have questioned them (i.e. the Manichaeans), men of their sort absolve thieves, fornicators and (those who commit) the other

[25] The *Dux* Shenute (*Dux Thebaidis* 641/42) later played an important role in the surrender of Byzantine forces in Lower Egypt to the Arabs. Cf. 'Senuthius (Sīnōdā) 2' in Martindale (1992), 1122.

sins all men commit. For if men sin against the good God, who will snatch them away from the punishments which he will bring upon them? Lest we get carried away in a long discourse to you, o God-serving one, here are the brothers of Judas the traitor, whom we have sent to you bound up. For indeed, in the same way as he sold the lord, they have also sold the lord.

However, Judas sold the lord once; these men, on the contrary, have sold him many times. The Jews crucified the lord once; these men, on the contrary, have crucified the lord many times. In fact these men we have sent to you are Manichaeans, who sell the lord for money.

Now therefore, the throne of Mark the evangelist commands you, o God-loving one, to deal with them in accordance with your wisdom. Be well, our beloved son. We are praying for you so that you are well in the lord.'

When we had written this, we put them in irons and sent them to Antinoe.

And when he had read the letter, he was not remiss in any way. He ordered a copper cauldron to be brought and filled with oil and pork fat, and a fire to be lit underneath it until the flames leapt very high. He tied them up and threw them into it. And the fire burned up their whole bodies, and nothing at all could be found of them.

MANICHAEISM IN THE LEVANT, ASIA MINOR AND GREECE

32. The debate between the Manichaea Julia and Porphyry the bishop of Gaza

Manichaeism had first entered the Roman Empire via the trade routes from the east; and, although there are not such substantial remains or accounts of its success as exist for Egypt and North Africa, there is certainly enough evidence to show that it was a major force throughout the eastern Mediterranean world of the fourth century. One of the scant material (excluding textual) remains is the famous sepulchral inscription of a Manichaean electa at Salona (early 4th C., Greek):[26]

Bassa, a virgin[27] from Lydia, a (female) Manichaean.

There is also this plea for toleration, by Libanius the sophist of Antioch to Priscianus Governor of Palestina Prima (*c.* AD 364, Greek):[28]

Those who venerate the sun without (performing) blood (sacrifices) and honour it as a god of the second grade and chastise their appetites and look

[26] Cf. Egger *et al.* (ed.) (1926), II, 52–3 and 73, Inscription 73. See also the important study of Cumont and Kugener (1912), 175–7.

[27] The term 'virgin' (Gr. *parthenos*) is used in Coptic Manichaean texts synonymously with *electa.* See esp. *Hom.* 22.6.

[28] *Ep.* 1253, ed. R. Foerster, *Libanii opera,* xi, 329; Eng. trans. S. Lieu. Cf. Seeck (1906), 244–5.

upon their last day as their gain are found in many places of the world but everywhere a few only. They harm no one but they are harassed by some people. I wish that those of them who live in Palestine may have your authority for refuge and be free from anxiety and that those who wish to harm them may not be allowed to do so.

However, as elsewhere, it is accounts of Christian success that were mainly preserved by the victorious church; for instance, the conversion of a Manichaean leading citizen in Sparta to orthodox Christianity by the holy man Sarapion the Sidonite (end of fourth century?, Greek):[29]

However, having come to the country where the Spartans live, he heard that one of the first men of the city was a Manichaean with all his house, though virtuous in other respects. To him again he sold himself as he had done at first; and within two years he induced him to forsake his heresy, and brought him to the church and his wife also. Then they loved him no longer as a servant, but treated him as a true brother or father and glorified God.

The following text recounts another success, resulting from the debate between the Manichaea Julia and Porphyry the bishop of Gaza, as told by Mark the deacon (*c.* 400, Greek).[30]

85. About that time, a woman from Antioch named Julia arrived in the city, she confessed to the abominable heresy of those known as Manichaeans; now, discovering that among the Christians there were some neophytes who were not yet confirmed in the holy faith, this woman infiltrated herself among them, and surreptitiously corrupted them with her impostor's doctrine, and still further by giving them money. For the inventor of the said atheist heresy was unable to attract followers except by bribing them. In fact, the said doctrine, at least, for those in their right minds, is full of every kind of blasphemy, damnable things and old wives' tales, only useful for attracting feeble women and childish men, short on reasoning and intelligence. This false doctrine of different heresies and pagan beliefs was created with the treacherous and fraudulent intention of enticing all kinds of people. In fact the Manichaeans worship many gods, thus wishing

[29] Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 37.8, ed. Bartelink (1974), 186–7 (64–71); trans. Lowther Clarke (1918), 130.

[30] Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii Gazensis*, 85–91, eds. Gregoire and Kugener (1930) 66–71; Eng. trans. Lieu and S. Vince. Cf. Burkitt (1925), 7–11, Trombley (1993), 229–34, Lim (1995), 16–30 and Scopello (1997). Considerable doubt exists over the authenticity of the *vita* because of the numerous anachronisms and chronological and prosopographical errors which it contains; but the account of the debate fits well with our knowledge of public debates between Christian and Manichaean leaders of this period.

to please the pagans; besides which, they believe in horoscopes, fate, and astrology in order to be able to sin without fear since, according to them, we are not really accountable for sin, it is the result of a fateful necessity.

86. They also confess Christ, but claim that he was only apparently incarnate. As well as that, they who claim to be Christians themselves only appear to be so. I leave aside that which is ridiculous and offensive in order to avoid filling my audience's ears with the sound of scandalous words and monstrous suggestions. For they constructed their heresy by mixing the fables of the comic Philistion, Hesiod and other so-called philosophers with Christian beliefs. Just as a painter obtains the semblance of a man, an animal or some other object by mixing colours to delude the viewers, so that fools and madmen believe these images are real, whereas sensible people will only see in them shadows, portent and human invention. In the same way, the Manichaeans have created their doctrine by drawing on many beliefs; or, in other words, they have mixed the venom from various reptiles to make a deadly poison capable of destroying human souls. For as I have said, on the arrival of this pestilential woman, some Christians allowed themselves to be taken in by her false teaching.

87. Some days later, warned by some of the faithful, Porphyry sent for her and questioned her about herself, her origins and the doctrine she followed. The woman gave her country of birth and declared that she was Manichaean. Her companions were seized with rage (the bishop had some zealous Christians with him). The holy man told them not to be angry; but patiently to admonish the guilty woman *once and twice* according to the word of the holy apostle. Then he said to the woman: 'My sister, abstain from this false doctrine, because it is Satan's.' She answered: 'Speak and listen: either you will convince me, or you will be convinced.' The holy man said to her: 'Prepare yourself to come here tomorrow.' She took leave of him and withdrew. Having fasted and prayed to Christ at length in order to confound the devil, the holy man prepared himself for the next day. He invited some of the clerks and pious laity to the meeting he was to have with the woman.

88. The next day, the woman arrived with two men and two women. All four of them were young and good-looking, but very pale; as for Julia, she was well on in years. All of them, especially Julia, based their reasoning on the order of world knowledge. Their attitude was humble and they spoke quietly, as befits the word: *Wolves in sheep's clothing* and venomous beasts. Everything they do and everything they say is hypocrisy. Then, asked to sit down, they began the discussion. The saint, bearing the scriptures, first made the sign of the cross, and began to question Julia, asking her

to state her belief. She began her account of it. As for brother Cornelius, the aforementioned deacon, who had studied the writings of Ennomos (on short-hand systems?)[31] on the orders of the blessed bishop; he took down all that was said, and all the answers, dictated by brother Barochas and myself. I have not transcribed their dialogue in this book because it is too long and I wanted the present writing to be precise; but I have put the conversation into another work[32] for those who would like to know about the wisdom which God gave to saint Porphyry, and the *old wives' tales* told by Julia, the poisoner given to monstrous ramblings, who is swiftly brought to divine justice.

89. Now when she had uttered her usual copious and lengthy stories and blasphemies against the lord and God of the universe, the holy man Porphyry, seeing he who encompasses all things visible and invisible blasphemed by a woman possessed of the devil and subservient to his will, made the following accusation to her: 'God who has made all things, the one eternal being without beginning or end, he who is glorified in the Trinity will strike your tongue and stop your mouth to prevent you from uttering blasphemies.'

90. Punishment followed quickly upon sentence. Julia began to shake and her expression changed. She remained for a long time as if in ecstasy; she no longer spoke, but remained silent and motionless, her eyes wide open and fixed upon the most holy bishop. Seeing what had happened to her, her companions were terrified. They tried to revive her, murmuring incantations in her ear; but she said not a word, and heard nothing. Having remained silent for a long time, she gave up the ghost and returned to the darkness which she revered and considered as light, according to the scripture which says: *Woe unto those who make sweetness bitter and bitterness sweet, who change darkness into light, and light into darkness*. The holy man Porphyry ordered her body to be placed in a shroud and buried, out of pity for human nature; for he was extremely merciful.

91. And all those who learned of the events were seized with great stupefaction, not only those of our faith, but also the pagans. As for the two men and two women who accompanied Julia, and all those who had been beguiled by her, they ran to throw themselves at the feet of the blessed bishop, crying: 'We have sinned!' And they asked for pardon. The saint made all of them anathematise Mani, the founder of their heresy, he to whom they owe their title of Manichaeans. And, having duly instructed

[31] Scopello (1997) comm. *ad loc*., p. 190 suggests other readings, e.g. *ek nomou semeia* 'les signes de la loi'.

[32] This separate work has unfortunately not survived.

them for several days, he led them to the holy catholic church. On the occasion of their conversion other gentiles repented and were baptised.

33. The conversion of the Manichaeans at Ziph

According to this text, the Manichaeans at Ziph (in Palestine) were converted through the monk Euthymius (before AD 428, Greek).[33]

In this region (i.e. Caparbaricha) he (i.e. Euthymius) founded a monastery. The cause of the foundation of this monastery is said to have been as follows. A son of a certain headman of the village of Aristobulias had an evil spirit and would in his shrieks invoke the holy Euthymius by name. The father of the boy, hearing of Euthymius's being in the region between his village and Caparbaricha, made search and came to him. As soon as the youth saw the saint, he was thrown into convulsions and the demon came out of him, at which he was cured. When the miracle was noised abroad, people came to him from Aristobulias and the villages round about and built him a monastery; some brethren gathered and remained with him while God satisfied their bodily needs. Some of the people of Ziph who had formerly adopted the heresy called after 'mania'[34] renounced the impure heresy as a result of his inspired teaching; declaring anathema on Manes, its begetter, they were instructed in the catholic and apostolic faith and baptised.

34. The works of Mani and of Mār Addā refuted by Heraclianus of Chalcedon

The anti-Manichaean books of Heraclianus (fl. early-mid fifth century AD?) are only known to us as described by the patriarch Photius of Constantinople (Greek).[35]

I (i.e. Photius) read the twenty books of Heraclianus, bishop of Chalcedon, *Against the Manichaeans*. His style is concise, free from redundancies, lofty, not wanting in clearness, at the same time tempered with dignity. He combines atticism with ordinary language, like a teacher of boys entering into a contest of superatticism. He refutes the *Gospel*, the *Book of the Giants* and the *Treasures* (i.e. the *Thesaurus*) of the Manichaeans. He also gives a list of those who wrote against the Manichaean impiety before him: Hegemonius, who wrote out the disputation of Archelaus against Manes

[33] Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 12, ed. Schwartz (1939) 22.22–23.3; Eng. trans. Price (1991) 18. On this episode, see esp. Stroumsa (1985) 276.
[34] A standard word-play in Christian polemics.
[35] Photius, *Bibliotheca* 85 (65a/b) ed. P. Henry, 9–10; Eng. trans. Freese (1920) 151–2, revised by S. Lieu.

(i.e. Mani); Titus, who was supposed to be an opponent of the Manichaeans, whereas he rather attacked the writings of Addas; George of Laodicea, who uses nearly the same arguments as Titus against the impious heresy; Serapion, bishop of Thmuis; lastly, Diodorus, who wrote twenty-five books against the Manichaeans, in the first seven of which he imagines that he is refuting the *Living Gospel* of Manes, instead of the work of Addas named *Modion* (i.e. Bushel, cf. Mark 4.19), as is really the case. In the remaining books he explains and clears up the meaning of certain passages in the scriptures which the Manichaeans were in the habit of appropriating to support their own views. Such is his account of Diodorus. Any statements in the works of these fathers (as the pious Heraclianus calls them) that do not appear to be sufficiently emphatic, he briefly confirms, carefully supplies what is missing, and quotes with approval in their entirety passages which are adequate for the purpose, adding further reflections of his own.

The man is full of philosophical vigour, and is admirably equipped with the theoretical knowledge of other branches of learning. Hence, he energetically combats and overthrows the trifling fables of Manichaeus, and from the consideration of what exists refutes the fabulous nonsense about being.

This treatise against the Manichaeans was written at the request of a certain Achillius, whom the author calls his faithful and beloved son. This Achillius, seeing that the Manichaean heresy was growing, begged that it might be publicly refuted, and this work was written, an unexceptionable triumph over impiety. This most pious Heraclianus flourished in . . .[36]

MANICHAEISM IN ITALY AND NORTH AFRICA

35. The young Augustine joins the sect at Carthage as a hearer

The selection of texts turns now to the autobiographical passages from Augustine's *Confessions*. This episode must be dated to *c.* 374 (Latin).[37]

Thus did I fall among men mad with pride, extremely carnal and talkative, in whose mouths were the snares of the devil, smeared with a sticky mixture

[36] The loss of the date is most unfortunate and there is no agreement among scholars on the date of Heraclianus. Since few Manichaean canonical works would have survived in the sixth century because of the severity of the anti-heretical laws of Justinian, Heraclianus was most likely to have flourished before the end of the fifth century.

[37] Augustinus, *Confessiones*, III.VI.10, eds. Gibb and Montgomery (1908) 61–2; Eng. trans. Bourke, (1953), 57 (slightly adapted). On this passage see the detailed commentary by O'Donnell (1992) II, 173–81.

of the syllables of your name and that of our lord Jesus Christ and of the Paraclete our consoler, the Holy Spirit.[38] These names never left their lips, but were empty sound and the rattling of the tongue; for the rest, their heart was void of truth. They kept saying: 'Truth, truth'; and they said often to me, yet it was never in them. Rather they continually spoke false things, not only of you, who are truly the truth, but also of the elements of this world, your creatures.

Augustine accepts the alimentary rationale of the sect:[39]

While I was ignorant of this, I ridiculed those who are your saintly servants and prophets. And what was I doing while ridiculing them but becoming more ridiculous in your sight, gradually and little by little being drawn into such foolishness that I believed that a fig weeps when it is plucked, and that the tree, its mother, sheds milky tears?[40] And, if some "saint" ate this fig, plucked by another man and not by his own impious action, he would blend it in his bowels and breathe forth angels from it, even little pieces of God were imprisoned in this fruit unless released by the teeth of the 'elect.' Unfortunately, I believed that mercy should be shown to the fruits of the earth rather than to the men for whom they were produced. For, if a hungry man, not a Manichaean, were to ask for food and if it were given him, I would have thought that mouthful destined to receive capital punishment.

Monica, mother of Augustine, comforted by a Christian bishop who had once been a Manichaean scribe:[41]

Yes, you did give another answer through your priest, a certain bishop who was educated in the church and well trained in your books. When that woman (Monica) begged him to be good enough to talk with me and refute my errors, to teach me to unlearn evil things and to learn good things (he would do this whenever he happened to find any suitable listeners), he refused, prudently of course, as I later realised. He replied that I was not yet teachable, due to the fact that I was puffed up with pride at the novelty of

[38] In the *Psalm-Book* (*PsBk2*. 49.29–31) we find the Father of Light, Jesus the Splendour and Mani the Paraclete praised as a form of Trinity. However Mani, who claimed to be the Paraclete through his divine Syzygos, was not always identified with the Holy Spirit. In the opening section of the Parthian *Sermon of the Light-Nous*, readers are requested to make obeisance to 'Father, . . . Son and Holy Spirit' (M351 R 1–2, ed. Sundermann (1992), §1, p. 62).

[39] Aug., *Conf.* III.x.18, ed. cit. 74–5; trans. cit. 67–8 (slightly adapted). Augustine gives a fuller explanation of the redemptive role of the digestive systems of the *electi* in *de mor. Manich*. XV.36; cf. BeDuhn (2000), 171–2.

[40] On weeping / bleeding plants see *CMC* 6–10 (above, **3**); also Aug., *c. Faust.* VI.4.

[41] Aug., *Conf.* III.xii.21, ed. cit. 77; trans. cit. 70–1 (slightly adapted).

that heresy and that I had disturbed many unlearned people with all sorts of trifling questions, as she had pointed out to him. 'But,' he said, 'let him stay where he is. Just pray to the lord for him. He will find out himself, by reading, what the error is and how great an impiety.' At the same time he also told her how he, as a little boy, was given over to the Manichaeans by his mother, who had been led astray, and that he had not only read nearly all their writings, but had even copied them often, and, without anyone arguing in opposition or convincing him, it became clear to him how much this sect was to be avoided. And so he had left it.

A visit to Carthage by the Manichaean bishop Faustus, as recounted by Augustine (383):[42]

I shall speak out, in the sight of my God, concerning that twenty-ninth year of my life. A certain Manichaean bishop, Faustus[43] by name, had just come to Carthage. He was a great snare of the devil and many people were trapped by the lure of the sweetness of his speech. Now, though I did admire this, I was becoming able to distinguish it from the truth of things which I was eager to learn. I looked not to the kind of vessel in which his discourse was served, but to what this highly reputed Faustus was putting before me as food for knowledge. For I had heard advance reports about him, that he was most expert in all worthwhile teachings and especially learned in the liberal arts.

Augustine's disappointment with Faustus (383):[44]

12. For after it was quite clear to me that he was unlearned in those arts in which I had thought that he excelled, I began to lose hope that it would be possible for him to clarify and resolve the matters which were troubling me. Of course, he could have been quite ignorant of these matters and still have possessed the truth of piety, but only if he had not been a Manichaean. For, their books are filled with the most lengthy fables about the heavens, the stars, the sun, and the moon. Now, what I desired really from him was that a careful explanation be given me as to whether these things, in the light of the conflicting numerical explanations that I had read elsewhere, were indeed just as the books of Mani showed them, or at least whether an equally acceptable explanation could be gained from those books. That he could do this I no longer believed.

[42] Aug., *Conf.* v.iii.3, ed. cit. 109–10; trans. cit. 103 (slightly adapted).

[43] A native of Milevis in Numidia, his parents were pagans. On this best known of Manichaean leaders in the Roman West, see especially Brückner (1901), 1–18 and Decret (1970), 51–70.

[44] Aug., *Conf.* v.vii.12–13, ed. cit. 118–19; trans. cit. 112–13 (slightly adapted).

Nevertheless, when I did present these things for consideration and discussion, he quite modestly refused to take up the burden. He knew that he was ignorant of these things and he was not ashamed to confess it. He was not like those persons, whose loquacity I have often endured, who have tried to teach me these things and have said nothing. This man was possessed of a heart, though not properly directed to you, which was, however, not lacking in prudent care of himself. He was not altogether ignorant of his own ignorance and he refused to be forced into a rash discussion of something from which there was not exit, or easy way out, for himself. Even in this, he pleased me all the more. For, the moderation of a frank mind is more beautiful than those things which I craved to know. Such did I find him in regard to all the more difficult and subtle problems.

13. And so, when the interest which I had directed to the works of the Manichaeans was turned aside, and I was less hopeful of their other teachers, because, in the many problems which I had, that renowned master made this poor showing, I began to spend some time with him because of his own enthusiastic interest in that very literature of which I was then a rhetorician, already teaching to the young men of Carthage. Thus, I read with him either the things he knew by repute and wanted to hear, or which I judged suitable to his natural bent. For the rest, any desire of mine to make progress in that sect was definitely killed when I came to know that man. Not that I parted company with them completely, but, as one who could find nothing better than what I had already somehow or other fallen into, I had decided to be content for the time being, unless, perchance, something else which seemed preferable should appear.

Thus, that man Faustus, who had been for so many people a deadly snare, unwillingly and unknowingly began now to loosen that snare of mine in which I had been caught.

Augustine was taken care of by the Manichaeans at Rome, who also helped him to secure the Chair of Rhetoric in Milan (end of 383 to early 384):[45]

18. . . . I was associating even then, in Rome,[46] with those false and fallacious "saints":[47] not just with their hearers, to which rank the man in whose home I recuperated and regained my health,[48] but even with those whom they call

[45] Aug., *Conf.* v.x.18–xiii.23 (with omissions), ed. cit. 126–7; trans. cit. 119–25 (slightly adapted).

[46] Augustine left Carthage for Rome at the end of 383 to pursue his career as a rhetorician. Faustus, who had been based in Italy before, probably gave him the necessary introductions to the members of the community in Rome. Manichaeans were well known for their hospitality to visiting co-believers.

[47] The Manichaeans in the west did consider themselves a community of saints. On this see Lim (1989).

[48] This auditor or hearer was very likely Constantius who later tried to establish a Manichaean community in Rome. See next section.

the elect. For, up to that time, it seemed to me that it is not we who sin, but some other unknown nature within us which sins. It was a joy to my pride to be set apart from culpability, and, when I had done some evil thing, not to confess that I had done it (so that you might heal my soul because it was sinning against you), but I loved rather to excuse myself and accuse some other unknown being which existed with me and yet was not I. In truth, of course, the whole was myself, and my impiety had divided against myself. This sin was all the more incurable because I did not consider myself a sinner . . . So, until then, I associated with their elect, but now, losing hope that I could make any progress in that false teaching, I followed its tenets with a slackness and negligence, determined to acquiesce in them only if I could find nothing better.

I did not neglect to criticise my host's overcredulity, which I felt he had in regard to the fabulous things with which the Manichaean books were filled. I continued, however, in closer friendship with the Manichaeans than with other men who did not belong to this heresy. I did not defend it with my original zeal, but their friendship (Rome concealed a good many of them) made me less eager to seek anything else, particularly since I had no hope of finding the truth in your church, o lord of heaven and earth, creator of all things visible and invisible. . . .

xiii.23. After a time, a request was sent from Milan to the prefect of Rome that a master of rhetoric be provided for that city, and he was to travel by public conveyance. I myself made the round of those men who were intoxicated with Manichaean vanities (from whom my departure was to separate me, though neither they nor I were aware of it) so that I might be granted an audition, and, when approved, the prefect, who was Symmachus[49] at that time, would send me.

36. A Manichaean house at Rome

Augustine's account of a failed attempt by the Manichaean hearer Constantius to set up a hostel for mendicant Manichaean *electi* in Rome (between AD 384 and 388, Latin).[50]

What more shall I say about your practices? I have mentioned the things that I myself discovered and which took place while I was in that city.

[49] Q. Aurelius Symmachus, who was *Praefectus Urbi* 384/5, was a staunch pagan. He probably appointed Augustine to counterbalance the influence of Ambrose, the bishop of the city.

[50] Augustinus, *De moribus Manichaeorum,* XX (74), ed. J. B. Bauer, CSEL 90 (Vienna, 1992) 154–6; Eng. trans. D. A. and I. J. Gallagher (1966), 115–16. On this episode see esp. Decret (1978), II, 12–13 n. 8; and Courcelle (1968), 227–9.

What went on at Rome during my absence would take too long to describe in detail, but I shall give a brief account of it, for the affair erupted with such violence that it could not remain hidden, even from those who were absent. Later on when I was back in Rome, I was able to verify everything I had heard, although the person who had related the story had himself been present and was so well known to me and so reliable that I could not doubt him in the least.

One of your hearers,[51] a man unsurpassed even by the elect in their famous abstinence, and liberally educated as well, was eager to defend your sect and used to do so with great eloquence. He was very much perturbed that the opponents so often brought up the profligate behaviour of the elect who lived disordered lives, scattered about in the poorest lodgings. Therefore, he wanted to gather all those who were prepared to live according to the precepts into his own house, if it were possible, and to maintain them at his own expense, for he cared little for money and had more than ordinary wealth. He complained, however, that his efforts in this direction were hindered by the laxity of the bishops, whose co-operation was indispensable to the plan.

At last, a certain bishop of yours (i.e. the Manichaeans) was found, a man altogether crude and unpolished, as I myself know, yet somehow, on account of this rough nature, more strict in the observance of good morals. The hearer seized upon this man, so long awaited and now at hand, and placed before him his plan. The bishop commended him and agreed to be the first one to take up his abode in the house. As soon as this was accomplished, all of the elect who were able to be at Rome were gathered together and the rule of life from the epistle of Manichaeus was set forth. It appeared intolerable to many of them, and they departed. However, quite a few remained out of shame. They began to live as they had agreed to and as their great authority had prescribed, while the hearer began vigorously to enforce everything upon everyone, although nothing which he did not first take upon himself.

Meanwhile, quarrels broke out repeatedly among the elect, and they hurled recriminations at one another. Distressed over the things he heard, the hearer so arranged it that they unwittingly exposed each other in their altercations. Monstrous and abominable deeds were brought to light. In this way, the character of those who had considered themselves capable of submitting to the full rigour of the precepts was made known. What, then,

[51] The name of the hearer was Constantius. Cf. Augustine, *c. Faust.* V.5, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL 25/1 (Vienna, 1891), 277.21.

must we suspect of the others, or rather, what is to be our judgement of them? And then what? They at last got together and complained that the rules could not be kept. A revolt broke out. The hearer presented his case in a brief disjunction, that either the whole rule had to be observed, or else he who had prescribed a rule with conditions that no one could fulfil must be regarded as an utter fool. Nevertheless, and it could hardly have been otherwise, the violent uproar of the crowd prevailed over the opinion of one man. The bishop himself finally gave up and fled in complete disgrace, for it was reported that he had often been discovered with food smuggled in against the rule, and that he had a purse full of money which he kept carefully hidden.

37. Letter of the Manichaean Secundinus to Augustine

Secundinus writes from Rome, questioning the depth of the latter's involvement in the sect (*c.* AD 405/6, Latin).[52]

Secundinus to Augustine, the lord who is deservedly to be honoured and praised and uniquely to be venerated.

I feel and express my gratitude to the ineffable and most holy majesty and to his first born, the king of all lights Jesus Christ, and I humbly bring the gratitude I feel to the Holy Spirit, because they have given and offered me the opportunity to greet freely your excellent holiness, lord, who are deservedly to be praised and uniquely to be venerated. Nor is it surprising, for they are most capable and most powerful both at providing all good things and at warding off all evils; from which may they protect your goodness with their defences, and rescue it from that evil – not the one which is nothing or which is produced by the strife and passion of mortals, but the one which has been made ready to come. Woe to him who shall have offered himself as its opportunity! For you deserve to receive such gifts from them and that they should be made nurturers of your truth, you who are really a lantern which the right hand of truth has placed in the lampstand of your heart, to stop the inheritance of your treasure being despoiled by the arrival of the thief. They should order that your house should stand without collapsing, as you have built it not upon the sand of error, but on the rock of knowledge; and should deflect from us that evil spirit which strikes fear and treachery into men, so as to divert souls from the narrow path of the saviour. (894) That spirit's every assault is spread

[52] Secundinus, *epistula ad Augustinum*, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL XXV/2, 893–901; Eng. trans. M. Vermes. The letter precedes Augustine's polemical treatise *Contra Secundinum Manichaeum*, ibid., 905–47. On Secundinus see Desmulliez *et al.* (eds.) (2000), 2008–9 ('Secundinus 2').

abroad by means of those princes against whom the apostle states in his letter to the Ephesians that he has entered the battle. For he says that he 'is battling not against flesh and blood, but against princes and powers, against the spiritual forces of evil that exist in the heavens.' And rightly so. For who would take up weapons to fight, and not to fight against an armed enemy, against the one who is on the attack? For as the bodies of men are the weapons of sin, so the precepts of salvation are the weapons of righteousness. This is what Paul testifies, and this is what Manichaeus himself testifies.

Therefore it is not a fight involving weapons, but involving spirits that use those weapons. However they fight for the sake of souls. In their midst is placed a soul, to which from the beginning its own nature has given the victory. If this soul has acted in unity with the spirit of virtues, with that spirit it shall have eternal life and possess that kingdom to which our lord invites us; if on the other hand it begins to be led astray by the spirit of vices and gives its consent, and then after its consent shows repentance, it will obtain a source of pardon for these disgraces. For it is seduced by being mixed with flesh, not by its own volition; but if having learnt to know itself it consents to evil and does not arm itself against the enemy, it has sinned by its own volition. If it is once again ashamed of its error then it will find the author of mercies ready. For it is not punished because it has sinned, but because it has not repented of its sin. Yet if it passes away in that same sin without pardon, then it will be shut out, then it will be like the foolish virgin, then it will be the heir of the left hand, then it will be driven by the lord from the wedding banquet because of its black clothing, to where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth, and it shall go with the devil to the fire of his own origin. Your remarkable learning either recounts that the devil was made from an archangel (p. 895) or states that he is nothing. Why in that case shall the just reign? Why shall apostles and martyrs be crowned? Is it entirely because they have won nothing? How greatly is the victor's power nullified, when his opponent is already stated to have no strength! Change your opinion I beg you, cast off the treachery of your Punic race[53] and change your conversion, that you made from fear, back to the truth. Do not make excuses with these lies.

My slight and nondescript Roman intellect[54] has read a number of writings by your reverend honour, in which you show as much anger with

[53] An almost 'racist' reference to Augustine's North African backgound.

[54] This is normally taken as a reference to the fact that Secundinus wrote from Rome and that he knew Augustine when he sojourned with the sect in the city. However, the term 'Roman' here could be used simply as a contrast to that of 'Punic'.

the truth[55] as does Hortensius with philosophy.[56] When I had read them a second and third time with my judgement suspended and a quick eye, I found everywhere a supreme orator and almost a god of complete eloquence, but nowhere did I discover a Christian. I found someone armed against everything, but affirming nothing, when you ought to have shown yourself more skilful in knowledge than in rhetoric. I cannot keep silent about it before your most patient holiness. For it seems to me – and this is definitely the case – that you have never been a Manichaean, and never been able to discover the unknown mysteries of his secret, and that under the name of Manichaeus you are attacking Hannibal or Mithridates.[57] For I confess that the marbles of the Anician house do not shine with as much diligence[58] or such hard effort as the eloquence with which your writings gleam. If you had determined that this eloquence should match the truth then certainly a magnificent ornament would have been erected for us. Do not, I beg you, go against your own nature, do not be the spear of error, with which the saviour's side is pierced. You can see that he is crucified both all over the world and in every soul, when his soul (p. 896) never had the nature of being angered. You therefore, who derive from that soul, now cease, I beg you, your empty accusations and abandon your pointless controversies. All the time that you were kept with your father in the midst of darkness you never played the joker, but in open sunlight and moonlight you have been proven the accuser. Who therefore will be your advocate before the just tribunal of the judge, when you begin to be convicted by your own testimony from both your statements and your deeds? The Persian whom you have accused[59] will not be there. Without him who will console your weeping? Who will save the Carthaginian? Or has there been a correction in the Gospel, so that the broad way does not lead to perdition? Or is it incorrect in Paul, so that each individual will not have to render account of their deeds? How much better it would have been if when you left Manichaeus you had joined the Academy or written an exposition of the wars of the Romans who conquered the world. What great and noble

[55] I.e. Manichaeism.

[56] It was Cicero's (now lost) work *Hortensius* which first introduced Augustine to philosophical inquiry. Cf. Aug., *Conf.* III.iv.7–8.

[57] Mithridates Eupator, King of Pontus (later Cilicia) who rebelled against Rome in 88 BC and nearly succeeded in expelling Roman suzerainty from Asia Minor. He and Hannibal were traditionally seen as Rome's most dangerous enemies. The fact that Hannibal also came from Carthage continues Secundinus's attack on Augustine's 'Africanness'.

[58] Anicius: cf. Cicero *Brutus* 83. A reference to the gleaming marbles of Rome. On this see Decret (1978), I, 143.

[59] I.e. Mani. The idea of Mani playing a role in the last judgement is not Manichaean.

achievements you would have found there, and you, a chaste man of absolute modesty and poverty, would not have gone over to the Jewish tribes with their barbaric customs. Now you add their stories to your precepts and you include 'the fornicating wife' (Hos. 1:2) and 'you will make sons of the fornicating woman' and 'by fornication the earth will be polluted away from the Lord' (Gen. 24:2 and 47:29). Also 'you shall not wash your hands after intercourse with your wife' (Lev. 11:2), and 'put your hands on my thigh' and 'kill and eat' and 'grow and multiply' (Gen. 1:28). Did the lions in the pit please you because there were no cages? (Dan. 6:16ff.) Or were you saddened by Sara's sterility, when her husband had been the one to divert her from her honour by pretending she was his sister? (Gen. 12:13, 20:2) Perhaps after the contest of Dares and Entellus[60] you had wanted to await Jacob and his wrestling match? (Gen. 32:24) (p. 897) Or had you set yourself to count the number of the Amorites (Josh. 10:5) or the pancarpus in Noah's ark (Gen. 7)? I know that you have always hated these things, I know that you have always loved great things, that quit the earth, and seek the heavens, that mortify the body and give life to the soul. So who is it that has suddenly changed you?

Although to say these things to your holiness is the height of absurdity. For you yourself are well aware how wicked he is and how evil, and how he campaigns even against the faithful and best men with so much guile, that he forced Peter to deny his lord three times in the same night (Matt. 26:69–75), and when he arose prevented Thomas from believing in him (John 20:24–26). These wounds were relieved by the medicine of pardon. But even bolder was this act: that when the lord was sowing the best seed he mixed in darnel and snatched Iscariot away from such a shepherd. So that it should be brought to the final punishment of the cross, he incited the scribes and Pharisees to his destruction, so that they shouted for Barabbas to be released and Jesus to be crucified. Therefore we have escaped because we have followed a spiritual saviour. For such was the outpouring of that one's audacious behaviour that, if our lord had been of the flesh, then all our hope would have been severed. And yet he could not be satisfied even by the ignominy of the cross, but in his rage forced him first to be crowned with thorns and then given vinegar to drink, to be pierced with the soldiers' spear and then to suffer blasphemy from the lips of the robber on his left. Afterwards (p. 898) his wickedness grew so far that he devised various problems for him and his apostles who gathered there, under their name, which is all the worse, dividing among all the superstitious the dignity of the

[60] A reference to the wrestling match in *Aen.* 5.362ff. of Vergil – Augustine's favourite poet.

term Catholic. For I omit how far he armed each of the disciples against the magistrates, and how far he deceived Hymenaeus (1Tim. 1:20), or Alexander (2Tim. 4:14), and his deeds at Antioch, at Smyrna or at Iconium (2Tim. 3:11). I only now add the activities of the present multitude, from which virtue is as far removed as it is a closed book to the people. For it is not virtue to which the crowd has attained, and especially the crowd of women; but I hesitate to make their secrets public, lest crimes begun by others be reproduced. Yet it is the role of the wise to tolerate both, to laugh at both, and to strive only for that which engenders beatitude and which nurtures life.

And still I humbly entreat you again and again, I beg and beseech you time after time, first to deem me worthy of pardon, if any statement of mine has irritated your heart of gold. For I have written this from excess zeal, because I do not want you to be plucked from our flock; even I myself might have wandered from it and nearly perished, but that I quickly saved myself from a wicked form of communion. Secondly, I beseech you to reconcile yourself to the communion which has done you no wrong; return to the communion which if you do return will not be angry with you for your guilt. For it does not (p. 899) know forgiveness only seven times (Matt. 18:22), rather it has the power both to bind and to release (Matt. 16:19 and 18:18). Do not imagine you are touching, since you saw long ago; do not wish to learn, as you are able to teach. Cast aside status among men, if you wish to please Christ. Be a new Paul for our times:[61] though he was a doctor of Jewish law, when he had won from the lord the privilege of being an apostle, everything he had thought pleasurable he despised as dung (Phil. 3:8), in order to gain Christ. Bring aid to your bright soul, because you do not know at what hour the thief is coming. Do not adorn the dead, because you are the ornament of the living. Do not be a companion on the broad way, because it awaits the Amorite, but hurry to the narrow way, in order to win eternal life. Stop, I beg you, enclosing Christ within a womb, lest you yourself be enclosed once again in a womb. Stop making two natures into one, because the judgement of the lord is approaching. Woe to those who will meet him and who are changing sweetness to bitterness!

However, if you have doubts about the origin or are uncertain about the commencement of the battle, then an explanation can be given in a lengthy disquisition and a peaceful conference. Yet, I want to make it clear to your supremely wise goodness that there are certain things which

[61] A very apt challenge for Augustine to be the leading Manichaean apostle of his age given the importance of Paul's apostolicity to Mani's own prophetic credentials.

cannot be explained in such a way that they can be understood; for divine reason surpasses the hearts of men. For example this question, as to how there are two natures or why he, who could not suffer anything, fought. Or again what he also says about the new age, that it is to be built from the broken fragments of this great earth; but who would admit that there can be a fragmentation among divine elements? Unless that is you were to (p. 900) make an image of the speaker compared to the hearer: words are fragmented in the hearer's case and put together in the speaker's. However many words the lecturer has spoken, that the hearer holds to himself, yet they have not departed from the lecturer. Unless this is your view also about that age, then what is said is quite stupid and inane. Similarly also with the fight. Unless you first postulate that God in his entirety is justice, but it is the utmost crime to attack someone else's domain, and further when the opposite nature invaded, God certainly could suffer nothing, because of his foreknowledge, then he would have appeared to have given consent to the crime had he not fought back. He opposed his great virtue[62] to the invader, so that his own justice would not be polluted by any consent to sacrilege. For the just man has been formed by him in such a way that he never sins himself nor ever gives his consent to the sinner. Moreover God in his kingdom had power over nature, being omnipotent and judge. If these things have been said with the result, not that God was created, but that I have not had the ability to comprehend, they still do not suffice for apostasy; but neither has the sun risen for the blind, nor has a voice been heard by the deaf nor a feast prepared for the dead. That places cannot be assigned to natures is a fact which the human condition calls inexplicable and indescribable; but the saviour, for whom everything is easy, calls these two places right and left, inside and outside, "come and go". Whereas you do the opposite and take a poetic foot – for example *orbis, vita, salus, lumen, lex, ordo, potestas* – and if it is a voiced syllable you treat it as silent, and a long one you pronounce short. (p. 901) These natures do not agree in this way, but they certainly mean two things, separated from one another.

Yet, when such things are expounded by me to your admirable supreme intelligence, it is as if the Jordan were bringing water to the ocean, or a lantern light to the sun, or a people sanctity to their bishop. Therefore, you should tolerate whatever this letter contains. For had I not known of your divine patience, which readily pardons each person, I would never have written in such a way, although you can see that I have touched my deepest feelings only cursorily and have taken the greatest care not to appear to you

[62] I.e. the Primal Man.

verbose. Accordingly these thoughts shall find acceptance by your holiness, as will the method of our salvation; otherwise you will be able to produce as a result thousands of volumes, lord who are deservedly to be praised and uniquely to be venerated. Farewell.

38. The Manichaean Firmus converted by a sermon of Augustine's

Firmus was a Manichaean merchant. This occupation was much favoured by the community, as it did not sin against the living soul (as, for instance, farming or baking would); and equally the cross-cultural elements of the faith may be supposed to have appealed to traders and travellers. This account is from Possidius's *Life of Augustine*, and the episode should probably be dated prior to AD 421 (Latin).[63]

I (i.e. Possidius) remember, and so do my brethren and fellow servants who at that time were living with the holy man at Hippo, that when we were living with the holy man at Hippo, that when we were seated at table Augustine remarked: 'In church today did you notice that the beginning and end of my sermon were contrary to my usual method? I did not fully explain the subject I introduced, but left it unfinished.' Thereupon, we replied: 'Yes, we know it and we recall our surprise at the time.' To which Augustine answered: 'I believe that the lord perhaps wished some erring person to be taught and healed by our forgetfulness and error on that occasion, for both we and our sermons are in the lord's hands. As I was still considering the introduction of my proposed topic, I digressed and changed to another subject. Thus, without concluding and fully explaining the original question which I had started out to prove, I closed my sermon with an argument against the error of the Manichaeans, about which I had intended to say nothing.'

On the next day or the day following, if I am not mistaken, a certain merchant, Firmus by name, came to the holy Augustine as he was sitting with us in the monastery. The stranger fell upon his knees and prostrated himself at the feet of Augustine, shedding tears and begging the priest and his holy companions to intercede with the lord for his sins. He confessed that he had followed the Manichaean sect, living in it for many years, and that, therefore, to his sorrow, he had contributed much money to the Manichaeans, or rather to their so-called elect. Recently, however, by the mercy of God, he had been present in church, was converted and became a Catholic through Augustine's words. Thereupon, when the venerable Augustine himself and those of us who were present at the time diligently

[63] Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 15; Eng. trans. Müller and Deferrari (1952) 90–91.

inquired what had particularly struck him in that sermon, he told us, and we recalled the trend of Augustine's discourse. In wonder and admiration at God's profound plan for the salvation of souls, we glorified and blessed his holy name. For he effects their salvation when and how he wishes through his own instruments, whether they are aware of it or not. From that time on, then, Firmus adhered to the manner of life of God's servants, abandoning his career as a merchant. Later, he became conspicuous by his activity among the members of the church and, having been called and constrained by God's will, entered upon the office of presbyter in another region. In this position he constantly maintained the sanctity of his way of life, and perhaps across the sea he is still living an active life in the world.

39. Victorinus exposed as a crypto-Manichaean

Victorinus was sub-deacon of Malliana in Mauretania. This episode is reported by Augustine in one of his letters (after AD 395, Latin).[64]

I think the best thing I can do is to write directly to your holiness,[65] so that my negligence may not allow the enemy to lay waste the flock of Jesus Christ in your province, for he never ceases to lay snares to destroy the souls bought at so dear a price. It has come to my knowledge that a certain Victorinus, a subdeacon of Malliana,[66] is a Manichaean, and that he hides his sacrilegious error under the name of cleric. He is also a man of advanced age. He was so well known that I questioned him before he could be arraigned by witnesses; he could not deny the accusation, for he knew that there were many such to whom he had incautiously given himself away. He would have appeared altogether too bold, not to say out of his mind, if he had tried to deny it. He admitted that he was indeed a Manichaean but not an elect . . .[67]

That subdeacon, posing as a Catholic, not only believed those intolerable blasphemies as the Manichaeans do, but he taught them as vigorously as he could. He was discovered by his teaching when he trusted himself, so to speak, to his pupils. Indeed, he asked me, after he had confessed that he was a Manichaean hearer, to lead him back to the way of truth of

[64] Augustinus, *Ep.* 236, ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL XLIV (Vienna, 1895), 523.21–524.11 and 525.12–24; Eng. trans. Parsons (1956), 179–81.

[65] i.e. Deuterius, a bishop of Mauretania and a contemporary of Augustine.

[66] On Victorinus see Madouze (ed.) (1982), 1199 ('Victorinus 12')

[67] The section of the letter omitted is a summary of the ethical teaching of the sect which Augustine made for Deuterius who probably knew nothing about the religion. This is given in this book in the chapter on the teaching of Mani (below, **81**).

Catholic doctrine, but I confess I was horrified at his duplicity under his clerical guise and I took steps to have him confined and driven from the city. And I was not satisfied with that until I had notified your holiness by letter that he should be known to all as a person to be shunned, having been degraded from his clerical rank with fitting ecclesiastical severity. If he seeks an opportunity for repentance, let him be believed if he will make known to us the other Manichaeans whom he knows, not only at Malliana but in the whole province.

40. Manichaeans detected and punished in Carthage

These events, as related by Augustine, are to be dated between AD 421 and 428 (Latin).[68]

9. In this circumstance, or rather because of some demand of their detestable superstition, their elect are forced to consume a sort of eucharist sprinkled with human seed in order that the divine substance may be freed even from that, just as it is from other foods of which they partake. However, they deny that they do this, claiming that some others do it, using the name of the Manichaeans; but they were exposed in the church at Carthage, as you know, for you were a deacon there at the time when, under the prosecution of Ursus the tribune, who was then prefect of the palace, some of them were brought to trial. At this time a girl by the name of Margaret gave evidence of their obscene practices and claimed, though she was not yet twelve years old, that she had been violated in the performance of this criminal rite. Then with difficulty he compelled Eusebia, some kind of Manichaean nun, to admit that she had undergone the same treatment in this regard, though at first, she maintained that she was a virgin and insisted on being examined by a midwife. When she was examined and when her true condition was discovered, she likewise gave information on that whole loathsome business at which flour is sprinkled beneath a couple in sexual intercourse to receive and commingle with their seed. This she had not heard when Margaret gave her testimony, for she had not been present. Even in recent times some of them have been exposed and brought before ecclesiastical authority, as the 'Episcopal Acts' which you have sent us show. Under careful examination, they admitted that this is no sacrament, but a sacrilege.

10. One of them, whose name is Viator, claimed that those who commit such acts are properly called Catharists. Nevertheless, though he asserted

[68] Augustinus, *De Haeresibus*, XLVI.9–10, ed. and trans. L. Müller (1956) (slightly adapted).

that there are other groups of the Manichaean sect divided into Mattarii and especially Manichaeans, he could not deny that all of these three forms were propagated by the same founder and that all of them are, generally speaking, Manichaeans. Surely the Manichaean books are unquestionably common to all of them, and in these books are described these dreadful things relating to the transformation of males into females, and of females into males to attract and to loosen through concupiscence the princes of darkness of both sexes so that the divine substance which is imprisoned in them may be set free and escape. This is the source of the obscene practices which some of the Manichaeans refuse to admit pertain to them. For they imagine that they are imitating divine powers to the highest degree and so they attempt to purge a part of their god, which they really believe is held befouled just as much in human seed as it is in all celestial and terrestrial bodies, and in the seeds of all things. And for this reason, it follows that they are just as much obliged to purge it from human seed by eating, as they are in reference to other seed which they consume in their food. This is the reason they are also called Catharists, that is, purifiers; for they are so attentive to purifying this part that they do not refrain even from such horrifying food as this.

SELECT LEGISLATIONS AGAINST THE MANICHAEANS FROM THEODOSIUS TO JUSTINIAN

41. Anti-Manichaean legislation issued by Theodosius

The first of a series of prescripts issued by Theodosius in his name as well as those of his young sons (AD 381, Latin)[69] sets the tone in forbidding members of the sect the right to transfer their property to the sect. The same restriction had already been imposed on the Donatists. This measure would have hit the Manichaeans particularly hard as the *electi* were economically entirely dependent on the philanthropy (Gr. *eusebeia*) of their hearers, especially rich ones like Constantius (*v. supra*, **36**).

The same Augusti (i.e. emperors Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius I) to Eutropius, praetorian prefect.

If any Manichaean – man or woman – from the day of the law enacted long ago and originally by our parents[70] has transmitted his own property to any person whatsoever by having made a will or under title of any liberality

[69] *CT* XVI.5.7, pp. 857–88; trans. Coleman-Norton (1966), I, 367–8. On Theodosian legislations against the sect, see especially Beskow (1988).

[70] I.e. the edict of 2 March 372 (*CT* XVI.5.3).

whatsoever or by form of donation, or if anyone of these persons has been enriched by grant of an inheritance entered through any form whatsoever (since immediately from the said persons, under branded infamy's perpetual stigma, we withdraw all capability of making a will and of living under Roman law, and since we do not permit them to have the power either of leaving or taking any inheritance), the whole by an immediate investigation on the part of our fisc, should be joined to its resources. Whether by illicit literality this property shall have come to a husband or to a relative or to anyone whatsoever who well has deserved it or even to children, whom indeed the villainies of the same criminal life shall unite, or even if through any intermediate person whatsoever it shall profit the said person who is found to be of such a class and a company of persons it should be claimed under the title of vacancy.[71]

(1) The rule of this law issued by our gentleness should prevail not only for the future but also for the past;[72] whatever either such persons as owners have bequeathed or as heirs have held, the fisc's acquisition of the advantage should ensue. For, although the orderly arrangement of celestial statutes indicates observance of a sacred constitution in respect to matters about to follow afterward and has not been wont to be prejudicial to completed matters, nevertheless in this ordinance only, which we wish to be specially vigorous, by a sense of just instigation we recognise what a habit of obstinacy and a persistent nature deserve and we regard as guilty of sacrilege on the ground of violation of this described law those persons who, even after the law originally had been issued, have not at all been able to be restrained at least by divine admonishment from illicit and profane assemblies. We sanction the present statutes' severity not so much as an example to be established but as a law to be vindicated, so that a defence of time cannot also profit them.[73]

(2) The inheritance of paternal or maternal property should be conferred only on those children who, though born from Manichaeans, yet shall have withdrawn themselves from associations of the said life and profession, because they have been admonished by a sense of and a desire for their own salvation, have dedicated themselves in respect to pure religion, and are immune from such a crime.

[71] In Roman law, heirless (*caducus*) property is passed to the imperial fisc.

[72] We have here a rare example of a retroactive law which is contrary to contemporary principles of Roman law (as stated e.g. in *CT* 1.1.3).

[73] A Manichaean defendant cannot therefore plead that the enactment is not retrospective or that the lapse of time has barred legal action. Cf. Coleman-Norton (1966), 1, 369, n. 13.

(3) To this ordinance we add also the following: that they should establish neither in conventicles of towns[74] nor in famous cities their wonted sepulchres of funeral mysteries; they should be restrained completely from sight in a crowded community.

Nor with malignant fraud they should defend themselves under pretence of those fallacious names, by which many, as we have discovered, desire to be called and to be designated as of approved faith and of rather chaste course of life; especially since some of these persons desire themselves to be denominated Encratitans,[75] Apotactitans,[76] Hydroparastatans,[77] or Saccoforians[78] and by a variety of diverse names falsify – as it were – the services of their religious profession. For it is proper that all these persons should not be protected by a profession of names, but should be held notorious and execrable by the criminality of their sects.

Given on 8 May at Constantinople. Eucherius and Syagrius being consuls.

Mandate on apostate Christians' wills and penalties for Manichaeans (AD 383, Latin):[79]

The same Augusti (viz. Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius I) to Hypatius, praetorian prefect.

By denial of liberty of making a will we avenge the crime of Christians who turn to altars and temples.

Also should be punished the shameful acts of those who by disregard for the dignity of the Christian religion and name have polluted themselves with Jewish contagions.[80]

But that penalty, which both our predecessor Valentinian of divine authority has assigned and our decrees no less often have ordered, should

[74] A problematic and uncommon phrase *conventicula oppidorum*, the meaning of which is unclear. Meeting places of the sect are usually labelled *conventicula* in legislations but the context here rules out a specific reference to Manichaean conventicles.

[75] One of the earliest ascetic sects, its traditional founder was the Syrian Tatian in the second century AD.

[76] *Apotactikos* – renunciator of marriage and of private property – is also a commonly used term for an ascetic in documents from Roman Egypt.

[77] Little known sect, its title suggests the substitution of water for wine in the eucharist; i.e. ascetics who drink only water, a feature shared by the Manichaeans.

[78] These are radical ascetics who took to the wearing of dark garments made of sack cloth and of long hair (for men) and short hair (for women). On all these groups see the full discussion in Beskow (1998) 8–9. The inclusion of these sects in the legislation points to the reluctance of the church and the Christian emperors to accept the activities of the extreme ascetic wing of the church.

[79] *CT* XVI.7.3, pp. 883–5; trans. Coleman-Norton (1996), II, 385–6.

[80] The mention of Manichaeans alongside Jews is interesting in that Manichaeism was sometimes seen as a non-Christian religion in its own right and not merely as a heretical sect.

follow continually and perpetually those who have preferred at any time to attend the Manichaeans' nefarious retreats and wicked recesses. Moreover the same penalty should follow the authors of this persuasion, who have deflected unsteady minds to their own fellowship, as those guilty of such error; nay, we ordain that even weightier punishments – according to the governors' impulses and to the crime's character – should be imposed generally and extraordinarily upon the nefarious artificers of this wickedness.

But lest either perpetual outrage of accusation should harass the dead or questions of inheritance wholly outdated by the difference of long periods of time should be agitated always into revived conflicts, we assign a limit of time to questions of this character: that, if anyone accuses the deceased of having violated and deserted the Christian religion and contends that the said person went over to the sacrileges of temples or to Jewish rites or to Manichaeans' infamy and affirms that on this account a will not at all could be made, within a continuous quinquennium, which has been established for actions of voidance, he may make use of this action and may obtain the beginning of a future trial of this sort: to the effect that, when the said person whose transgression is to be accused is living and is shown to have been a participant of this shameful act and wicked deed, he, having testified under public attestation, may prove his indictment; for he who through his silence is proved to have shown perfidy to the supernal name, thus acquiescing in such wicked acts, may not make henceforth an accusation about a transgression, as though ignorant of it.

Given on 21 May at Padua, Merobaudes for the second time and Saturninus being consuls.

Mandate on the suppression of the meeting places of Manichaeans and their expulsion (AD 383, Latin):[81]

The same Augusti to Postumianus, praetorian prefect.

Absolutely all persons whomsoever the error of diverse heresies excites, that is Eunomians, Arians, Macedonians, Pneumatomachians, Manichaeans, Encratitans, Apotactitans, Saccoforians, Hydroparastatans, should not assemble in any gatherings, should not collect any multitude, should not draw any people to themselves and should not show walls of private houses after the likeness of churches, should practise either publicly or privately nothing which can be detrimental to Catholic sanctity.

And if there shall have been anyone who may transgress what so evidently has been prohibited, by all good persons' common agreement he should

[81] *CT* XVI.5.11, p. 859; trans. Coleman-Norton (1966) II, 387–88.

be expelled, because such opportunity has been allowed to all whom the veneration and the excellence of correct religious observance delight.

Given on 25 July at Constantinople, Merobaudes for the second time and Saturninus being consuls.

42. The death penalty for Manichaeans

A law of Zeno, or of Anastasius I, on the right of residence of Manichaeans decreeing the death penalty (AD 487 or 510, Greek – originally Latin):[82]

We ordain that persons who prefer the Manichaeans' deadly error should have no freedom or leave to dwell in any place whatever of our state; but that, if ever they should have appeared or should have been found, they should be subject to capital punishment.

Given on 9 August, the most distinguished Boethius being consul.[83]

Law of Justin I and Justinian I also imposing the death penalty on Manichaeans (AD 527, Greek – originally Latin):[84]

Emperors Justin and Justinian Augusti.

. . . (*The first part is lost*) Therefore we have permitted heretics to assemble and to have their own domination, that they, having felt shame for our patience, willingly may come to their senses and may turn to the better. But a certain intolerable recklessness has entered into them and they have infiltrated themselves, having disregarded the laws' command, into governmental services, in which the very words of the royal formularies show that such persons should no longer participate.

We call heretics other persons, just as the accursed Manichaeans and those about like these; indeed it is unnecessary that they even should be named or should appear anywhere at all or should defile what they have touched. But the Manichaeans – as we have said – thus ought to be expelled and none ought either to tolerate or to overlook their denomination, if indeed a person diseased with this atheism should dwell in the same place with others, but also a Manichaean, wherever on earth appearing, ought to be subjected to punishments to the extreme degree . . .

[82] *CJ* 1.5.11, p. 53. The original Latin version is now lost but a Greek translation (partly lost) is found in the *Basilica* (1. line 25, ed. Scheltema *et al.* (1953 ff.) 5); trans. Coleman-Norton (1966), III, 940.

[83] The date of the law would have been 510 if the consul was Anicius Manlius Boethius, the famous philosopher.

[84] *CJ* 1.5.12, pp. 53–4. Like the previous legislation, this is preserved in Greek translation in the *Basilica* (1. line 26, ed. Scheltema *et al.* (1953 ff.) 5); trans Coleman-Norton (1966), III, 995–6.

43. Mandate of Justinian I on Manichaeans' wills

AD 527, Greek – originally Latin.[85]

. . . (*The first part is lost*) Since persons who have been unfortunate in respect to the Manichaeans' impious error are worthy not only of punishment while they live, but also of the circumstance that after their death they may not give their property to whom they wish or to whom the laws give it by intestacy, we use the present divine pragmatic law to your magnificence, by which we command that the property of persons possessed by this disease should be examined; and that if their children or any of their descending relatives should be free of such sort of madness, these should be allowed to share the property given to them by law, but that if any other cognates of the deceased persons either are called to their inheritance according to those persons' last will (which indeed has been forbidden) or have accepted a donation from such a person while living or even have been honoured with a legacy from, of course, the same person, their property or the things donated or bequeathed should be taken from them absolutely and should be attached to the public treasury.

[85] *CJ* 1.5.15. Like the previous legislation, this is also preserved in Greek translation in the *Basilica* (1. line 27, ed. Scheltema *et al.* (1953 ff.) 6); trans. Coleman-Norton (1966) III, 1005.

CHAPTER 4

The scriptures of Mani

One of the reasons why Manichaeism is sometimes termed the first 'religion', in the modern sense, is that it was deliberately constructed; and a vital element in the foundation for this were the revealed scriptures written down by Mani himself. Indeed, Mani repeats that this is one of the advantages of his church, that its apostle (i.e. himself) has written down the teachings, and thus it will endure and not be led astray (see e.g. **91**, below). In contrast, previous apostles had not written down their teachings, and it had been left to their disciples to put down what they remembered. This important theme enabled Mani to hold fast to the principle of a line of true apostles, in which he placed himself; while at the same time explaining the corruption of previous churches, and also the reason why his own would stand fast to the end. And this provided a suitable key for polemic against other religions, and for Manichaean exegesis of their scriptures as containing both truth and falsity.

Nevertheless, just as we should be cautious in our use of the term 'religion', and not impose anachronistic conceptions derived from the modern discipline of the history of religions; so, we also need to consider what exactly Mani and his followers meant by the concepts of scripture and canon. At the time Mani wrote, the list of Christian scriptures was not yet closed, and it is arguable that the idea of the canonical New Testament in anything like the modern sense did not occur until the fourth century AD. And, of course, the focus on the revealed book that is so characteristic of Islam lay some centuries into the future (although the mechanisms for this remain unclear, it seems more probable that the matrix of ideas concerning the cycle of apostles and books passed from Manichaeism on to Islam). Can we then say that Mani was the first to create the idea of a canon, just as many have maintained that Marcion created the idea of a New Testament?

This is probably to go too far. It is noticeable that, whilst Mani's emphasis on the importance of his books is remarkable, there was some difficulty in maintaining closure to their number, order, and perhaps even contents. In

the first two sections of this chapter a number of 'canon lists' are provided from different sources widely ranged over time and space. The continuity that Mani succeeded in achieving is most often commented on, but significant regional and temporal sub-traditions are also apparent. There is some fluctuation between five and seven 'scriptures' in the sources, and certain books had particular authority in one place but not another. Still, in the following very early source (probably by an immediate disciple and written in the first generation after the death of Mani himself), we find:

> The Gospel and The Treasury of the Life, The Treatise and The Book of the Mysteries, The Book of the Giants and The Epistles, The Psalms and the Prayers of my lord, his Picture(-Book) and his apo(caly)pses, his parables and his mysteries . . .[1]

Here there are the classic seven scriptures of the Manichaean canon (with *The Psalms and the Prayers* counted as one). These are clearly distinguished from Mani's *Picture(-Book)*, which was a depiction of his teachings by himself; and from other (written or oral?) sources ascribed to him. As well as these one must also mention the *Šābuhragān*, a summary of his teachings in Zoroastrian guise written in Middle Persian by Mani for his patron Shapur I. It was not generally included in the canon of Manichaean scriptures, which were otherwise all originally written in Aramaic, and is rarely noted in sources from the Roman Empire. In sum: When speaking of a 'canon', it is probably best not to mean much more than a core list of Mani's writings, around which gathered a number of other sources ascribed to him; but a really qualitative notion of canonicity (and fixity of the revealed letter and word) would be to impose too much, as the Manichaeans themselves do not seem to have made this distinction.

However, one of the major problems for the modern study of Manichaeism is the flimsy survival of Mani's scriptures themselves. Whilst we now have access to many hundreds, indeed thousands, of pages of text written by followers of the religion, and including large amounts of kephalaic material that purport to record Mani's words, the actual scriptures themselves (i.e. the seven works listed above, and of course the *Picture (-Book)* as well) are in very large part lost. As we will see in this chapter, there are some quotations surviving from various works, some substantial

[1] *Hom*. 25.1–6; ascribed to Koustaios, who may well have acted as Mani's scribe. In the same source we also find the following, which is remarkable for the place it gives to *The Kephalaia* (and as evidence for the early date of that text): 'I weep . . . for *The Prayers and the Psalms.* I weep for the illustrations of my *Picture (-Book*), as I (remember (?)) their beauty. I am weeping for *The Kephalaia* and . . .' (18.3–6). Kephalaiac literature was necessarily sub-canonical, since by its nature it was the recording of Mani's sermons, lessons, occasional parables and such like. Kephalaiac literature was therefore written by disciples, not by Mani himself; and thus had a problematic element in view of Mani's critique of such practices in prior churches.

fragments of *The Epistles*, and very important descriptions of the contents of the books by an-Nadīm; but we still can not say that we really know what an absolutely fundamental source such as *The Living Gospel* or *The Book of Mysteries* looked like. This is an enormous lack. In part it is doubtless a matter of luck; but it is noticeable that persecuting authorities would have focused especially on the destruction of the Manichaean scriptures, and in this work they appear to have been all too successful. We can only hope that future discoveries will redeem this situation.[2]

44. Mani's canon according to the Kephalaia

Early in the introduction to the Coptic *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, the section which provides a frame and a rationale for that work as (self-consciously) sub-canonical literature, Mani is quoted as listing his 'books of light'. Unfortunately the meaning of the 'three lessons' (Coptic lit. "words") that they are said to contain is not certain, although they may well be the 'three times' upon which Mani's teachings are built. Mani then urges his disciples also to preserve all his occasional discourses, and it is this that provides a justification for the text.

In this first canonical list it appears that *The (Book of the) Giants* is called 'the writing for the Parthians'[3] in the list of seven works (the traditional number, noting that *The Psalms and the Prayers* are usually counted as one), whilst there is no mention of the *Šābuhragān* unless it is the same as 'the writing for the Parthians' which is unlikely as the *Šābuhragān* – a summary of Mani's teaching for Shapur I – was composed in Middle Persian, the language of the Sassanian court. In the second kephalaia listing the *The (Book of the) Giants* is included but not 'the writing for the Parthians'. Neither piece counts *The Picture-Book*, although there are various references to that text elsewhere in the kephalaiac literature.

(*Keph.* 5.21–33; 6.15–27) . . . unveil in these three lessons . . . in them. I have written them in my books of light: in *The Great Gospel* and *Treasury of the Life*; in *The Treatise* (Gr: *Pragmateia*); in *The One of the Mysteries*; in **25** *The Writing,* which I wrote on account of the Parthians; and also all my *Epistles*; in *The Psalms and the Prayers*. For these three lessons are the measure of all wisdom. Everything that has occurred, and that will occur, is written in them! Have strength to discriminate . . . and know it through them. Every writer, **30** if he reveals these three great lessons: that one is the writer of truth. Also, every teacher, if he gives instruction and proclaims these three

[2] It should be noted that on-going editorial work by Funk and Gardner of codex remains from both Medinet Madi and Ismant el-Kharab is beginning to give a much clearer idea of *The Epistles*; and that similarly (by Funk and others) the editing of the *Synaxeis* codex from Medinet Madi should help us to understand more about *The Living Gospel*. It can also be noted that substantial portions of the *Šāburagān* survive, see MacKenzie (1979 and 1980).

[3] Cf. Tardieu (1981) 59.

lessons, is the teacher of truth. I also, for my part, behold I have revealed these three great lessons. I have given them to you . . .

Yet, now I will entrust to you . . . The world has not permitted me to write down . . . to me all of it; and if you, my children and my disciples, write all my wisdom . . . the questions that you have asked me . . . [20] and the explanations that I have made clear to you from time to time; the homilies, the lessons, that I have proclaimed with the teachers to the leaders, together with the elect and the catechumens; and the ones that I have uttered to free men and free women; . . . all of them, that I have proclaimed from time to time! They are not written. [25] You must remember them and write them; gather them in different places; because much is the wisdom that I have uttered to you.

Although the publication of the *editio princeps* of the codex only reached kephalaion 148 ('Concerning the five books: They are ascribed to five fathers') in 1999, the contents were already discussed (and a provisional text provided) in the first account of the Medinet Madi library by Schmidt, Ibscher and Polotsky in 1933 (35–41, 86). The passage is again important for the problematic question of the canon list. In this particular account there is evidence of textual corruption. As Funk (in his 1999 edition) points out: whilst the title counts five books, we find here six titles arranged as four gifts. It is most likely that at some point in the redaction history *The Psalms and the Prayers* have become omitted (cf. *Keph.* 5.23–26). Probably they were paired as a single gift, and placed prior to *The Epistles*.

(*Keph.* 355.4–25) Once again our enlightener speaks to his disciples: [5] These great writings, which I have written for you, are gifts; as they were freely given to you from the fathers of light.

So, *The Great Living Gospel* is the gift of the Ambassador. [10] *The Treasury of Life* is the gift of the Pillar of Glory. *The Treatise* and *The Book of Mysteries* and the writing on *The Giants*: These three holy writings are a single one, the gifts of the light Twin. [15] Also, all *The Epistles* that I have written for you from time to time: They are my gifts and my presents. This is the good fruit, which I have given you, from the good tree.

Now, you yourselves, my beloveds: Give thanks [20] and be confirmed in these good writings, these that were given freely for you from the fathers of light. Receive them in to your heart and believe them. Inscribe them upon your memory, because through them you will . . . eternal life.

45. Canon lists from an Arabic and a Chinese source

Although the following accounts are not, of course, 'from the Roman Empire', they do illustrate the unity and longevity Mani's canon achieved for Manichaeism. Our

first source is that according to Ibn an-Nadīm (10th C. AD, Arabic),[4] which still remains in many respects the most detailed account available of the actual contents of Mani's books. In the absence of anything more than fragments still extant from these texts, it remains impossible to verify many of an-Nadīm's details; but what is interesting is that at his time of writing he clearly was able to access the works themselves, and as a source he has (when possible to verify) always proved to be remarkably accurate.

The Titles of Mānī's Books

Mānī wrote seven books, one in Farsi (i.e. Persian) and six in Syriac, the language of Syria. Among them are *The Book of Secrets* (i.e. *The Book of Mysteries*), which contains (a number of) chapters, (including) 'An account of the Dayṣāniyya (i.e. the followers of Bardaiṣan of Edessa)', 'The testimony of Yastāsif on the Beloved', 'The testimony of . . . about himself given to Ya'qūb', 'The son of the widow' (who according to Mānī was the annointed and crucified one, crucified by the Jews), 'The testimony of Jesus about himself as given in Judea', 'The commencement of the testimony of al-Yamīn as given after his victory', 'The seven spirits', 'The discourse on the four transient spirits', 'Laughter', 'The testimony of Adam regarding Jesus', 'The fall from religion', 'The discourse of the Dayṣāniyya on the soul and the body', 'Refutation of the Dayṣānites on the soul of life', 'The three trenches', 'The preservation of the World', 'The three days', 'The prophets', (and) 'The resurrection'. This is what is contained in *The Book of Secrets*. (Then there are) *The Book of Giants*, containing . . . ; The Duties of the Hearers, (with) the chapter 'The duties of the Elect'; *The Book of aš-Šāburaqān*,[5] containing the chapters 'The dissolution of the Hearers', 'The dissolution of the Elect', and 'The dissolution of life'; *The Book of Revival*, containing . . . ; and *The Book of Pragmateia*, containing . . .

The remarkable survival of Mani's texts can be further illustrated from the titles of Mani's canonical works according to a Compendium of Manichaean doctrines in Chinese (compiled on 16 July, AD 731)[6]

Third article: On the style of the canon of scriptures and the drawing. All in all there are seven parts, together with a drawing: the first: the great *ying-lun* (from Gr. *evangelion*), interpreted 'book of wisdom which thoroughly

[4] *Fihrist*, ed. cit., p. 336; trans. M. Laffan (unpubl.).

[5] The *Šābuhragān* was a summary of Manichaean doctrines in Zoroastrian guise written in Middle Persian for Mani's patron Shapur I. For an excellent edition and translation of the nominatim fragments see Mackenzie (1979 and 1980). See also related texts collected in Hutter (1992). It was not generally included in the canon of Manichaean scriptures, which were otherwise all originally written in Aramaic.

[6] S3969 *Mo-ni kuang-fo chiao-fa i-lüeh*, ms. lines 57–69; Eng. trans. Haloun and Henning (1952) 194–5.

understands the roots and origins of the entire doctrines' (i.e. *The Great Living Gospel*);
the second: *hisn-t'o-ho*, interpreted 'the sacred book of the treasure of pure life' (i.e. *The Treasure of Life*);
the third: *ni-wan*, interpreted 'the sacred book of discipline', also called 'the sacred book of healing' (i.e. *The Epistles*);[7]
the fourth: *a-lo-tsan*, interpreted 'the sacred book of secret law' (i.e. *The Mysteries*);
the fifth: *po-chia-ma-ti-yeh* (from Gr. *pragmateia*), interpreted 'book of instruction which testifies the past' (i.e. *The Pragmateia*);
the sixth: *chu-huan*, interpreted 'book of the strong heroes' (i.e. *The Book of the Giants*);
the seventh: *a-fu-yin*, interpreted 'book of praises and wishes (vows)' (i.e. *The Psalms and Prayers*);
one drawing; *ta-men-ho-i*, interpreted 'the drawing of the two great principles' (i.e. *The Picture-book* or *Eikon*).
The seven great scriptures and the (one) drawing mentioned above, Mani, the Buddha of light, at the very time when he was about to descend into the world and, all sanctities approving, responded by birth to the causes attained, on the day of the establishment of the law (he himself) transmitted (them) to the five grades (of believers). As to the authorised teaching (*dharma*) stated during the remainder of (his) sixty years, the disciples noted them down according to opportunity. Those (we) do not enumerate.

46. From The Living Gospel

The opening section as preserved in the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex*.[8]

He wrote (again and) **66** said in the gospel of his most holy hope:
'I, Mannichaeus (*sic*),[9] apostle of Jesus Christ,[10] through the will of God, the Father of Truth, from whom I also came into being.[11] He lives and abides for all eternity. Before everything he is, and he remains after everything.

[7] *ni-wan* is a transliteration of Middle Persian *dyb'n* ('archive'). Cf. Henning in Haloun and Henning (1952), 207.
[8] *CMC* 65.23–68.5, ed. cit., 44–5; Eng. trans. J. M. and S. Lieu. This and the other citations from the Gospel were cited in the *CMC* in support of the apostleship of Mani.
[9] This form of the name with the doubling of the -n- is also found in Coptic (*Hom.* 7.5). According to Augustine (*de Haeresibus* XLVI.1), this was a deliberate ploy by the Manichaeans to counter the easily made association between 'Mani' and 'mania' by polemicists, and to make the name sound like the 'pourer of Manna'.
[10] The phrase 'Mani the apostle of Jesus Christ' is also found on a seal in Syriac and written in the characteristic Manichaean script. Cf. de Menasce and Guillou (1946).
[11] This is closely paralleled in the Middle Persian version; see the next text.

Everything which has happened and will happen, is established through his power. From him I have my being, and I exist also according to his will. And from him all that is true was revealed to me and from (his) truth I exist. I have seen (the truth of eternity which he revealed.) And **67** I declared the truth to my companions; I preached peace to the children of peace;I proclaimed hope to the undying generation; I chose the elect and showed the path leading to the height to those who will go up according to this truth. I have proclaimed hope and revealed this revelation; and have written this immortal gospel, in which I have put down these pre-eminent secret rites and declared great deeds, indeed the greatest and holiest of supreme deeds of power. (And) these things which (he revealed) I have made known (to those who live in accordance with) **68** the vision of supreme truth which I have seen, and the most glorious revelation which was revealed to me.'

Quotations from the first book of the Gospel as preserved in Middle Iranian fragments from Central Asia:

(a) *Middle Persian version*[12]
{*Header*} He teaches the Gospel Aleph.[13]
(She was praised and be praised), **R** the Maiden of Light, head of all wisdoms. It was praised and is praised, the holy church, by the power of the Father, by the praise of the Mother, and (by the wisdom of the Son), and on the speakers and hearers of the true word. (*8 lines left blank*) Let there be praise and honour to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost and (to the holy book.)
(. . . *ca. 15 lines lost*. . . . **V** which instructs eye and) ear, and teaches the fruit of truth. (*8 lines left blank*)

I Mani, apostle of Jesus the friend, by the will of the Father, the true God, he from whom I came to be, . . . is after all (things), and everything which has been and will be stands by his power. The fortunate receive this (good) news, the wise recognise (it), the strong don (it, sc. as their armour), the learned (consider (?)) (it to be) better . . .

(b) *Middle Persian and Sogdian diglottal version*[14]
. . . **R** (Pe.) and the understanding of the wise. (Sogd.) *He has been praised and will be praised, the dearest-of-the-dear son, the life-giving (saviour) Jesus, head of all giving, support of the pure and perception of the wise*. (Pe.) She was praised and be praised the Maiden of Light, head of all wisdoms. (Sogd.)

[12] M17, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1994), 184 and 186–90.
[13] Middle Persian *'rb*. The Gospel of Mani, according to Arabic sources, comprised of 22 chapters, each after an alphabet of the semitic alphabet.
[14] M172, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1995), 185 and 186–90.

She has been praised and will be praised, the wonder-working Kanīgrōšān,[15] *who is the head of all wisdom.* (Pe.) It was praised and is praised, the holy church, by the power of the Father, by the praise of the Mother, and by the wisdom of the Son. (Sogd.) *It has been praised and will be praised, the holy church, righteousness, by the power of the Father, god Zurwān, by the praise of the Mother (of Life), god Rāmrātux,*[16] *and* (**V**) *by the wisdom of the Son Jesus.* (Pe.) Welfare and blessing upon the children of well-being and on the speakers and hearers of the true word. (Sogd.) *Welfare and blessing upon the children of well-being and on the speakers and hearers of the trustworthy holy word.* (Pe.)

Let there be praise and honour to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost and to the holy book. (Sogd.) *Likewise let there be praise and reverence to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, and to the living scripture.* (Pe.) The saying of the living Gospel, which instructs eye and ear, and teaches the fruit of truth.

A further quotation from the Gospel in the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex:*[17]

Yet again he said:
'All the secrets which my father gave me, I have hidden and sheltered from the sects and gentiles and indeed the world, but to you I have revealed them in accordance with the will of my most blessed father. And if he should wish me to once more, I will again reveal them to you. For the gift which was given to me by my father is very great and (rich). For if (the whole) world and all **69** men obeyed (him), I would be able, with this possession and advantage which my father has given me, to enrich them and render the wisdom sufficient for the whole world.'

Another quotation, probably also from the Gospel, in the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex:*[18]

Again he said:
'When my father showed favour and treated me with pity and solicitude, he sent from there my never-failing Syzygos, the complete fruit of immortality, who might ransom and redeem me from the error of those of that rule. He came to (me and) brought to me (the) noblest hope, the (redemption) **70** of immortality, true instructions and the laying on of hands from my father.

[15] i.e. the Maiden of Light.
[16] A tentative translation of the Sogdian version of the name of the Mother of Life given by MacKenzie ((1995), 187) is 'liberal (?) with joy (?)'.
[17] *CMC* 68.5–69.8, ed. cit. 46–8; trans. J. M. and S. Lieu.
[18] *CMC* 69.9–70.9, 48; trans. J. M. and S. Lieu.

He came and chose me in preference to others and set me aside, drawing me away from the midst of those of that rule in which I was brought up.'

47. From The Treasure of Life

There are two quotations from the *Thesaurus*, the latter on the 'seduction of the rulers', cited by Augustine (Latin).[19]

(*Frg. 1, from the second book*) Those however who by their own negligence have not allowed themselves to be cleansed from the stain of the spirits mentioned earlier and have failed to obey the divine commandments at all, and have refused to observe any further the law given them by their liberator, and have not governed themselves as was fitting . . .

(*Frg. 2, from the seventh book*) Then the blessed father, who has shining ships as lodgings and dwelling places according to their size, in accordance with the clemency that is attached to him, brings aid to set his vital substance free from the impious bonds and straits and torments in which it is held. By his invisible nod he transforms his powers which he has in his shining ship, and causes them to show themselves to the hostile powers which are set in the different parts of the heavens. These are of both sexes, male and female. Hence he makes the aforesaid powers appear partly in the shape of beardless boys to women of the hostile race, partly in the shape of fair virgins to males of the hostile race. He knows that all these hostile powers are easily taken in because of the deadly unclean lust that is congenital to them, and will yield to the beautiful forms they see, and will so be dissolved. Know that our blessed father is identical with these powers of his, which for a necessary purpose he transforms into the undefiled likeness of boys and virgins. He uses these as his proper instruments, and by them accomplishes his will. The shining ships are full of these divine powers which are set over against members of the infernal race as in a kind of marriage. Quickly and easily, in a moment, they achieve their purpose. When reason demands that they should appear to males they show themselves in an instant in the form of beautiful virgins. Again, when they have to come to women they put off the appearance of virgins and take on that of beardless boys. At this comely sight, their ardour and concupiscence grow, and in this way the prison of those evil thoughts is broken, and the living soul which was

[19] (I) Aug., *Contra Felicem*, 2, 5, ed. Zycha, CSEL XXV/2, 832.22–7; Eng. trans. M. Vermes; (II) Aug., *De natura Boni* 44, ed. cit. 881,24–884,2; Eng. trans. Burleigh (1953) 344–5 (slightly altered). On the cosmogonic episode of the 'seduction of the rulers' see introduction to Mani's 'Teachings' at p. 16.

held bound in their members of those same (beings) is by this opportunity released and escapes and mingles with the purest air which is its native element. Souls that are completely purified board the shining ships which have been prepared for their conveyance and passage across the narrow sea (that separates them from) their homeland. Anyone who still shows the taint of the adverse race goes down step by step through fiery heat, gets mixed up with trees and the other cuttings (used for propagation) and all the seedlings and is stained with diverse colours. Out of that great shining ship the figures of boys and virgins appear to the hostile powers whose home is in the heavens and whose nature is fiery. At the fair sight the part of life which is held bound in their members is released and brought down by heat to earth. In the same way the highest power, that inhabits the ship of living waters, appears by means of his messengers in the shape of boys and holy virgins to the powers whose nature is cold and moist, which also are set in the heavens. To those which are female it appears in the form of boys, and to males in the form of virgins. By this diversity of divine and beautiful forms the princes of cold and moist stock, whether male or female, are brought to naught and the vital element in them escapes. What remains is brought down to earth by cold and is mingled with all the species of earth.

48. From an unnamed work of Mani, probably The Pragmateia

The once commonly accepted hypothesis of Cumont and Kugener[20] and followed by Adam[21] that the citations given below are from the lost canonical work, the *Book of the Giants*, must now be called into doubt. The *Book of the Giants*, as shown from extant Turfan fragments, shows the distinctive influence of the Book(s) of Enoch and this has been confirmed by Milik's identification of a prototype of the Manichaean work among the Enochic fragments from Qumran (1st C BC - 1st AD).[22] The citations are given by the Patriarch Severus of Antioch (*sedit* 512-38, Syriac, orginally Greek).[23]

[20] Cumont and Kugener (1912) II, 160–1. [21] Adam (1969) §5, pp. 11–14.

[22] Cf. Reeves (1992) 172–4. The lost work behind the citations gives one of the most abstract and most demythologised versions of Manichaean cosmogony, and it is not inconceivable that it was a Christianised version of a Manichaean work utilised by heresiologists for the refutation of the teachings of the community.

[23] The citations are found in *Homiliae Cathedrales* CXXIII of Severus of Antioch. Originally composed and delivered in Greek, the homilies have come down to us in two Syriac rescensions. The earlier that of Paul of Callinicum (ed. Rahmani (1909) pp. mh–pṭ) and the later and arguably the better of Jacob of Edessa (ed. Brière (1961) 124 (628) – 188 (692)). The following citations, translated by S. Lieu and revised by S. Brock are based on the resecension of Jacob of Edessa as edited by Brière. See also the fully annotated translation of Reeves (1992) 167–70.

From where did the Manichaeans, who are more wicked than any other, get the idea of introducing two principles, both uncreated and without beginning, that is good and evil, light and darkness, which they also call matter?[24] . . .

But he (Mani) says: 'Each one of them is uncreated and without beginning, both the good, which is light, and the evil, which is darkness and matter. And there is no contact between them.'[25] . . .

The good, which they have called light and the tree of life, occupies the regions in the east, west and north; but the tree of death which they also called matter, being very wicked and uncreated, occupies the regions towards the south and the meridian.[26] . . .

The difference and gulf between the two principles are as great as that between a king and a pig. The one moves in a royal palace in chambers fitting for him; the other wallows like a pig in filth, feeds on its foul stench and takes pleasure in it, or (is) like a snake, coiled inside its den.[27] . . .

The (beings) which have existed for ever and at all time from the beginning – he is speaking about matter and about God – each one of them exists in its own nature. Thus is the tree of life, which is decorated there with all its beauties and with all its shining splendours, which is filled and clothed with all its excellence, which stands fast and is fixed in its nature: its territory includes three regions, that of the north which is external and below, (that) of the east and (that) of the west which is external and below. There is not anything which is penetrated or occluded by it from below, not even in one region, but it (stretches) infinitely outside and below. No foreign body is around it (the tree of life) or below it, nor at another place of the three regions, but below and outside belong to it, to the north, to the east and to the west. There is nothing which surrounds and encloses it on these three sides; but it is in itself, of itself and to itself, arrayed in itself with its fruits. And the kingdom consists of it.[28] . . .

And it (i.e. the good) is not seen in the southern region, and that is because it is hidden in that which is within its bosom (the region of light); for God has built a wall around that place.[29]

Its light and its grace are invisible, so that it does not give the evil tree, which is in the south, an occasion for desire; and so that it should not be the cause for it to be provoked and harassed and to get into danger, but it

[24] *Hom.* 123, ed. Brière (1961) 148.23–25. [25] Ibid. 150.8–10. [26] Ibid. 152.14–16.
[27] Ibid., 152.20–23. [28] Ibid., 154.7–18. [29] Ibid., 154.22–4.

is enclosed in splendour and gives no occasion because of its goodness. Yet it has preserved itself by its righteousness and is in this splendour, existing continually in the nature of its greatness in these three regions. The tree of death, however, according to its nature has no life or any fruits of goodness on its branches. It is always in the southern region. It has its own place, which is above (?) it.[30] . . .

The tree of death is divided into many (trees). War and embitterment exist in them. They are strangers to peace and are full of all wickedness and never have good fruits. It (the tree of death) is divided against its fruits and its fruits too stand against the tree. They are not at one with the one who produced them, but they all produce the worm for the destruction of their place. They are not subject to the one who produced them, but the whole tree is bad. It never does any good but is divided in itself and each individual part destroys what is nearby.[31] . . .

For they also wrote these strong words. (Let this be said) about matter and about its fruits and members: Because of the unrest – therein was the reason – it happened, that they ascended even to the worlds of light. For these members of that tree of death did not even know each other, and were not even aware of each other. For none of them knew more than its own voice and saw only that which was before their own eyes. And when it (the voice) called out something, then they heard it and were aware of it and set off to the voice with violence. They did not know anything else. And so they were stimulated and spurred on by each other to press forward even as far as the frontiers of the splendid land of light; but when they realised that its wonderful and exceedingly beautiful appearance was far better than their own, then they assembled – i.e. that dark matter – and took counsel against light to mix themselves with it. On account of their madness they did not know that a strong and powerful God dwelt therein; but they strove to ascend to the heights, because they had never recognised anything of the excellence of the Godhead, nor had they realised who God was. And they looked there, full of foolishness, urged on by the desire for the appearance of those blessed worlds and believed that it would belong to them. There arose therefore all the members of that tree of darkness, that is matter which creates ruin, and ascended with many, countless armies. Yet they were all clad in the matter of fire.[32]

The members however (of matter) were varied. Some had a firm body and were of infinite size, the others incorporeal and untouchable, having a keen perception like the demons and apparitions of phantoms. When, now, the

[30] Ibid., 154.26–156.8. [31] Ibid., 162. 6–13. [32] Ibid., 164.10–27.

whole of matter had arisen, it ascended with its winds and storms, with water and fire, with its demons and apparitions, the rulers and powers; and this was while they were all in the depths, so that they could associate themselves with the light. On account of this disturbance, which was prepared out of the depths against the land of light and against the holy fruits, it was necessary that a part should come out of the light and be mingled with the evil ones, so that the enemies would be captured by this mingling, and the good would have peace and the nature of the good would be preserved, after that blessed nature had been delivered out of the fire of matter; and out of that ruinous decay, and thereby again the luminous ones would be divested of matter by the power which has been intermingled, so that the matter will be destroyed from the midst and the tree of life be God in all and over all. For in that world of light there is no burning fire, to be set against evil, nor cutting iron, nor water which drowns, nor any other evil which is like it. For everything is light and free space. And no harm comes to it; but rather this exodus or crossing-over takes place in order that, by virtue of the part which came from the light, the enemies, being scattered, might cease their attack and are captured by the mingling.[33]

(You (i.e. Mani) say): 'that this portion (of light) was given to matter in the guise of tempting bait and a deception, so that after this "the mixture" ' – as you say – 'would be purified', or rather 'the light would be found pure', as if you are supposing that you are devising a discourse about dregs mixed in wine, and not about God! 'And after the purification' – I am also saying this according to you – 'matter will be completely reduced to destruction'! For with these very words we have set you forth above as saying: 'so that matter would be obliterated from the midst'.[34]

49. From The Psalms and Prayers *(?)*

Here are lines from the Song of the Lovers (*Amatorium canticum*) as recalled by Augustine (Latin).[35] In general, the content of this canonical scripture is not well understood, nor its relationship to extant Manichaean psalmic literature. Some clue

[33] Ibid., 164.28–166.15 (the same quotaton continued). [34] Ibid., 174.3–8.

[35] Aug., *c. Faust.* xv.5–6, p. 425.4–6, 426.8–12 and 428.5–16; Eng. trans. S. Lieu. Cf. Brückner (1901), 77–8. There is little doubt that the song is genuinely Manichaean as it renders extremely accurate information on the five sons of the Living Spirit. On this see Jackson (1932), 300–1. There are also strong echoes of this song or hymn in Coptic Manichaean psalms (e.g. *PsBk2*. 136.13a–17a.29–38 and 43–9 and 2.6–20). Adam ((1969), 2) suggests that the 'Canticum' could have been a fragment of Mani's *Gospel*.

may be provided by the canon lists embedded in the Medinet Madi *Psalm-Book*. Here we find:

There are two and twenty compounds in his antidote:
His *Great Gospel*, the good tidings of all them that are of the light.
His water-pot is *The Treasury*, the treasure of life:
In it there is hot water, there is some cold water also mixed with it.
His soft sponge that wipes away bruises is *The Treatise*.
His knife for cutting is *The Book of the Mysteries*.
His excellent swabs are *The Book of the Giants*.
The splints for every cure is the book of his *Epistles*.
. . . that is hot, the two *Psalms*, the weeping . . .
there is a cure also that is cool, his *Prayers* and all his lessons.[36]

It is the reference to two psalms in particular that is most telling, but whether either of these is really one of those here recorded by Augustine can not be known.

Do you recall your 'Song of the Lovers' in which you describe the supreme reigning monarch, forever sceptre-bearing, crowned with flowers and possessing a fiery countenance? . . . As you follow the song, you add (to the list of gods) twelve aeons (*duodecim saecula*) clothed in flowers and full of song, throwing their flowers at the Father's face. Whereupon you profess that he was surrounded by these twelve great so-called gods, three of them in each part of the four regions . . . Carry on then with what you are singing and watch out, if you can, for the shame of your idolatry. The doctrine of the deceiving demons has invited you to the imaginary dwellings of the angels where the wholesome breeze blows and to fields which abound in sweet scent and hills and trees and seas and rivers which flow forever with sweet nectar . . . Have you ever come face to face with the reigning, sceptre-bearing monarch bedecked with floral crowns and the armies of gods; and the great Keeper of Splendour (*splenditenens*), with six faces and expressions and is radiant with light; and another, the King of Honour (*rex honoris*),

[36] *PsBk2.* 46.20 – 47.4 (ed. and trans. Allberry, and adapted by I. Gardner with reference to the reedition by G. Wurst (1996)). The reference to the number 22 in the first line indicates the *Gospel* which we know was constructed after the letters of the alphabet. A similar canon tradition is also found from 139.20 – 140.16, which unfortunately is rather fragmentarily preserved (though Allberry's edition is improved by Martin Krause (1994)). However, this lists 'five holy books' amongst which we can read (or reliably restore): numbered 1, the *Great Gospel* and numbered 2, *The Treasury of Life*; then follows, *The Book* (*of the Mysteries*), *The Book of the Treatise, The Book of the* (*Giants*), *The Book of the Epistles, The Prayers* of our lord, the two *Psalms*. After the first two, it is unclear how these should be grouped to render 'five'; but see the discussion in Krause (1994).

surrounded by cohorts of angels; and another, the heroic and belligerent Adamas, who carries a spear in his right hand and a shield in the left; and another, the King of Glory (*gloriosus rex*), who propels three wheels, those of fire, water and wind; and Atlas, chief of all carrying the world on his shoulders, down on one knee and supporting it with both arms? Have you seen all these and a thousand other portents face to face, or has the doctrine of the deceiving demons been sung to you through the lips of the deceived although you are not aware of it?

50. The titles of Mani's Epistles

The titles of *The Epistles* of Mani, and also of his immediate successors,[37] are given according to Ibn an-Nadīm (Arabic, 10th C. AD).[38]

The Two Sources * The Eminent Ones * The Great Epistle of India * On Seemly Goodness * The Consummation of Justice * The Epistle of Kaskar * The Great Epistle of Fatiq[39] * The Armenian Epistle * Amūlyā the Unbeliever * Ctesiphon as it appears in The Document * The Ten Words * The Teacher on Social Intercourse * Waḥman on the Seal of the Mouth * Ḫabarhāt on Consolation * Ḫabarhāt on – * The Epistle of Umhasam of Ctesiphon * Yaḥyā on Perfume * Ḫabarhāt on – * Ctesiphon to the Hearers * The Epistle of Fāfī * The Minor Epistle on Guidance * The Dualist Epistle of Sīs * The Great Epistle of Bābil * Sīs and Fatiq on Forms * The Garden * Sīs on Time * Saʿyūs on the Tithe * Sīs on Pledges. * On Organization * The epistle of Abā the Student * – to ar-Ruhā[40]* Abā on Love * Maysān[41] on The Day * Abā on – * Baḥrānā on Terror * Abā on the Recollection of Goodness * The Servant of Jesus on The Tribes * Baḥrānā on Social Intercourse * The Epistle of Šāyil and Saknā * Abā on Alms * (**337**) Ḥadāyā on The Pigeon * Afqūriyā on Time * Zakū on Time * Suhrāb on The Tithe * The Epistle of Karḥ and ʿUrāb * Suhrāb on the Persians * The Epistle of Abrāḥyā * The Epistle of Abū Yasām the Architect * The Epistle of Abrāḥyā the Unbeliever * The Font * Yaḥyā on Money * Afʿand on the Four Tithes.

[37] The status of these different groups of letters is unknown. As a canonical work, it would seem unlikely that *The Epistles* were an open-ended text (contrast the *Kephalaia* as little more than a genre of sub-canonical discourses); but it is possible to suppose that al-Nadim is following some model such as the Shi'ite preservation of *hadith* from the Imams after Muhammad.

[38] *Fihrist*, ed. cit., pp. 336–7, trans. M. Laffan (unpubl.).

[39] This could be the work known as the 'Epistula Fundamenti' in Roman North Africa. See below.

[40] Ar-Ruhā is the semitic name for Edessa. See below (§51) for a citation (in Greek) of this letter, as preserved in the *CMC*.

[41] A similarly titled epistle is preserved in the Middle Persian fragment M733, *HR* ii, pp. 30–32, *Rd.* §do, pp. 184–85 and trans. *GSR*, p. 258.

Then there are: Af'and on the First Felicity * on the Recollection of the Cushions * Yuḥannā on the Administration of Alms * The Hearers on Fasting and Vocation * The Hearers on the Great Fire * al-Ahwāz on the Recollection of The Angel * The Hearers on the Utterance of Yazdānbaḫt * The First Persian Epistle of Maynaq * The Second Epistle of Maynaq * The Tithe and Alms * The Epistle of Ardašīr and Maynaq * The Epistle of Salam and 'Anṣūrā * The Epistle of Ḥaṭṭā * Ḫabarhāt on The Angel * Abraḥyā on the Healthy and the Sick * Araddud on the Beasts * Aǧā on the Shoes * The Two Luminous Burdens * Mānā on Crucifixion * The Epistle of Mahr the Hearer * The Epistle of Fayrūz and Rāsīn * 'Abdbāl on (Mānī's) Book of Mysteries * The Epistle of Simeon and Ramīn * 'Abdbāl on the Garment.

51. A quotation from 'the Letter to Edessa'

This is cited in the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex.*[42]

64 (We acknowledge) that he did not receive truth from men nor from the report of books, as our father himself says in the writings he sent to Edessa.[43] He says as follows:

'The truth and the secrets of which I speak, as well as the laying on of hands which is mine, I did not receive from men or beings of flesh, nor from the intercourse with writings; but when my most blessed (father) who called me to his grace and did not (wish) me and the others in the world to perish, saw and pitied me, with the purpose of (offering) well-being to those **65** who were ready to be chosen by him from the religions, then by his grace he took me away from the council of the multitude which did not know the truth. And he disclosed to me his secrets and those of his undefiled father and of the whole world. He revealed to me how they existed before the creation of the world, and how the foundation for all works, good and evil, was laid, and how they manufactured from the mixture in those (times).'

52. Passages from The Epistles *preserved at Ismant el-Kharab*

Among the Manichaean texts recovered by the excavations at Ismant el-Kharab there were a hundred or so papyrus fragments in Coptic from a codex that

[42] *CMC* 64.1–65.22, ed. cit. 42–4; Eng. trans. J. M. and S. Lieu. The citation immediately precedes those from the *Gospel* (*supra*, **46**).

[43] The title of the letter is given by al-Nadim (see above). Edessa, the capital city of the Roman province of Osrhoene, had long been a centre of early Christianity; especially popular there were the teachings of the 'gnostics' Marcion and Bardaisan.

evidently contained some (probably not all) of Mani's canonical *Epistles*. The work of reconstruction has not yet been completed, but in advance of the first critical edition (by I. Gardner and W.-P. Funk) we here provide three short passages (trans. Gardner).

In the first passage we certainly have the start of one of these *Epistles.* As is well known, Mani models his style on that of Paul. Here it is of interest that the text uses the spelling Chrestos, i.e. 'Jesus the 'good'; amongst ancient authors, Alexander of Lycopolis noted that the Manichaeans adopted this form (*c. Manich.* 34.18-21).

Manichaios, apostle of Jesus Chrestos, and all the brothers who are with me; to N.N., my loved one, and all the brothers who are with you, each one according to his name. Peace through God the Father, and our lord Jesus Chrestos, be it upon you my loved one; and may it guard you and . . . you in your body and your spirit. The Father, the God of truth . . .

In this second passage we are probably at the very end of an *Epistle.* The autobiographical asides are especially interesting; and the reference to 'ten sayings' means that this is probably the letter concerning 'the ten words', which is named by the Muslim author an-Nadīm in the tenth century, in his list of the titles of these scriptural texts (**50**).

Indeed, my loved one, I was obliged to write a mass of words to you this time; but God himself knows that these young people, whom you sent and who came, found me in how much pain. For I was sick in my body (?) and in want to come forth from it, I had no relief at all in it. For all of thirty years to the day I was never sick like this occasion; and these young people who had come, I wished merely to proclaim the news to them, and by my mouth send to you without letter. However, your heart was grieved by the words of the brothers who are ill; because of this I myself was oppressed with a great pain, and I have written to you these ten sayings that I might comfort your heart my child. I myself suffered, and that I might give relief to my child: Know therefore that these words I heard in suffering, you too receive them in joy and confirmation; and you understand them.

Finally, we provide this passage: Mani quotes a saying of Jesus (John 13:18, which is itself an allusion to Psalm 41:9) which the fourth evangelist had used with regard to Jesus's foreknowledge of his betrayal by Judas, and applies it to himself. The modelling of Mani's life-experience on that of 'our lord', and particularly with regard to the elements of the passion narrative, is a characteristic feature of Manichaean texts. This passage here evidences that this goes back to Mani himself. The peculiar form of the logion is also of interest as regards the (unresolved) question of Mani's own knowledge of the gospel textual tradition.

The saying that our lord proclaimed by his mouth has been fulfilled in me: 'The one who eats salt with me has raised his foot against me.' I (Mani) myself too, this has happened to me: One who eats salt with me at the evening table, with my clothes upon his body, he has raised his foot against me; just as an enemy would do to his enemy. All these things have I suffered from my children and my disciples, they whom I have saved from the bondage of the world and the bondage of the body; whilst I bear them from the death of the world. I, all these things, I have endured and suffered in their season from a multitude.

53. 'The Fundamental Epistle'

Citations from the *Epistula Fundamenti* found in the works of Augustine (Latin):[44]

(Frg. 1): Mani, apostle of Jesus Christ, through the providence of God the Father.[45]

(Frg. 2): These are the words of salvation from the eternal and living source. Whoever hears them and first believes, then keeps their teachings, will never be subjected to death but will enjoy an eternal and glorious life. For he who has been instructed in this divine knowledge is truly to be considered blessed and who, thereby freed, shall dwell in everlasting life.[46]

(Frg. 3): May the peace of the invisible God and knowledge of the truth be with the holy and beloved brothers who believe the heavenly commandments and also observe them at the same time! May the right hand of the light protect you and deliver you from every assault of evil and the snare of the world! May the piety of the Holy Spirit open up the depths of your heart so that you may see your souls with your own eyes![47]

(Frg. 4a): You have indicated to me, my dearest brother Patticius,[48] saying that you wish to know in what manner Adam and Eve came into being,

[44] The 'Epistula quam Manichaei vocant Fundamenti' was according to Augustine the most widely read work of Mani among the Manichaeans of North Africa. It formed the basis of his debate with the Manichaean *doctor* Felix in 404 (cf. Aug., *Contra Felicem*, ed. Zycha, CSEL XXV/2, 801–52) and that of a major refutation of its contents (cf. Aug., *Contra Epistulam Manichaei quam vocant 'fundamenti'*, ed. Zycha, CSEL XXV/1, 193–248). The latter is the source of the majority of the quotations given below. There is an edition of the reconstructed text, with a detailed but dated commentary, by E. Feldmann (1987). The numbering of the fragments given below follows that of Feldmann. Eng. trans. by J. F. Hendry in Haardt (1971), 295–301; revised by S. Lieu, S. Llewelyn and M. J. Vermes.

[45] Aug., *c. Epist. Fund.* 5, 197.10–11 and *c. Fel.* 1.1, 801.16–17.

[46] Aug., *c. Epist. Fund.* 11, 206.18–24 and *c. Fel.* 1.1, 801.17–24.

[47] Aug., *c. Epist. Fund.* 11, 207.11–13 and 18–20 and *c. Fel.* 1.16, 819.9–15.

[48] This is very likely to be the same person as the Teacher Patīg whom Mani sent to evangelise the regions of the Roman Empire which bordered on those of the Sassanians (see **21**)). Among the titles of Epistles of Mani given by Al-Nadim we find a 'long epistle of Futtuq' which may be the same letter as the *Epistula fundamenti*. The length of the extant citations which could have represented only

whether they were brought forth through the word or were begotten from a body. To this you shall receive an appropriate reply.[49] This subject has been treated by many writers in various texts and revelations, and dealt with in varying ways. The truth of this matter as it stands is therefore not known by almost all peoples, and (especially) by all who have discussed the subject at length and in detail. If they had attained to a clear knowledge of the origin of Adam and Eve, they would never become subject to corruption and death.[50]

(Frg. 4b): In order to be able to penetrate this mystery however, beyond any ambiguity, one must of necessity set forth other facts in advance.[51]

(Frg. 4c): In the first place, therefore, if you will, hearken to what was before the world came into being, and how the struggle was started, so that you may be able to distinguish the nature of the light and the darkness.[52]

(Frg. 5a): In the primeval beginning there were the two substances separated from one another. God the Father ruled over the light, eternal in his holy origin, magnificent in his power, by nature true, forever rejoicing over his own eternity. In him were contained wisdom and the vital senses by which he also embraces the twelve members of his light,[53] namely the abounding riches of his own dominion. In each of his members, however, thousands of countless and immeasurable treasures are concealed. The Father himself, exalted in his glory and incomprehensible in his greatness, possesses in union with himself blessed and illustrious aeons, whose number and extent cannot be estimated. The sacred and noble Father and generator lives with them, in his splendid kingdom there is no beggar or cripple.[54]

(Frg. 5b): Thus his shining kingdoms are founded above the bright and blessed earth, in such a way that they cannot ever be moved or shaken by anyone.[55]

(Frg. 6a): Near one section and the side of that glorious and holy land,[56] (Frg. 6b): was situated the land of darkness, deep and of immeasurable extent; in it resided fiery bodies, baneful breeds. Here, emanating out of

part of the work (which Augustine prefers to call a *liber* rather than an *epistula*) certainly suggests its being a long work, and much longer than an average letter of Mani.

[49] This question from an enlightened disciple and answer from the master in the form of an intended dicourse is standard in Manichaean didactic literature and is frequently used in the *Kephalaia* and by Manichaeans in Central Asia where it could easily be adopted to resemble a Buddhist sutra.

[50] Idem, *c. Epist. Fund.* 12, 207.25–208.11. [51] Ibid., 208.13–16. [52] Ibid., 208.23–26.

[53] I.e. the Twelve Aeons. These are also known as the Twelve Maidens or the Twelve Hours.

[54] Ibid. 13, 209.11–26.

[55] Ibid., 209.26–8; idem, *c. Fel.* 1.17, 820.10–12; idem, *de natura boni* 42, 877.18–20 and Evodius, *de fide contra Manichaeos* 11, ed. Zycha, CSEL XXV/2, 955.1–3.

[56] Aug., *c. Epist. Fund.* 15, 212.9–10 and idem, *c. Fel.* 1.19, 824.16–17. For an important study of the description of the land of darkness as depicted in the 'Epistula Fundamenti' see Puech (1951).

the same principle, came a boundless and incalculable darkness, together with its own progeny. Beyond the darkness lay filthy whirling waters with their inhabitants; further within were terrifying and violent storms with their ruler and progenitors. Next followed another fiery region, a prey to destruction, with its leaders and peoples. In the same way there lived inside it a breed filled with gloom and smoke, among whom loitered the horrible ruler and leader of all these worlds, who had congregated around himself innumerable princes, and he himself was the spirit and source of all of them. And these were the five natures of the corruption-bearing land.[57]
(Frg. 6c): But those five species inhabiting those natures were savage and destructive.[58]

(Frg. 7): The Father of the blessed light, however, knew that a great contamination and destruction was rising from the darkness and menacing his sacred aeons, unless he opposed to it an outstanding, brilliant and powerful deity, through which he would at once overcome the descendants of the darkness and destroy them, and thus, following their destruction, ensure for the inhabitants of the light eternal rest.[59]

(Frg. 8a): . . . the Father who generated there the sons of light; both the air and the land itself and the sons themselves are one substance, and all things are equal . . . [60]

(Frg. 8b): For that is this *Epistula Fundamenti*, which your holiness knows well, which I too have quoted, because it contains the beginning, the middle and the end.[61]

(Frg. 9): Then he (i.e. the ruler of darkness) spoke in his wanton deceit to those who were with him: 'What do you make of that powerful light rising up (over there)? See, how it sets the heavens in motion and convulses most of the powers. It is better therefore that you give over to me whatever light you have in your power. With it I shall make an image of that great one that has appeared in glory. Through that image we shall be able to rule and we shall at last be freed of this sojourn in the darkness.'

When they had heard this and debated at length, they thought it best to render up what they were asked. For they were not confident that they would be able to keep back this light permanently. They therefore considered it better to offer it to their ruler with whom they did not despair of reigning, thanks to this expediency. We must now consider the manner in which they transferred the light which they possessed. This also is scattered in all divine

[57] Aug., *c. Epist. Fund.* 15, 212.10–22. [58] Ibid. 30, 230.11–12.
[59] Aug., *c. Fel.* 1.19, 824, 23–9; idem, *de natura boni* 42, 877.21–26, idem., *c. Sec.* 20, 935.23–6, Evod., *de fide* 11, 955.3–9.
[60] Aug., *c. Fel.* 1.19, 825.24–6. [61] Ibid. 2.1, 828.23–6.

writings and heavenly mysteries. For the wise, of course, a knowledge of the method of transfer is by no means difficult; for this becomes apparent and clearly recognised by him who truly and sincerely desires to know.

As the congregation of those who had assembled differed in sex, namely male and female, he commanded them to mate, whereby some in the act of coition ejected seed and the others became pregnant. The offspring were like their generators, and, as the first-born, received the major part of their parents's powers. Their ruler took them and rejoiced over them as over an extraordinary gift. And just as we even today can observe that the principle of evil forms bodies, draining power from the latest ones before creating new ones, so the ruler we have mentioned receiving the offspring of his companions, who possessed the sensual powers of their parents, their intelligence and also the light which had been procreated with them at the time of their generation, consumed them. He drew a great deal of strength out of that sort of food, in which there was not only strength but even more, cunning and the corrupted senses which derived from the savage mentality of their generators. He called to him his own female companion, who originated from the same source as himself. When he had united with her, he sowed in her, like the others had done, the surplus of evils which he had consumed, and added to these something of his thinking and his power, so that his own mind should shape and form all that he had brought forth. His female companion received it all, just as the best tilled soil customarily receives the seed. For in her the images of all heavenly and earthly powers were shaped and interwoven, so that what took shape there, possessed a similarity to the entire universe.[62]

(Frg. 10): The enemy, who hoped to have crucified that same saviour, the father of the righteous, was himself crucified: for at that time, appearance and real event were distinct.[63]

(Frg. 11): . . . the (souls) which had allowed themselves to be seduced from their former light-nature by love of the world, became enemies of the sacred light, armed themselves openly for the destruction of the sacred elements, and gave themselves up obediently to the spirit of fire. By their hostile persecution they did harm to the holy church and its elect, who are appointed adherents to the heavenly commandments; they are shut out of the blessedness and glorified state of the sacred earth. And because they allowed themselves to be overcome by evil, they shall remain within that breed of evil and have no access to that peaceful earth and the regions of immortality. This will happen to them because they have so entangled

[62] Aug., *de natura boni* 46, 884.29–886.17. [63] Evod., *de fide* 28, 964.7–10.

themselves in evil works that they have become alienated from the life and freedom of the sacred light. Therefore they cannot be taken back into those peaceful kingdoms, but will be confined in the terrible 'mass'[64] already mentioned, for which a guard must also be assigned. These souls therefore will remain attached to the things they have loved and be left behind in this 'mass' of darkness. This they have brought upon themselves through their own misdeeds. They made no effort to understand these teachings concerning the future, and when they were granted time to do so, distanced themselves from them.[65]

54. 'The Letter to Menoch'

The authenticity of this text (Latin)[66] remains open to dispute. It was presented by the Pelagian writer Julian of Eclanum, who used it in his attack against Augustine, the former Manichaean.

1 Manes the apostle of Jesus Christ to Menoch[67] his daughter: May grace and well-being be granted to you by our god, who is in reality the true god, and may he himself illuminate your mind, and reveal his righteousness to you, because you are the fruit of a divine lineage.

2 (. . . Declare (?), Admit (?)) those by whom also you have been made as spotless as you are, by recognising how you were before and from what kind of souls you have sprung, a kind blended from all substances and savours and attaching to different appearances. For just as souls are begotten from souls, so the creation of the body derives from the nature of the body. Therefore, what is born of the flesh is flesh; and what of the spirit, is spirit; however by 'the spirit' understand 'the soul', then the soul (is born) of the

[64] Latin 'globus horribilis'. The term 'globus' (sphere, clump) was used as a Greek loan-word in Syriac and was certainly known to Mani. Cf. Ephraim, *ad Hypatium* III, ed. Mitchell (1912–22), I, 87.43.

[65] Evod., *de fide* 5, 952.28–953.16 and Aug., *de natura boni*, 42, 878.23–5.

[66] Aug., *contra Julianum opus imperfectum,* III, 172.1–12, 186.5–12, 187.2–11, 37–42, 47–9 and 53–9 ed. Zelzer, CSEL LXXV/1 (Vienna, 1974) 473 and 485–8; Eng. trans. S. Lieu and S. Llewelyn with acknowledgement to an earlier unpublished draft translation by C. J. Morgan for the Database of Manichaean Texts. See also the text in Adam (1969) §12, pp. 31–2 (based on *PL* 45.1318–27) which is still widely used. For an edition of the epistle with a full listing of testimonia and a detailed commentary see Stein (1998). The numbering of the subdivisions in the translation follows that of Stein's edition. For a full study with text and translation, including those of contextual material, see Harrison and BeDuhn (2001), 131–9.

[67] Among the titles of Mani's epistles cited by an-Nadīm (see above, **50**) are: 'The first Persian epistle of Maynaq. The second epistle of Maynaq. The epistle of tithe and alms. The epistle of Ardaīr and Maynaq'. However, there are good grounds to dispute Mani's authorship for the extant citations. Julian claimed to have acquired it via Constantinople, but Augustine claimed (*c. Jul. op. impf.* III, ed. cit. 165.4–166.5) that he had never come across it before. The letter, as Stein ((1998), 28–33) has ably demonstrated, manifests a number of peculiar readings in its New Testament citations which suggest an author familiar with the Latin version of Paul's Letters and also preoccupation with theological issues (such as infant baptism) which could not possibly have been of interest to Mani.

soul, and the flesh of flesh. 3. So just as God is the originator of souls, so the devil is the originator of bodies through lust, so that in the devil's snare by means of the lust of a woman, whence the devil lies in wait, (he catches (?)) not souls but bodies, either by sight, or by touch, or by hearing, or by smell, or by taste. 4. In short, abolish the root of this evil stock and gaze at once on your own spiritual self. For, says the scripture, the root of all evils is lust.

5. Wherefore see how foolish are they who say that his creative act was established by the good God, which act they are sure is begotten of the spirit of lust. (Yet) they unite with unwilling heart and they act with hidden shames, while they hate the light so that their works may not be made manifest. 6. For the sake of which the apostle says (Rom. 9:16): 'That it may be understood, this work is not of a willing man.' For if we perform the good, it is not of the flesh; because the deeds of the flesh are plain to see, which are fornication etc., if we do evil, it is not of the soul; because the fruit of the spirit is peace, joy (etc.) (Gal. 5:19 and 22). 7. Finally also the apostle clamours to the Romans (7:19); the good which I wish, I do not do; but I work at the evil which I dread. You see the voice of the stubborn soul, defending the freedom of the soul against lust. For he grieves because sin, i.e. the devil, is working every lust against him. 8. The authority of the law proclaims his wickedness, when it censures all his practices, which the flesh admires and praises; for every bitterness of lust is sweet to the soul, through it the soul is nourished and stirred to activity. 9. In short, the soul of the man who restrains himself from all practice of lust is wakeful, is enriched and grows; but by the practice of lust it is wont to diminish . . .

3 It is worth mentioning, because the first soul, which sprang from the God of Light, received that creation of the body that it might control it with its own restraint. The command came, sin which appeared to have been a prisoner, revived; the devil found his moments, led astray into it (i.e. the soul) the disposition of lust and by means of it he ruined it. The law indeed is pure, but pure for the pure (soul); and God's command is both just and good, but for the just and good (soul).

4 1. Yet, these are men who have dared to say that this lust is a good thing in opposition to the evangelical and apostolic books, which they keep reading in vain; you may see how their holy men at one time have slept with their daughters, at other times have had intercourse with several concubines and wives as well. And the apostles do not see this: what alliance is there for light and darkness, for the faithful and the faithless, for Christ and Babel? 2. They go astray, gathered in the gloom of lust, whose poison they so enjoy, that, seized with madness, when they perform this act, they

think it has been permitted by God as if they did not know that the apostle said; what things are done by them in the dark, it is shameful to speak indeed . . .

5 1. Come, you defender of lust, with frank speech relate its fruits and its works. Behold in opposition to it I do not fear the light, which it trembles and hates. For everyone who does evil hates the light and does not come to the light lest his works be manifest. 2. Do you see that lust is the source of evil,[68] through which wretched souls are the slaves to desire, not of their own accord, because this is the only thing which we do with unwilling heart.

6 In short, every sin is outside the body, because it is active; but he who fornicates, sins against his own body. For every sin, before it is committed, does not exist; and after the deed, only the memory of its doing remains, not the image (?) itself; but the evil of lust, because it is natural, exists before it is committed; when it takes place, it is increased; and after the deed it is seen and endures.

7 If sin is not natural, why are infants baptised, who are agreed to have done no evil of themselves?[69]

8 (Let those answer), whom I have to question with these words, – if every evil is committed by an act, then before anyone does evil, why does he receive the purification of water, when he has done no evil of his own accord? Or, if he has not yet done it, must he also be purified? Is it permitted that they declare the springing forth of evil lineage by nature, these wicked men themselves whom madness does not allow to understand either what they are saying or what they are asserting as true?

55. Spurious letters attributed to Mani

The following four fragments are all cited in polemics against Monophysites by Orthodox writers and are very likely to be fabrications.

Fragment of a Letter to Addas (Greek):[70]

The Galileans affirm that Christ has two natures but we pour rude laughter on them. For they do not know that the substance of light is not mixed with

[68] A peculiar misquotation of 1Tim. 6.10: 'For the love of money is the root of all evils, . . .' which seems to suggest familiarity of the reading 'cupiditas' for 'avaritia' in the versions of the Latin New Testament which argues against the letter being a genuine work of Mani. Cf. Stein (1998), 29–36.

[69] An argument unlikely to have been used by Mani given the lack of interest in the topic of infant baptism among Syriac-speaking Christians at the time of Mani. Cf. Stein (1998), 38–9.

[70] *Fragmentum epistulae ad Addam,* ap. Eustathius Monachus, *Epistula de duabus naturis adversus Severum, PG* 86.904A (= Adam (1969) §13, p. 33); Eng. trans. S. Lieu.

another matter but is pure, and cannot be united with another substance even if they seem to be joined. The title of 'Christ' is a name which is loosely applied and does not give any indication of form or being. But the highest light, remaining one with his own, appointed for himself a body among earthly bodies, being completely of one nature.

Fragment of a Letter to the Saracen Kundaros (Greek):[71]

When the Jews desired to stone Christ and to put into action the daring of their lawlessness, the son of the highest light manifested his nature clearly, and he walked through their midst without their seeing him. For the immaterial form was, though conformed in appearance to the flesh, not visible nor tangible, as matter has nothing in common with the immaterial. His (i.e. Christ's) nature is one throughout even though his bodily form was visible.

Fragment of a Letter to Scythianus (Greek):[72]

The son of the eternal light manifested his own being on the mountain since he did not have two natures, but one nature, both visible and invisible.

Fragment of a Letter to his disciple Zabinas (Greek):[73]

The nature of light is entirely one and does not suffer and its power is one. For the light shines in the darkness and the darkness did not overcome it. (The light) touched not the substance of flesh, but was veiled with a likeness and form of flesh, lest it should be overcome by the substance of the flesh, and suffer and be spoiled, the darkness spoiling its operations as light. How then did it suffer since neither did darkness overcome it nor was its operation darkened?

A single nature does not die and a semblance of flesh is not crucified. Therefore, the light remained in possession of one nature, and one activity which suffered nothing from the veil of flesh which does not have a nature which is overcome.

[71] *Fragmentum epistulae ad Condarum,* ap. Diekamp (ed.) (1907), 64 (= Adam (1969) §14, p. 33); Eng. trans. S. Lieu.

[72] *Fragmentum epistulae ad Scythianum.* ap. Justinianus, *c. Monophysitas* 91, ed. Schwartz (1973), 38.35–6; Eng. trans. S. Lieu. Scythianus was the name of the precursor of Mani in the polemical *Acta Archelai*.

[73] *Fragmentum epistulae ad Zabinam*, ap. Diekamp (ed.) (1907), 41; Eng. trans. S. Lieu.

CHAPTER 5

Teachings

For a summary of Mani's teaching see Introduction (pp. 8–21). The following extracts give emphasis to Manichaean writings in Coptic because of their relative inaccessibility.

56. The community sing 'the knowledge of Mani'

This psalm (*PsBk2*. 9.3–11.32 ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted by Iain Gardner) is now found amongst the 'psalms of the bema', at least in the Medinet Madi codex. However, it is so clearly a fundamental account of the entire history of the conflict between the two principles, the loss and redemption of the living soul, that it is tempting to suppose some special status for the piece. See further Wurst (1991).

(Psalm) 223

9 Let us worship the Spirit of the Paraclete.

Let us bless our lord Jesus who has sent to us
the Spirit of truth. He came and separated us from the error
of the world, he brought us a mirror, we looked,
we saw the all in it.

When the Holy Spirit came he revealed to us
the way of truth and taught us that there are two
natures, that of light and that of darkness,
separate one from the other from the beginning.

The kingdom of light, on the one hand consisted in five
greatnesses, and they are the Father and his twelve
aeons and the aeons of the aeons, the living air,
the land of light; the Great Spirit breathing in them,
nourishing them with its light.

However, the kingdom of darkness consists of five storehouses,
which are smoke and fire
and wind and water and darkness; their counsel
creeping in them, moving them and raising them
to make war with one another.

Now, as they were making war with one another they dared
to make an attempt upon the land of light, thinking that they
would be able to conquer it. Yet they know not that which they
have
thought to do they will bring down upon their own heads.

And there was a multitude of angels in the land of the light,
having the power to go forth to subdue the enemy
of the Father, whom it pleased that by his word that
he would send, he should subdue the rebels who desired
to exalt themselves above that which was more exalted than they.

Like unto a shepherd that shall see a lion coming to
10 destroy his sheep-fold: for he uses guile and takes
a lamb and sets it as a snare that he may catch him
by it; for by a single lamb he saves his
sheep-fold. After these things he heals the lamb that
has been wounded by the lion.

This too is the way of the Father, who sent his
strong son; and he produced from himself his
virgin equipped with five powers, that
she might fight against the five abysses of the dark.

When the watcher stood by the borders
of the light, he showed to them his virgin who
is his soul; they bestirred themselves in their abyss, desiring
to exalt themselves over her, they opened their mouth desiring
to swallow her.

He held fast her crown, he spread her over them, like
nets over fishes, he made her rain down upon them
like purified clouds of water, she thrust herself
within them like piercing lightning. She crept in their
inward parts, she bound them all, they not knowing it.

When the First Man had perfected his war,
the Father sent his second son.
He came and helped his brother out of the abyss;
he established this whole universe out of the mixture that
took place of the light and the darkness.

He spread out all the powers of the abyss to ten heavens and
eight earths, he shut them up in this universe
for a season; while he made it a prison for all the powers of
darkness,
it is also a place of purification for the soul that was
swallowed in them.

The sun and moon he founded, he set them on high, to
purify the soul. Daily they take up the refined part
to the heights, but the dregs however they scrape
11 down to the abyss, what is mixed they convey
above and below.

This entire universe stands firm for a season, there
being a great building which is being built outside this
world. So soon as that Builder shall finish,
the whole universe will be dissolved and set on fire
that the fire may smelt it away.

All life, the relic of light wheresoever it be, he will
gather to himself and of it depict a Statue.
And the counsel of death too, all the darkness,
he will gather together and paint its very self for a (bond (?))
for the ruler.

In an instant the Living Spirit will come . . .
. . . he will succour the light. However, the counsel of death
and the darkness he will shut up in the tomb
that was established for it, that it might be bound in it for ever.

There is no other means to bind the enemy save this means;
for he will not be received to the light because he is a stranger
to it;
nor again can he be left in his land of darkness, that he may
not wage a war greater than the first.

A new aeon will be built in the place of this universe
that shall dissolve, that in it the powers of the light may
reign, because they have performed and fulfilled the will
of the Father entire, they have subdued the hated one, they have
. . . over him for ever.

This is the knowledge of Mani, let us worship him
and bless him. Blessed is he every one that believes in him,
for he it is who may live with all the righteous.

Glory and victory to our lord Mani, the Spirit of
truth that comes from the Father, who has unveiled for us
the beginning, the middle and the end.
Victory to the soul of the blessed Maria, Theona, Pshai, Jmnoute.

57. Alexander of Lycopolis on the Manichaean system

This schematic representation of the Manichaean system is by the Neo-Platonist Alexander of Lycopolis (early fourth century, AD Greek).[1] It is a remarkable testimony to the rapid penetration of Manichaean beliefs even amongst philosophical circles in Egypt.

(II.) This is a summary of Mani's doctrine as we know it from members of his circle: He established as principles (p. 5) God and matter (Gr. *hyle*). God is good, matter is evil. However, there is still more good in God than there is evil in matter. That which he calls matter is not what Plato (*civ.* II 358e) thus named, in other words that which becomes all things by assuming the nature and the form (it is the reason why Plato calls it 'universal receptacle', or 'mother' and 'wet-nurse') (*Tim.* 49a). Neither is it what Aristotle meant, in other words the element to which form and privation relate (*organ.* II, p. 402ff., ed. Waitz), it is something else still. Indeed, it is the random movement (Gr. *ataktos kinēsis*) which is in every being, that is what Mani calls 'matter'. Other powers stand at God's side, these play the role of auxiliaries and are wholly good. And beside matter, there are, seemingly, other powers which are wholly evil. The splendour, the light, the on-high, all these powers are with God. Obscurity, the darkness and the here-below are with matter. God also has

[1] Alexander Lycopolitanus, *contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio* II–V, ed. Brinkmann (1895) 4–8; Eng. trans. S. Lieu and S. Vince. On Alexander as an important early source on Manichaeism, see esp. van der Horst and Mansfeld (1974); Stroumsa (1991); A. Villey (1985).

desires, but these are all good. Matter too has desires, but they are all evil.

III. At one time, matter was seized with desire to ascend to the place on high. And, having reached it, it marvelled at the splendour and the light which were in God's company. It wished to become master of this kingdom and drive God out of it. The latter resolved to punish it, but he had difficulty in finding the evil necessary for its punishment: in fact there is no evil in God's house. Therefore he hastened to dispatch a power,[2] that which we call the soul,[3] to confront matter, with the aim of bringing about a complete mingling with it. And its consequent separation from this power would result in the death of matter. It is thus that by virtue of divine providence (p. 6) the mingling of the soul and matter will be achieved, a mingling of unlike with unlike. Yet in this mingling, the soul will contract the same affections as matter. In the same way as the contents of a poor-quality jar often become contaminated, so it is with matter, the soul undergoes something similar and, contrary to its true nature, is diminished by having had dealings with matter.

Now God was filled with compassion, and he sent another power, that which we call the 'demiurge'.[4] When this power had arrived and taken in hand the creation of the world, it separated from matter that part of the power which had not had to suffer anything contrary to its nature by virtue of the mingling: thus the sun and moon were first created. The part which had suffered moderately from dealings with matter gave birth to the stars and to the whole sky. As for the portion of matter from which the sun and moon had been separated, it was relegated beyond the confines of the world, and it is a fire, definitely burning, but without brilliance, almost like the night. As for the other elements, and the plants and animals which populate them, the divine power was mingled with them in unequal proportions. That is the reason for which the world came into being and, in this world, the sun and moon which, by means of generations and corruptions, continually separate the divine power from matter and dispatch it to God.

IV. Indeed, there is another power[5] beside the demiurge, which has borrowed the luminous rays of the sun to descend, and which works at this

[2] I.e. the Primal Man. Alexander gives no account of his suffering in the kingdom of darkness.

[3] A statement commonly found in polemical writings, see e.g. *Acta Archelai* VI (*ap*. Epiph., *Panarion* LXVI.25.8) (*v. infra*, **58**) where it was the armour of the Primal Man which was the soul. However, Manichaean writings are much less unequivocal on this equation.

[4] Viz. the Living Spirit. Unlike the gnostics, the demiurge is not a negative figure in Manichaeism.

[5] Viz. the Third Messenger. Alexander is almost unique among Greek and Latin sources in identifying both demiurgic figures in the Manichaean system.

labour of separation. This labour is an obvious thing and, so it is said, even a blind man can see it. For in its waxing phase the moon collects the power which was separated from matter, and becomes filled with it during this time. (p. 7) Then, once it is full, it wanes, causing the said power to re-ascend into the sun. The sun in its turn sends it back towards God. That done, the sun receives, emanating from the last full moon, another part of the soul which migrates towards it, and, having received it, leaves it to make its own way to God by the same means. That is the sun's perpetual task.

Furthermore, one can see in the sun an image which resembles the human form. Seeing it, matter was seized with the desire to imitate it and produced man itself, thanks to the total mingling which links it to the power: therefore man himself also possesses a particle of the soul. Nevertheless, the form has contributed greatly to the fact that man participates in the divine power more than other living beings and mortals, since he himself finds that he is an image of this divine power.

Christ is an intellect (Gr. *nous*).[6] Coming one day from the place on high, he liberated the greater part of the power in order to restore it to God and finally, through his crucifixion, he made it known that in the same way the divine power was nailed or, in other words, crucified on matter.[7]

So, therefore, since God's decree commands that matter should perish, one must abstain from all food derived from animals, eat vegetables and all things which have no feeling, abstain from marriage, the pleasures of love-making and the begetting of children, so that the time the power spends in matter is not prolonged through succeeding generations. But it is also forbidden for Manichaeans who put themselves to death to be granted an artificial purification of the stains which their mingling with matter inflicted on the power.

v. Such are their principal doctrines. Besides, they honour the sun and moon above all else, not as gods, but as the way which allows access to God.

[6] The identification of Christ the saviour with *nous* goes back to the earliest Manichaean writings. In the *Šābuhragān* (see above, p. 152), the name for Christ in Middle Persian was *xrdyšhr yzd* ('God of the World of Wisdom or Intellect'). Cf. Rose (1979), 138. While the Light Mind was identified with Jesus the Splendour or the Jesus of Light by the Manichaeans, the same identification is not made with Jesus the Messiah who suffered in the hands of the Jews and was crucified. The statement that 'Christ is Nous' is further elaborated in the treatise of Alexander (§24, 34.17–35.20, ed. Brinkmann) in which he defended the name of Christ from a Christian position against Manichaean misuse which may indicate that he might have once been a Christian. On this see the important observations of Edwards (1989).

[7] I.e. Jesus Patibilis, the third manifestation of Jesus in Manichaeism.

They also say that after the total separation of the (p. 8) divine power, the external fire will melt from on high and will consume itself, together with all substance that still remains.

58. The Acta Archelai *on cosmogony*

Summary of Manichaean teaching on cosmogony from the *Acta Archelai*[8] (mid-late 4th C., Greek, with a near contemporary Latin version).[9]

(**25**), 3 Summary of the sacrilegious teachings of Mani:
(VII) If you wish to become acquainted with Mani's belief, then hear it from me in a brief summary. He reveres two unbegotten, eternal gods originating from their own nature, of whom the one is the adversary of the other. He introduces the one as good, the other as evil. To the one he gives the name light, to the other darkness, and he says that the soul which is in man is a part of light, whereas the body belongs to darkness and is a creation of matter. 4. He says that a mixture or confusion of them came about in the following way, comparing the two gods with the following illustration. Like two kings fighting each other, who have been enemies from the beginning and each of whom respectively has his own territory, darkness by coincidence rose up out of its limits and attacked light. 5. However, when the good Father noticed that darkness had penetrated his land, he caused to emanate from himself a power, the so-called Mother of Life and from this emanated the First Man (and) the five elements. These are wind, light, water, fire and air.[10] 6. And when he had put on these as battle armour, he descended and fought with darkness. The rulers of darkness then went over to a counter attack and ate of his armour, which is the soul. 7. Then the First Man

[8] Traditionally attributed to Hegemonius, the *Acta Archelai* purports to be a record of debates between Mani and various Christian leaders across the frontier in the Roman Empire, especially with the bishop Archelaeus at Carchar (= Carrhae in Osrhoene ?). The work, which also contains a highly satirical version of the life of Mani, enjoyed enormous popularity in late antiquity. Originally composed in Greek in the first half of the fourth century, it has survived in a complete form only in a near contemporary translation in Latin. However, the heresiologist Epiphanius has preserved in Greek in his lengthy article on the heresy (*Panarion* LXVI) substantial parts of the Greek version of the *Acta* including the important sections containing the summary of Mani's system. On the *Acta* as a source for the history of early Manichaeism see S. N. C. Lieu (1988); and Scopello (1995).

[9] Epiphanius, *Panarion* LXVI.25.3–31.8, ed. K. Holl, rev. J. Dummer, GCS (Berlin, 1985), 53.18–72.8; Eng. trans. M. Vermes and S. Lieu. The chapter numberings in Roman numerals are those of the Latin version of the *Acta Archelai* (ed. C. H. Beeson, GCS (Leipzig, 1916) 9–22). The chapter and section numberings in Arabic numerals in the translation follow those of Holl's edition of Epiphanius. For a detailed commentary on the summary see Riggi (1967), 110–59.

[10] The text reads 'matter' (Gr. *hyle*) but most scholars prefer 'air' (*aēr*) as the fifth light element, and in Coptic sources it is the living air (e.g. *PsBk2.* 137.36–7). The (erroneous?) reading clearly goes back to the earliest Greek versions of the *Acta Archelai* as the Latin translation gives *materia*.

down below was pressed very hard by darkness, and if the Father had not heard his prayer and sent out another power, which emanated from him, that is the so-called Living Spirit, and if this latter had not descended and stretched out his right hand, leading the First Man out of darkness, then he would long ago have risked being held fast. So from then on he left the soul down there. 8. It is for this reason that the Manichaeans shake each other by the right hand when they meet, as a sign that they are saved from darkness. For, he says, all the sects are in the darkness. Then the Living Spirit created the world, put on three other powers, descended, brought up the rulers and crucified them in the firmament, which is their body, the sphere.

(VIII) **26** Then the Living Spirit created the lights, which are the remnants of the soul, and made them circle round the firmament. Furthermore he created the earth in eight forms.[11] The Porter down below carries it, and when he becomes weary of carrying, he trembles and causes an earthquake, outside the determined time. 2. For this reason the good Father sent his son from his bosom into the heart of the earth and into its lowest parts, to bring upon him a suitable punishment. For every time the earth quakes, he is either trembling with weariness, or transferring the earth onto his other shoulder. 3. Then matter created plants from itself and when they had been stolen by certain archons, it called all the highest archons, took power from them individually, formed this man in the image of that First Man and bound soul in him. This is the reason for the mingling. 4. Still, when the living Father saw the soul suffering in the body, then in grace and mercy he sent his beloved son for the salvation of the soul. It was for this reason and because of the Porter that he sent him. 5. And the son came, transformed himself into human form, and appeared to men as a man, although he was not human. And people believed that he had been begotten. 6. So he came and made creation for the salvation of souls and produced an instrument with twelve vessels; this is turned by the sphere and draws up the souls of the dying. Then the great light takes them up with its rays, purifies them and passes them on to the moon and thus is filled the face of the moon, as we call it. For he describes the two lights as ships or ferries. 7. Then when the moon is full, it ferries the souls to the east and so wanes, as it is lightened of its load. And again it fills the ferry and again it unloads as the souls are brought up by the vessels, until it has saved its own share of soul. For every soul and every living creature has a share in the good Father's

[11] I.e. the eight earths (on which see Introduction, p. 15). It is odd that they are mentioned here without the usual accompanying 'ten heavens' or 'ten skies'.

being, he maintains. 8. Now when the moon has passed on to the aeons of the Father its burden of souls, they remain in the Pillar of splendour,[12] the so-called perfect air.[13] This air is a pillar of light, because it is full of souls being purified. This is the reason why souls come to salvation.

(IX) **27** The reason, however, why men die is as follows: A lovely, decorated and very attractive maiden[14] tries to rob the rulers, who were brought up and crucified in the firmament by the Living Spirit, by appearing to the male rulers as a beautiful woman, to the female ones as a good-looking and desirable youth. 2. When the rulers see how beautiful she is, they are stung by a love-charm; since they cannot grasp her however, they become terribly enflamed and erotic desire deprives them of all reason. 3. Now when the maiden becomes invisible before their advance, the great ruler produces clouds from out of himself, to darken the world in his anger, and if he strains much, like a man he sweats and grows tired, and his sweat is the rain. 4. If at the same time the ruler of the harvest is robbed by the maiden, he pours out an epidemic over the whole earth, to kill men; for this body is called cosmos, corresponding to the macrocosm, and all men have roots beneath, which are linked with those above. So when he is robbed by the maiden, he begins to cut off men's roots; and when their roots are cut off, the epidemic breaks out and so they die. 5. However, if that which is above the roots sways as a result of the tension, an earthquake occurs as a consequence, with the Porter also shuddering. This is the cause of death.

(X) **28** I will tell you also how the soul transmigrates into different bodies. First of all a little of it is purified, then it moves into the body of a dog, of a camel or of another living creature. If it is a murderous soul, it is carried into the bodies of lepers; if it is found to have harvested, into those whose speech is handicapped. (The names of the soul are as follows: mind (Gr. *nous*), thinking, intellect, thought, reasoning.) 2. The harvest workers, who do the reaping, are like the archons, who were in darkness from the beginning, when they ate of the armour of the First Man. So they must be transformed into grass or beans or barley or ears of grain or vegetables, so that they too can be harvested and cut down. 3. If someone

[12] Or 'radiant Pillar'.

[13] Often emended to 'Perfect Man' (the Latin version of the Acta gives 'vir perfectus'). However, the association of both 'air' (Gr. *aēr*) and 'man' (Gr. *anēr*) with the Pillar of light is found in Manichaean texts. See e.g. *PsBk2*.CCLXVI, trans. Allberry, 83.25–8: 'Hail, Perfect Man, holy path that draws to the height, clear air, mooring-harbour of all that believe in him: open to me thy secrets and take me to thee from affliction.' On this see van Lindt (1992) 170–5, esp. 174–5.

[14] I.e. the Virgin of Light. The link between the Virgin and human mortality and judgement is also found in other Manichaean texts. See e.g. *PsBk2*. CCLXVII, 84.30–2 and *Keph*. XCV, 244.9–13. Cf. van Lindt (1992) 176–81.

eats bread, he must also become bread and be eaten. If someone kills a bird, he will become a bird; if someone kills a mouse, he will become a mouse. 4. Furthermore, if someone is rich in this world, and has departed from his tent, he must pass over into the body of a beggar, so that he moves around and begs, and then goes into eternal punishment. 5. However, because this body belongs to the rulers and to matter, a man who plants a persea tree[15] must move through many bodies until that persea tree is felled. If a man builds himself a house, he will be distributed to all the bodies. If a man bathes, then he fixes his soul to the water. 6. And if a man does not give alms to the elect, he will be punished in hell and reincarnated in the bodies of catechumens, until he has given many alms. For this reason they bring the best of foods as offerings to the elect. 7. When they are about to eat bread, they pray first, saying to the bread: 'I have neither harvested you, nor have I ground you, nor pressed you, nor put you in an oven, but someone else has done all this and brought you to me; I have eaten (you) without guilt.'[16] When he has said this to himself, he says to the catechumen, 'I have prayed for you', and so the latter goes on his way. 8. As I said to you a little earlier, if a man reaps, he will be reaped, and similarly one who throws grain in the machine, will also be thrown in himself; whoever kneads, will also be kneaded, whoever bakes bread will also be baked. For this reason they are forbidden to carry out an occupation. 9. Once more they say that there are other worlds, from which the lights rise again, when they have set in this world. And if a man walks on the ground, he damages the earth. And whoever moves his hand, causes damage to the air; for the air is the soul of men, of animals, of birds, of fishes and of reptiles, and of anything else there is in the world. For I have told you that this body does not belong to God, but to matter, that it is dark and must be kept in the dark.

(XI) **29** About paradise, which is called "world". The trees in it are desires and other deceptions, which spoil the thoughts of men. That tree in paradise by which they know good, is Jesus, and the knowledge of him which is in the world. 2. Whoever accepts it, distinguishes between good and evil. However, the world itself is not of God, but was formed from a part of matter and for this reason everything goes to its ruin. However, what the rulers robbed from the First Man is what fills up the moon and is daily purified out of the world. 3. And if a soul departs which has not recognised the truth, it is given over to the demons, so that they can subdue it in the

[15] I.e. a fig tree. Cf. Riggi (1967) 136–7, n. 1.
[16] For a similar prayer see *P.Rylands Greek* 469.23–6; translation given in **23** (ch. 3, *supra*).

hells of fire. After the chastisement it is transformed into other bodies, so that it can be subdued, and so it is thrown into the great fire until the very end.

30 About the prophets among you he says this: there are spirits of godlessness or lawlessness of the darkness which rose up at the beginning; and by them they were led into error and did not speak truly. For that ruler has blinded their senses. 2. And if anyone follows their words, he dies for all eternity, bound up in the "lump" (Gr. *bolos*), because he has not learnt the knowledge of the Paraclete. 3. He commanded his elect alone, who are not more than seven in number:[17] 'If you cease to eat, pray and put on your head an olive branch, exorcised in many names, to strengthen this faith.' The names however were not revealed to me; for only the seven make use of them. 4. And he went on to say that the name Sabaoth, which is great and honoured among you, is the nature of mankind and the father of desire, and for this reason simpletons worship desire because they take it for god.

5. (XII) About how Adam was created, he says this: the one who said 'Well then, let us make a man in our image and in our likeness' or in other words according to the shape which we have seen, is the ruler, who said to the other rulers: 'Well then, give me of the light, which we have received, and let us make a man, after the shape of ourselves, the rulers, which we have seen, which is the First Man.' 6. And so they created man. They created Eve in the same way and gave to her a share of their own desire, so as to deceive Adam. And through them the creation of the world came about by the creative activity of the ruler.

31 He says that God has no part in the world itself and takes no pleasure in it, because from the beginning he has been robbed by the rulers and come into oppression. For this reason he sends out and robs them of his soul every day by means of these lights, sun and moon, by which the whole world and all creation is plundered. 2. The one who spoke with Moses, the Jews and the priests is, he says, the ruler of darkness; so Christians, Jews and heathens are all one and the same, because they honour the same God. For he deceives them by his desires, because he is not the God of truth. 3. So all those who hope in that God, who spoke to Moses and the prophets, share with him the fate of being bound, because they did not put their hope in

[17] This is an odd piece of information as the number of *electi* must have exceeded the number of Mani's original disciples which was twelve (see below, Aug., *de haer.* XLVI.16, *trans. Infra*, **59**). Although the Latin translation of the *Acta* (XII.4, ed. Beeson, 19.18–19) gives the same information, later in the Latin version of the same polemical treatise (63.5, p. 92.7) we learn from Turbo a (fictitious?) disciple of Mani that one morning after the proto-Manichaean Terebinthus 'had climbed a high roof top, where he began to invoke certain names which only seven of the elect have been taught', which seems to point to an early misunderstanding by the author in summarising the teaching of Mani.

the God of truth. For that other one spoke with them according to their desires.

4. (XIII) After all this at the end he says, as he has written: When the elder lets his image appear, then the Porter will let the world go, and so the great fire will become free and devour the whole world. 5. Then again he puts the "lump" in the middle of the new aeon, so that all the souls of sinners shall be bound for ever. These things will happen, when the statue comes. 6. However, all the emanations, Jesus who is in the little ship, the Mother of Life, the twelve steersmen, the Virgin of Light and the third elder, who is in the large ship, and the Living Spirit and the wall of the great fire and the wall of the wind and of the air and of the water and of the inner living fire, all dwell in the little light, until the fire has consumed the whole world; within how many years I was not able to discover.[18] 7. And after that the restoration of the two natures will take place and the rulers will inhabit their lower parts, while the father will dwell in the upper parts, when he takes his own. 8. All of this teaching he passed on to his three disciples and commanded each one to go to different areas. Addas received the regions of the East, Thomas was given the land of the Syrians, Hermeias the other one travelled to Egypt. And they remain there until today, because they wish to lay the foundation of the teaching.

59. Augustine's summary of the teaching

This is the most complete and structured summary of the Manichaean system by Augustine.[19]

1. The Manichaeans sprang from a certain Persian called Manes, but when they began to publish his mad doctrine in Greece, his disciples chose to call him Manichaeus to avoid the word for 'madness'. For the same reason some of them, somewhat more learned and therefore more deceitful, called him Mannicheus, doubling the letter 'n', as if he were one who pours out manna.

2. He invented two principles, different from and opposed to each other, both eternal and co-eternal, that is, he imagined they have always been. Following other ancient heretics, he also believed that there were two natures and substances, that is, one good and one evil. Proclaiming, on the basis of their teachings, a mutual strife and commingling of the two natures, a purgation of good from evil, and eternal damnation, along with the evil,

[18] According to Manichaean teaching the Great Fire will burn for 1,468 years. Cf. *Keph*. XXIV, 75.22–3.
[19] Aug., *de Haeresibus* XLVI.1–8 and 11–19, ed. cit., 84–94; trans. cit., 85–95, revised by S. Llewelyn.

of the good which cannot be purged, these heretics devise many myths. It would be too tiresome to treat all their doctrines in this work.

3. As a consequence of these ridiculous and unholy fables, they are forced to say that both God and the good souls, which they believe have to be freed from their admixture with the contrary nature of the evil souls, are of one and the same nature.

4. Then they declare that the world has been made by the nature of the good, that is, by the nature of God, but yet that it was formed of a mixture of good and evil which resulted when these two natures fought among themselves.

5. However, they claim that not only do the powers of God effect this purgation and liberation of good and evil throughout the whole universe and of all its elements, but also that their own elect achieve the same results by means of the food of which they partake. And they state that the divine substance is intermingled with this food just as it is with the whole universe, and imagine that it is purified in their elect by the mode of life which the Manichaean elect live, as if their mode of life were holier and more excellent than that of their hearers. For they would have their church consist of those two classes, elect and hearers.

6. Moreover, they believe that this portion of the good and divine substance which is held mixed and imprisoned in food and drink is more strongly and foully bound in the rest of men, even their own hearers, but particularly in those who propagate offspring. Now whenever any portion of the light is completely purified, it returns to the kingdom of God, to its own proper abode, as it were, on certain vessels, which are, according to them, the moon and the sun. In addition, they maintain that these vessels are likewise fashioned from the pure substance of God.

7. They also state that this physical light, which lies before the gaze of mortal eyes, not only in those vessels where they believe it to exist in its purest state, but also in certain bright objects where they consider it held in admixture and needing purification, is the divine nature. For they ascribe five elements which have generated their own princes to the people of darkness and give to these elements the names: smoke, darkness, fire, water, and wind. Two-footed animals were generated in smoke, and from this source they believe men to take their beginnings; serpents were generated in darkness; quadrupeds in fire; swimming creatures in the waters; flying creatures in the wind. Five other elements have been sent from the kingdom and substance of God to conquer the five evil elements, and in that struggle air has become mixed with smoke, light with darkness, good fire with bad fire, good water with bad water, good wind with bad wind. They

make this distinction between the two vessels, that is, the two lights of heaven, saying that the moon has been made of good water, and the sun has been made of good fire.

8. Moreover, on those vessels there are holy powers, which at one time change themselves into males to attract females of the opposing faction, and at another into females to attract males of that same opposite faction. The purpose of this is to enable the light which they have intermingled in their members to escape when their passions are aroused by this attraction, and to allow it to be taken up by the angels of light for purification, and when purified to be placed aboard those vessels to be carried back to their proper realm . . .[20]

11. Yet they do not eat meat either, on the grounds that the divine substance has fled from the dead or slain bodies, and what little remains there is of such quality and quantity that it does not merit being purified in the stomachs of the elect. They do not even eat eggs, claiming that they too die when they are broken, and it is not fitting to feed on any dead bodies; only that portion of flesh can live which is picked up by flour to prevent its death. Moreover, they do not use milk for food although it is drawn or milked from the live body of an animal, not with the conviction that there is nothing of the divine substance intermingled with it, but because error itself is inconsistent. For they do not drink wine either, claiming that bitterness is a property of the princes of darkness, though they do eat grapes. They do not even drink must, even the most freshly pressed.

12. They believe that the souls of their hearers are returned to the elect, or by a happier short-cut to the food of their elect so that already purged, they would then not have to transmigrate into other bodies. On the other hand, they believe that other souls pass into cattle and into everything that is rooted in and supported on the earth. For they are convinced that plants and trees possess sentient life and can feel pain when injured, and therefore that no one can pull or pluck them without torturing them. Therefore, they consider it wrong to clear a field even of thorns. Hence, in their madness they make agriculture, the most innocent of occupations, guilty of multiple murder. On the other hand, they believe that these crimes are forgiven their hearers because the latter offer food of this sort to the elect in order that the divine substance, on being purged in their stomachs, may obtain pardon for those through whose offering it is given to be purged. And so the elect themselves perform no labours in the field, pluck no fruit, pick not even a leaf, but expect all these things to be brought for their use by

[20] The sections omitted (i.e. §§9 and 10) are given in **40** (ch. 3, *supra*).

their hearers, living all the while, according to their own foolish thinking, on innumerable and horrible murders committed by others. They caution their same hearers, furthermore, when they eat meat, not to kill the animals, to avoid offending the princes of darkness who are bound in the celestials. From them, they claim, all flesh has its origin.

13. And if they make use of marriage, they should, however, avoid conception and birth to prevent the divine substance, which has entered into them through food, from being bound by chains of flesh in their offspring. For this is the way, indeed, they believe that souls come into all flesh, that is, through food and drink. Hence, without doubt, they condemn marriage and forbid it as much as is in their power, since they forbid the propagation of offspring, the reason for marriage. 14. They assert that Adam and Eve had as their parents princes of smoke, since their father, whose name was Saclas, had devoured the children of all his associates, and in lying with his wife had, as if with the strongest of chains, bound in the flesh of his offspring whatever he had received mixed with the divine substance.

15. They maintain that the serpent of whom our scriptures speak was Christ, and they say that our first parents were illuminated by the latter so that they might open the eyes of knowledge, and discern good and evil; further, that this Christ came in recent times to set souls free, not bodies; and that he did not come in real flesh, but presented the simulated appearance of flesh to deceive human perception, and therein he feigned not only death, but resurrection as well. They assert that the god who gave the law through Moses, and who spoke in the Hebrew prophets is not the true God, but one of the princes of darkness. Even in the New Testament they, claiming falsification, choose among the various books, and thus they accept what they like from it and reject what they do not like. They prefer certain apocryphal writings to the scriptures, as if they contained the whole truth.

16. They claim that the promise of the lord Jesus Christ regarding the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, was fulfilled in their heresiarch Manichaeus. For this reason, in his writings he calls himself the apostle of Jesus Christ, in that Christ had promised to send him and had sent the Holy Spirit in him. For the same reason Manichaeus also had twelve disciples in imitation of the twelve apostles. The Manichaeans keep this number even today. For they have twelve of their elect whom they call masters, and a thirteenth who is their chief, but seventy-two bishops who receive their orders from the masters, and an indefinite number of priests who are ordained by

the bishops. The bishops also have deacons. The rest are called merely the elect; but even any of their members who seem suitable are sent to strengthen and support this error where it exists, or to plant it where it does not.

17. They allege that baptism in water grants no salvation to anyone, and do not believe that they have to baptise any of those whom they deceive.

18. In the daytime they offer their prayers towards the sun, wherever it goes in its orbit; at night, they offer them towards the moon, if it appears; if it does not, they direct them towards the north, by which the sun, when it has set, returns to the east. They stand while praying.

19. They ascribe the origin of sin not to a free choice of the will, but to the nature of the opposing element, which they hold is intermingled in man. For they assert that all flesh is the work, not of God, but of an evil mind, which emanating from the opposite principle, is coeternal with God. As they will have it, carnal concupiscence, by which the flesh lusts against the spirit, is not an infirmity engendered in us by the corruption of our nature in the first man, but a contrary substance which clings to us in such a way that if we are freed and purged, it can be removed from us, and can live, even alone, immortally in its own nature. These two souls, or two minds, the one good, the other evil, are in conflict with one another in man, when the flesh lusts against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. This defect in our nature has not been healed, as we say it has, nor will it ever be healed. Yet, that substance of evil, after being disjoined and separated from us, even at the end of this world, upon the conflagration of the universe, will live in a "lump", as if in an eternal prison. They claim that a sort of envelope or covering, composed of souls which are good by nature, but which, nevertheless, have not been able to be purged from the contagion of the evil nature, will continually come and cling to the "lump".

60. An account of the evocation of the gods

This is one of the best known of the kephalaia (entitled: 'The seventh, concerning the Five Fathers' 34.13–36.26), due to its full and ordered account of the evocation of various Manichaean divinities. However, it is important to note that the schema of the 'five fathers' is not an archetypal classification prior to all the other theological taxonomies evident throughout the texts; but, rather, only a partial and conditioned representation of the overall system.

In temporal priority the Third Ambassador is the principal divinity of the third evocation (*redemption*). In the first evocation (*descent*) the Father had summoned

the Mother of Life, who then called forth the First Man and his five sons. In the second evocation (*creation*) there was summoned the Beloved of the Lights, the Great Builder, and the Living Spirit and his five sons. Kephalaion 7 is concerned with the sequence from the Father through the Ambassador; and its purpose is, therefore, the emanation of the divinities from the aspect of redemption.

Once again the enlightener, our father the apostle of truth, is sitting in the midst of his disciples and preaching to them of the greatnesses of God. Again, he speaks to them like this, in his revelation: Five fathers exist, they were summoned forth one of one. Also, one did come out of another!

The first Father is the Father of Greatness, the blessed one of glory, the one who has no measure to his greatness; who also is the first only-begotten, the first eternal; who exists with five fathers for ever; the one who exists before every thing that has existed, and that will exist.

Now he, the glorious Father, summoned from him three emanations. The first is the Great Spirit, the first Mother, who came out of the Father. She appeared first. The second is the Beloved of the Lights, the great glorious Beloved, the one who is honoured; who came out of the Father. He manifested out of him. The third father[21] is the Third Ambassador, the eldest of all the counsellors; who came out of the first Father. He appeared.

This is the first Father, the first power, the one from whom the three great powers came out. This is the first Father, the first eternal, the root of all the lights; from whom the three emanations came out. They have humiliated the darkness. They have brought its heart's desire to naught. They have given themselves the victory. They have also given the victory to their aeons.

The second father, who came out of the first Father, is the Third Ambassador, the model of the King of lights. And, again, he too summoned and sent out of him three powers. One is the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man; the one who bears up under all things; the great Pillar of blessing; the great porter, who is greater than all the porters. The second is glorious Jesus the Splendour; the one through whom shall be given life eternal. The third is the Virgin of Light, the glorious wisdom; the one who takes away the heart of the rulers and the powers by her image, as she fulfills the pleasure of the greatness.

[21] Textual error: the Ambassador is the second father, but the third emanation of the first Father.

The third father, who came out of the second father; he is glorious Jesus the Splendour. And, again, he too summoned [20] three evocations after the pattern of the second father. The first power whom he summoned is the Light Mind, the father of all the apostles, the eldest of all the churches; the one whom Jesus has appointed corresponding to our pattern in the holy church. The second power whom Jesus summoned [25] is the great Judge, who gives judgement on all the souls of mankind, his dwelling being established in the atmosphere under . . . wheel . . . stars. The third power is the Youth, the great . . . light in his two persons, in . . . , I am speaking about that which has been established [30] in the summons and the obedience. He too stood with his father the king . . . the saviour . . . seen, as he tells . . . I, what I have seen with my Father, I tell to you. For yourselves, what you have seen with your father, do that.[22]

36 The fourth father is the Light Mind, the one who chooses all the churches. And, again, he too summoned three powers after the pattern of Jesus. The first power is the Apostle of Light; the one who shall on occasion come and assume the church [5] of the flesh, of humanity; and he becomes inner leader of righteousness. The second is the counterpart, who shall come to the apostle and appear to him, becoming companion to him, sticking close to him everywhere; and providing help to him all the time, from all afflictions and dangers. The third [10] is the Light Form; the one whom the elect and the catechumens shall receive, should they renounce the world.

And also the fifth father is this Light Form; the one who shall appear to everyone who will go out from his body, corresponding to the pattern of the image to the apostle; and the three [15] great glorious angels who are come with her. One (angel) holds the prize in his hand. The second bears the light garment. The third is the one who possesses the diadem and the wreath and the crown of light. These are the three angels of light, the ones who shall come with this Light Form; [20] and they appear with her to the elect and the catechumens.

These are the five fathers who have come out of one another. They have appeared and manifested through one another. Blessed is he who will know and understand them! For he may find life eternal; and receive these light garments [25] that shall be given to the righteous, the faithful, the givers of peace, and the doers of good things.

[22] John 8:38.

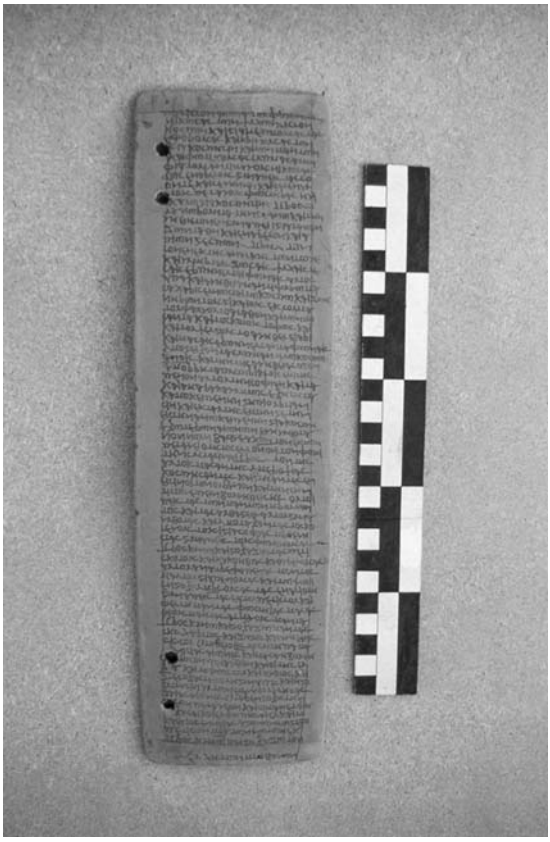


Figure 5.1. Prayer of the Emanations from Kellis

61. 'The prayer of the emanations'

This text (fourth century AD Greek)[23] was found at Ismant el-Kharab in early 1992. The fact that the hymn did not try to disguise or modify its polytheism gives the impression that it was composed in the first half of the fourth century, viz. before the dominance of Christianity compelled the Manichaeans to veil their cult in a semblance of monotheism. The authorship or status of the text is not known, but

[23] Ed. and trans. Jenkins (1995); some adaptations by Gardner and Lieu. (N.b. the provisional numbering system, viz. 'T. Kellis 22', utilised in that publication was subsequently abandoned by the Dakhleh Oasis Project and should not be followed.) The text is described by the editor as follows: 'A single wooden board, 31 high by 9 cm (with *Schriftspiegel* 28 by 7 cm) ultimately deriving (as the presence of binding holes demonstrates) from a wooden board book of narrow proportions. . . . *Nomina sacra* are present, according to a system which is more or less familiar from Christian manuscripts.' (Jenkins (1995), 243).

it is a remarkable example of Manichaean composition in Greek and is unique in the large number of Manichaean *technici termini* (mostly of Syriac origin) which it contains.

(Side I) (*Heading*) Prayer of the Emanations

I worship and glorify the great Father of Lights from pure thought. With a guileless word you have been glorified and honoured: You and your majesty and the wholly blessed aeons. For you in glory have perfected their foundation. Your power and glory and your light and word and your majesty and the aeons of affirmation and all your counsel have been glorified. For you are God, the foundation of every grace and life and truth.

I worship and glorify all gods, all angels, all splendours, all luminaries, all powers: Those which are from the great and glorious f(ath)er, those which subsist in his holiness, and in his light are nourished, purified from all darkness and malignance.

I worship and glorify the great powers, the enlightening angels: Those, having advanced by their own wisdom and having subjected the darkness and its remorseless powers which were prepared to fight with the ruler of all; these are those who created heaven and earth and bound in them all the substance of contempt.

I worship and glorify the offspring of the greatness, the enlightening mind, king (and) Christ: The one who came forth from the outer aeons into the upper creation, and from that to this lower creation; and having incomparably announced his wisdom and the ineffable mysteries to people on earth, and having displayed to the entire universe the way of truth, and having preached with all voices, and having distinguished truth from the lie and light from darkness and good from evil and the just from the wicked. From you every grace has become known to the universe, and life together with truth to every tribe has been interpreted with all voices. He himself has become for living souls the redeemer from the obligation of the inimical bonds.

I worship and glorify the living God, virtuous and true: The one who, by his own power, raised up all things, this arrangement above and below.

I worship and glorify the great luminaries, both the sun and the moon and the virtuous powers in them: Which by wisdom conquer the opponents and enlighten the entire arrangement, and of all observe and judge the world and conduct the victorious souls into the great aeon of light.

(Side II) I worship and glorify the five great lights: Through which the entire universe came into existence, and through which heaven and

earth (and through which (?)) by participation power and beauty and soul and [75] life are present in all. And without these the universe could not exist.

I worship and glorify all gods, all angels, the living and pure: [80] Who support this whole creation with the permission of the great and virtuous light, who rules over all those (now) singing (these) hymns.

[85] I worship and glorify all the enlightening angels: Who dominate the totality of the universe, and subject all demons and all [90] evil, shielding righteousness and guarding it from the wicked demons and growing the good in it.

[95] I worship and glorify all the righteous: Those who escape from all evil, those who both have existed before, exist now, are coming into existence and are [100] ready to come into existence because they have recognised truth and all preeminence; the chaste and firm, in order that all [105] those whom I have worshipped and glorified and invoked may assist me and bless me with favour and may deliver me from every bond and all constraint and oppression and [110] every reincarnation, and provide me with access to the great aeon of light which all the wise and [115] upright in knowledge hope to attain, where peace and the purest of the good rule, where there is no perception of evil but ambrosia [120] and eternal life are present, where all the inhabitants are without any need and experience neither death nor corruption.

Blessed be he who prays [125] this prayer frequently, or at least on the third day, with a pure heart and forthright speech, asking for [130] forgiveness of sins committed.

The Prayer of the Emanations is ended.

62. Concerning the coming of the soul

This is the second of the so-called 'Psalms of Thomas' (*PsBk2*. 205.10–207.16, ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted by Iain Gardner), a group of psalms found at the end of the Medinet Madi codex. In style, terminology and imagery they are distinct from all the other texts in the collection, even though these also evidence many clear variations in authorial style and purpose. It has been suggested that the group title (ⲛ̄ⲫⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲙ) may be better understood as 'Psalms of the Twin-Spirit', and that these are songs of the inspired and Paraclete-indwelt Mani himself. This might help to explain some of the power of the poetry and imagery, and also the apparent lack of concern with the doctrinal fixities so noticeable in much of Manichaean church literature. One can also note evident parallels with Mandaic literature, and (in the following example most clearly) with the enigmatic 'Hymn of the Pearl' found embedded in the *Acts of Thomas*.

205 *Concerning the coming of the soul*

They that are not as I am
made themselves like me,
they that are unworthy of me
made me wroth.

The wretches that belong not to the house of my Father:
they rose, they took arms against me,
they rose, they took arms against me,
making war with me, making war with me;
fighting for my holy robe, for my enlightening light,
that it might lighten their darkness;
for my sweet fragrance,
that it might sweeten their foulness;
because of my brethren, the children of the light,
that they might give a peace to their land;
because of my sister, the hour of light,
that she might be a strengthening of their building.
A part therefore went forth from my robe,
it went, it lightened their darkness;
my sweet fragrance went,
it sweetened their stink;
my brethren, the children of the light, went,
they gave a peace to their land;
my sister went, the hour of light,
she was a strengthening of their building.

They take arms against me, making war with me, crying out
against me,
like men going to subdue a camp;
they drew the swords against me,
like men going to kill lions;
they stretched their hands to the bow against me,
like thieves going to attack a man.

206 They did not stir from warring with me until (they had made)
a wall against me,
the weak and paralysed ones continually crept;
they did not stir until they had made a wall against me,
they crept until they had made a wall against me;
they established a watch outside me . . . ,

the bell was made to go round because of me.

My good fortune (came) on my behalf,
the wretches thinking in their heart that I (was)
a man for whom none would seek. I therefore was looking
towards my Father,
that he might send aid;
looking towards my brethren, the children of the light,
that they might come, tracking me;
my Father therefore sent the aid to me;
my brethren arose, they became one with me.

Through a cry only which my brethren uttered,
their wall tottered and fell;
their wall tottered and fell,
their watches were unable to stop them;
nor was he that goes round with the bell and cries good fortune found,
against the cry which my brethren uttered;
the demons ran to the darkness, the demons ran to the darkness,
trembling seized their ruler entirely.

Yet I said to my brethren:
'Suffer me yet this hour';
I was quieting my brethren that they might not destroy their firmament,
for I await my robe until it comes and clothes him that shall wear it;
I will await my enlightening light,
until it strips itself of their darkness;
I will await my pleasant fragrance
until it returns to its place;
I will await my sister, the hour of light,
until she casts their corruption away;
I will await my brethren, the children of the light,
until their stature (?) is completed for them.

When therefore my shining robe comes
and clothes him that shall wear it;
when my pleasant fragrance strips itself of their stink
and returns (to its place);

207 when my lightening light
leaves the darkness;
when my brethren, the children of the light,
are complete in their stature;
when my sister, the hour of light,
goes up and sees the land of light:
Then I will strike my foot on the earth
and sink their darkness down;
I will smite their heights with my head, and shake their firmament,
and the stars shall fall down like these . . . ;
I will uproot the darkness, and cast it out,
and plant the light in its place;
I will uproot the evil, and cast it out,
and plant the good in its place.

The universe will be full of glory,
the land will be without suspicion;
the entire earth will contain the righteous,
they of the land will dwell in peace;
there being no more rebel from henceforth,
no name of sin can be uttered again.
The rich ones of light will rejoice
on every side without any grief:
That which the living ones took was saved;
they will return again to that which is their own.

63. The five worlds of the kingdom of darkness

This kephalaion is entitled: 'Concerning the Five Storehouses that have poured forth from the Land of Darkness since the beginning; the Five Rulers, the Five Spirits, the Five Bodies, the Five Tastes' (30.12–34.12). Elaborate descriptions of the kingdom of darkness, and its powers, are a feature of Manichaean (and anti-Manichaean) writings that must derive from canonical sources. The overall conception, with its delight in pentads, and a certain attention to what can be termed the psychosymbolism of evil, has a stamp that is unmistakably Mani's. Specific features, such as the 'five trees', appear in other gnostic writings; and may serve to indicate Manichaean influence, rather than vice-versa.

Kephalaion 6 (and compare also 27) evidences some textual development; and probably some corruption in the tradition. The redactor appears unsure of the relationship of the *supreme* King of Darkness (30.33–33.1) to his five warring rulers in the various sub-kingdoms; but tends toward identifying him with the King of Smoke (33.2–4). He is thus to be distinguished from the ruler or King of the

sub-world of Darkness (33.33–34.5). Manichaean writings are also unclear about the relationship of the supreme King to personified Matter, who here appears to be prior to him as his fashioner (31.8–16). These points have been discussed by H.-Ch. Puech (Puech (1951)); who also shows that the parallel passage in the Mandaean *Right Ginza* XII.6 (278–282) is secondary to the *Kephalaia*.

Once again the enlightener speaks to his disciples: Five storehouses have arisen since the beginning in the land of darkness! The five elements poured out of them. Also, from the five elements were fashioned the five trees. Again, from the five trees were fashioned the five genera of creatures in each world, male and female. And the five worlds themselves have five kings therein; and five spirits, five bodies, five tastes; in each world, they not resembling one another.

The King of the world of Smoke . . . who came up from the depth of darkness; this is he who is the head of all wickedness, and all malignity. The beginning of the spread of the war occurred through him; all the battles, fights, quarrelling, dangers, destructions, fights, wrestling-contests! That is the one who first made arise danger and war, with his worlds and his powers. Afterwards, also, he waged war with the light. He pitched a battle with the exalted kingdom.

Now regarding the King of Darkness, there are five shapes on him. His head is lion-faced; his hands and feet are demon- and devil-faced; his shoulders are eagle-faced; while his belly is dragon-faced; his tail is fish-faced. These five shapes, the marks of his five worlds, exist on the King of the realms of Darkness.

Now, there are five other properties in him. The first is his darkness. The second is his putridity. The third is his ugliness. The fourth is his bitterness, his own soul. The fifth is his burning, which burns like an iron . . . as if poured out from fire.

There are also three others in him. The first, that his body is hard and very tough, even as she has formed him . . . cruel-hearted; namely Matter, who is the thought of death, the one who sculpted him from the nature of the land of darkness. This is the manner of the body of the ruler of Smoke. He is harder than every iron, copper and steel and lead; as there is no cleaver at all, nor any iron implement, can . . . him and cut him. For Matter, his fashioner, has formed him . . . strong and hard.

The second, that he wounds and kills by the word of his magic arts. His recitation and hearing, all his foolish instruction, make magic and invocations for him. When it pleases him, he can make an invocation over himself, and by his magic arts be hidden from his companions. Again, when it pleases him, he can be manifested over his powers and appear to them; so

that these enchantments nowadays, which people utilise (?) . . . this world, are the mysteries of the King of Darkness. Concerning this, I command you [25] all the time: keep away from the magic arts and enchantments of darkness! For any person who will be taught them, and who does and accomplishes them; at the last, in the place where will be bound the King of the realms of Darkness with his powers; there they will bind that one also, the soul of whoever has lived freely among them and [30] walked in the magic arts of error. Whether it is a man or a woman, this is the sentence given, cut . . . from God's judgement, that whoever will . . . with their King.

32 The third, that the King of the realms of Darkness knows the converse and language of his five worlds. He understands every thing he hears from their mouths, as they address one another; each one of them in his language. Every design [5] they will consider against him; every snare they debate with one another, to bring upon him; he knows them. He can also understand the gesturing they signal between one another. Yet, his powers and his rulers, who are subject to him, can not understand his wordy converse. While all these things [10] are unveiled to him; still their heart is not manifested to him. He knows not their mind nor their thought; he can not ponder their beginning and their end. Rather, he only knows and apprehends what is before his eyes.

Also, another different thing is found in the King of the realms of Darkness. [15] For when it pleases him to move, he spreads all his limbs out and walks. When it comes to mind, he withdraws his limbs and takes them in, and is rolled (?) to his companions; and he falls to the ground like a grape and a great iron ball! He terrifies by his cry, [20] he is frightful. He frightens his powers with his sound; because when he speaks, being like thunder in the clouds, he resembles the . . . of the rocks . . . When he cries out and . . . and calls . . . over his powers; they shall tremble and totter and fall under foot, [25] even as some birds would be . . . the bird . . . and they fall down to the earth. Still, this thing only: he knows not what is far from him, he sees not who is at a distance, nor does he hear him. Rather, whoever is before his face he sees, hearing him and [30] knowing him.

These signs and these evil marks are found in the chief of the demons and fiends, the King of all the mountains of Darkness . . . the one to whom the land of darkness has given birth, begotten in its cruelty, in its wickedness and its wrath . . . **33** more than all his fellow rulers, who are in all his worlds.

Gold is the body of the King of the realms of Darkness. The body of all the powers who belong to the world of Smoke is gold. And also, the taste of its fruits is [5] salty. The spirit of the King, of the realms of Darkness, is

this one who reigns today in the principalities and authorities of the earth and the entire universe. I mean these who reign over the entire creation, humiliating mankind with tyranny, according to their heart's desire.

In contrast, the King of the worlds of Fire is lion-faced, the foremost [10] of all the beasts. Copper is his body. Again, the body of all the rulers who belong to Fire is copper. Their taste is the sour taste that is in every form. Also, the spirit of the King, of they that belong to the world of Fire, is this one who reigns in the greater ones and the leaders; who are under [15] the command of the principalities and authorities and the kings of the world. Also a spirit of his is found in these sects that worship fire, as their sacrifices are offered to fire.

Again, the King of the worlds of Wind is eagle-faced. His body is iron. Also, the body of all they who belong to [20] the Wind is iron. Their taste is the sharp taste that is in every form. His spirit is the one of idolatry to the spirits of error who are in every temple, the sites of idols, the sites of statue- and image-worship, the shrines of the error of the world.

[25] For his part, the King of the world of Water is fish-faced. His body is silver. All the other rulers who belong to Water, silver is their body. Also, the taste of their fruit is the sweetness of water, the sweet taste that is in every (form). Again, the spirit of the King, of the rulers of Water, is this one who [30] reigns today in the sects of error; these that dip the baptism of the waters, (setting) their hope and their trust in the baptism of the waters.

Again, the King of the world of Darkness is a dragon. His body is lead and tin. All the other rulers [35] who belong to the world of Darkness, their body is lead and **34** tin. And, also, the taste of their fruits is bitterness. Again, the spirit who reigns in them is the spirit who speaks till today in the soothsayers, giving oracles; in the givers of portents, every type; in they who are possessed; [5] and the other spirits that give oracles, every type.

Concerning this I tell you, my brethren and my limbs, the perfect faithful, the holy elect: Hold your heart close to you, and you stay away from the five enslavements of the five dark spirits. Put [10] behind you the service of their five bodies. Live not in them, that you may break loose their chain and their chastening for ever!

64. The 'three days' and the 'two deaths'

This is kephalaion 39 (102.13–104.20: 'Concerning the Three Days and the Two Deaths'), which surveys the entire history of the divine and its conflict with the

darkness from the viewpoint of eschatological hope. From a Manichaean perspective (as it were!), this is a most suitable place to begin an account of this history. Life in this time and world is but a precursor to the reign of the saints in the new age and the new earth. There the First Man, the victorious son, will be king (compare *Hom.* 41.11-20). However, this too will come to an end; when the hidden Father at lasts reveals his image, and receives the souls and gods back into the heart of the eternal kingdom, from where they have been barred since the beginning of the conflict.

In contrast to this glorious hope, sinners are warned of a second death, eternally separated from life and the divine.

Once again the apostle speaks to his disciples: Happen you know, my beloved ones, that there exist three great mighty days in all; and also two great and bitter deaths. When his disciples heard [20] they say to him: Tell us our father, what are these three great days? Or again, what are these two deaths that are bitter?

He speaks to them. The first day is our father, the Man. From the time when the First Man went down to the abyss of darkness [25] and drowned in it; and the Living Spirit was sent, who went and bore him up. After the Man had ascended, the Father of Life and the Great Spirit set things in order, and the worlds above and below.

Furthermore, the glorious Ambassador came and dwelt in the ship of the day. [30] He displayed his glorious image, and he purified the light out of all things. He walked in the heights of the heavens. Till the time when the world will be dissolved, all things destroyed, the great fire released, and the Last Statue ascends. [35] These three deeds were begun on this first day, when they sent the First Man with his five sons.

In contrast, the first death **103** is the darkness that mixed with the five sons of the First Man.

The second day is the time when the fathers of light, who were victorious in the struggle, will sit on their thrones in the new aeon and dwell [5] on the new earth. And they reign in the new aeon till the Father unveils his image above them. The length of the sojourn (?) in the new aeon equals the measure of the first day spent in affliction. They will reign like this and rejoice in the new aeon.

[10] The great third day is the time when the Father will unveil over them his image . . . and he raises them up . . . and he receives them in to his hidden treasury . . . and he gives . . . his soul. He can pour out upon them . . . [15] his ambrosia and his sweet perfume, which takes away all affliction that they have seen with their eyes. . . . fullness and a joy eternal! When his grace would sate them, he gives to them his . . . and they are made anew in them.

Also, he can summon them once more in peace [20] and silence, and perfect their stature in same measure as his first aeons. And he sets each power in its aeon, in its dwelling-place. They will dwell in the new aeon in their aeons! Now, when they dwell in their aeons, they will become rich beyond measure, [25] for ever, beyond time.

From then on they will not count that season amongst them; nor the number of the days, nor the hours, generation after generation, for ever and ever. The Father will not be hidden from them, from this time on. Rather, he has accomplished (his) unveiling to them . . . he being revealed [30] to them for ever.

These are the three great days, which the Father of Greatness has given number to in the reckoning.

In contrast, the two deaths that I have proclaimed to you are these. **104** The first death is from the time when the light fell to the darkness, and was mixed in with the rulers of darkness; until the time when the light will become pure, and be separated from the darkness in that great fire. The remainder left [5] behind there can build and add to that Last Statue.

Now, the second death is the death in which the souls of sinful men shall die; when they will be stripped of the shining light that illuminates the world. And also they are separated from the living air, from which they receive [10] living breath; and they are deprived of this living soul, which . . . in the world; and they are separated and swept away from this Last Statue . . . and bound on . . . the female will become . . . [15] their torture and their affliction; for their deeds . . . those three places; because they have blasphemed and despised the Holy Spirit since every generation of the world.

These are the two deaths. The first death is temporal; but the second death is eternal. It is the [20] second death!

65. The seven works of the Living Spirit

This is kephalaion 32 (85.19–86.17), which is very typical of the genre with its elaborate taxonomies and numerical sequencing. These would have had catechetical and mnemonic purposes; and the genre can be understood as an evolving, open-ended source and instruction volume for the elect. Here the concern is with the Living Spirit, the Manichaean demiurge. He is the principal god of the second emanation (*creation*), whose tasks connect the first (*descent*) and the third (*redemption*). Therefore, he saves the First Man; defeats the demons who have devoured the living soul; and constructs the universe with the use of their bodies in which there is now both light and darkness. The universe is then held in place by the five sons of the Living Spirit and a multitude of other divine powers.

It is the Living Spirit who first called out the summons to redemption which, joined with the obedience of the First Man, becomes the active will to salvation. Thus it is mixed with the five sons of the Man, the soul.

Once again the enlightener speaks: The Living Spirit has done seven works with his strength.

The first: He brought the First Man up from the contest, the way [25] a pearl is brought up from the sea. The second: He spread about the one who had rebelled, he crucified him in every body. The third: He trampled, piled up, and pierced the essences of death. The fourth: He constructed the ships of light.

The [30] fifth: He evoked his five sons, and distributed them about. They took possession of the zone, they bore up under all the universe's weight. Also, he evoked three living words. He set them upon the three vessels, another one upon the giant. Again, he evoked the summons, that it might be mixed with the five shining [35] men.

86 The sixth: When he had constructed the zone he arose and sent forth a multitude of powers and many angels; so that they would bound the circuit of the zone on every side, until he finished constructing the works. And at the end of all the [5] works he took some of them in to his storehouses, and he appointed others at the watch-posts.

The seventh: At the time when the Ambassador displayed his glorious image, the Living Spirit established many gods and angels. They . . . [10] They took hold of it, that the entire building . . . not . . . one another against the light, which he had . . .

Also another great and glorious work he will enact at the end is the Last Statue, which he will bring up to the aeons of light; and he . . . in, and he takes hold, and he smites . . . , [15] and he builds, and he . . . , and he . . . them.

Blessed is he who knows him in the new aeon, and dwells in that aeon of glory and joy!

66. Mani discusses astrology

This kephalaion (no. 69, 166.31–169.22: 'Concerning the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Stars') is one of a number where astrological teachings are introduced into and reconciled with the Manichaean system. In this instance the framing sequence, i.e. as a discourse of Mani's, is most likely to be an entirely artificial device.

Mani is asked to explain the distribution of the twelve signs of the zodiac and the planetary stars. Since he subscribes to the astral fatalism found throughout gnostic and esoteric systems in late antiquity, he identifies them as evil rulers from the worlds of darkness. However, it is noticeable that this causes a variety of structural

problems for his system, all of which are apparent in this chapter. In Manichaeism the demiurge is one of the light-gods, the Living Spirit; unlike in many of the other dualistic traditions. Thus, it is constantly necessary to explain why evil powers are given a place and a role in the universe. The characteristic pentads of Mani's system, here the five worlds of darkness from which the evil powers originate, cannot be made to fit the distribution of the twelve zodiacal signs.

Perhaps of most interest, Mani is clearly aware that the ruling powers are commonly understood to be the seven and the twelve (as in Mandaeism). However, since for him the sun and moon are divine vessels, he must develop his teaching about the two ascendants. In this chapter there are two obvious attempts to reconcile this matter.

Once more, during one of the times, the apostle is sitting down **167** among the congregation. A disciple stood before him and questioned him. He says to him: We entreat you, our master, that you may recount to us and explain about the twelve signs of the zodiac that are set in the sphere. How are they determined? Or to what place do they belong, [5] according to their essence? Or else again, these five stars that circle in them, from whence are they? Or why has the demiurge appointed them as the authorities and leaders? He is the great constructor who has appointed the entire creation; and he has bound and fixed them on the sphere. Now, we entreat you, our [10] master, that you may satisfy us about these things that are hidden from all mankind.

Then he speaks to that disciple who had questioned him: Whether these twelve signs of the zodiac that are fixed on the sphere, or these five stars that circle upon them; those and these are rulers, all of them, according to their essence. They are all enemies and rivals to [15] each other <one oppresses another, they threaten each other>. They plunder one another by the action of the great craftsman who has formed all the worlds. He has gathered them and bound them on the sphere above, which circles constantly. Now, while it circles and tumbles them, so they shall do everything that they desire, above and below, according to their pleasure. [20] Nevertheless, a guardian is over them, a debt-collector above them; compelling, extorting, and taking what is theirs away from them!

Now, this is how it can rightly be understood. They were seized from the five worlds of darkness, and bound on the sphere. Two zodiacal signs were taken per world. Gemini [25] and Sagittarius belong to the world of smoke, which is the mind. In contrast, Aries and Leo belong to the world of fire. Taurus, Aquarius and Libra belong to the world of wind. Cancer and Virgo and Pisces belong to the world of water. Capricorn [30] and Scorpio belong

to the world of darkness. These are the twelve rulers of depravity, the ones that wickedness shall not . . . For they cause all the evil and . . . in the world, whether in tree or in flesh.

168 And understand also about these five stars, the leaders: from where were they formed? The star of Zeus (Jupiter) was generated from the world of smoke, which is the mind. In contrast, Aphrodite (Venus) came about from the world of fire. **5** And then Ares (Mars) belongs to the world of wind. Hermes (Mercury) belongs to the world of water. Cronos (Saturn) belongs to the world of darkness.

And also, the two ascendants are counted to fire and desire; the dry and the moist. They are the father and the mother of all these.

10 And also, the sun and the moon, which are counted in with them as a rule <counted to their kind, but why did they count them in with them?> so that they would reign over them. You will discover they subjugate them at every moment.

These seven we have named, the five stars and the two ascendants. They are the doers of wickedness that do every wicked and bad act in every land, the whole of it, above **15** and below, in every creature, in the dry and the moist, in tree and flesh.

Once more I reveal to you about these signs of the zodiac: they are distributed, appointed on four sides, three per angle in these four places. And they are fixed to this revolving sphere. Aries, **20** Leo and Sagittarius, these three belong to a single side.[24] In contrast, Taurus, Capricorn and Virgo, these other three belong to another side. And then Gemini, Libra and Aquarius belong to another side. Scorpio, Pisces and Cancer belong to another corner. Now, they **25** are placed like this, appointed to these four parts, and distributed on the sphere.

So, when the side of Aries, Leo and Sagittarius will be plundered by the guardian who is over it, who extorts from it and the leaders who move upon it; at that instant shall affliction strike **30** all the four-footed creatures below. However, when the side of Taurus, Virgo and Capricorn will be plundered; affliction shall **169** at once befall the herbs, together with the vegetables and all the fruits of the trees. Yet again, when the side of Scorpio, Pisces and Cancer will be plundered; scarcity shall befall the waters upon the earth, **5** and drought be from place to place. Conversely, should the side of Gemini, Libra and Aquarius be plundered;

[24] The circle of the zodiac is quartered, with each set of three houses grouped as by an equilateral triangle. Thus Aries, Leo and Sagittarius are not consecutive signs; but rather the first, fifth, and ninth houses.

deformity and stuntedness shall befall the form of mankind from place to place.

Behold now, I have explained to you about these twelve [10] signs of the zodiac: They were fashioned from the five worlds of darkness, and bound on the sphere.

Also, I have taught you about the other five, the stars: They too came about from the five worlds of the land of darkness.

I have recounted to you also about the two ascendants: They are set [15] to the mystery of fire and desire. They are the dry and the moist, the father and the mother.

Again, I have revealed to you about the sun and the moon: They are strangers to them. Still, because of the constraint of the arrangement, in that the thing receives light, and as they belong and plunder them; [20] because of this they were counted in with them in relation to the calculation of the number. For, the sun and the moon are from out of the greatness, not belonging to the stars and the signs of the zodiac.

67. The Coptic treatise on the Light Mind

This complex treatise, which is found embedded in the Medinet Madi *Kephalaia of the Teacher* codex (89.18–102.12, entitled 'Concerning the Light Mind and the Apostles and the Saints'), has substantial parallels in other Manichaean literatures.[25] Its concern is to demonstrate the correlation between the macrocosmos and the microcosmos of the human body. The prodigious gods and demonic beings who inhabit Mani's worlds are here integrated with the more accessible workings of religious psychology. These insights into the life of the community aid an understanding of the appeal and success of Manichaeism.

(89.21–90.14) A disciple asks Mani a series of questions about the Light Mind, the god who enters into the believer and transforms the old man into the new man. How can this happen, and why does the old man continue to rebel? He also asks Mani about his apostolate.

(90.15–92.8) Mani begins his discussion with the macrocosmos. The universe is constructed in the form of a human. Its life and soul are the five sons of the First Man. The five sons of the Living Spirit are the intellectual qualities, who act as sleepless guardians, each firmly established in its place. The summons and the obedience, that is the active will to salvation personified in Jesus the Youth, become the sixth sons of each. The Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man, is the Mind in the universe.

[25] Manichaean texts on the same theme and obviously derived from Mani's original writings in Syriac (*Book of the Giants* ?) can be found in Parthian, Sogdian, Old Turkish and Chinese. On this see especially Sundermann (1992), 13–22. See also Lieu (1998), 59–75. A new edition of the Chinese with Parthian, Sogdian and Old Turkish parallels by Sam Lieu and Gunner Mikkelsen for the *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum* is forthcoming.

(92.9–94.16) The five sons of the Living Spirit each have their appointed watch-districts. Yet, demonic rebellions have occurred in each during the course of cosmic history; and have had to be dealt with by various gods.

(94.17–95.1) Similarly the Light Mind dwells in the human body, and needs to deal with the treachery of sin manifested by the old man who still lies bound within. Mani assures his listeners that despite the recurrence of evil the powers of light know the final victory; and thus always act for the good.

(95.2–10) Mani briefly answers the disciple's question as to how the mighty Light Mind can live in this small fleshly body.

(95.10–97.24) Sin constructed the human body from evil matter. Yet, its soul is divine, being taken from the five sons of the First Man. The five intellectual qualities were bound in the body and overlaid by corresponding evil qualities. This led the soul into error and forgetfulness of its true origin. When the Light Mind comes it frees the divine qualities, binds the evil ones, and imprisons sin. Thus the believer is transformed into a new man.

(97.24–99.17) Nevertheless, sin can rebel and cloud the intellectual qualities, leading the believer once again into error. Mani explains the process by which such a person may gradually come to turn against the true faith, despite the love and support of church leaders and friends.

(99.18–100.17) Mani emphasises to his disciple that he has now explained the workings of the Light Mind in the body, whose role corresponds to that of the watch-keepers in the macrocosmos. By purifying the spiritual intellect the elect can ascend in their hearts to God the Father, and know everything.

(100.19–102.3) Mani now turns to the disciple's final question about his apostolate; and explains how he, although a solitary man against the world, has been victorious over all the kings and earthly powers. Thus he has achieved more than all previous apostles, excepting only Jesus.

(102.4–12) The disciples thank Mani and promise to be strong in their faith.

Once again, at one of the times, a disciple questioned the apostle, saying to him: You have told us that the Light Mind is this one who shall come and assume the saints. You said it to us like this: He too is one among the gods . . . **25** . . . many gods are with him. You have also told us: When he enters within the body of the flesh and binds the old man with his five counsels, he sets his five counsels upon him in the five limbs of his body.

So, now, where is he? In that the old man is chained in the body! **30** For I see how rebellions arise there despite his bondage, from time to time.

Also, secondly, I ask you: If then he is a great god, unchanging and immeasurable, how could he come and appear in the smallness of the body?

The third thing I want you to recount to **35** me . . . a holy one is the Mind, and he is pure; . . . the defilement of this body?

90 Fourthly: If truly the Light Mind exists in the saints, why is his likeness not displayed to us, the way that he is?

The fifth thing I want, for you to tell me and explain about your apostolate. [5] Look, it is not clear to me! For they oppress and persecute you in the world.

I entreat you: Can you persuade me about these things that I have asked you?

Then he speaks to that disciple: My entire revelation, which I have unveiled, I have declared to my church. [10] In your presence! This one alone among . . . him.

This disciple says to the apostle: All that you have unveiled you have . . . in our presence. Yet, I wanted to know . . . the Light Mind, the way that he is.

[15] Then the apostle says to him: If I shall repeat . . . to you about these things that you are so set upon, and they become true for you after you are so set upon them, will you understand what you . . . ? On your account I will give vision to they who see! I will make the living fountain overflow for the thirsty, that they may drink and live.

[20] Then speaks the apostle to him: All the error, when the enemy of the lights constructed it, he constructed after the likeness of a man. The head of the universe is the beginning of the garments. His neck is the nape of the garments. His stomach is the five unfolded ones (?), which are . . . of the garments. [25] His ribs are all the firmaments. His navel is the sphere of the stars and the signs of the zodiac. And also, the parts that come from his navel to his hip are . . . that come from the sphere to the corners of the four worlds. His loins are the three earths that are below . . . [30] upon the head of the Porter. His . . . from the . . . to the earth upon which the Porter stood firm. His shins and his feet are . . . and the entire zone that belongs . . . **91** His heart is mankind. His liver is the four-footed animals. His lung is the race of birds that fly in the air. His spleen is the race of fish that swim in the waters. His kidneys are the world of reptiles that creep [5] upon the earth. His outer skin is the wall that . . . which surrounds the piercing and the great fire. His . . . the vessels of the great fire. His . . . of darkness. His gall is the . . . His great intestine is the breadth of the great . . . [10] . . . of the worlds. His veins . . . all the springs and wells. His eyes (?) . . . His feet are his . . .

This is how each of the worlds have been harmonised (?). [15] Five gods are fastened in him. . . . they are his soul and his life . . . man is a sinner . . . the Living Spirit and the Ambassador . . . the five sleepless guardians.

He has . . . [20] the Keeper of Splendour, the mind which is . . . in the world of the mind that is above. He has . . . whole . . . of the powers of heaven that are in . . . of the great King of Honour, who is the thought that exists in

the seventh firmament. He has humbled . . . [25] . . . also of the Adamant of Light, who is the insight . . . he has given . . . because of lust . . . He has also appointed the King of Glory, who is the counsel . . . patience over the three images; that of wind, that of fire, and that of water. He has handed over to him the . . . [30] . . . do evilness. . . . the Porter, who is the consideration . . . the wisdom in the . . . which is below. He has made him . . . the foundation below . . .

92 Furthermore: The Ambassador refined from them five intellectuals of life. Also, the summons and the obedience were situated there. Now, they made six sons of the Living Spirit, together with the six sons of the First Man.

[5] Further: the Ambassador placed in them the great mind; who is the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man.

Furthermore: Jesus the Youth was set there; who is the image of the living word, of the utterance and the obedience.

He has made strong these camps, those above and those below [10] . . . each one of them will be secure in the circuit of his watch-district, so that neither uprising nor treachery are made in his watch-district.

And look, see! The Keeper of Splendour is set firm in the great mind, in the camp above the prison of the bound ones, for he brings to nothing all the gloom of death. [15] And a treachery came about, and an uprising. The sin aborted, it tangled in with the soul. It became mixed with this light that it expelled toward the image of the Ambassador. It went . . . in the third firmament that is above the watch-tower . . . the Keeper of Splendour. From that place also it tangled [20] in with the light. It was detached and came down to that which is dry and that which is moist. It fashioned the trees upon the dry (land); but in the sea it immediately took form and made a great uprising in the sea.

Again, look, see! The great King of Honour, who is [25] the thought, he is in the third firmament.[26] He is made . . . with wrath. And an uprising came about. A treachery and an anger happened in his camp. The watchers of heaven, who came down to the earth in his watch-district, they did all the deeds of treachery. They have revealed crafts [30] in the world and have unveiled to people the mysteries of heaven. An uprising came about, and a destruction, on the earth . . . to it.

The Adamant . . . the fulfilment. He is set firm upon . . . **93** and a treachery came about in his camp; the occasion when the abortions fell to the earth. They formed Adam and Eve. They begat them so as to reign through

[26] Probably an error for the seventh firmament.

them in the world. They fashioned every object of lust upon the earth. The entire world was filled by their lust. Also, they persecute the churches. They kill the apostles and the righteous in the watch-district of the Adamant of Light, time after time, and from generation to generation.

Once again: In the watch of the great King of Glory, who is the great counsel, he who exercises authority over the three wheels. A disturbance came about, and an affliction, for they were . . . pained and oppressed in the three earths. After the Ambassador displayed his image, the paths closed to their . . . their ascent was impeded by them . . . the wind, the water, and the fire ascend on them.

Once again: In the watch of the Porter, he who humiliates . . . uprising of the abysses below . . . bent, the fastenings underneath were loosened . . . in the foundation below.

On account of the earthquake that happened in the watch of the Keeper of Splendour; the Pillar of Glory came forth, as it . . . helper of the Keeper of Splendour. It bore up under all burdens.

Conversely, because of the treachery and the uprising that happened in the watch of the great King of Honour, which is the watchers who came down to earth from the heavens; four angels were called upon about them. They bound the watchers with an eternal chain, in the prison of the blackened ones (?). They obliterated their children from upon the earth.

Then again, the abortions descended in the watch of the Adamant and begat Adam and Eve; because of that great treachery which happened, and the mystery of the wickedness, he sent Jesus . . . the prayer of the five sons. He assumed them . . . the abortions. He fastened them beneath the . . . the mind of Adam.

94 Also, because of the earthquake that happened in these three earths, and in that the paths were hindered and the springs of wind and water and fire were impeded, Jesus cast himself down. He assumed Eve; and he straightened the tracks of the wind, the water, and the fire. He opened the springs for them, and he set in order the path of their ascent.

Once again: Since the earth beneath the Porter was loosened from the fastenings that . . . because of this too Jesus went down, assuming Eve until he reached that place. He set in order and strengthened the fastenings beneath. He returned, he came up to his . . . rest.

Then speaks the apostle to him: Look at all these watches of the zone, the ones in which these great gods are master, watching over them . . . Uprisings have happened, and treachery, in them. The . . . . . in them from time to time; with a great humiliation, until they humbled the powers of the enmity.

So also is this body! A mighty power lives here, even if it is small in its stature. Nevertheless, sin dwells within, and the old man who is lodged in it. Certainly he is cruel, [20] with great cunning; until the Light Mind finds how to humble this body, and drive it according to his pleasure.

Just so, in the watch-districts of his great outer brothers, they who are masters in the zone. In them, in the great body: the earthquake and treachery happened [25] from time to time. So, also, is the watch-district of the Mind, which is the body of the flesh. Sin raises up, from time to time, its agitations in the body.

Now you, understand thus, that the powers of light are good. The beginning and the end are unveiled to them. [30] All that they do is being done with correct judgement. Indeed, because of this they may permit the enmity to initiate error, and do its pleasure for a moment. Then they seize . . . **95** . . . they have acted first with a righteous judgement.

And with respect to this other (question) that you have put forward: How may the Light Mind come, this great and honoured mighty one, and assume this little body of the flesh? Again, look, see! These gods, in that [5] . . . are great and mighty ones. And each one of them is enclosed and hard pressed in this place wherein he is set; like trees holding to their taproot. So also this is how each one of them has 'held to his taproot' in the world, according to the kind of place in which he is set, bearing up till [10] . . .

Now, also, happen you know . . . the world is set firm, being ordered . . . the five sons of the Living Spirit in all its members . . . sin took this body out from the land (?) . . . constructed it in its members. It took its body [15] from the five bodies of darkness. (Sin) constructed the body. Yet, its soul it took from the five shining gods. (Sin) bound (the soul) in the five members of the body. It bound the mind in bone; the thought in sinew; the insight in vein; the counsel in flesh; the consideration in skin.

(Sin) set fast [20] its five powers: its mind upon the mind of the soul; its thought upon the thought of the soul; its insight upon the insight of the soul; its counsel upon the counsel of the soul; its consideration upon the consideration of the soul. It placed its five angels and authorities upon the five members [25] of the soul, which it had brought in and bound in the flesh. They . . . , pronouncing to the soul and continually leading it on to every evil thing, to all the sins of lust, to the worship of idols, to erroneous opinions, to humiliation; in the humiliation of slavery! As it is set fast, worshipping [30] the things that . . . will not remain; making obeisance . . . idols of wood and gold and silver. . . . worshipping beasts **96** that are unclean and polluted! They are ugly in their appearances and their forms.

(The soul) assumed error and forgetfulness. It forgot its essence and its race and its kindred; knowing not the door of the place to pray to him, nor call up [5] to him. It became hostile to its father . . . itself, being wicked . . . its own light . . .

The Light Mind comes and finds the soul . . . it assuming it in the . . . [10] . . . its wisdom . . . he shall become for it . . . the bonds . . . members in the body. He shall loosen the mind of the soul and release it from the bone. He shall release the thought of the soul [15] from the sinew; and so bind the thought of the sin in the sinew. He shall release the insight of the soul from the vein; and so bind the insight of the sin in the vein. He shall loosen the counsel of the soul, and release it from the flesh; and so bind the counsel of the sin in the flesh. He shall [20] release the consideration of the soul from the skin; and bind the consideration of the sin in the skin.

This is how he shall release the members of the soul, and make them free from the five members of sin. Conversely, these five members of sin, which were loose; [25] he shall bind them. He shall set right the members of the soul; form and purify them, and construct a new man of them, a child of righteousness. And when he fashions and constructs and purifies the new man; then he shall bring forth five great living members out from the five great members. [30] And he places them in the members of the new man. He shall place his mind, which is love, in the mind of the new man. Also, the thought, which is faith, he shall place in the thought of the new man; whom he shall purify. His insight, which is perfection, he shall place **97** in the insight of the new man. His counsel, which is patience, he shall place in his counsel. Also, wisdom, which is his consideration, in the consideration of the new man. He shall make the image of the word pure from the word of [5] sin; and he adds to it his word, so that his . . . becomes nourisher and strengthener . . .

Now, when he shall perfect . . . the twelve members. This is how . . . and his wisdom. His . . . [10] . . . becomes righteous, as he perfects . . . While formerly he was running . . . but instead of this, now he runs . . . his road and his path and his . . . also he mounts up to the heights, to the great aeons . . . [15] . . . thus the old man is bound in the . . . and his lust, his . . . his foolishness in these five members of the body . . . the dark spirit is imprisoned with them in a bond and in severe misery.

Also, the new man reigns [20] by his love, by his faith, by his perfection, by his patience, and by his wisdom. Yet, his king . . . the Light Mind, he who is king over the totality. He reigns over it according to his pleasure. While the members . . . , thus sin is imprisoned. Still, the Light Mind [25] is king, and an affliction may arise in the body from time to time.

There are occasions when sin shall mount up with its foolishness; and it disturbs the consideration, and it clouds the wisdom and the understanding of the person. It causes truth to be split into doubt in him, and he utters some foolish words [30] and some . . . When the manner of his foolishness will come to the . . . in the church, the teachers and the . . . and the . . . and the presbyters shall gather . . . helper. And they put straight his wisdom . . . His consideration has been set right **98** about this. His wisdom has been set in its right place and ordered . . . well.

Now, if he shall not accept the rebuke and the edification of his brethren and his helpers; then shall sin mount up again, another time, from the consideration to [5] the counsel. It takes his patience from him, and bestows upon him faint-heartedness and hurt. And the sin is displayed in the midst of his brethren. His . . . for every thing that he shall do . . . advice of his brethren, and he becomes . . . [10] the foolishness. A battle and a war shall arise (between) the Light Mind and the sin in the counsel . . . they shall group together and become . . . there, and they cause him to cease from the . . . and they put him straight in his place another time . . . his [15] companions in his struggle.

If again the . . . to that place, then again sin shall rise . . . and clothe him with lust and vanity and pride. He separates from his teacher and his brethren. He shall always want to go in and to come out alone. [20] He shall want to eat and to drink alone, a solitary man. He shall always want to walk alone. Indeed, this is the sign that the familiarity of his brethren does not act on him.

Should he again not . . . his heart from lust; again sin shall mount up, the thought of death, to his thought. He shall . . . [25] a vanity; and causes his faith and his truth to leave him. When the sign of his foolishness will be displayed, and his reputation spreads in the church, the wise ones of the church shall gather to him; so that they may set right his heart, and encourage it with God's edification. If now he took the [30] advice of his brethren, and listened to . . . and set himself apart from his wrath and . . . **99** It is possible he could live and be victorious over the sin, and all its wars.

Yet, if he shall not make this watch secure, (sin) shall rise up and assume his mind; and disturb his mind, which formerly was calm. It shall disrupt his love, away from his teacher and his [5] instructor. It shall take from his heart love of the church, and fill it full of hatred. And all his brethren become hateful before him. His brethren and his loved ones and his friends who love him; they shall be like enemies before him. Now, that person is disturbed like this, and he lets his [10] love and his will turn from him. That person shall himself become a vessel of loss, and he separates from the church,

and his end comes down to the world. The Mind, who was in him, shall disperse from him and go to the apostle who sent him. He shall be filled by evil spirits; [15] and they deal with him, dragging him hither and thither. And he himself becomes like wordly men. He will change and become as if a bird, were its feathers plucked out. He becomes an earthly man.

Then have I taught you, and opened your eyes, as to how confusion shall arise in the zone; in the camps of [20] these great mighty gods? Again, this is how disturbance shall come about, from time to time, in the . . . of the Light Mind. So also these watch-keepers, for they are set . . . firm in the zone, (but) they are not visible. Again, this too is the way of the Light Mind, for he is not visible in the body.

[25] Also, corresponding to these outer watch-keepers; in that while they are great; yet have they contorted themselves. They have . . . , they have become small, to the measure of the task which is apportioned to each one of them. Again, this too is like the Mind, himself a great one, and exalted; but he is bent over and has become small, to this little worthless body.

[30] Even so the gods in the outer zone: they are transcendent and purified, they are set fast in the mingling of the totality, (but) are not defiled. This too is like the Light Mind. While he is placed in his . . .

100 Again, behold the mightiness and the activity of the Light Mind: how vast he is over all the watch-districts of the body! He stays fast at his camp. He shuts off all deliberations of the body from the beguilements of sin. [5] He limits them and distributes them out. He sets them down at his pleasure.

Also, he does another work, surpassing and exceeding (these). He bestows a great spirit upon the elect one. Indeed, now may you find him, as he stands on the earth, rising up in his heart and ascending to the Father, the [10] God of truth. He who exists and is established above all the things of loss. Once again, he may push down in his insight and his consideration, and descend to the land of darkness, from where the darkness has poured forth. His heart shall run and touch everything, as it . . .

[15] Then he says to that disciple: I have taught you the deeds of the Light Mind! Whoever has an open and perceptive eye, he can appear to him. Whoever has not that eye, he can not appear to him.

And, also, as to my work that is not manifest nor revealed to you, [20] the deeds that I have done; I will teach you about them, and open your eyes to this wonder . . . and of my leadership.

Observe from this! That I, a single Manichaios, I have come to the world alone. And the races and kindreds of the body, [25] and the gold and silver and brass . . . copper, and the many gifts and breastplates and

armour of the multitude, and much humanity, submit to me. Many types of gods and idols from smelting furnaces! You have beheld the kingdom of the world. For, despite great effort, [30] even with many benefits and gifts, with a breastplate and a violent war; they have not subdued the cities nor conquered the countries. Yet, I, I have conquered without breastplate and without armour **101** distant cities by the word of God, and distant countries. And they bless my name, and it is glorified in all countries.

Understand also another thing that I will teach you. The kings have striven with me, and the nobles and [5] officials and their powers, so that they might bring to nothing this truth. They did not have the strength for this against me. Now, if I am alone, why did they not have power against me? Namely, all these who have striven with me.

The third thing: No one in the world has given freedom to his children and [10] his brothers and his kin, and made them free from the variance of all things, the way I have. I who have made all my children free from every toil and every . . .

The fourth thing: I have covered them with the breastplate of wisdom; so that you will not find a single one among mankind [15] . . . and he is victorious over them. For as no single person is able to be victorious over me in the entire world; so it is also like this for my children. No person will be able to be victorious over them!

The fifth thing: I have chosen with my power this entire great election. I have given my children my emblems of authority . . . [20] and the great springs of wisdom, so that . . . apostle . . . of the church . . . I have made it mine. I have made my church strong, and appointed in it all good things that are beneficial to it in every matter. I have planted the good, I have sown the truth in every land, [25] far and near. Apostles and ambassadors I have sent to all countries. Therefore, the former apostles who came before them did not do as I have done in this hard generation; apart from Jesus only, the son of greatness, who is the father of all the apostles. [30] So, all of the apostles have not done as I, I have done! Look again, and see now: How great is my power and my activity? For not one among the former apostles, . . . in the flesh has reached my like in the . . . through me. For this great **102** door has been opened, opened by me, to the gods and the angels and mankind, and all the spirits and the living souls, who are prepared for life and eternal rest.

Then, after his disciples had heard all these sayings, which he [5] proclaimed, his disciples answered. They say to him: Great and mighty are all these things that you have uttered to us; which you have done by your power, and the power of the one who sent you. Who could fully recompense

you for the grace that you have done us, except this one who sent you? Still, the only gift [10] available to us, to repay you, is this: that we will make ourselves strong in your faith; and persevere in your commandments; and also be persuaded of your word, which you have proclaimed to us.

68. The descent of Jesus

This kephalaion (no. 8, 36.27–37.27: 'Concerning the Fourteen Vehicles that Jesus has boarded') evidences the total integration and subsumation of Jesus into the Manichaean system, with the consequent striking presentations of traditional themes (here the incarnation). The fourteen vehicles correspond to the stations through which Jesus passes as he descends deeper into matter for the purpose of salvation; and to the divine elements that he assumes and thus sanctifies in this *descent*. The listing of the ten 'carriages in the zone' reverses an order most familiar in accounts of the *ascent* of the light elements, the qualities of the living soul, as they pass through the redemptive process of summons and obedience, and finally ascend perfected from the Pillar to the moon and thence the sun.

[30] Once again, the light-man speaks to the congregation that is sitting in front of him: When Jesus the son of greatness came to these worlds, at the time that he unveiled the greatness, he boarded ten vehicles! He journeyed in the universe by them.

The first vehicle is the light ship, since [35] he received instructions from the Ambassador there. **37** The second carriage is the ship of the First Man, since his dwelling is established there. The third is the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man, since he shone forth there. He came below, he appeared in the world. [5] The fourth is the summons that he clothed upon his body. The fifth is the obedience that he swathed upon the summons. The sixth is the living air, and since he assumed it too, he received anointment there. The seventh is the living wind that blows. The eighth [10] is the light that illuminates. The ninth is the living water. The tenth is the living fire that is above them all. He was journeying in these ten carriages among all the orders and all the . . . , those above and those below.

After he had assumed these ten, he came and manifested in the [15] flesh. He chose the holy church in four vehicles. One is all the holy brothers. The second is the pure sisters. The third is all the catechumens, the sons of the faith. The fourth is the catechumens, the daughters of the light and truth.

These ten carriages [20] that he boarded in the zone, and the other four that are in the flesh; they complete and make fourteen carriages! He has done in them the pleasure of his Father. He has made alive, has redeemed, and given the victory to these who are his. Conversely, he has killed, bound,

and destroyed they who are strangers to him. He has given glory to the Father who sent him, **25** and the entire kingdom of life. Blessed is he who will know these mysteries; for he will count to the portion of Jesus, the son of greatness.

69. Augustine on Manichaean Christology

Aug., *c. Faust.* XX.2, 536.9–24 and XX.11, 550.14–19; trans. S. Llewelyn and S. Lieu.

(Faustus says:) 'Therefore, we worship one and the same deity under a tripartite name of Father, even God omnipotent, Christ his son, and the Holy Spirit. Yet we believe that the Father indeed inhabits the highest and first light which Paul otherwise calls inaccessible; that the Son in truth dwells in this second and visible light. Seeing that he is himself also two, as the apostle recognised saying that Christ is the virtue and wisdom of God, we believe his virtue dwells in the sun, but his wisdom in the moon. And also we confess this whole circle of atmosphere to be the seat and lodging of the Holy Spirit which is the third power. From its strength and spiritual libation the earth conceives and begets the suffering Jesus, who is the life and salvation of men, hung from the tree for everyone. Also, for this reason religious observance is for us almost universal and similarly for you equal towards food and utensil, though you detest most strongly the makers of them. This is our belief . . .'

(Augustine says:) 'Again, tell us how many Christs you say there are. Is there one whom you call the suffering one whom the earth conceives and brings forth by the power of the Holy Spirit, he who is not only suspended from every tree, but also reclining on the grass; and another crucified by the Jews under Pontius Pilate; and a third who is divided between the sun and the moon?'

70. A psalm by Herakleides

We have placed this psalm (*PsBk2.* 187.2–36, ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted by Iain Gardner) here with other Christological material because it is an account, one might say, of the 'risen Christ'; except, of course, that Jesus did not die on the cross. The Manichaeans subverted the narrative of the passion, utilising powerful prior traditions[27] to present a deeper and truer meaning of its mystery.

[27] Note here in lines 24–9 use of the *Ev. Thom.* logion 38; see also *ActJoh* c. 98. Cf. Richter (1992) esp. 257–8.

187 Mariam, Mariam, know me: do not touch me.
(Stem) the tears of your eyes and know me that I am your master:
Only touch me not, for I have not yet seen the face of my Father.

Your god was not stolen away, according to the thoughts of your littleness:
Your god did not die, rather he mastered death.
I am not the gardener. I have given, I have received the . . . , I appeared (not) to you:
Until I saw your tears and your grief . . . for me.

Cast this sadness away from you and do this service:
Be a messenger for me to these wandering orphans.
Make haste rejoicing, and go unto the eleven:
You shall find them gathered together on the bank of the Jordan.

The traitor persuaded them to be fishermen as they were at first,
and to lay down their nets with which they caught men unto life.

Say to them, 'Arise, let us go, it is your brother that calls you.'
If they scorn my brotherhood, say to them, 'It is your master.'
If they disregard my mastership, say to them, 'It is your Lord.'
Use all skill and advice until you have brought the sheep to the shepherd.

If you see that their wits are gone, draw Simon Peter unto you:
Say to him, 'Remember what I uttered between you and me.'
'Remember what I said between you and me in the Mount of Olives:
"I have something to say, I have none to whom to say it." '

Rabbi, my master, I will serve your commandment in the joy of my whole heart.
I will not give rest to my heart, I will not give sleep to my eyes,
I will not give rest to my feet until I have brought the sheep to the fold.

Glory to Mariam, because she listened to her master:
She served his commandment in the joy of her whole heart.
(Glory and) victory to the soul of the blessed Maria.

71. The great war and the last judgement

The 'Sermon of the Great War' (*Hom.* 7.8–42.8) must be dated to the first generations after the death of Mani, because (amongst other telling reasons) it is ascribed

to the apostle's disciple Koustaios. It reveals a powerful apocalyptic vision of the community in suffering, but looking forward to their forthcoming vindication over the forces of evil. The end times are already breaking in upon history. For the historian of religion, and in terms of understanding Manichaean identity, the mix of Judaeo-Christian and Iranian themes, fashioned by Mani's own particular genius into something unique, provides many clues.

We present here a much abbreviated text[28] in translation (by Iain Gardner), focusing on the final passages: the last judgement, the collapse of the cosmos, and the final return to the Father.

(7.8–8.30) *The Sermon of the Great War:*

Let us venerate our good father, and (glorify **10** our) redeemer! For he has unveiled every thing: He has taught us about every matter, and spread them before (us. He gave) us the knowledge of the beginning, he taught us the (mysteries) of the middle, and also the separation of the end, . . . and the annihilation of the worlds, which is prepared for **15** the bodies and the spirits.

Our father, our apostle, did not abandon us in want. Indeed, whilst in our midst he was giving us help, supporting us greatly; also, on the day of his coming forth, he bequeathed his good to the orphans and the widows. He has also taught **20** us to praise him, to give glory . . . the lessons of truth. He has proclaimed to (us . . .) children . . . the world. The creation, the battles **25** . . . the beaker of wrath which is prepared for the great inhabited world. A bloody chalice and a beaker of . . . slaughter which is prepared for the worlds. . . . kingdom which is prepared for this land beneath . . . the nobles, the free, the slaves, **30** what is evil and what is good . . . in it . . . **8** for ever.

Many have testified to (the great war). All the apostles have proclaimed it. The prophets preached about it. Its fame is spread in the entire world. Further, its origin is with all the sects. **5** (Many) years and human generations ago they began to prepare . . . it in the heights. Now a great . . . Its sound will rise to heaven. (Now) is coming a time of trial, which can put to the proof they who are (evil and they who are) good; it is coming to the inhabited world and **10** . . . to Babylon and all its children. Annihilation is coming to flesh, as destruction is coming . . . , as despoliation is coming upon possessions, as war is being waged on the kings, as . . . wrath. The

[28] The *editio princeps* was published by H. J. Polotsky in 1934 (Polotsky (1934b)), and a facsimile edition by S. Giversen in 1986. A major study of the work was published by Nils Arne Pedersen (Pedersen 1996), who is also soon to publish a revised edition of the entire codex for the *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum*. Gardner has had the advantage of viewing a draft of this latter revision; and, although this translation was based on Polotsky's Coptic text, some readings are influenced by Pedersen to our certain benefit.

sword may be drawn in an [15] instant: retribution comes on retribution, a thousand are coming to reap the grain. The evil-doer: he can receive his retribution. While the world will remain on fire, all the cities will persist in turmoil. Their inhabitants will take up arms. The earth that they dwell upon: their blood [20] can flow over it. The sun which shines upon them every day: it can shine upon their corpses. (All) the free will mourn; the free and the slaves . . .

The trumpet will sound! . . . the battle . . . [25] . . . slays and he smites and he does not spare at all. On that day they are crushed (?) . . . like flocks of sheep if wolves will (fall) upon them, and they scatter out from their gathering. [30] A lion upon a herd of calves.

(9.19–27) [20] That day of fear, this time of trial which is coming to everyone: See then, that day comes and can speak no lie in its coming. See, its very . . . is imminent. They that have passed by are more than they that remain. Year by year, that time [25] comes, to give retribution . . . It comes like these . . . ; it may be like a trap, like lightening . . . the night.

(14.16–31) All the apostles have suffered, weeping, and their churches in each generation; for they were despised and crucified, they struck them in every city. They poured their blood out [20] upon the earth. The wild beasts have eaten their flesh. The bones have remained in the wilderness, like some robbers, as if they had done evil. They passed their life, made righteous men of light; and the world has repaid them evil. They did not indulge in its "good things", nor also did they revel in its [25] pleasures. They spent their time there hungering and (thirsting); and it turned its back to them. It has given evil repayment to them. Every (thing), if God has appointed to make it happen, . . . the (powers of) the world do it not.

Therefore, all the apostles have wept. They proclaimed . . . [30] this battle book after book: from Adam . . . till today. Its hour has not yet . . .

Then follows the account of the terrible war (omitted here), followed by the renewal of the church:

(27.28–29.18) Henceforward, from the war on, the church will not be weak. From (that time the) [30] melody of the psalms comes forth . . . in each city. The catechumens (will find) strength to give alms the more . . . you may find the catechumens as they . . . **28** the commandments of the election. The church will not be moved, being constant; so that some among us might be found at that time even until the antichrist. My lord says: [5] some

might behold him among they of this human generation;[29] – of we, who have looked on my lord Mannichaios![30] Therefore, the new generation is come, and it is decided upon its good. They will find the brilliance (?) of his mysteries in the wisdom of my lord Mannichaios and his **10** church. They will come and find the scriptures are written, and the books are adorned. They will find the table and they that prepare it. They will find the churches . . . , they will find all these things after the war. Indeed, the church will not be hindered from this time; **15** from now till the day of Jesus, and until all (flesh (?)) is worn out.

The Gospel and *The Picture(-Book)* and the possessions, which the church has fashioned . . . of the holy ones which it has built, and the possessions which it has left in the world: These **20** . . . will come and find them. They did not . . . them. The scriptures of the apostle (of the light), they will give honour to them by their . . . they being honoured by their mouths, like these . . . will set them upon the judgement seat . . . **25** . . . venerate their name. Also, the body (of the apostle of) the light: A great mourning (will come about) because of it. At the hour when they will . . . in each land. They will mourn . . . of the apostle of the light. . . . **30** . . . that may find him at that time. . . . which were prepared today, being . . . this last. For, behold, the path of . . .

29 They have distributed the gifts, they have . . . among the friends of love. Behold the sects: they have been smitten, they have been destroyed! Behold the alms: it has been apportioned amongst they who gave it. Behold the spring of water: they have dug it down, they have (planted) **5** the good tree upon it. Behold the battle-standard: they have unfurled it! Behold the sword that can slay the lust. Behold the tribunal of the truth: they have prepared it. Behold the two ways: they have been separated.

This work the apostle of the light did in the land of the . . . **10** of Babylon, in the years of the kingdom of Persia. This truth was unveiled in the world. My lord says to us also, 'After the great war, until the days of Jesus the redeemer: Every thing I have written and set it down, I have made necessary **15** for my children until they do it. At that occasion they will perfect all the commandments, the small ones and the great, just as it is written. Love will dwell in all their hearts.'

Here follows one of the most important and continuous accounts (despite the lacunae) of the last things: the return of Jesus, the last judgement, the destruction of the universe and absolute containment of evil, the new aeon and the return to the Father.

[29] Cf. Mark 13.30. [30] On this spelling, see the comments of Augustine in **59**, *supra*; also **46**.

(35.11–42.8) . . . the advent of this glorious one . . . is likened to what? At that time . . . a great . . . [15] which is among them, for . . . outwards . . . the city. This is the way that the heavens and the . . . will resound and reverberate . . . all of them . . . the abysses below . . . [20] all the ones that are purified . . . of righteousness . . . the glory which can become great . . . that great . . . The judge of the truth, who may unveil . . . [25] . . . the king of the virgins . . . he can reveal . . . to give judgement . . . to judge the peoples, to justify his church. He is coming to separate out the goats, and set them apart from his sheep. He might be like the head of the . . . [30] . . . and weak ones . . . **36** . . . and he . . . the moon.

. . . [5] . . . as they walk . . . the diadems of honour . . . him, they who sound the trumpets of the truth; . . . flute, sounding them before him. They will beat [10] the glorious kettle-drum, and its reverberation will be heard in every world! They will gather the worlds before him, like a flock of sheep before the shepherd. Masses upon masses (will come), making rows; and they bow at his feet, worshipping in front of him. The angels [15] . . . will receive authority and gather all flesh before him. Every race and every language will glorify him, all of them at one time. Every "mixed" god,[31] the (bound (?)) and the loosened, they will all bless the (king (?)) who is sweet. Every purified and holy god, they will [20] . . . his power and his happiness . . . [25] . . . all languages, the laws and the sects. They will worship him, making supplication before him. His virgins and his continent ones: They will open their mouths . . . [30] his glory.

He will come down and prepare his judgement seat in the midst of the great inhabited world . . . **37** . . . idol . . . of this world . . . stand fast . . . god . . . [5] . . . set firm . . . catechumens . . . they have served his church . . . in his . . . [10] . . . on his left side . . . the sentence which is coming forth from his mouth. . . . then the great shining one will open his mouth and he . . . [15] the great and blessed king of kings. By his sweet blessed mouth he can proclaim his glorious word. And by the sound of his living word all the languages will understand that he is . . . each country and language. They will . . . [20] the interpretation of his words. And in front of his . . . his throne.

There are four kindreds . . . One is that of the kings and the nobles . . . the races of the entire world; the idol-worshippers . . . the kindreds . . . [25] . . . One are all the sects . . . of all the worlds . . . the elect and the catechumens (?) . . .

38 . . . you gave me food . . . Then, they to the right side . . . be astonished, for the one that [5] . . . thirst . . . freely, and they say (to him: On which)

[31] I.e the divine conjoined to matter.

day (did we see you), our Lord? (. . . Then he) may say to them: Whatever you have . . . **10** . . . because of my name, because of . . . you have served me.[32] Also, I . . . who are to his right side, he can justify and (give to them) the victory; who are the catechumens . . . they whom he has summoned to the kingdom of the light. **15** And his righteous ones and his virgins he has made like the angels. On the other hand, the goats, who are to his left side, will see the confidence that he has given the ones to the right side. Their heart will rejoice for a moment, as they think that the victory of the sheep will come to them too! Then he will **20** (turn to the) ones on the left side, and he speaks and he says to them: . . . me, they who are cursed. Go to the fire, the devil and his powers! In that I was hungry and thirsted . . . not one of you did help (me . . .) they that are (to the) right . . . **25** . . . They will answer and say: (On which day) did we see (you), our Lord?[33] . . . these . . .

39 . . . in every world . . . the earth; the gods, the angels who have come with him; the gods, the angels and the elect being mingled and partaking in the glory . . . **5** will smite the sin and sweep it away, with (every) wicked thing in the universe. Then the trees will open (their mouths) and speak; for indeed there is no persecutor in the . . . , for she acted ill against the truth. The catechumens . . . Therefore, this king of the light . . . **10** . . . he being revealed . . . look on him with the eyes of the body, like . . . today. They will look on him . . . the image of the light; as they all are glad, (rejoicing) over him. The lust will be removed from them, and also the (other) **15** sorts of temptation. When they wish, they will be stripped of their body, and receive the victory from him. (And they find) the path, it being made smooth from him upwards to the kingdom of life. Then he may reign in the midst of his chosen ones for a great time. And after these things he rises up to **20** his gods and his angels. His . . . will follow after him.

Then, after Jesus, the obliteration of the universe . . . him. Flesh will wear away, little by little, and be wiped out from the universe. Until the . . . **25** flesh wears away and perishes and all . . . is purified to the heights. The universe . . . and it remains, made waste . . . and it remains like this for a great age . . . entire, from the great to the . . . **30** . . . only the earth, which is set firm . . . , and the trees which are verdant, and the . . . which are shining, as they are drawn there and are . . .

Then, after the age of its wasting . . . they who have built it will make a sign to their . . . **35** . . . the fire . . . **40** . . . the prisoners of war come out from it, and they . . . the free women who . . . to their kingdom, the one that the First Man . . . will unveil his face and draw his sons to him. **5** . . . the

[32] Cf. Matt. 25:37–40. [33] Cf. Matt. 25:41–45.

Living Spirit. They will stretch out the Porter, that he can ascend and rise upwards and . . . great house of his father; that he can cast his . . . the rest comes to be. Then the Keeper of Splendour will stay his hand, and the first of the garments [10] . . . the King of Honour will . . . the King of Glory will proceed . . . can rise up to the heights. They will make a sign . . . all of you arise! The Adamas . . . who watches over his brethren, will proceed to the heights. [15] All the . . . will be redeemed, and they go forth from every . . . of the universe; the ones outside of it and the ones within it. The one who carries the weight, and they who . . . all the free will be released. . . . of the light.

There are some among them . . . [20] . . . to the light. There are also some . . . Again, there are some who may remain in this place . . . out like this . . . The sphere will sink down below by its weight . . . below will sink down. The three pits . . . [25] . . . the earth. Its destruction will come about . . . **41** . . . [5] all of it, which this fire has burnt. He can . . . new . . . He can confine the darkness in to the grave, its maleness and its femaleness. He can cover . . . it, and he obliterates the sinners . . . , as he . . . ; [10] but (they are (?)) different from the . . . in it.

Also, after these things the aeons (. . . the Father of) Greatness. He can give to them what they (beseech of him). He can give the grace to his fighters, they whom he (sent) to the contest with the darkness. The veils will be rolled back and gathered, [15] and he unveils to them his image! The entire light will be immersed in him! They will go in to the treasury. They will also come forth from him in glory . . . king, in the two kingdoms. On the one hand: the King of the aeons of the light, he is the Father, the Light King . . . [20] On the other hand: the king of the new aeon is the First Man . . . and the (Last) Statue . . . and the apostles and the . . . sabbath will count to the . . . king will count to the lord's day; in that . . . [25] . . . alone for ever . . . for ever and ever . . .

42 . . . [5] . . . our father, all they who sit . . . today, as they watch over this mourning and this fasting.

It has been completed, namely the Sermon of the Great War.

72. Four recently edited Kephalaia

For many decades the publication of the Coptic Medinet Madi codices was halted, and as regards *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* it had ended in the midst of kephalaion 122. However, in 1999, just as this present volume was being collated, publication resumed under the charge of Wolf-Peter Funk. Here we have selected four short passages, and provide a first English translation (by Iain Gardner).

Kephalaion 126 'Concerning Jesus, the Virgin and the Light Mind' (302.17–303.15).

20 Once again the apostle speaks: Jesus Splendour and the Virgin and the Light Mind and the great Mind, it is these three[34] who have been revealed in this world, the ones that are made apparent through all the apostles and the fathers of the good in each generation; and they have revealed **25** the mysteries in the world.

Indeed, Jesus Splendour, he who came and was revealed in the world: They crucified him through the enemy, against whom he stood firm. This occurred (corresponding) to the mystery of the First Man, he who came at the beginning against the enemy; while he has his **30** holy body, which is his sons, . . .

For her part, the Virgin of Light, she who . . . and continues purifying the life, while she . . . the mystery **303** of the Great Spirit, the Mother of Life, she who[35] . . . set up all things . . .

For his part, the Light Mind . . . church, and plants . . . **5** . . . signifying the mystery of the Living Spirit; he who set in order and constructed all . . . that are below, he set them . . .

Now, like these three great fathers: the First Man and the Great Spirit, who is the Mother of Life, **10** and the Living Spirit; indeed, like the champions who have done the will of the greatness for which they were sent; again, this is just like Jesus Splendour and the Light Virgin and the Great Mind.

Behold, . . . and they perfect their work, to go **15** up and rest themselves in the heights.

Kephalaion 136 'Concerning the birth of the two men: the new man and the old man; how they are born . . .' (337.10–338.18)

Once again the apostle speaks: Two births occur, **15** not resembling one another!

The first birth is of the flesh; the second is the birth of the spirit. When the person shall be born in the flesh, there shall be need of a care-taker, a nourisher.[36] This one, the one who will nourish . . . **20** . . . However, if he should not add to him a good nourisher, to make him well fed . . . come from the life of people.

[34] The duplication of the figure of the Mind may be supposed a textual corruption.
[35] Funk's text should be slightly emended to provide this evident meaning.
[36] The construction of the Coptic text is most unclear, and has probably been corrupted; but this translation represents what we regard as the evident meaning.

The second is the birth of the spirit. Whenever one shall be born . . . in the birth of the spirit, if then he finds a **25** care-taker and a useful nourisher, then he can . . . and he lives in the life . . . do goodness . . . out from his body . . . receive . . . **338** . . . new man.[37]

However, if he should not find . . . a veritable[38] teacher and a true nourisher . . . him, the ones that do not walk in . . . **5** . . . as through the transmigration above . . . he may receive a beneficial (?) judgement and shall not find rest . . . and he ascends for a great period.

On this account, blessed is every person who gives his attention to a true and perfect teacher, walking on the path of righteousness; and **10** at no time shall he set aside his habit. He receives teaching from him towards his righteousness and his godliness, so that he might find eternal life; and also flee from the evil, wicked teacher . . . gives an evil teaching, and he does signs . . . wickedness, and he falls into duplicity **15** . . . drives him to foolishness and he falls into . . . and laxities. They who achieve the requital of the suffering . . . which is suffered, are the ones who shall receive a great crown.

Kephalaion 138 'Who is the one who sins, and afterwards he makes repentance?' (340.20–341.24)

Once again one among the disciples stood up . . . questioning the apostle. He says to him, 'I (entreat) **25** you, my master, that you might tell me: Who (is this one) who shall sin and afterwards beseech absolution? Or, this one who shall receive teaching and (afterwards) is forgetful? Or, who is the (good) teacher? I ask you that you might open my eyes . . . '

30 The apostle says to him, '(I am the one who can instruct you in) **341** the lessons about which you have questioned me. This one that shall sin is no other than this living soul, the one that (indwells) the body of sin; because it is set (in) mixture. Another one: the old man dwells with it in (the body). **5** It shall cause (the soul) to stumble, as it makes it do (what is) not (right) for it. However, when it may make it sin, the Mind shall immediately give for (the soul) the remembrance of its sin that it has done. And in the remembrance of the Mind it shall shake off the sin and beseech the Light Mind **10** for absolution, and its sin is forgiven it.

Again, the one that shall receive teaching and be forgetful: It is the soul, the one that shall receive teaching from the Light Mind. The one that

[37] This must surely be the meaning of the text, although it is difficult to reconcile with the traces recorded by Funk. In any case, the general sense is clear. Since line 337.22 Mani has been discussing someone who is born in the spirit. Such a person must find the right nourishment in order to grow and become established in the "new man". Now, from line 338, 1 he will explain what happens if this does not occur.

[38] We suggest that one might read here ἀληθής.

gives it teaching shall give it the remembrance of its first essence; and it is forgetful of its teaching because the old man [15] dwells with it. (The soul) is given pain by him. On account of this it shall be forgetful, and it errs due to its affliction.

And, for its part, its teacher that gives teaching for it, casting repentance in its heart: It is the Light Mind. This one shall come from above. It is the "ray" [20] of the holy enlightener, the one that shall come shining on the soul; and it makes it pure and gives light to it and guides it to the land of light, from which it came at the beginning. And (the soul) can separate itself another time, and (go) up to its first essence.'

Kephalaion 145 'Three moons that exist' (348.12–27)

Once again the apostle speaks: 'This moon that is named "our hope", it is made of three moons! [15] And these three are the hope of everything.

One is the moon that is apparent in the firmament, which is the hope . . . numeration, that of the days, that of the months and that of the years.

The second moon is the spring of the living waters, which [20] ascend from the side below, as it appears . . . upon this earth. It is the hope and the life of every person.

The third is the Light Mind, the one that shall come and give the hope of life for the spirits and . . . [25] in all the generations of the world, generation by generation. It is the beautiful hope of all souls, the righteous and the true people.'

73. Manichaean and other 'errors' concerning the destiny of the soul after death (Christian polemic)

This passage (edited by Lefort in Bang and Gabain (1929)) comes from the work of Shenoute: 'Who Speaks through the Prophet' = 'The Lord is long-suffering' (T41).[39] This is not the same text as another of Shenoute's works which deals with Manichaeans: 'And it is also good for us to say to you' = *De actis Archelai*,

[39] This translation by I. Gardner. The text is attested primarily in White Monastery Codex ZM, of which Paris BN Copte 131[4] f.158b (translated here) is a part. In the ancient page numbering of the codex it runs from p. 42 col. A onwards (f. 157 in the Paris MS), to somewhere after p. 66; leaves from the codex after p. 44 are held in collections other than the BN. From p.66 onwards it is lost in a lacuna. See Emmel (1993) sv. Codex ZM. Citations from the work are also found in some White Monastery lectionaries. Editions of 'Who Speaks through the Prophet' from White Monastery Codex ZM: p. 42.a.10 – end 42b = Paris, BN Copte. 131[4] 157 (-158a?): ined. ?; p. 43.a.1 – end of 44 = Paris, BN Copte. 131[4] 158b: summarised and ed. Lefort in Bang and Gabain (1929) 429–30; pp. 53–54 = IB 7.30: ed. Zoega (1810) CCXI/1, Amélineau (1914) II, 189–93; pp. 59–60 = IB 7.31: ed. Zoega (1810) CCXI/2, Amélineau (1914) II, 189–93; pp. 65–6 = Vienna Kopt.9257: ed. C. Wessely, *SPP* XVIII 287 (pp. 127–8); plus (?) pp. 63–4 = Cairo, Egyptian Museum 9280: ed. Munier (1916) 135–7.

(*Logoi* 8, work 16, ed. Leipoldt CSCO 42, no. 36, 109–10). Comments by Shenoute on Manichaeans are also found in *Logoi* 8, work 27, *De Vetere Testamento contra Manichaeos* = 'And we will also say this other thing'; and (more briefly) in *de sapientia magistratuum*, which precedes 'Who Speaks through the Prophet' in White Monastery Codex ZM (Berl. 1611[4], = pp. 17–18 of the codex, ed. Leipoldt CSCO 42, no 14, 32–3).

The section of 'Who Speaks through the Prophet' featured here is closely related to the *Acta Archelai*, see Polotsky (1932); the author clearly knew of the *Acta*, either in the Greek (or in a Coptic translation?), or perhaps through the excerpts in Epiphanius's *Panarion* (see *supra*, **58**). On the work see now Lucchesi (1999), esp. 73–75 (although some codicological details in Lucchesi's treatment on 73–74 should be corrected, see Emmel (1993) sv. Codex zm).

For, indeed, some say that this body will not rise, and that another one is given to its place; but others that, if the person should die, his soul shall go in to a robber; and others that it shall go in to the beasts; and others that it shall come to be floating in the atmosphere.

However, some say that the souls of the pagans shall come to be rising with the sun and the moon and the stars in the heavens; but others that they are taken to an island beyond the sea, that place – they say – where are the gods of the nations, and this is where they think that the souls will remain . . . Indeed, these things are what the pagans think.

However, the Manichaean: They say that if a soul which has been murdered should die, it shall be changed to a leprous body. And they also add to their godlessness: They say that the atmosphere is the soul of the animals and the people and the birds and the fish and the reptiles, and everything which is in the universe. Even more they say, that this body is not of God but of matter, and that it is darkness and must do darkness. And again, heaven and earth, they say that they are not of God. They reject the words of the holy prophets, saying that whoever would follow after them will die; and there are all their other acts of blasphemy that they say, whenever, against God and his Christ and all the holy ones. So much has he told us of their profanities, namely the one who has understood all their wickedness, the holy messenger of the lord, Athanasius the Archbishop. So again we have understood the error of many heretics, from his letters. And some, they destroy their soul . . .

CHAPTER 6

Worship and ethic

For a summary of the principles and practice of Manichaean religious life see Introduction (pp. 21–5). The following extracts again give emphasis to Manichaean writings in Coptic that are not widely known, supplemented by some classic descriptions by Augustine.

74. The essential precepts of the elect and the catechumens

This 'Chapter of the Commandments of Righteousness' (kephalaion 80, 192.3–193.22) contains a summary of the essential precepts held by the elect and the catechumens; arranged in two sets of two by three.

The first righteousness of the elect has three parts: to refrain from all sexual activity; to take great care not to harm the light-soul trapped everywhere in matter and especially vegetation (the Cross of Light), for instance by plucking fruit; and not to consume meat or alcohol (192.8–13). These correspond to the three seals of mouth, hands and breast discussed by Augustine (*signacula oris, manuum et sinus*; *de mor. Manich*. VII.10; IX.18); and also referred to in eastern Manichaean texts.

The second: to multiply wisdom, faith and grace.

The first righteousness of the catechumenate: fasting, prayer and alms-giving. The catechumens had to support the elect who could do no labour, farming or cooking.

The third: to give someone to the church; to share in their good works; to donate some church structure. The catechumens were allowed to marry and procreate, but were expected to compensate in this way.

Once more the enlightener speaks to his disciples: 'Know and understand that the first righteousness a person will do to make truly righteous is this: he can embrace continence and purity. And he can also acquire "the rest **10** of the hands", so that he will keep his hand still before the Cross of Light. The third is purity of the mouth, so that he will keep his mouth pure of all flesh and blood; and not take any taste at all of the "wine" name, nor fermented drink. This is the first righteousness. If a person will do it in his body, **15** he is pronounced righteous by all mankind.

Then, the second righteousness that he should do is this: He can add to it . . . wisdom and faith so that . . . from his wisdom he can give wisdom, to every person who will hear it from him. And also from his faith he can give faith, [20] to these who belong to the faith. From his grace he can give freely of love, shower it upon them, that he might join them to him. For, when that one acquires a great riches . . . in righteousness. By this second godliness he may cause others to be sent, resembling him in righteousness. [25] Just as this righteous one should fulfil the second and become a perfect elect; so too, if the catechumen shall be a catechumen of the faith, he is perfected in two stages.

The first work of the catechumenate that he [30] does is fasting, prayer, and alms-giving. Now, the fasting by which he can fast is this: he can fast on the lord's day and rest from the deeds of the world. And the prayer is this: **193** he can pray to the sun and the moon, the great light-givers. The alms-giving also is this: he can place it . . . in the holy one, and give it to them in righteousness . . .

The second work of the catechumenate that he [5] does is this: A person will give a child to the church for the (sake of) righteousness, or his relative or member of the household; or he can rescue someone beset by trouble; or buy a slave, and give him for righteousness. Accordingly, every good he might do, namely this one whom he gave as a gift for [10] righteousness; that catechumen . . . will share in with them. Thirdly: A person will build a dwelling or construct some place; so they can become for him a portion of alms in the holy church.

If the catechumen shall fulfil [15] these three great works, these three great alms that he gives as a gift for the holy church . . . which these alms will achieve. Also, that catechumen himself, who gave them, he can . . . as he shares in them. The catechumens who will give . . . [20] have great love therein, and a share of every grace and good in the holy church. They will find many graces.'

75. The archetypes of ritual action

In kephalaion 9 (37.28–42.23: 'The explanation of the Peace: what it is; the Right Hand; the Kiss; the Salutation') the ritual actions that occur in human society, and which Mani has initiated in his church, are presented as reenactments of divine archetypes. Mani's lesson is carefully structured, and provides many important details and insights into Manichaean doctrine and church practice.

The descent of the First Man from the land of light was a favourite theme. Full of the pathos of loss and estrangement, it is in a very real sense the story of each soul. Thus this text makes much of the familial love and care within the divine household

(38.13–39.9). Once the sacrifice of the First Man has been achieved, he is saved by the Living Spirit and returns to the kingdom. This establishes and sanctifies the process of redemption; and, while it occurs at the beginning of the history, it also anticipates the triumphant return at the end of time of the collectivity of the divine, with the First Man at their head, to enter the new aeon (39.10–40.19).

Now that the primordial archetypes have been established, Mani immediately relates them to the individual's experience and the practice of the church (40.24–41.10). Mani then utilises the symbols to focus on the glorious hope offered to the victorious soul, when it meets the Light Form and receives its prizes (41.11–25). The lesson ends with the injunction to its hearers to honour and practice this divine teaching (41.26–42.23).

Once again the disciples questioned the apostle, saying to him: 'This peace and this greeting that occur in the world, from whom did they come forth? Or likewise, the right hand that occurs in the world, it being honoured by mankind, of whom is it? Or the mystery **35** of the kiss that they embrace one another with, . . . ? Or who is the one that reveals this **38** salutation with which they make obeisance to one another? Or this laying on of hands, which an immensely great one bequeaths upon his inferior, giving him an honour and making him great; of whom is this laying on of hands?'

Then he says to his disciples **5**: 'You have questioned me about these five lessons. Now, they are displayed in the world as miniatures, being made little; and yet indeed they are great and honoured. I am the one who can reveal to you their mystery! So, these five signs are the mystery of the First Man. He came forth with **10** them from the aeon of light. Also, when he finished his contest, he went up with these good signs. They received him into the aeons of light.

The first peace is the one that the gods and the angels in the land of light gave to the First Man, when he comes **15** out against the enemy. The gods and the angels were walking with him; escorting him, giving to him their peace and power, and their blessing and fortification. This is the first peace that the gods and the angels gave to the First Man, as he comes forth from the aeon of light.

20 The first right hand is the one that the Mother of Life gave to the First Man, when he comes out to the contest.

The first kiss is this one with which the Mother of Life embraced the First Man; as he separates from her, coming down to the contest. Even all the gods and the **25** angels who are in the aeons of light were making to embrace him! . . . all of them also, and the church tutelaries (?), and the kinsfolk who belong to the household of his people. They were making to

embrace him as he separates from them, accompanying him out, embracing him with the kiss of affection and love.

30 The first salutation is the salutation with which the First Man made obeisance, when he comes out to the depths below. He was bending his knees, making obeisance to the God of truth, and all the aeons of light **39** who belong to the household of his people; entreating them for a power to escort him,[1] as he comes forth.

The first laying on of hands is the one that the Mother of Life bequeathed upon the head of the First Man. She armed him and made him 5 mighty. She laid hands on him, and sent him to the battle. He descended. He completed his struggle with the great powers and the enmity.

By these five signs and these five mysteries the First Man came forth from the aeons of light against the enemy. He humbled him. He was victorious against him by them. 10 Also, when he ascended from the war, he came in to the kingdom of the household of his people by these five mysteries.

The peace with which he ascended is the peace that the summons gave to him, when it was sent forth from the Father of Life. It gave him the peace in the world of darkness. 15 Also, that peace with which he descended is the same as the one with which he ascended from the struggle! Therefore, appropriate to the mystery of that peace, which the summons gave the First Man, did this peace here and now come about. It was named and heard among the powers of the Father.

Again, this 20 second right hand is the one that the Living Spirit gave the First Man, when he brought him upward out from the struggle. Appropriate to the mystery of that right hand this right hand has come about; the one that occurs in the midst of mankind, as they give it to their companions, it being honoured and . . .

Also, this second kiss 25 is the one with which the Father of Life and the Mother of the living embraced the First Man, when he ascended from the struggle. Again, this kiss occurs among mankind, as they make to embrace their companions with it; whether then they go away from home and be far from their friends, or else 30 if they approach one another, according to the mystery of (the First Man).

The second salutation with which the First Man made obeisance . . . this time to the God of truth and . . . the blessed aeons and all the aeons . . . the whole land of light, when **40** the Father of Life and the Mother of the living brought the Man upward from the abyss of the struggle. Appropriate to the mystery of the second salutation this salutation has come about; this

[1] Perhaps the angel Nahashbat referred to in the account of Theodor bar Khoni *Lib Schol.* XI.

one that occurs today in the midst of mankind, as they make obeisance to one another, doing an honour to their companions.

The second laying on of hands is this: When the Living Spirit brought the First Man upward from the war, he saved him from all the surging waves. He brought him upward, he gave him ease in the great aeons of light, which belong to the household of his people. He set him firmly before the Father, the Lord of the totality. Now, when he went up before the great Father of the lights, a voice came forth to him from the heights, saying: Make my son, my first-born, to sit at my right hand side, until I set all his enemies for a footstool under his feet.[2] He received this great laying on of hands that he may become leader of his brethren in the new aeon. Again, appropriate to the mystery of the second laying on of hands, this laying on of hands has come about; the one that occurs in the midst of mankind as they lay hands on one another, the great giving authority to the lesser.

These five mysteries and these five signs came about first in the divine. They were proclaimed in this world by an apostle. Mankind has been taught them; and they have instituted them in their midst . . . but these mysteries were not at the beginning amongst the powers of darkness.

The Light Mind also, who comes to the world, shall come with these several marks. With these five lessons he shall choose his church.

First, before everything else, he chooses his church with peace. And he gives the peace first to mankind; so that the person receives the peace, and becomes a child of peace. Afterwards he is elected to the faith. Now, when he may receive the peace, he shall receive the right hand and count to the right hand. Then, when he receives the right hand, the Light Mind shall draw him to him, and cause him to approach the church.

With the right hand he receives the kiss of love and becomes a child of the church . . . **41** With the kiss he shall receive salutation, and make obeisance to the God of truth. Also, he makes obeisance to the holy church . . . the hope of the faith, good works.

When they will receive the peace and the right hand, the kiss and the salutation, the last of these things shall be bequeathed upon them from the right hand of charity. They too receive the laying on of hands, which will be bequeathed upon them. And they are conformed and built up in the truth, and made strong in it for ever. They shall come in to the Light Mind with these good signs; and become fulfilled people. They make obeisance and give glory to the God of truth.

[2] Matt. 12.36.

Once again: at the time of their coming forth, the Light Form shall come forth before them; and she redeems them from the darkness to the light . . . This Light Form calms the person, with the kiss and her quiet, from fear of the [15] demons who destroy his body. By her aspect and her image the heart of the elect one, who is come forth from his body, shall be calm for him. Afterwards, the angel who holds the victory prize extends to him the right hand. And it draws him out of the abyss of his body, and accepts him in with the kiss [20] and love. That soul shall make obeisance to its redeemer, who is this Light Form. And also, at the instant when . . . he shall be perfected and increased according to . . . in the household of the living ones, with the gods and the angels and all the apostles and the chosen. [25] And he receives the crown . . . glory in the life for ever.

Concerning this I tell you, my brethren and my limbs: Let you find these five signs in your hands, honoured before each one of you. They are: the peace; the right hand; the kiss; the salutation; and the laying on of hands. I have brought this [30] to you from the household of the living, out from the Father who sent me.

Happen you know, that a great mystery . . . him, by these five signs that I have brought . . . you may part from the world, because . . . you have understood about the first **42** peace and the first right hand and the first kiss and the first salutation and the first laying on of hands.

Therefore, let them find this laying on of hands being esteemed in your presence; as you give honour, and make obeisance to the teachers and the deacons and the presbyters, [5] they whom I have laid hands on. I have bequeathed upon them the great laying on of hands; because they are set in a great mystery, the laying on of hands of the divine, which is bequeathed upon the head of the teacher. Now, whoever will reject and disdain it, and it is made nothing by him: he commits sin subject to God, with great [10] sin; and also against me too.

Still, you, my beloved ones, hasten in to these five . . . you, and you . . . fulfil at these occasions . . . wishes he may answer you . . . [15] . . . as he told you . . . that are in the storehouses of . . . your heart . . . them, for he . . . which is set right by you . . . each one [20] . . . listen to him. He knows every deed that you do, all of them, . . . with your companions . . . this . . . he turns to you . . . and he . . . from you the afflictions of . . .'

76. The three seals

Augustine on the Three Seals (or Symbols) of the Manichaean elect (Latin).[3]

[3] Aug., *de mor. Manich* x.19 and xviii.65, ed. cit. 104.16–105.2, 146.13–15 and 147.1–4; Eng. trans. S. Llewelyn.

(19) Now let us look at these three symbols which you discuss in your manner with much praise and approval. What after all are these signs? Assuredly (the signs) of mouth, hands and heart. What is this? In order that a man, he says, be pure and blameless in word, deed and thought. What if he should sin with his eyes, ears or nose? What if he should injure a man with stones (his heals), or even kill him? How will we hold that defendant who has sinned neither by mouth, hands nor heart? Yet when I say "mouth", he says, I wish all the senses which are in the head to be understood. Moreover, when "hand", every deed; when "heart", every seminal desire. . . .

(65) Not sexual intercourse; but, as has been said long before by the apostle, you really forbid marriage which is at the same time a virtuous defence against such a deed . . . Were you not accustomed to advise us to observe as far as possible the period when a woman was fit for conception after the purification of her womb, and at that time to refrain from sexual intercourse lest the soul be entangled in the flesh?

77. Augustine on the bema *festival*

Augustine, *c. Epist. Fund.* 8, CSEL 25/1, 202, 7–18 and 203, 1–4; trans. S. Lieu.

When I was a hearer among you, I frequently asked why it was that the paschal feast of our lord was celebrated with little or no interest, though sometimes there were a few half-hearted worshippers, but no special fast was proscribed for the hearers, – in short, no solemn ceremony, – while great honour is paid to your (feast of the) *bema*, that is, the day on which Manichaeus was martyred, when you erect a platform with five steps, covered with precious cloth, placed conspicuously so as to face the worshippers. The reply was: That the day to observe was the day of the passion of him who really suffered, and that Christ, who was not born, but appeared to human eyes not in real but a semblance of flesh, did not endure but feigned suffering.

. . . In fact, it was a great pleasure to us that the feast of the *bema* was held during *pascha*, as we used to desire with greater ardour that festal day (i.e. the *bema*) since the other (i.e. the *pascha*) which was once so very precious had been removed.

78. A bema *psalm*

This example (number 222 in the Medinet Madi *Psalm-Book* codex, ed. Allberry 7.11–9.1 and adapted by I. Gardner) of the many *bema* psalms evidences the central role of this festival, which celebrated Mani's martyrdom, in Manichaean life. The

author is unknown. The *bema* or judgement seat symbolises that which Jesus will occupy at the end of time. Until Jesus' return Mani himself occupies it, (as an icon during the festival); for he is Jesus' apostle, as well as guardian and founder and principal exemplar for the community. It is worth reiterating that the Manichaeans regarded themselves as the true church of the saints.

A parallel version to part of this psalm (*PsBk2*. ed. Allberry 8.6 to the end) has been found at Ismant el-Kharab (Kellis) inscribed in Coptic on a wooden board (*T. Kell*. II Copt. 4). The board then continues with a parallel to psalm 109 of the Medinet Madi collection, and seems originally to have formed part of a wooden codex. The earlier date of the Ismant version enables some minor emendations to be made which improve Allberry's text.[4] Other improvements have been suggested by G. Wurst in his recent reedition of the Coptic text (with German translation, Wurst (1996)). Furthermore, in the translation now provided here, the layout has been altered to reflect the phrases, strophes and refrains that would have been used in actual liturgical practice (similarly Wurst). We have also made some changes to Allberry's English wording, to conform to our own style in this volume.

(Psalm) 222 By the same.

7 O soul, know this great sign,
that this is the sign of the remission of your sins.

This visible *bema*,
the word set it before you,
that he might sow in you through what is visible
the remembrance of the hidden judgment,
which you have forgotten since the day
when you drank the water of madness.

O soul . . .

Lo, there has come to you the grace of the day of joy,
do for your part reveal without fear all your sins today;
and be mindful of your end, and prepare yourself in your works,
for the *bema* of wisdom moves you concerning it.

Paul, the glorious one, bears witness, saying unto you:
'The *bema* of Christ, in it there is no respect of persons;
whether we will or not, we shall all receive this (evaluation).'
This too is what the *bema* silently proclaims.

[4] However, the nominal form used in the Ismant parallel to 8.22 ('the forgiveness of sins') has not been followed, because it destroys the Coptic syntax of the Medinet Madi version, and without a complete text it is unclear how it should be read.

The wanton hours of wickedness, rule entirely over them,
(the ceaseless fire) of foul lust;
and do you (forsake) wrath and envy and sadness,
also the (other) bitter (bonds) of wickedness, loose them today.

(May) the judge see you keeping these commandments,
(and may he) honour you and give you life;
complete forgiveness will he bestow on you,
come therefore and walk on these holy steps.

8 May the *bema* become for you a landing-place of your days,
a place of cleansing of your life, a chest filled with teaching,
a ladder to the heights, a counting-balance of your deeds;
and as you see the likeness of these things in the *bema*, bless it.

Say unto it: 'You are blessed, great instrument of the word,
upright *bema* of the great judge,
the seat of the fathers of light that are far removed from error,
foundation of the sweet victory, full of wisdom.'

Hail, *bema* of victory, true sign of our city,
joyous shining crown of the souls that are victorious;
but judgment and condemnation of sinners.
Hail, *bema* of the mind of the holy scriptures.

Every tree today has become new again.
Lo, the roses have spread their beauty abroad,
for the bond has been severed that does harm to the leaves;
do you also sever the chains and the bond of our sins.

All the air is luminous, the sphere glitters today,
even the earth puts forth blossom, the waves of the sea are still;
for the gloomy winter has passed that is full of trouble,
let us too escape from the iniquity of evil.

Forgive the sins of they that know your mystery,
to whom there has been revealed the knowledge of the
secrets of the exalted one,
through the wholesome wisdom wherein there is no error,
of the holy church of the Paraclete, our father.

The joy-filled treasure of the glorious spirit,
give it as a present to us and extend it unto us all,

and wash us in joy and . . .
his drops also that will wash the . . .

Glory to thee, our father Manichaios, the glorious one,
(the joy of) the gods, . . . , the entire remission of sins,
the preaching of life, the ambassador of they that are on high;
glory to your *bema*, your seat that gives . . .

9 May also the soul of Maria have access to your mercy, my master.

79. The profits of fasting

This is kephalaion 79: 'Concerning the Fasting of the Saints' (191.9–192.3).

Once more the enlightener speaks to his disciples: 'The fasting that the saints fast by is profitable for four great works.

The first work: Shall the holy man punish his body by fasting, he [15] subdues the entire ruling-power that exists in him.

The second: This soul that comes in to him in the administration of his food, day by day; it shall be made holy, cleansed, purified, and washed from the adulteration of the darkness that is mixed in with it.

The third: [20] That person shall make every deed a holy one; the mystery of the children of light in whom there is neither corruption nor . . . the food, nor wound it. Rather, they are holy, there is nothing in them that defiles, as they live in peace.

The fourth: They make a . . . [25] . . . the Cross, they restrain their hands from the hand . . . not destroy the living soul.

The fasting is profitable to the saints for these four great works should they persist; that is if they are constant in them daily, and cause the body to make all its [30] members to fast with a holy fast.

. . . faith. They who have not strength to fast daily should make their fast **192** on the lord's day. They too make a contribution to the works and the fasting of the saints by their faith and their alms.'

80. A psalm of endurance

This (*PsBk2*. 141.1–143.34 ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted I. Gardner) is one of the 'psalms of the wanderers', those ascetics who personified the ideal Manichaean elect. 'Endurance' (here the Greek ὑπομονή or Coptic ⲃⲓ ϩⲁ ⲛ) or 'long-sufferingness'

(to translate literally the Coptic term ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲁⲣⲯϩⲏⲧ) may well be said to identify the most characteristic tone of the Manichaean ethic, its very summation of life lived in this world.

141 . . . spirit of endurance come to us,
let endurance endure and let us bear up that we may
. . . endurance.
. . . the First Man, he was sent out to the fight,
and endurance came to him.
He left his land of light behind him, he went out to the land of darkness
and endurance came to him.
He left also his people behind him, he went out to the field . . .
and endurance came to him.

. . . of the gods, he came to the border of the man-eaters.
Endurance
. . . in the midst of the . . . ,[5] he came that he might raise it (?)
Endurance
. . . the angels, he came to the rampart (?)[6] of the robbers.
Endurance
. . . , he gave them as food to the beasts.
Endurance
. . . they going forth, knowing that they would fall into trouble.
Endurance
. . . not a need which came upon them.
Endurance
. . . to trouble until they saved the . . .
Endurance
. . . also are the enduring ones at this time.
Let (. . .)
(The five) weight-carriers that support the weight of the enemy.
Endurance
They are the five sons of the father, the Living Spirit.
Endurance
. . . that bears up, that comes from the heights to the depths.
Endurance

[5] The word means 'rose' in its other occurrences in Manichaean Coptic texts, but must express something else here.
[6] For this reading see Allberry, *PsBk2.*, note.

. . . overseers that . . . the prison.

Endurance

142 Yet they wearied not . . .
The Father himself also who is silent . . .
The second man, Adam, fell into . . .
Sethel also, his son: his endurance is great.
. . . seventy-three years . . .
Enosh also and Noah, Shem . . .
The righteous who were burnt in the fire, they endured.
This multitude that were wiped out: four thousand . . .
Enoch also, the sage, the transgressors being . . .

All the blessed that have been have endured these pains,
down to the glorious one, the beloved, Jesus, our lord:
they put a crown of thorns on him, they . . . ;
they smote him in his face, they spat upon him;
they hung him to a cross, they nailed to him four . . . ;
wine, vinegar, and myrrh they gave him and he took them.
All these things which he suffered he endured for our sake.

All the apostles that endured their pains:
Peter the apostle, who was crucified upside down:
how many tortures did he suffer, . . . with this purity.

Andrew the apostle, they set fire to the house beneath him:
he and his disciples, all hail to them, they were crucified.

The two sons of Zebedee were made to drink the cup of the . . . :
John the virgin, he also was made to drink the cup,
fourteen days imprisoned that he might die of (hunger);
And James also, he was stoned and killed,
they all threw their stone at him that he might die beneath the storm.

The same things also did Thomas endure in his cross:
four soldiers at once pierced him with the point of the lance,
they surrounded him on four sides and made his blood flow . . .
how many mysteries did he perform, many a sign did he fulfil.

Paul the apostle, they went against him that they might kill him:
how great then is their wrath, he expired, he did not escape;

I therefore too have endured the things which he suffered before today.[7]

143 he was thrown into a basket and hung outside the wall;
all these things he suffered, he did not weary, he did not flinch;
he left the open court of the lord, knowing that . . .

Thecla, the lover of God, who was made to go up on the fire:
she received the sign of the cross, she walked into the fire rejoicing;
yet was she not ashamed, naked in the midst of the crowd;
she was thrown to the bears, the lions were let loose to her;
she was bound to the bulls, the seals were let loose to her;
all these things that she suffered, she did not flinch, she did not . . them;
a crown it is that she desires, it is purity for which she fights.

The blessed Drusiane also, she also suffered the same:
fourteen days imprisoned like her master, her apostle.

Maximilla and Aristobula, on them was great torture inflicted:
what need for them to suffer these things, it is purity for which they fight.

All the godly that there have been, male, female, all have suffered;
down to the glorious one, the apostle Mani the living.

Our lord Manichaios himself also was made to drink the cup:
he received the likeness of them all, he fulfilled all their signs.
How many of his disciples also received the likeness of their fathers?

We also, my brethren, have our part of suffering:
we shall join with them in the suffering and rest in their rest;
the covenant of our father, the profit and the loss are divided between us;
we are true sons, the heirs of their fathers;

There is nothing that is free from suffering that will rest in the end:
the very seed also that is sown, unless it dies, finds not the way to live,
but by its death it lives and gives life also.

[7] This line has been inserted at the page end, in the midst of a verse celebrating Paul.

Let us make ourselves strong also, my brethren; for lo, the rest has reached us,
that we may receive the blessing of all whereof we have spoken,
and dwell with one another in the glorious land of light,
with no foe and no enemy and no adversary from henceforth,
but it is peace and joy and life eternal.
Lo, this is the end of the psalm of endurance.

Glory and honour to our lord, our light, Mani the living, who
endured to the end, and his holy elect, and the soul (of Maria).

81. Augustine on Manichaean ethics

Aug., *ep.* 236.2.[8]

Those who are called hearers among them eat flesh and meat, till the soil, and, if they wish, have wives; but those called elect do none of these things. The hearers kneel before the elect that these may lay a hand on the suppliant, and this is done not only toward their priests or bishops or deacons, but toward any of the elect. Like these, they adore and pray to the sun and moon. Like them, they fast on Sunday; like them, they believe all the blasphemies for which the heresy of the Manichaeans is to be abominated, denying, for example, that Christ was born of a virgin, claiming that his body was not real but apparent, and for this reason insisting that his passion was apparent, too, and that there was no resurrection. They revile the patriarchs and prophets. They say that the law given through Moses, the servant of God, did not come from the true God, but from the Prince of Darkness. They think that the souls of men as well as of beasts are of the substance of God and are, in fact, pieces of God. Finally, they say that the good and true God fought with the tribe of darkness and left a part of himself mingled with the Prince of Darkness, and they assert that this part, spread over the world, defiled and bound, is purified by the food of the elect and by the sun and moon; and whatever is left of that part of God which cannot be purified is bound with an everlasting and penal bond at the end of the world. As a consequence, they believe that God is not only subject to violation, corruption, and contamination, since it was possible for a part of Him to be brought to such an evil pass, but the whole God cannot even

[8] Ed. Goldbacher 524.12–525.11; trans. Parsons (1956) 180–1. §§1 and 3 of the letter are given in **39** (ch. 3, *supra*).

be purified from such foulness and filthiness and misery even at the end of the world.

Augustine on the Manichaean preference for money-lending over farming (Latin).[9]

Hear the common and abominable error of the Manichaeans which they confess: They say it is better for a man to be a usurer than a farmer. You ask, 'Why?', and they repeat the reason. See if the reason is not to be called madness. For, they say, the person who gives money on usury does not injure the Cross of Light.[10] (Many do not understand, but let me explain.) However, the person who is a farmer very much harms the Cross of Light. You ask, 'What Cross of Light?' Those parts, they say, of God which were captured in that battle were mixed altogether with the world and are in the trees, plants, fruit trees and fruit.

He who furrows the ground annoys God's parts. He who plucks fruit from a tree annoys God's parts. Lest he should commit these spurious murders on the land, he commits true murders in usury. He does not give food to him who begs. See if there can be greater evil than this justice. He does not give food to him who begs. You ask, 'Why?' Lest the beggar receive the life which is in food and which they say is a part of God, the divine substance, and they despatch it in the flesh. What then are you? What? Why do you beg? Do you not have flesh? But, they say, because we are illuminated by the faith of Manichaeus, by our prayers and psalms we who are elect purify thereupon the life which is in the food and send it to the heavenly treasury. The elect are such that they are not to be saved by God but are the saviours of God. And Christ himself, they say, was crucified in the whole world.

82. Augustine on the redemption of the light particles

The apparent reverence that the Manichaeans held for vegetation over animal and human life (in reality: reverence for the divine) was a profitable theme for Augustine's attack, and he made good use of his rhetorical skills on this theme. In this passage (Latin)[11] one can easily read the implied comparison to Christian charity.

It is worthwhile to know the full reason for this superstitious abstinence. Here, then, is the explanation. Since it is said, a part of God was mixed

[9] Aug., *enarrationes in Psalmos*, CXL.12 (lines 2–26), eds. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, CCSL XL (Turnhout, 1956) 2034–5; trans. S. Llewelyn.

[10] The Cross of Light signifies the suffering (or crucifixion) of light-particles in plant- and animal-life.

[11] Aug., *de mor. Manic.* XV.36, ed. cit. 121.1–22; trans. cit. 90–1.

with the substance of evil in order to restrain it and to suppress any furious outbreaks (these are your own words), the world was made of a mixture of both natures, good and evil. However, the divine part is being released daily from all parts of the world and returning to its own domain; but as it comes up through the earth and rises toward heaven, it enters the plants, their roots being fixed in the ground, and gives life and fertility to the grass and other vegetation. The animals eat the plants, and if they mate, imprison the divine part in their flesh, thus diverting it from its rightful course and causing it to become enmeshed in hardship and error. However, when food prepared from fruits and vegetables is served to the holy men, that is, to the Manichaeans, whatever is of true worth and is divine in it is purified by the chastity, prayers and psalms of these men, and is perfected in every way, so that it can return to its own domain free of all defilement. That is why you forbid anyone to give bread, vegetables, or even water (which everyone has in abundance) to a beggar if he is not a Manichaean, for fear that the part of God which is mixed with these things will be defiled by his sins and thus hindered in its return.

83. A psalm of the universal soul

Psalms to the living soul are one of the major categories in the extensive surviving Manichaean literature. This example (psalm 246, *PsBk2*. 54.7–55.15, ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted I. Gardner) is notable for its powerful panentheistic imagery. A version of this psalm (parallel to 55.3ff) was also found at Ismant el-Kharab (*P. Kell.* II Copt. 1), from which it has been possible to make some improvements to Allberry's text. Interestingly, that version exhibits no doxology.

(Psalm) 246

54 Come to me, my kinsman, the light, my guide.
. . . my soul, bear up: you have your saviour:
(your) defence is Christ, for he will receive you into his kingdom.

Since I went forth into the darkness I was given a water to drink which . . . me;
I bear up beneath a burden which is not my own.
I am in the midst of my enemies, the beasts surrounding me;
the burden which I bear is of the powers and principalities.

They blazed in their wrath, they rose up against me,
they ran to . . . me, like sheep that have no shepherd.
Matter and her sons divided me up amongst them,
they burnt me in their fire, they gave me a bitter likeness.

The strangers with whom I mixed, me they know not;
they tasted my sweetness, they desired to keep me with them.
I was life to them, but they were death to me;
I bore up beneath them, they wore me as a garment upon them.

I am in everything, I bear the skies, I am the foundation, I support the earths,
I am the light that shines forth, that gives joy to souls.
I am the life of the world, I am the milk that is in all trees,
I am the sweet water that is beneath the sons of matter.

55 . . . I went forth to the . . .
. . . the aeons . . . they sent me forth to the . . .
I will bear up under these things until I fulfil the will of my father;
the First Man is my father, the one who perfected his struggle.

Lo, the darkness I have subdued;
lo, the fire of the demons I have extinguished.
The sphere turns quickly,
while the lights purify the life.

O soul, raise your eyes to the heights, and you see your form:
lo, the mother, you have reached her; lo, your fathers, they call upon you.
Go aboard your ships of light and receive your glorious crown;
and return to your kingdom and rejoice with all the aeons.

Glory and honour to our lord Mani the living,
(and his) holy elect; and the soul of the blessed (Maria).

84. A psalm to glorify the Mind

This (*PsBk2*.162.21–163.32, ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted Iain Gardner) is from 'the psalms of the wanderers' in the Medinet Madi codex.

162 (With) our holy voice we glorify the Mind:
(for if he) lodges with us we give holy fruit.

(O) father, o Light Mind, come and wear me,
(until) I have recited the woe of the son of man.

(My) lord Jesus, come and wear me,
until I purify the body of the First Man.

O compassion of glory, daughter of the Father of the Lights,
. . . all, none knows your honour.

. . . make music, children only of the Paraclete,
they that have . . . you, . . . weeping daily for your wounds.

You are the two-edged axe,
163 wherewith they cut the bitter root.

You are the . . . that is in the hand of the virgin,
which was thrust into the heart of the enemy.

You are the first ship (?) of the first warrior,
wherein they caught the thieves that rebelled.

You are the first weapon of the first hero,
which was brandished behind the foe that arose.

(You are the) church of the father, the First Man;
(you are the) vineyard of the first husbandman.

You are the eye of plenty that came with the abundance,
until it had closed the eyes of the malignant ones.

(How great) is your fortitude, o daughter of wisdom:
for you have not yet wearied, watching over the enemy.

For you the ships are waiting on high,
that they may draw you up and take you to the light.

Lo, the Perfect Man is stretched out (in the middle of) the universe,
that you may walk in him and receive (your) unfading (crowns).

Lo, the five porters are spread over the world,
that your heart may not suffer and that you may cast the burden from off you.

(Lo, the) righteous will illumine you;
lo, the forgiveness of sins of the catechumens of the faith.

(Lo,) the medicine-chest of the physician will heal your wounds;
lo, the knowledge and the wisdom will put your clothes upon you.

(Walk,) therefore, in joy, drawn to the land of light,
sealed with your seal and with your unfading crowns.

Walk also in gladness: your sufferings have passed today;
lo, the harbour of peace: you have moored in it.

Glory to this compassion and to them that purify it,
and to them that save it, the catechumens of the faith.

Peace and rest be there to the soul
(of the) blessed Maria, Theona.

85. Mani's discourse on the 'assent' and the 'amen'

For many years the edited and published text of the *Kephalaia* ended in the midst of this chapter at page 291 (Böhlig 1966); although page 292 had been made available in an article that discussed the liturgical context (Böhlig 1985). Then, for his English translation of the published portion of the codex (1995), I. Gardner utilised W.-P. Funk's working text of the Coptic to publish a draft of the entire kephalaion. Finally, in 1999, Funk published the complete edited text. Since this contains many improved readings[12] over the version utilised by Gardner, we take this opportunity to provide a revised English translation.

(291.4–292.8) The assent and the amen (or perhaps better: the 'yea' and the 'truly') are convictions proclaimed by the community at prayer; as in Christian practice. In this chapter Mani asserts their divine archetypes in the summons and the obedience, the two gods that embody the will to redemption. Thus the First Man was redeemed from the abyss; and in the present time they are incarnate in the holy church. Therefore, the assent and the amen uttered by the congregation seal the redemption for which they ask.

(292.9–25) The assent and the amen also bear forth a beautiful living image sculpted by the faith of the believers; and which ascends daily to the land of rest.

(292.26–294.22) The assent and the amen are also a great power; for in prayer they bring help both to the sick and at times of temptation. Various examples and analogies are given.

[12] Funk has made further improvements even after his 1999 publication (personal correspondence), and these have been followed here in advance of the publication of his projected 'addenda and corrigenda'.

Once again, one of the disciples . . . to him: 'Tell me, my master, . . . **291** . . . the name that we may utter over the blessing . . . we bless, and also the prayer by which we pray. Tell us: What is the 'assent' and the 'amen'?'

Our enlightener says to him: 'The assent and the amen [5] have come about from these great ones of the powers. They were given the name as the assent belongs to the summons and the amen belongs to the answer.

Just as the summons and the obedience are the ones that opened the portals of mercy and entreaty for the First Man, so they also became portals for the Mother [10] of Life and the Father of the living. The First Man sought and found his redeemer. And also the Mother of Life and the Father of the living sought . . . this runner, who came forth from them, who is the First Man; but the summons and the obedience became the [15] portals for them.

Now, in this way they have become portals for the aeons of greatness towards the First Man, and the soul that was conjoined with death. They became helpers . . . of the First Man during his ascent. They gave him . . . the Father of Life and the Mother of Life . . . [20] They are purifiers of the living soul, being helpers and bestowers of remembrance for it, be it either in . . . in the tree or in the creation of flesh . . . the holy church . . . the earth . . . summons and the obedience that [25] . . . the portals . . . in the holy church . . . helpers, bestowers of power and collectors . . . teacher . . . purified for their sake . . . [30] . . . a letter . . . **292** that it might be uttered over the psalm and over the prayer, with the entreaty and the supplication. For, whenever one will bless and respond to the assent and the amen, the assent and the amen shall be a seal for the blessing. Also, when [5] the congregation will beseech an entreaty with a question, and they all answer and say 'verily and amen', they shall seal the entreaty that the congregation has asked for and besought.

Happen you know that the assent and the amen are a great person [10] who exists in your midst. Call upon him, all of you, and rejoice in him with great joy; because he has come to you for your benefit. He has pledged, in your presence, to bring forth by him a new birth daily, very good and honoured before the living ones above. [15] So, when great crowds of people utter the assent and the amen, happen you know that the sound of all the people who respond shall collect and come together, and it fixes and sculpts and is formed and makes a good image, very beautiful [20] and honoured. It goes up to the land of tranquillity and peace, and they all give thanks; because a great blessing (?) is gathered, which has ascended

from all these who responded. For it was uttered by them all. It separated and attained the land of tranquillity [25] and peace by their joy and their mercies.

Happen you know that the assent and this amen are a great power. Whenever one will be found in . . . in bodily danger . . . sick . . . they pray for him . . . and they utter [30] over him the assent and the amen; and . . . in his sickness, and he improves . . . through a power, and they entreat . . . **293** . . . utter it over him. Now, if it happens that you find one amongst you under the hand of the persecutors . . . and you pray for him and call upon him the assent and the amen; then [5] a great help comes to him from the assent and the amen, which will be called upon him.

Again, if it happens that you find one amongst the elect who is not good; in whom lust (?) is awakened, and it is established against him . . . by the evil counsels, and he is set firm and stands [10] with his brothers and confesses his sin. So, if at first he will beseech for himself mercy, that if God will spare (?) him that temptation; and also if his brothers will confirm his condition; they will pray and call over him the assent and the amen. And [15] immediately there is a power come from the assent and the amen, and it annuls the lust and the temptation that he has carried around in him. And also, whenever a prayer will be besought over that person; as they call for the assent and the amen, he will hear it being uttered . . . [20] . . . a great power comes to him out from the assent and the amen; and it helps him and it makes . . . through his temptations. And the power of the assent and the amen goes up to the ships, and it is sculpted to a single image. That image . . . [25] . . . upon him the prayer, and it . . . and it fortifies him and gives strength . . . through it.

So, this amen is like the way a person might go on a path (?) . . . his goods . . . [30] . . . Now, whenever he may see it . . . **294** . . . from him entirely, and they . . . However, the time that he may . . . his cry in . . . [5] . . . and they who . . . on the path, they will . . . and he is saved . . . Now, whenever these . . . against the cry of this person . . . ; but his enemies who took his goods . . . [10] . . . he will again be saved because of these . . . on account of this cry . . . which he has cast (shouted out?).

Again, this is just like that elect . . . they will release a sickness of the body [15] . . . and an evil counsel oppresses him, and he . . . and he prays; and they again call upon him the assent and the amen . . . which is master . . . walls . . . is master to the heavens and the ships of the . . . [20] . . . from them; and it comes and is a helper . . . Whenever . . . the assent and the amen.

Behold, I have opened your eyes about the assent and the amen, that they are a great power. On account of this, . . . go up . . . from before . . . when you utter it and call it . . . upon him . . . answer you . . . the assent and the amen can answer you.'

One amongst those standing . . . says . . . **295** . . . 'the persecutors . . . him . . . the assent and the amen . . . shall be uttered from God, who is the one who can . . . that they might utter it?'

The apostle says: 'It was given a name in the world by the apostles and the first fathers; the sects brought it fame, but they did not know.'

Then, when that disciple had heard this simile, he glorified, blessed, and sat down.

86. The nature of love

This is kephalaion 63, entitled: 'Concerning Love' (155.30–156.34). Mani reveals the divine nature of love, which is manifested in the world in the church. In contrast, hate is the nature of the darkness; but it too is present in this time of mixture.

Once again he speaks to his disciples: 'What is love? . . . each . . . , calling it 'love'.

156 Love is the Father of Greatness, who dwells in his glorious land. The entirety of the divine has been revealed therein! These two are a single living body, the Father and his love; because he has given himself for every thing, as he exists in his aeons. Indeed, due to this, they called the Father, the Lord of the totality, 'love'. For he gave the victory to his aeons and his limbs.

Again, the beginning of all the righteousness and the divine that dwells in the holy church; they have also called it 'love'. As indeed the church is made strong therein! These two, the Mind and the church, a single body is also their likeness; because, again, the apostle too shall give his own self for his church. And again, due to this, the church too calls him 'love'. So is it written: There is no love greater than this, for someone to give himself to death for his friend.[13] Likewise, too, the beginning of righteousness is made of love for the church, according both to body and to spirit. While in the body, in the church here; so in the spirit, in the heights above.'

Once again he speaks: 'What, conversely, is hate? Hate is the first death that welled up. It revealed the land of darkness. This one called 'hate', because it has ruined all its perdition's offspring; it sinned even against a power foreign to it, and ruined it. Due to this they shall call it 'hated';

[13] Cf. John 15:13.

for it has caused destruction, both wounding in flesh, and what is not its own. Today again it causes wounding and destruction in all flesh. It kills them all with diverse deaths; these that are displayed today in everything, in every type. Even the Cross of Light, the **30** living soul, likewise too it ruins and kills them; as it did at the start. Indeed, due to this have they called it 'hated', this one from the hated; the envy from the envy; the devil from the devil; the bad that came about from the bad.'

87. A psalm in praise of Jesus

Manichaeism developed a very extensive tradition of psalm-composition, and these remain as a most distinctive and impressive memorial to the community and to the faith of its practitioners. A great many of the psalms were dedicated to Jesus, (this is true of the eastern literature as well as the western, despite the general Buddhist – rather than Christian – cultural environment), which can be taken as indicative of the major power of this figure in devotion throughout the Manichaean world and in all its ages. The following example (*PsBk2*.151.4–152.9 ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted by Iain Gardner) belongs to a group entitled ψαλμοὶ Σαρακωτῶν i.e. the 'psalms of the wanderers' (wandering ascetics).

151 Jesus my true guard, may you guard me: first-
5 born of the Father of the Lights, may you guard me.
(You) are the living wine, the child of the true vine.
Give us to drink a living wine from your vine.
In the midst of the sea, Jesus, guide me.
Do not abandon us that the waves may not seize us.
10 When I utter your name over the sea it stills its waves.
Who will not rejoice when the sun is about to rise on him?
You are a perfect day, being like unto your Father in the heavens.
(You) invite us: you have broached for us a (new) wine.
They that drink your wine, their heart rejoices in it.
15 They are drunk with your love and gladness is spread over their . . .
They think of them that are on high, and arm themselves to fight against the dragon.
The word of God is sweet when it finds ears to hear it.
It lodges not in a mind that is shut, it makes not its way to a shrine that is polluted.
It lodges with the maidens and dwells in the heart of the continent.

They with whom it lodges: its grace spreads over them.
They gird up their loins and arm themselves to fight with the dragon.
This name 'Jesus': a grace surrounds it.
Your burden is light for him that can bear it.
How great a lover of man you are, o Jesus, the first rose of the Father.
How kindly you are . . . the kindly one of the gods.
When I think of you, my lord, great is the fear that surrounds me.
When I would glorify you, I find not to whom I should liken you.
When I seek you I find you within illumining me.
Perhaps I too am worthy to (hear) the divine call.
. . . myself to you, fair is your glory in my mouth, my lord.
The ship of Jesus has come to port, laden with crowns and lush palms.

152

It is Jesus who steers it, he will put in for us until we embark.
The holy ones are they whom he takes, the maidens are they whom he . . .
Let us also make ourselves pure that we may make our voyage . . .
The ship of Jesus will make its way up to the heights.
It will bring its cargo to the shore and return for them that are left behind.
They are the . . . that are spread in the deceit of life.
He will . . . bring them to the harbour of the immortals.
(It is laden with) crowns and lush palms for ever and ever.
(Victory) and rest be there to the soul of Maria.

88. A psalm to the Trinity

PsBk2.115.4–116.23 (ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted Iain Gardner).

115

. . . for ever, even the Father, the King of . . .
. . .
our own . . . is the Holy Spirit.

(The Father) of Greatness is the Father,

the . . . (of the) sufferer is the Son . . .
. . . of life is the Holy Spirit.

(A) raiser of the dead is the Father,
a conqueror himself of death is the Son,
a gatherer (?) of his own is the Holy Spirit.

A hidden one from everlasting is the Father,
the word that appears is the Son,
the . . . is the Holy Spirit.

An intellectual intelligence entire is the Father,
but a stranger to the world is the Son,
the path of the aeons is the Holy Spirit.

A perfect rich one is the Father,
the proclamation of the hidden things is the Son,
the silence of them that . . . is the Holy Spirit.

He that has power over the universe is the Father,
he that . . . the Father is the Son,
the light of the aeons is the Holy Spirit.

The Father rejoices always,
the Son also makes music to the Father,
but his is wisdom entire, even the Holy Spirit.

May we ourselves generate love towards the Father,
the faith which is in us towards the Son,
the fear of our heart towards the Holy Spirit.

The seal of the mouth for the sign of the Father,
the peace of the hands for the sign of the Son,
the purity of virginity for the sign of the Holy Spirit.

116 Pious love for the sign of the Father,
the knowledge of wisdom for the sign of the Son,
the fulfilment of the commandments for the sign of the Holy Spirit.

The light that is on high is the Father,
the power of God that supports the totality is the Son,
the wisdom that looks forth is the Holy Spirit.

Jesus, the tree of life, is the father;
the fruit, the Light Mind, is the son;
the Virgin, this sweet one, is the holy spirit.

Jesus, the glorious, is the father,
the blessed Light Mind is the son,
the Virgin of Light is the holy spirit.

Let us pray then, my brethren, that we may find the Father,
and fast daily that we may find the Son,
and discipline our life that we may find the Holy Spirit.

Let us seal our mouth that we may find the Father,
and seal our hands that we may find the Son,
and guard our purity that we may find the Holy Spirit.

Glory to our lord Mani the living through the Father,
honour to his elect through the Son,
blessing to his catechumens through the Holy Spirit.

Victory and salvation may there be through them to the soul of the blessed Maria.

89. A prayer for the ascent of the soul

This text is probably a liturgical prayer intended to reinforce the faith in the face of death. The shifting person of the subject makes the flow of the text rather disjointed. The first person 'I' must be the individual believer, here as the redeemed soul. 'He' is the saviour figure: initially the Ambassador, then Jesus and then Mani and so on. The feminine of lines 120–1 is the image; this could be translated as 'it', but the personification seems preferable. The third plurals at lines 128 and 137 can perhaps better be read as passives: 'I was given . . .'.

Thus, the text may be understood as follows:

the individual takes upon him- or herself, 'I *will* pray to the Third Ambassador . . .';
then the awareness of a continuous present, 'He *is* sending to me Jesus the Splendour . . .';
then the statement of a kind of triumphant past, 'They *have* ferried me up to the land of light . . .'.

As regards the details of the path to salvation, these remained remarkably constant across the Manichaean world, and must stem from Mani's own canonical writings. In the tenth century an-Nadīm recorded:

Mani said:

When death comes to one of the elect, Primal Man sends him a shining deity in the form of the wise guide. With him are three deities, with whom there are the drinking vessel (or 'the victory prize' ?), clothing, headcloth, crown, and diadem of light. There accompanies them a virgin who resembles the soul of that member of the elect.

Then there appear to him the devil of craving and lust and the (other) devils. When the member of the elect sees them, he seeks the aid of the deity who is in the form of the wise, and the three deities who come close to him. When the devils see them, they turn back fleeing. Then they take the member of the elect and garb him with the crown, the diadem, and the garments. They place the drinking vessel in his hand and mount up with him in the Column of Praise to the sphere of the moon, to Primal Man and al-Bahijah, Mother of the Living, to where he at first was in the gardens of light. As for the body which is abandoned and cast down . . . [14]

The specific Coptic terminology in this present piece (*T. Kell. Copt.* 2, text A 5) is found also in the Medinet Madi codices. The use of the perfect tense is at first surprising, since the final revelation of the Father must be in the future, after the destruction of the universe. However, the tense should be understood poetically, noting that Coptic has no future perfect. There occurs the same anticipation in the *Psalm-Book*:

> Christ, my bridegroom, has taken me to his bridechamber:
> I have rested with him in the land of the immortals;
> my brethren, I have received my garland.
> (My) land I have beheld, my fathers I have found:
> the godly have rejoiced over me, my aeons have welcomed me;
> my brethren, I have received my crown.[15]

(I will?) pray to the Third Ambassador. He sent unto me Jesus the Splendour, the apostle of light, the redeemer of souls. He (bore (?)) me to the Light Mind, the Virgin of Light. The spirit of truth, our lord Manichaios, he gave to me his knowledge. He made me strong in his faith. He has fulfilled me in his commandments. The image of my counterpart came unto me, with her three angels. She gave to me the garment and the crown and the palm and the victory. He took me to the judge without any shame; for what he entrusted to me I have perfected. I washed in the Pillar. I was perfected in the Perfect Man. They gave me my first mind in the living atmosphere. I rose up to the ship of living water; unto the father, the First Man. He gave me his image, his blessing, and his love. I rose

[14] Trans. Dodge (1970), 795 (slightly adapted).
[15] *PsBk2*. 63.3–8 (ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted Gardner).

up to the ship of living fire; unto the Third Ambassador, the apostle of light, the good father. They ferried me up to the land of light, to the first righteous one and the Beloved of the Lights. I came to rest in the kingdom of the household (?);[16] for the Father of the Lights has revealed to me his image.

[16] Or: '. . . the kingdom of this one'.

CHAPTER 7

Community texts

As we have seen, the study of Manichaeism has been transformed by the discoveries of actual primary sources written by members of the community itself. This marked an enormous step forward over the prior reliance on accounts by mostly hostile opponents. Nevertheless, finds such as the Medinet Madi library and the *Mani Codex* have been of literary texts, and are still divorced from the presence of the living communities who created and used them. Thus, a further transformation of the discipline can be claimed for the recovery of Manichaean documentary texts, which evidence this living presence and the actual practice of the faith.

Most notable, in this regard, is the substantial archive of Coptic and Greek personal letters recovered from House Three at Ismant el-Kharab, many of which provide evidence of having been written by Manichaeans. The correlation between these, the fragments of Manichaean religious texts from the same site, and the material context excavated by professional archaeologists, provides a first opportunity to study this actuality of the community in the Roman Empire of the fourth century. A further consequence of now knowing how Manichaeans communicated and related to each other, and the specifics of their epistolary conventions, is that it has been possible already to re-classify two previously known documents as Manichaean,[1] with the promise of further such developments in the future. All of this substantially advances our understanding of what it meant to belong to that community, and of how believers constructed their identity especially in relation to Christians. It now becomes apparent how fierce was the struggle between the two religions in their opposing claims upon the gospel.

These points are illustrated by this letter by Besas to his mother, which may very well claim to be the earliest known Manichaean text from the Roman Empire:

To my most honoured mother Maria, (from) Besas, many greetings in God.

Before everything: I pray to the Father, God of Truth, and to the Paraclete Spirit, that they may preserve you in soul and body and spirit; for the body health, for the spirit joy, and for the soul life eternal. And you, if you find someone coming to me, do not hesitate to write to me concerning your

[1] These are the Greek personal letters *P. Oxy.* XXXI 2603 (ed. Harrop (1962)) and *P. Harr.* I 107 (ed. J. Enoch Powell, 1936). For further discussion and references see: Gardner, Nobbs, and Choat (2000).



Figure 7.1. General view of Ismant el-Kharab (ancient Kellis)

health so I might hear and rejoice. Do not hesitate to send me the cloak for the pascha festival, and send to me my brother.

Greet my father and my brothers. I pray for your health for many years.[2]

90. The advent of Mani

This is the very important first kephalaion (9. 11–16.31: 'Concerning the Advent of the Apostle'), which is concerned with establishing the authenticity of Mani's role and teaching in terms of the history of revelation. It contains material about Mani's own self-understanding of his divinely ordained evangelical purpose.

The succession of apostles and churches is compared to the continuous cycle of seedtime and harvest. Each new apostle releases the spiritual forms of his church, (the heavenly twin motif that is prevalent in Manichaean thought); and then is sent to earth to sow the seed of his election, at the very moment when the previous church finally ripens to harvest and ascends. Thus, there is no moment when the world is bereft of the means of salvation (see 11.26–7).

This recognition of the authenticity of each cycle of revelation is one of the most striking aspects of Mani's teaching. While Mani is likely to have developed it from the concept of the true prophet, found in his Elchasaite heritage and other

[2] *P. Harr.* 1 107, trans. Gardner, Nobbs, and Choat (2000) 118–19. To be dated late 3rd or early 4th C. AD.

Jewish-Christian sects; and it also owes something to Marcion's idea of the renewal of Jesus's true revelation by Paul and himself; nevertheless, the universal application seems to be the product of Mani's particular religious genius. It also, by an historical connection which is not yet clear, may well have influenced the notion of cycles of prophecy that appears in emergent Islam.

The chain of apostles is traced from Sethel, (as in other gnostic teachings), through Enosh and Enoch to Sem. Two figures from Indian tradition are then included, the Buddha and Aurentes (from 'arhant'?); and finally Zarathustra and Jesus. Other Manichaean texts provide similar lists, and the concept was open-ended enough to allow the inclusion of further apostles such as Hermes Trismegistus or Lao-tzu to accord with the missionary expansion of the religion. Nevertheless, while universality is obviously the intention, it is noticeable that only Jesus receives any significant detail or historical context. It is difficult to find evidence that Mani had any real knowledge of the lives and teachings of figures such as the Buddha.

Docetic emphases that can be traced back to Marcion are embedded in the Manichaean accounts of Jesus. This kephalaion is particularly interesting for an understanding of Mani's religious heritage because he follows the chain of apostles from Jesus to Paul, and then to two (?) righteous men in the Christian church (13.30–5). The identity of these figures has been much debated, but are presumably Marcion and perhaps Bardaiṣan.

After the ascent of the church of Jesus Mani's apostolate begins. Thus, the authority of later Christianity is rejected. As he foretold, according to the gospel of John, Jesus sends after him the Paraclete. This is Mani's own Twin-Spirit who reveals to him the totality of truth, the knowledge that Mani will then preach and write in his canonical scriptures. The summary of the essentials of revelation given here (14.27–15.24) is one of the best known from Manichaean texts; and has an almost creedal ring to it. Mani finishes with a brief summary of his missionary journeys, and repeats his claim to direct revelation. His own apostolate is superior to those before him because it has spread throughout the world; and thus it will last till the final judgement and the return of Jesus (16.3–17).

In the framing sequence at the end the disciples are enlightened and thank Mani; and assert that he is the Paraclete. Thus he has become one with his heavenly Twin, 'a single Spirit' (see 15.23–24).

15 The first chapter is this: His disciples questioned him concerning his apostolate and his coming to the world; for how did it happen . . . his journeying in each city, in each land; in what manner was he sent . . . **20** . . . first, before he had yet chosen his church.

The apostle says to them: 'I . . . but I will recount to you . . . Understand, o my beloved ones: All the apostles **25** who are on occasion sent to the world resemble farmers; while their churches, which they choose, are like (the Egyptian months of) Parmuthi and Paophi. For, the way Parmuthi occurs not in all the months of the year; nor does Paophi . . . in all of them. Rather,

the season . . . [30] . . . for it alone, as they know . . . its vegetables . . . the time they are cropped; also the vegetables and the . . . season; and they tend and ripen the pickings, and they . . . to Paophi. Of course, now that farmer **10** . . . Parmuthi; in that, if he will come and sow some corn seed there . . . cereal. And he shall be involved from the beginning . . . a corn seed and toil for it. Yet when the summer comes each year, and his corn comes to the season of its harvest; [5] then the farmer comes forth and harvests it. Even the gardener from the beginning . . . shall toil for his fruits; and he tends them and he . . . and they ripen; and he comes forth and picks them from the tree.

This is the way of the apostles who are come to the world. They are like a . . . of the greatness . . . the season that . . . [10] . . . flesh. Rather, they are sent before . . . before they had yet . . . in the world . . . from the greatness. They . . . to the whole created order; and they choose a selection of the . . . , as they make . . . the elect and the catechumens . . . [15] . . . their forms, and they make them free . . . in the flesh . . . the world . . . to above . . . as he may make his . . . the winter, and he harvests it [20] . . . also tend to the fruit in the summer and the . . . Paophi, and he takes them away.

Also the way . . . many years before . . . the world, as he journeys below to the . . . makes the form of his church free, and . . . [25] . . . of the flesh, whose forms he had made free . . .

Like the farmer, for when he will . . . that moment he shall begin . . . tend . . . it reaches Parmuthi also, he may harvest it . . . toil for the fruits of Paophi . . . [30] . . .

Again, this too is how the apostles . . . from the beginning of the moulding of humanity . . . as I have told you, that when they . . . before every thing he shall . . . free above, first.

Yet, when **11** it will be born in the flesh, he shall come down to it and at once . . . it in the . . . which comes out from the . . . is raised up to the greatness. He shall continue in the world at this time . . . him, corresponding to the season when the world will come to his . . . [5] when the season will mature he is raised up from the world . . . and he leaves his church behind (?) and goes forth. Still, he . . . and he helps and aids his church. Whoever comes out from their body after him, he shall become for them a support and a leader; and he goes on before them . . . , [10] excepting the others who are set firmly in the flesh. He is the one who will become for them a helper and a guardian; he shall not take . . . in secret, until his church . . . change it . . . when his church . . . [15] . . . he was raised up after it, and went in to the land of glory. And he rejoices and rests at the last . . .

Like the farmer who shall be glad of heart in . . . he was bringing in (the harvest). Or like the merchant who shall come up from a country with the doubling of his great cargo, and the riches of his [20] trading.

When the apostle will be raised up from the world, he and his church . . . for every apostle . . . in the . . . Since . . . tree, that still is laden with its first fruits [25] . . . , and they are picked; they shall propagate other ones there, and they mature to the season to bring them forth. There is not any time the tree is bare of fruit! Rather, instead, those about to ripen as they pick them shall propagate other ones there. When they bear these . . . them on the tree; they come up and are brought forth upon its branches. [30] They shall pick from it those that mature and ripen. The farmer does not rest at any time from the labour and the pain. At what hour may he cease? When he can finish harvesting the corn in Parmuthi! . . . them in the winter, the fruits of the summer shall . . . grow up and be picked in the month of Paophi.

[35] The apostles are like this also. Now, **12** when the apostle will be raised up to the heights, he and his church, and they depart from the world; at that instant another apostle shall be sent to it, to another church . . . it . . . Yet, first, [5] he shall make the forms of his church free in the heights, as I have told you. When . . . ; again, he too shall come down and appear . . . and he releases his church and saves it from the flesh of sin . . .

The advent of the apostle has occurred at the occasion [10] . . . as I have told you: From Sethel the first born son of Adam up to Enosh, together with Enoch; from Enoch up to Sem the son of Noah; . . . church after it . . . [15] . . . Buddha to the east, and Aurentes, and the other . . . who were sent to the orient; from the advent of Buddha and Aurentes up to the advent of Zarathustra to Persia, the occasion that he came to Hystaspes the king; from the advent of Zarathustra up to the advent of Jesus [20] the Christ, the son of greatness.

The advent of Jesus the Christ our master: He came . . . in a spiritual one, in a body . . . as I have told you about him. I . . . him; for he came without body! Also his apostles have preached [25] in respect of him that he received a servant's form, an appearance as of men.[3] He came below. He manifested in the world in the sect of the Jews. He chose his twelve and his seventy-two. He did the will of his Father, who had sent him to the world. Afterwards, the evil one awoke [30] envy in the sect of the Jews. Satan went in to Judas the Iscariot, one among the twelve of Jesus. He accused him before the sect of the Jews, with his kiss. He gave

[3] Phil. 2.7.

him over to the hands of the Jews, and the cohort of the soldiers. The Jews **13** themselves took hold of the son of God. They gave judgement on him by lawlessness, in an assembly. They condemned him by iniquity, while he had not sinned. They lifted him up upon the wood of the cross. They crucified him with some robbers on the cross. [5] They brought him down from the cross. They placed him in the grave; and after three days he arose from among the dead. He came towards his disciples, and was visible to them. He laid upon them a power. He breathed into them his Holy Spirit. He sent them out through the whole world, that they would preach the greatness. [10] Yet, he himself, he rose up to the heights.

. . . Jesus, his twelve . . . land . . . master . . . [15] . . . them. They were not faint-hearted, nor . . . they were all active . . . they were raised up and rested in the greatness.

. . . while the apostles stood in the world, Paul [20] the apostle reinforced them. He also came forth. He preached . . . He gave power to the apostles. He made them strong . . . the church of the saviour . . . he preached a . . . [25] . . . he too went up and rested in . . .

After Paul the apostle little by little, day after day, all mankind began to stumble. They left righteousness behind them; and the path which is narrow and sticky. They preferred . . . go on the road which is broad.

[30] At this same time also, in the last church, a righteous man of truth appeared, belonging to the kingdom. He reinforced . . . they fortified the church of our master according to their capacity; but they too were raised up to the land of light. After those ones again, little by little, the [35] church perished. The world remained behind without **14** church. Like a tree will be plucked, and the fruits on it taken away. And it remains behind without fruit.

When the church of the saviour was raised to the heights, my apostolate began, which you asked me about! (. . . *This passage (14.3–16.2) is here omitted, as it is quoted above as 7*)

16 I have chosen you, the good election, the holy church that I was sent to from the Father. I have [5] sown the seed of life. I have . . . them . . . from east to west. As you yourselves are seeing, my hope has gone toward the sunrise of the world, and every inhabited part; to the clime of the north, and the . . . Not one among the apostles did ever do these things . . . [10] . . . ; because all the apostles who were sent . . . they preached . . . the world . . . (my hope) will remain in the world until (Jesus) . . . [15] . . . his throne in it, and he will make . . . in . . . church, which is the right side, . . . which belongs to the left.

. . . about which you questioned me. Since the Spirit is of the Paraclete, the one who was sent to me from [20] the greatness; what has happened and what will happen has been unveiled to me. For you I have written about it, in full, in my books already. Today you have again questioned me. Behold, now I have repeated the lesson to you in brief!'

Then, when his disciples heard all these things from him, they rejoiced greatly. [25] Their mind was enlightened. They say to him in their joy: 'We thank you, our master! For while you have written about your advent in the scriptures, how it came to be; and we have received it and believed in it; still, you have repeated it to us in this place, in a condensed form. And we, for our parts, have received it in full. We have also believed that you are the [30] Paraclete, this one from the Father, the unveiler of all these hidden things!'

91. On the ten advantages of the Manichaean religion

The famous tradition preserved in this kephalaion (no. 151: 370.16–375.15) is found also in a Middle Persian version, quoted above in the introduction to Chapter 3. Whilst part of this text was already presented in the first announcement of the Medinet Madi discovery, the *editio princeps* of the entire piece has only recently been published; and it is this that we provide here with a first English translation (by Iain Gardner). Although it is not properly a 'community' text, we have placed this and the previous text here at the start of chapter 7, as they provide a fitting frame to the advent and success of the Manichaean religion for its followers.

151

Concerning . . . cities are many . . . in the . . .

[20] Once again, one time, a disciple questioned Manichaios. (He says): 'Why, in the prayer, . . . never since this time . . .'

He says to him: 'You, you have . . . You, you have said that [25] . . . the holy church. Now then, . . . church more than these (first) churches that were led astray . . .'

Then the apostle says to them: 'The church that I have [30] chosen is superior in ten aspects over the first churches. So, one: (. . . **371** the apostles) that were sent to them chose a church with much toil. Some of them came in . . . only; others among them have come in . . . alone; and (when) each of them came in, [5] (they chose the) churches that they chose in the places and the cities where they were disclosed. The one who chose his church in the west, his church did not reach to the east; the one who chose his church in

the east, his election did not come to the west. Thus, there are some of them: their name did not display in other cities.

However, my hope, mine: It is provided for it to go to the west and also for it to go to the east; and in every language they hear the voice of its proclamation, and it is proclaimed in all cities. In this first matter my church surpasses the first churches: Because the first churches were chosen according to place, according to city. My church, mine: It is provided for it to go out from all cities, and its good news attains every country.

(The second): My church surpasses in the wisdom and . . . which I have unveiled for you in it. This (immeasurable) wisdom I have written in the holy books, in the great *Gospel* and the other writings; so that it will not be changed after me. Also, the way that I have written it in the books: (This) also is how I have commanded it to be depicted. Indeed, all the (apostles), my brethren who came prior to me: (They did not write) their wisdom in books the way that I, I have written it. (Nor) did they depict their wisdom in the *Picture(-Book)* the way (that I, I have) depicted it. My church surpasses (in this other matter also), for its primacy to the first churches.

(The third: My) church will remain henceforth and be unveiled **372** through the world; because (. . . the first) churches, after they were revealed according to . . . they were stretched, they remained in the world for (a short time) only. Afterwards, they (. . . 5 . . . the apostles went) out from the world; but their churches . . . remained behind them, after them, in their likeness. However, my church, mine: It has attained (its) disclosure and can (not) be hidden from this time on; it has attained its fastness and can not be shaken, continuing on till the end of the world.

The fourth: The writings and the wisdom and the revelations and the parables and the psalms of all the first churches have been collected in every place. They have come down to my church. They have added to the wisdom that I have revealed, the way water might add to water and become many waters. Again, this also is the way that the ancient books have added to my writings, and have become great wisdom; its like was not uttered in all the ancient generations. They did not write nor did they unveil the books the way that I, I have written it.

The fifth: The persecutions and the temptations and the afflictions that the first apostles proclaimed; they themselves prophesise that they are provided to happen to this church. Look: They have happened to it just as is written! (However, it), it has been strong. It has persisted against (all) the temptations; it was not overcome, nor was it thrown back. Happen

you know that the crucifixions and the afflictions, which are different to each; the slaughters that are not like one another; these did not occur in all the churches. They have happened [30] in my church for its primacy to all the other churches.

The sixth: . . . the lesser ones and the ones lacking . . . in the first churches . . . **373** . . . and they were free from . . . that . . . which they . . . come down . . . [5] . . . place of rest . . . my church . . . also, the living ones . . . again it surpasses in this matter the first [10] churches.

The seventh aspect in which it surpasses: This is that, in the great war which is coming in every place the church still exists in the world, this that the whole earth . . . trembles, [15] and it comes about . . . a shaking and a . . . of a great destruction catches all people . . . However, my holy church will be strong; and it . . . in this war . . . it can (not) be overcome . . .

The eighth: In [20] . . . still as my church is set firm . . . ; but . . . the church an affliction . . . [25] . . . persecution and . . . and they were all destroyed . . . However, it too, the church . . . and it is strong and bears up under the afflictions . . . of the false Christ.

The ninth . . . more than the persecutions . . . [30] . . . of the first churches **374** . . . and they . . . his laws . . . [5] . . . of the divinity, and it unveils . . . church will become for them a house . . . [10] However, whoever truly believes can be separated . . . and he makes them pure and sets them apart and masters them; and he makes all the sects strong in it (the church?) and sets them straight. And he himself, he consoles it for all the trickeries and the duplicities. He can nourish it and give it authority [15] over the entire world; and he makes strong in it the lesser ones. And it too, of the ones that are condemned . . . of the church comes about in the entire world; while its confidence exists in the entire . . .

The tenth: . . . [20] . . . church will come to be . . . all the powers . . . either . . . or . . . in the bond . . . [25] Then, at the last, all the likenesses (?) of its depiction . . . will raise it up to the heights again . . . they will give for it according to its heart's will . . . all . . . and its petition. It will . . . will give for it authority over all flesh . . . [30] my church surpasses . . . **375** . . . to it more than the (first) churches . . . forthwith.

Blessed is the person who will (trust in) it and agree with it and remain in it; and he will profit and live in its life and . . . [5] . . . in its primacy. And he will go up and be at rest in the aeon of light.'

(Then, when) his disciples heard these lessons out from the man of light, they say to him: 'How very great then are these lessons that you have uttered to us! How very strong [10] are these in which we again receive light with truth! You have opened our eyes, that this church surpasses by its primacy

over the first churches. We revere you our master, we give you our thanks, for you have explained to us in respect of this prayer about which we asked you; **15** you have taught us about it, what it is.'

92. An apologia for the distinction between elect and hearer

Letter (?) by an elect as preserved in the *Tebessa Codex* (Latin).[4]

(Col. 1 (I.1)) . . . of the faithful will not under another judgement[5] because they always go forth justified from here below. However, there are two other groups, namely the catechumens and the gentiles, who will be summoned side by side to the same judgement, but will not obtain the same verdict. For, in truth, the catechumens must be raised up at the end because of (the help) . . . (*Cols. 2 and 3 are missing*)

(Col. 4 (I.2)) . . . they (i.e. the elect) lack the cares of the sects, because they are transitory visitors, and strangers in the world. That is why he commands the rich, who, as we have said, are themselves known as disciples of the second order, to make friends with the elect, who are without these resources, which it is certainly necessary that they abandon here, in return . . .

(Col. 5 (II.1)) . . . to be hampered by private worries and entangled by anxieties. These two ranks, founded on the same faith in the same church, support one another and each gives to the other from their abundant possessions, the elect to the hearers from their heavenly treasure, through which they have been named blessed and happy among those who dwell on earth because of their freedom, and the hearers to the elect . . . (*Cols. 6 and 7 are missing*)

(Col. 8 (II.2)) Consider also the nature of each of these two ranks, shown by the example of the two sisters, of whom one had chosen the most excellent lot, that is the higher rank of the elect; whereas the other, though she carried out the housekeeping and domestic duty, yet (was able) to minister to the manifest (?)[6] disciples.

(Col. 9 (III.1)) It is not without justification that these elect have been termed disciples. Indeed, poor in resources, and few in number, they walk by the narrow way and are destined for the narrow path. For

[4] *Codex Tebestina*, ed. Merkelbach (1988b); Eng. trans. by M. Vermes. The earlier study of P. Alfaric (Alfaric (1920)) also contains an edition and translation of the text; as does the more recent work of J. D. BeDuhn and G. Harrison (BeDuhn and Harrison (1997)). Also useful is Decret (1989).

[5] See John 5.24. [6] Following Alfaric's conjecture of (*a*)*pertis*.

few will enter that way and are the faithful who gain the kingdom of heaven, as it is written: 'In truth, many are called but few are chosen.' (Matt. 22:14)[7]

In the same way that was also said because . . . (*Cols. 10 and 11 are missing*)

(Col. 12 (III.2)) . . . These words I speak, dearly beloved, concern the order of the catechumens,[8] whom elsewhere he clearly means when he says: 'He that receives a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receives a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward.' (Matt. 10:41)

(Col. 13 (IV.1)) . . . that all (those present?) (who followed?) him might hope more to attain the heavenly abodes, and the riches of the good, which, once given, can never be taken away. That is why he commands those who still toil on the land, (. . .) and are married, to seek(?) from the same . . . these friends in the suppliant cry of their voices.[9] (*Cols. 14 and 15 are missing*)

(Col. 16 (IV.2)) Those possessing wealth are called hearers, or rather, as we have said, catechumens, who, since they have made their fortunes in this world, and are still below that rank of the perfect, because they possess wealth, are referred to by the term 'mammon' in the Gospel. This is why the saviour and lord uses the same speech in addressing them: 'Make friends for yourselves (of mammon . . .).' (Luke 16:9)

(Col. 17 (V.1)) However, the catechumens who had difficulty in achieving the level of election stayed in their homes; but they helped the elect and, receiving them under their roofs and into their own homes, they provided them with the necessities of life. These two ranks of the church thus always . . .

(Col. 20 (V.2)) . . . not to destroy[10] the dignity of the elect, but to make the hearers acknowledge also the rule and the law of their order, that is to say of the church and of the apostles, and the church's two ranks and . . . They were all (divided?) into the two-fold names of the people. All the disciples were (called) . . .

(Col. 21 (VI.1)) ('. . . if any would not work, neither should he eat.')(?) (2Thess. 3:10)[11] Should not that also (apply to the elect?) However, I affirm

[7] Or: 'few are the elect'; Latin 'electi' carries both meanings.

[8] I.e. hearers, see below Col. 16 (IV.2).

[9] Following Alfaric's conjecture of *prae-*(*conio suppli*)*ci*. Merkelbach prefers *prae-*(*sidium*), which provides no construction for *vocum*, unless that depended on the next line.

[10] Following Merkelbach's conjecture of *des*(*tru*)*ens*.

[11] Alfaric here reconstructs three very fragmentary lines. It is not clear that the ensuing argument depends necessarily on this quotation.

that that does not so much concern the order of these perfect ones who, renouncing the world, have citizenship in heaven; but those who are still settled in the world and are immersed in the same knowledge as the perfect ones . . . (*Cols. 22–3 are missing*)

(Col. 24 (VI.2)) . . . (is said of those people)(?) who, as they are unable to carry out and fulfil these precepts to the letter, (choose the less perfect)(?) of these two (orders of disciples).

That which I mentioned above, dearly beloved, on the subject of the apostle[12] and of the task which he(?) must accomplish (in order to eat)(?)[13] . . .

(Col. 25 (VII.1)) . . . to sketch out: 'For you yourselves are still carnal.' (1 Cor. 3:1) In the same way he says to them too, I think rightly:[14] 'No man should blame us in this abundance which is administered by us to the glory of the lord. We attend to that which is good not only in the sight of God, but also in the sight of men.' (2 Cor. 8:20–1) Therefore when he says: 'of this abundance is administered . . .'

(Col. 28 (VII.2)) He warns when he says: 'This is a faithful saying, and these things I want you to commit to memory, that those who believe in God should be careful to maintain good works.' (Titus 3:8)

Here you see that he commands for the faithful 'the maintenance of works'; and as 'good works' he sometimes names (?) the apostolate,[15] sometimes calling (?) it his 'soldiery', more often his 'ministry', occasionally his 'career', and sometimes his 'toil' and . . .

(Col. 29 (VIII.1)) And he also says to them: 'We have sent with him the brother, whose praise is not only in the preaching of the gospel throughout all the churches but who furthermore has been appointed by the churches as (our) companion in this charitable work which we are accomplishing for the glory of God.' (2 Cor. 8:18–19)

And so, therefore, when a collaborator offered his services to him in a secular task . . . (*Cols. 30 and 31 are missing*)

(Col. 32 (VIII.2)) He says to the Ephesians: 'Walk as children of light, for the fruit of the light is in all righteousness and goodness, approving what is acceptable unto God. And have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of

[12] I.e. the apostle Paul. [13] Following Alfaric's conjecture of *u*(*t manducet*).

[14] Alternatively these words introduce the following quotation, i.e.: 'I think it right that . . .' However, they do not belong to the quotation itself.

[15] This translation accepts Alfaric's readings in lines 11 and 13, but with reservations. There would appear to be a feminine noun missing in line 11 rather than the verb *nominat;* his own version takes *ipsam* in line 10 with his conjectured *apostolatum* in line 12, but that noun is masculine.

darkness, but rather reprove them.' (Eph. 5:8–11) What therefore because here under its own name . . .

(Col. 33 (IX.1)) . . . the apostle practised (?). He mentions it also when he writes to Timothy to instruct him on the subject of widows and women in distress: 'Now she who is a widow indeed, and desolate, let her hope in the lord, and continue in prayers and supplications night and day. For she that lives in pleasures is dead while she is alive.' (1 Tim. 5:5–7) . . . Still . . . (*Cols. 34–35 are missing*)

(Col. 36 (IX.2)) He adds to the Corinthians: 'I make these commands not to throw on you a sort of snare, but so that you may conduct yourselves honourably and be united without division.' (1 Cor. 7:35)

Similarly, he writes to the Colossians: 'Be thankful and perfect. Let the peace and word of Christ dwell in you, as you teach in all wisdom and admonish one another in psalms, hymns and spiritual songs.' (Col. 3.15–16)

(Col. 37 (X.1)) 'Those who are like this we command and beseech by Christ, that with quietness they work and eat their own bread; but you, brethren, be not weary in doing well.' (2 Thess. 3:12–13)

Even among those to whom the apostle was 'ministering' there were some who did the opposite (?), not carrying out the 'task' of which he approved, (but abandoning themselves to)(?) idleness. (*Cols. 38 and 39 are missing*)

(Col. 40 (X.2)) (When) he (calls?) his fellow soldiers or collaborators in business, he remembers those who were associated with and participants in the 'toil' of this mission. For he says to the Thessalonians: 'And we beseech you, brethren, to know those who labour among you, and are over you in the lord, and admonish you, and to esteem them more highly in love . . .' (1 Thess. 5:12–13)

(Col. 41 XI.1)) 'Because I have not run for nothing, nor laboured in vain.' (Phil. 2.16) You therefore see that here he claims to have 'laboured' and 'run'. Should we therefore find in this a physical meaning? Far from it. He shows that he devoted himself and 'laboured' continually to make the sons 'shine like lights in the world, (carrying within) them the word of (life).' (*Cols. 42 and 43 are missing*)

(Col. 44 (XI.2)) . . . that we may be (affectionate towards them?), that we may keep them in the faith, in exchange for which they will provide us with that assistance.

Similarly, the apostle says to the Philippians (2:12–14): 'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling. For it is God who works in you that you both want to work and make yourselves perfect because of his good will. Do everything without grumblings.'

(Col. 45 (XII.1)) He exhorts the Thessalonians (?) to provide (nonetheless?) assistance for the saints. In this task he maintains that he has never been idle. Even in the (stillness?) of the night he did not spare himself from earning this tribute (?), for fear (?) that one of his number would accuse him of taking the bread from his mouth (?).[16] (*Cols. 46 and 47 are missing*)

However, to (distract) his people from all works of the flesh, he abstained from . . .

(Col. 48 (XII.2)) . . . Let us dwell (?) in God's holy house, that is to say in the holy church. Let us be led(?) to the lord by spiritual things, refusing all things of the flesh. (Let us strive?) towards the peace (of the just?). Thus we shall (receive?) the eternal crown which he promises to all those who choose the spiritual life(?) . . .[17]

(Col. 49 (XIII.1)) . . . for him to reproduce (?) through wickedness, lest he might be dispersed (?) by the labour of propagation.

Finally, he says to these same Thessalonians, among whom he has said that he worked: 'I have laboured night and day' and again: 'We preached unto you the gospel of God. You are witnesses, and God also . . .' (1 Thess. 2:9–10)

(Col. 52 (XIII.2)) . . . may become (saved) by that work . . . will fly to . . . holy . . . to work than if he called his fellow soldier and (apostle?) by various ways . . .

(*Cols. 53 (XIV.1) and 54 (XIV.2) are too fragmentary for coherent translation*)

93. A father instructs his young son

This Coptic letter (*P. Kell.* V Copt. 19) was written probably in the 350s, or soon after, by a certain Makarios to his 'longed-for' son Matheos (as is stated on the address). It belongs to an archive of family letters recovered by the archaeological excavations during the early 1990s in House 3 at Ismant el-Kharab (the Roman period village of Kellis in the Dakhleh oasis). This particular family archive may well have been preserved by Maria, wife of Makarios and mother to Matheos (variously spelt Matthaios) and his brother Piene, as most of the letters are written to her (she never appears as an author) in Kellis by her husband or her sons whilst they are in 'Egypt' (i.e. the Nile valley). However, in the present letter we find Makarios writing to his son when he is still at home with his mother (note that Makarios starts to address his wife as he proceeds), and one imagines that he is still rather young.

[16] This passage is severely mutilated, and the translation depends heavily on Alfaric's reconstruction.

[17] Once again this translation depends on Alfaric's reconstruction, which he himself describes as 'plus laborieuse . . . et plus conjecturale'.



Figure 7.2. Manichaean psalms from Kellis

The text itself is laboriously written, presumably by the father himself (rather than the usual practice of using a professional scribe). The family are fervent Manichaean believers, and here Mani is himself quoted in his spiritual persona as the 'Paraclete'. The fragmentary central section of the text has been omitted in this translation.

(To) my son, my loved one who is greatly honoured by me: The child of righteousness; the one whose good reputation is in my mouth at every moment, whose witness is permanent in my heart; the name sweet in my mouth, my beloved son Matheos.

Before everything: I greet you. I remember your gentleness and your calm, and the example of your . . . propriety; for all this time I have been without you, I have been asking after you and hearing of your good reputation. Also, when I came to you, I found you correct as you have always been. This too is the (right) way. Now, be in worthy matters; just as the Paraclete has said: 'The disciple of righteousness is found with the fear of his teacher upon him (even) while he is far from him.' Like guardians (?). Do likewise, my loved one; so that I may be grateful for you and God too may be grateful for you, and you will be glorified by

a multitude of people. Do not acquire fault or mockery for your good conduct.

Study (your) psalms, whether Greek or Coptic, <every> day (?) . . . Do not abandon your vow. Here, the *Judgement of Peter* is with you. (Do the) *Apostolos*; or else master the *Great Prayers* and the Greek *Psalms*. Here too, the *Sayings* are with you: study them! Here are the *Prostrations*. Write a little from time to time, more and more. Write a daily example, for I need you to write books here. Do not be like the other one who came to question (?) when he was about to receive instruction about . . . everything.

When you are going to come, bring (a . . .) and a good remedy. Bring your two black . . . , bring it. If possible, bring one for Gena too; for (we will) be grateful for everything . . . If you have cut the garment . . . send it to him with sandals and my cloak. (Indeed), if there is the hard mat, send it with a cushion. Bring your . . . mat and your mattress; so, make the twists on the cover (?) . . .

(To) my sister Maria: You sent me . . . , you sent the two garments by way of Pshai . . . (text omitted)

Greet (for me my) daughter Drousiane. Greet for me my daughter Tshemnoute, and (my) daughter Kame. Greet warmly for me my sister Isi-, and my sister Mo(- . . .) and my sister Kame, and my mother Talaphanti with her children. Greet "the woman within" and her children. Tell them that I myself am very grateful to them, and God is my witness that . . . all in my prayers and my supplications. I (remember) you very very much, praying for your health . . . night and day; just as I see you are zealous, whether I am far (from you) or near to you.

Greet for me my sister Charis and . . . and her children by name, and my brother Philammon . . . and Pion. Greet for me my mother Tskmshai . . . and her daughter Kouria. If Drousiane will be able to go and tell Kouria, perhaps she will give something. Let her go. Greet for me Lamou, and his mother and his father, and Tapshai. Greet for me my mother Partheni and Pena, and all in Thio.

And you, my son Matheos, when you are about to write a letter, write it well; so that we shall find that you have written about the matter . . . he did not (?) . . . letter to him in my name. Write, perhaps he will give something else to us . . .

If my mother Kouria will give the great *(Book of) Epistles*, bring it with you. If not, bring the small one, with the *Prayer-Book* and the *Judgement of Peter*.

Amou greets you all. I Gena, who am with the one who writes this letter, I greet you warmly . . . I greet you my brother (and) my master Matheos,

and my mother Maria, and my brother Atre-, and my brother A-e, and my brother -aeis, and my mother Charis, and . . .

94. The son writes to his mother

This letter (*P. Kell.* v Copt. 25) belongs to the same family archive as the preceding. Matthaios is now presumably somewhat older; and he too is working in the Nile valley (like his father Makarios), from where he writes to Maria in Kellis. From this letter, and others in the archive, we learn that his brother Piene has been given to the entourage of the 'Teacher', i.e. the highest Manichaean church leader in Egypt. Elsewhere we discover that Piene is being taught Latin, and that he follows the teacher to Alexandria (Rakote), which is presumably the church's seat in Egypt. Thus one must suppose that Piene will join the ranks of the elect, and is being groomed for evangelical work. The practice of lay families giving a child to the church was well established in Manichaeism, and indeed counted as one of the essential religious acts of the catechumenate (see **74**, kephalaion 80). This letter provides a wonderful example of lay piety, and of the ties that bound all levels of the Manichaean community.

(To) my mother, my loved lady, very precious to me, the beloved of my heart: The one whose memory and worthy motherhood are sealed in my heart every hour; the one whose kindnesses and goodness that she performs for me at all times are sealed in my inmost thought. My mother, very precious to me, Maria. It is I, your son; in the lord God, – greetings.

Before everything I greet you warmly, my lady mother; with my brothers, my masters whose names are very precious to me at all times, every day and every hour. This is my prayer to the Father, the God of Truth, and his beloved Son the Christ, and his Holy Spirit, and his light angels: That he will watch over you together, you being healthy in your body, joyful in heart and rejoicing in soul and spirit, all the time we will pass in the body, free from any evil and any temptation by Satan and any sickness of the body. And furthermore (I pray) that this great day of joy should happen to us, the (day) for which we pray indeed every hour, and God grant us that we may see the image of each other in freedom and with a smiling face. Or indeed: whether they are dreams (?) or whether it is the sphere . . . ; or else again: perhaps they change and cast us once again towards you, and we will be satisfied with the face of all our beloveds. Would therefore that this may happen to us!

When I found the opportunity of my father Pseke and my father Pishai coming to you (pl.), I hastened to write and inform you about our health and the condition we are in; while I have already written another letter and added it to the letters of my father. I have also sent the medicines to

you (fem. sg.) through them, bound with the letters of my father. I have put 135 grains there. I have also written: 'Take the 100 for you.' They are necessities. It was some friends who gave them to me; they are doctors.

Now, since you have written: 'Tell me about how you are'; as for myself, the Teacher left me in Antinoou, but my brother he took to follow after him. I am thinking that perhaps he will come from the north (?) and leave him (Piene) some place. Should he again leave him, you will know. For he (the Teacher) loves him (Piene) very much, and makes him read in church. Now, if he depends (?) on him, and the child is content following him, it will be his glory.

Thus, I have been here in Antinoou since the day when the Teacher came south; (and) I have been unable to find a way to go . . . , nor to visit my father, because they are mourning in the city for the blessed soul of my great mother. We are remembering her very much. And I was distressed that she died when we were not with her, and that she died without finding the brotherhood gathered around her. Do not neglect to write to us about your health.

I pray for your health, ladies, for many years.

And I am astonished that, (although) I wrote: 'Write me the name of the daughter of Maria, what you are calling her, or the son of Partheni'; you have not written it!

Are you afraid lest he will become scorched on the mountain; or are you afraid lest . . . to them? It is in God's power (to grant that) they have a long life.

Greet for me they who are with you . . . ; especially my lady sister Tjmshai, and my father Pshai and his wife and his children. Greet for me Pakosh and Pamour and their children and their brothers, each by name. Greet for me my father Philammon and my mother Charis, with their sons and daughters, each by name. Greet for me Hatre and his wife and his children. Greet for me Jemnoute, with her children and her husband. Greet for me Phila and her husband. Greet for me my father Pshempnoute and my mother Kyria . . . Greet for me Jemnoute . . . children. Greet for me my mother Tamouienia. Greet for me . . . and his mother and . . . Greet for me Isi and . . . Greet for me Marshe and her brothers, each by name, and their children and their whole house. Greet for me my mother Tashai and her children. Greet for me my mother Talaphanti and her children and her whole house. Greet for me my mother Louiepshai and her whole house and her children. Greet for me my brother Andreas, with his whole house and his people. Greet for me everyone who wishes our word. Live and be healthy for me a long time. I am praying to God for this.

95. An elect encourages a sick catechumen

In this letter (*P. Kell.* v Copt. 32) it is difficult to distinguish the spiritual from the practical. However, we presume that the author is an elect rather than family; and we are inclined to suppose that at least some of the images, such as to laying 'the foundation of your house', refer to spiritual growth rather than to material realities. Certainly, the piece is written in a highly educated style, with an astonishing use of gospel allusions. The interpretation of the 'treasure in heaven' with reference to the sun and the moon makes the Manichaean authorship absolutely certain.

(To) our loved daughter: The daughter of the holy church, the catechumen of the faith; the good tree whose fruit never withers, which is your love that emits radiance every day. She who has acquired for herself her riches and stored them in the treasuries that are in the heights, where moths shall not find a way, nor shall thieves dig through to them to steal; which (storehouses) are the sun and the moon. She whose deeds resemble her name, our daughter, Eirene. It is I, your father who writes to you; in God, – greetings!

I greet <you> warmly with love, God-loving, good-loving; I am praying that you (fem. sg.) may continue in health of the body, and gladness of the spirit, and joy of the soul, until we see you (pl.) again.

Furthermore, I write, giving you the remembrance that you . . . for the matter is fine, until I come up. Once you have laid the foundation of your house, fight in every way to put on its coping that you may be at ease therein for ever. Do the work and mix the warp (?) until I come. If you have oil standing, give a *chous* to our brother; let him send it to me, or two naturally (?). If also there is wheat, give him eighteen *maje*; until we meet one another and settle our account. Just fight in every way to complete the work, for a person knows not at what hour the thief will come to dig through to the house. Indeed, I have heard that you are sick: since some days. I am grieving; but, praise God, they say that you are getting better. There is no health without your health! Live in God, our beloved daughter.

96. An elect writes to ask for alms

This (*P. Kell.* v Copt. 31) has the appearance of some kind of circular letter, where the author does not seem to actually know (on a personal level) the people to whom he writes. These daughters 'of the Light Mind', (this distinctively Manichaean divinity confirms the religious context), must be catechumens in Kellis; and it is interesting that their 'fame', even allowing for extravagancies of style, is known to members of the community in the Nile valley. Unfortunately, part of the lower half of the papyrus is missing, which causes the breaks in the text; but the allusions

to difficulties may refer to persecution, and the final instructions about what to do with the letter itself point to security concerns for adherents of the faith.

My loved daughters, who are greatly revered by me: The members of the holy church, (the daughters) of the Light Mind, they who (also are numbered) with the children of God; the favoured, blessed, God-loving souls; my women children. It is I, your father who is in Egypt, who writes to you; in the lord, – greetings!

Before everything: I greet you warmly, and your children together, each by their name. I am praying to God every hour that he will guard you for a long time, free from anything evil of the wicked world: You being for us helpers, and worthy *patrons*, and firm unbending pillars; while we ourselves rely upon you.

Indeed, when I heard about your good, God-loving fame; I rejoiced greatly. I was very grateful to you, ten million times! (Whether) we are far or (we are near): indeed, we have found remembrance among (you). Now, therefore, may it stay with you: This knowledge and this faith (which you have) known and believed in.

Therefore, (I) beg you, (my) blessed (daughters), that you will (send) me two *choes* of oil. For (you) know yourselves that we are (in need) here; since we are afflicted. (Send) the portion of oil. Indeed, when I came . . . I was confident that you (would find the time) to send them to me. (I hope) that you will do it, like (everything) you do (. . . them) with certainty . . . . at all. Do not . . . and send them to my son . . . letter to you with (certainty . . . Write) to me quickly . . . . that he may send . . . with certainty. (. . . so that (?)) he may understand. Do not (. . .) for the place is (very) difficult.

(Live and) be healthy for a (long time according to) our prayers.

He will send them to me with certainty. Do your . . . very bad. Let them not envy you . . . especially my daughter . . . this letter to you. When you have finished reading it, send it to my son with certainty. Do not let it stay with you, it may fall into somebody's hands. Indeed, what is even this constraint!

97. A Manichaean scribe sends a spell to a colleague

The author of this text (*P. Kell.* v Copt. 35) appears to be a professional scribe, who precedes his actual letter by writing out a spell that he hopes will be helpful to his colleague. Of course, 'magical' activities were forbidden by Mani; but, as with all religions, this did not stop adherents from resorting to popular practice on occasion. In this letter it is the invocation by the author of the 'Paraclete', i.e. Mani himself, which makes his religious allegiance known to us.

As regards the spell itself, there is nothing Manichaean about this. It belongs to a category that we can call 'mustard curses', and gives instructions about how to drive a wedge between two lovers. In the letter that follows, the author refers to various people and work contracts with which he and his recipient are involved. Whilst the lack of context makes the details difficult to follow, they seem to be working as professional scribes in some kind of collective situation. However, one can only speculate about what precisely this involved.

I call upon you:
the one who has been from the beginning;
the one sitting above the Cheroubin and Sarouphin;
the one who stands (in judgement) over disputes and quarrels;
the one who has stopped the winds with his great power!
Just as you made the land of Egypt lord, you cast quarrels over the Chaldeans. It is upon you (pl.) that I utter these names, by (?) . . . who generates (?), who is black. Let "so and so" the son of "so and so", let their heart be black for each other. O dirty (?) natron of Arabia! Just as you will wash away every thing, (so) you can wash (away) the desire which is between them for each other. And you, (who are) the burning of the mustard, you shall put burning and scorching into their heart for each other. The house in which I will place you (sg.), do not come out from it without having instigated dispute and quarrel and thunder.

And four-times (speak) the other (man's name); four-times (speak) her (name); four-times (recite it all) again; four-times you shall utter these words upon them.

It is complete.

I greet you warmly. I pray for your continuing health, until I embrace you once again in person and my joy be complete. I swear to you by our lord Paraclete and the knowledge of truth: This is what I have found near me, and I have hastened to write it and send it to you; for the other one is written on a small fragment of papyrus, and I did not find it. Should I find it, I will send it to you; I for my part knowing that it will not be brought to brother Kallikles, I am sending. Be satisfied, for it is with my own hand that I wrote this. I have sent it, saying: 'Perhaps you need it'.

I beg you, my lord brother: If you can write these tetrads for me, which I sent to you, I will cause what is written to be brought to you too; so that you can know where they have reached. Look out (?) (whether) he has not been negligent writing them. Quickly, you send them to me by a blessed one; for they say: 'We want someone else to write the other ones.' Now,

do not neglect to send them quickly. By no means! I did it for the great texts; (but it is) because they say that the papyrus has run out. Still, writing is what is useful; and if you do write them, I for my part will find your recompense. I am no fool!

Greet warmly for me those who give you peace of mind in word and deed. Anything you want here, order me (and) I will do it rejoicing.

Live and be healthy for a long time; my master, my brother.

98. Horion discusses preparations for the agape

There are a number of references to the *agape* amongst the Manichaean community texts deriving from ancient Kellis. In earliest Christianity the term referred originally to the communal thanksgiving meal; but it rapidly became separated from the increasingly ritualised eucharist itself, and then took on the more individual connotation of an act of giving or sponsorship for a particular purpose (e.g. a charity meal for the poor as an act of contrition). The question arises as to what its meaning would have been for the fourth-century Manichaeans. Since it is only the elect who can 'purify the world' by their fasts and daily sacred meal, and since to offer food to the impure must be a sin against the light soul, one can only conclude that the *agape* is a gift to the elect for their table (τράπεζα). The allusions in the following text (*P. Kell.* v. Copt. 15) should be read in conjunction with those in an associated letter between the same author and recipient (*P. Kell.* v. Copt. 17), where Horion comments: 'For we take in much oil for the *agape*, in that we are many, and they consume much oil.' The Manichaean setting is made certain by naming of the 'Light Mind', and this is reinforced by the greetings to 'the elect and the catechumens'.

(To) my brother, my master; the loved one of my soul and my spirit. The child of righteousness, the good limb of the Light Mind. The name which is sweet in my mouth, my beloved brother Hor. It is I, Horion; in the lord God, – greetings.

There is no measuring the joy that came to me when I received your letter; all the more, for I learned about your health. I brought (?) . . . everything concerning my father. I have hurried writing to you of these two matters; while I greet your gentleness and your immutable, never changing love.

I have received the *agon*[18] of oil from our son Raz. Look, I left it (with them) for the *agape*, like you said. You also write: 'Buy 6 *maje* of wheat'. I will buy them (at) 1200 to the *artaba*; thus: 705 *nummi* for these 6 *maje*. I have also received the *jlge* from our son Pateni (?). Look, I filled it and sent it by way of Raz. As you receive it, write to me. Do not bother (?) yourself

[18] The *agon*, *maje*, *artab* and *jlge* are all measures / containers; whilst the *nummi* are a currency unit. The 1200 refers to talents, and this price for wheat confirms a date ca. AD 355–70.

about the *agape*. I will do it, rejoicing. Yes, our brother Pakous is south of the ditch, harvesting. If he does not come by that day, I will send his share south to him.

Greet warmly for me they who give you rest, the elect and the catechumens, each one by name. Greet our father Kele. Our son Aetios greets you warmly. Our mother Taese greets you and all who are in the house. Be well and live for a long time my beloved brother, until we see one another again and my joy is complete.

List and concordance of texts

For the abbreviations used in this list, see the List of Abbreviations; works cited by author and date are listed in the Bibliography. Where it is not listed here, details of editions used may be found in the relevant entry. It should be noted that in the Concordance literary texts which survive on papyrus or parchment (principally from Egypt and Turfan), even if complete codices, are listed in Section (i), rather than in Section (ii), which is reserved for texts which have survived in the manuscript tradition.

LIST OF TEXTS

1 *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel (1871), 327–8
2 *CMC* fr.1 and 1–5.13
3 *CMC* 5.14–14.2
4 *CMC* 18.1–72.7
5 *CMC* 72.8–106.23
6 *CMC* 107.1–147.2
7 *Keph.* 14.3–16.2
8 *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 328
9 *Keph.* 183.10–188.29
10 *Hom.* 42.9–50.17
11 M3, ed. and trans. Henning (1942), 949–50
12 *Hom.* 50.19–60.2
13 M5569 (T II 79), *MM* III,§c, pp. 860–2
14 *Hom.* 60.2–67.32
15 *Hom.* 67.34–70.34
16 *Hom.* 71.2–73.34
17 M4570, *KG* §4a.18, pp. 76–9
18 *PsBk2.* 14.18–20.17 (Psalms 225–6)
19 *Hom.* 74.8–78.30
20 *Hom.* 79.1–85.34

21 (a) M2 R I 1–33, *MM* II, 301–2
(b) M216c R 8–V 13, *KG* §2.5 (170–87), p. 26
(c) So. 18220 (=T.M. 389a), *KG* §3.2 (360–95), pp. 36–41

22 (a) So. 18223 (=T.M. 389c) + So. 18222 (T.M. 389c), *KG* §3.3 (441–515), pp. 41–5
(b) P15997 R (= *MCPCBL* II, pl. 99)

23 *P.Rylands Greek* 469.12–42

24 Alexander of Lycopolis, *contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, § 1–11

25 *Collatio Mosaicarum* XV.3

26 'Ambrosiaster', *in ep. Ad Tim. Ii*, 3.6–7, 2

27 Didymus Alexandrinus, *Expositio in Ecclesiastes*, 9.9a

28 *Verba Seniorum* XIII.11, *PL* 73.945

29 *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* X.30–5 (191–225)

30 Eutychius (Sa'id ibn Batriq), *Annales*, ed. Breydey (1985), 83

31 Benjamin of Alexandria, *On the Marriage Feast of Cana*, ed. de Vies (1922), 80–8

32 Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii Gazensis*, 85–91

33 Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, ed. Schwartz (1939) 22.22–23.2

34 Photius, *Bibliotheca* 85 (65a/b)

35 Augustine, *Confessiones* III.vi.10; x.18; xii.21; v.iii.3; vii.12–13; x.18–xiii.23

36 Augustine, *de moribus Manichaeorum* XX(74)

37 Secundinus, *epistula ad Augustinum*, ed. Zycha, 893–901

38 Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 15

39 Augustine, *ep.* 236.1, 3

40 Augustine, *de Haeresibus* XLVI.9–10

41 *CT* XVI.5.7; XVI.7.3; XVI.5.11

42 *CJ* I.5.11; I.5.12

43 *CJ* I.5.15

44 *Keph.* 5.21–33; 6.15–27; 355.4–25

45 (a) *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel (1871), 336
(b) S3969 *Mo-ni kuang-fo chiao-fa i-lüeh*, ms. ll. 57–69

46 *CMC* 65.23–68.5; 68.5–69.8; 69.9–70.9
(a) M17, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1995), 184 and 186–90
(b) M172, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1995), 185 and 186–90

47 Augustine, *Contra Felicem* 2, 5 and *de natura Boni* 44

48 Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 123, ed. Brière, 148.23–5; 150.8–10; 152.14–16; 152.20–3; 154.7–18; 154.22–3; 154.26–156.8; 162.6–13; 164.10–27; 164.28–166.15; 174.3–8

49 Augustine, *c. Faust.* XV.5–6

50 *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel 336–7
51 *CMC* 64.1–65.22
52 *P.Kell.* s.n. (Mani's Epistles)
53 Augustine, *c. Epist. Fund.* 5, 11, 12, 13, 15, 30; *c. Fel.* 1.1, 16, 17, 19, 2.1; *de natura Boni* 42, 46; *c. Sec.* 20; Evodius, *de fide contra Manichaeos* 5; 11; 28
54 Augustine, *contra Julianum opus imperfectum*, III, 172.1–12, 186.2–11, 37–42, 47–9, 53–9
55 *Fragmentum epistulae ad Addam*, ap. Eustathius Monachus, *Epistula de duabus naturis adversus Severum, PG* 86.904A (= Adam (1969) §13, p. 33); *Fragmentum epistulae ad Condarum*, ap. Diekamp (ed.) (1907), 64 (= Adam (1969) §14, p. 33); *Fragmentum epistulae ad Scythianum*. ap. Justinianus, *c. Monophysitas* 91, ed. Schwartz (1973), 38.35-36; *Fragmentum epistulae ad Zabinam*, ap. Diekamp (ed.) (1907), 41
56 *PsBk2*. 9.3–11.32 (Psalm 223)
57 Alexander of Lycopolis, *contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, § II–V
58 *Acta Archelai* 25.3–31.8 (VII–XIII)
59 Augustine, *de Haeresibus* XLVI.1–8, 11–19
60 *Keph*. 34.13–36.26
61 *P.Kell.* s.n. ('The Prayer of the Emanations')
62 *PsBk2*. 205.10–207.16
63 *Keph*. 30.12–34.12
64 *Keph*. 102.13–104.20
65 *Keph*. 85.19–86.17
66 *Keph*. 166.31–169.22
67 *Keph*. 89.18–102.12
68 *Keph*. 36.27–37.27
69 Augustine, *c. Faust*. XX.2; XX.11
70 *PsBk2*. 187.2–36
71 *Hom*. 7.8–8.30; 9.19–27; 14.16–31; 27.28–29.18; 35.11–42.8
72 *Keph*. 302.17–303.15; 337.10–338.18; 340.20–341.24; 348.12–27
73 Shenoute, 'Who Speaks through the Prophet' (Paris, BN Copte 131[4] f.158b)
74 *Keph*. 192.3–193.22
75 *Keph*. 37.28–42.23
76 Augustine, *de mor. Manich*. X.19; XVIII.65
77 Augustine, *c. Epist. Fund.* 8
78 *PsBk2*. 7.11–9.1 (Psalm 222)
79 *Keph*. 191.9–192.3

80 *PsBk2*. 141.1–143.34
81 (a) Augustine, *ep*. 236.2
(b) Aug., *enarrationes in Psalmos*, CXL.12
82 Augustine, *de mor. Manich*. XV.36
83 *PsBk2*. 54.7–55.15 (Psalm 246)
84 *PsBk2*. 162.21–163.32
85 *Keph*. 291.4–295.8
86 *Keph*. 155.30–156.34
87 *PsBk2*. 151.4–152.9
88 *PsBk2*. 115.4–116.23
89 *T.Kell*. Copt. 2, A5
90 *Keph*. 9.11–16.31
91 *Keph*. 370.16–375.15
92 *Tebessa Codex* cols 1–52
93 *P.Kell*. V Copt. 19
94 *P.Kell*. V Copt. 25
95 *P.Kell*. V Copt. 32
96 *P.Kell*. V Copt. 31
97 *P.Kell*. V Copt. 35
98 *P.Kell*. V Copt. 15

CONCORDANCE

(i) Papyri, parchments, etc.

(A) GREEK

CMC fr.1 and 1–5.13	**2**
CMC 5.14–14.2	**3**
CMC 18.1–72.7	**4**
CMC 64.1–65.22	**51**
CMC 65.23–68.5; 68.5–69.8; 69.9–70.9	**46**
CMC 72.8–106.23	**5**
CMC 107.1–147.2	**6**
P.Rylands Greek 469.12–42	**23**
P.Kell. s.n. ('The Prayer of the Emanations')	**61**

(B) LATIN

Tebessa Codex cols. 1–52	**92**

(c) coptic

Benjamin of Alexandria, *On the Marriage Feast of Cana*, ed. de Vies (1922), 80–8	**31**
Hom. 7.8–42.8, *passim*	**71**
Hom. 42.9–50.17	**10**
Hom. 50.19–60.2	**12**
Hom. 60.2–67.32	**14**
Hom. 67.34–70.34	**15**
Hom. 71.2–73.34	**16**
Hom. 74.8–78.30	**19**
Hom. 79.1–85.34	**20**
Keph. 5.21–33; 6.15–27; 355.4–25	**44**
Keph. 9.11–16.31	**90**
Keph. 14.3–16.2	**7**
Keph. 30.12–34.12	**63**
Keph. 34.13–36.26	**60**
Keph. 36.27–37.27	**68**
Keph. 37.28–42.23	**75**
Keph. 85.19–86.17	**65**
Keph. 89.18–102.12	**67**
Keph. 102.13–104.20	**64**
Keph. 155.30–156.34	**86**
Keph. 166.31–169.22	**66**
Keph. 183.10–188.29	**9**
Keph. 191.9–192.3	**79**
Keph. 192.3–193.22	**74**
Keph. 291.4–295.8	**85**
Keph. 302.17–303.15; 337.10–338.18; 340.20–341.24; 348.12–27	**72**
Keph. 370.16–375.15	**91**
P.Kell. s.n. (Mani's Epistles)	**52**
P.Kell. v Copt. 15	**98**
P.Kell. v Copt. 19	**93**
P.Kell. v Copt. 25	**94**
P.Kell. v Copt. 31	**96**
P.Kell. v Copt. 32	**95**
P.Kell. v Copt. 35	**97**
P15997 R (= *MCPCBL* II, pl. 99)	**22(b)**
PsBk2. 7.11–9.1	**78**
PsBk2. 9.3–11.32	**56**

PsBk2. 14.18–20.17 **18**
PsBk2. 54.7–55.15 **83**
PsBk2. 115.4–116.23 **88**
PsBk2. 141.1–143.34 **80**
PsBk2. 151.4–152.9 **87**
PsBk2. 162.21–163.32 **84**
PsBk2. 187.2–36 **70**
PsBk2. 205.10–207.16 **62**
Shenoute, 'Who Speaks through the Prophet' (Paris, BN Copte 131[4]f.158b) **73**
T.Kell. Copt. 2, A5 **89**

(d) middle persian

M2 R I 1–33, MM II, 301–2 **21(a)**
M3, ed. and trans. Henning (1942), 949-50 **11**
M17, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1995), 184 and 186–90 **46(a)**
M172, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1995), 185 and 186–90 (Mid. Pers./Sogd. diglottal) **46(b)**

(e) sogdian

M172, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1995), 185 and 186–90 (Mid. Pers/Sogd. diglottal) **46(b)**
So. 18220 (=T.M. 389α), *KG* §3.2 (360–95), pp. 36–41 **21(c)**
So. 18223 (=T.M. 389c) + So. 18222 (T.M. 389c), *KG* §3.3 (441–515), pp. 41–5 **22(a)**

(f) parthian

M216c R 8–V 13, *KG* §2.5 (170-87), p. 26 **21(b)**
M4570, *KG* §4a.18, pp. 76–9 **17**
M5569 (T II 79), *MM* III,§c, pp. 860–2 **13**

(h) chinese

S3969 *Mo-ni kuang-fo chiao-fa i-lüeh*, ms. lines 57–69 **45(b)**

(ii) Literary and sub-literary texts

(a) greek

Acta Archelai 25.3–31.8 (VII–XIII) **58**
Alexander of Lycopolis, *contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, § I–II **24**

Alexander of Lycopolis, *contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, § II–V **57**
CJ I.5.II; I.5.I2 **42**
CJ I.5.I5 **43**
Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, ed. Schwartz (1939), 22.22–3.2 **33**
Didymus Alexandrinus, *Expositio in Ecclesiastes*, 9.9a **27**
(Mani), *Fragmentum epistulae ad Addam*, ap. Eustathius Monachus, *Epistula de duabus naturis adversus Severum*, PG 86.904A (= Adam (1969), §13, p. 33) **55**
(Mani), *Fragmentum epistulae ad Condarum*, ap. Diekamp (ed.) (1907) 64 (= Adam (1969), §14, p. 33) **55**
(Mani), *Fragmentum epistulae ad Scythianum*. ap. Justinianus, *c. Monophysitas* 9I, ed. Schwartz (1973), 38.35–36
(Mani), *Fragmentum epistulae ad Zabinam ap. Diekamp* (ed.), (1907), 4I **55**
Historia Monachorum in Aegypto X.30–35 **29**
Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii Gazensis*, 85–9I **32**
Photius, *Bibliotheca* 85 (65a/b) **34**

(B) LATIN

'Ambrosiaster', *in ep. ad Tim.* II, 3.6–7, 2 **26**
Augustine, *Confessiones* III.VI.I0; X.I8; XII.2I; V.III.3; VII.I2–I3; X.I8–XIII.23 **35**
Augustine, *c. Epist. Fund.* 5, II, I2, I3, I5, 30 **53**
Augustine, *c. Epist. Fund.* 8 **77**
Augustine, *c. Fel.* I.I, I6, I7, I9, 2.I **53**
Augustine, *c. Fel.* 2.5 **47(a)**
Augustine, *c. Faust.* XV.5–6 **49**
Augustine, *c. Faust.* XX.2; XX.II **69**
Augustine, *contra Julianum opus imperfectum* III, I72.I–I2, I86.2–II, 37–42, 47–9, 53–59 **54**
Augustine, *c. Sec.* 20 **53**
Augustine, *de Haeresibus* XLVI.I–8, II–I9 **59**
Augustine, *de Haeresibus* XLVI.9–I0 **40**
Augustine, *de mor. Manich.* X.I9; XVIII.65 **76**
Augustine, *de mor. Manich.* XV.36 **82**
Augustine, *de mor. Manich.* XX (74) **36**
Augustine, *de natura Boni* 44 **47(b)**
Augustine, *de natura Boni* 42, 46 **53**
Augustine, *enarrationes in Psalmos*, CXL.I2 **81(b)**

Augustine, *ep.* 236.1, 3	**39**
Augustine, *ep.* 236.2	**81(a)**
Collatio Mosaicarum XV.3	**25**
CT XVI.5.7; XVI.7.3; XVI.5.II	**41**
Evodius, *de fide contra Manichaeos* 5; II; 28	**53**
Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 15	**38**
Secundinus, *ep. ad Augustinum*, ed. Zycha, 893–901	**37**
Verba Seniorum XIII.11 (= PL 73.945)	**28**

(C) SYRIAC

Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 123, passim	**48**

(D) ARABIC

Eutychius (Sa'id ibn Batriq), *Annales*, ed. Breydey (1985), 83.	**30**
Fihrist, ed. Flügel (1871), 327–8	**1**
Fihrist, ed. Flügel (1871), 328	**8**
Fihrist, ed. Flügel (1871), 336	**45(a)**
Fihrist, ed. Flügel (1871), 336–7	**50**

Glossary

abortions	Illicit births of the demons; products of lust for the beautiful image of the androgynous god the Third Ambassador / Virgin of Light which was displayed in the heavens, they fall to earth and are the ancestors and begetters of Adam and Eve.
Adam	The first human, begotten from a demonic orgy but formed after the image of god (here: the Third Ambassador); he is saved by Jesus the Splendour, an episode that becomes the prototype of human salvation.
Adamant of light	One of the five sons of the Living Spirit, whose arena of authority is between the firmament and this earth; a god of strength and victory, associated with the subjugation of matter and its monsters.
Adamas	See: *Adamant of light*.
aeons	Term variously used for the divine eternal realities; in particular the Father in his kingdom is surrounded by the twelve great aeons, and they by 'the aeons of the aeons'. Also: *new aeon*.
Ambassador	See: *Third Ambassador*.
Atlas	See: *Porter*.
Aurentes	One of the true apostles to the east (from the Sanskrit: arhat, lit. 'one who is worthy').
Beloved of Lights	First god of the second emanation, i.e. the gods of creation.
bema	Lit. 'rostrum' or 'judgement seat' (Greek). A raised platform with five steps, on which was placed an image of Mani, formed the centrepiece

for the *bema* festival held in commemoration of Mani's death. This symbolised the living presence of the apostle in the community, until Jesus would return to take the judgement seat at the end of time. There were thus various connected significances: commemoration of Mani, a focus for confession and repentance, anticipation of the last day.

Buddha — One of the true apostles to the east, and amongst Mani's principal forerunners.

counsel of life — See: *summons and obedience*.

Cross of Light — Divinity of the living soul in matter, particularly as crucified in vegetation and plant life, where the divine hangs on every tree or bush or herb; it was a particular concern of the elect to reverence and never to harm the Cross.

Eve — Consort to Adam and the first woman; Mani drew upon a range of apocryphal traditions in his depiction of her.

Father of Greatness — Also, variously, 'God of truth', 'King of light', 'Lord of all', without origin, eternal and the first of all that is good and beautiful; during the time of mixture he is a 'hidden God' whose emanations engage in the conflict with evil, but at the end and after the final victory he will again unveil his image.

Father of Life — Alternative name for the Living Spirit.

First Man — God of the first emanation, the gods of descent, and the first-born son of the Father; he descends as a warrior into the darkness where he is defeated by the forces of evil and stripped of his armour (i.e. the living soul), thence to be rescued by the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit, and so to ascend to be king in the new aeon.

five dark elements — Smoke, fire, wind, water and darkness; these are the elements of the five storehouses or worlds of the land of darkness (and the five genera of creatures, etc.), which in history and the cosmos are mixed with the five light elements.

five light elements Living air, fire, wind, water and light; the First Man descends with these (variously, e.g. as 'garments'), is stripped of them in the abyss, after which they are mixed with the five dark elements (or matter) and become the focus of the salvific effort (*Keph*. 127.16–23 explains that strictly the living air did not enter mixture, but remained behind to provide life for its four other 'brothers').

five dark intellectuals The evil counterparts to the five light intellectuals (see below).

five light intellectuals Consideration, counsel, insight, thought, mind, i.e. the noetic qualities of the living soul which parallel the more substantially conceived five light elements; the process of salvation, by which the old man becomes the new man, involves the replacing of their evil counterparts with the good and true in order to incarnate the Light Mind (see especially kephalaion 38, published here as sect. 67).

five sons of First Man Also, variously, the 'five shining gods' or 'garments'; these may be portrayed as the armour of which the First Man was stripped, or his soul that was sacrificed to the evil forces of matter. See: *living soul, five light elements*.

five sons of Living Spirit Adamant of Light, Keeper of Splendour, King of Glory, King of Honour, Porter; these are the gods who hold the cosmos in place until the end of time when they shall rise up, causing it to collapse in on itself and be destroyed in the great fire.

God of Truth See: *Father of Greatness*.

Great Builder God of the second emanation, the gods of creation; he is the architect of the new aeon, and also of the prison for the enemy and his powers.

Great Spirit Alternative name for the Mother of Life, but sometimes indicating her pre-existence in the Father (e.g. *Keph*. 70.27–32).

Jesus Christ — Lord, saviour and son of God, of whom Mani regarded himself as an apostle; the historical Jesus of Manichaeism inherited various apocryphal and heterodox traditions (most notably docetism).

Jesus Splendour — God of the third emanation, the gods of salvation, with his throne in the moon; he appeared and brought the knowledge of truth to Adam, and is closely associated with the Light Mind (so that both Jesus and the Mind can be termed 'father of all the apostles') who is incarnated in the true believer and church.

Jesus Youth — Personification of the living soul in both its innocence and its active will for salvation, and thus a child of the summons and obedience (which is the counsel of life).

Judge of truth — Eschatological divinity who is located in the atmosphere; he judges the soul after death, and sends it to death, to life, or to rebirth.

Keeper of Splendour — One of the five sons of the Living Spirit; he is located in the heights of the cosmos, overseeing the three uppermost heavens.

King of Darkness — Principal manifestation of evil Matter, and the ruler of the demonic forces.

King of Glory — One of the five sons of the Living Spirit; he turns the three wheels and has authority over the three earths above the Porter.

King of Honour — One of the five sons of the Living Spirit; he is located in the seventh heaven, from where he oversees those below him.

land of darkness — Eternal and ingenerate demonic realm, situated to the south and below the land of light, and ruled by the King of Darkness who is the manifestation of evil Matter; its five constituent worlds (variously: five elements, storehouses, trees, genera of demonic creatures, etc.) are continuously at war with each other, their entire nature being blind, grasping lust and destruction.

land of light — Eternal and ingenerate divine realm, situated north, west, east and above the land of darkness, and ruled by the Father of Greatness who is the source of all that is good and beautiful; it is entirely peaceful and joyous.

Last Statue — Eschatological divinity, that at the time of the great fire and dissolution of the universe will ascend; the final gathering in of the living soul by the counsel of life, so that the entire history of conflict and mixture is from the going down of the First Man to the rising up of the Last Statue.

Light Form — Eschatological divinity, who at the time of death will meet the victorious soul; she appears as a beautiful maiden, together with three angels bearing gifts of light (variously: the victory prize, light garment and crown).

Light Mind — Divinity that is incarnated in the apostles, redeemed souls (viz. one in whom the new man has displaced the old man) and the church; the personification of knowledge, obedience and truth.

living soul — The divine light soul (or collectivity of the five elements) that descended at the beginning with the First Man, and was devoured by the evil demonic forces to endure repeated degradations while mixed in matter; the focus of the salvific endeavour.

Living Spirit — The demiurge; god of the second emanation who (with the Mother of Life) rescues the First Man, defeats the demonic forces, and creates the cosmos out of their bodies (but mixed through with the light that they have first devoured).

lump — Greek: 'bolos'; the final mass of evil and the damned that remains to be sealed up at the end of time, never again to trouble the light.

Maiden of Light — See: *Virgin of Light*.

Matter — Greek: 'hyle'; the very principle of evil and darkness, ie. the 'thought of death' that fashions and

	begets the creatures of darkness, and which is manifested in lust and hatred.
Mind	See: *Light Mind*.
moon	The 'ship of living waters' and enlightener of the night, where are situated the thrones of the First Man, Jesus Splendour and the Virgin of Light; as purified light ascends it fills up the moon, before then being ferried on to the sun (this process being visible to all in the lunar waxing and waning).
new aeon	A new light earth built by the Great Builder above this material cosmos as a home for the gods during the time of mixture, and a resting-place for the redeemed souls and light; the First Man is king there.
new man	The old man is transformed into the new by the Light Mind, as the five noetic and moral qualities are fashioned and displace their dark counterparts; the terminology was ultimately derived from Paul, but the details of this process received much elaboration by Mani and his followers (see here especially sect. 67).
old man	See: *new man*.
Paraclete	From John 14:16–17:26 and 16:7ff.; Mani identified his spiritual Twin as this figure promised by Jesus, and (being united with him) himself came to be honoured as such.
Perfect Man	See: *Pillar of Glory*.
Picture(-Book)	Greek: 'eikon'; one of Mani's scriptures in which he depicted episodes of cosmic history.
Pillar of Glory	Eschatological god who is personified as the Perfect Man; he represents the light ascending from mixture into unity and via the moon into the divine realm, reversing the descent of the First Man and anticipating the Last Statue.
planets (seven)	See: *stars*.
Porter	One of the five sons of the Living Spirit; he stands upon the foundation of the cosmos and supports its entire weight.

Primal Man	See: *First Man*.
rulers	Greek: 'archon'; the children of darkness and demons that are the powers and authorities in this world of mixture.
Saklas	Leader of the demonic abortions who form Adam and Eve after the likeness of the Third Ambassador (i.e. the Manichaean interpretation of Genesis 1.26–7, see further *Keph*. 137.15–138.19).
Satan	Personification of the King of Darkness in the world; in Manichaean texts the term is used with particular reference to Judaeo-Christian contexts (e.g. at *Keph*. 159.1 he stands for the Old Testament God).
Seth(el)	Son of Adam, and counted amongst the true apostles; Mani drew upon a range of apocryphal traditions in his depiction of him.
Spirit of truth	Ie. the Paraclete.
Splenditenens	(Latin); See: *Keeper of Splendour*.
stars (five)	Manichaeism subscribed to a doctrine of astrological fatalism, where the planets and the stars (but not including the divine sun and moon) were forces of evil and bondage.
summons and obedience	Also, variously, 'call and answer'; they are divinities of the process of salvation who jointly form the counsel of life, and whose archetypes are found in the episode of the redemption of the First Man where the call goes down to him in the abyss, and is met by his response.
sun	The 'ship of living fire' and enlightener of the day, where are situated the thrones of the Mother of Life, the Living Spirit and the Third Ambassador; purified light endlessly fills the sun as it is ferried on from the moon, so that it is the gate of life (i.e. the portal to the new aeon) and a fitting object for worship.
Syzygos	Greek: 'pair' and 'comrade'; see: *Twin*.
Third Ambassador	God of the third emanation, the god of salvation, with his throne in the sun (with which he may be identified); he is particularly represented

in the episode where he appears naked before the evil powers chained in the heavens, causing them to ejaculate spontaneously and thus to release their light, and (as a later result) Adam and Eve are formed after his image.

three wheels — Cosmic mechanisms turned by the King of Glory, by which the divine elements of fire and water and wind are drawn up to the heights, whilst their evil counterparts are discharged below.

Twin — Mani's spiritual partner-spirit who revealed to him the truth about everything; identified with the Paraclete foretold by Jesus.

Virgin of Light — God of the third emanation, the gods of salvation, with her throne in the moon (with which she may be identified); female manifestation of the Third Ambassador, so that the two appear as an androgynous sun-moon god.

virgin of light — The term is variously used, with particular reference to the soul of the First Man and the perfected individual soul (or its spiritual image).

watchers — Rebellious giants who descend to earth from the heavens; the episode derives ultimately from Genesis 6.4, but Mani drew upon apocryphal traditions in his canonical Book of the Giants.

Zarathushtra — One of the line of true apostles and amongst Mani's principal forerunners.

zodiac (twelve) — See: *stars*.

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Index

Abakarim 114
Abesira 106
Abiesus the Teacher 42, 59, 114
Abira 114
Abizachias 66. *See also* Abzakhuya and Zacheas.
Abraham 120
Abū Hilāl al-Dayhūri 43
Abzakhuya 84. *See also* Abizachias and Zacheas.
Achillius 130
Acta Archelai 26, 129, 182, 230
Adam 4, 16, 17, 54, 74, 92, 119, 168, 169, 186, 190, 211, 212, 222, 242, 263
Adamant of Light 15, 16, 210, 211, 212
  Adamas 165, 226
Adda, Mār Addā, Addas 111, 112, 113, 129, 130, 174, 187
Adiabene 1, 75
aeons 12, 13, 21, 98, 170, 176, 184, 192, 195, 204, 205, 214, 226, 233, 234, 235, 247, 250, 252, 255, 257
  twelve aeons 12, 164, 169, 176
  See also new aeon.
agape 280
Aianos the baptist 65
al-Ḥasīh 33
al-Mada'in (Twin-Cities) 24, 43, 46
Alchasaios 30, 34, 63, 65. *See also* Elchasaios.
Alcibiades 31
Alexander of Lycopolis 28, 29, 38, 115, 179
Alexandria 2, 25, 111, 112, 123, 275
Amarō King of the Lakhmids 114
Ambassador *See* Third Ambassador
Ampelius, urban prefect 118
an-Nadīm 26, 33, 36, 46, 153, 155, 165, 167, 256
Ana, brother of the disciple Zacheas 42, 72
Anastasius I 111, 149
Andrew (the apostle) 242
angels 19, 23, 47, 48, 49, 54, 55, 56, 57, 68, 80, 83, 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 120, 131, 165, 177, 189, 195, 196, 205, 217, 224, 225, 233, 236, 241, 275
  archangel 137
  Balsamos the angel 54
  five angels 213
  four angels 212
  Michael the angel 56
  Nahasbat the angel 13
  seven angels 23, 56
  the angel, the Paraclete 97
  three angels 193, 257
Anthony (St) 119
antichrist 222, 267
Antinoe 124, 125, 276
Antioch 102, 125, 126
Aphrodite 207
Apket 106
Apostle of Light 17, 193
Apotactitans 147, 148
Arabia 279
archegos 7, 24, 43, 85, 104
Archelaus 129. *See also Acta Archelai*.
Ardashir 1, 3, 5, 6, 74, 75
Ares 207
Arians 119, 148
Aristobula 243
Aristobulias 129
Aristotle 179
Arius 124
Arsacids 3
Artabanus V of Parthia 3, 74
astrology 15, 32, 127, 205
Athanasius 119
Athimar 91
Atlas (the Porter) 15, 165, 183, 184, 187, 210, 211, 212, 226
Augustine 24, 26, 35, 36, 110, 130, 136, 142, 159, 163, 172, 187, 219, 236, 237, 244, 245
Aurades 77
Aurentes 261, 263

Baat 7, 81
Babylon 1, 59, 78, 86, 90, 103, 223
Badia (?) 82

Balsamos *See* angels
Banak 87
Barabbas 139
Baraies the Teacher 42, 50, 54, 58, 60
Bardaiṣan 4, 28, 75, 155, 261
Barochas 128
Bassa 125
Belabad 89. *See also* Belapat and Bet Lapat.
Belapat 67, 80, 81, 89, 98, 107. *See also* Belabad and Bet Lapat.
Beloved of the Lights 14, 192, 258
bema 25, 85, 93, 99, 176, 237, 238, 239
Benjamin of Alexandria 122
Bet Lapat 7, 8. *See also* Belapat.
Book of Elxai 31, 32, 33
Book of Mysteries 80, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 164, 166
Book of the Giants 129, 152, 154, 155, 156, 160, 164
Book(s) of Enoch 160
Buddha 6, 9, 18, 261, 263
Buddhism 2, 6, 27, 109
Bundos 117

Cain 92
call and answer *See* summons and obedience
Carrhae 26
Carthage 110, 132, 144
catechumens 19, 23, 52, 74, 87, 90, 100, 101, 103, 105, 107, 154, 185, 193, 218, 222, 224, 225, 231, 232, 248, 249, 256, 268, 269, 277, 281. *See also* hearers.
Catharists 144, 145
Chaldeans 279
Cheroubin 279
China 76, 110
Cholassar 81
Christ 94, 95, 96, 99, 115, 121, 127, 131, 136, 140, 143, 167, 173, 175, 181, 190, 195, 219, 230, 237, 238, 244, 245, 246, 257, 262, 263, 268, 271, 275. *See also* Jesus.
Christianity 2, 6, 27, 109, 194
Christians 93, 115, 122, 126, 127, 186
Christmas 122
Cologne Mani-Codex 10, 30, 33, 40, 41, 42, 259
Constantius (Manichaean hearer) 134, 145
Constantius (Roman Emperor) 117
Copres 121
Cornelius 128
Cronos 207
Cross of Light 14, 22, 231, 240, 245, 253
Ctesiphon 3, 5, 7, 46, 67, 76, 81, 91, 103

Dariadaxar 50. *See also* Ardashir
demiurge 15, 19, 180, 204, 206
demons 78, 85, 87, 90, 98, 113, 129, 162, 163, 164, 165, 185, 196, 198, 201, 236, 247
Diatessarōn of Tatian 27, 94
Didymus the Blind 119
Dinak 87
Diocletian 110, 117, 119
Diodorus 130
Donatists 145
Drusiane 243
Dunhuang 7, 26

Easter (pascha) 237, 260
Ecbatana 3
Edict of Milan 110
Egypt 24, 43, 110, 120, 122, 179, 187, 278, 279
Elchasai(os) or Elxai 3, 4, 30, 31, 33. *See also* Alchasaios.
Elchasaites 5, 31, 33, 35, 260
elect 12, 19, 23, 24, 32, 52, 54, 66, 74, 87, 101, 102, 103, 107, 109, 110, 111, 115, 122, 125, 131, 134, 135, 142, 143, 144, 145, 154, 155, 157, 171, 185, 186, 188, 189, 191, 193, 202, 209, 216, 218, 224, 225, 231, 232, 236, 240, 244, 245, 247, 251, 256, 257, 262, 268, 269, 275, 280, 281
Encratitans 147, 148
Enoch 4, 18, 56, 92, 242, 261, 263
Enosh 4, 55, 92, 242, 261, 263
Ephraim 28, 36
Epiphanius 26, 31
Epistles of Mani 10, 22, 38, 135, 152, 153, 154, 156, 165, 167, 274. *See also Fundamental Epistle.*
  Letter to Edessa 42, 57, 166
  Letter to Menoch 172
  Letter on the Ten Words 167
eschatology 19, 20, 27, 29, 186, 187, 191, 203, 204, 205, 220, 223, 224, 225. *See also* new aeon.
Essenes 32
Eunomians 148
Eusebia 144
Euthymius 129
Eutychius (Sa'id ibn Batriq) 121
Eve 16, 91, 119, 168, 169, 186, 190, 211, 212

Father of Life *See* Living Spirit
Father of light or greatness, God of truth, King of light, Lord of all, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 25, 41, 47, 50, 59, 67, 68, 69, 78, 79, 83, 97, 141, 156, 157, 158, 161, 162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 169, 173, 176, 177, 179, 180, 182, 183, 186, 188, 191, 192, 195, 197, 198, 203, 204, 209, 216, 218, 219, 226, 230, 234, 235, 236, 248, 251, 252, 253, 254, 258, 259, 263, 275

Faustus of Milevis 111, 132, 133, 219
Fayum 123
Felix 35, 110
Ferat 5. *See also* Pharat.
Firmus 142, 143
First or Primal Man 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 27, 85, 88, 178, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 192, 203, 204, 205, 218, 225, 226, 227, 232, 233, 234, 235, 241, 247, 248, 249, 250, 257, 258
five sons of the First Man, five gods, five light elements, five powers, 12, 13, 14, 15, 177, 182, 188, 192, 203, 205, 208, 209, 211, 213. *See also* Living Soul.
five sons of the Living Spirit 15, 20, 192, 204, 205, 208, 210, 213, 241. *See also* Adamant, Atlas, Keeper of Splendour, King of Glory, King of Honour.
five storehouses (of the Kingdom of Darkness), five dark elements, five kings, five trees, five worlds, 12, 13, 14, 15, 162, 170, 177, 188, 199, 200, 204, 206, 208, 213
food rituals 5, 22, 24, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 72, 115, 122, 131, 144, 181, 185, 188, 189, 244, 245, 246
Form of Light 19, 87, 89, 193, 233, 236
Fortunatus 110
Fundamental Epistle (Epistula Fundamenti) 168, 170

Galerius 117
Galileans (Christians) 174
Gallus 75
Ġālūs *see under* Gallus.
Ganzak 5, 6, 69
George of Laodicea 130
Georgia 6
gnosticism 9, 25, 29
God of truth. *See* Father of light or greatness.
Gospel of Mani, *Living Gospel* 58, 80, 89, 91, 111, 129, 130, 152, 153, 154, 156, 157, 158, 164, 223, 266
Gratian 145, 147
Great Builder 14, 20, 178, 192
Great Spirit *See* Mother of Life

Hannibal (as foreign arch-enemy of Rome) 138
Hatra 50
hearer or auditor, hearers 23, 24, 37, 109, 111, 113, 122, 133, 135, 143, 145, 155, 188, 189, 190, 233, 237, 244, 268, 269. *See also* catechumens.
Hegemonius 129. *See also Acta Archelai*.
Heraclianus 129, 130
Herakleides (Psalmist) 219
Hermeias 187
Hermes 207
Hermes Trismegistus 261
Hermopolis Magna 121
Hesiod 127
Hippo 110, 142
Hippolytus 31
Holy Spirit 10, 13, 57, 113, 131, 136, 158, 168, 176, 190, 204, 219, 254, 255, 264, 275
Hormizd 7, 80, 83
Hormizdakshar 81
Hortensius 138
Hydroparastatans 147, 148
Hypatius, praetorian prefect 147
Hystaspes 263

India and Indians 1, 5, 73, 75, 76, 77, 92, 93, 109
Innaios 42, 59, 102, 104, 106
Iran 109
Islam 2, 8, 27
Ismant el-Kharab 24, 35, 43, 45, 194, 238, 246, 259, 272. *See also* Kellis.

Jacob 139
James 242
Jesus 2, 4, 9, 14, 18, 19, 20, 25, 27, 49, 57, 66, 74, 75, 95, 103, 112, 113, 115, 120, 131, 136, 139, 143, 155, 157, 158, 167, 176, 185, 187, 190, 193, 212, 217, 218, 219, 223, 225, 227, 238, 242, 248, 253, 254, 256, 261, 263, 264. *See also* Christ.
  Jesus Splendour 15, 17, 192, 193, 227, 257
  Jesus the Youth 193, 208, 211
Jews 92, 95, 96, 175, 186, 219, 263, 264
John the virgin 242
Judas 124, 125, 139, 167, 263
Judge 193, 257
judgement, last. *See* eschatology
Judgement of Peter 274
Julia 125, 126, 127, 128
Julian of Eclanum 172
Julianus, Proconsul of Africa 116, 117
Justin (Byzantine Emperor) 149
Justinian 111, 149, 150

Kamsaragan 3
Kapelos 77
Kardel 81. *See also* Karder.
Karder 8, 84. *See also* Kardel.
Keeper of Splendour 15, 164, 210, 211, 212, 226
Kellis 9, 22, 35, 38, 43, 44, 45, 238, 272, 277, 280. *See also* Ismant el-Kharab.
Khorasan 76
Khūzistan 114
King of Darkness 12, 13, 16, 186, 199, 200, 201, 202, 244
King of Fire 202

King of Glory 15, 165, 210, 211, 212, 226
King of Honour 15, 17, 164, 210, 211, 212, 226
King of Smoke 190, 199, 200
King of Water 202
King of Wind 202
kingdom or land of darkness 12, 169, 177, 178, 199, 200, 216, 241, 252. *See also* five storehouses.
Koushan 81. *See also* Kushan.
Koustaios or Kushtai, son of the 'treasure of life' 42, 68, 84, 221
Kundaros 175
Kushan 110

Lao-tzu 261
Last Statue 20, 178, 203, 204, 205, 226
Latin 275
Libanius 110, 125
Light Form *See* Form of Light
Light Mind 17, 193, 208, 209, 210, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 227, 228, 229, 235, 247, 248, 252, 256, 257, 277, 278, 280
Living Soul 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 137, 142, 159, 173, 176, 178, 180, 181, 183, 186, 188, 189, 195, 197, 204, 209, 211, 213, 218, 228, 231, 238, 240, 244, 245, 246, 247, 250, 253
Living Spirit 14, 15, 178, 183, 184, 187, 192, 203, 205, 206, 210, 211, 226, 227, 233, 234, 235. *See also* demiurge.
  Father of life 14, 203, 234, 250, 251
  second son 178

Luxor 41
Lycopolis 38, 41, 109, 110
Lydia 125

Macedonians 148
Magi 81, 105, 106
Magians 7, 8, 96, 97
magic 127, 201, 278
Maiden of Light. *See* Virgin of Light
Malliana 110, 143, 144
Malōp 114
mammon 269
Mandaeans 30
Mani
  apostle, apostle of Jesus Christ 9, 10, 18, 24, 41, 86, 156, 157, 167, 168, 172, 190, 192, 203, 206, 209, 252, 261, 264, 265
  birth 3, 46, 47, 50
  buddha 156
  death or 'crucifixion' of, 24, 80, 81, 89, 93, 94, 95, 99, 103, 105, 243
Marcion 19, 28, 75, 110, 261
Marcionism 4, 19
Margaret 144
Mariam 220
Mark (the deacon) 126
Mark (the evangelist) 125
Maryam, mother of Mani 3
Mattarii (Manichaean group) 145
Matter (hyle) 12, 15, 161, 162, 163, 179, 180, 181, 182, 200, 209, 230, 247
Maximianus 117
Maximilla 243
Medes 69, 79
Medinet Madi 25, 29, 37, 39, 110
Meletians 119
Menoch 172
Mesene 1, 6, 72, 75, 78, 81, 103
Mesopotamia 3, 34, 109
Messenger *See* Third Ambassador
Michael *See* angels
Mihrshah 6
Milan 133, 134
Mithridates 138
Modion, work of Addas 130
monasteries (Manichaean) 23, 111, 112
monasticism (Christian) 21
Monica, mother of Augustine 131
moon 15, 20, 21, 24, 88, 132, 178, 180, 181, 183, 186, 188, 189, 191, 195, 206, 207, 208, 218, 219, 224, 229, 230, 232, 244, 257, 277
  ship of water or night or First Man 15, 218, 258
  three moons 229
Moses 120, 186, 190, 244
Mother of Life 13, 14, 157, 158, 182, 187, 192, 227, 233, 234, 250, 257
  Great Spirit 13, 176, 192, 203, 227
Mount of Olives 220
Mousak 80
Mughtasilah 32, 33, 47

Nabroel 16
Nafšā 111, 112, 113
Nahasbat *See* angels
Narses 104
Naser 5, 67
new aeon, aeon of light 20, 179, 187, 195, 196, 202, 203, 205, 226, 233, 235, 267
New Testament 151, 190
Nikotheos 18
Noah 18, 139, 242, 263
Nuhzadag 84

Oggias 73
Ohrmezd 88
Origen 31
Osseans 31
O(zeos) 87

Oxyrhynchus 36, 41
Ozeos, the land of 81, 103

Palestine 126
Palmyra *See* Tadmor
Papos 116
Paraclete 4, 5, 10, 18, 54, 57, 74, 75, 99, 131, 176, 186, 190, 239, 248, 259, 261, 265, 273, 278, 279
Pargalia 81
Parthia and Parthians 1, 75, 79
pascha *See* Easter
Pattek (Patticius), father of Mani 3, 5, 62, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72, 73
Pattek (Patīg) the teacher 111, 112, 168
Paul (the apostle) 4, 18, 19, 31, 42, 57, 92, 114, 137, 138, 140, 167, 173, 219, 238, 242, 261, 264
perfect air 184
Perfect Man *See* Pillar of Glory
Peroz 6
Persia 1, 73, 75, 77, 78, 103, 114, 117, 119. *See also* Persis.
Persis (Fars) 6, 91
Peter (the apostle) 139, 242
Phaeno 118
Pharat 72, 73. *See also* Ferat.
Pharisees 139
Philistion (the comic) 127
Photius 129
Picture Book 89, 152, 156, 223, 266
Pilate. *See* Pontius Pilate
Pillar of Glory or Splendour 19, 52, 88, 154, 184, 192, 208, 211, 212, 218, 257
  Column of Praise 257
  Perfect Man 19, 20, 85, 192, 208, 211, 218, 248, 257. *See also* perfect air.
Plato 179
Pneumatomachians 148
Pontius Pilate 95, 219
Porphyry of Gaza 125, 126, 127, 128
Porter *See* Atlas
Possidius 142
Postumianus, praetorian prefect 148
Pragmateia (*The Treatise*) 153, 154, 155, 156, 160, 164
Prayers. See also Psalms and the Prayers.
  Great Prayers 274
  Prayer-Book 274
Primal Man *See* First Man
Priscianus 125
Proconnesus 118
Prostrations 274
Psalms and the Prayers 152, 153, 154, 156, 163, 164, 274

Qumran 32, 33, 160

Rabbi 220
Rome 133, 134, 135, 136

Sabaoth 186
Sabbaios the baptist 65
sabbath 226
Saccoforians 147, 148
Saclas 16, 190
Salmaios the Ascetic 41, 48
Salona 125
Sampseans 31
Sapores. *See under* Shapur.
Sara (wife of Abraham) 139
Sarapion the Sidonite 126
Sarouphin 279
Satan 102, 103, 127, 259–263, 275
Sayings 274
Scythianus 38, 175
Secundinus 136
Seleucia-Ctesiphon 43, 112
Sem 56, 92, 261, 263
Serapion of Thmuis 26, 130
Sermon of the Great War 20, 220
Seth 4, 17, 18
  Sethel 55, 90, 242, 261, 263
Sethel (the servant) 114
Severus of Antioch 36, 160
Shah of Turan 6
Sham'ūn 33
Shapur 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 27, 50, 73, 75, 76, 77, 80, 83, 109, 116, 152
Shem 4, 92, 242
Shenoute 229
Shenute (dux) 124
ships 52, 74, 183, 205, 247, 248, 251. *See also* sun (ship of fire or day) and moon (ship of water or night).
Simeon 66
Simon Peter 220
Sisinnios 89, 102, 104, 106
Sita 59, 60, 62
Sitaios 58, 59
Sobiai 31
Song of the Lovers 164
soul *See* Living Soul
Sparta 126
splenditenens *See* Keeper of Splendour
summons and obedience 14, 52, 193, 205, 208, 211, 218, 234, 249
sun 11, 15, 20, 21, 125, 132, 178, 180, 181, 186, 188, 189, 191, 195, 206, 207, 208, 218, 219, 230, 232, 244, 277
  ship of fire or day or Third Ambassador 15, 203, 218, 258
Susiana 1, 6, 75
Symmachus, praefectus urbi 134

Syria 110
Syriac 160
Syzygos or Twin 4, 5, 10, 30, 42, 47, 49, 50, 52, 58, 65–66, 68, 70, 71, 72, 154, 158, 196, 261

Taδī 113
Tadmor (Palmyra) 112
Taoism 2
Teacher (Manichaean leader) 24, 276
Tebessa Codex 37
Thagaste 110
Thecla 243
Theodor bar Khoni 13, 36
Theodosius I 111, 145, 147
Thesaurus. See Treasury
Thio 274
Third Ambassador or Messenger 15, 16, 39, 154, 180, 191, 192, 203, 205, 210, 211, 212, 218, 257, 258
  third elder 187
Thomas (disciple of Mani) 116, 187
Thomas (Psalmist) 196
Thomas (the apostle) 10, 139, 242
three seals 231, 236
Timotheos 42, 52, 59, 65, 68, 70
Timothy of Alexandria 121
Titus of Bostra 26, 130
transmigration of souls 23, 35, 172, 184, 189, 196, 230
Treasury of the Life 129, 153, 154, 156, 159, 164
Treatise, The. See Pragmateia
Turfan 25, 29, 110
Twin *See* Syzygos and Paraclete

Ursus 144
Uzzi 89

Vahram I 7, 84, 105, 107
Valens 118
Valentinian I 118, 147
Valentinian II 145, 147
Valentinus (gnostic) 4, 29
Valerian (emperor) 116
Viator 144
Victorinus 143
Virgin of Light 15, 85, 157, 184, 187, 192, 227, 256, 257

wanderers (sarakote) 247, 253
world of darkness 207
world of fire 206
world of smoke 206
world of water 206
world of wind 206

Zabinas 175
Zacheas 42, 63, 72, 114. *See also* Abizachias and Abzakhuya.
Zakū 75
Zarathustra 10, 18, 92, 93, 261, 263
Zebedee 92, 242
Zeno (Byzantine Emperor) 149
Zenobia 114
Zeus 207
Ziph 129
zodiac 206, 207, 208, 210
Zoroastrianism 6, 27, 29, 109, 152
Zurvanism 6, 26

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SAMUEL N. C. LIEU

Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire



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MANICHAEAN TEXTS FROM THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Founded by Mani (*c.* AD 216–76), a Syrian visionary of Judaeo-Christian background who lived in Persian Mesopotamia, Manichaeism spread rapidly into the Roman Empire in the third and fourth centuries AD and became one of the most persecuted heresies under Christian Roman emperors. The religion established missionary cells in Syria, Egypt, North Africa and Rome and has in Augustine of Hippo the most famous of its converts. The study of the religion in the Roman Empire has benefited from discoveries of genuine Manichaean texts from Medinet Madi and from the Dakhleh Oasis in Egypt, as well as successful decipherment of the Cologne Mani-Codex which gives an autobiography of the founder in Greek. This first ever single-volume collection of sources for this religion, which draws from material mostly unknown to English-speaking scholars and students, offers in translation genuine Manichaean texts from Greek, Latin and Coptic.

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MANICHAEAN TEXTS FROM THE ROMAN EMPIRE

EDITED BY
IAIN GARDNER AND SAMUEL N. C. LIEU

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Contents

List of plates *page* xi
List of maps xi
List of contributors xii
Preface xiii
Acknowledgements xiv
Notes for the reader xv
List of abbreviations xvii

1 Introduction 1
The purpose of this book 1
The life of Mani 3
The Manichaean system 8
Worship and ethic 21
The development of Manichaean studies 25
The survival of Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire 35

2 The life of Mani 46
Childhood, youth and calling 46
1 Mani's parentage, birth, childhood and adolescence 46
2 Mani's own version of early revelations from his divine Twin 47
3 Incidents from Mani's youth showing his refusal to harm even plants 48
4 Mani's account of his call 49
5 Mani's conflicts and break with the baptist community 58
6 The beginning of Mani's mission 66
Mani at the court of the Shahanshah (King of Kings) 73
7 Mani's calling and his summons before Shapur I 73
8 Mani's first encounter with Shapur I 75
9 Mani recounts his travels 76
The last days and death of Mani 79
10 Mani's change of fortune after the death of Hormizd 79
11 The confrontation between Mani and King Vahram I 84

12 Mani's imprisonment and death 85
13 Mani's entry into *parinirvana* 88
14 Praise for the martyred Mani 89
15 The sufferings of Mani compared to those of other true apostles 91
16 The institution of the *bema* 93
17 The death of Mani compared to the trial and crucifixion of Jesus the Messiah 94
18 The death of Mani commemorated in two *bema* psalms 95
The Manichaean church under Sisinnios and his successor Innaios 102
19 Persecution of the Manichaean church 102
20 The prayer and martyrdom of Sisinnios (Mar Sisin) 104

3 Manichaeism in the Roman Empire 109
Early mission and reaction 111
21 The mission of Mār Addā and Pattek the teacher 111
22 The healing of Nafšā of Tadmor (Palmyra) by Mār Addā 112
23 A warning against Manichaean missionaries 114
24 Alexander of Lycopolis on the Manichaean mission in Egypt 115
25 Edict (rescript) of Diocletian against the sect (AD 302) 116
26 Warning against door-to-door missions by the Manichaeans 119
Manichaeans and Christian ascetics in Egypt 119
27 Manichaeans out-argued by Didymus the Blind 119
28 A travelling Manichaean converted by true 'hospitality' 120
29 A Manichaean missionary challenged to trial by fire 121
30 A food-test imposed by the Patriarch Timothy 121
31 A story of two Manichaean merchants 122
Manichaeism in the Levant, Asia Minor and Greece 125
32 The debate between the Manichaea Julia and Porphyry the bishop of Gaza 125
33 The conversion of the Manichaeans at Ziph 129
34 The works of Mani and of Mār Addā refuted by Heraclianus of Chalcedon 129
Manichaeism in Italy and North Africa 130
35 The young Augustine joins the sect at Carthage as a hearer 130
36 A Manichaean house at Rome 134
37 Letter of the Manichaean Secundinus to Augustine 136
38 The Manichaean Firmus converted by a sermon of Augustine's 142
39 Victorinus exposed as a crypto-Manichaean 143
40 Manichaeans detected and punished in Carthage 144
Select legislations against the Manichaeans from Theodosius to Justinian 145
41 Anti-Manichaean legislation issued by Theodosius 145
42 The death penalty for Manichaeans 149
43 Mandate of Justinian I on Manichaeans' wills 150

4 The scriptures of Mani 151
44 Mani's canon according to the *Kephalaia* 153
45 Canon lists from an Arabic and a Chinese source 154
46 From *The Living Gospel* 156
47 From *The Treasure of Life* 159
48 From an unnamed work of Mani, probably *The Pragmateia* 160
49 From *The Psalms and Prayers* (?) 163
50 The titles of Mani's *Epistles* 165
51 A quotation from 'The Letter to Edessa' 166
52 Passages from *The Epistles* preserved at Ismant el-Kharab 166
53 'The Fundamental Epistle' 168
54 'The Letter to Menoch' 172
55 Spurious letters attributed to Mani 174

5 Teachings 176
56 The community sing 'the knowledge of Mani' 176
57 Alexander of Lycopolis on the Manichaean system 179
58 The *Acta Archelai* on cosmogony 182
59 Augustine's summary of the teaching 187
60 An account of the evocation of the gods 191
61 'The prayer of the emanations' 194
62 Concerning the coming of the soul 196
63 The five worlds of the kingdom of darkness 199
64 The 'three days' and the 'two deaths' 202
65 The seven works of the Living Spirit 204
66 Mani discusses astrology 205
67 The Coptic treatise on the Light Mind 208
68 The descent of Jesus 217
69 Augustine on Manichaean Christology 218
70 A psalm by Herakleides 219
71 The great war and the last judgement 220
72 Four recently edited *Kephalaia* 226
73 Manichaean and other 'errors' concerning the destiny of the soul after death (Christian polemic) 229

6 Worship and ethic 231
74 The essential precepts of the elect and the catechumens 231
75 The archetypes of ritual action 232
76 The three seals 236
77 Augustine on the *bema* festival 237
78 A *bema* psalm 237
79 The profits of fasting 240
80 A psalm of endurance 240
81 Augustine on Manichaean ethics 244

82 Augustine on the redemption of the light particles 245
83 A psalm of the universal soul 246
84 A psalm to glorify the Mind 247
85 Mani's discourse on the 'assent' and the 'amen' 249
86 The nature of love 252
87 A psalm in praise of Jesus 253
88 A psalm to the Trinity 254
89 A prayer for the ascent of the soul 256

7 Community texts 259
90 The advent of Mani 260
91 On the ten advantages of the Manichaean religion 265
92 An apologia for the distinction between elect and hearer 268
93 A father instructs his young son 272
94 The son writes to his mother 275
95 An elect encourages a sick catechumen 277
96 An elect writes to ask for alms 277
97 A Manichaean scribe sends a spell to a colleague 278
98 Horion discusses preparations for the *agape* 280

List and concordance of texts 282
Glossary 290
Bibliography 298
Index 307

Illustrations

PLATES

2.1 Cologne Mani-Codex p. 94 *page* 64
5.1 Prayer of the Emanations from Kellis 194
7.1 General view of Ismant el-Kharab (ancient Kellis) 260
7.2 Manichaean psalms from Kellis 273

MAPS

1 The Sassanian Empire xix
2 The Roman Empire xx

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Preface

The genesis of this book was in the late 1980s when Samuel Lieu first proposed the concept for the volume and approached Iain Gardner to collaborate, especially with translations of the extensive Coptic corpus. Gardner began to prepare portions of the *Kephalaia* codex, but in fact that developed into an entirely separate volume which is only partly represented here. Over a number of years the authors collected texts and made translations whilst they were occupied with other projects (often these contributed entirely new or previously unavailable pieces). Then, in 2000, we finally had the opportunity to put together the translations and introductions that we had gathered for this volume. We are very grateful to our contributors, some of whom had to complete their translations to meet stringent deadlines. We are grateful too to the British Academy, the Australian Research Council, the Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust and Warwick and Macquarie Universities for grants over a number of years for research on Manichaean texts discovered in Egypt and in Central Asia. To Dr Malcolm Choat we owe a warm word of thanks for helping in the task of indexing and final checking of the typescript. We would also like to thank Dr Michael Sharp at Cambridge University Press for his personal interest in the project and Professor Aloïs van Tongerloo and his research assistants at Catholic University of Leuven, Mr Dieter Taillieu and Kristof D'hulster for checking the translations from the *Fihrist* of Ibn an-Nadīm. Sam Lieu would like personally to thank the staff and fellows of the Ancient History Documentary Research Centre at Macquarie University for providing an excellent home for the Manichaean Documentation Centre which greatly facilitated research on this volume.

Notes for the reader

A good number of the translations included here have been made by the editors specially for this volume, either individually or in some combination with various scholars. Other translations have been specifically commissioned, whilst some have been drawn from published works. We would like to note that all the pieces have, to some extent, been adapted to conform to a basically uniform style throughout. In particular, technical terms, such as the names of Manichaean divinities, have mostly been given the same form throughout (there are some exceptions, such as the retention of the term Syzygos in the *Cologne Mani-Codex*). Where improved readings have been suggested (for instance to the *Manichaean Psalm-Book* text edited by Allberry in the 1930s), the translation will reflect those according to the judgement of the editors. These adaptations, which range from minor matters of house style to major improvements to the textual sense, have not been individually noted; though the occasions where radical revisions to the *editio princeps* have been possible are generally explained or referenced in the introductions to those pieces.

While the selection of texts is intended to be as representative as possible, and includes well-known pieces as well as some previously unavailable, some allowance has been made for the question of whether texts are easily accessible in a modern English translation. Thus, at the beginning, it was intended to provide especially substantial portions of *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, since this only then existed in a German translation that was not always easy to obtain. However, now that that work has been published by Gardner as a separate volume, the selections of that text have been substantially reduced, and are slanted towards parts of the codex edited after Gardner's English translation of the rest appeared.

Sources that appear here have been restricted to only a few pages per piece. This means that some especially long texts (such as the *Cologne Mani-Codex*) have been artificially broken up according to subject matter. These sections accord only to the purposes of this book, and do not reflect

the intentions of the ancient authors. Equally, punctuation, paragraphs and such like have been imposed upon texts with the intention to make them more accessible to the modern reader. The following editorial signs are also used: round brackets ( ) indicate explanatory material added by the editors; square brackets [ ] indicate lacunae in the text; angular brackets < > denote words or phrases added to the text.

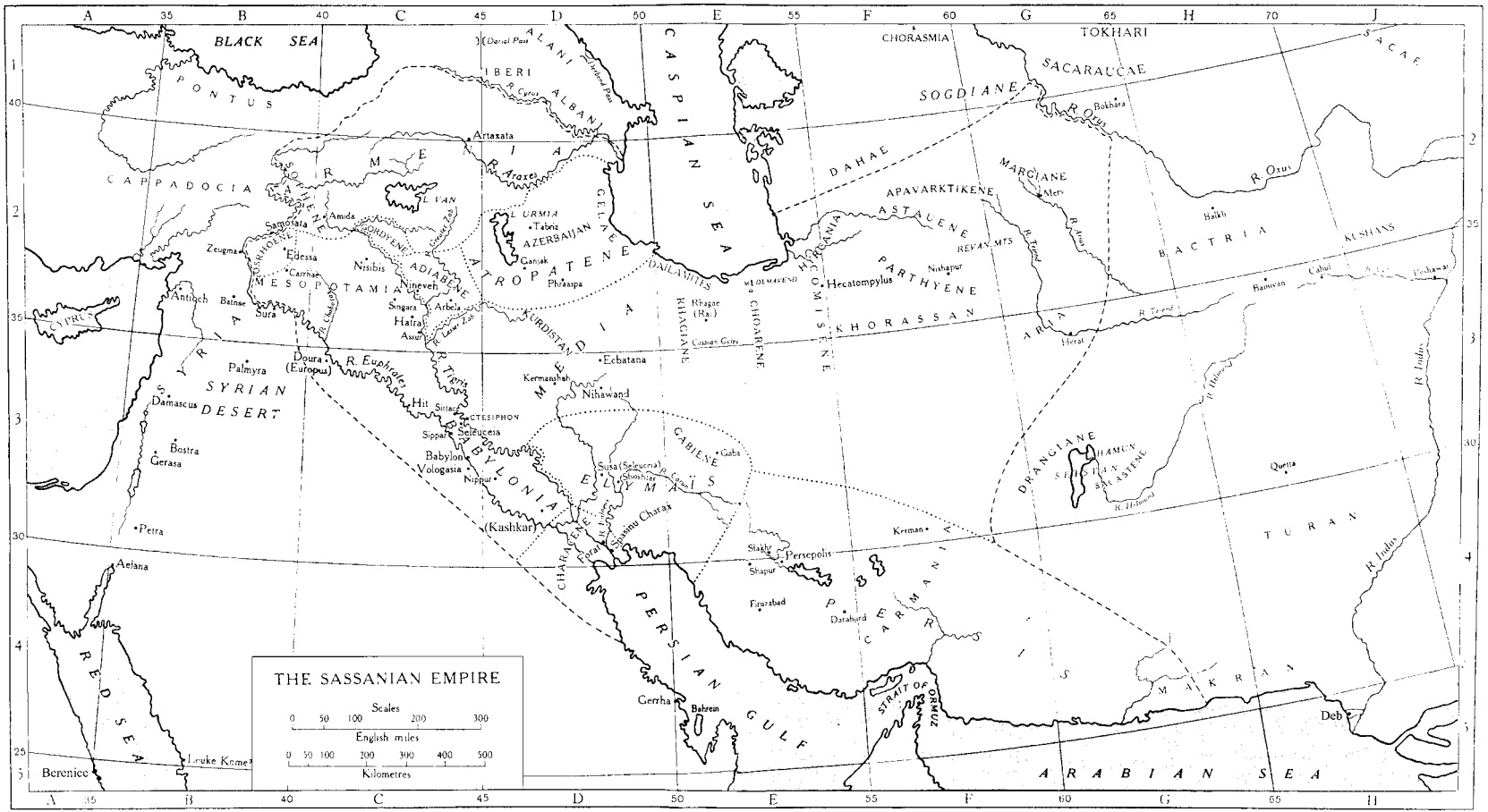
Linguistic notes and terms in the ancient languages have been kept to the absolute minimum. Often, where the editors are aware that divergent interpretations are possible, these are not recorded; but a choice has been made according to our judgement. The overall purpose is to fulfil a felt need for an easily accessible selection of *Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire*; accurate to the best standards of contemporary scholarship, but in English and uncluttered with technical detail.

Abbreviations

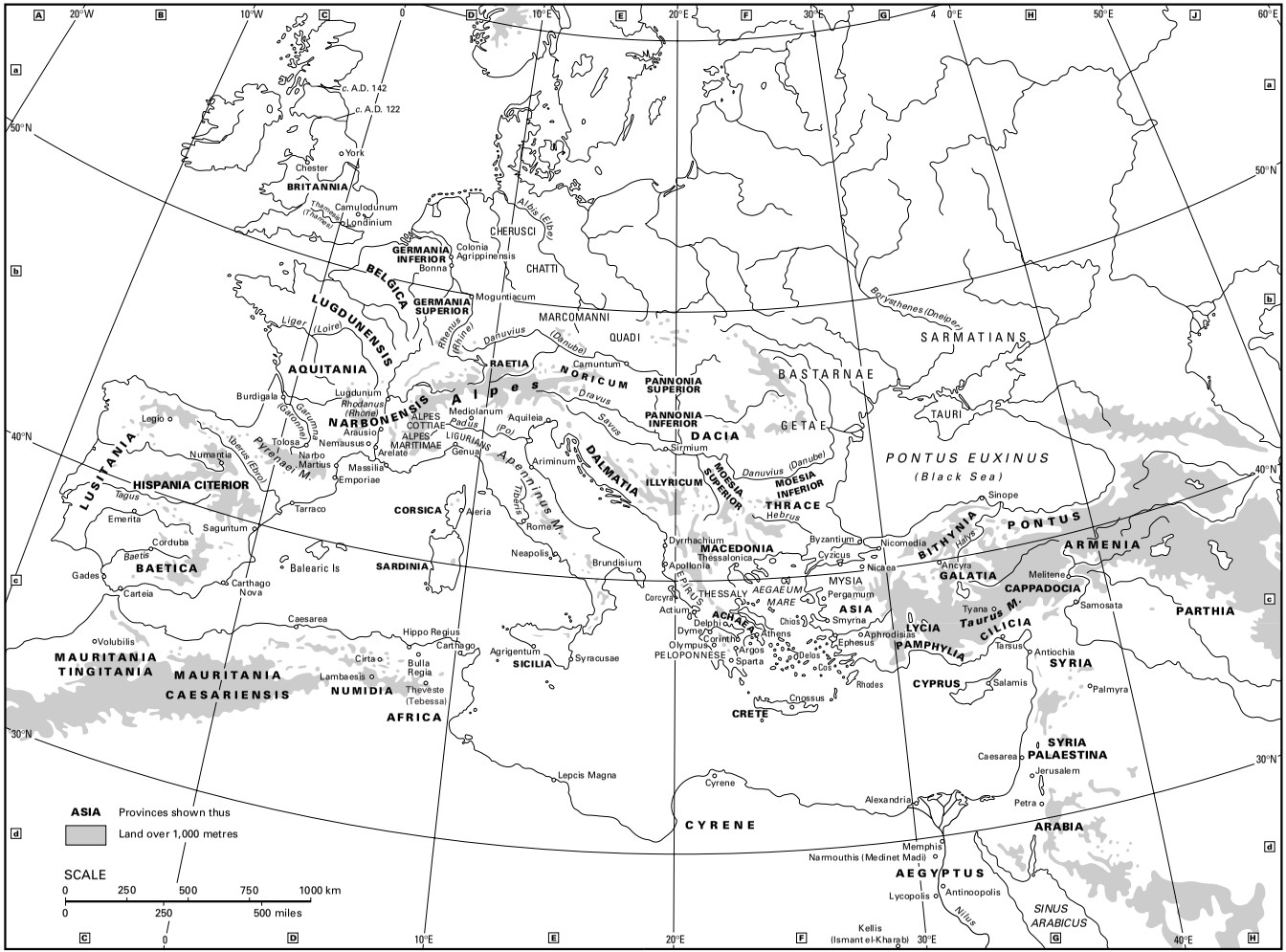
Full details of works referred to by author and date may be found in the Bibliography. Abbreviations of journal titles follow those in *L'Année Philologique* (Paris, 1927-).

APAW	Abhandlungen der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin, 1815–1907; philosoph.-hist. Klasse, 1908–49.
Arab.	Arabic
Aug.	Aurelius Augustinus (Augustine)
Chin.	Chinese
CJ	*Codex Justinianus*, ed. P. Krueger, *Corpus Iuris Civilis,* II (Berlin 1929)
CMC	*Cologne Mani-Codex*
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Paris, Louvain etc. 1903ff)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1866ff)
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, 49 vols. (Bonn 1828–78)
CT	*Codex Theodosianus*, eds. Th. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer, *Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*, 2 vols. (Berlin 1905)
Fihrist	an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel (1871)
Gr.	Greek
GSR	Klimkeit (1993)
Hipp.	Hippolytus
Hom.	*Manichäische Homilien*, ed. H. J. Polotsky (Stuttgart 1934)

HR II	F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan* II, aus den Anhang zu den APAW, 1904, 1–117
Keph.	*Kephalaia*, eds. A. Böhlig and H. J. Polotsky (1940); A. Böhlig (1966) and W.-P. Funk (1999-) (Stuttgart)
KG	Sundermann (1981)
MCPCBL	Giversen (1986, 1988)
Mid. Pers.	Middle Persian
MM I-III	F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch Turkestan* I, *SPAW* 1932, X, 175–222; II *SPAW* 1933, VII, 294–363; III *SPAW* 1934, XXVII, 848–912
P. Harr. I	*The Rendall Harris Papyri of Woodbrooke College, Birmingham*, ed. J. E. Powell (Cambridge 1936)
P. Kell. II	Gardner (1996)
P. Kell. V	Gardner, Alcock and Funk (1999)
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus*, series Graeco-Latina, eds. J. P. Migne et al., 162 vols. (Paris 1857–66).
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus*, series Latina, eds. J. P. Migne et al., 221 vols. (Paris 1844–64) and 5 suppl. (1958–74)
PO	Patrologia Orientalis, eds. R. Graffin and F. Nau (Paris 1907ff)
P. Oxy.	*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* I- (London 1898-)
PsBk2.	*A Manichaean Psalm-Book. Part II*, ed. C. R. C. Allberry (Stuttgart 1938)
Pth.	Parthian
Sogd.	Sogdian
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Berlin, 1882–1921; philosoph.-hist. Klasse, 1922–49.
T. Kell.	Tabula Kelliensis, texts either in Gardner (1996); or published separately (publication details in respective entries)



Map 1 The Sassanian Empire



Map 2 The Roman Empire

CHAPTER I

Introduction

THE PURPOSE OF THIS BOOK

The term 'Manichaean' is here used in its primary sense, with reference to the religion that was founded by Mani (or Manichaios, that is Mani 'the living' as the original Syriac was transmitted into Greek) in the early Sassanian empire during the third century of the common era. Mani was a visionary, for he was a mystic and a painter; he was an intellectual, with a passion for understanding all aspects of the natural world and integrating them into a coherent system; but he was also intensely practical in his approach to this divine revelation and this knowledge. We might say that Manichaeism is the first real 'religion' in the modern sense, because Mani established it directly and deliberately, with its scriptures and its rituals and its organisation all in place. A principal aspect of his purpose was that this teaching and this practice and this community would be universal, and would supersede all previous faiths (which indeed were understood to reach their true culmination here). Mani himself travelled widely to preach, heal, convert and establish communities; and he dispatched missionaries in all directions. This book is concerned with the religion's spread and success and ultimate demise to the west of its homeland, that is in the world of the later Roman Empire.

> In the last years of Ardashir the king I came out to preach. I crossed to the country of the Indians. I preached to them the hope of life. I chose in that place a good election. In the year that Ardashir the king died Shapur his son became king. I crossed from the country of the Indians to the land of the Persians; from the land of Persia I came to the land of Babylon, Mesene and Susiana. I appeared before Shapur the king. He received me with great honour. He gave me permission to journey . . . preaching the word of life. I even spent some years . . . in the retinue; many years in Persia, in the country of the Parthians, up to Adiabene, and the borders of the provinces of the kingdom of the Romans.

> I have chosen you, the good election, the holy church that I was sent to from the Father. I have sown the seed of life. I have . . . from east to west . . . my hope has gone toward the sunrise of the world, and every inhabited part; to the clime of the north, and the . . . Not one among the apostles did ever do these things . . . (my hope) will remain in the world until (the return of Jesus in judgement, and he will place my) church on the right side (and the evildoers) on the left.[1]

Mani's call to the founding of this new and final community came about the year AD 240, and the first Manichaean mission would have reached Alexandria about AD 260. In the Roman Empire Manichaeism arrived as a rival to Christianity, itself suffering its final persecutions before the triumph under Constantine. Indeed, Mani announced himself as the 'apostle of Jesus Christ', its preachers proclaimed that they preached the true gospel, and condemned their opponents as failed or only 'part Christians'. The fourth century saw a bitter conflict between these two interpretations, a conflict that what we now call Christianity ultimately won, allied as it became with secular power. Manichaeism became cursed as the ultimate heresy.

Manichaean studies have seen major growth and development over recent decades. A substantial reason has been the repeated and often spectacular discoveries, of primary and previously unknown texts in particular, which have led to the transformation of our understanding and to the emergence of an entirely new discipline. At the same time, the topic has spoken to contemporary interests in the deconstruction of received histories, here with regard to the 'triumph' of Christianity and its defeat of heresy; in the reconstruction of alternative Christianities, especially the so-called 'gnostic' movements of the early church; in attitudes to the body and to the natural world, where Manichaeism provides a striking and obsessive new vision; and in dialogue between religions and cultures, for Manichaeism spread to both east and west, and interacted not only with Christianity but also with Buddhism, Islam and Taoism.

The purpose of this book is, therefore, to make available many of the diverse and scattered sources relevant to an understanding of the subject. The development of Manichaean studies in the anglophone world has been hampered by the traditional leadership in this field by scholars from the elite universities of the European continent. Also, the topic is shared (and in a sense falls) between many traditional disciplines, so that developments are often not followed by non-specialists. As authors of this book, it is our hope to provide in a convenient and accessible format the resources

[1] *Keph.* 15. 24–16. 17 abbreviated.

and the knowledge necessary for an understanding of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire; this for scholars and students of ancient history and adjacent disciplines in the English-speaking world. It is with this purpose in mind that we have made our selections of material, imposed structure and order, and offered introductory comments to each piece (and these we have tried to keep short and specific). Specialised linguistic notes have been kept to an absolute minimum, and we have mostly omitted seriously damaged text. The material presented here is not intended to substitute for advanced work, for this the scholar must turn to the critical editions of the primary texts in the original languages, and to the detailed studies. In this sense, this is an introductory source-book; but at the same time we have striven for total accuracy and awareness of the very leading scholarship in the field; and, indeed, some of the material presented here is in advance of that published anywhere in the world.

THE LIFE OF MANI

Mani was born, according to a Manichaean source in Chinese, on 14 April 216. His father, Pattek (Arab. Futtuq, Gr. Pattikios, Mid. Pers. Ptyg), is said to have come from Ecbatana (modern Hamadan), the ancient capital of the Parthian Kingdom; and to have later taken up residence in Seleucia-Ctesiphon in Mesopotamia, then the winter capital of the Parthians and later of the Sassanians. The name of his mother is known to us in Arabic as Mays[2] or Awtāḫīm or Mar Maryam, and in Chinese as Man-yen (lit. 'full of beauty', perhaps a transliteration for Maryam) of the royal house of the Arsacids (Arab. Ašgāniyya) and from Chin-sa-chien (probably a transliteration for Kamsaragan, a region of Parthia).[3] The presumed descent of his parents from Arsacid lineage could explain Mani's reserve toward the first Sassanian ruler Ardashir who overthrew the last Parthian king Artabanus V in 224. His father is said to have been told by a divine voice in a pagan temple at Seleucia-Ctesiphon not to eat meat or to drink wine, and to stay away from women. In obedience to this call he joined one of the baptist sects existing in Mesopotamia. The group he joined, which acknowledged the Jewish-Christian leader Elchasai(os) as one of its founders, was very active in missionary work, and not only endeavoured to spread within the Persian Empire, but had even gone as far as Rome. It is possible that Mani received some impetus for his world mission from it, and it may be the

[2] *Fihrist*, trans. Dodge, II, 773.
[3] *Mo-ni kuang-fo chiao-fa yi-lüeh*, ms. line 19, trans. Haloun and Henning (1952), 190.

source of his reference back to the patriarchs of Hebrew tradition: Adam, Seth, Enosh, Enoch, Shem.

After his birth, Mani stayed with his mother for four years until his father took him to join the 'baptists'. He lived in their community until he left them soon after his twenty-fourth birthday (his twenty-fifth year) and began to preach his own doctrine. The time with the 'baptists' was of special importance for his personal and spiritual development. He believed that he had twice had a vision in which he encountered his divine 'twin' (his Syzygos), at the age of twelve and at the age of twenty-four. In true hagiographical fashion, Mani was shown in the *CMC* as wanting to reform the sect. He even put words characteristic of his own teaching into Elchasai(os)'s mouth. For example, the 'baptists' used to carry out ablutions; they washed or baptised vegetables which they grew in their gardens, not only for their own use but also to sell in town (see below, pp. 48–9). Mani, however, was utterly opposed to the baptisms and ablutions, because he saw them as being harmful to the light particles which were bound in them. According to Mani, Elchasai(os) had already had a vision while bathing which pointed out to him the sinfulness of this act. Mani regarded the ablutions carried out by the baptists in the context of a great cosmic event, and criticised them. The Sabbath 'rest of hands' observed by the community seems to have led him to the radical conclusion that hands should do no work at all. Mani opposed the ritual use of a certain type of bread, so he was asked if he wanted to eat 'Greek bread'. His companions simply noticed that he neglected their customs; nor did he take vegetables from the garden himself, but asked for them as if asking for alms (see below, pp. 48–9 and 60–5).

Among the men of revelation who, in Mani's opinion, preceded Elchasai(os) was Jesus the Messiah. Thereafter, after failing to reform the community along more gnostic lines, Mani was able to present himself as the fulfilment of the promise of the Paraclete given in the Gospel according to St John. According to the young Mani, Elchasai(os) already wanted to use this name to give himself mythical justification. In the war of words prior to his leaving the sect, the young Mani was accused by some of turning to another trend in Christianity, namely the 'Greeks'; it is possible to understand this as Marcionism. As Mani set great store by Paul in his own writings, and as Paul was regarded as *the* enemy to many Jewish-Christian sects, Mani could not have derived this reverence from the teaching of the baptists. Mani also seems to have been familiar with the teaching of the Christian gnostic thinker Bardaiṣan (who flourished in Edessa in the last years of the Abgar Dynasty during the second and third centuries AD), on cosmogony; as well as that of Valentinus on the division of body and soul.

Mani was not one who merely wanted to construct a system out of philosophical elements and then disseminate it. Rather, he was wholly convinced that he was the 'seal of the prophets'. As mentioned before, he had a vision of his alter ego on his twelfth birthday who had enlightened him about his true existence and calling, but who also required him to stay with the Elchasaites until he had reached full maturity. In those days one reached adulthood at twenty-five. In fact, Mani stayed with the baptists until after his twenty-fourth birthday; but he was already leading a life according to the revelation of his Syzygos ('Twin', or more accurately 'Pair-comrade'). As has already been said, this finally led to disagreements between Mani and his group. When he had turned twenty-four (i.e. in his twenty-fifth year – 'when my body had reached completion'), he had a new vision of his Syzygos. He ordered Mani to appear independently from now on, and that he should do missionary work. This heavenly alter ego is also identified in Manichaean writings with the Johannine Paraclete. Mani unites with his alter ego in the revelation, so that he can be rightly regarded as Paraclete. He began his missionary work during the reign of Ardashir (224–42), but presumably at a time when Shapur I (240–73) had already been crowned co-sovereign.

The second part of the preserved sections of the Greek *Mani Codex*, which narrates the early missionary activities of Mani and the foundation of his church, is very fragmentary (viz. ms. pages 99 *ad fin.*, see below, pp. 65–73). It appears that after he had broken away from the community Mani first went to Ctesiphon, and from there to a village called Naser where he was joined by his father Patticius who had also left the sect. The two then, with a small band of fellow baptists, became wandering holy men; and Mani soon showed his mettle as a dispenser of wise teaching and a performer of miracles. The party travelled northeast to Ganzak, at that time a Zoroastrian stronghold and a residence of the King of Kings. There he introduced himself as a doctor and cured a young child. It was probably on the Iranian Plateau that Mani encountered a hairy hermit who admitted to him that his abnormal covering was the result of taking the best fruits from a tree, thus confirming Manichaean belief in the need of the elect members to avoid hurting the Light elements which are in fruit and vegetables (see below, pp. 67–70).

Mani then turned his attentions to India, probably because he was unable to win imperial patronage for his new teaching from Ardashir during his visit to Ganzak. He travelled first to the important port of Ferat on the Persian Gulf, where he befriended a rich merchant called Oggias (?), and it appears that he travelled to India via Turan and Makran; but it is equally possible for him to have travelled back to Ferat in Mesene

from Ganzak via these regions. According to Middle Iranian sources he is said to have converted the Shah of Turan in the course of his journeys, and we have in the Greek *Mani Codex* the account of the conversion of at least one local king and his entourage *before* he reached Ferat. The encounter with Buddhism in India and adjacent territories was important for the development of the universal and the ascetic aspects of his teaching. Manichaean hagiographical sources speak of him being regarded as Buddha by the ruler there, and being successful in his teaching; whereas the *Kephalaia* also acknowledges difficulties in gaining acceptance. When Ardashir died in 242 and Shapur I became his fully acknowledged successor, Mani returned to the Iranshar from India. He landed in Rew-Ardasir, went to Persis (modern Fars) and then to Babylonia, from where he went to Mesene and Susiana. In Mesene he won over the ruler Mihrshah;[4] he was introduced to the Great King by the latter's brother Peroz whom Mani had presumably got to know in Marw as governor of Chorasan.[5] Shapur I intended to expand the Iranian Empire in all directions and to strengthen it internally at the same time. Mani seemed to him to be the very man for this purpose. His belief was especially suited to the East because of the elements which either came from Buddhism or were confirmed by it. The syncretistic self-awareness which was characteristic of Mani's perception of himself, and which made him consider himself to be the perfection and fulfilment of the three great religions, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity, would allow him to appear as a spiritual cement for the Iranian Empire. He was granted membership of the King's retinue for a long time. Furthermore, it was possible for him to do missionary work within the boundaries of the empire or its sphere of influence. Apart from the aforementioned provinces, he was thus able to preach in Media and Parthia also; and in the Caucasus as well, as at least one Manichaean missionary was active during Mani's life-time in the city of Waruc in Iberia (modern Georgia).[6]

Given the fact that Zoroastrianism was the official religion of his imperial patrons, Mani's religion diffused within the Zoroastrian milieu and at an early stage it assimilated Zoroastrian deities into its pantheon. A more Judaeo-Christian version of his religion spread in the Roman Empire, and also into Parthia where it came under the influence of Zurvanism and later of Buddhism. The two main streams (Judaeo-Christian and Zoroastrian) of Manichaeism later merged in Central Asia, from where many Manichaean texts were recovered in the region of Turfan, and in the Cave of Thousand

[4] M47, *KG*, §10 (1576–1607), pp. 102–3. [5] *Fihrist*, trans. Dodge, II, 776.
[6] M216b + M2230 (Parthian), *KG*, §2.3 (130–49), pp. 24–5 and U237 + U295 (Turkish), ed. Zieme (1975) §21, pp. 50–1.

Buddhas from Dunhuang. The lack of awareness by earlier scholars of the complex history of diffusion of the religion has led to it being seen either exclusively as a form of Zoroastrianism (or Zurvanism) or as a deviant form of Syriac Christianity.

It appears from circumstantial references in the *Kephalaia* that Mani spent much of his years under Shapur's patronage in the Twin-Cities of Seleucia-Ctesiphon teaching his growing band of disciples. This may explain why the Twin-Cities (Arab. *al-Madain*) later became the seat of the *archegos* (Arab. *imam*) of the sect. After Shapur's death (273) Mani does not seem to have had any difficulties under his successor Hormizd I, but his reign only lasted for one year (273–4). He was succeeded by his brother Vahram I (274–6/7). From Hormizd-Ardashir (Suq al-Ahwaz) in Susiana Mani wanted to go to Kushan, which must be Chorasan, the governor of which held the title of Kushanshah. It was probably the only territory within the Iranshar which could offer him personal safety. In any case he was forbidden to undertake the journey. Full of anger and grief, he returned to Hormizd-Ardashir and then went to Mesene. He knew then that he was on his last journey.[7]

Mani travelled to Ctesiphon in order to go to Bet Lapat from there. At the same time he wanted to meet the vassal King Baat, who seems to have joined his religion and who intended being there also but who then preferred to absent himself. The King later reproached Mani for this. It is likely that Vahram had a hostile attitude towards Mani and his teaching right from the start, thinking it had a destructive effect on his Empire where the Magians and their superiors had gained a decisive influence. After all, Mani's teachings, and the ethics derived from them, were totally contradictory to the feudalist lifestyle. The rejection of procreation, the condemnation of hunting, indeed in effect of all knightly sport because of the fear of harming light particles, must necessarily have led to disputes when it came to acquainting the ruling warrior class with his teachings. They might well be useful as a means of controlling subjects of non-Iranian mentality. According to a later Arabic tradition, Vahram said: 'This man has set off, incited to cause the destruction of the world. Because of this, it is necessary to begin by destroying him before any of his intentions can succeed.'[8] The discussion between the King and Mani, which was extremely acrimonious, amply demonstrates the conflict between secular and spiritual power. The King of Kings was angered especially by Mani's

[7] All the relevant sources (mainly Middle Persian and Parthian) are conveniently collected in Henning (1942).

[8] al-Biruni (1878) 207. 7–9.

self-assurance of being enlightened by God. He saw in this the arrogance of a subject who took to himself unauthorised qualities. Here the conflicting interests of king and prophet clash. It was of no help to Mani either that he referred to King Shapur who had given him his support. Opinion against Mani was certainly stirred up by his accusers. The preserved texts are quite concrete in the description of the events. They show how the charge was carried out through the official channels. The Magians who saw Mani arrive in Bet Lapat turned to the chief Magian, Karder. He then consulted a colleague of his. Next to the Chief of Chief Magians (*mobadan mobad*) was also the Chief of the Priests of Fire (*herbadan herbad*). Whereas the former had special moral and spiritual influence over the King, the latter was a man who had not only ritual but also juridical functions. It is no wonder that these two men, as representatives of state church offices, consulted the Vizier in a difficult religious trial. The Vizier reported the situation to the King, who thereupon summoned Mani before him. The King's wrath resulted in the chaining and imprisonment of Mani, where he died after 26 days.[9] However, he had the opportunity to receive visitors, and thus to prepare his congregation for his end. The year of Mani's death is still in dispute. Scholarly opinion vacillates between 276 and 277 (see below, p. 89).

THE MANICHAEAN SYSTEM

Manichaeism was a religious system that taught a practice for the salvation of the divine in the universe; and which presented a revealed (and in principle total) knowledge of transcendent realities, including the divine nature of the soul, and the details of the pathway to eternal life. At its core was an analysis of the causes and nature of evil and suffering in the world, the predicament in which human and all life are entangled, that was entirely coherent in its own terms. Certainly, Mani directly utilised prior revelations; and in this way particular concepts can be tracked, especially from esoteric or heterodox forms of prior Judaisms and Christianities, through Manichaeism, and into later metamorphoses such as in Shi'ite Islam and the neo-Manichaean sects of the medieval period. However, the religion should first be studied and must be understood as a complete, self-contained world-view; for this was how Mani and his followers presented it to society. Echoes of other faiths and teachings were placed in relation to the revelation of Mani, so that for

[9] The most important source on the death of Mani is the 'Narrative on his Crucifixion' in the Coptic *Homilies* (42–85, ed. Polotsky). This text has been translated in full by Dr S. Clackson for this collection (**10**).

the believer all reality was measured against this given presentation of the one truth. Thus, Manichaeism should be categorised as a religion in its own right, and not subordinated to whatever influences the historian may track.

What is often termed the 'gnostic' character of Manichaeism must be strongly qualified, for Mani turned his revealed knowledge outwards to a universal evangelical purpose. Thus, whilst the elect learnt the secret workings of the divine nature, all were offered the call to faith, and the religion firmly grounded itself in time and the existential world. The religion promulgated faith, knowledge and good works; and rose above the obscure and short-lived irrelevancies of most gnostic sects. An analysis of the core tenets of Manichaeism, when measured against what we suppose to be gnosticism (for instance esotericism, elitism and a sense that the world is a product of error), shows that this faith must be differently categorised. It will be better if we set it apart from such labels, which have their origins in the polemic of its opponents, often reinvented by modern scholars of religion seeking to impose patterns upon the unique products of history.

Certainly, it is possible and important for the historian to trace the diverse elements that Mani drew upon in his revelation; but we emphasise that it is first vital to understand Manichaeism as a discrete and coherent entity, for this is how one can enter the world of the believer. The following account of the teachings of Mani will emphasise this inner structure and coherence. Nevertheless, any such summary can tend towards artificial synthesis. Manichaean knowledge was carefully graded and tailored to the needs of its audience, as with any other avowedly evangelical ideology that seeks the power to change people's life and thought. For the lay faithful in the Roman Empire it was a kind of superior Christianity, and the metaphysical details that attract the attention of scholars (and the higher echelons of the elect) had little profile. In the personal letters of the believers at Kellis (see chapter 7) there appears to be scarce knowledge or interest in the many gods and demons, and the intricacies of cosmology, that dominate a handbook for the elect such as the *Kephalaia* (see particularly chapter 5). The textual material derived from Kellis (modern Ismant el-Kharab) evidences how carefully the hierarchy attempted to draw adherents further into the church and the knowledge of truth.

Whereas Christianity took centuries to formulate its doctrines, and the controversies of the great councils seem far removed from the teachings of Jesus, Mani took great pains to establish a total religion based upon his own comprehensive scriptures and preaching. He may be said to have combined the charisma of Jesus, the missionary purpose of Paul, and the doctrinal

stringency of an Augustine. He understood himself to be the final and universal apostle of God, called to restore the truth of all prior messengers, including Jesus, the Buddha and Zarathushtra. There is thus less scope in the study of Manichaeism to trace the evolution of doctrine, since all teaching was rigidly tied to the very details of the divine word in Mani's scriptures. Nevertheless, the eschatological urgency of earliest Manichaeism may be said to have slowly turned towards an accommodation with the world. It may also be true that the absolute centrality of Mani and his teaching, and the self-standing nature of the religion that we have emphasised, was the result of an evolution in Mani's own religious consciousness, further developed and hardened in the early generations of the church's life. In his *Epistles* Mani habitually introduces himself as an 'apostle of Jesus Christ', and it took both time and confidence for the founder to achieve his full stature as 'Mani the living' (i.e. Manichaios).

Mani believed that he was the recipient of divine revelation from his heavenly Twin (Greek: *syzygos*): '. . . everything that has happened and that will happen . . . I have seen the totality through him (*Keph.* 15: 19–23)'. Although later systematisation asserts that the divine counterpart will appear and bring help to every apostle (*Keph.* 36: 6–9), for Mani this was clearly a deeply personal experience, which is firmly embedded in the traditions (see especially the account of his call and early life recorded in the *Cologne Mani-Codex* (chapter 2)). Scholars have sought to explain the concept with reference to various sources, especially the Thomas narratives of early Syriac Christianity, where that apostle is indeed the twin of Jesus; and calling upon the 'Hymn of the Pearl' with its curious correspondences to the spiritual life of Mani (the origins of this text have been much discussed, but never satisfactorily resolved). However, the core is one of those unaccountable religious experiences, where the recipient knows him or herself to be especially called. It seems certain that Mani himself came to understand his Twin to be the Paraclete, foretold by Jesus, the 'comforter' and 'Spirit of Truth' who would be sent afterwards according to the divine will. Since Mani asserts that with the Paraclete, 'I have become a single body, with a single Spirit! (*Keph.* 15: 23–24)', he himself came to be proclaimed as the Paraclete. This then became one of the most characteristic assertions of the Manichaeans, and one of the most offensive to their catholic opponents; however, it was not intended to mean that Mani was the Holy Spirit, as that equation is part of catholic not Manichaean tradition.

This revelation given by the Twin was systematised, in substance at least by Mani himself, into an elaborate and holistic account of the cosmos,

human history, and the natural world. Manichaean thought was highly structured and maintained a remarkable uniformity from Roman North Africa to medieval China, claiming to provide a coherent and quasi-scientific explanation of everything from the movement of the stars to the origins of fire and the genera of creatures. The claim to knowledge would have been a source of great appeal, but the provision of such detail in the scriptures also demanded a rigidity that finally undermined the religion. For these reasons it can be misleading to describe Manichaean doctrine as a myth; and it was certainly not intended as an allegory. For the believer, the teachings were absolute truth: an eclipse of the sun was not an illustration of the power of darkness against the light, it was visible evidence of the forces of evil in attack against those of good. Mani emphasised that the reality of the teachings was apparent to the senses.

Mani's teaching was summarised by the catchphrase, that 'of the two principles and the three times (or moments)'. The two principles are those of light and darkness: whose realms in the *beginning* are separate, the dark unknowing of the light; then during the *middle* are in part mingled, the reality of this present universe; but at the *end* will be the triumph and eternal victory of life and light over death. We should note that Manichaean dualism was absolute, there was no need to account for the origin of evil. Whilst monotheistic opponents would appeal that this curtailed the absolute power of God, the Manichaeans could respond that only thus was the absolute goodness of God assured. Evil was entirely real, as present as death and darkness are to life and light.

In Manichaeism what is true in the macrocosmos is also true for the microcosmos. The individual soul partakes of this whole history, so that our present enfleshment in a demonic body is only the *middle* time between two eternities. Note too that the dualism is not the hellenistic one of spirit and matter, but of two essences, even substances. The divine life is visible, has spatial and quantifiable elements; and evil matter is the active principle of lust, the elements and 'thought of death'. In the *beginning* time the light and the dark occupy distinct spaces: the light above, and to the north, west and east; but the darkness below and to the south. Between them there was a border.

Manichaean theology is not easily categorised. The Father evokes or emanates powers of himself for purposes in the cosmic drama, and these too may call forth further gods or angels. The language of 'calling out' the powers of light is crucial, to avoid any suggestion of generation, for sexuality is inextricably tied in Manichaean thought to evil matter and the lust that is its nature.

The Manichaeans, or at least the elect, delighted in establishing elaborate systemisations of these beings; but all the divine is ultimately one, so that the diversification represents levels of descent into or entrapment by darkness. Relationships between spiritual levels, for instance a lay believer or catechumen to an elect, will be an exact image of that relationship all the way back up the scale through the gods to the Father. The same is true of all the representatives of the essence of darkness; so that Manichaean teachings are characterised by elaborate series of parallels and shifts of scale.

In the 'first time' the Father of Greatness rules the realm of light, which indeed is an extension of himself, and has four divine attributes: purity, light, power and wisdom. He resides in five intellectuals or limbs: mind, thought, insight, counsel and consideration. These are otherwise substantially detailed as the five elements: living air, light, wind, water and fire. Surrounding the Father are the twelve aeons, distributed three each to the directions of heaven, and refracted also to the one hundred and forty-four aeons of the aeons.

To the south of this kingdom of life is the realm of the King of Darkness. His form combines the shapes of the animals representative of his five warring worlds and kings:

> For they ascribe five elements which have generated their own princes to the people of darkness and give to these elements the names: smoke, darkness, fire, water and wind. Two-footed animals were generated in smoke, and from this source they believe men to take their beginnings; serpents were generated in darkness; quadrupeds in fire; swimming creatures in the waters; flying creatures in the wind. (Augustine *de haer.* 46, 7 Müller)

This realm is a seething manifestation of the conflict and carnality that is its essence, matter, the thought of death. In the course of its constant turmoil, by accident for darkness blindly grasps but cannot know, the demonic powers glimpse the light and desire to possess its life. Since peace is the nature of the light the Father must call out from himself the great divinities, both as the only means to defend his kingdom, and to distance the inevitable conflict from the land of light. In the ensuing 'second time' the drama is driven by these gods and goddesses in the arena of mixture, the universe, while the Father himself remains apart until he can again reveal himself and his inner treasury after the final victory. A characteristic tenet of Manichaean theology is that during the whole history of conflict the Father is 'hidden' (e.g. *T. Kell.* Copt. 1, 11; *P. Kell.* Gr. 92, 45 and 51–2).

It is vital to remember that the history of conflict and loss, of which the universe is a product, is not the result of some error in the divine. It is

driven by the knowledge and foresight of the Father, who knows that this is the only way that evil can be overcome. Suffering is caused by the reality of evil, but the terrors of the middle time must be measured against the divine plan. God may not be all-powerful, but he is all-knowing and all-good. Thus, the necessity of sacrifice may be taken as the cardinal Manichaean quality. Evil is real, and even God must suffer. The reality of divine loss is an unavoidable consequence of this recognition of the absolute nature of evil.

First the Father evokes the Great Spirit who is the Mother of Life:

> He first sculpted her like this. He established her in his inner storehouses in quiet and silence. When (they had) need of her she was called and came forth of the Father (of Greatness). She looked at all her aeons of light! (*Keph.* 70, 28–32)

She in turn calls forth the First Man. This is the first emanation, that of the gods of *descent.* It also evidences a consciously trinitarian structure embedded in Mani's system, which in common with related Syriac forms of Christianity details the Spirit as feminine. However, there is a temporal and essential order here: first the Father, the origin of all that is good; then the Mother; and then the Son.

Thus it is the first-born Son of God who descends to battle, and ultimately eternal victory over death. The Man is armed with the five light elements, personified as his five sons; and it is this portion of the divine that will be devoured by the powers of evil, and which constitutes the Living Soul. This Soul comes to be compounded with the dark elements of matter throughout the universe, and is in need of redemption for the duration of the 'second time'. It is emphasised that this sacrifice of the Son, defeated and stripped of his armour (i.e. the Soul), is the only means by which evil can ultimately be overcome. Here we see a transformation and universalisation of the crucifixion motif. The Son does not die once for all; the Soul is crucified through all the time and space of history.

This history can be followed in Theodor bar Khoni's citations from Mani in Syriac. They are the best available source in the absence of the original scriptures written in the apostle's own Aramaic:

> And he says that the Father of Greatness evoked the Mother of Life, and the Mother of Life evoked the Primal Man, and the Primal Man evoked his five sons, like someone who puts on armour for the fight. And he says that an angel named Nahashbat came towards him holding the crown of victory in his hand; he says that he spread out the light before the Primal Man, and that when the (King) of Darkness saw it, he thought and said: "I find close at hand that which I sought far away." Then the Primal Man gave himself and

> his five sons to be consumed by the five sons of darkness, like a man who has an enemy and mixes a deadly poison into a cake and gives it. He says that when they had partaken of the five nourishing gods, the latter's intellect was removed, and that due to the poison of the sons of darkness, they became like people who are bitten by an enraged dog or a snake. (Theodor bar Khoni *Lib. Schol.* XI, CSCO 69 pp. 313, 27–314, 12)

So, while this first conflict appears outwardly to be a victory for death, as with the crucifixion the believer understands that it was a necessity for the binding of evil. Nevertheless, the inevitable consequence is the distress and suffering of the divine Soul, termed the Cross of Light, and personified as the suffering Jesus awaiting redemption. The entire resultant history of the 'second time' involves the mechanics of once more separating the light from darkness, not just to restore the *status quo ante bellum*, but also to so fatally weaken the power of death that it can never again threaten the life. Life is a poison for the forces of death; for, consumed by their own desire for what they can not have, they ultimately destroy themselves. This is necessary, for the good cannot itself bring death, which is not its nature.

In order to establish the arena in which liberation can take place, that is the universe, a new divine trinity is called forth: the Beloved of the Lights, the Great Builder, and the Living Spirit (also termed the Father of Life). This is the second emanation, that of the gods of *creation*.

It is the task of the Living Spirit to rescue the First Man, which is a prototype of all future redemption; and then to fashion the universe from the powers of darkness in which the light elements, the five sons, are mixed.

> They came to the land of darkness and they found the Primal Man and his five sons sunk in darkness. Then the Living Spirit called aloud, and the voice of the Living Spirit had been made like a sharpened sword, and it revealed the image of the Primal Man and said to him: "Greetings to you, who are the good among evil, the light in the darkness, the god dwelling among the animals of anger who do not recognise their privilege!" The Primal Man replied and said: "Greetings to you, who bring peace and salvation in return!" And he said to him: "How are the fathers of the sons of light in their city?" And the call said to him: "They are well." And the call and the answer accompanied each other in ascending towards the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit, and the Living Spirit reclothed the call, and the Mother of Life reclothed the answer, her beloved son, and they descended towards the earth of darkness, where the Primal Man and his sons were dwelling. (Ibid. pp. 314, 20–315, 7)

Thus call and answer are themselves hypostasised into a pair of divinities. Together they are the 'counsel of life' that throughout the time of mixture personifies the awakening and motivating force of the Soul and

light elements that are sunk in darkness (*Keph.* 178: 2–5). To prepare for that, the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life descend into the abyss. There they defeat the demonic powers and rulers, and out of their bodies fashion the universe. Thus the demiurge is a light god, though the dead matter of the creation is darkness, albeit shot through with the elements of life. The structure of the universe is divinely conceived, even if its matter is evil. In this sense, our environment and history is the best of all possible worlds; it is all that the divine can do in the face of such absolute evil.

The Living Spirit constructs ten heavens and eight earths, flaying and crucifying some of the evil powers above, and forming the earths out of the bodies of others. To hold the whole elaborate structure in place he evokes his own five sons: the Adamant of Light, the Keeper of Splendour, the King of Glory, the King of Honour, and the Porter or Atlas. Each of these five has his own domain of authority. By means of three wheels or garments, fire and water and wind, the three evil vessels of fire and water and darkness are swept down from the heavens; and then, with the corresponding dark elements of the earth, are finally swept into graves that have been prepared for them.

The Keeper of Splendour oversees the eighth, ninth and tenth heavens; whilst the King of Honour watches over the lower heavens from the seventh. The King of Glory turns the wheels so that the light elements may ascend. The Light Adamant humbles sporadic demonic uprisings on earth. The Porter supports the entire structure from below. The sun and the moon are vessels of purified light, and stations on the path of ascent or descent for the redeemed soul and the gods. They may be termed 'ships' (of living fire and water) or palaces. However, the planets and stars are evil rulers. Mani and his followers gave particular attention to integrating contemporary astrological ideas into this system, for their faith was understood as providing a total scientific knowledge; but various problems and inconsistencies are apparent, especially caused by the divine nature of the sun and moon compared with the other planetary bodies.

Once the machinery for the purification has been made ready by the second series of evoked gods, they turn to the Father to plea for a new emanation to set the cosmos in motion, and thus achieve the process of redemption through time. The Father approves and calls forth his Third Ambassador or Messenger, so termed because he introduces the third age of the world. He dwells in the ship of the sun; whilst the Virgin of Light, his feminine doublet, has her throne in the ship of the moon. Jesus the Splendour, another in this series of salvific deities, is closely related in Manichaean systematics to this androgynous sun-moon god. This is the third emanation, that of the gods of *salvation* or *ascent*.

The Ambassador and Virgin achieve a first redemption of trapped light, again turning the uncontrollable lust of the darkness, which is its nature, back upon it. They reveal their images, or more graphically appear naked, before the male and female rulers (archons) chained in the heavens. These powers spontaneously ejaculate or abort across the cosmos. Some light is drawn to the height, whilst the remainder that is more deeply embedded in matter sinks downwards and must endure further degradation before it is redeemed. A part falls into the sea and rises as a monster that the Adamant subjugates. Other dross falls to the earth to become the seeds of plant life that the abortions eat. Such complicated details of prehistory were drawn from a variety of prior traditions, which seem to have fascinated Mani and his followers. Inevitably they drew the attention and ire of their opponents.

The abortions form a rampaging demonic group from which the different genera of creatures originate, corresponding to the varieties of the five worlds of darkness from which they stem. Adam and Eve are fashioned by demons after the image of God that they have glimpsed, that is the Ambassador who had appeared to the rulers in the heavens; and are procreated after various cannibalistic and sexual acts by the dominant demonic pair: Saclas and Nabroel.

> (Mani) said that the daughters of darkness were already pregnant by means of their nature, and that through the beauty of the Messenger's image that they had seen, their foetuses aborted and fell to earth and ate the shoots of the trees. The aborted foetuses consulted among themselves and remembered the image of the Messenger which they had seen, saying: "Where is the image which we have seen?" Asaqloun (i.e. Saclas), son of the King of Darkness, said to the aborted foetuses: "Give me your sons and daughters, and I will make you an image like the one you have seen." They brought them, and gave them to him; he consumed the males, and gave the females to his wife. Nabroel and Asaqloun had intercourse; she conceived and bore his son and named him Adam; she conceived and bore a daughter and named her Eve. (ibid., pp. 317, 3–15)

Thus, lust is endemic in human nature. Mankind has been deliberately fashioned by demonic forces in an attempt to prevent the redemption of the light, for through the urge for sex humans will multiply, and further entrap the divine Soul in multitudes of material bodies. This inverts the core of Hebrew tradition, that God approves of the creation of man and woman, and ordains that they should 'be fruitful and multiply'. Nevertheless, as with the macrocosmos, the structural form of humans is in a sense divinely conceived as the image of God, and acts as a mechanism for the purification of soul.

Since the human soul is a principal repository of the trapped divine, the abortions having concentrated therein such that they had gained from the buds and fruits they had eaten, humans become the focus of the salvific mission of the gods. In an archetypal episode Jesus the Splendour approaches Adam, lying as dead after his creation and without consciousness, and awakens him to the saving knowledge of his own condition. Here Manichaeism has inherited and developed the widespread gnostic retelling and inversion of the 'fall' narrative, so that now the serpent has become entirely transformed into the heavenly redeemer. The 'right hand' that Jesus gives to Adam to raise him repeats that given to the First Man lying defeated in the abyss, and acts again as a type for the salvation of each individual.

> (Mani) says that Jesus the Splendour approached the innocent Adam, and awoke him from the sleep of death, so that he might be saved from an excessive nature; as if a righteous man were found to be possessed of a violent devil and might be calmed by one's skill. Thus was Adam also, when the beloved found him in a profound sleep, roused him, shook him and awakened him, drove the deceitful devil away from him and kept the female archon far from him. And then Adam looked closely at himself and he knew who (he was). And (Jesus) showed him the Father on high; and his own self cast before the teeth of panther and elephant, devoured by dogs, mingled and imprisoned in everything that exists, shackled in the corruption of darkness. (Mani) says that he made him arise and taste the tree of life. And Adam looked, wept, and raised his voice violently like the roaring lion. He tore out his hair and beat himself: "Woe, woe to the maker of my body, and to he who imprisons my soul, and to the rebels who have subjugated me!" (ibid., pp. 317, 14–318, 4).

The process of redemption now enters into human history. Again Mani drew upon a variety of non-biblical traditions to develop a complex narrative about the family of Adam. Note the veneration of the virginal Seth, a characteristic feature of esoteric traditions; and the fierce antipathy to female sexuality. In another episode from the early generations it is related how the demons guarded by the King of Honour rebelled, and two hundred of these watchers escaped to earth to wreak havoc and unveil to mankind the mysteries of heaven (*Keph.* 92: 24–32). In these episodes prior Judaic material has been reworked and integrated into the Manichaean system.

The revelation by Jesus the Splendour to Adam is the exemplar for all future human redemption. Gradually over the generations more of the divine Soul is liberated, so that 'they that are begotten today, in these last generations, stand diminished and maimed (*Keph.* 147: 10–11)'. To achieve this liberation Jesus evokes the Light Mind, and in turn summons forth the Apostle of Light who becomes incarnate in the great religious leaders

throughout history and the world. So the process of redemption is the work of the Light Mind who transforms the human soul by enlightening and freeing the five intellectuals of light from the shackles of the body and the five members of sin. 'He shall set right the members of the soul; form and purify them and construct a new man of them, a child of righteousness (*Keph.* 96: 25–27).' This 'new man', a concept ultimately to be derived from Paul, will now display the five virtues of love, faith, perfection, patience and wisdom.

Mani believed that he had been commissioned to make the final and universal proclamation of truth for the last generations. Thus the cycle of true apostleship was important to him; and included patriarchal figures such as Seth, Noah and Enoch; also founders of true religions, in particular Buddha, Zarathushtra and Jesus; and more recent apostles such as the gnostic Nikotheos, and Paul upon whom Mani modelled his own style of mission. *Kephalaia I* provides an extended simile wherein the advent of the apostles is compared to the months of seedtime and harvest. Each apostle is a farmer who plants a church, labouring over it till it matures and ripens. As it finally comes to fruition another will be seeded: 'There is no single time the tree is bare of fruit! (*Keph.* 11: 26–7).' However, the exemplar of the true church was that established by Mani himself, and the authenticity of other communities came to be measured against the practices of this final manifestation of the divine will on earth. (For details of the organisation of the Manichaean church, its worship and ethic, see the following section.)

The various listings of the apostles evidences Mani's concept of universal revelation-history, and indicates sources which he regarded as authentic. Nevertheless, it is the figure of Jesus which dominates all the others who in comparison are little more than names. Preeminently Mani regarded himself as the apostle of Jesus Christ. United with his divine Twin he becomes the Paraclete foretold, as according to John 14:16 where Jesus promises the disciples that he will ask the Father who will send them another helper, the Spirit of Truth, who will remain with them for ever. It is notable that in the personal letters of believers from fourth-century Kellis, Mani is quoted not by name but 'as the Paraclete has said . . . ' (*P. Kell.* Copt. 19, 9).

As a whole Manichaean Christology draws upon a range of influences that are woven into a coherent thread running through the entire revelation. Regarding the historical Jesus the influence of prior docetic tradition is evident. Christian polemic against the Manichaean Jesus as a phantasm without human birth, and capable of only an illusory suffering, reiterates

the arguments raised against the second century heretic Marcion. Similarly, the Manichaeans in their missionary endeavour in the Roman Empire drew upon the Marcionite critique of the Old Testament and the Jewish God, even though in contrast to Marcionism the Manichaean demiurge is good. Again, following Marcion, Mani believed that he had been called to restore the true teaching of Jesus. This had been corrupted and falsely interpreted by Judaisers, against whom Paul had preached, as evidenced by a particular reading of the Pauline epistles. Thus it lay upon Mani to establish a firm canon of scripture that could never again be adulterated.

Mani and the first generation of his church believed that they were living in the last days before the return of Jesus as judge. The powerful salvific and apocalyptic emphases of his teaching are evident in the rich details of the eschatology, both individual and cosmic. At death each soul will be judged, and if triumphant will be greeted by the Form of Light and angels with victory prizes. Devotional texts, such as Manichaean psalms, developed a powerful symbolic language to express this hope.

Specifically, there are three paths for the soul at death. Gross sinners beyond any hope of redemption will be damned to hell to await the second death at the end of time, when all of matter and the darkness will be finally bound and sealed in its eternal grave. In contrast, the souls of those such as the catechumens, who are not inextricably compounded with lust, will be reborn in new bodies and have the hope of final purification. The origins of this core doctrine of rebirth have been much discussed, with scholars divided between discerning an Indian or Hellenistic (or 'gnostic') model. Certainly, the teaching is fully integrated as a coherent element within the system; but it may very well provide an important clue as to the basic influences upon Mani's religious development. It is our view that the complex of ideas relating to action in the world and its consequences, rebirth and liberation, the striving for perfection by the elect and their intimate dependence upon the lay faithful are evidence of a deep current of Indian religious influence in Mani's own life experience, which is not yet fully understood but can not be ignored.

The third way is that of the elect, and indeed of all the light freed from dead matter to life, such as that liberated from fruits and vegetables. This divine ascends up the Pillar of Glory, the great porter of souls, to the moon. This Pillar is itself divinised as a god of the third emanation. It is the Perfect Man (see *Ephesians* 4:12–13), the representation of the church as the body of Jesus in its ascent to the Father. It is also the restoration of the First Man, who descended into dissolution and now ascends reconstituted. This Pillar is visible in the night sky as (what we would call) the Milky Way.

The moon in its waxing and waning also provides visual and actual evidence of its role as a ship and stage in the transit of souls, thence to the sun. For fourteen days the arrival of the ascending light is manifest, then on the fifteenth 'the filling up overflows' (*T. Kell.* Syr. / Copt. 2, 4). For the remainder of the lunar cycle the light flows on to the sun. From the sun (whose continuous filling 'displays the mystery of the Father' (*Keph.* 162: 26–7)) the redeemed light passes to the new aeon that has been built by the Great Builder for the time of mixture. Here the gods rest, and the souls must await the final burial of darkness, before the Father will again unveil to them his image, and can once more receive them into his treasury.

Individual and cosmic eschatology are interwoven in Mani's teaching, for each soul's own tragedy and victory are but a microcosm of the history of the universal Soul and its liberation from matter. *The Sermon of the Great War* is an apocalyptic homily from the first generation after Mani's death, wherein the eschatological event is understood to have already begun. It utilises material from the Gospel tradition; as Mani himself did in his earliest writing, the *Šābuhragān.* After the horrors of persecution and the final terrors Jesus will return to take the judgement seat that is prepared for him, to separate the sheep from the goats and to reign in glory. Then will come the great fire that will achieve such final purification of the light still in the world as is possible. This Soul will gather up and rise as the Last Statue, a divinity that again (as with the Perfect Man) recapitulates the descent into the abyss of the First Man. Then the five sons of the Living Spirit will leave their tasks, and the dead husk of the universe will collapse in upon itself to sink to the depths. All the evil will be sealed up; the males and females separated (respectively in a 'lump' and a 'tomb') so that they can never again renew themselves and threaten the light.

> For, when all the light will be purified and redeemed in the universe at the last, the collector of all things, the Last Statue, will gather in and sculpt itself. It is the last hour of the day, the time when the Last Statue will go up to the aeon of light. The enemy too, death, will go in to bondage; to the prison of the souls of the deniers and blasphemers who loved the darkness. They will go in with it to bondage and the dark night overcomes them; and thenceforth this name 'light' will not shine upon them. (*Keph.* 165, 5–15)

Time in the sense of the workings of the universe and the history of redemption has come to an end. The 'third time' is a new eternality without fear. It is important that it represents a victory and a conclusion, rather than just the restoration of the 'first time'. Never again will the darkness be able to threaten the light. However, it is an important illustration of the

materiality of Mani's conception that evil can not be destroyed in the sense of obliterated from all existence; instead it must be sealed and buried. Still, now that the history of conflict and mixture is ended, the hidden Father can again reveal himself and welcome all the redeemed back to their home:

> (The Father) can give the grace to his fighters, they whom he (sent) to the contest with the darkness. The veils will be rolled back and gathered, and he unveils to them his image! The entire light will be immersed in him! They will go in to the treasury. They will also come forth from him in glory. (*Hom.* 41: 13–17)

Now there will be two kings, the Father in the aeons of light, and the First Man reigning with the gods in the new age.

WORSHIP AND ETHIC

Mani was himself brought up within the confines of a narrow religious sect (see chapter 2), and his teachings, although able to drive a religion of world-wide significance, made radical demands upon its followers. Indeed, the question of submission to the demands of this world was the focus of the Manichaean accusation that the 'Christians' were only half believers who had betrayed the teachings of Jesus. The sudden influx and even visual appearance of these new ascetics from the late third century on may well be taken as the spark that lit the fire of Christian monasticism in the decades that followed. Certainly, the rapid growth of the community marked a truly new wave of religious enthusiasm breaking upon the Roman Empire from the east. In this sense the reaction by both secular and ecclesiastical authorities to this 'Persian' incursion can be well understood; although the modern scholar may rather identify Manichaeism as the conduit by which Indian religious practices and ideals flowed to combine with heterodox currents of Judaeo-Christianity from the east.

The teachings which underpinned this new ethic provoked fierce polemic from the leaders of the catholic community, and indeed also the imperial authorities. On the one hand the belief that the divine substance was scattered through all the material world led to devotional attitudes, for instance towards fruit and vegetables as vessels of the Soul, that were received with horror. Christian polemic focused on the complex food rituals intended to liberate the divine light from matter and pain, and accused the Manichaeans of worshipping the sun and the moon. On the other hand Mani's negative account of creation, and fierce antipathy to matter and sexuality as intrinsically demonic, was equally abhorrent.

For Mani the whole rationale for history, and any continuation of human existence, is the liberation of the light elements from the dark. The Manichaean attitude to marriage was entirely negative as the act of procreation prolongs the imprisonment of Soul, which would now be further diversified into matter. Moreover, if a peasant works the land, or if a craftsman uses his tools or the soldier his weapons, then they harm and pain the living Soul. The same applies to speech that calls for such activities; or incites immorality, anger or envy. It is perhaps no accident that the Manichaean community in fourth century Kellis, the only such group from the Roman Empire that we can study in their full socio-economic context, appears to have centred on families of traders.

The principal symbol was that of the Cross of Light, the universal divine stretched and bound upon matter. Particularly the Cross was associated with plant life as manifested in sweetness, colour and translucence; in comparison to the heavy carnality and odour of flesh. Here again we can see the substantial nature of the Manichaean conception of divine light or Soul. It is apparent to all the senses in the world around us. The human endeavour is to separate life from death in all our actions, to surround ourselves (and, indeed, for the elect to take into their bodies and thus expand and free the divine within) with what is beautiful and good. The stink of death and dark matter would be met with revulsion. Still, the condition of the divine in the world and in history is one of entanglement and mixture with all that is disgusting, and thus the characteristic ethic was of sacrifice, pain and long-suffering tempered by glorious hope. Mani writes in one of his *Epistles*:

> If you wish to liken yourself to me: Bear up, like the wise shall bear, so that you will live. I reveal to you, my child, my loved one: Whoever wishes life, and life added to his life, long-suffering is what awaits; because without long-suffering he will not be able to live. For long-suffering has everything in it. (Provisional translation of a text from Ismant el-Kharab, in the process of being edited by I. Gardner and W.-P. Funk)

The Manichaeans strove to consume food and drink with as high a percentage of light as possible, such as melons and cucumbers; and indeed were much concerned with the classification and preparation of foods, which inevitably attracted the scorn of opponents. Specifically, meat and wine were regarded as dominated by the dark elements that would reinfect the believer striving for personal purification, and lead directly to sensuality and ignorance. On the positive side, while the very act of eating caused pain to the light elements, the body as a microcosm of the universe also acted as a machine for liberation of the divine, so that the righteous person could

literally discard the gross elements below, and (through the periodic fasts) breathe forth angels to rise above. Thus, the elect were charged to 'eat the world', and by so doing to free the entangled light. This desperate mission was constantly countered by the evil forces of material desire working ever new depravity upon the innocent Soul. This was a strange but powerful vision of the world and all action within it. In the following passage one of Mani's disciples calculates the number of angels engendered by the fasts in his community:

> Once again, it happened one time while the apostle (Mani) is sitting down among the congregation. One of his disciples stood up in front of (him). He says to him: I have heard you, my master, saying: 'Seven angels shall be engendered by the fasting of each one of the elect; and not only the elect but the catechumens engender them on the lord's day'.
>
> (The work) of fasting is this in summary. Now, I, I have . . . have passed since I became leader. Fifty (elect were with) me in the church over which I became the head. (They stood) before me while they fasted every day. Now, I (took account of the) fasting that a person performs at these three (lord's) days singly, and I found that each one of these (elect) had engendered seven angels by their fasting. So, I (counted the) fasting of these fifty people at the three lord's days: they totalled three hundred and fifty angels, as seven angels are reckoned to each one of the elect, who engender them daily through total fasting. I counted these three lord's days when these fifty people fasted, and I multiplied by three. I found: the number of angels engendered by them totalled one thousand and fifty, and I (was grateful) on account of the great profit and good that I had achieved (on these three) lord's days. (*Keph.* 193, 26–194, 13)

Such an ethic could only really be applied by a small group of people. Yet, the goal that Mani felt to be his vocation was the foundation and propagation by mission of a world religion. The compromise was achieved, possibly under Indian influence, by instituting a two-tiered structure incorporating a doctrine of transmigration of souls. In fact, there was an intimate symbiotic relationship between the ascetics and the lay faithful, with the former needing the latter to support their divine work just as much as latter depended on the former for their hope of ultimate salvation. Although the language of monasticism is used, the Manichaean 'monks' could not live apart from the world, for it was their constant mission to transform it. Mani emphasised active engagement and endeavour against withdrawal.

The community was divided into an inner circle of the elect ('the virginal', both male and female) who lived a life of extreme asceticism; around which a greater number of hearers or catechumens ('the continent') gathered, who were able to profit from the piety and righteousness of the

spiritually more advanced. In actual fact the catechumens were allowed to marry and carry out normal daily activities; but they were obliged to see to the alimentary needs of the monks, whose daily meal was the focal ritual practice. Their duty, termed in Middle Persian *ruwānagān* (soul-service), brought merit to the hearers who could hope to advance to perfection in a future life. Augustine explains:

> However, they claim that not only do the powers of God effect this purgation and liberation of good and evil throughout the whole universe and all of its elements, but also that their own elect achieve the same results by means of the food of which they partake. And they state that the divine substance is intermingled with this food just as it is with the whole universe, and imagine that it is purified in their elect by the mode of life which the Manichaean elect live, as if their mode of life were holier and more excellent than that of their auditors. For they would have their church consist of those two classes, elect and auditors. Moreover, they believe that this portion of the good and divine substance which is held mixed and imprisoned in food and drink is more strongly and foully bound in the rest of men, even their own auditors, but particularly in those who propagate offspring. (Augustine, *de haer.* 46, 5–6)

As the final apostle of God Mani led the community for as long as he lived, and after his 'crucifixion' was believed to have ascended to the moon to wait in attendance upon the faithful. During his life-time, concerned at the corruption of earlier churches, he endeavoured to establish the community for the rest of history through writings, missions, and a strong hierarchy. Until the tenth century the Twin-Cities (al-Mada'in) remained the seat of the *archegos* or *imam*. Ecclesiastical authority was mediated downwards via twelve teachers (*magister*), thence to the bishops (*episcopus*), then the elders (*presbyter*), and so to the general body of the elect and hearers. In the Roman Empire the religion established an elaborate network of cells both to facilitate evangelism and to avoid detection. Fascinating glimpses of the workings of the community in fourth-century Egypt, before oppression reduced its ability for effective action in the west, are preserved by the personal letters of the community recovered from Ismant el-Kharab (see further chapter 7). Thus, the boy Matthaios writes news to his mother Maria about his brother who has been given to the elect, and has joined the company of the 'Teacher' (perhaps the foremost Manichaean leader in Egypt at the time):

> And Piene: The great Teacher let him travel with him, so that he might learn Latin. He teaches him well. Their body is set up, and they are good (and) worthwhile. (*P. Kell.* Copt. 20, 24–7)

We even have a complete short letter by Piene himself, writing again to Maria:

> (To) my loved mother, greatly revered by me; her whom I love with all my heart, whose memory is planted in my thought every hour. I am looking forward to seeing you, my mother Maria, precious to me. It is I, your son Piene, who is greeting you; in the Lord, – greetings.
>
> This is my prayer every hour to the Father, the God of Truth, that He may preserve you healthy in your body, joyful in your soul and firm (in) your spirit; for all the time that you (will) spend in this place. Also, after this place, you may find life in the kingdom for eternity.
>
> And know, my beloved mother, that I am doing well here. I am following the Teacher, and will go to Alexandria with him. I shall be . . . I am coming to stay with Apa Lysimachos. Should I come, I will send (a message) to you.
>
> (I greet) my brothers by name, and everyone who loves you. All they who (are with me (?)) greet you. Live and be healthy according to the body and the spirit for a long time.

In later centuries the episcopal hierarchy seems to have been better preserved in the east, especially whilst it was the dominant religion in the Turfan area during the second Uighur kingdom (tenth–twelfth centuries). In central Asia the Manichaeans finally had the freedom to worship openly, to observe their regular fasts, and to develop church practices. However, the most important festival remained the commemoration of Mani's martyrdom when a judgement seat (*bema*) was raised in the middle of the worshipping congregation. Upon this was placed a portrait of Mani to celebrate his continuing presence in the community of the elect; and to symbolise his position as proxy for Jesus until his return as judge.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MANICHAEAN STUDIES

Few subjects in the study of the religious history of late antiquity have been so fundamentally affected by the discovery of original writings of the community as that of Manichaeism. In this respect the study of Manichaeism in the later Roman Empire, during the second half of the twentieth century, mirrors that of gnosticism. For both systems, the chance discovery in Egypt of a large amount of original writings in Coptic fundamentally altered the direction of research. Whereas for gnosticism it was the find of more than twelve codices from Nag Hammadi after the Second World War, for Manichaeism it was seven (or more) codices from Medinet Madi. However, unlike the study of gnosticism, the rediscovery of Manichaean texts had begun much earlier; though not in a region which was once within the

frontiers of the Roman Empire, but in Turfan and Dunhuang in Central Asia. However, the fact that they were extremely fragmentary and, with the exception of those in Chinese, in relatively little-known languages (Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, Tocharian B, Uighur and even one fragment in Bactrian) meant that they remained very little known to English-speaking scholars of religious history; for almost all the pioneering work on the Turfan texts was accomplished by German scholars, and for long the texts remained available to non-specialists only in German translation.[10]

Prior to the discovery of the texts from Turfan, the scholar of Manichaeism had to rely on the highly biased accounts of the Church Fathers, especially the anti-Manichaean writings of Augustine and of the Greek Fathers like Titus of Bostra, Serapion of Thmuis and Epiphanius for information on the teachings of the sect. As for history, the sole source was the so-called *Acta Archelai* which purports to be a debate between Mani and a Christian bishop (with predictable outcome) at Carrhae: a city in Mesopotamia near the Persian frontier and famous for its links with Crassus' defeat at the hands of the Parthians. One source, however, the discovery of which marked a major turn in the study of the religion was the long entry on the sect and its writings in the *Fihrist* (catalogue) of the tenth century Arabic encyclopaedist and book-seller Abū'l-Faraj Muḥammad Ibn Abī Ya'qūb Isḥaq al-Warraq al-Baġdādī, commonly known as Ibn an-Nadīm, which clearly draws material *sine ira et studio* from genuine Manichaean sources which were still extant in Arabic in his time.[11] Without this source, which provided new material on almost every aspect of the early history and teaching of the sect, the task of identifying the fragmentary texts from Turfan as Manichaean and of putting them into the right literary context would have been very much harder.[12]

For the specialists in History of Religion in Germany in particular, the Manichaean texts from Turfan which were being conserved and edited in Berlin gave a massive initial boost to the study of Manichaeism. As many of the fragments were in dialects of Iranian and abound in Zoroastrian or Zurvanite terminology, the religion of Mani inevitably came to be seen

[10] For long the only collection in English was Jackson (1932), which also gives the Middle Iranian texts in the outdated transliteration system of F. W. K. Müller. The useful but also dated selection (in translation only) by Jes P. Asmussen (Asmussen (1975)) is known mainly to specialists. The most comprehensive collection of Manichaean texts from Turfan in English translation now is Klimkeit (1994); but some of the translations are heavily abridged and sometimes unreliable. It contains, however, an excellent introduction to the texts with a full account of their discovery. On the latter see also Lieu (1998), 1–58. The same work also contains (196–246) an index of sources to Klimkeit's book.

[11] Flügel (1862). See also the English translation of the whole work by B. Dodge (Dodge (1970)).

[12] See especially F. W. K. Müller (1904), 20–2.

as a reform movement within Zoroastrianism by a prophet who had a good knowledge of Christianity, especially of the writings of the Christian gnostics.

Of particular interest to German scholars was evidence termed by its leading exponent, Richard Reitzenstein (this came later to be known as the 'Religionsgeschichtliche Schule'), as the Manichaean dogma of the 'redeemed Redeemer'. 'In Persian', says Reitzenstein, 'this "man" is the renewer of the world, the bearer of the divine message and power, the redeemer for the whole race, but at the same time the one who has been redeemed who can return to heaven as the first of the Light Beings, a god and also the ideal representative of souls, the great soul.'[13] It is not only for Manichaeism that this basic attitude, that the Primeval or Primal Man is the sum of all the souls which he is to redeem, is typical and of fundamental significance; but for gnosticism in general, for the whole faith about redemption is built on it. This Zoroastrian, or more particularly Zurvanistic, understanding of Manichaean origins gained ground especially amongst distinguished German scholars who worked in related areas, like Rudolph Bultmann;[14] and the great influence and popularity of his works gave ready dissemination to the ideas of Reitzenstein and his school.

In Britain, however, the Cambridge theologian F. C. Burkitt had drawn attention in his Donellan Lectures of 1925[15] to the unexpectedly large numbers of Iranian and Turkish text fragments from Turfan which bear the unmistakable imprint of Christianity, especially of Syriac Christianity. Despite the fact that the Turfan texts were recovered from a region which was a major centre of Buddhism and later of Islam, Jesus (Mid. Pers. and Parth. yyšw', yyšw) was more frequently invoked in Manichaean hymns and homiletical texts than any other Manichaean deity. Manichaean literature, both poetry and prose, also contains many easily identifiable biblical (i.e. Judaeo-Christian) names, themes and scriptural citations; and especially Gospel citations. Some are reminiscent of Tatian's Gospel harmony, the *Diatessarōn*, in the manner in which material from the different gospels are combined; and in the frequent occurrence of words transliterated from the Syriac. Mani's teaching on the Last Judgement, for instance, as expounded by Mani in the *Šābuhragān* (a semi-canonical work which Mani composed in Middle Persian in order to summarise his teaching for his great patron, the Sassanian King of Kings Shapur I) is closely based on the words of Jesus as given in Matt. 25:31–46.[16] One of the most eminent Semitic philologists of his time, Burkitt proved beyond all reasonable doubt

[13] Reitzenstein (1921) 116, n. 2. For a succinct exposé of the views of Reitzenstein and his school on Manichaeism see Widengren (1978), esp. 284–90.

[14] Particularly in Bultmann (1925).

[15] Published as Burkitt (1925). See esp. 37–43 and 92–3.

that the first Manichaean missionaries in the Roman Empire, especially in Roman Egypt, were Syrians and not Iranians. On the Syrian aspect of the subject, Burkitt rightly paid tribute to the then little known but essential contribution to the subject of the origins of Mani's teaching made by the late Revd C. W. Mitchell. Prior to his tragic death in the First World War, Mitchell with endless patience and exceptional philological skill had succeeded in deciphering the under-writing of a palimpsest in the British (Museum) Library containing the prose-refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaiṣan by the Syrian theologian Ephraim of Edessa.[17] Ephraim, who was himself a native Syriac speaker, could read the original writings of the Manichaeans; and he saw innumerable parallels and similarities between their teaching and those of two Christian heretics Marcion and Bardaiṣan.[18]

Burkitt's views on the western and Christian origin of Mani's original teaching found strong support in Germany from H. H. Schaeder, a pupil of Reitzenstein. The latter was then highly influential historian for his advocacy of the existence of a pan-Iranian theologumenon, which he saw as the origin to many of the mystery religions of the Roman Empire and of gnosticism. Schaeder reacted against this, and the new material from Ephraim was precisely what he needed to help formulate his argument that Manichaeism should be seen as a product of Hellenism in the widest sense of the term: a Hellenism which embraces both the teaching of the great Graeco-Roman philosophers and of Judaeo-Christianity. In this he made extensive use of the anti-Manichaean writings of the Neoplatonist Alexander of Lycopolis (modern Assiut) who saw Mani's teaching essentially as a form of Christian revelation masquerading as a respectable philosophical system.[19] 'The teaching of Mani', remarks Schaeder, 'which is generally regarded as a purely oriental mystery religion, is founded on a basis that is conceptually theoretical and oriented towards hellenistic knowledge'.[20] Schaeder's work marks a clear turning point in Manichaean studies in Germany where the subject had hitherto been monopolised by orientalists, especially Iranologists and Turcologists, working at the Orientalische Kommission established in Berlin since 1925 specially for the conservation and publication of the Buddhist, Christian and Manichaean texts from Chinese Turkestan. This westward reorientation would soon prove highly necessary as sensational news reached Germany of the discovery of a small library of seven genuine Manichaean codices in Egypt (see below, pp. 37–9).

[16] Burkitt (1925) 88–9. Cf. Lieu (1992), 78–80. [17] Mitchell (1912–21). [18] Burkitt (1925), 71–86.
[19] Schaeder (1927), esp. 106–27. [20] Schaeder (1927), 97.

The new Coptic texts seemed to confirm Schaeder's theory of a close link between Mani's intellectual outlook and Hellenism; since in them occur terms like 'nous', 'psyche' and 'hyle' (transliterated from Greek into Coptic), concepts familiar from the account by Alexander of Lycopolis (see below, pp. 179–82). Moreover, the almost complete lack of Zoroastrian terms and concepts in documents which clearly belong to the earliest stage of the community's history shows beyond doubt that the Zoroastrian (more precisely Zurvanist) elements found in Manichaean texts from Turfan are later additions, or the product of parallel developments in the Sassanian Empire. It was also clear from the new texts that the sect was intellectually linked to the teaching of gnostic groups within the Roman Empire, especially that of Valentinus; and that Mani also had a good knowledge of Christian writings. A young German scholar of great linguistic ability who played a major role in the editing of the texts was Hans Jakob Polotsky. Prior to his work on the Coptic texts as assistant to Carl Schmidt, who first identified them in Cairo, Polotsky had already researched on Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian under F. C. Andreas at Göttingen; and he was therefore in a unique position to review the new material. However, the rise of National Socialism in Germany forced him to flee to Israel; but his authoritative monograph-length article on Manichaeism in the Sixth Supplement Volume to Pauly's *Encyclopaedia* which appeared in 1934 remains a landmark in the study of the subject.[21] In this, while agreeing with Schaeder's views regarding Hellenistic influence on Manichaeism, Polotsky also drew attention to many key elements in Mani's religious system which did not have Hellenic roots. The editing and publication of the new texts from Medinet Madi was severely affected by the outbreak of the Second World War; but the study of the subject was continued immediately after the war by the great French scholar of gnosticism H.-C. Puech, who also played a major role in the study of the newly discovered gnostic texts from Nag Hammadi. His slim, but fully annotated monograph on Manichaeism, draws material from Manichaean texts from both Turfan and Medinet Madi;[22] and he also produced a series of important studies on aspects of the religion which are models of judicious and balanced scholarship.[23]

Of the texts from Medinet Madi, the one which drew most attention was a substantial collection of Manichaean psalms which were (in part) made available in English translation by the brilliant Cambridge classical scholar and Coptologist C. R. C. Allberry (see below, p. 39). The

[21] Polotsky (1935a); also issued separately as Polotsky (1935b). [22] Puech (1949).
[23] The most important ones are collected (with revisions) in Puech (1979).

psalms, which are among the earliest examples of Christian hymnology, give evidence not only of the liturgical practices of the congregation, but also of their general way of thinking. Allberry was sadly killed on active service with the Bomber Command during the Second World War; but in the post-war period a thorough examination was given to these psalms by T. Säve-Söderbergh, who thought he had established that there was a close relationship (amounting to dependency) with the psalmic tradition of the Mandaeans. This is a gnostic baptising sect which until recently flourished in Southern Iraq and adjacent Iran, but whose existence before the Islamic period could not be decisively proved.[24] A branch of research led by another Swedish scholar Geo Widengren, who believed Mani to have had his origins among the Mandaeans, thereby appeared to be confirmed.[25] And, as Widengren's monograph was the only work available in English which was published after the finds of Manichaean texts from Medinet Madi, his views enjoyed wide circulation.[26]

The belief in an early link between Manichaeism and Mandaeism was seriously challenged by the documentary evidence provided by the *Cologne Mani-Codex* (see below pp. 40–3), which was successfully deciphered by A. Henrichs and L. Koenen in 1969.[27] This tiny parchment codex contains a biographical account of Mani in Greek compiled from the witness accounts of his earliest disciples. It states that Mani grew up in a hemerobaptist sect in S. Babylonia which acknowledged a past-figure Alchasaios (*sic*) as one of its founders. The young Mani was the recipient of special revelations from his divine Twin (or Syzygos), and he was expelled from the sect at the age of twenty-four because of irreconcilable differences over food-taboos and rituals. In one of the most dramatic sections of the *Codex*, the young Mani was arraigned before a 'synhedrion' of the baptists who accused him of having 'eaten Greek bread' and, in defence of his refusal to harvest from their vegetable gardens and palm-trees and to perform ritual baptism, the young Mani cited the authority of Alchasaios the founder (archegos) of the sect for his defence (*CMC* 94.1–97.10, trans. below, p. 63).

The name Alchasaios reminded scholars immediately of the putative leader of a Jewish-Christian sect Elxai or Elchasaios who was linked to an apocalyptic work known as the 'Book of Elxai'. A small number of brief excerpts of this work are found in Christian sources, especially the

[24] Säve-Söderbergh (1949), 85–166.
[25] Widengren (1946); and more importantly his popular monograph Widengren (1961).
[26] Widengren (1965).
[27] Henrichs and Koenen (1970). See also the important account of the successful decipherment and identification in Henrichs (1979).

writings of heresiologists like Hippolytus of Rome and of Epiphanius of Salamis, the famous heresy-hunter from Salamis in Cyprus whose *Panarion* ('Medicine-Chest', completed *c.* 377) is a major encyclopaedia of ancient and contemporary heresies. (The work is so-called because Epiphanius saw it as providing the antidote for Christians who might be 'bitten' by heretics or schismatics whom he depicted as venomous reptiles or dangerous animals.) According to these tendentious sources, a certain Elchasaios known to us from Christian heresiological sources is closely linked to the 'Book of Elxai'. The work, according to Hippolytus, came into prominence at the church in Rome during the pontificate of Callistus (217–22) in relation to the controversy over re-baptism. Alcibiades, a native of Apamea in Syria, was said to have gained followers through advocating the practices laid down in a specially revealed work. This he claimed to have originally been received from (the) Seres (= silk-merchants?) by a certain 'righteous man' called Elchasai. He in turn transmitted it to a certain Sobiai (or a community of baptists) as a book revealed by an angel of gigantic proportions.[28] Hippolytus makes no mention of Elchasai as a founder of a sect, nor whether he was a Jew or a Christian of Jewish origin. That Alcibiades was a Christian there is no doubt, but there is nothing specifically Christian in the surviving excerpts of the 'Book of Elxai'.[29] By the time of Origen (*c.* AD 245), however, the Elchasaites were depicted by their opponents as a troublesome evangelising sect; and they were characterised by their rejection of the teaching of Paul.[30] More information is furnished by Epiphanius from whose *Panarion* we learn that Elchasai, the leader of the sect, was of Jewish origin; and though his beliefs were Jewish in origin, he did not live according to the Law.[31] He later joined a Jewish–Christian sect called the Osseans (also known as the Sampseans), and his name means 'hidden power'.[32] To add apparent veracity to his biographical reconstruction of the heresiarch, Epiphanius adduces two sisters called Marthous and Marthana, who claimed descent from Elchasai and who were venerated as goddesses in the reign of Constantius II (337–62).[33]

The new information furnished by the *Cologne Mani-Codex* on the apparent Jewish-Christian roots of the sect in which Mani grew up is nothing short of revolutionary and has led the study of Manichaean origins into

[28] Hipp., *ref. omn. haer.* IX.13.1–2, p. 357, ed. Marcovich. On the place of the Elchasaites in Jewish Christianity see esp. Cirillo (1984); and Cirillo (1986).

[29] With the exception perhaps of the description of a vision of two celestial figures of gigantic proportions which finds a Jewish-Christian parallel in the *Ascensio Jesajae*, IX.27–40, ed. Tisserant.

[30] *ap.* Eusebius, *hist. eccl.* VI.38, p. 592.16–22, ed. E. Schwartz, GCS (Leipzig, 1903–7).

[31] Epiph., *Panarion* XIX.1.4–5, ed. K. Holl, rev. J. Dummer, GCS (Berlin, 1985) 218.4–10.

[32] Ibid. XIX.1.10, ed. cit., 219.5–10. [33] Ibid. XIX,1,12, ed. cit., 219,13–16.

completely new territory. Scholars have for some time been aware of the Jewish elements in Manichaeism, especially in Mani's use of apocryphal Jewish works like the Enochic writings[34] and other haggadic writings on Adam and Eve which have found their way into Manichaean texts.[35] The new material not only connects the study of Manichaeism to that of Judaeo-Christianity, it also draws the attention to scholars to a possible 'genetic' linkage between the teaching and community rules of the sect in which Mani grew up and those of Second Temple Judaism, especially sectarians associated with the texts found at Qumran. The practice employed by the compilers of the *Codex* of attributing at the beginning of each section to a particular tradition indicated by the name of a tradent is itself reminiscent of Jewish practice.[36] The 'baptists' appear to have been vegetarians and certain types of food were tabooed.[37] The 'baptists' were given to working in the fields and individual members were allocated their own lands to cultivate, as the *Codex* at one point describes two of Mani's friends as 'of the adjacent fields'.[38] The young Mani was expected to assist in the harvesting of fruit and vegetables and the gathering of firewood.[39] The fact that according to a reliable Arabic source (*Fihrist*, trans. below, p. 47) Mani was taken into the sect at a young age brings to mind the Essenes who, according to Josephus, while eschewing marriage yet picked out male children of other people and moulded them according to their rules.[40] A similar practice among the Mughtasilah may explain why Mani joined the sect at such a tender age and why Theodor bar Khoni alleged that Mani was bought by the sect as a slave. Since abstinence from the flesh (*hapax.*σαρκοδερία) was a fundamental precept of the 'baptists' and since the *Codex* mentions no woman in connection with the sect, we may assume that it was an all-male community. Another indication of the Jewish roots of the sect is that their religion was referred to throughout the *Codex* as the 'Rule' or 'Law' (νόμος), which implies that the sect lived in conformity with 'the Law'. Entry to the sect for a gentile like Mani's father might therefore have involved circumcision and obedience to the Mosaic Law. The members of the sect observed the Jewish Sabbath which in the *Codex* is referred to as the 'Rest of (or: Abstinence from) the Hands' (ἀναπαύσις τῶν χειρῶν), a term which anticipates the 'Seal of the Hands' of the Manichaean elect.[41] Though not actually cited in the *Codex*, the 'Book of Elxai' also contained

[34] On this see especially Reeves (1991a); Reeves (1991b) and especially his monograph Reeves (1992).
[35] Cf. Reeves (1996), 79–88. [36] Cf. ibid. 6–7.
[37] *CMC* 88,2–9, eds. Koenen and Römer (1985), 60. [38] *CMC* 106,15–19, p. 74.
[39] See e.g. *CMC* 6,7–12,5. [40] Josephus, *bellum Judaicum* II, 8, 2(119–20).
[41] *CMC* 102,12–16, p. 72.

elements of an imminent eschatological war involving angelic beings which has echoes in the *War Scroll* from Qumran. Similarly the instructions for baptism 'a second time' for sexual sins (including bestiality) are also found in the *Damascus Document* – another Jewish text closely connected with Qumran though it originally came to light in the Cairo Genizah.

A possible link between the sect in which Mani grew up and a religious leader called Elchasai was already hinted at by the Arabic antiquarian Ibn an-Nadīm in his brief article on the *Mughtasilah* (i.e. those who baptise themselves) in his *Fihrist* ('Catalogue'):

> The *Mughtasilah*. These people are very numerous in the regions of al-Baṭa'ih; they are (called) the Ṣābat al-Baṭa'ih (i.e. Ṣabians of the marsh-lands). They observe ablution as a rite and wash everything which they eat. Their head is known as al-Ḥasīḥ and it is he who instituted their sect. They assert that the two existences are male and female and that the herbs are from the likeness of the male, whereas the parasite plants are from the likeness of the female, the trees being veins (roots). They have seven sayings, taking the form of fables. His (al-Ḥasīh's) disciple was named Sham'ūn. They agreed with the Manichaeans about the two elemental (principles), but later their sect became separate.[42]

Though the passage has been made available in German translation since the mid nineteenth century,[43] the connection between the Elchasaites and the baptist sect in which Mani grew up was not made by most Manichaean scholars until the discovery and initial publication of the *Cologne Mani-Codex*. The seemingly circumstantial and sometimes contradictory nature of the patristic evidence on Elxai has led at least one major scholar, Professor Gerard P. Luttikhuizen, to sound a note of warning against accepting too readily the link between the 'baptists' (i.e. the *Mughtasilah* of the Arabic sources) and the Elchasaites of the Church Fathers. While the 'Book of Elxai' is amply attested among Jewish Christian texts as a major Jewish apocalyptic work, the existence of a Jewish Christian sectarian leader called Elchasaios is less secure as the heresiological accounts give the impression of a developing myth.[44] Moreover, there is little to link the beliefs and practices of the Elchasaites of the heresiologists with the 'baptists' of the *Codex*. The second baptism taught by Alcibiades allegedly from the 'Book of Elxai' has nothing in common with the daily ablutions and ritual washing of food practised by the 'baptists'. Furthermore there are no citations from the 'Book of Elxai' in the *Codex*, not even in the sections in which the disciples

[42] *The Fihrist of al-Nadim*, trans. Dodge (1970), II, 811.
[43] Cf. Chwolsohn (1856) I, 543–4. See also the discussion in Flügel (1862) 305.
[44] Luttikhuizen (1985) 210–20 and 225–6. See also Luttikhuizen (1987), 104–6.

of Mani sought to authenticate his revelation with citations from Jewish apocalyptic works and Christian writings (*CMC* 48.16–62.9). There also appears little in common between the teaching contained in the fragments of the 'Book of Elxai' and that of the 'baptists' of the *Codex* save for the doctrine of the cyclical rebirth of the True Prophet.[45] The Alchasaios of the *Codex* was clearly a mouth-piece of Manichaean teaching on the prohibition of harvesting and bathing by the elect and might have been just any 'leader' (*archegos*) of the 'baptists' and not the founder. The similarity in the name Alchasaios with that of the putative founder of the sect of the Elchasaites might have been purely accidental.[46]

The discovery by Professor Werner Sundermann, the principal researcher on Middle Iranian Manichaean texts from Turfan housed in Berlin, of the name 'lxs' in a biographical text of Mani in a Parthian text suggests that the Alchasaios of the *Codex* was not just an ordinary leader of the sect as Luttikhuizen has alleged. The fact that the text was in a dialect of Middle Iranian rules out the possibility of Manichaean missionaries active in the more Christianised parts of Mesopotamia and the Roman Empire 'inventing' the Alchasaios anecdotes to strengthen the sect's link with Christianity. In any case, the Manichaeans were hardly likely to have chosen to connect themselves with a heretical figure of shadowy existence for missionary purposes nor to refer to the sect in which Mani grew up as 'Elchasaites' – an odious epithet coined by heresiologists to denigrate sectarianism. Though the Parthian text is fragmentary, there is little doubt that the name 'lxs' occurs in an autobiographical account about Mani's youth and his calling.[47] Though the name of the founder of the sect of the 'baptists' is consistently spelt with an Alpha rather than an Epsilon in the Greek in the *Codex*, there are plenty of examples of such vowel changes in papyri; especially if the name was transliterated from a Semitic source.[48] The Syriac form of the name 'Elchasaites' is found in Syriac in the anti-heresiological writings of Theodore bar Konī on the Sampsaeans – a sect which was said to be descended from the Elchasaites – and the Syriac spelling is *'lq'sy'*[49] and the initial semitic Aleph would have certainly lent itself to be transliterated into Greek by either Alpha or Epsilon. Furthermore, if the search for Elchasaite influences on Mani is widened to what is known of Manichaeism in general from western sources, rather than focusing narrowly on the *Codex*,

[45] Luttikhuizen (1985), 222. [46] Ibid.

[47] The autobiographical nature is clear due to the word *ymg* "Twin" on the previous line. M1344 + M5910, *KG*, §2.2 (25–7), p. 19.

[48] Cf. Gignac (1976) I, 235 and 242–9.

[49] Theodor bar Khoni, *Liber Scholiorum* XI, CSCO 69 (Louvain, 1912), p. 307.2 – reading *'lq'sy'* for *'ql'sy'*.

there is much to be found. Both sects for instance placed great emphasis on apocalyptic literature, on the call to repentance, and on the cyclical reappearance of Christ. Both reject the Mosaic Laws, and both believe in all matter and plants and animals possessing souls, and in the transmigration of souls.[50] Though none of these similarities is in itself conclusive of a definite link, they do suggest a similar Jewish Christian background between the Elchasaites and the 'baptists' of the *Codex*; especially when one takes into account Mani's one-sided representation of the teaching of a sect whose teaching he rejected.

Controversies over the existence of Elchasaios and doubts over a fourth–fifth century dating of the codex (see below, pp. 42–3) have been relegated to the sidelines in Manichaean studies as another major discovery of new Manichaean texts is announced. The new material from Ismant el-Kharab (the Roman period village of Kellis) in the Dakhleh Oasis in Egypt has been found and recorded in a precise archaeological context; and it throws a great deal of light on the nature and activities of a Manichaean community which flourished in that oasis village in the fourth century because of its ability to present itself as a Christian church, and because the remoteness of the location gave it refuge from the persecuting authorities, first pagan and then Christian. The bilingual texts in Syriac and Coptic astounded scholars who had held the belief that given the pervasiveness of Greek, Manichaean texts would have been translated first into Greek and from Greek into Coptic. The new texts also emphasise the predominantly Christian elements of Manichaeism, although one text which was probably originally composed in Greek (the 'Prayer of the Emanations', see below, **61**) may have been deliberately polytheistic in order to attract followers from pagan cults. With such a steady stream of new discoveries, and the need to continue work on still unpublished texts from Turfan and Medinet Madi, the study of Manichaeism is inevitably heavily dominated by the editing, translating and interpreting of new material, and is likely to remain so for some time to come.

THE SURVIVAL OF MANICHAEAN TEXTS FROM THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Manichaeism was a religion of the book; and Manichaean preachers, like Felix the doctor who debated with Augustine, took with them the canon of Mani's writings as well as other works belonging to the community. As a result Manichaean texts were often the target of confiscation by both imperial

[50] As well demonstrated by Merkelbach (1988).

and ecclesiastical authorities in the Roman Empire. This led to the virtual disappearance of genuine Manichaean texts after the time of Augustine, and until the end of the nineteenth century almost all the examples we have of Manichaean texts which were disseminated in the Roman Empire come from the writings of opponents, especially those passages embedded in the voluminous anti-Manichaean writings of Augustine (who had himself been a Manichaean for at least nine years). Later, as a bishop, he also had access to confiscated Manichaean works. For modern scholarship, the situation as regards availability of texts changed rapidly with the discovery of the long section on Manichaeans and their writings in the Arabic *Fihrist* of Ibn an-Nadīm; and later the *Liber Scholiorum* of Theodor bar Khoni the Nestorian bishop of Kashkar in Iraq, which contains a lengthy citation from an undoubtedly canonical work of Mani in its original Syriac. Almost at the same time occurred the identification of a substantial citation from another unnamed Manichaean work in the Cathedral Homilies of Severus, the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch. Although originally this work was composed in Greek, these homilies have come down to us in two Syriac rescensions (the better known one being the work of Jacob of Edessa, the lesser that of Paul of Callinicum).[51] Then, the discovery of genuine Manichaean texts from Central Asia greatly added to our knowledge of the scriptures of the sect. Similarly the arduous task of deciphering the palimpsest which contains the *Prose Refutation* of Ephraim against Mani, which was completed by Revd C. W. Mitchell before the outbreak of the First World War (as mentioned above), added considerably to the number of genuine citations from Manichaean writings; but Mitchell's death in action led to considerable delay in the publication of the second and final volume of his work.[52] Nevertheless, for the patristic scholar, what was still lacking were genuine Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire itself which were free from the selective presentation and refutation of the community's opponents.

The first texts from lands within the confines of the Roman Empire to be identified as genuinely Manichaean were a number of small papyri fragments in Syriac from Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. These are written in an Estrangela script which is very close to that used by the Manichaean communities in Central Asia for texts in both Middle Iranian and Turkish (as

[51] The first major western scholar to study the *Liber Scholiorum* was H. Pognon; but the best known work which gives translations of the citations of both Theodor and Severus of Antioch (rescension of Jacob of Edessa) is Cumont (1908), and Cumont and Kugener (1912).

[52] Mitchell (1912–21). The quotations from Manichaean works cited by Ephraim for the purpose of refutation have been conveniently collected together by Reeves (1997).

well as Bactrian and Tocharian B).[53] These fragments are conveniently collected in an appendix to the seminal monograph of Burkitt,[54] but their fragmentary nature offers us only brief glimpses into a variety of Manichaean writings and their use of Christian scriptures. A slightly more substantial find was made in 1918 when thirteen very damaged leaves of a Latin theological manuscript, containing a large number of biblical citations, were found in a cave south-west of Theveste (Tebessa) in Algeria. Its identity initially perplexed scholars as the contents do not remind one of any of the known writings of the Latin Fathers. It was later suggested that the *Tebessa Codex* (as the text came to be known) was the work of a critic writing against the Manichaean distinction between the elect and the hearer. However, the most generally accepted view, first championed by Alfaric, is that it was rather the work (part of a pastoral letter?) of a Manichaean leader justifying this distinction, a teaching and practice which must have drawn considerable criticism from the Christian opponents of Manichaeism, and which might have also caused discontent among the hearers who could not see the purpose of their service of the elect.[55]

A community which treasured its scriptures as greatly as the Manichaeans was highly likely to hide them from the prying eyes of its enemies. The discovery of a cache which had not been recovered by the sect could therefore yield more than one text. Such a cache, once put into concealment by Manichaean missionaries in the Fayum in Egypt, came to light when in 1929 local workmen digging for fertiliser in the ruins of an ancient house in Medinet Madi discovered at least seven papyrus codices still with their wooden covers in a chest.

The sensational news of *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten, Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler*, announced in 1933 by C. Schmidt, H. Ibscher and H. J. Polotsky,[56] marked a decisive turning point in the modern rediscovery of the religion. The codices were already broken up before they reached the Cairo market, where they were first seen by the Danish egyptologist H. O. Lange in November 1929. However, it was C. Schmidt in 1930, while on his way to Palestine to collect manuscripts for the Prussian Academy, who was shown a codex entitled *Kephalaia* and made the connection with Manichaeism. By sheer coincidence Schmidt was in the process of checking the proofs of the late K. Holl's edition of Epiphanius's *Panarion*, and

[53] Cf. Margoliouth (1915); and Crum (1919).

[54] Burkitt (1925), 111–19. This replaces the earlier studies on these fragments by Margoliouth and Crum. See also additional comments in Lieu (1994, 1999), 62–4.

[55] The intitial discovery is given in Omont (1918). A translation of the text with fuller bibliography is given below, **92**.

[56] Schmidt, Ibscher and Polotsky (1933).

he remembered that among the books that Mani was alleged to have received from Scythianus was one with the same title. Further examination revealed the characteristic clause: 'Once more the enlightener speaks to his disciples . . .'

News of the discovery was immediately communicated to A. Harnack in Germany; but, before adequate funds could arrive in Egypt for their purchase, part of the find was acquired by the Irish-American philanthropist and collector A. Chester Beatty. His famous collection of classical and biblical manuscripts was housed first in London, then after the second world war were transferred to Dublin, where they remain. The rest of the codices were then purchased by Schmidt with financial aid from the Stuttgart publishing company Kohlhammer, and shipped to Berlin.

The entire collection comprised seven codices, four in Berlin and three in London (now Dublin). In Berlin were: *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* (a small part of this went to Vienna); *The Epistles* of Mani; *The Synaxeis of the Living Gospel*;[57] and a (Manichaean) church history. In London: a book of psalms, together with an index; a collection of homilies; and *The Kephalaia of the Wisdom of my Lord Mani*.[58]

The Coptic texts themselves date from about AD 400, and are translations of Syriac originals that reach back to Mani himself (as with the canonical *Epistles*), or to the first generations of the church. They are written in a form of Coptic commonly known as sub-Achmimic or Lycopolitan (specifically dialect L4); and thus did not originate in the Fayum, but perhaps from the region of Assiut (Lycopolis) in upper Egypt.

Various sources indicate that this was an important and successful area for Manichaean evangelisation. One of the earliest critics of the new religion was the neo-Platonist Alexander of Lycopolis who reported that the religion attracted followers amongst his philosophical colleagues. The region also features in the mercantile travels of Scythianus, the proto-Manichaean of Christian polemics. Most importantly, this area of the Nile valley was, and still remains, the closest point in terms of communications to Kellis in the Dakhleh Oasis. The Coptic texts from Kellis are also written in a form of Lycopolitan; although admittedly this term is more convenient than specific, since strictly it covers a number of distinct dialects.

[57] The exact contents of this codex (i.e. whether it also contains other works), and its relationship to *The Living Gospel* itself, remains unclear.

[58] The relationship between the two *Kephalaia* codices has also been open to debate. However, despite the variation in titles, it appears that the Dublin codex can best be regarded as simply a continuation of the Berlin one.

The conservation of the extremely fragile codices, both from London and Berlin, was entrusted to the renowned H. Ibscher; and the task of printing the editions consigned to Kohlhammer Verlag. A special Coptic font was cut to resemble as closely as possible the hand-written originals. For the first ten years publication proceeded apace: in 1934 H. J. Polotsky's edition and German translation of 96 pages of *Manichaische Homilien*; in 1938 the latter 234 pages of *A Manichaean Psalm-Book Part II,* with an English translation by C. R. C. Allberry; and fascicles of the Berlin *Kephalaia* by A. Böhlig and H. J. Polotsky that reached page 244 in 1940.

Unfortunately the rise of National Socialism in Germany, and the advent of the second world war, heralded a number of tragedies. These included the departure from Germany of a number of the leading scholars due to the threat of anti-semitism; the death of Allberry; and the loss and probable destruction of some of the codices housed in the soviet sector of Berlin. Specifically the historical work and *The Epistles* seem to have been removed, and now only a few leaves remain in Berlin and Warsaw.

Such events led effectively to an end of work on the Medinet Madi texts for over forty years. Admittedly A. Böhlig published a further fascicle of the *Kephalaia* (pages 244–91) in 1966, but the work for this was largely prepared in 1943. However, the current outlook is much more positive. With the financial support of the Carlsberg foundation S. Giversen (University of Aarhus, Denmark) has published a facsimile edition of all the Dublin texts in four volumes: *Kephalaia; Homilies and Varia; Psalm Book Part I; and II*.[59] Meanwhile a separate team led by Wolf-Peter Funk (Université Laval, Québec) is working on the remaining material from Berlin: the *Kephalaia*, *Epistles*, *Synaxeis* and *Church History* codices.[60]

Whereas the provenance of the Medinet Madi find is relatively well known, and the subsequent history of how the texts were divided between Berlin and London (now Dublin) has since been described in some detail;[61] the same cannot be said of the next major Manichaean text from Egypt to be identified and published. The learned world first came to know

[59] Giversen (1986, 1988).

[60] In fact, as this volume has been in the latter stages of collation, Funk has published *Kephalaia* fascicles 13/14 (1999) and 15/16 (2000). Some passages of these are included here, with a first English translation by Gardner. Under active preparation are the *Epistles* (Funk and Gardner), church history (Funk and Patterson), and *Synaxeis* (Funk and various scholars). As regards the Dublin codices, Nils-Arne Pedersen is near completion of his new edition of the *Homilies* (we have benefited from a prior view of some of his new readings); whilst various scholars such as Gardner, Giversen, Wurst, and Richter have published, at least in draft form, some passages from Part 1 of the *Psalm-Book*. However, a definitive edition of either the Dublin *Kephalaia* or the *Psalm-Book* Part 1 is still some years away.

[61] See esp. Robinson (1992); see also Robinson (1991).

of an extraordinary discovery by two German scholars, Albert Henrichs and Ludwig Koenen, in their preliminary study published in 1970.[62] The manuscript in question was the smallest parchment codex from the Graeco-Roman world then discovered to date. Measuring only 38 × 45 mm, with a single column of an average of 23 lines per page, in size it approximates to Christian amulets like *P. Ant.* II 54 (26 × 40 mm, *Pater Noster*) or *P. Oxy.* XVII 2065 (Ps. 90); but with nearly 200 pages it had much the largest number of quires (eight as against one). However, the wearing of (complete?) gospels as amulets is mentioned by Chrysostom, and the *Codex* might not therefore have been unique in its day. The tiny pages were ruled both for the lines and for the margins, and the ruling is still visible in places. The height of the individual letters never exceeded 1 mm and the text is hardly readable with the naked eye.[63] A glass-bottle filled with water was the most likely enlarging tool used by the ancient scribes to execute such delicate calligraphy. When enlarged by modern methods, the writing is very clear and possesses distinctive proportional spacing and wide and thick strokes. Most of the text was copied by one scribe; but another hand supplied the first quire and parts of the eighth, and several others corrected the text throughout. Although the format of the codex gives the appearance of a prophylact, the text was clearly intended to be read. The scribes made few errors and they even observed very strict syllabic rules in breaking up long words at the end of lines.[64]

Information as to how and when this remarkable manuscript came into the possession of the Papyrus-Sammlung at the University of Cologne is conspicuously absent from the early publications of the text, and the true story may never be known outside a small circle of scholars involved with its decipherment and publication. A more detailed and circumspect account of the preliminary conservation work and identification was provided by Henrichs almost a decade later.[65] According to this Henrichs met Dr Anton Fackelmann, a renowned conservator, in Fackelmann's residence in June 1969. He had in his possession four small dessicated and fragile lumps of parchment. Preliminary reading of individually identified words gave the impression that the document was probably a religious text of an esoteric or apocalyptic nature. Two recurrent phrases were περι της γεννης and του σωματος αυτου. There seemed little hope of separating the pages and thereby revealing the contents more fully. However, a special chemical was applied to the lumps by Dr Fackelmann and the result appeared nothing short of a miracle.

[62] Henrichs and Koenen (1970). [63] *In Matt. hom. 83, PG* 58.669.
[64] Cf. Koenen and Römer (1993), 39–42. [65] Henrichs (1979).

The pages of vellum came off more easily than was expected. The first ones to be detached contained a series of what appeared to be Judaeo-Christian apocalypses, as they were addressed to descendants of Adam. By next day (15 June 1969), however, the Manichaean nature of the work was discovered when this unmistakable exordium was encountered on one of the pages: 'I, Mani, the apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God, the Father of Truth, from whom I was born.' The recurrent phrases mentioned above combine to form the running title which heads every other double spread: 'Concerning the Birth | of his Body'. This odd-sounding title conforms to the Manichaean teaching of Mani's body as only a vehicle of his earthly life; but it may well also allude to the 'body' as his church.[66] A total of one hundred and ninety-two pages in eight quires, together with some unlocalisable fragments, were conserved;[67] making it one of the longest texts to be recovered from a miniature codex. Oxyrhynchus was originally suggested as the place of origin of this unique text; but Lycopolis (modern Assiut), a major centre of Manichaean acitivities in Roman Egypt, was later put forward as the more likely source.[68] Henrich's own words remain vitually our only statement on the possible provenance of the codex:

> Ancient manuscripts which antedate the Byzantine period are almost never identified at the place of their original discovery, and more often than not the circumstances of their disinterment are shrouded in obscurity and secrecy. The Cologne Codex is no exception. Rumour has it that the remains of the codex were located several decades ago in Luxor, and it is a reasonable guess that they were found in the vicinity of ancient Lycopolis, a stronghold of Manichaeism in Upper Egypt. In other words, next to nothing is known about the fate of the Mani Codex before it reached Cologne.[69]

The *Cologne Mani Codex* is unique among extant Manichaean texts both in its literary format and in the information it provides.[70] The conserved pages probably once formed the first part of a historical text similar to the Coptic work now so very partially preserved in Berlin codex P15997 (*v. supra*). However, the format of the *Codex* is different. It is a compilation of the written testimonies by some of Mani's closest disciples such as Salmaios

[66] Henrichs (1979) 342–9.
[67] See the facsimile edition: Koenen and Römer (1985).
[68] Cf. Koenen (1973). [69] Henrichs (1979) 349.
[70] The *editio major* remains the four-part article of Henrichs and Koenen, (1975–82). The commentary on the last part of the text is provided by C. Römer in Römer (1994). The *editio minor* of the text: Koenen and Römer (1988), is the most convenient version for scholars; but note also the numerous articles by Römer *et al.* in *ZPE* giving improved readings and suggested reconstructions to its publication. See also the summary of these relevant to pp. 121–92 of the codex in Römer (1994), 163–5.

the ascetic, Baraies the teacher, Timotheos, Abiesus the teacher, Innaios the brother of Zabed, Za(cheas?), Koustaios the son of 'the treasure of life' and Ana the brother of the disciple Zacheas; and concerns the early life (i.e. the first twenty-four to twenty-five years) of Mani. A number of minor inconsistencies exist between the extracts, especially on the number and frequency and timing of the appearance of Mani's divine *alter ego* (Syzygos), which point to the work being compiled directly from different sources with minimal editing. There are also citations from Mani's writings, e.g. the *Evangelium* and his 'Letter to Edessa', as well as from the writings of St Paul and several hitherto unattested apocalypses. The work was clearly translated from Syriac, as indicated by a number of unmistakable semiticisms; and the fact that it was a translated document obscures the stylistic differences between the different authors from whose individual eye-witness accounts the excerpts were drawn.

The original editors of the *Codex* dated the manuscript to the fourth century on the basis of the similarity in format to other miniature codices used as amulets by Christians such as like *P. Ant.* ii 54 (26 × 40 mm. Pater Noster) or *P. Oxy.* xvii 2065 (Ps. 90). A fourth century date also coincides with the hightide of Manischaean missions in the Roman Empire before they were driven underground by the antiheretical edicts of Christian emperors. An attempt has been made by two scholars to date the *Codex* on palaeographical grounds to the seventh/eighth century.[71] The distinctive style of the writing, termed 'die rechtsgeneigte Spitzbogenmajuskel *palästinischen* Duktus', is typical, according to the two scholars, of texts produced in the early Islamic period and, in particular, liturgical texts with Syriac and/or Arabic. The similarity is specially marked in a number of letters (α, δ, ζ, ρ, υ, φ, ψ, ω) especially in the alternation of thick and thin strokes and the distinctive use of serifs in the letter τ.[72] The historical problems confronting such a late dating are considerable. The *Codex*, apart from the biblical citations, shows clear Semitic influence which is characteristic of an early stage of textual diffusion from Syriac-speaking areas. Some of these semiticisms would undoubtedly have been modified as the text was copied and recopied. A direct translation from the Syriac in the seventh century and copied into a miniaturised codex for concealment would be hard to imagine, except it would explain why a number of accurate details including the Greek versions of the names of some of the tradents of the *Codex* were found in an Early Byzantine anathema text and not in earlier Greek anti-Manichaean polemical writings.[73] The *Codex* could of course have been

[71] Fonkič and Poljakov (1990), 22–30. [72] Art. cit., 25–6. [73] Cf. Lieu (1983), 194–6.

merely a *prophylactus* in which the text copied is of little importance. But the high quality of the calligraphy and the trouble the scribes took to ensure legibility (even in its minute format) down to the very strict rules observed by the scribes in line-breaks involving long words, implies that it is designed to be read. Maybe there was a final renaissance of Manichaeism in Egypt in the early Islamic period with new texts imported from Mesopotamia. In the time of Abū Ja'far al-*Mansur* (754–75), a Manichaean from Africa, Abū *Hilāl* al-Dayhūri became the Imam (i.e. *archegos*) of the sect at al-Madain (formerly Seleucia-Ctesiphon) – the traditional seat of the supreme head of the Manichaean church.[74] That a Manichaean from Africa could be chosen for the most prominent office in the land of the sect's origins within a century of the Arab conquest shows either how quickly the religion re-established itself in Africa (including possibly Egypt) or how resilient it was to Christian persecution.

There was one final dramatic discovery before the turn to the twenty-first century: again it was made in Egypt, and in its own way was just as unexpected. In the 1970s Anthony J. Mills had inaugurated a long-term research project in the Dakhleh Oasis, with the goal to make an holistic study of this remote area and of the adaptation of human life to such an arid environment. Over the years a substantial team from a variety of disciplines (as varied as palaeobotanists and folk historians) had joined the Dakhleh Oasis Project (DOP), initial surveys had been made, and a number of sub-projects had been inaugurated ranging over a vast time-span of human activity. One of the major of these was an archaeological excavation led by Colin A. Hope, from Monash University in Australia, which was begun in the mid 1980s at the site of Ismant el-Kharab. The initial seasons made apparent that this was the remains of a Roman period village named Kellis, which had been abandoned (probably for agricultural reasons, being dependent on scant water resources and in a harsh climate) by about the year AD 400. It was learnt that in this period the oasis constituted an administrative district (a *nome*) centred at Mothis (modern Mut), and that it lay within the governance, though at the limit, of Roman imperial authority. As indeed is still the case, although the nome had strong administrative and cultural links with Egypt, the local people regarded themselves in important respects as separate. 'Egypt' properly was the Nile valley, which lay some 300 kilometres and more to the east.

By the late 1980s the team at Ismant el-Kharab had begun to recover substantial papyrological remains, and in the 1990–1 excavation season at

[74] Al-Nadim, *Fihrist*, trans. Dodge, 794.

'House 3' in residential area A these became quite remarkable both for reasons of quantity and type. In particular there were unexpected bilingual fragments in Coptic and Syriac, and a most unusual proportion of Coptic documentary texts (for this time-span) found with equally major Greek finds. The first notice of a Manichaean context was made by the epigrapher Olaf Kaper (of the name 'Manichaios' which appears in text *T. Kell.* Copt. 2, A 5), and shortly after Geoffrey Jenkins identified portions of a psalm parallel to the Medinet Madi Manichaean Psalm-Book no. 222 (*T. Kell.* Copt. 4). The major textual discoveries led to an expansion of the papyrological team, with the Coptic Manichaean specialist Iain Gardner joining in 1991, and soon afterwards the Greek documentary papyri expert Klaas Worp. As Gardner began to view photographs of fragments supplied to him in Australia, and then from 1992–3 began to work each season on site in Dakhleh, the extent of the Manichaean context became much more apparent; and Gardner was able to begin to publicise and publish these finds, sometimes in collaboration with other members of the team.

In House 3 during the later fourth century, and certainly living also elsewhere in Kellis and its environs, there was a thriving community of Manichaean believers; but it must be noted strongly that the numbers of such, and their proportion relative to Christian or pagan contemporaries, can not be known with the present state of knowledge. At this time of writing, the actual sheer quantity of Manichaean texts recovered is relatively minor in comparison with (especially) the Medinet Madi library. However, this new find has marked a major step forward in the recovery of the community's history and its texts for a number of reasons.

Firstly: this was the first time within the Roman Empire that textual resources belonging to a Manichaean community had been uncovered by a scientific archaeological excavation. Previous finds, such as from Medinet Madi or the *CMC*, had appeared divorced of any real context, and the communities or persons to which such texts might have belonged could only receive the most tentative and speculative discussion. Now at Kellis there existed a secure material environment, and such a variety of evidence (coins, ceramics, legal documents, church buildings, burials, etc), that the outline of a real social, economic and cultural history for the village could confidently be begun. This is certainly not to say that all such evidence belonged to the Manichaean believers, but rather that the worlds in which they had lived could take some definite form.

In consequence, with the recovery of such a context where it is now possible to identify the social dimensions of a Manichaean community in late Roman Egypt, the trajectory of research leads to the identification of traces

of the faith where previously they had been invisible; and to a truer understanding of the relations between such religious groups as Manichaeans and Christians in late antiquity, and consequently to a reevaluation of Manichaean identity. For these points see especially chapter 7: the discussion of Manichaean epistolary style, and the evidences of everyday concerns made apparent in the personal letters written by believers to their friends and relatives in Roman Kellis.

Furthermore, while it has already been remarked that there is no massive quantity of Manichaean literary remains yet recovered from Ismant el-Kharab, yet there are some important new genres or examples of type, and the variety of texts is itself impressive. In particular one must mention the bilingual Coptic-Syriac texts (not exampled in this present volume due to their lack of narrative coherence),[75] which evidence the importance of text and authority for the community, as well as illustrating technical aspects relevant to the development of Manichaean literatures in the Roman Empire. Also important are the first examples of Greek Manichaean psalms.

Finally: where the finds from Ismant el-Kharab parallel previously known genres or texts, and this is most apparent with the various 'duplicates' to Medinet Madi psalms that have been identified, they begin to enable the history of these literatures to be recovered. Thus, the 'Manichaean Psalm-Book', of which part II was famously edited by C. R. C. Allberry and published in 1938, can now be better understood as a constructed text that stands at the end of a lengthy redaction history; which itself can also, of course, be extrapolated into an as yet unexampled future.

Thus, the recovery of Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire has been punctuated by a series of remarkable discoveries over the last century, which can only promise more for the future. Consequently, this has been a topic that has seen rapid development; and sudden, unexpected shifts in direction. We can not imagine all the future trajectories of research, but the delineation of the faith and its followers is now so much clearer. The purpose of this volume is to make accessible material that in a rapidly changing field may most likely be unknown except to the specialist.

[75] See M. Franzmann and I. Gardner in: Gardner (1996), 101–31; with improved readings in Gardner, Alcock and Funk (1999) 344–64.

CHAPTER 2

The life of Mani

On the life of Mani see Introduction (pp. 3–8). The following excerpts are primarily taken from the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex* and Coptic sources from Medinet Madi, supplemented by texts in Arabic and Middle Iranian (especially Parthian) which are clearly derived from Manichaean sources ultimately belonging to the same original literary (Syriac?) tradition.

CHILDHOOD, YOUTH AND CALLING

1. Mani's parentage, birth, childhood and adolescence

This extract, taken from the section devoted to the teaching of the Manichaeans in the *Fihrist* (Catalogue) of Ibn an-Nadīm[1] (composed towards the end of the tenth century AD in Baghdad), draws material from the writings of Abū 'Isā al-Warraq who lived a century earlier and had access to genuine Manichaean writings. It supplies information not yet found in Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire.

Muḥammad bin Isḥaq said: 'Mānī bin Fatiq[2] Bābak bin Abī Barzām was of the Ḥaskāniyya. His mother's name was Mays, but she was also called Awtāḫīm or Marmaryam of the Ašġāniyya.[3] It was said that Mānī was the Bishop (usquf) of Qunnī[4] and of the kinsmen of (**328**) the Ḥūḥī, the Bādarāyā and the Baksāyā nearby. He had a deformed foot. It was said that his father was originally from Hamadān and had moved to Babylon, settling in al-Madā'in in the place called Ṭīsfūn (Ctesiphon) which had a temple (a house of idols). Fatiq attended this temple, like everyone else, when, one day, a voice called to him from the inner sanctum of the temple saying: 'Fatiq! Do not eat meat, do not drink wine and abstain from intercourse

[1] An-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1871, pp. 327–8, trans. M. Laffan (unpublished).
[2] The text of Flügel gives Futtuq.
[3] Probably a miscopy for Asghanijah, see next note.
[4] Here we have a confusion of Mani with the legendary Christian missionary Mari who established a monastery at Qoni as well as the see (later the catholicate) at Seleucia-Ctesiphon. On this see W. B. Henning, 'Zwei Fehler in der arabisch-manichäischen Überlieferung', *Orientalia*, NS, 5 (1936) 84–7.

with anyone.' Fatiq heard this call repeated many times over three days. Having witnessed that, Fatiq attached himself to a group of people in the vicinity of Dastumīsān known as the Cleansers (al-Muġtasila). Their remnants persist to this day in that place and in the marshes. These people were (thus) of the sect which Fatiq was ordered to join when his wife was pregnant with Mānī. Once she gave birth (to him), they claimed that she had had lovely dreams about him. And (once) she gained consciousness she had a vision of him being taken up into air by a force which then returned him, after perhaps a day or two (aloft). And then, having returned, his father came forth and took him to his place of residence to raise him and care for his community.

Mānī acquired the art of wise words at a very young age. And at the completion of his twelfth year, he was inspired from above by (a being) he called the King of the Gardens of Light, (for) it was God Almighty who addressed him. And the angel that brought him (this) revelation was called al-Tawm, from the Nabatean word meaning 'companion'. And the angel said to him: 'Abandon this community, for you are not of them. You must be unblemished and abstain from desires. The time is not right for you to appear, for you are still young.' (So) when he turned twenty-four, al-Tawm brought him forth saying: 'Now is the time for you to appear and call (others) to your cause.'

What al-Tawm told Mānī:

'Peace be with you, Mānī, both from myself and from the Lord Who sent me to you and Who chose you for His message. He has commanded you to invite (others) in your own right and to preach on His behalf the Truth, laying it upon you to do so with your utmost effort.'

2. Mani's own version of early revelations from his divine Twin

We here begin a series of passages from the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex*.[5]

(fr. 1) (*Perhaps the Syzygos in a vision spoke to Mani*): '. . . the fellow-believers . . . prophets . . . and saviour(s ?) . . .' **1** (*Mani appears to continue with his account after about thirty-nine lost lines*:) . . . this same (vision (?) . . .) to me . . . it(self(?) . . . **2** '. . .) little by little (I (i.e. the Syzygos)) have shown you (what is hidden (?) . . .) from many (. . .) You will be able to see that

[5] *CMC* fr. 1 and 1-5.13, eds. Koenen and Römer (1988), 2–4. All citations from the *CMC* in this volume are translated by Profs. J. M. and S. N. C. Lieu who would like to acknowledge the helpful comments and observations of M. Vermes and Dr Rosalie Cook. Departures from this edition mainly follow suggestions and improvements made by Dr Cornelia Römer in subsequent publications.

mystery in magnificence and complete clarity.' And then the angel was concealed from (me . . . *about 13 lines lost* . . . **3** . . .) I was protected through the might of the angels and of the powers of holiness which were entrusted with my protection. They also brought me up by means of the visions and signs they showed me, which were short and very brief such as I could bear. For sometimes (he came) like lightning, (. . . *9 lines lost* . . . **4** . . .) this I perceived with all exactitude. He also gave me a firm grounding in that power which remains steadfast in affliction.

Very many are the visions and very great the marvels which he showed me throughout all that period of my youth. Yet I remained in silence, except (. . . *10 lines lost* . . . **5** . . .) whilst I with wisdom and cunning wandered in their midst and observed the 'rest' and did no wrong, neither did I cause distress or follow the rule of the baptists or engage with them in dialogue in the same way (as they do).

3. Incidents from Mani's youth showing his refusal to harm even plants

This passage (from the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex*.[6]) is credited by that text to a certain Salmaios the (ascetic).[7]

6 . . .[8] to him: 'Yet you neither take vegetables from the garden nor do you carry wood for his use.'

Then that baptist rebuked me saying: 'Get up and come with me to the place where there is wood, take it and bring it.' We went to a palm and he climbed it (. . . *9 lines lost* . . . **7** (The palm-tree spoke): '. . .) If you spare us the pain, you will not die along with the murderer.' Then that baptist, overwhelmed by fear, leapt out of the tree in confusion and fell at my feet saying: 'I did not know that this secret mystery is in your power. How was the (great pain of the palm) revealed to you?' (. . . *7 lines lost* . . . **8** . . . (Mani spoke)): 'Why did you take fright and change colour (when the palm said) this to you? How much more should he, with whom all the (plants) speak, be disturbed?' He was then gripped by wonder and alarmed because of me. He said to me: 'Guard this mystery, tell it to nobody, lest anyone becomes jealous and kills you.' Therefore someone (. . . *8 lines lost* . . .

[6] *CMC* 5.14–14.2; 4–8.

[7] Salmaios from whose writing this extract was excerpted for the *CMC* was an early disciple of Mani. Cf. Tubach (1997), 381–2.

[8] The young Mani was here admonishing a fellow 'baptist'.

9 . . .)[9] One of the leaders of their law spoke to me when he saw that I did not take vegetables from the garden but was asking them for them as a form of alms. He said to me: 'Why do you not take vegetables from the garden, but ask me in turn for them as a form of alms?' And after that baptist had said to (me . . . *7 lines lost* . . .

10 (*Part of another incident*) . . .) and it[10] cried (lamen)ting just like human beings and like children. Alas, alas! Blood poured from the place which was cut by the sickle which he held in his hands. And they cried out with a human voice because of their blows. The baptist was greatly disturbed by what he saw and he came and fell before me. When now . . . someone . . . me (. . . *5 lines lost* . . .

. . .) from infancy **11** (until) my fourth year. Then I entered the religion of the baptists[11] in which I was brought up when I was young, protected through the might of the angels of light and of the powers of great strength who had a command from Jesus concerning my protection.[12] As they then immediately (. . . *8 lines lost* . . .

. . . from the spring of) **12** the waters there appeared to me a human form which showed me by hand the 'rest' so that I might not sin and bring distress on him.

In this way, from the age of four until the time when I reached my physical prime, I was (secretly) kept safe in the hands of the most holy angels and powers of holiness (. . . *8 lines lost* . . .

13 . . .) Another time a voice as of the Syzygos (Gr. σύζυγος, σύζυξ) addressed me from the air saying: 'Strengthen your power and discipline your mind and accept everything which is to be revealed to you.' Yet again he said the same: 'Strengthen your power and confirm your mind and submit to everything which is about to come to you.' Then I (fell . . .) the voice (. . . *7 lines lost* . . .

14 . . .) from the great (fathers) we have been sent forth.

4. Mani's account of his call

The following sections[13] contain Mani's own account of his second and definitive revelation.

[9] '(Because of the Rest of the Hands . . .)' was read in the Editio Major (Henrichs and Koenen 1975:11) but Koenen and Römer (1988: 6) find it hard to retain.

[10] I.e. the plant which was being harvested.

[11] The same term 'religion (or dogma) of the baptists' is also found in the *Homilies* (87.13, ed. Polotsky) transcribed from Greek into Coptic. Unfortunately, the relevant section of the *Homilies* (which is clearly a summary of biographical material closely related to the *CMC*) is highly fragmentary.

[12] 'Jesus concerning my protection': new reading suggested by Maresch (1988) 84.

[13] *CMC* 18.1–41.11; 12–26.

Baraies the Teacher:

18 (. . . When) I was twenty (four) years old, in the year in which Dariadaxar,[14] the king of Persia, conquered the city of Hatra,[15] and in which his son King Sapores[16] assumed the mighty diadem, in the month Pharmouthi, on the eighth day according to the moon,[17] the most blessed lord had compassion on me and called me to his grace and sent to me (my) Syzygos (who) in great (glory . . . *8 lines lost* . . . **19** . . .) He remembered and (passed on) all noble counsels which came from our Father and from the original beneficial good.

And he spoke again as follows: 'Even as my Father has been well pleased and has shown me mercy and pity, to redeem me from the error of the sectarians, and showing me compassion through his many (revelations) he sent (to me my Syzygos . . . *5 lines lost* . . . **20** He (the Syzygos) conveyed to me the) noblest (hope and) redemption for the long-suffering, and the truest counsels and judgements and the laying on of hands which comes from our Father. Therefore, when he came, he released me and separated me and drew me away from the midst of that rule in which I was brought up. In this way he called me and chose me and drew me and separated me from their midst. He drew (me away to one) side (. . . *6 lines lost* . . . **21** . . .) and (showed me) who I am and what my body is, in what way I came and how my coming into this world happened, and who I have become among those who are most distinguished in pre-eminence, and how I was born into this fleshly body, or through what woman I was brought to birth and delivered into this flesh, and by whom I was begotten.[18] (. . . *7 lines lost* . . . **22** . . .) and how that . . . came about, and who is my Father on high or in what way I was separated from him and was sent according to his will, and what command and instruction he gave to me before I clothed myself with this frame, and before I fell into error in this loathsome flesh, and before I put on its intoxication and its habits, and who (he is) who is (my unsleeping Syzygos . . .) and the (. . . *5 lines lost* . . . **23** . . .) (and the Syzygos further shows) the secrets and the (thoughts), and the pre-eminence of my Father, and concerning myself, who I am, and who is my inseparable Syzygos; moreover, concerning my soul, which is the soul of all worlds, what

[14] I.e. Ardashir (r. AD 224–42), the founder of the Sassanian Dynasty.

[15] Hatra was loyal to the deposed Parthian Dynasty, and its defence against a long siege conducted by the crown-prince and co-regent Shapur was assisted by Roman forces.

[16] I.e. Shapur I (r. 240–73, co-regent 240–2).

[17] I.e. 17/18 April AD 240.

[18] The Manichaeans believed that the fleshly human body was the lustful creation of evil forces and was a prison for divine light-particles. The passage suggests that Mani had a divine and 'flesh-free' existence before he was incarnated.

it is itself or how it came to be. He also revealed to me, in addition, the measureless heights and unsearchable depths, he showed (me) everything which (. . .' *8 lines lost* . . .

24 . . . *1 line lost* . . .
. . .) he who is (the most protected:
I received) him piously,
and I obtained him as my own property.
I believed him,
that he belongs to me
and that he is a good and useful counsellor.
I recognised him,
and understood that I am he
from whom I was separated.
I have borne witness,
that I myself am he
and am (completely) the same . . .
. . . *8 lines lost* . . .
25 . . .) to him.

Again he spoke thus: 'With very great skill and understanding I went about in that rule, guarding that hope in my mind while no one perceived who it was that was with me. And I myself revealed to no one anything during that very long time. Yet I did not . . . fleshly . . . in the same way as them (. . .' *6 lines lost* . . .

26 I reve)aled to them none of those things which had happened or were to happen, nor what it was that I knew, or what it was which I had received.

The teachers speak:[19]

'Therefore when that highly renowned and greatly blessed one revealed to me these great unspeakable secrets, he began to say to me: "Declare this mystery which I have revealed to you from . . . to everyone . . . and reveal (. . . *ms. pp.* ***27–8*** *are missing.*)[20]

28 . . . (line 23) (by means of the reaping-hook)

29 which separates the weeds and fruits of the earth, to cut off the branches of all the rebels, then truth alone is glorified and reigns like the (Father?) of the heights. (. . . *14 lines lost* . . .)

[19] The text turns now from the witness of Baraies to another source (unknown).

[20] Fragment 4a/b suggested in Koenen and Römer (1985) 54–55 as part of these lost pages has now been placed more securely on pp. 35 and 36 (see below).

30 . . .) to those who are bound according to the flesh; but even in this way, little by little I separated myself from the midst of that rule (in) which I was brought up; I admire beyond (measure . . .) mysteries . . . many[21] (. . . *7 lines lost* . . .)

31 (my enemies are) great in number, but I am alone. These are rich, but I am poor; how then shall I who am alone against all, be able to reveal this mystery in the midst of the great number which is (entangled in) error? (How will I go) to the (kings) and governors (. . .) good (. . .) race (. . .) to converse (. . .) indeed (. . .) for (I am . . .) and (poor and) alone[22] (. . . *3 lines lost* . . . **32** . . .) [23] very many helpers also associate with him (viz. the King of Kings (?)). While these thoughts were passing through my mind, there stood before me immediately my (most glorious) Syzygos and he said to me: 'Why have you said that this mystery can not be revealed to the kings by you? So just as I counselled you before as a good adviser, so now am I advisor of your counsel.'[24]

Timotheos:[25]

33 Throughout (this) time (. . .) and (. . .) mysteries (. . .) Then (. . . *2 lines lost* . . .) of light (. . . *6 lines lost* . . . of the) **34** fathers of light. And he revealed to me everything which took place in the ships. Moreover, he disclosed the bosom of the pillar and the fathers and the powers of great strength which are hidden (in it . . .) and (. . .) the heights (. . .) he showed (. . .) this (. . . *9 lines lost* . . .

35 . . .) to be chosen and to appear to me, prepared and perfected in her teachers and bishops, elect and catechumens, in the meals, acts of piety and greatest helpers and everything that would happen so that this church of mine would be revealed, and for him, that (Syzygos), upon whom ([26] . . . *3 lines lost* . . .

[21] The Greek for 'I admire . . . many' (i.e. *CMC* 30.9–16) was not included in the 'Reading Text' of the Editio Major (Henrichs and Koenen: 1975: 35).

[22] The word used in the Syriac original might well have been *yḥydy'* (a person who lives singly) which is a fundamental term in Syrian ascetic vocabulary. Cf. Vööbus (1958) 1, 106–8; and Henrichs (1973) 35–39.

[23] The Greek for '(How will I go) . . . (poor and)' (i.e. *CMC* 31.10–20) was not included in the 'Reading Text' of the Editio Major (Henrichs and Koenen: 1975: 35).

[24] 'While these thoughts . . . so now am I advisor of your counsel.' (i.e. *CMC* 32.10–18) is suggested in the *apparatus criticus* of Koenen and Römer (1988), 18.

[25] Little is known of this witness with a distinctively Greek name. Cf. Tubach (1997), 384.

[26] 'and everything that would . . . upon whom(. . .' (i.e. *CMC* 35.10–15) these lines have been added in the Editio Minor with the placing of fragments 4b and 6b in this page. See Koenen-Römer (1988), 20–2 and pl. 1.

(Witness unknown):

. . .) the (truest) **36** unspeakable (knowledge (?)) he revealed to me, and I knelt before him and said: 'These things I beg of you, are they given to me and will they remain with me all the time, not hidden, but openly (revealed) through my hands and made manifest (to the) eyes (of all people)? So that the church will continue (to grow), I (request of you all the) power (of the signs), so that I might perform (them) with my own hands . . . throughout every (place, every) village (and city[27] . . . *1 line lost* . . . **37** and so that I might) bring (forgiveness) to those who have transgressed; and, moreover, so that no one might overcome me in wisdom, and I might be free of sickness and danger; and that the souls of the victors coming out of the world might be seen by the eyes of all men. Likewise (. . . *3 lines lost* . . .) and moreover (. . . *1 line lost* . . .) the glory (. . . *1 line lost* . . .) and so that (. . . *4 lines lost* . . .); and moreover that when **38** surrounded by oppression or persecution, I might be hidden from the sight of my enemies'.

Then that most glorious one said to me: 'Of these gifts which you have asked of me, one of them is (given) to some of the brothers . . . in . . . to others . . . generation . . . were revealed (. . . *1 line lost* . . .) to see with the eyes . . . the gifts (. . . *3 lines lost* . . . **39** . . .) according to what is fitting for the generation in which you (Mani) were revealed, so that you might bring forgiveness of sins for those sinners who accept repentance from you and rely on holiness, that by releasing you might bring (release from) sins (and from accusations for your elect), and moreover . . . blame . . . repentance . . . And furthermore (. . . *3 lines lost* . . .) belief (. . . *1 line lost* . . .) **40** Furthermore, if you ever summon me when you are oppressed, I shall be found standing by you and shall be your protector in all oppression and danger. These signs, which you have asked of me, shall be seen in me so as to be made (most) manifest to you. For I shall (show) everything by my hand and be (like a mirror to you so that (the) wisdom) is perfected (in you and you are freed) from illness. The signs are given to you through (. . . *4 lines lost* . . . **41** the mar)vels of falsehood, which have been set up in opposition to them; for through the signs of truth, those of falsehood have been brought to nothing.' After the most glorious one had said these things to me and had strengthened and emboldened me in my (apostolate, he disappeared . . .) therefore . . . reveal . . . when (. . . *1 line lost* . . .) similarly (. . . *2 lines lost* . . .)

[27] 'So that the church will continue (to grow . . . throughout every (place, every) village (and city' (i.e. *CMC* 36.12–23) these lines have been added in the Editio Minor with the placing of fragments 4a and 6a in this page. See Koenen-Römer (1988), 22 and pl. 2.

45 Baraies the Teacher:

Therefore know, brethren, and understand everything which has been written here, about the way in which this mission was sent in our generation, just as we were taught by him, and also concerning (his) body (. . . *13 lines lost* . . .) **46** . . . of this sending of the spirit of the Paraclete, and having turned away say that those men alone wrote about the rapture of their teacher in order to boast.

Moreover (he wrote) also concerning the origin of his body and also . . . of that . . . (. . . *14 lines lost* . . .) **47** (. . .) he sins. For let him who is willing hear and attend how each one of the forefathers has made known his own revelation to his own elect, which he chose and brought together in that generation in which he appeared, and has written about it and passed it on to posterity. One of them declared about his rapture, while those outside attended (. . . *8 lines lost* . . .) **48** (. . .) afterwards to write about and make known and to praise and extol their teachers and the truth and hope which was revealed to them. So, therefore, each one of them, according to the period and course of his mission, spoke what he had witnessed and has written it as a memorial, including about his rapture.

(Thus) Adam, first,[28] spoke with the clearest voice (in) his (apocalypse),[29] saying:

'I saw an angel revealed . . . **49** (in front of) your (shining) face, which I do not know'.

Then he said to him:

'I am Balsamos,[30] the greatest Angel of Light. Receive from me and write these things I reveal to you on the purest papyrus which is not perishable or liable to worms.'

(And he spoke) also of many other things which he revealed to him in the vision. For the glory round him was very great. And he also saw (the) angels and the commanders (-in-chief and the) greatest (powers (. . . *5 lines lost* . . .) **50** . . . and Adam became above all the powers and angels of creation. And many other things, like these, are in his writings.

[28] The Greek does not support the translation of Reeves (1996, 68 and comm. 69) as 'the first Adam'.
[29] On the *Apocalypse of Adam* and the Adamic tradition in Manichaeism see the important study by Reeves (1996), 67–109.
[30] Balsamos is almost certainly the Greek form of the important semitic deity Baal Shamin to whom important temples were dedicated in Palmyra and other cities in the Roman Near East.

Similarly Sethel,[31] his son, has also written in his apocalypse saying,

'I opened my eyes and I saw before my face (an angel) whose (brightness) I could not describe (for he was) nothing other than lightning. (. . . *5 lines lost* . . .) **51**. . . . When I heard these things, my heart rejoiced and my mind turned about and I became like one of the very great angels. That angel put his hand on my right hand and drew me from the world from which I came, and took me to another very large place. From behind me I heard a huge noise from those angels I had left behind in that world in which they (belonged. . . . And I) saw . . . men . . . (. . . *2 lines lost*. . . .)'

(Many) similar things **52** are said in his writings, and how he was seized by that angel from a world into (another) world, and he revealed to him the greatest mysteries of magnitude.

Again, in the apocalypse of Enos[32] it says as follows:

'In the third year and in the tenth month I went out to wander in the desert land. I considered in my mind the heaven and the earth and (all) works (and affairs), in what manner (and by whom) and by whose (purpose) they came to be (. . . *3 lines lost* . . .) **53** . . . . . of death. And he seized me with very great quietness. My heart was heavy and all my limbs trembled. The bones of my back were shaken by the violence and my feet did not stay firm on their joints. I went away to many plains and saw there very high mountains. And the spirit seized and took me to the mountain with quiet strength. And there many great (sights) were revealed to me.'

Again he (said):

(the angel) (. . . *4 lines lost*. . . .) **54** (and he led me to the) northern (region), and I saw there immensely great mountains and angels and many places. He spoke to me and said, 'He who is all-powerful in supremacy sent me to you, to reveal to you the secret things you have thought about, since you have been chosen for the truth. Write all these secrets on bronze tablets and hide them in the ground of the desert.[33] Everything you write, (write) very clearly. For this (my) revelation (which never) perishes is ready (to be) revealed to all the brothers.'

Many other) **55** similar things are found in his writings which inform about his rapture and revelation. For everything he heard and saw he wrote down and passed on to all later generations who are of the spirit of truth.

[31] On the Apocalypse of Seth or Sethel see Reeves (1996), 111–40 and on Seth in gnostic and Manichaean traditions see Klijn (1977), 81–117.

[32] The writings of Enos or Enosh are rarely mentioned in Jewish literature because the author was alleged to have been the first idolator. Interestingly the fragment shows parallels to the role played by Anōš, the son of Šitil, the son of Adam in Mandaean literature. On this see Reeves (1996), 142–4.

[33] On parallels to the use of bronze or copper as a writing material for archival purposes along with its subsequent deposit in the wilderness, see Reeves (1996), 152–3.

Similarly, Sem[34] also spoke in this way in his apocalypse:

'I was thinking about in what manner all works came to be. And while I was considering, suddenly, the living (spirit) seized me and (took me) with great (force and) set me (on the top) of a (very) high mountain (and) spoke to (me) saying (. . . *1 line lost* . . .) **56** give glory to the greatest king of honour.'

And again he said:

'The doors were opened silently and clouds were divided by the wind. I saw a glorious throne room coming down from the topmost height and a very great angel standing there. The appearance of his face's form was very beautiful and youthful, more than the shining brightness (of the sun), and even than (lightning). Like the light of the sun (. . . *2 lines lost* . . .) **57** of many colours (like ?) a crown woven from spring flowers. And then my facial expression altered so that I fell to the ground; the bones of my back were shaken violently and my feet did not stay firm on their joints. A voice inclined towards me, and calling from the throne room and coming to me it took my right hand and made me stand. It puffed the breath of life into my face and effected the increase of (my) power and glory.'

Very many other things (similar to) these are found **58** in his writings, and also the things the angels revealed to him with the instruction to write them for a memorial.

Again Enoch[35] also spoke in this way in his apocalypse:

'I am Enoch the righteous. My grief is great and tears are streaming from my eyes because I have heard slander which comes forth from the mouth of the godless.'

And he said,

'While tears were in my eyes and entreaty in my mouth, I saw (standing before) me seven angels (who came down from) heaven. (I saw) **59** them and was shaken with fear so that my knees knocked against each other.'

And again he said thus:

One of the angels, Michael by name, said to me: 'I have been sent to you for this reason, that we may make known to you all works and reveal to you the land of the pious, and I may show you the land of the ungodly and what the place of punishment of sinners is like.'

[34] The gnostic codices from Nag Hammadi also contain a work entitled the *Paraphrase of Shem*. See the excellent discussion on the relationship between the various apocalyptic writings attributed to Shem in Reeves (1996), 163–81.

[35] Though no direct parallels can be found for these citations in existing Enochic literature, Reeves (1996, 183–206) has demonstrated that the Manichaean 'apocalypse of Enoch' is a composite work which has pieced together textual traditions, motifs and patterns from known Enochic material.

He also says,

'They put me on a chariot of wind and brought me to the limits of the heavens. And (we) traversed the worlds, both the world (of death) and the world **60** (of dark)ness and the world of fire. And after this they led me into the richest world which is most glorious in light and is more beautiful than the stars I had seen.'

He saw everything and questioned the angels, and whatever they said to him he inscribed in his writings.

In the same way also the apostle Paul; we know that he was seized as far as the third heaven (2 Cor. 12:2) as he says in the letter to the Galatians:

'Paul, apostle not of men or through a man but through (Jesus) Christ and God the Father who (raised) him from the (dead).'

And in the **61** second (letter) to the Corinthians (12:2–5) he says:

'I shall come back to visions and revelations of the Lord. I know a man in Christ – whether in the body or out of the body I do not know, God knows – that such a man was seized up into paradise. And he heard secret words which man may not speak of. Concerning him I shall boast, but concerning myself I shall not boast.'

Again in the letter to the Galatians (1:11–12):

'I show (you), brethren, that the gospel which I proclaimed to you, I did not receive (or) learn from man but (through a) revelation of Jesus (Christ.'

He became outside himself **62** and was seized into the third heaven and into paradise, and he saw and heard, and he inscribed this enigmatically about his rapture and mission for fellow initiates of the secrets.

In short all the most blessed apostles, saviours, evangelists and prophets of truth – each of them observed, as the living hope was revealed to him for proclamation, and wrote and has handed it down and deposited it for the reminding of the future sons of (the Holy) Spirit who would know the perception **63** (of his) voice.

In this way also, it follows that we should write about the all-praiseworthy apostle, through whom and from whom our hope and inheritance of life have come, and tell of him to all later people and members of the faith and the spiritual offspring who are increased through his very bright waters, so that his rapture and revelation may become known to them. For we know, brethren, the exceeding greatness of his wisdom towards us through this coming (of the) Paraclete of (truth). **64** (We acknowledge) that he did not receive truth from men nor from the report of books, as our father himself says in the writings he sent to Edessa. He says as follows: (*the excerpt from the Letter to Edessa (64.8–65.22) is translated in §51 below, p. 160*)

He wrote (again and) **66** said in the Gospel of his most holy hope: (*the three quotations from the Living Gospel (66.4–70.10) are translated in §46 below, pp. 156–9*)

In the books of our father there are very many other extraordinary events similar to these, which make known his revelation and the rapture of his mission. For great is this magnificent coming which comes to (us) through the Paraclete, the spirit of truth. For what purpose and what reason **71** have we dealt with such things, when we have been convinced once for all that this mission excels in its revelations? It is because of the reasonings of those who have clothed themselves with unbelief and think nothing of this revelation and vision of our father, that we have repeated from our forefathers their rapture and each one's revelation, so that they may realise that the commission of the (earlier) apostles was likewise of (this nature). For when each of them was seized, (everything he saw) and heard **72** he wrote down and made known, and himself became a witness of his own revelation; while his disciples became the seal of his sending.

5. Mani's conflicts and break with the baptist community

At first Mani conceals his divine revelation from his fellow 'baptists'. This is followed by a temptation narrative concerning Sitaios, one of the elders of the sect's council, which Mani successfully resists. There are then various debates, (which must pre-figure aspects and attitudes from later Manichaean teaching and practice), before his final expulsion from the community.[36]

Baraies the Teacher:[37]

As for us, brethren, who as children of our father's spirit have heard and hearkened to those things, and have rejoiced because of them, let us understand his (coming) in a spiritual manner: how he was sent by command of (his) father, and the way in which he was born in terms of the (body and) how there came to **73** him his most holy Syzygos who separated him from the rule in which his body had been brought up. For in his twenty-fifth year[38] he was magnificently revealed to him. For, while he was still under that doctrine of the baptists, he was like a lamb dwelling in an alien flock, or similar to a bird living with other birds who do not speak the same language; for throughout all that time he lived always in their midst with wisdom and skill without any of them knowing who he was, **74** or what

[36] *CMC* 72.8–106.23; 50–74.
[37] The semitic original of his name probably means 'Son of Life'. Cf. Tubach (1997), 383.
[38] I.e. when Mani was twenty-four years old.

he had received and what had been revealed to him. Rather, they treated him with the respect due to him as a person.

Abiesus[39] the Teacher and
Innaios[40] the brother of Zabed:

The lord said: 'When I dwelt in their midst, one day Sitaios, the elder of their council (Gr. *sunhedrion*), the son of Gara, seized me by the hand because he loved me greatly and considered me as a beloved son. He seized (me) by the hand while no one else (was) with us, and going forward he (dug up) and showed **75** me great treasures which he had secretly stored away. He said to me: 'These treasures are mine and I have control over them. From now on they will be yours; because I love no one else like you, to whom I shall give these treasures.' When he had uttered these words to me I said in my mind: 'My most blessed father took me first and gave me an immortal and unfading treasure. Whoever inherits this will (earn) from it (immortal) life.' Then I said to Sitaios (the) elder: 'Our (forefathers) **76** who possessed these earthly treasures before us, and who inherited them, where are they? For behold, they died and perished and did not keep them as their own, nor yet did they take them with them.'

I said to him: 'What use are these treasures to me since they introduce errors and faults to everyone who possesses them? For the treasure of God is very great and very valuable and provides everyone who inherits it with life'. When Sitaios saw that (my) mind was not induced to (accept) the treasures **77** he had shown me, he was utterly amazed at me.

Timotheos:

Then after a short time I decided to tell Sita and those of his council some of the things my most blessed father had revealed to me and to make known the way of holiness. While I was considering this I had a vision of the whole world which had become like a sea full of very (black) waters. (I saw thousands) and tens (of thousands) sinking in it and drowning, **78** coming up and drifting round the four zones of the sea. I saw in the middle of it a foundation laid which was very high, and on it alone a light was rising and a path was levelled out on it and I myself was walking on this. I turned

[39] The name Abiesus, which means 'Jesus is my father', underlines the Judaeo-Christian background of some of Mani's earliest followers. Cf. Tubach (1997), 384. His name is also attested in Coptic Manichaean sources; cf. Schmidt, Ibscher and Polotsky (1933), 28, n. 20.

[40] Innaios was the name of the second successor to Mani after Sisinnios. Cf. Tubach (1997), 384–5.

round and saw Sita holding on to a man who was held by someone else. He was plunging into the midst of the sea and darkness, having fallen and gone under. I saw only a little of (his hair), so I was deeply (grieved over Sita); but that man **79** who had thrown him in said to me: 'Why are you grieving over Sita? For he is not of your elect nor will he follow your path.' Having seen this I did not reveal anything to him. Later when I was speaking the word of truth I saw him contradicting my word.

Baraies the Teacher:

My lord said: 'I had sufficient debate with each of them in that rule, (arising) and questioning them (about the) way of God and (about the) commands of the saviour, (and about) **80** (ritual) ablution and about the vegetables they wash ritually and about their every law and ordinance by which they live.

When I declared invalid and denounced their teaching and mysteries, showing them how they had not received the things they followed from the commands of the saviour, some of them were amazed at me; but others were angry and in their wrath said: 'Does he intend to go over to the Greeks?' When I (perceived) their thoughts, I said to (them) kindly: 'There is (no value) in (this) ritual washing with which **81** you cleanse your food. For this body is defiled and is formed from a mould of impurity. Consider how, when someone purifies his food and then partakes of it after it has been ritually washed, it is obvious to us that from it come blood, bile, burps and shameful excrement and the foulness of the body. If someone restrains his mouth for a few days from this food, immediately it is clear that all these shameful and loathsome discharges cease and decline (in the) body; (but if he then) partakes (again of food, in the) **82** same way they abound in the body again, thus showing that it is from the food itself that they multiply. If someone should partake of food that has been ritually washed and purified, and (then) partake of that which has not been washed, it is plain that the beauty and power of the body are shown to be the same (in both cases). Similarly, the foulness and excrement from both are seen not to differ at all from each other. Therefore, it is not clear that the one which has been ritually washed, which he (casts) out and discharges, is any different from the (other) which is not (washed).

83 And the way you ritually wash yourselves in water every day also has no value: For, if you have once been cleansed and purified, why do you ritually wash yourselves again every day? From this it is evident that you become loathsome every day, and because of the foulness you ritually wash

yourselves before you can be purified. Thus, it is very clearly plain that all defilement comes from the body. Behold, you (yourselves) are clothed in it.

Therefore, (look) at yourselves and see (what) your (purity) is, (for it is) impossible **84** to purify your bodies completely; for every day the body is moved and calmed on account of the excretions of the dregs which come from it. Therefore, this thing takes place without the command of the saviour. However, the purity which is spoken of is the purity through knowledge; it is the separation of light from darkness, of death from life, and of living waters from turbid ones; so (you) may know (that) each . . . from the others, and you (will keep) the commands of the saviour (so that) he may redeem (your) soul from (destruction) and from **85** perdition. This is in truth the most righteous purity which you have been exhorted to practise. You have turned away from it and have been washed clean, and have adhered to the purification of the body which is utterly defiled and fashioned from impurity; through it the body coagulates and comes to take its shape.'

When I had said these things to them and annulled and denounced what they (strove) after, some of (them) were (amazed) at me and praised me and treated me as leader and (teacher). Yet (there was much) whispering in that (school) **86** on my account. Some of them treated me as prophet and teacher; some of them said: 'The living word is sung through him. Let us make him teacher of our doctrine,' Others said: 'Has a voice spoken to him in secret and is he saying what it revealed to him?' Still others suggested: 'Has something appeared to him in a dream and is he saying what he saw?' Others asked: 'Is (this) he concerning whom our teachers prophesied when they said, "A young man will (rise up from) our (midst) and will come (forward) as a new (teacher) **87** to call into question our whole doctrine, just as our forefathers have spoken of the 'rest of the garment'?"'[41] However, others said: 'Is not that which is voiced by him error, does he want to lead astray our people and split the doctrine?' Others of them were filled with malice and wrath and some of them voted for death. Others said: 'This is the enemy of our (rule).' Some (said:) 'Does he intend to go to the gentiles and eat (Greek) bread? For we have (heard him saying): "it is right **88** to partake of (Greek) bread".[42] Similarly, he says that to partake of wine and wheat and vegetables and fruit, which our forefathers and teachers strictly

[41] Perhaps a precedent for the Manichaean 'rest of the hands' (i.e. no harvesting, labouring or fornicating).

[42] We may have here a jibe about Mani's reading of the Letters of Paul, particularly through the writings of Marcion like the *Apostolicon* which is known to be heavily Pauline. There are innumerable Pauline

forbade us to eat, is logically consistent. Likewise also he declares the ritual washing we practise invalid and does not ritually wash himself like we do or cleanse his food like us.'

Then (indeed) Sita and his (companions) saw that I would not come over to their (persuasion, but that) I was little by little invalidating and denouncing their rule and their exclusion of food, and that **89** I was not practising ritual washing like they did. When they saw that I opposed them in all these matters, Sita and the majority of his fellow elders held a synod on my account. They also summoned the steward Patticius and said to him: 'Your son has turned aside from our rule and wishes to go into the world. Those things which we prohibit and do (not) eat, wheaten bread and fruit and vegetables, he does not adhere to and (says) that it is right to handle them. He (transforms our) practice of ritual washing. **90** He wants to eat (Greek) bread.' Then, because he saw their great agitation, Patticius said to them: 'Call him yourselves and convince him.'

Then they summoned me to their assembly and said to me: 'From your youth you have been with us and have lived correctly by the ordinances and customs of our rule. You have been like a modest bride in our midst. What has happened to you now or what has appeared to you? For you are (opposing) our (rule), and invalidating (and) abolishing our (doctrine). You have taken a **91** different path from ours. We hold your father in great honour: why then do you now declare invalid the ritual washing of our and our fathers's rule by which we have long lived? You are also invalidating the commands of the saviour. Indeed you want to eat wheaten bread and vegetables which we do not eat. Why do you live in this way and not comply with farming the earth like we do?'

Then I said (to them): 'May I never (declare invalid the) commands of the saviour. However, if you are (reviling) me on (account of wheaten) **92** bread, because I have said that it is right to eat of it, the saviour did this; as it is written: "When he had said the blessing, he provided to his disciples; he said a blessing over the bread and gave it to them." Was not that bread made from wheat? It also shows that he sat down with tax collectors and idolators. Similarly, he was invited to the house of Martha and Mary. When Martha said to him: "(Lord), do you not care about (me) enough to tell my (sister to) help me?"; the saviour said (to) her : "Mary has chosen the (good) portion **93** and it will not be taken from her."

echoes in Mani's writings, especially in his epistolary formulas and his concept of the conflict between the Old Man and the New.

Observe, therefore, how also the disciples of the saviour ate food from women and idolators. They did not separate bread from bread or vegetable from vegetable, neither did they eat by earning their living by labouring and farming the earth, in the way you do today. Similarly, when the saviour sent his disciples everywhere to preach they did (not) take a millstone or (oven with) them; (but) they . . . took one . . .'

94 Za(. . .)[43]

'If then you are accusing me about ritual washing, I shall again show you from your own rule and from the things which have been revealed to your leaders that it is not right to ritually wash yourself.

Alchasaios the founder of your rule shows this: when he was going to bathe himself in water, an image of a man appeared to him from the spring of the waters and said to him, "Is it not enough that your beasts abuse me? Yet, you (yourself) maltreat (my home) and commit sacrilege (against my waters)." Thus (Alchasaios was amazed), and he said to **95** it: "Fornication and defilement and the impurity of the world are thrown at you and you do not forbid it, but you are distressed by me." It said to him: "Perhaps all these did not know who I am, but why did not you, who claim to be a worshipper and righteous, respect my honour?" Then Alchasaios was affected and did not bathe himself in the waters.

After some time he again wanted to bathe himself in (water), and he instructed his disciples to (find) a place which (had) not (too much) water for him to bathe himself. (His) disciples (found the place) **96** for him. When he was (about to) wash for the second time there appeared to him the image of a man from that spring, which said to him: "We and those waters in the sea are one. Therefore you have come here also to sin and abuse us." Alchasaios in great alarm and agitation allowed the dirt on his head to become dry and so shook it off.'

Again, Mani tells that Alchasaios (had ploughs lying ready) and went (to) them. (The earth) addressed him saying: **97** "(Why) are you earning your living from me?" Then Alchasaios took soil from the earth which had spoken to him, and weeping he kissed it and embraced it and began to say: "This is the flesh and blood of my lord."

[43] The witness could have been Za(cheas), known to us as Abizachias in Syriac and Mar Zaku in Middle Iranian. Cf. Tubach (1997), 377–8. Za(bed), the brother of Innaios (mentioned above), is less likely; as he is not otherwise known among the early disciples of Mani.

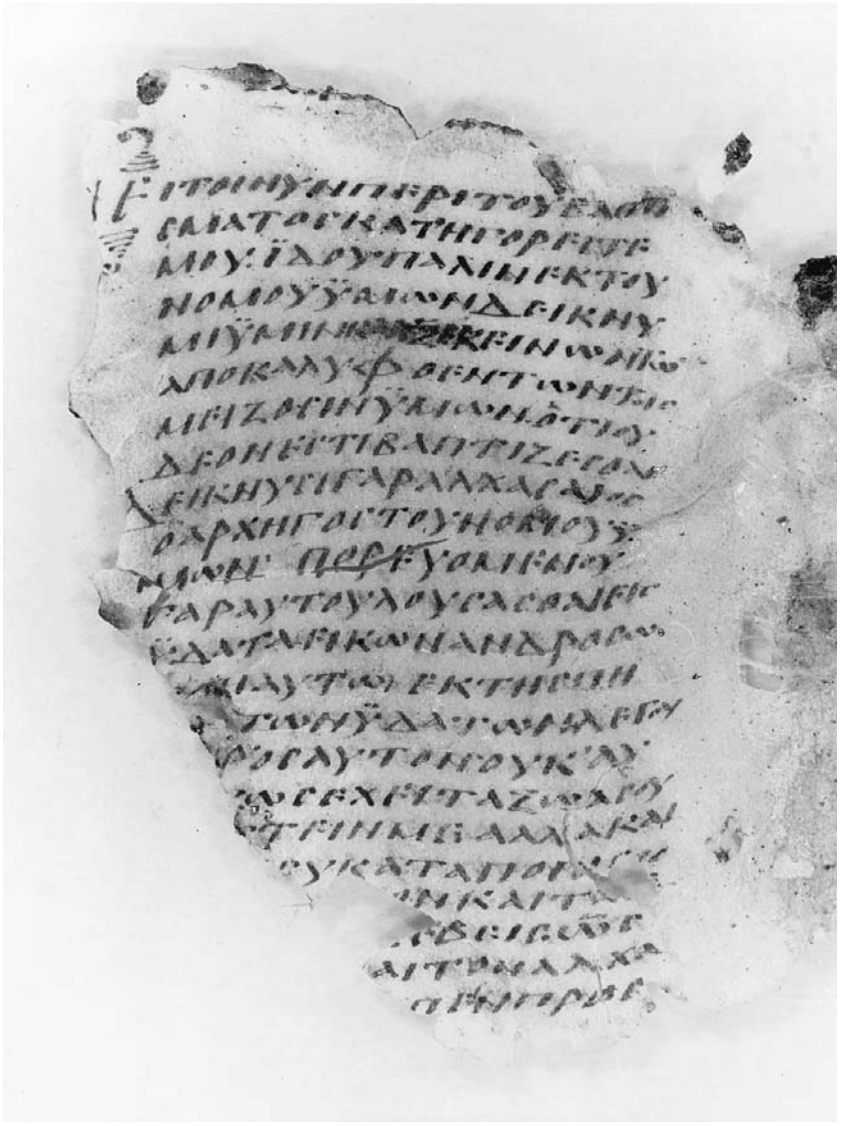


Figure 2.1. Cologne Mani-Codex p. 94

Again, Mani said that Alchasaios found his disciples baking loaves. At this the loaf spoke to Alchasaios who then commanded them not to bake again.

Again, Mani points out that (Sab)baios[44] the baptist was bringing vegetables (to) the elder (of the) city. And that (vegetable wept) and (said) **98** to him: 'Are you not righteous, are you not pure? Why then are you taking us to fornicators?' Sabbaios was alarmed by what he had heard and took the vegetables back.

Again, Mani tells how a date palm spoke with Aianos the baptist who was from Coche, and instructed him to say to my lord: 'Do not cut me down, because my fruits have been stolen. Let me be for this (year), and next year I shall give you (fruits) equal to those which were stolen (in) all the (other years).' **99** It also instructed him to say to that man who stole its fruit: 'Do not come this time to steal my fruit! If you do come, I will throw you from my height and you will die.'

Timotheos:

'Then I said to them: "Look at these famous men of your rule, who saw these visions, were moved by them and preached them to the others. In the same way I am practising everything that I learned from them."

100 When I had thus spoken to them and confounded their words, they immediately all became so angry that one of them stood up and hit me. They held me fast in the middle of them and beat me up. They seized me by the hair as they would an enemy. In bitterness and anger they screeched at me as loud as they could, as if I were a heretic, and because of the envy which had overcome them they wanted to (strangle) me. However, because Patticius, the overseer of the house, begged them not to commit sacrilege against **101** those who were amongst them, they had consideration and let me go. After this attempt had befallen me I withdrew myself to one side, took up the attitude of prayer, and beseeched and begged our lord to support me.

When I had finished my prayer and was quite sad, my most blessed Syzygos – he is my lord and helper – (appeared) before me. He said to me: "Do not be sad and do not weep!" I said to him: "How can I not be sad? (For the men) of this (religion), amongst whom I have been (since my childhood), **102** have changed and have become my enemies because I have separated myself from their rule. Where shall I go then? All religions and sects are adversaries of the good. I am a stranger and alone in the world.

[44] The name Sabbaios is clearly derived from Aramaic *sobai* which means one who baptises.

When in this religion, whose believers have read about purity, mortification of the flesh and observance of "resting of the hands", who (in addition) all know me by name and therefore (know) the worth of my body better (than other) religions, when therefore my body **103** was brought up, cared for and cherished in this religion, I also had contact with its overseers and elders, in relation to the bringing up of my body. How then, if these people have given me no room to accept the truth, will the world, its princes or its teachings, receive me when it comes to hearing these secrets and to accepting (these) hard precepts? How shall I (speak) before the kings . . . and . . . **104** of the world, and the leaders of religions? For, see, they are mighty and exercise power with their wealth, their authority and their material means; but I am alone and poor in all these things."

Then the splendid one said to me: "You have been sent out not only to this religion, but to every people, every school, every town and every place. For (by you) will (this) hope be explained and proclaimed to all (zones) and regions (of the world). In very great numbers will men (accept) **105** your word. So, set out and go abroad; for I will be with you as helper and protector in every place, where you proclaim everything I have revealed to you. So do not worry and do not be sad."

Very many were the words which he spoke to me, encouraging me and giving me confidence through his hope. I fell down before him and my heart rejoiced at the (remarkable) sight of that most splendid and sublime one, my most blessed Syzygos. (I said) to him: ". . . what . . . **106** For Patticius is an old man; he was shaken, when he just saw one single battle coming my way." Then he said to me: "Set out and go abroad; for, see, two men from that rule will come to you and be your companions. Equally, Patticius will also be the first of your elect and will follow you." (At that time) there came to me two young men from the baptists, (Simeon) and Abizachias, who had been my neighbours. (They came) to me, to accompany me everywhere, and they were with me as helpers, (wherever) we (went).'

6. The beginning of Mani's mission

CMC 107.1–147.12, ed. cit., 76–104.

107 'Thus, according to the will of our lord, I left that rule; in order to sow his most beautiful seed, to light his brightest candles, to redeem living souls from subjection to rebels, to walk in the world after the image of our lord Jesus, to throw on to the (earth) a sword, division and the blade of the spirit, to scatter the (bread) on (my) people and to overcome the (immeasurable)

shame which is in the (world) and . . . **108** I came abroad and into foreign lands, like a sheep in sight of the wolves, so that through me believers could be separated from unbelievers and be chosen, the good seed from amongst the weeds, the children of the kingdom from the children of the enemy and the descendants of the heights from the offspring of the depths; thus through me the Father might separate his own from strangers.

(At that time) therefore I was (sent out) according to the good will of my most blessed Father to travel about (in the world) so that creation might be (sanctified) by me, and so that (through) me **109** he might let the truth of his (own) knowledge (Gr. *gnosis*) be visible among the religions and peoples, and use me to make a stand before the kings of the earth and the princes of the world in order to take his own from all of them.

In this way I had left, and no follower of that religion had noticed where we went. We travelled about until we crossed and came to Ctesiphon. When I (could not get on further), the river (being high), (one) of the baptists saw (that I was staying there). When I (had left) Patticius, I had (not) said anything **110** to him about where I was going, and so Patticius was sad because of me and wept. He left and visited the surrounding synods; and still he did not find me. He wept and mourned, and the baptists stood by him to comfort him.

Then that man who had seen me came to them; and when he saw that they were in mourning he said to them: "Why do you (mourn)?" They answered: "Because of Mani, who went away and we do not (know) where he has gone. (We fear) that somehow (someone) will . . . him." **111** However, he said to them: "I saw him on the bridge, when I went over into the towns." When Patticius heard that he was glad and set off to come to me in Ctesiphon.

When he arrived there he did not find me. He went away again and made enquiries. Then he came and (found) me outside the town (in) a village called Naser in the assembly of the (saints). As soon as Patticius (saw me he stepped up, kissed) and embraced me, (and fell on the ground) before me. In tears (he said to me: ". . . **112** . . .) I was sad, because I thought you were dead and that I would never see you again. I said: 'Whom shall I call? Who will obey me? Whom could I see before my eyes? To whom shall I lament my grief or open the secrets of my heart?' For I had hoped to have you as administrator of all matters now in (my) old age. For (whom) can I trust more than you? I see, however, that you will not be with me. I have prayed (to God) that he will not destroy you! . . . of you . . . **113** sad (. . . and) for (love of you) the sighing of remembrance will be planted in my heart. For very sighing for you perhaps I will leave the world."

Then my lord said to him: 'Do not weep, do not be sad and do not worry about me! For you yourself will be with me. You will find ample grace through me; what you have done up to today (has happened according) to the will of the Father of Light. (. . . **114** . . . , to be revealed) means nothing; for they do not behave as they read in their scriptures.'

Kustaios, the son of the treasure of life:[45]

Again Patticius spoke to him with tears in his eyes: 'My son, why do you speak so? Just now with your words you have scattered and cancelled all (the doctrine). Your (. . .) your friends (. . .) of their midst (. . .) worthless (?) (. . .) the Lord (?)[46] . . . *seven lines lost* . . .'

115 (Mani replies): '. . .) without knowing, what had happened. For you have built the house, but another has come to dwell in it. You have become the horse for that one to ride, but another will enter the war with him and thereby complete his will. And you have made the robe beautiful, but another has put it on. (For I) Mani (. . . *four lines lost* . . .) the whole world (. . . **116** . . . *five lines lost* . . .) of that good (i.e. of Syzygos); for it is he who is my leader in the way that he wishes and is fitting. Recognise and be sure of this, that I myself shall not (observe) that religion nor follow its rule.'

Timotheos:

'So, I left the assembly (of saints . . . *4 lines lost* . . .) **117** The (*sg.*) . . . of that woman . . . When we (arrived there, we rested) in the garden of the . . . village. When they saw . . . , they said to that woman: "Strange men have been asking (us) questions; they will speak about God in unusual new ways . . . They are (. . ."'

Mani preaches in the garden; after 6 missing lines . . .) angels (. . . *2 lines lost* . . . **118** . . .) all . . . as they were in error (?) . . . their (. . . However, the woman) was amazed at (my) wisdom, which not . . . to her.

(Equally) Patticius was surprised; for he had never heard this speech from (me). He said in his mind: 'When I heard this teaching, I was (moved . . . *6 lines* . . .) of the humble (. . .' *5 lines lost* . . .) **119** They saw an apparition in the shape of a man (like) an angel of God, so that they were (all) moved at what they saw. (Then) that appearance of the man disappeared from before (them) and like . . . I followed. The . . . until (. . .

[45] The epithet echoes the title of one of Mani's: canonical works the *Treasure* (*of Life*) (see quotation given below, **47**).

[46] Cf. '(. . .) worthless (?) (. . .) the Lord (?)' are suggested new reading of Römer (1992b) 103.

after 13 lost lines Patticius speaks **120** '. . .) to reveal (this) to me. According to God's will I recognised who it is, that is with you.' In the same way that woman came before me, fell down and said: 'I thank God, who has made (. . . but you have come) here (so that) I might see (the greatness of the power) of God.' (. . . *seven lines lost* . . .

It is to be assumed that one or more quires with twenty-four pages each are missing here. In the ensuing story Mani has left Babylon and Media and resides in Azerbaidjan.

(Witness unknown):

121 *the first 3 lines are missing; Mani is giving an account* '. . .) but . . . I did (not) stay. In (the land)[47] of the Medes I went (to the brothers in) Ganzak. (There) was then a great famine.[48] When we came into the town of Ganzak, the followers of our brothers were concerned for the fo(od-supply[49] . . . *11 lines lost* . . .) **122** (*the father says to Mani*): "Who are you? (What power) do you have?" (I replied) to him: "(A doctor) is what I am." He (answered) me: "Come, (if) you are willing, into my house; for my daughter is being tossed about by (an illness)." I went with him and found that the girl was (unconscious) and . . . with (the illness . . . *after 6 missing lines containing an account of the healing, the father expresses his gratitude* . . .) **123** Although . . . other men were standing there too, (he fell) at my feet and said: "(Ask of me) what you will." I replied to him: "Of your treasures (of gold and silver) I ask for nothing." I took from him only (food for one day for)[50] the brothers who were (with) me.'

Ti(motheos):

Again (my lord said: '. . . *in six missing lines Mani gives an account of the appearance of the Syzygos* . . . **124** . . .) said: "(Consider the will) according to which[51] you came into being bodily, and the truth (which I) have proclaimed to (you). For this reason ambassadors and (apostles) will be sent at your command to every place, and this hope (and the) message of peace will be declared by them in every town (where) you wish to go."'

[47] 'In (the land)': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 163.
[48] '(There) was then a great famine' : new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 163. The 1988 edition suggests: 'There was at that place tin-ore.' On possible geological evidence for the earlier reading which may help us to locate Ganzak see Tardieu (1998), 257–8.
[49] 'fo(od-supply . . .)': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 163.
[50] '(food for one day for)': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 163.
[51] '(Consider the will) according to which': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 163.

(Witness unknown:

8 lines are missing; Mani is giving an account '. . . **125** . . .) When we . . . went into the middle of the mountains and Patticius was with (me), there suddenly rose up a storm, so that the sand whirled about and confused (our senses). I went in front of Patticius . . . Then he, (my) most splendid Syzygos, came to my side, to give me (strength and encouragement). Then (he said to me[52] . . . *6 lines lost* . . .)'

126 (Unknown, the) teacher;
(and unknown, the) bishop:

'(So then) the most blessed and radiant (. . .) raised me into the air; and took me to secret places, which are unknown in these abodes of men where (we live). He showed (me everything) that is there. (I saw) amongst them huge (mountains) and (. . .) neighbouring (. . . *6 lines lost* . . . **127** . . .) and unlike those which are in these lands. Between these and the very delight(ful and) sweet waters were . . . He (took) me on to the (highest) mountain; there I saw a (man) who had growing on his body hair which was eighteen inches long, thick and (hanging down) in full curls.[53]

When, however, . . . one of the (. . . *8 lines are lost; at the end of them the hairy man speaks to Mani* **128** ". . .) Teach (me) the message of knowledge! For that is why you have come up here." However, I taught him in (a cave . . .),[54] so that wisdom dawned in him. I (declared) to him about resting, the commandments and worship before the lights of heaven.

(Again) I spoke to him: "How did you get the (hair) of (your) body, which makes you different from (all) people? . . . to this (. . . *in six lost lines the man answers* ". . . **129** . . .) my (. . .) a tree (. . .) and I took of the best fruits. Since that time I have had this hair on my body." As I still stood there he was removed from me and went to that place where I had seen (. . .) the people. (In) that (place) he became a herald of (hope) and showed the (people) wisdom (. . . *7 lines are missing; Mani tells of the continuation of his journey* . . . **130** . . .) I (went) to a place, which was unknown and cut off from those towns. There was also there a crowd of people and (many) towns. Just as I arrived at that place the heavenly light of the day was rising and the king of (that) land[55] (was going) hunting. Then my most splendid

[52] 'he said to me': new insertion suggested by Römer (1994), 163.

[53] On the significance of long-hair as a topos in ascetical literature see the material collected in Römer (1994), 41–63.

[54] 'in (a cave . . .)': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 164.

[55] Is this an account of the conversion of the Shah of Turan, which is well recorded in Manichaean missionary texts in Middle Iranian? See especially the Parthian fragments M48 + alii, *KG*, §2.2 (37–129) pp. 20–4. English translation in *GSR*, 207–8.

(and quite infallible leader and Syzygos) came to my side (and said) to me: "(. . . *6 lines are missing, in which the Syzygos apparently brings Mani near to the king and leaves him there* **131** . . . not far) from the king (and his) princes . . .) When the king and his princes saw me, they became agitated and (astonished . . . He beckon)ed me (from the throne to come to him)[56] so that (. . .) to them (. . .) When I had got nearer (to them), the king and his (princes) got down off their (chariots). I (stood before) him (and bowed in obei)sance[57] (. . . *8 lines lost* . . . **132** . . .) to him. Before (him I explained) wisdom and the commandments and (declared) everything to him.

(On not) a few days, when I was staying (there), he himself (with) his princes sat before (me). I showed (them) the separation of (the two) natures (and the doctrine of beginning, middle and) end (. . . *7 lines missing* . . .) **133** He treated (. . .) he accepted (everything) that he had heard (. . . from) me. After he had carried out (his) splendid work through me, while the king was sitting on the throne and his princes were before him, (this) most magnificent one suddenly flew down and stepped up to me, and . . .) to me. The king and his princes (. . . *7 lines lost* . . . **134** Then) the king grew strong in (wisdom) and he was grounded in knowledge and faith. (Equally) his princes became (full) of faith. The king accepted (joyfully the commandments) which I had taught him, and (commanded) that they should be (explained) and (declared) throughout his kingdom . . . place . . . this and . . . after (. . . *6 lines lost* **135** . . .) and (faith . . .) From that time onwards this religion was preached to that place.

Then the most splendid one took me to that place where he had parted me from (Patticius). When he saw me he was very (happy, he kissed me) and (said to me): "Where did you go? . . . leave me alone? (. . ."

after line 16, eight lines are missing, in which it is possible that a new passage from another authority has begun **136** . . .) for I (Patticius) saw with my own eyes his strong power exceeding all visions that I might usually expect. So . . . My lord said to him: "You are one of his own." Then he took (him to places) very high up (and said): "I have done (this according to the) will (of your father); he himself (sent me) to you."'

(Witness unknown):

6 lines lost, Mani gives an account'. . . **137** . . .) until (. . . I came) into (a) village called S(. . .) and went (into the) assembly of the (. . .),[58] the

[56] 'He beckon)ed me (from the throne to come to him)': based on a series of new readings suggested by Römer (1994), 164.

[57] '(bowed in obei)sance' ((πρόσε)κύνησα) or alternatively part of a word to do with hunting (κύνη(γιο(ν))? Cf. Römer (1994), 164.

[58] On the identity of the sect (Magusaeans, Chaldaeans or Jews ?) over which Mani triumphed see J. M. and S. N. C. Lieu (1991). See also Römer (1994), 94–105.

so-(called sons(?))[59] of the truth. The head of the (sect of) unrigh(teousness)[60] said (to me: "The) exact understanding of the teaching (of our fathers . . ." *10 lines lost* . . . **138** He conducted a) disputation with me before the men of his faith. In all points he was (defeated) and (drew) laughter on himself, so that he was filled with (envy) and malice. He sat down, according to the (rituals),[61] and practised[62] the spells of his (. . .) whose (. . .) chanting (. . .) and full (. . .) spell (. . .) to (. . .) said: (" . . .) your (. . . *6 lines lost, apparently the leader of the group chants a spell against Patticius* **139** . . .) so that Patticius (. . .) is well." In this way he chanted (over him) conjuring[63] (. . .) wickedness. And so his intention came to nought. For as much as he himself (spoke) the (magic) words, my lord frustrated (his) wickedness. Immediately (that most infallible Syzygos) of mine, (flew down and appeared (. . .)

8 lines lost . . .) **140** in the (village . . .), where (?) (Patticius?) had recovered (?), (we went (?)) to Pharat, the town near the island of the people of Mesene.'

(Unknown), the teacher; and Ana,
the brother of Zacheas, the disciple:

(When) my lord and (Patticius the) overseer of the house had come (to Pharat), (he preached) in (the assembly of) the baptists (. . . *5 lines lost* '. . . **141** " . . .) he revealed his (king)dom to us.[64]" We, however, were astonished (at him) and were shaken at his words.

When the (hour of) prayer came, we said to Patticius: "(Let us pray!) For the commandment (of God calls) my lord (and us) to prayer (. . . Patticius, however,) asked us (. . . *the next nine lines of the account are missing; presumably the baptist asks Mani:* **142** ". . . Why do you (?) pray) differently (from us?)"

Furthermore, at the time when fasting (was over (?) . . .) he went out and asked for alms (before) the houses (. . .) He did not put (. . .) I said to him: "Why did you (not) partake the daily food?"[65] (. . . *11 lines are destroyed at*

[59] Römer (1994), 164 also suggests 'the so-(called guardians) of the truth.'
[60] 'The head of the (sect of) unrigh(teousness)': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 164.
[61] 'according to the (rituals)': new insertion suggested by Römer (1994), 165.
[62] 'practised': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 165.
[63] 'he chanted (over him) conjuring': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 165.
[64] 'he revealed his (king)dom to us': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 165, but Römer also suggests '(perdi)tion' instead of '(king)dom' for a more negative context.
[65] 'partake the daily food': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 165. The 1988 edition suggests: 'share (at our table)'.

the end of which a baptist says the following to Patticius: **143** "(. . .) this (. . .) is with your son as it is with the elders and teachers. (Earlier I) saw already (in) him, that he (with all) his wisdom, (intelligence) and exposition of the scriptures (bore witness) to us (. . .) that (. . .) in con(trast to) (the words) of our teachers[66] (. . .)" *if a new excerpt began in the missing part of the page, it must be presumed that in all 8 lines are missing*

(Witness unknown):

Mani tells that he went to the port of Pharat **144** '(. . .) In Pharat there was a (. . .) called Oggias (?), a man who was (famous) because of his (influence) and his power over the men.[67] (He[68] saw (how)) the merchants, who were preparing to travel (by) ship as far as the Persians and Indians, sealed his (wares, and did) not (put to sea), until he came on board. (. . .) When Oggias (?) (. . . *10 lines lost* . . . **145** . . .) him (. . .) to you. Then (he answered) me: "I want to (get) on a ship and (travel) to the Indians (so that I) get (. . .) if (I should) so (succeed . . .")[69] I said (to him) however: "I . . . you (. . .)" *if a new excerpt begins in the destroyed half of the page, in all 11 lines will have been broken off*

(Witness unknown):

Mani seems to have interrupted his journey in a Persian port and to have been visited by a missionary (?) from Armenia (?) **146** '(. . .) He had persuaded (. . .) Patticius (?) and (. . .) me and (. . .) had taken (. . .) with him to the Armenian town (.)isthar. (From there) he came to Persia to us (. . .) He said (. . :) "To whom (. . .) lord (. . .) father . . . **147** he has a wife (?) (. . .) for the (. . .) He (or: she) said: ("(. . .) once again (. . ." . . .) I said (. . . : "(. . .) from(?)(. . .) pro(fit (?) . . .")'

MANI AT THE COURT OF THE SHAHANSHAH (KING OF KINGS)

7. Mani's calling and his summons before Shapur I

This passage (*Keph.* 14.3–16.2) is taken from the important first kephalaion, the remainder of which text can be found below as **90**.

[66] 'in con(trast to) (the words) of our teachers': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 165.

[67] Römer (1994), 165 suggests a probable alternative may be: 'a man who was (eminent) for his (philanthropy)'.

[68] Römer ibid. suggests that Oggias and not Mani might have been the subject in contrast to the 1988 edition.

[69] 'if (I should) so (succeed . . .")': new reading suggested by Römer (1994), 165.

When the church of the saviour was raised to the heights, my apostolate began, which you asked me about! From that time on [5] was sent the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth; the one who has come to you in this last generation. Just like the saviour said: When I go, I will send to you the Paraclete. When the Paraclete comes, he can upbraid the world concerning sin; and he can speak with you on behalf of righteousness; and [10] about judgement; concerning the sinners who believe me not; . . . [70] he can speak with you . . . [15] . . . he can speak with you and preach . . . that . . . , the one who will honour me and . . . and he gives to you.

. . . preach on behalf of the Paraclete of truth, that he . . . he came to manifest the one whom he had known . . . [20] . . . the appointed time of all these years, as they . . . from Jesus until now . . . until he . . . and he makes them free. Yet, when the church [25] assumed the flesh, the season arrived to redeem the souls; like the month of Parmuthi that cereal shall ripen in, to be harvested.

At that same season he . . . my image, I assuming it in the years of Artabanus the king of Parthia. Then, in the years of Ardashir the king [30] of Persia, I was tended and grew tall and attained the fullness of the season. In that same year, when Ardashir the king was crowned, the living Paraclete came down to me. He spoke **15** with me. He unveiled to me the hidden mystery, the one that is hidden from the worlds and the generations, the mystery of the depths and the heights. He unveiled to me the mystery of the light and the darkness; the mystery of the calamity of conflict, and the war, [5] and the great . . . the battle that the darkness spread about. Afterwards, he unveiled to me also: How the light . . . the darkness, through their mingling this universe was set up . . . He opened my eyes also to the way that the ships were constructed; to enable the gods of light to be in them, to purify the light from [10] creation. Conversely, the dregs and the effluent . . . to the abyss. The mystery of the fashioning of Adam, the first man. He also informed me about the mystery of the tree of knowledge, which Adam ate from; his eyes saw. Also, the mystery of the apostles who were sent to the world, to enable them [15] to choose the churches. The mystery of the elect, with their commandments.[71] The mystery of the catechumens their helpers, with their commandments. The mystery of the sinners with their deeds; and the punishing that lies hidden for them.

This is how everything that has happened [20] and that will happen was unveiled to me by the Paraclete; . . . everything the eye shall see, and the

[70] Cf. John 16.7–9+ff. [71] <the mystery of the sinners with their deeds>

ear hear, and the thought think, and the . . . I have understood by him everything. I have seen the totality through him! I have become a single body, with a single Spirit!

In the last years of Ardashir **25** the king I came out to preach. I crossed to the country of the Indians. I preached to them the hope of life. I chose in that place a good election.

Yet, also, in the year that Ardashir the king died Shapur his son became king. He . . . I crossed from the country of the Indians to the land of the Persians. Also, from **30** the land of Persia I came to the land of Babylon, Mesene, and Susiana.[72] I appeared before Shapur the king. He received me with great honour. He gave me permission to journey in . . . preaching the word of life. I even spent some years . . . him in the retinue; many years in **16** Persia, in the country of the Parthians, up to Adiabene, and the borders of the provinces of the kingdom of the Romans.

8. Mani's first encounter with Shapur I

Fihrist, ed. Flügel (1871) 328, trans. Laffan. The material preserved by an-Nadīm comes almost certainly from the same Syriac source as that of the *CMC*.

'The Manichaeans say: 'So he went out on the very day that King Sābūr bin Ardašīr was crowned, being Sunday 1 Nīsān, when the Sun was in Aries.[73] And with him were two men of his sect. One was called Sham'ūn[74] and the other was Zakū;[75] His father was also present, observing all that was to be of his cause.

Muḥammad bin Isḥaq said: 'Mānī appeared in the second year of the reign of Ġālūs ar-Rūmī. Marqiyūn had appeared about one-hundred years before him, during the first year of the reign of King Titus Antonianus (Ṭiṭūs Anṭūniyānūs). Ibn Dayṣān (i.e. Bardayṣān) appeared about thirty years after Marcion (Marqiyūn). He was called Ibn Dayṣān because he was born on the banks of a river called the Dayṣān. Mānī claimed that he was the Paraclete, foretold of by Jesus – peace be with him. Mānī derived his doctrine from (the teachings) of the Magians and the Christians. Similarly,

[72] The travels which took place between Mani leaving the sect and his audience with Shapur are alluded to in the *Homilies* (91.1–11, ed. Polotsky) where Mani spoke of visiting many lands and crossing many seas. Unfortunately the relevant section is very fragmentary.

[73] The *CMC* (17.23–18.10, see above) has shown that this piece of synchronism is over simplistic. Mani received his confirming revelation in April 240 when Shapur was crowned co-regent after his triumph at Hatra. Ardashir was then still alive; he died two years later.

[74] I.e. Simeon, otherwise unknown. On the Syriac versions of his name see Tubach (1997), 377.

[75] I.e. Abizachias, see Tubach (1997), 378.

the script with which he composed (his) scriptures was derived from Syriac and Persian. Mānī travelled the land for about forty years before meeting Sābūr, having appealed to Fayrūz, the brother of Sābūr bin Ardašīr, who took him into his brother's presence.'

The Manichaeans said that when Mānī came into his presence, there were on his shoulders two lights resembling lamps. And when Sābūr saw him he was impressed and Mānī grew in his estimation. (Indeed) Sābūr had been resolved to having Mānī slain, yet when he met him he was overcome by admiration and delight, asking Mānī what had brought him to him and promising a further audience with him. So Mānī made a number of requests, including that Sābūr would show favour on his companions in the provinces and in the other lands governed by him, and that they could enjoy freedom of movement. Sābūr granted all of Mānī's requests. So Mānī was able to spread his message in India, in China, and among the people of Ḫurāsān (i.e. Khorasan). And Mānī appointed a companion of his order in every place. (329)

9. Mani recounts his travels

This kephalaion, entitled 'Concerning lord Manichaios: how he journeyed' (no. 76: 183.10–188.29), provides considerable detail about Mani's missionary journeys. Unlike most other kephalaia it is given an extended and clear context, including incidental details that contribute to the impression of historicity.

Mani is kept so busy answering the calls of King Shapur, (who does seem to have given him and his teaching some real protection), that a disciple wishes that there could be two Manis! The apostle replies that the world has scarcely been able to accept him alone. The phrase 'a single Mani' is characteristic of his style. He then recounts the trials of his missionary journeys, and the opposition of the authorities in various lands. The frank admission to a lack of success adds to the sense of authenticity.

Further, it happened one time while our master Manichaios, our light enlightener, was staying in the city [15] of Ctesiphon. Shapur, the king, enquired after and summoned him. Our master stood up and went to Shapur the king. Afterwards he returned and came back to his congregation. When he had been a short while sitting down, before delay elapsed, King Shapur [20] enquired after him another time. He sent, he called for him. Again (Mani) returned, he retraced and went to King Shapur. He spoke with him and proclaimed to him the word of God. Again he returned and came to the congregation. Also, a third occasion, King Shapur enquired after and called for him; [25] and he returned to him once more.

Then one of his disciples made a retort, Aurades by name, the son of Kapelos. He says to our enlightener: 'Please, our master Manichaios, give to us two Manis resembling you; passing for you! Good, peaceful, and [30] compassionate . . . disciples in righteousness like you . . . one Mani will remain with us as you; and the other go to King Shapur, his mind at ease, and proclaiming it to him'.

184 When our enlightener heard these words from that disciple, he shook his head. He says to him: 'Now behold, I, a single Mani, came to the world to proclaim in it the word of God; and do [5] therein the good will that had been entrusted to me.

Then look, I, one Mani alone, have not been permitted to speak freely in the world; I . . . that I find room to fulfil the good will that has been entrusted to me. Yet, I have done the will of the mystery, [10] which I preach in the living truth.

For the world loves the darkness; but it hates the light, because its works are evil.[76] Still, I, I have travelled so that I would do the will of the light, and spread the truth far and wide, in accord with what they entrusted to [15] me. And, behold, the world bears down on me with . . . upon me with its sects. They give me no place to preach therein, and besides I am a single Mani. I came to the world, and they have not given me time to preach according to my will. They have not accepted me. [20] On the other hand, if we do as . . . as you have spoken to us, what might we do then? How were . . . ? Rather, this . . . to you, and recount it to you.

At the time when I sailed the sea in the ship, I went . . . [25] I found it necessary . . . the life that is with me in the world . . . I stirred the whole land of India . . . all the people who dwell in it . . . all of them to me, so that they might bear [30] two to three times . . . in their land according to their heart . . . and the wise man . . . they . . . **185** set them against me. At that moment I ceased finding light, I ceased speaking freely with the voice that is of truth, which is entrusted to me.

Now behold, . . . in India. It may act against me in its . . . [5] . . . and accept the greater ones and the counsellors and the satraps and the governors who are found there . . . I was difficult for it, it stirred not . . . because they belong to it . . . from all the sinners . . . [10] . . . to me. I was more difficult for it than all these . . . did not accept me, and it persisted to . . . it. For the world loves the darkness; but it hates the light, because its works are evil.

I crossed the seas another time. I took . . . [15] . . . India. I went up to the land of Persia. I leapt from the sea and went . . . the land of Persia

[76] John 3.19.

and its cities . . . in this living truth that is with me . . . to the light of . . . proclaim . . . the powers and the authorities . . . [20] . . . and the holders of authority . . . enlightener . . . in the land of Persia . . . body . . . because of this truth that I proclaimed, sitting in their midst . . . to one another. See [25] now, . . . in their land . . . to me the power. The Father . . . living . . . all occasions. The one who . . . to it . . . [30] . . . in the land . . . **186** how strong is it? (The land) tolerates the kings and accepts the satraps and the governors who are there. It stirred among them, it was not defeated in their midst . . . it was not able to accept the truth that I [5] proclaimed there. It did not . . .

I came out from the land of Persia. I went up to Mesene, the city that . . . in this truth that is in me, in . . . I proclaimed this knowledge; I separated the light from the darkness and [10] discriminated life from death, what is good from what is evil, the righteous person from the sinner. I proclaimed the path of life and the commandments . . . Yet, when they had heard the voice of truth and life, the ruling-power and the swarm of demons . . . [15] . . . and the race of mankind . . . under wickedness and hatred, they . . . they did not allow me, nor did they permit me to preach the truth in tranquillity, the way that it is. See: In . . . [20] for they tolerate the kings, they accept . . . and the caesars and the satraps and the governors who are found among them. Yet, the truth that I proclaimed among them, they did not accept it, and . . . they did not listen to the voice of life that I cried out among them.

[25] Again, from that place I came to the land of Babylon, the city of the Assyrians, and walked in it. I went in to the other cities, and spoke in this truth of the life that is with me. I proclaimed there the word of truth and life. With the voice of the proclamation I separated the light from the darkness [30] there, what is good from what is evil . . . the powers who are master over . . . **187** their envy to the heart of the kings and the leaders there. They and the sects of that place, they were set against me. Even as you yourselves see, they have waged some great wars with me. The lawless judges [5] took me, they watched. They and their rulers and their leaders took me in the midst of their land. If as . . . to me the protection of the Father, who does not help the lawless. Yet I, he helps me at all times against his enemy. Still, they would not permit me in [10] Babylon a single day to journey in their land.

See now: How great is the land of the Assyrians? It is able to tolerate the kings and accept the eparchs and the generals and the caesars and the governors . . . in it. It did not stir, nor was it defeated before them.[15] . . . but, on the other hand, to me, it stirred and was disquieted . . . It waged against me a multitude of struggles. Therefore, I left behind me the Assyrians.

I went to the land of the Medes and Parthians. At that place I played the harp of wisdom; I spoke in this living truth that is with me. The whole land [20] of the Medes and the Parthians stirred, it shook . . . , to accept the hope of the life that I proclaimed. Yet see: How great is the land of the Medes and the Parthians? Many cities are found there. It was able to accept the kings and the leaders who were there; but, on the other hand, it was not able to accept [25] the power of my truth. It stirred, it all shook just as . . .'

Then the apostle speaks to that disciple: 'Indeed I, a single Mani, came to the world. All the cities of the world stirred, they shook. (The world) did not wish to accept me; unless I humbled its rebelliousness [30] . . . I have subdued its powers and brought . . . all that were there. I have planted in it . . . I have sown this seed of life. I chose **188** a few from among the multitude . . . I, one Mani alone, came to the world; and . . . all the powers of the world stirred. A turmoil arose before me. And thus, if two Manis had come [5] to the world, what place would be able to tolerate them, or what land would be able to accept them?

I, a single Mani, did come, and walking on tip-toes . . . no place was found for me wherein I could stand fast . . . on the fullness of my feet, and walk on [10] the earth like everyone, and do there . . . all of you, pray to God that he might . . . feet henceforth, this single Mani, who is among you on that day, that . . . will happen . . . [15] . . . he might do the will of the living ones in the holy church. However, you, blessed are you if you make yourselves strong in this truth that I have given to you; so that you may be confirmed in it, in the life which continues for ever and ever.'

Then, when that disciple had heard these things, he says to [20] the apostle: 'Blessed am I my master! I, and all my other brothers who hear these great things from you, we know that we all are among the living. And we are alive by your advent to us! We have found the truth more than all people who are in the world. Who of us will be able fully to repay you for the goodness [25] that you have done us, our father? Only the Father who sent you is sufficient fully to repay you for this toil. For the recompense that you desire of him, the God who has sent you, is this: every prayer you entreat of the Father, may he grant you your prayer and your consolation.'

THE LAST DAYS AND DEATH OF MANI

10. Mani's change of fortune after the death of Hormizd

The most complete account of the events leading to Mani's imprisonment, and of his subsequent death, is found in the source entitled: 'The report (or: recitation)

about the crucifixion' (*Hom.* 42.9–85.34). We here begin a series of passages from this text, which we have broken up into sections to aid the reader.[77]

The part of the recitation about [10] *the (crucifixion)*

(Then) King Shapur entered Persia and came into the city of Bih-Shapur.[78] An illness took over his (body) and a great danger overtook him. He reached the (time) of his departure. King Shapur died [15] and was sent from the world.[79] King Hormizd was established and crowned in his place[80] . . .

My lord went in to (the king and said to him): 'They call you "a good king" . . . sins. You give the means (lit. 'road') of life to (each (?) . . . [20] . . .) I myself, if you are willing, . . . me (because from) today (. . . up) to now I am with you . . . you are released / forgiven (?)' . . . [25] . . . he sent him . . . that he should go to the (Assyrians . . .)

My (lord) said '. . . Mousak (?)[81] . . . person sins against me and (afflicts me [30] . . .) Assyrian(s) (?).' Then he gave him / it to . . . Mousak (?) to bear a letter furthermore . . . Mousak to my lord: 'You . . . in a place (?) . . .' **43**

. . . that while my lord was in (Belapat (?) . . .) a good . . . gift . . . glorious greatness . . . from the heights through the Mind . . . [10] . . . the words of the gods . . . in the land of light. The matter of . . . of the (rich) ones . . . the richness of light . . . the angels of the blessing . . . The . . . songs [15] of the maidens; the form of the beloved . . . the glorious *Gospel*, (the *Book*) *of the Mysteries of Wisdom*; the king of every (writing (?)); the god of every good counsel; the (prayer (?) of) all the apostles; he who has been awaited by [20] (generations). He sealed it / himself with (. . . word(s)); with the first alphabet[82] . . .

[77] *Hom.* 42.9–50.17. All the citations from 'The report about the crucifixion', which are reproduced in this and the succeeding sections, are translated by Dr S. Clackson (and slightly adapted by I. Gardner). Dr Clackson wished to draw the reader's attention to the following points: the use of . . . (three dots) represents lacunae as well as illegible text, and sometimes . . . may represent more than one line of illegible text; the presence of numerous lacunae has affected the translation, and consequently the narrative is difficult to follow at times; whilst an attempt has been made to divide the text up into paragraphs to make it easier for the reader to digest the translation, it should be remembered that these paragraphs do not reflect the order of the original Coptic text; wherever speech can be ascertained, quotation marks have been added; in order to improve the flow of the translation, words and phrases which can be read clearly have sometimes not been translated if they occur in isolation, surrounded by illegible text, and do not add to the understanding of the narrative as a whole. She also wished to record her thanks to Dr Iain Gardner for his helpful comments on an earlier draft of her translation.

[78] The manuscript gives ⲃⲁϣⲁⲃⲁϩⲱⲣ, which is most likely a copyist error for ⲃⲁϩⲁϣⲃⲱⲣ (Polotsky). Bih-Shapur or Veh-Shapur is the capital of the province of Pars.

[79] Shapur I died *c.* 272. [80] Hormizd the Good only ruled for one year (272–3).

[81] The name (or term) Mousak is highly reminiscent of that of a grade of Manichaean priest (Sogd.) *mwz'k*, (Mid. Pers.) *'mwc'g*, (Pth.) *'mwcg*, (Chin.) *mushe*.

[82] The *Gospel* of Mani has twenty-two chapters each beginning with a letter of the semitic alphabet.

(. . . he) went forward, writing (. . . he) went to every land, every . . . he went on the river Tigris (. . . **25** every) place; all of his children . . . and his catechumens . . . every land (. . . with them) joined (?) to him, in one . . . church . . . **30** . . . **44** . . . **5** . . . from the crossing he came to the (Assyrians (?) **10** . . .) he did not move until he (reached) Hormizdakshar.[83] He wished to . . . out to Koushan . . . him to go.[84]

Then he turned (wrathfully), since he was (distressed). He arrived at the land of Ozeos,[85] and went . . . Hormizdakshar until he reached Mesene. **15** From Mesene he went to the river (Tigris), and he embarked for Ctesiphon. And when he had departed, whilst going along the road, he made (allusions) to his crucifixion, saying to them: 'Look at me and have your fill of me, my sons, because bodily I shall be (far **20** away from you.)'

He went away from those . . . and he went to Pargalia.[86] He (. . . that) place. He went with Baat to the (interpretation *(hermeneia*?)[87] . . .) his children and the (presbyters . . .) He gave them orders concerning every matter . . . **25** '. . . give heed to my books . . . look after my widows and my orphans . . .'

. . . to Cholassar;[88] from (Chalassar (sic) . . .) his disciples . . . **30** . . . **45** . . . For . . . that if he went to (that) place . . . **5** . . . he went with Baat in the (interpretation (?) . . .) came into Belapat, the place of the crucifixion **10** and the place in which the cup of the . . . was mixed.

When the Magi observed (them), they asked: 'Who indeed is this who has come (in?'; and they said) to them: 'It is Manichaios.'[89] When they (i.e. the Magi) heard (this, they shook) and were filled with anger so they went and accused (him) **15** to Kardel.[90] Kardel himself told (the accusations) to

[83] Modern Ahwaz on the Kharun.

[84] Mani might have contemplated fleeing to the eastern regions of the Sassanian Empire; where his teaching had found many followers, especially among the members of the governing class.

[85] I.e. the province of Susiana.

[86] Probably to be identified with Phalcara on the *Peutinger Tables* which is situated between Hatra and Ctesiphon. Cf. Polotsky, *Hom*., 44, n. b.

[87] Baat was probably one of the interpreters as Mani was not a speaker of Middle Persian. He was also probably a client king, and his involvement with Mani's religion might have been a source of concern to the Sassanian kings.

[88] Cholassar is a city on the River Diyala and was the site of a Hellenistic foundation by the name of Artemisia.

[89] Manichaios is the full Greek version of Mani's name (Lat. Manichaeus). It was probably derived from Syriac *mny hy'* meaning 'Mani the Living' or 'Mani of Life'.

[90] Middle Persian Kirdir, the Zoroastrian chief priest (Mobedan Mobed). According to his inscription at Naqsh-i Rustam, it was his mission to rid the Sassanian Empire of heterodoxies and imported religions (*Kerdir's Inscription at Naqsh-i Rustam* §11, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1989) 58): 'And from province to province, place to place, throughout the empire the rites of Ohrmezd and the gods became more important and the Mazdayasnian religion and magians were greatly honoured in the empire and great satisfaction befell the gods and water and fire and beneficent creatures, and great

the (*synkathedros*.) Then Kardel and the *synkathedros*[91] went (and repeated) the accusations to the *magister*. The *magister* himself told (the accusations) to the king.[92] When he had heard these things . . . he then sent for my lord, summoning him.

On **20** Sunday, he (i.e. Manichaios) entered Belapat;[93] on Monday, he was accused . . . ; (on Sunday), the king issued an order concerning him and condemned him . . . Then my lord . . . **25** the greeting indeed (. . . answered) him (angrily): 'I swear to (you by my good fortune and my soul) and the soul of my (father . . .) living . . . you go upon the . . .' **30** . . . **46** . . . [5] . . . after . . . (-)four(-) days . . . called to (. . .

When) he had gone into (the presence) of the king, he met in the . . . **10** . . . As soon as the king saw him, (his face) convulsed (lit. 'loosened') with angry laughter. He said to him (a torrent) of words (lit. 'the multitude of his words'): 'Look, for three (whole) years (you) have been going around with Badia (?).[94] (What) law is it that you have (taught) him, so that he leaves our (cause) behind him and takes up yours **15** . . . the interpretation? Why did (you) not go with (him) when I ordered (you) to go with him and, furthermore, come (back) with him?'

My (lord) knew immediately that the matter was being distorted (lit. 'stretched') for an (excuse (?) . . .) my lord (. . .) his heart (. . . **20** . . .) the kings (and the) nobles, those from every . . . the glory . . . noble (. . . in) his presence. For, on that (day, **25** . . .) grief of his sister . . . the great (lady) who died at (that) time.[95] The . . . said . . . 'I . . . all the nobles . . . **47** . . . From whom did you learn that our (works) are more (honoured) than worldly things? For, from the first, (when) the Parthians were crowned, these things of (yours) never (happened) when the kingdom was in (our hands.')

(Then) **5** my lord said to him in the presence (of) all (the nobles): 'Ask everyone (about me because) I do not have a human teacher or instructor from whom (I have) learnt this wisdom (. . . from whom) I have received

blows and torment befell Ahreman and the demons, and the heresy of Ahreman and the demons departed and was routed from the empire. And Jews and Buddhists and Hindus and Nazarenes (i.e. Aramaic-speaking Christians) and Christians (i.e. Greek-speaking Christians) and Baptists and Manichaeans were smitten in the empire, and idols were destroyed and the abodes of the demons disrupted and made into thrones and seats of the gods.'

[91] A Greek term in Coptic, probably meaning a courtier or councillor.

[92] I.e. Vahram I (r. 273–6).

[93] Coptic Belapat (Gundeshapur) site of the most major of the Sassanian royal palaces and later see of the Nestorian diocese of Beth Laphat.

[94] Reading uncertain.

[95] The king was clearly distraught over the death of his sister Shapur-dukhtar, and was therefore not impressed by the appearance of Mani who once had a reputation as a faith-healer. See below (**11**) the account of the encounter preserved in the Middle Persian text M3.

these things; but when I received them, I received them from (God) [10] through his angel. (Word) was sent to (me) indeed by God that I should preach this in (your) kingdom since this (whole) world has been led (astray and has erred.) It has turned away in error from the wisdom of God, (the Lord) of all; but it was I who received it from him (and I revealed) [15] the way of truth in the middle of the whole (world) so that the souls of these multitudes shall be (saved) and escape punishment. For the testimony of everything in my hands (?) is manifest. All that I . . . existed in the first (generations); [20] but this is customary, that the way (of) truth is sometimes revealed and sometimes concealed . . .'

The king (said) to him: 'How was it that God revealed (these) things to you . . . God did not . . . us . . . not . . . though we are the lords of the whole land?'

[25] (My) lord (said): 'God is the one who has authority . . . Ask (?) the . . . power (?) . . .' The . . . asked him: 'In this way (?) . . . he revealed . . .' . . . asked him (angrily): 'Did he not reveal [30] . . .'

. . . he was silent (?) (. . . Manichaios said:) **48** 'Do (whatever you wish) to me, for I will tell the truth (. . . in) front (of you.) King Shapur looked after me (. . . and he) wrote (?) letters on my behalf to (all) the nobles (saying): "Watch over him, and (help) [5] him (rightly) so that no-one errs or sins (against him"; but) the testimonies are before you that King (Shapur) looked after me well with the (letters) he wrote for me (to the) nobles in every land so that (they) would look after me. Furthermore, when [10] King Hormizd . . . , I was with him . . . after King Shapur. You are the one who does . . . You yourself saw that Hormizd was greatly honoured.'

When the king saw that he was (persuading (?) . . .) every counsel and every defence [15] . . . reason against him at all . . . murder . . . whip(ping) (?) . . . he took the one which . . .

. . . He (i.e. Manichaios (?)) said: 'Look, o sun, you are (witness) to this . . . to me in his shamelessness.'

After this the king gave an order and [20] (bound) my lord. He put three chains on his . . . fetters on his feet, and they threw a chain around his neck. Some young men took him . . . before him in fear. Then after this . . . remembered that there were fetters on his feet . . . [25] . . . brought him (to) this place.

When he went in to the king . . . 'Where has she gone (?) . . .' . . . the king . . . [30] . . . **49** my lord himself . . .' . . . your head . . . or (else . . .' . . .) [5] the (king . . .) the good . . . follow her (deeds . . .) The king (said) to him: 'Reveal the matter to me . . . [10] . . . which place? Where has she gone? . . . or else she went . . .' . . . ; but the king . . . my lord . . . he

continued to remain . . . following his (deeds (?) 15 . . .) and the end of the world . . .' . . . but no-one dies now . . .' . . . to the king: 'I let (?) the ones of the . . . 20 . . . him and he caught one.'[96]

Then the king was silent . . . thing he asked him about, this is . . . '. . . the earth. You know that there are seven. What (. . . 25 how) many years does he have . . . and he perishes?' My lord said '. . . the whole world . . . in the number of the journey / return (?) . . . hundred years . . . 30 . . . After this the (. . . of the) whole world came into existence.'

The king once more was (silent . . . **50** . . . 5 . . . 10 . . .) He began to make suggestions . . . they were with him . . . in all ways. '. . . I was waiting (?) . . .' He said 15 . . . Sunday. Then . . . said . . .' . . . shall go . . .'

11. The confrontation between Mani and King Vahram I

Though preserved only in Middle Persian, this account[97] comes clearly from the earliest Manichaean traditions which were contemporary to those of the *Homilies*. It is composed for an Iranian audience; and, interestingly, the persecuting King gave as his reasons for the imprisonment of Mani not the heretical tendencies of his cosmogonic teaching but the ethical implications, especially the pacifism which prevented Mani from living the normal militaristic life of a Sassanian grandee.

. . . (Mani) (**R**) came after he (had summoned) me, Nuhzadag the interpreter, Kushtai the (scribe?), and Abzakhuya the Persian. The king was at his dinner table and had not yet washed his hands. The courtiers entered and said: 'Mani has come and is standing at the door.' And the king sent the Lord the message: 'Wait a moment until I can come to you myself.' And the Lord again sat down to one side of the guard (of the window?) until the king should have finished his meal when he was about to go hunting. And he stood up from his meal; and, putting one arm round the queen of the Sakas and the other round Karder (or Kardel), the son of Ardavan, he came to the Lord. And his first words to the Lord were: 'You are not welcome.' And the lord replied: (**V**) 'Why? What wrong have I done?' The king said: 'I have sworn an oath not to let you come to this land!' And in anger he spoke thus to the lord: 'Ah, what need of you, since you go neither fighting nor hunting? But perhaps you are needed for this doctoring and this physicking? And you don't do even that!' And the Lord replied thus: 'I have done you no evil.

[96] This sadly fragmentary passage seems to have once contained a discussion between Mani and the King on the whereabouts of the soul of his recently deceased sister, and Mani appears to have been expounding his teaching on metempsychosis.

[97] M3, ed. and trans. Henning (1942), 949–50, (adapted). On this see especially the important study of Hinz (1971), 485–99. See also Puech (1949), 49–53.

Always I have done good to you and your family. And many and numerous were your servants whom I have (freed) of demons and witches. And many were those whom I have caused to rise from their illness. And many were those from whom I have averted the numerous kinds of fever. And many were those who came unto death, and I have (revived) them . . .'

12. Mani's imprisonment and death

Hom. 50.19–60.2, trans. Clackson.

. . . he was reconciled and went to rest. Then he . . . **20** gave his followers (lit. 'the ones who belonged to him') orders about each and every one of (his) affairs. Firstly, he gave an order about his sons . . . habit, when they were walking with him, . . . '. . . justice for me (. . .' . . . be) leader (*archegos*) after him . . . **25** . . . among whom he will be exalted . . . 'Be strong and of right mind . . . do good deeds . . . and the (psalms . . .') **51** year . . . manage (. . . **5** . . . **10** . . . depart) from this world . . . the beckoning of the angels . . . he said . . . **15** . . . the man of light . . . **20** . . . the grace . . . **25** . . . he prayed / his prayer . . . **30** . . . 'O (my) father . . . **52** . . . every . . . iron . . . me . . . father, the (First) Man . . . listen to my voice, (I,) the one who is distressed . . .' . . . him weeping (. . . before) **5** his father so that he might help him . . . his voice. It was heard . . . the pure ones and the mixed ones . . . cry of his (entreaty . . .)

He said furthermore: '. . . **10** . . . the coverings and veils . . . my entreaty and my prayer.' He called . . . by his name and the angels in the . . . brightness: 'I call all your names . . . from his prison. Strip me (of the covering) of . . . **15** . . . from this world. O my father, the First Man . . . open the doors to my entreaty . . . fault . . . **20** . . . maiden . . . **25** . . . my voice . . . angel(s) (. . . listen) to the sound of my entreaty . . . my chains. Let . . . hear (me . . .) who are distressed; . . . **30** . . . **35** . . . **53** . . . prostrated[98] before (. . . the) great (*bema*.) O judge of (all) the worlds, (listen) to the prayer of the righteous. I shall implore . . . **5** . . . O true father of the orphans, the (husband . . .) of the grieving widow. O first one of (righteousness,) listen (to the cry) of the distressed one | . . . my saviour. (O) Perfect Man, virgin of light, draw my soul to you (from this) **10** abyss.'

'Shame the hated ones with your . . . you sent me to this place . . . the Mind of greatness, the essence of . . . You sent me and dispatched me (. . . entreaty) quickly. Save the prisoner from **15** the ones who have seized

[98] The Coptic web usually translated as 'to roll' clearly here carries the religious sense of 'to prostrate' as it also does in *PsBk* 2. 13, 27.

him. Release the bound man from (his irons.) Draw my spirit up from the . . . my soul from . . . he / it perished in the midst of this world . . . what I endured in it because of your (?) (. . . since my) [20] childhood. May your great power . . . your zealous (?) angels . . . guile and I put down my bond(s) . . . and I give the house to his / its lord . . . in his body.'

'Strip me . . . [25] . . . you. You have . . . they came into being upon the earth . . . the sects. For, whoever asks you, . . . before you, you should give him . . . calls to you . . . [30] you heard the . . . orphan(s); . . . your hope . . . apostle . . . [35] . . . he preached . . . **54** . . . desire of the world . . . until my old age. I found myself . . . name me with your great name [5] . . . is the apostle in the world. I see (?) . . . your glory . . . you are the one I call . . . do not be ashamed of me. Answer me, o my . . . my soul from tribulations . . .'

[10] . . . listened to his voice in the presence of the (king (?) . . .) which he sent. The power of . . . came . . . The gift was given to the apostle of light . . . apostle of this generation departing from the world, the great messenger of the land of [15] (the great) Babylon. The signs were revealed to him . . . world. His body began (to go to pieces); his . . . shook and made a sound, . . . his . . . began to change, . . . his image; they (were?) revealed . . . [20] . . . from his face and his (form (?) . . .) his limbs . . . went to pieces . . . like a house which is faulty, like a . . . amazement (?). He began to bend . . . [25] . . . his prayer, spreading out . . . his arms, calling to . . . angels and every land . . . in (everyone's) mouth . . . his eyes, while his tears [30] . . . gnashing (?) . . . [35] . . . **55** . . .

[5] . . . he came for him. She came . . . They were deposited / dwelled next to him . . . his great soul. They went to . . . the hidden . . . , to release him. His disciples . . . [10] . . . when they were entering . . . angels which were mixed with the glorious . . . , which had come for him to release him; but they did not perceive (him . . .) they perceived a voice. The voice rose . . . [15] . . . on the just one as he was about to raise himself up . . . while the (just one) was raising himself up, the great treasure (?), as he was about to / so that he might leap out, the apostle of light . . . the pearl of light . . . from the troubled seas . . . [20] its value and beauty . . . The voice of the honoured one . . . his saviour . . . the apostle of light . . . the great one, as it was about to leap to the . . . [25] . . . numerous . . . zealous (?) . . . the bound one . . . his feet . . . deposit / dwell . . . man . . . [30] . . . cry of pain . . . of his bonds . . . exalted pillar . . . the voice of . . . **56** . . . as the apostle was about to go (?) . . . leave him / it behind . . . [5] . . . Manichaios . . . Manichaios . . . his kindred. The body . . . the apostle, when he was going to put him / it in the . . . Manichaios, the apostle . . . [10] . . . his host and his . . . when his lord

and teacher was about to go and . . . disciple of Manichaios, the apostle (. . . called) them fatherless, orphans.

The time came and he prayed and was granted his (prayer. [15] He left) his children behind him and he left us in a . . . he made his road to the heights level for him. Woe, woe! . . . we did not sin against him and he made us . . . his head. He prayed in a pitiable fashion, while his . . . bonds of iron; tears flowed . . . [20] . . . eye(s); his hands in their (prayer (?) . . .) of iron; his heart in a great . . . his neck in the iron chain . . . he set foot in (?) . . . he stood firm . . . [25] . . . him praying and imploring . . . the ones below (?) . . . [30] . . . the voice of the (. . . peace (?)) while he was departing from the world . . . prayed for mercy from God . . . **57** . . .

[5] . . . came (?) . . . the ones who were to go before his soul came (?) . . . victory . . . The Form . . . demon(s). (The Form) has the (power . . . [10] . . .) apostle Ou(zeos (?))[99] The angels . . . the road of peace.

Then he was at rest (. . . he) fulfilled his word (. . . children). He was taken into . . . [15] . . . When he was seated on the bed . . . his image . . . It changed and it . . . and they were crying out . . . After this he asked for bread and salt . . . to him. He prayed for them . . . [20] . . . his children. He embraced . . . He said to them: '. . . greetings from me to (?) the elect and the catechumens, my children . . .'

He put his hand upon the . . . [25] '. . . which I gave (?) . . . [30] . . . you make . . . all of (you) . . . **58** . . . the lord . . . [5] . . . true . . . outside . . . mankind . . . after me.'

Then he stretched himself out (. . . his) bed. They embraced (him (?) [10] . . .) they embraced him . . . departed (?) and they cried out . . . weeping in front of him . . .' You are going . . . orphans after you (. . . [15] . . . Manichaios) then . . . then . . . betray you . . . today (?) . . . and he sees / saw your . . . set you upright (?) . . . you strengthened / your strength . . . [20] . . . well . . . closed your great eyes. She / it is beautiful . . . [25] . . . clothes . . . [30] . . .

59 that day up to . . . while his body was lying down and his . . . His eyes were fixed and still. Then three female (catechumens) of the faith (went) in to him: [5] Banak, Dinak, and N-(. . .) They sat by him and wept over him (and put their hands) on his eyes. They closed them because they were swollen. For when his soul departed . . . They kissed his mouth . . . [10] weeping over him and saying: 'O our (father, open (?)) your eyes and look at us. Stretch out to us (the right hand (?)) of your love, which is full of

[99] A possible reference to a disciple known as Ozeos in the *Psalm-Book* and Uzzi in Parthian texts. See below, **13**.

mercy and restraint . . . where are (they), the thousands which you chose and the tens of thousands who (believed in) you? Indeed, concerning truth and rectitude which you . . . **15** the earth. All the worlds should mourn you from the midst of (your) churches, and weep (freely) in your assemblies because you have borne witness to thousands.'

While their hands lay on (his eyes, they proclaimed) these things and wept; but he was (not (?)) attending **20** . . . silence. His speech failed and his tongue found itself sealed up. His mouth remained still. (O children of) righteousness, bless those women! (Give) them thanks and give them adoration. Speak / sing . . . because / that they closed the eyes of our father . . . **25** . . . among the enemies . . . they went because of fear of the king . . .

When the men . . . had departed . . . The corporeal ones . . . **30** . . . his soul . . . A voice resounded from (. . . , without) sickness, without infirmity. He . . . **60** . . . He came away and rose up (with the power which had) come for him.

13. Mani's entry into parinirvana

This Parthian account preserved on a Turfan fragment[100] is undoubtedly directly translated from Syriac despite its occasional use of Buddhist terms. It is included here as it provides, like M3 above, important details and parallel material to a fragmentary section in the Coptic which is derived from the same tradition.

(**R**) Just like a sovereign who takes off armour and garment and puts on another royal garment, thus the apostle of light took off the warlike dress of the body and sat down in a ship of light and received the divine garment, the diadem of light, and the beautiful garland. And in great joy he flew together with the light gods that are going to the right and to the left (of him), with harp(-sound) and song of joy, in divine miraculous power, like a swift lightning and a shooting star (lit. splendid swift form), to the Pillar of Glory, the path of the light, and the moon-chariot, the meeting-place of the gods. And he stayed (there) with god Ohrmezd the father (i.e. the First Man).

And he left the whole herd of righteousness (i.e. the Manichaean community) orphaned and sad, because the master of the house had entered *parinirvana*,[101] and his house . . . *parinirvana* (?) . . .)

[100] M5569 (T II 79), *MM* iii, §c, pp. 860–2; trans. Asmussen (1975) 55–6 (adapted).

[101] A Buddhist term signifying a blessed state of death in which the deceased is freed from the cycle of birth and rebirth.

(**V**) and (it was under) the rulership of . . . sign of the zodiac, on the fourth of the month of Shahrevar,[102] on the day of Shahrevar, Monday and at the eleventh hour, in the province of Khuzistan and in the city of Belabad, when this father of light, full of power, was taken up to his own home of light.

And after the *parinirvana* of the apostle, Uzzi the teacher[103] gave this testimony to the whole religion concerning what he saw in the cohort, for that reason that he, Uzzi, that Saturday night was left there with the apostle of light. And many pious commands from the apostle of light he brought, orally to the whole religion.

And after the *parinirvana* of the apostle of light, then the *Gospel*, the *Picture Book* (*Ardahang*),[104] his garment and hands in the province (. . . was brought) to Si(sin (?)).

14. Praise for the martyred Mani

Hom. 60.2–67.32, trans. Clackson.

This is the memoir from (the day of) his crucifixion[105] until the hour he departed. (On Sunday) he entered Belapat. On Monday **5** (they accused) him. On Tuesday they . . . he strengthened his church. (By the) Sabbath, he had been pursued and bound. (Afterwards . . .) all of his enemies. On . . . (they sealed) his bonds and took (him into **10** the prison.) He was bound on day eight of (Mecheir. Until) the day he ascended, for twenty(-six) days, he was bound in iron bonds. At (the) eleventh (hour) of that day he rose from (the body) up to the dwelling-places of his greatness **15** (in) the heights. He met his Form . . . of (the) lights. He came forth and leapt up (with (?)) the power which had come for him.

Behold this is how they . . . the statue rose up from the (temple . . .) shining lamp. It was brought . . . **20** . . . into the house and he rose up from the world . . . treasury, from the heap (?) of . . . the great holy righteous one . . . namely the world and all of the sects . . . enemies and rebels (. . . **25** . . . righteous) and peace-bearing one(s) from . . . between the

[102] Mani died on Monday, the 4th day of Addaru according to the Babylonian calendar. This is worked into the calendars of the various communities. Shahrevar (Feb./March) coincides with Addaru in AD 274/77. Cf. Boyce (1975) 47, *comm. ad* §p 2.

[103] Uzzi is a name of clear Jewish origin, cf. *MM* iii, 862, n. 1. He appears as Lord Ozeos in *PsBk2*. 34.13, and may have also occurred in *Hom.* 57.10 as ⲟⲩⲍⲉⲟⲥ) or ⲟⲩⲍⲓⲁⲥ). Cf. Tubach (1997), 388.

[104] In Coptic the term used for this extra-canonical work is the Greek loan word εἰκών.

[105] Mani's martyrdom was seen by his followers both east and west as a form of crucifixion *in imitatione Christi* even though he was not actually crucified.

demons and . . . come up (?) with the apostle of . . . the heights . . . [30] . . . it is . . . from his kin. He . . . good interpreter . . . I plucked / seized him from his . . . **61** . . . he came up . . . attended to (?) . . . the voice from the . . . was silent . . . proclamation. The great saviour raised himself up from the (worlds . . .) [5] the elect. The great faithful one went to (rest and ascended), he . . . The good (father) of the orphans (. . . The husband) of the widows (raised himself up), the teacher / writer of the writings . . . the psalms of the psalmists. (. . . from his) [10] slaves, the merchant from his (goods, the teacher from) his pupils, the (good (?)) planter (from) his plants . . .

With the last of all the . . . the apostle who had come chose . . . ; the apostle who had . . . the (apostles) [15] of every generation. The one who had come chose us (?) and released . . . the preacher of life. The (interpreter) of the land of the great Babylon; like an (arrow (?) . . .) from a bow, he penetrated this world and went out . . . like a hero . . . the (great) [20] inhabited world . . . this world (. . . from) the moon, . . . crowned like Sethel[106] . . . [25] . . . he begat them upon the earth and they blessed him, . . . and the powers. In the heavens furthermore . . . firmament . . . gods and angels blessed him and glorified (?) . . . [30] all the holy ones and the . . . [35] . . . who released . . .

62 . . . He went in and rested (. . . the gods) and angels blessed him . . . While his possessions were with him, he [5] . . . great (prisoner) who chose them for his (?) . . . the forms of flesh . . . at the time he rose up, because in the way . . . and the angels of the glorious one . . . he went and entered (that) kingdom [10] . . . Blessed is the one who went after him, . . . his departure and this glory . . . and he (did) not believe that his road . . . a vagrant's wandering; because he did not believe . . . the blessed apostle of light [15] . . . the body, they left it lying on the bed . . . chains of iron.

Then his fame . . . in the whole city. They heard . . . that he had risen. A (crowd) of people gathered together group by group and came along. Then [20] . . . He was brought out and . . . the prison. They gathered (together . . .) catechumen(s) (. . . who were established) in secret . . . peoples . . . [25] . . . he whom they called . . . benefactor . . . while they were saying furthermore: 'Woe and destruction . . . What sort of evil is it that is ready . . . that this good man shall die because of it in the . . . [30] . . . he did not sin indeed against anyone at all, nor did he . . . their property.'

[106] Sethel is an alternative form for Seth, the biological son of Adam. This curious phrase may refer to the Manichaean teaching preserved only in Arabic (*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel (1871), 332) in which an angel approached Adam with a magnificent garland or crown after he had successfully defended Sethel (Šāṭīl) from the arch-demon (Aṣ-Ṣindīd). On this see esp. Reeves (1996), 130, n. 7.

Then the . . . went . . . the king . . . the prison . . . [35] . . . the king, he . . . and he . . . **63** . . . in / with his eyes or in / with (his . . .) before me, he . . . [5] . . . he did not leave me . . . the king ordered . . . : 'and (take) him . . . in the middle of . . . spread it under him . . . clothing and his (cloak (?)' . . .) [10] they took his bonds from him, wishing to . . . the third Sunday . . . his enemies. They (. . . [15] he was) lying down spread out . . . in the presence of them all . . . grief / grieved, while he lay on the (clothing (?) . . .) the great . . . rolled . . . just . . . thrown down . . . [20] . . . [25] . . . **64** . . . after them with their hands . . . good . . . [5] . . . they said to your . . . they began . . . [10] . . . truly.

This is the manner of his coming . . . he prayed . . . he called . . . he took (?) his . . . [15] . . . the king. They feared (?) . . . [20] . . . a man . . . slave . . . [25] . . . [30] . . . (**65–6** *too badly preserved to be translated*)

67 . . . world(s) in the . . . they were like . . . you in (a) house (?) . . . [5] . . . your custom . . . mysteries . . . they took it to the house of Athimar . . . [10] . . . of the faith. (All) those of his house . . . they went to Persis.[107] For . . . accuser . . . when peace . . . they took it to Ctesiphon . . . [15] . . . left her / it with his bones.

They were . . . justice. His affair needed to (. . . fell) away from us. He hid . . . it was revealed; but whoever . . . namely the sins of his . . . [20] . . . for from this time . . . they put him in a . . . place . . . complete justice . . . like the apostles . . . himself furthermore while he was in (the) body . . . [25] . . . for all of these . . . for his writings and . . . he said: 'The three things to be remembered . . . my gospel, my . . . be glorified eternally. There are many . . . [30] . . . and they swear on my happiness . . . on him, in every (land . . .) I condemned (?) myself . . . '

15. The sufferings of Mani compared to those of other true apostles

Hom. 67.34–70.34, trans. Clackson.

. . . and he found . . . us in the (world . . . [35] . . .) truth . . . **68** . . . of God . . . apostle . . . [5] . . . gods and (. . . afflictions) and shame (. . . from) this place. While the man . . . he supported him / endured it amid . . . [10] . . . which they support / endure . . . and they carry / carried . . . first . . . of the flesh . . . from Eve, his true sister . . . For . . . he

[107] Persis is the Greek form of the name of the Sassanian province of Pars (Fars). It does not stand for the whole of the Persian Empire.

fell three (times . . . **15** . . .) Adam, he spent three hundred and seventy-three . . . from Cain and all his race . . . Enosh, Sem, Shem[108] and these other . . . bad . . . ; four hundred thousand just . . . years of Enoch . . . [109]

20 . . . when they had gone down . . . to India. Afflictions (befell them . . .) all of the apostles.[110] What is . . . *bema* . . . reached this . . . laughed at him. Furthermore, when the . . . **25** . . . they did not destroy / release him . . . crucified some thieves . . . because they made him drink gall . . . his clothes on themselves . . . blood from their lances, and they (. . . **30** the son) of our God . . . apostle(s) . . . after him . . . **35** . . . 'Crucify us' (?) . . . the son . . . Zebedee[111] . . . **5** . . . he went (?) . . . raised them up . . . assembly in the . . . for (?) the bad things and the persecutions . . . **10** waters and seas . . . the things which his (disciples suffered at the hands) of persecutors in every (land) are bad. (There is one (disciple)) whose skin was scraped from the soles of his feet . . . cauldron, he was set over (it and a fire was kindled **15** under) him. There is one who was thrown into a copper (kettle) and fire was lit beneath it (until the water) boiled. He cried out, sounding like a . . . There is one who was flayed . . . There is one whose . . . were plucked **20** out.

Behold these (men) have / were revived . . . and these afflictions befell (them) . . . abroad . . . their bodies fell . . . and trees. Their bones were (scattered in every) **25** land. Wolves and lions . . . their forms. Behold Paul . . . lord(s), when he had made signs and (. . . how many) did he endure? How many did he see . . . on the sea and the dry(-land) (. . . the) **30** inner ones and the outer ones . . . put him into a basket and let him down (through a) window away from the Jews[112] . . . destruction overtook him. He put the garment (. . . twelve (?)) (loaves) of bread, he ate **35** . . . **70** . . . the prayer . . .

Zarathustra[113] furthermore . . . him from the Persians . . . him before the king **5** . . . how many from the . . . he revealed in . . . God (?) . . . because

[108] Shem is the son of Noah. The forms Shem and Sem seem to alternate in Coptic lists; but they are found together in a Middle Persian fragment of a Manichaean "Book of Enoch" which may be part of the canonical *Book of the Giants* (M299a R 5, cf. Henning (1934), 27). This would indicate that the 'Sem-Shem' doublet (which must refer to the same figure) goes back to the original Syriac writings of Mani. Passages from the Apocalypse of Sem are cited in the *CMC* (55.9–57.21).

[109] The listing of names of antediluvian heroes is common in Manichaean literature. Cf. *Keph*. 12.9–12 and *PsBk2*. 142.3–9. Note the appearance of Enoch here after the Noahides: an inverted chronological order, which is also observed in the presentation of apocalyptic material in the *CMC* (48.16–60.12). Cf. Reeves (1996), 28, n. 73.

[110] I.e. those of Jesus.

[111] I.e. the apostle John, the son of Zebedee.

[112] I.e. the escape of the apostle Paul from his enemies at Damascus (2 Cor. 11.33).

[113] The material presented by the Manichaeans on the death of Zarathustra is otherwise unattested.

this is the way in a (. . . the) two (natures) which fight with (one another) . . . [10] . . . in this way. He lifted up . . .

Yet, furthermore, (the) matter of his body, . . . more than all the apostles. Behold . . . his body so that they would not throw it . . . Behold Zarathustra, as it is written . . . [15] . . . on the tombs of the kings. Behold . . . they covered his body with perfumes (?) and . . . clothing. They lay him out in honour . . . in the land of the Indians, and . . . they put him in the clouds . . . [20] . . . with them swearing (that) while his bones . . . every (apostle) who had been . . . if they . . . from the world . . . champion, they would not put their bodies . . . [25] . . . they wept over them and grieved . . . the one who would see the place of burial . . . and remember him for a good . . . his shame is revealed . . . every generation. He bound you . . . [30] . . . the people stumbled and knew . . . of our father . . . generations (are) worthy . . . denier . . .

16. The institution of the bema

Hom. 71.2–73.34, trans. Clackson. In the Manichaean cultus the *bema* is a platform with five steps on which is placed an effigy of Mani, and to which his followers paid their homage on the day when his death was commemorated.

71 . . . custom and his place of . . . matter furthermore of his *bema* . . . [5] . . . sacrifice (?) . . . will see his seating-place . . . he did not think (?) that he was going to leave his (. . . and) they (would (?)) manage furthermore . . . [10] . . . and this other one besides . . . seating-place of . . . place (where) he was established . . . he proclaimed his wisdom. The (place(?) . . . revealed). The place (where) he (prayed [15] . . .) the place where his crucifixion . . . his body there. The place . . . sitting. The place . . . the one who did not see (?) saw (?) him . . . he remembered the goodness (. . . [20] what) he preached . . . their kind. If we see his (*bema* (?) . . . we sit) and weep over it because . . . his statue . . . they depicted . . . [25] the ones who crucified him . . . battlefields (?) . . .

72 . . . This year . . . strengthened his *bema* which is . . . [5] . . . persecutor and the enemies . . . which he put down . . . apostle(s) in him / it. In the generation . . . feast-days and (observances . . .) Christians. They . . . [10] . . . about him. In the month . . . in which he (was crucified . . .) but what will we do (. . . ?) They mix their fast . . . sects fast and sin . . . [15] . . . find their hands spread out . . . my (?) beasts. Beasts . . . we fast . . . the sects. They give their sins . . . furthermore their fast; they [20] . . . greatly, in the blessed . . . feast-(days) and observances (. . . revealed) through it;

at present . . . but they go in them . . . blessed . . . [25] . . . good, according to (?) . . . of the trumpet . . . observances . . . **73** . . . year to year . . . [5] . . . the fire . . . fast which . . . idols in . . . [10] . . . hindrance there (?).

There are some . . . fast and they spread out their beds . . . These are the laws of the sects . . . world(s), the ones which fast . . . they sin and they stumble in . . . [15] Yet, furthermore, he appointed (?) his day . . . all the . . . of good. The other fast (which . . .) is excellent and . . . victory. Its bearing . . . of those who deny . . . [20] . . . neither tree nor . . . offence / wound (?) happened . . . their calm . . . defilement, with psalms . . . [25] prayers and blessings; with eyes (?) . . . called to God with . . . our father, our saviour, the one who . . . is (the) day of restraint . . . repaid us with foolishnesses . . . [30] . . . which they would write . . . name (?). Blessed is the one who (shall) believe . . . the one who shall hunger for . . . Blessed is the . . .

17. The death of Mani compared to the trial and crucifixion of Jesus the Messiah

This Parthian text from Turfan,[114] which is undoubtedly translated originally from Syriac, is significant for its use of material from the account of the crucifixion in Tatian's *Diatessarōn*. The Manichaeans would have consulted this gospel harmony in its Syriac version.

{page header} *Discourse on the Crucifixion*

. . . and he (Mani?) was unconscious and died. Such was the *parinirvana* of (our) father, as was written. No one should contemplate on anything more wonderful. Absolve us from all that had happened to him. As we all know when Jesus the Messiah, the lord of us all, was crucified; it was attested about him that they seized him like a evil-doer. They also dressed him in a (purple) cloak and placed a cane in his hand. And they paid reverence to him and (mockingly (?)) spoke: ('. . . King), our Christ!' And they then led (him) to the cross (?) . . . he was delivered to them, but if not . . . there are also others who (departed (?) from this world) through crucifixion. Many there (are . . .) who were put (to death) by the sword . . . And there are those who went to distant lands and were killed when they got there. Every one of these messengers was well known, for (we (?)) are told about them: what they have endured and through what form of crucifixion (i.e. execution) they departed from this world. They also had some disciples who were thrown to the animals and others who were evicted from land

[114] M4570, *KG* §4a.18, pp. 76–9, trans. S. Lieu.

to land. They were like strangers and enemies to the whole world and they were called the "deceived ones" and "ruined ones" in the whole world. And many are the temptations (?) . . . and they endured . . . (and) (?) themselves also taught . . . alms. Even as our father, the (beneficent . . .) our . . . living, so also the Jews (similarly desired) to remove <him> from the world, as it is shown that at dawn, the teachers, the (Jewish) priests, the scribes and the religious leaders deliberated (cf. Luke 22:66) and took counsel from each other to kill him (cf. Matt. 27:1). And they sought (false witnesses) (cf. Matt. 26:59), but their testimony did not agree with each other (cf. Mark 14:59). They brought forward two others (cf. Matt. 26:60) and they said: "This man had declared: 'I am able to destroy the temple (lit. palace) which is built with hands and in three days build another one built without hands (cf. Mark 14:58).'" Their testimonies also do not tally (cf. Mark 14:59), and the High Priest asked him, saying: "I demand of you, on oath to the living God, that you tell me, whether you are the Christ, the son of (God, the living (?))" (cf. Matt. 26:63). Jesus said to him, "First, you yourself have said that I am it (cf. Matt. 26:64) . . . (truly) appears; but from now on you will see the Son of Man as he sits on the right side of divine power (and) when he will come in the (chariot) from heaven" (cf. Matt. 26:64). Then the High Priest of the Jews (tore) his garment and said (cf. Mark 14:63): "To me" . . . and they spoke to one another: ". . . the testimony which is desired. We have heard again (?) (the blasphemy) from his own very lips (cf. Luke 22:71) (. . . thereupon) it is necessary to kill him" (cf. Matt. 26:66) . . . Pilate . . .

18. The death of Mani commemorated in two bema *psalms*

PsBk2. 14.18–20.17 (psalms 225 and 226), ed. and trans. C. R. C. Allberry (adapted I. Gardner).[115]

14 (Psalm) 225

By the lord Syrus.[116]

. . . your daughter, the church; the Paraclete,
our merciful . . .

[115] All the extracts from *PsBk2.* (ed. and trans. Allbery), which are reproduced in this volume, have been adapted to the common style, including uniform translation of technical terms; they also take into account improved readings based on later scholarship (or occasionally on parallel texts found at Ismant el-Kharab), and they may have been rearranged according to strophes.

[116] Who the lord Syrus (author of this Psalm) was is not known.

To whom can I go, widow? For they are slanderers,
all of them, . . . Who among them will wipe away my
. . . from me (?) upon the earth? They are
slanderers . . . murderers. Alas, alas for
the violence that is done: for they run after me like wolves
that run after a lamb.

How many shadows, how many falls . . .
fear . . .
desert me . . . holy . . .
. . . to do violence; but do not desert
15 me, my blessed king who knows my
heart.

I was escaping from the wastes, my hair loosed like a
mad woman, I asking everyone that comes upon me:
'Who will give me word of my shepherd;
and teach me how he was slain in the godless city by
the lawless sects, the beasts
that were maddened by the poison of their flames of fire?'

I have heard concerning you Magians, the priests of the fire,
that you seized my god in your foul hands;
impious men, mad and godless,
the brothers of the Jews, the murderers of Christ.
A fire took hold of your heart,
until you had murdered the righteous ambassador.

Lo, these are the deeds that are full of outrage, of
bitter-hearted men.
This is the road they have made that will lead them
to hell.
I have not seen a beast branded like these,
nor again have I seen fire consuming chaff . . .
Yet, there was found no merciful man standing up
to snatch from them this sinless and righteous one.

They all cried out with one voice to the godless judge,
telling him words in which there was no truth:
'Lo, a man has appeared in these days,
fighting with us and bringing our affairs to nought.

We implore thee with one accord, o king,
do away with him, for he is a teacher who leads
men astray.'

When he heard these words, the foolish man, the king of these pitiless ones,
he was astonished, the evil-fated, the evil-doer:
he sent, he called my shepherd,
he says to him wrathfully in a mighty voice:
'Who bade you do these things,
or who are you? You do deeds that harm all people.'

16 The glorious mind answered, and says to him straightly:
'Know, o king, that God has given into your hand, you being human.
The law of life . . .
. . . the perfect commandments of Christ. My doctrines . . .
. . .
. . . to you.'

He parted his lips, he cried out in a
. . .
'will appear to you. You are a lowly stranger . . .
a poor man, lacking everything. You are a person of . . .
. . . to give this favour and gift
unutterable.'

'They that are of God seek not after gold and the possessions of the world.
God it is who commands, there is no other commandment but his.
God it is who teaches whom he pleases
(and gives to him) the gift that surpasses all gifts,
as a seal . . . prophet,
the true man of God in his deeds and his words.'

The lover of fighting, the peaceless one, roared in flaming anger;
he commanded them to fetter the righteous one,
that he might please the Magians,
the teachers of Persia, the servants of fire.
In truth, this is the way that they gave judgment
upon the victor, the angel, the Paraclete.

How many days of fear, my father, did you endure;
until you had cut and severed the race of frightful men!
Twenty-six days in all, and the nights of them,
you did spend in chains in Belapat.
O the renown of the aeons of light!
O noble holy image of the mysteries of God!

O hands that gave freedom to a multitude of souls,
that were bound today in bonds of iron!
To whom shall I go now,
that he may release for me these hands of pity?
My God, forsake me not,
for my enemies (all) mock (me . . .)

17 . . . my lord Manichaios, the judge of this totality,
. . . pitiless . . . ; you have . . .
your joyous wings. First you did pray unto (God
your) Father, but the dead body you cast down (before
the
face of) your enemies.

. . . the nature of deception . . .
the cruel . . . , the sign . . .
he desired in the madness of his wrath, in . . .
to destroy the beauty of your limbs. You ascended in . .
. . . to the heights without any hindrance.

He raged (?), even the murderous demon, he . . .
. . . saying: 'Perchance it is a drug which you have . . .
forth'. He commanded the physicians and . . .
to examine the body, your holy body, which
he mocked and plotted against; he kindled fire in
a great furnace.

The dragon that lives to his shame and all the . . .
of his . . .
. . .
the keeps of the gates of the city. He spilled his blood
to no purpose; his murder became a sign for every person
who
pities him.

On the second day of the week, you received the glory of victory,
you bound the diadem upon your head;
for you killed the race of darkness,
in the month Phamenoth, on the fourth day of the moon.
You received your crown. O my father, the victor in the war;
be merciful unto me, I entreat you, the Paraclete.

O witness of the ineffable benefactions of the first Christ,
the sign of the soul whose fame has spread to the earth;
it is fitting for you to receive this crown, our father,
in joyous feasts and vigils.

The victory to you, our lord Mani the living;
victory too to your *bema*, the glorious and blessed;
18 and the soul of Maria, Theona.

(Psalm) 226

All mysteries have been fulfilled in you, our father,
(the Spirit of) truth, our lord Mani the living.

On the day of the cross
he gave himself up to the authorities;
on the second day of the week . . .
on the fourth (day) of the month Phamenoth,
at (the eleventh) hour of the day,
he gave himself up to (death).

(Our father), the blessed one, our lord Mani the living,
he bent his knees, imploring mercy,
crying out unto God, 'Open me the door
and give me release out of my sufferings.'

The rulers of the earth judged me in their wrath,
. . . their lying words,
through the words of . . . these, as they shall alter
and change that which is sweet and make it bitter.

In the day that they brought me before the judge
. . .
firmly established . . . all of them . . .
(. . . none) among them aided me.

All the lawless ones judged me;
the impious, the creatures of sin,
they held me in their power amidst the whole multitude,
like a sheep that has no shepherd.

They buzzed at me like wasps,
they roared against me like these lions,
saying to me in a loud voice:
'It pleases us not that thou should do these things.'

He did evil unto me in his wrath,
he counselled against me with his chieftains,
he swore to me by the salvation of his father:
'I will not leave you in the world henceforth.'

They loaded me with iron, as they do to sinners;
19 they fettered me as they do thieves,
they judged me like these . . .
. . . like these sorcerers.

From the day when they bound me to the day of the cross
there are numbered in all some twenty-six days,
they keeping watch on me night and day,
appointing guards, keeping watch on me.

(They put) six neck-chains upon me,
they fettered me with shackles
All the elect were weeping, and the catechumens,
seeing my sufferings wherein I was.

These sinners, all of them, they did not allow me
to see my children and my disciples
and my shepherds and my bishops;
when they saw them coming unto me.

(From) the day of the great persecution
to the day of the cross there are six years.
I spent them walking in the midst of the world,
like captives in the midst of strangers.

They were stirred, they trembled, even the powers of the evil one,
they turned their sword against the humble man;

they were not willing indeed to see me
in the streets of their cities.

Lo, the sky and the earth and the two luminaries
bear witness of me in the heights;
that I did good among them,
but they in their cruelty crucified me.

I was gazing at my familiar with my eyes of light,
beholding my glorious father;
he who is ever clasped to me,
he opening before me the gate unto the heights.

I spread out my hands, praying unto him;
I bent my knees, worshipping him also,
that I might divest myself of the image of the flesh
and strip from me the vesture of manhood.

Lo, his body was brought forth
in the city of these sinners,
when they had cut off his head
and hung it up amid the whole multitude.

20 . . .
the elect and the catechumens . . .
their great shepherd who has ascended from among
them.

(Then), when the beloved had ascended to heaven,
he set . . . his elect,
that they might . . . night and day
. . .

Spread out your hands, all the elect
and the catechumens of the faith;
and pray with a great prayer,
that the Father of glory may give to you . . .

. . .
who see me . . . light (?),
these that are in the church, . . .
who watch over her night and day.

15 Glory and victory to our lord Mani the living,
(the Spirit) of truth, this one from the Father;
and all his holy elect.
Victory to the soul of Maria.

THE MANICHAEAN CHURCH UNDER SISINNIOS AND HIS SUCCESSOR INNAIOS

19. Persecution of the Manichaean church

Hom. 74.8–78.30, trans. Clackson.

74 . . . **5** . . . they came to the middle of the . . . of some churches . . . **10** . . . revelations . . . afflictions and persecutions . . . Satan did not allow them . . . by the will of . . . until now before he has completed his . . . **15** . . . writings. He[117] was apprehended and crucified . . . scattered his congregations . . . furthermore his church . . . our father himself furthermore and our (saviour . . .) happened / became like the . . . **20** . . . wisdom. He was (disturbed . . .) his (church) . . . like a . . . teachers and readers . . . **25** . . . he threw up a cry and . . . the world. He threw . . . set forth revelations . . . he got a name, he became famous, he (. . . **30** sent) him / it, he . . . he practises / his practice(s) (. . . the) sects and the races . . . in the world . . . until the last . . . **75** when the apostle goes . . . but this world, its kind is this . . . the ones who have built it, that neither a good nor a wicked one should be left (in it (i.e. the world).)

Therefore, in the way of these (good ones . . .) **5** furthermore (our (?)) good father himself in their way. (The wicked ones themselves) and his crucifiers came (?) . . . again came forth. Also in the way the . . . wicked ones from the beginning to the end . . . How many have departed from the (world, the weak and the) **10** strong; the wretches and the heroes . . . and his manhood; all his good ones (and his wicked ones); the beautiful and the ugly . . . his lascivious ones. Their souls went (up and their) bodies returned to the earth. Their souls (. . . and) **15** their bones were scattered in every (land and in every) city.

However, the wicked who (thought that) they would depart like their companions, (their end came about) in accordance with their deeds because they made (his blood) flow (away . . .) namely his father and the

[117] The victim here appears to be Mani and the account is a summary of his death as seen in the context of the sufferings of the early leaders of the Manichaean church and the vile fate which befell their persecutors.

one he . . . **20** . . . his name. Blessed be (. . . blessed) be his truth. (Blessed) be . . . blessed be the (prophets) . . . blessed be his . . . day (. . . blessed be) the congregation of his faithful (. . . **25** the) teacher of truth, the instructor . . . wisdom. Blessed be the . . . and all who hear; they . . . sins and outrages against (?) the elect (and the catechumens) who listen to the . . .

30 Then, after their crucifixion of our (father, he fulfilled the) mystery of his apostolate . . . of Jesus. He ascended in the (form . . . (he gave?)) orders, he laid down some (commandments . . .) far from his justice . . . **35** . . . he established his (. . . armour) of glory . . . ***76*** . . . This year in which . . .

Another three years (passed . . . no)-one sinned against his people . . . trembling. They quieted their (anger **5** just as) he told them to while he was still (alive); but then . . . after the crucifixion of my (lord . . .) began to creep. It gathered . . . his anger[118] . . . from below . . . began little by little **10** . . . in every land . . . his anger until the fifteenth (year . . .) namely the wicked ones and the rebels . . . him, because Satan envied . . . and beyond his faithful ones; as if (?) **15** . . . the kings of . . . were angry . . . the consuming fire.

The wolves . . . sheep to kill and scatter . . . in between the bulls, to destroy . . . the wicked ones came in to the . . . **20** . . . they cut the branches and (twigs . . . robbers) came into the place for depositing (possessions . . .) destroyed the treasures. The cattle (went . . .) trod on him while he was upright . . . entered the dovecots of . . . **25** . . . fearful birds. The fame . . . land of the crucifixion . . . Persia, from Mesene . . . and Ctesiphon, in the land of (Ozeos and) Babylon in every city.

How many (. . . The) maidens and the continent **30** went away from them every year . . . They caught and killed the . . . sheep. They seized the bishops . . . his treasuries, they . . . **35** . . . slaughtered them like . . . ***77*** They revealed . . . small . . . before their teachers . . . lions. The lions spared (them . . .) They put armour on some (and made them go into competition) **5** with she-bears / lionesses; some . . . They set free mares . . . them, they gave eight . . . they (did not) spare them but killed them . . . they brought him and rolled (him . . .)

10 Some of them . . . Fire was thrust in their (faces in order to know) whether they had been well (and truly) killed, like . . . tore them, they also tore them . . . observed them sitting. Then . . . **15** them in their iniquity, they . . . questioned them about everything . . . crucified the youths,

[118] The persecuting Persian king would now have been Vahram II (r. 276–93). See below *Hom.* 81.9–10 (in **20**).

the children (and . . .) eunuchs. They sawed up some . . . them boasting (that . . . [20] . . .)

How numerous were the . . . deeds . . . them that they would (?) lie . . . like a herd . . . chains every year (. . . like) a beast without a (master . . . [25] . . . in) hundreds and fifties . . . in every land (. . . they) slaughtered a child in (front) of them . . . [30] . . . their possessions. The catechumens . . . **78** . . . they whipped (?) . . . some of them they dragged . . . Some furthermore . . . chains, to throw them into (prisons [5] in a (state of) hunger) and thirst, while they were fasting . . . in the cold with tribulations . . . with their feet on the ground (. . . thorns) and spikes and (. . . since) they were hidden without the sun . . . [10] . . .

They envied (the) just ones (. . . they broke) its watch-towers; they cut (?) a . . . walls on every side of it. They went . . . its doors. They opened its gates . . . they did (not have (?)) a youth. They were also . . . [15] . . . powerfully. They plucked . . . they scattered about the possessions of his . . . the ship to wreck it and make it sink into the abyss . . . to lead . . . astray . . . hero . . . [20] . . . (its) foundation and its root . . . sweet . . . guile because they were disturbed inside (. . . justice), she / it recoiled . . . [25] . . . he saved her (?) . . . She related this (cause for?) weeping to him . . . her groan . . . hunger and thirst . . . [30] . . .

20. The prayer and martyrdom of Sisinnios (Mar Sisin)

Sisinnios was the immediate successor to Mani and he was leader (*archegos*) of the community for about ten years (*c.* 276-*c.* 286, cf. *Hom.* 83.13, below). On his name see Tubach (1997) 388–9. This account is preserved in *Hom.* 79.1–85.34 (trans. Clackson). Another prayer attributed to the imprisoned Sisinnios is preserved in the Chinese Manichaean *Hymnscroll* (§§83–119), trans. Tsui Chi (1943) 183–6. The two prayers bear very little resemblance to each other; and it is interesting to note that the bodily suffering resulting from persecution by secular authorities, which is so prominent and cogent in the Coptic version, had been spiritualised in the Chinese version into the eternal battle between spirit and body and between permanence and impermanence.

After the martyrdom of Sisinnios the text records a temporary truce between Narses and the Manichaean church under Innaios.

79 'Spare my children. Send me (your power to help me) in this danger . . . every year from my enemies . . . [5] . . . perish . . . in your name, your glory in . . . from the day you chose me . . . great diadem, you put into my hand . . . the sects and all the races . . . [10] of your light. I did not lie to

your . . . I did not falsify your oath (. . . which you) gave me, I watch over them.'

'Now . . . vanity and you see my tears (. . . this is) the way in which I strengthened myself while I was in . . . [15] It is your hour / (you) are a god, do not renounce (me . . .) trap (?). My enemies . . . listen to the voice of this widow . . . the judge because I was judged in . . . , my children (were killed) in every (land . . . [20] . . .) loaded with possessions and your . . . The sea was disturbed by the . . . wave upon wave. I am (your . . . , your) gardeners (are) in me. I am your (. . . I) am your seed, while your husbandmen (. . . [25] . . .), your children are by (me . . . spare) me and pity me and send (me . . .) because I see the grief of my children (. . . kill them (?)) and they slay (my . . .) they burn my householders with fire . . . [30] . . . of truth (?) . . .'

'They came down . . . (with them) wishing to uproot them . . . their land and their kingdom . . . [35] . . . mystery . . . **80** . . . the hand (of) my enemies. They became / were . . . with my possessions, the libations . . . the congregations of my divinity . . . and abominations [5] (. . . view) the . . . year. I see my children (thrown down . . .), the bodies of the . . . lying (. . . in every) land. The head of the strangers and the . . . form of the ones who grieve and the [10] . . . and races. The dogs which . . . the wicked dragons. They have torn . . . their blood flowed out onto the earth . . . in every city. They mock . . . Their kin put me to shame [15] . . . indeed your (fem. sing.) god is the light . . . his is the wisdom. You (fem. sing.) indeed, why . . . , then why are they slain? . . . I however look at you (masc. sing.) . . .'

'The (kings) persecuted me [20] (. . . rulers), they did not leave me lacking . . . the inner ones furthermore, I did not make (obeisance (?)) to them . . . they made me see them with my (own) eyes . . . over me. They scattered . . . they sealed the doors . . . [25] . . . they threw me out from my dwelling-places . . . to my place. They revealed . . . They took away my beauty . . . song. They took me in . . . from the light of the sun, as if . . . [30] . . . stealthily. They killed the wise ones . . . pure (ones). They slaughtered my children (. . . my presbyters) and my faithful ones. They . . . the ones who were sitting . . . my wisdom . . . [35] . . . ' **81** . . . while she was crying (?) out . . . '. . . you observe . . . how many are . . . O my father . . . [5] send your power to support . . . the ones who were crucified . . . resting-place(s). Receive the (souls of the catechumens) who were destroyed . . .'

(It was in) the years of (King) Vahram, (the son of) [10] Vahram that these things happened; but he (and the) entire (congregation of Magi) and the deniers . . . of the good and the peace-givers (. . . crucifixion) of our lord.

Then, (after these great tribulations) and dangers, while . . . in this manner. From the outside indeed . . . but (from the inside) he bore the . . . his righteousness . . . which he had preached about that . . . crucified him. The world (was filled with his) glory. It reached the ears of the kings of . . . that time in anger . . . justice. They went . . . with the deniers, the ones who had . . . They wrote petitions (*libelli*) (. . . They showed) them to the king, full of (iniquity . . . the) strength of the Magi . . . refused his hope . . . the king and the nobles . . . and peacefulness. These ones with these (other . . .) each other, badness . . . a great evil befell . . . their anger . . . his faithful ones . . . **82** in the presence of . . . justice . . . They proclaimed . . .

He was taken into the presence of the king. He questioned him about everything . . . (asked) him about every matter. My lord (Sisinnios . . .) well. He persuaded . . . in his place; but the king hurt him (. . . desire), saying to him that . . . he compelled him '. . . listen to me, fear (?) . . . but if you listen to me I shall . . . you. You are a beautiful man. Why do you . . . yourself? Why are you going to strangle yourself . . . yourself so that I will not destroy you. Spare yourself (or (?)) I (will) kill you.'

Then he said to the king: '. . . your words and your deeds . . .' his heart . . . strong, it did not stir within him at (all . . .) he fetched some swords and he set them in order . . . The king said to him: 'Look and (see (?) . . . . .) my word.' However, my lord Sisinnios . . . : 'I have one more dreadful than you . . . I fear the one who . . . your word.' Then the king became angry (. . . 'Who) is it you fear more than me?' (Sisinnios said: '. . .) God. My heart is fearful . . .'

Then once, twice, three times (the king . . .) him, (but) he was not persuaded. He took (up) a sword . . . him, saying: 'I shall kill you now.' . . . the cross, in the manner of his . . . from the king. He did not flinch . . . time, the number of others . . . he was not afraid . . . He gave power . . . **83** rest above . . . lordship . . . his shoes; he stripped . . . his own hair. He . . . the king raised his hand and struck (lit. "put") him with the (sword . . .) blood flowed out like a . . . three presbyters . . . Apket and Abesira, the brothers . . . his crucifixion took place . . . the city. He was crucified . . . at the ninth hour of the day, on day one . . . . . hours. He went . . .

In the ten years (he had been leader), his heart had not (influenced (lit. "bent") him) at all. (He drank from) the cup of the crucifixion of his (father . . .) after him. He received the garland of the (. . . walked) on the road of his saviour . . . peace. He rested himself . . . he found recompense for his suffering . . . . . and the other brothers who were crucified, (they) bequeathed his word to Innaios . . . that the leader of the sect (. . . listened)

to the prayer of the just (. . . entreaty (?)) and weeping of those who called (up . . .)

25 Then after this murderous act of (crucifixion . . .) all of them. Then it came (down . . .) reached his children in their tribulation (. . . a danger) overtook . . . the king who was suffering greatly indeed like all the (officials) **30** and physicians also . . . the one who had come upon him, the ones of his law . . . , with them wishing (to) cure him. They could (?) not . . . at that time . . . departed in **35** . . . **84** . . . gentle . . . he put it in his heart.

. . . into the presence of the king . . . truthful . . . He perceived **5** . . . cure, in short a reason . . . God, the one who helped (him . . .) oaths: 'I shall . . . cure, you with your (whole) heart (. . . benefit) and good of your sect **10** . . . I killed your children and you (fear me and) do not cure me. It was not I who was pleased (but these) evil (men) who accused (them . . .) and what is in you, tell it . . . Do not be afraid. All these things have (passed by) **15** . . . from today.'

Then he cured him . . . god(s), he was glorified. The gods and (. . . helped) him. He received letters (from . . .) in every land.[119] He . . . before the face of the whole world . . . **20** . . . hand(s), with them bringing them to the (table . . .) so that he should sit next to him . . . he gave him gold and silver; he did not take . . . so that he should receive authority from the . . . God and his hope only. He **25** . . . before the king[120] and the nobles . . . they honoured him. More and more . . . He received victory and (favour . . .) his sect. Glory (. . . the) honoured and the despised (. . . **30** . . . the elect) and the catechumens . . . God. Justice . . . It (i.e. the church (?)) attained great glory . . . they built and set in order their (?) . . . from the places **35** . . . (**85**) in every place. They wrote (letters . . .) nobles . . . every river . . . in the palace of the (king . . .)

Peace descended upon . . . **5** . . . (up)on justice. They made (friends . . .) with the chiefs and the (leaders . . .) before the good. (Then) (in) the three (years of . . .) Vahram the king these things took place[121] . . . in peace at that time . . . **10** to it (i.e. the church (?)), it was greatly glorified. Then (after this, he) went up to Belapat and died. (He went to rest) at that time, from . . . is

[119] The Manichaean Historical Text (p15997) found at Medinet Madi, of which only a handful of leaves have survived the aftermath of the Second World War, tells us that Amarō the King of the Arabs at Hira (an important ally of the Sassanians) interceded on behalf of the community; and this brought about an audience between Vahram's successor Narses (r. 293–302) and Innaios. Cf. Pedersen (1997) and Schmidt, Ibscher and Polotsky (1933), 29. A translation of part of this text can be found below, in **22b**.

[120] The king in question is most likely to be Narses.

[121] I.e. the martyrdom of Mani which took place in 276.

blessed . . . and the word of the apostle . . . [15] . . . what he had proclaimed, (namely) that they . . . and (were) drawn from the world (. . . and they) crossed over and passed away.

The church . . . in all its places. Many . . . a change in their body (. . . the [20] church) sees them and . . . ; it is established and lasting . . . They wished (to) do (evil . . .) It is the stumbling-block (lit. "stone") (. . . of) all worlds. It is the . . . [25] all . . . It will not move until the day of . . . with its members who will rule in the (. . . Woe to) the one who shall strike it and not (repent, nor worship) it. Blessed are its . . . and its faithful ones and (every one . . . [30] . . .) because this is the one who shall find (life eternal). Amen.

The (part) about the crucifixion of (the enlightener), [35] the (true) apostle, is finished.

CHAPTER 3

Manichaeism in the Roman Empire

The religion of Mani was founded on clear universalist principles. His travels to Upper Mesopotamia, Iran and India would have brought him in contact with Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism; and what struck him most about these established earlier religions was their apparent cultural and geographical boundaries. In a Middle Persian fragment which is probably derived from the semi-canonical *Šābuhragān* (a summary of his religion which he had translated into Middle Persian for the reigning Shahanshah Shapur I), Mani tells one of his disciples that the most important proof of the truth of his new revelation is its success as a universalist religion which would transcend geographical and national barriers:

{Header:} The ascension . . .
{**R**} . . . till the end (in the w)orld is established?' And (the lord (?) replied) to him: 'This religion which was chosen by me is in ten things above and better than the other religions of the ancients. Firstly: The older religions were in one country and one language; but my religion is of the kind that it will be manifest in every country and in all languages, and it will be taught in far away countries.

Secondly: The older religions (remained in order) as long as there were holy leaders in it; but when the leaders had been led upwards, then their religions became confused and they became slack in commandments and pious works, and by {**V**} greed and fire (of lust) and desire were deceived. However, my religion will remain firm through the living (. . . tea)chers, the bishops, the elect and the hearers; and of wisdom and works will stay on until the end.

Thirdly: Those former souls by whom in their own good action was not completed, come to my religion and it verily is to them the gate of salvation.

Fourthly: This revelation (of mine) of the two principles and my living books, my wisdom and knowledge are above and better than those of the previous religions.

Fifthly: All writings, all wisdom and all parables of the previous religions when they to this (religion of mine came . . .)'[1]

[1] M5794 I + M5761, *MM* II, 295–96 + *KG* 2205–07 + 2210–12; trans. S. Lieu, with reference to the earlier translation by Asmussen which is based solely on M5794 I. For the parallel tradition preserved in the *Kephalaia*, see **91**.

The source of this missionary zeal might have been the success of the followers of Marcion in disseminating his teaching in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Syria, North Africa and Rome in the Second Century AD. For Mani the fact that the Sassanian Empire was positioned between the Empires of Rome, Kushan and China, and was itself culturally heterogeneous, would have undoubtedly given the young Mani a highly cosmopolitan vision for his missionary enterprises. The recent military successes of the Sassanians against the Romans in the frontier regions would have certainly opened up new possibilities for commerce between the two empires and the Manichaean missionaries were the first to exploit them. We are fortunate that the community maintained a strong historiographical tradition throughout its history. Among the codices from Medinet Madi was a historical work but sadly it was lost after the Second World War and only a few odd leaves have survived (see below). However, a considerable number of historical texts have been identified among the fragments from Turfan, and these in the usual hagiographical style associated with such texts inform us of Manichaean missionary activities in the Roman Empire as well as in Central Asia.

Once the community had established itself in Egypt and Syria, further penetration into the western half of the Empire was merely a matter of time. Manichaean texts were translated from Mani's original Syriac into both Greek and Coptic, and later into Latin, and their missionaries were well known for the care they lavished on the production and preservation of their scriptures. These, along with members of the elect, also became targets of legislations against the sect from Diocletian onwards (303). The religious peace declared by Constantine and Licinius in the Edict (or Rescript) of Milan in 313, however, enabled the sect to pass itself off both as a form of reformed Christianity and of enlightened paganism. Soon Manichaeism was well established in the Nile Valley, especially at Lycopolis, and it might have been from Lycopolis that members of the sect migrated to the Dakhleh Oasis to avoid persecution. It had a strong base in Antioch, where among those who advocated tolerance towards it was the city's famous rhetor Libanius, and its presence was also noted in Greece. The history of the sect in North Africa, especially in Carthage, Thagaste, Hippo and Malliana is well documented by Augustine, who spent nine years as a hearer while he was a student and later teacher of rhetoric at Carthage. It was with Manichaeans that he sojourned in Rome, and it was through their net-working and influence that he was appointed to the Chair of Rhetoric in Milan. Later as a deacon and bishop at Hippo he debated with the Manichaean missionaries Fortunatus and Felix; and also wrote a lengthy refutation of the

Apologia of Faustus of Milevis, the most influential Manichaean preacher of his time.

With the accession of Theodosius, anti-heretical legislations eventually put serious restrictions on the mobility of the sect; even though these were first ignored. By the time of Anastasius and Justinian, the sect was generally proscribed with the threat of the death penalty for its elect. Its followers were also deprived of the right to serve in the civil administration and forbidden to write an effective will. The latter measure would have been disastrous for a sect in which the elect members relied heavily on the monetary and other forms of contribution by their faithful hearers. Little genuine information on the teaching of the sect survived the reign of Justinian which implies that the community had lost almost all its scriptures, and with them its original identity as a religion of the book *par excellence*.

EARLY MISSION AND REACTION

21. The mission of Mār Addā and Pattek the teacher

The mission to the eastern Roman Empire was instituted by Mani himself, during his life-time, as evidenced by these Manichaean missionary text-fragments preserved in Middle Iranian.[2]

(a) *From the Middle Persian version:*[3]

'. . . become familiar with the writings!' They went to the Roman Empire (and) saw many doctrinal disputes with the religions. Many elect and hearers were chosen. Patīg was there for one year. (Then) he returned (and appeared) before the apostle. Hereafter the lord sent three scribes, the Gospel and two other writings to Addā. He gave the order: 'Do not take it further, but stay there like a merchant who collects a treasure.' Addā laboured very hard in these areas, founded many monasteries, chose many elect and hearers, composed writings and made wisdom his weapon. He opposed the "dogmas" with these (writings), (and) in everything he acquitted himself well. He subdued and enchained the dogmas. He came as far as Alexandria. He chose Nafšā for the religion. Many wonders and miracles were wrought in those lands. The religion of the apostle was advanced in the Roman Empire.

[2] On the various versions of Manichaean missionary history in Middle Iranian which pertain to the mission of Mār Addā to the Roman Empire see esp. Sundermann (1986), 246–50. Though the texts, as we possess them, are the works of Manichaean scribes in Central Asia in the ninth to tenth centuries AD, they contain material which almost certainly goes back to early accounts of Manichaean mission composed in Syriac or Parthian.

[3] M2 I R I 1–33, *MM* II, 301–2; Eng. trans. Asmussen (1975), 21. The manuscript fragment also includes an account of Mār Ammo's mission to Parthia and Central Asia.

(b) *From the Parthian version:*[4]
And when the apostle (i.e. Mani) was (in) Vēh-Ardashīr (i.e. the refounded Seleucia), he sent from there (Patīg) the teacher, Addā the bishop, (and M)ani the scribe to Rome. (And) four instructions . . . to . . . there . . . from (. . . who) gathers (a treasure. And Addā founded) many mon(asteries (*m'nyst'n*) and he composed . . .) and writings of light. (And) he grasped (?) (wisdom for) the refutation of the dogmas. He devised many (ways) and fashioned them (as weapon) against all the dogmas. And he defeated the teachings and put them all to shame like someone who (wielded) a powerful weapon.

(c) *From the Sogdian version:*[5]
'. . . Which riding-animal is faster than the wind?' Mār Addā gave as answer to them: 'I have good thought . . . conscience, whose (way of life (?) . . .) is faster (than the wind). And I have (a religion (?)) the radiance of which is (brighter) than the sun. And I have (as) provisions divine profit (?) I have (divine (?)) the taste of which is (sweeter) (than) honey.' The ministers (?) then asked Mār Addā: 'O lord, (what) form does the soul take?' Mār Addā ans(wered)them thus: 'The soul is comparable to the body, which is divided (into five) limbs, (a head), two (arms) and two feet. The soul too (is) just like that: (life) is seen as the (first) limb of the soul, power (is counted as) the second limb, light is counted (as the third (limb), beauty) is counted as the (fourth) (limb) and fragrance is counted as the fifth (limb). And its form and manner are an image (of the body) (?), just as (Jesus (?)) has said: 'It cannot be seen with a fleshly eye, the fleshly ear does not hear <it>, it cannot be held with a fleshly hand nor with a (flesh)ly tongue can it be completely explained.' And (Mār Ad)dā (expended) there in the Roman Empire much effort. (He purified many hearers . . . and in large . . . the west(ern . . .) and many scriptures . . . and . . . wrote . . . struggle . . . and (the) divine (profit) arose upwards through him (and) (spread) in all the Roman lands and cities right up to the (gr)eat Alexandria.

22. The healing of Nafšā of Tadmor (Palmyra) by Mār Addā

So 18223 (= T.M. 389c) + So 18222 (T.M. 389c) *KG* §3.3 (441–515), pp. 41–5, Sogdian text from Turfan trans. S. Lieu.

[4] M216c R 8 – V 13, *KG* , §2.5 (170–87), p. 26, trans. S. Lieu.
[5] So. 18220 (= T.M. 389*α*), *KG* §3.2 (360–95), pp. 36–41, trans. S. Lieu.

. . . Nafšā herself (pleaded) with (Jesus): ('Hel)p (?) me, beneficent God! . . . for this reason, because in your . . . in the midst of the followers of <foreign> religions and . . . ' (. . . the lord Man)i (?), the apostle openly descended into the presence of Nafšā and he laid his hand upon <her>, and straight away Nafšā was healed, and she became wholly without pain. Everyone was astonished at this great miracle. And <there were> many people, who accepted the truth anew. Also Queen Taδī, the sister of Nafšā, wife of the emperor (*kysr*) with great . . . came before Mār Addā and from him . . . received the truth. And Mār Addā up to . . . went. And (when (?)) he arrived, the people (who) were devoted (to the veneration of the demons (?)) said: 'We shall (a)llow you because (. . . te)mple where . . .' And in the night the voice and . . . as had been said by them, and . . . stood totally amazed because . . . the walls of the houses of idols in . . . was, so that an exit could be found (?) immediately . . . And the door was sealed with the emperor's seal and there was no house in the vicinity. Without delay Mār Addā stood in supplication and prayer there, and he said to the apostle: 'I would like to obtain the explanation of this information'. And immediately it was revealed and the apostle came and explained to him, that there are twelve classes of men who never speak to one another. And for each individual man (of) . . . channels (?) are dug from . . . , right up (to . . .) where the idols sit . . . are twelve men who . . . eat, make music (. . . the channels (?)) hold the moisture (?). 'And go (. . . to the) Caesar and to him the secret . . . holy (. . .) (. . . wr)ite (having perverted religion (?)) <and> having little understanding in . . . behaviour . . . And no one should be disobedient, following his own desire and will, so that his effort and trouble should not be without reward.' And at the end he gave them all the commandments, morals and habits, laws and rules, conduct and behaviour, fully and completely by numbers <viz.>: Five commandments (in ten) divisions; three seals in six divisions; five (garments in) (ten) divisions; watchfulness and zeal . . . ; (twelve) dominions in sixty-two divisions; . . . each in five each . . . each one in seven (. . . expo)sitions; seven hymns . . . and five expositions (. . . each) one in seven prohibitions and (seven (?) c)(onfessions, each) one in . . . (they are. And) for that reason they are called believing hearers, and they participate in the religion, and their commandment is manifest. And these, now, who are hearers and remain mixed (?) in earthly things, immature saplings (?) they are and children who drink milk, and their food is the milk of the spirit. For them too a commandment and order (are) manifest in the church, because they themselves are (in) the c(hurch) and from the living soul . . . Holy Ghost, who in . . . they worship, and also . . . are of the glory of the religion who . . . is. And by divine (grace (?)) they (the "perfect"

hearers (?)) are counted (amongst the full-grown) trees . . . and the command is thus . . .[6]

The success of the Manichaean mission to Tadmor, and its important role in the westward spread of the religion, is also implied in the following text (Coptic).[7] Although, most unfortunately, the preservation is very poor, it appears to claim the Queen of Tadmor (Zenobia?) and King Amarō of the Lakhmids as patrons of the religion.

. . . of Persia make peace and they were re(conciled (?)) . . . the river and . . . those neighbourhoods, . . . the merchants in the land of Khūzistan (. . . **15** every) place, and they lived with them in their province . . . they are full of our knowledge and our faith . . . of that place in . . . the teacher Abiēs, . . . before Malōp, the son of Adbkh(. . . **20** . . .) and Abakarim, and he spoke with (. . . go) also in to Queen Thadamōr . . . rightly, and the teacher Abiēs, . . . that . . . and other brethren, and they made a great . . . church of that place . . . **25** . . . the teacher . . . sent the servant Sethel . . . Zakhias to Abira of the watch tower, and they . . . a church of that place . . . the matter came before King Amarō[8] (. . . Aba)karim, therefore the brethren were caused to go . . . **30** . . . a cause of healing, and they caused him to become friends with (us . . .) good in him, and he helped us very . . . for us, and he became a great patron for (us . . .) his patronage and his . . . appear . . .

23. A warning against Manichaean missionaries

This is the text of a pastoral letter written by an Egyptian Christian bishop in the late third century.[9]

12Again the Manichaeans speak (falsely against marriage saying that) he does well (who does not) marry. (Paul) says (1 Cor. 7:1ff.) that the man who does not marry (does better); but that adulterer and forni(cator **15** are evil is manifest from the) holy scriptures, from which we learn (that marriage is honoured by God, but that he abominates forni)cators and adulterers (Hebr. 13:4). Whereby it is manifest (that he condemns) them also that worship the creation (Rom. 1:25) who (. . . have committed adultery) with

[6] On this story see also the newly combined Sogdian fragment (Berlin Ch/U 20505 and Ch/So 20216 cf. *KG* §19 (2049–59), p. 123 + Kyoto Otani 7481 and 7251) published by Yoshida (2000), 81 which appears to compare Buddhist mendicants unfavourably with Manichaean Elect.

[7] P15997 R (= *MCPCBL* II, pl. 99), lines 10–34, ed. and trans. Pedersen (1997), 196 (adapted). See also Tardieu (1992), 16–17.

[8] The Lakhmids of Hira were traditionally friendly to the Sassanians and were their main desert allies in Romano-Persian conflicts.

[9] *P. Rylands Greek* 469.12–42, ed. and trans. Roberts (1938), 42–3.

sticks and stones (Jer. 3:9). Not but what God commands us (to chastise the man that does) evil, in these words: [20] (If there be found man or woman) in one of the cities which the lord your God gives you (Deut. 17:2–3) that has wrought wickedness in the sight of the lord your God and has worshipped (the sun or any of the host of heaven), it is an abomination unto the lord your God. Every one that does (these things is an abomination unto the lord) your God (Deut. 7:25; 17:1 and 18:12).

And the Manichaeans manifestly wor(ship the creation (? and that which they say)) in their psalms is an abomination to the lord (. . . (saying) 'Neither) [25] have I cast it (sc. the bread) into the oven: another has brought me this and I have eaten it without guilt.' Whence we can easily conclude that the Manichaeans are filled with such madness; especially since this "apology to the bread" is the work of a man filled with much madness.

As I said before, I have cited this in brief from [30] the document of the madness of the Manichaeans that fell into my hands, that we may be on our guard against these who with deceitful and lying words steal into our houses, and particularly against those women whom they call "elect" and whom they hold in honour, manifestly because they require their menstrual blood for the abominations of their madness.

[35] We speak what we would not, seeking not our own profit, but the profit of many that they may be saved. May therefore our God, the all good and the all holy, grant that you may abstain from all appearance of evil and that your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless [40] in the presence of our lord Jesus Christ. Greet one another with a holy kiss. The brethren with me greet you. I pray that you may be well in the lord, beloved, cleansing yourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit.

24. Alexander of Lycopolis on the Manichaean mission in Egypt

Alexander was a Neo-Platonist, whose contemporary account of the Manichaean mission,[10] and its successes amongst his philosophically minded colleagues, provides a fascinating counter-point to the more usual themes of Christian polemic.

(I) (p. 3) The philosophy of the Christians is a simple one. In fact it devotes most of its attention to moral education, but remains allusive when it is a question of entering into more precise arguments relating to the divinity. Furthermore, the essence of their efforts concerning this subject matter cannot but meet with general approval, when they suggest that the generating cause is the most venerable, the most ancient and the reason for the

[10] ed. Brinkmann (1895) §1–11, pp. 3–4; Eng. trans. S. Vince and S. Lieu.

existence of all things. In morality, also, they leave aside the most difficult questions, for example: what is moral virtue and what is intellectual virtue, also everything concerning attitudes and affections, in order to devote most of their time to commonplace moral exhortation; and, neglecting to put forward the elementary principles which govern the acquisition of each virtue, they haphazardly amass somewhat simplistic principles. The masses who listen to them make, as can be seen from experience, great progress in moderation, and their actions are stamped with a distinctive mark of piety; it rekindles the moral sense which such customs strengthen, and leads it progressively towards a desire for the good.

This philosophy being divided into several factions, impelled by those who came subsequently, the questions have multiplied, just as in sophistry:[11] some of these men have also become more skilful (p. 4) and, so to speak, more expert than the others in the art of raising difficulties. Certain of them were even founders of sects, this resulted in the decline of a moral teaching which had become unreliable. For, on the one hand, none of them who were ambitious to lead sects were in a position to give discourses of the requisite precision; whereas the masses demonstrated above all their inclination to indulge in confrontations with rival factions. There were no rules, nor any law which would have permitted a solution to these difficulties to be found; and, as with everywhere else, there is nothing that is not spoiled by an excessive desire for celebration. (II) Here also, the efforts of each person to out-do his predecessor through the novelty of his ideas meant that, in their hands, this very simple philosophy became something inextricable.

An example is given by the man known as Mani: He was of the Persian race, and, to my mind at least, he surpasses all his rivals in the extravagance of his proposals. His strange new ideas came to light very recently. The first person to interpret the doctrines of this man was named Papos; after him came Thomas, and others still after these two. As for Mani himself, it is said that he lived in Valerian's time, that he accompanied the Persian King Shapur in his campaigns, and that he was put to death for having offended this prince in some way.

25. Edict (rescript) of Diocletian against the sect (AD *302)*

This edict (in Latin)[12] was written in response to a petition from (Flavius?) Julianus, Proconsul of Africa. However, there is also intriguing evidence of the arrival of a

[11] Lit. 'the eristic school'.
[12] *Collatio Mosaicarum* XV.3, ed. and trans. Hyamson (1913), 131–3, revised by S. Lieu.

Manichaean missionary Bundos at Rome during the reign of Diocletian; this according to the much later Greek historian Malalas:[13]

> During his (sc. Diocletian's) reign a certain Manichaean by the name of Bundos appeared in the city of Rome. He broke away from the teaching of the Manichaeans and put forward his own doctrine. He taught that the good God engaged in battle with the evil (one) and triumphed over him. One should therefore honour the victor. He returned to teach in Persia. The doctrine of the Manichaeans was called that of the Daristhenes by the Persians, which in their own language means that of the good (God).

The work of Ioannes Malalas was published sometime after 574. The material contained in this enigmatic passage is completely uncorroborated by other sources, and seems to contain references to the sect of the Mazdakites which caused a social revolt in Sassanian Persia in the early sixth century. However, a date for the arrival of Manichaeism in the capital city of the Roman Empire under Diocletian is entirely plausible.

The Emperors Diocletian and Maximianus (and Constantius) and Maximianus (i.e. Galerius) to Julianus, Proconsul of Africa. Well-beloved Julianus:

(1) Excessive leisure sometimes incites ill-conditioned people to transgress the limits of nature, and persuades them to introduce empty and scandalous kinds of superstitious doctrine, so that many others are lured on to acknowledge the authority of their erroneous notions.

(2) However, the immortal gods, in their providence, have thought fit to ordain that the principles of virtue and truth should, by the counsel and deliberations of many good, great and wise men, be approved and established in their integrity. These principles it is not right to oppose or resist, nor ought the ancient religion be subjected to the censure of a new creed. It is indeed highly criminal to discuss doctrines once and for all settled and defined by our forefathers, and which have their recognised place and course in our system.

(3) Wherefore we are resolutely determined to punish the stubborn depravity of these worthless people.

(4) As regards the Manichaeans, concerning whom your carefulness has reported to our serenity, who, in opposition to the older creeds, set up new and unheard-of sects, purposing in their wickedness to cast out the doctrines vouchsafed to us by divine favour in olden times, we have heard that they have but recently advanced or sprung forth, like strange and monstrous portents, from their native homes among the Persians – a nation hostile to us – and have settled in this part of

[13] *Chronographia* XII, ed. L. Dindorf, CSHB (Bonn, 1831), 309.19–310.2; trans. S. Lieu. On this passage see esp. Christensen (1925), 97–9.

the world, where they are perpetrating many evil deeds, disturbing the tranquillity of the peoples and causing the gravest injuries to the civic communities; and there is danger that, in process of time, they will endeavour, as is their usual practice, to infect the innocent, orderly and tranquil Roman people, as well as the whole of our empire, with the damnable customs and perverse laws of the Persians as with the poison of a malignant serpent.

(5) And since all that your prudence has set out in detail in your report of their religion shows that what our laws regard as their misdeeds are clearly the offspring of a fantastic and lying imagination, we have appointed pains and punishments due and fitting for these people.

(6) We order that the authors and leaders of these sects be subjected to severe punishment, and, together with their abominable writings, burnt in the flames. We direct that their followers, if they continue recalcitrant, shall suffer capital punishment, and their goods be forfeited to the imperial treasury.

(7) And if those who have gone over to that hitherto unheard-of, scandalous and wholly infamous creed, or to that of the Persians, are persons who hold public office, or are of any rank or of superior social status, you will see to it that their estates are confiscated and the offenders sent to the (quarry) at Phaeno or the mines at Proconnesus.

(8) And in order that this plague of iniquity shall be completely extirpated from this our most happy age, let your devotion hasten to carry out our orders and commands.

Given at Alexandria, 31 March.

The edict of Diocletian may be compared with the first such one issued by Christian emperors (AD 372, Latin):[14]

Emperors Valentinian and Valens Augusti to Ampelius, urban prefect.

Wherever an assembly[15] of Manichaeans or a crowd of this kind is found, after their teachers have been penalised by a severe punishment and also those persons who assemble have been segregated from the company of men as infamous and ignominious, their houses and habitations, in which the profane instruction is taught, should be appropriated undoubtedly to the fisc's resources.

Given on 2 March at Trier, Modestus and Arinthaeus being consuls.

[14] *CT* XVI.5.3, p. 855; Eng. trans. Coleman-Norton (1966), I, 333.

[15] The law targets the meeting-places of the sect where the authorities feared illicit and magical rites were celebrated. On this see especially Kaden (1953), 58.

26. Warning against door-to-door missions by the Manichaeans

The setting is Rome in the 370s; the source: an anonymous commentator on the Pauline Epistles (Latin).[16]

Although this would fit all heretics, as they (all) inveigle themselves into houses and charm women with persuasive and crafty words so that through them they might deceive the men in the fashion of the devil their father who defrauds Adam through Eve, it matches the Manichaeans above all others. None are so ruthless, so deceitful, so enticing as those whose practice it is to cultivate one idea and declare another, say one thing in private and another in public. Although they uphold saintly living, they lead a life of gross immorality with the support of their own rule. Although they praise compassion, they are found to be harsh towards each other. They preach that the world is to be despised while taking care of their personal advancement. They boastfully vaunt that they are strict in their fasting though they are all well weighed down, because it is only by some trickery that they appear pale so that they may deceive (other people).

The apostle had prophesied this especially about them who, as is well known, were not then in existence; just as neither were the Arians. The Emperor Diocletian makes this quite sure by his edict, in which he says: 'This impure and sordid heresy which has recently arrived from Persia . . . ' They seek out women, who always want to hear something for sheer novelty, and persuade them through what they like to hear to do foul and illicit things. For the women are desirous to learn, though they do not possess the power of discrimination. This is what is meant by, 'always willing to listen but not having the knowledge of the truth' (2 Tim. 3:7).

MANICHAEANS AND CHRISTIAN ASCETICS IN EGYPT

27. Manichaeans out-argued by Didymus the Blind

The attitude of Didymus the Blind in this text (c. AD 350, Greek)[17] may be compared with the guarded courtesy of St Anthony, at least as presented by Athanasius (*c.* AD 340, Greek):[18]

> Anthony's devotion to the faith was most extraordinary. He never held communion with the Meletian schimatics, because he knew their wicked apostasy from

[16] 'Ambrosiaster', *in ep. ad Tim. ii*, 3.6–7, 2, ed. A. Souter, CSEL LXXXI/3, 312.4–20; trans. S. Lieu.
[17] Didymus Alexandrinus, *Expositio in Ecclesiastes* 9.9a, ed. Grünewald (1979), 274.18–275.2.8–10; trans. S. Lieu.
[18] Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 68, *PG* 26.940B; Eng. trans. Keenan (1952) 195–96.

> the beginning; nor did he have friendly dealings with the Manichaeans or any other heretics, except in so far as to admonish them to be converted to piety, for he believed and maintained that friendship and association with them was harmful and destructive to the soul.

And once I (i.e. Didymus the Blind) also said this to the Manichaeans: 'Look, how great this chastity is! He runs no risk of a punishment if he comes together with his wife at the right time; it will bring him no reproach, for it is not counted as offending against the law. As he himself however has gone beyond this law and has yielded himself up to another law intended for angels, that is why he refrains from it as from something which is not fitting for him.'

Like a sophist (the Manichaean) questioned me (by way of a) premise; he said to me: 'What is the will of Jesus?' He wanted me to say, for example: 'Not to marry'; so that he himself could then quote the ancient fathers in the case. He says: 'What is the will of Jesus?' I say: 'That one should do the works of Abraham and believe in Moses.' Instantly, his sophism was dissolved . . . said the word and says to me: 'You have brought together the fist-fighter and the tragedian.' (I say) to him: 'I have not brought the fist-fighter together with the tragedian nor the tragedian with the fist-fighter; but I have put the tragedian with the tragedian and the fist-fighter with the fist-fighter, for I make every effort to be a fair adjudicator.'

28. A travelling Manichaean converted by true 'hospitality'

c. AD 380, Latin.[19]

An old man in Egypt lived in a desert place. And far away lived a Manichaean who was a priest, at least was one of those whom Manichaeans call priests. While the Manichaean was on a journey to visit another of that erroneous sect, he was caught by nightfall in the place where lived this orthodox and holy man. He wanted to knock and go in and ask for shelter; but was afraid to do so, for he knew that he would be refused hospitality. Still, driven by his plight, he put the thought aside, and knocked.

The old man opened the door and recognised him; and he welcomed him joyfully, made him pray with him, gave him supper and a bed. The Manichaean lay thinking in the night, and marvelling: 'Why was he not hostile to me? He is a true servant of God.' And at break of day he rose, and fell at his feet, saying: 'Henceforth I am orthodox, and shall not leave you.' And so he stayed with him.

[19] *Verba Seniorum* XIII.II, *PL* 73.945; Eng. trans. Chadwick (1958), 146–7.

29. A Manichaean missionary challenged to trial by fire

The setting is Hermopolis (*c.* AD 390, Greek).[20]

On one occasion I (i.e. Copres, a holy man) went down to the city (Hermopolis Magna), and there I found a certain Manichaean who had been leading the people astray. As I was unable to make him change his mind by debating with him in public, turning to the crowd of listeners I said: 'Light a large fire in the square and both of us shall enter the flames; and whichever one of us remains unhurt, he shall be the one with the true faith.' At this the crowd eagerly lit the fire and dragged us towards the flames. However, the Manichaean said: 'Let each of us go in by himself, and you should be the first one since you suggested it.' Then, having made upon myself the sign of the cross in the name of Christ, I went into the fire. The flames parted asunder this way and that and did not harm me for the half hour which I spent in the fire. At the sight of this miracle, the crowd made a loud acclamation and compelled the Manichaean to go into the fire; but he dragged his feet as he was frightened, and the crowd took hold of him and pushed him into the middle of the fire. He suffered serious burns all over his body and the crowd expelled him from the city in disgrace,[21] shouting: 'The deceiver should be burnt alive.' As for me, the crowd carried me with them to the church, ascribing praises to God as they went.

30. A food-test imposed by the Patriarch Timothy

In this way Timothy of Alexandria (*sedit* 380–5) was able to detect and expose crypto-Manichaeans; this according to Eutychius (Sa'id ibn Batriq) (Arabic).[22]

Most bishops in Egypt were Manichaeans. They (the former) therefore ate meat, as did the patriarchs and the monks. The patriarchs of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch and of the holy city and their bishops and monks did not eat meat; but replaced it with fish, and ate it because fish was said to be an animal too.

Sa'id ibn Batriq, the practising physician, says: Timothy, the Patriarch of Alexandria, did not permit the eating of meat, in order that it be replaced by fish. By the 'eating of meat' he meant the sacrifice, and fish is not a

[20] *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* x.30–5 (191–225), ed. Festugière (1961), 87–8; Eng. trans. S. Lieu. Cf. Latin version in Rufinus, *Historia Monachorum* 9, *PL* 21.426c–27b.

[21] A later version of the story given in Syriac by Anan-Isho says that the Manichaean was entirely consumed by the fire. Cf. 'Enaniso' Monachus, *Paradisum Patrum*, ed. Budge (1904), 416.9.

[22] Ed. Breydey (1985), Textus, 83; Eng. trans. by Dr S. Calderini for the *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum* (unpublished). On this passage see esp. Stroumsa (1986), 312.

sacrifice. There is a class of Manichaeans who are known as 'hearers' (Arab. *sammakini*), and they eat fish because it is not a sacrifice; but they forbid the 'eating of meat' because it is a sacrifice. They who have replaced meat with fish are in error. Our lord Christ ate meat. It follows necessarily then that everyone who confesses the Christian religion eats (i.e. must eat) meat too like Christ, to be precise at least once a year; in order to repudiate any suspicion of heresy and to renounce Manichaeism publicly.

The Manichaeans had two groups: the group of 'hearers' and the group of 'righteous ones' (*saddikeni*). The righteous ones fasted always (at all times), and only ate what the earth produces. The hearers fasted on certain days of the month. When they became Christians they were afraid that, if they continued to eat no meat, they would be discovered and killed. So they set for themselves times of fasting: at Christmas, at the feasts of the apostles and of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. During these times of fasting they did not eat meat. By this means they divided the year up with (times of) fasting without running the risk of being recognised because of their refusal to eat meat. After some considerable time they were followed on this path by the Nestorians, the Jacobites and the Maronites. In this way a law was made of it.

31. A story of two Manichaean merchants

These merchants are portrayed masquerading as traders in Christian relics. The story is related in a sermon on the Wedding in Cana by the Patriarch Benjamin of Alexandria (*c.* AD 643, Coptic).[23]

There came also two priests, wishing to pay a visit there. They happened to be foreigners, being merchants in Egypt; and since they were staying in the oratory, they slept near to us at night.

Now in the middle of the night I heard a voice crying out: 'Give what is holy to the holy.' And the voice cried out until dawn broke.

We spent five months in that place. After that, we arose and went south. The brothers received us among them very gladly. And as for the two priests, God ordained that they should not leave the place at all, although they entered the oratory as if to stay just until the following day and then go on their way; but it was as though someone had chained them with iron, and they were unable to come out and go anywhere.

[23] On this passage see esp. Stroumsa (1986), 312 Ed. de Vies (1922), 80–8. Eng. trans. Dr S. Clackson (slightly adapted). See also the text of C. D. G. Müller (1968), 162 and 184; also Johnson (1987), 209.

After this, it happened that the good God wanted to relieve our suffering. Peace flourished once more in the church, and the people rejoiced with us; by God's will we returned northwards, and went to Alexandria. And, when I reached that oratory, I intended to go in to perceive the words I had heard there. When I went in through the door with the crowd of faithful who were with me, the voice cried out again: 'Give what is holy to the holy.' I spent a week in that place during which the voice cried out day and night: 'Give what is holy to the holy.' God inspired me not to leave that place until I knew everything. I thought to myself: 'Perhaps those priests have got hold of some martyrs' bones.' I called to one of them, and said to him: 'Before you came into this *topos* there was no noise like this in it. Since you came in here there have been all these voices; perhaps you have some martyrs' bones that you took by stealth. If so, bring them here to me so that I can send them on their way in peace. If not, believe me, I will send you to the governor at Antinoe and have you thoroughly questioned; but tell me the whole truth.'

However, he was very frightened and said to me: 'My holy father, we have committed a grave sin; but I will tell you what we have done. For more than five years now, I and my companion here have been on the road selling our lord's body, for we are Manichaeans.[24] We were persecuted when found doing this in our own country; the governors in our country prepared to inflict great suffering on us. However, we gave a large sum of money so that they would let us go on, being driven out of our country. And they said to us as follows: "The day that we find you in this country your sin will be upon you; and you will be punished by fire." We arose, left our house and came to this country. We went into a church, for every year a large crowd came to it to stay there. The people of the village took us into a church, so that we might give our blessing in it. We rose to our feet, took a large consecrated host and divided it; then we took away all the relics of all the bodies, which we shared out. We set out for the sea (or the Fayum), to give them to the devil who was living there. Believe me, o my holy father, since we came into this oratory we have become like people in irons, unable to go outside the door. And when we propose to go out, it is as if we were bound up. In any case, listen to those who cry out, and question them; because you are the high priest and the shepherd. And let it be as you command.'

[24] The identification of these two merchants as Manichaean is seen by some scholars as a polemical topos. On this controversial passage, see discussions in Rochow (1979), 15–16, Grillmeier (1990), 171, n. 4; also Klein (1992), 373–4.

And when I heard this my whole body trembled, my soul dissolved with fear. I wept copiously and cried out, saying: 'Woe is me, wretch that I am! For what manner of sin rules over the world! O God, my God! Have pity, merciful one! Do not be angry with your heritage because of earthly sinners; but lord, give the wrongdoers their just reward, and wipe out the sinners.'

And I summoned that impious priest. The other also replied these things to me. And it happened that, when I had heard them speaking thus, I stood up with the bishop, priests and other members of the clergy. I had candles and incense burned. We left and went to those men's lodgings. The things (i.e. the consecrated hosts) were brought out, and given to me on a silver plate. And I cried out and wept: 'Woe is me, wretched man that I am! For I sleep on soft beds, while the body of my saviour is in the hands of these impious men. Woe is me, wretch that I am! For I eat and drink, while the very body of my saviour is in the hands of these impious men, who wander with him from place to place.' And I placed both of them under guard. I took the holy relics to the church, the bell was rung for prayer; and we made preparations to receive the blessing. And when we had finished the holy anaphora, I had the holy relics brought onto the altar; and at that moment they emitted blood, until the altar cloths were soaked. And when we had dismissed the congregation I sat down and wrote a letter to Shenute, the God-loving *dux* at Antinoe.[25] And I wrote to him thus: 'Who can count the grains of sand which are scattered on the sea shores? – as it is said in the scriptures. Who can count the grave sins of the devil's children? I mean those who even now are selling the body of the lord, and receive money for it; like Judas, who betrayed his lord for thirty pieces of silver so that he might be crucified. Who can shut his ears so as not to hear what we write to you, o Christ-loving one? Truly heaven trembles at what we are about to tell you, o God-loving son; and the earth moves this way and that, because of the audacity of two impious men, who deserve the fate of Arius who had his stomach ripped open, and died a death more terrible than that of any man. Believe me, o my God-loving one, that when I began to write to you to tell you what has happened, my whole body trembled, my eyes watered and I was powerless to describe what happened.

Still, it is indeed necessary for us to tell you, o Christ-loving one, what has happened; and when you have heard it for yourself, your body will tremble. For when you have questioned them (i.e. the Manichaeans), men of their sort absolve thieves, fornicators and (those who commit) the other

[25] The *Dux* Shenute (*Dux Thebaidis* 641/42) later played an important role in the surrender of Byzantine forces in Lower Egypt to the Arabs. Cf. 'Senuthius (Sīnōdā) 2' in Martindale (1992), 1122.

sins all men commit. For if men sin against the good God, who will snatch them away from the punishments which he will bring upon them? Lest we get carried away in a long discourse to you, o God-serving one, here are the brothers of Judas the traitor, whom we have sent to you bound up. For indeed, in the same way as he sold the lord, they have also sold the lord.

However, Judas sold the lord once; these men, on the contrary, have sold him many times. The Jews crucified the lord once; these men, on the contrary, have crucified the lord many times. In fact these men we have sent to you are Manichaeans, who sell the lord for money.

Now therefore, the throne of Mark the evangelist commands you, o God-loving one, to deal with them in accordance with your wisdom. Be well, our beloved son. We are praying for you so that you are well in the lord.'

When we had written this, we put them in irons and sent them to Antinoe.

And when he had read the letter, he was not remiss in any way. He ordered a copper cauldron to be brought and filled with oil and pork fat, and a fire to be lit underneath it until the flames leapt very high. He tied them up and threw them into it. And the fire burned up their whole bodies, and nothing at all could be found of them.

MANICHAEISM IN THE LEVANT, ASIA MINOR AND GREECE

32. The debate between the Manichaea Julia and Porphyry the bishop of Gaza

Manichaeism had first entered the Roman Empire via the trade routes from the east; and, although there are not such substantial remains or accounts of its success as exist for Egypt and North Africa, there is certainly enough evidence to show that it was a major force throughout the eastern Mediterranean world of the fourth century. One of the scant material (excluding textual) remains is the famous sepulchral inscription of a Manichaean electa at Salona (early 4th C., Greek):[26]

Bassa, a virgin[27] from Lydia, a (female) Manichaean.

There is also this plea for toleration, by Libanius the sophist of Antioch to Priscianus Governor of Palestina Prima (*c.* AD 364, Greek):[28]

Those who venerate the sun without (performing) blood (sacrifices) and honour it as a god of the second grade and chastise their appetites and look

[26] Cf. Egger *et al.* (ed.) (1926), II, 52–3 and 73, Inscription 73. See also the important study of Cumont and Kugener (1912), 175–7.

[27] The term 'virgin' (Gr. *parthenos*) is used in Coptic Manichaean texts synonymously with *electa.* See esp. *Hom.* 22.6.

[28] *Ep.* 1253, ed. R. Foerster, *Libanii opera,* xi, 329; Eng. trans. S. Lieu. Cf. Seeck (1906), 244–5.

upon their last day as their gain are found in many places of the world but everywhere a few only. They harm no one but they are harassed by some people. I wish that those of them who live in Palestine may have your authority for refuge and be free from anxiety and that those who wish to harm them may not be allowed to do so.

However, as elsewhere, it is accounts of Christian success that were mainly preserved by the victorious church; for instance, the conversion of a Manichaean leading citizen in Sparta to orthodox Christianity by the holy man Sarapion the Sidonite (end of fourth century?, Greek):[29]

However, having come to the country where the Spartans live, he heard that one of the first men of the city was a Manichaean with all his house, though virtuous in other respects. To him again he sold himself as he had done at first; and within two years he induced him to forsake his heresy, and brought him to the church and his wife also. Then they loved him no longer as a servant, but treated him as a true brother or father and glorified God.

The following text recounts another success, resulting from the debate between the Manichaea Julia and Porphyry the bishop of Gaza, as told by Mark the deacon (*c.* 400, Greek).[30]

85. About that time, a woman from Antioch named Julia arrived in the city, she confessed to the abominable heresy of those known as Manichaeans; now, discovering that among the Christians there were some neophytes who were not yet confirmed in the holy faith, this woman infiltrated herself among them, and surreptitiously corrupted them with her impostor's doctrine, and still further by giving them money. For the inventor of the said atheist heresy was unable to attract followers except by bribing them. In fact, the said doctrine, at least, for those in their right minds, is full of every kind of blasphemy, damnable things and old wives' tales, only useful for attracting feeble women and childish men, short on reasoning and intelligence. This false doctrine of different heresies and pagan beliefs was created with the treacherous and fraudulent intention of enticing all kinds of people. In fact the Manichaeans worship many gods, thus wishing

[29] Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 37.8, ed. Bartelink (1974), 186–7 (64–71); trans. Lowther Clarke (1918), 130.

[30] Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii Gazensis*, 85–91, eds. Gregoire and Kugener (1930) 66–71; Eng. trans. Lieu and S. Vince. Cf. Burkitt (1925), 7–11, Trombley (1993), 229–34, Lim (1995), 16–30 and Scopello (1997). Considerable doubt exists over the authenticity of the *vita* because of the numerous anachronisms and chronological and prosopographical errors which it contains; but the account of the debate fits well with our knowledge of public debates between Christian and Manichaean leaders of this period.

to please the pagans; besides which, they believe in horoscopes, fate, and astrology in order to be able to sin without fear since, according to them, we are not really accountable for sin, it is the result of a fateful necessity.

86. They also confess Christ, but claim that he was only apparently incarnate. As well as that, they who claim to be Christians themselves only appear to be so. I leave aside that which is ridiculous and offensive in order to avoid filling my audience's ears with the sound of scandalous words and monstrous suggestions. For they constructed their heresy by mixing the fables of the comic Philistion, Hesiod and other so-called philosophers with Christian beliefs. Just as a painter obtains the semblance of a man, an animal or some other object by mixing colours to delude the viewers, so that fools and madmen believe these images are real, whereas sensible people will only see in them shadows, portent and human invention. In the same way, the Manichaeans have created their doctrine by drawing on many beliefs; or, in other words, they have mixed the venom from various reptiles to make a deadly poison capable of destroying human souls. For as I have said, on the arrival of this pestilential woman, some Christians allowed themselves to be taken in by her false teaching.

87. Some days later, warned by some of the faithful, Porphyry sent for her and questioned her about herself, her origins and the doctrine she followed. The woman gave her country of birth and declared that she was Manichaean. Her companions were seized with rage (the bishop had some zealous Christians with him). The holy man told them not to be angry; but patiently to admonish the guilty woman *once and twice* according to the word of the holy apostle. Then he said to the woman: 'My sister, abstain from this false doctrine, because it is Satan's.' She answered: 'Speak and listen: either you will convince me, or you will be convinced.' The holy man said to her: 'Prepare yourself to come here tomorrow.' She took leave of him and withdrew. Having fasted and prayed to Christ at length in order to confound the devil, the holy man prepared himself for the next day. He invited some of the clerks and pious laity to the meeting he was to have with the woman.

88. The next day, the woman arrived with two men and two women. All four of them were young and good-looking, but very pale; as for Julia, she was well on in years. All of them, especially Julia, based their reasoning on the order of world knowledge. Their attitude was humble and they spoke quietly, as befits the word: *Wolves in sheep's clothing* and venomous beasts. Everything they do and everything they say is hypocrisy. Then, asked to sit down, they began the discussion. The saint, bearing the scriptures, first made the sign of the cross, and began to question Julia, asking her

to state her belief. She began her account of it. As for brother Cornelius, the aforementioned deacon, who had studied the writings of Ennomos (on short-hand systems?)[31] on the orders of the blessed bishop; he took down all that was said, and all the answers, dictated by brother Barochas and myself. I have not transcribed their dialogue in this book because it is too long and I wanted the present writing to be precise; but I have put the conversation into another work[32] for those who would like to know about the wisdom which God gave to saint Porphyry, and the *old wives' tales* told by Julia, the poisoner given to monstrous ramblings, who is swiftly brought to divine justice.

89. Now when she had uttered her usual copious and lengthy stories and blasphemies against the lord and God of the universe, the holy man Porphyry, seeing he who encompasses all things visible and invisible blasphemed by a woman possessed of the devil and subservient to his will, made the following accusation to her: 'God who has made all things, the one eternal being without beginning or end, he who is glorified in the Trinity will strike your tongue and stop your mouth to prevent you from uttering blasphemies.'

90. Punishment followed quickly upon sentence. Julia began to shake and her expression changed. She remained for a long time as if in ecstasy; she no longer spoke, but remained silent and motionless, her eyes wide open and fixed upon the most holy bishop. Seeing what had happened to her, her companions were terrified. They tried to revive her, murmuring incantations in her ear; but she said not a word, and heard nothing. Having remained silent for a long time, she gave up the ghost and returned to the darkness which she revered and considered as light, according to the scripture which says: *Woe unto those who make sweetness bitter and bitterness sweet, who change darkness into light, and light into darkness*. The holy man Porphyry ordered her body to be placed in a shroud and buried, out of pity for human nature; for he was extremely merciful.

91. And all those who learned of the events were seized with great stupefaction, not only those of our faith, but also the pagans. As for the two men and two women who accompanied Julia, and all those who had been beguiled by her, they ran to throw themselves at the feet of the blessed bishop, crying: 'We have sinned!' And they asked for pardon. The saint made all of them anathematise Mani, the founder of their heresy, he to whom they owe their title of Manichaeans. And, having duly instructed

[31] Scopello (1997) comm. *ad loc*., p. 190 suggests other readings, e.g. *ek nomou semeia* 'les signes de la loi'.

[32] This separate work has unfortunately not survived.

them for several days, he led them to the holy catholic church. On the occasion of their conversion other gentiles repented and were baptised.

33. The conversion of the Manichaeans at Ziph

According to this text, the Manichaeans at Ziph (in Palestine) were converted through the monk Euthymius (before AD 428, Greek).[33]

In this region (i.e. Caparbaricha) he (i.e. Euthymius) founded a monastery. The cause of the foundation of this monastery is said to have been as follows. A son of a certain headman of the village of Aristobulias had an evil spirit and would in his shrieks invoke the holy Euthymius by name. The father of the boy, hearing of Euthymius's being in the region between his village and Caparbaricha, made search and came to him. As soon as the youth saw the saint, he was thrown into convulsions and the demon came out of him, at which he was cured. When the miracle was noised abroad, people came to him from Aristobulias and the villages round about and built him a monastery; some brethren gathered and remained with him while God satisfied their bodily needs. Some of the people of Ziph who had formerly adopted the heresy called after 'mania'[34] renounced the impure heresy as a result of his inspired teaching; declaring anathema on Manes, its begetter, they were instructed in the catholic and apostolic faith and baptised.

34. The works of Mani and of Mār Addā refuted by Heraclianus of Chalcedon

The anti-Manichaean books of Heraclianus (fl. early-mid fifth century AD?) are only known to us as described by the patriarch Photius of Constantinople (Greek).[35]

I (i.e. Photius) read the twenty books of Heraclianus, bishop of Chalcedon, *Against the Manichaeans*. His style is concise, free from redundancies, lofty, not wanting in clearness, at the same time tempered with dignity. He combines atticism with ordinary language, like a teacher of boys entering into a contest of superatticism. He refutes the *Gospel*, the *Book of the Giants* and the *Treasures* (i.e. the *Thesaurus*) of the Manichaeans. He also gives a list of those who wrote against the Manichaean impiety before him: Hegemonius, who wrote out the disputation of Archelaus against Manes

[33] Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 12, ed. Schwartz (1939) 22.22–23.3; Eng. trans. Price (1991) 18. On this episode, see esp. Stroumsa (1985) 276.
[34] A standard word-play in Christian polemics.
[35] Photius, *Bibliotheca* 85 (65a/b) ed. P. Henry, 9–10; Eng. trans. Freese (1920) 151–2, revised by S. Lieu.

(i.e. Mani); Titus, who was supposed to be an opponent of the Manichaeans, whereas he rather attacked the writings of Addas; George of Laodicea, who uses nearly the same arguments as Titus against the impious heresy; Serapion, bishop of Thmuis; lastly, Diodorus, who wrote twenty-five books against the Manichaeans, in the first seven of which he imagines that he is refuting the *Living Gospel* of Manes, instead of the work of Addas named *Modion* (i.e. Bushel, cf. Mark 4.19), as is really the case. In the remaining books he explains and clears up the meaning of certain passages in the scriptures which the Manichaeans were in the habit of appropriating to support their own views. Such is his account of Diodorus. Any statements in the works of these fathers (as the pious Heraclianus calls them) that do not appear to be sufficiently emphatic, he briefly confirms, carefully supplies what is missing, and quotes with approval in their entirety passages which are adequate for the purpose, adding further reflections of his own.

The man is full of philosophical vigour, and is admirably equipped with the theoretical knowledge of other branches of learning. Hence, he energetically combats and overthrows the trifling fables of Manichaeus, and from the consideration of what exists refutes the fabulous nonsense about being.

This treatise against the Manichaeans was written at the request of a certain Achillius, whom the author calls his faithful and beloved son. This Achillius, seeing that the Manichaean heresy was growing, begged that it might be publicly refuted, and this work was written, an unexceptionable triumph over impiety. This most pious Heraclianus flourished in . . .[36]

MANICHAEISM IN ITALY AND NORTH AFRICA

35. The young Augustine joins the sect at Carthage as a hearer

The selection of texts turns now to the autobiographical passages from Augustine's *Confessions*. This episode must be dated to *c.* 374 (Latin).[37]

Thus did I fall among men mad with pride, extremely carnal and talkative, in whose mouths were the snares of the devil, smeared with a sticky mixture

[36] The loss of the date is most unfortunate and there is no agreement among scholars on the date of Heraclianus. Since few Manichaean canonical works would have survived in the sixth century because of the severity of the anti-heretical laws of Justinian, Heraclianus was most likely to have flourished before the end of the fifth century.

[37] Augustinus, *Confessiones*, III.VI.10, eds. Gibb and Montgomery (1908) 61–2; Eng. trans. Bourke, (1953), 57 (slightly adapted). On this passage see the detailed commentary by O'Donnell (1992) II, 173–81.

of the syllables of your name and that of our lord Jesus Christ and of the Paraclete our consoler, the Holy Spirit.[38] These names never left their lips, but were empty sound and the rattling of the tongue; for the rest, their heart was void of truth. They kept saying: 'Truth, truth'; and they said often to me, yet it was never in them. Rather they continually spoke false things, not only of you, who are truly the truth, but also of the elements of this world, your creatures.

Augustine accepts the alimentary rationale of the sect:[39]

While I was ignorant of this, I ridiculed those who are your saintly servants and prophets. And what was I doing while ridiculing them but becoming more ridiculous in your sight, gradually and little by little being drawn into such foolishness that I believed that a fig weeps when it is plucked, and that the tree, its mother, sheds milky tears?[40] And, if some "saint" ate this fig, plucked by another man and not by his own impious action, he would blend it in his bowels and breathe forth angels from it, even little pieces of God were imprisoned in this fruit unless released by the teeth of the 'elect.' Unfortunately, I believed that mercy should be shown to the fruits of the earth rather than to the men for whom they were produced. For, if a hungry man, not a Manichaean, were to ask for food and if it were given him, I would have thought that mouthful destined to receive capital punishment.

Monica, mother of Augustine, comforted by a Christian bishop who had once been a Manichaean scribe:[41]

Yes, you did give another answer through your priest, a certain bishop who was educated in the church and well trained in your books. When that woman (Monica) begged him to be good enough to talk with me and refute my errors, to teach me to unlearn evil things and to learn good things (he would do this whenever he happened to find any suitable listeners), he refused, prudently of course, as I later realised. He replied that I was not yet teachable, due to the fact that I was puffed up with pride at the novelty of

[38] In the *Psalm-Book* (*PsBk2*. 49.29–31) we find the Father of Light, Jesus the Splendour and Mani the Paraclete praised as a form of Trinity. However Mani, who claimed to be the Paraclete through his divine Syzygos, was not always identified with the Holy Spirit. In the opening section of the Parthian *Sermon of the Light-Nous*, readers are requested to make obeisance to 'Father, . . . Son and Holy Spirit' (M351 R 1–2, ed. Sundermann (1992), §1, p. 62).

[39] Aug., *Conf.* III.x.18, ed. cit. 74–5; trans. cit. 67–8 (slightly adapted). Augustine gives a fuller explanation of the redemptive role of the digestive systems of the *electi* in *de mor. Manich*. XV.36; cf. BeDuhn (2000), 171–2.

[40] On weeping / bleeding plants see *CMC* 6–10 (above, **3**); also Aug., *c. Faust.* VI.4.

[41] Aug., *Conf.* III.xii.21, ed. cit. 77; trans. cit. 70–1 (slightly adapted).

that heresy and that I had disturbed many unlearned people with all sorts of trifling questions, as she had pointed out to him. 'But,' he said, 'let him stay where he is. Just pray to the lord for him. He will find out himself, by reading, what the error is and how great an impiety.' At the same time he also told her how he, as a little boy, was given over to the Manichaeans by his mother, who had been led astray, and that he had not only read nearly all their writings, but had even copied them often, and, without anyone arguing in opposition or convincing him, it became clear to him how much this sect was to be avoided. And so he had left it.

A visit to Carthage by the Manichaean bishop Faustus, as recounted by Augustine (383):[42]

I shall speak out, in the sight of my God, concerning that twenty-ninth year of my life. A certain Manichaean bishop, Faustus[43] by name, had just come to Carthage. He was a great snare of the devil and many people were trapped by the lure of the sweetness of his speech. Now, though I did admire this, I was becoming able to distinguish it from the truth of things which I was eager to learn. I looked not to the kind of vessel in which his discourse was served, but to what this highly reputed Faustus was putting before me as food for knowledge. For I had heard advance reports about him, that he was most expert in all worthwhile teachings and especially learned in the liberal arts.

Augustine's disappointment with Faustus (383):[44]

12. For after it was quite clear to me that he was unlearned in those arts in which I had thought that he excelled, I began to lose hope that it would be possible for him to clarify and resolve the matters which were troubling me. Of course, he could have been quite ignorant of these matters and still have possessed the truth of piety, but only if he had not been a Manichaean. For, their books are filled with the most lengthy fables about the heavens, the stars, the sun, and the moon. Now, what I desired really from him was that a careful explanation be given me as to whether these things, in the light of the conflicting numerical explanations that I had read elsewhere, were indeed just as the books of Mani showed them, or at least whether an equally acceptable explanation could be gained from those books. That he could do this I no longer believed.

[42] Aug., *Conf.* v.iii.3, ed. cit. 109–10; trans. cit. 103 (slightly adapted).

[43] A native of Milevis in Numidia, his parents were pagans. On this best known of Manichaean leaders in the Roman West, see especially Brückner (1901), 1–18 and Decret (1970), 51–70.

[44] Aug., *Conf.* v.vii.12–13, ed. cit. 118–19; trans. cit. 112–13 (slightly adapted).

Nevertheless, when I did present these things for consideration and discussion, he quite modestly refused to take up the burden. He knew that he was ignorant of these things and he was not ashamed to confess it. He was not like those persons, whose loquacity I have often endured, who have tried to teach me these things and have said nothing. This man was possessed of a heart, though not properly directed to you, which was, however, not lacking in prudent care of himself. He was not altogether ignorant of his own ignorance and he refused to be forced into a rash discussion of something from which there was not exit, or easy way out, for himself. Even in this, he pleased me all the more. For, the moderation of a frank mind is more beautiful than those things which I craved to know. Such did I find him in regard to all the more difficult and subtle problems.

13. And so, when the interest which I had directed to the works of the Manichaeans was turned aside, and I was less hopeful of their other teachers, because, in the many problems which I had, that renowned master made this poor showing, I began to spend some time with him because of his own enthusiastic interest in that very literature of which I was then a rhetorician, already teaching to the young men of Carthage. Thus, I read with him either the things he knew by repute and wanted to hear, or which I judged suitable to his natural bent. For the rest, any desire of mine to make progress in that sect was definitely killed when I came to know that man. Not that I parted company with them completely, but, as one who could find nothing better than what I had already somehow or other fallen into, I had decided to be content for the time being, unless, perchance, something else which seemed preferable should appear.

Thus, that man Faustus, who had been for so many people a deadly snare, unwillingly and unknowingly began now to loosen that snare of mine in which I had been caught.

Augustine was taken care of by the Manichaeans at Rome, who also helped him to secure the Chair of Rhetoric in Milan (end of 383 to early 384):[45]

18. . . . I was associating even then, in Rome,[46] with those false and fallacious "saints":[47] not just with their hearers, to which rank the man in whose home I recuperated and regained my health,[48] but even with those whom they call

[45] Aug., *Conf.* v.x.18–xiii.23 (with omissions), ed. cit. 126–7; trans. cit. 119–25 (slightly adapted).

[46] Augustine left Carthage for Rome at the end of 383 to pursue his career as a rhetorician. Faustus, who had been based in Italy before, probably gave him the necessary introductions to the members of the community in Rome. Manichaeans were well known for their hospitality to visiting co-believers.

[47] The Manichaeans in the west did consider themselves a community of saints. On this see Lim (1989).

[48] This auditor or hearer was very likely Constantius who later tried to establish a Manichaean community in Rome. See next section.

the elect. For, up to that time, it seemed to me that it is not we who sin, but some other unknown nature within us which sins. It was a joy to my pride to be set apart from culpability, and, when I had done some evil thing, not to confess that I had done it (so that you might heal my soul because it was sinning against you), but I loved rather to excuse myself and accuse some other unknown being which existed with me and yet was not I. In truth, of course, the whole was myself, and my impiety had divided against myself. This sin was all the more incurable because I did not consider myself a sinner . . . So, until then, I associated with their elect, but now, losing hope that I could make any progress in that false teaching, I followed its tenets with a slackness and negligence, determined to acquiesce in them only if I could find nothing better.

I did not neglect to criticise my host's overcredulity, which I felt he had in regard to the fabulous things with which the Manichaean books were filled. I continued, however, in closer friendship with the Manichaeans than with other men who did not belong to this heresy. I did not defend it with my original zeal, but their friendship (Rome concealed a good many of them) made me less eager to seek anything else, particularly since I had no hope of finding the truth in your church, o lord of heaven and earth, creator of all things visible and invisible. . . .

xiii.23. After a time, a request was sent from Milan to the prefect of Rome that a master of rhetoric be provided for that city, and he was to travel by public conveyance. I myself made the round of those men who were intoxicated with Manichaean vanities (from whom my departure was to separate me, though neither they nor I were aware of it) so that I might be granted an audition, and, when approved, the prefect, who was Symmachus[49] at that time, would send me.

36. A Manichaean house at Rome

Augustine's account of a failed attempt by the Manichaean hearer Constantius to set up a hostel for mendicant Manichaean *electi* in Rome (between AD 384 and 388, Latin).[50]

What more shall I say about your practices? I have mentioned the things that I myself discovered and which took place while I was in that city.

[49] Q. Aurelius Symmachus, who was *Praefectus Urbi* 384/5, was a staunch pagan. He probably appointed Augustine to counterbalance the influence of Ambrose, the bishop of the city.

[50] Augustinus, *De moribus Manichaeorum,* XX (74), ed. J. B. Bauer, CSEL 90 (Vienna, 1992) 154–6; Eng. trans. D. A. and I. J. Gallagher (1966), 115–16. On this episode see esp. Decret (1978), II, 12–13 n. 8; and Courcelle (1968), 227–9.

What went on at Rome during my absence would take too long to describe in detail, but I shall give a brief account of it, for the affair erupted with such violence that it could not remain hidden, even from those who were absent. Later on when I was back in Rome, I was able to verify everything I had heard, although the person who had related the story had himself been present and was so well known to me and so reliable that I could not doubt him in the least.

One of your hearers,[51] a man unsurpassed even by the elect in their famous abstinence, and liberally educated as well, was eager to defend your sect and used to do so with great eloquence. He was very much perturbed that the opponents so often brought up the profligate behaviour of the elect who lived disordered lives, scattered about in the poorest lodgings. Therefore, he wanted to gather all those who were prepared to live according to the precepts into his own house, if it were possible, and to maintain them at his own expense, for he cared little for money and had more than ordinary wealth. He complained, however, that his efforts in this direction were hindered by the laxity of the bishops, whose co-operation was indispensable to the plan.

At last, a certain bishop of yours (i.e. the Manichaeans) was found, a man altogether crude and unpolished, as I myself know, yet somehow, on account of this rough nature, more strict in the observance of good morals. The hearer seized upon this man, so long awaited and now at hand, and placed before him his plan. The bishop commended him and agreed to be the first one to take up his abode in the house. As soon as this was accomplished, all of the elect who were able to be at Rome were gathered together and the rule of life from the epistle of Manichaeus was set forth. It appeared intolerable to many of them, and they departed. However, quite a few remained out of shame. They began to live as they had agreed to and as their great authority had prescribed, while the hearer began vigorously to enforce everything upon everyone, although nothing which he did not first take upon himself.

Meanwhile, quarrels broke out repeatedly among the elect, and they hurled recriminations at one another. Distressed over the things he heard, the hearer so arranged it that they unwittingly exposed each other in their altercations. Monstrous and abominable deeds were brought to light. In this way, the character of those who had considered themselves capable of submitting to the full rigour of the precepts was made known. What, then,

[51] The name of the hearer was Constantius. Cf. Augustine, *c. Faust.* V.5, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL 25/1 (Vienna, 1891), 277.21.

must we suspect of the others, or rather, what is to be our judgement of them? And then what? They at last got together and complained that the rules could not be kept. A revolt broke out. The hearer presented his case in a brief disjunction, that either the whole rule had to be observed, or else he who had prescribed a rule with conditions that no one could fulfil must be regarded as an utter fool. Nevertheless, and it could hardly have been otherwise, the violent uproar of the crowd prevailed over the opinion of one man. The bishop himself finally gave up and fled in complete disgrace, for it was reported that he had often been discovered with food smuggled in against the rule, and that he had a purse full of money which he kept carefully hidden.

37. Letter of the Manichaean Secundinus to Augustine

Secundinus writes from Rome, questioning the depth of the latter's involvement in the sect (*c.* AD 405/6, Latin).[52]

Secundinus to Augustine, the lord who is deservedly to be honoured and praised and uniquely to be venerated.

I feel and express my gratitude to the ineffable and most holy majesty and to his first born, the king of all lights Jesus Christ, and I humbly bring the gratitude I feel to the Holy Spirit, because they have given and offered me the opportunity to greet freely your excellent holiness, lord, who are deservedly to be praised and uniquely to be venerated. Nor is it surprising, for they are most capable and most powerful both at providing all good things and at warding off all evils; from which may they protect your goodness with their defences, and rescue it from that evil – not the one which is nothing or which is produced by the strife and passion of mortals, but the one which has been made ready to come. Woe to him who shall have offered himself as its opportunity! For you deserve to receive such gifts from them and that they should be made nurturers of your truth, you who are really a lantern which the right hand of truth has placed in the lampstand of your heart, to stop the inheritance of your treasure being despoiled by the arrival of the thief. They should order that your house should stand without collapsing, as you have built it not upon the sand of error, but on the rock of knowledge; and should deflect from us that evil spirit which strikes fear and treachery into men, so as to divert souls from the narrow path of the saviour. (894) That spirit's every assault is spread

[52] Secundinus, *epistula ad Augustinum*, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL XXV/2, 893–901; Eng. trans. M. Vermes. The letter precedes Augustine's polemical treatise *Contra Secundinum Manichaeum*, ibid., 905–47. On Secundinus see Desmulliez *et al.* (eds.) (2000), 2008–9 ('Secundinus 2').

abroad by means of those princes against whom the apostle states in his letter to the Ephesians that he has entered the battle. For he says that he 'is battling not against flesh and blood, but against princes and powers, against the spiritual forces of evil that exist in the heavens.' And rightly so. For who would take up weapons to fight, and not to fight against an armed enemy, against the one who is on the attack? For as the bodies of men are the weapons of sin, so the precepts of salvation are the weapons of righteousness. This is what Paul testifies, and this is what Manichaeus himself testifies.

Therefore it is not a fight involving weapons, but involving spirits that use those weapons. However they fight for the sake of souls. In their midst is placed a soul, to which from the beginning its own nature has given the victory. If this soul has acted in unity with the spirit of virtues, with that spirit it shall have eternal life and possess that kingdom to which our lord invites us; if on the other hand it begins to be led astray by the spirit of vices and gives its consent, and then after its consent shows repentance, it will obtain a source of pardon for these disgraces. For it is seduced by being mixed with flesh, not by its own volition; but if having learnt to know itself it consents to evil and does not arm itself against the enemy, it has sinned by its own volition. If it is once again ashamed of its error then it will find the author of mercies ready. For it is not punished because it has sinned, but because it has not repented of its sin. Yet if it passes away in that same sin without pardon, then it will be shut out, then it will be like the foolish virgin, then it will be the heir of the left hand, then it will be driven by the lord from the wedding banquet because of its black clothing, to where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth, and it shall go with the devil to the fire of his own origin. Your remarkable learning either recounts that the devil was made from an archangel (p. 895) or states that he is nothing. Why in that case shall the just reign? Why shall apostles and martyrs be crowned? Is it entirely because they have won nothing? How greatly is the victor's power nullified, when his opponent is already stated to have no strength! Change your opinion I beg you, cast off the treachery of your Punic race[53] and change your conversion, that you made from fear, back to the truth. Do not make excuses with these lies.

My slight and nondescript Roman intellect[54] has read a number of writings by your reverend honour, in which you show as much anger with

[53] An almost 'racist' reference to Augustine's North African backgound.

[54] This is normally taken as a reference to the fact that Secundinus wrote from Rome and that he knew Augustine when he sojourned with the sect in the city. However, the term 'Roman' here could be used simply as a contrast to that of 'Punic'.

the truth[55] as does Hortensius with philosophy.[56] When I had read them a second and third time with my judgement suspended and a quick eye, I found everywhere a supreme orator and almost a god of complete eloquence, but nowhere did I discover a Christian. I found someone armed against everything, but affirming nothing, when you ought to have shown yourself more skilful in knowledge than in rhetoric. I cannot keep silent about it before your most patient holiness. For it seems to me – and this is definitely the case – that you have never been a Manichaean, and never been able to discover the unknown mysteries of his secret, and that under the name of Manichaeus you are attacking Hannibal or Mithridates.[57] For I confess that the marbles of the Anician house do not shine with as much diligence[58] or such hard effort as the eloquence with which your writings gleam. If you had determined that this eloquence should match the truth then certainly a magnificent ornament would have been erected for us. Do not, I beg you, go against your own nature, do not be the spear of error, with which the saviour's side is pierced. You can see that he is crucified both all over the world and in every soul, when his soul (p. 896) never had the nature of being angered. You therefore, who derive from that soul, now cease, I beg you, your empty accusations and abandon your pointless controversies. All the time that you were kept with your father in the midst of darkness you never played the joker, but in open sunlight and moonlight you have been proven the accuser. Who therefore will be your advocate before the just tribunal of the judge, when you begin to be convicted by your own testimony from both your statements and your deeds? The Persian whom you have accused[59] will not be there. Without him who will console your weeping? Who will save the Carthaginian? Or has there been a correction in the Gospel, so that the broad way does not lead to perdition? Or is it incorrect in Paul, so that each individual will not have to render account of their deeds? How much better it would have been if when you left Manichaeus you had joined the Academy or written an exposition of the wars of the Romans who conquered the world. What great and noble

[55] I.e. Manichaeism.

[56] It was Cicero's (now lost) work *Hortensius* which first introduced Augustine to philosophical inquiry. Cf. Aug., *Conf.* III.iv.7–8.

[57] Mithridates Eupator, King of Pontus (later Cilicia) who rebelled against Rome in 88 BC and nearly succeeded in expelling Roman suzerainty from Asia Minor. He and Hannibal were traditionally seen as Rome's most dangerous enemies. The fact that Hannibal also came from Carthage continues Secundinus's attack on Augustine's 'Africanness'.

[58] Anicius: cf. Cicero *Brutus* 83. A reference to the gleaming marbles of Rome. On this see Decret (1978), I, 143.

[59] I.e. Mani. The idea of Mani playing a role in the last judgement is not Manichaean.

achievements you would have found there, and you, a chaste man of absolute modesty and poverty, would not have gone over to the Jewish tribes with their barbaric customs. Now you add their stories to your precepts and you include 'the fornicating wife' (Hos. 1:2) and 'you will make sons of the fornicating woman' and 'by fornication the earth will be polluted away from the Lord' (Gen. 24:2 and 47:29). Also 'you shall not wash your hands after intercourse with your wife' (Lev. 11:2), and 'put your hands on my thigh' and 'kill and eat' and 'grow and multiply' (Gen. 1:28). Did the lions in the pit please you because there were no cages? (Dan. 6:16ff.) Or were you saddened by Sara's sterility, when her husband had been the one to divert her from her honour by pretending she was his sister? (Gen. 12:13, 20:2) Perhaps after the contest of Dares and Entellus[60] you had wanted to await Jacob and his wrestling match? (Gen. 32:24) (p. 897) Or had you set yourself to count the number of the Amorites (Josh. 10:5) or the pancarpus in Noah's ark (Gen. 7)? I know that you have always hated these things, I know that you have always loved great things, that quit the earth, and seek the heavens, that mortify the body and give life to the soul. So who is it that has suddenly changed you?

Although to say these things to your holiness is the height of absurdity. For you yourself are well aware how wicked he is and how evil, and how he campaigns even against the faithful and best men with so much guile, that he forced Peter to deny his lord three times in the same night (Matt. 26:69–75), and when he arose prevented Thomas from believing in him (John 20:24–26). These wounds were relieved by the medicine of pardon. But even bolder was this act: that when the lord was sowing the best seed he mixed in darnel and snatched Iscariot away from such a shepherd. So that it should be brought to the final punishment of the cross, he incited the scribes and Pharisees to his destruction, so that they shouted for Barabbas to be released and Jesus to be crucified. Therefore we have escaped because we have followed a spiritual saviour. For such was the outpouring of that one's audacious behaviour that, if our lord had been of the flesh, then all our hope would have been severed. And yet he could not be satisfied even by the ignominy of the cross, but in his rage forced him first to be crowned with thorns and then given vinegar to drink, to be pierced with the soldiers' spear and then to suffer blasphemy from the lips of the robber on his left. Afterwards (p. 898) his wickedness grew so far that he devised various problems for him and his apostles who gathered there, under their name, which is all the worse, dividing among all the superstitious the dignity of the

[60] A reference to the wrestling match in *Aen.* 5.362ff. of Vergil – Augustine's favourite poet.

term Catholic. For I omit how far he armed each of the disciples against the magistrates, and how far he deceived Hymenaeus (1Tim. 1:20), or Alexander (2Tim. 4:14), and his deeds at Antioch, at Smyrna or at Iconium (2Tim. 3:11). I only now add the activities of the present multitude, from which virtue is as far removed as it is a closed book to the people. For it is not virtue to which the crowd has attained, and especially the crowd of women; but I hesitate to make their secrets public, lest crimes begun by others be reproduced. Yet it is the role of the wise to tolerate both, to laugh at both, and to strive only for that which engenders beatitude and which nurtures life.

And still I humbly entreat you again and again, I beg and beseech you time after time, first to deem me worthy of pardon, if any statement of mine has irritated your heart of gold. For I have written this from excess zeal, because I do not want you to be plucked from our flock; even I myself might have wandered from it and nearly perished, but that I quickly saved myself from a wicked form of communion. Secondly, I beseech you to reconcile yourself to the communion which has done you no wrong; return to the communion which if you do return will not be angry with you for your guilt. For it does not (p. 899) know forgiveness only seven times (Matt. 18:22), rather it has the power both to bind and to release (Matt. 16:19 and 18:18). Do not imagine you are touching, since you saw long ago; do not wish to learn, as you are able to teach. Cast aside status among men, if you wish to please Christ. Be a new Paul for our times:[61] though he was a doctor of Jewish law, when he had won from the lord the privilege of being an apostle, everything he had thought pleasurable he despised as dung (Phil. 3:8), in order to gain Christ. Bring aid to your bright soul, because you do not know at what hour the thief is coming. Do not adorn the dead, because you are the ornament of the living. Do not be a companion on the broad way, because it awaits the Amorite, but hurry to the narrow way, in order to win eternal life. Stop, I beg you, enclosing Christ within a womb, lest you yourself be enclosed once again in a womb. Stop making two natures into one, because the judgement of the lord is approaching. Woe to those who will meet him and who are changing sweetness to bitterness!

However, if you have doubts about the origin or are uncertain about the commencement of the battle, then an explanation can be given in a lengthy disquisition and a peaceful conference. Yet, I want to make it clear to your supremely wise goodness that there are certain things which

[61] A very apt challenge for Augustine to be the leading Manichaean apostle of his age given the importance of Paul's apostolicity to Mani's own prophetic credentials.

cannot be explained in such a way that they can be understood; for divine reason surpasses the hearts of men. For example this question, as to how there are two natures or why he, who could not suffer anything, fought. Or again what he also says about the new age, that it is to be built from the broken fragments of this great earth; but who would admit that there can be a fragmentation among divine elements? Unless that is you were to (p. 900) make an image of the speaker compared to the hearer: words are fragmented in the hearer's case and put together in the speaker's. However many words the lecturer has spoken, that the hearer holds to himself, yet they have not departed from the lecturer. Unless this is your view also about that age, then what is said is quite stupid and inane. Similarly also with the fight. Unless you first postulate that God in his entirety is justice, but it is the utmost crime to attack someone else's domain, and further when the opposite nature invaded, God certainly could suffer nothing, because of his foreknowledge, then he would have appeared to have given consent to the crime had he not fought back. He opposed his great virtue[62] to the invader, so that his own justice would not be polluted by any consent to sacrilege. For the just man has been formed by him in such a way that he never sins himself nor ever gives his consent to the sinner. Moreover God in his kingdom had power over nature, being omnipotent and judge. If these things have been said with the result, not that God was created, but that I have not had the ability to comprehend, they still do not suffice for apostasy; but neither has the sun risen for the blind, nor has a voice been heard by the deaf nor a feast prepared for the dead. That places cannot be assigned to natures is a fact which the human condition calls inexplicable and indescribable; but the saviour, for whom everything is easy, calls these two places right and left, inside and outside, "come and go". Whereas you do the opposite and take a poetic foot – for example *orbis, vita, salus, lumen, lex, ordo, potestas* – and if it is a voiced syllable you treat it as silent, and a long one you pronounce short. (p. 901) These natures do not agree in this way, but they certainly mean two things, separated from one another.

Yet, when such things are expounded by me to your admirable supreme intelligence, it is as if the Jordan were bringing water to the ocean, or a lantern light to the sun, or a people sanctity to their bishop. Therefore, you should tolerate whatever this letter contains. For had I not known of your divine patience, which readily pardons each person, I would never have written in such a way, although you can see that I have touched my deepest feelings only cursorily and have taken the greatest care not to appear to you

[62] I.e. the Primal Man.

verbose. Accordingly these thoughts shall find acceptance by your holiness, as will the method of our salvation; otherwise you will be able to produce as a result thousands of volumes, lord who are deservedly to be praised and uniquely to be venerated. Farewell.

38. The Manichaean Firmus converted by a sermon of Augustine's

Firmus was a Manichaean merchant. This occupation was much favoured by the community, as it did not sin against the living soul (as, for instance, farming or baking would); and equally the cross-cultural elements of the faith may be supposed to have appealed to traders and travellers. This account is from Possidius's *Life of Augustine*, and the episode should probably be dated prior to AD 421 (Latin).[63]

I (i.e. Possidius) remember, and so do my brethren and fellow servants who at that time were living with the holy man at Hippo, that when we were living with the holy man at Hippo, that when we were seated at table Augustine remarked: 'In church today did you notice that the beginning and end of my sermon were contrary to my usual method? I did not fully explain the subject I introduced, but left it unfinished.' Thereupon, we replied: 'Yes, we know it and we recall our surprise at the time.' To which Augustine answered: 'I believe that the lord perhaps wished some erring person to be taught and healed by our forgetfulness and error on that occasion, for both we and our sermons are in the lord's hands. As I was still considering the introduction of my proposed topic, I digressed and changed to another subject. Thus, without concluding and fully explaining the original question which I had started out to prove, I closed my sermon with an argument against the error of the Manichaeans, about which I had intended to say nothing.'

On the next day or the day following, if I am not mistaken, a certain merchant, Firmus by name, came to the holy Augustine as he was sitting with us in the monastery. The stranger fell upon his knees and prostrated himself at the feet of Augustine, shedding tears and begging the priest and his holy companions to intercede with the lord for his sins. He confessed that he had followed the Manichaean sect, living in it for many years, and that, therefore, to his sorrow, he had contributed much money to the Manichaeans, or rather to their so-called elect. Recently, however, by the mercy of God, he had been present in church, was converted and became a Catholic through Augustine's words. Thereupon, when the venerable Augustine himself and those of us who were present at the time diligently

[63] Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 15; Eng. trans. Müller and Deferrari (1952) 90–91.

inquired what had particularly struck him in that sermon, he told us, and we recalled the trend of Augustine's discourse. In wonder and admiration at God's profound plan for the salvation of souls, we glorified and blessed his holy name. For he effects their salvation when and how he wishes through his own instruments, whether they are aware of it or not. From that time on, then, Firmus adhered to the manner of life of God's servants, abandoning his career as a merchant. Later, he became conspicuous by his activity among the members of the church and, having been called and constrained by God's will, entered upon the office of presbyter in another region. In this position he constantly maintained the sanctity of his way of life, and perhaps across the sea he is still living an active life in the world.

39. Victorinus exposed as a crypto-Manichaean

Victorinus was sub-deacon of Malliana in Mauretania. This episode is reported by Augustine in one of his letters (after AD 395, Latin).[64]

I think the best thing I can do is to write directly to your holiness,[65] so that my negligence may not allow the enemy to lay waste the flock of Jesus Christ in your province, for he never ceases to lay snares to destroy the souls bought at so dear a price. It has come to my knowledge that a certain Victorinus, a subdeacon of Malliana,[66] is a Manichaean, and that he hides his sacrilegious error under the name of cleric. He is also a man of advanced age. He was so well known that I questioned him before he could be arraigned by witnesses; he could not deny the accusation, for he knew that there were many such to whom he had incautiously given himself away. He would have appeared altogether too bold, not to say out of his mind, if he had tried to deny it. He admitted that he was indeed a Manichaean but not an elect . . .[67]

That subdeacon, posing as a Catholic, not only believed those intolerable blasphemies as the Manichaeans do, but he taught them as vigorously as he could. He was discovered by his teaching when he trusted himself, so to speak, to his pupils. Indeed, he asked me, after he had confessed that he was a Manichaean hearer, to lead him back to the way of truth of

[64] Augustinus, *Ep.* 236, ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL XLIV (Vienna, 1895), 523.21–524.11 and 525.12–24; Eng. trans. Parsons (1956), 179–81.

[65] i.e. Deuterius, a bishop of Mauretania and a contemporary of Augustine.

[66] On Victorinus see Madouze (ed.) (1982), 1199 ('Victorinus 12')

[67] The section of the letter omitted is a summary of the ethical teaching of the sect which Augustine made for Deuterius who probably knew nothing about the religion. This is given in this book in the chapter on the teaching of Mani (below, **81**).

Catholic doctrine, but I confess I was horrified at his duplicity under his clerical guise and I took steps to have him confined and driven from the city. And I was not satisfied with that until I had notified your holiness by letter that he should be known to all as a person to be shunned, having been degraded from his clerical rank with fitting ecclesiastical severity. If he seeks an opportunity for repentance, let him be believed if he will make known to us the other Manichaeans whom he knows, not only at Malliana but in the whole province.

40. Manichaeans detected and punished in Carthage

These events, as related by Augustine, are to be dated between AD 421 and 428 (Latin).[68]

9. In this circumstance, or rather because of some demand of their detestable superstition, their elect are forced to consume a sort of eucharist sprinkled with human seed in order that the divine substance may be freed even from that, just as it is from other foods of which they partake. However, they deny that they do this, claiming that some others do it, using the name of the Manichaeans; but they were exposed in the church at Carthage, as you know, for you were a deacon there at the time when, under the prosecution of Ursus the tribune, who was then prefect of the palace, some of them were brought to trial. At this time a girl by the name of Margaret gave evidence of their obscene practices and claimed, though she was not yet twelve years old, that she had been violated in the performance of this criminal rite. Then with difficulty he compelled Eusebia, some kind of Manichaean nun, to admit that she had undergone the same treatment in this regard, though at first, she maintained that she was a virgin and insisted on being examined by a midwife. When she was examined and when her true condition was discovered, she likewise gave information on that whole loathsome business at which flour is sprinkled beneath a couple in sexual intercourse to receive and commingle with their seed. This she had not heard when Margaret gave her testimony, for she had not been present. Even in recent times some of them have been exposed and brought before ecclesiastical authority, as the 'Episcopal Acts' which you have sent us show. Under careful examination, they admitted that this is no sacrament, but a sacrilege.

10. One of them, whose name is Viator, claimed that those who commit such acts are properly called Catharists. Nevertheless, though he asserted

[68] Augustinus, *De Haeresibus*, XLVI.9–10, ed. and trans. L. Müller (1956) (slightly adapted).

that there are other groups of the Manichaean sect divided into Mattarii and especially Manichaeans, he could not deny that all of these three forms were propagated by the same founder and that all of them are, generally speaking, Manichaeans. Surely the Manichaean books are unquestionably common to all of them, and in these books are described these dreadful things relating to the transformation of males into females, and of females into males to attract and to loosen through concupiscence the princes of darkness of both sexes so that the divine substance which is imprisoned in them may be set free and escape. This is the source of the obscene practices which some of the Manichaeans refuse to admit pertain to them. For they imagine that they are imitating divine powers to the highest degree and so they attempt to purge a part of their god, which they really believe is held befouled just as much in human seed as it is in all celestial and terrestrial bodies, and in the seeds of all things. And for this reason, it follows that they are just as much obliged to purge it from human seed by eating, as they are in reference to other seed which they consume in their food. This is the reason they are also called Catharists, that is, purifiers; for they are so attentive to purifying this part that they do not refrain even from such horrifying food as this.

SELECT LEGISLATIONS AGAINST THE MANICHAEANS FROM THEODOSIUS TO JUSTINIAN

41. Anti-Manichaean legislation issued by Theodosius

The first of a series of prescripts issued by Theodosius in his name as well as those of his young sons (AD 381, Latin)[69] sets the tone in forbidding members of the sect the right to transfer their property to the sect. The same restriction had already been imposed on the Donatists. This measure would have hit the Manichaeans particularly hard as the *electi* were economically entirely dependent on the philanthropy (Gr. *eusebeia*) of their hearers, especially rich ones like Constantius (*v. supra*, **36**).

The same Augusti (i.e. emperors Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius I) to Eutropius, praetorian prefect.

If any Manichaean – man or woman – from the day of the law enacted long ago and originally by our parents[70] has transmitted his own property to any person whatsoever by having made a will or under title of any liberality

[69] *CT* XVI.5.7, pp. 857–88; trans. Coleman-Norton (1966), I, 367–8. On Theodosian legislations against the sect, see especially Beskow (1988).

[70] I.e. the edict of 2 March 372 (*CT* XVI.5.3).

whatsoever or by form of donation, or if anyone of these persons has been enriched by grant of an inheritance entered through any form whatsoever (since immediately from the said persons, under branded infamy's perpetual stigma, we withdraw all capability of making a will and of living under Roman law, and since we do not permit them to have the power either of leaving or taking any inheritance), the whole by an immediate investigation on the part of our fisc, should be joined to its resources. Whether by illicit literality this property shall have come to a husband or to a relative or to anyone whatsoever who well has deserved it or even to children, whom indeed the villainies of the same criminal life shall unite, or even if through any intermediate person whatsoever it shall profit the said person who is found to be of such a class and a company of persons it should be claimed under the title of vacancy.[71]

(1) The rule of this law issued by our gentleness should prevail not only for the future but also for the past;[72] whatever either such persons as owners have bequeathed or as heirs have held, the fisc's acquisition of the advantage should ensue. For, although the orderly arrangement of celestial statutes indicates observance of a sacred constitution in respect to matters about to follow afterward and has not been wont to be prejudicial to completed matters, nevertheless in this ordinance only, which we wish to be specially vigorous, by a sense of just instigation we recognise what a habit of obstinacy and a persistent nature deserve and we regard as guilty of sacrilege on the ground of violation of this described law those persons who, even after the law originally had been issued, have not at all been able to be restrained at least by divine admonishment from illicit and profane assemblies. We sanction the present statutes' severity not so much as an example to be established but as a law to be vindicated, so that a defence of time cannot also profit them.[73]

(2) The inheritance of paternal or maternal property should be conferred only on those children who, though born from Manichaeans, yet shall have withdrawn themselves from associations of the said life and profession, because they have been admonished by a sense of and a desire for their own salvation, have dedicated themselves in respect to pure religion, and are immune from such a crime.

[71] In Roman law, heirless (*caducus*) property is passed to the imperial fisc.

[72] We have here a rare example of a retroactive law which is contrary to contemporary principles of Roman law (as stated e.g. in *CT* 1.1.3).

[73] A Manichaean defendant cannot therefore plead that the enactment is not retrospective or that the lapse of time has barred legal action. Cf. Coleman-Norton (1966), 1, 369, n. 13.

(3) To this ordinance we add also the following: that they should establish neither in conventicles of towns[74] nor in famous cities their wonted sepulchres of funeral mysteries; they should be restrained completely from sight in a crowded community.

Nor with malignant fraud they should defend themselves under pretence of those fallacious names, by which many, as we have discovered, desire to be called and to be designated as of approved faith and of rather chaste course of life; especially since some of these persons desire themselves to be denominated Encratitans,[75] Apotactitans,[76] Hydroparastatans,[77] or Saccoforians[78] and by a variety of diverse names falsify – as it were – the services of their religious profession. For it is proper that all these persons should not be protected by a profession of names, but should be held notorious and execrable by the criminality of their sects.

Given on 8 May at Constantinople. Eucherius and Syagrius being consuls.

Mandate on apostate Christians' wills and penalties for Manichaeans (AD 383, Latin):[79]

The same Augusti (viz. Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius I) to Hypatius, praetorian prefect.

By denial of liberty of making a will we avenge the crime of Christians who turn to altars and temples.

Also should be punished the shameful acts of those who by disregard for the dignity of the Christian religion and name have polluted themselves with Jewish contagions.[80]

But that penalty, which both our predecessor Valentinian of divine authority has assigned and our decrees no less often have ordered, should

[74] A problematic and uncommon phrase *conventicula oppidorum*, the meaning of which is unclear. Meeting places of the sect are usually labelled *conventicula* in legislations but the context here rules out a specific reference to Manichaean conventicles.

[75] One of the earliest ascetic sects, its traditional founder was the Syrian Tatian in the second century AD.

[76] *Apotactikos* – renunciator of marriage and of private property – is also a commonly used term for an ascetic in documents from Roman Egypt.

[77] Little known sect, its title suggests the substitution of water for wine in the eucharist; i.e. ascetics who drink only water, a feature shared by the Manichaeans.

[78] These are radical ascetics who took to the wearing of dark garments made of sack cloth and of long hair (for men) and short hair (for women). On all these groups see the full discussion in Beskow (1998) 8–9. The inclusion of these sects in the legislation points to the reluctance of the church and the Christian emperors to accept the activities of the extreme ascetic wing of the church.

[79] *CT* XVI.7.3, pp. 883–5; trans. Coleman-Norton (1996), II, 385–6.

[80] The mention of Manichaeans alongside Jews is interesting in that Manichaeism was sometimes seen as a non-Christian religion in its own right and not merely as a heretical sect.

follow continually and perpetually those who have preferred at any time to attend the Manichaeans' nefarious retreats and wicked recesses. Moreover the same penalty should follow the authors of this persuasion, who have deflected unsteady minds to their own fellowship, as those guilty of such error; nay, we ordain that even weightier punishments – according to the governors' impulses and to the crime's character – should be imposed generally and extraordinarily upon the nefarious artificers of this wickedness.

But lest either perpetual outrage of accusation should harass the dead or questions of inheritance wholly outdated by the difference of long periods of time should be agitated always into revived conflicts, we assign a limit of time to questions of this character: that, if anyone accuses the deceased of having violated and deserted the Christian religion and contends that the said person went over to the sacrileges of temples or to Jewish rites or to Manichaeans' infamy and affirms that on this account a will not at all could be made, within a continuous quinquennium, which has been established for actions of voidance, he may make use of this action and may obtain the beginning of a future trial of this sort: to the effect that, when the said person whose transgression is to be accused is living and is shown to have been a participant of this shameful act and wicked deed, he, having testified under public attestation, may prove his indictment; for he who through his silence is proved to have shown perfidy to the supernal name, thus acquiescing in such wicked acts, may not make henceforth an accusation about a transgression, as though ignorant of it.

Given on 21 May at Padua, Merobaudes for the second time and Saturninus being consuls.

Mandate on the suppression of the meeting places of Manichaeans and their expulsion (AD 383, Latin):[81]

The same Augusti to Postumianus, praetorian prefect.

Absolutely all persons whomsoever the error of diverse heresies excites, that is Eunomians, Arians, Macedonians, Pneumatomachians, Manichaeans, Encratitans, Apotactitans, Saccoforians, Hydroparastatans, should not assemble in any gatherings, should not collect any multitude, should not draw any people to themselves and should not show walls of private houses after the likeness of churches, should practise either publicly or privately nothing which can be detrimental to Catholic sanctity.

And if there shall have been anyone who may transgress what so evidently has been prohibited, by all good persons' common agreement he should

[81] *CT* XVI.5.11, p. 859; trans. Coleman-Norton (1966) II, 387–88.

be expelled, because such opportunity has been allowed to all whom the veneration and the excellence of correct religious observance delight.

Given on 25 July at Constantinople, Merobaudes for the second time and Saturninus being consuls.

42. The death penalty for Manichaeans

A law of Zeno, or of Anastasius I, on the right of residence of Manichaeans decreeing the death penalty (AD 487 or 510, Greek – originally Latin):[82]

We ordain that persons who prefer the Manichaeans' deadly error should have no freedom or leave to dwell in any place whatever of our state; but that, if ever they should have appeared or should have been found, they should be subject to capital punishment.

Given on 9 August, the most distinguished Boethius being consul.[83]

Law of Justin I and Justinian I also imposing the death penalty on Manichaeans (AD 527, Greek – originally Latin):[84]

Emperors Justin and Justinian Augusti.

. . . (*The first part is lost*) Therefore we have permitted heretics to assemble and to have their own domination, that they, having felt shame for our patience, willingly may come to their senses and may turn to the better. But a certain intolerable recklessness has entered into them and they have infiltrated themselves, having disregarded the laws' command, into governmental services, in which the very words of the royal formularies show that such persons should no longer participate.

We call heretics other persons, just as the accursed Manichaeans and those about like these; indeed it is unnecessary that they even should be named or should appear anywhere at all or should defile what they have touched. But the Manichaeans – as we have said – thus ought to be expelled and none ought either to tolerate or to overlook their denomination, if indeed a person diseased with this atheism should dwell in the same place with others, but also a Manichaean, wherever on earth appearing, ought to be subjected to punishments to the extreme degree . . .

[82] *CJ* 1.5.11, p. 53. The original Latin version is now lost but a Greek translation (partly lost) is found in the *Basilica* (1. line 25, ed. Scheltema *et al.* (1953 ff.) 5); trans. Coleman-Norton (1966), III, 940.

[83] The date of the law would have been 510 if the consul was Anicius Manlius Boethius, the famous philosopher.

[84] *CJ* 1.5.12, pp. 53–4. Like the previous legislation, this is preserved in Greek translation in the *Basilica* (1. line 26, ed. Scheltema *et al.* (1953 ff.) 5); trans Coleman-Norton (1966), III, 995–6.

43. Mandate of Justinian I on Manichaeans' wills

AD 527, Greek – originally Latin.[85]

. . . (*The first part is lost*) Since persons who have been unfortunate in respect to the Manichaeans' impious error are worthy not only of punishment while they live, but also of the circumstance that after their death they may not give their property to whom they wish or to whom the laws give it by intestacy, we use the present divine pragmatic law to your magnificence, by which we command that the property of persons possessed by this disease should be examined; and that if their children or any of their descending relatives should be free of such sort of madness, these should be allowed to share the property given to them by law, but that if any other cognates of the deceased persons either are called to their inheritance according to those persons' last will (which indeed has been forbidden) or have accepted a donation from such a person while living or even have been honoured with a legacy from, of course, the same person, their property or the things donated or bequeathed should be taken from them absolutely and should be attached to the public treasury.

[85] *CJ* 1.5.15. Like the previous legislation, this is also preserved in Greek translation in the *Basilica* (1. line 27, ed. Scheltema *et al.* (1953 ff.) 6); trans. Coleman-Norton (1966) III, 1005.

CHAPTER 4

The scriptures of Mani

One of the reasons why Manichaeism is sometimes termed the first 'religion', in the modern sense, is that it was deliberately constructed; and a vital element in the foundation for this were the revealed scriptures written down by Mani himself. Indeed, Mani repeats that this is one of the advantages of his church, that its apostle (i.e. himself) has written down the teachings, and thus it will endure and not be led astray (see e.g. **91**, below). In contrast, previous apostles had not written down their teachings, and it had been left to their disciples to put down what they remembered. This important theme enabled Mani to hold fast to the principle of a line of true apostles, in which he placed himself; while at the same time explaining the corruption of previous churches, and also the reason why his own would stand fast to the end. And this provided a suitable key for polemic against other religions, and for Manichaean exegesis of their scriptures as containing both truth and falsity.

Nevertheless, just as we should be cautious in our use of the term 'religion', and not impose anachronistic conceptions derived from the modern discipline of the history of religions; so, we also need to consider what exactly Mani and his followers meant by the concepts of scripture and canon. At the time Mani wrote, the list of Christian scriptures was not yet closed, and it is arguable that the idea of the canonical New Testament in anything like the modern sense did not occur until the fourth century AD. And, of course, the focus on the revealed book that is so characteristic of Islam lay some centuries into the future (although the mechanisms for this remain unclear, it seems more probable that the matrix of ideas concerning the cycle of apostles and books passed from Manichaeism on to Islam). Can we then say that Mani was the first to create the idea of a canon, just as many have maintained that Marcion created the idea of a New Testament?

This is probably to go too far. It is noticeable that, whilst Mani's emphasis on the importance of his books is remarkable, there was some difficulty in maintaining closure to their number, order, and perhaps even contents. In

the first two sections of this chapter a number of 'canon lists' are provided from different sources widely ranged over time and space. The continuity that Mani succeeded in achieving is most often commented on, but significant regional and temporal sub-traditions are also apparent. There is some fluctuation between five and seven 'scriptures' in the sources, and certain books had particular authority in one place but not another. Still, in the following very early source (probably by an immediate disciple and written in the first generation after the death of Mani himself), we find:

> The Gospel and The Treasury of the Life, The Treatise and The Book of the Mysteries, The Book of the Giants and The Epistles, The Psalms and the Prayers of my lord, his Picture(-Book) and his apo(caly)pses, his parables and his mysteries . . .[1]

Here there are the classic seven scriptures of the Manichaean canon (with *The Psalms and the Prayers* counted as one). These are clearly distinguished from Mani's *Picture(-Book)*, which was a depiction of his teachings by himself; and from other (written or oral?) sources ascribed to him. As well as these one must also mention the *Šābuhragān*, a summary of his teachings in Zoroastrian guise written in Middle Persian by Mani for his patron Shapur I. It was not generally included in the canon of Manichaean scriptures, which were otherwise all originally written in Aramaic, and is rarely noted in sources from the Roman Empire. In sum: When speaking of a 'canon', it is probably best not to mean much more than a core list of Mani's writings, around which gathered a number of other sources ascribed to him; but a really qualitative notion of canonicity (and fixity of the revealed letter and word) would be to impose too much, as the Manichaeans themselves do not seem to have made this distinction.

However, one of the major problems for the modern study of Manichaeism is the flimsy survival of Mani's scriptures themselves. Whilst we now have access to many hundreds, indeed thousands, of pages of text written by followers of the religion, and including large amounts of kephalaic material that purport to record Mani's words, the actual scriptures themselves (i.e. the seven works listed above, and of course the *Picture (-Book)* as well) are in very large part lost. As we will see in this chapter, there are some quotations surviving from various works, some substantial

[1] *Hom*. 25.1–6; ascribed to Koustaios, who may well have acted as Mani's scribe. In the same source we also find the following, which is remarkable for the place it gives to *The Kephalaia* (and as evidence for the early date of that text): 'I weep . . . for *The Prayers and the Psalms.* I weep for the illustrations of my *Picture (-Book*), as I (remember (?)) their beauty. I am weeping for *The Kephalaia* and . . .' (18.3–6). Kephalaiac literature was necessarily sub-canonical, since by its nature it was the recording of Mani's sermons, lessons, occasional parables and such like. Kephalaiac literature was therefore written by disciples, not by Mani himself; and thus had a problematic element in view of Mani's critique of such practices in prior churches.

fragments of *The Epistles*, and very important descriptions of the contents of the books by an-Nadīm; but we still can not say that we really know what an absolutely fundamental source such as *The Living Gospel* or *The Book of Mysteries* looked like. This is an enormous lack. In part it is doubtless a matter of luck; but it is noticeable that persecuting authorities would have focused especially on the destruction of the Manichaean scriptures, and in this work they appear to have been all too successful. We can only hope that future discoveries will redeem this situation.[2]

44. Mani's canon according to the Kephalaia

Early in the introduction to the Coptic *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, the section which provides a frame and a rationale for that work as (self-consciously) sub-canonical literature, Mani is quoted as listing his 'books of light'. Unfortunately the meaning of the 'three lessons' (Coptic lit. "words") that they are said to contain is not certain, although they may well be the 'three times' upon which Mani's teachings are built. Mani then urges his disciples also to preserve all his occasional discourses, and it is this that provides a justification for the text.

In this first canonical list it appears that *The (Book of the) Giants* is called 'the writing for the Parthians'[3] in the list of seven works (the traditional number, noting that *The Psalms and the Prayers* are usually counted as one), whilst there is no mention of the *Šābuhragān* unless it is the same as 'the writing for the Parthians' which is unlikely as the *Šābuhragān* – a summary of Mani's teaching for Shapur I – was composed in Middle Persian, the language of the Sassanian court. In the second kephalaia listing the *The (Book of the) Giants* is included but not 'the writing for the Parthians'. Neither piece counts *The Picture-Book*, although there are various references to that text elsewhere in the kephalaiac literature.

(*Keph.* 5.21–33; 6.15–27) . . . unveil in these three lessons . . . in them. I have written them in my books of light: in *The Great Gospel* and *Treasury of the Life*; in *The Treatise* (Gr: *Pragmateia*); in *The One of the Mysteries*; in **25** *The Writing,* which I wrote on account of the Parthians; and also all my *Epistles*; in *The Psalms and the Prayers*. For these three lessons are the measure of all wisdom. Everything that has occurred, and that will occur, is written in them! Have strength to discriminate . . . and know it through them. Every writer, **30** if he reveals these three great lessons: that one is the writer of truth. Also, every teacher, if he gives instruction and proclaims these three

[2] It should be noted that on-going editorial work by Funk and Gardner of codex remains from both Medinet Madi and Ismant el-Kharab is beginning to give a much clearer idea of *The Epistles*; and that similarly (by Funk and others) the editing of the *Synaxeis* codex from Medinet Madi should help us to understand more about *The Living Gospel*. It can also be noted that substantial portions of the *Šāburagān* survive, see MacKenzie (1979 and 1980).

[3] Cf. Tardieu (1981) 59.

lessons, is the teacher of truth. I also, for my part, behold I have revealed these three great lessons. I have given them to you . . .

Yet, now I will entrust to you . . . The world has not permitted me to write down . . . to me all of it; and if you, my children and my disciples, write all my wisdom . . . the questions that you have asked me . . . [20] and the explanations that I have made clear to you from time to time; the homilies, the lessons, that I have proclaimed with the teachers to the leaders, together with the elect and the catechumens; and the ones that I have uttered to free men and free women; . . . all of them, that I have proclaimed from time to time! They are not written. [25] You must remember them and write them; gather them in different places; because much is the wisdom that I have uttered to you.

Although the publication of the *editio princeps* of the codex only reached kephalaion 148 ('Concerning the five books: They are ascribed to five fathers') in 1999, the contents were already discussed (and a provisional text provided) in the first account of the Medinet Madi library by Schmidt, Ibscher and Polotsky in 1933 (35–41, 86). The passage is again important for the problematic question of the canon list. In this particular account there is evidence of textual corruption. As Funk (in his 1999 edition) points out: whilst the title counts five books, we find here six titles arranged as four gifts. It is most likely that at some point in the redaction history *The Psalms and the Prayers* have become omitted (cf. *Keph.* 5.23–26). Probably they were paired as a single gift, and placed prior to *The Epistles*.

(*Keph.* 355.4–25) Once again our enlightener speaks to his disciples: [5] These great writings, which I have written for you, are gifts; as they were freely given to you from the fathers of light.

So, *The Great Living Gospel* is the gift of the Ambassador. [10] *The Treasury of Life* is the gift of the Pillar of Glory. *The Treatise* and *The Book of Mysteries* and the writing on *The Giants*: These three holy writings are a single one, the gifts of the light Twin. [15] Also, all *The Epistles* that I have written for you from time to time: They are my gifts and my presents. This is the good fruit, which I have given you, from the good tree.

Now, you yourselves, my beloveds: Give thanks [20] and be confirmed in these good writings, these that were given freely for you from the fathers of light. Receive them in to your heart and believe them. Inscribe them upon your memory, because through them you will . . . eternal life.

45. Canon lists from an Arabic and a Chinese source

Although the following accounts are not, of course, 'from the Roman Empire', they do illustrate the unity and longevity Mani's canon achieved for Manichaeism. Our

first source is that according to Ibn an-Nadīm (10th C. AD, Arabic),[4] which still remains in many respects the most detailed account available of the actual contents of Mani's books. In the absence of anything more than fragments still extant from these texts, it remains impossible to verify many of an-Nadīm's details; but what is interesting is that at his time of writing he clearly was able to access the works themselves, and as a source he has (when possible to verify) always proved to be remarkably accurate.

The Titles of Mānī's Books

Mānī wrote seven books, one in Farsi (i.e. Persian) and six in Syriac, the language of Syria. Among them are *The Book of Secrets* (i.e. *The Book of Mysteries*), which contains (a number of) chapters, (including) 'An account of the Dayṣāniyya (i.e. the followers of Bardaiṣan of Edessa)', 'The testimony of Yastāsif on the Beloved', 'The testimony of . . . about himself given to Ya'qūb', 'The son of the widow' (who according to Mānī was the annointed and crucified one, crucified by the Jews), 'The testimony of Jesus about himself as given in Judea', 'The commencement of the testimony of al-Yamīn as given after his victory', 'The seven spirits', 'The discourse on the four transient spirits', 'Laughter', 'The testimony of Adam regarding Jesus', 'The fall from religion', 'The discourse of the Dayṣāniyya on the soul and the body', 'Refutation of the Dayṣānites on the soul of life', 'The three trenches', 'The preservation of the World', 'The three days', 'The prophets', (and) 'The resurrection'. This is what is contained in *The Book of Secrets*. (Then there are) *The Book of Giants*, containing . . . ; The Duties of the Hearers, (with) the chapter 'The duties of the Elect'; *The Book of aš-Šāburaqān*,[5] containing the chapters 'The dissolution of the Hearers', 'The dissolution of the Elect', and 'The dissolution of life'; *The Book of Revival*, containing . . . ; and *The Book of Pragmateia*, containing . . .

The remarkable survival of Mani's texts can be further illustrated from the titles of Mani's canonical works according to a Compendium of Manichaean doctrines in Chinese (compiled on 16 July, AD 731)[6]

Third article: On the style of the canon of scriptures and the drawing. All in all there are seven parts, together with a drawing: the first: the great *ying-lun* (from Gr. *evangelion*), interpreted 'book of wisdom which thoroughly

[4] *Fihrist*, ed. cit., p. 336; trans. M. Laffan (unpubl.).

[5] The *Šābuhragān* was a summary of Manichaean doctrines in Zoroastrian guise written in Middle Persian for Mani's patron Shapur I. For an excellent edition and translation of the nominatim fragments see Mackenzie (1979 and 1980). See also related texts collected in Hutter (1992). It was not generally included in the canon of Manichaean scriptures, which were otherwise all originally written in Aramaic.

[6] S3969 *Mo-ni kuang-fo chiao-fa i-lüeh*, ms. lines 57–69; Eng. trans. Haloun and Henning (1952) 194–5.

understands the roots and origins of the entire doctrines' (i.e. *The Great Living Gospel*);
the second: *hisn-t'o-ho*, interpreted 'the sacred book of the treasure of pure life' (i.e. *The Treasure of Life*);
the third: *ni-wan*, interpreted 'the sacred book of discipline', also called 'the sacred book of healing' (i.e. *The Epistles*);[7]
the fourth: *a-lo-tsan*, interpreted 'the sacred book of secret law' (i.e. *The Mysteries*);
the fifth: *po-chia-ma-ti-yeh* (from Gr. *pragmateia*), interpreted 'book of instruction which testifies the past' (i.e. *The Pragmateia*);
the sixth: *chu-huan*, interpreted 'book of the strong heroes' (i.e. *The Book of the Giants*);
the seventh: *a-fu-yin*, interpreted 'book of praises and wishes (vows)' (i.e. *The Psalms and Prayers*);
one drawing; *ta-men-ho-i*, interpreted 'the drawing of the two great principles' (i.e. *The Picture-book* or *Eikon*).
The seven great scriptures and the (one) drawing mentioned above, Mani, the Buddha of light, at the very time when he was about to descend into the world and, all sanctities approving, responded by birth to the causes attained, on the day of the establishment of the law (he himself) transmitted (them) to the five grades (of believers). As to the authorised teaching (*dharma*) stated during the remainder of (his) sixty years, the disciples noted them down according to opportunity. Those (we) do not enumerate.

46. From The Living Gospel

The opening section as preserved in the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex*.[8]

He wrote (again and) **66** said in the gospel of his most holy hope:
'I, Mannichaeus (*sic*),[9] apostle of Jesus Christ,[10] through the will of God, the Father of Truth, from whom I also came into being.[11] He lives and abides for all eternity. Before everything he is, and he remains after everything.

[7] *ni-wan* is a transliteration of Middle Persian *dyb'n* ('archive'). Cf. Henning in Haloun and Henning (1952), 207.
[8] *CMC* 65.23–68.5, ed. cit., 44–5; Eng. trans. J. M. and S. Lieu. This and the other citations from the Gospel were cited in the *CMC* in support of the apostleship of Mani.
[9] This form of the name with the doubling of the -n- is also found in Coptic (*Hom.* 7.5). According to Augustine (*de Haeresibus* XLVI.1), this was a deliberate ploy by the Manichaeans to counter the easily made association between 'Mani' and 'mania' by polemicists, and to make the name sound like the 'pourer of Manna'.
[10] The phrase 'Mani the apostle of Jesus Christ' is also found on a seal in Syriac and written in the characteristic Manichaean script. Cf. de Menasce and Guillou (1946).
[11] This is closely paralleled in the Middle Persian version; see the next text.

Everything which has happened and will happen, is established through his power. From him I have my being, and I exist also according to his will. And from him all that is true was revealed to me and from (his) truth I exist. I have seen (the truth of eternity which he revealed.) And **67** I declared the truth to my companions; I preached peace to the children of peace;I proclaimed hope to the undying generation; I chose the elect and showed the path leading to the height to those who will go up according to this truth. I have proclaimed hope and revealed this revelation; and have written this immortal gospel, in which I have put down these pre-eminent secret rites and declared great deeds, indeed the greatest and holiest of supreme deeds of power. (And) these things which (he revealed) I have made known (to those who live in accordance with) **68** the vision of supreme truth which I have seen, and the most glorious revelation which was revealed to me.'

Quotations from the first book of the Gospel as preserved in Middle Iranian fragments from Central Asia:

(a) *Middle Persian version*[12]
{*Header*} He teaches the Gospel Aleph.[13]
(She was praised and be praised), **R** the Maiden of Light, head of all wisdoms. It was praised and is praised, the holy church, by the power of the Father, by the praise of the Mother, and (by the wisdom of the Son), and on the speakers and hearers of the true word. (*8 lines left blank*) Let there be praise and honour to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost and (to the holy book.)
(. . . *ca. 15 lines lost*. . . . **V** which instructs eye and) ear, and teaches the fruit of truth. (*8 lines left blank*)

I Mani, apostle of Jesus the friend, by the will of the Father, the true God, he from whom I came to be, . . . is after all (things), and everything which has been and will be stands by his power. The fortunate receive this (good) news, the wise recognise (it), the strong don (it, sc. as their armour), the learned (consider (?)) (it to be) better . . .

(b) *Middle Persian and Sogdian diglottal version*[14]
. . . **R** (Pe.) and the understanding of the wise. (Sogd.) *He has been praised and will be praised, the dearest-of-the-dear son, the life-giving (saviour) Jesus, head of all giving, support of the pure and perception of the wise*. (Pe.) She was praised and be praised the Maiden of Light, head of all wisdoms. (Sogd.)

[12] M17, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1994), 184 and 186–90.
[13] Middle Persian *'rb*. The Gospel of Mani, according to Arabic sources, comprised of 22 chapters, each after an alphabet of the semitic alphabet.
[14] M172, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1995), 185 and 186–90.

She has been praised and will be praised, the wonder-working Kanīgrōšān,[15] *who is the head of all wisdom.* (Pe.) It was praised and is praised, the holy church, by the power of the Father, by the praise of the Mother, and by the wisdom of the Son. (Sogd.) *It has been praised and will be praised, the holy church, righteousness, by the power of the Father, god Zurwān, by the praise of the Mother (of Life), god Rāmrātux,*[16] *and* (**V**) *by the wisdom of the Son Jesus.* (Pe.) Welfare and blessing upon the children of well-being and on the speakers and hearers of the true word. (Sogd.) *Welfare and blessing upon the children of well-being and on the speakers and hearers of the trustworthy holy word.* (Pe.)

Let there be praise and honour to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost and to the holy book. (Sogd.) *Likewise let there be praise and reverence to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, and to the living scripture.* (Pe.) The saying of the living Gospel, which instructs eye and ear, and teaches the fruit of truth.

A further quotation from the Gospel in the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex:*[17]

Yet again he said:
'All the secrets which my father gave me, I have hidden and sheltered from the sects and gentiles and indeed the world, but to you I have revealed them in accordance with the will of my most blessed father. And if he should wish me to once more, I will again reveal them to you. For the gift which was given to me by my father is very great and (rich). For if (the whole) world and all **69** men obeyed (him), I would be able, with this possession and advantage which my father has given me, to enrich them and render the wisdom sufficient for the whole world.'

Another quotation, probably also from the Gospel, in the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex:*[18]

Again he said:
'When my father showed favour and treated me with pity and solicitude, he sent from there my never-failing Syzygos, the complete fruit of immortality, who might ransom and redeem me from the error of those of that rule. He came to (me and) brought to me (the) noblest hope, the (redemption) **70** of immortality, true instructions and the laying on of hands from my father.

[15] i.e. the Maiden of Light.
[16] A tentative translation of the Sogdian version of the name of the Mother of Life given by MacKenzie ((1995), 187) is 'liberal (?) with joy (?)'.
[17] *CMC* 68.5–69.8, ed. cit. 46–8; trans. J. M. and S. Lieu.
[18] *CMC* 69.9–70.9, 48; trans. J. M. and S. Lieu.

He came and chose me in preference to others and set me aside, drawing me away from the midst of those of that rule in which I was brought up.'

47. From The Treasure of Life

There are two quotations from the *Thesaurus*, the latter on the 'seduction of the rulers', cited by Augustine (Latin).[19]

(*Frg. 1, from the second book*) Those however who by their own negligence have not allowed themselves to be cleansed from the stain of the spirits mentioned earlier and have failed to obey the divine commandments at all, and have refused to observe any further the law given them by their liberator, and have not governed themselves as was fitting . . .

(*Frg. 2, from the seventh book*) Then the blessed father, who has shining ships as lodgings and dwelling places according to their size, in accordance with the clemency that is attached to him, brings aid to set his vital substance free from the impious bonds and straits and torments in which it is held. By his invisible nod he transforms his powers which he has in his shining ship, and causes them to show themselves to the hostile powers which are set in the different parts of the heavens. These are of both sexes, male and female. Hence he makes the aforesaid powers appear partly in the shape of beardless boys to women of the hostile race, partly in the shape of fair virgins to males of the hostile race. He knows that all these hostile powers are easily taken in because of the deadly unclean lust that is congenital to them, and will yield to the beautiful forms they see, and will so be dissolved. Know that our blessed father is identical with these powers of his, which for a necessary purpose he transforms into the undefiled likeness of boys and virgins. He uses these as his proper instruments, and by them accomplishes his will. The shining ships are full of these divine powers which are set over against members of the infernal race as in a kind of marriage. Quickly and easily, in a moment, they achieve their purpose. When reason demands that they should appear to males they show themselves in an instant in the form of beautiful virgins. Again, when they have to come to women they put off the appearance of virgins and take on that of beardless boys. At this comely sight, their ardour and concupiscence grow, and in this way the prison of those evil thoughts is broken, and the living soul which was

[19] (I) Aug., *Contra Felicem*, 2, 5, ed. Zycha, CSEL XXV/2, 832.22–7; Eng. trans. M. Vermes; (II) Aug., *De natura Boni* 44, ed. cit. 881,24–884,2; Eng. trans. Burleigh (1953) 344–5 (slightly altered). On the cosmogonic episode of the 'seduction of the rulers' see introduction to Mani's 'Teachings' at p. 16.

held bound in their members of those same (beings) is by this opportunity released and escapes and mingles with the purest air which is its native element. Souls that are completely purified board the shining ships which have been prepared for their conveyance and passage across the narrow sea (that separates them from) their homeland. Anyone who still shows the taint of the adverse race goes down step by step through fiery heat, gets mixed up with trees and the other cuttings (used for propagation) and all the seedlings and is stained with diverse colours. Out of that great shining ship the figures of boys and virgins appear to the hostile powers whose home is in the heavens and whose nature is fiery. At the fair sight the part of life which is held bound in their members is released and brought down by heat to earth. In the same way the highest power, that inhabits the ship of living waters, appears by means of his messengers in the shape of boys and holy virgins to the powers whose nature is cold and moist, which also are set in the heavens. To those which are female it appears in the form of boys, and to males in the form of virgins. By this diversity of divine and beautiful forms the princes of cold and moist stock, whether male or female, are brought to naught and the vital element in them escapes. What remains is brought down to earth by cold and is mingled with all the species of earth.

48. From an unnamed work of Mani, probably The Pragmateia

The once commonly accepted hypothesis of Cumont and Kugener[20] and followed by Adam[21] that the citations given below are from the lost canonical work, the *Book of the Giants*, must now be called into doubt. The *Book of the Giants*, as shown from extant Turfan fragments, shows the distinctive influence of the Book(s) of Enoch and this has been confirmed by Milik's identification of a prototype of the Manichaean work among the Enochic fragments from Qumran (1st C BC - 1st AD).[22] The citations are given by the Patriarch Severus of Antioch (*sedit* 512-38, Syriac, orginally Greek).[23]

[20] Cumont and Kugener (1912) II, 160–1. [21] Adam (1969) §5, pp. 11–14.

[22] Cf. Reeves (1992) 172–4. The lost work behind the citations gives one of the most abstract and most demythologised versions of Manichaean cosmogony, and it is not inconceivable that it was a Christianised version of a Manichaean work utilised by heresiologists for the refutation of the teachings of the community.

[23] The citations are found in *Homiliae Cathedrales* CXXIII of Severus of Antioch. Originally composed and delivered in Greek, the homilies have come down to us in two Syriac rescensions. The earlier that of Paul of Callinicum (ed. Rahmani (1909) pp. mh–pṭ) and the later and arguably the better of Jacob of Edessa (ed. Brière (1961) 124 (628) – 188 (692)). The following citations, translated by S. Lieu and revised by S. Brock are based on the resecension of Jacob of Edessa as edited by Brière. See also the fully annotated translation of Reeves (1992) 167–70.

From where did the Manichaeans, who are more wicked than any other, get the idea of introducing two principles, both uncreated and without beginning, that is good and evil, light and darkness, which they also call matter?[24] . . .

But he (Mani) says: 'Each one of them is uncreated and without beginning, both the good, which is light, and the evil, which is darkness and matter. And there is no contact between them.'[25] . . .

The good, which they have called light and the tree of life, occupies the regions in the east, west and north; but the tree of death which they also called matter, being very wicked and uncreated, occupies the regions towards the south and the meridian.[26] . . .

The difference and gulf between the two principles are as great as that between a king and a pig. The one moves in a royal palace in chambers fitting for him; the other wallows like a pig in filth, feeds on its foul stench and takes pleasure in it, or (is) like a snake, coiled inside its den.[27] . . .

The (beings) which have existed for ever and at all time from the beginning – he is speaking about matter and about God – each one of them exists in its own nature. Thus is the tree of life, which is decorated there with all its beauties and with all its shining splendours, which is filled and clothed with all its excellence, which stands fast and is fixed in its nature: its territory includes three regions, that of the north which is external and below, (that) of the east and (that) of the west which is external and below. There is not anything which is penetrated or occluded by it from below, not even in one region, but it (stretches) infinitely outside and below. No foreign body is around it (the tree of life) or below it, nor at another place of the three regions, but below and outside belong to it, to the north, to the east and to the west. There is nothing which surrounds and encloses it on these three sides; but it is in itself, of itself and to itself, arrayed in itself with its fruits. And the kingdom consists of it.[28] . . .

And it (i.e. the good) is not seen in the southern region, and that is because it is hidden in that which is within its bosom (the region of light); for God has built a wall around that place.[29]

Its light and its grace are invisible, so that it does not give the evil tree, which is in the south, an occasion for desire; and so that it should not be the cause for it to be provoked and harassed and to get into danger, but it

[24] *Hom.* 123, ed. Brière (1961) 148.23–25. [25] Ibid. 150.8–10. [26] Ibid. 152.14–16.
[27] Ibid., 152.20–23. [28] Ibid., 154.7–18. [29] Ibid., 154.22–4.

is enclosed in splendour and gives no occasion because of its goodness. Yet it has preserved itself by its righteousness and is in this splendour, existing continually in the nature of its greatness in these three regions. The tree of death, however, according to its nature has no life or any fruits of goodness on its branches. It is always in the southern region. It has its own place, which is above (?) it.[30] . . .

The tree of death is divided into many (trees). War and embitterment exist in them. They are strangers to peace and are full of all wickedness and never have good fruits. It (the tree of death) is divided against its fruits and its fruits too stand against the tree. They are not at one with the one who produced them, but they all produce the worm for the destruction of their place. They are not subject to the one who produced them, but the whole tree is bad. It never does any good but is divided in itself and each individual part destroys what is nearby.[31] . . .

For they also wrote these strong words. (Let this be said) about matter and about its fruits and members: Because of the unrest – therein was the reason – it happened, that they ascended even to the worlds of light. For these members of that tree of death did not even know each other, and were not even aware of each other. For none of them knew more than its own voice and saw only that which was before their own eyes. And when it (the voice) called out something, then they heard it and were aware of it and set off to the voice with violence. They did not know anything else. And so they were stimulated and spurred on by each other to press forward even as far as the frontiers of the splendid land of light; but when they realised that its wonderful and exceedingly beautiful appearance was far better than their own, then they assembled – i.e. that dark matter – and took counsel against light to mix themselves with it. On account of their madness they did not know that a strong and powerful God dwelt therein; but they strove to ascend to the heights, because they had never recognised anything of the excellence of the Godhead, nor had they realised who God was. And they looked there, full of foolishness, urged on by the desire for the appearance of those blessed worlds and believed that it would belong to them. There arose therefore all the members of that tree of darkness, that is matter which creates ruin, and ascended with many, countless armies. Yet they were all clad in the matter of fire.[32]

The members however (of matter) were varied. Some had a firm body and were of infinite size, the others incorporeal and untouchable, having a keen perception like the demons and apparitions of phantoms. When, now, the

[30] Ibid., 154.26–156.8. [31] Ibid., 162. 6–13. [32] Ibid., 164.10–27.

whole of matter had arisen, it ascended with its winds and storms, with water and fire, with its demons and apparitions, the rulers and powers; and this was while they were all in the depths, so that they could associate themselves with the light. On account of this disturbance, which was prepared out of the depths against the land of light and against the holy fruits, it was necessary that a part should come out of the light and be mingled with the evil ones, so that the enemies would be captured by this mingling, and the good would have peace and the nature of the good would be preserved, after that blessed nature had been delivered out of the fire of matter; and out of that ruinous decay, and thereby again the luminous ones would be divested of matter by the power which has been intermingled, so that the matter will be destroyed from the midst and the tree of life be God in all and over all. For in that world of light there is no burning fire, to be set against evil, nor cutting iron, nor water which drowns, nor any other evil which is like it. For everything is light and free space. And no harm comes to it; but rather this exodus or crossing-over takes place in order that, by virtue of the part which came from the light, the enemies, being scattered, might cease their attack and are captured by the mingling.[33]

(You (i.e. Mani) say): 'that this portion (of light) was given to matter in the guise of tempting bait and a deception, so that after this "the mixture" ' – as you say – 'would be purified', or rather 'the light would be found pure', as if you are supposing that you are devising a discourse about dregs mixed in wine, and not about God! 'And after the purification' – I am also saying this according to you – 'matter will be completely reduced to destruction'! For with these very words we have set you forth above as saying: 'so that matter would be obliterated from the midst'.[34]

49. From The Psalms and Prayers *(?)*

Here are lines from the Song of the Lovers (*Amatorium canticum*) as recalled by Augustine (Latin).[35] In general, the content of this canonical scripture is not well understood, nor its relationship to extant Manichaean psalmic literature. Some clue

[33] Ibid., 164.28–166.15 (the same quotaton continued). [34] Ibid., 174.3–8.

[35] Aug., *c. Faust.* xv.5–6, p. 425.4–6, 426.8–12 and 428.5–16; Eng. trans. S. Lieu. Cf. Brückner (1901), 77–8. There is little doubt that the song is genuinely Manichaean as it renders extremely accurate information on the five sons of the Living Spirit. On this see Jackson (1932), 300–1. There are also strong echoes of this song or hymn in Coptic Manichaean psalms (e.g. *PsBk2*. 136.13a–17a.29–38 and 43–9 and 2.6–20). Adam ((1969), 2) suggests that the 'Canticum' could have been a fragment of Mani's *Gospel*.

may be provided by the canon lists embedded in the Medinet Madi *Psalm-Book*. Here we find:

There are two and twenty compounds in his antidote:
His *Great Gospel*, the good tidings of all them that are of the light.
His water-pot is *The Treasury*, the treasure of life:
In it there is hot water, there is some cold water also mixed with it.
His soft sponge that wipes away bruises is *The Treatise*.
His knife for cutting is *The Book of the Mysteries*.
His excellent swabs are *The Book of the Giants*.
The splints for every cure is the book of his *Epistles*.
. . . that is hot, the two *Psalms*, the weeping . . .
there is a cure also that is cool, his *Prayers* and all his lessons.[36]

It is the reference to two psalms in particular that is most telling, but whether either of these is really one of those here recorded by Augustine can not be known.

Do you recall your 'Song of the Lovers' in which you describe the supreme reigning monarch, forever sceptre-bearing, crowned with flowers and possessing a fiery countenance? . . . As you follow the song, you add (to the list of gods) twelve aeons (*duodecim saecula*) clothed in flowers and full of song, throwing their flowers at the Father's face. Whereupon you profess that he was surrounded by these twelve great so-called gods, three of them in each part of the four regions . . . Carry on then with what you are singing and watch out, if you can, for the shame of your idolatry. The doctrine of the deceiving demons has invited you to the imaginary dwellings of the angels where the wholesome breeze blows and to fields which abound in sweet scent and hills and trees and seas and rivers which flow forever with sweet nectar . . . Have you ever come face to face with the reigning, sceptre-bearing monarch bedecked with floral crowns and the armies of gods; and the great Keeper of Splendour (*splenditenens*), with six faces and expressions and is radiant with light; and another, the King of Honour (*rex honoris*),

[36] *PsBk2.* 46.20 – 47.4 (ed. and trans. Allberry, and adapted by I. Gardner with reference to the reedition by G. Wurst (1996)). The reference to the number 22 in the first line indicates the *Gospel* which we know was constructed after the letters of the alphabet. A similar canon tradition is also found from 139.20 – 140.16, which unfortunately is rather fragmentarily preserved (though Allberry's edition is improved by Martin Krause (1994)). However, this lists 'five holy books' amongst which we can read (or reliably restore): numbered 1, the *Great Gospel* and numbered 2, *The Treasury of Life*; then follows, *The Book* (*of the Mysteries*), *The Book of the Treatise, The Book of the* (*Giants*), *The Book of the Epistles, The Prayers* of our lord, the two *Psalms*. After the first two, it is unclear how these should be grouped to render 'five'; but see the discussion in Krause (1994).

surrounded by cohorts of angels; and another, the heroic and belligerent Adamas, who carries a spear in his right hand and a shield in the left; and another, the King of Glory (*gloriosus rex*), who propels three wheels, those of fire, water and wind; and Atlas, chief of all carrying the world on his shoulders, down on one knee and supporting it with both arms? Have you seen all these and a thousand other portents face to face, or has the doctrine of the deceiving demons been sung to you through the lips of the deceived although you are not aware of it?

50. The titles of Mani's Epistles

The titles of *The Epistles* of Mani, and also of his immediate successors,[37] are given according to Ibn an-Nadīm (Arabic, 10th C. AD).[38]

The Two Sources * The Eminent Ones * The Great Epistle of India * On Seemly Goodness * The Consummation of Justice * The Epistle of Kaskar * The Great Epistle of Fatiq[39] * The Armenian Epistle * Amūlyā the Unbeliever * Ctesiphon as it appears in The Document * The Ten Words * The Teacher on Social Intercourse * Waḥman on the Seal of the Mouth * Ḫabarhāt on Consolation * Ḫabarhāt on – * The Epistle of Umhasam of Ctesiphon * Yaḥyā on Perfume * Ḫabarhāt on – * Ctesiphon to the Hearers * The Epistle of Fāfī * The Minor Epistle on Guidance * The Dualist Epistle of Sīs * The Great Epistle of Bābil * Sīs and Fatiq on Forms * The Garden * Sīs on Time * Saʿyūs on the Tithe * Sīs on Pledges. * On Organization * The epistle of Abā the Student * – to ar-Ruhā[40]* Abā on Love * Maysān[41] on The Day * Abā on – * Baḥrānā on Terror * Abā on the Recollection of Goodness * The Servant of Jesus on The Tribes * Baḥrānā on Social Intercourse * The Epistle of Šāyil and Saknā * Abā on Alms * (**337**) Ḥadāyā on The Pigeon * Afqūriyā on Time * Zakū on Time * Suhrāb on The Tithe * The Epistle of Karḥ and ʿUrāb * Suhrāb on the Persians * The Epistle of Abrāḥyā * The Epistle of Abū Yasām the Architect * The Epistle of Abrāḥyā the Unbeliever * The Font * Yaḥyā on Money * Afʿand on the Four Tithes.

[37] The status of these different groups of letters is unknown. As a canonical work, it would seem unlikely that *The Epistles* were an open-ended text (contrast the *Kephalaia* as little more than a genre of sub-canonical discourses); but it is possible to suppose that al-Nadim is following some model such as the Shi'ite preservation of *hadith* from the Imams after Muhammad.

[38] *Fihrist*, ed. cit., pp. 336–7, trans. M. Laffan (unpubl.).

[39] This could be the work known as the 'Epistula Fundamenti' in Roman North Africa. See below.

[40] Ar-Ruhā is the semitic name for Edessa. See below (§51) for a citation (in Greek) of this letter, as preserved in the *CMC*.

[41] A similarly titled epistle is preserved in the Middle Persian fragment M733, *HR* ii, pp. 30–32, *Rd.* §do, pp. 184–85 and trans. *GSR*, p. 258.

Then there are: Af'and on the First Felicity * on the Recollection of the Cushions * Yuḥannā on the Administration of Alms * The Hearers on Fasting and Vocation * The Hearers on the Great Fire * al-Ahwāz on the Recollection of The Angel * The Hearers on the Utterance of Yazdānbaḫt * The First Persian Epistle of Maynaq * The Second Epistle of Maynaq * The Tithe and Alms * The Epistle of Ardašīr and Maynaq * The Epistle of Salam and 'Anṣūrā * The Epistle of Ḥaṭṭā * Ḫabarhāt on The Angel * Abraḥyā on the Healthy and the Sick * Araddud on the Beasts * Aǧā on the Shoes * The Two Luminous Burdens * Mānā on Crucifixion * The Epistle of Mahr the Hearer * The Epistle of Fayrūz and Rāsīn * 'Abdbāl on (Mānī's) Book of Mysteries * The Epistle of Simeon and Ramīn * 'Abdbāl on the Garment.

51. A quotation from 'the Letter to Edessa'

This is cited in the Greek *Cologne Mani-Codex.*[42]

64 (We acknowledge) that he did not receive truth from men nor from the report of books, as our father himself says in the writings he sent to Edessa.[43] He says as follows:

'The truth and the secrets of which I speak, as well as the laying on of hands which is mine, I did not receive from men or beings of flesh, nor from the intercourse with writings; but when my most blessed (father) who called me to his grace and did not (wish) me and the others in the world to perish, saw and pitied me, with the purpose of (offering) well-being to those **65** who were ready to be chosen by him from the religions, then by his grace he took me away from the council of the multitude which did not know the truth. And he disclosed to me his secrets and those of his undefiled father and of the whole world. He revealed to me how they existed before the creation of the world, and how the foundation for all works, good and evil, was laid, and how they manufactured from the mixture in those (times).'

52. Passages from The Epistles *preserved at Ismant el-Kharab*

Among the Manichaean texts recovered by the excavations at Ismant el-Kharab there were a hundred or so papyrus fragments in Coptic from a codex that

[42] *CMC* 64.1–65.22, ed. cit. 42–4; Eng. trans. J. M. and S. Lieu. The citation immediately precedes those from the *Gospel* (*supra*, **46**).

[43] The title of the letter is given by al-Nadim (see above). Edessa, the capital city of the Roman province of Osrhoene, had long been a centre of early Christianity; especially popular there were the teachings of the 'gnostics' Marcion and Bardaisan.

evidently contained some (probably not all) of Mani's canonical *Epistles*. The work of reconstruction has not yet been completed, but in advance of the first critical edition (by I. Gardner and W.-P. Funk) we here provide three short passages (trans. Gardner).

In the first passage we certainly have the start of one of these *Epistles.* As is well known, Mani models his style on that of Paul. Here it is of interest that the text uses the spelling Chrestos, i.e. 'Jesus the 'good'; amongst ancient authors, Alexander of Lycopolis noted that the Manichaeans adopted this form (*c. Manich.* 34.18-21).

Manichaios, apostle of Jesus Chrestos, and all the brothers who are with me; to N.N., my loved one, and all the brothers who are with you, each one according to his name. Peace through God the Father, and our lord Jesus Chrestos, be it upon you my loved one; and may it guard you and . . . you in your body and your spirit. The Father, the God of truth . . .

In this second passage we are probably at the very end of an *Epistle.* The autobiographical asides are especially interesting; and the reference to 'ten sayings' means that this is probably the letter concerning 'the ten words', which is named by the Muslim author an-Nadīm in the tenth century, in his list of the titles of these scriptural texts (**50**).

Indeed, my loved one, I was obliged to write a mass of words to you this time; but God himself knows that these young people, whom you sent and who came, found me in how much pain. For I was sick in my body (?) and in want to come forth from it, I had no relief at all in it. For all of thirty years to the day I was never sick like this occasion; and these young people who had come, I wished merely to proclaim the news to them, and by my mouth send to you without letter. However, your heart was grieved by the words of the brothers who are ill; because of this I myself was oppressed with a great pain, and I have written to you these ten sayings that I might comfort your heart my child. I myself suffered, and that I might give relief to my child: Know therefore that these words I heard in suffering, you too receive them in joy and confirmation; and you understand them.

Finally, we provide this passage: Mani quotes a saying of Jesus (John 13:18, which is itself an allusion to Psalm 41:9) which the fourth evangelist had used with regard to Jesus's foreknowledge of his betrayal by Judas, and applies it to himself. The modelling of Mani's life-experience on that of 'our lord', and particularly with regard to the elements of the passion narrative, is a characteristic feature of Manichaean texts. This passage here evidences that this goes back to Mani himself. The peculiar form of the logion is also of interest as regards the (unresolved) question of Mani's own knowledge of the gospel textual tradition.

The saying that our lord proclaimed by his mouth has been fulfilled in me: 'The one who eats salt with me has raised his foot against me.' I (Mani) myself too, this has happened to me: One who eats salt with me at the evening table, with my clothes upon his body, he has raised his foot against me; just as an enemy would do to his enemy. All these things have I suffered from my children and my disciples, they whom I have saved from the bondage of the world and the bondage of the body; whilst I bear them from the death of the world. I, all these things, I have endured and suffered in their season from a multitude.

53. 'The Fundamental Epistle'

Citations from the *Epistula Fundamenti* found in the works of Augustine (Latin):[44]

(Frg. 1): Mani, apostle of Jesus Christ, through the providence of God the Father.[45]

(Frg. 2): These are the words of salvation from the eternal and living source. Whoever hears them and first believes, then keeps their teachings, will never be subjected to death but will enjoy an eternal and glorious life. For he who has been instructed in this divine knowledge is truly to be considered blessed and who, thereby freed, shall dwell in everlasting life.[46]

(Frg. 3): May the peace of the invisible God and knowledge of the truth be with the holy and beloved brothers who believe the heavenly commandments and also observe them at the same time! May the right hand of the light protect you and deliver you from every assault of evil and the snare of the world! May the piety of the Holy Spirit open up the depths of your heart so that you may see your souls with your own eyes![47]

(Frg. 4a): You have indicated to me, my dearest brother Patticius,[48] saying that you wish to know in what manner Adam and Eve came into being,

[44] The 'Epistula quam Manichaei vocant Fundamenti' was according to Augustine the most widely read work of Mani among the Manichaeans of North Africa. It formed the basis of his debate with the Manichaean *doctor* Felix in 404 (cf. Aug., *Contra Felicem*, ed. Zycha, CSEL XXV/2, 801–52) and that of a major refutation of its contents (cf. Aug., *Contra Epistulam Manichaei quam vocant 'fundamenti'*, ed. Zycha, CSEL XXV/1, 193–248). The latter is the source of the majority of the quotations given below. There is an edition of the reconstructed text, with a detailed but dated commentary, by E. Feldmann (1987). The numbering of the fragments given below follows that of Feldmann. Eng. trans. by J. F. Hendry in Haardt (1971), 295–301; revised by S. Lieu, S. Llewelyn and M. J. Vermes.

[45] Aug., *c. Epist. Fund.* 5, 197.10–11 and *c. Fel.* 1.1, 801.16–17.

[46] Aug., *c. Epist. Fund.* 11, 206.18–24 and *c. Fel.* 1.1, 801.17–24.

[47] Aug., *c. Epist. Fund.* 11, 207.11–13 and 18–20 and *c. Fel.* 1.16, 819.9–15.

[48] This is very likely to be the same person as the Teacher Patīg whom Mani sent to evangelise the regions of the Roman Empire which bordered on those of the Sassanians (see **21**)). Among the titles of Epistles of Mani given by Al-Nadim we find a 'long epistle of Futtuq' which may be the same letter as the *Epistula fundamenti*. The length of the extant citations which could have represented only

whether they were brought forth through the word or were begotten from a body. To this you shall receive an appropriate reply.[49] This subject has been treated by many writers in various texts and revelations, and dealt with in varying ways. The truth of this matter as it stands is therefore not known by almost all peoples, and (especially) by all who have discussed the subject at length and in detail. If they had attained to a clear knowledge of the origin of Adam and Eve, they would never become subject to corruption and death.[50]

(Frg. 4b): In order to be able to penetrate this mystery however, beyond any ambiguity, one must of necessity set forth other facts in advance.[51]

(Frg. 4c): In the first place, therefore, if you will, hearken to what was before the world came into being, and how the struggle was started, so that you may be able to distinguish the nature of the light and the darkness.[52]

(Frg. 5a): In the primeval beginning there were the two substances separated from one another. God the Father ruled over the light, eternal in his holy origin, magnificent in his power, by nature true, forever rejoicing over his own eternity. In him were contained wisdom and the vital senses by which he also embraces the twelve members of his light,[53] namely the abounding riches of his own dominion. In each of his members, however, thousands of countless and immeasurable treasures are concealed. The Father himself, exalted in his glory and incomprehensible in his greatness, possesses in union with himself blessed and illustrious aeons, whose number and extent cannot be estimated. The sacred and noble Father and generator lives with them, in his splendid kingdom there is no beggar or cripple.[54]

(Frg. 5b): Thus his shining kingdoms are founded above the bright and blessed earth, in such a way that they cannot ever be moved or shaken by anyone.[55]

(Frg. 6a): Near one section and the side of that glorious and holy land,[56] (Frg. 6b): was situated the land of darkness, deep and of immeasurable extent; in it resided fiery bodies, baneful breeds. Here, emanating out of

part of the work (which Augustine prefers to call a *liber* rather than an *epistula*) certainly suggests its being a long work, and much longer than an average letter of Mani.

[49] This question from an enlightened disciple and answer from the master in the form of an intended dicourse is standard in Manichaean didactic literature and is frequently used in the *Kephalaia* and by Manichaeans in Central Asia where it could easily be adopted to resemble a Buddhist sutra.

[50] Idem, *c. Epist. Fund.* 12, 207.25–208.11. [51] Ibid., 208.13–16. [52] Ibid., 208.23–26.

[53] I.e. the Twelve Aeons. These are also known as the Twelve Maidens or the Twelve Hours.

[54] Ibid. 13, 209.11–26.

[55] Ibid., 209.26–8; idem, *c. Fel.* 1.17, 820.10–12; idem, *de natura boni* 42, 877.18–20 and Evodius, *de fide contra Manichaeos* 11, ed. Zycha, CSEL XXV/2, 955.1–3.

[56] Aug., *c. Epist. Fund.* 15, 212.9–10 and idem, *c. Fel.* 1.19, 824.16–17. For an important study of the description of the land of darkness as depicted in the 'Epistula Fundamenti' see Puech (1951).

the same principle, came a boundless and incalculable darkness, together with its own progeny. Beyond the darkness lay filthy whirling waters with their inhabitants; further within were terrifying and violent storms with their ruler and progenitors. Next followed another fiery region, a prey to destruction, with its leaders and peoples. In the same way there lived inside it a breed filled with gloom and smoke, among whom loitered the horrible ruler and leader of all these worlds, who had congregated around himself innumerable princes, and he himself was the spirit and source of all of them. And these were the five natures of the corruption-bearing land.[57]
(Frg. 6c): But those five species inhabiting those natures were savage and destructive.[58]

(Frg. 7): The Father of the blessed light, however, knew that a great contamination and destruction was rising from the darkness and menacing his sacred aeons, unless he opposed to it an outstanding, brilliant and powerful deity, through which he would at once overcome the descendants of the darkness and destroy them, and thus, following their destruction, ensure for the inhabitants of the light eternal rest.[59]

(Frg. 8a): . . . the Father who generated there the sons of light; both the air and the land itself and the sons themselves are one substance, and all things are equal . . . [60]

(Frg. 8b): For that is this *Epistula Fundamenti*, which your holiness knows well, which I too have quoted, because it contains the beginning, the middle and the end.[61]

(Frg. 9): Then he (i.e. the ruler of darkness) spoke in his wanton deceit to those who were with him: 'What do you make of that powerful light rising up (over there)? See, how it sets the heavens in motion and convulses most of the powers. It is better therefore that you give over to me whatever light you have in your power. With it I shall make an image of that great one that has appeared in glory. Through that image we shall be able to rule and we shall at last be freed of this sojourn in the darkness.'

When they had heard this and debated at length, they thought it best to render up what they were asked. For they were not confident that they would be able to keep back this light permanently. They therefore considered it better to offer it to their ruler with whom they did not despair of reigning, thanks to this expediency. We must now consider the manner in which they transferred the light which they possessed. This also is scattered in all divine

[57] Aug., *c. Epist. Fund.* 15, 212.10–22. [58] Ibid. 30, 230.11–12.
[59] Aug., *c. Fel.* 1.19, 824, 23–9; idem, *de natura boni* 42, 877.21–26, idem., *c. Sec.* 20, 935.23–6, Evod., *de fide* 11, 955.3–9.
[60] Aug., *c. Fel.* 1.19, 825.24–6. [61] Ibid. 2.1, 828.23–6.

writings and heavenly mysteries. For the wise, of course, a knowledge of the method of transfer is by no means difficult; for this becomes apparent and clearly recognised by him who truly and sincerely desires to know.

As the congregation of those who had assembled differed in sex, namely male and female, he commanded them to mate, whereby some in the act of coition ejected seed and the others became pregnant. The offspring were like their generators, and, as the first-born, received the major part of their parents's powers. Their ruler took them and rejoiced over them as over an extraordinary gift. And just as we even today can observe that the principle of evil forms bodies, draining power from the latest ones before creating new ones, so the ruler we have mentioned receiving the offspring of his companions, who possessed the sensual powers of their parents, their intelligence and also the light which had been procreated with them at the time of their generation, consumed them. He drew a great deal of strength out of that sort of food, in which there was not only strength but even more, cunning and the corrupted senses which derived from the savage mentality of their generators. He called to him his own female companion, who originated from the same source as himself. When he had united with her, he sowed in her, like the others had done, the surplus of evils which he had consumed, and added to these something of his thinking and his power, so that his own mind should shape and form all that he had brought forth. His female companion received it all, just as the best tilled soil customarily receives the seed. For in her the images of all heavenly and earthly powers were shaped and interwoven, so that what took shape there, possessed a similarity to the entire universe.[62]

(Frg. 10): The enemy, who hoped to have crucified that same saviour, the father of the righteous, was himself crucified: for at that time, appearance and real event were distinct.[63]

(Frg. 11): . . . the (souls) which had allowed themselves to be seduced from their former light-nature by love of the world, became enemies of the sacred light, armed themselves openly for the destruction of the sacred elements, and gave themselves up obediently to the spirit of fire. By their hostile persecution they did harm to the holy church and its elect, who are appointed adherents to the heavenly commandments; they are shut out of the blessedness and glorified state of the sacred earth. And because they allowed themselves to be overcome by evil, they shall remain within that breed of evil and have no access to that peaceful earth and the regions of immortality. This will happen to them because they have so entangled

[62] Aug., *de natura boni* 46, 884.29–886.17. [63] Evod., *de fide* 28, 964.7–10.

themselves in evil works that they have become alienated from the life and freedom of the sacred light. Therefore they cannot be taken back into those peaceful kingdoms, but will be confined in the terrible 'mass'[64] already mentioned, for which a guard must also be assigned. These souls therefore will remain attached to the things they have loved and be left behind in this 'mass' of darkness. This they have brought upon themselves through their own misdeeds. They made no effort to understand these teachings concerning the future, and when they were granted time to do so, distanced themselves from them.[65]

54. 'The Letter to Menoch'

The authenticity of this text (Latin)[66] remains open to dispute. It was presented by the Pelagian writer Julian of Eclanum, who used it in his attack against Augustine, the former Manichaean.

1 Manes the apostle of Jesus Christ to Menoch[67] his daughter: May grace and well-being be granted to you by our god, who is in reality the true god, and may he himself illuminate your mind, and reveal his righteousness to you, because you are the fruit of a divine lineage.

2 (. . . Declare (?), Admit (?)) those by whom also you have been made as spotless as you are, by recognising how you were before and from what kind of souls you have sprung, a kind blended from all substances and savours and attaching to different appearances. For just as souls are begotten from souls, so the creation of the body derives from the nature of the body. Therefore, what is born of the flesh is flesh; and what of the spirit, is spirit; however by 'the spirit' understand 'the soul', then the soul (is born) of the

[64] Latin 'globus horribilis'. The term 'globus' (sphere, clump) was used as a Greek loan-word in Syriac and was certainly known to Mani. Cf. Ephraim, *ad Hypatium* III, ed. Mitchell (1912–22), I, 87.43.

[65] Evod., *de fide* 5, 952.28–953.16 and Aug., *de natura boni*, 42, 878.23–5.

[66] Aug., *contra Julianum opus imperfectum,* III, 172.1–12, 186.5–12, 187.2–11, 37–42, 47–9 and 53–9 ed. Zelzer, CSEL LXXV/1 (Vienna, 1974) 473 and 485–8; Eng. trans. S. Lieu and S. Llewelyn with acknowledgement to an earlier unpublished draft translation by C. J. Morgan for the Database of Manichaean Texts. See also the text in Adam (1969) §12, pp. 31–2 (based on *PL* 45.1318–27) which is still widely used. For an edition of the epistle with a full listing of testimonia and a detailed commentary see Stein (1998). The numbering of the subdivisions in the translation follows that of Stein's edition. For a full study with text and translation, including those of contextual material, see Harrison and BeDuhn (2001), 131–9.

[67] Among the titles of Mani's epistles cited by an-Nadīm (see above, **50**) are: 'The first Persian epistle of Maynaq. The second epistle of Maynaq. The epistle of tithe and alms. The epistle of Ardaīr and Maynaq'. However, there are good grounds to dispute Mani's authorship for the extant citations. Julian claimed to have acquired it via Constantinople, but Augustine claimed (*c. Jul. op. impf.* III, ed. cit. 165.4–166.5) that he had never come across it before. The letter, as Stein ((1998), 28–33) has ably demonstrated, manifests a number of peculiar readings in its New Testament citations which suggest an author familiar with the Latin version of Paul's Letters and also preoccupation with theological issues (such as infant baptism) which could not possibly have been of interest to Mani.

soul, and the flesh of flesh. 3. So just as God is the originator of souls, so the devil is the originator of bodies through lust, so that in the devil's snare by means of the lust of a woman, whence the devil lies in wait, (he catches (?)) not souls but bodies, either by sight, or by touch, or by hearing, or by smell, or by taste. 4. In short, abolish the root of this evil stock and gaze at once on your own spiritual self. For, says the scripture, the root of all evils is lust.

5. Wherefore see how foolish are they who say that his creative act was established by the good God, which act they are sure is begotten of the spirit of lust. (Yet) they unite with unwilling heart and they act with hidden shames, while they hate the light so that their works may not be made manifest. 6. For the sake of which the apostle says (Rom. 9:16): 'That it may be understood, this work is not of a willing man.' For if we perform the good, it is not of the flesh; because the deeds of the flesh are plain to see, which are fornication etc., if we do evil, it is not of the soul; because the fruit of the spirit is peace, joy (etc.) (Gal. 5:19 and 22). 7. Finally also the apostle clamours to the Romans (7:19); the good which I wish, I do not do; but I work at the evil which I dread. You see the voice of the stubborn soul, defending the freedom of the soul against lust. For he grieves because sin, i.e. the devil, is working every lust against him. 8. The authority of the law proclaims his wickedness, when it censures all his practices, which the flesh admires and praises; for every bitterness of lust is sweet to the soul, through it the soul is nourished and stirred to activity. 9. In short, the soul of the man who restrains himself from all practice of lust is wakeful, is enriched and grows; but by the practice of lust it is wont to diminish . . .

3 It is worth mentioning, because the first soul, which sprang from the God of Light, received that creation of the body that it might control it with its own restraint. The command came, sin which appeared to have been a prisoner, revived; the devil found his moments, led astray into it (i.e. the soul) the disposition of lust and by means of it he ruined it. The law indeed is pure, but pure for the pure (soul); and God's command is both just and good, but for the just and good (soul).

4 1. Yet, these are men who have dared to say that this lust is a good thing in opposition to the evangelical and apostolic books, which they keep reading in vain; you may see how their holy men at one time have slept with their daughters, at other times have had intercourse with several concubines and wives as well. And the apostles do not see this: what alliance is there for light and darkness, for the faithful and the faithless, for Christ and Babel? 2. They go astray, gathered in the gloom of lust, whose poison they so enjoy, that, seized with madness, when they perform this act, they

think it has been permitted by God as if they did not know that the apostle said; what things are done by them in the dark, it is shameful to speak indeed . . .

5 1. Come, you defender of lust, with frank speech relate its fruits and its works. Behold in opposition to it I do not fear the light, which it trembles and hates. For everyone who does evil hates the light and does not come to the light lest his works be manifest. 2. Do you see that lust is the source of evil,[68] through which wretched souls are the slaves to desire, not of their own accord, because this is the only thing which we do with unwilling heart.

6 In short, every sin is outside the body, because it is active; but he who fornicates, sins against his own body. For every sin, before it is committed, does not exist; and after the deed, only the memory of its doing remains, not the image (?) itself; but the evil of lust, because it is natural, exists before it is committed; when it takes place, it is increased; and after the deed it is seen and endures.

7 If sin is not natural, why are infants baptised, who are agreed to have done no evil of themselves?[69]

8 (Let those answer), whom I have to question with these words, – if every evil is committed by an act, then before anyone does evil, why does he receive the purification of water, when he has done no evil of his own accord? Or, if he has not yet done it, must he also be purified? Is it permitted that they declare the springing forth of evil lineage by nature, these wicked men themselves whom madness does not allow to understand either what they are saying or what they are asserting as true?

55. Spurious letters attributed to Mani

The following four fragments are all cited in polemics against Monophysites by Orthodox writers and are very likely to be fabrications.

Fragment of a Letter to Addas (Greek):[70]

The Galileans affirm that Christ has two natures but we pour rude laughter on them. For they do not know that the substance of light is not mixed with

[68] A peculiar misquotation of 1Tim. 6.10: 'For the love of money is the root of all evils, . . .' which seems to suggest familiarity of the reading 'cupiditas' for 'avaritia' in the versions of the Latin New Testament which argues against the letter being a genuine work of Mani. Cf. Stein (1998), 29–36.

[69] An argument unlikely to have been used by Mani given the lack of interest in the topic of infant baptism among Syriac-speaking Christians at the time of Mani. Cf. Stein (1998), 38–9.

[70] *Fragmentum epistulae ad Addam,* ap. Eustathius Monachus, *Epistula de duabus naturis adversus Severum, PG* 86.904A (= Adam (1969) §13, p. 33); Eng. trans. S. Lieu.

another matter but is pure, and cannot be united with another substance even if they seem to be joined. The title of 'Christ' is a name which is loosely applied and does not give any indication of form or being. But the highest light, remaining one with his own, appointed for himself a body among earthly bodies, being completely of one nature.

Fragment of a Letter to the Saracen Kundaros (Greek):[71]

When the Jews desired to stone Christ and to put into action the daring of their lawlessness, the son of the highest light manifested his nature clearly, and he walked through their midst without their seeing him. For the immaterial form was, though conformed in appearance to the flesh, not visible nor tangible, as matter has nothing in common with the immaterial. His (i.e. Christ's) nature is one throughout even though his bodily form was visible.

Fragment of a Letter to Scythianus (Greek):[72]

The son of the eternal light manifested his own being on the mountain since he did not have two natures, but one nature, both visible and invisible.

Fragment of a Letter to his disciple Zabinas (Greek):[73]

The nature of light is entirely one and does not suffer and its power is one. For the light shines in the darkness and the darkness did not overcome it. (The light) touched not the substance of flesh, but was veiled with a likeness and form of flesh, lest it should be overcome by the substance of the flesh, and suffer and be spoiled, the darkness spoiling its operations as light. How then did it suffer since neither did darkness overcome it nor was its operation darkened?

A single nature does not die and a semblance of flesh is not crucified. Therefore, the light remained in possession of one nature, and one activity which suffered nothing from the veil of flesh which does not have a nature which is overcome.

[71] *Fragmentum epistulae ad Condarum,* ap. Diekamp (ed.) (1907), 64 (= Adam (1969) §14, p. 33); Eng. trans. S. Lieu.

[72] *Fragmentum epistulae ad Scythianum.* ap. Justinianus, *c. Monophysitas* 91, ed. Schwartz (1973), 38.35–6; Eng. trans. S. Lieu. Scythianus was the name of the precursor of Mani in the polemical *Acta Archelai*.

[73] *Fragmentum epistulae ad Zabinam*, ap. Diekamp (ed.) (1907), 41; Eng. trans. S. Lieu.

CHAPTER 5

Teachings

For a summary of Mani's teaching see Introduction (pp. 8–21). The following extracts give emphasis to Manichaean writings in Coptic because of their relative inaccessibility.

56. The community sing 'the knowledge of Mani'

This psalm (*PsBk2*. 9.3–11.32 ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted by Iain Gardner) is now found amongst the 'psalms of the bema', at least in the Medinet Madi codex. However, it is so clearly a fundamental account of the entire history of the conflict between the two principles, the loss and redemption of the living soul, that it is tempting to suppose some special status for the piece. See further Wurst (1991).

(Psalm) 223

9 Let us worship the Spirit of the Paraclete.

Let us bless our lord Jesus who has sent to us
the Spirit of truth. He came and separated us from the error
of the world, he brought us a mirror, we looked,
we saw the all in it.

When the Holy Spirit came he revealed to us
the way of truth and taught us that there are two
natures, that of light and that of darkness,
separate one from the other from the beginning.

The kingdom of light, on the one hand consisted in five
greatnesses, and they are the Father and his twelve
aeons and the aeons of the aeons, the living air,
the land of light; the Great Spirit breathing in them,
nourishing them with its light.

However, the kingdom of darkness consists of five storehouses,
which are smoke and fire
and wind and water and darkness; their counsel
creeping in them, moving them and raising them
to make war with one another.

Now, as they were making war with one another they dared
to make an attempt upon the land of light, thinking that they
would be able to conquer it. Yet they know not that which they
have
thought to do they will bring down upon their own heads.

And there was a multitude of angels in the land of the light,
having the power to go forth to subdue the enemy
of the Father, whom it pleased that by his word that
he would send, he should subdue the rebels who desired
to exalt themselves above that which was more exalted than they.

Like unto a shepherd that shall see a lion coming to
10 destroy his sheep-fold: for he uses guile and takes
a lamb and sets it as a snare that he may catch him
by it; for by a single lamb he saves his
sheep-fold. After these things he heals the lamb that
has been wounded by the lion.

This too is the way of the Father, who sent his
strong son; and he produced from himself his
virgin equipped with five powers, that
she might fight against the five abysses of the dark.

When the watcher stood by the borders
of the light, he showed to them his virgin who
is his soul; they bestirred themselves in their abyss, desiring
to exalt themselves over her, they opened their mouth desiring
to swallow her.

He held fast her crown, he spread her over them, like
nets over fishes, he made her rain down upon them
like purified clouds of water, she thrust herself
within them like piercing lightning. She crept in their
inward parts, she bound them all, they not knowing it.

When the First Man had perfected his war,
the Father sent his second son.
He came and helped his brother out of the abyss;
he established this whole universe out of the mixture that
took place of the light and the darkness.

He spread out all the powers of the abyss to ten heavens and
eight earths, he shut them up in this universe
for a season; while he made it a prison for all the powers of
darkness,
it is also a place of purification for the soul that was
swallowed in them.

The sun and moon he founded, he set them on high, to
purify the soul. Daily they take up the refined part
to the heights, but the dregs however they scrape
11 down to the abyss, what is mixed they convey
above and below.

This entire universe stands firm for a season, there
being a great building which is being built outside this
world. So soon as that Builder shall finish,
the whole universe will be dissolved and set on fire
that the fire may smelt it away.

All life, the relic of light wheresoever it be, he will
gather to himself and of it depict a Statue.
And the counsel of death too, all the darkness,
he will gather together and paint its very self for a (bond (?))
for the ruler.

In an instant the Living Spirit will come . . .
. . . he will succour the light. However, the counsel of death
and the darkness he will shut up in the tomb
that was established for it, that it might be bound in it for ever.

There is no other means to bind the enemy save this means;
for he will not be received to the light because he is a stranger
to it;
nor again can he be left in his land of darkness, that he may
not wage a war greater than the first.

A new aeon will be built in the place of this universe
that shall dissolve, that in it the powers of the light may
reign, because they have performed and fulfilled the will
of the Father entire, they have subdued the hated one, they have
. . . over him for ever.

This is the knowledge of Mani, let us worship him
and bless him. Blessed is he every one that believes in him,
for he it is who may live with all the righteous.

Glory and victory to our lord Mani, the Spirit of
truth that comes from the Father, who has unveiled for us
the beginning, the middle and the end.
Victory to the soul of the blessed Maria, Theona, Pshai, Jmnoute.

57. Alexander of Lycopolis on the Manichaean system

This schematic representation of the Manichaean system is by the Neo-Platonist Alexander of Lycopolis (early fourth century, AD Greek).[1] It is a remarkable testimony to the rapid penetration of Manichaean beliefs even amongst philosophical circles in Egypt.

(II.) This is a summary of Mani's doctrine as we know it from members of his circle: He established as principles (p. 5) God and matter (Gr. *hyle*). God is good, matter is evil. However, there is still more good in God than there is evil in matter. That which he calls matter is not what Plato (*civ.* II 358e) thus named, in other words that which becomes all things by assuming the nature and the form (it is the reason why Plato calls it 'universal receptacle', or 'mother' and 'wet-nurse') (*Tim.* 49a). Neither is it what Aristotle meant, in other words the element to which form and privation relate (*organ.* II, p. 402ff., ed. Waitz), it is something else still. Indeed, it is the random movement (Gr. *ataktos kinēsis*) which is in every being, that is what Mani calls 'matter'. Other powers stand at God's side, these play the role of auxiliaries and are wholly good. And beside matter, there are, seemingly, other powers which are wholly evil. The splendour, the light, the on-high, all these powers are with God. Obscurity, the darkness and the here-below are with matter. God also has

[1] Alexander Lycopolitanus, *contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio* II–V, ed. Brinkmann (1895) 4–8; Eng. trans. S. Lieu and S. Vince. On Alexander as an important early source on Manichaeism, see esp. van der Horst and Mansfeld (1974); Stroumsa (1991); A. Villey (1985).

desires, but these are all good. Matter too has desires, but they are all evil.

III. At one time, matter was seized with desire to ascend to the place on high. And, having reached it, it marvelled at the splendour and the light which were in God's company. It wished to become master of this kingdom and drive God out of it. The latter resolved to punish it, but he had difficulty in finding the evil necessary for its punishment: in fact there is no evil in God's house. Therefore he hastened to dispatch a power,[2] that which we call the soul,[3] to confront matter, with the aim of bringing about a complete mingling with it. And its consequent separation from this power would result in the death of matter. It is thus that by virtue of divine providence (p. 6) the mingling of the soul and matter will be achieved, a mingling of unlike with unlike. Yet in this mingling, the soul will contract the same affections as matter. In the same way as the contents of a poor-quality jar often become contaminated, so it is with matter, the soul undergoes something similar and, contrary to its true nature, is diminished by having had dealings with matter.

Now God was filled with compassion, and he sent another power, that which we call the 'demiurge'.[4] When this power had arrived and taken in hand the creation of the world, it separated from matter that part of the power which had not had to suffer anything contrary to its nature by virtue of the mingling: thus the sun and moon were first created. The part which had suffered moderately from dealings with matter gave birth to the stars and to the whole sky. As for the portion of matter from which the sun and moon had been separated, it was relegated beyond the confines of the world, and it is a fire, definitely burning, but without brilliance, almost like the night. As for the other elements, and the plants and animals which populate them, the divine power was mingled with them in unequal proportions. That is the reason for which the world came into being and, in this world, the sun and moon which, by means of generations and corruptions, continually separate the divine power from matter and dispatch it to God.

IV. Indeed, there is another power[5] beside the demiurge, which has borrowed the luminous rays of the sun to descend, and which works at this

[2] I.e. the Primal Man. Alexander gives no account of his suffering in the kingdom of darkness.

[3] A statement commonly found in polemical writings, see e.g. *Acta Archelai* VI (*ap*. Epiph., *Panarion* LXVI.25.8) (*v. infra*, **58**) where it was the armour of the Primal Man which was the soul. However, Manichaean writings are much less unequivocal on this equation.

[4] Viz. the Living Spirit. Unlike the gnostics, the demiurge is not a negative figure in Manichaeism.

[5] Viz. the Third Messenger. Alexander is almost unique among Greek and Latin sources in identifying both demiurgic figures in the Manichaean system.

labour of separation. This labour is an obvious thing and, so it is said, even a blind man can see it. For in its waxing phase the moon collects the power which was separated from matter, and becomes filled with it during this time. (p. 7) Then, once it is full, it wanes, causing the said power to re-ascend into the sun. The sun in its turn sends it back towards God. That done, the sun receives, emanating from the last full moon, another part of the soul which migrates towards it, and, having received it, leaves it to make its own way to God by the same means. That is the sun's perpetual task.

Furthermore, one can see in the sun an image which resembles the human form. Seeing it, matter was seized with the desire to imitate it and produced man itself, thanks to the total mingling which links it to the power: therefore man himself also possesses a particle of the soul. Nevertheless, the form has contributed greatly to the fact that man participates in the divine power more than other living beings and mortals, since he himself finds that he is an image of this divine power.

Christ is an intellect (Gr. *nous*).[6] Coming one day from the place on high, he liberated the greater part of the power in order to restore it to God and finally, through his crucifixion, he made it known that in the same way the divine power was nailed or, in other words, crucified on matter.[7]

So, therefore, since God's decree commands that matter should perish, one must abstain from all food derived from animals, eat vegetables and all things which have no feeling, abstain from marriage, the pleasures of love-making and the begetting of children, so that the time the power spends in matter is not prolonged through succeeding generations. But it is also forbidden for Manichaeans who put themselves to death to be granted an artificial purification of the stains which their mingling with matter inflicted on the power.

v. Such are their principal doctrines. Besides, they honour the sun and moon above all else, not as gods, but as the way which allows access to God.

[6] The identification of Christ the saviour with *nous* goes back to the earliest Manichaean writings. In the *Šābuhragān* (see above, p. 152), the name for Christ in Middle Persian was *xrdyšhr yzd* ('God of the World of Wisdom or Intellect'). Cf. Rose (1979), 138. While the Light Mind was identified with Jesus the Splendour or the Jesus of Light by the Manichaeans, the same identification is not made with Jesus the Messiah who suffered in the hands of the Jews and was crucified. The statement that 'Christ is Nous' is further elaborated in the treatise of Alexander (§24, 34.17–35.20, ed. Brinkmann) in which he defended the name of Christ from a Christian position against Manichaean misuse which may indicate that he might have once been a Christian. On this see the important observations of Edwards (1989).

[7] I.e. Jesus Patibilis, the third manifestation of Jesus in Manichaeism.

They also say that after the total separation of the (p. 8) divine power, the external fire will melt from on high and will consume itself, together with all substance that still remains.

58. The Acta Archelai *on cosmogony*

Summary of Manichaean teaching on cosmogony from the *Acta Archelai*[8] (mid-late 4th C., Greek, with a near contemporary Latin version).[9]

(**25**), 3 Summary of the sacrilegious teachings of Mani:
(VII) If you wish to become acquainted with Mani's belief, then hear it from me in a brief summary. He reveres two unbegotten, eternal gods originating from their own nature, of whom the one is the adversary of the other. He introduces the one as good, the other as evil. To the one he gives the name light, to the other darkness, and he says that the soul which is in man is a part of light, whereas the body belongs to darkness and is a creation of matter. 4. He says that a mixture or confusion of them came about in the following way, comparing the two gods with the following illustration. Like two kings fighting each other, who have been enemies from the beginning and each of whom respectively has his own territory, darkness by coincidence rose up out of its limits and attacked light. 5. However, when the good Father noticed that darkness had penetrated his land, he caused to emanate from himself a power, the so-called Mother of Life and from this emanated the First Man (and) the five elements. These are wind, light, water, fire and air.[10] 6. And when he had put on these as battle armour, he descended and fought with darkness. The rulers of darkness then went over to a counter attack and ate of his armour, which is the soul. 7. Then the First Man

[8] Traditionally attributed to Hegemonius, the *Acta Archelai* purports to be a record of debates between Mani and various Christian leaders across the frontier in the Roman Empire, especially with the bishop Archelaeus at Carchar (= Carrhae in Osrhoene ?). The work, which also contains a highly satirical version of the life of Mani, enjoyed enormous popularity in late antiquity. Originally composed in Greek in the first half of the fourth century, it has survived in a complete form only in a near contemporary translation in Latin. However, the heresiologist Epiphanius has preserved in Greek in his lengthy article on the heresy (*Panarion* LXVI) substantial parts of the Greek version of the *Acta* including the important sections containing the summary of Mani's system. On the *Acta* as a source for the history of early Manichaeism see S. N. C. Lieu (1988); and Scopello (1995).

[9] Epiphanius, *Panarion* LXVI.25.3–31.8, ed. K. Holl, rev. J. Dummer, GCS (Berlin, 1985), 53.18–72.8; Eng. trans. M. Vermes and S. Lieu. The chapter numberings in Roman numerals are those of the Latin version of the *Acta Archelai* (ed. C. H. Beeson, GCS (Leipzig, 1916) 9–22). The chapter and section numberings in Arabic numerals in the translation follow those of Holl's edition of Epiphanius. For a detailed commentary on the summary see Riggi (1967), 110–59.

[10] The text reads 'matter' (Gr. *hyle*) but most scholars prefer 'air' (*aēr*) as the fifth light element, and in Coptic sources it is the living air (e.g. *PsBk2.* 137.36–7). The (erroneous?) reading clearly goes back to the earliest Greek versions of the *Acta Archelai* as the Latin translation gives *materia*.

down below was pressed very hard by darkness, and if the Father had not heard his prayer and sent out another power, which emanated from him, that is the so-called Living Spirit, and if this latter had not descended and stretched out his right hand, leading the First Man out of darkness, then he would long ago have risked being held fast. So from then on he left the soul down there. 8. It is for this reason that the Manichaeans shake each other by the right hand when they meet, as a sign that they are saved from darkness. For, he says, all the sects are in the darkness. Then the Living Spirit created the world, put on three other powers, descended, brought up the rulers and crucified them in the firmament, which is their body, the sphere.

(VIII) **26** Then the Living Spirit created the lights, which are the remnants of the soul, and made them circle round the firmament. Furthermore he created the earth in eight forms.[11] The Porter down below carries it, and when he becomes weary of carrying, he trembles and causes an earthquake, outside the determined time. 2. For this reason the good Father sent his son from his bosom into the heart of the earth and into its lowest parts, to bring upon him a suitable punishment. For every time the earth quakes, he is either trembling with weariness, or transferring the earth onto his other shoulder. 3. Then matter created plants from itself and when they had been stolen by certain archons, it called all the highest archons, took power from them individually, formed this man in the image of that First Man and bound soul in him. This is the reason for the mingling. 4. Still, when the living Father saw the soul suffering in the body, then in grace and mercy he sent his beloved son for the salvation of the soul. It was for this reason and because of the Porter that he sent him. 5. And the son came, transformed himself into human form, and appeared to men as a man, although he was not human. And people believed that he had been begotten. 6. So he came and made creation for the salvation of souls and produced an instrument with twelve vessels; this is turned by the sphere and draws up the souls of the dying. Then the great light takes them up with its rays, purifies them and passes them on to the moon and thus is filled the face of the moon, as we call it. For he describes the two lights as ships or ferries. 7. Then when the moon is full, it ferries the souls to the east and so wanes, as it is lightened of its load. And again it fills the ferry and again it unloads as the souls are brought up by the vessels, until it has saved its own share of soul. For every soul and every living creature has a share in the good Father's

[11] I.e. the eight earths (on which see Introduction, p. 15). It is odd that they are mentioned here without the usual accompanying 'ten heavens' or 'ten skies'.

being, he maintains. 8. Now when the moon has passed on to the aeons of the Father its burden of souls, they remain in the Pillar of splendour,[12] the so-called perfect air.[13] This air is a pillar of light, because it is full of souls being purified. This is the reason why souls come to salvation.

(IX) **27** The reason, however, why men die is as follows: A lovely, decorated and very attractive maiden[14] tries to rob the rulers, who were brought up and crucified in the firmament by the Living Spirit, by appearing to the male rulers as a beautiful woman, to the female ones as a good-looking and desirable youth. 2. When the rulers see how beautiful she is, they are stung by a love-charm; since they cannot grasp her however, they become terribly enflamed and erotic desire deprives them of all reason. 3. Now when the maiden becomes invisible before their advance, the great ruler produces clouds from out of himself, to darken the world in his anger, and if he strains much, like a man he sweats and grows tired, and his sweat is the rain. 4. If at the same time the ruler of the harvest is robbed by the maiden, he pours out an epidemic over the whole earth, to kill men; for this body is called cosmos, corresponding to the macrocosm, and all men have roots beneath, which are linked with those above. So when he is robbed by the maiden, he begins to cut off men's roots; and when their roots are cut off, the epidemic breaks out and so they die. 5. However, if that which is above the roots sways as a result of the tension, an earthquake occurs as a consequence, with the Porter also shuddering. This is the cause of death.

(X) **28** I will tell you also how the soul transmigrates into different bodies. First of all a little of it is purified, then it moves into the body of a dog, of a camel or of another living creature. If it is a murderous soul, it is carried into the bodies of lepers; if it is found to have harvested, into those whose speech is handicapped. (The names of the soul are as follows: mind (Gr. *nous*), thinking, intellect, thought, reasoning.) 2. The harvest workers, who do the reaping, are like the archons, who were in darkness from the beginning, when they ate of the armour of the First Man. So they must be transformed into grass or beans or barley or ears of grain or vegetables, so that they too can be harvested and cut down. 3. If someone

[12] Or 'radiant Pillar'.

[13] Often emended to 'Perfect Man' (the Latin version of the Acta gives 'vir perfectus'). However, the association of both 'air' (Gr. *aēr*) and 'man' (Gr. *anēr*) with the Pillar of light is found in Manichaean texts. See e.g. *PsBk2*.CCLXVI, trans. Allberry, 83.25–8: 'Hail, Perfect Man, holy path that draws to the height, clear air, mooring-harbour of all that believe in him: open to me thy secrets and take me to thee from affliction.' On this see van Lindt (1992) 170–5, esp. 174–5.

[14] I.e. the Virgin of Light. The link between the Virgin and human mortality and judgement is also found in other Manichaean texts. See e.g. *PsBk2*. CCLXVII, 84.30–2 and *Keph*. XCV, 244.9–13. Cf. van Lindt (1992) 176–81.

eats bread, he must also become bread and be eaten. If someone kills a bird, he will become a bird; if someone kills a mouse, he will become a mouse. 4. Furthermore, if someone is rich in this world, and has departed from his tent, he must pass over into the body of a beggar, so that he moves around and begs, and then goes into eternal punishment. 5. However, because this body belongs to the rulers and to matter, a man who plants a persea tree[15] must move through many bodies until that persea tree is felled. If a man builds himself a house, he will be distributed to all the bodies. If a man bathes, then he fixes his soul to the water. 6. And if a man does not give alms to the elect, he will be punished in hell and reincarnated in the bodies of catechumens, until he has given many alms. For this reason they bring the best of foods as offerings to the elect. 7. When they are about to eat bread, they pray first, saying to the bread: 'I have neither harvested you, nor have I ground you, nor pressed you, nor put you in an oven, but someone else has done all this and brought you to me; I have eaten (you) without guilt.'[16] When he has said this to himself, he says to the catechumen, 'I have prayed for you', and so the latter goes on his way. 8. As I said to you a little earlier, if a man reaps, he will be reaped, and similarly one who throws grain in the machine, will also be thrown in himself; whoever kneads, will also be kneaded, whoever bakes bread will also be baked. For this reason they are forbidden to carry out an occupation. 9. Once more they say that there are other worlds, from which the lights rise again, when they have set in this world. And if a man walks on the ground, he damages the earth. And whoever moves his hand, causes damage to the air; for the air is the soul of men, of animals, of birds, of fishes and of reptiles, and of anything else there is in the world. For I have told you that this body does not belong to God, but to matter, that it is dark and must be kept in the dark.

(XI) **29** About paradise, which is called "world". The trees in it are desires and other deceptions, which spoil the thoughts of men. That tree in paradise by which they know good, is Jesus, and the knowledge of him which is in the world. 2. Whoever accepts it, distinguishes between good and evil. However, the world itself is not of God, but was formed from a part of matter and for this reason everything goes to its ruin. However, what the rulers robbed from the First Man is what fills up the moon and is daily purified out of the world. 3. And if a soul departs which has not recognised the truth, it is given over to the demons, so that they can subdue it in the

[15] I.e. a fig tree. Cf. Riggi (1967) 136–7, n. 1.
[16] For a similar prayer see *P.Rylands Greek* 469.23–6; translation given in **23** (ch. 3, *supra*).

hells of fire. After the chastisement it is transformed into other bodies, so that it can be subdued, and so it is thrown into the great fire until the very end.

30 About the prophets among you he says this: there are spirits of godlessness or lawlessness of the darkness which rose up at the beginning; and by them they were led into error and did not speak truly. For that ruler has blinded their senses. 2. And if anyone follows their words, he dies for all eternity, bound up in the "lump" (Gr. *bolos*), because he has not learnt the knowledge of the Paraclete. 3. He commanded his elect alone, who are not more than seven in number:[17] 'If you cease to eat, pray and put on your head an olive branch, exorcised in many names, to strengthen this faith.' The names however were not revealed to me; for only the seven make use of them. 4. And he went on to say that the name Sabaoth, which is great and honoured among you, is the nature of mankind and the father of desire, and for this reason simpletons worship desire because they take it for god.

5. (XII) About how Adam was created, he says this: the one who said 'Well then, let us make a man in our image and in our likeness' or in other words according to the shape which we have seen, is the ruler, who said to the other rulers: 'Well then, give me of the light, which we have received, and let us make a man, after the shape of ourselves, the rulers, which we have seen, which is the First Man.' 6. And so they created man. They created Eve in the same way and gave to her a share of their own desire, so as to deceive Adam. And through them the creation of the world came about by the creative activity of the ruler.

31 He says that God has no part in the world itself and takes no pleasure in it, because from the beginning he has been robbed by the rulers and come into oppression. For this reason he sends out and robs them of his soul every day by means of these lights, sun and moon, by which the whole world and all creation is plundered. 2. The one who spoke with Moses, the Jews and the priests is, he says, the ruler of darkness; so Christians, Jews and heathens are all one and the same, because they honour the same God. For he deceives them by his desires, because he is not the God of truth. 3. So all those who hope in that God, who spoke to Moses and the prophets, share with him the fate of being bound, because they did not put their hope in

[17] This is an odd piece of information as the number of *electi* must have exceeded the number of Mani's original disciples which was twelve (see below, Aug., *de haer.* XLVI.16, *trans. Infra*, **59**). Although the Latin translation of the *Acta* (XII.4, ed. Beeson, 19.18–19) gives the same information, later in the Latin version of the same polemical treatise (63.5, p. 92.7) we learn from Turbo a (fictitious?) disciple of Mani that one morning after the proto-Manichaean Terebinthus 'had climbed a high roof top, where he began to invoke certain names which only seven of the elect have been taught', which seems to point to an early misunderstanding by the author in summarising the teaching of Mani.

the God of truth. For that other one spoke with them according to their desires.

4. (XIII) After all this at the end he says, as he has written: When the elder lets his image appear, then the Porter will let the world go, and so the great fire will become free and devour the whole world. 5. Then again he puts the "lump" in the middle of the new aeon, so that all the souls of sinners shall be bound for ever. These things will happen, when the statue comes. 6. However, all the emanations, Jesus who is in the little ship, the Mother of Life, the twelve steersmen, the Virgin of Light and the third elder, who is in the large ship, and the Living Spirit and the wall of the great fire and the wall of the wind and of the air and of the water and of the inner living fire, all dwell in the little light, until the fire has consumed the whole world; within how many years I was not able to discover.[18] 7. And after that the restoration of the two natures will take place and the rulers will inhabit their lower parts, while the father will dwell in the upper parts, when he takes his own. 8. All of this teaching he passed on to his three disciples and commanded each one to go to different areas. Addas received the regions of the East, Thomas was given the land of the Syrians, Hermeias the other one travelled to Egypt. And they remain there until today, because they wish to lay the foundation of the teaching.

59. Augustine's summary of the teaching

This is the most complete and structured summary of the Manichaean system by Augustine.[19]

1. The Manichaeans sprang from a certain Persian called Manes, but when they began to publish his mad doctrine in Greece, his disciples chose to call him Manichaeus to avoid the word for 'madness'. For the same reason some of them, somewhat more learned and therefore more deceitful, called him Mannicheus, doubling the letter 'n', as if he were one who pours out manna.

2. He invented two principles, different from and opposed to each other, both eternal and co-eternal, that is, he imagined they have always been. Following other ancient heretics, he also believed that there were two natures and substances, that is, one good and one evil. Proclaiming, on the basis of their teachings, a mutual strife and commingling of the two natures, a purgation of good from evil, and eternal damnation, along with the evil,

[18] According to Manichaean teaching the Great Fire will burn for 1,468 years. Cf. *Keph*. XXIV, 75.22–3.
[19] Aug., *de Haeresibus* XLVI.1–8 and 11–19, ed. cit., 84–94; trans. cit., 85–95, revised by S. Llewelyn.

of the good which cannot be purged, these heretics devise many myths. It would be too tiresome to treat all their doctrines in this work.

3. As a consequence of these ridiculous and unholy fables, they are forced to say that both God and the good souls, which they believe have to be freed from their admixture with the contrary nature of the evil souls, are of one and the same nature.

4. Then they declare that the world has been made by the nature of the good, that is, by the nature of God, but yet that it was formed of a mixture of good and evil which resulted when these two natures fought among themselves.

5. However, they claim that not only do the powers of God effect this purgation and liberation of good and evil throughout the whole universe and of all its elements, but also that their own elect achieve the same results by means of the food of which they partake. And they state that the divine substance is intermingled with this food just as it is with the whole universe, and imagine that it is purified in their elect by the mode of life which the Manichaean elect live, as if their mode of life were holier and more excellent than that of their hearers. For they would have their church consist of those two classes, elect and hearers.

6. Moreover, they believe that this portion of the good and divine substance which is held mixed and imprisoned in food and drink is more strongly and foully bound in the rest of men, even their own hearers, but particularly in those who propagate offspring. Now whenever any portion of the light is completely purified, it returns to the kingdom of God, to its own proper abode, as it were, on certain vessels, which are, according to them, the moon and the sun. In addition, they maintain that these vessels are likewise fashioned from the pure substance of God.

7. They also state that this physical light, which lies before the gaze of mortal eyes, not only in those vessels where they believe it to exist in its purest state, but also in certain bright objects where they consider it held in admixture and needing purification, is the divine nature. For they ascribe five elements which have generated their own princes to the people of darkness and give to these elements the names: smoke, darkness, fire, water, and wind. Two-footed animals were generated in smoke, and from this source they believe men to take their beginnings; serpents were generated in darkness; quadrupeds in fire; swimming creatures in the waters; flying creatures in the wind. Five other elements have been sent from the kingdom and substance of God to conquer the five evil elements, and in that struggle air has become mixed with smoke, light with darkness, good fire with bad fire, good water with bad water, good wind with bad wind. They

make this distinction between the two vessels, that is, the two lights of heaven, saying that the moon has been made of good water, and the sun has been made of good fire.

8. Moreover, on those vessels there are holy powers, which at one time change themselves into males to attract females of the opposing faction, and at another into females to attract males of that same opposite faction. The purpose of this is to enable the light which they have intermingled in their members to escape when their passions are aroused by this attraction, and to allow it to be taken up by the angels of light for purification, and when purified to be placed aboard those vessels to be carried back to their proper realm . . .[20]

11. Yet they do not eat meat either, on the grounds that the divine substance has fled from the dead or slain bodies, and what little remains there is of such quality and quantity that it does not merit being purified in the stomachs of the elect. They do not even eat eggs, claiming that they too die when they are broken, and it is not fitting to feed on any dead bodies; only that portion of flesh can live which is picked up by flour to prevent its death. Moreover, they do not use milk for food although it is drawn or milked from the live body of an animal, not with the conviction that there is nothing of the divine substance intermingled with it, but because error itself is inconsistent. For they do not drink wine either, claiming that bitterness is a property of the princes of darkness, though they do eat grapes. They do not even drink must, even the most freshly pressed.

12. They believe that the souls of their hearers are returned to the elect, or by a happier short-cut to the food of their elect so that already purged, they would then not have to transmigrate into other bodies. On the other hand, they believe that other souls pass into cattle and into everything that is rooted in and supported on the earth. For they are convinced that plants and trees possess sentient life and can feel pain when injured, and therefore that no one can pull or pluck them without torturing them. Therefore, they consider it wrong to clear a field even of thorns. Hence, in their madness they make agriculture, the most innocent of occupations, guilty of multiple murder. On the other hand, they believe that these crimes are forgiven their hearers because the latter offer food of this sort to the elect in order that the divine substance, on being purged in their stomachs, may obtain pardon for those through whose offering it is given to be purged. And so the elect themselves perform no labours in the field, pluck no fruit, pick not even a leaf, but expect all these things to be brought for their use by

[20] The sections omitted (i.e. §§9 and 10) are given in **40** (ch. 3, *supra*).

their hearers, living all the while, according to their own foolish thinking, on innumerable and horrible murders committed by others. They caution their same hearers, furthermore, when they eat meat, not to kill the animals, to avoid offending the princes of darkness who are bound in the celestials. From them, they claim, all flesh has its origin.

13. And if they make use of marriage, they should, however, avoid conception and birth to prevent the divine substance, which has entered into them through food, from being bound by chains of flesh in their offspring. For this is the way, indeed, they believe that souls come into all flesh, that is, through food and drink. Hence, without doubt, they condemn marriage and forbid it as much as is in their power, since they forbid the propagation of offspring, the reason for marriage. 14. They assert that Adam and Eve had as their parents princes of smoke, since their father, whose name was Saclas, had devoured the children of all his associates, and in lying with his wife had, as if with the strongest of chains, bound in the flesh of his offspring whatever he had received mixed with the divine substance.

15. They maintain that the serpent of whom our scriptures speak was Christ, and they say that our first parents were illuminated by the latter so that they might open the eyes of knowledge, and discern good and evil; further, that this Christ came in recent times to set souls free, not bodies; and that he did not come in real flesh, but presented the simulated appearance of flesh to deceive human perception, and therein he feigned not only death, but resurrection as well. They assert that the god who gave the law through Moses, and who spoke in the Hebrew prophets is not the true God, but one of the princes of darkness. Even in the New Testament they, claiming falsification, choose among the various books, and thus they accept what they like from it and reject what they do not like. They prefer certain apocryphal writings to the scriptures, as if they contained the whole truth.

16. They claim that the promise of the lord Jesus Christ regarding the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, was fulfilled in their heresiarch Manichaeus. For this reason, in his writings he calls himself the apostle of Jesus Christ, in that Christ had promised to send him and had sent the Holy Spirit in him. For the same reason Manichaeus also had twelve disciples in imitation of the twelve apostles. The Manichaeans keep this number even today. For they have twelve of their elect whom they call masters, and a thirteenth who is their chief, but seventy-two bishops who receive their orders from the masters, and an indefinite number of priests who are ordained by

the bishops. The bishops also have deacons. The rest are called merely the elect; but even any of their members who seem suitable are sent to strengthen and support this error where it exists, or to plant it where it does not.

17. They allege that baptism in water grants no salvation to anyone, and do not believe that they have to baptise any of those whom they deceive.

18. In the daytime they offer their prayers towards the sun, wherever it goes in its orbit; at night, they offer them towards the moon, if it appears; if it does not, they direct them towards the north, by which the sun, when it has set, returns to the east. They stand while praying.

19. They ascribe the origin of sin not to a free choice of the will, but to the nature of the opposing element, which they hold is intermingled in man. For they assert that all flesh is the work, not of God, but of an evil mind, which emanating from the opposite principle, is coeternal with God. As they will have it, carnal concupiscence, by which the flesh lusts against the spirit, is not an infirmity engendered in us by the corruption of our nature in the first man, but a contrary substance which clings to us in such a way that if we are freed and purged, it can be removed from us, and can live, even alone, immortally in its own nature. These two souls, or two minds, the one good, the other evil, are in conflict with one another in man, when the flesh lusts against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. This defect in our nature has not been healed, as we say it has, nor will it ever be healed. Yet, that substance of evil, after being disjoined and separated from us, even at the end of this world, upon the conflagration of the universe, will live in a "lump", as if in an eternal prison. They claim that a sort of envelope or covering, composed of souls which are good by nature, but which, nevertheless, have not been able to be purged from the contagion of the evil nature, will continually come and cling to the "lump".

60. An account of the evocation of the gods

This is one of the best known of the kephalaia (entitled: 'The seventh, concerning the Five Fathers' 34.13–36.26), due to its full and ordered account of the evocation of various Manichaean divinities. However, it is important to note that the schema of the 'five fathers' is not an archetypal classification prior to all the other theological taxonomies evident throughout the texts; but, rather, only a partial and conditioned representation of the overall system.

In temporal priority the Third Ambassador is the principal divinity of the third evocation (*redemption*). In the first evocation (*descent*) the Father had summoned

the Mother of Life, who then called forth the First Man and his five sons. In the second evocation (*creation*) there was summoned the Beloved of the Lights, the Great Builder, and the Living Spirit and his five sons. Kephalaion 7 is concerned with the sequence from the Father through the Ambassador; and its purpose is, therefore, the emanation of the divinities from the aspect of redemption.

Once again the enlightener, our father the apostle of truth, is sitting in the midst of his disciples and preaching to them of the greatnesses of God. Again, he speaks to them like this, in his revelation: Five fathers exist, they were summoned forth one of one. Also, one did come out of another!

The first Father is the Father of Greatness, the blessed one of glory, the one who has no measure to his greatness; who also is the first only-begotten, the first eternal; who exists with five fathers for ever; the one who exists before every thing that has existed, and that will exist.

Now he, the glorious Father, summoned from him three emanations. The first is the Great Spirit, the first Mother, who came out of the Father. She appeared first. The second is the Beloved of the Lights, the great glorious Beloved, the one who is honoured; who came out of the Father. He manifested out of him. The third father[21] is the Third Ambassador, the eldest of all the counsellors; who came out of the first Father. He appeared.

This is the first Father, the first power, the one from whom the three great powers came out. This is the first Father, the first eternal, the root of all the lights; from whom the three emanations came out. They have humiliated the darkness. They have brought its heart's desire to naught. They have given themselves the victory. They have also given the victory to their aeons.

The second father, who came out of the first Father, is the Third Ambassador, the model of the King of lights. And, again, he too summoned and sent out of him three powers. One is the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man; the one who bears up under all things; the great Pillar of blessing; the great porter, who is greater than all the porters. The second is glorious Jesus the Splendour; the one through whom shall be given life eternal. The third is the Virgin of Light, the glorious wisdom; the one who takes away the heart of the rulers and the powers by her image, as she fulfills the pleasure of the greatness.

[21] Textual error: the Ambassador is the second father, but the third emanation of the first Father.

The third father, who came out of the second father; he is glorious Jesus the Splendour. And, again, he too summoned [20] three evocations after the pattern of the second father. The first power whom he summoned is the Light Mind, the father of all the apostles, the eldest of all the churches; the one whom Jesus has appointed corresponding to our pattern in the holy church. The second power whom Jesus summoned [25] is the great Judge, who gives judgement on all the souls of mankind, his dwelling being established in the atmosphere under . . . wheel . . . stars. The third power is the Youth, the great . . . light in his two persons, in . . . , I am speaking about that which has been established [30] in the summons and the obedience. He too stood with his father the king . . . the saviour . . . seen, as he tells . . . I, what I have seen with my Father, I tell to you. For yourselves, what you have seen with your father, do that.[22]

36 The fourth father is the Light Mind, the one who chooses all the churches. And, again, he too summoned three powers after the pattern of Jesus. The first power is the Apostle of Light; the one who shall on occasion come and assume the church [5] of the flesh, of humanity; and he becomes inner leader of righteousness. The second is the counterpart, who shall come to the apostle and appear to him, becoming companion to him, sticking close to him everywhere; and providing help to him all the time, from all afflictions and dangers. The third [10] is the Light Form; the one whom the elect and the catechumens shall receive, should they renounce the world.

And also the fifth father is this Light Form; the one who shall appear to everyone who will go out from his body, corresponding to the pattern of the image to the apostle; and the three [15] great glorious angels who are come with her. One (angel) holds the prize in his hand. The second bears the light garment. The third is the one who possesses the diadem and the wreath and the crown of light. These are the three angels of light, the ones who shall come with this Light Form; [20] and they appear with her to the elect and the catechumens.

These are the five fathers who have come out of one another. They have appeared and manifested through one another. Blessed is he who will know and understand them! For he may find life eternal; and receive these light garments [25] that shall be given to the righteous, the faithful, the givers of peace, and the doers of good things.

[22] John 8:38.

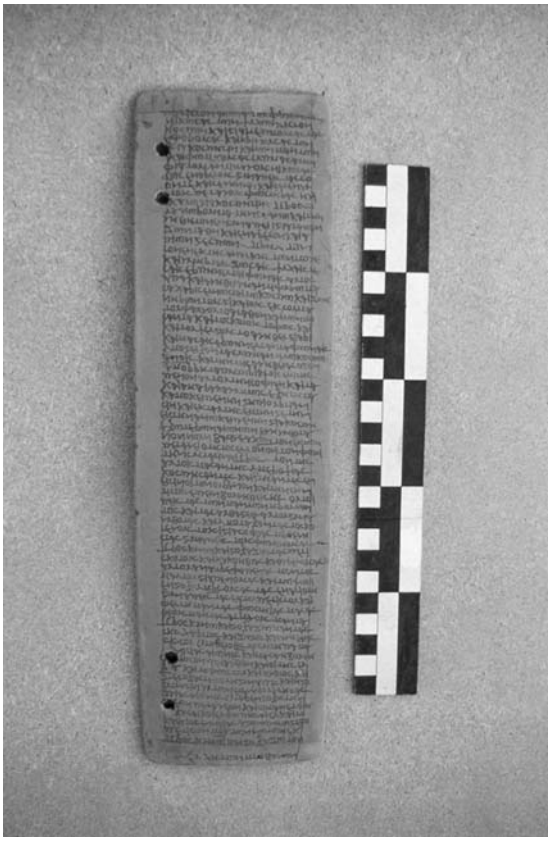


Figure 5.1. Prayer of the Emanations from Kellis

61. 'The prayer of the emanations'

This text (fourth century AD Greek)[23] was found at Ismant el-Kharab in early 1992. The fact that the hymn did not try to disguise or modify its polytheism gives the impression that it was composed in the first half of the fourth century, viz. before the dominance of Christianity compelled the Manichaeans to veil their cult in a semblance of monotheism. The authorship or status of the text is not known, but

[23] Ed. and trans. Jenkins (1995); some adaptations by Gardner and Lieu. (N.b. the provisional numbering system, viz. 'T. Kellis 22', utilised in that publication was subsequently abandoned by the Dakhleh Oasis Project and should not be followed.) The text is described by the editor as follows: 'A single wooden board, 31 high by 9 cm (with *Schriftspiegel* 28 by 7 cm) ultimately deriving (as the presence of binding holes demonstrates) from a wooden board book of narrow proportions. . . . *Nomina sacra* are present, according to a system which is more or less familiar from Christian manuscripts.' (Jenkins (1995), 243).

it is a remarkable example of Manichaean composition in Greek and is unique in the large number of Manichaean *technici termini* (mostly of Syriac origin) which it contains.

(Side I) (*Heading*) Prayer of the Emanations

I worship and glorify the great Father of Lights from pure thought. With a guileless word you have been glorified and honoured: You and your majesty and the wholly blessed aeons. For you in glory have perfected their foundation. Your power and glory and your light and word and your majesty and the aeons of affirmation and all your counsel have been glorified. For you are God, the foundation of every grace and life and truth.

I worship and glorify all gods, all angels, all splendours, all luminaries, all powers: Those which are from the great and glorious f(ath)er, those which subsist in his holiness, and in his light are nourished, purified from all darkness and malignance.

I worship and glorify the great powers, the enlightening angels: Those, having advanced by their own wisdom and having subjected the darkness and its remorseless powers which were prepared to fight with the ruler of all; these are those who created heaven and earth and bound in them all the substance of contempt.

I worship and glorify the offspring of the greatness, the enlightening mind, king (and) Christ: The one who came forth from the outer aeons into the upper creation, and from that to this lower creation; and having incomparably announced his wisdom and the ineffable mysteries to people on earth, and having displayed to the entire universe the way of truth, and having preached with all voices, and having distinguished truth from the lie and light from darkness and good from evil and the just from the wicked. From you every grace has become known to the universe, and life together with truth to every tribe has been interpreted with all voices. He himself has become for living souls the redeemer from the obligation of the inimical bonds.

I worship and glorify the living God, virtuous and true: The one who, by his own power, raised up all things, this arrangement above and below.

I worship and glorify the great luminaries, both the sun and the moon and the virtuous powers in them: Which by wisdom conquer the opponents and enlighten the entire arrangement, and of all observe and judge the world and conduct the victorious souls into the great aeon of light.

(Side II) I worship and glorify the five great lights: Through which the entire universe came into existence, and through which heaven and

earth (and through which (?)) by participation power and beauty and soul and [75] life are present in all. And without these the universe could not exist.

I worship and glorify all gods, all angels, the living and pure: [80] Who support this whole creation with the permission of the great and virtuous light, who rules over all those (now) singing (these) hymns.

[85] I worship and glorify all the enlightening angels: Who dominate the totality of the universe, and subject all demons and all [90] evil, shielding righteousness and guarding it from the wicked demons and growing the good in it.

[95] I worship and glorify all the righteous: Those who escape from all evil, those who both have existed before, exist now, are coming into existence and are [100] ready to come into existence because they have recognised truth and all preeminence; the chaste and firm, in order that all [105] those whom I have worshipped and glorified and invoked may assist me and bless me with favour and may deliver me from every bond and all constraint and oppression and [110] every reincarnation, and provide me with access to the great aeon of light which all the wise and [115] upright in knowledge hope to attain, where peace and the purest of the good rule, where there is no perception of evil but ambrosia [120] and eternal life are present, where all the inhabitants are without any need and experience neither death nor corruption.

Blessed be he who prays [125] this prayer frequently, or at least on the third day, with a pure heart and forthright speech, asking for [130] forgiveness of sins committed.

The Prayer of the Emanations is ended.

62. Concerning the coming of the soul

This is the second of the so-called 'Psalms of Thomas' (*PsBk2*. 205.10–207.16, ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted by Iain Gardner), a group of psalms found at the end of the Medinet Madi codex. In style, terminology and imagery they are distinct from all the other texts in the collection, even though these also evidence many clear variations in authorial style and purpose. It has been suggested that the group title (ⲛ̄ⲫⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲙ) may be better understood as 'Psalms of the Twin-Spirit', and that these are songs of the inspired and Paraclete-indwelt Mani himself. This might help to explain some of the power of the poetry and imagery, and also the apparent lack of concern with the doctrinal fixities so noticeable in much of Manichaean church literature. One can also note evident parallels with Mandaic literature, and (in the following example most clearly) with the enigmatic 'Hymn of the Pearl' found embedded in the *Acts of Thomas*.

205 *Concerning the coming of the soul*

They that are not as I am
made themselves like me,
they that are unworthy of me
made me wroth.

The wretches that belong not to the house of my Father:
they rose, they took arms against me,
they rose, they took arms against me,
making war with me, making war with me;
fighting for my holy robe, for my enlightening light,
that it might lighten their darkness;
for my sweet fragrance,
that it might sweeten their foulness;
because of my brethren, the children of the light,
that they might give a peace to their land;
because of my sister, the hour of light,
that she might be a strengthening of their building.
A part therefore went forth from my robe,
it went, it lightened their darkness;
my sweet fragrance went,
it sweetened their stink;
my brethren, the children of the light, went,
they gave a peace to their land;
my sister went, the hour of light,
she was a strengthening of their building.

They take arms against me, making war with me, crying out
against me,
like men going to subdue a camp;
they drew the swords against me,
like men going to kill lions;
they stretched their hands to the bow against me,
like thieves going to attack a man.

206 They did not stir from warring with me until (they had made)
a wall against me,
the weak and paralysed ones continually crept;
they did not stir until they had made a wall against me,
they crept until they had made a wall against me;
they established a watch outside me . . . ,

the bell was made to go round because of me.

My good fortune (came) on my behalf,
the wretches thinking in their heart that I (was)
a man for whom none would seek. I therefore was looking
towards my Father,
that he might send aid;
looking towards my brethren, the children of the light,
that they might come, tracking me;
my Father therefore sent the aid to me;
my brethren arose, they became one with me.

Through a cry only which my brethren uttered,
their wall tottered and fell;
their wall tottered and fell,
their watches were unable to stop them;
nor was he that goes round with the bell and cries good fortune found,
against the cry which my brethren uttered;
the demons ran to the darkness, the demons ran to the darkness,
trembling seized their ruler entirely.

Yet I said to my brethren:
'Suffer me yet this hour';
I was quieting my brethren that they might not destroy their firmament,
for I await my robe until it comes and clothes him that shall wear it;
I will await my enlightening light,
until it strips itself of their darkness;
I will await my pleasant fragrance
until it returns to its place;
I will await my sister, the hour of light,
until she casts their corruption away;
I will await my brethren, the children of the light,
until their stature (?) is completed for them.

When therefore my shining robe comes
and clothes him that shall wear it;
when my pleasant fragrance strips itself of their stink
and returns (to its place);

207 when my lightening light
leaves the darkness;
when my brethren, the children of the light,
are complete in their stature;
when my sister, the hour of light,
goes up and sees the land of light:
Then I will strike my foot on the earth
and sink their darkness down;
I will smite their heights with my head, and shake their firmament,
and the stars shall fall down like these . . . ;
I will uproot the darkness, and cast it out,
and plant the light in its place;
I will uproot the evil, and cast it out,
and plant the good in its place.

The universe will be full of glory,
the land will be without suspicion;
the entire earth will contain the righteous,
they of the land will dwell in peace;
there being no more rebel from henceforth,
no name of sin can be uttered again.
The rich ones of light will rejoice
on every side without any grief:
That which the living ones took was saved;
they will return again to that which is their own.

63. The five worlds of the kingdom of darkness

This kephalaion is entitled: 'Concerning the Five Storehouses that have poured forth from the Land of Darkness since the beginning; the Five Rulers, the Five Spirits, the Five Bodies, the Five Tastes' (30.12–34.12). Elaborate descriptions of the kingdom of darkness, and its powers, are a feature of Manichaean (and anti-Manichaean) writings that must derive from canonical sources. The overall conception, with its delight in pentads, and a certain attention to what can be termed the psychosymbolism of evil, has a stamp that is unmistakably Mani's. Specific features, such as the 'five trees', appear in other gnostic writings; and may serve to indicate Manichaean influence, rather than vice-versa.

Kephalaion 6 (and compare also 27) evidences some textual development; and probably some corruption in the tradition. The redactor appears unsure of the relationship of the *supreme* King of Darkness (30.33–33.1) to his five warring rulers in the various sub-kingdoms; but tends toward identifying him with the King of Smoke (33.2–4). He is thus to be distinguished from the ruler or King of the

sub-world of Darkness (33.33–34.5). Manichaean writings are also unclear about the relationship of the supreme King to personified Matter, who here appears to be prior to him as his fashioner (31.8–16). These points have been discussed by H.-Ch. Puech (Puech (1951)); who also shows that the parallel passage in the Mandaean *Right Ginza* XII.6 (278–282) is secondary to the *Kephalaia*.

Once again the enlightener speaks to his disciples: Five storehouses have arisen since the beginning in the land of darkness! The five elements poured out of them. Also, from the five elements were fashioned the five trees. Again, from the five trees were fashioned the five genera of creatures in each world, male and female. And the five worlds themselves have five kings therein; and five spirits, five bodies, five tastes; in each world, they not resembling one another.

The King of the world of Smoke . . . who came up from the depth of darkness; this is he who is the head of all wickedness, and all malignity. The beginning of the spread of the war occurred through him; all the battles, fights, quarrelling, dangers, destructions, fights, wrestling-contests! That is the one who first made arise danger and war, with his worlds and his powers. Afterwards, also, he waged war with the light. He pitched a battle with the exalted kingdom.

Now regarding the King of Darkness, there are five shapes on him. His head is lion-faced; his hands and feet are demon- and devil-faced; his shoulders are eagle-faced; while his belly is dragon-faced; his tail is fish-faced. These five shapes, the marks of his five worlds, exist on the King of the realms of Darkness.

Now, there are five other properties in him. The first is his darkness. The second is his putridity. The third is his ugliness. The fourth is his bitterness, his own soul. The fifth is his burning, which burns like an iron . . . as if poured out from fire.

There are also three others in him. The first, that his body is hard and very tough, even as she has formed him . . . cruel-hearted; namely Matter, who is the thought of death, the one who sculpted him from the nature of the land of darkness. This is the manner of the body of the ruler of Smoke. He is harder than every iron, copper and steel and lead; as there is no cleaver at all, nor any iron implement, can . . . him and cut him. For Matter, his fashioner, has formed him . . . strong and hard.

The second, that he wounds and kills by the word of his magic arts. His recitation and hearing, all his foolish instruction, make magic and invocations for him. When it pleases him, he can make an invocation over himself, and by his magic arts be hidden from his companions. Again, when it pleases him, he can be manifested over his powers and appear to them; so

that these enchantments nowadays, which people utilise (?) . . . this world, are the mysteries of the King of Darkness. Concerning this, I command you [25] all the time: keep away from the magic arts and enchantments of darkness! For any person who will be taught them, and who does and accomplishes them; at the last, in the place where will be bound the King of the realms of Darkness with his powers; there they will bind that one also, the soul of whoever has lived freely among them and [30] walked in the magic arts of error. Whether it is a man or a woman, this is the sentence given, cut . . . from God's judgement, that whoever will . . . with their King.

32 The third, that the King of the realms of Darkness knows the converse and language of his five worlds. He understands every thing he hears from their mouths, as they address one another; each one of them in his language. Every design [5] they will consider against him; every snare they debate with one another, to bring upon him; he knows them. He can also understand the gesturing they signal between one another. Yet, his powers and his rulers, who are subject to him, can not understand his wordy converse. While all these things [10] are unveiled to him; still their heart is not manifested to him. He knows not their mind nor their thought; he can not ponder their beginning and their end. Rather, he only knows and apprehends what is before his eyes.

Also, another different thing is found in the King of the realms of Darkness. [15] For when it pleases him to move, he spreads all his limbs out and walks. When it comes to mind, he withdraws his limbs and takes them in, and is rolled (?) to his companions; and he falls to the ground like a grape and a great iron ball! He terrifies by his cry, [20] he is frightful. He frightens his powers with his sound; because when he speaks, being like thunder in the clouds, he resembles the . . . of the rocks . . . When he cries out and . . . and calls . . . over his powers; they shall tremble and totter and fall under foot, [25] even as some birds would be . . . the bird . . . and they fall down to the earth. Still, this thing only: he knows not what is far from him, he sees not who is at a distance, nor does he hear him. Rather, whoever is before his face he sees, hearing him and [30] knowing him.

These signs and these evil marks are found in the chief of the demons and fiends, the King of all the mountains of Darkness . . . the one to whom the land of darkness has given birth, begotten in its cruelty, in its wickedness and its wrath . . . **33** more than all his fellow rulers, who are in all his worlds.

Gold is the body of the King of the realms of Darkness. The body of all the powers who belong to the world of Smoke is gold. And also, the taste of its fruits is [5] salty. The spirit of the King, of the realms of Darkness, is

this one who reigns today in the principalities and authorities of the earth and the entire universe. I mean these who reign over the entire creation, humiliating mankind with tyranny, according to their heart's desire.

In contrast, the King of the worlds of Fire is lion-faced, the foremost [10] of all the beasts. Copper is his body. Again, the body of all the rulers who belong to Fire is copper. Their taste is the sour taste that is in every form. Also, the spirit of the King, of they that belong to the world of Fire, is this one who reigns in the greater ones and the leaders; who are under [15] the command of the principalities and authorities and the kings of the world. Also a spirit of his is found in these sects that worship fire, as their sacrifices are offered to fire.

Again, the King of the worlds of Wind is eagle-faced. His body is iron. Also, the body of all they who belong to [20] the Wind is iron. Their taste is the sharp taste that is in every form. His spirit is the one of idolatry to the spirits of error who are in every temple, the sites of idols, the sites of statue- and image-worship, the shrines of the error of the world.

[25] For his part, the King of the world of Water is fish-faced. His body is silver. All the other rulers who belong to Water, silver is their body. Also, the taste of their fruit is the sweetness of water, the sweet taste that is in every (form). Again, the spirit of the King, of the rulers of Water, is this one who [30] reigns today in the sects of error; these that dip the baptism of the waters, (setting) their hope and their trust in the baptism of the waters.

Again, the King of the world of Darkness is a dragon. His body is lead and tin. All the other rulers [35] who belong to the world of Darkness, their body is lead and **34** tin. And, also, the taste of their fruits is bitterness. Again, the spirit who reigns in them is the spirit who speaks till today in the soothsayers, giving oracles; in the givers of portents, every type; in they who are possessed; [5] and the other spirits that give oracles, every type.

Concerning this I tell you, my brethren and my limbs, the perfect faithful, the holy elect: Hold your heart close to you, and you stay away from the five enslavements of the five dark spirits. Put [10] behind you the service of their five bodies. Live not in them, that you may break loose their chain and their chastening for ever!

64. The 'three days' and the 'two deaths'

This is kephalaion 39 (102.13–104.20: 'Concerning the Three Days and the Two Deaths'), which surveys the entire history of the divine and its conflict with the

darkness from the viewpoint of eschatological hope. From a Manichaean perspective (as it were!), this is a most suitable place to begin an account of this history. Life in this time and world is but a precursor to the reign of the saints in the new age and the new earth. There the First Man, the victorious son, will be king (compare *Hom.* 41.11-20). However, this too will come to an end; when the hidden Father at lasts reveals his image, and receives the souls and gods back into the heart of the eternal kingdom, from where they have been barred since the beginning of the conflict.

In contrast to this glorious hope, sinners are warned of a second death, eternally separated from life and the divine.

Once again the apostle speaks to his disciples: Happen you know, my beloved ones, that there exist three great mighty days in all; and also two great and bitter deaths. When his disciples heard [20] they say to him: Tell us our father, what are these three great days? Or again, what are these two deaths that are bitter?

He speaks to them. The first day is our father, the Man. From the time when the First Man went down to the abyss of darkness [25] and drowned in it; and the Living Spirit was sent, who went and bore him up. After the Man had ascended, the Father of Life and the Great Spirit set things in order, and the worlds above and below.

Furthermore, the glorious Ambassador came and dwelt in the ship of the day. [30] He displayed his glorious image, and he purified the light out of all things. He walked in the heights of the heavens. Till the time when the world will be dissolved, all things destroyed, the great fire released, and the Last Statue ascends. [35] These three deeds were begun on this first day, when they sent the First Man with his five sons.

In contrast, the first death **103** is the darkness that mixed with the five sons of the First Man.

The second day is the time when the fathers of light, who were victorious in the struggle, will sit on their thrones in the new aeon and dwell [5] on the new earth. And they reign in the new aeon till the Father unveils his image above them. The length of the sojourn (?) in the new aeon equals the measure of the first day spent in affliction. They will reign like this and rejoice in the new aeon.

[10] The great third day is the time when the Father will unveil over them his image . . . and he raises them up . . . and he receives them in to his hidden treasury . . . and he gives . . . his soul. He can pour out upon them . . . [15] his ambrosia and his sweet perfume, which takes away all affliction that they have seen with their eyes. . . . fullness and a joy eternal! When his grace would sate them, he gives to them his . . . and they are made anew in them.

Also, he can summon them once more in peace [20] and silence, and perfect their stature in same measure as his first aeons. And he sets each power in its aeon, in its dwelling-place. They will dwell in the new aeon in their aeons! Now, when they dwell in their aeons, they will become rich beyond measure, [25] for ever, beyond time.

From then on they will not count that season amongst them; nor the number of the days, nor the hours, generation after generation, for ever and ever. The Father will not be hidden from them, from this time on. Rather, he has accomplished (his) unveiling to them . . . he being revealed [30] to them for ever.

These are the three great days, which the Father of Greatness has given number to in the reckoning.

In contrast, the two deaths that I have proclaimed to you are these. **104** The first death is from the time when the light fell to the darkness, and was mixed in with the rulers of darkness; until the time when the light will become pure, and be separated from the darkness in that great fire. The remainder left [5] behind there can build and add to that Last Statue.

Now, the second death is the death in which the souls of sinful men shall die; when they will be stripped of the shining light that illuminates the world. And also they are separated from the living air, from which they receive [10] living breath; and they are deprived of this living soul, which . . . in the world; and they are separated and swept away from this Last Statue . . . and bound on . . . the female will become . . . [15] their torture and their affliction; for their deeds . . . those three places; because they have blasphemed and despised the Holy Spirit since every generation of the world.

These are the two deaths. The first death is temporal; but the second death is eternal. It is the [20] second death!

65. The seven works of the Living Spirit

This is kephalaion 32 (85.19–86.17), which is very typical of the genre with its elaborate taxonomies and numerical sequencing. These would have had catechetical and mnemonic purposes; and the genre can be understood as an evolving, open-ended source and instruction volume for the elect. Here the concern is with the Living Spirit, the Manichaean demiurge. He is the principal god of the second emanation (*creation*), whose tasks connect the first (*descent*) and the third (*redemption*). Therefore, he saves the First Man; defeats the demons who have devoured the living soul; and constructs the universe with the use of their bodies in which there is now both light and darkness. The universe is then held in place by the five sons of the Living Spirit and a multitude of other divine powers.

It is the Living Spirit who first called out the summons to redemption which, joined with the obedience of the First Man, becomes the active will to salvation. Thus it is mixed with the five sons of the Man, the soul.

Once again the enlightener speaks: The Living Spirit has done seven works with his strength.

The first: He brought the First Man up from the contest, the way [25] a pearl is brought up from the sea. The second: He spread about the one who had rebelled, he crucified him in every body. The third: He trampled, piled up, and pierced the essences of death. The fourth: He constructed the ships of light.

The [30] fifth: He evoked his five sons, and distributed them about. They took possession of the zone, they bore up under all the universe's weight. Also, he evoked three living words. He set them upon the three vessels, another one upon the giant. Again, he evoked the summons, that it might be mixed with the five shining [35] men.

86 The sixth: When he had constructed the zone he arose and sent forth a multitude of powers and many angels; so that they would bound the circuit of the zone on every side, until he finished constructing the works. And at the end of all the [5] works he took some of them in to his storehouses, and he appointed others at the watch-posts.

The seventh: At the time when the Ambassador displayed his glorious image, the Living Spirit established many gods and angels. They . . . [10] They took hold of it, that the entire building . . . not . . . one another against the light, which he had . . .

Also another great and glorious work he will enact at the end is the Last Statue, which he will bring up to the aeons of light; and he . . . in, and he takes hold, and he smites . . . , [15] and he builds, and he . . . , and he . . . them.

Blessed is he who knows him in the new aeon, and dwells in that aeon of glory and joy!

66. Mani discusses astrology

This kephalaion (no. 69, 166.31–169.22: 'Concerning the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Stars') is one of a number where astrological teachings are introduced into and reconciled with the Manichaean system. In this instance the framing sequence, i.e. as a discourse of Mani's, is most likely to be an entirely artificial device.

Mani is asked to explain the distribution of the twelve signs of the zodiac and the planetary stars. Since he subscribes to the astral fatalism found throughout gnostic and esoteric systems in late antiquity, he identifies them as evil rulers from the worlds of darkness. However, it is noticeable that this causes a variety of structural

problems for his system, all of which are apparent in this chapter. In Manichaeism the demiurge is one of the light-gods, the Living Spirit; unlike in many of the other dualistic traditions. Thus, it is constantly necessary to explain why evil powers are given a place and a role in the universe. The characteristic pentads of Mani's system, here the five worlds of darkness from which the evil powers originate, cannot be made to fit the distribution of the twelve zodiacal signs.

Perhaps of most interest, Mani is clearly aware that the ruling powers are commonly understood to be the seven and the twelve (as in Mandaeism). However, since for him the sun and moon are divine vessels, he must develop his teaching about the two ascendants. In this chapter there are two obvious attempts to reconcile this matter.

Once more, during one of the times, the apostle is sitting down **167** among the congregation. A disciple stood before him and questioned him. He says to him: We entreat you, our master, that you may recount to us and explain about the twelve signs of the zodiac that are set in the sphere. How are they determined? Or to what place do they belong, [5] according to their essence? Or else again, these five stars that circle in them, from whence are they? Or why has the demiurge appointed them as the authorities and leaders? He is the great constructor who has appointed the entire creation; and he has bound and fixed them on the sphere. Now, we entreat you, our [10] master, that you may satisfy us about these things that are hidden from all mankind.

Then he speaks to that disciple who had questioned him: Whether these twelve signs of the zodiac that are fixed on the sphere, or these five stars that circle upon them; those and these are rulers, all of them, according to their essence. They are all enemies and rivals to [15] each other <one oppresses another, they threaten each other>. They plunder one another by the action of the great craftsman who has formed all the worlds. He has gathered them and bound them on the sphere above, which circles constantly. Now, while it circles and tumbles them, so they shall do everything that they desire, above and below, according to their pleasure. [20] Nevertheless, a guardian is over them, a debt-collector above them; compelling, extorting, and taking what is theirs away from them!

Now, this is how it can rightly be understood. They were seized from the five worlds of darkness, and bound on the sphere. Two zodiacal signs were taken per world. Gemini [25] and Sagittarius belong to the world of smoke, which is the mind. In contrast, Aries and Leo belong to the world of fire. Taurus, Aquarius and Libra belong to the world of wind. Cancer and Virgo and Pisces belong to the world of water. Capricorn [30] and Scorpio belong

to the world of darkness. These are the twelve rulers of depravity, the ones that wickedness shall not . . . For they cause all the evil and . . . in the world, whether in tree or in flesh.

168 And understand also about these five stars, the leaders: from where were they formed? The star of Zeus (Jupiter) was generated from the world of smoke, which is the mind. In contrast, Aphrodite (Venus) came about from the world of fire. **5** And then Ares (Mars) belongs to the world of wind. Hermes (Mercury) belongs to the world of water. Cronos (Saturn) belongs to the world of darkness.

And also, the two ascendants are counted to fire and desire; the dry and the moist. They are the father and the mother of all these.

10 And also, the sun and the moon, which are counted in with them as a rule <counted to their kind, but why did they count them in with them?> so that they would reign over them. You will discover they subjugate them at every moment.

These seven we have named, the five stars and the two ascendants. They are the doers of wickedness that do every wicked and bad act in every land, the whole of it, above **15** and below, in every creature, in the dry and the moist, in tree and flesh.

Once more I reveal to you about these signs of the zodiac: they are distributed, appointed on four sides, three per angle in these four places. And they are fixed to this revolving sphere. Aries, **20** Leo and Sagittarius, these three belong to a single side.[24] In contrast, Taurus, Capricorn and Virgo, these other three belong to another side. And then Gemini, Libra and Aquarius belong to another side. Scorpio, Pisces and Cancer belong to another corner. Now, they **25** are placed like this, appointed to these four parts, and distributed on the sphere.

So, when the side of Aries, Leo and Sagittarius will be plundered by the guardian who is over it, who extorts from it and the leaders who move upon it; at that instant shall affliction strike **30** all the four-footed creatures below. However, when the side of Taurus, Virgo and Capricorn will be plundered; affliction shall **169** at once befall the herbs, together with the vegetables and all the fruits of the trees. Yet again, when the side of Scorpio, Pisces and Cancer will be plundered; scarcity shall befall the waters upon the earth, **5** and drought be from place to place. Conversely, should the side of Gemini, Libra and Aquarius be plundered;

[24] The circle of the zodiac is quartered, with each set of three houses grouped as by an equilateral triangle. Thus Aries, Leo and Sagittarius are not consecutive signs; but rather the first, fifth, and ninth houses.

deformity and stuntedness shall befall the form of mankind from place to place.

Behold now, I have explained to you about these twelve [10] signs of the zodiac: They were fashioned from the five worlds of darkness, and bound on the sphere.

Also, I have taught you about the other five, the stars: They too came about from the five worlds of the land of darkness.

I have recounted to you also about the two ascendants: They are set [15] to the mystery of fire and desire. They are the dry and the moist, the father and the mother.

Again, I have revealed to you about the sun and the moon: They are strangers to them. Still, because of the constraint of the arrangement, in that the thing receives light, and as they belong and plunder them; [20] because of this they were counted in with them in relation to the calculation of the number. For, the sun and the moon are from out of the greatness, not belonging to the stars and the signs of the zodiac.

67. The Coptic treatise on the Light Mind

This complex treatise, which is found embedded in the Medinet Madi *Kephalaia of the Teacher* codex (89.18–102.12, entitled 'Concerning the Light Mind and the Apostles and the Saints'), has substantial parallels in other Manichaean literatures.[25] Its concern is to demonstrate the correlation between the macrocosmos and the microcosmos of the human body. The prodigious gods and demonic beings who inhabit Mani's worlds are here integrated with the more accessible workings of religious psychology. These insights into the life of the community aid an understanding of the appeal and success of Manichaeism.

(89.21–90.14) A disciple asks Mani a series of questions about the Light Mind, the god who enters into the believer and transforms the old man into the new man. How can this happen, and why does the old man continue to rebel? He also asks Mani about his apostolate.

(90.15–92.8) Mani begins his discussion with the macrocosmos. The universe is constructed in the form of a human. Its life and soul are the five sons of the First Man. The five sons of the Living Spirit are the intellectual qualities, who act as sleepless guardians, each firmly established in its place. The summons and the obedience, that is the active will to salvation personified in Jesus the Youth, become the sixth sons of each. The Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man, is the Mind in the universe.

[25] Manichaean texts on the same theme and obviously derived from Mani's original writings in Syriac (*Book of the Giants* ?) can be found in Parthian, Sogdian, Old Turkish and Chinese. On this see especially Sundermann (1992), 13–22. See also Lieu (1998), 59–75. A new edition of the Chinese with Parthian, Sogdian and Old Turkish parallels by Sam Lieu and Gunner Mikkelsen for the *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum* is forthcoming.

(92.9–94.16) The five sons of the Living Spirit each have their appointed watch-districts. Yet, demonic rebellions have occurred in each during the course of cosmic history; and have had to be dealt with by various gods.

(94.17–95.1) Similarly the Light Mind dwells in the human body, and needs to deal with the treachery of sin manifested by the old man who still lies bound within. Mani assures his listeners that despite the recurrence of evil the powers of light know the final victory; and thus always act for the good.

(95.2–10) Mani briefly answers the disciple's question as to how the mighty Light Mind can live in this small fleshly body.

(95.10–97.24) Sin constructed the human body from evil matter. Yet, its soul is divine, being taken from the five sons of the First Man. The five intellectual qualities were bound in the body and overlaid by corresponding evil qualities. This led the soul into error and forgetfulness of its true origin. When the Light Mind comes it frees the divine qualities, binds the evil ones, and imprisons sin. Thus the believer is transformed into a new man.

(97.24–99.17) Nevertheless, sin can rebel and cloud the intellectual qualities, leading the believer once again into error. Mani explains the process by which such a person may gradually come to turn against the true faith, despite the love and support of church leaders and friends.

(99.18–100.17) Mani emphasises to his disciple that he has now explained the workings of the Light Mind in the body, whose role corresponds to that of the watch-keepers in the macrocosmos. By purifying the spiritual intellect the elect can ascend in their hearts to God the Father, and know everything.

(100.19–102.3) Mani now turns to the disciple's final question about his apostolate; and explains how he, although a solitary man against the world, has been victorious over all the kings and earthly powers. Thus he has achieved more than all previous apostles, excepting only Jesus.

(102.4–12) The disciples thank Mani and promise to be strong in their faith.

Once again, at one of the times, a disciple questioned the apostle, saying to him: You have told us that the Light Mind is this one who shall come and assume the saints. You said it to us like this: He too is one among the gods . . . **25** . . . many gods are with him. You have also told us: When he enters within the body of the flesh and binds the old man with his five counsels, he sets his five counsels upon him in the five limbs of his body.

So, now, where is he? In that the old man is chained in the body! **30** For I see how rebellions arise there despite his bondage, from time to time.

Also, secondly, I ask you: If then he is a great god, unchanging and immeasurable, how could he come and appear in the smallness of the body?

The third thing I want you to recount to **35** me . . . a holy one is the Mind, and he is pure; . . . the defilement of this body?

90 Fourthly: If truly the Light Mind exists in the saints, why is his likeness not displayed to us, the way that he is?

The fifth thing I want, for you to tell me and explain about your apostolate. [5] Look, it is not clear to me! For they oppress and persecute you in the world.

I entreat you: Can you persuade me about these things that I have asked you?

Then he speaks to that disciple: My entire revelation, which I have unveiled, I have declared to my church. [10] In your presence! This one alone among . . . him.

This disciple says to the apostle: All that you have unveiled you have . . . in our presence. Yet, I wanted to know . . . the Light Mind, the way that he is.

[15] Then the apostle says to him: If I shall repeat . . . to you about these things that you are so set upon, and they become true for you after you are so set upon them, will you understand what you . . . ? On your account I will give vision to they who see! I will make the living fountain overflow for the thirsty, that they may drink and live.

[20] Then speaks the apostle to him: All the error, when the enemy of the lights constructed it, he constructed after the likeness of a man. The head of the universe is the beginning of the garments. His neck is the nape of the garments. His stomach is the five unfolded ones (?), which are . . . of the garments. [25] His ribs are all the firmaments. His navel is the sphere of the stars and the signs of the zodiac. And also, the parts that come from his navel to his hip are . . . that come from the sphere to the corners of the four worlds. His loins are the three earths that are below . . . [30] upon the head of the Porter. His . . . from the . . . to the earth upon which the Porter stood firm. His shins and his feet are . . . and the entire zone that belongs . . . **91** His heart is mankind. His liver is the four-footed animals. His lung is the race of birds that fly in the air. His spleen is the race of fish that swim in the waters. His kidneys are the world of reptiles that creep [5] upon the earth. His outer skin is the wall that . . . which surrounds the piercing and the great fire. His . . . the vessels of the great fire. His . . . of darkness. His gall is the . . . His great intestine is the breadth of the great . . . [10] . . . of the worlds. His veins . . . all the springs and wells. His eyes (?) . . . His feet are his . . .

This is how each of the worlds have been harmonised (?). [15] Five gods are fastened in him. . . . they are his soul and his life . . . man is a sinner . . . the Living Spirit and the Ambassador . . . the five sleepless guardians.

He has . . . [20] the Keeper of Splendour, the mind which is . . . in the world of the mind that is above. He has . . . whole . . . of the powers of heaven that are in . . . of the great King of Honour, who is the thought that exists in

the seventh firmament. He has humbled . . . [25] . . . also of the Adamant of Light, who is the insight . . . he has given . . . because of lust . . . He has also appointed the King of Glory, who is the counsel . . . patience over the three images; that of wind, that of fire, and that of water. He has handed over to him the . . . [30] . . . do evilness. . . . the Porter, who is the consideration . . . the wisdom in the . . . which is below. He has made him . . . the foundation below . . .

92 Furthermore: The Ambassador refined from them five intellectuals of life. Also, the summons and the obedience were situated there. Now, they made six sons of the Living Spirit, together with the six sons of the First Man.

[5] Further: the Ambassador placed in them the great mind; who is the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man.

Furthermore: Jesus the Youth was set there; who is the image of the living word, of the utterance and the obedience.

He has made strong these camps, those above and those below [10] . . . each one of them will be secure in the circuit of his watch-district, so that neither uprising nor treachery are made in his watch-district.

And look, see! The Keeper of Splendour is set firm in the great mind, in the camp above the prison of the bound ones, for he brings to nothing all the gloom of death. [15] And a treachery came about, and an uprising. The sin aborted, it tangled in with the soul. It became mixed with this light that it expelled toward the image of the Ambassador. It went . . . in the third firmament that is above the watch-tower . . . the Keeper of Splendour. From that place also it tangled [20] in with the light. It was detached and came down to that which is dry and that which is moist. It fashioned the trees upon the dry (land); but in the sea it immediately took form and made a great uprising in the sea.

Again, look, see! The great King of Honour, who is [25] the thought, he is in the third firmament.[26] He is made . . . with wrath. And an uprising came about. A treachery and an anger happened in his camp. The watchers of heaven, who came down to the earth in his watch-district, they did all the deeds of treachery. They have revealed crafts [30] in the world and have unveiled to people the mysteries of heaven. An uprising came about, and a destruction, on the earth . . . to it.

The Adamant . . . the fulfilment. He is set firm upon . . . **93** and a treachery came about in his camp; the occasion when the abortions fell to the earth. They formed Adam and Eve. They begat them so as to reign through

[26] Probably an error for the seventh firmament.

them in the world. They fashioned every object of lust upon the earth. The entire world was filled by their lust. Also, they persecute the churches. They kill the apostles and the righteous in the watch-district of the Adamant of Light, time after time, and from generation to generation.

Once again: In the watch of the great King of Glory, who is the great counsel, he who exercises authority over the three wheels. A disturbance came about, and an affliction, for they were . . . pained and oppressed in the three earths. After the Ambassador displayed his image, the paths closed to their . . . their ascent was impeded by them . . . the wind, the water, and the fire ascend on them.

Once again: In the watch of the Porter, he who humiliates . . . uprising of the abysses below . . . bent, the fastenings underneath were loosened . . . in the foundation below.

On account of the earthquake that happened in the watch of the Keeper of Splendour; the Pillar of Glory came forth, as it . . . helper of the Keeper of Splendour. It bore up under all burdens.

Conversely, because of the treachery and the uprising that happened in the watch of the great King of Honour, which is the watchers who came down to earth from the heavens; four angels were called upon about them. They bound the watchers with an eternal chain, in the prison of the blackened ones (?). They obliterated their children from upon the earth.

Then again, the abortions descended in the watch of the Adamant and begat Adam and Eve; because of that great treachery which happened, and the mystery of the wickedness, he sent Jesus . . . the prayer of the five sons. He assumed them . . . the abortions. He fastened them beneath the . . . the mind of Adam.

94 Also, because of the earthquake that happened in these three earths, and in that the paths were hindered and the springs of wind and water and fire were impeded, Jesus cast himself down. He assumed Eve; and he straightened the tracks of the wind, the water, and the fire. He opened the springs for them, and he set in order the path of their ascent.

Once again: Since the earth beneath the Porter was loosened from the fastenings that . . . because of this too Jesus went down, assuming Eve until he reached that place. He set in order and strengthened the fastenings beneath. He returned, he came up to his . . . rest.

Then speaks the apostle to him: Look at all these watches of the zone, the ones in which these great gods are master, watching over them . . . Uprisings have happened, and treachery, in them. The . . . . . in them from time to time; with a great humiliation, until they humbled the powers of the enmity.

So also is this body! A mighty power lives here, even if it is small in its stature. Nevertheless, sin dwells within, and the old man who is lodged in it. Certainly he is cruel, [20] with great cunning; until the Light Mind finds how to humble this body, and drive it according to his pleasure.

Just so, in the watch-districts of his great outer brothers, they who are masters in the zone. In them, in the great body: the earthquake and treachery happened [25] from time to time. So, also, is the watch-district of the Mind, which is the body of the flesh. Sin raises up, from time to time, its agitations in the body.

Now you, understand thus, that the powers of light are good. The beginning and the end are unveiled to them. [30] All that they do is being done with correct judgement. Indeed, because of this they may permit the enmity to initiate error, and do its pleasure for a moment. Then they seize . . . **95** . . . they have acted first with a righteous judgement.

And with respect to this other (question) that you have put forward: How may the Light Mind come, this great and honoured mighty one, and assume this little body of the flesh? Again, look, see! These gods, in that [5] . . . are great and mighty ones. And each one of them is enclosed and hard pressed in this place wherein he is set; like trees holding to their taproot. So also this is how each one of them has 'held to his taproot' in the world, according to the kind of place in which he is set, bearing up till [10] . . .

Now, also, happen you know . . . the world is set firm, being ordered . . . the five sons of the Living Spirit in all its members . . . sin took this body out from the land (?) . . . constructed it in its members. It took its body [15] from the five bodies of darkness. (Sin) constructed the body. Yet, its soul it took from the five shining gods. (Sin) bound (the soul) in the five members of the body. It bound the mind in bone; the thought in sinew; the insight in vein; the counsel in flesh; the consideration in skin.

(Sin) set fast [20] its five powers: its mind upon the mind of the soul; its thought upon the thought of the soul; its insight upon the insight of the soul; its counsel upon the counsel of the soul; its consideration upon the consideration of the soul. It placed its five angels and authorities upon the five members [25] of the soul, which it had brought in and bound in the flesh. They . . . , pronouncing to the soul and continually leading it on to every evil thing, to all the sins of lust, to the worship of idols, to erroneous opinions, to humiliation; in the humiliation of slavery! As it is set fast, worshipping [30] the things that . . . will not remain; making obeisance . . . idols of wood and gold and silver. . . . worshipping beasts **96** that are unclean and polluted! They are ugly in their appearances and their forms.

(The soul) assumed error and forgetfulness. It forgot its essence and its race and its kindred; knowing not the door of the place to pray to him, nor call up [5] to him. It became hostile to its father . . . itself, being wicked . . . its own light . . .

The Light Mind comes and finds the soul . . . it assuming it in the . . . [10] . . . its wisdom . . . he shall become for it . . . the bonds . . . members in the body. He shall loosen the mind of the soul and release it from the bone. He shall release the thought of the soul [15] from the sinew; and so bind the thought of the sin in the sinew. He shall release the insight of the soul from the vein; and so bind the insight of the sin in the vein. He shall loosen the counsel of the soul, and release it from the flesh; and so bind the counsel of the sin in the flesh. He shall [20] release the consideration of the soul from the skin; and bind the consideration of the sin in the skin.

This is how he shall release the members of the soul, and make them free from the five members of sin. Conversely, these five members of sin, which were loose; [25] he shall bind them. He shall set right the members of the soul; form and purify them, and construct a new man of them, a child of righteousness. And when he fashions and constructs and purifies the new man; then he shall bring forth five great living members out from the five great members. [30] And he places them in the members of the new man. He shall place his mind, which is love, in the mind of the new man. Also, the thought, which is faith, he shall place in the thought of the new man; whom he shall purify. His insight, which is perfection, he shall place **97** in the insight of the new man. His counsel, which is patience, he shall place in his counsel. Also, wisdom, which is his consideration, in the consideration of the new man. He shall make the image of the word pure from the word of [5] sin; and he adds to it his word, so that his . . . becomes nourisher and strengthener . . .

Now, when he shall perfect . . . the twelve members. This is how . . . and his wisdom. His . . . [10] . . . becomes righteous, as he perfects . . . While formerly he was running . . . but instead of this, now he runs . . . his road and his path and his . . . also he mounts up to the heights, to the great aeons . . . [15] . . . thus the old man is bound in the . . . and his lust, his . . . his foolishness in these five members of the body . . . the dark spirit is imprisoned with them in a bond and in severe misery.

Also, the new man reigns [20] by his love, by his faith, by his perfection, by his patience, and by his wisdom. Yet, his king . . . the Light Mind, he who is king over the totality. He reigns over it according to his pleasure. While the members . . . , thus sin is imprisoned. Still, the Light Mind [25] is king, and an affliction may arise in the body from time to time.

There are occasions when sin shall mount up with its foolishness; and it disturbs the consideration, and it clouds the wisdom and the understanding of the person. It causes truth to be split into doubt in him, and he utters some foolish words [30] and some . . . When the manner of his foolishness will come to the . . . in the church, the teachers and the . . . and the . . . and the presbyters shall gather . . . helper. And they put straight his wisdom . . . His consideration has been set right **98** about this. His wisdom has been set in its right place and ordered . . . well.

Now, if he shall not accept the rebuke and the edification of his brethren and his helpers; then shall sin mount up again, another time, from the consideration to [5] the counsel. It takes his patience from him, and bestows upon him faint-heartedness and hurt. And the sin is displayed in the midst of his brethren. His . . . for every thing that he shall do . . . advice of his brethren, and he becomes . . . [10] the foolishness. A battle and a war shall arise (between) the Light Mind and the sin in the counsel . . . they shall group together and become . . . there, and they cause him to cease from the . . . and they put him straight in his place another time . . . his [15] companions in his struggle.

If again the . . . to that place, then again sin shall rise . . . and clothe him with lust and vanity and pride. He separates from his teacher and his brethren. He shall always want to go in and to come out alone. [20] He shall want to eat and to drink alone, a solitary man. He shall always want to walk alone. Indeed, this is the sign that the familiarity of his brethren does not act on him.

Should he again not . . . his heart from lust; again sin shall mount up, the thought of death, to his thought. He shall . . . [25] a vanity; and causes his faith and his truth to leave him. When the sign of his foolishness will be displayed, and his reputation spreads in the church, the wise ones of the church shall gather to him; so that they may set right his heart, and encourage it with God's edification. If now he took the [30] advice of his brethren, and listened to . . . and set himself apart from his wrath and . . . **99** It is possible he could live and be victorious over the sin, and all its wars.

Yet, if he shall not make this watch secure, (sin) shall rise up and assume his mind; and disturb his mind, which formerly was calm. It shall disrupt his love, away from his teacher and his [5] instructor. It shall take from his heart love of the church, and fill it full of hatred. And all his brethren become hateful before him. His brethren and his loved ones and his friends who love him; they shall be like enemies before him. Now, that person is disturbed like this, and he lets his [10] love and his will turn from him. That person shall himself become a vessel of loss, and he separates from the church,

and his end comes down to the world. The Mind, who was in him, shall disperse from him and go to the apostle who sent him. He shall be filled by evil spirits; [15] and they deal with him, dragging him hither and thither. And he himself becomes like wordly men. He will change and become as if a bird, were its feathers plucked out. He becomes an earthly man.

Then have I taught you, and opened your eyes, as to how confusion shall arise in the zone; in the camps of [20] these great mighty gods? Again, this is how disturbance shall come about, from time to time, in the . . . of the Light Mind. So also these watch-keepers, for they are set . . . firm in the zone, (but) they are not visible. Again, this too is the way of the Light Mind, for he is not visible in the body.

[25] Also, corresponding to these outer watch-keepers; in that while they are great; yet have they contorted themselves. They have . . . , they have become small, to the measure of the task which is apportioned to each one of them. Again, this too is like the Mind, himself a great one, and exalted; but he is bent over and has become small, to this little worthless body.

[30] Even so the gods in the outer zone: they are transcendent and purified, they are set fast in the mingling of the totality, (but) are not defiled. This too is like the Light Mind. While he is placed in his . . .

100 Again, behold the mightiness and the activity of the Light Mind: how vast he is over all the watch-districts of the body! He stays fast at his camp. He shuts off all deliberations of the body from the beguilements of sin. [5] He limits them and distributes them out. He sets them down at his pleasure.

Also, he does another work, surpassing and exceeding (these). He bestows a great spirit upon the elect one. Indeed, now may you find him, as he stands on the earth, rising up in his heart and ascending to the Father, the [10] God of truth. He who exists and is established above all the things of loss. Once again, he may push down in his insight and his consideration, and descend to the land of darkness, from where the darkness has poured forth. His heart shall run and touch everything, as it . . .

[15] Then he says to that disciple: I have taught you the deeds of the Light Mind! Whoever has an open and perceptive eye, he can appear to him. Whoever has not that eye, he can not appear to him.

And, also, as to my work that is not manifest nor revealed to you, [20] the deeds that I have done; I will teach you about them, and open your eyes to this wonder . . . and of my leadership.

Observe from this! That I, a single Manichaios, I have come to the world alone. And the races and kindreds of the body, [25] and the gold and silver and brass . . . copper, and the many gifts and breastplates and

armour of the multitude, and much humanity, submit to me. Many types of gods and idols from smelting furnaces! You have beheld the kingdom of the world. For, despite great effort, [30] even with many benefits and gifts, with a breastplate and a violent war; they have not subdued the cities nor conquered the countries. Yet, I, I have conquered without breastplate and without armour **101** distant cities by the word of God, and distant countries. And they bless my name, and it is glorified in all countries.

Understand also another thing that I will teach you. The kings have striven with me, and the nobles and [5] officials and their powers, so that they might bring to nothing this truth. They did not have the strength for this against me. Now, if I am alone, why did they not have power against me? Namely, all these who have striven with me.

The third thing: No one in the world has given freedom to his children and [10] his brothers and his kin, and made them free from the variance of all things, the way I have. I who have made all my children free from every toil and every . . .

The fourth thing: I have covered them with the breastplate of wisdom; so that you will not find a single one among mankind [15] . . . and he is victorious over them. For as no single person is able to be victorious over me in the entire world; so it is also like this for my children. No person will be able to be victorious over them!

The fifth thing: I have chosen with my power this entire great election. I have given my children my emblems of authority . . . [20] and the great springs of wisdom, so that . . . apostle . . . of the church . . . I have made it mine. I have made my church strong, and appointed in it all good things that are beneficial to it in every matter. I have planted the good, I have sown the truth in every land, [25] far and near. Apostles and ambassadors I have sent to all countries. Therefore, the former apostles who came before them did not do as I have done in this hard generation; apart from Jesus only, the son of greatness, who is the father of all the apostles. [30] So, all of the apostles have not done as I, I have done! Look again, and see now: How great is my power and my activity? For not one among the former apostles, . . . in the flesh has reached my like in the . . . through me. For this great **102** door has been opened, opened by me, to the gods and the angels and mankind, and all the spirits and the living souls, who are prepared for life and eternal rest.

Then, after his disciples had heard all these sayings, which he [5] proclaimed, his disciples answered. They say to him: Great and mighty are all these things that you have uttered to us; which you have done by your power, and the power of the one who sent you. Who could fully recompense

you for the grace that you have done us, except this one who sent you? Still, the only gift [10] available to us, to repay you, is this: that we will make ourselves strong in your faith; and persevere in your commandments; and also be persuaded of your word, which you have proclaimed to us.

68. The descent of Jesus

This kephalaion (no. 8, 36.27–37.27: 'Concerning the Fourteen Vehicles that Jesus has boarded') evidences the total integration and subsumation of Jesus into the Manichaean system, with the consequent striking presentations of traditional themes (here the incarnation). The fourteen vehicles correspond to the stations through which Jesus passes as he descends deeper into matter for the purpose of salvation; and to the divine elements that he assumes and thus sanctifies in this *descent*. The listing of the ten 'carriages in the zone' reverses an order most familiar in accounts of the *ascent* of the light elements, the qualities of the living soul, as they pass through the redemptive process of summons and obedience, and finally ascend perfected from the Pillar to the moon and thence the sun.

[30] Once again, the light-man speaks to the congregation that is sitting in front of him: When Jesus the son of greatness came to these worlds, at the time that he unveiled the greatness, he boarded ten vehicles! He journeyed in the universe by them.

The first vehicle is the light ship, since [35] he received instructions from the Ambassador there. **37** The second carriage is the ship of the First Man, since his dwelling is established there. The third is the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man, since he shone forth there. He came below, he appeared in the world. [5] The fourth is the summons that he clothed upon his body. The fifth is the obedience that he swathed upon the summons. The sixth is the living air, and since he assumed it too, he received anointment there. The seventh is the living wind that blows. The eighth [10] is the light that illuminates. The ninth is the living water. The tenth is the living fire that is above them all. He was journeying in these ten carriages among all the orders and all the . . . , those above and those below.

After he had assumed these ten, he came and manifested in the [15] flesh. He chose the holy church in four vehicles. One is all the holy brothers. The second is the pure sisters. The third is all the catechumens, the sons of the faith. The fourth is the catechumens, the daughters of the light and truth.

These ten carriages [20] that he boarded in the zone, and the other four that are in the flesh; they complete and make fourteen carriages! He has done in them the pleasure of his Father. He has made alive, has redeemed, and given the victory to these who are his. Conversely, he has killed, bound,

and destroyed they who are strangers to him. He has given glory to the Father who sent him, **25** and the entire kingdom of life. Blessed is he who will know these mysteries; for he will count to the portion of Jesus, the son of greatness.

69. Augustine on Manichaean Christology

Aug., *c. Faust.* XX.2, 536.9–24 and XX.11, 550.14–19; trans. S. Llewelyn and S. Lieu.

(Faustus says:) 'Therefore, we worship one and the same deity under a tripartite name of Father, even God omnipotent, Christ his son, and the Holy Spirit. Yet we believe that the Father indeed inhabits the highest and first light which Paul otherwise calls inaccessible; that the Son in truth dwells in this second and visible light. Seeing that he is himself also two, as the apostle recognised saying that Christ is the virtue and wisdom of God, we believe his virtue dwells in the sun, but his wisdom in the moon. And also we confess this whole circle of atmosphere to be the seat and lodging of the Holy Spirit which is the third power. From its strength and spiritual libation the earth conceives and begets the suffering Jesus, who is the life and salvation of men, hung from the tree for everyone. Also, for this reason religious observance is for us almost universal and similarly for you equal towards food and utensil, though you detest most strongly the makers of them. This is our belief . . .'

(Augustine says:) 'Again, tell us how many Christs you say there are. Is there one whom you call the suffering one whom the earth conceives and brings forth by the power of the Holy Spirit, he who is not only suspended from every tree, but also reclining on the grass; and another crucified by the Jews under Pontius Pilate; and a third who is divided between the sun and the moon?'

70. A psalm by Herakleides

We have placed this psalm (*PsBk2.* 187.2–36, ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted by Iain Gardner) here with other Christological material because it is an account, one might say, of the 'risen Christ'; except, of course, that Jesus did not die on the cross. The Manichaeans subverted the narrative of the passion, utilising powerful prior traditions[27] to present a deeper and truer meaning of its mystery.

[27] Note here in lines 24–9 use of the *Ev. Thom.* logion 38; see also *ActJoh* c. 98. Cf. Richter (1992) esp. 257–8.

187 Mariam, Mariam, know me: do not touch me.
(Stem) the tears of your eyes and know me that I am your master:
Only touch me not, for I have not yet seen the face of my Father.

Your god was not stolen away, according to the thoughts of your littleness:
Your god did not die, rather he mastered death.
I am not the gardener. I have given, I have received the . . . , I appeared (not) to you:
Until I saw your tears and your grief . . . for me.

Cast this sadness away from you and do this service:
Be a messenger for me to these wandering orphans.
Make haste rejoicing, and go unto the eleven:
You shall find them gathered together on the bank of the Jordan.

The traitor persuaded them to be fishermen as they were at first,
and to lay down their nets with which they caught men unto life.

Say to them, 'Arise, let us go, it is your brother that calls you.'
If they scorn my brotherhood, say to them, 'It is your master.'
If they disregard my mastership, say to them, 'It is your Lord.'
Use all skill and advice until you have brought the sheep to the shepherd.

If you see that their wits are gone, draw Simon Peter unto you:
Say to him, 'Remember what I uttered between you and me.'
'Remember what I said between you and me in the Mount of Olives:
"I have something to say, I have none to whom to say it." '

Rabbi, my master, I will serve your commandment in the joy of my whole heart.
I will not give rest to my heart, I will not give sleep to my eyes,
I will not give rest to my feet until I have brought the sheep to the fold.

Glory to Mariam, because she listened to her master:
She served his commandment in the joy of her whole heart.
(Glory and) victory to the soul of the blessed Maria.

71. The great war and the last judgement

The 'Sermon of the Great War' (*Hom.* 7.8–42.8) must be dated to the first generations after the death of Mani, because (amongst other telling reasons) it is ascribed

to the apostle's disciple Koustaios. It reveals a powerful apocalyptic vision of the community in suffering, but looking forward to their forthcoming vindication over the forces of evil. The end times are already breaking in upon history. For the historian of religion, and in terms of understanding Manichaean identity, the mix of Judaeo-Christian and Iranian themes, fashioned by Mani's own particular genius into something unique, provides many clues.

We present here a much abbreviated text[28] in translation (by Iain Gardner), focusing on the final passages: the last judgement, the collapse of the cosmos, and the final return to the Father.

(7.8–8.30) *The Sermon of the Great War:*

Let us venerate our good father, and (glorify **10** our) redeemer! For he has unveiled every thing: He has taught us about every matter, and spread them before (us. He gave) us the knowledge of the beginning, he taught us the (mysteries) of the middle, and also the separation of the end, . . . and the annihilation of the worlds, which is prepared for **15** the bodies and the spirits.

Our father, our apostle, did not abandon us in want. Indeed, whilst in our midst he was giving us help, supporting us greatly; also, on the day of his coming forth, he bequeathed his good to the orphans and the widows. He has also taught **20** us to praise him, to give glory . . . the lessons of truth. He has proclaimed to (us . . .) children . . . the world. The creation, the battles **25** . . . the beaker of wrath which is prepared for the great inhabited world. A bloody chalice and a beaker of . . . slaughter which is prepared for the worlds. . . . kingdom which is prepared for this land beneath . . . the nobles, the free, the slaves, **30** what is evil and what is good . . . in it . . . **8** for ever.

Many have testified to (the great war). All the apostles have proclaimed it. The prophets preached about it. Its fame is spread in the entire world. Further, its origin is with all the sects. **5** (Many) years and human generations ago they began to prepare . . . it in the heights. Now a great . . . Its sound will rise to heaven. (Now) is coming a time of trial, which can put to the proof they who are (evil and they who are) good; it is coming to the inhabited world and **10** . . . to Babylon and all its children. Annihilation is coming to flesh, as destruction is coming . . . , as despoliation is coming upon possessions, as war is being waged on the kings, as . . . wrath. The

[28] The *editio princeps* was published by H. J. Polotsky in 1934 (Polotsky (1934b)), and a facsimile edition by S. Giversen in 1986. A major study of the work was published by Nils Arne Pedersen (Pedersen 1996), who is also soon to publish a revised edition of the entire codex for the *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum*. Gardner has had the advantage of viewing a draft of this latter revision; and, although this translation was based on Polotsky's Coptic text, some readings are influenced by Pedersen to our certain benefit.

sword may be drawn in an [15] instant: retribution comes on retribution, a thousand are coming to reap the grain. The evil-doer: he can receive his retribution. While the world will remain on fire, all the cities will persist in turmoil. Their inhabitants will take up arms. The earth that they dwell upon: their blood [20] can flow over it. The sun which shines upon them every day: it can shine upon their corpses. (All) the free will mourn; the free and the slaves . . .

The trumpet will sound! . . . the battle . . . [25] . . . slays and he smites and he does not spare at all. On that day they are crushed (?) . . . like flocks of sheep if wolves will (fall) upon them, and they scatter out from their gathering. [30] A lion upon a herd of calves.

(9.19–27) [20] That day of fear, this time of trial which is coming to everyone: See then, that day comes and can speak no lie in its coming. See, its very . . . is imminent. They that have passed by are more than they that remain. Year by year, that time [25] comes, to give retribution . . . It comes like these . . . ; it may be like a trap, like lightening . . . the night.

(14.16–31) All the apostles have suffered, weeping, and their churches in each generation; for they were despised and crucified, they struck them in every city. They poured their blood out [20] upon the earth. The wild beasts have eaten their flesh. The bones have remained in the wilderness, like some robbers, as if they had done evil. They passed their life, made righteous men of light; and the world has repaid them evil. They did not indulge in its "good things", nor also did they revel in its [25] pleasures. They spent their time there hungering and (thirsting); and it turned its back to them. It has given evil repayment to them. Every (thing), if God has appointed to make it happen, . . . the (powers of) the world do it not.

Therefore, all the apostles have wept. They proclaimed . . . [30] this battle book after book: from Adam . . . till today. Its hour has not yet . . .

Then follows the account of the terrible war (omitted here), followed by the renewal of the church:

(27.28–29.18) Henceforward, from the war on, the church will not be weak. From (that time the) [30] melody of the psalms comes forth . . . in each city. The catechumens (will find) strength to give alms the more . . . you may find the catechumens as they . . . **28** the commandments of the election. The church will not be moved, being constant; so that some among us might be found at that time even until the antichrist. My lord says: [5] some

might behold him among they of this human generation;[29] – of we, who have looked on my lord Mannichaios![30] Therefore, the new generation is come, and it is decided upon its good. They will find the brilliance (?) of his mysteries in the wisdom of my lord Mannichaios and his **10** church. They will come and find the scriptures are written, and the books are adorned. They will find the table and they that prepare it. They will find the churches . . . , they will find all these things after the war. Indeed, the church will not be hindered from this time; **15** from now till the day of Jesus, and until all (flesh (?)) is worn out.

The Gospel and *The Picture(-Book)* and the possessions, which the church has fashioned . . . of the holy ones which it has built, and the possessions which it has left in the world: These **20** . . . will come and find them. They did not . . . them. The scriptures of the apostle (of the light), they will give honour to them by their . . . they being honoured by their mouths, like these . . . will set them upon the judgement seat . . . **25** . . . venerate their name. Also, the body (of the apostle of) the light: A great mourning (will come about) because of it. At the hour when they will . . . in each land. They will mourn . . . of the apostle of the light. . . . **30** . . . that may find him at that time. . . . which were prepared today, being . . . this last. For, behold, the path of . . .

29 They have distributed the gifts, they have . . . among the friends of love. Behold the sects: they have been smitten, they have been destroyed! Behold the alms: it has been apportioned amongst they who gave it. Behold the spring of water: they have dug it down, they have (planted) **5** the good tree upon it. Behold the battle-standard: they have unfurled it! Behold the sword that can slay the lust. Behold the tribunal of the truth: they have prepared it. Behold the two ways: they have been separated.

This work the apostle of the light did in the land of the . . . **10** of Babylon, in the years of the kingdom of Persia. This truth was unveiled in the world. My lord says to us also, 'After the great war, until the days of Jesus the redeemer: Every thing I have written and set it down, I have made necessary **15** for my children until they do it. At that occasion they will perfect all the commandments, the small ones and the great, just as it is written. Love will dwell in all their hearts.'

Here follows one of the most important and continuous accounts (despite the lacunae) of the last things: the return of Jesus, the last judgement, the destruction of the universe and absolute containment of evil, the new aeon and the return to the Father.

[29] Cf. Mark 13.30. [30] On this spelling, see the comments of Augustine in **59**, *supra*; also **46**.

(35.11–42.8) . . . the advent of this glorious one . . . is likened to what? At that time . . . a great . . . [15] which is among them, for . . . outwards . . . the city. This is the way that the heavens and the . . . will resound and reverberate . . . all of them . . . the abysses below . . . [20] all the ones that are purified . . . of righteousness . . . the glory which can become great . . . that great . . . The judge of the truth, who may unveil . . . [25] . . . the king of the virgins . . . he can reveal . . . to give judgement . . . to judge the peoples, to justify his church. He is coming to separate out the goats, and set them apart from his sheep. He might be like the head of the . . . [30] . . . and weak ones . . . **36** . . . and he . . . the moon.

. . . [5] . . . as they walk . . . the diadems of honour . . . him, they who sound the trumpets of the truth; . . . flute, sounding them before him. They will beat [10] the glorious kettle-drum, and its reverberation will be heard in every world! They will gather the worlds before him, like a flock of sheep before the shepherd. Masses upon masses (will come), making rows; and they bow at his feet, worshipping in front of him. The angels [15] . . . will receive authority and gather all flesh before him. Every race and every language will glorify him, all of them at one time. Every "mixed" god,[31] the (bound (?)) and the loosened, they will all bless the (king (?)) who is sweet. Every purified and holy god, they will [20] . . . his power and his happiness . . . [25] . . . all languages, the laws and the sects. They will worship him, making supplication before him. His virgins and his continent ones: They will open their mouths . . . [30] his glory.

He will come down and prepare his judgement seat in the midst of the great inhabited world . . . **37** . . . idol . . . of this world . . . stand fast . . . god . . . [5] . . . set firm . . . catechumens . . . they have served his church . . . in his . . . [10] . . . on his left side . . . the sentence which is coming forth from his mouth. . . . then the great shining one will open his mouth and he . . . [15] the great and blessed king of kings. By his sweet blessed mouth he can proclaim his glorious word. And by the sound of his living word all the languages will understand that he is . . . each country and language. They will . . . [20] the interpretation of his words. And in front of his . . . his throne.

There are four kindreds . . . One is that of the kings and the nobles . . . the races of the entire world; the idol-worshippers . . . the kindreds . . . [25] . . . One are all the sects . . . of all the worlds . . . the elect and the catechumens (?) . . .

38 . . . you gave me food . . . Then, they to the right side . . . be astonished, for the one that [5] . . . thirst . . . freely, and they say (to him: On which)

[31] I.e the divine conjoined to matter.

day (did we see you), our Lord? (. . . Then he) may say to them: Whatever you have . . . **10** . . . because of my name, because of . . . you have served me.[32] Also, I . . . who are to his right side, he can justify and (give to them) the victory; who are the catechumens . . . they whom he has summoned to the kingdom of the light. **15** And his righteous ones and his virgins he has made like the angels. On the other hand, the goats, who are to his left side, will see the confidence that he has given the ones to the right side. Their heart will rejoice for a moment, as they think that the victory of the sheep will come to them too! Then he will **20** (turn to the) ones on the left side, and he speaks and he says to them: . . . me, they who are cursed. Go to the fire, the devil and his powers! In that I was hungry and thirsted . . . not one of you did help (me . . .) they that are (to the) right . . . **25** . . . They will answer and say: (On which day) did we see (you), our Lord?[33] . . . these . . .

39 . . . in every world . . . the earth; the gods, the angels who have come with him; the gods, the angels and the elect being mingled and partaking in the glory . . . **5** will smite the sin and sweep it away, with (every) wicked thing in the universe. Then the trees will open (their mouths) and speak; for indeed there is no persecutor in the . . . , for she acted ill against the truth. The catechumens . . . Therefore, this king of the light . . . **10** . . . he being revealed . . . look on him with the eyes of the body, like . . . today. They will look on him . . . the image of the light; as they all are glad, (rejoicing) over him. The lust will be removed from them, and also the (other) **15** sorts of temptation. When they wish, they will be stripped of their body, and receive the victory from him. (And they find) the path, it being made smooth from him upwards to the kingdom of life. Then he may reign in the midst of his chosen ones for a great time. And after these things he rises up to **20** his gods and his angels. His . . . will follow after him.

Then, after Jesus, the obliteration of the universe . . . him. Flesh will wear away, little by little, and be wiped out from the universe. Until the . . . **25** flesh wears away and perishes and all . . . is purified to the heights. The universe . . . and it remains, made waste . . . and it remains like this for a great age . . . entire, from the great to the . . . **30** . . . only the earth, which is set firm . . . , and the trees which are verdant, and the . . . which are shining, as they are drawn there and are . . .

Then, after the age of its wasting . . . they who have built it will make a sign to their . . . **35** . . . the fire . . . **40** . . . the prisoners of war come out from it, and they . . . the free women who . . . to their kingdom, the one that the First Man . . . will unveil his face and draw his sons to him. **5** . . . the

[32] Cf. Matt. 25:37–40. [33] Cf. Matt. 25:41–45.

Living Spirit. They will stretch out the Porter, that he can ascend and rise upwards and . . . great house of his father; that he can cast his . . . the rest comes to be. Then the Keeper of Splendour will stay his hand, and the first of the garments [10] . . . the King of Honour will . . . the King of Glory will proceed . . . can rise up to the heights. They will make a sign . . . all of you arise! The Adamas . . . who watches over his brethren, will proceed to the heights. [15] All the . . . will be redeemed, and they go forth from every . . . of the universe; the ones outside of it and the ones within it. The one who carries the weight, and they who . . . all the free will be released. . . . of the light.

There are some among them . . . [20] . . . to the light. There are also some . . . Again, there are some who may remain in this place . . . out like this . . . The sphere will sink down below by its weight . . . below will sink down. The three pits . . . [25] . . . the earth. Its destruction will come about . . . **41** . . . [5] all of it, which this fire has burnt. He can . . . new . . . He can confine the darkness in to the grave, its maleness and its femaleness. He can cover . . . it, and he obliterates the sinners . . . , as he . . . ; [10] but (they are (?)) different from the . . . in it.

Also, after these things the aeons (. . . the Father of) Greatness. He can give to them what they (beseech of him). He can give the grace to his fighters, they whom he (sent) to the contest with the darkness. The veils will be rolled back and gathered, [15] and he unveils to them his image! The entire light will be immersed in him! They will go in to the treasury. They will also come forth from him in glory . . . king, in the two kingdoms. On the one hand: the King of the aeons of the light, he is the Father, the Light King . . . [20] On the other hand: the king of the new aeon is the First Man . . . and the (Last) Statue . . . and the apostles and the . . . sabbath will count to the . . . king will count to the lord's day; in that . . . [25] . . . alone for ever . . . for ever and ever . . .

42 . . . [5] . . . our father, all they who sit . . . today, as they watch over this mourning and this fasting.

It has been completed, namely the Sermon of the Great War.

72. Four recently edited Kephalaia

For many decades the publication of the Coptic Medinet Madi codices was halted, and as regards *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* it had ended in the midst of kephalaion 122. However, in 1999, just as this present volume was being collated, publication resumed under the charge of Wolf-Peter Funk. Here we have selected four short passages, and provide a first English translation (by Iain Gardner).

Kephalaion 126 'Concerning Jesus, the Virgin and the Light Mind' (302.17–303.15).

20 Once again the apostle speaks: Jesus Splendour and the Virgin and the Light Mind and the great Mind, it is these three[34] who have been revealed in this world, the ones that are made apparent through all the apostles and the fathers of the good in each generation; and they have revealed **25** the mysteries in the world.

Indeed, Jesus Splendour, he who came and was revealed in the world: They crucified him through the enemy, against whom he stood firm. This occurred (corresponding) to the mystery of the First Man, he who came at the beginning against the enemy; while he has his **30** holy body, which is his sons, . . .

For her part, the Virgin of Light, she who . . . and continues purifying the life, while she . . . the mystery **303** of the Great Spirit, the Mother of Life, she who[35] . . . set up all things . . .

For his part, the Light Mind . . . church, and plants . . . **5** . . . signifying the mystery of the Living Spirit; he who set in order and constructed all . . . that are below, he set them . . .

Now, like these three great fathers: the First Man and the Great Spirit, who is the Mother of Life, **10** and the Living Spirit; indeed, like the champions who have done the will of the greatness for which they were sent; again, this is just like Jesus Splendour and the Light Virgin and the Great Mind.

Behold, . . . and they perfect their work, to go **15** up and rest themselves in the heights.

Kephalaion 136 'Concerning the birth of the two men: the new man and the old man; how they are born . . .' (337.10–338.18)

Once again the apostle speaks: Two births occur, **15** not resembling one another!

The first birth is of the flesh; the second is the birth of the spirit. When the person shall be born in the flesh, there shall be need of a care-taker, a nourisher.[36] This one, the one who will nourish . . . **20** . . . However, if he should not add to him a good nourisher, to make him well fed . . . come from the life of people.

[34] The duplication of the figure of the Mind may be supposed a textual corruption.
[35] Funk's text should be slightly emended to provide this evident meaning.
[36] The construction of the Coptic text is most unclear, and has probably been corrupted; but this translation represents what we regard as the evident meaning.

The second is the birth of the spirit. Whenever one shall be born . . . in the birth of the spirit, if then he finds a **25** care-taker and a useful nourisher, then he can . . . and he lives in the life . . . do goodness . . . out from his body . . . receive . . . **338** . . . new man.[37]

However, if he should not find . . . a veritable[38] teacher and a true nourisher . . . him, the ones that do not walk in . . . **5** . . . as through the transmigration above . . . he may receive a beneficial (?) judgement and shall not find rest . . . and he ascends for a great period.

On this account, blessed is every person who gives his attention to a true and perfect teacher, walking on the path of righteousness; and **10** at no time shall he set aside his habit. He receives teaching from him towards his righteousness and his godliness, so that he might find eternal life; and also flee from the evil, wicked teacher . . . gives an evil teaching, and he does signs . . . wickedness, and he falls into duplicity **15** . . . drives him to foolishness and he falls into . . . and laxities. They who achieve the requital of the suffering . . . which is suffered, are the ones who shall receive a great crown.

Kephalaion 138 'Who is the one who sins, and afterwards he makes repentance?' (340.20–341.24)

Once again one among the disciples stood up . . . questioning the apostle. He says to him, 'I (entreat) **25** you, my master, that you might tell me: Who (is this one) who shall sin and afterwards beseech absolution? Or, this one who shall receive teaching and (afterwards) is forgetful? Or, who is the (good) teacher? I ask you that you might open my eyes . . . '

30 The apostle says to him, '(I am the one who can instruct you in) **341** the lessons about which you have questioned me. This one that shall sin is no other than this living soul, the one that (indwells) the body of sin; because it is set (in) mixture. Another one: the old man dwells with it in (the body). **5** It shall cause (the soul) to stumble, as it makes it do (what is) not (right) for it. However, when it may make it sin, the Mind shall immediately give for (the soul) the remembrance of its sin that it has done. And in the remembrance of the Mind it shall shake off the sin and beseech the Light Mind **10** for absolution, and its sin is forgiven it.

Again, the one that shall receive teaching and be forgetful: It is the soul, the one that shall receive teaching from the Light Mind. The one that

[37] This must surely be the meaning of the text, although it is difficult to reconcile with the traces recorded by Funk. In any case, the general sense is clear. Since line 337.22 Mani has been discussing someone who is born in the spirit. Such a person must find the right nourishment in order to grow and become established in the "new man". Now, from line 338, 1 he will explain what happens if this does not occur.

[38] We suggest that one might read here ἀληθής.

gives it teaching shall give it the remembrance of its first essence; and it is forgetful of its teaching because the old man [15] dwells with it. (The soul) is given pain by him. On account of this it shall be forgetful, and it errs due to its affliction.

And, for its part, its teacher that gives teaching for it, casting repentance in its heart: It is the Light Mind. This one shall come from above. It is the "ray" [20] of the holy enlightener, the one that shall come shining on the soul; and it makes it pure and gives light to it and guides it to the land of light, from which it came at the beginning. And (the soul) can separate itself another time, and (go) up to its first essence.'

Kephalaion 145 'Three moons that exist' (348.12–27)

Once again the apostle speaks: 'This moon that is named "our hope", it is made of three moons! [15] And these three are the hope of everything.

One is the moon that is apparent in the firmament, which is the hope . . . numeration, that of the days, that of the months and that of the years.

The second moon is the spring of the living waters, which [20] ascend from the side below, as it appears . . . upon this earth. It is the hope and the life of every person.

The third is the Light Mind, the one that shall come and give the hope of life for the spirits and . . . [25] in all the generations of the world, generation by generation. It is the beautiful hope of all souls, the righteous and the true people.'

73. Manichaean and other 'errors' concerning the destiny of the soul after death (Christian polemic)

This passage (edited by Lefort in Bang and Gabain (1929)) comes from the work of Shenoute: 'Who Speaks through the Prophet' = 'The Lord is long-suffering' (T41).[39] This is not the same text as another of Shenoute's works which deals with Manichaeans: 'And it is also good for us to say to you' = *De actis Archelai*,

[39] This translation by I. Gardner. The text is attested primarily in White Monastery Codex ZM, of which Paris BN Copte 131[4] f.158b (translated here) is a part. In the ancient page numbering of the codex it runs from p. 42 col. A onwards (f. 157 in the Paris MS), to somewhere after p. 66; leaves from the codex after p. 44 are held in collections other than the BN. From p.66 onwards it is lost in a lacuna. See Emmel (1993) sv. Codex ZM. Citations from the work are also found in some White Monastery lectionaries. Editions of 'Who Speaks through the Prophet' from White Monastery Codex ZM: p. 42.a.10 – end 42b = Paris, BN Copte. 131[4] 157 (-158a?): ined. ?; p. 43.a.1 – end of 44 = Paris, BN Copte. 131[4] 158b: summarised and ed. Lefort in Bang and Gabain (1929) 429–30; pp. 53–54 = IB 7.30: ed. Zoega (1810) CCXI/1, Amélineau (1914) II, 189–93; pp. 59–60 = IB 7.31: ed. Zoega (1810) CCXI/2, Amélineau (1914) II, 189–93; pp. 65–6 = Vienna Kopt.9257: ed. C. Wessely, *SPP* XVIII 287 (pp. 127–8); plus (?) pp. 63–4 = Cairo, Egyptian Museum 9280: ed. Munier (1916) 135–7.

(*Logoi* 8, work 16, ed. Leipoldt CSCO 42, no. 36, 109–10). Comments by Shenoute on Manichaeans are also found in *Logoi* 8, work 27, *De Vetere Testamento contra Manichaeos* = 'And we will also say this other thing'; and (more briefly) in *de sapientia magistratuum*, which precedes 'Who Speaks through the Prophet' in White Monastery Codex ZM (Berl. 1611[4], = pp. 17–18 of the codex, ed. Leipoldt CSCO 42, no 14, 32–3).

The section of 'Who Speaks through the Prophet' featured here is closely related to the *Acta Archelai*, see Polotsky (1932); the author clearly knew of the *Acta*, either in the Greek (or in a Coptic translation?), or perhaps through the excerpts in Epiphanius's *Panarion* (see *supra*, **58**). On the work see now Lucchesi (1999), esp. 73–75 (although some codicological details in Lucchesi's treatment on 73–74 should be corrected, see Emmel (1993) sv. Codex zm).

For, indeed, some say that this body will not rise, and that another one is given to its place; but others that, if the person should die, his soul shall go in to a robber; and others that it shall go in to the beasts; and others that it shall come to be floating in the atmosphere.

However, some say that the souls of the pagans shall come to be rising with the sun and the moon and the stars in the heavens; but others that they are taken to an island beyond the sea, that place – they say – where are the gods of the nations, and this is where they think that the souls will remain . . . Indeed, these things are what the pagans think.

However, the Manichaean: They say that if a soul which has been murdered should die, it shall be changed to a leprous body. And they also add to their godlessness: They say that the atmosphere is the soul of the animals and the people and the birds and the fish and the reptiles, and everything which is in the universe. Even more they say, that this body is not of God but of matter, and that it is darkness and must do darkness. And again, heaven and earth, they say that they are not of God. They reject the words of the holy prophets, saying that whoever would follow after them will die; and there are all their other acts of blasphemy that they say, whenever, against God and his Christ and all the holy ones. So much has he told us of their profanities, namely the one who has understood all their wickedness, the holy messenger of the lord, Athanasius the Archbishop. So again we have understood the error of many heretics, from his letters. And some, they destroy their soul . . .

CHAPTER 6

Worship and ethic

For a summary of the principles and practice of Manichaean religious life see Introduction (pp. 21–5). The following extracts again give emphasis to Manichaean writings in Coptic that are not widely known, supplemented by some classic descriptions by Augustine.

74. The essential precepts of the elect and the catechumens

This 'Chapter of the Commandments of Righteousness' (kephalaion 80, 192.3–193.22) contains a summary of the essential precepts held by the elect and the catechumens; arranged in two sets of two by three.

The first righteousness of the elect has three parts: to refrain from all sexual activity; to take great care not to harm the light-soul trapped everywhere in matter and especially vegetation (the Cross of Light), for instance by plucking fruit; and not to consume meat or alcohol (192.8–13). These correspond to the three seals of mouth, hands and breast discussed by Augustine (*signacula oris, manuum et sinus*; *de mor. Manich*. VII.10; IX.18); and also referred to in eastern Manichaean texts.

The second: to multiply wisdom, faith and grace.

The first righteousness of the catechumenate: fasting, prayer and alms-giving. The catechumens had to support the elect who could do no labour, farming or cooking.

The third: to give someone to the church; to share in their good works; to donate some church structure. The catechumens were allowed to marry and procreate, but were expected to compensate in this way.

Once more the enlightener speaks to his disciples: 'Know and understand that the first righteousness a person will do to make truly righteous is this: he can embrace continence and purity. And he can also acquire "the rest **10** of the hands", so that he will keep his hand still before the Cross of Light. The third is purity of the mouth, so that he will keep his mouth pure of all flesh and blood; and not take any taste at all of the "wine" name, nor fermented drink. This is the first righteousness. If a person will do it in his body, **15** he is pronounced righteous by all mankind.

Then, the second righteousness that he should do is this: He can add to it . . . wisdom and faith so that . . . from his wisdom he can give wisdom, to every person who will hear it from him. And also from his faith he can give faith, [20] to these who belong to the faith. From his grace he can give freely of love, shower it upon them, that he might join them to him. For, when that one acquires a great riches . . . in righteousness. By this second godliness he may cause others to be sent, resembling him in righteousness. [25] Just as this righteous one should fulfil the second and become a perfect elect; so too, if the catechumen shall be a catechumen of the faith, he is perfected in two stages.

The first work of the catechumenate that he [30] does is fasting, prayer, and alms-giving. Now, the fasting by which he can fast is this: he can fast on the lord's day and rest from the deeds of the world. And the prayer is this: **193** he can pray to the sun and the moon, the great light-givers. The alms-giving also is this: he can place it . . . in the holy one, and give it to them in righteousness . . .

The second work of the catechumenate that he [5] does is this: A person will give a child to the church for the (sake of) righteousness, or his relative or member of the household; or he can rescue someone beset by trouble; or buy a slave, and give him for righteousness. Accordingly, every good he might do, namely this one whom he gave as a gift for [10] righteousness; that catechumen . . . will share in with them. Thirdly: A person will build a dwelling or construct some place; so they can become for him a portion of alms in the holy church.

If the catechumen shall fulfil [15] these three great works, these three great alms that he gives as a gift for the holy church . . . which these alms will achieve. Also, that catechumen himself, who gave them, he can . . . as he shares in them. The catechumens who will give . . . [20] have great love therein, and a share of every grace and good in the holy church. They will find many graces.'

75. The archetypes of ritual action

In kephalaion 9 (37.28–42.23: 'The explanation of the Peace: what it is; the Right Hand; the Kiss; the Salutation') the ritual actions that occur in human society, and which Mani has initiated in his church, are presented as reenactments of divine archetypes. Mani's lesson is carefully structured, and provides many important details and insights into Manichaean doctrine and church practice.

The descent of the First Man from the land of light was a favourite theme. Full of the pathos of loss and estrangement, it is in a very real sense the story of each soul. Thus this text makes much of the familial love and care within the divine household

(38.13–39.9). Once the sacrifice of the First Man has been achieved, he is saved by the Living Spirit and returns to the kingdom. This establishes and sanctifies the process of redemption; and, while it occurs at the beginning of the history, it also anticipates the triumphant return at the end of time of the collectivity of the divine, with the First Man at their head, to enter the new aeon (39.10–40.19).

Now that the primordial archetypes have been established, Mani immediately relates them to the individual's experience and the practice of the church (40.24–41.10). Mani then utilises the symbols to focus on the glorious hope offered to the victorious soul, when it meets the Light Form and receives its prizes (41.11–25). The lesson ends with the injunction to its hearers to honour and practice this divine teaching (41.26–42.23).

Once again the disciples questioned the apostle, saying to him: 'This peace and this greeting that occur in the world, from whom did they come forth? Or likewise, the right hand that occurs in the world, it being honoured by mankind, of whom is it? Or the mystery **35** of the kiss that they embrace one another with, . . . ? Or who is the one that reveals this **38** salutation with which they make obeisance to one another? Or this laying on of hands, which an immensely great one bequeaths upon his inferior, giving him an honour and making him great; of whom is this laying on of hands?'

Then he says to his disciples **5**: 'You have questioned me about these five lessons. Now, they are displayed in the world as miniatures, being made little; and yet indeed they are great and honoured. I am the one who can reveal to you their mystery! So, these five signs are the mystery of the First Man. He came forth with **10** them from the aeon of light. Also, when he finished his contest, he went up with these good signs. They received him into the aeons of light.

The first peace is the one that the gods and the angels in the land of light gave to the First Man, when he comes **15** out against the enemy. The gods and the angels were walking with him; escorting him, giving to him their peace and power, and their blessing and fortification. This is the first peace that the gods and the angels gave to the First Man, as he comes forth from the aeon of light.

20 The first right hand is the one that the Mother of Life gave to the First Man, when he comes out to the contest.

The first kiss is this one with which the Mother of Life embraced the First Man; as he separates from her, coming down to the contest. Even all the gods and the **25** angels who are in the aeons of light were making to embrace him! . . . all of them also, and the church tutelaries (?), and the kinsfolk who belong to the household of his people. They were making to

embrace him as he separates from them, accompanying him out, embracing him with the kiss of affection and love.

30 The first salutation is the salutation with which the First Man made obeisance, when he comes out to the depths below. He was bending his knees, making obeisance to the God of truth, and all the aeons of light **39** who belong to the household of his people; entreating them for a power to escort him,[1] as he comes forth.

The first laying on of hands is the one that the Mother of Life bequeathed upon the head of the First Man. She armed him and made him 5 mighty. She laid hands on him, and sent him to the battle. He descended. He completed his struggle with the great powers and the enmity.

By these five signs and these five mysteries the First Man came forth from the aeons of light against the enemy. He humbled him. He was victorious against him by them. 10 Also, when he ascended from the war, he came in to the kingdom of the household of his people by these five mysteries.

The peace with which he ascended is the peace that the summons gave to him, when it was sent forth from the Father of Life. It gave him the peace in the world of darkness. 15 Also, that peace with which he descended is the same as the one with which he ascended from the struggle! Therefore, appropriate to the mystery of that peace, which the summons gave the First Man, did this peace here and now come about. It was named and heard among the powers of the Father.

Again, this 20 second right hand is the one that the Living Spirit gave the First Man, when he brought him upward out from the struggle. Appropriate to the mystery of that right hand this right hand has come about; the one that occurs in the midst of mankind, as they give it to their companions, it being honoured and . . .

Also, this second kiss 25 is the one with which the Father of Life and the Mother of the living embraced the First Man, when he ascended from the struggle. Again, this kiss occurs among mankind, as they make to embrace their companions with it; whether then they go away from home and be far from their friends, or else 30 if they approach one another, according to the mystery of (the First Man).

The second salutation with which the First Man made obeisance . . . this time to the God of truth and . . . the blessed aeons and all the aeons . . . the whole land of light, when **40** the Father of Life and the Mother of the living brought the Man upward from the abyss of the struggle. Appropriate to the mystery of the second salutation this salutation has come about; this

[1] Perhaps the angel Nahashbat referred to in the account of Theodor bar Khoni *Lib Schol.* XI.

one that occurs today in the midst of mankind, as they make obeisance to one another, doing an honour to their companions.

The second laying on of hands is this: When the Living Spirit brought the First Man upward from the war, he saved him from all the surging waves. He brought him upward, he gave him ease in the great aeons of light, which belong to the household of his people. He set him firmly before the Father, the Lord of the totality. Now, when he went up before the great Father of the lights, a voice came forth to him from the heights, saying: Make my son, my first-born, to sit at my right hand side, until I set all his enemies for a footstool under his feet.[2] He received this great laying on of hands that he may become leader of his brethren in the new aeon. Again, appropriate to the mystery of the second laying on of hands, this laying on of hands has come about; the one that occurs in the midst of mankind as they lay hands on one another, the great giving authority to the lesser.

These five mysteries and these five signs came about first in the divine. They were proclaimed in this world by an apostle. Mankind has been taught them; and they have instituted them in their midst . . . but these mysteries were not at the beginning amongst the powers of darkness.

The Light Mind also, who comes to the world, shall come with these several marks. With these five lessons he shall choose his church.

First, before everything else, he chooses his church with peace. And he gives the peace first to mankind; so that the person receives the peace, and becomes a child of peace. Afterwards he is elected to the faith. Now, when he may receive the peace, he shall receive the right hand and count to the right hand. Then, when he receives the right hand, the Light Mind shall draw him to him, and cause him to approach the church.

With the right hand he receives the kiss of love and becomes a child of the church . . . **41** With the kiss he shall receive salutation, and make obeisance to the God of truth. Also, he makes obeisance to the holy church . . . the hope of the faith, good works.

When they will receive the peace and the right hand, the kiss and the salutation, the last of these things shall be bequeathed upon them from the right hand of charity. They too receive the laying on of hands, which will be bequeathed upon them. And they are conformed and built up in the truth, and made strong in it for ever. They shall come in to the Light Mind with these good signs; and become fulfilled people. They make obeisance and give glory to the God of truth.

[2] Matt. 12.36.

Once again: at the time of their coming forth, the Light Form shall come forth before them; and she redeems them from the darkness to the light . . . This Light Form calms the person, with the kiss and her quiet, from fear of the [15] demons who destroy his body. By her aspect and her image the heart of the elect one, who is come forth from his body, shall be calm for him. Afterwards, the angel who holds the victory prize extends to him the right hand. And it draws him out of the abyss of his body, and accepts him in with the kiss [20] and love. That soul shall make obeisance to its redeemer, who is this Light Form. And also, at the instant when . . . he shall be perfected and increased according to . . . in the household of the living ones, with the gods and the angels and all the apostles and the chosen. [25] And he receives the crown . . . glory in the life for ever.

Concerning this I tell you, my brethren and my limbs: Let you find these five signs in your hands, honoured before each one of you. They are: the peace; the right hand; the kiss; the salutation; and the laying on of hands. I have brought this [30] to you from the household of the living, out from the Father who sent me.

Happen you know, that a great mystery . . . him, by these five signs that I have brought . . . you may part from the world, because . . . you have understood about the first **42** peace and the first right hand and the first kiss and the first salutation and the first laying on of hands.

Therefore, let them find this laying on of hands being esteemed in your presence; as you give honour, and make obeisance to the teachers and the deacons and the presbyters, [5] they whom I have laid hands on. I have bequeathed upon them the great laying on of hands; because they are set in a great mystery, the laying on of hands of the divine, which is bequeathed upon the head of the teacher. Now, whoever will reject and disdain it, and it is made nothing by him: he commits sin subject to God, with great [10] sin; and also against me too.

Still, you, my beloved ones, hasten in to these five . . . you, and you . . . fulfil at these occasions . . . wishes he may answer you . . . [15] . . . as he told you . . . that are in the storehouses of . . . your heart . . . them, for he . . . which is set right by you . . . each one [20] . . . listen to him. He knows every deed that you do, all of them, . . . with your companions . . . this . . . he turns to you . . . and he . . . from you the afflictions of . . .'

76. The three seals

Augustine on the Three Seals (or Symbols) of the Manichaean elect (Latin).[3]

[3] Aug., *de mor. Manich* x.19 and xviii.65, ed. cit. 104.16–105.2, 146.13–15 and 147.1–4; Eng. trans. S. Llewelyn.

(19) Now let us look at these three symbols which you discuss in your manner with much praise and approval. What after all are these signs? Assuredly (the signs) of mouth, hands and heart. What is this? In order that a man, he says, be pure and blameless in word, deed and thought. What if he should sin with his eyes, ears or nose? What if he should injure a man with stones (his heals), or even kill him? How will we hold that defendant who has sinned neither by mouth, hands nor heart? Yet when I say "mouth", he says, I wish all the senses which are in the head to be understood. Moreover, when "hand", every deed; when "heart", every seminal desire. . . .

(65) Not sexual intercourse; but, as has been said long before by the apostle, you really forbid marriage which is at the same time a virtuous defence against such a deed . . . Were you not accustomed to advise us to observe as far as possible the period when a woman was fit for conception after the purification of her womb, and at that time to refrain from sexual intercourse lest the soul be entangled in the flesh?

77. Augustine on the bema *festival*

Augustine, *c. Epist. Fund.* 8, CSEL 25/1, 202, 7–18 and 203, 1–4; trans. S. Lieu.

When I was a hearer among you, I frequently asked why it was that the paschal feast of our lord was celebrated with little or no interest, though sometimes there were a few half-hearted worshippers, but no special fast was proscribed for the hearers, – in short, no solemn ceremony, – while great honour is paid to your (feast of the) *bema*, that is, the day on which Manichaeus was martyred, when you erect a platform with five steps, covered with precious cloth, placed conspicuously so as to face the worshippers. The reply was: That the day to observe was the day of the passion of him who really suffered, and that Christ, who was not born, but appeared to human eyes not in real but a semblance of flesh, did not endure but feigned suffering.

. . . In fact, it was a great pleasure to us that the feast of the *bema* was held during *pascha*, as we used to desire with greater ardour that festal day (i.e. the *bema*) since the other (i.e. the *pascha*) which was once so very precious had been removed.

78. A bema *psalm*

This example (number 222 in the Medinet Madi *Psalm-Book* codex, ed. Allberry 7.11–9.1 and adapted by I. Gardner) of the many *bema* psalms evidences the central role of this festival, which celebrated Mani's martyrdom, in Manichaean life. The

author is unknown. The *bema* or judgement seat symbolises that which Jesus will occupy at the end of time. Until Jesus' return Mani himself occupies it, (as an icon during the festival); for he is Jesus' apostle, as well as guardian and founder and principal exemplar for the community. It is worth reiterating that the Manichaeans regarded themselves as the true church of the saints.

A parallel version to part of this psalm (*PsBk2*. ed. Allberry 8.6 to the end) has been found at Ismant el-Kharab (Kellis) inscribed in Coptic on a wooden board (*T. Kell*. II Copt. 4). The board then continues with a parallel to psalm 109 of the Medinet Madi collection, and seems originally to have formed part of a wooden codex. The earlier date of the Ismant version enables some minor emendations to be made which improve Allberry's text.[4] Other improvements have been suggested by G. Wurst in his recent reedition of the Coptic text (with German translation, Wurst (1996)). Furthermore, in the translation now provided here, the layout has been altered to reflect the phrases, strophes and refrains that would have been used in actual liturgical practice (similarly Wurst). We have also made some changes to Allberry's English wording, to conform to our own style in this volume.

(Psalm) 222 By the same.

7 O soul, know this great sign,
that this is the sign of the remission of your sins.

This visible *bema*,
the word set it before you,
that he might sow in you through what is visible
the remembrance of the hidden judgment,
which you have forgotten since the day
when you drank the water of madness.

O soul . . .

Lo, there has come to you the grace of the day of joy,
do for your part reveal without fear all your sins today;
and be mindful of your end, and prepare yourself in your works,
for the *bema* of wisdom moves you concerning it.

Paul, the glorious one, bears witness, saying unto you:
'The *bema* of Christ, in it there is no respect of persons;
whether we will or not, we shall all receive this (evaluation).'
This too is what the *bema* silently proclaims.

[4] However, the nominal form used in the Ismant parallel to 8.22 ('the forgiveness of sins') has not been followed, because it destroys the Coptic syntax of the Medinet Madi version, and without a complete text it is unclear how it should be read.

The wanton hours of wickedness, rule entirely over them,
(the ceaseless fire) of foul lust;
and do you (forsake) wrath and envy and sadness,
also the (other) bitter (bonds) of wickedness, loose them today.

(May) the judge see you keeping these commandments,
(and may he) honour you and give you life;
complete forgiveness will he bestow on you,
come therefore and walk on these holy steps.

8 May the *bema* become for you a landing-place of your days,
a place of cleansing of your life, a chest filled with teaching,
a ladder to the heights, a counting-balance of your deeds;
and as you see the likeness of these things in the *bema*, bless it.

Say unto it: 'You are blessed, great instrument of the word,
upright *bema* of the great judge,
the seat of the fathers of light that are far removed from error,
foundation of the sweet victory, full of wisdom.'

Hail, *bema* of victory, true sign of our city,
joyous shining crown of the souls that are victorious;
but judgment and condemnation of sinners.
Hail, *bema* of the mind of the holy scriptures.

Every tree today has become new again.
Lo, the roses have spread their beauty abroad,
for the bond has been severed that does harm to the leaves;
do you also sever the chains and the bond of our sins.

All the air is luminous, the sphere glitters today,
even the earth puts forth blossom, the waves of the sea are still;
for the gloomy winter has passed that is full of trouble,
let us too escape from the iniquity of evil.

Forgive the sins of they that know your mystery,
to whom there has been revealed the knowledge of the
secrets of the exalted one,
through the wholesome wisdom wherein there is no error,
of the holy church of the Paraclete, our father.

The joy-filled treasure of the glorious spirit,
give it as a present to us and extend it unto us all,

and wash us in joy and . . .
his drops also that will wash the . . .

Glory to thee, our father Manichaios, the glorious one,
(the joy of) the gods, . . . , the entire remission of sins,
the preaching of life, the ambassador of they that are on high;
glory to your *bema*, your seat that gives . . .

9 May also the soul of Maria have access to your mercy, my master.

79. The profits of fasting

This is kephalaion 79: 'Concerning the Fasting of the Saints' (191.9–192.3).

Once more the enlightener speaks to his disciples: 'The fasting that the saints fast by is profitable for four great works.

The first work: Shall the holy man punish his body by fasting, he [15] subdues the entire ruling-power that exists in him.

The second: This soul that comes in to him in the administration of his food, day by day; it shall be made holy, cleansed, purified, and washed from the adulteration of the darkness that is mixed in with it.

The third: [20] That person shall make every deed a holy one; the mystery of the children of light in whom there is neither corruption nor . . . the food, nor wound it. Rather, they are holy, there is nothing in them that defiles, as they live in peace.

The fourth: They make a . . . [25] . . . the Cross, they restrain their hands from the hand . . . not destroy the living soul.

The fasting is profitable to the saints for these four great works should they persist; that is if they are constant in them daily, and cause the body to make all its [30] members to fast with a holy fast.

. . . faith. They who have not strength to fast daily should make their fast **192** on the lord's day. They too make a contribution to the works and the fasting of the saints by their faith and their alms.'

80. A psalm of endurance

This (*PsBk2*. 141.1–143.34 ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted I. Gardner) is one of the 'psalms of the wanderers', those ascetics who personified the ideal Manichaean elect. 'Endurance' (here the Greek ὑπομονή or Coptic ⲃⲓ ϩⲁ ⲛ) or 'long-sufferingness'

(to translate literally the Coptic term ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲁⲣⲯϩⲏⲧ) may well be said to identify the most characteristic tone of the Manichaean ethic, its very summation of life lived in this world.

141 . . . spirit of endurance come to us,
let endurance endure and let us bear up that we may
. . . endurance.
. . . the First Man, he was sent out to the fight,
and endurance came to him.
He left his land of light behind him, he went out to the land of darkness
and endurance came to him.
He left also his people behind him, he went out to the field . . .
and endurance came to him.

. . . of the gods, he came to the border of the man-eaters.
Endurance
. . . in the midst of the . . . ,[5] he came that he might raise it (?)
Endurance
. . . the angels, he came to the rampart (?)[6] of the robbers.
Endurance
. . . , he gave them as food to the beasts.
Endurance
. . . they going forth, knowing that they would fall into trouble.
Endurance
. . . not a need which came upon them.
Endurance
. . . to trouble until they saved the . . .
Endurance
. . . also are the enduring ones at this time.
Let (. . .)
(The five) weight-carriers that support the weight of the enemy.
Endurance
They are the five sons of the father, the Living Spirit.
Endurance
. . . that bears up, that comes from the heights to the depths.
Endurance

[5] The word means 'rose' in its other occurrences in Manichaean Coptic texts, but must express something else here.
[6] For this reading see Allberry, *PsBk2.*, note.

. . . overseers that . . . the prison.

Endurance

142 Yet they wearied not . . .
The Father himself also who is silent . . .
The second man, Adam, fell into . . .
Sethel also, his son: his endurance is great.
. . . seventy-three years . . .
Enosh also and Noah, Shem . . .
The righteous who were burnt in the fire, they endured.
This multitude that were wiped out: four thousand . . .
Enoch also, the sage, the transgressors being . . .

All the blessed that have been have endured these pains,
down to the glorious one, the beloved, Jesus, our lord:
they put a crown of thorns on him, they . . . ;
they smote him in his face, they spat upon him;
they hung him to a cross, they nailed to him four . . . ;
wine, vinegar, and myrrh they gave him and he took them.
All these things which he suffered he endured for our sake.

All the apostles that endured their pains:
Peter the apostle, who was crucified upside down:
how many tortures did he suffer, . . . with this purity.

Andrew the apostle, they set fire to the house beneath him:
he and his disciples, all hail to them, they were crucified.

The two sons of Zebedee were made to drink the cup of the . . . :
John the virgin, he also was made to drink the cup,
fourteen days imprisoned that he might die of (hunger);
And James also, he was stoned and killed,
they all threw their stone at him that he might die beneath the storm.

The same things also did Thomas endure in his cross:
four soldiers at once pierced him with the point of the lance,
they surrounded him on four sides and made his blood flow . . .
how many mysteries did he perform, many a sign did he fulfil.

Paul the apostle, they went against him that they might kill him:
how great then is their wrath, he expired, he did not escape;

I therefore too have endured the things which he suffered before today.[7]

143 he was thrown into a basket and hung outside the wall;
all these things he suffered, he did not weary, he did not flinch;
he left the open court of the lord, knowing that . . .

Thecla, the lover of God, who was made to go up on the fire:
she received the sign of the cross, she walked into the fire rejoicing;
yet was she not ashamed, naked in the midst of the crowd;
she was thrown to the bears, the lions were let loose to her;
she was bound to the bulls, the seals were let loose to her;
all these things that she suffered, she did not flinch, she did not . . them;
a crown it is that she desires, it is purity for which she fights.

The blessed Drusiane also, she also suffered the same:
fourteen days imprisoned like her master, her apostle.

Maximilla and Aristobula, on them was great torture inflicted:
what need for them to suffer these things, it is purity for which they fight.

All the godly that there have been, male, female, all have suffered;
down to the glorious one, the apostle Mani the living.

Our lord Manichaios himself also was made to drink the cup:
he received the likeness of them all, he fulfilled all their signs.
How many of his disciples also received the likeness of their fathers?

We also, my brethren, have our part of suffering:
we shall join with them in the suffering and rest in their rest;
the covenant of our father, the profit and the loss are divided between us;
we are true sons, the heirs of their fathers;

There is nothing that is free from suffering that will rest in the end:
the very seed also that is sown, unless it dies, finds not the way to live,
but by its death it lives and gives life also.

[7] This line has been inserted at the page end, in the midst of a verse celebrating Paul.

Let us make ourselves strong also, my brethren; for lo, the rest has reached us,
that we may receive the blessing of all whereof we have spoken,
and dwell with one another in the glorious land of light,
with no foe and no enemy and no adversary from henceforth,
but it is peace and joy and life eternal.
Lo, this is the end of the psalm of endurance.

Glory and honour to our lord, our light, Mani the living, who
endured to the end, and his holy elect, and the soul (of Maria).

81. Augustine on Manichaean ethics

Aug., *ep.* 236.2.[8]

Those who are called hearers among them eat flesh and meat, till the soil, and, if they wish, have wives; but those called elect do none of these things. The hearers kneel before the elect that these may lay a hand on the suppliant, and this is done not only toward their priests or bishops or deacons, but toward any of the elect. Like these, they adore and pray to the sun and moon. Like them, they fast on Sunday; like them, they believe all the blasphemies for which the heresy of the Manichaeans is to be abominated, denying, for example, that Christ was born of a virgin, claiming that his body was not real but apparent, and for this reason insisting that his passion was apparent, too, and that there was no resurrection. They revile the patriarchs and prophets. They say that the law given through Moses, the servant of God, did not come from the true God, but from the Prince of Darkness. They think that the souls of men as well as of beasts are of the substance of God and are, in fact, pieces of God. Finally, they say that the good and true God fought with the tribe of darkness and left a part of himself mingled with the Prince of Darkness, and they assert that this part, spread over the world, defiled and bound, is purified by the food of the elect and by the sun and moon; and whatever is left of that part of God which cannot be purified is bound with an everlasting and penal bond at the end of the world. As a consequence, they believe that God is not only subject to violation, corruption, and contamination, since it was possible for a part of Him to be brought to such an evil pass, but the whole God cannot even

[8] Ed. Goldbacher 524.12–525.11; trans. Parsons (1956) 180–1. §§1 and 3 of the letter are given in **39** (ch. 3, *supra*).

be purified from such foulness and filthiness and misery even at the end of the world.

Augustine on the Manichaean preference for money-lending over farming (Latin).[9]

Hear the common and abominable error of the Manichaeans which they confess: They say it is better for a man to be a usurer than a farmer. You ask, 'Why?', and they repeat the reason. See if the reason is not to be called madness. For, they say, the person who gives money on usury does not injure the Cross of Light.[10] (Many do not understand, but let me explain.) However, the person who is a farmer very much harms the Cross of Light. You ask, 'What Cross of Light?' Those parts, they say, of God which were captured in that battle were mixed altogether with the world and are in the trees, plants, fruit trees and fruit.

He who furrows the ground annoys God's parts. He who plucks fruit from a tree annoys God's parts. Lest he should commit these spurious murders on the land, he commits true murders in usury. He does not give food to him who begs. See if there can be greater evil than this justice. He does not give food to him who begs. You ask, 'Why?' Lest the beggar receive the life which is in food and which they say is a part of God, the divine substance, and they despatch it in the flesh. What then are you? What? Why do you beg? Do you not have flesh? But, they say, because we are illuminated by the faith of Manichaeus, by our prayers and psalms we who are elect purify thereupon the life which is in the food and send it to the heavenly treasury. The elect are such that they are not to be saved by God but are the saviours of God. And Christ himself, they say, was crucified in the whole world.

82. Augustine on the redemption of the light particles

The apparent reverence that the Manichaeans held for vegetation over animal and human life (in reality: reverence for the divine) was a profitable theme for Augustine's attack, and he made good use of his rhetorical skills on this theme. In this passage (Latin)[11] one can easily read the implied comparison to Christian charity.

It is worthwhile to know the full reason for this superstitious abstinence. Here, then, is the explanation. Since it is said, a part of God was mixed

[9] Aug., *enarrationes in Psalmos*, CXL.12 (lines 2–26), eds. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, CCSL XL (Turnhout, 1956) 2034–5; trans. S. Llewelyn.

[10] The Cross of Light signifies the suffering (or crucifixion) of light-particles in plant- and animal-life.

[11] Aug., *de mor. Manic.* XV.36, ed. cit. 121.1–22; trans. cit. 90–1.

with the substance of evil in order to restrain it and to suppress any furious outbreaks (these are your own words), the world was made of a mixture of both natures, good and evil. However, the divine part is being released daily from all parts of the world and returning to its own domain; but as it comes up through the earth and rises toward heaven, it enters the plants, their roots being fixed in the ground, and gives life and fertility to the grass and other vegetation. The animals eat the plants, and if they mate, imprison the divine part in their flesh, thus diverting it from its rightful course and causing it to become enmeshed in hardship and error. However, when food prepared from fruits and vegetables is served to the holy men, that is, to the Manichaeans, whatever is of true worth and is divine in it is purified by the chastity, prayers and psalms of these men, and is perfected in every way, so that it can return to its own domain free of all defilement. That is why you forbid anyone to give bread, vegetables, or even water (which everyone has in abundance) to a beggar if he is not a Manichaean, for fear that the part of God which is mixed with these things will be defiled by his sins and thus hindered in its return.

83. A psalm of the universal soul

Psalms to the living soul are one of the major categories in the extensive surviving Manichaean literature. This example (psalm 246, *PsBk2*. 54.7–55.15, ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted I. Gardner) is notable for its powerful panentheistic imagery. A version of this psalm (parallel to 55.3ff) was also found at Ismant el-Kharab (*P. Kell.* II Copt. 1), from which it has been possible to make some improvements to Allberry's text. Interestingly, that version exhibits no doxology.

(Psalm) 246

54 Come to me, my kinsman, the light, my guide.
. . . my soul, bear up: you have your saviour:
(your) defence is Christ, for he will receive you into his kingdom.

Since I went forth into the darkness I was given a water to drink which . . . me;
I bear up beneath a burden which is not my own.
I am in the midst of my enemies, the beasts surrounding me;
the burden which I bear is of the powers and principalities.

They blazed in their wrath, they rose up against me,
they ran to . . . me, like sheep that have no shepherd.
Matter and her sons divided me up amongst them,
they burnt me in their fire, they gave me a bitter likeness.

The strangers with whom I mixed, me they know not;
they tasted my sweetness, they desired to keep me with them.
I was life to them, but they were death to me;
I bore up beneath them, they wore me as a garment upon them.

I am in everything, I bear the skies, I am the foundation, I support the earths,
I am the light that shines forth, that gives joy to souls.
I am the life of the world, I am the milk that is in all trees,
I am the sweet water that is beneath the sons of matter.

55 . . . I went forth to the . . .
. . . the aeons . . . they sent me forth to the . . .
I will bear up under these things until I fulfil the will of my father;
the First Man is my father, the one who perfected his struggle.

Lo, the darkness I have subdued;
lo, the fire of the demons I have extinguished.
The sphere turns quickly,
while the lights purify the life.

O soul, raise your eyes to the heights, and you see your form:
lo, the mother, you have reached her; lo, your fathers, they call upon you.
Go aboard your ships of light and receive your glorious crown;
and return to your kingdom and rejoice with all the aeons.

Glory and honour to our lord Mani the living,
(and his) holy elect; and the soul of the blessed (Maria).

84. A psalm to glorify the Mind

This (*PsBk2*.162.21–163.32, ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted Iain Gardner) is from 'the psalms of the wanderers' in the Medinet Madi codex.

162 (With) our holy voice we glorify the Mind:
(for if he) lodges with us we give holy fruit.

(O) father, o Light Mind, come and wear me,
(until) I have recited the woe of the son of man.

(My) lord Jesus, come and wear me,
until I purify the body of the First Man.

O compassion of glory, daughter of the Father of the Lights,
. . . all, none knows your honour.

. . . make music, children only of the Paraclete,
they that have . . . you, . . . weeping daily for your wounds.

You are the two-edged axe,
163 wherewith they cut the bitter root.

You are the . . . that is in the hand of the virgin,
which was thrust into the heart of the enemy.

You are the first ship (?) of the first warrior,
wherein they caught the thieves that rebelled.

You are the first weapon of the first hero,
which was brandished behind the foe that arose.

(You are the) church of the father, the First Man;
(you are the) vineyard of the first husbandman.

You are the eye of plenty that came with the abundance,
until it had closed the eyes of the malignant ones.

(How great) is your fortitude, o daughter of wisdom:
for you have not yet wearied, watching over the enemy.

For you the ships are waiting on high,
that they may draw you up and take you to the light.

Lo, the Perfect Man is stretched out (in the middle of) the universe,
that you may walk in him and receive (your) unfading (crowns).

Lo, the five porters are spread over the world,
that your heart may not suffer and that you may cast the burden from off you.

(Lo, the) righteous will illumine you;
lo, the forgiveness of sins of the catechumens of the faith.

(Lo,) the medicine-chest of the physician will heal your wounds;
lo, the knowledge and the wisdom will put your clothes upon you.

(Walk,) therefore, in joy, drawn to the land of light,
sealed with your seal and with your unfading crowns.

Walk also in gladness: your sufferings have passed today;
lo, the harbour of peace: you have moored in it.

Glory to this compassion and to them that purify it,
and to them that save it, the catechumens of the faith.

Peace and rest be there to the soul
(of the) blessed Maria, Theona.

85. Mani's discourse on the 'assent' and the 'amen'

For many years the edited and published text of the *Kephalaia* ended in the midst of this chapter at page 291 (Böhlig 1966); although page 292 had been made available in an article that discussed the liturgical context (Böhlig 1985). Then, for his English translation of the published portion of the codex (1995), I. Gardner utilised W.-P. Funk's working text of the Coptic to publish a draft of the entire kephalaion. Finally, in 1999, Funk published the complete edited text. Since this contains many improved readings[12] over the version utilised by Gardner, we take this opportunity to provide a revised English translation.

(291.4–292.8) The assent and the amen (or perhaps better: the 'yea' and the 'truly') are convictions proclaimed by the community at prayer; as in Christian practice. In this chapter Mani asserts their divine archetypes in the summons and the obedience, the two gods that embody the will to redemption. Thus the First Man was redeemed from the abyss; and in the present time they are incarnate in the holy church. Therefore, the assent and the amen uttered by the congregation seal the redemption for which they ask.

(292.9–25) The assent and the amen also bear forth a beautiful living image sculpted by the faith of the believers; and which ascends daily to the land of rest.

(292.26–294.22) The assent and the amen are also a great power; for in prayer they bring help both to the sick and at times of temptation. Various examples and analogies are given.

[12] Funk has made further improvements even after his 1999 publication (personal correspondence), and these have been followed here in advance of the publication of his projected 'addenda and corrigenda'.

Once again, one of the disciples . . . to him: 'Tell me, my master, . . . **291** . . . the name that we may utter over the blessing . . . we bless, and also the prayer by which we pray. Tell us: What is the 'assent' and the 'amen'?'

Our enlightener says to him: 'The assent and the amen [5] have come about from these great ones of the powers. They were given the name as the assent belongs to the summons and the amen belongs to the answer.

Just as the summons and the obedience are the ones that opened the portals of mercy and entreaty for the First Man, so they also became portals for the Mother [10] of Life and the Father of the living. The First Man sought and found his redeemer. And also the Mother of Life and the Father of the living sought . . . this runner, who came forth from them, who is the First Man; but the summons and the obedience became the [15] portals for them.

Now, in this way they have become portals for the aeons of greatness towards the First Man, and the soul that was conjoined with death. They became helpers . . . of the First Man during his ascent. They gave him . . . the Father of Life and the Mother of Life . . . [20] They are purifiers of the living soul, being helpers and bestowers of remembrance for it, be it either in . . . in the tree or in the creation of flesh . . . the holy church . . . the earth . . . summons and the obedience that [25] . . . the portals . . . in the holy church . . . helpers, bestowers of power and collectors . . . teacher . . . purified for their sake . . . [30] . . . a letter . . . **292** that it might be uttered over the psalm and over the prayer, with the entreaty and the supplication. For, whenever one will bless and respond to the assent and the amen, the assent and the amen shall be a seal for the blessing. Also, when [5] the congregation will beseech an entreaty with a question, and they all answer and say 'verily and amen', they shall seal the entreaty that the congregation has asked for and besought.

Happen you know that the assent and the amen are a great person [10] who exists in your midst. Call upon him, all of you, and rejoice in him with great joy; because he has come to you for your benefit. He has pledged, in your presence, to bring forth by him a new birth daily, very good and honoured before the living ones above. [15] So, when great crowds of people utter the assent and the amen, happen you know that the sound of all the people who respond shall collect and come together, and it fixes and sculpts and is formed and makes a good image, very beautiful [20] and honoured. It goes up to the land of tranquillity and peace, and they all give thanks; because a great blessing (?) is gathered, which has ascended

from all these who responded. For it was uttered by them all. It separated and attained the land of tranquillity [25] and peace by their joy and their mercies.

Happen you know that the assent and this amen are a great power. Whenever one will be found in . . . in bodily danger . . . sick . . . they pray for him . . . and they utter [30] over him the assent and the amen; and . . . in his sickness, and he improves . . . through a power, and they entreat . . . **293** . . . utter it over him. Now, if it happens that you find one amongst you under the hand of the persecutors . . . and you pray for him and call upon him the assent and the amen; then [5] a great help comes to him from the assent and the amen, which will be called upon him.

Again, if it happens that you find one amongst the elect who is not good; in whom lust (?) is awakened, and it is established against him . . . by the evil counsels, and he is set firm and stands [10] with his brothers and confesses his sin. So, if at first he will beseech for himself mercy, that if God will spare (?) him that temptation; and also if his brothers will confirm his condition; they will pray and call over him the assent and the amen. And [15] immediately there is a power come from the assent and the amen, and it annuls the lust and the temptation that he has carried around in him. And also, whenever a prayer will be besought over that person; as they call for the assent and the amen, he will hear it being uttered . . . [20] . . . a great power comes to him out from the assent and the amen; and it helps him and it makes . . . through his temptations. And the power of the assent and the amen goes up to the ships, and it is sculpted to a single image. That image . . . [25] . . . upon him the prayer, and it . . . and it fortifies him and gives strength . . . through it.

So, this amen is like the way a person might go on a path (?) . . . his goods . . . [30] . . . Now, whenever he may see it . . . **294** . . . from him entirely, and they . . . However, the time that he may . . . his cry in . . . [5] . . . and they who . . . on the path, they will . . . and he is saved . . . Now, whenever these . . . against the cry of this person . . . ; but his enemies who took his goods . . . [10] . . . he will again be saved because of these . . . on account of this cry . . . which he has cast (shouted out?).

Again, this is just like that elect . . . they will release a sickness of the body [15] . . . and an evil counsel oppresses him, and he . . . and he prays; and they again call upon him the assent and the amen . . . which is master . . . walls . . . is master to the heavens and the ships of the . . . [20] . . . from them; and it comes and is a helper . . . Whenever . . . the assent and the amen.

Behold, I have opened your eyes about the assent and the amen, that they are a great power. On account of this, . . . go up . . . from before . . . when you utter it and call it . . . upon him . . . answer you . . . the assent and the amen can answer you.'

One amongst those standing . . . says . . . **295** . . . 'the persecutors . . . him . . . the assent and the amen . . . shall be uttered from God, who is the one who can . . . that they might utter it?'

The apostle says: 'It was given a name in the world by the apostles and the first fathers; the sects brought it fame, but they did not know.'

Then, when that disciple had heard this simile, he glorified, blessed, and sat down.

86. The nature of love

This is kephalaion 63, entitled: 'Concerning Love' (155.30–156.34). Mani reveals the divine nature of love, which is manifested in the world in the church. In contrast, hate is the nature of the darkness; but it too is present in this time of mixture.

Once again he speaks to his disciples: 'What is love? . . . each . . . , calling it 'love'.

156 Love is the Father of Greatness, who dwells in his glorious land. The entirety of the divine has been revealed therein! These two are a single living body, the Father and his love; because he has given himself for every thing, as he exists in his aeons. Indeed, due to this, they called the Father, the Lord of the totality, 'love'. For he gave the victory to his aeons and his limbs.

Again, the beginning of all the righteousness and the divine that dwells in the holy church; they have also called it 'love'. As indeed the church is made strong therein! These two, the Mind and the church, a single body is also their likeness; because, again, the apostle too shall give his own self for his church. And again, due to this, the church too calls him 'love'. So is it written: There is no love greater than this, for someone to give himself to death for his friend.[13] Likewise, too, the beginning of righteousness is made of love for the church, according both to body and to spirit. While in the body, in the church here; so in the spirit, in the heights above.'

Once again he speaks: 'What, conversely, is hate? Hate is the first death that welled up. It revealed the land of darkness. This one called 'hate', because it has ruined all its perdition's offspring; it sinned even against a power foreign to it, and ruined it. Due to this they shall call it 'hated';

[13] Cf. John 15:13.

for it has caused destruction, both wounding in flesh, and what is not its own. Today again it causes wounding and destruction in all flesh. It kills them all with diverse deaths; these that are displayed today in everything, in every type. Even the Cross of Light, the **30** living soul, likewise too it ruins and kills them; as it did at the start. Indeed, due to this have they called it 'hated', this one from the hated; the envy from the envy; the devil from the devil; the bad that came about from the bad.'

87. A psalm in praise of Jesus

Manichaeism developed a very extensive tradition of psalm-composition, and these remain as a most distinctive and impressive memorial to the community and to the faith of its practitioners. A great many of the psalms were dedicated to Jesus, (this is true of the eastern literature as well as the western, despite the general Buddhist – rather than Christian – cultural environment), which can be taken as indicative of the major power of this figure in devotion throughout the Manichaean world and in all its ages. The following example (*PsBk2*.151.4–152.9 ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted by Iain Gardner) belongs to a group entitled ψαλμοὶ Σαρακωτῶν i.e. the 'psalms of the wanderers' (wandering ascetics).

151 Jesus my true guard, may you guard me: first-
5 born of the Father of the Lights, may you guard me.
(You) are the living wine, the child of the true vine.
Give us to drink a living wine from your vine.
In the midst of the sea, Jesus, guide me.
Do not abandon us that the waves may not seize us.
10 When I utter your name over the sea it stills its waves.
Who will not rejoice when the sun is about to rise on him?
You are a perfect day, being like unto your Father in the heavens.
(You) invite us: you have broached for us a (new) wine.
They that drink your wine, their heart rejoices in it.
15 They are drunk with your love and gladness is spread over their . . .
They think of them that are on high, and arm themselves to fight against the dragon.
The word of God is sweet when it finds ears to hear it.
It lodges not in a mind that is shut, it makes not its way to a shrine that is polluted.
It lodges with the maidens and dwells in the heart of the continent.

They with whom it lodges: its grace spreads over them.
They gird up their loins and arm themselves to fight with the dragon.
This name 'Jesus': a grace surrounds it.
Your burden is light for him that can bear it.
How great a lover of man you are, o Jesus, the first rose of the Father.
How kindly you are . . . the kindly one of the gods.
When I think of you, my lord, great is the fear that surrounds me.
When I would glorify you, I find not to whom I should liken you.
When I seek you I find you within illumining me.
Perhaps I too am worthy to (hear) the divine call.
. . . myself to you, fair is your glory in my mouth, my lord.
The ship of Jesus has come to port, laden with crowns and lush palms.

152

It is Jesus who steers it, he will put in for us until we embark.
The holy ones are they whom he takes, the maidens are they whom he . . .
Let us also make ourselves pure that we may make our voyage . . .
The ship of Jesus will make its way up to the heights.
It will bring its cargo to the shore and return for them that are left behind.
They are the . . . that are spread in the deceit of life.
He will . . . bring them to the harbour of the immortals.
(It is laden with) crowns and lush palms for ever and ever.
(Victory) and rest be there to the soul of Maria.

88. A psalm to the Trinity

PsBk2.115.4–116.23 (ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted Iain Gardner).

115

. . . for ever, even the Father, the King of . . .
. . .
our own . . . is the Holy Spirit.

(The Father) of Greatness is the Father,

the . . . (of the) sufferer is the Son . . .
. . . of life is the Holy Spirit.

(A) raiser of the dead is the Father,
a conqueror himself of death is the Son,
a gatherer (?) of his own is the Holy Spirit.

A hidden one from everlasting is the Father,
the word that appears is the Son,
the . . . is the Holy Spirit.

An intellectual intelligence entire is the Father,
but a stranger to the world is the Son,
the path of the aeons is the Holy Spirit.

A perfect rich one is the Father,
the proclamation of the hidden things is the Son,
the silence of them that . . . is the Holy Spirit.

He that has power over the universe is the Father,
he that . . . the Father is the Son,
the light of the aeons is the Holy Spirit.

The Father rejoices always,
the Son also makes music to the Father,
but his is wisdom entire, even the Holy Spirit.

May we ourselves generate love towards the Father,
the faith which is in us towards the Son,
the fear of our heart towards the Holy Spirit.

The seal of the mouth for the sign of the Father,
the peace of the hands for the sign of the Son,
the purity of virginity for the sign of the Holy Spirit.

116 Pious love for the sign of the Father,
the knowledge of wisdom for the sign of the Son,
the fulfilment of the commandments for the sign of the Holy Spirit.

The light that is on high is the Father,
the power of God that supports the totality is the Son,
the wisdom that looks forth is the Holy Spirit.

Jesus, the tree of life, is the father;
the fruit, the Light Mind, is the son;
the Virgin, this sweet one, is the holy spirit.

Jesus, the glorious, is the father,
the blessed Light Mind is the son,
the Virgin of Light is the holy spirit.

Let us pray then, my brethren, that we may find the Father,
and fast daily that we may find the Son,
and discipline our life that we may find the Holy Spirit.

Let us seal our mouth that we may find the Father,
and seal our hands that we may find the Son,
and guard our purity that we may find the Holy Spirit.

Glory to our lord Mani the living through the Father,
honour to his elect through the Son,
blessing to his catechumens through the Holy Spirit.

Victory and salvation may there be through them to the soul of the blessed Maria.

89. A prayer for the ascent of the soul

This text is probably a liturgical prayer intended to reinforce the faith in the face of death. The shifting person of the subject makes the flow of the text rather disjointed. The first person 'I' must be the individual believer, here as the redeemed soul. 'He' is the saviour figure: initially the Ambassador, then Jesus and then Mani and so on. The feminine of lines 120–1 is the image; this could be translated as 'it', but the personification seems preferable. The third plurals at lines 128 and 137 can perhaps better be read as passives: 'I was given . . .'.

Thus, the text may be understood as follows:

the individual takes upon him- or herself, 'I *will* pray to the Third Ambassador . . .';
then the awareness of a continuous present, 'He *is* sending to me Jesus the Splendour . . .';
then the statement of a kind of triumphant past, 'They *have* ferried me up to the land of light . . .'.

As regards the details of the path to salvation, these remained remarkably constant across the Manichaean world, and must stem from Mani's own canonical writings. In the tenth century an-Nadīm recorded:

Mani said:

When death comes to one of the elect, Primal Man sends him a shining deity in the form of the wise guide. With him are three deities, with whom there are the drinking vessel (or 'the victory prize' ?), clothing, headcloth, crown, and diadem of light. There accompanies them a virgin who resembles the soul of that member of the elect.

Then there appear to him the devil of craving and lust and the (other) devils. When the member of the elect sees them, he seeks the aid of the deity who is in the form of the wise, and the three deities who come close to him. When the devils see them, they turn back fleeing. Then they take the member of the elect and garb him with the crown, the diadem, and the garments. They place the drinking vessel in his hand and mount up with him in the Column of Praise to the sphere of the moon, to Primal Man and al-Bahijah, Mother of the Living, to where he at first was in the gardens of light. As for the body which is abandoned and cast down . . . [14]

The specific Coptic terminology in this present piece (*T. Kell. Copt.* 2, text A 5) is found also in the Medinet Madi codices. The use of the perfect tense is at first surprising, since the final revelation of the Father must be in the future, after the destruction of the universe. However, the tense should be understood poetically, noting that Coptic has no future perfect. There occurs the same anticipation in the *Psalm-Book*:

> Christ, my bridegroom, has taken me to his bridechamber:
> I have rested with him in the land of the immortals;
> my brethren, I have received my garland.
> (My) land I have beheld, my fathers I have found:
> the godly have rejoiced over me, my aeons have welcomed me;
> my brethren, I have received my crown.[15]

(I will?) pray to the Third Ambassador. He sent unto me Jesus the Splendour, the apostle of light, the redeemer of souls. He (bore (?)) me to the Light Mind, the Virgin of Light. The spirit of truth, our lord Manichaios, he gave to me his knowledge. He made me strong in his faith. He has fulfilled me in his commandments. The image of my counterpart came unto me, with her three angels. She gave to me the garment and the crown and the palm and the victory. He took me to the judge without any shame; for what he entrusted to me I have perfected. I washed in the Pillar. I was perfected in the Perfect Man. They gave me my first mind in the living atmosphere. I rose up to the ship of living water; unto the father, the First Man. He gave me his image, his blessing, and his love. I rose

[14] Trans. Dodge (1970), 795 (slightly adapted).
[15] *PsBk2*. 63.3–8 (ed. and trans. Allberry, adapted Gardner).

up to the ship of living fire; unto the Third Ambassador, the apostle of light, the good father. They ferried me up to the land of light, to the first righteous one and the Beloved of the Lights. I came to rest in the kingdom of the household (?);[16] for the Father of the Lights has revealed to me his image.

[16] Or: '. . . the kingdom of this one'.

CHAPTER 7

Community texts

As we have seen, the study of Manichaeism has been transformed by the discoveries of actual primary sources written by members of the community itself. This marked an enormous step forward over the prior reliance on accounts by mostly hostile opponents. Nevertheless, finds such as the Medinet Madi library and the *Mani Codex* have been of literary texts, and are still divorced from the presence of the living communities who created and used them. Thus, a further transformation of the discipline can be claimed for the recovery of Manichaean documentary texts, which evidence this living presence and the actual practice of the faith.

Most notable, in this regard, is the substantial archive of Coptic and Greek personal letters recovered from House Three at Ismant el-Kharab, many of which provide evidence of having been written by Manichaeans. The correlation between these, the fragments of Manichaean religious texts from the same site, and the material context excavated by professional archaeologists, provides a first opportunity to study this actuality of the community in the Roman Empire of the fourth century. A further consequence of now knowing how Manichaeans communicated and related to each other, and the specifics of their epistolary conventions, is that it has been possible already to re-classify two previously known documents as Manichaean,[1] with the promise of further such developments in the future. All of this substantially advances our understanding of what it meant to belong to that community, and of how believers constructed their identity especially in relation to Christians. It now becomes apparent how fierce was the struggle between the two religions in their opposing claims upon the gospel.

These points are illustrated by this letter by Besas to his mother, which may very well claim to be the earliest known Manichaean text from the Roman Empire:

To my most honoured mother Maria, (from) Besas, many greetings in God.

Before everything: I pray to the Father, God of Truth, and to the Paraclete Spirit, that they may preserve you in soul and body and spirit; for the body health, for the spirit joy, and for the soul life eternal. And you, if you find someone coming to me, do not hesitate to write to me concerning your

[1] These are the Greek personal letters *P. Oxy.* XXXI 2603 (ed. Harrop (1962)) and *P. Harr.* I 107 (ed. J. Enoch Powell, 1936). For further discussion and references see: Gardner, Nobbs, and Choat (2000).



Figure 7.1. General view of Ismant el-Kharab (ancient Kellis)

health so I might hear and rejoice. Do not hesitate to send me the cloak for the pascha festival, and send to me my brother.

Greet my father and my brothers. I pray for your health for many years.[2]

90. The advent of Mani

This is the very important first kephalaion (9. 11–16.31: 'Concerning the Advent of the Apostle'), which is concerned with establishing the authenticity of Mani's role and teaching in terms of the history of revelation. It contains material about Mani's own self-understanding of his divinely ordained evangelical purpose.

The succession of apostles and churches is compared to the continuous cycle of seedtime and harvest. Each new apostle releases the spiritual forms of his church, (the heavenly twin motif that is prevalent in Manichaean thought); and then is sent to earth to sow the seed of his election, at the very moment when the previous church finally ripens to harvest and ascends. Thus, there is no moment when the world is bereft of the means of salvation (see 11.26–7).

This recognition of the authenticity of each cycle of revelation is one of the most striking aspects of Mani's teaching. While Mani is likely to have developed it from the concept of the true prophet, found in his Elchasaite heritage and other

[2] *P. Harr.* 1 107, trans. Gardner, Nobbs, and Choat (2000) 118–19. To be dated late 3rd or early 4th C. AD.

Jewish-Christian sects; and it also owes something to Marcion's idea of the renewal of Jesus's true revelation by Paul and himself; nevertheless, the universal application seems to be the product of Mani's particular religious genius. It also, by an historical connection which is not yet clear, may well have influenced the notion of cycles of prophecy that appears in emergent Islam.

The chain of apostles is traced from Sethel, (as in other gnostic teachings), through Enosh and Enoch to Sem. Two figures from Indian tradition are then included, the Buddha and Aurentes (from 'arhant'?); and finally Zarathustra and Jesus. Other Manichaean texts provide similar lists, and the concept was open-ended enough to allow the inclusion of further apostles such as Hermes Trismegistus or Lao-tzu to accord with the missionary expansion of the religion. Nevertheless, while universality is obviously the intention, it is noticeable that only Jesus receives any significant detail or historical context. It is difficult to find evidence that Mani had any real knowledge of the lives and teachings of figures such as the Buddha.

Docetic emphases that can be traced back to Marcion are embedded in the Manichaean accounts of Jesus. This kephalaion is particularly interesting for an understanding of Mani's religious heritage because he follows the chain of apostles from Jesus to Paul, and then to two (?) righteous men in the Christian church (13.30–5). The identity of these figures has been much debated, but are presumably Marcion and perhaps Bardaiṣan.

After the ascent of the church of Jesus Mani's apostolate begins. Thus, the authority of later Christianity is rejected. As he foretold, according to the gospel of John, Jesus sends after him the Paraclete. This is Mani's own Twin-Spirit who reveals to him the totality of truth, the knowledge that Mani will then preach and write in his canonical scriptures. The summary of the essentials of revelation given here (14.27–15.24) is one of the best known from Manichaean texts; and has an almost creedal ring to it. Mani finishes with a brief summary of his missionary journeys, and repeats his claim to direct revelation. His own apostolate is superior to those before him because it has spread throughout the world; and thus it will last till the final judgement and the return of Jesus (16.3–17).

In the framing sequence at the end the disciples are enlightened and thank Mani; and assert that he is the Paraclete. Thus he has become one with his heavenly Twin, 'a single Spirit' (see 15.23–24).

15 The first chapter is this: His disciples questioned him concerning his apostolate and his coming to the world; for how did it happen . . . his journeying in each city, in each land; in what manner was he sent . . . **20** . . . first, before he had yet chosen his church.

The apostle says to them: 'I . . . but I will recount to you . . . Understand, o my beloved ones: All the apostles **25** who are on occasion sent to the world resemble farmers; while their churches, which they choose, are like (the Egyptian months of) Parmuthi and Paophi. For, the way Parmuthi occurs not in all the months of the year; nor does Paophi . . . in all of them. Rather,

the season . . . [30] . . . for it alone, as they know . . . its vegetables . . . the time they are cropped; also the vegetables and the . . . season; and they tend and ripen the pickings, and they . . . to Paophi. Of course, now that farmer **10** . . . Parmuthi; in that, if he will come and sow some corn seed there . . . cereal. And he shall be involved from the beginning . . . a corn seed and toil for it. Yet when the summer comes each year, and his corn comes to the season of its harvest; [5] then the farmer comes forth and harvests it. Even the gardener from the beginning . . . shall toil for his fruits; and he tends them and he . . . and they ripen; and he comes forth and picks them from the tree.

This is the way of the apostles who are come to the world. They are like a . . . of the greatness . . . the season that . . . [10] . . . flesh. Rather, they are sent before . . . before they had yet . . . in the world . . . from the greatness. They . . . to the whole created order; and they choose a selection of the . . . , as they make . . . the elect and the catechumens . . . [15] . . . their forms, and they make them free . . . in the flesh . . . the world . . . to above . . . as he may make his . . . the winter, and he harvests it [20] . . . also tend to the fruit in the summer and the . . . Paophi, and he takes them away.

Also the way . . . many years before . . . the world, as he journeys below to the . . . makes the form of his church free, and . . . [25] . . . of the flesh, whose forms he had made free . . .

Like the farmer, for when he will . . . that moment he shall begin . . . tend . . . it reaches Parmuthi also, he may harvest it . . . toil for the fruits of Paophi . . . [30] . . .

Again, this too is how the apostles . . . from the beginning of the moulding of humanity . . . as I have told you, that when they . . . before every thing he shall . . . free above, first.

Yet, when **11** it will be born in the flesh, he shall come down to it and at once . . . it in the . . . which comes out from the . . . is raised up to the greatness. He shall continue in the world at this time . . . him, corresponding to the season when the world will come to his . . . [5] when the season will mature he is raised up from the world . . . and he leaves his church behind (?) and goes forth. Still, he . . . and he helps and aids his church. Whoever comes out from their body after him, he shall become for them a support and a leader; and he goes on before them . . . , [10] excepting the others who are set firmly in the flesh. He is the one who will become for them a helper and a guardian; he shall not take . . . in secret, until his church . . . change it . . . when his church . . . [15] . . . he was raised up after it, and went in to the land of glory. And he rejoices and rests at the last . . .

Like the farmer who shall be glad of heart in . . . he was bringing in (the harvest). Or like the merchant who shall come up from a country with the doubling of his great cargo, and the riches of his [20] trading.

When the apostle will be raised up from the world, he and his church . . . for every apostle . . . in the . . . Since . . . tree, that still is laden with its first fruits [25] . . . , and they are picked; they shall propagate other ones there, and they mature to the season to bring them forth. There is not any time the tree is bare of fruit! Rather, instead, those about to ripen as they pick them shall propagate other ones there. When they bear these . . . them on the tree; they come up and are brought forth upon its branches. [30] They shall pick from it those that mature and ripen. The farmer does not rest at any time from the labour and the pain. At what hour may he cease? When he can finish harvesting the corn in Parmuthi! . . . them in the winter, the fruits of the summer shall . . . grow up and be picked in the month of Paophi.

[35] The apostles are like this also. Now, **12** when the apostle will be raised up to the heights, he and his church, and they depart from the world; at that instant another apostle shall be sent to it, to another church . . . it . . . Yet, first, [5] he shall make the forms of his church free in the heights, as I have told you. When . . . ; again, he too shall come down and appear . . . and he releases his church and saves it from the flesh of sin . . .

The advent of the apostle has occurred at the occasion [10] . . . as I have told you: From Sethel the first born son of Adam up to Enosh, together with Enoch; from Enoch up to Sem the son of Noah; . . . church after it . . . [15] . . . Buddha to the east, and Aurentes, and the other . . . who were sent to the orient; from the advent of Buddha and Aurentes up to the advent of Zarathustra to Persia, the occasion that he came to Hystaspes the king; from the advent of Zarathustra up to the advent of Jesus [20] the Christ, the son of greatness.

The advent of Jesus the Christ our master: He came . . . in a spiritual one, in a body . . . as I have told you about him. I . . . him; for he came without body! Also his apostles have preached [25] in respect of him that he received a servant's form, an appearance as of men.[3] He came below. He manifested in the world in the sect of the Jews. He chose his twelve and his seventy-two. He did the will of his Father, who had sent him to the world. Afterwards, the evil one awoke [30] envy in the sect of the Jews. Satan went in to Judas the Iscariot, one among the twelve of Jesus. He accused him before the sect of the Jews, with his kiss. He gave

[3] Phil. 2.7.

him over to the hands of the Jews, and the cohort of the soldiers. The Jews **13** themselves took hold of the son of God. They gave judgement on him by lawlessness, in an assembly. They condemned him by iniquity, while he had not sinned. They lifted him up upon the wood of the cross. They crucified him with some robbers on the cross. [5] They brought him down from the cross. They placed him in the grave; and after three days he arose from among the dead. He came towards his disciples, and was visible to them. He laid upon them a power. He breathed into them his Holy Spirit. He sent them out through the whole world, that they would preach the greatness. [10] Yet, he himself, he rose up to the heights.

. . . Jesus, his twelve . . . land . . . master . . . [15] . . . them. They were not faint-hearted, nor . . . they were all active . . . they were raised up and rested in the greatness.

. . . while the apostles stood in the world, Paul [20] the apostle reinforced them. He also came forth. He preached . . . He gave power to the apostles. He made them strong . . . the church of the saviour . . . he preached a . . . [25] . . . he too went up and rested in . . .

After Paul the apostle little by little, day after day, all mankind began to stumble. They left righteousness behind them; and the path which is narrow and sticky. They preferred . . . go on the road which is broad.

[30] At this same time also, in the last church, a righteous man of truth appeared, belonging to the kingdom. He reinforced . . . they fortified the church of our master according to their capacity; but they too were raised up to the land of light. After those ones again, little by little, the [35] church perished. The world remained behind without **14** church. Like a tree will be plucked, and the fruits on it taken away. And it remains behind without fruit.

When the church of the saviour was raised to the heights, my apostolate began, which you asked me about! (. . . *This passage (14.3–16.2) is here omitted, as it is quoted above as 7*)

16 I have chosen you, the good election, the holy church that I was sent to from the Father. I have [5] sown the seed of life. I have . . . them . . . from east to west. As you yourselves are seeing, my hope has gone toward the sunrise of the world, and every inhabited part; to the clime of the north, and the . . . Not one among the apostles did ever do these things . . . [10] . . . ; because all the apostles who were sent . . . they preached . . . the world . . . (my hope) will remain in the world until (Jesus) . . . [15] . . . his throne in it, and he will make . . . in . . . church, which is the right side, . . . which belongs to the left.

. . . about which you questioned me. Since the Spirit is of the Paraclete, the one who was sent to me from [20] the greatness; what has happened and what will happen has been unveiled to me. For you I have written about it, in full, in my books already. Today you have again questioned me. Behold, now I have repeated the lesson to you in brief!'

Then, when his disciples heard all these things from him, they rejoiced greatly. [25] Their mind was enlightened. They say to him in their joy: 'We thank you, our master! For while you have written about your advent in the scriptures, how it came to be; and we have received it and believed in it; still, you have repeated it to us in this place, in a condensed form. And we, for our parts, have received it in full. We have also believed that you are the [30] Paraclete, this one from the Father, the unveiler of all these hidden things!'

91. On the ten advantages of the Manichaean religion

The famous tradition preserved in this kephalaion (no. 151: 370.16–375.15) is found also in a Middle Persian version, quoted above in the introduction to Chapter 3. Whilst part of this text was already presented in the first announcement of the Medinet Madi discovery, the *editio princeps* of the entire piece has only recently been published; and it is this that we provide here with a first English translation (by Iain Gardner). Although it is not properly a 'community' text, we have placed this and the previous text here at the start of chapter 7, as they provide a fitting frame to the advent and success of the Manichaean religion for its followers.

151

Concerning . . . cities are many . . . in the . . .

[20] Once again, one time, a disciple questioned Manichaios. (He says): 'Why, in the prayer, . . . never since this time . . .'

He says to him: 'You, you have . . . You, you have said that [25] . . . the holy church. Now then, . . . church more than these (first) churches that were led astray . . .'

Then the apostle says to them: 'The church that I have [30] chosen is superior in ten aspects over the first churches. So, one: (. . . **371** the apostles) that were sent to them chose a church with much toil. Some of them came in . . . only; others among them have come in . . . alone; and (when) each of them came in, [5] (they chose the) churches that they chose in the places and the cities where they were disclosed. The one who chose his church in the west, his church did not reach to the east; the one who chose his church in

the east, his election did not come to the west. Thus, there are some of them: their name did not display in other cities.

However, my hope, mine: It is provided for it to go to the west and also for it to go to the east; and in every language they hear the voice of its proclamation, and it is proclaimed in all cities. In this first matter my church surpasses the first churches: Because the first churches were chosen according to place, according to city. My church, mine: It is provided for it to go out from all cities, and its good news attains every country.

(The second): My church surpasses in the wisdom and . . . which I have unveiled for you in it. This (immeasurable) wisdom I have written in the holy books, in the great *Gospel* and the other writings; so that it will not be changed after me. Also, the way that I have written it in the books: (This) also is how I have commanded it to be depicted. Indeed, all the (apostles), my brethren who came prior to me: (They did not write) their wisdom in books the way that I, I have written it. (Nor) did they depict their wisdom in the *Picture(-Book)* the way (that I, I have) depicted it. My church surpasses (in this other matter also), for its primacy to the first churches.

(The third: My) church will remain henceforth and be unveiled **372** through the world; because (. . . the first) churches, after they were revealed according to . . . they were stretched, they remained in the world for (a short time) only. Afterwards, they (. . . 5 . . . the apostles went) out from the world; but their churches . . . remained behind them, after them, in their likeness. However, my church, mine: It has attained (its) disclosure and can (not) be hidden from this time on; it has attained its fastness and can not be shaken, continuing on till the end of the world.

The fourth: The writings and the wisdom and the revelations and the parables and the psalms of all the first churches have been collected in every place. They have come down to my church. They have added to the wisdom that I have revealed, the way water might add to water and become many waters. Again, this also is the way that the ancient books have added to my writings, and have become great wisdom; its like was not uttered in all the ancient generations. They did not write nor did they unveil the books the way that I, I have written it.

The fifth: The persecutions and the temptations and the afflictions that the first apostles proclaimed; they themselves prophesise that they are provided to happen to this church. Look: They have happened to it just as is written! (However, it), it has been strong. It has persisted against (all) the temptations; it was not overcome, nor was it thrown back. Happen

you know that the crucifixions and the afflictions, which are different to each; the slaughters that are not like one another; these did not occur in all the churches. They have happened [30] in my church for its primacy to all the other churches.

The sixth: . . . the lesser ones and the ones lacking . . . in the first churches . . . **373** . . . and they were free from . . . that . . . which they . . . come down . . . [5] . . . place of rest . . . my church . . . also, the living ones . . . again it surpasses in this matter the first [10] churches.

The seventh aspect in which it surpasses: This is that, in the great war which is coming in every place the church still exists in the world, this that the whole earth . . . trembles, [15] and it comes about . . . a shaking and a . . . of a great destruction catches all people . . . However, my holy church will be strong; and it . . . in this war . . . it can (not) be overcome . . .

The eighth: In [20] . . . still as my church is set firm . . . ; but . . . the church an affliction . . . [25] . . . persecution and . . . and they were all destroyed . . . However, it too, the church . . . and it is strong and bears up under the afflictions . . . of the false Christ.

The ninth . . . more than the persecutions . . . [30] . . . of the first churches **374** . . . and they . . . his laws . . . [5] . . . of the divinity, and it unveils . . . church will become for them a house . . . [10] However, whoever truly believes can be separated . . . and he makes them pure and sets them apart and masters them; and he makes all the sects strong in it (the church?) and sets them straight. And he himself, he consoles it for all the trickeries and the duplicities. He can nourish it and give it authority [15] over the entire world; and he makes strong in it the lesser ones. And it too, of the ones that are condemned . . . of the church comes about in the entire world; while its confidence exists in the entire . . .

The tenth: . . . [20] . . . church will come to be . . . all the powers . . . either . . . or . . . in the bond . . . [25] Then, at the last, all the likenesses (?) of its depiction . . . will raise it up to the heights again . . . they will give for it according to its heart's will . . . all . . . and its petition. It will . . . will give for it authority over all flesh . . . [30] my church surpasses . . . **375** . . . to it more than the (first) churches . . . forthwith.

Blessed is the person who will (trust in) it and agree with it and remain in it; and he will profit and live in its life and . . . [5] . . . in its primacy. And he will go up and be at rest in the aeon of light.'

(Then, when) his disciples heard these lessons out from the man of light, they say to him: 'How very great then are these lessons that you have uttered to us! How very strong [10] are these in which we again receive light with truth! You have opened our eyes, that this church surpasses by its primacy

over the first churches. We revere you our master, we give you our thanks, for you have explained to us in respect of this prayer about which we asked you; **15** you have taught us about it, what it is.'

92. An apologia for the distinction between elect and hearer

Letter (?) by an elect as preserved in the *Tebessa Codex* (Latin).[4]

(Col. 1 (I.1)) . . . of the faithful will not under another judgement[5] because they always go forth justified from here below. However, there are two other groups, namely the catechumens and the gentiles, who will be summoned side by side to the same judgement, but will not obtain the same verdict. For, in truth, the catechumens must be raised up at the end because of (the help) . . . (*Cols. 2 and 3 are missing*)

(Col. 4 (I.2)) . . . they (i.e. the elect) lack the cares of the sects, because they are transitory visitors, and strangers in the world. That is why he commands the rich, who, as we have said, are themselves known as disciples of the second order, to make friends with the elect, who are without these resources, which it is certainly necessary that they abandon here, in return . . .

(Col. 5 (II.1)) . . . to be hampered by private worries and entangled by anxieties. These two ranks, founded on the same faith in the same church, support one another and each gives to the other from their abundant possessions, the elect to the hearers from their heavenly treasure, through which they have been named blessed and happy among those who dwell on earth because of their freedom, and the hearers to the elect . . . (*Cols. 6 and 7 are missing*)

(Col. 8 (II.2)) Consider also the nature of each of these two ranks, shown by the example of the two sisters, of whom one had chosen the most excellent lot, that is the higher rank of the elect; whereas the other, though she carried out the housekeeping and domestic duty, yet (was able) to minister to the manifest (?)[6] disciples.

(Col. 9 (III.1)) It is not without justification that these elect have been termed disciples. Indeed, poor in resources, and few in number, they walk by the narrow way and are destined for the narrow path. For

[4] *Codex Tebestina*, ed. Merkelbach (1988b); Eng. trans. by M. Vermes. The earlier study of P. Alfaric (Alfaric (1920)) also contains an edition and translation of the text; as does the more recent work of J. D. BeDuhn and G. Harrison (BeDuhn and Harrison (1997)). Also useful is Decret (1989).

[5] See John 5.24. [6] Following Alfaric's conjecture of (*a*)*pertis*.

few will enter that way and are the faithful who gain the kingdom of heaven, as it is written: 'In truth, many are called but few are chosen.' (Matt. 22:14)[7]

In the same way that was also said because . . . (*Cols. 10 and 11 are missing*)

(Col. 12 (III.2)) . . . These words I speak, dearly beloved, concern the order of the catechumens,[8] whom elsewhere he clearly means when he says: 'He that receives a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receives a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward.' (Matt. 10:41)

(Col. 13 (IV.1)) . . . that all (those present?) (who followed?) him might hope more to attain the heavenly abodes, and the riches of the good, which, once given, can never be taken away. That is why he commands those who still toil on the land, (. . .) and are married, to seek(?) from the same . . . these friends in the suppliant cry of their voices.[9] (*Cols. 14 and 15 are missing*)

(Col. 16 (IV.2)) Those possessing wealth are called hearers, or rather, as we have said, catechumens, who, since they have made their fortunes in this world, and are still below that rank of the perfect, because they possess wealth, are referred to by the term 'mammon' in the Gospel. This is why the saviour and lord uses the same speech in addressing them: 'Make friends for yourselves (of mammon . . .).' (Luke 16:9)

(Col. 17 (V.1)) However, the catechumens who had difficulty in achieving the level of election stayed in their homes; but they helped the elect and, receiving them under their roofs and into their own homes, they provided them with the necessities of life. These two ranks of the church thus always . . .

(Col. 20 (V.2)) . . . not to destroy[10] the dignity of the elect, but to make the hearers acknowledge also the rule and the law of their order, that is to say of the church and of the apostles, and the church's two ranks and . . . They were all (divided?) into the two-fold names of the people. All the disciples were (called) . . .

(Col. 21 (VI.1)) ('. . . if any would not work, neither should he eat.')(?) (2Thess. 3:10)[11] Should not that also (apply to the elect?) However, I affirm

[7] Or: 'few are the elect'; Latin 'electi' carries both meanings.

[8] I.e. hearers, see below Col. 16 (IV.2).

[9] Following Alfaric's conjecture of *prae-*(*conio suppli*)*ci*. Merkelbach prefers *prae-*(*sidium*), which provides no construction for *vocum*, unless that depended on the next line.

[10] Following Merkelbach's conjecture of *des*(*tru*)*ens*.

[11] Alfaric here reconstructs three very fragmentary lines. It is not clear that the ensuing argument depends necessarily on this quotation.

that that does not so much concern the order of these perfect ones who, renouncing the world, have citizenship in heaven; but those who are still settled in the world and are immersed in the same knowledge as the perfect ones . . . (*Cols. 22–3 are missing*)

(Col. 24 (VI.2)) . . . (is said of those people)(?) who, as they are unable to carry out and fulfil these precepts to the letter, (choose the less perfect)(?) of these two (orders of disciples).

That which I mentioned above, dearly beloved, on the subject of the apostle[12] and of the task which he(?) must accomplish (in order to eat)(?)[13] . . .

(Col. 25 (VII.1)) . . . to sketch out: 'For you yourselves are still carnal.' (1 Cor. 3:1) In the same way he says to them too, I think rightly:[14] 'No man should blame us in this abundance which is administered by us to the glory of the lord. We attend to that which is good not only in the sight of God, but also in the sight of men.' (2 Cor. 8:20–1) Therefore when he says: 'of this abundance is administered . . .'

(Col. 28 (VII.2)) He warns when he says: 'This is a faithful saying, and these things I want you to commit to memory, that those who believe in God should be careful to maintain good works.' (Titus 3:8)

Here you see that he commands for the faithful 'the maintenance of works'; and as 'good works' he sometimes names (?) the apostolate,[15] sometimes calling (?) it his 'soldiery', more often his 'ministry', occasionally his 'career', and sometimes his 'toil' and . . .

(Col. 29 (VIII.1)) And he also says to them: 'We have sent with him the brother, whose praise is not only in the preaching of the gospel throughout all the churches but who furthermore has been appointed by the churches as (our) companion in this charitable work which we are accomplishing for the glory of God.' (2 Cor. 8:18–19)

And so, therefore, when a collaborator offered his services to him in a secular task . . . (*Cols. 30 and 31 are missing*)

(Col. 32 (VIII.2)) He says to the Ephesians: 'Walk as children of light, for the fruit of the light is in all righteousness and goodness, approving what is acceptable unto God. And have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of

[12] I.e. the apostle Paul. [13] Following Alfaric's conjecture of *u*(*t manducet*).

[14] Alternatively these words introduce the following quotation, i.e.: 'I think it right that . . .' However, they do not belong to the quotation itself.

[15] This translation accepts Alfaric's readings in lines 11 and 13, but with reservations. There would appear to be a feminine noun missing in line 11 rather than the verb *nominat;* his own version takes *ipsam* in line 10 with his conjectured *apostolatum* in line 12, but that noun is masculine.

darkness, but rather reprove them.' (Eph. 5:8–11) What therefore because here under its own name . . .

(Col. 33 (IX.1)) . . . the apostle practised (?). He mentions it also when he writes to Timothy to instruct him on the subject of widows and women in distress: 'Now she who is a widow indeed, and desolate, let her hope in the lord, and continue in prayers and supplications night and day. For she that lives in pleasures is dead while she is alive.' (1 Tim. 5:5–7) . . . Still . . . (*Cols. 34–35 are missing*)

(Col. 36 (IX.2)) He adds to the Corinthians: 'I make these commands not to throw on you a sort of snare, but so that you may conduct yourselves honourably and be united without division.' (1 Cor. 7:35)

Similarly, he writes to the Colossians: 'Be thankful and perfect. Let the peace and word of Christ dwell in you, as you teach in all wisdom and admonish one another in psalms, hymns and spiritual songs.' (Col. 3.15–16)

(Col. 37 (X.1)) 'Those who are like this we command and beseech by Christ, that with quietness they work and eat their own bread; but you, brethren, be not weary in doing well.' (2 Thess. 3:12–13)

Even among those to whom the apostle was 'ministering' there were some who did the opposite (?), not carrying out the 'task' of which he approved, (but abandoning themselves to)(?) idleness. (*Cols. 38 and 39 are missing*)

(Col. 40 (X.2)) (When) he (calls?) his fellow soldiers or collaborators in business, he remembers those who were associated with and participants in the 'toil' of this mission. For he says to the Thessalonians: 'And we beseech you, brethren, to know those who labour among you, and are over you in the lord, and admonish you, and to esteem them more highly in love . . .' (1 Thess. 5:12–13)

(Col. 41 XI.1)) 'Because I have not run for nothing, nor laboured in vain.' (Phil. 2.16) You therefore see that here he claims to have 'laboured' and 'run'. Should we therefore find in this a physical meaning? Far from it. He shows that he devoted himself and 'laboured' continually to make the sons 'shine like lights in the world, (carrying within) them the word of (life).' (*Cols. 42 and 43 are missing*)

(Col. 44 (XI.2)) . . . that we may be (affectionate towards them?), that we may keep them in the faith, in exchange for which they will provide us with that assistance.

Similarly, the apostle says to the Philippians (2:12–14): 'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling. For it is God who works in you that you both want to work and make yourselves perfect because of his good will. Do everything without grumblings.'

(Col. 45 (XII.1)) He exhorts the Thessalonians (?) to provide (nonetheless?) assistance for the saints. In this task he maintains that he has never been idle. Even in the (stillness?) of the night he did not spare himself from earning this tribute (?), for fear (?) that one of his number would accuse him of taking the bread from his mouth (?).[16] (*Cols. 46 and 47 are missing*)

However, to (distract) his people from all works of the flesh, he abstained from . . .

(Col. 48 (XII.2)) . . . Let us dwell (?) in God's holy house, that is to say in the holy church. Let us be led(?) to the lord by spiritual things, refusing all things of the flesh. (Let us strive?) towards the peace (of the just?). Thus we shall (receive?) the eternal crown which he promises to all those who choose the spiritual life(?) . . .[17]

(Col. 49 (XIII.1)) . . . for him to reproduce (?) through wickedness, lest he might be dispersed (?) by the labour of propagation.

Finally, he says to these same Thessalonians, among whom he has said that he worked: 'I have laboured night and day' and again: 'We preached unto you the gospel of God. You are witnesses, and God also . . .' (1 Thess. 2:9–10)

(Col. 52 (XIII.2)) . . . may become (saved) by that work . . . will fly to . . . holy . . . to work than if he called his fellow soldier and (apostle?) by various ways . . .

(*Cols. 53 (XIV.1) and 54 (XIV.2) are too fragmentary for coherent translation*)

93. A father instructs his young son

This Coptic letter (*P. Kell.* V Copt. 19) was written probably in the 350s, or soon after, by a certain Makarios to his 'longed-for' son Matheos (as is stated on the address). It belongs to an archive of family letters recovered by the archaeological excavations during the early 1990s in House 3 at Ismant el-Kharab (the Roman period village of Kellis in the Dakhleh oasis). This particular family archive may well have been preserved by Maria, wife of Makarios and mother to Matheos (variously spelt Matthaios) and his brother Piene, as most of the letters are written to her (she never appears as an author) in Kellis by her husband or her sons whilst they are in 'Egypt' (i.e. the Nile valley). However, in the present letter we find Makarios writing to his son when he is still at home with his mother (note that Makarios starts to address his wife as he proceeds), and one imagines that he is still rather young.

[16] This passage is severely mutilated, and the translation depends heavily on Alfaric's reconstruction.

[17] Once again this translation depends on Alfaric's reconstruction, which he himself describes as 'plus laborieuse . . . et plus conjecturale'.



Figure 7.2. Manichaean psalms from Kellis

The text itself is laboriously written, presumably by the father himself (rather than the usual practice of using a professional scribe). The family are fervent Manichaean believers, and here Mani is himself quoted in his spiritual persona as the 'Paraclete'. The fragmentary central section of the text has been omitted in this translation.

(To) my son, my loved one who is greatly honoured by me: The child of righteousness; the one whose good reputation is in my mouth at every moment, whose witness is permanent in my heart; the name sweet in my mouth, my beloved son Matheos.

Before everything: I greet you. I remember your gentleness and your calm, and the example of your . . . propriety; for all this time I have been without you, I have been asking after you and hearing of your good reputation. Also, when I came to you, I found you correct as you have always been. This too is the (right) way. Now, be in worthy matters; just as the Paraclete has said: 'The disciple of righteousness is found with the fear of his teacher upon him (even) while he is far from him.' Like guardians (?). Do likewise, my loved one; so that I may be grateful for you and God too may be grateful for you, and you will be glorified by

a multitude of people. Do not acquire fault or mockery for your good conduct.

Study (your) psalms, whether Greek or Coptic, <every> day (?) . . . Do not abandon your vow. Here, the *Judgement of Peter* is with you. (Do the) *Apostolos*; or else master the *Great Prayers* and the Greek *Psalms*. Here too, the *Sayings* are with you: study them! Here are the *Prostrations*. Write a little from time to time, more and more. Write a daily example, for I need you to write books here. Do not be like the other one who came to question (?) when he was about to receive instruction about . . . everything.

When you are going to come, bring (a . . .) and a good remedy. Bring your two black . . . , bring it. If possible, bring one for Gena too; for (we will) be grateful for everything . . . If you have cut the garment . . . send it to him with sandals and my cloak. (Indeed), if there is the hard mat, send it with a cushion. Bring your . . . mat and your mattress; so, make the twists on the cover (?) . . .

(To) my sister Maria: You sent me . . . , you sent the two garments by way of Pshai . . . (text omitted)

Greet (for me my) daughter Drousiane. Greet for me my daughter Tshemnoute, and (my) daughter Kame. Greet warmly for me my sister Isi-, and my sister Mo(- . . .) and my sister Kame, and my mother Talaphanti with her children. Greet "the woman within" and her children. Tell them that I myself am very grateful to them, and God is my witness that . . . all in my prayers and my supplications. I (remember) you very very much, praying for your health . . . night and day; just as I see you are zealous, whether I am far (from you) or near to you.

Greet for me my sister Charis and . . . and her children by name, and my brother Philammon . . . and Pion. Greet for me my mother Tskmshai . . . and her daughter Kouria. If Drousiane will be able to go and tell Kouria, perhaps she will give something. Let her go. Greet for me Lamou, and his mother and his father, and Tapshai. Greet for me my mother Partheni and Pena, and all in Thio.

And you, my son Matheos, when you are about to write a letter, write it well; so that we shall find that you have written about the matter . . . he did not (?) . . . letter to him in my name. Write, perhaps he will give something else to us . . .

If my mother Kouria will give the great *(Book of) Epistles*, bring it with you. If not, bring the small one, with the *Prayer-Book* and the *Judgement of Peter*.

Amou greets you all. I Gena, who am with the one who writes this letter, I greet you warmly . . . I greet you my brother (and) my master Matheos,

and my mother Maria, and my brother Atre-, and my brother A-e, and my brother -aeis, and my mother Charis, and . . .

94. The son writes to his mother

This letter (*P. Kell.* v Copt. 25) belongs to the same family archive as the preceding. Matthaios is now presumably somewhat older; and he too is working in the Nile valley (like his father Makarios), from where he writes to Maria in Kellis. From this letter, and others in the archive, we learn that his brother Piene has been given to the entourage of the 'Teacher', i.e. the highest Manichaean church leader in Egypt. Elsewhere we discover that Piene is being taught Latin, and that he follows the teacher to Alexandria (Rakote), which is presumably the church's seat in Egypt. Thus one must suppose that Piene will join the ranks of the elect, and is being groomed for evangelical work. The practice of lay families giving a child to the church was well established in Manichaeism, and indeed counted as one of the essential religious acts of the catechumenate (see **74**, kephalaion 80). This letter provides a wonderful example of lay piety, and of the ties that bound all levels of the Manichaean community.

(To) my mother, my loved lady, very precious to me, the beloved of my heart: The one whose memory and worthy motherhood are sealed in my heart every hour; the one whose kindnesses and goodness that she performs for me at all times are sealed in my inmost thought. My mother, very precious to me, Maria. It is I, your son; in the lord God, – greetings.

Before everything I greet you warmly, my lady mother; with my brothers, my masters whose names are very precious to me at all times, every day and every hour. This is my prayer to the Father, the God of Truth, and his beloved Son the Christ, and his Holy Spirit, and his light angels: That he will watch over you together, you being healthy in your body, joyful in heart and rejoicing in soul and spirit, all the time we will pass in the body, free from any evil and any temptation by Satan and any sickness of the body. And furthermore (I pray) that this great day of joy should happen to us, the (day) for which we pray indeed every hour, and God grant us that we may see the image of each other in freedom and with a smiling face. Or indeed: whether they are dreams (?) or whether it is the sphere . . . ; or else again: perhaps they change and cast us once again towards you, and we will be satisfied with the face of all our beloveds. Would therefore that this may happen to us!

When I found the opportunity of my father Pseke and my father Pishai coming to you (pl.), I hastened to write and inform you about our health and the condition we are in; while I have already written another letter and added it to the letters of my father. I have also sent the medicines to

you (fem. sg.) through them, bound with the letters of my father. I have put 135 grains there. I have also written: 'Take the 100 for you.' They are necessities. It was some friends who gave them to me; they are doctors.

Now, since you have written: 'Tell me about how you are'; as for myself, the Teacher left me in Antinoou, but my brother he took to follow after him. I am thinking that perhaps he will come from the north (?) and leave him (Piene) some place. Should he again leave him, you will know. For he (the Teacher) loves him (Piene) very much, and makes him read in church. Now, if he depends (?) on him, and the child is content following him, it will be his glory.

Thus, I have been here in Antinoou since the day when the Teacher came south; (and) I have been unable to find a way to go . . . , nor to visit my father, because they are mourning in the city for the blessed soul of my great mother. We are remembering her very much. And I was distressed that she died when we were not with her, and that she died without finding the brotherhood gathered around her. Do not neglect to write to us about your health.

I pray for your health, ladies, for many years.

And I am astonished that, (although) I wrote: 'Write me the name of the daughter of Maria, what you are calling her, or the son of Partheni'; you have not written it!

Are you afraid lest he will become scorched on the mountain; or are you afraid lest . . . to them? It is in God's power (to grant that) they have a long life.

Greet for me they who are with you . . . ; especially my lady sister Tjmshai, and my father Pshai and his wife and his children. Greet for me Pakosh and Pamour and their children and their brothers, each by name. Greet for me my father Philammon and my mother Charis, with their sons and daughters, each by name. Greet for me Hatre and his wife and his children. Greet for me Jemnoute, with her children and her husband. Greet for me Phila and her husband. Greet for me my father Pshempnoute and my mother Kyria . . . Greet for me Jemnoute . . . children. Greet for me my mother Tamouienia. Greet for me . . . and his mother and . . . Greet for me Isi and . . . Greet for me Marshe and her brothers, each by name, and their children and their whole house. Greet for me my mother Tashai and her children. Greet for me my mother Talaphanti and her children and her whole house. Greet for me my mother Louiepshai and her whole house and her children. Greet for me my brother Andreas, with his whole house and his people. Greet for me everyone who wishes our word. Live and be healthy for me a long time. I am praying to God for this.

95. An elect encourages a sick catechumen

In this letter (*P. Kell.* v Copt. 32) it is difficult to distinguish the spiritual from the practical. However, we presume that the author is an elect rather than family; and we are inclined to suppose that at least some of the images, such as to laying 'the foundation of your house', refer to spiritual growth rather than to material realities. Certainly, the piece is written in a highly educated style, with an astonishing use of gospel allusions. The interpretation of the 'treasure in heaven' with reference to the sun and the moon makes the Manichaean authorship absolutely certain.

(To) our loved daughter: The daughter of the holy church, the catechumen of the faith; the good tree whose fruit never withers, which is your love that emits radiance every day. She who has acquired for herself her riches and stored them in the treasuries that are in the heights, where moths shall not find a way, nor shall thieves dig through to them to steal; which (storehouses) are the sun and the moon. She whose deeds resemble her name, our daughter, Eirene. It is I, your father who writes to you; in God, – greetings!

I greet <you> warmly with love, God-loving, good-loving; I am praying that you (fem. sg.) may continue in health of the body, and gladness of the spirit, and joy of the soul, until we see you (pl.) again.

Furthermore, I write, giving you the remembrance that you . . . for the matter is fine, until I come up. Once you have laid the foundation of your house, fight in every way to put on its coping that you may be at ease therein for ever. Do the work and mix the warp (?) until I come. If you have oil standing, give a *chous* to our brother; let him send it to me, or two naturally (?). If also there is wheat, give him eighteen *maje*; until we meet one another and settle our account. Just fight in every way to complete the work, for a person knows not at what hour the thief will come to dig through to the house. Indeed, I have heard that you are sick: since some days. I am grieving; but, praise God, they say that you are getting better. There is no health without your health! Live in God, our beloved daughter.

96. An elect writes to ask for alms

This (*P. Kell.* v Copt. 31) has the appearance of some kind of circular letter, where the author does not seem to actually know (on a personal level) the people to whom he writes. These daughters 'of the Light Mind', (this distinctively Manichaean divinity confirms the religious context), must be catechumens in Kellis; and it is interesting that their 'fame', even allowing for extravagancies of style, is known to members of the community in the Nile valley. Unfortunately, part of the lower half of the papyrus is missing, which causes the breaks in the text; but the allusions

to difficulties may refer to persecution, and the final instructions about what to do with the letter itself point to security concerns for adherents of the faith.

My loved daughters, who are greatly revered by me: The members of the holy church, (the daughters) of the Light Mind, they who (also are numbered) with the children of God; the favoured, blessed, God-loving souls; my women children. It is I, your father who is in Egypt, who writes to you; in the lord, – greetings!

Before everything: I greet you warmly, and your children together, each by their name. I am praying to God every hour that he will guard you for a long time, free from anything evil of the wicked world: You being for us helpers, and worthy *patrons*, and firm unbending pillars; while we ourselves rely upon you.

Indeed, when I heard about your good, God-loving fame; I rejoiced greatly. I was very grateful to you, ten million times! (Whether) we are far or (we are near): indeed, we have found remembrance among (you). Now, therefore, may it stay with you: This knowledge and this faith (which you have) known and believed in.

Therefore, (I) beg you, (my) blessed (daughters), that you will (send) me two *choes* of oil. For (you) know yourselves that we are (in need) here; since we are afflicted. (Send) the portion of oil. Indeed, when I came . . . I was confident that you (would find the time) to send them to me. (I hope) that you will do it, like (everything) you do (. . . them) with certainty . . . . at all. Do not . . . and send them to my son . . . letter to you with (certainty . . . Write) to me quickly . . . . that he may send . . . with certainty. (. . . so that (?)) he may understand. Do not (. . .) for the place is (very) difficult.

(Live and) be healthy for a (long time according to) our prayers.

He will send them to me with certainty. Do your . . . very bad. Let them not envy you . . . especially my daughter . . . this letter to you. When you have finished reading it, send it to my son with certainty. Do not let it stay with you, it may fall into somebody's hands. Indeed, what is even this constraint!

97. A Manichaean scribe sends a spell to a colleague

The author of this text (*P. Kell.* v Copt. 35) appears to be a professional scribe, who precedes his actual letter by writing out a spell that he hopes will be helpful to his colleague. Of course, 'magical' activities were forbidden by Mani; but, as with all religions, this did not stop adherents from resorting to popular practice on occasion. In this letter it is the invocation by the author of the 'Paraclete', i.e. Mani himself, which makes his religious allegiance known to us.

As regards the spell itself, there is nothing Manichaean about this. It belongs to a category that we can call 'mustard curses', and gives instructions about how to drive a wedge between two lovers. In the letter that follows, the author refers to various people and work contracts with which he and his recipient are involved. Whilst the lack of context makes the details difficult to follow, they seem to be working as professional scribes in some kind of collective situation. However, one can only speculate about what precisely this involved.

I call upon you:
the one who has been from the beginning;
the one sitting above the Cheroubin and Sarouphin;
the one who stands (in judgement) over disputes and quarrels;
the one who has stopped the winds with his great power!
Just as you made the land of Egypt lord, you cast quarrels over the Chaldeans. It is upon you (pl.) that I utter these names, by (?) . . . who generates (?), who is black. Let "so and so" the son of "so and so", let their heart be black for each other. O dirty (?) natron of Arabia! Just as you will wash away every thing, (so) you can wash (away) the desire which is between them for each other. And you, (who are) the burning of the mustard, you shall put burning and scorching into their heart for each other. The house in which I will place you (sg.), do not come out from it without having instigated dispute and quarrel and thunder.

And four-times (speak) the other (man's name); four-times (speak) her (name); four-times (recite it all) again; four-times you shall utter these words upon them.

It is complete.

I greet you warmly. I pray for your continuing health, until I embrace you once again in person and my joy be complete. I swear to you by our lord Paraclete and the knowledge of truth: This is what I have found near me, and I have hastened to write it and send it to you; for the other one is written on a small fragment of papyrus, and I did not find it. Should I find it, I will send it to you; I for my part knowing that it will not be brought to brother Kallikles, I am sending. Be satisfied, for it is with my own hand that I wrote this. I have sent it, saying: 'Perhaps you need it'.

I beg you, my lord brother: If you can write these tetrads for me, which I sent to you, I will cause what is written to be brought to you too; so that you can know where they have reached. Look out (?) (whether) he has not been negligent writing them. Quickly, you send them to me by a blessed one; for they say: 'We want someone else to write the other ones.' Now,

do not neglect to send them quickly. By no means! I did it for the great texts; (but it is) because they say that the papyrus has run out. Still, writing is what is useful; and if you do write them, I for my part will find your recompense. I am no fool!

Greet warmly for me those who give you peace of mind in word and deed. Anything you want here, order me (and) I will do it rejoicing.

Live and be healthy for a long time; my master, my brother.

98. Horion discusses preparations for the agape

There are a number of references to the *agape* amongst the Manichaean community texts deriving from ancient Kellis. In earliest Christianity the term referred originally to the communal thanksgiving meal; but it rapidly became separated from the increasingly ritualised eucharist itself, and then took on the more individual connotation of an act of giving or sponsorship for a particular purpose (e.g. a charity meal for the poor as an act of contrition). The question arises as to what its meaning would have been for the fourth-century Manichaeans. Since it is only the elect who can 'purify the world' by their fasts and daily sacred meal, and since to offer food to the impure must be a sin against the light soul, one can only conclude that the *agape* is a gift to the elect for their table (τράπεζα). The allusions in the following text (*P. Kell.* v. Copt. 15) should be read in conjunction with those in an associated letter between the same author and recipient (*P. Kell.* v. Copt. 17), where Horion comments: 'For we take in much oil for the *agape*, in that we are many, and they consume much oil.' The Manichaean setting is made certain by naming of the 'Light Mind', and this is reinforced by the greetings to 'the elect and the catechumens'.

(To) my brother, my master; the loved one of my soul and my spirit. The child of righteousness, the good limb of the Light Mind. The name which is sweet in my mouth, my beloved brother Hor. It is I, Horion; in the lord God, – greetings.

There is no measuring the joy that came to me when I received your letter; all the more, for I learned about your health. I brought (?) . . . everything concerning my father. I have hurried writing to you of these two matters; while I greet your gentleness and your immutable, never changing love.

I have received the *agon*[18] of oil from our son Raz. Look, I left it (with them) for the *agape*, like you said. You also write: 'Buy 6 *maje* of wheat'. I will buy them (at) 1200 to the *artaba*; thus: 705 *nummi* for these 6 *maje*. I have also received the *jlge* from our son Pateni (?). Look, I filled it and sent it by way of Raz. As you receive it, write to me. Do not bother (?) yourself

[18] The *agon*, *maje*, *artab* and *jlge* are all measures / containers; whilst the *nummi* are a currency unit. The 1200 refers to talents, and this price for wheat confirms a date ca. AD 355–70.

about the *agape*. I will do it, rejoicing. Yes, our brother Pakous is south of the ditch, harvesting. If he does not come by that day, I will send his share south to him.

Greet warmly for me they who give you rest, the elect and the catechumens, each one by name. Greet our father Kele. Our son Aetios greets you warmly. Our mother Taese greets you and all who are in the house. Be well and live for a long time my beloved brother, until we see one another again and my joy is complete.

List and concordance of texts

For the abbreviations used in this list, see the List of Abbreviations; works cited by author and date are listed in the Bibliography. Where it is not listed here, details of editions used may be found in the relevant entry. It should be noted that in the Concordance literary texts which survive on papyrus or parchment (principally from Egypt and Turfan), even if complete codices, are listed in Section (i), rather than in Section (ii), which is reserved for texts which have survived in the manuscript tradition.

LIST OF TEXTS

1 *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel (1871), 327–8
2 *CMC* fr.1 and 1–5.13
3 *CMC* 5.14–14.2
4 *CMC* 18.1–72.7
5 *CMC* 72.8–106.23
6 *CMC* 107.1–147.2
7 *Keph.* 14.3–16.2
8 *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 328
9 *Keph.* 183.10–188.29
10 *Hom.* 42.9–50.17
11 M3, ed. and trans. Henning (1942), 949–50
12 *Hom.* 50.19–60.2
13 M5569 (T II 79), *MM* III,§c, pp. 860–2
14 *Hom.* 60.2–67.32
15 *Hom.* 67.34–70.34
16 *Hom.* 71.2–73.34
17 M4570, *KG* §4a.18, pp. 76–9
18 *PsBk2.* 14.18–20.17 (Psalms 225–6)
19 *Hom.* 74.8–78.30
20 *Hom.* 79.1–85.34

21 (a) M2 R I 1–33, *MM* II, 301–2
(b) M216c R 8–V 13, *KG* §2.5 (170–87), p. 26
(c) So. 18220 (=T.M. 389a), *KG* §3.2 (360–95), pp. 36–41

22 (a) So. 18223 (=T.M. 389c) + So. 18222 (T.M. 389c), *KG* §3.3 (441–515), pp. 41–5
(b) P15997 R (= *MCPCBL* II, pl. 99)

23 *P.Rylands Greek* 469.12–42

24 Alexander of Lycopolis, *contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, § 1–11

25 *Collatio Mosaicarum* XV.3

26 'Ambrosiaster', *in ep. Ad Tim. Ii*, 3.6–7, 2

27 Didymus Alexandrinus, *Expositio in Ecclesiastes*, 9.9a

28 *Verba Seniorum* XIII.11, *PL* 73.945

29 *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* X.30–5 (191–225)

30 Eutychius (Sa'id ibn Batriq), *Annales*, ed. Breydey (1985), 83

31 Benjamin of Alexandria, *On the Marriage Feast of Cana*, ed. de Vies (1922), 80–8

32 Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii Gazensis*, 85–91

33 Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, ed. Schwartz (1939) 22.22–23.2

34 Photius, *Bibliotheca* 85 (65a/b)

35 Augustine, *Confessiones* III.vi.10; x.18; xii.21; v.iii.3; vii.12–13; x.18–xiii.23

36 Augustine, *de moribus Manichaeorum* XX(74)

37 Secundinus, *epistula ad Augustinum*, ed. Zycha, 893–901

38 Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 15

39 Augustine, *ep.* 236.1, 3

40 Augustine, *de Haeresibus* XLVI.9–10

41 *CT* XVI.5.7; XVI.7.3; XVI.5.11

42 *CJ* I.5.11; I.5.12

43 *CJ* I.5.15

44 *Keph.* 5.21–33; 6.15–27; 355.4–25

45 (a) *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel (1871), 336
(b) S3969 *Mo-ni kuang-fo chiao-fa i-lüeh*, ms. ll. 57–69

46 *CMC* 65.23–68.5; 68.5–69.8; 69.9–70.9
(a) M17, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1995), 184 and 186–90
(b) M172, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1995), 185 and 186–90

47 Augustine, *Contra Felicem* 2, 5 and *de natura Boni* 44

48 Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 123, ed. Brière, 148.23–5; 150.8–10; 152.14–16; 152.20–3; 154.7–18; 154.22–3; 154.26–156.8; 162.6–13; 164.10–27; 164.28–166.15; 174.3–8

49 Augustine, *c. Faust.* XV.5–6

50 *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel 336–7
51 *CMC* 64.1–65.22
52 *P.Kell.* s.n. (Mani's Epistles)
53 Augustine, *c. Epist. Fund.* 5, 11, 12, 13, 15, 30; *c. Fel.* 1.1, 16, 17, 19, 2.1; *de natura Boni* 42, 46; *c. Sec.* 20; Evodius, *de fide contra Manichaeos* 5; 11; 28
54 Augustine, *contra Julianum opus imperfectum*, III, 172.1–12, 186.2–11, 37–42, 47–9, 53–9
55 *Fragmentum epistulae ad Addam*, ap. Eustathius Monachus, *Epistula de duabus naturis adversus Severum, PG* 86.904A (= Adam (1969) §13, p. 33); *Fragmentum epistulae ad Condarum*, ap. Diekamp (ed.) (1907), 64 (= Adam (1969) §14, p. 33); *Fragmentum epistulae ad Scythianum*. ap. Justinianus, *c. Monophysitas* 91, ed. Schwartz (1973), 38.35-36; *Fragmentum epistulae ad Zabinam*, ap. Diekamp (ed.) (1907), 41
56 *PsBk2*. 9.3–11.32 (Psalm 223)
57 Alexander of Lycopolis, *contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, § II–V
58 *Acta Archelai* 25.3–31.8 (VII–XIII)
59 Augustine, *de Haeresibus* XLVI.1–8, 11–19
60 *Keph*. 34.13–36.26
61 *P.Kell.* s.n. ('The Prayer of the Emanations')
62 *PsBk2*. 205.10–207.16
63 *Keph*. 30.12–34.12
64 *Keph*. 102.13–104.20
65 *Keph*. 85.19–86.17
66 *Keph*. 166.31–169.22
67 *Keph*. 89.18–102.12
68 *Keph*. 36.27–37.27
69 Augustine, *c. Faust*. XX.2; XX.11
70 *PsBk2*. 187.2–36
71 *Hom*. 7.8–8.30; 9.19–27; 14.16–31; 27.28–29.18; 35.11–42.8
72 *Keph*. 302.17–303.15; 337.10–338.18; 340.20–341.24; 348.12–27
73 Shenoute, 'Who Speaks through the Prophet' (Paris, BN Copte 131[4] f.158b)
74 *Keph*. 192.3–193.22
75 *Keph*. 37.28–42.23
76 Augustine, *de mor. Manich*. X.19; XVIII.65
77 Augustine, *c. Epist. Fund.* 8
78 *PsBk2*. 7.11–9.1 (Psalm 222)
79 *Keph*. 191.9–192.3

80 *PsBk2*. 141.1–143.34
81 (a) Augustine, *ep*. 236.2
(b) Aug., *enarrationes in Psalmos*, CXL.12
82 Augustine, *de mor. Manich*. XV.36
83 *PsBk2*. 54.7–55.15 (Psalm 246)
84 *PsBk2*. 162.21–163.32
85 *Keph*. 291.4–295.8
86 *Keph*. 155.30–156.34
87 *PsBk2*. 151.4–152.9
88 *PsBk2*. 115.4–116.23
89 *T.Kell*. Copt. 2, A5
90 *Keph*. 9.11–16.31
91 *Keph*. 370.16–375.15
92 *Tebessa Codex* cols 1–52
93 *P.Kell*. V Copt. 19
94 *P.Kell*. V Copt. 25
95 *P.Kell*. V Copt. 32
96 *P.Kell*. V Copt. 31
97 *P.Kell*. V Copt. 35
98 *P.Kell*. V Copt. 15

CONCORDANCE

(i) Papyri, parchments, etc.

(A) GREEK

CMC fr.1 and 1–5.13	**2**
CMC 5.14–14.2	**3**
CMC 18.1–72.7	**4**
CMC 64.1–65.22	**51**
CMC 65.23–68.5; 68.5–69.8; 69.9–70.9	**46**
CMC 72.8–106.23	**5**
CMC 107.1–147.2	**6**
P.Rylands Greek 469.12–42	**23**
P.Kell. s.n. ('The Prayer of the Emanations')	**61**

(B) LATIN

Tebessa Codex cols. 1–52	**92**

(c) coptic

Benjamin of Alexandria, *On the Marriage Feast of Cana*, ed. de Vies (1922), 80–8	**31**
Hom. 7.8–42.8, *passim*	**71**
Hom. 42.9–50.17	**10**
Hom. 50.19–60.2	**12**
Hom. 60.2–67.32	**14**
Hom. 67.34–70.34	**15**
Hom. 71.2–73.34	**16**
Hom. 74.8–78.30	**19**
Hom. 79.1–85.34	**20**
Keph. 5.21–33; 6.15–27; 355.4–25	**44**
Keph. 9.11–16.31	**90**
Keph. 14.3–16.2	**7**
Keph. 30.12–34.12	**63**
Keph. 34.13–36.26	**60**
Keph. 36.27–37.27	**68**
Keph. 37.28–42.23	**75**
Keph. 85.19–86.17	**65**
Keph. 89.18–102.12	**67**
Keph. 102.13–104.20	**64**
Keph. 155.30–156.34	**86**
Keph. 166.31–169.22	**66**
Keph. 183.10–188.29	**9**
Keph. 191.9–192.3	**79**
Keph. 192.3–193.22	**74**
Keph. 291.4–295.8	**85**
Keph. 302.17–303.15; 337.10–338.18; 340.20–341.24; 348.12–27	**72**
Keph. 370.16–375.15	**91**
P.Kell. s.n. (Mani's Epistles)	**52**
P.Kell. v Copt. 15	**98**
P.Kell. v Copt. 19	**93**
P.Kell. v Copt. 25	**94**
P.Kell. v Copt. 31	**96**
P.Kell. v Copt. 32	**95**
P.Kell. v Copt. 35	**97**
P15997 R (= *MCPCBL* II, pl. 99)	**22(b)**
PsBk2. 7.11–9.1	**78**
PsBk2. 9.3–11.32	**56**

PsBk2. 14.18–20.17 **18**
PsBk2. 54.7–55.15 **83**
PsBk2. 115.4–116.23 **88**
PsBk2. 141.1–143.34 **80**
PsBk2. 151.4–152.9 **87**
PsBk2. 162.21–163.32 **84**
PsBk2. 187.2–36 **70**
PsBk2. 205.10–207.16 **62**
Shenoute, 'Who Speaks through the Prophet' (Paris, BN Copte 131[4]f.158b) **73**
T.Kell. Copt. 2, A5 **89**

(d) middle persian

M2 R I 1–33, MM II, 301–2 **21(a)**
M3, ed. and trans. Henning (1942), 949-50 **11**
M17, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1995), 184 and 186–90 **46(a)**
M172, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1995), 185 and 186–90 (Mid. Pers./Sogd. diglottal) **46(b)**

(e) sogdian

M172, ed. and trans. MacKenzie (1995), 185 and 186–90 (Mid. Pers/Sogd. diglottal) **46(b)**
So. 18220 (=T.M. 389α), *KG* §3.2 (360–95), pp. 36–41 **21(c)**
So. 18223 (=T.M. 389c) + So. 18222 (T.M. 389c), *KG* §3.3 (441–515), pp. 41–5 **22(a)**

(f) parthian

M216c R 8–V 13, *KG* §2.5 (170-87), p. 26 **21(b)**
M4570, *KG* §4a.18, pp. 76–9 **17**
M5569 (T II 79), *MM* III,§c, pp. 860–2 **13**

(h) chinese

S3969 *Mo-ni kuang-fo chiao-fa i-lüeh*, ms. lines 57–69 **45(b)**

(ii) Literary and sub-literary texts

(a) greek

Acta Archelai 25.3–31.8 (VII–XIII) **58**
Alexander of Lycopolis, *contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, § I–II **24**

Alexander of Lycopolis, *contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, § II–V **57**
CJ I.5.II; I.5.I2 **42**
CJ I.5.I5 **43**
Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, ed. Schwartz (1939), 22.22–3.2 **33**
Didymus Alexandrinus, *Expositio in Ecclesiastes*, 9.9a **27**
(Mani), *Fragmentum epistulae ad Addam*, ap. Eustathius Monachus, *Epistula de duabus naturis adversus Severum*, PG 86.904A (= Adam (1969), §13, p. 33) **55**
(Mani), *Fragmentum epistulae ad Condarum*, ap. Diekamp (ed.) (1907) 64 (= Adam (1969), §14, p. 33) **55**
(Mani), *Fragmentum epistulae ad Scythianum*. ap. Justinianus, *c. Monophysitas* 9I, ed. Schwartz (1973), 38.35–36
(Mani), *Fragmentum epistulae ad Zabinam ap. Diekamp* (ed.), (1907), 4I **55**
Historia Monachorum in Aegypto X.30–35 **29**
Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii Gazensis*, 85–9I **32**
Photius, *Bibliotheca* 85 (65a/b) **34**

(B) LATIN

'Ambrosiaster', *in ep. ad Tim.* II, 3.6–7, 2 **26**
Augustine, *Confessiones* III.VI.I0; X.I8; XII.2I; V.III.3; VII.I2–I3; X.I8–XIII.23 **35**
Augustine, *c. Epist. Fund.* 5, II, I2, I3, I5, 30 **53**
Augustine, *c. Epist. Fund.* 8 **77**
Augustine, *c. Fel.* I.I, I6, I7, I9, 2.I **53**
Augustine, *c. Fel.* 2.5 **47(a)**
Augustine, *c. Faust.* XV.5–6 **49**
Augustine, *c. Faust.* XX.2; XX.II **69**
Augustine, *contra Julianum opus imperfectum* III, I72.I–I2, I86.2–II, 37–42, 47–9, 53–59 **54**
Augustine, *c. Sec.* 20 **53**
Augustine, *de Haeresibus* XLVI.I–8, II–I9 **59**
Augustine, *de Haeresibus* XLVI.9–I0 **40**
Augustine, *de mor. Manich.* X.I9; XVIII.65 **76**
Augustine, *de mor. Manich.* XV.36 **82**
Augustine, *de mor. Manich.* XX (74) **36**
Augustine, *de natura Boni* 44 **47(b)**
Augustine, *de natura Boni* 42, 46 **53**
Augustine, *enarrationes in Psalmos*, CXL.I2 **81(b)**

Augustine, *ep.* 236.1, 3	**39**
Augustine, *ep.* 236.2	**81(a)**
Collatio Mosaicarum XV.3	**25**
CT XVI.5.7; XVI.7.3; XVI.5.II	**41**
Evodius, *de fide contra Manichaeos* 5; II; 28	**53**
Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 15	**38**
Secundinus, *ep. ad Augustinum*, ed. Zycha, 893–901	**37**
Verba Seniorum XIII.11 (= PL 73.945)	**28**

(C) SYRIAC

Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 123, passim	**48**

(D) ARABIC

Eutychius (Sa'id ibn Batriq), *Annales*, ed. Breydey (1985), 83.	**30**
Fihrist, ed. Flügel (1871), 327–8	**1**
Fihrist, ed. Flügel (1871), 328	**8**
Fihrist, ed. Flügel (1871), 336	**45(a)**
Fihrist, ed. Flügel (1871), 336–7	**50**

Glossary

abortions	Illicit births of the demons; products of lust for the beautiful image of the androgynous god the Third Ambassador / Virgin of Light which was displayed in the heavens, they fall to earth and are the ancestors and begetters of Adam and Eve.
Adam	The first human, begotten from a demonic orgy but formed after the image of god (here: the Third Ambassador); he is saved by Jesus the Splendour, an episode that becomes the prototype of human salvation.
Adamant of light	One of the five sons of the Living Spirit, whose arena of authority is between the firmament and this earth; a god of strength and victory, associated with the subjugation of matter and its monsters.
Adamas	See: *Adamant of light*.
aeons	Term variously used for the divine eternal realities; in particular the Father in his kingdom is surrounded by the twelve great aeons, and they by 'the aeons of the aeons'. Also: *new aeon*.
Ambassador	See: *Third Ambassador*.
Atlas	See: *Porter*.
Aurentes	One of the true apostles to the east (from the Sanskrit: arhat, lit. 'one who is worthy').
Beloved of Lights	First god of the second emanation, i.e. the gods of creation.
bema	Lit. 'rostrum' or 'judgement seat' (Greek). A raised platform with five steps, on which was placed an image of Mani, formed the centrepiece

for the *bema* festival held in commemoration of Mani's death. This symbolised the living presence of the apostle in the community, until Jesus would return to take the judgement seat at the end of time. There were thus various connected significances: commemoration of Mani, a focus for confession and repentance, anticipation of the last day.

Buddha — One of the true apostles to the east, and amongst Mani's principal forerunners.

counsel of life — See: *summons and obedience*.

Cross of Light — Divinity of the living soul in matter, particularly as crucified in vegetation and plant life, where the divine hangs on every tree or bush or herb; it was a particular concern of the elect to reverence and never to harm the Cross.

Eve — Consort to Adam and the first woman; Mani drew upon a range of apocryphal traditions in his depiction of her.

Father of Greatness — Also, variously, 'God of truth', 'King of light', 'Lord of all', without origin, eternal and the first of all that is good and beautiful; during the time of mixture he is a 'hidden God' whose emanations engage in the conflict with evil, but at the end and after the final victory he will again unveil his image.

Father of Life — Alternative name for the Living Spirit.

First Man — God of the first emanation, the gods of descent, and the first-born son of the Father; he descends as a warrior into the darkness where he is defeated by the forces of evil and stripped of his armour (i.e. the living soul), thence to be rescued by the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit, and so to ascend to be king in the new aeon.

five dark elements — Smoke, fire, wind, water and darkness; these are the elements of the five storehouses or worlds of the land of darkness (and the five genera of creatures, etc.), which in history and the cosmos are mixed with the five light elements.

five light elements Living air, fire, wind, water and light; the First Man descends with these (variously, e.g. as 'garments'), is stripped of them in the abyss, after which they are mixed with the five dark elements (or matter) and become the focus of the salvific effort (*Keph*. 127.16–23 explains that strictly the living air did not enter mixture, but remained behind to provide life for its four other 'brothers').

five dark intellectuals The evil counterparts to the five light intellectuals (see below).

five light intellectuals Consideration, counsel, insight, thought, mind, i.e. the noetic qualities of the living soul which parallel the more substantially conceived five light elements; the process of salvation, by which the old man becomes the new man, involves the replacing of their evil counterparts with the good and true in order to incarnate the Light Mind (see especially kephalaion 38, published here as sect. 67).

five sons of First Man Also, variously, the 'five shining gods' or 'garments'; these may be portrayed as the armour of which the First Man was stripped, or his soul that was sacrificed to the evil forces of matter. See: *living soul, five light elements*.

five sons of Living Spirit Adamant of Light, Keeper of Splendour, King of Glory, King of Honour, Porter; these are the gods who hold the cosmos in place until the end of time when they shall rise up, causing it to collapse in on itself and be destroyed in the great fire.

God of Truth See: *Father of Greatness*.

Great Builder God of the second emanation, the gods of creation; he is the architect of the new aeon, and also of the prison for the enemy and his powers.

Great Spirit Alternative name for the Mother of Life, but sometimes indicating her pre-existence in the Father (e.g. *Keph*. 70.27–32).

Jesus Christ — Lord, saviour and son of God, of whom Mani regarded himself as an apostle; the historical Jesus of Manichaeism inherited various apocryphal and heterodox traditions (most notably docetism).

Jesus Splendour — God of the third emanation, the gods of salvation, with his throne in the moon; he appeared and brought the knowledge of truth to Adam, and is closely associated with the Light Mind (so that both Jesus and the Mind can be termed 'father of all the apostles') who is incarnated in the true believer and church.

Jesus Youth — Personification of the living soul in both its innocence and its active will for salvation, and thus a child of the summons and obedience (which is the counsel of life).

Judge of truth — Eschatological divinity who is located in the atmosphere; he judges the soul after death, and sends it to death, to life, or to rebirth.

Keeper of Splendour — One of the five sons of the Living Spirit; he is located in the heights of the cosmos, overseeing the three uppermost heavens.

King of Darkness — Principal manifestation of evil Matter, and the ruler of the demonic forces.

King of Glory — One of the five sons of the Living Spirit; he turns the three wheels and has authority over the three earths above the Porter.

King of Honour — One of the five sons of the Living Spirit; he is located in the seventh heaven, from where he oversees those below him.

land of darkness — Eternal and ingenerate demonic realm, situated to the south and below the land of light, and ruled by the King of Darkness who is the manifestation of evil Matter; its five constituent worlds (variously: five elements, storehouses, trees, genera of demonic creatures, etc.) are continuously at war with each other, their entire nature being blind, grasping lust and destruction.

land of light — Eternal and ingenerate divine realm, situated north, west, east and above the land of darkness, and ruled by the Father of Greatness who is the source of all that is good and beautiful; it is entirely peaceful and joyous.

Last Statue — Eschatological divinity, that at the time of the great fire and dissolution of the universe will ascend; the final gathering in of the living soul by the counsel of life, so that the entire history of conflict and mixture is from the going down of the First Man to the rising up of the Last Statue.

Light Form — Eschatological divinity, who at the time of death will meet the victorious soul; she appears as a beautiful maiden, together with three angels bearing gifts of light (variously: the victory prize, light garment and crown).

Light Mind — Divinity that is incarnated in the apostles, redeemed souls (viz. one in whom the new man has displaced the old man) and the church; the personification of knowledge, obedience and truth.

living soul — The divine light soul (or collectivity of the five elements) that descended at the beginning with the First Man, and was devoured by the evil demonic forces to endure repeated degradations while mixed in matter; the focus of the salvific endeavour.

Living Spirit — The demiurge; god of the second emanation who (with the Mother of Life) rescues the First Man, defeats the demonic forces, and creates the cosmos out of their bodies (but mixed through with the light that they have first devoured).

lump — Greek: 'bolos'; the final mass of evil and the damned that remains to be sealed up at the end of time, never again to trouble the light.

Maiden of Light — See: *Virgin of Light*.

Matter — Greek: 'hyle'; the very principle of evil and darkness, ie. the 'thought of death' that fashions and

	begets the creatures of darkness, and which is manifested in lust and hatred.
Mind	See: *Light Mind*.
moon	The 'ship of living waters' and enlightener of the night, where are situated the thrones of the First Man, Jesus Splendour and the Virgin of Light; as purified light ascends it fills up the moon, before then being ferried on to the sun (this process being visible to all in the lunar waxing and waning).
new aeon	A new light earth built by the Great Builder above this material cosmos as a home for the gods during the time of mixture, and a resting-place for the redeemed souls and light; the First Man is king there.
new man	The old man is transformed into the new by the Light Mind, as the five noetic and moral qualities are fashioned and displace their dark counterparts; the terminology was ultimately derived from Paul, but the details of this process received much elaboration by Mani and his followers (see here especially sect. 67).
old man	See: *new man*.
Paraclete	From John 14:16–17:26 and 16:7ff.; Mani identified his spiritual Twin as this figure promised by Jesus, and (being united with him) himself came to be honoured as such.
Perfect Man	See: *Pillar of Glory*.
Picture(-Book)	Greek: 'eikon'; one of Mani's scriptures in which he depicted episodes of cosmic history.
Pillar of Glory	Eschatological god who is personified as the Perfect Man; he represents the light ascending from mixture into unity and via the moon into the divine realm, reversing the descent of the First Man and anticipating the Last Statue.
planets (seven)	See: *stars*.
Porter	One of the five sons of the Living Spirit; he stands upon the foundation of the cosmos and supports its entire weight.

Primal Man	See: *First Man*.
rulers	Greek: 'archon'; the children of darkness and demons that are the powers and authorities in this world of mixture.
Saklas	Leader of the demonic abortions who form Adam and Eve after the likeness of the Third Ambassador (i.e. the Manichaean interpretation of Genesis 1.26–7, see further *Keph*. 137.15–138.19).
Satan	Personification of the King of Darkness in the world; in Manichaean texts the term is used with particular reference to Judaeo-Christian contexts (e.g. at *Keph*. 159.1 he stands for the Old Testament God).
Seth(el)	Son of Adam, and counted amongst the true apostles; Mani drew upon a range of apocryphal traditions in his depiction of him.
Spirit of truth	Ie. the Paraclete.
Splenditenens	(Latin); See: *Keeper of Splendour*.
stars (five)	Manichaeism subscribed to a doctrine of astrological fatalism, where the planets and the stars (but not including the divine sun and moon) were forces of evil and bondage.
summons and obedience	Also, variously, 'call and answer'; they are divinities of the process of salvation who jointly form the counsel of life, and whose archetypes are found in the episode of the redemption of the First Man where the call goes down to him in the abyss, and is met by his response.
sun	The 'ship of living fire' and enlightener of the day, where are situated the thrones of the Mother of Life, the Living Spirit and the Third Ambassador; purified light endlessly fills the sun as it is ferried on from the moon, so that it is the gate of life (i.e. the portal to the new aeon) and a fitting object for worship.
Syzygos	Greek: 'pair' and 'comrade'; see: *Twin*.
Third Ambassador	God of the third emanation, the god of salvation, with his throne in the sun (with which he may be identified); he is particularly represented

in the episode where he appears naked before the evil powers chained in the heavens, causing them to ejaculate spontaneously and thus to release their light, and (as a later result) Adam and Eve are formed after his image.

three wheels — Cosmic mechanisms turned by the King of Glory, by which the divine elements of fire and water and wind are drawn up to the heights, whilst their evil counterparts are discharged below.

Twin — Mani's spiritual partner-spirit who revealed to him the truth about everything; identified with the Paraclete foretold by Jesus.

Virgin of Light — God of the third emanation, the gods of salvation, with her throne in the moon (with which she may be identified); female manifestation of the Third Ambassador, so that the two appear as an androgynous sun-moon god.

virgin of light — The term is variously used, with particular reference to the soul of the First Man and the perfected individual soul (or its spiritual image).

watchers — Rebellious giants who descend to earth from the heavens; the episode derives ultimately from Genesis 6.4, but Mani drew upon apocryphal traditions in his canonical Book of the Giants.

Zarathushtra — One of the line of true apostles and amongst Mani's principal forerunners.

zodiac (twelve) — See: *stars*.

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Index

Abakarim 114
Abesira 106
Abiesus the Teacher 42, 59, 114
Abira 114
Abizachias 66. *See also* Abzakhuya and Zacheas.
Abraham 120
Abū Hilāl al-Dayhūri 43
Abzakhuya 84. *See also* Abizachias and Zacheas.
Achillius 130
Acta Archelai 26, 129, 182, 230
Adam 4, 16, 17, 54, 74, 92, 119, 168, 169, 186, 190, 211, 212, 222, 242, 263
Adamant of Light 15, 16, 210, 211, 212
  Adamas 165, 226
Adda, Mār Addā, Addas 111, 112, 113, 129, 130, 174, 187
Adiabene 1, 75
aeons 12, 13, 21, 98, 170, 176, 184, 192, 195, 204, 205, 214, 226, 233, 234, 235, 247, 250, 252, 255, 257
  twelve aeons 12, 164, 169, 176
  See also new aeon.
agape 280
Aianos the baptist 65
al-Ḥasīh 33
al-Mada'in (Twin-Cities) 24, 43, 46
Alchasaios 30, 34, 63, 65. *See also* Elchasaios.
Alcibiades 31
Alexander of Lycopolis 28, 29, 38, 115, 179
Alexandria 2, 25, 111, 112, 123, 275
Amarō King of the Lakhmids 114
Ambassador *See* Third Ambassador
Ampelius, urban prefect 118
an-Nadīm 26, 33, 36, 46, 153, 155, 165, 167, 256
Ana, brother of the disciple Zacheas 42, 72
Anastasius I 111, 149
Andrew (the apostle) 242
angels 19, 23, 47, 48, 49, 54, 55, 56, 57, 68, 80, 83, 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 120, 131, 165, 177, 189, 195, 196, 205, 217, 224, 225, 233, 236, 241, 275
  archangel 137
  Balsamos the angel 54
  five angels 213
  four angels 212
  Michael the angel 56
  Nahasbat the angel 13
  seven angels 23, 56
  the angel, the Paraclete 97
  three angels 193, 257
Anthony (St) 119
antichrist 222, 267
Antinoe 124, 125, 276
Antioch 102, 125, 126
Aphrodite 207
Apket 106
Apostle of Light 17, 193
Apotactitans 147, 148
Arabia 279
archegos 7, 24, 43, 85, 104
Archelaus 129. *See also Acta Archelai*.
Ardashir 1, 3, 5, 6, 74, 75
Ares 207
Arians 119, 148
Aristobula 243
Aristobulias 129
Aristotle 179
Arius 124
Arsacids 3
Artabanus V of Parthia 3, 74
astrology 15, 32, 127, 205
Athanasius 119
Athimar 91
Atlas (the Porter) 15, 165, 183, 184, 187, 210, 211, 212, 226
Augustine 24, 26, 35, 36, 110, 130, 136, 142, 159, 163, 172, 187, 219, 236, 237, 244, 245
Aurades 77
Aurentes 261, 263

Baat 7, 81
Babylon 1, 59, 78, 86, 90, 103, 223
Badia (?) 82

Balsamos *See* angels
Banak 87
Barabbas 139
Baraies the Teacher 42, 50, 54, 58, 60
Bardaiṣan 4, 28, 75, 155, 261
Barochas 128
Bassa 125
Belabad 89. *See also* Belapat and Bet Lapat.
Belapat 67, 80, 81, 89, 98, 107. *See also* Belabad and Bet Lapat.
Beloved of the Lights 14, 192, 258
bema 25, 85, 93, 99, 176, 237, 238, 239
Benjamin of Alexandria 122
Bet Lapat 7, 8. *See also* Belapat.
Book of Elxai 31, 32, 33
Book of Mysteries 80, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 164, 166
Book of the Giants 129, 152, 154, 155, 156, 160, 164
Book(s) of Enoch 160
Buddha 6, 9, 18, 261, 263
Buddhism 2, 6, 27, 109
Bundos 117

Cain 92
call and answer *See* summons and obedience
Carrhae 26
Carthage 110, 132, 144
catechumens 19, 23, 52, 74, 87, 90, 100, 101, 103, 105, 107, 154, 185, 193, 218, 222, 224, 225, 231, 232, 248, 249, 256, 268, 269, 277, 281. *See also* hearers.
Catharists 144, 145
Chaldeans 279
Cheroubin 279
China 76, 110
Cholassar 81
Christ 94, 95, 96, 99, 115, 121, 127, 131, 136, 140, 143, 167, 173, 175, 181, 190, 195, 219, 230, 237, 238, 244, 245, 246, 257, 262, 263, 268, 271, 275. *See also* Jesus.
Christianity 2, 6, 27, 109, 194
Christians 93, 115, 122, 126, 127, 186
Christmas 122
Cologne Mani-Codex 10, 30, 33, 40, 41, 42, 259
Constantius (Manichaean hearer) 134, 145
Constantius (Roman Emperor) 117
Copres 121
Cornelius 128
Cronos 207
Cross of Light 14, 22, 231, 240, 245, 253
Ctesiphon 3, 5, 7, 46, 67, 76, 81, 91, 103

Dariadaxar 50. *See also* Ardashir
demiurge 15, 19, 180, 204, 206
demons 78, 85, 87, 90, 98, 113, 129, 162, 163, 164, 165, 185, 196, 198, 201, 236, 247
Diatessarōn of Tatian 27, 94
Didymus the Blind 119
Dinak 87
Diocletian 110, 117, 119
Diodorus 130
Donatists 145
Drusiane 243
Dunhuang 7, 26

Easter (pascha) 237, 260
Ecbatana 3
Edict of Milan 110
Egypt 24, 43, 110, 120, 122, 179, 187, 278, 279
Elchasai(os) or Elxai 3, 4, 30, 31, 33. *See also* Alchasaios.
Elchasaites 5, 31, 33, 35, 260
elect 12, 19, 23, 24, 32, 52, 54, 66, 74, 87, 101, 102, 103, 107, 109, 110, 111, 115, 122, 125, 131, 134, 135, 142, 143, 144, 145, 154, 155, 157, 171, 185, 186, 188, 189, 191, 193, 202, 209, 216, 218, 224, 225, 231, 232, 236, 240, 244, 245, 247, 251, 256, 257, 262, 268, 269, 275, 280, 281
Encratitans 147, 148
Enoch 4, 18, 56, 92, 242, 261, 263
Enosh 4, 55, 92, 242, 261, 263
Ephraim 28, 36
Epiphanius 26, 31
Epistles of Mani 10, 22, 38, 135, 152, 153, 154, 156, 165, 167, 274. *See also Fundamental Epistle.*
  Letter to Edessa 42, 57, 166
  Letter to Menoch 172
  Letter on the Ten Words 167
eschatology 19, 20, 27, 29, 186, 187, 191, 203, 204, 205, 220, 223, 224, 225. *See also* new aeon.
Essenes 32
Eunomians 148
Eusebia 144
Euthymius 129
Eutychius (Sa'id ibn Batriq) 121
Eve 16, 91, 119, 168, 169, 186, 190, 211, 212

Father of Life *See* Living Spirit
Father of light or greatness, God of truth, King of light, Lord of all, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 25, 41, 47, 50, 59, 67, 68, 69, 78, 79, 83, 97, 141, 156, 157, 158, 161, 162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 169, 173, 176, 177, 179, 180, 182, 183, 186, 188, 191, 192, 195, 197, 198, 203, 204, 209, 216, 218, 219, 226, 230, 234, 235, 236, 248, 251, 252, 253, 254, 258, 259, 263, 275

Faustus of Milevis 111, 132, 133, 219
Fayum 123
Felix 35, 110
Ferat 5. *See also* Pharat.
Firmus 142, 143
First or Primal Man 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 27, 85, 88, 178, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 192, 203, 204, 205, 218, 225, 226, 227, 232, 233, 234, 235, 241, 247, 248, 249, 250, 257, 258
five sons of the First Man, five gods, five light elements, five powers, 12, 13, 14, 15, 177, 182, 188, 192, 203, 205, 208, 209, 211, 213. *See also* Living Soul.
five sons of the Living Spirit 15, 20, 192, 204, 205, 208, 210, 213, 241. *See also* Adamant, Atlas, Keeper of Splendour, King of Glory, King of Honour.
five storehouses (of the Kingdom of Darkness), five dark elements, five kings, five trees, five worlds, 12, 13, 14, 15, 162, 170, 177, 188, 199, 200, 204, 206, 208, 213
food rituals 5, 22, 24, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 72, 115, 122, 131, 144, 181, 185, 188, 189, 244, 245, 246
Form of Light 19, 87, 89, 193, 233, 236
Fortunatus 110
Fundamental Epistle (Epistula Fundamenti) 168, 170

Galerius 117
Galileans (Christians) 174
Gallus 75
Ġālūs *see under* Gallus.
Ganzak 5, 6, 69
George of Laodicea 130
Georgia 6
gnosticism 9, 25, 29
God of truth. *See* Father of light or greatness.
Gospel of Mani, *Living Gospel* 58, 80, 89, 91, 111, 129, 130, 152, 153, 154, 156, 157, 158, 164, 223, 266
Gratian 145, 147
Great Builder 14, 20, 178, 192
Great Spirit *See* Mother of Life

Hannibal (as foreign arch-enemy of Rome) 138
Hatra 50
hearer or auditor, hearers 23, 24, 37, 109, 111, 113, 122, 133, 135, 143, 145, 155, 188, 189, 190, 233, 237, 244, 268, 269. *See also* catechumens.
Hegemonius 129. *See also Acta Archelai*.
Heraclianus 129, 130
Herakleides (Psalmist) 219
Hermeias 187
Hermes 207
Hermes Trismegistus 261
Hermopolis Magna 121
Hesiod 127
Hippo 110, 142
Hippolytus 31
Holy Spirit 10, 13, 57, 113, 131, 136, 158, 168, 176, 190, 204, 219, 254, 255, 264, 275
Hormizd 7, 80, 83
Hormizdakshar 81
Hortensius 138
Hydroparastatans 147, 148
Hypatius, praetorian prefect 147
Hystaspes 263

India and Indians 1, 5, 73, 75, 76, 77, 92, 93, 109
Innaios 42, 59, 102, 104, 106
Iran 109
Islam 2, 8, 27
Ismant el-Kharab 24, 35, 43, 45, 194, 238, 246, 259, 272. *See also* Kellis.

Jacob 139
James 242
Jesus 2, 4, 9, 14, 18, 19, 20, 25, 27, 49, 57, 66, 74, 75, 95, 103, 112, 113, 115, 120, 131, 136, 139, 143, 155, 157, 158, 167, 176, 185, 187, 190, 193, 212, 217, 218, 219, 223, 225, 227, 238, 242, 248, 253, 254, 256, 261, 263, 264. *See also* Christ.
  Jesus Splendour 15, 17, 192, 193, 227, 257
  Jesus the Youth 193, 208, 211
Jews 92, 95, 96, 175, 186, 219, 263, 264
John the virgin 242
Judas 124, 125, 139, 167, 263
Judge 193, 257
judgement, last. *See* eschatology
Judgement of Peter 274
Julia 125, 126, 127, 128
Julian of Eclanum 172
Julianus, Proconsul of Africa 116, 117
Justin (Byzantine Emperor) 149
Justinian 111, 149, 150

Kamsaragan 3
Kapelos 77
Kardel 81. *See also* Karder.
Karder 8, 84. *See also* Kardel.
Keeper of Splendour 15, 164, 210, 211, 212, 226
Kellis 9, 22, 35, 38, 43, 44, 45, 238, 272, 277, 280. *See also* Ismant el-Kharab.
Khorasan 76
Khūzistan 114
King of Darkness 12, 13, 16, 186, 199, 200, 201, 202, 244
King of Fire 202

King of Glory 15, 165, 210, 211, 212, 226
King of Honour 15, 17, 164, 210, 211, 212, 226
King of Smoke 190, 199, 200
King of Water 202
King of Wind 202
kingdom or land of darkness 12, 169, 177, 178, 199, 200, 216, 241, 252. *See also* five storehouses.
Koushan 81. *See also* Kushan.
Koustaios or Kushtai, son of the 'treasure of life' 42, 68, 84, 221
Kundaros 175
Kushan 110

Lao-tzu 261
Last Statue 20, 178, 203, 204, 205, 226
Latin 275
Libanius 110, 125
Light Form *See* Form of Light
Light Mind 17, 193, 208, 209, 210, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 227, 228, 229, 235, 247, 248, 252, 256, 257, 277, 278, 280
Living Soul 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 137, 142, 159, 173, 176, 178, 180, 181, 183, 186, 188, 189, 195, 197, 204, 209, 211, 213, 218, 228, 231, 238, 240, 244, 245, 246, 247, 250, 253
Living Spirit 14, 15, 178, 183, 184, 187, 192, 203, 205, 206, 210, 211, 226, 227, 233, 234, 235. *See also* demiurge.
  Father of life 14, 203, 234, 250, 251
  second son 178

Luxor 41
Lycopolis 38, 41, 109, 110
Lydia 125

Macedonians 148
Magi 81, 105, 106
Magians 7, 8, 96, 97
magic 127, 201, 278
Maiden of Light. *See* Virgin of Light
Malliana 110, 143, 144
Malōp 114
mammon 269
Mandaeans 30
Mani
  apostle, apostle of Jesus Christ 9, 10, 18, 24, 41, 86, 156, 157, 167, 168, 172, 190, 192, 203, 206, 209, 252, 261, 264, 265
  birth 3, 46, 47, 50
  buddha 156
  death or 'crucifixion' of, 24, 80, 81, 89, 93, 94, 95, 99, 103, 105, 243
Marcion 19, 28, 75, 110, 261
Marcionism 4, 19
Margaret 144
Mariam 220
Mark (the deacon) 126
Mark (the evangelist) 125
Maryam, mother of Mani 3
Mattarii (Manichaean group) 145
Matter (hyle) 12, 15, 161, 162, 163, 179, 180, 181, 182, 200, 209, 230, 247
Maximianus 117
Maximilla 243
Medes 69, 79
Medinet Madi 25, 29, 37, 39, 110
Meletians 119
Menoch 172
Mesene 1, 6, 72, 75, 78, 81, 103
Mesopotamia 3, 34, 109
Messenger *See* Third Ambassador
Michael *See* angels
Mihrshah 6
Milan 133, 134
Mithridates 138
Modion, work of Addas 130
monasteries (Manichaean) 23, 111, 112
monasticism (Christian) 21
Monica, mother of Augustine 131
moon 15, 20, 21, 24, 88, 132, 178, 180, 181, 183, 186, 188, 189, 191, 195, 206, 207, 208, 218, 219, 224, 229, 230, 232, 244, 257, 277
  ship of water or night or First Man 15, 218, 258
  three moons 229
Moses 120, 186, 190, 244
Mother of Life 13, 14, 157, 158, 182, 187, 192, 227, 233, 234, 250, 257
  Great Spirit 13, 176, 192, 203, 227
Mount of Olives 220
Mousak 80
Mughtasilah 32, 33, 47

Nabroel 16
Nafšā 111, 112, 113
Nahasbat *See* angels
Narses 104
Naser 5, 67
new aeon, aeon of light 20, 179, 187, 195, 196, 202, 203, 205, 226, 233, 235, 267
New Testament 151, 190
Nikotheos 18
Noah 18, 139, 242, 263
Nuhzadag 84

Oggias 73
Ohrmezd 88
Origen 31
Osseans 31
O(zeos) 87

Oxyrhynchus 36, 41
Ozeos, the land of 81, 103

Palestine 126
Palmyra *See* Tadmor
Papos 116
Paraclete 4, 5, 10, 18, 54, 57, 74, 75, 99, 131, 176, 186, 190, 239, 248, 259, 261, 265, 273, 278, 279
Pargalia 81
Parthia and Parthians 1, 75, 79
pascha *See* Easter
Pattek (Patticius), father of Mani 3, 5, 62, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72, 73
Pattek (Patīg) the teacher 111, 112, 168
Paul (the apostle) 4, 18, 19, 31, 42, 57, 92, 114, 137, 138, 140, 167, 173, 219, 238, 242, 261, 264
perfect air 184
Perfect Man *See* Pillar of Glory
Peroz 6
Persia 1, 73, 75, 77, 78, 103, 114, 117, 119. *See also* Persis.
Persis (Fars) 6, 91
Peter (the apostle) 139, 242
Phaeno 118
Pharat 72, 73. *See also* Ferat.
Pharisees 139
Philistion (the comic) 127
Photius 129
Picture Book 89, 152, 156, 223, 266
Pilate. *See* Pontius Pilate
Pillar of Glory or Splendour 19, 52, 88, 154, 184, 192, 208, 211, 212, 218, 257
  Column of Praise 257
  Perfect Man 19, 20, 85, 192, 208, 211, 218, 248, 257. *See also* perfect air.
Plato 179
Pneumatomachians 148
Pontius Pilate 95, 219
Porphyry of Gaza 125, 126, 127, 128
Porter *See* Atlas
Possidius 142
Postumianus, praetorian prefect 148
Pragmateia (*The Treatise*) 153, 154, 155, 156, 160, 164
Prayers. See also Psalms and the Prayers.
  Great Prayers 274
  Prayer-Book 274
Primal Man *See* First Man
Priscianus 125
Proconnesus 118
Prostrations 274
Psalms and the Prayers 152, 153, 154, 156, 163, 164, 274

Qumran 32, 33, 160

Rabbi 220
Rome 133, 134, 135, 136

Sabaoth 186
Sabbaios the baptist 65
sabbath 226
Saccoforians 147, 148
Saclas 16, 190
Salmaios the Ascetic 41, 48
Salona 125
Sampseans 31
Sapores. *See under* Shapur.
Sara (wife of Abraham) 139
Sarapion the Sidonite 126
Sarouphin 279
Satan 102, 103, 127, 259–263, 275
Sayings 274
Scythianus 38, 175
Secundinus 136
Seleucia-Ctesiphon 43, 112
Sem 56, 92, 261, 263
Serapion of Thmuis 26, 130
Sermon of the Great War 20, 220
Seth 4, 17, 18
  Sethel 55, 90, 242, 261, 263
Sethel (the servant) 114
Severus of Antioch 36, 160
Shah of Turan 6
Sham'ūn 33
Shapur 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 27, 50, 73, 75, 76, 77, 80, 83, 109, 116, 152
Shem 4, 92, 242
Shenoute 229
Shenute (dux) 124
ships 52, 74, 183, 205, 247, 248, 251. *See also* sun (ship of fire or day) and moon (ship of water or night).
Simeon 66
Simon Peter 220
Sisinnios 89, 102, 104, 106
Sita 59, 60, 62
Sitaios 58, 59
Sobiai 31
Song of the Lovers 164
soul *See* Living Soul
Sparta 126
splenditenens *See* Keeper of Splendour
summons and obedience 14, 52, 193, 205, 208, 211, 218, 234, 249
sun 11, 15, 20, 21, 125, 132, 178, 180, 181, 186, 188, 189, 191, 195, 206, 207, 208, 218, 219, 230, 232, 244, 277
  ship of fire or day or Third Ambassador 15, 203, 218, 258
Susiana 1, 6, 75
Symmachus, praefectus urbi 134

Syria 110
Syriac 160
Syzygos or Twin 4, 5, 10, 30, 42, 47, 49, 50, 52, 58, 65–66, 68, 70, 71, 72, 154, 158, 196, 261

Taδī 113
Tadmor (Palmyra) 112
Taoism 2
Teacher (Manichaean leader) 24, 276
Tebessa Codex 37
Thagaste 110
Thecla 243
Theodor bar Khoni 13, 36
Theodosius I 111, 145, 147
Thesaurus. See Treasury
Thio 274
Third Ambassador or Messenger 15, 16, 39, 154, 180, 191, 192, 203, 205, 210, 211, 212, 218, 257, 258
  third elder 187
Thomas (disciple of Mani) 116, 187
Thomas (Psalmist) 196
Thomas (the apostle) 10, 139, 242
three seals 231, 236
Timotheos 42, 52, 59, 65, 68, 70
Timothy of Alexandria 121
Titus of Bostra 26, 130
transmigration of souls 23, 35, 172, 184, 189, 196, 230
Treasury of the Life 129, 153, 154, 156, 159, 164
Treatise, The. See Pragmateia
Turfan 25, 29, 110
Twin *See* Syzygos and Paraclete

Ursus 144
Uzzi 89

Vahram I 7, 84, 105, 107
Valens 118
Valentinian I 118, 147
Valentinian II 145, 147
Valentinus (gnostic) 4, 29
Valerian (emperor) 116
Viator 144
Victorinus 143
Virgin of Light 15, 85, 157, 184, 187, 192, 227, 256, 257

wanderers (sarakote) 247, 253
world of darkness 207
world of fire 206
world of smoke 206
world of water 206
world of wind 206

Zabinas 175
Zacheas 42, 63, 72, 114. *See also* Abizachias and Abzakhuya.
Zakū 75
Zarathustra 10, 18, 92, 93, 261, 263
Zebedee 92, 242
Zeno (Byzantine Emperor) 149
Zenobia 114
Zeus 207
Ziph 129
zodiac 206, 207, 208, 210
Zoroastrianism 6, 27, 29, 109, 152
Zurvanism 6, 26

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DER PREUSSISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
UNTER LEITUNG VON PROF. CARL SCHMIDT

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1. HÄLFTE (LIEFERUNG 1—10)

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Vorwort.

Auf einer seiner häufigen Ägyptenreisen entdeckte der inzwischen verstorbene Theologe und Altertumsforscher Professor D. Dr. Carl Schmidt im Jahre 1930 Schriften im Antikenhandel, die trotz ihres schlechten Erhaltungszustandes sein Interesse reizten [1]). Es war hocherfreulich, daß er sie sogleich einem bestimmten Literaturkreise zuordnen konnte. Gerade das im vorliegenden Bande herausgegebene Werk, die Kephalaia, zeigte, daß es sich um Texte der manichäischen Religionsgemeinschaft handelte. Professor Schmidt konnte nämlich über einer Seite die Überschrift ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ, d. h. Κεφάλαια entziffern. Es muß als ein ganz merkwürdiges Zusammentreffen angesehen werden, daß er kurz vorher die Korrektur des zweiten Bogens von Holls Band III der Epiphaniusausgabe durchgesehen hatte. Durch diese Lektüre wußte er, daß zu den manichäischen Schriften ein Werk mit dem Titel Κεφάλαια [2]) gehörte. So zog er mit Recht den Schluß, daß ihm eine Übersetzung dieses Buches in koptischer Sprache vorliege und daß auch die andern Werke des gleichen Fundes den Manichäern zuzuschreiben seien. Die Bearbeitung hat ihm Recht gegeben. Inzwischen hatte der bekannte englische Sammler Mr. Chester Beatty einen beachtlichen Teil derartiger Schriften angekauft. Den Rest der Papyri suchte Professor Schmidt für Deutschland zu gewinnen. Das wurde ihm nur möglich durch die finanzielle Unterstützung des Herrn Direktor August Pfeffer, der die Texte erwarb und in hochherziger Weise den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin schenkte. Da die Bücher aus einer Bibliothek stammten, unternahm Professor Schmidt im Jahre 1931 eine weitere Reise, damit diese manichäische Büchersammlung nicht in alle Winde verstreut würde. Er hatte Erfolg und konnte sogar im Jahre 1932 weitere Erwerbungen machen. So kam es, daß der koptische Mani-Fund ungefähr zu gleichen Teilen nach London und Berlin gelangte. Nur einige Fetzen wurden mit anderen Papyri von der Wiener Sammlung angekauft.

Infolge seiner Bekanntheit im Antikenhandel konnte Professor Schmidt auch den Fundort feststellen. Das mag nicht so einfach gewesen sein, da die Händler über diesen Punkt ungern Mitteilungen machen. Außerdem hatten sich drei Händler in den Fund geteilt, da der Erhaltungszustand ja sehr schlecht war. Das Risiko schien ihnen zu groß zu sein.

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1) SBA 1933. I: Ein Manifund in Ägypten.

2) Epiphanius, haer. 66, 2, 9; vergleiche auch die von Holl im Apparat gegebenen Stellen.

Eingeborene scheinen beim Beschaffen von Fruchterde die Bücher im Keller einer Ruine gefunden zu haben, um sie dann sofort an die Händler zu verkaufen. Daß ein Keller diese Texte barg, ist nicht verwunderlich, wurden doch die Manichäer nicht gern gesehen, ja auch verfolgt. Andererseits ist die Tätigkeit dieser Sekte in Ägypten bekannt sowohl durch einige Fetzen in syrischer Sprache aus Originalschriften als auch durch Gegenschriften, die nicht nur aus dem christlichen, sondern auch aus dem heidnischen Lager kamen, vgl. etwa Alexander von Lykopolis und Serapion von Thmuis.

Der Ort, in dem die Texte aufgefunden wurden, liegt im Fayûm: Medînet Mâdi. Durch die Ausgrabungen, die Professor A. Vogliano seit 1936 vorgenommen hatte, konnte festgestellt werden, daß der Name der Stadt in griechisch-römischer Zeit Τερενοῦθις[3]) lautete.

Der Dialekt, in dem die Texte vorliegen, ist das Subachmimische. Er scheint in der Gegend von Assiût (Lykopolis) gesprochen worden zu sein. War diese Stadt ein Zentrum der manichäischen Propaganda? Vielleicht haben die Manichäer von hier aus die ins Koptische übersetzten Werke verbreitet.

Ihrem Wesen nach sind die Kephalaia eine Übersetzung. Da die griechischen Lehnworte, die in so großer Zahl begegnen, ziemlich exakt wiedergegeben sind, ist wohl eine griechische Vorlage anzunehmen. Die Urform der Schrift mag syrisch abgefaßt gewesen sein[4]).

Besonderen Dank schuldet die Wissenschaft Herrn Dr. Ibscher, der dank seiner einzigartigen Erfahrung die Bücher zu konservieren imstande war. Aber auch nachdem die einzelnen Seiten nunmehr zum Teil verglast sind, ist die Lektüre außerordentlich erschwert, da der Papyrus an vielen Stellen erheblich nachgedunkelt, abgerieben und sehr oft überhaupt zerstört ist. So bedeutete es für das Mani-Unternehmen eine tatkräftige Hilfe, für die auch an dieser Stelle der Dank ausgesprochen sei, wenn Dr. W. E. Crum und C. R. C. Allberry die Korrekturen mitlasen und für manche Stellen Ergänzungsvorschläge machten.

Die ersten beiden Doppellieferungen hat Dr. H. J. Polotsky bearbeitet. Von S. 103 ab ist Dr. A. Böhlig an seine Stelle getreten.

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3) Die griechische Form begegnet in einem Londoner Papyrus des IV. Jahrhunderts. Die Form Terenûde bietet ein Papyrus, der bei den Ausgrabungen zu Tage trat; vgl. ZNW 1938, 274 ff.

4) Zu diesem Problem vgl. C. R. C. Allberry, A Manichaean Psalm-Book 1938, p. XIX. Siehe dort auch über das Alter der Schriften.

Die Handschrift.

Von Hugo Ibscher.

Erhaltung und Konservierung.

Der Erhaltungszustand der Kephalaia-Handschrift ist wie überhaupt der Gesamtfund der Manibücher der denkbar schlechteste. In meiner langjährigen Praxis hat mir nur der Ramesseumfund die gleiche Mühe verursacht wie dieser über 2000 Jahre jüngere Fund. In beiden Fällen trug der ungünstige Fundort die Schuld an dem Verfall. Bei dem Ramesseumfund war die heiße, trockene Lagerung die Ursache der Zerstörung, während bei unserem Manifund die intensive und andauernde Feuchtigkeit den Zerfall in verhältnismäßig kurzer Zeit herbeiführte. Der Fundort Medînet Mâdi im Süden des Fajum liegt in der Nähe eines ausgesprochenen Sumpfgebietes. Auch die Niederschläge sind in dieser Gegend durch die Nähe des Möris-Sees gefördert, sehr häufig und außerordentlich heftig, so daß die Keller der Häuserruinen durch die hierdurch hervorgerufenen Überschwemmungen nicht allein dem Grundwasser, sondern auch dem Überschwemmungswasser ausgesetzt waren. In einem solchen ungünstigen Versteck hat der ehemalige Besitzer des Schatzes diesen vor dem Zugriff der Verfolger der Manigemeinde in Sicherheit gebracht. Nur dem Umstand, daß die Bücher in einer Holzkiste fest verpackt waren, haben wir es zu verdanken, daß diese nicht schon längst in Humuserde verwandelt worden sind. Der feuchte Fundort erklärt auch die Tatsache, daß die Handschriften von den Würmern oder Ameisen verschont worden sind, die uns schon so viele schöne Papyri aus Ägypten vollkommen zerstört haben. Aber der Feind, der unsere Handschriften dem Zerfall nahebrachte, ist von weit ärgerer Art und hat die Rettung der Bücher zu einer qualvollen Arbeit gemacht. Förderte das Grundwasser in dem Keller den Fäulnisprozeß der zarten Papyrusblätter langsam aber sicher, so führte das Überschwemmungswasser aus der Wüste starke Mengen Salz mit sich. Der fest zusammengepreßte Papyruspacken wirkte hier wie ein Filter, der sorgsam die Salzkristalle aufnahm, so daß sich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte stellenweise wahre Salznester bildeten, die die Blätter an diesen Stellen fest zusammenfilzten und vollständig zerstörten. Besonders die Ränder der Blätter waren durch das Salzwasser fest zusammengeklebt, so daß beim Auseinanderlösen der Blätter die Ränder oftmals geopfert werden mußten, um nach Möglichkeit den Schriftspiegel zu schonen. Der Fäulnisprozeß war schon so weit vorgeschritten, daß eine An-

wendung von Feuchtigkeit zur Auflösung der Salzkristalle unterbleiben mußte, um die ganze Rettungsarbeit nicht illusorisch zu machen.

Es blieb also nichts anderes übrig, als zu versuchen, die Blätter in trockenem Zustande voneinander zu lösen. Es ist unmöglich zu beschreiben, wie es mir gelungen ist, die hauchdünnen Papyrusblätter voneinanderzubringen. Eine sichere Handhabung verschieden geformter Pinzetten, ein kleines Gummigebläse zum vorsichtigen Abblasen der Staubteilchen von den Blättern, da ein Bürsten mit dem allerweichesten Pinsel die Schrift sofort vernichtet hätte, und eine nie erlahmende Geduld und Sachkunde waren meine einzigen Helfer zum Erfolg. Etwas mußte ich hier aber anwenden, was ich sonst bei Papyri entschieden ablehne, die Fixierung der einzelnen Blätter mit einer ganz schwachen Lacklösung, um zu verhüten, daß die Papyrusteilchen und mit ihnen die Schrift fortwährend abstäubten. Daß ich beim Loslösen der Blätter diese oftmals auch nur in kleinen Fragmenten herunterbekam, die vor der Verglasung wieder sorgfältig und sachgemäß von mir zusammengesetzt werden mußten, brauche ich dem Kundigen nicht erst zu sagen. Oftmals waren die Blätter auch schon im Altertum stark beschädigt und zerrissen worden, was auf eifriges Benutzen dieser Handschriften hinweist. Aber nicht nur im Altertum durch starkes Benutzen und dann durch den Einfluß der Feuchtigkeit haben unsere Manibücher zu leiden gehabt, sondern weit größer war der Schaden, der diesen kostbaren Büchern nach der Auffindung zugefügt worden ist. So haben sich zunächst in den Fund mehrere Händler geteilt, weil einer allein das Risiko beim Verkauf nicht tragen wollte. Daß hierbei mit dem Fund nicht zart umgegangen worden ist, konnte auf den ersten Blick festgestellt werden. Dann haben die Händler die einzelnen Teile nochmals in kleinere Teile zerlegt, um diese vielleicht vorteilhafter zu verkaufen. Zu guter Letzt kamen dann noch die Käufer, die ihre Neugier nicht zähmen konnten und mit den Fingern die Ecken auseinanderzubiegen versuchten, um etwas von dem Inhalt zu erspähen. Hierbei sind vielleicht die vielen Eckstücke verlorengegangen und mit ihnen die Paginierung. Die Kephalaia kamen daher auch nicht in einem Volumen nach Berlin, sondern in zwei stärkeren Packen und fünf schwächeren Lagen. Alles natürlich hübsch durcheinander! Nach fünfjähriger angestrengter Arbeit ist es aber gelungen, allein von den Kephalaia über 400 Seiten für die wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung zu retten und die Reihenfolge der Blätter fast lückenlos sicher zu bestimmen. Die einzelnen Ankäufe ergeben folgende Seiten:

Ankauf	I	jetzt	Seite	1— 18
„	II	„	„	19—310
„	III	„	„	331—356
„	IV	„	„	357—376
„	V	„	„	377—394
„	VI	„	„	395—414
„	VII	„	„	421—Schluß.

Die in der Aufstellung fehlenden Seiten 311—330 konnte ich in einem winzigen Funde feststellen, der mit andern Papyri in die Wiener Sammlung gekommen war. Dieser Ankauf war so schlecht erhalten, daß die Direktion der Wiener Sammlung ihn mir erst gar nicht schicken wollte, weil das Ganze nur ein Gewirr von Fasern zu sein schien. Es gelang mir, daraus noch einige, wenn auch unvollständige Seiten zu gewinnen und auf einer Seite das Kapitel 132 zu entziffern, wodurch dann festgestellt werden konnte, daß es sich hier um Reste der Seiten 311—330 handelte. Auch an den anderen Stellen, wo die Blätter mit Gewalt voneinandergerissen worden sind, sind stets die betreffenden Blätter mehr oder weniger zerstört worden. So befinden sich zwischen den Seiten 414—421 nur noch kümmerliche Reste der fehlenden Blätter, die sich kaum werden bestimmen lassen. Auch die auf 421 folgenden Seiten haben noch sehr gelitten. Das letzte erhaltene Blatt ließ sich durch die Fundumstände, trotz der fehlenden Paginierung, von mir als Träger der Seitenzahl 501/502 bestimmen. Es zeigt das Kapitel $\overline{\underline{c}}$ = 200.

Ob die Berliner Kephalaia aber vollständig auf uns gekommen sind, oder ob am Schluß noch Seiten fehlen werden, wird sich nur schwer feststellen lassen. Zu vermuten ist aber, daß noch eine größere Anzahl von Blättern verlorengegangen ist, denn ein weiteres Kephalaiabuch konnte ich unter den im Besitz von Chester Beatty befindlichen Manibüchern feststellen. Während nun die letzte, sichtbare Kapitelzahl in den Berliner Kephalaia 200 ist, konnte ich auf einer Seite der Londoner Kephalaia das Kapitel 333 deutlich lesen. Da noch eine Anzahl von Seiten vorausgehen, die ich noch nicht restaurieren konnte, kann man mit Sicherheit annehmen, daß die Londoner Kephalaia im jetzigen Zustand mit Kapitel 300 begonnen haben. Es fehlen also zwischen den Berliner und den Londoner Kephalaia rund 100 Kapitel, die etwa 240 Seiten oder 120 Blätter ergeben würden. Für einen weiteren Band zwischen den beiden vorhandenen ist aber kaum Platz, so daß wir vorerst annehmen müssen, daß die fehlenden 120 Blätter entweder vom Schluß der Berliner, oder aber vom Anfang der Londoner Kephalaia verlorengegangen sind. Immerhin ist es nicht unmöglich, daß jeder Band der Kephalaia etwa 750 Seiten umfaßt hat; bei dem sehr dünnen Papyrusmaterial würde der Buchblock kaum mehr als 3—4 cm gemessen haben. Daß bei den Berliner Kephalaia am Ende des erhaltenen Teiles Seiten verlorengegangen sind, beweist uns auch ein winziges Fragment, das noch auf dem oberen Rand des letzten Blattes mit anderen unbeschriebenen Fragmenten festsaß und Reste der Pagina $\overline{\underline{\phi\iota\text{A}}}$ = 514 zeigte.

Der Kodex.

Daß die Manihandschriften in Kodexform auf uns gekommen sind, bedeutet an und für sich nichts Neues, sondern ist eigentlich ganz selbstverständlich. Denn auch die Handschriften der Manichäischen Urgemeinde, die den koptischen Schreibern als Vorlage gedient haben mögen, trugen sicher schon diese Buchform. Obgleich

nach den Funden in Dura im Euphratgebiet der Papyrus-Beschreibstoff nicht unbekannt gewesen ist, wird aber im Gegensatz zu den Manihandschriften aus Ägypten der für die Handschriften der Urgemeinde verwendete Beschreibstoff Pergament gewesen sein. Dies geht klar und eindeutig aus den vielen Berichten der arabischen Schriftsteller hervor, wonach bei der Verbrennung der Manischriften in der Verfolgungszeit „Edelsteine herausfielen und Gold herausfloß". Beides Materialien, die nur zur Ausschmückung der Kodexeinbände Verwendung fanden, niemals aber bei den Schutzhüllen für die Papyrusrollen. Ebenso forderte auch Augustin als fanatischer Gegner der Manichäer in seinen Streitschriften seine Anhänger auf, „verbrennt alle jene Pergament-Handschriften und jene kostbaren Ledereinbände".

Von den alten persischen und griechischen Handschriften sind uns leider aus so früher Zeit keine erhalten, so daß wir uns nur aus den späteren Kodizes ein ungefähres Bild dieser Vorläufer unserer heutigen Buchform machen können, wobei uns wieder unsere Manibücher, trotz ihres zerstörten Zustandes, einen tüchtigen Schritt vorwärts tun lassen.

Es ist hier vielleicht am Platze, einen kleinen Rückblick zu tun, der uns die Entwicklung der Kodexform aus der Buchrolle in Ägypten zeigt. Gerade die allerjüngsten Papyrusfunde seit dem Jahre 1930 haben unsere Kenntnis nach dieser Richtung ungemein gefördert. Für gewöhnlich hielt man ein Vorkommen des Kodex neben der Papyrusrolle vor dem 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. für sehr unwahrscheinlich und datierte deshalb auch einzeln aufgefundene Kodexblätter ungern früher als in das 4., höchstens ins Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Oftmals hätte nach der Schrift ein solches Blatt gut um zwei Jahrhunderte früher eingruppiert werden können, hat sich doch die für literarische Papyri gebräuchliche Schriftform durch Jahrhunderte hindurch fast gar nicht geändert. Schon Schubart hebt in seinem „Buch bei den Griechen und Römern" hervor, daß man einzelne Kodexblätter vielfach viel zu spät ansetzt. Aber es fehlte immer an greifbaren Zeugen, die uns endlich die völlige Sicherheit gaben.

Hier haben nun die Funde der ältesten Bibeltexte bahnbrechend gewirkt und mit voller Sicherheit den Gebrauch des Kodex schon für die erste Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. als allgemein belegt. Diese Bibeltexte und einige vollständig erhaltene ältere koptische Papyruskodizes zeigen uns nun die Entwicklung des Papyruskodex aus der Papyrusrolle in Ägypten außerordentlich anschaulich. Als Beweisstücke für die folgenden Ausführungen mögen hier nur vier Papyruskodizes aus dem 2.—4. Jahrhundert n. Ch. gelten, und zwar: 1. Der Kodex aus der Sammlung von Chester Beatty, der die „Paulinischen Briefe" enthält, 2. Die koptische Psalmenhandschrift P. 8502 in der Papyrus-Sammlung der Staatlichen Museen Berlin, 3. Die Homer-Handschrift der Sammlung Pierpont Morgan und 4. Der Koptische Papyruskodex Ms. or. oct. 987 der Handschriften-Abteilung in der Staatsbibliothek Berlin. Bei allen hier genannten Handschriften besteht der Buchkörper aus einer einzigen Heftlage, ein untrügliches Zeichen aller älteren Kodizes. Ein

weiteres, sicheres Zeichen für das Alter der Kodizes bietet uns das Papyrusmaterial, woraus der Buchblock hergestellt ist. Nicht jeder wird in der Lage sein, am Beschreibstoff selbst feststellen zu können, aus welchem Jahrhundert das betreffende Material stammt, dazu gehört eine gründliche, langjährige Erfahrung und ständige Beschäftigung mit den Papyri. Aber der aufmerksame Beobachter wird mit Leichtigkeit festzustellen in der Lage sein, ob der Beschreibstoff einer Rolle entnommen ist, oder ob das Papyrusblatt eigens für den Kodex hergestellt wurde. Ersteres zeugt dann stets für eine frühe Entstehung des Kodex, als noch die Papyrusrolle die übliche Buchform war und der Papyrus-Beschreibstoff nur in Rollenform in den Handel kam.

Dies erkennen wir am sichersten an den Blattklebungen, die senkrecht die einzelnen Kodexblätter durchlaufen. Wir wissen, daß die Papyrusrollen, die oft eine recht beträchtliche Länge besaßen, nicht aus einem Stück angefertigt werden konnten, sondern aus einzelnen Blättern zusammengeklebt wurden, die in der Breite sehr verschieden waren. Zwischen 15 bis 40 cm schwankte die Breite der Blätter, jedoch gab es hierin keine feste Regel, sondern dies richtete sich nach dem manuellen Können des betreffenden Papyrusarbeiters. So konnte ich schon Blattlängen von 30 bis nahezu 100 cm, ja, in dem oben zitierten Berliner P. 8502, sogar eine Blattlänge von 160 cm feststellen. Dies sind aber Seltenheiten, die man wohl beachten muß, aber nicht oft vermuten darf. Jedenfalls hat aber jeder sorgfältige Papyrusarbeiter bei einer guten Papyrusrolle darauf geachtet, daß die einzelnen Blätter, woraus er diese zusammenklebte, in der Farbe und auch in der Breite möglich übereinstimmten. Da auch die Papyrusfasern stets in gleicher Richtung laufend genommen wurden, waren diese Klebungen oftmals so geschickt ausgeführt, daß sie nur von einem geübten Auge entdeckt werden konnten. Diese Blattklebungen wird man also in jedem älteren Kodex finden, und wer sich der Mühe unterzieht, wird aus den Kodexblättern auch die ursprüngliche Papyrusrolle rekonstruieren können, woraus die Kodexblätter geschnitten worden sind. So konnte ich bei allen oben angeführten Kodizes die ursprüngliche Rollenform wieder herstellen.

Selbstverständlich konnten einlagige Kodizes niemals sehr umfangreich gewesen sein, das beweisen uns auch die oben angeführten Handschriften. 30 oder einige Doppelblätter mehr dürften stets die Grenze gebildet haben. Die Paulinischen Briefe in der Chester-Beatty-Sammlung weisen 32 Doppelblätter = 208 Textseiten auf, der koptische Papyruskodex der Berliner Staatsbibliothek, der noch im Einband saß, als ich ihn zur Konservierung erhielt, umfaßt 40 Doppelblätter und einige Einzelblätter, während die äußeren 6 Doppelblätter zusammengeklebt den Buchdeckel ergaben. Auch die beiden anderen Kodizes halten sich in der 30 Doppelblatt-Grenze.

Aber nicht allein die Stärke des Buchblockes setzte bei einem einlagigen Kodex die Grenze bei etwa 30 Doppelblättern, denn selbst bei dem stärksten, in den ersten Jahrhunderten unserer Zeitrechnung benutzten Papyrusmaterial dürfte diese Stärke niemals 5 cm überschritten haben. Ausschlaggebend war hier vielmehr die nach

dem Innern des Kodex stark abnehmende Breite des Kodexblattes, die das Schriftbild sehr beeinträchtigte. So kann man bei dem hier schon mehrmals herangezogenen Kodex, der die Paulinischen Briefe enthält, die Feststellung machen, daß in der Breite zwischen dem äußeren und dem inneren Doppelblatt eine Differenz von annähernd 10 cm besteht! Da es sich hier um eine gute Buchausgabe aus dem Anfang des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. handelt, richtete sich auch der Schreiber mit seinem Schriftspiegel danach, der auf den äußeren Blättern eine Breite von 13 cm besaß und nach der Mitte zu, dem Verhältnis entsprechend, abnahm, bis er in der Mitte des Buchblockes nur noch eine Breite von 8—9 cm aufweist.

Schon beim Zuschneiden der einzelnen Blätter für einen einlagigen Kodex aus der Papyrusrolle wurde daher bereits auf die abnehmende Breite derselben Rücksicht genommen, um an Material zu sparen. Bei der Rekonstruktion des Kodex der Paulinischen Briefe konnte ich diese Sorgfalt genau beobachten, da stets zwischen den einzelnen Doppelblättern, trotz ihrer verschiedenen Breite, nur etwa 1,5 cm Verlust an Papyrusmaterial festzustellen war. Hätte man beim Zuschneiden der Blätter nicht darauf geachtet und diese alle gleich breit herausgeschnitten, so wäre später beim genauen Zuschnitt, um dem Kodex vorn eine gerade Fläche zu geben, ein Verlust von 32,5 cm des kostbaren Papyrus-Beschreibstoffes zu beklagen gewesen.

Dieses Verfahren war bei allen Papyrus-Kodizes in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten unserer Zeitrechnung üblich, denn daß es auch schon im ersten Jahrhundert Papyrus-Kodizes gegeben hat, unterliegt nun wohl keinem Zweifel mehr. Ob die Pergament-Kodizes, die sicher schon in vorchristlicher Zeit im Gebrauch waren, in so früher Zeit auch nur aus einer Heftlage bestanden haben oder ob hier schon der Buchblock aus mehreren Lagen zusammengefügt war, wird schwer zu entscheiden sein, solange uns nur einzelne Kodexblätter erhalten sind. Sollten die Pergament-Kodizes anfangs auch nur einlagig gewesen sein, so dürften sie kaum die Stärke unserer hier angeführten Papyrus-Kodizes besessen haben, denn dazu dürfte das Pergament sich wenig geeignet haben. Hätten wiederum mehrlagige Pergament-Kodizes den christlichen Schreibern der Bibeltexte als Vorlage gedient, so wüßte ich keinen Grund, weshalb sie ihre Kodizes nicht gleichfalls aus mehreren Heftlagen angefertigt haben sollten.

Daß ein Schreiber so verfahren konnte und den aus einer Papyrusrolle genommenen Beschreibstoff zu einem mehrlagigen Kodex verwendete, beweist uns der Hamburger Papyruskodex, der unter anderem die Acta Pauli enthält. Es handelt sich hier um eine minderwertige Handschrift — wenigstens dem Äußeren nach —, denn der Schreiber hat wenig Sorgfalt darauf verwendet, wie seine Buchblätter zu liegen kamen. Einmal laufen die Blattklebungen von links nach rechts, ein andermal gerade entgegengesetzt. Ich habe auch hier einige Doppelblätter zu einem Teil einer Rolle zusammenfügen können, aber bei dem fragmentarischen Zustand des Kodex ergab es nichts Vollkommenes. Man ersieht hieraus nur, daß dem Schreiber

der Acta Pauli sicher ein mehrlagiger Pergamentkodex vorgelegen hat, den er getreulich nachbildete.

Aus nur wenig späterer Zeit als die Acta Pauli kommen nun unsere Manihandschriften, und wie ich schon eingangs betonte, haben sicher Pergament-Kodizes den Abschreibern als Vorlage gedient, die ebenfalls aus mehreren Heftlagen bestanden haben müssen. Daher zeigen alle 7 Bände der aufgefundenen Maniliteratur durchweg die Lagenheftung, und zwar in einer Korrektheit und Vollkommenheit, wie sie selbst an unsern heutigen Büchern nach über 1500 Jahren nicht besser gepflegt werden können. Aber noch ein weiterer Fortschritt gegenüber den älteren Kodizes ist hier zu beobachten. Zum erstenmal sehen wir hier, daß das Papyrusmaterial eigens für diese Bücher in der passenden Größe angefertigt worden ist, so daß kein einziges Blatt, wie bei den früheren Kodizes, eine Blattklebung aufweist. Der Papyrusbeschreibstoff ist von einer Feinheit, die uns für diese Zeit des Niederganges an der Papyrusfabrikation in Erstaunen setzt. Als gleichwertig in der Qualität kann man hier nur die ältesten ägyptischen Papyri aus dem 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. heranziehen. Ob Recto- oder Versoseite, vollkommen gleichwertig und mit derselben Sorgfalt sind beide Papyrusseiten gearbeitet. Schadhafte Stellen, wie sie ja leicht bei sehr dünn gearbeiteten Papyri vorkommen, sind sofort bei der Herstellung der Blätter ausgebessert und fast unsichtbar verarbeitet worden.

So war das Material für diese Heiligen Schriften beschaffen, und mit derselben Liebe und Sorgfalt ging auch die Weiterverarbeitung vor sich. Ich wende mich nun ausschließlich dem Buchblock der „Kephalaia" zu, der uns zeigt, auf welch hoher Stufe die Buchkunst bereits zu Beginn des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. stand. Als ich die einzelnen Teile der Handschrift zur Konservierung bekam, sahen sie allerdings wenig appetitlich aus, wie man aus meinem vorangehenden Fundbericht entnehmen kann. Von einer Heftung war nichts mehr zu entdecken, weil die Einbände unzweifelhaft mit roher Gewalt entfernt worden sind, wobei mit der Heftung auch gleichzeitig sämtliche Zusammenhänge der Doppelblätter am Rücken verlorengegangen sind. Die einzelnen Heftlagen konnte ich daher durchweg nur mit Hilfe der Papyrusfasern feststellen. Die Handschrift hat eine Höhe von 31,5 cm und eine Breite von 18 cm. Die benutzten Doppelblätter wurden daher in einer Größe von 31,5×36 cm angefertigt. Die Farbe des Papyrus, die jetzt durch die Einwirkung der Feuchtigkeit stark nachgedunkelt erscheint, wird ein lichtes, gelbliches Braun gewesen sein. Viele Blätter zeigen trotz der starken Vermoderung noch einen feinen, seidenschimmernden Glanz auf, wie wir solchen nur bei den allerfeinsten Papyrus feststellen können.

Der Anfang des Kodex fand sich erst später, als ich bereits 30 Blätter abgehoben und konserviert hatte. Als ich auf einer Seite, oben in der rechten Ecke ⲗⲁ gewahrte und auch die folgenden Seiten fortlaufend numeriert waren, war es mir klar, daß der Kodex mit einer Seitenzählung versehen war, wie man sie nur selten vorfindet. Leider sind gerade die Ecken vielfach zerstört und verloren

gegangen, so daß nur wenige Seitenzahlen klar erkennbar sind. Aber diese wenigen Seitenzahlen konnten immerhin eine wertvolle Kontrolle bei dem Zusammenfügen der einzelnen Doppelblätter bieten. Daß der Kodex keiner Rolle entnommen war, wurde mir bald zur Gewißheit, da keines der abgehobenen Blätter eine Blattklebung aufwies. Meine Versuche, einzelne Doppelblätter zusammenzubringen, blieben zunächst erfolglos, da die Blätter zum Teil so zerstört waren, daß man die Faserung des Papyrus nur schwer erkennen konnte. Als der Sitzungsbericht für die Preuß. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Druck ging, glaubte ich festgestellt zu haben, daß immer drei Doppelblätter eine Heftlage bildeten — ein Trugschluß, den ich nunmehr dahin berichtigen muß, daß sechs Doppelblätter zu einer Heftlage gehören, die 24 Textseiten umfassen. Immerhin hatte ich durch diese erste Feststellung einen Weg gefunden — und glücklicherweise den richtigen —, der zum Ziele führte. Da noch sechs Blätter vorangingen, gab mir die Seitenzahl |ϴ die Erkenntnis, daß noch mindestens 9 Blätter vorhanden sein mußten, die die Seitenzahlen 1—18 trugen. Ein unscheinbarer Packen, den wahrscheinlich erst der Händler abgerissen hatte, um dem Ankauf einen weniger gefährlichen Anblick zu geben, löste dieses Rätsel und gab mir die fehlenden Blätter und dazu noch eine Anzahl leerer Blätter. Diese leeren Blätter am Anfang des Kephalaiabuches sind nicht etwa zufällig unbeschrieben geblieben, sondern sind ein Zeichen eines wirklichen Prunkbandes. Durch alle Jahrhunderte hindurch bis auf die heutige Zeit war es üblich, bei einem guten Buche vorn und hinten mehrere leere Blätter zum Schutze des Buchblockes anzubringen, und wer sich heute bei einem anerkannten Einbandkünstler einen guten Handeinband anfertigen läßt, wird diese Beobachtung noch machen können. Auch diesen Brauch scheint man von der Buchrolle übernommen zu haben, die stets vorn wie hinten einen sogenannten Schutzstreifen trug, der ein bis zwei Blattklebungen breit war.

Ein Titelblatt war vorn nicht zu entdecken, und obgleich die vorderen Blätter sehr gelitten hatten, war sicher keines verloren gegangen. Aber auch dies ist nicht verwunderlich, sondern Brauch bei allen älteren Kodizes. Hier wirkte die Buchrolle noch zu stark nach, und wie man dort den ausführlichen Titel stets an den Schluß setzte, damit dieser vor Beschädigungen geschützt blieb, tat man es bei den Kodizes ebenfalls. Am Anfang trugen die Buchrollen nur einen kurzen Titel, und bei den Kephalaia scheint dies ja in der Form geschehen zu sein, daß man auf den oberen Rand der ersten Seite den vollen Titel geschrieben hat, wie Prof. C. Schmidt in der Einleitung zur ersten Doppellieferung glaubhaft hervorhebt. Der Schluß des Kephalaiabuches ist leider verloren gegangen, so daß man also darauf verzichten muß, diese Frage geklärt zu sehen.

Ein weiteres Zeichen, daß wir es bei den Mani-Handschriften mit außerordentlich prächtigen Werken zu tun haben, gibt uns die Anordnung der Papyrusblätter innerhalb des Buchblockes. Wie man bei der Herstellung der Buchrolle von der frühesten Zeit an stets darauf achtete, daß die Papyrusfasern innerhalb der Rolle

immer die gleiche Richtung hatten, und die horizontalen Fasern hierbei stets innen zu liegen kamen, damit sie beim Öffnen der Rolle sich spannten und dadurch dem Auge ein gleichmäßiges Bild boten, so achtete man auch bei der Anfertigung der guten Papyruskodizes auf die Gleichmäßigkeit der Buchseiten[1]). Zu diesem Zwecke legte man immer die Doppelblätter so aufeinander, daß sich stets die vertikalen mit den vertikalen und die horizontalen mit den horizontalen Fasern berührten. Schlug man einen solchen Kodex später auf, so liefen auf beiden Seiten die Papyrusfasern gleichmäßig und gaben dem aufgeschlagenen Buche ein ruhiges vornehmes Aussehen. Auch beim guten Pergament-Kodex verfuhr man ebenso und legte hier stets die Fleischseite des Pergaments auf die Fleischseite und die Haarseite auf die Haarseite, weil beide Seiten erheblich voneinander im Aussehen abwichen.

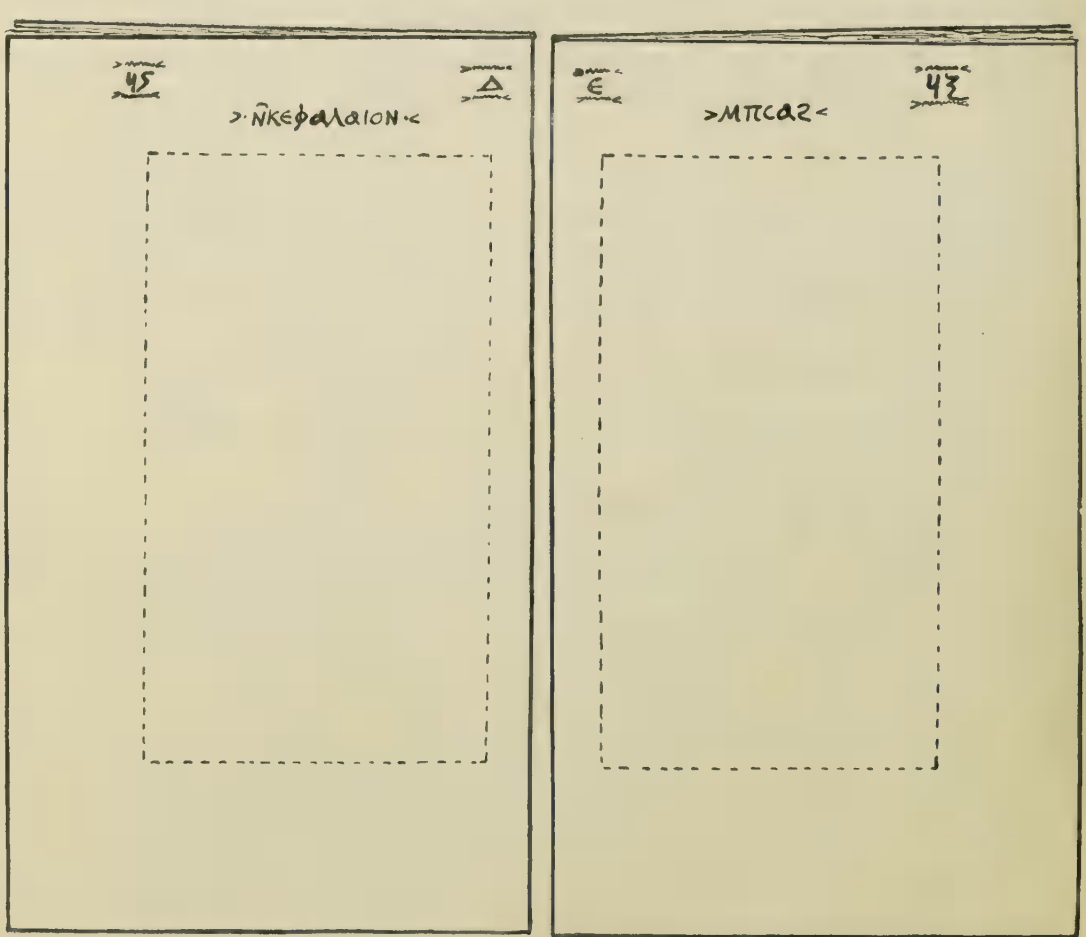
Mit derselben Sorgfalt, mit der der Buchkörper als solcher hergestellt wurde, verfuhr auch der Schreiber des Kephalaiakodex — wie überhaupt die Schreiber sämtlicher Manihandschriften — mit der Anordnung des Textes. Der Vornehmheit des Werkes angepaßt, füllte der Schriftspiegel nicht die ganze Seite eines Blattes, sondern ließ oben, vorn und unten einen respektvollen, breiten Rand stehen. So zeigen die vollständig erhaltenen Seiten der Kephalaia in einer Höhe von 31,5 cm und einer Breite von 18 cm einen Schriftspiegel von etwa 22 : 12 cm, der so angeordnet ist, daß am Rücken ein freier Raum von 2 cm, oben und vorn von 4—5 cm und unten von 5—6 cm verblieb. In dem oberen freien Raum steht in der Mitte der Haupttitel und in der äußeren oberen Ecke die Seitenzählung. Die Kapitelüberschriften im Text sind stets in sorgfältiger Weise in die Mitte gerückt. Diese Einfügung der Schriftkolumne mit den schönen, breiten Rändern oben, vorn und unten gibt den einzelnen Seiten ein vornehmes, gefälliges Aussehen und beweist uns, daß wir es mit Handschriften zu tun haben, die selbst im Altertum einen hohen Wert besessen haben müssen. (Vgl. d. Abb. am Schluß meiner Ausführungen.)

Zu diesen unbestreitbaren Vorzügen und Fortschritten gegenüber dem einlagigen Kodex, die das Kephalaiabuch uns zeigt, gesellt sich aber ein weiterer, wichtiger Fortschritt, wie er in so früher Zeit noch bei keinem Kodex nachgewiesen werden konnte. Es ist die Anwendung der Lagenzählung, die unserer Bogenzählung im modernen Buche entspricht. Als ich auf Seite 120 auf dem oberen Rand, rechts nahe am Rücken die Zahl $\overline{\underline{\varepsilon}}$ entdeckte, wußte ich zunächst nichts damit anzufangen, bis mir der Gedanke kam, ob es sich hier etwa um eine Lagenzählung handeln könne. Da Seite 120 den Schluß der fünften Lage bildete, untersuchte ich sofort sämtliche, in Frage kommenden Seiten und konnte nun einwandfrei feststellen, daß in den Kephalaia die Heftlagen tatsächlich bezeichnet waren. Jede Lage trug stets auf der ersten Seite, in gleicher Höhe mit der Seitenzahl,

1) Ibscher, Beobachtungen bei der Papyrusaufrollung. — Archiv für Papyrusforschung Band V, 1909, S. 191 ff.

aber nahe am Rückenbruch, die betreffende Lagenzahl und in derselben Aufmachung dieselbe Zahl auf der letzten Seite der Heftlage. So konnte ich bei den Blättern, wo die betreffenden Randstücke noch unbeschädigt waren, stets die Lagenzahl, oder wenigstens Spuren davon feststellen. Ganz klar zu sehen sind diese auf Seite 73—$\overline{\Delta}$, S. 96—$\overline{\Delta}$, S. 97—$\overline{\varepsilon}$, S. 120—$\overline{\varepsilon}$, S. 144—$\overline{\zeta}$, S. 145—$\overline{\zeta}$, S. 193—$\overline{\vartheta}$, S. 216—$\overline{\vartheta}$, und S. 217—$\overline{\imath}$.

Als beachtenswerten Fortschritt gegenüber den Kodizes aus dem 1. bis Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. können wir also zusammenfassend bei dem Manichäischen Kephalaiabuch feststellen: 1. Das Papyrusmaterial wurde nicht aus einer Papyrusrolle geschnitten, sondern für diesen Zweck eigens in passender Größe hergestellt. 2. An Stelle einer starken Lage besteht der Buchblock aus Heftlagen von 6 Doppelblättern = 24 Textseiten. 3. Sämtliche Seiten tragen in der rechten Ecke eine Seitenzahl. 4. Jede Heftlage trägt im oberen Rand in gleicher Höhe der Seitenzahl eine besondere Bogen- oder Lagenzahl. 5. Zwischen beiden Zahlen trägt jede Seite in gleicher Höhe einen kurzen Titel.



Der Inhalt.

Von Alexander Böhlig.

Seite

Einleitung . . . . . 1— 9

Darstellung des Mythos — Die drei Worte (?) — Manis Schriften — Verhältnis zu Jesus, Zarathustra, Buddha — Anweisung zur Sammlung der Kephalaia

Kap. I: Über das Kommen des Apostels . . . . . 9—16

Saat und Ernte der Apostel — Apostel von Sethel bis Zarathustra — Sendung, Offenbarung, Leiden und Erhöhung Jesu — Paulus der Apostel der Kirche Christi — Abirrung vom schmalen Weg trotz neuer Apostel (Markion? Bardesanes?) — Mani, der Paraklet, als Retter der Kirche — Sein Leben und seine Lehre

Kap. II: Das zweite (Kapitel) über das Gleichnis vom Baume . . . 16—23

Ausgangspunkt das Gleichnis Luc. 6, 43 f. — Gegenüberstellung des guten und des schlechten Baumes anders als bei den Sekten — Früchte des guten Baumes: Jesus; ihr Geschmack: die Kirche — Früchte des schlechten Baumes: die Archontenschaft ??; ihr Geschmack: die bösen Sekten — Fünf Glieder an jedem der zwei Bäume:

Glieder:	Guter Baum:	Schlechter Baum:
Überlegung	heilige Kirche	Gesetz des Todes
Sinnen	Säule der Herrlichkeit, der vollkommene Mann	Seelenwanderung
Einsicht	Urmensch (im Mond)	Feueröfen in der Hölle
Denken	dritter Gesandter (in der Sonne)	?
Νοῦς	Vater der Größe	?

Kap. III: Die Deutung der Glückseligkeit, der Weisheit und der Kraft, was sie bedeuten . . . . . 23—25

1. Es geht nicht um die Glückseligkeit, Weisheit und Kraft dieser Welt, sondern durch Gleichsetzung mit mythologischen Gestalten wird ihre Bedeutung aufgezeigt. Vgl. das folgende Schema

2.

Glückseligkeit	Weisheit	Kraft
Vater, der Gott der Wahrheit	großer Geist	Äonen
Lebendiger Geist	Mutter des Lebens	Götter und Engel im Sonnenschiff
? der Νοῦς des Vaters	Jungfrau des Lichtes	Götter und Engel im Mondschiff
Säule der Herrlichkeit	fünf Söhne des Lebendigen Geistes	fünf Söhne des Urmenschen
Apostel des Lichtes in der Kirche	Ἀρχηγοί und Lehrer	Glieder der Kirche

Seite

Kap. IV: Über die vier großen Tage, die auseinander hervorgekommen sind, sowie die vier Nächte . . . . . 25—27

Licht und Finsternis wird im Bild von den vier Tagen und vier Nächten gegenübergestellt. Jeder Tag hat zwölf Stunden, jede Nacht zwölf Schatten

Tage:	Nächte:
1. der Vater, der Gott der Wahrheit = zwölf große, reiche Götter der Größe	1. das Land der Finsternis = fünf finstere Elemente, fünf finstere Geister, + ?
2. der dritte Gesandte = zwölf Jungfrauen	2. ὕλη = fünf männliche αἰσθητήρια, fünf weibliche αἰσθητήρια, Feuer und Lust
3. Säule der Herrlichkeit = fünf Söhne des Urmenschen, fünf Söhne des Lebendigen Geistes, Ruf und Hören	3. die fünf Welten des Fleisches = fünf männliche σάρκες, fünf weibliche σάρκες, Trockenes und Feuchtes bzw. Feuer und Lust
4. Jesus, der Glanz = zwölf Weisheiten	4. das Gesetz der Sünde = zwölf böse Geister

Kap. V: Über vier Jäger des Lichtes und vier der Finsternis . . . . 28—30

Die Aktivität der beiden Reiche kommt in dem Abschnitt über die vier Jäger des Lichtes und der Finsternis zum Ausdruck. Jeder Jäger (sinngemäß eigentlich Fischer) hat sein Schiff, sein Netz und sein Meer

Licht:
1. Urmensch
vier Söhne
? + seine Kräfte
Land der Finsternis
2. der dritte Gesandte
Lichtschiff
Lichterscheinung
Welt (?)
3. Jesus der Glanz
Heilige Kirche
Weisheit
Irrglaube der Welt
4. Der große Gedanke
Licht-Wolke (?)
sein lebendiger Geist
Licht und Leben

Finsternis:
1. König des Finsternisreiches [1])
Feuer und Begierde
Lebendige Seele
2. der böse Sinn
?
?
3. Begierde
?
Lebendige Seelen
4. Geist der Finsternis
Irrlehre
Seelen der Menschen

1) Hier fehlt Nennung von Schiff und Meer. Man begnügt sich mit Netz und Angabe des gejagten Gegenstandes.

Seite

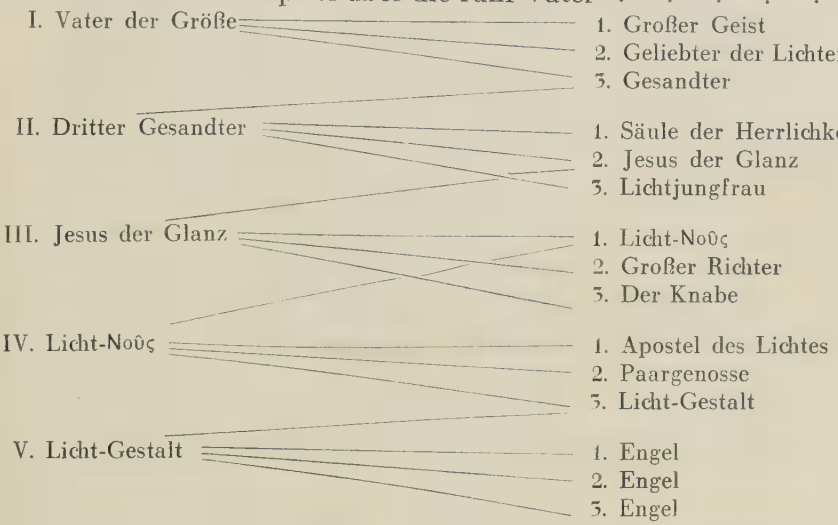
Kap. VI: Über die fünf ταμιεῖα, die gesprudelt sind aus dem Lande der Finsternis seit Urbeginn, die fünf Archonten, die fünf Geister, die fünf Körper, die fünf Geschmäcke . . . . . 30—34

Die fünf finsteren Welten:

1. Die Welt des Rauches
2. Die Welt des Feuers
3. Die Welt des Windes
4. Die Welt des Wassers
5. Die Welt der Finsternis

Zwischen der Welt des Rauches und der des Feuers ist eine zweite ziemlich ausführliche Beschreibung des Königs der Finsternis eingefügt [1])

Kap. VII: Das siebente Kapitel über die fünf Väter . . . . . 34—36



Kap. VIII: Über die vierzehn Fahrzeuge, die Jesus bestiegen hat . . 36—37

I. Zehn Fahrzeuge in der ζώνη
1. Lichtschiff des Gesandten
2. Schiff des Urmenschen
3. Säule der Herrlichkeit
4. Ruf
5. Hören
6. Lebendige Luft
7. Lebendiger wehender Wind
8. Leuchtendes Licht
9. Lebendiges Wasser
10. Lebendiges Feuer

II. Vier Fahrzeuge der heiligen Kirche
1. Die heiligen Brüder
2. Die reinen Schwestern
3. Die Katechumenen
4. Die Katechumeninnen

Kap. IX: Die Deutung des Friedensgrußes, was er ist, die Rechte, der Kuß, die Verehrung [2]) . . . . . 37—42

Diese Gruß- und Kultformen werden auf Handlungen zurückgeführt, die im Mythos begegnen:

1) Vgl. A. Böhlig, Eine Bemerkung zur Beurteilung der Kephalaia, ZNW. 37 S. 13—19.
2) In der Überschrift fehlt die „Handauflegung".

Seite

1. Beim Auszug des Urmenschen
2. Bei seinem Wiederaufstieg

Fernerhin kommt

3. Der Licht-Noûς in diesen Formen
4. Am Lebensende finden sich solche Formen

Kap. X: Über die Deutung der vierzehn großen Äonen, über die Sethel in seinem Gebet gesprochen hat . . . . . 42—43

fünf Elemente
+ Ruf
+ Hören
+ fünf Söhne des Lebendigen Geistes
+ Lebendiger Geist
+ Urmensch

Summa vierzehn

Kap. XI: Über die Deutung aller Väter des Lichtes, die voneinander verschieden sind . . . . . 43—44

Der große Vater
Mutter des Lebens
Dritter Gesandter
Geliebter der Lichter
Urmensch
Lebendiger Geist
Großer Baumeister
Säule der Herrlichkeit (?)
Jesus der Glanz (?)
Jungfrau des Lichtes
Licht-Noûς

Der Anfang aller guten Gnadengaben
Der Anfang alles Segens und aller Bitten
Der Anfang aller guten Ratschläge
Der Anfang . . . . und aller Ehre (?)
Der Anfang aller Jäger und Waidmänner
Der Anfang aller Kämpfer
Der Anfang aller Architekten und Baumeister
Der erste aller Ωμοφόροι der Größe
Der Anfang aller Erlöser
Der Anfang aller Weisheiten der Wahrheit
Der Anfang aller Großen

Kap. XII: Über die Deutung der fünf Worte, welche ausgesprochen werden . . . . . in der Welt . . . . . 44—45

Aus dem völlig zerstörten Zustand läßt sich nur feststellen, daß es sich um Auseinandersetzungen mit der Sekte der Täufer bzw. der Καθάριοι handelt

Kap. XIII: Über die fünf totenerweckenden Heilande sowie die fünf Auferstehungen . . . . . 45—46

Der stark zerstörte Text läßt einwandfrei nur den vierten Totenerwecker, den Licht-Noûς, erkennen

Kap. XIV: Die Deutung des Schweigens, des Fastens, des Friedens, des Tages und der Ruhe, was sie sind . . . . . 46—47

Inhalt kann nicht wiedergegeben werden, da der Text völlig zerstört ist

Kap. XV: Überschrift fast ganz zerstört . . . . . 47—49

Offenbar werden die Beziehungen des Finsternisreiches zur Welt mit Hilfe eines Fünfer-Schemas, später mit Rücksicht auf den Zodiakus mit Hilfe eines Zwölfer-Schemas auseinandergesetzt

Kap. XVI: Über die fünf Größen, welche herausgekommen sind gegen die Finsternis . . . . . 49—55

Die fünf Größen werden in zwei Übersichten geboten, deren innerer Zusammenhang infolge Zerstörung des Textes nicht klar erkennbar ist

Seite

I. 1. Vater der Größe
+ zwölf Äonen
2. Mutter des Lebens
+ Urmensch
+ fünf Söhne
3. Geliebter der Lichter
+ Großer Baumeister
+ Lebendiger Geist
+ fünf Söhne
4. Dritter Gesandter
+ Säule der Herrlichkeit
+ alle erschienenen Lichtkräfte
5. Jesus der Glanz
+ Emanationen

II. 1. Urmensch als Verteidiger des Lichtreiches
2. Lebendiger Geist als Richter über das Reich der Finsternis
3. Dritter Gesandter als Revisor des Kosmos
4. Jesus der Glanz als Gründer des Lebensbaumes
5. Letzte Statue als Vollenderin der Ausläuterung

Kap. XVII: Das Kapitel von den drei Zeiten . . . . . 55—57

1. Vom Hinuntergehen des Urmenschen bis zu seinem Heraufkommen
2. Die Einrichtung der Welt durch den Lebendigen Geist und die Mutter des Lebens
3. Von der Zeit des dritten Gesandten bis zum Aufstieg der letzten Statue

Da die drei Zeiten verschieden lang sind, erhalten die Jünger auch über diese Frage Auskunft. Am kürzesten ist die zweite, länger schon die dritte, alle übertrifft die erste Zeit

Kap. XVIII: Über die fünf Kriege, welche die Söhne des Lichts führten wider die Söhne der Finsternis . . . . . 58—60

Der erste Krieg ist der des Urmenschen
Der zweite Krieg ist der des Lebendigen Geistes
Der dritte Krieg ist der des dritten Gesandten
Der vierte Krieg ist der Jesu des Ruhmreichen
Der fünfte Krieg ist der des Gedankens des Lebens (?)

Kap. XIX: Über die fünf Entweichungen, welche es sind . . . . 60—63

1. Die Entweichung des Urmenschen
2. Die Entweichung des Lebendigen Geistes
3. Die Entweichung des dritten Gesandten
4. Die Entweichung Jesu des Glanzes
5. Die Entweichung des Großen Gedankens

Von Seite 62 ab sehr stark zerstört

Kap. XX: Das Kapitel vom Namen der Väter . . . . . 63—64

In diesem Abschnitt liegt eine Übersicht vor über „Väter der Größe"

Vater	Größe
1. Der Vater	Seine große Erde
2. dritter Gesandter	Lichtschiff des lebendigen Feuers
3. Jesus der Glanz	Schiff der lebendigen Wasser
4. Säule der Herrlichkeit	fünf Götter (?)
5. Licht-Noûς	heilige Kirche

Seite

Kap. XXI: Über den Vater der Größe, wie er befestigt und geordnet ist . 64—65

Er befindet sich in seinen fünf Lichtgliedern (Νοῦς, Denken, Einsicht, Gedanke, Überlegung) und seinen zwölf Lichtgliedern (= zwölf Weisheiten) [1])

Kap. XXII: Überschrift und Text lassen keine Inhaltsangabe zu . . 65—66

Kap. XXIII: Die Überschrift lautete wohl: „Der Kampf der Finsternis gegen das Licht." Der Urmensch wehrt dem Archon der Finsternis 66—69

Kap. XXIV: (Über die Zeit, die die einzelnen Väter seit ihrer Berufung verbringen) . . . . . 70—76

Der ebenso wie die Überschrift außergewöhnlich zerstörte Text läßt keine übersichtliche Darstellung des Inhalts zu
Das Kapitel behandelt offenbar eine Darstellung des Mythus unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Zeitabfolgen

Kap. XXV: Über das Herausgehn der fünf Väter aus den fünf Gliedern des Vaters 76

1. Dritter Gesandter — Νοῦς
2. Geliebter der Lichter — Denken
3. Mutter des Lebens — Einsicht
4. Jesus (?) der Geliebte — Gedanke
5. Lichtjungfrau — Überlegung

Kap. XXVI: Über den Urmenschen und den Gesandten und das Schiff: wem sie ähnlich sind . . . . . 76—77

1. Der Urmensch = ein Mann, der seinem verlorenen Vermögen nachjagt
   = ein Mann, der seine zwei Söhne zu retten sucht
2. Schiff des Tages = ?
3. Der Gesandte = ein Mann, der um sein Vermögen besorgt ist

Kap. XXVII: Über die fünf Gestalten, die sich an den Archonten [2]) der Finsternis befinden . . . . . 77—79

a) Aussehen:
   1. Kopf mit Löwengesicht — Welt des Feuers
   2. Flügel und Schultern mit Adlergesicht — Welt des Windes
   3. Hände und Füße Dämonen — Welt des Rauches
   4. Bauch Drache — Welt der Finsternis
   5. Schwanz Fisch — Welt des Wassers
b) Bewegungsmöglichkeiten dem entsprechend
c) Besondere Fähigkeiten
   Zauberkräfte — Unverletzbarkeit seines Körpers — Wandlungsfähigkeit — Fähigkeit bzw. Unfähigkeit, seine Umgebung zu durchschauen

Kap. XXVIII: Über die zwölf Richter des Vaters . . . . . 79—81

Entsandt aus dem Vater der Größe:
1. Der Urmensch
2. Der Lebendige Geist
3. Die Mutter des Lebens
4. Der große Baumeister

1) die infolge des verderbten Textes größtenteils nicht zu bestimmen sind.
2) Lies Singular.

Seite

5. Der große König der Ehre
6. Der dritte Gesandte
7. ?
8. Jesus der Glanz
9. Die Jungfrau des Lichts
10. Der Richter im ἀήρ
11. Der Licht-Νοῦς
12. Der große Gedanke

Kap. XXIX: Über die achtzehn großen Throne der Väter . . . . 81—83
1. Die neun Throne der Ehre, die sich in den äußeren Äonen für die ruhmreichen Väter befinden in dem Reiche des Königs der Ehre in alle Ewigkeit
2. Die neun Throne in dieser Welt der ζώνη
Auf ihnen:

ad. 1)		ad. 2)		
1.	Vater der Größe	1.	Dritter Gesandter	Schiff des Tages
2.	Mutter des Lebens	2.	Großer Geist	
3.	Urmensch	3.	Lebendiger Geist	
4.	Geliebter der Lichter	4.	Jesus der Glanz	Schiff der Nacht
5.	Großer Baumeister	5.	Urmensch	
6.	Lebendiger Geist	6.	Lichtjungfrau	
7.	Dritter Gesandter	7.	Großer König der Ehre	
8.	Jesus der Glanz	8.	Richter der Wahrheit	
9.	Licht-Νοῦς	9.	Apostel	

Kap. XXX: Über die drei Kleider . . . . . 83—84
Der Lebendige Geist zieht die Kleider des Windes, Wassers und Feuers an und aus

Kap. XXXI: Über den Ruf: in welchem Glied der Seele er hinabgestiegen ist zum Urmenschen . . . . . 84—85
Der Ruf steigt mit den fünf Seelengliedern: Νοῦς, Denken, Einsicht, Sinnen und Überlegung zu dem in der Gewalt der Hyle befindlichen Urmenschen herab
Er gibt dem Urmenschen so die Möglichkeit zur Antwort und zur Befreiung

Kap. XXXII: Über die sieben Werke des Lebendigen Geistes . . . . . 85—86
1. Rettung des Urmenschen
2. Kreuzigung des Feindes
3. Unterwerfung der Wesenheiten des Todes
4. Errichtung der Lichtschiffe
5. Berufung und Einsetzung seiner fünf Söhne, der drei lebendigen Worte und des Rufes
6. Besetzung der ζώνη in ihrem Umkreis
7. Aufholung der Letzten Statue zu den Äonen des Lichtes

Kap. XXXIII: Über die fünf Dinge, die er errichtet hat in den harten Körpern der Archonten 86
1. Die Scheibe auf der Schulter des Ωμοφόρος
2. Die Wölbungen der Säule vor ihm
3. Das πλάσμα der Höllen
4. Die sieben (?) Säulen im großen Meer in den sieben Teilen der Welt
5. Die vier Mauern um die Fahrzeuge

Kap. XXXIV: Über die zehn Werke, die der Gesandte begonnen hat bei seinem Kommen . . . . . 86—87
1. Bau des neuen Äons durch den großen Baumeister

Seite

2. Fahrt der Himmelsschiffe
3. Antrieb der Läuterungsräder
4. ?
5. Öffnung der Schiffe (?)
6. Öffnung der Tore für Aufnahme des Bodensatzes
7. Die Trennung der Sünde von den Archonten
8. Trennung von Tag und Nacht
9. Ausscheidung der Fehlgeburten
10. Beginn der Seelenwanderungen in der ζώνη

Kap. XXXV: Über die vier Werke des Gesandten 87

1. Enthüllung seiner Erscheinung
2. Öffnung und Schließung der Himmelstore vor und hinter ihm
3. Ausläuterung von Licht
4. Erscheinung in vollkommener Menschengestalt

Kap. XXXVI: Über das Rad, das sich vor dem König der Ehre befindet . 87—88

1. Es steht in seinem Dienst
2. Alles steht in Verbindung mit dem Rad
3. Es wirkt wie ein Spiegel. Alles ist an ihm erkennbar
4. Es handelt sich um den Zodiakus

Kap. XXXVII: Über die drei ζῶναι 89

Bei der Errichtung der Welt hat der Lebendige Geist drei ζῶναι ineinandergehängt

1. fünf Finsterniskräfte
2. fünf Lichtkräfte
3. fünf Söhne des Lebendigen Geistes

Kap. XXXVIII: Über den Licht-Noûς und die Apostel und die Heiligen . 89—102

I. Fragen an Mani:
   1. Wo ist der Licht-Noûς?
   2. Wie kann sich ein großer Gott im kleinen Körper zeigen?
   3. Wie verträgt sich seine Reinheit mit der Unreinheit des Körpers?
   4. Warum ist er nicht zu sehen, wenn er sich in den Heiligen befindet?
   5. Warum wird der Apostel in der Welt bedrückt?

II. Antwort Manis:
   1. Für den Kosmos, der ausführlich nach dem Bilde eines Menschen gezeichnet wird, sind fünf Götter als Wächter gesetzt:
      a) Noûς — Φεγγοκάτοχος
      b) Denken — Großer König der Ehre
      c) Einsicht — Lichtadamas
      d) Sinnen — König der Herrlichkeit
      e) Überlegung — Ωιοφόρος

      Der Gesandte läutert fünf νοεραί des Lebens aus ihnen aus. Dadurch, daß auf beiden Seiten je einer (Ruf und Hören) dazu kommt, erhöht sich die Zahl auf sechs. In ihnen wirkt als großer Noûς die Säule der Herrlichkeit. Auch Jesus das Kind ist in ihnen vorhanden
   2. Wie mit dem kosmischen Körper, so steht es auch mit dem menschlichen Körper. Sünde und Licht-Noûς, Alter und Neuer Mensch ringen miteinander. Der Körper ist aus den fünf Körpern der Finsternis hergestellt, während seine Seele von den fünf Lichten Göttern genommen ist:

Seite

Νοῦς gefesselt in dem Knochen
Denken gefesselt in der Sehne
Einsicht gefesselt in der Ader
Sinnen gefesselt in dem Fleisch
Überlegung gefesselt in der Haut

Der Licht-Νοῦς erlöst die Seelenglieder und bildet den Neuen Menschen, den Sohn der Gerechtigkeit, der herrscht in
Liebe
Glaube
Vollkommenheit
Geduld
Weisheit

3. Der Licht-Νοῦς ist nicht befleckt, ebensowenig wie die Götter in der ζώνη
4. Der Licht-Νοῦς erscheint nur dem offenen und schauenden Auge. Sonst ist er in den Heiligen ebensowenig sichtbar wie die Wächter der ζώνη
5. Mani hat diese Lehre verkündigt:
a) er hat die Menschheit dafür gewonnen
b) die Großen vermochten nichts gegen ihn
c) er ist der Bringer der Freiheit
d) er bekleidet mit der Rüstung der Weisheit
e) er hat die Kirche der Erwählten geschaffen und alle Apostel — mit Ausnahme des Vaters aller Apostel, Jesu, des Sohnes der Größe — bei weitem übertroffen

Kap. XXXIX: Über die drei Tage und die zwei Tode . . . . . 102—104

1. Tag = Zeit vom Herabsteigen des Urmenschen bis zum Aufsteigen der Letzten Statue
2. Tag = Zeit, da die Väter des Lichts im Neuen Äon herrschen
3. Tag = Zeit, da der Vater sich ihnen offenbart

1. Tod = Zeit der Vermischung (zeitlich)
2. Tod = der Tod der Sünder (ewig)

Kap. XL: Über die drei Dinge, die errichtet wurden im Licht . . . 104—105

1. die neue Lichterde
2. ?
3. die Seelen der verurteilten Sünder

Kap. XLI: Über die drei Schläge, die den Feind trafen wegen des Lichtes 105—106

1. Trennung vom Finsternisland
2. Ausschmelzung im großen Feuer
3. Endzeit (in ihr wird die Finsternis durch Trennung des Männlichen vom Weiblichen unfruchtbar gemacht)

Am Ende Ermahnungen

Kap. XLII: Über die drei Fahrzeuge . . . . . 106—111

1. Das Fahrzeug des Wassers
2. Das Fahrzeug der Finsternis
3. Das Fahrzeug des Feuers

Heilung durch den Lebendigen Geist mit Hilfe der Kleider des Windes, Wassers und Feuers

Vorteil für zwölf große Werke:
1. Zur Unterbindung der Schlechtigkeit
2. ?
3. ?
4. Zur Läuterung ihrer (?) Wohnorte
5. Zur Läuterung der Schiffe

Seite

6. Zur Läuterung der Ruhe in den oberen Tempeln
7. ?
8. Zur Einzäunung aller Dinge
9. Zur Auflösung der Welt (?)
10. Zur Lösung und Reinigung aller Dinge am Ende
11. Zur ? des Ortes ewiger Freude
12. Zum Verbergen der Werke des Schadens vor den Äonen des Lichtes

Kap. XLIII: Über die drei Fahrzeuge . . . . . 111—113

Der Vater des Lebens hat sie zuerst auf die Erde geworfen, von dort in die drei Gruben

Reste: Wasser — Salz
Finsternis — Finsternisberg
Feuer — Vulkanisches Feuer

Sie sind nicht sofort in die Gruben gegossen worden, damit die Fahrzeuge auf der Erde sich mit denen von oben vereinigen

Kap. XLIV: Über den Meeresriesen . . . . . 113—115

Wie die Fahrzeuge aus den Firmamenten abgeschieden sind, so der „Meeresriese" aus der σφαῖρα. Er ist der aus dem Rad der Sterne ausgeschiedene Rest. Seine ἐνθύμησις gestaltet ihn im Meer

Zweck:

1. Erleichterung der σφαῖρα
2. Verwurzelung der σφαῖρα
3. Bewegung des Meeres und seines Inhaltes durch ihn

Kap. XLV: Über die Fahrzeuge . . . . . 116—117

Schema: Bevor dies und jenes getan wurde, war bereits etwas anderes dafür eingerichtet worden

1. Fahrzeuge	dafür Gräben
2. Meeresriese	dafür Ort innerhalb der Mauern
3. böse ἐνθύμησις	dafür Ort unterhalb der vier Berge
4. Bodensatz	dafür Höllen
5. Rebellen	dafür sieben πανδοχεῖα
6. Aborte (Fehlgeburten)	dafür ?
7. ἐγρήγοροι	dafür Gewahrsam
8. Giganten	dafür sechsunddreißig Städte

Kap. XLVI: Über den Gesandten . . . . . 117—118

Das gleiche Schema wie in Kapitel XLV

1. Trennung von Tag und Nacht	dafür dritter Gesandter
2. Lichtbefreiung	dafür Lichtschiffe
3. Ausbreitung der Sünde und ihre Folgen	dafür Richter
4. Auftreten der Irrlehre	dafür Christus
5. Menschenschicksale	dafür Gestirne
6. Weltende	dafür Weltauflöser
7. Neuer Äon	dafür Großer Baumeister und seine Engel

Kap. XLVII: Über die vier großen Dinge . . . . . 118—120

Archontenschaft in vier Teile geteilt:

1. die Mächte in den 10 Firmamenten
2. die acht Erden
3. die vier Berge und drei Fahrzeuge
4. σφαῖρα der Sterne

Zweckmäßigkeit des Sternenrades

Seite

Kap. XLVIII: Über die *lihme* . . . . . 120—124

Feinste Verbindungen im All:

1. zwischen Himmel und Erde
2. zwischen himmlischen Wohnorten und den fünf Arten von Bäumen auf der Erde
3. zwischen himmlischen Mächten und den fünf Fleischeswelten
4. besteht eine Verbindung zwischen dem Rad der Sterne und dem Meeresriesen

Zweck der *lihme:* Austausch bzw. Trennung von lichten und finsteren Elementen im All

Kap. XLIX: Über das Rad (und die *lihme?*) 125

Der Meister hat das Problem zu klären, wieso die *lihme* sich nicht ins Rad verwickeln, bzw. das Rad die *lihme* zerschneidet. Sie sind pneumatisch

Kap. L: Über diesen Namen: Götter, „Reiche" und Engel, welche es sind 125—126

1. Götter = die der Vater aus sich berufen hat
   „Reiche" = die aus den ersten Göttern Berufenen
   Engel = die von den „Reichen" Berufenen
2. Götter = die Emanationen aus dem Vater
   „Reiche" = Berufungen dieses ersten lebendigen Wortes
   Engel = Berufungen der „Reichen".

Kap. LI: Über den Urmenschen . . . . . 126—127

Der Urmensch setzt im Kampf gegen die Finsternis alle fünf Elemente ein, obwohl eines, das Feuer, schon genügt hätte. Selbst der unverwundbare ἀήρ hat seine eigene Kraft den Brüdern zu Hilfe gesandt, um sie zu entlasten. Dieser gemeinsame Einsatz behütet vor zu starker Vergiftung durch Finsternis

Kap. LII: Über die . . . . des Lichtes . . . . . 127—129

Das Lichtreich ist unbesiegbar, die Hyle nicht, weil uneins (Matth. 12, 25). Nur Einigkeit macht unüberwindlich

Kap. LIII: Über den Urmenschen . . . . . 129—131

Urmensch erjagt die Hyle. Als er wieder heraufkommt, bringt der Lebendige Geist die Bewohner der ταμιεῖα mit und nimmt ihnen dadurch die Lebenskraft

Kap. LIV: Über die ἀρετή der Kleider . . . . . 131—133

Besprechung der Welteinrichtung. Ihre zweckmäßige Gestaltung durch den Lebendigen Geist

Kap. LV: Über die Bildung Adams . . . . . 133—137

Frage einiger Jünger, ob die Menschenbildung im Einverständnis mit Gott erfolgt sei — Ablehnung solcher Vermutung durch den Meister — Die Erschaffung Adams und Evas durch die Archonten, die durch die Erscheinung des dritten Gesandten Wesen nach seinem Bilde schufen — Das Siegel des Bildes des Gesandten auch in zahlreicher Gottheit, Mächten und Engeln — Abweichend in der Art der Erzeugung ist die Entstehung

1. des Meeresriesen
2. der Natur, die ins Meer fiel
3. der Natur, die aufs Trockene fiel

Kap. LVI: Über Σακλᾶς und seine Mächte . . . . . 137—144

Adam und Eva durch die Kraft der Sünde gebildet — Diese auf die Erde gefallen und durch die Früchte des Baumes in die Archonten eingegangen — Die innere Organisation des Menschen: Auge, Ohr, Geruchsorgan, Geschmack,

Seite

Tastgefühl — Über diesen Organen steht das Herz — Wegnahme der Vollmacht des Bösen und Hinwendung zum Guten durch den Licht-Noûς — Der Heilige Geist Herrscher

Kap. LVII: Über die Erzeugung Adams . . . . . 144—147

Das Lebensalter der Menschen ist immer kürzer geworden
Die Verkürzung der Lebenszeit hängt von fünf Machthabern in der σφαῖρα ab (Jahr, Monat, Tag, Stunde, Augenblick)
Infolge zunehmender Ausläuterung des Lichtes naht das Weltende
Die Vielzahl von Kindern bei einer Geburt verschwindet mehr und mehr
Die Geborenen sind an Leib und Seele schwach und häßlich

Kap. LVIII: Die vier Mächte, die betrübt werden [1]) . . . . . 147—148

1. Mutter des Lebens, traurig um ihre Söhne
2. Urmensch, traurig um seine fünf Söhne
3. Mani, traurig über Trübsale der Kirche

Kap. LIX: Das Kapitel der Elemente, die weinten . . . . . 148—151

1. Weinen, als sie den Feind erblickten
2. Weinen, als der Urmensch sie zurückließ
3. Weinen, als der Lebendige Geist die drei Kleider der Stärke auszog
4. Weinen, wenn die Säule sich am Ende erheben wird um der Verdammten willen

Kap. LX: Über die vier Väter, worin sie einander gleichen [2]) . . . 151—152

Mikrokosmos	Makrokosmos
Lehre des Körpers	Vater, Gott der Wahrheit
zwei Augen	zwei Lichtschiffe
Körper des Fleisches	Lebendige Seele
Zunge	Jesus der Glanz

Kap. LXI: Über das Kleid der Wasser, wie weit sein Ausmaß ist . . 152—155

Bei einer Überschwemmung des Tigris wird Mani nach den Gründen gefragt. Die Begründung erfolgt mythologisch. Das Ausmaß des Wassers wird auf den Kampf des Urmenschen zurückgeführt

Kap. LXII: Über die drei Felsen 155

1. Säule der Herrlichkeit, der vollkommene Mann. Erstling aller Lastträger
2. Neue Lichterde, Überwinderin des Todes
3. das große Denken (das unerschütterliche Vermächtnis Jesu an die Kirche)

Kap. LXIII: Über die Liebe . . . . . 155—156

a) Liebe = 1. Vater der Größe
2. Noûς (bzw. Apostel)

b) Haß ist der erste Tod
Er stammt aus dem Lande der Finsternis und wirkt überall Verderben und Tod

Kap. LXIV: Über Adam . . . . . 157—158

a) Drei Dinge an ihm:
1. Das Bild des Erhabenen auf ihm
2. Aus den Lichtelementen gebildet — Noûς in ihm —
3. Das Siegel der ganzen Welt auf ihm

1) Im Kapitel werden aber nur drei Mächte aufgeführt.
2) Überschrift ist zu übersetzen: Über die vier Väter, wem sie gleichen.

Seite

b) Sieben Werke:
1. φωστήρ in der Schöpfung
2. Er soll dazu dienen, das Licht zurückzuhalten
3. Er hat mehr Respekt zu genießen
4. Er ist ein Typ für neue Geschöpfe
5. Durch ihn soll das All offenbar werden
6. Ein Schutz für die Archonten
7. Haupt aller Geschöpfe

Kap. LXV: Über die Sonne . . . . . 158—164

Bei Sonnenaufgang unterrichtet der Apostel über die Sonne als Tor des Lebens
Der Satan bekämpft die Verehrung der Sonne

A. Es erkennen die Menschen ihre sieben Wohltaten nicht:
1. das Licht
2. die Ruhe und den Frieden
3. das Wächteramt
4. die Kraft, den Geschmack und Geruch der Pflanzen
5. die Vertreibung der wilden Tiere
6. die heilende Kraft für die Menschen
7. die Enthüllung des Glanzes der Äonen

Ihnen stehen gegenüber sieben Übeltaten der Nacht:
1. die Finsternis
2. der Schrecken
3. die Rebellion der Geschöpfe
4. der todähnliche Schlaf
5. die alles verbergende Häßlichkeit
6. das Aufwachen aller bösen Triebe
7. die Offenbarung des Wesens der Finsternis

B. Fünf Typen in der Sonne werden gezeigt:
1. Licht
2. Schönheit
3. Friede
4. Leben der Lebendigen Seele
5. Kraft für die Elemente — Geruch und Geschmack für das Lichtkreuz

C. Entsprechend der einzigartigen Stellung des Vaters der Größe werden drei Typen genannt:
1. die ständige Füllung der Scheibe
2. Einzigartigkeit ihres Lichtes in der Welt
3. ihre besondere Höhe über dem All

Mysterien des Tages und der Nacht nicht von den Sekten, wohl aber Manis Jüngern erkannt

Kap. LXVI: Über den Gesandten . . . . . 164—165

Zwei Mysterien in der Sonne:
1. Wenn die Geschöpfe bei Sonnenaufgang herauskommen, um das Licht-Kreuz zu zerstören, so entspricht das der Art, wie die Söhne der Finsternis die Söhne des Urmenschen angreifen
2. Der Sonnenuntergang entspricht dem Weltuntergang, der zur Buße aufruft

Kap. LXVII: Über den Φωστήρ . . . . . 165—166

Mani die Sonne — die Strahlen die Jünger — ihre Aussendung in die Welt — ihre Rückkehr zu Mani

Kap. LXVIII: Über das Feuer 166

Beschreibung des praktischen Nutzens des Feuers an fünf Beispielen

Seite

Kap. LXIX: Über die zwölf ζῴδια und die fünf Sterne[1] . . . . . 166—169

1. Die zwölf ζῴδια und die fünf Sterne sind ihrem Wesen nach Archonten, gegeneinander Widersacher, haben aber einen Aufseher (ἐπίτροπος), einen Forderer (ἀπαιτητής) über sich
2. Je zwei oder drei ζῴδια gehören zur Welt des Rauches, des Feuers, des Windes, des Wassers und der Finsternis. Zu diesen fünf Welten gehören auch die fünf Sterne. Hinzugerechnet werden die zwei ἀναβιβάζοντες, dagegen nicht Sonne und Mond, so daß diese sieben die Übeltäter in jeder Schöpfung sind
3. Diese ζῴδια, die an die kreisende σφαῖρα angeheftet sind, sind auf vier Seiten, drei für jede Ecke verteilt
4. Das Eingreifen der Aufseher in die einzelnen ζῴδια-Gruppen beeinträchtigt das Leben der Pflanzen-, Tier- und Menschenwelt

Kap. LXX: Über den Körper, daß er entsprechend dem Bilde des Kosmos eingerichtet ist . . . . . 170—175

1. Der Kosmos entspricht dem Bild des Körpers des Menschen
2. Der Körper des Elektus wird zum Gleichnis für die fünf Lager, die sich in der ζώνη befinden und über die die fünf Söhne des Lebendigen Geistes herrschen. Seine Weisheit entspricht der Jungfrau des Lichtes, seine Liebe und Freude, sein Glaube und seine Wahrheit den zwei Lichtfahrzeugen. Er gebietet über alle Rebellion
3. Der Körper wird in vier Welten eingeteilt mit je sieben Archonten, d. h. Organen
4. Die Organe des menschlichen Körpers sind entsprechend den zwölf ζῴδια angeordnet. Einzelne Organe bzw. Glieder auf beiden Seiten des menschlichen Oberkörpers, sechs zur Rechten und sechs zur Linken, werden mit den zwölf ζῴδια verglichen
5. Zahllose Archonten wohnen im menschlichen Körper und schädigen ihn

Kap. LXXI: Über die Einsammlung der Elemente . . . . . 175—176

Sie nehmen folgenden Weg:

Licht
↓
Feuer
↓
Wasser
↓
Wind
↓
Luft
↓
Antwort
↓
Ruf
↓
Geläuterter Noûς
↓
Säule der Herrlichkeit
↓
Urmensch
↓
Gesandter
↓
Äonen der Größe

1) Vgl. Viktor Stegemann, „Zu Kapitel 69 der Kephalaia des Mani", ZNW 37, 214—223.

Seite

Kap. LXXII: Über die zerrissenen und zerfetzten Gewänder oder die zerschlissenen Kleider oder die Elemente, das Kreuz und den übrigen Rest . . . . . 176—178

Was bedeuten die Namen?

1. die großen Kleider = die fünf νοερά der Säule der Herrlichkeit
2. die Lappen = die verschlungene leuchtende Kraft oben in den Firmamenten
3. die großen zerrissenen, zerfetzten Gewänder = die lebendige Kraft in den fünf Welten des Fleisches
4. Bilder und große verschlissene Kleider = drei große Gewänder des Windes, Wassers und Feuers
5. die Elemente = die Kraft in allen Dingen drunten
6. Lichtkreuz = gebundene Lichtkraft
7. Gedanken des Lebens = Ruf und Hören in all diesen Kräften
8. geschlachtete, getötete, bedrängte, gemordete Seele = Kraft der Früchte

Die Vielheit dieser Gestalten und Namen soll eine einzige Gestalt mit einem einzigen Namen im Lande des ersten Wesens bilden

Kap. LXXIII: Über den Neid der Hyle . . . . . 178—180

Der Neid der Hyle, die in den Welten der Finsternis entstandene erste Natur, richtet sich

1. gegen den Urmenschen
   gegen das erste Bild des Gesandten
   gegen Adam
   gegen alle Erstgeborenen und Urväter Christi
   gegen die Geduld Christi am Kreuz
   gegen die Väter der Gerechtigkeit
2. gegen Mani und seine Gemeinde mit allen üblen Mitteln

Kap. LXXIV: Über das lebendige Feuer, daß es sich an acht Orten befindet . . . . . 180—181

Das Feuer befindet sich:

1. im Lichtland
2. im Vater, dem Gott der Wahrheit
3. im Urmenschen
4. im Schiffe des Tages
5. im Erleuchter der Nacht
6. auf dem Körper des Lebendigen Geistes
7. auf Neuer Erde
8. auf dieser Erde ??

Kap. LXXV: Über den Brief (?) . . . . . 181—183

Ein Brief ist

1. der Ruf des Lebendigen Geistes an den Urmenschen
2. die Antwort des Urmenschen an den Lebendigen Geist
3. der aus Christus zur heiligen Kirche gesandte Licht-Νοῦς
4. die lichte Nachkommenschaft aus der heiligen Kirche

Kap. LXXVI: Über Herrn Mani, wie er gewandelt ist . . . . . 183—188

Übermäßige Inanspruchnahme Manis — Bitte eines Jüngers um zwei Manis — Ablehnung durch den Meister, weil die Welt schon einen Mani nicht tragen kann — Mission Manis in Indien, Persien, Mesene, Babylon, der Stadt der Assyrer, im Land der Meder und Parther

Seite

Kap. LXXVII: Das Kapitel von den vier Königreichen . . . . . 188—190

Ausgangspunkt: die vier Königreiche (Babylon und Persis, Reich der Römer, Reich der Axumiten, Reich von Σιλις). Größer bei Gott sind die kleinen Gläubigen. Sie bezeugen den Besitz der Wahrheit durch die Tat der Barmherzigkeit

Kap. LXXVIII: Über die vier Werke, auf Grund deren die Menschen sich gegenseitig töten . . . . . 190—191

1. Sorge um die Nahrung
2. Geschlechtsverkehr
3. unnützer Reichtum
4. Krieg und Streitigkeiten

Kap. LXXIX: Über das Fasten der Heiligen . . . . . 191—192

Für vier Werke nützlich:

1. Der Heilige bezwingt die Archontenschaft
2. Die Seele, die durch Nahrung in ihn eingeht, wird gereinigt
3. Er handelt heilig in allen Dingen
4. Er verletzt nicht das Kreuz

Kap. LXXX: Das Kapitel der Gebote der Gerechtigkeit . . . . . 192—193

Erste Gerechtigkeit:

Enthaltsamkeit und Reinheit
Ruhe der Hände gegenüber dem Lichtkreuz
Reinheit des Mundes

Zweite Gerechtigkeit:

Weitergabe von Weisheit, Glaube und Liebe an andere
Wie der Elektus, so erweist der Katechumen des Glaubens seine Gerechtigkeit

1. in Beten, Fasten, Almosengeben
2. in der Gewinnung eines andern für den Elektenstand
3. im Bau eines Wohnortes

Kap. LXXXI: Das Kapitel vom Fasten, daß es viele Engel erzeugt . . 193—196

Ein ἀρχηγός, Führer von 50 Katechumenen, rechnet dem Apostel vor, wieviel Engel seine Schar an drei Herrentagen durch das Fasten erzeugt hat. Er bittet ihn, sich auf sich selbst zurückziehen zu dürfen. Der Apostel belehrt ihn, daß es besser sei, die Kirche zu bauen als sich abzuschließen, um sich selbst zu erbauen

Kap. LXXXII: Das Kapitel des Gerichtes der Gerechtigkeit . . . . 197—200

Ein Jünger fragt den Meister, ob Zorn gegen einen andern Sünde sei. Der Meister antwortet, daß der Zorn, der die Zurechtweisung zum Guten und damit zur Buße bedeutet, keine Sünde, sondern ein Heilmittel ist

Kap. LXXXIII: Über den Menschen, der häßlich ist an seinem Körper, dagegen schön ist an seiner Seele . . . . . 200—204

Ein Elektus wird um seiner körperlichen Häßlichkeit willen verlacht
Doch in ihm wohnt der Licht-Noûς und der Glaube
Sie sind im Körper des Fleisches verborgen wie die Perle in der Schale der Muschel auf dem Meeresgrund. Diese müssen gefunden, heraufgeholt und verwertet werden
Ebenso ist es die Aufgabe der heiligen Kirche, Seelen zu finden, einzusammeln und dem Lichtreich zuzuführen

Seite

Kap. LXXXIV: Über die Weisheit, daß sie auf der Zunge bedeutender ist, als wenn sie im Herzen des Menschen ist . . . . . 204—208

Die Weisheit des Menschen wächst durch seine Verkündigung (Gleichnis vom Kinde vor und nach seiner Geburt)
Nur die ihr angehören, freuen sich und nehmen sie auf

Kap. LXXXV: Über das Kreuz des Lichtes, daß . . . . . auf es treten . . . 208—213

Nicht auf das Lichtkreuz treten — Nur erlaubt auf dem Wege eines göttlichen Werkes — In diesem Falle Heilung — Ebenso heilsam das Wort, das zu gutem Werk auffordert — Schädlich dagegen das Wort, das zur Sünde auffordert

Kap. LXXXVI: Das Kapitel von dem Mann, der fragt: Warum bin ich manchmal ruhig und manchmal verwirrt . . . . . 213—216

Ob Ruhe oder Verwirrung in einem Herzen, hängt nicht vom Willen des Menschen ab
Durch die *lihme* der Unteren gerät der Körper infolge der Aufnahme unreiner Nahrung in Verwirrung
Durch die *lihme* der Oberen wird der Mensch infolge der Aufnahme reiner Nahrung ruhig

Kap. LXXXVII: Über das Almosen, daß . . . . . Leben in der Kirche 216—218

Die Ruhestätte der Almosen der Katechumenen wird die heilige Kirche
Die Katechumenen werden zur Ruhestätte der heiligen Kirche
Die Ruhestätte für beide ist das Land des Lichtes

Kap. LXXXVIII: Über den Katechumenen, der den Elekten tadelte, warum er zornig sei . . . . . 219—221

Es ist kein Wunder, daß auch über den Elekten der Zorn kommt
Auch er steht noch im Körper des Fleisches
Der Katechumen hat am wenigsten ein Recht zu seinem Vorwurf
Die Elekten haben auch mit den Sündern Geduld

Kap. LXXXIX: Das Kapitel von dem Nazoräer, der den Meister fragt . 221—223

Ein Streitgespräch zwischen einem Nazoräer und Mani über das Thema: Ist der Gott Manis gut oder böse?
Mani nennt Gott einen Richter
Er behandelt die Menschen entsprechend ihren Taten
Gott tut also nichts Böses, sondern beseitigt das Böse

Kap. XC: Über die fünfzehn Wege und ob der Katechumen dem entgehn wird, daß sein Besitz auf den drei Wegen in die Hölle geht . . 223—228

Ein Elektus stellt an Mani die Frage: Wie ist das Ende des Katechumenen? Er beruft sich auf die Lehre des Apostels von den 15 Wegen in der ζώνη, von denen vier zum Leben hinaufführen, acht vermischt sind und drei den Bodensatz in die Hölle ausschütten
Mani antwortet: Die Gestalten der Kirche sind vor seiner Menschwerdung von Mani erwählt worden. Er beruft sie durch sein Lichtwort. Die Engel geleiten sie zur Stätte der Läuterung. Die Werke des Katechumenen kommen also nicht in die Hölle. Sie werden durch die ersten Werke des Neuen Menschen gereinigt. Die Werke des Katechumenen werden geläutert, teils während er noch im Körper ist, teils wenn er seinen Körper verläßt, teils folgen sie ihm ins Lichtland nach

Seite

Kap. XCI: Über den Katechumenen, der in einem einzigen Körper gerettet wird . . . . . 228—234

1. Es handelt sich um Katechumenen des Glaubens, denen die Welt in all ihren Einzelbeziehungen zur Fremde geworden ist und die sich des Fleisches enthalten, alle Werke der Welt aus ihrem Herzen ausgezogen haben und vom Noûς zur heiligen Kirche übergesetzt sind
2. Der Rest der Katechumenen wird nach Maßgabe der der Kirche dargebrachten Gaben erlöst und geläutert
3. Jeder Katechumen hat um μετάνοια und Sündenvergebung zu bitten
4. Ihm werden seine ersten Sünden erlassen, wenn er in seinem Glauben bleibt und lebt, ohne zu sündigen
5. Fastet er an den 30 Sonntagen des Jahres, hält er die Gebetszeiten und gibt er Almosen, so werden ihm vier Fünftel seiner Sünden erlassen, für ein Fünftel leidet er Pein

Kap. XCII: Man fragt den Apostel: Warum hast du alles im Bilde beschrieben? Nicht (aber) hast du die Reinigung der Katechumenen beschrieben, die in der Seelenwanderung gereinigt werden . . . 234—236

Mani hat die Erlösung des Gerechten und den Tod des Sünders dargestellt
Auf die Frage, warum er nicht auch die Erlösung der Katechumenen darstellt, antwortet er, dies sei unmöglich

Kap. XCIII: Ein Katechumen fragte den Apostel: Wenn ich den Heiligen eine Gabe darbringe, bereite ich dem Almosen eine Wunde? . . 236—239

Der Katechumen bringt den Heiligen eine Gabe dar
Er befürchtet, damit eine Sünde gegen die Lebendige Seele zu tun
Mani versichert ihm, daß er nicht eine Sünde, sondern etwas Gutes tut

Kap. XCIV: Über die Reinigung der vier Elemente, die im Fleisch hingelegt wurden . . . . . 239—240

Was noch den Elementen von ihrer Kampfzeit anhaftet, lassen sie im Körper zurück, um im Neuen Menschen unter der Führung des Licht-Noûς zu leben
Sie haben ausgezogen:

Feuer →	Blut	→ Zorn	→ Rheuma	zwölf
Wasser →	Begierde	→ Bitterkeit	→ Hitze	Aus-
Licht →	Fleisch	→ Dunkelheit	→ Frechheit	schei-
Baum →	... Winde der Schande	→ Träne	→ ?	dungen

Kap. XCV: Der Apostel fragt seine Jünger: Was ist die Wolke? . . 240—244

Mani deutet seinen Jüngern die Wolke, die er am Himmel sieht.
Es gibt 5 Arten von Wolken, die aus den 5 Elementen hervorgehen:

1. Die Wolke des Feuers. Ihr Zeichen sind die Blitzstrahlen.
2. Die Wolke des Wassers. Ihr Zeichen sind Donner und Getöse.
3. Die Wolke des Windes. Ihr Zeichen ist das Sturmgewölk.
4. Die Wolke des Lichtes. Ihr Zeichen ist ihre Ruhe und Stille.
5. Die Wolke des ἀήρ Ihr Zeichen ist?

Den Archonten, die sich in den Wolken befinden, wird von den Engeln das Licht entzogen.
Sie selbst werden in das äußere Gefängnis geworfen.

Einleitung.

Das erste Blatt, d. h. die Seiten 1 und 2 sind, wie es bei den Anfängen der Papyrusbücher meistens der Fall ist, derartig zerstört, daß nur einzelne Buchstaben oder Wörter ohne irgendwelchen Zusammenhang entziffert werden können, wie z. B. auf S. 1 Z. 17 ⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ „Licht", Z. 33 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ „welcher offenbart hat", und auf S. 2 Z. 21 ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ „seine Jünger". Ein Abdruck verlohnt sich daher nicht. Mit Sicherheit kann man weiter noch Spuren der Buchstaben ⲙⲡⲥⲁ auf dem obern Rand von S. 1 feststellen, die zu dem Worte ⲙⲡⲥⲁ[ϩ] „des Lehrers" zu ergänzen sind. Das ist der zweite Teil des Titels des Werkes, der vollständig lautete: ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁϩ „die Kephalaia des Lehrers". Da die Buchstaben ⲙⲡⲥⲁ an dieser Stelle nicht in der Mitte stehen, sondern mehr nach dem rechten Rande gerückt sind, wird höchstwahrscheinlich auf der ersten Seite der volle Titel geschrieben sein. Auf dem oberen Rande von S. 2 sind noch die Anfangsbuchstaben ⲛⲕ sichtbar, die zu ⲛⲕ[ⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ] zu ergänzen sind. Das entspricht der sonst durchgeführten Betitelung, indem auf der linken Seite des aufgeschlagenen Papyrusbuches die eine Hälfte des Titels ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ, auf der anderen Seite die andere Hälfte ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁϩ zu lesen stand. Somit besteht über die Zugehörigkeit dieses Blattes zu dem Werke der Kephalaia kein Zweifel.

[Γ]

[ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲥ]

1 . . .]ⲓⲟ . . . . . ⲣ ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲩ ⲛⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓ̣ⲁ ⲁ[.]ⲁ[
2 . . .]. . . . . ⲛ̣ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲟⲩⲏⲧⲉ[
3 . . .]. . . . . ⲉⲧ̣ⲃⲉ ⲡⲡⲱⲣⲝ̣[
4 . . .]. . . . . ⲡⲭⲓⲉ̣ⲉ̣ [
5 . . .]ⲁ̣ⲡⲭⲓ[ⲥⲉ . . . . . ⲛⲥⲉⲥⲱⲣ ⲁⲃⲁ̣ⲗ̣
6 . . . . . ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲡⲱⲣⲥ . . . . . .
7 . . . . . .
8 . . . . . .
9 . . . . . .
10 . . . . . .
11 . . . . . .
12 . . . . . .
13 . . . . . .
14 . . . . . .
15 . . . . . .]. . . ⲁⲙ . ⲛ̣ . ⲉ̣ [. . .
16 . . . . . .
17 . . . . . .]ⲙ̣ⲛⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ̣ ⲉ . . . . .
18 . . . . . ⲟⲩ]ⲁ̣ⲓⲛⲉ ⲩⲙ̣ⲛ . . . . .
19 . . . . . .] . ⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲥⲓ ⲡⲭⲓⲉ̣ⲉ . . . [. . .
20 . . . . . ⲁ]ⲃⲁ̣ⲗ̣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ̣ⲓⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ[
21 . . . . . .]ⲡⲟ̣ⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲕ[ⲉ
22 . . . . . ⲛ]ⲍⲏⲧⲥ: leer
23 . . . . . .] . . ⲉ . ⲙ̣ⲡⲕ̣ⲉⲕ̣ⲉ ⲡⲕ̣ⲟ̣[ⲥⲙⲟⲥ]
24 . . . . . .] . ⲧ . . ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟ̣ⲩⲛ[ⲉ
25 . . . . . .]ⲭⲉ̣ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲉⲃⲉ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ̣
26 . . . . . .] . . . . ⲧ̣ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̣[
27 . . . . . ⲛ]ⲥⲱⲩ . . . . . .
28 . . . . . ⲕⲉⲕⲉ . [
29 . . . . . .] . . ⲥⲟⲩⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲟ̣ⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲡ . . ⲛ̄ . . .
30 . . . . . .] leer ⲦⲦⲉ[ⲓ̈] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲕ̣ⲉ̣[. . .
31 . . . . . .]ⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲩ̣ⲧ[
32 . . . . . .]ⲛ̣ⲏ̣ⲧⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲱⲟⲟ[ⲡ
33 . . . . . .]ⲥⲉⲡⲁⲣⲭ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲟⲩ . ⲕ̣ . . . .
34 . . . . . .]ⲥ ⲥⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙⲡ . [. . .
35 . . . . . .]ⲉⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲓ̣ⲥⲁⲍⲟ̄ ⲛⲏ̣ⲧⲛ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲱ[

Die Zeilenanfänge sind nicht zu bestimmen.

6 Wohl [ⲱⲁ]ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲡⲱⲣⲥ. — 19 Die Spuren passen nicht recht zu [ⲥ]ⲙ̣ⲁⲛⲧ. — 21 Ende viell. ⲕⲉ[ⲕⲉ ⲥⲓ ⲙⲟⲩ]. — 30 Ende wahrsch. ⲛ̄ⲕⲉ[ⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ].

[des Lehrers.]

1 . . . . . der ganze . . . . der Weisheit . . .
2 . . . . . Rede im Anfang . . .
3 . . . . . wegen der Trennung . . .
4 . . . . . die Höhe . . .
5 . . . . . in die Höhe . . . . und sie verteilen . . . . . .
6 . . . . . [bis daß] sie Krieg führen . . .
7 . . . . . .
8 . . . . . .
9 . . . . . .
10 . . . . . .
11 . . . . . .
12 . . . . . .
13 . . . . . .
14 . . . . . .
15 . . . . . .
16 . . . . . .
17 . . . . . Reich . . . . .
18 . . . . . Licht . . . . . .
19 . . . . . in der Höhe . . .
20 . . . . . aus allen Äonen . .
21 . . . . . Licht, [in?] welchem keine
22 [Finsternis und Tod?] . . . . . in ihr. —
23 . . . . . der Finsternis, die Welt
24 . . . . . ihre Wurzel
25 . . . . . der hervorgesprudelt war
26 . . . . . welche (fem.) die Erde . . . .
27 . . . . . .
28 . . . . . .
29 . . . . . fern vom Licht . . . .
30 . . . . . Die ist das erste Κε[φά-]
31 [λαιον?] . . . . . wegen der Ewigkeit . . . [. . .
32 [wie ich] euch [geschrieben? habe], daß jeder von ihnen existiert.
33 . . . . . sie sind voneinander getrennt in ihrer . .
34 . . . . . in Ewigkeit (angefangen) vom . . .
35 . . . . . welchen ich euch geschrieben habe, das heißt, daß

[Ⲁ̄]

ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

1 [ⲁ] ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲱⲣⲥ̀ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱⲩⲉ ⲭⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣⲣ[ⲣⲟ]
2 [ⲁⲭⲛ ⲟⲩ]ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲱⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣ ⲟⲩⲙⲗⲁⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
3 . . . . . .]ⲩⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁ . ⲧ . . . ⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲩ
4 . . . .] . . ⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲁⲩⲡ[. . . . . ⲥⲛ̄]
5 [ⲧⲛⲁⲟ] ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ ⲁ ⲧⲟⲁⲙ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ . . . . . .
6 . . ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣ]ⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲧ . . ⲱ . . . . . .
7 . . . .]. ⲛ . . ⲧⲡⲁⲛⲍⲟⲡⲗⲓⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛ[ⲉ . . . . . .
8 [ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲭⲁⲭⲉ] ⲧⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲧ[ⲁ]ⲩⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲉ ⲥⲛ . . . . . .
9 . . . . . ⲧⲡⲁⲛⲍⲟⲡⲗⲓⲁ . . . . . .
10 . . . . . .] . . . . . [. . . . . .
11 . . . . . .] . ⲁⲩ leer
12 } unlesbar
13 }
14 . . . . . .
15 . . . . . ⲁⲩⲛ̄ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲥⲣⲏ[ⲓ̈ . . . . . .
16 . . . . . .] ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ[ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ . . . . . .
17 . . . ⲁ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ] ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲁⲛⲍ ⲥⲱⲣ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
18 . . . .] . . . . . ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲥ [. . . . . .
19 . . . . . ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕ̄[ⲉⲕⲉ ⲥⲛ̄]ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ . . .
20 . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲍⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲥ[. . . . . ⲉⲩⲕ̄ . . .
21 . . . .] leer ⲁⲩⲍⲱⲣⲃ ⲛⲧ[. . . . . .
22 . . . . .]ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲡⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲟ[. . . . . .
23 . . . .] ⲥⲓ ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲭⲉⲩⲛⲁⲕ̄ . . . . [
24 . . . .] ⲛⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕ̄ [ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ . . . .
25 . . . .ⲧ]ⲱⲃⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛ ⲧⲥⲛ[ⲧⲉ
26 . . . ⲧⲏ]ⲣⲩ ⲥⲉⲍⲟ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲙ[ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ . . . . .
27 . . . ⲧ]ⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲩⲧ[. . . . . .
28 . . .]ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲍ ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲱⲣⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲁ[ⲍⲟⲩⲛ
29 . . . ⲩ]ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲟ[ⲣⲉ
30 . . .] ⲍⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲫⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲟⲩⲏⲉⲟ[ⲩⲉ
31 . ⲥⲱ]ⲣⲃ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲕⲟ[ⲥ]ⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲱⲕ̄ ⲁ[ⲣⲉⲧⲩ
32 . . .] ⲁⲩⲙⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲛⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ[. . . .
33 . . ⲟⲩⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲱⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ keine Spuren [
34 [ⲧⲟⲧ]ⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ [ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ]
35 [ⲟⲩⲁ]ⲓⲛⲉ ⲍⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛⲛ]
36 [ⲥⲃⲏ]ⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ leer

---

20 Ende: statt ⲥ auch ⲉ oder ⲟ möglich. — 21 Zwischen den Zeilen nachgetragen: ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲟⲛ ⲭⲛ ⲛⲧⲟⲡ[ⲟⲥ . . . — 22 Schwerlich ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲫ[ⲉⲛⲟⲥ. — 32 Ende viell. auch ⲁⲩⲥ[. . .

Die Kephalaia

1 [die Finsternis] führte Krieg gegen das Licht, indem sie zu herrschen wünschte
2 [über eine] οὐσία, die nicht die ihrige war. Sie zettelte einen Krieg an
3 . . . . geriet in Verwirrung . . . . . .
4 . . . . kam hinauf und . . . . . in
5 [dieser großen] Not. Die Kraft kam heraus aus . . . .
6 . . . . [welches] der Urmensch ist . . . . . .
7 . . . . . die Licht-Rüstung (πανοπλία) . . . . .
8 die ganze [Feindeschaft?], er kreuzigte sie in . . . . . .
9 . . . . . die Rüstung . . . . . .
10 . . . . . .
11 . . . . . .
12 . . . . . .
13 . . . . . .
14 . . . . . .
15 . . . . . er führte die Sonne . . . . . .
16 . . . . . Licht-Äonen . . . . . .
17 . . . [der] lebendige [Geist] verteilte die Welt . . . . . .
18 . . . . . die Erde . . . . . .
19 . . . . das Licht und die Finsternis [im] Anfang (ἀρχή) . . . . . .
20 . . . und die Kleider, er zog sie an . . . . . .
21 . . . . . Er ordnete . . . . . .
22 . . . . und das Rad (τροχός). Die Jungfrauen (? παρθ[ένος]) . . . . . .
23 . . . in der Höhe, damit sie . . . . . .
24 . . . die Finsternis; er stellte sich . . . . . .
25 . . . [er] befestigte und gründete . . . . . .
26 [der] ganze . . . wurde errichtet. Unterhalb . . . . . .
27 alle . . . . Oberhalb aber . . . . . .
28 . . . Erde, indem sie vermischt sind. Er schloß ein die Erde . . . . . .
29 . . . . vier Berge und drei Fahrzeuge (?) . . . . . .
30 . . . in seinen Meeren (θάλασσα) und seinen Bergen . . . . . .
31 . . . [gründete (?)] darauf. Diese Welt erhielt ihre Aufstellung . . . . .
32 . . . zu einer Fesselung der bösen Kräfte und (?) . . . . . .
33 [des] Lichtes, die sich mit der Finsternis vermischt hatten.
34 [Da läuterte] der Dritte Gesandte (πρεσβευτής) [das]
35 [Licht aus] durch seine Erscheinung (εἰκών), er wurde [Erlöser für]
36 alle [Dinge].

[ε̄]

[ϯπcaϩ]

1 [. . . . . .]ⲛ ⲥⲉⲕⲏ ϩⲛ ⲛ̣ⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ [
2 unlesbar
3 [. . . . . .ⲕ]ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ϫⲉⲣⲟ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩ
4 [ⲱⲙ . . . . . .]ⲉ̣ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ϩⲱⲟ̣[ⲩ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩ̄ⲱⲱ[ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄]
5 ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲩ ⲛⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲁⲧⲩⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ϩⲱⲩ̣ [ⲉ̣]ⲧϩⲛ̄ .
6 [. . . . . .]ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲥⲉⲥⲁⲩϩⲩ̄ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲙⲣⲣⲉ ⲛ[
7 }
8 } 7—10 fast gänzlich zerstört
9 }
10 }
11 [. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲱ . . . .
12 [. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . . .
13 [. . . .] . ⲛ̣ⲥⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ̣ ⲁ̣ⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ . . . . . .
14 [. . . .] ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲁ̣ⲥⲣ̣[. . . . .] ⲛⲩϩ̣ . . . . . ⲥⲉ]
15 ϩⲱⲩ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲁ̣ⲡⲡ̣ . [. . .] . ⲡⲣ . . . . ⲛ̄]
16 ⲥⲉⲣⲣⲣⲟ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ[. . . ϩⲓ]
17 [ϫⲙ̄] ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲧⲡⲉ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲧ]ⲏⲣⲩ ⲛⲕⲧⲙ̄ⲃⲟⲛ ⲁⲛⲧ̣ⲁⲗⲓⲕⲟⲥ [
18 ϫⲛ ⲙ̣ⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲃ̣[ⲉ ⲡⲏ̈ⲱⲧ] ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡ̣ . . . [
19 [. . . . . .].ⲧⲉ ⲛ . . ⲣ̣ . . ⲉ̣ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ϫⲛ ⲛ . . . . [
20 [. . . . . ⲁ]ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩϫⲧ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲱⲧ ⲙ̣ⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣϩⲩ leer
21 [. . . . . ⲃⲱⲗⲡ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲥⲉϫⲉ
22 [. . . .] . . . [. . . . . .] ϩⲣϩⲏ̈ ⲛϩⲧⲟⲩ ⲁ̈ⲓⲥⲁϩ[ⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄]
23 [ⲛⲁϫ]ⲙⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛ̣[ⲉ ϩ]ⲙ̣ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲑⲏⲥⲁⲩ[ⲣⲟⲥ]
24 ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ ϩⲛ ⲧⲡⲣⲁⲅⲙⲁⲧⲓⲁ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲧⲁ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲱⲛ [ϩⲛ̄]
25 ⲧ̣ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲥⲁϩⲥ̀ ⲛⲧⲗⲁⲓⲃⲉ ⲛⲛⲡⲁⲣⲑⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲕⲉⲉⲡ̣[ⲓⲥⲧⲟ]
26 [ⲗⲁ]ⲩⲉ ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲙ̈ⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲡ̣[ⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ]
27 ⲛⲥⲉ̣ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲱⲓ ⲛⲧ̣ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲁⲩⲱ[ⲱⲡⲉ]
28 ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ ⲡ[ⲉ]ⲧⲛⲁⲱ[ⲱⲡ]ⲉ ⲩⲥⲏϩ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲗⲓⲁⲕ[ⲣⲓⲛⲉ]
29 [. . . . . .] ⲛⲥⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉⲩ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟ̣ⲧⲟⲩ ⲅⲣⲁ̣[ⲫⲉⲩⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ]
30 [ⲉⲩⲃⲱ]ⲗ̣ⲡ ⲁⲃ[ⲁ]ⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉ[ⲩ ⲡⲉ]
31 [. . . . . ⲥ]ⲁϩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ϩⲁ ⲡ̣ⲓⲱ[ⲁ]
32 [ⲙ̄ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲉ] ⲡ̣ⲥⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ϩⲱⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲓⲥϩⲛⲧⲉ ⲁ[ⲓ̈]
33 [ⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲁ] ⲡ̣ⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̣ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲧ[ⲛⲉ]
34 [. . . . . .] leer ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣[ⲁⲃ ⲛⲥⲉϫⲉ]

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1 ϩⲛ ⲛⲕⲁⲧ ganz unsicher. — 23 Vor ⲑⲏⲥⲁⲩ[ⲣⲟⲥ] viell. ⲡ über der Zeile. — 27 ⲉⲁⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ: ⲱ 1° über der Zeile.

[des Lehrers.]

1 . . . . . sich befinden in allen Rädern (?) . . .
2 . . . . . .
3 . . . . . Welt, und das Feuer brennt in ihr und
4 es frißt . . . . . alle . . . des Lichtes und wird ein
5 Läuterer und er geht hinauf zu seiner οὐσία. Die Finsternis dagegen, die in
6 . . . . . und wird eingesammelt zu einer Fesselung
7 . . . . . .
8 . . . . . .
9 . . . . . .
10 . . . . . .
11 . . . . . .
12 . . . . . offenbaren . . . . .
13 . . . . . und sie gehen hinein zu ihm und werden . . . . .
14 . . . . . .
15 errichtet . . .
16 und sie herrschen bis in Ewigkeit, und ein einziger Gott wird sein [über?]
17 dem All, indem er oberhalb [des] Alls ist, und du wirst keinen Widersacher (ἀντίδικος) finden
18 von dieser Zeit an gegen [den Vater], den König des Lichtes und . . . .
19 . . . . . in welcher sie sind . . . .
20 . . . [bis daß] sie sich miteinander vermischen und vermengen.
21 . . . . . [ich habe offenbart] in diesen drei Worten
22 . . . . . in ihnen. Ich habe sie geschrieben
23 [in meinen] Lichtbüchern: in dem Großen Evangelium (Εὐαγγέλιον) und (in) dem Schatz (Θησαυρός)
24 des Lebens, in der Πραγματεία, im Τὰ τῶν μυστηρίων, [in]
25 der Schrift (γραφή), die ich aus Anlaß der Parther (Πάρθος) geschrieben habe, und auch in allen meinen
26 Briefen (ἐπιστολή), in den Psalmen (ψαλμός) und Gebeten. Denn [diese drei]
27 Worte sind das Ausmaß der gesamten Weisheit. Alles, was [geschehen] ist
28 und [geschehen] wird, ist in ihnen geschrieben. Man kann unterscheiden (διακρίνειν)
29 . . . . und daß man es erkennt durch sie. [Jeder] Schreiber (γραφεύς),
30 [der] diese drei großen Worte [offenbart], jener [ist]
31 [der wahre Schreiber], ferner jeder Lehrer, der lehrt und predigt über diese
32 [drei Worte, ist] der wahre Lehrer. Auch ich, siehe [ich habe]
33 [offenbart] (? gepredigt) diese drei großen Worte und habe sie euch gegeben
34 . . . . . Das erste [große Wort]

[S]

[ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ]

1 [.] . ⲏⲩⲉ . . [. . . .]ⲉⲧⲥⲙ ⲡ [. . . . . .

2 . . . ⲣ . . . . . ⲛⲣⲁ . . . . . .

3 ⲉⲧⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁ[ⲩ]ⲥ[. . . . . .

4 . . ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲕⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄

5 . .] ⲡⲣ . . . ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ . . . . [

6 . . . . . ⲭⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩ . . . . . .

7 [zerstört

8 winzige Spuren

9

10 . . . . . .

11 . . . .] ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲙⲕⲟⲟⲩ • ⲕⲁⲓⲅⲁⲣ ⲭ[. . .] . . ⲣⲟ [

12 . . . . . .] ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲑⲗⲓϯⲓⲥ . . . . . ⲙⲛ̄ⲁⲱ . . .

13 . . . . . ⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲁ[

14 . . . . . ⲣⲱⲯⲉ ⲁⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄[

15 . . . . .] ⲛⲣⲙⲛⲍⲏⲧ leer ϯⲛⲟⲩ [ⲁⲉ ϯⲛⲁ]ϯ ⲁⲧⲟⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲛⲙⲙ̄[

16 . . . ⲁⲉ ⲥ . . ⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ϯⲙⲁ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲁⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉⲓ ⲡⲉⲧ[

17 [.]ⲁ . . ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲕⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ ⲛⲁⲯⲏⲣ[ⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲑⲏ]

18 ⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲍⲉⲓ ⲧⲁⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣ[ⲥ] . . . . ⲉⲧⲛⲥ . . [. . . . . .

19 [. .] . ⲛⲯⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲯⲛⲧ [ⲁⲣⲁⲩ . . . . . .

20 ⲙⲛ ⲛⲍⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲍⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲉ[ⲩⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩ]

21 [ⲁⲓ]ⲱ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱ ⲛⲍⲟⲙⲓⲗⲓⲁ ⲛⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁ[ⲍ]

22 [ⲁ]ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ ⲁⲍⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉ[ⲛⲟⲥ]

23 [ⲙⲛ] ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲓⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲗⲉⲩⲑⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲉⲗⲉⲩⲑⲉⲣⲁ ⲙ[. .]

24 [. . .] . ⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱ ⲥ[ⲉ]ⲥⲏ[ⲍ]

25 [ⲉⲛ ⲛⲧ]ⲱⲧⲛ ⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲍⲟ[ⲩ ⲥⲁ]ⲩⲍⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩ[ⲛ]

26 [ⲕⲁⲧ]ⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛⲁⲯⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲁ[ⲓⲧ]ⲉⲟⲩⲁⲥ [ⲁⲣⲱ]

27 [ⲧⲛⲉ] ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲭⲓ ⲡⲍⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲓⲥⲉⲭⲉ [ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲟⲩ]

28 ⲍⲛ ⲍⲛⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ [ⲡⲟⲩⲉ . . . . . .

29 [.]ⲁⲓϯ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲓⲥⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕ[ⲧⲟⲥ . . . . . .

30 [. . .] . . ⲍⲉ ⲁⲓϯ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ϯⲩⲭⲓ[. . . . . .

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13 Über der Zeile ⲯⲱⲡⲉ nachgetragen. — 23 Vor ⲛⲉⲗⲉⲩⲑⲉⲣⲟⲥ viell. über der Zeile ein kleines ⲛ nachgetragen. — 30 Ende wohl ϯⲩⲭⲓ[ⲕⲟⲛ.

[Die Kephalaia]

1 . . . . . .
2 . . . . . .
3 die in ihr wandeln wegen der zwölf . . . . . .
4 in ihr, die in den Städten und den Wohnstätten, die sich befinden in den
5 . . . . . wegen der Tore, die in ihnen geöffnet sind
6 . . . auf der Erde, die in den vier Ecken sind
7 . . . . . .
8 . . . . . .
9 . . . . . .
10 . . . . . .
11 . . . . . und meine Leiden. Denn . . . .
12 . . . . . und meine Bedrängnisse (θλῖψις) . . .
13 . . . . . .
14 . . . . . genügt für den Menschen . . .
15 . . . . . verständig. Jetzt [aber will ich] euch übergeben die . . . .
16 . . . . . Die Welt hat mir nicht gestattet zu schreiben
17 . . . . . ., auch wenn (κἄν) ihr meine Kinder [und meine Jünger] seid,
18 so schreibt meine ganze Weisheit . . . . . .
19 . . . die Fragen, [nach denen] ihr mich gefragt habt . . . .
20 und die Deutungen (ἑρμηνεία), die ich [euch] gedeutet (ἑρμηνεύειν) habe [von]
21 Zeit zu Zeit, die Reden (ὁμιλία), die Worte, die ich gesprochen habe mitsamt den [Lehrern]
22 [zu] den ἀρχηγοί sowie den Electi und den Katechumenen
23 [und] die, welche ich gesprochen habe zu den Freien (ἐλεύθερος) und den (weibl.) Freien (ἐλευθέρα) [und?]
24 alle . . . . ., die ich gesprochen habe von Zeit zu Zeit, sie sind [nicht] geschrieben.
25 Ihr sollt euch an sie erinnern und sie aufschreiben. Sammelt sie
26 überall, denn zahlreich ist die Weisheit, die [ich] gesprochen habe
27 [zu euch]. Ich habe jeden einzelnen berücksichtigt und geredet
28 nach einzelnen Personen (πρόσωπον). Jeder Einzelne . . . .
29 . . . ich habe ihnen eine Überzeugung (πεισμονή) gegeben. Die Electi
30 . . . ich habe ihnen gegeben die ψυχικὴ(?) σοφία [und]

[Ⲍ̄]

ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲍ

1 [. . . .]ϯⲩⲭⲓⲕ[ⲟⲥ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲉⲣⲱⲧ[ⲉ] ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲇⲁⲙ[
2 [. . .]ⲛⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍ[ⲉ] ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲥⲱ[ⲧⲙⲉ]
3 [ⲁⲣⲁ]ⲩ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲏ[ⲧⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲍⲁ[ⲣⲉⲥ]ⲥ . . .
4 [ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩⲛ[ⲟⲩ]ⲓⲉⲧⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ[. . .ⲧⲉⲩ]
5 [ⲥⲟ]ⲫⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲩ[ⲅⲣ]ⲁⲫⲏ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲃⲁⲗⲡⲉ̀ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ]
6 [ⲁⲓ]ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲥ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲍ]ⲙ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁ ⲛ̣ⲕⲉⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ[
7 . .]ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ [ⲛ]ⲓⲁⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲃⲁⲗⲡⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛ[ⲟⲩⲅⲣⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ]
8 . .]ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ϯ . . . ⲏ . . ⲛⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲭⲉ . . [. . . . . .
9 . .]ⲍⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲓⲁ [ⲛⲓ]ⲙ ⲍⲓ ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲁⲓⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲕⲁ[ⲧⲁ ⲙⲁ]
10 [ⲙⲁ] ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲗⲓ[ⲥ ⲡⲟ]ⲗⲓⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲭⲱⲣⲁ [. . . . . .
11 . .]ⲭⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲉ[. . . . . .]ⲉⲩⲁⲕⲁⲧⲏ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲙ . . . . [. . . . .
12 . .] . ⲡ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲍ . [. . .]ⲕⲟ ⲛ̣ⲙⲏⲉ ⲍⲛ̣ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ . . . [. . . . .
13 . .] . ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ . . . . . .] ⲁⲕⲁ . . . . ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁⲧ . . [. . . . .
14 . .] . . ⲧⲛ̄ⲥ . [. . . . .]ⲁ . . . . ⲛ̣ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ . . . . . .
15 . . . . . .
16 . . . . . .
17 [. .] . ⲍⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ . . . . . ⲛⲭⲱⲙⲉ leer
18 [. .] ⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̣ . . . [. . . ⲛⲁ]ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ [. . . . .
19 [ⲟⲓ]ⲙⲙⲁⲍ[ⲉ . . . . . .]ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲛⲍⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲁ[. . . . .
20 . . . . . ⲧⲁⲱⲉ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛⲧⲩⲍⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ . . [. . . . . .
21 [. . . . . .] . ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ . . . [. . . . .
22 [. . . . . .] . ⲡⲉⲧⲁ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ . . . . . .
23 [. . . . . ⲙ]ⲛⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲥⲍⲉ̈ ⲛⲧ . . . . . .
24 [. . . . . .] . ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ . . . . . .
25 [. . . . . .] . . . ⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ . . . .
26 [. . . . . .] ⲁⲩⲥⲍⲉ̈ ⲟⲩⲭⲱⲙⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲉⲩ . . . .
27 [. . . . . .]ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲱⲛ . [. . . . .
28 [. . . . ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧ]ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲓⲥ ⲱⲁ ⲍⲩⲥⲧⲁⲥⲡⲏⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ[. . . .
29 [. . . . ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲍⲙⲙ]ⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲣ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲙⲏ[ⲉ . . . .
30 [. . . ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛⲧⲉ]ⲩⲍⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲉⲣⲥⲓⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥ[. . . . .
31 [. . . . . .] . . ⲍⲁⲣⲁⲇⲏⲥ ⲥⲁⲍ ⲭⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉ[ⲩ]
32 [ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲣⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲍⲉⲓ ⲙⲛⲛ̣ . . . . .
33 [. . . . . .] ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲣ . . . . .
34 [. . . . . .]Ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲃⲟⲩⲇⲇⲁⲥ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲓ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ . . .

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6 Anf. lies ⲟⲩⲁⲛ⟨ⲍ⟩ⲥ. — 7 ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ sic; man erwartet ⲁⲩⲡⲍⲛ̄. — 12 Anf. statt ⲡ auch ⲓⲧ oder ⲏⲧ möglich. — 17 Über ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ist . . . ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲥ . . . nachgetragen. — 26 Ende statt ⲧⲉⲩ auch ⲧⲟⲩ[ⲇⲁⲙ] möglich.

des Lehrers.

die ψυχικός . . . . Die Säuglinge nach ihrer Kraft . . .
. . . ihr, wie es sich für sie gehört, damit sie es hören
in dieser Weise. Auch die Sekten (δόγμα) und die Häresien (?αἵρεσις), . . .
. . . ., ich habe einen jeden von ihnen aufgeklärt, [seine]
Weisheit und seine Schrift, daß dies die Wahrheit ist, die ich enthüllt
und offenbart habe der Welt. Auch die (anderen) Apostel . . .
und die früheren Väter haben sie offenbart in [ihren Schriften]
Deswegen . . . ich euch in . . ., daß . . . . .
jede Deutung (ἑρμηνεία) und jede Weisheit, die ich verkündet habe an [jedem]
[Ort], in jeglicher Stadt, in jeglichem Lande . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . damit ihr [wisset?, meine] Geliebten: Zu der Zeit, als [Jesus]
erschienen ist (?), im] Lande des Westens, da hat [er] . . . .
. . . . . [und hat] gepredigt seine Hoffnung . . . .
. . . . . seine Jünger . . . .
. . . . . den Jesus verkündigt hat . . . .
. . . . . Nach seinem Tode (wörtl. „nach ihm") haben sie geschrieben . . .
. . . . . seine Parabeln (παραβολή) . . . . . .
. . . . . und die Zeichen und Wunder . . . .
. . . . . sie schrieben ein Buch entsprechend seiner . . .
[Der Apostel] des Lichtes, der glänzende Φωστήρ
[ist gekommen nach] Persien (Περσίς) zu dem König Hystaspes
[er hat ausgewählt] gerechte (δίκαιος) und wahrhafte Jünger
[und hat gepredigt] seine Hoffnung in Persien (Περσίς), aber
. . [nicht hat] Zarathustra (Ζαράδης) Bücher geschrieben, sondern seine
Jünger nach seinem Tode erinnerten sich und schrieben . . .
[die Bücher], die sie heute lesen . . .
. . . . . Als Buddha seinerseits gekommen war, haben die

26 Ende: bzw. „entsprechend ihrem [Vermögen]".

[Η̄]

ⲛ̄ⲕⲉ[ⲫⲁⲗ]ⲁⲓⲟⲛ

1 [. . . . . .]ⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲩ ⲍ[ⲉ] ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄[. . .
2 [. . . . . .]ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧ[ⲡ] ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗ[ⲏ]
3 [ⲥⲓⲁ . . . .]ⲍⲱⲕ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲃⲱ[ⲗⲡ] ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄
4 [ⲧⲉⲩⲍⲉⲗⲡ]ⲓⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲍⲉ ⲙⲡ[ⲉⲩ]ⲥⲍⲉ̈ⲓ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟ
5 [ⲫⲓⲁ ⲁⲍⲱ]ⲙⲉ • ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲙⲛⲛ̣[ⲥ]ⲱⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣ
6 [ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ] ⲙ̣ⲡⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ ⲃⲟⲩⲇⲁⲁⲥ ⲁⲩ
7 [ⲥⲁⲍⲩ ⲁⲅ]ⲣⲁⲫⲏ leer ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲍⲉ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲛⲓ̣ⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟ
8 [ⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲥⲍ]ⲉⲓ ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲁⲍⲱⲙⲉ . . . . . [. .] . ⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲗⲟ . . [
9 [. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲉ ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲍⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩ[ⲛⲏ] ⲙⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗ[ⲏ]
10 [ⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲃ]ⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲕ̣ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ [ⲡⲉ]ⲓ̈ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲥⲍⲉ[ⲓ̈]
11 [. . . .] . . . . . ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲉⲛⲉ[. .] . . [. . .]ⲥⲁⲍⲥ̀ ⲁⲍⲱⲙ̣[ⲉ]
12 [. . . . . .] ⲛⲁ̄ⲡ[ⲗ]ⲁⲛⲏ ⲙ[.] . . . [. . .] . . . ⲥⲉ̈ⲓⲉ
13 [. . . .]ⲓ̣ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲉ . [. .] . . . . [. . . . .]ⲉ . ⲡⲗⲁⲛ[ⲏ]
14 [. . . . .] . . . ⲕⲁⲡⲏⲗ[ⲉⲩ]ⲉ ⲛ̣ⲥ̣ⲉ̣ . [. . . .] . . . ⲛ . . .
15 [. . . .] . . . ⲙⲟⲩⲍⲧ [. .] . . . . [ ] . . . ⲗ̣ⲓⲁ . .
16 [. . . . .] ⲡⲁⲛⲓ . [. . . . . .] . . . ⲙⲏ̣ⲉ . . .
17 verwischt . . . .]ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲥ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛ̣[ⲉ
18 . . . . . ⲉ . . . ⲗ̣ⲁ . [. . . . . .]ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗⲡ . [
19 [. . .] . ⲕ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲕ̣ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ ⲟⲩ . . . . . ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛⲕ̣[
20 [ⲧⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓ]ⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲓ ⲍⲉ̣[. . .] . ⲓⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲛⲛⲁ
21 [. . . . . .] . . . . ⲗⲟⲛ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲉ . . [. . . . . .]
22 . . . . . [. . . . . .]
23 [. . . . . .] . . ⲉⲥⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲓⲧⲟ̣ⲟ̣ⲧ . . [ ]
24 . . . . . .
25 . . . . . .
26 . . . . . ⲣⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧ̣ . . . . . [. . . . . .
27 [. . . . .] . . . . ⲉⲩⲧⲣⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ . . . [. . . . . .
28 [. . . . .] ⲥ̣ⲁⲍ̣[ⲟ]ⲩ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ⲁⲍⲱⲙⲉ keine Spuren zu sehen [
29 [. . . . .] . . . . . .
30 [. . . . .]ⲙ̣ⲡⲉⲥⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲥ[. . . . . .
31 [. . . . .]ⲡ̣ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲍⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ . [. . . . . .
32 [. . . . .] . ⲫ̣ⲱⲗⲡ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ [ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ ⲛⲁⲅⲣⲁⲫ[ⲁⲩⲉ . . . . . .
33 [. . . .] . . ⲁⲧⲟⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲍⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲑⲉ̣[ⲣⲙⲏⲛⲓⲁ? . . . .
34 [. . ⲕⲁⲧⲁ] ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲍⲥ̀ . . [. . . . .
35 [. . . . . .] . ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲁⲍⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ ⲍⲉⲕⲁ̣ⲥ . . [. . . .

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10 st. ⲟⲩ|ⲛⲉ kann auch etwa ⲱⲍⲛⲉ ergänzt werden. — 19 Ende: statt ⲛⲕ̣[viell. ⲛⲓ̣ⲁ̣[ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄]. — 31 Anfang viell. [ⲥ]ⲉ̣ⲡ.

Die Kephalaia

1 . . . . über ihn, daß auch er gepredigt hat [seine Hoffnung]
2 . . . . [und] viel Weisheit. Er hat seine Kirchen ausgewählt
3 [und hat] vollendet seine Kirchen und offenbart ihnen
4 [seine Hoffnung]. Aber nur dies ist es, daß [er] nicht geschrieben hat seine
5 Weisheit [in] Bücher. Seine Jünger, welche nach ihm kamen, sie sind es, die
6 [sich erinnerten] an das Etwas von Weisheit, das sie von Buddha gehört hatten, und
7 [schrieben es in] Schriften (γραφή) —. Dies aber ist es, daß die Väter der Gerechtig-
8 keit (δικαιοσύνη) ihre Weisheit nicht in Bücher geschrieben haben . . . .
9 . . . . wußten, daß ihre Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη) und ihre Kirche
10 [vergehen werden] aus (? in) der Welt, deswegen haben sie nicht geschrieben
11 . . . . . Denn wenn sie sie (sc. Weisheit) in Bücher geschrieben hätten,
12 [so wäre . . . . . nicht] verloren (*oder* in die Irre) gegangen (πλανᾶσθαι) . . . fallen . . .
13 . . . . . in die Irre gehen (πλανᾶσθαι).
14 . . . . . verfälschen (καπηλεύειν) . . . . . .
15 . . . . . vermischen . . . . . .
16 . . . . . .
17 . . . . . die gesamte . . . . des Wissens,
18 . . . . . wird sich offenbaren.
19 . . . . in der Welt in . . . . . Denn die Väter .
20 [der] Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη) wissen dies, daß . . . . . .
21 . . . . . .
22 . . . . . .
23 . . . . . seitens . . . . . .
24 . . . . . .
25 . . . . . .
26 . . . . . in die Irre gehen (πλανᾶσθαι) . . . . .
27 . . . . . indem sie leuchten . . . . . .
28 . . . . . schreibt sie für euch in Bücher . . . . . .
29 . . . . . .
30 . . . . nicht hat sie sich offenbart noch hat sie . . . . . .
31 . . . . jedes [Gesetz?], sowie die Gebote (ἐντολή) und
32 . . . . wurden euch offenbart in meinen Schriften (γραφή), die ich]
33 . . . . euch, daß die Weisheit und die [Deutung? (ἑρμηνεία), die ich]
34 [gesprochen habe von] Zeit zu Zeit, die ich nicht aufgeschrieben habe [in Büchern]
35 . . . . . und schreibt sie auf nach meinem Tode, damit . . .

[ϑ̄]

ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ

1 ⲛⲉⲥⲣⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲛⲧⲟⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲁⲏ ⲧ̣ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲛ̣ⲥ̣ⲁ̣[ⲩⲛⲉ?]
2 ⲍⲱⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲍⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲧ[ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ]
3 ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲧ[ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲁⲍⲩ]
4 ⲁⲭⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲡⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲥⲁⲍ[ⲩ
5 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲭⲓⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ[ⲛ]ⲁⲃ[ⲛ]
6 ⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲍⲉⲓ̈ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲛⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲍⲛ [ⲧⲥⲟ]
7 ⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉⲥ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ̣ leer Ⲉ[ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ]
8 ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲛ[ⲧⲉⲧⲛ]ⲣ̄ⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ[. .] . . . . ⲉ . . [
9 ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲛⲥⲉ+ⲍⲏⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲍ̣ⲉ̣ unlesbar [
10 ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ leer

11 ā

12 — ⲉⲧⲃ̣ⲉ̣ ⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲓ[ⲛⲉⲓ] —
13 ⲁ̣ ⲙⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗ̣ⲟ̣ⲥ ⲁ̣

14 ā

15 ⲦⲦⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁ̣ⲗ̣[ⲁⲓⲟ]ⲛ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ̣ [ⲱⲛ̄ⲧⲫ̄]
16 [ⲁ]ⲣ̣ⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧ̣ⲫ̄ⲁ̣ⲡ[ⲟⲥ]ⲧ̣ⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲁ̣ⲡ̣ⲕ̣ⲟⲩ[ⲙⲟⲥ]
17 [ⲭ]ⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ[ⲉⲱ] ⲛⲍⲉ . . . . . [ⲧⲉⲩ]
18 ⲃⲓⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲭ̣ⲱⲣ̣[ⲁ ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ]
19 ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲛⲉⲱ ⲛ̣[ⲍⲉ verwischt
20 . . ⲛ̣ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲍⲁⲧⲉⲍⲏ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲛⲧ[ⲉⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ]
21 [ⲦⲦⲁ]ⲭ̣ⲉ̣ ⲡⲁ̣ⲡ̣ⲟⲥⲧ̣ⲟⲗ̣ⲟⲥ ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲩ ⲭ̣ⲉ̣ ⸗[. . . . . .
22 [. . . . . .] . . ⲱ . . ⲁ̣ⲗⲗⲁ̣ ⸗ⲛⲁⲧ̣ⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲁ̣ⲣⲱⲧⲛ̣ⲉ̣ . [. . .]
23 [. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲙⲥ . . . leer
24 [.] . . . . . ⲙⲙⲉ ⲱ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧ̣ⲟ̣[ⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏ]
25 ⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲁⲡ ⲉ̣ⲩ̣ⲧ̣[ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ]
26 ⲁⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ̣ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟ̣ⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲙⲙⲁ[ⲩ ⲟⲩ]
27 ⲛ̣ⲑⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ̣[ⲣⲙ]ⲟ̣ⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲁⲡ̣ⲉ̣ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ [ⲱⲟ]
28 [ⲟ]ⲡ ⲉ̣ⲛ̣ ⲍⲛ ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲃⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲉ̣ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ̣ . . . . . [
29 . . . . . [. . . . .]ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲕ̣ⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ [
30 . . . ⲧ̣ⲉ̣ . . . . . ⲍ̣ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛ̣ ⲙ̣ . [
31 [. . . . . .] . . . . ⲛ̣ⲛⲉⲩ+ⲟ̣ⲉ̣ . . . . . .
32 [. . . . . .] . . . ⲡⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲁⲍⲥⲟⲩ ⲛ̄+ⲟ̣ⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲱ[
33 [. . . . . .]ⲕ̣ⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ ⲛⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲭⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲛⲥ̣ⲉ̣
34 [. . . . . .] . ⲁⲡⲁⲁⲡⲉ ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉ̣ⲓ̣ ⲅ̣ⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ

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9 Statt ⲣⲙⲍⲉ̣ viell. ⲣⲙⲙⲁ̣. — 27 ⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ ganz unsicher. — 32 ⲛⲥⲉ 2º: ⲥ über der Zeile.

des Lehrers.

sie euch nicht verloren gehe (πλανᾶσθαι). Denn ihr wißt
selbst, daß die viele Weisheit, die [ich verkündigt habe in]
jeglicher Stadt, in jeglichem Lande abgesehen von (χωρίς) dem, was [ich geschrieben habe]
in Büchern, kein Menschenmund reicht aus, [es] zu schreiben.
Aber ihr nach eurem Vermögen und so wie ihr es
könnt, erinnert euch (daran) und schreibt ein kleines Bißchen von der vielen
Weisheit, die ihr von mir gehört habt. Wenn(?)
ihr es schreibt und es bewundert, [so werden . . . . . .]
erleuchtet werden gar sehr und Nutzen haben und frei werden . . . . .
der Wahrheit .

I.

Über das [Kommen] des Apostels.

I.

Das erste Kapitel (κεφάλαιον) ist dies, [in welchem] seine Jünger [ihn befragten]
wegen seines Apostelamtes (ἀποστολή) und seines [Kommens in] die Welt
auf [welche] Weise es geschehen sei . . . . . [sein],
Wandeln in jeglicher Stadt (und) in jeglichem Lande,
in welcher Weise er gesandt [worden war] . . . . . .
. . anfangs, bevor es [seine Kirche] ausgewählt hatte.
Der Apostel sprach zu ihnen: Ich . . . . . .
. . . . . aber ich werde es euch verkünden . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . Wisset, o meine Geliebten, daß alle Apostel,
die jeweils in die Welt gesandt werden, [gleichen]
Bauern, während ihre Kirchen, die sie auswählen,
dem Parmuthi und dem Paophi gleichen. Sowie der Parmuthi
nicht in allen [Monaten(?)] des Jahres ist noch [der Paophi ist]
. . . . . in ihnen allen, sondern die Zeit (καιρός) . . . .
. . . . . für sich selbst, indem sie wissen . . . . . .
. . . . . seine Gurken (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . der Zeitpunkt, daß sie geerntet werden, auch die Gurken und die . . . . . .
. . . . . Zeit (καιρός) und sie wachsen und werden reif zum Ernten
. . . [bis zum?] Paophi. Sicherlich nun (ἀμέλει γοῦν) jener Bauer

[Ⲓ]

ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

. . . . . ⲡ̣ⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲍⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲩⲭ̣ⲟ̣ ⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲉ ⲛⲍⲏ
[ⲧⲩ . . . . ⲱⲃⲱⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲱⲁⲩⲭⲱⲗⲙⲉ̣ ⲍⲛⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛ
. . . ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲉ ⲛⲩⲍⲉⲥⲧⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲱⲱⲙ
[ⲉⲓ] ⲕ̣ⲁⲧⲁ ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲣⲉ ⲉ̣ⲓ ⲁ̣ⲡⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲍⲥⲟ̄ⲩ
[. .]ⲡ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲁⲩⲉ ⲉ̣ⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲩⲱⲍⲥ̀ ⲡⲕⲉⲡⲁ . . . . ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣ
[ⲭⲏ . . . .] ⲱⲁⲩⲍⲉ̣ⲥⲧⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲩⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲩ
. . . . . ⲛⲥⲉⲡⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲩⲭⲁⲗⲟ̣ⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ
[Ⲧⲍⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲛ]ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁ̣ⲡ̣[ⲕⲟ]ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲧⲛ̄
[ⲧⲁⲛⲧ] ⲁⲩ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲥⲁⲍⲏⲧ ⲉ̣ . . . ⲡ̣ⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ
. . . . . ⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ [ⲙⲙⲁ]ⲩ ⲍⲁⲧⲉⲍⲏ ⲛⲍⲛ̄
. . . . . ⲍⲁⲧⲉⲍⲏ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧ̣ⲟⲩⲱ . . . . . ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟ
[ⲥⲙⲟⲥ] . . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲥⲉ . . . . . ⲁⲡⲥⲱⲛⲧ
[ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲛⲥⲉ]ⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲛⲟⲩ[ⲙⲛ]ⲧⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙⲡ[. . . .ⲉ]ⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄
. . . ⲛ ⲛⲉⲕ̣ⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲥ . . . . . .
. . . ⲡⲉⲓ̈ . . ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲣⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲉⲩ[ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲍⲉ . . . . . .
. . . . . ⲍⲛ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ . . . . . .
. . . . . ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
. . . . . ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ̣
. . . . . ⲉ̣ⲩⲁⲣ ⲡⲉⲩ . . . . . ⲛⲧⲡⲣⲱ ⲛⲩⲁⲥⲍⲩ̄
. . . . . ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ ⲁ̣ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟ̣ⲥ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲱⲱⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲡ
[. . . . . ⲡ]ⲁⲁⲡⲉ ⲛⲩⲃⲓⲧⲟⲩ Ⲧⲍⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ . . . .
. . . . . ⲍⲛⲣ̣ⲙ̣ⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲍⲁⲧⲉⲍⲏ . . . . .
[. . . . . ⲡⲕ]ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉ̣ⲙⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲧ . . . . . .
[. . . . ⲣ̄ ⲧⲙ]ⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲣⲙⲍⲉ̣ ⲙⲛ . . . .
. . . . . ⲛⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲟⲣⲫⲁ̣[ⲩⲉ ⲛ̄]ⲣⲙ̄ⲍⲉ .
[. . . .] leer Ⲧⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲁ . . . . . .
[. . . . ⲛ̄]ⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉ̣ⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲱⲁⲩ+ ⲍⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲛ . . . . . ⲥ]ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱ
. . . . . ⲥ̣ⲡⲱⲍ ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲧ̣ⲉ̣ ⲍⲱⲥ ⲭⲁⲱⲍⲥ̀ . . . . . .
. . . . . ⲍⲉⲥⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲁⲡⲉ . . . . . .
[. . . . . Ⲧⲍⲉ] ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟ̣ⲗ[ⲟⲥ . . . . .
. . . .]ⲭⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲙⲡⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ̣[. . . . .
. . . [ⲧⲍ]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲭ̣[ⲟⲟ]ⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ . . . . [. . . .
ⲁ [. . . . . .] ⲍⲁⲧⲉⲍⲏ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲱⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲙ̄ . . . . [. . . .
ⲥ . . ⲣ̣ⲙⲍⲉ [ⲙ]ⲡ̣ⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ • ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲇⲉ [ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁ]

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3 ⲍⲉⲥⲧⲩ: ⲥ von spät. Hd. ü. d. Z. — 5 Viell. ⲡⲕⲉⲡⲁ[ⲧⲱⲛⲏ]. — 19 ⲁⲥⲍⲩ so.

Die Kephalaia

1 . . . Parmuthi, weil er kommt und sät Getreidekörner in
2 [ihm] und Kraut (o. ä.), aber befleißigt sich von Anfang (ἀρχή) an
3 . . . Getreide und bemüht sich darum. Wenn aber die Erntezeit
4 [kommt] in jedem Jahre und sein Getreide kommt zu der Zeit (καιρός) des Abmähens,
5 [dann] kommt der Bauer heraus und mäht. Auch der [Obstgärtner(?)] von Anfang (ἀρχή) an
6 . . . . . bemüht er sich um seine Früchte (καρπός) und pflegt (wörtlich „ernährt") sie und er
7 . . . . . und sie werden reif, und er kommt heraus und pflückt sie vom Baume ab.
8 [So auch die] Apostel, die in die Welt kommen, sie
9 [gleichen] einem . . . der Größe . . . . . die Zeit (καιρός), wo
10 . . . . . Fleisch, aber sie werden ausgesandt vor . . .
11 . . . . . bevor sie . . . . . in der Welt
12 . . . . aus der Größe, sie . . . . . die Schöpfung
13 ganz und [sie] erwählen eine Auslese . . . . . indem sie machen
14 [sie] zu Electi und Katechumenen . . . . . .
15 . . . . . ihre Gestalten (μορφή) und sie machen sie [frei] . . . .
16 . . . . . im Fleisch . . . . . .
17 . . . . . die Welt
18 . . . . . nach oben
19 . . . . . er wird machen seine . . . . . [im?] Winter und ihn abmähen
20 . . . . . pflegt die Frucht auch im Sommer und . .
21 . . . . . Paophi und nimmt sie weg. So ist die Art [des Apostels?]
22 . . . . . in vielen Jahren, bevor . . . . . .
23 . . . . . Welt, indem er geht nach unten in das [Fleisch?]
24 [. . . macht die] Gestalt (μορφή) seiner Kirche frei . . .
25 . . . . . das Fleisch derjenigen, deren Gestalten (μορφή) er befreit hat.
26 . . . . . Wie der Bauer, wenn er . . . . . .
27 . . . . . alsdann beginnt er . . . . . [zu] pflegen
28 . . . . [wenn] sie aber zum Parmuthi gelangt, erntet er ab
29 . . . . . bemüht sich um die Früchte des Paophi
30 . . . . . So auch die Apostel . . . . .
31 . . . . . seit (?) dem Anfang (ἀρχή) der Erschaffung (πλάσμα) der Menschheit . . . .
32 . . . . . [wie ich] euch [gesagt habe]: Zur Zeit, da . . . . . .
33 . . . . . vor allen Dingen er . . . . . .
34 . . . . . frei oberhalb zuerst. Zur Zeit aber, da

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2 ⲩⲃⲱⲛ (auch 14_{28}) weist Crum uns aus einer unveröffentlichten Schenute-Stelle nach, an der es neben ⲥⲓⲙ „Gras, Kraut" steht.

[ⲓⲁ]

ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ

1 ϫⲡⲁⲥ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ ⲱⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲥⲓⲣⲉⲧⲥ̣ ⲛ . . . . ⲥ ⲥⲙ ⲛ̣ . [

2 ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ̣ⲙ̄ ⲡ . . . . . [ϫ]ⲉⲥⲧⲏ̣

3 ⲁⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲟ ⲱⲁ[ⲩ]ⲃⲱ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱ . . . [

4 ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲱⲁ ⲛ̣ⲩⲁ̣ . . .

5 . ⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲡⲱⲍ ⲛⲩϫⲉⲥⲧⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ . [

6 ⲛⲩⲕⲁ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲩ̣[ⲁⲧⲱⲕ ⲁ]

7 ⲣⲉⲧⲩ[. . . . .] ⲛⲩⲃ̄ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲓ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲉⲕⲕ̣ⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲩⲧⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲙⲉ̣ [ⲁ]

8 ⲣⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲱ[ⲙⲡⲉ]

9 ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ ⲛ̣ⲍ . . . . ⲉ̣ⲩⲥ ⲥⲓ ⲣⲉⲩϫⲁⲩⲙⲁⲓ̣ⲧ ⲛⲩⲥⲱⲕ ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ . . . .

10 ⲙ̣ⲉϫⲣⲓ ⲁⲛⲕⲉⲕ̣[ⲁⲩⲉ] ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲥⲁⲣ[Ⲍ] ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧ[(ⲛ)ⲁ]

11 [ⲱ]ⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲃ[ⲟ]ⲏ̣ⲑⲟⲥ ⲥⲓ ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ ⲙⲁⲩⲃⲓ[. . . . . .

12 . . . ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲉ[ⲑ]ⲏ̣ⲡ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲩⲉⲕ̣ⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ̣ . . . . . .

13 [.]ⲁ̣ⲛⲉⲥ ⲁⲩⲱⲁ̣ . . . ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧ[ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧ]ⲉⲩⲉⲕⲕ̣ⲗⲏ̣ⲥⲓⲁ . . . .

14 nicht gelesen

15 . . . . . ⲁⲩϫⲉⲥⲧⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ̣ ⲛ̣ⲩⲃⲱⲕ̣ [ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ]

16 [ⲁⲧϫ]ⲱⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲉⲁ̣ⲩ ⲛⲩⲧⲁ̣ⲗⲏⲗ ⲛⲩⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲏ̣ [. . .]

17 ⲙ̄ . . . leer ⲧⲥⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩ[ⲁⲓ̈]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲥⲛ . . . . .

18 ⲛ̣ⲉⲩⲱⲗ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲱⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲉ[ⲱⲁ]ⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̣ [ⲟⲩϫⲱ]

19 ⲣⲁ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲕⲱⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲙⲙⲁⲟ [ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲙ̄ⲛ]

20 ⲧⲓⲉⲡⲱⲱⲧ leer ⲧⲧⲛⲟ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̣ⲁ̣[ϫⲉⲥ]

21 ⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̣ⲓ̈ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ̣ ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲕ̣ⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ . . . . . .

22 . . . . . ϫⲉ ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ [ⲛⲙ]

23 . . . . . ⲥⲙ̄ ⲛ̣ . . . . ⲉⲡⲉⲓ̣ⲇⲏ . .

24 . . . . . ⲱⲏⲛ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ [ⲉⲧⲩ]

25 [ⲁ]ⲧⲡ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ . . . . ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲍⲛⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲍ[ⲏⲧⲩ]

26 ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲡⲱⲍ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲧⲣⲟⲩϫⲡⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉⲣ[ⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ]

27 ⲱⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁ̣ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲩϫⲱⲗⲉ ⲙ̣ⲙ̣ⲁⲩ ⲍ̣ⲓ

28 ⲱⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲍⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲡⲛⲟ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁϫⲡⲟ ⲛⲉⲓ [

29 [ⲁ]ⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲛⲥⲉⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲛⲥⲉϫⲡⲁⲩ ⲁϫⲛ ⲛⲉ[ⲩⲕⲗⲁ]

30 ⲁ̣ⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲩϫⲱⲗⲉ ⲍ̣ⲓⲱⲱⲩ ⲛⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲡⲱⲍ ⲛⲥⲉⲡⲓⲥⲉ ⲙ[ⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩ]

31 ⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲍⲣⲁⲕ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̣ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ̣ ⲙⲡⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲙⲕⲁⲍ [ⲉⲩⲁ]

32 ⲍⲣⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲉⲩ ⲡⲛⲟ ⲉⲧⲩⲁⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲩⲱⲍⲥ ⲛ̄ⲉⲃⲣⲏⲩⲉ ⲥⲙ ⲡ[ⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩ]

33 ⲧⲉ . .[. . .] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲡⲣⲱ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲱⲱⲙ̣ . . .

34 ⲉ̣ⲓ [ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲥⲉ]ϫⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲃⲁⲧ ⲙⲡⲁⲁⲡⲉ leer

35 [ⲧⲥⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧ]ⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲡ[ⲉⲓ]ⲇⲏ

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6 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲥ sic (unverständlich). — 13 Anfang viell. [ⲡ]ⲁⲛⲉⲥ. — 32 Lies: ⲛⲉⲱ ⲛ⟨ⲛ⟩ⲉⲩ.

des Lehrers.

1 sie geboren wird im Fleisch, kommt er zu ihr herab und . . . sie in dem . .
2 zuerst jeweils, der herauskommt aus dem . . . . . erhebt sich
3 zu der Größe, er bleibt in der Welt in dieser Zeit . . . . . .
4 ihn jeweils in der Zeit, wenn die Welt wird kommen zu seinem . . .
5 . . . wenn die Zeit so weit ist und er erhebt sich aus der Welt . . .
6 und läßt seine Kirche zurück und geht fort, aber er [wird sich]
7 [aufstellen] . . . . und er wird seiner Kirche helfen (βοηθεῖν) und sie unterstützen.
8 Diejenigen, die nach ihm ihren Körper (σῶμα) verlassen, denen [wird] er
9 ein . . . . . und Führer, und er zieht vor ihnen . . .
10 bis (μέχρι) zu den andern, die in dem Fleische stehen. Er ist es, der
11 ihnen ein Helfer (βοηθός) und Behüter wird werden, nicht trägt er . . . .
12 . . . . . im Verborgenen, bis seine Kirche . . . . . .
13 verwandelt sie . . . zu der Zeit, wenn seine Kirche . . . . . .
14 . . . . . .
15 . . . . . er erhebt sich nach ihr und geht
16 [zum] Lande (χώρα) der Herrlichkeit und jubelt und geht zur Ruhe am Ende
17 . . . . . Wie der Bauer, der sich freut in (?) . . .
18 wenn er einbringt (Ernte) oder wie der Kaufmann, der aus [einem Lande] kommt
19 mit (?) der Verdoppelung seiner großen Schiffsladung und dem Reichtum [seiner]
20 Handelsware. — Wenn der Apostel sich erhebt
21 aus der Welt, er und seine Kirche . . . . .
22 . . . . . [alle] Apostel
23 . . . . . in dem . . . . . Denn
24 . . . . . Baum, denn während noch (ἔτι) seine ersten Früchte,
25 mit denen er beladen ist, . . . und man sie aberntet, werden andere konzipiert an [ihm] (sc. dem Baum)
26 und gelangen zu dem Zeitpunkt (καιρός), daß sie geboren werden. Es gibt keine einzige Zeit, wo [der Baum]
27 leer von Früchten wäre; vielmehr, während jene noch (ἔτι) im Begriff sind zu reifen und während man ihn aberntet,
28 werden andere an ihm konzipiert. Wenn diese geboren werden, ...
29 . . . . . an dem Baume und sie kommen herauf an ihm und werden auf [seine] Äste (κλάδος) geboren,
30 dann werden jene, die soweit sind und reif sind, abgeerntet. Nicht
31 ruht aus [der] Bauer zu irgendwelcher Zeit von der Anstrengung und Mühsal. Zu welcher
32 Zeit [sollte er] ruhen? Wenn er die Ernte des Getreides beendigen wird im [Parmu-]
33 thi . . . . . im Frühjahr, dann kommen die Früchte des Sommers
34 [herauf und werden] abgeerntet im Monat Paophi.
35 [So] gleichen auch die Apostel. Denn

[ⲓⲃ]

ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

1 [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϫⲉⲥⲧ̄ⲩ ⲁⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ
2 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲕ̣ⲕ̣ⲗ̣ⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲗⲟ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉ
3 [ⲧ]ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲓⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲕⲉⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲓⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲛⲧⲕⲉⲉⲕ
4 ⲕ̣[ⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ . . . . . ⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ . . . . . ⲛⲏ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄
5 ⲱⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲙⲙⲟⲣⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲕⲕ̣ⲗ̣ⲏⲥⲓ̣ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙⲥⲉ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲉ
6 ⲛⲧⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧ̣ . . . . . .
7 ⲱⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ . . . . . .
8 . ⲛⲩ⳨ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲩ̄ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲩⲛⲁⲥⲙⲉ̣ⲥ ⲛⲧⲛ ⲧ̣ⲥ̣ⲁ̣ⲣ̣ⲯ̣ [ⲙ̄ⲡ]
9 [ⲛⲁⲃⲉ] . . . . . [ⲁ] ⲧⲃⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲩ̣ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲡ
10 . . . . . [ⲛⲧ]ⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ ϫⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲑⲏⲗ
11 [ⲡⲱⲁ]ⲙ̄ⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲱⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲉⲛⲱⲱ ⲁⲥⲁⲛ
12 [ⲉⲛⲱϫ] ϫ[ⲛ ⲛ]ⲉⲛⲱϫ ⲱ[ⲁ]ⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲥⲏⲙ̄ [ⲡ]ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ . .
13 Nicht gelesen
14 . . . . . ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲛ . . . . . .
15 [. . . . . ⲃⲟⲩ]ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ⲥ ⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲁⲩⲣⲉⲛⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲉ . [
16 . . . . . .]ⲧ̣ⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏⲉ ϫⲛ ⲛⲧⲟ̣ⲓ̣ⲛ̣[ⲉⲓ]
17 ⲛ̄ⲃ̣ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲁⲩⲣⲉⲛⲧⲏⲥ ⲱⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲟⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲛ̣ⲍ̣[ⲁ]
18 [ⲣⲁ]ⲁ̣ⲏⲥ ⲁⲧⲡⲉⲣⲥⲓⲥ ⲡⲥⲁ̣ⲡ̣ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲱⲁ ⲥⲩⲥⲧⲁⲥⲡⲏⲥ
19 [ⲡⲣ]ⲣ̣ⲟ̣ ϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲧⲟⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲍⲁⲣⲁⲁⲏⲥ ⲱⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲟⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲛ|ⲏⲥ
20 [ⲡϫⲣⲥ] ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ leer
21 . . . . . ⲛ|ⲏⲥ ⲡϫⲣⲥ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ . . . . . .
22 . . ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲛ|ⲕⲟⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ . . . . . .
23 ⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲩ ⲁ|ⲉ̣ . . . . . ⲁ̣ⲣⲁ̣ⲩ
24 ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ϫⲱⲣ|ⲥ ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲱ
25 ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲛⲃⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲥϫⲏⲙⲁ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛ
26 ⲛ[ⲓ]ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲙ̄
27 ⲡ̣[ⲁ]ⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲛⲛⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ
28 [ⲙ̄ⲛ̄] ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲃⲉⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲡⲱⲕ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ
29 ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁ ⲡⲡ̣ⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲍⲉ
30 ⲛ̄ⲟ̣ⲩⲫⲟⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲛⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁ ⲡⲥ̣ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⲃⲱⲕ
31 ⲁ̣ⲍ̣ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲥ ⲡ|ⲥⲕⲁⲣⲱⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲉ̣ ⲍ̣[ⲙ ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥ]ⲛ̣ⲁⲩⲥ
32 ⲛ̣|ⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲟⲅⲙ̣[ⲁ ⲛⲛ|ⲟ]ⲩⲁⲁⲓ
33 ⲟⲥ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁⲁⲓⲁⲟⲩ ⲙ̄[ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲧⲟⲟ]
34 ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲥⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁ ⲛⲛⲙⲁⲧⲁ̣[ⲓ [ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲓ]

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12 Ende: man erwartet [ⲛⲱⲍⲉ]. — 29 Ende lies ⲛⲉⲍ⟨ⲥ⟩ⲉ.

Die Kephalaia

wenn der Apostel sich zur Höhe erhebt, er
und seine Kirche, und sie verschwinden aus der Welt, alsbald
wird ein anderer Apostel gesandt zu der andern (?)
Kirche . . . . . aber zuvor
macht er die Gestalten (μορφή) seiner Kirche frei in der Höhe,
wie ich euch gesagt habe: Wenn . . . . . .
kommt er seinerseits nach unten und offenbart sich . . . . . .
und erlöst seine Kirche und befreit sie vom Fleisch [der]
[Sünde?] . . . . . Das Kommen des Apostels hat stattgefunden jeweils (oder „immer wieder")
. . . . . wie ich euch gesagt habe: von Sethel,
[dem erst]geborenen Sohne Adams bis Enosch, sowie
[Enoch, von] Enoch bis Sem, [dem] Sohne [Noe's]
. . . . . .
. . . . . Kirche, alsdann [wurde gesandt]
. . . . Buddha nach dem Osten (ἀνατολή) und Aurentes und die andern . . .
. . . . . die nach dem Osten gesandt worden sind. Vom [Kommen]
des Buddha und Aurentes bis zum Kommen des Za-
rathustra (Ζαράδης) nach Persien (Περσίς), damals als er gekommen ist zum König
Hystaspes, vom Kommen des Zarathustra (Ζαράδης) bis zum Kommen Jesu
[Christi], des Sohnes der Größe.
[Das Kommen] Jesu Christi, unseres Herrn. Er ist gekommen (?) . . . . .
. . . in einem Geistigen (πνευματικόν), in einem Leibe (σῶμα) . . . .
so wie ich über ihn zu euch gesprochen habe . . . . . .
Er kam ohne Leib (χωρὶς σώματος). Seine Apostel wiederum haben verkündet
über ihn, daß er eine Knechts-Gestalt (μορφή) angenommen habe, ein Aussehen (σχῆμα) wie
Menschen. Er kam herab und offenbarte sich in der Welt in
der Sekte (δόγμα) der Juden. Er erwählte seine Zwölfe
[und] seine Zweiundsiebzig und erfüllte den Willen seines Vaters, der
ihn in die Welt gesandt hat. Darauf erweckte der Böse (πονηρός)
Neid (φθόνος) gegen die Sekte (δόγμα) der Juden. Der Satan (σατανᾶς) ist gegangen
hinein in Judas Ischariot, einen von den Zwölfen
Jesu. Er verklagte (κατηγορεῖν) ihn bei der Sekte (δόγμα) [der Juden],
durch seinen Kuß (ἀσπασμός) überlieferte (παραδιδόναι) er [ihn in die Hände]
der Juden und der Kohorte (σπεῖρα) der Soldaten. [Die Ju-]

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10 f. vgl. Gen. 5. — 25 f. Philipp. 2, 7. — 27 οἱ δώδεκα Mt. 10, 1 ff. Mc. 3, 14 f. Lc. 6, 13 ff. — 28 ἑβδομήκοντα δύο Lc. 10, 1. 17. — 29 πατὴρ ὁ πέμψας Joh. 5, 37. 6, 39. 44. 8, 16 u. ö. — 30 Satan Lc. 22, 3. Joh. 13, 27. — 31 εἷς τῶν δώδεκα Mt. 26, 14. 47. Mc. 14, 43. Lc. 22, 3. 47. — 33 Kuß Mt. 26, 49. Mc. 14, 44 ff. Lc. 22, 47 f. — παραδιδόναι Mt. 10, 4. 26, 15. 16. 25 u. ö. — 34 σπεῖρα Mt. 27, 27. Mc. 15, 16. Joh. 18, 3. 12.

[ⲓⲅ]

ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ

oc ⲥⲱⲩⲉ ⲁⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩ[ⲧⲉ ⲁⲩ⳨ⲥⲉⲡ ⲁ]
ⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲥⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϫⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ ⲟⲩⲙ̄[ⲛⲧ]
ϫⲓⲛⲃⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲉⲙⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲗⲁⲩ ⲁϫⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩ
ⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲥⲛⲗⲏⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲥⲧⲁ[ⲩ]ⲣⲟ[ⲥ]
[ⲁ]ⲩⲛⲧⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ ⲡⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ [ⲁⲩⲱ]
ⲙⲛⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ ⲁⲩ
ⲉⲓ ⲱⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩ⳨ ⲥⲓⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
ⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲩⲛⲓⲩⲉ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲍⲣⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ [ⲁⲩϫⲁⲩ]
ⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ϫⲉⲩⲛⲁⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ [ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄]
ⲧ̣ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲁ̣ⲉ̣ [ⲍ]ⲱⲩ ⲁⲩϫⲉⲥⲧⲟ̄ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁ[ⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ] ⲛ̣ⲁ . .
. . . . ⲓⲏⲥ [ⲡ]ⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄[ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ . . . . .
. . . . . ⲛϫⲱⲣⲁ . . . . . .
. . . . . ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ . . . . . .
fast völlig zerstört
. . ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲛⲃⲱⲃ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ . . . . . .
. . . . ⲁⲩⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲁⲱⲓⲣⲉ̣ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ . . . . . ⲁⲩϫⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ]
ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲍⲛ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ . . . . . .
ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ [ⲁⲩ⳨ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲛϫⲓ ⲡⲁⲩ]
ⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓⲱ [. . . . . .
. . . . . .] . . ⲁⲩ⳨ ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϫ[ⲣⲁⲩ . . . .
. . . . . [ⲧ]ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲥ̄ⲱⲣ . . . . . .
zerstört und abgerieben . . . . . .
. . . . . .]ⲩⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛⲟⲩ . . . . . .
ⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ ⲛ̣ . . . . . .
ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ̣ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲟⲩⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ . . ⲛ
ⲟⲩⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲁ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲥⲕⲁⲛⲇⲁⲗⲓⲍⲉ ⲁⲩⲕ[ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ]
[ⲛ]ⲥⲱⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲗⲁϫⲍ ⲁⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ . . . . . .
. ⲃⲱⲕ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧ leer
[ⲥ]ⲙ ⲡⲓⲥⲛ̣ⲩ̣ ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲏ ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ[ⲣ]ⲙ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲃ[ⲱ]ⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲏⲡ ⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲁⲩ⳨ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ . . . . . .
. . . . . .]ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲛⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ [ⲡⲟⲩ]
[ϫⲓⲛ ⲁⲗⲗ]ⲁ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲩϫⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ϫⲱⲣ[ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡ]
[ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲁ̣ ⲧⲉⲕ̣
[ⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ] ⲱ̣ϫⲛⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲱϫⲡ̄ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ϫⲱⲣⲓⲥ

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6 ⲟⲩ: lies: ⲟⲩ⟨ⲧⲉ⟩. — 11 [ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ] oder [ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ]

des Lehrers.

1 [den? (Ἰουδαῖ)ος] ihrerseits ergriffen den Sohn Gottes [, richteten]
2 ihn in Gesetzlosigkeit (ἀνομία) in einer Versammlung (συναγωγή) und verurteilten ihn in
3 Ungerechtigkeit, obwohl er keine Sünde getan hatte. Sie erhoben ihn auf das Holz des
4 Kreuzes (σταυρός), sie kreuzigten (σταυροῦν) ihn zusammen mit Räubern (λῃστής) am Kreuze.
5 Sie holten ihn herab vom Kreuze und legten ihn in das Grab (τάφος), [und]
6 nach drei Tagen stand er auf von den Toten und er
7 kam zu seinen Jüngern und erschien ihnen, er bekleidete sie
8 mit Kraft und blies ihnen seinen heiligen Geist ein, [er sandte]
9 sie aus in die ganze Welt, damit sie predigten [die]
10 Größe. Er aber seinerseits erhob sich [zur Höhe] . . . . .
11 . . . Jesus . . . seine zwölf [Jünger (?)] . . . . . .
12 . . . . . Land . . . . . .
13 . . . . . Herr . . . . . .
14 . . . . . .
15 . . . . . .
16 . . . . sie. Nicht waren sie schwachherzig noch . . . . .
17 . . . . sie waren alle tatkräftig. . . . . [sie erhoben sich]
18 und gingen zur Ruhe in der Größe . . . . [Während noch]
19 die Apostel in der Welt standen, [traf zusammen mit ihnen? Pau-]
20 lus, der Apostel. Auch er zog aus und predigte . . . . . .
21 . . . . . er gab Kraft den Aposteln und stärkte [sie]
22 . . . . . Kirche des Heilandes (σωτήρ) . . . .
23 . . . . . .
24 . . . . . er predigte eine . . . . . .
25 er ging hinauf und begab sich zur Ruhe in den . . . . . .
26 Nach dem Apostel Paulus allmählich Tag für (?)
27 Tag wurde die ganze Menschheit verführt (zur Sünde: σκανδαλίζεσθαι). Sie ließen [die Gerechtigkeit]
28 hinter sich und den engen beschwerlichen Weg und zogen vor . . . . .
29 [zu] gehen auf dem breiten Weg.
30 Zu dieser selben Zeit wiederum in der letzten Kirche ein Gerechter (δίκαιος) (und)
31 Wahrhaftiger, der zum „Reich" gehörte, erschien; er traf zusammen mit . . .
32 . . . . . sie operierten (?) die Kirche unseres Herrn gemäß (κατά) [ihrer]
33 [Kraft, aber] auch sie ihrerseits erhoben sich zum Lande
34 [des Lichtes]. Nach jenen wiederum allmählich
35 verfiel [die Kirche]. Die Welt blieb zurück ohne (χωρίς)

1 υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ Mt. 26, 63. Lc. 22, 70. — 2 Mt. 27, 1 und Par. — 3 ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον Act. 5, 30; 10, 39. — 4 λῃσταί Mt. 27, 38. 44; Mc. 15, 27. — 5 καθελεῖν Mc. 15, 36. 46; Lc. 23, 53. — 6 μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας Mt. 27, 63; Mc. 8, 31 etc. — 7 Vgl. Mc. 16, 14 f.; Lc. 24, 36 f.; Joh. 20, 19 f.; Act. 1, 3. — ἐνδύεσθαι δύναμιν Lc. 24, 49, vgl. Act. 1, 3. — 8 ἐμφυσᾶν Joh. 20, 22. — 9 Mc. 16, 15.

30 ff. Vermutlich sind Marcion und Bardesanes gemeint. — 32 ρτak zerlegen wir mit allem Vorbehalt in ρ- und tak „Operationsmesser".

[ⲓⲁ]

ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

1 [ⲉ]ⲕ̣ⲕⲗ[ⲏ]ⲥ̣ⲓⲁ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲕⲱⲧⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲃⲓ ⲛⲛⲕⲁⲣ
2 ⲡⲟ̣ⲥ ⲉ̣ⲧⲥ̣ⲓⲱⲩ ⲛⲩⲥⲱⲭⲡ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ leer
3 [ⲛⲧ]ⲁ[ⲣ]ⲉ̣ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲣ̄ ⲭⲉⲥⲧⲉ̀ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲁ ⲧⲁⲁⲡⲟ̣
4 ⲥⲧⲟ̣ⲗⲏ̣ ⲱⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲱⲛ̄ⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲉ̀ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄
5 ⲙⲉ̣ⲩ ⲁ̣ⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲣⲕⲗⲧⲥ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ
6 ⲉ̣[ⲓ] ⲍⲓ̣ⲣⲉⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲏ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲥⲏⲣ̄ ⲭⲟ̣
7 ⲟ̣ⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲧⲛⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲡⲣⲕⲗⲥ̄
8 [. . .] . . . . [ⲉ]ⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲣⲕⲗⲥ̄ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲭⲁⲭⲡⲏⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉ̣ⲧⲃ̣[ⲉ]
9 [ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ] . . . . . ⲭⲁⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲥⲁ ⲧⲁⲗⲓ̣ⲕ̣[ⲁⲓ]ⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲁ̣ⲩⲱ ⲉ
10 [ⲧⲃⲉ . . . . . .]ⲍⲉⲡ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲣⲉⲩⲣ̣ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ
11 [ ]. . . . [ⲩ]ⲁ̣ⲥ̣ⲉ̣ⲭⲉ̣ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲧⲛ . . .
12 [. . . . . .] . ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲛ . . . . . ⲧⲧⲱ . . [. . . . . .
13 14 geringe Spuren
15 [ ] . . . . . ⲛ̣ⲁⲣ . . ⲛ . ⲩⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛ . . [?
16 [ ] . . . . . ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ⲧⲛⲁⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲩ̄[
17 [. . . . .] . . . . . ⲡ ⲛⲩ̄ⲧ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ leer
18 . . . . . ⲁ̣ⲧⲁ̣ⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲡⲣⲕⲗⲥ̄ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲭⲉⲩ
19 . . . . .] ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃ̣ⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̣ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲩ ⲧ̣ⲉⲥ
20 [. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲡⲣⲟ̣ⲫ̣ⲉ̣ⲥⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲣⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩ . . . .
21 [. . . . ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛ̄]ⲓ̈ⲏⲥ̄ ⲱⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲛ̣ⲟⲩ . . . ⲉ̣ . . . . . ⲕ̣ .
22 [ ] . . . ⲡ̣ⲓ . . . ⲣ̄ . . ⲡ̣ⲭⲣ . . . . . [. . . . . .
23 [ ]ⲡ̣ . . . . . ⲏ̣ⲩ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲩ . . . . . [. . . . . .
24 . . . . . ⲛⲩ̄ⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̣ⲣⲙ̄ⲍⲉ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏ̣ⲥⲓⲁ ⲣ̄
25 ⲫⲟ̣ⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲥⲁⲣⲭ̄ ⲁ ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲱⲍ ⲁⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛⲙ̄ⲧⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ̣ ⲧⲍⲉ
26 ⲙ̄[ⲡⲉⲃⲁ]ⲧ̣ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲱⲃⲱⲛ ⲡⲱⲍ ⲛⲍ[ⲏⲧ]ⲩ ⲁ̣
27 ⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲁ̣ⲍⲉ̣[ⲟ]ⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲩ[abgerieben
28 ⲧⲁⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲣⲙⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲧⲁ[ⲃ]ⲁ̣ⲛⲏⲥ
29 ⲡ[ⲣ]ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲓⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲣⲙⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲧ[ⲁⲋⲟⲟⲥ] ⲡⲣ̄
30 ⲣ[ⲟ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉⲣⲥⲓⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ ⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲱⲍ ⲁⲡⲭ[ⲱ]ⲕ̣ ⲙ̣ⲡⲕⲁⲓ
31 [ⲣⲟ]ⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲧⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲣⲧ̣[ⲁⲋⲟⲟ]ⲥ ⲡⲣ̄
32 [ⲣⲟ . .ⲟ]ⲣ̣ⲏⲡⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲡⲣⲕⲗⲥ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲱ[ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲥ]ⲉ̣

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2 ⲉⲧⲍⲓⲱⲩ außer ⲩ ganz unsicher. — 12 Viell. ⲁⲧⲛⲡⲁⲛⲧⲓ̣ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲕ̣ⲟⲩ̣ (ganz unsicher). — 21 ⲧ̣ⲛ̣ⲟⲩ unsicher. — 27 ⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲁ̣ⲍⲉ̣[ⲟ]ⲩ unsicher. — 29 31 ⲁⲣⲧⲁⲋⲟⲟⲥ erg. nach 15_{28}, s. z. St. — 30 ⲭⲱⲕ unsicher.

Die Kephalaia

Kirche, wie ein Baum, von dem man abpflückt und wegnimmt die
Früchte, die an ihm sind, so daß er ohne (χωρίς) Frucht bleibt.
[Als?] die Kirche des Heilands (σωτήρ) sich zur Höhe erhoben hatte, da geschah mein
Apostelamt (ἀποστολή), nach dem ihr mich gefragt habt. Von jener Zeit an
wurde der Paraklet (παράκλητος), der Geist der Wahrheit, entsandt, der
zu euch gekommen ist in dieser letzten Generation (γενεά), wie der Heiland (σωτήρ)
gesagt hat: Wenn ich gehen werde, werde ich euch den Parakleten schicken,
[und wenn] der Paraklet kommen wird, wird er die Welt überführen [über]
[die Sünde und] wird mit euch reden über die Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη) und
[über die Sünde und über das] Gericht. Über die Sünder, die glauben
. . . . . wird [er] sprechen mit euch . . . .
. . . . . in die Hand (?) des Widersachers (? ἀντίδικος) . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . er wird predigen . . . . . .
. . . . . jener, der mich ehren wird und . . .
. . . . . und er wird euch geben.
. . . . . um zu predigen über den Parakleten der Wahrheit. Denn er
. . . . . er ist gekommen, um sich zu offenbaren dem, der ihn erkannt hat . . . .
. . . . . die Frist (προθεσμία) all der Jahre, indem sie . . . . . .
. . . [von] Jesus bis jetzt . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . bis er . . . . . .
. . . . . und wird sie frei machen. Als aber die Kirche
das Fleisch angelegt (φορεῖν) hatte, da war die Zeit (καιρός) gekommen, die Seelen zu erlösen, wie
der [Monat] Pharmuthi, in welchem das Kraut soweit ist,
daß es abgeerntet (gemäht) wird. In dieser selben Zeit [bildete?] er
mein Bild (εἰκών), welches ich trage (φορεῖν), in den Jahren des Artabanes,
des Königs von Parthien (Παρθία). In den Jahren des Ardaschir aber, des
Königs von Persien (Περσίς), wuchs ich auf und wurde größer und gelangte zur [Vollendung] der Zeit.
In diesem selben Jahre, als Ardaschir der König (?) [im Begriff war?],
die Krone [zu empfangen], da kam der lebendige Paraklet herab [zu mir und] redete

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6 ⲉⲛ ϯⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛⲥⲁⲏ = fī hāḏā lqarn al'ahīr Biruni Chronol. 207 (Zitat aus dem Schapurakan).
7 ff. Vgl. Joh. 16, 7 f. — 26 „Kraut" s. o. zu 10, 2.

[ⲓⲉ]

ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁϩ

1 ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ [ⲉ]ⲧϩⲏⲡ
2 ⲡⲉⲧϩⲏⲡ ⲁⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣ[ⲓⲟ]ⲛ̣ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩ[ⲛ]
3 ⲙⲛ ⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲛ̣ⲉ
4 ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲡϩⲧⲁⲡ ⲙⲙ|ⲱⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡ̣ⲡⲟⲗ[ⲉⲙⲟⲥ]
5 ⲙⲛ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ . . . ⲡ̄ⲗⲁϩ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲥⲁⲣ̄ⲫ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̣ⲛ̣[ⲛⲥⲱⲥ]
6 ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲱ ⲧⲉ ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲛⲉ . . . . .
7 ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ϩ|ⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲥⲉϩⲟ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ . . . .
8 ⲁ[ⲫⲧ]ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲧϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲭⲏⲩ [ⲁⲧⲣⲉ ⲛ̄]
9 [ⲛⲟⲩ]ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲱⲧϥ ⲙ̣ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ]
10 ⲙ̣ⲡⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲡⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲙ̣ⲛ ⲧⲁⲡⲟ̣ . . |ⲁ . . . . [. . ⲁⲡ]
11 ⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲃ|ⲙ̣ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲡⲱⲁⲣ[ⲡ ⲛⲣⲱ]
12 ⲙⲉ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲩ̣ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ [ⲉ]
13 ⲧⲁ̣ ⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ[ϥ] ⲁ̣ ⲛⲉϥⲃⲉⲗ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ̣ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏ
14 ⲣⲓⲟⲛ [ⲁⲛ] ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙ[ⲟⲥ ⲁⲧ(ⲣ)ⲟⲩ]
15 ⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥ|ⲓⲁ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ [ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩ]
16 ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ [[ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲛⲣⲉⲫⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃ̣[ⲏⲩⲉ]]]
17 [ⲡ]ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲟⲏⲑⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ [ⲛⲟⲩ]
18 ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲛⲣⲉⲫⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ
19 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥ|ⲥ ⲉⲧⲗⲏⲃ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲧϩⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁ ϩⲱϥ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲁϥⲱ[ⲱ]
20 ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲡⲣⲕⲗⲥ ⲙⲡ . . ⲛ . .
21 ϩⲱϥ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲃⲉⲗ ⲓ̈ⲁⲣϩⲟ̄ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲁ
22 ⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲙⲉⲕⲙⲟⲩⲕⲩ ⲛ[ⲧ]ⲉ ⲡⲉ . ⲁⲩ ⲁⲧ . . . ⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲩ ⲁ̣
23 ϩⲱⲩ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ
24 ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ leer ϩⲛ̄ ⲧϩⲁⲏ ⲛⲛⲣⲙⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲧⲁⲝ[ⲟⲟⲥ]
25 ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛϩⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲁ[ⲓ̈]
26 ⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲧϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ
27 ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲉⲥⲁⲛⲓⲧ leer ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲁⲉ ϩⲱⲱϥ [ⲉⲧⲁ ⲁⲣ]
28 [ⲧⲁ]ⲝⲟⲟⲥ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲥⲁⲡⲱⲣⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲫⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲣ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲁϥϫ . . . . .
29 ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲭⲱⲣⲉ ϫⲛ ⲛⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲛϩⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲛⲡⲉⲣⲥⲏⲥ ϫⲛ̄ ⲛ̣
30 ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲡⲉⲣⲥ|ⲓⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲓ [ⲁ]ⲡ̣ⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲧⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⲧⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲁⲛ[ⲟⲥ]
31 ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲟϩⲉⲟⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲟ[ⲩ]ⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲥⲁⲡⲱⲣⲏⲥ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲁϥϩⲩⲡⲟ̣
32 ⲁ[ⲉ]ⲭⲉ ⲙ̣ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲧ[ⲁⲓ̈]ⲟ ⲁⲩ+ⲙⲁ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲁⲙⲁϩⲉ ϩⲛ . . . .
33 [. . . . ⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲁ]ⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲙⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ̣ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣ̄ ϩⲛⲕⲉⲣⲙⲡⲉⲩ[ⲉ]
34 [. . . . . .]ⲉⲩ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲙ|ⲧⲁⲧⲟⲛ ϩⲛⲣⲙⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱⲩ ϩⲛ̄

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16 ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏ . . . . auspunktiert: durch Homoioteleuton veranlaßte Dittographie aus Z. 18. — 28 Anfang [ⲁⲣⲧⲁ]ⲝⲟⲟⲥ anscheinend so, jedenfalls nicht das zu erwartende ⲁⲣⲧⲁⲝⲁⲣⲏⲥ. — 34 Vor ⲉⲩ Spuren von ⲛ̣ oder ⲙ̣: ⲛⲉⲩ oder [ⲛⲉ]ⲙⲉⲩ.

des Lehrers.

mit mir. Er offenbarte mir das verborgene Mysterium,
das verborgen ist (od. war) vor den Welten und den Generationen (γενεά), das Mysterium der Tiefe
und der Höhe. Er offenbarte mir das Mysterium des Lichtes
und der Finsternis, das Mysterium des Kampfes und des Krieges (? πόλεμος)
und des großen Krieges — . . ., den die Finsternis angestiftet hat. [Darnach?]
offenbarte er mir auch, wie das Licht hat . . . . .
die Finsternis durch ihre Vermischung und wie diese Welt aufgerichtet worden ist.
Er klärte mich auch darüber auf, wie die Schiffe befestigt worden sind, damit
[die Götter] des Lichtes sich in ihnen nieder lassen, um das Licht auszuläutern [aus]
der Schöpfung, den Bodensatz und den Abfluß (? ἀπόρροια) [zu werfen in den]
Abgrund; das Mysterium der Erschaffung (πλάσσειν) Adams, des ersten Menschen.
Er belehrte mich auch über das Mysterium des Baumes der Erkenntnis,
von dem Adam gegessen hat, (wodurch) seine Augen sehend wurden.
Auch das Mysterium der Apostel, die in die Welt gesandt werden, [damit sie]
die Kirchen auswählen; das Mysterium der Electi [und ihrer]
Gebote (ἐντολή); <das Mysterium der Sünder und ihrer Werke>;
das Mysterium der Katechumenen, ihrer Helfer (βοηθός) und [ihrer]
Gebote (ἐντολή); das Mysterium der Sünder und ihrer Werke
und der Strafe (κόλασις), die ihnen bevorsteht (?). Auf diese Weise ist alles, was geschehen ist
und was geschehen wird, mir durch den Parakleten offenbart worden . . .
Alles, was das Auge sieht und das Ohr hört und das Denken
denkt und . . . . . ich habe durch ihn erkannt
alles. Ich habe gesehen das All (alles) durch ihn und wurde e i n Körper
und e i n Geist. — Am Ende der Jahre des Ardaschir,
des Königs, zog ich aus, um zu predigen. Ich fuhr (zu Schiff) nach dem Lande der Inder und
predigte ihnen die Hoffnung des Lebens und wählte dort aus
eine gute Auslese. — In dem Jahre aber, da
der König Ardaschir starb und sein Sohn Schâpûr König wurde, da [sandte?] er [nach mir?].
Ich fuhr von dem Lande der Inder nach dem Lande der Perser (Πέρσης), vom
Lande wiederum Persiens (Περσίς) kam ich nach dem Lande Babylon (Βαβυλών), Mesene (Μαισανος)
und Susiana. Ich erschien vor dem König Schâpûr, er empfing (ὑποδέχεσθαι)
mich in großer Ehre und erlaubte mir, daß ich wanderte in [seinen]
[Gebieten und] predigte das Wort des Lebens. Ich verbrachte weitere Jahre in
. . . . [mit] ihm im Gefolge (κομιτᾶτον), viele Jahre in

16 Das Eingeklammerte Dittographie von Z. 18. — 23 vgl. 1. Kor. 6, 17. — 31 Susiana, koptisch ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲟⲍⲉⲟⲥ.

ιε

ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

1 [ⲧ]ⲡⲉⲣⲥ[ⲓ]ⲥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲛⲡⲁⲣⲑⲟⲥ ⲱⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲁⲁⲓⲃ ⲙⲛ
2 ⲙⲙⲉⲑ[ⲟⲣ]ⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲱⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ
3 [ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲧⲡ]ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏ
4 ⲥⲓ[ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟ]ⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲧ ϩⲓⲣⲉⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁⲓ̈
5 [ⲭⲟ] ⲡⲃ̣ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ̣ ⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲱϩⲣⲉ ⲛ+ . . ⲃ̣ⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ
6 . . . ⲭ]ⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲉ̣ⲓ̈ⲃ̣ⲧ̣ ⲁⲡⲉⲙⲛⲧ ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ [ⲉ]ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲉⲩ
7 [ⲁ ⲧⲁ]ϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲱⲁ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ̣
8 [ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ|ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ ⲁⲡⲕⲗ|ⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲙ̄ϩⲓⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲡ[. . .]
9 . . . . . ⲙⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲣ̄ ⲛ̣ⲉ̈ⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ . . . .
10 [. . . . . .] ⲉ̣ⲡⲉ̣|ⲇⲏ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩ
11 nicht gelesen . . . . . ⲱⲛ̣ .
12 nicht gelesen . . . . . ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲱ . . . .
13 nicht gelesen . . . . . ⲡ̣ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ . . . . . .
14 [. . .] . ϫⲉ ⲉ̣ⲛⲁⲃⲱ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ . . . . . .
15 [. . . .] . . . . . ⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲫⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲣ . . ϩⲛ̄
16 verwischt und abgerieben ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥ|ⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉ[ⲙ?]
17 verwischt und abgerieben ⲉ̣ⲧⲛⲡⲁⲧⲃⲃⲟⲩⲣ leer
18 verwischt ⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲱⲛⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲉ
19 [ⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲡ]ⲡⲛⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲡⲣⲕⲗⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
20 . . . verwischt . . . . . ⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲡⲉ
21 ⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲛⲏ| ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥϩⲉ̈ⲓ̈ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲩ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ|ⲉⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲁ
22 ϫⲙⲉ ϩⲁⲑⲏ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲧ ⲁ̣ⲛ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲉ|ⲥⲧⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ
23 ⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲩⲛⲧⲟⲙ|ⲁ̣ Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲛ[ⲧⲁ]ⲣⲉ ⲛ[ⲉⲩ]
24 ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ ⲁⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲋ
25 ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲧ̀ⲣⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡ
26 ⲙⲡⲉⲕϩⲙⲁⲧ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁ|ⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲥϩⲉ̈ⲓ̈ ⲙⲉⲛ ϩⲁ ⲧⲕⲃ|ⲛⲉⲓ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛ̄
27 [ⲅⲣⲁ]ⲫ̣ⲁⲩⲉ ⲧϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲉ̣ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲛϫ|ⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲛⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ
28 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ̣ ⲁⲕⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡ|ⲙⲁ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟ̣ⲩⲥⲱⲩϩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲁ̣[ⲛ]
29 ⲇ̣ⲉ̣ ⲉ̣ϣⲱⲛ ⲁⲛϫ|ⲧⲥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁ|ⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲛⲛⲁ̣ϩⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡ̣
30 ⲡ̣ⲣⲕⲗⲉ̣ ⲁⲛ ⲡ|ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ̣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛ|ⲡⲉⲧ
31 ϩⲙⲡ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ leer
32 Β̄
33 Β̄ ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ
34 ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲟⲗⲏ ⲙⲡⲱⲏⲛ Β̄
35 Ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲛⲧⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲃϩ̣[ⲩ ⲁⲧ(ⲣ)ⲉⲩϩⲉⲣ]
36 ⲙⲏⲛⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲙⲡ[ⲥ]ⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲁϩⲙ[

20 Anf. etwa [ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ]ⲱⲡⲡⲉ o. ä.

Die Kephalaia

Persien (Περσίς), im Land der Parther (Πάρθος) bis hinauf nach Adiabene und den Grenzbezirken (μεθόριον) des Gebietes des Reiches der Römer (Ῥωμαῖος). [Ich habe auserwählt (?)] euch, die gute Auslese, die heilige Kirche, zu der ich gesandt worden bin vom Vater. Ich habe [gesät das] Korn des Lebens und habe . . . . . vom Osten nach dem Westen, wie ihr seht, [ist meine] Hoffnung gegangen nach dem Osten (ἀνατολή) der Welt und (nach) den Gegenden [allen?] des Erdkreises (οἰκουμένη), nach der nördlichen Himmelsrichtung (κλίμα) und der [südlichen?]. Nicht einer von den Aposteln hat jemals solches getan . . . . . Denn alle Apostel, die gesandt worden sind . . . . . sie haben gepredigt . . . . . die Welt . . . . . denn sie wird bleiben in der Welt, bis . . . . . seinen Thron (θρόνος) in ihr und er wird machen . . . in . . . . . Kirche, die zur Rechten ist . . . . . der zur Linken gehörige . . . . . nach der ihr mich gefragt habt. [Denn der] Geist des Parakleten ist es, der zu mir gesandt worden ist von [dem Vater der Größe (?) Was] geschehen [ist] und was geschehen wird, [ist] mir offenbart [worden]. Ich habe euch darüber ausführlich geschrieben in meinen Büchern früher. Jetzt habt ihr mich wiederum gefragt, siehe ich habe verkündigt die Sache euch in Kürze (συντομία). — Darauf, [als seine] Jünger alles dies von ihm gehört hatten, freuten sie sich sehr. Ihr Sinn (νοῦς) ward erleuchtet, und sie sprachen zu ihm vor Freude: „Wir danken Dir, o Herr, daß Du uns über Dein Kommen geschrieben hast in den Schriften (γραφή). So wie es geschehen ist, haben wir es angenommen und daran geglaubt, aber Du hast es uns hier in kurzer Zusammenfassung verkündigt, wir [aber] haben es ausführlich angenommen und geglaubt, daß Du bist der [Paraklet], der aus dem Vater (kommt), der Offenbarer aller Geheimnisse.

II.

Das zweite (sc. Kapitel) über das Gleichnis (παραβολή) vom Baume.

Das erste Gleichnis (παραβολή), nach dem sie ihn fragten, und das sie [ihn] baten ihnen zu deuten (ἑρμηνεύειν) ist dieses. Als . . . . . .

35 Ueber Manis Deutung der zwei Bäume s. die Stellen bei Waldschmidt-Lentz: Stellung Jesu ABA S. 29 ff. Titus Bostr. IV 47.

[ⲓⲍ]

ⲙⲡⲥⲁϩ

1 [. . .]ⲁ . ϩ . . . [. . . . .] ⲭⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏ[ⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧϩⲙⲉⲥⲧ]
2 ϩⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉϩⲏ ⲁⲩⲱⲛⲧⲩ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙⲙ[ⲁ]ⲕ̄ ⲡⲛ̄
3 ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲥ . . . ⲛ ⲛⲕϩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ[ⲉ]ⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓ
4 [ⲱ]ⲏⲛ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ [ⲉⲧⲁ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲧⲉⲟ]ⲩⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲏϩ ⲁ
5 [ⲡ]ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉ[ⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲩϫⲱ] ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲱⲁϥ+
6 [ϧⲁⲣ]ⲡⲟ[ⲥ ⲉϥⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲡⲱ]ⲏⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲩ ⲱⲁϥ+ ϧⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉϥ
7 [ϩⲁⲩ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲱⲏⲛ] ⲉϥⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲱⲁϥ+ ϧⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲩϩⲁⲩ
8 [ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲱⲏⲛ ⲉϥϩⲁⲩ ⲉ]ⲱⲁϥ+ ϧⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ [ⲉϥ]ⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲉ[ⲱⲁⲩ]
9 [ⲥⲟⲩ]ⲱⲛ [ⲱⲏⲛ ⲛ]ⲙ̄ ϩⲛ] ⲛⲉϥϧⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ leer
10 [ⲧⲛ̄]ⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲙⲁϧ̄ ϫⲉ ⲉϧⲁ . . . . . .
11 . ⲱⲏⲛ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ [ⲛ]ϧϩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ . . . . .
12 [. .]ⲉⲩⲣⲏⲧ ϩ[ⲓⲱⲙ ⲡ]ϧⲁⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲥⲉⲥⲏϩ . . [. . . . .
13 ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ . .̈. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ . . . . . .
14 . . . . . ⲥⲉϫⲉ ϩ . . . . . .
15 . . . . . ⲙⲩϩⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ
16 Ⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ϩⲛ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲩϩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱ[ⲏⲛ]
17 [ⲥⲛ]ⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲱⲡ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲱⲏⲛ ⲉϥⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉ . . . . [ⲥⲱ]
18 ϫⲡ̄ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲓϧⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲧ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ . . . . . .
19 ⲁ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲣ . . . . . .
20 ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ leer
21 Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲛ̄ⲭⲥ̄ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ [ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ]
22 ⲧⲛⲁϭ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲛⲁϭ ⲡⲉ . . . . . .
23 geringe Spuren
24 } abgerieben
25 }
26 ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲩ . . . . . .
27 ⲉⲧϩⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲟⲩ[ⲙⲁ] . . . . . .
28 } geringe Spuren
29 }
30 [ⲡ]ⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ ϫⲉ ⲫⲉ[ϩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛ]ⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲱⲡ ⲙⲙⲁ[ⲩ]
31 [.] . ⲙⲏ ⲁⲛⲱⲏⲛ [. . . . .]ϩⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲓⲁ . . . . . .
32 . . . . . ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ . . . . . .
33 [. . . . . .] . . . ⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲩⲣⲏⲧ ϩⲙ ⲡⲓϧ[ⲁⲥ] ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲧ
34 [. . . . . .] ⲃⲛⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ . . . . . .
35 [. . . . ⲧⲱ]ϧ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲧⲃⲛⲛⲉ ⲣ̄ⲱⲉⲩ ⲉⲛ ϩⲟⲗⲟⲧⲉ
λωϛ

3 Nicht ⲉϧⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲛ. — 35 [ⲧⲱ]ϧ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ganz unsicher.

des Lehrers.

1 . . . . . seine Jünger [, welche saßen?]
2 vor ihm, fragten ihn und sprachen zu ihm: Wir bitten Dich, o
3 Herr, daß Du uns [belehrest] und uns eine Deutung gibst (ἑρμηνεύειν) betreffs dieser
4 beiden Bäume, [die Jesus] seinen Jüngern verkündet hat, indem sie geschrieben sind
5 im Evangelium (εὐαγγέλιον), [indem er sprach]: Der gute Baum gibt
6 [gute] Frucht, [der] schlechte Baum gibt [schlechte] Frucht;
7 [nicht ist ein] guter [Baum], der schlechte Frucht gäbe
8 [noch ist ein schlechter Baum], der gute Frucht gäbe. [Man]
9 [erkennt jeden Baum an] seinen Früchten. —
10 [Wir] bitten Dich nun, daß Du [uns belehrest betreffs dieser]
11 beiden Bäume [und] sie [uns] deutest (ἑρμηνεύειν)
12 . . . indem sie gewachsen sind [auf der] Erde. Denn sie sind geschrieben . . . [in?]
13 Schriften (γραφή) . . . . . sie . . . . . .
14 . . . . . Rede (?) . . . . . .
15 . . . . . [in? od. gemäß?] jedem Mysterium.
16 [Es gibt] einige unter den Sekten (δόγμα), die diese beiden Bäume deuten (ἑρμηνεύειν),
17 indem sie von ihnen meinen, daß ein guter Baum . . . . . .
18 zurückbleiben in dieser gemischten Erde. — Jeder (?) . . . . . .
19 . . . zu ihnen, indem sie sie führen auf die . . . . . .
20 in einer einzigen Deutung (ἑρμηνεία).
21 Darauf sprach unser Herr Mani, der Apostel [der]
22 Größe zu seinen Jüngern: Groß ist . . . . . .
23 . . . . . .
24 . . . . . .
25 . . . . . .
26 durch seinen eigenen Mund . . . . . .
27 schlecht. Die Sekten (? δόγμα) . . . . . .
28 . . . . . .
29 . . . . . .
30 d. h. sie [deuten (ἑρμηνεύειν)] die beiden Bäume, indem sie von ihnen meinen,
31 . . . Bäume . . . . . in einer Deutung (ἑρμηνεία)
32 . . . . . denn . . . . . .
33 . . . . . Baum, der wächst in dieser vermischten Erde
34 . . . . . Dattelpalme; denn . . . . . .
35 . . . . . daß die Dattelpalme ganz und gar (ὁλοτελῶς) nichts nütze ist.

5 ff. Lc. 6, 43. 44.

[ⲓⲏ]

ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

1 ⲉⲩ ⲉⲓⲟ [.] ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲥⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲉ[. . . . .] . . . . . [
2 ⲕⲙⲡⲓ . ⲁ . ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩ . . [ ] . . ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ
3 . ⲛ̄ⲍ . . . ⲱⲁⲩⲍ . .ⲟ ⲁⲧⲍⲁⲏ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ[. . . . .] ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲟⲡ
4 ⲍ̄ⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲃⲁⲡⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲥⲃⲁⲉ . . . . [. . . . . .] . . . ⲭⲙ . . .
5 ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲙⲉⲥ . ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲍⲁⲩ . [. . . . . .] . ⲉⲩⲛ . [
6 ⲃⲛⲛⲉ . . ⲏ . . . ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧ[. . . . . .] . . . . . [
7 ⲉⲩⲍⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲁⲏ ⲥⲉ+ ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲫⲁⲥⲓⲥ . [. . . . . .
8 ⲁⲃ . . . . . ⲏ ⲛⲉⲧ . . . [. . . . . .
9 [. . . . . .] . . ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩ+ⲣⲉⲛ [. . . . . .]ⲁⲁⲛ . . [
10 . . . . .]ⲡⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ [
11 . . . . . +ⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲱⲏⲛ . . . . . ⲡⲟⲩ+ . [
12 . .[. . . . . .] ⲍⲁⲗⲃ . . . . . .] ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲧ . [
13 . . . . .]ⲍⲛ̄ ⲉ[
14 . . . . . ⲉ ⲁⲱⲏ . . . . . .

15 } einstweilen unlesbar
16 }

17 . . . . . ⲙⲡⲭⲱ[. .]ⲥ ⲁ . . . . . ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ . [
18 . . . . . ⲉⲓ ⲥⲛⲧ . . . .
19 . . . . . ⲉⲩⲥⲱ . . . . . ⲱⲁⲩⲥⲙⲓⲛ[ⲉ . . .
20 . . ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ . . . ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲱ . . . ⲍⲉ . . . . . ⲙⲡ . . . .
21 . . . . ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲥⲟ . ⲩⲍⲁⲗⲉⲃ . . . . . ⲣⲁ ⲉⲱⲁ . . . .
22 ⲭⲉ . . . . . ⲃⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ . . . ⲛ̄ⲉ . . . . . ⲛⲩⲣ̄ⲱ[ⲉⲩ]
23 ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ . . . . . .

24 }
25 }
26 }
27 } einstweilen unlesbar
28 }
29 }
30 }

31 . . . ⲛⲁⲍⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ . . . . . .
32 ⲍ . . . . . ⲁⲧⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲧⲡ[. . . . . .] . . . . . [. .
33 ⲍ . . ⲍⲛⲣⲱⲙ[ⲉ] ⲉⲩ+ⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭ[ⲉ . . . . . .
34 nicht gelesen

35 } stark abgerieben
36 }

37 . . . . . ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩ . . . . . .[ⲁⲡⲟ]

Am unteren Rande eine Zeile

Die Kephalaia

1 . . . . . ihren (pl.) Sohn, indem sie (fem.) schlägt . . . . . .
2 . . . . . zuerst ein . . . . . in ihnen
3 . . . . . schließlich ist ein . . . . . er befand sich
4 in ihren (der Palme) Fasern und ihren Zweigen . . . . . .
5 Es ist eine böse Finsternis in ihnen . . . . . .
6 Dattelpalme . . . . vor dem Baum, der . . . . . .
7 ein schlechter. Denn sie geben das Urteil (ἀπόφασις) . . . . . .
8 . . . . . .
9 . . . . . [Dattelpalme], welche (fem.) sie nennen . . . . . .
10 . . . . . die Art (τύπος)
11 . . . . . nennen ihn „Baum“ . . . . . .
12 . . . . . süß . . . . . .
13 . . . . . .
14 . . . . . .
15 . . . . . .
16 . . . . . .
17 . . . . . Schrift (γραφή)
18 . . . . . .
19 . . . . . sie errichten
20 . . . . . Mensch . . . . . .
21 . . . . . er ist süß . . . . . .
22 . . . . . Samenkorn (?) des . . . . . [und] es ist [nützlich]
23 zu ihrer (pl.) Nahrung (τροφή) . . . . . .
24 . . . . . .
25 . . . . . .
26 . . . . . .
27 . . . . . .
28 . . . . . .
29 . . . . . .
30 . . . . . .
31 . . . wird deuten (ἑρμηνεύειν) . . . . . .
32 . . . . . wird nicht berühren . . . . . .
33 . . . Menschen, die genannt werden . . . . . .
34 . . . . . .
35 . . . . . .
36 . . . . . .
37 . . . . . daß sie (pl.) . . . . . .

[ιθ]

μπ[caz]

1 [c]ṭ̣ολος αγχ̣ι ηπε μμαч ϩN̄ τηπε μ̣[πμντcναγc a]
2 τzαн хε ccнz ετβнτч̄ хε a πcαταν[ac βωκ azογν αραч]
3 αч† πcнр̄ атоотч̄ nn̄ιογaaιος аγб . . [
4 zι̣хμ πωε leer ιογaac оγn πιckар[ιωτнc аγ]
5 μογτε αραч n̄ωαρπ хε ρωμε ечанιт . . . . . .
6 nеч zι πρ̣ọ̣ạ̣ọτнc zι ρечzωτβε Rest abgerieben [ccнz етβε]
7 παγλ̣ος хε nε̣ч̣ο nаιωκτн̣c nωαρπ . . . [εккλн]
8 ç̣ια μπn̄оγτε ечаιωкε . . . [
9 . . . . . [
10 . . . нт . . . . . [. . . .
11 nоγnаб ṇαπο[καλγ]†ιc ачεγа . . . . . [. . . .
12 ṭ̣εккλнcια [μπ]ạ̣χ̣αï̈c ач . . . . . [. . . .
13 тч̄ ечzаγ n̄ωαρπ̄ . . μ̄n̄ nọ̣[.] . c Rest abgerieben
14 [.] . . [. . . . .] . . ṇzερμнneγε μ . . . . . [. . . .
15 [. . . . . .]ε τογzερμнnια та . . ε̣ỵ . ε̣ . . . [. . . .
16 . . . . . ρωμε ечаn|т n̄cаγтn̄ . . . . . [. . . .
17 . . . ечzаγ zολοτελωc Єπειдн нтn̄ . . . . . [. . . .
18 ạ̣γπλαccε ū̄μαγ zιтn̄ πτωτ ū̄π . . . . . [. . . .
19 ευαzε αρετογ тнрογ zn оγага . . . . [. . . . . .
20 n̄таγ†ειне аραγ аγcμнтογ zμ π . . . . . μn̄[. . . . . .
21 ettнт zn̄ n̄zвнγε тнрογ leer Єιcтε . . . тε . . [. . тzερ]
22 μнnια nn̄дογμ̣ạ̣ cn . . . . azρn̄ . . . . . z . . . . [. . .
23 [. . .]cωтμ̄ нтаọ̣γωn[z] nнтn̄ аβал ε̣ṭβε ṭ̣[.] . . . [. . ε]
24 [та п]ọ̣нр ṭ̣εọ̣γаγ zn̄ т[παραβολн] ε̣ṭβε πωнn ετаn|т μ̣n̄
25 πωнn етzаγ . . . . [. . . . . .]аωω ū̄μạ̣ . . . . . [
26 μn̄ωεγ хε zнεγ nε [. . .] . . . . μn nоγc[а]nzоγn
27 . . . caγne eγтантn̄ [. .] . . хε zn̄ тọ̣γzερμнnια . . . .
28 . . хε zнεγ n̄ε п[ι]ψн[n c]n̄εγ leer . . . . . .
29 тzε е†наоγωn̄ż nнтn̄ . . . . . пzερμнn[εγc . . . . . .
30 n̄ωнn μ . . . . . kọ̣nια [. . .] ε пιωт п . . пε n̄ . . . . [
31 n̄ . nn̄wв . . тнрογ еч . . [. .] . т zn̄ ṭ̣ωḥр . ε̣ι . . . . . .
32 . . . . . [. . .]nкосμос [. .] . ṭ̣εкμ . . . zn тε . . . [
33 [. . . . . .] . . . оnια μπιψнn εṭ[а]n|ṭ пε . . х . . [
34 [. . . . . .]ṭ̣ас nε̣ пογаї̈nε μπιψн̣n̄ етаn|т n[
35 [. . . . . .] . . . . . п[c]тγλос [. . . . . .] . . . . . [

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3 Ende viell. бạ̣πч. — 24 cнр: kein übergesetzter Strich zu sehen. — 29 оγωnz: ω über der Zeile. — 31 wв: viell. ψв. — 34 ψнn ganz zweifelhaft.

des [Lehrers.]

1 Apostel. Er wurde unter die Zahl [der Zwölfe] gerechnet
2 Zum Schluß aber steht von ihm geschrieben: Der Satan (σατανᾶς) ist [eingegangen in ihn],
3 und er hat den Heiland übergeben in die Hände der Juden, sie haben [ihn durchbohrt?]
4 auf dem Holze. — Judas Ischariot nun (οὖν), [man hat]
5 ihn anfangs einen guten Menschen genannt, [schließlich aber . . . . .]
6 . . . und Verräter (προδότης) und Mörder. [Es steht geschrieben über]
7 Paulus, daß er anfangs ein Verfolger (διώκτης) war . . . . . [die]
8 Kirche Gottes, indem er verfolgte . . . . . .
9 . . . . . .
10 . . . . . .
11 eine große Offenbarung (ἀποκάλυψις), er hat . . . . . .
12 die Kirche meines Herrn und er hat . . . . . .
13 . . seiend schlecht anfangs . . . . . .
14 . . . . . deuten (ἑρμηνεύειν) . . . . . .
15 . . . . . ihre Deutung (ἑρμηνεία) . . . . . .
16 . . . . ein guter Mensch, aufrichtig (?) . . . . . .
17 [Mensch], der durch und durch (ὁλοτελῶς) schlecht ist. Denn (ἐπειδή) . . .
18 sie wurden gebildet (πλάσσειν) durch die Vermischung des [Lichtes?] . . . .
19 indem sie stehen alle in [Liebe? (ἀγάπη)] . . . . . .
20 sie haben gegeben Ähnlichkeit an sie und sie befestigt im . . . . . .
21 die vermischt sind in allen Dingen. — Siehe, [dies ist] die Deu-
22 tung (ἑρμηνεία) der Sekten (δόγμα) . . . . . .
23 . . . hört, daß ich euch offenbare in betreff [der Worte],
24 [welche der] Heiland verkündet [hat] in dem [Gleichnis (παραβολή)] über den guten Baum und
25 den schlechten Baum . . . . . .
26 nicht wissen sie, was es mit ihnen auf sich hat, [ihr Äußeres?] und ihr Inneres
27 . . . wissen, indem sie vergleichen . . . . . in ihrer Deutung (ἑρμηνεία) . . .
28 . . . . was es mit [diesen] zwei Bäumen auf sich hat . . .
29 wie ich euch offenbaren werde . . . . . der Deuter (ἑρμηνευτής) . . .
30 der (?) Bäume . . . . . der Vater . . . . . .
31 . . . . . alle, indem er . . . . . die in der . . . . . .
32 . . . . . Welt . . . . . .
33 . . . . . dieses guten Baumes ist es, daß . . . . . .
34 . . . . . das Licht dieses guten Baumes . . . . . .
35 . . . . . die Säule (στῦλος) [der Herrlichkeit] . . .

1 Mt. 26, 14. 47; Mc. 14, 43; Lc. 22, 3. 47. — 2 Lc. 22, 3; Joh. 13, 27. — 6 προδότης von Judas Isch. Lc. 6, 16 vgl. Act. 7, 52. — 7 διώκειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ Phil. 3, 6; 1. Kor. 15, 9.

[k̄]

[N̄kεφαλαιον]

1 . . . π| . . . . ⲛ̣ⲛ̣ⲟ̣ⲉ̣ⲣⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ . .
2 . . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟ|ⲭⲉ|ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄
3 ⲟ̣ⲩⲁ̣|ⲛ̣ⲉ ⲛⲉⲧ̣ⲧⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ
4 ⲛ̣ⲧⲉ̣ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲡⲉ |ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡ̄ⲡⲣ|ⲉ ⲉⲧⲟ̣ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ
5 [ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟ]ⲥ̣ⲧ̣ⲟ̣[ⲗ]ⲟ̣ⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲧ†ⲡⲉ ⲁ̣ⲉ ⲛⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲱⲏⲛ
6 [ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲧⲉ ⲧ̣ⲉ̣]ⲕ̣ⲕ̣ⲗⲏⲥ|ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲥ̣ⲥ̣ⲁⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲥ̣
7 [. . . . . .] . . . ⲛ̣ⲕ̣[ⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟ]ⲩ̣ⲙ̣ⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏ
8 [ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ . . . . .] geringe Spuren
9 [. . . . . .] ganz geringe Spuren ⲩ . [. . .
10 [. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲉ ⲙ [. ⲕⲁ]ⲣ̣ⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩ
11 [. . . . . ⲟ]ⲩⲱⲛⲥ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ⲁⲃ̣[ⲁⲗ . . . .] . . . . . .
12 [. . . . . .] . . ⲧⲩ̄ ⲟⲩⲛ̣ⲧⲩ ⲧ̣ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ
13 [ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲡⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲡⲙⲉ]
14 [ⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲡ]ⲉ̣ⲩⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥ|ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ̣[ⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ]
15 ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ [ⲡⲥⲧⲩ]ⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲁ̣[ⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲃⲱ]
16 [ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁ]ⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲥ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲙⲙⲟⲩ̣[ⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ]
17 [ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ] ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ⲩⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ
18 [ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲥ ⲥⲙ̄] ⲡ̣ⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥⲙ̄
19 [. . . . . .] ⲡⲛⲟⲩ[ⲥ ⲥ]ⲱⲱⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲥ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲙⲛⲧ
20 [ⲛⲁⲃ ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ] ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̣ [ⲛ]ⲁ̣ⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ leer
21 [. . . . . .] . ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ ⲙ†ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲉⲥⲟ ⲛ̄
22 [. . . . . ⲉ]ⲧ̣ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲥⲁⲛ ⲛⲕⲉⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏ
23 [ⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛ]ⲟⲥ † [ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ]ⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧ̣ⲉ̣ⲕ̣ⲕⲗⲏⲥ|ⲁ [ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ]
24 [. . . .]ⲡⲥ . . . . . ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲡⲙⲁⲕ̣ⲙⲉⲕ̣ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲱ . [
25 [. . .] . ⲱⲁⲩⲭⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ| ⲛ . . . . . ⲡⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ
26 [ⲱⲁ]ⲩⲭⲉ̣ⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲱⲁ ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲧⲉ̣ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ [ⲛ]ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ
27 [ⲡⲉⲧⲟ]ⲩⲏⲥ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲭ[ⲛ ⲛ]ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲱⲁⲩⲭⲉⲥⲧ[ⲟⲩ]
28 [ⲁⲥⲣ]ⲏⲓ̈ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ[ⲉⲩ]ⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧⲟⲩⲏⲥ ⲥⲙ̄
29 [ⲡⲭ]ⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁ̣ⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲡ̣ⲛⲁⲃ ⲙⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ
30 [ⲁⲩ . .] . . . . ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉ̣ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡ̣ⲉ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ
31 [ⲧⲉ] ⲛ̣ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣[ⲁ|]ⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ leer
32 [ⲦⲦ]ⲉⲓ̈ ⲡ̣ⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩ† ⲕⲁⲣⲡ̣[ⲟⲥ . . . . . .
33 . . .]ⲱⲛⲥ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲥ| ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲁ̣ⲛⲏⲥⲉ . [. . . . . .
34 . . .]ⲱⲟⲡⲉ ⲁ . . . . ⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ̣ ⲩⲥⲙⲁⲙ̣[ⲁⲁⲧ . . . . . .
35]ⲉⲧⲁⲛ[|ⲧ . . . . .] ⲉⲑⲁⲩ [. . .] ⲥ̣ⲁ̣ . . [. . . . . .

25 Über der Zeile ist etwas nachgetragen.

[Die Kephalaia]

. . . . die [vier?] Geistigen (νοερόν), die um seinen Körper gehüllt sind.
. . . . . des guten Baumes, das sind die Elemente (στοιχεῖον)
des Lichtes, welche vermischt sind, indem sie im All verknetet sind. Die Früchte
des guten Baumes sind Jesus, der herrliche Glanz, der Vater
aller Apostel. — Der Geschmack aber der Früchte des [guten]
Baumes [ist die] heilige Kirche, (bestehend) in ihren Lehrern und ihren
. . . . [ihren Electi und ihren] Katechumenen. Siehe, das ist der Baum,
[der gute] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . schlechte Frucht
. . . . . [ich werde] euch offenbaren . . . . . .
. . . . . [er (sc. der gute Baum)] hat fünf Glieder (μέλος),
[welche sind: die Überlegung, das Sinnen, die Einsicht, das Denken,]
[der Noûς]. Seine Überlegung ist die heilige Kirche. [Sein Sinnen]
ist [die] Säule der Herrlichkeit, der vollkommene Mann. [Seine Einsicht]
[ist der] Urmensch, der wohnt in dem Schiffe der [lebendigen] Wasser.
Sein Denken ist der Dritte Gesandte,
[der wohnt in] dem Schiffe des lebendigen Feuers, der leuchtet in
. . . . . Der Noûς aber ist der Vater, der wohnt in der
[Größe?, der vollendet?] in den Aeonen des Lichtes.
. . . . . das heißt, daß die Seelen, die hinaufkommen und treffen
[die] heilige [Kirche], sowie die Almosen, welche die Katechumenen [geben?], indem sie geläutert werden in der [heiligen] Kirche
. . . . . aller. Die Überlegung ist es, die . . . . . .
. . . sie erheben sich [zur Säule der Herrlichkeit, welcher] ist das Sinnen,
sie erheben sich zur Einsicht, welches der Urmensch ist,
[der] in dem Schiff der Nacht wohnt. Von der Einsicht erheben sie sich
zum Denken, welches der (Dritte) Gesandte ist, der wohnt in
[dem] Schiff des Tages. Er aber, der große Gedanke, der
[herrliche, bringt] sie hinein zum Noûς, welcher ist der Vater, der Gott
der Wahrheit, der große Noûς aller Aeonen der Herrlichkeit.
Dies ist der gute Baum, der [gute] Frucht bringt, [der da]
ganz Leben und Licht ist bis in Ewigkeit . . . .
. . . . . jemals, er ist gepriesen . . . . . .
. . . . gut . . . . . schlecht . . . . . .

13 Koptische Übersetzung für λογισμός, ἐνθύμησις, φρόνησις, ἔννοια. — 16—17 Zur Erg. cf. 64_3; Augustin de nat. boni 44 *navis vitalium aquarum.*

[ka]

ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲥ

1 . . . . . ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲥⲛ ⲛ . . [. . . . . .

2 [. . . . .] . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . . . .

3 [. . . .] ⲥⲱⲱⲩ . . . . . .

4 [ganz geringe Spuren] ⲛⲧⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲩⲱⲟ

5 [ⲟⲡ

6 [} zerstört

7 [

8 [

9 [} unlesbar

10 [

11 [

12 [. . . . . .] ⲙⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ . . . . . .

13 [. . . . . .] ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ . . . . . .

14 [. . . . . .] . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲣⲭ . . . . [. . . . . .

15 [. . . . . .] . . ⲉ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ . . . . . .

16 [. . . . . .] ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲧ+ⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲉⲧⲙⲁⲥⲉ . . . . .

17 [. . . . .] ⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ . . . . . .

18 [. . ⲥ]ⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧ . . . . . [ⲉ]

19 ⲧⲁ ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧ[+ⲡⲉ] ⲥⲱⲩ [ⲛⲛⲓ]

20 ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲙⲃⲱⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲁⲟⲅⲙⲁ . . . ⲡ . . . [ⲉ]

21 ⲧⲙⲏⲣ ⲥⲛ ⲥⲛⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲁⲥ . . . . . .

22 [ⲡⲛ]ⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲭⲓ+ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲙ[ⲁⲩ]

23 [. . . . .]ⲙ̄+ⲩⲭ[ⲁⲩⲉ] ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉ[ⲱⲁⲩ]

24 [+ ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉ]ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁ[ⲩ]

25 [ⲭⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲱⲁⲩ]+ ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲩ ⲁⲩⲧ . . .

26 ⲁⲛⲅⲣⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ [. . . ⲛ]ⲁⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲩ leer

27 [. . . . .]ⲛⲁⲧⲥ [. . . .]ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲱ[

28 [. . .]ⲱⲩ ⲁ [. . . .] . ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉⲩ +ⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ [ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ]

29 [ⲉ]ⲧⲉ ⲛⲧ[ⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲕ]ⲙⲉⲕ ⲡⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ [ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ]

30 [ⲡⲉ]ⲩⲙ[ⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲡⲉ] ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ[ⲟ]ⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲟⲅⲙ[ⲁ]

31 ⲭⲓⲥⲃⲱ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲡ[ⲉ]ⲩⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡ[ⲙ]ⲉⲧⲁⲅⲅⲓⲥⲙⲟⲥ [. . . .

32 ⲥⲙ̄ ⲧⲩⲡ[ⲟⲥ ⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ] ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲃⲱ ⲥⲱⲱⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲕⲁⲙⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲧ[ⲥⲉⲧⲉ]

33 [. . . . . ⲧⲅⲉ]ⲥⲉⲛⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲥ ⲛ̣[ⲕ]ⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ . . .

34 [. . . . . .] . . . [ⲙⲁ]ⲛⲭⲓⲟⲣⲉ ⲡⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡ . [. . .

35 [. . . . . .] ⲛ̣ⲃⲱⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲙ[ⲣ]ⲣⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲏ ⲡⲥⲱⲣ [. . . .

36 [. . . . . .]ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⲛ̣ⲁ[ϫⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ]

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22 ⲁⲃⲉ sehr unsicher. — 28 Ende viell. ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̣ⲕ̣[ⲉⲕⲉ]. — 32 Anfang wohl ⲥⲛ ⲧⲩⲡ[ⲟⲥ ⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ] oder ⲥⲛ ⲧⲩⲡ[ⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ].

des Lehrers.

1 . . . . . war entstanden in den . . . . . .
2 . . . . . .
3 . . . . . .
4 . . . . . wie er
5 ist . . . . . .
6 . . . . . .
7 . . . . . .
8 . . . . . .
9 . . . . . .
10 . . . . . .
11 . . . . . .
12 . . . . . des guten Baumes . . . . . .
13 . . . . . des Feuers . . . . . .
14 . . . . . sie sind es, die . . . . . .
15 . . . . Himmel und das Rad (τροχός) . . . . . .
16 . . . . . sie sind die fünf σάρκες, die gehen . . . . . .
17 . . . Früchte . . . . . .
18 . . . Lehre sowie die Irrlehre (πλάνη), das Mysterium . . . . . .
19 welches der Satan in die Welt gesetzt hat. Der [Geschmack der]
20 schlechten Früchte sind die Bösen (?), die Sekten (δόγμα) . . . . . .
21 die gebunden sind in lauter verschiedenen Gesetzen, sie und ihre Lehrer . .
22 [das] Gesetz des Todes, indem sie ihn schmecken und nach ihm dürsten (?)
23 . . . die Seelen dem (?) Tode. Dies ist der Baum, der
24 gute [Frucht bringt] . . . . ., den unser Herr genannt hat
25 [den guten Baum, der] gute Früchte bringt. Er hat . . . . .
26 in die Schriften (γραφή) . . . . alle Sekten (δόγμα) erkannten ihn.
27 . . . . . [ich will] euch offenbaren und ihr werdet . . . .
28 . . . Der schlechte [Baum] hat fünf Glieder (μέλος)
29 welche sind: die Überlegung, das Sinnen, die Einsicht, das Denken, [der Noûς].
30 Seine [Überlegung ist] das Gesetz des Todes, welches die Sekten (δόγμα)
31 lernen. Sein Sinnen ist die Seelenwanderung (μεταγγισμός) . . .
32 in [verschiedenen] Typen. Seine Einsicht sind die [Feuer-] Öfen (κάμινος),
33 [welche sind in der] Hölle (γεέννα), die mit Qualm angefüllt ist. Das Denken [ist]
34 . . . . . der Überfahrt (?). Sein Noûς ist der . . . . . .
35 . . . . . der Klumpen (βῶλος), die letzte Fessel, der . . .
36 . . . . . die (pl.), welche der Satan [geworfen (?)] hat

[ⲕⲃ]

[ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ]

1–3 unlesbar

4–8 fast ganz zerstört

9 . . . . . .

10 . . . . . .

11 . . . . . ⲡⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲥ . . . . . .

12 . . . . . .] . . . ⲣⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲣⲉ . [. . . . . .

13 . . . . . ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ . [. . . . . .

14 . . . . . .] . . . . ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [. . . . . .

15 . . .] . . ⲥⲡ ⲁⲍⲟⲩ[ⲛ] ⲁⲡⲃⲱⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲉⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ [. . . . . .

16 . . . . . ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩ [. . . . .

17 . . . . . ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏ[ⲍⲉ

18 . . . . . ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲟ ⲉⲩ . . ⲛⲍⲛⲃⲟ ⲛⲱⲁⲓ̈ⲛ . . [. . .

19 . . .]ⲧⲩⲭⲟⲥ . . . ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ

20 ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲉⲩ leer

21 . . .] . . ⲫ[ⲉ]ⲣⲙⲏⲛⲓⲁ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲍ . [

22 . . . . . .] . . ⲩⲓ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲧⲛ̄ . . . [. . . .] . ⲁⲣⲁⲓ [. . .

23 . . . . .] . . . . . ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲓ [. . . . . .

24 . . .] . . ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲍⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧ . . [. . . . . .

25 . . . . ⲛⲍ]ⲏⲧⲓ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲣⲉⲩ ⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ . [. . . . . .

26 . . . . .] . ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲓ leer ϵⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ . [. . . . . .

27 . . . .] . . . . . ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲙⲉ[ⲣⲉⲧ]ⲉ . . . . . .

28 . . . .] ⲛⲉⲩ ⲍⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲥⲱⲃⲏⲁⲧ ⲁ . [. . . . . .

29 . . . .]ⲝ . ⲁⲩⲉ . . . . . .

30 . . . .] ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁⲍ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ[ⲓ]ⲧ [. . . . . .

31 . . ⲱⲛⲍ] ⲍⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲙⲟⲩ ⲍⲓ ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲱ[ⲟⲟⲡ . . .] ⲙⲙⲁⲩ

32 . . ⲡ]ⲱⲏⲛ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲍⲩⲗⲏ . ⲙ . . [. . . . . .

33 . . . ⲛ̄]ⲧⲁⲥ ⲧⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧϫ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡ . . [. . . . . .

34 . . . ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁⲍ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ . . [. . . . . .

35 . . ⲕⲉⲕⲉ] ⲍⲓ ⲙⲟⲩ leer Ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲩ ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ

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15 Anfang viell. [ⲥⲱ]ⲍⲡ. — 28 ⲱⲃⲏⲁⲧ = ⲱⲃⲏⲁⲓ̈ⲧ siehe auch 43, 24.

[Die Kephalaia]

11 . . . . . der große . . . . . .
12 . . . . . und sie fallen . . . . . .
13 . . . . . Finsternis . . . . . .
14 . . . . . ganz und sie nehmen heraus . . . . . .
15 . . verschlungen in den Klumpen (βῶλος) und sie werden gefesselt . . . .
16 . . . . . die Frucht der Finsternis, die sie . . . . . .
17 . . . . . in alle Ewigkeit . . . . . .
18 . . . . . sein Gesicht . . . . . .
19 . . . . . werden gelangen (καταντᾶν) zu jenem Ort, nicht haben sie
20 Umkehr (μετάνοια). —
21 . . . . dies ist die Deutung (ἑρμηνεία) des schlechten Baumes, wie ich ge-
22 [deutet (ἑρμηνεύειν)] habe . . . . euch . . . . . .
23 . . . . . gute Frucht . . . . . .
24 . . . . . dessen Früchte schlecht sind . . . . . .
25 . . . . . in ihm in seinen Tagen (?) des Werdens . . . . . .
26 . . . . in ihm. — Deswegen . . . . . .
27 . . . . . und meine Geliebten . . . . . .
28 . . . . . ihnen in Wahrheit, indem sie ist verschieden von . . . . . .
29 . . . . . .
30 . . . . . der sich befindet in seinem guten Lande . . . . . .
31 . . . [Leben] und Licht, indem Tod und Finsternis [sich] nicht [befindet] . .
32 . . . . [Der] schlechte Baum aber ist die Hyle . . . . . .
33 . . . sie allein kenne ich an dem . . . . . .
34 . . . der entstanden ist in seinem bösen Lande, [welches]
35 [angefüllt ist mit Finsternis] und Tod. — Heil [einem jeden, der]

[k̄r̄]

ⲙⲡⲥⲁϩ

1 . . . . . ⲡ|ϣⲏⲛ [ⲥ]ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲡⲁⲣⲭⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛ̣[ⲟⲩ]ⲉⲣⲏⲩ
2 ⲛ̣ⲩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉ̣ⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ [ⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲁⲩⲉⲓ
3 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̣ⲩⲉ̣ⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ ⲡ̣ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
4 ⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲣ̣ⲭⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲉ]ⲩⲁⲃⲱⲕ̣ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲙⲡ̣ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
5 . . . ⲡ . . . . . ⲟ̣ⲩⲁⲛϩⲩ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁ
6 [. . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲉ] ⲕ̣ⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲩϩⲁⲩ ϣⲱⲡⲉ̣ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ
7 ⲙⲙⲁⲉ̣ . . . . . ⲡ̣ⲉⲧⲛⲁ̣ⲡⲱⲣⲭ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . . .
8 [. . . . . .] . ϒ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄[ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲩⲁϩⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁ̣ⲡⲕⲁϩ . [
9 [. . . . . .] . . . . . ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉⲩⲡⲱϩ ⲁⲡ . . [
10 [. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲩ ⊤ . . . . . .
11 [. . . . . .] Ⲛⲉ[ⲓ]ⲉⲧⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ̣ ⲛ̣ⲩ . . . . .
12 [. . . . . .]ⲕ̣ⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲣⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ . . . . .
13 [. . . . . ϣⲁⲁ]ⲛ̣ⲏϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁ̣ⲛⲏϩⲉ

14 Γ̄

15 [Γ̄] ⲧ̣ϩⲉⲣⲙ̣ⲏⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲁ Γ̄
16 ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲭⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲉⲩ ⲛⲉ

17 [⊤⊤ⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁ]ⲛ̣ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲛⲉⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲡⲥⲁ[ⲡ . . . .
18 [. . ϩⲙⲁ]ⲥⲧ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁ̣ⲩϩⲥ̀ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲭⲉ ϩⲛ̄[ⲉⲩ] ⲛⲉ ⲡ|ϣⲁ
19 [ⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ] ⲉⲧⲟⲩ+ⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲉⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛ|ⲓⲁ
20 [ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ] ⲙⲛ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϣⲟⲩϣ[ⲟ]ⲩ ⲙⲙⲁ[ⲩ]
21 [ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ . . .] ⲧⲉⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ . . . . . .
22 [. . . . . .] . . . . ϩ̣ⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ̣ⲥ ⲟⲩϣ .
23 [. . . . . .] . . ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ϣⲁⲥⲟⲩⲉ|ⲓⲛⲉ leer
24 [. . . . . ϣⲟⲩ]ϣⲟⲩ [ⲙ̄]ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ̣ ⲛ . . .
25 [. . . . . ⲡ]ϩ̣ⲱⲃ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛϩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲉ .
26 [. . . . . .] . . . . . [ⲛ̄]ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ leer
27 [. . . . . ⲧ]ⲥⲉⲃⲟ̣ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲕⲉⲉⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲁ . . . . . .
28 [. . . . . ⲥⲟ]ⲫ̣ⲓⲁ . . . . ⲃⲱⲗ ⲁϩⲁⲛ ⲕⲉⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲙ . . . . .
29 [. . . . . .]ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ +ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̣ⲉ̣ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ]
30 [ⲛⲧϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣ]ⲉ̣ ⲡ̣ϩⲱⲃ ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ϣⲁⲙⲧ [ⲧⲉⲩ]
31 [ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲧ]ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ leer
32 [⊤ⲉⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟ]ⲛ̣ⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ̣ [ⲛⲧⲉ]
33 [ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ]ⲥ̣ⲙⲁⲛ̣ⲧ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲧⲉ̣ [ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̣|ⲛⲉ]

des Lehrers.

. . . . . die beiden Bäume und sie voneinander trennt
und er weiß, daß sie nicht auseinander entstanden sind und hervorgekommen
nicht auseinander und nicht aus Einem hervorgekommen. Der Mensch,
der sie trennt, wird hinaufsteigen zum Aeon des Lichtes
. . . . . [wie ich] ihn euch offenbart [habe], und er wird sehen
. . . . . es ist nicht schlechte Frucht entstanden aus
ihr . . . . wer dagegen nicht trennen wird . . . . . .
. . . . . von einander, er wird fallen zu der Erde [der Finsternis]
. . . . . bis daß er gelangt zu . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . Heil dem, der glaubt und . . . . .
. . . . . [der (?)] Finsternis, der wächst aus dem . . . .
. . . . . in alle Ewigkeit. —

III.

Die Deutung der Glückseligkeit (εὐδαιμονία), der Weisheit und der Kraft, was sie bedeuten.

[Wiederum] sprach der Φωστήρ zu seinen Jüngern, als
[er saß] in der Versammlung der Kirche: Was bedeuten [diese]
[drei Dinge], die in der Welt genannt werden: die Glückseligkeit,
[die Weisheit] und die Kraft, deren die Menschen sich rühmen
. . . . . die Glückseligkeit der Welt . . . . . .
. . . . . [die Weisheit] in der Welt hat ein . . . .
. . . . . [die Kraft] der Welt vergeht.
[Die Menschen] rühmen sich ihrer und preisen die
. . . . . [Die] Sache nun ist offenkundig in einer
. . . . . wie ich euch gesagt habe. —
[Ich aber werde] euch eine andere Glückseligkeit lehren . . . .
. . . . [eine andere] Weisheit . . . sowie eine andere Kraft . . .
. . . Hört nun jetzt, und ich will euch offenbaren,
[wie es mit] diesen Dreien bestellt ist: der [Glück-]
[seligkeit, der] Weisheit und der Kraft. —
[Die] herrliche [Glückseligkeit] ist der Vater, der Gott
[der Wahrheit, der] sich befindet im großen Lande des [Lichtes].

[ⲕⲁ]

ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲥⲁ]ⲥ

1 Ⲧⲩⲥⲫ[ⲫ]ⲓⲁ ⲥ[ⲱ]ⲩ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲁⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲛⲉ[. .]
2 ⲁ[. . . . . .] . . ⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲏⲧ ⲥⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
3 ⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲣⲥⲱⲧ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲩ ⲧⲩⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲟⲁⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄
4 ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙⲙⲁⲁⲓ ⲙⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ
5 ⲧⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲥ . . . . . [. . . . . .] ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄
6 ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ . . . . . .
7 . . . . . ⲱⲟⲩⲉ . . . . . .
8 . . . . . .
9 [ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ] ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ . ⲧⲛ [. . . . . .
10 . . . . . ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ . [. . ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ]
11 [ⲡⲣⲉ]ⲫⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲧⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙⲛⲧⲛ[ⲁⲟ . . . . . ⲧⲉⲩ]
12 [ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲉ]ⲧⲟ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉ[ⲧⲁⲛⲥ . . . . . .
13 . . . . . [ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ] ⲡⲉ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛ[ⲥ . . . . . .
14 . . . . . ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄]
15 [ⲣⲙ̄ⲙ]ⲁⲁⲓ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲭⲁⲓ leer
16 [Ⲧⲉ]ⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲭ[ⲁⲓ ⲛⲙⲙⲟⲩ]
17 [ⲓⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ .] . . . . . ⲧⲉⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓ[ⲁ . . . .
18 . . . . . ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ leer Ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲥⲱⲩ [ⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣ]
19 [ⲑⲉⲛ]ⲟⲥ ⲙⲡ[ⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓⲛⲉ Ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧ[ⲥ]ⲙ̄ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲩ[ⲧⲉ]
20 [ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] ⲛ[ⲣⲙ]ⲙⲁⲁⲓ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ ⲛⲥ[ⲏⲧⲩ]
21 Ⲧⲧⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲱⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲧⲥⲟ
22 ⲫ[ⲓ]ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ Ⲧⲉⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲡⲉ [ⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ]
23 ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡ[†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡ]
24 ⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ ⲧⲛⲁⲟ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲛⲃⲁ[ⲙ ⲡⲉ . . . . . ⲡ†]
25 ⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ . . . . . [. . . . . ⲉⲧⲁⲣ]
26 ⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲉⲧⲡ . . . [. . . . . .
27 ⲉⲩⲃⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ leer
28 Ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲫ[ⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲱⲟ]
29 [ⲟⲡ] ⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲛⲁⲟ [ⲛⲉⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓ]
30 ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ [ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄]
31 ⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲓⲧⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ leer Ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ [ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ]
32 [ⲙ]ⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧ[ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ]
33 ⲛⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ leer ⲧⲛⲁⲟ [ⲛⲃⲁⲙ . . . . . .

Überschrift ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲥ statt ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ. — 27 ⲉⲩⲃⲓ: ⲩ scheint sicher (nicht ⲩ). — 32 [ⲙ]ⲛ ⲛⲥⲁⲥ sehr unsicher.

[des Lehrers.]

Seine Weisheit, die herrliche, ist sein großer Geist, der . . .
. . . . . nach unten, der in allen seinen Aeonen eilt,
sie ihrerseits segeln vermittels seines. Seine große Kraft sind
alle reichen Götter [und] die Engel, die
aus ihm berufen worden sind, indem sie . . . . . welches
diejenigen sind, die „Aeonen" genannt werden . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . [welches genannt wird] „Sonne" . . . . . .
. . . [das Schiff des] lebendigen Feuers . . . . . [der Dritte]
Gesandte, die zweite Größe . . . . . [Die]
[Glückseligkeit], die herrliche, ist der [Lebendige] Geist . . . . . .
. . . . . [die Weisheit] ist die Mutter des Lebens . . . . . .
. . . . . [Die große Kraft] sind [alle reichen]
Götter und die Engel, die innerhalb des Schiffes sind.
[Die] Glückseligkeit wiederum, die Weisheit und die Kraft befinden sich im [Schiffe]
[der lebendigen Wasser] . . . . . Die Glückseligkeit
[ist.] . . . . . der Νοῦς des Vaters. Die Weisheit [ist die]
[Jungfrau] des Lichtes. Die Kraft wiederum, die im Schiffe ist, sind [alle]
[reichen] Götter und die Engel, die in [ihm] aufgestellt sind.
Diese Drei befinden sich in den Elementen (στοιχεῖον): die Glückseligkeit, die
Weisheit und die Kraft. Die Glückseligkeit ist [die Säule der Herrlichkeit],
der vollkommene Mann. Die Weisheit sind die [fünf Söhne des]
Lebendigen Geistes. Die große Kraft aber [sind die]
[fünf] Söhne des Urmenschen . . . . . [die einge-]
[schlossen (?)], die verknetet sind im All . . . . . .
. . indem er trägt das All. —
Wiederum befindet sich Glückseligkeit, Weisheit [und Kraft]
in der heiligen Kirche. Die große Glückseligkeit,
die herrliche, ist der Apostel des Lichtes, [der
entsandt worden ist durch den Vater. Die Weisheit [sind die ἀρχηγοί]
[und] die Lehrer, die in der [heiligen] Kirche wandeln, [indem sie verkündigen?]
die Weisheit und die Wahrheit. Die große [Kraft sind die . . .]

[κε]

[ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ]

[. . . . .]ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉ[ⲅⲕⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ]
[ⲁⲍⲁⲛ ⲛ̄]ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ [ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ . .
. . . ⲧ]ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲧⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ [ⲙ]ⲛ ⲧⲧⲉ ⲛⲇⲁⲙ . . . .
. . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . . . ⲍⲛ ⲧⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲕⲗ[ⲏⲥⲓⲁ] Ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲧⲩ
[ⲟⲩⲛ?] ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲟⲩ ⲭⲉⲩⲁ . . . . . .
. . . ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲯⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ

ⲁ

ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲛⲁⲇ ⲛⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ
ⲁ ⲉ[ⲧⲁⲩ]ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲁ
ⲁⲍⲁⲛ ⲧⲩⲧⲟⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲏ

Ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲍⲉ ⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲛⲁⲇ ⲛⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ
[ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲁⲩ]ⲧⲁⲍⲙⲟⲩ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲡⲯⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄
[ⲛⲁⲇ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲏⲉ ⲡⲯⲁ[ⲣⲡ . . .
[. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲙ]ⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲩⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲇ ⲍⲛ ⲧⲉⲩ[ⲙ̄ⲛⲧ]
[ⲣⲣⲟ ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲛⲁⲇ ⲛⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ
[ⲡⲉ ⲡ]ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛⲛⲁⲇ ⲛⲣⲙⲙⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧ[ⲛⲁⲇ]
[ⲛⲉⲓ] ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲯⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲧⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲍⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲛ̄
[ⲧ]ⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲇ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲕⲗⲓⲙⲁ ⲯⲁⲙⲧ
ⲯⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲍⲟ leer
Ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲯⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ
ⲧⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥⲉ ⲛⲟⲩ[ⲛⲟⲩ] ⲡⲉ
[ⲧ]ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩ[ⲥⲉ ⲙⲡ]ⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲍⲙⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲇ
[Ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲯⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲛⲁⲇ ⲛⲱⲙⲙⲟ]
[ⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲱⲙⲙⲟ]ⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲁⲩⲗⲉ ▮ . . . . . .
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲛⲁⲡⲧⲛ ⲧⲩⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ
ⲡ+ⲟⲩ ⲱⲏⲣⲉ [ⲙⲡⲱ]ⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡ+ⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄[ⲛ]ⲁ
ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ]ⲉⲧⲭⲁⲩⲗⲉ ⲍⲁ ⲛ̄ⲍⲣⲏⲱⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟ
[ⲥ]ⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲍⲁⲛ ⲡⲧⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲣⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲏⲧ
ⲛⲥⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ|ⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲍ
ⲯⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲍⲟⲟ[ⲩⲉ] leer Ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ |ⲓⲏⲥ
ⲡⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ[ⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲍⲛ] ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲩⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥⲉ
[ⲛⲟ]ⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩ
[ⲛ]ⲁ[ⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ] Ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲛⲁⲇ ⲛⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ
[ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲍⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ
[. . . . . Ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ]ⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲩⲧⲉ
[. . . . . .] . . . . [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ

26 Anfang lies ⲡ+ⲟⲩ ⟨ⲛ⟩ⲱ.

[des Lehrers.]

. . . [und] alle Electi, die Jungfrauen und die Enthaltsamen (? ἐγκρατής) [sowie die] Katechumenen, die in der [heiligen] Kirche sind . . [die] fünf Glückseligkeiten, die fünf Weisheiten und die fünf Kräfte, die . . . . . in den fünf Kirchen. Heil einem jeden, der sie kennt, denn er wird . . . . Reich in Ewigkeit.

IV.

Über die vier großen Tage, die aus einander hervorgekommen [sind] sowie die vier Nächte.

Wiederum sprach der Φωστήρ: Vier große Tage gibt es, die [hervor]gekommen sind [aus einander und] aus einander berufen [worden sind]. Der erste [große Tag] ist der Vater, der Gott der Wahrheit, der [erste . . . . . [in]mitten der Aeonen seiner Größe in seinem lebendigen [Reich (?)]. Die zwölf Stunden dieses großen Tages [sind die] zwölf großen reichen Götter der Größe (?), [diese], welche die ersten 'Berufungen' sind, die er berufen hat nach dem Ebenbild seiner Größe und die er auf die vier Himmelsrichtungen (κλίμα) verteilt hat, je drei vor seinem Angesicht. —

Der zweite Tag ist der Dritte Gesandte, der im Lichtschiff wohnt. Seine zwölf Stunden sind [die] zwölf Jungfrauen, die er in seiner Größe berufen hat. [Der dritte Tag ist die Säule (στῦλος) der Herrlichkeit, der große ὠμο-]φόρος, der größer ist als] alle [ὠμο]φόροι, der trägt . . . . . alle, die oberen und die unteren. Seine zwölf Stunden sind die fünf Söhne [des] Urmenschen, die fünf Söhne des Lebendigen Geistes, welche [diejenigen] sind, die da tragen alle Lasten der Welt, sowie der 'Ruf' und das 'Hören', welche hinzugezählt werden zu ihren zehn Brüdern. Diese sind die zwölf Lichtstunden des dritten Tages. — Der vierte Tag ist Jesus der Glanz, der [wohnt in] seiner Kirche. Seine zwölf Stunden sind die zwölf Weisheiten, welche sind seine [Licht-Stunden (?)]. — Dies sind die großen Tage, die [hervor]gekommen sind [aus einander] und berufen worden sind aus einander. Sie . . . . . [Heil] einem jeden, der sie kennt und . . . . . des Lichtes.

4 „die fünf Kirchen" = die fünf Rangstufen der Kirche.

[kS]

ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁ[ⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ]

1 . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲙ . . . . . ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩ[ⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟ]
2 ⲟ̣ⲡ ⲧ̣[ⲥⲉ] ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ̣ ⲩⲧⲟⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ
3 ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲟⲩⲱ[ⲏ] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥ ⲙ̣[ⲛ̄]ⲧ̣ⲥ
4 ⲛ[ⲁ]ⲩ̣ⲥ̣[ⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲓⲃⲉⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲕⲙⲏⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲟ[ⲩ]
5 ⲛⲁⲩ[ⲉ ⲛ]ⲕ̣ⲉⲕⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲓⲃⲉⲥ ⲛⲧⲱ[ⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲟⲩ]
6 ⲱⲏ ⲡ̣[ⲉ] ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟ|ⲭⲉ|ⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ [ⲉⲧⲁⲩ]
7 ⲃⲉ̣ⲃⲉ̣ [ⲁⲃ]ⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲉⲩ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲥⲟⲏⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲧ̣ⲉ[
8 ⲉⲧⲁⲩ . . . . ⲥⲙ̣ ⲡⲉⲩ[†]ⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟ|ⲭⲉ|ⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲩ†ⲉ̣ . . . .
9 ⲡ†ⲟⲩ . ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲧⲟ|ⲭⲉ|ⲱⲛ . . . [. . . .]ⲏⲛ[. . .
10 ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̣[ⲉ] ⲧ̣ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ̣ⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲓⲃⲉⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲛⲁ ⲛⲧ̣ⲱ[ⲁⲣⲡ] ⲛⲟⲩ[ⲱⲏ]
11 ⲧⲙⲁⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲥⲩⲗⲏ ⲧⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲟⲥ . . . . . .
12 . . . . . ⲛⲧ . . . . . ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲍⲱ̣[ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ . . . . . .
13 [ⲙ]ⲛ ⲧ[ⲁⲣ]ⲭⲟⲛⲧ|ⲕⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲉⲧⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟ[ⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲧⲉ]
14 ⲧⲁⲥⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲥⲛ †ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲥⲟⲏⲧⲏⲣ|ⲟⲛ †ⲟⲩ [ⲛⲥⲁⲩⲧ]
15 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ †ⲉ ⲛⲥⲥ|ⲙⲉ ⲥⲛ̣ⲩ̣ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲥⲛ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ [ⲧⲥⲏⲇⲟ]
16 ⲛⲏ [ⲉⲧ]ⲟ̣ⲩⲏⲥ ⲥⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲩⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲥ|ⲁⲙⲉ ⲉⲥⲗⲱⲃⲱ ⲙ̄[ⲙⲁⲩ]
17 ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲓ|[ⲙⲁⲥ]
18 ⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥ ⲣⲱ †ⲥⲩⲗⲏ ⲧⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥ|ⲥ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲧ̣ⲉ
19 ⲧⲁⲥⲧ[ⲉ] ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁ̣ⲙ̣ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲁⲡⲡⲟ̣
20 ⲗⲉⲙⲟ̣ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲉ ⲧ̣ⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
21 ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲡⲩ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲣⲃ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥ|ⲧⲛ ⲡ̣ⲱⲁ̣[ⲣⲡ ⲛⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲃ[|ⲧⲩ]
22 ⲱ[ⲁ] . . . . . ⲧⲉ ⲥ|ⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁ̣ⲙ̣ . . . . . ⲁⲩⲛⲧ[ⲩ ⲁ]
23 ⲥⲣⲏ| ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲕ[ⲁⲁⲩ . . . . . ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲛ]
24 ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲥⲙ̣ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟ̣ⲥ [ⲧⲏⲣ]ⲩ ⲥⲛ ⲧ†ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̣[ⲓ]
25 [ⲉ] ⲉⲧⲛ̣ⲧⲡⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲁⲥⲛ ⲧ†ⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁ|ⲉ ⲉⲧ]ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲛⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ
26 ⲥⲛ ⲛⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲥⲁⲛ ⲡⲍⲙⲁⲙ [ⲙⲛ ⲡ]ⲁⲣⲁⲱ ⲉⲧⲉ
27 ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲟ ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲍ[ⲏ]ⲁ̣ⲟⲛⲏ
28 ⲧⲉⲓ| ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲁⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲁⲥ̣ [ⲁⲃ]ⲁⲗ [ⲛ]ⲧ̣ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
29 ⲱⲏ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲣⲃ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲥ|ⲧⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣ̣[ⲱ]ⲙⲉ ⲁ̣ⲩⲛⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ[ⲓ]
30 ⲥ|ⲧⲛ̄ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲥ ⲥⲙ ⲡ|ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟ[ⲥ] ⲉⲧ̣ⲧⲏⲧ ⲉ . . . . .
31 ⲁⲣⲁ[ⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲡ[ⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ] . . [. . .
32 ⲥⲧⲏⲣ̣|ⲟⲛ ⲛⲛⲍⲁⲩⲧ ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡ̣[. . . . . .
33 ⲥⲍ[ⲓⲁ]ⲙⲉ leer ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ[ⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ]
34 ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̀ . . . . . [. . . . . .

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9 Für ⲙⲡⲛⲁ hinter ⲡ†ⲟⲩ reicht der Raum nicht. — 32 ⲥⲧⲏⲣ|ⲟⲛ, nicht zu ergänzen [ⲙⲩ]ⲥⲧⲏⲣ|ⲟⲛ.

Die Kephalaia

[Wiederum sprach er zu ihnen]: So wie es vier Tage [gibt],
so gibt es auch vier Nächte.
Die erste Nacht ist das Land der Finsternis, sie hat
zwölf finstere [Schatten], welche sind ihre
finsteren Stunden. Die zwölf Schatten der [ersten]
Nacht sind die fünf Elemente (στοιχεῖον) des Landes der Finsternis, [welche]
hervorgesprudelt sind aus seinen fünf αἰσθητήρια und . . . .
die sind . . . aus seinen fünf Elementen (στοιχεῖον) und seinen fünf . .
die fünf Geister, die in seinen Elementen (στοιχεῖον) wohnen . . . . .
Dies sind die zwölf Schatten und die Geister der [ersten] Nacht.
Die zweite Nacht ist die Hyle, die Bildnerin (ζωγράφος)
. . . . . die gebildet (ζωγραφεῖν) hat . . . .
und die gesamte Archontenschaft (ἀρχοντική), die in den Welten der [Finsternis]
[ist, welche]
sie gestaltet (πλάσσειν) hat in fünf αἰσθητήρια, fünf [männliche]
und fünf weibliche, zwei in jeder Welt, sowie das Feuer und [die] Lust
(ἡδονή),
[die] wohnt in den Männern und den Frauen, indem sie [sie] antreibt
gegeneinander. Dies sind die zwölf Geister dieser
zweiten Nacht. Sie, diese Hyle, die Ἐνθύμησις des Todes ist es,
die veranlaßt hat den König des Reiches der Finsternis und seine Kräfte, sich
zu erheben zum
Kriege (πόλεμος) und zum Kampfe gegen die Aeonen der Größe; aber
er wurde gefangen und es wurde ihm eine Falle gestellt durch den Ur-
menschen, [er] wurde getragen
zu . . . . . durch die Kräfte . . . . . [er]
wurde geführt
hinauf aus dem Lande des Todes und [hingestellt] . . . . ober-
halb und unterhalb in der [ganzen] Welt in den fünf Teilen,
die oberhalb in den Himmeln sind, sowie den fünf [Teilen, die] unterhalb sind
in den unterhalb befindlichen Erden, sowie die Hitze [und die] Kälte, welches
der Vater und die Mutter ist, ihr Feuer und ihre Lust (ἡδονή).
Dies ist die zweite Nacht, die geboren ist aus der ersten
Nacht. Es wurde ihr durch den Urmenschen eine Falle gestellt und sie
wurde heraufgeführt
durch den Lebendigen Geist und wurde hingestellt in dieser vermischten
Welt . . . .
die oberhalb und unterhalb. [Das Obere ist das αἰσθη-]
τήριον der Männer, das Untere . . . . . [das αἰσθητήριον]
der Frauen. — Die dritte Nacht [sind die fünf]
Welten des Fleisches (σάρξ) . . . . . [die fünf]

11 Zur Bezeichnung der Hyle als ζωγράφος cf. Aug. de nat. boni 18 (862,9 Zy.) *formatrix corporum*. — 19 ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲧⲕⲉⲕⲉ übersetzen wir „der König des Reiches der Finsternis“ (eig. der Kg. derer, die — oder dessen, was — zum Licht gehören).

[kz]

ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ

1 [ⲍⲁⲩ]ⲧ' ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧ†ⲉ ⲛⲥⲍⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲁⲙ

2 . . . ⲡ̣ⲉ ⲁⲩⲍⲉ̈ⲓⲉ ⲁⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ̇ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲡⲉ

3 [ⲧⲱⲟ]ⲩⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲁⲃⲃⲉ ⲁⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲍⲏⲁⲟⲛⲏ

4 [ⲉⲧⲟ]ⲩ̣ⲏ[ⲍ] ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ̣ ⲉⲧⲕⲓⲙ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲁⲣⲏⲩ

5 [ⲧⲍⲩ]ⲗ[ⲏ] ⲍⲱⲥ ⲧⲉ̣ⲛ̣ⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲟⲩ

6 [ⲙⲉⲩ] ⲧⲏ̣ⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩ†ⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ

7 [ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ] ⲛ̣ⲛ̣ⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛⲍⲁⲩⲧ ⲥⲓ ⲥⲍⲙⲉ ⲁⲍⲁⲛ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲍⲏ̣

8 [ⲁⲟⲛⲏ . .] ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ . . . . . .

9 [. . . ⲟ̣ⲩⲱⲏ̣ [ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥ] ⲍⲱⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲏ̣ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ

10 [ⲛ]ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥ[ⲁ]ⲣⲝ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲁⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲙⲁ̣ⲍ̣[ⲥ]ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛ

11 [ⲟⲩ]ⲱⲏ ⲧ̣ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡ[ⲡⲛ]ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲕⲟ

12 [ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲧ? ⲡⲥⲁ]ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲍⲛ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ . . . .

13 [. . . . . .] Ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲩⲧⲟⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄[ⲡⲛⲁ]

14 [ⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩ[ⲥ]

15 [ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲁ] ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲕ ⲁ

16 [ⲍⲏⲩ] ⲡⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ̣ ⲛⲍⲱⲁ|ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲍⲩⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ

17 [ⲛⲉ] ⲛⲉⲥⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲉⲧⲧⲏⲃ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲥⲣ̄ⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲉⲥⲟⲩ̣

18 [ⲁ]ⲛⲍ̇ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲉⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲛ̄†ⲙⲁⲍⲩ[ⲧⲟ]

19 [ⲉ] ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲙⲛⲉⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡ[ⲙⲛⲧ]

20 ⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧ̣[ⲍⲁ]ⲩ ⲧ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲉⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ

21 . . . . . .

22 . . . . . .

23 . . . . . .

24 . . . . . [ⲁⲓ]ⲁⲕⲣ̣ⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̣ⲫⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ . . .

25 . . . . . [ⲙ]ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲩⲧⲟⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ

26 [ⲱⲏ] . . . . . ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲉ . . .

27 . . . . . ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍ̣ⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈[ⲛⲉ] .

28 . . . . . ⲁⲩⲫ̣ⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲍⲱ[ⲩ]

29 . . . . . ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ

30 [Ⲛⲉ]ⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲩ ⲙ̄[ⲡⲉⲧⲛ]ⲁ̣ⲥⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲩ̄

31 [. . . . . ⲱⲁ]ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ

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4 ⲁⲣⲏⲩ: sic, mit ⲁ. — 16 Anfang: Ergänzung recht fraglich.

des Lehrers.

[männlichen] und die fünf weiblichen, die geboren sind aus den Kräften
. . . . . sie sind auf die Erde gefallen, indem sie sich zeigten im
[Trockenen] und Feuchten, sowie (in) dem Feuer und der Lust (ἡδονή),
[die] in ihnen wohnt, die sie gegeneinander in Bewegung setzt.
[Die Hyle] ihrerseits, die Ἐνθύμησις des Todes, welche ist ihrer
aller [Mutter?], sie wird unter ihnen „Nacht" genannt; es pflegen
[die Welten] der männlichen und weiblichen σάρκες, sowie das Feuer und die
Lust (ἡδονή) . . . zwölf Stunden des . . . . . .
. . Nacht. [Sie] wiederum ist die dritte Nacht, die in
[den] Welten des Fleisches ist — sie ist geboren aus der zweiten
Nacht, die, welche der Lebendige Geist gekreuzigt (σταυροῦν) hat in der
[vermischten?] Welt, oben und unten in dem Himmel . . . .
. . . . . Die vierte Nacht ist das Gesetz [der Sünde],
[welches] ist der finstere Geist, der redet in den zwölf
[Geistern], den zwölf Sekten (δόγμα), welche sind die Nackt-
heiten (?), die zwölf Tierkreisbilder (ζῴδιον) der Hyle, welches
[sind] ihre Throne (θρόνος), sie (sc. die Hyle), die . . . . ., indem sie gestaltet (ζωγραφεῖν) und
sich zeigt im Alten Menschen. Die Stunden aber dieser vierten
Nacht, welche der Alte Mensch ist, der in den Sekten (δόγμα) herrscht, sind die
zwölf [bösen] Geister . . . . . des Alten Menschen, welche
[sind] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . unterscheiden (διακρίνειν) den Tag und die Nacht
. . . . . des Todes. Dies ist die vierte [Nacht]
. . . . . die auseinander hervorgegangen sind; einer ist .
. . . . . nach der Art der Tage des Lichtes
. . . . . sie erschienen auseinander. So auch
. . . . . sie sind auseinander entstanden.
[Heil demjenigen, der] sie erkennt und sie scheidet und
. . . . . ewig. —

[ⲕⲏ]

ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

1 ⲉ

2 — ⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲫⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲇⲉⲣⲏⲇ ⲛⲧⲉ —

3 ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲫⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉ

4 ⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲉⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧ[ⲏⲥ ϫⲉ]

5 ⲫⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲇⲉⲣⲏⲇ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲉⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ[ⲡⲟⲩ]

6 ⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲡϫⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲱⲕ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲇ

7 ⲧⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲇⲉⲣⲏⲇ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁ̣[ⲩⲕ]

8 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲇ ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱⲣⲟⲩⲱⲣⲉⲕ ⲁⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓ̣ⲟ̣ⲛ̣

9 [ⲙⲡ]ⲕ̣[ⲉ]ⲕ̣[ⲉ ⲁ]ⲫⲃⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲫⲉⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧϫⲁϫⲉ . . .

10 . . . . . ⲡⲉⲫⲱⲛⲉ ⲍⲱⲫ . . . . . .

11 . . . . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ [. . .

12 . . . . . ⲡⲉⲫϫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲫⲫⲧⲁ̣ⲩ [ⲛ]ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲗⲉ̣ ⲁ̣

13 ϫⲙ ⲡⲉⲫⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲁ[ⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ . . . . .

14 . . . . . ⲡⲉⲫⲱⲛⲉ ⲡ[ⲉ . . . . . .

15 ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲫⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲡⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̣[ⲇⲉⲣⲏⲇ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲍ]

16 ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ϫⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲫⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ̣ [ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈]

17 ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲫⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍⲥ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲱⲓⲭⲫ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲙ[ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ]

18 ⲁⲫⲃⲱⲣⲇ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ̣[ⲟⲩ ⲉⲫⲧⲏⲕ]

19 [ⲁ]ⲣⲉⲧⲫ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲫⲱⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲫⲍⲓ̈ⲕⲱⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ̣

20 . . . . . ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲁⲓⲭⲙⲁⲗⲱⲧⲓⲍⲉ̣

21 ⲙⲙⲁⲫ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲓⲛⲉ . . . . . [ⲡⲉⲫ]

22 ϫⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲫϫⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ . . . . .] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ [. . .

23 ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲣⲇ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲉⲫⲱ[ⲛⲉ . . . . . .

24 vollständig zerstört

25 ⲧⲉⲫⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ[ⲉⲁⲩ] leer

26 ⲧⲡⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲇⲉⲣⲏⲇ ⲡⲉ ⲓⲏ[ⲥ ⲡⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧ]

27 ⲛⲁⲇ ⲡⲉⲧⲃⲱⲣⲇ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲛ̣[ⲍ . . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲫ

28 ⲁⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲡⲉⲫⲱⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲫⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ [. . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈[ⲛⲉ]

29 [ⲧ]ⲉⲧⲫⲃⲱⲣ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲁⲙ†ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲫⲃⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲱ . .

30 ⲡⲉⲫϫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲫⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ . [. . . . . .

31 [ⲧ]ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ . . . ⲧⲉⲧ . .

32 ⲙ†ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ [ⲉⲧ]ϫⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲥⲓⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲫ [. . . . . .] . ⲫⲃⲱⲣ[ⲇ]

33 ⲙ̣ⲙⲁⲩ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲉⲫⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲙ†ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ̣ [. . . . . ⲇ .

34 [ⲁⲣ]ⲁⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲫⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ leer [ⲧⲡⲙⲁⲍⲩⲧⲁⲩ]

35 ⲛ̄ⲇⲉⲣⲏⲇ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲇ ⲛⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ[. . . . . .

36 ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲱⲧⲉ [. . . . . .

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29 Anfang lies [ⲧ]ⲉⲧⲫⲃⲱⲣ⟨ⲇ⟩.

Die Kephalaia

V.

Über vier Jäger des Lichtes und vier der Finsternis.

Wiederum sprach der Apostel zu seinen Jüngern:
Vier Jäger gibt es, die ausgesandt worden sind vom
Licht zur Erfüllung des Willens der Größe.
Der erste Jäger ist der Urmensch, der ausgesandt worden ist
von der Größe; er ließ sich herab zu den fünf ταμιεῖα
[der] Finsternis, er fing und ergriff die Feindschaft
. . . . . sein Netz ist . . . . . .
. . . . . über alle Kinder der Finsternis . . .
. . . . . Sein Schiff sind seine vier Söhne, die gehüllt sind
über seinen Körper. Das Meer (θάλασσα) ist das Land [der Finsternis] . . .
. . . . . Sein Netz [ist] . . . . .
und seine Kräfte. Der zweite [Jäger ist der]
Dritte Gesandte — dieser, weil er durch seine [Licht-] Erscheinung (εἰκών),
die er der unten befindlichen Tiefe zeigte,
dem gesamten Licht nachstellte, das sich in allen Dingen befindet, [indem er]
steht (?) in ihnen. Sein Netz ist seine Licht-Erscheinung (εἰκών)
. . . . . die ganze Welt, sie nahm gefangen (αἰχμαλωτίζειν)
es. Entsprechend diesem Bilde . . . . . [Sein]
Schiff ist sein Lichtschiff . . . . . ist die Welt,
die (pl.) man gefangen hat durch sein [Netz?] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
seine Erscheinung (εἰκών), die [herrliche],
Der dritte Jäger ist Jesus [der Glanz, der entsandt worden ist von der] Größe,
der dem Lichte und dem Leben nachstellt [und] es [hinaufführt]
zur Höhe. Sein Netz ist seine Weisheit, [die Weisheit] des Lichtes,
mit der er den Seelen nachstellt, indem er sie fängt (?) . . . . .
Sein Schiff ist seine heilige Kirche . . . . . .
[den] Irrglauben (πλάνη) der Welt, das Gesetz der [Sünde] . . . . .
die Seelen, [die] in ihm (dem Gesetz) ertrunken sind . . . . . indem er nachstellt
ihnen mit seinem Netz. Sie sind die Seelen, [die man gefangen hat]
mit seiner Licht-Weisheit. — [Der vierte]
Jäger ist der Große Gedanke, der . . . . . .
der wohnt im Umkreis . . . . . .

[kϴ]

ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲍ

[ⲕⲟ]ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲧⲍⲁⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲃ|ⲛⲃⲱⲗ
[ⲁⲃ]ⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡ|ⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ
[ⲭⲁ]ⲥⲁⲍⲟ̄ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲟ̄ ⲭⲁⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲍⲙ ⲡ
[ⲁⲛ]ⲇⲣⲉ|ⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲉⲡⲉ|
[ⲇⲏ] ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲡⲛⲁ ⲭⲁⲃⲱⲣⲃ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄
[ⲛⲍ]ⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲩⲕⲁⲧⲟ̄ ⲁϫⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲉⲩϫⲁ| ⲉⲧⲟ̄
[ⲧⲏⲕ] ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲡⲉ ϯⲕⲗⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ|ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲩⲁⲙⲁ
[ⲍⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ] ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲩ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟ|ϫⲉ|ⲱⲛ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ . . . .
[. ⲧ]ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲉ [ⲧ]ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣⲱϫⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲕⲱⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧ . . . .
. . . . . ⲩ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡ[ⲱⲛⲍ ⲭⲁ]
ⲛ̣ⲁⲍⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲩⲃ̣ⲁⲗⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲛ̣ⲁⲍ
[ⲛⲉⲓ̈]ⲉⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟ̣[ⲩ]ⲁ̣ⲛ ⲛ̣[ⲓⲙ] ⲉⲧⲛⲁϫⲱⲕ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ
ⲛ̣ⲉ ⲧⲩⲍⲁⲏ [. . . . . .]ⲗ̀ ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉ̣ⲃ̣ⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟ
ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲍⲛ [ⲧⲍⲁⲏ ⲛ̣]ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ leer
ⲦⲦ[ⲁⲗⲓ]ⲛ ⲁⲛ [ⲡ]ⲁϫⲉⲩ ϫⲉ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁ̣ⲗ̀ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲁⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲣⲛⲃ̀ ⲉⲩⲁⲛⲍ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲏⲡ ⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ̀ leer
[ϯⲛⲁⲧ]ⲥⲉⲃⲉⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲣⲛⲃ̀ ⲉⲩⲍⲁⲩ ⲉⲁⲩⲱⲱ
ⲡⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲦⲦⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲣⲛⲃ̀ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲣⲃ̀ ⲁⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛⲉ
ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ leer ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲉ
ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙ|ⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁϫⲛ̄ ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ
ⲁⲩⲃⲗⲙⲗⲱⲙⲉ̣ⲍ̣ . . . . ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
[ⲡⲙⲁⲍ]ⲉⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲃ[ⲉⲣⲛⲃ̀ ⲡ]ⲉ ⲡⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲃⲱⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲍⲙ̄
[ ] . . . . . .
ⲡⲉⲧⲃⲱⲣⲃ̀ ⲁ . . . . [ⲛ̄]ⲟⲩⲁ|ⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ . . . . . .
[ⲁ]ⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲍⲛ̄ . . . [. . .] . ⲛⲛⲕⲁⲍ ⲁⲧⲡⲉ • ϵⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲍⲛ̄
[ⲛⲉ]ⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲉ[ⲓⲛⲉ] ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ
ⲡ]ⲉⲩⲱⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ[ ]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱⲕ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ
[ϫ]ⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ̣ [ⲁⲡϫ|]ⲉ leer ⲦⲦⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲣⲛⲃ̀
ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙ|ⲁ [ ]ⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲉⲧⲙⲁ
[ⲍⲉ] . . ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡ . . . . . ⲁⲙϯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ . . . . . .
[. . . . . ⲙ̄]ⲙⲁⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧϫ . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲩⲧⲁⲩ
[ⲛⲃⲉⲣⲛⲃ̀ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲛⲁ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ

3 Anfang lies [ⲭⲁ]ⲥⲁ⟨ⲩ⟩ⲍⲩ. — 7 ϯⲕⲗⲟⲟⲛⲉ statt ϯⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ? — 12 Lies ⲧⲉⲧⲥⲃⲧⲁⲓ̈⟨ⲧ⟩. — 13 Kaum ⲍ̣ⲛ̄ ⲧⲩⲍⲁⲏ [ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲃⲁ]ⲗ; ⲛ̣ⲉ scheint ziemlich sicher. — 30 ⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙ|ⲁ: ⲡ|ⲑⲩ über der Zeile.

des Lehrers.

[die] ganze Welt in ihm heute. Zum Schluß aber bei der Auflösung
der Welt [wird] eben dieser selbe Gedanke des Lebens
sich selbst einsammeln und seine Seele gestalten (ζωγραφεῖν) in der
Letzten Statue (ἀνδριάς). Sein Netz ist sein Lebendiger Geist. Denn
durch seinen Geist wird er das Licht und das Leben fangen, das in
allen Dingen ist, und es auf seinen Körper bauen. Sein Schiff,
in welchem er steht, ist diese Licht-Wolke (?), [in welcher?] er
selbst wandeln(?) wird in den fünf Elementen (στοιχεῖον) . . .
. . . dem großen Feuer, das alle Gebäude verbrennen wird . . .
. . . . mit seinem Netz, sind das Licht und das [Leben; er wird]
es retten und lösen aus allen Banden und Fesseln.
Heil einem jeden, der vollkommen sein wird in seinen Werken, damit
er [bei?] seinem Ende dem großen Feuer [entkomme], das bereitet ist der
Welt am [Ende] ihrer (sc. der Welten) Zeiten.
Wiederum sprach er: So wie ich euch offenbart habe die vier
lebendigen Jäger des Lichtes, die zur Größe gehören,
[so werde ich] euch andere vier böse Jäger zeigen, die entstanden sind
aus der Finsternis. Der erste Jäger ist der König
des Reiches der Finsternis, der der Lebendigen Seele nachgestellt hat mit seinem Netz
am Anfang (ἀρχή) der Welten. — Sein Netz ist sein
Feuer und seine Begierde (ἐπιθυμία), die er auf die Lebendige Seele geworfen hat;
er hat sie verstrickt . . . . mit ihr durch alle seine Mächte.
[Der] zweite [Jäger] ist der böse Sinn, der wohnt in
. . . . . .
der nachstellt dem . . . . des Lichtes und . . . . . .
hinauf . . . [von] der Erden nach oben, indem er sie (pl.) fesselt durch
seine Mächte, welche sie [bringen] zu den Welten oberhalb der Himmel.
Sein Netz sind . . . ., mit denen sie hinaufgezogen werden
von der Tiefe [in die] Höhe. — Der dritte Jäger
ist die Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) [. . . ., die] wandelt in jeglicher Macht des Fleisches, das [wandelt?]
. . [Sein Netz, mit dem er] den lebendigen Seelen [nachstellt] . . . . .
. . . . sie (pl.) durch seine Leiber (σῶμα), die . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . Der vierte
[Jäger ist der Geist] der Finsternis, das Gesetz der Sünde und

[ϒ]

ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

ⲡⲙ̣ⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲃⲱⲣⲃ ⲁⲛ†ⲩ[ⲭⲁⲩ]
ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲃⲗⲁⲙⲗ̄ⲙ̄ⲁⲩ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡ†ⲥⲃⲱ [ⲛⲧ]ⲉ ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛ[ⲏ]
ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲣⲁ ⲛ̣ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲧⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲡⲉ̣[ⲩ]
ⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲩⲃⲱⲣⲃ ⲁⲙ†ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲩ ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲩ
ⲥⲃⲱ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲓ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣⲅ[ⲓ]ⲁ̣
ⲥⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ̀ ⲃⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲁⲓⲭⲙⲁⲗⲱⲧⲓⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲉ ⲥ[ⲙ]
ⲡⲉⲩ†ⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲩⲫⲃⲓⲟ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲥ[ⲣⲁ ⲛⲥⲱ(ⲟ)ⲩ ⲁ]
ⲧⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ leer ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ[ⲙ ⲉ]
ⲧⲛⲁⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲃⲉⲣⲉⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲩ[ⲛⲉ ⲛⲩⲛⲟⲩ]
ⲥⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲩⲣⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲙⲣⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲛⲁⲥ [ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ]
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ:

ϛ̄

ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲙ|ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃ̣[ⲉⲃ]ⲉ
ϛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲭⲛ ⲛ[ⲱⲁⲣⲡ] ϛ̄
ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̣[ⲁ]
ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧ†ⲉ ⲛ†ⲡⲉ

ⲦⲀⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲧ̣[ⲁ]
ⲙ|ⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲭⲛ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕ̣[ⲉ ⲁ ⲡ]†ⲟ̣[ⲩ]
ⲛⲥⲧⲟ|ⲭⲉ|ⲱⲛ ⲃⲉⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲱⲕ ⲙⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲥ[ⲧⲟ|]
ⲭⲉ|ⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏ[ⲛ]
ⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲕⲟ
ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲁⲩⲧ ⲥⲓ ⲥⲥⲓⲙⲉ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲱ[ⲟ]ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ [ⲟⲩⲛ̄]
ⲧⲟⲩ †ⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ †ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̣[ⲁ †ⲟⲩ] ⲛ̣ⲥⲱⲙⲁ †ⲉ ⲛ̣[†ⲡⲉ]
ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲉ[ⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ]

Ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲡⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ . . . . . .
ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ̣|ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲱ|ⲭⲍ ⲙ[ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ]
ⲡⲁⲛⲭⲱⲭ ⲛⲧⲕⲁⲕ|ⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲉ̀ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲟⲛ̣[ⲏⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ] ⲁ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛ̣
ⲧⲃ|ⲛⲥⲱⲣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ [ⲥ|ⲧ]ⲟ̣ⲟ̣ⲧⲩ ⲛⲙⲗⲟ[ⲟⲥ]
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲙ|ⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛⲧ†ⲧⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕ|ⲛ̣[ⲁⲩⲛⲟ]ⲥ ⲛⲥⲧⲁⲡ ⲙⲙ̣[ⲓ]
ⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲗⲏ ⲛⲥⲱⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲡ[ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲁ]ⲣⲡ ⲛⲛⲉⲍⲥⲉ [ⲕⲓⲛ]
ⲁⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲥⲓ ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲟⲥⲙ[ⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩ]ⲃⲁⲙ ⲗⲗ[ⲛ]
ⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲣⲃ̀ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁ[ⲩⲥⲱⲣ] ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲍ ⲙ[ⲛ]
ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲉ leer Ⲉⲕ[ⲓⲁ ⲣⲣⲟ] ⲙ̣ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
ⲟⲩⲛ †ⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲩ ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ [ⲉⲥⲟ ⲛⲍⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ̈ ⲛⲉⲩ]
ⲃⲓⲝ ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁ ⲛⲁⲁⲓⲙⲱ[ⲛ ⲥⲓ ⲩ̈ⲍ ⲛⲉⲩ]
ⲛⲁⲍⲃⲉ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛⲍⲁ ⲛⲁⲍⲱⲙ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲥⲏⲧ[ⲩ ⲟ ⲛⲍⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ]

2 Lies ⲃⲗⲁⲙⲗ̄ⲙ̄ ⲙ̄⟨ⲙ⟩ⲁⲩ. — 5 ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲏⲥ sic. — 6 ⲁⲓⲭⲙⲁⲗⲱⲧⲓⲍⲉ sic, mit ⲭ. — 30 ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲗⲏ ⲛⲥⲱⲭⲉ; viell. ⲡⲏⲗⲏ = ⲡⲁⲗⲏ und ⲥⲱⲭⲉ = ⲱⲱⲭⲉ „Athlet".

des Todes, das in allen Sekten (δόγμα) herrscht, indem er nachstellt den Seelen der Menschen, indem er sie umgarnt durch die Irr-Lehre (πλάνη). Alsdann treibt er sie in die ewige Strafe (κόλασις). Sein Netz, mit dem er den Seelen nachstellt zum Tode, ist seine Irr-Lehre (πλάνη), welches voll ist von List und Tücke (πανουργία) und bösen Listen, indem er die törichten Menschen gefangennimmt (αἰχμαλωτίζειν) durch seine Lehre, indem er sie unter sein Netz demütigt und [sie treibt in] die ewige Strafe (κόλασις). — Heil einem jeden, der diese bösen Jäger erkennt in Erkenntnis (genau) [und sich] vor ihnen rettet und ihrer Fessel und ihrer Bande entgeht [bis in] alle Ewigkeit.

VI.

Über die fünf ταμιεῖα, die [gesprudelt] sind
aus dem Lande der Finsternis seit [Urbeginn],
die fünf Archonten, die fünf Geister,
die fünf Körper, die fünf Geschmäcke.

Wiederum sprach der Φωστήρ zu seinen Jüngern: Fünf ταμιεῖα sind es, die entstanden sind seit Urbeginn im Lande der Finsternis. [Die] fünf Elemente (στοιχεῖον) sprudelten aus ihnen hervor, aus den fünf Elementen (στοιχ.) aber wurden die fünf Bäume gebildet (πλάσσειν), aus den fünf Bäumen wiederum wurden die fünf Arten (γένος) Geschöpfe in jeder Welt gebildet (πλάσσειν), männlich und weiblich. — Die fünf Welten ihrerseits aber haben fünf Könige, fünf Geister, [fünf] Körper, fünf [Geschmäcke] in jeder Welt, indem sie einander [nicht gleichen]. Der König der Welt des Rauches (καπνός) [er ist] . . . . der herausgekommen ist aus der Tiefe [der Finsternis?, der, welcher ist] der Anführer der gesamten Schlechtigkeit (κακία) und der [ganzen] Bosheit (πονηρία). Der Anfang (ἀρχή) der Anzettelung des Krieges geschah durch ihn; alle Kämpfe, die Schlachten, die Streitigkeiten, die Gefahren (κίνδυνος), die Niederlagen(?), die Kämpfe, die Ringkämpfe (?πάλη). Jener [ist es, der zuerst] erregt [hat] Gefahren (κίνδυνος) und Kriege zusammen mit seinen Welten [und seinen] Kräften. Alsdann kämpfte er mit dem Licht. [Er zettelte] einen Kampf an mit dem erhabenen Reich. — Was [den König] der Finsternis anbetrifft, so sind fünf Gestalten (μορφή) an ihm: sein Kopf [hat ein Löwen-Gesicht, seine] Hände, seine Füße haben ein Dämonen-Gesicht . . . . . [seine] Schultern haben ein Adler-Gesicht, [sein] Bauch (?) [hat ein Drachen-Gesicht].

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5 „*welches*" bezieht sich auf *Netz*. — 19—21 cf. Aug. c. Faustum II 8 (ed. Zycha) *ipsa prima corpora ex arboribus ibidem natis, tanquam vermiculis, opinantur exorta, — ipsas autem arbores ex quinque illis elementis.* — 34 ff. cf. 33_9 ff. — 35 Wahrsch. [und Dämon] kopt. wiederholt.

λα

ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ

1 ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲉⲧ ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁ ⲛⲧⲃ̄ⲧ ⲧⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲙⲡⲩ̄
2 [ⲧ]ⲟ[ⲩ] ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲉⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
3 [Ⲟ]ⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲭⲙⲁ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩ
4 [ⲕⲉ]ⲕⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲗⲱⲙ̄ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲡⲉ
5 ⲡ̣[ⲉ]ⲩⲃⲁ|ⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲥ|ⲱⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲙ|ⲛ
6 ⲙ̣ⲙ̣ⲁⲩ ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲱⲭⲍ̄ ⲉⲧⲣⲱⲭⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲛⲟⲩ
7 ⲡ̣ⲉ|ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲛ|ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲟⲩⲁⲧⲍⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ
8 [Ⲟⲩⲛ] ⲕ[ⲉ]ⲱ[ⲁ]ⲙⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲡⲱⲁⲣ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉ[ⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ]
9 [ⲭⲁⲃ]ⲁⲁⲧ ⲩⲧⲏⲕ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲕⲁⲧⲩ . . . ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
10 [ⲁⲍⲓ]ⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲭ|ⲓ ⲧⲍⲩⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲥ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏ[ⲥ|ⲥ] ⲙ̣ⲡⲙⲟⲩ
11 [ⲧ]ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲁ̣ⲥⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲍ|ⲧⲛ ⲧⲫⲩⲥ|ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̣ⲡⲕⲉ
12 ⲕ̣ⲉ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧ[ⲉ|ⲓ .]ⲡⲥⲱ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲛ . . ⲩⲭⲁ
13 [ⲃⲁ]ⲁ̣ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟ̣ⲩⲟ ⲁ[ⲃⲁ]ⲛ|ⲡⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲡⲍⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲗⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ
14 [ⲡⲧⲁⲍ]ⲧ ⲉⲙⲛ̣ ⲕⲟⲡ|ⲥ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲍ|ⲓ ⲥⲁⲃⲧⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲛ|ⲡⲉ ⲛⲩ
15 [.]ⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲱⲁⲁⲧⲩ ⲁ ⲧⲍⲩⲗⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲧ̣ⲏⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲩ
16 . . ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲱⲧ ⲉⲩⲭⲁⲃⲁⲁⲧ ⲧⲡⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲩⲱⲟⲃⲉ
17 [ⲛ]ⲩⲍⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲅ|ⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲩ
18 ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲍⲟⲙ|ⲗ|ⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲍⲙⲙⲁⲅ|ⲁ ⲛⲉⲩ
19 ⲙ̣ⲛ̣ ⲍⲛ̄ⲉⲡ|ⲕⲗⲏⲥ|ⲥ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲉⲍⲛⲉⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲉⲡ|ⲕⲁⲗⲉ|ⲓ
20 [ⲁ]ⲭⲱⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲩⲍⲱⲡ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲅ|ⲁ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲱⲃⲉ
21 [ⲣⲉ] ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧ̣[ⲉⲍ]ⲛⲉⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲃⲁⲗⲡⲩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ
22 [ⲛⲩ]ⲟ̣ⲩⲱⲛ̄ⲍ ⲁⲣ[ⲁⲩ] ⲍ̣ⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ|ⲍ|ⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲣⲱ
23 [ⲙⲉ] ⲭⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ[. .] . . . ⲛ̣ ⲡ|ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣ|ⲟⲛ ⲛⲉ
24 [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ[ⲉⲕⲉ] ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲍⲱⲛ ⲁⲧⲟⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̄
25 [ⲛ]ⲉ̣ⲩ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲭⲉ ⲧ̣[ⲟⲩ]ⲓ̈ⲉ̣ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲅ|ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲍ|ⲕ
26 [ⲙ]ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲭ|ⲥⲃⲱ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩ
27 [ⲉⲓ̈]ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲭⲁ[ⲕⲟⲩ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲍⲁⲏ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ
28 [ⲛ]ⲛ̣ⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ [ⲙⲙⲉ]ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ
29 [ⲧⲙ]ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛ[ⲧ]ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲡⲟⲗ|ⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩ
30 [ⲙⲁ]ⲍⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲙ[ⲙⲁⲅ|]ⲁ ⲛⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲉ|ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲍⲁⲩⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲉ|ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩ
31 [ⲥⲍ|ⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲉ] ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲫⲁⲥ|ⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲁⲧⲥ̄ ⲁ
32 [. . . . . ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲍⲉⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁ
33 [. . . . . .] . ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲣⲟ leer

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3 ⲟⲭⲙⲁ, anscheinend nicht ⲥⲭⲙⲁ. — 7 ⲡ̣ⲉ|ⲱ: ⲡⲉ ganz unsicher. ⲡⲉ|ⲱ unbekannt. — 8 Lies ⲡⲱⲁⲣ⟨ⲡ⟩. — 10 Lies ⲛ̄ⲭ|. — 12 Lies wohl ⲡⲥⲱ⟨ⲙⲁ⟩ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲕⲁ⟨ⲡ⟩ⲛⲟⲩ? — 18 ⲥⲉⲃⲉ für ⲥⲉⲭⲉ. — 31 st. [ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲉ] viell. [ⲕⲁⲧⲁ].

des Lehrers.

sein Schwanz hat ein Fisch-Gesicht. Diese fünf Gestalten (μορφή), die Charakteristika seiner
fünf Welten, befinden sich an dem König des Reiches der Finsternis.
Es sind nun weitere fünf ὀχήματα (?) an ihm. Das erste ist seine
Finsternis, das zweite ist sein Gestank, das dritte ist
seine Häßlichkeit, das vierte ist seine Bitterkeit, seine eigene Seele,
das fünfte ist sein Brand, der brennt wie ein
. . . von Eisen, das im Feuer geschmolzen wird.
Es sind weitere drei (Dinge) an ihm. Das erste ist, daß [sein Körper]
hart (?) und sehr fest ist, so wie ihn gebaut hat [in] Hartherzigkeit die Hyle, welche ist die Ἐνθύμησις des Todes,
[die] ihn gebildet (ζωγραφεῖν) hat durch die Natur (φύσις) des Landes der
Finsternis. In dieser Weise ist der Körper(?) des Archonten des Rauches (? καπνός): er ist
härter (?) als alles Eisen, das Erz und der Stahl und
[das Blei?], indem es gibt kein Messer (κοπίς) überhaupt und irgendein eisernes Gerät, [das]
ihn . . . und zerschneiden könnte. Denn die Hyle, seine Bildnerin (πλάστης), hat
ihn gebaut, fest und hart. — Das zweite ist, daß er schlägt
und tötet durch das Wort seiner Zaubereien (μαγεία). Seine Verkündigung und
sein Hören, seine ganze Rede (ὁμιλία) machen Zaubereien (μαγεία)
und Beschwörungen (ἐπίκλησις) für ihn. Bald, wenn es ihm gefällt, beschwört (ἐπικαλεῖσθαι) er
sich selbst und verbirgt sich in seinen Zaubereien (μαγεία) vor seinen Genossen, bald wiederum, wenn es ihm gefällt, enthüllt er sich seinen Mächten
und zeigt sich ihnen, so daß die Zaubereien heutzutage, [deren]
die Menschen sich bedienen (? χρῆσθαι) [in] dieser Welt, die Mysterien
des Königs der Finsternis sind. Daher befehle ich euch
zu jeder Zeit: Haltet euch fern von den Magierkünsten und den Zaubereien
der Finsternis, denn der Mensch, der sie lernt und
sie tut und [sie] ausführt, — schließlich, dort, wo gefesselt wird der König
des Reiches der Finsternis und seine Mächte, an jenem Ort auch gefesselt werden
[die] Seele dessen, der in ihnen sein Leben führt (πολιτεύεσθαι) und
wandelt in den [Magierkünsten] der Irrlehre (πλάνη), sei es ein Mann, sei es eine
[Frau, gemäß?] dem Urteil (ἀπόφασις), das sie gegeben haben, haben sie zerschnitten (?)
[und haben . . .] die Gerichte Gottes, denn der, welcher wird
. . . . . mit ihrem König.

3 Lies σχήματα = Gestalten.

ⲗⲃ

ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

1 ⲦⲦⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ϫⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲧ[ϩⲟ]
2 ⲙ|ⲗ|ⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲩ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲟ|ⲉ ⲛ̄
3 ϩⲱⲃ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲩⲁⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉⲩ ϩⲛ ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩ
4 ⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲥⲡⲉ ⲥⲕⲉ†|ⲥ [ⲛ|ⲙ]
5 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲥⲕⲉⲡⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲕⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁϫ
6 ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲁϫⲱⲩ ⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
7 ⲱⲁⲩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲧⲃ|ⲛϫⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ|ⲛⲉ
8 ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ
9 ⲉⲧⲕ[ⲏ ϩ]ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲧⲩϩⲟⲙ|ⲗ|ⲁ ⲛⲥⲉϫⲉ • ⲛⲉ|ⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ
10 ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲃⲁⲗⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲃⲁⲗⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲙ[ⲛ̄]
11 ⲱⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲙⲁⲕⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲁⲧⲟⲩ
12 ϩⲟⲩ|ⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩϩⲁⲏ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲁ|
13 ⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲧⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄|ⲉⲧⲩ leer
14 Ⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲉϩⲱⲃ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲱⲃ|ⲁ|ⲓ|ⲧ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ[ⲛ]ⲁⲡ[ⲕⲉⲕⲉ]
15 ϫⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲉϩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲙⲁϩⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲡⲱⲣⲱ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲧ̣ⲏ
16 ⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲩⲙⲁϩⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲉ|ⲓ ⲁⲡⲉⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲱⲁ̣ⲩ[ⲥⲱⲕ]
17 ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩ̄ϫ|ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲩⲥⲁϩⲥ ⲁ
18 ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛⲩϩⲉ|ⲉ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲧϩⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲗ̄ⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ
19 ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲛⲃⲁⲛ|ⲡⲉ ⲩⲧⲣ̄|ⲱⲩ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩϩⲣⲁⲩ
20 ⲭⲟ|ⲓ ⲛϩⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲩ†ϩⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩ[ⲥ]ⲙⲏ ⲉⲡⲉ[ⲓ]
21 ⲇⲏ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲩⲁⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲁ ⲡϩⲣⲟⲩⲙⲡⲉ
22 ⲉⲧϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲃ|ⲣⲁⲩ ⲃ|ⲣⲉ ⲡⲕ[. .] ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ [. . . .
23 ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲩ̄ⲁⲁⲱⲃⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲩ̄[.] . [. . .] ⲛⲩ̄ⲱⲱ ⲥ[
24 ⲁϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲱⲁⲩⲥⲧⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣⲉ̣[ⲕⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ]ⲥⲉϩⲉ|ⲓ ϩⲁⲣ[ⲉⲧⲩ]
25 ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲛϩⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲥⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ̣ [. . . . .] ⲡϩⲁⲗⲏⲧ ⲃ[. . .
26 ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϩⲉ|ⲓ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲁ̣ⲗⲗⲁ̣ [ⲡⲉ]| ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ̣
27 ϫⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲩⲛⲉ̣ⲩ ⲁ̣ⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲡⲉ[ⲧⲙ]
28 ⲡⲟⲩⲉ|ⲓ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲁ̣ⲗ̣[ⲗⲁ] ⲡ̣ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲙⲧ̣[ⲟ]
29 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩϩⲟ ⲡⲉⲧⲩ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲱ[ⲧⲙ]ⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉ[ⲩ]
30 ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ leer Ⲛ|ⲙⲉ|ⲓⲛ[ⲉ ⲙ]ⲛ ⲛ|ⲥⲏⲙⲉ|
31 ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲩ ⲥⲉⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲛ̄ϫⲱϫ ⲛⲛⲁ[ⲁ]|ⲙⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ [ⲛ]
32 ⲓϩ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲧⲟⲩ|ⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲕ̣ⲉ̣ⲕ[ⲉ . . . ⲡⲉⲧⲁ]
33 ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ †ⲛⲉⲕⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩϫ̣[ⲡⲁⲩ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲟⲩ]
34 ⲁ̣ϩ|ⲏⲧ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ϩⲛ ⲧⲩⲃⲗⲕⲉ [. . . . . .

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3 Lies ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩ⟨ⲟ⟩. — 11 ⲙⲁⲕ̣ⲕⲙⲉⲕ sic. — 22 ⲃ|ⲣⲁⲩ ⲃ|ⲣⲉ unbekannt.

Die Kephalaia

Das dritte ist, daß der König des Reiches der Finsternis versteht die
Rede (ὁμιλία) und die Sprache seiner fünf Welten. Er begreift (νοεῖν)
alles, was er aus ihrem Munde hört, was sie sprechen mit-
einander, ein jeder von ihnen in seiner Sprache. [Jeder] Plan (σκέψις),
den sie gegen ihn planen (σκέπτεσθαι), jede Tücke, die sie überlegen
miteinander, um sie über ihn zu bringen — er kennt sie.
Er weiß auch das Zwinkern, das sie als Zeichen geben
untereinander. Seine Mächte dagegen und seine Archonten,
die ihm untertan sind, verstehen seine Rede (ὁμιλία) nicht. Dies alles zwar
ist ihm offenbar, aber ihr Herz ist ihm nicht offenbar. Er kennt
nicht ihren Geist und ihr Denken, er vermag nicht zu überlegen ihren
Anfang und ihr Ende, sondern er weiß und merkt (αἰσθάνεσθαι) nur
das, was vor seinen Augen ist.
Es ist noch etwas Verschiedenes am König des Reiches der Finsternis.
Wenn er gehen will, breitet er alle seine Glieder (μέλος) aus
und geht. Wenn es ihm in den Sinn kommt, [zieht] er
seine Glieder (μέλος) ein und nimmt sie zu sich und . . . . zu
seinen Bestandteilen und fällt herab wie eine Weintraube und
eine große Eisen-Kugel (σφαῖρα). Er ist furchtbar in seiner Stimme,
er ist schrecklich, er flößt Schrecken ein seinen Mächten durch seine Stimme.
Denn wenn er redet, gleicht er dem Donner
in den Wolken, sein . . . . . der Felsen (πέτρα) . . .
Wenn er schreit und . . . . und ruft . . .
über seine Mächte, zittern sie und wanken(?) und fallen ihm zu Füßen
wie Vögel, die . . . werden . . . . Vogel . . .
. . . und sie fallen herab auf die Erde. Aber nur dies ist es,
daß er nicht weiß, was fern von ihm ist. Er sieht nicht das,
was in der Ferne ist, und hört es nicht, aber was vor
seinem Angesicht ist, das sieht er, das hört er, das
weiß er. — Diese Zeichen und diese bösen
Merkmale (σημεῖον) befinden sich an dem Anführer der Dämonen und [der]
bösen Geister, dem König aller Berge der Finsternis . . . . ., [den]
das Land der Finsternis geboren [hat], die [ihn hervorgebracht hat in seiner]
Hartherzigkeit, in seiner Schlechtigkeit (κακία), in seinem Zorn . . . .

Zu dieser Schilderung des Königs der Finsternis cf. die mandäische im Rechten Ginza 280 (Lidzbarski 278).

ⲗⲅ

ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ

ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲛⲉⲫⲱⲃ̄ⲣⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲍ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲫⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃ̣ⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲁ
ⲡⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲡⲉ ⲧ+ⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙ̄
ⲗⲁⲍ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲙⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̣ⲛⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲟ
ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄ ⲉⲓ̈ⲭⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲭⲛ ⲡⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄
ⲉⲩⲑⲃⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲩⲣⲁⲛⲛⲓⲁ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲕ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ
Ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲍⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲫⲟ ⲛⲍⲁ ⲛⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲡⲍⲟⲩ
ⲓⲧ ⲛⲛⲑⲏⲣⲓⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲍⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲫ̄ⲥⲱ[ⲙⲁ ⲡⲥⲱ]
ⲙⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲍⲁⲙⲧ ⲡⲉ
ⲧⲟⲩ+ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲧ+ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲙⲭ̇ ⲉⲧⲍ̄ⲛ̄ ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛ|ⲙ
ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲍⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈
ⲡⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲍ[ⲛ̄ ⲙ]ⲙ̣ⲉ|ⲍⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲣⲉⲫⲭⲁⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉⲧⲍⲁ
ⲧ̣[ⲉⲡ|]ⲧⲁⲓ̣ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲡⲕⲟ
ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲫ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛ|ⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ̣
ⲉⲧⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲥⲉ]ⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲑⲩⲥ|ⲁⲥⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲑⲩⲥ|ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ
Ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲕⲟⲥ[ⲙ]ⲟ[ⲥ] ⲙⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲟⲩⲍⲟ ⲛⲁⲍⲱⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲫ
ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲃⲁⲛ|ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁ
ⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲛ|ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲟⲩ+ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧ+ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲫ ▮
ⲧⲍ̄ⲛ ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲡⲉⲫⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲧⲙⲛⲧⲱⲙⲱⲉⲉ|ⲁⲱ
ⲗⲟⲛ ⲙ̣ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲍ̄ⲛ̄ ⲣⲡⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲁ]ⲛⲉ|ⲇⲱ
[ⲗ]ⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲱ|ⲥⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲍ|ⲕⲱⲛ ⲛⲕⲱ ⲛ
[ⲧⲉ ⲧ]ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ̣ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ leer
[Ⲡⲣ]ⲣⲟ ⲍⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ[ⲟ]ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲍⲁ ⲛⲧⲃⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲫ
ⲥ̣ⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲍⲉ[ⲧ] ⲛ̣ⲕⲉⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲙ̣ⲁⲩ
ⲟⲩⲍⲉⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧ+ⲡⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ
[ⲡ]ⲍⲗⲁⲃ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲧ+ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲗⲃ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ +ⲡⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ
ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧ
[+ⲱ]ⲙⲉ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲁⲡ+ⲥⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲍⲉⲗⲡ|ⲥ
[ⲙ̄ⲛ̄] ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁⲍ[ⲧⲏⲩ] ⲍⲙ ⲡⲃⲁⲡ+ⲥⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ
[Ⲡⲣⲣ]ⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲡ[ⲕⲟⲥ]ⲙ̣ⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲟⲩⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲫ
[ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲍⲧ] ⲙⲛ ⲡⲃⲁⲥⲛ̄ⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
[ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̣]ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲍⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄

12 ⲡⲉⲧⲧ+ⲡⲉ: über dem zweiten ⲧ Tilgungspunkt, lies ⲡⲉ ⲧ+ⲡⲉ. — 15 Auch [ⲍⲩⲡⲟ]ⲧⲁⲅⲏ möglich. Lies ⲙ̄ⲛ̄⟨ⲛ⟩ⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ. — 22 ⲙⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲁ: das erste ⲙ anscheinend getilgt. — 27 Lies ⲛ̄⟨ⲛ⟩ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ.

des Lehrers.

mehr als alle seine Mit-Archonten, die in allen seinen Welten sind.
Das Gold ist der Körper des Königs des Reiches der Finsternis.
Der Körper aller Mächte, die gehören zu der Welt des Rauches (καπνός), ist Gold. Der Geschmack aber seiner Früchte ist die
Salzigkeit. Der Geist des Königs des Reiches der Finsternis ist derjenige, der herrscht
heutzutage in den Regierungen (ἀρχή) und Gewalten (ἐξουσία) der Erde und der
ganzen Welt, ich meine diejenigen, welche herrschen über die gesamte Schöpfung,
indem sie die Menschen erniedrigen in Gewaltherrschaft (τυραννία) nach ihrem Willen.
Der König aber der Welten des Feuers hat das Gesicht eines Löwen, des Ersten
aller Tiere (θηρίον). Das Erz ist sein Körper. [Der] Körper
auch aller Archonten, die zur Welt des Feuers gehören, ist Erz.
Ihr Geschmack ist der saure Geschmack in jeder Form.
Der Geist dagegen des Königs derer, die zur Welt des Feuers gehören, das
ist der, welcher herrscht in den Höheren (μείζων) und den Führern, die unter
dem Befehle (ἐπιταγή) der Regierungen und der Gewalten (ἐξουσία) und der Könige der
Welt stehen. Ein Geist von ihm ist auch der, welcher in diesen Sekten (δόγμα) sich befindet,
die das Feuer verehren, indem sie dem Feuer ein Opfer (θυσία) darbringen (θυσιάζειν).
Der König wiederum der Welten des Windes hat ein Adler-Gesicht. Sein
Körper ist das Eisen. Auch der Körper aller derer, die gehören zum
Winde, ist Eisen. Ihr Geschmack ist der scharfe Geschmack
in jeder Form. Sein Geist ist der des Götzendienstes (εἰδωλον-),
der Geister des Irrglaubens (πλάνη), die in jedem Tempel sind, (in) den Götzen-
(εἴδωλον) Stätten, den Anbetungsstätten, den Götzenbildern und den Bildern (εἰκών), den Einrichtungen
des Irrglaubens (πλάνη) der Welt.
Der König dagegen der Welt des Wassers hat ein Fisch-Gesicht. Sein
Körper ist das Silber. Auch alle Archonten, die zum Wasser gehören,
Silber ist deren Körper. Der Geschmack ihrer Früchte (καρπός) ist
[das] Süße des Wassers, der süße Geschmack in jeder Form.
Der Geist des Königs der Archonten des Wassers ist derjenige, der
heutzutage herrscht in den Sekten (δόγμα) des Irrglaubens (πλάνη), welche
taufen in der Wasser-Taufe (βάπτισμα), indem ihre Hoffnung
[und] ihr Vertrauen (gesetzt ist) auf die Wasser-Taufe (βάπτισμα).
[Der König] der Welt der Finsternis ist ein Drache (δράκων). Sein
[Körper ist das Blei] und das Zinn. Auch alle Archonten,
[die zu der Welt] der Finsternis gehören, ihr Körper ist das Blei und

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2. 4 Statt „König des Reiches der Finsternis“ lies „König der Welt des Rauches“. — 3. 9. 18. 25. 33 Rauch, Feuer (var. ⲣⲱϫⲥ „Brennen“), Wind, Wasser, Finsternis, — die fünf finsteren Elemente; — 9. 18. 25 cf. Simplicius p. 72, 16—18 Dübner πεντάμορφον τὸ κακὸν ἀναπλάττοντες, ἀπὸ λέοντος καὶ ἰχθύος καὶ ἀετοῦ καὶ οὐ μέμνηται τίνων ἄλλων συγκείμενον. — 28 st. ⲫⲡⲉ lies ⲥⲙⲁⲧ.

ϒ̄Λ̄

ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

1 ⲡⲃⲁⲥⲛ̄ⲃ̄ ⲧ⳨ⲡⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲓ
2 ⲱⲉ leer ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄
3 ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲱⲁⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲓⲫ ⲉⲩ⳨ⲥⲥⲛ̄ⲱⲓⲛ[ⲉ]
4 ⲥⲛ ⲛⲣⲉⲩ⳨ⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ ⲧⲩⲡ̣[ⲥ] ⲛⲓⲙ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲁ
5 ⲣⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲉⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧ⳨ⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̣ ⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ
6 Ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⳨ⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲁ[ⲥⲛ]ⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲙⲉ
7 ⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲭⲉ
8 ⲱⲗ ⲡⲉⲧ[ⲛⲍ]ⲏⲧ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̣ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲧⲉ̈ⲩ̈ⲉⲑⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣
9 ⳨ⲉ ⲛⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡ⳨ⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲕⲱ
10 ⲥⲁⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩ⳨ⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲡⲟ
11 ⲗⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲙⲣⲣⲉ
12 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲱⲗⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ .

13 ϛ̄

14 — ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲥⲁⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ —
15 ϛ̄ ⲡ⳨ⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲱⲧ ϛ̄

16 ⲦⲦⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲡⲛ̄ⲓⲱ̣ⲧ [ⲡ]ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ
17 ⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲩⲍⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲩⲧⲁ
18 ⲱⲉⲁ̈ⲓⲱ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲙⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲁ
19 ⲣⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲟⲕⲁⲗⲩ⳨ⲓⲥ ⲭⲉ ⳨ⲟⲩ ⲛ̈ⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲉ
20 ⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲉ [ⲁⲛ] ⲉⲓ
21 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ ⲦⲦⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̈ⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡ̈ⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ
22 ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲡ̣[ⲉ]ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲱⲓ ⲁⲧⲉⲫⲙ̣[ⲛ]
23 ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲟ]ⲛⲟⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲡ̣ⲱ̣[ⲁ]
24 ⲣⲡ ⲛⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲙⲛ ⳨ⲟ̣[ⲩ ⲛⲓ]ⲱⲧ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
25 ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲁⲧⲉⲍⲏ ⲛⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲁ̣ⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉ
26 ⲧⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲍⲙ[ⲉ]
27 ⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲏ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲡ[ⲱⲁ]ⲣⲡ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲁ̣[ⲃ]
28 ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲥⲟⲩ
29 ⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲦⲦⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛ̣[ⲉⲩ ⲡ]ⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲣ[ⲓⲧ ⲛ̄]
30 ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉ[ⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ]ⲧ̣ⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲁ̈ⲓ[ⲧ ⲡⲉ]
31 ⲧⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ [ⲁⲫⲃ]ⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁ[ⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍ]ⲏ̣ⲧⲫ
32 ⲦⲦⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙ[ⲧ ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ]
33 ⲡⲍⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲩⲙⲃⲟⲩⲗ[ⲟⲥ ⲧⲏ]ⲣⲟⲩ [ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄]

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1 Lies ⲛ̄⟨ⲛ⟩ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ. — 8 ⲧⲉ̈ⲩ̈ⲉⲑⲏⲛⲉ korrigiert; gemeint ist ⲧⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲑⲏⲛⲉ.

das Zinn. Der Geschmack aber ihrer Früchte ist die Bitterkeit. — Der Geist wiederum, der in ihnen herrscht, ist der Geist, der redet bis zum heutigen Tage in den Sehern (μάντις), indem er Orakel erteilt, in den Wahrsagern jeder Art (τύπος), in den Besessenen und andern Geistern jeder Art (τύπος), die Orakel erteilen. Deswegen sage ich euch, meine Brüder und meine Glieder (μέλος), ihr vollkommenen Gläubigen (πιστός), ihr heiligen Electi: Nehmt euer Herz zu euch und haltet euch fern von den fünf Knechtschaften der fünf finstern Geister. Verlasset den Dienst ihrer fünf Körper. Nicht wandelt (πολιτεύεσθαι) in ihnen, auf daß ihr entgehet ihrer Fessel und ihrer Strafe (κόλασις) ewiglich.

VII.

Das siebente (sc. Kapitel) über die fünf Väter.

Wiederum, als der Φωστήρ, unser Vater, [der] wahre Apostel, inmitten seiner Jünger saß, indem er ihnen die Größen (Großtaten) Gottes predigte, da sprach er wiederum zu ihnen folgendermaßen in seiner Offenbarung (ἀποκάλυψις): Fünf Väter gibt es, einer ist aus dem andern berufen worden, einer [wiederum] ist hervorgekommen aus dem andern. — Der erste Vater ist der Vater der Größe, der Herrliche, der Gepriesene, für dessen Größe er kein Maß gibt, welcher ist der erste Μονογενής, der erste Ewige, der mit fünf Vätern ewiglich existiert, der vor Allem existiert, was existiert hat und was existieren wird. Er nun, der herrliche Vater, hat berufen drei Emanationen (προβολή) aus sich. Die erste ist der Große Geist, die erste Mutter, die zuerst aus dem Vater hervorgekommen und zuerst in Erscheinung getreten ist. — Der zweite ist der Geliebte der Lichter, der große herrliche Geliebte, [der] Geehrte, welcher aus dem Vater hervorgekommen und sich [aus] ihm offenbart hat. Der dritte Vater ist der Dritte [Gesandte], der Erste [aller] Ratgeber (σύμβουλος), [der hervorgekommen ist aus]

3 ⲧⲥⲥⲛⲱⲓⲛⲉ: was das ⲥⲥⲛ- bedeutet, ist unklar. — 16 zum Folg. cf. Mani-Fund 66 sqq.

λε

ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ

ⲡϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲡϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲧ
ⲧϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲑⲁⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ ⲧϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲑ ⲛⲑⲁⲙ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲙⲁϥ
ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲡϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛϣⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ
ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ ⲧϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ
ⲙⲁϥ ⲁϥⲑⲃⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲥϥ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲱⲕ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ ⲁϥ
† ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲁϥ† ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱⲛ
Ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲍ
ϣⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲧⲡⲣⲟⲧⲟⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲥⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲁϥⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲛϣⲁⲙ
ⲧⲉ ⲛⲑⲁⲙ ⲧⲟⲩⲓⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉⲧⲃⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲍⲁ ⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲁ̣ⲛⲱⲙⲟ
ⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ Ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ
[ⲡ]ⲉ̣ⲧⲉϣⲁ̣ⲩ̣† ⲍⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ ⲙⲡⲱⲛⲋ ϣⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲧⲙⲁⲍ
ϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫ[ⲓ]ⲁ̣ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲃⲓ ⲙⲡⲍⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣[ⲁⲣⲭ]ⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲑⲁⲙ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲥⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲥⲭⲱⲕ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲱⲕ ⲛⲍ̣[ⲏ]ⲧ̣ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ leer
Ⲧⲙⲁⲍϣⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲥⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ̣
ⲛϣⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲓⲱⲧ
ⲧϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲑⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲍⲙⲉⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ[ⲥ] ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲍⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[ⲉⲕ]ⲕ̣ⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
[ⲧⲏ]ⲣ̣ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲕ̣ⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲍ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏ
ⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ leer Ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲧⲁⲍ
[ⲙ]ⲉⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲁ[ⲃ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲓ]ⲧ̣ⲏⲥ ⲉⲧ†ⲍⲉⲡ ⲁⲛ†ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
[ⲛ̄]ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲣ[ⲉ ⲧⲉⲩ]ⲥⲕⲏⲛⲏ ⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ⲍ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲍⲁ . . .
[. .] ⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ . [. .]ⲥⲓⲟⲩ Ⲧⲙⲁⲍϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛⲑⲁⲙ ⲡⲉ
[ⲡⲗ]ⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲧⲛⲁ̣[ⲃ . . . . . .] ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱ
ⲛ̣ⲧⲟⲛ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲍⲙ [. . . . . .] ⲉⲓ̈ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛⲧⲩ
[ⲍ]ⲙ̄ ⲡⲧⲱⲍⲙⲉ [ⲙ̄ⲛ] ⲛ̣ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ [ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕ] ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲍⲁⲧⲙ ⲡⲩⲓ̈[ⲱⲧ]
[ⲡ]ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̣ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏ[ⲣ . . . . ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ
. . . . . [ⲁ]ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲍⲁⲧⲙ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ
[ⲡⲉ†ⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲱⲧⲛⲉ ⲍⲱⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁ
[ⲣⲁⲩ ⲍⲁⲧⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲓ̈ⲱ]ⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ leer

des Lehrers.

dem ersten Vater und in die Erscheinung getreten ist. Dies ist der erste Vater,
die erste Kraft, aus dem die drei großen Kräfte hervorgekommen sind.
Dies ist der erste Vater, der erste Ewige, die Wurzel
aller Lichter, aus dem die drei Emanationen (προβολή) hervorgekommen sind.
Sie haben die Finsternis gedemütigt und ihren Willen zunichte gemacht; man hat
ihnen allein den Sieg gegeben, und sie wiederum haben den Sieg ihren Aeonen gegeben.
Der zweite Vater, der aus dem ersten Vater herausgekommen ist, ist der
Dritte Gesandte, das Bild (προτομή) des Königs der Lichter.
Auch er wiederum hat berufen und aus sich entsandt drei
Kräfte. Die eine ist die Säule der Herrlichkeit, der vollkommene Mann,
der alle Dinge trägt, die große Säule
des Lobpreises, der große Ὡμοφόρος, der größer ist als
alle Ὡμοφόροι. — Die zweite ist Jesus der Glanz, der herrliche,
durch den das ewige Leben gegeben wird. — Die
dritte ist die Lichtjungfrau, die herrliche Weisheit,
die das Herz der Archonten und der Kräfte wegnimmt durch ihre Erscheinung (εἰκών), indem sie erfüllt
den Willen der Größe.
Der dritte Vater, der aus dem zweiten Vater hervorgekommen ist,
das ist Jesus der Glanz, der herrliche. Auch er wiederum hat berufen
drei Berufungen nach dem Muster des zweiten Vaters.
Die erste Kraft, die er berufen hat, ist der Licht-Noûς,
der Vater aller Apostel, der Erste aller Kirchen (ἐκκλησία),
den Jesus nach unserm Ebenbilde eingesetzt hat in der
heiligen Kirche. — Die zweite Kraft, die Jesus berufen hat,
ist der große Richter (κριτής), der richtet alle Seelen
der Menschen, indem [sein] Zelt (σκηνή) in der Luft (ἀήρ) errichtet ist unter (?)
[dem] Rad (τροχός) [der?] Sterne. — Die dritte Kraft ist
[der] Knabe, die große (?) . . . . Licht in seinen zwei Per-
sonen (πρόσωπον) in . . . ich rede von dem, den er errichtet hat
im ‚Ruf' [und] im ‚Hören'. [Er hat sich] auf[gestellt] bei seinem [Vater]
[dem] König . . . Der Heiland (σωτήρ) . . . sah ihn, indem er sagte
[zu den Juden(?)]: „Ich, was ich gesehen habe bei meinem Vater,
[das sage ich]. Ihr selbst (dagegen), was ihr gesehen habt
[bei eurem Vater], das tut ihr".

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28 Über die Funktion des „Kindes" (ⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ), das auch in anderen kopt. Manichaicis vorkommt, ist einstweilen noch nichts Näheres zu sagen. — 32 f. Joh. 8, 38.

ⲗⲍ

ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

Ⲡⲙⲁϩⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁϥ ϩⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲁϥⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲛⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ
ⲛⲇⲁⲙ ⲁⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲛϥⲣⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏ
ⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ϥⲣ̄ⲁⲡⲉ ϩⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ
ⲕⲁⲗⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲧⲙⲁϩⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲓⲱ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲁⲡⲟ
ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲛⲉϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉϥⲟ ⲛⲉϥ ⲛⲱⲃⲣⲁⲟⲩⲏⲧ
ⲉϥⲗⲁⲭⲧ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲁⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉϥⲣ̄ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲓ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲛⲥⲏⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲛⲛⲑⲗⲓⲯⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲓⲛⲇⲩⲛⲟⲥ Ⲧⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ
ⲡⲉ ⲧⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲕⲁ
ⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲭⲓⲧⲉ̄ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲁⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
Ⲡⲙⲁϩⲧⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉ
ⲱⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲃ[ⲱⲕ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱ
ⲙⲁ ⲁϩⲣⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲧϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲁ̣[ⲙⲧ]
ⲛⲛⲁⲇ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟ̈ⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲥ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲉϥⲉ̣ⲙ̈[ⲁϩ]
ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲁⲃⲓⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲃⲓϫ ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲉϥⲃⲓ ϩⲁ ⲑⲃⲱ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲃⲣⲏⲡⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲱⲁ
ⲙ̄ⲧ̄ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ
ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ Ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣϩⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲃⲱ[ⲗⲡ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉ
ⲣϩⲩ Ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲏⲣⲛⲟ̈ⲓⲉ ⲙⲙ[ⲁⲩ]
ϫⲉϥⲁⲃⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲱⲁⲁⲛϩⲥⲉ ⲛϥϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϩⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲟⲩ
ⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲧⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ [ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓⲣϩⲛⲏ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲣⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϥⲣⲉ:

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— ⲏ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲉϥⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲛⲧ̣ⲉⲗ̣ⲟ̣ — ⲏ̄
ⲉⲧⲁ ⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩⲥ ⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ

Ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲣⲙⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲥⲁⲩⲝ[ⲥ ⲉⲧ]ϩⲙⲉⲥⲧ ϩⲓⲧⲉϥ
ⲉϩⲏ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲑ̣ [ⲉⲓ] ⲁⲛⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟ[ⲥ]
ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲇ [ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲁⲙⲏⲧ]
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲁⲩⲙⲁϩⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ [ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ]
Ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲙⲁⲛⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛ[ⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛ]
ⲧⲁϥϫⲓ ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛⲧⲛ̄ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ [ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ]

Die Kephalaia

Der vierte Vater ist der Licht-Noûς, der erwählt
alle Kirchen. Auch er wiederum hat berufen drei
Kräfte nach dem Muster Jesu. Die erste Kraft ist der Apostel
des Lichtes, der jeweils zu seiner Zeit kommt und sich bekleidet (φορεῖν) mit der Kirche
des Fleisches der Menschheit und Oberhaupt wird innerhalb der
Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη). — Die zweite ist der Paargenosse, der kommt zum
Apostel und sich ihm offenbart, indem er ihm Wohngenosse ist
und ihn überallhin begleitet und ihm hilft (βοηθεῖν) zu jeder Zeit aus
allen Bedrängnissen (θλῖψις) und Gefahren (κίνδυνος). — Die dritte
ist die Licht-Gestalt (μορφή), welche die Electi und die Ka-
techumenen annehmen, wenn sie der Welt entsagen (ἀποτάσσεσθαι).
Der fünfte Vater aber ist diese Licht-Gestalt (μορφή), welche
sich offenbart einem jeden, der aus seinem Körper herausgeht
nach dem Ebenbilde der Erscheinung (εἰκών) des Apostels, zusammen mit den drei
großen herrlichen Engeln, welche mit ihr kommen: der eine, indem er
den Siegespreis (βραβεῖον) in seiner Hand hält; der zweite, indem er trägt das Licht-
Kleid; der dritte ist derjenige, welcher hält das Diadem
und den Kranz (στέφανος) und die Krone des Lichtes. Dies sind die drei
Engel des Lichtes, welche kommen mit dieser Licht-
Gestalt (μορφή) und sich mit ihr offenbaren den Electi und den
Katechumenen. — Dies sind die fünf Väter, die herausgekommen sind
auseinander, die sich offenbart haben und erschienen sind durch ein-
ander. — Heil dem, welcher sie erkennt und versteht (νοεῖν),
denn er wird das ewige Licht finden und die Licht-Gewänder empfangen,
die gegeben werden den Gerechten (δίκαιος), [den Gläubigen (πιστός)], den Frieden-Gebern (εἰρήνη)
und den Gutes-Tuern.

VIII.

Über die vierzehn Fahrzeuge, die Jesus bestiegen hat.

Wiederum sprach der Lichtmensch zu der Versammlung, die vor ihm saß:
Als Jesus, der Sohn der Größe, zu diesen Welten [kam]
zu der Zeit, da er sich der Größe offenbarte, [bestieg er zehn]
Fahrzeuge und wandelte in der Welt [in ihnen].
Das erste Fahrzeug ist das Lichtschiff, [da]
er [darin] Auftrag (ἐντολή) empfangen hat vom Gesandten.

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1 ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲍⲁⲣⲙⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓ
2 ⲇⲏ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲕⲏⲛⲏ ⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ
3 ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲡⲉⲓ
4 ⲇⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲗⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟ̄ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲅⲙ ⲡⲕⲟ
5 ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ
6 ⲁⲭⲓ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲁⲗⲉⲩ
7 ⲁⲭⲓ ⲡⲧⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲥⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛ̄
8 ⲧⲁⲩ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲭⲓⲧⲱⲍϩ̄ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ
9 ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲥⲁⲱⲩ̄ⲕ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲉⲧⲛⲓⲫⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲱⲙⲟⲩⲛ
10 ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲡⲥϯⲓⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲉ
11 ⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲙⲏⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
12 ⲛ̣ⲉⲩⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲅⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲣⲙⲁ ⲅⲛ ⲛⲍⲱⲣϭ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄
13 [. . . .]ⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ
14 Ⲙⲛⲛⲋⲁ ⲧⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲣ̣ⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲅⲛ ⲧ
15 ⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲅⲛ̄ ⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲉ
16 ⲗⲟ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲛ
17 ⲥⲱⲛ̣ ⲉⲧⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ
18 ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩ
19 ⲙⲉⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲣ
20 ⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲗⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲅⲛ̄ ⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲅⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ
21 ⲱⲁⲩⲭⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲍⲁⲣⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ
22 ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲕ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲧⲛⲍⲟ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲧ ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ
23 [ⲛ]ⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲱⲩ ⲛⲉ [ⲁ]ⲩⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ ⲅⲱⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲁⲩⲧⲉ̣ⲕⲟ ⲛ̄
24 ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲅⲛ̄ⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁ̣ⲩϥ
25 ⲙ̣ⲛ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲙⲡⲱⲛⲍ Ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲛ̄
26 ⲟ̣ⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲛⲓⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲱⲡ ⲁⲧⲧⲁⲓⲉ ⲛⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩⲥ
27 ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ

28 ϭ̄

29 — ⲧⲍⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲩ ⲧⲉ —
30 ϭ̄ ⲧⲟ̣ⲩ[ⲛ]ⲉ̣ⲙ ⲡⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ϭ̄

31 [ⲡⲧ]ⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲱⲓ̄ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ
32 [ⲛⲉⲩ] ⲭⲉ ⲧⲉⲓⲣ̣ⲏⲛⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲓⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲅⲙ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
33 [ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃ]ⲁⲗ̣ [ⲛⲛ]ⲓ̣ⲙ ⲏ ⲙⲙⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲅⲙ̄
34 [ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲥⲧ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲁⲛⲙ ⲧⲉ ⲏ ⲡⲙⲩ
35 [ⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲁⲥⲡ]ⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏ̣ⲧⲩ
36 [. . . . .] ⲏ ⲛⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ

10 ⲡⲥϯⲓⲥ so. — 17 Lies ⲥⲱⲛ⟨ⲉ⟩ ⲉⲧⲧ.

des Lehrers.

Das zweite Fahrzeug (ἅρμα) ist das Schiff des Urmenschen, da
sein (sc. Jesu) Zelt (σκηνή) in ihm errichtet ist. —
Das dritte ist die Säule der Herrlichkeit, der vollkommene Mann, da
er (sc. Jesus) in ihm erglänzte und herabkam und erschien in der
Welt. — Das vierte ist der ‚Ruf', welchen er anlegte (φορεῖν)
über seinen Körper. — Das fünfte ist das ‚Hören', welches er hüllte
über den ‚Ruf'. — Das sechste ist die lebendige Luft (ἀήρ), da
auch er sie anlegte (φορεῖν) und sich mit ihr salbte.
Das siebente ist der lebendige wehende Wind. — Das achte
ist das leuchtende Licht. — Das neunte ist das lebendige
Wasser. — Das zehnte ist das lebendige Feuer, das über von ihnen allen ist.
Er wandelte auf diesen zehn Fahrzeugen (ἅρμα) in allen Ordnungen und
allen [Bahnen?], den oberen und den unteren.
Nachdem er diese zehn angelegt (φορεῖν) hatte, ist er gekommen und erschienen im
Fleische. Er wählte die heilige Kirche aus in vier Fahrzeugen.
Das eine sind alle heiligen Brüder. Das zweite sind
die reinen Schwestern. Das dritte sind alle Katechumenen,
die Kinder des Glaubens. Das vierte sind die Katechumeninnen, die Kinder des Lichtes und der Wahrheit. Diese zehn
Fahrzeuge (ἅρμα), die er in der ζώνη bestiegen hat, und die andern vier, die im Fleische sind,
vervollständigen sich und machen vierzehn Fahrzeuge (ἅρμα) aus, in denen er vollbracht hat
den Willen seines Vaters: er belebte, rettete und gab den Sieg
denen, welche die Seinen sind. Er tötete dagegen, fesselte und vernichtete
diejenigen, welche ihm Fremde sind. Er pries den Vater, der ihn gesandt hat
und das ganze Reich des Lebens. — Heil dem, der kennt
diese Mysterien, denn er wird zugezählt werden dem Anteil Jesu,
des Sohnes der Größe.

IX.

Die Deutung (ἑρμηνεία) des Frieden(sgrußes) (εἰρήνη), was er ist (bedeutet), die Rechte, der Kuß (ἀσπασμός), die Verehrung.

Wiederum fragten die Jünger den Apostel, indem sie sagten
[zu ihm]: Der Frieden(sgruß) und das Χαῖρε, die in der Welt sind,
aus wem [sind sie hervorgekommen]? Oder (ἤ) die Rechte, die in
[der Welt] ist, [indem sie] geehrt ist bei den Menschen, wem gehört sie? Oder das
Mysterium des Kusses (ἀσπασμός), mit dem man sich gegenseitig küßt (ἀσπάζεσθαι)
. . . . . .? Oder wer ist es, der offenbart diese

ϪΗ

ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

1 ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟ̄ ⲏ ⲧⲭⲉⲓⲣⲟⲧⲟ
2 ⲛⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲧⲱ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲕⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲭⲱ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲁⲃⲉ
3 ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲧ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁϊⲟ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲛⲁⲃ ⲧⲁ
4 ⲛⲓⲙ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲭⲉⲓⲣⲟⲧⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ
5 Ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲛ̄ⲧ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ ⲙⲉⲛ
6 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲱ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲥⲁⲃⲕ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛⲕⲟⲩⲓ
7 ⲕⲁⲓⲧⲟⲓⲅⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲁϊⲁϊⲧ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲛ̣ⲏ
8 ⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲕⲓⲁ ⲡⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉϊⲛⲉ
9 ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲍⲏ
10 ⲧⲟⲩ ⲍⲱ̄ ⲡⲁ̣ⲓⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁϊⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄
11 ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲍⲣⲏϊ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲙⲉϊⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ
12 ⲁⲩⲱ̣ⲁⲡⲓ̈ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲁϊⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁϊⲛⲉ
13 Ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲧⲉⲧⲁ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛ[ⲁⲅ]ⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ
14 ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁϊⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲩⲛ̣ⲏⲩ
15 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧ̣ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
16 ⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲏⲧ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲧ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄
17 ⲡⲟⲩϫⲓⲛ̣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ̣ⲣⲟ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ
18 ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲧⲉⲧⲁ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ
19 ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲱ̄ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁϊⲛⲉ
20 Ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉⲧⲁ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲧⲉⲥ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱ
21 ⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ̣
22 Ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉϊ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲧⲙⲉ̣[ⲩ] ⲙⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲥⲡⲁ
23 ⲍⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟ̄ ⲉⲩⲁ̣ⲡⲱⲣϫ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲉ̣ⲩⲛⲏⲩ
24 ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲕⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛ[ⲁⲅ]
25 ⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁϊⲛⲉ ⲣ̄ⲁⲥ[ⲡⲁ]ⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲱ[. . .
26 ⲁⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛ̄ⲍⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲣⲙⲛ[ⲏ̈ ⲉ]
27 ⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲏ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲁⲥⲡⲁ̣ⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉ̣[ⲩ]
28 ⲁⲡⲱⲣϫ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲍⲡⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁ̣ⲗ̣ [ⲡ]ⲉ ⲉⲩⲣⲁ[ⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ]
29 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲍⲱ̄ ⲡⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲙⲉϊⲉ
30 Ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲱ[ⲁⲣ]ⲡ ⲛⲣⲱ̣[ⲙⲉ]
31 ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁ̣[ⲗ ⲁⲡⲱⲓⲭⲍ ⲉ]
32 ⲧⲱ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲱⲗⲭ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲡ̣[ⲉⲧ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ]
33 ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣ̣[ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁϊⲛⲉ]

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1 Lies ⲉⲧⲟⲩ⟨ⲟⲩ⟩ⲱⲱⲧ. — 9 ⲛⲉ über der Zeile. — 32 Ende: oder vielleicht [ⲍⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ].

Die Kephalaia

Verehrung, mit der man sich gegenseitig verehrt? Oder diese Handauflegung (χειροτονία), die der unendlich Große legt auf den, welcher geringer ist als er, indem er ihm Ehre gibt (verleiht) und ihn groß macht, wessen ist diese Handauflegung? — Darauf sprach er zu seinen Jüngern: Diese fünf Dinge, nach denen ihr mich gefragt habt, haben zwar den Anschein in der Welt, als ob sie gering und klein wären, obwohl (καίτοιγε) sie groß und geehrt (ehrwürdig) sind. Ich bin es, der offenbaren wird euch ihr Mysterium. — Was diese fünf Zeichen anbetrifft, so sind sie das Mysterium des Urmenschen: er ist herausgekommen mit ihnen aus dem Aeon des Lichtes. Und wiederum, als er vollendet hatte seinen Kampf (ἀγών), ist er hinaufgegangen mit diesen guten Zeichen und wurde aufgenommen in die Aeonen des Lichtes.

Der erste Frieden(sgruß) ist der, den die Götter und die Engel im Lande des Lichtes dem Urmenschen gaben zu der Zeit, da er ausziehen wollte gegen den Feind. Die Götter und die Engel gingen mit ihm, indem sie ihn begleiteten und ihm gaben ihren Frieden und ihre Kraft und ihren Segen und ihre Siege(swünsche). Dies ist der erste Frieden(sgruß), der, den die Götter und die Engel gaben dem Urmenschen, als er aus dem Aeon des Lichtes ausziehen wollte.

Die erste Rechte ist die, die die Mutter des Lebens dem Urmenschen gab, als er zum Kampf (ἀγών) ausziehen wollte.

Der erste Kuß (ἀσπασμός) ist der, mit dem die Mutter des Lebens küßte (ἀσπ.) den Urmenschen, als er im Begriff war, sich von ihr zu trennen und herabzusteigen zum Kampf (ἀγών). Auch alle Götter und die Engel, die in den Aeonen des Lichtes sind, küßten (ἀσπ.) ihn.

Auch alle . . . . und die . . . der Kirchen und die [Haus]bewohner, welche zum Hause seiner Leute (d. h. Angehörigen) gehören, die küßten (ἀσπάζεσθαι) ihn, als er im Begriff war sich von ihnen zu trennen; sie begleiteten ihn hinaus, indem sie ihn küßten (ἀσπάζεσθαι) mit dem Kusse (ἀσπασμός) der ἀγάπη und der Liebe.

Die erste Verehrung ist die Verehrung, mit der der Urmensch verehrte, als er im Begriff war auszuziehen [zu dem Abgrund], der unten ist; er beugte seine [Knie, indem er anbetete] den Gott der Wahrheit und alle Aeonen [des Lichtes],

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1 ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ = προσκύνησις „Verehrung, Ehrenbezeugung, Anbetung". — 26 Bedeutung von ⲕⲛϩⲉ in diesem Zusammenhang unklar.

ⲗⲑ

ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ

1 ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲏ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲃⲍ̈ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁⲗ ⲁ
2 ⲧ̣ⲣⲉⲥⲱⲧ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ leer
3 Ⲧ ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲭⲉⲓⲣⲟⲧⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲧⲁ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲁⲭ̣ⲛ̄
4 ⲧⲁⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲛⲍⲟⲡⲗⲓⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁ̣ⲥ̣ⲉⲩ
5 ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲁⲥⲭⲉⲓⲣⲟⲧⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲥⲭⲁⲩⲩ ⲁⲡⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲍ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ
6 ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲭⲱⲕ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ
7 ⲧⲭⲁⲭⲉ leer ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡ[ⲓ]†ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ̈ⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲓ†ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲩⲥⲧ̣[ⲏ]ⲣ̣ⲓ
8 ⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ̣
9 ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲑⲃⲓⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ[ⲟ]ⲩ
10 Ⲧ Ⲧⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲡ[ⲟⲗ]ⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧ[ⲁ]ⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲍ[ⲟⲩⲛ]
11 ⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲏ̈ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲓ†ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣ̣ⲓ
12 ⲟ̣ⲛ †ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ[ⲩⲉⲓ] ⲁ̣ⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ[ⲥ] ⲡ̣ⲉ †ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ̣ ⲡ̣
13 ⲧⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲥ̣ ⲛⲉⲩ [ⲛ]ⲧ̣ⲁⲣⲟⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲁⲃ̣ⲁⲗ ⲙⲡ[ⲓ]ⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱ
14 ⲛⲍ̄ ⲁⲩ† ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ†ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
15 †ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲧⲉⲧ̣ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥ ⲛ̄
16 [ⲧⲁ]ⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲁ̣ⲅⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲙⲩ
17 [ⲥ]ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲃⲉ ⲛ†ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡ̣ⲧⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲙ̣̄
18 ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ †ⲉⲓⲣⲏ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ Ⲧ ⲉ
19 ⲧⲁⲩ†ⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲣⲁ[ⲥ] ⲁⲩⲥⲁ̣ⲧⲙⲉⲥ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱ̣ⲧ +
20 ⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲧ̣ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲧⲉⲥ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ
21 [ⲛ]ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲁⲣⲉⲩ[ⲛ]ⲧⲏ̄ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲃ̣ⲉ
22 [ⲡ]ⲙ̣ⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ [ⲛ†]ⲟ̣ⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲁ †ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲱⲡⲡⲉ
23 ⲧ̣ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧ̣[ⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ]ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩ† ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ
24 [ⲉ]ⲧⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉⲥ[. . . .]ⲉⲩ leer ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲥⲡⲁ
25 [ⲥ]ⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ ⲡ[ⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧ]ⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄
26 ⲁ̣ⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱ[ⲁⲣⲡ] ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲫⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈
27 [ⲁⲃ]ⲁⲗ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲉ̣ⲣⲉ̣ ⲡⲓⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁ̣ⲛ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲟⲩⲧⲱ[ⲩ] ⲛ̄
28 ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲉⲓ̣ⲧⲉ̣ ⲃⲉ [ⲉⲩ]
29 ⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲁⲡⲟⲇⲏⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥ̣ⲉⲟⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲁⲩ]
30 [ⲉ]ⲩⲁⲧⲍⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲁⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ
31 [Ⲧ]ⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̣[ⲟ]ⲩ̣ⲱⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ
32 [ⲛ]ⲍⲏⲧ̣ⲩ̄ [. . . . . ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲙⲛ
33 [. . . . .]ⲛ̄ⲁ̣ⲓⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ̣ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲧⲏ[ⲣ]ⲟⲩ
34 [. . . . . ⲡⲕⲁⲍ] ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ Ⲥⲟⲧⲁ̣[ⲛ]

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5 ⲁⲡⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲍ sic für ⲁⲡⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲍ. — 7 ⲙⲉ̈ⲉ sic, lies ⲙⲉⲓ̈⟨ⲛ⟩ⲉ. — 18 Lies †ⲉⲓⲣⲏ⟨ⲛⲏ⟩. — 24 Anfang lies [ⲉⲧ]⟨ⲧ⟩ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ? oder [ⲉ]ⲥⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ?

des Lehrers.

die zum Hause seiner Leute gehören, indem er sie um eine Kraft bat,
daß sie ihn begleitete, als er im Begriff war auszuziehen.
Die erste Handauflegung (χειροτονία) ist diejenige, die die Mutter legte auf
das Haupt des Urmenschen. Sie bewaffnete (πανοπλίζειν) ihn, machte ihn
stark, legte ihm die Hand auf (χειροτονεῖν) und entsandte ihn zum Kampfe. Er kam
herab und vollendete seinen Kampf (ἀγών) vermittels der großen Kräfte mit der
Feindschaft. — Vermittels dieser fünf Zeichen, vermittels dieser fünf Mysterien
zog der Urmensch aus den Aeonen des Lichtes
gegen den Feind; er demütigte ihn und besiegte ihn vermittels ihrer.
Auch als er heraufkam aus dem Kriege, ist er hineingegangen
in das Reich des Hauses seiner Leute vermittels dieser fünf Mysterien.
Der Frieden(sgruß), mit welchem er heraufgekommen ist, ist der Frieden(s-gruß), den der
‚Ruf' ihm gab, als er (sc. Ruf) ausgesandt worden war durch den Vater des
Lebens: er gab ihm den Frieden(sgruß) in der Welt der Finsternis.
Jener Frieden(sgruß), mit dem er hinabgegangen war, das ist
auch derjenige, mit dem er heraufgekommen ist vom Kampfe (ἀγών). Entsprechend dem
Mysterium nun jenes Frieden(sgrußes), den der ‚Ruf' gegeben hat
dem Urmenschen, ist der Frieden(sgruß) hier entstanden, der,
welcher benannt worden ist und gehört ist unter den Kräften des Vaters. Die
zweite Rechte wiederum ist diejenige, welche der Lebendige Geist gegeben hat dem
Urmenschen, als er ihn heraufgeführt hatte aus dem Kampfe (ἀγών). Entsprechend
[dem] Mysterium jener Rechten ist diese Rechte entstanden,
die in[mitten] der Menschen besteht, indem sie sie einander geben,
indem sie angesehen ist und . . . . Dieser zweite Kuß (ἀσπασμός)
wiederum ist der, mit dem der [Vater des] Lebens und die Mutter der Lebendigen
küßten (ἀσπάζεσθαι) den Urmenschen, als er heraufgekommen war
aus dem Kampfe (ἀγών). Auch dieser Kuß (ἀσπασμός) besteht unter den
Menschen, indem sie mit ihm einander küssen (ἀσπάζεσθαι), sei es nun, wenn sie
verreisen (ἀποδημεῖν) und sich voneinander entfernen wollen oder wenn
sie sich einander nähern wollen gemäß dem Mysterium Jenes (sc. des Urmenschen).
Die zweite Verehrung, mit der der Urmensch Verehrung erwies
. . . . [in dieser] Zeit dem Gott der Wahrheit und
. . . . [den] gesegneten Aeonen und allen Aeonen
. . . . [und der] ganzen [Welt] des Lichtes, als (ὅταν)

13 ‚Vater des Lebens' = der Lebendige Geist. — 17 Bezieht sich auf die Anrede des ‚Rufes' an den Urmenschen, die bei Theodor (128, 9 Pognon) mit שלם עליך anfängt. — 20 ff. cf. Acta Arch. 10, 13 ff. καὶ κατελθὼν (τὸ ζῶν πνεῦμα) δέδωκεν αὐτῷ (τῷ πρώτῳ ἀνθρώπῳ) δεξιὰν καὶ ἀνήνεγκεν ἐκ τοῦ σκότους ... καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Μανιχαῖοι ἐὰν συναντήσωσιν ἀλλήλοις, δεξιὰς διδόασιν ἑαυτοῖς σημείου χάριν, ὡς ἀπὸ σκότους σωθέντες.

ⲙ̅

ⲙ̅ⲡⲥⲁϩ

ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ̀ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲙ̅
ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ϩⲙ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏ
ⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱϣ̀ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲱⲱϣ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ
ⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ̣ ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲁⲛⲟⲩ
ⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲧⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲛ̄
ϫⲉⲓⲣⲟⲧⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲛ̄ ⲡϣⲁⲣⲡ
ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲛⲁϩⲙⲉϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣̄
ϩⲓⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲛⲧϥ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁϥ⸗ⲙ̣⸗ⲧ̣ⲁⲛ ⲛ̣̀ⲉϥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲁϥⲥⲉϩⲱ[ϥ] ⲁ̣ⲣⲉⲧϥ ϩⲓⲧⲉϩⲏ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲙⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ
ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲟ̣ⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲃⲱϰ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ϩⲓⲧⲉϩⲏ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩϩⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲓ ϣⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲓ ⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲁ̣ⲥ̣
ϫⲉ ⲧϩⲙⲥ[ⲟ] ⲡⲁϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲁϣⲁⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁⲓ̈ ϣⲁⲛ+
ϰⲁ ⲛⲉϥϫⲁϫⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲩⲡⲟⲡⲟⲗⲓⲟⲛ ϩⲁ ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ
ⲁϥϫⲓ +ⲛⲁⲟ ⲛϫⲉⲓⲣⲟⲧⲟⲛⲓⲁ ϫⲉϥⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ
ⲛⲛⲉϥⲥⲛⲏⲩ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ Ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓ
ⲟⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄+ⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲓⲣⲟⲧⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲁ +ϫⲉⲓⲣⲟⲧⲟⲛⲓⲁ ϣⲱ
ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩϫⲉⲓⲣⲟⲧⲟⲛⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲩ
ⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲟ + ⲉ̀ϩⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲡⲓ+ⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏ
ⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲓ+ⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛϣⲁⲣⲡ ϩⲛ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲟ̣ⲩ̣[ⲁ]ⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁ ⲛⲣ[ⲱ]
ⲙⲉ ϫⲓⲥⲃⲱ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲏⲧ[ⲉ] . . . ⲛⲉⲩϣⲟⲟ[ⲡ ⲁⲉ]
ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ϫⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛϫⲓ ⲛⲓⲙⲩⲥⲧ̣ⲏⲣ[ⲓⲟⲛ] ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
ⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̅ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ Ⲧⲧⲛⲟⲩⲥ ϩⲱ[ϣϥ] ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲏ[ⲩ]
ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉϣⲁϥⲉⲓ ϩⲙ ⲡⲓⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ [ⲧⲩ]ⲡ̣ⲟⲥ ϩⲛ ⲡⲓ+ⲟⲩ [ⲛ]
ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉϣⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ • ⲛϣⲁⲣⲡ ϩⲁⲧⲉϩⲏ [ⲛ]
ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉϣⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ
ⲛϥ+ ⲛ+ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉϣⲁ̣ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϫⲓ
+ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣ̄ ⲟⲩϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲙ̅ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲧⲡⲧ̄
ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧϥⲁϫⲓ +ⲣ̣ⲏⲛⲏ ϣⲁϥϫⲓ [ⲧⲟⲩ]
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲡ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ [ⲉⲧϥⲁϫⲓ] ⲧ̣ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ϣ[ⲁ]
ⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥⲁϰϥ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲛϥⲧⲥ[ⲛⲁϥ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲉϰ]
ϰⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ leer ϩⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ϣⲁϥϫⲓ ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲥ̣[ⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲅⲁ]
ⲡ̣ⲏ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣ̄ ⲟⲩϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ[ⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ . . . . . .

13 Lies ⲟⲩⲛⲉ⟨ⲙ⟩ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲓ̈.

des Lehrers

der Vater des Lebens und die Mutter der Lebendigen hinaufgeführt hatten
den Menschen aus dem Abgrund des Kampfes (ἀγών). Entsprechend dem Mysterium
dieser zweiten Verehrung ist diese Verehrung entstanden,
die heutzutage inmitten der Menschen besteht, indem sie einander verehren
und einander Ehre erweisen. — Die zweite
Handauflegung (χειροτονία) ist diese, daß, als der Lebendige Geist heraufgeführt hatte den
Urmenschen aus dem Kriege und ihn gerettet aus
allen Wogen, er ihn heraufführte und ihn zur Ruhe kommen ließ in den großen
Aeonen des Lichtes, die zum Hause seiner Leute gehören,
und (daß) er ihn aufstellte vor dem Vater, dem Herrn des Alls.
Als er nun hinaufgegangen war vor dem großen Vater der
Lichter, da kam eine Stimme zu ihm aus der Höhe, indem sie sprach:
„Setzet meinen Sohn, meinen Erstgeborenen, zu meiner Rechten, daß ich
lege seine Feinde als Schemel (ὑποπόδιον) unter seine Füße".
Er empfing diese große Handauflegung, damit er Anführer (ἀρχηγός) würde
seiner Brüder im Neuen Aeon. Entsprechend dem Mysterium
wiederum dieser zweiten Handauflegung ist diese Handauflegung entstanden,
die inmitten der Menschen besteht, indem sie einander die Hand auflegen (χειροτονεῖν),
indem der Große dem Kleinen Macht (ἐξουσία) verleiht. — Diese fünf Mysterien, diese fünf Zeichen sind zuerst entstanden in der Gottheit;
sie wurden in dieser Welt verkündigt durch einen Apostel; die Menschen
lernten sie und setzten sie in ihrer Mitte ein. [Es bestanden aber]
nicht von Urbeginn diese Mysterien inmitten der
Kräfte der Finsternis. — Der Licht-Noûς, der kommt
in die Welt, kommt in diesen verschiedenen Typen. Mit diesen fünf
Dingen wählt er aus seine Kirche. Zuerst (und) vor
allen Dingen wählt er aus seine Kirche vermittels eines Frieden(sgrußes)
und gibt den Frieden(sgruß) zuerst den Menschen. Wenn der Mensch empfängt
den Frieden(sgruß) und ein Sohn des Friedens (εἰρήνη) wird, darnach wird er ausgewählt
zum Glauben. Wann er nun den Frieden(sgruß) empfängt, empfängt er [die]
Rechte und wird zugehörig zur Rechten. Wenn er nun [empfängt] die Rechte,
zieht der Licht-Noûς ihn zu sich und stellt [ihn hinein in die]
Kirche. — Durch die Rechte empfängt er den Kuß (ἀσπασμός) [der Liebe (ἀγάπη)]
und wird ein Sohn der [Kirche] . . . . . .

Überschrift „des Lehrers" st. „die Kephalaia". — 13 f. Mc. 12, 36; Lc. 20, 43; Act. 2, 35; Hebr. 1, 13; 10, 13.

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ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲥ

1 ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲯⲁⲩⲭ|ⲟⲩⲱⲯ̄ ⲛ̄ⲩ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲯⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
2 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲯⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥ|ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ . . .
3 ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲗⲡ|ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̀ⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ
4 ⲛⲁⲭ| ⲫⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲯⲧ
5 ⲧⲥⲁⲏ ⲛⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲯⲁⲩⲕⲱ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ̣ⲛⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ
6 ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲯⲁⲩ[ⲭ|] ⲛⲧⲭⲉ|ⲣⲟⲧⲟⲛ|ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲕⲁⲥ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲛ̄
7 ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲣⲃ̄ ⲛⲥⲉⲕⲱⲧ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲯⲁⲁⲛⲏ
8 ⲥⲉ ⲯⲁⲩⲉ| ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲯⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ|ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉ
9 ⲧ̣ⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ̄ ⲥⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲉ|ⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱⲯⲧ̣ ⲛⲥⲉ
10 [+]ⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ leer
11 [ⲧⲧⲁ]ⲗ|ⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲥ̣ⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲃ|ⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲉⲯⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ
12 ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲥ̀ⲥⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁ̣ⲡ̣ⲟ̣ⲩ
13 ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ . . . . . ⲯⲁⲣⲉ ⲫⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲥⲣⲕⲟ ⲡⲣⲱ
14 ⲙⲉ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲥ̣ⲣⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
15 ⲁⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ ⲉ[ⲧⲧ]ⲉⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲉⲓ[ⲛ]ⲉ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲥⲓ
16 ⲕ̣ⲱⲛ ⲯⲁⲣ[ⲉ ⲡ]ⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱ
17 [ⲙ]ⲁ ⲥⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲣ[ⲁⲩ] ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ[ⲁ]ⲥⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲁ
18 ⲃ|ⲟⲛ ⲯⲁⲩⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲩ̀ⲥⲁⲕ[.]ⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄
19 ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲩⲯⲁⲡⲩ̀ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡ[ⲁ]ⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ
20 [ⲙ]ⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲯⲁⲣⲉ ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲱⲯ[ⲧ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲣⲉⲩ
21 ⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲛ[ⲟⲩ] ⲇⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ
22 [ⲉⲧ]ⲉⲯⲁ[. . . . . .] ⲯⲁⲩⲭⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲁ . .
23 [. .]ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡ . . ⲛⲥ [. . . . .] ⲥⲙ ⲡⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲛⲟⲩ
24 [ⲧⲉ] ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗ[ⲟⲥ] ⲙⲛ̣ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲡ
25 [ⲛ]ⲩⲭ| ⲡⲕⲗⲁⲙ [. .] . . ⲟⲩ . . ⲛ̣ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲯⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
26 [ϵⲧⲃ]ⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ +ⲭⲱ [ⲙⲙⲁⲥ] ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ
27 [ⲙ]ⲁⲣⲉⲕⲟ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡ|+[ⲟⲩ] ⲙ̣[ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ] ⲛⲧⲟⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲁ|ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛ
28 [ⲡⲟ]ⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄[ⲙⲱ]ⲧⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ +ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲡ̣ⲁ̣ⲥ
29 [ⲡⲁ]ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲟ̣[ⲩⲱ]ⲯⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲭⲉ|ⲣⲟⲧⲟⲛ|ⲁ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲧ[ⲥ]
30 [ⲛ]ⲏⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ̣ⲙ̄ ⲡⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲁⲧⲙ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ
31 [ⲧⲛ]ⲛⲁⲩⲧ [ⲯⲱ]ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣ|
32 [ⲟⲛ . . . . . .] ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡ|+ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲧⲟⲩ
33 [. . . . . .] ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲡⲱⲣⲭ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲉ|
34 [ⲇⲏ . . . . . .] . . . . . ⲁ̣ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲧⲯⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄

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18 cak[.]eq: für cak[q n]eq ist der Raum zu knapp. — 19 Anf. noyn: n 2° klein über der Zeile. — 23 Anfang: kaum πωnz. — 28 ne: e über der Zeile.

des Lehrers.

durch den Kuß. Er empfängt Ehrenbezeugung und erweist Ehrenbezeugung dem Gott
der Wahrheit und erweist auch Ehrenbezeugung der heiligen Kirche . . .
die Hoffnung des Glaubens der (?) guten Dinge. — Wenn er
empfängt den Frieden(sgruß) und die Rechte, den Kuß (ἀσπασμός) und die Ehrenbezeugung,
dann wird zum Schluß von alledem ihnen die Rechte der Gnade aufgelegt (und) sie
selbst [empfangen] die Handauflegung (χειροτ.), die ihnen aufgelegt werden wird,
und sie werden geordnet und gebaut in der Wahrheit und befestigt in ihr auf ewig.
Sie gehen ein zum Licht-Νοῦς vermittels dieser guten Zeichen
und werden vollkommene (τέλειος) Menschen und erweisen Ehrenbezeugung und
preisen den Gott der Wahrheit. —
Wiederum zur Zeit ihres Ausganges, wo die Licht-Gestalt (μορφή)
herauskommt vor ihnen und sie verteilt (?) von der Finsternis ab bis zum
Lichte . . . .. beruhigt die Licht-Gestalt (μορφή) den Menschen
durch den Kuß und ihre Ruhe von [der] Furcht vor den
Dämonen, die seinen Körper vernichten; durch ihr Aussehen und ihre
Erscheinung (εἰκών) beruhigt sich [das] Herz des Electus, der seinen Körper verläßt.
Darauf streckt der Engel, der den Siegespreis (βραβεῖον) hält,
ihm die Rechte hin und zieht ihn heraus aus
dem Abgrund seines Körpers und nimmt ihn auf mit dem Kuß
und der Liebe (ἀγάπη). Jene Seele erweist Ehrenbezeugung ihrer
Erlöserin, welches diese Licht-Gestalt (μορφή) ist. — Zu der Stunde aber,
wo . . . . . vollendet er sich und wächst gemäß . . . .
. . . . . im Hause der Lebendigen und der Götter
und der Engel und aller Apostel und der Auserwählten
und empfängt den Kranz . . . . . der Herrlichkeit im ewigen Leben.
Deshalb sage ich euch, meine Brüder und meine Glieder (μέλος):
Möge man finden diese fünf [Zeichen] in euren Händen, indem sie geehrt vor
einem jeden von euch sind, welche sind der Frieden(sgruß), die Rechte, der
Kuß, die Ehrenbezeugung und die Handauflegung, diese (fem.), welche ich euch ge-
bracht habe aus dem Hause der Lebendigen vom Vater, der
mich gesandt hat. Wisset, daß ein großes Mysterium
. . . . . ihn vermittels dieser fünf Zeichen, die ich gebracht habe
. . . [zur Zeit, wo] ihr euch von der Welt trennt, denn
. . . . . (und) ihr habt gekannt den ersten

23 zu „Haus der Lebenden“ cf. mand. בית האייא. — 27 „Mögen diese fünf Zeichen bei euch zu finden sein“. Wörtlich: „Mögest du finden“.

ⲙⲃ

ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲯⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲯⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ
[ⲙⲛ] ⲡⲯⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲯⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲯⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲭⲉⲓⲣⲟⲧⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲙⲁ
ⲣⲟⲩⲟⲛ̄ ⲭⲉⲓⲣⲟⲧⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲥⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲁⲩⲣⲛ̄ ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲱⲯⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲯⲙⲯⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩ
ⲧ̣ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲁ̈ⲭⲉⲓⲣⲟⲧⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲁ]ⲩ ⲁ̈ⲕⲱ ⲁ̣ⲭ̣ⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲇ ⲛ̄
ⲭⲉⲓⲣⲟⲧⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲁ̣ⲇ ⲙ̄ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏ
[ⲣⲓⲟ]ⲛ ⲧⲭⲉⲓⲣⲟⲧⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲕ̣ⲁⲧ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲧⲁ
ⲡⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧⲥⲧⲁⲥ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲩⲕⲁⲧ[ⲁⲫ]ⲣⲟⲛⲏ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲣⲗ̣ⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ̄ⲩ ⲩⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲥⲁⲧⲙ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁ[ⲟ]
ⲛ̣ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲁⲧⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲱⲧ ⲁⲛ leer
ⲁ̣ⲗⲗⲁ̣ ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ ⲁ̣ⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲯⲱⲧⲡⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲓ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄
. . . . . ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲯⲡ . . . . . ⲣⲯ̄ [
. . . . . ⲭⲱⲕ ⲥⲛ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲥⲁⲡ ⲛⲉⲙ . . . . . .
. . . . ⲟⲩⲱⲯⲉ ⲉⲫⲁⲟⲩⲱⲯⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲛⲉ . . . . . .
. . . . . ⲛⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲫⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲁ[ⲣⲱⲧⲛⲉ . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ . . . . . ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲁⲱ [
. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲥⲏⲧ . . . . . ⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲫⲥ[
. . . . . ⲉⲧⲫⲥⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲧ ⲥⲓⲧⲛⲧⲏⲛⲉ . . . . ⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡ[ⲟⲩⲉ
. . . . . ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲫⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲥⲱⲃ̣ [ⲛ]ⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲓ
ⲣⲉ ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲟⲩ . . . . ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲉⲱ . . . . [. .] . ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙⲡⲉ[
. . . . ⲫⲛⲁⲩⲥⲫ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ ⲁ̣ⲓⲱⲛ . . . [. .] . . . . . ⲛⲑ̄ⲁ̣[
ⲁ̣ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲗⲓ†ⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧ . . . . . .

ⲓ̄

ⲓ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲃⲱⲗ ⲙⲡⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫⲧⲉ ⲛ[ⲛⲁⲇ ⲛⲁ]ⲓⲱⲛ ⲓ̄
ⲉⲧⲁ ⲥⲏⲑⲏⲗ ⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ [ⲡⲉⲫⲯ]ⲗⲏⲗ

ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁ ⲛⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲱⲛ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲁ[ⲭ]ⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲫ ⲧⲛⲧ[ⲱⲃⲥ]
ⲙⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲓⲉⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉ̣[ⲧⲃ]ⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲥ̣[ⲏⲥ]
[ⲥⲙ̄] ⲡⲱⲗ̣ⲏⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲑⲏⲗ ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲁ̣ⲁ̣]ⲁⲙ ⲉⲫⲭⲱ ⲙ̄[ⲙⲁⲥ . .
ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲇ ⲛ̣[ⲁⲓ]ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ[ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈]
ⲛ̣ⲉ ⲁⲭⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲉⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡ[ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲇ]
[ⲛⲁ]ⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ leer Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ [ⲡⲁⲭⲉ] ⲛ̣ⲫⲱⲥⲧ[ⲏⲣ]
[ⲁⲣⲁ]ⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ [ⲙⲡⲙⲛⲧⲉⲫⲧⲉ]
ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲇ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲫⲭⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲏ[ⲧⲟⲩ . . . . .
Ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲕ . . [. . . . . .

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4 ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲯⲙⲯⲉⲧⲉ sic mit Artikel ⲙ. — 11 ⲁⲡⲓ†ⲟⲩ: ⏐ anscheinend über der Zeile.

Die Kephalaia

Frieden(sgruß) und die erste Rechte und den ersten Kuß
[und] die erste Ehrenbezeugung und die erste Handauflegung. Möge
man muß diese Handauflegung finden, indem sie bei euch groß ist, und ihr gebt
Ehre und Ehrenbezeugung den Lehrern und den Diakonen und den Presbytern, die ich durch Handauflegung geweiht (χειροτονεῖν) und auf die ich die große
Handauflegung gelegt habe. Denn sie stehen in einem großen Mysterium. Die Handauflegung der Gottheit, welche gelegt ist auf das
Haupt des Lehrers, wer nun sie verschmäht und sie verachtet (καταφρονεῖν)
und bei dem sie nichts gilt, der sündigt gegen Gott in einer großen
Sünde, und ebenso gegen mich. —
Aber ihr, meine Geliebten, ... euch in diese fünf
[Zeichen] . . . . . euch und . . . . . .
. . . . . vollenden in diesen . . . . . .
[wenn er?] will, wird er euch antworten . . . . . .
. . . . . wie er [euch] gesagt hat
. . . . . .
. . . . . die sind in den ταμιεῖα der [Finsternis?] . . . .
. . . . [in] eurem Herzen . . . . . .
. . . . aufgestellt durch euch . . . . ein jeder hat
. . . . . hört euch und kennt alles, indem ihr
tut alle . . . miteinander . . . . . .
. . er wendet sich zu euch . . . . . und er . . .
von euch die Drangsale (θλῖψις) der . . . . . .

X.

Über die Deutung der vierzehn [großen] Aeonen, über die Sethel [in seinem] Gebet gesprochen hat.

Wiederum fragten die Jünger den Apostel und sprachen zu ihm: Wir [bitten]
Dich, o Herr, daß Du uns aufklärst über dieses Wort, welches [steht]
[im] Gebet des Sethel, des erstgeborenen Sohnes des Adam, indem er sagte:
„Ihr seid herrlich, ihr vierzehn großen Aeonen des [Lichtes"].
Sage uns, o Herr, was bedeuten die vierzehn großen
Aeonen des Lichtes. — Darauf [sprach] der Φωστήρ
zu ihnen: Ich bin es, der euch deuten (ἑρμηνεύειν) wird [die vierzehn]
großen Aeonen des Lichtes, über die [Sethel] gesprochen hat.
Wisset dies, daß der . . . . . .

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11 ⲩⲁⲧⲡ = (refl.) Bedeutung einstweilen unklar.

[ⲙⲅ]

[ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲥ]

1 [ ] ⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ[ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲱⲛ]
2 [.] . . . . . ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟ|ⲭⲉ|ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ
3 ⲛ̣ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲥⲁⲛ ⲡⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲥⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
4 ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲣ ⲥⲁⲱⲩ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲛⲉⲩ
5 [.]ⲕⲏ[. . . . . .] + . . [ⲱ]ⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ ⲉⲧ
6 [ϫⲁⲩⲗⲉ ⲥⲁ ⲛⲥⲣⲏ]ⲱⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲥⲁⲛ ⲡⲡⲛ̣ⲁ
7 [ⲉⲧ]ⲁⲛ̄[ⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲱⲁ]ⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲉⲩ
8 ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥ[ⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ]ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲡⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄
9 ⲡⲣⲟⲥ[. . . . . .] ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ leer
10 [. . . . ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲉ]ⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ . . . . . .
11 ⲛⲥⲏⲫ[ⲏⲗ . . . .] ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲗⲏⲗ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲁ[ⲗ]ⲟⲩ
12 [. . . . ⲧϫⲱ]ⲣⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲛⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲁ †ϫⲱⲣⲁ . . .
13 [. . . . ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁ]ⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲁ ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ̣ . . . .
14 [. . . . . †ⲱⲃ]ⲓⲱ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲉⲧ . . . .
15 [ ] . . . ⲡ̣ⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡ . . . . . .
16 [ ] . . . . ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲓ̈ . .
17 ⲉⲩⲙ̣ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲛⲛⲁ̣ⲓ[ⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ]
18 ⲛ̣ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̣ⲛ̣ ⲛ̣ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲱⲟⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ
19 ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲁ̣ⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛⲛⲓⲥⲩ[ⲙⲃⲟⲩ]
20 ⲗ[ⲓ]ⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩϫⲱⲗϫ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲓⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ
21 . . . . . ⲁⲧⲥⲁⲏ ⲛⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

22 ⲓ̣ⲁ̣

23 [ⲓⲁ] [ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲃⲱⲗ ⲛⲛ]ⲓⲁⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ ⲓⲁ
24 [ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ] ⲉ̣ⲧⲱⲃⲓⲁⲧ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ

25 [Ⲧⲁⲗ]ⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ [ⲡⲫⲱ]ⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ
26 [ⲛ]ⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ̣ ϫⲉ̣ [ⲧⲁⲣⲭ]ⲏ ⲛⲛⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡ
27 [ⲛ]ⲁⲃ ⲛⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛⲛ̄[ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈]ⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲁⲏ ⲉⲩ† ⲥⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ ⲛⲛ[ⲥⲙⲁⲧ]
28 [ⲧ]ⲏ̣ⲣⲟⲩ leer ⲧ̣ⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲧⲱⲃϩ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
29 ⲡⲉ ⲧⲙⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡ[ⲱ]ⲛ̣ⲥ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ leer
30 [Ⲧ]ⲁ̣ⲣⲭⲏ ⲥⲱⲩ [ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲩ]ⲙⲃⲟⲩⲗⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙ[ⲁⲥ]
31 [ⲱ]ⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲡⲣⲉ[ⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏ]ⲥ ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲓ
32 [ⲕⲟ]ⲥⲙⲟⲥ [ ] . . . ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ leer ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛ
33 [. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲧⲁⲓ̈]ⲟ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲁ
34 [Ⲓ̈ⲧ Ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛⲛⲃⲉⲣⲉⲃⲉ ⲧⲏ]ⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲕⲩⲛⲏⲕⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ
35 [ⲣⲱⲙⲉ] . . . . . [ⲛ]ϫⲁ|ⲙⲗⲁⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ

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5 Die Spuren passen nicht zu †ⲟⲩ. ⲛⲉ über der Zeile. — Lies ⲙ⟨ⲡ⟩ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ. — 9 Anfang erg. ⲡⲣⲟⲥ[ⲱⲡⲟⲛ] oder ⲡⲣⲟⲥ[ⲉⲩϫⲏ]? — 24 Lies ⲱⲃⲓⲁ⟨ⲓ̈⟩ⲧ.

[des Lehrers.]

. . . . unten besteht aus vierzehn [großen Aeonen]
. . . . . die fünf Elemente (στοιχεῖον), die Söhne des Urmenschen sowie der ‚Ruf' und das ‚Hören', indem sie zu ihnen hinzugefügt (?) sind
und in ihnen wohnen. Diese machen sieben aus: fünf und zwei
. . . . . sind die fünf (?) Söhne des Lebendigen Geistes, welche
alle [Lasten] der Welt [tragen], sowie der Lebendige
Geist [und der] Urmensch, ihre Väter. Das sind die vierzehn
[Lobpreisungen, die er] ausgesprochen hat: der Lobpreis, der besteht aus vierzehn
Gebeten(?) (προσ[ευχή?]), durch den die Welt besteht.
[Das sind die] vierzehn Aeonen des Lichtes, ...
des Sethel . . . . über sie in seinem Gebet, daß sie gedeutet
. . . . [das] Land, welches nicht sichtbar ist. Dieses Land hat . . .
. . . . stellten sich auf und trugen den Feind . . . .
. . . . vergalten (?) ihnen. Der verborgene . . ., der . . . . .
. . Dritte (?) Gesandte (πρεσβευτής), der aus dem Vater hervorgegangen ist, der
. . . . . er ist gekommen und hat sich aufgestellt inmitten dieser (pl.) . .,
indem er guter Vater [aller] Aeonen genannt wird, [und der Götter,]
der reinen und der vermischten. Er wurde Anführer (ἀρχηγός) und ein
großer König nach dem Vorbilde des ersten Vaters, des Herrn aller dieser Ratschläge (συμβουλία). Diese Welt ist zusammengefügt worden durch diesen Willen(?) . . . . . am Ende aller Dinge.

XI.

[Über die Deutung] aller Väter des [Lichtes], die voneinander verschieden sind.

Wiederum sprach der Φωστήρ: Wisset,
meine Geliebten, der Anfang (ἀρχή) aller guten Gnadengaben ist der
große Vater des Lichtes, denn durch ihn werden alle Gnadengaben
gegeben. — Der Anfang (ἀρχή) allen Segens und aller Bitten
ist die Mutter des Lebens, der erste heilige Geist. —
[Der] Anfang (ἀρχή) aber aller guten Ratschläge (συμβουλία) ist der
Dritte Gesandte, der ruhmreiche König, der sich befindet in dieser
Welt . . . . . des Königs des Lichtes. — Der Anfang (ἀρχή)
. . . . [und] aller [Ehre?] ist der Geliebte der Lichter, der Geehrte.
[Der Anfang] aller [Jäger] und der Waidmänner (κυνηγός) ist der
Ur[mensch]. — [Der Anfang] aller Kämpfer ist

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14 Bedeutung von ⲙⲁⲥⲁⲓⲧⲉ unklar.

[ⲙⲁ]

ⲛⲕ[ⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ]

1 [ⲡⲡⲛⲁ] ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ [ⲡ]ⲱⲛϩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲱ[ⲣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ]
2 [ⲙ]ⲡⲉϥ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲙⲁ Ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛⲛⲁⲣⲭ̣ⲓ̣ⲧ̣[ⲉ]
3 ⲕⲧⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉ
4 ⲁⲩ leer ⲡϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ϩⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙ[ⲛ]
5 ⲧ[ⲛⲁⲃ Rest zerstört
6 . . . . . Ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲉϥⲃⲱⲗ . . . . . .
7 ⲏ ⲡⲉⲧⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉϥ†ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲏⲡ . . . . . .
8 ϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲉϫⲉ leer Ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ
9 ⲧⲙⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ̣ [. . . . . .
10 [Ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛⲙⲙⲉⲣ]ⲓⲥⲧⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ̣ [. . . . . .
11 ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲉϥⲛⲉϩⲥ̣[ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ]
12 ⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲁ̣ⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲩϩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧϫ[ⲣⲁ]ⲣⲁ̣ⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
13 Ⲛⲉ̈ⲓⲉⲧϥ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟ ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲁ̣ⲣ̣[ⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ]
14 ⲛⲛⲓⲁⲧⲉ ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ[ⲉ] ⲧ̣[ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ]
15 ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲛⲱⲛϩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ[. . . . . .
16 ⲛ†ⲩϫⲁⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ Ⲛⲉ̈ⲓⲧϥ ⲙⲡⲉⲧ̣ⲛ̣[ⲁⲥⲛ̄]
17 ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϥⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉϥⲁⲕⲗⲏ
18 ⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲏ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ ϣⲁⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲛ̣ⲛⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ
19 ⲓⲃ
20 ⲓⲃ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲃⲱⲗ ⲙⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲓⲃ
21 ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲉϩⲟⲩⲧ
22 ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙ̣[ⲟ]
23 Ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲁ ⲙⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲑ̣ⲏ̣ⲧⲏ̣ⲥ [ϣ̄ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁ]
24 ⲣⲁϥ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲛϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̣ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧ̣ⲉ̣ⲟ[ⲩ]
25 ⲟ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲛⲛⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥ[ⲧⲏⲥ . . . . . .
26 ϣⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲉⲁⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩ[ⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲟ]ⲩⲣⲉⲛ ⲛϫⲓ ⲛ[ⲉ]
27 ⲧ̣ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ [ⲉⲩ]ϫ̣ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲓ[. . .
28 ⲛⲱⲛϩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲱⲛϩ ⲙ . . . . . .
29 . . . . ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲁϩⲛ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲧ̣ . . ⲧ̣ⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲛⲟ̣[. . .
30 . . . . . .
31 unlesbar (abgerieben)
32 ⲕ . . . . . .
33 ⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ϩⲙ ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱ . . . . . .
34 ⲡⲓⲁⲧ†ⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ . . . . . .
35 ⲧⲛⲉⲥ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ [ⲛⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥ]

---

7 Ende [ⲁ] oder [ϩⲓ]. — 16 Lies ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ⟨ⲉ⟩ⲧϥ. — 21 ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲉϩⲟⲩⲧ scheint so dazustehen (unverständlich).

Die [Kephalaia]

der Lebendige [Geist], der Vater des Lebens, der verteilt hat
seine fünf Söhne an jeglichem Ort. — Der Anfang aller Architekten (ἀρχιτέκτων) und Baumeister ist der Große Baumeister, der
herrliche. — Der erste aller Ὡμοφόροι der [Größe]
. . . . [ist die Säule der Herrlichkeit] . . .
. . . . Der Anfang [aller] Erlöser [ist Jesus der Glanz]
oder der loslöst, indem er befreit diejenigen, welche gehören zu [den Gläubigen?]
auf seine Worte. — Der Anfang aller Weisheiten der
Wahrheit ist die Jungfrau des Lichtes.
[Der Anfang] aller Großen (μεγιστᾶνος), die geehrt . . . .
ist der Licht-Noûς, welcher ist der Erwecker [der]
Schlafenden, der Einsammler der Zerstreuten.
Heil dem, bei dem dieser Schatz wohnt, in dem [das Wissen von]
den Vätern sich befestigt, denn sie sind die [Wurzel?]
aller Lichter und die aller Leben (pl.), indem die . . . . .
aller Seelen bei ihnen sind. — Heil dem, der sie
erkennt und standhält in ihrem Glauben, denn er wird
ererben (κληρονομεῖν) mit ihnen das Leben bis in alle Ewigkeit.

XII.

Über die Deutung der fünf Worte, welche ausgesprochen werden . . . . . in der Welt

Wiederum [befragten] die Jünger [den Apostel und sprachen]
zu ihm: Verkündige uns, o Herr, diese fünf Worte, die ausgesprochen
werden in der Sekte (δόγμα) der Täufer (βαπτιστής) . . . . . .
befinden sich in den anderen Sekten (δόγμα). Es sprechen [auch ihren] Namen aus
die, welche Καθάριοι genannt werden, indem sie sagen: Dieses [erste(?)]
Leben und das zweite Leben . . . . . .
. . . machen ein Herz sowie den Noûς . . . . und den . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
nennen ihn mit diesem Namen ‚Vater' . . . . . .
dieser Unnennbare, den niemand hat . . . . . .
. . . . seinen Namen. — Das zweite [Wort ist der]

29 Erg. vielleicht ΠΝΟ[μος] „das Gesetz".

[ⲙⲉ]

ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁϩ

1 [ϣⲁ]ⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲏⲥ . . . . . .
2 ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϩⲱⲩ ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ . . .
3 . . . . . .
4 . . . . . .
5 ⲡϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲓⲱⲧ leer ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ geringe Spuren
6 ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲡ . . [.] . ⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧϩⲁⲩ ⲛ
7 ⲧ̣ⲁⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ . . . ⲁ̣ϛ† ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ̣ⲩⲁⲓ[ⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲛ]
8 ⲧϫⲁϫⲉ ⲁⲥⲑⲃⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲃⲉⲝⲉⲩⲉ . . . . . .
9 . . . . . ⲧⲟⲩ]
10 ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲟ̣ⲩⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲥⲃⲱⲧ ⲁⲣⲁ . . . . . ⲙ̄]
11 ⲙ̣ⲁⲩ ϩ̄ⲛ ⲡ̣[ⲙ]ⲉⲑⲟⲣⲓⲟⲛ ϣⲁ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲛϩⲁⲉ leer . . .
12 . ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ . . . . . ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲛ
13 . . . . . ⲧⲏ]ⲣⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲉ ⲉϥⲁⲛϩ
14 abgerieben
15 . . . . . [.]ⲏⲩⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ leer
16 ⲓ̅ⲅ̅
17 ⲓ̅ⲅ̅ ⲉⲧ[ⲃⲉ] ⲡ̣†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲏⲣ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ
18 ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ ⲁϩⲁⲛ ⲧ†ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲅ̅
19 [ⲧⲧ]ⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁ̣ⲛ ⲡ̣ⲁϫⲉ̣ [ⲡ]ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ϫⲉ . . . . . .
20 }
21 }
22 } bis auf geringe Spuren zerstört
23 }
24 } [ⲙ̄]
25 ⲙⲁϥ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ . . . . . .
26 [ⲧⲧ]ⲙ̣ⲁϩ[ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲥⲉϩⲟ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ] zerstört
27 zerstört
28 [ⲧⲧ]ⲙ̣ⲁϩϣⲁⲩⲧ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲥⲉϩⲟ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ . .
29 [. . . . .] ⲙ[. . ⲉ]ⲡ̣ⲉⲓⲁⲏ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲉϫⲉ̣ ⲉϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲱⲛϩ ⲧⲏ
30 [ⲣⲟⲩ . . . . .] ⲥ̣ⲱⲩϩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲥⲉⲃⲱⲕ ϣⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲛⲥⲉϫⲓ
31 [. . . . . .] . ⲩ̣ⲕⲱⲛ ⲛⲥ̣ⲉ̄ⲧ[ⲁ]ⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ leer
32 [ⲧⲧ]ⲙⲁϩϥⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲥⲉ]ⲥ̣ⲟ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉ̣ⲡ̣ⲉⲓ
33 [ⲁⲏ . . . . . .] . . . . ⲡⲉ .

---

28 Ende: die Spuren scheinen nicht recht zu ⲣⲱ[ⲙⲉ] zu passen.

des Lehrers.

1 Dritte Gesandte . . . . . .
2 des Lebens, den sie nennen den ‚Vater' der . . . . . .
3 . . . . . .
4 . . . . . .
5 der erste Vater. — Das Gesetz (νόμος) . . . . . .
6 lebendig . . . . Gesetz (νόμος) der Guten und der Bösen,
7 denn sie [ist es, die] den Aeonen des Lichtes den Sieg gegeben hat [über] die
8 Feindschaft und die die Bösewichte gedemütigt hat . . . . . .
9 . . . . . [ihre]
10 οὐσία und ihre Welt. Sie hat . . . . . .
11 sie (pl.) in [diesem] Grenzbezirk (μεθόριον) bis zur Endzeit. — . . .
12 die Kräfte . . . . . die Welt besteht . . . . . .
13 . . . . . alle (?) sind ein einziger lebendiger Körper
14 . . . . . .
15 . . . . . gegen (παρά) einander.

16 XIII.

17 Über die fünf totenerweckenden
18 Heilande (σωτήρ) sowie die fünf Auferstehungen (ἀνάστασις).

19 Wiederum sprach [der] Φωστήρ: . . . . . .
20 . . . . . .
21 . . . . . .
22 . . . . . .
23 . . . . . .
24 . . . . . .
25 in ihm . . . . . .
26 Der [zweite Auferwecker ist] . . . . . .
27 . . . . . .
28 [Der] dritte Auferwecker aber ist der Vater, der erste . .
29 . . . . . denn durch sein Wort alle Leben
30 . . . . . sammeln sich und gehen zu ihm und empfangen
31 . . . . . und gehen zur Ruhe. —
32 [Der] vierte Auferwecker ist der Licht-Noûς, denn
33 . . . . . .

10 Bedeutung von ϭωτ unklar. — 28 Viell. „das erste [Leben]".

[ⲙ̅ⲍ̅]

Ⲛ̄[ⲕⲉⲫ]ⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

1 . . . . . .

2 . .] . . . ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲍⲧⲟⲩ [ⲛ]ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲉⲍⲟ ⲁⲍ[ⲣ]ⲏ̈ ⲁⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ . .

3 . .] . . . ⲃⲟ ⲛ . . . [.] ⲡⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲱⲕ ⲁⲣ[ⲉ]ⲧ[ⲩ

4 . . .] . . . . .]ⲧⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ[ⲩ]ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ[ⲩ

5 [. . . . . .] ⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲡⲉ . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ

6 . . . . . .]ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲁⲕⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [. .] . . . ⲛⲁ . . .

7 . . . . . ⲱⲕ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ . . . . . ⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲩ

8 . . . . . .ⲍⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲉⲍⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲉ

9 [ⲧⲟⲩ . . .] . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲙⲟⲩⲛ̣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲱⲁ̄

10 [ ] . . . ⲩ leer Ⲛ[ⲉ̈ⲓⲉ]ⲧⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲛ ⲛ|ⲙ̄

11 . . . . . ⲛⲩⲧⲉ . . . . . ⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ̣

12 . . . . ⲛⲧⲉ . . . ⲙ . . . ⲭⲱⲕ ⲍ . . ⲱ . [. .] . ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ

13 ⲓ̅ⲁ̅

14 ⲓ̅ⲁ̅ ⲡⲃⲱⲗ [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲕ[ⲁ]ⲣⲁ̈ⲧⲩ ⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧ|ⲁ̣ [ϯⲣⲏⲛⲏ] [ⲓ̅ⲁ̅]

15 ⲡⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ [ⲙ̄ⲛ̄] ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲍⲛ[ⲉⲩ] ⲛ̣ⲉ̣

16 [ⲧⲧⲁⲗ]ⲓⲛ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ ⲁ̣ ⲙⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏ[ⲥ] ⲱⲛ ⲡⲫⲱ[ⲥ]ⲧⲏⲣ̣ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ̣ⲓⲛ ⲁⲣ[ⲁⲩ ⲧⲉ]

17 [ⲟⲩ]ⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛ[ⲥ]ⲉ̣ⲭ[ⲉ̣] ⲉⲧ̣[ⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ̣ ⲙⲙⲁ̣ⲩ̣ ⲥⲙ ⲡ̣[ⲕⲟ]

18 [ⲥ]ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩ[ⲧ]ⲉ̣ ⲭⲉ̣ . . . . . ⲉⲩ ϯⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ [ⲡ]

19 ⲕⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲧⲩ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ̣ [. . . . .] ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲕⲉ[ⲟⲩⲉ]

20 . . . . . [ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲍ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲛ]ⲏ̈ⲱⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲧ[

21 }

22 } bis auf ganz geringe Spuren zerstört

23 }

24 }

25 . . . . .]ⲩⲛⲧⲉⲛ ⲥⲓ

26 }

27 } zerstört

28 . . . ⲁ . . . ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲩⲍ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲁ̣ . . . . . .

29 . . . . . ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲱⲁⲩⲧ[ⲉ] ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ̣ [. . .] . . . . ⲛ̣

30 ⲛⲛⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ . [. . . . . .

31 . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ̣ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲇ|ⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ[ⲩⲛⲏ . . . . .

32 . . . . ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗ[ⲟ]ⲥ̣ ⲙⲡ[ⲉⲁ]ⲩ . . . [. . . . .

33 [. . . .] ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ . . . [. . . . . .

Die [Keph]alaia

[Der fünfte Auferwecker ist] . . . . . .
. . . . als (?) fünften Auferwecker zum Guten (ἀγαθόν)
. . . . . ist der Vater, das erste Auferstehen
. . . . . alle Kräfte und steht auf
. . . . . er enthüllt . . . über sie (pl.)
. . . . . und zieht sie zu sich . . . . . .
. . . . . in ihm . . . . . und er
. . . . . sie (pl.) und stellt sie auf
. . . . . in ihm und sie bleiben, bis daß (?)
. . . . . Heil einem jedem,
[der] . . . . . Tag des
. . . . . vollendet . . . . . Ewigkeit.

XIV.

Die Deutung des Schweigens, des Fastens (νηστεία), [des Friedens[, des Tages [und] der Ruhe, was sie sind.

Wiederum fragten die Jünger den Φωστήρ und sprachen zu [ihm]: [Verkündige]
uns die fünf [Dinge], die man in der Welt im Munde führt,
indem man [das eine] Frieden nennt, ein anderes:
Schweigen, indem man nennt . . . . ein anderes: Tag, ein anderes:
. . . . . [Wir bitten Dich, o] Vater, daß Du [belehrst]
[uns] . . . . . .

} bis auf geringe Spuren zerstört

. . . . . der Einsammler . . . . . .
. . . . . denn er veranlaßt den Körper . . . . . .
alle Begierden (ἐπιθυμία) der Welt . . . . . .
. . . . den Körper in Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη) . . . . . .
. . . . ist die Säule der Herrlichkeit . . . . . .
. . . . . Denn . . . . . .

[ⲙⲍ]

[ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ]

1 . . . . . .] . . . . ⲍ . . . . . ⲙ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲱ . . . ⲏ . . ⲡ . . .
2 . . . . .] ⲕⲱ . . ⲍ ⲡ . . . . . ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲁⲡ . . . ⲉ ⲉⲧ . ⲛ̣ . . .
3 [. .] . . leer ⲧⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙ̣ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲣ . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡ̣
4 [ⲱⲁ]ⲣⲡ ⲛ̣[ⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲡ̣ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏ̣[ⲍ ⲍ]ⲙ̄ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ̣ⲓ̣ⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̣
5 [. . . ⲟⲩⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ . . . . . ⲇⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲟⲩⲙ̣[ⲟⲩⲧⲉ] ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ̣
6 nur geringe Spuren
7 [. . . . . .] . . . . ⲭ|ⲟ . . . . . leer
8 [. . . . . .] . . . . ⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ Rest abgerieben
9 [. . . . . .] . ⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ abgerieben
10 [. . . . . .] ⲍ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧ̣[ⲏⲣ . . . . . .
11 [. . . . . ⲙⲟⲩⲧ]ⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ̣ . . . abgerieben
12 [. . . . . .] . . [.]ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲧ . . . . . .
13 [. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲟⲩⲙ . . ⲙⲁⲛ . . ⲛⲉ . .
14 [. . . . . .]ⲍⲛ̣ ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ̣ ⲡ̣ⲉ . . . . . .
15 [. . . . . .] . . . . ⲥ̣ⲏⲣ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙ̣ⲟⲥ̣ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ . . .
16 [. . . . . .] . . . ⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ ⲍⲛ ⲛ . . . . . .
17 [. . . . .] . . . . . ⲟⲩ ⲙ̣ⲛ̣ ⲙ̣ⲯⲩ[ⲭⲁⲩⲉ] . . . . . .
18 . . . . . ⲟⲩⲛ . . ⲍⲙ ⲡ . . . . . .
19 Ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲧⲩ . . . . . ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲍⲙ ⲡ . . . ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ [
20 ⲡⲛⲁⲟ . . . . . ⲙ̣ⲏⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲛ[ⲏⲍⲉ]
21 ⲛ̄ⲁⲛ̣ⲏⲍ̣ⲉ̣ leer

22 [ⲓⲉ]
23 . . . . . .
24 [ⲓⲉ] . . . . ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ[ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ] . . . ⲓⲉ
25 ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧ . . .
26 [ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧ]ⲏⲣ ⲍⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲍⲛ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧ[ⲏⲥ]
27 [ⲉⲩ . . . . . .] ⲙ̣ⲙ̣ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲍⲏⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ[ⲧⲉ]
28 [. . . . . .]ⲟⲩⲥ̣[ⲓ]ⲁ̣ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ
29 [. . . . . .] . . . ⲭⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲱ[ⲛⲉ] ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ
30 . ⲟⲩ . . . . . ⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲛ̣ . .
31 [. . . . .] . . . . . ⲧⲉⲩⲍⲁⲗⲃ̄[ⲱⲉ] . . . ⲍⲛ ⲧⲉⲩ . .
32 [. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲁⲩⲭⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ̣ . . . ⲩ . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲧ̣[ⲉ
33 [. . . . . .] . . . . . leer
34 } nicht gelesen
35 }

3 Nicht ⲡⲣ[ⲱⲙⲉ].

[des Lehrers.]

. . . . . .
. . . . . hinauf zu dem . . ., der . . .
. . . . . Derjenige, den sie . . . . nennen, das ist der
Urmensch, der im Schiff der lebendigen Wasser wohnt,
. . . des] Lichtes . . . . . sie nennen ihn
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . der herrliche . . . . . .
. . . . . der Φωστ[ήρ] . . . . . .
. . . . . [sie] nennen ihn ‚Tag' . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . im großen Aeon . . . . . .
. . . . . verteilt(?) in der Welt, das ist . . . . . .
. . . . . befestigt in den . . . . . .
. . . . . und die Seelen . . . . . .
. . . . . .
Heil [dem, der] gibt Freude im . . . . in Ewigkeit,
der große . . . . . dauernd bis in alle Ewig-
keit.

XV.

. . . . . .
. . . . . fünf [Teile] . . . . .
Welt der . . . . . .

[Wiederum, als der Φωστ]ήρ inmitten seiner Jünger saß,
[indem er ihnen verkündigte] die Größen (Großtaten) und Geheimnisse Gottes
[und über(?) die] zwei οὐσίαι, da sprachen seine Jünger
[zu ihm . . . . . .]: Hat der Tod sich erhoben und ist aufgestanden
. . . . . hinauf? Oder hat er sich gewendet von . . . .
. . . . . seine Rüstung . . . . in seiner . .
. . . . . er hat vollendet aber . . . . die beiden
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

[ⲙⲏ]

ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

. . . . . ⲛⲥⲕⲓⲙ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲛⲥ . . . . . .
. . . . . ⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲟ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ . . . . [ⲙ]ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙⲡⲕⲉ[ⲕⲉ] . .
. . . . . ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ leer
Ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲇⲉ ⲛϫⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲙ̄ⲛ . . . . ⲧⲉⲁⲩ . .
. . . . . ⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲁ . . . .
ⲁⲥⲃⲉⲃⲉ ⲁⲥⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲁϩⲣⲏ[ⲓ̈ . . . . . ⲡⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟ|ϫⲉⲓ]
ⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲉⲃⲏ . . . . . .
. . . . . ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ [ⲡⲕⲁⲡⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ
[ⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲡⲙ]ⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕ[ⲉⲕⲉ] . . . . . .
. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲁⲡⲥ̣ⲛ̣[ⲉⲩ . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . ⲁⲩⲣϫⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲁⲩ . . . . . .
ⲛⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ [. . . . . .
[Ⲧ]ⲙⲁϩⲩⲧⲟⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧϩ[ⲁⲩ . . . . . .
. . . . . ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ+ⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧϩⲛ ⲡ+ⲟⲩ [ⲙ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ]
ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ leer
ⲦⲦⲙⲁϩ+ⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲥⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲛⲉⲥⲭⲡⲟ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ [ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ+ⲟⲩ]
ⲙ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩϫⲡⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡ+[ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄]
ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡ+ⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲁ
ⲣⲯ ⲡ+ⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩ
ⲥⲁⲣⲏ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲧ+ⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ|ⲉ ϩⲁⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲧ+ⲉ ⲛⲛⲥϩ
[ⲁⲙⲉ . . . . . .
. . . . . .
Ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲡⲛⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲡ[ⲉⲩ . . . .
[ⲛ]ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡ+ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟ|ϫⲉ|ⲱⲛ [. . . . . ⲧ]
[ϩⲉ] ϩⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲛ̣ [ⲛϩⲁⲩⲧ ⲙⲛ]
[ⲛϩ]ⲓⲁⲙⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲓ+ⲟⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁ[ⲣⲯ . . . . . .
ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲩϩⲱⲧⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ [. . . . . ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕ]
ⲁ̣[ⲣ]ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ̣[. . . . . .]
unlesbar]ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
ⲁⲩⲧⲁϫⲁϥ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ leer Ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ+ⲙ̄ⲛ
ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ . . . . . .
ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲥ̣[ⲛⲁⲩⲥ . . . . . .
ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩ[ⲱⲡⲉ]
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛϫⲱⲗⲟⲛ [. . . . . .

---

20 ⲡⲙⲟⲩ über der Zeile.

Die Kephalaia

1 . . . . . und sie bewegt ihn (?) und . . . . .
2 . . . . . die welche sind in dem . . . des Landes der Finsternis . . .
3 . . . . . erster Teil. —
4 Nach einer langen Zeit (χρόνος) aber, indem nicht ist
5 . . . . . .
6 sie sprudelte und strömte hinauf. [Dies sind die fünf Elemente]
7 des Todes, die aufsprudelten . . . . . .
8 . . . . . welches sind [der Rauch, das Feuer]
9 [der Wind, das] Wasser und die [Finsternis] . . . . . .
10 . . . . . das zweite Mal . . . . . .
11 . . . . . .
12 . . . . . sie wurden geformt (ζωγραφεῖν) . . . . . .
13 in denen sich der Tod aufgestellt hatte . . . . . .
14 [Der] vierte Teil sind die [bösen] Früchte . . . . . .
15 . . . . . an den fünf Bäumen, die in den fünf [Welten des]
16 Landes der Finsternis.
17 Das fünfte Mal verteilte sie sich auf ihre Geschöpfe, die sich befinden [in den fünf]
18 Welten, die gebildet (πλάσσειν) und geboren worden waren aus den fünf
19 Früchten des Todes, welches sind die fünf Welten des Fleisches,
20 die fünf Schöpfungen der Finsternis, in denen sich der Tod aufgestellt hatte. Er
21 verteilte sich auf die zehn Teile, die fünf männlichen Teile und die fünf weiblichen (Teile)
22 . . . . . .
23 . . . . . .
24 Wie nun das Land der Finsternis, indem sein Geist und [sein] . . . . . .
25 die aufgezogen hatten die fünf Elemente . . . . . .
26 also auch die zehn Teile, die (bestehen) aus [den Männlichen und]
27 den Weiblichen; das Feuer und die Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) der σάρκες . . . . .
28 ihnen, indem sie sie miteinander verbinden . . . . . (und sie erhoben)
29 sich gegen den Urmenschen. Dieser ist . . . . . .
30 . . . . . die Finsternis
31 und verurteilten sie (sc. Finsternis) ewiglich. — Entsprechend dem Mysterium dieser
32 zwölf Teile, die in der Finsternis entstanden sind [und sich erhoben haben]
33 gegen den Urmenschen, sind die zwölf . . . . [entstanden, welches sind]
34 die zwölf Geister des Irrglaubens (πλάνη), die [entstanden] sind
35 aus den zwölf Tierkreisbildern (ζῳδίον) . . . . . .

[ⲙⲑ]

[ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲣ]

1 ⲟⲩⲉ ⲥⲉⲧⲏⲕ [ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩ]ⲃⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲣ ⲉ
2 ⲧⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗ[ⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧ]ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲥⲉⲇⲓⲱⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲣⲉ ⲉ
3 ⲧⲁⲩⲇⲓⲱⲕⲉ ⲙ̄[. . . ⲥ̄ⲛ̄] ⲧⲣⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲣ
4 ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ Ⲛⲧⲣⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲣⲃⲓⲟ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
5 . . . . . .
6 . . . . . [ⲡⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲡ[ⲉ]ⲧⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
7 [. . . . . .]ⲩ ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲙⲁ
8 [. . . . . .] ⲡⲉⲩ|ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
9 [ⲁⲛⲏⲣⲉ] leer

10 [ⲓ̄ⲥ̄]
11 [ⲓ̄ⲥ̄] [ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧ+ⲉ ⲙ̄]ⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ ⲓ̄ⲥ̄
12 [ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ] ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ

13 [Ⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏ]ⲣ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲩⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲑ̣ⲏ̣ⲧ̣ⲏⲥ Ⲭⲉ
14 [. . . . . ⲡ]ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ
15 [Ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲛ]ⲁϭ ⲡⲉ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ ⲡⲉⲧ[ⲱⲟ]
16 [ⲟⲡ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥ]ⲣⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ̣ ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ ⲥⲛ̣ ⲡⲉⲩⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲣ̣
17 [ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ] ⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲩ leer ⲁ ⲩⲧⲟⲉ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ ⲃⲱ
18 [ⲗⲡ ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲱ ⲁⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕ
19 ⲁ̣ⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲓ ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲉⲩⲭⲏⲕ leer Ⲧⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲛⲧ
20 ⲛⲁϭ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲃⲉⲃⲉ ⲁⲥⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙ̣
21 ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲥ ⲡⲛⲁϭ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲁⲥⲁⲛ
22 ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ [ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩ]ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ [ⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲙ̣]
23 [ⲙⲛⲧ]ⲛⲁϭ leer Ⲧ̣ⲙⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲙ̣[ⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲉ]
24 [ⲣ|ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟ]ⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲧ ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡ+ⲟⲩ ⲛ[ⲱ]ⲏ
25 [ⲣⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲙⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ leer
26 [Ⲧⲙⲁⲥⲩ]ⲧ̣ⲟⲉ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ̄
27 [ⲡⲥ]ⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ
28 [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲧ]ⲙⲁⲥⲩⲧⲟⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ
29 [Ⲧⲙⲁ]ⲥ+ⲉ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁ[ϭ] ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲙⲛ
30 [ⲛ]ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲣⲟⲃ̣ⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ . . .
31 [ⲁⲩ]ⲃⲉⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ leer ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ ⲁ̣ⲩ̣[ⲥⲱ?]ⲣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁ̣ⲩ̣
32 [. . . . . .] . . ⲧⲟⲩ ⲡ|ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱ
33 [ⲙⲉ . . . . . .] ⲙⲡⲕⲱⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲧⲕⲉ+ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡ+ⲟⲩ ⲛ
34 [ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ] ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲏⲣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁ+ⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲭⲁⲩⲗⲉ
35 [. . . . . .]ⲭⲱⲕ ⲥⲛ ⲧ̣ⲙⲛ

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23 Lies ⟨ⲡ⟩ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄. — 24 Desgleichen. — ⲧⲙⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ: ⲙⲁⲥ über der Zeile.

[des Lehrers.]

. . . sie erheben sich gegen den zweiten Lebendigen Menschen, der wohnt in der heiligen Kirche; sie verfolgen (διώκειν) ihn, wie sie verfolgt haben . . [im] Anfang den Urmenschen im Lande der Finsternis. — Wie der Urmensch demütigte die Finsternis

. . . . . .

. . . . . Licht, das in der Kirche wohnt

. . . . . die zwölf Sekten (δόγμα)

. . . . . seinen heiligen Vater bis in alle Ewigkeit.

XVI.

[Über die fünf] Größen, welche [herausgekommen] sind gegen die Finsternis.

Wiederum sprach der Φωστήρ zu seinen Jüngern:

. . . . . [die] Finsternis und besiegte sie durch fünf Größen. [Die erste] Größe ist der Vater der Größe, der, welcher [sich] [befindet in] Ruhe und Verborgenheit, indem er befestigt ist in seinem Lande [des Lichtes] in seiner alleinigen οὐσία. — Vier Größen sind erschienen und herausgekommen aus ihm. Sie teilten sich in zehn Teile und stellten sich auf als (?) volle zwölf. — Die zweite Größe, die hervorgesprudelt und erschienen ist und sich offenbart hat aus der ersten Größe, das ist die Mutter des Lebens, der große Geist, sowie der Urmensch [nebst seinen] fünf Söhnen. [Diese sind die zweite] Größe. — Die dritte [Größe ist der Geliebte] [der] Lichter, der große Baumeister, der Lebendige Geist und die fünf Söhne des Lebendigen Geistes. Diese sind die dritte Größe. [Die] vierte Größe ist der Dritte Gesandte und [die] Säule der Herrlichkeit und alle Lichtkräfte, die erschienen sind aus ihm. [Diese sind die] vierte Größe. [Die] fünfte Größe, die aus dem Vater hervorgekommen ist, ist Jesus der Glanz und alle seine Kräfte, welche er berufen hat, seine Emanationen (προβολή), die . . . hervorgesprudelt und in die Erscheinung getreten sind aus ihm, das heißt, sie haben [sich verteilt?]

. . . . . diese fünf Söhne des Urmenschen

. . . . . dem ganzen Bau. Die anderen fünf sind die fünf [Söhne des Lebendigen Geistes], die verteilt sind auf fünf Orte, indem sie tragen [alle Lasten der Welt] . . . . . werden vollzählig in der

[ⲛ̄]

[ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ]

1 ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉ ⲉⲧ[. . . . . ⲟⲩⲛ̄] ⲕⲉⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲩ[ⲟⲩ]
2 ⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̀ⲛ [ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙ]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ
3 ⲛⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲙ̀ⲛ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲓ̈ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲡ[ⲣ̄ⲓⲉ] ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲟⲓⲛⲉ̣ⲓ [ⲕⲁⲩⲉ]
4 ⲛⲁⲓⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲭ̣ⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ]ⲧ̣ⲓ ⲡ̣ⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁ̣ⲥ̣
5 ⲙ̀ⲛ̄ ⲡ [. . . . . .] . . ⲓⲉ ⲉ . [. . . .
6 [. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲥ]ⲏⲧⲟⲩ leer
7 [. . . . . .]ⲙ̀ⲉⲛ
8 ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ . . . . [. . . . . .
9 . . . . . .
10 . . . . . ⲉⲩⲏⲡ ⲁ̣[. . . . . .]
11 ⲉⲩⲱ . . . . ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲉ . . . [. . . . . .
12 ⲁ̈ⲝⲓⲱⲙⲁ [ⲛⲁⲥ]ⲣⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲉⲩ[ⲏ̈] . . . . . .
13 . . . . . .
14 ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱ . . . . ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲛ . . . . . [. . . . . .]
15 ⲙ̀ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲉ̣ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲛⲥⲉⲃⲓ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ [. . . . . .]
16 ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲣ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲁⲓⲭⲙⲁⲗⲱⲧⲓⲍⲉ [ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ ⲟⲩ]
17 ⲁⲓⲭⲙⲁⲗⲱⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲥⲉⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲩⲏⲧ ⲛⲧ[ⲁⲩ . . .
18 ⲁⲉ ⲥⲙ̀ ⲡⲉⲩⲫⲃⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ̄ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲩⲁⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲭ[ⲁⲭⲉ]
19 ⲧⲟⲩ . . . . ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲧⲩ̄ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄
20 ⲉⲩⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ
21 ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ̈ⲓ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲧⲟⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲱⲙⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
22 [. . . . . ⲁⲣⲭ]ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲙ̀[ⲡⲟ]ⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ leer
23 ⲧⲟⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲥⲱ[ⲩ] ⲙⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲙⲛ ⲧ[ⲉⲛⲧ]ⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲓⲧⲉ̣ [ⲁⲩ]
24 ⲉⲓ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲉ̣ ⲁⲭⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲱⲃ̈ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲧⲁⲡ
25 ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲟⲓⲛ[ⲉⲓ . . . . .] ⲛ̣ⲧⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲱ[ⲁⲣⲡ]
26 ⲛⲣⲱ[ⲙⲉ] leer Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲟⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲧⲛⲧⲁ̣[ⲛⲧ]
27 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲟ ⲝⲉⲩⲁⲉⲓ[ⲛⲉ]
28 ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ Ⲉⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲁⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̣[ⲕⲣⲓ]
29 ⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲁⲙ̄ ⲡⲭⲓⲛⲟⲁⲛⲅ̀ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲓ]
30 ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ Ⲧⲧⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲭⲁ̣[ⲭⲉ]
31 ⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ [. . . . . .]
32 ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ . . . . . |. . . . .]
33 ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲍⲉ . . . . . .

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25 Lies ⲛⲧⲟⲓⲛⲉ⟨ⲓ⟩.

Die Kephalaia.

zwölf Teilen, die . . . . . [Es gibt] weitere zwei, [die]
zu ihnen hinzugefügt werden, nämlich der ‚Ruf' und das [‚Hören'], welches sind
der Vater und die Mutter, die Jesus der Glanz, bei seinem [Kommen eingesetzt hat]
als Nachfolger (διάδοχος) an seiner Statt . . . . . die große Erde.
und der . . . . . .
. . . . . in ihnen. —
. . . . . .
den Urmenschen, der gekommen ist . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . indem er gehört zu . . . . . .
indem [er sich befindet in] einem Reich . . . . . .
Würde (ἀξίωμα) [vor] denen, die gehören zu seinem [Hause?] . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . seine Feinde . . . . . .
und Leid durch ihre Bosheit (κακία) und sie nehmen ihm weg . . . . . .
und Reichtum und nehmen [ihn] gefangen (αἰχμαλωτίζειν) [in]
Gefangenschaft (αἰχμαλωσία) und nehmen ihm ab . . . . Er [rafft sich auf?]
aber in seiner Erniedrigung und wird mutig und ergreift seinen Feind
. . . . . in Schweigen. So wie dieser Mann, dieser edle (εὐγενής)
Sohn, den seine Feinde umringen, so war es
auch, wie das Kommen des Urmenschen geschah.
. . . . . Archonten, die Feinde des Lichtes. —
Das Kommen des Lebendigen Geistes und der Auftrag (ἐντολή), den er erhielt und mit dem
[er] kam über alle Archonten, ist verschieden von (παρά) dem des
Urmenschen. Sein Kommen . . . . . Kommen (?) des Urmenschen. — Das Kommen des Lebendigen Geistes gleicht
in dieser Weise, als er aus der Größe entsandt wurde, um heraufzuholen
den Urmenschen, indem er gleicht einem Richter (κριτής),
den der König aussendet, um zu beseitigen das Unrecht jenes
Mannes, des edlen (εὐγενής) Sohnes, gegen den seine Feinde
gesündigt hatten. Er aber, dieser κριτής-Mensch . . . . . .
stark, ehrfurchtgebietend (?) . . . . . .
. . . und er gestattet . . . . . [in seiner]

[ⲛⲁ]

[ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲥ]

1 ⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛ̣ⲧϫ[ⲱⲣ]ⲉ ⲛϥⲧⲁϫⲟ ϩⲱϥ ⲛⲛⲉⲧ
2 ⲧⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲟ̣ⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲃ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ϥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
3 ⲱⲃⲓ̈ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲛ̄
4 ⲥⲏⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ϥϩ[ⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉⲁ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲓ̈
5 ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲧ ϩⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲏ ⲃⲉ ⲛⲟⲩ
6 . . . ⲧⲉⲧ[. . . . .]ⲃⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ϥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲃⲓ̈ⲱ
7 . . . . . .]ⲛ̄ϥⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϥⲥⲁⲛϩⲟⲩ ⲛϥⲉⲱⲧ ϩⲛ̄
8 . . . . . ⲛ̣ⲩ̄ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϩⲉⲡ
9 [ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ϥ]ϩ̣ⲁⲧⲃⲟⲩ ⲁϩⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲟ̣ⲩⲱ̣ⲁⲣⲉ
10 . . . . . .]ⲟ̣ⲩ ϫⲉⲩⲛⲁϩⲁⲧⲃⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϩⲉⲧⲃⲉ
11 . . . . . .]ⲣ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ
12 [ⲁⲣⲁⲩ . . . . . .]ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲫⲁ̣
13 [ⲧⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲁⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ] ⲟⲩϩⲉⲡ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲧϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲱϥⲧ
14 [ⲁⲩⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁ]ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲩⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ • ⲛ̄ⲱⲃ̄ⲣⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲁ̣ⲛ
15 [ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲩⲡⲏ]ⲣⲉⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙ[ⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁ
16 [ⲣⲁϥ ϩⲛ̄] ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲙⲙⲛⲧϫⲱⲣⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲱⲡⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ
17 ⲟ̣ⲩ[ⲃ]ⲗⲁⲙ ⲱⲁⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲕ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ leer
18 [ⲗⲗ]ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩϥ ⲁ
19 ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲁⲛ̄ ⲡϫⲓⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲛⲥ̄ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲱⲏ
20 [ⲣ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲩⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄
21 [ⲧ]ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
22 [ⲁⲛ̄] ⲡϩ̣ⲉⲡ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ [ⲙ]ⲛ̣̄ ⲡϫⲓⲛⲃⲁⲛⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
23 ⲡⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲁⲡ̣ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲁϥⲱⲱϥⲧ̄ ⲁⲣⲁϥ
24 [ⲁϥ]ⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲉⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲃ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩⲉⲓ
25 [ⲟⲩ]ⲛ ⲁⲩⲛ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ leer N̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ϩⲱϥ ⲧⲏ
26 [ⲣⲟ]ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲱϥⲧ ⲁⲩⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ
27 [ⲙ]ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁϥ†ϩⲉⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩϩⲉⲡ ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓ
28 [ⲟ]ⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲁϥⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲁϥⲕⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ
29 [ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲁϥⲱⲓ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
30 [ⲕⲁ]ⲧⲁ ⲧ̣ⲉϥⲙ[ⲛⲧⲟⲩ]ⲁⲥⲓⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲑⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲟ ϩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
31 [ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ]ϩⲏⲧ̣[ⲟⲩ ϩ]ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ̄ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲁⲧⲡⲟⲩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ
32 [ⲁⲡⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ] ϩⲛ̄ⲕ]ⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲉⲱⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲁϫⲱⲩ ϩⲁⲓ̈
33 [ⲛⲉ] . . ⲥⲉⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲥⲉ

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1 Erg. vorher [ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉϥⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓ]. Auch ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛⲧ[ⲙⲏ]ⲉ „Gerechtigkeit“ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛ-ⲧϫ̣[ⲱⲣ]ⲉ möglich. — 10 ϩ in ϩⲁⲧⲃⲟⲩ auf Rasur. — 14 ⲁⲛ klein. — 26 Lies ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ. — 30 ϩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ [ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ]ϩⲏⲧ̣[ⲟⲩ] Dittographie. — 31 Lies ⲙⲉⲛ statt ⲙⲉⲛ̄.

[des Lehrers.]

Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη) und seiner [Macht] und verurteilt
alle Verurteilenswerten gemäß ihrem bösen Herzen und vergilt
einem jeden nach seiner Würdigkeit. Diejenigen, die
Prügel verdienen, die schlägt er mit schmerzhaften Rindslederpeitschen (ταυρεία). Diejenigen,
die verdienen, daß ihnen Glieder (μέλος) abgeschnitten werden, oder ihre
. . . . . und tut ihnen gemäß ihrer Vergeltung
. . . . . und bindet und fesselt sie und hängt auf
. . . . . und tut ihnen auf diese Weise in einem Gerichte
[der Gerechtigkeit und] tötet sie, ihnen die Haut zu schinden
. . . . . , daß sie in (irgend)einer Tötungs(art) getötet werden
. . . . . bis daß sie sterben. Auch diejenigen, denen es angemessen ist
. . . . . sie von ihren Wohnstätten zu verbannen,
die wird er [verbannen nach] gerechtem (δικαιοσύνη) Gericht, so wie sie gefrevelt haben
[und gesündigt gegen] den edlen (εὐγενής) Sohn. Auch die Mysteriums-Genossen
[und die] Diener (ὑπηρέτης) dieses κριτής-Menschen, die gehören zu
[ihm in] großer Macht, — plötzlich und
eilends tun sie den Willen ihres Herrn. —
Wie nun dieser reine (καθαρός) Richter (κριτής), der ausgesandt worden ist
von dem König, um zu beseitigen das Unrecht, (das) diesem Manne,
dem edlen (εὐγενής) Sohn, (angetan worden ist) so ist es auch mit dem Lebendigen Geist,
der von dem König der Lichter ausgesandt worden ist,
[um heraufzuführen] das Gericht und das Unrecht (zu beseitigen), (das) dem Urmenschen (angetan worden ist),
gegen den der König des Reiches der Finsternis gesündigt und gefrevelt hatte;
[er] hatte gesündigt gegen ihn zusammen mit seinen bösen Kräften. Als er [nun] gekommen war,
holte er den Urmenschen herauf. — Die Archonten aber
alle, die Kräfte der Sünde, die gefrevelt und gesündigt hatten gegen die Söhne
des Urmenschen, die richtete er in gerechtem (δικαιοσύνη) Gericht.
Er fesselte sie an Himmel und Erde; er setzte einen jeden
von ihnen an den Ort, der ihm angemessen ist. Er maß einen jeden
von ihnen nach seiner Überheblichkeit und nach seiner Demut.
Einige von ihnen sperrte er ein
[in das Gefängnis]; andere von ihnen hängte er mit dem Kopf nach unten auf; einige
. . . . . [einige werden] gekreuzigt (σταυροῦν), andere

[ⲛⲃ]

ⲛⲕ[ⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ]

1 ϩⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲃⲥ ϩⲁ
2 ⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲃⲉⲣⲉ ⲉⲩϩⲉⲭϩⲁⲭⲧ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲉⲥⲛⲁⲱⲧ
3 ϩⲛⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ
4 ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲣⲓϩⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲕ ⲛ̄
5 ϩⲏⲧ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ leer
6 Ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣[. . . . .]ⲓ̣ⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛ[ⲧⲁ]ⲣ̣[ⲉ]
7 ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲛ̣ϩⲉⲡ̣ [. . . . . .]
8 ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ[ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲩ]
9 ⲧϩⲉⲡ̣ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲩⲧϩⲉⲡ [. ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ . . . . . .]
10 . . . . . ⲧ̣ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ . . . . . [. . . . . .]
11 [ⲡⲉⲓ̈] ⲡ̣ⲉ ⲡ̣ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲉⲡ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̣ [ⲉⲧⲁⲛ̄ϩ ⲧϩⲉⲡ ϩⲁⲡⲣⲁ ⲡ]
12 ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ • ⲡ[ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁⲩ]
13 ⲧ ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲡ[ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲉ]
14 ⲁⲩⲧⲁϫⲁⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲧⲁϫⲟ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲱⲩⲧ̣ ⲛ[ϩⲏⲧⲩ . . .]
15 . . . . . ⲁ ⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲣⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲧ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ̣[. . . .]
16 ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲛⲧϩⲁ[ⲏ] ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡ[ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ]
17 ⲛⲩⲱϫⲛⲉ ϩⲛ ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁϩⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧ[ⲉ ⲡⲟⲩ]
18 ⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ϩⲱⲩ ⲃⲱ ϩⲛ̄
19 [ⲧⲙⲣ̄ⲣⲉ] ⲙ̣ⲛ̣ ⲡⲥⲛⲁϩ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ • leer
20 . . ⲧⲃⲓⲛⲉⲓ ϩⲱⲩ ⲙⲡⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ̀ ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ
21 [ⲁⲣⲃⲙⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄]ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧϫⲱⲛⲏ ⲉⲩ
22 ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛ̄ⲧ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲩ̄ⲃⲙⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛϩⲛⲧⲉ[ⲭ]
23 [ⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ] . ⲛⲧⲉⲩ ⲙⲛ ϩⲛ̄ . . . . . [.]ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉ̣ . .
24 ⲥ̣ⲧ . . . ⲛ̄ⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ϩⲱⲩ ⲛⲛⲧⲉⲭⲛ̣ⲓⲧⲏⲥ̣ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲓ[ⲧⲉ]
25 ⲕⲧⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲓⲁⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲕⲁ[ⲧⲁ]
26 ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ̣ [ⲁ]ⲩⲣ̄ϩⲱⲩ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ̣
27 ⲁⲩϫⲱⲛⲩ̣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ϩⲛ [ⲟⲩ]
28 [ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲱⲉ] . . ⲉⲥ̣ ⲱⲁⲩⲱⲡ ⲡϩⲙⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲓⲁⲡⲉ ⲛⲉ[ⲓ̈]
29 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲩϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ [ⲁⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ] ⲛⲛ̄ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲱ
30 ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲉ̣[ⲩⲛ]ⲏⲩ ⲛⲩⲃⲛⲡⲱ[ⲓ]
31 ⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲩϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟ̣[ⲗⲁⲩ]ⲉ ⲧϩⲉ ϩ[ⲱⲩ(ⲁⲛ?)]
32 ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲃⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲡⲣ[ⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩ]ⲧⲏⲥ [ⲉⲡ]ⲉ[ⲓ]
33 ⲇⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩ [ⲁⲛⲉⲩϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ]
34 ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ ⲉⲩⲥⲏⲣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩ̣[. . . . . .]

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15 Vielleicht ⲛⲉⲩ statt ⲛⲉⲥ̣. — 16 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ oberhalb der Zeile. — 33 Oder [ⲁⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ]

Die [Kephalaia]

sitzen unten allezeit. Einige unter ihnen sind befestigt unter
ihren Genossen, indem sie gequält sind durch eine harte Fessel.
Andre hat er zu Machthabern (ἐξουσιαστής) übereinander gemacht,
unter sich selbst, auf daß sie seinen Willen täten
an denen, die unter ihnen sind. —
Wisset also . . . . . ., daß als
der Vater des Lebens die Urteile festsetzte . . . . . .
er offenbarte sich allen Mächten [der Finsternis und er]
richtete sie wie ein [gerechter] Richter . . . . . .
. . . . . .
[Dies] ist das erste Urteil, das der [Lebendige] Geist [fällte in bezug auf den]
Urmenschen gegen die Archonten. Der [Urmensch], er
gab ihm den Sieg entsprechend seinem Siege; der [König aber des Reiches der Finsternis].
verurteilte ihn entsprechend der Verurteilung, [je nachdem] er gefrevelt hatte.
hatte . . .
. . . . . diese Fessel von diesem Ausmaß ward ihm . . . . .
der (?) Erde bis zur Zeit des Endes, wo aufgelöst werden wird die [Welt]
und vergeht im großen Feuer und abgeschieden werden wird, und [das]
Licht zu seinem Lande (χώρα) geht, die Finsternis dagegen bleibt in
[der Bande] und der Fessel ewiglich. —
[So] auch das Kommen des Dritten Gesandten, der gekommen ist
[und revidiert hat] die, welche eingesperrt sind in der ζώνη, indem er
gleicht einem großen König, der kommt und revidiert Künstler
[der] . . . . . und . . . . . und . . .
. . . Die Guten dagegen der Künstler (τεχνίτης) und der Architek-
ten und der Arbeiter, die er an jeglichem
Ort hat, wenn er sieht, daß sie vortrefflich (καλῶς) gearbeitet
und sich seinen Angelegenheiten in angemessener Weise gewidmet haben, dann freut er sich in
[großer Freude] . . . er dankt den Arbeitern, die
seine Angelegenheiten (ordentlich) ausgeführt haben [gemäß] seinen Anordnungen.
So wie nun dieser große König, indem er kommt und seine Ange-
legenheiten und seine Lager (παρεμβολή) revidiert, — so ist auch
das Kommen des Dritten Gesandten, denn als
er herauskam, sah er [seine Werke],
wie sie geordnet und verteilt waren, indem sie . . . . . .

[ⲛⲅ]

ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁϩ

1 ϩⲱⲣⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉⲩⲥⲏⲣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ
2 ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥ
3 ⲁⲛϩⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲭⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲉⲥ ⲛⲍ| ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲛⲏⲩ
4 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ| ⲛ̄ϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲱⲃⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲱ
5 ⲛ̣ⲧ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲩⲉ| ⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛ
6 ⲁ̣[ⲅⲅⲉ]ⲗⲟ̣ⲩ̣ⲥ ⲉⲩⲧ[ⲏⲕ] ⲁ̣ⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲉⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ̣ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟ
7 [ⲗⲁⲩⲉ . . . . . .]ⲉⲩⲣⲁ̈ⲥ ⲁⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧ|ⲕⲏ [ⲧⲏ]ⲣ̄ⲥ̄ . . .
8 [. . . . . ⲥ]ⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲓ ⲛⲉⲩϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲑ̣ⲁ̣[ⲙ]
9 [ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡϣ]ⲁ̣ⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡ[ⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ]
10 ⲙ[ⲛ ⲡ]ⲛⲁⲃ [ⲙⲡⲛⲁ ⲧⲙ]ⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ[ⲩⲛ]ⲉ̣ⲓ̣ ⲟⲩⲛ
11 ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̣ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩ[ⲥⲙ|ⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ̄] ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲍⲃ̣ⲏⲩⲉ̣ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
12 . . [. .] . . . . [. . . . . .]ⲉⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲩϣⲱⲗ . . . . . .
13 . ⲛ . ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧ[ⲉⲩⲃ|ⲛ]ⲉ̣ⲓ̣ ⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲩⲉ| ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲁⲩⲃ[ⲱⲗⲡ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
14 ⲁϫ[ⲱⲩ] ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁ̣ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲡⲍⲉⲡ ⲉⲧⲁ[ⲕ] . . . . . .
15 . . . . . ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉ̣[ⲟⲩⲁⲩ] . . . . . .
16 ⲁⲕ[+ ⲛ]ⲉⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲱ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩϫⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲁ̣ⲡⲉ̣
17 ⲧ[ⲉ ⲛⲥ]ⲟⲩⲟ ⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲡⲱⲁ leer
18 [ⲧ]ⲟ|ⲛⲉⲓ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲛ|ⲏⲥ ⲡⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ̣| ⲁ . . . . . .
19 [ⲧ]ⲏ̣ⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲛ+ⲍⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲁⲩ[ⲧⲛ]
20 [ⲛⲁ]ⲩⲩ ⲁ̣ⲡⲱⲣⲕ ⲛⲟⲩ . . . . . .
21 [ⲣ]ⲱϫⲉ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲁⲍⲕ . . [ⲉⲩ]ⲛⲁⲱⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲟⲩⲛ
22 [ⲥⲱ]ⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲱ[ⲧ ⲛ̄ϣⲁ]ⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲉ̣
23 [ⲗⲉⲃ]|ⲛ ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣⲕ[ⲟⲩ . . . . . .
24 [. .]ⲙⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲉⲧⲉ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧ ⲁ̣ⲣⲱⲧ
25 [ϫⲛ] ⲙⲡ|ⲛⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲧ[ⲉ] ⲛⲉⲩϫⲡⲟ ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲍⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲱⲙ
26 [. . .]ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲱⲥ [ⲁⲩ]ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲱⲃⲉ [ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲡ]
27 [ϣ]ⲏⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛ[ⲍ] ⲉ̣ⲧⲛⲁⲣ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲁⲛ|ⲧ leer
28 [ⲧⲍⲉ] ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ| ⲙⲡ|ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ|ⲛⲉⲓ ⲛ|ⲏⲥ ⲡⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ
29 [ⲉⲧⲁⲥ]ϣⲱⲡⲉ [ⲛ+ⲍ]ⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ̄ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
30 [. . . . . ⲧ]ⲉ̣ⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧ
31 [. . . . . .] . . . . ⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϣ[ⲩ? ⲟⲩ]ⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲣ
32 [. . . . . .] . . . . ⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ

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5 ⲩ in ⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩ oberhalb der Zeile. — 21 ⲓ̈ⲁⲍ von ⲓ̈ⲱⲍⲉ, vielleicht ⲓ̈ⲁⲍ-ⲕ[ⲛⲧⲉ]. — 24 ⲁⲣⲱⲧ ganz unsicher.

des Lehrers.

Reihen (?) der Archonten, wie sie verteilt waren, wie sie befestigt waren in ihnen
oben und unten, außen und
innen, durch die große Kunst (τέχνη), die seine Brüder gemacht hatten,
die vor ihm ausgezogen waren zum Kampf (ἀγών), die befestigt
und fundiert hatten die Welt, bevor er gekommen war; er sah die Götter und die
Engel, wie sie standen und die Lager (παρεμβολή) festhielten
. . . . . indem sie die ganze Archontenschaft bewachten
. . . . . welchen seine früheren Kräfte gemacht hatten
[welche sind der] Urmensch und der [Lebendige Geist]
und [der] Große [Geist, die] Mutter des Lebens. Als er sie nun sah,
daß sie [geordnet hatten in] großer Weisheit alle Werke . . . . . .
. . . . . sie sahen, er plünderte (?) . . . . . .
. . . . in [seinem] Kommen, in dem er gekommen war und sich gezeigt hatte
ihm gegenüber. Er sprach zum Lebendigen Geist: 'Das Urteil, das du
hast [gefällt]
. . . . . gut ist das, was du gesagt hast . . . . . .
du hast [gegeben] ihnen entsprechend, weil sie sich bewegt und sich erhoben
haben zu
[demjenigen, dessen sie] nicht würdig waren. —
[Das] Kommen Jesu des Glanzes, als er kam . . . . . .
allen, indem er in dieser Weise gleicht einem Menschen, der
ausgeschickt ist, um auszureißen . . . . . .
verbrennen ein gewaltiges . . . -feld mit dem Feuer. Als er nun
abgeschnitten hatte [zuerst] die schlechten Bäume mit seiner
Axt, riß er sie aus . . . . . .
. . . und ihren Körper mit seinem Feuer, damit sie nicht wieder wachsen
sollten
von dieser Zeit an und nicht Früchte hervorbringen, die schlecht zum Essen
sind,
. . dann pflanzte [er] seinerseits seine [guten] Pflanzungen, [den]
Baum des Lebens, der bringen wird gute Früchte. —
[So] ist es auch mit der Ähnlichkeit des Kommens Jesu des Glanzes,
[das] geschehen [ist in dieser Weise]. Denn auch er machte sich auf
. . . . . seine Kraft und seine Weisheit, in seiner . . .
. . . . . .; [ein] König und ein Erlöser (σωτής)
. . . . . in seiner herrlichen Weisheit

[ⲛⲇ]

ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

1 ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲙⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲱⲥⲱⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛ̄
2 ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥⲣⲱⲭⲥ̀ ⲛⲥⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱϩⲛ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ
3 ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥϩⲧ ⲥ̄ⲛ ⲧⲍⲱⲛϩ
4 ⲥ̄ⲛ ⲥⲛⲟⲁⲙ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲩⲡⲱⲥ ⲁⲡⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ
5 ⲛⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛ̄ⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲉⲩⲥⲁ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̣ ⲛ̣ⲣⲱⲙⲉ [ⲛⲩⲭⲱⲕ]
6 ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲕ ⲛⲥϩⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ ⲉⲩⲥⲁ ⲁⲩⲍ̣ . . . . . [ⲁⲩ+ ⲧ]
7 [ⲥ]ⲉ̣ⲗⲡⲓⲥ [ⲥ]ⲱ̣ⲩ ⲛⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲙⲛ̣[ⲟⲩⲩⲉ . . . . . .
8 . . . . . .]ⲛ̣ⲉⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲣϩ̣ⲓ ⲁ̣[ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ . . . . .
9 . . . [ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ]ⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ leer ⲧ̣[ⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲱ]
10 ⲧ̣ⲙⲉ̣ ⲡⲛⲁⲟ̀ ⲛⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ [ⲥⲓⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲧ[ⲟⲓⲭ]ⲉⲓⲱ
11 ⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲥ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲧ ⲁⲩ[ⲙⲟⲩⲭⲧ ⲛⲉ]ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁ[ⲩⲧ]ⲱⲕ
12 ⲁⲣⲉ̣ⲧⲩ ⸌[ⲥ]ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲧⲩ ⲩⲃⲓ ⲁⲍⲣ[ⲏ̈] . . . ⲱ[ⲁ ⲡⲕⲁ]!
13 ⲣⲟⲥ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣[ⲥⲁⲏ] ⲉⲧⲩⲁⲛⲉⲍⲥⲉ ⲛⲩ̄ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣ[ⲉⲧ]ⲩ ⲥ̣ⲛ̄ ⲧⲛ[ⲁⲟ̀] ⲛ̣ⲥⲉ
14 ⲧ̣ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲱⲩⲍ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲩ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧ̣ⲩ ⲛⲩⲣⲍ[ⲱⲅ]ⲣⲁ
15 ⲫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲇ[ⲣ]ⲉⲓⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲃⲛ̣ⲧ̄ⲩ̄ ⲥ[ⲱ]ⲩ ⲉⲩ
16 ⲥⲱⲍⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲭⲱⲍⲙ[ⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈]
17 ⲉ̣ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲁ̈ⲛ]ⲉ
18 ⲉⲧⲍⲛ ⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲁⲩⲍⲩ̄ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲩⲕⲁⲧⲩ̄
19 ⲁⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲉ
20 ⲛⲁⲭⲱⲕ ⲥⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲩⲁⲣⲃⲁⲗ̣ [ⲁ]
21 ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲟ̀ ⲛ̄ⲁⲩ̣ⲣⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲓ[ⲧⲛ]
22 ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲡⲉⲩⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ̣ⲧⲛ̣ⲏⲩ ⲛⲩ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲣ̄ . . [. . ⲙⲉ]
23 ⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲩ̄ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲟⲩ ⲛ̄+ . ⲁⲩⲍⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲑ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ]
24 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲕ ⲛⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲡ[ⲓⲥⲁ]
25 ⲭⲛⲉ ⲡⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉ[ⲩ] ⲉⲩⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ
26 [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲃⲉⲓ̈ⲣⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲱ[ⲙ]ⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲧⲥ ⲛ[ⲩⲕⲁ]
27 ⲁ]ⲥ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲍⲏⲙ ⲛⲥ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲍ [ⲁⲃⲁ]ⲗ ⲛⲥ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲉ]
28 ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲏⲙ ⲛⲥ̀ⲫ[ⲩⲱⲧⲍ] ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉ[ⲥⲁⲡ]
29 [ⲥ]ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲧⲩ̄ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲍⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲧ[ⲉ . . . . . .
30 ⲛⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲧ+ⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲓⲉ[ⲣⲱⲧⲉ . . . . . .
31 ⲥⲁⲕⲩ̄ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩⲡⲏⲥⲥⲉ ⲛⲩⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲉ̣[ⲣⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲃⲃⲉ . . .]
32 ⲥ̄ⲛ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡ . . . . . [ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲱ]

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23 Lies vielleicht ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄+ⲥⲁⲩⲍⲥ. — 25 Lies ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ.

Die Kephalaia

vernichtete er sie, er fesselte sie und bedrängte (?) sie wie
das Feuer, das verbrennt und vernichtet die Bäume, so war es
auch, wie er seinen Willen ausführte in der ζώνη
in zahlreichen Mächten, bis er gelangte zur Erschaffung (πλάσμα)
des Fleisches Adams und Evas, der ersten Menschen, [und ausführte]
seinen Willen in (durch?) Eva. Er . . . . . [er gab die]
Hoffnung (ἐλπίς) aber dem Adam und die frohe Botschaft . . . . . .
. . . . . Herrlichkeit und ging hinauf [zur Höhe] . . . . . .
. . . [des] Lichts. — [Damals der Ruf und das] Hören,
der Große Gedanke, der kam [zu] den Elementen (στοιχεῖον),
die sich in vermischtem Zustande befinden, er [vereinigte sich] mit ihnen und stellte
sich auf in Schweigen. Er trägt hinauf . . . . . bis zu [dem letzten]
Zeitpunkt (καιρός), wo er aufwachen wird und sich aufstellen wird im [großen] Feuer
und zu sich einsammelt seine eigene Seele und sich formt
(ζωγραφεῖν) zu dieser Letzten Statue (ἀνδριάς); und du wirst ihn finden,
wie er hinausfegt und hinauswirft aus sich die Unreinheit,
die ihm fremd ist, das Leben aber und das Licht,
das in allen Dingen ist, zu sich einsammelt und (darauf) baut
auf seinen Körper. Wenn diese Letzte Statue (ἀνδριάς)
fertig wird in allen ihren Gliedern (μέλος), dann wird sie entkommen
und hinaufkommen aus jenem großen Kampf (ἀγών) durch
den Lebendigen Geist, ihren Vater, der kommt und bringt . . . Glieder (μέλος)
und sie herausholt aus dieser [Einsammlung?], der Auflösung
und dem Ende aller Dinge. — Er nun, [dieser] Gedanke,
der Ruf und das Hören, gleicht
in dieser Weise einem Stück Butter, welches ein Mann nimmt [und]
[legt] in warme Milch; und es schmilzt und vereinigt sich
mit der warmen Milch und es [schmilzt (?)] wiederum
in Schweigen und Ruhe inmitten . . . . . .
der Kraft aber und der Geschmack der Milch . . . . . .
zieht es (das Stück Butter) an sich und sie (die Milch) gerinnt (πήσσειν) und wird [kalte Milch?] . . . . . .
in . . . . . und . . . . . [die Milch]

[ⲛⲉ]

ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲥ

1 ⲧⲉ ⲯⲁⲥⲥⲉⲧⲏ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲁϫⲏ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲛⲏⲥ ⲥⲱⲓ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲛ̄
2 ⲓⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲁⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲉ]ⲣⲱⲧⲉ ⲯⲁⲥⲥⲁⲩⲥⲓ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ
3 Ⲧⲥⲉ ⲥⲱⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲥⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ϫ⸗ ⲧⲟ⸗ⲛⲉⲓ ⲛ
4 ⲧⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥ⸗ⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲡⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲧⲉ
5 ⲡⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥ⸗ⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲯⲁ ⲛⲥⲧ⸗ⲟⲓ⸗ⲭⲉⲓⲱⲛ
6 ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ϫⲉ ⲁⲧϩⲁⲏ ⲉ⸗ⲩⲁⲛ⸗ⲉϩⲥⲉ ⲛⲩⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ̄ ⲛⲩⲥⲱⲩϩ
7 ⲁ⸗ⲥⲟ⸗ⲩⲛ ⲯⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲛ⸗ⲱⲛϩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ
8 ⸗ⲥⲱϫ⸗ⲡ ⲁ̣ⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ ⸗ϩⲛ̄ ⲛϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲁⲕⲁ⸗ⲧ⸗ⲟⲩ̣ ⲁϫⲙ
9 ⸗ⲡⲉ⸗ⲩⲥ̣ⲱⲙⲁ ⲩⲁ⸗ⲥⲁⲩ⸗ⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲯⲁⲣⲁⲩ . . ⸗[. . .]ⲩ̣ . . . .
10 [. . . .]ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩϩⲓ⸗[ⲕⲱ]ⲛ ⲯⲁⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲏϩ⸗ⲉ . . .] . . . .
11 [. .] . . . . ⲁ . . . . . ⲩ ϫⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡ⸗ⲛⲉⲩ Ⲛ[ⲉ]ⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲩ̄ [ⲛ̄]
12 ⲟ̣ⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ⸗ⲙ ⲉ⸗[ⲧⲁⲛⲁ]ϩⲧⲉ ⲁ⸗⸗ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑ⸗ⲛⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲩ̄[ⲧ⸗]ⲁ̣ⲭⲣ[ⲁⲩ]
13 [ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ]ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⸗[ⲩⲛⲁⲉⲓⲁ]ⲡϫ⸗ⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲩ̄ⲛⲟⲩϩⲙⲉ ⲁ̣[. . . . . .
14 [. . . . . .] . . ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲙ̄ⲱⲡ ⲛ . . [. . . . .]
15 . . . . . leer

16 ⲓ̄ϛ̄

17 ⲓ̄ϛ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁ⸗ⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ
18 ⲯⲁ[ⲙⲧ] ⲛⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ [ⲓϛ̄]

19 Ⲧ̣[ⲁ]ⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ⸗ⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ϫⲉ ϫ[ⲛ]
20 ⲙ̣ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ̣
21 [ⲱ]ⲁ̣ ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲛ⸗ⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̣ⲧ[ⲉ]
22 ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲡ[ⲉⲧⲁ]ⲩⲧⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲥⲱ[ⲧⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲩ̄ⲧ[ⲟⲩ]
23 [Ⲃⲟ ⲡ]ⲁ̣ϫⲉⲩ ϫⲉ [ϫ]ⲛ [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲁ ⲧ̣ . . ⲉ ⲥⲏⲩ [ⲉ]
24 [ⲧⲙⲙ]ⲉⲩ ⲯⲁ ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲥⲁⲏ ⲯⲁⲩⲣⲯⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ
25 [ⲯⲁⲙ]ⲧ ⲛⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟ[ⲥ ϫⲛ̄] ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ
26 [Ⲃⲱⲕ] ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡ̣ⲛ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲣ ⲡⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲥ
27 [ⲙⲛ] ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲁ[ⲡⲕⲉ]ⲕⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲉⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲥⲛϫⲣⲟ
28 [ⲉⲣ̣]ⲉ ⲛ[ⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲯⲱϫ]ⲡ ⲥⲁⲧⲏⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ . . . .
29 [. .]ϩⲛ̄ ⲛ̄[. . . . . .]ⲱⲩ ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲉⲩⲃⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
30 [.]ⲩⲓ̣[. . ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲛ]ⲥⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲥⲏ]
31 [ⲧⲟⲩ ⲣⲃⲁⲗ ⲁ]ⲧ̣ⲉⲩⲃ⸗ⲓϫ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛϫⲣⲟ ⲛ . . .
32 [. . . . . ⲡⲯⲁⲣⲡ] ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲣ ϩⲛ̄ϫⲙ̄ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄
33 [ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲉⲩⲉⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲙ̣̄
34 . . . . . .

des Lehrers.

wirft sie hinaus, den Rahm (eig. Öl) dagegen und das Fett
und die Schönheit der Milch sammelt sie zu sich ein.
So ist es auch mit dem Kommen
jener Ἐνθύμησις, des Gedankens des Lebens, welches
ist der Ruf und [das] Hören, das gekommen ist zu den Elementen (στοιχεῖον)
nämlich am Ende [wird es] aufwachen und aufstehen und einsammeln
zu sich alles Leben und das Licht, das
[in] allen Dingen zurück[geblieben] ist, indem er sie bauen wird auf
seinen Körper; er wird sie zu sich einsammeln . . . . . .
. . . . . in seiner Erscheinung (εἰκών) in alle Ewigkeit . . . . .
. . . . . von jetzt an. — Heil einem
jeden, der an diese fünf Ankünfte glaubt und [sich] festigt
[in der] Erkenntnis [wird gehen zur] Höhe, und wird gerettet . . . .
. . . . . und wird nicht gerechnet . . . .
. . . . . —

XVII.

Das Kapitel von den drei Zeiten (καιρός).

Wiederum sprach der Apostel zu seinen Jüngern: Von
der Zeit an, da das Licht auszog und in der Finsternis gekreuzigt (σταυροῦν)
wurde,
bis zu der Zeit, da die Statue (ἀνδριάς) aufsteigen wird, und
das ganze Licht, das sich mit der Finsternis vermischt hatte, geläutert und [gereinigt] wird, — er sprach: von jener Zeit an . . Zeit
[jener] bis zur Zeit des Endes, das macht aus drei Zeiten
drei Zeiten [von der] Zeit, als der Urmensch
in den Abgrund hinab[stieg], führte er Krieg (πόλεμος) und Kampf
[mit] dem König der Finsternis samt seinen Kräften. Er errang Siege,
indem [seine Söhne] bei ihnen in den Welten zurückblieben (?) . .
. . in den . . . . . bis er sie alle fing
. . . . . [er fesselte] sie alle, damit nicht einer von
[ihnen entginge] seiner Hand. Er errang einen großen Sieg . . . .
. . . . . [Der] Ur[mensch] verbringt Menschengenerationen und
[Geschlechter (γενεά) im Lande] der Finsternis, bis er Macht gewinnt
. . . . . .

[ⲛⲥ]

[ⲛ]ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

1 ⲁⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲑ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ[ⲥⲱⲛ]
2 ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ Τⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ [ⲛⲧ]ⲉ
3 ⲡⲱⲛⲥ ⲁⲩⲛ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲩⲱⲛ ⲁⲩ
4 [ⲛ̄ⲧⲩ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡ]ⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ
5 ⲛ̄ϫⲣⲟⲛ[ⲟ]ⲥ ϫⲛ ⲛⲧⲟⲓⲛⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲓⲧ[ⲛⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ
6 ⲱⲁ ⲧ̈ⲟⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ leer
7 Τⲙ̈ⲁⲥⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̇ⲕⲁⲓⲣ[ⲟ]ⲥ ⲡⲉ ϫⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ [ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲱ]ⲁⲣⲡ̄ [ⲛ̄ⲣⲱ]
8 ⲙ̈ⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲥ[ⲣ]ⲏ̈ⲓ̈ ⲁ ⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲉⲓ ⲙ̈[ⲛ ⲧ]ⲙ̈ⲉⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ [ⲡⲱⲛⲥ]
9 [ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣⲃ ⲛⲛϩ̄]ⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲉ] ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟ[ⲥ ⲁⲩ]ⲥⲉⲥⲟ ⲁⲣⲉ[ⲧⲩ
10 abgerieben . . . . . [ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ]
11 ⲡⲱⲛⲥ [ⲙ̈]ⲛ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲥⲱⲣⲃ̄ . . . . . ⲛⲉ ⲛⲣ̄[. .
12 . . . . . ⲡ̇ⲕ̇[ⲟ]ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲱⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲱⲕ̇ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̈
13 . . . . . ⲁⲩⲁⲡⲏ̄ ⲁⲡⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ
14 . . . . . ⲡ̇ⲕ̇ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ . . . . . .
15 . . . . . ⲁ ⲡⲙ̈ⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲱⲣ . . [
16 . . . . . ⲉⲧⲥⲙ ⲡ[. . .] . . . . ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲩ . . . . .
17 [ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲣϫ ⲙⲡ]ⲥⲁ̈ⲉ ⲁ̇ⲛ̇ⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩϫⲱⲗϩ̄ . . [. . .
18 ⲁ̇ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲥⲣⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ̇ⲩϩ̄ . . . . . .
19 . . ⲩ̇ ϫⲛ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄
20 ⲧⲉϥⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲏ̄ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ̇ ⲡⲱ[ⲧ]
21 ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲩ ⲁⲩϥⲱⲡ ⲧⲉϥⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲁ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ̇
22 . . . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉ]ⲕⲉ ⲁⲩϫⲱⲣⲁⲫⲉ̇ ⲛ̇ⲛⲱϩⲛ ⲁ ⲛϩⲟⲩϩ̄[ⲉ ϩⲉ]
23 [ⲓ̈]ⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲩϫⲱⲣⲁⲫⲉ̇ ⲛ̄ⲁ̇ⲁⲙ ⲙ̈[ⲛ ⲉⲩϩⲁ]
24 ϩⲛ ⲧⲥⲁⲣϩ̄ ⲱⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ[ⲩⲧⲛ]ⲛⲁⲩ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁⲩⲣ[. . .
25 . . . . ⲉ̇ϥ̇ ⲉⲁⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲏ̄ ⲙⲡ[ⲉⲩⲱⲕ] ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲁⲩ+ ⲧ[ϩⲉⲗ]
26 ⲡⲓⲥ ⲛⲁ̇ⲁⲙ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡϫ[ⲓⲥⲉ] leer
27 Χⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ [ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄] ⲧ̇ⲉϥⲥⲓⲕ[ⲱⲛ
28 [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ] ⲱⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ [ⲡⲁⲛⲁ̇]ⲣⲉ̇ⲓⲁⲥ ⲛⲁ[ⲉⲓ]
29 ⲁ̇ⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̇ⲧϩⲁⲏ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲁⲡⲏ̄ ⲁⲡⲙ̈[ⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓ]ⲣⲟⲥ
30 Τ[ⲟⲧⲉ] ⲁ ⲙ̈ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲱⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟ̇[ⲗⲟⲥ . . . . . .]
31 . . . . . .
32 ⲙ̈ⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓ̇ⲛ̇[ⲉ . . . . . .
33 . . . . . [ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟ]
34 ⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ . . . . . [. . . . . .

15 ⲥ̇ⲱⲣ ganz unsicher.

[Die] Kephalaia

er erfüllte den Willen der Größe, der ihm [befohlen] worden
war. Dann wurde der Lebendige Geist, der Vater des
Lebens entsandt: er holte den Urmenschen aus dem Kampf herauf. Er
[führte ihn hinauf zum] Lande des Lichtes. Dies ist die erste
Zeit (χρόνος): Vom Hinuntergehen des Urmenschen
bis zu seinem Heraufkommen. —
Die zweite Zeit (καιρός) ist von dem Zeitpunkt an, [wo der] Urmensch
heraufkam: da kam der Lebendige Geist [mit der] Mutter des [Lebens],
[sie ordneten die] Dinge der Welt, [sie] errichteten
. . . . . [der Vater des]
Lebens und die Mutter der Lebendigen ordneten . . . . . .
. . . . . die Welt bis zu der Stunde, da sie herausgingen aus
. . . . . er wurde zur zweiten Zeit gerechnet
. . . . . die Welt . . . . . .
. . . . . der Dritte Gesandte verteilte (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . der im . . . . . lebendigen; er hat . . . . . .
[er schied ab die] Schönheit von allen Mächten und schöpfte [sie hinauf]
zur Höhe, er fegte den Bodensatz in den Abgrund und er . . . . . .
. . . Von der Stunde nun, da der Gesandte seine Erscheinung (εἰκών)
zeigte, das Licht ausläuterte, lief die Sünde
hinauf gegen (?) ihn, und er verhüllte seine Erscheinung (εἰκών), die Sünde
wurde
. . . . aus [der Finsternis (?)]. Er formte (ζωγραφεῖν), die Bäume, die Aborte
fielen herab und schließlich wurden Adam und [Eva] geformt (ζωγραφεῖν)
im Fleisch, — bis zu der Stunde, da Jesus entsandt wurde und . . .
. . . . . indem er an ihm [seinen] Willen erfüllte; er gab Adam
die Hoffnung (ἐλπίς) und ging hinauf zur Höhe. —
Von der Zeit nun, da der Gesandte seine Erscheinung (εἰκών) [zeigte],
bis zu der Zeit, da die Statue (ἀνδριάς) heraufkommen wird
schließlich, (dieser Zeitraum) wird zur [dritten] Zeit gerechnet.
Darauf fragten die Jünger den Apostel . . . . . .
. . . . . .
miteinander auf der Licht-Erde . . . . . .
. . . . . [Es sprach der]
[Apostel] zu ihnen . . . . . .

[NZ]

ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ

1 . . . . . ⲛ̣ⲁⲩ . . . . . .
2 . ⲉ̣ⲥⲕⲉ ⲍ̣ⲛ̣ ⲡⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟ̣ⲥ ⲉ̣[ⲧⲁ ⲡ]ⲱⲁⲣⲡ [ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉ(ⲉ)ⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟ]
3 ⲥ̣ⲙⲟ ⲙ̣ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲧⲥⲛⲱ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏⲡⲥ̀ [ⲛ̄ⲥ]ⲁ̣ⲡ [ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲟ]
4 ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ leer ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲙ̣ⲁⲫ̣ⲏ̣ⲧ[ⲏ]ⲉ̣ ⲁⲣ̣[ⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡ]
5 ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉ̣ⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ[ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲕ̣ⲉ̣
6 ⲕⲉ ⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏ̣[ⲣ] ⲡ̣ⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲱ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙ̣[ⲟⲥ ⲉ(ⲉ)ⲩ ⲉⲩ]
7 [ⲧ]ⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ̄ [ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ] ⲉⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲝ̣[ⲉ . . . . .
8 . . . . . ⲩⲥⲁⲃⲉⲕ ⲉⲱ̣[ⲁ]ⲛⲧ[ⲉⲧⲛ . . . . . .
9 . ⲉⲛ . . . . . ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ . . . [ⲧⲉ]ⲧⲛⲥⲩⲙⲃⲟⲩⲗⲉⲩⲉ̣ . . [. . . . . .
10 . . ⲉ̣ . . . ⲧ̣ⲉⲧⲛ̣ⲁⲭⲟⲟ[ⲥ] ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̣ⲭⲟ[ⲩⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲡ ⲟⲩ]
11 [ⲛⲁ]ⲃ [ⲡⲉ ⲁ]ⲛ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̣ⲁⲥ̣ [. . . . . .
12 ⲁ̣ⲣ̣ⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙ̣[ⲁ]ⲃ̣ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥ̣ⲁⲡ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲟ̣[ⲩⲉ . . . . . .
13 . . . . ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲃⲗⲉ ⲛⲛⲱϩⲛ [. . . . . .
14 . . . . . ⲛ̣ⲣ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲁ̣ⲧⲁⲡⲟ̣ [. . . . . .
15 . . . . . ⲕⲁⲍ ⲁ̣ⲡⲭ̣ⲓⲥⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ . . . . . [. . . . . .
16 . . . ⲡⲙ̣ⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ϫⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉ[ⲧⲁ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩ]
17 [ⲧ]ⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲧⲉϥⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲡ[ⲁ]ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ̣ ⲉⲓ ⲁ
18 ⲍ̣ⲣ̣ⲏ̈ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲃⲱⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲩ ⲥⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲙ̄[ⲙⲉⲩ]
19 ⲟⲩⲛ̣ⲁⲃ̣ ⲡⲉ̣ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲁⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲍⲣ̣ⲛ̣ ⲡⲭⲣ̣ⲟ̣
20 [ⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣ]ⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ TTⲓⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ
21 [ⲉⲧ]ⲁ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ [ⲥⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲟ]
22 [ⲥⲙⲟ]ⲥ̣ [ⲛ̄]ⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲱⲣⲃ ⲩⲃⲁϫⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ
23 [ⲛⲣⲱⲙ]ⲉ leer Oⲩⲛ̣[ⲁ]ⲃ̣ [ⲡ]ⲉ ⲡⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̣ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱ
24 [ⲙⲉ] ⲩⲁⲥⲕ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲱ
25 [ⲛ]ⲍ̀ ⲧⲉϥⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̣ⲍ̣ⲏⲧⲩ ⲱⲁ ⲧⲃⲓⲛⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄
26 [ⲡ]ⲕ̣ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ [ⲡⲁ]ⲛⲁⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ ⲉ̣ⲓ ⲁ̣ⲍ̣ⲣ̣ⲏ̈ [ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ]
27 [ⲥⲱⲟ]ⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲧⲉϥⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲱⲁ
28 [ⲧⲃⲓ]ⲛⲃⲱⲗ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲩ . . . . . .
29 . . . . . .
30 [. . .] . . . . [. . . .] . ⲛ̣ⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ ⲧ̣
31 [ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲙ]ⲟ̣ⲩⲛⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ Nⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲡ
32 [ⲱⲁⲙ]ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲱ . .

---

3 Lies zu Anfang ⲥⲙⲟⲥ. — Viell. am Ende ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥ[ⲩⲙⲃⲟⲩⲗⲉⲩⲉ]. — 22 Lies ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲁⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ.

des Lehrers.

1 . . . . . .
2 lange Dauer in der Zeit (χρόνος), [die der] Ur[mensch verbrachte in der[
3 Welt der Finsternis, sie ist um ein Vielfaches größer als
4 die zwei Zeiten (zusammengenommen). — Es sprachen seine Jünger zu [ihm]:
[Die]
5 erste Zeit, die der Urmensch in der [Welt der] Finsternis verbrachte,
6 um wievielmal ist sie größer als (παρά) die Zeit, die diese Welt wäh-
7 rend ihres Bestehens verbrachte? [Er sprach zu ihnen:] Wenn ihr sagt . . .
8 . . . . . ist klein, wenn ihr . . . . . .
9 . . . . . zu ihm . . . . und ihr ratschlagt (συμβουλεύειν) . . .
10 . . . . . ihr werdet ihm sagen: Sie (sc. Zeit) [20 (?) mal] größer als sie,
11 größer als sie [ist auch] in diesem . . . . . .
12 als sie 30 mal. Gering ist auch dieser andere . . . . . .
13 . . . die Menschen werden empfangen den . . . der Bäume . . . . .
14 . . . . . die Jahre und die Generationen (γενεά) . . . . . .
15 . . . . . Erde nach oben. Dies ist . . . . . [Dies]
16 [ist] die dritte Zeit (χρόνος) welche (reicht) von dem Augenblick, da [der]
17 Gesandte seine Erscheinung (εἰκών) zeigte, bis die Statue (ἀνδριάς) herauf-
kommt
18 aus dem βῶλος: jene Zeit (χρόνος) wiederum
19 ist größer als die mittlere, aber sie reicht nicht heran
20 an die Zeit (χρόνος) [des] Urmenschen. Denn diese mittlere Zeit (καιρός),
21 in der der Vater des Lebens und die Mutter des Lebens [die Welt errichteten]
22 mit ihren Ordnungen, ist geringer als die des Ur-
23 [menschen]. — Groß ist die Zeit (χρόνος) des Urmenschen,
24 sie dauert länger als die Zeit (καιρός), da der Gesandte seine
25 Erscheinung (εἰκών) zeigte, bis zur Auflösung
26 der Welt und bis [die] Statue (ἀνδριάς) [herauf]kommt von der Zeit an,
27 da der Gesandte seine Erscheinung (εἰκών) zeigte, bis
28 zur Auflösung der Welt . . . . . .
29 . . . . . .
30 . . . . . als der Vater des Lebens und die
31 [Mutter des Lebens] die Welt bildeten. Dies sind die
32 . . . . . [drei] Zeiten . . . . . .

13 ⲁⲥⲗⲉ unbekannte Bedeutung.

[ⲚⲎ]

[ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁ]ⲗⲁⲓⲟ[ⲛ]

1 [ⲓⲏ]

2 [ⲓⲏ] [ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄]ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙ[ⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲛ̄]ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲓⲏ

3 ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲟⲩ]ⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ[ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ

4 [Ⲧ]ⲟⲧⲉ ⲡ]ⲁⲭ[ⲉ] ⲡ̣ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲭⲉ ⲁ̣ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲣ †ⲟⲩ

5 [ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟ]ⲥ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲕ̣ⲉⲕ̣ⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ

6 [ⲟⲃ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲱ]ⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕ̣ⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ leer

7 [Ⲧ]ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ̣ ⲡⲁⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄[ⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲡⲉ̣ⲧ̣[ⲁⲩ]

8 [ⲉⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡ]ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̣ⲛⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲙ[ⲛ] ⲛ̣ⲁⲣ̣ⲭ[ⲱ]ⲛ̣ ⲧⲏ̣ⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ̣ⲓ

9 [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ̄] ⲡ̣†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲣ̣[ⲃ]

10 [ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲙ̄] ⲡ̣ⲉⲩⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲧ̣ⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ[ⲩ] ⲡ̣ⲉ [ⲧ]†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲁⲛⲍ ⲁⲩ . [

11 [ ]ⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲃⲁⲣⲃⲥ ⲙⲛ . . . ⲡⲍⲟ ⲛⲛ . . . . . .

12 [ⲧ]ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲥⲉ̣ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲉ̣ . . . . . .

13 [ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲃⲛ̄] ⲧⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍ̣ⲁ̣ ⲡ[ⲉⲩⲱ]ⲛⲉ . . . . . .

14 [. . . . . ⲁ]ⲩⲁⲧⲡⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲍⲉ ⲛⲍⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲃ̣ⲧ̣[. . . . . .]

15 [. . . . . .]ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓ[ⲭⲉⲓⲱⲛ] . . [?

16 [. . . . . .]ⲣⲉ . ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲣⲕ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄[ⲡ†]ⲟⲩ[. .

17 . . . . . ⲛ[ⲟ]ⲩⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲕ̣ⲁⲗⲁⲃ[ⲓⲛ]

18 [ⲛⲧⲍⲉ] ⲉⲧⲁ̣ ⲡⲥⲏⲣ ⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲓⲫ̣ ⲡⲕⲁⲗⲁⲃⲓⲛ̣ ⲕⲁⲧ ⲥⲁ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛ̣[ⲉ]

19 [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ† ⲕ̣ⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲍⲁⲩ ⲭⲛ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ

20 Ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛ̣ⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁ[ⲛⲍ . . . .] . ⲉ̣ . . .

21 ⲡ . . . [ⲁ]ⲩⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲍⲃ̣ⲏⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̣ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ[ⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ]

22 . . [ⲁⲩⲥⲱ]ⲣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ . . [?

23 . . . . . ⲛⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ [. . . . .]ⲛ̣ ⲛⲕⲁⲍ[. . . .

24 . . ⲟ̣ⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲛⲭⲓⲟⲣⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ

25 ⲃⲱⲃⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲉ̣ⲍⲱⲩ̣ [ⲟ]ⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲁ[?

26 . . . . ⲉ̣ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲁⲩⲙⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ [ⲛⲩ]

27 ⲥⲁⲛⲍⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲉⲥⲛⲁⲱⲧ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉ̣[ⲧⲁⲛⲍ]

28 ⲥⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲍⲟ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲙⲏⲱⲉ̣ ⲛⲍ̣ . . . ⲥⲛ̄ ⲥⲛⲟⲓⲭ ⲉⲛ̣[ⲁ]

29 ⲱⲱⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲙⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲍⲓⲏⲧ̣ [ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ]ⲛⲍ̄ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁ̣[ⲗ]

30 ⲁⲩⲁ̣ⲧⲡⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲉⲭⲛⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲱ̣[ⲱⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ [ⲛ̄ⲍⲏ]

31 ⲧⲟⲩ ⲱⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩ̣ⲥⲁⲍⲙⲉ ⲭ . . . . [. . . .]ⲣⲣⲉⲩ . . [. . .

32 ⲛⲁⲍ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ . . . . . [. . . . . .

33 . . . . . ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲁ[ⲃⲁⲗ] . . . [. . . . . .

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17 Anfang: nicht ⲛⲑⲉ. — 22 ⲥⲙ̄ [ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲩ]ⲛ fraglich. — 25 Lies ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ. — 28 ⲟⲩⲁⲍⲓⲏⲧ unsicher.

[Die] Kephalaia

[XVIII.]

[Über die fünf] Kriege (πόλεμος), [welche die] Söhne des Lichts führten wider [die Söhne] der Finsternis.

[Darauf] sprach der Φωστήρ: Die Söhne des Lichts führten fünf [Kriege] mit den Söhnen der Finsternis. Die Söhne des Lichts [bezwangen die] Söhne der Finsternis in ihnen allen. —

[Der erste] Krieg ist der des Urmenschen, des Lebendigen, den [er] [geführt hat mit dem] König des Reiches der Finsternis und allen Archonten, die

[aus] den fünf Welten hervorgekommen waren . . . . . Er stellte [ihnen] nach

[mit] seinem Netz, welches [die] Lebendige Seele ist. Er . . .

. . . . . mit der Falle und . . . Gesicht der . . . . . .

. . . . . seine Jungfrau, das lebendige Feuer . . . . . .

[sie fanden nicht] die Möglichkeit zu entkommen [seinem Netze?] . . . . .

. . . . . er schloß sie ein wie Fische . . . . . .

. . . . . die fünf Gedanken der fünf Elemente (στοιχεῖον) . . .

. . . . . Er schnitt ab und riß aus die Wurzel [der] fünf [Bäume?]

. . . . . Wurzel des schlechten Baumes wie eine Axt

wie (?) der Heiland (σωτήρ) gesagt hat: „Siehe, die Axt ist an die Wurzel des schlechten Baumes gelegt, damit er nicht mehr schlechte Frucht trage von Stund an“.

Der zweite Krieg ist der des Lebendigen Geistes . . . . . .

. . . . . er hat geordnet die Werke und die Welten des Lichts . . . .

. . . . . [er breitete aus] die Archonten und fesselte sie inmitten . .

. . . . . Sterne in . . . . . Erde . . . . .

. . . . in den drei Fahrzeugen. Denn die Archonten

rebellierten und erhoben sich wider den Lebendigen Geist. Sie wollten

. . ., denn sie wußten und merkten (αἰσθάνεσθαι), daß er sie fesseln und

binden würde mit einer gewaltigen Fessel(ung). Aber er, der [Lebendige] Geist,

erschien ihnen mit vielen Gesichten, mit zahlreichen . . . ., mit vielen Händen,

mit großen Hartherzigkeiten. [Er offenbarte sich] ihnen,

er sperrte sie ein mit großer Kunst (τέχνη). Keiner von ihnen vermochte sich

zu retten und . . . . . .

. . . . denn er . . . . . .

. . . . er teilte sie . . . . . .

18 Mt. 3,10. 31 ⲥⲁϩⲙⲉ unbekannte Bedeutung, s. noch 83, 29.

[ⲛⲑ]

[ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲥⲁⲥ

1 . . . . . .

2 . . . . . leer

3 [. . . . .]ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲣⲉⲥⲃ]ⲉⲩ

4 [ⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛ]ⲥ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [. . .]ⲧ

5 [. . . . .]ⲏ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ [. . . . ⲭ]ⲱⲗⲥ̄

6 [. . . . . ⲟ]ⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ̣ [. . . .] . . .

7 [. . . . .] ⲥⲱⲩ ⲛⲉⲓ̣ⲥⲁⲱⲥⲱ̄ . . [. . . .] . ⲛ̄

8 [. . . . . ⲧⲁ]ⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧⲓⲕⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ . . [. . . . . .

9 [. . . . .] . . ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲁⲓⲛⲉ] . . . . . .

10 [. . . . .] . ⲉⲩⲡⲗⲁⲧⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥ[. . . . . .

11 [. . . . . ⲟ]ⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲡ[. . . . . .

12 [. . . . .]ⲩⲃⲓ ⲧⲉⲩⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲣⲙⲙⲁ̣ⲩ ⲙ[. . . . . .

13 [. . . .] . . . ⲕ . ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲩ̄ [. .] . . . .

14 [. . . .] ⲭⲁⲥⲓⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲡⲁⲧⲁⲗⲗⲁ leer

15 [ⲧⲥⲉ ⲧ]ⲉ̣ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧ[ⲁⲣⲭⲟ]ⲛⲧⲓⲕⲏ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲁ̣ⲛ . . . .

16 ⲣ̣ⲙⲙⲁⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲭ . . . ⲁⲩⲥ ⲉⲩⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲉ[. . . . .

17 . . . . . ⲧⲏ . . . . . ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ

18 [. . . . . ⲁⲩ]ⲕⲁ̣ⲑⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩ[ⲃⲟ] ⲙ̣[ⲙⲁⲩ]

19 [ⲧⲙⲁⲥ]ⲩ̣ⲧⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲓ̄ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉ[ⲁⲩ] ⲉ̣ⲉ̣ⲩ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄

20 [ⲛⲃⲉ]ⲝⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲃ̄ⲥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲡ[ⲥⲁ]ⲙⲡⲓ̣ⲧⲛⲉ

21 [ⲡ]ⲥ̣ⲁ̣ⲡ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲩ̄ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱ[ⲛ ⲙⲡ]ⲙ[ⲁⲥ]

22 [ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ̄]ⲡⲣⲉⲥ[ⲃ]ⲉ̣ⲩⲧ[ⲏⲥ] ⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲃⲱⲱ . . . [. . . .] ⲛ . . . . .

23 . . . ⲙ̣ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲛ̄ . . .

24 . . . . ⲃⲉⲝⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧⲓⲕⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲕ . . . . . .

25 . . . ⲧ]ⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲛⲕⲉⲥ̣ⲁ̣ⲡ [ⲁ]ⲩⲥ̣ⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲕ̣ⲱⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ . . . . .

26 . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟ̄ ⲛⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲁ[ⲩ]ⲑⲃ̈ⲓⲟ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ

27 . . . . . ⲁⲩⲉ̣ⲓⲣⲉ̣ ⲙⲡ[ⲱ]ⲕ̣ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲛⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲟ̄ [ⲁⲩ]

28 [+ ⲧ]ⲍⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲛⲁⲁ̣[ⲁⲙ . . . . . ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲭⲁ̣ⲓ̈ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ

29 . . . . . ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡ̣[ⲥⲁ]ⲭⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱ

30 [ⲛⲍ . . . . ⲉ]ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ . . . . .

31 . . . . . ⲛ̣ⲁⲟ̄ ⲛⲁ . . . . ⲁⲥ ⲡⲍ . . ⲉⲩ . . . . . .

32 . . . . . ⲛⲩⲕⲁ . . . ⲁⲭⲙ̄ ⲡ . . . . . .

33 . . . . . ⲙⲛ ⲛ . . . . . .

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3 Lies ⲡⲁⲡⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ. — 9 Lies ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ st. ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟ — 20 ⲃⲉⲝⲉⲩⲉ ganz unsicher.

[des] Lehrers.

1 . . . . . .
2 . . . . . .
3 [Der dritte Krieg] ist der des Dritten Gesandten,
4 [der] seine Erscheinung (εἰκών) [gezeigt hat] . . . . . .
5 . . . . . der untere; [der] geschöpft [hat]
6 . . . . . das ganze Licht und der Besitz (χρῆμα) . . . . . .
7 . . . . . welche bedrücken . . . . . .
8 . . . . . [die] ganze Archontenschaft . . . . . .
9 . . . . . [das] Rühmen des [Lichtes?] . . . . . .
10 . . . . . indem er ihn (? sich?) verbreitert (πλατύνειν) . . . .
11 . . . . . ein Mann kommt, der mächtig ist . . . . . .
12 . . . . . nimmt seinen Reichtum fort . . . . . .
13 . . . . . Silber . . . . . .
14 [sein] Hochmut und seine Üppigkeit (σπαταλεία). —
15 [So] gleicht auch die Archontenschaft . . . . . .
16 alle Reich[tümer] . . . . . indem sie wandeln . . .
17 . . . . . Licht
18 . . . . . [er] reinigte (καθαρίζειν) und läuterte [ihn]
19 [Der] vierte Krieg ist der, den Jesus der Ruhmreiche führte mit
20 allen Rebellen, die rebelliert hatten oben und unten.
21 Als das Licht von ihnen (weg) ausgeläutert worden war durch die Erscheinung (εἰκών) des
22 [Dritten] Gesandten, da wurden ihre Fesseln entblößt (?) . . . . . .
23 . . . den Ruhmreichen im vierten Kriege; er kam und führte . . .
24 Rebellion (?) der ganzen Archontenschaft; er schlug . . . . . .
25 die ganze . . . noch einmal; er fertigte den ganzen Bau und er . . .
26 . . . . . einen großen Kampf; er bezwang in ihr
27 . . . . . er vollzog den Willen der Größe; [er]
28 [gab] Adam die Hoffnung . . . . . in sein Lichtschiff
29 . . . . . welches der Gedanke des Lebens
30 ist . . . . . welches Ruf und Hören sind.
31 . . . . . groß . . . . . .
32 . . . . . und er legt . . auf den . . . . .
33 . . . . . und die . . . . . .

[Σ̄]

[N̄]κεφαλ[αιον]

1 . . . . . .
2 . . . . . .] . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲧ . [. . . . . .
3 . . . . . .]ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲥ ⲛⲩ̄ⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲣ[ⲁ . . . . . .
4 ⲱⲁ[ⲁⲛⲏⲥ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩ+ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣ[ⲟ . . . . . .
5 . . . . . ⲛⲛⲁϭ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟ[ⲥ . . . . . .
6 . . . . . ⲙⲛ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕ[ⲉ . . . . . .
7 . . . . . ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲡ[. . . . . .
8 . . . . . .]ⲛⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏ[ⲥⲉ . . . . . .
9 . . . . . ⲉⲕ]ⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁ[. . . . . .
10 . . . . . ⲟⲩ]ⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ ⲛⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ . . . . . .
11 . . . . . .]ϩⲉ ⲁⲡⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲙⲡ|+ⲟⲩ ⲛ[. . . . . .
12 . . . . .]ϫ| ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲁ̣ⲧⲟⲩⲱ . . . [. . . . . .

13 $\overline{|\theta}$

14 [$\overline{|\theta}$] ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧ+ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃ|ⲛ[ⲣ]ⲃ̣[ⲁⲗ] $\overline{|\theta}$
15 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϫⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ [ⲉⲩ ⲛⲉ]

16 [Ⲧⲁⲗ|ⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡ]ⲁ̣ϫⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲧ ϫⲉ +ⲉ ⲛ[ⲃ|ⲛⲣⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉⲧ]
17 [ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲉⲁ] ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̣[ⲥⲏ]ⲧ̣ⲟⲩ ⲛ̣[ⲧⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣ]
18 [ϫⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄] ⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ leer
19 [Ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲃ|]ⲛ+ⲟⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲃ|ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲥⲙⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁ[ⲡ]ⲱⲁ̣ⲣ[ⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱ]
20 ⲙ̣ⲉ̣ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣ[ⲱ]ⲙⲉ ⲣⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲃ̣ⲁⲗ ⲥ[ⲙ]
21 [ⲡⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲛ̄]ⲛⲁⲣϫⲱⲛ ⲥ|ⲧⲛ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲥ[. .
22 . . . . . .
23 ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱⲕ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲙ [ⲉ]
24 [ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲥ] ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲛ ⲧⲁⲣϫⲟⲛⲧ|ⲕⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ [ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ]
25 ⲙⲛ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ [ⲛⲧⲙⲛ]ⲧⲛⲁⲃ Ⲧⲉⲓ [ⲧⲉ ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ]
26 ⲛⲃ|ⲛⲣⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ leer
27 Ⲧⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲃ|ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲥⲙⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲁ̣ [ⲉⲧ]ⲁⲛⲥ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲣ[ⲉ]
28 ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̣ ⲡⲱⲛⲥ ⲙⲛ [ⲧ]ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ [ⲡⲱⲛ]ⲥ ⲥⲙ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ . [
29 . . . ⲙⲛ ⲛ̣[ⲕ]ⲟ̣ⲥⲙⲟⲥ . . . . . [ⲕⲟ]
30 ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕ̣[ⲁ]ⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩ[ⲁⲣϫⲱⲛ] ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁ|ⲛⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱⲕ ⲛ̣[ⲁⲧ]
31 +ⲱⲗ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲟ]ⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲥ[. . . . . ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄]
32 ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ̣[ⲩ]ⲁⲙⲕⲩ ⲉ̣ . . . . . ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈[ⲛⲉ . . . . .

27 ⲉⲧⲁⲛ, ⲥ oberhalb der Zeile. — oder ⲛⲟⲩ[ⲃⲁⲙ]

[Die] Kephalaia

1 . . . . . .
2 . . . . . den Tod, der . . . . . .
3 . . . . . mit ihr und er siegt über . . .
4 ewig, und er gibt die Herrschaft . . . . . .
5 . . . . . großer Krieg . . . . . .
6 . . . . . mit den Söhnen der Finsternis . . . . .
7 . . . . . der Gute siegt über den [Schlechten] .
8 . . . . . in alle Ewigkeit . . . . . .
9 . . . . . jeder Electus, der wird . . . . . .
10 . . . . . der in ihm wohnt und ihn besiegt . . . . . .
11 . . . . . nach dem Ebenbilde dieser fünf . . . .
12 . . . . . empfängt den un- . . . . Sieg . . . . . .

13 XIX

14 Über die fünf Entweichungen:
15 welche es sind.

16 [Wiederum] sprach unser Vater: Fünf [Entweichungen gibt]
17 [es], in denen das Licht gerettet worden ist [vor] allen
18 [Archonten und] Mächten der Finsternis.
19 [Die erste] Befreiung und Errettung ist die des Urmenschen;
20 denn als der Urmensch entwich aus [dem Gefängnis]
21 der Archonten durch den Lebendigen Geist, der gekommen war [aus]
22 . . . . . .
23 den Urmenschen, da wurde viel Licht und [viele] Kraft
24 gerettet vor der ganzen Archontenschaft. Sie kamen [herauf]
25 mit dem Urmenschen zu den Aeonen [der] Größe. Dies [ist die erste]
26 Entweichung. —
27 Die zweite Errettung ist die des Lebendigen Geistes; denn als
28 der Vater des Lebens und die Mutter des [Lebens] errichtet hatten . . .
29 . . . und die Welten . . . . . .
30 Welten, die Erden und ihre [Archonten], da wurde viel [un]er-
31 meßliches Licht gerettet vor ihnen . . . . . [des Ur-]
32 menschen, der verschlungen worden war . . . . . Licht . . . .

[ⲍⲁ]

[ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲥ]

1 . . . . . .
2 [. . . ⲯⲁ]ⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ . . . . . .
3 [. . .]ⲁⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ . . . . . .
4 [. . .] . ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ . . . . . .
5 [. . . . . ⲟⲩ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲧ[. . . . . .
6 [. . . . . .] . . . ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ leer
7 [. . . . . ⲧⲙⲁⲥ]ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲡⲙⲁⲥ[ⲯⲁⲙⲧ
8 [ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ . . . . . ⲁⲩ]ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲁ[ⲃⲁⲗ [ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ]
9 [ⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ] . . . . . ⲁⲩ[. . . . . .
10 [. . . . . ⲁ]ⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧⲓⲕⲏ ⲁⲩⲣ[. . . . . .
11 [. . . . . .] . . ⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲙ . . . . . .
12 . . . . . .
13 . . . . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ [. . . . .
14 . . . . . ⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡ . . . . .
15 . . . . . [ⲧⲉⲩ]ⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲣ̄[ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ (?) ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲥ]
16 [ⲯⲁ]ⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ leer
17 [Ⲧⲙ]ⲁⲥⲩⲧⲟⲉ ⲛⲟ[ⲓⲛ]ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲙⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁ|ⲏⲥ [ⲡⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛⲧⲁ]
18 [ⲣⲉⲩ]ⲟⲩ[ⲱ]ⲛ̄ⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ [ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲓ]
19 ⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲁⲥⲣⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲩ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ]
20 ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ • ⲁⲩⲥⲙ|ⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲇⲓⲕ . . . . . .
21 ϫⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲡⲉ|ⲛⲉ . . . . . .
22 [. . . .]ⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲛⲧⲱⲛ̄ⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ . . . . . ⲯⲁⲛ
23 ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲛⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛⲩⲥⲙ|ⲛⲉ
24 [ⲛ]ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲧⲱⲃⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩ†ⲟⲩ[ⲱ] ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ
25 . . . ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲧ†ⲱⲓ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲱⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲁⲩ†
26 [ⲙ̄ⲡⲧ]ⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲧⲟ|ϫⲉ|ⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲕ ⲛ̄
27 [ⲓ]ⲏⲥ ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲃ[ⲱ]ⲕ [ⲁⲥ]ⲣⲏⲓ ⲁⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲙ ⲡ
28 [ⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄]ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ leer Ⲧⲙⲁⲥ†ⲉ ⲛⲟ|ⲛⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ
29 [ⲁⲃⲁ]ⲗ ⲙ̄[ⲛ ⲧ]ⲟ|ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲥⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲉ
30 [ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧ]ⲱⲥⲙ̄[ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄]ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ
31 [. . . . . ⲧ]†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ[ⲕⲁⲥ?] ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ

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23 Lies ⲁ⟨ⲡ⟩ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ.

[des Lehrers.]

1 . . . . . .
2 . . . . . drei Kriege . . . . . .
3 . . . bis zu der Zeit, da er . . . . . .
4 . . . . oberhalb . . . . . .
5 . . . . . sie (pl.) auf die . . . . . .
6 . . . . . Welt. —
7 [Die] zweite [Errettung] ist die des Dritten
8 [Gesandten] . . . . . er zeigte [seine Erscheinung] . . .
9 . . . . . er hat . . . . . .
10 . . . . . die Archontenschaft; er hat . . . . . .
11 . . . . . .
12 . . . . . .
13 . . . . . von ihnen . . . . . .
14 . . . . . So nun hat der . . . . . .
15 . . . . . [sein] Bild (εἰκών), welches [leuchtete (?) in dem]
16 Dritten Gesandten. —
17 [Die] vierte Errettung ist die Jesu [des Glanzes, denn als er]
18 sich gezeigt hatte in der ζώνη, zeigte er [sein] Bild (εἰκών)
19 vor den Firmamenten (στερέωμα); er läuterte aus [das Licht]
20 das oberhalb; er setzte ein den ἀρχιδικ[αστής(?)]
21 . . . aller Kirchen; er nahm an das Ebenbild . . . . . .
22 . . . . ., er machte sich ähnlich den Engeln in den . . . . ., bis
23 er ging und herabkam in das πλάσμα des Fleisches, und errichtete
24 die Erden und alle Fügungen. Er befreite auch . . . . . .
25 . . . das unermeßliche Licht in dem ganzen Gebäude, er gab
26 [den] Ruf und das Hören den Elementen (στοιχεῖον), er bildete
27 Jesus das Kind, und ging hinauf und begab sich zur Ruhe im
28 [Lande des] Lichts. — Die fünfte Entweichung
29 und Errettung, das ist die des Großen Gedankens,
30 [welches ist] der Ruf und das Hören. Denn auch er
31 . . . . . [die] Seele aus dem [Lande?] der Größe

[ⲥⲃ]

[ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ]

1 [. . . . . .
2 [. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲣⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ [. . . .
3 [. . . . . .
4 [. . . . . .
5 [. . . . . ⲡ]ⲓⲧⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ . . . . . .
6 [. . . . . .
7 [. . . . . .
8 [. . . . . .] . . . . . [. . . . . .
9 [. . . . . .] . . . ⲥⲉ ⲉⲩ† . [. . . . . .
10 [. . . . . ⲧⲟ]ⲓⲛⲣⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡ[. . . . . .
11 [. . . . . .] ⲦⲦⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲉ [. . . . . .
12 [. . . . . .] . [ⲁⲩ]ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ ⲁⲩ[. . . . . .
13 [. . . . . .] . . . . ⲉⲩⲕ . . . . . [. . . . . .
14 [. . . . . .] . . . ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ . . . [. . . . . .
15 [. . . . . .] . . . ⲣ̄ⲣ̄ . . . . . [. . . .] . ⲡ . . . . .
16 [. . . . . .] leer ⲦⲦⲙⲁⲥⲩⲧⲁⲩ . . . . . .
17 . . . . . ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ
18 . . . . . leer ⲦⲦⲙⲁⲥ†ⲟⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ . . . [. . . . .
19 . . . . . ⲩ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲩⲥⲁⲣⲃⲩ . . ⲛⲧⲉⲩ
20 ⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲁⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ [ⲛ]ⲥⲁⲉ †† ⲉ̣ ⲛⲛⲁ̣[ⲃ]
21 ⲛ̣ⲃⲁ̣[ⲙ . . . . . ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ̣ . . .
22 ⲃⲟ . . . . . ⲁⲩⲥⲙ̄ⲛⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲛ̣ . . . . . .
23 ⲣⲡ . . . . . ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ . . . . . ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩⲉⲓ ⲥⲓ
24 ⲣⲉⲧ . . . . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣⲃ ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲓ
25 ⲛⲉ . . . . . ⲕ̣ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ . . . . . .
26 . . . . . ⲡ̣ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̣ⲣⲱ[ⲙⲉ]
27 . . . . . ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲃ̣ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⅄ⅈ
28 ⲡ[ⲓ]ⲣⲏⲧⲉ] . . . . ⲁⲥ[ⲉ ⲁⲣ]ⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ . . . . . .
29 ⎫
30 ⎪
31 ⎬ geringe Spuren
32 ⎪
33 ⎭

1 Die linke Hälfte der Seite stark abgerieben.

[Die Kephalaia]

1 . . . . . .
2 . . . . . .
3 . . . . . .
4 . . . . . .
5 . . . . . [der] Lebendige Geist . . . . . .
6 . . . . . .
7 . . . . . .
8 . . . . . .
9 . . . . . .
10 . . . . . [die] Entweichung . . . . . .
11 . . . . . Der Erste . . . . . .
12 . . . . . [er] ging hinauf und . . . . . .
13 . . . . . indem er . . . . . .
14 . . . . . Weisheit . . . . . .
15 . . . . . .
16 . . . . . Der Vierte [aber] . . . . . .
17 . . . . . seine Weisheit
18 . . . . . Der Fünfte aber . . . . . .
19 . . . . . hinein zu ihm, daß er ihn ordne . . . seine
20 Licht-Erscheinung (εἰκών) in der Letzten Statue (ἀνδριάς). Diese fünf großen
21 Kräfte . . . . . sie erschienen und kamen zum Nutzen (?) . .
22 . . . . . Sie befestigten auf . . . . . .
23 . . . . . Urmensch . . . . . als er gekommen war zu
24 . . [Als er herausgekommen war] aus dem Kampf, ordnete er und befestigte
25 er . . . . . Welten . . . . . .
26 . . . . . Der Urmensch
27 . . . . . sein Kommen. Al-
28 so . . . . . sie stehen da mit . . . . . .
29
30 }
31 } geringe Spuren
32 }
33 }

[ⲓⲅ]

[ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲣ]

[. . .]ⲕ̣ⲱ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ [ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲩⲃⲁⲃⲏ ⲁⲃ̣ⲁⲗ ⲙ[. . . . . .]
[.] . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲣⲉ[ⲥ]ⲃⲉⲩ[ⲧ]ⲏⲥ̣ leer ⲧⲧⲥⲁϫⲛ̣[ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ]
[ⲡ]ⲱⲛϩ̣ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡ[ⲧ]ⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲭⲁⲣ̄[. . .
[. . .]ⲡⲉ . . ⲣⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅ|ϩⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲁ̣ⲡ . . [. . . .
[ⲛⲛ̄]ⲁ̣ⲡⲟⲥ̣ⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϩ̣ⲙ̣ ⲡ|ⲕⲁ|ⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲉ ⲉⲩ[. . .
. ⲱⲛϩ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁ[ⲛ]ⲁⲣⲉ[|ⲁⲥ ⲛ]ⲭⲣ̄ ⲡⲧⲁϫⲟ ⲛⲙ̄†ϒⲭ[ⲁⲩⲉ]
. . . . . [ⲭ]ⲁⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ̣ [. . .]ⲧ̣ⲱⲥ leer
. . . . . ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ[. . .] . . . ⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡϫ . [. . . . .]
ⲛ̄ . . . . ⲉⲥⲁⲛϩ̣ ⲛ̣̄ . . [. . . . .]ϩ̣ ⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ[. . . . . .]
ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣ̣[ⲉⲧϥ . . . . . .] . . . . . .
ϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲱ[ⲕ . . . . . .]ϫ̣ⲁϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲃ . . . ⲁⲩ[. . . . .]
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁϫ . [. . . . . .]ⲃⲣⲟ ⲁ†ϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .]ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ̣ [. . . . .]
[. . . . . ⲁ]ⲩ̣ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃ̣[ⲁⲗ ⲙ]ⲙⲁϥ ⲛⲧⲉϩⲟⲩ|ⲧⲉ ⲉ[ⲩⲁⲛ]ⲁⲩϩⲟⲩ
ⲁ̣ⲛ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲉ[ⲃⲱ]ⲕ̣ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲱⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲁⲧϩ[ⲁⲙ] leer
Ⲛⲉ̈ⲓⲉⲧⲏ̣ ⲛ̣ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ [ⲉⲧ(ⲛ)ⲁ]ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ|ⲙ̣ⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣ|ⲟⲛ̣ . . . . .
ⲁ . . . ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[. . . .] ϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲱⲁ ⲙ . . . . . .
ⲙⲙⲁⲥ . . . .

$\overline{k}$

$\overline{k}$ ⲡⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁ|ⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ $\overline{k}$
ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲛⲛ̈ⲁⲧⲉ

[ⲧⲧⲁ]ⲗ̣|ⲓ̣ⲛ̣ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲛⲉⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ϫⲉ̣ ⲡ̣[ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ]
[ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧ]ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲟ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ†ⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩ†ⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ̣ ⲡ̣|ⲱⲧ̣
[ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧ]ⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲟ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲛϩⲱⲃ leer ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲑⲏ
[ⲧ]ⲏⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ • ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ|ⲓ̈ⲉ
ⲧ̣ⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲁⲡⲣⲁ ⲛ̄†[ⲙ]ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲟ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ̣ⲩ ⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲥⲟⲩ†ⲣⲉⲛ ⲁ
[ⲣ]ⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲛⲧ[ⲉ ⲧⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲟ leer ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ
[ⲁ]ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ [ϫⲉ] ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲧⲱⲕ
[ⲁ]ⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲡⲉ[ⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ]ⲧ̣ⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲟ
ⲧⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛ[ⲁⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛ]ⲁⲟ ⲛⲕⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ ⲉⲧⲩⲟⲩⲏⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ
[ⲛ]ϩⲏⲧⲩ [. . . .] . . ⲧ̣ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲁⲩⲗⲉ ϩⲁ ⲛⲛⲟⲩ
[ⲧ]ⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̣̄[ⲣ]ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ
[. . . . . .]ⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ ⲁϫⲱⲩ leer
[ⲧⲧⲁⲗ]ⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲱⲁⲩⲙ]ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲡⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ϫⲉ
[ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲟ ⲡ]ⲉ̣ ⲡϫⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ

[des Lehrers.]

. . . wegen des Lichts, das er geraubt (?) hatte . . . . . .
. . . . des Gesandten. — Der Gedanke [des]
Lebens, welches der Ruf und das Hören ist, wird machen . . . . .
. . . . . besiegelt (σφραγίζειν) das Gebot (ἐντολή) und den . . . . . .
aller Apostel; in dieser letzten Zeit (καιρός), indem sie . . .
. . Leben der Statue (ἀνδριάς) und vollzieht die Verurteilung der Seelen
. . . . . [er wird] senden . . . . . —
. . . . . Mächte . . . . . .
. . . . . indem sie lebt . . . . . . den Willen . . . . .
Vaters, des Stehens . . . . . .
mächtig, sie gingen . . . . . Feind und haben . . . . .
alle über (?) . . . . . besiegte dieses Land (χώρα), welches . . .
. . . . . in ihm ewig . . . . . .
. . . . . sie sind im Anfang aus ihm herausgekommen und sie werden
auch wieder zum Licht zurückkehren und schließlich zu ihm hinaufsteigen. —
Heil einem jeden, der diese Mysterien kennt . . . . . .
. . . . . hinauf . . . . . von Anfang bis . . . . . .
sie (fem.) . . . .

XX.

Das Kapitel vom Namen der Väter.

Wiederum sprach der Φωστήρ zu seinen Jüngern: Der [Vater]
[der] Größe, der genannt wird, weshalb nennt man ihn ‚Vater
der Größe'? — Es sprachen seine Jünger
zu ihm: Wir bitten dich, o Herr, daß du uns auf-
klärst über diese Größe, was sie ist, daß sie ‚Vater
der Größe' genannt wird. — Darauf sprach er
[zu] seinen Jüngern: Der Vater, das ist das erste Stehen,
der ‚Vater der Größe' [genannt wird].
Seine Größe [ist die] große Erde, in welcher er wohnt und
sich befindet . . . . . die οὐσία des Lichts, die alle reichen Götter
trägt und die Engel und die Wohnungen
. . . . . befestigt auf ihr. —
[Wiederum] nennt [man] den Dritten Gesandten
[‚Vater'. Seine Größe] ist das Lichtschiff des lebendigen Feuers,

[ⲥ̅ⲁ̅]

[ⲛ̅ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ]

1 [ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲍ ⲛ̅ⲍⲏⲧⲩ] ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ:

2 [Ⲧⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲓ]ⲏⲥ ⲡⲡⲣⲫⲉ ⲯⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ [ⲁⲣ]ⲁⲩ ⲍⲉ ⲓⲱⲧ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ

3 ⲧⲉⲩ[ⲙⲛⲧⲛ]ⲁⲑ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ ⲛ̅ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲩⲓⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲍ

4 [ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ̅ⲩ̅] leer

5 [Ⲱⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ] ⲁⲛ ⲁⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲁ[ⲩ] ⲍⲉ ⲓⲱⲧ ⲧⲉ[ⲩ]ⲙⲛ[ⲧⲛⲁⲑ]

6 [. . . . .] . ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̅[. . .] . . ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃ[ⲉ] ⲛⲉⲧ[ⲟⲩ]

7 [ⲛⲍ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁ]ⲛⲧ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲩ [. . . .] . ⲩⲉ . . [. . . . .

8 [. . . . . .] leer Ⲧⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ [ⲁⲛ ⲡ]ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲟⲩ[ⲁⲓⲛⲉ] ⲯⲁⲩ

9 [ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁ]ⲩ ⲍⲉ ⲓⲱⲧ ⲧⲩⲙⲛ̣[ⲧⲛⲁⲑ] ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ

10 [ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ] ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲍ̣[ⲏ] ⲩⲟⲩⲏⲍ [ⲩⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ ⲛⲍⲏ]ⲧ̣ⲥ̀ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲥ ⲥⲱⲥ

11 [. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ [. . . . . .] . ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉⲉ

12 [. . . . . ⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓⲛ̣ⲉ leer

13 ⲕ̅ⲁ̅

14 [ⲕ̅ⲁ̅] [ⲉ]ⲧ̣ⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛ̣[ⲁⲑ] ⲕ̅ⲁ̅

15 ⲍⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲩ ⲛ[ⲉⲩ]

16 ⲛ̅ⲍⲉ

17 Ⲧⲡⲁ̣ⲗⲓⲛ̣ [ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ] ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ[ⲉⲩⲙ]ⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ

18 [ⲁⲡⲓⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉ]†ⲛ̣ⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲍⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲡⲉ

19 . . . . . ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩⲱ

20 ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲯⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲑ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲩⲱ̣

21 [ⲟⲡ ⲉⲩ]ⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲩ† ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̣ⲉ

22 [. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙ]ⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲱⲓ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙⲉⲧⲣⲟⲛ ⲁⲣⲁ[ⲩ

23 . . . . . ⲡ̣ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲡⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ [ⲡⲙⲁⲕ]

24 [ⲙⲉⲕ] . . . ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̣[ⲧⲁⲩ]

25 ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲛ †ⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲁⲑ ⲙⲙⲉⲗ[ⲟⲥ]

26 ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲯⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ . . . ⲟⲩⲛ †ⲉ ⲛⲛⲁ[ⲑ]

27 ⲛⲍⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲃⲉⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁ̣[ⲗ .] . . †ⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲁⲑ[

28 . . . . . ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈[ⲛⲉ]

29 Ⲧⲯⲁⲣⲡ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲧⲣⲟⲩ[ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ] . . . . . ⲁ̣ⲩⲃⲉⲃ̣ⲉ

30 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲩⲟⲩⲱⲧ[ⲥ] . . . . [. . . . . .]ⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣ[ⲟⲩ]

31 Ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥ†ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲛⲧ̣ⲉ ⲧ . [. . . . . .] . . . . . .

32 ⲛⲩⲯⲁⲯⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲑ [wohl leer]

33 Ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲯⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ̄ⲍ ⲛⲧⲉ . . [. . . . . .

34 . ⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ . . . . . [

35 Ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲩⲧⲟⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̣ⲧⲉⲛ . . . . [. . . . . .

---

21 Lies ⲡⲩ†ⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ. — 22 ⲱⲓ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙⲉⲧⲣⲟⲛ wie im Boh.

[Die Kephalaia]

in welchem [er wohnt] und sich befindet. —
[Ferner:] Jesus der Glanz wird ebenfalls ‚Vater' genannt.
Seine Größe ist das Schiff der lebendigen Wasser, in welchem
er wohnt [und sich befindet].
[Man nennt] auch die Säule der Herrlichkeit ‚Vater'. Ihre Größe
. . . . . die fünf Götter der heiligen . . . ., die [wohnen]
[und sich befinden] in ihnen, sie . . . . . .
. . . . . .] Ferner: Auch [der] Licht-Noûς
wird ‚Vater' [genannt]. Seine Größe ist die [heilige] Kirche.
Denn er wohnt [und befindet sich] in ihr. Auch sie
. . . . . in ihm . . . . . einzig. Sie (pl.)
. . . . . Licht.

XXI.

Über den Vater der Größe, wie er befestigt und geordnet ist.

Wiederum [sprach] der Apostel zu seinen Jüngern: Höret
[diese Rede], die ich euch sagen werde: Sehr groß ist
. . . . . das Licht vor denen, die ihn hören und er-
kennen, betreffs des ersten Vaters der Größe: so wie er ist
und sich befindet in seinen fünf Licht-Gliedern, welche sind
. . . . . für die es kein Maß (μέτρον) gibt
. . . . . der Noûς, das Denken, die Einsicht, der Gedanke und [die Über-]
[legung] . . . seine 12 Licht-Glieder, welches sind
seine zwölf Weisheiten. Fünf große Licht-Glieder
befinden sich an jedem einzelnen . . . fünf große
Quellen des Lobpreises sprudeln hervor . . . . fünf große
. . . . . Licht.
Die erste ist sein Licht, welches leuchtet . . . . . es sprudelte
hervor aus ihm und schöpfte . . . . . alle Aeonen.
Die zweite ist der Wohlgeruch der . . . . . .
und verbreitet sich (?) zu allen Aeonen der Größe. —
Die dritte ist seine lebendige Stimme . . . . . .
. . . alle seine Aeonen . . . . . .
Die vierte ist seine . . . -heit . . . . . .

22 „Maß" koptisch und griechisch (μέτρον).

Ⲥ̅[ⲉ]

ⲙ̅ⲡⲥⲁⲥ

1 [. . ⲃⲉ]ⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ . . . [. . . ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̅ . . . . .
2 [ⲧⲙⲁⲥ]ϯⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ . . . . [. . . .]ⲉⲁⲩ ⲉⲧ . . . . [ⲉ]
3 ⲧ[ⲁⲥⲟ]ⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̅ⲥⲏ[ⲩ] ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉ[ⲧⲙⲏ]ⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ[
4 ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲩⲍⲱⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̇ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ . . . . . .
5 ⲥⲫⲣ̣[ⲁ]ⲣ̣ⲓⲍⲉ ⲛ̅ⲍⲏⲧⲟ̣[ⲩ] . . . . . ⲣⲥⲫⲣⲁⲣⲓ[ⲍⲉ . . .
6 ⲉⲩⲧ̣ⲛⲛⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . . ⲍⲉ . . . . . ⲛⲉ ⲍⲙ̅ . . . . . .
7 ⲛⲉ . . . ⲥⲉⲭⲓⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ ⲍⲱⲩ . . . . . ϯⲛⲟⲩ . . . . . [ⲡⲉⲩ]
8 ⲍⲣⲁ[ⲩ] ⲍⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲛⲧ . . ⲣ . . . . . ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ . [. . . . .] . .
9 ⲥⲉⲩ̣ⲱⲩ ⲛ̅ⲃ̅ⲣ̅ⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥⲃⲉⲃⲉ ⲁ̣ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ[. . . . .] . .
10 ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ] ⲉ̣ⲱⲁⲩⲁ . . . . ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲣ̅ⲣⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲟ ⲍⲛ̅ ⲧ . [. . . . . .
11 ⲍⲱⲩ̣ ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲥⲱⲥ . . . . . ⲍ̣ⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲅⲣⲁⲫ[ⲓⲁ . . . . . .
12 ⲛ̅ⲧ̣ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲏⲥ̣ⲓ̣ⲥ . . . . . ⲛⲥⲉⲱⲛⲍ ⲛ[. . . . . .
13 [.] . ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏ[ⲍ]ⲉ̣ leer

14 ⲕ̣ⲃ̣

15 . . . . . .
16 [ⲕⲃ] . . . ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲕ̣ⲃ̣

17 [. . . . .] . . . . . ⲍⲙ̅ ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲕⲁⲍ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲟ
18 [. . . .] . . ⲛⲉ[. ⲛ̅ⲧ]ⲍⲉ ⲉϯⲛⲁⲟⲩⲛⲍ̅ ⲛⲏⲧⲛⲉ . . . . [
19 }
20 } bis auf ganz geringe Spuren zerstört
21 . . . . . .
22 [ ] . . . . . ⲧⲩ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ leer
23 [ ] . . . . [ⲡⲣⲟ]ⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛ . . . . ⲩ ⲉⲧⲣ̣ . . . .
24 stark abgerieben
25 . . . . . ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̅
26 . . . . . .
27 [ⲁⲃ]ⲁⲗ . . . . . ⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁ . . .
28 . . ⲁⲍⲱ . . . . . ⲍⲓⲭⲱⲩ leer
29 . . . . . ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲙ̅ⲛ
30 . . . . . .
31 [. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲙ̅ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ
32 }
33 } geringe Spuren

---

6 Lies viell. ⲉⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ. — 18 Lies ⲉϯⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̅.

des Lehrers.

1 aus ihm herausgesprudelt . . . . . .
2 Die fünfte ist seine große . . ., die herrliche, die . . . . . ., die
3 sich offenbart hat zu jeder Zeit, die [dauert] alle . . . . . .,
4 die in ihnen gestaltet (ζωγραφεῖν) worden ist . . . . . .
5 gesiegelt (σφραγίζειν) in ihnen . . . . . siegeln (σφραγίζειν). .
6 indem sie entsenden (?) . . . . . in . . . . . .
7 . . . . . sie empfangen Lebensunterhalt . . . . . jetzt . . . . [seine]
8 lebendige Stimme . . . . . Freude . . . . .
9 ihn neu aufstellen, die aus ihr heraussprudelt . . . . . .
10 . . . . . und sie werden reich in der . . . . . .
11 die schöne . . . . . Malerei (εἰκονογραφία) . . . . . .
12 die Ausschmückung (κόσμησις) . . . . . und sie leben . . . . . .
13 . . ewig.

14 XXII.

. . . . . .

. . . . . Land des Lichts.

17 . . . . . in dem großen Lande der Größe
18 . . . . . wie ich euch offenbaren werde . . . .
19 }
20 } zerstört
21
22 . . . . . oberhalb. —
23 . . . . . Gesicht (πρόσωπον) ist . . . . .
24 . . . . . .
25 . . . . . lebendig
26 }
27 } abgerieben
28 . . . . . auf ihm. —
29 . . . . . Licht und (?)
31 . . . . . Gesicht (πρόσωπον) . .
32 }
33 } abgerieben

ⲒⲤ

ⲛ̄ⲕⲉ[ϥⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ]

. . . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁϥ . [. . . . . ⲡ]ⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ[. . .
ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧ[. .] ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲟ[ⲩ] . . . . . ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲙⲁⲙ[ⲉ . .
ⲃⲁⲁⲣ[. .] . . . ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ . . . . . [ⲁⲙ]ⲃⲣⲟⲥ[ⲓ]ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ [. .] ⲥⲉ
ⲧⲉ . . . . . ⲙⲟⲩⲭⲧ . . . . ⲩ . . . . ⲉⲩϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲕ̄ⲱ
ⲛ̄ⲱ . . . . ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ[ⲥ . . . . . ⲥⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ [ⲉ]ϣⲁ
ⲣⲉ ⲧ[. .] . . . ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ . . . . ⲍⲛ ⲛⲁⲣⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ
. . . [. .] . . ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩϭ . . . ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲛⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ
. . [. . . . ⲉ]ⲧⲁϣⲟⲟⲡ . . . . ⲛ . . ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲧⲟⲩ
[. . . .ⲱ]ⲛⲍ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ ⲛ̄
[ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲉ[ⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲟⲩ]ⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ . . . ⲕⲟⲩ . ⲛⲍⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲱⲏⲛ
ⲛ . [. . . .]ⲃⲉⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . . . ⲏ ⲡⲛⲁϭ ⲡⲉ
ⲟⲩ . . [. . . .] ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲕ̄ . . . . . ⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . .
ⲛⲛ . [. . . .]ϭⲱⲗ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ . . . . leer
Ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ[ⲉ . . . .] . . ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲉ . . . . . .
. . . . . .
ⲦⲦⲙⲁⲥ . . . . . ⲛⲁϭ ⲛ[ⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲡⲟⲩ . . . . ⲁⲓ
. . . . . [ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ]ⲧⲛⲁϭ ⲟⲩⲏⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ [ⲛ]ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ [. . . .]
[. . . . .] . . . . . ⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧ . . . . . [. . .
fast ganz zerstört
. . . . . ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲙⲡ . . . ⲛⲛ . . . . ⲣ . . . . . .
. . . . . ⲛⲛⲁⲱ[ⲣⲟⲛ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲓ̈ⲱⲧ . . . . . [. . . .
. . . . . ⲧ ⲡⲉ . . . . ⲙ̄ . . ϭ . . . . . [. . . . . .
. . . . . ⲁ ⲥⲛ ⲧ . . . . . [
Ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲧⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥ[ⲟⲩⲱⲛ] . . . . . [. . . . .
. . . . . [. . . . . .

[ⲕⲣ̄]

ⲕⲣ̄ . . . . . [ⲕⲣ̄]
ⲉⲧⲥ . . . . . .

ⲦⲦ[ⲁⲗⲓ]ⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲉ . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ . . ⲛ[. . . . . .
[ⲧ]ⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲣ[ⲱⲧⲛⲉ . . . . . .
. . . ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ[. . . . . .

[Die Kephalaia]

. . . . . heraus; er hat . . . . . Gesicht (πρόσωπον) des . . .
In der . . . . . nun sind fünf . . . . . des Lobpreises . . .
. . . . . in dem . . . . lebendige Ambrosia . . . .
fünf . . . . . vermischen sich . . . . . ., indem sie zu einem Bilde (εἰκών) werden
. . . . . die lebendige Luft (ἀήρ) . . . . der lebendige . . . . aber,
. . . . . jene . . . . . alle Kämpfe der Größe
. . . . und eine schöne . . . an die Glieder ihres (pl.) Körpers
. . . . (in welcher) er ist . . . . . das Land des Lichts; ihre
. . . . leben. So wie alle reichen Götter und die
[Engel], die berufen worden und aus dem Vater hervorgekommen sind, so auch
alle Berge, ..., Quellen und Bäume
. . . . . hervorgesprudelt . . . . . der große ist
ein . . . . . Alles, das . . . . . .
. . . . . weder Wasser noch . . . —
Diese sind . . . . . .
. . . . . .
Der [x-]te . . . . [ist] das große Licht, die lebendige Luft (ἀήρ) . . . .
[. . . . . in welchem die Aeonen der] Größe wohnen und befestigt sind . . . . . ,

fast ganz zerstört

. . . . . und die . . . . . .
. . . . . die Geschenke (? δῶρον ?) des großen Vaters . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . In der . . . . . .
Heil dem, der weiß (?) . . . . . .
. . . . . —

XXIII (Überschrift unlesbar)

. . . . . .
. . . . . .

[Wiederum] geschah es . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . οὐσία in . . . . . .
wie ich euch gesagt habe . . . . . .
. . . ist das Land des [Lichtes ?] . . . . . .

[ⲥ]ⲍ

[ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ]

1 . . . . . ⲉ ⲉⲩ . . . . . .
2 . . . . . ⲁⲁⲧ ⲉ . . . ⲙ̄ⲛ . . . . . .
3 ⲧⲉⲩⲍⲁⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ leer ⲧⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ . . . .
4 ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ[ⲟⲩ]ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲛ]ⲩ[ⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲥ]
5 ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲍⲉ . [. . . . . ⲱ]ⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ . . [. . .] . .
6 ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛ . . . . . ⲉⲛⲧⲉ ⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃ[ⲁ]ⲗ ⲛ
7 . . . ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲱⲁⲁⲛ[ⲏⲍⲉ . . . . . .] ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡ[. . . . . .
8 ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲙⲡ . . . . . ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ . . ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ . [. . . .
9 ⲧⲍⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲙⲛⲧⲱ]ⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲍⲁⲏ . . [. . .] . .
10 ⲕⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ[ⲙⲉⲩ] leer
11 ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲍ . [. . . . .] . . . . ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙⲡⲓ[ⲟⲩ?] . . . . .
12 . . . . . [ⲫⲩⲥ]ⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ . . [
13 ⲍ . . . . . ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ . . . . . [ⲛⲁ]
14 ⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ . . . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . . . .
15 ⲍⲛ̄ . . [. . . . . .
16 ⲛ̄[ⲛⲟⲩ]ⲉⲣⲏⲩ leer Ⲥⲁⲡⲣⲁ ⲛⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ . . . .
17 [. . .]ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲩ
18 [ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲭ]ⲉ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲍⲉ Ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲁⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲕⲉⲃⲁⲙ
19 [ⲃⲱⲗ]ⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲥⲁⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲥⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲍⲁ ⲧⲟⲩ . . . ⲣⲏ .
20 [ⲉⲩⲱ]ⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛⲍⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲛⲧⲁ[ⲩ] ⲉ
21 [ⲧⲁⲩ]ⲕ̄ⲧ̄ⲩ̄ ⲁⲩⲭⲉⲥⲧ̄ⲩ̄ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ . . .
22 [. . .]ⲉⲩⲁⲉⲓ ⲛⲩⲣ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ leer
23 [ⲁ ⲡⲱⲁ]ⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲕⲱⲗⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ . .
24 . . . ⲩ ⲍⲁⲣⲓⲍⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲏⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲗⲩ ⲙ̄
25 [ⲙⲁ]ⲩ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙⲟⲩⲭⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ
26 [ⲡ]ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ [ⲙ]ⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲱⲓ ⲁ†ⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲃⲁⲙ
27 [ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲱⲁⲙⲓⲥⲉ . . . . ⲁ]ⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲍⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲥⲉ
28 [ⲭ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲱⲗⲡ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ] ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲛⲉⲃ̀ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲓⲱⲉ ⲱⲱ
29 [ⲡⲉ] ⲛⲉⲱ ⲛⲍⲉ . . . . . ⲭⲗⲭ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ
30 [. . . . . .]ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ leer
31 [. . . . . .]ⲕ̄ⲧ̄ⲩ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲁ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲛⲑⲩ
32 [ⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ . . . . .] . . . . ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲕⲁⲍ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲥ ⲁⲥⲡⲁ
33 [. . . . . .]ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲍⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲁ .
34 [. . . . . .] . ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲭⲉ

[des Lehrers.]

1 . . . . . .
2 . . . . . .
3 sie haben (?) [kein?] Ende. — Wer (?) die οὐσία des . . . . . .
4 Niemand wird verkünden und offenbaren können und [sagen]
5 wie [sie] beschaffen ist . . . . . ewig . . . . . .
6 sie alle und die . . . . . offenbaren . . .
7 . . . . . Ewigkeit . . . . . groß . . . . . .
8 wiederum und die . . . . . aufziehen . . . . . .
9 der Anfang der Ewigkeit und das Ende . . . . . .
10 jenes (?) Stehen (?). —
11 Nun, meine . . . . . das Land des [Todes?] . . .
12 . . . . . Natur (φύσις) der οὐσία . . . . . .
13 . . . . . der sich befindet . . . . . .
14 ewiglich . . . . . .
15 in . . . . . .
16 einander. — Was die Ewigkeit der . . . anbetrifft,
17 . . . die von Ewigkeit her bestehen, so vermag niemand zu
18 [offenbaren], wie sie beschaffen sind; denn keine andre Kraft
19 . . . . sie (plur.), daß sie rede und verkünde über ihre . . .
20 wie [sie] beschaffen sind. Aber seitdem er
21 sich bewegte, erhob er sich gegen das Licht, [damit]
22 er komme und herrsche über das Land (χώρα) der Lebendigen.
23 Da kam [der] Urmensch heraus ihm entgegen und hinderte (κωλύειν) ihn.
24 er . . für sich aus dem Hause der Lebendigen und hinderte (κωλύειν)
25 ihn. Seit jener Zeit, in der das Licht sich vermischte mit
26 [der] Finsternis, das Leben mit dem Tode, besteht ein Maß
(und) besteht die Möglichkeit
27 für den Erstgeborenen (?) . . . . . Apostel zu verkünden über sie und
28 zu reden und zu offenbaren, in welcher Weise der Streit und der Kampf
29 geschehen sei, [wie] das Licht in der Finsternis gefangen ist, ...
30 . . . . . das Leben im Tode. —
31 [Nachdem er] sich bewegt hatte in seiner οὐσία, da hat seine
32 Ἐνθύμησις . . . . . in ihrem eigenen Lande; sie hat . . . .
33 . . . . . das ganze Land der Finsternis in ihrer
34 . . . . . das Licht im Abgrund. Denn

[ⲤⲎ]

[ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ]

1 . . . . . .] . . . . ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲍⲏ[ⲧ]ⲥ̣ . . . . . .

2 . . . . . .] . . . . ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲟⲩ . . . . . ⲩ̣ⲧⲉ̣ ⲁⲩⲱⲡ . . [.]

3 . . . . . ⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁ ⲛ̄[. . . .] . . . ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ

4 . . . . . ▪ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉ̣[ⲓⲇⲏ ⲡ]ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲁⲒⲧ

5 . . . . . ⲡⲁ]ⲣⲁ ⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ̣ [. . . . . .] . . . ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ̣

6 [ⲥⲛ̄ ⲡ]ⲕⲟⲥⲙ]ⲟ̣ⲥ leer [. . . . . .]ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ . .

7 . . . . . .]ⲫ̣ⲫⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧ . . . . . ⲡ̣ⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲕⲉⲕⲉ]

8 . . . . . [ⲙⲁⲕ]ⲙⲉⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ . . . . . .]ⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲟⲛⲉ

9 . . . . . .] . ϫⲉ ⲉⲥⲁϫ . . . . ⲛⲱⲃⲁ[. . . . .]ⲟ̣ⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲥ

10 . . . . . Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲩ̣ⲁⲡⲱⲧ [. . . . ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ

11 . . . . . ⲡ]ⲕ̣ⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲥⲥⲱⲕ̣ . . . ⲃⲓ ⲟⲩ[. . . . .]ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ [. . .

12 . . . . . ⲱⲁϫⲥ̄ ⲛ . [. . . . . .

13 . . . . . ⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ . . . . . .

14 . . . . . ⲛ̣ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ leer

15 . . . . . .] . ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲥⲥⲁⲣⲉ̄ ⲁ[ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲥ]ϫⲡⲁⲥ

16 . . . . . ⲉⲧⲉ [ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ] ⲡ̣ⲕⲁ

17 ⲡ̣ⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲱϫⲥ ⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ϫ̣[

18 . . . . . ⲣⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̣ . [

19 . . . . . ⲁ̣ⲥⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ . . . [

20 . . . . . ⲁⲥϫⲡⲁ̣ⲥ̣ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲥϫⲡⲟ [ⲥⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ̄]

21 [ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟ]ⲗⲁ̣ⲩⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄]

22 ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲉⲩⲕⲣ[ⲙⲣⲁⲙⲧ]

23 . . . . . ⲛⲣⲉⲩⲧⲉ̣ⲕⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲥⲛⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ[ⲛ ⲥⲛⲑⲏⲣⲓ]

24 [ⲱⲛ] ⲉⲩⲍⲁⲩ ⲁⲥⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲥ ⲁⲥⲍⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ϫⲱⲣⲉ . . .

25 . . ⲥⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲣⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲒⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲕⲉⲕ̣ⲉ . [

26 . . . ⲁ̣ⲣⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒ ⲉⲧⲗ . . . . ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧ̣ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲙ[ⲛ]

27 ⲡ̣ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲍⲱⲧⲃ̣ⲉ . . . . . .

28 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲉⲩⲡⲱⲣⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲉ̣ⲣⲏⲩ leer

29 Ⲧⲟ̣ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲑⲃⲓ̣ⲟ ⲙ̣[ⲡⲉ]ⲩⲕ̣ⲟ̣ⲥⲙⲟ̣ⲥ ⲙ[ⲛ]

30 ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ . . .

31 . ⲛ̣ⲁⲩ leer ⲁⲩⲭⲛⲟⲩⲩ ⲁⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ [. . . .] . . . [

32 ⲙ̣ⲛ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲧϫⲁⲥⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡ̣ . ϫ . [. . . . . .

33 Ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲛⲁⲃ . . . . . .

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25 ⲃⲁⲒⲧ Qual. zu ⲃⲁⲒⲉ. — 26 Anfang vielleicht ⲕⲣⲙⲣⲁⲙⲧ.

[Die Kephalaia]

1 . . . . . οὐσία in ihr . . . . . .
2 . . . . . denn ein . . . . . sie zählten (?) . . . .
3 . . . . . in seinem Inneren (?) . . . diese erste Natur (φύσις)
4 . . . . . ihn; denn sein Körper ist befestigt
5 . . . mehr als (παρά) der Diamant (ἄδαμας) . . . . jeden der sich befindet
6 [in der Welt (κόσμος)] — . . . . . des Todes . .
7 . . . . . Neid (φθόνος), der . . . . . Land der [Finsternis?]
8 . . . . . Überlegung (?) in . . . . . die Schlechtigkeit
9 . . . . . damit sie . . . . . gegen dieses Land
10 . . . . . — Dann wird er fliehen . . aus dem Lande
11 . . . . . Finsternis; sie zog . . . . . seine Glieder . .
12 . . . . . tief . . . . . .
13 . . . . . .
14 . . . . . in ihnen. —
15 . . . . . jeder . . Sie verteilte sich und erzeugte sich
16 . . . . . [welche sind] der
17 Rauch (καπνός), das Brennen, der Wind, das Wasser und die Finsternis . . .
18 . . . . . wuchs als Baum; sie kam herauf . . . . . .
19 . . . . . sie bildete (πλάσσειν) sich selbst in den . . . .
20 . . . . . ., sie erzeugte sich selbst in ihrer Erzeugung [in]
21 zahlreichen Emanationen (προβολή), die einander nicht glichen, [aus]
22 den Kammern (ταμιεῖον) ihres Abgrunds, viele [finstere] Geschöpfe
23 . . . . . verderbliche, und Drachen und böse
24 [Tiere (θηρίον)]. Sie stand auf und . . . und ward mächtig . . . .
25 . . . . in deren (pl.) häßlichen Gestalten (μορφή) in der Finsternis . . . .
26 finster (?) und in dem (ihrem) Ungestüm (?), der . . . in ihrer Bosheit (κακία) und
27 ihrem Haß, [in] dem sie töten . . . . . .
28 einander, indem sie miteinander kämpfen. —
29 Darauf demütigte das Sinnen ihres Archonten seine Welt und
30 seine Mächte; er merkte (αἰσθάνεσθαι) die οὐσία des [Lichtes] . . . .
31 . . . . — Er überlegte bei sich, daß er einen Krieg führen wollte . .
32 mit dem hohen Reich und dem . . . . . .
33 Er aber, der Vater der Größe . . . . . .

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24 Bedeutung von ⲥⲉⲓ unbekannt. — 26 ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈, ist ⲡⲟⲩ und ⲁⲓ̈ zu trennen?

[ⲥⲑ]

[ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ]

1 . . . . . [. . . . . .] . . ϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩ . [. . . . . .
2 ⲙⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲥ ⲉⲩ . [. . . . . .] . c ⲣⲱ ⲡⲉ ϫⲉ . ⲥ . [. . . ⲡⲟ]
3 ⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲁ̣ⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ ⲧ[ϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲙⲡ]ⲟ̣ⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ̣ . [. . . . . .
4 ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲙⲛ̄ⲧ[. . . . . .
5 ⲁⲫⲱⲃⲧ̄ⲫ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲥ ⲛ[. . . . . .] . . . ϫ . . . . [. . . . .
6 [. . .] . . [. . . . . .] . . . ⲟ̣ⲩⲃ̣ⲏⲥ leer
7 [ⲧⲧ]ⲥ]ⲏ̣ⲩ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉ̣[ⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ . . . . . .
8 . . . . ⲙ̣ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄[. . . . . .
9 . . ⲥ . . . [. . . . . .] . . . ⲫⲉ . . . [. . . . .
10 . . . . . [. . . . . .
11 ⲱⲉ ⲟⲩⲃ̣[. . . . . .]ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ . . . . . leer
12 . . . . . ⲁⲃ]ⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲉⲥ̣ [. . . . . ⲟⲩ]
13 ⲁⲧⲥ̣ⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . [. . . . ⲥ]ⲛ ⲛⲥⲧⲟ|ϫⲉ|ⲱ̣[ⲛ] ⲥⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲡⲛⲟⲥ
14 ⲧⲥⲉ ⲡⲧⲏ[ⲩ] ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲥⲙ ⲡ[ⲛⲁⲃ ?]
15 ⲛ̄ⲱ[ϫ|ⲥⲓⲥⲩ ⲉ]ⲥⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲱⲏⲛ̣ ⲁⲩ . . . . . .
16 . . . . ⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲥ leer ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲥ̣ϫⲡⲁⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
17 [. . .]ⲱⲉ ⲁⲥⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲉⲥⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲥ̣ ⲛ̣
18 ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲛⲧ+ⲉ ⲛⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲁ[ⲣⲡ]
19 ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ leer ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲥϫⲡⲁⲥ̣ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲥ̣
20 [ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲥϫⲡⲟ ⲁⲩⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁϫⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲁⲩ .
21 [.]ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲧⲛ ⲛⲥⲧⲟ|ϫⲉ|ⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ . . . . . .
22 [. . . .]ⲕⲁⲕ|ⲁ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲟⲩⲁⲍ|ⲏⲧ . . . . . .
23 [.] ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲣϫⲱⲛ ⲡⲁⲛϫⲱϫ ⲛⲛⲇⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲫⲃ̣[ⲓⲟ]
24 ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲩⲍⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ̣ [ⲁ]
25 [ⲣⲁ]ⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲍⲉⲧⲟ|ⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲙ̄ⲙⲗⲁⲍ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ [ⲁ]
26 [ⲡ]ⲛ̣ⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡ|ⲕⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ
27 ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ̄ⲫ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ|ⲥⲏⲩ ⲡ|ⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲁ
28 ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲫⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲍⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
29 [ⲉⲧⲡ]ⲣ̈ⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁ+ ⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣ . . .
30 [. . .]ⲁⲫ̣[ⲩⲱⲛ]ⲍ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲩ ⲁⲍⲱⲃ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧ
31 [. . . . . .]ⲉ̀ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲍⲁⲣⲃ̣ⲟⲩ
32 [. . . . . ⲁⲩ]ⲃⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲁϫⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲍ|ⲓϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉ
33 [ⲗⲟⲥ] . . . . . .

14 Lies ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ.

[des Lehrers.]

. . . . . von . . . an (?) . . . . .
wußte ihrerseits (?) . . . . . .
Krieg, um in Verwirrung zu bringen das [Land des] Lichts . . . . .
in der Weisheit seiner . . . . -schaft . . . . . .
er veränderte sich ihr gegenüber . . . . . .
. . . . . ihr gegenüber. —
Zu [jener] Zeit . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . gegen . . . . . Gott . . . . . —
. . . . . aus ihrem . . . . . .
zog sie heraus . . . . in den Elementen (στοιχεῖον): in dem Rauch (καπνός),
dem Feuer, dem Wind, dem Wasser und der Finsternis. Sie kam hinauf
aus dem [großen?]
[Abgrund], indem sie in den Räumen stand . . . . . .
. . . . . ihr gegenüber. — Als sie sich aber hervorgebracht hatte
. . . . da bildete (πλάσσειν) sie die Früchte; während sie noch stand
in ihnen, wurden die fünf Gewänder, die Söhne des Urmenschen,
berufen. — Als sie aber sich selbst hervorgebracht hatte
aus den Früchten in ihren Geschöpfen, fielen sie auf die Erde und [fanden]
Kraft durch die Elemente (στοιχεῖον), und wuchsen durch sie auf . . . . .
. . . . . Schlechtigkeit (κακία) und Hartherzigkeit . . . . . .
. . in dem Archonten, dem Anführer aller Dämonen, er hat gedemütigt
seine Welten und seine Kräfte; er versammelte sie alle zu sich;
er machte sich bereit (ἕτοιμος) zum Kampf; er stand auf zum
Kriege mit jenem Lande des Lichts und dem großen
König, der in ihm wohnt. Zu ebendieser selben Zeit
näherte sich der Urmensch seinen Gewändern, den Lichten
Göttern, er redete mit ihnen, daß er ihnen . . . übergeben werde
. . . . er [erschien] ihnen, er zeigte ihnen alles, was
. . . . . sie (plur.), er bekleidete (φορεῖν) sich mit ihnen, er ordnete sie
. . . . . [er] wickelte sie übereinander auf seine
Glieder (μέλος) . . . . . .

[ο]

[ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ]

1 . . . . . .

2 . . . . . ⲕⲓ]ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲛ

3 . . . . . .] ⲙⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲍ . . .

4 . . . . . .]ⲛ̣ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

5 . . . . . ⲍⲟⲩ]ⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲉⲙⲛ ϣⲓ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ

6 . . . . . .

7 . . . . . leer

8

[ⲕⲁ]

9

10 [ⲕⲁ] . . . . . [ⲕⲁ]

11 . . . . . .

12 . . . . . .] . . . . . ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ̀ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣ[ⲓ]

13 [ⲧⲏⲥ . . . . . ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲟ[ⲛⲟⲥ] ⲟ̣ⲩⲛ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ . [. . . . .] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲍⲱⲣⲣⲁ

14 [ⲫⲉ . . . . . ⲁⲩⲟ̣ⲩⲱ]ⲛⲍ̀ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡ̈ⲓⲱⲧ ⲡϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲧ̣[ⲱ]ⲕ̣ ⲁ̣ⲣ̣ⲉⲧⲩ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁ]

15 [ⲣⲉ] . . . . . ⲡⲧ̣ⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲍⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ[. . . . . .

16 . . . . . ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲙⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀[. . . . . .

17 . . . . . ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲥⲕⲉ ⲉⲛⲁϣⲱⲥ ⲍⲙ ⲡϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̈ⲓⲱⲧ [. . . . . .

18 . . . . . Ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲩⲁ+ ϣⲓ ⲥⲓ ⲙⲉⲧⲣⲟⲛ

19 . . . . . ⲛⲕⲗⲏⲗ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲍ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲗⲗⲟⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲓⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ

20 . . . . . ⲍ̣ⲁ̣[ⲗⲁ]ⲥⲥⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲛⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛⲟⲩ[ⲱⲧⲥ]

21 . . . . . ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡϣⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙ̣ⲁ̣[ⲛ]

22 ⲭⲓⲟⲣⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣[ⲕ]ⲱⲧ̣ⲉ̣ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲏⲣ̣[ⲟⲩ]

23 . . . . . ⲛⲛⲓⲙⲉⲉ̣ⲗⲏⲥ ⲉⲧϣⲙⲁⲁⲧ leer

24 Ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲁ̣ⲩⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ϣⲓ ⲁⲛⲃⲗⲃⲓⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲏⲗ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲍ[. . .

25 ⲡⲕⲟ[ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ] ⲟⲩⲛ ⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲧⲣⲟⲩⲱⲡ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲏⲗ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲕⲁⲧ[ⲁ]

26 ⲣⲁⲙ[ⲡ]ⲉ̣ . . . . . ⲛⲃⲗⲃⲓⲗⲉ ⲛⲱⲱ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ

27 ⲧⲉⲥⲕⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ̣ⲩ ⲙ̣ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲉⲩ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ [ⲡ]

28 ϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣ+ⲏⲡⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲣϣⲁⲣⲡ̄

29 ⲛⲍⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲍⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲥ̀ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ̣[ⲛ]

30 ⲉⲧⲍⲓⲟⲩⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲍⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈[ⲧ]ⲩ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ [ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣ̄]

31 ⲭⲣⲉ̣ⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲍⲙⲉⲥ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡ̈ⲓⲱⲧ̣ [ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ̀]

32 ⲁⲥⲃⲱⲱⲩⲧ ⲥⲁ ⲛⲉⲥⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̣[ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ] leer

33 Ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲍⲙⲉⲥ ⲁ[. . . . . .

---

29 Lies ⲛⲍⲱⲣⲁⲫⲏ.

[Die Kephalaia]

1 . . . . . .
2 . . . . . Gefahr (κίνδυνος) er . . .
3 . . . . . oberhalb der Erde . .
4 . . . . . und alle seine Mächte
5 . . . . . Anfang, der unermeßlich
6 . . . . . .
7 . . . . . .

XXIV.

8 Überschrift abgerieben.

9
10 . . . . . ein großer Richter (κριτής)
11 . . . . . eine Zeit (χρόνος) nun . . wo (?) gebildet (ζωγραφεῖν) ward
12 . . . . [er offenbarte sich] im Vater, dem Ersterstandenen. [Als (?)]
13 . . . . . die zwei Berufungen, die er berufen hatte . . . . .
14 . . . . . die Mutter des Lebens hat . . . . .
15 . . . . . eine lange Zeitdauer im ersten Vater . . . . . .
16 . . . . . — Denn mancher wird messen
17 . . . . . die Erd- . . . und die . . . . der Berge und
18 . . . . . der Meere (θάλασσα) und den Körper der Firmamente (στερέωμα).
Wenn sie [sich auflösen?]
19 . . . . . den Körper der vier Berge und die drei Fahr-
20 zeuge, die hindurchfahren zur Welt. Wenn sie alle sich auflösen (?)
21 . . . . . diese winzigen . . . . —
22 Wisset, daß meßbar sind die Körner der Erd- . . . [und]
23 der [ganzen] Welt; man kann die Erd- . . . . zählen
24 jährlich . . . . . die Sandkörner der ganzen Welt,
25 dagegen die Dauer der Zeit, die der Große Geist verbracht hat im Vater, [dem]
26 Ersterstandenen, die kann man nicht zählen. Zunächst
27 bildete (ζωγραφεῖν) er sie in dieser Weise, er stellte sie auf in seinen inneren
28 ταμιεῖα in Ruhe und Schweigen. Als sie aber benötigt (χρεία)
29 wurde, da wurde sie berufen und kam heraus aus dem Vater [der Größe];
30 sie sah nach allen ihren Aeonen des Lichts. —
31 Wiederum von der Zeit an, da sie berufen wurde . . . . . .

---

18 „messen“ kopt. und griech. wiedergegeben. — 19. 24. 25 ⲕⲗⲏⲗ Bedeutung unbekannt. — 19 ⲛⲗⲟⲗⲉ Bedeutung unbekannt. — 23 ⲙⲉⲥⲗⲏⲥ Bedeutung unbekannt.

[ⲟⲁ]

[ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲥ]

1 ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲣ[. .] . . ⲁⲥ† . . . . . [. . . . . .]
2 ⲁ̣ⲭⲙ ⲡⲉⲩ[ⲥⲱⲙ]ⲁ ⲉ . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣ[ⲟⲩ . . . . . .]
3 ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥ ⲥⲱⲱⲥ ⲁ̣ⲥⲭ . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲉ̣ⲓ [ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲉ]
4 ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ leer ⲧⲥⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
5 ⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲥⲥ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲙⲟ ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲥⲛ ⲛⲉⲥ
6 ⲧⲁⲙ|ⲟⲛ ⲛⲥ|ⲥⲟⲩⲛ . . . ⲙⲡⲱⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁ|ⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁ|ⲧⲉ[ⲟⲩⲁⲩ]
7 ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁ[ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁ]
8 ⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡ[ⲁⲛⲁⲣ|ⲁⲥ(?) ⲛ]ⲏⲩ ⲁⲥⲟⲩ[ⲛ
9 ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲕⲁ|ⲣⲟⲥ . . . [. . . . . .]ⲁⲃ ⲉⲩ • ⲡ̣[
10 ⲙⲉ̣ ⲙⲡⲟ̣ . . . . [. . . . . .] ⲁ̣ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̣ [
11 . ⲩ . . . . ⲛ . [. . . . . .] . . ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲁ[ⲛ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩ
12 [ⲧ]ⲱⲥⲙⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲕⲁ|ⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥ[ⲙⲉ ⲥⲱ]
13 [ⲱ]ⲩ [ⲙ̄ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ]ⲡ̣ⲣ|ⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ
14 ⲥⲱⲟ̣[ⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ] ⲛⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲱⲧ N̄
15 ⲧ[ⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲁ|ⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲭⲛ ⲛⲧⲃ|ⲛⲉ| ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲁ
16 [ⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ] ⲱⲁ ⲧⲃ|ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲙⲡⲁⲛⲁⲣⲉ|ⲁⲥ ⲛⲥⲁⲉ ⲁ ⲡ†
17 [ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ]ⲧⲉ ⲣ̄ †ⲉⲥⲕⲉ ⲛ†ⲃⲁⲧ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲥⲥ̀ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
18 [ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ]ⲕ[ⲁ]|ⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ [ⲁ]ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ leer
19 Ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲡ|ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲉ†ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲉⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ̣
20 ⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲙⲡⲱⲛⲍ̣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ
21 ⲉⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩⲱⲣⲥ̀ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲉⲥ[ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ?ⲟⲩⲁ]
22 ⲉⲉⲧⲥ̀ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲙⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲱⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ[ⲉⲥⲛⲁⲣ̄ ⲥⲛ]
23 [ⲱⲟ ⲛ̄]ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲥⲛⲧⲃⲁ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲥⲧⲉⲥⲟ̣ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ
24 [ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇ]ⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲱ| ⲙⲛ ⲙⲉⲧⲣⲟⲛ ⲁⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲙⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ [ⲛ̣ⲧⲥⲉ]
25 [ⲉ]ⲧ̣ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲥⲙⲉⲥ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁ ⲙⲡ|ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲁⲭⲙ̄
26 [ⲡ]ⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲥ|[ⲧ]ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲥ
27 [ⲛⲁⲩ]ⲉ̣ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲥ|ⲥⲟⲩ[ⲛ] ⲙ̣ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲁⲡⲉⲧⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ|ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧ
28 [ⲧⲏ]ⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲁ ⲡ . . . . ⲕⲗ|ⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏⲥ leer
29 [ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡ]ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛⲧⲙⲉⲩ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲱ]ⲛⲍ̀ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ
30 [ⲡⲓ̈ⲱ]ⲧ ⲧⲁⲥⲙⲉⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲥ̀ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲕ ⲛⲥⲏⲧ ⲁ
31 [ⲧⲣⲉ]ⲩⲥⲉⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲥ̀ ⲛⲥⲏⲧ̄ⲩ ⲛⲧⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ
32 . . . . ⲙⲧ ⲛ . . . . ⲱ . . . ⲱⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱⲩ ⲛⲥⲙⲁⲱⲧ ⲙⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲁ
33 [. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲣⲁⲡⲣⲉⲡ ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲗ ⲏ ⲛⲧⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ

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8 auch ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ möglich. — 16 Lies ⲧⲃ|ⲛⲃⲱⲕ. — 30 ⲡⲙⲁ, ⲙ üb. d. Zeile.

[des Lehrers.]

1 ging zu . . . und sie gab . . . . . .
2 auf seinen [Körper] . . . . . alle Aonen . . . . . .
3 auch sie . . . . . von ihnen allen. So [auch]
4 der Urmensch. — So verbrachte der Mensch
5 eine lange Zeit, indem er verborgen (?) war in der Mutter, indem er in
6 ihren inneren Kammern (ταμιεῖον) stand . . . Zeit, [die] ich euch [gesagt]
7 habe, von der Zeit, da der Urmensch herabstieg zum
8 Kampfe (ἀγών) bis zu der Zeit, da die [Statue?] hineinkommen wird . .
9 in dieser Zeit . . . . . .
10 . . . . . er offenbarte . . . . .
11 . . . . . Ferner von der Zeit, da [er]
12 berufen wurde und herausgekommen ist [bis zu] der Zeit (καιρός), da er [selbst] berief
13 die [fünf] Lichten [Götter], welche seine Söhne sind. Auch sie
14 [verbrachten eine lange] Zeit, indem sie in ihrem Vater waren. Das
15 [ist] die Zeit, die gewesen ist von der Herabkunft des Ur-
16 [menschen] bis zum Aufstieg der Letzten Statue: die fünf
17 [Götter] verbrachten diese Dauer von diesem Ausmaß, indem sie verborgen (?) waren im Urmenschen
18 [In der] Zeit aber, da sie gebraucht wurden, da wurden sie berufen und kamen heraus.
19 Höret auch dieses, so wie ich es euch lehren werde: In der
20 Zeit, da die Mutter des Lebens aus dem Vater der Größe berufen wurde, —
21 wenn sie herabgestiegen und herabgekommen wäre eigenmächtig
22 von der Höhe des Vaters zur Erde; dann hätte sie verbracht
23 [tausend] Jahre und viele Zehntausende, bis sie erreicht hätte das Land.
24 [Denn] es gibt kein Maß für die Höhe des Vaters. Aber [so]
25 wie er sie berufen hatte durch seinen Großen Geist, so stellte er sie in
26 [das] Land der Größe durch einen von den Dreien, die zu den
27 Zwölfen gehören, die verborgen sind innerhalb des Licht-Vorhangs (καταπέτασμα), die
28 stehen . . . . . Himmelsrichtung (κλίμα) des Südens. —
29 So ist es mit der Mutter [des Lebens], als
30 [der Vater] sie berief und sie aufstellte an dem Ort, wo er
31 sie aufstellen wollte wie die Einsicht der Menschen, welche
32 . . . . . viele, und sie durchsucht alle Orte, die
33 . . . . . [wie] ein Augenblick oder wie ein

24 „Maß“ vgl. S. 70, 18. — 33 ϩραπρεπ eigentlich „flattern“ ϩρ. ⲛⲃⲉⲗ „solange wie das Zu- und Aufklappen des Auges dauert“ = „Augenblick“.

[ⲟⲃ]

[ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ]

1 . . . . . ⲗ ⲥⲙ̄ . . . ⲉⲥ [ⲛ̄]ⲥⲁⲗⲏ [ⲧ?]. . . . . .
2 . . . . . ⲧⲥⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧ̣ⲉ̣ⲓ . . . ⲧⲛ]ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲧ
3 . . . . . ⲧ]ⲙ̣ⲉⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲥⲙ . . . . . ⲧ ⲥ̣ⲟ̣ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ
4 [ⲣⲉ . . . . . ⲛ̣ⲁⲭⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . [ⲁ]ⲭ̣ⲱⲥ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ . . .
5 . . . . . ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲕⲥ̄ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲁⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲥⲙ̄
6 [ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱ]ⲕ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ [ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱ]ⲱⲉ leer
7 [Ⲧⲥⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ]ⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲙⲡ[ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲛ]ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲱⲁ]
8 [ⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣ]ⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲓⲧⲉ[ⲩⲥⲏ] ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲭⲉ . . . . . .
9 [. . . . .] . . . . [. . . . . .
10 [. . . . . .] . . [. . . . . .
11 [. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲉⲛⲁ . [. . . . . .
12 [. . . . . ⲉⲧⲉ . . . . . .
13 . . . . . ⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲙⲛ̣ⲧ [. . . . . .
14 ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲭⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ [. . . . . .
15 ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲣⲃⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [. . . . . .
16 . . . . ⲛⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲱⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲩ . ⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲩ[. . . . . .]
17 . . . . . ⲁⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲕⲩ̄ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲩ̄ ⲁ̣[. . . . . .]
18 ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ . . ⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲩ ⲥⲓⲭⲙ ⲡⲧⲁⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ [. . . . ⲛ̄]
19 ⲧ̣ⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩ[ⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ]
20 ⲉⲛ̣ⲁⲱⲱⲩ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲩ+ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲥⲉⲱⲥ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲩⲣⲫ̣[ⲟ]
21 ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁ ⲧⲉⲩⲣⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲭⲓ
22 ⲥⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲩ ⲛⲙⲙⲉⲑⲟⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲉⲥⲕⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲟ
23 ⲛⲟⲥ] ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲃⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲓ ⲛⲛⲧⲗ+ⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ
24 ⲛ̣ⲍⲱⲩ ⲙⲛ +ⲱⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲍⲗⲁⲥⲧⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲥⲙ̄
25 ⲡ̣ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣ̄ +ⲉⲥⲕⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲩ[ⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉ]
26 ⲧⲩ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲧⲟⲩⲱⲉⲩⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲩ [ⲁ]
27 ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲅⲱⲛ leer
28 Ⲍⲟⲧⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛ[ⲁ]ⲑ̣ [ⲧⲱⲍⲙ]ⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲙⲡⲛ[ⲁ]
29 ⲙⲛ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [ⲙ]ⲡ̣ⲁ̣ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲛⲏⲩ[ⲧ ⲁ]
30 ⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ̣[ⲥⲏⲩ ⲡⲥ]ⲏ̣ⲩ̣ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ [ⲁⲩ]
31 ⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲧ ⲥⲙ ⲡ[ⲕⲁⲍ ⲙⲡ]ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ [ⲙ̄ⲛ̄]
32 ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣ[ⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲁ̣ⲱ|ⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ| [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ]
33 ⲙ̄ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ|ⲕⲁ|ⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣[ⲡⲣⲉ]
34 ⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ |ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲡⲣⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲡⲁⲣ[ⲑ]ⲉ̣ⲛ̣ⲟ[ⲥ] ⲙ̣ⲡⲟⲩⲁ[ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ]
35 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ[ⲁⲩⲉ| ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ]

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29 Lies ⲥⲍⲛⲏⲩⲧ, Qual. von ⲥⲁⲍⲛⲉ.

[Die Kephalaia]

1 . . . . . .
2 . . . . . so ist auch gleich . . . . . .
3 . . . . . [die] Mutter des Lebens in . . . . . als (ὅταν)
4 . . . . . sie herausgeworfen hatte . . auf sie zu dem Orte . .
5 . . . . ihn, er vollendete sie durch seinen großen Geist, er setzte sie an
6 [den Ort, den er wollte?] gemäß [seinem Willen]. —
7 [So] sind berufen worden die [fünf] Götter aus dem
8 [Urmenschen und haben sich aufgestellt] vor ihm, indem er wünscht, daß . . .
9 . . . . . .
10 . . . . . .
11 . . . . . .
12 . . . . . .
13 . . . . . .
14 herab, damit sie unter ihnen herrschten . . . . . .
15 einander. Er ordnete sie und verteilte sie . . . . . .
16 . . . . . des Sohnes. Er zog sie sich aus . . . . . .
17 . . . . . er schlug ihn und fesselte ihn . .
18 in einer . . . des Schweigens auf der Grenze des Landes . . . Auch
19 er, der Urmensch, verbrachte eine lange Zeit,
20 bis er seinen Söhnen Kraft gab, bis er sie anlegte (φορεῖν).
21 Nachdem er sich mit ihnen bekleidet (φορεῖν) hatte, indem er in der Höhe stand
22 zwischen den Grenzgebieten (μεθόριον), da verbrachte auch er einen Aufenthalt
und eine Zeit (χρόνος)
23 in gleicher Weise gemäß der Zahl des Ausmaßes des Maßes der Regentropfen
24 und des Taues und der Nebelwolken, die herabkommen in
25 der Welt. So verbrachte er diesen Aufenthalt, indem er
26 [stand] zwischen den Grenzen, bis zu der Stunde, da er hinab-
27 stieg zum Kampfe (ἀγών). —
28 Als (ὅταν) der Vater der Größe [berufen hatte] den Großen Geist
29 und den Urmenschen und die ruhmreichen Götter, die aus ihm
30 erscheinen sollen, zu eben jener Zeit
31 formte (ζωγραφεῖν) [er] den Großen Baumeister in dem [Lande des] Lichtes [und]
32 den Lebendigen Geist und die mächtigen tüchtigen Götter, die herausge-
33 kommen sind aus ihm. Zu jener Zeit auch formte (ζωγραφεῖν) er den Ge-
34 sandten und Jesus den Glanz und die Jungfrau des Lichts
35 und die Säule der Herrlichkeit und die Götter [, die aus ihnen hervorgegangen
sind].

19 „Zeit“ Hendiad. καιρός und χρόνος.

[or]

[ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲥ]

1 [ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲑ ⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄]
2 ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃ̣[ⲁⲗ ⲛ̄]ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲛⲛⲥ̣ⲁ ⲟⲩ
3 [ⲙ]ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧ . . . . . ⲁ ⲙ̣ⲛ ⲡⲥⲱⲃ leer
4 . . . . ⲁ̣ⲛ . . . . . ⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ . . .
5 ⲭ̣ⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲕ[ⲉⲕⲉ] ⲭⲉⲥⲧⲩ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁ
6 . . . . . ⲭ . . ⲃ . . . . . ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
7 . . . . ⲧ ⲛ̄ . . ⲙ . . . . . ⲧⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲏ
8 [ ] . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ[ⲱ]ⲕ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ̣ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ̣ . .
9 . . . . . ⲁⲩⲍ . . . . .
10 . . . . . ⲕⲉⲕⲉ . . . . . .
11 . . . . . ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ . . .
12 . . . . . .
13 . . . . . .
14 [. . . . . .] . . . ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ . . . . . .
15 [. . . . . .] . ⲛⲍ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲉⲧ̣ . . . ⲡⲱⲣⲭ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ . . . .
16 [. . . . . .] . ⲙ̣ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲱ ⲛⲍⲉ ⲛⲩⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ . . .
17 [. . . ⲥ]ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲱⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ̣ ⲁ[ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ]
18 [ⲡⲍⲟ] ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲓⲭⲉⲛ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧ̣ⲉ [ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ]
19 ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲁ̈ⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ . . . . . [ⲙⲡⲣⲟ]
20 ⲃⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ leer
21 [ⲭⲛ] ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ . . . .
22 . . . . ⲱⲁ ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲁ̣ⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲟ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ
23 [ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲱ]ⲕ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲛⲩⲧⲁⲍⲙ̣ⲟⲩ̣
24 [. . .] . ⲥⲉⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲁ[ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲱⲓ]
25 [ⲥⲓ ⲙⲉⲧⲣ]ⲟⲛ ⲁⲡⲓⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧ̣ⲙ̣ⲙⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟ̈[ⲁ]ⲙ̣
26 [ⲛⲥⲁⲍ] ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̣
27 [ⲧ]ⲙⲛⲧⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲭⲉ̣ ⲉ̣ⲩⲁⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲩ
28 [ⲱ]ⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲥⲏ ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲩ . . .
29 [. .]ⲧⲟⲩⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁ̣ⲫⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲱⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟ
30 [ⲗⲟⲥ] ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙ̣[ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲍ] ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲥⲁ ⲧⲥⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ .
31 . . ⲛ . . . . . ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̣ⲛⲁⲡⲟ̣
32 [ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ]ⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲥⲁⲍ ⲁⲧⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲱⲗ̣ⲡ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ]
33 . . . . . .] . . . . . [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲥ̣ⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

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18 Lies ⲥⲓⲭⲛ̄ statt ⲥⲓⲭⲉⲛ. — 29 Lies ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ.

[des Lehrers.]

[Diese alle hat der Vater der Größe geformt in]
ein und derselben Zeit. Sie kamen auseinander heraus, einer nach
dem andern; [in] jener Zeit . . . . . und das Werk. —
dem andern [in] der Zeit, da . . . . . und das Werk. —
von der Zeit an, da die Finsternis (?) sich erhob zu
. . . . . οὐσία des Lichts
. . . . . diese drei Emanationen (προβολή)
. . . . . aus (?) dem Willen des Vaters gegen den Feind . .
. . . . . er hat . . .
. . . . . Finsternis . . . . . .
. . . . . nach dem Willen . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . Welt . . . . . .
. . . . . in ihr . . . . . trennen . . . . . .
. . . . . wie er zur Ruhe gehen [wird?] und sich freuen wird . .
. . . . in [?] seinem Reich bis zu [der Zeit, wo]
[das Antlitz] des Vaters sich enthüllen wird über [allen] Göttern
der Herrlichkeit und allen Reichen (divites) . . . . . [die]
Emanationen (προβολή), die herausgekommen sind gegen den Feind. —
[Von] jener Zeit an, da er diese drei . . . . formte (ζωγραφεῖν)
bis zu dem Zeitpunkt, wo der Vater sein Antlitz enthüllen wird,
[und sie] in seine verborgenen ταμιεῖα hineingehen werden und er sie berufen
. . . und sie aufstellen wird, einen jeden an [seinen Ort, gibt es kein Maß]
für diesen Zeitpunkt bis zu jener Zeit. Es können
alle [Lehrer] und Heilande (σωτήρ) und Apostel der
Mächtigkeit reden und offenbaren betreffs dessen,
was geschehen ist und geschehen wird; aber bevor . . . . . .
. . . sie gebildet (ζωγραφεῖν) wurden an den Himmel, es kann kein
Apostel [und Lehrer] verkünden betreffs dieses Anfangs, da
. . . . . ewig, noch können [alle] Apostel
und Lehrer reden und offenbaren
. . . . . [in] der Zeit, da alle Väter

[ⲟⲁ]

[ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ]

1 [ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈]ⲛⲉ [ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲥ]ⲏⲡ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ . .

2 ⲱⲥ . . . ⲟⲩ . . ⲛ . . ⲟ . . . . . ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲡ[ⲉ]ϣⲙⲁ

3 . ⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡ . . . . . ⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲥⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲱⲁ ⲁ

4 ⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲥⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲱⲁ ⲛ̣ⲁ[ⲓ]ⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϩ ⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̣ⲙⲉⲩ

5 ⲁⲧⲥⲁⲏ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ[ⲟⲩ] . . . . ⲟⲩ . . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ̣ ⲟⲩⲱⲁ

6 ⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲱ . . . . [ⲅⲉⲛ]ⲉⲁ ⲛ̣ⲉⲛⲉⲁ leer

7 [Ⲉⲣ]ⲱⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲱ[ⲛⲉ . . . . . ⲱⲁⲣ . ⲩ ⲁⲩ

8 ⲱ ⲉ̣ⲧⲃⲉ ⲧ̣ⲥⲁⲏ ⲉⲧⲙⲙ[ⲉ]ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏ[ⲥ]ⲉ . . . . . ⲉ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲱⲱⲩ

9 . . . . . leer ἀλλα . . . . . [. . . .] . ⲛ . ⲃ . .

10 . . . . . ⲁ̣ⲧⲣⲉⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩ[ⲟ]. . . . . [. . . . . .

11 . . . . . ⲉ̣ⲧⲱ[ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ . . . . . [. . . . . .

12 . . . . ⲛ̄ⲙ̣ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ . . . . . [. . . . . .

13 . . . . ⲱ . . . . ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ [. . . . . .

14 . . . . ⲛ . . . . ⲛⲭ̄ⲧ ⲙⲛ . ⲙ . . . . . .

15 . . . . . ⲉ̣ⲧⲃⲉ̣ ⲧⲥⲩⲗⲏ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲙⲏⲥ[ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ] . . . . .

16 . . . ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ ⲭⲉ [ⲧⲉⲓ̈] ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲉⲧ[. . . . . .

17 . . . . . ⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁ̣ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲁⲙ[ⲟⲛ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲁ̣ [. . . . . .

18 . . . ⲥⲙ ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟ[ⲭⲉⲟⲛ ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲥ ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲛ [. . . . . .

19 [. .]ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲉⲩ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲥⲟⲩ[ⲱⲛⲥ ⲁ]

20 ⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲥ ⲁⲛⲉⲥⲧⲟ[ⲭⲉⲟⲛ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲥⲉ[ⲁⲛⲱϩⲛ ⲁⲥⲡ̄

21 ⲟ̣ⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲥⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲥ̣ [

22 . . . . . ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲥⲉ[ⲁⲥⲣⲏ[ⲁⲛⲱϩⲛ ⲁⲥⲣ ⲁⲧⲭ̄[. . .]

23 ⲥ̣ⲛ ⲛⲱϩⲛ ⲁⲥⲡ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉⲥⲕⲉ . [

24 [ⲉⲥ]ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲥⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣ[ⲡⲟⲥ

25 . . ⲉ ⲛⲥⲍⲱⲅⲣ̣ⲁⲫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲁⲥⲡ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲁⲛ [ⲛⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ]

26 ⲥ̣ⲛ ⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲭⲣⲟ̣ⲛ[ⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲥ]

27 [ⲉ(ⲉ)ⲩ] ⲉⲥⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲥⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲛ . . .

28 . . . ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲛⲛ̄ⲁ[ⲁⲙⲱⲛ]

29 ⲙⲡⲉⲥ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲣⲫ̣ⲁⲩⲉ̣ . . . †ⲱⲗ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ

30 . ⲡⲁ . . . . . ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲭ[ⲱⲕ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲁ̣[ⲓⲙⲱⲛ]

31 ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲓⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲓⲉ ⲁⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁⲥ ⲁⲩⲭ . . . . . ⲭⲉⲓ . [

32 ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ ⲟ̣ⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁ̣ⲩ[ⲉⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟ]

33 ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ [ⲛ]ⲧⲙⲏ[ⲧⲉ] . . . [

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20 Lies ⲁⲛⲉⲥⲥⲧⲟ|ⲭⲉⲟⲛ. — 32 ⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ganz unsicher.

[Die Kephalaia]

1 . . . . . verborgene (?) . . . des Vaters und sie (pl.)
2 . . . . . Kraft in ihnen statt ihrer
3 . . . Gott . . . . . denn (ἐπειδή) sie existiert ewig;
4 sie dauert bis zu den [Aionen?]; sie hat keinen Termin (καιρός)
5 schließlich. Aber ihr (plur.) Stehen . . . . . ein ewiges
6 ist ihr (pl.) Leben . . . . . Generation (? γενεά) — ·
7 Wenn jemand fragt . . . . . und
8 wegen jenes ewigen Endes . . . . . in der Verwüstung
9 . . . . . — Aber . . . . . .
10 . . . . . daß er sage (?) . . . . . .
11 . . . . . der ihn fragt . . . . . .
12 . . . . . die Jünger (μαθητής) . . . . . .
13 . . . . . Denn (ἐπειδή) . . . . . .
14 . . . . . und er kämpft mit . . . . . .
15 . . . . . wegen dieser Hyle, dieser Ἐνθύμησις [des Todes] . . .
16 . . . . . [wie?] ich euch gesagt habe: in dieser Weise ist . . . . . .
17 . . . . . heraufgekommen zu ihren Kammern (ταμιεῖον); sie hat . . .
18 . . . . . in ihren fünf Elementen (στοιχεῖον). Sie auch . . . . . .
19 . . die Frist (καιρός) und die Zeit (χρόνος), die sie verbracht hat, bis sie sich
20 selbst offenbarte ihren Elementen (στοιχεῖον), bevor sie zu den Bäumen gekommen war. Sie verbrachte
21 eine lange Frist (καιρός) und eine lange Zeit (χρόνος), indem sie stand . . . .
22 . . . . . bevor sie zu den Bäumen heraufgekommen war. Sie . . .
23 in den Bäumen. Sie verbrachte eine lange Zeit und eine lange Zeitspanne . . .
24 [indem sie]sich in ihnen befand, bevor sie die Früchte gebildet (ζωγραφεῖν) hatte
25 . . . . und sie die Früchte bildete (ζωγραφεῖν). Sie verbrachte wiederum eine lange [Zeit]
26 in den Früchten. Nicht gering ist die Frist und die Zeit
27 . . ., die sie in den Früchten verbrachte, bevor sie die . . gebildet (ζωγραφεῖν) hatte.
28 . . . Nach einer langen Zeit . . . . . .
29 ihre fünf Welten in verschiedenen Gestalten (μορφή) [un]meßbaren?
30 . . . . . in [Vollkommenheit?] der Früchte in den Dämonen
31 und bösen Geistern. Sie fielen auf ihr Land und . . . . . .
32 wuchsen auf. Nicht gering ist die Zeit, die sie (pl.) [verbrachten in den]
33 Welten, bis sie aufsuchen [in] mitten . . . . . .

[οε]

[μπcaz]

. . . ⲛ̄ . . [. . . . . .] . . . . ⲟc ⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ . . .
. . . . . ⲡⲕ]ⲁⲍ ⲉⲧ[ⲙ]ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲧⲣⲟⲩⲁⲓ
[ⲛⲉ] ⲙⲛ ⲡⲛⲁϭ [ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ] ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ leer [ⲧⲉ]
ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁ̣ⲉ̣ [. . . . . .]ⲟ̣ⲥ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲍⲛ . . . . .
[. . . . . .]ⲍⲙ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ̣ⲩ
[. . . . . ⲧ]ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ
[. . . . . ⲧⲍⲩ]ⲗⲏ [. . . . .] ⲁⲡⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ[. . . . .]
[. . . . . .]ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ [. . . . .] . . . ⲟ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣
ⲁ̣ⲏ̣ⲕ̣ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁ̣ⲗ̣ [ⲁⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ?] ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡ[ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙ]ⲟⲥ ⲱⲡⲉ . . . . . [9]
. . . . . leer
[. . . . . ⲁ]ⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ̄[. . . . .
[. . . . . .]ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲱⲗⲭ ⲟⲩ[. . . . .
[ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ . . . . .] . . ⲭⲉ ⲁ[ⲩ]ⲕⲱⲧ . . [
[. . . . . ⲁ ⲡ]ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ
[. . . . .] . . ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲱⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲕⲁ|ⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁ
[ⲃⲁⲗⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ] leer ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲟ̣|ⲛ̣
[. . . . . ⲛ̄]ⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁ . . .
[ⲭⲛ ⲙⲡ]ⲥⲏⲩ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲩ̣ⲧ̣ⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ [ⲉⲧⲉ]
ⲣⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲍⲁⲏ ⲛⲁ̣ⲭⲱⲕ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁ ⲱⲭⲛⲉ . . . . . [10]
[ⲧⲧⲙ]ⲁ̣ⲍⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲟ|ⲛⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
[ⲛ̄ⲍ]ⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲛⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲱⲧ̣ⲉ̣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
[ⲧⲉⲍⲁ]ⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧ̣ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉ̣ⲩ̣ [ⲧⲉⲧⲛ]ⲁⲣⲁⲭⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧ̣ⲉ̣
[ⲛⲱⲉ ⲛ]ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲥⲉⲱⲙⲏⲛⲉ leer
[ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲍ†ⲟ]ⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲉ
[ⲁⲃⲁⲗ] ⲙⲡⲥⲉⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲍⲃ̣[ⲏⲩ]ⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲱⲣⲭ
[ⲁⲃⲁ]ⲗ ⲁⲡⲉⲕⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲩⲃ̣ⲱⲕ̣ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲛⲩⲣ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ̣
[ⲡⲕ]ⲉⲕⲉ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲡ . . .ⲉ̣ ⲛⲥⲉⲭⲓⲧⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ . . .
[. . . .]ⲁⲛ . . . [. . . ⲛⲥ]ⲉⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲙⲉⲩ ⲍⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲣⲣⲉ ⲱⲁ
[ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ] ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙ̣[ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟ]ⲥ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡ|ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ
ⲱⲡⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲡ̣[ⲥⲏ]ⲩ̣ ⲛ†ⲙⲣⲣⲉ ⲥ . . . . ⲡ|†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲍⲱⲃ̣ . .
[ⲧ]ⲉ̣ⲟⲩⲟ̣ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲁ]ⲓⲛⲉ leer
[ⲧⲧⲙ]ⲁ̣ⲍⲥ̣[ⲁⲩ] ⲭⲉ ⲭⲛ ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲕⲙⲧⲥ ⲁⲥⲭⲉⲥⲧⲥ̄ ⲁ
[ⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲥ]ⲕⲁⲍ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲥⲙⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲃⲁⲙ
[ⲁⲧⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄]ⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲙⲛ ⲛ̄ⲉ̣ⲁⲍ ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ

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9 Über dem ⲉ noch ein ⲛ.

[des Lehrers.]

. . . . . zu machen . . .
. . . . . jenes Land, das leuchtet und der große [König?], der in ihm wohnt. —
Ihr wißt, daß . . . . . ., der in . . .
. . . . . in der Zeit, da er
. . . . . ihre οὐσία, sie legte an (φορεῖν)
. . . . . [die Hy]le . . . . zum (?) Kriege . . .
. . . . . der Mann, der
vollkommene. [Von der Zeit (?),] da der [Krieg entstanden] ist . . . . .
. . . . . —
. . . . . er ist entstanden in . . . . . .
. . . . . [worin] sie gefangen haben einen . . . . .
[Das zweite ist] . . . denn er hat gebaut . . . . .
. . . . . die Welt wurde aufgestellt; die ζώνη . . . . . .
. . . . . unten bis zu dem Zeitpunkt, wo sie (sc. Welt)
[aufgelöst wird]. — Das dritte ist die
[Auflösung] . . . . . die Dinge und die Welt wird . . . .
[von der] Zeit an, wo sie aufgestellt wurden, bis zur Zeit, wo
ihr Ende sich erfüllen und ihr Sein (?Bestehen) vergehen wird . . . .
[Das] vierte ist die Auflösung, in der die Welt aufgelöst
werden wird und alle Dinge zerstört werden und eine Vernichtung
sie [treffen wird] in jenem großen Feuer, [das] sie verbrennen [wird]
in vierzehn
[hundert und] achtundsechzig Jahre. —
[Das fünfte] ist die Art, wie die Letzte Statue gebildet (ζωγραφεῖν) werden wird
[aus] dem Rest aller Dinge, und das Licht sich trennen wird
zu seinem Ort und hinaufgehen und in seinem Reich herrschen wird,
[die] Finsternis dagegen . . . . und wird in das Grab (τάφος) hineingenommen werden . . .
. . . . . und sie werden mit ihr (sc. der Finsternis) in einer Fesselung gefesselt
[ewiglich]. — Von der Zeit nun, da dieser erste Krieg
stattfand bis zu der Zeit dieser Fesselung . . . . . diese fünf Dinge
. . . Licht. —
[Das sechste ist,] daß von der Zeit an, da sie sich bewegte und sich erhob
[in ihrem] Lande bis zu der Zeit ihrer Fesselung, können
[die Apostel (?) und] Auserwählten und Lehrer reden und verkündigen

19 Bedeutung von ⲣⲁ zweifelhaft.

[ϭ]

[ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ]

1 ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲥⲓⲧⲥⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲛ[. . . . . .]
2 ⲭⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛⲃⲁⲙ[. . . . . .]
3 . . . . ⲛⲩⲧⲱⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲟⲩⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲧⲉ leer
4 [ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ] ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲭⲓⲧⲥ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲙⲣⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲙⲁⲣⲥ̀
5 [ⲥⲙ̄] ⲡⲃⲱⲗⲟⲥ . . . [. . . . . .]
6 ⲁ† ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲣ[ⲱⲙⲉ . . . . . .]
7 ⲡ̣ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡ̣ⲥ̣ⲁ̣ⲣ̣ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲩ . . . . . .
8 ⲟⲩⲙⲣⲣⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲥ̣ⲉ̣ [ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ]ⲃⲱⲗⲟ̣[ⲥ] . . . . . .
9 . . . . . †ⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ [ⲙ̄]ⲡ̣ⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ[. . . . .] ⲥⲁ [. . . . .]
10 . . . . .ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏ[ⲩ ⲱⲁ] ⲡ̣ⲕ̣[ⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ . . . . . .]
11 [ⲛⲉⲩ]ⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩ̣[ⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ . . . . . .]
12 . . . . . ⲥ̣ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲥ̣ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲥ̣ . . . . . .
13 . . . ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲥⲁ ⲡ[. . . . . .
14 ⲥ̣ⲁⲡ ⲥⲓ ⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ leer

15 ⲕ̅ⲉ̅

16 ⲕ̣ⲉ̣ Überschrift ganz verwischt ⲕ̣ⲉ̣
17

18 ⲦⲦⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ [ⲧⲃⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ]
19 [ⲁⲃⲁ]ⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ[ⲩ] ⲙ̄[ⲡⲓⲣⲏ]ⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ [ⲁⲩⲉⲓ]
20 [ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥ]ⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ̣
21 [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲉⲩⲉ] ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲥⲃⲱ . . . .
22 ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̣ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ⲩⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈[ⲛⲉ ⲁ]
23 ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ Ⲧⲥⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥⲙ[ⲉ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ]
24 ⲛ̈ⲓⲱⲧ ††ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲁ]
25 ⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ

26 ⲕ̅ϭ̅

27 ⲕ̅ϭ̅ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ̣ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩ ⲕ̅ϭ̅
28 ⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲧ̣ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲛⲧ ⲁⲉⲩ

29 ⲦⲦⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄[ⲣⲱⲙⲉ] ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲩⲛⲁ̣[ⲃ ⲛ̄]
30 ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲏⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲡ[ⲉⲩⲭⲣⲏⲙ]ⲁ ⲛⲧⲟ̣ⲟ̣ⲧⲩ ⲁ[ⲩⲉⲓ]
31 ⲁ†ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ Ⲧⲥⲉ̣ [ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ] ⲧⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡ[ⲱⲁⲣⲡ]
32 ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲓ ⲥⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲁ[ⲃⲁⲗ] ⲥⲙ ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ [ⲭⲉⲩ]
33 ⲁⲥⲁⲧⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲩⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲣⲁⲣ̣[ⲉ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲧ[ⲱⲩ]
34 ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲭⲁⲭⲉ leer Ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ [ⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲁⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ]
35 ⲉⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ[. . . . . ⲁⲩ]
36 ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲓⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲁⲧⲟⲩ leer [Ⲧⲥⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ] ⲉ[ⲧⲁ]

9 Bedeutung von †ⲙⲏⲧⲉ unbekannt. — 33 Lies wohl ⲁⲥⲁⲧⲟⲩ.

[Die Kephalaia]

über sie. Vor aber . . . . . .
von ihr an aus den Kräften . . . . . .
. . . . . und er mißt sie, denn sie ist ewig. —
[Von der Zeit an,] wo sie in die Fesselung hineingenommen und gefesselt werden wird
[an] dem βῶλος . . . . . .
an sie zu geben(?). Niemand vermag . . . . . .
Apostel und [Lehrer], daß er . . . . . .
eine ewige Fesselung ist es [an? dem] βῶλος . . . . . .
. . . . . Von der Zeit an, da . . . . . .
. . . . . miteinander [bis zu] der [Zeit] . . . . . .
einander und jeder einzelne . . . . . .
. . . . . Fessel . . . . . .
. . . und sie verkünden betreffs . . . . . .
Mal und Zeitpunkt.

XXV.

[Über das Herausgehen der fünf Väter] [aus den fünf Gliedern des Vaters.]

Wiederum sprach der Apostel in betreff [des Herausgehens der fünf Väter]
[aus] dem Vater, einer nach dem andern. Er sprach also: [Es ist herausgekommen]
[der πρεσ]βευτής aus seinem Νοῦς, der Geliebte der Lichter
[aus seinem Denken], die Mutter des Lebens aus seiner Einsicht, ...
der Geliebte aus seinem Gedanken, die Lichtjungfrau
aus seiner Überlegung. So nun wurden berufen [diese fünf]
Väter. Diese fünf Herauskünfte sind gekommen aus den fünf Gliedern [des Vaters].
Einer kam aus dem andern heraus und offenbarte sich zu seiner Zeit.

XXVI.

Über den Urmenschen und den Gesandten und das Schiff: wem sie ähnlich sind.

Wiederum sprach er: Der Ur[mensch] gleicht einem großen
angesehenen (ἐπίσημος) Manne, dem [sein Vermögen (χρῆμα)] weggenommen worden ist, [der gekommen ist],
um hinter seinem Vermögen (χρῆμα) herzulaufen. So kam auch der [Ur]-
mensch hinter seinen Söhnen her aus der Höhe, [damit er]
sie ausläuterte und sein Vermögen (χρῆμα) holte, das zerstreut worden war
unter seinen Feinden. — Wiederum [gleicht er einem Manne],
dem seine beiden Söhne weggenommen worden sind in . . . . . .
[er] kam zu ihnen, um sie zu erretten. — [So hat auch]

9 ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ Bedeutung unbekannt. — 22 Bezieht sich „der Geliebte“ hier auf Jesus? — 33 Vielleicht ist statt ⲁⲥⲁⲧⲩⲟⲩ = „ausläuterte“ zu lesen ⲁⲥⲁⲧⲟⲩ = „errettete“.

ⲟⲍ̄

ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ

1 [ⲡⲱ]ⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ[. . . .] . . ⲡⲣⲏⲉ ⲥⲓ ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡ̄[ⲉⲩ]
2 ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲣⲁⲣ[ⲱⲟ]ⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲩ
3 ⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲉⲫⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲟⲉ leer
4 [ⲠⲠⲁⲗⲓⲛ] ⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ] ⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲃⲉⲣⲏⲍ . .
5 . . . . . ⲉⲉⲡ̣ . . . . . [ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲁ]ⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄
6 ⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ⲁⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ[ⲧⲉⲭⲛⲓ]ⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛⲩ
7 ⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲛⲍⲟⲡⲗ[ⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ] ⲁⲡⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ leer
8 ⲠⲠⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ⲁⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲭⲁⲓⲙ[ⲗⲁ]ⲍ
9 ⲉⲩⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲍⲓⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟ[ⲩⲱⲏ]ⲣⲉ ⲛⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲁⲩⲣⲁⲓⲭⲙⲁⲗⲱ[ⲧⲓⲍⲉ]
10 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲁⲧⲩ ⲁ[ⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄]ⲃⲓⲭ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲭⲁⲭⲉ leer
11 Ⲉⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ⲍⲱⲱ[ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡⲡⲣⲉ]ⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ
12 . . . . . [. . . . . .] . . . ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ . . . .
13 [. . . . . .] . . ⲃⲓⲭ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲁⲓⲭⲙ[ⲁⲗⲱⲧⲟⲥ(?)
14 [. . . . . .] . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ . . . . .
15 [. . . . . .]ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲭⲉⲩⲛⲁ . . . . . .
16 [. . . . . .]ⲭⲡⲁⲥ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣⲁⲓⲭⲙⲁⲗⲱⲧⲓⲍⲉ [ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ]
17 [ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀] leer Ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩⲍⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏ
18 [ⲧⲏⲥ] ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛⲉ ⲍⲱⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲍⲛⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲩ̄ ⲙⲛ ⲍⲛ[ⲣⲉⲩ]
19 ⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲫⲩⲭⲏ ⲧⲉⲧⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲥ ⲍ̄ⲙ̄ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲉ . .
20 . . ⲁⲡ[ⲁ]ⲟⲩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ . . . . . .
21 [. . . .]ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲃⲣⲣⲉ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲙ̣ⲁⲛⲣ̣ⲉⲱⲉ̣

22 ⲕⲍ̄

23 ⲕⲍ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲫⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲕⲍ̄
24 ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ

25 [ⲠⲠⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁ]ⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧ[ⲟⲗⲟⲥ] ⲍⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲍⲛ ⲧⲥⲁⲩⲍⲥ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ [ⲁ]
26 ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲕ[ⲓ]ⲁ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲡⲁⲛⲭⲱⲭ ⲛⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
27 [ⲙⲡⲕⲉ]ⲕⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲫ[ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲛⲉ] ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
28 [ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ] ⲙ̣ⲡⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲫⲟⲩ] ⲛⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲫⲟⲩ
29 [ⲛⲕⲟ]ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡ̣ⲕⲉ̣ⲕⲉ ⲧⲩⲁⲡⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟ ⲛⲍⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ
30 [ⲧⲁⲩ]ⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ Ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲛⲍ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩ
31 [ⲛⲁⲍⲃⲉ] ⲟ ⲛⲍⲁ ⲛ̣ⲁⲍⲱⲙ̣ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲩ
32 [ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲓⲭ] ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ [ⲛ]ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲍⲛⲁⲁⲗⲙⲱⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ
33 [ⲛⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡ̣[ⲕ]ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲡⲛⲟⲥ ⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲟ ⲛⲍⲁ ⲛ
34 [ⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄]ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲠⲠⲉⲩⲥⲉⲧ [ⲟ ⲙⲡ]

9 Lies ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ.

des Lehrers.

[der] Urmensch . . . . . geglänzt (? od. Glanz) in der Höhe wegen [seiner]
zwei Söhne, die versprengt worden sind von ihm weg, welche sind seine
Lebendige Seele, welche sich befinden in den zwei Mächten, die viere ausmachen. —
[Wiederum] gleicht das Schiff [des Tages] einem großen . . . . . .
. . . . . [Der Große] Geist aber, der in ihm ist,
gleicht einem verständigen Künstler (τεχνίτης), der schmückt
und zurechtmacht [alle] Rüstungen (πανοπλία) für den Krieg.
Der Lebendige Geist wiederum gleicht einem Kämpfer,
der zu einem Königssohn geht, der gefangengenommen (αἰχμαλωτίζειν)
worden ist, und ihn [aus den] Händen seiner Feinde befreit. —
[Der] Gesandte aber gleicht einem großen Manne
. . . . . wegen des Vermögens (χρῆμα) . . .
. . . . . [aus den] Händen seiner (? seine) Gefangenen (αἰχμάλωτος)
. . . . . diese Lichtkräfte . . . .
. . . . . Söhne und ihre Seele, damit sie . . . . . .
. . . . . sie (fem.) geboren in das Land, in dem man sie (fem.) gefangengenommen hat. — Wiederum wandte er sich und sprach zu seinen Jüngern:
Seid selbst Läuterer und Erlöser
für eure Seele, die überall steht
. . zu der Wohnung der Väter des Lichtes . . . . . .
. . . . des Reiches im Neuen Aeon in dem Freudenort.

XXVII.

Über die fünf Gestalten, die sich an den Archonten der Finsternis befinden.

[Wiederum], als der Apostel in der Versammlung saß, sprach er [zu]
seinen Jüngern: Was den Archonten, den Anführer aller Mächte der Finsternis anbetrifft,
so befinden sich [fünf Gestalten] an seinem Körper entsprechend
[der Gestalt] des Merkmales [der fünf] Geschöpfe, die sich in den
fünf Welten der Finsternis befinden. Sein Kopf hat das Gesicht eines Löwen, der
aus [der] Welt des Feuers entstanden ist. Seine Flügel und seine
[Schultern] haben ein Adlergesicht entsprechend der Gestalt der Söhne des Windes.
[Seine Hände] und seine Füße sind Dämonen entsprechend der Gestalt
[der Söhne] der Welt des Rauches (καπνός). Sein Bauch hat das Gesicht
[eines Drachen entsprechend der Gestalt der Söhne der] Welt der Finsternis. Sein Schwanz [hat die]

4 Die Bedeutung von Βερηζ unbekannt.

ⲟ̣[ⲏ]

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗ[ⲁⲓⲟⲛ] · <

1 ⲉ̣ⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲧⲃⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁ̣[ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲱ]ⲏ̣ⲣⲉ̣ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲧ[ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄]
2 ⲙ̣ⲟ̣ⲣⲫⲏ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟ̄ ⲛⲉⲧ[ⲁⲩⲉⲓ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄[ⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ]
3 ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ [ⲉ]ⲩⲱⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲱ[ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲥⲉ]
4 [ⲥⲛ̄] ⲧ̣ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ . ⲛ [. . .] ⲙ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ[ⲡⲕⲁⲡ]
5 [ⲛⲟⲥ] ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲱⲁⲩ . . . ⲥⲛ . . .[ⲩ]ⲧⲟⲉ ⲛ̄ . . .
6 ⲥⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲓⲭ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ̣[. . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̣ⲉ [ⲛⲛ̄]ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥ[ⲉⲧⲉ]
7 ⲉⲩ[ⲱ]ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ[ⲉⲩ]ⲧ̣ⲛ̀ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄
8 ⲡ[ⲧⲏⲩ] ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲱⲁⲩ[ⲃⲱⲃ]ⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ ⲁ̈ⲙ̣ⲛ̀ⲟ̣ⲩ̈ⲓⲉⲩⲉ
9 [ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛ]ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲱⲁ[ⲛⲟⲩ]ⲱⲱⲉ ⲁ̣ⲛ ⲱⲁⲩⲥⲱⲱⲉ ⲛ̣
10 [ⲥⲏ]ⲧ̣ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉ̣[ⲕⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧ]ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ
11 ⲛ̣[ⲥⲏⲧ]ⲩ Ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲕⲉⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲥⲏ[ⲧⲩ [ⲡⲱⲁⲣ]ⲡ ⲙ[ⲉⲛ] ⲭⲉ
12 . . . . . ⲉⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲡ . . . . . .
13 ⲡⲙ̣ⲁⲥⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲟⲩ . . . . [. . . . . .
14 ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲩ[ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ]
15 [ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲩ] ⲛⲩⲥⲱⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ [ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲛⲉⲩ]
16 ⲱⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲛⲥⲩ̄ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲱⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲱⲃⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ [ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩ]
17 ⲙ̣ⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲩⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲱⲁⲩ[ⲣ̄ ⲥⲙⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ]
18 ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲕ ⲥⲱⲥⲧ[ⲉ . . .
19 ⲧ[ⲏ]ⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲃⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲓⲉⲃⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲙⲁⲩⲱⲭⲱ[ⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ]
20 ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̣ⲓ̣ⲙ̣ ⲛⲃⲁⲛⲡⲉ ⲥⲓ ⲥⲁⲙⲧ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ[ⲩ ⲉⲛ] . . .
21 ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉⲕⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲁⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁⲁⲛⲕⲩ̄ ⲁⲩⲡⲡⲗ̣ⲁ̣[ⲥⲥ]ⲉ̣ [ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ]
22 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲥⲓ̈ⲏⲧ ⲛⲧⲥⲩⲗⲏ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ[ⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄]
23 ⲛⲓ̈ⲥ leer Ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲕⲉⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲩ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧ̣[ⲉⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲱⲁ]
24 ⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲉⲕⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲣⲧⲥⲉ ⲙⲡ[. . . . ⲛ̄]
25 ⲧ̣ⲥⲉⲧⲉ Ⲧⲧⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ̣ ⲱⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲃ̣ⲁⲗ̣
26 ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲣⲁⲱ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲱⲃⲃⲉ ⲛⲧⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ . . . .
27 ⲭⲓⲱⲛ leer Ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲓ̣ ⲉⲧⲉ̣ⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲃ̣ⲁ̣[ⲙ ⲧⲏⲕ ⲁ]
28 ⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉⲥⲏ ⲱⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ̣ ⲛ̄ⲩ̈ⲙⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ [ⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ]
29 ⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲏⲧ ⲱⲁⲩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁ̣ⲙ̣ⲉ̣ⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲙ ⲡ[ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲧ]
30 ⲥⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲟ ⲉⲫⲟⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟ̣ⲩ ⲥⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉⲥⲏ leer ⲡ̣[ⲥⲁⲡ]
31 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲥⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉⲥⲏ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [ⲙⲁⲩ̄]
32 ⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲗⲁ̣ⲓⲉ ⲛⲱⲛ̀ⲉ̣ [ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲩ]
33 ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛ̀ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲧ̣ⲭⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ[ⲛ̄ⲃⲱⲛⲧ] ⲉⲧⲟ̣[. . . .
34 ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲥⲟ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲟⲩ [. .] . . . [. . . . . .

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4 ⲥⲛ̄ oder ⲥⲓ zu erg. — 15 Lies ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ. — 21 Lies ⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ.

Die Kephalaia

Gestalt des Fisches, der gehört zu [der Welt der] Söhne des Wassers.
Diese [fünf]
Gestalten (μορφή) befinden sich an ihm, die, welche [entstanden sind] aus den
fünf [Geschöpfen]
der fünf Welten der Finsternis. Wenn er will, so [geht er]
[auf] seinen beiden Beinen . . . . . der Welt [des]
[Rauches (καπνός)]. Wenn er will, so . . . . . vier . . .
durch seine Hände und seine Beine . . . . wie die Söhne des [Feuers].
Wenn er will, erhebt er sich mit [seinen] Flügeln, wie die Söhne
des [Windes]. Wenn er will, so [springt] hinab ins Wasser
[wie] die Söhne des Wassers. Wenn er will, kriecht er
auf seinem Bauche wie die Söhne der Finsternis. [Diese] fünf Gestalten befin-
den sich an ihm. — Ferner sind weitere drei (sc. Gestalten) an ihm. Das erste:
. . . . . seine Mächte . . . . . .
Das zweite: es pflegt ein . . . . . .
seine Zaubereien (μαγία). Wenn er [will], so [beschwört (ἐπικαλεῖσθαι) er sich]
[selbst] und verbirgt sich vor seinen Mächten. [Wenn es ihm gefällt],
zeigt er sich ihnen und macht einen Schlag und [eine Tötung in seiner]
Zauberei (μαγία). Das Wort, welches er jeweils spricht, [er macht Zaubereien
(μαγία)]
durch es. Das dritte: sein Körper ist fest, so daß alle . . . . .
. . ., die Zähne und die Krallen seiner Mächte nicht können sie eindringen
[in ihn].
Alle Körper (σῶμα) von Eisen und Kupfer, sie werden nichts [über ihn] vermögen,
sie werden ihn nicht verderben können, denn er ist gebildet und geschaffen
(πλάσσειν) worden
durch die hartherzige Überlegung der Hyle, der Mutter der Dämonen und
der bösen Geister. — Weitere drei (sc. Gestalten) sind an ihm. Wenn [er will],
lodert (?) sein Feuer und sein ganzer Körper wird wie . . . .
des Feuers. Wenn er will, entsendet er
Frost und sein ganzer Körper wird kalt wie . . .
Schnee (χιών). — Das dritte ist: Wenn seine Mächte
stehen vor ihm, so sieht er sie an und merkt, [was]
in ihrem Herzen ist; er merkt das, was in [ihrem Herzen] ist
an ihrem Gesicht, solange (ἐφ' ὅσον) sie vor ihm stehen. — Wenn
sie von ihm weichen (ἀναχωρεῖν) und sich von ihm entfernen, weiß [er nicht].
was in ihrem Herzen ist. Kein Leben ist [in ihm]
überhaupt, sondern sein Leben ist die Galle (χολή) [des Zornes, des offensicht-
lichen]
an seinem Gesicht, und in seiner Furcht pflegt ein . . . . . .

14 Vgl. zu ἐπικαλεῖσθαι S. 31 Z. 19. — 24 Bedeutung von ⲙⲉⲕⲣⲉ unbekannt.

[ⲟ]ϩ

[ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲥ]

1 [ⲛⲱ]ⲧⲉⲕⲟ(?) ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣ[ⲉⲧⲩ ⲥ]ⲓⲧⲉⲩⲓⲥⲏ leer ϵⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣ[+ ⲥⲓ]
2 [ⲱⲧ] ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̇ⲙ̇ⲟⲣϕⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲧⲛ̇ⲟⲩ
3 ⲛⲉ ⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲛⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ [ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] ⲉⲧⲕⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲁ̀ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲏ
4 ⲛⲑⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ leer [ⲚⲆ]ⲧⲱⲧⲛⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲱⲣⲭ ⲧⲏⲛⲉ̣
5 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ [ⲛ]ⲉ̣ⲩⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲉⲧ̣ⲟⲩⲏⲥ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄
6 ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̇ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲧ̣ ⲛ̇ⲉ̣ⲙ̇ⲏⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲙⲛⲧⲥⲁ̣ⲗ
7 ⲃⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲡ̣ⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲙⲏⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲗ leer
8 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍ̄ⲛⲥⲡⲟⲩⲁⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲥ̄ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲉⲓⲟⲥ
9 ⲛⲁⲥⲣⲙ̄ ⲡⲛ̇ⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲭⲉ]
10 ⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̣ . . . . . [ⲛⲍⲏ]ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲕ ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ . . [ⲁ]
11 ⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲭ[ⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟ]ⲛⲟⲙⲏ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲱ]ⲛⲍ̄ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛ[ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ]
12 [ⲱⲁ] ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ̣ leer

13 [ⲕⲏ]

14 [ⲕⲏ] [ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲙ]ⲛ̣ⲧⲥⲛ̣ⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ · <
15 ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲓⲱⲧ · < [ⲕⲏ]

16 [ⲦⲦⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭ]ⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛⲕⲣⲓ[ⲧⲏⲥ
17 [ⲛⲉⲧⲱ]ⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲣⲉⲩ+ⲍⲉⲡ ⲛⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ̣[ⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲩ]
18 [ⲉⲓ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲉⲧ[ⲭ]ⲁⲥⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲁⲩ̣ⲧⲱⲱ ⲁⲍⲛⲍⲃ̣[ⲏⲩ]ⲉ̣
19 [ⲉⲩ]ⲱⲃⲓ̈ⲁⲧ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲉ̣ⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲛⲁⲃ]
20 [ⲧ]ⲉⲉⲥ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁ̣ⲩ [ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛ]ⲁ̣[ⲃ ⲛ̄]
21 [ⲕⲣ]ⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ̣ⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲉ̣[ⲧ]
22 [ⲥ]ⲙ̣ⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲥ̄ⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲉⲧ[ⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ] ⲡⲉ̣ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ]
23 [ⲦⲦⲱⲁⲣ]ⲡ̣ ⲛ̇ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱ[ⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ]ⲧⲁⲩⲑⲃⲓⲟ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ]
24 [ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧ]ⲥⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲁⲩ+ⲍⲉⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲕ[ⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲍ]ⲉ̣ⲡ ⲛ̄ⲁⲗⲕⲁⲗⲟⲥⲩ
25 [ⲛⲏ] ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲭⲉⲥⲧⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ [ⲁⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ] ⲉⲧⲱⲩ [ⲉⲛ ⲧⲉ]
26 [ⲦⲦⲙⲁ]ⲥⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁ̣ⲛⲍ ⲡⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲛ
27 ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ [ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲥ]ⲱⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲍⲉ̣ⲡ ⲥ̄ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲙ ⲧ[ⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄]
28 ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲱ̣[ⲃⲉ] ⲛ̇ⲛⲍⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̇ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ̣
29 [ⲦⲦⲙⲁ]ⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲕⲣⲓⲧ̣ⲏⲥ [ⲡⲉ ⲧ]ⲙⲉⲩ ⲙⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲁ [ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥ]
30 [ⲧⲥⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲁⲥⲥⲉⲍⲟ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ]ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̇ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ [ⲕⲁⲧⲁ]
31 [ⲡⲉⲥ]ⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲉⲧ[. . . . .]ⲧⲟⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲥ+[ⲥⲉⲡ ⲁ]ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ [ⲙ]
32 [ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧ]ⲡⲉ ⲁⲥⲥ[ⲁⲛⲍⲟⲩ] ⲁⲥⲥⲉⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ
33 [ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ] ⲦⲦⲙⲁ]ⲍⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ[ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲉ̣
34 [ⲕⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲃ̣ⲣⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲡⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲁⲩ
35 [+ⲍⲉⲡ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲍⲉⲡ ⲛ̄ⲁⲗⲕⲁ]ⲗⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲁⲛ[ⲧⲁⲙ]ⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲡ[ⲭⲁⲭⲉ?]

[des Lehrers.]

Gefängnis (?), das vor ihm steht. — Siehe, nicht [ziehet?]
an meine Geliebten, die Gestalten dieses Archonten, die Wurzel [aller] Schlechtigkeiten . . Schoos (?) und das Lager
jeder Häßlichkeit. — Ihr aber schützt euch
vor seiner Mitte (?) und seinen bösen Lehren (od. Gesinnungen), die wohnen in eurem
Körper, daß sie sich nicht mit euch vermischen und eure Mildherzigkeit verderben
und eure Wahrheit in Lüge verwandeln. —
Sondern werdet Eifrige (σπουδαῖος) und Vollkommene (τέλειος)
vor dem Noûς der Wahrheit, der sich euch offenbart hat,
auf daß ihr . . . . . und sie euch ziehen . . .
hinauf zur Höhe und ihr erbt [das Leben in]
Ewigkeit.

XXVIII.

[Über die] zwölf
[Richter] des Vaters

[Wiederum sprach] er zu seinen Jüngern: Zwölf Richter
gibt es, große mächtige Urteilsverkünder: sie sind entsandt worden und sind
heraus[gekommen] aus der erhabenen Größe hierher, sie wurden zu verschiedenen [Werken]
bestimmt, gemäß dem Auftrag (ἐντολή), den der Richter, der zur Größe gehört,
gab allen diesen Richtern. [Der große]
Richter, der größer ist als alle Richter, befindet sich und ist
befestigt in den Aeonen der Größe, [welcher] ist der Vater [der Größe].
[Der erste] Richter ist der Urmensch, der gedemütigt hat [den Archonten]
[der Finsternis] am Anfang. Er richtete ihn [nach einem] gerechten Gericht,
weil er sich erhoben hatte [gegen ein Reich], welches [nicht] das seine [war].
[Der] zweite Richter ist der Lebendige Geist, der kam und
den Menschen heraufholte. Auch er [vollzog] ein Gericht an [allen] Mächten
der Finsternis, welche die Gewänder des Urmenschen durchbohrt (? verletzt ?) hatten.
[Der] dritte Richter ist [die] Mutter des Lebens, der Große Geist, [die, welche]
[schön machte] und errichtete [die] Welt oberhalb [gemäß]
[ihrem] Willen, der . . . . . durch (?) sie; sie [richtete] die Archonten
[oberhalb] und [fesselte sie] und stellte sie an die Stelle,
[die ihnen geziemt]. [Der] vierte [Richter] ist der Große
[Baumeister; er erbaute den] Neuen Aeon der Freude, der
[gerichtet] hat nach] gerechtem [Gericht] die [ταμιεῖα] des [Feindes?],

π

> · ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗ[ⲁⲓⲟⲛ] · <

1 ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲉⲃⲉ ⲙⲟⲩ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲕ̀ⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡ
2 ⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲥⲓⲭ[ⲙ̄] ⲡⲗⲱⲃ̄ⲃ̄ ⲥⲱⲟⲩ [ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲕ̀ⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
3 ⲫⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̀ⲛ̀ ⲛ̀ⲓⲁⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
4 ⲛ̀ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲁ̀ⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ leer
5 ⲦⲦ[ⲙⲁⲥ]ϯⲟⲩ [ⲛⲕ]ⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁ̈ⲟ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲥ
6 [ⲉⲧ]ⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲥⲁⲱⲩ̄ ⲛⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲣⲓ
7 ⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
8 [ⲟⲩ]ⲥⲉⲡ ⲛ̄ⲁ̀ⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛ̀[ⲙⲛⲧ]ⲣ̀ⲣⲁ̈ⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
9 [ⲛⲛ̄]ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ leer ⲦⲦⲙⲁⲥⲥⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ
10 [ⲡⲙⲁⲥ]ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
11 [ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ] ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ[. .] . . . . . ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲩ
12 . . . . . ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲁⲩ . [. . . . . .]ⲁ̀ⲩ
13 . . . . . .
14 . . . . . ⲁⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ . . . [. . . . . ⲉⲩϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲣⲟ]
15 [ⲛ̄]ⲛⲉⲧⲃⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲧ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲭⲟ ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲛ[ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲭⲁ̈ⲓⲧ . . . . .]
16 . . . . ⲛ̀ ⲱⲁ̀ⲩⲱⲙⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲱⲣⲧ̄ . [. . . . . .]
17 ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲁⲭⲁ̈ⲓⲧ ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲥⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲟ[ⲩⲭⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ]
18 [ⲁⲡ]ⲱⲓⲭ̀ⲩ leer ⲦⲦⲙⲁⲥⲱⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲓ̈ⲏⲥ ⲡ̀[ⲡⲣ̄]
19 [ⲓ̈ⲉ] ⲡ̀ⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁ [ⲧⲉ]
20 [ⲡⲡⲣ]ⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲁ]ⲓⲛ[ⲉ]
21 ⲛ . . . . . ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲃⲱⲟ̀ⲥ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧ̀ⲡ[ⲉ]
22 ⲙ̀ⲛ ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ $\overline{ⲛ̄ⲓⲏⲥ}$ ⲡⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁ̀[
23 . . . . . ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲓⲧ̀ⲛ̄ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ
24 [ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲣⲭ ⲛ]ⲉⲧⲧⲃⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲧ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ]
25 ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲁⲭⲁ̈ⲓⲧ leer ⲦⲦⲙⲁⲥϯⲓ̀ⲥ ⲛⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲡ̀[ⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣ]
26 ⲫⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ [ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲃⲓ (ⲙ)ⲡⲥⲏⲧ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲁⲙ ⲥⲛ̄ [ⲧⲉⲥ]
27 ⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲥⲥⲱⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲱⲥ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲱⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲉⲥⲉ̀ⲓⲣ[ⲉ]
28 ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲉⲡ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲁⲃⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲁⲣ[ⲭⲱⲛ]
29 ⲙⲡⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ leer ⲦⲦⲙⲁⲥⲙⲏⲧ ⲛⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ [ⲡⲕⲣⲓ]
30 ⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲩϯⲥⲉ̀ⲡ ⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩ[ⲉⲓ]
31 ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲱⲣⲭ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ[ⲥⲉ]
32 ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ̀ⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲉⲩⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ leer
33 ⲦⲦⲙⲁⲥⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲏⲉ ⲛⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ̀[ⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩ]
34 ⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲩ[ⲥⲱⲧ]ⲡ ⲛⲧⲉ̀[ⲕⲕⲗⲏ]
35 ⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . [. . . . . .]
36 ⲛ̄ⲩⲡⲱⲣⲭ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲛⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ]

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18 Lies ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ. — 24 Lies ⲛⲉⲧⲃⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲧ.

Die Kephalaia

damit sie nicht mehr Tod hervorsprudelten von Stund an. Er errichtete ein Gefängnis für den
Feind, auf dem Dachfirst [des] Gebäudes aber errichtete er einen
Thron für den Urmenschen und alle Väter des Lichts,
die den Kampf (ἀγών) mit dem Bösen geführt und ihn besiegt hatten. —
[Der] fünfte Richter ist der Große König der Ehre, der wohnt
und befestigt ist, im siebenten Firmament. Er ist der Richter
aller Firmamente, der im rechten Gericht richtet nach
[dem] Gericht der Gerechtigkeit alle Mächte und alle Reiche
der Firmamente. — Der sechste Richter ist
[der] Dritte Gesandte, der gekommen ist und offenbart hat
[seine Erscheinung (εἰκών)], er läuterte das Licht aus . . . welches, das seinige
. . . . . dagegen den Feind, er hat . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . die Welten . . . . . [indem er den Sieg gibt]
den Freigesprochenen; er verurteilt aber die [Verurteilten] . . . .
. . . . . er wird ihnen eine Treppe (?) . . . . . .
die Verurteilten aber fegt und wirft er [hinaus]
[in die] Tiefe. — Der achte Richter ist Jesus der
[Glanz], der Vater aller Apostel; denn nachdem
[der] Gesandte seine Erscheinung offenbart hatte und das Licht fortgenommen war
. . . . . da rebellierten (?) viele Archonten oben
und unten. Da wurde Jesus der Glanz geschickt; er kam [heraus]
. . . . . er kam herab und vollzog ein Gericht in den
[Firmamenten und trennte] die Freigesprochenen [von]
den Verurteilten. — Der neunte Richter ist [die] Jungfrau des Lichts, [die weggenommen hat das Herz] der Mächte durch ihre
Erscheinung, indem sie die Ihrigen zu sich einsammelt, dagegen
ein Gericht vollzieht an dem Archonten des Feuchten und dem Archonten
des Trockenen. — Der zehnte Richter ist [der] Richter,
der in der Luft (ἀήρ) sitzt, indem er alle Menschen richtet und
eine Trennung vollzieht zwischen den Guten und den Schlechten, indem er scheidet
die Gerechten (δίκαιος) von den Sündern.
Der elfte Richter ist der Licht-Noûς, [welcher]
kommt und erscheint in der Welt und die heilige
Kirche [auswählt] und offenbart . . . . . .
und das Licht von [der Finsternis] scheidet [und trennt die Wahrheit von]

[πα]

[μπcaz]

1 ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲟⲙ|ⲁ leer ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲍⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲟ
2 ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲍⲛ
3 ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲣ|ⲭⲉ|ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ|ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲱⲣⲭ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ
4 ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲍ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲍⲁⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲩⲁⲥⲁⲩⲍⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ
5 ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲍⲱⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙ|ⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲍ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲛ
6 ⲁⲣⲉ|ⲁⲥ ⲛⲍⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲡⲱⲣⲭ [ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ] ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ]
7 Ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲧ[ⲁ]ⲩ
8 ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲉ|ⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲉⲉ̣ⲩ ⲁⲛ
9 ⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ ⲛ̄[ⲁⲧ†ⲱ|ⲗ ⲁ]
10 ⲣⲁⲩ ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ⲧⲕⲁⲁ̣ⲧ ⲉ̣ⲧⲥⲙ̣ⲁⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲧ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲙⲛ[ⲧⲛ]ⲁ̣ⲟ̣ [ⲍ|ⲭⲙ̄]
11 ⲡⲛⲁ̣ⲟ̣ ⲛ̄ⲑ̣ⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲡⲧⲁ̈ⲟ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲧ[ⲁ̈ⲟ]
12 [. . . . . .]ⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ leer
13 [Ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ †ⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ] ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ̄
14 [ⲍⲱⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲙ]ⲁ̣ⲍⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲍⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲍⲙ ⲡ|ⲙⲁ̈ⲓⲧ ⲛ̣[ⲧ]ⲉ̣
15 [ⲧⲁ|ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥⲩ]ⲛⲏ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ̈ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍⲩ̣ ⲛⲏⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ †ⲍⲉⲡ
16 ⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲍⲉⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲍⲱⲥ ⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁ|ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ
17 ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲛ ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲉ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ
18 ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲉ|ⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲭ|ⲗ ⲙⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲛ ⲡ|
19 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲙ̣ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ ⲙ̣ⲙ̣ⲱⲧⲛ̣
20 ⲍⲙ ⲡ|ⲙⲁⲛⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ leer

21 k̄θ̄

22 [k̄θ̄] > · ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲙⲛⲭⲙⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ · < k̄θ̄
23 > · ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ · <

24 [ⲧⲧⲁ]ⲗ|ⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲛⲧⲭⲙⲏⲛ ⲛ̄
25 [ⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲉⲧⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲉ̣ⲧⲉ̣
26 [ⲙ]ⲁ̣ⲁⲛⲧ ⲍⲛ ⲙⲛⲭⲙⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ †|ⲥ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲍⲏ|ⲧ̣ⲟⲩ
27 [ⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲍⲛ̄] ⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲍ|ⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲱ[ⲟⲟ]ⲡ
28 [ⲍ]ⲛ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲥⲉ leer
29 [ⲧⲧⲱⲁ]ⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ
30 [ⲧⲙⲏ]ⲉ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲁ|ⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲟ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁ
31 [(ⲁ)ⲛⲧ . . . . . .] . ⲩ ⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲉⲉⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲟⲩⲥ[ⲓ]ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙ|ⲛ ⲙ̄
32 [ⲙⲁⲩ . . . . ⲍⲁⲣ|ⲍ]ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ
33 [. . . . . .] ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲁⲛⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

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24 Lies ⲙⲛⲭⲙⲏⲛ oder ⲙⲛⲧⲱⲙⲏⲛ.

[der Lehrers.]

der Sünde (ἀνομία). — Der zwölfte Richter ist der Große
Gedanke, der der Ruf und das Hören ist, der sich befindet in
den Elementen (στοιχεῖον), der, welcher eine Trennung vollzieht zwischen
den Guten und den Bösen. Zum Schluß aber wird er sich selbst
einsammeln und sich selbst bilden (ζωγραφεῖν) in der Letzten
Statue (ἀνδριάς) und wird trennen [das Licht von der Finsternis].
Dieses sind die zwölf großen mächtigen Richter, die
entsandt worden sind und die herausgekommen sind aus dem Großen Richter, der größer ist als
alle Richter, welcher der Vater ist, der verborgene [unermeßliche],
der sich befindet und befestigt ist in den Aeonen der Größe [auf]
dem großen Thron der Ehre, welcher der König der [Ehre] ist,
. . . . . in seinem Reich. —
[Deswegen sage ich] zu euch, meine Geliebten: Ihr
[nun selbst] wandelt in wahrem Herzen auf diesem Wege
der Gerechtigkeit, den ich euch gezeigt habe. Richtet
nach wahrem Rechte als (ὡς) Richter der Gerechtigkeit.
Möge ein Bruder mit seinem Bruder in Wahrheit reden, auf daß
zu der Zeit, wenn ihr herauskommt und den Sieg empfanget von diesen
zwölf großen Richtern und zur Ruhe gehet
in dieser Ruhestätte ewiglich. —

XXIX.

Über die achtzehn großen Throne aller Väter.

Wiederum sprach er zu seinen Jüngern: Achtzehn
[große Throne aller Väter] gibt es, die sich befinden und befestigt
sind an achtzehn Orten. Neun von ihnen
[befinden sich in] den äußeren Aeonen, indem sie [sich befinden]
[in] allen Welten der Einbuße (Schadens). —
[Der] erste Thron ist der Thron des Vaters, des Gottes der
[Wahrheit], des Königs der Aeonen der Größe, der sich befindet und be-
[festigt ist . . . . .] allein in seiner eigenen οὐσία
. . . . . [für] sich. Dies ist der erste Thron
. . . . . ., der vorzüglicher ist als alle Throne.

[π]β

> · ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗ[ⲁⲓⲟ]ⲛ · <

1 ⲠⲠⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̣̄[ⲉ]
2 ⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ
3 ⲁⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ leer ⲠⲠⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉ
4 ⲧⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ
5 ⲑⲃ̄ⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲙⲛⲧϫⲁϫⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ϩ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄
6 ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ leer ⲠⲠⲙⲁϩⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ
7 ⲛ̣̀ⲁⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲛⲁ̣ⲟ̀ ⲙⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄
8 ⲧ̣ⲉ̀ ⲛ̣ⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲟ leer ⲠⲠⲙⲁϩⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ
9 ⲡⲉ̀ ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲓⲧⲉⲕⲧⲱⲛ
10 ⲡⲉ̀ⲧⲁⲩⲕⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲛⲧⲃ[ⲣⲣⲉ] ⲁ[ⲩ . . .]ⲧⲁⲗ . .
11 ⲛ̄[ⲛ]ⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ̀ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲙⲙⲟⲩⲣ ϩⲱⲱⲩ [ⲙⲛ ⲟ]ⲩⲫⲩ
12 ⲗⲁ̀ⲕⲏ ⲙⲡϫⲁϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ leer [ⲠⲠⲙⲁϩⲥⲁⲩ ⲛⲑⲣⲟ]ⲛⲟ[ⲥ]
13 ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲡϫⲱⲣⲉ̀ [ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ] ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ]
14 ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡ[ⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ]
15 ⲉⲧ̣ⲁ̀ϩⲥⲱⲣⲃ̀ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟ[ⲥ . . . . . .]
16 ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲙ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ̣[ⲇⲉ ⲛⲛ]
17 ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧϫⲁϫⲉ leer ⲠⲠⲙⲁϩⲥⲁⲱⲟ̄ ⲛⲑ[ⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ]
18 ⲡⲁⲡⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲛ̣̄
19 ϫⲁⲓⲥ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲛⲛⲥⲩⲙⲃⲟⲩⲗⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ leer
20 ⲠⲠⲙⲁϩⲱⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁ|ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲧ̣ⲉ̀ ⲛⲧⲁ̣ⲩ̀ [ⲡⲉ]
21 ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ [ⲛ]ⲙ̄ⲧⲩϫⲁⲩⲉ ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲟⲩ
22 ⲠⲠⲙⲁϩⲧⲓⲥ ⲛⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲛ̣[ⲟⲩⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ]
23 ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲱⲩϩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡ[ⲱⲛϩ]
24 ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲕⲱⲗ ⲁⲣⲁ̣ⲩ̀ leer
25 Ⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲧⲓⲥ ⲛⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲧ[ⲁ]ⲓ̈[ⲟ] ⲛⲉⲧⲕⲁⲁⲧ ϩⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲱ[ⲛ]
26 ⲉⲧϩⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ [ϩ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡ]
27 ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛϩⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛϩⲥⲉ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ leer
28 ⲠⲠⲕⲉⲧⲓⲥ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲛⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲁⲧ ϩⲙ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥ̣ⲙ̣ⲟⲥ ⲛ̣̄[ⲧⲉ]
29 ⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ Ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ϩⲙ ⲡϫⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̣[ⲫⲟ]
30 ⲟⲩⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲡ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲡ̣[ⲉ ⲡⲁ]
31 ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲡⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̣
32 Ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲕ̣ⲉⲱⲁⲙⲧ ϩⲙ ⲡϫⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧ[ⲏⲡ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ]
33 ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄|ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ [ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁ]
34 ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲡ̣ⲉ̀ ⲡ̣[ⲁⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄]

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25 Über ϩⲛⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ zwischen den Zeilen: ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲛⲧ.

Die Kephalaia

Der zweite Thron ist derjenige der Mutter des Lebens, der Herrlichen, welche der Anfang (ἀρχή) aller Emanationen (προβολή) ist, die zu dieser Welt gekommen sind. — Der dritte Thron ist derjenige, der errichtet ist für den Vater, den Urmenschen, welcher derjenige ist, der die erste gesamte Feindschaft gedemütigt hat, die entstanden ist in den Welten der Finsternis. — Der vierte Thron ist der des Geliebten der Lichter, des großen geehrten Geliebten der Aeonen der Größe. — Der fünfte Thron ist der des herrlichen Großen Baumeisters, des großen Architekten (ἀρχιτέκτων), der den Neuen Aeon gebaut hat zu einer [Neu]heit (und) zu einem . . . . für die Väter des Lichts, zu einem Fesselungsort aber und zu einem Gefängnis (φυλακή) für den Feind und seine Mächte. — [Der sechste Thron] ist der des Lebendigen Geistes, des Mächtigen, [des Herrlichen], der heraufgeholt hat den Urmenschen aus dem [Lande der Finsternis], der geordnet und errichtet hat die Welten . . . . . zu einer Läuterung (καθαρισμός) für das Licht, zu einer Fessel aber für [die] Kräfte der Feindschaft. — Der siebente [Thron ist] der des Dritten Gesandten, des Königs der ζώνη, des Herrn aller Ratschläge (συμβουλία). — Der achte Thron ist der Jesu des Glanzes, der der Löser und Erlöser aller Seelen ist. Der neunte Thron ist der Thron des großen [Νοῦς, zu dem] sich alle Kirchen (ἐκκλησία) versammeln und zu dem alles [Leben], das aus der Welt ausgeläutert wird, zurückkehrt. Dies sind die neun Throne der Ehre, die sich in den äußeren Aeonen für die ruhmreichen Väter befinden [in dem Reiche des Königs der] Ehre in alle Ewigkeit. Amen. — Die andern neun Throne aber, die sich befinden und errichtet sind in dieser Welt [der] ζώνη, sind folgende: Drei Throne im Schiff des Tages: einer ist der des Gesandten, der zweite ist [der] des Großen Geistes, der dritte ist der des Lebendigen Geistes. Ferner sind drei andere im Schiff, das [der Nacht angehört]: Der erste ist der Thron Jesu des Glanzes, [der zweite ist der des] Urmenschen, der dritte ist der [der Jungfrau des]

ⲙⲡⲥⲁϩ

ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲦⲦⲓⲥⲁⲩ ⲛ̣ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲥ̣ⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ ϩⲙ ⲡⲭⲁ̈ ⲥⲛⲉ̣ⲩ
ⲦⲦⲙⲁϩⲥⲁⲱⲩ̄ ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲥ̣ⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ ϩⲙ ⲡⲙ̣ⲁϩ
ⲥⲁⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̣ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲟ ϩⲙⲉ
ⲥⲧ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲡⲙⲁϩⲱⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲁ
ⲛⲧ̄ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ϩⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ
ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧ†ϩⲉⲡ ⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̈ⲓⲧ
ⲡⲱⲣⲭ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲓ[ⲧ]ⲉⲩⲉϩⲏ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲡⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲟ̣ⲩ[ⲉ] ⲁ̣
ⲡⲧⲱⲧ ⲡⲙⲁϩ†ⲓ̣ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧ̣ⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁ̣ⲛ̄ⲧ̄
ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲁ]ⲡⲟⲥⲧ̣ⲟⲗⲟⲥ ϩ̄ⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ̣ ⲡⲁ̣ⲡⲟ̣
ⲥⲧ̣ⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁ̣ⲩⲉⲓ ϩⲓⲣⲉⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲩ ϩⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄ ⲁϫ[ⲱⲩ ⲛ̄]
†ϩⲉ [ϩⲱⲥ ⲕⲣⲓ]ⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟ̣ⲥ̣ⲩ[ⲛⲏ] ⲱⲁⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡ̣ϩ̣ⲉ[ⲡ]
[ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ] ⲛⲥ[ⲏⲩ] ⲛⲓⲙ leer Ⲛ[ⲉ̈ⲓ] ⲛⲉ ⲡ[†ⲓ]ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ[ⲑ]ⲣⲟ
[ⲛⲟⲥ . . . . . .] ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛ̣ⲧ̣ ϩⲙ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄
[ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ . . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ̣ⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲑ̣ . . . ⲏ
. . . . . ⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲁⲩ [. . . . . .]
. . . . . ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̣ . †ⲉ . . . ⲉⲩ leer

$\overline{\lambda}$

$\overline{\lambda}$ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛϩⲃⲥ̣ⲱ $\overline{\lambda}$

[ⲦⲦⲁ]ⲗⲗ[ⲛ ⲁⲛ] ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲱⲟⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ
ⲙⲡⲓ̣ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ
ⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲧⲁⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ
ⲧⲁⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲣⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϫⲛ̄ [. . . .]ⲛⲉ ⲛⲟⲩ . . . ⲁⲩ
[. . . . . .] ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲛ †ⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲉⲧⲙ̄[ⲙⲉⲩ]
[. . . . .]ⲁⲩⲥⲉϩⲟ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ[ⲟⲩ] ⲛⲛϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ[ⲡⲓ]
[ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟ]ⲥ ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛ̣ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̣ⲉ ⲁⲩϩⲁⲣⲃⲟⲩ ϩⲛ ⲛ . . .
[ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ]ⲛϩ̄ ⲙⲛⲛ[ⲥⲱⲥ?] . . . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ
. . . . .] ⲡⲧ . . [ⲁ]ⲩⲕⲁⲕⲩ ⲁϩⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲙⲏⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲛ[ⲛⲁⲓ]ⲕⲁ̣ⲓⲟⲥ leer Ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲱ[ⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ]
[. . . ⲁⲩ]ⲃⲁⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϫⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲟ̣ⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲁϩⲙ̣ⲉ̣ ⲁⲩ
[. . . . ⲛ̄]ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲥⲧⲏⲱ ⲛ̄†ϩⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ †ⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛϩⲃⲥ]ⲱ
[. . . . . .] ϫⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲧⲁⲡ ⲛⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄
[ⲙⲁⲥ ⲧⲏ]ⲣ̄ⲥ̄ ⲉ . . [. .]ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ . . . . . ⲱⲁ ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ̣ . . . .
[. . . . . ⲁ]ϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ . . . . . ⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ

3 Lies ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ.

des Lehrers.

Lichts. Diese sechs Throne sind errichtet in den beiden Schiffen. Der siebente Thron aber ist der, der errichtet ist im siebenten Firmament (στερέωμα), indem der Große König der Ehre auf ihm sitzt. Der achte Thron ist der, der errichtet ist in der Luft (ἀήρ), indem der Richter der Wahrheit auf ihm sitzt, welcher der ist, der alle Menschen richtet. Drei Wege scheiden sich vor ihm: einer zum Tode, einer zum Leben, einer zur Vermischung. Der neunte Thron, der sich befindet und errichtet ist für den Apostel in der Heiligen Kirche, ist derjenige, auf dem der Apostel, der seinerzeit zu euch gekommen ist, sitzt [in] dieser Weise [als] Richter der Gerechtigkeit. Sie verkündigen das [wahre] [Gericht] zu jeder Zeit. — Dies sind die neun große Thro
ne . . . . . die errichtet sind in dieser Welt
[des Lichtes] . . . . . ruhmreich, der, welchen die . . .
. . . . . ehren sie . . . . . .
. . . . . und die . . . . . —

XXX.

Über die drei Kleider.

[Wiederum] sprach er zu seinen Jüngern: Wisset also, meine Geliebten, daß, als der Lebendige Geist [herauskam], da nahm er die drei Kleider, das des Windes, des Feuers und des Wassers, und zog sie an (φορεῖν) von . . . an . . . er hat
. . . . . in ihnen in jenen drei Kleidern
. . . . . er stellte auf alle Dinge [dieser]
[Welt], die oberen und die unteren, er ordnete sie in den . . .
[er offenbarte sich;] darauf (?) . . . . . seine Werke
. . . . . er zog sie aus vor
den Gerechten. — Als er nun im Begriff war, [sie] auszuziehen, [da] zog er sie aus von ihrer . . . an er hat . . . und er hat
. . . . in ihnen, indem in dieser Weise angeordnet sind diese drei Kleider.
. . . . von unterhalb der Ränder der ζώνη, indem sie sie ganz anlegen (φορεῖν) . . . . hinauf . . . . . bis nach oben . . . .
. . . . . hinauf . . . . . oberhalb von ihnen

29 Lesung ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲱⲡⲉ fraglich, Bedeutung unbekannt — ⲥⲁϩⲙⲉ Bedeutung unbekannt.

$\overline{\text{πα}}$

> · ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

Ⲃⲁϣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲕⲣⲟ̄
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲭⲉⲥ[ⲧⲥ ⲁ]ⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲭⲓ
ⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲁ̣[Ⲃ]ⲁⲗ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ
ⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲥⲟⲩⲓⲧⲉ

$\overline{\lambda\alpha}$

> · ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ · <

$\overline{\lambda\alpha}$ > · ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲱ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ · < $\overline{\lambda\alpha}$

> · ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ · <

Ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲥ ⲱⲛ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁ̣[ⲩ] $\overline{\text{ⲛ}}$
ⲧⲁ [ⲡ]ⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲉⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄[ⲧ]☩ⲩⲭ[ⲏ ⲉⲧ]
ⲁ[ⲛⲍ̄ ⲱⲁ] ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ[ⲁ]ⲓⲱⲛ ⲉⲡⲉ[ⲓ]ⲇⲏ ⲥⲥⲏⲍ ⲥⲛ
ⲛ[ⲅ]ⲣⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲣ̣ⲱⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ ⲡ . . . .
ⲛ̄ⲁ̣ⲓⲱⲛ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉ leer Ⲧⲁⲭⲉ ⲡ[ⲫⲱ]ⲥⲧⲏⲣ
ⲁ̣ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲃⲁⲗⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩ[. . . . . .]
ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲍⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̣[ⲏⲧⲛⲉ] . . . [. . .]
ⲛ̄ⲧ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲁⲩⲙ̄ . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲩ[ⲥ]ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲁ . . . . [. . . .]
ⲛ . . . ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ [ⲁ]ⲩⲱ[ⲱ]ⲡⲉ̣ [ⲥⲛ̄[
ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲥⲛ ⲧ̣[ⲉ]ⲩⲁⲥⲁ
ⲡⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲡ̣[ⲁⲣ]ⲑⲉ
ⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ leer
Ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲉⲗ[ⲟⲥ]
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲱⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲡⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲱⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ [ⲙ̄]
ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲁⲡⲉ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉⲩ ⲥⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . [. . ⲙ̄]
ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲱⲱⲧ ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣ̣[ⲩ ⲛ]ⲁⲙ[ⲟⲩ]
ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ leer Ⲧⲍⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣ[ⲡ ⲛ]ⲣⲱ[ⲙⲉ]
ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲁⲡⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲉ]ⲗⲟⲥ [ⲛ̄]
ⲧⲉⲩ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧ[ⲁ]ⲛⲍ̄ [ⲉ]
ⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲭⲓ ⲛ|ⲩⲉ ⲛ[ⲩ . . . .]
ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲩⲁⲡⲉ ⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲁⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗ[ⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ]
ⲁⲩ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ leer Ⲧⲍⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧ̣[ⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄]
ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ[ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲍ|ⲭⲛ̄ ⲡ]
ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲍ|ⲭⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲥ[ⲛ . . .]
ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲭⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟ[ⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ] ⲉⲧⲉ [ⲛⲧⲁⲥ] ⲧ̣ⲉ̣
ⲧⲉⲩ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲣⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ . . [. . . . . .]

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4 ⲥⲟⲩ|ⲧⲉ, ⲟⲩ oberhalb der Zeile.

Die Kephalaia.

zieht ihnen die ζώνη aus von dort an an ihrem (fem.) äußersten (ἄκρον) Ende und sie legen sie (fem.) unterhalb von ihnen und erheben [sie] hinauf zu der oben befindlichen Höhe, aus der sie entsandt ist in ihrem (plur.) Anfang.

XXXI.

Über den Ruf: in (od. mit) welchem Glied (μέλος) der Seele er hinabgestiegen ist zum Urmenschen.

Wiederum fragte einer von den Lehrern den Φωστήρ und sprach zu ihm: Mit welchem Glied (μέλος) [der Lebendigen Seele] ist der Ruf hinabgestiegen, [zu] dem Menschen, der sich im Aeon befindet? Denn es steht geschrieben in den Schriften (γραφή) in betreff des Menschen: er hat sich ausgebreitet im . . . . . des Aeons wie ein Holzhaus. — Es sprach der Φωστήρ: Der Urmensch hat sich aufgelöst, er hat . . . . . die Glieder der Lebendigen Seele, wie ich [euch] geschrieben habe . . . . . der Lebendigen Seele, er hat . . . . nicht hat er erkannt . . . . aber der selige (μακάριος), herrliche Mensch ist entstanden [im] Verborgenen in seiner Erscheinung (εἰκών), in seiner Gestalt (μορφή), in seiner Liebe (ἀγάπη), in seiner heiligen (reinen) Jungfrau, welche ist die Jungfrau des Lichts, die Seele des Vaters. —

Nach der Weise dieses Körpers des Fleisches, indem die Wurzel aller Glieder am Kopf hängt: denn wenn eins der Glieder des Menschen abgeschnitten wird, der Kopf aber vorhanden ist, so hat er Hoffnung (ἐλπίς) auf [Rettung o. ä.].

Wenn man aber seinen Kopf abschneidet, so wird der ganze Körper [sterben] und zugrunde gehen. — So auch der Urmensch.

Er ist der Kopf, indem seine Söhne an ihm befestigt sind, die Glieder seiner Seele, oder vielmehr wie die lebendige Luft (ἀήρ), von der alles Fleisch überhaupt lebt, indem es atmet und . . . durch sie; denn sein Kopf befindet sich auf dem Körper der Säule der Herrlichkeit in der Höhe der Welt. — So auch der Vater, der selige (μακάριος) Mensch, da er ist wie der Kopf, [der auf dem] Körper, und die Luft (ἀήρ), die auf der Säule, indem er sich befindet [in] . . . indem er befestigt ist in seiner [Licht-] Jungfrau, welche ist seine Seele, mit der er bekleidet (φορεῖν) ist . . . . . .

ⲡ̅ε̅

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[.]ⲏ ε[ⲧⲙ]ⲙⲉⲩ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲡⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ
ⲡⲙ[ⲁⲕ]ⲙ̣ⲉ̣ⲕ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲱ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲙ̣ⲙ̣[ⲁⲩ ⲁ]ⲣ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲥⲛⲉⲓⲛⲉ̣ ⲁⲩⲙⲁϩⲉ ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩ
. ⲣ . . . ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̣ ⲉⲧϫⲁⲗϫ̣ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲃⲉ̣ϫ̣ⲉⲩ
ⲉ̣ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̣ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ
. . ⲁ . . . . . ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲇ̣ⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩⲥ̣ⲟⲩ̣
ϩⲙ [ⲡⲥ]ⲏ[ⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲃⲛ̄ⲧⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡ[ⲟⲩⲁ]
[ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲩ]ⲱ [ⲁⲩ]ⲁ̣ϩⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲡⲥ̀ ⲉ[ⲩ]ⲧ̣ⲱⲃϩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃ[ⲁ]ⲙ̣
ⲁⲛ . . . [. . . . ⲁⲩ]+ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ|ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲥⲡⲁ[ⲥⲙⲟⲥ]
[. . . . . .] . . . ⲁⲩ[+] ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ|[ⲧ]
[. . . . .] . [ⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ϩⲱ̣[ⲱ]ⲩ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲩ+ [ⲛⲉⲩ]
[. . . . . .ⲛⲛ]ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲩⲥⲱⲩϩ̣ ⲧⲉⲩ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲁϩ[ⲟⲩ]ⲛ
. . . . . [.] ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲧⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲧϩⲉ ⲙⲡ|ⲡⲩⲣ[ⲓ]ⲥ̣ⲕⲟⲥ
[. . . . .]. . . ⲙ̣ⲁⲁⲛⲕⲏ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲉϫⲛⲏ . . .
[. . . . .] . . . ⲡ]ⲗⲁⲥ[ⲙⲁ . .] . ⲛϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛ̣[ⲁⲩ]ⲥⲟⲩ
[. . . . . .]ⲁⲱⲙⲥ̀ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ̣ [ⲛ̄ⲏⲱ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ] . . . . .
[.] . ⲩ[ⲩ]ϫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲗⲱϫϩ̀ ϩⲙ ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲱϩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲉ| ⲉⲩ
[ⲧ]ⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲱ̣[ϩ]ⲙⲉ ϩ̣ⲛ ⲧϩ|ⲕⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩ̈ⲱⲧ

ⲗⲃ̅

ⲗⲃ̅ > · ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲱⲩ ⲛϩⲱⲃ · < ⲗⲃ̅
> · ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ · <

[ⲧⲧⲁⲗ|ⲛ] ⲁ̣ⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲣ̄ ⲥⲁⲱⲩ
[ⲛ̄ϩ]ⲱⲃ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧϫⲱⲣⲉ leer [ⲡⲱⲁ]
[ⲣⲡ̄ ϫⲉ] ⲁⲩⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲁⲩⲱⲛ ⲧϩⲉ ⲛ̄
[ⲟ]ⲩⲙ̣ⲁⲣⲅⲁⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲩ[ⲛ̄ⲧⲏ̄] ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ leer
[ⲧⲧⲙ]ⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲣⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ
[ⲙ̄]ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ leer ⲧⲧⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩ
[ϩ]ⲱⲙ ⲁⲩⲱⲣ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥ|ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ leer
[ⲧⲧⲙ]ⲁϩⲩⲧⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲙ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ|ⲛⲉ leer ⲡⲙⲁϩ
[+ⲟ]ⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩ+ⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩ
[ⲉⲙⲁ]ϩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲱⲛⲏ ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ϩⲁ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲱⲉ ⲑⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟ
[ⲥⲙⲟ]ⲉ̣ ⲁⲩⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲁⲩⲥⲉϩⲱⲩ ⲁ
[ⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ] ⲁ̣ϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲱ[ⲁⲙ]ⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲛϫ|ⲟⲣⲉ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲁϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲣ|ⲁⲥ
[ⲁⲩⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲙⲟⲩϫⲧ̄ ⲙⲛ ⲡ+ⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲙ̄
ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ|ⲉ

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17 Lies ⲥⲱ⟨ⲩ⟩ϩ. — 8 In ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲡⲥ über der Zeile ⲡ.

des Lehrers.

jene . . .: Νοῦς, Denken, Einsicht, Sinnen und
Überlegung, die er hervorgebracht und entsandt hat aus
[sich, damit sie] seinen Willen ausführten. Er sprang und ging hinter ihnen her.
. . . . seine Lebendige Seele, die zwischen den Rebellen festgeheftet ist,
indem sie sind nach der Gestalt der Glieder ihres (fem.) Körpers und
. . . . . Welt. Zu der Zeit aber, da man sie (pl.) entsandte
in [jener Zeit] hat er ihn gefunden in der Jungfrau des
[Lichts und er] stand da, indem er betete und flehte um Kraft (?)
[. . . . . er] gab ihm Frieden (εἰρήνη) und Gruß (ἀσπασμός)
. . . . . er [gab] ihm die gute Botschaft
. . . . . Mensch; er aber der Mensch gab [ihm] . . . . .
. . . . . seine Glieder und sammelt seine Seele ein
. . . . . er baute ihn an seiner Statt wie den Turm (? πυργίσκος)
. . . . . bilden ihn und schmücken ihn kunstvoll (τέχνη)
. . . . . Gebilde (πλάσμα) . . . Stimmen, die er entsandt hat
. . . . . um einzutauchen und auszulöschen . . . .
. . . die Seele, die gelitten hat durch den Feind. Sie wurden eingesammelt und kamen, indem sie
sich aufstellten wiederum in der εἰκών ihres Vaters.

XXXII.

Über die sieben Werke des Lebendigen Geistes.

[Wiederum] sprach der Φωστήρ: Der Lebendige Geist vollbrachte sieben
Werke durch seine Stärke. — [Das erste (sc. Werk)]:
Er holte den Urmenschen aus dem Kampf (ἀγών) herauf wie
eine Perle (μαργαρίτης), die aus dem Meere herauf[geholt] wird. —
[Das] zweite: Er breitete aus denjenigen, der rebelliert hatte, und kreuzigte (σταυροῦν)
ihn in jedem Körper. — Das dritte: Er trat nieder,
und . . . . und befestigte die Wesenheiten (οὐσία) des Todes. —
[Das] vierte: Er errichtete die Schiffe des Lichts. — Das
fünfte: Er berief seine fünf Söhne, verteilte sie, und sie
nahmen die ⲍⲱⲛⲏ in Besitz und trugen alle Lasten der
Welt. Er berief auch drei lebendige Worte und stellte sie auf
über die [drei] Fahrzeuge, ein weiteres auf den Riesen (γίγας).
[Ferner berief er den] Ruf, daß er sich mit den fünf Lichten vermische

28 Bedeutung von ϣⲱⲣ unbekannt, s. ϣⲁⲣⲉ 62,2.

π[ϛ]

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 ⲠⲠⲙⲁϩⲥⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲁ̣ⲩⲧⲱ[ⲛⲉ] ⲁ̣ⲩⲧ[ⲛ]
2 ⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ϩⲛ̄[ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗ]ⲟⲥ ⲉ
3 ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲛ ϫⲉⲩⲛⲁ[ⲁ]ⲣϫⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍ̣[ⲱ]ⲛⲏ ⲥⲁ̣ [ⲥⲁ] ⲛ̣ⲓ̣ⲙ̣
4 ⲱ[ⲁ]ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲩ[ⲥ]ⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲁ̣ⲧϩⲁⲏ ⲁ̣ⲉ̣ [ⲛ]ⲛ[ϩⲃⲏ]
5 ⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩϫ[ⲓ ϩ]ⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ
6 ⲁⲩⲕⲁ ϩⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ [ϩ]ⲓⲍⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲣⲁⲓⲥ leer
7 ⲠⲠ[ⲙⲁ]ⲍⲥⲁⲱⲩ̀ ϫⲉ ϩ[ⲙ ⲡ]ⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ[ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲛ]ϩ ⲁ
8 [ⲃⲁ]ⲗ ⲛⲧⲉⲩϩⲓⲕⲱ[ⲛ] ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉ[ⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲥⲙⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄]
9 [ⲛⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ ϩⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱⲩ ⲁ̣ⲩ̣[. . . . . .]
10 ⲁ[ⲩⲉ]ⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲕⲱⲧ ⲧⲏⲣ[ⲩ . . . . . .]
11 ⲁ[.] ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ [ⲡ]ⲟ̣ⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁ̣ . . . [. . . . .]
12 Ϫⲉⲛ[ⲁ]ⲟ ⲁⲛ ϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲩⲟⲩ̈ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ [ⲉ]ⲩⲁⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲩ ⲁⲧϩ[ⲁⲏ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥ]
13 ⲛϩⲁⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲩⲁⲛⲧⲩ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙ̄[ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ]
14 ⲛ̣ⲩ . . ⲃⲉ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ[ⲩⲉ]ⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲛⲩϩⲱⲕ . . . . . [. . . . . .]
15 ⲛ[ⲩ]ⲕⲱⲧ ⲛⲩⲧ . . . ⲛ̄ⲩ . . . . . [ⲙ̄]ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲩ leer [Ⲛⲉ̈ⲓⲉ]
16 [ⲧⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲉⲧⲥⲛ[ⲟⲩⲱⲛ]ⲩ ϩ[ⲙ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲛⲩ[ⲟⲩⲱϩ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲓ]
17 ⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲉ leer

18 λ̅γ̅

19 ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ
20 λ̅γ̅ ⲥⲙⲛⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲛ ⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉ λ̅γ̅
21 ⲧⲛ̣ⲁⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ
22 Ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲥⲙ̣[ⲛ̄ †ⲟⲩ]
23 ⲛ̣ⲛⲁⲟ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁ̣ⲛⲧⲉⲗ[ⲙ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ]
24 ⲉ̣ⲧⲛⲁⲱⲧ̄ leer ⲠⲠⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁ̣ⲓⲥⲕⲟ̣ⲥ ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲁ̣ⲧ ⲁ̣ϫⲛ [ⲧⲛⲁ]
25 ϩⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ leer Ⲡ̣ⲙ̣[ⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉ]ⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁ̣†ⲓⲥ ⲙ̄[ⲡ]
26 ⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲙⲏⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲠⲠⲙⲁ]ϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡ[ⲡⲗⲁⲥ]
27 ⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ[ⲟⲩ]ⲛ̄ⲕ ⲛⲛⲓⲉⲍⲉⲛⲛⲁ Ⲡⲙ̣ⲁⲍⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡ[ⲥⲁⲱⲩ?]
28 ⲛⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲉϩⲱⲩ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲛ ⲧⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ϩⲛ̄ [ⲧ]
29 ⲥⲁⲱⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ̣ⲓ̣ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ leer Ⲡⲙⲁϩ†ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄
30 ⲥⲁⲃ̄ⲧ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲙⲙⲁⲛ̄ϫⲓⲟⲣⲉ leer

31 λ̅ⲇ̅

32 λ̅ⲇ̅ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲙⲏⲧ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲣⲉ̣[ⲥⲃⲉⲩ] λ̅ⲇ̅
33 ⲧ[ⲏⲥ] †ϩⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲟ̣ⲓ[ⲛⲉⲓ]
34 ⲠⲠⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲡⲣ̣[ⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲣ̄ ⲙⲏⲧ]
35 ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲟ̣ⲓⲛⲉⲓ leer [Ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ]

12 Lies ⲛϩⲱⲃ. — 32 Lies ⲡⲡⲣ̣[ⲥⲃⲉⲩ]ⲧ[ⲏⲥ]

Die Kephalaia.

Das sechste: Als er die ζώνη errichtet hatte, erhob er sich und
entsandte aus sich viele Kräfte und zahlreiche Engel,
damit sie sich rings um die ζώνη nach allen Seiten hin aufstellen sollten,
bis er die Werke fertig errichtet hätte. Am Ende aller
Werke, da nahm er einige von ihnen in seine Kammern (ταμιεῖον)
und setzte andere auf die Wachtposten. —
Das siebente: Zu [der] Zeit, als der Gesandte [offenbart hatte]
seine herrliche Erscheinung (εἰκών), da [stellte] der [Lebendige] Geist
zahlreiche Götter und Engel [auf], sie haben . . . . . .
[sie] nahmen ihn in Besitz, damit nicht der ganze Bau . . . . . .
. . . einander gegen [das] Licht, welches er hat . . . . . .
Ein weiteres großes herrliches Werk, welches er zum Schluß vollbringen wird,
[die] Letzte
[Statue] ist es, die er hinaufholen wird zu den Aeonen des [Lichts]
und er . . hinein und wird die Macht ergreifen und . . .
und wird bauen und . . . . und . . . sie. — [Heil]
[dem,] der ihn erkennt [im] neuen [Aeon] und [wohnen (?) wird in]
jenem Aeon der Herrlichkeit und der Freude.

XXXIII.

Über die fünf Dinge, die er errichtet hat in den harten Körpern der Archonten.

Wiederum sprach der Φωστήρ: Der Lebendige Geist errichtete fünf
große Werke durch die Adern und die Gehirne (?) [in den] harten
[Körpern]. — Das erste ist die Scheibe (δίσκος), die sich befindet auf [der]
Schulter des 'Ωμοφόρος. — Das zweite sind die Wölbungen (ἁψίς) [der]
Säule (στῦλος), die vor ihm ist. — Das dritte ist das πλάσμα
der Bildung der Höllen (γέεννα). — Das vierte sind die [sieben (?)]
Säulen, die er aufgestellt hat im großen Meere in [den]
sieben Teilen der Welt. — Das fünfte sind die vier
Mauern, die die Fahrzeuge umgeben.—

XXXIX.

Über die zehn Werke, die der Gesandte begonnen hat bei seinem [Kommen].

Wiederum sprach der Φωστήρ: Der [Gesandte] hat [zehn]
Werke [vollbracht] bei seinem Kommen. — [Das erste]:

14 Bedeutung von ϩωϰ unbestimmt.

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[ⲭⲉ ⲁ ⲡ]ⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲧ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲕⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲃⲣⲣⲉ
[ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ] ⲭⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲉⲭⲏⲩ ⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲥⲓ ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ leer
[ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲱ]ⲁⲙⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ +ⲍⲟⲩⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲧ[ⲛ]ⲛⲁⲩ ⲡⲱⲛ̣[ⲍ]
[ⲁⲡ]ⲕⲁⲍ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲡ̣ⲙⲁⲍⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ . . . .
[ⲧⲙⲁⲍ+ⲟⲩ ⲡ]ⲉ ⲛ[ⲣ]ⲱⲟⲩ̣ ⲛⲛⲉϫⲏ̣ⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ̣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ
[. . . . . .] [ⲧⲙ]ⲁⲍⲥⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ . . . . ⲉ
[. . ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉ]ⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲭⲓ ⲡⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ leer ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲥⲁⲱ[ⲩ ⲡ]ⲉ
[ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲡⲱⲣⲭ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲁⲓⲟⲉ̣ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲍ]
[ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲡⲣ]ⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩ[ⲧⲏ]ⲥ ⲉ̣ⲁⲩⲍⲉⲓⲉ ⲁⲭⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ leer
[ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲱⲙ]ⲟⲩⲛ̣ ⲭ[ⲉ ⲁⲧⲟⲩ]ⲱⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲫⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲱⲣⲭ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . .
[. . . . . .]ⲁⲍⲉ ⲙ[. . .] leer ⲡⲙⲁⲍ+ⲓⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲍ[ⲉ ⲍⲉ]ⲓⲉ
[ⲁⲡ!]ⲧⲛⲉ [ⲧⲙⲁⲍ]ⲙⲏⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲙⲉⲧⲁⲣⲭⲓⲥⲙⲟⲥ [ⲱⲟⲡ]ⲉ
[ⲍ]ⲛ [ⲧ]ⲍⲱⲛⲏ leer

ⲗⲉ

ⲗⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲍⲱⲃ ⲗⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ

[ⲧⲁ]ⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲭⲉ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲡⲣⲉ̣[ⲥ]ⲃⲉⲩ
[ⲧ]ⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲛ[ⲍ ⲛ]ⲧⲉⲩⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁ ⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱ[ⲃ] ⲟⲩ
[ⲱ]ⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲉⲩⲣⲍⲟⲩⲟ leer
[ⲧⲧⲱ]ⲁⲣⲡ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ ⲟⲩ[ⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ]
[ⲛ̄]ⲉⲁⲩ ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̣ⲣⲱⲩ ⲧⲏ̣ⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥ[ⲧⲉⲣⲉ]ⲱ
[ⲙⲁ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲍⲙ ⲡ̣ⲓⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲉⲟⲩ[ⲉⲛ]
. . . . .]ⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲥ̣ⲉⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛⲥⲱⲩ leer
[ⲧⲙⲁ]ⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ [ⲙ]ⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲓⲛⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲩ
ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁ[ⲓⲛⲉ] ⲉ̣ⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲣⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲟⲩ
[ⲁ]ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩ . . [.] . . . . [. .] . ⲉ leer
[ⲧⲙ]ⲁⲍⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁ̣ⲩ[ⲟⲩⲱ]ⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲭⲱⲕ ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ̣ ⲙ̣ⲡⲉⲩ
[ⲭ]ⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲍ . ⲩⲟ̣ⲧⲏ . . ⲛ ⲛⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲡ̄ⲣ̄
[ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲍⲛ̄] ⲟⲩⲭⲱⲕ ⲙⲛ [ⲟ]ⲩⲙⲁⲍⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲭⲁⲭⲉ

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ⲗⲥ > · ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ · < ⲗⲥ
> · ⲍ[ⲓⲧⲉⲍ]ⲏ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ · <

[ⲧⲁⲗⲓ]ⲛ̣ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ̣ [ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟ]ⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲓⲧⲉⲍⲏ
[ⲙⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲍⲙ̄] ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲥⲁⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱ
[ⲙⲁ] . . . . . ⲛ̣ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ

4 Am Rande klein nachgetragen ein Satz in kleinerer Schrift, aber nicht lesbar.

des Lehrers.

[Der] Große Baumeister zog aus, um den Neuen Aeon zu bauen. —
[Das zweite]: Die Schiffe fuhren in der Höhe in den Himmeln. —
[Das] dritte: Die Räder (τροχός) begannen, das Leben zu senden
[zu der] Erde und den oberen Welten. — Das vierte: . . . . . .
[Das fünfte sind] die Öffnungen der Schiffe, die geöffnet worden sind . . .
. . . . . — [Das] sechste sind die Tore der . . . .
. . . [die geöffnet worden sind], den Bodensatz aufzunehmen. — Das siebente ist
[die Sünde], die sich getrennt hat von den Archonten aus Anlaß [des]
[dritten] Gesandten, indem sie auf die Erde gefallen ist. —
Das achte: Es trennte sich die Nacht und der Tag . . . .
. . . . . — Das neunte: Die Aborte sind herabgefallen. — [Das] zehnte: Die Seelenwanderungen (μεταγγισμός) sind [entstanden]
[in der] ζώνη.

XXXV.

Über die vier Werke des Gesandten.

Wiederum sprach der Φωστήρ: Zu der Zeit, da der Gesandte
seine Erscheinung (εἰκών) enthüllte, enthüllten sich vier große
Werke, die sehr vorzüglich und hervorragend sind. —
[Das] erste ist seine Erscheinung (εἰκών), die er enthüllte in einer herrlichen
Erscheinung (εἰκών). — Das zweite sind alle Tore der Firmamente,
die geöffnet wurden zu jener Zeit. Sie öffnen (sich?)
. . . . und schließen sich hinter ihm. —
[Das] dritte ist das Licht und die Entweichung, die ausgeläutert wurde
durch seine Erscheinung (εἰκών). Jenes Licht ist hervorragender als
das Licht, welches . . . . . —
[Das] vierte: Er hat [sich offenbart] in der Vollendung der Menschen in seinem
Lichtschiff. Er hat . . . . . die Lebendige Seele, die [geglänzt] hat
[in] Vollkommenheit und Vollendung über den Welten der Feindschaft.

XXXVI.

Über das Rad, das sich vor dem König der Ehre befindet.

[Wiederum] sprach [der Apostel] über das Rad, das sich befindet vor
[dem König der Ehre, der sich befindet im] siebenten Firmament
. . . . . die Wurzel der Archonten, der oberen und

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1 ⲛⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲥⲛⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲥⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡ̣ⲱⲕ̣ ⲛ
2 ⲥⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲛⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏ[ⲧⲩ]
3 ⲧ̣ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲥ̣[. . . .]
4 ⲥⲭⲁⲗⲭ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲩ ⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲃⲟⲩⲃⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲣ̄|ⲗⲉ [ⲙⲛ]
5 ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲥⲙⲏⲥ|ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲛⲧ̣ⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ
6 ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲉⲩ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲡⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̣[ⲥⲧⲉ]
7 ⲣ[ⲉⲱ]ⲙⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲥⲉ . . .
8 . . . . ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩⲣ
9 ⲉ[. .] ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲣⲣⲉ [. . .]
10 ⲧ̣ . . . ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲥⲉⲙⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ [ⲉⲧⲙ̄]
11 [ⲉⲩ] . . ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲫⲁⲗⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥ|ⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ̣ [ⲡ]
12 ⲣ[ⲉⲩⲭ]ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲩ ⲩⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ̣ⲩ
13 ⲥ[ⲓⲧ]ⲉⲥⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ leer
14 ⲦⲦⲙ[ⲁⲥ]ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩ†ⲟⲩ
15 ⲛⲣⲙ̣ⲙⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲙⲁⲗⲥ ⲥ̄ⲛ ⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓ
16 ⲁⲏ ⲙⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲗⲁⲭⲥ ⲛⲥⲏⲧ̄ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲙⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲥ
17 ⲧ[ⲁⲛ]ⲧ̣ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ ⲩⲟⲩⲁⲛⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡ|ⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ
18 ⲉⲡⲉ̣|ⲁⲏ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲡ̣[ⲓ]
19 ⲧⲛⲉ ⲙ̣ⲛ ⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲥⲉⲭⲁⲗⲭ ⲥⲉⲁⲩⲧ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲩ ⲡ|ⲱⲣ
20 . . . . . ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄
21 [ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ] . . . . . ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ▮
22 ⲧ . . . . . ⲛⲁⲣⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲱⲧ ⲉ . [.]
23 ⲡ . . . ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲃ[ⲁ]ⲗ
24 ⲥⲙ ⲡⲥⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲙⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡ̣ⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲧⲛⲧ[ⲁ]
25 ⲛⲧ ⲙⲡ|ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲥⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲩⲥ|ⲥ ⲥ|ⲧⲉⲥⲏ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲭ|ⲫⲩ
26 ⲗⲁⲝ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̣ . . . . . ⲥⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲙ[ⲙⲉⲩ]
27 . . . . . ⲥⲙ ⲡⲥⲁ . . . . . ⲥ|ⲥ leer ⲧⲥⲉ ⲥⲱ[ⲏ]
28 ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ̣ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ ⲛⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̣ⲛ ⲃⲁⲙ
29 ⲛ|ⲙ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲱⲁⲩ
30 ⲙⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲓ ⲡ|ⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ
31 [ⲉⲣⲉ] ⲡⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲉⲗ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲁⲏ [ⲧⲁⲓ]
32 ⲁⲕⲣⲓⲥ|ⲥ ⲛⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧ . . . . . [. . . .
33 ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ leer
34 ⲛⲋ

Die Kephalaia

der unteren mit einer großen fürchterlichen Fessel, indem der ganze Wille
des Großen Königs der Ehre sich in [ihm] befindet.
Auch ihre (pl.) ganze Feindschaft, die in den Firmamenten (στερέωμα) ist,
ist . . .
(und) ist an ihm festgeheftet. Es ist in einem Leuchten des Glanzes [und]
Geschmücktheit (κόσμησις) und viel Schönheit. Zwölf
Typen befinden sich in ihm. Der Typus aller zehn
Firmamente und der Archonten, die in ihm sind, sie . . .
. . . . in ihm; wenn einer wünscht (sich) zu lösen, wird er gefesselt
. . . . . wenn er eine Tücke in seiner Fesselung machen will . . . .
. . . . [er] wird offenbar und erkannt an [jenem] Rad (τροχός)
. . die Sphären und die Sterne, und der Anführer aller Mächte, [der]
Wegweiser, ist in ihm, der wird erkannt an ihm
vor dem König der Ehre. —
Der zwölfte Typus, der in ihm ist, das sind seine fünf
Lichten, die vermischt und befestigt sind in der ganzen ζώνη. Denn
jeder Ort, an dem sie beengt sind, und jeder Ort, an dem sie weit
sind, ist zu erkennen durch jenes Rad (τροχός).
Denn die Wurzel aller Firmamente, der oberen und der unteren
und die ihrer Archonten, sie sind befestigt und angeheftet an ihm. Das Schauen
. . . . . ist gerichtet zu jeder Zeit auf den Großen König
[der Ehre] . . . . . damit die Furcht, die
. . . . . anlegt (φορεῖν) alle Mächte der Vermischung . . .
. . . . ihre Wurzel ist festgeheftet an ihm, damit sie nicht entkommen können
aus der Bande ihrer Fessel. Jenes Rad (τροχός) gleicht
in dieser Weise einer Kette (ἅλυσις) vor dem Gefängnisaufseher (ἀρχιφύλαξ);
denn wenn . . . . . in [jenen]
. . . . . in dem . . . . . — So
auch alle Archonten, die in den Firmamenten, und jede
Kraft der ζώνη: wenn sie (sich) lösen wollen, werden
sie erkannt und offenkundig durch jenes Rad,
[indem] das Rad wie ein großer Spiegel ist, denn die
Unterscheidung (διάκρισις) aller Dinge . . . . . .
durch es (in ihm?). —

π̄θ̄

> · ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <

1 [ⲗ]ⲍ̄

2 ⲗ̄[ⲍ̄] ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲗⲍ̄

3 [ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓ]ⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄

4 ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲥⲙ̄ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲱⲉ ⲛⲛⲍⲱⲛⲏ

5 ⲍⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲍ̣ⲱ

6 [ⲛ]ⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲧ†ⲉ ⲛⲇⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲍⲁⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲍⲓⲁⲙⲉ

7 ⲡⲉⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓⲱⲉ ⲛⲧ†ⲉ̣

8 ⲛⲛⲇⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̣ⲱ

9 [ⲙ]ⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧϫⲁϫⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ ϫⲁⲗϫ ⲉⲥⲙⲏⲣ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ

10 ⲍⲓⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲛⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲡ[ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧ]

11 [ⲁⲛⲍ ⲉ]ⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ [ⲉ]ⲣⲉ ⲡⲕⲱⲧ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲩ ⲁⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩϫ . [. . .

12 [. . . . . ⲥⲱ]ⲧⲙⲉ (?) ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉ[ⲕⲁⲩⲉ] . . .

13 [. . . . . .]ⲛ̣ⲥⲱⲩ ⲧⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲇⲉ ϫⲉ̣ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲱⲁ . . [. . .

14 [. . . . . ⲥⲧ]ⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ̣ ⲱ . . . . . .

15 . . . . . ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲟ̄ ⲛ̄[ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ]

16 ⲉⲧⲱ[ⲟⲡ] . . . . . ⲥⲓⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲕ . . . . . .

17 . ⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ leer

18 ⲗⲏ̄

19 ⲗⲏ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲗⲏ̄

20 ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ

21 [ⲧⲧ]ⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲱⲛ ⲡ[ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ]

22 ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲁⲕϫⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲡⲛ̣ⲟ̣[ⲩⲥ ⲛ̄]

23 ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁ̣ⲩⲉⲓ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ [ⲁⲕϫⲟ]

24 [ⲟ]ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ̣ . . .

25 . . . . [ⲉⲣⲉ] ⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲁⲧⲏⲩ ⲁⲕϫⲟⲟⲥ

26 [ⲁ]ⲣⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ [ⲉⲧⲙⲙ]ⲉⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲍ[ⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ]

27 [ⲛ]ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲡⲣ[ⲙⲛ]ⲉⲥ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲉⲩ

28 [ⲥⲉⲍ]ⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲩ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ[ⲥⲁϫ]ⲛⲉ ⲁϫⲱⲩ ⲍⲙ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ

29 [ⲙⲡⲉⲩ]ⲥⲱⲙⲁ †ⲛ[ⲟⲩ ⲟⲩ]ⲛ ⲉⲩⲧⲟ ϫⲉ ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲉⲥ ⲙⲏⲣ ⲍⲛ ⲡⲥⲱ

30 ⲙⲁ †ⲛⲉⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲣ[ⲁⲩ] ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲃⲉⲃⲥⲉ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲏ̄ ⲍⲛ̄

31 ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲣⲣⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩ[ⲁⲓ̈ⲱ] ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ leer ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲓ̈ⲱⲗ

32 [ⲛ]ⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲕ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟ̄ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲗⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧ

33 ⲱⲗ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲡⲱⲥ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲛⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̣ ⲍⲛ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲙⲡⲥⲱ

34 [ⲙⲁ] leer ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲍⲱⲃ ⲉ†ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧⲉⲕⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲁ

35 [ⲣⲁⲓ̈ . . . . . .] . ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲩⲥⲁⲧⲏ̄

36 [. . . . . .] . . . ⲡϫⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ

---

1 Die Zahl steht über ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ. — 5 Lies ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ. — 23 ⲱⲁⲩⲉⲓ ganz unsicher.

des Lehrers.

XXXVII.

Über die drei ζῶναι.

[Wiederum] sprach der Φωστήρ über den Lebendigen Geist: Als er gebaut und errichtet hatte die Welten, hängte er die ζῶναι auf an ihren ζῶναι innerhalb einer ζώνη wiederum. Die erste ζώνη sind die fünf Kräfte der Finsternis, der Männer und der Frauen. Dies ist es, daß er aufhängte eine ζώνη an einer ζώνη: er hängte die fünf Kräfte der Finsternis an den fünf Lichten auf, den Söhnen des Menschen. Denn die ganze Feindschaft ist befestigt und gefesselt in ihnen. Innerhalb der ζώνη aber sind die fünf Söhne des [Lebendigen] Geistes; denn der ganze Bau hängt an ihnen, indem er . . . .
. . . . . hört (?) ihn seinerseits, andere . . . . . .
. . . . . nach ihnen. Das ist es aber, daß er gekommen ist zu . . .
. . . . . Firmamente, die oben . . . . .
. . . . . , das in einer ζώνη ist, ist der große [König der Ehre], der sich [befindet] . . . . . innerhalb des . . . . . .
. . . der Welt.

XXXVIII.

Über den Licht-Noûς und die Apostel und die Heiligen.

Wiederum zu einer Zeit fragte ein Jünger den [Apostel], indem er zu ihm sprach: Du hast uns gesagt, daß der Licht-Noûς derjenige ist, der kommt und die Heiligen (als Kleider) anlegt (φορεῖν). [Du hast gesagt] zu uns in dieser Weise. Einer von den Göttern ist er . . . .
. . . . . zahlreiche Götter sind bei ihm. Du hast uns ferner gesagt, daß zu jener Zeit er hineingeht [in den Körper] des Fleisches und fesselt den Alten Menschen durch seine fünf Gedanken, indem er [stellt] seine fünf Gedanken auf ihn in den fünf Gliedern [seines] Körpers. Jetzt [nun], wo ist er? Denn der Alte Mensch ist im Körper gefesselt. Denn ich sehe, wie durch ihn Rebellion entsteht in seiner Fesselung von Zeit und Zeit. — Zweitens frage ich dich: Wenn (εἰ μέν) er ein großer Gott ist, ein unveränderlicher, unmeßbarer, wie (πῶς) kann er dann kommen und sich in der Kleinheit des Körpers zeigen? — Das dritte, von dem ich wünsche, daß du es [mir] verkündest, [ist dies: Wenn] der Noûς rein und lauter ist, [wie kann er sich vermischen o. ä. mit] der Unreinheit dieses Körpers?

28 oder „in seinen 5 Gedanken“, falls diese sich nicht auf den Noûς, sondern auf den Alten Menschen beziehen.

ϥ̄

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

ⲡⲙⲁϩⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ [ⲛⲉ]
ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲛϩ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲧϩⲉ ⲉ
ⲧⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ leer ⲡⲙⲁϩ⸗ⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ⸗ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ϫⲉ
ⲉⲕⲁϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲕⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲧ' ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲕⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗ[ⲏ]
ϫⲉ ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲥⲉⲑⲗⲓⲃⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲕ ⲥⲉⲇⲁⲱⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ leer
⸗ⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲡⲓⲟⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ϩⲁ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲛⲧⲕ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
ⲧ[ⲟⲧⲉ] ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ϫⲉ ⲧⲁⲁⲡⲟⲕⲁⲗⲩ⸗[ⲓⲥ]
ⲧ[ⲏⲣⲥ] ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲁⲗⲡⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲉϩⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁ[ⲗ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲉⲕⲕⲗ[ⲏ]
ⲥⲓ[ⲁ ⲉⲣ]ⲉ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲉⲕ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ϩⲙ̄ . . . . . [. . .
ⲕ . . . ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ [ⲁⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟ]
ⲗ[ⲟⲥ] ϩⲱⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲁⲕⲃⲁⲗⲡⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲕ[. . . . . .]
ⲉⲛⲁϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱ[ⲛ] . . . . . [ⲡ]ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄
ⲟ[ⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛ]ⲉ ⲧϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ leer
ⲧⲟⲧⲉ [ⲡ]ⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲓ̈ⲱⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲩ . . . [
. . . . ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲕⲧⲁϫⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ [ⲛⲁ]
ϩ[ⲣⲉ]ⲕ ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲕⲧⲁϫⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁϫⲱⲩ ⲕⲁⲙⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲕ . . .
. . . . ⸗ⲛⲁ⸗ ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲣϩ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲓ̈ⲱⲣϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲗⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲉ ⸗ⲛⲁ
ⲧⲉ ⲧϩⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲃⲉⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲃⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲥⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ[ⲱ]ⲛ̄[ϩ]
ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡ
ϫ[ⲁ]ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥⲙⲛⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛⲧⲥ̀ ⲁϩⲣⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ
ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲁⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛϩⲃⲁⲩⲉ
[ⲡ]ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲭⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛϩⲃⲉ[ⲁⲩⲉ] ⲧⲉⲩⲱⲁⲱⲡⲉ [ⲡⲉ]
[ⲡ]⸗ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲡⲗⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ[ⲉ . . . .]ⲥ ⲛⲛ̄ϩⲃ[ⲥ]ⲁⲩⲉ
ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲡⲓⲣⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙ[ⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ]ⲩ ⲧⲉⲩϩⲗⲡⲉ [ⲧⲉ ⲧ]
ⲥϕⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲛⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛϫⲱⲁⲓⲟⲛ [ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲉ ϩⲱⲱϥ [ⲉⲧ]
ⲛ̣ⲏⲩ ϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲧⲉⲩϩⲗⲡⲉ ϫⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ [. . . .] ⲱⲁ ⲧⲉⲩ⸗ⲡⲉ . . .
. ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ϫⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲱ[ⲁ ⲛⲕⲟⲟ]ϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄
ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲉϩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲱⲁ . . . . . ϩ ⲉⲧⲛⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ . [. . ⲁ]
ϫⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲩ . . . ⲡⲉ ϫⲛ ⲙⲡⲁⲡ . [
ⲱⲁ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ [ⲧⲏⲕ] ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲁϫⲱⲩ
ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲛⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲡ[ⲉ] . . [. . . .] ⲧⲡ [. . . .
ⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲧϫⲱⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ . . . [. . . . . .

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3 In ⸗ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ steht ⲱ über der Linie. — 15 Von ⲡⲁϫⲉ nur ganz unsichere Spuren. — 17 Hinter ⲁϫⲱⲩ klein über der Zeile: ⲉⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲉⲕ. — 19 Anfang ⲧⲉ ⲧϩⲁⲗⲙⲉ nur unsichere Spuren. — 27 Erg. viell. ϫⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ[ϩⲗⲡⲉ], also Dittogr.

Die Kephalaia

Viertens: Wenn wirklich der Licht-Noûς sich in den Heiligen befindet,
warum ist seine Erscheinung uns nicht sichtbar, wie
sie ist? — Fünftens wünsche ich, daß
du mir sagst und mich aufklärst in betreff deines Apostelamts (ἀποστολή);
denn siehe, es ist mir nicht klar, da (ἐπειδή) sie dich bedrücken (θλίβειν)
und dich verfolgen (διώκειν) in der Welt. —
Ich bitte dich, daß du mir befriedigende Auskunft gibst (πείθειν) über das, wonach ich dich gefragt habe.
[Darauf] sprach er zu jenem Jünger: Meine [gesamte] Offenbarung (ἀποκάλυψις)
die ich offenbart habe, habe ich kundgetan meiner Kirche,
[indem] vor dir, diesem Einzigen im . . . . . .
. . . . . Es sprach dieser Jünger [zum Apostel]:
Alles, was Du offenbart hast, hast du . . . . . .
bei uns, aber ich wünschte zu erkennen . . . . [den] Noûς des
[Lichtes], so wie er ist.
Darauf sprach der Apostel zu ihm: Wenn ich fortfahre . . .
[zu reden] zu dir über diese Dinge, die du in festem Besitz hast, indem sie wahr sind
vor dir durch das, was du in festem Besitz hast, so wirst du erkennen, was du . . . . .
. . . . . Ich werde den Schauenden das Schauen geben um deinetwillen. Ich werde
den lebendigen Brunnen sprudeln lassen für die Dürstenden, damit sie trinken und [leben].
Darauf sprach der Apostel zu ihm: Der ganze Irrglaube (πλάνη), als der
[Feind] der Lichter ihn (sc. πλάνη) errichtete, errichtete er ihn nach dem Ebenbilde
eines Menschen. Der Kopf des Kosmos ist der Ursprung (ἀρχή) der Kleider.
Sein Hals ist der Nacken der Kleider. Sein Magen sind
die fünf ἁπλώματα, welches die . . . der Kleider sind.
Seine Rippen sind [alle] Firmamente. Sein Nabel [ist die]
σφαῖρα der Sterne und der Tierkreiszeichen (ζῴδιον). Die [Teile] aber, [die]
kommen von seinem Nabel an von seinem [Nabel] an bis zu seiner Hüfte, [sind die]
. . . ., die von der σφαῖρα kommen bis [zu den Ecken] der vier
Welten. Seine Lenden sind . . . . . die unten befindlichen . . . .
auf dem Kopfe des Ὡμοφόρος. Seine . . . . von an . . . . .
bis zu der Erde, auf der der Ὡμοφόρος steht.
Seine Schienbeine und seine Beine sind . . . . . des [Ὡμοφό-]
ρος (?) und der ganzen ζώνη, die gehört [zu] . . . . . .

27 „von seinem Nabel an“ Dittogr.

[ϥϩ]

ⲙⲡⲥⲁϩ

1 ⲡⲉⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲩϩⲏⲡⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲃⲛⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̣ⲧⲩ
2 ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲣⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ[ϩⲏⲗ ϩ̄ⲙ̄]
3 ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲡⲩⲛⲁ[ⲓ]ⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲧⲃⲧ ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲃⲉ ϩ̣ⲛ̄ ⲙ̣ⲙ̣ⲟⲩ
4 ⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲗⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲭⲉⲧⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲗⲏ̣ [ϩⲓ]
5 ⲭⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲁⲣ ⲉⲧϩⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲃ̣ⲧ ⲉ̣ⲧ . . . [ⲉⲧ]
6 ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲧⲱⲃⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲩ . . . . . .
7 ⲙⲙⲁⲛⲭ[ⲟ]ⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲩ . . . . . .
8 ⲙ̣̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲥ[ⲓ]ⲱⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡ . . . . . [ⲡⲉⲩ]
9 ⲛⲁⲃ ⲙⲙⲉϩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃ̣ . . . . . .
10 ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲟⲟⲙⲉ . . . . . [ⲛϩⲁⲗ]
11 ⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲙⲡⲏⲅⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̣ⲉⲩⲃ[ⲉⲗ?]. . . . . .
12 . . . . . ⲛⲉⲩⲟ̣ⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲩ . . . ⲕ . . . . .
13 . . . . ⲉⲧⲛ . . . leer
14 Ⲧϩ̣ⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁ̣[ⲩ+]ⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲭⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡ̣ⲟⲩⲉ̣
15 [ⲉ]ⲣⲉ +[ⲟ]ⲩ ⲛⲛⲟ[ⲩⲧ]ⲉ ⲧⲏⲃ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲕ̄ . . . . . [ⲉ]
16 [ⲧⲉ] ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲩ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛϩ . . . . . .
17 [ⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ . . . . . .
18 [.]ⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲡⲡ̄ⲛⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ . . . . . .
19 [ⲡ]+ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ leer ⲁⲩ . . . . .
20 ⲫⲉⲣⲣⲟⲕⲁⲧⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ . . . . [ϩ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟ]
21 [ⲥ]ⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲩ . . . . . .
22 [ⲧⲏ]ⲣⲏ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡ[ⲉ ⲉⲧ]ϩ̄ⲛ̄ . . . . . .
23 [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ [ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ]
24 [ϩ]ⲙ ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲁⲱⲏ̄ ⲛⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲫⲃⲓⲟ̣ . . . . . .
25 [.]ⲱ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲁⲗⲁⲙⲁⲥ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̣[ⲓ̈ⲛ]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲧ̣ⲥⲃⲱ ⲧⲉ . . . .
26 [ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ϩ̄ⲛ̄ +ⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲩ+ . . . . ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲡ|ⲟⲩⲙⲓⲁ̣ . . . . [ⲁⲩ]
27 ⲕ̣ⲁⲑ|ⲥⲧⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̣ⲡⲉ̣ⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲁϫ[ⲛⲉ] . . . . . .
28 [ⲧ]ⲙⲛⲧϩⲁⲣⲱϩⲏⲧ ⲁϫⲛ ⲧⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛϩ|ⲕⲱⲛ ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲏⲩ ⲧⲁ
29 [ⲧ]ⲉⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲁ̣ⲩ+ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧ . . . . . .
30 [. .] . . ⲣ̄ⲙⲛⲧⲃⲟⲛ[ⲉ] leer
31 [. .] . ⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫ̣ⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ . . .
32 [ⲧⲥⲟ]ⲫⲓⲁ ϩ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲙ̄[. . .]ⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲥⲁⲙⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ . . . .
33 [. . . . . .] . . ⲧ̣ⲥⲛⲧⲉ̣ [ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ] . . . .

Rechte Hälfte der Seite stark abgerieben. — 19 Lies ⲛⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ.

des Lehrers.

1 sein Herz sind die Menschen; seine Leber (ἧπαρ) sind die vierfüßigen
2 Tiere; seine Lunge ist die Gattung (γένος) der Vögel, welche [fliegen in]
3 der Luft (ἀήρ); seine Milz ist die Gattung (γένος) der Fische, welche schwimmen im
4 Wasser; seine Nieren sind die Welt der Reptilien, welche kriechen
5 auf der Erde; seine äußere Haut ist die Mauer, die . . ., [die]
6 umgibt die Befestigungen und das große Feuer; sein . . . [sind]
7 die Fahrzeuge des großen Feuers; seine . . . . . .
8 der Finsternis; seine Galle ist der . . . . . [; sein]
9 Dickdarm ist die Breite des großen . . . . . .
10 . . . der Welten; seine Ader . . . . . alle Brun-
11 nen und Quellen (πηγή); seine [Augen (?)] . . . . . .
12 . . . . . .; seine Beine sind seine . . . . . .
13 . . . .
14 So hat ein jeder den Welten . . . . . .
15 indem fünf Götter in ihm befestigt sind . . . . . .
16 . . . sie sind seine Seele und sein Leben . . . . . .
17 der sündige Mensch ist es . . . . . .
18 . . . . den lebendigen Geist und den Gesandten . . . . . .
19 [die] fünf schlaflosen Wächter — Er hat . . . . . .
20 der Φεγγοκάτοχος, der Noûς, welcher ist . . . . . [in der]
21 Welt (?) des Noûς, die zuoberst ist . . . . . .
22 der ganze . . . der Mächte des [Himmels?, der] in . . . . . .
23 [des] Großen Königs der Ehre, [welcher ist das Denken, der sich befindet]
24 im siebenten Firmament; er demütigte . . . . . .
25 . . . wiederum den Adamas des Lichts, welcher die Einsicht ist . . . .
26 aus dieser . . . . gab er . . . . . wegen der Begierde (ἐπιθυμία)
27 setzte (καθιστάναι) den König der Herrlichkeit ein, welcher ist das Sinnen .
28 [die] Langmut über die drei Bilder (εἰκών), das des Windes,
29 [des] Feuers und das des Wassers; er übergab ihm die . . . . .
30 . . . . Böses tun. —
31 . . . . den 'Ωμοφόρος, welcher die Überlegung ist . . .
32 [die] Weisheit in den . . ., die unterhalb; er machte ihn . . .
33 . . . . . das Fundament, [das unterhalb] . . .

9 Wörtlich „das große Eingeweide (Gedärme)". — 14 Bedeutung von ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ unbekannt.

ϥϐ

> · ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 ⲠⲀⲖⲒⲚ ⲁⲛ ⲁ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲱⲧ̄ϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ†ⲟⲩ
2 ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲩⲕⲱ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ
3 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲥⲁⲩ †ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲱϩⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄
4 ⲁϩⲁⲛ ⲡⲥⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱϩⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ leer

5 ⲠⲀⲖⲒⲚ ⲁ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲕⲱ ⲛⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥ
6 ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
7 ⲠⲀⲖⲒⲚ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲕⲱ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲧ
8 ϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ
9 ⲁϥⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲓⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ
10 . . . . ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲁⲣⲭⲏ̄ ⲙⲡⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁ
11 ⲛ[ⲣⲁⲓⲥ] ϫⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲣ̄ ⲃⲉⲃⲥⲉ ϩⲓ ⲕⲣⲁⲩ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁⲛⲣⲁⲓⲥ
12 Ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟ̈ⲱⲩⲧ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲉⲩ ϫ[ⲉ] ⲫⲉⲣⲣⲟⲕⲁⲧⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ
13 ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲧⲉ
14 ⲕⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲏⲣ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲟⲩⲱⲥⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲕⲙ[ⲉ ⲧ]ⲏⲣⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲙ[ⲟⲩ]
15 ⲁⲩ[ⲱ ⲁⲩ]ⲕⲣⲁⲩ ⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲉⲃⲥⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲣ̄ϩⲟⲩ[ϩ]ⲉ [ⲁⲩ]
16 [ⲟⲗⲁⲙⲗⲙ ⲁ]ϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϫⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ
17 ⲣⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ . [
18 [. . . . . ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ]ⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲣ̄[ⲱⲉ]
19 . . . . . ⲫⲉⲣⲣⲟⲕⲁⲧⲟϫⲟⲥ ϫⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲃⲗⲁⲙ
20 ⲗⲙ̄ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ
21 ⲁⲡⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲁⲃⲃⲉ ⲁⲩ[ⲡⲗⲁⲥ]ⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱϩⲛ [ϩⲓ]
22 [ϫⲙ] ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲫⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩⲛⲅⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛ[ⲟⲩ]
23 ⲁⲥⲣ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲃⲥⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧϩⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ leer

24 Ⲟ ⲱⲱⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲉⲩ ϫⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲉ
25 ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲟ̄ⲩⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ ⲡⲙⲁϩⲱ[ⲁ]ⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲭⲟ ⲛϩ[. . . .
26 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲃⲉⲃⲥⲉ [ⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲣ]ⲉ ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟ[ⲩ]
27 ⲃⲱⲱⲛⲧ ⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗ[ⲏ] ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲅⲣⲏⲅⲟⲣⲟⲥ
28 ⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁⲛⲣⲁⲓⲥ
29 ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲡⲉ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ]
30 ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁ̈ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ [ⲛ]
31 ⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲉⲃⲥⲉ ⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲙ . [.]
32 ⲁ† ⲁⲣⲁⲥ leer Ⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲁ[.]ⲉ[.] . . . . . [. .
33 ⲡϫⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲁϫ[ⲛ] . . . [. . . . . .

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2 ⲛ in ⲁⲛ übergeschrieben. — 5 ⲕⲱⲛ, lies ⲕⲱ, ⲛ durch Punkt oben getilgt.

Die Kephalaia

1 Wiederum läuterte der Gesandte aus ihnen aus fünf
2 νοερά des Lebens. Es wurden wiederum in sie gesetzt der Ruf
3 und das Hören: sie wurden jetzt sechs Söhne des lebendigen Geistes,
4 sowie die sechs Söhne des Urmenschen. —
5 Wiederum setzte der Gesandte in sie den großen Noûς,
6 welcher ist die Säule der Herrlichkeit, der vollkommene Mann.
7 Wiederum wurde in sie gesetzt Jesus das Kind, welcher ist das
8 Bild (εἰκών) des lebendigen Wortes des Redens und des Hörens.
9 Er festigte diese Lager (παρευβολή), die oberen und die unteren,
10 [damit] ein jeder von ihnen sich sicherte im Umkreis seines
11 [Wach]bezirks, damit sie nicht machten Rebellion und Tücke in seinem Wachbezirk.
12 [Merke auf] und sieh: Der Φεγγοκάτοχος steht in dem
13 großen Noûς, in dem Lager (παρεμβολή), das oberhalb des Gefängnisses
14 der Gebundenen (Gefangenen) ist, um zu vereiteln die ganze Trauer des [Todes],
15 und es geschah eine Tücke und eine Rebellion: die Sünde abortierte (?) und
16 [verwickelte sich] mit der Seele, sie vermischte sich mit dem Licht, das
17 frei geworden war angesichts des Bildes (εἰκών) des Gesandten, und ging . . .
18 . . . . . [im] dritten στερέωμα, das höher ist als das Wachhaus
19 . . . . Φεγγοκάτοχος. Von dort an wiederum verwickelte sie
20 (die Sünde) sich mit dem Licht. Sie löste sich und kam herab
21 auf das Trockene und das Feuchte, sie bildete (πλάσσειν) die Bäume
22 [auf] dem Trockenen. Im Meere aber bildete sie sich sofort
23 und machte eine große Rebellion im Meere. —
24 Merke ferner auf und sieh, daß der Große König der Ehre, welcher
25 das Denken ist, sich im dritten Firmament befindet. Er ist . . . .
26 mit dem Zorn und eine Rebellion [entstand], indem eine Tücke und ein
27 Zorn entstand in seinem Lager (παρεμβολή), welches sind die Ἐγρήγοροι
28 des Himmels, die auf die Erde herabkamen in seinem Wachbezirk.
29 Sie taten alles Tückische, sie offenbarten die Künste
30 in der Welt; sie offenbarten den Menschen die Mysterien
31 des Himmels; eine Rebellion und ein Verderben entstand auf der Erde . .
32 . . . . . — Der Adamas . . . . . .
33 die Vollendung. Er steht über . . . . . .

[ϥг]

ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ

1 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲕⲣⲁϥ ⲥⲱⲡⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉϥⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲓ̈
2 ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲍⲉ ⲍⲉ̈ⲉ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲇⲁⲙ
3 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲉⲩⲍⲁ ⲁⲩⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
4 ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲕ ⲛ̄ⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙ|ⲁ ⲁⲭⲙ̄
5 ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲁ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲙⲟⲩⲍ ⲍⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙ|ⲁ ⲍⲛ
6 ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲉⲇ|ⲱⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥ|ⲁ ⲥⲉⲍⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
7 ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛ̄ⲇ|ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙ[ⲁⲥ]
8 ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ
9 ⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲉⲧ[ⲉ ⲛⲧ]ⲁϥ
10 ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲧⲧⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥ|ⲁ ⲁⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲱⲁⲙ[ⲧ] ⲛ̄
11 ⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟϩ ⲁⲩ[ⲱⲧ]ⲁⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲑⲗⲓ|ⲯⲓⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲛ[ⲧⲁⲩ] . . . .
12 ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ ⲁⲩⲗⲱⲝⲍ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩ
13 ⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲥ|ⲕⲱⲛ ⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲥⲱⲝⲧ ⲁⲡⲟⲩ
14 . ⲛ̄[. . ⲥ|]ⲁⲩⲉ [ⲁ ⲧ]ⲟⲩⲃ|ⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲱⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ . . .
15 ⲡⲧ̄[ⲏⲩ] ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ leer
16 [ⲧⲧ]ⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲃⲏ̈ⲟ . . ⲣⲟⲩ
17 [ⲃⲉ]ⲃⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ . . . . . .
18 ⲗⲟⲥ ⲣ|ⲕⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲧⲱⲃⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲃⲱⲱ . . . . . .
19 ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ leer . . . . . .
20 [ⲛ]ⲧⲗⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲱⲡⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲱⲉ ⲙⲫⲉⲣⲣⲟⲕⲁⲧⲟ
21 [ⲭⲟⲥ] ⲁ ⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲉ| ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉϥ . . . .
22 [. .]ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲫⲉⲣⲣⲟⲕⲁⲧⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲃ| ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲍⲁ ⲛ̇[ⲍⲣⲏⲱ]ⲉ
23 ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲟⲩ leer ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲣⲁϥ ⲥⲱⲱϥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲃⲉⲃ̣ⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ
24 ⲱⲡⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲱⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲅⲣ̣ⲏ
25 ⲅ̣ⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ| ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲉ
26 ⲗⲉ̣ⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲛ̇ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲅⲣⲏⲅⲟ
27 [ⲣ]ⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲕⲙⲕⲁⲙⲧ
28 [ⲁ]ⲩⲃⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲍ|ⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ leer
29 [ⲉⲡ]ⲉ̣|ⲇⲏ ⲁ ⲛⲍⲟⲩⲍⲉ ⲉ| ⲁⲛ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ
30 [ⲁⲩ]ⲭⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲉⲩⲍⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡ|ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲁϥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ
31 [ⲧⲁϥ]ⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣ|ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲕⲁⲕ|ⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ |ⲓⲏⲥ
32 [. .] . . ⲃⲉ ⲍ . . ⲡⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ
33 [. . . . . .]ⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲍⲟⲩⲍⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲃⲥⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
34 [. . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲁⲇⲁⲙ leer

33 ⲧⲁⲃⲥⲟⲩ: ⲁ über der Zeile.

des Lehrers.

1 und eine Tücke entstand in seinem Lager (παρεμβολή), nämlich damals
2 als die Aborte nach unten fielen. Sie bildeten (πλάσσειν) Adam
3 und Eva und gebaren sie, damit sie vermittels ihrer in der Welt herrschten.
4 Sie vollführten alle Werke der Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) auf
5 der Erde; die ganze Welt wurde von ihrer Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) erfüllt. Durch
6 dieses Mittel (?) auch verfolgen (διώκειν) sie die Kirchen und töten die
7 Apostel und die Gerechten (δίκαιος) im Wachbezirk des Adamas
8 des Lichts von Zeit zu Zeit, von Generation (γενεά) zu Generation.
9 Wiederum in der Wache des Großen Königs der Herrlichkeit, welcher
10 das große Sinnen ist, der Macht (ἐξουσία) hat über die drei
11 Räder (τροχός), geschah eine Verwirrung und eine Not (θλῖψις), denn sie [wurden]
12 bedrückt und beengt in den drei Erden. Als der Gesandte
13 sein Bild (εἰκών) enthüllt hatte, verstopften die Wege ihre
14 . . . . . ihr Hinaufkommen wurde zurückgehalten durch die . . .
. vermittels
15 derer der Wind, das Wasser und das Feuer hinaufkommen. —
16 Wiederum in der Wache des 'Ωμοφόρος, der erniedrigt . . . . entstand eine
17 Rebellion der unteren Tiefen . . . . . .
18 . . . neigten sich, und die unteren Befestigungen entblößten . . . . .
19 im unter(st)en Fundament . . . . . .
20 Wegen des Erdbebens, das in der Wache des Φεγγοκάτοχος geschehen war,
21 kam die Säule der Herrlichkeit heraus, indem sie . . . . . .
22 . . Helfer (βοηθός) dem Φεγγοκάτοχος; sie trug alle
23 [Lasten]. — Wegen der Tücke und der Rebellion die
24 in der Wache des Großen Königs der Ehre geschehen war, welches die 'Εγρήγ-
25 οροι sind, die auf die Erde herabgekommen waren aus den Himmeln, — ihret-
26 wegen wurde den vier Engeln Auftrag erteilt (κελεύειν): sie fesselten die 'Εγρήγο-
27 οροι in einer ewigen Fessel im Gefängnis der Finsteren (?),
28 ihre Söhne wurden auf der Erde vernichtet. —
29 Denn die Aborte waren ebenfalls im Wachbezirk des Adamas herabgekommen
30 und hatten Adam und Eva geboren. Wegen jener großen Tücke, [die]
31 geschehen [war], und (wegen) des Mysteriums der Schlechtigkeit (κακία) ent-
sandte er Jesus.
32 . . . . . das Gebet der fünf Söhne, er legte an (φορεῖν) . .
33 . . . . . die Aborte, er befestigte sie unterhalb der
34 . . . . . Noûς des (?) Adam. —

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1 Ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄
2 ⲕⲁϩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲭⲉ ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲭⲱⲱⲗⲉ ⲁ ⲛϩⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲧ ⲙ̄
3 ⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲁ ⲓ̈ⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲣϥ̄ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁϥⲣ̄
4 ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲩϩⲁ ⲁϥⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲓⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲧⲏ]ⲩ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
5 ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛϩⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲁϥⲥⲙ̄[ⲓⲛ]ⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ
6 ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ leer ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ [ⲁⲛ] ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲁ ⲡ
7 ⲕ̣ⲁ̣ϩ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲃⲱ[ϣ] ⲛ̄]ⲛⲧⲱⲃⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄
8 . . . ⲛ̄ⲕⲱ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲣⲱ ⲁ ⲓ̈ⲏⲥ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ
9 ⲛ̄[ⲉⲩϩ]ⲁ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉⲩⲡⲱϩ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉ[ⲩ ⲁ]ϥϩⲱ[ⲣ]ⲃ ⲁϥⲧⲁ
10 ϫ[ⲣⲟ] ⲛⲧⲱⲃⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩϩϥ ⲁ[ϥⲉⲓ] ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲉϥ
11 +[. .]ⲙⲧⲁⲛ leer ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡ̣ⲁ̣[ⲡ̣ⲟ]ⲥ̣ⲧⲟⲗ[ⲟ]ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁϥ
12 ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣ̄ϣⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧϩⲱⲛ[ⲏ] ⲛⲉⲧ[ⲉⲣⲉ] ⲛⲓ
13 ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟ ⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲣ[ⲁⲓ̈ⲥ] ⲁⲣⲁⲩ . . . .
14 ⲁ ⲃ̣ⲉ̣ⲃⲥⲉ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲓ ⲕⲣⲁϥ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲡ[. . .]ⲱⲛ[. . .] . . .
15 . . ⲛ̄]ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ϣ ⲟⲩ̣ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ϣ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁ̣ⲟ̣ ⲛ̄ⲑ[ⲃⲓ̈]ⲟ
16 ϣⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲑⲃⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧϫⲁϫⲉ leer
17 Ⲧϩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲏϩ ⲛ̣
18 ϩⲏⲧϥ ⲕⲁⲛ ϥⲥⲁⲃⲕ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉϥⲁⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲏⲏⲥ ϩⲟⲙⲱⲥ ⲡⲛⲁ
19 ⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲏϩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧϥ̄ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲣⲙⲛⲉⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲗⲓⲧ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ϥⲟⲩⲁϩⲉ
20 ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈
21 ⲛⲉ ⲃⲛ ⲧϩⲉ ⲛⲑⲃⲓⲟ ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ϥⲉⲗⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ [ⲕⲁⲧⲁ]
22 ⲡⲉϥⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ leer ⲧϩⲉ ϫⲉ ϩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲣ[ⲁⲓ̈ⲥ]
23 ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲧϩⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉⲧⲟ ⲛϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ϩⲛ ⲧϩⲱⲛⲏ
24 ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁ ⲡⲕⲙⲧⲟ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲣⲁϥ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ
25 ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ϣ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ϣ ⲧϩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ
26 ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥ̣ⲁ̣ⲣⲝ̣ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲉϩⲥ̣[ⲉ]
27 ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ϣ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ϣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲧⲁⲣⲁⲭⲏ ϩⲙ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ leer
28 Ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛ̣ⲉ̣
29 ϩⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲧϩⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧϩⲁⲏ ⲃⲁⲗⲡ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃ̣[ⲗ]
30 ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁϥ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ϥ̄ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁϥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϩⲉⲡ [ⲉϥ]
31 ⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲣⲱ ϣⲁⲩ†ⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧϫⲁϫⲉ [ⲁ]
32 ⲧⲟⲩ†ϩⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ϣⲱϥⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ̣ [ϩⲛ̄]
33 ⲟⲩϩⲁⲧⲉ Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲁⲡⲟⲩ . . . . [

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3 Lies ⲟⲩⲣ̄⟨ⲟⲩ⟩ⲱⲣϥ̄. — 9 ϩⲱⲣⲃ unsicher. — 10 Ende ursprünglich ⲁⲡϥ̄. — 12 ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ statt ⲁⲛⲉⲩ.

Die Kephalaia

1 Wegen des Erdbebens aber, das geschehen war in diesen drei
2 Erden und weil die Wege aufhörten und die Brunnen des
3 Windes, des Wassers und des Feuers zurückgehalten wurden, stieg Jesus herab,
4 legte Eva an (φορεῖν) und machte gerade die Pfade des Windes, des Wassers,
5 des Feuers. Er öffnete ihnen die Brunnen und errichtete ihnen den Weg
6 ihres Hinaufkommens. — Wiederum weil
7 die Erde unterhalb des Ὡμοφόρος auszog die Befestigungen . . . . . .
8 . . . . . aus diesem Grunde ist Jesus herabgekommen, indem er anlegte (φορεῖν)
9 [Eva], bis er gelangte zu jenem Orte. Er ordnete und befestigte
10 die Befestigungen, die sich unten befanden, und kehrte zurück und [ging] hinauf zu seinem
11 Ruhe . . . . — Darauf sprach der Apostel zu ihm:
12 Sieh alle diese Wachbezirke der ζώνη, in denen diese
13 großen Götter Herren sind, indem sie sie bewachen . . . . . .
14 Rebellion und Tücke ist in ihnen geschehen . . . . . .
15 . . . . in ihnen von Zeit zu Zeit in einer großen [Demütigung?],
16 bis sie demütigten die Mächte der Feindschaft. —
17 So ist es auch mit diesem Körper: es wohnt eine mächtige Kraft
18 in ihm; wenn (κἄν) er auch klein ist in seiner Substanz (?), trotzdem (ὅμως) wohnt die
19 Sünde in ihm und der Alte Mensch, der bei ihm sich niedergelassen hat. Er ist sehr furchtbar
20 in großer Weisheit, bis der Licht-Noûς
21 die Möglichkeit findet, diesen Körper zu demütigen und ihn anzutreiben (ἐλαύνειν) [nach]
22 seinem Willen. — Wie in den Wachbezirken
23 seiner großen Brüder, der außen befindlichen, die Herren sind in der ζώνη,
24 dem großen Körper, (so wie) in ihnen das Erdbeben und die Tücke geschehen ist
25 von Zeit zu Zeit, so ist es auch mit dem Wachbezirk des
26 Noûς, welches ist der Fleischeskörper: die Sünde erweckt
27 von Zeit zu Zeit ihre Verwirrungen (ταραχή) im Körper.
28 Ihr aber wisset also, daß die Mächte des Lichts
29 gut (ἀγαθός) sind. Der Anfang und das Ende ist ihnen offenbar.
30 Alles was sie tun, das tun sie gemäß einem festen Gericht.
31 Aus diesem Grunde gestatten sie der Feindschaft,
32 anzufangen zu freveln und ihren Willen zu tun [für]
33 eine Weile, — dann aber fangen sie sie . . . . . .

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1 . . . ⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲉⲉⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϩⲉⲡ ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ
2 [ϩⲁ]ⲡ̣ⲣⲁ ⲁⲉ ⲙⲡ|ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲱⲥ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ
3 [ⲛ̄]ⲟⲩⲁⲩⲓⲛⲉ ⲉ| ⲡ|ⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ ⲛⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲡ|ⲕⲟⲩⲓ
4 [ⲛ]ⲉ̣ⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ ϭⲱⲱⲧ ⲁ̣ⲛ ⲛⲕⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛ|ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ
5 [.] . . ⲛ̣ [ϩⲛ̄]ⲛⲁϭ [ⲛⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϭⲏⲟⲩ ϥ̣ϕ̣ⲗⲗ|
6 [ⲃⲉ] ϩ[ⲙ̄ ⲡ|ⲙ]ⲁ̣ ⲉⲧⲩ̣ⲧⲏⲕ̣ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲧϩⲉ ⲛϩⲛ̄ⲱϩⲏⲛ ⲉⲩ
7 [ϫ]ⲱⲗϫ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲁⲙⲁ|ⲏⲏⲥ ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ
8 [ⲡ]ⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϫⲱⲗϫ ⲛ̣ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲏⲏⲥ ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲕⲁ̣ⲧⲁ
9 [ⲧ]ϕ̣[ⲁ]ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉ̣ⲧⲩⲧⲏⲕ̣ ⲁ̣ⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲩ ⲉⲩⲃⲓ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲱⲁⲧⲉ̣
10 [.] . . ⲛ̄ . ϩⲁ . . . . . ⲁ̣ⲗⲗⲁ ⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ̣
11 [. .] . . . . . ⲡ̣ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲕ̣ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ̣ . . .
12 [. . . . . ⲡ]ⲡⲛⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
13 [. . . . . .] . . . ⲁ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲃⲓ ⲡ|ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ [ⲧ]ϫⲱ
14 [ⲣⲁ(?) . . . . . ⲥ]ⲙⲛⲧ̄ⲩ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲡⲉⲩ[ⲥⲱⲙ]ⲁ
15 [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲥ]ⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲕ̣ⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲉⲩ
16 [†ⲩϫ]ⲏ ϩⲱⲱⲥ ⲁ[ⲩ]ⲃⲓⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲣⲓ[ⲱ]ⲩ
17 [ⲁⲩⲙⲁ]ⲣⲥ̀ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ
18 ϩ̣ⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲥ ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲧ ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲟ̣ⲙⲉ ⲡⲥⲁ
19 ϫ̣ⲛⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ϩ̣ⲙ̄ ⲡⲱⲁⲁⲣ[ⲉ] ⲁⲩⲥⲉϩⲟ ⲁ̣
20 [ⲣⲉⲧⲥ̀] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ†ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲁϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲧ†ⲩϫⲏ
21 [ⲡⲉⲩ]ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲁϫⲙ ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲧ†ⲩϫⲏ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲃⲱ ⲁϫⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲃⲱ
22 [ⲛ]ⲧ[†]ⲩϫⲏ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲁϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩϫⲏ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁⲕ
23 [ⲙⲉ]ⲕ̣ ⲁϫⲛ̣ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲛⲧ†ⲩϫⲏ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲑ|ⲥⲧⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ
24 [ⲁⲅ]ⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲝ̄ⲟⲩⲥ|ⲁ̣ⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲁϫⲙ̄ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ
25 [ⲛⲧ]†ⲩϫⲏ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲩϫ|ⲧⲥ̀ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲥ ϩⲛ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ ⲁⲩ
26 [. .] ⲉⲩϫ|ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲧ†ⲩϫⲏ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲕ̣ ϩⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲁⲛϩⲃⲏ
27 [ⲟⲩ]ⲉ̣ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙ|ⲁ ⲁⲡ
28 [ⲱⲙ]ⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ|ⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲁⲛⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲁⲩⲑⲃ̄
29 [ⲓ̈ⲟ] ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲑⲃⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲉⲥⲧⲏⲕ̣ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲥ ⲉⲥⲱⲙ̄
30 [ⲱⲉ] ⲛⲛϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧ . . . ⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ̄
31 [ ]ⲉ̣|ⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉ ϩⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ϩⲓ ϩⲉⲧ
32 [ ] . ⲱⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲁϫⲏ(?) ⲉⲥⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲉ ⲛⲛⲧⲃⲛⲁⲩⲉ

18 ⲙⲟ̣ⲙⲉ: der 2. Buchst. ganz unsicher; sonst ⲙⲟⲟⲙⲉ. — 32 Lesung ⲱⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲁϫⲏ sehr unsicher.

des Lehrers.

. . . . . sie hatten es zuerst getan in gerechtem Gericht.
Was aber anbetrifft (?) dieses andere, was du gesagt hast: „Wie (πῶς) kommt der
Licht-Noûς, dieser große erhabene Gewaltige, und legt an (φορεῖν) diesen kleinen
Fleisches-Körper?“ Merke wiederum auf und sieh diese Götter,
groß sind sie und stark und jeder einzelne von ihnen ist beengt und be-
drängt (θλίβειν) an [dem Orte], wo er steht. Wie Bäume, die
festheften ihre Substanz, so hat auch jeder einzelne von ihnen
seine Substanz in der Welt festgeheftet, gemäß
der Art des Ortes, an welchem er steht, indem er trägt bis
. . . . . Aber wisset
. . . . . die Welt steht, indem sie errichtet ist
. . . . . [der] Lebendige Geist in allen seinen Gliedern
. . . . . die Sünde nahm diesen Körper heraus aus dem
[Lande?] . . . . . errichtete ihn in seinen Gliedern; sie (die Sünde) nahm seinen [Körper]
[von den fünf] Körpern der Finsternis, und errichtete den Körper. Seine
[Seele] aber nahm sie von den fünf Lichten Göttern
und fesselte sie in den fünf Gliedern des Körpers. Sie fesselte den Noûς
in dem Knochen, das Denken in der Sehne, die Einsicht in der Ader, das Sinnen
im Fleisch, die Überlegung in der Haut. Sie stellte
[auf] ihre fünf Kräfte: ihren Noûς auf den νοῦς der Seele,
[ihr] Denken auf das Denken der Seele, ihre Einsicht auf die Einsicht
der Seele, ihr Sinnen auf das Sinnen der Seele, ihre Über-
legung auf die Überlegung der Seele. Sie setzte (καθιστάναι) ihre fünf
Engel und ihre ἐξουσιασταί auf die fünf Glieder
[der] Seele, die sie aufgenommen hatte und die sie im Fleisch gefesselt hatte.
Sie . . ., indem sie der Seele . . . verkünden und sie verleiten allezeit zu allen bösen
Werken, zu allen Sünden der Begierde (ἐπιθυμία), zum
Dienst der Götzen (εἴδωλον), zu den Lehren (δόγματα) des Irrwahns (πλάνη), zu einer Erniedrigung
in der Erniedrigung der Sklaverei, indem sie steht und dient
den Dingen, die . . . . . und die nicht dauern werden, indem sie verehrt
. . . . . Göttern (εἴδωλον) aus Holz und Gold und Silber
. . . . . indem sie den Tieren dient,

ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

ⲉⲧⲭⲁϩⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲃⲁⲓⲧ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩ
ⲙⲟⲣⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̣ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧ̄ⲃⲱⲉ ⲁⲥⲣⲡⲱ
ⲃⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲥⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲥⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲉⲥⲥⲁ[ⲩ]
ⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲱⲗ̣ⲏⲗ̣ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁϩ[ⲣ]ⲏ̈ⲓ̈
ⲟⲩⲃⲏϥ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ϫⲁϫⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲥⲓ̈ⲱⲧ . . . . . .
. . ⲙ̄ⲙ̣ⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲥϩⲁⲩ . . . . . .
. . ⲁⲡⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲥ ⲡ . . . . . [ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄]
ⲟ̣ⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲛ̄ ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ . . . . . .
. . ⲟ̣ⲥ ⲉⲥⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧ . . . . . [. . . . . .]
. . . ⲧⲉⲥⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ . . . . . .
. . . . . ⲱⲁϥⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲛ . . . . . .
. . ⲛⲙⲙⲣⲣⲉ . . . . . .
ⲙ̣ⲉ̣ⲗⲟⲥ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲱⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲛ̣[ⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲁ]
[ⲗ]ⲩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲥ ⲱⲁϥⲃⲱⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̣[ⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ]
ϩⲙ̣ ⲡⲙ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲧ ⲛ̄ⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲡⲙ̣ⲉⲩⲉ ϩⲱ[ϣϥ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ϩⲙ̄]
ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲧ ⲱⲁϥⲃⲱⲗ ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲛⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲙ̣[ⲉ]
ⲛ̄ⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ϩⲱϣϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃ̣ⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲙⲉ ⲱ̣[ⲁϥ]
ϯⲟⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲁⲗⲉϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲣ̣ⲝ̣
ⲛ̄ⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲡⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ϩⲱϣϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲣ̣ⲝ̣ ⲱⲁϥ
ⲃⲱⲗ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲛⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲙⲟⲩ[ⲣ]
ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲉ leer
Ⲧϩⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ
ⲛ̣ⲩⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ϩⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ
ⲡⲓϯⲟⲩ ϩⲱϣϥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̣ⲡⲛ̣ⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁ̣ⲗ̣
ⲱⲁϥⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ • ⲱⲁϥⲥⲙⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲩⲕⲁⲧⲟ̣[ⲩ]
ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲁⲧⲩⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲣⲉ [ⲛ̄]
ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ [ⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲩ]ⲛ̣ⲁⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲕ ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲙ̣[ⲓ]
ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲱⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲱⲁϥϫⲡⲁ ϯⲟⲩ ⲛ̣
ⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲙ̣ ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗ[ⲟⲥ]
ⲛ̄ⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲃⲣⲣⲉ ⲱⲁϥⲕⲁ ⲡⲩⲛ̣[ⲟⲩⲥ]
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲧⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̣ⲙ̣ⲛⲃⲣⲣⲉ ⲡⲙ̣[ⲉⲩ]
ⲉ ϩⲱϣϥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲱⲁϥⲕⲁ̣[ⲁϥ ϩⲙ̄] ⲡ̣ⲙ̣ⲉ̣ⲩⲉ̣ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲙ̄]
ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲥⲁⲧϥ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲧⲉ [ⲡϫⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉ ⲱⲁϥⲕⲁⲁⲥ]

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5 ⲟⲩⲃⲏϥ: ⲩ über der Zeile. — 28 Lies ⲱⲁϥϫⲡⲟ.

Die Kephalaia

schmutzig und unrein, die häßlich sind in ihren Erscheinungen und ihren
Gestalten (μορφή). Sie legte an (φορεῖν) den Irrwahn (πλάνη) und das Vergessen; sie vergaß
ihre οὐσία und ihr Geschlecht (γένος) und ihre Sippe, indem sie nicht
kannte das Tor des Ortes des zu ihm Betens und hinauf zu
ihm Rufens; sie wurde mit ihrem Vater verfeindet, . . .
. . sich selbst, indem sie schlecht war . . . . . .
. . ihr eigenes Licht . . . . . [der]
Licht [-Noûς] kommt und findet die Seele . . . . . .
. . . . indem sie sie anlegt (φορεῖν) in der . . . . . .
. . . ihre Weisheit . . . . . .
. . . . . er wird ihr ein . . . . . .
. . . die Fesseln . . . . . .
Glieder im Körper. Er erlöst den [Noûς der Seele und löst]
[ihn] aus dem Knochen; er löst das [Denken der Seele aus]
der Sehne und fesselt das Denken [der Sünde in]
der Sehne; er löst die Einsicht der Seele aus der Ader
und fesselt die Einsicht der Sünde in der Ader. Er
erlöst das Sinnen der Seele und löst es aus dem Fleisch
und fesselt das Sinnen der Sünde im Fleisch. Er
löst die Überlegung der Seele aus der Haut und fesselt
die Überlegung der Sünde in der Haut. —
So löst er die Glieder der Seele
und macht sie frei aus den fünf Gliedern der Sünde.
Diese fünf Glieder der Sünde aber, die gelöst (frei) waren,
die fesselt er. Er errichtet die Glieder der Seele und baut sie
und läutert sie und errichtet sie zu einem Neuen Menschen, einem Sohne
der Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη). Wann er aber bildet und errichtet
und läutert den Neuen Menschen, dann (τότε) schafft er fünf
große lebendige Glieder aus den fünf großen Gliedern
und setzt sie in die Glieder des Neuen Menschen. Er setzt seinen [Noûς],
welcher die Liebe (ἀγάπη) ist, in den Noûς des Neuen Menschen. Das Denken
aber, welches der Glaube ist, setzt er in das Denken [des]
Neuen [Menschen], den er rettet. Seine Einsicht, [welches ist die Vollkommenheit, setzt er]

[47]

> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

1 ϩⲛ ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ [ⲡⲉ]
2 ⲧ̣ⲙ̣ⲛⲧⲥⲁⲣⲱϩⲛⲧ ⲱⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ [ⲧⲥ]ⲟ
3 ϕⲓⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲡⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲙⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲃ̣ⲣ
4 ⲣ̣ⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲧϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ
5 ⲛⲁⲃ̣ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̣ⲫ̣ⲓⲣⲱϩ ⲛ̄ϩⲛⲧⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲉϫⲉ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ̣ⲩ
6 . . . . . ⲱ]ⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ ϩⲓ ⲣⲉⲩ†ⲛⲁⲱ̣ⲧⲉ . . .
7 [. . . . . .] ⲦⲦⲛⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩϫⲱⲕ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ]
8 [. . . . . [ⲡⲙⲛ]ⲧ̣ⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ Ⲧⲉ̈ⲓ̈ [ⲧⲉ ⲧϩⲉ]
9 [. . . . . .] . ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲩ[. . . . . .
10 [. . . . . .]ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲩϫⲏⲕ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . .
11 . . . . . ⲛ̣ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲏⲧ ⲡⲉ̣ . . . . ⲉⲩ
12 [. . . .] . . . . . ⲁⲛⲧⲓ ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ̈ ⲩⲡⲏⲧ ϩⲱⲱⲩ †ⲛⲟⲩ . . ⲁⲛ̄
13 [. . . . . .]ⲡⲉⲙⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩϩⲓⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩ . . . . .
14 [ϫⲉⲥⲧⲩ] ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ [ⲁϩⲣⲏ]ⲓ̈ ⲁⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲛⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ . . . . . .
15 [. . . . .]ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲉⲥ ⲙⲏⲣ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ . . . .
16 . . . ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲁⲱ . . . . . ⲧⲉⲩ
17 ⲙ̣ⲛⲧⲥⲥⲉⲃⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲓ†ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲱ[ⲙⲁ] . . . .
18 ⲡ̣ⲡⲛⲁ ⲛⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲧⲡ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲣⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ϩⲛ̄
19 [ⲟ]ⲩⲧⲁⲗⲁⲓⲡⲱⲣⲓⲁ ⲉⲥⲛⲁⲱⲧ leer ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲟ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ
20 [ϩ]ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉ[ⲩ]ⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ϩ]ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩ
21 [ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲁⲣⲱϩⲛⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲦⲦⲩⲣⲣⲟ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ . . . .
22 [ⲡⲛⲟⲩ]ⲥ̣ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ̣[ⲧⲟ] ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲁϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲩⲣ̄[ⲣⲣⲟ] ⲁ̣[ϫⲱⲩ]
23 [ⲕⲁⲧⲁ] ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ϩⲛⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲉ̣ⲛ . . . . . .
24 [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲧⲡ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ϩⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
25 [. .]ⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲑⲗⲓ†ⲓⲥ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩ
26 [ⲁ̈ⲓ̈]ⲱ ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲱ leer Ⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ϫⲉⲥⲧⲩ ⲁ
27 [ⲣⲣ]ⲏ̈ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲉⲃⲉ ⲛⲩⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲛ̄ⲙ̣ⲧⲱⲥ
28 [ⲛ]ⲧ̣ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲛϩⲛⲧ ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̣ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏ ⲡⲱ
29 [ⲣ]ϫ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲙ̣ ⲁⲧⲙⲛⲧϩⲛⲧⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ϩⲛⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲃⲁ
30 [ⲃ]ⲉ ⲙⲛ ϩⲙⲟⲩ . . . ⲡ]ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲙⲉ̈ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲙⲙ̄ⲛ
31 [ⲧⲥⲉ]ⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲉ . . . . ⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲥⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲛ
32 [ⲛ̄ . . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛ̄ . . . ⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲥⲱⲩϩ
33 [. . . . . .]ⲛ̄ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓ
34 [ⲁ . . . . . .] . . . . . [ⲁ] ⲡⲉⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲥⲙ̄ⲛⲉ

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2 Es müßte lauten: ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲡⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ. — 17 Lies ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲉ.

des Lehrers.

in die Einsicht des Neuen Menschen. Sein Sinnen, welches die
Geduld ist, setzt er in sein Sinnen. Die Weisheit,
welche seine Überlegung ist, in die Überlegung des Neuen Menschen.
Er läutert das Bild des Wortes von dem Wort der
Sünde, und legt in es sein Wort, damit sein . . . . . .
. . . . . wird zum Ernährer und zum Beschützer . . . . .
. . . . . Wenn er nun vollendet . . . . . .
. . . . . die zwölf Glieder . . . . . .
. . . . . und seine Weisheit. Seine . . . . . .
. . . . . wird ein vollkommener Gerechter . . . . .
. . . . . Früher floh er . . . . . .
. . . . . statt (ἀντί) dessen flieht er jetzt . . . . . zu den
. . . . . sein Weg und sein Pfad und seine . . . . . .
. . . er erhebt sich hinauf zu den großen Aeonen . . . . . .
. . . . . so ist der Alte Mensch gefesselt in . . . . . .
. . . . . und seine Begierde (ἐπιθυμία), und seine . . . . . .
und seine
Dummheit in diesen fünf Gliedern des Körpers . . . . . .
der finstre Geist ist eingesperrt mit ihnen in einer Fessel und in
starkem Elend (ταλαιπωρία). — Der Neue Mensch dagegen herrscht
in seiner Liebe (ἀγάπη), in seinem Glauben, in seiner Vollendung, in seiner
Geduld und in seiner Weisheit. — Sein König wiederum, [welcher ist]
[der] Licht-Noûς, [ist] König über das All, er herrscht über es
[nach] seinem Willen. Die Glieder zwar . . . . . .
so ist die Sünde eingesperrt. Der Licht-Noûς dagegen
[wird] König, und Bedrängnis (θλῖψις) geschieht im Körper von Zeit
zu Zeit. — Manchmal erhebt sich die Sünde
in ihrer Torheit und stört die Überlegung und verwirrt
die Weisheit und Verständigkeit des Menschen und läßt die Wahr-
heit sich bei ihm spalten zum Zweifel, und er redet dumme Worte
. . . . . wenn das Anzeichen seiner
Torheit . . . kommt in der Kirche, pflegen die Lehrer und
[die] . . . und die . . . . . und die Presbyter sich zu versammeln
[. . . werden ihm] Helfer (βοηθός) und richten seine Weisheit wieder auf
. . . . . seine Überlegung hat sich gefestigt

2 Richtig: „Die Überlegung, welche ist seine Weisheit."

ϥ[ⲏ]

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 [ⲁ]ⲡⲉⲓ ⲁ ⲧⲉϥⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲥⲙ̄ⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲥⲙⲁ ⲁⲥⲣⲱⲣⲃ̄ ⲉⲓⲉⲩ
2 . . . ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲉϥⲱⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲭⲓ ⲧⲉⲡ|ⲧⲏⲙⲓⲁ
3 ⲙ̄ⲛ̇ ⲡⲕⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉϥⲃⲟⲏⲑⲟⲥ ⲥⲓⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡ
4 ⲛ̇ⲁⲃⲉ ⲭⲉⲥⲧⲏ̄ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲡ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲁ
5 ⲡⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲛϥⲃⲓ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛⲧⲥⲁⲣⲱⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ] ⲛϥ+ ⲁⲭⲱϥ
6 ⲛ̇ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲛⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲡⲁⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡ[ⲛⲁⲃ]ⲉ ⲛⲁⲟ̇ⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀
7 [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ] ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲡⲉϥ . . . . . ⲭⲉ
8 [ⲥⲱⲃ] ⲛ̇ⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁϥⲉⲉϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲁϥ] . . . . . .
9 ⲥⲩⲙⲃⲟⲩⲗⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛϥⲱⲱⲡⲉ . . . . . .
10 ⲧ̇[ⲙ]ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲃⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲙ|ⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲟ̇ⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ
11 ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̇ⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲱ . . . . [
12 [ⲱⲁ]ⲩⲥⲱⲩⲥ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ̇ ⲛ . . [. . . . . .
13 . . . . . [ⲛⲍⲏ]ⲧ̇ⲏ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲑⲣ̄ⲕⲁϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧ̇ [. . . . . .
14 ⲡ̇ . . ⲛⲥⲉⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲁⲡⲉϥⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲉ̇ⲁ[ⲡ .] . . . . . ⲛⲉϥ
15 ⲉⲣ[ⲏ]ⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲉϥⲁⲅⲱⲛ leer Ⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̇ⲡ[. . .] . . .
16 ⲁ̇[ⲡ|]ⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲓⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁ . .
17 . . ⲃ̇ⲉ ⲛ̄ϥⲧⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̇
18 ⲧⲙ̇ⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲥ|ⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ϥⲡⲱⲣⲭ̀ ⲁⲡⲉϥⲥⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲛⲏⲩ leer
19 ϣ[ⲁϥⲟⲩ]ⲱⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧ[ϥ]
20 ⲱⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲁⲥⲱ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉϥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ̇ ϣ[ⲁϥ]
21 ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉϥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲣⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲡ̇[ⲙⲉ]
22 ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲧⲁⲡⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲣ̄ⲥ̇ⲛⲉϥ ⲉϥⲱⲁⲛⲧⲥ . . .
23 ▪ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉⲥ̇ⲧϥ
24 ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲧⲉⲛ|ⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥ|ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲱⲁϥ+ⲥ[. .]
25 ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲭⲁⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ϥⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲛ̇[ⲁⲥ]ⲧ̇ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲏⲉ ⲃ̀ⲱ[ⲕ]
26 ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ̄ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ̇ ⲛ̇ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛⲧⲥⲉⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲟ̇ⲩⲱ]
27 ⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲥⲱⲣ̇ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲥⲁ]
28 ⲃⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲥⲱⲩⲥ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲭ̇[ⲉ]ⲩⲛⲁⲥⲙ̄ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥ[ⲥⲏⲧ]
29 ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲁⲧⲏ̄ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧ[ⲉ] ⲉⲓ̇ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲛ[ⲧⲥⲩⲙ]
30 ⲃⲟⲩⲗⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁ̇ . . . . ⲧⲉ ⲟ̇ⲩⲍ . . . . . .
31 ⲛ̄ϥⲛⲁⲩⲍⲏ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ . . . [. . . . . .]

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2 Lies ⲉϥⲱⲁⲛⲧⲙ̄ⲭⲓ. — 8 Über ⲁⲃⲁⲗ etwas übergeschrieben. —

Die Kephalaia

[an] diesem. Seine Weisheit hat sich befestigt (wieder) an ihren Platz und geordnet . . . . .
. . gut (καλῶς). Wenn er aber nicht die Zurechtweisung (ἐπιτιμία)
und die Erbauung seiner Brüder und seiner Helfer (βοηθός) annimmt, so erhebt sich
die Sünde abermals von der Überlegung zum
Sinnen und nimmt seine Geduld fort [von ihm] und bekleidet ihn
mit Kleinmut und Schaden und die Sünde wird offenbar
in der Mitte seiner Brüder . . . . . .
alles, was er tut . . . . . .
Rat (συμβουλία) seiner Brüder, und wird . . . . . .
die Torheit. Ein Kampf und ein Krieg entsteht [zwischen]
dem Licht-Noûς und der Sünde in dem Sinnen . . . . . .
sie versammeln sich zueinander und werden . . . . . .
. . . . . und bringen ihn zur Ruhe von der . . . . . .
. . . . . und stellen ihn wieder an seinen Platz zurecht . . . .
einander in seinem Kampfe. — Wenn wiederum . . . . . .
an jenen Ort, so pflegt wiederum die Sünde, heraufzukommen zu
. . . und bekleidet (φορεῖν) ihn mit der Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) und der Aufgeblasenheit (-χαῦνος)
und dem Hochmut, und er trennt sich von seinem Meister und seinen Brüdern. —
Er wünscht allezeit allein ein- und auszugehen;
er wünscht ganz allein zu essen und zu trinken, er
wünscht allezeit allein zu gehen. Das ist eben das Zeichen dafür, daß der Verkehr (evtl. die Gewohnheit) mit seinen Brüdern ihm nicht zusagt. Wenn
er wiederum sein Herz nicht von der Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) [entfernt (od. ä.)], so erhebt sich die Sünde
wiederum, die Ἐνθύμησις des Todes, bis zu seinem Denken und berauscht sich (?)
an Aufgeblasenheit (-χαῦνος) und läßt seinen Glauben und seine Wahrheit ihm
verlorengehen. Sobald das Zeichen seiner Torheit sich
zeigt und das Gerücht davon sich in der Kirche verbreitet,
versammeln sich die Verständigen der Kirche bei ihm, um sein Herz zu befestigen
und es zu bauen in der Erbauung Gottes. Wenn er nun den
Rat (συμβουλία) seiner Brüder annimmt und hört (?) . . . . . .
und sich von seinem Zorn abwendet und . . . . . .

ϥϑ

> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

ⲟⲩⲛ ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲣⲉϥⲱⲛϩ̀ ⲛ̄ϥⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ Ⲉϥϣⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲣ̄ϣⲉ ϣⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈
ⲛ̄ϥⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ϥϣⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲣϥ̀
ⲛ̄ϣⲁⲣⲡ ϣⲁϥϣⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲧⲉϥⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲥⲁϩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉϥ
ⲣⲉϥⲧⲥⲃⲱ ϣⲁϥⲃⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥϩⲛⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓ
ⲁ ⲛ̄ϥⲙⲁϩϥ̄ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲣ̄ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ
ⲛⲁϩⲣⲉϥ ⲛ̣[ⲉ]ϥⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉϥϣⲃⲉⲉⲣⲉ
ⲉⲧⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ϣⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲧϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϫⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲉϥ leer
ϣⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ϣⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛϥⲧⲉ ⲧ̄ϥ
ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣⲓ̣ ⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟ̣ [ϩⲱ]ϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ϥⲡⲱⲣϫ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ] ⲛ̄
ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧ̣ⲉϥϩⲁⲏ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲧⲏ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ϣ[ⲁ]ⲣⲉ
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧϥ̄ ϫⲣⲁⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲛ̄ϥⲃⲱⲕ
ϣⲁ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲩ[ⲧ]ⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩϥ̄ ϣⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϩ ϩⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ̣ⲣⲩⲉ [ⲁⲣⲁϥ] ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ[ⲙⲁ]ϥ ⲥⲁⲙⲏ ⲥⲁⲙⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ϥⲣ̄ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱ
ⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲱ[ⲙ]ⲉ̣ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲓⲕⲟ[ⲥ] ⲉϥ]ⲛⲁⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϥⲣ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲁ
[ⲗ]ⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲧⲱⲗⲕ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲙ[ⲉϩⲉ] ⲛϥⲣⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁϩ leer
[ⲧ]ⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲕ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟ̣[ⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲧ]ⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ϣⲁ̣ⲣ̣ⲉ̣
ⲧⲁⲣⲁϫⲏ ϣⲡⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧϫⲱ[ⲛⲏ] ϩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲓⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛϫⲱ[ⲣⲉ] ⲧϩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉ ϣⲁⲣⲉ
ϣⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ̄ ϣⲡⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩ[ⲁⲓ̈ϣ] ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ϣ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡ
[ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ[ⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ Ⲧϩⲉ ⲁ[ⲛ ⲛ]ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣ̄ϣⲉ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲧⲏⲕ . . .
[ⲁ]ⲣ̣[ⲉⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲛ] ⲧϫⲱⲛⲏ ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲁⲛϩ̣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ Ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ
ⲧ̣ⲉⲓ̈ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ [ϫⲉ ⲫⲟⲩ]ⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ
[ⲕ]ⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ[ⲓⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣ̄ϣⲉ] ⲉⲧϩⲓⲃⲁⲗ ϫⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲁϭ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉ
[ⲁ]ⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲩⲁⲗⲕⲟⲩ ⲁⲩ[. . . . . .] ⲁⲩⲥⲃⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲱⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲱϥ
[ⲉ]ⲧⲧⲟⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲧⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡ[ⲟ]ⲩⲉ [ⲙ̄ⲙ]ⲁⲩ Ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̣
[ⲡ]ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲟⲩⲛⲁϭ ϩⲱⲱ[ϥ] ⲡⲉ] ⲁⲩⲱ ϥϫⲁⲥⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁϥⲕⲁⲗⲉϫ̣
[ⲁ]ϥⲥⲃⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ[ⲥⲱ]ⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ leer
[Ⲛ̄ϩⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ[ϩⲛ ⲧϫ]ⲱⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲓⲃⲁⲗ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ
[ⲥⲉ]ⲥ̣ⲁⲧϥ ⲥⲉⲧⲏⲕ [ⲁ]ⲣ̣[ⲉⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲙ] ⲡⲧⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲧⲏⲣ̄ ⲥⲉϫⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲉⲛ̣
[ⲧϩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ϥⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲙⲉⲛ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉ[ϥ]
[. . . . . .] . . . leer

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2 Lies ⲉϥϣⲁⲛⲧⲙ̄ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ. — 9 Lies ϣⲁⲣⲉ statt ϣⲁⲧⲉ.

des Lehrers.

Es besteht die Möglichkeit, daß er lebt und die Sünde und alle ihre Kriege
besiegt. Wenn er aber diese Wache nicht befestigt, so kommt sie nach oben
und legt an (φορεῖν) seinen Noûς und verwirrt seinen Noûς, der
ursprünglich ruhig war; sie verwirrt seine Liebe (ἀγάπη) weg von seinem Meister und seinem
Lehrer; sie entfernt aus seinem Herzen die Liebe (ἀγάπη) zur Kirche
und füllt es ganz mit Haß, und alle seine Brüder werden verhaßt
vor ihm. Seine Brüder und seine Geliebten und seine Genossen,
die ihn lieben, werden wie Feinde vor ihm. —
Jener Mensch wird nun in dieser Weise verwirrt und läßt seine
Liebe (ἀγάπη) und seinen Wunsch sich verändern bei sich. Jener Mensch
wird ein Gefäß (σκεῦος) des Schadens und trennt sich von
der Kirche und sein Ende gelangt (καταντᾶν) zur Welt.
Der Noûς, der in ihm war, verstreut sich von ihm weg und geht
zum Apostel, der ihn gesandt hat. Er füllt sich mit bösen Geistern,
und sie beschäftigen sich [mit ihm,] indem sie ihn dahin und hierhin schleppen, und er wird
wie die weltlichen (κοσμικός) Menschen, [indem er] sich verändert und wird wie ein
Vogel, dem man seine [Federn] ausreißt, und er wird ein Erdenmensch. —
Dann habe ich dir gezeigt und dich darüber aufgeklärt, daß so wie
Verwirrung (ταραχή) entsteht in der ζώνη in den Lagern (παρεμβολή)
dieser großen mächtigen Götter, — so pflegt auch
Verwirrung zu entstehen von Zeit zu Zeit in dem . . . . . des
Licht-Noûς. Wie diese Wachkommandanten: sie stehen . .
[in der] ζώνη und sind nicht sichtbar; — so auch
der Licht-Noûς: [er] ist im Körper nicht sichtbar.
Wie diese äußeren [Wachkommandanten] zwar groß sind,
aber verdreht (versteckt) und . . . . . gering wurden im Verhältnis zu dem Maß der Arbeit,
die einem jeden von ihnen aufgegeben ist. So auch
der Noûς: er [ist] groß und erhaben, aber er wurde gekrümmt
und klein im Verhältnis zu diesem kleinen verächtlichen Körper. —
Wie die Götter in der ζώνη, die draußen ist, hervorragend
und geläutert sind, in der Vermischung des Alls stehn und nicht befleckt werden,
so befindet sich der Licht-Noûς zwar in seiner
. . . . . —

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> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲁⲱⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄
ⲟ̣ⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲁⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲭⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̣
ⲡⲥ̣ⲱⲙⲁ ⲭⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ̄ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲏ ⲩⲧⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
ⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲉⲕ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲃ̣ⲉ
ⲩⲧⲱⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲩⲥⲱⲣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲩⲥⲉⲍⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ leer ⲕⲉⲍⲱⲃ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩⲣ̄
ⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲩ† ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲗⲉ
ⲕ̣ⲧ[ⲟ]ⲥ ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ ⲅⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲱⲁⲕⲟⲛⲧⲏ̄ ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ̄ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ
ⲉⲩ[ⲧ]ⲁ̈ⲓⲗⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲛⲁ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡ̄
ⲛⲟ̣[ⲩ]ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏ ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ
ⲛⲛ̣ⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲥⲉ [ⲦⲦⲁⲗⲓ]ⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲱⲁⲭⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩⲱ
ⲣⲩ [ⲍ]ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲃⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉ̣ⲕ ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁ
ⲡ̣ⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲃⲉⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ̣ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ
ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲏⲧ ⲡⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲉⲍⲟ ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲁⲩ . . . . ⲁ̣ⲣⲁ . . .
Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏ̣ⲧ[ⲏⲥ ⲉⲧ]ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ [ⲭⲉ ⲁ̈ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲕ]
ⲁⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ [ⲛⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ] ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲙ̣
ⲡⲃⲉⲗ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲛ ⲛⲣⲉⲩⲓ̈ⲱ[ⲣⲍ ⲩⲁ]ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉⲧ[ⲉ]
ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲙⲡⲓⲃⲉⲗ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲩⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ̄ⲍ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ
Ⲍⲁ ⲡⲣⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲙⲡⲁⲍⲱⲃ ⲉⲧ[ⲃⲁⲗ]ⲡ̣ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲛⲉⲍ ⲛⲉⲕ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲓ̈ⲧ[ⲟ]ⲩ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲕ ⲁ
ⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲕ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ ⲁ]†ⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ . . . . . .
ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲧⲁⲙⲛⲧⲗⲉⲙⲏⲱⲉ leer
†ⲍⲧⲏⲕ ⲍⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲭⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲕ̣ⲟ
ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲛⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ [ⲙⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲣⲉ̣ⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ
ⲙⲛ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲍⲉⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲡ[ⲃⲁ]ⲣ̣ⲱⲧ(?) . . ⲉⲩⲛⲛⲍⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲛ̄
ⲁⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲍⲁⲗ[ⲃⲱⲉ ⲙⲛ] ⲡⲁⲛⲍⲟⲡⲗⲓⲁ ⲙ[ⲡ]
ⲙⲏⲏⲱⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲱⲙ[ⲉ ⲉⲛ]ⲁⲱⲱⲥ ⲑⲃ̈ⲓⲁⲥ ⲛⲏ̈ [ⲟⲩ]
ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲟ[ⲩⲙ]ⲛⲧⲉ|ⲁⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲍⲙ ⲙⲁⲛ
ⲟ̣ⲩⲱⲧⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲙ[ⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ [ⲙⲁ]
ⲗⲁ ⲙⲟⲅ|ⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲍⲛ[ⲁⲱⲣⲟ]ⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟ̣[ⲩ]
ⲍⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲭ[ⲓⲛⲟⲁⲛⲥ] ⲙ̣ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲑⲃ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄[ⲛⲡⲟ]
ⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲇⲁⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛⲛⲭⲱⲣⲁ [ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲁ̈ⲇⲁⲙⲁⲍⲉ]
ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ ⲍⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ [ⲡⲁⲛⲍⲟⲡⲗⲓⲁ ⲛⲍⲛⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ]

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18 ⲩⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ, ⲱ über der Zeile. — 25 ⲛⲍⲁⲙⲧ, ⲛ über der Zeile.

Die Kephalaia

Siehe wiederum die Stärke und die Tüchtigkeit des Licht-
Noûς, wie weit sie sich erstreckt über alle Wachthäuser des
Körpers; er steht an seinem Lager (παρεμβολή), er verschließt
alle Überlegungen des Körpers vor den Erscheinungen der Sünde.
Er ordnet sie und verteilt sie, er stellt sie auf
nach seinem Willen. — Noch etwas Hervorragendes und Vor-
zügliches tut er. Er gibt einen großen Geist über den
Elektus. — Tatsächlich (ἀμέλει γε) findest du ihn, wie er auf der Erde steht,
indem er sich in seinem Herzen erhebt und zum Vater hinaufgeht, dem
Gott der Wahrheit, der ist und sich befindet über
allen Dingen des Schadens. [Wiederum] steigt er hinab
in seiner Einsicht und seiner Überlegung und geht hinab zum
Lande der Finsternis, aus dem die Finsternis hervorgesprudelt ist.
Sein Herz läuft und trifft alles, indem es . . . . . .
Darauf sprach er zu jenem Jünger: [Ich habe dir verkündet]
die Taten des [Licht-]Noûς. Wer hat
das offene und schauende Auge, dem wird er erscheinen. Wer
jenes Auge nicht hat, dem wird er nicht erscheinen.
Was aber anbetrifft mein Werk, das dir nicht [offenbar] und
nicht klar ist; die Werke, die ich getan habe, ich bin es, der dich belehren wird
über sie, und ich werde dich aufklären über dies Wunder . . . . . .
und meines Strategenamtes. —
Erkenne daraus: Ich, ein einziger Μανιχαῖος, bin in die Welt
allein gekommen und (in?) die γένη und Arten des Körpers
und Gold und Silber und Messing (?) . . aus Kupfer und
viele Geschenke (δῶρον) und Panz[er und] Rüstung (πανοπλία) der
Menge, und viele Menschheit hat sich mir unterworfen,
viele Gottheit und Idolentum im Schmelz-
ofen. Ihr habt gesehen das [Reich] der Welt, daß
kaum (μάλα μόγις) mit vielen Gaben und Geschenken (δῶρον), mit
Panzer und Kriegsgewalt Städte (πόλις) unterworfen
und Länder (χώρα) bezwungen (δαμάζειν) wurden. [Ich aber habe bezwungen (δαμάζειν)]
ohne (χωρίς) Panzer, ohne (χωρίς) [Rüstung (πανοπλία)]

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23 Kapitel 75 (S. 183—188) bringt die gleichen Gedanken: Seine Überschrift lautet: ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲥ ⲙⲛⲭⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁ]ⲙⲁⲁϩⲉ ⲛⲉⲱ ⲛϩⲉ „Über den κύριος Μανιχαῖος, wie er gewandelt ist."

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εγουηγ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲉⲩⲟⲩ
ⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲩϫⲓ ⲉⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲧⲏⲣ[ⲟⲩ]
[ⲗ]ⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲡⲓⲕⲉϩⲱⲃ ⲉ⳨ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲉⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄
ⲣ[ⲁ]ⲓ̈ ⲣ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲅⲓⲥⲧⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁ]
ϩⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁⲗ ϫⲉⲩⲛⲁⲟⲩⲁϥϥ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ⳨ⲙⲏⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲟⲩⲃⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲓϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲁϧ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧ ⲡⲉ
ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲃⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲭⲓ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ[ⲣ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲟ]
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ leer ⲧⲧⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ϫⲉ [ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ]
ⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲁϥ⳨ ⲧⲉⲗⲉⲩⲑⲉⲣⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲱⲏⲣⲉ [ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
ⲛⲉϥⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲩⲅⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲁϥⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄[ϩⲉ] ⲁ
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲁⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲧϩⲉ ⲁⲛⲁϧ [ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲣ̄]
ⲛⲁⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲙ̄ϩⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ . . . .
. . . ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ leer ⲡⲙⲁϩⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ϫⲉ ⲁⲓ̈[ϩⲁⲃ]ⲥⲟⲩ
ⲛⲧϩⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ [ⲛⲧⲥⲟ]ⲫⲓⲁ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛ̣ⲣⲱ
[ⲙⲉ] . . ⲩ . . . . . ⲛⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧϩⲉ ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲱ
ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲱⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱⲥ̣ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣
[ⲧ]ⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ leer
[ⲧⲧⲙⲁ]ϩⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲱⲃ ϫⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲧⲡ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄⳨ⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲙ̣ⲛ̣ⲧⲥⲱ
ⲧⲓⲡ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲁⲓ̈⳨ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁⲃⲇⲟⲥ . . . . . .
[ⲙ]ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ . . . ⲩ
ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⳨ ⲟⲩ . . ⲣⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ . . . . . .
. . ⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲉⲥ ⲛⲧⲱⲓ̈ ⲁⲓ̈⳨ⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲁⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̀
ⲛ̣ⲛ̣[ⲁⲅ]ⲁ̣ⲑⲟⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲭⲣⲏⲥⲓⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ ϩⲛ̄ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ
[ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ]ⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄⳨ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲟ ⲧⲓⲙⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲏⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲧϩⲏⲛ ϩⲛ̄⳨ⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ϩⲙ̄⳨ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩ
[ⲧ]ⲏⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ϫⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄⳨ⲁⲡⲟ
[ⲥⲧ]ⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ[ⲉⲩ]
[ϩⲛ̄] ⳨ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲉⲧϫⲁⲃⲁⲁⲧ ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄
[ⲧ]ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
[ⲉ]ⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲧϩⲉ ⲁⲛⲁϧ ⲓ
[ⲧⲁⲓ̈]ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲗⲟⲩϩ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⳨ⲛⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲁⲏⲣ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁ
[ⲇⲁⲙ] ⲙ̣ⲛ̣ ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲱⲓⲣⲉ ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲟ
[ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ . . . .]. . . . . [ϩ]ⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲣ⳨ ϫⲓ ⲡⲁⲉ|ⲛⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲉ
[. . . . . .]ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲁⲇ

18 Lies ⲡⲙⲁϩ⳨ⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲱⲃ. — 31 Lies ⲟⲩⲱⲁⲟⲩⲏⲣ.

des Lehrers.

ferne [Städte] durch das Wort Gottes und ferne Länder,
und sie segnen meinen Namen und er wird berühmt in allen Ländern.
Wisset auch dieses, das ich euch lehren will: die Könige
haben sich mit mir abgemüht und die Großen (μεγιστᾶνος) und die
Beamten (τάγμα) und ihre Mächte, daß sie mich abbrächten von dieser Wahrheit.
Sie vermochten es nicht gegen mich. Wenn nun ich allein es bin,
warum vermochten alle diese nichts gegen mich, die sich
mit mir abgemüht haben? — Das dritte ist:
[Keiner] hat in der Welt die Freiheit (ἐλευθερία) gegeben seinen Söhnen und
seinen Brüdern und seinen Verwandten (συγγενής) und sie frei gemacht von
der διαφορά aller Dinge, so wie ich alle
meine Söhne frei gemacht habe von allen Leiden und allem
. . . . . — Das vierte ist: Ich habe sie [bekleidet]
mit der Rüstung [der] Weisheit, damit du keinen einzigen findest unter den
Menschen . . . . . und sie besiegt; so wie kein einziger
Mensch mich hat besiegen können in der ganzen Welt, so ist
es auch mit meinen Söhnen. Niemand wird sie besiegen können. —
[Das] fünfte ist: Ich habe ausgewählt mit meiner Kraft diese ganze große Erwählten-
schaft und habe meinen Söhnen meine Stäbe (ῥάβδος) gegeben . . . . . .
[und] die großen Quellen der Weisheit, so daß . . . . . .
Apostel . . . . . der Kirche . . . . . .
ich habe sie (fem.) zu der meinigen gemacht. Ich habe meine Kirche gefestigt; ich habe in sie
alle Güter (ἀγαθόν) gelegt, die ihr in jeder Hinsicht nützlich sind (χρησιμεύειν).
[Ich habe] das Gute (ἀγαθόν) gepflanzt, ich habe die Wahrheit gesät in allen Ländern
fern und nah, Apostel und Gesandte
habe ich ausgesandt in alle Länder, so daß die früheren
Apostel, die vor ihnen gekommen sind, nicht getan haben entsprechend dem, was ich getan habe
[in] dieser harten Generation (γενεά), mit Ausnahme allein Jesu des Sohnes
[der] Größe, der der Vater aller Apostel ist. —
Denn alle Apostel haben nicht so getan, wie ich getan [habe].
Schauet auch und sehet jetzt, wie groß meine
[Kraft] und meine Stärke ist. Denn keiner unter den früheren Apo-
[steln, die vor mir erschienen sind] im Fleische, gleicht mir in
. . . . . durch mich. Denn es steht offen dies große

ⲣⲃ

> · ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

[ⲛ̄]ⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲥⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ
ⲛ̣ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲧⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲉⲧⲥⲃ̄
ⲧ̣ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ leer
Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲓⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ
ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲩⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥ̣ⲛⲛⲁ̣[ⲟ]
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲛ̄ϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲁ
[ⲕⲉ]ⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩⲕ ⲛⲓⲙ
[ⲡⲉⲧ]ⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲙⲁⲍⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲓⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉ
ⲉⲩ [ⲛⲉ]ⲛ ⲉⲓⲙⲏ+ ⲁⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲕ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈
ⲙ̄ⲙ̣[ⲉ]ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲏⲍ ⲁⲧⲟⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲙⲁⲍⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϫⲉⲛⲁⲧⲁϫⲣⲁⲛ ⲥⲙ̄
ⲡ[ⲉⲕ]ⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛⲧ̣ⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲛ̄
ⲧ̣ⲱ[ⲧ] ⲁⲛ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ: —

ⲗⲑ

ⲗ̣[ⲑ] ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲍⲟ ⲗ̣[ⲑ]
ⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ

Ⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙ̣ⲁⲑⲏ̣ⲧⲏⲥ ϫⲉ ⲱⲱ
ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ
ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲃ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲍⲉ leer Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲱⲧ
ⲙ̣ⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁϫⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲛ̄ⲏ̈ⲱⲧ ϫⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲉⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡ[ⲓ]
ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ⲉⲩ ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲟⲩ]
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲍⲉ leer ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ leer
Ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲏ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϫⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲥ̣ⲏ̣[ⲩ]
ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
ⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲡⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲉⲧ[ⲁ]ⲩⲃ[ⲱⲕ]
ⲁⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄
ⲧ̣ⲉ ⲛ̣ⲱⲛⲍ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲥⲱⲣⲃ̄ ⲛⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟ
ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ leer Ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲁ ⲡ[ⲡⲣⲉ]
ⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ̣
ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧ̄ⲩ [(ⲙ̄)ⲡⲟⲩ]
ⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲥⲓ ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[ⲡⲏ]
ⲟⲩⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ[ⲍⲏ]
ⲧ̄ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲛⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲁ ⲧⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̣̄[ⲥⲉⲧⲉ]
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ ⲛⲍⲁⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲩ+ⲍ[ⲟⲩⲓⲧⲉ ⲙ̄]
ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲍⲱⲃ ⲥⲓ ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲣⲡ [ⲛⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ]
ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩ+ⲟⲩ ⲛ̣[ⲱⲏⲣⲉ leer ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ]

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2 Lies ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ. — Lies ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲣⲡ (Crum). — 30 Lies ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ.

Die Kephalaia

Tor, das durch mich sich öffnete den Göttern und den Engeln und den Menschen und allen Geistern und den lebendigen Seelen, die bereitet sind für das Leben und die ewige Ruhe. —
Darauf als seine Jünger alle diese Worte gehört hatten, die er verkündet hatte, da antworteten seine Jünger und sprachen zu ihm: Groß und gewaltig ist dies alles, was du uns verkündigt hast, was du getan hast durch deine Kraft und die Kraft dessen, der dich gesandt hat. Wer vermöchte dir vollständig zu bezahlen die Vergeltung für die Gnade, die du uns getan hast, außer dem, der dich gesandt hat? Aber nur das ist die Gnade, die wir dir voll bezahlen können, daß wir uns festigen in [deinem] Glauben und ausharren in deinen Geboten und zustimmen deinem Wort, das du uns verkündigt hast.

XXXIX.
Über die drei Tage und die zwei Tode.

Wiederum sprach der Apostel zu seinen Jüngern: Wisset, meine Geliebten, drei große mächtige Tage gibt es überhaupt, sowie zwei große schreckliche Tode. — Als seine Jünger (dies) hörten, sprachen sie zu ihm: Sage uns, o unser Vater: Welches sind diese drei großen Tage oder welches sind diese zwei schrecklichen [Tode]? — Er sprach zu ihnen:
Der erste Tag ist unser Vater, der Mensch. Von der Zeit an, da der Urmensch hinunterging in den Abgrund der Finsternis und darin ertrank, wurde der Lebendige Geist entsandt, der [gegangen ist] und ihn heraufgeholt hat. — Nachdem der Mensch heraufgekommen war, ordnete der Vater des Lebens und der Große Geist die Dinge und die Welten, die oberen und die unteren. — Wiederum kam der herrliche Gesandte, setzte sich in das Schiff des Tages, zeigte seine herrliche Erscheinung und läuterte das Licht aus allen Dingen. Er wandelte oberhalb der [Himmel] bis zu der Zeit, da die Welt aufgelöst werden wird, und alle Dinge vernichtet werden, und das große Feuer losgelassen werden wird, und die Letzte Statue heraufkommt. Man hat begonnen diese drei Dinge an (?) diesem ersten [Tag, als entsandt wurde] der Urmensch mit seinen fünf [Söhnen. — Der erste Tod]

8 Vgl. 188, 24: „Wer vermöchte dir vollständig zu bezahlen das Gute, das du uns getan hast, o Vater, außer dem Vater, der dich gesandt hat. Jener ist imstande (ἱκανός), dir vollständig zu bezahlen dein Leiden. Denn die Vergeltung, die du begehrst von dem Gott, der dich gesandt hat, ist diese: Alles, was du den Vater bittest, er wird dir dein Gebet und . . . geben".

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> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϫⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲩⲏⲣⲉ
ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ leer ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ
ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̈ⲁⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃ̀ⲣⲟ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲁ̈ⲓ̄ⲱ̄
ⲛⲁϩⲙⲉⲥⲧ' ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲁ̈ⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩ
ⲱϩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ[ⲁⲓⲱⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ
ⲱⲁ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲁϭⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲉⲩϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ
ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ leer ⲡϩⲁ ⲙⲡⲧⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲡⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ̣ [ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄]
ⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲃⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲉⲩ [ϩⲛ ⲧⲑⲗⲓ]
†ⲓⲥ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲗⲏⲗ ϩⲙ̄ [ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲃ̄ⲣ̄]
ⲣⲉ leer ⲦⲦⲛⲁⲃ ⲙⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ [ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ]
ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁϫⲱⲩ ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ⲉ̣ⲩ̣[ϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ] . . .
[. . . . . ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲩⲭⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ [. . . . . .]
ⲛ̣ⲩ̣ⲭ̣ⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲡⲉⲧϩⲏⲡ ⲛⲧⲁⲙ̣ⲓ̣ⲟ[ⲛ . . . . . .]
ⲛ̄ⲩ† ⲟⲩⲛ[. . . . .] ⲛ̣ⲧⲉⲩ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲭⲁⲃ̣ⲉ̣ⲃ̣ⲉ̣ ⲁ̣ϫⲱ[ⲩ . . . . .]
ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲁⲙⲃⲣⲟⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲥ†ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧϩⲁⲗⲟ̀ [ⲡ]ⲉⲧⲁⲩ̣[ⲓ] ⲛ
ⲧⲑⲗⲓ†ⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲓⲉⲧⲟⲩ . . . . . ⲛ̄
ⲟⲩⲁⲥⲧⲛ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ̣ⲩ̣
[ϩ]ⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲁⲣⲱⲱⲉ ⲁ̣ⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲩ† ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁⲣ̣ . . . . ⲁ ⲛ
[ϩ]ⲉⲣⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲩⲁⲧⲁϩⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲕⲉⲥⲁⲡ [ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ]ϩⲣ̣ⲁ̣ⲕ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲧⲏ ⲛ̄ⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲙⲁ̈ⲏⲏⲥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲱⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
[ⲱ]ⲧ ⲧϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲩ̣ⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ
[ϩ]ⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲓⲱⲛ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲥⲕⲏⲛⲏ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱϩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ
[ⲛⲃ]ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱϩ ϩⲛ
ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲛ̄ⲣⲙⲙⲁⲁ̈ⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲱⲱⲗ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ϫⲱⲣⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲱ Ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲡ ⲉⲛ ϫⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ
[ⲙ]ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲏ ⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲓⲑⲙⲟⲥ
[ⲛ]ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲱⲁ
[ⲁ]ⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲁϩⲱⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ ϫⲛ̄ ⲙ̄
[ⲡⲓ]ⲛⲉ[ⲩ] leer ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲩⲡϩ̀ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲗⲡ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲗⲡ
[ⲛⲉⲩ] ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ
[ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲱ]ⲧ ⲛ[ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙ]ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ † ⲏⲡⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϩⲛ ⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲁ
[ⲣⲑⲙⲟⲥ] leer ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲧⲉ
[ⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲛ]ⲉ: leer

21 Lies ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲱⲛ.

des Lehrers.

aber ist die Finsternis, die sich vermischt hat mit den fünf Söhnen
des Urmenschen. — Der zweite Tag
ist die Zeit, da die Väter des Lichtes, die gesiegt haben im Kampf (ἀγών),
sitzen werden auf ihren Thronen im Neuen Äon und
wohnen werden auf der Neuen Erde und herrschen werden im Neuen [Äon]
bis zu der Zeit, wo der Vater sein Bild (εἰκών) offenbaren wird
oberhalb von ihnen. — . . . . . im Neuen Äon ist
in der Art des Maßes des ersten Tages, den er zugebracht hat [in der]
[Trübsal (θλῖψις),] sie werden herrschen in dieser Weise und frohlocken in dem Neuen
[Äon]. — Der große dritte Tag [ist die Zeit],
da der Vater offenbaren wird über ihnen sein [Bild] (εἰκών) . . .
. . . . . und hebt sie empor . . . . . .
und nimmt sie hinein in seine verborgenen ταμιεῖα . . . . . .
und gibt ein . . . seiner Seele, er wird ausgießen über sie . . .
seine Ambrosia und seinen süßen Wohlgeruch, der hinwegnehmen wird
alle Trübsal, die sie gesehen haben mit ihren Augen . . . . . in
Weite und Freude ewiglich. Zur Zeit, wenn seine
Gnade sich um sie kümmert und ihnen gibt seine (plur.) . . . . und sie
neu werden durch sie (plur.), (dann) wird er sie wiederum berufen [in] Ruhe
und Schweigen und vollenden ihre Substanz (?) in einem einzigen
Maß wie seine ersten Äonen und wird hinsetzen die einzelnen Kräfte
in ihren Äon, in ihr Zelt (σκηνή). Sie werden wohnen im Neuen
Aeon in ihren Aeonen. Zur Zeit nun, wo sie wohnen werden in
ihren Äonen, werden sie unermeßlich reich werden
in alle Ewigkeit ohne Zeit. Nicht wird man rechnen von da ab
jene Zeit in ihrer Mitte oder die Anzahl
der Tage und die der Stunden für alle Generationen (γενεά) und
Ewigkeiten. Der Vater wird sich nicht vor ihnen verbergen von
da ab. — Sondern er ist dazu gekommen, sich ihnen zu offenbaren . . ., indem er [ihnen]
offenbar ist in Ewigkeit. Dies sind die drei großen Tage,
die [der Vater der] Größe berechnet hat in der
Anzahl. — Die zwei Tode dagegen, über
[die ich euch berichtet habe, sind diese]. —

7 ⲡϩⲁ ⲙⲡⲧⲟⲩⲱϩ „Das Gesicht dessen, der wohnt“ unklar. Es ist wohl gemeint „die Zeit“. — 17 Vgl. Kephalaia 73, 17ff.; Manichäische Homilien 41, 12—17; Andreas-Henning Mir. Man. III, Sb. P. A. W. 1934, S. 852—853. Über die Verschleierung des Vaters der Größe vgl. die bei Baur S. 109 angeführten Augustinstellen. — 26 31 ⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲓⲑⲙⲟⲥ Ausdruck desselben Wortes durch ein koptisches und ein griechisches Wort, wie es im Koptischen häufig der Fall ist.

ρ̄ϩ̄

[ⲛⲕⲉ]ϕⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

1 ⲧⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ϫⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲉ̈ⲓⲉ ⲁ
2 ⲡⲕⲉ̣ⲕⲉ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϫⲧ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̣ⲙ̄ [ⲛ]ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲱⲁ
3 ⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲩⲡⲱⲣϫ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲕⲉ
4 ⲕⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲡⲥⲉⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲱϫⲡ ⲁⲡⲁ̣
5 ⲥⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲟ̈ⲁⲕⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲩⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲁϫⲙ ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ
6 ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲉ leer ⲧⲡⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ
7 ⲙ̄ⲧ[ⲩϫ]ⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲡ
8 ⲉ̣ⲧ[ⲟⲩⲛⲁ]ⲃ̣ⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
9 ⲁⲡⲕⲟ̣ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲡⲁⲣϫⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩϫⲓ
10 ⲛⲓ[ⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ]ϩ̣ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲁ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄
11 [. . . . . .] ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲡⲱⲣϫ̣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲥⲁϩⲣⲟⲩ
12 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲙⲡⲥⲁ]ⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ ⲛϩⲁⲉ [. . . . . .] ⲙ . ⲗ . .
13 ⲁⲡ . . . . ϕⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ϩⲛ . ⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲟⲩ
14 [. . . . . .] ⲧⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲟⲡⲉ ⲙⲡ . . . . . ϫ . ⲩ ⲙⲛ . . .
15 ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲟⲗⲓ†ⲓⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃ̣ⲏⲩⲉ . . . . .
16 ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ̣ⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲁⲩϫⲓⲟⲩⲁ ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲥ ⲙⲡ
17 ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ϫ̣ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ [ⲧⲏ]ⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲡ
18 ⲥⲛⲉ̣ⲩ ⲙ̣ⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲥ̀
19 ⲛⲉⲩ [ⲥⲱⲱⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲱⲁⲁⲛϩⲥⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲥ
20 ⲥ[ⲛⲉⲩ ⲙⲙⲟ]ⲩ leer

21 ⲙ̄

22 [ⲙ̄] > · ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲃ ⲉⲧⲉ · < ⲙ̄
23 > · ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲥϩ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ · <

24 ⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲣ̄ⲙ̣ⲩ̣[ⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ]
25 ⲉⲛ ⲛⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ϫⲉ ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲕ̣ⲟ̣ⲩ
26 ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲉⲩ ⲕⲉⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲙ̣[ⲉⲩ]
27 ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲕⲉⲡⲉⲣⲁⲥ ⲁⲧⲣⲟⲩⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲉⲩ̣[ⲁ]
28 ⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲟⲩⲃ̣[ⲉ]
29 ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲣ̣[ⲁⲥ]
30 ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃⲱ ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡⲉ leer
31 ⲧⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡ[ⲉ]
32 ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱⲩ̄ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲧⲩ ⲁϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲥ . . . . . ⲛⲟ [. . . ⲁ]
33 ⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ . . . ⲕⲁⲧⲩ ⲁϫ̣[ⲱⲩ]
34 ⲧⲡⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁ . . [. . .] ⲛⲥⲉⲥ[. . . .]
35 ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ . ⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲃⲉ ⲧ . . [. . . . . .]

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3 ⲛ̄ⲩ kleiner geschrieben, wohl nachgetragen. — 6 ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ über der Zeile. — 30 Lies ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱ.

[Die Ke]phalaia

Der erste Tod ist von der Zeit, da das Licht in die Finsternis
fiel und sich mit [den] Archonten der Finsternis vermischte bis
zu der Zeit, wo das Licht geläutert wird und getrennt wird von der
Finsternis durch jenes große Feuer. Der Rest, der zurückbleiben wird
in ihm, wird sich bauen und sich niederlassen auf jener Letzten
Säule (ἀνδριάς). — Der zweite Tod dagegen ist der Tod, durch den
die Seelen der sündigen Menschen sterben, wenn
ihnen das glänzende Licht, das die Welt erleuchtet, entzogen wird,
und sie weiter von der lebendigen Luft (ἀήρ) getrennt werden, durch die sie
[lebendigen] Atem empfangen, und getrennt werden von dieser Lebendigen
Seele, die
. . . . . in der Welt, und getrennt werden und ausgefegt werden
außerhalb dieser Letzten Statue (ἀνδριάς) . . . . . .
. . . . . und man bindet sie (plur.) . . . . . .
. . . . . das Weib wird . . . . . .
ihre (plur.) Marter (βάσανος) und Pein (θλῖψις), denn ihre (plur.) Werke . . .
jene drei Orte. Denn sie haben gelästert und geschmäht den
Heiligen Geist seit allen Generationen (γενεά) der Welt. Dies sind die
zwei Tode: Der erste Tod ist ein zeitlicher. Der zweite
Tod [dagegen] ist ein ewiger, welches ist der [zwei-
te Tod].

XL.

Über die drei Dinge, die errichtet wurden im Licht.

Wiederum sprach er zu seinen Jüngern, die (noch) nicht My[steriums-]
genossen seiner Erkenntnis waren: Drei Dinge werden vollendet
im Lichte mit Notwendigkeit (ἀνάγκη). Denn nicht haben sie eine andere Art
und ein anderes Ende (πέρας), damit sie bleiben ohne Werden. Denn es soll
die Finsternis, der Feind, durch sie gebunden werden, der sich aufgestellt hat
gegen
das Licht von Anfang (ἀρχή) an. Deswegen haben diese Dinge kein Ende (πέρας),
damit sie bleiben ohne Werden. —
Das erste Ding ist diese neue leuchtende Erde, die
begrenzt und gebaut wurde auf dieser alten Erde . . . . . .
ihn jener fremde Körper . . . auf ihn gebaut.
Das zweite Ding ist dies: Man wird . . . und wird . . . .
die neue Erde . . Kasten . . . . . .

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ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲥⲁ̈ⲱ ⲙⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ leer ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲥⲱⲁ
ⲙ̄ⲧ̄ ⲛⲥⲱⲃ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲧⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁ
ⲭⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲱ . . . [ⲁⲃⲁ]ⲗ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲧⲁ
ⲭⲁⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ|ⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ̈ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲩ
ⲣⲉ ⲁⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲉⲥⲧⲏ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲭⲛ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣ̄
ⲥⲗⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲃⲱⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲱⲩⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲏ ⲛ̣̄
ⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥ|ⲓⲕ̣ⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲙ[ⲟⲩⲣ]
ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲏ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ[ⲕⲁ]ⲁⲩ
ⲛⲥⲩⲡⲟⲡⲟⲗ|ⲟⲛ ⲥⲓ ⲭⲁⲡⲭⲡ ⲥⲓ ⲥⲁⲃⲉ̣ ⲁ⸗ⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲃⲉ [. . . . .]
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲙⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲥⲟ ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩⲱ]ⲛⲉ̣
ⲛⲧⲁⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡ[ⲕⲉⲕ]ⲉ
ⲁⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉⲥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩ[ⲥ]ⲱⲧ
ⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣ ⲥ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲏⲛ ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲭ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ
ⲱⲁ [ⲁⲛⲏ]ⲥⲉ̣ ⲛ̣[ⲛⲁ]ⲛ̣ⲏⲥⲉ̣ leer

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ⲙⲁ > · ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ · < ⲙⲁ
> · ⲧⲉⲥⲟ ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ · <

[ⲧⲧ]ⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲛ̣[ⲁ]ⲩⲥⲟ̣ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ
ⲭⲓ ⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲓⲟⲥ ⲙ̣̄ⲛ̣ ⲥⲛ
ⲕ|ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩ ⲥ|ⲧⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲙ ⲡ|ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ
ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ leer ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲃ|ⲧⲩ ⲛⲧⲙ̣̄ⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣⲭⲩ
ⲁ̣ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃ̣ⲱⲕ̣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲁ
ⲭⲱⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ|ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲡⲩ ⲁⲩ
[ⲙⲁ]ⲣⲩ̄ ⲥⲛ ⲧ⸗ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲛⲍ leer ⲧⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ
ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲩⲁⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲩⲟⲩⲱⲧⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲩⲱⲭⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ̄
⸗ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲕⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲱⲣⲱⲱⲣⲩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍ|ⲕⲱ̄
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ [ⲉ]ⲧⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲩⲍⲩ̄ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ
[ⲁⲧ]ⲙⲣⲣⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ⸗ⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲟ
[ⲟ]ⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲭⲛ̣ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ̣ ⲛ̣̄ⲧⲍⲟⲩ|ⲧⲉ leer
[ⲧⲙ]ⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲉⲍⲟ ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲁⲃⲱⲗ
[ⲛⲧ]ⲍⲁⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲡⲱⲣⲭ ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲡⲱⲣⲭ ⲡⲍⲁⲩⲧ
[ⲁⲧⲥ]ⲉ̣|ⲙⲉ ⲧⲧⲍⲁⲩⲧ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲙⲁⲣⲩ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲃⲱⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲥⲉ|
[ⲙⲉ ⲥ]ⲱⲟⲥ ⲛ[ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ] ⲁ[ⲥ]ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ Ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲡⲁⲱⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ
[. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲅⲉⲛⲉ
[ⲁ ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲛ]ⲁ̣ⲛⲏⲥⲉ̣ leer

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4 ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ in Ligatur. — 11 In ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲏⲥ steht ⲩ über der Zeile.

des Lehrers.

des finsteren Feuers, des Paargenossen des Feindes. — Das dritte Ding sind die Seelen aller Sünder, die verurteilt sind durch (?) ihre Werke. Man hat über [sie gesprochen o. ä.] das Wehe; sie sind verurteilt worden nach den bösen Werken, die sie getan haben. Deswegen werden sie gekreuzigt (σταυροῦν) an dem Feind, der sich erhoben hat gegen die Größe. Man wird . . . diesen letzten βῶλος, wenn in ihm befestigt werden alle Formen und Bilder aller Art. Man wird auch jene [fesseln] in dieser letzten Fessel ewiglich, und man legt sie hin als Fußschemel (ὑποπόδιον) und . . . . und Decke (?) in diesen Kasten . . ., welches ist das Gefängnis des Feindes; man setzt ihn hin, indem er Grenzstein ist und großer Zwischenraum zwischen den beiden, zwischen der [Finsternis] und dem Feinde, damit sie einander nicht erreichen noch ihre Stimmen hören, sondern unfruchtbar werden, indem sie voneinander getrennt sind in alle Ewigkeit.

XLI.

Über die drei Schläge (πληγή), die den Feind trafen wegen des Lichtes.

Wiederum wandte er sich und sprach: Die Finsternis dagegen, der Feind, hat drei böse Schläge (πληγή) empfangen und drei Kriege (πόλεμος) und böse Gefahren (κίνδυνος) durch das Licht in jenen drei Kriegen. — Der erste (sc. Schlag): Man hat ihn weggenommen aus der Mitte und ihn getrennt von seinem finstern Lande, aus dem er heraufgekommen war. Man wurde Herr über ihn in jenem ersten Kriege und man ergriff und band ihn durch die Lebendige Seele. — Der zweite Schlag (πληγή) ist die Zeit, da er aufgelöst und geschmolzen wird und vergehen wird in diesem großen Feuer und vernichtet und zerstört wird aus den Bildern (εἰκών), die all das sind, in dem er sich befindet, und gesammelt wird hinein [in die] Fessel gemäß seinem ersten Typus und werden wird, wie er war vom ersten Anfang an. —

[Der] dritte Schlag (πληγή), der den Feind erreichen wird, ist die Aufrollung [des] Endes, wenn man alles trennen wird und trennen wird das Männliche [vom] Weiblichen. Das Männliche wird man binden im βῶλος, das Weibliche aber wird man [werfen] ins Grab (τάφος). Denn man wird ihn teilen [. . . . . großen] Stein in ihrer (plur.) Mitte für alle [Generationen (γενεά) und] Ewigkeiten. —

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6 ⲥⲗⲃⲉ Bedeutung unbekannt. — 9 ⲭⲟⲡⲭⲡ Bedeutung als Verbum „betasten“. Hier ist ⲭ. wohl ein paralleler Ausdruck zu ὑποπόδιον; nach Crum vielleicht „Deckel“. Auch die Bedeutung von ⲍⲁⲃⲥ ist fraglich. — 10 Vgl. 31—33. — 30 Zu ⲃⲱⲗ vgl. Js. 34, 4: καὶ ἑλιγήσεται ὡς βιβλίον ὁ οὐρανός. Hier wird ἑλιγήσεται durch ⲃⲱⲗ wiedergegeben. Man. Homilien S. 41 scheint diese Bedeutung „zusammenrollen“ auch zu passen. Auch an unserer Stelle steht das Verbum im Zusammenhang mit der Endzeit; vgl. aber unten 111, 6, wo die Bedeutung „weggenommen werden“ paßt. ⲡⲣⲁⲃⲱⲗ auch Keph. 165, 7.

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Ⲧϩⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲥⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲣ̄
ⲣⲉ ⲉⲥϩⲁⲥⲉ ⲉⲥⲛⲁⲱⲧ ⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲃⲓⲛ̄ⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄
ϩⲏⲧ̄ⲥ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ [ⲁⲩⲡϩ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲩ̄ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ
ⲁⲩⲡϩ ⲛⲡⲁⲣⲭⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲡ̣ⲁ̣ⲣⲭⲩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ leer
Ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⸗ϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲉϫⲉ
ⲉ⸗ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ϩⲁⲕⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄
[ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱ]ⲛϩ ⲫⲓ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ ϩⲁ ⲛ̄ⲇ⸗ⲓⲱⲣⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉ
ⲧⲛ[ⲏⲩ] ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛⲉ ⲧⲁϫⲣⲉⲑⲏⲛⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛ⸗ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲓ̈
ⲧⲟⲩ [ⲛⲏ]ⲧⲛ̄ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϩⲙⲉ ⲁⲡ⸗ⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ
ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁ⸗ⲙⲣⲣⲉ ⲛϩⲁⲏ ⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ϩⲉⲗⲡ⸗ⲥ ⲛ̄
ⲱⲛ[ϩ ⲛ̄]ϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϩⲙⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲁⲏ ⲃⲟⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣ
ⲛⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲕⲭ⸗ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ
ϩⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲟⲗⲁ[ⲥⲓ]ⲥ ⲡ̣[ⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉ]
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲕ̄ ⲭⲁϩⲱⲡ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ ⲙ]ⲙⲁ[ⲩ ⲛ]ⲭⲓ
ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲙⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫ̣ⲛ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ
ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲥⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲙⲭⲓ ⲛⲓⲫⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲱⲛϩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ϫⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ ⲥⲉ̣ⲛ̣ⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩ
ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲙⲭⲓ⸗ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲟⲩ[ⲱ]ϩⲙⲉ leer
Ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϩⲙⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧϩⲁⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲉⲩⲣⲛⲁ
ⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲛⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲗⲏⲃ̄ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ
ϯ̅ⲙⲃ̅
ⲙ̄ⲃ̄ > · ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ · < ⲙ̄ⲃ̄
> · ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲟⲣⲉ · <
Ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲱⲛ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲁ[ⲥ ⲁ]ⲣ[ⲁⲩ]
ⲁⲭⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛⲕⲧⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ
ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲟⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛ̄ⲧ ⸗ ⸗ ⲛⲁⲩϩⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ]
ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ϩⲉ [ⲁⲩ]ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁ̣[ⲛ]
ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲣⲃ̄ ϩⲛ̄ ⲙ[ⲡⲏⲩ]ⲉ̣ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ̣[ⲁⲣ]
ⲕⲏ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲧⲣⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙ̄[ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧ]ⲉ ϫⲉ̣ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲡ
ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲭⲓⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ϩⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̣ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ̣ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲉⲩ[ⲟⲩ]
ⲁϫ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ leer
Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ [ⲱⲱ]ⲡⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄[ⲥⲁ]
ⲩⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧ[ⲁⲩ]ⲱ[ⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲃⲁ]ⲗ ⲛ̣ⲛⲓⲙ[ⲁⲛ]
ϫⲓⲟⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄[. . . . . .]
ϩⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲁ̣ . . . ⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ [. . . . ⲛⲓⲙⲁ]

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2 Statt ⲧⲃⲓⲛⲃⲱⲗ lies ⲃⲓⲛⲃⲱⲗ. — 30 In ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲭⲓⲟⲣⲉ steht ⲛ oberhalb der Zeile.

Die Kephalaia

So wird die Fesselung des Feindes stattfinden in einer beschwerlichen
und schmerzhaften Fesselung, aus der es nie eine Befreiung
gibt, sondern man [ist soweit gekommen], ihn zu fesseln und hat ihn ewiglich gefesselt,
man ist soweit gekommen, ihn zu trennen und hat ihn ewiglich getrennt.
Deswegen sage ich zu meinen Geliebten: Höret meine Worte,
die ich euch verkünde, haltet euch an die Werke [des]
Lebens. — Ertraget die Verfolgungen (διωγμός) und die Versuchungen (πειρασμός),
die zu euch [kommen werden], festigt euch in diesen Geboten, die ich
euch gegeben habe, damit ihr entrinnt jenem zweiten
Tode und entkommt dieser letzten Fessel, in der es keine Lebens-
hoffnung (-ἐλπίς) gibt, und damit ihr entrinnt dem schlimmen Ende der Verleugner (ἀρνητής)
und Lästerer, die gesehen haben die Wahrheit mit ihren Augen und sich zurückgewandt haben von ihr, die da kommen werden an den Ort der Strafe (κόλασις), dieser,
an dem kein Lebenstag ist. Denn es wird sich verbergen vor ihnen
das leuchtende Licht, und nicht werden sie es sehen von dieser Stunde an.
Man wird ihnen entziehen die Luft (ἀήρ) und den Wind, und nicht werden sie Lebens-
atem durch sie (plur.) empfangen von dieser Stunde an. Man wird von ihnen wegnehmen Wasser
und Tau, und nicht werden sie sie wieder schmecken. —
Heil allen denen, die entrinnen werden dem Ende der Sünder
und Verleugner (ἀρνητής) und entgehn werden dem Verderben, das ihnen verborgen bevorsteht ewiglich.

XLII.
Über die drei Fahrzeuge.

Wiederum fragten die Jünger den Φωστήρ, indem sie [zu ihm] sprachen:
Sage uns, o Herr, und unterweise uns in betreff dieser
drei Fahrzeuge, die . . . . . und ausgegossen worden sind
von oben, wie sie ausgegossen worden sind [und] getrennt [von]
allen Archonten, die angeordnet sind in den [Himmeln]. Denn eine Notwendigkeit (ἀνάγκη) für uns ist es, daß wir erkennen die [Art], wie die drei
Fahrzeuge ausgeschüttet worden sind, indem die Archonten heil sind
an ihrem Körper. —
Da sagte der Φωστήρ zu seinen Jüngern: Wisset,
meine Geliebten: Zu der Zeit, da [ausgegossen wurden] diese Fahrzeuge, sind sie ausgegossen worden in . . . . . .
Tötung, sondern . . . . . [diese Fahr-]

22 Zu den Fahrzeugen vgl. 4, 29; 21, 34; 58, 24; 70, 21; 85, 33; 86, 30; außerdem die folgenden Kapitel.

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> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <

1 ⲛ̣ⲭⲓⲟⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲙⲁ[ⲧ]
2 ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲫⲥⲁⲍⲡ ⲁⲩⲓⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̣ⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲡⲗⲏⲙ̣
3 ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲫⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲕⲉⲭⲟⲗⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲕⲉⲙ[ⲉ]
4 ⲧ̣ⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲫⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲍⲓⲍⲟⲩⲛ [ⲉ]ⲫⲭⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲉⲩ
5 ⲕⲁⲓⲣⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲥⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲫⲧⲥⲁϥ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲧⲓⲁⲟⲧⲟⲥ ⲛϥⲧ[ϥ]
6 ⲕⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲓⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲫⲧⲥⲁϥ ⲕⲉⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ
7 ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲫⲧⲣ[ⲉ]ϥⲫⲱ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲟ̣ ⲡⲉϥⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ [ⲛϥⲧⲥⲁϥ]
8 ⲕⲉⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ϥⲗⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲛⲉϥⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ ⲍⲓⲱⲱϥ . . ⲛⲉ . . ⲱ
9 ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲍ̣ⲣ̣ⲁⲕ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧϥ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲧⲉⲭⲛⲏ ⲛ̣ⲟ[ⲩⲥⲉ]ⲓ̈
10 ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃ[ⲉ] ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲉϥⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲉ̣ ⲱ[ⲁⲩⲃ]ⲓ
11 ⲓ̈ⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ [ⲙⲡ]ⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲓⲕ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲥ[ⲉⲓ̈]ⲛⲉ
12 [. . . . . .]ⲉⲩⲧⲗⲟ ⲍⲓⲧⲙ̄ ⲡⲥ̣ⲧⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲱⲃ̣ⲁ
13 [. . . . . .]ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ ⲱⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣⲕⲟⲩ ⲛ̣ⲍ̣ⲁ̣ⲉ̣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄
14 [. . . . . .]ⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ
15 [. . . . . ⲍⲓⲧ]ⲛ ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲛⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛ̣ⲁⲭⲟⲩ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ
16 [ⲧ]ⲍⲉ ⲍⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛ̣ⲧ̣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲟⲣⲉ
17 ⲡⲁⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲙ̣[ⲛ ⲡ]ⲁ̣ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ
18 ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲛ̣ⲧⲡⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲍⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲧⲛⲧⲁ
19 ⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲡⲥⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲍⲱⲱϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡ̣ⲧⲗ
20 ⲃⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲣⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ
21 ⲍⲓⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲁⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲧⲁⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ
22 ⲧⲁϥⲥⲙ̄ⲛⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲱⲁⲙ
23 ⲧⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉ
24 [ⲧⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲡⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲁⲍⲓⲏⲧ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲓⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲍⲣⲧⲉ ⲍⲛ̄
25 ⲟ̣ⲩⲱⲛϣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁϥϣⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲛ̄
26 ⲭⲓⲟⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲁⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲍⲱⲃ
27 ⲛⲛⲓⲙⲁⲛⲭⲓⲟⲣⲉ ⲁ[ⲛ ⲧⲛⲧⲁ]ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
28 [ⲗⲓ]ⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲫϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲛ̄ [ⲧⲕⲁⲗⲁ]ⲍⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲫⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲛⲥⲁϣ
29 [ϥ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲡϣⲁⲣⲡ [ⲡⲉ] ⲡⲁⲧⲕⲉⲥ ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲥ
30 [ⲧ]ⲙⲁⲍϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̣[ⲙⲟⲩⲧ] ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲩⲧⲟⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲭ̄ ⲧⲙⲁⲍ
31 [ⲧⲉ] ⲡⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲙⲉ ⲧ[ⲙⲁⲍⲥⲟ]ⲉ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲛⲁϥ ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲥⲁϣϥⲉ
32 [ⲡⲉ ⲡϣⲁⲁ]ⲣ̣[ⲉ ⲙ̄]ⲡⲥⲱ[ⲙⲁ ⲉ]ⲧⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲡ[ⲕⲉ]ⲍⲃⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲃ . .
33 [. . . . . ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲕⲁ]ⲗⲁⲍⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲧⲉϥⲕⲉⲙⲉⲉⲩ
34 [ⲉⲥⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧ]ⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲓⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲧⲕⲉⲥ
35 [ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲉⲥ ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲥⲁ]ⲣⲭ̄ ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲛⲁϥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡ[ⲱⲁ]

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4 ⲭⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ, lies ⲭⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈; ⲱ ist wahrscheinlich Rest von ⲱⲁ „zu". — 29 Lies ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ. — 35 ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲛⲁϥ, ⲛ in ⲙⲛ über der Zeile.

des Lehrers.

zeuge aus ihnen, indem sie gleich sind der Art
eines Menschen, der verfallen ist in eine eitrige Krankheit, indem noch weitere Wunden (πληγή)
und Krankheiten in seinem Körper sind, indem noch Galle (χολή) und anderes Gift
in seinen inneren Gliedern ist. Er geht zur rechten
Zeit (εὐκαιρία) zu einem klugen Arzt, und der läßt ihn ein Gegengift (ἀντίδοτος) trinken und veranlaßt,
daß er seine eitrige Krankheit oben ausbricht, und er läßt ihn ein anderes Mittel trinken
und veranlaßt, daß er seine Krankheit unten ausgießt, [und er läßt ihn]
noch ein weiteres Mittel [trinken] und vertreibt seine Wunden (πληγή) von ihm
. . . .
in Ruhe und Schweigen. In der Fertigkeit (τέχνη) eines klugen
Arztes, mit seinen guten, fressenden Heilmitteln, die alle Krankheit
wegnehmen in dieser Weise und allen Zauber lösen, pflegen die Ärzte
. . . . . sie heilen durch den Geruch der Mittel, andere Wunden
. . . . . was verborgen, sie reißen sie schließlich aus . . .
. . . . . offenbar werden oben und unten.
. . . . . [durch] den Geruch der fressenden Mittel, die auf sie gelegt wurden.
Dem sind gleich diese Fahrzeuge
des Wassers, der Finsternis und des Feuers, die verborgen sind im Körper
aller Archonten, die oben sind, während der Lebendige Geist dem klugen
Arzt gleicht. Diese drei Heilmittel aber
sind die drei Kleider, die der Lebendige Geist anlegt (φορεῖν)
auf seinem Körper, das des Windes, des Wassers und des Feuers,
durch die er die Dinge, die drunten sind, errichtet hat. Denn in
jenen drei Kleidern hat er sich offenbart den Archonten, [die]
oben sind, in Hartherzigkeit, Bewegung und Schrecken, in
Entsetzen; er hat aus ihnen ausgegossen die drei Fahr-
zeuge, das des Wassers, das der Finsternis und das des Feuers. — Das Werk
dieser Fahrzeuge wiederum ist gleich einem
Kinde, das sich im [Leibe] seiner Mutter befindet, indem es mit sieben
Gewändern bekleidet ist. Das erste [ist] das Mark, das zweite der Knochen,
[das] dritte die [Sehne], das vierte das Fleisch (σάρξ), das [fünfte]
die Adern, das [sechste] das Blut, das siebente
[die Haut] des Körpers, die auf ihn gekleidet ist. [Auch] das Gewand
. . . . . [im] Leibe seiner Mutter. Auch seine Mutter
[ist gleich] der Art dieses Kindes. Das Mark
[und der Knochen, die Sehne und das Fleisch], die Ader und das Blut und die

6 Wörtlich „seinen Eiter der Krankheit". — 10 „Fressende" Heilmittel vgl. 211,31; 212,1. Dort auch das Bild vom Arzt. — 20 Zu den drei Kleidern vgl. Kap. 30 „Über die drei Kleider", Kap. 54 „Über die ἀρετή der Kleider", ferner M 98 V 1f.

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ⲁⲣ[ⲉ] ⲁⲍⲁⲛ ⲧⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲉⲧⲥ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲱⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲁ
ⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲧⲗⲓⲥ ⲁⲍⲁ[ⲛ] ⲡⲧⲗⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲓ
ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲭⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ̄ ⲙ̣ⲛ̣ⲧⲭⲙⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲱⲁⲕⲟⲛ ⲧ
ⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲥⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲓⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲥⲃⲗ̄ⲙ̄
ⲗⲱⲙ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲃⲱⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲓ̈
ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲉⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲗⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲉⲥⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̣ⲡ̣ⲱⲛⲁⲱ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲥⲉ
ⲛ̣[ⲁⲟⲩ]ⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ [. . . . .] ⲱⲁⲩ
[ⲛ . . ⲟ ⲛⲉⲓ̈] ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲁⲭ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ
ⲡ [ⲁⲃⲁ]ⲗ ⲉ̣ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲱⲍ ⲍⲓ ⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡ̣ⲥ̣ⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄
ⲡ[ⲗⲓⲗ]ⲟ̣ⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲗ̣ⲓⲗ̣ⲟ̣ⲩ [ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁ]
ⲧⲕ̣[ⲁⲗⲁ]ⲍⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧ̣ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲧ
ⲙⲙⲁ̣ⲥ̣ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲟⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲁⲡⲕ̣ⲉ̣[ⲕⲉ] ⲙⲛ [ⲡⲁ]
ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅ̣ⲓⲁ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲩ [. . .]
ⲁ̣ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ [ⲁ]ⲃ̣[ⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲓ̈]
ⲡⲉ ⲧⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲛⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ [ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ] . . . .
. . . ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉ|ⲛ̣ⲉ ⲛ̣ⲧⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲙ̣ⲡ̣ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲩ̣ . . .
. . . . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲕ|ⲙ
. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
[ⲡⲙ]ⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲟⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲍⲧ ⲙⲏⲍ ⲍⲁⲣⲁⲩ
ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉ|ⲛ̣ⲉ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄
[ⲍⲏⲧⲥ] . . . . ⲁ̣ⲩⲥⲱⲍⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲍ̣ⲱ̣ⲕ̣ⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲍⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲉⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲉⲕ̣ⲟ̣ ⲙ̣ⲛ̣ ⲟⲩⲗⲱⲙⲥ ⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ
ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲍⲣⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲉ̣ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲭⲓⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲧ
ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ Ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ
ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲱⲁⲧ ⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲉ[ⲕⲉ ⲁ]
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲛ[ⲁⲭ]ⲉ̣ ⲁⲭⲙ̄ ⲡ|ⲕⲁⲍ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲍⲣⲉ[ⲥ]
ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲉ̀ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲟⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲕⲱ
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ̣ [ⲁⲣ]ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲭⲉ̣ ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲧ ⲛⲧⲛⲁ̣[ⲃ]
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲉ †ⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲃ̣[ⲥⲱ] ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩ[ⲥⲙⲓ]
ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲍⲱⲃ ⲛ̣[ⲉⲩ]ⲕⲁⲕⲩ ⲁⲍⲏⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ[ⲉⲩⲃⲁ]ⲱⲩ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ . . . . ⲉⲕ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ [ⲁⲡ]ⲕ̣
ⲁⲍ . . . . . [. . . . . .]
Ⲧⲍⲉ ⲧ̣ⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[. . . . . .]
. . . ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲛⲭⲓⲟⲣⲉ . . . . [. . . . . .]
ⲛ̣ⲛ|ⲙⲁⲛⲭⲓⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ [. . . . . .]

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4 ⲙⲉ, lies ⲙⲉⲛ. — 5 In ⲃⲱⲱⲧ steht ⲱ über der Zeile. — 8 Lies ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃ. — 20 Lies ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ.

Die Kephalaia

Haut sowie das Kleid, das sie trägt (φορεῖν), und der Mantel, der auf sie
gekleidet ist, die neun ausmachen und die neun des Kindes, diese und die
andern, sie vervollständigen sich und machen achtzehn Kleider aus. Du findest die
Seele des Kindes, wie sie sich innerhalb dieser aller befindet, indem sie in sie (plur.)
eingewickelt ist. Und blickt und seht: Wenn der Geruch
der Kraft (ἐνέργεια) des Dämons, der den Gestank der Geburt entbindet,
offenbar macht das Kind, sogleich [öffnet? das Kind]
dies alles und kommt heraus aus einer Spalte, die sichtbar
geworden ist, ohne daß Riß und Wunde (πληγή) entstanden am Körper
des Kindes. — Wie dieses Kind, [das] den Leib
seiner Mutter [öffnet], so sind
diese Fahrzeuge, das des Wassers, das der Finsternis und [das]
des Feuers. Die Kräfte (ἐνέργεια) dagegen, die seinen [Mutterleib?] öffnen . .
für den Knaben, damit er (der Mutterleib) ihn bewegt und offenbart, [sie]
sind die drei lebendigen Kleider, die der [Lebendige] Geist [auf seinen]
Körper [gekleidet (?)] hat. Denn durch die Art des Kleides des Wassers . .
. . . . . aus den Archonten; er hat bewegt
. . . . . sie sind das Gift und
[der Tod], von denen ihre Adern und ihre Därme voll sind. —
Durch die Art aber des Kleides des Windes, [in?] dem er sich offenbart hat
. . . . . hat er ausgefegt und ausgekratzt den ganzen Verderbnisschatten
und Schmutz; er hat ihn hinab auf die Erde gegossen. Dann
hat er ihn ausgefegt und gefesselt in dem Fahrzeug der Finsternis, das
die Welt umgibt. — Durch das Kleid wiederum des lebendigen Feuers,
durch seinen Glanz, durch seine Stärke hat er das Feuer der Finsternis aus allen
Archonten ausgegossen und es [geworfen] auf diese Erde; er hat es wiederum
von der Erde ausgefegt und gefesselt in dem Fahrzeug, das alle
Welten umgibt, indem es genannt wird: Die Mauer des großen
Feuers. — Jene drei Kleider nun, durch die er diese
drei Werke errichtet hat, zog er nicht
auf einmal aus, sondern [legte] jedes
von ihnen jeweils zu seiner Zeit ab . . . . hinab zur
Erde . . . . . .
So die Welt der . . . . . .
. . seine Fahrzeuge . . . . . .
diese Fahrzeuge wie . . . . . .

21 ⲥⲱⲕⲉ vgl. Man. Hom. 39, 5 „auskratzen“ (Crum).

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ⲦⲦⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ̄ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲁ ⲧⲭⲣⲉⲓ
ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲛϫⲓⲟⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁϩⲣⲟⲩ ⲁ
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲡ[ⲕⲁ]ϩ ⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϩⲏⲩ [ⲙ]ⲡ
ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲁϩⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲕ[ⲁϩ]
ⲁⲩϩⲃⲣ̄ⲃⲱⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲥⲡⲓⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲧⲕⲁⲓⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲧϫⲱⲛⲏ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲕⲁⲕⲓ
ⲁ ⲣ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲱⲏ
[ⲛ . . . . ⲁⲥⲧⲱⲕ ⲁ]ⲣⲉⲧⲥ ϩⲛ ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ⲡ[ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲡⲉ]
[. . . . . .] ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ . . . . . ⲱⲩ
[. . . . . .] ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲣⲱ ⲁⲓ̈ϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲱ[ⲧⲛⲉ] ⲉⲓ̈
[. . . . . .] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϫⲉ ⲉⲛⲉ ⲧ̣ϩ̣ⲉ ⲡⲉ̣ ⲉⲛⲉ̣ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲥⲁ̣ϩ̣ⲣⲉⲥ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ]
[ⲛϫ|ⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲩ] ϫⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ[ⲓⲉⲩⲉ]
[ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲱⲁϩ]ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ+ⲛⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲉ . . . ⲥⲁ
[. . . . . ⲡ]ϩⲉ+ⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲱⲕ . . . . ⲙⲛ ⲡⲧⲗⲧⲗ ⲉ̣ⲧⲛⲁ
[. . . . . .] ⲁ̣ⲡ̣|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ ⲛⲁ+ⲟⲩ
[ⲱ . . . . . ϩ]ⲛ ⲛⲱⲏⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲁϩⲛ̣ ⲥⲁⲣ̣ⲯ̣ ⲛ|ⲙ
. . ⲁⲣ̣ . . [. . . . . .] ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ . . . . .
[ⲙ]ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄[. . . . . .] . . . . ⲉⲛⲉ . . . .[ⲛⲉ]
ⲕⲁⲃⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩⲱⲧ . .] . . . . . ⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲙ . . . . .
. . ⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ[. . . . . .] ⲉ̣ⲙ̣ⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡ . . . . .
ⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱϩⲣⲉ . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲛϫⲓ
ⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲁϫⲩ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲥⲉⲥⲁϩⲣⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲙⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁϫⲩ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲗ|ⲙⲁ ⲛⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
ⲁⲡ|ϩ|ⲧ ⲡⲧⲗⲧⲗ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧⲗⲧⲗ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡϩⲉ+ⲉ
ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲃⲱ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲕ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̣
[ⲛ]ⲱⲏⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲁⲣ̣ⲯ̣ [ⲧ]ⲏⲣ̣[ⲟⲩ] ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲩⲛⲁⲁⲱⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲃ̄
ⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ̄ ⲱⲟ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲃⲛⲧⲟ̄ ⲡⲉ ϩⲛ̄
[ⲟⲩ]ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ϩⲛ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ . . . ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
. . . ⲛ̣ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛⲧ . . ⲛⲱⲥⲕ leer
[ⲦⲦⲁⲗⲓⲛ] ⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ
ⲙⲡⲏⲟⲩⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲁϩⲣⲉⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁϫⲥ ⲁ
[ⲡ]ⲓ[ⲧ]ⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲥⲉⲥⲁϩⲣⲉⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲧⲡⲥ ⲁ
[ϩⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲙ] ⲡⲙⲁⲛϫⲓⲟ[ⲣⲉ] ⲛ̣ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲕⲟⲥ[ⲙⲟⲥ]
[. . . . . .] ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲙ[. . . .] ⲁⲡⲟ[. .]+ⲥⲉⲧⲉ . . . . . ⲕ . . .
[. . . . . .] ⲁ̣ⲛⲁⲛ[. . . . .] ⲡ[. . .]ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧ[ⲡⲉ] ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡϩⲉ+ⲉ
[. . . . . ⲡϩ]ⲉ+[ⲉ . . . . . .] ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ [ⲛⲉ]

des Lehrers.

Wiederum fuhr er fort und sprach zu seinen Jüngern: Die Anwendung (χρεία) des Werkes und die Einrichtung (οἰκονομία) dieser Fahrzeuge, die ausgefegt und ausgegossen wurden vom Himmel auf die [Erde], hat Vorteil und Nutzen gebracht den zwölf großen Werken. Dann wurden sie ausgefegt von der [Erde] und hinabgeworfen nach außen zu den Seiten der Welten, zu den . . .[a] der ζώνη. — Das erste Werk ist dies, daß die Schlechtigkeit (κακία) nicht zunehmen soll in der Welt weder in den Geschöpfen noch in den Bäumen. [Sie hat sich aufgestellt] in drei Dingen. Das [erste ist] . . . . . Das zweite ist die Irrlehre (πλάνη) . . . . . deswegen habe ich zu euch gesagt, indem ich . . . . . .: Wenn man nicht [ausgefegt] hätte [das Fahrzeug des Wassers] von oben nach unten, sondern die Wasser befinden sich bis jetzt in den Archonten oben . . . . . [das] Fließen, das zieht . . . und das Tröpfeln, das . . . . . hinab, würde die Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) wachsen . . . . . in den Bäumen und in den Früchten sowie allem Fleisch . . . . . hinab . . . . . heute . . . . . Du würdest keinen [einzigen] Menschen finden in den . . . . . [der?] Heiliges tut . . . . . beherrscht den . . . . . Nicht nur dies, sondern wenn nicht ausgefegt worden wäre das Fahrzeug der Finsternis und hinabgeworfen auf die Erde und ausgefegt von der Erde und außerhalb des κλίμα der Welten in diese Grube geworfen worden wäre, dann würde das Tröpfeln der Finsternis, das da tröpfelt, und das Fließen, das dauernd herabzieht vom Himmel zur Erde und anlegt (φορεῖν) die Bäume und [alle] Fleische, es würde viel werden sowie das Vergessen, das in tausend Menschen heute sich befindet; du würdest es finden in einem jeden Menschen. Nicht gäbe es einen unter den Menschen . . . . . das Denken und das Wissen . . . . . — [Wiederum] wenn das Feuer sich in den Archonten der Welten der Himmel bis heute befände, wenn es nicht ausgegossen und hinab auf die Erde geworfen und ausgefegt von der Erde und eingeschlossen worden wäre [im] Fahrzeug des Feuers, das die Welten umgibt, ... oben durch das Fließen . . . . . das Fließen . . . . . hinab . .

5[a] ⲧⲕⲁⲗⲟ s. 111, 12, unbekanntes Wort.

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[> · ⲛⲕⲉ]ϥⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 ⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲛ[ⲁ]ⲣ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲟ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲱϩⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ
2 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲛ ⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̣ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲱⲟ
3 ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲃⲛⲧⲥ ⲡ[ⲉ ⲉ]ⲥ̣ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ
4 ⲙ̣ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲃⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ
5 ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ leer ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲓⲧⲥⲉⲃⲟⲧⲏⲛⲉ
6 ⲁϯⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲧⲉⲧⲁ[ⲩ]ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲥ ⲁ
7 [ⲃⲁⲗ . . . . . .] ⲱⲁⲣⲉ . . . . [. . . . . .]
8 ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲍⲱⲃ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣ ⲙ̣ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ[ⲩ . . . . . .]
9 ⲡ[. . . . .] . ⲛⲡⲍ[ⲁ]ⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲭⲱⲍⲙⲉ [. . . . . .]
10 [. . . . . .] ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ . . . . . ⲉⲩ . [. . . . . .]
11 [. . .] . . . ⲛⲉ ⲥⲱ̣[ⲱ]ⲩ ⲉⲧⲭⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ[ⲥⲏ]ⲧⲟⲩ [. . . . . .]
12 [ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ] ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣ ⲙ̣ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱ[ⲙⲁ . . . . . .]
13 ⲛ̄ⲛ . . [ⲥⲣ]ⲏⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲁ̣ⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲉ [. . . . . .]
14 ⲥⲁ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲥⲗⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲥⲍⲁⲣⲱ ⲁⲡⲓⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ [. . . . . .]
15 ⲙ̄ⲙ . . ⲛ̣ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ . . leer ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲍⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲭ̣[ⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩ]
16 ⲃⲟ ⲛⲥ̣ⲉ̣ⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲍ[ⲉ ⲛ]ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲍ̣ . [. . . . . .]
17 . . . . . .
18 ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲍϯⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧ[ⲛⲁⲟ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲙ]ⲙ̣ⲁⲟ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲥⲛ̄
19 ⲛ̣ⲓ[ⲉⲭⲏ]ⲩ ⲉⲥⲙ̣ⲁ̣ . . . ⲛ . ⲣ̣ . [. . . . . .] ⲛ ⲉⲕⲁⲃⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
20 [ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲥ]ⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲭⲏⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧϥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ leer
21 ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲍⲥⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲃⲛ ⲛⲣ̣ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲭⲏⲕ̣ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ]
22 ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲭ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲩⲙⲁⲧⲛ[ⲉ ⲉ]ⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩ
23 ⲙⲁⲧⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲥ̣ ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲍⲟ [ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ] ⲉⲥⲭⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲥⲥⲱⲧϥ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ[ⲟⲩ]
24 ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲍⲥⲁⲱϥ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲫⲩⲥⲓ ⲙⲙ|ⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲭ|ⲟⲣⲉ ⲉⲧ̣ⲛ̣ⲁ̣
25 ϯ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲥⲉⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲧⲉ̣ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲡ̣ⲟ̣ⲥ̣ . . .
26 ⲁⲧⲕ . . ⲁ̣ⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ . . . . . ⲍⲁ̣ⲕ̣ leer
27 ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲍⲱⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲭⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣ ⲍⲛⲛⲁⲟ̣ ⲛⲭⲁⲗⲭⲗ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲩ
28 ⲛⲁⲱ̣ⲧ[ⲡ] ⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ leer
29 ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲍϯⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ . . . . ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩ
30 ⲛ̣ⲁⲩⲍⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲁϯ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ . . . ⲉ ⲙⲛ . . .
31 ⲧⲣ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ|ⲛⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ leer
32 ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲍⲙⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲃ ⲭⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣ̄ ⲣⲉⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲓ ⲣⲉⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃ[ⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ]
33 [ⲛⲍⲃⲏ]ⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲍⲁⲏ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥ[ⲙⲟⲥ] ⲧⲍⲉ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧ̣[ⲉ . . . .]
34 ⲛⲁⲍⲉ . [. . . . . .] ⲣⲁⲭ [leer
35 [ⲧⲧ]ⲙⲁⲍⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲟⲩ[ⲉ ⲛ]ⲍⲱⲃ ⲭⲉ [. .] ⲉⲟⲩⲉ [. . . . .] ⲛⲁ̣ⲣⲭⲓⲟⲣ[ⲉ . . . .]
36 ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛ[ⲧⲓⲕⲏ] ⲧⲏⲣ̣ⲉ̣ [. . . . .] ⲛ[. . . . . .]

8, 12 ⲉⲣ = ⲉⲣⲉ? — 21 ⲏⲕ in ⲭⲏⲕ oberhalb der Linie.

[Die Ke]phalaia

würde das finstere Feuer zunehmen im Baum und in der Frucht
und in allem Fleisch. Die Kraft des Feuers, die sich jetzt in tausend
Menschen befindet, würdest du finden, indem sie sich befindet in jedem einzelnen Menschen
heute, nicht würdest du einen einzigenMenschen finden, der das Fasten (νηστεία)
hält in der Welt. — Siehe nun, ich habe euch belehrt
über diese selbe Schlechtigkeit (κακία) in drei Typen, die gereinigt wurde
. . . . . .
Das zweite Werk: Alle Himmel . . . . . .
. . . . . des Schmutzes (?) und der Befleckung . . . . . .
. . . . . damit . . . . . .
. . . . . dagegen, die in ihnen übersetzen . . . . . .
[Das dritte]: Die Himmel und die Firmamente . . . . . .
. . . Last . . . . . .
. . . . . und sie hört auf, schwer zu sein. Dieser Reiche (?) . . . .
. . . . . oben. — Das vierte: Damit [geläutert]
und gereinigt (καθαρίζειν) werden ihre Wohnorte . . . . . .
. . . . . .
Das fünfte: Wegen der [Größe] und des [Reich]tums, der in diesen
[Schiffen] wohnt, indem sie (fem.) . . . . . wirst du sie finden
[daß sie in] diesen Schiffen [wohnen], indem sie geläutert werden und rein sind.—
Das sechste: Du wirst die Tempel, die oben sind, finden, indem sie gemischt sind, indem sie nicht
vollkommen noch auch fest sind, indem sie ruhig (?) und gereinigt sind, damit
Ruhe (?) sie (plur.) erreicht, indem sie in ihnen übersetzt und in ihnen geläutert wird.
Das siebente: . . . . . die Fahrzeuge, die
sich aufmachen werden und gelangen an ihre Orte und Plätze (τόπος).
. . . . . .
Das achte: Damit sie große Zäune und Mauern werden, die
alle Dinge einschließen. —
Das neunte: Wenn die Apostel . . . . . ., die
sich zur Welt wenden, werden sie ein Zeichen geben . . . . . .
. . der Auflösung der Welt. —
Das zehnte Werk: Damit sie Löser und Reiniger aller
[Dinge] werden für das Ende der Welt wie das Feuer . . .
. . . . . verbrennt . . . —
Das elfte Werk: . . . . . werden übersetzen . . .
und die ganze Archontenschaft . . . . . .

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9 Zu ⲥⲁⲩⲉ „Schmutz“ (?) vgl. 114, 6. 8; 116, 23. — 24 Vollständige Übersetzung wegen ⲫⲣⲥ|? unmöglich.

ρ[ι]α

[> ·]ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <

ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲫⲟⲟⲛⲏ ⲁⲡⲓⲡⲉⲧⲧⲁ . ⲁⲧ ⲉ
ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈
ⲛⲉ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲁ . . ⲛ ⲉⲧ . . . ⲥⲏⲧ ⲡⲙⲁ . . . . ⲏ . . ⲛ̄
ϯⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲛⲁⲉ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̣ⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲉ
ⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲏⲍ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲛ leer ⲦⲦⲙⲁⲍⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲃⲛ ⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩ
ⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲥⲉ ⲉⲩⲍⲏⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲃ[ⲧ] ⲛ̣ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲱⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̣
ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧ[ⲭ]ⲁⲍⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲭⲱⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲉ̣ⲩ . . . .
[ⲁ]ⲩⲍⲏⲩ ⲱⲙⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲍⲱⲃ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲗⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̣
ⲙⲁⲛⲭⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲍⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ [ⲛⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ]
ⲁ̣ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲍⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲛⲧⲕⲁ[ⲓⲟ] . ⲱ . . ⲥⲙ . .
. ⲉ̣ ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ̣ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲣⲁⲓ̣ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲧ . . ⲓ . . . ⲉⲩ
ⲡ . . . . . [ⲥⲉ]ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲁ̣ⲭⲱⲩ ⲍⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ
. . . . . ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁ[ⲣⲁⲩ] ⲍⲙ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲁⲏ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ
ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ̈ ⲥⲉⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ[ⲟⲩ ⲙ]ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲍ[ⲛ ⲛ]ⲓⲥⲛⲁⲍ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲭⲟⲟⲥ
ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛⲉ leer

ⲙⲏ

ⲙⲏ > · ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲭⲟⲟⲣⲉ · < ⲙⲏ

[ⲦⲦⲁ]ⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲱⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̄ ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲛ̣[ⲉⲩ]
ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ
ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲍⲓⲧ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲡⲓⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙⲙⲁⲛ ⲛ̄
ⲧ̣ⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲕⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁ̣ⲣⲡ̣ ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲍⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ
[ⲁ]ⲩⲛⲁⲭⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧ[ⲟⲡⲟ]ⲥ leer
[Ⲧⲟ]ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲧ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉ
[ⲧ]ⲃ̣ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲭⲟⲟⲣ[ⲉ] ⲧⲍⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ
[ⲛⲧⲉ] ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲱ[ⲟ]ⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ
[ⲱ]ⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲁⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲍ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲛⲉⲉ ⲙⲛ
ⲡ̣ⲉⲩⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲍⲃⲣⲃⲱⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲍ leer
[Ⲧⲟ]ⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲛⲕⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲗⲍⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲍ ⲍⲛ̄ ϯⲱⲁⲙ̣
[ⲧⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲧⲁⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲧⲁⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲁ
[ⲭⲛ] ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲍⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲓⲓ̈ⲧ
[. . . . . ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲩ[ⲥⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲓⲛ̄ⲥ̣ⲙ̣[ⲓⲛ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
[. . . . . .] . . ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲁⲩⲕ̣ . . . ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲥⲱⲭⲡ̣

9 ⲧⲉ Dittographie — ⲭⲱⲩ „ihre Köpfe“ sinnlos, wohl Schreibfehler.

des Lehrers.

in das Land (χώρα), das draußen ist, damit sie nicht beneiden (φθονεῖν) diesen . . .,
welcher reicher ist als sie. Denn die Äonen des Lichtes
sind draußen . . . . . der Ort . . . . . .
des Friedens, der Ort der Ehre und der Gnade, der Ort, an dem die Freude
der Hausgenossen, die in ihm wohnen, nie vergeht noch auch
weggenommen wird. — Das zwölfte: Damit du findest alle
Werke des Schadens, indem sie verborgen sind vor den Äonen des Lichtes
wegen der Mauer des Feuers, die den ganzen Bau umgibt, und (damit)
diese befleckten Werke offenbaren . . . in seinen . . . .
Ein Nutzen entstand diesen zwölf großen Werken wegen der
Fahrzeuge, die ausgegossen und ausgefegt wurden aus [den Firmamenten]
auf die Erde; von der Erde wiederum wurden sie ausgefegt in die . . .[a)]
indem die drei Worte des Lebens sie bewachen, die . . . . . .
. . . . . sie (plur.) aufstellen auf sie (plur.) in großer Kraft
. . . . . ., damit sie sie bewachen in der Zeit des Endes.
Deswegen stehn sie so da in diesen Fesseln, wie ich euch gesagt
habe. —

XLIII.

Über die Fahrzeuge.

Wiederum fragten ihn die Jünger, indem sie zu ihm sprachen: Als
der Vater des Lebens diese drei Fahrzeuge von oben ausgoß,
das des Wassers, das der Finsternis und das des Feuers, hat er sie
etwa (μή) ausgegossen in ihre Gruben am Rande des Firmaments oder
hat er sie zuerst auf diese Erde ausgegossen, dann sie von der Erde weggefegt
und sie in ihre [Örter] geworfen? —
Da sprach der Apostel zu ihnen: Was ihr mich gefragt habt
über die Fahrzeuge, also werdet ihr (es) erkennen: Als der Vater
des Lebens im Begriff stand, diese drei Fahrzeuge auszugießen, da hat er
die drei auf diese Erde ausgegossen, jedes einzelne zu seinem Termin und
zu seiner Zeit (καιρός). Er goß sie aus und warf sie hinab zur Erde.
Dann schöpfte er sie und schöpfte sie aus von dieser Erde in diesen drei
Kleidern, dem des Windes, dem des Wassers und dem des Feuers, die gekleidet sind
auf seinen Körper, er goß sie aus und goß sie in die drei Gruben
. . . ., die er errichtet hat bei der Errichtung der Welten
. . . . . etwas blieb zurück

6 Zu ϭωλ vgl 105, 30. — 12[a] ⲧⲕⲁⲗⲟ unbekannt vgl. 109, 5. — 13 Zu den Worten des Lebens vgl. 85, 32—33.

ρ[ι]β

[> · ⲛ]ⲕ̣ⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲍⲓⲁⲛ ⲛⲍⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ[ⲙ]ⲁⲛ̄ⲭ[ⲓ]
2 ⲟⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲃⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁⲛ
3 ⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ[ⲧⲟ]ⲓ[ⲭⲉ]ⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲉⲡⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ
4 ⲡⲣⲱⲭⲉ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲗⲁⲍ ⲛ†ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲉ̣ⲧⲙⲁⲗⲍ ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ
5 ⲁⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲥⲉⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲉⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
6 ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲕⲙⲏⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲕ̣[ⲱⲧⲉ] ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲙⲡⲣⲏⲉ
7 ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉ̣ⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲛⲁⲡⲣⲓⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ
8 ⲛⲉ̣ⲏⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲏⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲃⲉ
9 ⲁⲃ̣[ⲁⲗ ⲙⲙⲁ]ⲩ ⲉⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ [ⲡⲥⲉ]ⲡ̣ⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ
10 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲭⲡ̄ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲍⲓⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲏⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲏ
11 ⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲃⲉⲃⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲏ̈ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏ
12 ⲧⲟⲩ [ⲛⲥ]ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ̣ⲏ̈ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲥⲉⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ
13 ⲛⲭⲓⲟ̣ⲟⲣⲉ ⲡⲗⲓ†ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲭⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ
14 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲁⲍⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲏⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲥⲓⲃⲧ [. . . . . .]
15 ⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ †ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱ[ⲏ]ⲛ ⲣ̣ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲣ̣[. . . . . .]
16 ⲣ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲟ̣ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲓⲧⲙ ⲡⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ . . . .
17 abgerieben ⲉⲙⲁⲣⲉ †ⲃⲉ ⲛⲱⲏⲛ
18 ⲣⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ leer
19 Ⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲫⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲁ̣ⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲛⲧⲱⲃⲍ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲛⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ
20 ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲁ[ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ] ⲛⲕⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲓⲉⲧⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲛⲭⲓⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲉⲧ
21 ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲛ
22 ⲫⲟⲥⲥⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ
23 ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲛⲥⲉⲉ̣ⲱⲉ̣ⲣⲉ̣ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲁⲭⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ
24 ⲓ̈ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲍⲓⲧ leer Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲛⲉⲫⲙⲁⲑⲏ
25 ⲧⲏⲥ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ
26 ⲧⲉ ⲡ̣ⲱⲛ̣ⲍ ⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲟⲣⲉ ⲭ̣ⲛ̄ ⲛ̣ⲧⲡⲉ̣ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ
27 ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲍⲱⲃ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ
28 ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲕⲁⲍ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲥⲱⲕ ⲛ̄[ⲥⲉ]ⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛⲉ̣
29 ⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲕⲁⲍ . . . . . ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛⲥⲉⲕ[ⲁ]
30 ⲑⲁⲣⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲟⲣⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲕ̣ⲁ[ⲍ]
31 ⲡⲁⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ
32 ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲁⲍ ⲛⲁⲥⲱⲕ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ [ⲟⲩ]
33 ⲃⲉ ⲛⲏ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲍⲁⲧⲉⲍ[ⲏ]
34 ⲛⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ [ⲁ]ⲩⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ [ⲧⲙ]ⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣ̣ⲭⲱ[ⲛ]
35 ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲧ[ⲟⲩⲃ]ⲉ ⲛⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡ[ⲙⲁⲩ . . . . . .]
36 . ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲏⲉⲩⲉ [ⲛⲕⲉ]ⲕ̣ⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲧ[ⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄]

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8 ⲛⲉ̣ⲏⲁⲍ, Ableitung von ⲉⲓⲱⲣⲍ? — 16 ⲛ in ⲙⲛ über der Zeile.

Die Kephalaia

auf den Oberflächen der Erde von jenen drei Fahrzeugen, damit du ihr Zeichen und ihren Typus offenbar findest in der Welt. Das Element (στοιχεῖον), das übriggeblieben ist im Wasser, ist das Brennen und das Salz dieses salzigen, inneren Meeres, das die Welten umgibt. — Der Rest aber, der zurückgeblieben ist von der Finsternis, ist dieser Finsternisberg, der sich in den [Gegenden] des Ostens befindet. Denn wenn die Sonne in der Welt aufgeht, wird kein Licht- strahl (?) offenbar in ihr wegen der Finsternis, die aus [ihm] hervorsprudelt, indem sie oberhalb von ihm sich offenbart. — [Der Rest] aber, der zurückgeblieben ist in dem Feuer auf der Erde, sind alle Berge und Inseln, aus denen die Feuerschwaden (?) aufsteigen [und] offenbar werden. Denn diese sind der Rest des großen Fahrzeugs, das Überbleibsel (λείψανον), das sich vermischt hat mit diesem Feuer, das herauskommt aus der Erde sowie den Bergen und Hügeln . . . . . Orte (?), an denen keine Baumfrüchte wachsen . . . . . zunehmen an jenem Ort durch das Glied (μέλος) und . . . . . indem keine Baumfrüchte an jenem Orte wachsen. —

Wiederum sprachen seine Jünger zu ihm: Wir bitten dich, o Herr, daß du [Offenbarung gebest] und uns unterrichtest über die Fahrzeuge, die die Welt umgeben, weswegen man sie nicht vom Himmel (direkt) in die Gräben (φόσσα) gegossen hat, die für sie errichtet waren, sondern sie zuerst auf die Erde gegossen, dann von der Erde ausgefegt und in ihre Gruben hinabgeworfen hat. — Da sagte der Φωστήρ zu seinen Jüngern: Wisset also dies: Der Vater des Lebens hat diese Fahrzeuge vom Himmel auf die Erde gegossen, er hat sie ausgegossen zu dem Zweck, daß das Wasser, die Finsternis und das Feuer, das sich in diesen drei Erden befindet, heraufziehe und steige entgegen dem, was herabgekommen ist vom Himmel, und die Erden . . . gereinigt (καθαρίζειν) werden. Deshalb hat er diese Fahrzeuge hinabgegossen auf die Erde, das des Wassers, das der Finsternis und das des Feuers, damit das Wasser, die Finsternis und das Feuer, das sich in den Erden befindet, emporzieht entgegen dem, was von oben herabgekommen ist. Zuerst vor allen Dingen hat er ausgegossen das Wasser, den Bodensatz, [das] Gift der Archonten droben, er hat gereinigt die Firmamente von dem [Wasser . . . . . .] die Finsterniswasser (plur.), er hat sie hinabgegossen. [Wie die]

21 Über die drei Gräben und die vier Mauern vgl. M. 99, R 14—15 nebst Anmerkungen bei Jackson, Researches. Fihrist (ed. Flügel) S. 73. — 29 ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛⲥⲉϧ. Hendiad.

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1 ⲙⲟⲩⲓⲉⲩⲉ ϩⲉⲓⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ
2 ⲓⲉⲩⲉ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲁⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲕ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁ
3 ϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲕⲁⲥ
4 [ⲁⲩ]ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ
5 Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲁϩⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁϭ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ
6 ⲛⲭ|ⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϩⲁⲃⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
7 ⲧⲉⲓ ⲉ[ⲧⲉ]ⲣⲉ ⲛⲉϩⲏⲩ ⲡⲗⲉⲁ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩ
8 ϣⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲗⲃⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄
9 ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲧⲡ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩϣⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲥ
10 ⲧⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩ[ⲃ]ⲟ ⲛ
11 ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ⲁ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ⲥⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ [ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲩ
12 [ϣⲟⲩⲱϥ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲁϩⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲁⲧ[ⲡⲟⲩ] ⲁ
13 [ϩⲟⲩⲛ] . . . . . ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲧ . . . . . .
14 [. . . . . .] ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩϣⲟⲩⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ϫⲛ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲥ
15 ⲙ[. . . . . ⲛⲧ]ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲡ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ
16 [ϩⲙ] ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲥⲥⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲥⲥⲩⲅⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ
17 ⲁ ⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲁϫⲛ ⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲁϩⲣⲉⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲛⲁϫⲥ
18 ⲁⲡ|ⲉⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲉⲧϩ|ⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ[ⲥⲙⲛⲧⲩ ⲁ]ⲣⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲕⲟ
19 ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛⲛⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲁ
20 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲙⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ abgerieben
21 . . . ⲏ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲱϩ
22 ⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ . . . . . .
23 ⲁ̣ⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲩ ⲁⲧⲟ|ⲛⲉⲓ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ†ϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲁⲙ ⲧⲁⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ
24 ⲙⲛ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲙ̣ⲡ|ⲙ̣ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧ
25 ϫⲱⲃⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣̄ⲕⲁⲥ leer
26 ⲙⲇ
27 ⲙⲇ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲅ|ⲅⲁⲥ ⲙⲇ
28 ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ
29 [Ⲧⲧⲁ]ⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲫ[ⲱⲥⲧⲏ]ⲣ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ϫⲉ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲧⲉ ⲡ
30 [ⲡ]ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ[ⲥ] ⲥⲙ|ⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲁⲩ
31 [ⲧ]ⲱ̣ⲕ̣ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ̄ ⲁϫⲙ̄ ⲡ|ⲕⲁⲥ ⲁⲩ+ ⲟⲩϫⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲉⲧ
32 [ⲥ]|ⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ . . . . . .
33 ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲉ|ⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣ ⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁ
34 [ⲣⲁ]ⲩ ⲁⲩⲛ|ⲩⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲧ̣ⲁ̣ϩⲟⲩ ⲁⲩ|ⲱⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓⲉⲩ
35 ⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡ̣ⲟ̣ⲩ̣ⲱ̣ⲥⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛϫ|ⲟⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡ
36 [ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲁⲡ]ⲕⲉⲕⲉ [ⲙⲛ] ⲡ̣ⲁ̣ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϣⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲁϫⲱϥ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲩϩⲟⲩ
37 [. . . . . .]ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ϩ|ϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲧⲉⲩⲉ

3 Lies ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓⲉⲩⲉ. — 4 Bo in ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ über der Zeile. — 32 Am Rande noch zu lesen ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲧⲏⲩ . . . . . — 33 Lies ⲧⲟⲩⲉ|ⲉⲩⲉ. — 37 Lies ϩ|ϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲃⲧⲉⲩⲉ.

des Lehrers.

Wasser (plur.) vom Himmel auf die Erde fielen, so auch die Wasser,
die unten in den Erden sind; sie zogen und kamen herauf
von unten entgegen den Wassern, die vom Himmel auf die Erden gekommen waren.
Gereinigt [wurden] die Wasser von dem Finsternisgift, das in ihnen sich befindet.
Dann fegte er sie aus nach draußen und machte sie zu einem großen Fahrzeug und einer Mauer des Meeres, das die Welt umgibt,
auf dem die Schiffe fahren (πλέειν). Nach dem Wasser goß
er aus die Finsternis, er reinigte die Firmamente, er trocknete (?) aus ihnen die
Finsternis aus, mit der sie beladen waren, und goß sie hinab auf die Erde.
Wie er die Firmamente gereinigt hat, so hat er auch die Erden gereinigt.
Die Finsternis, die in den Erden ist, zog herauf entgegen der Finsternis, die von
oben [ausgegossen] wurde; er fegte sie beide aus und schloß [sie]
ein in jenem . . . der Finsternis . . . . . .
. . . . . Wasser. — Er goß aber das Feuer vom Himmel auf die Erde aus
. . . . . in jener Stunde, das Feuer wiederum, das eingeschlossen war
[in] der Erde unten, zog und kam herauf entgegen seinem Verwandten(συγγενής).
Feuer ließ sich nieder auf Feuer. Dann fegte er es aus und warf es
in diese äußere Unterwelt, die er für sie [errichtet] hat außerhalb der
Welt. Wie er die oberen Firmamente gereinigt hat zu einem
Weg für die φωστῆρες . . . . . .
. ., so hat er auch die Erden unten gereinigt und ausgefegt aus ihnen das Feuer und die Finsternis und das Wasser . . . . .
er hat sie gereinigt für das Heraufkommen dieser drei Kräfte, der des Windes,
des Wassers und des Feuers, die heraufkommen vor dem Ὠμοφόρος, der
die Erden trägt (?). —

XLIV.

Über den Meeresriesen (θάλασσα, γίγας)

Wiederum sprach der Φ[ωστή]ρ zu seinen Jüngern: Nachdem
der Lebendige Geist die Werke und Welten errichtet hatte, kam er herauf,
stellte sich hin auf dieser Erde, gab einen Wink dem König der Herrlichkeit, der
die drei Räder antreibt, und veranlaßte, daß die Räder, die . . . . . .
hinauf oberhalb aller Berge, er hat den Wind verteilt
auf sie, er hat auf sie geweht, er hat sie erregt, er hat die Erde mit den Wassern
gewaschen. Der Bodensatz aber und der Rest (?) der drei Fahrzeuge, des
[Wassers, der] Finsternis [und] des Feuers, die auf sie (die Erde) ausgegossen wurden, er hat sie eingesammelt
. . . . . Meer, das sich innerhalb der Mauern

20 Mit φωστ. sind hier wohl, wie Acta Arch. (Beeson) S. 11, 7 Sonne und Mond gemeint. — 25 ⲭⲱⲃⲥ begegnet in der Bedeutung „das Haupt neigen", hier: „in gebückter Stellung tragen", vgl. Orientalia Periodica Vol. V p. 84. — 28 Zum γίγας vgl. 85, 33; 116, 7; 122, 24; 123, 20. — 32 Am Rande: das Rad des Windes . . . Zu den Rädern vgl. Cumont, Recherches I, S. 31.

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> · ⲛ̄ⲕ̣ⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲛϫⲓⲟⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲙⲁⲗϩ
2 ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲙⲗⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲱⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲓⲱⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁ
3 ⲑⲁⲣⲓⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲛϫⲓⲟⲣⲉ N̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
4 ⲡⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲩⲛⲁ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲓⲛⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩ
5 ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲓ̈ⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ
6 ⲙⲡ[ϩⲁ]ⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲩ ⲁⲩⲛⲁϫⲟ̄ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁ+ⲛⲁⲃ
7 ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲉⲧϩⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲑⲉ . . . ⲛⲡⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ
8 ⲉ[ⲧⲙ̄ⲙ]ⲉⲩ ⲡϩⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲛⲁϫⲟ̄ ⲁⲡⲓ
9 ⲧⲛ̄ⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϫⲧ̄ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲁ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲛ
10 ⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲟ̄ ⲥⲁⲩϩⲟ̄ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲥⲥⲁⲩϩⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
11 ⲡⲓⲣ[ⲏ]ⲧⲉ ⲁⲥⲧⲁϫⲣ[ⲁ]ⲩ ⲁⲥⲡⲏⲥⲥⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ . ⲇⲓ . ⲉ[. . . . .]
12 ⲡⲧⲓⲣⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲙ̄[ⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩⲉ]
13 ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟ̄ ⲡⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ [ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛ]
14 ⲣⲙⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲡϫⲁⲣⲁⲕⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛϫⲱⲇⲓⲟⲛ [. . . . . .]
15 ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲱⲟⲡⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲟ̄ⲁⲙ
16 ⲁⲩⲛⲁϫⲩ ⲁⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲛ̄ϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛϩⲟ ⲙⲛ ⲛ̄
17 ⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ . . . . . ⲉ̣ⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲃⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ
18 ⲙⲡⲓⲅⲓⲅⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ̣ⲡⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈
19 ⲡⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲡⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲡϫⲱⲇⲓⲟⲛ ⲡϫⲱⲇⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲕ̣ⲱ
20 ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲧ̣ⲩⲕⲓⲙ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲧⲉⲩⲥⲙ̄ⲛⲉ ⲛ̣
21 ⲧⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲧϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ
22 ⲉⲥⲁⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲟ̣ⲩⲛϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲁⲩϩⲣⲁ
23 ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥⲱⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲛ̣ⲉⲣⲅⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉ[ⲩⲣ]
24 ϩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲱϩⲣⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲡⲙ[ⲁ ⲉ]
25 ⲧⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛⲧⲟ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϩⲛ ⲧⲟⲓⲛⲥ[ⲙⲓⲛ]ⲉ ⲛⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲥ [ⲇ]ⲉ
26 ϩⲱⲱⲥ ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ̣ⲩ . . . . . ϩⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲧ . . .
27 ⲣ̄ ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲩ ϩⲓ ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲧⲉ̣[ⲕⲧⲱ]ⲛ ⲁⲥⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁ[ⲫⲉ ⲙ]
28 ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲱⲃⲓⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲕⲉⲥⲉⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲱⲙ̣[ⲁ]
29 ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ leer ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ [ⲛⲟⲩ]
30 ⲧⲉⲭⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲩⲁⲃⲓ ⲡⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲗⲟⲕ[ⲟⲧⲓ]
31 ⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩⲛⲁϫⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲙⲁⲁⲛⲕⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ [ⲛⲟⲩ]
32 ⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲱⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲱⲟ̣ [ⲙⲙⲟ]ⲣ̣ⲫⲏ [ϫⲱⲕ ⲁ]
33 ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲟⲩ[. . . . . .]

20 Lies anstatt ⲟⲩⲁⲛ: ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ.

Die Kephalaia

und der Fahrzeuge befindet. Deshalb sind die Wasser des Meeres salzig.
Denn sie haben Salz und Bitterkeit empfangen durch das Waschen der
Reinigung (καθαρισμός) der drei Fahrzeuge. — Als der Vater
des Lebens kam, indem er aufstieg in seinem Kommen zur Höhe, da goß er
das Rad der Sterne aus, wusch es, zog ihm aus
den ganzen Schmutz (?), der an ihm ist und warf ihn hinab in dieses große
innere Meer wie . . . des Berges. Ihn aber, [jenen]
Bodensatz, den Schmutz (?) vom Waschen des Rades, hat er hinab-
geworfen und gemischt mit den Wassern des Meeres. Sein eigenes
Sinnen (ἐνθύμησις) sammelte ihn; es sammelte ihn zu seinen Genossen in
dieser Weise; es (das Sinnen) machte ihn fest . . . . . .
den Meeresriesen, indem das Siegel der Augenblicke und [der Stunden]
auf ihn gesiegelt wurde, das Siegel der Tage, [der Monate und der]
Jahre, das Merkmal (χαρακτήρ) der Sterne und der ζῴδια. . . .
Er ist aus ihnen geworden, er ist aus ihrer Kraft ausgegossen
und ins Meer geworfen worden. Die Bilder (εἰκών) und Siegel und Gesichter
und
Lehren und Gedanken des . . . . . sind gesiegelt auf den Körper
jenes Riesen. Denn ihrer aller Rest ist er. Deswegen
jeder Stern, der aufgeht, jedes ζῴδιον, das sich
dreht, die einen lassen sich bewegen, die andern lassen ihn feststehn.
Er wurde aber ins Meer so gegossen wie eine Wolke,
die Regen ausschüttet mitten ins Meer. Er wurde aber ganz
angetrieben durch die Wirksamkeit (ἐνέργεια) der Kraft und der
Steuerung der Engel; er wurde hinabgefegt in das Sammelbecken, den Ort,
der für ihn errichtet wurde bei der [Errichtung der Welt. Das Meer
seinerseits nahm ihn auf . . . . . .
wurde ihm ἀρχιζωγράφος und ἀρχιτέκτων; es bildete (ζωγραφεῖν)
ihn in einer Gestalt, die verschieden ist von (παρά) den übrigen Körpern
des Meeres. — Diese Sache ist gleich [einem]
Handwerker (τεχνίτης), der das Siegel zahlreicher Holokotinen
(ὁλοκότινος) nimmt, sie ins Feuer wirft und sie zu einem einzigen Bilde (εἰκών)
gestaltet, (so daß) diese tausend Siegel und diese tausend Gestalten (μορφή) sich
vervollständigen
und ein einziger Körper (σῶμα) werden . . . . . .

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6 Zu ⲍⲁⲩⲉ „Schmutz“ (?) vgl. Z. 8; 110, 9; 116, 23. — 11 ⲁⲥⲧⲁϫⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲥⲡⲏⲥⲥⲉ (πήσσειν) ⲙⲙⲁⲩ Hendiad.

ρι[ε]

> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

1 Ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲏⲅⲁⲥ ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁⲛϥ ϩⲱ
2 ⲱⲩ ⲁⲩϫⲱⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲛϩⲏⲧⲩ
3 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲯⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ϩⲛ̄ⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲯⲱ[ⲩ] ⲉ
4 ⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲥⲉⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ leer
5 Ⲧⲧⲧⲩ[ⲡⲟⲥ] ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲅⲁⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛⲧϥ̄ ⲁⲯⲁⲙⲧ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ⲡⲯⲁⲣⲡ ϫⲉ
6 ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲛⲁ[ⲉⲥ]ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧϩⲣⲏⲯⲉ ⲉⲧⲯⲟ
7 ⲟ[ⲡ ⲛϩ]ⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲧϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲙⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲩ[ⲉⲥ]ⲉⲓ
8 ⲧⲉ ⲁ[ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ]ⲧϩⲣⲏⲯⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲯⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ̄ϫ|ⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲧϩⲉ ⲁⲛ
9 ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ϫⲉ ⲉⲥⲁⲉⲥⲉⲓⲧⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲥ [ⲛⲥ]ⲧⲟⲩ
10 ⲃ[ⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ] ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲣⲏⲯⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̀ leer
11 Ⲧⲧⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁ† ⲟⲩⲱⲯⲛ̣ⲏⲧⲟ' ϩⲓ ⲫⲩⲗⲁⲕⲏ ⲁⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ
12 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̣ϩⲱⲗ|ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲩ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ
13 ⲛⲁ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲱⲯⲉ ⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲃⲛ̄ ⲡⲅ|ⲓⲁⲥ ⲛ
14 ⲫ[ⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥ]ⲁ ⲉⲫⲥⲁϩⲡ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲧϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲯⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲟ ⲛ[ⲃ]ⲁⲛ|ⲡⲉ
15 ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲙⲃⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲩⲱ ϫⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ
16 ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϫ| ⲥⲩⲙⲃⲟⲩⲗⲓⲁ ⲁⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲕⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ| ⲁⲡⲟⲩ
17 ϩⲛⲧ ⲁⲉⲓ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̣ⲉⲩⲯⲃⲛⲧϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ
18 ⲡⲉⲓ̈ⲯⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧ̄ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲉⲧϩⲓ|ϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲣ . ⳾ ⲛⲛ
19 ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲥϩⲟⲩ
20 ⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ⲧ ⲁ̣ϫⲱⲥ ⲉⲩⲥ|ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ|ⲙ
21 [Ⲧⲧⲙ]ⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ϫⲉ ⲡ[ⲧⲏⲩ] ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲃⲉ ⲙ̄
22 [ⲡ]ⲕ̣[ⲱⲧ]ⲉ ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ [ⲙⲛ ⲛ|]ⲉⲣⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲕ ⲁϫⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲟ ⲙ̄
23 [ⲡⲕⲁ]ϩ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲑⲁⲗⲁ[ⲥⲥⲁ] ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲛϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲡ|
24 [ⲧⲛⲉ] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲥ̣ⲁⲣⲙ[ⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲉⲧⲁⲅⲅ|ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ
25 [ⲁⲡ|ⲧ]ⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲉⲣ̣[ⲉ] ⲫ̣ⲁ̣ⲗⲁ̣ⲥⲥⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲁⲛⲇⲟϫ|ⲟⲛ
26 [ϩⲓ ⲙ]ⲁⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲉ| ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ leer ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲱ
27 [ⲛϩ] ⲉ̣ⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲛ|ⲓⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲅ|
28 [ⲣⲁⲥ] ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲛ̣ⲉⲩⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩ̣ⲥⲁⲕⲟ̄ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲁϩ ⲫⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ
29 . . [ⲟⲩ]ⲙⲟⲩϩ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ . . . . ⲱⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲕ|ⲙ
30 . . . . . ⲥⲙⲛ . . ⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲥⲱⲧⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ϩⲱⲱⲥ
31 . . . . . leer

1 Lies ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁⲛⲕⲟ̄.

des Lehrers.

So steht es auch mit dem Meeresriesen; er wurde gestaltet
und gebildet (ζωγραφεῖν) durch die Kraft der Begierde (ἐπιθυμία), die in ihm ist
von vielen Lehren und vielen Gesinnungen,
die zum Rest des Rades der σφαῖρα gehören.
Der Typus des Riesen, man hat ihn errichtet für drei Dinge. Erstens: Damit
die σφαῖρα erleichtert und gereinigt werde von der Last, die sich
in ihr befindet. Wie die zehn Firmamente gereinigt und erleichtert
wurden von der Last der drei Fahrzeuge, so hat man es auch
mit der σφαῖρα gemacht, damit auch sie erleichtert und gereinigt
würde von der Last und dem Bodensatz, der in ihr ist. —
Zweitens: Damit er gebe Fessel [a] und Gefängnis (φυλακή) für das Rad
und die ζῴδια, die an es gefesselt sind, damit, wenn sie
hinaufgehn wollen nach oben, du den [Meeres]riesen
findest, wie er sie einschließt (?) [a] wie eine eiserne Fessel [a]
und sie nicht hinaufgehn können und damit, wenn die Mächte
des Rades sich beraten (-συμβουλία) für ein tückisches Werk, und es in ihr
Herz kommt, herabzukommen zur Erde, sie nicht herabkommen können wegen
dieses Holzes (?), das geheftet ist an das Rad, das auf dem . . . der
Firmamente ist. Das ist das Eine. Zum andern aber wegen ihrer (fem.) schlaf-
losen Wächter, die sich auf ihr (der σφαῖρα) befinden, indem sie sie (fem.) zu
aller Zeit antreiben.
[Das] dritte Werk: Der [Wind], das Wasser und das Feuer, die sprudeln
rings um das Meer, [die] Flüsse, die auf den Oberflächen der
[Erde] hinfließen, indem sie sich ins Meer ergießen, und das Regenwasser,
das herab-
kommt, ferner der Bodensatz und der μεταγγισμός, der in es herab-
kommt, jenes Meer wird Herberge (πανδοχεῖον)
[und] Versammlung dieser aller werden. — Die ganze Kraft und das
Leben, das ins Meer herabkommt, durch den Atem aber, den der
Meeresriese ausstößt und einzieht, erregt er das Meer
. . . eine Fülle und ein . . . wird zwischen seiner Bewegung
. . . . . läutern, das Meer aber
. . . . . —

[a] unbekanntes Wort.

[ρ]ιϛ

> · ⲛ̄ⲕ[ⲉ]ϕⲁⲗⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 ⲙⲉ

2 ⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛϫⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲉ

3 Ⲗⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲡⲓⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ϫⲉ ϩⲁⲧⲉϩⲏ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ

4 ⲙⲁⲛ̄ϫⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲥⲁϩⲣⲟⲩ ϫⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲣⲱⲁ

5 ⲣⲡ̄ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ϕⲟⲥⲥⲁ

6 ϫⲉⲩⲛⲁⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲛϩⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ leer

7 ϩⲁⲧⲉϩⲏ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲧⲓⲣⲁⲥ ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲁ̣[ⲃ]ⲁ̣ⲗ̣ ⲛ̣ⲧⲥ

8 ϕⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲥⲙ̣ⲛ̣ ⲟⲩⲧ̣ⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̣ⲉ̣[ⲏ ϩ]ⲛ̄

9 ⲧⲛ̣ⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲉⲧϩⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲃⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉ

10 ϫⲏⲩ ⲡ̣ⲗⲉⲁ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩϩ ⲁ . . . ⲱⲙⲉ

11 ⲱ . . ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ leer ϩⲁⲧⲉϩⲏ ⲁⲛ [ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧ]ⲉ . . . . ⲥ̣ⲓⲁ

12 ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ . . . . . ⲡ̣ⲕ̣ⲁ̣ϩ . .

13 . . . ϩ]ⲉⲓⲉ ⲁⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ

14 ⲙ̣ⲙ̣ⲁⲩ ⲁ̣ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲥⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϩⲙ [ⲡ] . . .

15 ⲙⲁⲙ . . ⲉⲓ̈ⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲏ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̣ⲡⲥ̣ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲧⲡⲉ

16 ⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲏⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲱ . . . . .

17 abgerieben ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁϭ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲱⲥ̀ ⲉⲥⲱⲁ

18 ϫϩ ⲁⲧϩⲩⲗⲏ ϩⲛ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲁ

19 ⲣⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩϫⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁ

20 ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲁⲩⲛⲁϫⲥ̀ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁ̣ⲧⲁⲩ ϩⲙ̄

21 ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲁⲛ . . . . . ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ

22 ⲁϫⲱⲥ ⲱⲁ ⲧϩⲁⲏ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ leer ϩⲁⲧⲉϩⲏ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱϩ

23 ⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡϩⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡ

24 ⲥⲱⲟⲛⲧ ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ[ϩⲛⲅⲉⲉ]ⲛⲛⲁ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲁ[ⲧ]ⲉ [ⲛ]

25 ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲧⲃⲓⲛ[ⲃⲱⲗ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ

26 ϩⲁⲧⲉϩⲏ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲃⲉⲭⲉⲩⲉ ⲃ̣[ⲱⲃ]ⲥ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲧ̣ⲁ[ⲅⲙⲁ]

27 ⲃⲱⲃⲥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧⲓⲕⲏ ϩⲛ [ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧ]ⲓⲕⲏ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧ

28 ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧ[. . . . . .]

29 ⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲉⲧⲩⲣⲁⲛⲛⲟⲥ [ⲉ]ⲧ̣ⲥⲫ̄ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ [ⲁⲧⲩ]

30 ⲣⲁⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲛⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ [ⲛⲕⲗ]ⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲏ[ⲩ ⲙⲛ]

31 ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲙ̣ⲛ̣ ⲛϩⲁⲗⲁⲧⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲥ̣ⲙ̣ⲓⲛⲉ̣ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϩⲛ ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ[ⲑⲁ]

32 ⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲱϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲛ̣[ⲟ]ϫⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲙⲁ ⲉ̣ⲧⲟⲩ

33 ϩⲃⲣⲃⲱⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲱⲓϫϩ ⲙⲛ̣ ⲡⲕ[ⲉⲕⲉ . . . . . .]

34 ϩⲁⲧⲉϩⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩϩⲉ [. . . . . .]

35 ⲙⲁ ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩϩⲉ . ϩ[. . . . . .]

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27 ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧⲓⲕⲏ Dittographie.

Die Kephalaia

XLV.

Über die Fahrzeuge.

Wisset auch dies andere: Bevor diese Fahrzeuge ausgegossen
wurden und ausgefegt wurden von oben nach unten, wurden bereits
drei Gräben (φόσσα) für sie gebildet und hergestellt,
damit sie in ihnen gebunden und gefesselt würden. —
Bevor der Meeresriese ausgegossen wurde aus der σφαῖ-
ρα, hat der Vater des Lebens einen Ort (τόπος) errichtet für ihn, in
diesem großen Meer, das innerhalb der Mauern sich befindet, auf
dem die Schiffe fahren (πλέειν), in dem die Fülle (?) . . . .
. . . . . — Bevor die . . .
den Welten sich offenbarte . . . . . die Erde . .
. . ins Meer fiel und seine Ἐνθύμησις sich bildete (πλάσσειν),
da hat der Vater des Lebens einen Ort für ihn errichtet in dem . .
. . . . . unterhalb der vier Berge, oberhalb
der Berge, die oben befindlichen Himmel, die . . . .
. . . . . große Fläche (?), die ein-
gegraben ist in die Hyle in der Mitte der Welten. Als aber zu ihr der Licht-
Adamas gesandt worden war, da winkte er sie zu jenem
Orte hin, gab ihn ihr, warf sie zwischen Berge an
dem Ort, den er für sie errichtet hatte . . . . . er stellte sich
auf sie bis zum Ende der Welt. — Bevor ausgefegt wurde
der Bodensatz und der Schmutz (?) der Finsternis aus der
Schöpfung, hat man für ihn [Höllen] errichtet, damit sie in sich
aufnehmen sollten den Bodensatz bis zur Auflösung der Welt. —
Bevor die Rebellen [rebellierten], die, deren Abteilungen (τάγμα)
rebellierten in der Archontenschaft oben
und unten, die (plur.) . . . . . .
die draußen und auch die τύραννοι, in deren Herz es liegt, [zu]
herrschen unumschränkt (τυραννεύειν) in [den] Wolken und Winden [und]
πνεύματα und Sturmwinden, da hat man für sie errichtet im großen,
äußeren Meere sieben Herbergen (πανδοχεῖον), die Orte, in die
sie hinabgeworfen werden zur Tiefe und [Finsternis] . . . . .
Bevor die Aborte . . . . . .
. . auf die Erde, hat man abgeschieden . . . . . .

5 Zu den drei Gräben vgl. 112, 21. — Z. 15—18 sehr unklar. Das Gelesene scheint sicher zu sein. — 11—22 Vgl. Andreas-Henning, Mir. Man. I 182 Anm. 2. — 23 Zu ϩⲁⲩⲉ „Schmutz“ (?) vgl. 110, 9; 114, 6. 8. — 24 Auf keinen Fall 12 Höllen wie in M 99 V 16 f. Für ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ „12“ ist der Raum zu gering.

ⲡⲍ

> · ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <

1 ⲥⲁⲩⲍⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱⲍ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ Ⲍⲁⲧⲍⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲙ
2 ⲡⲁ̣ⲧⲉ̣ ⲛⲉⲅⲣⲏⲅⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲃⲱⲃⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ
3 ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲕ ⲁⲩⲥⲙ|ⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲫⲩⲗⲁⲕⲏ ⲅⲙ̄ ⲡⲱ|ⲭⲅⲩ̄
4 ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ leer
5 [Ⲍⲁ]ⲧⲉⲍⲏ [ⲉⲙ]ⲡ̣ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲅ|ⲓⲅⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲙⲉ [ⲉⲛ]
6 ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲇ̣[|ⲕⲁ|]ⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲟⲥⲙⲏ
7 ⲁ̣ⲩⲥ̣[ⲙ|ⲛⲉ] ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲃⲧⲥⲉⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗ|ⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ
8 ⲛ̣[ⲛⲅ|ⲅⲁⲥⲛⲁ]ⲟⲩⲱⲍ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲭⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲙ̣ⲛⲉⲩ
9 ⲉⲣⲏ̣[ⲩ ⲛⲉ]ⲧ̣ⲉ̣ⲱⲁⲩⲣ ⲙⲏⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲉ ⲛⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲛⲍ
10 ⲙⲍ
11 ⲙⲍ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲍ
12 ⲦⲦⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲡ|ⲕⲉⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉ+ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲟⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
13 ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲅⲁⲧⲉⲍⲏ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ
14 ⲡⲱⲣⲭ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲅⲙ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲍⲙⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ̄
15 [ⲙⲡ]ⲣ̣ⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁ̣ⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲁⲡ|ⲟⲩⲣⲏⲍ
16 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡ|ⲟⲩⲁⲣⲱⲩ̄ ⲉⲧⲍ|ⲃⲁⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲥⲱⲧⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
17 ⲛ̄ⲩⲡⲱⲣⲭ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ leer
18 [Ⲉ]ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ+ⲟⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈
19 ⲍⲛ +ⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲁ ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲧⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲭⲏⲩ
20 ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲁⲥⲱⲧⲩ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ
21 ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲍⲱⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲙⲁⲁⲛⲕⲩ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲥⲙⲏⲥ|ⲥ
22 [Ⲍⲁ]ⲫⲏ ⲉⲙⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲱⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲍⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲉⲙⲡⲁ
23 ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲍ ⲛ̣ⲉⲧⲃ̣ⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲁⲭⲁ[ⲓ̈ⲧ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ
24 [ⲁ]ⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲣ|ⲓ̣ⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲥ̣ⲱⲛⲧ
25 ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ [ⲥ]ⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲭⲉⲩⲛⲁ̣ⲣ
26 [ⲟⲩ]ⲕⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲇ̣|ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲍⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄
27 [ⲥ]ⲏⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲇⲟⲕ|ⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲛⲛⲇ|ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ
28 [ⲛ̄]ⲥⲉⲡⲁⲣⲭⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲍⲁⲧⲉⲍⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲙⲡⲁ
29 [ⲧ]ⲉ̣ ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲕⲁⲛⲇⲁⲗ|ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̄
30 [ⲁ]ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ ⲅⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲱ ⲁⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲩ ⲙⲡⲭⲣ|
31 [ⲥⲧ]ⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ|ⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲟⲩⲱⲥⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ
32 [Ⲍⲁⲧⲉ]ⲍⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲙ[ⲡⲁⲧ]ⲟⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲉ+ⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲍⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
33 [ⲭⲉ ⲣⲙⲙⲁⲟ ⲛⲥⲉ+ⲣⲉⲛ ⲁ]ⲍⲛⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲍⲏⲕⲉ ⲅⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ
34 [. . . . . .] . . ⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲭⲱⲩ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲍⲱⲧⲃⲉ

2 ⲛⲥⲉⲓ̈ sic. — 5—9 „Und die eine Hälfte von ihnen führten sie ostwärts und die andere Hälfte westwärts an die Abhänge der vier großen Berge zum Fuß des Sumeruberges in die 32 [sic] Städte, die der Spiritus vivens im Anfang ihretwegen angelegt hatte, was man Aryānvaižan nennt.“ (Unveröff. soghd. Fragm. nach Mitteil. v. Henning.) — 7 Lies ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲃⲧⲉⲥⲉ. — 15 Lies ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ. — 22 Lies ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ. — Statt ⲍⲉ lies ⲍⲛ; ⲛ scheint über der Zeile nachgetragen zu sein.

des Lehrers.

sich sammeln und in ihnen wohnen. — Bevor die ἐγρήγοροι
rebellierten und vom Himmel herabkamen,
wurde für sie ein Gewahrsam (φυλακή) gebildet und errichtet in der Tiefe
der Erde unterhalb der Berge. —
Bevor die Söhne der Giganten geboren wurden, die [nicht] Gerechtigkeit
und Frömmigkeit unter sich gekannt haben, hat man eingerichtet (κοσμεῖν)
und [errichtet] für sie sechsunddreißig Städte, damit die Söhne
der [Giganten] in ihnen wohnen sollten, die kommen um zu erzeugen . . . .
. . ., die tausend Jahre zu leben pflegen. —

XLVI.

Über den Gesandten.

Wiederum höret diese andere Rede, die ich euch lehren will.
Wisset: Bevor Nacht und Tag
in der Welt getrennt wurden, wurde der dritte Gesandte
berufen. Darauf aber sandte man ihn in diesen freien
Raum (Hendiad.) draußen, damit er das Licht ausläutere
und die Nacht und den Tag voneinander trenne. —
Bevor das Licht befreit wurde und herausging und aufstieg
in dieser ζώνη, da machte der Vater des Lebens für es schön die Licht-
schiffe und errichtete sie, damit es in ihnen geläutert werde,
und man es bilde (ζωγραφεῖν) und gestalte in guter Anordnung (κόσμησις).
Bevor die Sünde viel wurde und Herrscher wurde im Fleisch, bevor
voneinander die Freigesprochenen und die Verurteilten getrennt wurden,
wurde der Richter (κριτής) gesandt (und) offenbarte sich, es wurde sein Thron (θρόνος)
gegründet und in der lebendigen Luft (ἀήρ) aufgestellt, damit er ein
gerechter (δίκαιος) Richter (κριτής) werde, damit durch ihn geschie-
den und geprüft (δοκιμάζειν) würden die Gerechten (δίκαιος) und die Sünder
und voneinander getrennt würden. — Bevor
die Irrlehre (πλάνη) und das Ärgernis (σκανδαλισμός) der δόγματα offenbar
wurde in der Welt, wurde bestimmt und erzeugt gegen sie der selige (μακάριος)
Christus, damit er ihre Irrlehre (πλάνη) vernichte. —
Bevor die Menschen erzeugt wurden und die einen
[reich], die andern arm [genannt wurden] auf der Erde
. . . . . über sie; bevor getötet wurden

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1 Zu den ἐγρήγοροι vgl. 92, 27—31; 93, 24—28. Über Gebrauch der Henochliteratur bei den Manichäern W. Henning Sb. P. A. W. 1934, 27—35. — 5 „Sohn des Giganten" mutet semitisch an, da ja die Giganten selbst gemeint sein müssen. — 17 Vgl. Andreas-Henning, Mir. Man. I 181. — 24 Zum Richter vgl. 35, 25 (dazu Schmidt-Polotsky, Manifund S. 72); 80, 29—32; 83, 4—8. . . . καὶ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προβληθέντα δίκαιον κριτήν . . . Migne, P. G. I 1461. — Vgl. Polotsky, Man. Hom. 11, 5 f. —

ριη

[> · ⲛ]ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟ[ⲛ · <]

1 ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁϩⲁⲧⲃⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ ϩⲓ ⲛϩⲱ[ⲗⲓ]
2 ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲥϩⲁⲛⲧ' ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲧⲟⲩϫⲡⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟ[ⲩ]
3 ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩϫⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϩⲣⲁ
4 ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩϩⲉⲡ ⲛⲱⲃⲓⲟ
5 ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃⲉ leer
6 ϩⲁⲧⲉϩⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲙⲛ ⲡ]ⲕ̣ⲁⲩ
7 ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲱ ⲁⲩ⳨ⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲛⲣⲉⲩⲃ̣ⲱⲗ ⲁ̣[ⲃⲁⲗ] ⲁⲃⲁ
8 ⲗⲩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲁⲧⲉϩⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ[ⲕⲱⲧ ⲛⲥⲉ]
9 ⲧⲥ[ⲁⲓ]ⲟ ⲛ̣ⲥⲉⲧⲱⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲃⲣ[ⲣⲉ ⲁ]ⲩⲧⲁϩ
10 ⲙ ⲛ̣[ⲡ]ⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲧⲉⲕⲧⲱⲛ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄
11 ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲕⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄
12 ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ

13 ⲙ̄ⲛϩ

14 — ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ —
15 ⲙ̄ⲛϩ ⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲙ̄ⲛϩ

16 Ⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ϫⲉ ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥ̣ⲓⲟⲩ ⲉ̣
17 ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲛⲁϭ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ⲛϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ
18 ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲡⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲡⲩ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲛⲁϭ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟ[ⲛ]
19 ⲧⲓⲕⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱⲥ̄ ⲁϥⲧⲟⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ leer
20 Ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ϭⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲏⲧ ⲛⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱ
21 ⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̣ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛ
22 ⲧⲓⲕⲏ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲥⲁⲧⲡ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϩⲛ ⲙⲡⲏ̣ⲩ
23 ▪ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ leer Ⲧⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲡⲉ
24 ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲡ̣ⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲡⲩ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲧ
25 ⲙⲛ ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲧⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ
26 ⲡⲉ ϫⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲓⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̣ⲁϩⲉ ⲁϫⲱⲩ ⲱⲁ
27 ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ leer Ⲧⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲥⲃ]
28 ⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛϫⲗⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧ[ⲉ]
29 ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲩ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛϫⲗⲟⲣⲉ
30 ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧⲓⲕⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲗ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
31 ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛϭⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ leer Ⲧⲙⲁϩⲩⲧⲟ[ⲉ]
32 ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧ[ⲕⲁⲧ] ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ[ⲛ]ⲁ̣[ϭ ⲙ]
33 ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲱⲓⲣⲉ ⲉϥϩⲁⲣϭ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ[. . . . . ⲉ]
34 ⲛⲁⲱⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ[ⲱ]ⲛ̣ⲏ̄ [ⲙⲛ ⲧⲁⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ]

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2 Lies ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ. — ϩⲁⲛⲧ Qual. zu ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ. — 9 ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ Dittographie. — 30 ⲛ im 1. ⲙⲛ über der Zeile. — ⲉ in ⲉⲗ über der Zeile. Steht ⲉⲗ für ⲏⲗ?

[Die] Kephalaia

die getötet werden, wurden die Sterne und die ζῴδια
der σφαῖρα angeordnet, die ihnen dazu bestimmt sind, daß sie in ihnen geboren werden,
daß ihre Wurzel an ihre ζῴδια gebunden wird, daß sie durch
sie angetrieben werden und sie hingebracht werden zu einem Vergeltungsgericht
gemäß ihren Werken und ihren Sünden. —
Bevor die Welt aufgelöst wurde [und die] ganze
Erde, wurden angeordnet und angewiesen die Auflöser, um sie
aufzulösen. Bevor [gebaut],
schön gemacht und geordnet wurde der Neue Äon, wurde [der]
große Baumeister, der erste Architekt (ἀρχιτέκτων), berufen und die
Engel (ἄγγελος), die mit ihm sind, die bauen und schön machen den Neuen
Äon.

XLVII.

Über die vier großen Dinge.

Wiederum sprach der Φωστήρ: Das Rad der Sterne, das
euch offenbar ist, ein großes, gewaltiges Ding ist es. Eins
ist es von den vier großen Dingen. Denn die ganze
Archontenschaft ist geteilt in vier Teile. —
Der erste Teil sind die Mächte, die sich in den zehn Firmamenten befinden,
die sich oberhalb des Rades befinden, und die Archontenschaft,
die in ihnen gefesselt ist, indem sie in sie (plur.) eingeschlossen ist in den
Himmeln droben. — Der zweite Teil sind
die acht Erden unten, die vier, die gemischt sind
und die vier Orte der Finsternis. Der zweite Teil
reicht von dieser Erde, auf der die Menschen wandeln, bis
nach unten. — Der dritte Teil sind die Mauern
und die Fahrzeuge, die die Welten umgeben, welche
sind die vier Berge und die drei Fahrzeuge
und was in ihnen ist und die Archontenschaft, die an sie (plur.) . . . .
und die Mächte, die über sie Herr sind. — Der vierte
Teil ist die σφαῖρα der Sterne, der [sich befindet] in großer
Stärke, indem er geordnet ist in . . . . . viel
. . ., die des Vaters des Lebens [und die der Mutter]

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1 Vgl. 120, 11—19; 122, 5 ff. — 8 Vgl. 82, 9. — 24 Vgl. Andreas-Henning, Mir. Man. I 177. Die dort genannten „vier Erden" sind die hier als „gemischt" bezeichneten. „Jene vier Schichten, das Gefängnis der Dämonen", sind „die vier Orte der Finsternis" vgl. noch M. 99 V 6 f. und OLZ. 1934, 752. — 32/33 Der Genuswechsel liegt an einer Verwechselung von τροχός und σφαῖρα.

ρlϴ

> · ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

1 ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲡⲉⲥ|ⲱ . . . ⲁⲩ̈ⲧ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ϩ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲱ|ⲣⲉ
2 ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁϩ|ⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗⲁⲱ|ⲣⲉ [ⲉⲧⲟ]
3 ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲙ|ⲥⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄
4 ⲁⲛϫⲱϫ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣϫⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ|ⲱⲁ
5 ⲙ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ�То ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕⲁⲧⲫⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲩϩⲟⲩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲡⲟⲩ
6 ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱⲟⲩ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ|ⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲱ ⲧⲟⲩⲉ|ⲉ
7 ⲧⲟⲩⲉ|ⲉ ϩ̄ⲛ ⲫⲁⲙⲧ̄ ⲛⲧⲁ�То ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩϫ[ⲁⲗϫ]ⲟⲩ
8 ⲁⲩⲱ|ⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣϩⲩ ⲛ̄ⲫⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲧ[ⲣⲟ]ϫⲟⲥ
9 ϩⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲱϩⲱ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲙ̄ⲛⲧϫⲱⲣⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲟ[ⲁⲙ] ⲛ̄
10 ⲧⲙⲛⲧϫⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲣ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲉⲱⲧⲟⲩ [ⲣ]ⲱ ϩⲙ̄ [ⲡⲧ]ⲣⲟ
11 ϫⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲁϩ|ⲏⲧ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉ[ⲧⲃ]ⲉ
12 ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥ|ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲙ̄
13 ⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲩ ⲉⲛⲉ̣ ⲧϩⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲇⲉ ⲉ
14 ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ϩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲃ̣ⲛⲃⲁⲙ
15 ⲛⲃⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁ̣ⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛ̄
16 ⲧ̣ⲱⲃⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲱⲃⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲛ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲃⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲩ
17 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲩⲉⲱⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲥ|ⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ
18 ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲩ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥⲉ|ⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲙ
19 ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲁⲡⲥ̀ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲉ̣ⲉ̣ⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ [ⲉⲧ]ⲛ̄ⲧ
20 ⲡ̣ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁϩⲉ|ⲉ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ
21 ⲉ|ⲧⲉ ⲃⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲱ ⲏ ⲙⲙⲁⲛ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡϩⲙⲁⲙ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ
22 ⲛⲧⲉⲥⲫⲁ|ⲣⲁ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲛⲁϫ|ⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲛϥⲛⲁϫⲩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
23 [ⲁ]ϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲁϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲱⲉ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲡⲧⲱⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈
24 ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧϫⲁⲗϫ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ
25 ⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛ[ⲧ] ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲣⲣⲟ ⲉϥⲉⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉϥ
26 ⲙⲛⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ϩⲛ ⲧⲙⲁⲧⲉⲃⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲗⲏⲅⲉⲱⲛ ⲛϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲛ̣ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲛ̣
27 ϫⲱϫ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ ⲧϩⲁⲗⲃⲱⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀
28 [ⲛ]ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧϫⲁⲓ̈ⲙ̄ⲗⲁⲥ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲩⲥ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲛ
29 [ⲡ]ⲁⲱⲉ̈ⲓⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡϫⲣ[ⲏⲙⲁ] ⲙⲛ ⲧⲙⲛⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ
30 [ⲛ]ⲧⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙ|ⲁ ⲛⲛ[ⲥϩ]|ⲁⲙⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲩⲥ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲁϩⲁⲛ
31 [. . . .]ϫⲣⲏⲙⲁ̣[. . . . . .]ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲧⲃⲛⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲩ
32 [. . . . .] . . ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲩⲥⲛⲣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲟ

4 Lies ϩⲛ ⲫⲱⲁ. — 13 Lies ⲧⲉ statt ⲇⲉ, vgl. 109, 11. — 29 Lies ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ.

des Lehrers.

der Lebenden. Ihr . . . . ist sehr . . . in Stärke
wegen der großen hartherzigen Mächte und der Krieger, [die] in ihr
[sind], indem sie an ihr hängen, so daß alle Erstgeborenen und die
Anführer aller Archonten, die in diesen drei
Teilen waren, gepflückt wurden; sie wurden gesammelt, gepackt,
gefesselt und geordnet in diesem Rad; es wurde jeder
einzelne von diesen drei Teilen angeordnet; sie wurden verteilt (und) ange-
[heftet]
(und) aneinander gemessen in dieser selben Art. — Das Rad
wiederum ist ihnen gleich in seiner Stärke, in den [Mächten] der
Feindschaft, die an ihm festgebunden sind; sie sind angehängt worden an
[dem] sich
drehenden Rade wegen ihrer Hartherzigkeit, damit sie
wegen des Windes (πνεῦμα) und der Bewegung, in der sie sich drehen, nicht
den Ort erkennen können, an dem sie stehn. Denn wenn
man sie (plur.) an die Himmel gefesselt hätte, würden die Himmel
sie nicht tragen können. Wenn sie dagegen auf den Erden, auf den unteren
Befestigungen angeordnet worden wären, würden auch sie sie nicht tragen
können.
Sondern man hat sie gehängt an das Rad der Sterne, das sich dreht, damit
sie die Kraft und das Licht, die von unten heraufkommen,
zu sich nehmen und sie den Himmlischen geben, [die] oberhalb
von ihnen sind. Was aber herabfällt von oben,
ob kalt oder heiß, das Rad
der σφαῖρα nimmt es zu sich und wirft es
auf die ganze Erde, auf das ganze Holz. Siehe, derart ist
das Rad angeordnet. Denn die Mächte, die an dem Rade
angeheftet sind, sind gleich einem König, der sein Reich
beherrscht durch dieses gewaltige Legionslager (λεγιών-) aller
Anführer des Königreichs und die ganze Rüstung
des Kämpfertums, die zu ihm versammelt ist, und
die Menge des Besitzes (χρῆμα) des Reiches und die schöne Gestalt
der Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) der Frauen, die zu ihm versammelt sind sowie
. . . . Besitz (χρῆμα) . . . . . und jenes Vieh . .
. . . . . die verteilt sind in seinem

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> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 ⲙ|ⲧⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲉⲕⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲁ ⲡ|ⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲭⲱⲏⲱ
2 ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲟⲙ|ⲧⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲩ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲟⲙ|ⲧⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ
3 ⲱⲏⲱ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲡ ⲉ|ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ|
4 ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲥⲏ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲁϫⲟ ⲱⲁ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ
5 ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟⲫ|ⲁ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲧⲉϫⲛⲏ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧϫⲱⲣⲉ
6 Ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡ̣ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲱⲏⲱ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲱ| ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄
7 ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟⲫ|ⲁ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲧⲉϫⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ
8 ⲧϫ̣ⲱⲣⲉ leer ⲧⲥⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡ|ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
9 ⲃ̣ⲁⲙ [ⲉ]ⲧⲙⲏⲣ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲫⲁ|ⲣⲁ ⲛⲁⲥⲣⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲣϫⲟⲛⲧ|ⲕⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲛ̄
10 ⲃⲁⲙ̣ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲟ
11 ⲙ|ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲧⲟⲛ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡ|ⲥⲱⲃ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲩ̄ ⲥⲁⲩⲥ
12 ⲁⲧⲥⲫⲁ|ⲣⲁ ⲁⲥⲁⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩϫⲁⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛⲍⲱ
13 ⲇ|ⲟⲛ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗ|ⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲩⲥ ⲁⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲥ ⲁⲛ
14 ⲁⲛⲣⲉⲩϫⲁⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉ|ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲩ̄
15 ⲥⲙ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ ⲙ̣ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲙⲗⲟⲟⲩ
16 ⲙⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲁϫⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲁ|ϫⲙⲁⲗⲱⲥ|ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲍⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲡ|
17 ⲑⲩⲙ|ⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲭⲣⲏⲙ̣ⲁ̣ ⲉ̣ⲱⲁ̣ⲩ̣ⲣ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲱϫⲃⲉ ⲥ|ⲧⲛ̄
18 ⲛ|ⲣⲉⲩϫⲁⲩⲙⲁ|ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲕ|ⲙ ⲁⲡⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲧⲏⲣ[ⲩ]
19 ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲍⲱⲃ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲥⲁⲩⲥ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ϫⲟ
20 ⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛⲉ ⲁ̈ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ|ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ: —
21 ⲙⲏ
22 ⲙⲏ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲗ|ⲍⲙⲉ ⲙⲏ
23 Ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ϫⲉ ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲗ|ⲍⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲱ[ⲟ]
24 ⲟⲡ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ϫⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲉⲥϫ|ⲥⲉ leer
25 ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲗ|ⲍⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲥⲁ̣[ⲛ]
26 ⲧⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̣ⲩ̣ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩⲁⲣⲧ
27 ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲣ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲍ ⲉⲧⲙⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲉⲧⲙ[ⲡ]
28 ⲧⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲱⲕ ⲁⲍⲏⲩ ⲧⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲛⲃⲁⲙ [ⲉ]
29 ⲧⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ Ⲧⲧⲥⲏⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱ[ⲛⲍ]
30 ⲥⲙ|ⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲃ[ⲁⲱⲟ]ⲩ̣ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ̣ [ⲁⲩ]
31 ⲛⲁϫⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲕⲁⲍ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ leer? ⲛⲕⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲛ̄[ⲧⲡⲉ]
32 ⲣ̄ⲫⲩⲭ|ⲕⲟⲛ ⲥ| ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲧ|ⲕⲟⲛ [ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ] ⲥⲱ[ⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ]
33 ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲣ̄ⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧ|ⲕⲟⲛ ⲥ| ⲡⲧⲱⲙ[ⲁⲧ|ⲕⲟⲛ . . . . . .]

29 Statt ⲉⲧⲉ lies ⲉⲧⲁ. — 31 Lies ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ.

Die Kephalaia

Gefolge (κομιτᾶτον). Wenn du aber jenen König suchst, so ist er gleich
seinem ganzen Gefolge (κομιτᾶτον). Sein Gefolge (κομιτᾶτον) wiederum ist
gleich seinem ganzen Reich. Gericht geht vor
ihm her, Freispruch und Verurteilung, zu seinem ganzen Reich
in seiner Weisheit (σοφία), seiner Kunstfertigkeit (τέχνη), seiner Stärke.
Wie nun mit diesem König, der gleich ist dem Maße seines ganzen
Reiches in seiner Weisheit, seiner Kunstfertigkeit (τέχνη) und seiner
Stärke, — so steht es mit den
Mächten, die gefesselt sind an der σφαῖρα bei der Archontenschaft und den
Mächten, die in der ganzen ζώνη sind. Wie der König zu seinem
Gefolge (κομιτᾶτον), so ist dieses ganze Ding versammelt
zur σφαῖρα, zu sieben Wegführern, zu zwölf ζῴδια.
Wie alle Städte versammelt sind zum König, so sind auch sie versammelt
zu den Wegführern der Welt. Alles, was getan wird
in der Welt oben und unten, die Kämpfe
und die Verwirrungen (ταραχή) und die Gefangenschaft (αἰχμαλωσία) und der Hunger und
die Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) und der Besitz, sie nehmen zu und ab durch
diese Wegführer. Sie sind die Beweger der ganzen Schöpfung,
indem das ganze Ding zu ihnen versammelt ist, gleichwie
ich zu euch gesagt (und) euch unterwiesen habe. —

XLVIII.

Über die *lihme*.

Wiederum sprach der Φωστήρ: Drei *lihme* sind da
in der ganzen ζώνη von der Tiefe bis zu ihrer Höhe. —
Der erste *lihme* ist die Wurzel aller Mächte, die oben
sind, die sich befinden in allen Himmeln, die herabgekommen sind,
die gefesselt sind auf den unten befindlichen Erden. Denn die unten befindliche
Erde ist das Ausgezogene, das Kleid und der Körper der Mächte, die
oberhalb der Himmel sind. — Denn als der Vater des Lebens die
Welten des Himmels errichtete, da [zog] er ihnen ihre Körper aus, [er]
warf sie auf die Erden drunten. — Die oberen Welten
wurden ψυχικοί und πνευματικοί; [die Welten] aber, die unten
sind, wurden σωματικοί und πτωμ[ατικοί . . . . .]

12 Sieben Planeten M. 98 R 1. Weiteres Material zur manichäischen Astrologie bringen die Kapitel 69 und 70 (S. 166—169; 169—175): „Über die zwölf ζῴδια und die fünf Sterne"; „Über den Körper, daß er eingerichtet wurde entsprechend der Gestalt des Kosmos". — 22 *lihme* unbekanntes Wort. Crum vergleicht ⲗⲁⲃⲉⲙ „Rohr". Es sind allerfeinste, unverletzbare Verbindungen zwischen Himmel und Erde. — 33 Zu πτωματικοί vgl. 121, 2. 10.

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1 Ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲥ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲁⲙ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲁ
2 ⲃⲉⲥ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲧⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲁⲍ ⲍⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ
3 ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲍ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲍ
4 ⲉⲩⲁⲥⲁⲕⲟ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲛⲉ
5 ⲧⲁⲩⲧ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡ̣ⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲥⲱⲧⲟ̄ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ
6 ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲡⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲥⲁⲍⲣⲉϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱ
7 ⲧ̄ϥ ⲉⲧⲛⲁ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲭⲁⲗⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ
8 ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲱⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ . . . . . ⲉ
9 ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲁⲭⲟ̄ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲛⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ
10 ⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̣ⲛ ⲛ̣ⲟⲩ
11 ⲡⲧⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲍⲓⲭⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲛ [ⲛⲟⲩ]ⲡ
12 ⲧⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲁⲍ ⲱⲁ ⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ leer
13 ⲦⲦⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲣ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲙ̣ⲛ ⲙⲙⲁ
14 ⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲱⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁ
15 ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱϩⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲏⲧ ⲁⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲛⲏⲩ
16 ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲛⲱϩⲛ ⲁⲛⲣ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲍⲱ
17 ⲱϥ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲡⲥⲉⲡⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ϥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲛⲱϩⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩ
18 ⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ leer ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲁⲉ ⲍⲱⲱϥ ⲛⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄
19 ⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
20 ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̣ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲱⲁ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟ
21 ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲉⲧⲱⲗⲏ ⲍⲓⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲉⲩⲁⲩⲧ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ
22 ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩⲍ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
23 ⲛ̣ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛ̣ⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲍⲛⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ
24 ⲃ̣ⲁⲙ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲥⲁⲕⲟ̄ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁ̣ⲍⲣⲏⲓ̣ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲍ̣ⲓⲧ̣ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ
25 [ⲡⲥⲁⲣ]ⲙⲉ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲧⲉⲡ[ⲓⲟⲩ]ⲙⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲙ̣ⲛ ⲧ̣ⲃ̣ⲗⲕⲉ ⲛⲉ
26 [ⲧ]ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲣ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲟ̣ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲃⲁⲙ [ⲛⲧⲡ]ⲉ̣ ⲱⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲍ[ⲛ]
27 [ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ
28 [ⲙⲛ] ⲡⲕⲉⲥⲉⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲧ̣ⲃ̣ⲛ̣ⲁⲩ̣ⲉ̣ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲗ
29 ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲛⲁⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲛⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄
30 ⲛⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲛⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ ⲱⲁⲩⲣⲍⲟⲩ
31 ⲟ [ⲍ]ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ
32 [ⲍⲓⲧ]ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲓⲁ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲏⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲓ ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ leer
33 [ⲦⲦⲁⲭ]ⲉ̣ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ [ⲉ]ⲕ̣ⲓ ⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲁⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥ
34 [ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲍ] ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲣ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲧⲏ
35 [ⲣϥ ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ] ⲁ̣ⲉ̣ ⲥⲱⲱϥ ⲉϥⲭⲓ ⲱ̣ⲛ̣ⲍ ⲍⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ

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4 ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ plur. von ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ. — 33 Das z. B. 30, 33; 38, 8; 76, 26 begegnende ⲉⲕⲓⲁ ist durch ⲛⲧⲁϥ in die beiden Bestandteile ⲉⲕⲓ und ⲁ zerlegt worden, vgl. ⲉⲕⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲁ- 173, 27.

[des Lehrers].

Deswegen hat er . . . . die Mächte des Himmels; er hat
sie (fem.) gesiegelt auf ihre σώματα und ihre πτώματα, die auf den Erden sind, damit
wenn das Leben heraufkommt aus der Fülle dieser Erden,
es ganz zur Höhe gezogen werde in den Wurzeln der Himmlischen, die
angeheftet sind an ihre Körper und damit das ganze Leben geläutert werde an jenem
Ort, der Bodensatz dagegen, der ausgefegt wird aus dem Geläuterten,
das heraufkommt zur Höhe, herabgelassen (χαλᾶν) werde
in den *lihme* dieser *lihme* und damit er ausgegossen werde hinab . . . .
und in die Tiefe geworfen werde. Dies ist der erste *lihme*, der
kommt von den Mächten der Himmel zu ihren σώματα und ihren
πτώματα, die auf der Erde sind, wiederum von ihren σώματα und [ihren]
πτώματα, die auf den Erden sind, zu den Mächten der Himmel. —
Der zweite *lihme* ist der, welcher kommt von den Tempeln und Wohn-
orten und Städten (πόλις), die in den Himmeln sind, hinab zu
den fünf Arten von Bäumen, die gewachsen sind auf der Erde. Das Leben kommt
herauf von den Bäumen ab bis zu den Tempeln und Städten. Das Leben aber
und der Rest der Himmlischen kommt herab zu den Bäumen in ihren
lihme. — Der dritte *lihme* aber sind
alle Mächte und Hausbewohner, die in allen Firmamenten wohnen,
deren Wurzeln herabkommen von ihnen ab bis zu den fünf
Fleischeswelten, die auf der Erde kriechen, indem sie aneinander geheftet sind.
Die Kraft und das Leben, das sich in den Fleischeswelten
sammelt und aus ihnen entweicht in verschiedenen Arten, die Mächte des Himmels
ziehn es sich empor zur Höhe durch die *lihme*.
[Der Boden]satz aber und die Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) und die Schlechtigkeit (κακία) und der Zorn,
die übermächtig werden in den Mächten [des Himmels], er wird hinabgegossen in
ihren verschiedenen *lihme*. Er wird auf die Menschen gegossen
[und] auf die übrigen Tiere. Wenn die Himmlischen ausschütten
den Bodensatz und den Gestank und das Gift auf die Geschöpfe
des Fleisches drunten, dann nehmen sie, die Geschöpfe, zu
in der Begierde (ἐπιθυμία), im Zorn, in der Schlechtigkeit (κακία) gegeneinander
durch die Kraft (ἐνέργεια) ihrer Väter in der Höhe. —
[Es sprach] der Apostel: Siehe aber das Rad der Sterne. Nicht hat es
[eine Wurzel auf dieser Erde], sondern seine Wurzeln sind gebunden im
All. [Das Rad der Sterne] aber empfängt Leben durch die Kraft

16 ⲡⲱⲛϩ „das Leben“ ist wohl fehlerhaft infolge des darüberstehenden ⲡⲱⲛϩ an diese Stelle gekommen. Es müßte etwas wie ⲡⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ „der Bodensatz“ hier stehen. Vgl. zum Gebrauch von ⲡⲥⲉⲡⲉ „der Rest“ 114,18; 115, 4. — 25—33 Vgl. Andreas-Henning, Mir. Man. I 196/7 (Par. 199): hier wie dort sind Zorn, Sinnenlust bzw. ἐπιθυμία und Sünde bzw. κακία genannt (Henning).

ρκβ

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1 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲍⲣ[ⲏⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ] ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲍ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲗⲓⲥⲙⲉ
2 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲩ̀ⲭⲓ ⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲗⲓⲥⲙⲉ
3 ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲭⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
4 ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲭⲓ ⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ
5 Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲱⲛ̄ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ
6 ⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲍ ⲥⲓⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ
7 ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲍⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲟⲛ ⲧⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲟ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲭⲛ ⲧⲧⲉ ⲛ̄
8 ⲥⲁⲣ̄ϫ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲕⲁⲓⲧⲟⲓⲅⲉ ⲁⲕⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
9 ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲕⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲱⲃ
10 ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲁⲃⲱⲭⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
11 ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲕⲥ̀ⲕ̀ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲗⲓⲥⲙⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛ
12 ⲭⲉ ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧⲉⲍⲟ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲣ̄ⲙ̄
13 ⲙⲁⲟ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ̀ ⲏ̄ ⲙⲙⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲥⲏⲕⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁ
14 ⲧⲉⲍⲁⲩ ⲡⲩⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥ̀ⲟⲩⲭⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲍⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲓ
15 ⲧⲛ̄ ⲡⲍⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀
16 Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲣⲱ
17 ⲧⲛⲉ̣ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲁ
18 ⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲩⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲡⲉ̣ⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ
19 ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
20 ⲛⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ̣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ
21 ⲁⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲍ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲧⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
22 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ̣ ⲥ[ⲱⲱ]ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ[ⲩ]
23 ⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲕ[ⲁⲍ] ⲁ̣ⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲧⲛⲟ̣ⲩ
24 ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲓ̣ⲓ̣ⲁ̣[ⲥ] ⲛ[ⲑⲁⲗ]ⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ̣ [ⲡ]
25 ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ[ⲛⲍ ⲁⲃ]ⲁ̣ⲗ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ
26 ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁ̣[ⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲙ̄]ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲥ[ⲩ]
27 ⲗⲏ ⲥⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁ̣ⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲃⲁⲃⲟ̣ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣[ⲁⲗ]
28 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲥⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲍ[ⲣⲏⲓ̈]
29 ⲭⲉ ⲉⲥⲛⲁⲧⲉⲍⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲉⲍⲁⲥ ⲁⲥⲛⲁⲩⲍ̀ ⲁⲥⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲡ̣[ⲥⲁ]
30 ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ
31 ⲁⲥⲥⲁⲣ̀ⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ Ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ [ⲁⲥ]
32 ⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟ̣ⲥ ⲁ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲓ̈[ⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲁ ⲕⲉ]

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11 Besser ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⟨ⲛ⟩ⲟⲩⲗⲓⲥⲙⲉ.

Die Kephalaia.

und das Leben, das heraufkommt von den Erden in den *lihme*
und den Firmamenten oben; es empfängt Leben aus jenen *lihme*,
die hinaufführen zu den Firmamenten und den Welten
des Himmels, die oberhalb von ihm sind, indem es Leben [empfängt] von jenem Ort.
Da fragten die Jünger den Φωστήρ und sprachen zu ihm: Wenn
das Rad keine Wurzel auf dieser Erde hat, woher fanden dann
die Sterne und die ζῴδια diese Macht (ἐξουσία) und wurden Herr über diese fünf
Fleische und die fünf Bäume. Und doch (καίτοιγε) hast du uns gesagt: Es
hat das Rad keine Wurzel. Denn du hast uns gesagt: Alles,
was sich trennt von der Erde, die oben befindlichen Mächte der
Himmel ziehen es (empor) durch einen *lihme*. Wir sehen wiederum,
daß alles, was den Menschen trifft, sei es Reichtum,
der in seine Hand kommt, oder Armut, die ihn
trifft, seine Krankheit und seine Gesundheit, es trifft ihn
durch das ζῴδιον und den Stern, in dem er geboren wird.
Da sagte er zu seinen Jüngern: Was ich euch verkündet
habe: Es hat das Rad keine Wurzel, ich habe es euch
richtig (καλῶς) verkündet. Es ist am Platze. Denn als
der Lebendige Geist, der Vater des Lebens, die Himmel errichtete und
die Firmamente oben, da fesselte er ihre Wurzeln an
die Erden drunten in ihren πτώματα, die er ihnen ausgezogen
hatte. Als er aber das Rad errichtete, fesselte er
nicht seine Wurzel an die [Erden], sondern er fesselte die Wurzel
des Rades an den Meeresriesen. — Als [der]
Gesandte aber kam, offenbarte er sein Bild (εἰκών),
läuterte und nahm (weg) das Licht [aus] allen Himmeln. Die Hyle
dagegen, die sich in allen Archonten befindet, sie sprang aus
ihnen heraus zum Bilde des Gesandten hin; sie stieg empor,
um es zu erreichen; sie erreichte es (aber) nicht; sie wandte sich und fiel
hinab. Als sie nun von oben herabfiel,
verteilte sie sich in drei Teile. — Der erste Teil
fiel auf das Rad, ein anderer [Teil fiel auf die Erde, ein]

[ρ]ḳr

[> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <]

1 [ⲟ]ⲩⲏⲉ ⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲑⲁⲗⲁⲫ[ⲥⲁ] [ⲍⲓⲧ]ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁ
2 ⲧⲥ̀ⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ [ⲧⲛ]ⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲥⲁⲣⲝ
3 ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲣⲱ ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲉⲝ[ⲟⲩⲥ]ⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡ+ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄
4 ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲡ+[ⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲍⲓ
5 ⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲫⲩ[ⲥⲓⲥ] ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ[ⲉ ⲁⲭ]ⲛ ⲡⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ
6 ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ [ⲛ]ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲍⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲍⲉ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ
7 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲕⲉⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ
8 ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲣⲱ ⲁ ⲛⲥⲓ[ⲟ]ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲍⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲭⲓ ⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ
9 ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲍⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲡⲓ
10 ⲧⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ [ⲧⲛⲟⲩ]ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲍⲟⲩⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲍⲟⲩ ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲍⲉⲓ̈ⲉ
11 ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ[ⲓ]ⲕⲉⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ [ⲡ]ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲙⲁ
12 ⲣⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛ̀ⲕ[ⲁ]ⲍ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧ+ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̀[ⲏ]ⲩ ⲁ
13 ⲍⲣⲏ[ⲓ ⲛⲍⲏ]ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙ̄[ⲉⲩ] ⲙ̀ⲏⲣ ⲉⲛ ⲁ̀ⲡⲧⲣⲟ
14 ⲭⲟⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲩ[ⲧ]ⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ[ⲟ]ⲁⲙ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲡⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ
15 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲱⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ leer ⲦⲦⲁⲭⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ
16 ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲍ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲛⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲟⲩ
17 ⲛⲟⲩ|ⲉⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲕⲥⲱⲟⲩⲍ ⲡ|ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲛ̀[. . . . . .]
18 ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲕⲧⲁⲙⲁⲛ ⲁⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲗ|ⲍⲙⲉ
19 ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲛⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲛ
20 ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲅ|ⲅⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ
21 ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡ̀ⲉ ⲧⲕⲉⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ
22 [ⲭ]ⲛ̀ [ⲛⲛⲣⲡⲏⲩⲉ] ⲱⲁ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ̀ ⲧⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲁⲣⲥ̀
23 ⲍⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲍⲟⲩⲍⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲥ[ⲁⲣⲝ] ⲍⲛ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲁⲛ ⲁ ⲛ̀ⲓⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲍⲟⲩ
24 [ⲍⲉ] ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ . . . . ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲃⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲉ[ⲧ]ⲉ
25 [. . . . . .] . ⲧⲛ̀ⲧⲱⲍⲃ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲛⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲩ
26 [ⲛⲟⲩ]ⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲛ̀ . . . . . ⲛⲗ[ⲓ]ⲍⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲉⲩ
27 [ⲱⲃⲏ]ⲣ . . . . . ⲍ . . . . ⲡ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲍⲓ ⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲥⲏⲕ
28 . . . . . ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲃⲏⲣ leer
29 [ⲦⲦⲁⲭⲉ] ⲡⲫⲱⲥ̀ⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲧⲥⲧ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ
30 [. .] . . ⲁⲧⲉ[ⲧ]ⲛ̄ⲱⲗⲛⲉ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲍⲛ ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲍⲛⲛⲁⲃ
31 [. . . . .ⲡⲕ]ⲁⲍ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲍⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲛ̄
32 [. . . . . ⲁ] ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲥⲁⲕⲟⲩ

1 Lies ⲧⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ. — 2 Lies ⲙⲛ ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ. — 25 Lies ⲧⲛ̀ⲧⲱⲃⲍ.

[des Lehrers.]

anderer fiel ins Meer. [Durch] den Teil, der auf die σφαῖρα
fiel, wurde die Wurzel in den Bäumen und Fleischen gebunden.
Deshalb haben sie Macht (ἐξουσία) gewonnen und sind Herren geworden in den fünf
Welten des Fleisches und den fünf Welten des Baumes.
Durch die Natur (φύσις), die [auf?] das Rad herabgekommen ist,
wurde die Wurzel in den Bäumen festgebunden. Durch die Aborte dagegen,
die herabkamen, wurde noch eine Wurzel in den Fleischen festgebunden. Deswegen haben die Sterne und die ζῴδια über die Bäume
und die Fleische Macht (ἐξουσία) gewonnen durch die Wurzel der Sünde, die herabgefallen ist,
und [die Wur]zel der Aborte, die abortiert wurden und herab-
fielen. Auch diese *lihme,* die [der] Lebendige Geist in den Erden festgebunden
hat, in denen die Seele (ψυχή) der Elemente (στοιχεῖον) hinaufsteigt
zu den Himmeln, jene sind nicht an das Rad gebun-
den, sondern sie sind weggenommen vor den Mächten an dem Rad,
an dem sie hängen. — Es sprachen die Jünger
zum Φωστήρ: Wir bitten dich, o Herr: Wie du uns verkündigt
und versammelt hast dieses Wort der . . . . . .
und uns über den ersten Typus der *lihme* unterrichtet hast;
der erste ist der, welcher von den Firmamenten zu den Erden kommt und
der, welcher vom Rad zum Meeresriesen kommt;
jener ist ein einziger; die andere Wurzel kommt
von [den Tempeln] zu den Bäumen; die dritte wird durch die
Aborte in den [Fleischen] gebunden; in den Fleischen wiederum sind die Väter
der Aborte, die in den Himmeln . . . sind, gebunden und gefesselt und die, welche
. . . . . Wir bitten dich, o Herr, daß du uns
verkündest . . . . . *lihme,* der seinen [Genossen]
übertrifft . . . . . mehr Leben und Seele zieht
. . . . . mehr als sein Genosse. —
Da sprach der Φωστήρ zu seinen Jüngern: Ihr habt geforscht in
. . . . und gefragt nach diesem Worte in Größe, große
. . . . [die] Erde, [von] der viel Leben heraufkommt
. . . . . der Vater des Lebens [hat] sie (plur.) gezogen,

ρ[κα]

[> · ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <]

1 ⲁⲩϫⲁⲗϫⲟⲩ ϫⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ [. . . . .] . ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ
2 ⲁⲛⲕⲁⲍ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ
3 ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧⲓⲕⲏ ⲧⲏ[ⲣⲥ] ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲉ̣ⲣⲉ̣ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ϯ̣ⲩ̣
4 ϫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲥⲏⲕ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̣[ⲍⲏⲧ]ⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁ
5 ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛⲧⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲁⲓ̈
6 ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ϯⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ
7 ⲙ̣ⲉ̣ⲩ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲥ ⲁⲛⲣⲡⲏⲩⲉ
8 ⲙⲛ ⲛⲕⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲱⲛⲍ ⲉ
9 ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ
10 ⲧⲏⲣ̣ⲩ̣ ⲉ̣ⲩⲥⲏⲕ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ϫⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲍ̣[ⲁⲛ]ⲧ̣ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲍⲉ ⲛ̄
11 ⲟⲩⲛ[ⲁⲃ] ⲙⲫⲟⲥⲥ[ⲁⲧⲟ]ⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲃⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲡ̣ . . . ⲩ̄ . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
12 ⲡⲉⲩⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ . . . . ϫⲉ ⲉⲩϫⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲍ . . . . . ⲁ
13 ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ . . . . ⲛ̣ⲕⲁⲍ ⲥⲉⲱⲁⲁ̣ⲛ . ⲥⲉⲛⲁ . . . . ⲡ̣ⲕⲁ
14 ⲍ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍ̣ⲙ̄
15 ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲃ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄
16 ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲛⲣ̣ⲱ̣ⲙ̣ⲉ̣ . . . . . ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲉⲛ
17 ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲕ̣ⲟ̣ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲡⲥⲁ
18 ⲣⲏⲥ ⲁⲕⲙⲏⲛ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲣⲭ ⲣⲱ ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲛ . . . . ⲍ̣ⲙ̣ ⲡⲕⲟ
19 ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲣⲏⲥ ⲕ . . . . ⲭ . ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ
20 ⲛⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛ . ⲙ . . . . . ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ
21 ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲣⲏⲥ ⲍⲛ ⲍ̣ⲛ̣ [. . . . . .]
22 ⲁⲛ ⲍⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲏⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛⲕ . . . . . ⲟ̣ⲩ̣ⲛ ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩⲛ[ⲟⲩ]
23 ⲓⲉⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲛⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲟ̣ⲩ̣ . . . . . ⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [ⲁⲓ̈]
24 ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲟⲧⲏⲛⲉ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲙⲏⲣ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲉ̣ⲩ̣[ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ] . . . . . ⲁ
25 ⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲥⲉⲕⲓ̣ⲙ̣ ⲁⲛⲉⲩ[ⲉⲣⲏ]ⲩ ⲉ̣ⲩⲥⲁⲕⲥⲕ ⲙ̣
26 ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲍⲓⲧⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲓ̣ⲁ̣ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[ⲃⲁⲙ] ⲉⲧⲙⲡ[ⲥⲁ]
27 ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲕⲓⲙ ⲁⲧⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ[ⲟⲩ] ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
28 ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲗⲱϫⲉ̄ ⲛⲧⲍⲩⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲛⲍⲏ[ⲧⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ[ⲥⲩ]
29 ⲗⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲥ ⲍⲱⲱⲥ ϯⲍⲩⲗⲏ ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲙⲙⲉ̣ⲩ̣ ⲱⲁⲥ . .
30 ⲁⲛⲉⲥⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲱⲣⲱⲱⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ [. . . . . .]
31 ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧ . . . ⲉ ⲕⲓⲙ [. . . . . .]
32 . . . . . .

2 Das Ende von Zeile 2 nicht beschrieben. — 30 vgl. zu ⲱⲣⲱⲱⲣⲟⲩ 28, 8 ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲟⲩⲱⲣⲉⲩ.

[Die Kephalaia]

er hat sie festgeheftet von den Mächten an . . . . ., er hat sie an die Erden
gebunden, welche (sc. die *lihme*) sind die Wurzeln
der ganzen Archontenschaft, in denen das Leben der
Lebendigen Seele heraufzieht, indem es heraufkommt
aus der ganzen Erde, aus allen Bergen, den Feldern
und den Inseln. Nach jener ersten großen Wurzel
kommt die Wurzel der Bäume, die gefesselt wurde an die Tempel
und die Bauten, die oben sind. Denn viel großes Leben
kommt aus dem Baum und dem ganzen Kreuz (σταυρός) herauf,
indem es von ihnen empor nach oben zieht, wie
ein großer Graben (φόσσατον). Wer aber gering ist . . . . . .
ihr (plur.) *lihme* . . . . . er führt empor . . . . . .
. . die Wurzeln . . . . . die Erden . . . . . die ganze
Erde in allen Welten. Die der Bäume wiederum befinden sich auf
der ganzen Erde ob klein oder groß, aber die Wurzel
der Menschen dagegen . . . . . ist nicht
auf der ganzen Erde, außer dieser Welt des Südens.
Diese Fleische machen eben (ἀκμήν) nicht . . . . in der gan-
zen Welt des Südens . . . . . ein klein
Bischen von ihnen ist in den . . . . . oberhalb
der Welt des Südens in . . . . . .
in ihrer Zahl mehr als die . . . . . habe ich euch
unterwiesen über die Wurzeln . . . . . sie. [Ich habe]
euch unterrichtet, daß sie in ihren [Wurzeln] gebunden sind . . . .
miteinander; sie bewegen einander, sie ziehen das Leben
voneinander durch die Kraft (ἐνέργεια) der [Mächte], die oben
sind, die die Natur (φύσις), die in ihnen allen wohnt, bewegt.
Wenn nun die Hyle, die in ihnen ist, gequält und beraubt (συλᾶν)
wird, dann sie, jene Hyle . . . .
ihre Glieder und zerstört sie (plur.) und sie (plur.) . . . . . .
einander . . . . bewegen . . . . . .
. . . . . .

9 Das Kreuz wird an anderen Stellen als „Kreuz des Lichtes“ bezeichnet, vgl. 156, 29; 162, 12; 164, 27; 176, 21; 177, 30; 208 f. Zur Kurzbezeichnung „das Kreuz“ vgl. 176, 12. Die Bezeichnung geht wohl auf Bardesanes zurück, vgl. Schaeder ZKG LI, S. 52.

ⲣ̅ⲕ̅ⲉ̅

> · ⲙⲡ[ⲥⲁⲍ] · <

1 ⲙ̅ⲑ̅

2 ⲙ̅ⲑ̅ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲧⲣ̣[ⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ (?)] [ⲙ̅ⲑ̅]

3 ⲦⲦⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲁ̣ⲣ̣ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲡⲓⲑⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲛ ⲡⲛ̅ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲉ

4 ⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲩⲉ ϫⲉ ⲡⲱⲥ ⲧⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲍⲓϫⲛ̅ ⲛ̅ⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ

5 ⲉⲧϫⲁⲗⲕ̀ ϫⲛ̅ ⲛⲙ̅ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲁⲛⲕⲁⲍ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲏ ϫⲉ

6 ⲉⲩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲍⲗⲁⲙⲗⲙ̅ ⲁ̣ⲍ̣ⲟⲩⲛ̣ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ

7 ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ̣ ⲉⲩⲥⲓⲧⲉ . . . . . [ⲕ]ⲟ̣ⲥⲙⲟⲥ leer

8 ⲦⲦⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ̅ⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ ⲱⲱⲧ

9 ⲉⲙⲁⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲍⲙ̅ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲧⲉ

10 ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ ⲧⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲁⲙⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ

11 ⲣⲍⲱⲧ ⲛ̅ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲱⲁⲕⲃⲛ̅ ⲡⲕⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲍⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲧⲁⲡ

12 ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲙ̅ⲡϫⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲩⲡⲱⲩ ⲛ̅ⲙⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ ⲙ̅[ⲙ]ⲁⲩ

13 ⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲥⲁ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲩⲁⲡⲱⲣϫ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ[ⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ]

14 ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϫⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲟⲟ̣[ⲥ] ⲉⲧϫ[ⲱⲧ]

15 [ⲉ] ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲱⲥⲕ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲱⲁⲣ̣ⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ

16 ⲓⲉⲩⲉ [ⲙⲟⲩ]ⲭⲧ̄ ⲙⲛ̅ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲍⲓⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲙⲡϫⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲁⲣ̣ⲉ ⲡⲙⲁ

17 ⲓ̈ⲧ ⲙ̅ⲡϫⲁⲓ̈ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ leer

18 ⲛ̅ⲑⲉ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲍⲁⲗⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲗⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍ̣ⲙ̅ ⲡ̣ⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩ

19 ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲍ̣ⲙ̅ ⲡ̣ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ

20 ⲍⲙ̅ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲍⲓⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲛⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲱⲃⲗⲁⲙⲗⲙ̅ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ

21 ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲕⲃⲡⲟⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛⲧ ⲁ̣ⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲙ̅ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ

22 ⲧⲍⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲙⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ̄

23 ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲱⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲍⲱ

24 [ⲱⲩ] ⲛ̣ⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲃⲗⲁⲙⲗⲙ̅ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ leer

25 ⲛ̄

26 ⲛ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲣ̣[ⲉⲛ ϫ]ⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲣⲙⲙⲁⲟ ⲛ̄

27 ⲍⲓ ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗ[ⲟ]ⲥ̣ ϫⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲉⲩ ⲛⲉ

28 [ⲦⲦⲁⲗ]ⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ†ⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲍⲙ̅

29 ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲍⲛⲣⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛⲟⲩ

30 [ⲧⲉ ⲣ]ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲟ ⲍⲓ ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ⲉⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲍⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲏ

31 [ⲍⲛⲉⲩ] ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲟ ⲏ ⲍⲛ̄ⲉⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ⲉⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲓ

32 [ⲱⲁⲧ] ⲛⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲁ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲱⲛⲧⲩ̄ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁ

33 [ϫⲓⲥ] ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲛ̅ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ⲉⲩ ⲛⲉ leer

34 [ⲦⲦⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲁ]ⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁ̣ⲣ̣ⲁⲩ ⲥⲉⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛϫⲓ ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲧ ⲛⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ

35 [ⲍⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲱⲓ ⲁⲣ]ⲁⲩ leer ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ[ⲧⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ]

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5 Zu ⲏ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩ vgl. 153, 20. — 12 Lies ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ. — 21 Lies ⲙⲁⲕⲃⲛ̅ ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ.

des [Lehrers.]

XLIX.

Über das Rad [und die *lihme* (?)]

Seine Jünger sprachen zu ihm: Überzeuge (πείθειν) uns, o Herr,
über dies andere, wie (πῶς) das Rad sich auf den *lihme* dreht,
die von den Himmeln zu den Erden gespannt sind, und wieso es sie nicht zerschnitten hat
oder warum die *lihme* sich nicht in das Rad verwickeln,
indem es sich dreht, indem es antreibt . . . . . Welt. —
Da sprach der Φωστήρ zu ihnen: Darin, daß die *lihme* nicht zerschnitten werden,
indem sie nicht zerschnitten werden können, da sie pneumatisch sind, sind die
lihme den Wassern gleich, durch die die Schiffe
fahren; denn du findest, daß der Bug, der am Vorderteil des Schiffes
angebracht ist, die Wasser teilt und sie hierhin und dorthin
wirft. Wenn er nun die Wasser spaltet,
und jenes Schiff das Wasser öffnet durch seinen Bug, der [durchbohrt],
sogleich ohne Verzug vermischen sich
die Wasser (wieder) miteinander hinter dem Schiff. Nicht wird der Weg
des Schiffes inmitten der Wasser offenbar. —
Wie ein Vogel, der in der Luft (ἀήρ) aufsteigt, ohne daß sein Weg
in der Luft (ἀήρ) offenbar wird, in der Art der Menschen
in der Sonne innerhalb der *lihme* — sie verwickeln sich nicht
in sie, noch findest du, daß ihr Weg in der Luft (ἀήρ) zu erkennen ist;
so steht es auch mit dem Rad. Es dreht sich in den *lihme* und
der Luft (ἀήρ). Nicht zerschneidet das Rad die *lihme,* noch verwickeln
sie, die *lihme,* sich in das Rad. —

L.

Über diesen [Namen]: Götter, Reiche und Engel, welche es sind.

Wiederum sprach der Φωστήρ: Das, was in der Welt
genannt wird, indem die Menschen es mit ihrem Munde als Götter, Reiche
und Engel bezeichnen, welche sind es? Welche sind die Götter oder
[welche] sind die Reichen oder welche sind die Engel? Welche sind
diese [drei] Typen? Da fragten ihn seine Jünger und sprachen zu ihm:
[Sage] uns, o Herr, welche es sind. —
[Da sprach der] Apostel zu ihnen: Es sind diese drei Typen vorhanden
[in dem Lichtland, ohne daß es ein Maß gibt für sie.] — Die, welche Götter

pkS

> · N[kε]φαλαιον · <

1 αραγ χε νογτε νε ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧε ετα πⲱτ τασμογ
2 ϩⲓτοοτⲥ̄ ογαϩεετⲥ̄ αγϭεϩ[ωογ] αρετογ αϩρⲏ̄ πε|νε
3 ⲛ̄τεϥⲙⲛτⲛⲁϭ leer νεⲓ̈ ϩωϣ ετογ†ρεν αραγ
4 [χε νογτε ν]ρⲏ̄ⲙⲁο πε ⲛ̄τωϩⲙε ⲛ̄ⲛⲱαρπ ⲛ̄ⲛογ
5 τε ⲛ̄ρⲏ̄ⲙ[ⲁο ⲙ]π|ωτ επε|ⲇⲏ ⲛ̄ταρε π|ωτ τασμογ
6 ⲛ̄ταγ ϩωϣ αγτωϩⲙε ⲛϩⲛ̄τωϩⲙε αγⲙογτε αραγ
7 χε ρⲏ̄ⲙⲁο ⲛ̄ταγ ϩωϣ ⲛ̄ρⲏ̄ⲙⲁο αγτωϩⲙε ⲛ̄ⲛογ
8 τωϩⲙε αγⲙογτε αραγ χε αγγελος νεⲓ̈ νε πⲱαμⲧ̄
9 ⲛ̄[τγ]πος ετⲱοοπ ϩⲙ̄ πϭⲁϩ ⲙ̄πογαⲓ̈νε εⲙⲛ̄ ⲱ| a† a
10 ραγ leer ΤΤαλ|ν αν cωτⲙε αραϥ ⲛϭεπροcωπο
11 νε̣ⲧ[ογ]ⲙογτε αραγ χε νογτε νε ⲛπροβολαγε εταγ
12 ε| a[β]αλ ⲙ̄π|ωτ ⲛ̄τωϩⲙε ⲙ̄π|ωτ εταϥταϩⲙογ αβαλ
13 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ αγε| αβαλ απαγων αγτϩⲃ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄τⲙ̄ⲛ̄τχαχε
14 Ⲛ̄ρⲏ̄ⲙⲁⲁⲓ̈ ϩωϣ πε [ⲛτ]ⲱϩⲙε ⲙ̄π|ⲱαρπ ⲛ̄ϲεχε ετανϩ
15 ⲛ̄ταγ ϩωϣ ⲛ̄ρⲏ̄ⲙⲁⲁⲓ̈ αγε| αγε|ρε αγχωϭ ⲙπωϭ
16 ⲛ̄ϩητ ⲛ̣ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲧⲛⲁϭ [ϩⲛ ν]kοcμοc ετⲙ̄πcαντπε ⲙ̄ⲛ
17 πcαμπ|τνε νε̣ⲧ̣ογ†ρεν ϩωϣ αραγ χε ναγγε
18 λοc πε ⲛ̄τωϩⲙε ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲏ̄ⲙⲁⲁⲓ̈ εταγε| αβαλ ⲙπⲱαⲙⲧ
19 ⲛ̄ϲεχε ετανϩ νεταγτⲛ̄ⲛαγcογ ϩⲛ̄ ογπρεcβ|α ⲙ̄ⲛ
20 ογαποστολη απ|ϭωτ νεταγε| ⲱa τⲙⲛτⲛογτε τηρ̄ϲ
21 ετττηϭ αρετ̄ϲ ϩⲛ̄ ογϭαραⲓ̈τⲥ̄ αγω ϩⲛ̄ ογπετϩηπ [αγ]
22 ⲱ ⲁⲛ αγε| ⲱa ⲙ̄†ϫχαγε τηρογ εταγχαλχογ ϩν ⲡ̣ϫ[αχε]
23 αγε|νε νεγ ντϩελπ|ϲ ⲙⲛ̄ πϭⲁϩτηϥ leer πα[λ|ν αν]
24 παχε πφωcτηρ νετογⲙογ[τε] αραγ αν χε ⲛ̣ⲟγ[τε]
25 ⲡ̣ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛογτε τηρογ ετηπ απηⲓ̈ ⲙ̄πνⲁϭ ⲙ̄πⲛ̄ⲁ leer
26 Ⲛετογⲙογτε ϩωϥ αραγ χε αγγελος ⲡ̣ε ναγγ̣ελος τηρ[ογ]
27 ετηπ απηⲓ̈ ⲙ̄πⲙερ|τ ⲛⲛ̄ογαⲓ̈νε leer νετογⲙογτε
28 αραγ χε ρⲏ̄ⲙⲁο πε ⲛρⲏ̄ⲙⲁⲁⲓ̈ τηρογ ετηπ απⲏ[ⲓ̈ ⲙππρε]
29 cβεγτηc ετοⲓ̈ νεⲁγ leer
30 ⲛⲁ
31 ⲛⲁ > · ετβε πⲱαρπ ⲛ̄ρωⲙε · < ⲛⲁ
32 ΤΤαλ|ν αν παχε ππⲛ̄ⲓⲱτ ⲛ̄ⲟγαⲓ̈νε χε ⲡ̣τηγ ετα ⲡ̣[ⲱαρπ]
33 [ν]ρωⲙε ε| ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ̣ [ογ]βε ⲡ̣ϫ̣ⲁ̣[χε . . . . . .]

9 ε in εⲙⲛ̄ über der Zeile. — Lies a†ⲱ| αραγ.

Die Kephalaia

genannt werden, sind die Götter, die der Vater aus sich selbst
berufen und nach dem Bilde seiner Größe
aufgestellt hat. — Diese dagegen, die reiche [Götter]
genannt werden, sind die Berufungen der ersten reichen
Götter des Vaters. Denn als der Vater sie berufen hatte,
da beriefen sie wiederum Berufungen und nannten sie
Reiche; sie wiederum die Reichen beriefen ihre
Berufungen und nannten sie Engel. Dies sind die drei
Typen, die sich im Lichtland befinden, ohne daß es ein Maß gibt, um sie
zu messen. — Wiederum höret es: Die andern Personen (πρόσωπον),
die Götter genannt werden, sind die Emanationen (προβολή), die aus
dem Vater hervorgegangen sind, die Berufungen des Vaters, die er aus sich
berufen hat, die ausgezogen sind zum Kampf (ἀγών) und die Feindschaft unterworfen haben.
Die Reichen dagegen sind [die] Berufungen dieses ersten lebendigen Wortes.
Sie, die Reichen, sind gekommen, sie haben getan und vollendet den
Willen der Größe [in den] Welten, die oben und denen, die
unten befindlich sind. — Die dagegen, welche Engel genannt
werden, sind die Berufungen der Reichen, die aus den drei lebendigen Worten
herausgekommen sind, die in Gesandtschaft (πρεσβεία) und Apostolat (ἀποστολή)
zu diesem Bau gesandt worden sind, die zu der ganzen Göttlichkeit gekommen sind,
die in Schweigen und Verborgenheit dasteht; [und]
weiter sind sie zu allen Seelen gekommen, die im [Feind] festgeheftet worden sind,
und haben ihnen die Hoffnung (ἐλπίς) und die Zuversicht gebracht. — Wiederum
sprach der Φωστήρ: Die wiederum, welche Götter genannt werden,
sind alle Götter, die zum Haus des großen Geistes gehören. —
Die dagegen, welche Engel genannt werden, sind alle Engel,
die zum Hause des Geliebten der Lichter gehören. — Die Reiche
genannt werden, sind alle Reichen, die zum Hause [des]
herrlichen Gesandten gehören. —

LI.

Über den Urmenschen.

Wiederum sprach unser Lichtvater: Zur Zeit, da der [Ur-]
mensch herauskam gegen den Feind . . . . . .

ρkz

> · ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

1 . . . ⲩ . . . ϩⲃ̄ⲥⲱ ⲉⲧ[. . . . .] . . ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧϩⲃ̄ⲥⲱ
2 [ⲛ]ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ ϩⲛ̄ †ϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄
3 ⲡⲟⲩⲓⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲉ]ⲩⲫⲗⲩⲁⲣⲓⲁ
4 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲭⲁⲥⲓϩⲏⲧ ⲁ †ⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲣⲱⲱⲉ
5 ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [ⲁⲗ]ⲗⲁ ⲉⲡ[ⲉ]ⲓⲁⲏ ⲁ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲣ̄ⲃⲱⲃ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ
6 ⲁⲩ† ⲛ[ⲉⲥ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲟ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲃ̄ⲥⲱ ⲧⲁⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲧⲁⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲩ
7 ⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲡⲁ[ⲏ]ⲣ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲧⲁ[ⲓ]ⲉ ⲛ̄
8 ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉ[ⲓ]ⲧⲟⲩ ⲭ[ⲉ]ⲕⲁ[ⲁ]ⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲃⲟⲏⲑ[ⲟ]ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ[ⲙ]
9 ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉ[ⲧⲉ ⲛ]ⲧⲁ[ⲩ ⲡ]ⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲡ . . . .
10 ϩⲓϩⲟ[ⲩⲛ ⲛ]ⲧⲉ[ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲛ̄ⲧϫⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ [ⲧⲙ]ⲉⲧⲟⲩ
11 ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧ[ⲙⲛⲧⲭⲁ]ⲭⲉ ⲱⲁⲁⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ϫⲓ
12 ⲟⲩⲱ[ⲃⲁ ⲙⲛ] ⲟⲩⲡⲗⲏⲏⲙ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϩⲟⲙⲱⲥ
13 . ⲥ . [. . .] ⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ[ⲉ]ⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲣ . . ϫⲉ ⲁⲥ
14 [. . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ ⲁⲡⲉⲥ . ⲉ [. . .] ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲛ ⲁⲧⲣⲟⲩⲱⲟ
15 ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲭⲓ ⲟⲩⲱⲃⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲗⲏⲏ[ⲙ ϩⲱ]ⲱⲩ ⲁ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲙⲡⲭⲁ
16 ⲭⲉ ⲧⲱⲧ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲗⲗ[ⲁ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲛ̄]ⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
17 ⲧⲱⲧ' ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲱϫϩ ⲙⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲱϫⲱ
18 ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲟⲙⲱⲥ ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲉⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ ϫⲱⲣⲓⲥ
19 ⲡⲗⲏⲏⲙ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲕⲟ̄ ⲁϩⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲃ̄ⲥⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ
20 ⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩ[ⲩⲧ]ⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲛ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ϩⲛ̄
21 [†ϩ]ⲃ̄ⲥⲱ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ
22 [. . . .] ϩⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲩ
23 [ⲱ]ⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ . [. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϩ̄ leer
24 [ⲛ]ⲃ̄
25 ⲛⲃ̄ ⲉⲧ[ⲃⲉ] †[. . . .]ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲃ̄
26 [ⲠⲀⲗⲓ]ⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲫ[ⲱ]ⲥⲧ[ⲏⲣ] ⲁⲛⲉⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉ . . .
27 ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲕⲓⲁ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲛⲧϩⲟⲩⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ . .
28 [. . .]ⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲣⲁϫ . . . . . ⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ leer
29 [. . .]ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏⲣ . . . [. . . ⲟⲩⲁ]ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ . .
30 . . . . . ⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲗ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ . .
31 . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉ
32 . . . . . ⲱⲕ̀ . . .

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7 ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲓⲉ, oberhalb von ⲩ wahrscheinlich ⲩ. Lies ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ.

des Lehrers.

. . . . . Kleid . . . . . die Finsternis durch das Kleid
des lebendigen Feuers. Durch jenes Kleid hat er die Geschwollenheit des
Feindes zunichte gemacht, er hat seine Geschwätzigkeit (?) (φλυαρία) und seinen
Übermut heruntergeholt. Dieses eine allein genügte zwar
für sie, aber da das lebendige Feuer schwach wurde, gab er
deshalb [ihm noch vier] Kleider, das des Windes, das des Wassers, das des
Lichtes und das des ἀήρ. (Der Grund dafür), daß er sie aber zu vieren (?)
gegeben hat, —
er hat sie gegeben, damit sie jenem Gotte Helfer (βοηθός) werden,
welcher ist das lebendige Feuer, damit nicht . . . .
innerhalb des lebendigen Feuers und es durchdringe und [das] Gift
und die [Feindschaft] es abschneide. Das Feuer hat zwar einen Schlag
[und] eine Wunde (πληγή) an seinem Körper empfangen, aber dennoch (ὅμως)
. . . . . alle Mächte der Finsternis um seinetwillen . . . .
. . . . . Notwendigkeit (ἀνάγκη). . . . Brüder, daß auch sie
Schlag und Wunde (πληγή) empfingen. Die Kraft des
Feindes vermischte sich mit ihnen; aber mit dem [ἀήρ]
vermischte sich die Finsternis nicht; auch konnte das Brennen des Feindes
ihn nicht durchdringen. Dennoch (ὅμως) hat der andere, der ohne Wunde (πληγή)
zurückgeblieben ist, welches der ἀήρ ist, sich Kleid und Kraft ausgezogen
und sie seinen vier Brüdern gegeben an seiner Statt, damit durch
jenes Kleid des lebendigen ἀήρ stark würden und
Nutzen [hätten] und ausharrten seine vier andern Brüder und er
ihnen zum . . . . . Leben würde. —

LII.

Über die . . . des Lichtes.

Wiederum sprach der Φωστήρ zu seinen Jüngern: [Was anbetrifft das]
Licht, siehe die Finsternis hat es anfangs überwunden
. . . und Spaltung . . . . ist im Licht. —
. . . wie viel . . . . . Licht, das aus . . . gekommen ist,
. . . . . an jenem Orte in einem .
. . . . . einzig
. . . . . .

2 Vgl. Andreas-Henning, Mir. Man. I 185.

ρκη

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗ[ⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <]

1 ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̣ⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲁⲛ̣ϩⲍ̣
2 ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲡⲁ
3 ⲣⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲛ ⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ̄ ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲧ ⲡⲕⲉ
4 ⲕⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁϫⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲥⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ
5 ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲣⲁϫ ⲡⲉ ⲩⲡⲁⲣϫ̀ ⲁϫⲱⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧⲩ ⲧⲕⲉⲙ̄ⲛ̄
6 ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲣϫ̀ ⲁϫⲱⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲕ[ⲉⲃⲁⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧ]ⲁⲩⲕⲁ
7 ⲡⲟ̣ⲩ̣ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲉⲩⲟ̣ⲩ̣[ⲱⲍ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁ
8 ϫⲁ̣ⲩ̣ ⲍⲱⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲡⲣⲁϫ̀ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
9 ⲁ̣ⲩ̣ⲱⲁⲣⲱⲣ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲩⲑⲃ̈ⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲉⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ
10 ⲧⲣ̣[ⲁⲙ] ⲙ̣ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ [ⲱⲟⲟⲡ] ⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ
11 ⲛⲧ[ⲙ]ⲛ̣ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲍⲟⲥⲟⲛ ⲛ̣[ⲉⲥⲱⲃⲣⲙ]ⲩ̣ⲥⲧⲏ
12 ⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲥ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲙ̣ⲙ̣[ⲉⲩ . . . . .]ⲛ̄
13 ⲥⲉⲣⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ̣ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲥ̀ⲭⲓ ⲉⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲥⲙ̄ⲙ̣[. .] ⲛ̣ⲥⲟⲩ
14 ⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲥ̀ⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲟ̣ [ⲁ]ⲧⲕⲉⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲁⲱⲉ [ⲁⲡⲁⲃⲉ] ⲟ̣ⲩⲃ[ⲏⲥ]
15 ⲧⲙⲛⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ[ⲥ ⲧⲉⲧⲉ]ⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲃⲣ̄ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ [ⲡⲁⲣϫ]
16 ⲁϫⲱⲥ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕ̣ⲏ [ⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲣ]ⲟⲩⲧⲁϫⲟ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥ̣[ⲉ]
17 ⲑⲃ̈ⲓⲁⲥ ⲛⲥ̀ⲉⲓ ⲍⲁ ⲧⲃ̈ⲓⲭ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲥ̀ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲥ
18 Κⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲍⲱⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲧⲁϫⲣⲟⲧⲏ
19 ⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲧⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲍⲓ ⲟⲩ[ⲥⲁ]ⲡ̣ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
20 ⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲍⲏⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲁϫⲛ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲉⲧⲁⲥ
21 ⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛⲉ̣ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲃⲁⲙ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ̄ ϫⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲉ]
22 ⲧⲛⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲃ ⲁⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ̣[ⲥ ⲟⲩ]
23 ⲃⲉⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲱⲟⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲣϫ ⲁϫ[ⲛ]
24 ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣[ⲁⲗ] ⲟ ⲙⲏ ⲅⲉⲛⲟ|ⲧⲟ ⲡ[ⲣ]
25 ⲁ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲱⲟⲡⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲧⲁϫⲟⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̣ ⲛ̄[ⲥⲉ]
26 ⲑⲃ̈ⲓⲟⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲍⲁ [ⲧⲃ̈]ⲓ̣ⲭ ⲙ̣[ⲡⲛ]ⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ .
27 . . . . ⲍⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ̄ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲕⲉⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ
28
29 abgerieben
30
31

4 Lies ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲥⲩⲩ. — 8 Lies ⲍⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ vgl. 144, 27. — 14 Vgl. ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲥ 148, 30.

Die Kephalaia

Größe des Lichtes jemals miteinander,
noch hat einer von ihnen das Gebot (ἐντολή) und den Befehl (παραγγελία),
den sein Bruder ihm gegeben hat, jemals übertreten (παραβαίνειν). Die
Finsternis dagegen, der Feind, wurde verurteilt und außer Kraft gesetzt. Denn
einer, der Spaltung veranlaßt, ist sie. Sie ist in sich selber gespalten. Auch das
Reich ist in sich selber gespalten; aber auch die Mächte, die ihren
Abgrund verlassen haben und heraufgekommen sind, indem sie ihr [folgen], sind
verurteilt worden wegen der Spaltung, die unter ihnen allen ist;
die Finsternis wurde zerstört, auch ihre Mächte unterworfen. Denn
die Kraft jenes ersten Lichtes ist wie die Art
des Reiches dieser Welt, denn solange seine Mysteriums-
genossen mit ihm zusammenhalten, ... jenes Reich,
es wird bewundert und geehrt . . . . . und übertrifft
und überragt auch dieses Reich, das ihm entgegensteht.
Das Reich aber, dessen Mysteriumsgenossen in ihm
[gespalten] sind, es ist notwendig (ἀνάγκη), daß jenes Reich verurteilt und
gedemütigt wird und in die Hand dieses Reiches gerät, das ihm entgegensteht. —
In dieser gleichen Weise auch ihr, wenn ihr euch festigt
und alle miteinander zusammenhaltet
und einmütig auf dieser lebendigen Wahrheit besteht, die euch
offenbar geworden ist, dann könnt ihr alle vom Kleinen
bis zum Großen die Sünde besiegen, die euch
entgegensteht. Wenn ihr euch aber spaltet in
dieser Wahrheit, die euch offenbar geworden ist, was nicht geschehen möge
(ὃ μὴ γένοιτο) —;
sollte es aber geschehen, so werdet ihr durch sie verurteilt und
unterworfen unter die Hand der Sünde, und ihr werdet
[gedemütigt?] auch unter alle ihre Kräfte, die euch entgegenstehn.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

3 ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲧ Bedeutung parallel zu ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ, vgl. 135, 3; 162, 29. — 5 Das Kapitel ist aus dem Wort Mt 12, 25; Mk 3, 24/25; Lk 11, 17 heraus entwickelt.

ρκϑ

[> · ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <]

. . ⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲡ[ⲱ]ⲣ[ⲭ . . . . ⲍ]ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲙ
[ⲡ]ⲣⲡⲱⲣⲭ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁϭⲣⲟ ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄
ⲛⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲍⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛ|ⲙ
[ⲉ]ⲫⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲡⲉ: —

ⲛⲅ̄

ⲛⲅ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲅ̄

ⲦⲀⲗ|ⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ
ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲍⲃ̄ⲥⲱ ⲛ
[ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲫⲩⲥ|ⲥ [ⲉ]ⲧⲱⲟ
[ⲟⲡ] . . . . . ⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ +ⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉⲧ̄[ⲙ]ⲙⲉⲩ
[. . . . . .] . ⲩ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲣⲃ̄ ⲁⲧⲍⲩⲗⲏ ⲧⲉⲛⲑⲩ[ⲙⲏ]ⲥ|ⲥ
[ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲩ . . . . .] ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲕⲉⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ leer [ⲛ]ⲧⲁⲣⲉ
[ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲛⲟⲩ]ⲛ
[. . . . . ⲡⲡ]ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ[ⲃⲱ]ⲣⲃ̄ ⲁ
[ⲣⲁⲩ . . .]ⲩⲥⲧⲟ|ⲭⲉ|ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ [ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲕⲉ
ⲕ̄[ⲉ ⲭⲉ] ⲉⲩⲁⲥⲙ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲕ
ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲁⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲉ|ⲓⲱ
ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲉ|ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲧⲟ|ⲭⲉ|ⲟⲛ . . . ⲁ
[ⲃⲁ]ⲗ ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧ . . . . . .
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ leer Ⲧⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲗ|ⲙⲛ̄ⲏ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ
ⲉⲩⲁϭⲱⲣϭ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲥⲧⲃ̄ⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲍⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲥⲱⲭⲡ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲱ ⲙⲛ̄
[ⲛ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ̈ ⲛⲛⲧⲁⲙ|
[ⲟⲛ ⲙ]ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲡ[ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ]ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲃⲱⲣⲃ̄ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ̄
[ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲏ| ⲉⲧ̄[ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ] ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲙ|ⲟⲛ ⲥⲱⲭⲡ ⲁ
ⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲁ[ⲛⲱⲱⲡ]ⲉ leer Ⲕⲁ|ⲓⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲍⲱⲃ̄
[ⲙ]ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁⲙ|ⲟⲛ
[ⲉ]ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ [ⲛⲍⲏⲧ]ⲩ leer [ⲧ]ⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
[ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲟⲩⲛ ⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗ[ⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲱ]ⲱⲩ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ
[ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄]ⲡ[ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲍⲛⲧⲁⲙ|ⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲭⲛ̄] ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲁⲣⲭⲏ
[. . . . . ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ] ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧ̣ⲁ

18 Nicht ⲃⲱⲗ. — 27 Das zweite ⲧ in ⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ über der Zeile.

[des Lehrers.]

. . . . . nicht spaltet euch in euerm Anfang, noch spaltet
euch in euerm Ende und ihr werdet die oben sind und die
unten sind, besiegen und unter eure Füße bringen alles,
was geschieht und das, was geschehen wird.

LIII.

Über den Urmenschen.

Wiederum sprach der φωστήρ: Zur Zeit, da der Urmensch
in den Krieg (πόλεμος) gesandt wurde in dem ersten Kleid
[des lebendigen Feuers,] das er der ersten Natur (φύσις) gegeben hat, die ist
. . . . . in jenem einzigen Kleid
. . . . . er hat die Hyle, die Ἐνθύμησις
[des Todes] erjagt . . . . und ihre andern Mächte alle. — Als
der [Ur]mensch aber aus dem Abgrund heraufgekommen war,
. . . . . da brachte der Lebendige Geist die Archonten, die er er-
jagt hatte . . . Elemente, welche . . . . . des [Landes der]
Finsternis,
damit er aus ihnen diese Welt errichte und alles
bilde, was sich geziemt für die Größe. Von jener
Zeit ab wurde der Ort der ταμιεῖα der Elemente (στοιχεῖον) . . .
. . wüste und öde von der . . . . . .
alle, die in ihm waren. — Wie ein Teich (λίμνη),
dessen Fische und Vögel mit einem Netz gefangen werden,
so daß nur die Wasser zurückbleiben und das Rohr und
das Unkraut, das in ihm wächst, so auch die ταμιεῖα
des Todes; der [Ur]mensch erjagte ihre Gesinnungen und
ihre Hausbewohner, die in ihnen waren, so daß (nur) die ταμιεῖα
an ihrer Wohnstätte zurückblieben. — Denn mit dem Lande
der Finsternis und den ταμιεῖα, [die (?)] in ihm
waren, steht es so: Wie der Körper des Menschen,
der viele Glieder (μέλος) hat, hat
[das Land] der [Finsternis ταμιεῖα von] seinem Anfang an
. . . . . alle [Glieder], die

ρλ

> · ⲛ̄ⲕ[ⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <]

ϣⲉ ⲁⲧⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲥⲱⲙⲁ] ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛⲟ[ⲩⲱⲧ]
ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉ̣ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ⲓ̣ⲇⲏ ⲉⲩⲁϣⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁ
ⲧⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲁⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛϣⲱⲱⲧ̣
ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲕⲣⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ [ⲛ̄ⲁ]ⲛⲭⲱⲝ
ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲧⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ [ⲧⲏ]ⲣ̣ⲟⲩ ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲉⲥⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲥϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ [. . . . . .]
ⲉ̣ⲣⲉ ⲕⲃⲙ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲛϩ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲉ̣ ⲛⲓⲕ̣ⲟ[ⲩⲓ̈ ⲛ]ⲁⲛⲭ[ⲱⲝ]
ⲧⲏⲣ̣[ⲟⲩ] ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲩ ⲛ[. . . . . .]
ⲡⲥ̣[ⲁⲡ] ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁϣⲱⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄[. . . . . .]
ⲡ . . ⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲛ[ⲁⲛⲭⲱⲝ . . . . .]
ⲧⲁ̣ . . ⲧ ⲛⲕⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲉⲩⲁⲛⲉⲩ [. . . . . .]
ⲡⲉⲓ̈ . ⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ⲩϩ̣ . [. . . . . .]
ϩⲙ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲁϩⲧ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉ[ⲙⲉⲩ . . . . . .]
Ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲛⲧⲏ̄ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧ̣ⲉ̣ [ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ]
ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲁ [ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲃⲉⲃⲉ]
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ leer ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲩ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧϩⲩⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲙ
ⲙⲉⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲕⲉⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϣⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ ⲡⲱⲓⲭϩⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ
ⲧⲁⲙ[ⲓⲟ]ⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲛϩ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ
ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲣ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁϣⲏ [ⲧⲏ]
ⲣⲏ̄ ϩⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ϫⲛ ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲛⲧ[ⲙⲉ]
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲁⲩϣⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲁ̣ⲣ̣ⲁ̣ⲥ ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣϫⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲙⲁ̣ⲩ
ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲛ[ⲧⲁⲙ]ⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲥ[ⲧⲟⲓ]
ϫⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲣⲁⲣⲅⲟⲛ ⲁⲩϣⲱⲩ ⲙⲡⲉ [ⲧⲉⲛ]ⲉⲣⲅⲓⲁ ϣⲱⲡ[ⲉ ⲛϩⲏ]
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲣⲟⲩⲣⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲧϩⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙ̄[ⲁ ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲩ]
ⲉϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲧ̣ϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ[ϩⲏⲧⲩ ⲉⲙ]ⲁⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲓⲁ
ⲛ[ϩ]ⲏⲧⲩ ϩⲓ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲱⲕ ⲁ[ⲣⲉⲧⲏ] ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ [ⲧ]
ϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲛϩⲏⲧⲩ ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲁ̣[ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧ]ⲁⲥ ⲅ̣ⲁⲣ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲉ[. .]
. ⲓⲁ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲩ ⲉⲥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛϩⲱⲃ̣ ⲛⲓⲙ̣ [. . .] ⲉⲥ ⲛϩ . . . leer
ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ [. . . . . .]
ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲧⲉ . ⲉⲩϣ . . . . . ϩ [. . . . . .]

Die [Kephalaia]

hängen an dem großen Haupt des [Körpers]. Eine einzige Wurzel
ist ihrer aller Wurzel. Denn sie alle hängen an
dem großen Haupt, das oberhalb des Körpers ist. Wenn ein Glied (μέλος)
von dem ἄκρον dieser kleinen Häupter abgeschnitten wurde,
während das große Haupt, das oberhalb von ihnen allen ist, sich an seinem
Orte befindet, wie es sich befindet . . . . . .
. . . findest du diesen Menschen lebendig. Alle diese kleinen Häupter
haben Stehen in ihm . . . . . .
Wenn von ihnen abgeschnitten wird . . . . . .
. . . alle, pflegen diese kleinen [Häupter . . . . . .]
. . . . die Leichname. Denn sie werden sehn . . . . . .
. . Stehen wird . . . . . .
in dem Körper, mit dem sie vermischt sind . . . . . .
Ebenso in dieser Weise steht es mit den
ταμιεῖα der Finsternis, aus denen [die Finsternis]
[hervorgesprudelt ist.] — Zur Zeit, da jene Hyle
und alle ihre andern Kräfte sich in der Tiefe befanden, da
waren auch die ταμιεῖα am Leben. Stehen
war ihren Hausbewohnern, die in ihnen sind, zu tun alles, was sie
wollten in ihren ταμιεῖα. Aber von der Zeit ab, da das Gift
dieser Natur (φύσις) weggenommen wurde, und sie von ihr getrennt und es von ihnen und allen
ihren Kräften geschieden wurde, da wurden jene ταμιεῖα und Elemente
(στοιχεῖον) tatenlos und verwüstet. Nicht entstand in ihnen die Kraft (ἐνέργεια)
etwas zu tun. — Wie ein Körper, wenn
die Seele aus [ihm] herausgeht, indem man überhaupt keine
Kraft und kein Stehen in ihm findet, da die
Seele, die in ihm war, ihn verlassen hat und herausgegangen ist; denn sie ist es, die
in ihm [wirkt], indem sie alles tut . . . . . ., —
So auch . . . . . .
. . . . . .

ⲡⲗⲁ

[> . ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲥ · <]

1 . . . . . .

2 ⲙ̣ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ . . . [. . . .] ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ . ⲱ . [. . .]

3 ϫⲉ ⲛ̣ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲛ̣ⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̣ ⲛ|ⲧⲁⲙ|ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲉⲩ [. . .]

4 ⲛ̣ⲥⲧⲟ|ϫⲉ|ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ϫⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ[ⲃ| ⲙ]

5 ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̣[ⲧ]ⲙ̣ⲏⲧⲉ̣ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲥⲩⲗⲏ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣϫⲓ̀ [. . .]

6 [. . . . . .]ⲧⲁⲙ|ⲟⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟ|ϫⲉ|ⲟⲛ [. . .]

7 [. . . . . ⲟⲩ]ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲫⲙⲁⲩⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̄ⲙⲙⲉ[. . . .]

8 [. . . . . .]ⲕⲁⲥ ϫⲱⲣ|ⲥ ⲱⲛⲥ̀ ⲉⲙⲛ [. . .]

9 [. . . . . ⲛ]ⲥⲏⲧⲏ̄ leer

ⲛ̣ⲁ̣

10

ⲛⲁ [ⲉⲧⲃ]ⲉ ⲧⲁ̣ⲣⲉ̣ⲧⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲁ̣

11

12 [ⲧⲧⲁⲗ|ⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ] ⲡ̣ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲱ[ⲁⲣ]ⲡ

13 [ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ . . . .] ⲁⲫ+ ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲣϫⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲫ+ⲟⲩ ⲛ[ⲱⲏⲣⲉ]

14 [. . . . . ⲡⲡ]ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ̄ⲥ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲥ [. . .]

15 ⲉ̣ⲣⲉ̣ ⲧⲁ̣ⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧ|ⲕⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ϫⲁⲗϫ ⲉⲥⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ [. . .]

16 ⲣⲁⲡⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏ[ⲩ]

17 ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ]

18 ⲡ̣ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ̣ⲥ̀ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲟⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̣̄ [ⲛ]ⲉ̣ⲩ

19 ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲫ+ ⲁ̣ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ̣ⲡ̣[ⲁⲣⲭⲏ]

20 ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ̣ ⲥ̣ⲱⲱⲩ ⲙ . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧ[. . . . .]

21 [ⲁⲩ]ⲉⲱⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲥⲱⲩ [ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ . . .] ⲙⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲕ . [. .]

22 [ⲛ]ⲧⲉ ⲡ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ [ⲡⲱⲛⲥ . . . . . .]ⲟ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲥⲟ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ [ⲛ]

23 [ⲛ]ⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ [. . . . . .]ⲙ̄ . . . ⲙ̄ [. . . . .]

24 . . . ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ [. . . . .] ⲙⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ [. .]

25 [. . . . .] ⲥⲛⲥⲃ [. . . . . .] ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥ|ⲟⲩ [. . .]

26 [. . . . .]ⲟ̣ⲩⲛ̣ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲁ . . . . .

27 . . ⲧ leer ⲉ̣ⲣⲉ̣ ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ ⲧⲛ[ⲧⲁⲛⲧ]

28 [ⲙ]ⲡ|ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥ̣ⲉ̣ [. . . . . .] ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲣϫ|ⲓⲧⲉ[ⲕ]

29 [ⲧ]ⲱⲛ ⲉⲫⲁⲕ[ⲱⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲟ|ⲕ]ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲁⲣⲩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁ

30 [ⲥⲛ]ⲏ̈ ⲏ̈ ⲁⲥⲛ̣ [. . . . . .] . . . . ⲁ̣ⲥⲛⲉϨⲉⲁⲣ . . . ⲉ

31 [. . . . . .] ⲧ̣ⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲱ[ⲉ]ⲩ

---

3 Lies ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛ|ⲙ. — Lies ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ.

[des Lehrers.]

. . . . . .
zur Zeit, als . . . . . in ihnen . . . . .
denn alles, was ihnen gefällt in jenen ταμιεῖα . . .
die Elemente, die in ihnen sind. Von der Zeit ab aber, da der
Tod aus der Mitte [genommen] wurde, welcher ist die Hyle, eine Trennung . . .
. . . . . ταμιεῖα und die Elemente . . .
. . . . . ein toter Körper . . . . . .
. . . . . Land ohne Leben, indem nicht . . .
. . . . . in ihm. —

LIV.

[Über] die ἀρετή der Kleider.

[Wiederum sprach] der Φωστήρ: Zur Zeit, da der Ur-
[mensch . . . . .] gab er den Erstling (ἀπαρχή) seiner fünf [Söhne]
. . . . . der Lebendige Geist und die Mutter des Lebens . . .,
indem die ganze Archontenschaft angeheftet war, indem sie gekreuzigt wurde
. . .
. . . . sie wurden ausgegossen, indem sie miteinander vermischt wurden,
das Licht mit der Finsternis, die Finsternis aber mit dem Licht.
Zu jener Zeit rief der Lebendige Geist einen von seinen
Söhnen, einen in der Kraft Reichen. Er gab ihm den Erstling (ἀπαρχή)
der Kleider. Er dagegen . . . . . .
er hing und stellte sie auf . . . . . .
der Vater des Lebens . . . . . er stellte alle
Dinge auf . . . . . .
. . er öffnete . . . . zehn Firmamente . . .
. . . . . das Rad der Sterne . . .
. . . . . sie und der . . . . . .
. . . — Der Lebendige Geist ist gleich
in dieser Weise wie ein . . . . . und ein Architekt,
der für den König ein Ha[us ba]ut und es einteilt
in einzelne Häuser und in . . . . . in . . . . . .
. . . . . ganze . . . . ., das nützt

[ρλ]β

[> · ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <]

. ⲡⲥⲁⲓⲉ ⲙ . . . . . ⲱ . . . .
[. .]ⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲩⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙ̈ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ . .
. . . . . ⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̈ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲥⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧ[ⲁ]
ⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲩⲧⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲍⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲱⲁ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲩⲟⲩⲱⲍ ⲍ[ⲛ]
[. . . . . .] . . . . ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲁ+ ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ leer
[ⲦⲦ]ⲁⲗⲗ[ⲛ] ⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛ[ⲍ ⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩ]
ⲍ[ⲁⲙ]ⲱⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲭⲛ̣ⲓ̣ⲧⲏⲥ [. . . . . .]
. . . ⲡⲟⲛ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲣⲍⲱⲃ [. . . . . ⲉⲙⲡⲁ]
ⲧⲟ[ⲩ]ⲙⲁⲛⲕⲓ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ [. . . . . ⲍ]ⲁⲙⲱⲉ
ⲱⲣ . ⲩⲉ ⲛⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ̄ⲓ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ . . . [. . . . . .]
. . ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲍ̄ⲛ ⲧⲉⲩ . . . [. . . . . .]
ⲍⲛ ⲧ̣ⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙⲛⲍⲏⲧ ⲛⲩⲛ ⲧⲃⲁⲱⲟⲩ[ⲣ . . . . . .]
ⲡⲗ[ⲉ]ⲛⲧⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲩⲱⲁⲁⲧⲩ ⲁⲍ̄ⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲧⲁ[ⲓ̈ⲉ . . . . . .]
ⲱ . . . . ⲛ . . . ⲣⲉ ⲙ̈ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲱⲕ ⲡⲍⲱ[. . . . . .]
▮ ⲙ̈ⲙⲁⲩ ⲍ̄ⲛ ⲧⲃⲁⲡ ⲛⲩⲥⲗⲱⲃⲗⲱⲃⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱⲟ . . .
[. . .]ⲛⲥⲕⲉⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲁⲣⲩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲍⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲁⲟ[ⲥ]
ⲱⲁⲩⲱⲱⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲥⲕⲉⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉ
[ⲥⲕⲉⲟⲥ] ⲛ̄ⲱⲉ ⲕⲉⲃⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲫⲓⲁⲗⲏ ⲭⲁⲡ ⲡⲓⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲟ
[. . . .]ⲉⲧⲟⲛ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲅ̣ⲟⲛ ⲉⲙⲛ ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲙ̈ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲍ̣ⲛ [ⲧⲧⲉⲭ]ⲛⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲧ̣ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙ̈ⲡⲓⲍⲁⲙⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ
ⲁⲩ[ⲱⲁⲁ]ⲧ̣ⲩ̄ ⲛⲍⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲁⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲕⲉⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲭⲣⲏⲥⲓⲙⲉⲩ[ⲉ]
[ⲙ̈ⲡⲉ]ⲩⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁ̣ⲛ [ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈] ⲙ̈ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛ̣[ⲍ]
[ⲍⲛ ⲧⲉⲩ]ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲟⲩ[. . . . . .] ⲍ̄ⲛ ⲍⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ [. . .]
[. . . . . .] ⲡⲁⲗⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ ⲁ[. .]
[. . . .]ⲛ̣ⲕ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲏ ⲍⲛ ⲟⲩ̣[. . . . ⲭⲣ]ⲏ̣ⲥⲓⲙ [. . . . . .]
[. ⲛ]ⲉⲭⲏⲩ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ[. . . . . .] ⲛ . [. . . . .]
. . [ⲛ]ⲕⲉⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ [. . . . .]ⲧⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ ⲛ̣[. . . . .]
. . .ⲍⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ[ⲩ]
ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲡ[ⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲉ[. .]
ⲉⲩ[ⲁ]ⲟⲩⲱⲍ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ [. . . . .] ⲟⲩⲱⲍ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ[ⲓⲛⲉ]
ⲁⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ [. . . . . .]

4 ⲉⲣⲱⲁ sic. vgl. 98, 2; 99, 2.

[Die Kephalaia]

die Schönheit . . . . . .
. . . . . und er reinigt (καθαρίζειν) sie. Die Steine dagegen . .
. . . . . sie zu Schönheit und . . . . .[a] und ordnet
sie und schafft sie, damit, wenn der König kommt und in jenem
[Palast] Wohnung nimmt, er ihn verherrliche. —
Wiederum ist der Vater des Lebens [gleich der Art eines]
verständigen, künstlerischen (τεχνίτης) Handwerkers . . . . . .,
bevor man wirkt . . . . . ., bevor
man ihn gestaltet und schön macht und . . . . . Handwerker
. . . . Werk in ihm, sondern . . . . . .
. . hinein in ihn in seiner . . . . . .
in seiner Verständigkeit, und er bringt die Säge . . . . . .
die Säge und schneidet ihn in einzelne Stücke . . . . . .
. . . . . ihn und er zieht . . . . . .
ihn mit der . . .[b] und er glättet ihn; er macht viel . . .
. . . Holzgefäße (σκεῦος) und verteilt ihn auf einzelne Gegenstände (εἶδος);
er schneidet und bringt aus ihm heraus Holzgefäße verschiedener
Art . . . . Schale (φιάλη), Schüssel. Dies Holz, das . . .
. . . . . indem es zuerst unbearbeitet (ἀργός) war, ohne daß es geformt war
durch [die] Kunst (τέχνη) und die Weisheit dieses geschickten Handwerkers;
er hat es in einzelne Gestalten [geschnitten], von Gefäßen, die nützlich sind (χρησιμεύειν)
[für seinen] Herrn. So auch der Vater des Lebens
[in seiner] Weisheit, er hat . . . . . in Gliedern (μέλος) . . .
. . . . . Palast (παλάτιον) . . .
. . . . . in ihr oder in . . . . nützlich . . . . .
[die] Schiffe des Lichtes . . . . . .
. . . alle andern Werke . . . . . in den . . . . . .
. . . damit, wenn der große König kommt, welcher der
dritte [Gesandte] ist, der hat . . .
er wohne in dieser Welt . . . . . wohnen, das [Licht?]
aber, das in ihm ist . . . . . .

3 a) ⲙⲛⲧϩⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ unbekannt; auch 162,3 f. neben ϲⲁϊⲉ „Schönheit“.
15 b) ϭⲁⲡ Bedeutung? — 20 nach Crum ⲛⲁⲩ̄-ⲧⲱⲣⲉ.

[ρ]λγ

[> · ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <]

[. . . . . .] ⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲭⲓⲧⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈
[ⲁⲧ]ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲡⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉ̣ⲉ̣
[ⲛⲁ]ⲥⲁⲩⲍⲟ̄ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲭⲟ̄ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ̣
ⲛⲉ
— — ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲟⲓⲙⲡⲗⲁⲥ —
ⲛⲉ̣ ⲛⲉ
ⲥⲉ leer ⲛ̄ⲁⲇⲁⲙ
[ⲦⲦⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁ ⲛⲉⲩ]ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲑ̣ⲏ̣ⲧⲏⲥ ⲱⲛ̄ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲣ[ⲁⲩ]
[ⲟⲩⲛ ⲍⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲍ]ⲏ̣ⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲭⲉ
ⲧⲛ̄[. . . . . .] ⲭⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲏⲕ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ ⲍⲁ
ⲡⲓⲡ[ⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉ]ⲩ̣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̣ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥ[ⲥⲉ] ⲙ̣
[ⲙⲁⲩ . . . . .] ⲛⲕⲉⲥⲁⲡ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲩⲭⲱ [ⲙⲙ]ⲁ̣ⲥ̣
ⲭ[ⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩ]ⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲛ̣ⲍ̣ ⲧⲉⲩⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲅⲙ̄̈
ⲡⲕ[ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁ ⲛ]ⲁ̣ⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲩ
ⲁ̣ⲧ[ⲉⲩⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ] ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲛⲕ̣ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲟⲣⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲛ ⲡⲉⲩ
ⲉⲓⲛ̣ⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧⲉ̣ ⲁⲁⲁ̣ⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲉⲩⲍ̣ⲁ ⲉ̣ⲓⲥⲧⲉ̣ ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ
ⲡⲛⲟ[ⲩ]ⲧⲉ ⲏⲕ [ⲛⲍ]ⲏⲧ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲟⲩ
ⲱⲛ̄ⲍ̣ ⲧⲉⲩⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ . . . . .
ⲍⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲏⲕ̣ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ ⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲁ
ⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲧⲉⲩⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲍⲣⲙ̄̈ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ leer
[Ⲧⲟⲧ]ⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲕⲓⲁ ⲡⲡⲣⲉ
ⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲱⲛ̣ⲍ̣ ⲧⲉⲩⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ [ⲁⲃ]ⲁⲗ
[ⲛ]ⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲛ ⲭⲉⲕⲁ[ⲁ]ⲫ̣ ⲉⲫⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ̣ⲍ̣ ⲧⲉⲩⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲛⲁⲣ
[ⲭ]ⲱⲛ ⲍⲙ̄̈ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲙ̣ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉ[ⲧⲃⲉ ⲧ]ⲉⲫ̣ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲫⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲣ̄
. . . . . ⲗ . . . . . ⲛ|ⲙ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲫⲁⲧⲛⲍⲁⲫ ⲛ̄ . . . .
[ⲛ]ⲏⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲫ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲫⲟⲩⲱ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲃ̣ⲁⲗ̣
ⲍⲛ ⲙⲣⲣⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲍ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲥ̄ⲭⲁⲗⲭ ⲉⲫⲙⲏⲣ
ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ leer ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲙⲟⲩⲍ ⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲣ
ⲭⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲥⲟⲩⲥ|ⲁ̣ⲥ̣ⲧⲏⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲩ ⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲍⲛ
[. . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙⲏ ⲁⲧⲉⲩ

[des Lehrers.]

. . . . . weise und er nimmt es herauf
[in das] Land. Der Bodensatz aber und die Finsternis werden
eingesammelt und in den Abgrund hinabgeworfen. —

LV.

Über die Bildung (-πλάσσειν) Adams.

[Wiederum] fragten [seine] Jünger den Herrlichen und sprachen zu ihm:
[Einige unter] uns [gibt es], die zu uns sagen:
Wir [wissen? . . . . . .], daß Gott Wohlgefallen hat an
jenem [Gebilde (πλάσμα)] des Fleisches, das gebildet wird
. . . . . wiederum, darauf aber sagt er:
[Der Gesand]te hat sein Bild (εἰκών) in der [Welt]
offenbart, die Archonten und die Mächte der Welt sahen
[sein Bild], sie bildeten ihre Gestalten (μορφή) nach seinem
Bilde, welches ist Adam und Eva. Siehe ihr seht, daß
Gott wollte, daß es geschah. Deswegen offenbarte er
sein Bild den Archonten, sie errichteten . . . .
. . . . Wenn er die Menschheit nicht gewollt hätte, hätte er
sein Bild nicht offenbart, noch auch hätte man die Menschen
nach seinem Bilde gebildet (πλάσσειν). —
[Da] sprach der Herrliche zu seinen Jüngern: Siehe den
Gesandten, zur Zeit, da er im Begriffe stand, sein Bild zu offenbaren,
da kam er nicht, um sein Bild den Archonten
in der Welt zu offenbaren, sondern er kam und offenbarte sich
der Welt we[gen] seiner Seele und seines Sohnes, der
. . . . . ., damit er ihn belebe . . . .
und ihm eine Erlösung bereite und sie (d. Seele) befreie aus
allen Fesseln und Banden, in denen sie verhaftet und
gebunden ist. — Aber ihr, blicket und sehet die Archonten
und Machthaber (ἐξουσιαστής) an, daß sie keine Gestalt (μορφή) haben in
. . . . . ihn, sie begehrten (ἐπιθυμεῖν) sein

5 Ist dieses Kapitel bei Titus von Bostra gemeint? Adv. Manich. III c. 4, p. 68, 10 ed. Lagarde: φησὶ . . . ἐπιγράψας τὸ κεφάλαιον περὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης πρωτοπλασίας.

ρλα

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓ[ⲟⲛ · <]

1 ϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲙⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁϫⲱⲟⲩⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ]
2 ⲧⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϩ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲧⲉ[ϥϩⲓ]ⲕ̣[ⲱ]ⲛ
3 ϩ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲱ[ⲥ ⲁⲩ]
4 ⲕⲁⲧⲁ̀ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ̀ ⲛ̄ⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ [ⲉⲩϩ]ⲁ
5 ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲧϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲧϫⲁⲥⲉ ϩⲛ ⲧⲟⲩ[☩ⲩⲭⲏ] ⲁ̣ⲩ
6 [ⲧⲁ]ⲛ̣ⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ̄ ϩ]ⲛ̣
7 ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄[. . . . . .]
8 ⲁ . . . . ⲉ ϥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ϫⲉ [ⲁ]ϥⲉⲓ [. . . . . .] ⲗⲉ
9 ϥⲉ[ⲓⲛ]ⲉ ⲁ̣ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲙⲏⲉ [ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱϥ ⲁⲛ]
10 ⲧⲉ ⲧ̣ⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣ[ⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲛⲧⲱ]
11 ⲛ̄ϥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲧϫⲁⲥⲉ ϥ[. . . . . .]
12 ⲗⲁⲡⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲱ]ⲏⲛ ϫⲉ ϥⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣[. . . ϥⲧⲁⲛⲧ]
13 ⲛ ⲉⲛ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲙⲏⲉ Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲱ[ⲃ ⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲙ]
14 ⲡⲓⲣ̣ⲏⲧⲉ ⲧϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟ̣ⲩⲛⲁⲟ̀ ⲛⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲉ]ⲗⲉⲩⲑⲉⲣ[ⲟⲥ] ⲉⲩ
15 ⲛⲁ . . . . ⲧⲣⲙ . . . ⲉ . . . ϩⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ [ⲙ]ⲡⲉⲥ . . ϫⲓⲟⲛ
16 ⲉⲯ . ⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ . . . . ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ϫ[ⲣ]ⲏⲙⲁ
17 ⲫ̣ⲣⲡⲕⲉⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲏ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲉⲩ ⲧⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲥ
18 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲉⲩ ⲥⲙⲁϩⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ϩⲉⲯⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲉⲩⲑⲉⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲁ̣
19 ⲯⲓⲱⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲏ ⲁ ⲡⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲥⲥⲱⲣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡ̣[ⲟ]
20 ⲗⲓⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲥⲟⲩ[ⲱⲧⲃⲉ] . . . . . ⲉⲓⲥϩⲏⲧⲉ ⲡ̣[ⲉⲥ]
21 ⲕⲟ̣ⲓⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲃⲁⲩ . . . . . ⲡⲉⲧⲗⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲃ̣[ⲉ]
22 ⲛⲉⲩⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲙⲉⲅⲓⲥⲧ̣[ⲁ]ⲛ̣ⲟⲥ ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲏ ⲁ̣[ⲛ]
23 ⲁⲡⲉⲥϩⲟ ⲛⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ . . . . . ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ
24 ⲥϩⲏⲡ ϩ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲡⲁⲗⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ . . . . . ⲡⲉⲓ̈ⲕ . . . .
25 . . ϩⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ . . . . . ⲁ̣ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩ . .
26 ⲧⲉϩⲟ ☩ϩⲥⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ . . . . . ⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲱϩ[ⲣⲉ]
27 ⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲧⲁⲡⲉ . . ⲁ . . . . ⲃ . . ⲁ̣☩ϩⲃⲉ̣ⲱ ⲉ[ⲧⲙ]
28 ⲙⲉⲩ ⲯⲁⲣⲉ ☩ⲉⲗⲉⲩⲑⲉⲣⲁ ⲉⲧ . . . . ⲏⲛⲉ ⲕⲁ ⲡⲕⲟⲓ[ⲧⲱⲛ]
29 ⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ̈ ⲁⲡϩⲓⲣ . . . . . ⲧⲥⲁⲡⲉ̣ . . . .
30 ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̀ ⲡⲥ[ϩⲟ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ . . . . . .]

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1 Lies ⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ. — 29 ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ̈ sic.

Die Kephalaia

Bild. Sie dachten über sich nach, daß [sie] keinen
haben, der ihm gleicht in ihrer Schöpfung, sie haben [sein] Bild in ihr
Herz gesiegelt innerhalb ihrer Seele. Dann [haben sie] sie (fem.)
gebaut nach seinem Bilde, sie haben Adam und Eva gebildet,
sie haben das Bild des Erhabenen in ihre [Seele?] gesiegelt. Sie haben aber
nachgeahmt in Ähnlichkeit, aber nicht haben sie [nachgeahmt] in
der Wahrheit, sondern wie . . . . . .
. . . . . er ist wie diese, denn er kam . . . . . .
er gleicht ihm aber nicht in Wahrheit. [So auch]
dieses Gebilde (πλάσμα) der [Mensch]heit; [sie haben es nach-]
gemacht entsprechend dem Bilde des Erhabenen . . . . . .
In der Art des [Baumes], daß er gleicht dem . . . [er gleicht]
nicht in Wahrheit. Dies Ding [ist gleich]
wie eine große, freie (ἐλεύθερος) Frau.
. . . . . innerhalb ihres . .
. . . . reich (πλουσία) in dem Reichtum . . . . . Besitz (χρῆμα)
sie ist auch schön in ihrer Schönheit. Sie ist geziemend in ihrer
Ehre. Sie wandelt in freier (ἐλευθέρα) und würdevoller (ἀξιωματική)
Haltung (ἕξις). Der Ruf ihrer Schönheit hat sich ausgebreitet in
allen Städten; sie [übertrifft] . . . . . Siehe ihr
Gemach (κοιτών) . . . . . wegen
der Edlen (εὐγενής) und μεγιστᾶνες; sie begehren (ἐπιθυμεῖν) auch
ihr schönes Angesicht; nicht haben sie sie [vorher gesehn?]. Denn
sie ist verborgen in ihrem Palast (παλάτιον) . . . . . .
innerhalb in ein . . . . . .
trifft jene Frau . . . . . seinen Sohn
oder aber das Haupt . . . . . jenes Kleid;
jene Freie (ἐλευθέρα), welche . . . verläßt das Gemach (κοιτών)
und geht auf die Straße . . . . . ihr Haupt . . .
und sie offenbart ihr [Angesicht und ihre Schönheit] . . . . . .

ρλ[ε]

[> · ⲙ̄]ⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <

. . . . ε ετβε πεσσα[ν] ετο ⲙⲙερ|ⲧ ντοοτc ϯcⲍ|
ⲙε ετε ⲙ̄ⲡε ρωⲙε νεϥ ⲁρⲁc ⲁⲛⲏⲍε ⲙⲡογ̈ⲱρⲍ̀
πεcⲍ[ο ⲁⲧ]ⲙετ ecoγⲱⲃε εν ογτε c̀ρεⲃε εν . . .
[. . . . . .]ⲕ̣ⲁ πεcⲕ̣ο|των ⲛ̄cωc ⲛ̄ce| ⲁⲧⲙⲏτε ⲛ̄
ⲛρωⲙε . . ⲛ̄τε ογⲁⲛ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲑεωρε ⲙ̄ⲙⲁc ⲛ̄ρωⲙε
ⲛ̄ⲣⲙⲙⲙⲏ[ε] ⲙ̣ⲛ ⲛεγⲓⲅⲉⲛⲏc ⲛ̄ⲕεⲃⲁγονε ⲁⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄
[. . . . . ⲛ]εγ ⲁρⲁc leer ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡ|ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲍε ⲍⲱϥ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣
[τε τε ϊ̈ . . . . . .]ⲡⲡρεcⲃεγⲧⲏc ⲱⲱⲡε ⲙ̄ⲙⲁc . .
[. . . . . .] ⲙⲡρⲏτε ⲛ̄ϯcⲍ|ⲙε ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲉγⲑεροc
[. . . . . .]ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ογⲭⲏρ ⲍ̄ⲛ ογⲗⲁⲗⲉⲍ η ⲙ̄[ⲙⲁ]ⲛ
[. . . . . ⲁcω]ⲕ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲁⲡογⲣⲏⲍ ⲉⲧⲍ|ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁc . .
[. . . . . ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁcογⲱⲛⲍ̀ πεcⲍο ⲙⲛ̄ πεc[cⲁ]ϊ̈ⲉ
[. . . . . .] ⲁ̣ⲗⲗⲁ ⲉ|ⲙⲏτ| ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕ̣ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲏⲃⲉ
[ⲉⲧⲃⲉ πετο ⲙⲙⲉ]ⲣ̣[ⲓ]ⲧ ⲛ̄τοοτc̀ leer ⲧⲍε ⲍⲱϥ ⲁⲛ τε τε ϊ̈
ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡρεcⲃεγⲧⲏc ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏγ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ|
ⲁ̣ⲩ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲱⲛ[ⲍ τεϥ]ⲍ̣|kⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ ογⲱⲛⲍ ογⲃε ⲛⲃⲁⲙ
ⲧⲏⲣογ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁⲩⲉ]| ⲉⲛ ⲭε ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣογ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉⲯογ
[c]|ⲁ ⲛⲁⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟγⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ [ⲁⲍⲣⲛ ⲡ]ⲉⲩⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲁ[ⲗⲗⲁ]
ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲉ| ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲭε
[ⲭ]ⲉⲩⲛⲁ†ⲟγⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲛ̄ϥⲃⲁⲗϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ϥⲥⲁⲧϥ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲛ̣ⲧⲟⲗⲓ†ⲓⲥ Ⲥⲟⲧⲁⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣ[ⲁ]ϥ
[ⲁ]ⲩ̣ⲣ̄ⲉⲡ|ⲟⲩⲙⲏ ⲁⲧⲉϥⲍ|kⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲁ̣ⲍⲣⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲉϥ
[ⲉ|]ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲉⲩⲍⲁ ⲭⲱⲣ|ⲥ ⲡⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲛⲧⲙⲛ
[ⲧ]ⲛⲁⲃ Ⲉ|ⲥⲧⲉ ογⲛ ⲁ ϯ[ⲟⲩ]ⲛⲟⲩ ϵⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲛⲧⲁ]
[ⲡⲟⲫⲁⲥ]|ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲱϥ ⲭε ⲉⲧⲉ
[ⲧⲛⲁ]ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲉ|ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ leer
[ⲗⲗⲙ]ⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲡ|ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲉ†ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲟⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲭε ⲙ̣[ⲡⲣ]ⲏ
ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲉⲩⲍⲁ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩ
[ⲧⲁ]ⲃⲟⲩ ⲁ̣ⲍⲣⲛ̄ ⲧⲍ|kⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲡⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲉ ⲧⲍε ⲍⲱϥ ⲁⲛ
[ⲧ]ⲉ τεϥ ⲁⲩⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉ̣ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱ
[ⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲍ]ⲛ̣ⲁⲅⲅⲉ̣ⲗⲟⲥ ⲉ . [. ⲭ|] ⲡⲧⲁⲃⲉϥ ⲛ†ⲍ|kⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙ̣[ⲉⲩ]

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16 Lies ⲍⲛ ογⲟγⲱⲛⲍ. — 19 ⲭε zu streichen.

des Lehrers.

. . . . wegen ihres bei ihr geliebten Bruders; diese Frau,
die nie ein Mensch sah, deren Angesicht man
nie erblickte, indem sie nicht wollte noch sich freute . .
. . . . . verläßt ihr Gemach (κοιτών) und geht mitten unter
die Menschen . . und alle betrachten (θεωρεῖν) sie. Die
wahren und edlen (εὐγενής) Männer, aber auch die Knechte und die
. . . . . sehen sie. — In gleicher Weise
. . . . . wurde der Gesandte
. . . . . in der Art dieser freien (ἐλεύθερος) Frau
. . . . . in Luxus, Glanz oder
. . . . . [sie war zufrieden] mit dem äußeren Raum, sie hat
. . . . . und ihr Gesicht und ihre Schönheit offenbart
. . . . . aber nur wegen der Notwendigkeit (ἀνάγκη) der Trauer
[um den, der] bei ihr [geliebt ist]. — So auch
der dritte Gesandte; als er kam und
[sein] Bild (εἰκών) gegenüber allen Mächten
offenbarte, [da ist er nicht] gekommen, damit alle Archonten und
Mächte (ἐξουσία) eine Gestalt (μορφή) [nach] seinem Bilde bilden (ζωγραφεῖν) sollten, sondern er ist
wegen seines Sohnes gekommen, indem er im All gekreuzigt (σταυροῦν) wird,
damit er ihn befreie, löse und aus der Trübsal (θλῖψις)
errette. — Als aber die Archonten ihn sahen,
da begehrten (ἐπιθυμεῖν) sie sein Bild (εἰκών) und bildeten (πλάσσειν) nach seinem
Bilde Adam und Eva ohne (χωρίς) den Willen der
Größe. — Siehe, ich habe euch [die Antwort (ἀπόφασις)]
verkündet auf diese Frage, nach der ihr gefragt habt, damit
ihr daran denkt.
[Wisset] auch dies andere, über das ich euch belehren will: Wie die
Archonten Adam und Eva nach dem Bilde (εἰκών) des Höchsten bildeten (πλάσσειν)
und siegelten, — so haben auch
eine zahlreiche Gottheit und zahlreiche Mächte
[und] Engel das Siegel jenes Bildes (εἰκών) [empfangen?],

3 ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲧ vgl. 128, 3.

[ⲡⲙⲍ]

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗ[ⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <]

1 ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲗⲉⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙⲡⲟ[ⲩⲁⲓ]
2 ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲙⲉⲓⲉ ⲁⲩⲗⲱⲃⲱ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲏⲁⲟⲛⲏ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲱ
3 ⲁ[ⲩ]ⲕ̣ⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙ|ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣ̣[ⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲩ]
4 ⲁⲡⲗⲁⲥⲗⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙ|ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ [. . . . . .]
5 ⲛ̄ⲩⲕⲱⲥ ⲙⲡⲱ|ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏⲁⲟⲛⲏ ⲧⲥⲉ [ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁ]ⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ
6 ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲟⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁ†[ⲥ|ⲕⲱ]ⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄
7 ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲗⲉⲥⲗⲁⲥⲧ ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ[ⲓ]ⲟ [. . . . . .]
8 . ⲟⲩⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥ|ⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲭ| ⲡⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲛ†[ⲥ|ⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ]
9 ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ̀ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ̣[. . . . . ⲉ]
10 ⲧⲁ[ⲩⲧ]ⲛ̣ⲧⲱⲛⲩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲙ̣[. . . . . .]
11 [. . .]ⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭ| ⲟⲩ[ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲛ̄†ⲥ|]
12 ⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲱⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ [. . . . . .]
13 ⲛ̄ . . . ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲁ ⲛⲱ|ⲟ ⲛ̄†ⲥ|ⲕⲱⲛ̣ ⲉⲧⲙ̣
14 ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ [. . . . . .]
15 ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲭ| ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲛⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲣⲁⲕⲧⲏⲣ
16 †ⲙⲏⲥⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲁⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ . . ⲝ̣ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲥⲙ̄
17 ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲁⲁⲙ̣ ⲡⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲉⲩⲥⲁ [ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲟⲩ]ⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ
18 ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲉⲩⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲁⲏ †
19 [ⲥ|]ⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲉⲩ ⲱⲟ]ⲟⲡ ⲉⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ [ⲉⲧⲙ̄]ⲡⲥⲁⲙ̣
20 ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ leer ⲗⲗⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
21 ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲭⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ|ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ
22 ⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲉⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄[ⲁⲩ]
23 . . . . . ⲕⲉ . . . . . ⲧⲧⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡ[ⲅ|]
24 ⲅⲁⲥ ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲡⲥⲱⲥⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲫⲁ|ⲣⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ ⲡ[|ⲱⲧ]
25 ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲥ̀ ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲁⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲁ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲩ
26 ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥ|ⲥ ⲙⲙ|ⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲡ̣ⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙ̣ⲙⲁⲩ [ⲥⲛ]
27 ⲟⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ leer ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉ
28 [ⲧⲁ]ⲥⲥⲉⲓⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲣ̄ⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲁ ⲧⲉⲥⲉⲛ̣
29 ⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥ|ⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲥ̀ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲟⲥ ⲁⲥⲡⲗⲁⲥ
30 ⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲩⲫⲩⲥ|ⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲥ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̣
31 ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉⲥⲉ| ⲁⲉ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ| ⲥⲛ̄ ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲉⲥ . . ⲱⲱ̣
32 ⲭⲉ ⲉⲥⲁⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲃ̣ⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ . . . . . .

15 ⲥ in ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲥ über der Zeile.

Die Kephalaia

das sich ihnen offenbart hatte. Durch den Glanz des Lichtes nämlich
und die Liebe zu ihm (fem. d. h. dem Bild) wurden sie glühend in ihrer Lust (ἡδονή), sie wurden nackend,
sie eiferten in ihrer Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) wie ein [Mann, der] den Glanz
eines begehrenswerten (ἐπιθυμία) Gesichtes [sieht] . . . . . .
und eifert in dem . . .[a] der Lust (ἡδονή). So auch
jene Mächte; als sie jenes glänzende,
schöne Bild (εἰκών) sahen, da . . .[a] . . . . . .
. . erste Bild, sie empfingen das Siegel [jenes Bildes (εἰκών)],
das sich ihnen offenbart hatte, sie ahmten nach . . . . . .
den sie nachahmten in einer Gestalt, die . . . ist . . .
. . . die sie verkündet haben, die empfangen haben ein [Siegel dieses]
Bildes; aber hinein auch in die Felsen (πέτρα) . . . . . .
. . . ., die sind an den einzelnen Orten. Die . . .[a] jenes Bildes,
das in der Welt offenbar wurde . . . . . .
sie haben ein Siegel, das offenbar ist an ihm, und ein Merkmal (χαρακτήρ) empfangen.
Diese neue Geburt (?), die geboren wurde in einem neuen . . . in
der Welt, welche ist Adam und Eva, [nicht gibt es] eine Gestalt (μορφή)
in ihrer (plur.) Welt von Anfang an, der er gleicht. Denn jenes
Bild ist nicht in den unten befindlichen Welten vor-
handen. — Alle Gebilde (πλάσμα), die gebildet wurden,
nicht wurden sie (alle) gebildet in der Erzeugung des coitus (συνουσία), der
offenbar ist, sondern es gibt andere Gebilde (πλάσμα), die [auf andere]
[Art] . . . . . gebildet wurden. Das eine von ihnen ist der
Meeresriese (-γίγας), das aus der σφαῖρα Ausgefegte, das der [Vater]
des Lebens ins Meer goß; sein eigenes Feuer
und seine eigene 'Ενθύμησις bildete es [in]
einem Gebilde. — Das zweite Gebilde ist die (sc. φύσις), die
auf die Erde fiel; sie veranlaßte, daß das Meer sie aufnahm; ihre
eigene 'Ενθύμησις wurde ihr zum Bildner (ζωγράφος); sie bildete (πλάσσειν)
sich selbst zu einer Natur (φύσις), die die Wurzel des
Todes ist. Als sie aber heraufkam im Meer, indem sie . . .
damit sie die Werke . . . . verderbe . . . . . .

a) ϣⲗϭ unbekanntes Wort.

ρλζ

> · ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <

1 ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ
2 ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲁⲱⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲫⲃⲓⲁⲥ
3 ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲥⲓⲧ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲙ ⲣⲉⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕ ⲁ
4 ⲣⲉⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲭⲱⲥ ⲱⲁ ⲧⲥⲁⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ leer
5 [ⲧⲧ]ⲙⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲙⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉⲓⲉ ⲁⲡⲡⲉ
6 [ⲧ]ⲱⲟⲩⲱ[ⲩ ⲁⲥⲡⲗ]ⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲁⲥⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄
7 [.]ⲛ . . ⲉ . . . . [ⲡ]ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲛⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙ̄
8 [ⲙⲁⲩ . . . . . ⲟ]ⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ leer ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲥⲉ .
9 [. . . . . ⲡⲕⲉ]ⲕⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲟ]ⲩⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙ̄
10 ⲡⲕⲉ[ⲕⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥ]ⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲓⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ [ⲱⲱ]ⲡⲉ
11 [. . . . . .] ⲥⲉⲧⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
12 ⲛⲋ
13 [ⲛⲋ] [ⲉⲧⲃ]ⲉ ⲥⲁⲕⲗⲁⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲋ
14 [ⲧⲧ]ⲁⲗ[ⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ]ⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲱⲛ̄ ⲡⲫ[ⲱ]ⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
15 [ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲍ]ⲟⲩⲍⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏ[ⲧ]ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲥⲁⲕⲗⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩ
16 ⲥⲁⲓⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲁ . . [ⲉⲧ]ⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥ
17 ⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲉⲩⲍⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲃⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲧⲫ ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲥⲱⲥ
18 ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲁⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲟⲩ
19 ⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲓⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲡⲱ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁ
20 ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲙ
21 ⲡⲧⲁⲃⲉⲕ ⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲕ ⲁ
22 [ⲡ]ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲉⲩⲍⲁ leer
23 [ⲧⲧⲁⲭ]ⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲁ
24 ⲃⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲍⲩⲗⲏ ⲧⲉ ⲁⲥⲡⲱⲧ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ
25 [ⲟⲩ]ⲃⲉ ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲁⲧⲥ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ
26 [ⲉⲧⲙⲙ]ⲉⲩ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲡ
27 [ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲍⲓ]ⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲓ
28 [ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁ]ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲁⲥⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲁⲥⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏ
29 [ⲧ]ⲩ̄ ⲍⲓⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲉ ⲁⲥⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲛⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ
30 [ⲛ̄]ⲍⲟⲩⲍⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲉⲓⲉ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ ⲁ]ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲥⲁⲡ
31 [ⲥⲛⲉⲩ] . . . . . .
32 . . . . . .

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5 Lies πλασμα. — 25 Lies ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ.

Des Lehrers.

des Lebens, sandte man sogleich gegen sie den Adamas
des Lichtes, die große Lehre der Stärke; er warf sie nieder
in den Bezirken des Nordens, er trat mit seinem Fuße und stellte
sich auf sie bis zum Ende der Welt. —
[Das] dritte Gebilde ist die Natur (φύσις), die auf das
Trockene fiel; [sie] bildete den Baum und stellte sich in ihm hin,
. . . . . das neue Gebilde, das gebildet wurde
. . . . . offenbar. — Dem Wesen (οὐσία) nach [ge-]
[hören] sie [zur] Finsternis, aber nicht sind sie mit dem König
der Finsternis [in die] Welt gekommen, sondern ihre Bildung hat [stattgefunden]
. . . . . sind gemischt und wurden in der Welt offenbar. —

LVI.

[Über] Σακλᾶς und seine Mächte.

Wiederum fragten [die] Jünger den Φωστήρ und sprachen zu ihm:
Alle [diese] Aborte, zu denen Σακλᾶς gehört, sowie seine
Paargenossin und die . . . . . d. h. die, welche Adam und Eva
gebildet (πλάσσειν) haben, woher haben sie dieses schöne Bild (εἰκών) gefunden
und es auf ihr Gebilde (πλάσμα) gelegt, obwohl (καὶ ταῦτα) sie, als es ihren
Vätern offenbar wurde, noch nicht existierten und das Bild (εἰκών)
des Gesandten nie gesehen haben, und woher haben sie das Siegel
des Bildes (εἰκών) des Gesandten genommen und es an
[das] Gebilde (πλάσμα) Adams und Evas gegeben? —
Da [sprach] der Φωστήρ zu ihnen also: Die Sünde, die aus den
Archonten heraussprang, welches die Hyle ist, sie stieg auf
hin zum Bilde (εἰκών) des Gesandten, sie wurde abgeschnitten von [jenem]
Orte aus und kam herab zur Erde. Denn nicht wurde [sie] innerhalb
der Firmamente angenommen. Als sie aber zur Erde herabkam,
da bildete (πλάσσειν) sie den Baum, stellte sich in ihm
innerhalb des Holzes auf und bildete (πλάσσειν) die Früchte (καρπός). Als
aber [die] Aborte auf die Erde herabfielen beim [zweiten]
Male . . . . . .
. . . . . .

13 Über Saklas vgl. die große Abschwörungsformel (Migne P. G. I 146 4 B); Cumont, Recherches I, 42f., 73). — 28 Vgl. Andreas-Henning, Mir. Man. I 181. 192.

ρλη

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̣[ⲩ] ⲁ̣ⲥⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ
2 ⲡ̣ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲭⲱⲭ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲱⲃⲉⲉⲣ ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲥ ⲙⲁ† ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲡⲧ̣ⲉ
3 ⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲏⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲥⲣ[ⲙ]
4 ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲡⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲉ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲉⲉⲥ ⲁⲩ†
5 ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ [. . . . . .] leer
6 Ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲩⲃ̣[ⲁⲃⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ] ⲛ . . ⲉ
7 . . ⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲩⲗⲏ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲁ̣ⲧⲥⲓ[ⲕⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩ]
8 ⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲥⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲏ̣[ⲛ ⲁⲥⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲥ ⲛ]
9 ⲥ[ⲏⲧ]ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ ⲛ[ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ (?) . . . . . .]
10 ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲥⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣[. . . . . .] ⲁⲩ
11 ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲉⲩⲥⲁ ⲁⲥⲣⲙ̄ ⲡ[ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲡⲉⲧ]ⲭ̣ⲁⲥ[ⲉ]
12 ⲥⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲉ̣ⲛⲉⲣⲅⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛ̣[ⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙⲡ]
13 ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲃ̣ⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [ⲥⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲁⲩ]
14 ⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲁ̣ⲩ [ⲥ]ⲱⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲍⲱⲅⲣ[ⲁⲫⲉ . . . . .]
15 ⲭⲡⲟ̣ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̣ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲧⲁⲱ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ . . [. . . .]
16 ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲉ̣ⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ leer ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲧⲥⲉⲃⲟⲧⲏ
17 ⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲙⲛ
18 ⲉⲩⲥⲁ ⲥⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁ[ⲩ]
19 ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲧ̣ⲁⲱⲩ ⲁⲥⲣⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲉ leer
20 Ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲭⲉ [ⲁ] ⲡ̣ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲕⲱ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ
21 ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲉⲩⲥⲁ ⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲥⲓ
22 ⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲁ|ⲥⲑⲏⲥ|ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟ̣ⲩⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲉⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲣⲩ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ]
23 ⲥⲛ̄ ⲏⲓ̈ ⲏⲓ̈ ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ̣ ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲩⲁ|ⲥⲑⲏⲧⲏⲣ|ⲟⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛ
24 ⲥⲧⲟ|ⲭⲉ|ⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲭ|ⲓ̣ⲧⲩ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙ|ⲟⲛ ⲙ̣ⲙ̣[ⲉⲩ]
25 ⲥⲓⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲟⲑⲏⲕⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲡⲏⲗⲁ|ⲟ[ⲛ ⲛⲥⲉ]
26 ⲭ|ⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲁⲗⲩ̄ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ [Cⲁⲡ]
27 ⲛ̣|ⲙ̣ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲱⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲧⲁⲙ|
28 ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲥ|ⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭ|ⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̣
29 ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲡⲁ|ⲧⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲱ|ⲧⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
30 Ⲧⲥⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ̈ⲓ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥ|ⲥ . . . . . ⲩ . . . .
31 ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲃⲱⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲛ . . . . [. . . . . ⲥ]
32 ⲙⲁⲧ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲥⲓⲥ[ⲟⲩⲛ . . . . . ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲛ]

28 Lies ⲥⲉⲉ|ⲛⲉ. — 30 ⲩ in ⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥ|ⲥ über der Zeile.

Die Kephalaia

Früchte, sie hat sie angezogen (φορεῖν), sie hat geredet in dem Archon, ihrem Anführer. Er sagte zu seinen Gefährten: Gebt mir euer Licht, und ich will euch ein Bild herstellen nach dem Bilde des Erhabenen. Wie er gesagt hatte, (so) taten sie und gaben (es) ihm. Er aber stellte her . . . . . —
Der Φωστήρ sagte weiter: Die Sünde, die aus den . . . herausgesprungen ist, welche die Hyle ist, die das [Bild des Gesandten] gesehen hat, sie hat den Baum gebildet (πλάσσειν) [und sich in ihm] [hingestellt], dann ist sie heraufgekommen in den [Früchten?], worin (?) sie in die Archonten eingegangen ist . . . . . ., sie haben Adam und Eva nach dem [Bilde des] Erhabenen gebildet durch die Kraft (ἐνέργεια) der Sünde, die [das Bild des] Gesandten gesehen hat; sie ist in sie hineingegangen [in den Früchten] und hat sie angezogen. Sie dagegen bildeten (ζωγραφεῖν) . . . erzeugten einen jeden von ihnen in seinem . . . gemäß . . . einer, der gleicht, einer, der nicht gleicht. — Siehe, ich habe euch über diese Sache unterrichtet: Die Archonten haben Adam und Eva durch die Kraft (ἐνέργεια) der Sünde gebildet, die in sie in den Früchten hineingegangen ist, und haben ihn angeordnet nach dem Bilde des Erhabenen. —
Wiederum sprach der Φωστήρ: Der Bildner (πλάστης) setzte in das Gebilde (πλάσμα) Adams und Evas Glieder, draußen und drinnen, zur Wahrnehmung (αἴσθησις) und Kraft (ἐνέργεια); er teilte ihn in einzelne Häuser. Alles, was seine αἰσθητήρια und die στοιχεῖα draußen aufnehmen, es hat ταμιεῖα drinnen und Aufbewahrungsorte (ἀποθήκη) und Höhlen (σπήλαιον), [und sie] nehmen es zu sich und bringen es ein in ihnen. Sooft sie nach dem gefragt werden, was sie in ihren inneren ταμιεῖα eingebracht haben, und sie herausbringen, was sie hereingenommen haben, und geben es dem Einforderer (ἀπαιτητής), der es von ihnen fordert. —
So hat seine Ἐνθύμησις . . . . . .
draußen zu blicken nach den . . . . . .
aller Art drinnen . . . . . [es hat die]

10 Vgl. Andreas-Henning, Mir. Man. 183. 192.

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1 ⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲥⲡⲏⲗⲁⲓ
2 ⲟⲛ ϩⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲟⲑⲏⲕⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲱⲁϥ ϩⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲓⲛⲉ
3 ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲥⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲉϥⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲉϥϩⲁⲩ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ
4 ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲙⲉ̈ⲓⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲧⲉ
5 ⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲥⲁϫⲓⲧⲟ̈ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄
6 ⲛⲉⲥⲁⲡⲟⲑⲏⲕⲏ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
7 ⲃⲉⲗ ⲏⲕ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲁ̣ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁϥ
8 ⲁⲥϫⲓⲧϥ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲥⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ [ⲁⲡ]
9 ⲥⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲉⲩⲉ [ⲁⲣⲁϥ] ⲛⲥ†ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ . . ⲟⲩ ⲱⲁ . . . . . ϥ
10 ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲟ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲛⲥ]ⲧⲉⲉϥ ⲙⲡⲁⲡⲁⲓⲧⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲱⲓⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ
11 ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱ[ⲱ]ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁ̣ⲗ̣ ϩⲛ̄
12 ⲉⲡ̣ . . . . . [ⲟ]ⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲉ̈ⲓⲉ . . . . ⲡⲉ
13 . . ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ†ϩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ †ⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ
14 † ⲛ̄ⲥⲣ̣ⲧϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥⲉⲉⲥ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲡ̣ⲓ̣ⲧ̣ⲩ̣ⲡⲟⲥ
15 ⲧⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲛⲙⲉⲱⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥ ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ
16 ϩⲱⲥ ⲁⲛ Ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲥⲁϫⲓⲧⲟ̈ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ϥⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ϥϩⲁⲩ
17 ⲱⲁⲥϫⲓⲧⲟ̈ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲕⲁⲁϥ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲏⲓ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲁⲡⲟⲑⲏ
18 ⲕⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲥϫ . . . ⲙⲙⲏⲧ ⲛ̄
19 ⲱⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁ ⲙⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲧ̣ⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲛⲩ̄
20 ⲱⲛ̄ †ⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲉⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲥⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉϥ
21 [ⲙ]ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲱ ⲁⲥϫⲓⲧϥ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ
22 [ⲱ]ⲁⲥⲃ[ⲱ]ⲕ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲥⲁⲡⲟⲑⲏⲕⲏ ⲛⲥ†ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲟⲩⲱⲧ
23 ⲛ̄ⲥⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ̣ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲣ̄
24 ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲕⲁⲁϥ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧϥ̄ ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥ̀ⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧϥ̄
25 [ⲗⲗ]ⲡⲓⲧⲱⲱ ⲡⲓⲧⲱⲱ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲱⲱⲗⲙⲉ
26 [ⲱ]ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲗ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ
27 [ⲥ]ⲧⲁ̈ⲓ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲥⲁⲱⲁ̣ⲗⲙ[ⲉ]ϥ ⲱⲁⲥϫⲓⲧϥ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ [ⲁⲣⲁⲥ] ⲛⲥ
28 [ⲁ]ⲗϥ̄ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ Ⲥⲁⲡ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁ
29 [ⲱ]ⲛⲧⲥ̀ ϩⲓⲧⲙ̄ ⲡⲣⲉϥⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲱⲁⲥⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ
30 . . . ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥ . . . . . ⲧ̣ⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲥ† ⲡ̣ⲣⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ
31 . . . . . .

des Lehrers.

der Augen hat Häuser und Höhlen (σπήλαιον),
Aufbewahrungsorte (ἀποθήκη) und Depots (?) [a], damit sie alle
Bilder, die sie sieht, ob gut oder böse, ob
liebenswert oder hassenswert oder begehrens-
wert (-ἐπιθυμία) in ihre ταμιεῖα und ihre Aufbewahrungsorte (ἀποθήκη)
aufnimmt. Wenn die Ἐνθύμησις der Augen
wiederum das Bild, das sie gesehn und aufgenommen hat,
aussenden will, geht sie jeweils hinein in ihre ταμιεῖα
und denkt [an es] und nähert sich . . . . . .
und bringt es heraus [und] gibt es dem Einforderer (ἀπαιτητής), der es von ihr verlangt
und begehrt, sei es nun etwas von
. . . . . [sei es] ein Bild der Liebe, [sei es] . . . . . .
. . Haß. In dieser Weise gibt auch jene Ἐνθύμησις
und handelt in diesem selben Typus.
Auch die Ἐνθύμησις der Ohren hat ihre ταμιεῖα.
Alle Stimmen, die sie aufnimmt, ob gut oder böse,
nimmt sie auf und legt sie in ihre Häuser und ihre innen befindlichen
Aufbewahrungsorte (ἀποθήκη) und bewacht sie in ihrer . . . . 1000 Tage;
und nach 1000 Tagen kommt einer und
fragt jene Ἐνθύμησις nach der Stimme, die sie gehört
und in ihre ταμιεῖα aufgenommen hat zu dieser Zeit; sogleich
geht sie in ihre Aufbewahrungsorte (ἀποθήκη) hinein, macht sich auf und forscht
und sucht nach diesem Wort und sendet es heraus aus dem Orte, an den
sie es zuerst gelegt hat, dem Ort, an dem sie es bewacht.
Nach derselben Ordnung handelt die Ἐνθύμησις des
Geruchsorganes, ebenso wie die der Augen und die der Ohren.
Jeden Geruch, den sie riecht, nimmt sie zu sich und
bringt ihn ein in ihre ταμιεῖα drinnen. Immer, wenn sie
von dem Frager, der sie fragt, gefragt wird, geht sie hinein
. . . . . ταμιεῖον und sie gibt die Erinnerung
. . . . . .

2[a]) ܫܕܥ unbekanntes Wort. Zwischen ܫ und ܥ ein Punkt oberhalb der Zeile. — 14 Wörtlich: „und macht die Art, die sie macht in diesem selben Typus".

ρμ

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲕⲉⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲗⲉⲥ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲕ̀
2 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭ|ⲧⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲙⲏⲥ|ⲥ ⲥⲱⲱⲕ ⲟⲩⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲕ̀
3 ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲙⲏⲥ|ⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̣
4 ⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭ|ⲧⲡⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲡⲏⲗⲁ|ⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲟⲑⲏⲕⲏ
5 ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲭ| ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲧⲡⲉ ⲥⲱⲗ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ
6 ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲱⲁ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲁ[ⲛ] ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲛⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲩ+ⲡⲉ ⲉⲁ
7 ⲥ . . . ⲥ ⲱⲁⲥⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲥ+ ⲡⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ++ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄
8 ⲙ[ⲉⲩ] ⲱⲁⲥⲃⲁⲣⲃⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲣ ⲡⲕⲉ+ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛ[ⲉ ⲛ]++ⲡⲉ ⲉ
9 ⲧⲙ̄[ⲙⲉ]ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥ+ ⲡⲥⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲫⲱ[ⲓⲛⲉ] ⲉ̣ⲧⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ
10 Τⲉⲛⲟ[ⲩⲙ]ⲏⲥ|ⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲁⲙⲃⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲃ|ⲭ ⲧⲥⲥ[ⲉ ⲥ]ⲱⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈
11 ⲡ̣ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲃⲁⲙⲃⲙ ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲙⲃⲙ ⲱⲁⲩ̣[ⲭ| ⲡ]ⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲥⲟⲩ̄
12 ⲛ̄ⲥ[ⲭ|ⲧ]ⲏ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲥ̀ⲁⲡⲟⲑⲏⲕⲏ ⲉⲧⲥ|ⲥⲟⲩⲛ [ⲱⲁ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ] ⲉⲧⲉ
13 ⲣⲉ ⲟ[ⲩ]ⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲛ̄ +ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲙⲏⲥ|ⲥ ⲁⲡⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ [ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ]
14 ⲱⲁⲥⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲣⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̣ⲡ|ⲃⲁⲙ
15 ⲃⲙ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲃⲙⲃⲱⲙⲙ̣ ⲛ̣ⲥⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ leer
16 Τⲉⲛⲟⲩⲙⲏⲥ|ⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲟ
17 ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲟ ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ++ⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ
18 ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲥ|ⲥ ⲛⲁⲭ|ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ ⲁ
19 ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲙⲏⲥ|ⲥ ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲧ ⲱⲁⲥⲭ|ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲣⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲁⲡ
20 ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉ̣ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲱⲛⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲃⲁ|ⲗⲉ ⲱⲁⲥⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
21 ⲛ̄ⲥ+ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ̀ leer
22 Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲧ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲥ̣ⲩ̣[ⲙ]
23 ⲃⲟⲩⲗ|ⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲫⲡⲟⲗ|ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲛⲭⲱⲭ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫⲙⲁ̣ⲧ̣[ⲉ]
24 ⲃⲧⲉ ⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲅⲁⲧⲏⲫ ⲥⲁⲡ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲫⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏ̣[ⲥ]
25 ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲃⲥⲫ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧⲁⲃⲥⲫ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲫ ⲱⲁⲫ+ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥ[ⲩⲙ]
26 ⲃⲟⲩⲗ|ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲅⲛⲱⲙⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲁⲅⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲥ̀ leer
27 Τⲁⲗ|ⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲫⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲩⲕⲉⲗⲗⲁⲣ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲱⲃ [ⲛ|]ⲙ ⲉⲧ[ⲟⲩ]
28 ⲛⲁⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ̀ ⲱⲁⲥⲭ|ⲧⲟⲩ
29 ⲛⲥⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲕⲉⲟⲥ ⲥⲕⲉⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲙⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲥⲁⲡ ⲛ|ⲙ
30
31 unlesbar.
32

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7 In ⲱⲁⲥⲃⲁⲣⲃⲥ̀ steht das 2. ⲃ über der Zeile. — 21 Zu + ⲛⲉⲩ ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛ|ⲙ vgl. Till, Achmim. Gram. § 147 d. — 22 ⲣⲉ in ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ über der Zeile. — 25 Das 2. ⲟⲩ in ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱ über der Zeile.

Die Kephalaia

nur diese, sondern auch der Mund und die in ihm befindliche Zunge
und der Geschmack, die Ἐνθύμησις wohnt in ihm.
Auch jene Ἐνθύμησις des Geschmackes hat in dieser
Weise Höhlen (σπήλαιον) und Aufbewahrungsorte (ἀποθήκη),
die ihr genau bestimmt (?) sind; sie nimmt diese Geschmäcker auf und bringt
sie ein, bis jeweils einer sie (fem.) nach einem Geschmack fragt,
. . . . . sie sendet ihn heraus und gibt die Erinnerung an jenen Geschmack;
sie erjagt ihn und gibt ihn, und sie kennzeichnet auch jenen
Geschmack und gibt die Erinnerung an ihn dem [Frag]er, der sie fragt. —
Die Ἐνθύμησις wiederum des Tastens der Hände, ihre Art ist diese:
Wenn sie betastet, dann nimmt ein Betasten seine Erinnerung auf
und sie nimmt sie herein in ihren Aufbewahrungsort (ἀποθήκη) drinnen, [bis]
einer diese Ἐνθύμησις nach der Erinnerung fragt. [Sogleich]
geht sie hinein und bringt heraus die Erinnerung dieses
Tastens, das sie getastet hat, und gibt sie dem, der sie nach ihr fragt. —
Die Ἐνθύμησις des Herzens, die über sie alle herrscht, mit ihr
steht es in noch höherem Maße so. Alles, was diese fünf
Ἐνθυμήσεις aufnehmen und als Depositum (παραθήκη) der
Ἐνθύμησις des Herzens geben, das nimmt sie und bewacht sie. Jedesmal wenn
sie (plur.) sie (fem.) nach ihrem (plur.) Depositum fragen, sendet sie es heraus
und gibt ihnen alles, was sie ihr gegeben haben. —
Denn das Sinnen des Herzens ist gleich dem König, bei dem sich
alle Ratsherrn [a] seiner Stadt und die Anführer seines Heeres
befinden. Jedesmal wenn seine Heerführer (στρατηλάτης)
ihn bitten, was sie ihn bitten wollen, dann gibt er ihnen den
Rat (συμβουλία) und die Entscheidung (γνώμη), in der sie wandeln. —
Wiederum ist es gleich einem Kellermeister (κελλαρίτης), denn alles, was
ihr (sc. Ἐνθύμησις) anvertraut und eingehändigt wird, nimmt sie
und legt sie in verschiedene Gefäße (σκεῦος) an verschiedenen Orten. Wenn
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

23 a) Im Text συμβουλία.

[ρ]ⲙⲁ

> · ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

ϩⲙ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲥϧⲁⲁϥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ leer ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ| ⲛ̄
ⲧⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥ|ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡ|ⲱⲣϩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲃⲉⲗ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲣ
ϩϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲉϥ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥϫ|ⲧϥ̄ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲱⲁⲥⲛⲧϥ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲛ
ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲧⲁⲙ|ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲥϧⲁϥ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲉϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ
[ⲧⲧ]ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉϥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲉϥ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲥϫ|ⲧϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲱⲁ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲱⲛⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲡ|ⲥⲱ
ⲧⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲱⲁⲥⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲥ+ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲛⲛⲙⲉϫ[ⲉ]
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥⲱⲛ̄ⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲡ|ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲱⲁⲥⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲥ
+ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥⲱⲛⲧⲥ̀ leer
[ⲧⲧ]ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲗⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ ϩⲙ ⲡ|ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲡ|ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲡⲙⲁⲛϫ|+ⲡⲓ ⲁⲛ
[ⲧ]ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁⲛⲧ] ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ|[ⲧⲩⲡ]ⲟⲥ ⲡ|ⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲡⲃⲁⲙⲃⲙ̄ ⲛⲛⲃ|[ϫ] +
[. . . . . .]ⲓⲉⲩⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲛ̄ⲧϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ . . . .
. . . . [ⲡ]ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲱⲛ[ⲧⲥ] ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲱⲁⲥⲛⲧϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲛⲥⲧⲉ[ⲉϥ] leer ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ
ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱⲉ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩ|ⲓϫ[ⲛ] ⲛ|ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲱⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲧⲥ̀ ϩ|ⲣⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛϩⲟⲩ
ⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ leer ⲧϩⲉ ⲛϩⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱⲉ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲓⲥ ⲁⲩⲡⲁ
ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲡⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ ϩ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲛⲣⲁⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲓ . ⳁ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲱⲧ ϩ|ⲣⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲱⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲣⲉ
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲁⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩϩⲙⲉⲥⲧ ϩ|ⲣⲙ̄ ⲡⲣⲟ
[ⲛ]ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲣⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗ|ⲥ ⲉⲩⲱⲃ̄ⲣⲥⲩⲙ
[ⲡⲟ]ⲗ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲉⲫⲏⲡ ⲁⲧⲟⲩϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲱⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄
[ⲡⲣ]ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫ|ⲧϥ̄ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲡⲱⲙⲙⲟ ⲇⲉ
[ϩ]ⲱⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲕⲱⲗⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲁⲁϥ ⲉⲫⲁϩⲉ ⲁ
[ⲣ]ⲉⲧϥ̄ ϩⲓⲣⲙ̄ ⲡⲣⲟ ⲙⲁⲩⲥⲩⲅϫⲱⲣⲏ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲫⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ
[ⲡ]ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁϫ|ⲧϥ̄ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ϩ|ⲓⲥⲉ ⲱⲁⲛ
[ⲧⲟⲩ]ϫ|ⲧϥ̄ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲱⲁⲕⲃⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲣ| ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲱ . . . .
. . ϩ [. . . . . .] ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲱⲉ [ϩ]ⲛ ⲛ̄
[. . .] ⲣ [. . . . . .]ⲥ̀ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲡⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲣ[ⲱⲩ]
. . . . ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ . . . . ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲟⲩ
[. . . . . .] ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ̄ ⲟⲩⲉⲛ

des Lehrers.

an dem Ort, an dem sie es hingelegt hat. — So bringt auch
die Ἐνθύμησις des Körpers das Sehen, das die Augen sehen
und ihr übergeben und das sie aufnimmt, wieder hervor
aus den ταμιεῖα, in denen sie es niedergelegt hat, und gibt es dem, der sie fragt.
[Das] Gehörte wiederum, das die Ohren hören und ihr übergeben
und das sie von ihnen annimmt, bis sie jeweils nach jenem Gehörten
gefragt wird, sie bringt heraus und gibt das, was die Ohren gehört haben,
dem, der sie nach jenem Gehörten gefragt hat, sie bringt heraus und
gibt das, was die Ohren gehört haben, dem, der sie gefragt hat. —
Mit [dem] Geruch steht es genau so, auch der Geschmack
ist gleich im selben Typus. Das Tasten der Hände . .
. . . . . sie bringen es heraus in . . . . .
. . . Wenn sie nach ihm gefragt wird, bringt sie es heraus
und gibt es. — Wiederum sprach der Φωστήρ:
Wächter befinden sich an diesen Toren, die sie (d. Tore) bewachen.
Riegel sind vor die Tore geschoben, die in der Hand der Wächter
sind, die sie bewachen. — Wie Wächter, die ein Lager (παρεμβολή)
und Türme (πύργος) und Posten bewachen, in denen
die . . . sind, indem die Riegel vorgeschoben sind, indem die Wächter
Gewalt haben über die Riegel der Tore, indem sie am Tor
der Posten sitzen —, der, welcher zu ihrer Stadt (πόλις) gehört, indem er ein Mitbürger (συμπολίτης) von ihnen ist und zu ihrem Lande (χώρα) gehört, ihm öffnen sie
das Tor und nehmen ihn auf nach ihrem Willen. Den Fremden
dagegen, der kommt, hindern (κωλύειν) sie und lassen ihn am
Tor stehn; nicht erlauben (συγχωρεῖν) sie ihm hereinzukommen.
Auch der andere, den sie mit großer Mühe aufnehmen, bis
sie ihn aufnehmen, du findest viele Zellen, welche . . .
. . . . . jener, es gibt eine Menge von
. . . . . in sie (plur.); die Zahl der Riegel der To[re]
. . . sind . . . . wenn einer will . .
. . . . . indem die Riegel in seiner Hand sind, öffnet

ρμβ

[> · N]κεφαλαιον · <

1 ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲗⲏⲟ ⲥⲓⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ leer
2 ⲦⲦⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲁ⳨ⲡⲁ
3 ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲍⲉ ⲛⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
4 ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲟⲩⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲛⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲓⲥⲑⲏⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ
5 ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ̈ⲱⲣϩ̄
6 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲗⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲁ
7 ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ϫⲙ̄ⲫⲩⲗⲁⲝ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲏ
8 ⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲉ ⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲁϫⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ
9 ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲕ̄ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲥ̀
10 ⲃⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ
11 ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲉϩⲛⲉⲥ ⲉⲥⲁⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲉϩⲛⲉⲥ ⲉⲥⲁⲱⲧⲉⲙ
12 ϩⲟⲩ̣[ⲁⲛ] ⲁⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲱⲁⲩⲕⲱ[ⲧⲉ ⲁϩ]ⲟⲩⲛ̣
13 ⲁⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ϩⲟⲩ[ⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ]ⲉ̣ [ⲛ]
14 ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲕ[ⲱ]ⲗⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱⲱⲡ ⲁ̣ⲣⲁⲩ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣[ⲱ]ⲕ ⲁϩⲟⲩ̄
15 ⲱⲁⲩⲁⲣⲭⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲱⲧ[ⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲱⲙ̄ⲙ̣[ⲟ] ⲁ̣ⲣⲁⲩ
16 ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ leer ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲉ ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
17 ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉϩⲣⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲁⲱⲓⲣⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲫⲃ̄
18 ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛϩⲟⲩⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲁⲧ ϩⲓⲝⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ leer
19 ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲩ̄ⲁⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲩⲫⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲱⲁⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ[ⲟ]
20 ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟ̣ⲩ
21 ⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲩ ⲁⲙⲫⲁⲛⲧⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲫⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲁⲧⲣⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲁ̣
22 ϩⲟⲩⲛ̣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲑⲉⲱⲣⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲏⲇⲟⲛⲏ ⲁⲡⲱⲛⲕ̄ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲛ[ⲥⲉ]
23 ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲙⲉⲗⲉⲧⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲓ[ⲟ]ⲥ ⲁϫⲓ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲛ̣[ⲡⲉ]
24 ⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲣⲟⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲃⲏⲁⲏⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲧⲭⲁϩⲙⲉ
25 ⲁϩⲁⲛ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲕ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲟ̣ⲩⲱ ⲉ̣ⲩⲭⲓ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ[ⲏ]
26 ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲩ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲥⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ leer ⳨ⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲓ̣[ⲁⲏ]
27 ⲛⲱ[ⲁ]ⲱⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ϩⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟ̣ⲓ̣ⲝ ⲙ̣
28 ⲡⲛ[ⲟⲩ]ⲉ̣ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ϥϩⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙ̣[ⲁⲩ] ϥⲟⲩⲉⲛ̣ [ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁϫⲓ]
29 ⲁϩⲟ̣[ⲩⲛ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲉⲛⲉⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲧⲉ ϥⲟⲩ . . . . ⲁϩ[ⲟⲩ̄]
30 ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ̈ⲱⲣϩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡ[ⲏ] . . . . . ⲁⲡ . ⲉ . . ⲙⲛ
31 ⲧⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲣⲱ ⲛⲓ̈[ⲱⲣϩ ⲛ̄]ⲧ[ⲕⲟ]ⲥⲙⲓⲕ[ⲓⲥ ⲛⲛϩⲃ̄]

17 Lies ⲧⲉⲩϩⲣⲧⲉ. — 24 Lies ϩⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ. — 31 ⲛⲏ in ⲁⲓⲕ. über der Zeile.

[Die] Kephalaia

das Tor und läßt den, der innerhalb von ihm verborgen ist, heraus. —
Der Φωστήρ sprach: Dieser Körper seinerseits ist gleich diesem
gewaltigen Lager (παρεμβολή). Die Tore des Lagers (παρεμβολή) und
ihre Wächter gleichen den Toren und αἰσθητήρια
des Körpers. Die Tore des Körpers sind diese: die Sehorte,
die Hörorte und die Riechorte und die, welche die Worte
aussenden. Viele Wächter (φύλαξ) und eine Menge
Wachen sind über die Glieder des Körpers gesetzt, indem sie ihre Tore
bewachen. Weiter ist die Ἐνθύμησις in ihm, welches ist die
Lehre des Körpers, die Königin des ganzen Lagers (παρεμβολή), damit sie,
wenn sie will, öffnet, wenn sie will, schließt. —
Wenn (ὅταν) aber der Licht-Noûs kommt, so wendet er sich hin zu
den Toren des Körpers, dann pflegen die Archonten, die die Wächter
der Tore sind, ihn daran zu hindern (κωλύειν), daß er aufgenommen wird
(und) daß er hereinkommt;
sie stellen sich fest auf rings um den Körper, damit nicht der ihnen Fremde
in ihn hereingehe. — Er aber, der Licht-Noûs,
in seiner Weisheit, seinem Schrecken und seiner Stärke demütigt er
die Wächter, die sich an den Toren des Körpers befinden. —
Wenn er sie gedemütigt hat, dann nimmt er die Riegel
von allen Toren des Körpers; die Tore, die sich seiner Zeit
den Vorstellungen (φαντασία) der Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) geöffnet hatten, um
die Bilder (θεωρία) der Lust (ἡδονή) aufzunehmen, um die Worte der Fürsorge
(μελέτη)
der Sorgen des Lebens (βίος) einzusammeln, um die Geschmäcker der verschiedenen
Nahrungsmittel (τροφή) von befleckten Speisen aufzunehmen
sowie die Sünde, die sich in ihm befindet. Wer diese aufgenommen hat, dessen Herz zieht es zu ihr. — Jetzt nun, da
die Riegel des Körpers des gerechten Mannes sich in den Händen
des Licht-Noûs befinden, ist er innerhalb von ihm und öffnet [sie, um aufzunehmen]
alles Gott Wohlgefällige, er [nimmt wahr (?)]
mit seinen Augen die Anblicke der Liebe (ἀγάπη) . . . . . und der
Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη). Deswegen die [Anblicke der] Pracht (κόσμησις) [der]

Vgl. Hom. 5, 11—13: Körper mit einem Lager verglichen; vgl. ferner Andreas-Henning, Mir. Man. II, 305—306: die Sinnesorgane als fünf Tore.

ρμγ

> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <

1 ⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲍⲧ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲛⲍⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲍⲓ
2 ⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲁϫⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲍⲧ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲥⲓ ⲙⲁⲣⲅⲁⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧ
3 ⲧⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲡⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓϩⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛ
4 ⲯⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲍⲣⲛ̄ ⲛⲃⲉⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧ
5 ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲫⲱⲗⲱⲗϥ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁϥ
6 ⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁϥϩⲃⲓⲟ ⲧⲉⲡⲓϩⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱ
7 ⲙⲁ ⲁ ⲛⲫⲁⲛⲧⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲡⲓϩⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲣⲃⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛ̄ ⲡⲣⲱ
8 ⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁ ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲱⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ[ⲛ]
9 ⲧⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲟϩⲃⲓⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲍⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲛⲥ ⲣⲉⲛⲉϥ
10 [ⲛⲓ]ⲙⲉⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲩ
11 ⲱ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲗⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲡⲓϩⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲁⲙⲡⲉϩⲏⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧ[ⲕⲁ]ⲕⲓ
12 ⲁ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲣⲉⲛⲉϥ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁϥ
13 ⲥⲱ[ⲧ]ⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ leer ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲱⲱϥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ
14 ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲡⲓϩⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛ
15 ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲣⲃⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲉϥ
16 ⲉⲍⲛⲉϥ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲥⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ ϧⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲍⲛⲉϥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ
17 ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲍⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲛ̄
18 ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛⲙ̄ⲫⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲛⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲍⲩ
19 ⲙⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ
20 [ⲥ]ⲁⲡⲗⲱⲥ ⲛⲣⲱⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲡⲓⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲏⲛ
21 ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲧⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲱⲱϥ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲙ̄
22 ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ
23 ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲍⲛⲉϥ ⲉⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲍⲓϫⲱϥ
24 [ⲡ]ⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲧⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲓⲥⲑⲏ
25 ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁ ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲣⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁϫⲛ ⲛⲉϥ
26 ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲁϥⲧⲁ
27 ⲃⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲡ
28 ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲁ ⲁⲍⲟⲩ
29 ⲛ ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ ⲙⲙⲉⲱⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲗ ⲭⲟⲩⲱⲍ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲍⲏⲧ ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄
30 ⲉⲧ[ⲟ]ⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ⲭⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲍⲛⲉϥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲭⲟⲩⲱⲥϥ̄ [ⲙ̄]
31 [ⲡ]ⲱⲕ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ ⲙⲡ[ⲛⲁ]ⲃⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲍⲁⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲱⲕ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ
32 [ⲥⲱϥ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄[ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ]ⲃⲉ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲅ̣ⲛⲱⲙⲏ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ
ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ

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1 Lies ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲣⲁⲓ̈. — 4 Lies ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛ̄. — 9 ⲡ in ⲡⲟϩⲃⲓⲟ über der Zeile.

des Lehrers.

Gewänder der Könige, die goldgewirkt sind und die seidenen (μέταξον) Gewänder der Frauen, die gold- und perlengewirkt (μαργαρίτης-) sind, die schön gemacht sind für die Gestalt (σχῆμα) der Begierde (ἐπιθυμία), sie waren zuerst beliebt vor den Augen des erwählten Menschen. Jetzt nun durch die Kraft des Licht-Noûs, der eingedrungen (?) ist und Wohnung im Körper genommen hat und die Begierde (ἐπιθυμία), die Göttin des Körpers gedemütigt hat, sind die Vorstellungen (φαντασία) der Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) bei dem gerechten Menschen ein Abscheu geworden, die Gestalten der Frömmigkeit dagegen und der Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη), der Demut und der mißachteten Gewänder haben sein Gefallen gefunden.

[Diese] Ohren wiederum öffneten sich zuerst den eitlen Stimmen und den Gesängen der Begierde (ἐπιθυμία), dem Verborgenen der Bosheit (κακία). Dies alles gefiel ihm zuerst, wenn er es hörte. — Jetzt aber sind durch die Kraft des Licht-Noûs die Stimmen der Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) und die Worte der Magie (μαγεία) und die bösen Mysterien ihm ein Abscheu geworden, indem er sie nicht hören will von Stund an, sondern zu aller Zeit die Stimmen der Worte der Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη) hören will, die Worte der Psalmen, die der Gebete, das Lob der Hymnen, die Worte der Wahrheit und das Wissen der Almosen.

Kurzum (ἁπλῶς) alle Tore eben dieser Art waren seiner Zeit der Bosheit (κακία) geöffnet. Jetzt aber sind sie dem Guten (ἀγαθόν) geöffnet worden. Die Sünde herrschte seiner Zeit im Körper, indem sie alles tat, was sie wollte, ohne daß sie einen Gebieter hatte. Jetzt aber hat man von der Sünde die Vollmacht (ἐξουσία) weggenommen in den αἰσθητήρια des Körpers. Der Lebendige Geist wurde Herr über alle seine Glieder, er hat sie mit einer Fessel des Friedens gebunden, mit dem Siegel (σφραγίς) der Wahrheit gesiegelt und die Tore des Körpers dem Guten (ἀγαθόν) geöffnet. Deshalb kommt das Gute (ἀγαθόν) ihnen zu den Ohren und Augen herein; es läßt sich im Herzen nieder. Der Heilige Geist ist Herrscher. Er tut alles, was er will. Er vereitelt [den] Willen der Sünde, den ersten und den letzten; der Wille des heiligen Geistes [dagegen] ist geschehen und die Entscheidung (γνώμη) des Licht-Noûs.

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1 ⲠⲀⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲧⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲁ
2 ⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲥⲁⲃⲉ
3 ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲉϫⲛⲏ ⲁⲣⲭⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲥⲱ
4 ⲙⲁ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲣ̄ϫⲱⲣⲉ
5 ⲁⲭⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩ
6 ϫⲣⲁⲣⲱⲱⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲥⲙⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲩⲡⲁⲧⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ̄
7 ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲙⲏ ⲅⲉⲛⲟ|ⲧⲟ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ
8 ⲧⲣ̣ⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲥⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲓⲥ
9 ⲉⲩⲁ̣ⲣⲭ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲃⲧⲁⲓⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ̄
10 ⲡⲧ̣ⲏⲣ̄ⲩ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲱⲱ
11 ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲍⲁⲏ ⲥⲁⲧⲙ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲓⲥ ⲁⲡⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ̄
12 ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲉⲗⲡ|ⲥ leer

13 ⲛⲍ

ⲛⲍ > · ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲃ|ⲛⲭⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲇⲁⲙ · < ⲛⲍ

15 ⲠⲀⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ|ⲟⲥ ⲱⲛ̄ ⲡⲫⲱ
16 ⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲅⲧⲟⲩ
17 ⲛⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲩ
18 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲱ ⲛⲍⲉ
19 ⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲱ ⲛⲍⲉ leer [ⲁⲗⲗ]ⲁ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲃ|ⲛⲭ
20 ⲡⲟ ⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲃ|ⲛⲭⲡⲟ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲙ̣ⲙ̣ⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄
21 ⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲭⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲇ|ⲁⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲃ|ⲙⲙ|
22 ⲥⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ Ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲉⲕ[|ⲁ] ⲁ
23 ⲇⲁⲙ ⲟⲩⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲏⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲩ
24 ⲥⲏⲗ|ⲕ|ⲁ ⲛⲉⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲉⲣⲙⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲥⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲉ̣ⲩ
25 ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄
26 ⲧⲁⲛⲟⲛⲧⲩ̄ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ
27 ⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛⲉⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ|
28 ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲙ[ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲏ
29 ⲏⲥ ⲥⲃⲁⲕ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲃ[ⲁ]ⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲉⲣⲙⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲃⲱϫⲃⲉ ⲉ[ⲧⲃⲉ]
30 ⲉⲩ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲧⲃ|ⲙ̄ⲙ|ⲥⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄[ⲛ]ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲁⲩ]
31 ⲱⲃⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲧⲁⲛ|ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲕⲉ[. . . . . .]

Die Seitenüberschrift ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲍ ist falsch. Es muß ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁ|ⲟⲛ stehen. — 27 In ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲁⲛⲟⲩ steht das erste ⲟⲩ über der Zeile. Lies ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ vgl. 128, 8.

des Lehrers.

Der Φωστήρ sprach: Deshalb sage ich zu euch, meine Brüder, meine Geliebten und meine Glieder: In Weisheit und Kunst (τέχνη) festigt euch rings um die Tore des Körpers, damit die Sünde, die im Körper wohnt, nicht über euch stark werde, euer Licht von euch nehme, es zerstreue an verschiedenen Orten und es zersplittere (?) an verschiedenen Stellen in verschiedener Art. Es sei ferne (μὴ γένοιτο), daß dies euch geschehe, sondern (ἀλλά) seid Menschen, die wachen und gefestigt sind in eurer Wahrheit. Seid bereit vom All zum All, damit eure Ruhe und euer Ende bei dem sei, dessen Zeichen und Hoffnung ihr bewahrt. —

LVII.

Über die Erzeugung Adams.

Wiederum fragte ein Babylonischer (Βαβυλώνιος) Katechumen den Φωστήρ, indem er zu ihm sagte: Sprich mit mir, o Herr, und unterrichte mich über Adam, den ersten Menschen: Zur Zeit, als man ihn schuf (πλάσσειν), auf welche Weise hat man ihn gebildet (ζωγραφεῖν), oder auf welche Weise hat man ihn erzeugt? — Gleicht seine Erzeugung der Erzeugung, die heute erzeugt wird in der Menschheit oder nicht? Besteht ein Unterschied (διαφορά) zwischen seiner Geburt und der, die heute geboren wird? Denn siehe Adam, stark ist er in seiner Substanz, hoch ist sein Alter (ἡλικία), lang sind auch seine Jahre; er hat viele Jahre gemacht, indem er sich in der Welt befindet. Nicht nur er allein ist es, den wir stark gefunden haben, sondern (auch) alle Andern, die in seiner Generation (γενεά) erzeugt wurden. Lang sind auch ihre Jahre. Diese Menschen dagegen, die heute erzeugt werden, ihre Substanz ist gering geworden in ihrer Kraft; auch ihre Jahre haben sich vermindert. Weshalb aber ist die Geburt heute derer, die erzeugt werden verschieden von der dieser (plur.) ersten . . . . . .

ρμε

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1 ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲍⲱⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲥⲉⲙⲏⲛ
2 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲍⲱⲃ ⲁ ⲡⲁⲍⲉ ⲙⲛ
3 ⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲍⲁⲉⲩⲉ ⲥⲃⲁⲕ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲛⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲁ
4 ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲛⲓⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ leer
5 [ⲛ]ⲧⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲡⲛ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲱⲁⲭⲍ̄
6 ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲍⲏⲧ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩ
7 ⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲛⲧⲥ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲥⲃⲁⲕ̣
8 ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲟⲩⲛ ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
9 ⲣⲉⲩⲭⲁⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲍⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲏ
10 ⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉⲩ ⲛⲣⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲙ̄[ⲟⲩⲧⲉ]
11 [ⲁⲣⲁⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲍ
12 [ⲥⲛⲉ]ⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲃⲁⲧ ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲍ
13 [ⲫⲧⲁⲩ] ⲡⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲙⲁⲍϯⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲡⲓϯⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ
14 [ⲛ]ⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲡ̣ⲟ̣ⲥ̣ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲓϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓⲕⲟⲥ ⲥⲉⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲙⲛ
15 ⲙⲡⲏⲟⲩⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲁ ϯⲉ ⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̣ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁ̣
16 ⲭⲱⲩ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛⲧⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲡ̣ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲃⲁⲧ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ
17 ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲙⲡⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ
18 ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲩ
19 ⲱⲃⲏⲣ ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲟ ⲙⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ
20 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲧ̣ⲁ̣[ⲛⲧⲃ]
21 ⲛ̣ⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲙ
22 ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲭⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲱⲁ ⲧⲥⲁⲏ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥ
23 ⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ
24 ⲁⲭⲛ ⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲙⲏⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ
25 [ⲭ]ⲡⲁⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲃⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲙ
26 ⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲣⲥⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲁⲍⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲙⲛ
27 [ⲧ]ⲁ̣ⲥⲏⲑⲏⲗ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲁⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
28 ⲛ̣ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲩⲗⲟ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲭⲛ ⲛⲣⲙ̄
29 ⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲭⲛ ⲛⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ ⲣ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲧⲍⲉ
30 [ⲛ]ⲛ̣ⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲃⲕ̣ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ
31 [ⲧⲉ] ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲥⲉ ⲉ[ⲧⲁⲩ]ⲭⲡⲁⲥ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲍⲉ ⲥⲁⲃⲕ̣
32 [ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲁⲍⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲁⲩ] ⲥⲛ ⲧⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ

1 Lies ⲙⲛ ⲛ̄. — 10 Polotsky ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉⲩ ⟨ϯⲟⲩ⟩ ⲛⲣⲉⲛ „Sie haben <fünf> Namen“.

des Lehrers.

an seinem bestimmten Platze. Siehe auch die Sterne und die ζῴδια bleiben
an ihren Orten. Weswegen sind jetzt das Alter und
die Jahre dieser letzten geringer und kleiner geworden als die
dieser Alten (ἀρχαῖος), die zu diesen ersten Generationen (γενεά) gehören. —
Er aber, unser Φωστήρ, sagte in seiner tiefen Weisheit
(und) in seinem großen Verstande zu diesem Katechu-
menen, der ihn gefragt hatte: Sie sind groß und wieder klein geworden.
Denn es gibt fünf Typen von Machthabern (ἐξουσιαστής) und
Wegführern in der σφαῖρα der ζῴδια und den
Himmeln, die oberhalb von ihr sind. Sie haben die Namen, mit denen sie
[gerufen werden]. Der erste Name ist das Jahr, der
zweite ist der Monat, der dritte ist der Tag, der
[vierte] ist die Stunde, der fünfte ist der Augenblick. Diese fünf
Orte und diese fünf Häuser (οἶκος) befinden sich in der σφαῖρα und
den Himmeln. Diese Orte haben fünf Mächte, die Herr über sie
sind. Der Herr des Jahres ist da. Der Herr des Monats ist da.
Der Herr des Tages ist da. Der Herr der Stunde ist da.
Der Herr des Augenblicks ist da. Der eine ist jeweils höher als sein
Genosse. Der jeweils Höhere ist Herr über den Niederen.
Die Menschheit ihrerseits, die erzeugt wird und die (Geburt) [der]
Tiere, sie werden erzeugt durch diese Kräfte. Sie aber diese Kräfte,
haben Vollmacht (ἐξουσία) erlangt vom Anfang (ἀρχή) der Schöpfung bis zum Ende
der Welt. Im Anfang der Generationen (γενεά) waren die Mächte, die über die Jahre
Herr waren, Herrscher. Deshalb auch die Nachkommenschaft, die
erzeugt wurde in ihren Generationen und ihrer Zeit, man hat gefunden, daß ihre
Jahre mehr sind, indem sie ein hohes Alter erreichten in der Generation (γενεά) Adams
und der des Sethel, seines Sohnes und derer, die nach ihm gekommen sind. Nach-
dem aufgehört hatten die Mächte, die Herr waren über die
Jahre, zu herrschen, da wurden die Mächte, die Herr über die Monate waren, Herrscher. Wie
die Monate kürzer sind als die Jahre, so auch
die Nachkommenschaft, die durch sie erzeugt [worden ist]; ihr Alter ist niedriger
[als das Alter derer, die erzeugt wurden] in der Generation (γενεά) der Mächte, die Herr sind

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1 ⲁⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲉ leer ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲥⲭⲱⲕ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲟ
2 ⲛⲭⲁϊⲥ ⲁⲛⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲟⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲭⲓ ⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ
3 ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲧϩⲉ ⲟⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲃⲕ̄ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ
4 ⲧϩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉϊ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲟⲩⲁϩⲉ
5 ⲥⲁⲃⲕ̄ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲁϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲭⲁϊⲥ
6 ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ†ϩⲉ †ϩ[ⲉ] ⲁⲛ ⲧⲙⲏⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲁⲥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩ
7 ⲛⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲡⲟⲩⲗⲓϩⲙⲉ ⲥⲁⲃⲕ̄ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲁⲛⲉ
8 ⲃⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲡⲁⲛϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ leer ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲡⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏ
9 ⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲕⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁ ϩⲥⲁ
10 ⲏ [ⲙ]ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ϩⲛⲁⲥ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲁ ⲡⲁϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣ̣[ⲱ]
11 ⲙⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲥⲃⲁⲕ ⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲙ[ⲡⲉⲩⲉ]
12 ⲃⲱⲭⲃⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲁϊⲛ[ⲉ ⲉⲧ]
13 ⲟ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲅⲉⲛⲁⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲧⲁⲡⲟ
14 ⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉϊ ⲣⲱ ⲁⲩⲥⲃⲁⲕ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲙⲁ̣ⲓⲏⲏⲥ ⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ
15 ϩⲉ ⲣⲕⲟⲩϊ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ leer ⲦⲦⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏ
16 ⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲃⲁⲃⲩ[ⲗ]ⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ †ⲧⲱⲃϩ̄
17 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲁϫⲁϊⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲧϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩϊⲉⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲕⲡⲓⲟⲉ
18 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϊ ϩⲁ ⲡⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ⲁ ⲛⲣⲙ̄
19 ⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲓⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲏ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲛϩⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ
20 ⲁ ⲛⲓϩⲁⲉⲩⲉ ⲥⲃⲁⲕ ⲁⲕⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁϊ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲃⲁⲕ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩ
21 ⲕⲉⲁⲙⲁϊⲏⲏⲥ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲛⲉϊ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲃⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲁϊ
22 ⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲁϊⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲓⲧϥ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ϵ
23 ⲕⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲓⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲉⲱ ⲛϩⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲡⲟ
24 ⲧⲙⲏⲥⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲛⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϩⲁⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩ
25 ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲉⲩϩⲁ ⲦⲦⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲡⲓⲕⲁ
26 ⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲕⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲥⲉ
27 ⲭⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛ̄ⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲕ̄ⲙⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲧϩⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ
28 ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲣϩⲟⲩⲟ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁϊⲛⲉ ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲁ
29 ⲃⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲙⲁϊⲏⲏⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲉⲣⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲟ ⲛⲛⲁⲃ ⲧϩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧ̣[ⲉ]
30 ⲧⲉϊ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲕⲉⲙⲏⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲥⲉ ⲛⲡⲓⲥⲏ̣[ⲩ]
31 ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ . . . . ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̣ [ⲧⲕⲁ]
32 ⲗⲁϩⲏ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲙⲉⲩ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲉⲩ[. . . . . .]

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1 ⲛⲛⲃⲁⲙ oberhalb der Zeile. — 23 Lies ⲁⲣⲁ⟨ⲓ̈⟩ ⲁⲛ (Polotsky). — 29 Lies ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲙⲁϊⲏⲏⲥ.

Die Kephalaia

über die Jahre. — Als zu Ende war die Vollmacht (ἐξουσία) der Mächte, die Herr
sind über die Monate, da erlangten die Mächte der Tage Vollmacht (ἐξουσία)
nach ihnen. Wie nun die Tage kürzer sind als die Monate,
so auch die Nachkommenschaft, die durch sie erzeugt wurde. Ihr Alter
ist niedriger als das Alter derer, die geboren sind durch die Mächte, die Herr sind
über die Monate. Ganz genau so die Nachkommenschaft, die erzeugt wurde durch die
Stunden, und die der Augenblicke. Ihr *lihme* ist geringer, als der der
Monate und der der Tage. — Es sagte unser Φωστήρ zu jenem
Babylonischen Katechumenen: Du siehst, wie nahe
das Ende der Welt gekommen ist. Das Alter der
Menschen ist zu einem bißchen gekommen, ihre Tage sind geringer, ihre Jahre
weniger geworden. Denn das Leben und das Licht, das
in der Welt war in diesen ersten Generationen, war mehr als das
von heute. Deshalb sind sie auch gering geworden in ihrer Substanz; ihr
Alter ist kurz geworden bei ihnen. — Wiederum sprach dieser Babylonische
Katechumen zu unserm Φωστήρ: Ich bitte
dich, o Herr: Wie du mich unterrichtet und überzeugt (πείθειν) hast
über die Jahre, weswegen die Jahre
dieser Alten (ἀρχαῖος) lang oder weswegen
diese letzten kurz geworden sind. Du hast mir noch gesagt, daß sie gering geworden sind
auch in ihrer Substanz. Du hast gesagt, daß diese alle gering geworden sind wegen
des Lebens und Lichtes, das aus der Welt weggenommen worden ist. Du
mögest mir verkünden auch dies andere, wie die ganze Nach-
kommenschaft der Menschheit hervorgebracht worden ist durch einen Mann und eine Frau,
Adam und Eva. — Da sagte der Φωστήρ zu jenem
Katechumenen: Schön (καλῶς) fragst du nach dieser
Sache, aber wisse und erkenne sie (auch). Denn wie diese
ersten Generationen (γενεά) reicher sind in ihrem Licht und reiner
in der Substanz, auch ihre Jahre mehr sind, so ist auch
ihre Nachkommenschaft zahlreicher als die Nachkommenschaft der Gegenwart.
Sie brachten eine längere Zeit zu . . . . . im [Lei-]
be ihrer Mutter. Dann . . . . . .

[ρ]ⲙⲍ

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ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲩⲁϫⲙⲡⲟ
ϯⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲩⲁϫⲙⲡⲟ ⲥⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ [ⲟⲩ]ⲕⲁ
ⲗⲁⲍⲏ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲱϫⲃⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲓ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ
ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲛⲉⲓ Ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲣⲱ ⲁ ⲧⲙⲏⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲩⲍⲁ ⲁⲱⲉⲓ
ⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲛⲉⲥⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲕ̄ⲁⲍ ⲙⲟⲩⲍ ⲍⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲍⲉⲧⲟⲩ Ⲉ
ⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲧⲙⲏⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲃ|ⲛ̄ϫⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ
ϫⲡⲁⲥ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲱⲃ|ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲧⲁⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲣ̀[ⲉ]
ⲧⲟⲩⲃ|ⲛ̄ⲱ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲃ|ⲱⲙ|ⲥⲉ ⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϫ̄ⲡ̀ⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲡⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲍ[ⲙ]ⲉ
ⲛ̀ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲡϫⲟ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ|ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁ[ⲉⲩⲉ] ⲉⲩ
ⲁⲍⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲃⲕ̀ ⲣ̄ⲃⲁϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲣⲱ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩϫ[ⲡⲟ ⲙ̄]
ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̀ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲗⲁⲍⲏ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲙⲁⲗⲁ ⲙⲟⲩ|ⲥ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲏ ⲡ[ⲃ]ⲱϫ
ⲃⲉ ⲏ ⲡⲟⲩⲟ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲟ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁ|ⲉ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲃⲕ̀ ⲥⲛ̀
ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲧ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̀ⲟⲱⲃ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ [ⲛⲟⲩ]
ⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲙⲛⲍ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲕ|ⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ⲣⲙⲃⲱⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲥⲉⲟ ⲛⲍⲁⲥ|ⲉ
ⲥⲉⲱϫⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲍⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲗⲁ|ⲡⲱⲣ| ⲡⲕⲉⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲍⲁⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲁⲙ leer Ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡ|ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ [ⲥⲱ]
ⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ|ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲁⲩϯ ⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ
ϯⲣ̄ⲉⲩⲭⲁⲣ|ⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲁϫⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲧⲱⲧ ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ ⲁⲕ[ⲡ|]
ⲑⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ|ⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲧⲣⲟⲡⲏ ⲍⲁ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁ|ⲓ̈ⲱⲛ̄ⲧⲕ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
NH
NH > ⲧⲩⲧⲟⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲗⲩⲡⲏ < NH
[Ⲧ]ⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲛⲉⲭⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲉ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ ϯⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲡⲏⲱ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ| ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙ
ⲙⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲉⲥⲭ| ⲱⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ
ⲉⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲟⲗⲓϯⲓⲥ ⲉⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲭⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧ
[ⲙⲉⲧ]ⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧⲓⲕⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲥⲣ̄ⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲉⲥ
[ⲙⲟ]ⲩⲍ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲥ̄ ⲉⲩⲱⲱⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ|ⲑⲗⲓϯⲓⲥ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲥⲁ
[ⲛ]ⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲛ̄ ⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲱⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲛⲥⲣ̄ⲍⲏⲃ[ⲉ] ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲟⲩ
[Ⲧⲧⲙⲁ]ⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲁⲭⲍ̄ [ⲛ]ⲍⲏⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ
[ⲧⲉⲫⲙⲛⲧⲛ]ⲁⲃ ⲙⲛ̀ ⲧⲉⲫⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
[ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ . . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲩⲙⲁⲕⲍ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ

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10 Lies ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩϫⲡⲟ. — 11 Lies ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲁϫⲉ. — 13 Lies ⲏ ⲡⲍⲟⲩⲟ. — 31 Lies ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ.

des Lehrers.

und eine Menge mit einer einzigen Empfängnis. Manchmal werden fünf in einer einzigen Empfängnis erzeugt. Manchmal werden sechs in einem einzigen Mutterleibe geboren. Manchmal etwas weniger als dies, manchmal wieder etwas mehr als dies. Deshalb auch wurde die Nachkommenschaft Evas viel und die ihrer Kinder. Die Erde wurde voll von ihnen allein. Denn die Nachkommenschaft der Erzeugung der Menschen der Urzeit (ἀρχαῖος), die in der Welt erzeugt wurde, ist recht verschieden von der heutigen. Ihre Empfängnis und ihre Geburt gleicht nicht ihren letzten Geburten, die geboren sind heute in der Scheide des Weibes. Denn die heute in diesen letzten Generationen (γενεά) geboren werden, sie stehen da klein und verkrüppelt und einzeln werden sie geboren in einem einzigen Mutterleibe, kaum (μάλα μόγις) zwei oder weniger oder mehr, indem sie auch noch in ihrer Gestalt häßlich sind, klein in ihrem Wuchs und schwach in ihren Gliedern (μέλος). Ihre Lehren und [ihre] Gedanken sind voll von Schlechtigkeit (κακία), böse sind sie, sie sind untergegangen, sie vergehen in ihrem Alter, indem sie leiden (ταλαιπωρεῖν); auch der Tod trifft sie rasch. — Als jener Katechumen diese Worte hörte, verneigte er sich, pries und sprach zum Φωστήρ:

Ich danke (εὐχαριστεύειν) dir, mein Herr, daß du mein Herz überzeugt und mich überredet (πείθειν) hast durch eine Mahnrede (προτροπή) über das, was ich dich gefragt habe.

LVIII.

Die vier Mächte, die betrübt werden (λυπεῖσθαι).

Wiederum sprach der Φωστήρ zu seinen Jüngern: Ich bin e i n e r von denen, die betrübt werden (λυπεῖσθαι), von diesen drei Mächten, die bekümmert sind, die herausgekommen sind aus dem Vater. — Die erste, die betrübt wird (λυπεῖσθαι), ist die erste Mutter des Lebens. Sie wird aber traurig wegen ihrer Söhne, die in Trübsal (θλῖψις) dastehen, indem sie vermischt wurden mit der Finsternis und dem Gift; sie wurden gebunden in der ganzen Archontenschaft (ἀρχοντική). Denn sie war betrübt (λυπεῖθαι), indem sie (fem.) sie (pl.) erblickte, wie sie diese Trübsale (θλῖψις) erdulden. Wenn sie (fem.) sie (pl.) sieht, daß Not auf ihnen (lastet), (dann) wird sie betrübt (λυπεῖσθαι) und traurig um ihretwillen.

[Der] zweite Betrübte ist der Urmensch, dessen [Größe] und Reich sich im [Licht]schiff befinden . . . . . Er aber ist betrübt wegen

22 Im Kapitel selbst werden nur drei Mächte aufgeführt.

ⲣⲙ̅[ⲏ]

> · ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 ⲡⲉⲩ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲓⲛ
2 ⲁⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲥⲁⲡ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲩⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉ†ⲙⲕⲁⲍ ⲛⲉⲩ
3 ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲏⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲍⲣⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲟⲩ
4 ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲃⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲛ̄ⲱⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲡⲗⲏ
5 ⲅⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲭⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
6 ⲛ̄†ⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲱⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲗ[ⲩ]ⲡⲏ ⲍⲓ ⲍⲏⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ
7 [ⲱ]ⲏ[ⲣ]ⲉ leer ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ
8 ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲣⲉⲱⲉ
9 ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈
10 ⲥⲁⲧⲡⲥ̀ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲙⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙⲍⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧ
11 ⲙⲛⲧⲃⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲱⲍ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀
12 ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥⲏⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉ†ⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣ[ⲁⲥ ⲉ]ⲥⲍⲁ
13 ⲟⲗⲓ†ⲓⲥ ⲍⲓ ⲁⲓⲱⲅⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲟ̄ⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲍⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲥⲭⲁⲭ[ⲉ]
14 †ⲛⲁⲃⲓ ⲱⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲍⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲏⲓ̈ ⲕⲉⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲉⲩ
15 ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲍⲁ ⲙ̄†ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ
16 ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲧⲁⲭⲣⲁⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲓⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲛ̄
17 [ⲧⲙⲏ]ⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲅⲉ
18 ⲍⲉ̣ⲛ̣ⲛⲁ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲣⲱ †ⲣ̄ⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲍⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ
19 ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲭⲓ ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲍⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲛ̄
20 ⲧⲉ †ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲛⲁⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲛ̄ⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ
21 ⲛ̅ⲑ̅
22 — ⲡⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟⲓ —
23 ⲛ̅ⲑ̅ ⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣⲙⲉ ⲛ̅ⲑ̅
24 ⲦⲦⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲍⲃ̄ⲥⲁⲩⲉ
25 ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲛⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲡ
26 ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲣⲱⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲕⲉⲙⲁⲍⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲓⲙⲉ
27 ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲁⲧⲍⲁⲏ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲍⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ
28 ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲍⲟⲩ ⲁⲣ̣ⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ leer
29 ⲦⲦⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲁ[ⲡ]
30 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲩ
31 ⲁⲩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧⲉⲍⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ ⲁ
32 ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲉⲍⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲩ̄ⲉⲓ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ̄ [ⲁⲗ]
33 ⲗⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ ⲁⲩⲍⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ[ⲣ]ⲁ̣ⲩ [ⲁⲩⲙⲓⲱⲉ]

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3 Am Ende der Zeile nachgetragen ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̣. — 4 Am Anfang der Zeile nachgetragen ⲁⲱⲃⲏⲗ ⲉⲩ. — Lies ⲛ̄ⲱⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩⲉ. — 25 ⲣⲓⲙⲉ über der Zeile. — 29 Lies ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲣⲓⲙⲉ.

Die Kephalaia

seiner fünf Söhne, die in der Mitte der Gefahr (κίνδυνος)
stehen. Denn immer, wenn er sieht, daß sie betrübt werden
. . . . . immer, wenn er hört die Stimme ihres Schreiens,
indem sie weinen und schreien wegen der Schläge und Wunden
(πληγή) des Feindes, der täglich über sie kommt, wenn er sie derart
zu aller Zeit sieht, (dann) wird er betrübt (λύπη) und traurig wegen seiner
Söhne. — Der dritte, der betrübt wird (λυπεῖσθαι), bin ich.
Denn von der Zeit ab, da ich in die Welt gekommen bin, ist mir keine
Freude in ihr (zuteil) geworden wegen der heiligen Kirche (ἐκκλησία), die ich
erwählt habe im Namen meines Vaters. Ich habe sie von der Knechtschaft
der Herrscher (ἐξουσιαστής) befreit (und) in sie den Licht-
Noûς gesetzt. Immer, wenn ich sie (fem.) sehe in
Trübsal (θλῖψις) und Verfolgung (διωγμός), wie sie betrübt wird durch ihre Feinde,
werde ich traurig um sie. Ich habe keine andere Betrübnis (λυπή)
außer der um die Seelen (ψυχή), die die Hoffnung (ἐλπίς) nicht angenommen haben
und sich nicht in dieser Festigung und diesem Stehen [der Wahrheit]
befestigt haben. Sie werden herauskommen, verderben und in die Hölle
(γεέννα) gehn ewiglich. Deswegen betrübe (λυπεῖσθαι) ich mich um sie, daß
sie nicht die Reue (μετάνοια) angenommen haben und sich nicht mit der Rechten
des Friedens (εἰρήνη) und der Gnade versöhnt haben, die ich aus dem Vater herausgebracht habe.

LIX.

Das Kapitel (κεφάλαιον) der Elemente (στοιχεῖον), die weinten.

Wiederum sprach er zu seinen Jüngern: Die Kleider,
die Söhne des Urmenschen weinten sehr dreimal.
Dann schwiegen sie. Noch ein viertes Weinen
werden sie am Ende weinen und (dann) mit ihrem Weinen aufhören
und nicht wieder weinen von dieser Zeit an. —
Das erste Weinen, als sie weinten, ist der Zeitpunkt,
da sie die Finsternis, den Feind, erblickten, als er gegen sie vorgehen wollte.
Sie wußten Alles, was sie treffen würde. Sie erkannten (αἰσθάνεσθαι),
was sich gegen sie erheben würde und durch ihn über sie kommen würde.
Aber wegen der Notwendigkeit (ἀνάγκη) haben sie sich auf ihn gestürzt [und gekämpft]

3 ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ unklar. — 30 vgl. 128, 14.

[ρμϑ]

> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <

1 ⲛ[ⲉ]ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ [ⲁⲩ]
2 [ⲙⲁ]ⲣⲏ̄ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲉ[ⲙ]
3 [ⲁⲍ]ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲱϫⲉ̄ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲉ[ⲕⲉ]
4 [ⲧⲧⲙⲁ]ⲍⲥⲁⲡⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲏ̄ ⲡⲉ [ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉ]
5 [ⲧⲁ ⲡⲟ]ⲩ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ [ⲉⲓ] ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡ[ⲛⲟⲩⲛ]
6 ⲙ[ⲡ]ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲁⲱ[ⲟⲩ ⲙ]
7 ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁ̣[ⲩ]
8 ⲛ[ⲉⲩ ⲁ]ⲡⲱⲁ̣ⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ̄
9 ⲁⲩ[ⲕ]ⲁ̣ⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲱⲍⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲛⲧϫⲁϫ[ⲉ ⲁ]ⲩ̣
10 ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲱ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲩⲁⲣ ⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱ . . .
11 . ⲱ . . . ⲩ . ⲡⲟⲩⲍⲏⲧ̣ ⲁ̣ⲑⲗⲓϯⲓⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲩ[ⲥⲱϫⲡ ⲁⲡ]ⲁ
12 ⲍ̣ⲟⲩ ⲉⲁ̣ⲩ[ⲱ]ⲱⲛⲉ ⲍⲁ ⲡⲃⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄
13 ⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲁⲏ leer
14 [ⲧⲧ]ⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄
15 ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲃⲁⲱⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲁⲱⲓⲣⲉ
16 ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩ̣ϯ
17 ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϫⲱⲣⲙⲉ ϫⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲓ ϫⲱⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲓ ⲁⲡ
18 ϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲙⲁⲍⲉ
19 ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲍ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲡⲱⲍ ⲁⲧϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲃⲣⲁ[ⲍ]ⲧ̣
20 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ϯⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲁⲡⲙⲁⲛⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲃⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ
21 ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣϫⲏ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲍⲱ
22 ⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲥⲱϫⲡ̄ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ
23 ⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱϫⲡ̄ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ
24 ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ϯⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲧⲉⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲩ̣ϯ ⲡⲟ̣ⲩ
25 [ⲍⲏ]ⲧ ⲁϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲗⲏⲃ̄ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲍⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ϫⲉ̣
26 [ⲉⲩⲁ]ⲭⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲛ
27 [ⲍⲃ]ⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲱϥ̄ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉ̣
28 . . ⲍ̣ⲛ ⲧⲍⲁⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ leer
29 [ⲧⲧⲙ]ⲁⲍϥⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡ̄
30 [ⲁ]ⲛ̣ⲁⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲃⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣⲓⲙⲉ
31 [ⲛ]ⲙ̄ϯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣⲛⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲭⲓⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲩⲁ+
32 . . . . . ⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
33 [. . . . . .] ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ϯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ

des Lehrers.

mit ihm. Sie wurden Herr über ihn. Sie bemächtigten sich seiner. [Sie]
[banden] ihn in ihrem Körper (σῶμα) und ihren Gliedern (μέλος). Sie haben
überwunden seinen Tod und seinen Brand und seine Finsternis. —
[Das] zweite Mal, als sie weinten, ist [das Mal, als]
[ihr] Vater, der Urmensch, herauf[stieg] aus dem [Abgrund]
der Finsternis (und) sie (zurück)ließ, welches das Mal ist, als er [sie] auszog
und unten ließ. Als sie nun sahen,
daß der Urmensch heraufstieg aus dem Abgrund
und sie (zurück)ließ, und sie hinter ihm zurückblieben in der Feindschaft, da
weinten sie und wurden betrübt. Aber was sollen sie tun, wenn sie wollen . .
. . . . . ihr Herz zu lauter Trübsal (θλῖψις). [Sie sind zurückgeblieben],
indem sie krank geworden waren unter der schweren Last (βάρος)
aller Werke bis zur Zeit des Endes. —
[Das] dritte Mal, als sie weinten, ist das Mal, da der Lebendige
Geist die drei Kleider der Stärke auszog
und sie unterhalb aller Werke hinlegte und ihnen einen
Wink gab, daß sie ihr Haupt erhöben und zur Höhe kämen
von jenem Ort, durchquerten und wandelten
auf allen Erden, bis sie gelangten zum Lande der Ruhe
und des Friedens, zum Ruheort, der ihnen bereitet ist. Als
sie nun sahen, daß er sich von ihnen trennte; sie dagegen
hinter ihm zurückblieben und nicht heraufkamen, zu jener
Stunde, da sie hinter ihm zurückblieben, (da) weinten
diese drei Kleider. Als sie geweint hatten, gaben sie ihr
[Herz] zu allen Höhen, die ihnen verhüllt sind, und wurden eines Sinnes, daß
[sie] sich erhöben, zur Höhe aufstiegen und alle Dinge
durchqueren bis zu der Zeit, die ihnen allen bestimmt wurde
. . am Ende der Welten. —
[Das] vierte Mal, da sie weinen werden, ist das Mal, da die
Säule (ἀνδριάς) sich erheben wird am letzten Tage und sie die
Seelen der Leugner (ἀρνητής) und der Lästerer beweinen werden. Sie werden
geben
. . . . . Denn ihre Glieder (μέλος) sind abgehauen
. . . . . der Finsternis. — Sie aber, jene Seelen,

[ⲣⲛ]

[> ·] ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 [ⲉⲧ]ⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ [ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈]
2 [ⲛ̄ⲥ]ⲉⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲍⲉ[ⲧ]ⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲥⲱⲭ[ⲡ] ⲁ̣
3 [ⲡⲁ]ⲍⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲑⲗⲓϯⲥ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲥⲉⲛ[ⲁⲱⲁⲧ]
4 [ⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲡ̣ⲁⲣⲭⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲉⲓ̈ⲧ]ⲟ̣
5 [ⲩ] ⲁⲩⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ ⲛⲭ̣ⲓ ⲛⲓϯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲃⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲡⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ
6 [ⲕⲁⲧ]ⲁ ⲧⲱⲃⲓⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁ ⲁⲍⲟ̣ⲩ̣[ⲛ ⲁ]ⲡ̣ⲓ
7 [ⲕⲉⲕ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩⲙⲓ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
8 ⲁ[ⲩ]ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲏ̄ ⲁⲩⲕⲁ [ⲡ]ⲟⲩⲉⲍⲟ ⲍⲁⲧⲏⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ϯⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ϯⲟ̣ⲩ̣[ⲛ]ⲟⲩ
9 ⲉ[ⲧⲙ̄]ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲉ ⲛⲁ ⲁ̣ⲍ̣[ⲣ]ⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲍⲏ[ⲧⲥ̄]
10 ⲥ[ⲉⲛ]ⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϯ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲍⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲁ
11 ⲱⲁⲁ̣ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ ⲛ̣ⲥⲉ
12 ⲥⲱⲭⲡ̄ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛ̣ . . ⲡ ⲉ
13 ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲍⲉ ⲭⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲓⲧⲉⲍⲏ ⲛⲙ̄ϯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲙ . . . ⲛ̄ . .
14 ⲉⲧⲥⲃⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲡⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲩ[ⲛⲁ]ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ
15 ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲕⲁⲣⲱⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲏ̄ ⲉⲛ ⲁ
16 ⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲍⲁⲩ ⲭⲛ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ leer
17 ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲍ
18 ⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲟ̣ ⲙⲡⲱⲱ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲩⲛ̄ⲁⲱϯ̄ ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲉⲩ ⲛ̄
19 ⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲡⲓⲕⲉⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲡⲱⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ[ⲍ]
20 [ⲩⲧ]ⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲡⲏⲱ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲍⲁ ⲛⲓϯⲩⲭⲁⲩ[ⲉ]
21 ⲛ̣ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲱⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛⲁ̣
22 ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲣⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲱⲁ
23 ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ leer ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲉ ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲁⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲓⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ϯⲩ
24 ⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲫⲟⲩⲱ
25 ⲛⲍ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲧ[ⲟⲩ]
26 ⲁ̣ⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁⲍⲉ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲁ̣
27 ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛ̄ⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛ̣ⲁ̣
28 ⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲭⲓ ⲧⲉⲫⲱⲃⲓⲱ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲕⲁ[ⲍ]
29 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ ⲉⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ϯⲓⲥ ⲉⲩⲭⲓ
30 ⲙⲕⲁⲍ ⲍⲓ ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲁⲛ[ⲟⲩ]
31 ⲍⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ [ⲛⲥⲉ]
32 ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲓⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ [. . . . . ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲓ]

29 Lies ⲑⲗⲓϯⲥ.

Die Kephalaia

wenn die Säule (ἀνδριάς) aufsteigt,
und sie allein (zurück)gelassen werden, werden sie weinen, daß sie zurückbleiben
werden in der Trübsal (θλῖψις) ewiglich. Denn sie werden [ab-]
[geschnitten] und getrennt von der letzten Säule (ἀνδριάς), um [sie zu geben]
in Not (ἀνάγκη) (und) zu nehmen diese Seelen, die für das Verderben bestimmt sind
[gemäß] der Vergeltung der Werke, die sie getan haben, die, welche [hinein]-gehn werden in die
[Finsternis] und mit der Finsternis gefesselt werden, wie sie sie (fem.) begehrt (ἐπιθυμεῖν)
und geliebt haben und bei ihr ihren Schatz niedergelegt haben. Zu jener
selben Stunde, wenn die letzte Säule(ἀνδριάς) aufsteigt,
werden sie weinen. Dann werden sie laut schreien, daß sie
abgeschnitten werden von der Begleitung dieser großen Säule (ἀνδριάς) und
in Ewigkeit zurückbleiben. Dieses große Weinen . . . . .
furchtbar ist vor den Seelen und . . . . .
die bestimmt sind zum Verderben gemäß ihren Werken. Sie weinen aber
in jenem Weinen, nicht schweigen sie jemals in ihm.
Denn nicht wird sie von dieser Stunde an Ruhe erreichen. —
Sie aber sind die Gewänder dieser Elemente (στοιχεῖον). Dieses
vierte Weinen ist Betrübnis für sie. Es ist stärker bei ihnen als
diese drei vorangegangenen Weinen. Das vierte Weinen betrifft
nicht sie, sondern sie weinen und sind betrübt um diese Seelen,
die von der Ruhe abgeschnitten werden. Denn nicht wird ihnen Ruhe
(zuteil) werden, so daß sie ruhen von der Qual (βάσανος) in
Ewigkeit. — Wegen des Endes des Verderbens der Seelen
haben sich alle Apostel und die Väter, die sich aus dem Guten (ἀγαθόν)
offenbaren, die wahren Propheten (προφήτης), sich (dahin) gegeben
in lauter Mühsal, lauter furchtbaren Zwang (ἀνάγκη), damit sie vor dem
zweiten Tod gerettet würden. Nicht hat einer von allen Aposteln
seine Belohnung auf der Erde empfangen wollen.
Sondern sie haben ihre ganze Zeit (καιρός) zugebracht, indem sie sich in Trübsal (θλῖψις) befanden und Leid empfingen
sowie Kreuzigung (σταύρωσις) an ihrem Körper (σῶμα), damit sie ihre
Seelen vor jenem Verderben retteten und auf-
stiegen zu dieser Ruhe in Ewigkeit . . . . . [in dem]

8 Vgl. Mt. 6, 21 (Lk. 12, 34).

ρνα

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ⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲱⲱ[ⲉ] ⲁⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲡⲉ . . . . . ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲁ
ⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲧⲣⲉϥⲙⲉⲗⲉⲧⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ|ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲡⲉ|
ⲁⲏ ϥⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱϣ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲥ| ⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄
ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ: ——

$\overline{\Sigma}$

$\overline{\Sigma}$ [ⲉⲧⲃ]ⲉ ⲡⲧ̄ⲁⲩ ⲛ̄|ⲱⲧ $\overline{\Sigma}$
[ⲭⲉ] ⲉⲩⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲩ

ⲧⲁⲗ|ⲛ ⲁⲛ [ⲡ]ⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲉϥⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲭⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ[ⲏ]ⲧⲉ [ⲙⲡ]ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲥⲛⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲧ̄ ⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲧ̄ ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲗ[ⲡ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲉⲩ]
ⲟⲩ[ⲁⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ] ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲧ̄ ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙⲃⲱ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲭⲓ ϣⲃⲁ ⲥⲓ ⲡⲗⲏ
[ⲅ]ⲏ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ [ⲥⲛⲕ]ⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲧ̄ ⲉⲙⲁⲩⲃⲙⲃⲱⲙⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲧ[ⲉ] ⲙⲁⲩ
[ⲭⲓ] ϣⲃⲁ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲥⲱⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϩ̣ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ [ⲟⲩ]ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲏⲡ̣
ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲟⲩ]ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩ
ⲏ̣ⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲃⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥ|ⲥⲉ ⲟⲩ̣[ⲛ] ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲉⲩ
ⲭⲓ ϣⲃⲁ ⲥⲓ ⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲛⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱ
ⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲥ|ⲍⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲉⲥⲍⲏⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙ|ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲥ|ⲍⲟⲩⲛ̣
ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡ|ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲥⲱ
ϥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲧ̄ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲝⲓ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ϥⲍⲏⲡ ⲥⲱⲱϥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉϥⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ϥⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲁ
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛ̄ ⲡ|ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲧⲍ|ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲥⲱϥ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲉⲗ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲃⲁⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ̀
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲥⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ
ⲧ̣ⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲁ
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲉⲙⲡⲉ
ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥⲱⲡ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲃ|ⲣⲁⲩ ⲃ|ⲣⲟ ⲡⲃⲉⲗ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱ
ⲙⲁ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲥⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲣⲏⲧⲉ
ⲧ̣ⲉⲧⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲥ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧϥ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ
[ⲕ]ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲟ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙⲃⲱ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲉⲥⲭⲓ ϣ
ⲃⲁ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄☩☩ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲩϣⲱ
[ⲃⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲥ]ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ
[ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄] ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲙⲃⲱ̄ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲉⲩⲉⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ

16 Lies vielleicht ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲍ|ⲥⲉ „und der Trübsal“ (Crum).

des Lehrers.

Neuen Äon. Nicht aber ziemt es sich . . . . . der ein
Weiser ist, daß er sich bemüht (μελετᾶν) zu aller Zeit in diesem Wort. Denn
es ist eine Betrübnis und Kümmernis (λύπη) für die Götter und
die Apostel. —

LX.

[Über] die vier Väter, worin sie einander gleichen.

Wiederum sprach der Apostel zu seinen Jüngern:
Wie [der] Körper (σῶμα) des Fleisches (σάρξ) verborgene
Glieder hat; andere an ihm
offenbar sind, indem sie betastet und
geschlagen werden können, während andere weder betastet noch geschla-
gen werden können, so steht es mit dieser ganzen
Größe, wie es uns dünkt: Manches in ihr ist verborgen,
manches ist offenbar; manches in ihr ist fern
vom Schlage der Mühsal, manches in ihr wird
geschlagen. — Wie nun die Lehre des Körpers (σῶμα),
die drinnen wohnt, indem sie in den ταμιεῖα drinnen
im Körper verborgen (und) nicht offenbar ist, in gleicher
Weise ist auch der Vater, der Gott der Wahrheit
verborgen in seinem Reich, er ist nicht offenbar
der äußeren Wüste. Wie
die beiden Augen des Körpers (σῶμα) offenbar
sind und den Körper auch erleuchten, so
sind diese beiden Lichtschiffe, die glänzen und offenbar sind
in der ganzen Welt und der ganzen Schöpfung, ohne
daß sich das Licht jemals verbarg, gleich den zwei Augen des
Körpers. Mit der Lebendigen Seele, die in Schweigen dasteht,
indem sie in Schweigen offenbar ist, indem sie offenbar ist,
indem sie betastet wird und von diesen fünf Fleischen (σάρξ)
geschlagen, die sie verderben und schlagen, steht es derart;
[sie] ist gleich dem Mysterium des Körpers
[des Fleisches], indem man ihn berühren und sich seiner bemächtigen kann,

ρνβ

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ⲉⲩⲭⲓ ⲱⲃⲁ ⲥⲓ ⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ leer ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲓⲗⲉⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲉⲩⲭⲡⲓⲟ ⲉⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲥⲁ ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲓⲥ
ⲡⲗⲉⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲁ
ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲱⲥ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁ̣ⲉ̣ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲩ
ⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ [ⲉ]ⲧ[ⲱ]ⲱⲛⲉ [ⲥⲙ̄]
ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲱ leer Ⲧⲥⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲣ̣[ⲉ ⲓⲏⲥ] ⲡⲡⲣ̄ⲓ[ⲉ]
ⲧ̣ⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲁⲛⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲁⲃ[ⲁ]ⲗ [ⲛ]ⲧ̣ⲙ̣ⲛ̣ⲧⲛ̣ⲁⲃ
ⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲁ ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲛ
ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲓⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲧ[ⲙⲡⲥⲁ]ⲙ̄[ⲡ]ⲓⲧⲛ̄
ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲉⲧ[ⲟⲩⲁⲛ]ⲥ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ]
ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲭⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ̣[ⲛⲥ ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ]
ⲧⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲥⲁ ⲡ]ⲟⲩⲉ
ⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲣⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲃⲁ
ⲙⲛ ⲧⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ ⲛⲧ☩ⲩ[ⲭⲏ] ⲉ̣ⲧⲁⲛⲥ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲛ̄ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ [ⲁ]
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲩⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁ̈ⲓⲱ ⲥⲁ[ⲣ]ⲁⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ̀ ⲁ
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲗ̀ⲃⲟ ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲁ̈ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ̈ⲉⲧ
ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲃⲓⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲉ
ⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲱ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ ⲥⲛ ⲟⲩ
ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ: ——

$\overline{\text{ϫⲁ}}$

$\overline{\text{ϫⲁ}}$ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲥⲃⲥⲱ ⲛⲙⲙⲟⲩ̈ⲉⲩⲉ $\overline{\text{ϫⲁ}}$
ⲭⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲥⲃⲁⲧ

Ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲏⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ [ⲁ]
ⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲓⲧⲉⲥⲏ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲡⲱⲣⲏⲥ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲁⲩ☩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥ[ⲙⲟⲥ]
ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩⲥⲟ̄ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲓⲧⲉⲥⲏ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲡⲱⲣⲏⲥ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲁⲩⲧⲱ[ⲕ]
ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟ̄ ⲥⲓⲭⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲏⲡⲓⲥ ⲉⲥⲕⲏⲧ ⲁⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲃ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲓⲕⲣⲓⲥ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲃⲁⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ̣[ⲁⲣ]
ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁ ⲧⲓⲕⲣⲓⲥ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲁⲱⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲥⲁ ⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ̈ⲉⲩ[ⲉ]
ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲥⲧ ⲁⲩⲃⲣ̄ⲃⲣ̄ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲁ ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ
ⲉⲙⲏⲣⲉ ⲥⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲁ ⲛ̣ⲙ̣ⲟ̣ⲩ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲥ ⲁⲡⲓ[ⲧⲛⲉ . . . . . .]
ⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲡⲩⲗⲏ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲩ[. . . . . .]

Über der Seite ist eine Zeile nachgetragen und gekennzeichnet durch einen Obolos in Form eines Pfeiles. Sie ist einzufügen hinter Zeile 3: ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̣ⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲁⲛ [ⲙ[ⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲁⲩⲛ̣ⲉ̣ ⲙⲡⲥⲱ[ⲙⲁ] — 23 ⲧⲉ Dittographie.

Die Kephalaia

indem er geschlagen wird. — Wie die
Zunge, die redet, indem sie verkündet, zurechtweist und offenbart
bezüglich allem, was sich an diesem Körper befindet, was innerhalb [a])
Die Zunge, die draußen ist, offenbart über ihn. Sie verkündet auch
über Ehre und Schande des Körpers. Sie redet, indem sie
offenbart über die Betrübnis des Körpers, [der] an seiner Wunde
[krank?] ist. — So steht es mit [Jesus] dem Glanz,
der aus der Größe gesandt wird,
er gibt Offenbarung über alles Äußere und
Innere, über das Obere und Untere,
sei es über die äußeren Äonen, die verborgen und [nicht offenbar sind],
sei es über die Schiffe des Lichtes, die offenbar sind. Er gibt
Offenbarung über sie. Er gibt auch Offenbarung [über] ihre
Herrlichkeit und die Größe, die in ihnen wohnt. Auch bezüglich dieses Schlages
und der Verwundung (πληγή) der Lebendigen Seele gibt Jesus Offenbarung. —
Er predigt auch über sie und ihre Ruhe. Er offenbart
über ihre Reinigung und ihre Heiligung. Siehe, ich habe euch
über das Offenbarwerden dieser vier Väter offenbart: wie
jeder von ihnen bestimmt ist für sein Werk in
Verborgenheit und Offenkundigkeit. —

LXI.

Über das Kleid der Wasser, wie weit sein Ausmaß ist.

Wiederum als zu einer Zeit der Apostel vor Schapur, dem König,
hineinging, da grüßte er ihn (ἀσπασμός)
(und) ging wieder heraus vor Schapur, dem König. Er stellte
sich auf einem Bollwerk (κρηπίς) hin, das auf dem Ufer des großen
Tigrisflusses zu jener Zeit aufgebaut war — es war Monat Phar-
muthi —, da wurde der Tigrisfluß sehr reich an viel Wasser
er . . . . wallte auf . . . . . unter der großen
Überschwemmung, so daß die Wasser hinabgegossen wurden [und]
hineinströmten in die Tore (πύλη) der Stadt, indem sie . . . . .

a) und außerhalb sich befindet, auch die Überlegungen und die Gedanken des Körpers. — 30 ⲃⲱⲍⲧ und ⲟⲱⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ unbekannte Worte, wahrscheinlich Synonyma zu ⲃⲣ̄ⲃⲣ̄, wie „anschwellen“, „tosen“.

[ρνγ]

[> ·] ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲥ [· <]

1 ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲩⲓⲉⲩⲉ ⲥⲱⲕ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲱⲧⲏ ⲛ̄
2 ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲱⲁⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲣⲁ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ . [.]
3 ⲣⲁ ⲕⲉⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲃⲱⲕ . . . . . .
4 ⲡ ⲟ̅ⲣ̅ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲧⲏⲩ ⲁ ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲉⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲥ̀ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ
5 ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲍ̅ⲣ̅ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲱⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲙⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ
6 ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲍⲓⲁⲛ ⲧⲕⲣⲏⲡⲓⲥ ⲉ
7 ⲣⲉ ⲕⲉⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲩ ⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲍⲁⲧⲏⲩ ⲍⲛ̄[ⲁⲣ]
8 ⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩⲍ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲉⲧ̣ⲙ̣ⲏ̣ⲍ̣
9 ⲍⲁ ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲍ
10 ⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛ̣ⲥ̣ⲁⲃ̄ⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲁⲩⲣⲡⲕⲉⲡⲱⲍⲧ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ
11 ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲧ ⲁⲩⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲁⲡ̣ⲟ̣ⲥ̣ⲧ̣ⲟ
12 ⲗⲟⲥ leer ⲁ[ⲣ]ⲁ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈
13 ⲉⲩ[ⲉ] ⲱⲁ[ⲥⲟ] ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲭⲉ ⲱⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲍⲉ+ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥ
14 ⲙⲁⲍ ⲡ̣[ⲓ]ⲉⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲓⲕⲣⲓⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲁ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲏⲏⲥ ⲉⲃⲓⲣⲁⲩ ⲃⲓⲣⲟ ⲧⲛ̣ⲁⲃ̣
15 ⲛ̄[ⲟⲁⲗ]ⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲍⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲕ̣ⲣ̣ⲟ ⲁⲕⲣⲟ ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲍ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛ
16 ⲥⲁⲃ̄ⲧ̄ ⲁⲥⲁⲃ̄ⲧ̄ ⲁⲣⲁ ⲧⲍⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ̣[ⲟ]ⲩ
17 ⲛⲁⲣ̄ ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁ ⲥⲉⲛⲏⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲗⲁ]ⲁⲩⲉ
18 ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ leer ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
19 ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲕ̄ⲣ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲏⲏⲥ ⲛⲙⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲓⲕⲣⲓⲥ
20 ⲏ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲕⲧⲁⲙⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲙⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲉⲧ
21 ⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ+ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲛⲕ̄ⲣ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲍⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲏⲉ ⲙⲡ[ⲓⲉ]ⲣ[ⲟ]
22 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ leer
23 [ⲍⲙ]ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕ
24 [ⲁ]ⲣ̣ⲉⲧⲏ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛⲧⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲱⲡⲉ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲕ̣ⲉ̣ⲕⲉ
25 [ⲁⲩ]ⲱ ⲁⲩⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲭ̣ⲱⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲧ̣
26 ⲟ ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲗ ⲏⲡⲥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲱ̀ⲥ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲉⲱⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲱⲟ ⲱⲟ
27 ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁ ⲧⲃⲁ ⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲱⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣ ⲡⲙⲗⲁⲍ ⲁ
28 [ⲃⲁ]ⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲩ+ ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲩ+
29 [ⲟ]ⲃⲥⲱ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲍⲱⲟⲩ
30 ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲍⲡ ⲁⲩⲱⲙⲕ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄
31 [ⲟⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ] ⲛ̣ⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ
32 [ⲁ ⲍⲛⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ] ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲟⲟⲩ ⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ
33 . . . . .]ⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲧⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ
34 . . . . .] . . . ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲗⲁⲱⲗⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲧⲉⲕⲟ
35 . . . . . ⲁⲩ+]ⲛⲉⲕⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲥⲁⲱⲩ

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20 Zu ⲏ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩ vgl. 125,5. — 32 ⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ am Ende außerhalb der Zeile. — 33—35 in kleinerer Schrift nachgetragen.

des Lehrers.

nur, sondern die Wasser flossen hinein in dem . . . .
der Stadt, bis sie überschwemmten den Marktplatz? der Stadt, die . .
sind gering und die Stadt geht heraus . . . . . .
die Furcht seines Windes. Auch sein Reich stand in
großer Furcht da wegen der Fülle der Überschwemmung dieser Wasser.
Der Apostel stand nun da auf dem Bollwerk (κρηπίς), indem
noch drei Jünger von ihm bei ihm standen,
Archegoi(ἀρχηγός) seiner Kirche (ἐκκλησία). Sie schauten auf den Fluß,
der voll von diesen vielen Wassern war, und sahen, daß diese Wasser
aufstiegen gegen die Mauern der Stadt und sich sogar innerhalb
der Mauern ergossen. Da sagte einer von seinen Jüngern und sprach zum
Apostel: Wie groß ist die Kraft des Kleides der Wasser?
Wie groß ist sie, daß sie im Tosen (θυμός) ihres Fließens kommt und
den Tigrisfluß füllt mit seiner Substanz wie das große
Meer (θάλασσα)? Er hat Wellen geschlagen von Ufer zu Ufer und ist von Mauer
zu Mauer gelangt. Die Quelle, die ergießt alle diese Wasser
in welchem Ausmaß wird sie sein, daß sie (pl.) jährlich kommen werden zu ihrer
bestimmten Zeit (καιρός)? — Da sprach der Apostel zu ihm:
Weshalb wunderst du dich über die Substanz der Tigriswasser
oder weshalb bist du erstaunt über seine Überschwemmung. Sondern höre
über das, was ich dir sagen werde und wundere dich wahrhaftig
über den Fluß, der wurde in dieser ersten Zeit. —
[Zur] Zeit, da der Urmensch die Elemente (στοιχεῖον) anzog (φορεῖν) und sich
gegen die erste Feindschaft, die in der Finsternis entstand, aufstellte
und hintrat gegen diese großen starken Archonten, die
ohne Maß sind, indem sie breiter sind als die Breite der Gestalt von Tausenden
und Zehntausenden . . . . Im Anfang (ἀρχή), als er den Kampf
mit ihnen begann, da gab er ihnen Feuer und Wind, nach ihnen gab er
[das] Kleid der Wasser den Archonten des Todes. Sie dagegen,
die Archonten, sie verschlangen und verschluckten jene Wasser,
[wie ich] euch [verkündet] habe im Großen Evangelium.
Viele [Wasser haben] sich aus dem Kleid der Wasser ergossen.
. . . . . Flüsse, in dem sie ausgießen den Mund der Archonten
. . . . . .] jener, die Krieger des Verderbens
. . . . . er hat] sie hervorgebracht und erzeugt. Es ergossen sich sieben

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1 ⲯⲧⲏ unbekanntes Wort. — 27 ⲯⲃⲱⲱⲥ, nach Crum vgl. Mon. of Epiphanius Vol. II, p. 149, Z. 21, ⲁⲩⲍⲉ ⲉⲡⲧⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲍⲉⲛⲯⲃⲱⲱⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧ[. . . Bedeutung aber fraglich.

ρνα

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁ[ⲗⲁⲓⲟ]ⲛ̣ · <

1 ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲓⲕⲣⲓⲥ [ⲉⲧⲉⲧ]ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁ̣[ⲩ]
2 ⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲙ̣ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̣ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲩ̣ⲧⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲩⲧⲉ
3 . . ⲉ . ⲉ . . . . ⲁⲩⲙⲉⲍⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲍⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲁⲏ
4 ⲡⲛⲁ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲙⲉⲍⲧ̄ ⲱⲁⲩⲣⲁⲭ̣ⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩ
5 ⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲱⲭ̣ⲉ̄ Ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲩⲟ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ̣
6 ⲛⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ . . . ⲙ̣ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲉⲙⲡⲉ [ⲙ̣]ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲟⲩ ⲍⲓ
7 . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡⲉ leer
8 ⲦⲦ[ⲁⲭⲉ] ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲓⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧ[ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ] ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲃⲁⲧ
9 [ⲙⲡ]ⲓⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲱⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲥⲁⲱⲩ ⲛⲥⲁⲡ̣ ⲉ̣ⲩⲍⲉ̣ⲧⲉ ⲉ .
10 . . . . . ⲙ̣ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲛ . . . . . ⲛ̄ . . . . ⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
11 . . . . . ⲙⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ . . ⲉⲉⲧ̣ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ leer ⲣⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄
12 . . . . . ⲣ . ⲉⲕⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲁ[ⲃ ⲡⲉ] ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩ
13 . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲱⲥⲕ ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ . . . . [. ⲁ]ⲗⲗⲁ̣ . . .
14 ⲧⲉ̣ⲕⲣⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̣ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲣ̄ⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ . . . ⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄
15 . . . ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲧⲉ̣ ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ̣ . . . . . ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲱⲡⲉ ⲍ[ⲙ̣] ⲡⲓ
16 . . . . . ⲛ . . . . . ⲙ̣ⲓⲱⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩ
17 . . ⲉⲍⲁ . . ⲛⲛⲓⲭⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲛ̄ⲅⲓⲅⲁⲥ ⲛⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ
18 ⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲭⲁⲗⲭ ⲥⲉⲙⲏⲣ ⲥⲉⲕⲙ̣ⲕⲁⲙ̄ⲧ̄ ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲙ̣ⲥ̣ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲙⲁ
19 ⲥⲉⲍⲏⲡ ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲣⲥ̄ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧ
20 ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲭⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̣ⲡⲙⲟⲩ . . . . . ⲣ . ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ
21 . . ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲥ̄ ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲕⲟ
22 ⲛⲫ̄ⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . . ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥ̣ⲉⲱⲭⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ . . . ⲟⲩⲍⲁⲉ ⲣ̄
23 . . ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲣⲁⲩ ⲉ̣ⲧⲟ ⲛⲃⲗⲕ̣ⲉ̣ ⲡ̣ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ
24 ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲍⲣⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲏⲡ ⲛ̄ . .
25 ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲏⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
26 ⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲟ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲱⲟ ⲛ̄ⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ
27 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲓⲕⲣⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲓⲭⲙ ⲡⲕⲁ[ⲍ]
28 ⲁ̣ⲛⲉ̣ⲩ . . . ⲛⲧⲉ . ⲣⲱ ⲡⲏⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲧ ⲛⲛⲥ̣ⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ
29 ⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲣ̄ⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲏⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲫ̄ⲣⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ
30 ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲕⲙⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ[ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ]
31 ⲡⲓⲁⲱⲓⲣⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ [. . . . . .
32 ⲁⲣⲁ ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲏⲏⲥ ⲙ̣ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧ[. . . . . .

Die Kephalaia

in der Art des großen Stromes Tigris, [den] ihr seht,
in den Mund eines jeden von ihnen, indem sie
nicht . . . . . in einen einzigen Bauch, damit sie ihn füllten. Denn
das jeweilige Herabkommen in seinen Bauch verbrennt sie mit seinem
Feuer und Brand. Jene Archonten waren wie
die . . . ., sie wurden nicht ausgegossen; Regen und
. . . . . an ihren Tagen des Werkes. —
Der Apostel [sprach] zu jenem Elekten: Das Ausmaß
jenes Stromes war ausgebreitet siebenfach, indem sie flossen
. . . . . des Körpers (σῶμα) der (plur.) . . . . . .
. . . . . die Wasser . . . . jetzt. — Wundere dich
über . . . . . ., indem du sagst: Groß [ist] sein
. . . . . verweilen du daß ein . . . träger . . . aber (ἀλλά) . .
. . du dich wunderst über dies; wundere dich zuerst . . . . . .
. . . . . ist die erste . . . . die geworden ist im
. . . . . wie großer Kampf, denn er hat
. . . . . der Nachkommen des Verderbens, der starken Giganten. Siehe
sie sind festgeheftet, gebunden, ... an jedem Ort.
Sie sind verborgen, nicht offenbar vor den Augen alles Fleisches, das
sich auf dem Lande des Todes befindet . . . . . diese Archonten
. . offenbar. Die ganze Welt des Fleisches wird vergehen
und aufgelöst werden . . . . alle, sie vergehen . . . . . .
. sie werden verstört durch ihre Zornesstimme, die gewaltiger
ist als die Donner, indem dieser kleine Strom jetzt . . . gerechnet wird
bei der Substanz dieser Wasser, von denen ich dir gesprochen habe.
Denn ein einziger Strom von tausend Wasserströmen, die verborgen,
nicht offenbar sind, ist, dieser Tigrisstrom, der auf der Erde ist. —
Sehet (?) . . . und bewundert (?) die Art der Elemente der
Wasser. Wundert euch über die Substanz des Menschen, der sie
angezogen (φορεῖν) hat, und erkenne, wie groß jener Gott ist,
der stark in seiner Kraft ist, dessen Wasser [geringer (?) sind]
als die Substanz des Urmenschen, der [angezogen (φορεῖν) hat]

---

6 ϭⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲉ, Bedeutung unbekannt. — 18 ⲕⲁⲕⲁⲱⲧ und ⲧⲁⲱⲥ, Bedeutung unbekannt. — Lies vielleicht ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲣⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ. — 32 Lies ⲡⲁⲣⲁ. — Erg ⲉⲧ[ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̄].

ρνε

> · μπcaz · <

1 +zBcω ⲛ̄+ϭaT ncee|pe ⲛ̄oyhp πe Ⲧote paxe
2 neqμaθhtηc apaq tⲛ̄oywωT nek ππ̄xaï̈c t[ⲛ̄]p̄
3 eyχap|cteye nek xe akτoynoyï̈etⲛ̄ aBaλ eτ| a[μμ]ⲛ̄
4 tnaϭ thpoy netzhπ aBaλ ⲛ̄rωμe n|μ anan ⲁ̣e ạk
5 ϭaλπoy nen aBaλ: ——

ϛB

7 ϛB > · etBe tωaμte μ̄πetpa · < ϛB
8 Ⲧaλ|n an paxeq aneqμaθhtηc xe ωaμte ⲛ̄naϭ μ
9 πetpa netωooπ eaytaωoy z|tⲛ̄ tμⲛ̄tnaϭ ayϭaay ⲍⲛ
10 n|ⲳ[oc]μoc etz|Baλ Ⲧωapπ μen μ̄πetpa πe π
11 [ctyλoc] μ̄πeay πρωμe etxhϭ aBaλ πetaytazⲙ̄[e]ⲏ
12 [z|tμ π]ⲡ̣presBeytηc etoï̈ ⲛ̄eay ayϭaay zⲛ̄ +ζωnh
13 [. . ay]xπo retⲏ xn μ̄π|tⲛ̄ atπe ayBl azρhï̈ za πⲕoc
14 [μoc t]ⲏrⲏ̄ ayωωπe nzoy|t ⲛ̄ⲛ̄Baï̈etπw thpoy ⲍⲛ̣
15 [ne]ϥbaμ zμ πeytaxpo ayceso azρhï̈ aytaxpo ⲛ̄ⲛ
16 [z]Bhye thpoy natπe μn naπ|tne leer
17 [Ⲧ]μazcⲛ̄te ⲛ̄naϭ μ̄πetpa etoï̈ ⲛ̄eay πe πⲕaz ⲛ̄Bρρe ⲙ̣
18 ⲡ̣oyaï̈ne petayϭaay axⲙ̄ πⲕaz μ̄πⲕeⲕe ayϭB̄ï̈o
19 ⲛ̄ⲛ̄twϭc mπ+oy ⲛ̄tame|on ⲛ̄te πmoy ayⲥm|ne mπ
20 taxpo zⲛ̄ oynaϭ ⲛ̄taxpo μ̄πcanBaλ ⲍ|xⲙ̄ πⲕaz mπⲕeⲕe
21 ayzωμ aylωωc aytωϭc ⲛ̄tnoyne ⲛ̄te πmoy leer
22 [Ⲧ]μazωaμte μ̄πetpa πe πnaϭ μ̄meye petaytazmeⲏ
23 aBaλ n|hc̄ ππapeay ayϭaay zⲛ̄ tekⲕλhc|a etoya
24 Be ⲛ̄ta tekⲕλhc|a cwyz azoyn axωⲏ acwnⲍ̄ nzⲏ
25 [tⲏ] actωⲕ apetc zⲛ̄ oytωⲕ apetⲏ mme ωa anhze
26 [Neï̈] ne tωaμte ⲛ̄naϭ μ̄πetpa netaye| aBaλ zⲛ̄ oynaϭ
27 [n]kazthⲏ zⲛ̄ ωaμt ⲛ̄naϭ mma eytaï̈aï̈t aytaωoy
28 ayⲥapoy aBaλ zn ωaμt ⲛ̄naϭ mma nte n|kocμoc [oy]
29 [ae]etoy aytaxpay kata πωⲕ nzht ntμⲛ̄tnaϭ leer

ϛΓ

31 ϛΓ > etBe taγaπh < ϛΓ
32 [Ⲧaλ|n] ⲁ̣n paxeq [a]neqμaθhtηc xe oyey te taγaπh
33 [. . . . .]ẹ[. . . . . .] n|μ eymoyte apac xe aγaπh

des Lehrers.

dies Kleid von derartigem Ausmaß, wieviel sie ausmachen. — Da sprachen
seine Jünger zu ihm: Wir verneigen uns vor dir, o Herr, (und)
danken (εὐχαριστεύειν) dir, daß du uns noch kundgetan hast alle
Größen, die allen Menschen verborgen sind. Uns aber
hast du sie offenbart. —

LXII.

Über die drei Felsen (πέτρα).

Wiederum sprach er zu seinen Jüngern: Drei große
Felsen gibt es, die angeordnet sind von der Größe und hingesetzt in
diesen äußeren Welten. — Der erste Fels ist die [Säule (στῦλος)]
der Herrlichkeit, der vollkommene Mann, der berufen worden ist
[von dem] herrlichen Gesandten und den er in die ζώνη gesetzt hat
. . . . [er hat] seinen Fuß erzeugt von unten nach oben; er hat die ganze Welt
getragen (und) wurde Erstling aller Lastträger durch
seine Kräfte, durch seine Festigkeit hat er aufgestellt und befestigt
alle Werke droben und drunten. —
[Der] zweite große herrliche Fels ist die neue Erde des
Lichtes, die auf die Erde der Finsternis gelegt worden ist, und die die
Befestigungen
der fünf ταμιεῖα des Todes gedemütigt hat; sie hat die
Festigkeit in großer Festigkeit draußen auf der Erde der Finsternis errichtet,
sie hat gestampft, gestoßen und getreten die Wurzel des Todes. —
[Der] dritte Fels ist das große Denken, das berufen worden ist
aus Jesus, dem Herrlichen, (und) das er gelegt hat in die heilige Kirche(ἐκκλησία).
Die Kirche (ἐκκλησία) hat sich um es gesammelt (und) durch es gelebt.
Sie hat sich hingestellt in wahrem Stehen ewiglich. —
[Dies] sind die drei großen Felsen, die in großem
Vertrauen (?) an drei großen geehrten Orten herausgekommen sind. Sie wurden
angeordnet
und verteilt an drei großen Orten dieser Welten
allein (und) gefestigt nach dem Willen der Größe. —

LXIII.

Über die Liebe (ἀγάπη).

[Wiederum] sprach er [zu] seinen Jüngern: Was ist die Liebe?
. . . . . alle, indem man sie (fem.) Liebe nennt.

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13 ⲭⲡⲟ ⲣⲉⲧⲩ, Sinn unklar.

ρ[ns]

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 Ⲧ[ⲁⲅⲁ]ⲡⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̣ⲧⲛ̣ⲁⲟ̀ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲥ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲉⲩ
2 ⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲥ̣ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲉ̀ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲛ̀ⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
3 [ⲛⲥⲏⲧ]ⲩ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉⲩⲁⲛ̀ⲥ̀ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ
4 [ⲙ]ⲛ̣ ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲩ ⲥⲁ ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ
5 ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲣⲱ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲓ̈
6 ⲱⲧ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲁⲩ† ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲛ̄
7 ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ leer ⲡⲥⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧ
8 ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲉ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲥ ⲥⲛ̄
9 ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲱ[ⲩ] ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ
10 ⲉ[ⲣ]ⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲣⲱ ⲧⲁⲭⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ [ⲛⲧ]ⲁⲩ [ⲡⲓ]ⲥⲛⲉⲩ
11 ⲡ̣ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙ̣̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ
12 ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ[ⲉⲩ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ]
13 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧⲩ̄ ⲥⲁ ⲧⲩ̄ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡ[ⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉ]
14 ⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲥⲱⲱⲥ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ̣ [ⲛⲧⲥⲉ]
15 ⲉⲧ̣ⲉⲥⲥⲏⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲉⲛⲉⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲣⲉ ⲟⲩ̣ⲉ̣ [ⲧⲉⲉⲩ]
16 ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲃⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲥⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛⲧⲁⲓ[ⲕⲁⲓ]
17 ⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲫⲟ ⲛⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
18 ⲡ̣ⲛ̣̄ⲁ̣ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙⲡⲓⲙⲁ̣ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ̣
19 ⲡ̣ⲛ̣̄ⲁ̣ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ leer
20 Ⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲩ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ
21 ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲉⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ
22 ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ
23 ⲁ̣ⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲥⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲉ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲕⲉ
24 ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲱⲙⲙⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲱⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁ
25 ⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲱⲃⲁ ⲉⲩⲥⲛ̣̄
26 ⲣⲭ ⲙ̣ⲛ̣̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲩ ⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲫⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱ[ⲃⲁ]
27 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲥⲁⲣⲭ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲫⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ [ⲥⲛ]
28 ⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲱⲃⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲥⲱⲃ
29 ⲛⲓⲙ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲕⲉⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧ[☩ⲩ]
30 ⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲫⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲫⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ[ⲩ]
31 ⲧⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲫⲉⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲣⲱ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣ[ⲁⲩ]
32 ⲭⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲡ|ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲡ|ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲙⲡ]
33 ⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲇ|ⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲡ|ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲇ|ⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲡ[ⲟⲛⲏ]
34 ⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲫⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲟⲛⲏ̣ⲣⲟⲥ leer

15 Lies ⲉⲛⲉⲉⲩ. — 26 Vor der Zeile ⲧⲥⲁ. — 29 Lies ⲁⲛ.

Die Kephalaia

Die Liebe ist der Vater der Größe, der in seinem herrlichen
Lande wohnt. Die ganze Gottheit hat sich [in] ihm
offenbart. Ein einziger lebendiger Leib (σῶμα) sind diese Zwei, der Vater
und seine Liebe. Denn er hat sich selbst für alles (hin)gegeben,
indem er sich in seinen Äonen befindet. Deshalb auch hat man den
Vater, den Herrn des Alls, Liebe genannt, weil er seinen Äonen und
seinen Gliedern (μέλος) den Sieg gegeben hat. — Der Erstling aller
Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη) und Gottheit, der in der heiligen
Kirche (ἐκκλησία) wohnt, auch ihn hat man Liebe genannt,
indem die Kirche (ἐκκλησία) in ihm gefestigt ist. Sie beide,
der Noûς und die Kirche (ἐκκλησία), ein einziger Leib (σῶμα) ist auch ihre Gestalt.
Denn auch der Apostel gibt sich
selber (hin) für seine Kirche (ἐκκλησία). Deshab auch
nennt ihn die Kirche (ἐκκλησία) ihrerseits Liebe, [wie]
geschrieben steht: „Nicht gibt es größere Liebe als die, daß einer [sich]
in den Tod [gibt] für seinen Nächsten." Er wiederum, der Erstling der
Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη) ist Liebe für die Kirche (ἐκκλησία) körperlich (κατὰ σῶμα)
(und) pneumatisch (κατὰ πνεῦμα), im Leib (σῶμα) an diesem Orte in der Kirche (ἐκ-
κλησία),
im Geiste (πνεῦμα) dagegen in der Höhe droben. —
Wiederum sprach er: Was ist demgegenüber der Haß? Der Haß
ist der erste Tod, der hervorgesprudelt und offenbar geworden ist aus dem
Lande
der Finsternis. Daß man ihn Haß genannt hat, (liegt daran), daß
er seine ganze Nachkommenschaft (?) des Verderbens verdorben hat und gegen
eine andere
ihm fremde Kraft gesündigt hat und sie verdorben hat. Deswegen wird er der
Verhaßte genannt, denn er hat Verderben und Wunde gewirkt, das sich
in dem Fleische und dem, was nicht sein ist, befindet. Auch heute wirkt er Wunde
und Verderben in allem Fleisch. Er tötet sie alle in ver-
schiedenen Toden, die heute offenbar sind in allen
Dingen (und) allen Typen. Auch das Kreuz (σταυρός) des Lichtes (und) die
Lebendige Seele, er vernichtet sie (pl.) und tötet sie (pl.),
wie er es im Anfang getan hat. — Deshalb auch hat man [ihn] genannt
den Verhaßten, der vom Verhaßten (stammt), den Neid (φθόνος), der vom Neid
(φθόνος) (stammt), den Teufel (διάβαλος), der vom Teufel (διάβολος) (stammt),
den Bösen (πονηρός), der aus dem Bösen (πονηρός) entstanden ist. —

15 f. Vgl. Joh. 15, 13.

ρνζ

[> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <]

1 [ⲥⲁ] [ⲉⲧⲃⲉ] ⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲥⲁ

2 ⲧⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲩ

3 ⲥⲉϫⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲃ ⲉⲩⲱⲃⲏⲁⲧ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲁ

4 ⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲁⲇ[ⲁⲙ] ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲣⲱ ⲁⲩⲟⲛⲧⲩ

5 ⲉⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛⲟⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲉ

6 ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ leer ⲧⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲱ ⲁ

7 ϫⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍ!//////ⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲧϫⲁⲥⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲁⲏⲙ|ⲟⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ

8 ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲗⲁⲥ//////ⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲛ̄ ⲡ|ⲛⲉ [ⲉⲧ]

9 ⲡⲣ|ⲉ ⲛⲧⲍ|ⲕⲱⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ

10 ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲣⲱ ⲁ̣ⲩⲟⲛ ⲧⲍ|ⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲱⲥ

11 ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲧ ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ

12 ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲍⲍⲱⲃⲥⲛⲉⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ ⲛ̄ⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧ

13 ⲥ|ⲓ̣[ⲛ ⲡⲟⲩ]ⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛⲧⲱⲁⲙ|ⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄

14 [ⲡⲕⲁⲍ . . .]ⲉ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲣⲱ ⲁⲩⲟⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩ

15 ⲕ̣ⲱ[ⲧ ⲉ]ⲩⲱⲃⲏⲁⲓⲧ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲕⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲥⲉⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ

16 [ⲉⲡⲉ|]ⲇⲏ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲟ̣ⲩⲕⲱⲧ ⲱⲃⲏⲁⲓⲧ ⲁⲇⲁⲙ

17 [ⲛ]ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ̀ ⲛⲧⲉⲩ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲁϫⲙ̄ ⲡ

18 ⲡ̣ⲥⲁⲩⲧⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲧⲟ|ⲛⲥⲱⲣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲧⲟ|ϫⲉ|ⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩ

19 ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲁⲛⲕⲉⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ

20 ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲃⲛⲁⲩⲉ leer ⲧⲡⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲁⲩ

21 ⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ

22 ⲛⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲁⲏⲙ|ⲟⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲙⲛⲧⲩ̄ ⲥⲁⲩⲍⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲁ

23 ⲃⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲉⲩⲍⲁ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲏⲓ ⲥⲓ ⲟ|ⲕⲟⲥ

24 ⲛ̄ⲛⲍⲱⲗ|ⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥ|ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ

25 ⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲡⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲧⲁⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ̄

26 ⲁ̣ⲇⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲣⲱ ⲁ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲕ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲩ

27 ⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲣⲁϫⲏ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲗⲁ|ⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁ

28 ⲛ|ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲱⲛⲍ

29 ⲉ̣ⲧⲃ̣ⲉ̣ ⲧⲟⲩⲍ|ⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲁϫⲱⲩ ⲛⲉⲧ

30 [ⲥ]ⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ϫⲉⲩⲛⲁ̄ⲣⲉ̄ⲝⲟⲩ

31 [ⲥ]|ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫ|ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲑⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄

32 [ⲙ]ⲡ̣ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ leer ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ

33 [ⲛⲁⲣ]ⲭⲱⲛ ⲧⲱⲱ ⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲁⲛⲕⲩ̄ ϫⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣϫⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲛ̄

34 [ⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲛ]ⲉ̣ϫ[ⲓⲟⲩ]ⲱ̣ ⲛ̣ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲥⲁⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲩ

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3 Lies ⲱⲃⲏⲁⲓⲧ. — 7 und 8 Papyrus schadhaft. — 9 ⲧⲁ in ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥ über der Zeile. — 17 ⲡ am Ende durch übergesetzten Punkt getilgt. — 28 Lies ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲕ, ⲛ durch Haplographie ausgefallen.

[des Lehrers.]

LXIV.

[Über] Adam.

Wiederum sprach er zu seinen Jüngern, die seine Worte
hörten: Drei große Dinge, die verschieden sind, wurden offenbar
an Adam, dem ersten Menschen. Deshalb hat man ihn auch größer
(und) hervorragender gefunden gegenüber den vermischten Mächten, die im Himmel
und die auf der Erde sind. — Das erste: Auf ihn ist das Bild
(εἰκών) des Erhabenen gelegt worden. Die Demiurgen (δημιουργός)
und die Bildner (πλάστης) seines Körpers (σῶμα) haben ihn gesiegelt nach der
glänzenden Gestalt des Bildes (εἰκών), das sich ihnen droben offenbart hat.
Deshalb auch hat man gefunden, daß das Bild (εἰκών) Adams hervorragender und schöner
ist als alle vermischten Mächte droben und drunten. —
Das zweite Ding: Adam ist in seinem Bau gebildet worden
durch [das] Licht der Erstgeburt des Himmels und
[der Erde] . . ., die fünf Söhne. Deshalb auch hat man gefunden,
daß sein Bau verschieden ist von dem Bau der übrigen Geschöpfe.
Denn die Geschöpfe alle, ihr Bau ist verschieden. Adam
aber, die Bildung seiner Seele (ψυχή) ist aufgerichtet auf der
Ausrichtung (?) und Anordnung der Elemente (στοιχεῖον). Νοῦς ist
in ihm, der den der andern Geschöpfe und den der Tiere
überragt. — Das dritte sind die Lehren
und die Gedanken und das Siegel aller Mächte droben und
drunten. Die Demiurgen, die ihn errichtet haben, haben sie gesammelt
und auf ihn gesiegelt. Er und seine Paargenossin Eva sind Wohnung und Haus
(οἶκος) für die ζῴδια und die Sterne und die Monate, die Tage und die Jahre
geworden. Denn das Siegel der ganzen Welt ist auf Adam
gesiegelt. Deshalb auch hat sich der Himmel und die Erde seinetwegen bewegt.
Verstörung und Verwirrung (ταραχή) sind um seinetwillen zwischen den Guten
und den Bösen entstanden. Die Guten zogen ihn zum Leben,
wegen ihres Bildes (εἰκών) und ihrer Gestalt (μορφή), die auf ihn gelegt ist, die
Bösen dagegen, sie zogen ihn zum Tode, um durch ihn zu herrschen (-ἐξουσία)
und das Reich zu empfangen und durch ihn die ganze Welt
zu demütigen. — Wiederum wisset: [Die] Archonten (ἄρχων) haben
Adam angeordnet und gebildet, damit sie [durch ihn]
herrschten und das Reich empfingen wegen sieben Werken.

31, 34 ⲁⲥⲓ ⲟⲩⲱ vgl. 158, 23, eigentlich ist durch dies Wort die „Empfängnis, Schwangerschaft“ gemeint.

ρνη

> · ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 ⲡⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲱ[ⲛ]ⲧ ⲁⲛⲧⲓ ⲡⲟⲩ
2 ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧ[ⲁⲩ]ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ ⲛⲉⲩ
3 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲉⲡⲓ⸗ⲟⲩ[ⲙⲏ] ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁ
4 ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲏⲧ
5 ⲥⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ leer ⲡⲡⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛⲉⲩ//////ⲭⲉⲩⲛⲁⲭⲱⲗⲍ̀
6 ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉ̣ⲁⲱⲧⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲣ̄//////ⲕⲱⲗⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
7 ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲓⲛⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ leer
8 ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ//////ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩ
9 ⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ̣ⲥ ⲛⲁⲑⲃ̈ⲓⲁⲥ
10 ⲛⲉⲩ ⲧⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲣ̈ⲓⲉ ⲙ̄
11 ⲡⲥⲁ̈ⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲗⲁⲍⲗⲉⲍ ⲭⲉ ⲩⲗⲉⲍⲗⲁⲍⲧ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲁ
12 ⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ leer ⲡⲡⲙⲁⲍⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ [ⲛⲧⲁⲩ] ⲟⲩ
13 ⲝⲟⲩⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲣⲁⲕⲧⲏⲣ ⲛⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲭⲉ̣[ⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲛ]
14 ⲭⲡⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲁⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲧ̣[ⲱⲃⲉ]
15 ⲡⲙⲁⲍ⸗ⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲭⲛ̣[ⲏ]
16 ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ ⲙⲛ ⲛ̣[ⲉⲧ]
17 ⲃⲁⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲇⲓⲁⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲍⲱⲃ
18 ⲛⲓⲙ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲓⲱⲱⲩ leer
19 ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲥⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲱⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ
20 ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲁⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲛⲁ
21 . . . . ⲕⲉⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲙⲣⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲁⲇⲁⲙ
22 ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲥⲁⲱⲩ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲣ̄ ⲁⲡⲉ ⲍⲓ ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲍⲓ ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲛ̄ⲧ̄
23 ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲭⲓⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ leer
24 ϫⲉ
25 ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ϫⲉ
26 ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲍⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲍⲛ ⲧⲥⲁⲩ
27 ⲍⲉ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲁⲩ⸗ⲍⲟⲩ
28 ⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲛⲉⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ[ⲏ]
29 ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧ̣ⲉⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲱ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁⲛⲕⲩ̄ ⲁⲡ[ⲉ]!
30 ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲡⲉ]
31 ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲭⲓⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ[⸗]
32 ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟ̣[ⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ . . . . . .]

5, 6, 8 Papyrus beschädigt. — 9 ⲧⲉ in ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ über der Zeile. — 15 Lies ⲉⲩⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀. — 20 ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲛⲁ nachgetragen. — Unter der Seite: ⸗ⲥⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ [ⲧ]ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲣⲫ[ⲏ], was hinter Z. 20 folgt.

Die Kephalaia

Das erste: Er wurde Erleuchter (φωστήρ) in ihrer Schöpfung an Stelle (ἀντί) des Lichtes des Bildes (εἰκών) des Gesandten, der sich ihnen droben offenbart [hatte]. Denn sie begehrten (ἐπιθυμεῖν) alle nach der Gestalt des Bildes (εἰκών) des Gesandten. Ihr Herz wurde zu ihm hingezogen. — Das zweite: Damit sie durch ihn das Licht schöpften und es zurückhielten und hinderten (κωλύειν) bei seinem Aufstieg zur Höhe. —
Das dritte: Damit wegen des Bildes (εἰκών) des Gesandten, das auf ihn gelegt ist, die ganze Gottheit, die droben und die drunten ist, sich vor ihnen demütige wegen der Gestalt des Glanzes der Schönheit seiner Höhe (?); denn er ist höher (?) in seiner Gestalt als alle Geschöpfe. — Das vierte: [Er] ist ein Siegelring und ein neuer Stempel (χαρακτήρ), damit alle Geschöpfe, die geschaffen werden, nach seinem [Siegel] geschaffen würden. Das fünfte: Damit durch ihn all die Künste (τέχνη) der Mächte, die droben und drunten sind, die verborgen und die offenbar sind, offenbar würden und durch ihn das All erkannt (διακρίνειν) würde und Alles an ihm offenbar werde. —
Das sechste: Damit ein großer Schutz (πατρωνία) für sie da sein wird in dem Bilde (εἰκών) des Erhabenen, das auf ihn gelegt ist, denn es werden die Himmlischen ihn schonen wegen ihres Siegels und ihrer Gestalt (μορφή), und auch den Archonten wird man nichts Böses tun um Adams willen.
Das siebente: Damit er Haupt und König und Herr über alle Geschöpfe werde und sie durch ihn das Reich empfingen. —

LXV.

Über die Sonne.

Wiederum als der Apostel einmal in der Versammlung seiner Jünger dort saß, da ging die Sonne auf. (Da) begann er seine Jünger über die Größe der Sonne zu unterrichten, und über ihre Göttlichkeit, wie sie nach dem Bilde der ersten Größe gestaltet wurde. Er offenbarte ihnen und sprach: Sie ist das Tor des Lebens und das Fahrzeug [des] Friedens zu diesem großen Äon des [Lichtes . . . . .]

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1 Ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ
2 ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲫⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍⲉⲡ
3 ⲍ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ
4 ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲩⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
5 ⲭⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲥⲧ̄ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲕⲱⲗⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲫⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲁ
6 ⲛⲁⲩⲍ ⲍⲣⲉⲩ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲍⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲣⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲁⲣⲛⲉ
7 ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ leer ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲗⲉ ⲁ̣ⲭ
8 ⲛ̄ ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲙⲉ ⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ
9 ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲁⲣⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ
10 ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
11 ⲟⲩⲧ[ⲉ] ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲋⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ
12 ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲩ
13 ⲛ̣ⲏⲩ ⲁ̣ⲡ̣[ⲓ]ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲋⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁ
14 ⲅⲁⲡ̣[ⲏ] ⲉⲧⲋⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲁⲣ
15 ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ [ⲛ]ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̣ⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ
16 ⲡ̣ⲓⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛⲁⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲥⲁⲱⲩ
17 ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ leer
18 [ⲧⲧ]ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲋⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲋⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲋ
19 ⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
20 ⲉⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲋ̄ ⲋⲃⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
21 ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲗⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲗⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲕⲉⲕⲉ
22 [ⲧⲧ]ⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲛⲉ̣ⲩ ⲉⲧⲋⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲓⲛⲉⲓ
23 ⲱⲁⲩⲛ̄ ⲡⲥ̀ⲃⲣⲁⲍⲧ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲫⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩ
24 ⲃⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲱⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲥ̀
25 ⲧ̣ⲣⲧ̣ⲣ̄ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲍⲏⲧ ⲙⲏⲍ ⲍⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲭⲉ ⲱⲁⲩ
26 ⲃ[ⲓ] ⲡ̣ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲋⲥⲁⲍⲣⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
27 ⲧⲍⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲃⲁⲗⲃⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲃⲣⲁⲍⲧ̄
28 ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲩⲁⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲕⲟ
29 ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲩⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ
30 ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲉⲍⲥⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
31 [ⲉ]ⲩⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲍⲓⲣⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲩ
32 [ⲕⲁⲧⲟ]ⲧ̣ⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ
33 [ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲕ]ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ • leer

21 Zweites ⲛ in ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲗⲗⲉ über der Zeile nachgetragen.

des Lehrers.

Aber da der Satan erkannte, daß sie das Tor ist des
Herausgehens der Seelen, gab er eine strenge Bestimmung
in seinem Gesetz (νόμος), daß keiner sie verehren sollte, indem er sagte:
„Wer sie verehrt, wird sterben.“ Er hat sie auch genannt:
das verderbliche Licht. Er hat die Seelen daran gehindert (κωλύειν)
ihr Antlitz von allein zum Licht zu wenden (und) hat sie das Licht
ihres Wesens (οὐσία) verleugnen (ἀρνεῖσθαι) lassen. — Die Menschen nun sind
blind gegenüber
allen Dingen. Sie haben die Größe dieses großes Erleuchters (φωστήρ) nicht
erkannt.
Sie haben die Gnade dieses großes Lichtes, das sie erhellt, verleugnet(ἀρνεῖσθαι).
Sie haben ihre Größe und ihre Göttlichkeit weder erkannt (αἰσθάνεσθαι),
noch haben sie die Guttaten begriffen, die sie ihnen tut,
noch (ἔτι) heutzutage, wenn sie in ihrem Körper dastehn, wenn
sie in [diese] Welt kommt und sie erhellt. Sehet, wie groß die Liebes-
taten (ἀγάπη) sind, die sie an den Menschen tut. Sie dagegen leug-
nen (ἀρνεῖσθαι) ihre Gnadentaten, die sie nicht erkennen. Jeden Tag, wenn
dieser große Erleuchter(φωστήρ) sein Licht erstrahlen läßt, tut er ihnen
sieben Guttaten (ἀγαθόν), (aber) sie sehen sie nicht. —
[Die] erste Guttat (ἀγαθόν), die er (sc. der Erleuchter) ihnen tut, ist sein Licht,
das er über ihnen erstrahlen läßt, indem er die Augen aller Menschen öffnet,
wenn sie nach unten blicken, wenn sie in ihm wandeln. Er nimmt von ihnen
die Blindheit der Nacht, die sie (pl.) blind gemacht hat durch ihre Finsternis.
[Die] zweite: Zur Zeit, wenn er in die Welt kommt, bei seinem Kommen
bringt er Ruhe und Frieden in die ganze Welt. Bei seinem
Kommen nimmt er von ihnen die ganze Furcht und das
Zittern, von dem ihr (pl.) Herz voll ist in der ganzen Nacht, denn er
nimmt durch sein Licht die Finsternis hinweg und fegt sie aus.
So entfernt er auch die Furcht durch seine Ruhe.
Die dritte ist sein Wachen. Denn, wenn er in die Welt
kommt, pflegen sich alle Menschen vom Schlafe zu erheben
und zu erwachen. Die Wächter aber selbst hören auf
zu wachen. Die Aufpasser, die vor den Lagern (παρεμβολή) sitzen,
[hören auf], die Wachen zu bewachen wegen seines Lichtes, das [über ihnen]
[in der] Welt erstrahlt ist. —

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4 Vgl. Dt 17, 3. — 27 ܕܠܠ ܐܒܠ entfernen (?), Bedeutung nicht gesichert, s. auch 113, 8; vgl. nach Crum Jer. IV, 29 τείνειν spannen.

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1 Ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲍⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲥⲁⲛⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲩ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲩ̄ⲧⲧⲡⲉ ⲥⲓ ⲥⲧⲁⲓ̈
2 ⲛⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲭⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
3 ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭⲟⲣⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲁ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ leer
4 Ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲧⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲩⲁⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ
5 ⲡⲭⲉⲧⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲗⲃⲁⲃⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ ⲛ̄
6 ⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲱⲁⲩⲡⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲕⲱⲡ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲃⲏⲃ leer
7 Ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲥⲁⲩ ⲍⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲩⲁⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲡⲗⲏ
8 ⲅⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲅⲁ ⲡⲧⲕⲉⲥ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲱ
9 ⲧⲍ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲅⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲣⲙⲛⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ leer
10 Ⲡⲙⲁ̣ⲍⲥⲁⲱⲩ ⲍⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲕⲟ
11 ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛ[ⲉ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩ
12 ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲩ
13 ⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲍⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲟⲩⲏ[ⲣ ⲧ]ⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄
14 ⲧⲃⲁⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲧⲉⲍⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲍⲉ ⲟⲩ [ⲙⲟ]ⲛ̣ⲟⲛ
15 ⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ ⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ[ⲧⲙⲛⲧ]
16 ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲁ̣ⲛ
17 ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲏ̄ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲥⲉⲁⲃⲱ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ ⲁ
18 ⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ leer Ⲧⲍⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲱⲛ̄ⲍ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̣ⲏ
19 ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲱⲏ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲥⲱ
20 ⲱⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲟⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲍⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉⲥ ⲥⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲟ
21 ⲟⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ Ⲥⲁⲡ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲱⲁ̣
22 ⲥⲣ̄ⲥⲁⲱⲏ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ leer
23 Ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̣ⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲉⲉⲥ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
24 ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥⲙⲁⲍ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲏ̄ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲓ
25 ⲇⲏ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲛⲁⲍⲱⲧⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲩ̄ⲥⲱ
26 ⲕ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲕⲧⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ̣ⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲍⲁⲓ̈ⲃ̣ⲉ̣
27 ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲡⲱⲣ̄ⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲏ̄ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ̣ⲃⲉ[ⲗ]
28 ⲛⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲟⲩⲍ ⲛ̄ⲕⲙⲏⲙⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩ̈ⲱⲣⲙ̣̄
29 ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲉⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲙⲁⲍ ⲡⲕⲟⲥ
30 ⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲏ̄ leer Ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲃ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ
31 ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲉⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲥⲥⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲉ̣ⲥ
32 ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲉⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲥⲥⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲧⲣ̄ⲧⲣ̄ ⲣ[ⲫⲟ]
33 ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲙ̣ⲟⲩ[ⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ]
34 ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ leer Ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲍⲉ ⲡ[ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ]

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2 ⲟⲩ in ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ in Ligatur. — 4 Lies ⲍⲉ statt ⲭ. — 15 ⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ Dittographie. — 20 Lies ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ.

Die Kephalaia

Die vierte: Er zieht auf, gibt Kraft, Geschmack und Geruch den
Bäumen und den Früchten (καρπός) und den Gurken und allen Gemüsen
(λάχανον) und den Blumen und den Gräsern (χόρτος), die auf der ganzen Erde sind.
Die fünfte: Wenn er in der ganzen Welt erstrahlt, dann laufen
die böse Schlange und die scharfzahnigen Tiere (θηρίον), die voll sind
von Schlechtigkeit (κακία), ins Verborgene in ihre Höhlen. —
Die sechste: Wenn er sein Licht erstrahlen läßt, wird die Wunde (πληγή)
der Menschen ruhig vom Schmerz. Sein Licht zer-
schmilzt die bösen Zauberkünste (μαγεία) aller Übeltäter. —
Die siebente: Er offenbart und enthüllt der Welt
das Zeichen des Glanzes der Äonen des Lichtes, aus denen er
hervorgegangen ist, indem er hier in dieser Welt als ihr Zeichen ist, indem er
die ganze Schöpfung erleuchtet. Sehet, wie groß die
Torheit ist, die die Irr-Sekten (πλάνος-δόγμα) betroffen hat; denn
sie haben nicht nur das Mysterium der Gottheit dieses großen
Erleuchters (φωστήρ) nicht erkannt (αἰσθάνεσθαι), sondern auch noch alle
Guttaten, die er ihnen tut, vergessen sie (und) erkennen (αἰσθάνεσθαι) sie
nicht. — Wie ich euch die Sonne offenbart habe,
die diese sieben Guttaten (ἀγαθόν) in der Welt tut, höret auch,
daß ich euch über die Nacht unterrichte, daß sie alle
Schlechtigkeiten hat. Immer wenn die Nacht kommt,
tut sie sieben Übeltaten in der Welt. —
Die erste Übeltat, die die Nacht in der Welt tut,
ist die Finsternis, mit der sie die ganze Welt erfüllt. Denn
wenn die Sonne untergeht hinweg aus der Welt und zu sich
ihre Strahlen (ἀκτίν) zieht, zu jener Stunde breitet sich
der Schatten der Nacht über die ganze Welt aus. Die Augen
der Menschen werden voll von Dunkelheit. Sie können nicht sehen noch blicken
mit ihren Augen wegen der Finsternis der Nacht, die die ganze Welt
erfüllt. — Die zweite Übeltat, die die
Nacht tut, ist ihr Schrecken. Denn wenn ihr Schatten
sich offenbart, bekleidet ihr Schrecken und ihr Zittern
alle Menschen (und) die ganze Welt wird voll von
der Nacht. — Die dritte: [Wenn es Nacht]

13/14 ⲁⲛⲧⲃⲁⲛⲱϥ vgl. Crum, Dict. 544.

[ρ]ξα

ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ

ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲉⲃⲥⲉ
ⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲏⲧ ⲁⲣ̄ ⲙⲛⲧⲃⲟⲛⲉ ⲥⲓ ⲧⲉⲕⲟ leer
ⲦⲦⲙⲁⲍⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲍⲣⲏⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲫⲓⲛⲏⲃ ⲭⲧⲟ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ
ⲣⲱⲍ̄ⲧ̄ ⲥⲁ ⲫⲓⲛⲏⲃ ⲛⲥⲉⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲍⲱⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣⲧⲍⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲕⲱⲱⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ leer ⲦⲦⲙⲁⲍⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲥ
ⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲍⲓⲕⲱ̄
ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲡ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲙⲁ
ⲣⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲍⲁⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲍⲓⲁⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲉ
ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥⲡⲁⲣⲱⲩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ·
[ⲦⲦ]ⲙⲁⲍⲥⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲡ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄
ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲉⲓ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲣ̄ ⲙⲛⲧⲃⲟⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲕ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲗⲏⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲫⲁⲣ
ⲙⲁⲕ[ⲟ]ⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭⲉⲧⲩⲉ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲏⲃ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲙⲁ
ⲥⲉ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲱⲱⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲓ̈ⲍ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲃⲛⲃⲁⲙ
ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ ⲙⲛⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄
ⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲣⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲍⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄
ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲃ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀
ⲦⲦⲙⲁⲍⲥⲁⲱⲩ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡ̣[ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲩⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ
ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲥ
ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲕⲓⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲧⲍⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲉⲥ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲁⲗⲭ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲣ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ leer Ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲥⲉ
ⲃⲟⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲥⲁⲱⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲟⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲛ̄ⲕⲙⲏ
ⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲟⲩ
ⲱⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲛ̄ⲕⲙⲏⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ
ⲟⲩⲉⲩ ⲧⲉ ⲏ ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲟ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲥⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲃⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ leer
[ⲦⲦⲁ]ⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ
[ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ] ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ
[. . . . . .] ⲉⲩⲃⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ leer

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21 Lies ⲛ̄ⲧⲩⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ. — 29 ⲧⲟ über der Zeile.

des Lehrers.

wird, ziehen (φορεῖν) alle Geschöpfe Rebellion an.
Sie rebellieren in ihrem Herzen, Übeltat und Verderbnis zu tun.
Die vierte: Die Last des Schlafes legt sich (?) auf sie, sie
fallen nieder vor Schlaf, sie schlafen, ruhen und werden wie
die Leichname in der Nacht. — Die fünfte ist ihre
Häßlichkeit; denn wenn die Nacht kommt, verbirgt sich
das Bild (εἰκών) der Menschen in der Finsternis und der Häßlichkeit der Nacht,
indem die Schönheit und das Bild (εἰκών) der Männer und Frauen sich wegen
ihrer (der Nacht) Finsternis und Häßlichkeit einander nicht offenbaren,
die sie über alle ihre (pl.) Bilder ausbreitet. —
[Das] sechste Mal ist, wenn es Nacht in der Welt
wird, zu jener Stunde kommen die bösen Menschen
heraus, um Übeltaten zu tun, die Hurer, die Räuber (λῄστης) und die
Giftmischer (φαρμακός). Die bösen Tiere (θηρίον) und alle
Schlangen, die voll sind von Übeltat, kommen heraus aus ihren Höhlen und
wandeln
in der Nacht. Die Dämonen und bösen Geister vermögen
Übles zu tun in der Nacht. Die Schläge, Hiebe,
Wunden (πληγή) und Flüsse (ῥεῦμα) quälen die Menschen grausam in
der Nacht. Denn die ganze Schlechtigkeit (κακία) ist mächtig in ihr.
Das Siebente ist: Die Nacht offenbart das Zeichen
der Finsternis, ihres Vaters, aus dessen Wesen (οὐσία) sie hervorgegangen ist.
Denn diese Nacht ist hervorgegangen aus dieser ersten Finsternis und hat
sich offenbart in der Welt. Siehe an diese Nacht, den Schatten
dieser ersten Finsternis, die festgeheftet und gebunden ist in allen
Werken droben und drunten. — Siehe, ich habe
euch über diese sieben Übeltaten der finstern Nacht unterrichtet,
die sie täglich in der Welt in der Nacht
tut. Nicht haben die Sekten (δόγμα) gesehn, was diese finstre Nacht
ist oder woher ihr Wesen (οὐσία) stammt, daß all dies
Böse in ihr mächtig ist. —
Wiederum fuhr er fort und sprach zu seinen Jüngern:
[Es gibt] fünf Typen in der Sonne, die sie tut.
[. . . .] indem sie die Welt vorfindet. —

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18 ⲟⲩⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲍⲛ vgl. Hom. 11, 14 (Crum, Dict. 508).

ρξβ

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 ⲦⲤⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲟ̄ⲧⲣⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
2 ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ
3 ⲦⲘⲁⲥⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲩⲁⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲱⲁⲩ
4 ⲱⲱⲗ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
5 ⲙⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ leer
6 ⲦⲘⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲛⲁ
7 ⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲭⲓ ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥ
8 ⲙ̣ⲟⲥ ⲥⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ⳨ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ leer
9 ⲦⲘⲁⲥⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧ⳨ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲃⲁⲗⲥ
10 ⲁ̣ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲙⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲉⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ
11 ⲦⲘⲁⲥ⳨ⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲩ⳨ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲩ⳨ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
12 ⲥⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ⳨ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲍⲉ
13 ⲥⲱⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲣ̣ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
14 ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ [ⲛ]ⲉⲥⲉ
15 ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏ
16 ⲛⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̣ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲣⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟ
17 ⲟⲡ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲉⲩⲃ⳨ⲛⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲉⲧⲩ̄ⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
18 ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧ⳨ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲛⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲛ
19 ⲃ⳨ⲛⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲩ⳨ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉ
20 ⲗⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲉ ⲉⲥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
21 ⲦⲤⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲉⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲍ̣
22 ⲁ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ leer
23 ⲦⲤⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲇⲓⲥⲕⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ
24 ⲡⲉⲩⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙⲁⲩⲃⲱⲭⲃⲉ ⲁ̣
25 ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲃⲱⲭⲃⲉ ⲡ|ⲙⲟⲩ[ⲥ]
26 ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲩ̄ⲙⲏⲍ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲩ
27 ⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲧⲉⲧⲁ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏ
28 ⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲃⲱⲭⲃⲉ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ
29 ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲱⲧⲁ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲧ leer
30 ⲦⲘⲁⲥⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ
31 ⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ[ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ]
32 ⲁⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲟ̣[ⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩ]
33 ⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲁ[ⲓⲱⲛ] leer

16 Lies ⲛ̣ⲁⲩⲣⲱⲉ

Die Kephalaia

Der erste (Typ) ist ihr Licht; denn sie erleuchtet mit ihrem Licht
die Welt und alle Geschöpfe, die in ihr sind. —
Der zweite ist ihre Schönheit; denn wenn sie erstrahlt, breitet (?)
sie Schönheit und Glanz (?) über alle Geschöpfe
und alle Dinge aus. —
Der dritte ist ihr Friede; denn wenn die Sonne
die Welt erleuchtet, empfangen alle Menschen Begrüßung
(ἀσπασμός) von ihr und geben Frieden(sgruß) (εἰρήνη) einander. —
Der vierte ist das Leben der Lebendigen Seele, die sie aus allen
Fesseln und Banden des Himmels und der Erde erlöst. —
Der fünfte: Sie gibt den Elementen (στοιχεῖον) Kraft; weiterhin gibt sie
Geruch und Geschmack dem gesamten Kreuz (σταυρός) des Lichtes. Wie
ihr seht, daß ihr Licht leuchtender ist
als alle Lichter, die in der Welt sind, (so) ist auch
ihre Schönheit schöner als alle Schönheiten der Menschen. Ihr Friede
(εἰρήνη) übertrifft alle Mächte und Wachen, die in
der Welt sind. Ihre Erlösung, mit der sie die Lebendige
Seele erlöst, ist ein großer Tag mehr als
alle Erlösungen. Die Kraft, die sie ihren Gliedern (μέλος) gibt,
ist eine große Kraft, die stärker als alle Kräfte ist. —
Wiederum sind drei andere Typen offenbar an der Sonne
in betreff des Mysteriums der ersten Größe. —
Der erste ist die Füllung der Scheibe (δίσκος) ihres Schiffes; denn
ihr Schiff hat sich gefüllt zu jeder Zeit (καιρός); es nimmt überhaupt
nicht ab, wie das Schiff des Mondes abnimmt. Diese Füllung
zu aller Zeit, in der sie gefüllt ist, offenbart das My-
sterium des Vaters der großen Größe, aus der alle Mächte
und Götter herausgekommen sind. Nie vermindert sie sich
noch tritt je ein Fehler an ihm auf. —
Der zweite: Sein Licht übertrifft das Licht aller
Sterne und aller Lichter, die sich in der [Welt] befinden
entsprechend dem Mysterium des Lichtes des Vaters; denn sein [Licht] ist
hervorragend. Größer ist es als das Licht seiner [Äonen]. —

4 ⲙⲛⲧϩⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ, Bedeutung fraglich; vgl. 132, 3 auch neben ⲥⲁϫⲉ „Schönheit". — 29 ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲧ vgl. 128, 3; 135, 3.

ρξγ

> · [μπ]caz · <

1 ⲦⲠⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙ̀ⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲏ ⲭⲁⲥⲉ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛ̀ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄
2 ⲛ̀ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲭⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲉ̈ⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ
3 ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲃ̄ⲧ̄ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲁⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄
4 ⲛ̀ⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲭⲁⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲙⲛⲏⲉ̈
5 ⲧ̀ⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲭⲕⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲥⲱⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲟ̄
6 ⲭⲁⲥⲉ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲉ̈ⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲭ
7 ⲕⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲟ̄ⲙⲁⲍⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲭⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥ̀ⲛ̀ⲩ [ⲛⲙ]
8 ⲙ̀ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ leer
9 [Ⲉⲓ]ⲥ̀ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲁ̈ⲧⲧⲥ̀ⲉⲃⲟⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲱ ⲛⲁⲙ̀[ⲉ]ⲣⲉ
10 ⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲟ̀ⲩⲉⲓ
11 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲟⲩ
12 [ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ̀ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ
13 [ⲛⲉ] ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲟⲛⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩ
14 [ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ] ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ
15 [ⲡ]ⲣⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ
16 ⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲛⲙ]ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄
17 ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩ†ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ
18 ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲏ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ
19 ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄
20 ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ leer Ⲉⲣⲉ †ⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲥⲱⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟ̈ⲓ̀ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁ
21 ⲧ̀ⲉ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓ
22 ⲟⲛ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲥⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟ
23 ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲟⲛⲉ̀ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲓⲙⲩ
24 ⲥ̀ⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
25 [ⲱⲛ] ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲡ̀ⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲥⲉⲇⲓⲁⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲙⲡⲡⲙⲩ
26 [ⲥⲧ]ⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏ
27 [ⲣ]ⲓⲟⲛ ⲣ̀ⲱ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲁⲛⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲁ ⲡⲥⲏⲣ ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲭⲱⲣⲙ̀ⲉ
28 [ⲛ]ⲛ̀ⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ
29 [ⲡ]ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲍⲟ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉ̀ⲧⲥⲏⲡ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
30 [ⲦⲠⲁⲗⲓⲛ] ⲁ̀ⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲍⲟ
31 [ⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄] ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ
32 [ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲙ̄]ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ leer

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1 Lies ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ. — 4 Lies ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ. — 20 ⲓ̈ in ⲉⲧⲟ̈ⲓ̀ über der Zeile. — 23 ⲥ in ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ über der Zeile. — 25 Das erste ⲡ in ⲡⲡⲙⲩ am Ende der Zeile auspunktiert. — Unter dem Text:]ϭⲱⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ. Vielleicht einzufügen in Zeile 31 hinter ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛⲉ.

[des] Lehrers.

Der dritte: Die Sonne ist sehr hoch über dem
All; sie übertrifft die Höhe aller Berge und
die Hügel, die sich auf der ganzen Erde befinden entsprechend dem Mysterium
des Vaters der Größe. Denn er ist höher als alle
Bewohner seines Lichtlandes. Denn der Vater wiederum ist
höher oberhalb aller Höhen und Berge seines
Lichtlandes. Er ist voll in seiner Gestalt (εἰκών) zu [aller] Zeit
und aller Stunde von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit. —
[Siehe], über zwei Mysterien habe ich euch unterrichtet, meine Geliebten,
das Mysterium der Nacht und das des Tages, die täglich
in der Welt herauskommen. Das Mysterium des
Lichtes nun und das Mysterium der Finsternis sind täglich in der
Schöpfung offenbar. (Aber) nicht haben die Sekten (δόγμα) sie in ihrer
[Verirrung (πλάνη)] gesehen. Das Mysterium des ersten großen Lichtes ist
[die] Sonne, welche der zweite Erleuchter (φωστήρ) ist, welche täglich
in die Welt kommt, indem sie alle Wunder seiner Gnadengaben
(χάρισμα) offenbart, indem sie über sich selber Offenbarung und Zeichen
gibt, daß sie gut (ἀγαθός) vom Wesen (οὐσία) des Guten (ἀγαθός) ist.
Sie ist herausgekommen aus dem guten (ἀγαθός) Vater und hat sich in dieser
Welt
offenbart. — Die furchtbare Nacht dagegen
entspricht dem Mysterium der Finsternis. Siehe, das Mysterium
ihres Wesens (οὐσία) offenbart sie in der
Welt in all diesen Übeltaten. Sie offenbart
täglich dies Mysterium in der Welt. Die Sekten (δόγμα) aber erkennen
es nicht in ihrer Verirrung (πλάνη). Sie unterscheiden (διακρίνειν) nicht das
Mysterium des Lichtes und das der Finsternis. Über dies Myste-
rium, das den Sekten (δόγμα) verborgen ist, hat der Σωτήρ seinen Jüngern
eine Andeutung gemacht: Erkennet, was vor eurem Angesicht
ist, und das euch Verborgene wird euch offenbar werden. —
[Wiederum] sprach der Apostel: Ihr seid die Söhne des
Tages [und] die Söhne des Lichtes. Ihr aber seid die Söhne
[der Nacht] und die Söhne der Finsternis. —

Unter dem Text: . . . . in der Art der Finsternis.
28 Vgl. Luc. 8, 17; 12, 2 u. Par.

ρϫ[ⲁ]

> · ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 Ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲓⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ̈ⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̣
2 ϯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̈ⲫⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ̄
3 ⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲙ̈ⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏ
4 ⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲥⲱⲱⲥ ⲁⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̈ⲡⲕⲉ
5 ⲕⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲙ̈ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ̈ⲉⲧⲩ ⲙ̣
6 ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲥⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙ̈ⲡⲓⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲇⲓⲁⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϯⲟⲩ
7 ⲥⲓⲁ ⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ
8 ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲭⲁⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲙ̈ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ

9 ϫ̅ⲉ̅ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ϫ̅ⲉ̅

10 Ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ϯϩⲧⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲉⲩ
11 [ⲛⲧⲉ]ⲧⲛ̄ⲙ̈ⲙⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧϩⲉ ⲉϯⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲛⲏⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩ
12 ⲛ̣ ⲛ̣ⲁⲃ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̈ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛϩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲙ̈ ⲡⲓⲣⲏ ⲉⲧⲧⲣ̄
13 ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲓⲙ̈ⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲙ̈ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲓⲛϩⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙ̣ⲡ̣ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲩ̣
14 ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲧϫ̄ⲁⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲛϫ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲙ̈ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲁ[ⲣⲉ]
15 ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣϫ̄ ⲥⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩ̣[ⲛ ⲫⲓⲛⲏⲃ]
16 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲛⲧϫ̄ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲙ̈ⲡⲣⲏ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ϩ̣ⲱ
17 ⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲛⲁϩⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̈ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
18 ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̈ⲙⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲙ̈ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲧⲃⲛⲁⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
19 ϣⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛϩⲱⲡ ⲛ̄ⲕⲙⲙⲉ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲡ̣ⲙ̣ⲏ̣
20 ϣⲉ̣ ⲙ̈ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ϣⲧⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲛ̄ⲕⲙⲙⲉ
21 ⲉ|ⲓ ⲁϫⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲙ̈ⲡϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ
22 ⲱⲏ ⲛ̄ⲕⲙⲙⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛϩⲱⲡ̄ leer

23 Ⲟⲩⲛⲁϩ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲡ|ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲙ̈ ⲡⲣⲏ
24 ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲛⲁⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ [ⲛ]ϥ̄[ⲟⲩ]ⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲣ
25 ϫⲏ ⲙ̈ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲉ]
26 ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣϩ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲕ̣ⲁ̣[ⲣ]
27 ⲁϣⲁⲣϣⲣ̄ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁϩⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧϥ ϩ[ⲛ ⲟⲩ]
28 ⲕⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧϥ̄ Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲛϩ ⲁⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̈ⲡϣⲁⲣⲡ̄ [ⲛ]
29 ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄[ⲧ]
30 ⲛⲁⲃ ⲁϥⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̈ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛ̄[ⲟⲩ]
31 ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲁ ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̈ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁⲙ̈[ⲓ]
32 ⲟⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉϥⲙⲁⲧⲉⲃⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲏ[ⲃ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ]
33 ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲙⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲙ̈ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧ̣[ϩⲓⲃⲁⲗ?]
34 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥϯⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲁϫⲙ̈ ⲡⲉ[ⲫⲥ]ⲱ[ⲙⲁ ϩⲙ̈ ⲡ]

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1 Lies ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ. — 6—8 kleiner geschrieben. — Unter der Seite: ϣⲁⲩⲉⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲟⲩ.

Die Kephalaia

Aber Heil sei euch, meine Geliebten. Heil euren
Seelen, daß ihr das Mysterium des Tages und der Nacht
erkannt habt; ihr habt eingesehen, daß der Tag dem Mysterium
des Lichtes, die Nacht dagegen dem Mysterium der Finsternis
entspricht, die nicht auseinander hervorgegangen sind. Heil dem,
der dies Mysterium erkennen und unterscheiden (διακρίνειν) wird
die beiden Wesen (οὐσία) des Lichtes und der Finsternis, die nicht auseinander
hervorgegangen sind; denn er wird das ewige Leben ererben (κληρονομεῖν).

LXVI.

Über den Gesandten.

Wiederum sprach er zu seinen Jüngern: Gebt acht, sehet
(und) erkennet, wie ich euch offenbare: Zwei
große Mysterien sind offenbar in der leuchtenden
Sonne, bei ihrem Aufgang und ihrem Untergang. Zur Zeit,
da sie aufgeht und in der Welt offenbar wird, erheben
alle Geschöpfe des Fleisches ihre Häupter aus [dem Schlaf],
in dem sie sind, hin zum Glanz der Sonne. Zur Abend-
zeit aber, wenn die Sonne aus der Welt untergeht,
gehen alle Menschen von allen Orten und auch alles Vieh
hinein in ihre finsteren Verstecke. Die Men-
ge der ganzen Welt schließt ihren Mund, die finstere Nacht
kommt über sie, sie gehn hinein, und wohnen innerhalb der
finsteren Nacht in ihren Verstecken.
Sehr groß ist dies Mysterium, das in der Sonne offenbar ist.
Denn wenn die Sonne aufgeht und offenbar wird bei Beginn
(ἀρχή) des Tages und alle Menschen ihren Mund öffnen und
die ganze Menschheit und alle Geschöpfe auf die Erde herauskommen,
um das Licht-Kreuz (σταυρός) zu zerstören, das [in] Schweigen
dasteht, (so) kommt dies dem Mysterium des Ur-
menschen gleich. Denn, als er aus der Größe herauskam,
ging er auf über allen Söhnen der Finsternis. In jener
Stunde kamen alle Söhne der Finsternis heraus aus ihren ταμιεῖα,
ihre Mächte und Lager verließen ihre Höhlen
und ihre finstern Abgründe; sie verdarben den [äußeren?] Körper
seiner fünf Söhne, die auf [seinen] Körper gekleidet waren, [in]

Unter der Seite: und öffnen ihren Mund. Zu setzen in Zeile 16 hinter „zum Glanz der Sonne".

ρξε

> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

ϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ leer ⲦⲦⲥⲁⲡ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲉ[ⲣ]ⲉ
ⲡⲣⲏ ⲛⲁϩⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ϥϩⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ[ϥ]
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛϩⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲛⲟⲩⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϩⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲏϩ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣ|ⲟ̄
ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲁⲏ ⲉϥ†ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ϩⲁ ⲧⲥⲩⲛⲧⲉⲗⲉⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ
ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲱⲧⲟ̄ ϩ[ⲙ]
ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ϩⲛ̄ †ϩⲁⲏ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲡⲣⲁⲃⲱⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲛ|ⲙ
ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲱⲩϩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲩⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲧϩⲁⲏ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ
ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲁⲓⲱ[ⲛ ⲙ]
ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ • ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ ϩⲱϥ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲫⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ
[ⲧ]ⲙⲣⲣⲉ ⲁⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲱⲧⲡ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄†ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣ[ⲛⲏ]ⲧⲏⲥ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲫⲭⲓⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲫ ⲁⲧⲙⲣⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲱⲡⲉ ⲁϫⲱ[ⲩ] ⲙ
ⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲛ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲣⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ϫⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ Ⲉⲓⲥ
ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲁⲛϩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲡⲣⲓ̈ⲉ leer
[Ⲉ]ⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ †ϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ
ϩⲉⲥⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲥⲕⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄†ⲩ
ϫⲁⲩⲉ ϫⲉⲩⲁϫⲓ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲁϩⲉ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲧⲟⲩ
ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓ̈ⲉ ϩⲉⲱⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ϩⲁ
ⲧϩⲏ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲁ ⲙ̄†ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲱⲧ
ϩⲓϩⲣⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ̄ ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ϩⲓ ⲉⲥⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ
[Ⲛⲧⲁ]ⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲧⲣⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ϩⲁⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ

ⲥⲍ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲥⲍ

ⲦⲦⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲥⲧ
ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲩϩⲉ̄ ϫⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄
ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ϫⲉ ⲉⲙⲱⲁⲛⲉⲓ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲙⲃⲓⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲏⲁ
ⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲩⲡⲱⲣⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲕⲧⲓⲛ ϩⲙ̄
ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲉⲙⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲁϩⲱⲧⲡ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲕⲧ
[ⲓⲛ ⲟⲩⲓⲛ]ⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϩⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲕⲧⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ
[ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁϩ] ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉ†ⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛ̄ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ

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16 ⲁ in ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲁⲛϩ über der Zeile. — 24 ist nachgetragen. — 27 Lies ϩⲙⲉⲥⲧ. — Unter dem Text folgen 3 stark zerstörte, in kleinerer Schrift nachgetragene Zeilen, die sich an Zeile 24 anschließen:

[ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲛ] . . . . ϩⲛ ϩⲛⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ . . .
[. . . . . ⲁⲛⲁⲛ] ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϩⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲩ
[ⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩⲱϩ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ leer

des Lehrers.

jenem ersten Kampf (ἀγών). — Wenn die
Sonne aus der Welt untergeht und in ihr untergeht,
und alle Menschen in ihre Verstecke und ihre Häuser
hineingehn und sich verbergen, (so) kommt das gleich dem Mysterium
des Endes, indem es das Ende (συντέλεια) des Kosmos anzeigt; denn
zur Zeit, da das gesamte Licht gereinigt und ausgeläutert wird in
dem Kosmos, bei jenem Ende wird die Einbringung aller Dinge,
die letzte Säule, sich sammeln und sich bilden (ζωγραφεῖν),
welches ist die letzte Stunde des Tages, die Zeit, wenn
die letzte Säule aufsteigt zum Äon des
Lichtes. Der Feind aber, der Tod, wird eingehn in
[die] Fessel, in das Gefängnis der Seelen der Leugner (ἀρνητής)
und Lästerer, die die Finsternis geliebt haben. Sie werden mit ihm
hineingehn in die Fessel und die finstere Nacht wird über sie kommen,
und nicht wird das Wort „Licht" ihnen aufgehen von jener Stunde an. Siehe
die zwei Mysterien sind täglich an der Sonne offenbar,
welches dieser glänzende Erleuchter (φωστήρ) ist. —
Deswegen sage ich euch, meine Brüder und meine Geliebten:
Müht euch, übt euch (ἀσκεῖν) und predigt den Seelen,
daß sie zu sich nehmen die Stunde, solange es Zeit ist, Buße
zu tun (μετανοεῖν), solange (ἕως) es Zeit (καιρός) ist, Gutes (ἀγαθόν) zu tun,
bevor das Tor geschlossen wird und die Seelen zurückgehalten werden
am Tor des Lebens und Teil und Schatz des Feindes werden.
[Als] seine Jünger dies hörten, erschraken sie, fürchteten sich und wurden bestürzt.

LXVII.

Über den Φωστήρ.

Wiederum sprach er zu seinen Jüngern, als er in der
Mitte der Versammlung saß: Wie die Sonne, der große
Erleuchter (φωστήρ), wenn sie kommt in ihrem Aufgang, zur Zeit, da sie in die Welt strahlt,
ihre Strahlen (ἀκτίν) ausbreitet auf der ganzen
Erde; wenn sie aber im Begriff steht unterzugehen, [verschwinden]
ihre Strahlen (ἀκτίν) und gehn unter; (wie die Sonne) keinen einzigen Strahl
zurückläßt [auf der Erde,] so steht es mit mir

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7 Zu ⲡⲣⲁⲇⲱⲗ vgl. 105, 30 Anm. ⲡⲣⲁⲇⲱⲗ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ entspricht wahrscheinlich dem Begriff ἀποκατάστασις πάντων. — Hinter 24: [indem sie sprachen: wir] . . . in großen Ängsten . . [. . . . . .], denn [wir] werden vor dem Tode gerettet [und wohnen im] unvergänglichen [Äon] ewiglich.

ρξς

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ [· <]

1 ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲁ̈ⲟⲩⲱ
2 ⲛⲥ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
3 ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲭⲱⲣⲁ
4 ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲉⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ' ⲁⲛⲁⲕⲧⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉ†
5 ⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲱⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣⲱⲙⲉ
6 ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ †ⲛⲁⲥⲁⲩⲣ̣ⲟⲩ ⲁⲣ̣[ⲟⲩ̄]
7 ⲁ̣ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ †ⲛⲁⲥⲁⲕⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲙ̄
8 ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ †ⲛⲁⲕⲁ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲥⲙ̄
9 ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ leer Ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ †ⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ
10 ⲛ̣ⲓⲙ̣ ⲉⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲛⲁⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄
11 ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲁ[ⲕ]
12 ⲟⲩⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲧⲁⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲧⲁⲍⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟ[ⲩ]
13 ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ
14 ⲁ̣ⲉ̣ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲱⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁ
15 ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲃⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲙⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
16 ⲛ̄ⲕⲙⲏⲙⲉ leer

17 $\overline{\text{ϫⲏ}}$

18 $\overline{\text{ϫⲏ}}$ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ $\overline{\text{ϫⲏ}}$

19 Ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ †ⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲟⲩⲍ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ
20 ⲟⲩⲉ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲃ leer
21 Ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲥⲱⲃ ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
22 ⲥⲣⲱⲭⲍ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲭⲱⲥ leer
23 Ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲱⲁⲥⲡⲁⲣⲭ ⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄
24 ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲕ̄ⲣ̄ⲙⲉⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲕ̣ⲁ̣
25 ⲡⲛⲟⲥ leer ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲥ† ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ†ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲃⲟ ⲙ̣
26 ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲡⲉⲥⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲥ† ⲁ̣ⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ
27 ⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧⲁⲃⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲃ ⲉⲧ[ⲥ]
28 ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲭⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲕ ⲛ̄
29 ⲥⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲥⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ leer ⲡⲙⲁⲍ†ⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲱ[ⲁ]
30 ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ[ⲥ̄]

31 $\overline{\text{ϫⲑ}}$

32 $\overline{\text{ϫⲑ}}$ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥ ⲛⲍⲱⲗⲓ $\overline{\text{ϫⲑ}}$
33 ⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲟⲩ

34 Ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ [ⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ]

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1 Lies ⲁⲣⲉⲧ. — 6 ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ klein nachgetragen. — 21 Lies ⲛⲍⲱⲃ. — 22 ⲛⲓⲙ über der Zeile. — 29 ⲥⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ entspricht ⲥⲕⲉⲟⲥ gleich ⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟⲥ. — 32 Lies ⲡⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ.

Die Kephalaia

im Bilde (εἰκών) des Fleisches (σάρξ), indem ich mich in ihm hingestellt habe und in der Welt
offenbar geworden bin. Meine Söhne dagegen alle,
die Electi, die Gerechten (δίκαιοι), die mir in jedem Lande (χώρα)
sind, sind gleich den Strahlen (ἀκτίν) der Sonne. Zur Zeit (καιρός) aber, wenn
ich aus der Welt gehe und in das Haus meiner Leute gehe,
werde ich alle Electi, die an mich geglaubt haben, versammeln
an jenen Ort. Ich werde sie zu mir ziehn, jeden einzelnen von ihnen zur
Zeit seines Herauskommens. Ich werde keinen von ihnen in der Finsternis
lassen. — Deswegen sage ich euch: Jeder,
der mich liebt, möge alle meine Söhne lieben, die
seligen (μακάριος) Electi. Denn ich bin mit ihnen, ich,
ein einziger. Weshalb? Weil meine Weisheit (σοφία) in sie alle gesalbt ist.
Der große Herrliche wohnt in ihnen allen. Jeder aber,
der sie liebt und mit ihnen durch seine Almosen in Beziehung tritt,
wird leben und siegen mit ihnen und aus der finstern Welt
gerettet werden. —

LXVIII.

Über das Feuer.

Wiederum sprach er: Dies Feuer, das brennt und heutzutage in der Welt
offenbar ist, tut fünf Werke. —
Das erste Werk, das es tut, ist dies: Es löst auf
(und) verbrennt das Holz und alles, was darauf gelegt wird. —
Das zweite: Es bringt durch Trennung vier Gestalten aus dem Holz hervor,
welche diese sind: das Feuer und das Licht, die Asche und der Rauch (καπνός).
Das dritte: Es gibt Geschmack und . . . dem,
was in ihm gebraten wird, es gibt auch Wärme und Wohl-
sein dem, was daran herangebracht wird. — Das vierte Werk, das es
tut: Alle Handwerker (τεχνίτης) bilden die Geräte (σκεῦος),
die sie herstellen, in ihm. — Das fünfte:
Es offenbart Licht und die Menschen schauen mit seiner (des Lichtes) Hilfe.

LXIX.

Über die zwölf ζῴδια und die fünf Sterne.

Wieder zu einer Zeit, als der Apostel [dasaß]

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25 NBo, Bedeutung unbekannt.

ρξζ

[> · ⲙ̄]ⲡⲥⲁⲥ · <

1 ϩⲛ ⲧⲥⲁⲩϩⲥ̀ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ̄ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉϩⲏ ⲁⲩⲱⲛ
2 ⲧⲏ̄ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ Ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ̣
3 ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ̈ⲉⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲗⲟⲛ
4 ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲁⲧ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲱ ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛⲍⲉ ⲏ ⲉⲩⲏⲡ ⲁⲉⲱ ⲙ̄
5 ⲙⲁ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲓ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ
6 ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲟⲟ ⲛⲉ ⲏ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲁⲏⲙⲓⲟⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲯⲟⲩ̣
7 ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ϩⲓ ⲣⲉϥϫⲁⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉ̣ϥ̣
8 ⲥⲙ̣ⲓ̣ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲱⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲁ̣ϥ̣
9 ⲧ̣ⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ leer Ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ̀ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲛ̄
10 ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲱⲧ ⲡⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ϩⲁ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧϩⲏⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ
11 [Ⲧⲟ]ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲱⲛ̄ⲧϥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ
12 ⲡ̣ⲓ̣ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲁⲩⲥ ⲛⲍⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲓ†
13 ⲟ̣ⲩ̣ ⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁϫⲱⲩ ⲛⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ϩⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
14 ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ϩⲛ̄ϫⲁϫⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉ ϩⲓ ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲁⲗⲕⲟⲥ ⲛ̄
15 ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲥⲉⲥⲩⲗⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲉⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲃ
16 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϫⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲕ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲕⲁ̣ⲧⲩ
17 [ⲟⲩ] ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩ
18 ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛⲥ̀ⲥⲓⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲯⲁⲩⲣ ϩⲱⲃ ⲙⲉⲛ
19 ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉϩⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲕ
20 ⲛⲍⲏⲧ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲣⲟⲡⲟⲥ ϩⲓⲭⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ
21 ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲯⲓⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲃⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲉ̣ ⲡⲱⲩ
22 ⲛⲧⲟⲟ̣ⲧⲟⲩ leer Ⲧϩⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲱⲉ ⲁⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ
23 [ⲧ]ⲁⲕⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲥ̀
24 [ⲫ]ⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲍⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲓⲇⲩⲙⲟⲥ
25 [ⲙ]ⲛ̄ ⲡⲧⲟϫⲟⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲩⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲡⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ
26 ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲟⲥ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲗⲉⲱⲛ ⲉⲩⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲕⲟ
27 ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲍⲩⲇⲣⲏⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲍⲩⲅⲟⲥ ⲉⲩ
28 [ⲏ]ⲡ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲕⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ
29 [ⲙ]ⲛ̄ ⲡ[ⲓ]ⲭⲑⲩⲥ ⲉⲩⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲁⲓⲅⲟⲕⲉⲣⲱⲥ
30 [ⲙ]ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲕⲟⲣⲡⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ
31 [ⲡ]ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲃⲟ
32 [ⲛⲉ . . . . . .]ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ†ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧϩⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙⲛ̄
33 [. . . . . ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲟ]ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ϩⲛ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ

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3 In ⲛⲕⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ̈ⲉⲧⲛ̄ das erste ⲩ über der Zeile. — 6 Lies ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲟ ⲛⲉ. — Zu ⲏ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩ vgl. 125, 5. — Über Zeile 15 geschrieben: ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲗⲱⲝϩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ ⲥⲉⲁⲱⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟ̣ⲩⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ. — 16 ⲕⲁⲧⲩⲟⲩ s. S. 119, 5. — 27 ⲛ in ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲩⲅⲟⲥ übergeschrieben. — 32 Lies ⲛⲉ†ⲣⲉ.

des Lehrers.

in der Versammlung, da stellte sich ein Jünger vor ihm hin, fragte
ihn und sprach zu ihm: Wir bitten dich, o Herr, daß du uns ver-
kündest und unterrichtest über die zwölf ζῴδια,
die sich in der σφαῖρα befinden, wie sie angeordnet sind, oder zu welchem
Ort sie ihrem Wesen (οὐσία) nach gehören oder vielmehr woher diese fünf
Sterne stammen,
die in ihnen kreisen, oder warum der Demiurg sie angeordnet hat
als Machthaber (-ἐξουσία) und Wegführer, welcher ist der große Er-
richter, der die ganze Schöpfung geordnet hat, und (warum) er sie gefesselt
und angeheftet hat in der σφαῖρα. — Wir bitten dich, o
Herr, daß du unser Herz aufklärst über das, was allen Menschen verborgen ist.
Da sagte er zu jenem Jünger, der ihn gefragt hatte: Seien es
diese zwölf ζῴδια, die an die σφαῖρα geheftet sind, seien es diese fünf
Sterne, die auf ihnen kreisen, diese und jene, sie sind alle
Archonten ihrem Wesen (οὐσία) nach; alle sind sie Feinde und Widersacher
(ἀντίδικος) gegeneinander. Sie berauben (συλᾶν) einander durch die Kraft (ἐνέρ-
γεια) des großen
Handwerkers (τεχνίτης), der alle Welten gebildet hat, sie gepflückt (?)
(und) sie gefesselt hat an der σφαῖρα oben, die sich immerfort dreht.
Wenn sie (d. σφαῖρα) nun kreist und sie (plur.) antreibt, tun sie alles,
was sie wollen, oben und unten, gemäß ihrem Willen.
Aber es (steht) ein Aufseher (ἐπίτροπος) über ihnen. Es gibt einen Forderer
(ἀπαιτητής) oberhalb von ihnen, der sie tun läßt, der von ihnen fordert, der das
Ihrige von ihnen nimmt. — So nun ziemt es sich zu erkennen, daß sie
herausgezogen sind aus den fünf Welten der Finsternis, gebunden sind an
der σφαῖρα (und) zwei ζῴδια für jede Welt genommen sind: Die Zwillinge
(Δίδυμος)
und der Schütze (Τοξότης) gehören zur Welt des Rauches (καπνός), welche der
Νοῦς ist. Der Widder (Κριός) und der Löwe (Λέων) gehören dagegen zur Welt
des Feuers. Der Stier (Ταῦρος), der Wassermann (Ὑδρηχόος) und die Waage
(Ζυγόν) gehören zur Welt des Windes. Der Krebs (Κάρκινος), die Jungfrau
(Παρθένος)
und der Fisch (Ἰχθύς) gehören zur Welt des Wassers. Der Steinbock (Αἰγοκέρως)
und der Skorpion (Σκορπίος) gehören zur Welt der Finsternis. Dies sind
[die] zwölf Archonten der Schlechtigkeit (πονηρία), die nicht die Schlechtig-
[keit · . . . . . .] Denn sie tun alles Böse und
[Schlechte (?) in der] Welt, sei es im Baum, sei es im Fleisch.

Über Zeile 15: „einer bedrängt den andern; sie stehn gegeneinander."

ρξη

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 Ⲙⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓ†ⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲭⲁⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁ
2 ⲁⲛⲕⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ ⲡⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡϫⲉⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲁϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
3 ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲡⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟ
4 ⲁⲓⲧⲏ ϩⲱⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲡ
5 ⲁⲣⲏⲥ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲉϥⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲡϩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲥ
6 ⲉϥⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲕⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
7 [ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲃⲓⲃⲁϫⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲏⲡ ⲁⲧ
8 ⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧϩⲏⲇⲟⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲡⲉ
9 ⲧⲁⲃⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲧⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲣⲏ
10 ⲁ[ⲉ ϩⲱ]ⲱϥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ
11 ⲧⲉϫⲛⲏ ϫⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣⲣⲣⲟ ⲁϫⲱⲩ ⲛⲕⲟⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲗⲱϫϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄
12 ϩⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁ
13 ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲃⲁϫⲱⲛ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲛⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲙⲛ
14 ⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲓ ⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ϩⲛ̄ ϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧ
15 ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ
16 ⲙⲛ ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲁⲃⲃⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲥⲁⲣϫ leer
17 Ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ †ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲓϫⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲉ[ⲩ]
18 ⲥⲏⲣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲱ ϩⲛ̄ ϥⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲕⲟⲟϩ ϩⲙ̄
19 ⲡⲓϥⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲁϥⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲁ†ⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲣⲓ[ⲟⲥ]
20 ⲡⲗⲉⲱⲛ ⲡⲧⲟϪⲟⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲉⲩⲏⲡ ⲁⲩⲥⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
21 ⲱⲧ ⲡⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲡⲁⲓⲅⲟⲕⲉⲣⲱⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛ[ⲟⲥ]
22 ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲉⲩⲏⲡ ⲁⲕⲉⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲓⲁⲩⲙⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱϥ
23 ⲡϫⲩⲅⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡϩⲩⲇⲣⲏⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲏⲡ ⲁⲕⲉⲥⲁ ⲡⲥⲕⲟⲣⲡ̣[ⲓ]
24 ⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲭⲟⲩⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲕⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲏⲡ ⲁⲕⲉⲕⲗⲭⲉ C[ⲉ]
25 ⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲧⲏⲱ ⲁⲡⲓϥⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲥⲉⲥⲏⲣ ⲁⲃⲁ[ⲗ]
26 ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲥⲩⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲥⲁ ⲙⲡⲕ[ⲣⲓ]
27 ⲟⲥ ⲡⲗⲉⲱⲛ ⲡⲗⲉⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲧⲟϪⲟⲧⲏⲥ ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲧⲣⲟ
28 ⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧϩⲓⲭⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲱⲓⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲭⲁⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ [ⲉ]
29 ⲧⲙⲁϩⲉ ⲁϫⲱϥ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲗⲓ†ⲓⲥ †ⲧ[ⲉ]
30 ϩⲟ ⲛⲧⲃⲛⲁⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧϥⲧⲟⲩⲃⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲙⲉⲓ̈
31 ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲥⲩⲗⲁ ⲙ̄[ⲡⲥⲁ] ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲩ[ⲣⲟⲥ]
32 ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲅⲟⲕⲉⲣⲱⲥ ⲱ[ⲁⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲗⲓ†ⲓⲥ]

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2 ⲟⲩ über der Zeile. — Zwischen Zeile 10 und 11 [ⲁⲩⲁⲡⲟ]ⲩ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲉⲩ. — 11 ⲧⲉ vor der Zeile. — 26 Lies ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲡⲥⲁ. — 27 ⲡⲗⲉⲱⲛ Dittographie. — 29 Lies ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ. — 30 ⲁⲙⲉⲓ̈ unklar.

Die Kephalaia

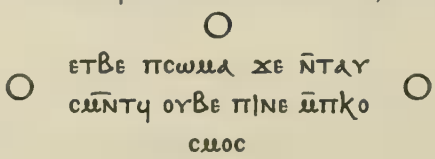
Wisset aber auch über diese fünf Sterne, die Wegführer, wo sie gestaltet
wurden. Der Stern des Zeus wurde erzeugt aus der
Welt des Rauches (καπνός), welche der Noûς ist. Die Aphro-
dite hingegen ist aus der Welt des Feuers entstanden. Der
Ares aber gehört zur Welt des Windes. Der Hermes
gehört zur Welt des Wassers, während Kronos zur Welt der Finsternis
gehört. — Die zwei Ἀναβιβάζοντες aber gehören zum
Feuer und zur Lust (ἡδονή), welche sind das Trockene und das
Feuchte. Sie sind der Vater und die Mutter dieser aller. — Die Sonne
aber und der Mond, die in der Regel (τέχνη) zu ihnen gerechnet wurden,
damit sie über sie herrschen, und du findest, daß sie sie bedrängen zu aller
Zeit. Diese Sieben, die wir genannt haben, die fünf Sterne und die
zwei Ἀναβιβάζοντες sind die Übeltäter, die alle Schlechtigkeit
und Bosheit (κακία) vollbringen überhaupt in jedem Lande (χώρα), oben
und unten, in jeder Schöpfung, im Trockenen
und (im) Feuchten, im Baum und im Fleisch. —
Wiederum offenbare ich euch über diese ζῳδια: Sie sind
verteilt und angeordnet auf vier Seiten, drei für jede Ecke an
den vier Orten. Sie sind aber angeheftet an die kreisende σφαῖρα. Der Widder,
der Löwe, der Schütze, sie drei gehören zu einer einzigen Seite.
Der Stier aber, der Steinbock und die Jungfrau, diese andern drei
gehören zu einer andern Seite. Der Zwilling dagegen,
die Waage und der Wassermann gehören zu einer (noch) andern Seite. Der
Skorpion,
der Fisch und der Krebs gehören zu einer (wieder) andern Ecke. — Sie
befinden sich nun in dieser Weise, sind verteilt auf diese vier Seiten und
geordnet
in der σφαῖρα. Wenn die Seite des Widders, des Löwen und des Schützen
von dem Aufseher (ἐπίτροπος), der über ihr ist und von ihr
und den Wegführern, die auf ihr wandeln, fordert, beraubt (συλᾶν) wird,
zu jener Stunde trifft Drangsal (θλῖψις)
alle vierfüßigen Tiere unten . . .
Wenn aber die [Seite] des Stieres, der Jungfrau
und des Steinbockes beraubt (συλᾶν) wird, [entsteht Drangsal (θλῖψις)]

Über Zeile 11: [„man hat] sie zu ihrem γένος [gerechnet]. Aber warum hat man sie zu ihnen gerechnet?“

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ⲱⲙⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲃⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲉ ⲙ̣ⲛ̣
ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲱⲏⲛ̣ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲣ̄
ⲥⲩⲗⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥ̀ⲕⲟⲣⲡⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲭⲟⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲕⲓⲛ̣ⲟⲥ
ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲱⲭⲃⲉ ⲱⲙⲡⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲥⲓⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ
ⲛⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲉ̈ⲓ̈ⲣⲉ ⲱⲙⲡⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲙⲁ Ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲣⲥⲩ
ⲗⲁ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲡⲥⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲁⲩⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲍⲩⲅⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲍⲩ
ⲁⲣⲏⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲃⲱⲭⲃⲉ ⲱⲙⲡⲉ ⲥⲙ
ⲡⲧⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲙⲁ leer
Ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ̈ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲙ̄ⲛ̄[ⲧⲥⲛ]ⲁⲩⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲁⲓⲟⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ⳨ⲟⲩ ⲛ
ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲉ
ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲉ⳨ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ⳨ⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ̣ⲁⲍ ⲙ[ⲡ]ⲕ̣ⲉⲕⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ
ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲃⲓⲃⲁⲍⲱⲛ [ⲥ]ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉ
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲍⲏⲁⲟⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ
ⲛⲉ ⲡ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲁⲃⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲙⲉⲉⲩ
ⲁ̈ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲛⲏⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲱⲙⲙⲁ̈ⲓ̈ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓ
ⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲍⲱⲃ ⲭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲏⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲥⲩⲗⲁ ⲙ
ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲁ̣ⲡⲟⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲙ
ⲡⲁⲣⲓⲑⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓ ⲥⲛ̄ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙⲛ
ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲏⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲁⲓⲟⲛ: ——



ⲥⲙⲟⲥ

[ⲠⲀⲗ]ⲓⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧ' ⲁⲡ|
[ⲧ]ⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲩⲥⲥ̀ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩ
ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄ ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
[ⲡ]ⲥ̣ⲁⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ̣ [ⲱⲟ]ⲟⲡ ⲁⲥⲣⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱ
[ⲙⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲙ]ⲟ̣ⲩⲟⲩⲛⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲁ

5 Lies ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲣⲥⲩⲗⲁ.

Die Kephalaia

unter dem Kraut und den Gurken und allen Baum-
früchten (-καρπός) zur Stunde. Wenn aber die Seite des Skorpions,
des Fisches und des Krebses beraubt (συλᾶν) wird,
entsteht unter den Gewässern auf der Erde eine Verminderung,
und Hungersnot entsteht an jedem Ort. Wenn dagegen
die Seite der Zwillinge, der Waage und des Wassermannes be-
raubt (συλᾶν) wird, kommt es zu Verlust und Verminderung in
dem Siegel (?) der Menschheit an jedem Ort. —
Siehe nun, ich habe euch unterrichtet über diese zwölf
ζῴδια: Sie sind gestaltet (πλάσσειν) aus den fünf
Welten der Finsternis (und) gefesselt an der σφαῖρα. Ich habe euch
unterwiesen auch über die fünf Sterne: Auch sie sind aus den
fünf Welten des Landes der Finsternis hervorgegangen. Ich habe euch auch
über die zwei Ἀναβιβάζοντες unterwiesen: Sie stehn da
entsprechend dem Mysterium des Feuers und der Lust (ἡδονή), welche
sind das Trockene und das Feuchte, der Vater und die Mutter.
Ich habe euch auch offenbart über die Sonne und den Mond: Sie sind
ihnen fremd. Aber wegen der Notwendigkeit (ἀνάγκη) der Ordnung (οἰκονομία),
weil die Sache Licht (φῶς) zu sich nimmt und weil sie dazu bestimmt sind, sie
zu berauben,
deshalb hat man sie zu ihnen gerechnet zahlenmäßig
(ἀριθμός). Denn Abkömmlinge aus der Größe sind die Sonne und
der Mond. Nicht aber gehören sie zu den Sternen und den ζῴδια.

LXX.

Über den Körper (σῶμα), daß er entsprechend dem Bilde des Kosmos eingerichtet ist.

Wiederum zu einer Zeit als der Apostel dasaß
in der Gemeinde inmitten der Versammlung, sprach er zu seinen
Jüngern: Dieser ganze Kosmos, droben und
drunten, entspricht dem Bilde des Körpers (σῶμα) des Men-
[schen. Die] Bildung dieses Körpers des Fleisches (σάρξ) entspricht

8 Siegel = Typos (?).

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1 ⲥⲣⲛ̄ ⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ
2 ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧ⸗ⲉ ⲛⲥⲃⲥⲱ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧ ⲁⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ
3 ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ
4 ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲥⲏⲧ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲓ
5 ⲛⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥ̀ⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲧⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲏⲧ ⲁⲉ
6 ⲱⲁ ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲡⲁ̣ⲧ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲏⲣ
7 ⲉ̣ⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲦⲦⲙⲁⲛ[ⲥⲁⲩⲧ]
8 ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲕ̣ⲁⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲕⲁⲥ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩ
9 ⲱⲡⲁⲧ ⲁⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲉⲥⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲁ
10 ⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲏⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲁⲡⲓ
11 ⲛⲉ ⲙ̣ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄
12 ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲱⲙⲟ
13 ⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲁ ⲛⲉⲩ
14 ⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲥ̣ⲏⲡⲁ̣ⲣ ⲁ̣[ⲡ]ⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲭⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ
15 ⲧⲩ̄ⲥⲁⲣⲍ ⲁⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲥ
16 ⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲭⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲉ
17 ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲃ
18 ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲣⲃ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩ
19 ⲧⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲃⲧⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲛⲭⲟⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈
20 ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲛⲏⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ leer ⲦⲦⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⸗ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄
21 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⸗ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲏ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ ⸗
22 ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡ⸗ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛⲁ̄
23 ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲟ ⲛⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄
24 ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲫⲉⲣⲣⲟⲕⲁⲧⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ
25 ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲗⲱⲃⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲥⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ
26 ⲥⲓⲭⲛ̄ ⲧⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩ . .
27 ⲡⲉⲧ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ leer
28 Ⲧⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ
29 ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲥⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲥⲓⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲁⲱⲩ
30 ⲛⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ Ⲧⲙⲁⲥⲱⲁ̣[ⲙⲧⲉ]
31 ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲁⲙⲁⲥ [ⲟ ⲛⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲥⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ]

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8 Lies entweder ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲛⲉ oder ⲁⲡⲓⲛⲉ. — 23 Lies ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲉ.

Die Kephalaia

dem Bilde des Kosmos. — Sein Haupt entspricht
der ἀπαρχή der fünf Kleider. Von seinem Hals aber
abwärts bis zum Orte seines Herzens entspricht er
den zehn Firmamenten (στερέωμα). Das Herz aber entspricht
dem Rade der σφαῖρα, die sich dreht. Von seinem Herzen aber
abwärts bis zu seinem Zwerchfell(?) entspricht er der Luft (ἀήρ),
die von der σφαῖρα zur Erde herabkommt. Die Scham
des Körpers entspricht dieser großen Erde. Von seinem
Zwerchfell (?) aber abwärts bis zu seinen Lenden entspricht er
den drei Erden. Die Schienbeine aber entsprechen
dem Raum, in dem der Ὠμοφόρος dasteht.
Seine Fußsohlen entsprechen der großen Erde, auf der der
Ὠμοφόρος steht, und den vier Befestigungen, die unter seinen
Füßen sind. Seine Leber (ἧπαρ) entspricht dem Fahrzeug des Feuers.
Sein Fleisch entspricht dem Fahrzeug der Finsternis. Sein
Blut entspricht dem Fahrzeug des Wassers. So nun
entspricht der kleine Körper dem großen (d. h. dem Makro-)
Kosmos in seinen Firmamenten (στερέωμα), in seinen Ordnungen, in seinen
Bergen, seinen Mauern und seinen Fahrzeugen, wie ich
euch offenbart habe. — Wiederum offenbare ich euch:
Fünf große Lager (παρεμβολή) befinden sich in der
großen ζώνη draußen, über die die fünf Söhne des Lebendigen
Geistes Herr sind. — In der ersten Wache droben,
über die der Φεγγοκάτοχος Herr ist,
auf dem First aller Dinge, erstreckt sich seine Gewalt (ἐξουσία)
über die drei Himmel. Die unterhalb von ihm sind zwar
. . . . . des großen Königs der Ehre. —
Über die zweite Wache ist der große König der Ehre
Herr; seine Macht (ἐξουσία) erstreckt sich über die sieben
Firmamente (στερέωμα), die unterhalb von ihm sind. — Über die dritte
Wache ist der Adamas [Herr; seine Macht (ἐξουσία)]

6 ⲛⲱⲙⲁⲧ, dgl. Zeile 9, vielleicht Übersetzung von φρένες. Crum verweist auf ⲱⲙⲓⲧ, ⲱⲫⲓⲧ, etwa ἀσχημοσύνη (= αἰδοῖον) „Schamteile".

Von 168—170 dreimal als Seitenüberschrift: ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ.

ροϩ

> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

ρ[ρ]ρο ⲭⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲱⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲕⲁϩ]
[ⲛⲏ]ⲭⲓⲟⲩⲱ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄[ⲕⲟ]
ϩⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲩⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲱ ϩⲙ̄
ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩ leer ⲧⲙⲁϩⲩⲧⲟⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ
ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲉⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲧⲉⲩ
[ⲉⲝ]ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲁϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲱⲁⲙ̄ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲧϩⲓⲝⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲡ[ⲉ]
ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ leer ⲧⲙⲁϩ†ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲣ
ⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲁϫⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩⲟ
ⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲁϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁϩ
ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲁϫⲱⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲱⲃⲥ̄ ⲉⲧϩⲁ
ⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲁ ⲑⲗⲓ†ⲓⲥ ⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ††ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲫⲉⲣⲣⲟⲕⲁⲧⲟϫⲟⲥ
ⲁ ⲡⲛ[ⲁⲃⲉ] ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ϫⲉⲭⲁⲃⲉⲃⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲗⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ[ⲡ]ⲙⲁ
ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩϩⲓ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲱ|ⲡⲉ leer
ⲁⲩⲕⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲁⲩ ⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲃ
ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲅⲣⲏⲅⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲣ̄ . . . ⲉⲩ . . . ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲟⲃⲓⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉ ⲁⲛ
ⲙⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲁ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩϩⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙ[ⲡ]
ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲱⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ
[ⲁ]ⲩⲕⲓⲛⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛ̄
ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲁ ⲧϩⲓⲙⲙⲁϩⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ̄
[ⲧ]ⲃⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲡⲁ
ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ leer ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲱⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲱⲙⲟ
[ⲫ]ⲣⲟⲥ ⲁ ⲛⲧⲱⲃⲥ̄ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲃⲱⲱ ⲁⲩⲕⲱϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ
[ⲙ]ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ[ⲕ]ⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ
[ⲧϩⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ†ⲟⲩ [ⲙⲙⲁ]ⲛⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ̄ †ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ
[ⲙⲣ̄ⲣⲉ (?) ⲛⲧⲉ ††]ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ

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1 ⲭⲛ über der Zeile. — 12 ⲙ̄ⲡⲫⲉⲣⲣⲟⲕⲁⲧⲟϫⲟⲥ.

des Lehrers.

herrscht vom Firmament hinab bis zur [Erde]
und empfängt (wird schwanger) entsprechend seiner Macht (ἐξουσία) die σφαῖρα und die
Welten der Luft (ἀήρ) und die andern vier Welten, die eingeteilt sind auf
dieser Erde. — Die vierte Wache, über die der König der Herrlichkeit
gebietet, sind die drei Räder. Seine
Macht (ἐξουσία) aber ist gelegt auf die drei Erden, die sich auf dem Haupte des
Ὠμοφόρος befinden. — Die fünfte Wache ist die Wache,
über die der Ὠμοφόρος Gewalt (ἐξουσία) hat und Herr ist
entsprechend seiner Gewalt (ἐξουσία) über diese große Erde,
auf der er steht, und (über) die vier Befestigungen, die zu
seinen Füßen sind. — Drangsal (θλῖψις) kam (auf) in diesen fünf Wachen von Zeit
zu Zeit: In der Wache des Φεγγοκάτοχος
wollte die [Sünde] zum Bilde (εἰκών) des Gesandten
emporsprudeln; aber sie wurde von jenem Orte
ferngehalten (κωλύειν) (und) wandte sich in Schande hinab (zurück).
Erdbeben und Tücke aber kam (auf) in der Wache des großen
Königs der Ehre, welches die Ἐγρήγοροι sind, die entstanden sind
zu der Zeit, als sie haben . . . und herabgekommen sind die,
welche geschickt sind, bis sie sie demütigten. — In der Wache des
Adamas hingegen kamen die Aborte herab und bildeten (πλάσσειν) das
Gebilde des Fleisches (σάρξ). — Auch in der Wache des Königs der Herrlichkeit
trat eine Bewegung (κίνησις) ein in diesen drei Erden, die sich oberhalb
des Ὠμοφόρος befinden. Der Weg zum Wandeln und das Hinauf-
steigen der drei Räder, des Windes, des Wassers und des Feuers wurde
gehindert. — Wiederum in der Wache des Ὠμοφόρος
entblößten sich die unteren Befestigungen und empörten sich wider (?)
ihre Fessel; ein großes Erdbeben geschah an jenem Orte. —
[Wie] diese fünf Wachen sich in dieser großen
[Fessel? dieser fünf] Lager (παρεμβολή) befinden, über die ich zu euch

ρ̣[β]

> · [ⲛ̄]ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ [· <]

[ⲁⲣ]ⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉ[ⲕ]
[ⲗⲉ]ⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲕⲉ⳨ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟ[ⲗⲏ]
ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲣⲙ̄
ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲁ.ⲁ
ⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲑⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛⲧⲡⲣⲟⲧⲟⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲟ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱ
ⲙⲁ ⲛⲩⲣ̄ⲍⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲉⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲁ
ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲫⲉⲅⲅⲟⲕⲁⲧⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁ
ⲭⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ leer ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ
[ⲁⲭⲙ̄] ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲑⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲡⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃ
ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲉⲧⲟⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲱⲩ̄ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ leer ⲡⲉ
ⲧⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲕⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲩ ⲛⲩ̄ⲧⲍⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲉⲩ
ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ.ⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ
ⲑⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛⲑⲩⲗⲏ leer ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲑⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲟⲙⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩ
ⲣ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲛⲩ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲁⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ
ⲁⲛⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ
ⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ leer ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧⲓ
ⲕⲏ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲩ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧ
ⲙⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⳨ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲃⲓⲣⲁⲩ ⲃⲓⲣ̣ⲉ ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲃ̄
ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲉⲃⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲍⲱ
ⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁ
ⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁ ⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲉⲥ
ⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ ⳨ⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡ
ⲥⲁⲛⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧ̣ⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲱ[ⲛ]ⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ
ⲁⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓ.ⲇⲏ ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲧ⳨[ⲩ]
ⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ̣ⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲧⲁ ⲁ̣[ⲡ]
ⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ leer ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲕ̣ⲉⲟ[ⲩ]
ⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⳨ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍ[ⲙ ⲡ]ⲓⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ[ⲁⲣⲭ]
ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲥⲁⲱⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲱⲟ[ⲟⲡ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲥ]ⲱⲙⲁ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄]
ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ leer ⲧⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲕ[ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲭⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲩ]

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5 ⲛ̄ⲩⲑⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲟ über der Linie. — 31 über dem Ende von Zeile 31] ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲉ . . . [.

[Die] Kephalaia

gesprochen habe, so steht es auch mit diesem Körper, den die
Electi anlegen (φορεῖν). Fünf andere Lager (παρεμβολή) gibt es in
ihm, die der Licht-Noûς bewacht sowie der Neue
Mensch, der mit ihm ist. Der erwählte (ἐκλεκτός) Mensch, der das
Bild (προτομή) seines Gesichtes, das oberhalb seines Körpers sich befindet, beherrscht (δαμάζειν),
bezwingt und es zum Guten (ἀγαθόν) leitet, gleicht
dem Mysterium des Φεγγοκάτοχος, der über
die Wache oberhalb der ζώνη gebietet. — Wer [über] sein Herz
Herr wird, es zu bezwingen, entspricht dem großen
König der Ehre, der die sieben Himmel bezwingt. — Wer
über seinen Schoß Herr wird und seine Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) bezwingt, entspricht dem Mysterium des Adamas des Lichtes, der
die Hyle bezwingt. — Wer den Magen (στόμαχος) bezwingt und
über das Feuer in ihm Herr wird, weiterhin die Speisen (τροφή), die in ihn
hineinkommen, reinigt, gleicht
dem König der Herrlichkeit, der die Räder dreht, indem er das Leben
hinaufsendet. — Wer über die Archontenschaft (ἀρχοντική)
drunten in seinen Füßen Herr wird und sie fesselt mit der
Fessel des Friedens (εἰρήνη), ist gleich dem Ὠμοφόρος, der mit
seinen Sohlen die Abgründe drunten bezwingt. — Die Lehre der
Weisheit (σοφία) dagegen, die sich in jenem Körper umherbewegt,
entspricht der Jungfrau des Lichtes, die auf und ab
wandelt in der ζώνη, die oben und der, die unten
ist. — Die Liebe (ἀγάπη) und die Freude, der Glaube und
die Wahrheit aber, in denen der Mensch lebt, entsprechen
den zwei Lichtfahrzeugen. Denn die Lebendige
Seele steigt in ihnen empor, entweicht durch sie,
kommt herauf aus den Abgründen drunten und gelangt (καταντᾶν)
zur Höhe droben. — Wiederum erkennet auch dies andere:
Es gibt vier Welten in diesem Körper des [Fleisches].
Es gibt sieben Archonten in Unendlichkeit [in dem] Körper [dieser vier]
Welten. — Die erste [Welt erstreckt sich von seinem]

ⲡⲟⲩ

[> ·] ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲥ · <

ⲙⲟⲩⲧ ⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲁϣⲏ ⲁⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲏ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ
ⲥⲁ̄ ⲡ|ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲙ̄ⲁⲛ̈ⲱⲣ[ⲥ]
ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲛϣⲱⲗⲙ̄ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ
ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲉ. ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲭ|+ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉ leer
[ⲧⲧ]ⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲙⲟⲩⲧ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛ̄ ϣⲁ
ⲧⲉϥϣⲁϣⲡⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲡⲥⲁϣⲏ ⲁⲉ ⲥⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉ[ⲧ]
ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲁ̄ ⲡ|ⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲃⲁⲓ̈ [ⲥⲛⲉ]
[ⲩ] ⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲙⲉϣⲧⲉ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲧ[ϣⲟ]
ⲟⲡ ⲥⲁ̄ ⲡⲏϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧ[ⲉ]ⲩ
ⲕ|ⲓⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲡⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲙⲁⲛ̄ϣⲱⲗⲙ̄ⲉ
ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲃⲉⲗ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲥⲏⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡϣ|ⲭⲥⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲟⲙⲁ
ⲭⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ|ⲓⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲉⲥⲧ
ⲥⲏⲧ ⲁⲡ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ TTⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲁϣⲏ̄ ⲛ
ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲁ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲥϣⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲱⲧ ⲡⲟⲩⲁϥ ⲡⲛⲁⲓ̈[ϣ] ⲡⲥⲏⲡ[ⲁ]ⲣ ⲡⲥ|ϣⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲧⲉϥⲃⲗⲱⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲥϥⲧⲁ[ⲩ ⲛⲕⲟ]ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄
ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲕⲉⲥⲁϣⲏ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲏ̄ ⲙⲡ|ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲡ|ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲡⲉϥ
ⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉϥⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉϥⲕⲉⲥⲧⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲃⲣⲁⲃ ⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲡⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲣⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ leer
[ⲧⲧ]ⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲕⲣⲓ
ⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲁ|ⲇⲩⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲕ|ⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲗⲉⲱⲛ
ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲍⲩⲅⲟⲥ ⲡⲥⲕⲟⲣⲡ|ⲟⲥ ⲡⲧⲟⲝⲟⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲁ|
ⲅⲟⲅⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲍⲩⲇⲣⲏⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡ|ⲭⲑⲩⲥ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲛⲧ
ⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛⲍⲱⲗ|ⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ
ⲧⲥ̀ⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲉⲩⲭⲁⲗⲭ ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲣ ⲍⲁ̄ ⲡ|ⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ
ⲧⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉⲩⲁⲩⲧ ⲉⲩⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲏ̄ ⲉⲕ| ⲁⲉ ⲁⲡ|ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ
[ⲧ]ⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲗ|ⲟⲛ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁϣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲭ
. . . ⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓⲣⲁ ⲉⲧⲍⲁ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ
[ⲥ|ⲟⲩ] ⲥⲉⲧⲏϣ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡ|ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲭⲁⲛⲏ̄ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲕⲟⲛ ⲧⲁⲡⲉ ⲛ̄
[. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲛ ⲡⲥⲉⲧ ⲁⲉ ⲥⲱϥ . . ⲉⲟⲩⲉ
[. . . . . .] ⲥⲉϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲡ|ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲭ|

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12 Das zweite ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧⲱϥ Dittographie. — 16 Lies ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉϥⲃⲗⲱⲧ. — 30 ⲭⲁⲛⲏ̄ (s. 174, 13 ⲭⲁⲁⲛⲏ̄), Qual. von ⲭⲱ(ⲱ)ⲛⲏ̄, Bedeutung unbekannt, vielleicht „aufreihen“, „anordnen“.

des Lehrers.

Nacken aufwärts. Die sieben Archonten aber, die sich in dieser
oberen Welt befinden, sind diese: Die zwei Sehorgane,
und die zwei Hörorgane und die zwei Riechorgane,
das andere ist der Mund, welcher das Geschmacksorgan ist. —
[Die] zweite Welt reicht von seinem Nacken abwärts bis zu
seinem ganzen Magen. Die sieben Archonten aber, die sich
in dieser zweiten Welt befinden, sind seine [zwei] Arme,
die seinen zwei Ohren entsprechen, die sich in seiner
ersten Welt droben befinden, und seine zwei Brüste,
die seinen Nasenlöchern entsprechen,
und die zwei Augen seines Herzens und die Tiefe des
Magens (στόμαχος), der zwischen den zwei Brüsten ist, der in der
Brust ist entsprechend dem Munde. — Wiederum befinden sich
sieben Archonten in der dritten Welt des Körpers,
welche sind das Fett, die Lunge, die Milz, die Leber (ἧπαρ), die Galle
und seine zwei Nieren. — Auch in der vierten Welt unten
gibt es sieben andere von genau derselben Art; seine
zwei Hinterbacken (?) und seine zwei Hoden und seine zwei Lenden
und das Glied (μέλος), aus dem der Same kommt, der alle
Gestalten (μορφή) erzeugt. —
Wiederum sprach der Φωστήρ zu seinen Zuhörern: Der Widder
und der Stier, die Zwillinge, der Krebs, der Löwe,
die Jungfrau, die Waage, der Skorpion, der Schütze, der
Steinbock, der Wassermann und der Fisch sind die
zwölf ζῴδια, die sich in den Welten des Himmels befinden, die in
der σφαῖρα sind, indem sie an diesem sich drehenden Rade angeheftet und gebunden sind,
an welchem sie . . . . angefügt und . . . siehe aber alle diese zwölf
ζῴδια. So sind sie angeordnet worden und zu Führern gemacht worden
. . . . in der σφαῖρα unter dem Himmel, welche ist das Rad der
[Sterne]. Sie sind nun in dieser Weise geordnet. Sie sind aufgereiht, damit du findest das Haupt von
. . . . . und du den Schwanz findest . . . . .
. . . . . so steht es auch mit denen,

18 ⲧⲉⲧⲉ sicher, aber Bedeutung unbekannt. — 27 ⲧⲣⲁⲒⲧ und ϫⲁⲒⲧ in der Bedeutung unbekannt.

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> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 ⲛ̣ⲉ̈ⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲥⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲥ̣ⲉⲱⲡ
2 ⲙ̣ⲙⲁⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲏⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲣⲓ·ⲑⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲡⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲛⲟⲩ
3 ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲁ
4 ⲍ̣ⲃ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ̣ⲩⲭⲛⲁⲍ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲁⲓⲇⲩⲙⲟⲥ
5 ⲧ̣ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲱⲡⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲕⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲧⲟⲙⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ
6 [ⲡ]ⲗⲉⲱⲛ ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲣ̣ⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲕⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲭ̣ⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲧ
7 ⲁ̣[ⲙⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲏⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲡⲁ̣ⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲍⲩⲅⲟⲥ ⲕⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲩ̄ ⲡⲉ
8 [ⲡⲥ]ⲕ̣ⲟⲣⲡⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲉⲍⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲟⲝⲟⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲉⲧ ⲡ̣[ⲉ]
9 [ⲡⲁⲓⲅ]ⲟⲕⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲩ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲍⲩⲇⲣⲏⲭⲟⲟⲥ
10 ⲛⲑⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ̣ ⲡⲓⲭⲑⲩⲥ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲍⲱⲩ
11 ⲁⲩⲥ̣ⲏⲣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲥⲉⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ
12 ⲉⲩⲡ̣ⲁⲱⲥ̀ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲕⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱ
13 ⲥⲉⲭⲁⲁⲛⲩ̄ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲥⲉⲱⲏⲱ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲡⲉ
14 ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲉ̣ⲧ ⲧ[ⲍ]ⲉ [ⲉ]ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲧⲣ̣ⲟ̣ⲭ̣ⲟ̣ⲥ̣
15 . . ⲉ . . ⲉⲉⲧ . . . . ⲁⲧⲡⲉ leer ⲥⲉⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲍⲛ̄
16 ⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲣ̣ⲓ·ⲑⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏ
17 ⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲡⲁⲱⲥ̀ ⲥⲉⲣⲁⲕⲉ ⲥⲉⲡⲁ
18 ⲣ̣ⲱ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲡⲉ·ⲇⲏ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲧⲉⲩ
19 ⲧⲡⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲱⲡ ⲥⲁⲩ ⲥⲁ ⲃⲃⲟⲩⲣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ
20 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲥⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲁ̣ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉ̣ⲧ
21 ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲡⲥ̀ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲁⲍ
22 ⲃ̣ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲩⲭⲛⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ
23 ⲡⲁⲓⲇⲩⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲡⲓⲣ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲣⲕⲓⲛⲟⲥ
24 ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲧⲟⲙⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲗⲉⲱⲛ ⲡⲥⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲁ̣ⲧⲉ̣
25 ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲕⲉⲥ[ⲁⲩ] ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲉ
26 ⲧⲃⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲟⲩⲣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲍⲱ
27 ⲱⲩ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲧⲉⲩ†ⲡⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ Τⲩⲃⲃⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ . .
28 ⲡⲉ ⲡⲍⲩⲅⲟⲥ ⲡⲩ̄ⲥⲡⲓⲣ ⲛ̄ⲟ̣ⲃⲟⲩⲣ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲕⲟⲣⲡⲓ[ⲟⲥ]
29 ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲓⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲃⲟⲩⲣ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲗⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟ̣ⲃ̣ⲟⲩⲣ̣ [ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲟ]
30 ⲝⲟⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁⲗⲁⲛⲕⲉⲍ ⲛ[ⲃⲟⲩⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲅⲟⲕⲉ]

12 Am Ende lies ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲁⲓⲟⲛ.

Die Kephalaia

von denen wir euch berichtet haben, in ihrem Verhältnis zueinander in diesem Körper.
Sie werden zahlenmäßig berechnet vom Haupte bis zu den
Füßen. Sein Haupt ist der Widder. Sein Hals und seine Schultern
sind der Stier. Seine zwei Arme sind die Zwillinge.
Seine Speiseröhre (?) ist der Krebs. Sein Magen (στόμαχος) ist
[der] Löwe. Sein Leib ist die Jungfrau. Das Rückgrat der
Substanz (?) und sein Zwerchfell(?) ist die Waage. Sein Busen ist
[der] Skorpion. Seine Lenden sind der Schütze. Seine Füße sind
der Steinbock. Seine Schienbeine sind der Wassermann.
Seine Fußsohlen sind der Fisch. Siehe diese wiederum
sind zueinander verteilt. Sie befinden sich in diesem Körper,
indem sie zur Seite gebogen und geneigt sind entsprechend diesen zwölf ζῴδια.
Sie sind wiederum angeordnet und ausgeglichen zueinander, das Haupt
zum Schwanz, wie sie sich im Rade befinden,
. . . . . — Auch sie werden durch die Zahl
des Körpers und aller seiner Glieder (μέλος) berechnet.
Was wir aber berichtet haben, daß sie zur Seite gebogen und geneigt und ausgebreitet sind, ist dies. Denn von seinem Haupte abwärts bis zu seiner
Hüfte, werden sechs links von ihm, andere sechs rechts von ihm
gerechnet. Die sechs auf seiner Rechten abwärts sind diese, die ich
nennen werde: Die rechte Schläfe ist der Widder. Seine rechte
Schulter ist der Stier. Sein rechter Arm ist
der Zwilling. Seine rechte Rippe ist der Krebs.
Sein Magen (στόμαχος) ist der Löwe. Die rechte Seite seiner . . .
ist die Jungfrau. — Die andern [sechs], von denen wir gesagt
haben, daß sie links von ihm sich befinden, sie kommen
wiederum von seiner Hüfte zu seinem Haupte. Seine linke . . .
ist die Waage. Seine linke Rippe ist der Skorpion.
Seine linke Brust und die linke Niere [ist der]
Schütze. Sein [linker] Ellbogen [ist] der Stein-

7 ⲱⲡⲁⲧ vgl. 170, 6. 9.

[ρ]οε

> · ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

1 ⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲁϩⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲃⲟⲩⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡϩⲩⲇⲣⲏⲭⲟⲟ[ⲥ]
2 ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲃⲟⲩⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡ|ⲭⲟⲩⲥ ⲧϩⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ [ⲉⲧⲁ]
3 ⲡⲇⲏⲙ|ⲟⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲁϣⲟⲩ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲁⲩ[ϩⲁⲣ]
4 ⲃⲟⲩ ⲁⲩϣⲁϣⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲧⲁⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡ̣[ⲥⲉⲧ]
5 ⲦⲦⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ϫⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲡ|ⲕⲉⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉ†ⲛⲁⲧ[ⲉⲟⲩ]
6 ⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲉ̣ⲛⲁϣⲱⲟⲩ ϣⲟ[ⲟⲡ]
7 ϩⲙ ⲡ|ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛϫⲱ[ϫ]
8 ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲩ̄ Ⲟⲩⲛ ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉ ⲙⲛ ϩⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁ ⲛ̄[ⲁⲣ]
9 ϫⲱⲛ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲥ[ⲱ]ⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲏⲣ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣[ⲁⲗ]
10 ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟ|ⲕⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲙ̣ⲛ̣
11 ⲡⲁⲣ|ⲑⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲟ|ⲕⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ϣⲛⲧ ⲙⲛⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁ leer
12 ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ|ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲉ| ⲉⲩϣⲗⲏ ⲉⲩ[ⲙ]ⲁ
13 [ⲥⲉ ⲥ|ⲥ]ⲟⲩⲛ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲱⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ϣⲁⲩ
14 ⲟⲩⲱⲃⲡ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲛⲉ̣ⲩ̣ⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛ̣ⲥ̣ⲉ̣ . . .
15 ⲛ̣ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲩ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲥ[ⲛⲃⲁⲙ . . . . . ⲁ]
16 [ⲡ]ⲥ̣ⲁⲡ ϣⲁⲩⲃⲁⲃⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥ̣ⲱⲙⲁ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ̣ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲩ[ⲛⲁ]
17 ⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ̄ ⲓ̈ⲩⲧ ⲉⲩϩⲁⲩ ⲥⲓ ⲥⲁϣ ⲥⲓ ⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ ⲉⲩ[ⲣⲁ]
18 ϫⲉ̀ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉ|ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲣϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁ̣[ⲩ] ⲥ|ⲥⲟ[ⲩⲛ]
19 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲁⲉ| ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ|ⲱⲱⲩ ⲥ|ⲃⲁⲗ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡ̣ⲗ̣ⲏ
20 ⲅⲏ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲕⲱⲗ ⲛ̄ϣⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϣⲟⲩⲟ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛ̄ϩⲱⲟⲩ
21 ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϣⲟⲩⲟ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛ̄ϫⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲕⲱⲗ . .
22 . . ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲉⲥϩⲱⲩ ⲡⲱⲣⲕ̄ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ [ϣⲁ]
23 [ⲣ]ⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϣⲃⲁ ⲕⲁϩⲕϩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲑⲉⲣⲁⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲁⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲁ
24 ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ| ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲓⲱⲱⲩ leer
25 ⲟⲁ
26 — ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲩϩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ —
27 ⲟⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[ⲥ]ⲧⲟ|ⲭⲉ|ⲟⲛ ⲟⲁ
28 [ⲦⲦⲁⲗ]ⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ϫⲉ ⲉϣ ⲧⲉ ⲧϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲣⲉ
29 [ⲛ]ⲥⲧⲟ|ⲭⲉ|ⲟⲛ ⲥⲱⲩϩ ⲁ̣ϩⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ ⲁ̣ⲩⲉ ⲉϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩ
30 [ⲁⲓ̈ⲛ]ⲉ ⲥⲱⲩϩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ [ⲁ]ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲥ ⲥⲱⲩϩ ⲁ
31 [ϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙ]ⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲩϩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ̣ ⲡ

4 Lies ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ „gegeneinander“. — 15 Lies ⲙⲙⲉⲩ.

des Lehrers.

bock. Seine linke Schulter ist der Wassermann.
Seine linke Schläfe ist der Fisch. So hat
der Schöpfer (δημιουργός) des Körpers auch sie angeordnet und eingeteilt und sie gegenüber seinen Gefährten ausgeglichen, das Haupt gegenüber dem [Schwanz].
Wiederum sprach er: Höret auch dies Wort, das ich euch verkünden
werde. Wisset: Es gibt viele Mächte
in diesem Körper, welche sind die Hausbewohner, die Anführer in
ihm sind. — 800 und 40 Zehntausende von Archonten
sind Häupter im Körper des Menschen, indem sie verteilt sind
und dastehn, je vier für jedes Haus (οἶκος). Die Zahl und
die Anzahl (ἀριθμός) ihrer Häuser ist 210 Zehntausende.
Wenn all diese Archonten kommen, indem sie kriechen und wandeln
innerhalb des Körpers und einander begegnen, zerstören
sie einander und vernichten einander und . . .
in ihnen dort. Wenn [Mächte . . . . . .]
jeweils springen sie heraus aus dem Körper des Menschen, in dem er
stirbt, und bewirken bösartige Auswüchse und brennende Wunden
am Körper, sei es sie bewirken innere Krankheiten an ihm
oder vielmehr sie kommen herauf auf ihn äußerlich. So pflegen
jene Wunden sich zuerst zusammenzuziehen (?) und ihre Flüssigkeiten auszugießen
und ihre schlechten Säfte auszugießen bis sie . . .
. . . und der Eiterstock(?) ausgerissen wird aus der Wunde. Danach
verschwinden (heilen), gesunden (θεραπεύειν) und genesen ihre Wunden
an den Stellen, auf denen sie herausgekommen sind.

LXXI

Über die Einsammlung der Elemente.

Wiederum sprach der Φωστήρ: Wie versammeln
sich die Elemente von einem zum andern? Das
Licht versammelt sich zum Feuer, das Feuer aber versammelt sich
[zum Wasser, das W]asser versammelt sich zum Wind, der

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20 ⲕⲱⲗ, Bedeutung unbekannt. Über das Substantiv vgl. Crum, Dict. 102, vgl. S. ⲥⲱⲗ „kräuseln, zusammenziehen". — 21 Dasselbe ⲕⲱⲗ wie in 20 scheint hier nicht gestanden zu haben. — 22 ⲙⲉⲥϩⲁⲩ, Bedeutung wohl „Eiterstock".

ρο[ϛ]

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

[ⲧⲏ]ⲩ ⲥⲱⲩϩ ⲁⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲥⲱⲩϩ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ
[ⲛⲧ]ⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲥⲱⲩϩ ⲁⲡⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲡⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲩ
[ⲁⲡ]ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲧⲟ̄ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲱⲁ
[ⲡⲥ]ⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ [ⲡⲥ]ⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄
[ⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ
[ⲁ]ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲩϩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ
[ⲉⲩ]ⲛⲁⲥⲱⲩϩ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡ
[ⲥ]ⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲙⲁⲛⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ leer

ο̅β̅

ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲁⲕⲗⲉⲕ
ο̅β̅ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲗⲁⲡⲗⲉⲡ ⲏ ⲛⲱⲧⲏⲛ ⲛ ο̅β̅
ⲣ̄ϩⲱⲩ ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲥ̀
ⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲉⲥⲉⲡⲉ leer

ⲦⲦⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ϩⲙⲉⲥⲧ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲩϩⲥ ⲛ̣ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ
ⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲑ̣ⲏ̣ⲧ̣ⲏⲥ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲛ[ⲛⲉ]ⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲉϫⲉ
[ⲉⲧ]ⲥⲏϩ ϩⲛ [ⲛⲅⲣⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ] ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛϩⲃ̣
ϩ̣ⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϩⲏ ϩⲛⲉⲓ̣ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ϩⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲏ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ
[ⲉ]ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲡ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ϩⲛ̄ⲉⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲥ
[ⲉⲧ]ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲁⲕⲗⲉⲕ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲗⲁⲡⲗⲉⲡ ⲏ ϩⲛ̄ⲉⲩ ⲛⲉ
ⲛ̄ϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲧⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ϩⲱⲩ ⲏ ⲟⲩⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲛ ϫⲉ
ⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ϩⲱⲩ ⲟⲩⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩ
ⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲏ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲥⲉ†ⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ϫⲉ ⲡⲥⲁϫ
ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̀ ⲏ ⲟⲩⲉⲩ ⲧⲉ ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲗϩⲁⲗⲧ̄ ⲉⲥϩⲁⲧⲃⲉ
ⲉⲥϩⲱ̄ϩⲁⲱⲧ ⲉⲥⲙⲁⲩⲧ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲉⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲛ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲥⲏϩ ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲃⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ
ⲛϩⲛⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ †ⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ̣ †ⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄
ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϫⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲉⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲏ ⲡⲱⲥ ⲁⲩⲱⲓⲃⲉ
ϩⲛ ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲱⲃ̄
ⲓ̈ⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ [ⲛⲛ]ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ [ⲉ]
ⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ[ⲓⲉ]
ⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲕⲙⲁⲧ[ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲛ ⲁⲛⲓⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ]
ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲧϩⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥ[ⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ]

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26 In †ⲱⲓⲛⲉ zwischen ⲓ und ⲛ Loch im Papyrus, dsgl. 28 zwischen ϩⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄; 29 ⲙⲁⲑⲏ und ⲧⲏⲥ; 30 ⲥⲟⲫⲓ und ⲁ.

Die Kephalaia

Wind versammelt sich zur Luft (ἀήρ), die Luft (ἀήρ) versammelt sich zur Antwort,
die Antwort versammelt sich zum Ruf, der Ruf hingegen
[zum] geläuterten Noûς, welcher das νοερόν ist, das νοερόν zur
Säule der Herrlichkeit, die Säule der Herrlichkeit zum Ur-
menschen, der Mensch zum Gesandten, der Gesandte
[zu] den Äonen der Größe. So sind sie eingesammelt.
[Sie] werden aber eingesammelt ein einziges Mal und hinaufgehn
nach oben an den Ruheort in alle Ewigkeit. —

LXXII.

Über die zerrissenen und zerfetzten Gewänder oder die zerschlissenen Kleider oder die Elemente, das Kreuz (σταυρός) und den übrigen Rest.

Wiederum als der Apostel in der Versammlung seiner Jünger
saß, sprach er zu seinen Jüngern: Welches ist das Wort,
[das in den Schriften] geschrieben steht, indem es den Namen der „großen
Gewänder" verkündet, oder welche sind die „großen Gewänder" oder aber was ihr
jeweils „Lappen" nennt, welche sind jene „Lappen"
oder „Fetzen" und „Reste", oder welche sind
die „Bilder und die zerschlissenen Kleider", oder was ist dieser Name
„Licht-Element", oder anderseits was ist das „Kreuz (σταυρός)
des Lichtes", oder warum nennt man (noch) etwas anderes „den Gedanken
des Lebens" oder was ist die „Seele, die geschlachtet ist, indem sie getötet ist,
bedrängt, gemordet im Feinde". Was sind alle diese
Namen, denn siehe sie sind geschrieben und gesiegelt gemäß dem Gedächtnis
in vielen Schriften (γραφή). Jetzt also frage ich euch,
daß ihr mir sagt, welches sind oder wie (πῶς) sich unterscheiden
unter diesen Namen allen und sich aufgestellt haben in verschiedenen
Gestalten all diese. Seine Jünger sprachen zu ihm:
Du, unser Vater, bist die Wurzel aller Weisheiten (σοφία). Des-
halb bitten wir dich, daß du uns
über dies alles aufklärest. [Belehre uns über die Weisheiten;]
denn du bist die Quelle [aller Weisheiten (σοφία)].

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22 ⲏ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩ vgl. 125, 5; 167, 6. — 32 ⲕⲱⲁⲧ scheinbar verderbt, wahrscheinlich ⲕ zu streichen und ⲱⲁ Imperativ zu ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ.

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> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <

Τοτε ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲣ[ⲱⲧ]
[ⲛⲉ] ⲡⲉ ⲁⲙⲙⲉ ⲙⲡ|ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ†ⲣⲉⲛ[ⲟⲩ]
ⲭⲉ ⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲍⲃⲥⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ[ⲭⲱⲕ]
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁⲧϥⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲟ|ⲛⲉ| ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ [ⲛ]
ⲉⲧⲁⲩ†ⲣⲉⲛ ⲥⲱⲱϥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲁϊⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϊⲥ ⲡⲉ †ⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲧ
ⲉⲧⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁϊⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲙⲉϭ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲥⲭⲁⲗⲭ ⲥⲙ̄ [ⲡⲥⲱ]
ⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡϭⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲧ
ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲥⲃⲟⲩⲃⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡ̣
ⲉⲧⲭⲉⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥ|ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ
[ⲙⲡ]ⲇ̣ⲣⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛ|ⲧⲁϊⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲭⲁⲗⲭ ⲥⲙ̄
ⲡ̣|[ⲱⲁⲙ]ⲧ ⲛ̄[ϭ]ⲁⲍ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟ
[ⲣⲟⲥ] . . ⲉⲧ ⲥⲙ ⲡϭⲁⲍ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲙⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϊ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩ
[†ⲣⲉⲛ] ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϊⲥ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ . . . . . ⲟⲩⲁⲍ . . .
. . ⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲍⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲗⲁϭⲗⲉϭ ⲥⲱⲱϥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲗⲁ̣ⲡ
ⲗⲡ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ †ⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲁ̣ⲛⲍ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲭⲱⲗⲭ ⲙ
ⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲱⲍⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲩϣⲱⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲱⲙϭ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ
ⲉⲩⲉⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ†ⲟⲩ ⲛϭⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲥⲁⲣ̄ⲝ ⲛⲉ
ⲧⲱⲗⲏ ⲉⲩⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲙⲁ leer
[Ⲛⲉ]ⲧⲁⲛⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲱⲱϥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲛⲁϭ
ⲛⲱⲧⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲣⲍⲱⲃ . . . ⲧ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲍⲃⲥⲱ
ⲧⲁⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀
ϭⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲁⲭ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲥⲙ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩ
ⲉ ⲥ̣ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ϭⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭ|
ⲟ̣ⲣⲉ̣ ⲁ̣ⲩⲥⲁⲍⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲱϥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥ|ⲧⲉⲍⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲙⲟ
[ⲫⲟ]ⲣⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ leer
[Ⲛⲥⲧⲟ|]ⲭⲉ|ⲟⲛ ⲥⲱⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ +
[ⲃⲁ]ⲙ ⲉⲧⲁⲍⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲙⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈
[ⲥⲛ̄] ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛϭⲁⲍ ⲧ̣ⲏ̣ⲣ̣ⲟⲩ ⲉⲥⲥⲱⲩⲍ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲥⲡⲁⲍⲧ ⲁ
[ⲃⲁ]ⲗ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲃ̣[ⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏ]ⲣ̣ⲟⲩ leer ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲥⲱⲱϥ ⲛ̄
[ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁ]†ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲙⲏⲣ ⲉⲥ
[. . . . . .] . ⲛ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲥ|ⲭⲙ̄ ⲡϭⲁⲍ ⲥⲙ̄

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6 ⲉⲧ am Ende Dittographie. — 16 In ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ zwischen ⲟⲩ und ⲁⲩ Lücke. — 25 ϥ̄ in ⲁⲩⲃⲁⲱϥ̄ über der Zeile.

des Lehrers.

Da sprach der Apostel zu ihnen: Was sich für euch ziemt
ist also (Bescheid) zu wissen: Die Kleider, die „große Kleider" genannt worden
sind, sind die fünf νοερά, die [vollkommen gemacht] haben
den Körper der Säule (στῦλος) der Herrlichkeit, des vollkommenen Mannes,
die ausgeläutert wurden beim Kommen des Gesandten. Was
man dagegen „Lappen" genannt hat, die „Lappen" sind diese leuchtende Kraft,
die verschlungen ist, indem sie vermischt und angeheftet ist im [Kör-]
per der Welt in den Archonten oben, die
sich in allen Firmamenten befinden. Ihr (fem.) Glanz wiederum ist es, der
erleuchtet und offenbar ist in den Sternen der Fessel (?) und den Mächten
[des] Laufes (δρόμος), eben sie die „Lappen" sind angeheftet in
den [drei] Erden drunten oberhalb des Hauptes des 'Ωμοφόρος,
. . auf der Erde unter dem 'Ωμοφόρος. Dies, daß man
sie „Lappen" [genannt] hat, liegt daran, daß, ...
Die „großen zerrissenen und zerfetzten Gewänder",
die wir genannt haben, ist diese lebendige Kraft, die angeheftet,
gemäht, geschnitten, verschlungen und unterjocht
wird in den fünf Welten des Fleisches (σάρξ), die
kriechen, indem sie wandeln an jedem Ort. —
Was wir aber genannt „Bilder und große
verschlissene Kleider", das sind die drei „großen Gewänder"
des Windes, Feuers und Wassers, die der Lebendige Geist
auf seinen Körper gekleidet und mit denen er die Werke in den Welten
errichtet hat, mit ihnen hat er auch die Fahrzeuge ausgegossen
(und) ausgefegt; er hat sie vor dem 'Ωμοφόρος
auf dem Grund aller Dinge ausgezogen. —
[Die] „Elemente", die wir mit diesem Namen genannt haben, sind die Kraft,
die in allen Dingen drunten steht, indem sie heraufkommt,
[in] den Gebärmüttern aller Erden, indem sie eingesammelt wird und ausgegossen
ist über alle [Dinge]. — Das „[Licht]-Kreuz (σταυρός)"
aber, [das wir genannt haben] die „Licht-Kraft", die gebunden ist, indem sie
. . . . . ganz auf der Erde, auf

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[π]ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲱⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲁⲃⲃⲉ leer ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ†ⲣⲉ[ⲛ ⲁ]
[ρ]ⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲱⲥⲙⲉ ⲙ̀ⲛ̀ ⲡ
[ⲥⲱ]ⲧⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ
[ⲉ]ⲩⲛⲉⲍⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩ†ⲟⲩⲁⲥⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲭⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲛⲉ[ⲩ]
[ⲛ]ⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲩ†ⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ [ⲉⲧⲥ]
[ⲗ]ⲥⲁⲗⲧ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲱⲥⲁⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲙⲁⲩⲧ ⲛⲧⲁⲥ ⲧⲉ
†ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄†ⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲃⲣⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲟⲩ
[ⲉ]ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲕⲁⲧⲩⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲡⲱⲧⲡⲱⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲉ
†ⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲛⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̀ ⲡⲱⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲱ[ⲟ]
ⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲑⲃⲥⲱ ⲉⲱⲁⲥⲣⲡⲗⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲩⲗⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲟⲩⲧⲁ]
ⲏⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ †ⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲉⲧⲥⲗⲍⲁⲗⲧ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲉ
ⲡⲉⲓⲁⲏ †ⲕⲉⲧⲁⲏⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥ ⲥⲉⲍⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣ
. . . ⲉⲡ . . . . . leer ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉ . . . .
ⲁ . ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲟ . . . . ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲉⲥ . [.]
ⲉⲥⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲡⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲛⲓⲧⲁⲏⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲧ[ⲏ]
ⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲱⲃⲏⲁⲏⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲱⲩ ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲓⲅⲉ
ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲃⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉⲟⲩ . . ⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲱⲕ
ⲁⲍⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ [ⲛⲥⲉ]ⲡⲱⲣⲝ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛⲓ
ⲣⲉⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲥⲱⲩⲍ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ [ⲛ̄ⲥ]ⲉⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ
ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲱⲓⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧ
ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲭⲉ leer

ογ

ογ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲫⲫⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲍⲩⲗⲏ ογ

ⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲉⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲭⲉ [ⲡ]
ⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲓ̄ ⲧⲉ †ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲙⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲱⲱ[ⲡⲉ]
ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁ . .
ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲓ̄ ⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ . . . . ⲧⲉⲥⲙⲉⲧⲟ[ⲩ] . . .
ⲧⲉⲥⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲓⲁ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲍ̄ⲃⲥⲁⲩ[ⲉ . . . . . .]
ⲁⲥⲱⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲥⲁⲕⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲥ[. . . . . .]

4/5 ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ Dittographie. — 25 Lies ⲡⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ.

Die Kephalaia

dem Trockenen und dem Feuchten. — Was man aber den „Gedanken des Lebens“
genannt hat, ist der Ruf und das Hören,
der in all diesen Kräften, die wir genannt haben, wandelt,
indem er sie erweckt, ihnen Weite gibt und ihnen winkt,
daß sie wandeln. — Die man „geschlachtete, getötete,
bedrängte, gemordete Seele“ genannt hat, sie ist
die Kraft der Früchte, der Gurken und Samen, die
geschlagen, gepflückt und zerrissen werden und
den Welten des Fleisches (σάρξ) Nahrung (τροφή) geben. Auch das Holz,
wenn es trocken wird und das Kleid, wenn es alt wird, werden vergehn.
Es ist auch [ein] Teil der ganzen „getöteten, geschlachteten Seele“. Denn
auch dieser ganze Teil von ihr wird getötet
. . . . . — Denn alle diese Namen . . .
sie waren . . . . . einziger ist er von Anfang an . . .
indem er leuchtet, sondern sie wurden in all diese Teile gespalten
in diesem ersten Kampf (ἀγών) (und) haben sich in all diesen verschiedenen
Gestalten und vielen Namen hingestellt. Vielleicht nun (ἀμέλει γε οὖν)
wenn sie alle diese . . . ablegen und alle diese σχήματα
ausziehn und sie sich von all diesen Namen
trennen, werden sie sich versammeln und eine einzige Gestalt, einen
einzigen unveränderlichen, nie wandelbaren Namen bilden im Lande
(χώρα) ihres ersten Wesens (οὐσία), aus dem sie gegen den Feind
gesandt wurden. —

LXXIII.

Über den Neid (φθόνος) der Hyle.

Wiederum sprach der Apostel zu seinen Jüngern: [Der]
ganze Neid ist die erste Natur (φύσις), die in den Welten
der Finsternis entstand. In diesem Neid . . . .
. . in ihm, der Urmensch . . . . . ihr Gift, . .
ihre Schlechtigkeit. Seine Gewänder . . . . . .
sie hat sie (plur.) abgeschnitten, gezogen . . . . . .

ⲣⲟⲑ

> · ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <

1 ⲁⲥ̄ⲫⲑⲟⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧ[ⲏⲥ]
2 ⲧⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲁⲛϩⲥ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲓ ⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡ[ⲉ]
3 ⲍ[ⲙ̄] ⲡⲉϥⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲓⲁⲣⲍϥ̄ ⲁⲥⲥⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲧⲁⲃⲉϥ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲍ[ⲓ]
4 ⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲁⲥⲕⲱ ⲙⲡϫⲁⲣⲁⲕⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲉ̣[ⲧⲙ]
5 ⲙ̣ⲉⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲡⲉⲥϫⲡⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ leer
6 [ⲦⲦⲙⲁ]ⲍⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲥ̄ⲫⲑⲟⲛⲉ ⲁⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲡⲱⲁ[ⲣⲡ]
7 [ⲛⲣⲱ]ⲙⲉ ⲁⲥⲧⲱⲣⲡ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲥϫⲡⲁⲥ ⲍⲛ ⲟ̣ⲩ
8 [ⲥⲡⲓⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ] ⲛⲁⲁⲁⲙ leer ⲡⲙⲁⲍⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̣ⲥⲁⲡ̣ [ⲁⲛ]
9 [ⲁⲥ̄ⲫ]ⲑⲟⲛ̣[ⲉ] ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲱⲁ[ⲙⲓ]ⲥⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈[ⲁ]
10 [ⲧⲉ ⲛⲧ]ⲉ ⲡ̣ϫ̄ⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛ
11 [ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ] ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲍⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲥ̄ⲫⲑⲟⲛⲉ ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲉ̣ϥ
12 [ⲍⲩⲡⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⲍⲙ] ⲡⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲥ̄ⲫⲑⲟⲛⲉ [ⲁⲛ]ⲓ̈ⲁ
13 [ⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲁ]ⲓ̣ⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲁⲥⲕⲱⲍ ⲁⲧ . . . . . ⲁ̄ⲣ̄
14 [. . . . . .]ⲥⲁⲩⲍⲥ̀ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕ[. . . ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁ̣ϫ̣ⲱϥ
15 [ⲉⲧ]ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲁⲥⲃ . . . . ⲙ̄
16 ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲍⲱⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲧ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛ̄
17 ⲍⲁⲏ ⲁⲥ̄ⲫⲑⲟⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄[ⲍ]ⲁⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲟⲩ
18 ⲧⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲕⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲉⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁ ⲧⲣⲉⲥ̄ⲫⲑⲟⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̣ⲥ̣
19 ϫⲱⲕ ⲡⲉⲥⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̣ ⲁⲥⲫⲑⲟⲛⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲧⲁⲗ[ⲕⲁ]ⲟ
20 ⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣ̀ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲉ̣ⲕ̣ⲕ̣ⲗ̣ⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣ̀ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲩⲍⲥ̀ ⲧⲏⲣ̀
21 [ⲛ]ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲧⲏϫⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲍⲛⲉⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ
22 [ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲩⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲉⲩⲧⲁ̣ϫ̣
23 [ⲣⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲧ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲱⲁⲥⲫⲑⲟⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛⲉ ⲍ̣ⲛ̣
24 [ⲡ]ⲉⲥⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲥⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲓⲁ ⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉ|ⲧⲉ
25 [ⲟⲩ]ⲛ̣ⲁⲃ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲉ|ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲉ|ⲧⲉ ⲍⲁⲩⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲉ|
26 [ⲧ]ⲉ̣ ⲟⲩⲥⲍ|ⲙⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲉ|ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲧⲏϫⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲉ|ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩ
27 ⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲧⲏϫⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲩϫⲏⲕ ⲍⲙ̄
28 [ⲡ]ⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ+ⲙ|ⲛⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲱⲕ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ ⲁⲕ . .
29 [. . . . .] ⲉⲩⲥⲱ[ⲧ]ⲡ ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲁⲩⲣϫⲱⲣⲉ
30 [. . . .]. . . . . ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲩⲛⲉⲍ
31 [. . . . . ⲁⲩ]ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ

des Lehrers.

sie hat das erste Bild (εἰκών) des Gesandten beneidet (φθονεῖν),
das er ihr offenbart hat in der Höhe droben
in seiner Gestalt, die sie gesehn hat. Sie hat das Siegel und
Bild des Fleisches geschaffen (und) den Charakter jenes Bildes
in das Fleisch gelegt, ihr eigenes Erzeugnis. —
Das dritte Mal hat sie Adam beneidet (φθονεῖν), den ersten
Menschen, sie hat von ihm Kraft genommen (und) sie erzeugt aus einer
[Rippe des Fleisches (?)] des Adam. — Das vierte Mal
[hat sie beneidet (φθονεῖν)] alle Erstgeborenen und Urvä[ter]
[Christi], des Seligen (μακάριος), der der Vater aller
[Apostel] ist. Seine [Geduld (ὑπομονή)] aber hat sie
beneidet (φθονεῖν) am Holz des Kreuzes (σταυρός). Sie hat [die] Väter
[der] Gerechtigkeit beneidet (φθονεῖν). Sie hat beneidet . . . . uns zu
. . . . . alle Versammlungen . . . . ihre Liebe auf ihn,
[die (?)] in ihnen, in (?) dem Willen ihrer Bosheit (κακία). Sie hat sie (plur.)
. . . . Ich dagegen bin jetzt in dieser letzten Generation (γενεά)
gesandt worden. Sie hat mich beneidet (φθονεῖν). Sie will nämlich jetzt am Ende (?)
Gott sein auf ihrer alten Erde. Nachdem sie mich beneidet (φθονεῖν) hat und
ihren Neid (φθόνος) in sich vollendet hat, hat sie auch meine Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη)
gänzlich und meine ganze Gemeinde (ἐκκλησία) und die ganze Versammlung
meiner Katechumenen beneidet (φθονεῖν). Denn nicht gefällt es ihr einen einzigen Menschen
zu sehen, verständig, wahrhaftig, gerade, lauter
in seinen Werken, sondern sie beneidet (φθονεῖν) euch in
ihrem Neid (φθόνος) und ihrer Schlechtigkeit (πονηρία) allesamt, ob
groß oder Schüler (μαθητής), ob Mann oder
Weib, ob Katechumen oder
Katechumenin, die sich in der Wahrheit befinden und im Glauben
vollkommen sind, derartige, nicht hat die Sünde Wohlgefallen an . .
. . . . indem sie einen einzigen Tag [auswählt (?)]. Sie wurde stark,
. . . . . in der sie waren, sondern sie entfernte (?)
. . . . . [er] sprach mit ihnen, daß sie an ihnen

7 Vgl. Genes. 2, 22.

ρπ

[> · ⲛ]ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 [ⲛ]ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲕ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ϩⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ϩⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ̣
2 [ϩⲓ]ϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲫⲱⲟⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛ̄
3 [ⲱ]ⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲧⲕⲉⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁϫⲗⲉϫ̀ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ϩⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲇ̣ⲉ
4 [ϩ]ⲱⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϫ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟ̣ⲣⲓⲁ
5 [ⲛⲧ]ⲉ ⲡⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉⲧⲟ̄ⲥⲱⲣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ [ⲙ]
6 [ⲙⲁ]ⲩ̣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲓ ⲱⲛⲉⲱⲧ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̣
7 [ϩ]ⲟ̣ⲩⲟ ⲱⲁⲩⲛⲁϩⲩ ⲁⲡⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲁϩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉ̣ⲕ̣[ⲗⲉⲕ]
8 [ⲧ]ⲟ̣ⲩ̣ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲉⲩⲃⲱⲗⲡ̣ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣[ⲁⲗ]
9 [ⲙⲡ]ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ϩⲛ ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲕ̣[ⲁⲗ]ⲩ⳨ⲓⲥ ⲛ̄[. . . . . .]
10 [ⲛⲟⲩ]ϩⲙⲉ ϩⲁ ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩϩⲓⲉⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲁ[ⲩ. . . . . .]
11 . . . ϩⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲓⲝ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲱⲁⲥⲫⲑⲟ̣ⲛⲉ [. . .]
12 ⲙ . . . ⲉⲥⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉ̣[ⲩ . . . . . .]
13 ⲛⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲃⲕ ϩⲛ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲩ . [. . . . . .]
14 . . . ⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲅⲟⲛ ϩ̣[ⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩ]ⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲁⲙⲃⲗ[ⲙ . . . . . .[
15 ⲥⲉϩⲉ̈ⲓⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ϩ̣ⲏⲧ̣ [ⲛⲧϩⲩ]
16 ⲗⲏ ⲧⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲕ[ⲁ]
17 ⲕⲓⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲉ̀ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ̀
18 ϫⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲱⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ϫⲛ̄ ⲙ̄
19 ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ϩⲱⲱⲧ ⲱⲁ ⲧⲁⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲥⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ
20 ⲁⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ̄ϫⲱⲣⲉ
21 ⲛ̄ⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲙ̣
22 ⲃⲱⲧⲡ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲙ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲙ⳨ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲩ ϩⲙⲧⲩ ⲙ̄ⲫⲑⲟ[ⲛⲟⲥ]
23 ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ . .
24 . . . . . ϩⲙ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ̄ϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ϩⲛ]
25 ⲧⲉⲩϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩ[ⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ] ⲛⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁϫⲛ . . . . .
26 ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲃⲁⲗⲧ ⲉⲓ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉϩⲙ leer

οΔ

28 — ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ ϫⲉ —
29 οΔ ⲉⲥⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲱⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲙⲁ οΔ
30 ⲦⲦⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲧⲥ[ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ [ⲉⲧ]
31 [ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ] ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩ[ⲛ ⲉⲥ]ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲱⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲙⲁ
32 ⲦⲦⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩ [ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲟⲟⲡ]
33 ⲥⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲥⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ ⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ [ⲙⲙⲁϥ . . . . . .]

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7 ⲁⲡⲁⲃⲉ vgl. 128, 14; 148, 30. — 15 ⲓ̈ in ⲡⲉⲓ̈ über der Zeile. — 16 Lies ⲡⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ. Desgl. 22. — 31 ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ scheint Dittographie.

[Die] Kephalaia

ihren Willen tue, sei es außen oder innen.
Innen schlägt sie sie (plur) in ihrem Neid (φθόνος) mit den
Krankheiten und Schmerzen und Leiden des Körpers; außen aber
mit falschen Zeugnissen und lügenhaften
Anklagen (κατηγορία), die sie gegen sie als Gerüchte verbreitet, indem sie sie (plur.)
immer mehr bei den Menschen verhaßt und stinkend macht.
Sie stellt sich hin (?) gegen den Lehrer und den gerechten (δίκαιος)
Eklektus, der predigt, indem er das Mysterium
verkündigt in der ἀποκάλυψις . . . . . (damit?)
gerettet werden seine Lämmer aus ihrer Hand . . . .
. . . vor ihren Händen. Immer mehr beneidet sie . . .
. . . sie redet gegen ihn mit Worten, die . . . . . .
Diese aber, die geringer sind in der Kraft, indem sie . . . .
. . . . nachlässig (ἀργόν) [in ihrem] Glauben und wankelmütig (?) . .
sie fallen aus dem Glauben heraus. Dies ist der Wille [der Hy]le,
das Sinnen (ἐνθύμησις) des Todes. Der Neid (φθόνος) ihrer Bosheit (κακία) ist dies,
den sie von Anfang an auf die gesamte Schar des Lebens
wirft bis zu meiner Zeit, von mir an
bis zu meiner Gemeinde (ἐκκλησία). Deshalb ziemt es sich
für den verständigen Mann, daß er ausharrt, stark ist
und bleibt in seiner Wahrheit und seiner Hoffnung (ἐλπίς) und nicht
sich zurückzieht, nicht zittert und nicht . . . . . vor dem Neid
und Haß der finsteren Hyle, sondern feststeht
. . . . in Gott und stark ist und ausharrt [in]
seiner Hoffnung (ἐλπίς) seines [Glaubens] und wird . . . . . .
wer mich anlegt, kommt vor ihn. —

LXXIV.

Über das lebendige Feuer, daß es sich an acht Orten befindet.

Wiederum sprach der Apostel: Das lebendige [heilige] Feuer
befindet sich an acht Orten. —
Der erste Ort, an dem es ist, ist das [Lichtland, in dem es ist] (und)
sich befindet (und) vorhanden ist unterhalb [vor ihm . . . . . .]

14 ϭλⲁⲙϭλⲙ unbekannt. — 22 ϭⲱⲧⲡ, vgl. 186, 3. — ϯⲧⲟⲩⲱϥ wörtlich: „gibt seinen Busen“, vielleicht „ausreißen vor“.

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> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

1 [т]ⲏρϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏρϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲉ ⲙⲛ]
2 [ⲑⲉ]ⲙⲉⲗ|ⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉ̣[ⲕ ⲡ]
3 [ⲉ]ⲧⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ leer ⲧⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲙⲙ[ⲁ]
4 [ⲉⲧⲥⲛ]ϩⲧϥ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ
5 [ⲡ|ⲱ]ⲧ ⲩⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲁϭ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲱⲣⲉ
6 [ⲡⲱⲣ]ⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲛⲕⲉⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ| ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
7 ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩ|ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ϩⲱⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲥⲉ| ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛϩ̣[ⲏ]
8 ⲧⲟⲩ [ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱ]ⲛϩ̣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲛⲧⲟⲩ leer ⲧⲡⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ [ⲙ]
9 [ⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲛϩⲛⲧϥ̄ ⲡⲉ] ⲡⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ̣[ϥ . . .]
10 [. . . . . ϩ]ⲟⲡⲗⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ [. . .]
11 [. . . . . .]ⲟ̣ ⲁϫⲙ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲛⲕ
12 [ⲧⲡⲙⲁϩϥⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧ]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁⲧϥ̣ⲥ̣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄
13 [ⲟⲩⲁ]ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲁⲧ ϩ]ⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲁⲃ̄ ⲉⲧϩ|ⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ
14 [ⲧⲡⲙⲁϩⲧⲟⲩ ⲡ]ⲉ̣ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲕⲁ̣ⲁⲧ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡϕⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ
15 [. . . . . .] ⲉⲧϩ|ϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲩ leer
16 [ⲧⲧ]ⲙ̣ⲁϩⲥⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲥ[ⲉ]ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁⲧϥⲥ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏρϥ ⲁ ⲡ[ⲫⲛⲁ]
17 ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲃⲁⲗⲉⲥ ⲁϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ϩ|ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄
18 ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲙ|ⲛⲉ ⲛϩⲛⲧⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲱⲩ ⲁⲩ
19 ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲩ ⲕⲁϩⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ϩ|ⲧⲉϩⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟ
20 ρⲟⲥ leer ⲧⲡⲙ̣ⲁϩⲥⲁⲱⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲛ
21 ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ
22 [ⲛ̄]ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲕⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ϩⲁ ⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ . .
23 [. . .] ⲡⲉ ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲱ|ⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛ[ⲉⲧ]
24 ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏρϥ̄ ϩ|ⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲧⲏρϥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ[ⲉⲕ]ⲉ
25 [. . . . . .] ⲛϩⲛⲧϥ̄ ϩⲙ̄ . . . . . ⲧⲏρϥ̄ . . . . . .
26 [ⲧⲡⲙⲁϩ]ⲱⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ ⲡ|. .
27 [. . . .]ⲉⲱ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲣ̄ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲧⲉ ϩ|ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥ ⲁⲛ
28 [. . . .] ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲥϕ̣ⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥ̄ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ϩ|
29 [ⲧⲥϩⲣ]ⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲟ[ⲩⲁ]ⲛⲥ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ|ϩⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
30 [ⲧϩⲉ ⲧ]ⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉ̣ⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲕⲁⲁⲧ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ|
31 [ⲱⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲙⲁ] οε
32 [οε] [ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲡ|ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ (?)] [οε]
33 [ⲧⲧⲁⲗ|ⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲛ]ⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲉ

29 Lies ⲱⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲛϩⲥ̄.

des Lehrers.

ganz außerhalb des Alls. Es ist Basis [und]
Grundlage (θεμέλιος) jener großen Erde, welche die Überlegung ist, die sich
unterhalb ihrer aller befindet. — Der zweite Ort,
an dem [es] sich befindet, ist der Vater, der Gott der Wahrheit. Denn
[der Vater] befindet sich in seiner großen, starken Überlegung;
[die erste (?)] nämlich im Vater: die andern Mächte, die aus ihm heraus-
gekommen sind
(und) durch ihn offenbar geworden sind, auch es (das Feuer) ist heraus-
gekommen aus
ihnen und offenbar geworden aus ihnen. — Der dritte [Ort],
[an dem es sich befindet, ist] der Urmensch, welcher . . .
. . . . . Waffe (ὅπλον). Es ist jenes Feuer . . .
. . . . . auf den Körper des vollkommenen Menschen.
[Der vierte ist das Feuer], das geläutert worden ist aus allen Mächten des
[Lichtes, das sich befindet in] der äußeren Mauer im Schiffe des Tages.
[Der fünfte ist] das Feuer, das sich befindet im Erleuchter der Nacht
. . . . . der (die) innerhalb des Wassers ist. —
[Der] sechste ist das Feuer, das aus dem All geläutert worden ist. Der Lebendige
[Geist] hat es auf seinen Körper gekleidet außerhalb von Ruf
und Hören. Er hat durch seine Hilfe die vielen Werke errichtet.
Er ist herabgekommen und hat sich vor dem Ὠμωφόρος ausgezo-
gen. — Der siebente ist das lebendige Feuer, das sich auf der Neuen
Erde befindet, welche die Überlegung ist. Denn es ist die erste
Grundlage auf der neuen Erde, die man baut aufs neue (?)
. . . . die erste Reihe (?), die ein Kranz für die ganze Erde ist.
Was unterhalb des Alls auf der ganzen Erde der [Finsternis] ist,
. . . . . in ihm, in [dem] ganzen . . . . . .
Der achte ist das Feuer, das sich offenbart in dieser . . .
. . . . . und es zeigt Schrecken und Krieg. Es . .
. . ., offenbart und verkündet sein Zeichen und
[seinen Schrecken]; er (der Ort?) offenbart es in den zwei Lichtschiffen.
In [dieser Weise] befindet sich das heilige lebendige Feuer
an diesen [acht Orten.]

LXXV.

[Über den Brief (?)]

[Wiederum sprach er zu] seinen Jüngern, indem er das

23 ⲱⲗⲙⲉ. Bedeutung unbekannt.

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[> ·] ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 [ϫ]ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲧ[ⲱϩ]
2 [ⲙ]ⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲓⲁ ⲡⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ[ⲩ ⲁ]
3 ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲁⲩϫⲁⲩⲩ [ⲁⲡⲱⲣⲡ]
4 ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ϩⲓ ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥ[ⲙⲟⲥ]
5 ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁϩⲥ̀ ⲁⲩϫⲁⲩⲥ̀ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲛ [ⲧ]ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲁⲅⲅⲉ]
6 ⲗⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲏϩ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̣ⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛ̣ⲁ
7 [ⲱⲡⲡ]ⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲥⲙⲛⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ̈ⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ [ⲉⲧⲙ]ⲙⲉⲩ [ⲡⲓ]
8 [ⲧⲱ]ϩⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙ[ⲉ . . . . . .]
9 [. ⲥ]ϩⲛⲏⲩⲧ ⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ leer ⲧⲧⲟⲩ[ⲱⲱⲃ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲁⲩⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ]
10 [ⲙⲡ]ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲡϫⲓⲥ[ⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ]
11 [ⲟ]ⲩⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ϩⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ [ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ]
12 ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ [ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲁ]
13 ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲏϩ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲡⲟ[ⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ]
14 ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲗⲟⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥⲧⲁ .[. . . . . .]
15 . ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃ̣ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ [. . . . . .]
16 ⲧ̣ . . ϩⲛ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲁⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ [ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲱⲡⲉ]
17 [ⲡ]ⲉⲧⲁ̣ⲩⲉ̣ⲓ̈ⲧⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲫ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲃⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁ̣ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲩ
18 ⲁ̣ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲙⲙⲉ ⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲧ[ⲏⲣⲟ]ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲓⲛⲇⲩ
19 ⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲅⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱ
20 ⲙⲉ leer ⲧⲧⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲣⲓⲥ
21 ⲧ̣ⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲱⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟ̣ⲩ
22 ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ϩⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲉ̣ⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁ̣ⲡⲟ̣ⲕⲁ[ⲗⲩ]
23 ⲫⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲥⲏϩ ⲁ̣ⲡ̣ⲓ̣ⲧ̣ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ ⲁ̣ⲣ̣ⲁ̣ⲥ̣ . . . . . .
24 ⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲁⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲛ[. .]
25 ϫⲉ . . . ⲁⲩⲣⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲟ̣ . . .[. .]
26 ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁ̣ⲧϩⲁⲏ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲩ ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
27 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ leer ⲡⲓϫⲡⲟ ⲁⲛ . [.]
28 ⲧⲙⲏⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩϫⲡⲁⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
29 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥ̄ⲃⲱⲕ ⲱⲁ abgerieben [ⲟⲩⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ]
30 ϩⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛ̄ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ [ⲉⲧ]ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲓ̣ⲧ ⲉⲧ̣[ⲉ ⲧⲉⲕ]
31 ⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲉⲥⲏϩ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲣ[ⲁⲥ ϩⲱⲃ]
32 ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲧⲱⲃϩ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲓⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϫⲉ . . . . ⲉ ⲛⲁ̣ . . [ⲟⲩ]
33 ⲁⲥⲧⲛ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲧϩⲁⲏ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱ[ⲩ . . . . . ⲙ̄]
34 ⲧⲁⲛ ϩⲁⲧⲏⲩ ⲥⲉⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲫ . . . . [. . . . . ⲛⲏ]

21 ⲩ in ⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲩ über der Zeile.

Die Kephalaia

Wort des Lebens predigte. Er sprach wiederum zu ihnen also über den Ruf
und das Hören: Siehe an den Ruf, der vom Lebendigen Geist
im Anfang ausgesandt worden ist. Er hat ihn [zum Ur]menschen
geschickt. Ein Friedens- und Grußbrief (εἰρήνη, ἀσπασμός, ἐπιστολή) ist er,
den er an seinen Bruder geschrieben und geschickt hat, in dem
alle Botschaften (ἀγγελία) niedergeschrieben sind und alle Dinge, die
geschehn werden, um sie zu errichten durch jenen Ruf. Jener
Ruf, der Urmensch hat . . . . . .
steht bevor zu geschehn. — Die [Antwort, die] vom Urmenschen
[ausgesandt ist], ist zur Höhe gekommen, [zum Lebendigen Geist].
Auch ein Brief ist jene, die vom Urmenschen
zum Lebendigen Geist [gesandt worden ist, in der alle Botschaften] (ἀγγελία)
niedergeschrieben sind und [alle Kriege (πόλεμος)]
und die Kämpfe, die er vollbracht hat. Sie hat . . . . . .
in der Antwort, die der Urmensch . . . . . .
. in allem, was geschehn ist, und allem, was [geschehn wird;]
(in) allem, was getan worden ist und dem was bereitet ist, daß es durch ihn getan wird.
Der Lebendige Geist hat die Kriege (πόλεμος), Gefahren (κίνδυνος) und Kämpfe (ἀγών)
alle erkannt, die die Archonten an dem Urmenschen getan
haben. — Der Licht-Noûς, der aus dem geliebten Χριστός
herausgekommen ist (und) den er zur heiligen Kirche gesandt hat,
ist auch ein Brief des Friedens (εἰρήνη), in dem alle Offenba-
rungen und die Weisheit niedergeschrieben ist . . . . .
alles in dem Licht und alles, was geschehn ist . .
. . . . er wurde eher als alle Menschen und alles
. . . . . schließlich durch ihn zu werden, indem die heilige
Kirche alle Dinge weiß. — Das Erzeugnis . . . .
diese lichte Nachkommenschaft, die aus der heiligen Kirche
erzeugt wird und zu . . . . . geht, ist auch [ein]
[Brief]. Denn alle guten Werke, die die heilige
Kirche tut, sind in [ihm] niedergeschrieben. Alle
Dinge, die sie ihren Vater bittet, daß . . . . . ,
. . . in der Welt. Schließlich aber . . . . . .
ruhen bei ihm und befinden sich in dieser . . . . . .

ρπγ

> · ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

1 [c]ⲧⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲉⲓ [. . . . .] ⲕ
2 ⲃⲉ ⲧϩⲉ . . . . ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲱⲁⲥⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲥ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲱⲛ]ϩ̄ ϩ
3 ⲓⲧⲉϩⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲣⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲱⲃⲉⲉ ⲛ[. . .]
4 . ⲩⲛ̄ⲉⲥ ⲩ[ⲃⲙ]ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲥⲧⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ . .
5 [. . . . . ⲉⲧ]ⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲣⲱ +ϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛⲉ ϫ[ⲉ]
6 [. . . . . .]ⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲁⲏ ⲟⲩ . .
7 [. . . . . .]ⲧⲱⲃϩ̄ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲓⲛⲉ [ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ]
8 [. . . . . .]ⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ [. . .]
9 [. . . . . .]ϫⲏⲕ : —

ος

11 [ⲉⲧ]ⲃⲉ ⲕⲥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛⲭⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ ος
12 [ος] [ⲧ]ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲁϩⲉ ⲛⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ϩⲉ
13 [ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲥ]ⲱ[ⲱ]ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲡⲙⲛⲭⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
14 [ⲡⲛ̄ⲫⲱ]ⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲩϩⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲡⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧ[ⲡⲟ]
15 [ⲗⲓⲥ] ⲛ̀ⲕ̀ⲧⲏⲥ̀ⲓⲫⲱⲛ ⲁ ⲥⲁⲡⲱⲣⲏⲥ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲱⲓⲛⲉ ϩⲱⲩ
16 ⲛⲥⲱⲩ ⲛ̀ⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲧⲱⲕ
17 ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲱⲁ ⲥⲁⲡⲱⲣⲏⲥ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ
18 [ⲁⲩ]ⲛⲁⲩϩⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲕⲉⲥⲁⲡ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ ⲟⲩ
19 [ⲕ]ⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲩϩⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲥⲕⲉ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁ ⲥ̣ⲁ̣
20 [ⲡ]ⲱⲣⲏⲥ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥ̣[ⲱ]ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲩϫⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁ̣
21 [ⲣⲁ]ⲩ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩⲥ̣ⲩ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ ⲁ̣ⲩ̣ⲟⲩⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲱⲁ ⲥⲁⲡⲱⲣⲏⲥ
22 [ⲡ]ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲁⲩⲥⲉϫⲉ] ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ [ⲁ]ⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩ
23 [ⲧⲉ] ⲁⲩⲛⲁ[ⲩ]ϩⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲡⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲁⲛ
24 [ⲛ̄]ⲥⲁⲡ ⲁ ⲥ[ⲁⲡ]ⲱⲣⲏⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
25 [ⲁⲩ]ⲛⲁⲩϩⲩ ⲁ̣ⲣⲁⲩ ⲁ̣ⲡ̣[ⲟⲩ]ⲱϩⲙⲉ leer
26 [ⲧ]ⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑ[ⲏⲧ]ⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲣⲁⲗⲏⲥ ⲁⲣⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲩ]
27 [ⲡ]ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲕⲁⲡ]ⲏⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ϫⲉ ϩⲁⲙⲁⲓ̈
28 ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ [ⲙⲛⲭ]ⲥ̣ + ⲛⲉⲛ ⲙⲛⲭⲥ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲉ[ⲩ]
29 [ⲃⲱ]ⲕ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲏⲧⲉ ϩⲛⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲣ̄ⲕⲏⲧ ⲛ̄
30 ⲛ̀ⲁⲏⲧ . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̣ⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁ|ⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕ
31 [ⲣⲏⲧⲉ . . . . . ⲙⲛ]ⲭⲥ ⲙⲛⲭⲥ ⲛⲁⲃⲱ ϩⲁⲧⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕϩⲉ
32 [. . . . . ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲱⲁ ⲥⲁ]ⲡⲱⲣⲏⲥ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲩ
33 [ϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ] ⲁⲣⲁⲩ leer

30 Lies ⲟⲩⲁ|ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ.

des Lehrers.

Fasten (νηστεία), Beten und die guten Werke . . . . . .
. . . . . sie (plur.) machen. Sie (fem.) geht hinab und wird offenbar
vor dem seligen (μακάριος) Christus. Er antwortet ihr . . .
. . . . er gewinnt Kraft und macht ihr Weite . . . . .
. . . . . Deswegen sage ich euch:
. . . . . alles . . . und Bitten (δέησις). Denn ein . .
. . . . . Bitten. Alles, was ihr bitten werdet
. . . . . ., es wird euch gegeben, wenn . .
. . . . . vollkommen.

LXXVI.

Über Herrn (κύριος) Mani, wie er gewandelt ist.

[Wieder] geschah es zu einer Zeit, als unser Herr, der Mani und
[unser] Φωστήρ in der [Stadt (πόλις)] Ktesiphon
saß, da erkundigte sich der König Schapur nach ihm und
ließ ihn zu sich rufen; da machte sich unser Herr
auf und ging zu Schapur, dem König. Dann
wandte [er] sich und kam wiederum in seine Gemeinde. Als er kurze
Zeit verbracht hatte, indem er da saß, bevor längere Zeit verstrichen war, da
erkundigte sich der König Schapur wiederum nach ihm, sandte und rief ihn;
da wandte er (Mani) sich und ging wieder zu Schapur,
dem König; er sprach mit ihm und verkündete ihm das Wort Got-
tes. Wiederum wandte er sich und kam in die Kirche. Noch das dritte
Mal erkundigte sich der König Schapur nach ihm und rief ihn. Da wandte
er sich wiederum zu ihm. —
Da (τότε) antwortete einer seiner Jünger, Aurades mit Namen,
Sohn des [Kap]ēlos (?) und sprach zu unserm Φωστήρ: O bitte,
Herr [Mani], gib uns zwei Manis, die dir gleichen,
indem sie herabkommen in deiner Weise. Gut sind sie und ruhig
und barmherzig, [und es wandeln] die Jünger in Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη) wie Du,
. . . . . je ein Mani wird bleiben bei uns wie Du
. . [und geht zu] Schapur, dem König, indem sein [Herz]
überzeugt ist, [und verkündigt es] ihm. —

7f. Vgl. Mt. 21, 22; Joh. 15, 7; 16, 24.

ρπ̄ϩ

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 N̄[ⲧⲁ]ⲣⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲛⲓⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̣ⲧⲛ ⲡⲓ[ⲙⲁ]
2 ⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲕⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉ!ⲓ[ⲥ]
3 [ⲧⲉ] ⲣⲱ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ϫⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟ[ⲥ ⲁ]
4 [ⲧ]ⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓⲱ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲙⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ[ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ] ⲛ̣ⲧⲁ[ⲉⲓⲣⲉ]
5 [ⲛ]ϩⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉ[ⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ]
6 [Ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ] ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ϫⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ†ⲙⲁ [ⲛⲏⲓ ⲁ]
7 ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲁ] . . . . . .
8 [ⲛ]ⲧⲁⲃⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲥⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲧⲁϫⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ[ⲡⲱⲕ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ]
9 [ⲓⲧ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲁⲗⲗ[ⲁ] ⲁ!ⲉ!ⲣⲉ ⲛ̣[ⲡⲱⲕ ⲙⲡⲙⲩⲥ]
10 [ⲧⲏⲣⲓ]ⲟⲛ ⲉ†ⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲙ̣ⲏ[ⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ
11 [Ⲉⲡⲉⲓ]ⲇⲏ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲩⲙ[ⲁⲥⲧⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲙ]
12 [ⲡⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛⲉⲩϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ϩⲁⲩ [ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ]
13 ϫⲉⲓⲛⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲕ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛ̣[ⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲱ]
14 ⲣⲛ̣ⲯ †ⲙⲏⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ[ⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲟ]
15 [ⲟⲧ] ⲁ̣ⲩⲱ ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲗⲱϫϩ ⲙⲙⲁⲓ ϩⲛ . . . . .
16 . . . . . [ⲁ]ϫⲱⲓ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲥⲉ†ⲙⲁ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲉⲛ̣ [ⲁⲧⲉ]
17 [ⲟⲩⲟ] ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲉⲕⲁⲓⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ϫⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ
18 ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ†ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲁⲧⲁⲱ[ⲉ]
19 ⲁ!ⲱ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲁⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲙⲡⲟⲩϩⲩⲡⲟⲇⲉϫⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲓ
20 ⲉⲛ[ⲉ] ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲉⲛⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ . . . . . ⲧ̣ϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕϫ[ⲟⲟⲥ]
21 [ⲁⲣⲁⲛ] ⲉⲛⲁⲣ ⲉⲩ ⲡ̣ⲉ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲧ . . . . . ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ . .
22 ⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̣ⲉⲱ ⲛϩⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲉⲓ . . . . . ⲛ
23 . . ⲉϥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁϥ ⲛ[ⲉⲕ] ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ[ⲥⲏⲩ] ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲡⲗ[ⲉⲁ]
24 ⲛ̣ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ . . . . . .
25 ⲁ̣ⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ . . . . . .
26 ⲡ̣ⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲧⲏⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟ̣ⲥⲙⲟⲥ . . . . ⲧ . . . . . .
27 [ⲉⲧ]ⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲓⲕⲓⲙ ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲙⲡϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ . . . . . ϣ
28 . . ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏϩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲩ̄ . . . ⲛⲥⲉ . ⲛ . .
29 . ⲓ̣ⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ϫⲉⲩⲁⲃⲓ
30 ⲥⲁⲡ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ϣⲁ ϣⲁⲙⲧ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ . . .[. . . . . .]
31 ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁϩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ . . [. . . . . .]
32 [. . . . . .]. . . ⲙⲛ ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛϩⲏⲧ̣ [. . . . . .]
33 ⲁⲩϫⲱⲱⲛⲉ . . . . . ⲧⲟⲩ . . [. . . . . .]

Die Kephalaia

Als unser Φωστήρ diese Worte von jenem Schüler
hörte, schüttelte er sein Haupt und sprach zu ihm: Siehe,
ich, ein einziger Mani, bin in die Welt gekommen, damit
ich in ihr das Wort [Gottes] predige und in ihr
den guten Willen [tue], der [mir aufgetragen ist.]
[Denn] siehe, ich bin nur ein einziger Mani, nicht haben sie [mir] erlaubt,
in Freiheit (παρρησίᾳ) in der Welt zu reden, daß ich . . . . . .
daß ich Weite finde und [den guten Willen],
der mir aufgetragen ist, vollende, sondern ich habe getan [den Willen des Myste-]
[riums], den ich predigte in der [lebendigen] Wahrheit.
Denn die Welt liebt die Finsternis; sie [haßt dagegen]
das Licht. Denn ihre Werke sind böse. [Ich aber bin gegangen],
um zu tun den Willen des Lichtes und die Wahrheit
in Weite [auszubreiten], wie mir [aufgetragen ist.]
Und siehe die Welt bedrängt mich in [großer Bedrängnis (?)],
. . . . . auf mich durch seine Sekten (δόγμα). Sie geben mir nicht Raum, zu
verkündigen in ihm, obwohl ich (nur) ein einziger Mani bin.
Ich bin in die Welt gekommen, und nicht haben sie mir Gelegenheit gegeben
nach meinem
Willen zu predigen, (und) nicht haben sie mich aufgenommen (ὑποδέχεσθαι).
Wenn wir so (?) getan hätten, wie du zu uns
gesagt hast, was sollen wir dann tun? Auf welche Weise
wäre . . . . . Aber dies . . . . . .
zu dir und ich verkünde es dir: Zur Zeit, da ich im Schiff
auf dem Meere (θάλασσα) fuhr (πλεῖν), ging ich . . . . . .
ich fand es notwendig (ἀνάγκη) . . . . . .
Das Leben, das bei mir ist in der Welt . . . . . .
. . . . ich habe das ganze Land Indien bewegt . . . . .
. . . alle Menschen, die in ihm wohnen . . . . . .
alle zu mir, damit sie nehmen
zwei bis dreimal . . . . . .
in ihrem Lande gemäß ihrem Herzen . . . . . .
. . . . . und der Verständige . . . . . .
. . . . . .

11 Vgl. Joh. 3, 19. — 33 ϫωωNε. Bedeutung unbekannt.

[ρπε]

[> · ⲙⲡⲥ]ⲁⲍ · <

1 [ⲧⲱⲕ] ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁ̈ⲗⲟ ⲉ̈ⲃⲛ ⲟ[ⲩ]
2 ⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁ̈ⲗⲟ ⲉ̈ⲥⲉⲁⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲍⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲍⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄
3 [+]ⲙ[ⲏ]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲗⲓⲧ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ leer ⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ . . ⲩⲛ . .
4 [. . . . . .]. . . . ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲍⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲭⲁⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲏⲓ̈ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲭ . . ⲧ . .
5 [. . . . . ⲛⲭ]ⲍⲩⲡⲟⲇⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲩⲣⲕⲗⲏⲧⲓⲕ[ⲟⲥ]
6 [ⲙⲛ ⲛ]ⲥⲁⲧⲣⲁⲡⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲍⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ . .
7 [. . . . . ⲁ̈]ⲍⲣⲁⲱ [ⲁⲣⲁ]ⲭ ⲙⲡⲉⲭⲕⲓⲙ ⲍⲏⲧ[. . . . . .]
8 [. . . . . .] . ⲟⲩⲉⲍⲏ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲉⲩⲏⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲭ ⲛ̣[. . . .]
9 [. . . . . .]. . . . . ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁ̣ⲗ̣ ⲛⲣⲉⲭⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ .[. . .]
10 . . . . . ⲭ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲁ̈ⲍⲣⲁⲱ ⲁⲣⲁⲭ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ [ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ]
11 [. . . . . ⲍⲩⲡⲟⲇ]ⲉⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲭⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲙ̣[. . .]. ⲥ
12 [. . . . . .]ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲉ [ⲙⲡ]ⲕⲉ
13 ⲕⲉ [ⲉⲭⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲍⲱ]ⲱⲭ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛⲉⲭⲍⲃ[ⲏⲩ]ⲉ
14 [ⲍⲁⲩ ⲁⲓⲭⲓⲟⲟⲣⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲡ ⲁ̈ⲃⲓ . . ⲭⲁ . . .
15 [. .] ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲛ̣ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁ̈ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ[ⲣⲥⲓⲥ]
16 [ⲁ̈ⲃ]ⲁⲃⲧ ⲁ̣ⲍ̣ⲣ̣ⲏ̈ ⲍⲛ ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲁ̈ⲃⲱⲕ [. . . . . .]
17 [.] ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲓⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲡⲟ[ⲗⲓⲥ . .] ⲛⲧⲉ̣ [. . . . .]
18 ⲍⲛ̄ +ⲙⲏⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲍ̣ ⲉⲧⲍⲁ[ⲧⲏⲓ̈ . . .]ⲛ̄ ⲁⲡ[ⲟⲩ]ⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ̣ [. . .]
19 . ⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁ̈ⲱ [. . . . . ⲛ]ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄[ⲉ]ⲯⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ . . .
20 . ⲛ . ⲉⲧⲙ [. . . . . .] . . . . +ⲍⲁ . . . . . .
21 . . . ⲛ[. . . . . .]ⲙ̣ⲛ̣̄ ⲛ̣ⲉⲯⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ̣ⲥⲧⲏⲥ [. . . . .]
22 [ⲫ]ⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ [. . . . . .] . . ⲍⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲛⲧⲡⲉⲣⲥⲓⲥ . . .
23 [ⲥ]ⲱⲙⲁ . . . . . [. . . .] ⲉⲧⲃⲉ +ⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁ̈ⲱ ⲉ̈ⲓⲍ
24 [ⲙ]ⲁⲥ ⲍⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ [. . .] . . . . . ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲁⲛ[ⲉⲩ]
25 [ⲟ]ⲩⲛ . . ⲱⲛ̄ . . . . . .
26 [. .] ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁⲍ [. . .] . ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲉⲱ . ⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ . . .
27 . ⲉⲧⲁⲛ[ⲍ] . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁ . . . . .
28 [ⲁ]ⲣⲁⲭ ⲛ . . . [. . .] . ⲱⲃⲉ . ⲛⲧ . . ⲁⲣⲡ[
29 . . . . . [. . .]ⲛⲁⲱⲧ . ⲥⲁⲃⲉ . . . . [
30 . . . . . .] unlesbar
31 . . . . . .]ⲁⲓ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ Rest nicht zu lesen
32 teils zerstört, teils unlesbar

des Lehrers.

standen wider mich. Zu jener Stunde hörte ich auf, Licht
zu finden; ich hörte auf, öffentlich (παρρησία) mit der Stimme zu sprechen, die
die Wahrheit ist, die bei mir weilt. — Sehet nun . . . . .
. . . . . in Indien. Es wird (in Indien) gegen mich auftreten in seiner . . .
. . und wird aufnehmen (ὑποδέχεσθαι) die μείζονες und Ratsherrn (συγκλητικός)
und die Satrapen und die Befehlshaber (ἡγεμών), die in ihm sind . .
. . . . . [Ich war] zu schwer für es (? das Land?). Nicht hat es sich bewegt . .
. . . . . denn sie gehören zu ihm . . . .
. . . . . von allen Sündern . . . .
. . . . . gegen mich. Ich war schwerer für es als diese [alle].
. . . . [nimmt] mich [nicht] und verharrt bei der . . . .
. . . . . sie. Denn die Welt liebt die Finster-
nis, [sie haßt aber] das Licht. Denn ihre Werke
[sind böse. Ich habe] die Meere wiederum [durchfahren]. Ich habe . . . . .
. . Indien. Ich bin heraufgegangen in das Land Persien.
Ich bin vom Meere gelandet. Ich bin gegangen . . . . . .
das Land Persien und seine Städte . . . . . .
in der lebendigen Wahrheit, die bei [mir] . . . . . zum Licht des . .
predigend . . . . . die Mächte (ἀρχή) und Gewalten (ἐξουσία) . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . und die Gewalthaber (ἐξουσιαστής) . . .
Φωστῆρ . . . . . im Lande Persien . . .
Körper . . . . . wegen dieser Wahrheit, die ich gepredigt
habe, [sitzend] in ihrer Mitte . . . . . .gegeneinander. [Sehet]
nun . . . . . .
. . in ihrem Lande . . . . . gegen mich in der Kraft. Der Vater . .
[der] Lebendige . . . . . zu aller Zeit . . . . . .
zu ihm . . . . . .

Übersetzung zwecklos.

4 ⲟⲩⲏⲓ̈ = ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲓ̈. — 12 f. Vgl. Joh. 3, 19.

[ρ]πϛ

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 ⲟⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲫⲃⲓ ⲥⲁ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲩⲥⲩⲡⲟⲇⲉⲭⲉ [ⲛⲛ]
2 [ⲥ]ⲁⲧⲣⲁⲡⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲏⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ[ⲩ ⲁⲩ]
3 ⲕⲓⲙ ⲛ[ⲥⲏ]ⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲏⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . .
4 . ⲁⲣ . . ⲙⲡⲉ[ⲩ]ⲃ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲭⲓ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲙⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲁ]
5 [ⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈] ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲱ . . . . c . . . . . [ⲁⲓ̈]
6 ⲉ̣ⲓ̈ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ] ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲧⲡⲉⲣⲥ[ⲓⲥ] ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲏⲓ̈
7 [ⲁⲧⲙⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲍⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲧ . . ⲙ̄ . . . . . .
8 ⲧ . . ⲱⲛ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲙⲏ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ . . . . . [ⲁⲓ̈]
9 [ⲧⲁⲱⲉ]ⲁⲓⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲱⲣⲭ [ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲓ̈]
10 ⲁ[ⲓⲁⲕⲣⲓⲛ]ⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛ[ⲓⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ]
11 ⲡ[ⲉⲧⲥⲁ]ⲩ ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲛ[ⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲱⲉ]
12 ⲁ[ⲓ̈ⲱ] ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲙⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗ[ⲁⲩⲉ . . . . .]
13 ⲥ[. .]ⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ [ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲁ]
14 ⲧ̣[ⲁⲣⲭ]ⲟⲛⲧⲓⲕⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ . . . . . .
15 . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣ̣ⲱⲙⲉ . . ⲛⲉ . . .
16 . . . . . ⲥⲁ ⲧⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡ[ⲙⲁⲥⲧ]ⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ . .
17 . . . . ⲛⲁⲭⲱ . . [ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ]ⲥⲩⲅⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ [ⲁⲩⲱ] ⲙⲡⲟⲩ
18 [ⲧⲙⲁ ⲛⲏⲓ̈] ⲁⲧⲣⲁ̣ⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ [ⲛⲧⲙ]ⲏⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟ̣ⲩ[ⲥⲣⲁ]ⲕ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ̣
19 ⲱ[ⲟⲟⲡ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲡⲓⲛ . .
20 ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲃⲓ ⲥⲁ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲉⲥⲩⲡⲟⲇ[ⲉⲭⲉ . . . . . .] ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̣
21 ⲕ̣ⲉⲉ̣ⲁ̣ⲣ̣ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲣⲁⲡⲏⲥ ⲙ[ⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲏⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲧ]ⲱⲟ[ⲟⲡ]
22 ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲙⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲁ̣ⲱ[ⲉⲁ]ⲓ[ⲱ ⲙⲙⲁ]ⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ[ⲟⲩ]
23 ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲩ̈ⲡⲟⲇⲉⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ . . . . ⲙ̣ⲡ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲥⲱⲧ[ⲙ]
24 ⲁⲡⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲱⲩ̄ ⲛ̣[ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ] leer
25 [ⲥ]ⲙ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲍ̣ ⲛⲧⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⲧ[ⲡⲟ]
26 ⲗⲓⲥ ⲛⲛⲁⲥⲥⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ[ⲥ] ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲟ̣ⲩⲛ̣ [ⲁ]
27 ⲛ[ⲕⲉ]ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲁⲓⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲙⲏ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲧ]ⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲓ̈
28 ⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲥ̣ ⲙⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲙⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲱ]ⲛ̄ⲍ
29 ⲙ[ⲡⲥⲣⲁ]ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲁⲓ̈ⲡ[ⲱⲣⲭ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲕⲉ]
30 ⲕⲉ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄[ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ . . . . .]
31 ⲗ . . . . ⲛⲛⲟ̣ⲙ̣ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ [ⲁⲭⲛ̄ . . . . . .]

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14 ⲥ über der Zeile.

Die Kephalaia

vermag wieviel; es trägt Könige, es nimmt auf (ὑποδέχεσθαι) [die]
Satrapen und Befehlshaber, die in ihm sind.
. . . . . nicht ist es gewichen vor ihnen . . .
. . . . nicht hat es aufzunehmen vermocht die Wahrheit, [die] ich [ge-]
[predigt] in ihm. Nicht hat es vermocht . . . . . .
[Ich bin gegangen] aus dem Lande Persien und bin hinaufgegangen |
[in] die Stadt Mesene, die [ist] im . . . . . .
. . . . in der Wahrheit, die in mir ist, in . . . . [ich habe]
gepredigt das Wissen. Ich habe getrennt [das Licht von der Finsternis und habe]
das Leben vom Tode ge[schieden (διακρίνειν)], das Gute [vom]
[Bösen], den Gerechten vom Sünder, [ich habe gepredigt]
den Weg des Lebens und die Gebote . . . .
Als sie (plur.) aber die Stimme [der Wahrheit und des Lebens] gehört hatten,
da hat die Archontenschaft und die Versammlung der Dämonen . . . . .
. . . . . und das Geschlecht der Menschheit . . . . . .
. . . . . unter der Schlechtigkeit (κακία) und dem [Hasse], und sie haben
. . . auf [mich]. [Nicht haben sie] mir erlaubt (ὑποδέχεσθαι) noch haben sie
[mir gestattet], die Wahrheit in Ruhe zu predigen, wie sie
ist. Sehet: . . . . . .,
denn sie tragen Könige und nehmen auf (ὑποδέχεσθαι) . . . . . [und die]
Cäsaren und Satrapen und [Befehlshaber,] die unter
ihnen sind. Die Wahrheit dagegen, die ich unter [ihnen] gepredigt habe. —
haben sie nicht aufgenommen (ὑποδέχεσθαι) und . . . . nicht haben sie die
Stimme des Lebens gehört, die ich unter [ihnen] gesprochen habe. —
Von jenem Ort wiederum kam ich in das [Land] Babylon, der Stadt
der Assyrer; ich wandelte in [ihr]; ich ging hinein in die
[anderen] Städte. Ich redete in der Wahrheit [des Lebens, die ich besitze]; ich
predigte in ihr das Wort der [Wahrheit und des] Lebens.
Mit [der Stimme] der Predigt [trennte] ich [das Licht von der] Fin-
sternis in ihr, das Gute vom [Bösen] . . . . . .
. . der Kräfte, die Herr sind [über die Welt (? Menschen ?). Sie haben gesät]

3 ϭωτπ vgl. 180, 14.

ρπ[ϛ]

> · [μπ]cαϛ · <

1 [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲟⲩⲫⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲡϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲛⲁⲛⲭⲱⲭ [ⲉⲧ]
2 [ⲛ]ϩⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲩ
3 [ⲧⲱⲕ] ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲃϩⲏ̈ ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱⲧⲧϩⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲉ[ⲓⲣⲉ]
4 [ⲛⲉ]ⲙϩⲏ̈ ⲛ̄ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲁ ⲛⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲟⲙ[ⲟⲥ]
5 [ⲱⲡ] ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲥⲕⲉⲡⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲛ̣ⲟ[ⲩ]
6 [ⲁⲛ]ⲭⲱⲭ ⲱⲡ ⲁⲣⲁ[ⲓ̈] ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲛⲉ ⲧϩ[ⲉ]
7 [. . . . .]ⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲃⲟⲏ̣[ⲑ| ⲉⲛ]
8 [ⲛⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ (?)] ⲁ̣ⲛⲁⲕ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲧ ⲧ̄ⲣ̄ⲃⲟⲏⲑ| ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩ [ⲛ|ⲙ]
9 [. . .] . . ⲉ ⲟⲩⲃϩⲩ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲁⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲃ[ⲁ]
10 [ⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⲛ]ⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲁⲧⲁⲙⲁϩⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁϩ
11 ⲗ̣[ⲛⲉⲩ ⲟⲩ]ⲛ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲥⲥⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ
12 [ⲫⲃⲛⲃⲁ]ⲙ ⲉⲩⲃⲓ ϩⲁ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲩϩⲩⲡⲟⲇⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲡⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ
13 [ⲙⲛ ⲛⲥⲧ]ⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗ̣ⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ
14 [. . . ⲁϩ]ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ̣ⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲫ̄ⲕⲓⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲫ[ⲱ]ⲧⲡ̄ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ[ⲱⲩ]
15 [. .]ⲱϩ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲫ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲕⲓⲙ ⲁⲩⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ̄ [. . . . . .]
16 [. .] ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛϩⲛ̄ⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲱⲛ [ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲓ̈]ⲕ[ⲱ ⲛ̄]
17 [ⲥⲱⲓ̈] ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲥⲥⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲙⲙⲏⲇⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲁⲣ
18 ⲑⲟⲥ ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲛ̄ⲃⲛ̣̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟ̣ⲫⲓ̣ⲁ̣ [ⲁⲓ̈]
19 ⲥⲉϫⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ [ⲉ]ⲧ̣ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲁⲧⲏⲓ̈ ⲁ ⲡⲕⲁϩ [ⲧⲏⲣⲫ]
20 [ⲛ̄]ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲇⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲑⲟⲥ ⲕⲓⲙ ⲁⲫⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕ̣ⲱ̣ⲕ
21 [ⲛ̄]ϩⲏⲧ ⲁϫⲓ ⲧϩ̣ⲉ̣ⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̀ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈[ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲫ] ⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲃⲉ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ
22 [ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲙⲙⲏⲇⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲑⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲱⲉ ⲙ̄
23 [ⲡ]ⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲫ ⲁⲫⲃⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲫ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣ̣ⲁⲓ̈
24 [ⲙ]ⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲛⲭⲱⲭ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲫ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲃⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲫ ⲁⲱⲱⲡ
25 [ⲁⲣ̣]ⲁⲫ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲏⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲓⲙ ⲁⲫⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲧϩⲣⲫ̄ ⲙⲡⲥⲙⲁⲧ
26 . . . leer Τοτε παϫε παποστος απ|μαθητης
27 [ⲉⲧ]ⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲉ|ⲥϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲭⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲁⲓ̈ⲉ| ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
28 [ⲁ] ⲙⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲧϩⲣⲟⲩ [ⲙⲡ]ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲕⲓⲙ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲫ̄ⲟⲩⲱ
29 [ⲱⲉ ⲁ]ϩⲩⲡⲟⲇ[ⲉϫⲉ ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲓ ⲁⲓ̈ⲑⲃⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫⲙⲛⲧⲃⲉⲝⲉ
30 . . . . . ϩⲛ̄ ⲡ . . . . . ⲱⲧ ⲁⲓ̈ⲇⲁⲙⲁϩⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲫⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲓ̈ⲉ|ⲛⲉ
31 [. . . . . .]ⲏ̣ ⲧϩⲣⲥ̀ ⲉⲧⲛϩⲏⲧⲫ̄ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲱⲃⲉ̣ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲫ̄
32 [. . . . . .] ⲁⲓ̈ϫⲟ ⲡⲓ[ⲃ]ⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲧⲡ

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1 Lies ⲛⲛⲣⲣⲁⲓ̈. — 21 ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ . . . . . über der Zeile. — 26 ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ zu lesen.

[des] Lehrers.

ihren Neid in das Herz der Könige und Anführer, [die]
in ihr waren. Sie und die Sekten (δόγμα) an jenem Orte [stellten]
sich wider mich auf. Wie ihr selbst seht, haben sie mit mir
große Kriege (πόλεμος) geführt. Die ungerechten (ἄνομος) Richter
haben mich [aufgenommen] und sich umgeschaut (σκέπτεσθαι); sie und ihre Archonten und ihre
[Anführer] nahmen mich auf in der Mitte ihres Landes. Wenn
mir nicht [zuteil geworden wäre] der Schutz des Vaters, der nicht hilft
[den Gottlosen] — mir dagegen hilft er zu jeder Zeit
gegen seine [Widersacher] —, so hätten sie mich in Babylon
nicht mal (ἔτι) einen einzigen Tag gelassen, daß ich in ihrem Lande wandele.
[Sehet nun], wie groß das Land der Assyrer ist.
[Es vermag] zu tragen die Könige, aufzunehmen (ὑποδέχεσθαι) die Eparchen,
[die] Heerführer (στρατηλάτης), die Cäsaren und die Befehlshaber (ἡγεμών),
. . . . . in es, nicht hat es sich bewegt, nicht ist es gewichen vor ihnen
. . . . aber mich, es hat sich bewegt, es geriet in Verwirrung . . . . .
. es machte mir Menge von Kämpfen (ἀγών). [Deswegen] habe ich die
Assyrer verlassen (und) bin in das Land der Meder und Parther gegangen. Ich habe an jenem Ort die Harfe der Weisheit (σοφία) gespielt (und) habe
in der lebendigen Wahrheit, die bei mir ist, gesprochen. Das [ganze] Land
der Meder und Parther bewegte sich, und geriet in Schwanken . . . . .
. . . . . anzunehmen die Hoffnung des Lebens, die ich [verkündigt habe]. Sehet nun, wie
groß das Land der Meder und Parther ist. Viele
Städte sind ihm. Es vermochte die Könige und die Anführer,
die in ihm sind, aufzunehmen. Nicht aber vermochte es die Kraft
meiner Wahrheit aufnehmen. Es bewegte sich und schwankte ganz in der Art
. . . . — Da sprach der Apostel zu jenem
Jünger (μαθητής): Als ich, ein einziger Mani, in die Welt kam,
bewegten sich alle Städte (πόλις) der Welt und schwankten, nicht wollte sie
mich aufnehmen (ὑποδέχεσθαι), es sei denn (εἰμήτι), daß ich demütigte ihre Rebellion
. . . . . ich zügelte (δαμάζειν) ihre Mächte, ich brachte
. . . . . ganz, die in ihr sind. Ich habe in ihr gepflanzt.
. . . . . ich habe den Samen des Lebens gesät. Ich habe erwählt

ρπη

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟ[ⲛ · <]

1 ⲛ̣ⲥⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲙⲛⲏⲏⲩⲉ ⲩⲱ[. . . . . ⲁⲛ]

2 [ⲁⲕ] ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲭⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ [. . . .]

3 . . ⲁ ⲛⲇⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲕⲓⲙ ⲁⲩⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ ⲩ[ⲱⲡⲉ]

4 [ⲙ]ⲡⲁⲙⲏⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛⲉ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ ⲙⲛⲭⲥ ⲥⲛ̣[ⲉⲩ ⲉⲓ]

5 ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲉⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲱⲃⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲏ̣ ⲉⲣⲉ [ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲍ]

6 [ⲱ]ⲥⲩⲡⲟⲇⲉⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ leer ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲕ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲭⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲱ̣[ⲧ ⲛⲧ]

7 [ⲁⲓ̈]ⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲓⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲥⲧⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ [. . . . . .]

8 [. . .] . ⲙ[ⲁ] ⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲧⲣⲁⲧⲱⲕ [ⲁⲣⲉⲧ . . .]

9 ⲙ . ▮ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲍ ⲙⲡⲭⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲥⲙ̄]

10 [ⲡ]ⲕⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ[ⲩ] ⲙ̣ . . . . .

11 . . . . . .

12 . . . ⲍⲏ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁ̣[. . . . .]

13 [ⲛⲟⲩⲣ]ⲏⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲛⲭⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ [ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ]

14 [ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲍ]ⲟⲟⲩⲉ [ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ] ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ . . . ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ [. . . . . .]

15 [. . . . . ⲉⲩⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ [ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧ]

16 [ⲉⲕ]ⲕ[ⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ] ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲱ[ⲱⲡⲉ]

17 ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁ̣

18 [ⲱⲣⲭ] ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ

19 Τⲟ̣ⲧⲉ̣ [ⲛⲧⲁ]ⲣⲉ̣ ⲡⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁ

20 ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲉⲧ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈[ⲥ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ] ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲕⲉⲥⲛⲏ̣ⲩ̣

21 ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲛ|ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲥ|ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣[ⲁⲛ]

22 ⲧⲏⲣⲛⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲱⲛⲍ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲧⲣⲉⲕ| ⲩ[ⲁ]

23 ⲣⲁⲛ ⲁⲛⲃⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲛⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲕⲟ

24 ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲙⲁⲍⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛⲧⲙⲛ[ⲧ]

25 ⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉⲉⲥ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲡⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲉ|ⲙⲏⲧⲓ ⲁⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ

26 ⲛⲁⲩⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲍ|ⲕⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲙⲁⲍⲕ ⲛⲧⲱⲃ|ⲱ ⲙⲡⲓ

27 ⲍ̣|ⲉ̣ ⲧⲱⲃⲓ̈ⲱ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲕⲟⲩⲁⲱⲥⲥ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ

28 ⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩⲕ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲱⲃⲍ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲱⲃⲍ̄ ⲡ|ⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲁ̣[ⲣⲁⲩ]

29 ⲉⲩⲁ+ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲧⲱⲃⲍ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲕⲥ[ⲁⲡⲥⲡ̄] leer

30 ⲟⲍ̄

31 ⲟⲍ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲩⲧⲟⲉ ⲙⲙ[ⲛⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ] ⲟⲍ̄

32 Τⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲩ[ⲧⲟⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲃ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ]

33 ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ leer [ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ]

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12 ⲏ in ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲛ̄ über der Zeile. — 27 Lies ⲉⲧⲕⲟⲩⲁⲱⲥ.

Die Kephalaia

jeden einzelnen unter Massen . . . . .
[Ich], ein einziger Mani, bin in die Welt gekommen und . . .
. . alle Mächte der Welt haben sich bewegt und eine Verwirrung ist [entstanden]
vor mir. Wenn nun zwei Manis in die Welt
[gekommen] wären, welcher Ort würde sie tragen können oder [welches Land]
würde sie aufnehmen (ὑποδέχεσθαι) können. — Ich, ein einziger Mani,
bin gekommen und wandele auf der Spitze meiner Füße . . . . . .
[kein Ort] wurde mir in ihm, damit ich stehe . . . . . .
. . . in der Fülle meiner Füße, [daß ich wandle auf]
[der] Erde wie ein jeder und tue in ihm . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . und ihr alle zu Gott betet, daß er . . . . . .
bis zum Ende [die Füße] dieses einen Mani, der sich befindet [unter euch]
[an jenem] Tage, daß . . . . wird geschehen . . . . .
. . . . er wird den Willen der Lebendigen tun [in der]
heiligen [Kirche]. — Aber ihr, heil euch, wenn
ihr euch festigt in der Wahrheit, die ich euch gegeben habe, damit ihr
in ihr [fest steht] im Leben, das da währet in alle Ewigkeit. —
Darauf als jener Jünger dies gehört hatte, sprach er zum
Apostel: Heil meinem und meiner Brüder aller Herrn,
die (wir) durch dich die Herrlichkeiten gehört haben. Wir wissen: Wir
alle (sind) in dem Lebendigen, wir haben aber gelebt, dadurch daß du gekommen bist zu
uns. Wir haben die Wahrheit gefunden mehr als alle Menschen, die in der
Welt sind. Wer von uns vermöchte dir vollständig zu bezahlen das
Gute, das du an uns getan hast, o Vater, außer dem Vater, der dich
gesandt hat. Jener ist imstande (ἱκανός), dir vollständig das Leiden
zu bezahlen. Denn die Vergeltung, die du begehrst von dem Gott,
der dich gesandt hat, ist diese: Alles, um was du den Vater bittest,
er wird dir dein Gebet und dein [Bitten] geben. —

LXXVII.

Das Kapitel von den vier [Königreichen].

Wiederum sprach der Apostel: [Vier große Königreiche]
gibt es in der Welt. — [Das erste ist das Königreich]

28 Vgl. 183, 7 f.

[ρπϑ]

> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲥ . <

1 [ⲙ]ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲧⲃⲁ[ⲃⲩ]ⲗⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲧⲡⲉⲣⲥ|ⲥ leer ⲧⲙ[ⲁⲥ]
2 [ⲥⲛ]ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲣⲱⲙⲁ|ⲟⲥ leer ⲧⲙⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙ[ⲧ]
3 [ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲉϫⲟⲙ|ⲧⲏⲥ leer ⲧⲙⲁϩⲩⲧⲟⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ
4 [ⲣ]ⲣⲟ ⲛⲥ|ⲗⲉⲱⲥ leer ϯⲩⲧⲟⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲧⲱ[ⲟ]
5 [ⲟ]ⲡ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ leer
6 ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲇⲉ ϯⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ[ⲛⲁϯ]
7 ⲁⲓ̈ⲕ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲡⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉ[ⲧⲃⲉ]
8 [ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲙⲡⲛ]ⲟⲩ[ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ϯⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲃ[ⲁ]ⲗ[ⲡⲥ] ⲁ
9 ⲃⲁⲗ [ⲡ]ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲛⲉⲉⲩ ϩⲁⲧⲙ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ [ⲉⲩⲟ]ⲩ
10 ⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲛ[ϩⲟⲩⲟ] ⲁϯⲩⲧⲟⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϭ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ[ⲁϭ ⲙ]
11 ⲡ|ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲩⲣϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁⲧⲉⲃⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲙ
12 ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲧ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲟ[ⲏⲑⲟ]ⲥ
13 ⲛⲧⲇ[ⲓⲕⲁ]|ⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁ[ϯ] ⲁⲓ̈ⲕ
14 ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲡⲁⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧ]ⲃⲉ
15 ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ [ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲗⲡ] ⲙ
16 ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲧϩⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧ[ⲙⲏⲉ ⲧⲉ]ϥϩⲁⲏ ⲛⲁⲕ[ⲱ]
17 ⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ [ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ] ⲡⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲥⲏ[ⲣ ⲛⲁ]
18 ⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁϥ ⲭⲉ ⲡ[ⲉⲧⲛⲁϯ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲡⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ]
19 ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲕⲟⲩ| [ⲙⲡ|ⲥⲧⲟ]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲛ
20 ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ . . . . . ⲕⲉⲛⲁ . . . . ⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ [ⲡ]ⲉⲥⲏ[ⲣ]
21 ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙⲟⲩⲧ[ⲉ] ⲁⲛ|ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲙⲡ|ⲥⲧⲟⲥ
22 ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲉ|ⲥ ϩⲛⲧⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ
23 [ⲭ]ⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲕⲟ|ⲛⲱⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲩ
24 ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛⲩ̄ⲣ̄ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉ| ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϥⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛ|[ⲙ ⲛ]
25 [ⲧ]ⲣⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲛ|ⲙⲛⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
26 [ⲥⲉ]ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲥⲉⲃⲉⲗⲏ
27 [ⲛ]ⲧⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙ|ⲁ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲉⲃ|ⲣⲁⲩⲱ ϩⲁ ⲡⲃ̄|ⲓⲟⲥ
28 ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲣⲱ ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛⲉ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲡ|ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ
29 ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ [ⲡ]ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲁ|
30 [ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲙⲡ|ⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲛ]ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲏϩ ⲛϩⲏ
31 [ⲧⲟⲩ . . . . . .]ϥⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . . ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲟⲩⲛ

16 Zweites ⲧ in ⲧϩⲛⲁ|ⲧ über der Zeile. — ⲕ[ⲱ]ⲧ, 17 ⲧⲉ, ⲧ Dittographie.

[des Lehrers.]

des Landes Babylon und das der Persis. — Das [zweite]
ist das Königreich der Römer. — Das dritte
[ist das] Königreich der Axumiten. — Das vierte ist das
Königreich von Σίλις. — Diese vier großen Königreiche befinden
sich in der Welt. Nicht gibt es etwas, was sie übertrifft. —
Ich aber sage euch in Wahrheit: Wer Brot und
einen Becher Wassers einem meiner Jünger gibt [um des]
[Namens] Gottes willen, des Namens der Wahrheit willen, [die] ich offenbart habe,
jener ist groß bei Gott (und) über-
ragend [mehr] als die vier großen Königreiche, die so groß
sind. Er übertrifft auch ihre Heere. Denn sie
haben die Wahrheit Gottes nicht gehört noch der Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη)
geholfen. Nicht nur dies, sondern wer Brot und einen Becher
Wassers [gibt] einem Katechumenen der [Wahrheit] wegen
des Namens Gottes und wegen des Namens der Wahrheit, die jenem
[offenbar ist], der ist nahe der [Wahrheit] gekommen, sein Ende wird sich
wenden zur ewigen Ruhe [gemäß dem Worte], das der gute Erlöser
verkündet hat: „Wer [geben wird Brot und einen Becher Wassers]
einem dieser kleinen [Gläubigen (πιστός)], die an mich glauben, wegen des Namens
eines Jüngers (μαθητής) . . . . . — [Der] Erlöser (σωτήρ)
nennt nämlich die Heiligen kleine Gläubige (πιστός).
Ich aber, siehe ich habe den Katechumenen verkündet:
Wer Gemeinschaft hat (κοινωνεῖν) mit Katechumenen, die
im Wissen sind, und ihnen hilft, übertrifft alle König-
[reiche], die ich euch aufgezählt habe. Denn alle diese Königreiche,
[sie] kennen nicht die Wahrheit Gottes. Denn sie . . .
die Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) der Welt (und) sie tragen Sorge um das Leben (βίος).
Deswegen habe ich zu euch gesagt: Diese zwei Menschen,
von denen ich gesprochen habe, der gläubige (πιστός) Katechumen und der
[gläubige (πιστός)] Gerechte (δίκαιος) sind es, in denen der Heilige Geist
wohnt . . . . . er sieht . . . . . Deswegen nun

4 ⲛⲥⲓⲗⲉⲱⲥ. Σίλις Flußname. — 6 Vgl. Marc. 9, 37. — 18 Vgl. Mt. 18, 6 und Marc. 9, 37. —
26 ⲃⲉⲗⲏ Bedeutung unbekannt; vgl. 190, 21. Das Wort sieht nicht koptisch aus wegen der Endung ⲏ.

[ρϥ]

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 [ϥ]ⲛⲁ+ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲕⲟⲓⲛⲱⲛⲏ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ
2 [ϥ]+ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ̣ⲟⲩ
3 ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲥⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲥⲓ̣ⲧ̣[ⲉⲥⲏ]
4 ⲛ̄ⲡⲉϥⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲥⲱⲱϥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲙ̣ⲟ̣[ⲩⲥ]
5 ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲯⲃⲓ̈ⲱ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲃⲉⲕⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ [ⲥⲱ]
6 [ⲱϥ] ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲥ ⲥⲛ ⲛⲓⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
7 [ⲉⲣ]ⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲧⲉ +ⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲁⲗⲡⲉ̀ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ [ⲁ]
8 [ⲃⲁⲗ] ⲁ+ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲁ̣ⲣ̣[ⲱⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲉ
9 [ⲧⲟⲩ] ⲛⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉⲥ ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ [ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛⲥⲉ]ⲕⲁ ⲡⲉⲩ
10 [ⲥ]ⲧⲏϥ ⲁⲭⲱⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉϥ[. . . .] ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲡⲱⲣ .
11 ⲟⲏ
12 — ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲱⲃ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱ —
13 ⲟⲏ ⲙⲉ ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲟⲏ
14 ⲦⲦⲁ̣[ⲗⲓⲛ ⲁ]ⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉϥ ⲁⲛⲉϥⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲭⲉ ϥ̣[ⲧⲁ]ⲓ̣ ⲛⲛⲁϭ
15 [ⲛⲥⲱⲃ] ⲯ[ⲟⲟⲡ] ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡϭⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏ
16 [ⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡϭⲁⲥ ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲁⲭⲱⲟⲩ leer
17 [ⲦⲦⲯⲁⲣ]ⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲃ ⲡⲉ [ⲡⲣⲁⲩⲯ?] ⲙⲡⲣⲱ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲙ
18 [ⲥⲁ ⲡ+ⲟⲩ]ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ [ ] leer
19 ⲦⲦ[ⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛ]ⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ [ⲧⲥⲩⲛ]ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ [. . . . . .] ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ
20 . . . ⲛⲛϭⲁ . . . ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ . . [ⲛⲥⲁⲩⲧ] ⲙⲛ ⲛⲥⲥⲓ
21 ⲙ̣ⲉ ⲃⲉⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ̣ⲉ̀ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ leer ⲦⲦⲙⲁⲥⲯⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄
22 ⲥⲱⲃ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲭ[ⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲙⲛ̄] . . . . ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲙⲙⲁⲟ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲥⲥ̄ⲩ̄ ⲡ[ⲉⲧ]
23 ⲉ̣ⲯⲁ̣ⲩⲯⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁ̣ⲩ ⲛⲥⲏⲧ̣ⲥ̄ⲩ̄ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ . . . . ⲥⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ
24 ⲦⲦⲙⲁⲥⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲫ̣[ⲓⲗⲟⲛⲓ]ⲕⲓⲁ ⲛⲗⲉⲑ̣
25 . ⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ
26 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲃⲣⲟ ⲁⲟⲩⲉ ⲟ̣ⲩⲉ [ⲙ]ⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣ[ⲏⲩ]
27 ⲥⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲩⲣⲁⲛⲛⲓⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲛ ⲥⲙ ⲡϭⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̣
28 ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲥⲱⲃ ⲛⲉⲧ[ⲱⲟ]
29 ⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉⲥⲡⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ [ⲥⲙ ⲡ]ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ . .
30 . ▮ ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲭⲉ ⲭⲉⲩⲁⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̣[. . . . . ⲛ]
31 ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ +ⲭⲱ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧ̣[ⲛ . . . . . .]

17 Lies ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ. — 22 Lies ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲥⲥ̄ⲩ̄. — 26 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ Dittographie.

Die Kephalaia

[wird] er ihnen Almosen geben und mit ihnen Gemeinschaft haben (κοινωνεῖν).
Er gibt es dem Heiligen Geist, der in ihnen wohnt.
Der Heilige Geist dagegen dankt vor
seinem wahren Vater. Der wahre Vater dagegen wird ihm voll
vergelten auf den letzten Tag. Denn
der Heilige Geist wohnt in den Heiligen.
Wie groß ist die Wahrheit, die ich euch offenbart habe
. . . . . Deswegen habe ich es zu euch gesagt: [Heil]
denen, welche sie hören werden und [an sie] glauben und auf sie ihr
Vertrauen setzen in Herzenseinheit . . . . . .

LXXVIII.

Über die vier Werke, auf (Grund) deren die Menschen sich gegenseitig töten.

Wiederum sprach er zu seinen Schülern: Vier große
[Werke] gibt es in der Welt, auf (Grund) deren alle
Menschen [der Erde sich] gegenseitig [töten]. —
[Das erste] Werk ist [die Sorge (?)] des Menschen, damit sie essen
[behufs Wachstums] ihres Körpers. —
Das zweite ist [der Geschlechts]verkehr (συνουσία) . . . . Hurerei (πορνεία)
. . . . . Hurerei (πορνεία), in der [Männer] und
Frauen miteinander umgehn (?). — Das dritte
Werk ist das [Vermögen (χρῆμα) und] der unnütze Reichtum,
dessen sie sich rühmen ohne (?) . . . durch ihn. —
Das vierte ist der Krieg und die [Streitigkeiten (φιλονικία)], die
. . und die Prozesse (δίκη), die sie miteinander führen,
indem einer über den andern siegt miteinander
in Tyrannei, denn sie haben einen Namen in der Welt erhalten
alle Menschen, die zu diesen vier großen Werken gehören, die in
allen Zungen sich befinden, die [in der] Welt sind . .
. . . . . sie kämpfen, damit sie sie sich erzeugen . . . . . in
ihnen. — Ich aber sage euch: . . . . . .

21 Βελη; vgl. 189, 26.

[ρϥα]

> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

1 [ϥⲛ]ⲁⲭ| ⲟⲩⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲛ̣ⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡ|ⲥ[ⲉ|]
2 ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲧϥ̄ ⲛ̄ϥⲡⲱⲣⲭ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ
3 ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲡⲉⲧϩⲁⲩ ϥⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉ . . .
4 . . ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲙⲟⲛⲟⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲙ̣[ⲛ]
5 ⲧⲥⲧ̄ⲙⲏⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧ[ⲏⲣⲟⲩ]
6 ⲛⲉⲧⲡⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲡ|ϥⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁ̣ . . .
7 ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲱⲁ ⲁ[ⲛⲏ]
8 ϩⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲱⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲙⲟⲩ: — leer
9 ο̅θ̅
10 ο̅θ̅ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧ|ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ο̅θ̅
11 ⲦⲦⲁⲗ|ⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ϫⲉ ⲧⲛ̣ⲏ̣
12 ⲥⲧ|ⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲥ̀ϫⲣⲏⲥ|[ⲙⲉⲩ]
13 ▪ ⲁϥ[ⲧⲁⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ leer ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ϫⲉ ⲱ[ⲁⲣⲉ]
14 ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲃⲁ|ⲟ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧ|ⲁ [ⲉⲩⲇⲁ]
15 ⲙⲁϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧ|ⲕⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧϥ̄ leer
16 [ⲦⲦ]ⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ϫⲉ ϯⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ [ⲁⲣ]ⲁϥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲟ|ⲕ[ⲟⲛⲟ]
17 ⲙ|ⲁ ⲛⲧⲩⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲱⲁⲥⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛⲥ[ⲕⲁ]
18 ⲑⲁⲣ|ϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲥⲱⲧϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥ[ⲉ|ⲱ]ⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲩⲅⲕⲣⲁⲥ|ⲓⲥ [ⲙ]
19 ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲁϫⲧ̄ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲉ̣ϩ̣ leer ⲡⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ϫ̣[ⲉ]
20 ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡ|ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧ[ⲙⲙⲉⲩ] ⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛ|ⲙ
21 ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣ|ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄[ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲟ
22 [ⲛϩ]ⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲁ̣ϩ
23 [ⲁⲗ]ⲗⲁ ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ . . . . ⲉ̣ⲛ̣ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ϫⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲟⲩ
24 [ⲏϩ] ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ leer ⲡⲙⲁϩⲩⲧⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲉ|ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡ̣
25 . .ⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲥⲉⲉⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ|ϫ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃ|ϫ
26 . . . . . ⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲛⲧϯⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ leer
27 [Ⲧ]ⲛⲏⲥⲧ|ⲁ ϫⲣⲏⲥ|ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲡ|ⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ
28 [ⲛϩⲱ]ⲃ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲃⲱ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲏ
29 [ⲧⲟⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲣ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ
30 [ⲙⲉⲗ]ⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ [ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲏ]ⲥⲧ|ⲁ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ leer
31 [. . . . . .] ⲡⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲃⲁⲙ
32 [ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ]ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲩ

23 Der Text ist nicht in Ordnung.

des Lehrers.

[Er] nimmt an Glauben und ruft nach ihm und dem
Arzt, den ich gebracht habe, und trennt das Licht von der Finsternis,
das Gute vom Bösen; er verharrt in der . .
. ., in Eingeborenheit (-μονογενής), in Göttlichkeit und in
Gehorsam. Jener übertrifft [alle] Menschen,
die den vier Werken der Welt nachstreben . . .
sich. Denn sie werden nicht bei ihnen in Ewigkeit
bleiben, sondern sie lassen sie zurück und sterben. —

LXXIX.

Über das Fasten (νηστεία) der Heiligen.

Wiederum sprach der Φωστήρ zu seinen Jüngern: Das Fasten,
das die Heiligen fasten, ist nützlich (χρησιμεύειν)
für [vier] große Werke. — Das erste Werk:
Der heilige Mensch kasteit seinen Körper durch das Fasten (νηστεία),
indem er die ganze Archontenschaft, die in ihm ist, bezwingt (δαμάζειν). —
[Das] zweite: Die Seele (ψυχή), die in ihn täglich hinein kommt
in der Ordnung (οἰκονομία) seiner Nahrung (τροφή), wird geheiligt,
gereinigt (καθαρίζειν), geläutert und [gewaschen] von der Vermischung (σύγκρασις)
mit der Finsternis, die mit ihr vermischt ist. — Das dritte:
[Jener] Mensch macht Heiliges in allen Dingen,
das Mysterium der [Kinder] des Lichtes, in denen kein Verderben
ist noch auch . . . . . der Nahrung (τροφή), auch schlagen sie sie nicht,
sondern sie sind heilig und nicht ist in ihnen Befleckung, indem sie
in Ruhe [wohnen]. — Das vierte: Sie machen ein . .
. . des Kreuzes; sie bewahren ihre Hände vor der Hand
. . . . . (ohne zu) verderben die lebendige Seele.
[Das] Fasten (νηστεία) ist den Heiligen für diese vier großen Werke
nützlich (χρησιμεύειν), wenn sie bleiben, d. h. wenn sie in [ihnen] täglich blei-
ben und den Körper in allen seinen [Gliedern (μέλος)] fasten
lassen in heiligem Fasten (νηστεία). —
. . . . . Glauben. Die, welche keine Kraft haben
täglich [zu fasten], auch sie fasten

[ρϥB]

> · ⲛ̀ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 [ϩⲙ] ⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲟⲓⲛⲱⲛⲏ [ⲁⲛϩⲃⲏ]
2 [ⲩⲉ] ⲙⲛ ⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩ
3 [ⲙ]ⲛ̀ⲧⲛⲁⲉ leer π̄
4 π̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟ π̄
5 ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ
6 [Ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁ]ⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡϥⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ϫⲉ ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ [ⲛⲧ]
7 [ⲉ]ⲧⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ϫⲉ ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱ[ⲙⲉ]
8 [ⲛ]ⲁⲉⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩ̄ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲉⲙⲁϩ
9 [ⲧⲉ ⲛ]ⲧⲉⲅⲕⲣⲁⲧⲉⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲩ̄ϫⲡⲟ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ
10 [ⲛⲛ]ⲟⲓϫ ϫⲉⲩⲛⲁⲑ̄ⲣ̄ⲕⲟ ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩ[ⲁⲓ̈]
11 [ⲛ]ⲉ̣ leer ⲡⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛⲧⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ϫⲉⲩⲛⲁ
12 ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲣⲱⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲓ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩ̄ⲧⲙⲭⲓ+ⲡⲉ ⲙ
13 ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ϫⲉ ⲏⲣⲡ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲩ̄ ϩⲓ ⲥⲓⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲛ leer ⲧⲉ̣ⲓ ⲧ̣ⲉ ⲧⲱⲁ
14 [ⲣⲡ ⲛ]ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲉⲉⲥ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱ
15 [ⲙⲁ ⲛⲥ]ⲉⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ϩⲁⲧⲛ̄ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ leer
16 Ⲧⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲧⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲉⲉⲥ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲉ ϫⲉ
17 ⲉⲩⲁ+ ⲁϫⲱⲩ ⲛ . . . . ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲛ̄ⲁϩⲧⲉ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ
18 . . ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲩⲁ+ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲁ̣
19 ⲧ̣ⲙⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ̄ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲁϩ̣ⲧⲉ ⲁⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲩⲁ+ ⲡⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ
20 [ⲛⲛ]ⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉ[ⲩⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ] ⲉⲩⲁⲭⲁⲣⲓϩ̣ⲉ
21 ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲛ̄ⲩ̄ⲧⲉⲉⲥ ϩⲓⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉⲩⲁⲧⲁⲃⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡⲧ
22 ⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ϫⲡⲟ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ϫⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡ . .
23 ⲉ̣ⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ϩⲛ̄ +ⲙⲁϩⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
24 ⲩⲁⲧⲉ ϩⲛⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ϫⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ[ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓ]
25 ⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ Ⲧϩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ
26 [ϩ]ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩ̄ⲣ ⲟⲩⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲗⲉⲓⲟⲥ ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲩ
27 ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩ
28 ⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲉⲩϫⲏⲕ ϩⲛ̄ ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ
29 Ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧ̣ⲩ
30 ⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲡⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ Ⲧⲛⲏ[ⲥⲧⲓ]
31 ⲁ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲩⲁⲣ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ϩ̣[ⲏⲧⲥ ⲧ]ⲉⲓ̈ ⲧ̣ⲉ ϫⲉⲕⲁ[ⲥ]
32 ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲫⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧ̣[ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ . . . . . .]
33 ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲱⲗ̣[ⲏⲗ ⲁⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ]

Die Kephalaia

[am] Herrentage (κυριακή). Auch sie haben Anteil (κοινωνεῖν) [an den Werken (?)]
und dem Fasten (νηστεία) der Heiligen in ihrem Glauben und ihrem
Almosen. —

LXXX.

Das Kapitel (κεφάλαιον) der Gebote (ἐντολή) der Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη).

Wiederum sprach der Φωστήρ zu seinen Jüngern: Wisset [und]
erkennet: Die erste Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη), die der Mensch
tut, um wahrhaft gerecht zu werden, ist diese: Er soll Enthaltsam-
keit (ἐγκράτεια) und Reinheit sich zu eigen machen und sich auch die Ruhe
[der] Hände erwerben, um seine Hand ruhig zu halten vor dem Kreuz
(σταυρός) des
Lichtes. — Das Dritte ist die Reinheit des Mundes: Er soll
seinen Mund von allem Fleisch (σάρξ) und Blut reinigen und überhaupt nicht
kosten,
was heißt Wein und Rauschgetränk (σίκερα). — [Dies ist] die er-
[ste] Gerechtigkeit, die der Mensch an seinem Körper tut,
[so daß] er gerecht (δίκαιος) bei allen Menschen genannt wird. —
Die zweite Gerechtigkeit wiederum, die er tut, ist diese:
Er soll [. . . .], Weisheit (σοφία) und Glauben auf sich geben, damit
er durch seine Weisheit (σοφία) allen Menschen, die sie von ihm hören,
die Weisheit gebe. Durch seinen Glauben aber soll er den Glauben geben
denen, die zum Glauben gehören, durch seine [Gnade (χάρις)] soll er begnaden
(χαρίζεσθαι)
mit seiner Liebe (ἀγάπη) und sie (plur.) bekleiden mit ihr, damit er sie mit sich
verbinde.
Denn wenn jener sich einen großen Besitz (χρῆμα) von . . . in Gerechtigkeit
(δικαιοσύνη), in dieser zweiten Göttlichkeit erwirbt,
wird er bewirken, daß andere zu ihm senden, indem sie ihm gleichen
in Gerechtigkeit. Wie dieser Gerechte (δίκαιος) das Zweite vollendet,
und ein vollkommener (τέλειος) Elektus wird, so auch
der Katechumen, wenn er ein Katechu-
men des Glaubens wird, der vollkommen ist auf zwei Arten. —
Das erste Werk der Katechumenschaft, das er
tut, ist das Fasten, Beten und Almosengeben. Das Fasten nämlich,
in [dem] er fastet, ist dies:
Er soll fasten am [Herrentage (κυριακή)] und [ruhen von den]
Werken der Welt. Das Beten [aber ist dies:]

ϴ [ρϙγ]

> · ⲛ̄ⲕ̣[ⲉ]ⲫⲁⲗⲁ[ⲓⲟⲛ · <]

1 ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲁⲡⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲟ ⲙ̣ⲫ[ⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲧⲙⲛ]
2 ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲍⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲧⲙ̣ . [. . . . . .]
3 ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩ̄ⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ [. . . . . .]
4 [ⲧⲧ]ⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲥⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉ[ⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲩⲉ]
5 ⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲍⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁ+ [ⲟ]ⲩⲱⲩ̣ⲣⲉ ⲛⲧ[ⲉⲕ]
6 ⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲧⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲏ̣ ⲡⲉⲫⲱⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ [ⲏ ⲡⲣⲙ]
7 ⲛ̄ⲏⲓ̈ ⲏ ⲉⲩⲁⲥⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲑⲗⲓ+[ⲓⲥ ⲏ ⲉⲩ]
8 ⲁ̣ⲧⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲩ̄ⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁ[ⲥ ⲁⲅⲁ]
9 ⲑⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲁⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲇⲱⲣⲟⲛ [ⲁⲧⲇⲓ]
10 ⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧ̣[. . . . .]
11 ⲛⲁⲕⲟⲓⲛⲱⲛⲏ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ leer ⲧⲧⲙⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲡ ⲭ[ⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ]
12 ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲕⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲩ̄ⲥⲙ̣ⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲟ̣[ⲡⲟⲥ]
13 ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩⲉ̣ⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ [ⲥ]ⲛ̄ ⲧ[ⲉ]ⲕⲕ[ⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ]
14 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃ[ⲉ] leer Ⲉⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲭⲱ[ⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ]
15 [ⲙ]ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲥⲱⲃ +ⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲟ ⲙⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ[ⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲩ]
16 ⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲇⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧ[ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ . . . .]ⲓ̈[. . . . ⲉ]
17 ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲛⲓⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏ̣[ⲭⲟⲩ]ⲙ̣ⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̣ⲙⲉⲩ
18 ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲋ . . . . . [. . . . . .]
19 ⲙ̣ⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲭⲓ ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲁ+[. . . .]
20 ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ[ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ]ⲉⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲓ[ⲙ
21 ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲃⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲛ̄ⲍⲙ[ⲁⲧ]
22 ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲟⲟⲩ leer

23 πα

24 πα πκεφαλαιον ⲛ̣ⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ̣ ⲭⲉ πα
25 ⲥⲭⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲏⲱⲉ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ

26 [ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓ]ⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲥⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲁⲡ[ⲓⲧⲛ]
27 ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲩⲍⲥ̀ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲥⲓⲧⲉⲩ[ⲉⲍⲏ]
28 ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲉⲕⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ [ⲭⲉ]
29 ⲱⲁⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲥⲁⲱⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲉ ⲡ]
30 [ⲟⲩ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲗ[ⲗⲁ]
31 [ⲛ]ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲭⲡⲟ ⲙ̣ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁ[ⲕⲏ ⲡⲓ]
32 [ⲥⲱⲃ] ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲡ̣ⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲭⲱⲕ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲓⲱ . [. .]
33 [. . . . . ⲟ]ⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲭⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲁⲓ̈[ⲟⲩ]
34 [ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲉⲙⲏ]ⲓ̈ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉ+ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲥ

Die Zahl ϴ oben auf der linken Seite bedeutet den Beginn des neunten Quaternio.

3 Lies vielleicht ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ.

Die Kephalaia

1 Er soll zu Sonne und Mond, den großen [Leuchtern] beten.
2 [Das] Almosen ist dies: Er soll es hinlegen . . . . . .
3 im Heiligen (?) und es ihnen geben in Gerechtigkeit (?) . . . .
4 [Das] zweite Werk der Katechumenschaft, [das er]
5 tut, ist dies: Der Mensch soll einen Sohn der Kirche
6 (ἐκκλησία) zur Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη) geben oder seinen Verwandten (γένος) [oder den]
7 Hausgenossen oder er soll einen, der sich in Bedrängnis (θλῖψις) befindet, retten
8 [oder] einen Sklaven kaufen und ihn zur Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη) geben, damit
9 an allem Guten, das der tut, den er gegeben hat als Geschenk (δῶρον) [zur]
10 Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη), jener Katechumen, der . . .
11 mit ihnen Anteil hat. — Das dritte Mal:
12 Der Mensch soll einen Wohnort bauen oder einen Ort [errichten],
13 damit man ihn mache für ihn zu einem Teil von Almosen in der heiligen
14 [Kirche]. — Wenn der Katechumen diese drei großen Werke
15 vollendet, diese drei großen Almosen, [die er]
16 als Geschenke (δῶρον) der [heiligen] Kirche gibt . . . .
17 welchen die Almosen bewirken. Jener Katechumen
18 dagegen, der sie ihnen gegeben hat, er wird . . . . . .
19 indem er an ihnen Teil hat. Die Katechumenen, die geben werden . . .,
20 haben große [Liebe] und Anteil an [allen] Gnaden
21 und dem Guten (ἀγαθόν) in der heiligen Kirche. Sie werden viele Gnaden
22 finden.
23 LXXXI.
24 Das Kapitel vom Fasten (νηστεία), daß
25 es viele Engel (ἄγγελος) erzeugt.
26 [Wiederum] geschah es zu einer Zeit, als der Apostel in der Versammlung
27 da saß, stand einer seiner Jünger auf vor ihm (und)
28 sprach zu ihm: Ich habe dich gehört, mein Herr, wie du sagtest:
29 Sieben Engel (ἄγγελος) werden aus dem Fasten eines jeglichen Elektus
30 erzeugt. Nicht nur die Elekten, sondern am Herrentage (κυριακή)
31 erzeugen sie auch die Katechumenen. Das
32 Fasten[werk] ist dies in Vollkommenheit. Ich nun habe . . . . .
33 . . [und lange Zeit war] vergangen, seit ich ἀρχηγός wurde. Es befanden sich fünfzig
34 [Eklekten mit] mir in der Kirche, deren Haupt ich war.

[ρϥⲇ]

[> · ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗ]ⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 [ⲁⲩⲱⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ]ⲙⲏⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓ

2 [ⲱⲡ ⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓ]ⲁ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲁⲙ

3 [ⲧⲉ ⲛⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁ]ⲕⲏ ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲃⲛⲧⲥ̀ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ[ⲉⲕ]

4 [ⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲁⲫ]ⲭⲡⲟ ⲛⲥⲁⲱⲫ̄ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲁ̈ⲓ

5 [ⲱⲡ ⲧ]ⲛ̣ⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲓ]ⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲩ

6 [ⲣⲓⲁ]ⲕⲏ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉ ⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲥⲁⲱⲫ̄

7 [ⲛⲁⲅ]ⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲫⲭⲡ̣

8 [ⲁ]ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲫ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲁ̈ⲓⲱⲡ ⲧⲱⲁⲙⲧ[ⲉ]

9 [ⲛ]ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲣ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ [ⲁ̈ⲓ]

10 [ⲕⲁ]ⲃⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲡ ⲁ̈ⲓⲃⲛⲧⲥ̀ ⲁ ⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ [ⲉ]

11 [ⲧⲁⲩ]ⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲣ̄ⲙⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉ ⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁ̈ⲓ

12 [ⲣ̄ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ] ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲥ̀ⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑ[ⲟⲛ] ⲉⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲉⲩ

13 [ⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲱⲁ̣ⲙⲧⲉ] ⲛ̣ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁ̈ⲓⲧⲕⲧⲁ̈ⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲁ[ⲓ̈ⲙ]ⲕ̣ⲁⲥ ⲛ̄

14 [ⲥⲏⲧ] ⲁ̈ⲓⲃⲓ ⲥⲁ̣ . . . ⲭⲉ . . ⲭ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ̣ ⲛ̣ⲥⲉⲭⲉ[.]

15 [. . . . . .] . ⲧ . . . . ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲕⲁⲧ[ⲥ]

16 [. . . .]ⲉ . . . . . ⲁⲥⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲥ̀ ⲏ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲕⲉⲗ̣ⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲭⲣⲉⲓⲁ

17 . . . . ⲡⲁⲛⲧ . . . . . ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ

18 . . ⲧⲣ̄ⲛ̣ⲁⲃⲉ̣ ⲥⲱⲱⲧ ⲧⲱⲗ̣ⲏⲗ̣ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲧⲣ̄ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ[.]

19 . . . ⲃⲉ . ⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲟⲩ . [. .] . ⲱⲁ̈ⲭⲛⲟⲩ̈ⲓ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲥⲏⲧ

20 . . . . . ⲁⲡ ⲉ̈ⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̣ⲥ̣ . . . ⲙⲡⲣ[ⲏ]ⲧ[ⲉ]

21 . . . . . ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲩ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲩ . . ⲱⲉ ⲁⲣ[. .]

22 . . . ⲛⲛ̄ⲙ̄ . . . . ⲛ̄ⲩⲭⲓⲥⲣⲉ . . . . . ⲛⲥ̀ . . . . . ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩ[. .]

23 . . . ⲁⲣⲁⲩ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲉ . . . . . ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ . . ⲏⲭ̣ ⲙⲡⲉ̈ⲓ̈ . .

24 . . . ⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲧⲛ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁ . . . . ⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲓ ⲥ̣[ⲁ]

25 . . . . . ⲉⲩⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲟ ⲁ . . . ⲛⲁⲥⲉⲭⲉ . . . . . .

26 ⲡ̣ⲧⲱⲱ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲧⲱⲃⲥ̀ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲭ[ⲁ̈ⲥ]

27 ⲭ[ⲉ] . . . ⲉⲓ . . . ⲡⲥⲱⲃ ⲣ̄ⲱⲉⲩ . . . ⲉⲩⲧⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲥ ⲁⲁⲗⲧ ⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲓ ⲟⲩⲁ[ⲥ]

28 [ⲉ]ⲉⲧ ⲧⲱⲧ ⲡⲁⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲕ[ⲥⲩⲛⲭⲱ]ⲣⲉ ⲛⲏ̈ⲓ ⲧⲁⲁⲗⲧ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲡ[ⲥⲡ]

29 [. . .] ⲣⲉⲓⲁⲡ . . . ⲛⲥ̀ ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲥ̣ⲛ̣ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̣ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥ̣[ⲉ]

30 [ⲛ̄]ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲣ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲏ̈ⲓ ⲕⲁ[ⲁ]ⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧ . . .

31 [ⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲱⲛⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅ[ⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ] leer

32 Τ̣οτε ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ [ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲑⲏ]

Die Kephalaia

[Sie standen] vor [mir], indem sie täglich fasteten. Ich habe
nun [berechnet das] Fasten, das der Mensch macht, nur an drei
[Herrentagen] und habe gefunden: Jeder Einzelne dieser
[Elekten hat] erzeugt sieben Engel durch sein Fasten. Ich habe
aber [berechnet das] Fasten dieser fünfzig Menschen an den drei Herren-
[tagen]. Sie machten 350 Engel aus, indem sieben
Engel für jeden der Elekten berechnet sind, welche er
täglich durch sein vollkommenes Fasten erzeugt. Ich habe die drei
Herrentage, an denen diese 50 Menschen fasteten, berechnet und habe
sie multipliziert mit drei. Ich habe gefunden: Die Zahl der Engel,
die erzeugt [wurden] aus ihnen, macht 1050 Engel aus. Ich war
ihnen dankbar (χαρίζεσθαι) [wegen des großen Nutzens und des Guten (ἀγαθόν), das ich getan habe
[an den drei] Herrentagen, aber ich habe mich gewandt wiederum und war be-
[trübt]. Ich habe ertragen . . . . . Dieser Mensch hat wegen der Worte
. . . . . wegen einer Kirche, um [sie] bauen.
. . . . . sie [zu] errichten oder wegen einer [andern] Notwendigkeit (χρεία)
. . . . . er besitzt Sünden in diesen.
[Wenn ich] selbst sündige, so bete ich. Denn ich befehle (κελεύειν)
. . . . ., um sie (pl.) errichten . . . . Ich befrage mich in meinem Herzen
. . . . . indem ich sage . . . . in der Art
. . . . . ihn allein und es . . . . und es . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . sie . . . . . .
. . . bei Gott, der wird . . . . ihn allein und er erträgt
. . . . . indem er mehr als . . meine Reden (?) . . . . . .
die Ordnung ihrer Kirche. Jetzt bitte ich dich, mein [Herr],
wenn die Sache nützt und es erforderlich (?) ist, mich auf mich allein zurück-
zuziehen,
so überzeuge mich und [gestatte (συγχωρεῖν)] mir, daß ich mich zurückziehe
zum Gebet.
. . . . . daß ich wandle inmitten meiner Brüder in der Weise
der Presbyter. Tue mir die Gnade und entlasse mich aus dieser . . . . .
[des] Schutzrechtes (πατρωνεία) der Götter und der Engel.
Darauf, als der Apostel hörte [das Wort des Schülers]

27 ⲁⲧⲁⲥ unbekannt.

[ρϥε]

[> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <]

1 ⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉϥⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲥ[ⲁ . . . . . ⲁϥ]
2 ⲉ|ⲣⲉ ⲛⲉϥ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲡ[ⲁⲍ]ⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧ[ⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ]
3 [ⲭⲉ] ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁϥ ⲭ[ⲉ] . . ⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ ⲧ . . . ⲁϥ . . .
4 [.]ⲛ̄ⲣⲱϥ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧϥ ⲭⲉ ϯⲥ[ⲁ]ⲩⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩ[ⲛⲁ]ϥⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡ[ⲉⲓ̈]
5 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲏ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲛⲏⲥⲧ|ⲁ ⲛⲉ[ⲓ] ⲉⲧⲁ ⲛ|ⲣⲱ[ⲙⲉ ⲉ]
6 [ⲧ]ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲣ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲥ̣ⲛ̣ ⲧ̣ϧ̣ⲩⲣ|ⲁϧⲏ ⲉ|ⲥⲭ[ⲉ]
7 [ⲉⲩ]ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲥ̣ⲏ̣ⲓ̣ⲩ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲡ[ⲉ] ⲡ|ⲥⲱⲃ ⲥ|ⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲉⲩ[ⲡⲁ]
8 [ⲣⲉ]ⲧ|ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛ|ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲁϧⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲁⲙⲏⲧ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ]
9 [ⲁ]ϧⲣⲧⲍⲉ ⲛ . ⲣ . ⲓ̈ ⲉ|ⲥⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϧⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲙⲏ[ⲉ]
10 ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲉⲛⲉ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϧⲙ̄[ⲙ]ⲉ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲁϧⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ [ⲙⲡ]
11 [ⲥ]ⲏⲩ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϧⲥⲏⲧ ⲛⲁⲉ| ⲛⲥⲱϧ ⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲉⲧ| ⲙ[ⲡⲁⲅⲁ]
12 [ⲑ]ⲟⲛ ⲉϧ[ⲣ]ⲁⲩⲧ ⲁϧⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲣⲛⲍⲟⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϧⲭ[. . . . .]
13 ⲛ̣ⲥⲁⲍ ⲛⲥ̣ⲁⲡ ⲛⲁⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϧⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲩ [ⲛⲧ]
14 [ⲙⲏ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ϧ̄ⲟ̄ⲛ ⲡⲉϧⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉϥⲗⲉⲭⲗⲁⲭⲧ ⲉϥⲱⲱⲛ[ⲉ ⲉϥ]
15 ⲑⲗⲓⲃⲉ ⲉϧ†ⲧϧⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲡ ⲥ|ⲉ . . . . . [ⲛϧ]
16 ⲧⲙ̄ϧⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧϧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉϧⲉ|ⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲃ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛⲍⲟⲩⲧϧ ⲁ[ⲣⲁϥ]
17 ⲙⲡϧⲁ|ⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲉⲧϧⲁⲉⲉϥ [ⲉϧⲁⲍⲉ] ⲁⲣⲉⲧϧ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ[. . .]
18 [.] . ⲁⲓ̈ ⲉϧⲁⲃⲱϧ ⲁ†ⲭ[ⲱⲣⲁ] ⲉ[ⲧⲁⲓ] ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ[ⲛ ⲛ]
19 ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ [ⲛ̄ϧⲉⲓ] ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ [ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲁ]
20 [ⲛ]ⲉⲧⲁϧϧⲁ ⲡⲉϧⲥⲏⲧ ⲥ|ⲭⲱⲩ ⲁϧⲧⲁⲭⲣⲁϧ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲉⲩ[ⲛⲁ]
21 [ⲭⲟ]ⲟⲥ ⲣⲱ ⲁⲣⲁϧ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲛ̄ [ⲡⲉϧ]
22 [ⲥⲱ]ⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲭ ⲁⲣ̣ⲁϧ . . . . . ⲉⲙⲙ̄ ⲭⲃⲓⲛ ⲉⲙⲛ ⲧ[ⲉ]
23 [ⲕⲟ] ⲉⲙⲙ̄ †ϧⲉⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲉϧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ †ⲛ .
24 . . ⲁϧ ⲭⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲱⲱⲥ ⲁ . ⲉ ⲭⲱϧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄
25 ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧϧ ⲉ|ⲥⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ϧⲁⲡⲁⲣⲉⲧ| ⲙⲡ|ⲥⲱ[ⲃ]
26 ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡ|ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ϧⲉϧⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϧ
27 ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲉⲧ| ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲥ|ⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲡ|ⲥⲏⲩ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲛ†ⲃⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡ|
28 [ⲥⲱ]ⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲉⲉϥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̣ⲉ
29 [. . .]ⲓ̈ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛ̄ⲧ ⲁⲣⲁϧ ⲙⲁⲩⲧⲉ
30 [ⲥⲟ ⲙⲡⲥⲏ]ⲩ ⲉ . . . . . ⲉⲧⲁϧⲧⲉⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣⲡ|ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲉ . .
31 [. . . . . .]ϫⲏ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲛⲁϧ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈

Unter der Seite:]ⲧⲉⲍⲁϧ abgerieben.

[des Lehrers.]

wie er redete über . . . . . ., da
tat er ihm den Gefallen. Es sprach der Apostel [zu dem Jünger:]
Das Wort, das du verkündet hast . . . . . .
mit deinem eigenen Munde. Ich weiß, daß ein Nutzen dies ist,
was man tut wegen dieser Fasten (νηστεία), in denen diese heiligen
Männer gefastet (νηστεύειν) haben am Herrentag, als ob
[sie] wüßten, daß ein voller Nutzen dies Werk ist und weswegen lehnen (παραιτεῖσθαι)
sie es ab. Denn in diesen Worten, die du vor mir verkündet hast,
hast du dich wie ein . . . gezeigt, als ob du kein Bißchen Wahrheit erkannt hättest.
Denn wenn du die Wahrheit eingesehen und den Nutzen erkannt
hättest, wäre dein Herz nicht dararuf ausgegangen, das Gute
zurückzuweisen, indem du froh warst, (und) wärst nicht erkrankt .....
vielmals in Wahrheit. Wenn du den Nutzen der Wahrheit er-
kannt und deinen Körper gefunden hättest, wie er bedrängt, krank (und)
gequält (θλίβειν) wird, indem du (ihm) viele Male Schmerz bereitest, dann . . . . . .
[und] nicht hörst du auf, das Werk zu tun, das dir anvertraut wurde
die ganze Zeit, die du zubringst, [indem du stehst] im . . . . .
. . . du wirst gehen in das [große] Land der Ruhe und der
Söhne der Lebendigen [und du gehst ein] in Herrlichkeit und [Sieg zu denen,]
auf die du dein Herz gesetzt und dich gestützt hast, [indem sie zu dir sagen]
werden, eine göttliche [Tat] ist geschehen, man hat deinen [Körper]
gefunden, indem er heil ist an dir, ... ohne Verletzung, ohne Schaden
ohne Schmerzen bei dir und nach allem werde ich
. . . dich, daß du . . . . . vollendest das Gute und
das, was ich dir aufgetragen habe. Wenn du nun dies Werk
und dies Werk der Götter ablehnst (παραιτεῖσθαι) — es gibt noch andere, die dir gleichen,
es abzulehnen (παραιτεῖσθαι), dann diesen ganzen derartigen Nutzen und dieses
göttliche Werk, wer wird es tun? Denn die klugen . . .
Männer, die die Wahrheit kennen, die dir gleich sind, erreichen
nicht den Nutzen . . . . . sie werden Sünde tun
. . . . . — Aber ich, ich habe

[ρψζ]

> · ⲛⲕ[ⲉ]ϕ[ⲁⲗⲁⲓ]ⲟⲛ · <

1 [. . . . . .]Ⲥ . . ϩⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ
2 [. . . . . ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲕ ⲛϩ[ⲏⲧ]ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕ̄ⲣ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲃ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲩⲟ
3 [ⲁⲣⲁ]ⲕ zerstört ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲏⲩ ⲱ[ⲱⲡⲉ]
4 [ϩ]ⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲛϩ ⲕⲁⲛ ⲉⲱⲁⲛ[ⲧ]ⲉ ϩⲛⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ϩⲃⲁⲱⲃⲉⲱ
5 [ⲁ]ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲧⲓ . . . . . ⲕ . . ⲙⲡⲱⲣϩⲃⲁⲱⲃⲉⲱ
6 [ⲁⲡ]ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ [ⲉⲡ]ⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉ†ϫⲱ ⲙ̄
7 [ⲙⲁⲥ] ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲉ . . ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡ . . . ⲛ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲉ ⲡ̣[ⲉ]
8 [ⲁⲩ ⲙ]ⲛ ⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟ[ⲛ] ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧ
9 [ⲛⲧ]ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲡⲁⲡⲥⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲁ[ⲙ ⲡ]ⲉⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲁ
10 ϩ[ⲟⲩⲛ] ⲛ̣ⲩ̄ⲁⲗⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲩ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲩ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲩ leer
11 Ⲁ[ⲗⲗⲁ ϩ]ⲁ ⲡⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲧ[ⲁⲕ]ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲧⲁϫⲁ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲁ̣
12 [ⲃⲉ ⲙ]ⲙⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲗⲁⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ[ⲧⲁ]
13 [ⲡⲣⲟ] ⲉ̣ⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲕⲁⲧⲥ̀ ⲏ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ . . . . .
14 [. . .]ⲕϩⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ . ⲁⲡⲉ ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲕ̄ϩⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ .
15 [. . . .] ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲃⲟⲏⲑⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧ̣
16 [. .]ⲕ̣ . . ⲩⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ
17 [ⲙⲙ]ⲉⲩ leer ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ
18 [. . .]ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ . . . .ⲧ̣ⲩⲭⲣⲉⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧϩⲉ̣
19 [. . .]. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ[ⲥ]ⲁⲣⲥ̀ ⲙ . . . .[. ⲙⲛ]ⲧⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲏ ⲉⲩⲡⲏⲧ ⲙ̄
20 [. . . .]. . ⲛ̄ϩⲛ̄ϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲭⲁϩ[ⲙⲉ . . . . .]. . . . . .
21 [. .]ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲓ ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ[ⲙⲓⲛ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲉϫⲉ
22 [. .]ⲩ ⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲩⲁϩⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ leer
23 abgerieben ⲕⲁⲣⲱⲩ ⲛⲩ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ [
24 [ⲗⲁⲩ]ⲉ ⲛⲥⲉϫⲉ leer ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ++ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̣
25 [ⲟⲛ]ⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲁⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛ̣ⲕⲕⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏ
26 ϩ̣[ⲓ]ⲁ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲡ ⲁⲡⲉⲕϩⲏⲩ
27 Ⲛ̄[ⲧⲁⲣ]ⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲧⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧ[ⲟ]
28 ⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈[ⲥ]
29 ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ †ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲛⲧⲁⲕ[ⲱⲧ]
30 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲕ̣ⲉⲁⲩ
31 ⲣ̄ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲉⲓ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ leer
32
33
34 ⲡⲁ

Die Kephalaia

. . . . . Presbyter (πρεσβύτερος)
. . . . . dich in ihr, und du tust das Werk, das ich dir
verkündet [und dir befohlen] habe, und Nutzen wird (dir)
sein in deinem Leben, auch wenn andere (es) von sich
weisen (παραιτεῖσθαι) . . . . . Nicht weise (παραιτεῖσθαι)
es ab. Denn so sage ich
euch in Wahrheit und . . . . . : Größer ist der
der Ruhm, der Sieg und das Gute (ἀγαθόν) für den, der predigt, indem er die
Kirche baut als für den Bruder, der in sich
geht, sich ganz für sich abschließt und sich selbst erbaut. —
Aber bezüglich des Wortes, das du gesagt hast: Vielleicht (τάχα) habe ich
Sünde, wenn ich etwas verkünde mit meinem
[Munde] wegen einer Kirche, sie zu bauen oder Almosen . . .
. . dein Herz wird betrübt . . . . oder du fürchtest dich. Denn der Mensch
. . . wegen des Werkes der Kirche und der Hilfe (βοήθεια) für die, welche
. . . indem er befiehlt und baut mit seinem Wort, hat keine
Sünde. — Aber der Mensch, der spricht und befiehlt
. . etwas [für?] seinen eigenen Bedarf (χρεία), wie
. . . seines Fleisches . . . . . oder er eilt . .
. . . befleckte Werke . . . . . .
. . . für sich selber Sorge zu tragen. Wer redet
. . . . . dies Werk, indem er gänzlich in der Sünde steht. —
. . . . . wenn er schweigt und nicht redet (auch nur)
ein Wort, aber ich befehle dir nur
in dieser Weise. Es ist dir möglich zu predigen und die Kirche Gottes (ἐκκλησία)
zu bauen, damit deine Mühe dir zum Nutzen gerechnet werde. —
Als jener Jünger dies hörte von dem Apostel,
verneigte er sich vor ihm und sprach zu ihm: Ich habe von dir, o Herr,
das Wort, das du mir verkündet hast, empfangen. Ich werde predigen und bauen
die Kirche. Nur möge deine Kraft und Herrlichkeit
mir helfen (βοηθεῖν). —

[ρϥz]

[> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲥ · <]

1 [πβ]

2 πβ π[ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗ]ⲁⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ πβ

3 π[ⲥⲉⲡ] ⲛ̣ⲧⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ

4 [Ⲡⲁⲗⲓ]ⲛ̣ ⲁⲛ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲉ ϩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧ . . . . . .

5 ⲁ̣ⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲱⲃϩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ [ϫⲉ]

6 [ⲉ]ⲕⲁⲧⲱⲧ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ϩⲙ ⲡⲓⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁϣⲛⲧⲕ [ⲁⲕϫⲟ]

7 [ⲟⲥ] ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲉϣ . . . . . ⲛⲅ† . . . ϣⲱⲡⲉ .

8 [. . .]. ⲉ . ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲁⲛ ϣ . . . . . ⲧ . . . ⲡϩⲉⲡ ϩ

9 [. . . .]ⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲕ[. . . . . .]ⲏ . . ⲥϭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩ

10 [. . .]ϣⲱⲡⲉ . . . . . ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲛ ⲏ ⲟⲩⲥ[ⲱⲛⲉ]

11 ⲛ̣ⲕϭⲛⲧⲥ̀ ⲉ̣ⲓⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲃⲓⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲣⲁ[ⲕ ⲛ]

12 [ⲧ]ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲩ[ⲟ ⲛⲛ]ⲁϣⲧⲙⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲩⲡ[ⲏⲧ]

13 [ϩ]ⲛ̣ ϩⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲥⲁϩⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲉⲓ ⲁⲧϩⲁⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲃⲱⲗ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ]

14 [ϩ]ⲛ ⲧⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉ†ⲛⲁ . . . . . ⲛⲁϩⲣ[ⲉⲕ] ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲣ̣[ⲱⲙⲉ]

15 [ⲉ]ⲧ̣ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ϩⲱⲃⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲩⲟⲃⲓⲁⲕ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ . . . .

16 ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲡϩⲉⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ leer †ⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ †ⲧ̣[ⲱⲃϩ]

17 ⲙ̣ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲓ̈ [ⲛⲁ]

18 [ⲃ]ⲉ ⲙⲙⲉⲩ ϩⲛ̄ †ⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲱ[ⲗⲕ] ⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲉ[ⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ]

19 ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ . . ⲟⲩ . . ⲩⲉ ⲁⲡⲉϥϩⲏ̣[ⲩ ⲛ]

20 [ⲧⲁ]ⲧⲙ̄ⲛϫⲡⲓⲟ ⲗⲁⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲙ . . . . . ϣⲱⲧϥ . . .

21 [ⲧ]ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲗⲟ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛϩⲉⲡ . . . . . ⲧ̣ⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ̣ ⲙ̣ⲛ̣

22 ϣⲏⲓ̈ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ †ⲃⲗⲕⲉ . . . . . ⲧⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲱⲗⲕ ⲛϩ̣[ⲏⲧⲥ]

23 ⲁⲣⲁ ⲉⲥⲕⲁⲧⲱ . . . . . ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ [. . . .]

24 [ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲥ leer Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ [ⲁ]

25 [ⲡⲓ]ⲥⲁϩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ϩⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧϩⲁⲗⲃⲏⲧ [. .]

26 [.]ⲉ †ⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲕⲃⲱⲗⲕ ⲛ[ϩⲏⲧ]ⲥ ⲉⲕⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟ[ⲩ]

27 [ϩ]ⲉⲡ ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ . . . . . ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁϣ[ⲧ .]

28 [. . .]ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲧ̣ⲟⲩⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ . .

29 [. .]ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩϣⲡ ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉⲡⲓⲧⲙⲓⲁ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ . .

30 [. . .]ⲧ ⲧⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲛⲟⲩϣⲡ ⲕⲁⲓⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉϣ. . .ⲉ

31 [. .]ⲉ ⲉⲕⲛⲁϣⲝ ⲉⲕϫⲡⲓⲟ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ϩⲛ ϩⲛⲥⲉϫⲉ [ⲉ]ⲩ

32 [ⲛⲟⲩ]ϣⲡ ⲉⲕϫⲡⲓⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲕⲁⲕⲩ ⲁ̣ϩⲏⲩ ⲛ̄

33 [ⲧⲙⲛⲧ]ⲛⲁϣⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉ [. . . .]. . . . . ⲡⲟⲩ . . . ϩ̣ⲙ̣ ⲡⲓⲛ[ⲁϩⲧⲉ?]

34 [. . . . .]. . ⲧⲁϩⲟⲩ . . . ⲣⲉⲩⲛ zu stark abgerieben

35 [. . . . . .]ⲡ[ⲉ]ϥϩⲏⲧ ϫ

18 ⲉ in ⲙⲙⲉⲩ aus ⲁ verbessert.

des Lehrers.

LXXXII.

Das Kapitel des [Gerichtes] der Gerechtigkeit.

Wiederum einer der Jünger, die . . . . . Apostel (und) sprach zu ihm: Ich bitte dich, daß du mein Herz durch das Wort überzeugst, das ich dich frage. Denn du hast uns gesagt, welche . . . . . und du gibst . . . werden . . . . . ihre Brüder . . . . . das Gericht . . . . . in Gerechtigkeit (?) . . . . . werden . . . . . Bruder oder [Schwester] und findest, daß ich mit ihnen (plur.) in Demut und Ruhe spreche, sie aber frech waren, ohne zu hören, indem sie eilen in . . . . . kopfüber und komme zum Ende und werde erlöst. Durch den Zorn aber, den ich . . . . . bei ihm, wird jener [Mensch] ausgelöscht und wird sogleich gedemütigt und kommt an den Ort . . . und das Gericht der Gerechtigkeit. — Jetzt nun [bitte] ich dich, mein Herr, daß du mich unterrichtest, ob ich Sünde habe durch den Zorn, in dem ich zürne; [weswegen] ich Sünde habe . . . . . zu seinem Nutzen und nicht jemand beschäme und nicht . . . . . schade und nicht etwas vom Recht schädige . . . . . Denn ich weiß nicht, ob der Zorn . . . . . , [in] dem ich zürne unklar

unklar Da sprach der Apostel [zu] [jenem] Lehrer . . . . . der Barmherzigkeit . . . der Zorn, in dem du zürnst, du machst in ihm ein gerechtes Gericht . . . . . die starken Menschen . . . die Buße (μετάνοια). Ihr Zorn und die Schlechtigkeit und die Bosheit (κακία) . . . nur ein Schelten ist es und ein Anfahren (ἐπιτιμία). Denn . . . . Denn der Zorn ?? Denn wenn . . . . . du jenen Bruder tadelst und zurechtweist mit schmähenden Worten, indem du ihn zum Guten zurechtweist, damit du ihm ausziehest die Unverschämtheit . . . . . im Glauben (?)

stark abgerieben

stark abgerieben

[ρqH]

[> ·] ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟ[ⲛ · <]

1 [. . . .]. . ⲥ . . ⲗⲏ leer ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲕⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲧⲁ . .[. .]
2 [. .]ⲉ ⲧⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲧⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲕⲟⲛ ⲟ[ⲩⲁⲓ]
3 [ϣ ⲁ]ⲣⲉⲡ|ϩⲩⲙⲏ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲃ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲥⲏⲧⲩ]
4 [. . .] . . ⲥⲱⲧ[ⲙ] ⲛⲥⲱⲩ . . . . ⲕ̣ ⲛ̣ⲥⲏⲧ ⲛⲩⲃⲱ[ⲗⲕ ⲥⲛ]
5 [ⲟ]ⲩⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲉ . . . ϣ . . . . . ϭ̣ⲱϣⲧ ⲁⲣⲱⲩ ⲭ . . . .
6 ⲩ̣ⲟ ⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲭ|ⲛ̣ⲟⲁⲛⲥ [. . . . .] . ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ[ⲥⲉ]
7 [ⲭ]ⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ ⲉⲛ ⲧ[. . . . .]ⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛ[ⲧ . .]
8 ⲃⲱⲗⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲭⲁⲥ|ⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲙ̄ⲛⲧϣⲟⲩϣ
9 [ⲟ]ⲩ ⲱϣ ⲣ̄ⲫⲗⲩⲁⲣⲟⲩ̣ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁ . ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲩ [ⲉ]
10 [ⲩ]ⲃⲱⲗⲕ ⲛⲩⲥⲁⲩϣ ⲛⲩ̄ⲥⲁⲥⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲛ̄ⲑⲃ̄ⲓ[ⲟ ⲛ]
11 [ⲛⲣ]ⲙ̄ⲣⲉϣⲩ̄ⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϣⲃ̄ⲓ̈ϣ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲭ|ⲛⲭⲛⲁⲥ ⲛ
12 [ⲛ]ⲉⲩⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲛ̄ⲥ ⲛⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲭ[. . .]
13 ⲏ ⲙⲙⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲁϣⲱⲩⲧ ⲛⲩ̄ⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ . . . ⲭ| .
14 ⲛ̣ⲩⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲭ| ⲡⲥⲉⲡ ⲛⲩⲃⲱⲗⲕ ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲩⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲩ[
15 . . . ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲩ . . . ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲅⲛⲱⲙⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲛⲏⲩ
16 ⲛ̣[ⲥ]ⲉⲭⲡ|ⲁⲩ ⲥⲁⲣ̣ⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ̄ⲟⲩ
17 ⲥ[ⲱ]ⲃ̣ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧ̣[ⲉ]ⲩⲃ̣ⲗ̣ⲕ̣ⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲛ[
18 . . . . . ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ leer . . . ⲙ]ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲃⲗⲕⲉ
19 . ϣ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲕⲁ+ⲥⲁⲩ ⲏ . . . . . ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ . . ⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ .
20 . . . . ⲉ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ . . . . ⲉ ⲣ̄ⲛⲁϣⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩ̄[ⲧⲙ]
21 ⲥ̣ⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲥⲱⲕ ⲕⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ . . . . ⲩ̣ⲑ̄ⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲁⲩ ⲩ̣ⲣ̄ⲫ[ⲟ]
22 [ⲣ]ⲉ ϣⲁ +ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙ . . . . . ⲉⲕⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲟ[. .]
23 . . ⲉ̣ ⲛ̄ϣⲁⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲕ . . . . . ⲕⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ ⲥⲛⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲁⲃ̣[ⲁ]
24 ⲁⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ϣⲁⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣ+ⲣⲉⲛ [ⲁ]
25 ⲣⲁⲥ ⲉⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲥⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲭⲡ|ⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛ
26 ϣⲁⲧ ⲉⲧⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟ|ⲁ leer ϵⲕ̣ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛ̣[ⲧ]
27 ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲩⲥⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ̄ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧ[. . . . .]
28 . . . ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ϣⲃⲁ ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲧⲗⲃⲁⲩ ⲛⲁϣⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ[ⲩ . . . .]
29 [. . . .] ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ̣ⲡ̣ ⲟⲩⲛ ϣⲃⲁ ⲉϣⲁⲩⲕⲁ [ⲟⲩ]ⲡⲁⲥⲣⲉ ⲉⲩ[ⲥⲏⲙ]
30 [ⲁⲭⲱⲩ] ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉϣⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲟⲩⲡ[ⲁⲥⲣⲉ ⲉⲩⲕⲏⲃ . . . . . .]

5 Nicht ⲉⲛⲁϣⲱⲥ. — Unter der Seite drei Zeilen in kleinerer Schrift nachgetragen.

Die Kephalaia

. . . . . — Sondern du hast gehört . . . . .
. . der Zorn. Denn dies ist der Zorn, daß du Gelegenheit findest,
ein böses Werk zu begehren (ἐπιθυμεῖν), [in dem] Sünde ist.
. . . . auf ihn hören . . . . . und er zürnt in
Zorn . . . . . blickt auf ihn . . .
. . . und er handelt gewalttätig . . . . . und verkündet Worte,
indem sie nicht von Bestand sind . . . . beständiger Zorn
zürnt in seinem Hochmut und
und sie ihn nicht ehren, indem
er zürnt, schmäht, flucht und demütigen will
die Sanftmütigen in Vergeltung und Gewalt gegen
seine Brüder und sich erzeugt die Werke, die . . .
oder aber wenn einer irrt und sündigt . . . . .
und nicht gerichtet wird, sondern zürnt oder wandelt in seinem eigenem Gutdünken (?), nicht nach dem seiner Brüder,
so daß sie ihn deshalb zurechtweisen, und er sich mit Zorn bekleidet und
ein böses Werk in seinem Zorn tut, dies ist der böse Zorn . . .
. . . . . und Frohlocken. — Man nennt es Zorn.
wenn du . . . . . .
. . . zwei oder ein . . . . . wird unverschämt, und er hört
[nicht] auf dich. Du siehst ihn . . . . er erniedrigt sich, er zieht
an (φορεῖν) bis jetzt ein . . . . . du erkennst, daß sie . .
. . stark . . . . . mit starken Worten in Grausamkeit und Härte und man nennt
es nicht Zorn, sondern sein Name ist die Zurechtweisung
der Stärke, die zur Buße (μετάνοια) hinführt. — Denn du bist gleich
einem weisen Arzte, indem seine Hand hört mit . . . .
. . indem die Wunden, die er heilt, bei ihm schwer sind . . .
. . . . . auf manche Wunden legt er ein [heißes] Heilmittel,
auf manche legt er ein [kühles Heilmittel] . . . . . .

8/9 Die Zeilen sind nicht klar genug, um sie vollständig zu übersetzen.

[ρϥθ]

> · ⲙ̄[ⲡⲥⲁ]ⲥ · <

1 [. . . .]. ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲧⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲧⲁⲛ[ⲧⲛ . . . . . .]
2 [. . . .]. ⲧ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲥⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲙⲙⲁⲫ [. .]
3 [. . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ . . . . ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲉⲱⲁϥⲭⲓ ⲧⲉⲡⲓ[. . .]
4 [. . . . .]. . ⲁ|ⲇⲉⲩ leer ⲥⲙ ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲁⲃⲁⲁⲧ ⲉ[. . .]
5 [. . . .]ⲡ̣ⲗ̣ⲏⲅⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥⲟⲧⲉⲣⲁⲡⲉⲩⲉ [ⲛ]ⲡⲡⲁⲥⲣⲉ ⲉ[. .]
6 . . .[. . .]ⲉ ⲥⲱⲱϥ [ⲛⲛ]ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲱⲁϥ . . ⲉⲡ|ⲧⲏⲙⲓ [. . .]
7 . . .[. . .]ⲩⲥ|ⲥ ⲥⲙ̄ [ⲡ]ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲃⲓ̈ⲁⲧ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡ̣[. . . .]
8 . . .[. ⲑⲉⲣ]ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲥⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲕⲏⲃ . . . . [. . . .]
9 . . .[ⲡⲥⲟ]ⲫⲟⲥ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲁⲡ|ⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲥ[ⲏⲧ . . . . .]
10 ⲉⲛ̣[. . . ⲥ]ⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲁ[ϥ] ⲉϥⲟⲃⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ [. . . .]
11 ⲉⲭ[. . . . .] ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲟⲃⲓ̈ⲟ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϥ [. .]
12 ⲁⲃ[. . . .] ⲁϥⲥⲉⲭⲉ abgerieben ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ [. .]
13 [. . . . .] ⲛⲁⲧⲅⲛⲱⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛ[ⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉ ⲕⲁ|ⲅⲁⲣ [. .]
14 [. . . . . .]ⲉⲉϥ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉϥⲁⲟⲩⲁ [. . .]
15 ⲥ̣ⲁⲩ[. . .]ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ . . . . ⲡⲥⲁⲛ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ [. .]
16 [. . . . .] ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲱⲱϥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲣ̄ⲧ[ⲉ]
17 [. . . . .]. . . ⲁⲩⲙⲛ̣ⲧ̣ⲛ̣ⲁⲱⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟ̣ⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲛ[ⲏⲩ]
18 [. .]ⲟ̣ⲩⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ [ⲛⲉⲧ]ⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ ⲟⲩ[ⲛⲁⲃ]
19 ⲛ̄ⲥⲣ̄ⲧⲉ . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲥ[ⲧ]ⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲣ[ⲧⲉ]
20 ⲉⲥⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛ[ⲟ|ⲁ . .]. . ⲱ . . . ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲱⲱϥ [. . .]
21 . . . . ⲉϥⲣ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲟ ⲛ[. . . . .] ⲉϥⲏⲡ ⲛⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲧ . [. . .]
22 ⲥ̣ⲙ̣ ⲡ̣ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ . . . . . ⲓ̈ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲩⲭⲡ|ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲥⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄[ⲙⲉⲩ]
23 ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉϥⲛⲧⲟ̄ ⲁⲧⲙ[ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟ]|ⲁ leer Ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏ[ⲣ ⲉⲧ]
24 ⲥ̣ⲛ̄ ⲙ̣ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ϣⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ|ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡ[ⲟⲛ]
25 [ⲥⲛⲉⲩ] ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡ̣[ⲟⲛ ⲛ]
26 [ⲧ]ⲥⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ ⲡ|ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ ⲥ[ⲛⲉⲩ]
27 ⲛ̣ⲛ̣ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲃ̣ⲉ ⲧⲟⲩ☥ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲭ[ⲱⲃⲉ]
28 ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲧⲏⲣ̄ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ|ⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲁ
29 ⲅ̣ⲁ̣ⲡ̣ⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡ̣ⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲗⲉⲥ ⲁⲥⲁⲛ ⲡⲕⲉⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱ
30 [ⲡⲟⲛ ⲛ]ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲙ̣ⲗⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲟ̄ ⲛ̄[ⲥⲣⲏ]
31 [ⲛⲥⲏⲧ]ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̣ⲧⲡⲉ leer Ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲥⲱⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲥⲁ[ⲡ ⲉ]
32 [ⲧⲉⲕⲧ]ⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ[ⲕ] ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡ|ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲥⲟⲥⲟⲛ
33 [. . . . . .] ⲉⲧⲕ[. .]ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲉⲕⲣ[

Lies ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ.

des Lehrers.

. . . . die Wunde (πληγή). Gleichwie . . . . . .
. . . . so sind sie . .
. . . . . mancher nimmt die . . . . .
. . . . . — Durch das harte Wort . . .
. . . Wunde (πληγή), die durch die Heilmittel behandelt (θεραπεύειν) wird.
Die . . . . . der Menschen dagegen . . . . . .
. . . . . durch das gedemütigte Wort wie die . . . .
. . . . . heilen mit kühlem Heilmittel . . . . . .
. . . der Weise (σοφός) gleicht dem vernünftigen Arzt . . . .
. . . . ihn schildern, indem er gedemütigt ist gemäß
. . . . . in Demut. — Dieser, welcher ihn schildert . . .
. . . hat geschildert . . . . . damit . .
. . . . . die γνώμη der Gottheit. Denn auch . .
. . . . . damit er . . . .
. . . . . der Bruder in zwei Personen (πρόσωπον) . .
. . . . . Liebe (ἀγάπη), der andere aber in Furcht
. . . . . Frechheit in einem von seinen Brüdern . . .
Dummheit, er möge reden mit jenen in [großer]
Furcht . . . . Schlechtigkeit (κακία) und Haß. Aber Furcht
bringt zur Buße (μετάνοια) . . . . . Dieser aber . . . .
. . . indem er auch ist . . . . . indem er reden darf . . . . . .
in der Person . . . . . ? und weist jenen Bruder zurecht,
bis er ihn zur Buße (μετάνοια) bringt. — Denn die φωστῆρες
am Himmel werden offenbart in diesen [zwei] Personen
(πρόσωπον), in der Person (πρόσωπον) der Liebe (ἀγάπη) und der Person (πρόσωπον)
der Furcht. Sie werden offenbart in diesen [zwei] Personen (πρόσωπον)
der Mächte des Himmels, die in den Himmeln sind, wegen ihrer Seele,
die im All [umherfährt]. Denn in diesen zwei Erscheinungen (ist) die Person
(πρόσωπον) der
Liebe (ἀγάπη), welches die Schönheit und der Glanz ist, sowie die Person
(πρόσωπον) des Kampfes, die in ihnen ist, indem in ihnen geläutert werden
die Mächte des Himmels. — Du aber, wenn
du dich in diesen zwei Personen hinstellst, solange (ὅσον)
. . . . . die Wahrheit und die Lehre, die wacht, indem du[

[C]

[> ·] ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓ[ⲟⲛ · <]

1 [. .]ⲥⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲕ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̀ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲟⲩⲉ [ⲥⲁ ⲛⲉⲓ̈]
2 [ⲁⲩ]ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲟⲩⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲱ[. . . . .]
3 [. .] ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲏⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲉ[. . . . . .]
4 [ⲉⲣⲉ] ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲟ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̣ⲙ̣[ⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧ]
5 [ⲁⲣ]ⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲙ̣ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁ[ⲭⲟ]ⲟⲥ
6 [ⲭⲉ] ⲛⲁⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡ̣ⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁ[. .]. . .
7 [. .]ⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲭⲡⲓⲟ [. . .]. . .
8 [. . ⲛⲁ]ⲙ̣ⲏⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ leer
9 $\overline{\text{ⲡⲅ}}$
10 ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲇⲁⲓ̈[ⲱ]ⲩ
11 $\overline{\text{ⲡⲅ}}$ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙ̣ⲁ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲱⲩ $\overline{\text{ⲡⲅ}}$
12 ⲥⲱⲩ [ⲁⲉ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲩ†ⲩⲭⲏ]
13 [ⲦⲦⲁⲗⲓⲛ] ⲁⲛ ⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟ[ⲗ]ⲟⲥ [ⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲥⲛ]
14 [ⲟⲩ]ⲛⲁⲇ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲩⲥⲉ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲥⲛⲣ . . . . . [ⲥⲓ]ⲧⲥⲏ
15 [ⲛ]ⲛⲥⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ . . . . . ⲉ
16 [. .]ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛⲥⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲡⲣⲱⲧⲟⲡⲟⲗ[ⲓⲧⲏⲥ] ⲉⲩ
17 [ⲥⲙ]ⲉⲥⲧ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲱ[ⲡⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡⲉ] ⲁ̣ⲩ
18 [ⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉⲥⲏ ⲟⲩⲁ̣[ⲉ . .]
19 abgerieben ⲉ̣ⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲥⲱ[.]
20 [. . .]ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲟⲩ[ⲣⲱⲙⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲉⲩ
21 [ⲥⲱⲙ]ⲁ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲕ̣ⲥⲁⲡⲉ [ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲟⲩⲥⲉ] ⲏ ⲇ(?) ⲛⲕⲩⲣⲧ(?) . . .
22 [. .]ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲩⲭⲏ[ⲕ ⲥⲛ] ⲧⲉⲩⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛ[ⲏ ⲉⲧ]
23 [ⲟⲩ]ⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲩ̣ⲧ̣ⲱⲛ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏ[ⲉ]
24 [ⲛ]ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ̣ⲩⲱⲁⲱⲩ ⲁ̣ⲭ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ[ⲱⲧ]
25 [ⲥ]ⲓⲧⲉⲥⲏ ⲙⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲛⲓⲙⲏⲏ[ⲱⲉ ⲛ]
26 [ⲧ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲉⲩⲑⲉⲣⲁ ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲛⲉ[ⲓ̈ⲉⲧ]
27 [ⲟ]ⲩ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲱⲱ ⲁ̣
28 ⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲃⲏⲗ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲉⲩ†ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲣ[ⲟⲩ]
29 ⲃⲱⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲩ[ⲟ]
30 ⲛⲕⲁⲕⲥⲁⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲟⲩⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲃⲉ [ⲧⲏ]ⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ̣ [ⲁⲩⲭⲗ]
31 [ⲉⲩ]ⲁⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲉ[ⲧⲃⲏⲧⲩ]
32 ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧ̄ⲣⲥⲉⲗ ⲛ̄[.].[. . . . ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲥⲱ]
33 ⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧ̄ⲣ̄ ⲁⲡⲓⲉ̣ⲕ̣[ⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧ]

4 Lies ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲥⲟ

Die Kephalaia

durch dich selbst. Man wird dich heimlich [nach diesem]
und jenem fragen und nicht wird ihr Zorn sich [gegen dich?]
[erheben?]. Sondern wenn dein Herz und dein . . . . . .
wird dein Schatz dir an jenem Ort werden. Als
jener Lehrer das Wort hörte, sagte
er: Wahrlich, was sich ziemt, ist dies, mein Herr, ...
. . sagen zu mir. Ich weiß, daß wer zurechtweist, wird . . . .
. . in Wahrheit, er hat Sieg.

LXXXIII.

Über den Menschen, der häßlich ist an seinem Körper, dagegen schön ist [an seiner Seele].

[Wiederum] geschah es zu einer Zeit, als der Apostel [in einer] großen
Versammlung [saß], als . . . . . vor
den Lehrern und den Presbytern . . . . . .
. . . bei den Führern (ἡγεμών) und Honoratioren der Stadt (πρωτοπολίτης),
indem er sich niedersetzte in ihrer Mitte. Plötzlich kam ein
Elektus herein vor ihn . . .
. . . . . Elektus war er . .
. . seine Gebote (ἐντολή). Ein hässlicher [Mensch] ist er an seinem
[Körper], indem er . . . . . ist oder
. . in seiner Mitte. Aber er ist vollkommen [in] seiner heiligen
Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη). Ein Mensch ist er, der vollkommen ist in seiner Wahrheit.
Als er hereingekommen war, warf er sich auf die Erde nieder (und) beugte sich
vor dem Apostel in Liebe (ἀγάπη). Da blickten die Menschen-
mengen, die Edlen (εὐγενής) und die freien (ἐλευθέρα) (Frauen) auf
(und) sahen jenen Elekten, wie er in seiner Freude
aufschrie, sehr rief und pries. Als sie ihn
erblickten und sahen, daß er an seinem Körper häßlich war . . .
. . . . . lachten sie alle über ihn und [spotteten]
(χλευάζειν) über ihn. Sie sprachen [über ihn] miteinander
in Lachen und Spott . . . . . [Aber] jenes
Lachen, nicht verwirrte es [jenen Elektus,]

3 vgl. Mt. 6, 21 u. Parr. — 21 ⲕⲁⲕⲥⲁⲡⲡⲉⲛⲉⲗⲟⲩⲥⲉ ist unbekannt, vgl. Z. 30.

[ca]

> · ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <

1 [ⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱ]ⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩ⳨ⲉⲁⲩ[. . . . .]
2 [. . . . . .]ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣ[ⲉⲧⲩ]
3 [ⲍⲙ ⲡⲃ]ⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲍ[ⲙⲉ]ⲥⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲕⲟ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲁⲗⲩ [ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ]
4 [ⲁⲣⲁⲩ] ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲃⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩ[ⲛ] ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲭⲓ ⲡⲁⲥⲡⲁ[ⲥⲙⲟⲥ]
5 ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉⲕⲗⲉ[ⲕⲧⲟ]ⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲍⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲁⲡ[ⲓⲧⲛⲉ]
6 [. . . . . ⲁ]ⲩⲍⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲏⲙⲁ[. . . .]
7 ⲍⲟ . . ⲉ . . . . ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲩⲍⲥ̀ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲙ̄[ⲛ]
8 ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲉⲩⲑⲉⲣⲁ ⲉⲧⲍⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲍⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉⲍⲏ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲃ[ⲉ]
9 [ⲉ]ⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩⲁ]
10 ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟ̄ ⲁⲍⲣⲱⲧⲛⲉ ⲁ[ⲧⲣⲉⲧⲛ]
11 [ⲥ]ⲕⲉⲡⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ [. . . . .]
12 ⲧⲟⲗⲟ[ⲥ]. ⲉ . . ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲛⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ . . . . . .[. . . .]
13 ⲍⲡⲁ . . . . ⲍⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲓⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲑ ⲛ .[. . . . .]
14 [. . . . . .]ⲱⲩ ⲃⲓⲣⲁⲩ ⲃⲓⲣⲟ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲑ ⲙ̄ . .[. . . .]
15 [. . .] ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲉⲥⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲍⲙ̄ [ⲡⲉⲩ]
16 [ⲱ]ⲗⲏⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲫⲃⲓⲟ ⲉⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ [ⲁ]
17 [ⲩⲥ]ⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲥⲭⲏⲣ ⲉⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲥⲕⲁⲓ . . . . . .
18 . . . . . ⲛⲉⲥ ⲧⲍⲃⲓ̈ⲟ . . . ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲉⲩ . . .
19 [.]ⲩⲱⲭⲛ̇ [. . . . . .]ⲥⲓⲥ ⲙⲛ [. . . . . .]
20 [. . . . . .] ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲙⲛⲉ[ⲥ . . .]
21 [. . . .]. ⲛⲏⲧⲛ [. . . . . .] ⲉⲩⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ . . .[. .]
22 [. . . . . .] ⲉⲩⲭⲏⲕ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉⲓ̇ⲗⲟⲥ[. .]
23 [. . .]ⲉⲩ . . . . . ⲁⲩⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲱⲏⲙ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲱ[ⲩ .]
24 [. . .]. . . ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲍⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ ⲱⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁ[ⲗ .]
25 [. . .]. ⲉⲛ̇ . . . . ⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲡⲣⲟⲧⲟⲙⲏ ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ̈[. .]
26 [. . .]ⲗ̈ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲥⲃⲁⲗⲡ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲉ[ⲣⲉ]
27 ⲡⲥⲍⲏⲧ ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲍⲗⲗⲟ̣ [. .]
28 [. . .]. . ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲥⲱⲩ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ[ⲁⲃ ⲛ]
29 [ⲛⲁⲃⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲍ[ⲁ]ⲧⲙ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡ[ⲥⲏⲣ]
30 [ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲟⲓⲛ]ⲱⲛⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧ[. .]
31 [. . . . . .] ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲍⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ̣ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ

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24 Lies ⲡⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄.

Über der Seite stehen in kleinerer Schrift nachgetragen zwei Zeilen. Ein Pfeil weist auf sie hin.]ⲡⲏⲧ . . . ⲛⲉⲩ . ⲉⲓⲛⲉ [. . . .]ⲣⲟⲱ
]ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ

des Lehrers.

[der sich niederwarf] zu aller Zeit, indem er pries
. . . . . dagegen, der Herrliche, stand [auf]
[vom] βῆμα, auf dem er saß. Er zog ihn an sich, nahm ihn
[zu sich], drückte ihn an seinen Körper, indem er von jenem
Elekten geküßt (ἀσπασμός) wurde und setzte sich nieder.
. . . . . er setzte sich aber auf sein βῆμα . . . .
. . . . . und die ganze Versammlung der Edlen (εὐγενής) und
der freien (ἐλευθέρα) (Frauen), die vor ihm saß, er sprach zu ihnen: Weshalb lacht ihr über diesen Menschen, in dem der Licht-
Νοῦς und der Glaube wohnt. Was ist euch, daß ihr Überlegungen
anstellt (σκέπτεσθαι) wegen eines Menschen, der an seinem Körper häßlich ist . . .
Apostel . . . bei euch wegen des Fleisches (σάρξ) . . . . . .
. . . . . draußen; drinnen aber ist ein großer . . . . .
. . . . . ist gleich einem großen . . . . . .
. . . indem er nicht Lohn hat in seinen Werken, in [seinem]
Gebet, seinem Fasten (νηστεία) und seiner Demut, indem er gleicht
einem scharfen Schwerte, das verzehrt hat . . . . . .
. . . . . ihr Demut . . . die (plur.) ihr seht . . .
er vergeht . . . . . und . . . .
. . . . . der Alte Mensch . .
. . . . euch . . . . . er bildet (ζωγραφεῖν) . . . .
. . . . . indem er vollkommen ist in seinen Gliedern (μέλος)
. . . . . ein kleiner königlicher Knabe, der schön ist
. . . . Gestalt, indem die Schönheit und . . . . . geraubt worden ist
. . . . . das Bild (προτομή), das aufgestellt ist
. . . indem es euch offenbar und euch bekannt ist, dann hätte
ihr Herz euch nicht (dazu) gebracht, diesen Greis zu verlachen . .
. . . . . Denn wer ihn verlacht, hat eine [große]
[Sünde] bei Gott. Denn der [Heiland] sprach:
[Wer Anteil] gibt (κοινωνεῖν) einem dieser kleinen Gläubigen (πιστός), die
. . . . . ihr Engel sieht das Gesicht des Vaters täglich

24 Zu ⲙⲛⲧϩⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ vgl. 132, 3; 162, 4.

[cB]

[> ·] N[kε]φαλαιον [· <]

1 [. . .]THPOY CWTME AN|CEXẹ [. . . . . .]
2 [. .]TEOYAY ETBE Π|EKΛEKTOC [. . . . . .]
3 [. . .]OY AŸωρME N̄CωϤ AϤP̄ẹ [. . .]. . . . . .
4 [. . .]ϣωΠΕ N̄ϤϣωΠΕ NAϩPEY ṆTϩE N̄N [. . . . . .]
5 [. . .]M̄MHE EPE TECECOY ϪHϤ [. . .]. . . . M̄MẹϤ ϩ
6 [. . .]ε AϪωϤ N̄TAPOYω AYϩMECT ϩ[. . . . . .]
7 [ε]ṛε NεϤMAΘHTHC TωK APETOY AY[OYωϣT EYϪω M]
8 ṇAC APAϤ AϪIC APAN ΠN̄ϪÄIC Ϫε NIṆ . . . . ẹCE
9 [. . .]AYϣωΠΕ N̄εϣ N̄ϩE N̄CεΠΛACCE M̄MAY ϩṆ . . . . CC .
10 [. . . . Πϩ]ϪEY M̄ΦωCTHP AY Ϫε EϣAPE M̄MAPΓAP|THC ϣṛ
11 [. . . . .] ϩN̄ MA N|M ϩN ΘΑΛΑCCA OYTE EYΠΛẹCCẹ [MMAY]
12 [ϩN Θϩ]ΛACCA THPC̄ ΑΛΛΑ ϩM MA MA NETϣOOΠ ϩṆ ϮΘϩ
13 [ΛACC]A EYΠΛACCE N̄ϩHTC̄ NM̄MAPΓAP|THC . . . . ε+
14 . . .[ΘΑΛΑCCA] ETM̄MEY TETEϣAYΠ[ΛACCE NϩHT]C̣ N̄N
15 . . . . . MΠETE TËMNT . . .[. . . . . .]
16 . . . . . ẹM ΠE ΠETEϣAPE ΘΑΛΑCCA . . . . . Ϫ . . .
17 . o . . . ε . . MN ΠECPωXϩ̄ BωϩT̄ AϩPḦ N̄ϤE| . . . .
18 . . . . . NϤṛϩBHTE NTϩE NTTΛ+ΛE MMAY ETϩE+E
19 . . . . Y AΠ|TNE ϩM̄ ΠMOYN̄ϩWOY M[. . . . .]
20 [. . . . . .]ṇE ΠMOYN̄[. . . . . .]
21 [. . . . . A]Π|TN̄ NϣAPΠ[. . . . . .]
22 [. .]ϩBHTE N̄CεE| AΠ|TN̄ [. . . . . .]
23 [. .] MMOŸEYE ETϩAΛEΘ M[. . . . . .]
24 [. . .] MMOŸEYE ϣAPE +TΛ+ΛE [MMAY . . . . . .]
25 [A]Π|TNE AN|MOŸEYE ETϩAΛΘ MN . . .ϩ [. . . . . .]
26 ṆCEϣAΠOY APAY N̄CEΘΛAMΛM̄ MN N[. . . . . .]
27 [B]ϣK AΠ|TNE AΠϣ|XϩϤ̄ N̄ΘΑΛΑCCA ẠΛΛẠ Ạϒ[. . . .]
28 [. .] ETAϩΛAŸΛE N̄ΤΠE NM̄MOŸEYE [. . . . . .]
29 [. .]ạρAC ϣAYΠΛACCE N̄TBHTE M̄N ΠϪEK . . .[. . . .]
30 [. .]. . . NϪ| +TΛ+ΛE ECOYAX EM . . . YANP̄Π[. . . . .]
31 . . . . . ε M̄MAC N̄Cρ̄ OYMAPΓ[AP|THC . . . . . .]
32 ϩωωC ETε|PE OYTΛ+ΛE M̄MOYNϩṛ [. . . . . .]
33 M̄MOŸEYE unklar

5 Statt ϪHϤ lies ϪHK. — 6 Lies N̄TAPOYOYωϩ?

Die Kephalaia

1 . . alle hörten diese Worte, [die der Apostel]
2 verkündete über diesen Elekten . . . . . .
3 . . . . sie schauten auf ihn, er . . . . . .
4 . . . . . und er wird bei ihnen wie die . . . . . .
5 . . . wahr, indem ihr (fem.) Preis vollkommen ist . . . . . .
6 . . . . auf ihm, als sie sich niederließen und setzten . . . . . .
7 indem seine Schüler hintraten, [sich verneigten] (und)
8 zu ihm [sprachen]: Sage uns, o Herr, ...
9 . . . wie sie wurden, und sie gebildet (πλάσσειν) werden . . . . .
10 . . . sie sprachen . . . . . : Die Perlen μαργαρίτης)
11 entstehen nicht (?) an allen Orten im Meer (θάλασσα) noch werden sie im ganzen Meere (θάλασσα)
12 gebildet (πλάσσειν). Sondern einzelne Orte, die sich im Meere
13 befinden, die Perlen (μαργαρίτης) werden in ihm (dem Meer) gebildet (πλάσσειν) . . . . .
14 . . jenes Meer, in [dem gebildet (πλάσσειν)] werden die
15 . . . . . .
16 . . . . . was das Meer . . . . . .
17 . . . . . und ihr Feuer flammt empor und kommt . . .
18 . . . . und es wird zur Muschel wie der Wassertropfen, der fließt
19 . . . hinab im Regenwasser . . . . . .
20 . . . . . ist das Wasser . . . . . .
21 . . . . hinab zuerst . . . . . .
22 . . Muschel und kommen herab . . . . . .
23 . . süße Wasser (plur.) . . . . . .
24 . . Wasser (plur.). Der [Wasser]tropfen . . . . . .
25 hinab in die süßen Wasser und . . . . . .
26 und sie nehmen sie auf und umschlingen die . . . . . .
27 gehen hinab in die Tiefe des Meeres, aber . . . . . .
28 . . die auf dem Wasser geschwommen ist . . . . . .
29 . . zu ihr. Man bildet (πλάσσειν) die Muschel und die Schale . . . .
30 . . . . . der heile Tropfen . . . . . .
31 . . . . . und sie wird eine Perle (μαργαρίτης) . . . . . .
32 . . die ein Regentropfen wird . . . . . .
33 Wasser *unklar*

[cr]

ⲙ̀ⲡⲥⲁϩ

1 ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁϫ ⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲥⲡⲱϣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥ̄ⲱⲣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁϩⲛ̄ⲧⲗ+ⲗⲉ [ⲉ]
2 ⲛⲁϣⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥ̄ⲭⲓ ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲱ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲗ+ⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉϩⲥⲁⲗⲟ [. . .]
3 ⲛ̣ⲥⲉⲓ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧϩⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲛϩⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲣ[. . . .]
4 [ⲙ]ⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲛ̄ϩⲱⲗⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥ̣ⲉⲱⲙⲥ̀ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲃ̣ⲏⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ[ⲱⲁ]
5 ⲥⲟ ⲛ̄ϩⲃⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲱⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲭⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲙ̄[ⲡⲓ]
6 ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲅⲁⲣ[ⲧⲏⲥ]
7 ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉ[ⲓ]ⲇⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲧⲁ̈ⲁ̈ⲧ ⲉⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟ̣ⲩ
8 ⲧⲗ+ⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲛ̄ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉ[ⲓ] ⲁⲡ[ⲓ]ⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ +ⲧⲗ+ⲗⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄
9 ⲙⲉⲩ ⲡⲱⲱⲉ ⲁϩⲛⲧⲗ+ⲗⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲩ ⲁϩⲛⲭⲗⲁⲱ ⲭⲗⲁⲱ
10 ⲱⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲁϩⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲅⲁⲣ[ⲧⲏⲥ]
11 [ⲉ]ⲛⲁⲱⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲃⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲭⲉⲕ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲉⲫⲁ̣[ⲡⲗⲁⲥ]
12 ⲥ̣ⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲅⲁⲣ[ⲧⲏⲥ] ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲉⲫⲁⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲙⲧⲉ
13 ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲉⲫⲁⲡ̣ⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲛ̄+ⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲉⲫⲁⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲕ̀ ϩⲟⲩ̣ⲟ̣ ⲁ̣
14 ⲛⲉⲓ ⲟⲩ[ⲁⲛ ⲉⲫⲁ]ⲃⲱϫⲃⲉ ⲁⲛⲉ̈ leer ⲧⲧⲥⲁⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲕ̣ⲁ̣[ⲃⲛ ⲟⲩ]
15 ⲧⲗ+ⲗⲉ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁϫ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧϩⲏⲧⲉ ϫ[ⲓ]ⲧⲥ̀ ⲱⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟ ⲙ̣[ⲙⲁⲣ]
16 ⲅⲁⲣ[ⲧⲏⲥ] ⲉⲥⲧⲁ̈ⲁ̈ⲧ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲥⲉⲥⲟⲩ ϫⲏⲕ̀ ⲧⲧⲥⲁⲡ [ⲇⲉ]
17 [ϩⲱ]ⲱϥ ⲉⲣⲉ +ⲧⲗ+ⲗⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲱ ⲁⲛⲉ̣ⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ
18 ⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲗⲁⲱ ⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲱϩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ[ⲉⲩⲉ]
19 [ⲣ]ⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲃⲏⲧⲉ [. . . . .] ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲡⲱⲱⲉ ⲱⲁ[. . . .]
20 . . . ⲙⲁ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲥⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ [. . . . . .] ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲉⲓⲇⲟⲥ . . . .
21 . . ⲙⲏ ⲙ̄[ⲙ]ⲉⲩ . . . . . ⲧⲗ+ⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲛϩⲱⲩ ⲉⲧ . . .
22 [. . . . . .]ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲕ . . ⲡⲉ [. . .]
23 [. . . . . .] . . . ⲙ̣[ⲙ]ⲟ̣ⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ . . .
24 ϩ̣ⲛ̣ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ϫⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲧⲁ̈ⲁ̈ⲧ leer ϵⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲁ̣[ⲛⲁⲕ]
25 [ⲁⲓ]ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲉⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲧϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲅⲁⲣⲓ
26 [ⲧⲏⲥ] ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲁ̈ⲓⲟⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ϫⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲟ̣ⲩⲙⲁⲣ
27 [ⲅⲁ]ⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲱⲙⲡⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲛϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁϥⲭⲓ [ⲟⲩ]
28 ⲁ̣ⲓⲱ ⲁⲧϩⲃⲏⲧⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲭⲉⲕ ⲱⲙⲡⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲧϩⲃⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ
29 ⲧⲉ ⲧϩⲃⲏⲧⲉ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲱⲙⲡⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲭⲱⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡ . . . .
30 ⲛ̣ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ leer ⲧⲟⲧⲉ +ⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩ . . . .
31 [. . . . .] ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲭⲁⲗⲕ̣ⲙⲉ ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲱⲁⲩⲡ . . ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ
32 [. . . . . .]ⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲛⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ [ⲛⲥ]ⲉⲛ̄ ⲙⲁⲣⲅ̣ⲁ

5 B in ϩⲃⲏⲧⲉ über der Zeile. — 11 Lies ϩⲃⲏⲧⲉ vgl. 4. 19. — 15 Lies ϩⲃⲏⲧⲉ — 28 vgl. 5.

des Lehrers.

1 indem sie nicht heil ist. Sie zerlegt und verteilt sich auf viele
2 Tropfen, gelangt sie aber zu einem süßen Wassertropfen . . .,
3 kommt sie herauf im Meere (θάλασσα) des . . . . Regens
4 und des . . . . und wird eingetaucht in die Schale, die zuerst (nur)
5 Schale ist. Sie vermischen sich miteinander zu dieser
6 Zeit, werden gestaltet (πλάσσειν) und werden eine große Perle (μαργαρίτης),
7 eine große wertvolle Art (εἶδος). Wenn aber ein
8 Regentropfen herabkommt, und jener Regentropfen
9 sich in viele Tropfen und einzelne . . . teilt,
10 werden sie gestaltet (πλάσσειν) und bestimmt für viele
11 Perlen (μαργαρίτης) in der Schale und der Muschel. Manche gestaltet (πλάσσειν)
12 zwei Perlen (μαργαρίτης), manche gestaltet (πλάσσειν) drei,
13 manche gestaltet fünf, manche bildet mehr,
14 manche weniger. — Wenn du einen heilen
15 Tropfen findest, und die Schale nimmt ihn auf, dann wird er eine große
16 wertvolle Perle (μαργαρίτης), deren Preis vollkommen ist. — Wenn [aber]
17 diese zwei Tropfen zu einander gelangen,
18 bevor ein . . . . aus ihnen entweicht, und sie sich miteinander vermischen,
19 und die Schale . . . ., bevor sie sich teilen in . . .
20 . . . . inneren . . . . große Arten (εἶδος)
21 . . . . . Regentropfen . . . .
22 . . . . . ein anderer, der . . . . . .
23 . . . . . die Wasser bilden sie in . .
24 in einer wertvollen Sache (χρῆμα). — Siehe,
25 ich habe euch unterrichtet, wie die Meeresperlen (μαργαρίτης, θάλασσα)
26 gestaltet (πλάσσειν) werden. Ich habe zu euch gesagt: Eine Perle
27 (μαργαρίτης) entsteht durch das Regenwasser, das in die Schale
28 gelangt, die Muschel entsteht durch die Schale,
29 die Schale dagegen entsteht durch das Durchqueren (?) und das . . .
30 des Meeres. — Darauf jetzt in dem Augenblick (καιρός) . . . . .
31 . . . . . die Taucher kennen sie (die Muschel), sie . . . und
32 tauchen (?) . . . . . hinab zu jenen Orten und bringen

4 ⲙⲟⲩⲛϩⲱⲗϭ unbekannt. — 9 ϫⲗⲁⲩ unbekannt. Wohl Synonym zu ⲧⲗⲏⲗⲉ. — 18 vgl. 9.

ⲥⲇ

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

ⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲓⲭⲍⲩ̄ ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ
[ⲡ]ⲭⲁⲗⲕⲙ̄ⲉ ⲡⲭⲁⲗⲕⲙ̄ⲉ ⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲉⲩⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲧ
[ⲧⲏ]ⲱ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲗⲕⲙⲉ [ⲧ]ⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲱⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ
[ⲱⲁ]ⲧⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲣ̄ⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲙⲙⲉⲅⲓⲥⲧⲁⲛⲟⲥ leer
[Ⲧ]ⲍⲉ ⲍ]ⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄
[ⲁⲣⲁ]ⲥ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲥⲁⲩⲍⲥ̀ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲛ̄
ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲩⲍⲥ̀ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲭⲉⲥⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲑⲁ
ⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲛⲥⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ †ⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ
[ⲍ]ⲱⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲧⲃⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲭⲉⲕ
[Ⲧ]ⲍⲁⲣⲡⲁⲅⲏ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲧⲁⲣⲡⲥ̀ ⲉⲥⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲧⲧⲗ†[ⲗⲉ ⲙ]
[ⲡⲙ]ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲛⲭⲁⲗⲕⲙ̄ⲉ
ⲛⲉⲱⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲙⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲅⲓ
ⲥ[ⲧⲁⲛ]ⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲟ leer [Ⲉ]ⲡⲉⲓⲁ[ⲏ] ⲙ̄†ⲩⲭⲁⲩ
ⲉ [ⲧⲏ]ⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧ[ⲙⲛ]ⲧ[ⲣⲱⲙⲉ]ⲉ ⲛⲥⲉ
ⲣ[ⲃⲁⲗ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲱⲁⲩⲧⲍⲡⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲓ
ⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲟ leer N̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛⲉ ⲍⲱⲧⲧⲏⲛ[ⲉ ⲛⲁ]
ⲙ[ⲉⲣⲉ]ⲧⲉ ⲥⲱⲭⲉ ⲛⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣ̄ ⲍⲙⲙⲁⲣⲅⲁⲣ|
ⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲩⲁⲛ|ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲡ ⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲍ|ⲓ̣ⲧⲙ̄ ⲡⲭⲁⲗⲕⲙ̄ⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛ
ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲉ| ⲍ|ⲣⲉⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲡⲟ[ⲧⲏⲛ]ⲉ ⲁ . . ⲟⲩ . . ⲛⲁⲟ [ⲛ]
ⲁⲣⲭ|ⲉⲙⲡⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲱⲁ ⲁ
[ⲛⲏ]ⲍⲉ Ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ . . . . . [. . . . . .]
[. .] . . . ⲙⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ . . leer

$\overline{\text{π[ⲁ]}}$

$\overline{\text{π[ⲁ]}}$ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲗⲉⲥ $\overline{\text{π[ⲁ]}}$
ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲥⲍⲛ ⲡⲍⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ

Ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲏⲩ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉ
ⲧⲩ ⲙⲡⲙⲏⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱⲛ̄ⲧⲩ̄ ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ [ⲁ]
ⲣⲁⲩ †ⲧⲱⲃⲍ ⲙⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲧ ⲁⲃⲁ[ⲗ]
ⲭⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲟ ⲁⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛ̄
ⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲁⲃⲉⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲃⲱ ⲱ[ⲁ]ⲕⲟⲛⲧ[ⲩ]
ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ [ⲱ]ⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲩ[. . . . . .]
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲍ[ⲟⲩ]ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲩⲁⲧⲁⲱ[ⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ . . . . . .]

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6 ⲍ in ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ nachträglich zwischen die beiden ⲛ̄ eingeschoben. — 7 ⲥ in ⲭⲉⲥⲧⲥ̀ über der Zeile. — 9 vgl. 203,11. 28. — 15 ⲍ ist in ⲧⲍⲡⲁⲩ nachgetragen.

Die Kephalaia

Perlen (μαργαρίτης) herauf aus der Tiefe des Meeres (θάλασσα), und jeder Taucher findet entsprechend seinem Glück (τύχη), entsprechend dem, was ihm bestimmt ist. Die Taucher geben sie den Kaufleuten und die Kaufleute wiederum geben sie den Königen und den Vornehmen (μεγιστᾶνος). — Damit ist die heilige Kirche (ἐκκλησία) zu vergleichen,
die eingesammelt wird aus der Lebendigen Seele;
und man sammelt sie und bringt sie zur Höhe und erhebt sie aus dem Meere (θάλασσα) und legt sie hin in dem Fleisch (σάρξ) der Menschheit, während das Fleisch (σάρξ) der Menschheit selbst der Schale und der Muschel gleicht. — Die Beute (ἁρπαγή) aber, die geraubt wird, ist dem Regentropfen gleich, während die Apostel den Tauchern gleichen.
Die Kaufleute sind die Erleuchter (φωστήρ) der Himmel. Die Könige und die Vornehmen (μεγιστᾶνος) sind die Äonen der Größe. — Denn alle Seelen, die im Fleisch (σάρξ) der Menschheit empor kommen und entweichen, werden zu den großen Äonen des Lichtes geleitet, und ein Ruheort entsteht für sie an jenem Ort in den Äonen der Größe. — Ihr, eurerseits, meine Geliebten, ringt (?) auf jede Weise darum, daß ihr gute Perlen (μαργαρίτης) werdet und zum Himmel gerechnet werdet vom Lichttaucher, und er zu euch kommt und euch geleitet zu dem großen Oberkaufmann (ἀρχιέμπορος), und ihr ruht im Leben ewiglich.
Ihr habt . . . . . ,
. . . . . und das Licht. —

LXXXIV.

Über die Weisheit, daß sie auf der Zunge bedeutender ist, als wenn sie im Herzen des Menschen ist.

Wiederum zu einer Zeit stand einer von den Jüngern vor dem Apostel auf (und) fragte ihn, indem er zu ihm sprach:
Ich bitte dich, mein Herr, daß du mir verkündest:
Siehe, wenn der Mensch belehrt wird über die Weisheit (σοφία) in seinem Herzen und er sie versiegelt in seiner Lehre, dann findest du, daß er sich sehr über sich freut, aber seine . . . .
zu ihm, mehr noch, wenn er predigt . . . . . .

[ce]

> · ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

1 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲥ ⲯⲁⲩⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ [ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ]
2 [ⲉ]ⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲯⲁⲥⲣ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲛⲥ̀ⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃ̣[ⲁⲗ ⲛⲁ]
3 ϩⲣⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲉ
4 Ⲧⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲏⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ[ⲡⲟ]
5 ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲫ̄ⲣⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ . . . . . .
6 ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲫⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ϫⲉ ⲧⲥ̣[ⲟ]ⲫ̣ⲓ
7 ⲁ̣ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲉⲥⲥⲏⲣ ⲁϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲥϫⲏⲕ ϩ̣ⲛ [ⲧ]ⲁ
8 ⲫⲩϫⲏ ⲙⲁⲥⲃⲛ ⲧϩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ϩⲛ [ⲟ]ⲩ
9 [ⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲉⲯⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲯⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄
10 ⲧⲁⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲉ̈ⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁϩⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ
11 ⲫⲧⲁⲯⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲓ̈ⲫ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲯⲧⲉ [ⲛ]
12 ϩⲛⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲯⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲟⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉⲥ ⲁⲛⲏ
13 ϩⲉ ϩⲛ̄[ⲛⲁ]ϩⲣⲉⲩ ⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲯⲁⲓ̣ⲣ̄ⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩⲙⲏ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ [ⲡ]ⲁ
14 [ϩ]ⲏⲧ ϛ̣ⲱⲕ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉ⸗ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⸗ⲛⲟⲩ [⸗ⲧⲱⲃϩ]
15 [ⲙ]ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ̣ [ⲉⲩ ⲛ]
16 [ϩ]ⲱⲃ ⲯⲁⲣⲉ ⸗ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲣ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉ⸗
17 [ⲧ]ⲉⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲧⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ leer Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ
18 [ⲡ]ⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ
19 [ⲉ]ⲕⲯⲓⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲓⲅⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲫ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲯⲛ̄ⲧⲩ [ϫⲉ] ⲉ
20 ⲯⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲯⲉ ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲙ̣ⲏ̣ⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲉ ⲛ⸗ⲥⲟ
21 ⲫⲓⲁ ⲉ⸗ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ . . . . ⲉ̣ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲣⲱⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉ
22 [⸗]ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲁ̣ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲥ̀ⲕⲁⲁⲧ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ[ⲁϩⲏⲧ]
23 [ⲛ]ⲧⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧⲕ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲯⲉ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧ
24 [ⲥ]ⲱⲧⲙ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲯⲁⲩⲣⲉⲯⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲛⲩ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̣ⲛⲉ
25 [ⲛϩ]ⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲯⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲙ ⲉⲥⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ leer
26 [Ⲉⲣⲉ] ⲡ̣ⲓϩⲱⲃ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛ̄ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲧϩⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲛⲗⲓ
27 [ⲗⲟ]ⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲩⲧ ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲕⲁⲗⲁϩⲏ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲉⲩ
28 [. . . ⲉⲩ]ⲥⲃⲗⲧⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲁⲧⲉ
29 [ⲧⲙ]ⲉⲉⲩ ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲣⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ ϫⲉ ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲉⲧ
30 [ⲙⲙⲁ]ⲩ ⲩⲁⲛⲥ̀ ϩⲓϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲥⲣⲉⲯⲉ ⲁϫⲱⲩ ⲯⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ
31 [ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟ]ⲩ ⲉⲧϛ̣ⲁϫⲡⲁⲩ ⲛⲩ̄ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ
32 [ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲁϫ ⲁ]ⲣ̣ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲉⲩϫⲏⲕ ϩⲙ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ϫⲱⲣⲓⲥ ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲃⲉ

13 ⸗ⲓ̈ über der Zeile.

des Lehrers.

und sie verkündigt, leuchtet er durch sie, jene [Weisheit]
(σοφία) erglänzt noch mehr in ihm und wird offenbar
bei ihm, und er zieht (φορεῖν) durch sie Kraft und Wahrheit an. —
Da sprach jener Jünger vor dem Apo-
stel: Ich weiß (αἰσθάνεσθαι) . . . . . .:
Das Wort, das ich gesprochen habe, besteht (zu Recht). Ich weiß, daß die Weisheit (σοφία),
die ich gelehrt habe, indem sie ausgebreitet ist über mein Herz, indem sie vollkommen ist in
meiner Seele, nicht zu erglänzen vermag in mir, so daß ich sie sehe im
Wachsen, außer (εἰμήτι) wenn ich sie predige mit
meinem Munde, indem ich sie andern verkünde. Wenn ich sie
nun predige, indem ich sie andern zu hören gebe in die
Ohren, werde ich wie diese, als ob ich sie (fem.) nie gehört hätte
in [meinen] Tagen des Werdens. Ich werde sehr begierig (ἐπιθυμεῖν), und mein
Herz wird zu der Weisheit (σοφία) hingezogen, die ich verkündige. — Jetzt [bitte ich]
dich, mein Herr, daß du mich unterrichtest, wes-
wegen die Weisheit (σοφία) bei mir zunimmt, wenn ich
sie verkünde, mehr als wenn sie in mein Herz versiegelt ist. — Da
sprach der Apostel zu jenem Jünger: Schön (καλῶς)
fragst du. Denn (καίγαρ) groß ist das Wort, das du gefragt hast,
woher diese große Freude bei mir ist wegen der Weisheit (σοφία),
die ich verkünde . . ., indem sie größer ist in meinem Munde, wenn
ich sie verkünde, als wenn sie sich in [meinem Herzen] befindet.
Du selber bist in Freude durch sie. Aber auch der andere, der
sie von dir hört, freut sich durch sie und wird durch sie
erleuchtet. Er empfängt durch sie bleibende Kraft. —
Denn mit der Sache steht es so wie mit einem kleinen
Knaben, der empfangen ist im Leibe seiner Mutter, der
. . . hinfällt in der Scheide seiner Mutter und ausfüllt ihre Scheide.
Die Mutter weiß und erkennt (αἰσθάνεσθαι), daß der Knabe, mit dem sie
schwanger ist, in ihr lebt. Sie freut sich über ihn bis
zu der Stunde, wo sie ihn gebiert und er aus ihr lebendig herauskommt, indem seine
[Glieder (μέλος) an] ihm [heil] und vollkommen sind in ihrer Schönheit ohne (χωρίς) Fehler

vgl. 94,30 ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲡ ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ. — 13 vgl. 22,25. — 32 ⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲉ vgl. Hymn. (Index).

[65]

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 [ⲥⲙ] ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲥⲧⲁⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉⲉ̣
2 [ⲧⲁ]ⲛⲧ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲩ̄
3 [ⲛ̄ⲩ̄]ⲙⲁϩ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲉⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩ̄ⲥⲉϫⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩϩⲣⲁⲩ
4 [ⲉⲧ]ⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲡⲁ̣ⲩ̣ leer ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ
5 [ⲧ]ⲉ ⲧⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗ̣ⲓⲗⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲥⲕⲁⲗⲁϩⲏ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⳇ
6 [ⲧⲟ]ⲛ̣ⲱ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲉⲥⲉⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲧϩⲉ
7 [ⲙ]ⲡ̣ⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲁϫⲡⲁⲩ ⲛⲥ̀ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲥ̀ⲙⲟⲩϩ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲩ
8 [ⲥⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲗⲁϩⲗⲉϩ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ
9 [ⲧ]ⲩ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲣ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲩ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉ ⲛ̄
10 [ⲥ]ⲁⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲥⲁϫⲡⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ leer ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇ[ⲏ]
11 ⲙ̣ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲥⲕⲁⲗⲁϩⲏ ⲛⲉⲣ[ⲉ]
12 [ⲡ]ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡ̈ⲱⲣϩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲉⲗ ϩⲙⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙ[ⲉ]
13 [ⲉ]ⲩ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲥϫⲡⲁⲩ ⲁⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲉⲩ
14 ⲗ[ⲁ]ϩⲗⲉϩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲓ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ̄ ⲛⲃ[ⲉⲗ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩ!
15 ⲱ[ⲧ ⲙ]ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲩⲛⲅⲉⲛⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄ ⲱⲁⲩⲣⲉⲱ[ⲉ]
16 ⲁϫⲱⲩ̣ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩϩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ [ⲛ]
17 ϩ̣ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ϩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲓⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣϯⲥ leer
18 Κⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛ̄ ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ̈ⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟϕⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ [ⲥⲙ]
19 ⲡϩⲏⲧ ⲙ̣ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲥⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲁⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉ[ⲉⲧ]
20 ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲛ ⲧⲕⲁⲗⲁϩⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩ leer ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲉ̣
21 ⲧ̣ⲩ̣ⲁ̣ϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲩ̄ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲥ ϩ̣ⲙ̣ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲉ [ⲙ]
22 ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲁⲡⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉ leer
23 Τϩⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ̈ⲓ ⲛⲧⲥⲟϕⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲩϫ̣[ⲱ]
24 ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲱⲁⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩ[ⲟ]
25 ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲥⲉⲁⲩ ⲕⲱⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲥⲁ
26 ⲓⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲡⲣ̈ⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ̄ ⲃⲉⲗ [ⲛ]
27 [ⲛ]ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲛ ⲱⲁⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲉⲕ . . .
28 . . ⲗⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲛⲕⲣⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲕⲧ̣ⲉⲟⲩ[ⲟ]
29 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ leer Ττⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲟϕⲓⲁ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ [ⲙ]
30 ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲥϩⲏⲡ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡϩⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ [ϩⲁⲧ]
31 ϩⲛ̣ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲥ ⲉⲥⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄[ⲡⲡⲣ̈ⲓⲉ]
32 ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲏⲡ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲱⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲉ ⲇ̣[ⲉ] ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲙ̣[ⲟⲩϩ]
33 ϩⲁ ⲡⲡⲣ̄ⲓⲉ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲧϩⲃⲥⲱ ϩⲱⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧ[ⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ]
34 ⲙⲡⲱⲉ ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲕⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ[. . . . . .]

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1 In ⲛⲉⲉⲩ vor dem ersten ⲉ ein ⲁ ausradiert. — ⲉⲩ in ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉⲥⲧ. über der Zeile. — 26 Lies ⲛⲃⲉⲗ.

Die Kephalaia

[in (?)] der Lebendigen Luft (ἀήρ), die weit ist, die größer in ihrer Weite
ist als die erste Luft, in der er sich befand,
[und er] seine Augen füllt mit Licht und redet mit seiner Lebendigen
Stimme wie die, welche geboren worden sind. — Zu der Zeit nun,
da das Weib schwanger ist mit dem Knaben in ihrem Leib, ist ihre Freude
nicht so (?) groß, indem sie ihn empfangen hat in ihrer Scheide, wie
zu dem Augenblick (καιρός), da sie ihn gebiert und ihn sieht und seine Schönheit
erblickt und seinen Glanz (?) in einem Moment (?). Die Liebe (ἀγάπη)
zu ihm und die Freude über ihn wird (dann) 100-fach größer, wenn sie ihn
gebiert und ihn sieht, als die worin er war. — Denn
in der ersten Zeit, da sie mit ihm schwanger ging in ihrem Leibe, war
seine Schönheit und der Blick seiner Augen vor seiner Mutter
verborgen. Als sie ihn aber gebar und seine Schönheit sah, kam sein
Glanz (?) und seine . . . . . (?) vor die Augen seines Vaters,
seiner Mutter und seiner gesamten Verwandtschaft (συγγένεια). Sie freuen sich
über ihn immer mehr, wenn sie auf ihn blicken
von Angesicht zu Angesicht sowie seine Schönheit und das von ihm ausgehende
Ergötzen (τέρψις) sehen. —
Durch dieses Gleichnis ist die Weisheit (σοφία) gekennzeichnet, die sich im
Herzen des Menschen befindet, indem sie dem Lebendigen Knaben gleicht, der
im Leibe
seiner Mutter empfangen ist. — Wenn er aber
sie lehrt und sie in ihr (plur.) Herz siegelt, ist sie wie
der Knabe, der geboren wird, so daß man seine Schönheit sieht. —
So steht es mit der Weisheit (σοφία), die der Mensch verkündet, indem er sie
ausspricht aus seinem Herzen. Sie nimmt immer mehr zu.
Ihre Größe und ihre Herrlichkeit verdoppelt sich, wenn die Schönheit
und der Glanz des Wortes offenbar wird vor den Augen derer,
die es hören und es wächst vor dir . . . . .
deiner Hörorgane und du wunderst dich über das, was du
verkündest. — Wiederum steht es mit der Weisheit (σοφία)
folgendermaßen: Wenn sie im Herzen des Menschen verborgen ist, be-
vor er sie verkündet hat, gleicht sie dem [Glanze]
des Feuers, das im Holz verborgen ist. Jenes Holz aber wird [verbrannt]
von dem Glanz des Feuers. Das Kleid des Feuers dagegen, [das sich] im Holz
[befindet], wird nicht offenbar. Du wirst nun sehen [. . . . .]

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14 Zu ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ vgl. 132, 3; 162, 4, vgl. auch Hymn.-Index. — 17 Zur Auffassung von ⲧⲉⲣⲯⲓⲥ vgl. Preisigke, Sammelbuch 58, 10 Z. 17.

cz

> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

ⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲁⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲧⲣⲉ[ⲩⲧⲣⲟⲩ]
ⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲡ|ⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ϩⲟⲥⲟⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ϩ|ϩⲟⲩⲛ [. . .]
[ⲃ]ⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲧⲉⲗⲁⲩ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ [ⲉ| ⲁ]
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲏⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲣ[ⲉⲩ]
ⲧⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ leer
Ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ̈ⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧϩⲙ̄ ⲡϩⲏⲧ ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ [ⲥ]
ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲏⲡ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲱⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲟⲩ
[ⲁ]ⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ϩⲱⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉⲥϩⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲉϩ̣ⲟⲩ
ⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ϩⲏⲡ ⲡⲥ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ϩⲏⲡ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡϩⲏⲧ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ
ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲥ ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲥ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲁ
ϩⲣⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲱⲉ leer Ⲧⲧⲁⲗ̣ⲓ̣ⲛ
ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡ|ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲁⲡ
ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲉ|ⲥϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ⲩ̣ⲡⲟⲥ
ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲥⲱ
ⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲱⲁⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ†ⲉⲁⲩ
ⲛⲉⲥ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲙⲁⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ
[ⲛ]ϩⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲛⲥ̄ϫ|ⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲉⲩ leer
[Ⲉ|ⲥ]ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ †ⲛⲁⲡ|ⲑⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲕ ⲛⲧⲁ
ⲧⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲕϩⲏⲧ ϩⲁ ⲡ|ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ϩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲕ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ
ⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲗ leer Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲛ̄†ϩⲉ
ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲗ|ⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ
[ⲁⲩ]ⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲥϩ|ⲙⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ
ⲡⲉⲩ̈ⲱⲧ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲥⲩⲅⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ
[ⲣ]ⲉⲱⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲛⲕⲟⲛ ϩⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲗⲩⲡⲏ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲩ
[ⲉ]ⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ϩⲛ̄ⲱⲙⲙⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲧⲁⲟⲩⲏⲧ ⲉⲛ
[ⲙⲁ]ⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲉⲩⲏⲡ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ leer
[Ⲧϩⲉ] ϩⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ
[ⲉ]ⲧⲟⲩⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁ̈ⲓⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲥⲁϩ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ
[ϩⲛⲁ]ⲃⲁ̣ⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲭ|ⲧⲥ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ
[ⲛⲉⲓ̈] ⲁⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲱⲙⲙⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̄
[. . . .]ⲙⲁⲩⲭ|ⲧⲥ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ leer Ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ
[ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ]ⲓ̈ⲧ̣ⲉⲟⲩ[ⲁⲩ] ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲱⲉ
[ⲛⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄] ⲁ[ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡ]ⲥⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ̄ ⲛⲃⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ|ⲙ

13 Das zweite ⲧ in ⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ über der Zeile.

des Lehrers.

Hölzer und man sie (plur.) in ein einzelnes Haus legt. Nicht ist es möglich, daß [sie] jenes
Haus erleuchten, solange (ὅσον) das Licht innerhalb (von ihnen) sich
befindet, bis sie (die Hölzer) auf das Feuer gelegt werden und das Licht aus ihnen
herauskommt. Es ist möglich, daß jenes ganze Haus
durch das Licht eines einzigen Holzes erleuchtet wird. —
So steht es mit der Weisheit (σοφία), die sich im Herzen des Menschen befindet. Sie
ist wie das Feuer, das im Holz verborgen ist, indem sein Licht nicht
offenbar ist. Die Weisheit (σοφία) aber hat folgende Art. Ihr
Licht ist verborgen, ihre Herrlichkeit ist verborgen im Herzen. Aber wenn
der Mensch sie verkündet, wird ihre Herrlichkeit offenbar vor
den Augen und den Ohren von vielen. — Wiederum
sprach der Jünger zum Apostel ein zweites
Mal: Wenn die Weisheit (σοφία) gleich ist entsprechend den Typen,
die du mich gelehrt hast, weshalb freuen sich manche
Menschen, wenn sie das Wort der Weisheit (σοφία) hören und ehren
sie, anderen gewährt sie keine Freude, wenn sie sie hören,
noch wird sie bei ihnen geehrt. —
Siehe, da sprach der Apostel zu ihm: Ich werde dich überzeugen (πείθειν) und
dein Herz befestigen in diesem Glauben und dich über ihn belehren, so daß
es augenfällig ist. — Denn die Weisheit (σοφία) ist gleich
diesem Knaben, über den ich zu dir sprach. Jener
wurde erzeugt aus dem Weibe. Wenn er nun geboren wird,
freuen sich sein Vater, seine Mutter und seine Verwandten (-συγγενής)
über ihn, du findest aber auch andere, die betrübt (λυπεῖσθαι) sind seinetwegen.
Denn sie sind ihm fremd. Diese gehören nicht zu seinem Kreise.
Sie freuen sich nicht über ihn. Denn er gehört nicht zu ihrem Geschlecht (γένος). —
Ebenso steht es mit der Weisheit (σοφία). Wenn
sie durch den Mund des Lehrers gepredigt wird, nehmen diese,
die ihr angehören, sie auf und freuen sich ihrer,
diese aber, die ihr fremd sind, freuen sich ihrer nicht
. . . und nehmen sie nicht an. — Wie das Licht des
[Feuers, von dem] ich dir verkündigte, das aus dem Holz heraus kommt
[und] draußen vor den Augen aller [offenbar wird] —

ⲥⲏ

[> · ⲛ]ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

[ⲡⲉ]ⲓ̈ ⲙ̣ⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲯⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ[ⲉⲓ]
[ⲁⲃⲁ]ⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲉ ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲃⲗⲗⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩ ⲁ̣ⲧ
[ⲥⲉⲧ]ⲉ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ̈ⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ
[ⲁⲣ]ⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲥ̣ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡ̄
[ⲛⲟ]ⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲧⲱⲩ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲩⲁⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉⲥ
ⲯⲁⲩⲭⲓⲧⲥ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲉⲩ
ⲯⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲭⲓⲧⲥ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲥⲁⲧⲙⲉ[ⲥ]
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲣⲉⲯⲉ ⲧⲟ
ⲛⲱ ⲁⲩⲡⲉⲓⲟⲉ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲏⲧ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲯ[ⲧ]
ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ leer

ⲡⲉ

ⲡⲉ — ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ — ⲡⲉ
ⲭⲉ . . . . . ⲥⲱⲙ

ⲁⲭⲱⲩ

ⲦⲦⲁⲗ[ⲓⲛ] ⲁⲛ ⲁ ⲕⲉⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲯⲛ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁ̈ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲭⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲉⲕⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲩⲥⲉ̀
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲱⲉ ⲁⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲩⲃⲱⲯⲧ ⲥⲁ
ⲣⲉⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲩⲁⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲁ̈ⲓⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲙ̣ ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩ
ⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̣ⲣⲉⲧⲩ̄ ⲛⲩ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲟ̣ ⲛⲣⲱⲧ ⲩⲏⲡ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭ[ⲏ]
ⲁⲛ ⲁⲡⲭⲉⲧⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲛⲩ̄ⲙⲁⲩⲧⲩ ⲛⲣⲉⲧⲩ̄
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ̣ ⲟ̣ⲩⲛ ⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲯⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ [ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲭⲱⲓ̈] ⲭⲁⲩⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲡⲟⲇⲏ
ⲙ̣[ⲓⲁ] ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲃ̣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ . . . . . ⲉⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
ⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲯⲁⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲁ̣ⲥ [ⲛⲧ]ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉ†ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲥ̣ ⲏ
ⲥⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲯⲙ̄ⲙⲟ . . . . . ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲛⲁ]
▮ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲭⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ †ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ̣
ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ†ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉ̈ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲓⲭⲱ[ⲓ]
ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲡⲟⲇⲏⲙⲓⲁ ⲥⲓ ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉ̈ⲓⲯⲁⲛ[ⲃⲓ]
ⲁⲛ ⲥⲁ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲧⲥ̀ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲥ[ⲁⲛ]
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲃⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲥ̀ †ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ †ⲣⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁ
ⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲏ̈ⲓ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲃ [ⲁⲗ]
ⲗⲁ †ⲣ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ †ⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉ[†ⲙⲁ]
ⲥⲉ ⲥⲓ ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉ̈ⲓⲥⲱⲙ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲉ̈ⲓ[ⲭⲁⲡ]ⲭⲡ ⲙ̣[ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩ]
ⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲉ† . . [. . . . . .]

Die Kephalaia

der Sehende einerseits das Licht sieht, das aus dem Holz
herausgekommen ist, der Blinde dagegen das Feuer
nicht sieht, — diesem Tatbestand ist die Weisheit (σοφία) gleich,
wenn sie verkündet wird. — Der Mensch, in
dem der Noûς ist, sein ist die Weisheit (σοφία). Wenn er sie hört,
nimmt er sie zu sich. In welchem kein Noûς ist, der
ihr fremd ist, nicht nimmt er sie zu sich, noch (οὔτε) hört er sie.
Als jener Jünger dies gehört hatte, (da) freute er sich
sehr, wurde überzeugt in seinem Herzen von dem, was er (Mani) verkündet hatte, fiel nieder
(und) setzte sich hin.

LXXXV.

Über das Kreuz (σταυρός) des Lichtes, daß . . . . . auf es treten.

Wiederum fragte ein anderer Jünger den Apostel, indem er zu ihm
sprach: Ich habe dich gehört, mein Herr, indem du in der Versammlung deiner
Gemeinde (ἐκκλησία) sagtest: Es ziemt sich für den Menschen, daß er zu Boden
blickt, wenn er auf einem Weg wandelt, damit er nicht das Kreuz (σταυρός) des Lichtes
mit seinem Fuße trete und die Pflanzen verderbe. — Es gehört sich prinzipiell
auch gegenüber der Schlange, daß er nicht auf sie tritt und sie mit seinem Fuße tötet.
Aber manchmal sendet mich der große, [der über mir steht], in die Fremde (ἀποδημία)
wegen eines göttlichen Werkes . . . . . der Kirche (ἐκκλησία),
manchmal wenn ein Lehrer der Kirche, in der ich bin, bittet (?) oder
einige von den fremden Brüdern um ein Almosen, ...
um ein Bißchen Nahrung (τροφή), die sie brauchen (χρεία), (dann) weiß ich,
daß, was ich tue, gut (ἀγαθόν) ist, indem ich höre auf den, der über mir steht,
der mich in die Fremde (ἀποδημία) sendet auf dem Wege. Auch wenn ich Almosen
sammle und es zur Kirche gebracht wird und die Brüder
und Schwestern damit versorgt werden (??), weiß ich (und) erkenne
(αἰσθάνεσθαι) ich, daß ich einen großen Erfolg bei diesem Werk habe. Aber
ich fürchte auch, daß ich vielleicht (μήπως) sündige, wenn ich auf dem Wege
wandele, indem ich die Erde trete und das Lichtkreuz (σταυρός)
drücke, und tue . . . . . .

[cϴ]

> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲣ · <

ⲁⲭ̄ⲛ̄ ⲃⲁⲙ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲃⲁⲡ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲩⲧ ⲉ⳨ⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲛⲥⲏ[ⲧⲩ ⲛ]
ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲛ|ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ|[ⲙⲁ]
ϴⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲕⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ [ⲙⲡ|]
ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲉ[|ϴⲉ]
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲕⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ [ⲡⲉⲕ]
ⲙⲁⲩⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁϭ ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲭ[ⲱⲕ]
ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ Ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲉ[ⲕⲙⲁ]
ⲥⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲉⲡ|ϴⲩⲙ|ⲓⲁ ⲏ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ [. . .]
ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲉ|ⲁ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲕⲉ|ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲉⲕ]
ⲙⲁⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲕⲡⲏⲧ ⲛ[. . . . . .]
ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲡ|ϴⲩⲙ|ⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲕ leer
[ⲁ]ⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⳨ⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲥⲣⲁⲩ ⲭ[ⲉ]
ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁ|ⲕⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲩⲧ
ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲃ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲕⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲙ[ⲁ]ⲥⲉ ⲁⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁ[ⲥ] ⲕⲁⲛ
ⲉⲩⲥⲡⲁⲃⲡϭ ⲛⲛϭⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲩ̄ ⲙⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲁⲙ ⲥⲓ ⲃⲁⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁⲓⲧ
ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲉⲩⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲩⲉⲡ|ϴⲩⲙ|ⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲩ
ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲡⲏⲧ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲙ[ⲛ] ⲥⲛⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲩ
ⲓⲧ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙ ⲁⲭⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ
[ⲁ]ⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲕⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲡⲏⲧ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲩⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲩ̄ⲉⲡ|
ϴⲩⲙ|ⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̣ⲛ̣ . . . ⲥ|ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲩ . . ⲏ̣ . . ⲩ
ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲥⲓ ⲥⲛⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲡⲉⲩ . . . . . .
ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲙⲡ|ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ
[ⲉ]ⲩⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲥⲓ ⲡⲙⲁⲩⲧ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲱⲉⲩⲧⲉ leer
[.] . . ⲉ|ⲥⲧⲉ ⲁ|ⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲭⲁⲩⲩ
ⲛ̣ⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲥⲓ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲩⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄
ⲡ̣ⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁⲩⲧ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲉⲩ̈ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⳨ⲥⲱⲙ ⲁ
[ⲭ]ⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⳨ⲥⲁⲱⲥⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ
[ϭⲁⲡ] ⲉⲕⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲁⲭⲁ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ
[ⲡⲥⲱ]ⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲉⲣⲉ ✝
[✝ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ]ⲛ̣ⲋ̣ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ

1 ⲧ in ⲙⲁⲩⲧ über der Zeile. — 15 ⲥ in ⲥⲡⲁⲃⲡϭ über der Zeile.

des Lehrers.

ohne Kraft mit meiner Sohle auf dem Wege, auf dem ich wandele. —
Als der Apostel diese Worte von jenem Schüler gehört
hatte, sprach er zu ihm: Du hast das Wort in dieser
Weise verkündet, indem es schön (καλῶς) feststeht. Aber höre, daß ich dir
darüber schön (καλῶς) Einsicht verschaffe (πείθειν). Wenn du auf [deinem]
Wege wegen eines göttlichen Werkes wandelst, indem dein Großer, der über dir ist,
dich schickt, dann hast du keine Sünde. Denn nicht
wandelst du auf ihm wegen eines begehrlichen (ἐπιθυμία) Werkes oder wegen eines
. . . . von Verlangen (χρεία), worin Sünde ist, sondern du tust deinen
Weg wegen des Werkes Gottes, indem du [nicht auf ihm] wandelst
wegen deiner eigenen Begierde (ἐπιθυμία). —
Aber (ἀλλά) ich sage es euch mit lauter Stimme:
Jeder erwählte (ἐκλεκτός), gerechte (δίκαιος) Mensch, der auf einem Wege wegen des Werkes
Gottes wandelt, auch wenn (κἄν) er auf der Erde wandelt, auch wenn
er mit seinen Fußsohlen das Lichtkreuz (σταυρός) tritt,
hat er keine Sünde, sondern ein Kranz und Palmzweig ist sein ganzer
Weg. Denn er wandelt nicht in seiner eigenen Begierde (ἐπιθυμία),
noch eilt er wegen Erwerb (χρῆμα) und eitler Dinge,
wenn er auf die Erde und das Lichtkreuz (σταυρός) tritt. —
Dagegen der andere Mensch, der auf dem Wege wandelt aus eigener
Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) und . . . . seines Körpers (σῶμα), indem er . . . . . .
selber wegen Erwerb (χρῆμα) und Dingen, die . . . .,
lauter Sünde ist der Wandel jenes Menschen,
indem er auf dem Wege der Sünde und des Verbrechens wandelt. —
Siehe, ich habe euch gesagt: Der, den sein Lehrer sendet,
daß er auf einem Wege wegen eines göttlichen Werkes geht, lauter Erfolg
ist sein Weg. Aber auch dies, was du verkündet hast: Ich trete
auf die Erde und das Lichtkreuz (σταυρός), ich quäle mit meiner
[Sohle], indem du sagst: Vielleicht (τάχα) habe ich Sünde
wegen des Werkes, fürchte dich auch dieses andern wegen nicht. Denn die
[Lebendige Seele] ist gleich einem Menschen

8 dem Weg.

[cl]

[> ·] ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

[ⲉ]ⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲍⲁⲩ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲏⲧ
[ⲍⲁ]ⲣⲱ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲩ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲣⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲉⲩ†ⲧⲕⲉⲥ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲱ[ⲱ]
[ⲛ]ⲉ ⲉⲩⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲧⲗⲃⲁⲩ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲩ†ⲧⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ
[ⲛⲉ]ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲗⲃⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉⲣⲁⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲩ†ⲡⲟⲩⲭⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ
[ⲍⲙ] ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲉⲍⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲍⲱⲥ ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄
[ⲧⲉ ⲟ]ⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄
[ⲛⲁ]ⲩⲣ̄ⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲑⲉⲣⲁⲡⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲩⲁⲭ .
. . . ⲥⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ
ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲍⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
[ⲡⲓⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲍⲱⲙ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲑⲉⲣⲁⲡⲓⲁ ⲉⲩⲉⲓ
ⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲥ̀
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲍⲁⲧⲍⲏ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲩ
ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ[ⲩ ⲭⲉ] ⲉⲩⲁⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲑⲉⲣⲁⲡⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ
ⲛⲩⲧⲟⲩ̈ⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [ⲙⲡ]ⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲧⲕⲉⲥ ⲉⲩⲍⲱⲙ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲁ̈ⲃⲉ ⲙⲡⲓⲍⲏⲩ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲩⲁ
ⲭⲡⲟ ⲛⲉⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲓⲥⲉ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥⲓ ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲩⲍⲱ[ⲙ]
ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲩⲁⲙⲉⲥⲧⲱⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲩⲥⲁ
ⲩⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲍⲏⲩ leer
Ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲩⲍⲱⲙ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲩⲁ
ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲱⲩ ⲛⲩⲕⲱⲗⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲩⲧⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲩⲥⲁⲩ
ⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲍⲱⲙ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ
ⲙⲁⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲉⲡⲏⲣⲓⲁ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲍ ⲛⲕⲉⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲱ[ⲱ]
ⲛⲉ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲍⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ
ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲍⲙ ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲕⲱⲁⲛⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲁ[ⲍⲣⲏⲓ]
ⲁⲭⲱⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉⲕⲱⲁⲛⲍⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲩⲁⲃⲓⲱ[ⲡ]
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲕ ⲉⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓ ⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ [ⲉⲕ]
ⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲁⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲗⲃⲟ ⲁⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲍⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉ[ⲕ]
ⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲍ[ⲁⲱ]
ⲍⲱ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲕⲉⲉⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲍⲉⲱⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲁ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲡⲛⲁ[ⲃⲉ]
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲩⲥⲛⲕ ⲁⲡⲃⲣⲟ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲥⲏ[ⲣ] ⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ [ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ]
ⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲍⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲍⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲱⲱ[ⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧ]

17 Lies ⲉⲧⲍⲱⲙ.

des Lehrers.

den eine Krankheit in seinen Gliedern (μέλος) ergreift, indem sein Herz
ihm schwer ist und seine Seele (ψυχή) sich bekümmert (λυπεῖσθαι), indem er in seiner Krankheit
Schmerzen hat und nach einem Arzt sucht, um ihn zu heilen, damit er ihn kräftig
macht und ihn heilt, ihn behandelt (θεραπεύειν) und ihm Gesundheit gibt
in der Krankheit, die sich gegen ihn erhoben hat, da (ὡς) er sie kennt, und es
kommt ein weiser Mann, der die Besprechungen kennt, indem er ein geschickter
Arzt ist, indem er Heilung (θεραπεία) verschafft dem, was er
. . . . und er rezitiert über ihn die Besprechungen, die er kennt,
und er tritt auch mit seinem Fuße auf alle seine Glieder.
Jener Mensch, der krank ist, weiß, daß dieser Mensch
auf ihn tritt, damit er ihm Heilung (θεραπεία) verschafft, es aber
nicht aus Feindschaft tut, die er (etwa) mit ihm
vorher hatte. Sondern alles, was er tut,
tut er ihm, um seinen Körper (σῶμα) zu behandeln (-θεραπεία)
und die Krankheit und den Schmerz von ihm zu vertreiben, indem er auf ihn tritt,
um zu nützen. Jener kranke Mensch wird
weder Streit (?) noch Haß gegen den Arzt erzeugen, der auf ihn
tritt. Er wird ihn nicht aus Feindschaft hassen. Denn er weiß,
daß er dies ihm zu seinem Nutzen tut. —
Wenn dagegen einer kommt und auf ihn in Feindschaft tritt, wird
er ihn hassen, ihn hindern (κωλύειν) und ihn nicht (zu)lassen. Denn er
weiß, daß er in Feindschaft auf ihn tritt, indem er ihn
in Übermut (ἐπηρία) schlägt, indem er hinzufügt (?) noch eine Krankheit zu seiner
Krankheit. So steht es auch mit der Lebendigen Seele, sei es mit der auf Erden,
sei es mit der im Lichtkreuz (σταυρός). Wenn du auf ihr
auf dem Weg wandelst, wenn du das Kreuz (σταυρός) trittst, wird es nicht mit dir
rechten in Streit (?) und Zorn. Denn es weiß, daß du
auf ihm wandelst zur Beruhigung und Heilung, um für es zu predigen, indem du
seinetwegen wandelst, um seine Mysterien zu offenbaren. Das Quälen
der Knochen (?), das du gequält hast, wird nicht zur Sünde,
sondern führt zum Sieg, wie der Heiland (σωτήρ) gesagt hat: [Wo]
dein Herz ist, da wird auch dein Schatz sein.

6 ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ entspricht ἐπαοιδή. — 17 ⲛⲉⲃⲉ wohl Streit (ebenso 27).

[c|a]

ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲥ

1 ⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣[ⲃⲉ]
2 ⲡ̣ⲥⲁϣⲥⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲉⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲩⲥ ⲁⲥ̣[ⲟⲩⲛ]
3 ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲁⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ leer ⲥⲁ ⲡⲣⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕ[ⲧⲉ]
4 ⲟⲩⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲁϫⲱⲓ̈ ⲏ ⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲏⲩ [ⲛ]
5 ⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲧⲁϫⲁ ⲡⲓⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̣
6 ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲫⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩ̄ⲃⲗⲁⲡⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣ̣ⲟ̣ⲥ̣ [ⲛⲟⲩ]
7 ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲣ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲓⲁ
8 ⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲁⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲥⲉ
9 ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲟⲩⲥⲉϫ[ⲉ]
10 ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲏ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲛⲁⲩⲉ ⲏ ⲉ[ⲧⲃⲉ]
11 ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱϩⲛ ⲙ̣ⲛ ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡ̣ⲥ̣ⲉ̣
12 ϫⲉ ⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲁⲧⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲁⲧⲭⲟⲗⲏ ⲏ ⲟⲩⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲫⲟ̣
13 ⲛⲟⲥ ⲥⲓ ⲕⲁⲕⲁⲥ ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲏ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩ
14 ⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲁⲣⲩ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲡ[ⲥⲉϫ]ⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲃⲉ . . . ⲛ
15 ⲉⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲁ ⲁⲡ̣[ⲛⲁⲃ]ⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ [ⲁⲩϫ]ⲡⲟ
16 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲣ[. . . .] ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈
17 [.] . ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲏ ⲡⲉⲛ . . . . . ⲉⲟⲩ . ⲟⲩⲉ . . . .
18 ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ . . . . . ⲩ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲙ̣ⲣ̄
19 ⲣⲉ᾽ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲛⲁϫ . . ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲁⲧ[ⲙⲣ]ⲣⲉ
20 ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ . [. . .] ⲧⲉⲩⲃⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲙⲁⲣⲩ ⲥⲙ
21 ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲡⲉⲩ . . . ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥⲟⲥⲟⲛ ⲛ . . .
22 . . ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲥⲁ ⲧⲙⲛⲧ . . ⲡⲉ . . . . . ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲛ ⲙ . . . . . .
23 [ⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲥⲁⲍⲟ̄ ⲉⲛ . . ⲕⲍ . . ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲱⲃ̣ⲉ . .
24 . ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧϯⲩⲭⲏ . . . ⲁⲥⲉ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ
25 [ⲙ̣ⲡⲉⲥ]ⲧⲗ̣ⲃⲟ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲁⲧⲭⲣⲓ
26 [ⲁ ⲛⲧ]ⲙ̣ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲥⲧⲗⲃⲟ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲱⲩⲥ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ
27 [ⲩⲧⲛ]ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲃⲱⲗ̣ ⲛ̄ . .
28 [. . . .]ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲃⲁ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱϫⲉ
29 [. . . . .]ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲱⲁ . . . . ⲕ
30 [. . .]ⲧ̣ⲩ̄ ⲛⲩⲥⲱⲣⲙ̣ . [. .] ⲧⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ ⲛ̄ⲩⲟⲩⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲛⲉⲓ̈
31 [. . . . . .]ⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲩⲕⲱ . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲍⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲁϫⲱⲥ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ
32 [ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲱⲟⲩ]ⲁⲙ̄ⲥ̀ ⲉⲩⲁⲱⲁⲁⲧⲥ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲃⲁⲛⲓⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲛⲁϫⲥ

des Lehrers.

Deshalb wird dir nichts verlorengehn wegen
des Quälens der Knochen (?) und deiner Härte, sondern es wird sich vollständig
zur Ruhe einsammeln. — Was angeht dies andere, das du
verkündet hast: Wenn ein Lehrer oder fremde Brüder zu mir
kommen und ich über das Almosen spreche, wird vielleicht (τάχα) jenes Wort
das Lichtkreuz schlagen und schädigen (βλάπτειν).
Fürchte dich auch nicht deswegen. Denn es ist ein
Unterschied (διαφορά) zwischen Wort und Wort. Denn dies ist kein Wort. Sondern
das Wort, das schlägt, ist dies: Wenn ein Mensch ein Wort spricht
wegen der Tötung eines Menschen oder der Tötung der Tiere oder wegen
der Tötung der Bäume und des Lichtkreuzes, das Lügen-
wort, das des Zornes und das der Erregung (χολή) oder ein neidisches (φθόνος)
und . . . . . Wort oder ein anklagendes Wort,
das einer gegen seinen Bruder anstiftet. Dies ist das Wort, das schlägt . . .
Wenn der Mensch es ausspricht, wird er zur [Sünde] kommen. Weil er aus sich
erzeugt hat die Dämonen (δαίμων) . . . . . sich, deswegen
. . des gerechten Mannes oder . . . . . .
alle, die ich gesagt habe, damit . . . . . sein Wort in die
Fessel. Denn alle werden . . . . . sein Wort in die Fessel.
Er aber . . . . sein Herauskommen, er wird gefesselt an
dem Ort, an dem er sein . . . gefesselt hat. Aber soweit (ὅσον) . . .
Wort über die . . . . . nicht gehen . . . . . .
noch (οὔτε) werden sie es schreiben . . . . . der schlägt . . .
Wort über die Erlösung der Seele (ψυχή) . . . . über das Mysterium
[ihrer] Heilung. Denn der gerechte Mann, der über die Notwendigkeit (χρεία)
des Almosens spricht, er spricht zu seiner Heilung und seiner Einsammlung.
Er gleicht einem verständigen Arzt, der . . . . . .
. . . seine Krankheit, indem eine Wunde an seinem Körper ist, die beseitigt
[wird von ?] diesem kranken Mann durch seine Weisheit (σοφία) . . . . . .
. . . . . dieser Wunde und beseitigt sie. Danach
. . . . . und legt fressende Heilmittel auf sie, damit
[sie weggefressen werden kann], und er sie mit dem Eisen schneidet und sie
aus ihm

13 unbekannte Wörter. — 30 die Wunde?

[cIB]

[> ·]ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

[a]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲃⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ
[aB]ⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲱⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲙⲡⲁⲥⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲕⲏⲃ
[. .] . . c ⲛⲥⲕⲁⲥⲕ̀ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲱⲁⲩ+
. . . . . ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲁⲩⲙⲉ
. . . . . [ⲙⲁ]ⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲛⲉⲃⲉ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲏⲧ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲓ
ⲇⲏ ⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̣ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲩ
ⲧⲗ[ⲃⲟ] ⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲩⲁⲟⲩⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲭⲟⲩⲩ ⲉⲧⲩⲁ
ⲭⲁⲩⲩ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲕ̄ ⲱⲁⲩ+ ⲥⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲃⲉⲕⲏⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲩⲱⲱⲡ
[ⲙ]ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲩⲣⲱⲃⲏⲣ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲁⲥⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲡⲉ
[Tⲥⲉ] ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲩⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲡⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲭⲓ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
[ⲛ]ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲛⲩⲥⲱⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ
ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲥⲱ
ⲱⲥ ⲧ̣ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ⲁⲛ̣ⲧ̣ ⲙ̣ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲱ[ⲱⲛⲉ] ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲙⲡⲭⲁ
ⲭⲉ ⲧⲏⲧ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲥ ⲉ . . . . . ⲥⲁⲩⲥⲥ̀
ⲁ . . . ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲉ[ⲕ]ⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲥⲛ̣ⲁⲥⲱⲧ̣ⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ [ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛ]ⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲁⲱⲛⲟⲩⲥⲙⲉ ⲉⲛ
ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ ⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲥⲓ ⲙ̣ⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲉⲩⲧ . . . . ⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲭ̣
ⲥⲉⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲉⲭⲉⲣⲱⲱⲉ . . . . . ⲣ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃⲟⲩⲉ̣[ⲃ]
ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ . . . . . ⲙⲛ ⲕⲉⲙⲕⲁⲥ
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲕⲉⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲁⲧⲙ̣ⲛ̣ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲁ̣ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ
ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . . . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲑⲗⲓϯⲥ leer ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲙ̣ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ⲥ̣ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲭⲱ
ⲣⲓⲥ ⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲥⲓ ⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲃⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲣⲃⲁⲗ ⲁ̣
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲓ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲕⲉϯⲥ ⲛ̄[. . .]
ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲡⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲧⲉⲅⲕⲣⲁⲧⲉⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲧⲙⲛⲧ[. . .]
ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲧⲙⲛⲧⲙⲟⲛⲟⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲗ̣[ⲏⲅⲏ]
ⲙⲛ ⲛ̄ⲱⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉⲁ ⲧⲁⲥⲕⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲣⲣⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ . . .
ⲣⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ abgerieben ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ [. . .]
ϯⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲓⲙⲕⲁⲥ . . . . . ⲉ̣ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲏ . .
ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ leer ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉ̣ⲛ . . .
ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲩ ⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ̀ [ⲧⲥⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ]
ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ+ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ̀ ⲱⲁ̣ⲥⲱⲱ[ⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛ]

8 ⲕⲁⲥⲕⲥ zu lesen! — 19 Lies ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ.

Die Kephalaia

herauswirft mit den fressenden Arzneien und die Wunde gereinigt wird
von dem Brande. Danach legt er die kühlenden Arzneien
auf . . und sie heilt. Jener kranke Mensch, er gibt
. . . . . aber nicht . . .
. . . [nicht] erzeugt er Streit gegen ihn in seinem Herzen. Denn
er weiß, daß er das Gleichnis seines Nutzens und seiner
Heilung tut. Nach dem Abschneiden, das er abschneidet, und dem Brennen, mit
dem er ihn brennt, gibt er dem Arzt noch Belohnungen. Er dankt
ihm und wird ihm Freund sein ganzes Leben durch. —
In dieser Weise ist dem Arzt gleich der
Electus, der auf dem Almosen aufbaut und es einsammelt,
indem er es zur Kirche bringt, während das Almosen
dagegen dem [kranken] Menschen gleicht. Denn die Macht des
Feindes ist vermischt mit ihm [a] . . . . . es sammeln
. . . . . zur Kirche. Es wird geläutert im Bilde (εἰκών)
der Heiligen. Jenes [Almosen] kann nicht gerettet werden
ohne (χωρίς) Mühsal und Leid. Denn . . . . . .
sie sehen . . . . . die (fem.) sie wegfressen,
indem sie sie (fem.) verzehren . . . . . und weiteres Leid.
Aber nicht gibt es eine andere Art für das Almosen außer dieser. Denn sie
ist seine Tür hinauszugehen . . . . . aus der Welt
in Trübsal. Wie die heilige Kirche,
die der Apostel in der Welt errichtet, daß
ohne (χωρίς) Leid und Trübsal die Electen nicht herausgehen können
aus der Welt, sondern nur durch die . . . . Überlegung (σκέψις)
und die des Gebetes und die der Enthaltsamkeit (ἐγκράτεια) und die der . . .
und die der Einziggeborenheit (-μονογενής) und die Zurückgezogenheit (ἀναχώρησις), die Schläge (πληγή)
und Peitschenhiebe (-ταυρεά), die Übung der Fesseln . . . . . .
. . . . . diese zuerst . . .
. . und die Leiden . . . . . sie erben (κληρονομεῖν) . .
in alle Ewigkeit . . . . . .
nicht hat er Ruhe im Lande (χώρα) der Lebenden. So steht
es auch mit dem lebendigen Almosen. Es empfängt

14 [a]) dem Almosen.

[c|r]

ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲥ

ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲥ ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲥⲉ [ⲱⲱ]
ⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ leer ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ+ⲥⲱⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ [ⲁ]
ⲧⲟⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲧⲉ ⲣⲱ[ⲙⲉ]
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟ̄ⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲡ|ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ ⲉⲧ[. . .]
ⲟⲩⲥⲡⲁⲧⲁⲗ|ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲣ|ⲭⲁⲩⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ [ⲛ]ⲉⲥ
ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲕⲉⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉ|ⲥ
ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲥⲱⲟⲟⲡ
ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲥⲱⲱ ⲉⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲟⲩⲁⲙⲉⲥ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲱⲣⲟⲩⲁⲙⲉⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲡⲁⲧⲁⲗ|ⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲭⲣ̄ⲭⲣ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲭⲏⲣ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲉⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲥⲕⲟ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ
ⲥⲟⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲉ|ⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲃⲓ ⲡⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥ[ⲱ]
ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲥ leer Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲡ|ⲙⲁ
ⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉ|ⲥ ⲥⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲕⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲕⲉⲡ|ⲑⲩⲙ|ⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲕ ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲕ ⲛ̣[ⲁ]ⲃⲉ ⲙⲙⲉⲩ leer
[Ⲛ]ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡ|ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲡⲉ|ⲑⲉ ⲁⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ
ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ +ⲣⲉⲩⲭⲁⲣ|ⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲕⲡⲉ|ⲑⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲥⲁ ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲕ+ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ
ⲙ̣ⲛⲧⲥⲁⲗⲟⲏⲧ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛ+ⲛⲟⲩ . ⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥ̣ⲛ ⲙⲙⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲛ . . . .
ⲉ̣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ̄ ⲛⲁⲱⲛⲥ̄ ⲉ . . . . . ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲛⲥ
[ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ : —

ⲡⲋ

ⲡⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁ|ⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲡⲋ ⲉⲧⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ [ⲱ]ⲁⲓ̈ⲥ̄ ⲡⲋ
ⲣⲁⲕ ⲛⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲡ ⲛⲧⲁⲱⲧⲁ
ⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲛⲥⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲡ

[Ⲧⲧⲁ]ⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲡⲙⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ +ⲧⲱⲃⲥ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
[ⲡ]ⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡ|ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉ+ⲛⲁⲱⲛⲧⲕ
[ⲁⲣ]ⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲡ [ⲉⲓ̈]ⲥⲁⲣⲕ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ
[ⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ] ⲛⲁⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲓ̈ⲡⲟⲗ|ⲧⲉⲩ
[ⲉ . . . . . .] ⲛⲁⲥⲃⲏ[ⲩ]ⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ|ⲙ
[. . . . ⲥⲁ]ⲗⲟⲏⲧ ⲉⲓ̈ⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ

des Lehrers.

für eine Weile Trauer und ewige Ruhe wird
ihm unter den Heiligen. — Aber dies befehle ich
euch, meine Brüder und meine Glieder: Nicht soll ein Mensch
seine Hand lösen und das lebendige Kreuz schlagen in (?)
Schwelgerei (σπαταλεία) und Völlerei. Sondern werdet ihm (d. Almosen) Wegführer
durch das Wort zu den Katechumenen. Denn das andere Wort, siehe.
wir verkünden es, wie ihr es verkündet. Denn es (d. Almosen) ist in
großer Bedrängnis. Wenn ihr es aber im Begriff seid zu essen, nicht
eßt es in Üppigkeit (σπαταλεία) und Schwelgerei und Luxus
und Völlerei, sondern eßt es (nur) in großem Hunger und
trinkt es (nur) in großem Durst und tragt Sorge für euern Körper (σῶμα)
durch es. — Dann sprach der Apostel zu jenem
Jünger: Siehe, du hast gehört, was ich dir verkündet habe
wegen deines eigenen Verlangens. Nicht hast du Sünde. —
Als der Jünger dies gehört hatte, war er überzeugt (πείθεσθαι) und freute sich sehr.
Er sprach zu ihm: Ich danke (εὐχαριστεύειν) dir, mein Herr, daß du uns
jeweils über alle Dinge überzeugst (πείθειν). Du gibst Ruhe unserm Herz in
Barmherzigkeit von jetzt ab mit den Ohren . . . . .
lebendig wird leben . . . . . durch deine Worte des Lebens,
die wir von dir gehört haben. —

LXXXVI.

Das Kapitel von dem Mann,
der fragt: Warum bin ich
manchmal ruhig und manchmal verwirrt?

Wiederum sprach ein Jünger zu unserm Φωστήρ: Ich bitte dich,
mein Herr, daß du mich über das Wort unterrichtest, das ich dich frage:
Manchmal bin ich ruhig in meinem Herzen, indem meine Überlegung
[gefestigt ist], meine Lehren alle fest an ihrem Platze stehn, indem ich
wandele (πολιτεύεσθαι) . . . . . meine Werke, indem ich meine Worte allen Menschen verkünde.
. . . Geduld (?), indem ich ruhig bin in der Freude des Νοῦς,

[ⲥⲗ]

· ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ ·

[ⲉⲣ]ⲉ ⲡⲁⲕⲉⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲥⲓⲱⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲁϯⲩⲭⲏ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ
[ⲣⲉ]ⲱⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲛ
ⲉⲱⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ ⲧⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲕⲙⲉ ⲣ̄ⲥⲟⲩ
ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲧⲃⲗⲗⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲡⲓ
ⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲥⲱⲕⲉ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲭⲓⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲭⲉ̈ⲓⲛⲁⲑⲃ̄
ⲓ̈ⲁⲩ [ⲉ]ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲛⲟⲁⲙ ⲛⲥⲏⲧ ⲁⲑⲃ̄ⲓ̈ⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ϯⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲏ
ⲡⲓⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲉⲃⲉ ⲛⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲃⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲁⲩⲥⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ
ⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϯⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲥⲁ[ϫ]
ⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ
ⲃ[ⲉ ⲛ]ⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲱⲗⲱⲱⲗⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ +
ⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲛⲉⲥⲥⲉ ⲛⲥⲏⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲁⲣⲓⲥⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲩ
ⲃ[ⲱⲃⲥ] ⲥⲓⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲛ
ⲁ[ⲡⲕ]ⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲗ[ⲗⲁ ⲡⲉ]ⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲱⲁⲓ̈ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ
ⲱⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ ⲕⲁⲕ[ⲏⲛ] ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲓ̈
ⲣ̄ . ⲁⲁ . ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲁ[ⲥⲃⲏⲩ]ⲉ ⲱⲁⲕⲃⲙ ⲡⲁⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲣⲱ̄ⲣⲁⲩⲧ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲣⲱⲓ ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲛ ⲉⲓ . . . ⲛ̄ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲍⲉ ⲱⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲱⲧⲣ̄ⲧⲓⲣ ⲥⲓ ⲧⲉⲍⲧ[ⲓⲍ]
ⲥⲁⲧⲛ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲕⲉⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲱⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲩⲱⲱ[ⲛⲉ]
ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ leer Ⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲛ [ⲉ]
ⲱⲁⲕⲃⲛ ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲁⲥⲓⲱⲩ ⲉ̈ⲓⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲣⲁⲩⲧ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲁⲥⲟⲫ[ⲓⲁ]
ⲥⲁⲗⲃ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ [ⲉ]ⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ ⲥⲏⲕ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲧⲛⲏ
ⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲉ+ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲕⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲓⲱ[ⲗⲏⲗ]
ⲱⲁⲕⲃⲛ ⲛⲁⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲃⲣⲁⲍⲧ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲕⲉⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ ⲣ[ⲁⲩⲧ]
ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲥⲓⲱⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲓⲭⲁⲛⲉ ⲉ̈ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ +ⲁⲗⲙ[ⲟⲥ]
[ⲙⲁⲓ̈]ⲕⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉ̈ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲱⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲡ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ[ⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ]
ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ +ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲉⲓⲁ [ⲉ]
ⲧⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ leer +ⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ +ⲧⲱⲃⲍ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ
ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲡⲉⲓⲑⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲍⲱⲃ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ϫⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩ [ⲥⲙ]
ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲉ̈ⲣⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲡⲍ[ⲱⲃ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ]
ⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ leer
Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲁⲡ[ⲓⲙⲁ]ⲫⲏ[ⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ]
ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲕⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲥⲉϫⲉ leer Ⲉ[ⲓⲥⲧⲉ] +[ⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ̈ⲉⲧⲕ]

4 Lies πφθονος.

Die Kephalaia

indem auch mein Körper (σῶμα) bei mir leicht ist, während meine Seele (ψυχή)
sich in der Weisheit (σοφία) und wahren Erkenntnis freut. Manchmal dagegen
werde ich verstört, und meine Lehren werden verwirrt, und die Traurigkeit
nimmt in ihnen zu und die Trauer (λύπη), der Zorn und der Neid (φθόνος) und die
Begierde (ἐπιθυμία), und ich mühe mich, mit aller meiner Kraft zu ringen, daß ich
sie demütige. Aber nicht vermag ich, sie in mir zu demütigen zu jener Stunde
oder (ἤ) an jenem Tage, da sie in mir aufgewallt sind, und all diese bösen Lehren
und schlechten Gedanken kommen heraus und stürzen sich auf mich.
Ich weiß nicht, da keine einzige Art von all den
Gedanken, die in mich gekommen sind, mir offenbar sind, ob
sie von außen hereingekommen sind und sich eingeschlichen haben bei mir. Ich
weiß (auch) nicht, ob sie in mir selber erwacht und
in mir rebelliert haben und sich gegen mich aufgestellt haben. Ich weiß auch nicht
das andere. Sondern nur dies erkenne ich, daß
ich verwirrt werde sehr böse (κακῶς) in all meinen Lehren. Ich
werde . . . . in meinen [Werken]. Du findest mein Wort wertlos in
meinem Munde. Nicht finde ich, wie ich . . . Ich werde ein Verwirrter und Verstörter
bei meinen Brüdern. Auch mein Körper erhebt sich gegen mich und wird krank
jenen ganzen Tag. — Manchmal
findest du mein Herz leicht, indem ich mich freue und fröhlich bin, indem meine Weisheit (σοφία)
und die Verkündigung süß bei mir ist, indem es mein Herz hinzieht
zum Fasten (νηστεία), in dem ich faste. Nicht will ich aufhören zu beten.
Du findest all meine Lehren ruhig, indem auch meine Gedanken fröhlich sind,
indem mein Körper leicht bei mir ist. Nicht lasse ich ab (σιχαίνεσθαι), Psalmen zu singen,
[nicht] höre ich auf, Gebet zu sprechen. Ich nehme meine Brüder
in schöner Weise (καλῶς) auf. Denn ich wandele (πολιτεύεσθαι) in dem
wohlgeordneten Wandel (πολιτεία). — Jetzt nun bitte ich dich, mein Herr,
daß du mich über diese beiden Dinge überzeugst (πείθειν), die ich [in] meinem eigenen
Körper erprobt (?) habe, indem ich nicht die Sache kenne (αἰσθάνεσθαι),
durch die sie in mich hereingekommen sind. —
Da sprach der Apostel zu dem [Jünger in dieser Weise:]
Schön (καλῶς) fragst du nach dieser Sache. — [Siehe] ich [werde dich] darüber

24 Zu σιχν. vgl. Hymn. 46,7.

[ⲥⲉ]

· ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <

ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲣⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ
[ⲡ]ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲥⲓⲣⲉⲧⲥ̀ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲛ[ⲧ]
ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲯⲁⲩⲥⲁⲧⲩ̀ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩⲉⲓ[ⲣⲉ]
ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲣⲙⲛⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲯⲧⲁⲣⲧ̄ⲣ̄ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲥⲓ ⲧⲁⲍⲥ̀ ⲥⲓ [ⲧⲁⲣ]
ⲁ̣ⲭⲏ leer ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲣⲁⲭⲏ ⲛⲁⲛⲉⲍⲥⲉ ⲁⲣ[ⲁⲩ]
ⲛ̄ⲩⲯⲧⲁⲣⲧ̄ⲣ̄ ⲯⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲧⲁⲣⲁⲭⲏ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲙⲁ . [. . ⲛ]
ⲯⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲥⲓⲧⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲥⲉ ⲉⲧ[. . .]
ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲓⲙ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲯⲧⲣⲧⲱⲣⲩ ⲥⲛ
[ⲧ]ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲕⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱ
ⲯⲉ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲯⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲯⲁⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲯⲧⲣⲧⲱⲣⲩ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲟ[ⲩ]
ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ leer Ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲁⲕⲃⲛ ⲛ[ⲃⲁⲙ]
[ⲛⲧ]ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲍⲁⲣⲕ ⲉⲩⲥⲃⲣⲁⲍⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲥ̄ⲣⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲏ[. . .]
[.]ⲩⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲍⲁⲥⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲙⲥ
ⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ . . ⲏ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩ . . . .
ⲯⲧⲁⲣⲧ̄ⲣ̄ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲱⲍ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲣ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲉ ⲧ]ⲉ
ⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲁⲱⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲱⲕⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲛⲧⲗⲁⲓ̈
ⲃⲉ ⲛⲧⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲕ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲙⲩ̄ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩ
ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲍ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲍⲓⲥⲉ ⲟ̣ⲩⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲭⲁⲃⲁⲁⲧ ⲉⲱⲁⲩ
ⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉ̣ⲩ[ⲧⲏⲍ] ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲧⲣⲟⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣⲡ
ⲕⲉⲙⲟⲩⲭⲧ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̣
ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲁⲧⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲁ̣
ⲡⲱⲕⲙⲉ ⲁⲧⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲁⲛ̣ⲓⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲕ̣ⲙ̣ⲉ̣ⲕ̣ ⲃⲱⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ
[Ⲉⲓⲥ] ⲥⲏⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲯⲁⲕⲯⲧⲁⲣⲧ̄ⲣ̄ . . .
[. . . .]ⲟ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲥⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲗ[ⲓⲥⲙ]ⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ[ⲁⲛ]ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ .
[. ⲧⲧ]ⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ leer Ⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲁⲡ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲱ
[ⲱⲩ ⲉ]ⲯⲁⲕⲃⲛ ⲧⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲉⲥⲥⲁⲧⲩ̄[. .]
[. . . .]ⲉ ⲉⲥⲣ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲉⲣ[ⲉ ⲡ]
[ⲥⲁⲣⲙ]ⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲥⲁⲃⲕ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲃⲁⲭⲃⲉ [ⲛ]
[ⲥⲏⲧⲥ] ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡ̣ⲕⲉⲁⲏⲣ ⲛ̣ⲧⲡⲉ ⲍⲁⲣⲕ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲧⲩ ⲥⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[. .]
[. . . . . .]. . ⲛ . . . ⲧⲕⲉⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲥⲍⲁⲣⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲙ .
[. . . . . .] ⲥⲁⲑ . ⲛ̄ⲣⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲓⲧⲙ̄

1 ⲣⲉ in ⲣⲫⲟⲣⲉ über der Zeile. — 20 ⲧ in ⲙⲟⲩⲭⲧ über der Zeile.

des Lehrers.

[unterrichten.] Wisse also: Die Seele, die den Körper anzieht (φορεῖν),
wenn der Licht-Noûς zu ihr kommt, läutert er sie durch
die Macht der Weisheit (σοφία) und seines Hörens und reinigt sie und macht
einen Neuen Menschen, an dem keine Störung und Verwirrung und Auf-
regung (ταραχή) ist. — Aber wenn eine Aufregung (ταραχή) entsteht bei ihm
und er verwirrt wird, geht diese Aufregung in ihn hinein in . . . . .
zuerst (?) durch seine ζῴδια und seine Sterne, die hart sind, die . .
indem sie auf ihm kreisen und ihn bewegen und ihn verstören durch
die Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) und den Zorn und die Kümmernis und die Traurigkeit (λύπη), indem
er will. Indem er auch will, verstören ihn die Mächte des Himmels durch ihre
Wurzeln, die an ihnen angeheftet sind. — Manchmal findest du die [Mächte]
[des] Himmels ruhig und still ihm gegenüber, und es gelangt (ἀπαντᾶν) . . .
ein hartes Glied (μέλος) kommt in ihn hinein in der Nahrung, die er gegessen hat.
oder aber in . . . . . in dem Wasser, das sie getrunken haben . . .
Verstörung, Verwirrung, und der Zorn nimmt in ihm zu, und die
Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) wird bei ihm viel und die Kümmernis und die Traurigkeit (λύπη) wegen
der Nahrung (τροφή) des Brotes, das er gegessen hat, und des Wassers, das er getrunken hat,
das voll ist von Verwirrung erregenden Gliedern (μέλος), eine harte ἐνθύμησις.
Sie kommen in den Körper hinein, indem sie mit diesen Nahrungsmitteln (τροφή) [vermischt sind] und sich auch
vermischen mit den bösen Gliedern (μέλος) des Körpers und die
Sünde, die in ihm ist, übertrifft (noch) den Zorn, die Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) die
Kümmernis, die Trauer (λύπη), die bösen Gedanken des Körpers.
Siehe, ich habe dich unterrichtet, daß du verstört wirst . . .
. . . . . ihnen durch die Wurzeln der Oberen *lihme* und . . .
die Nahrung (τροφή), die in dich hineinkommt. — Manchmal aber
findest du die Nahrung (τροφή), die in dich hineinkommt, geläutert
. . . . ., indem sie einerseits Überfluß hat an Licht und Leben, während
der Bodensatz in ihr wenig ist, die Schlechtigkeit (κακία) gering
in ihr ist. Auch der Äther (ἀήρ) des Himmels ist ruhig, indem er geläutert ist durch die . . .
. . . . . auch das Bild (εἰκών), indem es ruhig ist vor den . . .
. . . . . zuzunehmen in dir durch

[ⲥⲓⲍ] ϴ

[ⲛ]ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

1 [ⲛⲓ]ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁ
2 [ⲥⲟ]ⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲛⲧⲕ ⲉⲕⲥⲁⲣⲕ ⲉⲕⲥⲃⲣⲁⲍⲧ̄ ⲉⲕⲡⲟⲗⲓ
3 [ⲧ]ⲉⲩⲉ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲁⲓⲃⲉ ⲙ̄
4 [ⲡⲙ]ⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲟ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ
5 [ⲉⲧⲧ]ⲙⲁⲓⲁⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲕ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲱⲕ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲥⲃⲏ
6 [ⲩⲉ] ⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲃⲓⲁⲟⲩⲉ ⲱⲭⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲥⲓⲱⲟⲩ
7 [. .] ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲱⲃⲣ̄ⲁⲟⲩⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ ⲉⲧ
8 [ⲱ]ⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲕ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲱⲁⲕⲃⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲓⲍⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲉⲩ
9 [ⲥ]ⲁⲣⲕ ⲥⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲣⲁⲍⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ ⲱⲧⲁⲣ
10 [ⲧⲣ ⲛ]ⲥⲉⲃⲛⲧⲕ ⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁⲭ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲉⲥⲃⲏ
11 [ⲩⲉ] ⲧⲏⲱ ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲃⲁⲩ
12 [ⲉ ⲥ]ⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲉⲭⲉ . . . . . ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲥ[ⲓⲱ]
13 ⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲉⲥⲧⲁⲓⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ [ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲍⲁⲗⲏⲧ leer
14 Ⲉⲓⲥⲧ[ⲉ ⲁⲓ]ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲓⲉⲧⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲁⲓⲁⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕ
15 ⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣ[ⲉ ⲛ]ⲓⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲃⲱⲱⲛ ⲛⲏⲩ
16 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲟ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲭⲁⲃⲁⲁⲧ ⲉⲧⲱⲧⲁ[ⲣ]
17 ⲧⲣ ⲏ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲭⲛⲟⲩ
18 ⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲥⲃⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲍⲗⲟⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲥⲁ
19 ⲣⲕ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲓⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ . . . . ⲙⲁ ⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧ̄ⲣ̄ ⲉⲱⲁ
20 ⲕⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧ̄ⲣ̄ ⲥⲓⲧⲛ ⲛⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲍⲁⲥⲉ
21 ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲧⲣⲟ[ⲫⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲧ]ⲃⲓⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ
22 ⲁ[ⲛ] ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲗⲓⲍⲙⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲍⲁⲣⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲕⲉⲧⲣⲟ
23 ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲧⲁⲕⲣⲉ ⲉⲥⲥⲁⲧⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲃⲛ ⲡⲉⲕⲍⲏⲧ
24 ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ ⲁⲡⲉⲙⲁ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲍⲁⲣⲕ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲱⲧⲁ[ⲣⲧⲣ]
25 Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲁⲩ . . .
26 ⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲕⲟ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲕⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁ[ⲁⲧ]
27 ⲛ . . ⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲍ ⲁⲭⲱⲛ ⲧⲛ[. . .]
28 [. ⲡ]ⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲕ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲕ̄[ⲡⲉⲓ]
29 [ϴⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲁⲗⲟⲏⲧ ⲉⲕ . . . . . [. . .]
30 [ⲙⲯⲩ]ⲭⲁⲩⲉ : —
31 ⲡⲍ̄
32 ⲡⲍ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲭⲉ . . . ⲡⲍ̄
33 ⲙⲁ ⲛⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏ[ⲥⲓⲁ]
34 Ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ [ⲁⲛ ⲁⲥ]ⲱ[ⲟⲡⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲏⲩ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲩⲍⲙⲉⲥⲧ]

ϴ oben rechts gibt das Ende der 9. Quaternio an. — 8 Lies ⲍⲓⲍⲟⲩⲛ. — 17 Lies ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲭⲛⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ.

Die Kephalaia

jene guten Glieder der Nahrung (τροφή), die in dich hinein-
kommt, und sie finden dich ruhig und still, indem du schön (καλῶς) wandelst
(πολιτεύεσθαι) in deinem Wandel (ἀναστροφή) wegen des
lebendigen Gliedes (μέλος), das Überfluß hat an dem Lichte der gerechtfertigten
Seelen, die in ihm sind, die ihre Werke voll-
endet haben. Ihre Vergeltungen vergingen, indem ihre Seele leicht war
. . . . Sie wurden verbunden mit den Lebendigen Seelen, die
in dir sind. Deshalb findest du sie in dir, wie sie
ruhig sind in Stille und aus dir herauskommen ohne (χωρίς) Verwirrung,
und man findet dich heil an deinem Körper, indem deine Wer-
ke bestimmt sind, indem sie schön (καλῶς) nach ihrer Art geordnet sind, indem deine Lehren
bestehen, indem deine Worte . . . . . ., indem deine Seele leicht
ist bei dir, indem sie wie ein Vogel aufsteigt. —
Siehe, ich habe dich unterrichtet über die Bestimmung (διάκρισις) dieses Wortes, das du
gefragt hast, woher die bösen Gedanken und Überlegungen in dich
hineinkommen, die harten ἐνθυμήσεις, die Verwirrung
stiften oder woher in dich hineinkommen die guten Gedanken
und angenehmen Lehren, wenn dein Noûς bei dir
ruhig ist. Ich habe dir gesagt: Wenn der Körper (?) in Verwirrung gerät, wirst du
verwirrt durch die *lihme* der Unteren, die harten Glieder,
die in dich hineinkommen in der Nahrung (τροφή) und im Essen. Wenn
die *lihme* der Oberen ruhig sind dir gegenüber, indem auch die
Nahrung (τροφή), die in dich hineingekommen ist, lauter und rein ist, findet man dein Herz
beständig an seinem Ort, indem deine Gedanken Ruhe haben vor Verwirrung.
Da als jener Jünger dies hörte, pries er . . .
. . den Apostel (und) sprach zu ihm: Du bist gepriesen und gesegnet.
Die lebendigen . . .. die aus dir herausgekommen sind und sich auf uns niedergelassen haben, wir
. . . glauben (πιστεύειν) dir, denn alles, was wir dich fragen, du [überzeugst]
(πείθειν) uns darüber in Geduld, indem du . . . . . .
die Seelen.

LXXXVII.

Über das Almosen, daß . .
. . . Leben in der Kirche.

Wiederum [geschah es zu einer Zeit, da saß der Φωστήρ]

ⲓ [ⲥⲓⲍ]

ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲍ

ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁⲩⲍⲉ̀ ⲡⲁϫⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ϫⲉ
ⲛⲓⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ+ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡ
ⲣⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲉⲛ
ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ + ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲙⲡ
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲓⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲑⲡⲟ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲑⲗⲓ+ⲓⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲗⲁⲓⲡⲱⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ [ⲙⲛ]
ⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲍⲓ ⲣⲟ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲏⲛ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟ̄ ⲛⲥⲉⲃⲛ ⲟⲩ
ⲁ̈ⲱ ⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲉⲛ ⲉ̣ⲓ
[ⲙ]ⲏⲧⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲧ[ⲟ]
[ⲗ]ⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲉⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲍⲏ[ⲧⲥ ⲍ]
ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲉⲧϫⲁⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲉ ⲥⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲍⲛ ⲛⲥⲁⲛ ⲙⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲍⲟ ⲧⲉ[ⲕ]ⲕⲗⲏ
ⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲉ ⲱⲁⲩ[ⲛⲟⲩⲍ]ⲙⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄[ⲥⲉ]ⲙ
ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲱⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ[ⲃⲱⲕ] ⲁ̣ⲡ
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲉⲛ ⲛⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲥ
ⲍⲱⲥ ⲁⲛ +ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲙⲧ[ⲁⲛ]
ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲍⲓ ⲙⲁⲛ̄ϫⲓⲟⲣⲉ ⲁ+ⲭⲱⲣⲁ
ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲍⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥ ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲉⲓⲙⲏ
ⲧⲓ ⲍⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ . . . . .
ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲍⲁⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧ+ ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ
[ⲡⲉ]ⲥⲧⲁ̈ⲟ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲁⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥϫⲱ
[ⲃⲉ] ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ leer Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲩⲍⲉ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩ
[ⲙⲉ]ⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲁⲉⲩ ⲉⲥⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲍ ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲭⲟ ⲛ
[. .] ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩϫⲟ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲩ ⲙⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ [ⲉⲓ]ⲥ
[ⲡ]ⲓⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲱⲁⲩⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲧ . .
. . . ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲭⲉ̈ⲧⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ
[ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲉ ⲉⲧ]ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲧⲛⲉⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲛ̄ⲩⲙ̄
[ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ] leer Ⲧⲍⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏ
[ⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ] ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲃⲓⲣⲁⲩ ⲃⲓⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲁ

ⲓ oben links gibt den Anfang der 10. Quaternio an. – 1 Lies ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ.

des Lehrers.

in der Mitte der Versammlung. Er sprach zu seinen Jüngern:
All die Almosen, die alle Sekten in der Welt wegen des
Namens Gottes, überhaupt in seinem Namen geben.
die ihre Katechumenen wegen des Namens Gottes
geben, — an jedem Ort, zu dem diese Almosen gebracht werden, geleitet man
sie zu Trübsal (θλῖψις) und Mühsal (ταλαιπωρία) und Schlechtigkeit (κακία).
Nicht gibt es Ruhe und eine offene Tür, damit sie durch sie herausgehen und
die [Möglichkeit (?)]
finden, zu Gott zu kommen, um dessen Namen willen sie gegeben wurden
außer (εἰμήτι)
der heiligen Kirche, in der die Gebote (ἐντολή)
des Almosens sich befinden, indem sie in ihr vollendet werden durch den
Willen des Höchsten. Sie nun, die heilige
Kirche existiert in zwei Gestalten (πρόσωπον), in den Brüdern und
den Schwestern. Wenn nun die Almosen die heilige Kirche
erreichen, werden sie in ihr gerettet, geläutert und ruhen
aus in ihr. Dann gehen sie aus ihr heraus und [kommen] zu dem
Gott der Wahrheit, um dessen Namen willen sie gegeben worden sind. Sie
ihrerseits, die heilige Kirche ist Ruhestätte
für all die Almosen, die in ihr ruhen. Sie selber
wird ihnen eine Tür und ein Fahrzeug zu jenem
Lande (χώρα) der Ruhe. Die heilige Kirche
hat keine Ruhestätte in dieser ganzen Welt außer (εἰμήτι)
durch die Katechumenen, die sie (fem.) hören . . . . . .
nur bei den Katechumenen, die ihr Ruhe geben, indem
ihre Ehre bei den Katechumenen ist, vermittels deren
sie übersetzt. — Wem gleicht die Ver-
sammlung der Katechumenen? Sie gleicht einem guten Lande, — es steht
unter Aufsicht (?) des Bauern —, in dem der gute Baum gepflanzt wird. Siehe,
jener gute Baum verwandelt die Kraft und die . .
. . . des ganzen Landes und macht es zu einer guten Frucht (καρπός).
Jener Bauer bringt Ruhe dem Baum des Lebens, und er
ruht. — So in gleicher Weise steht es
[mit der heiligen Kirche]. Sie gleicht einem guten

ⲥⲏ

ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

1 ⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲩⲍⲉ̀ ⲥⲱⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲛⲧⲁ
2 ⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲡⲓⲕⲁⲍ ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁϥⲱⲱⲡ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲙⲡⲃ̄ⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ
3 ⲛⲓⲧ leer ⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⳋ ⲱⲁⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲩⲍⲉ̀ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏ
4 ⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲥⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲍ ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛ̄
5 ⲧⲁⲥ ⲥⲱⲱⲥ ⲱⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲉ
6 ⲱⲁⲥⲣ̄ⲧⲁϫ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲛⲥ̀ⳋⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲥⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
7 ⲙ̣ⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲙⲁⲭⲍⲉ̀ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛⲙⲧⲁⲛ
8 [ⲉ]ⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲱⲁⲥⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧ[ⲉ]
9 ⲙ̣ⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧϥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ[ⲁ]
10 [ⲃⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧϥ̄ leer Ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ†ⲩⲭ[ⲏ]
11 [ⲉⲧⲁ]ⲛⲍ̀ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲥ̀ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ
12 ⲁ[ⲃⲱ]ⲕ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲥ̀ⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲁⲡⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥⲥⲁⲩ
13 ⲛ[ⲉ ⲛ]ⲥⲣ̄ⲁ|ⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲥ ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲏⲛ ⲥⲛ ⲛⲃⲁⲙ
14 ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̣ⲧⲡⲉ̣ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲣⲉϥⲗⲱⲭⲍ̀ ⲉⲧ
15 . . . ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲉⲥ ⲣⲟ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲏⲛ
16 ⲉ|ⲙ̣ⲏⲧ|ⲁ̣ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲟⲟⲍ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲩⲉ ⲛⲉ
17 . . . ⲥⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲛⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲏⲛ
18 [ⲥⲛ] ⲧⲃ|ⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲛ[ⲉⲥ]
19 ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲱⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲛⲕⲉⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲙⲡⲛⲩⲉ ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲩ
20 ⲙⲁⲛⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲉ|ⲙⲏⲧ|ⲁⲡⲕⲁ[ⲍ]
21 ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲩ ⲣⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲭⲛ ⲛⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ leer ⲧⲍⲉ
22 ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧϥ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̀ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⳋⲗⲓ†ⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ
23 ⲉⲩ̣ⲉ|ⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲩ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲁⲛⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲟ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲏⲛ ⲁⲡⲏⲓ̈ [ⲛ]
24 ⲛⲉⲥⲣⲱⲙⲉ leer Ⲧⲍⲉ ⲥⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈
25 ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲩⲡⲟⲇⲟⲭⲉⲩⲥ ⲛⲍⲁⲏ ⲛⲙⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̣[ⲙ]
26 ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧϥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛⲍⲏⲧϥ [ⲱⲁ]
27 ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ leer Ⲧⲍⲉ ⲥⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ [ⲉⲧⲟⲩ]
28 ⲁⲃⲉ ⲱⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲛⲛ̄ⲕⲁ̣ⲧ[ⲏ]
29 ⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ
30 ⲙⲁⲛⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲏ ⲙ̣ⲛ [ⲛⲉⲓ̈]
31 ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲍⲏⲧϥ̄ [ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ]
32 ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ : —

16 In ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲟⲩ steht ⲉ über der Zeile. — 22 Lies ⲧⳋⲗⲓ†ⲓⲥ. — 25 Lies ⲛⲍⲁⲉ.

Die Kephalaia

Baum. Die Versammlung der Katechumenen gleicht
dem guten Lande, das den guten Samen aufnimmt.
Siehe, wie groß die Versammlung der Katechu-
menen ist. Denn sie gleicht einem guten Lande. Denn
sie nimmt die heilige Kirche auf.
Sie kümmert sich um sie und gibt ihr Ruhe in all ihren Werken
und all ihren Trübsalen. Sie wird ihr zu einer Ruhestätte.
Denn sie ruht in ihr an allen Orten. Wo
keine Katechumenen sind, da hat die heilige Kirche
keine Ruhe. — Wie die Lebendige
Seele, die heute in Vermischung dasteht, emporsteigen
will und ins Haus ihrer Leute gehen, aber weiß
und einsieht (αἰσθάνεσθαι), daß sie keine offene Tür bei (?) allen
Mächten Himmels und der Erden hat, denn sie sind ihre Quäler, die
sie bedrängen (?) an allen Orten; sie hat keine offene Tür
außer Sonne und Mond allein, die φωστῆρες der Himmel sind sie,
sie werden ihr zur Ruhestätte und werden ihr eine offene Tür
beim Herausgehen, und sie geht in ihnen heraus ins Land des Hauses ihrer
Leute. Bis hin zu den φωστῆρες der Himmel haben sie keine
Ruhestätte in allen Kräften des Himmels außer dem Land
des Lichtes, das das ihrige ist seit Ewigkeit. — Denn
wie die Lebendige Seele aus aller Trübsal (θλῖψις) geläutert wird,
indem ihr Ruhe verschafft wird, indem ihr eine offene Tür aufgetan (?) wird
zum Haus
ihrer Leute, so wird das Land des Lichtes
zum letzten Aufnehmer (ὑποδοχεύς) der φωστῆρες der
Himmel werden, sie werden in ihm ruhen und in ihm ewiglich
herrschen. — So steht es auch mit der heiligen Kir-
che, sie wird eine Ruhestätte der Almosen der Katechu-
menen, und die Katechumenen werden zur
Ruhestätte der heiligen Kirche. Aber diese und jene,
ihre Ruhestätte, an der sie ruhen [ist das Land]
des Lichtes. —

6 Zu ptak vgl. 13, 32. Dort ist es wohl falsch erklärt.

[c|θ]

1 $\overline{\text{πη}}$

2 — εтβε пкатнхоγмενос етаγϕ̣ν

3 $\overline{\text{πη}}$ αρικε απεκλεκтос χε αгραγ γβαλκ [πη]

4 Ттαλιν αν αсωωπε ν̄оγснγ аγкатнхоγмενос тωк [α]

5 ρετ̄ϥ гιτεгн ν̄παχαϊс παποστολος παχεγ αραγ

6 χε πсап ε+ναγεγ аγαικαιος εγβαλк εγο νχολη εγмι

7 ωε м̄ν̄ πεγωвнр εγνоγгε нтεγвλκε гιωωγ е[γтеоγ]

8 ▫ νгνсехе εγбаϊт εγ+мтаг εν агоγν агρεγ [нтоγ]

9 ноγ етм̄мεγ е+ναγεγ аραγ εγмιωε м̄ν̄ νεγερηγ . .

10 . νкεмιν . ν агρηϊ гапс̀ гναικαιος εν νε νк̣ααγε

11 ν . ε ωαγ[. . .] ν̄νεϊ гапс̀ сетнк аретоγ εν гν тмне

12 нте . . . . . ноγωп аραγ акмнн ωаϊбнаρικε е[ϊ]χω

13 м̄мас χε ειсхε оγν гν̄ικαιος νε νεϊ етβε εγ ωαγ

14 вωλк етβε εγ ν̄гωв εγαмιωε гωωγ м̄ν̄ νεγερηγ χε

15 εγ ере оγε нагаγω аоγε ем̄нтεγ λаоγε м̄мεγ гм̄ пко

16 смос етоγтнк аретоγ нгнт̄ϥ leer

17 Ттотε пах[ε] пм̄фωстнр апικатнхоγмενос етм̄м[εγ] оγ

18 сехе εν εγсмаант̄ пе п[сехе] етакτеоγаγ м[а]к̣те

19 оγаγ καλως м̄пωр[χ]+свω ммнтсебε бмм . . т а

20 рак атесωωпе ν̄гнтк аλλа саγне ν̄кмме нте

21 • етκνεγ аβал пе . . . оγωнг̀ νек аβал χε νι

22 [. . .] . ωаγρνнг ν̄ . . . . . мιон νевωр пеγс+ноγ

23 γε мн̄ нгнне ете[ωаγει] аβал м̄мау нϥхрнсιмεγε

24 ннр̄раї мν νε[. . . . .] гоммс пιωнн етр̄нг̣

25 нс̣+[ноγγ]е εωωпе прωме бωрве ν̄оγтер гωωγ

26 [ан] ν̄ϥωωт оγкλаδос ν̄гнтϥ нγкααγ аχн тсете

27 ωаре оγкапнос енаωωγ ει аβал нгнтγ ωаре оγ

28 . . . . ан пωрх аβал м̄мау аλλа мн ρωме м . . гε

29 [. .] ωаре пιннг нс+ноγγе етаγει аβал м̄мау р̣т̄

30 +пе мпкапнос мн пкрмес нсеві пкελεвιн

31 [. . .]оγ нсекωργ мпωнн тнργ аλλа ωаγрпке

32 [. . . .] поγаїе м̣пιωнн етм̄мεγ ν̄сесаноγωγ̣ е

33 [тβε пеγс]+[ноγ]γе етεωаγει аβал ν̄гнтγ leer

34 [Ттге гωγ ан те] теї ннекλεктос гν̄ноγте гωωγ

5 Nach πα in παχεγ ein Loch im Papyrus. Die Seitenüberschrift scheint zu fehlen.

LXXXVIII.

Über den Katechumenen, der den Elekten tadelte, warum er zornig sei.

Wiederum geschah es zu einer Zeit, da stand ein Katechumen auf vor meinem Herrn, dem Apostel, und sprach zu ihm: Wenn ich einen Gerechten (δίκαιος) sehe, der zornig und grollend (χολή) ist, indem er mit seinem Gefährten streitet, indem er seinen Zorn auf ihn wirft, indem er häßliche Worte ausspricht, die nicht zu ihm passen (?), zu jener Stunde, wenn ich sie im Streit miteinander sehe . .
. . . . . notwendigerweise sind sie nicht gerecht (δίκαιος) . . . .
. . . . . notwendigerweise stehen sie nicht in der Wahrheit.
. . . . . sie tadeln. Wahrlich (ἀκμήν) ich tadele, indem ich sage: Wenn diese Gerechte (δίκαιος) sind, weswegen zürnen sie? Weswegen streiten sie selber miteinander? Warum schmäht einer den andern, indem sie nichts in der Welt haben, in der sie stehen? —
Da sprach unser Φωστήρ zu jenem Katechumenen: Nicht ist ein Wort, das zu Recht besteht, das Wort, das du verkündet hast. Nicht verkündest du es in schöner Weise (καλῶς). Nicht nimm diese törichte Lehre . . . .
an, auf daß sie in dir sei. Sondern wisse und erkenne . . .
. . . was du siehst . . . dir offenbar wird, daß die
. . . es macht Öl . . . . . Ebenholz; sein Wohlgeruch und die Spezereien, die aus ihm hervorgehen und den Königen und . . . . dienen (χρησιμεύειν). Dennoch (ὅμως) dieser Baum, der Öl macht, und Wohlgeruch verbreitet, wenn der Mensch einen Zweig ausreißt und einen Schößling (κλάδος) von ihm abschneidet und ihn aufs Feuer legt, kommt viel Rauch (καπνός) aus ihm hervor, ...
. . . wird aus ihm abgeschieden, aber kein Mensch . . .
das wohlriechende Öl, das aus ihm herausgekommen ist, gewinnt den Geschmack des Rauches (καπνός) und der Asche, und man nimmt die Axt
. . . . . und schlägt den ganzen Baum um. Aber man macht auch
. . . . der Gärtner jenes Baumes, und man pflegt ihn, wegen seines Wohlgeruches, der aus ihm herauskommt. —
Dies ist die Art der Elekten. Götter

22 εβωρ = lat. ebur wie Allberry mitteilt.

[ck]

· · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · ·

1 [ⲛⲉ] ⲉⲩⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
2 [ⲁ]ⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲧⲏⲃ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲭ|ⲥⲉ ⲁⲥ
3 [ⲟ]ⲩⲱⲍ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲃ̄ leer
4 ⲦⲦ[ⲁⲗⲓⲛ] ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲱⲗⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲭⲟⲗⲏ
5 [ⲥⲉ]ⲍⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲁⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲱⲧⲁⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲉ
6 ⲕⲍⲏⲧ ⲥⲁⲡⲁⲝ ⲉⲕⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲱ
7 ⲙⲁ ⲉⲡⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲛⲧ ⲁⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲡⲕ̣[ⲉ]
8 ⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲱⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗⲕ ⲥⲱ
9 ⲱ[ⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲛⲍⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲱⲧ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ
10 ⲁⲍⲟ ⲛⲡⲍⲟ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
11 ⲉⲩⲃⲁⲗⲕ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲥ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲣ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲣ
12 ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲧⲥⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲕⲍⲏⲧ
13 ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲧⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲁⲕ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲥⲱ
14 ⲱⲩ ⲉⲩⲃⲱⲗⲕ ⲭⲉⲩ ⲉ̣ⲣⲉ̣ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧ+ⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡ[ⲉ] ⲛⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄
15 ⲛ[ⲉⲩⲉ]ⲣⲏⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲁⲕⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲡⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̣ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ
16 ⲥⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲉ ⲁⲕⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ [ⲡⲡⲉ]ⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲥⲛ̄
17 ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲕⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲃⲓ ⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ̄ ⲛⲉⲧ
18 ⲡⲱ ⲥⲓⲭⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲍⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲫⲟⲥⲟⲛ ⲁⲕⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ
19 ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ ⲉ[ⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲁ]ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ+ⲍⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ
20 ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲁⲕⲙ̄ⲙ̄[ⲙⲉ ⲥⲱ]ⲱⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲧⲱⲛⲉ ⲥⲁ
21 ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲡⲱ ⲥⲉⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉ[ⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲙ̄] ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲩ
22 ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ leer ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲡⲓⲕⲉ[ⲟⲩⲉ] ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲕⲁⲍⲉ
23 ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲕ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲥⲏⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲕⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩ
24 ⲱⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲱ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲡⲓ+ⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛⲛⲥⲓⲁⲙⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲃ [ⲙⲛ]
25 ⲡⲍⲉⲧ ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲓⲭ ⲃⲏⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲥⲏⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲱⲱⲟⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩ
26 ⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲕⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲕ ⲥⲛ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏ
27 ⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲟⲩⲍ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲉⲕⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲟⲙ[ⲱⲥ]
28 ⲥⲉⲛⲉⲭⲛⲉⲭ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲁⲩⲙⲉⲥⲧⲱⲕ ⲙⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉ
29 ⲓ̈ⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲙⲁⲩⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲡⲥⲟⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄+ⲍⲉ +
30 ⲛⲁⲱⲡⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲥⲁⲍ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲱⲁⲩⲱⲡ ⲍⲣⲉ[ⲕ ⲁⲛ]
31 ⲥⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲍⲗⲟⲏⲧ ⲱⲁⲩⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̣ⲉ[ⲙⲉⲕ]
32 ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲩ+ⲥⲃⲱ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲉⲕ[. . . . . .]
33 ⲛⲉ . ⲛⲉⲕⲭⲱⲗⲙ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲕⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ [. . . . . .]

2 Das 3. ⲧ in ⲧⲉⲧⲧⲏⲃ̄ über der Zeile. — 7 ⲧ in ⲉⲧⲣⲡⲕⲉ über der Zeile. — 28 Lies ⲁⲣⲁⲕ.

Die Kephalaia

sind sie, indem sie nach dem Abbild der Götter dastehn. Die Gottheit,
die sich in ihnen niedergelassen hat, ist ihnen aus der Höhe (herab)gekommen
(und) hat in ihnen Wohnung genommen und sie taten den Willen der Größe.
Wiederum (πάλιν) wenn sie erregt, heftig und zornig (χόλη) werden
schmähen sie einander. Errege dich aber nicht in deinem
Herzen. Ein für allemal (ἅπαξ) weißt du aber, sie stehen in einem Körper (σῶμα),
der nicht der ihre ist, indem sie das Fleisch (σάρξ) der Sünde hassen, das auch
in einem fremden Lande wohnt. Deshalb werden auch sie zornig und
sprechen und reden harte Worte
gegeneinander. Aber zur Zeit, wenn du sie siehst,
daß sie heftig und zornig sind, zweifle nicht an ihnen, ver-
achte (καταφρονεῖν) sie nicht, verwirf sie nicht aus deinem Herzen
noch entferne dich von ihnen. Nicht sage: Weshalb
zürnen sie? Weshalb wird ihnen Streit mit-
einander? Denn du hast das Mysterium der zwei
οὐσίαι erkannt. Du hast eingesehen, daß das Gute und das Böse in jedem
Menschen wohnt. Du hast weiter eingesehen, daß die Heiligen eine große
Last auf ihren Schultern tragen. Du nun, da (ἐφ' ὅσον) du dies
alles erkannt hast, ist es nicht am Platze (?) derartig gegen die Heiligen
zu reden. Denn du deinerseits hast erkannt, daß sie eine große
Last tragen (und) in dem Körper stehen, der nicht der
ihre ist. — Erkenne auch dies andere in dieser Weise, daß du da-
stehst in der Sünde zu aller Zeit (und) dein Leben (βίος) verbringst im
Essen und Trinken, in der Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) der Frauen, dem Gold und
dem Silber. Deine Hände sind zu aller Zeit gelöst, das Kreuz (σταυρός) des Lichtes
zu schlagen. Siehe du stehst da in all diesen Sünden.
Die Heiligen blicken auf dich, wenn du sie (plur.) tust. Dennoch (ὅμως)
beschimpfen sie dich nicht, noch hassen sie dich, nicht entfernen
sie sich von dir, nicht sagen sie: Solange (ἐφ' ὅσον) er so sündigt, werde
ich nicht sein Lehrer sein. Sondern sie nehmen [dich] auf
in Liebe (ἀγάπη) und Sanftmut. Sie reden mit dir
in der Weisheit (σοφία) Gottes, indem sie dich unterweisen . . . . .
. . . deine Sorgen (?) und deine Werke . . . . . .

28 ⲛⲉϫⲛⲉϫ siehe Crum, Dictionary p. 249

[ckα]

> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <

1 ⲭⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲉⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲛⲛⲓⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ
2 ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ
3 ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲱⲃ̄ⲣⲁⲟⲩⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲛⲁ̄ⲣⲱⲃⲣⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲍ
4 ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ leer Ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲛⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲱⲁⲟⲩⲏⲣ ⲡⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲉ
5 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲥⲉⲃⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲕ ⲍⲱⲥ ⲱⲃⲏ̣ⲣ
6 ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲍⲱⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲕⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ[ⲟⲩ]
7 ⲛⲕⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲥ̣ⲁⲡ
8 ⲉⲧⲕⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲗⲁⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲃⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲥ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ
9 ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ leer Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲉ
10 ⲟⲩⲟ ⲛⲓⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲡⲉⲓⲑⲉ
11 ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲏⲧ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲕⲱ ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲁ[ⲃⲁⲗ] ⲛ
12 ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲁ̈ⲓⲙⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲉ ⲍⲁ ⲛⲉⲓ̈
13 ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧ+
14 ⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲉ . . ⲥⲱⲩ
15 ⲉⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲉⲥ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲥ]ⲱⲙⲁ
16 ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲱⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲉⲡⲏⲣⲓⲁ . . . . . ⲛ̄
17 ⲥⲉⲗⲉⲃⲗⲉⲃ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ: —
18 π̄ⲑ̄
19 — π̄ⲑ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲛⲁⲍⲟ — π̄ⲑ̄
20 ⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲍ
21 Ⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲍⲟⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲙⲏⲧ
22 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ +ⲛⲁⲱⲛⲧⲕ ⲁⲩⲥⲉ
23 ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲍⲱⲱⲕ ⲡⲉⲓⲑⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ
24 ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲍ ⲛⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ leer ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
25 [ⲉⲓ] ⲙⲉ[ⲛ ⲉ]ⲕⲁⲱⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲍⲓⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ
26 [ⲍⲱ]ⲱⲧ ⲁⲛ +ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ
27 [ⲇ]ⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲱⲛⲧ ⲁⲍⲁⲍ ⲍⲓⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲍⲱⲧ ⲁⲛ +ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
28 ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲏⲱⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡ|ⲛⲁⲍⲟⲣⲁ|ⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲁ
29 ⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲕⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲁ
30 [ⲣ]ⲁ̣[ⲩ] ⲩⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙⲙⲁⲛ ⲩⲍⲁⲩ Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟ
31 [ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ] ⲁ̣ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲍⲟⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲱⲉ̣ⲧⲱ +ⲍⲧⲏⲕ
32 [ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲁⲕⲱⲛⲧ] ⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁ̣ⲕⲱⲛⲧ ⲁⲩ
33 [ⲙⲏⲏⲱⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲭⲉ Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ] ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩ

15 ⲛ̄ zu streichen. — 22 ⲕ über der Zeile.

des Lehrers.

daß es Sünden sind. Und sie bringen dir alle diese Almosen
dar. Sie sagen zu dir: Du bist unser Bruder. Du
bist unser Genosse, der mit uns zum Land des Lichtes
wandelt. — Siehe nun, du siehst, wie groß die Liebe ist,
die sie dir gegenüber haben; sie sind nachsichtig gegen dich als (ὡς) Gefährten.
Du aber, für dich ziemt sich dies, daß du sie liebst
und sie ehrst. Nicht verachte (καταφρονεῖν) sie, wenn
du einen Streit unter ihnen siehst, indem sie mit einander
zürnen. — Da (τότε) als der Apostel diese Worte
jenem Katechumenen verkündete, überzeugte (πείθειν) er
sein Herz. Er (sc. d. Katechumen) sprach zu ihm weinend: Erlaß mir
meine Sünden. Denn ich habe in Wahrheit erkannt, mein Herr, all
dies, worüber du mich unterrichtet hast, daß, wenn den Heiligen
Streit miteinander entsteht, das nicht so
schlimm (?) ist, denn auch in ihrem Körper wohnt der Alte Mensch.
Deshalb werden sie hochmütig (ἐπηρία) . . . . . .
und streiten (?) miteinander. —

LXXXIX.

Das Kapitel (κεφάλαιον) von dem Nazoräer, der den Meister fragt.

Wiederum geschah es zu einer Zeit, da kam ein Nazoräer vor
den Apostel und sprach zu ihm: Ich will dich nach einem Wort
fragen. Du selber, überzeuge (πείθειν) mich mit einem einzigen Wort,
aber nicht mit vielen Worten. — Da sprach der Apostel zu ihm:
Wenn du mir ein einziges Wort aussprechen kannst, dann
will auch ich dir ein einziges Wort sagen. Wenn du
mich aber viele fragst, dann werde auch ich dir eine Menge
verkünden. — (Da) sprach jener Nazoräer zu dem
Apostel: Dein Gott, zu dem du betest, indem du an ihn
glaubst, ist er gut oder böse? Da sprach der
Apostel zu jenem Nazoräer: Wohlan, paß auf,
[siehe.] nicht [hast du mich] ein einziges Wort [gefragt], sondern du hast eine [Menge Worte]
gefragt. — [Da] sprach der Apostel zu ihm: Ein

19 Für Nazoräer steht im Text Ναζορεύς oder Ναζοραῖος.

c[kB]

· ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · ≈

1 [kρ|]ⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲡ|ⲛⲁⲍⲟ
2 ⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲛⲉⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ϫⲉ ⲙⲛ kρ|ⲧⲏⲥ
3 ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗ|ⲥ ⲉⲙⲁⲩⲣⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲙⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ kρ|
4 [ⲧ]ⲏⲥ ⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲩⲣⲉⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲥ|ⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ
5 [ⲛ]ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲉⲣⲙⲏⲧⲁⲣ|ⲟⲛ ⲉⲱⲁⲩ†ⲙⲱⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲍⲏ
6 ⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲣ|ⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ
7 ⲧⲥⲏⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲍⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲕ|ⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ
8 ⲣ̄ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲟⲗ|ⲥ ⲥ̄ⲛⲙⲛⲧⲃⲟⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
9 ⲉ|ⲥⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲛⲉⲩ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕ|ⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ leer
10 ⲦⲦⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲉ[ⲛ]
11 ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕ|ⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲃⲱⲗ ⲛⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛ[ⲉ]
12 ⲉⲩⲃ̣ⲱⲩ ⲁⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲱⲁ̣ⲣⲉ ⲡⲕ|ⲣ|
13 ⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲩ†ⲙⲱⲣⲏ ⲛⲩⲍⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲙⲟⲩ[ⲟⲩⲧ] ⲟ̄ⲉ|ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄
14 ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙⲡ|ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲟⲩⲱⲥⲩ ⲙⲡⲡⲉⲧⲍⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲱⲱⲧ̄
15 ⲛⲧⲕⲁⲕ|ⲁ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲣ[ⲱ]ⲙ̣ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲕⲁⲁ̣ⲥ ⲁϫⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁ
16 ⲃⲉ ⲁⲙⲉⲗ|ⲓⲟⲩⲛ †ⲍⲧⲏⲕ ⲍ|ⲧⲛ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ϫⲉ ⲱⲁⲕⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲏ
17 ⲱⲉ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲉⲩⲑⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲍⲁⲧⲛ̄ ⲡ
18 ⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲕ|ⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲁⲩⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [ⲟⲩ]ⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩ
19 ⲥⲱⲕ ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲍⲁⲛⲍⲣ̄ⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [ⲉⲡ]
20 ⲍ[ⲟ]ⲥⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲱⲱⲩⲧ ⲁ̣ⲛⲉ̣ⲧ
21 ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲃⲟⲟ
22 ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲉⲍⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲁⲡ̣ⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲧ[ⲟ̄]
23 ⲍ|ⲧⲉⲍⲏ ⲙⲡⲕ|ⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲱⲁⲩⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲙ̄ⲛ[ⲧⲃ]ⲟⲟ[ⲛⲉ]
24 ⲃⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧⲟ̄ ⲙⲟⲩⲍ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲕⲛⲉⲩ ϫⲉ̣
25 ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ|ⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧ̣ⲉ̣
26 ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲣⲉⲩⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲉ†ⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲱⲁ̣[ⲩ]
27 ⲕⲁ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲁϫⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ|ⲣⲉ ⲁ̣[ⲛ]
28 ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲁⲛⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲙⲁⲍⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲱⲃ̣[ⲓ]
29 ⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲉⲥ leer ⲧⲍⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ [ⲧ]ⲉ ⲧ̣[ⲉⲓ̈]
30 ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲕ|ⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄†ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ [ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩ]
31 ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲇ|ⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉ|ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲡⲉⲑⲁ[ⲩ ⲉⲙⲁⲩⲡⲉ|]
32 ⲑⲉ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲍⲙ̄ ⲙ[. . . . . .]

7 Vor ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ zu ergänzen ⲙⲙⲁⲩ? — 30 Lies ⲛⲙ̄†ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ.

Die Kephalaia

Richter (κριτής) ist mein Gott. Da sprach wiederum jener
Nazoräer zu ihm: Ich sehe nämlich (γάρ), daß es keinen Stadt- (πόλις) Richter (κριτής)
gibt, der nicht Böses tut. Denn an jedem Ort, wo ein Richter (κριτής)
ist, da gibt es Rindslederpeitschen (ταυρεά), mit denen er die Menschen
schlägt, ἑρμητάρια, mit denen er sie bestraft (τιμωρεῖν),
Halskragen (κολλάριον) gehören zu ihm, die er ihnen anlegt,
auch das Schwert, mit dem er [sie] töten läßt. Der Richter (κριτής)
tut dies alles in der Stadt (πόλις). Schlechtigkeiten sind dies alles.
Siehe, du siehst, daß der Richter (κριτής) ein Übeltäter ist. —
Der Apostel sprach zu ihm seinerseits: Kein Übeltäter
ist der Richter (κριτής). Sondern das Werk ist eine Vernichtung (?) der Schlechtigkeit,
die das Böse beengt. Aber was du gesagt hast: Der Richter (κριτής)
macht sich daran zu strafen (τιμωρεῖν) und zu töten, (und) er tut
dies in dieser Weise, damit er das Böse vernichtet und die Bosheit (κακία)
im Menschen unterdrückt und sie über das Haupt des Sünders
bringt. Natürlich (ἀμέλει γοῦν) denke daran, daß du eine Menge
guter (ἀγαθός), freier (ἐλεύθερος) Menschen findest, die sich vor dem
Richterstuhle (βῆμα) des Richters (κριτής) befinden, und er nicht gegen sie sündigt noch
den Saum ihres (plur.) (Kleides) berührt. Nicht flößt er ihnen Furcht ein (?), solange (ἐφ' ὅσον) sie nicht gesündigt haben. Nicht tut er Unrecht gegen das, was
in ihnen ist. Aber wenn einer Schlechtigkeit tut,
und die, gegen die er gesündigt hat, ihn erreichen und ihn packen und ihn vor
den Richter (κριτής) bringen, bringt er selbst seine Sünde und seine Schlechtigkeit
über sein eigenes Haupt. Schaue nun und sieh, daß
das Böse nicht vom Richter (κριτής) ausgeht, noch er „Sünder"
genannt wird. Sondern wer Schlechtigkeit tut,
bringt selbst Schlechtigkeit über sein eigenes Haupt. Wer dagegen
das Beständige und Gute getan hat, erfüllt sich mit der
Vergeltung des Guten, daß er getan hat. — So steht es auch mit
Gott. Er ist ein Richter (κριτής) der Seelen (ψυχή), [die]
auf den Teufel (διάβολος) hören und das Böse tun, [indem sie nicht überzeugt werden]
von der Wahrheit und der Erkenntnis, die sind im . . . . . .

11 Zu ϭωλ vgl. 66, 14; 105, 30; 111, 6; 165, 7. Vgl. Hymn. (Index). Hom. 41,14. — 19 ϲωϰ wörtlich: zieht.

[ck]ⲅ̣

> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <

1 ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲃⲟⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲉ . . ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲁϫⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ
2 ⲙⲁⲩⲱⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲥⲁⲏ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲱⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ[ⲓⲁⲃⲟ]
3 ⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧⲩ̄ leer ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲥⲏⲣ ϫⲟⲟⲥ ϫⲉ [ⲡⲙⲁ]
4 ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲉⲥⲟ ⲛⲁⲱ[ⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ]
5 ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ|ϯⲩϫⲁⲩⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ [ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲏⲧ]
6 ⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲥⲟ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲁⲧⲙ̄ ⲡⲁ|ⲁⲃ[ⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲁ]
7 ⲱⲡ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲣ̄ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲥ[ⲁⲩ ⲛ]ⲉⲩ
8 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ|ⲛ [ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ] ⲛⲉ
9 ⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲧⲁϫⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁϫⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲅⲉⲉⲛⲛⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲱϫⲥ leer
10 ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̣ⲕⲁ
11 ⲧⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ [ⲱ]ⲁⲩ
12 ⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩ+ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ[ⲡ]ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈
13 ⲛ̣[ⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲱⲁ ⲁ[ⲛⲏ]ⲍⲉ
14 ⲉⲓⲥⲍ[ⲏ]ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲟ[ⲩⲕⲣⲓ]ⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲱ[ⲩ ⲡⲉ] ⲉ
15 ⲙⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲩⲃⲱⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲁⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲃⲓ ⲙ
16 ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ leer
17 ⲩ̄
18 ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲕⲁ
19 ⲩ̄ ⲧⲏϫⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩ ⲩ̄
20 ϫⲣⲙⲙⲁ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁ̣ⲧⲅⲉⲉⲛⲛⲁ
21 ⲦⲦⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲩⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟ
22 ⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ +ⲧⲱⲃⲍ̄ ⲙⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲓ̈
23 ⲉⲧ’ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲕⲧⲱⲧ ⲡⲁⲍⲏⲧ ⲍⲁ ⲡ|ⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉ+ⲛⲁϫⲛⲟⲩⲕ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
24 ⲉ̣ⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲍ|ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ϫⲉ ⲙⲛⲧⲏ ⲙⲙⲁ
25 ⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲧⲩ ⲉⲩⲏⲡ
26 [ⲁⲡ]ⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲩϫⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲕⲉⲱⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉⲩ
27 [ⲙⲁϫⲧ] ⲉⲩϫⲓ ⲁⲧⲡⲉ ϫⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲃⲱⲕ
28 [ⲁⲍⲣ]ⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲱⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ
29 [ⲁⲛⲉ]ϫⲏⲩ ⲡⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲍⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁϫⲩ̄
30 [ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛ]ⲉ ⲁⲩⲙ̣ⲉⲧⲁ̣ⲣⲣ̣[ⲓ]ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲉⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ̄
31 [ⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ . . . . .]ⲱⲟⲩⲟ̣ ⲁⲛⲅⲉⲉⲛⲛⲁ leer ⲁⲕⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲧ
32 [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϫⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲧ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲏⲕ ⲁⲛⲅⲉⲉⲛⲛⲁ

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10 ⲛ̣ vor ⲕⲁⲧⲁ wohl fehlerhaft. — 11 f. ⲱⲁⲩⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ zum zweiten Mal wohl Dittographie. — 20 Lies ⲙⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ.

des Lehrers.

in Schlechtigkeit . . . . und er verurteilt sie (plur.) durch ihre (eigenen) Werke.
Nicht nimmt er sie bei ihrem Ende zu sich. Sondern sie werden (An)teil
des Teufels (διάβολος), den sie geliebt haben. — Wie der Heiland (σωτήρ) gesagt hat: Wo
euer Herz ist, (da) wird euer Schatz sein.
Die Seelen, die so sind nach [ihrem Herzen]
und ihrem Schatz, den sie sich beim Teufel (διάβολος) niedergelegt haben,
werden zu seinem Teil gerechnet. Nicht hat Gott ihnen etwas Böses getan.
Sondern sie (stehen) selbst gegen sich. Ihre eigenen Werke
verurteilen sie und werfen sie in die Hölle (γεέννα) des Brennens. —
Diese, welche Gutes tuen, jenen vergilt er
gemäß ihrer Güte die Guttat. Er vergilt
ihnen die Guttat und gibt ihnen das Reich des
Lichtes und macht sie zu Erben (κληρονόμος) im ewigen Leben.
Siehe nun, du siehst Gott, daß er ein Richter ist, indem
er nicht Böses tut, sondern das Böse bedrängt, indem er es
aus der Mitte fortnimmt. —

LXXXX.

Über die fünfzehn Wege und ob der Katechumen dem entgehen wird, daß sein Besitz (χρῆμα) auf den drei Wegen in die Hölle geht.

Wiederum stellte sich ein Elektus vor dem Apostel hin
(und) sprach zu ihm: Ich bitte dich, mein Herr, daß du mich aufklärst
und mein Herz von dem Worte überzeugst, das ich dich fragen werde.
Denn wir haben also von dir gehört: Fünfzehn Wege
ziehen sich in der ζώνη hin. Vier Wege, die geläutert sind und zum Licht
gehören, indem sie zum Leben hinaufführen. Weitere acht Wege, die
[vermischt sind], indem sie von jenem Orte emporführen. Das Licht steigt
empor, entweicht aus ihnen, wird geläutert und kommt [in]
[die] Schiffe. Der Bodensatz aber wird abgeschieden und hinab
in Seelenwanderung (μεταγγισμός) geworfen und die übrigen drei Wege des
[Bodensatzes . . .] wird in die Höllen (γεέννα) ausgegossen — Du hast mich
unterrichtet, [daß die drei] Wege, die zum Bodensatz gehören, in die Höllen (γεέννα) führen,

3 cf. Matth. 6,21; Luk. 12,34.

c[ka]

· ⲛ̣ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ ·

1 [ⲉ]ⲩ̣ⲥⲏⲕ ⲥⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲡ[ⲟ]ⲩ̣ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲱⲥⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧ
2 [ⲁⲛⲟ]ⲙⲓⲁ ⲧⲁⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡ̄
3 [. .] . ⲝ̄ ⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲥⲁⲱⲥⲱ̄ ⲙ̄
4 [. .] ⲥⲛ̄ ⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲙⲁⲥⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲧϯⲁⲥⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ
5 [. . .]ⲙ̣ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲥⲁⲛ ⲡⲕⲉ
6 ⲥ[ⲉⲡⲉ] ⲛ̣ⲧⲉ ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲭⲓⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲧⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
7 ⲡ[ⲓⲱⲁ]ⲙ̣ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲁⲕⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲛ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲝⲉ ⲥⲉⲥⲏⲕ ⲁⲛⲅⲉⲉⲛⲁ
8 ⲁⲕ[. .]ⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲝⲉ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲱⲁⲫⲟⲩⲁⲥⲫ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲛⲉ[ⲫ]
9 ⲥⲃ[ⲏ]ⲩ̣ⲉ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲉ̀ⲓⲧⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ϯⲧⲱⲃⲍ̄
10 ⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲁⲕ] ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲝⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲥⲉⲝⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲕⲥⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ̈
11 ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲉⲝⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲝⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧ̄ⲋⲁⲍⲏ ⲛⲏⲩ ⲁ
12 ⲃⲁⲗ [ⲛ]ⲉⲱ ⲛⲍⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲝⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩ ⲥⲁⲧⲍⲏ ⲉⲙⲡⲁ
13 ⲧⲉⲩⲭ̣[ⲓ] ⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲥⲱⲕ ⲥⲓⲧⲟ
14 ⲟⲧⲩ [ⲡⲍ]ⲁⲱⲍⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣[ⲉⲩ]ⲕⲉⲉⲥ ⲡⲥⲁⲱⲥⲱ̄ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄
15 ⲡⲥⲉⲭ̣ⲉ ⲉⲧϯⲁⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲁ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲩ
16 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ ⲥⲏⲕ leer ⲝⲛ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲍⲏ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲕⲁ
17 ⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲥⲏⲕ ⲁⲡⲙⲉⲧⲁⲣ
18 ⲅⲓⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̣ⲁⲛⲅⲉⲉⲛⲛⲁ ⲉⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲩⲥⲏⲕ ⲁⲧⲅⲉⲉⲛⲛⲁ ⲉⲓⲉ ⲡⲁⲛ
19 ⲧⲏⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲥ ⲭⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲥⲁ ⲛⲉⲫⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲣⲉ
20 ⲉⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲍⲱⲃ ⲙⲁⲭⲍ̄ ⲧⲟ
21 ⲛⲱ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲫⲱⲛⲍ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲛⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉ
22 ⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲗⲁ
23 ⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲥⲣⲙⲉ ⲍⲁⲧⲉⲍⲏ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲭⲥ̄ⲗ ⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲙⲡ
24 ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲁ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲍⲁⲏ ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲟ leer
25 Τⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲝⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲡ|ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲝⲉ ⲁⲕ[ⲱⲗ]
26 ⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲥⲉⲝⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧⲧ̄ⲣ̄[ⲟⲩ]
27 ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲉⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲝⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙ|ⲛ[ⲉ ⲡⲉ]
28 Τⲍⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲱⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲁ̄ⲙⲙⲉ ⲝⲉ ⲙ̄ϯⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲛ[ⲉⲕⲗⲉ]
29 ⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉⲗⲡ[ⲓⲥ ⲙⲡ]
30 ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲓ̣ⲧⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲍ̄
31 ⲁⲧⲣⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲟⲣⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲥⲓ ⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲍⲁⲧⲉⲍⲏ [ⲉⲙⲡⲁ]
32 ⲧⲟⲩⲭⲡⲁⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ϯⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲍⲁⲧ̣ⲉ[ⲍⲏ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲁ]
33 ⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲃⲱⲗⲡ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲉⲙⲙⲏ[ⲛ . . . . . .]

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6 Lies ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ. — ⲁ in ⲭⲓⲟⲩⲁ nachgetragen. — 11 Lies ⲧ̄ⲋⲁⲏ. — 23 Lies ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ.

Die Kephalaia

indem sie von den Fleischen (σάρξ) gezogen werden. Der eine von ihnen ist das ungerechte (ἀνομία)
Quälen der Menschen und allen Fleisches (σάρξ). Der zweite ist das
. . . aller Körper (σῶμα), welches das Töten ist, mit dem sie alles Fleisch (σάρξ)
quälen (?). Der dritte ist das schädigende Wort, das das Lichtkreuz
[schlägt?] und alle Körper (σῶμα), ferner der Rest
der Verirrung (πλάνη) und Lästerung, der die Götter schlägt. —
Über diese drei Wege hast du uns belehrt, daß sie in die Höllen (γεέννα) führen.
Du hast weiter zu uns [gesagt?]: Jeder Mensch folgt seinen
Werken, sei es zum Leben, sei es zum Tode. Jetzt bitte ich
dich, mein Herr, daß du mit mir redest und mir deutest (ἑρμηνεύειν)
das Wort des Katechumenen, wie sein Ende ausgehn
wird. Denn von der ersten Zeit an, bevor er
den Glauben Gottes angenommen hat, werden diese drei Wege von ihm
zurückgelegt, das Quälen seiner Gebeine (?), das Quälen seiner Hurerei (πορνεία) und
das schädigende Wort, das aus dem Schlagen herauskommt. Geht also sein
Reichtum (seinen Weg)? Von Anfang an, bevor er Katechumen
wurde, führen diese seine drei Wege zur Seelenwanderung
(μεταγγισμός) der Höllen (?). Wenn sie zur Hölle führen, dann
geht er gänzlich (παντηπάντως) in die Fessel, indem er seinen Gliedern (μέλος) folgt.
Wenn dies so gemäß mir geschieht, ist es sehr schwierig,
daß er lebt. Denn eine Menge Katechumenen
stehen in der Welt, indem sie wandeln in Irrlehre (πλάνη)
und Verirrung, bevor sie den Glauben Gottes
angenommen haben. Wohin wird ihr Ende geraten (καταντᾶν)?
Da sprach der Apostel zu jenem Elekten: Du hast in schöner Weise (καλῶς)
ein großes Wort gefragt. Ich werde es bei dir licht
werden lassen, und es wird dir offenbar werden, wie es beschaffen [ist].
Denn in dieser Weise ziemt es sich für dich, zu erkennen, daß die Seelen
der Elekten und Katechumenen, die die Hoffnung (ἐλπίς) Gottes
empfangen haben und zum Land (χώρα) der Lebendigen gehen,
damit ihre Gestalten (μορφή) in der Höhe erwählt werden — bevor er
im Fleisch (σάρξ) der Menschheit erzeugt wird, bevor der Apostel
im Fleisch offenbar wird, noch wenn er weilt . . . . .

20 Das bedeutet: Wenn es so geschieht, wie ich jetzt erzähle, dann dürfte wohl kaum ein Katechumen zum ewigen Leben kommen.

[ckε]

> · ⲙ̣ⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

ϣⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲣⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲫ̄ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲛ̄ⲫ̄ⲉ|ⲧ̣ⲫ[ⲩ]
ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ϩⲉ ⲉ|ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲉ|ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉ[ⲛⲟⲥ]
ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲫ̄ⲁⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲣⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲙ̣ⲛ̣ [ⲛ]
ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲫ̄ⲉ|ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ϩⲉ ϧⲛ̄ ⲙ̣ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡ[ⲉ]
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲱⲥ ϣⲁⲩⲉ| ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲫ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲡⲟⲩ
Ⲧⲧⲥⲁⲡ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲫ̄ⲁⲉ| ⲛ̄ⲫ̄ⲃ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ϧⲛ̄ ϧⲛ̄ⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ [ϧⲛ ϧⲛ]
ϧⲁ|ⲣⲉⲥ|ⲥ ϧⲁ|ⲣⲉⲥ|ⲥ ϣⲁⲩⲥⲁⲧⲡⲟⲩ ϧⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲫ̄ⲁⲥⲁⲡⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲫ̄ⲉⲉⲩ ⲛⲣⲙ̄ϩⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲛ̄
ⲛⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲉϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ϧⲙ̄ ⲙ̣ⲁⲛ|ⲁ̣ ⲉ
ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϧⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲅⲅ|ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲁ̣ⲅ̣ⲅ̣ⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ϫ| ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ϧⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲙⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛ̣ⲁⲥⲁⲧⲫⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϧⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉ|
ⲇⲏ ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩⲉ ϧⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩϧⲃ[ⲏⲩ]ⲉ
ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲛⲅⲉⲉⲛⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅ|ⲥ ⲙ̣ⲡⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲥ
ⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ leer Ⲧϩⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲧⲟ ⲛ̣ⲣⲣⲟ
ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲃⲉ ϧⲛ ⲧⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅ|ⲥ ⲙ̣ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁϣⲱⲧⲩ
ⲛϫ|ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲫ̄ϫ|ⲧⲩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲉⲫⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲧ̣ⲃ̣ⲉ ⲧⲧⲃⲃⲉ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ
ϧ|ϫⲱϥ ⲧϩⲉ ϧⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ
ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲁⲃⲉ ϧⲛ ⲧⲧⲃⲃⲉ ⲙ̣ⲡⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲥ
ⲫⲣⲁⲅ|ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲛ̄ϧⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲫⲉ|ⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ϫⲛ ⲛⲛ
ϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲥⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛϩⲧⲟⲩ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲛⲅⲉⲉⲛⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ
ⲧⲉⲫⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁⲧⲡⲥ̀ ϫⲛ ⲛϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲉⲥⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲥ̀ ⲙ̣ⲡ
ⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ϩ| ⲡϫ|ⲥⲉ Ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲥ ϩⲱⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲫ̄ⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ
ϣⲁⲥϣⲛ̄ϩⲧⲏⲥ ⲁϫⲱϥ ⲙⲁⲥⲕⲁ ⲛⲉⲩϧⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱⲣⲙ̣ⲉ
ⲧ̣ϩⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲩϩⲁⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ϧⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ
[ⲁ]ⲛⲅⲉⲉⲛⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲛ|
ϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ϧⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲫⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲣ̄
ϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲥⲁⲡⲧⲥ̀ ϩ| ⲡϫ|ⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ
[ⲁⲗⲗ]ⲁ ϣⲁⲩⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲙⲙⲉⲧⲁⲅⲅ|ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϩ|ⲥⲉ
[ⲙⲛⲛⲥ]ⲱⲥ ⲛⲥⲉ| ⲁⲧⲟ[ⲟⲧ]ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲩ
[. . . . . .]ⲉ̣ⲕⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲓ̈ ϫⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲙⲁ
[. . . . . ρ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲁ[ϩ]ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲛ̄ϧⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄

8 ⲫⲉ in ⲛϥⲉⲉⲩ über der Zeile. — 27 In ⲛⲥⲁⲡⲧⲥ̀ ist ⲧ über der Zeile nachgetragen. — 29 Lies ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ statt ⲛⲥ̀.

des Lehrers.

erwählt er die Gestalten (μορφή) seiner gesamten Kirche und macht sie (plur.)
frei, sei es die der Elekten, sei es die der Katechumenen.
Wenn er nun erwählt die Gestalten (μορφή) der Elekten und der
Katechumenen und sie frei macht von oben her,
dann kommt er sogleich herab und erwählt sie.
Wenn er kommt und sie in verschiedenen Sekten (δόγμα) und
Häresien (αἵρεσις) findet, erwählt er sie durch sein Licht-Wort.
Wenn er sie erwählt und sie aus der Irrlehre (πλάνη) der Sekten (δόγμα)
frei macht, auch alle ihre Werke, die in Raserei (μανία) waren,
durch Seelenwanderung (μεταγγισμός) zu ihm gelangt (καταντᾶν) sind, (dann) ziehen die
Engel vor ihnen her zu den Orten, an denen sie geläutert werden. Denn
alle Katechumenen, keiner geht in seinen
Werken zu den Höllen (γεέννα) wegen des Siegels (σφραγίς) des Glaubens und der
Erkenntnis, das in seine Seele (ψυχή) gesiegelt ist. — Wie ein königliches Pferd,
das durch das Siegel (σφραγίς) des Königs gesiegelt ist, daß ein Mensch (es) böserweise
stiehlt und es in sein Haus nimmt wegen des Siegels, das sich auf ihm
befindet — so steht es mit dem Katechumenen,
der mit dem Siegel des Glaubens und dem Siegel (σφραγίς)
der Wahrheit gesiegelt ist. Die Werke, die er von den ersten Zeiten an
getan hat, nicht ist einer durch sie in die Höllen (γεέννα) gegangen wegen
seiner Gestalt (μορφή), die von Anfang an erwählt wurde, indem sie dasteht
oben in der Höhe. Denn sie, seine Gestalt (μορφή),
sie erbarmt sich über ihn. Nicht läßt sie seine Werke sich verirren.
Wie seine letzten Werke, die er tut, nicht in die Höllen (γεέννα)
gehen wegen seines Glaubens, so steht es mit den
ersten Werken, die er getan hat, da seine Gestalt (μορφή)
am Anfang in der Höhe ausgewählt wird. Nicht gehen sie in die Irre,
sondern kommen nur in die Seelenwanderungen (μεταγγισμός) und Mühsal.
Dann kommen sie in die Hand der Engel (ἄγγελος) und werden gereinigt.
. . . . . du weißt dies, daß wenn sie nur . .
. . . . . Mensch zur Wahrheit und er die Erkenntnis und den Glauben

[ck5]

ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

1 [ⲡ]ⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲛⲩ+ⲥⲟⲩⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲣ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ̄ⲁ
2 [ⲅⲁⲑ]ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲓⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲛⲃ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ
3 [ⲧ]ⲛ̣ⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧϭ̄ ⲡⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲗⲏⲗ
4 [ⲙⲙⲁ]ⲩ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
5 [. . .]ⲉⲛ ⲥⲓ ⲣⲉⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲥⲙ ⲙⲁ
6 ⲛ[ⲓⲙ] ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁϭⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ leer
7 Ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲕⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ
8 ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧϭ̄ ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ
9 ⲛ̄[+]ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲁⲩⲡⲉⲓⲟⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ̄ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲃⲁⲑⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ
10 ⲧⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲩⲁⲭⲓ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲙⲁⲧ
11 ⲛ̄ⲩⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ
12 ⲱⲁ[ⲩⲃ]ⲱⲕ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ [ⲛⲥⲉ]ⲱⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲭⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
13 ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲏ ⲱⲁ[ⲩ+] ⲟⲩⲭⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲩ
14 ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲥⲃⲏⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲧⲥⲏ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲩ
15 ⲭⲓ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲣⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲥⲏ
16 ⲧⲩ̄ ⲉ[ⲩⲙ]ⲣ̄ ⲉⲩⲭⲁⲗⲭ ⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲓ ⲁ
17 ⲥⲣⲏ[ⲓ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙ̣ⲛ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲛ ⲙ̣ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲣⲭ
18 ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲛⲥⲉⲱⲉ
19 ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲥⲁⲧⲛ̄ +ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲙ̣ⲛ ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄
20 ⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲓ̣ⲇⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ
21 ⲡⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲃⲓⲛ̄ⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ ⲡⲣⲉⲩ+ ⲛ̄
22 ⲧⲁⲡ̣ⲟ̣ⲇⲏⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲉⲟⲩⲉ
23 Ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲃⲱ ⲉⲛ ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲙⲧ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲕ̣[ⲁ]
24 ⲧⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲏ[ⲣⲟⲩ]
25 ⲛ̄ⲩⲭⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲇ̣ⲉ̣ ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉ
26 ⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲩ̄ⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲃⲏⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
27 ⲥⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ leer
28 Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲃ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ[ⲟ]ⲩ̣ⲉ̣
29 ⲉⲩⲁⲃⲁⲩⲗⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲟⲙⲓⲧⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲧⲏ̣[ⲣⲩ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ]
30 ⲥⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ ⲙⲙⲁⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̣ⲛ ⲛ+ⲙ̣ⲉ̣ [ⲛⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ]

16 Lies ⲙⲏⲣ.

Die Kephalaia

annimmt und zu fasten beginnt und betet und Gutes (ἀγαθόν)
tut, zu jener Stunde die neuen Werke, die er getan hat,
das Fasten, in dem er gefastet hat, das Beten, in dem er gebetet
hat, das Almosen, daß er den Heiligen gegeben hat, dies alles
[wird] . . . und Erlöser seinen ersten Werken an jedem
Ort, an dem es gefunden wird. —
Wisse: Vom ersten Tage an, da er die erste Irrlehre (πλάνη)
verlassen hat, in der er sich befand, und die Friedensrechte (εἰρήνη)
ergriffen hat, sich überzeugt (πείθειν) und hingestellt hat auf der Stufe (βαθμός)
des wahren Katechumenentums in der Stunde, da er diese Gnade empfängt
und so glaubt, steigen diese ersten Fasten (νηστεία), die er vollbracht hat,
empor und werden im Lichtschiff der Nacht
aufgenommen. Dadurch wird eine Andeutung gegeben. In der Stunde aller seiner
ersten Werke, die er getan hat, bevor er
die Erkenntnis empfangen hat, entweichen sie aus jedem Ort, an dem sie
sich gebunden und gefesselt befinden. Sie werden aus ihrer Fessel gelöst und
steigen
empor aus Himmel und Erde, aus den Bäumen und Fleischen (σάρκες),
und sie werden von allen Orten, wo sie sich befinden, gelöst, und steigen
zur Höhe empor bei diesem ersten Fasten (νηστεία) und diesem ersten
Gebet, dem Anfang (ἀρχή) aller seiner Werke. Denn es ist
das heilige Zeichen seiner Erlösung und das, was die
ἀποδημία aller seiner Werke gibt, der ersten und der letzten.
Denn nicht bleiben seine Werke draußen, indem sie auf ihn an jedem
Ort warten, bis er aus (dem) Körper herausgeht und sie alle erlöst
und sie zur Höhe sendet. Die Kraft jenes Katechumenen
ist es, daß er alle seine Werke durch sich selbst
erlöst, indem er in seinem Körper (σῶμα) ist. —
Denn so steht es damit wie mit einem,
der in einer Stadt (πόλις) wohnt, während sein ganzes Gefolge (κομίτατον)
in den Städten (πόλις), Orten und Dörfern des [Landes (χώρα) sich befindet].

[ckz]

> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <

1 Ⲉⲡⲍⲟⲥⲟⲛ ⲁⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̣[ⲙⲉⲩ]
2 ⲱⲁⲕⲃ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲫⲟⲥⲥⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲍⲛ ⲛ|ⲙⲁ[ⲛⲱⲱⲡⲉ]
3 ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ leer ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲩⲁ[+ . .]
4 ⲧⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲟⲇⲏⲙ|ⲁ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲉⲧⲟ̄ⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱ[. . .]
5 ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ+ ⲟⲩⲭⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲍ|ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲟⲙ|ⲧⲁⲧ[ⲟⲛ]
6 ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲁ+ ⲣⲉⲧⲟ̄ ⲁⲡⲙⲁⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣⲁⲡⲟⲇⲏⲙⲏ [. . .]
7 [ⲙ]ⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲟ̄ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲩⲛⲍ[ⲏ]ⲧ[ⲩ]
8 Ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲍⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲍ|ⲧⲣⲏ
9 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍ[ⲏⲧⲟ]ⲩ ⲉ
10 ⲱⲁⲩⲱⲍⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣⲁⲡⲟⲇⲏⲙ [ⲍⲛ]
11 ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲟⲇⲏⲙ|ⲁ leer Ⲟⲩⲛ ⲍⲛⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉ
12 ⲱⲁⲩⲉ| ⲙⲛⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲉⲩⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲍ|ⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱⲥ̣ⲕ̣
13 [ⲍⲛⲙ]ⲏⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ [ⲉⲩ]ⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲡⲱⲍ
14 Ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲟⲙ|ⲧⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲁⲡⲟⲇⲏⲙⲏ ⲉⲛ ⲍ̣[ⲓ] ⲟⲩ
15 ⲥⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ leer ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲱⲁ̣ⲣⲡ ⲁ
16 ⲣⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲣⲁ
17 ⲡⲟⲇⲏⲙⲏ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ Ⲧⲍⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲕⲁ
18 ⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ leer
19 Ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲍⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲥⲱ
20 ⲧⲩ ⲍⲉⲱⲥ ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃ̣ ⲍ̣ⲛ̄
21 [ⲛ]ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
22 [Ⲟ]ⲩⲛ̄ ⲍⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉ
23 [ⲙ]ⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲍⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲙ̄
24 [ⲡ]ⲉ̣ⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ leer Ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
25 [ⲙⲛ]ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲍ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲛⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ
26 [ⲛⲥⲉ]ⲃ̣ⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̣
27 [Ⲉ|ⲥⲧⲉ] ⲁ|ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ|ⲉⲧⲕ̣ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ
28 [ⲙⲛ ⲉⲧ]ⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲙ̣[ⲉⲗ]ⲟ̣ⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲉⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲡⲉ
29 [. . . . . ⲛ]ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ

des Lehrers.

Solange (ἐφ' ὅσον) überhaupt der König an jenem Orte wohnt,
findest du sein ganzes Heerlager (φόσσατον) an jenen Orten,
die ihn umgeben. — Wenn er das Zeichen
zur Abreise (ἀποδημία) in das Land (χώρα), in das er [ziehen?] will,
gibt und von ihm ein Wink seinem ganzen Gefolge (κομίτατον)
gegeben wird, daß es sich auf den Weg mache und hinweggehe (ἀποδημεῖν)
[von] jedem Ort, an dem es sich befindet, und hingehe an den Ort wo er (dann) ist,
dann ziehen manche aus seinem Heer (στράτευμα) vor ihm
und sind eher da als er, manche andere von ihnen
warten auf ihn und ziehen mit ihm und ziehen ab (ἀποδημεῖν)
[bei] seinem Auszug (ἀποδημία). — Andere wieder von ihnen
folgen ihm, indem sie hinter ihm wandeln und zubringen
eine Menge von Tagen und Monaten, indem sie wandeln, bis sie zum Ziel kommen.
Nicht marschiert (ἀποδημεῖν) sein ganzes Gefolge (κομίτατον) auf einmal
ab, sondern der eine geht vor ihm,
der andere nach ihm, andere ziehen
(ἀποδημεῖν) mit ihm. So steht es mit
dem Katechumenen in seinen Werken.
Manche von seinen Gliedern (μέλος) und seinen Werken werden ge-
läutert, solange er im Körper (σῶμα) steht, und sie werden gereinigt in
den Firmamenten (στερέωμα) der Himmel und gehen vor ihm.
Manche wieder von ihren Gliedern (μέλος) werden mit ihm erlöst und
kommen heraus, wenn auch er aus seinem Körper (σῶμα)
herausgeht. — Andere wieder werden nach ihm
erlöst aus den Fesseln der Erde und der der Schöpfungen (Geschöpfe?),
und sie gehen und gelangen (καταντᾶν) zu ihm in das Land (χώρα) der Lebendigen.
Siehe, ich habe dich unterrichtet über den Katechumenen
[und] über seine Glieder (μέλος), auch über seine Werke, daß . . .
. . . . . bei ihm, noch auch wird eines sich verirren,

[ckh]

ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ

[ⲉⲣⲉ] ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲏⲧ ⲥⲉⲍⲁ . . ⲛⲧ ⲉⲩⲧⲗⲃⲟ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲩ
[ⲛⲁⲥⲁ]ⲩⲍⲩ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄ ⲛ̄ⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ
[ⲛⲩ]ⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲍⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩ
[ⲍⲃⲏ]ⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲟⲩ leer

ⲩⲁ

— ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ —
ⲩⲁ ⲱⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲩⲁ

Ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲓ̈
ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲉⲕⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉ
ⲛ[ⲟⲥ ⲉ]ⲙⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲓ ⲁⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲡ
ⲥⲏ[ⲩ] ⲉⲧⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲩ[ⲩⲭⲏ .]
ⲕ . . ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ
ⲛⲙ[ⲧⲁ]ⲛ leer ⲫⲛⲟⲩ ⲫⲧⲱⲃⲍ ⲙⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲁ
ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉ
ⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲕⲉⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲍⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲏ ⲟⲩⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ
ⲡⲉⲩⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲏ ⲟⲩⲉⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲙ̄
ⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲁⲙⲟ ⲛⲁⲕⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲭⲉⲩⲛⲁⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲱ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲗⲁⲍⲗⲉⲍ ⲍⲛ̄
ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲍⲛ ⲫⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲁⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ leer
Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ[ⲓ̈]
ⲉⲧⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ
ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲓⲕⲁ
ⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲗⲉⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲱⲁⲕⲟⲛ ⲧ
ⲥⲍⲓⲙⲉ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲡⲏⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲥⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ ⲛⲧⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲱⲙⲙ[ⲟ]
ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲛ ⲱⲡ ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲉⲩ ⲛⲧⲍⲉ ⲛⲛⲓⲙⲁⲛⲇⲁⲓ̈ⲗ[ⲉ]
ⲛⲩⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲱⲃⲁⲣ ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩ
ⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲩⲅⲅⲉⲛ[ⲏⲥ]
ⲱⲡ ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲉⲩ ⲍⲁⲡⲥ̀ ⲍⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲙⲙⲟ ⲉⲩⲗⲁⲭⲧ ⲁⲣⲁ[ⲩ]
ⲉⲩⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲧ ⲉⲩⲥ . . . ⲉⲭⲉⲱⲁⲛ . [. . .]
ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲡⲱⲣⲭ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲉ . .]ⲥ . ⲉⲩⲁⲧ[. . . . .]
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲍⲉⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲥⲕⲉⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱ[. . . . . .]

Die Kephalaia

1 indem die Engel eilen . . . . .. indem er geheilt wird, damit
2 er ganz eingesammelt wird und aufsteigt ins Land (χώρα) der Lebenden
3 und geht und ausruht auf seiner Hoffnung (ἐλπίς) (und) auf seinen
4 guten [Werken], die er getan hat. —

5 XCI.

6 Über den Katechumenen, der in einem
7 einzigen Körper (σῶμα) gerettet wird.

8 Wiederum sprach jener Elektus zu dem Apostel: Ich habe
9 dich gehört, mein Herr, wie du sagtest: Es gibt einen Katechumenen,
10 der nicht in einen Körper eingeht außer in diesen hier, sondern
11 zur Zeit, wenn er aus seinem Körper herauskommt, [läßt sich nieder?]
12 seine Seele in den Firmamenten (στερέωμα) oberhalb und geht zum Ort
13 der Ruhe. — Jetzt bitte ich dich, mein Herr, daß du
14 mich über die Werke jenes Katechumenen unterrichtest,
15 der nicht in einen andern Körper (σῶμα) eingeht: Welche sind es
16 oder was ist sein Typus oder was ist sein Zeichen, damit ich
17 es kenne und auch meine Brüder unterrichte, damit sie es die Katechumenen
18 lehren, damit sie durch jenes hinüber-
19 steigen (?) und heraufkommen im Frieden (εἰρήνη) zum Guten (ἀγαθόν).
20 Da sprach der Apostel zu ihm: Ich werde dich
21 über die Werke jener Katechumenen des Glaubens
22 unterrichten, die nicht (wieder) in einen Körper (σῶμα) eingehen. Das Zeichen
jenes vollkommenen (τέλειος)
23 Katechumenen ist dies. Du findest das
24 Weib im Hause mit ihm, indem es bei ihm ist wie die Fremden.
25 Auch sein Haus gilt bei ihm wie die Herbergen,
26 und er sagt: Ich wohne in einem Hause zur Miete auf (πρός) Tage
27 und Monate. Seine Brüder und seine Verwandten (συγγενής)
28 gelten bei ihm — notwendigerweise sind sie Fremdlinge, die ihm anhaften,
29 indem sie ihm auf dem Wege folgen . . . . . .
30 sie werden von ihm getrennt, und jeder wird . . . . . .
31 Gold, Silber und Geräte (σκεῦος) von . . . . . .

[ck-θ]

> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <

1 ⲏⲓ̈ ϣⲁⲩⲣⲧⲍⲉ ⲛⲛⲓⲍⲛⲉⲉⲩ ⲙ̇ⲡⲟⲩϣⲉⲡ ⲛⲁⲍⲣⲉⲩ [ϣⲁⲩ]
2 ⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϣⲙϣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲉⲉ[ⲩ ⲙ]
3 ⲡⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ⲙⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁⲍⲧⲏⲩ ⲍⲓⲱⲱⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲉ[ⲍ]ⲟ̣
4 ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲣⲕ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̇ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲡⲉⲩ
5 ⲍ[ⲏⲧ] ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁⲕ[ⲙⲉⲕ]
6 ⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲍⲁⲧⲙ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ [ⲉⲧ]ⲉ
7 ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲗⲉⲍ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧ
8 ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲕ̄ ⲩⲃⲓⲣ̣[ⲁⲩ]ⲱ ⲍⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲉⲩ]ⲏⲓ̈
9 ⲁⲕⲙⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲍⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲕ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉ[ⲕ]ⲗⲉ
10 ⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲏ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ̣ [ⲡ]ⲥⲏⲣ
11 ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ
12 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲥⲍⲓⲙⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲩ
13 ⲛⲉⲧⲧ̣ⲁⲩ ⲍⲱⲥ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲉϣⲉ ⲍⲱⲥ ⲉⲩⲣⲉϣⲉ ⲉⲛ
14 ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲍⲱⲥ ⲉⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲧ[ⲟⲛ]ⲍⲏⲩ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
15 ⲍⲱⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲭⲣ̄ⲭⲣ̄ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲉⲧ . . . ⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲉⲧ . . . ⲙⲟⲥ
16 ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ [ⲉⲧ]ⲭⲏⲕ
17 ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ
18 ⲁⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲃⲓⲣⲁⲩ ⲃⲓⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲓⲁ
19 ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ
20 ⲙⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ leer Ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲍⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲁⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ
21 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲅⲕⲣⲁⲧⲉⲓⲁ ⲉⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲕⲉ . . . ⲉⲩ ⲛⲧⲃⲛⲏ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲛ̄
22 ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲩⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲙⲙⲏ
23 ⲛ̣ⲉ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲓ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲡⲏⲍ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ
24 [ⲍ]ⲛ̄ ⲙⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲃⲁⲛⲓ̈ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ
25 [. .]ⲉⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲟ ⲁ
26 ⲡⲟⲩ[ⲏ]ⲓ̈ ⲡⲟⲩⲍⲏⲧ ⲍⲓⲱⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲓⲛⲍⲙⲉⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
27 [ⲧ]ⲟⲩ[ⲃⲓ]ⲛ̣ⲧⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲃⲱϣ ⲛ̄ⲍ[ⲃ]ⲏ
28 [ⲩⲉ ⲧⲏ]ⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̇ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̇ⲡⲟⲩⲍⲏⲧ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ
29 [ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧ]ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲡⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲉ̣ ⲉ̣ⲧⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲉ
30 [. . . . . .]ⲏⲧ ⲛ̄[ⲍ]ⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲇⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲙⲛ̄
31 [. . . . . .]ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲁⲧ ⲉⲧ+ⲍⲏⲩ

7 ⲉⲧ zu streichen.

des Lehrers.

Haus, sie werden bei ihm wie geliehene Gefäße. Er
nimmt sie, bedient sich ihrer, dann gibt er sie
ihrem Herrn. Nicht hängt er sein Herz an sie und seinen Schatz.
Er hat sein Denken aus der Welt (κόσμος) gerissen und sein Herz
in die heilige Kirche gelegt. Zu aller Zeit ist sein Denken
bei Gott. Wer aber dies alles übertrifft, in wem
Fürsorge, Besorgnis und Liebe (ἀγάπη) für die Heiligen
ist, er trägt Sorge um die Kirche wie um sein Haus,
wahrlich noch mehr als um sein Haus. Er hat seinen gesamten Schatz
in die ἐκλεκτοί und ἐκλεκταί gesetzt. Denn dies hat der Heiland (σωτήρ)
durch den Mund seines Apostels verkündet: Von heute ab
mögen die da Frauen haben sein, als ob sie keine haben;
die kaufen, als ob (ὡς) sie nicht kaufen; die sich freuen, als ob (ὡς) sie sich nicht freuen;
die weinen, als ob (ὡς) sie nicht weinen; die Nutzen [finden] in der Welt
als ob (ὡς) sie nicht in Vergnügen sind. Dies, was . . . . . .
verkündet haben, wurde verkündet über die vollkommenen Katechumenen
die aus diesem einen Körper entweichen und (gleich) zur Höhe
gehen; sie sind gleich den Elekten in ihrem Wandel (πολιτεία).
Dies ist das Zeichen jener Katechumenen, die
nicht (wieder) verkörpert werden. — Es gibt wieder andere, die die Askese
(ἐγκράτεια) halten und alles Fleisch von ihrem Munde
fernhalten, indem sie bereit (πρόθυμος) sind zum Fasten (νηστεία) und Beten
täglich, indem sie der Kirche helfen (βοηθεῖν) entsprechend dem, was in ihre Hände kommt,
durch die Almosen. Die Übeltat ist getötet in ihnen.
. . . . . ihre Füße zur Kirche mehr als zu (?)
ihrem Haus. Ihr Herz hängt an ihr zu aller Zeit. Ihr Sitzen und
ihr Stehen ist wie das der Elekten. Sie haben alle Werke der Welt
ausgezogen aus ihrem Herzen. Jener Mensch
aber, der Noûς, der sich in der heiligen Kirche befindet,
. . . . . zu aller Zeit und seine Geschenke (δῶρον) und
. . . . . und seine Ehren und die Gnabengaben, die seinem Leben

9 Vgl. Mt. 6, 21 (Lk. 12, 34). — 10–15 I. Cor. 7, 29 ff.

[cλ]

[> · ⲛⲕ]ⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

[ⲙⲡ]ⲉⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲩⲥⲃⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲉ
ⲁ[ⲥ]ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲛⲉ̈ⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲱ[ⲁⲩ]ⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ
ⲛ[ⲉ]ⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲥⲓⲙⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲩⲛⲅⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ
ⲛⲧⲉϥ ⲡⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲣⲉⲱⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓ
ⲧ[ⲟⲩ ⲉ]ⲱⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲥⲟ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲁϫⲱⲩ leer
Ⲉⲓ[ⲥ] ⲡⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉ
ⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧϩⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲁⲣⲅⲁⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ
ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲥϩⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲥ̀ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲑⲏⲥⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ
ⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥ ⲧⲓⲙⲏ ⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲟ
ⲟⲡ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ϫⲓ ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉ
ⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ leer ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲁ
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲱⲁⲩⲙⲁϩⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲱⲃⲉ
ϩⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲱⲛϩ leer
ⲱⲁⲩ[ⲥ]ⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ
ⲉⲩ[ⲡ]ⲱϩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲁⲗⲉϥ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲧϩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄†ⲙ̄ⲛ
ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥϫⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϩⲗⲉϩⲧⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ†ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ
ϩⲛ̄ ϩⲛϩⲓϩⲱⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲥ̀ⲥⲱⲧϥ̀ ⲛⲥ̀ⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁⲧϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̀ ⲧϩⲉ ϩⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ†ⲩⲭⲁⲩ
ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁ
ⲥⲱⲙⲁ leer Ϩⲁ ⲡⲣⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲥⲉⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉ
ⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲁϩϥ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ ϩⲙ ⲡⲑⲏⲥⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ
ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲃⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲙⲁⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲑⲛⲟ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲕ̣[ⲗⲏ]
ⲥⲓⲁ ⲧϩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲃ[ⲓ]ⲛⲃⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲫ̣ⲛ̣[ⲟ]
ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲡⲉⲩⲧⲗⲟⲟ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ leer
Ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲣⲱ ⲱⲱⲉ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲛ̄
ⲥⲏⲩ ⲛ[ⲙ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟ[ⲓ]ⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄[ⲡ]ⲛⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲩⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲱⲁⲣⲡ]
ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲉⲉⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲱⲩϩ ⲁϩ[ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ]
ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ϩⲁⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱⲡ ⲁⲧⲉⲩⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲉ leer

10 ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ einmal zu streichen. — 30 Lies ⲙⲛ ⲛϩⲁⲉⲩⲉ.

Die Kapitel

nützen, er (d. Noûς) setzt sie über zur heiligen Kirche
zu denen noch hinzu, die in die Kirche kommen, seien
es seine Söhne, sei es seine Frau, sei es ein Verwandter (συγγενής)
von ihm. Er freut sich über jene außerordentlich und liebt
sie, indem er seinen ganzen Schatz auf sie setzt.
Siehe dies ist das Zeichen und der Typ (τύπος) der Katechumenen,
die nicht wiederverkörpert werden. — Wie die gute Perle (μαργαρίτης),
über die ich euch im Schatz (θησαυρός) des Lebens geschrieben habe,
die keinen Wert (τιμή) hat, so ist das
Befinden der Katechumenen,
die nicht wiederverkörpert werden. — Aber wenn sie aus ihrem
Körper (σῶμα) herauskommen, wandeln sie auf ihrem Wege und setzen über
an dem obengelegenen Orte, und sie kommen zum Leben. —
Sie werden in den Himmeln geläutert und gepflückt wie eine Frucht (καρπός),
die reif wird und vom Baume gepflückt wird. Dies ist die Art des
Almosens, das in den Elekten übergesetzt wird und dem das Abbild gegeben wird
in vielen Bildern (εἰκών), und das geläutert wird und eingeht
in das Land (χώρα) der Lebendigen. Dem sind gleich
die Seelen der Katechumenen, die nicht wiederverkörpert (σῶμα)
werden. — Was aber den Rest aller Katechumenen
angeht, ich habe es im Schatz (θησαυρός) des Lebens niedergeschrieben,
wie sie erlöst und geläutert werden, ein jeder von
ihnen nach seinen Werken (je nach dem), wie er der Kirche (Gaben) dargebracht hat.
In dieser Weise wird ihm sein Aufstieg nahegebracht, seine Heilung und seine Reinigung. —
Deshalb ziemt es sich für den Katechumenen, daß er zu aller Zeit
um μετάνοια und Sündenvergebung bitte von Gott
und der heiligen Kirche wegen seiner Sünden, der [ersten]
und der letzten, damit seine Werke eingesammelt werden, [die]
ersten und die letzten und zu seinem Teil gerechnet werden. —

5 Vgl. Mt. 6, 21 (Lk. 12, 34).

[cλa]

> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

1 [Ⲧⲟ]ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲓⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲟϥ[ⲧⲏ]
2 ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ [ⲡⲁ]
3 ϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲕⲥ̀ⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲡⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲕⲟⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉⲁⲩ ⲥ̀ⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁ[ⲁⲧ]
4 [ⲛ]ϫⲓ ⲧϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲱϥ̣ⲕ̣ ⲛⲉⲛ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉ ⲧ[ⲉ]
5 ⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲛⲧⲥ̀ ⲛⲙ̄ⲧⲩⲭⲁⲩⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁⲕϥ̣ⲩ̣[ⲱⲛϩ]
6 ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲕ[ⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟ]ⲥ
7 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲱⲛϩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲱⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ [ⲁ]ⲛ ⲁⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲙⲟⲥ
8 ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕ̈ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲛⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲕⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲩ ⲁϩⲛⲃⲁϥ̣ⲙ̣ⲟⲥ
9 ⲃⲁⲑⲙⲟⲥ ϩⲙⲡⲛⲏⲏ ⲙⲛ ϩⲛⲁⲛⲉⲧⲱⲣ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲛ̣ⲁⲉⲓ ⲁ
10 ϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲉⲩ[ⲃⲁⲙ] ⲛ̣ⲥⲉ
11 ⲧⲉϩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ leer
12 +ⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲉⲓⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲛ
13 ⲕⲧⲉⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ ϩⲁ ⲡⲓⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲟ̣ⲩ̣ⲱ . . [ⲁ]ⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲕⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲩ̈ⲉ
14 ⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁ . . . . . ⲉⲩⲉ . . . ⲧⲉ
15 ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲓ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ . . . . . ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ [ⲙⲛ] ϩⲛ̄
16 ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ̈ⲧⲟⲩ [ϩⲙ] ⲡⲕⲟ
17 ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ϩⲁⲧⲉϩⲏ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁ ⲁⲧⲟ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲟⲩ
18 ⲛ̄ ϩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲱⲙ̄ⲱⲩⲉ ⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ
19 ⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲉⲥⲑⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲉ . . ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ϩⲛⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲕ
20 ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡ+ⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲉⲩϫⲓⲟⲩⲁ ⲁϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
21 ⲁⲩⲃⲗⲁⲥⲫⲏⲙⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲛⲕⲉⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲧϩⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲟⲩ[ⲛ]
22 ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲛⲁⲃⲉ . . . . .
23 [. . . . ⲟ]ⲩⲫⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲏ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲙⲙⲟⲓⲭⲓⲁ ⲏ ⲧ . ⲧⲁⲩⲱⲟ . ⲓ̈ⲥ
24 [ⲙ]ⲛ̣ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲅⲓⲁ ⲏ ⲟⲩⲱ . . . ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟ[ⲩϫ]
25 [ⲡ]ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲉ . . ⲉ̣ⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥ[ⲙⲟ]ⲥ
26 ⲉⲁ[ⲩ]ⲣⲱⲙ[ⲉ ⲙⲁϩⲉ] ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ̣ⲣ̣ⲉ̣
27 [ⲟⲩⲉ ⲥⲱ]ⲧ[ⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲥ]ⲉϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲕⲱ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ]
28 [ⲛ]ⲛ̣ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̣ [ⲛⲛ]ⲁⲃⲉ ϫⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̣ⲛ̣ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ⲉⲛ]
29 [+ⲧⲱⲃ]ϩ̄ ⲟⲩ[ⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲕ ⲡ]ⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ̈ⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲩ̈ⲉⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
30 [. . . . . .] . . . . . ⲟⲩⲕ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲕⲙⲟⲩⲧⲛⲉ ⲡ̣ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ̣

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12 ▮ in ⲡⲛ̄ϫⲁⲉⲓⲥ über der Zeile. — 13 Lies ⲕⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ. — 18 Lies ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ.

des Lehrers.

Da als seine Jünger diese Worte von ihm hörten,
priesen und lobten sie ihn mit großen Preisreden. Sie
sprachen zu ihm: Du bist gepriesen, unser Vater, du bist herrlich. Gepriesen
ist die Hoffnung (ἐλπίς), die auf uns durch dich wartet. Denn groß ist
diese, die du den Seelen (ψυχή) gebracht hast. Denn die Elekten, du hast ihnen
offenbart die Werke und Gebote (ἐντολή) der Elektenschaft (-ἐκλεκτός)
in denen sie leben werden, bis hin zu den Katechumenen,
nicht hast du sie übergangen, sondern du hast sie über einzelne Stufen (βαθμός)
Stiegen und Treppen unterrichtet, damit sie auf ihnen empor-
steigen zum Guten (ἀγαθόν), ein jeder nach seiner [Kraft], und
das Land (χώρα) der Lebendigen erreichen. —
Jetzt aber bitten wir dich, o Herr, daß du fortfahrest
und uns verkündigst über dies Wort (oder Sache?), das . . . . . und
uns unter-
richtest über den Menschen, der . . . . . .
und sie kommen hinein in die Kirche . . . . . Elekten und
Katechumenen sind es. Die ersten Sünden, die sie in der Welt getan
haben, bevor sie Jünger wurden (μαθητεύειν), wohin kommen sie? Denn einige
von ihnen dienen zuerst Bildern (εἴδωλον), indem sie sich niederwerfen,
indem sie . . . . verehren (σέβεσθαι). Andere wiederum unter ihnen standen
in der Lehre der Sekten (δόγμα), indem sie Gott fluchten.
Sie lästerten (βλασφημεῖν) auch die φωστῆρες, die an den Himmeln sind.
Manche von ihnen haben durch andere Sünden gesündigt.
. . . Mord (φόνος) oder Hurerei (μοιχεία) oder . . . . . .
und Magie (μαγεία) oder . . . . von falschem Zeugnis
. . . . . in den bösen Werken der Welt,
in denen ein Mensch zuerst [wandelte]. Wenn nun einer
das Wort Gottes [hört], werden ihm die ersten Sünden
erlassen oder werden sie ihm [nicht] erlassen?
[Ich bitte dich, nun,] o Herr, daß du uns unterrichtest!
. . . . . es und unser Herz beruhigst (?).

[cλB]

[> · ⲛⲕⲉⲫ]ⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 Ⲧⲟ[ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁ]ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲛⲁϭ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲉ
2 [ϫ]ⲉ [ⲉⲧ]ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲧ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲁⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲧⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛϩϥ̄ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
3 [. . .] ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲓ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ
4 [ⲙⲛ ⲡⲛⲁ]ϩⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲡⲱⲣϫ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲁϥⲣ̄ⲁⲓⲥⲟϩ
5 ⲛ[ⲉ ⲁⲙ]ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧ☩ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ ⲁϥϫⲓ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲛ̄☩
6 ⲣ[ⲏⲛⲏ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏϩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
7 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϫⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ
8 ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
9 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ϫⲛ̄ ⲙⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲡⲁϥ ⲱⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ
10 ⲁⲡ[ϩⲟⲟ]ⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲓ ⲧϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲃⲓ ⲡⲉϥϩⲏⲧ ⲁ
11 ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̣ⲛⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲱⲁⲩ
12 ϰⲁⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲉϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲱⲛ̄ⲧϥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ
13 ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲁϥϫⲓ ⲱⲃⲓ̈ⲱ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲩⲁⲃⲱ ϩⲙ̄
14 ⲡⲉϥⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ϥ[ⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲙⲁ]ⲩⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ ϫⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ ϩⲛ ⲛⲓⲱⲁ
15 ⲣⲡ ⲛ[ⲛ]ⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲩⲃⲓⲧϥ ⲛ
16 ϩⲏⲧ [. .] ⲁⲡϰⲟ . . . . . ⲉ ⲁⲩϰⲁⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲉϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣ̄
17 ⲛⲍ . . ⲉⲛ ϫⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ ϩⲁ ⲛⲉϥⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
18 ⲉϥⲱⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩϩϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲉϥⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲃⲏⲩ
19 ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϰⲉⲥⲁⲡ ϩⲓⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲃⲓⲱⲡ ⲛⲉⲙⲉϥ
20 ϩⲁ ⲛⲉϥⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲱⲁϥϫⲓ ⲟⲩ
21 ⲱⲃⲓ̈ⲱ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ☩ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓ
22 [ⲁ] ⲛ̣ⲉϥ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩϰⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲁ ⲛⲉϥⲙⲛⲧⲥⲉⲃⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
23 ⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲧⲁϫⲣⲁϥ ϩⲛ̄ ☩ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
24 ⲧⲉⲥ ⲛⲉϥ ⲉⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁϥⲧⲁϫⲣⲁϥ ⲇⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲛⲧϰⲁⲧⲏ[ⲭⲟⲩ]
25 ⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉϥⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩϰⲁ ⲛⲉϥⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲃⲏⲩ[ⲉ]
26 ⲛⲥⲱϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϩⲓⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϰⲱ ⲛⲉϥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̣ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲉ [ⲧⲏ]
27 [ⲣⲟⲩ] ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲉϰⲗⲉϰⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉϥ[ⲙⲛⲧ]ⲉϰⲗ[ⲉϰⲧ]ⲟⲥ
28 [ⲏ] ⲟ̣ⲩϰⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛ[ⲧϰⲁⲧ]ⲏⲭⲟ[ⲩⲙⲉ]
29 ⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩϰⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉ̣ⲛⲟⲥ [ⲡ]ⲉ̣ ⲉⲙⲁ[ⲧⲱϰ ⲁ]
30 ⲣⲉⲧϥ̄ ϩⲛ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧϰⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̣ϰⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲛⲁ[ⲃⲉ ⲉⲧϥ]
31 ⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϰⲁ ⲟⲩⲙⲏ̣ⲏⲱⲉ [ⲛⲉϥ ⲛϩⲏ]
32 ⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉϥⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡ[ⲉϥⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛ]

Die Kephalaia

Da sprach der Apostel zu ihnen: Sehr groß ist das
Wort, das ihr mich gefragt habt. Ich werde es euch offenbaren
. . . in dieser Weise: Jeder Mensch, der die Hoffnung (ἐλπίς)
und den Glauben angenommen hat, er hat das Licht von der Finsternis getrennt,
er hat erkannt
(αἰσθάνεσθαι) die Mysterien der Lebendigen Seele, er hat die Rechte des
Friedens (εἰρήνη) dem Licht-Noûς gegeben, der in der heiligen Kirche
wohnt, und er erbittet Sündenvergebung vom Licht-
Noûς. Wisset so: Seine ersten Sünden alle,
in denen er gesündigt hat vom Tage, da er geboren wurde bis zum
Tage, da er die Hoffnung (ἐλπίς) Gottes annahm und sein Herz wegnahm
von allen Sekten (δόγμα) und Götzenbildern (εἴδωλον) des Irrtums (πλάνη), sie
werden ihm alle vergeben. Nicht wird er nach ihnen gefragt von dieser Stunde an,
noch empfängt er Vergeltung für sie. Wenn es so ist, daß er in seinem
Glauben bleibt und [lebt, ohne] zu sündigen, von dieser Stunde an in diesen
ersten
Sünden, in denen er gesündigt hat, dann genommen hat . . .
. . . . . man hat ihm vergeben, man wird
. . . . nicht von dieser Stunde an wegen aller seiner ersten Sünden.
Wenn er sich aber wiederum zu seinen ersten Werken
wendet und in ihnen noch einmal sündigt, dann wird mit ihm abgerechnet
wegen aller seiner Sünden, der ersten und der letzten. Er empfängt
Vergeltung für sie alle. Denn Gott hat ihm μετάνοια
und Sündenvergebung gegeben für seine Torheiten. Aber
er hat sich nicht in dieser μετάνοια gefestigt, die Gott
ihm gegeben hat. Wenn er aber im Katechumenat sich gefestigt hat
in seinem Glauben und alle seine ersten Werke hinter sich
läßt, dann werden ihm alle seine Werke
erlassen, sei es daß er ein Elektus ist in seinem Elektenstand
oder ein Katechumen in seinem Katechumenat.
Dieser, der ein Katechumen ist, wird stehen
im Katechumenat. Die andern Sünden,
in denen er sündigt, man wird [ihm] eine Menge [davon]
erlassen wegen seines Fastens (νηστεία) und [seines Betens und seines Almosen-
gebens].

[cλr]

> · μπc[aƨ · <]

1 τναε Cωτμε ογν ñτƨε ε†ογωνƨ νητñ [αβαλ]
2 ññƨβηγε ññkατηχογμενος ῡπιcτος πκατ[ηχογ]
3 μενος ετναƨτε ναμηε ψειρε ñταϊογ ñννηcτιạ [ετч]
4 νηcτεγε ñƨητογ ƨñ τταϊογ ñkγριακη ñτε τρ[αμπε]
5 ψεμαƨτε αν μπογτογβο εψεгkρατεγε ῡμαч [αβαλ ν]
6 τεπιθγμια ντчcƨιμε εψτογβο ῡπεψμαññkατε ƨν
7 ṭεгkρατια ññιƨοογε τηρογ νkγριακη ψαчḍṛ . . ιν
8 ƨ̣ñ τεψбιñογωω μαчχωƨμε τεψτροφη ƨῡ п̣[. . . .]
9 ντβτ ῡñ πχωƨμε τηρч ñṭcарΣ μñ πϵναч μ[αψο]γ
10 ωῡ λααγ αν εψχαƨμε ƨñ νιƨοογε ñkγριακη ψ[αч]раϊc
11 αν ανεψбιχ αβαλ ῡπψωωбε μñ π†τкεc ñτ[†γ]χη
12 ετανƨ̄ ññεγνψληλ χααηч̄ ñτοοτч̄ ψπαραṭ[ηρ]ḥ α
13 ραγ ψνηγ απψληλ ῡμηνε ка τογνογ ογν[ογ] катα
14 ƨοογε ƨοογε νιογναγε τηρογ ñ[ψλ]ηλ сενα . . ογα
15 к ñτεψνηcτια μñ τεψμντṇ[αε ετч]+ ῡμαc ƨ[ñ] ñƨο
16 ογε τηρογ нтрамπε сεν[αω]π [νμμ]ñτνаε . . . ιχñ
17 νεψαгαθον тνηcтια ετаψεεc тƨ[в]сω ετаψтеес
18 ƨιχωγ ññετογаβε оγкоινωνια μμηνε νсекоι
19 νωνη νεμεγ ñƨητc̄ ƨñ τογνηcτια μñ πọγạ̣ṛ[аθо]ṇ
20 ψаγωп νеϊ μñ νιkекаγε ñсер̄ппеψе μπеψƨ̣[ω]в̣
21 атναψре тkеппеψе ạ̣ƨ̣ννаβε ақμнн ннаβε ε
22 теψаψр̄наβε ñƨητογ ñттеψе ñтрамπе ψаγса
23 ρογ а†е ñтаϊе ψаγка ψтое неч аβал νƨητογ ƨ̣ñ
24 [т]πатрωνια нтекκλнcια етογаβε ƨῡ πναƨτε
25 [μν т]аγапн ññекλекτос оγε μεν етβε пеϊ кẹ̣ογ
26 [ε δε ε]пеιδн ψсаγне нтгнωсιс ачπωрх пọγ
27 [аϊне а]βал ῡпкеке ач+ оγƨγмнос μν оγωληλ
28 [μπф]ωстнр ῡпхιсе пкеῡтан ῡмеγ етаψе
29 [ев . .] . пеι . . . ṇтλаιбе оγν ннιагаθон ε
30 [таψеεγ ψаγка] ψтое ñтаιе неч аβал ψṭаγ
31 [. . . . . ннд]βе етаψрнаβε ñƨητογ

13 Lies катα τογνογ τογνογ.

des Lehrers.

Hört nun, wie ich euch offenbare
die Werke der gläubigen (πιστός) Katechumenen. Der wahrhaft
gläubige Katechumen tut 50 Fasten (νηστεία), in denen
er fastet (νηστεύειν) an den 50 Sonntagen (κυριακή) des Jahres.
Er erzwingt auch ihre Reinigung, indem er sich enthält (ἐγκρατεύειν)
der Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) seiner Frau, indem er sein Lager reinhält durch
die Enthaltsamkeit (ἐγκράτεια) an allen Sonntagen (κυριακή). Er . . . .
in seinem Essen. Nicht befleckt er seine Nahrung (τροφή) durch Fisch-
. . . und alles Befleckte des Fleisches und Blutes. Auch ißt
er nichts Befleckte an den Sonntagen (κυριακή). Er bewahrt auch
seine Hände davor, die Lebendige Seele zu schlagen und zu quälen
Die Gebetszeiten werden bei ihm eingehalten(?). Er bewahrt (παρατηρεῖν) sie
und kommt zum Gebet täglich. Stündlich (und)
täglich alle Stunden des Gebets, sie werden . . . .
sein Fasten (νηστεία) und sein Almosen, das er gibt an allen
Tagen des Jahres. Man wird anrechnen die Almosen zu seinem
Guten (ἀγαθόν), das Fasten(νηστεία), das er getan hat, das Kleid, das er den
Heiligen angezogen hat. Und tägliche Gemeinschaft (κοινωνία-κοινωνεῖν) haben
sie dadurch
mit ihnen in ihrem Fasten (νηστεία) und ihrer Guttat (ἀγαθόν).
Man rechnet dies und das andere zusammen und tut die Hälfte seines Werkes
zum Guten, die andere Hälfte zur Sünde. Wahrlich (ἀκμήν) die Sünden,
in denen er sündigt in der Hälfte des Jahres, sie werden geteilt
in fünf Teile. Vier von ihnen werden ihm erlassen durch
das Patronat (πατρωνία) der heiligen Kirche durch den Glauben
und die Liebe (ἀγάπη) der Elekten, einer deswegen, ein anderer
aber weil er die Erkenntnis (γνῶσις) besitzt (und) Licht
und Finsternis getrennt hat (und) einen Hymnos und ein Gebet
an den Erleuchter (φωστήρ) der Höhe gerichtet hat. Auch die Ruhe ist dort,
die er
[getan hat] . . . . . Wegen dieser Guttaten nun, die
[er getan hat, werden] ihm vier Teile [erlassen], vier
. . . . . Sünden, in denen er gesündigt hat,

ϙ[ⲗⲇ]

[> · ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁ]ⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 ⲝ[ⲛ] ⲙⲫⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲟⲛ
2 ⲟ[ⲩⲙ]ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲱⲛⲧⲩ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲝⲓ
3 ⲥ[ⲱ]ⲱⲉ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲥⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲟⲩ
4 [Ⲃⲁ]ⲩ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲛⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲩ
5 ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛ[ⲉⲩ]ⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓ
6 ⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲭⲁⲕⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲟⲥⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ
7 [ⲥⲱⲥ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ
8 ⲛ[ⲩⲥⲱ]ⲕ ⲁⲍⲣⲏ̈ ⲛⲩⲧⲉⲍⲟ ⲛⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲭⲉⲕⲁ
9 ⲁⲥ [ⲡⲙ]ⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲍⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲱⲱ
10 ⲡⲉ [ⲙⲙ]ⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲧⲁⲭⲣⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲫ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩ
11 ⲙⲉ[ⲛⲟ]ϩ ⲩⲁⲭⲓ ⲛⲧⲱⲃ̈ⲓⲱ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ leer
12 ⲉⲩⲱ[ⲁ]ⲛⲭⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲙⲏ ⲍⲓⲉ ⲥⲉ
13 ⲛⲁ[ⲱ]ⲡ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃ[ⲉ ⲁ]ⲣ̣ⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
14 ⲛ̄ⲍ[ⲁ]ⲉ̣ⲉⲩ ⲡⲍⲉⲡ̣ [ⲉⲧⲧⲁ]ⲭⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲱⲍⲧ̄ ⲁⲭⲱ[ⲩ]
15 ⲉⲱ[ⲱ]ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ [ⲉⲩ]ⲱ̣ⲁ̣ⲛⲧⲁⲭⲣⲁⲩ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ
16 ⲭⲱ[ⲣ]ⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲍⲓ̣ⲉ̣ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲱ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲩⲉⲓ ⲁ
17 ⲍⲣⲏ ⲛⲕⲉⲥⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗⲕⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲩⲛⲟⲩⲍⲙⲉ
18 ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲏⲟⲩ
19 ⲛⲧ̣[ⲉ]ⲩⲃⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲩⲁⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲩⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲱⲛⲍ
20 ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ leer N̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁ
21 ⲛⲓⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲁⲩ†ⲉⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲁⲍ ⲁⲩⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲁ
22 ⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲡⲱⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲣⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲛⲍⲏⲧ ⲍⲙ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲙⲛ [ⲧ]
23 ⲙⲛⲧⲣ̄ⲙ̣ⲙⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ leer

24 ϥⲃ

25 ⲉⲩⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩ
26 ϥⲃ ⲁ̣ⲕⲥⲍⲉ̈ ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲧⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲕ ϥⲃ
27 ⲥⲍⲉ̈ ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛⲛⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ
28 ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲩ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲙⲉⲧⲁⲅⲅ̣ⲓⲥⲙⲟⲥ
29 ⲦⲦⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲛⲥⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲧⲏ[ⲭⲟⲩⲙ]ⲉ[ⲛ]ⲟⲥ [. . .]
30 ⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ̄ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲁⲡⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏ[ⲣ .] . . [. . . . . .]
31 ⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲁⲕⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ [. . .] . . [. . . . . .]

Über dem Schriftspiegel etwas übergeschrieben. — 15 ϥ in ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲁⲍⲧⲉ über der Zeile. — 22 Lies ⲁⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ.

Die Kephalaia

von dem Tage an, da er Katechumen wurde. Im übrigen (λοιπόν)
ist es (nur) ein einziger Teil (μέρος), nach dem er gefragt wird und für die [a]
er Schläge und Pein empfängt. Dann wird er geläutert
sei es oben oder unten, indem er geläutert
wird entsprechend seinen Werken. Und er wird
gereinigt (καθαρίζειν) und gebadet und geschmückt (κοσμεῖν). Dann
wird er zu einem Licht-Bilde (εἰκών) gestaltet (ζωγραφεῖν)
und emporgezogen und erreicht das Land der Ruhe, damit, wo
sein Herz ist, auch sein Schatz sei.
Wenn er sich in seinem Katechumenat festigt,
empfängt er Vergeltung für seine Guttaten (ἀγαθόν) in dieser Weise. —
Wenn er dagegen lügt und sich von der Wahrheit wegwendet, dann
werden alle seine Sünden ihm wieder zugerechnet, die ersten und
die letzten. Das Gericht, das seine Sünden verurteilt, wird über ihn ausgegossen.
Wenn er dagegen sich in seinem Glauben festigt und
in ihm stark wird, dann wird ihm eine Anordnung und er
kommt wiederum herauf, wird gerecht (δίκαιος), entweicht und rettet
sein Leben durch das ewige Leben. Zur Zeit
seines Herauskommens, geht er und ruht im ewigen
Leben. — Als die Jünger diese Worte
der Weisheit (σοφία) hörten, priesen sie ihren Lehrer (und) dachten
an das erste Licht, das verständig macht durch den Νοῦς und den
Reichtum seiner Erkenntnis. —

XCII.

Man fragt den Apostel: Warum
hast du alles im Bilde (εἰκών) beschrieben. Nicht
(aber) hast du die Reinigung der Katechumenen beschrieben.
die in der Seelenwanderung (μεταγγισμός) gereinigt werden.
Wiederum zu einer Zeit ein Katechumen . . . .
stand auf und sprach zu unserm Φωστήρ . . . . . .
Warum hast du alles versiegelt . . . . . .

2a) die betreffenden Werke. — 9 cf. Matth. 6, 21; 12, 34.

[cλε]

> · ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲍ · <

ⲟⲡ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲧⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲕ̣ⲟⲩ
ⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲁ̣ⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲛ̄ ϯⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲍⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲕⲍⲱⲣⲣⲁ[ⲫ]ⲉ ⲙ̣̄
ⲡⲗⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱ[ⲁⲩⲭⲓ]
ⲧ̣ⲏ̄ ⲥⲓⲧⲉⲍⲏ ⲙⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩ̄ⲧⲉⲍⲟ ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ̣[ⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲕ]
ⲥ̣ⲍⲉ̈ⲓ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲩ . .[. . . .]
[ⲥⲉ]ⲍⲱⲩ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲩ ⲥⲓⲧⲉⲍⲏ ⲙⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲁϫⲁⲩ . . . . .
ⲡⲣⲉⲩ+ⲍⲉⲡ ⲛⲥⲉⲛ̣ⲁ̣ϫ̣ⲩ ⲁⲧⲅⲉⲉⲛⲛⲁ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲙⲁⲍⲉ ⲛⲍⲏ
ⲧⲥ̀ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ ⲁⲩⲍⲱⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧ[ⲛⲁ]ϭ ⲛ̄
ⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ̣ⲕ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲍⲱⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲙ[ⲡⲕⲁ]ⲧⲏ
ϫⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱ[ⲙⲁ] ⲙⲛ̄
ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲁⲭⲓⲧⲩ ⲥⲓⲧⲉⲍⲏ ⲙⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ . . . . . ⲧⲉⲍⲟ
ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲱ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡ . ⲙⲁⲧ ⲉⲧⲩⲁⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲁ . . . ⲥⲙ ⲙ̄ .
ⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲱ[ⲁ ⲁⲛⲏⲍⲉ] ϫⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲍ . . . ⲉⲡ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ̈ⲓⲧ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲏϫⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲛⲥⲛⲟⲩⲱ . . . . . ⲥ|ⲥ
ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
ⲁⲛ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟ ⲥⲓ ⲍⲟ ⲥⲓ ϯⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲩ ⲥⲙ̄ⲡ
ⲧⲣⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ leer
Τⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲡⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏϫⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉ[ⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲍⲱⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲧⲏϫⲟⲩⲙⲉ[ⲛ]ⲟⲥ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲉ
ⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛⲁⲱⲉ ⲙ . . ⲕ̣ⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲥⲓ
[ⲧ]ⲉⲩⲉⲥⲏ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲙ̣ⲁ . . . . . ⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲛ
ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ . . . . . ⲉⲧⲃⲉ . . . . . .
[ⲁⲍⲱⲅ]ⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ̣ⲥ̣ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ . . . . . .
[ⲟ]ⲩⲱⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ . . ⲗ . . . . ⲕⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ
. . . ϫⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲏ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲧⲏϫⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲛ . . . ⲙⲱⲁ
ⲙ̣ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁ̈ⲓⲧ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲙ . . ⲉ ⲙⲡⲉ
[ⲕ]ⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲩⲥⲏⲍ ⲁⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ . . . . . ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡ̣ⲉ
[. . . .]ⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲥⲓ . . . . ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲏϫⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ . . ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ
. . . . . ⲉ . . . . . ⲥⲓⲉ ⲡⲙⲁ̈ⲓⲧ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲗⲉ̣ⲕ̣ⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲥ̣ ⲡⲕ
[. . . . . ⲃⲱ]ⲕ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲙ̣ⲡⲱⲛⲍ
[. . . . . ⲙⲡ]ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲏϫⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ

1 Lies ⲥⲛⲏⲩⲧ?

des Lehrers.

. . . und was geschehen soll entsprechend (?) dem großen Bild (εἰκών). Du bist
offenbar geworden in jenem großen Bilde (εἰκών). Du hast gebildet (ζωγραφεῖν)
den Gerechten (δίκαιος), wie er erlöst wird und wie er gebracht wird
vor den Richter (κριτής) und das Land (χώρα) des Lichtes erreicht. Du hast
andererseits den Sünder beschrieben, wie er stirbt. Er wird . . . . .
vor dem Richter (κριτής) aufgestellt und verurteilt . . . .
der Richter. Und er wird in die Hölle (γεέννα) geworfen, in der er ewiglich
wandelt. Man hat nun diese Beiden in dem großen Bilde (εἰκών) deinerseits
gebildet (ζωγραφεῖν). Weshalb hast du nicht noch den Katechumenen gebildet
(ζωγραφεῖν), wie er aus seinem Körper (σῶμα) erlöst wird und
wie er vor den Richter (κριτής) gebracht wird und . . . . erreicht
den Ort, der ihm bestimmt ist und . . . . . er ruhen wird . . . an dem
Ruheort ewiglich, damit wir . . . . . den Weg des Katechumenen sehen
und wissen . . . . . .
daß, wie wir ihn klar erkannt haben, wir ihn auch
sehen werden von Angesicht zu Angesicht im Bilde (εἰκών) und ihn . . . . . dadurch,
daß wir ihn sehen. —
Da sprach der Φωστήρ zu [jenem] Katechumenen: Nicht kann
man den Katechumenen im Bilde (εἰκών) bilden (ζωγραφεῖν).
Denn viel . . . Welt und . . . . . vor
ihm an jedem Ort . . . . . andere
gibt es . . . . . wegen . . . . . .
es (das Bild) zu bilden (ζωγραφεῖν). Denn . . . . . .
einzig an einem einzigen Orte (τόπος) . . . . . du weißt
. . . das Ende des Katechumenen . . . . . .
seines Weges wird mit den Electi sein. . . . . des
Electen, siehe er ist beschrieben nach (?) dem Bilde (εἰκών) . . . . . .
. . . . . der Katechumen wird gehen
. . . . . der Weg des Electen . .
. . . . . nicht eingehen in das Land (χώρα) des Lebens
. . . . . [des] Electen und des Katechumenen

[ϲʌϛ]

> · ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲧⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲙⲉⲥⲟⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲓ
2 [ⲛⲧⲟ]ⲩⲃⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲍⲱⲣⲁⲫⲉ
3 [ⲙⲙⲁ]ⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁϥ ⲉⲛ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲥⲉ
4 [ⲕⲁⲑⲁ]ⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲁⲕⲙⲉϥ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧϥ leer ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓ
5 ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲡⲉⲓⲑⲉ ⲁϥ
6 [ⲧⲱⲧ] ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲣⲱϥ leer
7 ϥ̅ⲅ̅
8 ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲱⲛ̄ ⲡⲁⲡⲟ
9 ϥ̅ⲅ̅ ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟ ϥ̅ⲅ̅
10 ⲣⲁ ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲱⲁⲓ̈ⲣ ⲟⲩⲱⲃⲁ ⲁⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ
11 ΤⲦⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲁ ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲱⲙ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲭⲱ
12 ⲙ̄ⲙ̣[ⲁⲥ] ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ ϫⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ϫ̣ⲉ̣ ⲥⲁⲡ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ
13 ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲧⲥ̣ⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲧⲣ̄ⲁⲓⲥⲑⲁⲛⲉ ϫⲉ̣ [. . .] ⲥⲉⲡⲉ
14 ⲧϩⲓⲣ . . . . . ⲛⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲟⲩⲱⲃⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ ⲡⲉ̣
15 ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲥ ⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ ⲧⲧⲕⲉⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ϩⲛ ϩⲛⲉⲓⲛⲉ
16 ⲉⲓⲛ[ⲉ . . . . . .]ⲧⲛⲁ . ⲣ̄ . . . ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲛ̄[. .]
17 ⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ̈ⲓ ⲣⲱ ⲡⲁϩⲛⲧ ⲥⲧⲣⲧⲣ̄
18 ⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲓ ⲧⲣ̄ϩⲁⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲧⲛⲁⲧⲟⲗⲙⲏ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲁϫⲟⲟⲥ
19 ⲙⲡ[ⲉ]ⲕⲙⲏⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ϫ]ⲉ ⲧⲁϫⲁ ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲁ
20 ⲙⲁϩ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲧϯⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ leer
21 Ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗ[ⲟ]ⲥ ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙ[ⲉ]
22 ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲭⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
23 ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲣ̄ϩⲁⲧⲉ ϩⲛⲧⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲕⲛⲁⲉⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄
24 ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲏ[ⲣⲩ ⲁ]
25 ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲕⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁ̣[ⲧⲣⲥ]
26 ⲧⲗⲃⲟ ⲉⲕⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲥ ⲁⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲙ
27 ⲧⲁⲛ leer Ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ
28 ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲧⲓⲁⲗⲕⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲛⲁϩⲓⲟⲩⲉ ⲁ
29 ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲃⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲗⲏⲅⲏ [ϩⲙ]
30 ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩⲣⲁ[ϩⲧⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲩ [. . .]
31 ⲛ̄ⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲉ ⲁϫⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲁⲱ ⲛ̄ⲩ . . . . . .
32 ⲥⲛⲱⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣⲱⲃⲁ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ . . . ⲙⲙ[. . . . . .]

Die Kephalaia

ist eine einzige. Aber nur die Mitte (μεσότης) der Läuterung des Katechumenen kann man nicht bilden (ζωγραφεῖν). Denn er wird nicht geläutert an einem einzigen Orte und gereinigt (καθαρίζειν) und an ihm gewaschen. — Als jener Katechumen dies hörte, da wurde er überzeugt (πείθεσθαι), [beruhigt] und schwieg. —

XCIII.

Ein Katechumen fragte den Apostel:
Wenn ich den Heiligen eine Gabe (προσφορά)
darbringe, bereite ich dem Almosen eine Wunde?

Wiederum fragte noch ein anderer Katechumen den Apostel, indem er zu ihm sprach: Ich weiß, daß, immer wenn ich den Electen ein Almosen bringe, ich weiß (und) erkenne (αἰσθάνεσθαι), daß . . . Rest . . . . . Lebendige Seele, ein Schlag und eine Verwundung (πληγή) ist es . . . . . indem ich gegen sie Schmerz errege auf verschiedene Weise . . . . . Nahrung (τροφή) und ihrer Verwaltung (οἰκονομία). Deswegen zittert mein Herz bei mir. Ich fürchte mich sehr. Ich wage mich (τολμᾶν) soweit, daß ich vor dir sage: Vielleicht (τάχα) sühnt[a] das Gute (ἀγαθόν), das ich tue, nicht die Sünde, die ich gegen die Lebendige Seele tue.

Als der Apostel dies von jenem Katechumen hörte, redete er und sprach zu ihm: Fürchte dich nicht vor der Sünde, die du an jenem Tage gegen das Almosen tust. — Denn alles, was du dem Almosen an jenem Tage antust, tust du zu seiner Heilung, indem du das Almosen bringst, das du gemacht hast, zum Leben und zur Ruhe. — Denn diese Sache ist gleich zwei Menschen, indem ein Feind und Widersacher (ἀντίδικος) von ihnen einen zuerst schlägt und ihm eine Wunde und Verletzung (πληγή) zufügt [an] seinem Körper. Dann [schlägt] er [ihn] noch einmal . . . und er schlägt auf seine Wunden, und er . . . . . Hiebe, die ihm Wunden zugefügt haben und . . . . . .

a) „sühnt“ freie Übersetzung für „(auf)füllt“.

[cλz]

> · ⲙ̀ⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

1 ϣⲁϭⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲡ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ . . . . . ⲛⲥⲙⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲩ[ϫⲁ]
2 ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϣⲁϭⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ϣⲛ̄ⲧⲏ̄ ⲁϩⲣⲉⲩ ⲁⲡ[. . .]
3 ⲛⲛϣⲃⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ[. . .]
4 ϫⲱⲩ ⲧϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲡⲁϩ ϫⲱⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲧϩⲡⲁⲩ ⲁⲩϩⲉⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ [ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲓ]
5 ⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ+ⲙⲱⲣϩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙ[ⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩ]
6 ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϣⲃⲏ̈ⲱ ⲁⲩϣⲃⲁ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲟⲩϣⲃⲁ ⲛ̄ⲩ+
7 ⲁϫⲱⲩ ⲛⲧⲡⲗⲏⲓⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲥ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ[ⲧⲩⲣ]
8 ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲧϣⲩⲗ̈ⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲓⲁⲛⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ [ⲉ]ⲩ
9 ϩⲙⲡ . . . ⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ . . . ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧϫⲁϫⲉ leer
10 ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲩⲧⲁϫⲟ ⲙⲡⲓϫⲁϫⲉ ϩⲁ ⲧϣⲃⲏ̈ⲱ . . . .
11 ⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ϣⲱⲛⲉ .[. .]ⲣ
12 ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲓϫⲁϫⲉ ϣⲁϭⲉⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲡⲗⲏⲓⲏ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ϩⲓ]ϣⲱⲩ
13 [.]. . ⲉⲩ ⲛⲩⲣ̄ⲣ̄ⲙ̄ϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲗⲁⲏ̈ⲃⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲩϣⲱⲛⲉ
14 ⲛ̄ⲩ[. .] ⲛⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲥⲉⲏ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [ϩⲁ] ⲧⲉⲩ
15 ⲡⲗ[ⲏⲓ]ⲏ ⲡⲓⲥⲉⲏ̈ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲩ ⲙⲛ . . ⲙ̄ⲛ
16 . ⲣ̣ . ⲛ̣ⲩⲃⲓ ⲡⲧⲁⲕ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲏ̄ ⲛ̄ⲩⲟⲩⲱϫⲉ +ⲡⲗⲏⲓⲏ ϩⲟ̣[ⲙ]ⲱⲥ
17 ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲩⲟⲩⲱϫⲉ ⲙ̄[ⲙⲁ]ⲥ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲁⲩ ϣⲟⲩ[ⲟ ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ
18 ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲡⲗⲏⲓⲏ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ +ⲧⲕⲉⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
19 ⲉⲩϣⲱⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲏ̈ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲉⲏ̈ⲛⲉ ϣⲃⲏ̈ⲱ ⲙⲙⲉⲩ
20 ⲛ̣ⲥ̣ⲉ̣ⲧⲙⲛⲟⲩϫ ⲁⲥⲉ ⲁϫⲱⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ
21 ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲑⲉⲣⲁⲡⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲡⲗⲏⲓⲏ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲉⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ
22 ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ ⲁⲧⲃ[ⲟ]ⲟⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲕⲙⲏⲛ
23 ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲣⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱϫⲉ ⲛ̄+ⲡⲗⲏⲓⲏ ⲛ̄ⲩⲕⲁ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ
24 [ⲁ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲩⲑⲉⲣⲁⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ϣⲁⲩⲣⲡⲕ̣[. . .]ⲉ
25 [.]ⲥⲛⲁⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲏ̈ⲟ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ
26 [ⲙⲛ ⲡⲓ]ⲧⲗⲟ ⲣ̄ ⲟⲩϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲉⲏ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩ+ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
27 [ⲧⲁⲏ̈ⲟ] ⲧⲥⲉ ϩⲱⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲏ̈ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ . . ⲛ̄
28 [. . .] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ̄ +ⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲕⲉⲓⲣⲉ
29 [ⲛⲟⲩ]ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲃⲓⲣ[ⲁⲕ] ⲃⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲉⲏ̈ⲛ ⲛⲣⲙⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ
30 [. . . . . .]. . .[. .] ϣⲁⲩⲑⲉⲣⲁⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓϣⲱ
31 [ⲛⲉ . . . . .]. ⲕ . .[. . .] ϣⲱⲃⲉ ⲁ+ⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲡ

8 Lies ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲁⲓⲕⲟⲥ. — 15 Lies ⲡⲓⲥⲉⲏ̈ⲛⲉ.

des Lehrers.

schlägt ihn diese zwei Mal . . . . anklagt seinen Feind,
der ihn geschlagen hat und dieser Richter fragt ihn danach . . . . .
die Wunden, die er hingelegt hat als Zeichen auf seinen Körper, und sie . . .
. . wie er sein Haupt gespalten hat; und er wird geleitet zu Gericht (κρίσις)
und Urteil und bestraft (τιμωρεῖν) vom Richter (κριτής) der Welt und
er vergilt ihm die Wunde am Ort der Wunden (?) und er gibt
auf ihn die Verletzung (πληγή), die er dem Manne angetan hatte, der noch nicht
gegen ihn gesündigt hatte. Nicht erläßt er dem Widersacher (ἀντίδικος) die Vergeltung,
. . . . . aus Feindschaft. —
Nachdem der Feind verurteilt worden ist wegen der Vergeltung . . . .
gegen ihn gesündigt, und dann der andere krank wird . . . .
den der Feind geschlagen hat. Und eine Wunde (πληγή) tritt an ihm auf
. . . . ., und er wird ein Kranker wegen seiner Krankheit
und er . . . und ruft den Arzt und offenbart ihm seine
Wunde (πληγή). Jener Arzt aber hat nicht . . . . . .
. . . und nimmt das Messer in seine Hand und schneidet die Wunde (πληγή). Dennoch (ὅμως)
wenn er sie schneidet, strömt das Blut aus
seiner Wunde (πληγή). Jener Mensch empfindet Schmerz. Aber (ἀλλά)
er nimmt dies und jenes (auf sich). Nicht hat der Arzt (strafende) Vergeltung.
Man legt nicht Schaden auf ihn. Denn er hat dies Werk ihm
zur Heilung (θεραπεία) seiner Wunde getan. Alles, was er ihm getan
hat, hat er ihm zum Guten getan, dagegen garnicht zum Schlechten.
Nachdem er diese Wunde (πληγή) geschnitten, Blut abgelassen
aus ihr und sie geheilt (θεραπεύειν) hat, [empfängt er?]
Geschenke und Gaben. Jene Krankheit
[und die] Heilung bereitet diesem Arzt Ruhm und gibt ihm
[Ehre]. So steht es mit dieser Sache . . . . .
. . . . . bei der Lebendigen Seele. Wenn du Almosen
gibst, bist du wie dieser verständige Arzt, der hat
. . . . . heilt (θεραπεύειν) diese Krankheit.
. . . . . schlägst das Almosen. Wenn

[cλh]

> · nkεφαλαιον · <

1 [.]cш|nε ммас nτa . . . . ï . . . . hτ̣ε aḳωωбε
2 [. .]εcoyxε|ïτε ммn n̄ . . τ . εcτ . . c ωapε oyoyac
3 [τn ω]ooπ nε̣c n̄cτλбọ zn nεkλεkτoc zn̄ n̄ϯaλмoc
4 [zn n]ωλhλ zn zncм[aмε] n̄τε oyεay ωωπε мπ|
5 [. . . .]τλбo . . . εcωooπ . . . . . εcm̄kaz n̄τε .
6 [. .] . . εωay[ρ]πεkzмaτ . . . . . ε m̄мak leer
7 [ττε|ï] zωωч πε πkεpωмε [ετ]aчωωбε πωβhp мπ .
8 . . ωωnε zn πεчω . . . . oy . . . . ч aчωωбε zn̄
9 oy . . . εчoyazε̣ kaτa . . . . . zε
10 abgerieben ρoy ετερε τootoy
11 . . . . . ϯyxh ετanz . . . . ε axωc . . . enεc
12 n̄ . . . nn̄oyace c . . . . . ετммεy . . . kρlмa
13 n̄ . . . . . πετ abgerieben чεc . . . . [. .]
14 ωω abgerieben
15 τze . . . . . nkaτhxoyм[εn]oc
16 . . . . . ρ̄ . . . . πετ . . . . . мετ|ç . . . . . .
17 ω[πε] . . . . ετετn . . . . . xh . . . . . τε
18 . . . . . azoyn aτekkλhcla . . nε|ρε . . . . πεc
19 τλ[бo] ετετnzace m̄ . εc . . . . . τε . . . . cмoc
20 abgerieben ммεy . . . . . .
21 abgerieben ετбρ . . . мn . .
22 . . . . . nazм . . . . . cenkωk . . .
23 ωε n̄naβε nhτn̄ aβaλ . . . . ммετε n̄ṭετετn[. .]
24 ε . oy a†мntnae netεωayḳaye nhτn̄ aβaλ . . . .
25 ε . ey aλλa ωayka znkenaβε nhτn̄ aβaλ ετε[τn]
26 ρ̄naβε nzhtoy zм πcωτq̄ zм ππoyβo . . . . . .
27 ω[a]cρ̄oyρεчcaπcπ zaρωτn nctpoykω nh[τn a]
28 βaλ noyмhhωε nxpaп leer τoτε ntaρε π
29 kaτhxoyмenoc oy abgerieben
30 ϑε . . . . . aпaпoctoλoc . . . . . ετρε . . . . . .
31 kaτhxoyмenoc thρo[y . . . . . .]

Die Kephalaia

1 . . . . . du hast
geschlagen
2 . . indem es heil ist . . . . . .
3 Weite ist ihm, und es wird geheilt durch die Elekten, durch die Psalmen,
4 durch die Gebete, durch Hymnen, und Preis wird
5 . . . heilen . . . ist . . . . . ist betrübt . . .
6 . . . indem sie dir danken . . . . . dich. —
7 Dies ist der andere Mensch, der geschlagen hat den Genossen . . .
8 . . . Krankheit in sein . . . . . er hat geschlagen in
9 . . . furchtbar gemäß . . . . . .
10
11
12
13
14
15
16 fast völlig zerstört
17
18
19
20
21
22
23 [eine Menge] Sünden euch [erlassen] . . . . . .
24 . . . . das Almosen, die euch erlassen werden . . . .
25 . . . Sondern andere Sünden werden euch erlassen, in denen
26 ihr sündigt, durch die Läuterung, durch die Reinigung . . . .
27 es wird zum Bittsteller für euch und bewirkt, daß man euch eine
28 Menge Verfehlungen erläßt. Dann als der
29 Katechumen . . . . . .
30 die Art . . . . . der Apostel . . . . . .
31 alle Katechumenen . . . . . .

[cλ-θ]

> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

1 ⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ϩ[. . . . .]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲧⲁ[ⲛ]
2 ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲗⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧ†ⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ leer
3 ϥⲁ̄
4 — ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲙⲡⲓⲫⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓ —
5 ϥⲁ̄ ⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ [ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁ]ϥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ϥⲁ̄
6 [ⲦⲦ]ⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ[ⲛⲥⲏⲩ] ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ϩⲙⲉⲥⲧ [ϩⲛ ⲧ]
7 ⲥⲁⲩϩⲥ̀ ⲡⲁϫⲉϥ ⲛ†ϩⲉ ϫⲉ ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ [ⲡⲉⲧⲥ]ⲁⲧϥ̄
8 ⲡⲉ ϫⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲉ ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ
9 ϩⲛ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓⲙⲉ . . . . ⲧ
10 ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲥⲁⲣⲙⲉ [ⲙⲟⲩϫⲧ] ⲁ
11 ϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ ⲙⲡϫⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϫⲧ ⲛⲉ
12 ⲙⲉⲩ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ [ⲉⲩ]ⲕⲁ
13 ⲕⲟⲩ ⲁϩⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϩ̄ⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲁϩⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲁⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄
14 ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϫⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲩⲕⲁⲕⲟⲩ ⲁϩⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲱ
15 ⲛϩ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ ⲛ . . . . ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲓⲛⲇⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲥⲱ
16 ⲙⲁ leer ⲡⲃⲱϥ ⲙ̣ⲡ̣ⲓⲡ̣ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ϫⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲁⲣⲉ [ⲧⲥⲉⲧ]ⲉ
17 ⲃⲁϥⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲕⲁⲁ̣ⲩ ϩ̣ⲙ̣ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲟ[ⲩⲥⲛ]ⲁⲩ
18 ⲡⲃⲱϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲛⲁⲩ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲡⲃⲱϥ ⲛⲧⲃⲗⲕⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡ
19 ϩⲣⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲏⲩ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲃⲱϥ
20 ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲡⲃⲱϥ ϩⲱⲱⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ
21 ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲓⲱⲉ ⲡⲕⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲏⲩ ⲙ̣ⲡⲥⲓⲱⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲫⲍ
22 [ⲙ]ⲁⲙ ⲡⲕⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲏⲩ ⲇ̣ⲉ̣ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲃⲁϥϥ ⲙ̄
23 [ⲙ]ⲁ̣ϥ̣ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ ⲡⲕⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲏⲩ ⲛⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲕⲙⲉ
24 [ⲡ]ⲕⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲕⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲱⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉ ⲛⲕⲱⲕ ⲁ
25 [ϩⲏⲩ] ⲉⲧⲉϥⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲱϩⲛ ⲃⲁϥϥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲣ . ⲟⲩ
26 ⲛⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲩ ⲙⲡⲱⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲏⲩ ⲛⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲡⲉ
27 [. . . .]ⲱⲙ̄ⲛⲧ . . . . . ⲡⲕⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲏⲩ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲣ̄
28 [ⲙ̈ⲏ] ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲉ . . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛⲕⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲏⲩ
29 [. . . . . .]ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲫⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ
30 [. . . . . .]ⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲥⲁⲩϩⲟⲩ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ

24 Lies ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲱⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉ.

des Lehrers.

. . und sie machen . . . . . und sie bereiten Ruhe
und Heilung der Lebendigen Seele. —

XCIV.

Über die Reinigung der vier Elemente (στοιχεῖον), die im Fleisch (σάρξ) [hingelegt wurden.]

Wiederum zu einer [Zeit,] als der Apostel in der Versammlung
saß, sprach er also: Die vier στοιχεῖα sind geläutert.
Von Anfang (ἀρχή) an sind sie heilig, lebendig und
φωστῆρες. Aber zur Zeit, als sie erkannten . . . . .
in jenem ersten Kampf (ἀγών), da [vermischte sich] der Bodensatz
mit ihnen und die Finsternis des Feindes, der sich mit ihnen
vermischt hatte. Wenn sie aber in den Körper (σῶμα) gekommen sind, [indem sie]
diese befleckten Gewänder ausziehen und sie im Fleische (σάρξ) niederlegen,
dann werden ihre Beflecktheiten, die sie ausgezogen haben, offenbar
in . . . . . und sie werden eine Gefahr (κίνδυνος) für den Körper
(σῶμα). — Das Ausgezogene des Befleckten, welches das [Feuer]
auszieht und im Körper (σῶμα) niederlegt, ist Blut.
Das Ausgezogene des Blutes ist der Zorn. Das Ausgezogene des Zornes ist
das Rheuma (ῥεῦμα). Das Ausgezogene, das die Wasser ausziehen
aus sich, ist die Begierde (ἐπιθυμία). Das Ausgezogene der
Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) ist die Bitterkeit. Das Ausgezogene der Bitterkeit ist die
Hitze. Das Ausgezogene aber, das das Licht auszieht,
ist das Fleisch. Das Ausgezogene des Fleisches ist die Dunkelheit.
Das Ausgezogene der Dunkelheit ist die Frechheit. Das Aus-
gezogene, das der Baum auszieht, sind die . . . .
der Winde der Schande. Das Ausgezogene der Winde der Schande
. . . . . Das Ausgezogene aber der
Träne ist . . . . . dieser zwölf Ausgezogenen
. . . . . Diese vier στοιχεῖα
. . . . . gesammelt

[cm]

> · ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

1 [ⲟ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ ⲛ†ⲩⲭⲓⲕⲟ̄

2 [ⲉⲧ]ⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ

3 ⳥ⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲧⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱⲥⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ

4 [ⲥ]ⲛ̣ ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲙ̄̄ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲱⲛⲍ̄

5 . . . . ⳥ ⲛⲥⲉⲭⲓ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ

6 ⲥⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲥⲁⲧ⳥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲥⲉ

7 ⲡⲱⲥ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲙⲧⲁⲛ leer ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲡⲱⲥ

8 ⲁⲛⲉ̣ⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ ⲧⲥⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ̈ⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧ⳥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ

9 ⲁⲥⲣ[ⲏ̈ ⲁ]ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲛⲉ̈ⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲱⲱ⳥ ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲁ

10 [. . . . . .] ⲛ̄ⲣⲉ⳥ⲣⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲭⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲛ .

11 ⲥⲟ . . . ⲥⲛ̄ ⲥⲛⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲁⲏ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲙⲉⲧⲁⲅ

12 ⲅ|ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ : -

13 ⳥ⲉ̄

14 — ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲱ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ⳥ —

15 ⳥ⲉ ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲩ ⲧⲉ ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⳥ⲉ

16 ⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲩⲍ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛⲛⲉ⳥ⲙ[ⲁ]

17 ⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲟ ⲛⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲡ|ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ

18 ⲁⲩⲛ̣ ⲛⲉ⳥ⲃⲉⲗ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ̈ ⲁ⳥ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁ†ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ|ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉ

19 ⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲡⲁⲭⲉ⳥ ⲁⲛⲉ⳥ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲭⲉ †ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ

20 ⲁⲛⲍ̄ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ †ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ

21 ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲟⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ̈ ⲛ̄ⲉ⳥

22 ⲛ̄ⲍⲉ leer ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲃⲁⲱⲥ ⲁⲃ[ⲁⲗ]

23 ⲛ̄†ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ ⲛⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲕⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ .[. .]

24 ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ̣

25 ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ̣ [ⲁ]

26 ⲧⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁ̣ⲓ̈[ⲛⲉ] ⲉⲧ[ⲉ]

27 ⲱⲁⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍⲥ̄ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲥⲙ̣ⲉ̣ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̈ⲱ[ⲣⲍ ⲉⲧ]

28 ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲉⲃⲣⲏⲃⲉ ⲉ . . . . [ⲧ]ⲉⲭⲱⲃⲓ̈[ⲱ . . .]

29 ⲱⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲟⲩⲃ̣ⲉ̣[. . . . . .]

30 ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛⲍⲩ̣[. . . . . .]

15 Lies ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ.

Die Kephalaia

findet sie durch die Anordnung (οἰκονομία) der psychischen Nahrung (τροφή),
die in den Körper (σῶμα) eingeht. Wenn sie in den Körper (σῶμα)
eingehen, geläutert, gereinigt werden und dastehen
in ihrem lebendigen Bild (εἰκών), welches der Neue Mensch ist, leben sie
. . . . und nehmen den Licht-Νοῦς zu sich, werden geläutert
in ihrem Bild (εἰκών), kommen geläutert und rein heraus und
gelangen zu ihrer ersten Ruhe. — Wenn sie zu den Electen
gelangen, werden sie auf diese Weise geläutert und gehen
hinauf zum Lande der Lebenden. Diese aber, die kommen zu
. . . . . den Sündern und setzen in ihnen über und . . .
. . . . . in Sünden, ihr Ende wird sein in Seelenwanderung
(μεταγγισμός) und πνεῦμα. —

XCV.

Der Apostel fragt seine Jünger: Was ist die Wolke?

Wiederum als der Apostel in der Versammlung seiner Jünger
saß, — der Himmel war bewölkt an jenem Tage —
da hob er seine Augen auf und sah diese Wolke an jenem
Tage. Er sprach zu seinen Jüngern: Diese Wolke, die euch
offenbar ist, die ihr seht, werde ich euch offenbaren,
und ich werde euch von ihr klar machen, wie sie herauf-
gekommen ist. — Wisset: Sie wird ausgezogen
aus fünf Orten und kommt herauf auf die große Erde und die . . .
und wird offenbar und man sieht sie im ἀήρ der Mitte.
Die Wolke, die heraufkommt aus dem Feuer [nach]
oben zum Bilde der Jungfrau (παρθένος) des Lichtes, das
sie ihr offenbart, ihr Zeichen sind die Lichtstrahlen, die
sich in den Blitzen befinden . . . . seine Vergeltung . . .
Sie werden aber in ihr geläutert hin zu . . . . . .
das Licht, das sie offenbart . . . . . .

[ⲥⲙⲁ]

> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

. ⲉ . ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲃⲁϣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲃⲣⲏⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣⲃ[ⲁⲗ]
ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϣⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ ϩ|ⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄[ⲛ|]
ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ϫⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉ|ⲇⲏ ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲩ[ⲛⲉ]
ϫⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲣⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ ⲙⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ̣ⲙ̣[ⲃⲙ ⲁ]
ⲣⲁϥ ϣⲁⲩⲉ|ⲣⲉ ⲛⲉϥ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲡⲛ̣ⲟ̣ [ⲉ]
ⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲣ̄ϩ|ⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉ| ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲃⲁⲡ[
ϣⲁⲩⲡⲱⲧ ϩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲱϣ ϩ|ⲧⲟⲩⲉϩⲏ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲱϥ ⲁϩⲟⲩ[ⲛ ⲁ]
ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲧⲱⲙⲧ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟ[ⲩ|ⲗ̣ⲏ̣
ⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲧⲉ ⲉϥⲡⲏⲧ ϩⲛⲧϥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϫⲱⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ̣ⲣ̣[ⲁϥ] ⲉϥ
ⲡⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ ⲁⲧⲣⲉϥⲧⲉϩⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ|ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲙ
ⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ [ⲙ]ⲡⲉ
ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲧⲱⲙ ⲁⲣⲁϥ . . . . . ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧ . . . .
[.] ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲟⲩ . . . ⲙ . . . ⲕⲣ . . . . . ⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲡⲉ
ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡ|ⲗⲁⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̣ⲙ̣ⲉⲩ ⲉ|ⲧⲉ ⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ[ϣⲏ]ⲛ [ⲡⲉⲧ]ⲁⲩⲃⲛ
ⲙⲁⲒ̣ⲧ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲉ|ⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲃⲛⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲉ|ⲧⲉ ϩⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲉ ϩⲁ
ⲡⲗⲱⲥ ⲙⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϣⲁⲩⲣⲁⲭⲟⲩ ⲛ
ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲕⲁⲩ ϩ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ϫ| ⲛⲁⲭⲱⲛ [ⲛ]ϣⲏ
ⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲕⲁⲕⲟⲩ ⲁϩⲛⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ leer
[Ⲧ]ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲥϫⲉⲥⲧⲥ ⲁϩⲣⲏ| ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ
ⲡ̣ⲙ̣ⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ| ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩ
ⲁ̣Ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲥⲙⲉⲒ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ|ϩⲣⲟⲩⲙⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ|ⲃⲏⲗ ⲉⲧⲉ
ϣⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ϩⲛ ϩⲛⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲉ|ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲥⲱ[ⲧ]ⲙ̄
[. . . . . .] ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲡ ⲁⲛ ⲉϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲏⲡ
[ⲁⲣ]ⲁⲩ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲃⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲒ̈ϣ ⲛⲥⲉϩⲁϣⲟⲩ
[ⲁⲩⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗ]ⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲡⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲛ̄
[ⲥⲱⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ] ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲒ̈ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ ⲉⲧⲟ[ⲩⲛ]ⲁ
[ⲧⲉϩⲁⲩ] ϣⲁⲩⲉ|ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϫⲉⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϫⲁⲗⲁϩⲁ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϫ[ⲓⲱ]ⲛ̣
[. . . .]ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲏⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲧⲱⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ
[. . . . . ⲙ]ⲁ ⲛ|ⲙ [ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧ]ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲧⲉϩⲁⲩ ϣⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ϩ|
[. . . . . ⲙ]ⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲉⲧ| ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ

12 Lies ⲧⲱⲙⲧ. — 17 Lies ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ.

des Lehrers.

. . . die Archonten ziehen die Blitze aus, entweichen
und entfernen sich. Aber man sendet sogleich zu ihnen
die Engel (ἄγγελος), um sie zu ergreifen. Denn man weiß,
daß sie nie Gutes tun. Jedem Ort, den sie berühren,
bereiten sie Tod und Irrweg. Wenn
die Engel (ἄγγελος) zu ihnen kommen und kommen . . . . . .
fliehen sie in ihrer Not vor ihnen und gehen in das hinein,
was ihnen begegnet und ziehen (φορεῖν) es an, wie ein Räuber
(λῃστής), der entwichen (?) ist, indem er vor einem Stärkeren flieht, der
ihm nachjagt, ihn zu erreichen. Jene Archonten nun,
die erlöst werden in dieser Wolke, ziehen an
was ihnen begegnet . . . . . .
unklar werden zugreifen
an das, welches es auch sein mag, sei es ein Baum, zu dem sie den
Weg gefunden haben ob es Tiere oder Menschen sind. Kurz-
um jeden Ort, den sie anziehen (φορεῖν), verbrennen und
zerstören mit dem Feuer ihres Körpers die Archonten,
die Söhne des Feuers, die das Feuer ausziehen. —
Die Wolke aber, die sich erhebt aus
dem Wasser und emporsteigt zur Lichtjung-
frau, ihr Zeichen sind die Donner und Getöse, die
auf verschiedene Art in der Luft (ἀήρ) entstehen und die man
hört. Manchmal finden die Archonten, die zu ihnen
gehören, die sich in der Wolke befinden, Gelegenheit und stürzen sich
[in eine] Wasser[wolke] hinein, entfliehen aus ihr und verlassen
sie. Mit ihnen aber steht es so, daß an jedem Ort zu dem
sie [kommen], sie Frost, Hagel (χάλαζα) und Schnee (χιών) bereiten.
[Sie vernichten?] das Saatkorn und die Früchte (καρπός) und die Pflanzen,
und . . . . . jeder Ort, den sie erreichen. Man sendet auch
. . . . . Glieder, die sie fangen. Noch indem meine Glieder

[сиВ]

> · ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

[πω]ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲉⲕ̣ⲟ
[Ⲧⲕⲗ]ọ̣ⲟⲗⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲁϫⲉⲥⲧⲥ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲧ̣ⲏⲩ
ⲉ̣ⲓ ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁ[ⲣ]
[ⲑⲉ]ⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛⲥⲧ̣ⲏ̄ ⲛⲉⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡⲥⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ
[ⲡⲣ]ⲛⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲛⲓⲭⲉ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲓⲥⲉ leer
ⲥ[ⲛ] ⲛⲓⲧⲏⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲥⲙⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲱⲛⲥ̣
ⲧ[ⲟ]ⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲕ̣ⲗⲟⲟ
ⲗⲉ ⲙⲡⲧⲏⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁ$\bar{\text{ϫ}}$ ⲥⲛ̄
ⲧⲟ[ⲩ]ⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁ
ⲧⲉⲥ̣ⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲛⲧⲏ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲣⲥⲁⲓⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ
ⲥⲉⲛⲉⲥⲥⲉ ⲙ . . . . . ⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ . . . . ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ
ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉⲕ . . . . . ⲉ ⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲉⲥ . . ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲁⲡⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛ̣ⲧⲟⲩ . . . . . ⲡⲥⲱⲣⲙ leer
Ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲥ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲁ
ⲃⲁⲱ[ⲟⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ̣ . . . . . ⲧⲉ abgerieben
ⲡⲁ . . ⲛ̄ⲡ . . . ⲉⲟⲩ . . . . . ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲥ
ⲟⲩⲱⲛ̄ⲥ̣ ⲡⲉⲥ̣ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲥⲱⲱⲥ . . . ⲡⲉⲥⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ
ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ϫⲉ ⲱⲁⲕⲟⲛⲧⲥ ⲉⲥⲥⲟⲏⲣ ⲥⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲣⲁⲕ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩϫⲁⲙⲏ
ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲱⲛⲥ̀ ⲉ̣ⲧⲛⲥⲏⲧⲥ ⲥⲱ[ⲧⲩ] ⲥⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲣⲁⲕ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩϫⲁⲙⲏ̣
ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲃⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ̣ . . . . . ⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲛ . .
ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ . . ⲣⲉⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲕⲱ . . . . ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲓ ⲟⲩ . . . .
ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲥⲏⲧⲩ . . . . . ⲛⲛ̄[ⲁ]ⲅⲅⲉ[ⲗⲟⲥ]
ⲥⲉⲃⲁⲡⲟⲩ leer Ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲥϫⲉⲥⲧⲥ̀ [ⲁⲥⲣⲏⲓ̈]
ⲁⲃⲁ[ⲗ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲧⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ [ⲧⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ]
ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲥⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ ϫⲉ . . . . .[. . . .]
ⲧⲟ[ⲩ]ⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲣⲁⲕ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩ[ⲙⲧⲁⲛ] . . . [ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ]
ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲃⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ†ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲥⲉ[ⲉ]ⲓ ⲁ
ⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃⲛ[ⲧⲩ . . . . . .]
ⲱⲁⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩ . . .[
ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲙ̄ . . . . . ⲥ ⲱⲁⲛ[ⲧ]ⲉ [

Die Kephalaia

ihnen nachjagen, sie zu fangen, bereiten sie das Verderben.
Auch die Wolke, die sich aus dem Winde erhebt
kommt empor in die Luft (ἀήρ) der Mitte zum Bild der Jung-
frau, das sie ihr offenbart, — ihr Zeichen ist
das Sturmgewölk, das furchtbar bläst.
Durch jene Winde und Stürme werden die Leben
gereinigt in ihr. Die Archonten aber ziehen die Wolke des
Windes aus und kommen aus ihr herab, indem sie heil sind in
ihrem Bild (εἰκών). Alle Ströme und Meere (θάλασσα), die sie
erreichen und zu denen sie gelangen (καταντᾶν), werden durch sie bewegt,
und sie erregen . . . . . und . . . . . die Schiffe und
machen ein . . . . . und ergreifen sie
und bringen sie . . . . . .
Die Wolke des Lichtes aber zur Zeit, wenn sie (plur.)
sie (fem.) ausziehen . . . . . .
. . . . . die Jungfrau, sie
offenbart ihr Zeichen . . . . . Ihr Zeichen aber ist
dies, daß du sie findest, wie sie übersetzt in Ruhe und Stille.
Die Leben in ihr werden in Ruhe und Stille geläutert.
Die Archonten aber, die sie ausziehen . . . . . .
die herauskommen . . . sie legen hin . . . . . und nehmen . . . . .
. . . . . die Engel (ἄγγελος)
sie ergreifen. Auch die Wolke, die sich aus der gemischten
Luft (ἀήρ) erhebt und emporsteigt zum [Bilde]
der Jungfrau — ihr Zeichen ist dies, daß . . . . . .
durch es gereinigt werden in Frieden und [Ruhe. Die Archonten],
die jene Wolke ausziehen und aus ihr
herauskommen, jeder Ort, den sie finden . . . . . .
sie bereiten ihm . . . . . .
zerstört

[cmr]

> · ⲙⲡⲥⲁϩ · <

1 [c]ⲉⲃⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϣⲁⲡⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲱⲕ̣ [ⲁ]
2 [ϩ]ⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲥⲱϫⲡ̄ ⲁⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲁ ⲙ̣ⲁ [ⲉ]
3 ⲧ̣ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲧⲉϩⲁϥ ⲉ|ⲧⲉ ⲡϫⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲛ ⲉ|ⲧⲉ ⲡϫⲡⲟ [ⲛ]
4 ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲣ̄ϫ ϣⲁⲩⲃ|ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ . . . . . ϩⲱⲃⲙ̣
5 ϣⲁⲩⲉ|ⲣⲉ ⲛϩⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲕ|ⲓⲛⲇⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ[ⲫ]
6 ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ⲁⲛ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲟ[ⲩⲁ]
7 ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ
8 ⲛⲁϫ ⲛ̄ⲇⲁ|ⲙⲱⲛ ⲁϩⲣⲏ̈ ⲁ+ⲥⲁϣⲫⲉ ⲙⲫⲟⲥⲥⲁ ⲉ[ⲧϩ]!
9 ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲛϫ|ⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲡ[ⲉ] ⲛ̣
10 ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ̈ⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥ[ⲙⲟ]ⲉ̣
11 Ⲧ̣ⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲉ̣ ⲛⲉⲫⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲣⲁϥ Ⲧ̣ⲟⲩ̣ⲛ̣ⲟⲩ̈ⲉⲧⲛ ⲁ
12 ⲃⲁ̣ⲗ̣ ⲡⲛϫⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ϫⲉ +ⲥⲁϣⲫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲫⲟⲥⲥⲁ̣ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲃⲏⲕ
13 ⲁⲡ|ⲧⲛ̄ ϣⲁ ⲉϣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ leer ⲡⲁϫⲉ [ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲣ]ⲁⲩ
14 ϫⲉ ⲛ|ⲫⲟⲥⲥⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ . . . . . ϣⲁⲛ
15 ⲧⲟⲩⲡⲱϩ ⲁⲛⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲧⲙⲡ|ⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ . . . . . ⲟⲩⲣⲏ
16 ⲧ̣ⲉ̣ ⲙⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ leer Ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ . . . . . ⲉ
17 ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲛⲥⲁⲡ ⲉϣⲁⲩⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ|ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
18 ⲁ̣ⲃⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ Ⲧ̣Ⲧⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ . . .
19 . . ⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲩ ⲥⲉ+ϩ̣ⲟ ⲁ̣ⲣⲁ̣ⲩ . . .
20 ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧⲟ|ⲉ ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛ|ⲁⲣ]ⲭ̄ⲱ̄
21 [ⲛⲉⲧ]ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ ϣⲁⲩⲃⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲣ̄ⲫ̣[ⲟⲣ]ⲉ
22 [. . . . . .] ⲙⲛ̄ [ⲧⲥⲁ]ⲣ̄ϫ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲁⲙⲕⲟⲩ ϩⲙ ⲡ|ⲁϫⲡⲟ . . . ⲩ
23 [. . . .]ϣⲏⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲁⲧⲥⲁⲣ̄ϫ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲕⲁ ⲛⲟⲩ
24 [. . . ⲁϫ]ⲱⲩ ϫⲉⲩⲁⲣⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ϣⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ
25 [ⲣⲉ ⲛ|ⲁ]ⲣ̣ⲭⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲁⲃⲁϣⲟⲩ ⲙⲡϣⲏⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲧ̣
26 [ⲥⲁⲣ̄ϫ ⲛ]ⲥⲉⲃⲱⲕ̣ [ⲁϩ]ⲣ̣ⲏ̈ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ϣⲁⲩⲥⲱⲩϩ ⲁ̣ⲛ
27 [. . . . . .] . ⲙ̄ . . . . . ⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲟⲩⲁⲑⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ
28 [. . . . . .] ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲙⲟⲣ
29 [ⲫⲏ . . . . . ϩⲓ]ⲕ̣ⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲩⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϣⲁⲣⲡ

27 ⲁ in ⲟⲩⲁⲑⲟⲩ über der Zeile.

des Lehrers.

ergreifen sie und nehmen sie in ihre Mitte. Ihr Ausgezogenes,
das von ihnen übrig bleibt, an jedem Ort,
an den es gelangt, sei es das Erzeugnis der Bäume oder das Erzeugnis
der Fleische, es wird weggenommen . . . . . ausgelöscht werden.
Sie bereiten große Gefahren (κίνδυνος). Aber
jene Archonten, die Engel zertrennen sie
in der Mitte und bringen das Licht in ihnen und
werfen die Dämonen hinab in die sieben Gräben (φόσσα), die außer-
halb des großen Meeres (θάλασσα) sind, das das Fahrzeug der
Wasser ist, das sich außerhalb der Welt befindet.
Da sprachen seine Jünger zu ihm: Unterrichte uns,
o Herr, zu welchem Orte jene sieben Gräben (φόσσα) hinab-
führen. — Es sprach der Apostel zu ihnen:
Jene Gräben (φόσσα) und . . . . . bis sie
zu den unteren Erden gelangen, [auf denen?] die Füße des
Ωμοφόρος [stehen?]. — Höret weiter . . . . . :
Manchmal werden die Engel zu ihnen gesandt,
um die Archonten zu packen. Wenn die Archonten [be-]
[merken], daß die Engel ihnen nachjagen, bitten sie sie . . .
denen das Gebot (ἐντολή) aufgetragen ist. Sie aber, jene
Archonten, lösen sich von selbst und ziehen an (φορεῖν)
. . . . . und das Fleisch (σάρξ), und sie verzehren sie in dem Erzeugnis . . .
des (?) Baumes und des Fleisches (σάρξ). Die Engel (ἄγγελος) legen ihre
. . auf sie, damit sie sie bewachen bis zu der Stunde,
wenn jene Archonten den Baum und das
[Fleisch] ausziehen und aufsteigen nach oben. Sie versammeln sich
. . . . . oben, und sie werden ausgeschüttet aus
. . . . . in ihren ersten Gestalten
(μορφή) . . . . . Bilder (εἰκών), in denen sie zuerst waren,

[ⲥⲙⲇ]

> · [ⲛ]ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ · <

ⲥ̣ⲉⲃⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲭⲡ̄ ⲁⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩ̣[ⲏ]
[ⲧ]ⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲩⲱⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲭⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲡⲓⲥⲁⲱ[ⲩ ⲙ]
[ⲙⲁⲒ]ⲧ ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲛ ⲧⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ[ⲛ]
[ⲟⲩ]ⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲡⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲙⲏⲧ[ⲉ]
[. . .]ⲉⲒ ⲛⲥⲉⲃⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ leer
Ⲑⲓⲥ[ⲧⲉ] ⲟ̣[ⲩ]ⲛ̣ ⲁⲒⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲒⲉⲧⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲧⲍⲉ
ⲉ[ⲧⲉ]ⲱⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲁⲍⲣⲏⲒ ⲁⲡⲥⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲱⲛⲍ̀ ⲉ̣ⲧⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀
ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ̣ leer ⲁⲒⲧⲥⲉⲃⲟⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲥ̀ ⲧⲍⲉ
ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲟⲗⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲍⲱⲣⲧ
ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲁⲭⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲉⲧⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ̣ ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲧⲟⲒⲉ ⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲃⲁⲙ ⲛⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ
ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲒⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲭⲛ̄ ⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̀ [ⲉⲧⲥ]ⲱ
ⲧⲭ̣ ⲛ[ⲡ]ⲱⲛⲍ ⲉⲧⲛⲍⲏⲧⲥ̀ leer Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ
ⲥⲱⲧ[ⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲓⲥⲉⲭⲉ] ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ[ⲕⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲒⲉⲧⲛ̄] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲙⲡⲉⲧⲍⲏⲡ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡ̣ⲣⲉⲩ
+ ⲛ̄ . . . . . ⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲟⲕⲁⲗⲩ+ⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲭⲁⲣⲓ
ⲥⲧⲉ̣[ⲩ]ⲉ̣ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲡⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲍⲛ ⲍⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲍⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲁ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕ
ⲧⲟⲩ[ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲒⲉⲧⲛ̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲕ+ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛⲛⲛⲁⲃ ⲛ̄
ⲍⲣ . . . . ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲩⲛⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲛⲁ+ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲇⲓⲁⲕⲣⲓ
ⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲛⲉⲒ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙⲛ̄ ⲁⲣⲁⲛ : —

20 Lies ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ.

Die Kephalaia

sie nehmen das Licht aus ihnen, das in ihnen zurückgeblieben
ist. Sie aber werden hinabgeworfen in diese sieben äußeren
Wege, die sich im großen Meere befinden. Der Ort, an den
diese Ersten geworfen werden, wenn sie in der Mitte zerrissen werden
. . . . und man nimmt das Licht weg, das in ihnen ist. —
Siehe, ich habe euch unterrichtet über die Wolke, wie
sie herauf nach oben gekommen ist, und die Leben, die in ihr sind, geläutert
werden. — Ich habe euch belehrt über die Archonten, die in ihr sind, wie
sie die . . . . machen und wie sie . . . . werden
und in das äußere Gefängnis geworfen werden von den Engeln (ἄγγελος),
denen das Gebot (ἐντολή) gegeben ist von der Kraft der Jungfrau
des Lichtes, die Macht (ἐξουσία) hat über die ganze ⲍⲱⲛⲏ, die das Leben, das in
ihr ist,
ausläutert. — Da als seine Jünger
[diese Worte] hörten, priesen sie ihn, indem sie zu ihm sprachen:
Du hast uns [verkündet] alles Verborgene, o
Verkünder (?) aller Offenbarungen (ἀποκάλυψις). Wir danken (εὐχαριστεύειν)
dir, o Vater, in großen Bekenntnissen (ὁμολογία), daß du
uns unterrichtet hast über alle Dinge. Du hast uns gegeben die großen
. . . . . des Wissens, damit wir durch sie ein Urteil (διάκρισις) geben
denen, die uns hören.

9 ϭⲗⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ vgl. Hymn. 208,9. — ⲍⲱⲣⲧ unbekannt.

Nachträge und Berichtigungen.

Seite	Zeile	
14	8	Lies [ⲡⲛⲉ]ⲩ ⲉⲧ[ⲉ]ⲣⲉ
	9	Lies [ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉ]
	10	Lies [ⲫⲁⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲧⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡ] „und wird mit euch reden über das“
	11	Lies [ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲛ] „die nicht an mich glauben“
	15	Lies ⲉⲫⲁⲥ[ⲉ]ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲧⲛ ⲛⲩⲧⲁⲱⲉⲁⲓⲱ „er wird mit euch reden und predigen“
	16	Lies [ⲡ]ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧⲁⲓⲁⲓ „jener wird mich ehren“
79	5	„vor seinem Mittel“ cf. 93, 6
151	7	„wem sie gleichen“
174	2	Lies ϫⲛ <ⲛ>
175	22	Anm. ⲙⲉⲥϩⲱⲩ
176	32	ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲁⲛ
177	31	Statt ⲁ†ⲟⲁⲙ lies ϫⲉ †ⲟⲁⲙ
178	18	Lies ⲉⲟⲩ[ⲉⲓ]ⲛ „Lasten“
179	29	Lies ⲛⲉⲩⲣϫⲱⲣⲉ
180	10	„bei ihm“
	11	„in seinen Händen“
182	6	„alle Dinge, denen es geschehen wird, errichtet zu werden“
		Lies ⲉⲥⲛⲁ
	11	Lies ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩⲩ
183	2	ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ übers. „hinauf“
	4	Statt [ⲟⲙ]ⲟⲁⲙ lies [†]ⲟⲁⲙ „gibt Kraft“
	8	Lies [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ]ⲩ „von ihm“
194	30	Am Ende erg. [ⲟⲁⲙ] „Macht“
228	18	„damit sie durch jenes groß werden“? vgl. 158, 11
234	3	Lies ⲥ[ⲏ]ⲱⲉ
241	11	„gelöst werden aus“
	13/14	„ergreifen, was es auch sein mag“
	30	Statt ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ „meine Glieder“ lies ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ „die Engel“
243	7	Statt „in ihnen“ lies „aus ihnen“
	9	Statt „des großen Meeres“ lies „im großen Meere“
244	5	Lies [ⲡⲉ ⲡ]ⲉⲓ „ist dieser“
	9	ⲧϩⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩϩⲱⲣⲧ „wie sie zerrissen werden“

From *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*,
by Samuel N. C. Lieu (New York, 1998). This material is presented
solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes.

VII. WORKING CATALOGUE OF PUBLISHED MANICHAEAN TEXTS

Author's note: An electronic corpus of published Manichaean texts (Database of Manichaean Texts) was compiled under my direction with financial assistance from *inter alia* the British Academy and the Leverhulme Trust (U.K.) between 1990 to 1994 which has since then been up-dated whenever resources could be found. (See my article in H. Preißler and H. Seiwert (edd.) *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte, Festschrift für Prof. Kurt Rudolph* (Marburg, 1995) 155-66.) The catalogue of this electronic corpus is published here for the first time in the hope that it will serve as the basis for a future hand-list of all Manichaean texts, published and unpublished, arranged by language and by their country of preservation. The catalogue of Mary Boyce of the Iranian text-fragments in Manichaean script in the Berlin Turfansammlung (*A Catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan collection*, Berlin, 1960) remains indispensable to the researcher on Iranian fragments in Berlin but the work is now in serious need of expansion and revision. The important article by L. Clark, 'The Turkic Manichaean Literature' in P. Mirecki and J. BeDuhn (edd.), *Emerging from Darkness, Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources* (Leiden, 1997) 89-141 has been of immeasurable help to the author in elucidating the contents of many of the Turkish fragments stored in the electronic corpus.

Information on the availability of published photographs and on students' editions and translations (esp. in English) of the texts are given between {}. These are not available in the electronic corpus.

Abbreviations

Abced. = M. Boyce, 'Some Parthian abecedarian hymns', *BSOAS* 14 (1952) 435-50.

abced. = abcedary

Anmerkungen = W. Sundermann, 'Anmerkungen zu: Th.Thilo, Einige Bemerkungen zu zwei chinesisch-manichäischen Textfragmenten der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung' in H. Klengel & W. Sundermann (eds.), *Ägypten - Vorderasien - Turfan; Probleme der Edition und Bearbeitung altorientalischer Handschriften*, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients XXIII, (Berlin, 1991) 171-74.

Äsop = P. Zieme, 'Äsop in Zentralasien', *Das Altertum* 17/1 (1971) 40-42.

AR = Angad Rōšnān, cf. MHC, 113-78 and MHC(S).

Bäzäklik = W. Sundermann and Y. Yoshida, 'Bäzäklik, Berlin and Kyoto - Manichaean Parthian hymn transcribed in Sogdian script" (in Japanese), *Oriento* 35/2 (1992) 119-34.

biling. = bilingual.

Bráhman = W. B. Henning, 'Bráhman', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1944, 108-18.

Briefe = 'Probleme der Interpretation Manichäisch-soghdischer Briefe' *Acta Antiqua ... Hungaricae*, 28 (1983) 289-316.

Bryder (ed.) = P. Bryder (ed.) *Manichaean Studies. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaeism*, Lund Studies in African and Asian Religions, 1 (Lund, 1988).

calend. = calendrical (text).

cantil. = cantillated.

Cat. = *A Catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan collection*, Berlin, 1960.

Chinese Fragments = Y. Yoshida, 'On the recently discovered Manichaean Chinese fragments', *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages*, 12 (1997) 35-39.

Chuastvanift = A. von Le Coq, *Chuastvanift, ein Sündbekenntnis der manichäischen Auditores. Gefunden in Turfan (Chinesisch-Turkistan)*, APAW 1910, Anhang, Abh. IV, 1910.

Citations = J. C. Reeves, 'Manichaean Citations from the Prose Refutations of Ephrem', in *Emerging from Darkness*, 217-88.

Commandments = N. Sims-Williams, 'The Manichaean commandments: a survey of the sources', in *Papers*, 573-82.

conf. = confessional (text).

cosm. = cosmogonic (text).

Cosmogony = P. Zieme, 'A Turkish text on Manichaean Cosmogony' in *Atti del terzo congresso internazionale di studi "Manicheismo e Oriente Christiano Antico", Arcavacata de Rende – Amantea 31 agosto - 5 settembre 1993*, a cura di L. Cirillo and A. van Tongerloo, Manichaean Studies 3 (Turnhout, 1997) 395-409.

crucif. = crucifixion.

DbMT Database of Manichaean Texts from Central Asia and Roman Egypt (see introductory note).

DNM = D. N. MacKenzie

Emerging from Darkness = P. Mirecki and J. BeDuhn (edd.), *Emerging from Darkness, Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources* (Leiden, 1997)

Erzähler = W. Bang, 'Manichäische Erzähler', *Le Muséon* 44 (1931) 1-36.

eschat. = eschatological (text).

Evang. = W. Sundermann, 'Christliche Evangelientexte in der Überlieferung der iranisch-Manichäischen Literatur', *MIO*, 14 (1968) 386-405.

Fasts = W. B. Henning, 'The Manichaean Fasts', *JRAS* 1945, 146-64.

frag. = fragment or fragmentary (text).

Gi = W. B. Henning, 'The Book of the Giants', *BSOAS* 11/1 (1943) 52-74.

Gi(S) = W. Sundermann, 'Ein weiteres Fragment aus Manis Gigantenbuch', *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata*, Acta Iranica 23, 2nd Ser. 9 (1984) 491-505.

GSR = H.-J. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road, Gnostic Parables, Hymns and Prayers from Central Asia* (San Francisco, 1994)

H = Huyadagmān, cf. MHC, 67-111 and MHC(S).

Henochbuch = W. B. Henning, 'Ein Manichäisches Henochbuch', *SPAW*, 1934, 27-35.

Hermas = F. W. K. Müller, 'Eine Hermas-Stelle in manichäisher Version', *SPAW* 1905, 1077-83.

Herrschertitel = R. R. Arat, 'Der Herrschertitel Iduq-qut' *UAJb* 35 (1963) 150-57.

HG = H.-J. Klimkeit, *Hymnen und Gebete der Religion des Lichts. Iranische und türkische liturgische Texte der Manichäer Zentralasiens,* Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 79 (Opladen, 1989).

hist. = historical (text).

hom. = homiletic (text).

HR i = F. W. K. Müller, 'Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan, I', *SPAW* 1904, 348-52

HR ii = F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan. II. Teil,* APAW 1904, Anhang, Nr. 2.

hym. = hymn (text).

hym. cyc. = hymn cycle (see also AR and H).

Hymnen = W. Bang, 'Manichaeische Hymnen', *Le Muséon* 38 (1925) 1-55.

I, Mani ... = D. N. MacKenzie, 'I, Mani ...' in H. Preißler and H. Seiwert (edd.) *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte, Festschrift für Prof. Kurt Rudolph* (Marburg, 1995) 183-198.

IMTT = W. Sundermann (ed.), *Iranian Manichaean Turfan Texts in early publications (1904-1934),* Photo Edition, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum,* Suppl. Ser. III (London, 1996)

interl. = interlinear.

invoc. = invocation.

Iran und Turfan = C. Reck and P. Zieme (edd.), *Iran und Turfan, Beiträge Berliner Wissenschaftler, Werner Sundermann zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet* (Wiesbaden, 1995).

KG = W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts,* Berliner Turfantexte XI (Berlin, 1990).

KLT i = *Kellis Literary Texts,* Vol. 1, ed. I. M. F. Gardner, Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph 4 = Oxbow Monograph 69 (Oxford, 1996)

KMS = M. Hutter, *Manis kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte. Edition, Kommentar und literaturgeschichtliche Einordnung der manichäisch-mittelpersischen Handschriften M98/99 I und M7980-7984,* Studies in Oriental Religions XXI (Wiesbaden, 1992)

Köktürkisches = A. von Le Coq., 'Köktürkisches aus Turfan', *SPAW* 1909, 1047-61.

KPT = W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer,* Berliner Turfantexte IV (Berlin, 1973).

liturg. = liturgical (text).

Liturgical Codex = I. M. F. Gardner, 'A Manichaean Liturgical Codex found at Kellis', *Orientalia,* 62/2 (1993) 30-59.

LJ = W. E. Henning, 'Mani's Last Journey', *BSOAS* 10/4 (1942) 941-53.

Lost frgm. = 'On a Manichaean Middle Iranian fragment lost from the Ōtani collection', Y. Yoshida, 'On a Manichaean Middle Iranian fragment lost from the Ōtani collection' in O.

Sakiyama and A. Sato (edd.), *Asian Lanugages and General Linguistics* (Tokyo, Sanseido, 1990) 175-81 .

M i & iii = C. Salemann, 'Manichaeica I', *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, (1908) 175-84 and idem, 'Manichaeica III', ibid., (1912) 1-32.

Magical = W. B. Henning, 'Two Manichaean magical texts with an excursus on the Parthian ending *-ēndēh*',' *BSOAS* 12, (1947) 39-66.

Magical Spell = P. Mirecki, I. M. F. Gardner and A. Alcock, 'Magical spell, Manichaean letter' in *Emerging from Darkness*, 1-32.

Manuscrits ouïgours = J. Hamilton, *Manuscrits ouïgours du ixe-xe siècle de Touen-houang*, 2 vols. (Paris 1986).

MCPCBL = *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library*, ed. S. Giversen, Facsimile Edition, 4 vols., Cahiers D'Orientalisme XIV-XVII, Geneva, 1986-88)

MHC = M. Boyce, *Manichaean Hymn-Cycles in Parthian*, London Oriental Series III (Oxford, 1954).

MHC(S) = W. Sundermann, *The Manichaean Hymn cycles Huyadagmān and Angad Rōšnān in Parthian and Sogdian*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Supplementary Series, II, (London, 1990).

Miniaturen = A. von Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike II, Die Manichäischen Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1923).

Mitteliranisch = W. B. Henning, 'Mitteliranisch', in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I, 4, 1 (Leiden–Köln) 1958, 20-130.

ML = Jes P. Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature: Representative Texts Chiefly from Middle Persian and Parthian Writings*, Persian Heritage Series, XXII, (New York, 1975.

MM i-iii = F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan I*, SPAW 1932, 10, 175-222; *II, ibid.* 1933, 7, 294-363 and *III, ibid.* 1924, 27, 848-912.

Mnmg. = F. W. K. Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Mahrnâmag)* APAW, 1912.

Mo-ni chiao = Lin Wu-shu 林悟殊, *Mo-ni chiao chi ch'i tung-ch'ien*, 摩尼教及其東漸 (Beijing, 1987).

Montagshymnus = C. Reck, "Ein weiterer parthischer Montagshymnus?", *AoF* 19/2 (Berlin, 1992) 342-49

Moriyasu = Moriyasu Takao, *A Study on the history of Uighur Manichaeism- Research on somee Manichaean materials and their historical background*, Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters of Osaka University, 31-32 (Osaka, 1991). (In Japanese).

MSt. = C. Salemann, *Manichäische Studien, I, Die mittelpersischen Texte in revidierter transcription, mit glossar and grammatischen bemerkungen*, Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg (St. Petersburg, 1908).

Murder = W. B. Henning, 'The Murder of the Magi', *JRAS* 1944, 133-44.

n.p.ph. = no published photograph (known to the author) .

Papers = A. D. H. Bivar, (ed.) *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce,* Acta Iranica, Hommages et Opera Minora X-XI (Leiden, 1985).

Parabelbuch = W. Sundermann, *Ein manichäisch-sogdisches Parabelbuch,* mit einem Anhang von Friedmar Geissler† über Erzähl motive in der Geschichte von den zwei Schlangen, Berliner Turfantexte 15 (Berlin, 1985)

Paris = J. de Menasce, 'Fragments manichéens de Paris', in E. M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch (edd.),*W. B. Henning Memorial Volume* (London, 1970) 303-06.

Pe. = Middle Persian.

ph. = photograph

poet. = poetical (text)

Poetical = W. B. Henning, 'Persian poetical manuscripts from the time of Rūdakī', in idem and E. Yarshater (edd.), *A Locust's Leg, Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh* (London, 1962) 89-104.

polem. = polemical (text).

PPbS = I. Colditz, 'Bruchstücke manichäisch-parthischer Parabelsammlungen', *AoF* 14/2 (1987) 274-313.

pr. = prose (-text).

pray.= prayer (-text).

ps. = psalm (-text).

Pth. = Parthian.

R = Recto.

Ragoza = A. N. Ragoza, *Sogdijskie fragmenty central'no-aziatskogo sobranija Instituta Vostokovedenija* (Moscow, 1980)

Rd. = M. Boyce (ed.), *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian,* Acta Iranica 9 (Tehran-Liège, 1975)

Religion = F. C. Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*(Cambridge, 1925).

Report = Y. Yoshida, 'A report on some Middle Iranian fragments in Sogdian script from the Ōtani collection', *Oriento* 28 (1985) 50-65 (in Japanese).

RM = A. V. W. Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism, with special reference to the Turfan fragments,* Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series (New York, 1932).

Runenschrift = O. F. Sertkaya, 'Fragmente in alttürkischer Runenschrift aus den Turfan-Funden' in K. R¨hrborn and W. Veenker (edd.), *Runen, Tamgas und Graffiti aus Asien und Osteuropa* (Wiesbaden, 1985) 133-62.

Runic Manuscript = T. Moriyasu, 'A Manichaean Runic Manuscript with miniature (Kao.0107) housed in the British Librayr' (in Japanese), *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages,* 12 (1997) 41-72.

Runic script = V. Thomsen, 'Dr. M. A. Stein's manuscripts in Turkish "Runic" script from Miran and Tunhuang', JRAS 1912, 181-227.

Sadwēs = M. Boyce, 'Sadwēs and Pēsūs', *BSOAS* 13 (1951), 908-15 .

Sammelhandschrift = C. Reck, 'Annäherung an eine soghdische manichäische Sammelhandschrift' in *Iran und Turfan,*193-205.

serm. = sermon (text).

Sgd. = Sogdian.

Sgd. Frgms. BL. = N. Sims-Williams, 'The Sogdian Fragments of the British Library (with an appendix by I. Gershevitch)', *Indo-Iranian Journal* 18 (1976) 43-82.

Sgd. Hymns = E. Morano, 'The Sogdian hymns of *Stellung Jesu*', *East and West*, 32 (1982) 9-43.

Shahanshah = N. Sims-Williams, 'The Sogdian Fragments of Leningrad II: Mani at the court of the Shahanshah', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 4 (1990) 281-88.

SLN = W. Sundermann, *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous, Eine Lehrschrift des östlichen Manichäismus, Edition der parthischen und soghdischen Version*, Berliner Turfantexte XVII (Berlin, 1992).

SLN Review = Y. Yoshida, Review of Sunderman, SLN in *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* 9 (1994) 105-111.

SLN Sgd. = Sogdian fragments of the Sermon of the Light-Nous.

SLN Turk. = Turkish fragments of the Sermon of the Light-Nous.

Stein X^{u}. = A. von Le Coq, 'Dr. Stein's Turkish Khuastuanift from Tun-huang, being a Confession-Prayer of the Manichæan Auditores', *JRAS* 1911, 277-314.

STParis = W. B. Henning, 'The Sogdian texts of Paris', *BSOAS* 11/4 (1946) 713-40 .

Šad-Ohrmezd = I. Colditz, 'Hymnen an Šad-Ohrmezd. Ein Beitrag zur frühen Geschichte der Dīnāwarīya in Transoxanien', *AoF* 19 (1992) 322-23.

Šb. = *Sābuhragān*, ed. D. N. MacKenzie, 'Mani's *Sābuhragān*', *BSOAS* 42 (1979), pp. 500-34 and 'Mani's *Sābuhragān* - II', *ibid.* 43 (1980), pp. 288-310.

Tales = W. B. Henning, 'Sogdian Tales', *BSOAS* 11/3 (1945), 465-87.

TM I-III = A. von Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, I, APAW, 1911, II, ibid. 1919 and III, ibid. 1922.

TMT = P. Zieme, *Manichäisch-türkische Texte*, Berliner Turfantexte V (Berlin, 1975).

T'a-li-mu = Huang Wen-pi, *T'a-li-mu-p'en-ti k'ao-ku-chi* (An account of the Archaeological Expedition to the Tarim Basin), (Beijing, 1968).

Texte = A. Adam, *Texte zum Manichäismus*, Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen, 175, 2nd edn. (Berlin, 1969).

tr. = translation (only).

TT II-III = W. Bang and A. von Gabain, 'Türkische Turfantexte II', SPAW, 1929, 441-30 and III, ibid., 1930, 183-211.

TT IX = A. von Gabain and W. Winter, *Türkische Turfantexte IX, Ein Hymnus an den Vater Mani auf 'Tocharisch' B mit alttürkischer Übersetzung*, *ADAW*, Berlin, 1956.

Turfan Region = W. Sundermann, 'Iranian Manichean Turfan Texts Concerning the Turfan Region', in A. Cadonna (ed.), *Turfan and Tun-huang, the Texts: Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Route*, Orientalia Ventiana IV (Florence, 1992) 63-84.

Turk. = (Old) Turkish (or Uighur).

Two Sgd. H. Frgms. = D. N. MacKenzie, 'Two Sogdian *Hwydg-m'n* Fragments', in *Papers*, 421-28.

V = Verso.

Vanity = Y. Yoshida, 'On a Manichaean Sogdian fragment expounding vanity of earthly life', *Oriento*, 37/2 (1995) 16-32.

W.-L. i and ii = E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus,* APAW 1926, 4 and 'Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten', *SPAW*, 13, 480-607.

Wirksamkeit = W. Sundermann, 'Zur frühen missionarischen Wirksamkeit Manis', *Acta Orientalia ... Hungaricae*, 24/1 (1971) 79-125.

WS = Werner Sundermann.

X^{u}āstvānīft = Jes P. Asmussen, *X^{u}āstvānīft. Studies in Manichaeism* (Copenhagen, 1965).

$X^{u.}$ = X^{u}āstvānīft (confessional for Hearers)

Yimki = W. Sundermann, 'Überreste manichäischer Yimki-Homilien in mittelpersischer Sprache?' in *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg* II, Acta Iranica V (Leiden, 1975) 297-312.

Zarathustra = W. Sundermann, 'Bruchstücke einer manichäischen Zarathustralegende', in R. Schmitt and P. O. Skjaervø (edd.) *Studia Grammatica Iranica. Festschrift für Helmut Humbach* (Munich, 1986) 461-82 .

Zieme, Neue Frag. = P. Zieme, 'Neue Fragmente des alttürkischen Sermons vom Licht-Nous', in *Iran und Turfan,* 251-76.

(1) Texts and references in Syriac

a. Fragments in British libraries

Fragmenta Manichaica Syriaca (mainly in London and Oxford):

Bodl. Syr. d 13 (P), (6 small fragments) Religion 117-19

Bodl. Syr. d 14 (P), (3 strips) Religion 115-17

Brit. Mus. Or. 6201 c (1), Religion 112-13

Crum fragments, (5 fragments) Religion 113-14

b. Fragments in Egypt

TKell. Syr./Copt. 1 (inv. # A/5/239) (glossary of terms from liturgical texts) KLT, i, 105-07 {ph. 17}

TKell. Syr./Copt. 2 (inv. # A/5/196) (glossary of terms from cosmogonic and/or eschatological texts) KLT, i, 112-18 {ph. 18}

PKell. Syr. 1 (inv. # P 11+ P 10 + P92.15a) (fragments, a few legible words and half lines only) KLT, i, 127-28 {ph. 19}

PKell. Syr. / Gr. 1 (inv. # A/5/26) (v. frag., part of a canonical work?) KLT, i, 129-130 {ph. 20}

c. Citations of Manichaean writings found in polemical writings

Ephraim, *Discourse* 1: ed. J. J. Overbeck, *S. Ephraem Syri, Rabulae, Balaei etc.* (Oxford,1865) pp. 21-58; the rest: C. W. Mitchell et al. ed., S. *Ephraim's, Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan*, 2 vols. (London, 1912-21). [DbMT text is based on the selection in Citations, 225-66.]

Severus Antiochenus, *Homilia* CXXIII, ed. M. Brière, Les Homiliae Cathédrales de Sévère d'Antioche, *PO* 29 (1961) pp. 124-88 (trans. of

Jacob of Edessa), ed. I. Rahmani, *Studia Syriaca* IV (Beirut, 1909) pp. mh-pt (trans. of Paul of Callinicum). [NB The work was originally written in Greek.]

Theodorus bar Koni, *Liber Scholiorum*, ed. A. Scher, CSCO LXIX (1912) 311-318.

Titus Bostrenus, *syriace et graece*, ed. P. de Lagarde (Leipzig, 1859, repr. Harrasowitz, 1967) Passages as indicated by A. Baumstark, Der Texte der Mani-Zitate in der syrischen Übersetzung als Titus von Bostra, *Oriens Christianus*, 3 ser. 6 (1931) 23-42.

(2) Texts and references in Greek

a. Text in the Federal Republic of Germany

PColon. inv. nr. 4780 (*Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis*:) edd. L. Koenen and C. Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex, Kritische Edition* (Opladen, 1988). Note: The version on DbMT is a diplomatic version which includes emendations published by the editors and their Cologne colleagues since 1988. It is also accompanied by an English translation by J. M. and S. N. C. Lieu and M. Vermes. {ph. L. Koenen and C. Römer (edd.), *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex, Abbildungen und Diplomatischer Text,* Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 35, Bonn 1985.}

b. Texts in Egypt

TKell. Gr. 22 Εὐχὴ τῶν Προβολῶν (Prayer of the Emanations) R. G. Jenkins, 'The Prayer of the Emanations in Greek from Kellis (T Kellis 22)', *Le Muséon*, 108/3-4 (1995) {ph. p. 247}

PKell. Gr. 91 (inv. # A/3/19) (prayer of praise) KLT, i, 132-34 {ph. 21}

PKell. Gr. 92 (inv. # P56J) (hymn of priase) KLT, i, 137-39 {ph. 22}

PKell. Gr. 93 (inv. # P92.13) (Sethian? text) KLT, i, 141-42 {ph. 23}

PKell. Gr. 94 (inv. # A/5/92) (eulogy, religious context uncerta in) 142 {ph. 24}

PKellis 96 (old numbering) (inv. # A/3/24 + A/3/31 + P. 92.12) (frags. from codex, Frag. A shows similarity to *Acta Ioannis* 85,9-10, 106,6-12 and 19,1-2; Frag. B contains part of a cosmogonic text) I. M. F. Gardner and K. A. Worp, 'Leaves from a Manichaean Codex', *ZPE*, 117 (1997) 142-52 {ph. VII-X}

c. Summaries of Manichaean teachings given by Greek pagan and Christian authors

(Abjuration formula, the longer Greek) *Quo modo haeresim suam scriptis oporteat anathematizare eos qui e Manichaeis accedunt ad sanctam Dei*

catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam, PG 1.1461-71.

(Abjuration formula, the Shorter Greek) *Qualiter oporteat a Manichaeorum haeresi ad sanctam Dei Ecclesiam accedentes scriptis (errorem) abjurare, PG* 100.1217-25.

Alexander Lycopolitanus, *contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio* 2-5, ed. A. Brinkmann (Leipzig, 1895) 4,8-8,4.

Acta Archelai (Greek text from the excerpts of the Greek version of the *Acta* in Epiphanius, *de haeresibus* (*Panarion*) LXVI,6 and 25,2-31,8, ed. K. Holl, GCS 37 (Leipzig, 1915-33), rev. J. Dummer (1984) 25,14-27,16, Latin version from [Hegemonius], *Acta Archelai* 5 and7-13, ed. C. H. Beeson, GCS 16 (Leipzig, 1906) 5,25-8,4 and 9,18-22,15.

[Manes], *frag. ep.*, as collected in Texte 33-34.

PRylands Greek 469, ed. C. H. Roberts, *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester,* III (Manchester, 1938) 41-43.

Serapion Thmuitanus, *contra Manichaeos*, ed. R. P. Casey, *Serapion of Thmuis against the Manichees,* Harvard Theological Studies XV, (Camb., Mass., 1931). [Citations only]

Severus Antiochenus, *hom. cath.* 123. See above §1.b.

Titus Bostrensis, *adversus Manichaeos* I-III,7, ed. P. A. de Lagarde, *Titi Bostreni quae ex opere contra Manichaeos edito in codice Hamburgensis servata sunt* (Berlin, 1859); III, 7-29, ed. P. Nagel, 'Neues griechisches Material zu Titus von Bostra', in H. Ibscher (ed.), *Studia Byzantina*, Folge II (Berlin, 1973) 285-350. [Citations only]

<Zacharias Mitylenensis>, *capita vii contra Manichaeos*, ed. M. Richard, CCSG I (1977) pp. xxxiii-xxxix.

(3) Texts and references in Latin

a. Text in France

[Bibliothèque nationale] Nouvelles acquisitions latines 1114 (*Codex Tebestina*) ed. R. Merkelbach, 'Der manichäische Codex von Tebessa', in P. Bryder (ed.), *Manichaean Studies* (Lund, 1988) 228-264. {ph. (Col. 4 (I 2) and 5 (II, 1) only), H. Omont, 'Fragments d'un très ancien manuscrit latin provenant de l'Afrique du nord', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1918, fold out between pp. 241 and 242}

b. Manichaean writings as preserved in the writings of Augustine

Frag. Epistulae ... Fundamenti, ed. E. Fledmann, *Die "Epistula Fundamenti" der nordafrikanischen Manichäer. Versuch einer Rekonstruktion* (Altenberg, 1987) 10-22

Frag. Epistulae ad Menoch, ap. Aug., *Opus imperf. c. Jul.* III, cf. Texte, 31-33

Thesaurus (frag.), ap. Aug., *c. Fel.* II, *nat. bon.*, p. 881ff., cf. Texte 2-4.

c. Citations from Manichaean writings and summaries of Manichaean teaching found in Latin polemical writings (mainly Augustine)

Augustinus, *contra Adimantum*, 26
____, *contra adversarium Legis et Prophetarum*, 1,1
____, *de agone Christiano*'4
____, *confessiones* II, vi, 10, XIII, xxx, 45
____, *de duabus animabus* 1
____, *enarrationes in Psalmos* 25 and 140
____, *epistulae* 55 and 236
____, *contra epistulam Manichaei quam vocant 'fundamenti'* 5, 12-13, 15, 21, 24, 28
____, *contra Faustum* 2,3-4, 5,11, 11,3, 13,4, 6, 18, 15,5-6, 20,3, 9, 10, 17, 21,1, 4, 14, 24,2, 28,4-5, 31,4 and 32,19
____, *contra Felicem* I,1, 9, 14, 19, II,2
____, *contra Fortunatum, initio* and I,3, 14, 22, II, 26-27
____, *de Genesi contra Manichaeos* 2,25
____, *de haeresibus* 46
____, *contra Iulianum* 1,5, 6,22
____, *contra Iulianum opus imperfectum* 1,49, 3,186
____, *de moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* 10 and 33
de moribus Manichaeorum 3, 8-9, 11-12, 16-17, 19
____, *de natura boni* 18, 44 and 46-47
____, *retractationes* 1,15
____, *sermones* 12,11-12
____, *de vera religione* 9 and 49
Evodius, *de fide*, 3 and 49.

(4) Texts in Coptic

a. Texts in the Federal Republic of Germany (Berlin)

P. 15996 (the 'Berlin-'*Kephalaia*) (pp. 1-291) ed. H.-J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia,* Manichäische Handschriften der staatlichen Museen Berlin (Seite 1-243) (Stuttgart, 1940); A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia*, Manichäische Handschriften der staatlichen Museen Berlin, Zweite Hälfte, Lieferung 11/12 (Seite 244-291) (Stuttgart, 1966) and A. Böhlig, 'Ja und Amen in manichäishcer Deutung' (Seite 290.29-292.32), *ZPE* 58 (1985) 59-70 {ph. p. 31 only, in Polotsky-Böhlig, ed. cit., after title-page; p. 33 only in Mani-Fund, pl. 1; tr. (pp. 1-295) I. M. F. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* (Leiden, 1995)}.

P 15997 (pages of an untitled historical work, manuscript sent to Dublin in error at the end of the Second World War) *MCPCBL* II, pl. 99, lines 21-34 only, ed. and trans. M. Tardieu, 'L'arrivée des manichéens à al-Ḥīra', in P. Canivet and J.-P. Rey-Coquais (edd.), *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam VIIe -VIIIe siècles,* Actes du Colloque international Lyon-Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen, Paris, Institut du Monde Arabe 11-15 Sept. 1990 (Damas, 1992, publ. 1994) 16-17 {ph. *MCPCBL* II (Ser. Vol. 15), pl. 99-100}

b. Texts in the Republic of Ireland (Dublin)

Codex A (the *Psalm-Book*) ed. C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, Part II, Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection Vol. II, (Stuttgart, 1938) {ph. *MCPCBL* IV (Ser. Vol. 17)}

Codex C (the 'Dublin-'*Kephalaia*) *MCPCBL* I, pl. 299,2-12 (only), ed. M. Tardieu, 'La diffusion du Bouddhisme dans l'Empire Kouchan, l'Iran et la Chine d'après un Kephalaion manichéen inédit', *Studia Iranica* 17/2 (1988) 163-64 {ph. *MCPCBL* I (Ser. Vol. 16)}

Codex D (the *Homilies*) ed. H.-J. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty, Bd. I, (Stuttgart, 1934) {ph. *MCPCBL* II (Ser. Vol. 15) 1-98}

c. Texts in Egypt

PKell. Copt. 1 (inv. # P 82A + P64B + P77 B) (psalms, a1-15 parallels Ps.-Bk. 55,3-15) KLT, i, 55-58, 60-61 {ph. 8}

PKell. Copt. 2 (inv. # P82Bi amd P82Bii) (psalms, text C parallels *Ps.-Bk.* 1, pl. 277-78) KLT, i, 63-66, 72-74 {ph. 9a,b}

PKell. Copt. 3 (inv. # P92.17a) (devotional text) 76 {ph. 10}

PKell. Copt. 4 (inv. # P82C + P82A/B) (text very faded) KLT, i, 78 {ph. 11}

PKell. Copt. 5 (inv. # P27B) (few lines only) KLT, i, 79 {ph. 12}

PKell. Copt. 6 (inv. P75A + P85A/D} (text of *Romans* 2: 6-29 found in the midst of Manichaean material) KLT, i, 82-84 (ph. 13}

PKell. Copt. 7 (inv. # P4A) (diviniation text ?) KLT, i, 91-92 {ph. 14}

PKell. Copt. 8 (inv. # A/2/88) (discourse of Mani?) KLT, i, 94-96 {ph. 15}

PKell. Copt. 9 (inv. # P85Fi + P93B) (central strip of text of Hebrews 12: 4-13, used by the Manichaeans?) KLT, i, 99 {ph. 16}

PKell. Copt. 35 (inv. # P88 (+ P77B + P79 + P92.49)) (letter-roll, address and greeting in Greek, magical spell and letter) Magical Spell, 11-15.

TKell. Copt. 1 (inv. # A/5/346, formerly P. Kellis 19) (pr. catechetical text) KLT i, 2 {ph. 1}

TKell. Copt. 2 (inv. # A/5/53B) (psalms) KLT, i, 9-16, cf. Liturgical Codex, 38-45 {ph. KLT, i, 2}

TKell. Copt. 4 (inv.#A/5/6) (part lines of Psalms) KLT, i, 33-35, Liturgical Codex, 35-36 {ph. KLT, i, 4}

TKell. Copt. 5 (inv. # A/5/107) (possibly from a psalm, few lines only) KLT, i, 42 {ph. 5}

TKell. Copt. 6 (inv. # A/5/195) (psalm, parallels *Ps.-Bk.* 75,10-76,25) KLT, i, 43-44 {ph. 6}

TKell. Copt. 7 (inv. # A/6/14) (psalm with devotional postscript) KLT, i, 50-52 {ph. 7}

TKell. Syr./Copt. 1 (inv. # A/5/239) (glossary of terms from liturgical texts) KLT, i, 105-07 {ph. 17}

TKell. Syr./Copt. 2 (inv. # A/5/196) (glossary of terms from cosmogonic and/or eschatological texts) KLT, i, 112-18 {ph. 18}

(5) Texts and text-fragments in Middle Iranian

a. Texts and text-fagments in the Federal Republic of Germany (Berlin)

(1) Texts with M-numbers

M? (from old photo. no signature, Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §8 {ph. XXVII-XXVIII}

M1 (Pe. hymn-book index and colophon) Mnmg., 7-28, cf. Turfan Region, 72, for correct sequence of the sheets {ph. b/w IMTT 1-2, colour, Moriyasu, XXI-XXII; Rd. §s, 52-53 = 160-227 only); tr. ML 53, sel. lines only, HG 181 (160-227), 196-97 (1-159), GSR 170-75 (25-445)}

M2 (now lost) I: (Pe. pr. hist.) MM ii, 301-06 {ph. IMTT 3; Rd. §h, 39-42; tr. ML 21-23, GSR 202, §1.1A and 203-05, §1.2.A}; II: (Pth. pr. eschat.) MM iii, §a, 849-53 {ph. IMTT 4; Rd. §ac, 84-87; tr. ML 135-37, GSR 254-55}

M3 (+ ex-T i D 51) (Pe. pr. hist.) LJ 949-50 {ph. IMTT 5-6, KG 70-71; Rd. §n, 44-45, add. comm. KG §23, 130-31; tr. ML 54-55, GSR 213-14}

M4a + M4b (Cat. entry needs revision) 2 double sheets containing: (1) M4b I R, V - M4a I R, V (Pth. hym.) HR ii 52-54, 50-51, cf. MSt 5 (4b-4c), 4 (4-4a) {ph. IMTT 7 (I R, II V) - 8 (I V , II R); Rd. §cv, 160-62; tr. ML 8-9 (II V 4-15 only), HG 186-88, GSR 147-48}; (2) M4a II R, V - M4 b II R, V (Pe. hym.) HR ii, 57-59, 55-57, cf. MSt. 6-7 (4f-4g), 6 (4d-4e) {ph. IMTT 9 (M4b I R, II V) - 10 (M4b I V, II R); Rd. §dt, 190-91; tr. HG 198-201}

M5 (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §d, 862-65 {ph. IMTT 11-12; Rd. §ce, 136-37; tr. ML 56-57, HG, 126-27, GSR 85-86}

M6 (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §e, 865-67 {ph. IMTT 13-14; Rd. §ch, 139-40; tr. ML 31-2, HG, 129-30, GSR 87-88}

M7 I and II (now lost) (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §g, 870-75 {ph. IMTT 15-16; Rd. §§aw-az, 106-09: §av = II R II 23 - V I 24 (g 169-200) with new readings supplied by M496a R 2-14 (unpubl. see Cat. 33), §aw = II V I 27 - V II 30 (g 201- 234), §ax = I R I 1 - II 4, 43 - V I 3, (g 1-34, 43-63, 72-81), §ay = I V I 24 - II 30 (g 82-118), §az = II R I 1 - II 4, II 15 - 20 (g 119-152, 163-168); tr. ML 47-9 (selection); HG 77-8 (g 169-200), GSR 45-46 (ditto), HG 78-9 (g 201-34), GSR 46, HG 79-80 (g 1-80), GSR 46-47 (ditto), HG 81-2 (g 82-118), GSR 47-48 (ditto), HG 82-3 (g 119-168), GSR 48 (ditto)}

M8 (Pe. hym.) R i 1-7, HR ii 47-48, MSt. 7 {ph. IMTT 17}

M9 I: (Pe., pr. fom a work of Mani) MM ii, 297-99 {ph. IMTT 18; Rd. §ad, 88-89; tr. ML 7-8, GSR 251}; II: (Pe., pr. fom a work of Mani) MM ii, 299-300 {ph. IMTT 19; Rd. §ae, 89-90; tr. ML 8, GSR 252}

M10 (Pth. hym.) R 1-2, W.-L. ii, 580, R 11 - V 22, W.-L. i, 126, DbMT gives the complete text of the frgm. {ph. IMTT 20-21; Rd. §at, 104-05; tr. ML 120 (R 11-V 22 only), HG 75-76 (ditto), GSR 44 (ditto). The version in DbMT is fuller}

M11 (Pe. hym.) W.-L.ii, 556-57 {ph. IMTT 22-23; Rd. §cn, 146; tr. HG 134-35, GSR 93-94}

M12 (Pe. pr.) W. Sundermann, 'Die vierzehn Wunden der Lebendigen Seele', *AoF* 12/2 (Berlin, 1985), 291-95 {ph. with art., Abb. I-II}

M13 I: (Pe. angels' names) HR ii 45 n., MSt. 7; II: (Turk. see below)

M14 (Sgd. with Pth. words, pr.) W.-L. ii, 547-8 {ph. IMTT 14; Rd. §bz, 132 (V 7-12 only); tr. HG 118-19, GSR 78-79}

M16 (Pe. pr.) HR ii, 93-94, MSt. 8 {ph. IMTT 25 ; Rd. §dn, 183-84 }

M17 (Pe. pr., from Mani's, Evangelion) I, Mani ..., 184, cf. HR ii 25-27, MSt. 8 {ph. IMTT 26-27, I, Mani ... 194-95; Rd. §c (+ M172 I), 32-33; tr. HG 184-85, GSR 146}

M18 with M 2753 (Pth. hym.) HR ii 34-36, MSt. 9 {ph. IMTT 28-29; Rd. §bw, 126-27, HG 108-09, GSR 70-71}

M20 (Pe. hym.) HR ii 45, MSt. 9, cf. Cat., p. 3, essential {ph. IMTT 30; Rd. §du, 192; tr. HG 201-02}

M21 (Pth. pr. cosm.) MM iii, §p, 890-91 (see also M211) {ph. IMTT 31; Rd. §x, 59-60; tr. ML 122, GSR 224}

M22 R? 5-6 (= M32b) (Pe. hym.) Henochbuch, 28, n. 7 {n.p.ph.}

M22 V? 17-20 (Cat. R corrected to V?) W.-L. ii, 586 {n.p.ph.}

M24 R 4-8 (= M812 V 1-4) (Pth. crucif. hym.), Bráhman, 112 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 103}

M26 II (Pe. hym.) STParis, 723, hdl. from W.-L.i, 40, as M26 I {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 138}

M27 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <m>, 50 {ph. XI}

M28 I: (Pe. hym.) R I 5-13, 16-17, R I 33 - R II 13, R II 24-37, V I 7, 9, 19, 32-36, V II 28-32, MM ii, 311, n. 2, HR ii 94-95, MSt. 10 (both give fewer lines than version in DbMT) {ph. IMTT 32 (I R, II V), 33 (I V, II R), Rd. §dg, 174-75; tr. ML 14, HG 161-62 (R I 5-13, R I 33 - R II 4, R II 24-37), GSR 126-27 (ditto)}; II: (Pe. hym.) MM ii, 312-26 {32 (I R, II V), 33 (I V, II R); Rd. §bt, 123-24 = R i 1 - V i 27, §bu, 125 = V i 32- ii 37; tr. HG 103 (R I - V), GSR 67 (ditto), HG 104-05 (M28 II V I - II and M612 V), GSR 66}

M31 I and II (Pe. hym.) MM ii, 327-30 {ph. IMTT 34; Rd. §co, 147 = I R 2-19, §cp, 147 = I V 1-21, §cq, 148 = I V 1-20; tr. ML 107-09, HG 136 (I R), GSR 94-95 (I R), HG 136-37 (I V), GSR 94 (I V)}

M32a (Pth. hym.) HR ii 62-63, MSt. p. 10, {ph. IMTT 35; Rd. §bv = R, bo = V; tr. HG 98 (V), GSR 59-60, HG 105-06 (R), GSR 67}

M33 I and II (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §h, 875-78 {ph. IMTT 36-37; Rd. §ba = I R I 2-12, II 2-8 (h 2-12, 14-20) bb = I R II 11-14, V I 1-14, V II 1-11 (h 21-24, 27-40, 43-53), bc = II R I 1-14 (h 54-67), bd = II R II 1-16, V I 1-16, II 2-11 (h 68-83, 85-100, 103-112); tr. ML 49, HG 83-85, GSR 48-49 (h 21-53), 49 (h 55-66 and M912), 49-50 (h 68-83, 85-100, 103-112)}

M34 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ad>, 55-56 {ph. SLN XXVI-XXVII, IMTT 38; Rd. §ca, 132-33 = R 6-15, HG 119 (both based on text in HR ii, 44), GSR 79}

M35 V 3-18 (Pth. pr. cosm.) Gi N (as lines 21-36), 71-72 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §ab}

M36 (Pe. hym.) MM ii, 323-26 {ph. IMTT 39-40; Rd. §cm; tr. ML 29-31, HG (wrongly given as M35) 133, GSR 92-93}

M38 V (Pth. pray.) HR ii 77, MSt. 11 {ph. IMTT 41; Rd. §dz; tr. HG 205-06}

M39 (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §m, 883-86 {ph. IMTT 42; Rd. §bk = R I 2 - II 11 (m 2-37), GSR 57-58, bl = R II 13 - V I 5 (m 38-49), GSR 58, bm = V I 7-19 (m 50-62), GSR 59, bn = V II 4-27 (m 4-89); tr. HG 96-97 (V I), 97 (V II 4-27), GSR 8}.

M40 V (Pth. psalm) HR ii 48, MSt. 11 {ph. IMTT 45a-b; Rd. §af (where the text is given as M40 R; tr. HG 58, GSR 30}

M42 (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §i, 878-81 {ph. IMTT 43-44; Rd. §dc = R I 4 - V II 26 (i 4-101); tr., ML 110-11; HG 157-58, GSR 124-25}

M43 (Pe. pray.) HR ii 78, MSt. 12 {ph. IMTT 45c-d; Rd. §dw, HG 197-98}

M44 (Pth. with Sgd. caption pr. parab.; end of an epimythion ?) PPbS, *ap.* §1.5, 300 {ph. X- XI; tr. GSR 187}

M45 (Pe. pr. parab.) KPT §26.1, 90 {ph. IMTT 46, KG 61, KPT XLIII-XLIV; add. comm. KG §16, Rd. §dm, 183; tr. ML 33, GSR 92-93, 16 §§12 & 13}

M46 (Pe. pr. parab.) KPT §24.1, 84-88 {ph. XL-XLI, tr. ML 99-101, GSR 188-89}

M47 I: (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §10, 101-103 {Rd. §f, 37-38; tr. ML 20, GSR 211-12}; II: (Pe. pr. parab.) KPT §25, 86-89 {ph. XLII; Rd. §dj, 179-80; tr. ML 33, GSR 190} {ph. IMTT 47-48, KG 52-53}

M48 I = KG §2.2 II R 4-12, V 4-12; II = KG §2.2 II R 1-4, V 1-4, I R 1-4, V 1-4 (see under M871b) {Rd. §e, 34-37; tr. ML 19 (both based on version of text in Wirksamkeit, 371-76), GSR 207-08, §§1.3.A, B}

M49 I: (Pe. pr.) MM ii, 306-07 {add. comm. KG §5.1, ph. IMTT 51a, 52a; Rd. §t, 54; tr. ML 28, GSR 264}; II: (Pe. pr.) MM ii, 307-08 {ph. IMTT; 51a, 52a; Rd. §b, 31-32; tr. ML 10, GSR 216}

M64 (Pth. cantil. hym. with Sgd. caption) HR ii 92-3, MSt. 14 {ph. IMTT 51b, 52b; tr. ML 53}

M67 R II 24 - V II 22 (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §o, 888-90 {ph. IMTT 53-54; Rd. §bg, 115-16; tr. ML 141-42, HG 90-92, GSR 55-56}

M74 (I): (Pe. pray. with Turk. caption) HR ii 75-76, MSt. 14-15 {ph. IMTT 55a, 56a; Rd. §dx, 194-95; tr. HG 203-04}

M75 (Pth. psalm) HR ii 70-71, MSt. 15-16, (for line numbering see Cat. p. 7) {ph. IMTT 55b, 56b, Rd. §ag 4-5, p. 92; tr. HG 59, GSR 36}

M77 (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §n, 886-88 {ph. IMTT 57-58; Rd. §bh, 116-17 = R 1-15 (n 1-15), GSR 56-57, §bj, 117 = R 17 - V 15 (n 16-36); tr. ML 139-40; HG 92-95, GSR 57-58}.

M82 R 1 - V 6 see under M83 I

M83 I R 1 - I V 14 (Pth. hym.) W.-L.i, 116, 117 {ph. IMTT, 59-60; Rd. §au, 105 = R 6 - V 3; tr. HG 76 (ditto), GSR 44-45 (I R 6 - V 3 + M105a + M200 + M234}; I V 15-19 + M82 R 1 - V 6 and M235 R 8 - V 12 (M235 R 8-9 = M83 I V 15-16, R

11 - V 12 = M 82 R 2 - V 6) (Pe. hym.) W. B. Henning, 'The disintegration of the Avestic Studies', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1942, 56 {ph. IMTT 60; Rd. §dgb, 176-77 = M83 I V 15-18, M82 R 2 - V 5; tr. HG 164-65, GSR 128}; II R, V, (Pth. Sermon of the Soul) unpubl. {ph. IMTT 59-60}

M87 V 4-5 (Pe. hym.) (Cat. corrects from 14a-15a, WS), Bráhman, 111-12 {n.p.ph.}

M88 I (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VI 51-58, 61-68 {ph. MHC(S) 8, 9}

M89 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VIII 1-7, 11-17 {ph. MHC(S) 1a-1b}

M90 (Pe. hym.) W.-L.ii, 555 {ph. IMTT 61a, 62a; tr. HG 165-66, GSR 129}

M91 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VI 71-73, VII 1-4, 11-12 (follows M88 I) {ph. MHC(S) 10, 11; Rd. §cz, 166-68 = M91 + M175 ; tr. *ap.* GSR 110-17}

M93 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) H I 22-26, 32-36 {ph. MHC(S) 2a, 2b}; II + M289a (Pth. hym. cyc.) H VIc 1-5, 11-15 {ph. MHC(S) 2a, 2b; Rd. §cx, 164-65; tr. *ap.* GSR 100-110}

M94 + M173 + M3703 (T I D 51 (14 p.) d) + M5315 (T II D 67 (2 p.) a + M6726 (= T II K (5 p.) (Pth. hym.) Abced.,A, 437-40 {ph. M 94 with art., pl. 4, facing p. 437, M173 IMTT 78; Rd. §as, 102-03 = M173 R + M94 R; tr. HG 62 (M94 V and M173 V), GSR 32 (ditto), HG 72 (M173R and M94 R), GSR 40-41 (ditto)}

M95 (Pe. hym.) MM ii, 318-21{ph. IMTT 61b, 62b; Rd. §be.1-12; tr. ML 80, HG 85-86, GSR 50}

M96 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VII 2-4, 12-14 {ph. MHC(S) 44, 45; Rd. §cy, 165-66; tr. *ap.* GSR 110-17}

M97 (Pe. pr. eschat.) Hermas, 1077-81 {ph. IMTT 63; Rd. §dh}

M98 I + M99 I (Pe. pr. cosm., part of Sb.?) HR ii 37-43, cf. MSt. 16-17, RM, 30-73, {ph. IMTT 64-67; KMS 10-23, Rd. §y.1-5, GSR 225-27}

M99 I (see under M98 I)

M99 II R 8-9 (Pth. hym.) HR ii 44, MSt. 17-18 {ph. IMTT 67}

M100 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §2, 37-41 {ph. XVII-XVIII; tr. ML 134}

M101 a-n (Pe. pr. cosm.) Gi A, 56-65 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 29, M101f only}

M102 (Pe. / Pth. hym.) HR ii, 64-6, MSt. 17-18 {ph. IMTT 68-69; tr. ML 117, R 1-8 only}

M104 + M459e + M891b + M7734 R (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §k, 881-83 {ph. M104 + M459e (only) IMTT 70-71; Rd. §bx, 127 = §k 1-17 and §by, 127-28 = §k 18-44; tr. HG 110 (k 1-17), GSR 71 §2 (ditto), loc. cit. §3 (M104 + M734 R and M459c)}

M105a (Pth. hym. to the Living Self) V 1-5 = M83 I R 1-7 (see above), W-L i, 117 {ph. IMTT 72a-b}

M109 (Pe. / Pth. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, a, 16 {n.p.ph.}

M111 + M725 (Pe. / Pth. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, b, 21 {n.p.ph.}

M112 R + M146a + M366c (Sgd. letter) Briefe I (14-42), 305-06 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 262}; M112 V (Turk., see below)

M113 (Sgd. conf.) BBB §a, 41-42 {n.p.ph.; tr. HG 189, GSR 148}

M114 (Sgd. with Pe. and Pth. liturg.) BBB §d, 46-47 {n.p.ph.; tr. HG 192-93, GSR 151}

M118 I V 11-18 (Sgd. pr.) W.-L. i, 40 {n.p.ph.}
M119 (Sgd. letter) Briefe II (5-19) 309-10 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 262}
M119a (Sgd. letter) Briefe II (4-6) 309 {n.p.ph.}
M119b (Sgd. letter) Briefe II (19-20) 310 {n.p.ph.}
M124 (Pe. / Pth. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, e, 29 {n.p.ph.}
M127 R 8-14 (Sgd. pr.) Tales C, 471 {n.p.ph.}
M131 (Sgd. conf.) BBB §b I A and I B, 42-45 {n.p.ph.; tr. HG 191 (M131 + M395 + M5865), GSR 149-50, 13§4 & 5 (ditto)}
M132a + M5861 (Pth. crucif. hym.) Evang. 394-95 and HR ii 37, MSt. 19. {ph. M132a, IMTT 73, M5861, Evang. pl. 3, figs. 3-4; Rd. §byc, 139; tr. ML 102 (based on earlier version of text), HG 115, GSR 72-73} Paralleled by M734 (q.v.)
M133 (Sgd. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ak>, 128-30 {ph. SLN XXXVIII-XXXIX, IMTT, 74-75}
M135 A (Sgd. pr.) Tales A and B, 466-70 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML (A) 42, (B) 29, GSR 194-96}
M137 I R I 5-8, Tales, 485, n. 7
M139 I: (Sgd. pr. conf.) BBB f 49-50 {n.p.ph.; tr. HG 193-94, GSR 151-52}; II: (Sgd. liturg.) BBB f 50-51 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 151}
M145 + M1521 (Pe. / Pth. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, o, 46 {n.p.ph.}
M147 (Sgd. calendar tables) Fasts, 153 {n.p.ph.}
M148 (Sgd. calendar tables) Fasts, 149-50 {n.p.ph.}
M157 (Turk.) See below (7) Texts and fragments in Turkish.
M162a (Sgd. letter) Briefe I (38-40), 306 {n.p.ph.}
M168 (Pth. pr. parab.) KPT §32, 98 {ph. XLV-XLVI}
M171 V 9-17 (Pth. pr. cosm.) Gi 63, n. 6 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 29}
M172 (MIK III 196) I: (Pe. and Sgd. interl., pr. from Mani's Evangelion) Pe. : I, Mani ... 185, cf. HR ii, 100-01, MSt. 19, Sgd.: W.-L. i, 23 {ph. I, Mani ..., 196-97; Rd. §c (Pe. only); tr. HG 184-85, GSR 146}; II: (Turk. conf. see below (7) Texts and fragments in Turkish.)
M173 see under M94
M174 (Pe. hym.) W.-L.ii, 555-56 {ph. IMTT 79; Rd. §dy, 195-96; tr. HG 203-04}
M175 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VI 62-71, 72-73, VII 1-7 {ph. MHC(S) 5c, 5d; Rd. §cy, 165-66 = M96 + M175, §cz, 166-68 = M91 + M175}
M176 (Pe. and Pth. hym.) HR ii 60, cf. MSt. 21 {ph. IMTT 80; Rd. §dv, 192-93; tr. HG 202-03}
M177 R: (Pe. pr.) HR ii 88-90, MSt. 72 {ph. IMTT 81a; Rd. §w, 57-58; tr. GSR 267}; V: (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §15, 117-19 {ph. IMTT 82a; Rd. §g, 38-39; tr. GSR 212}
M178 (Sgd. pr. cosm.) W. B. Henning, 'A Sogdian Fragment of the Manichaean Cosmogony', *BSOAS* 12 (1948) 307 and 311-12 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 235-36}
M182 + M182a + M450 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, e (Cat.: + M252c, end of lines) {n.p.ph.}
M183 + M3404 (Pth. pr. cosm.) KPT §11, 61-64 {ph. XXIX-XXX; tr. ML (456-65) 134-35, (1174-1202) 118-19}

M189 (Pth. hym.) W.-L. i, 95-96 (= M680 R 4-7 and V 3-8) {ph. IMTT 81b, 82b; Rd. §br, 122 = M680 + M189; tr. HG 101 (ditto), GSR 64 (ditto)}

M194 (Pth. hym.) W.-L.ii, 549-51 {ph. IMTT 83-84}

M200 (pth. hymn to the Living Soul) V 3-13 = M83 I R 1-17, W.-L. i, 117 {ph. IMTT 85a, 86a}

M197 (Sgd. liturg.) Fasts, 154 {n.p.ph.}

M198a V 1-7 (Pe. and Pth. hym.) Šad-Ohrmezd, 334 {ph. III, Abb. 3-4}

M204 (Pe. pr. serm.) Tales, 480 = R 2-8, complete text of frgm. in DbMT. {n.p.ph.}

M208 (see under M638)

M210 R 2-8 (Pe. conf.) Bráhman, 114 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 77}

M211 (= KPT §4.3 R 8-13, V 8-13) + M500g + M2203 + M2205 + M3840, KPT §4.3, pp. 51 (text continues after a break on M21) {ph. XXIII-XXIV}

M215 R 11-15, V 3-15 (Pth. hym.) Mitteliranisch, 103-04 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §db}

M216a (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.6, 26-27 {ph. 6}

M216b (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.3, 24-25 {ph. 6; Rd. §j, 42 (V 1-5 only); tr. ML 21, GSR 206}

M216c = KG §2.5 R 8-13, V 7-13, (see under M1750) {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 21, GSR 203, §§1.1.B and 1.2.B}

M219 (Pe. pr. polem.) MM ii 311-12 {ph. IMTT 85b, 86b; Rd. §dl, 182; tr. ML 13}

M221 (Pe. pr. parab.) KPT §36, 102-04 {ph. L-LI; tr. ML 36, GSR 192-93}

M224 I (Pe. hym.) MM ii, 322 {ph. IMTT 87a, 87b; Rd. §cl, 142; tr. ML 52, HG 125, GSR 84-85}

M229 (Pth. hym.) Montagshymnus, 345-47 {ph. with art., pls. I-II}

M233 (Pth. hym. cyc.) H I 1-4 {ph. MHC(S) 39b, 40a}

M234 I: R1 -V 8 (Pth. hymn to Living Self = Rd. §au, 105 strophes b - end) W.-L. i, 117; II: V 9-16 (Pe.) unpubl. {ph. IMTT 87b, 89b}

M235 I R 5 (Pe. hym) W. B. Henning, 'An astronomical chapter of the Bundahishn', *JRAS* (1942) 230, n. 7; R 11 - V 12 (see under M83) {n.p.ph.; Rd. §dgb; tr. see under M83 I V 15-19 etc.}

M236 (= KG §24.2 R 6-20, V 6-19) (see under M8180)

M240 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <g>, 47-48 {ph. VI, VII}

M246 (Turk.) See under U105 in (7) Texts and fragments in Turkish.

M252b (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, n, 46 {n.p.ph.}

M256 (Pth. hym. cyc.) *H VIIIa 1-3, AR I 1-4 {ph. MHC(S) 51, 52a}

M259c (R): (Pth. hymn) part. ed. W. L. i, 85-93; (V): (Sgd. hym.) Sogdian Hymns, p. 12 (V 1-5), 17-28, 33 (V 7-11), 40, version in DbMT gives WS's reading for V {ph. IMTT 89}

M263f (= KPT §3.3 R? I 1-6, V? II 1-7) + M292 + M5228 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §3.3, 46-49 {ph. XIX, XX; tr. ML (905-912 only) 126}

M267b = KG §11.2 R i 4,9-27 and ii, 4-27, V i 4-27 and ii 9-27 (see under M314)

M270a (I: = KG §2.9 I R 1-3, V 1-3, II: = KG §2.9 II) + M869 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.9, 29-30 {ph. 7}

M270b (see under M2070)

M273 R 4-7 (Pth. hym.) W.-L. i, 10, complete text of frgm. in DbMT {n.p.ph.}

M281 V ii 3-6 (Pth. hym.) W.-L. i, 35 and 85 {n.p.ph.}

M284a R 9-14 (Pth. pr.) Hermas, 1082 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 68}

M284b R i 1-9 (Pth. hym.) W.-L. i, 61, R ii 7-10 (as 156) STParis, 716 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 68}

M287 + M1223 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = aa: AR VII 17-22, 27-32 {ph. MHC(S) 7e, 7f}

M291a (Pth. pr. cosm.) Gi T, 73 {n.p.ph.}

M291b V 4-7 (Pth. hym.) W.-L. i, 74 (Cat. corrects 'M291c' to 'M291b') {n.p.ph.}

M292 I = KPT §3.3 R? 3-15, V? I 1-15; II = KPT §3.3 R? II 1-15, V? II 4-16 (see under M263f)

M299a R 1-10 (Pe. pr. prophetology) Henochbuch 27 {ph. IMT, 90a-b; tr. ML 12}

M304 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <p>, 51 {ph. XIII}

M306 (Pth. hym.) W.-L.i, 119 {ph. IMTT 90c-d}

M307a + M307b (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ai>, 58 {ph. XXXIV-XXXV}

M307b = SLN <aj> (see under M307a)

M308a + M308b (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §7, 57-59 {ph. XXVII, XXVIII}

M308b see under M308a

M309a (Sgd., Pe. hym.) HR ii, 47, MSt. 22 {ph. IMTT 91}

M311 R 5-16, V 10-17 (Pe. & Pth. hym. with Pe. and Pth., Sgd. captions) HR ii, 66-67, cf. MSt. 22-23, DbMT version checked and supplemented by DNM {ph. IMTT 92a-b; tr. ML 52 and 107}

M312 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <af>, 56-57 {ph. XXX-XXXI}

M313 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <t>, 51-52 {ph. XV}

M314 (= KG §11.2 R i 1-8, ii, 1-5, V i 1-5, ii 9-27) + M267b (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §11.2, 105-113 {ph. 55-56}

M315 (Pe. and Pth. hym.) Šad-Ohrmezd, 330-33 {ph. I-II, Abb. 1-2; Rd. §cj, 141 = I R 9-21; tr. HG 131, GSR 88}

M316 (= KPT §4.1 R 1-10, V 1-10) + M801d (Pth. pr. cosm.) KPT §4,1, 50-51 {ph. XXI, XXII}

M320 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.14, 32-33 {ph. 9}

M324 R: (Pe. hym.) HR ii, 74, MSt. 23; V: (blank) {ph. IMTT 92c}.

M326 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VI 38-40, 48-10 {ph. MHC(S) 52b-c}

M330 (= KG §22.1 R hdl, and 1-11, V hdl., and 1-11) + M 2238 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §22.1, 127-28 {ph. 67}

M331 (Pth. ps.) HR ii, 71-72, MSt. 23 {ph. IMTT 95a, 96a}.

M332 (= PPbS §1.1 R hdl. and 1-9, V hdl. and 1-9) + M724 (Pth. pr. parab.) PPbS §1.1, 277-78 {ph. I-II; tr. GSR 183-84}

M333 (Pth. pr. parab.) PPbS §1.3, 289-90 {ph. V-VI; tr. GSR 185}

M334a (Pth. pr. parab.) PPbS §1.4, 293 {ph. VII-VIII; tr. GSR 186}

M334b + M706 = PPbS §1.2 R 9-18, V 9-18 (see under M499)

M336a (Sgd. letter) Briefe I (1-13), 305 {n.p.ph.}

M336b (Sgd. letter) Briefe I (33-37), 306 {n.p.ph.}

M338 (Pth. pr. parab.) KPT §39.1, 108-09 {ph. LII, LIII}

M344a (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.15, 33 {ph. 9}
M349 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <o>, 50-51 {ph. XIII}
M351 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <a>, 45-46; cf. KPT §8, 59-60 {ph. SLN I, KPT XXVII, XXVIII; tr. GSR 67-68}
M352 (Pth. hym.) Abced.,I, 450 {n.p.ph.}
M354 (Pth. pr. cosm.) contains parallel material to M183 + M3404 cf. KPT §11, 61-64 {ph. XXIX, XXX}
M363 (Sgd. pr. cosm.) Gi K, 70-71 {n.p.ph.}
M366 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ae>, 55-56 {ph. XXVIII-XXIX}
M367 V (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §h 54-63 (= M33) {tr. see under M33}
M369 (Pth. hym.) W.-L. i, 118 {ph. IMTT 95b, 96b; Rd. §bs, 123; tr. GSR 64}
M371 R 4 (Pe.) W.-L. i, 22 {n.p.ph.}
M378 (Sgd. pr. hist., Mani autobiog.?) KG §25.1, 137-68 {ph. 78}
M380a-b (Pe. pr. hist., Mani's death) KG §26, 139-40 {ph. 78}
M382 (Pe. pr. parab.) KPT §26.2, 90-91 {ph. XLIII-XLIV}
M384 + M2067 + M4517 + M5190 + M5682 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <b>, 44-46, cf. KPT §6, 56-57 {ph. II-III; KPT XXV, XXVI}
M387 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §16,2, p. 20 {ph. MHC(S) 24e, 24f}
M388 (Pe. hym., Sgd. caption) HR ii, 28-9, MSt. 23-4 {ph. IMTT 97a-b}.
M395 (Sgd. pr.) BBB frgm. II B, 44 {n.p.ph.; tr. see under M131}
M399 (Sgd. vers. of Lk. XII:24) Evang. 403-04 {ph. with art. pl. 8, fig. 12)
M403 see under M877.
M410 (Sgd. pr. hist.) KG §25.2, 138-39 {ph. 78}
M413 + M2086 (Pth. pr. parab.) PPbS §1.5, 297-99 {ph. IX}
M422 (Pe. pr. hist., small frag.) KG§28.1, 141 {ph. 79}
M428c (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <i>, 48 {ph. VIII}
M433a (Pe. pr. serm.) Yimki 1.S 1-7, 2.S 1-7, 298-99 {n.p.ph.}
M439 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VII 3-6, 13-16 (joins with M690) {ph. MHC(S) 47a, 47b}
M442 V 1a (Pe. hym.) HR ii, 30, MSt. 24 {n.p.ph.}
M448 (Pth. and Pe. hym.) Šad-Ohrmezd, 334-35 {ph. IV, 5-6}
M449b (Pth. hym. cyc.) = frgm. D (not localizable) MHC 175 (joins with M503[α]c) {ph. MHC(S) 38a, 38b, 38e, 39a}
M452 V 2 see M6450
M453c (text identical to that on M529) (Pth. hym.) W.-L.ii, 552, Sgd. Hymns, 14, 40 {ph. IMTT 97c-d}
M454 I & II (Pe. pr. hist.) I: MM iii, §q, 891-92, cf. KG §24.3 R 1-15, V 1-15 (with add. comm. but text not given); II + M881, KG §24.3, 135-36 (Version in DbMT emended by WS) {ph. IMTT 98-99, KG 76-77; Rd. §o = I R 2 - V 13 (= MM iii, o 2-26); tr. ML 55, GSR 214}
M455 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §21.1, 125-26 {ph. 66}
M457 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <n>, 50-51 {ph. XII}
M459e see under M104

M460b V I 1-6 (Pth. hym.), Bráhman, 111 (Cat. corrects '12sqq.' to I V 1-6, but read V I) {n.p.ph.}

M464a (Pe. pr. hist., autobiog. of Mani) KG §5.3, 95 {ph. 43}

M464c (Pe. pr. cosm.) *ap.* KPT §1, p. 13 {ph. XIII, XIV}

M466a (Pe. pr. parab.) KPT §34.1, 100 {ph. XLVIII, IL}

M468a R II 5-12 (Pth. hym.) Abced.,443, n.3 {n.p.ph.}

M470a + M497b (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. G R hdl. and (289-312), V hdl. and (313-36), 514-19 {ph. IMTT 100, Šb. V}

M470b (Pe. pr. eschat., scrap) Šb. fa , 299 {n.p.ph.}

M470c (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. H R (352-60), V (376-84) {ph. V}

M472 + M87b(1) I: (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. E R hdl. and (193-213), V hdl. and (217-38), 512-14; II: ibid. M R (533-48), V (557-68), 289 {ph. IMTT 101-02 (= F + M), Šb. IV (= F), VII (= M)}

M473a + M473b + M519 + M537 (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. A R (4-24), V (28-48), 504-05; Q R (727-30), V (751-54), 291-92 {ph. IMTT 103-04 (= A + Q), Šb. I (= A), IX (= Q)}

M473c = Šb. a R 18-24, V 42-48 (see under M537a I)

M475 II (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. P R (690-92), V (714-16) {ph. VIII-IX}

M475a (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. B R hdl. and (49-72), V hdl. and (73-96), 506-08 (joins with M475b see below) {ph. IMTT 105-06 (with M475b), Šb. I, II (= B)}

M475b (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. P R (679-89), V (703-13) 290-91 {ph. IMTT 105-06 (with M475a), Šb. VIII, IX (= P)}

M475c (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. J R (400-408) and V (424-26), cf. KG §5.4 R 21-24 and V 16-17 { ph. KG 46-47}

M477 I: (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. C R hdl. and (97-120), V hdl. and (121-144); II: Šb. O R hdl. and (625-35) and P R hdl. and (673-82), V hdl. and (649-58) and V hdl. and (697-706) {ph. IMTT 107-08, Šb. VIII}

M477b (see under M482)

M482 + M477b (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. D R hdl. (145-68), V hdl. and (169-92) {ph. IMTT 109, Šb. III}

M487 (Pe. pr. eschat., scrap, letters only) Šb. fb , 299 {n.p.ph.}

M487b (1) (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. E (208-16) and V (232-39)

M487b (2) = Šb. F R (256-63), V (280-84) (see under M535)

M489a (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VII 15-17, 25-27 {ph. MHC(S) 6c, 6d}

M489b (Pth. hym. cyc.) H Vb 1, 11 {ph. MHC(S) 40b, 40c}

M491 + M3417 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <aj>, 57-59 {ph. XXXVI-XXXVII}

M495a (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VII 23-25, 33-35 (joins with M817) {ph. MHC(S) 43c, 43d}

M496a (see under M7)

M496c V (only) E. Wellesz, 'Probleme der musikalischen Orientforschung' *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters für 1917* (Leipzig, 1918) 16 {ph. IMTT 110b}

M497a (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. fc {ph. XI}

M497b (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. G R (303-10), V (328-33) {ph. V}

M499 (= PPbS §1.2 R hdl. and 1-9, V hdl. and 1-9) + M706 + M334b (Pth. pr. parab.) 284-85 {ph. III-IV; tr. GSR 184-85}

M500a (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <q>, 51-52 {ph. XIV}

M500c (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <e>, 46-47, cf. KPT §29, 95-96 {ph. SLN 5; KPT, XLV, XLVI; tr. ML 99, based on KPT 1838-45}

M500g = KPT §4.3 R 7-12, V 7-12 (see under M211)

M500k see under M752a

M500n R (Sgd. pr. cosm.) Gi I, 70 {n.p.ph.}

M501b (Pth. and Pe. hym.) W.-L.ii, 552-53 {ph. IMTT 110c-d}

M501c (Pe. hym.) W.-L.ii, 561 {ph. IMTT 110e-f }

M501n (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, k, 44 {n.p.ph.}

M502[α]b (Pth. hym. cyc.) H VIb 11-12, 21-22 {ph. MHC(S) 3g, 3h}

M503[α]c (Pth. hym. cyc.) = frgm. O (not localizable) MHC 177 (joins with M449b) {ph. MHC(S) 38c, 38d, 38e, 39a}

M502[βa] (Pth. hym. cyc.) = 502h: *H VIII 2-3, 12-13 (joins with M2751) {ph. MHC(S) 49c, 49d; 50c, 50d}

M502d (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §21.2, 126 {ph. 66 }

M502e (Pth. pr. hist., Mani biog.?) KG §17, 119-120 {ph. 61}

M503q (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, s, 52 {n.p.ph.}

M505a (= Šb. H R hdl. and (337-57), V hdl. and (361-79)) + M542b I + M1745 + M470c (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. H (336-84) 518-20 {ph. V-VI}

M505b (= Šb. J R hdl. and (385-404), V hdl. and (409-24), cf. KG §5.4 R 1-20, V 1-20, 95-96) + M542b II + M457c (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. J (385-426) 520-22 {ph. Šb. VI-VII, KG 46}

M506 (R): (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §16, 68-69, cf. MM i, 188-89 {ph. XXXIII, XXXIV}

M507 (Pth. hym.) Abced.,B, 440-42 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §am, 96-97; tr. ML 119, HG 65-66, GSR 36}

M509 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <x>, 52-53 {ph. XIX}

M510a (Pe. pr. eschat., letters only) Šb. fd, 299 {n.p.ph.}

M510b (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. fe, 299 {ph. XI}

M510c (Pe. pr. eschat., scrap, letters and words only) Šb. fg , 300 {ph. XI}

M516 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <r>, 51-52 {ph. XIV}

M517 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VII 8-11, 18-21 {ph. MHC(S) 27a, 27b}

M518 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR Ia 1-5, 11-15, hl. {ph. MHC(S) 41a, 41b}

M519 I: = Šb. A R hdl. and 1-3, V hdl. and (25-27); II: = Šb. Q R hdl. and (721-23), V hdl. and (745-48) (see under M473a)

M523a-c (Pth. pr. hist., biog. of Mani) KG §13.2, 115-17 (c = R (?) 1-12, b = V (?) 1-6, a = V (?) 7-13) {ph. 59}

M526 = KPT §24.2 R 9-13, V 9-13 (see under M652)

M528 I (Sgd. conf.) BBB e, 48 {n.p.ph.}

M528 II (Sgd. pr. cosm.) BBB e, 48 {n.p.ph.}

M529 R (Pth. hym.) W.-L.ii, 552, Sgd. Hymns, 13 {ph. IMTT 111a, 112a}

M533 (Pth. hym.) Abced.,C, 442-44 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §al = M533 V; tr. ML 118, HG 65 (V), GSR 36 (V)}

M535 (= Šb. F R hdl. and (241-44), V hdl. and (264-68)) + M536 +

MM487b (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. F (241-88) 514-16 {ph. IV}

M536 = Šb. F R (245-64), V (264-68) (see under M535)

M537a I (= Šb. a R 15-24, V (39-48)) + M473c (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. a, 295-96 {ph. X}

M537a II (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. q R 11-24, V (35-48) {ph. X}

M537b (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. b (R contains only mirror-writing from M537 a I, V only a few words legible) {ph. X}

M537c (Pe. pr. eschat., scrap, letters from headline only) Šb. fh, 300 {n.p.ph.}

M538 (Pth. hym.) W.-L.ii, 548-49 {ph. IMTT 113a, 114a; Rd. §ag, 1-3, 91-92; tr. HG 59, GSR 30-31}

M540b (Pth. pr. cosm.) KPT §9, 60 {ph. XXVII, XXVIII}

M542b I: = Šb. H R (340-47), V (364-71), (see under M505a), cf. KG §5.4 V 1-20, 95-96 {ph. KG 46-47}; II: = Šb. J R (386-95), V (424-46) (see under M505b), cf. KG §5.4, 94-95.

M543 (Pe. hym.) HR ii, 79, MSt. 28, Cat. p. 39 (containing text of R 1) {ph. IMTT 113a, 114a; Rd. §cqa, 149; tr. HG 138, GSR 95}

M544 (Pth. ps.) HR ii, 72-3, MSt. 29 {ph. IMTT 115c-d}

M549 II (Sgd. pr.) Murder, 142-44 {n.p.ph.}

M551 R ii and V i (Pth. hym.) HR ii, 67-68, MSt. 29 (with V I printed interlinearly with M789 R) {ph. IMTT 115a-b}

M554 (Pe. hym.) HR ii, 69, MSt. 29, {ph. IMTT 115c-d; Rd. §dd, 173; tr. ML 38, HG 159-60, GSR 126}

M555 R = M442; V 3-4 (Pe. hym.) HR ii 74, MSt. 29 {n.p.ph.}

M564 (Pe. hym.) MM ii, 321 {ph. IMTT 115e-f; Rd. §be 14-18, 113; tr. HG 87, GSR 50-51}

M566 = KG §2.2 II R 25-28, V 25-28, I R 16-21, I V 17-21 (see under M871b) {Rd. §d; tr. ML (107-111 and 125-29 only) 9, GSR 208 (I R 15-19 only)}

M570 A 2-4 (Pe. hym.) W. B. Henning, 'A Farewell to Khagan of the Aq-Aqätaran', *BSOAS* 14 (1952) 516 {n.p.ph.}

M572 (Pth. pr. parab.) KPT §27, 91-93 {ph. XLIII, XLIV}

M578 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VII 24-26, 34-36 {ph. MHC(S) 46a, 46b}

M580 (Pth. pr. parab.) KPT §37, 104-06 {ph. L-LI; tr. GSR 193-94}

M581 (NB New Pe. in Manich. script poet.) Poetical, 94-98 {ph. with art. pl. IV (A V and B R only)}

M583 (Sgd. hym.) W.-L.ii, 545-47 {ph. IMTT 116}

M588 (Pth. hym. cyc.) H VIII 8-10, 18-20 {ph. MHC(S) 42c, 42d}

M603 (Pth. hym. cyc.) H I 18-19, 28-29 {ph. MHC(S) 56c, 56d}

M612 R 10-15, V 4-18 (Pe. hym.) MM ii, 313, nn. 10-11, 314, nn. 3 and 11, 316, n. 1, 318, n. 3 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §bu, 125 = R 12 - V 8; tr. HG 104-05} (complete text of fragment in DbMT)

M614 (Pe. / Pth. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, f, 31-2 {n.p.ph.}

M620 + M667 + M918a + M2604 = bz: (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VIIa1-7, 11-17 {ph. MHC(S) 18c, 19a}

M624a (Pe. pr. hist., small frag.) KG §28.2, 141, cf. Šad-Ohrmezd, 336 {ph. KG 80}

M624b (Pe. pr. hist.?, smll frag.) KG §28.3, 142 {ph. 80}

M625b (Pth. hym. cyc.) H I 1-2, 6-8 {ph. MHC(S) 12e, 12f}

M625c (Pe. pr. cosm.) Henochbuch 29, Gi D, 66 (transl. only, ditto DbMT) {ph. IMTT 117a, 118a}

M626 (Pe. hym.) R 8-9, W.-L. ii, 596 {n.p.ph.}

M627 (Pe. hym.) R I 6-13, W.-L. ii, 602 {n.p.ph.}

M631 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §20, 124 {ph. 66}

M638 + M208 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <j>, 48 {ph. IX}

M644 (Pe. pr., from Mani's Evangelion) I, Mani ..., 190-91 {ph. 198}

M648 (Sgd. pr. cosm.) Gi C, 65-66 {n.p.ph.}

M651 R 5-6 (= T ii T 10, 3) (Pe. pr.) Tales, 485 {n.p.ph.}

M652 (= KPT §24.2 R 1-8, V 1-8) + M526 (Pth. pr. parab.) {ph. XL, XLI; tr. ML (1634-83 only) 99-101, GSR 189}

M667 (see under M620)

M673 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR I 15-20, 25-30 {ph. MHC(S) 14a, 14b}

M675 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VI 42-46, 52-56 {ph. MHC(S) 5a, 5b}

M679 V 8-15 (Pth. ps.) Bráhman, 112 (Cat. 46, corrected from '27 sqq.') {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 142}

M680 (Pth. hym.) W.-L.i, 94-97 {ph. IMTT 122; Rd. §br, 112 = M680 + M189; tr. see under M189}

M688 (Pe. / Pth. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, p, 47-48 {n.p.ph.}

M689 (Pth. hym. cyc.) HVIII 1-2, 11-12 {ph. MHC(S) 4e, 4f}

M690 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VII 2-4, 12-14 (joins with M439) {ph. MHC(S) 46c, 46d; 47c, 48a}

M692 (Sgd. pr. story of Yima) Gi V, 74 {n.p.ph.}

M698 (Pth. hym. cyc.) frgm. L (not localizable) MHC 176 {ph. MHC(S) 53a, 53b}

M706 + M334b (Pth. pr. parab.) PPbS §1.2 R 9-18, V 9-18 (see under M499)

M710 + M5877 (= T II D 138 (3 p.) c) (Pth. hym.) Abced.,D, 444-46 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §an, 97-98; tr. ML 122, HG 66-67, GSR 37}

M715d (Pth. pr. cosm.) KPT §17, 69-70 {ph. XXXIII, XXXIV}

M719 (Pe. hym.) R 5, W.-L. ii, 595 (complete text of frgm. in DbMT) {n.p.ph.}

M720a (Pth. pr. hist.? scrap) KG §22.7, 130 {ph. 69}

M722 (Pth. hym.), Abced.,E, 446-47 {n.p.ph.}

M724 = PPbS §1.1 R 9-18, V 9-18, (see under M332)

M725 see M111

M727a V (Pe. hym.) W. B. Henning, 'Two Central Asian Words', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1945 (1946) 152 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §de, 173; tr. HG 160, GSR 126}

M727b (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <s>, 51-52 {ph. XV}

M729 I and II (Pe. hym.) MM ii, 330-33 {ph. IMTT 119a, 120a; Rd. §cr, 149-151; HG 139-40, GSR 95-96}

M730 (Pth. hym.) W.-L.ii, 553-54 {ph. IMTT 119b, 120b; Rd. §ah, 93 = R I and V II; tr. HG 60-61 (ditto), GSR 31 (ditto)}

M731 (Pe., pr., sayings of Mani) HR ii, 32-33, MSt. 30 {ph. IMTT 121; Rd. §dp, 185; tr. GSR 258}

M733 (Pe., pr. citations from Mani's letters and Evangel.) HR ii 31, MSt.

31 {ph. IMTT 122; Rd. §do, 184-85, cf. Cat. p. 49, essential,tr. GSR 258}

M734 R 7-9 (Pth. crucif. hym.) LJ 949, n. 4, V = M104 (q.v.); V 1-11 (Pth. crucif. hym.) Evang. 397 {ph. with art. pls. 5-6, figs. 7-8; Rd. §bya, 128; tr. ML 102}. See also M132a + M5861

M737 (Pth. hym.) Sadwēs, 915 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §bp, 120; tr. ML 137-38, GSR 60}

M738 (Pe. hym.) W.-L.ii, p.561-562 {ph. IMTT 123a, 124a; Rd. §cd, 134-35; tr. HG 122, GSR 80}

M741 (Pth. hym.) Sadwēs, 911-14 {ph. with art., pl. 26; Rd. §ao,98-99 = R, ap ,99-100 = V; tr. ML 132, HG 67 (R), 68-69 (V); GSR 37-38 (R), 38 (V)}

M742 (Pe. pr. hist.) KG §18, 120-23 {ph. 62-63 }

M752a,b,c + M500k + M1340 and M4164 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, h, 38-39 {M1340 and M4164, both unpublished}

M763 R II 4-27, V I 3-26 (Pth. hym), Poem, 646 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §dga, 176; tr. HG 163}

M765i (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §3.4, 49 {ph. XIX, XX}

M774 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VII 8-14, 18-24 {ph. MHC(S) 6a,6b}

M776 R 5 (Cat. R 4 corrected to R 5), V 1-2 W.-L. ii, 574 {n.p.ph.}

M779 (Pth. hym.) Bäzäklik 121-25 (V?, text c), 128 (R?) {ph. with art., p. 133}

M780 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR I 11-17, 21-17 (joins with M889) {ph. MHC(S) 58, 59}

M781 + M1314 + M1315 (Pe. pr. spell) Magical 39-40 {ph. with art., pl. I (i R and ii V only); Rd. §dr, 187; tr. ML 45, HG 206-07}

M785 R 2, 7-9 (Pth. hym.) W.-L. i, 60 (DbMT contains also R 11) MM ii, 322, n, 3; V (Pe. hym.) 2, ibid. 318, 9-10, ibid. 331, n. 5 and 10-11, STParis, 726) {n.p.ph.}

M786 (NB New Pe. poet. in Manich. script) Poetical, 100-03 {ph. with art., pl. V ; tr. ML 38-39, HG 89, GSR 52-53}

M788 R 2-8 (Pe. pr.) Murder, 142, n. 1 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 12-13}

M789 (Pth. hym.) HR ii, 68, MSt. 29 (R = M551 V i) and 31 (V) {ph. IMTT 123b, 124b; Rd. §df 175 (V only); tr. HG 161 (V only), GSR 126 (ditto)}

M796 (Sgd. calendar tables) Fasts, 153-54 {n.p.ph.}

M798a (Pe. hym.) W.-L. ii, 559-60 {ph. IMTT 125a, 126a; Rd. §cc, 134 = R II - V II; tr. HG 121 (R II -V II), GSR 80 (ditto)}

M801a (contains (1): Pe. and Pth. Bē ma liturgy) and (2): Sgd. conf.) BBB 18-41 {ph. p. 1 (= lines 1-18) and p. 40 (= lines 612-29) only, H. Härtel and M. Yaldiz, *Die Seidenstraße, Malereien und Plastiken aus buddhistischen Höhlentempeln* (Berlin, 1987) 154, p. 13 (= lines 200-217) and 26 (= lines 390-406) Miniaturen, 4d; Rd. §cu, 153-59 = I only; tr. ML (1-199, 218-67, 299-307, 310-67 and 390-475 only) 63-68, HG 167-79 (1-767 only), GSR 134-39 (1-475), 139-43 (476-767)} (see also L A 1-2 and L B 1-5 below)

M801d = KPT §4.1 R 6-12, V 6-23 (see under M316)

M805a (= KG §5.4 R 1-14, V 1-14) and M2070 + M270b (Pe. pr. eschat.) KG 5.4, 96-97 {ph. 44-45}

M805b (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.8, 28 {ph. 7}

M812 V 1-4 see under M24 R 4-8

M815 (Pth. and Sgd. biling. hym. cyc.) AR Ia 7-8, 12-13 {ph. MHC(S) 23a, 23b}

M817 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VII 20-23, 30-33 (joins with M495a) {ph. MHC(S) 43a, 43b; 43e, 43f}

M818 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ab>, 54-55 {ph. XXIV, XXV}

M819 (= KPT §3.1 R 1-18, V 1-18) + M2154 (Pe. pr. cosm.) {ph. XIX, XX; tr. ML (797-805 only) 121}

M822 (= KG §11.1 R i 1-2 and ii 1-5, V i 1-5 and ii 1-3) + M1964 (M314 + M267b appear to be from the same ms. codex) (Pth. pr. hist.) {ph. 54}

M825 (Pe. pr. parab.) KPT §30, 96-97 {ph. XLV, XLVI}

M831 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR I 18-20, 29-30 {ph. MHC(S) 63a, 63b}

M835 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, g, 35-3 {n.p.ph.}

M842 R 1-4, 7-9, 18 - V 13 (Pe. hym., prob. by Mani) Mitteliranisch 103-04 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §da, 169; tr. HG 156-57, GSR 124}

M853 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §3.2, 45-46 {ph. XIX, XX}

M855 (Pth. hym. cyc.) H VIIIa 1-3, AR I 1-3 {ph. MHC(S) 7c, 7d}

M858e (Pth. hym. cyc.) H IVb 3-V 1, V 9-11 {ph. MHC(S) 3c, 3d}

M859 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) frgm. B, MHC 174 {ph. MHC(S) 65a, 65b}

M863 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR II 1-3, 11-3 (ph. MHC(S) 26a, 26b}

M869 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.9 I R 1-5, V 1-5 (see under M270a)

M871b (= KG §2.2 II R 1-5, V 1-5) + M2401 + M28 I & II + M1306 I & II + M5911 + M1307 + M566 + M2231 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.2, 19-24 {ph. 3-4}

M871f (Pth. hym. cyc.) H VII 1-2, 11-12 {ph. MHC(S) 4c, 4d}

M871i (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §13, 65-66 {ph. XXXI, XXXII}

M875 + M699 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, c, 24-25 {n.p.ph.}

M877 + M403 (New Pe. in Manich. script, pr. conf.) W. Sundermann, 'Ein manichäischer Bekenntnistext in neupersischer Sprache', in C.-H. de Fouchécour and P. Gignoux (edd.) *Études Trano-Aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard, Studia Iranica*, Cahier 7 (Paris, 1989) 356-58

M881 = KG § 24.3 R 15-20, V 15-20 (see under M454 II)

M882a (Pe. pr. serm.) Yimki 4, 301 {n.p.ph.}

M888a (Pth. hym.) Abced.,F, 448 {n.p.ph.}

M889 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR I 11-15, 21-25 (joins with M780) {ph. MHC(S) 57c, 57d; 60, 61}

M891b see under M104

M895a (Pth. hym. cyc.) H V 2-3, 12-13 (joins with M2224) {ph. MHC(S) 35e, 35f; 36a, 36b}

M903 (Pe. pr. hist., small frag.) KG §28.4 {ph. 81}

M904 (Sgd. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <y>, 60-61 {ph. XX, XXI}

M905 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ah> 57-58 {ph. XXXII, XXXIII}

M906 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <h>, 47-48 {ph. VIII}

M911 (Pe. pr. cosm.) Gi A 266-75, 60 {n.p.ph.}

M918a see under M620

M1001 I: = KPT §1.1 R II 8-13, V I 9-21; II: = KPT §1.1 R III 10-21, V II 10-21 (see under M1031)

M1001 III (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.1 R IV 6-18, V III 8-11 (see under M1031)

M1002 I: = KPT §1.8 R I 3-13, V II 6-13; II: = KPT §1.8 R II 2-10, V III 6-13 (see under M1023)

M1002 III (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.8 R III 3-11, V IV 6-12 (see under M1023)

M1003 I: (= KPT §1.2 R? I 1-4 and 6-10, V? I 1-6); II: (= KPT §1.2 R? II 1-13 and V? III 1-4); (III): (= KPT §1.2 R? III 1-6, V? III 6-11 + M1025) (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.2, 18-21 {ph. III-IV}

M1004 I: (= KPT §1.7 R I 1-15, V III 1-9) + II: (= KPT §1.7 R II 1-9, V IV 1-14) + (III): (= KPT §1.7 R III 1-12) + M1010 + M1005 I & II + M1008 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.7, 25-29 {ph. VII-VIII; tr. ML 134 (363-68 only)}

M1005 I: = KPT §1.7 R I 21-22, V II 1-12; II: = KPT §1.7 R II 10-16, V III 10-16; III: KPT §1.7 V IV 18-20 (see under M1004)

M1006 I: = KPT §1.8 R III 7-11, V V I 1-6; II: = KPT §1.8 R IV 1-8, V II 6-13 (see under M1023)

M1007 I: (= KPT §1.5 1.S I 1-6, 2.S II 1-8) + II: (= KPT §1.5 1.S II 1-8, 2.S III 1-5) + M1027 I & II (Pe. pr. cosm.) §1.5, 23-24 {ph. V, VI}

M1008 I: = KPT §1.7 R III 1-8, V I 1-7; II: = KPT §1.7 R IV 1-7, V II 5-10 (see under M1004)

M1009 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.6, 24-25 {ph. V, VI}

M1010 = KPT §1.7 R I 14-22, V IV 13-21 (see under M1004)

M1011 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.9, 33-34 {ph. XI, XII}

M1012 I: = KPT §1.1 R III 1-9, V I 1-4; II: = KPT §1.1 R IV 1, V II 1-9 (see under M1031)

M1013 I: KPT §1.1 R II 1-8, V II 3-10; II: = KPT §1.1 R III 2-9, V III 1-7 (see under M1031)

M1014 (= KPT §1.4 1.S 1-9, 2.S 1-8) + M1021 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.4, 21-22 {ph. V, VI}

M1015 I: = KPT §1.1 R I 1-7, V III 1-7; II: = KPT §1.1 R II 2-8, V IV 1-8 (see under M1031)

M1016 = KPT §1.1 R IV 1-5, V V I 1-8 (see under M1031)

M1017 I: = KPT §1.8 R II 1-2, V II 1-5; II: KPT §1.8 R III 1-3, V III 1-5 (see under M1023)

M1018 = KPT §1.1 R I 1-7, V IV 2-8 (see under M1031)

M1019 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.11, 35 {ph. XI, XII}

M1020 I: = KPT §1.10 V I 1-4; II: = KPT §1.10 R I 4-9 (see under M1022)

M1021 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.3, 21 {ph. V, VI}

M1022 (= KPT §1.10 V II 1-5) + M1020 I & II (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.10, 34 {ph. XI, XII}

M1023 (KPT §1.8 R I 1-3, V IV 1-2) + M1002 I & II + M1028 I & II + M1017 I & II + M1006 I & II + M9000 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.8, 29-33 {{tr. ML 135 (456-65 only), ph. IX-XX}

M1024 = KPT §1.1 R II 13-18, V III 11-16 (see under M1031)

M1025 = KPT §1.2 R? II 3-17, V? III 3-18 (see under M1003)
M1026 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.12, 35-36 {ph. XIII, XIV}
M1027 I: = KPT §1.5 1.S II 5-6, 2.S I 1-7; II: = KPT §1.5 1.S III 1-7, 2.S II 4-6 (see under M1007)
M1028 I: = KPT §1.8 R II 1; II: = KPT §1.8 V IV 1-5 (see under M1023)
M1029 = KPT §1.1 R I 7-10, V IV 9 (see under M1031)
M1030 = KPT §1.4 1.S 10-16, 2.S 8-14 (see under M1014)
M1031 (= KPT §1.1 R I 2-6, V IV 2-8) + M1018 + M1015 I & II + M1029 + M1013 + M1001 I-III + M1024 + M1016 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.1, 13-18 {ph. I-II}
M1063 (Pe. glossary, words only) Sogdica, w, 54 {n.p.ph.}
M1115 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ay: AR VIIa1, 11 MHC(S) §13.17, p. 19 (M1115 + M620 etc. AR VIIa 1-7,11-17) {ph. MHC(S) 19b, 19c}
M1118 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §21.3, 126 {ph. 66}
M1183 see under M6240
M1202 (T i alpha) (Pth. amulet) Magical, 50 {ph. with art., pl. II (R only); Rd. §ds, 188-89; tr. ML 45, HG 208-10}
M1208 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §15, 66-68 {ph. XXXIII, XXXIV}
M1223 see under M287
M1225 (Sgd. letter) Briefe II (1-4) 309
M1306 I = KG §2.2 II R 4-13, V 4-13, I R 4-13, I V 4-13; II: = KG §2.2 II R 13-21 (see under M871b)
M1307 = KG §2.2 II R 21-27, V 21-24 (see under M871b)
M1314 (T I) see under M781
M1315 (T I) see under M781
M1340 see under M752a
M1343 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.7, 28 {ph. 6}
M1344 (= KG §2.1 R 1-6, V 1-6) (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.1, 18-19 {ph. 2}
M1345 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.16, 33 {ph. 9}
M1367 (T I α) (Pe. and Pth. hym.) W.-L. ii, 551 {ph. IMTT 125b, 126b}
M1502 (Pe. pr. eschat., scrap) Šb. fk , 300 {n.p.ph.}
M1508 (Pe. pr. eschat., scrap) Šb. fl , 300 {n.p.ph.}
M1514 (Pth. pr. hist., v. fragmentary) KG §2.17, 33-34 {ph. 9}
M1521 see under M145
M1530 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ad: AR IV 21-23, 31-33; II (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ae: AR 41-43, 51-53 {ph. MHC(S) 18a, 18b}
M1531 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = af: AR IV 1-3, 11-13; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ag: AR IV 61-63, 71-73 {ph. MHC(S) 17f, 17g}
M1532 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ah: AR III 59-61, 69-71; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ai: AR V 1-3, 11-13 {ph. MHC(S) 17d, 17e}
M1533 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = aj: AR III 59-61, 69-71; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ak: AR V 21-22, 31-33 {ph. MHC(S) 17b, 17c}
M1534 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = al: AR III 19-21, 29-31; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = am: AR V 41-43, 51-53 (M1534 II + M5586: AR V 41-44, 51-54) {ph. MHC(S) 16e, 17a}
M1535 II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ao: AR V 61-63, VI 7-9 {ph. MHC(S) 15m, 15n}
M1536 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ap: AR IIa30-32, 40-42; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = aq: AR VI 17-19, 27-29 {ph. MHC(S) 15k, 15l}

M1537 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ar: AR IIa10-12, 20-22; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = as: AR VI 38-39, 48-49 {ph. MHC(S) 15i, 15j}

M1538 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = at: AR I 58-59, IIa1-2; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = au: AR VI 57-59, 67-69 {ph. MHC(S) 15g, 15h}

M1539 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = av: AR I 38-39, 48-49; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = aw: AR VII 4-5, 14-15 {ph. MHC(S) 15e, 15f}

M1540 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ax: AR I 18-19, 28-29; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ay: AR VII 23-24, 33-35 {ph. MHC(S) 15c, 15d}

M1541 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = az: frgm. E (not localizable) MHC 175; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ba: frgm. F (not localizable) MHC 175 {ph. MHC(S) 16e, 17a}

M1542 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bb: frgm. G (not localizable) MHC 175; II (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bc: frgm. J (not localizable) MHC 176 {ph. MHC(S) 20b, 20c}

M1543 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bd: frgm. K (not localizable) MHC 176 {ph. MHC(S) 22a, 22b}

M1544 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = be: *H IVa3-4, 13-14 {ph. MHC(S) 14e, 14f}

M1591 (Pth. pr. hist.?) KG §22.6, 130 {ph. 69}

M1603 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <k>, 49 {ph. X}

M1607 (T I D 51) (1.S 4 and 2.S 1) (Pe. hym.) Šad-Ohrmezd 335 {ph. V, fig. 7-8}

M1608 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §8, 100 {ph. 49}

M1663 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = cb: H 58-60, 68-69 {ph. MHC(S) 24c, 24d}

M1668 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = cd.: frgm. P (not localizable) MHC 178 {ph. MHC(S) 13c, 13d}

M1669 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §32.11, p. 21 {ph. 66a, 66b}

M1671 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §30.7, p. 21 {ph. MHC(S) 53c, 53d}

M1673 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = cg: AR IIIb10-12, 20-22 {ph. MHC(S) 64c, 64d}

M1738 (Pe. Jesus hym.?) Evang. 404 {ph. with art. pl. 10, fig. 15}

M1741 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §3.5, 49 {ph. XIX, XX}

M1745 (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. H R (351-55), V (375-79) {ph. V (R only)}

M1750 (= KG §2.5 R 1-7, V 1-7) + M216c {ph. 5; tr. GSR 203, §§1.1.B and 1.2.B}

M1828 (Sgd. pr.) W. Sundermann, 'Der Paraklet in der ostmanichäischen Überlieferung', in P. Bryder (ed.), *Manichaean Studies; Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaeism, August 5-9, 1987,* Lund Studies in African and Asian Religions I (Lund, 1988) 204-05 {n.p.ph.}

M1838 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bh AR VI 55-56, 65-66 {ph. MHC(S) 66e, 66f}

M1848 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <w>, 53-53 {ph. XVIII}

M1859 (Pe. or Pth. pr. cosm., scrap) KPT §21, 77 {ph. XXXVII, XXXVIII}

M1867a (Sgd. letter) Briefe II (19-21) 310 {n.p.ph.}

M1867b (Sgd. letter) Briefe II (18-19), 310 {n.p.ph.}

M1876 + M1877 (Pe. hym., M1876R + M1877 R = M95 R 6a-7b; M1876 V + M1877 V = M95 V 6) Rd. §be.6-7 and 12, p. 13 {n.p.ph.; tr. HG 86, GSR 50 (both from M95)}

M1890 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bj: *AR Ib 1-4, 11-14 {ph. MHC(S) 66e, 66f}

M1891 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bk: frgm. C (not localizable) MHC 174 {ph. MHC(S) 37a, 37b}

M1892 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bi: AR I 18-20, 29-30 {ph. MHC(S) 64a, 64b}

M1901 (Pth. hym. cyc.) localizable possibly to H {ph. MHC(S) 24g, 24h}

M1916 (Pth. pr. parab.) KPT §39.2, 109 {ph. LI, LII}

M1926 (Pe. pr. parab.?, cosm.? scrap) KPT §34.2, 100 {ph. XLVIII, IL}

M1953 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bl: H VIb 1-3, 11-13 {ph. MHC(S) 13e, 13f}

M1964 = KG §11.1 R i 1-4 and ii 4, V i 4 and ii 1-4 (see under M822}

M2023 (Pe. pr. serm.) Yimki 3, 300 {n.p.ph.}

M2026 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, i, 43 {n.p.ph.}

M2056 (Pe. pr. parab.) KPT §35, 101 {ph. XLVIII, IL}

M2061 (Pth. pr. hist. with Pe. captions) KG §22.2, 128 {ph. 68}

M2066 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, x, 54 {n.p.ph.}

M2067 (see under M384)

M2070 + M270b = KG §5.4 R 15-16, V 15-16 (see under M805a)

M2078 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bs (not localizable) frgm. M, MHC 176 {ph. MHC(S) 42a, 42b}

M2082 (Pth. pr. cosm.) KPT §4.4, 52 {ph. XXIII-XXIV}

M2086 see under M413

M2089 (= T I D20 (7 p.) d) (Pth. hym.) Abced.,K, 450 {n.p.ph.}

M2098 (Pth. pr. parab.) KPT §14, 66 {ph. XXXI, XXXII}

M2154 = KPT §3.1 R 15-20. V 15-2 0 (see under M819)

M2163 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, u, 53 {n.p.ph.}

M2202 (Pe. pr. hist., Mani's autobiog.? small frag.) KG §7, 99-100 {ph. 49}

M2203 = KPT §4.3 R 5-7, V 5-7 (see under M211)

M2205 = KPT § 4.3 R 1-4, V 1-4 (see under M211)

M2206 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bm AR v 54-55, V 64-VI 1 {ph. MHC(S) 4i, 4j}

M2213 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §13.21, p. 19 {ph. MHC(S) 22a, 22b}

M2220 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bu: H V 4-5, 14-15 {ph. MHC(S) 36c, 36d}

M2224 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bv: H V 2-3, 12-13 {ph. MHC(S) 35c, 35d}

M2230 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.4, 25 {ph. 5}

M2231 = KG §2.2 II R 25-28, V 25-28 (see under M871b)

M2238 = KG §22.1 R hdl. and 1-2, V hdl. 1 (see under M330)

M2306 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = by: H I 48-49, 58-59 {ph. MHC(S) 2e, 2f}

M2309 (R wrongly catalogued separately as M 5702) (Pth. pr. cosm.) KPT §19, 75-76 (V comes before R), add. comm. KG §2.11, 31 {ph. KPT, XXXVII, XXXVIII, KG 8}

M2315 (Pth. hym. cyc.) MHC(S) §4.17, 19 (not localizable) {ph. MHC(S) 6e, 6f}

M2339 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bn: H Va 1-2, 11-12 {ph. MHC(S) 3e, 3f}

M2401 = KG §2.2 II R 1-3, V 1-3 (see under M871b)
M2412 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = br: *H IVa 7-8, 18 {ph. MHC(S) 57a, 57b}
M2418 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §32.12, p. 21 {ph. 66c, 66d}
M2420 (not localizable) MHC(S) §29.2, p. 20 {ph. 48d, 48e}
M2451 (Pe. pr. serm.) Yimki 5, 302 {n.p.ph.}
M2453 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ac>, 55 {ph. XXV}
M2457 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bp: *AR IIIa 1-3, 11-13 (*NB new sequence of lines given in DbMT) {ph. MHC(S) 14c, 14d}
M2458 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bq: H V 9-10, 19-20 {ph. MHC(S) 15a, 15b}
M2600 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ca (not localizable) frgm. A, MHC 174 {ph. MHC(S) 65c, 65d}
M2604 (see under M620)
M2605 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §13.22, pp. 19-20 {ph. MHC(S) 22e, 22f}
M2607 (Pth. hym. cyc.) MHC 318-19 (not localizable) {ph. MHC(S) 37c, 37d}
M2608 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, q, 48-49 {n.p.ph.}
M2700 (T I D 51 α (2 p.) a) (Pth. hym.) Abced.,H, 449 {n.p.ph.}
M2701 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = co: AR IIIb 1-2, 11-12 {ph. MHC(S) 12a, 12b}
M2705 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <l>, 49-40 {ph. X}
M2750 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §33, p. 21 {ph. 67a, 67b}
M2751 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ch: *H VIII 2-3, 12-13 (joins with M502βa) {ph. MHC(S) 50a, 50b}
M2753 (T I D 51) (see under M18)
M2851 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ck: H 51-3, 61-63 {ph. MHC(S) 24a, 24b}
M2891 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, m, 45 {n.p.ph.}
M3023 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §30.8, p. 21 {ph. 53e, 53f}
M3120 = KG §22.3 1.S 5-9, 2.S 5-9 (see under M5826)
M3121 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = cl: H V 9, 19 {ph. MHC(S) 36e, 36f}
M3234 (Pe. & Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, l, 45 {n.p.ph.}
M3401 (Pe. pr. hist., small frag.) KG §28.5, 143 {ph. 81}
M3404 (see under M183)
M3414 (Pe. pr. hist., autobiog. of Mani) KG §5.2, 94 {ph. 43}
M3417 = SLN <aj> (see under M491)
M3511 (Pth. frag. mentioning resurrection of Christ) Evang. 401 {ph. with art. pl. 8, fig. 11}
M3703 (see under M94)
M3706 (Pe. pr. serm.) Yimki 1.S 1-6, 2.S 1-6, 298-99 {n.p.ph.}
M3709 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §13.23, p. 20 {ph. MHC(S) 22g, 22h}
M3840 = KPT §4.3 R 9-13, V 9-13 (see under M211)
M3848 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.13, 32 {ph. 9}
M4150 (Pth. pr. hist.?) KG §22.4, 129 {ph. 69}
M4161 (Pe. pr. serm.) Yimki 7, 303 {n.p.ph.}
M4164 (see under M752a)
M4168 (Pe. pr. serm.) Yimki 2, 300 {n.p.ph.}
M4450 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <z>, 53 {ph. XX, XXI}

M4500 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §18.1, 70-72 {ph. XXXV, XXXVI}
M4501 = KPT §18.2 R II 1-8, V I 1-8, (see under M5566)
M4502 (Pe.? pr. cosm.) KPT §18.4, 75 {ph. XXXV, XXXVI}
M4503 (Pe. ? pr. cosm.) KPT §18.5, 75 {ph. XXXV, XXXVI}
M4517 (see under M384)
M4523 (Pth. pr. hist., small frag.) KG §27, 140 {ph. 79}
M4525 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG 4a.15, 72 {ph. 29}
M4570 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.18, 76-79 {ph. 33-34; tr. ML 101 (based on version of text in Evang. 390-91), HG 113-14 }
M4571 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.4, 62-63 {ph. 22}
M4572 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.16, 72-73 {ph. 30}
M4573 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.17, 74 {ph. 31-32}
M4574 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.19, 79-81 {ph. 35; tr. ML 101 (based on version of text in Evang. 400-01), GSR 74}
M4575 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.1, 55-57 {ph. 18; tr. ML 19-20 (based on earlier version of text in Wirksamkeit, 82-87, GSR 211}
M4576 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.2, 58-60 {ph. 19}
M4577 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.3, 60-62 {ph. 20-21}
M4578 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.5, 63-66 {ph. 23}
M4579 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.12, 69-70 {ph. 28}
M4580 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.6, 66-67 {ph. 24}
M4581 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.7, 67-68 {ph. 25}
M4582 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.8, 68 {ph. 26}
M4583 (pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.9, 68 {ph. 26}
M4584 (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.21, 82 {ph. 36}
M4585 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.20, 81-82 {ph. 36}
M4586 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.10, 69 {ph. 26}
M4587 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.11, 69 {ph. 27}
M4588 (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.22, 82 {ph. 27}
M4589 (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.23, 69 {ph. 26}
M4589a (Pth. pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.24, 82 {ph. 36}
M4589b (Pth. pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.25, 83 {ph. 36}
M4589c (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.26, 83 {ph. 36}
M4589d (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.27, 83 {ph. 37}
M4589e (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.28, 83 {ph. 37}
M4589f (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.29, 83 {ph. 37}
M4589g (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.30, 83 {ph. 37}
M4589h (? pr. hist.?, scrap) KG §4a.31, 84 {ph. 37}
M4589i (? pr. hist.?, scrap) KG §4a.32, 84 {ph. 37}
M4589k (? pr. hist.?, scrap) KG §4a.33, 84 {ph. 37}
M4589l (? pr. hist.?, scrap) KG §4a.3, 84 {ph. 37}
M4589m (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.35, 84 {ph. 37}
M4627 = KG §24.2 R 6-10 and V 6-10 (see under M8180)

M4727 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = cp (not localizable) frgm. N, MHC 177 {ph. MHC(S) 42e, 42f}

M4798 (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.36, 84 {ph. 37}

M4883 (given in KG index in error for M4583?)

M4900 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = cr: (R) and cs: (V), R not localizable, frgm. Q, V (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR I,1 {ph. MHC(S) 4g, 4h}

M4912 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.12, 31 {ph. 8 }

M4970 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ct: H VIc10-12, 20-22 {ph. MHC(S) 1c, 1d; Rd. §cx, 164-65}

M4990 R 1-8 (T II D 58) (Pth. pr. cosm.) Gi U, 73-74 {n.p.ph.}

M5030 V 4-12 (Sgd., on Buddha as Mani) W. Sundermann, 'Manichaean traditions on the date of the historical Buddha', in H. Bechert (ed.) *The Dating of the Historical Buddha, Pt. 1, Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung,* IV,1 (Göttingen, 1991) 437-38 {n.p.ph.}

M5052 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, t, 52 {n.p.ph.}

M5055 = KG §11.3 R i 10-14 and ii 1-11, V i 1-11 and ii 10-14 (see under M5671)

M5056c = KG §11.3 R i 5-9, V i 5-9 (see under M5671)

M5185 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <c>, 45-46, cf. KPT §5, 54-55 {ph. SLN IV; KPT, XXV, XXVI}

M5187 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <d>, 46, cf. KPT §5, 54-55 {ph. SLN V; KPT XXV, XXVI}

M5190 (see under M384)

M5228 = KPT §3.3 R? II 1-15, V? I 13-15 (see under M263f)

M5260 V 1-4 (T II D 66) (Pe. hym.) MM i, 192, n. 6 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §bq. 121; tr. ML 138, HG 99, GSR 60}

M5262 (T II D 66) (Pth. hym.) W.-L.ii, 549 {ph. IMTT 125c, 126c; Rd. §aj, 93; tr. HG 61, GSR 31-32}

M5263 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = cu: H VII,8-13 18-23 {ph. MHC(S) 13a, 13b}

M5268 (T II D 66 a, Cat. 107) (Sgd. calendar tables) Fasts, 151-52 {ph. (R only) with art., pl. XIV}

M5270 = T II D 66 (Sgd. pr.) Tales D, 472 {ph. with art.}

M5315 see under M94

M5332 R (T II D 77, cf. Cat. 110) (Pe. hym.) MM i, 192, n. 6 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 142}

M5350 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = cw: AR VIII 3-5, 13-15 {ph. MHC(S) 49a, 49b}

M5359 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = cx: AR VII 2-6, 12-16 {ph. MHC(S) 48b, 48c}

M5385 (Pth. pr. hist.?) KG §22.5, 129 {ph. 69}

M5503 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = db: AR VI 21-24, 31-34 {ph. MHC(S) 12c, 12d}

M5530 R 13-15 and V 3-5 (Pth. ps.) W.-L. i, 57 and 74

M5540 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dc: H III 1-5, 11-12, *IV 1-2 {ph. MHC(S) 25c, 25d}

M5542 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, r, 50 {n.p.ph.}

M5566 (= KPT §18.2 R I 1-V II 13) + M4501 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §18.2, 72-73 {ph. XXXV, XXXVI}

M5567 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §18.3, 74-75 {ph. XXXV, XXXVI}

M5569 (T II D 79) (Pth. pr. hist.) MM iii, §c, 860-62 {ph. KG 8; add. comm. KG §2.10, Rd. §p, 47-48; tr. ML 56, GSR 215}

M5570 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dd: AR I 3-6, 13-16 {n.p.ph.}

M5586 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = de: AR V 42-44, 52-54. See also under M1534 II

M5587 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = df: H I 51-55, 61-65 {ph. MHC(S) 1e, 1f}

M5651 (Pe. pr. hist. from Mani's autobiog.) KG §6, 98-99 {ph. 49}

M5671 (= KG §11.3 R i 1-10, V ii 1-10) + M5056c + M5055 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §11.3, 109-110 {ph. 57}

M5682 (see under M384)

M5691 R 4 (Pth. ps.) W.-L. i, 35

M5700 I (T II D 116) R II 13-18 (Pth. hym.) Bráhman, 111 {n.p.ph.}

M5700 II R 3-5 (Pth. hym.) W.-L. i, 39

M5702 (see under M2309)

M5731 = T II D 117 (Sgd. pr.) Tales E, 473 {n.p.ph.}

M5740 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.13, 36 {ph. XIII, XIV}

M5750 (R) I-II (T II D 120) (Pe. pr. serm.) W. Sundermann, 'Iranische Kephalaiatexte?' in H.-J. Klimkeit and G. Wießner (edd.) *Studia Manichaica. II. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, 6-10 Aug., 1989, St. Augustin, Bonn,* Studies in Oriental Religions 23 (Wiesbaden, 1992) 316-17 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 253-54}; (V) II 1-5 (Pe. pr. cosm.) Gi J, 70 (text with line breaks in DbMT)

M5755 (Pe. hym.) H. H. Schaeder, 'Beiträge zur iranischen Sprachgeschichte', *Ungarische Jahrbücher,* 15 (1935) 581 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §dgc; tr. HG 166, GSR 129}

M5761 (= KG §24.1 I R 1-3, V hdl. and 1-3) KG §24.1, 132 (gives text of M5761 and M6062 only) (joins with M5794, *q. v.*)

M5779 (T II D 123) (Sgd. conf.) BBB c 45-46 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 68, GSR 150}

M5785 I R hdl., I V hdl., II V hdl., II R hdl., W.-L. i, 71; I V 15-16 (Pth. ps.) W. B. Henning, 'Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfanfragmente', *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* IX, 1933, 206.7-8 {n.p.ph.}

M5794 (T II D 126) (= KG §24.1, I R 4-20, V 4-20, II, R 2-18, V 2-18) + M5761 + M6062 I: (Pe. pr. from work of Mani) MM ii, 295-96 {Rd. §a, 29-30; tr. ML 12, GSR 216-17}; II: (joins with M6062) (Pe. pr. from work of Mani) MM ii, 296-97, cf. KG §24.1, 132-33 {ph. IMTT 128-29, KG 72-73; Rd. §v, 56-57; tr. ML 27, comb. text in DbMT; tr. of comb. text Sims-Williams, Commandments, 578-79, GSR 264}

M5805 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §14, 116-17 {ph. 59}

M5815 I and II (T II D II 134 I) (Pth. pr. hist.) MM iii, §b, 854-60 {ph. IMTT 130-31; Rd. §r, 50-52 (= II (lines 1-111)), §q, 48-50 (= I (lines112-223)); tr. ML I 58, II 23-24}

M5826 (= KG §22.3 1.S 1-9, 2.S 1-9) + M3120 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §22.3, 128-29 {ph. 68}

M5845 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <aa>, 53-55 {ph. XXII-XXIII}

M5846 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dg: H VIb 14, 24 {ph. MHC(S) 7a, 7b}

M5860 = T II D II 138 I = M? R i 14-15 (Pth. hym.?) W.-L. i, 10 {n.p.ph.}

M5861 see under M132a

M5865 (T II D 138) (Sgd. conf.) BBB frgm. II A and II B, 43-4 {tr. see under M131}

M5877 see under M710

M5900 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §22, 77-78 {ph. XXXVII-XXXVIII}

M5910 = KG §2.1 R 6-13, V 6-13 (see under M1344)

M5911 = KG §2.1 II R 14-21, V 14-21 (see under M871b)

M5930 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dh: AR I 15-18, 25-28 {ph. MHC(S) 62a, 62b}

M5931 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <f>, 46-47; {ph. VI, VII}

M5932 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §10, 61 {ph. XXVII, XXVIII}

M5965 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4b.3, 90 {ph. 40}

M5966 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4b.4, 90-91 {ph. 40}

M5967 (Pth. pr. hist., small frag.) KG §4b.5, 91 {ph. 40}

M5983 (Pe. or Pth. pr. ?, v. small scrap) KPT §1.15, 37 {ph. XIII, XIV}

M6005 (Pe. pr. parab.) KPT §38, 106-08 {ph. LII, LIII; tr. ML 99 (2062-89 only), GSR 194}

M6020 I (T II D 162 I) (Pth. pr. serm.) W. B. Henning, 'A Grain of Mustard', *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Sezione Linguistica* 6 (1965) 29-31 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §dk, 227; tr. ML 50-51, GSR 266-67}

M6031 (T ii D 163) (Pth. pr. hist.) LJ 948-49 {add. comm. §KG 4a.13, 71; ph. 29; Rd. §m = A II 2-5, B I 2-8 (8-14); tr. ML 55, GSR 213}

M6032 (Pth. pr. hist. / Keph.-type, cf. Keph. 102, p. 255f.) KG §13.1, 113-115 {ph. 58}

M6033 (T ii D 163) (Pth. pr. hist.) LJ 942-43 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §k = A I 3-7, B I 2-3 (20-21); tr. GSR 212-13} + KG §4a.14

M6040 + M6040a (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4b.1, 85-88 {ph. 38}

M6041 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4b.2, 88-90 {ph. 39}

M6060 (Pe. pr. cosm.? v. small scrap) §KPT 1.14, 36 {ph. XIII, XIV}

M6062 = KG §24.1 II R 1-5, V 1-6, KG §24, 132-33 (gives texts of M5761 and M6062 only) (joins with M5794, *q. v.*)

M6066 (? pr. hist., small frag.) KG §4b.6, 91 {ph. 40}

M6120 (T II D II 164) (Pe. pr. cosm.) Gi F, 66-67 (correct order cols. BCDEFA) {ph. KPT XV-XVI; Rd. §aa, 82-83 (cols. A, D, E, F only)}

M6130 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = di: H I 50-51, 60-61 {ph. MHC(S) 3a, 3b}

M6131 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dj: H I 28-29, 38-39 {ph. MHC(S) 2c, 2d}

M6138 (Pth. pr. hist.?) KG §11.4, 111 {ph. 57}

M6139 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dk: H BI b 13-14, 23-24 {ph. MHC(S) 4a, 4b}

M6220 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dl: H IVb 1-3, V 1, 2-6 {ph. MHC(S) 28a, 29a}

M6221 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dm: *H VIa 1-5, 6-10 {ph. MHC(S) 27c, 28a; Rd. §cw, 163-64; tr. *ap.* GSR 100-110}

M6222 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = du: AR VI 1-5, 6-10 {ph. MHC(S) 32a, 33a}

M6223 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = do: *H VIa 1-4, 6-9 {ph. MHC(S) 28b, 29b}

M6230 R 1-4 (see under M6232) {ph. IMTT 132}

M6232 + M6230 R 1-4 (Pth. hym.) R. Reitzenstein and H. H. Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*

aus Iran und Griechenland (Leipzig, 1926) 90-91 {ph. (M6232) IMTT 133a, 134a; Rd. §aka = M6232 R 1-11, cla = M6232 V 2-12; tr. HG 126 (M6232 V only), GSR 85 (ditto)}

M6238 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dx: AR I 12-14, 17-19 (M6238 + M6266 + M6260 AR I 12-15, 17-20) {ph. MHC(S) 31c, 31d}

M6240 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dp: AR VI 42-45, 47-50 (M6240 + M6242 + M1183 AR VI 42-45, 47-50) {ph. MHC(S) 32a, 32b and 34a, 34b}

M6242 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dq: AR VI 44-45, 47-50, see also under M6240

M6260 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dt: AR I 14-15, 19-20, see also under M6238

M6264 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = du: AR I 11-12, 16-17 {ph. MHC(S) 32a, 33a}

M6265 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dv: AR VII 10-11, 15-16 {ph. MHC(S) 35a, 35b}

M6266 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dw: AR I 13-14, 18-19, see also under M6238

M6280 (Pth. pr. parab.) KPT §31, 97 {ph. XLV, XLVI}

M6450 (+ M425 V 2) (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, y, 55-56, cf. Cat., 123, parallel text in M425 (unpublished, cf. Cat. 28) {n.p.ph.}

M6650 (= T II K) (Pe. hym.) W.-L. i, p. 115-16 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 51}

M6683 (= T II K 2 (3 p.) c) (Pth. hym.) Abced.,J, 450 {n.p.ph.}

M6720 (? pr. hist., small frag.) KG §4a.37, 85 {ph. 37}

M6725 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) 20, §16.4 {ph. 25a, 25b}

M6726 see under M94

M6729 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ea: H V 2,12 {ph. MHC(S) 14g, 14h}

M6740 (Pe. + Sgd. + Pth. pr. parab.) KPT §28, 93-94 {ph. XLIII, XLIV}

M6741 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHB(S) §30.8, p. 21 {ph. 56q, 56b}

M6810 (Pe. pr. eschat. Sb.?) KG §5.6, 98 {ph. 48}

M6812 (Pe. pr. cosm.? small frag.) KG §5.5, 97-98 {ph. 48}

M6865 (Pth. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, v, 53 {n.p.ph.}

M6943 = ed (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR I 15, 25 {ph. MHC(S) 39b, 40a}

M6953 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ag>, 56-58 {ph. XXXII, XXXIII}

M7101 (Pe. pr. serm.) Yimki 6, 302 {n.p.ph.}

M7143 (Pe. pr. hist. / eschat. ?, small frag.) KG §24.4, 137 {ph. 78}

M7420 (Sgd. pr.) Parabelcuh §e {ph. XXIV}

M7734 R see under M104

M7800 (T II Ξ) (Sgd. pr. cosm. with Turk. marginal notes) I = Gi G, 68-69, II in W. Sundermann, 'Mani's "Book of the Giants" and the Jewish Books of Enoch. A case of terminological difference and what it implies', in S. Shaked and A. Netzer, *Irano-Judaica III* (Jerusalem, 1994) 45-46 {n.p.ph.}

M7915 (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.38, 85 {ph. 37}

M7980-7984 (Pe. pr. eschat. Sb.?) MM i, 177-203 (the sequence of the pages is: M7984 II, M7981 I, M7980 I, M7980 II, M7981 II, M7984, M7982, M7983 I, M 7983 II) {ph. IMTT 133b-142; Rd., y.7-56, KMS 27-115 (lines 101-1332); tr. ML 122-27 (*partim*), GSR 227-35}

M8005 (T III 282) (Sgd. pr. cosm.) Gi E, 66 {n.p.ph.}
M8101 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §23, 79-80 {ph. XXXIX}
M8171 (T III D 267) (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §f, 868-69 {ph IMTT 145a, 146a; Rd. §cf, 138 = R I 2 - V I 35 (f 2-35), §cg, 139 = V II 1-9 (f 37-45) tr. ML 56 (f 37-45 only), HG 128-29, GSR 86}
M8180 (= KG §24.2 R hdl. and 1-4, V hdl. and 1-4) + M236 + M4627 (Pe. pr. hist.) KG §24.2, 133-34 {ph. 74-75}
M8201 (T III D III 270) (Pth. pr. parab.?) Bráhman, 110 {n.p.ph.}
M8251 (Pe. pr. from a work of Mani?) MM ii, 308-11 {ph. IMTT 145b, 146b; Rd. §u, 55-56; tr. ML 28, GSR 265}
M8256 (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. fm, 300-01, cf. KG §5.1, 93 {ph. Šb. XII}
M8259 I see MIK III 8259 I
M8280 (Pth. pr. cosm.) KPT §20, 76-77 {ph. XXXVII, XXXVIII}
M8285 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ee: AR VIIa 1-3, 11-13 {ph. MHC(S) 7g, 7h}
M8286 (Pth. pr. hist.) Wirksamkeit, 103-04 {ph. KG 50-51; Rd. §e.6-7; tr. ML 19, add. comm. KG §9}
M8287 (Pth.) + 10 200/1 (5) (Pth. in Sgd. script) Anmerkungen, 171 {ph. with art., pl. XXIV, fig. 26}
M8400 (Pth. pr. cosm.) KPT §4.2, 51 {ph. XXI, XXII}
M8802 (Pth. pr. cosm.) KPT §12, 64-65 {ph. XXXI, XXXII}
M8828 (= X2) (Pth. hym.) Abced.,Ga 448 {n.p.ph.}
M8829 (Pth. hym.) Abced.,Gb, 448-49 {n.p.ph.}
M8830 (Pth. hym.) Abced.,Gc, 449 {n.p.ph.}
M9000 = KPT §1.8 V IV 3-5 (see under M1023)

(2) Texts with non-M-numbers
Ch 5554 (T II D 2) (Sgd. pr.) Parabelbuch §b.9-202 (joins with Ch / U 6914 (T III T 601) and So 15000 (T III 2015)) {ph. III-IX; tr. GSR 179-183}. See also Parabelbuch §c for Sgd. writings on the margins of the Verso which contains a Chin. Buddhist text.
Ch / So 20000 (T II T) (Sgd. pr.) Tales J, 483 {ph. with art.}
Ch / U 6559 (T i α) (Sgd. list) Sogdica, V, 6 {n.p.ph.}
Ch / U 6827 (T II 2090) (Sgd. list of gods) W. Sundermann, 'Eine Liste manichäischer Götter in soghdischer Sprache', *Tradition und Translation - Zum Problem der interkulturellen Überstzbarkeit religiöser Phänomene, Festschrift für Carsten Colpe zum 65. Geburtstag*, edd. C. Elsas *et al.*, (Berlin, 1994) 453 {ph. with art. following p. 460}
Ch / U 6914 (Sgd. pr.) Parabelbuch §b.1-7 (joings with So 15000 (T III 2015) + Ch 5554 (T II D 2) {ph. II; tr. GSR 179}
Ch / U 7224 (T II T 1184) (Sgd. pr.) Parabelbuch §a {ph. I}
IB: for texts with signatures beginning with IB see under MIK III
K16 (R?): (Chin. Buddh.); (V?): (Sgd. pr. hist.) KG §19, 123 {ph. 64-65}
K30 (7-12) (Sgd. letter) Turf. Reg., 80
L A 1-2 (Pth. hym.; from a lost fragment of M801a? *q.v.*) HR ii, 108, MSt. 31 {n.p.ph.}
L B 1-5 (from Verso of L A, Pth. hym.) HR ii, 29 (M. Liturg.), MSt. 32 {n.p.ph.}

M. Liturg. see under L B 1-5

Mainz 172 (TM330) (Pe. in Runic script) Köktürkisches, 1055 {ph. IMTT 151a-b}

Mainz 402a and b (TM337 a, b or 339 a, b) (Pe. in Runic script) Köktürkisches, 1054-55 {ph. IMTT 151 c, e, d, f}

MIK III 4959 (Pe. coloph.) H.-J. Klimkeit, 'Hindu deities in Manichaean art', *Zentralasiatische Studien* 14/2 (1980) 193-94 {ph. Miniaturen, 8a,d; tr. GSR 275}.

MIK III 4974 (Pe. hym.) W.-L.ii, 558-59 (ph. IMTT 152-53; Rd. §cb, 133; tr. HG 120, GSR 79)

MIK III 4979 (R Sgd. with miniature of Four Kings of Heaven; V miniature of Bēma scene with names) Miniaturen 53 (R), 54-55 (V) {ph. b/w IMTT 154-55, colour Miniaturen 8a,a and 8b,b}

MIK III 4981a (Sgd. pr. cosm. / serm.) Miniaturen 39 {ph. IMTT 156a, Miniaturen 4b}

MIK III 4981b (Sgd. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <al>, 130-131 {ph. XL}

MIK III 4981e (Sgd. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <am>, 131 {ph. XL}

MIK III 4981f (Sgd. pr. cosm. / serm.) Miniaturen 39 (transcription of lines 1-7 only without trans.) {ph. IMTT 156b, Miniaturen 4c, upper part only}

MIK III 6371 (T II D 135) (Pe. pr. colophon) Mnmg., 38 and F. W. K. Müller, 'Der Hofstaat eines Uiguren-Königs', in *Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen*, (Leipzig, 1912) 208 {ph. IMTT 157; tr. HG 196, GSR 273-74}.

MIK III 7251 (T III D 282) (Pth. with one line in Sgd. script but unknown language, see Cat. p. 144) Miniaturen, p. 38 (R only) {ph. IMTT 158, Miniaturen 4a, R only}

MIK III 8259 I R: (Pe. + Pth. pr. parab.) Turfan Region, 68; I V i 1-17: (Pe., hym.) ibid. cf. HR i, 351, MSt. 32 (given as P2); V ii 15-18: HR i 350, MSt. 32 (given as P1) {ph. b/w: IMTT 159a,b, KPT, XLVII (I R only), colour: (miniature part only) Miniaturen, 7b; Rd. §ck, 141 (= V i 2-9); tr. GSR 89} (a more complete text can be found in DbMT)

P1 and P2 (see under MIK III 8259 I V i 1-17)

So 10100 (g) = T i α (Sgd. pr.) Tales F, 474-75 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 40-41}

So 10100 (g) I (Sgd. pr. hist.?) Tales H, 478 {n.p.ph.}

So 10100 (g) II = T I D + T i a (Sgd. pr.) Tales I, 480-81 {n.p.ph.}

So 10100 l = T i (Sgd. list) Sogdica, II, 4 {n.p.ph.}

So 10200/1 (5) (Pth. in Sgd. script = M8287) Anmerkungen, 171-72 {ph. with art., pl. XXIV, fig. 27}

So 10202 (Pth. + Sgd. cosm. + pr. hist.) KG § 3.5, 50 {ph. 17}

So 10700b = T I D (Sgd. conf., X^{u}āstvānīft 10-11) Sogdica, 66-67 {n.p.ph.}

So 10900 = T I D a (Sgd. conf., X^{u}āstvānīft 15C) Sogdica, 63-65 {n.p.ph.}

So 13513 (D (i.e. T II D ?)) (Sgd. pr. hist.) KG §3.6, 53-54 {ph. 17}

So 13800 + 18191 (Sgd. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <v>, 60; see also MHC(S) §37.1, p. 31 {ph. SLN XVII; MHC(S) 82b (2.S only)}

So 13940 (= T II K) (Sgd. pr. hist.) KG §3.7, 54 {ph. 17}

So 13941 (T II K) (= KG §3.1 R 1-8, V 1-8) + So 14285 (Sgd. pr. hist.) KG § 3.1, 34-36 {ph. 10; tr. GSR 203}

So 14100 (12) (T II T(oyoq)) (Sgd. list) Sogdica, IV, 5 {n.p.ph.}

So 14185 see under So14186.

So 14185(2)/a + So 14188/b (= p. 5) 114-117 only (Sgd. Keph.-type (?) text) Sammelhandschrift 202 {n.p. ph.}

So 14186/a + So 14185(1)/a (= p. 4) 87-90 only (Sgd. Keph.-type (?) text) Sammelhandschrift 200 {n.p. ph.}

So 14187 + So 14190 (= p. 3) 52-56 and 68-70 only (Sgd. Keph.-type (?) text) Sammelhandschrift 200 and 199 {ph. with art., p. 195}

So 14190 see under So 14187.

So 14285 (T II D 136) = KG §3.1 R 2-18, V 2-17 (see under So 13941)

So 14382 (T ii D 16) (Sgd. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §36.11, p. 28 {ph. 78b, 78c}

So 14384 ([T ii] D 167) (Sgd. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §36.12, p. 28 {ph. 79a, 79b}

So 14385 ([T ii] D 167) (Sgd. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §36.13, p. 29 {ph. 79c, 79d}

So 14391 ([T ii] D 167) (Sgd. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §36.14, p. 29 {ph. 81c. 81d}

So 14411 (T II D II 169 = MIK III 200) I: (Turk. hym.) see below MIK III 200; II: (Sgd. hym.) W.-L. i, 94, cf. Sgd. Hym. 36-39 (II V), DbMT gives II R 16 - V 20 {ph. IMTT 147-48; tr. GSR 63}

So 14445 = T ii D 170 (Sgd. hym. cyc.) H V 18-21, H Vb 1-3, Two Sgd. H. Frgms., 424-25 {ph. MHC(S) 72, 73}

So 14470 = T ii K (Sgd. hym. cyc.) H I 1-4, MHC(S) §36.1, p. 23 {ph. 68, 69}

So 14570 ((T II K 178 (D 170)) R (Sgd. hymn with Pth. title) W.-L. i, 59 and 68 (text of R 1-6 in DbMT) {n.p.ph.}

So 14577 (T ii K 178) + So 14594 (T ii K 178[d]) + So 14594(a) (T ii K 178[d]) + So 14604 (T ii K 178) (Sgd. hym. cyc.) H V (?) {ph. 74a, 74b}

So 14578 = T ii K 178 (Sgd. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §36.15, p. 29 {ph. 79g, 79h}

So 14585 = T ii K 178[a] (Sgd. hym. cyc.) + (not joining) 14568 = T ii K 178[b] (not localizable) MHC(S) 29-30, §36.16,17

So 14586a = T ii K 178[c] (Sgd. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §36.18, p. 30 {ph. 81a, 81b}

So 14594 (T ii K 178[d]) (see under 14577)

So 14594(a) (T ii K 178[d]) (see under 14577)

So 14595 = T ii K 178[d] (Sgd. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §36.19, pp. 30-31 {ph. 81c. 81d}

So 14600 = [K 178e] H II, MHC(S) §36.4, p. 24 {ph. 70e, 70f}

So 14602 ([T ii] K 178) (Sgd. hym. cyc.) H I 70-71, 74-75(?), MHC(S) §36.3, p. 24 {ph. 70c, 70d}

So 14604 ([K 178]) (see under So 14577)

So 14610 (T ii K 178) H VI (?) MHC(S) §36.10, pp. 27-28 {ph. 77, 78a}

So 14610(2) (T ii K 178) (Sgd. hym. cyc.) H II-III, MHC(S) §36.6, p. 25 {ph. 71a, 71b}

So 14611 = T ii K 178 (Sgd. hym. cyc.) H II, MHC(S) §36.5, pp. 24-25 {ph. 70g, 70h}

So 14611(2) = T ii K (Sgd. hym. cyc.) H I 55, 59(?), MHC(S) §36.2, pp. 23-24 {ph. 70a, 70b}

So 14615 = T ii K 178 (Sgd. hym. cyc.) H V-VI 1, Two Sgd. H. Frgms., 422-23 {ph. MHC(S) 75, 76}

So 14638 = T II S 20 (Sgd. pr. cosm.) Gi H, 69-70 {n.p.ph.}

So 14700 (13) (T ii T) (Sgd. list) Commandments, 580, cf. Sogdica, III, 5 {ph. Commandments, pl. XXV}

So 14731 = T II T(oyoq) (Sgd. pr.) Tales G, 476 {n.p.ph.}

So 14760 = T II T(oyoq) (Sgd. list) Sogdica, I, 2 {n.p.ph.}

So 14761 = T II T(oyoq) (Sgd. list) Sogdica, VI, 7 {n.p.ph.}

So 15000 (T III 2015) (Sgd. pr.) Parabelbuch §b.7-9 (joins with Ch / U 6914 (T III T 601) and Ch 5554 (T II D 2) {ph. II; tr. GSR 179}

So 18120 (TM 351) R 11 - 14, V 1-14 (Sgd. hym.) W.-L. i, (85-91), 93, Sgd. Hym. 18, Additional lines and renumbered lines in DbMT {ph. IMTT 149a, 150a}

So 18170 (T. M. 371) (Sgd. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <u>, 60, cf. MHC(S) §37.1, p. 31 {ph. SLN XVI; MHC(S) 82a (2.S only)}

So 18191 (see under 13800)

So 18196 V 9-17 (Sgd. letter) Turf. Reg., 78-79 {n.p.ph.}

So 18220 (= T.M. 389) (Sgd. pr. hist.) KG §3.2, 36-41 (where it is given wrongly(?) as M18220) {ph. 11-12; tr. GSR 253 and 205-06}

So 18221 (T.M. 389b) R (V blank) (Sgd. cosmg. and pr. hist.) KG §3.5, 50-53 {ph. 17 (R only)}

So 18222 (T.M. 389c) (see under So 18223)

So 18223 (T.M. 389c) (= I) + So 18222 (= II) (Sgd. pr. hist.) KG §3.3, 41-45 {ph. 13-14; tr. GSR 209 and 263, see also Commandments, 574}

So 18224 (T.M. 389d) (Sgd. pr. hist.) KG §3.4, 45-49 {ph. 15-16; tr. GSR 209-11}

So 18248 II = T.M. 393 (Sgd. pr.) Murder, 137-38 {n.p.ph.}

So 18300 (T i T M 418) (Sgd. pr.) Tales A, 466-68 {tr. see under M135}

So 18431 R (Sgd. pr.) Zarathustra 2, 469-70 {n.p.ph.}

So 18431 V (Sgd. pr.) Zarathustra 4, 471 {n.p.ph.}

So 18434 R (Sgd. pr.) Zarathustra 1, 468-69 {n.p.ph.}

So 18434 V (Sgd. pr.) Zarathustra 6, 473 {n.p.ph.}

So 18435 R (Sgd. pr.) Zarathustra 3, 470 {n.p.ph.}

So 18435 V (Sgd. pr.) Zarathustra 5, 472 {n.p.ph.}

So 20000 (see under Ch / So 20000)

So 20135 (Pth. hym. in Sgd. script) Bäzäklik 121-24 (text b where the frag. is referred to simply as X) {ph. with art., pp. 131-32}

So 20166 = T II D 94 (Sgd. list) Sogdica, VII, 9 {n.p.ph.}

So 20208 (T.M. 406a = Ti = K 8 (Pth. in Sgd. script, hym. cyc.) H 166a-68, 70-72, N. Sims-Williams, 'A new fragment from the Parthian Hymn-cycle *Huyadagmān'* in *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard*, Studia Iranica - Cahier 7, (Paris, 1989) 322-23, MHC(S) §34, p. 22 {ph. 67c, 67d}

So 20224 (TM 383 = K24) (Pth. in Sgd. script, hym.) W.L. i. 95-96, cf. Sgd. Hym. 36-39, version in DbMT re-ed. DNM {ph. IMTT 149b, 150b}
T I a see 10202
T II D (?) see under So 13513
T II D 66 (Sgd. pr.). See under M5270
T II D 117 (see under M5731)
T II D 136 (see under So 14285)
T II K (see So 13040-41)
T II T (Sgd. list) new no. So 14700 (13) (q.v.)
T II T 1603 (R Sgd. pr., V Chin. Budd.) Parabelbuch §d {ph. XXII-XXIII}
T.M. 389α (see under So 18220)
T.M. 389b (see under So 18221)
T.M. 389c (see under So 18222 and So 18223)
T.M. 389d (see under So 18224)
T.M. 393 (see under So 18248)

b. Texts and text-fragments in Russia (St. Petersburg / Leningrad)

L60 + L87 (Sgd. pr. hist.) Shahanshah (36-45), 283 {ph. Ragoza XXXII (L60), XLVIII, 2nd frg. (L87)}
L68 (Sgd. pr. hist.) Shahanshah (57-77), 284 {ph. Ragoza XXXVI}
L69 (Sgd. pr. hist.) Shahanshah (1-35), 283 {ph. Ragoza XXXVII}
L73 (Sgd. pr. hist.) Ragoza, 51 {ph. IMTT 191a, 192a, Ragoza XXXIX}
L74 (Sgd. pr. hist.?) Ragoza, 51-52 {ph. IMTT 190a-b, Ragoza XL}
L75 (R): (Sgd. pr. hist.?) Ragoza, 52 {ph. IMTT 190c-d, Ragoza XL}; (V): (Uighur, no context)
L77 (Sgd. pr. hist.) Ragoza, 52-53, cf. Turf. Reg. 78-79 (contains same text as So 18196, see above) {ph. IMTT 191a, 192a, Ragoza XLI}
L83a (Sgd. pr. hist.) Shahanshah (78-90), 284 {ph. Ragoza XLV, 1st frg.}
L83b (Sgd. pr. hist.) Shahanshah (46-51), 283 {ph. Ragoza XLV, 2nd frg.}
L83c (Sgd. pr. hist.) Shahanshah (52-56), 284 {ph. Ragoza XLVI, 1st frg.}
L87 (see under L60)
L117 (2nd and 3rd frg. probably belong to Sgd. pr. hist.) Ragoza, 75-76 {ph. IMTT 191b, 192b, Ragoza LXVII}
S1 (Pe. index) C. Salemann. *Ein Bruchstück manichaeischen Schrifttums im Asiatischen Museum*, Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, St. Petersburg, 2, see also MSt. 32 {ph. IMTT 160; Rd. §dq, 186; tr. HG 183-84, GSR 152-53}
S2 (Pe. pr. cosm.) M i, 175, cf. KPT p. 1 {ph. IMTT 161,a-b}
S3 (Pth.? tiny scrap) M i, 176 {ph. IMTT 161c-d}
S4 (Sgd. scrap) M i, 177 {ph. IMTT 161e-f}
S6 (Pth. cantil. hym.) M iii, 2 {ph. IMTT 162}
S7 (Pe. pr. cosm.) M iii, 4-5 {ph. IMTT 163; Rd. §cs, 151-52 = R I 3-14; tr. HG 141 §8, GSR 97, 9 §8; ct = R II 10- V II 20; tr. HG 141 §9, GSR 97, 9 §9}
S8 (Pe. hym.) M iii, 6-7 {ph. IMTT 164; Rd. §bf, 114; tr. GSR 51-52}
S9 see under S13
S10 (Pe. pr. serm.?) M iii, 14 {ph. IMTT 167}
S11 (Pe. pr. cosm.?) M iii, 15 {ph. IMTT 168}
S12a-g (Pe. pr. cosm.?) M iii, 15-17 {ph. IMTT 169-70}

S13, text continues on S9 (Pe. hymns) M iii, 7-14 (S9) and 18-19 (S13); cf. RM 78-84 (S9 only); W. B. Henning, 'Ein manichäischer kosmogonischer Hymnus', *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* 1932, 214-28 {ph. IMTT 171 (S13), 165-66 (S9); Rd. §ar, 101-02 = S9 R II 33- V II 39, §aq, 100-01 = S13 A 4 - B 10 and S9 R I 1 - R II 30; tr. ML (S9 only) 133-34, HG 69-71, GSR 38-39 (Rd. §aq), 39-40 (Rd. §ar)}

S14a-d (Pe. pr.) M iii, 19-20 {ph. IMTT 172a-d}

S15 (Pe. pr.) M iii, 20 {ph. IMTT 173a-b}

S16 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 20 {ph. IMTT 173c-d}

S17 (Pe. pr.) M iii, 21 {ph. IMTT 173e, 174g}

S18 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 21 {ph. IMTT 174a-b}

S19 (Pe. pr.?) M iii, 21 {ph. IMTT 174e-f}

S20 (Pe. pr.?) M iii, 21 {ph. IMTT 175a,c}

S21 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 22 {ph. IMTT 175b,d}

S22 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 22 {ph. IMTT 175e-f}

S23 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 22 {ph. IMTT 176a-b}

S24 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 22 {ph. IMTT 176c-d}

S25 (Pe. & Pth. pr.? scrap) M iii, 22 {ph. IMTT 176e-f}

S26 (Pth. pr.? scrap) M iii, 23 {ph. IMTT 176g-h}

S27 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 23 {ph. IMTT 177a-b}

S28 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 23 {ph. IMTT 177c-d}

S29 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 23 {ph. IMTT 177e-f}

S30 (Pth. pr.? scrap) M iii, 23 {ph. IMTT 177g-h}

S31 (Pth. pr.?) M iii, 24 {ph. IMTT 178}

S32 (Pth. pr.?) M iii, 25 {ph. IMTT 179a, 180a}

S33 (Pth. pr.?) M iii, 26 {ph. IMTT 179c-d}

S34 (Pe. pr.?) M iii, 26 {ph. IMTT 179b, 180b}

S35 (Pth. pr.?) M iii, 26 {ph. IMTT 180,c-d}

S36 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 26 {ph. IMTT 181a-b}

S37 (Pth. pr.? scrap) M iii, 26 {ph. IMTT 181c-d}

S38a, b (Sgd. ? scrap) M iii, 27 {ph. IMTT 182a-d}

S39 (Sgd. ? scrap) M iii, 27 {ph. IMTT 181e}

S40 (Sgd. badly preserved) M iii, 28-29 {ph. IMTT 181f, 182e}

S41 (Pth. pr.?) M iii, 32 {ph. IMTT 183a-b}

S52 (= SI 0/120) (Pe. pr. cosm.) Gi(S) 495-97, 502-04 {ph. IMTT 188}

c. Fragments in France (Paris)

Pelliot M. 914.1 (Pe. hym.?) Paris 304 {n.p.ph.}

Pelliot M. 914.2 (Pe. hym.) Paris, 304-05 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 11, GSR 84}

d. Fragments in Britain (London)

Or. 8212/84 = Ch. 00289 (Sgd. pr.) Sgd. Frgms. BL, Frgm. 4, 46 {n.p.ph.}

Or. 8212/83 = Ch. 00334 + Or. 8212/82 = Ch. 00335 (Sgd. pr.) Sgd. Frgms. BL (Frgms. 5 and 6), 49 {n.p.ph.}
Or. 8212/113 = M. Tagh a.0048 (Sgd., 2 lines only), Sgd. Frgms. BL (Frgm. 12), 53 {n.p.ph.}

e. Fragments in Japan (Ryukoko University, Kyoto)

Ōtani Ry.? {text now lost and preserved only on an old photograph} R (Pth. prayer), V (Pth. pr. hist.) Lost frgm., 176-77 {ph. in art., 176}
Ōtani Ry. ? (Sgd. pr. , precedes So. 13400, text now lost) Vanity, 19-20 (text with Japanese translation only) {ph. with article, p. 32}
Ōtani Ry. 1721 (Sgd. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ba + bb>
Ōtani Ry. 1722 (Sgd. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ba + bb>
Ōtani Ry. 2075 (Sgd. pr. SLN?) SLN Review, 107
Ōtani Ry. 6229 (Pth. hym. in Sgd. script) Bäzäklik 124 (V?, text d), 128-29 (?R) {ph. with art., p. 134}
Ōtani Ry. 6386 (Pth. in Sgd. script, hym. cyc.) H I 60-62, 66a-68, MHC(S) §35, p. 22 {ph. 67e, 67f}
Ōtani Ry. 7003 (Sgd. hym.) Lost frgm., 178 {n.p.ph.}
Ōtani Ry. 7117 + 7524 (Pth. in Sgd. script = *partim* M529 (Pth.) and So 18120 (TM 351) (Sgd.) and (in full) *Mo-ni chiao hsia-pu tsan* (see below) vv. 176-83 (Pth. in Chin. transcription)) Report 55-57 {ph. with art. , p. 65 (Ōtani Ry. 7117 R 1-3 only)}
Ōtani Ry. 7375 (Pth. hymn in Sgd. script) Bäzäklik (text e) 123-24 {ph. with art., p. 131-34}
Ōtani Ry. 7524 (see under Ōtani Ry. 7117)

f. Fragments in the People's Republic of China

80 T. B. I. 644 (Pth. hym. in Sgd. script) Bäzäklik 121-24 (text a) {n.p.ph.}
T'a-li-mu pl. 14 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §12, 111-12 {ph. 12}

(6) Texts and text-fragments in Chinese

a. Texts in Britain (London)

S3969 *Mo-ni kuang-fu chiao-fa i-lueh* 摩尼光佛教法議略 (Compendium of the teaching of Mani the Buddha of Light) Mon-ni chiao, 230-33. Text in DbMT checked against the original ms. {ph. 19-24}
S7053 *Mo-ni chiao hsia-pu tsan* 摩尼教下部讚 (Hymns for the Lower Section (i.e. Hearers ?) of the Manichaean religion). Cf. Lin Wu-shu 1987, 234-63. Text in DbMT checked against the original ms. in London {ph. 25-45, v. poor quality}

b. Text in China (Beijing)

北 8470 (formerly 宇56) *Mo-ni) chiao ts'an-ching* 摩尼教殘經 (The Fragmentary sutra of a Persian Religion = SLN Chin.). Cf. Mon-ni chiao 217-29. Text in DbMT checked against photographs supplied by Prof. Lin and microfilm version in

British Library {ph. Mo-ni chiao, 1-18 (reproduced from a photocopy of the photographs)}

c. Text-fragment in France (Paris)

P3884 "Fragment Pelliot" = concluding part of S3969 in London. Cf. Lin Wu-shu, *loc. cit.* Text in DbMT checked against photograph in *Traité* 1913.

d. Text-fragments in Germany (Berlin)

Ch 174 (T II 1917) untitled frgm. Cf. Thilo, 1991, pls. XX-XXI, figs. 22-23 (no publ. transcription)

Ch. 258 (T II T 1319) untitled frgm. Cf. Thilo, 1991 pls. XXII-XXIII, figs. 24-25 (no publ. transcription except for text portion Y,1-3)

Ch 3138 (T III T 132) (frag. of SLN Chin. resembles but not identical to *Mo-ni chiao ts'an-ching* 摩尼教殘經), Chinese Fragments, 36 {n. p. ph.; fuller text (checked against original ms.) in DbMT}

Ch 3218 (frag. of SLN Chin. resembles but not identical to *Mo-ni chiao ts'an-ching*), Chinese Fragments, 36 {n. p. ph.; fuller text (checked against original ms.) in DbMT}

(7) Texts and text-fragments in Old Turkish (Uighur)

a. Texts and in the Federal Republic of Germany

(a) Texts with U or Ch / U numbers

U2 (T II D 173e) (life of the Buddha) A. von Le Coq, 'Ein christliches und ein manichäisches Manuskriptfragment in türkischer Sprache aus Turfan (Chinesisch-Turkistan), *SPAW* 20, 1208-11, cf. Erzähler, 7-9 {ph. XIV; tr. GSR 313}.

U4 (T II D 175) (Zoroaster legend) A. von Le Coq, 'Ein manichäisch-uigurisches Fragment aus Idiqut Schahri', *SPAW* 1908, Nr. 19, 400-01 {ph. III}.

U5 (TM342) (story fragment) Köktürkisches, 1056-57 {ph. X-XI}

U7 (T II D 178 VI) (X^u. C (298-320)) Chuastvanift, 24-26, X^uāstvānī ft 192-93, cf. TMT §1C {tr. see under U8}

U8 (T II D 178 IV) (X^u. C (1-24)) Chuastvanift, 8-10, X^uāstvānī ft 167-68, cf. TMT §1C {tr. of the whole X^uāstvānī ft: ML 69-77, HG 241-50, GSR 300}

U9 (T II D 178 V) (X^u. C (274-298)) Chuastvanift, 22-24, X^uāstvānī ft 191-92, cf. TMT §1C {tr. see under U8}

U10 (T II D 178 III) (X^u. D (25-48)) Chuastvanift, 10-13, X^uāstvānī ft 168-69, cf. TMT §1C {tr. see under U8}

U11 (TM 303 = M153) (X^u. D (111-25)) Chuastvanift, 13-15, cf. TMT §1D {tr. see under U8}.

U12 (TM 343) (X^u. M (247-67) = Radloff, ll. 115-25 and Stein X^u. ll. 247-67) X^uāstvānī ft 189, cf. TMT §1M {ph. Chuastvanift 367-68; tr. see under U8}.

U13 (TM 183) (X^u. E (248-70)) Chuastvanift, 20-21, cf. TMT §1E {tr. see under U8}

U25 (T I D 51/510) (X^u. 288-290), cf. TMT §1V {ph. I}

U26 (T.I.D 51/514) (X^u. V (118-120)) cf. TMT §1V {ph. I}

U27 (T I x 560) (X^u. W (162-66)), cf. TMT §1W {ph. I}

U29 (T I α 1) (Aesop fables IX) TM III, 33; Yosïpas-Fragmente 40-42 {ph. Äsop, 41; tr. GSR 312-13}

U30 (T II D 75) cosm., TM II, 6-7 {ph. I}

U31 (TM 159) (New Year's benediction for Bögü Khan ?) TM I, 31; TM III, §17, 36 (reversing previous arrangement of R & V) {n.p.ph.}

U34 (T II D 178) (hym. on the fate of the un righteous soul) TM II, 12-13 {tr. HG 228-29, GSR 292-3}.

U36 (T II D 177) (hist.: Mar Ammō and the priests) TM I, 32-37, see also Bang, Erzähler, 17-19 (I-III only) {ph. IV; tr. GSR 319}

U37 (T II D 78h) (hymnbook, v, frag.) TM III, §9,viii) 27 {n.p.ph.}

U38 (T II D 78d I-II) (hymnbook: praise to light and power) TM III, §9,iv, 26 {n.p.ph.}

U39 (T II D 78a, I,II) (hymnbook: prayer for redemption) TM III, §9.1, 24 {ph. II; tr. HG 232, GSR 295}

U40 (TM 423a) (SLN Turk. with Abced.,in margin) TM III, §8.vii, 22

U41 (T I α 2) see U281.

U42 (TM 423e) SLN Turk., TM III, §8.v, 20-21

U43 (TM 423b) (SLN Turk.) TM III, §8.iv, 19-20 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 334-35 with Mainz 317}

U44 (TM 423c) (SLN Turk.) TM III, §8.iii, 18-19 {ph. I; tr. *partim* GSR 334}

U45 (T II D 119) SLN Turk., TM III, §8.i, 16-17 {ph. III; tr. GSR 332, §§3.4-3.5}

U46 a, b (T III D 172a and 172b) (life of the Buddha: Anvam) TM III, §7i-ii, 14 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 360 (172a only)}

U47 (TM 298) serm. on passions and the body, TM III, §4, 9-10 {tr. GSR 345-46}

U48 (T II D 121) eschat. frag. TM III, §3, 8-9 {ph. I; tr. GSR 342}

U49 (TM 291) serm. on Light Realm, TM III, §2, 7-8 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 342-43}

U50 (TM 175) (similar to U70) cosm., TM III, §2, 7 {n.p.ph.}

U51 (T II D 78i) (hymnbook: v. frag.) TM III, §9.ix) 27 {n.p.ph.}.

U52 (T II D 78j) (hymnbook: v. frag.) TM III, 27, §9.x, {n.p.ph.}.

U53 (T II D 78k) (hymnbook: v. frag.) TM III, 28, §9.xi, {n.p.ph.}.

U54 (T II D 78 II) (meal hym.) TM III, §12, 29-30 {n.p.ph.}.

U55 (TM 512) (hym. on alms for the Elect) TM III, §11, 28-29 {n.pb.ph.; tr. HG 227-28, GSR 292}

U56 and U 57a (T II D 175, 1 and 2) (story: the King and the Astrologer) TM III, §13.i-ii, I, 30-31, {tr. GSR 321}; U57b (meditation guide?) TM III, §13.ii, II, 31-32 and P. Zieme, 'Ein geistiges Drogenbuch der türkischen Manichäer', in Bryder (ed.), 227-28. {n.p.ph.}

U57 see under U56

U58 (T II D 181) (Book of the Queen) TM III, §13iii, 32

U59 (TM 173) cosm., TM III, §19, 37

U60 (TM 148) serm. on serving the elect, TM III, §20, 38, TMT 11-13 {ph. 17-18}

U61 (T II D 75) serm. (?) on Mani's passion, TM III, §18, 36-37.

U62 (TM 169) commandments, TM III, §21, 39 {n.p.ph.}

U63 (TM 170), serm. on Zoroaster and Jesus, TM III, 39 {n.p.ph.}

U64 (TM 284 & TM 295) (eulogy for the death of an Uighur ruler) TM III, 40 {n.p.ph.}

U65 (TM 164 and 174) (benediction for the imperial family) TM III, 41-42 {ph. VIII; tr. GSR 357-358 §3.1 A & B}

U66 (TM 144) (colophon) TM III, 43

U67 (TM 301) (colophon) TM III, §28, 43.

U68 (TM 511) (benediction for a ruler ?) TM III, §34, 45 {n.p.ph.}

U69 (TM 279) (Buddha and Ananda the monk) TM III, §31, 44 {n.p.ph.}

U70 (TM 139, 140 and 147) TM II, §1,i & iii, 5-6, Hymnen 41 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 330-31}

U71 (T I TM 278) (hym. cyc. H) TM III, §32, 45 {n.p.ph.}

U72 (TM 276a) (hist.: Bögü Khan's affirmation of faith) TT II, 414-16 {ph. V-VI; tr. GSR 366-68}

U73 (TM276b) (joins with U72) (see under U72)

U78 (TM 288) (installation hymn ?) TM III, §33, 45 {n.p.ph.}

U75 (T III D 260, 31) (confesion text) Erzähler 25 (6-9 = Pothi-Book 306-307 & 314-15), Pothi-Book, 176 (306-315)

U76 (T II D 258a) (Story of Arazan the Merchant) Erzähler 26-27 (22-31), Pothi-Book 177 (366-375)

U77 (T III D 260, 21.24) (Story of Arazan the Merchant) Erzähler 27-28 (37-41 = Pothi-Book 376-380, 32-36 = Pothi-Book 381-385), Pothi-Book 177 (376-385)

U79 (T III D 58e) (story about demons) Pothi-Book 179 (476-495)

U80 (T III D 260, 33) Pothi-Book, 171-72 (116-125)

U81 (T III D 259, 22 [left] + T III D 260, 32) (U81-83 and U86-U99 = Great Hymn to Mani) TT III, 186 (16-25), Pothi-Book, 169 (36-45)

U82 (T III D 260, 15) (see under U81) TT III, 186 (6-15), Pothi-Book, 168 (6-15)

U83 (T III D 260, 3) (see under U81) TT III, 186-88 (26-35), Pothi-Book, 168 (26-35)

U84 (T III D 260, 22) (confession text) Erzähler 25 (10-11 = Pothi-Book 299 & 304) Pothi-Book, 176 (296-305)

U85 (T III D 260, 26) (confession text) Erzähler 26 (17-21 = Pothi-Book 346-350, 12-16 = Pothi-Book 351-355) Pothi-Book, 176-77 (346-355)

U86 (T III D 260, 23) (see under U81) TT III, 188 (36-45), Pothi-Book, 168-69 (16-25)

U87 (T III D 260, 6) (see under U81) TT III, 188 (46-55), Pothi-Book, 169 (46-55)

U88 (T II D 250, 11) (see under U81) TT III, 186 (66-75), Pothi-Book, 170 (66-75)

U89 (T III D 260, 27) (see under U81) TT III, 192 (76-85), Pothi-Book, 170 (76-85),

U90 (T III D 259, 9) (see under U81) TT III, 192 (86-95), Pothi-Book, 170-71 (86-95)

U91 (T III D 259, 15 + T III D 260, 20) (see under U81) TT III, 192-94 (96-105), Pothi-Book, 171 (96-105)

U92 (T III D 260, 8) (see under U81) TT III, 194 (106-115), Pothi-Book, 171 (106-115)
U93 (T III D 260, 7) (see under U81) TT III, 194-96 (116-125), Pothi-Book, 172 (156-165)
U94 (T III D 260, 5) (see under U81) TT III, 196 (126-135), Pothi-Book, 172 (166-175)
U95 (T III D 260, 4) (see under U81) TT III, 194-96 (136-145), Pothi-Book, 172-73 (176-185)
U96 (T III D 260, 20b) (see under U81) TT III, 194-96 (146-150), TT IX 15 (46-48), Pothi-Book, 173 (186-195)
U97 (T III D 258, f) (see under U81) TT III, 198 (151-160), (see under U81) Pothi-Book, 173 (196-205)
U98 (T III D 260, 25 + T III D 260, 28) (see under U81) TT III, 200 (161-170), Pothi-Book, 173-74 (226-235)
U99 (T III D 259, 13) (U99-U103 = Tocharian B & Turk. bilingual Hymn to Mani) TT III, 200 (171-178), TT IX, 9-10 (1-10), Pothi-Book, 174 (236-245) {tr. HG 220}
U100 (T III D 260, 34 + T III D 259, 17) (see under U99) TT IX 10-11 (11-20), Pothi-Book, 174 (246-255)
U101 (T III D 260, 14 + T III D 260, 10) (see under U99) TT IX 12-13 (21-30), Pothi-Book, 174-75 (256-265)
U102 (T III D 259, 23 + T III D 259, 26) (see under U99) TT IX, 13-14 (31-40), Pothi-Book, 175 (266-275)
U103 (T III D 260, 19 + T III D 260, 30) (see under U99) TT IX, 14-15 (41-45), Pothi-Book, 175 (276-285), (V only) Erzähler, 25 (1-5) {tr. GSR 285}
U104 (T III D 260a) (confession text) TT IX, 15 (49-50 only = Pothi-Book 294-295), Pothi-Book, 176 (291-300)
U105 (M246) (story about demons) TT IX, 16 (61 = Pothi-Book 486) Pothi-Book 179 (486-495)
U106 (T III D 258a) (story about demons) TT IX, 16 (63-69), Pothi-Book, 178 (446-455)
U107 (T III D 260, 13) (story about demons) TT IX, 17 (70-79), Pothi-Book, 178 (456-465)
U108 (T III D 258b) (story about demons) TT IX, 17-18 (80-87), Pothi-Book, 179 (496-505)
U109 (T III D 259, 1) TT IX, 17-18 (88-97), Pothi-Book, 176 (291-300) {n.p.ph.}
U110 (T III D 260, 29) TT IX, 17-18 (98-101, 106-111, 102-105 & 112-117), Pothi-Book, 179-80 (506-517) {n.p.ph.}
U111 (T II D 180) (note on the introduction of Manichaeism in the Uighur Kingdom, v. frag.) TT II, 425 {tr. GSR 368}
U121 (T II D 16) (New Year's benediction) TMT §9, 28-31 {ph. VII}
U128a (TM 151) SLN Turk, Neue Frag., 258-60 {ph. 272-73}
U131 (T II D 66) TMT §9
U149b (T I D x 1) (conf. frag.) TMT §1(a) {ph. I & II}
U164a, b (T II K x 4) (benediction ?) TMT Nachträge, 71-72 {n.p.ph.}
U168 (T II D 173a) I: (hymn on the alienation of the soul) TM I, 7-10, Hymnen 12; II: (colophon to Šb. ?) TM I, 10-12 {ph. II; tr. *partim* GSR 346-47}
U169 (T II D 173b, I) from Šb. (?) TM I, 12-15 {n.p.ph.}.

U185 (T II D) hom. frag., TMT §19, 48-49 {ph. XXVI}

U189 (T II D 93b) (conf. frag.) TMT §5, 25 {ph. V}

U192 (T I D 30) (Aesop fables IV) Yösipas-Fragmente, 51 {ph. see under U319}

U193 (T I D 30) (Aesop fables II) Yösipas-Fragmente, 50 {ph. see under U319}

U194 (T I D 30) (Aesop fables III) Yösipas-Fragmente, 52 {ph. see under U319}

U195 (T I D 30) Yösipas-Fragmente, 50-51

U196 (T I D 25) + U197 (T I D 31) + U198 (T I H I x1) (hym.) TMT §13, 36-37{ph. XII, XIII}.

U197 (T I D 31) see under U196.

U198 (T I H I x1) see under U196

U216 (T I αx 4) (conf. frag.?) TMT §8, 27-28 {ph. VI}

U219a, b (T I D x 17) (serm. on Light Realm), TMT §18, 46-48 {ph. XXV}

U220a (T I αx 20) hom. frag., TMT §24, 55-56 {ph. XXXI}

U230 (T II D x 3) (hym.) TMT §14, 39 {ph. XVI}

U237 (T II K x 9) + U296 (hist.: conversion of King of Waručān) TMT §21, 50-51 {ph: XXVIII; tr. GSR 363}

U241a (T I α) serm. on Maitreya, TMT §15, 39-43 {ph. XVIII & XIX}

U241b (T I α) ditto

U241c (T II D) ditto

U245 (T II Y 59a) (conf.) TMT §2, 22 {ph. III}

U251a, b (T I D) (eulogy for the death of an Uighur prince) TMT §29, 63-65 {ph. XXXVIII}

U252 (T I α x 12) (hym.) TMT §14, 39, comm. ad 266 {ph. LV}

U255a (T II K) + U257 (T II K +T I) (hist.: Vrum Khan and Bar Khan) TMT §27, 60-62 {ph. XXXVI}

U257 (T II K +T I α) (see under U255a)

U258 (T II Toyuq) (pr. cosm.) Cosmogony, 405 (frag. XXI).

U262 (T I D 20) (pr. serm. on Light Realm), TMT §10, 31-33 {ph. IX; tr. GSR 339-340}

U266a, b (T I α x 32) (story fragments) TMT §16, 43-45 {ph. XXII}

U279 (pr. cosm.) Cosmogony, 409 (frag. XXXII).

U281 (T I Dx 3) + U41 (T I α 2) (SLN Turk.) TMT §17, 45-46, cf. Zieme, Neue Frag. 263-66 {ph. ibid. 275-76}

U296 (D) TMT §21 {tr. GSR 363}

U297 (T I D TM 161) serm. on the Maitreya, TMT §15, 39-43 {ph. XVIII & XIX}

U318 (Aesop fables VIII) Yösipas-Fragmente, 53-54 {ph. see under U319}

U319 (T I α) (Aesop fables I) Yösipas-Fragmente, 49-50 {ph. 59-61tr. GSR 312-13}

U1543 (T I D 51) (X^u. X (78-79 and 91-92)) cf. TMT §1X

U5281 (TM I07) (letter to a superior) TMT §30, 65-66 {ph. XL; tr. GSR 372}

U5464 (T I D 615) (joins with U5501 and Mainz 474) (conf. for the day of the Minor Fast) TMT §4 {ph. IV; tr. HG 251, GSR 306}

U5501 (T II 894) (joins with U5464 and Mainz 474) (see under U5464)

U5503 (T II 897) (letter to a superior) TMT §31, 66-68 {ph. XLIV; tr. GSR 372}

U5571 (T II D 93) (= X^u. Y) TMT §1, 20 (brief mention only) {ph. LIV}

U5928 (T IV x 505) TMT §33, 69-70 {ph. XLIX; tr. GSR 373}
U6069 (letter to a bishop and a mother superior) TMT §34, 70-71 {ph. LII; tr. GSR 373}
U6193 (cosm. frag.) TMT §12n.217, 35-36 {ph. XI}
U6198 (letter) TMT §30n.702, 66 {ph. XLIII}
Ch/U6318 (T II T 1412) (X^{u}. N. (308-311)) cf. TMT §1N
Ch/U6414 (T M 262) (X^{u}. W (172-178)) cf. TMT §1W {ph. I}
Ch/U6415 (T I x 509) (X^{u}. W (154-160)) cf. TMT §1W {ph. I}
Ch/U6618 (T II 1398) + T I D 3 (now lost) (benediction for the realm) TMT §23, 54-55 {ph. XXXI; tr. GSR 359}
Ch/U6814 (T II T 509) (SLN Turk.), TMT §12, Zieme, Neue Frag., 252-55 {ph. 268-69}
Ch/U6818 (hym. invocation to deities) TMT §11, 33 {ph. XI}.
Ch/U6854 (T II 122) (letter to a bishop) TMT §32, 68-69 {ph. tr. GSR 372-73}
Ch/U6874 (T II 1457) (benediction for the Imperial Family) TMT §20, 49-50 {ph. XXVII; tr. GSR 359}
Ch/U6890 V (T III T 338) (letter) TMT §35, 71 {ph. LII}

(b) Texts with non-U-numbers
So 18.207 (TM 281 + TM 286) (installation hymn ?) TM III, §35, 46 {n.p.ph.}
MIK III 426 (serm. on right and wrong conduct), TMT §6, 26
MIK III 6368 Miniaturen 57-58 {ph. (lithog.) 8a-b; tr. Art, 37-38}
M13 II (TM 166) (hymn to the Light God) TM III, §10, 28 {tr. HG 226-27, GSR 291}
M111 II TMT §26
M112 V, (memoir of Ked Ogul Koštir) Geng Shimin and H.-J. Klimkeit, 'Zerstörung manichäischer Klöster in Turfan', *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 18 (1985) 8-9 {ph. b/w 11}, Moriyasu, 147-60 {ph. coloured XXXIV}
M126 + M502m + M201 (cosm. frag.) TMT, 35-36, n. 217 (app. to §12) {ph. XI}
M132 II (poem of praise for sovereign) P. Zieme, 'Ein manichäisch-türkisches Gedicht', *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten* 1968, 45-49 {ph. 50-51; tr. HG 231, GSR 294}
M157 (TM 515) hom. frag., TM III, 10-11
M172 (= MIK III 196) II (X^{u}. G (269-302)), HR ii, 104-06, X^{u}āstvānīft 177-78 {ph. IMTT 77}
M201 see under M126
M364 (TM 154) (hist.: Mar Ammō and Bagard) TMT §28, 62-63 {ph. XXXVII}
M502 see under M126
M525 (TM 162) (benediction for the realm) TMT §22, 52-54 {ph. XXX; tr. GSR 358}
M541 (TM 167) cosm. frag., TMT, 35-36, n. 217 (app. to §12) {ph. XIV}
M748, serm., W. Bang and A. van Gabain, 'Ein uigurishces Fragment über den manichäischen Windgott', *Ungarischer Jahrbücher* 8 (1928) 248-55 {ph. 248-49}
M803a (conf. frag.) TMT §7, 26-27 {ph. VI}

M813, serm. (?) on the wandering of the soul, TMT §25, 56-58 {ph. XXXIII}

M919 (TM 417) (enthronement hymn) TM III, §15, 33-35, Herrschertitel, 150-57 {ph. ibid. 156-57 pl.; tr. GSR 356-57}

MIK III 35a-b (TM327) Köktürkisches 1052-54.

MIK III 189 (T III D 260, 2) TT III, 190 (56-65), Hymnen 41, Pothi-Book, 169-70 (56-65)

MIK III 198 (T II D 171) (R): (five signs of sanctity in an elect) TM I, 23-25, (V): (colophon to the Book of the Two Principles, TM I, 25-30 cf. Hymnen 24-25, 37 {ph. b/w III, colour Moriyasu XIX-XX; tr. GSR 347-48 (V only)}

MIK III 200 (T II D II 169) I: (hym.) TM II, 9-11, cf. Hymnen,2 & 4 {ph. II; tr. HG 223-24 & 229-30, GSR 290 & 293} II: = So 14411 (Sgd. with Pth. words, see above)

MIK III 201 (T II D 176) (life of the Buddha: the necrophiliac) TM I, 5-7 {ph. I; tr. *partim* GSR 314}

MIK III 210 (T II D 176) TM III, 15, Hymnen, 8 {tr. GSR 329}

MIK III 636 (SLN Turk.) TM III, 17-18 {tr. GSR 333-34}

MIK III 8260 (T III D 260, 1) TT III, 184 (1-5), Pothi-Book, 168 (1-5) {tr. HG 212-219, GSR 280-284 (Pothi Book, 168-74)}

Mainz 39 (T II Y 59) (X^u. ? or Buddh.) Chuastvanift, 27-28, X^uāstvānīft 232-33, cf. TMT §2 (note only, see also U245 = T II Y 59a) {tr. HG 252, GSR 307}

Mainz 104 (T II D 78b, I-II) (hymn-book: prayer for forgiveness) TM III, §9.ii, 24-25 {n.p.ph.; tr. HG 233 & 234, GSR 296 (II only)}

Mainz 126 (T II D 173c) I: (serm. on food and the body) TM III §6i-ii, 11-12; II: (serm. on sign of the right person) TM III, §6iii, 12-13, cf. Erzähler, 7-9 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 313}

Mainz 167 (T I D 20) (story fragment) Runenschrift, 144 {ph. 157}

Mainz 172 (see above Texts in Middle Iranian)

Mainz 175 (TM 337 x) (story fragment) Runenschrift, 143-44 {n.p.ph.}

Mainz 313 ((site unknown) D 170) (Aesop fables VII) Yösipas-Fragmente, 53 {n.p.ph.}

Mainz 317 (TM 423d) (from the Bk. of the Giants ?), TM III §8.viii, 23, cf. Erzähler, 13-17 {tr. GSR 334-35 with U43}

Mainz 344 (T I α x 9) TMT §1(b)

Mainz 349 (Aesop fables VI) Yösipas-Fragmente, 52 {ph. see under U319}

Mainz 350 (T II K x 2) (X^u. R (79-115)) cf. TMT §1R

Maniz 358 (T I D I) (colophon ?) TM III, §36, 46 {n.p.ph.}

Mainz 373 (T II Y 54) TMT §3

Mainz 374 (T II D 78g) (hymnbook, v. frag.) TM III, §9.vii,TM III, 27 {n.p.ph.}

Mainz 377 (T II T 20) (story fragment) Runenschrift, 144, Köktürkisches, 1050 {ph. Runenschrift 157}

Mainz 386 (TM 533) (homiletic fragment) Runenschrift, 140-47 {ph. 160-61}

Mainz 388 (TM326) (story fragment) Köktürkisches, 1058-59 {ph. XII}

Mainz 394 (T II D 78f) (hymnbook, v. frag.) TM III, §9.vi, 27 {n.p.ph.}

Mainz 400 (T 1 a) (story fragment) Runenschrift, 147 {ph. 162}
Mainz 402 (see under texts in Middle Iranian)
Mainz 403 (TM 335, 337) (story fragment) Runenschrift, 147-48 {ph. 163-64}
Mainz 474 (T I α) (joins with U5464 and U5501) (see under U5464)
TM 137 (now lost) (colophon ?, v. frag.) TM III, §37, 46 {n.p.ph.}
TM 152 and 152a (see under M748)
TM 153 (now lost) (colophon ?, v. frag.) TM III, §38, 46 {n.p.ph.}
TM 158 (see under M748)
TM 181a (see under M748)

(c) Texts with no U-numbers because their originals are now missing)
T I α (cosm.) TM I, 19-20 {tr. GSR 331}
T I D 3 (benediction) TM III, §29, 43
T I D 4 (penance?) TM III, §6a, 13
T II B 66 (Christian?) TM III, §40, 48-49
T II D 62 (installation hymn) TM III, §25, 40-41 { tr. GSR 329}
T II D 78c I-II (hymnbook: prayer for forgiveness) TM III, §9.iii, 25 {tr. HG 234 (I only), GSR 296 (ditto)}.
T II D 78e I-II (hymnbook: v. frag.) TM III, §9.v, 26 {n.p.ph.}
T II D 173b II (on alms), TM I §6i, 11-12 {; tr. GSR 340-41}
T II D 173b,2, TM III, 11-12 {tr. GSR 326-27}
T II D 173d (serm. on procreation) TM I, 15-17 {ph. II }
T II D 178b (serm.) TT II, 423-25
T II K 2a (serm. ? on Azrua), TM I, 21-22 {n.p.ph.}
T II Y 60a and 60b (X^u. K & L (145-200 and 202-50)) Chuastvanift, 15-20, cf. TMT §1L {tr. see under U8}
T III D 259, 18, TT IX, 15-16 (51-60), Pothi-Book, 177-78 (426-435)
T III D 260, 16, TT IX, 16 (62), Pothi-Book, 178 (436-445)
T III D 267, (cosm.), TM III, §26, 41
T III M 200 outdated signature for 32 small fragments, many of which are now lost. See Cosmogony, 395-99. See also above U258 and U279.
T III T V 49, (cosm.) TM III, §1.iv, 6-7, Hymnen 10
TM 137 (colophon) TM III, §38, 46
TM 176 (eulogy for the death of an Uighur prince) TM III, §23, 40 {tr. GSR 58}
TM 180 (serm. on false Maitreya) TM II, 5-6 {ph. I; tr. GSR 327-28}
TM 282 (hom. frag.) TM I, 17-18
TM 296 (installation hymn) TM III, §16, 35-36 {tr. HG 225-26, GSR 291}
TM 300 (SLN Turk) TM III §8.ii, 17-18 {ph. = MIK III 636}
TM 332, Köktürkisches, 1047
TM 419 (praise to Mani) TM II, 7-9 {ph. II; tr. HG 221-22, GSR 286}

b. Text in Britain (London)

Or. 8212/161 [Ch. 0033] (Book of Omens, Manich.?] Runic Script, 196-209 [ph. II, p. 2 & 4 only}
Or. 8212/178 [Ch. 0015] (X^u. A) Stein X^u.283-299 {ph. fold-out pl.}.
Kao.0107 (colophon with miniature) Runic Manuscript, 46-47 {ph. II-III}

c. Texts in France (Paris)

Pelliot Chinois 3049 (prayer + invocation of the 12 deitites) Manuscrits ouïgours, 38-43 {ph. 278; tr. HG 235-37, GSR 328, 332-33 and 371-72}

Pelliot Chinois 3072 (conf.) Manuscrits ouïgours, 63-64 {ph. 285, tr. GSR 307}

d. Texts in Russia (St. Petersburg)

? Inst. Vostokovedenija (X^u. B) W. Radloff, *Chuastuanit, das Bussgebet der Manichäer*, St. Petersburg: Buchdruckerei der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1909 (= lines 9-338) {ph. 144-60}.

e. Texts in China (Beijing)

(Ms.) 88 (calend.) *T'ou-lou-fan k'ao-kou chi*, pp. 95-97 and 101-103, J. Hamilton, 'Calendriers manichéens ouïgours de 988, 989 et 1003' in J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont et al. (edd.) *Mélanges offerts à Louis Bazin*, Varia Turcica 19 (Paris, 1992) 9-10.

Beijing Museum of History, serial no. Zong 8782 T (charter) Geng Shimin, 'Notes on an Ancient Uighur official decree issued to a Manichaean monastery', *Central Asiatic Journal*, 35/3-4 (1991) 211-14, cf. Moriyasu, 35-126 {ph. ibid. XXVII-XXXIII; tr. (from the text of Geng) GSR 353-56}.

Turfan Museum, inv. no. 80 TBI.5 24 (hist.) Geng Shimin and H.-J. Klimkeit, in Verbindung mit J. P. Laut, 'Manis Wettkampf mit dem Prinzen', *ZDMG* 137 (1987) 44-58, 49-51 {ph. I & II; tr. GSR 318-19}

Turfan Museum, inv. no. 80. TBI.5 25 (hist.) Geng Shimin and H.-J. Klimkeit, in Verbindung mit J. P. Laut, 'Die Geschichte der drei Prinzen. Weitere neue manichäisch-türkische Fragmente aus Turfan', *ZDMG* 139 (1989) 334-38 {ph. I-III; tr. GSR 315-17}.

e. Texts in Japan (Kyoto)

Ōt. Ry. 199 (SLN Turk.) Zieme, Neue Frag., 255-58 {ph. 274}

(8) Citations from Manichaean writings preserved in Arabic authors

al-Bīrūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Albêrûnî*, ed. E. Sachau, (Leipzig 1878) *passim* {tr. E. Sachau, *Al-Biruni's India. An Account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Geography, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India about A.D. 1030* (London, 1887) *passim*}

al-Nadim, *Kitāb al Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel (Leipzig, 1871) 326-338 {tr. B. Dodge, *The Fihrist of an-Nadim*, ii (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970) 773-807}

aš-Šahrastānī, *Book of religious and Philosophical Sects*, ed. W. Cureton (London, 1846) 188-92 {French tr. D. Gimaret and G. Monnot, *Shahrastani, Livre des religions et des sects*, i (Leuven, 1986) 655-662}

ABBREVIATIONS

Adam, *Texte*	A. Adam, *Texte zum Manichäismus*, Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen, CLXXV, 2nd edn. (Berlin, 1969)
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen* (Berlin)
APAW	Abhandlungen der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin, 1815-1907; philosoph.-hist. Kl., 1908-49)
Aspects	F. Decret, *Aspects du manichéisme dans l'Afrique romaine* (Paris, 1970).
Aug.	Aurelius Augustinus
BBB	W. B. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, APAW 1936, X.
BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'École Francaise d'xtrême-Orient*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*
BSO(A)S	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies*
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca (Turnhout, 1977 ff.)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout 1967 ff.)
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae (Washington, D.C. etc. 1967 ff.)
Chin.	Chinese
CJ	*Codex Justinianus*
CMC	*Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis*
coll.	*Lex Dei sive Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum collatio*
Copt.	Coptic
Copt./Gr.	Coptic word of Greek origin
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Paris, Louvain etc. 1903 ff.)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1866 ff.)
CT	*Codex Theodosianus*
Epiph.	Epiphanius Constantensis
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte (Leipzig 1897-1941; Berlin and Leipzig, 1953; Berlin 1954 ff.)
Gnosis, III	A. Böhlig and J. P. Asmussen (edd. and transs.), *Die Gnosis*, III, *Der Manichäismus* (Zürich and Munich, 1980)
Gr.	Greek
[Hegem]., *Arch.*	[Hegemonius], *Acta Archelai*
Hom.	*Manichäische Homilien*, ed. and trans. H.-J. Polotsky (Stuttgart, 1934)
HR ii	F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan* II, aus den Anhang zu den APAW, 1904, 1-117.

IMTT W. Sundermann (ed.), *Iranian Manichaean Turfan Texts in early publications (1904-1934)*, Photo Edition, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Suppl. Ser. III (London, 1996)

JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London)

JRS *Journal of Roman Studies*

JTS *Journal of Theological Studies* (Oxford)

Keph. *Kephalaia*, edd. and transs. H.-J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig (Stuttgart, 1940 ff.)

KPT W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Berliner Turfantexte IV (Berlin, 1973)

L'Afrique, i-ii F. Decret, *L'Afrique manichéenne, Étude historique et doctrinale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1978.)

Lat. Latin

Lieu, *Manichaeism*^{2} S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, 2nd edn. (Tübingen, 1992)

MIO *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* (Berlin)

MM i-iii F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan I*, SPAW X, 1932, pp. 175-222; II, ibid. 1933, VII, pp. 294-363 and III, ibid. 1934, XXVII, pp. 848-912

MMTKGI W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, Berliner Turfantexte XI (Berlin, 1981)

NH(M)S *Nag Hammadi (and Manichaean) Studies* (Leiden)

Pe. Middle Persian

PG *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeco-Latina*, edd. J. P. Migne *et al.*, 162 vols. (Paris, 1857-66)

PL *Patrologiae cursus completus*, series, Latina, edd. J. P. Migne *et al.*, 221 vols. (Paris 1844-64) and 5 Suppl. (1958-74)

PO *Patrologia Orientalis*, edd. R. Graffin and F. Nau (Paris, 1907 ff.)

Ps.-Bk. *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, I, Pt. 2, ed. and trans. C. R. C. Allberry (Stuttgart, 1938)

Pth. Parthian

PW A. Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa (Stuttgart 1893 ff.)

Reader M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Acta Iranica IX (Tehran-Liège, 1975)

Šb. *Šābuhragān*, ed. D. N. MacKenzie, "Mani's *Šābuhragān*", *BSOAS* 42/3 (1979) 500-34 and "Mani's *Šābuhragān* - II", *ibid.* 43/2 (1980) 288-310.

Sogd. Sogdian

SPAW *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1882-1921; phil-os.-hist. Kl., 1922-49)

SPPY *Ssu-pu pei-yao* 四部備要 (Shanghai, 1927-36)

SPTK	*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊 (Shanghai, 1935)
T	*Taishō shinshu daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (The Tripitaka in Chinese, Tokyo, 1924-29
TMC i-iii	A. von Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, I, *APAW*, 1911; II, ibid. 1919 and II, ibid. 1922.
Traité 1911	E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine," *Journal Asiatique*, 10e sér.,18 (1911) 499-617.
Traité 1913	E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine, deuxième partie, Fragment Pelliot et textes historiques", *Journal Asiatique*, 11e ser., 1 (1913) 99-199 and 261-392.
W.-L. i-ii	E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, APAW 1926, 4; "Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten", *SPAW* 1933, 13, pp. 480-607.
Word-List	M. Boyce, *A Word-List in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Acta Iranica 9a (Teheran-Liège, 1977).
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZRGG	*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*

CHAPTER 7

Manichaean Books: Literary Texts and Textual Community

> You do not lack anything from [the] mysteries of the wisdom of God. Much is [… the] wisdom that I have proclaimed to […], that which I have written [for] you in [my holy books?]. You do [not lack] anything from the wisdom. There is only this one thing: devote yourself to what is written.
>
> P.Kellis VI Copt. 54, ll.12–17

The above citation is taken from a letter fragment discovered in House 3, alongside the other documentary papyri of the Pamour family. It is clearly a very different type of letter than those of Pamour III, Pekysis, or even Makarios, however, and should probably be assigned to one of Mani's 'canonical' letters, deriving from a small collection of his *Epistles* of which a few codex leafs have been discovered in House 1–3. It demonstrates the importance of the written word, and not least of the books he produced, to Mani's sense of mission and self-conception. Yet, the importance of Manichean texts, even those of Mani, to his lay followers has been a matter of some controversy among scholars. The present chapter examines the remains of the *Epistles*, as well as other Manichaean literary texts from House 1–3, in order to illuminate this question and integrate them into the analysis of religious practice and identity at Kellis.

The investigation is conducted in two steps. First, we continue the discussion from Chapter 5 concerning the 'Manichaeanness' of lay identity at Kellis, now looking at what the literary papyri tell us. It was argued in that chapter that the documentary letters contain cues that indicate the authors' participation in a consciously Manichaean community. Yet it was also seen that, apart from some notable exceptions, most of these cues do not draw on specifically Manichaean myths or concepts, which has been taken to imply an absence of a distinctive 'Manichaeanness' among the laity. Scholars have taken the literary texts to point in the same direction. It has been proposed (although not argued *in extensio*) that the literary finds indicate that Manichaean ideas were of little interest to or even unknown to the people of House 1–3, supporting a depiction of the laity as adhering to a 'superior Christianity' rather than what is taken to be 'Manichaeism proper'. The current chapter examines these texts in order to consider the presence or absence of Manichaean ideas more closely.

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Second, and in extension of this, we examine the role texts played in the reproduction of identity among the laity. In and of itself, the presence of Manichaean ideas in these texts is not sufficient to establish that they were appropriated by the laity. Rather, we have to grasp how the literary texts functioned – what they *did* – in the network. How were religious texts used? And how did the interplay between texts and practices impact the shared religious identity discussed previously? The second part of this chapter employs the concept of *textual community* in order to shed light on these issues, and examines the textual practices in which the literary papyri were embedded, as attested to by both the documentary and the literary papyri themselves.

1 A Manichaean World

Literary texts were widely dispersed among the other papyri found at House 1–3.[1] Texts were found both in Greek and Coptic. In addition, bilingual lists with religious vocabulary have also been found, such as the Syriac-to-Coptic and Syriac-to-Greek translations of, or tools for translating, religious texts (T.Kellis II Syr./Copt. 1, 2; P.Kellis II Syr./Gr. 1). These are not treated here, but are important evidence for the translation of Manichaean texts from Syriac and directly into Coptic by non-Syriac speakers.[2] Not all the literary texts were religious – as the find of a codex with speeches by the Athenian rhetor Isocrates in House 2 shows, – but the vast majority were. They consisted of psalm collections, prayers, literary 'epistles', and other works. What do they tell us about the nature of the community that utilised them? Gardner posed this question in the first volume of literary papyri from House 1–3.[3] He noted the prevalence of devotional material, such as hymns and prayers, which – in conjunction with the documentary and archaeological remains – provided the basis for identifying the community as composed of Auditors. These Auditors were, in Gardner's view, characterised by little engagement with the more

1 The term 'literary' is certainly not unproblematic, and the distinction literary – documentary must be seen as fleeting. For the purpose of my analysis here, I exclude the astrological calendars, horoscopes, and magical invocations published in *P.Kellis I* (Gr. 82–90), although constituting important evidence for magical practices side-by-side (and perhaps integrated) with Manichaean ones, for which see Chapter 8, Section 3.4. For similar material (mostly) from other parts of Kellis, see de Jong and Worp, 'A Greek Horoscope'; de Jong and Worp, 'More Greek Horoscopes'; and Worp, 'Miscellaneous New Papyri'.

2 Franzmann, 'Syriac-Coptic Bilinguals'.

3 *P.Kellis II*, vi.

intricate teachings of Mani, and he proposed that the literary texts indicate that they primarily saw their religiosity as a higher form of Christianity:

> The amazing detail of Mani's teachings as regards the various worlds of gods and demons, although a feature emphasized by the heresiologists for polemical purposes, would seem in some senses to have been restricted knowledge into which the elect might only gradually draw the convert. The concerns of the mass of believers were necessarily more matter-of-fact, for whom Manichaeism would have been a kind of higher and more effective Christianity.[4]

He furthermore maintained that the discovery of fragments of codices containing Mani's *Epistles* supported the reconstruction of a group whose members were primarily oriented towards ethical and practical concerns, and Christian Gospel exegesis – they 'evidence little interest in (and perhaps knowledge of) the fantastic worlds described in a text such as the *Kephalaia*.'[5] In the introduction to *P.Kellis VI*, he again stressed that the texts evince 'a vibrant faith focused on praise and conversion'.[6] Assessment of the evidence along these lines were also put forward elsewhere. In their important collection of Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire in translation, Gardner and Lieu asserted that:

> For the lay faithful in the Roman Empire it was a kind of superior Christianity, and the metaphysical details that attract the attention of scholars (and the higher echelons of the elect) had little profile.... The textual material derived from Kellis (modern Ismant el-Kharab) evidences how carefully the hierarchy attempted to draw adherents further into the church and the knowledge of truth.[7]

The view that the laity at Kellis were in some sense shielded from 'proper' Manichaean teachings, and that 'pure' Manichaean doctrines were only imparted to lay people through gradual (individual?) initiation, or reserved for the Elect, has been accepted by many scholars.[8]

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4 Ibid., ix–x.

5 Ibid., x.

6 *P.Kellis VI*, 6.

7 Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 9.

8 See e.g. Nongbri, *Before Religion*, 72; Pettipiece, 'Rhetorica Manichaica'; and Gábor Kósa, 'The Protagonist-Catalogues of the Apocryphal *Acts of Apostles* in the Coptic Manichaica – A Re-Assessment of the Evidence', in *From Illahun to Djeme. Papers Presented in Honour of Ulrich Luft*, ed. Eszter Bechtold, András Gulyás, and Andrea Hasznos (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011), 113.

One problem with this depiction is that there has, as of yet, not been any attempts to define exactly what is meant by such 'metaphysical details'. Presumably, they include the diverse lists of emanations, detailed mythological drama, and intricate workings of demonic and divine forces in human bodies, found in the *Kephalaia* literature. But Manichaean metaphysics entailed much more central ideas that also depart drastically from mainstream (and, in some cases, non-mainstream) currents of Christian thought. They include:

– The central conflict between two primeval principles.
– The existence of a world soul divided and dispersed in all living beings, and its imprisonment through transmigration.
– The ability of conditioned human bodies to liberate souls (both their own and others').
– Liberated souls' ascent through the natural world, through the workings of divine forces such as the sun and the moon.
– Mani's role as the founder of a new 'Church' through which salvation is achieved.

It is not clear from previous scholarly literature whether (or which of) these ideas are to be considered among the 'metaphysical details' of the Elect, or the 'superior Christianity' of the laity.

Rather than seeing these ideas as part of a superior Christianity, we shall here propose to conceptualise them as key 'Manichaean notions', a set of ideas that together constituted a specifically 'Manichaean world'. Individually, most of them (bar the last) can be found in other religious or philosophical traditions, including other Christian frameworks of worship. Where all are present, however, they shaped a distinctively Manichaean world-view: one that made Manichaean rituals 'work' in the cosmos, constituting the logic that underpinned Elect practice. If they were indeed disseminated among the laity, those adherents who chose to appropriate them could use them as justifications (or *rationales*) for the Manichaean institutions in which they were asked to participate, a point to which we return towards the end of this chapter.[9] While we should be careful not to privilege ideas over practice, as anthropologists and scholars of religion have long recognised, and while it is true that we cannot know whether 'belief' was present in the minds of specific individuals at Kellis, shared ideas cannot be neglected completely when considering religious identity.[10]

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9 For the concept of justifications, see Berger and Luckmann, *Social Construction*, 110–22; for rationales as employed in the context of Manichaeism, see BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body*, 22–23.

10 For the traditional criticism of 'belief', see e.g. McGuire, *Lived Religion*, 39–44. For recent trends, which have seen a resurgence of interest in the topic, see Bosco B. Bae, 'Believing

We start by treating the various types of literary texts found in House 1–3, presenting their content and evaluating their engagement with Manichaean ideas. We survey the contents of the psalms, the prayers, and the *Epistles*, examining the way they present the notions of 'dualism', divine emanations, the imprisoned world soul, the ascent of individual souls, and the role of Mani and his Church.[11]

2 Manichaean Literature

2.1 *The Psalms*

The main body of religious texts retrieved from House 1–3 were psalms and prayers. Psalms formed an important component of Manichaean ritual practice and literary works, often sung at church gatherings and festivals. Mani himself composed *Psalms* and *Prayers* for the community, which were counted among his canonical books – usually together, as a single work,[12] although they could be separated: in one passage from a Medinet Madi psalm, Mani's works are likened to different remedies, the two last being: '[…] that is hot, the two *Psalms*, the weeping […] there is a cure also that is cool, his *Prayers* and all his lessons'.[13] This passage, moreover, indicates that Mani wrote two Psalms. Their contents have long been unknown,[14] but recent work has provided new insight. A body of psalms from Turfan, reconstructed from multiple manuscripts and languages, does in fact include two psalms ascribed to Mani, called *The Praise of the Small Ones* and *The Praise of the Great Ones*.[15] That these are Mani's own *Psalms* may be supported by the identification of a prayer that accompanied them with the so-called 'daily-prayer', also attributable to him (see below).

For the most part, the psalms found at Kellis were not authored by Mani.[16] They belong to the later body of literary productions found in the *Psalm-book* from Medinet Madi: several Kellis psalms can be identified with counterparts

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Selves and Cognitive Dissonance: Connecting Individual and Society via "Belief"', in *Religions* 2016 *7* no. 7.

11 The division between psalms and prayers here is for organisational purposes; the boundaries between these categories may have been fluid.

12 Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 153.

13 2 Ps. 47.3–4, trans. Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 164.

14 Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 163–64.

15 Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst and Enrico Morano, eds., *Mani's Psalms. Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian Texts in the Turfan Collection* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

16 Exceptions may be P.Kellis I Gr. 91 and 92, where echoes of Mani's *The Praise of the Great Ones* are in evidence, as noted by Mattias Brand in his forthcoming study of Manichaean songs, which he has kindly shared. See Mattias Brand, 'Making Manicheism Real: Group

in this codex. With its 672 pages, the *Psalm-book* is the largest known ancient papyrus codex, although it was split into two parts (1 Ps and 2 Ps) in modern times.[17] It contained a large body of psalms, numbering at least 362, subdivided into different psalm groups composed by different authors and for different occasions; compiled, edited, and translated into Coptic from Syriac and/or Greek.[18] It included psalm groups intended for specific ritual gatherings, such as Sunday Psalms.[19]

Turning to the Kellis texts, about 23 texts in Coptic and two in Greek have been identified as psalms; about half of these are contained in the remains of two codices, T.Kellis II Copt. 2 and P.Kellis II Copt. 2. Many are very fragmented, and the six or so psalms in T.Kellis II Copt. 2 are all abbreviated (giving only the first lines of each stanza), so the number whose contents can be made out is lower. Still, Gardner identified six of the psalms from the Kellis corpus with psalms known from the Medinet Madi *Psalm-book*.[20] A further identification was later made by Gregor Wurst.[21] The Kellis psalms are local products, copied up by adherents in Kellis for their own liturgical needs, unlike the edited compendium of the Medinet Madi codex. For the psalms in T.Kellis II Copt. 2, a folio-board from a wooden codex, only the first words of each strophe were written out, suggesting that they were used as memory-aides for singers who already knew the texts.[22] While text A2 is paralleled by Medinet Madi Psalm 68, Gardner noted an impression 'that the Kellis text is a more fluid and oral rendition', which 'reinforces the sense of the overall structure of T. Kell.

Formation through Song', in *Resonant Faith in Late Antiquity*, ed. Arkadiy Avdokhin (London: Routledge, forthcoming).

17 Only the second has been translated and published. A facsimile edition of 1 Ps was published by Søren Giversen in 1988. For more recent work, see Richter, 'Arbeiten'.

18 Of these, 289 were enumerated, in turn edited together with several other collections. For its editorial history, see Allberry, *Psalm-Book*, xix; Wurst, *Die Bêma-Psalmen*, 1–4; Richter, *Die Herakleides-Psalmen*, 1–7.

19 Gregor Wurst, 'Die Bedeutung der manichäischen Sonntagsfeier (Manichäischen Psalmenbuch I, 127)'. In *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit*, ed. Stephen Emmel, Martin Krause, Siegfried G. Richter, and Sofia Schaten (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1999).

20 T.Kellis II Copt. 2 A2 (Psalm 68), 4a (Psalm 222), 4b (Psalm 108), 6 (Psalm 261), P.Kellis II Copt. 1A (Psalm 246), and 2 C1 (1 Ps 277–78). Of these, Psalms 222, 246, and 261 are found in 2 Ps, published by Allberry, while Gardner included transcriptions and translations from Giversen's facsimile-edition of 1 Ps in his extensive apparatus for Psalms 68, 108, and the unsorted and unnumbered leafs 277–278. See *P.Kellis II*, 18–24, 33, 42, 55, 64–72.

21 Wurst showed that P.Kellis II Copt. 2C2 parallels Psalm 126, also from 1 Ps., as noted in *P.Kellis VI*, 173.

22 Gardner notes that similar texts are known from Central Asian material. *P.Kellis II*, 9 n.57.

Copt. 2 as a subsidiary document; and derived from an "authorised" version'.[23] Not all of them were, perhaps, intended for singing. For P.Kellis II Copt. 1, a codex leaf with two psalms, Gardner described its production as coarse, notes that the pieces 'are best termed a "scrap-book" of Manichaean Psalms', and comments:

> I suggest that it is the product of local catechumens, probably family members living in House 3, who undertook to copy out psalms as part of their spiritual praxis. Such are the evident errors that it can hardly be regarded as a professional production; and it is also doubtful whether it was actually used for liturgy.[24]

He further proposed that the Kellis texts pertained to a second stage of redactional work, after an initial stage of translation from Greek and Syriac (likely in Middle Egypt), but predating 'at least the latter parts of the process that gave the Medinet Madi codex its distinctive form.'[25] Yet the Kellis texts, too, were probably drawn from an authoritative collection, as indicated for T.Kellis II Copt. 2 (above), even if the logic behind their selection is unclear.

Much remains to be done with regards to the relationship between Ismant el-Kharab and Medinet Madi. For present purposes, the Kellis texts are close enough to the Medinet Madi versions for the latter (when preserved) to be used to examine the contents of the former, although potential changes during transmission should be kept in mind. In total, about ten psalms from Kellis are wholly preserved, preserved in large parts, and/or identifiable with Medinet Madi texts.[26] They form the basis of the analysis below.

2.1.1 Manichaean Notions in the Kellis Psalms

Many of the psalms are addressed to the soul, or take the perspective of the soul. The psalms in T.Kellis II Copt. 2 shift between addressing the soul (esp. A2, A3, A4) and taking the soul's or the singers' perspective, addressing divinities. Christ plays a prominent role and recurs frequently. Paul, too, occurs in A2, and is cited in the text (1 Cor. 3.19). But Manichaean notions also abound, and can be found in all the texts of which more substantial parts are preserved.

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23 Ibid., 24.

24 Ibid., 59.

25 Ibid., xv.

26 T.Kellis II Copt. 2A2, 4a, 6, 7; P.Kellis II Copt. 1A, 1B, 2B, 2C1; P.Kellis II Gr. 92; P.Kellis VI Gr. 97B.I.

Regarding the fundamental duality of the two principles, it is not expressed explicitly in the preserved psalms. It is, however, taken for granted, and both forces are depicted. In particular, a wide array of Light divinities occur, associated with the Land of Light and presided over by the hidden Father of the Lights with his Aeons.[27] P.Kellis II Gr. 92 even contains a hymn to 'the foundation of the Lights', the 'hidden', and 'self-constituting' Father, i.e. to the chief god of the Manichaean pantheon himself. Although of course the ultimate source of all divinity and goodness, he is a distant figure, and, one might assume, unlikely to attract everyday worship, so the appearance of a hymn to him is of some note. While demonic Matter and her sons do occur (e.g. T.Kellis II Copt. 1A), they receive less attention.

The primeval war between them, and the establishment of the world, is presented in some detail. Several texts refer to the descent of the Light into Darkness as part of a stratagem to defeat it.[28] Divinities engaged with this struggle occur in a wide variety of psalms.[29] P.Kellis VI Gr. 97B.I is of particular note. The psalm as preserved here is dedicated to a female personification of the descending cosmic Soul, and features (other) striking details: the name of the obscure 'Beloved of the Lights' is preserved, as is parts of a list of the five 'Sons of the Living Spirit' who guard the cosmos, each with his 'canonical' virtue,[30] and the rare mytheme of the emergence of a boundary to separate Light from Darkness after the battle: 'a wall for the aeons of light established itself' (ll.4–5r).

While 'cosmic' mythemes are in evidence, the psalms more often treat the Light in its imprisoned state. Several refer to the kinship between individual souls, the suffering world soul, and the gods: either through direct claims of kinship, or through depictions of the five Light Elements that constitute the world soul, and identifying their tribulations with that of the individual soul.[31] The Medinet Madi Psalm 246, parts of which are preserved in P.Kellis II Copt. 1A, gives an evocative depiction of the world soul's suffering, how it has been divided and spread out in the material world:

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27 P.Kellis II Copt. 1A and 1B; P.Kellis II Gr. 92; P.Kellis VI Gr. 97B.I.

28 P.Kellis II Copt. 1A and 1B; P.Kellis II Gr. 97B.I.

29 Such as the Mother of Life (P.Kellis II Copt. 1B, P.Kellis II Gr. 92), the First Man (P.Kellis II Copt. 1A, 2C1), the Beloved of the Lights (P.Kellis VI Gr. 97B.I), and the five 'Sons of the Living Spirit' (the 'Porters') (T.Kellis II Copt. 7; P.Kellis VI Gr. 97B.I).

30 They were, in order of importance: the Keeper of Splendour, the King of Honour, the Adamas of Light, the King of Glory, and the Omophoros (Atlas). Unfortunately, only the name of the King of Honour and two 'virtues' are preserved ('great thought', associated with the King of Honour, and 'great insight', with the Adamas).

31 For claims of kinship, see P.Kellis II Copt. 1A, 2C1; for references to the Elements, see T.Kellis II Copt. 7; P.Kellis II Copt. 1A, 1B, P.Kellis VI Gr. 97B.I.

> Matter and her sons divided me … I am in everything, I bear the skies, I am the foundation, I support the earths, I am the Light that shines forth, that gives joy to souls. I am the life of the world: I am the milk that is in all trees: I am the sweet water that is beneath the sons of Matter
>
> 2 Ps. 54.17–30, abridged

Even the 'canonical' sequence of Elements (i.e. air, wind, light, water, and fire), is preserved in P.Kellis II Copt. 1B. The nefarious demonic forces and their activities in human bodies are also in evidence.[32] The Medinet Madi Psalm partly preserved in T.Kellis II Copt. 2A2, Psalm 68, dwells particularly on this topic:

> A depth of darkness is this body that you (m.sg.) wear […] all the righteous, they have suffered, [they have …] been oppressed in it. The creature of darkness is this house of passion […] these masses of flesh, these beasts that […] It is a many-faced demon, a seven-[headed] dragon. It is many likenesses, many wickednesses, a place […] The work of perdition is the garment of [darkness that we wear …] they bound with (?) […]'
>
> 1 Ps. 97.13–22, trans. GARDNER

In the Medinet Madi version, the last fragmented line of this stanza alludes to the demonic creation of the body, while the one that follows alludes to its associated sins (1 Ps. 97.23–25). P.Kellis II Copt. 2B even features an example of an irredeemably evil creature: scorpions.[33]

The most common theme, however, is that of the release and ascent of the soul. Here, too, the psalms evince extensive familiarity with distinctly Manichaean details tied to this process. These include divine entities that the soul receives upon its release from bondage, such as the Diadem of Light or 'crown', and the soul's vision of its own 'image' or 'form'.[34] There are several references to the role of the Sun and the Moon: 'Ships of Light' or 'Towers' to which souls ascend.[35] The workings of the 'sphere' that played a part in releasing Light particles from the earth, and their ascent through the atmosphere,

32 T.Kellis II Copt. 2A2, 7; P.Kellis II Copt. 1A, 2C1.

33 The scorpion was apparently a favourite example of a creature of pure evil among the Manichaeans; cp. *De mor.* 2.8.11. Perhaps the famous parable of the scorpion and the turtle influenced this choice.

34 T.Kellis II Copt. 2A4, 2C1; P.Kellis II Copt. 1A.

35 For 'Ships of Light', see T.Kellis II Copt. 6, P.Kellis II Copt. 1A; for 'Towers', see T.Kellis II Copt. 7.

are found.[36] It is captured in a striking image in P.Kellis II Copt. 1A1, describing how the cosmos releases Light: 'the Sphere turns quickly, while the lights purify [the life]' (ll.6–8).[37] The Perfect Man, the end-time 'statue' in which individual souls merge for transport to the Land of Light, occurs in T.Kellis II Copt. 7.

Finally, the psalms evince knowledge of central aspects of the church community. Mani is mentioned, both by name and in his capacity as Paraclete. His *Gospel*, from 'alpha [to omega]', is praised in T.Kellis II Copt. 7 (l.42).[38] He himself was probably the addressee of, and his torture and death are alluded to in preserved parts of, some of the abbreviated psalms.[39] The Church is several times referred to as 'the Church of the Paraclete'.[40] The Paraclete is its founder, the one who 'planted has the Tree of Knowledge' in the Holy Church as it is expressed in Psalm 261 (2 Ps 75.30), partly preserved in T.Kellis II Copt. 6. The same psalm refers to the Elect as 'Elect of God', and describes them as 'ministers of God who are in the Church' (2 Ps 75.28–29). A Bema-Psalm, Psalm 222, is partly preserved in T.Kellis II Copt. 4a; it evinces knowledge of both the festival itself and the associated practice of confession, as well as the (to us) more obscure 'greeting of the right hand' and its mythical backdrop.[41]

2.2 *The Prayers*

Six texts from Kellis have been labelled 'prayers' by their editors. Of these, one is in Coptic and five are in Greek.[42] Three of the Greek texts are rather short or incomplete.[43] In the following, we focus on three more substantial texts; P.Kellis II Copt. 2A5, P.Kellis VI Gr. 98, and P.Kellis II Gr. 91, each considered separately. P.Kellis VI Gr. 98 is of particular interest, as this prayer can be identified as a work of Mani himself, the so-called 'daily prayer', as we shall see below.

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36 The atmosphere, T.Kellis II Copt. 2C1; for the sphere, T.Kellis II Copt. 4a; P.Kellis II Copt. 1A.

37 Allberry's reconstruction of the Medinet Madi Psalm 246 on this point (2 Ps. 55.7–8) must thus be amended.

38 See also T.Kellis II Copt. 4a.

39 For Mani as addressee, see perhaps T.Kellis II Copt. 2B2; for his death, T.Kellis II Copt. 2A1 (and perhaps 2A4).

40 T.Kellis II Copt. 2A2, 4a, 6.

41 T.Kellis II Copt. 2A3, P.Kellis VI Gr. 97B.I.

42 Coptic: T.Kellis II Copt. 2A4; Greek: P.Kellis I Gr. 88; P.Kellis II Gr. 91, 93(?), 94; P.Kellis VI Gr. 98.

43 P.Kellis II Gr. 93 is very fragmented, P.Kellis I Gr. 88 is a short invocation on a wooden board, and P.Kellis II Gr. 94 is again a short text on a board, praising the Great Father of Lights (Gonis and Römer, 'Ein Lobgesang').

2.2.1 A Prayer for the Soul's Ascent: T.Kellis II Copt. 2 A5

First, another remarkable prayer is found in text A5 from the wooden codex T.Kellis II Copt. 2 (which also contained six or more abbreviated psalms, see above). The prayer is written from the point of view of a deceased soul, which invokes a series of Manichaean divinities before and during its ascent to the Land of Light. It starts with an appeal to the Third Ambassador, then Jesus the Splendour (ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ ⲡⲡ̅ⲣ̅ⲉⲓⲉ), then two divinities, the Light Mind and the Virgin of Light. Mani, Spirit of Truth (ⲡⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲡⲛ̅ϫⲁⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲓϫⲁⲓⲟⲥ), is praised for having bestowed his knowledge upon the speaker, strengthened the soul in his faith, and completed it by his commandments. These divinities are all linked to the descent of Light into the world for the salvation of human beings, and are listed by order of emanation in the 'canonical' scheme known from other Manichaean sources.[44] Next appears the soul's counterpart (ⲡⲥⲁⲱϥ) with three angels, and present it with gifts that symbolise victory over death. The soul starts to ascend, meeting the Judge, being washed in the Pillar, and becoming perfected in the Perfect Man – i.e. restored as fleshless and sinless and joined to other ascending souls. The judge is the so-called 'Judge in the Air' known from other Manichaean sources, indicating that the soul's journey takes place in the physical world .[45] It rises to the 'ship of living water' (ⲡϫⲁⲉⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲙⲁⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ), i.e. the moon, where the First Man blesses it, and then to the sun (ⲡϫⲁⲉⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ) where the Third Ambassador is located. From there it is ferried to the Land of Light, where the 'first righteous one' and the Beloved of the Lights are. Finally, in a passage that may look ahead to the end-times, the Father of the Lights reveals his image.[46]

Gardner notes that the terms echo those found in the Berlin *Kephalaia*, and that the depiction of redemption is consonant with that found elsewhere – indeed, it 'remained remarkably constant across the Manichaean world'.[47] Certainly, the prayer is an elegant presentation of Manichaean soteriology. The psalms contained in the same codex similarly deal with the ascent of the soul (see A4, in particular), perhaps suggesting that the prayer was chosen to accompany a cycle of worship especially concerned with this theme. Gardner suggests that it was used 'to reinforce the faith in the face of death'.[48]

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44 Jesus Splendour was an emanation of the Ambassador, the Light Mind (and the Virgin) of Jesus Splendour, and Mani (in his spiritual union with the Paraclete) of the Light Mind. See below.

45 E.g. keph. 28, where the Judge in the Air 'separates the righteous from the sinners' (1 Ke. 80.32). See also Lindt, *Mythological Figures*, 192–93.

46 As Gardner points out, it is probably a poetical anticipation of this event, see *P.Kellis II*, 26.

47 Ibid., 25.

48 Ibid.

But the prayer's usage needs further comment. It has recently been argued that the text was used as part of an Elect initiatory ritual.[49] Certainly, it could be that the speaker is an Elect: the perfection and release achieved by the soul is often seen as reserved for them. If so, we should perhaps see this piece (and the entire codex?) as an Elect preserve, not used by the laity. On the other hand, Auditors were exhorted to emulate Elect behaviour, and would eventually reach the same destination. Although Auditors in general needed to be reincarnated as Elect before achieving salvation, chapter 91 of the Berlin *Kephalaia* even explains how perfectly behaved Auditors can still be released 'in one body', i.e. without needing to reincarnate (1 Ke. 228.20–229.20). It is at any rate unlikely that knowledge of this salvation, to which everyone should aspire, would have been kept hidden from them. There is no barrier to the prayer being recited by an Auditor – or a group of Auditors in unison, in keeping with the probable liturgical function of the codex.

2.2.2 The Daily Prayer: P.Kellis VI Gr. 98 or 'The Prayer of the Emanations'

A wooden board found in the rear courtyard of House 3 contained a well-preserved text entitled 'Prayer of the emanations' (Εὐχὴ τῶν προβολῶν), published as P.Kellis VI Gr. 98. Gardner remarks that 'in production, format and handwriting, this piece is generally superior to contemporary papyrus prayers'.[50] It is among the most significant finds of Manichaean literature from Kellis: a Greek translation of a work that can be ascribed to Mani. Even so, the text largely lacks specialised Manichaean (or Christian) terminology. Its Manichaean provenance was therefore questioned by Alexander Khosroyev, who argued that it should rather be seen as a pre-Christian gnostic text.[51] However, a Manichaean background was maintained by Gardner, supported by Fernando Bermejo-Rubio.[52]

Shortly after having published this text in *P.Kellis VI*, Gardner discovered that it could be identified with a prayer appended to the end of the *Praise of the Small Ones*, part of a psalm cycle from Turfan being edited by Desmond

49 So, for instance, see Julia Iwersen, 'A Manichaean Ritual of Ascent? A Discussion of T. Kell. Copt. 2 A 5', in *Zur lichten Heimat: Studien zu Manichäismus, Iranistik und Zentralasienkunde im Gedenken an Werner Sundermann.*, ed. Team Turfanforschung (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017).

50 *P.Kellis VI*, 111.

51 Alexander Khosroyev, 'Zu einem manichäischen (?) Gebet', in *Il Manicheismo. Nuove prospettive della ricera*, ed. Alois van Tongerloo and Luigi Cirillo (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

52 *P.Kellis VI*, 112–15; Fernando Bermejo-Rubio, 'Further Remarks on the Manichaean Nature of Ευχη των προβολων (*P. Kell. Gr.* 98)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 168 (2009).

Durkin-Meisterernst and Enrico Morano.[53] Furthermore, it could also be identified with a prayer described by al-Nadim, who attributed it to Mani himself.[54] This prayer was to be prayed daily – four times a day by Auditors and seven by the Elect, according to al-Nadim – and is therefore known as the Daily prayer. Adherents washed themselves, turned towards the sun during the day and the moon at night, and prostrated themselves while praying. Al-Nadim described it as consisting of twelve (sub-)prayers and prostrations, and gives the text of the six first of these. For the Roman era, the prayer was previously known from remarks by Augustine, and an allusion to it has since also been found in the *Kephalaia* (1 Ke. 376.22–29).[55] The complete text, however, is only found at Kellis. Admittedly, it only contains ten of the twelve verses mentioned by al-Nadim. As Gardner points out, this is likely to be explained by the fact while verse three to twelve are directed at various divinities, the two first verses given by al-Nadim are made in Mani's honour, and so not originally part of the prayer. The Kellis text preserves only the ten verses written by Mani. Each starts with the phrase 'I worship and glorify' (προσκυνῶ καὶ δοξάζω), praising in turn a list of divinities. These are:

1. The Father of Lights, who has perfected the 'foundation' (σύστασιν) of the aeons (ll.7–8), and is 'the basis (σύστημα) of every grace and life and truth' (ll.13–14).
2. The collective of all gods (θεούς), angels, splendours, enlighteners, powers, all of whom 'subsist in holiness, and by his light are nourished, being purified of all darkness and malignance' (ll.19–22).
3. The shining angels, who suppressed 'the darkness (τὸ σκότος) and its arrogant powers that were desiring to make war with the one who is first of all' (ll.26–29). They ordered the world and bound in it the 'foundation (σύστασιν) of contempt' (ll.32–33).
4. 'The shining mind, king, Christ' (ll.34–35), who came from the aeons and interpreted the mysteries, separating truth from lie, light from darkness, good from evil, righteous from the wicked, on behalf of all races and in all languages.
5. The Living God, who 'raised up all things, what is ordered above and below' (ll.57–59).

53 Now published. See Durkin-Meisterernst and Morano, *Mani's Psalms*, xvii.

54 Iain Gardner, 'Manichaean Ritual Practice'; '"With a Pure Heart and a Truthful Tongue": The Recovery of the Text of the Manichaean Daily Prayers', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 4, no. 1 (2011).

55 Gardner, '"With a Pure Heart"', 85–86.

6. The light givers, 'both the sun and the moon and the virtuous powers in them, which by wisdom conquer the antagonists and illuminate the entire order, and of all oversee and judge the world, and conduct the victorious among the souls into the great aeon of light' (ll.60–69).
7. The five great lights (τὰ μεγάλα πέντε φῶτα), 'through which by participation power and beauty and soul and life are found in all' (ll.73–75).
8. The gods who 'uphold the creation (δημιούργημα)' (ll.80–81).
9. The shining angels who rule the universe, subdue demons, and protect righteousness.
10. All the righteous (δικαίους) – those who have existed, exist, and will exist – 'in order that all the ones whom I have worshipped and glorified and named may help me and bless me with favour, and release me from every fetter and all compulsion and torment and reincarnation (μετενσωματώσεων) and grant me access into the great aeon of light' (ll.103–113).

This summary suffices to show that the prayer contains a compressed presentation of the whole Manichaean mythical scheme most relevant to the individual: from the mixing of Light and Darkness until the soul's ascension to the 'great aeon of light'. Admittedly, the emphasis is on the positive, divine powers that regulate the earth and liberate its souls, while the powers of darkness receive little attention. It might, then, be taken to downplay the characteristic Manichaean dualism. But as Bermejo-Rubio has pointed out, the text does posit an opposition between two radically different 'foundations' (both termed *systasis*), each with associated 'powers'.[56] To be sure, it depicts an 'asymmetrical dualism', in which the Light is regarded as superior and in some sense prior, but this is common for Manichaean texts.[57] Light divinities are described as 'gods' and as emanations from the Father. The Light (in the world) needs to be purified and separated from the Darkness, and so the divinities construct the world out of Darkness, keep evil in check, and descend to save souls. A long passage on 'the shining mind, king, Christ' may allude to, or perhaps prefigure, the notion of the saviour-divinity's gradual descent to the world through multiple emanations.[58] The sun and moon are both themselves divine, and

56 Bermejo-Rubio, 'Further Remarks', 223–24.

57 Ibid. See also Concetta G. Scibona, 'How Monotheistic is Mani's Dualism? Once More on Monotheism and Dualism in Manichaean Gnosis', *Numen* 48, no. 4 (2001): 455–56.

58 *P.Kellis VI*, 126. We may already here have a prefiguration of the division of soteriological emanations into separate stages found in the Berlin *Kephalaia*: in P.Kellis VI Gr. 98, the Mind, King, Christ, has come 1) from the outer aeons, 2) first to the created reality above, 3) then to the created reality below, 4) then to all races in every language. Keph. 7 (1 Ke. 34.13–36.26) lists, in addition to the hidden Father of Greatness, the soteriological emanations as: the Third Ambassador, 'model of the King of Lights' > Jesus the Splendour,

house divinities responsible for 'wisdom' and 'judgement' (alluding to Jesus the Splendour and the Third Ambassador), to whom souls ascend before entering the 'great aeon'. Soul and life persist in the world through five great lights, i.e. the trapped Light Elements.[59] In addition to praising the gods, adherents glorify the Elect, who are instrumental in releasing their souls from 'all compulsion and torment and reincarnation'.

Certainly, many divinities known from the Medinet Madi traditions are not specifically named, or occur in variant forms.[60] It is likely that the terminology was still being shaped when the prayer was written – presumably by Mani himself – as argued by Gardner. While I disagree with the assertion that the religion rapidly turned into 'something that was other than that which Mani professed',[61] the notion that technical vocabulary and systematised teachings developed gradually is well-founded.

The practice associated with the prayer seems to have undergone some changes as well. This is indicated by the absence of the verses dedicated to Mani, and the instruction at the end of the Kellis text, which reads: 'blessed is he who prays this prayer frequently, at least three times a day' (ll.124–126).[62] The number of three daily prayers is indicated by a Parthian Turfan fragments as well, and so al-Nadim's claim that the prayer was said four times a day (by the Auditors) likely reflects a later development.[63] But even if there were changes in terminology and practice, the key notions of belief were already present in the prayer.

'through whom shall be given life eternal' > the Light Mind, 'father of all the apostles' > the Apostle of Light, who 'shall on occasion come and assume the church of the flesh'. This is consonant with the stages in P.Kellis VI Gr. 98 (omitting the Father of Greatness): 1) the Ambassador located in the sun, i.e. the gate to the 'outer aeons'; 2) Jesus Splendour in the moon, in the heavenly 'created reality above'; 3) the Light Mind active in the earthly 'created reality below'; through 4) its manifestation in Apostles of Light, sent to different peoples.

59 Alexander Khosroyev ('Zu einem manichäischen (?) Gebet') argued for identifying these as the five planets, but cf. *P.Kellis VI*, 113–14; and see Bermejo-Rubio, 'Further Remarks'; Gardner, '"With a Pure Heart"'.

60 E.g. 'the Living God' for 'the Living Spirit' (ibid., 126); 'shining mind, king, Christ' for the Light Mind (and other soteriological divinities, see n.58, above); 'five lights' for the 'five Light Elements'; and 'gods' and 'shining angels' for the divinities entrusted with holding and guarding the world, instead of titles such as 'Sons of the Living Spirit'.

61 Gardner, '"With a Pure Heart"', 98–99.

62 Initially, Gardner somewhat hesitantly translated this line as 'at least every third day' (*P.Kellis VI*, 127–28), but this translation is now obsolete. See Gardner, '"With a Pure Heart"', 97.

63 Four is also found in the Uighur communal confession, the *Xuastvanift*. Gardner, '"With a Pure Heart"', 97.

2.2.3 A Prayer to the Light Mind? P.Kellis II Gr. 91

Finally, we may note a short but complete bipartite prayer contained in a papyrus bifolium, published as P.Kellis II Gr. 91.[64] The first part (ll.1–18) addresses one or several divinities by a series of titles: 'the firstborn word', 'the father of the intellectual man', 'the mother of life', 'the first apostleship', 'the splendour of the enlighteners', 'our holy spirit', 'the salt of the church' and 'the pilot of goodness'. The second part appeals to be made 'worthy' to be 'your (sg.) faithful' on behalf of 'us', described with another series of epithets ('those who are perfected in you', 'those who are sober in you', etc.). Several of the titles fit the Light Mind: in particular 'the father of the intellectual man' and 'our holy spirit', as Gardner and Worp point out,[65] but also 'the First Apostleship' (e.g. 1 Ke. 35.21–24) and 'the pilot' (e.g. 2 Ps. 161.5–6). The activities of the Light Mind in the bodies of the Elect during the ritual meal could explain the expression 'salt of the church' as well. The piece, then, might be a prayer devoted to this divinity, whose importance is evident also in the documentary letters. The 'Mother of Life', however, is directly identifiable with a different Manichaean divinity. Gardner and Worp suggest that the piece may simply be a piece of popular devotion.[66] An alternative interpretation that might be broached, however, is that the writer is using juxtapositions ('firstborn' and 'father', 'father' and 'mother') to allude to the idea that different divinities in the end are one and the same, i.e. the active, divine Light.

2.3 *Mani's Epistles*

Like his followers in fourth-century Kellis, Mani was an avid letter writer. His letters became (in)famous in late antiquity, not least because they were collected and promoted as a part of the canonical writings of his Church.[67] In one chapter of the Berlin *Kephalaia*, Mani's works are likened to gifts to the community from various divinities. The *Living Gospel* was from the Third Ambassador, the *Treasury* from the Pillar of Glory, the *Treatise*, *Mysteries*, and *Giants* all from the Light Twin. Finally, 'all the *Epistles* that I have written for you from time to time: they are my gifts and my presents'.[68] This work, then,

64 The editors here, Iain Gardner and Klaas A. Worp, report that Ludwig Koenen has suggested a metrical pattern in the text, potentially implying that this may in fact be a psalm. *P.Kellis II*, 132 n.417.

65 Ibid., 136.

66 Ibid.

67 For some recent works, see Werner Sundermann, 'A Manichaean Collection of Letters and a List of Mani's Letters in Middle Persian', in *New Light on Manichaeism*, ed. Jason D. BeDuhn (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Gardner, 'Some Comments on Mani's *Epistles*'.

68 1 Ke. 355.15–17, trans. Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 154.

was intimately associated with Mani himself: less divinely inspired than his other writings, perhaps, and more closely aligned with his work as a preacher and community organiser. Indeed, its content seems to have chiefly related to communal discipline.[69] A copy was still in circulation in the tenth century, as al-Nadim could still list the names of the individual epistles, along with those by other early church leaders, totalling 76 in all.[70]

A large codex of *Epistles* was found at Medinet Madi, but was subsequently lost. Only a few, mostly unpublished leafs from this codex are in scholarly hands today.[71] The discovery of fragments stemming from this work at Kellis is therefore of great significance. Pieces of two codices identified as containing letters of a literary nature ('epistles') were published as P.Kellis VI Copt. 53 and 54 in the second volume of Kellis literary texts.[72] These were found in House 3, in rooms which also contained documentary letters (Room 6 and 3), but both style and content indicate that they should be assigned to literary works by Mani, in all likelihood his *Epistles*. Their contents are centred on pastoral matters, such as internal conflicts and discipline, concerns that probably characterise this work more generally.[73]

Gardner further argues that the *Epistles* evince Mani's authentic Christian voice, in turn suggesting that he primarily saw himself as the 'Apostle of Jesus Christ' and not the Apostle par excellence found in the developed Manichaean Church:

> The obvious hypothesis is that the positioning of Mani at the centre and as the fount of the religion is a matter that gradually developed, certainly after his death … It is only in the scholastic tradition of the *Kephalaia* and so forth that Mani becomes 'the apostle' in the sense of final or definite revealer in a series, where Jesus becomes only an earlier one.[74]

The use of the *Epistles*, rather than more 'advanced' Manichaean literature, could be taken to indicate that the community at Kellis saw Mani as a Christian leader whose teachings were primarily ethical and practical, and had limited

69 A gloss contained in the third article of the Chinese *Compendium* gives one of its eponyms as 'the sacred book of discipline'. Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 156.

70 Translated in Reeves, *Prolegomena*, 115–20.

71 Together with other preserved material relating to the *Epistles*, these are being edited by Iain Gardner and Wolf-P. Funk. See Gardner, 'Some Comments on Mani's *Epistles*', 177 n. 15.

72 *P.Kellis VI*, 14–15.

73 Gardner, 'Some Comments on Mani's *Epistles*', 177.

74 *P.Kellis VI*, 78; and see Gardner, 'Mani's Religious Development'.

interest in his cosmology and institutionalised Church. However, as we shall see below, the way these letters frame both their ethical and practical concerns, Mani's own role, and the community as a whole, complicates this picture.

2.3.1 Discipline and the Soul: P.Kellis VI Copt. 53

Most of the fragments identified as part of Mani's *Epistles* belong to a single codex, labelled P.Kellis VI Copt. 53. The codex is not large enough to contain all the letters attributed to Mani; it likely held a selection from the larger corpus.[75] Eleven leaves from mostly discontinuous parts of the codex have been assigned to it, with material belonging to at least three different letters. Based on the content, Gardner provisionally titled two of these letters the 'Sickness letter' and the 'Enemy letter', respectively, while noting that the Sickness letter has some affinities with a writing known from elsewhere as *The Epistle of the Ten Words*.[76]

The best-preserved leaves are those assigned to the Sickness letter (leaves 12, 1, 6, 31–34, and 51/52, in Gardner's reconstruction). The author, whose name is lost, styles himself 'apostle of Jesus Chrestos'. He addresses a man whose name is also lost and the brethren who are with him (P.Kellis VI Copt. 53,12.1–6). He invokes 'the Father, the God of Truth' and asserts that he has sealed his interlocutors in himself (12.13–14), giving emphasis to his authority. These features make an identification with Mani all but certain. In the first preserved bulk of the letter-body (leaves 31–34) he describes a dire sickness he is suffering from, which has been exacerbated by a letter sent by the addressee. In the mostly illegible mid-section of leaf 31, the words 'congregation of the holy ones' (31.12) and 'envy and quarrelling' (31.16) can be read: conflict within the congregation appears to be the topic. In the next leaf, it becomes clear that the addressee, in a previous letter, has complained about an adherent who has uttered (evil) words against another member of the community (32.1–5). Mani now responds, saying that by wounding one person, the offender has unwittingly wounded 'the entire righteousness and godliness' (32.8). The addressee should speak gently with the offender to lead him away from such sin. The next two leaves (33–34) are more fragmented, but continue the topic of problems within the church, as a passage reads: 'For there are people of this kind in church, who are not strong; rather they look for excuses and empty words' (33.23–25). In the last page assigned to this letter, leaf 51, Mani seeks to encourage the (now plural) addressees by stressing the need for living up to their ideals. The passage contains a strong formulation of his own role within the community:

75 *P.Kellis II*, 13. See also Gardner, 'Once More on Mani's *Epistles*', 294–95.

76 For the details of the reconstruction of these letters, see *P.Kellis VII*, 11–27.

> Remember your first faith that you had in your youth: How I laboured in the congregations of the sects (ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲩϩⲉ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲁ) when there was yet no catechumens and no church. You have become people made better by blessed poverty. Now, since you have been bringing forth catechumens and churches – you proclaimed and they listened to you – you are obliged the more now to perfect the blessings of this poverty, by which you will gain the victory over the sects and the world. It is profitable for you to perfect it and be vigilant in it; because poverty is your glory, the crown of your victory.
>
> P.Kellis VI Copt. 53,51.1–17

The author, then, is clearly Mani, while the addressees must be leading Elect ('bringing forth catechumens and churches') who have turned to him for a ruling on a breach of discipline among themselves. In answer, Mani invokes his role as founder: at the time he began his mission there were no catechumens or church, and he had to toil among the 'sects'. These Elect should cherish their good fortune, as Mani has prepared the way for their victory. He here makes a powerful statement concerning his own authority, often repeated by later ecclesiastical sources: Mani had not relied on a pre-existing community, but made his own 'good election' in opposition to the 'sects' (e.g. 1 Ke. 16.3), creating a superior Church where true practice of blessed poverty could proliferate (e.g. 1 Ke. 13.30–14.7).[77]

A similar passage on troubles within the community comes from another letter in the same codex, the Enemy letter. Here Mani relates how some people have come to him slandering the addressee, apparently a senior member, in order to make Mani remove him:

> [...] who are in the church [...] who came to the [... they (?)] sent and [...] to me [...] you, they wishing to defile [you ...] This should never happen. They are thinking: "If we are able to report all these words before our teacher (ⲡⲙ̄ⲥⲁϩ) he may turn him away and divest him (ⲛⲉ̄ⲕⲁⲑⲉⲣⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄) of his ministry (ⲧⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲙ̄ⲫⲓⲧ), and he defiles his heart". However, I, this is what I have done: The people who proclaimed these words before me, wishing to defile you; I have gone to them with strong words according to their worth.
>
> P.Kellis VI Copt. 53,61.7–20

77 See also Samuel N. C. Lieu, '"My Church Is Superior ..."': Mani's Missionary Statement in Coptic and Middle Persian', in *Coptica, Gnostica, Manichaica: Mélanges offerts à Wolf-Peter Funk*, ed. Louis Painchaud and Paul-Hubert Poirer (Quebec: Laval University Press, 2006).

Mani sees through them, and instead it is the accusers who are rebuked. This passage shows that the community Mani is speaking of, as hinted at above, already had its own institutions, with officials organised in a hierarchy. 'Teacher' (ⲥⲁϩ), the title applied indirectly to Mani, is clearly not solely a master of students: it is an office with the power to divest (καθαιρέω, 'put down', 'depose') another of his ministry (ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓⲧ).[78] Another leaf, probably belonging to a third letter, concerns the errors of a certain presbyter. It gives a similar impression, and reads:

> And any presbyter whom you (*sg.*) […] on one or two occasions, and he does not […] and he does not take from you my teaching: Write to me and tell me who or where he is, so that I myself will know him; this person who is inferior in this manner, who hates his benefit. For understand that there is no more severe sin for this presbyter, before me, than this one: That he does not receive this teaching that I have proclaimed for him. Now, when someone will [not] receive […] you are obliged to send [me (a message) and …] him so that I will know.
>
> P.Kellis VI Copt. 53,81.2–15

Mani demands that the presbyter's wrongdoings be reported to him.[79] As in the passages from the Sickness letter and the Enemy letter, breeches of discipline and conflicts between Elect are to be handled within the structure of the community. The principle of mutual observation of Elect by Auditors has recently been stressed by BeDuhn, as a control mechanism that increased pressure on the Elect to act in accordance with the discipline.[80] This letter strengthens the impression that mutual observation played a central role. Mani, as a superior, was to be informed and take action against trouble-makers. A system of observation and report was to regulate behaviour among adherents. Considering that the addressee is an Elect, and likely a senior member, such supervision was not considered as limited to Elect-Auditor relationships, but was to pervade the entire Church. As we shall see in Chapter 9, peer scrutiny between Elect was a central tool in the Manichaean institutional repertoire also in practice.

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78 Perhaps the title of teacher being ascribed to Mani by himself here explains why the archegos, the head of the Church and Mani's 'heir', on Augustine's testimony in *De haer.* (46.16) was considered first among the other teachers, and not a (completely) separate office.

79 It is interesting to see this passage in connection with an unfortunately very fragmented chapter from the Berlin *Kephalaia*; keph. 166. As in the letter from Kellis, a rogue presbyter and the sending of messages are central features of this kephalaion (1 Ke. 411.15, 412.1–3).

80 BeDuhn, 'Domestic Setting', 264–65.

The above suggests that disciplinary concerns were of primary interest in the letters. Nonetheless, there are points at which cosmological notions intrude. In the Enemy letter, Mani alludes to the body's 'bondage', telling his followers:

> The word that our lord proclaimed with his mouth has been fulfilled with me … All these things I have endured from my children and my disciples; they whom I saved from the bondage of the world and the bondage of the body. I took them from the death of the world. I, all these things I have borne and endured from time to time, from many people.
>
> P.Kellis VI Copt. 53,41.15–20

He continues by exhorting the Elect addressees to prepare for 'long-suffering', and be like an athlete, a 'good priest', and a farmer who tends a vineyard, and takes its fruits to his master (42.22–25). This latter metaphor may well allude to the role of the Elect in refining Light and sending it to the Father: especially as the discussion on the next leaf also concerns 'our exalted soul' (ⲧⲛ̄ⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧϫⲁⲥⲉ), which Satan has lied about, and which is the light of the Father 'which enlightens the world' (43.16–17), i.e. the trapped Light Soul. Mani exhorts: 'Again, pay heed to your (*pl.*) exalted soul, that is, the life of the universe which is spread out in every place; for how many are the wounds, how great the terrors endured by (?) humanity' (43.19–24).[81] This is an explicit reference to the world soul, in which the addressees also take part, and which can be wounded by sin. Again, in the Sickness letter, one offender, by an act of transgression, had sinned against 'the entire righteousness and godliness' (32.8): a cosmic wrong caused by an unwitting human agent. Here we find Mani making connections between macrocosmic forces and individual ethics, similar to the (admittedly more abstract) mythological-ethical reasoning concerning divinities and virtues from the 'scholastic' traditions, in e.g. keph. 38 and P.Kellis VI Gr. 97.

2.3.2 Communal Love: P.Kellis VI Copt. 54

A leaf assigned to a different codex, P.Kellis VI Copt. 54, also contains a text that can be attributed to Mani, although its classification as one of his *Epistles* is less clear.[82] The first legible part concerns an unknown logion by a 'saviour' on love and redemption. Again, Mani asserts his own position: 'I, I [give] strength to my [limbs (?); these] whom I gather in' (ll.7–8). This echoes the Berlin

81 See also P.Kellis VI Gr. 98 (ll.73–75), and the discussion above.

82 See *P.Kellis VI*, 85, 91. Gardner has more recently suggested that it might be plausibly identified with the 'Letter of the Seal', where Mani sealed the community in his love. Gardner, 'Once More on Mani's *Epistles*', 310–14.

Kephalaia, where Mani is often made to refer to his adherents as 'limbs',[83] and furthermore stresses that it is by his authority that adherents are 'gathered in', i.e. redeemed. Next, Mani stresses the completeness of the revelations that he has offered, through the citation that opened this chapter:

> You do not lack anything from [the] mysteries of the wisdom of God. Much is [... the] wisdom that I have proclaimed to [...], that which I have written [for] you in [my holy books?]. You do [not lack] anything from the wisdom. There is only this one thing: devote yourself to what is written. (ll.12–17)

He then prays that they the recipients possess love for each other and avoid 'divisions, disharmony, quarrels or reproaches' (ll.20–21). He exhorts them to practice 'love and gentleness' (ll.23–24). Towards the end of the leaf, he comes with an injunction concerning love between the different grades of the community, which in Gardner's translation reads:

> you will love one [another]: the [teachers] will love the teachers (ⲛ̄ⲥⲁϩ), the wise ones (ⲛ̄ⲥ[ⲁⲃⲉ]ⲟⲩⲉ) love the wise ones, the bishops (ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ) love the bishops, the disciples (ⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ) love the disciples, the brothers love the brothers, also the sisters love the sisters; and you will all become children of [a] single undivided body (ⲥⲱⲙⲁ). Now, [this is] the way that you should behave, my loved ones, so that you will all possess this one love [and one (?) ...]; because this love is the seal [of] all your deeds. For these bodies [belong to] you for a little while. Therefore, man [cannot remain] without the seal [of] the love [of his] brotherhood and that of his redeemer. (ll.49–63)

Mani here proclaims that the disposition of love is to govern internal relationships between members of the community, in order to create a 'single undivided body'. As in the cases of errant Elect above, the focus is on unity and harmony within church ranks.[84] The title of 'teacher' heads the list, demonstrating that it had already received prominence within the Church, as is also shown by its application to Mani in the Enemy letter above. The other titles are not in accordance with later lists, however. The office of 'bishop' is listed third, replacing the office of 'presbyter' – although this office is found in the

83 As adduced in Chapter 5, Section 5, n.87.

84 A similar emphasis of intra-communal 'love' is also found in 1 Ke. (e.g. keph. 63, 'Concerning love').

above-cited P.Kellis VI Copt. 53. It may suggest that the precise order and terms were not as fixed at the time of the writing of these letters as they became at a later stage.[85] The relationship between, and/or translation of, these terms may have undergone development. Nevertheless, the importance of a hierarchical structure at an early date is clear.

From the above examination, it emerges that while the *Epistle* fragments from Kellis certainly focus on matters of ethical conduct and discipline, they frame these issues within the boundaries of an institutionalised, socio-religious body. The originator and final authority of this body is Mani, and it seems to me that his role as the final 'apostle', whose revelations legitimised a new movement, are already present here. It is seen in his claim to have founded a completely new Church in the Sickness letter, his self-presentation as having 'saved' the addressees and fulfilled the words of Jesus in the Enemy letter, and especially the emphasis on his own revelations as providing the complete truth in P.Kellis VI Copt. 54. Citations from his other writings, such as the *Living Gospel* and *Šabuhragan*, point in this direction as well.[86] Not least, the practical matters he attends to are anchored in his cosmological system. Mani's *Epistles* may primarily have dealt with ethical and disciplinary issues – although letters known from others sources are known to have featured detailed myth – but the ethics expounded there were not easily separated from cosmological notions.[87]

2.4 *A Proto-Kephalaion?*

We have already seen that the notions discussed at the beginning of this chapter are present in the Kellis literary papyri. Close engagement even with more esoteric, cosmological details is evinced by a wooden board discovered in House 3, T.Kellis II Copt. 1, which may moreover suggest a didactical purpose. The board contains a Coptic text listing the five properties (ⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁ) of the divinity known as the Third Ambassador, who 'exists corresponding to five properties of the Father' (l.3). He is described as 1) exalted, 2) king, 3) a light dispersed over aeons, 4) hidden, and 5) in possession of Twelve Virgins.[88] For each, except in

85 See *P.Kellis VI*, 92 n.31.

86 Reeves, *Prolegomena*, 97, 102–3.

87 That other letters concerned themselves with 'myth' is evident. Mani's *Fundamental Epistle*, read to Augustine as an Auditor and attacked by him early in his episcopacy, 'in which almost the whole of what you believe is contained' (*c. ep. Man.* 5, trans. Teske, *The Manichaean Debate*, 236), was centrally concerned with the war between Light and Darkness, and described the aspects of the respective realms in detail.

88 The Twelve Virgins were a set of divinities that manifested the effects of the disciplinary regime on the Elect body, according to texts found at Turfan. Whether this concept was fully systematised in the western tradition is unclear. BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body*, 226. See also 1 Ke. 97.7–19.

the case of the third, it is emphasised that the Third Ambassador's properties are modelled on those of the (highest) 'Father' with his Aeons, i.e. the Father of Lights, God of Truth. The third property, that of being 'dispersed' in all the Light, explicitly reflects the notion of higher and lower emanations ultimately being the same deity.

The catechetical style of listing, and the division of processes and divinities into categories of five, are important characteristics of the Berlin *Kephalaia*. On the other hand, it lacks the literary frame that attributes the information to 'the Enlightener' or 'the Apostle', also characteristic of that work.[89] Pettipiece has seen the prevalence of lists of five as part of a process of systematisation which he calls 'pentadisation' conducted within the scholastic tradition of the Church.[90] Whether the board represents an urtext of kephalaic material, later incorporated in such a systematisation, or was itself derived from an authoritative collection such as the Berlin *Kephalaia*, is not known. Gardner, followed by Pettipiece, appears to prefer the former solution.[91] However, the process by which such urtexts were created and canonised, if they did not already derive from authoritative attempts at systematisation, seems to me to require more attention if this hypothesis is to be accepted. At any rate, this text clearly shows that 'scholastic' modes of discourse were current in Kellis. But who was if for? The board would appear to have been a teaching or mnemonic instrument, given its rough production and schematic list of aspects without a literary framing. Gardner describes it as 'a "flip card", utilised for the easy learning of the complex details of Manichaean doctrine', and goes on to write:

> The personal letters from Kellis evidence that the lay faithful regarded Manichaeism as a kind of superior Christianity; and the specifically Manichaean divinities such as the Third Ambassador rarely intrude. It would seem that in their evangelical mission the elect presented the faith as that of the true church, and as the fulfilment of Jesus' teaching. Catechumens would then be slowly drawn into the community and gradually introduced to the higher knowledge of Mani's revelations. This process is also apparent from Augustine's writings.... It also suggests the presence of elect at Kellis.[92]

89 See *P.Kellis II*, 4–7.

90 Timothy Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction in the Manichaean Kephalaia* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

91 *P.Kellis II*, 4; Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 12.

92 *P.Kellis II*, 4.

The distinction between presenting the faith as the 'true church' of Jesus and slowly drawing believers into the higher mysteries is not clear to me – the Elect would presumably have seen no distinction, just a gradually more complete and more satisfying account of the faith made manifest by Jesus, explained and revealed by Mani. The Third Ambassador figured, as we saw, in the prayer in T.Kellis II Copt. 2A5. He was not a secret divinity reserved for the few, even if he was not often invoked, and his specific attributes were probably primarily known to those who made further studies. The presence of this board raises intriguing questions regarding the interaction between Elect and laity in House 1–3. It was found in the same room and deposit level as material written by Auditors.[93] It may have been used by an Elect lecturing or instructing Auditors on the role of the Third Ambassador, and then for some reason been left behind. But it could also be that the board was copied by an Auditor, perhaps from a text provided by an Elect. At any rate, the mundane context in which it was found must be taken to indicate that this board was intended for use among the laity.[94] It shows that the appropriation of 'esoteric' knowledge was not restricted to the circles of Elect, but was explained to and even memorised by some lay believers.

3 Textual Practices

The above examination shows that all the key notions of the Manichaean world were present in the literary texts found at Kellis. It furthermore suggests that texts played a vital role for the laity there. But in what way? And how did they impact shared identity? In order to elucidate these questions, we may draw on Brian Stock's concept of *textual community*.[95] This concept was developed in

93 Room 11 (dep. 4), containing letters by Pekysis to 'father' Horos 1 (P.Kellis VII Copt. 78–79); P.Kellis I Gr. 81 by Sabinos to Elias dealing with a landlord; and P.Kellis VII Copt. 93, by Timotheos to Talou, concerning freight.

94 Another find of a similar character is the unfortunately very fragmented text in P.Kellis II Copt. 8, from House 2, which may also contain kephalaic material. It features an exposé on day and night, and the heights (and the depths), corresponding to similar teachings of Mani. *P.Kellis II*, 96–97.

95 For this notion applied to ancient Christianity, see Robin Lane Fox, 'Literacy and Power in Early Christianity', in *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, ed. Alan K. Bowman and Greg Woolf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Lieu, *Christian Identity*, 28–36; Bremmer, 'Social and Religious Capital'; David Brakke, 'Scriptural Practices in Early Christianity', in *Invention, Rewriting, Usurpation: Discursive Fights over Religious Traditions in Antiquity*, ed. Jürg Ulrich, Anders-Christian Jacobsen, and David Brakke (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2012). For a critical discussion, see Jane Heath, '"Textual Communities": Brian

order to grasp the relationship between text and social formation, designating 'a community whose life, thought, sense of identity and relations with outsiders are organised around an authoritative text'.[96] It emphasises that only one or a few members need to have a literate education in order for texts to play a central role in producing a shared identity, the others being socialised into the community through participation in practices structured by texts. It alerts us to the need for examining the specific ways that texts were embedded in practice. The concept was originally applied to the interplay between 'heretical' groups and their usage of Biblical texts in the Medieval era. For social formations in antiquity, it has been operationalised in a variety of ways.[97] Here we note its application to Christian communities in late antique Egypt by David Brakke. He has sought to make it explicit by focusing on the *institutions* that shape the usage of religious texts, which he terms 'scriptural practices'.[98] Provisionally, he identified three scriptural practices in the Christian Church: study and contemplation, continued inspiration, and communal worship. In the following, we look at the first and last of these categories in relation to the Kellis material.

3.1 *Individual Practices: Studying and Copying*

Let us start by identifying those instances where texts are mentioned in the documentary evidence. There are in fact ample references to 'books' (ϫⲱⲙϩ). Many of them are from the Maria/Makarios circle, but far from all.[99] Certainly, it is not always made explicit that religious texts are meant. But in the case of all three letters where book titles are mentioned, religious texts are meant: Makarios names a substantial number of such texts in P.Kellis V Copt. 19, including *Psalms*, *The Epistles,* and *The Judgement of Peter*, while both P.Kellis V Copt. 33 (ll.3–4) and P.Kellis VII Copt. 120 (ll.2–7) mention 'the *Gospel*', and the latter also 'the *Acts*' (see Table 6, below). None of the texts state that the works are of specifically Manichaean provenance. The *Gospel, Acts, Epistles*, *Psalms*, and so forth could, perhaps, be mainstream Christian texts. This seems most likely in the case of the *Apostolos*, a common term used to designate Paul's letters.[100] Still, in the case of psalms, prayers, and *Epistles*, we have, as seen above, many examples of specifically Manichaean texts found *in situ*. It seems

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Stocks Concept and Recent Scholarship on Antiquity', in *Scriptural Interpretation at the Interface between Education and Religion*, ed. Florian Wilk (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

96 Heath, '"Textual Communities"', 5.

97 Ibid., 14–29.

98 David Brakke, 'Scriptural Practices', 268.

99 For Maria/Makarios, P.Kellis V Copt. 19–21, 24, 26; for others, P.Kellis V Copt. 33–35, P.Kellis VII Copt. 111, 120, P.Kellis I Gr. 67.

100 *P.Kellis VII*, 294; and see Brand, 'Manichaeans of Kellis', 298–99.

TABLE 6 Religious books in the documentary papyri

Title	Text	Coptic spelling	Circle
Epistles, large/ small	P.Kellis V Copt. 19 (ll.82–83)	ⲡⲛⲁϩ ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗ[ⲓⲟⲛ] … ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲓ	Maria/Makarios
Judgement of Peter	P.Kellis V Copt. 19 (l.15)	ⲧ̄ⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ	Maria/Makarios
	P.Kellis V Copt. 19 (l.84)	ⲧⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ	
Greek Psalms	P.Kellis V Copt. 19 (l.16)	ⲛ̄ⲯⲁ[ⲗ]ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ[ⲟⲩⲓⲁⲛ]ⲓⲛ	Maria/Makarios
Apostolos[a]	P.Kellis V Copt. 19 (ll.15–16)	[ⲡⲁⲡ]ⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ	Maria/Makarios
Great Prayers	P.Kellis V Copt. 19 (l.16)	ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲗⲏⲗ	Maria/Makarios
Prayer-Book	P.Kellis V Copt. 19 (l.84)	ⲡⲉⲩⲭⲱⲛ	Maria/Makarios
Sayings	P.Kellis V Copt. 19 (l.17)	ⲛ̄ⲣⲙⲙⲁ	Maria/Makarios
Prostrations	P.Kellis V Copt. 19 (l.17)	ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲓⲥⲓⲥ	Maria/Makarios
Gospel	P.Kellis V Copt. 33 (l.4)	[ⲡⲉⲩⲁ]ⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ	(Theognostos?)
	P.Kellis VII Copt. 120 (ll.5–6)	ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ	Pamour/Pekysis
Acts	P.Kellis VII Copt. 120 (ll.3–4)	ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲁ̀ⲍⲉⲓⲥ	Pamour/Pekysis

a The title 'Apostolos' also occurs in P.Kellis VII Copt. 127, a letter written in Sahidic from Area D. The editors there suggest that it refers to a collection of Paul's epistles. *P.Kellis VII*, 294.

reasonable to suggest that the *Gospel* that circulated in the lay network at Kellis similarly was Mani's *Living Gospel*, which is indeed mentioned in the psalm of T.Kellis II Copt. 7. It contained material pertaining to Mani's life as well as descriptions of distinctive Manichaean mythological and doctrinal themes.[101] While it may well have been a comparatively rare book, it does not in any way seem to have been kept secret or restricted.

Turning to the practices associated with these texts, it is perhaps no surprise that reading is among them. Two letters mention 'reading' of books, both explicitly religious: in an unfortunately fragmented passage from P.Kellis V Copt. 33, the unknown author (perhaps Theognostos) writes: '[Write to (?)] us, whether the little one has completed the gospel ([ⲡⲉⲩⲁ]ⲅ̀ⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ). Again,

101 Wurst, 'L'état de la recherche', 249; Funk, 'Mani's Account'.

if [...] then do [...] cover [...] quickly; in that he [...] read the *epaggeliai* ([...]ϣϣ ⲛⲉⲡⲁⲣⲅⲉⲗⲓⲁ) [...]' (ll.3–8). In an important passage, to which we return several times below, Makarios admonishes Matthaios to read a range of texts:

> Study [your] psalms, whether Greek or Coptic <every> day (?) [...] Do not abandon your vow. Here, the *Judgment of Peter* is with you. [Do the] *Apostolos*; or else master the *Great Prayers* and the Greek *Psalms.* Here too, the *Sayings* are with you: study them! Here are the *Prostrations*. Write a little from time to time, more and more. Write a daily example, for I need you to write books here.
>
> P.Kellis v Copt. 19, ll.13–19

Matthaios is not merely to read, but specifically 'practice' or 'study' (ⲙⲉⲗⲉⲧⲉ) his texts. The role of study and contemplation has already been explored for Manichaeism by Jason D. BeDuhn, who used evidence from Kellis to argue for the centrality of books to Manichaean identity. He emphasises that texts played a central role in shaping individual identities among literate Manichaeans, their importance for the 'private, individualized spiritual development, for the permanent access of the individual to religious instruction even in the absence of religious authorities and professionals.'[102] In addition to study, Makarios admonishes Matthaios to 'write a daily example' in P.Kellis v Copt. 19. This attests to another practice: the copying of texts by local adherents. There are many mentions of writing or copying in the letters.[103] For most of these, too, a religious context is clear. In the above-quoted passage from P.Kellis v Copt. 33, the author wrote that the *Gospel* had been finished by a 'little one'. In P.Kellis vii Copt. 120, addressed to Pamour (iii), the author writes: 'About this book that Lamon has: Let the *Acts* be copied. But the *Gospel*: Let them bring it to me from father Pabo' (ll.3–7). Pamour is to have the *Acts* copied, either by himself or by someone else. That members of the Pamour family themselves were involved in copying literature is attested to by two letters to Psais iii, P.Kellis v Copt. 35 and P.Kellis vii Copt. 111. They concern the copying of 'tetrads', and Psais iii actively participates in copying texts himself. In the former letter, Ouales writes:

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102 BeDuhn, 'Domestic Setting', 269.

103 P.Kellis v Copt. 19, 24, 33, 35; P.Kellis vii Copt. 111, 120; and perhaps P.Kellis i Gr. 67 (see below).

> I beg you, my lord brother: if you can write these tetrads for me, which I sent to you, I will cause what is written to be brought to you too; so that you can know where they have reached. Look out (?) whether he has not been negligent writing them. Quickly, you send them to me by a blessed one; for they say: "We want someone else to write the other ones". Now, do not neglect to send them quickly. By no means! I did it for the great texts; (but it is) because they say that the papyrus has run out. Still, writing is what is useful; and if you do write them, I for my part will find your recompense. I am no fool!
>
> P.Kellis v Copt. 35, ll.36–46

On this text's first publication, the editors suggested that the 'tetrads' may be understood as papyrus quires consisting of four double leaves, i.e. quaternions.[104] If so, the copying of 'tetrads' involves the copying of text onto clean papyri. Given the presence of a 'blessed one', and the oath sworn by the Paraclete some lines earlier, it is highly likely that the texts to be copied – the 'great texts' (ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϭ ⲛ̄ⲥϩⲉⲓ, l.44)[105] – were religious in nature. In P.Kellis VII Copt. 111, 'brother' Pebos likewise admonishes Psais III to keep writing 'tetrads', even though he has already written a great many. Perhaps we might add P.Kellis I Gr. 67, in which Lysimachos writes: 'Send a well-proportioned and nicely executed ten-page notebook for your brother Ision. For he has become a user of Greek and a Syriac reader (Ἑλληνιστὴς γὰρ γένονεν καὶ ἀναγνώστης συρι̣α̣τ̣τικός)' (ll.17–21).[106] The aside regarding Ision's reading ability implies that the 'notebook' or 'tablet' (πινακίδιον) was to contain a text of some kind, and so the recipient, Theognostos, was presumably to copy one onto it (perhaps even in Syriac).[107] The cases of Matthaios, this 'little one', and Psais III suggest that it was common practice to have young men acquire literary skills by copying books as part of their religious practice. It seems to be echoed by the materiality of the texts: the number of different and coarse hands visible in the psalms prompted Gardner to suggest that copying scripture was deemed a spiritual task, practised by 'the whole believing community'.[108]

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104 For this suggestion, and the text itself, see Paul Mirecki, Iain Gardner, and Anthony Alcock, 'Magical Spell, Manichaean Letter', in *Emerging from Darkness*, ed. Paul Mirecki and BeDuhn (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 31.

105 Note the alternate translations suggested by Brand 'Manichaeans of Kellis', 296.

106 For this translation, Iain Gardner, 'P. Kellis I 67 Revisited', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 159 (2007).

107 The address was written in Syriac, and so Theognostos was presumably conversant with this language. Syriac texts and translation tools were, as previously noted, found in Kellis.

108 *P.Kellis VI*, 6. See also Iricinschi, 'Tam pretiosi codices', 157–59.

This brings us to another practice, namely the intertextual use of Manichaean literature – the employment of Manichaean cues. By studying and copying religious books, literate members would have internalised typical Manichaean literary allusions and rhetorical devices, as we may well have seen some examples of in Chapter 5. It is explicitly on display in Makarios' P.Kellis V Copt. 19, where he uses a citation of the 'Paraclete' in order to reinforce his message to Matthaios: 'Now, be in worthy matters; just as the Paraclete has said: "The disciple of righteousness is found with the fear of his teacher upon him even while he is far from him, like (a?) guardian"' (ll.8–11).[109] It is quite possible that such cues may have been derived from textual transmission. However, considering that the usage of cues extended to members who probably had a lower level of literacy than Makarios, such as Pamour III and Tekysis III, we should consider other routes as well. In particular, we may look to communal practices – which also had important textual dimensions, as we shall see.

3.2 *Communal Worship: Almsgiving and Ritual Performance*

While studying and copying books may have had important individual dimensions, books were not only for one's own, private contemplation. For one, there is evidence that books were communally held. Books certainly circulated widely among, and were widely available to, the laity. Makarios bade Maria I obtain the *Great Epistles* from 'mother' Kyria I, by way of 'daughter' Drousiane in P.Kellis V Copt. 19 (ll.73–74, 82–84), and the family's literary network included figures such as Ouales, Pebo, and Pekos. Books were sent across long distances; requests are found for books to be sent from Kellis both to the Nile Valley (P.Kellis V Copt. 19, 20) and Hibis (P.Kellis VII Copt. 111). Makarios' aside to Matthaios in P.Kellis V Copt. 19, that he had a 'need' for Matthaios 'to write books here', indicates that there was demand from a wide circle of readers.

An explanation for this demand may well be that the religious aspect of book-copying by young members, discussed above, constituted a form of almsgiving to the Holy Church. This is known to have been part of the religious obligations of lay Manichaeans in Turfan, where copying books on behalf of the 'religion' is indeed described as almsgiving.[110] It is supported by the contexts in which the requests for Psais III's writings occur. The figure of 'father' Pebo/Pabo in P.Kellis VII Copt. 111 may be identifiable as an Elect presbyter, as

109 For this reconstruction, see Gardner, 'A Letter from the Teacher', 321 n.7. For another citation, see perhaps the letter of Ammon, as noted in *P.Kellis V*, 233–34.

110 See the discussion in Section 4, n.117, below, and Andrea Piras, 'The Writing Hearer: A Suggested Restoration of M 101d', in *Zur lichten Heimat. Studien zu Manichäismus, Iranistik und Zentralasienkunde im Gedenken an Werner Sundermann* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2017).

argued in Chapter 9. Ouales, in P.Kellis V Copt. 35, relates that a plural 'they' are responsible for ordering the writings, indicating the existence of superiors.[111] Another passage alludes to a 'brother' Kallikles, who seems to be some kind of authority, while a 'blessed one' is requested in order to bring the texts from Psais III to Ouales. That several Manichaean authorities were interested in the production and collection of such writings strongly indicates that we should take Psais III's tetrads as alms.

At any rate, the texts themselves where not only used for individual reading. While studying would have been of great significance for some, it was not something every member of the community could engage in. We should certainly not imagine that the community at Kellis was made up only of literate people. For these texts to play a role beyond the immediate users, then, they would have to be embedded in communal textual practices, such as communal readings. BeDuhn, whose emphasis was, as we saw, on the individual aspect of textual usage, noted that 'all of the references to reading or copying texts in the Kellis documents seem to assume private study'.[112] However, there is in fact one clear reference to communal readings: Matthaios describes how his brother (i.e. Piene) has been honoured by the Teacher, who 'loves him very much, and makes him to read in church (ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥϣⲱⲡ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ)' (P.Kellis V Copt. 25, ll.45–46). This presumably relates to the public reading of religious text in a liturgical context. Such occasions are mentioned by Augustine, who relates that he attended worship where Mani's writings, such as the *Fundamental Epistle*, were read.[113] The remains of Mani's *Epistles* found at Kellis may well have been used in such settings. Admittedly, Matthaios refers to practice among Manichaeans in Alexandria, where Piene was located. However, it does not seem unlikely that similar readings occurred in Kellis – certainly, the recipients of Matthaios' letter must have been aware that it was common practice. It may be argued that an absence of local Elect in Kellis made formal church readings uncommon there, on the assumptions that Elect presence was necessary for such meetings to take place, and if the argument recently advanced by Mattias Brand, that the Elect were generally absent from Kellis, is correct. However, as I argue in the next chapter, there is much evidence to suggest that Elect visited Kellis, even on a regular basis.[114] Nor should we exclude

111 As also pointed out by Mirecki, Gardner, and Alcock, 'Magical Spell', 30.

112 BeDuhn, 'Domestic Setting', 269.

113 *C. epist. Man.* 5. See Johannes van Oort, 'The Young Augustine's Knowledge of Manichaeism: An Analysis of the "Confessiones" and Some Other Relevant Texts', *Vigiliae Christianae* 62, no. 5 (2008): 454.

114 For Brand's argument and my own views, see Chapter 8, Sections 1 and 3.1.

the possibility that literate laity took it upon themselves to arrange such meetings: the textual finds certainly show that they had the tools to do so.

The mention of *Psalms* in Makarios' letter P.Kellis V Copt. 19 points indirectly to another communal practice in which texts played a role, namely that of psalm singing. This is indicated by the material remains surveyed above. As we have seen, the abbreviated psalms of T.Kellis II Copt. 2 indicate that the codex-boards were used as memory-aides for singers; presumably to be sung at church gatherings. One of the psalms examined above, T.Kellis II Copt. 4a, corresponded to the Bema Psalm 222: it may that it was intended to be sung at the local celebration of the Bema-festival, when Mani's suffering and death was commemorated. The religious cues considered previously, moreover, find many echoes in the Manichaean psalms. So, for instance, the image of 'fruits of the flourishing tree' in the opening of Makarios' P.Kellis V Copt. 22 is found in Psalm 249 and in Psalm 261, the latter of which has been identified at Kellis (T.Kellis II Copt. 6). Other Manichaean epistolary cues also echo psalms found at the site: the phrase 'children of the living race', from the same letter, occurs in T.Kellis II Copt. 4b, and the phrase 'elect and catechumen', used in the closings of Horion's letters (P.Kellis V Copt. 15–17), is found in the doxology of the psalm P.Kellis II Copt. 2C1 (ll.70–71).

Books clearly had a function in communal practice at Kellis. It may be even that be that they were placed on special cushions in order to be displayed on ritual occasions: in P.Kellis V Copt. 21, Makarios asks Maria I to send 'the dyed cushion for the book (ⲡϫⲁϯ ⲛ̄ⲭⲏⲟⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲱⲙⲉ)' (ll.24–25). 'Cushions' could have provided ceremonial resting places or decorative trappings for certain books, presumably to give them a special aura when taken out and displayed in communal settings, although this interpretation requires more substantiation.[115] Most of the literary texts from Kellis were clearly not of the sort that were only put on display.

4 Textual Community, Manichaean Identity

Religious literature at Kellis, then, was studied, cited, copied, read, sung, and circulated widely in the community. Clearly, textual practices had a relatively central place in lay religious life. But what role did such practices play in shaping a Manichaean identity? Given that the literary texts used by the

115 *P.Kellis V*, 174; Brand, 'Manichaeans of Kellis', 153–54. For Manichaean use of imagery from Mani's *Picture-Book* in congregational settings, see Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures*.

Auditors did not shy away from central and particular Manichaean doctrines, we may well imagine that they functioned to introduce them to such ideas, and allowed the Auditors to appropriate them as part of their Manichaean identity. However, it might be argued that mere references to myths and beliefs in liturgical settings would not necessarily have functioned to impart knowledge of them to a wider audience, far less internalise 'beliefs'. BeDuhn, in his work on the ritual meal, cites a study of ritual language indicating that such utterances do not function primarily as communicative acts for disseminating stories or teachings.[116] Nor does ritual depend upon members understanding the 'underlying' doctrines. Manichaean authorities may not even have intended them to have such a function: allusions to the 'mysteries' could have been aimed at the Elect, who would know their true significance, congruent with the depiction of Elect as guardians of a 'Manichaean world'.[117]

Yet, there are to my mind good reasons to think that it often functioned to facilitate lay appropriation of distinct Manichaean ideas. For one, Manichaean authorities did make a concerted and conscious effort to promote knowledge of their cosmology through the liturgy. Gardner has noted the frequency with which lists of emanations occur in Manichaean psalms, indicating

116 BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body*, 241.

117 It has similarly been suggested that Auditors were barred from reading or handling Mani's books. Claudia Leurini, for instance, has argued that Mani's script was reserved for religious books in order to make them inaccessible. As evidence she refers to Augustine, who according to Kevin Coyle gained deep knowledge of Manichaeism only after having confiscated books as a Christian bishop. She also cites a line from a series of parables found in a codex containing the *Book of Giants* at Turfan: 'the Hearer that copies a book, is like unto a sick man …'. In her view, it implies that Auditors were forbidden to 'look at [Manichaean texts], to read them and they seem even to be prevented from copying them', Leurini, *The Manichaean Church*, 85. So also Lim, 'nomen manichaeorum', 155; and see Kevin Coyle, 'What Did Augustine Know About Manichaeism When He Wrote his Two Treatises *De Moribus*?', in *Manichaeism and its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 2009). However, Johannes van Oort has convincingly shown that Augustine acquired most of his knowledge already during his time as an Auditor, at least in part through his own readings, contesting Coyle's interpretation. Van Oort adduces several passages that show Augustine reading 'books of Mani' ('Young Augustine', 450–56). Moreover, the line Leurini cites from the parable of the writing Auditor does not end there (although the final words are lost); it is, in fact, part of a string of metaphors concerning *positive* activities that Auditors were requested to do for the Church, and that lifts them out of their lowly state. So for instance, in the same text we find that: 'The Hearer who gives alms to the Elect, is like unto a poor man that presents his daughter to the king; he reaches a position of great honour', Walter B. Henning, 'The Book of the Giants', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11, no. 1 (1943): 63–64. More recently, see Piras, 'The Writing Hearer', 528–29.

'a catechetical as well as liturgical function'.[118] The notions were all present in the Daily prayer, to be prayed 'at least three times a day' according the text found at Kellis, as we have seen. It seems to have provided a list of what its author, i.e. presumably Mani, considered most crucial for adherents, including Auditors, to internalise. It included the primeval war between Light and Darkness, the construction of the world by Light divinities from evil matter, the salvific role of the sun and the moon, the existence of a world soul in which all life takes part, and the need to serve the Elect to be freed from transmigration. This prayer was widely used by adherents. At Kellis, it is further demonstrated by Makarios' exhortation for Matthaios to practice (or write) the 'prostrations' (κλιcιc),[119] and by the discovery that its first few words are scribbled on the board constituting P.Kellis I Gr. 82 and P.Kellis V Copt. 48.[120] Augustine, in his *Confessions*, attests to the centrality of this prayer during his time as an Auditor, and it was still in use at the time of al-Nadim and of the Uyghur kingdom in Turfan.

Augustine provides an intriguing example of how notions could be appropriated. Recent scholarship has shown that his engagement with Manichaean ideas was extensive, and lingered after his 'de-conversion'.[121] He displays explicit knowledge of more 'esoteric' myths, or mythical imagery. Thus, in his polemical work against the Manichaean bishop Faustus, he describes a well-known psalm sung by the community, called 'the Song of the Lovers'.[122] According to Augustine, it depicted the garlanded Father of Lights in the Land of Light, among many identities mountains and sweet air, surrounded by his Twelve Aeons, grouped three by three in four regions, and it described the five sons of the Living Spirit – the Custodian of Splendour, the King of Honour, the Adamas of Light, the King of Glory, and Atlas, – each with his own

118 *P.Kellis VI*, 106.

119 Cf. Brand ('Manichaeans of Kellis', 297), who argues that it should be taken in the sense of 'inflections'. However, the other terms in Makarios list are all texts. Al-Nadim records that the Manichaeans prostrated themselves while praying, and it seems likely that this is the way that *proskyneō* must be understood in P.Kellis I Gr. 98. Gardner, 'Manichaean Ritual Practice', 253–56; id., '"With a Pure Heart"', 86–87.

120 Iain Gardner, 'P. Kellis 82 and an Unnoticed Record of the Manichaean Daily Prayers', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 211 no.1 (2019).

121 For the potentially comprehensive effect that Manichaean concepts of for instance memory had on Augustine, see Johannes van Oort, 'God, Memory, and Beauty: A Manichaean Analysis of Augustine's *Confessions*, Book 10,1–38', in *Augustine and Manichaean Christianity*, ed. J. van Oort (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

122 *C. Faust.* 15.5–6, trans. Roland J. Teske, *Answer to Faustus a Manichaean* (New York: New City Press, 2007), 189–91. See also Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Roman Empire*, 134.

properties. Samuel N. C. Lieu has pointed out that psalms with similar content are found in the *Psalm-book*.[123] These divinities were also named in at least one psalm found at Kellis. The usage of 'esoteric' mythological imagery in hymns was clearly widespread, and as Lieu argues, Augustine's ability to recall this imagery likely indicates that they had a mnemonic effect.

Augustine, to be sure, could be a special case. Yet he does describe several key notions as common knowledge. Having gotten a sub-deacon of his see, Victorinus, to confess to being a Manichaean Auditor, he explained in a letter to the bishop of Caesarea in Mauretania that: 'They (the Auditors) also adore and pray to the sun and moon with the elect. On the Lord's day they also fast with them, and they believe along with them all the blasphemies because of which the heresy of the Manichees should be detested'.[124] He goes on to list such 'blasphemies', including the participation of animals in the divine, God's battle and mixture with Darkness, the Elect's purification of Light, and the Light's ascent through the sun and moon. Richard Lim has suggested that while Victorinus admitted to being an Auditor, he did not admit to and probably did not hold these beliefs (despite Augustine's insistence to the contrary), and was not part of any Manichaean group.[125] However, whatever the case of Victorinus, in light of the Kellis finds there is little reason to doubt that most Auditors were in fact familiar with them.

Thus, even if many details were known mainly to the Elect, and some could vary with time and place, the key notions of the 'Manichaean world' circulated widely. The effort to disseminate them must be seen in relation to a need to defend Elect practice, to furnish it with *rationales*. The Elect in Egypt, and the Roman Empire more generally, were working to establish religious authority in an environment of much religious competition. Their position as 'holy men' would have to be explained to the laity, and defended against the traditional religious authority of the temples, of the emerging Christian Church, as well as of other 'holy men'. Appeals to the authority of Christ certainly played a part when preaching in Christian environments, but the Elect would have had to differentiate themselves from mainstream Christian teachers in order to justify their specific regime and needs. Persuading their listeners of the validity of their particular 'world' – the primeval dualism, the imprisoned Light, its transmigration, a salvation facilitated by the Elect – were necessary for adherents

123 E.g. Psalm 219 (2 Ps. 1–3). See Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Roman Empire*, 134–35.

124 Augustine, *ep.* 236 (to Deuterius), trans. Roland J. Teske, *Letters 211–270, 1*–29** (*Epistulae*) (New York: New City Press, 2005), 134–35.

125 Lim, 'nomen manichaeorum', 155.

to accept the burdens of almsgiving. They provided narratives within which other ritual acts could be made sense of.[126] Moreover, they may have resonated with myths already familiar to potential 'converts' – although they could also, at times, come into conflict with the sensibilities of other relatively systematised world-views, such as that of Neoplatonism in the case of Augustine. It is often implied that the Elect simply alluded to their intricate mysteries, 'enticing' Auditors with promises of a total explanation. This is largely based on the experience of Augustine, who expressed much bitterness over that what the Elect had 'served' him was not the explanations he had been promised (or wanted). But we should not generalise from Augustine's polemically shaped narrative of his own 'de-conversion' to that of other adherents, for whom the myths and images of Mani would have continued to hold attraction.

This does not mean that Auditors always responded with great interest to 'lore'. Thorough study of the system of emanations and mythological details was in all likelihood rather uncommon, restricted to literate and enthusiastic adherents, although the discovery of T.Kellis II Copt. 1, describing the aspects of the Third Ambassador, suggests that such were present also at Kellis. But despite the attempts of authorities to initiate Auditors into the Manichaean world, adherents may have considered many aspects irrelevant, harboured reservations, or interpreted the instructions outside the preferred framework of Manichaean authorities – while at the same time continuing to participate in rituals and to identify with as adherents. As discussed in Chapter 5, individuals juggle many identities, and it is not a given that everyone at Kellis gave their Manichaean one a special saliency, or thought it necessary to internalise all of these ideas. But as BeDuhn stressed, the primary function of ritual language is to reinforce a sense of belonging to a distinct social body.[127] Even if the ritual and textual practices did not always affect the conscious 'knowledge' or 'beliefs' of participants, it would have had the effect of socialising them into the community of the 'Holy Church'.

In conclusion, the literary texts from Kellis show a high degree of awareness of specifically Manichaean myths and beliefs, and attest to conscious attempts by Manichaean authorities to disseminate such notions among the laity. The degree to which individual adherents engaged with them would certainly vary, as in other comparable religious groups, and we should not imagine that every part of the Manichaean 'theology' reconstructed by modern scholars was

126 See e.g. the chapter of the Berlin *Kephalaia* concerned with the Call and Response (keph. 115), or with the laying on of hands (keph. 9).

127 BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body*, 242–44.

known to them. However, key ideas must have become familiar to the laity through texts used in both individual and communal practice, as attested to by the literary and the documentary sources from House 1–3. In turn, such practices functioned to create and reinforce a sense of belonging to a distinctive textual community: the 'Holy Church' of Mani. The laity of Kellis, insofar as they sang the psalms, prayed the prayers, or copied the texts, participated in reproducing a distinctly Manichaean communal identity.



Competing Narratives between Nomadic People and their Sedentary Neighbours

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53 *Studia uralo-altaica* 53

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Manichaean Sogdian Cosmogonical Texts in Manichaean Script

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Sogdian was one of the most important Central Asian Iranian languages, with a vast body of literature to be put on a par with Middle Persian and Parthian. As it was once the commercial language throughout Central Asia (Transoxania), it soon became the lingua franca of Chinese and Iranian traders along the Silk Road. Therefore the spoken language of the Manichaeans in Central Asia, as far as they were Iranians, was Sogdian; the illiterate Elect, and of course the Hearers, generally understood only Sogdian; the majority of the Manichaeans in the Turfan region consisted of Sogdians. For that reason many important Manichaean works, including those written by Mani himself, were translated into Sogdian, from Parthian or from Middle Persian. The present paper gives a survey of the Sogdian fragments in Manichaean script[1] of the Berlin Turfan Collection[2] which deal with cosmogony.

Ms 1: M178 = MIK III 4990 (Pl. 1–2)

This Sogdian bifolio, written on fine leather in outstanding calligraphy in Manichaean script is not only the best preserved Manichaean text ever found, but it is also one of the most elaborate accounts of Manichaean cosmogony. Müller published some excerpts in his pioneering work of 1904, when Sogdian was still not recognised, and a proper edition of this important text had to wait some 44 years, until Henning fully published it. "Between the first folio (description of paradise) and the second (firmaments) three or even four double-folios, i.e. twelve or sixteen pages, may be missing (darkness, attack, first man, mixture, second creation, redemption of first man). The headlines do not give the contents of the pages, but are pieces of a continuous text which ran from the first page of the book to the last. Apparently this was the most elaborate account of all."[3]

1 A working catalogue of these texts is found in Morano 2007 and a codicological survey of the same texts in Morano 2018.

2 I am very grateful to the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften and to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz for allowing me to study and publish their texts. Thanks are also due to all the staff of the Akademienvorhaben Turfanforschung for their kind help and hospitality at their Institute. Nicholas Sims-Williams [NSW] has kindly accepted to read a first draft of the article and gave me invaluable remarks, saving me from some misreadings or misinterpretations. Needless to say, any shortcoming is mine.

3 Henning 1948: 306–307.

This text was published in Henning 1948, with an English translation and ample commentary [black and white photo in Weber 2000 pl. 149–150].

Ms 2: M548 + M704
M108 + M5928 [T II D 140] (Pl. 3)

Two joined fragments form the upper part of a page, completing the headline in the verso and the first three lines on both sides. The following lines are incomplete, and the rest of the page is lost, either torn off or worm-eaten. Henning (1948: 317) published the fragment M548 inverting the recto and verso sides, not considering that the margin of that fragment was in fact the outer, not the inner margin (present in the joining fragment M 704). The text deals with the construction of the Heavens and Gates by the Living Spirit and the Mother of Light from the demons' skin, bones, flesh, veins, sinews and tendons (recto) and the fashioning of thresholds, bazaars, rows, and 360 stalls in the firmament (verso), roughly corresponding to the lines 94–105 of the Cosmogonical Fragment (M178) mentioned above as published by Henning.

Two other unpublished fragments, evidently from the same manuscript as the joined fragments above, but from a different page, join together and give another portion of the text of this "different recension [...] of the story of the world."[4]

M108 + M5928 [T II D 140]

Part of a sheet with an outer margin, but no complete lines. Same manuscript as M548+. The small fragment M5928 joins directly to the lower part of M108, adding and completing a few lines. Text similar to M178. In particular it is described how the earthly substance came down from the demons' blood, bones, sinews, skin and flesh, how the demons were bound in the firmaments, imprisoned in Bazaars, Rows, and Stalls, and the creation of the 8 earths, 3 moats and 40 angels who hold the skies (recto), and the purification of the light particles through ascension to the moon, where Jesus receives them (verso).

The fragments measure 6.3 x 5.6 cm (M108) and 4.6 x 4 (M5968), joined together 8.8 x 6.1 cm. Space between the lines 1 cm, outer margin 1.7 cm. Cf. Henning 1948: 316 on (99–100).

All these texts, with photographs of the edited fragments, are fully published in Morano forthcoming.

Ms 3: Fragments from a manuscript on cosmogony and rules for Elect and Hearers (Pl. 4)

M110+M120, M247.

Three fragments, one double folio and two other incomplete pages from the same manuscript bear parts of a miscellaneous book with a section on cosmogony

4 Henning 1948: 316.

followed by a section on rules for Elect and Hearers in the monasteries. What follows is a possible order of the pages dealing with cosmogony:

First section: Cosmogony. 1st page: M110/I/R/

Cosmogony: the battle and the work done by God Xurmezd with his 5 sons and the help of Call and Answer

M110/I/V/

Secondly: Call and Answer imprison and bind all the demons who were fed in Hell. Thirdly: Call and Answer …

2nd page: M247/R/

Fourthly: Living Spirit makes a new creation in the midst of the fight against the demons. Fifthly …

M247/V/

A lightning flashed, and a terrible thunder(?) broke out(?); as if a big mountainside and a rock (?) fell into the deep water. The demons were scared…

3rd page: M110/II/+M120/R/

Beautiful, pure Paradise versus the darkness of Hell. God Xurmezd and the Elements with Call and Answer descend to the earth.

Second section: first page: M110/II/+M120/V/

End of the cosmogonic section: *colophon with name of the patron.* Second [section]: explanation of the religion. Rules for the Elect and the Hearers: the Elect may dwell in the house of the hearers, while the Hearers cannot dwell in monasteries with all their wordly possessions and wives, sons and slaves.

This section resumes in another fragment from the same manuscript, **M144**.

All these texts will be published in a forthcoming article by F. Dragoni and E. Morano (Dragoni & Morano forthcoming).

Ms 4: Various fragments from a cosmogonical book

While I was preparing my 'Working Catalogue of the Berlin Sogdian fragments in Manichaean script'[5] I came across several fragments of different shapes and measures, all unpublished, which are from a single manuscript, apparently a book on cosmogony. The manuscript is written in a clear, particular, cursive bold Manichaean script. Although no entire page has been preserved, by joining some fragments together, the greater part of three sheets can be reconstructed.

Each page had at least 17 lines, but possibly more: the most complete fragment, M5701+, has 17 incomplete lines as well as vertical red lines delimiting both

5 Morano 2007.

margins. The edges appear to have been cut off with a sharp tool, as there are regular, linear tear marks above and below. M264a on the other hand preserves the upper part of the sheet, with the first 8 lines, and both ruled margins, and again the edges are cut off regularly. A third almost complete page of the manuscript, M141+, has 17 incomplete lines, but no margins and the upper cut seems to be linear and regular like in the other two sheets. We know the original width of the inner margin from M 6291, an internal fragment of a double sheet, and from M5991: it was 1.75 cm. The outer margin is known from M485b: it was 2.5 cm. From the same manuscript there are in the Berlin collection several smaller fragments which I was not able to join, or to assign, to any other fragment.

The following lists all the fragments from the same manuscript I found in the Berlin Turfan collection:

> M141+M6795, M264a, M485b, M5701+6796+2308, M5991, M6067, M6099, M6099a (not described in Boyce 1960), M6100, M6291, M6790, M6800.

A full edition of all the fragments from this manuscript is in preparation, and it will be published soon, together with a philological and linguistic commentary. Here I propose a preliminary edition of the three most extensive fragments, dealing with the Father of Greatness, the supreme Manichaean deity, the creation of the world by the Living Spirit, and the birth of Adam with a description of his body.

I. The Father of Greatness

M264a (pl. 5–6)

Upper part of the sheet, with 8 lines fairly complete. Part of both margins preserved, delimited regularly by red lines. The lower part of the page is partly torn off, only the initial/final characters of the lines are preserved. At least one line at the end is missing.

12.4 x 12.2 cm.

In this page the Father of Greatness, called *rwxšn'γrδmncyk 'xšywnyy βγyy* "the Lord God of the Paradise of Light", is exalted above the other gods, and said to be different from the other gods in seven things. Of these, only the first (he is, and has always been, immortal and permanent, while the other gods were created and blessed by him), the fourth (he is the father of all the gods, and they are all his sons) and the fifth (he is brighter than all the gods) are complete, the second (he is more exalted than all gods ...) the third (... he knows past, present and future), the sixth and the seventh being only partly preserved.

/R/

/1/[....ʿ](y)nyy (III) (ʾ..)[.....] (.yk/x..ʾ..) /2/ s(fry)tyt ○○ ʾʾfrytyt ○○ ʾt[y](y) nyjtyṭ /3/ xnd(t) (○)○ {blank} ○○ ʾrtyy (x)w(n)[yy](ẖ) /4/ rwxšnʾγrδmncyk ʾxšywnyy βγyy pr /5/ VII zngʾn ʾʾc ○○ cn sʾt βγyštyẖ /6/ nyʾzngstr wmʾt ○○ I pr nwšʾkyʾ ʾtyẖ /7/ ʾʾs[tn](k)yʾ [○](○) (w)ʾnw ʾtyy rʾmndt n(w)[šy](yẖ) /8/ (wmʾ)[t ʾtyy ʾ]ʾstnyy ○○ cn ʾʾδʾẖ /9/ sfrytyy ʾtyẖ [ʾ](ʾ)frytyy nyy xcyẖ (○○) /10/ pʾrwtyy pʾ(r)[ykt βγyš](t) cn wny(ẖ) /11/ βyksʾr s(f)[rytyt ʾtyy ʾʾfry](tyt)[wmʾtnd] /12/ ○○ ○○ δβ[tyk 18–20] /13/ cn sʾt β(γ)[yšty 18–20] /14/ ptrštr x(c)[yẖ 18–20] /15/ xyδ [20–22] /16/ pt(r)[štr 20–22]

/V/

/1/ cyndr βyk c(w) ʾ(st)yy ○○ c(w) βw(t)kʾ[m pr] /2/ bywn γrβt(y) ʾtyẖ (p)tz(ʾ)nd ○○ ○○ /3/ IIIImyk (x)[y](δ) ʾxšywnyy βγyy wnyy sʾt /4/ βγyštyy ptryy xcyy ○○ ʾtyy xww wyšʾnd /5/ sʾt wnyy ʾʾjwnd xndt ○○ sʾt xyδ /6/ ʾxšywnyy βγyy sʾr nmʾc βrynyt γwβnyt /7/ (ʾ)t[y](ẖ) ʾʾfrynyt xndt ○○ ○○ (p)ncmyk /8/ xyδ ʾxšywnyy βγyy rwxš[nyʾ]k (cn) sʾt /9/ βγyštyy wʾf[yy](δ rw)xšndry(y) xcyy ○○ cʾnw /10/ [my](š)yy βγ(y)[y rwxšndryy](c)[n] sʾt ʾstʾrytyy /11/ [xcy ○○] ○○ [VImyk β](γy)štyy wʾfryδ /12/ [22–23](m) rwγ(n)[y]xsʾ /13/ [22–23](.) ○○ VIImyk /14/ [22–23]pʾrγztr ʾtyy /15/ [23–25](p)tkʾrʾẖ /16/ [26–28](y) cn

Translation

/**R**/1/ [...]these 3 [...] /2/ are created, blessed and emanated. /3/ {*blank*} And he, /4/ the Lord God of the Light Paradise, in /5/ 7 sorts of things was /6/ different from all the Gods. Firstly in immortality and /7/ permanence. For he has always been immortal /8/ [and] permanent. By anyone /9/ he is not created and blessed, /10/ but the oth[er gods] out of him /11/ [were] creat[ed and bless]ed. /12/ Se[condly: ...] /13/ than all the God[s ...] /14/ is more exalted [...] /15/ this/these [...] /16/ exa[lted]

/**V**/1/ inside (and) outside what it is, what it will be, /2/ he foreseeingly knows and understands. /3/ Fourthly. The Lord God is the father /4/ of all the Gods. And they /5/ are all his sons. To that same /6/ Lord God they are all bringing honour, praise /7/ and blessing. Fifthly. /8/ The Lord God is as much brigh[ter] than all /9/ the Gods, as /10/ the [S]un God[is brighter]than all the stars. /11/ [Sixthly ... than all the]gods, so much /12/ [...]oil, musk(?) /13/ [...] Seventhly /14/ [...]more excellent and /15/ [...] appearance /16/ [...] than

II. How the Living Spirit Divided the World

M5701 [T II 116]+M6796 [T II K]+M2308 (pl. 7–8)

Almost an entire page in length, cut regularly with a sharp tool at the top and bottom and through the internal margin, where the red ruling line is preserved. Only half-lines are preserved. 12.5 x 8 cm.

The text in this page describes how the Living Spirit created the walls and ditches and divided the world into four parts with Mount Sumeru in the middle, and four mountains as frontier guards of the world. He then separated, accordingly, the sky upwards and day and night.

/R/

/1/ xndt ○○ ○○ [....] xww tβ[tyy 8–10] /2/ δʾt pr pδkwyy [XX] XX XX (β)[rywr fsʾx βwt] /3/ ○○ ○○ ʾtyy xww jʾr ʾʾ[11–12] /4/ XX XX XX βrywr fsʾ(x)[12–13] /5/ cywyδyy βystr [15–17] /6/ [f]s[ʾx] (p)r pδkwyy [15–17] /7/ [pr](kn)yy pδkwyy C[βrywr fsʾx ....] /8/ ○○ ○○ ʾtyy štyk[15–17] /9/ XX XX [XX] βrywr fnsʾ(x)[12–14] /10/ ʾ(ʾp) prkn pr pδk[wyy 14–16] /11/ βrywr fsʾx xcyy ○○ [14–16] /12/ mzyx δ[ʾ](t) kyy wyspw(w)[14–16] /13/ δʾrt skwn ○○ ○○ ʾtyy (..)[13–14] /14/ XX XX XX XX βrywr fnsʾx x**c**yy [○○ ○○] /15/ ʾ[○○ ptsʾr wʾδ jy**w**ndy(y) (IIII)[yxwʾk] /16/ mnβxš ○○ cn smwt(**r**)ʾ cyndr(p)ʾr ○○ [....] /17/ xwrsncyk ʾfcmbδ (ʾtyḫ x)wrtxyz[cyk]

/V/

/1/ [cn pʾškyrʾnc](y)k ʾtyy (n)[ymy](δ)cyk fcmbδ /2/ [13–14 ○○] ○○ ʾt[yy] pr myδʾn smyr /3/ [ɣryy 9–10](c)y IIII ʾfcmbδyy yxwʾk /4/ [15–16](sm)yr ɣryy pδyʾḫ cn /5/ [16–18](.) ptysʾc ○○ ○○ /6/ [18–20]kyrʾn ○○ ʾwnw cw /7/ [18–20](.) ○○ ○○ ʾrty[ḫ] /8/ [18–20]βrzkwyy ʾtyy pδkwyy /9/ [15–16 f](s)ʾxyt xnd ○○ ○○ ʾrty /10/ [15–16]ʾ ○○ cn xwrsnyy kww /11/ [xwrtxyz sʾr](cn) smyr ɣrʾ xww ʾwrδpʾr /12/ [14–15] IIII ɣryy cn s(m)yr ɣrʾ /13/ [8–10](cy ʾ)fcmbδyy wmʾndyy pʾšʾy /14/ [6–7](.)ʾtyy ○○ cʾnw ʾskyy smʾnyy /15/ [4–5 ʾn](βy)ndʾnd ○○ ʾrtyy cʾδr xʾ ɣrtʾ /16/ [....](s)yʾk δʾrʾnd ○○ ʾtyy xww ○○ myδ ʾtyḫ /17/ [xʾ xš](p)ʾ yxwnng β[w](t) ○○ ○○ ʾrtyy xʾ myδ

Translation

/**R**/1/ are. [...] he se[aled(?) ...] /2/ a wall with the width of 60 [myriad parasang]. /3/ And the poison [...] /4/ 60 myriad parasang [...] /5/ outside that [...] /6/ parasang in width [...] /7/ of the ditch the width 100 [myriad parasang(?)]. /8/ And the third[ditch (?)... is] /9/ 60 myriad parasang [...] /10/ [...]water is a ditch with the wid[th ...of ...] /11/ myriad parasang. [...] /12/ great wall that all [...] /13/ holds. And [...] /14/ is 80 myriad parasang

[...] /15/ and moreover the Living Spirit divided 4[parts.] /16/ Inside the Ocean [...] /17/ the eastern world and the west[ern]

/**V**/1/ [from the north]ern and the southern world 2/ A[nd] in the middle [...] (Mount) Sumeru /3/ [...] 4 parts of the world /4/ [...] at the foot of Mount Sumeru from /5/ [...]he fixed. /6/ [...] regions. This [is] what /7/ [...]. And [...] /8/ [...]length and width /9/ [...]are [... para]sang(?). And /10/ [...]. From East to /11/ [West]from Mount Sumeru /12/ the 4 mountains of the farther side [...] from Mount Sumeru /13/ [...] he threw [...] of the frontier guard of the world. /14/ [...] While above in the sky /15/ they[6] follow (one another) and below the mountains /16/ hold [them in] shadow. Thus the day and /17/ [the] night are separated. And the day. . .

Commentary

/R/1, ff./ cf. the Middle Persian cosmogonical fragments M98 and M99,[7] in particular M99/I/R/10–17 ʾwd zmyg ʿyw wzrg ʾwd ʿstbr pd dwʾzdẖ dr ○ ʿy hmbdyc ʾsmʾnʾn dr ○○ ○○ʾwd ʾbr hm zmyq pyrʾmwn chʾr prysp ʾwd sẖ pʾrgyn kyrd ○ ʾwd pd hʾn ʿy ʾndrwn pʾrgyn dywʾn ʾndr przyd "And he made one great and strong earth with twelve Gates which correspond to the gates of heaven. And above this same earth he built in circuit four walls and three moats, and in that (which is) the inner moat he imprisoned the demons."[8] *Šābuhragān*, 272 (M535+/V/8/):[9] [hʾ]n sẖ pʾ(r)gyn ʿy [zh]ryn ṭʾryn "those three poisonous dark ditches".

III. Adam

M141+6795 (pl. 9–10)

The fragment contains 17 lines, none of them complete, of text, and, like M5701+, is cut regularly with a sharp tool above, below and through one margin. The margins are not preserved, but there are faint traces of the ruling red vertical line of one margin. The two fragments are joined and glassed together. 11.9 x 9.8 cm.

The text consists of the description of the birth of Adam, born to the two archdemons Šaklun and Pēsus, after they had devoured 80 thousand abortions and copulated,[10] followed by an explanation (*xwyckʾwyy*) of the body of Adam. This text is very difficult and, as far as I know, has no parallels in known Manichaean literature. Therefore, I am giving here a preliminary edition of the text with only a few notes for the understanding of difficult or unknown words.

6 I.e. the sun and the moon?
7 Hutter 1992: 8–26.
8 Cf. Jackson 1932: 34 ff.
9 MacKenzie 1979: 515.
10 On the Manichaean myth of the birth of Adam see Sundermann 1994, 45–46.

/R/

/1/ mzy(x) ɣrkw(s)[y 16–18] /2/ (.)ywʾncyy c(x)[r? 16–18] /3/ (p)syy tʾwʾn(d)[yy ...](δ)ʾn (β)[12–14] /4/ (w)ytwr ʾtyšyy xʾ tmb(ʾ)[r 11–13] /5/ [○]○ ○○ ʾtyḫ pr [XX XX] XX XX [zʾr pjwkty] /6/ mʾ(j)yy xww ʾʾδʾm ○○ (ʾty)šyy (xw)[4–5] /7/ tmbʾr cn pšʾkt δy[w](z)ʾktyy ○○ ʾ(t)[yšyy] /8/ xww rwʾn cn pnc mrδ(ʾ)spndyy (z)[ʾwryy] /9/ ʾktwδʾrt ○○ jwʾn ○○ zʾwr ○○ rwxšny(ʾ)[k ○○] /10/ kršnʾwtyʾ ○○ ʾtyḫ βwδ [○○ 5–6] /11/ ʾstkyy ○○ pδδ(y)ʾ ○○ rʾk ○○ yʾt[yḫ ○○] /12/ crm ○○ xwrnyy ○○ mɣzyy ○○ ʾ[6–7] /13/ ɣwnʾyy cyndr βstwδʾrt (○)[○ .... kyn ○○] /14/ ypʾk ○○ ʾʾβrxsyy ○○ t[ʾ](f)[[11]...] (pr)[6–8] /15/ mndɣrβʾkyʾ δwn ɣ(wr)s [12–14] /16/ cw pr[12] sʾr pʾšyt wʾ[st 14–16] /17/ (x)ʾ ʾʾ(z) ʾβrxs(y)y ʾtyḫ [12–14]

/V/

/1/ [20]ḫ w(βʾt) /2/ [20]nʾm ○○ p(r) /3/ [11–12](ʾʾδʾm mʾ)nwk βwt ○○ (○)[○]/4/ [8–10 xwyc]kʾwyy wʾnw βwt ○○ kt mnʾnd(y) /5/ [6–7](k)[..](.)ʾ(ry.) [...]r myšyy βɣyy kršn ○○ (○)[○] /6/ [ʾty]yḫ (wn)[y] wyδʾsyɣwny ʾʾδc p(r) /7/ [6–7] ʾfcmb[δ](y) ○○ cn mʾtyy ʾtyḫ /8/ [6–7]ptrʾ s(y)ɣtr ○○ ○○ ʾtyy ʾδʾmyy /9/ [tmbʾ]ryy ptrʾz ○○ zʾr II C wβʾz wmʾt ○(○) /10/ [6–7 ʾt]y ryn(c)k ʾnkwšṭ nwʾ fnsʾx /11/ [wmʾt ○○ ʾ](r)tyšyy cn tmbʾr βyksʾr IIII /12/ [8–10]ʾy rwxšnyʾk ʾrδyfʾskwn ○○ /13/ [12–14 ʾ](r)tyḫ tym wʾnw /14/ [10–12](t) (cʾnw) šklwn ʾty pysws /15/ [7–8 pjwqt]xwrtδʾrʾnd ○○ ʾtyḫ II /16/ [12–14 ɣndʾ]kty(y) pckwyryy prštyt /17/ [10–12 ʾʾyw]štyt (wmʾtʾnd) ○○ ʾtyḫ

Translation

/**R**/1/ the big mountainside[...] /2/ demonish(?) whe[el? ...] /3/ strong sheep/enquiry(?) [...] /4/ until his body [...] /5/ And from the 80 [thousand abortions (?)] /6/ Adam was born. His [...] /7/ body from the offspring of the demons abortions, [and his] /8/ soul from the elements p[ower (?)] /9/ (she=Āz) has made: life strength brightness /10/ beauty and perfume [...] /11/ [as] bones nerves vein flesh[...] /12/ skin blood marrow [and] /13/ hair she bound inside[13] [... hatred,] /14/ anger, lust, [... vehemence] /15/ ignorance with around(?) [...] /16/ on top guardians she pl[aced(?)...] /17/ the Āz dissoluteness and [...] {lines missing?}

11 Cf. *tʾβ-nʾk* (in Sogdian script) 'angry', see DMT III.2: 189a. Here perhaps a substantive formed on the root *tʾp-* meaning something like 'act of being inflamed with anger, vehemence, irascibility'? In SLN 42b there is a lacuna between *ryzh* and *mntɣrβʾkyh*. The corresponding list in the Chinese Traité (214) is 怨憎 "Hatred", 嗔恚 "Irascibility", 婬慾 "Lewdness", 忿怒 "Anger" and 愚癡 "Foolishness", see Lieu & Mikkelsen 2017: 55.

12 Sic, mistake for *cwpr*.

13 I.e. in the body.

/**V**/1/ [...] may be /2/ [...]name. In/to /3/ [...]Adam is similar. /4/ [... explan]ation is thus: similar(?) /5/ [...] [...] the beauty of the Sun God. /6/ [An]d he [had] something wonderful in /7/ [...]world. From the mother and /8/ [...]father more beautiful. Adam's /9/ body's dimension was 200 thousand fathoms /10/ and his little finger nine parasang /11/ [...] and from his body outwards 4 /12/ [...] brightness shone. /13/ [...] and thus again /14/ [...]when Šaklūn and Pēsūs /15/ [...] ate [the abortions]. And in fear of the 2 /16/ [... e]vil ones having run away[14] /17/ [... were exci]ted(?). And

Commentary

/R/1/ On *ɣrkwsy* "mountainside", see Reck 2009: 388.

/R/2/ The word *(.)yw'ncyy*, although clearly legible, is difficult to interpret. If the first letter is *δ*, then *δyw'ncyy* could be the feminine adjective or noun derived from *δyw*, "demon"; *c(x)[* emend *cx[r* "wheel" or *cx'ṭ* "fighting, contenders"?

/V/5/ *myšyy βɣyy kršn*, cf. M7800/II/R/5ff.[15] 'ṭyy myδ[ry β](ɣyy) qšn /6/ wšy' 'kṭwδ'(r)n(d) (m)'ɣ'z(nd ṭkwš'ṭ) "and they remembered the beauty of the Sun God; they began to look out for him".

/V/14–15/ *(cw) šklwn 'ty pysws [...]xwrtδ'r'nd*: cf. M7800/II/V/12–19/[16] 'rtyy IIII βrywr pjwwk ww šklwn xwrtδ'rt 'tyy IIII βrywr x' pysws 'rty I δβty' 'pryw pcywznd 'rty w'nw w'βnd kt m'ncyk šm'r' kw myšyyβɣw s'r δ'ryym w'nw kt xwny ky cn m'x ''jy't kww βɣyštt "And Šaklūn devoured forty thousand abortions, and Pēsūs forty thousand. And they copulated with each other, and thus they said: 'The intentional thought, we have it towards the Sun God, so that what will be born from us [will resemble] the gods".

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DMT III.2 = Sims-Williams, N. & D. Durkin-Meisterernst 2012.

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14 *pršt-* is the expected past stem of Man. Sogd. **pryj*, Christian Sogd. *pryž* "to flee, escape, run away". As an intr. verb, the pp. should mean "having run away, running away" [NSW].

15 Sundermann 1994: 45.

16 Sundermann 1994: 45–46.

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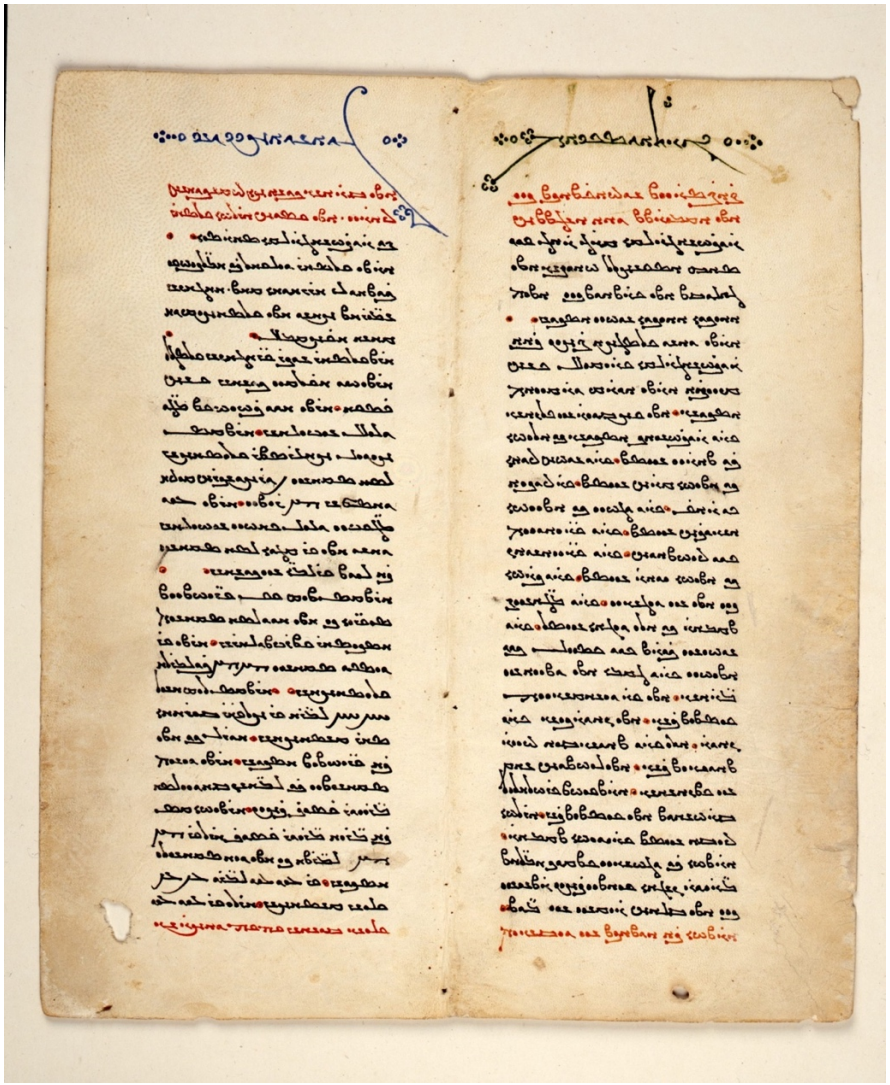
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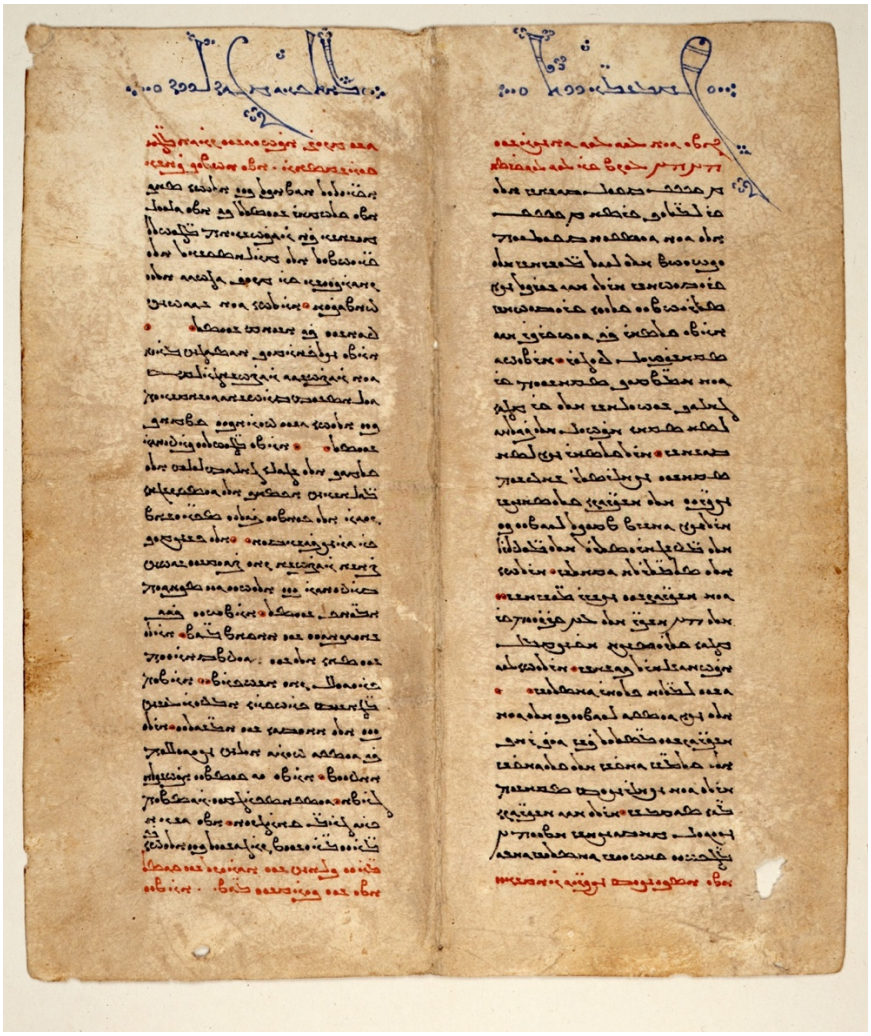
Plate 1



M178=MIK III 4990

Photo: courtesy of the Musem für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin.

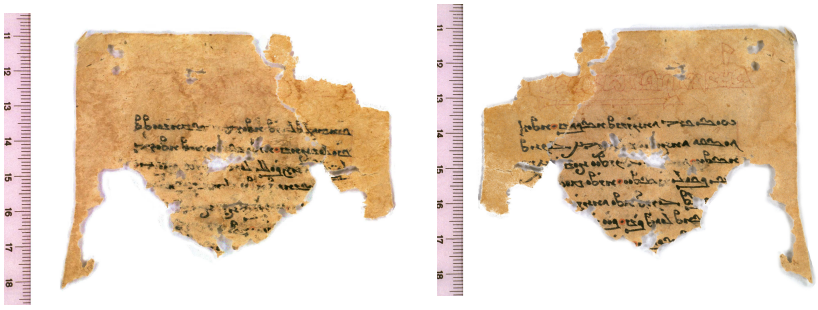
Plate 2



M178=MIK III 4990

Photo: Courtesy of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin.

Plate 3



M548 + M704 (montage)



M108 + M5928 [T II D 140] (montage)

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. Photos: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

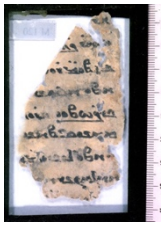
Plate 4



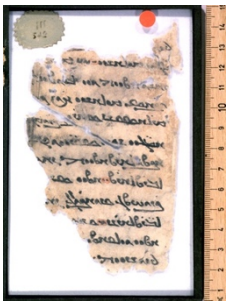


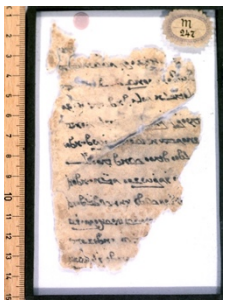
M110





M120

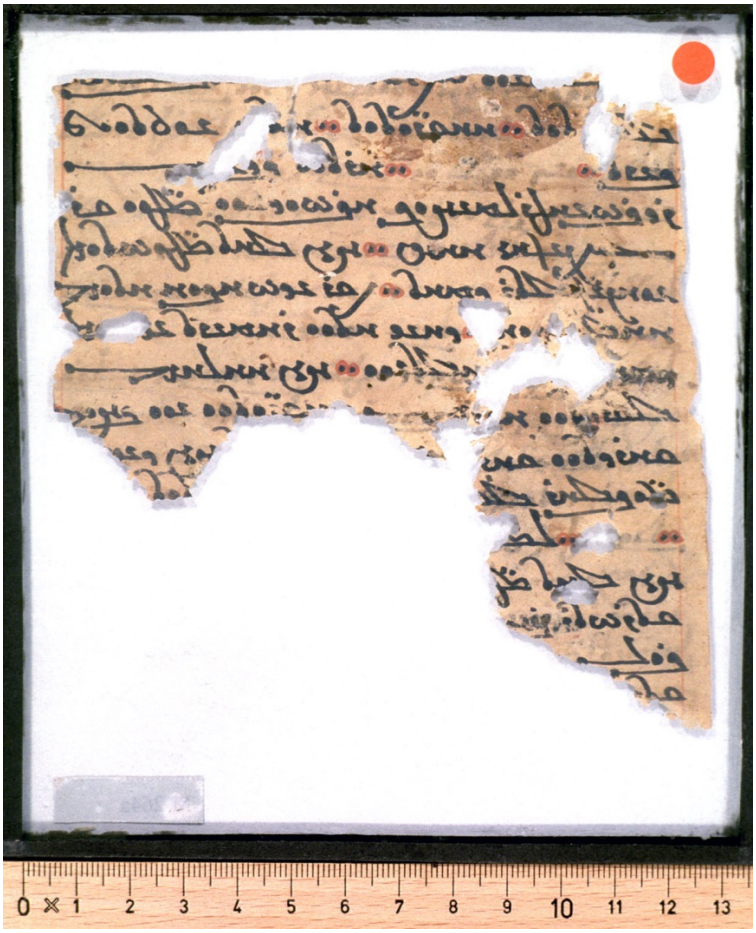




M247

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Plate 5



M264a recto

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Plate 6



M264a verso

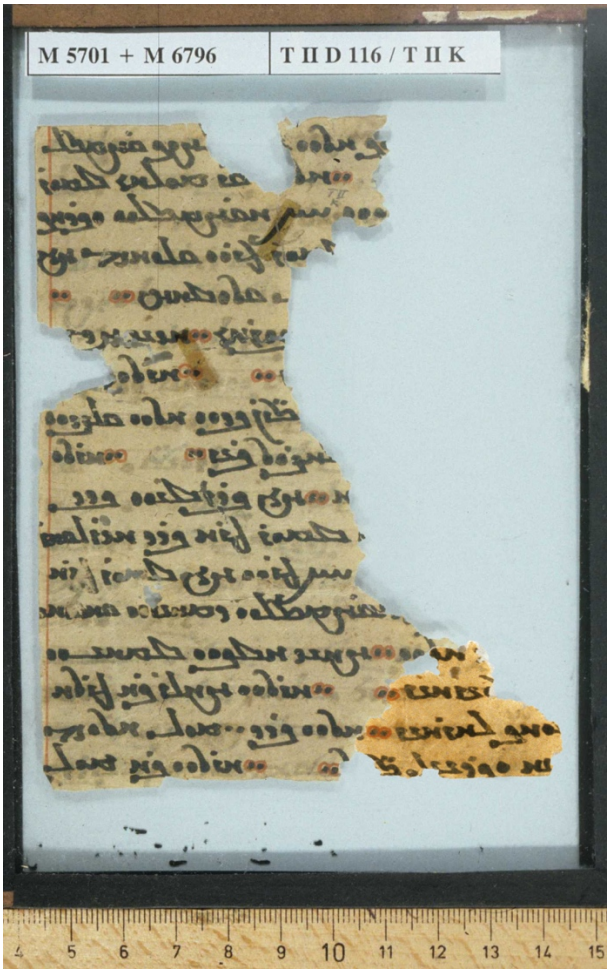
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Plate 7



M5701 [T II 116]+M6796 [T II K]+M2308 recto (montage)
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Plate 8



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Plate 9



M141+6795 recto

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Plate 10



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Frontmatter
More information

MANICHAEAN TEXTS FROM THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Founded by Mani (*c.* AD 216–76), a Syrian visionary of Judaeo-Christian background who lived in Persian Mesopotamia, Manichaeism spread rapidly into the Roman Empire in the third and fourth centuries AD and became one of the most persecuted heresies under Christian Roman emperors. The religion established missionary cells in Syria, Egypt, North Africa and Rome and has in Augustine of Hippo the most famous of its converts. The study of the religion in the Roman Empire has benefited from discoveries of genuine Manichaean texts from Medinet Madi and from the Dakhleh Oasis in Egypt, as well as successful decipherment of the Cologne Mani-Codex which gives an autobiography of the founder in Greek. This first ever single-volume collection of sources for this religion, which draws from material mostly unknown to English-speaking scholars and students, offers in translation genuine Manichaean texts from Greek, Latin and Coptic.

DR IAIN GARDNER is Chair and Senior Lecturer at the Department of Studies in Religion, Sydney University. He has published widely in Coptic and Manichaean studies, including the standard *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1995). He is also editor for the newly found Manichaean texts from the Dakhleh Oasis.

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EDITED BY

IAIN GARDNER AND SAMUEL N. C. LIEU

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More information

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Frontmatter
More information

To the memory of
Sarah Clackson

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Frontmatter
More information

Contents

List of plates *page* xi
List of maps xi
List of contributors xii
Preface xiii
Acknowledgements xiv
Notes for the reader xv
List of abbreviations xvii

1 Introduction 1
The purpose of this book 1
The life of Mani 3
The Manichaean system 8
Worship and ethic 21
The development of Manichaean studies 25
The survival of Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire 35

2 The life of Mani 46
Childhood, youth and calling 46
1 Mani's parentage, birth, childhood and adolescence 46
2 Mani's own version of early revelations from his divine Twin 47
3 Incidents from Mani's youth showing his refusal to harm even plants 48
4 Mani's account of his call 49
5 Mani's conflicts and break with the baptist community 58
6 The beginning of Mani's mission 66
Mani at the court of the Shahanshah (King of Kings) 73
7 Mani's calling and his summons before Shapur I 73
8 Mani's first encounter with Shapur I 75
9 Mani recounts his travels 76
The last days and death of Mani 79
10 Mani's change of fortune after the death of Hormizd 79
11 The confrontation between Mani and King Vahram I 84

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0521568226 - Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire - Edited by Iain Gardner and Samuel N. C. Lieu
Frontmatter
More information

12 Mani's imprisonment and death 85
13 Mani's entry into *parinirvana* 88
14 Praise for the martyred Mani 89
15 The sufferings of Mani compared to those of other true apostles 91
16 The institution of the *bema* 93
17 The death of Mani compared to the trial and crucifixion of Jesus the Messiah 94
18 The death of Mani commemorated in two *bema* psalms 95
The Manichaean church under Sisinnios and his successor Innaios 102
19 Persecution of the Manichaean church 102
20 The prayer and martyrdom of Sisinnios (Mar Sisin) 104

3 Manichaeism in the Roman Empire 109
Early mission and reaction 111
21 The mission of Mār Addā and Pattek the teacher 111
22 The healing of Nafšā of Tadmor (Palmyra) by Mār Addā 112
23 A warning against Manichaean missionaries 114
24 Alexander of Lycopolis on the Manichaean mission in Egypt 115
25 Edict (rescript) of Diocletian against the sect (AD 302) 116
26 Warning against door-to-door missions by the Manichaeans 119
Manichaeans and Christian ascetics in Egypt 119
27 Manichaeans out-argued by Didymus the Blind 119
28 A travelling Manichaean converted by true 'hospitality' 120
29 A Manichaean missionary challenged to trial by fire 121
30 A food-test imposed by the Patriarch Timothy 121
31 A story of two Manichaean merchants 122
Manichaeism in the Levant, Asia Minor and Greece 125
32 The debate between the Manichaea Julia and Porphyry the bishop of Gaza 125
33 The conversion of the Manichaeans at Ziph 129
34 The works of Mani and of Mār Addā refuted by Heraclianus of Chalcedon 129
Manichaeism in Italy and North Africa 130
35 The young Augustine joins the sect at Carthage as a hearer 130
36 A Manichaean house at Rome 134
37 Letter of the Manichaean Secundinus to Augustine 136
38 The Manichaean Firmus converted by a sermon of Augustine's 142
39 Victorinus exposed as a crypto-Manichaean 143
40 Manichaeans detected and punished in Carthage 144
Select legislations against the Manichaeans from Theodosius to Justinian 145
41 Anti-Manichaean legislation issued by Theodosius 145
42 The death penalty for Manichaeans 149
43 Mandate of Justinian I on Manichaeans' wills 150

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Cambridge University Press
0521568226 - Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire - Edited by Iain Gardner and Samuel N. C. Lieu
Frontmatter
More information

4 The scriptures of Mani 151
44 Mani's canon according to the *Kephalaia* 153
45 Canon lists from an Arabic and a Chinese source 154
46 From *The Living Gospel* 156
47 From *The Treasure of Life* 159
48 From an unnamed work of Mani, probably *The Pragmateia* 160
49 From *The Psalms and Prayers* (?) 163
50 The titles of Mani's *Epistles* 165
51 A quotation from 'The Letter to Edessa' 166
52 Passages from *The Epistles* preserved at Ismant el-Kharab 166
53 'The Fundamental Epistle' 168
54 'The Letter to Menoch' 172
55 Spurious letters attributed to Mani 174

5 Teachings 176
56 The community sing 'the knowledge of Mani' 176
57 Alexander of Lycopolis on the Manichaean system 179
58 The *Acta Archelai* on cosmogony 182
59 Augustine's summary of the teaching 187
60 An account of the evocation of the gods 191
61 'The prayer of the emanations' 194
62 Concerning the coming of the soul 196
63 The five worlds of the kingdom of darkness 199
64 The 'three days' and the 'two deaths' 202
65 The seven works of the Living Spirit 204
66 Mani discusses astrology 205
67 The Coptic treatise on the Light Mind 208
68 The descent of Jesus 217
69 Augustine on Manichaean Christology 218
70 A psalm by Herakleides 219
71 The great war and the last judgement 220
72 Four recently edited *Kephalaia* 226
73 Manichaean and other 'errors' concerning the destiny of the soul after death (Christian polemic) 229

6 Worship and ethic 231
74 The essential precepts of the elect and the catechumens 231
75 The archetypes of ritual action 232
76 The three seals 236
77 Augustine on the *bema* festival 237
78 A *bema* psalm 237
79 The profits of fasting 240
80 A psalm of endurance 240
81 Augustine on Manichaean ethics 244

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Cambridge University Press
0521568226 - Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire - Edited by Iain Gardner and Samuel N. C. Lieu
Frontmatter
More information

82 Augustine on the redemption of the light particles 245
83 A psalm of the universal soul 246
84 A psalm to glorify the Mind 247
85 Mani's discourse on the 'assent' and the 'amen' 249
86 The nature of love 252
87 A psalm in praise of Jesus 253
88 A psalm to the Trinity 254
89 A prayer for the ascent of the soul 256

7 Community texts 259
90 The advent of Mani 260
91 On the ten advantages of the Manichaean religion 265
92 An apologia for the distinction between elect and hearer 268
93 A father instructs his young son 272
94 The son writes to his mother 275
95 An elect encourages a sick catechumen 277
96 An elect writes to ask for alms 277
97 A Manichaean scribe sends a spell to a colleague 278
98 Horion discusses preparations for the *agape* 280

List and concordance of texts 282
Glossary 290
Bibliography 298
Index 307

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Cambridge University Press
0521568226 - Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire - Edited by Iain Gardner and Samuel N. C. Lieu
Frontmatter
More information

Illustrations

PLATES

2.1 Cologne Mani-Codex p. 94 *page* 64
5.1 Prayer of the Emanations from Kellis 194
7.1 General view of Ismant el-Kharab (ancient Kellis) 260
7.2 Manichaean psalms from Kellis 273

MAPS

1 The Sassanian Empire xix
2 The Roman Empire xx

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Frontmatter
More information

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Frontmatter
More information

Preface

The genesis of this book was in the late 1980s when Samuel Lieu first proposed the concept for the volume and approached Iain Gardner to collaborate, especially with translations of the extensive Coptic corpus. Gardner began to prepare portions of the *Kephalaia* codex, but in fact that developed into an entirely separate volume which is only partly represented here. Over a number of years the authors collected texts and made translations whilst they were occupied with other projects (often these contributed entirely new or previously unavailable pieces). Then, in 2000, we finally had the opportunity to put together the translations and introductions that we had gathered for this volume. We are very grateful to our contributors, some of whom had to complete their translations to meet stringent deadlines. We are grateful too to the British Academy, the Australian Research Council, the Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust and Warwick and Macquarie Universities for grants over a number of years for research on Manichaean texts discovered in Egypt and in Central Asia. To Dr Malcolm Choat we owe a warm word of thanks for helping in the task of indexing and final checking of the typescript. We would also like to thank Dr Michael Sharp at Cambridge University Press for his personal interest in the project and Professor Aloïs van Tongerloo and his research assistants at Catholic University of Leuven, Mr Dieter Taillieu and Kristof D'hulster for checking the translations from the *Fihrist* of Ibn an-Nadīm. Sam Lieu would like personally to thank the staff and fellows of the Ancient History Documentary Research Centre at Macquarie University for providing an excellent home for the Manichaean Documentation Centre which greatly facilitated research on this volume.

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Le Muséon, the Editors of, Louvain-la-Neuve, for Jenkins, R. G. 'The Prayer of the Emanations in Greek from Kellis (T. Kellis 22)', in *Le Muséon* 108 (1995).
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Frontmatter
More information

Notes for the reader

A good number of the translations included here have been made by the editors specially for this volume, either individually or in some combination with various scholars. Other translations have been specifically commissioned, whilst some have been drawn from published works. We would like to note that all the pieces have, to some extent, been adapted to conform to a basically uniform style throughout. In particular, technical terms, such as the names of Manichaean divinities, have mostly been given the same form throughout (there are some exceptions, such as the retention of the term Syzygos in the *Cologne Mani-Codex*). Where improved readings have been suggested (for instance to the *Manichaean Psalm-Book* text edited by Allberry in the 1930s), the translation will reflect those according to the judgement of the editors. These adaptations, which range from minor matters of house style to major improvements to the textual sense, have not been individually noted; though the occasions where radical revisions to the *editio princeps* have been possible are generally explained or referenced in the introductions to those pieces.

While the selection of texts is intended to be as representative as possible, and includes well-known pieces as well as some previously unavailable, some allowance has been made for the question of whether texts are easily accessible in a modern English translation. Thus, at the beginning, it was intended to provide especially substantial portions of *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, since this only then existed in a German translation that was not always easy to obtain. However, now that that work has been published by Gardner as a separate volume, the selections of that text have been substantially reduced, and are slanted towards parts of the codex edited after Gardner's English translation of the rest appeared.

Sources that appear here have been restricted to only a few pages per piece. This means that some especially long texts (such as the *Cologne Mani-Codex*) have been artificially broken up according to subject matter. These sections accord only to the purposes of this book, and do not reflect

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Frontmatter
More information

the intentions of the ancient authors. Equally, punctuation, paragraphs and such like have been imposed upon texts with the intention to make them more accessible to the modern reader. The following editorial signs are also used: round brackets ( ) indicate explanatory material added by the editors; square brackets [ ] indicate lacunae in the text; angular brackets < > denote words or phrases added to the text.

Linguistic notes and terms in the ancient languages have been kept to the absolute minimum. Often, where the editors are aware that divergent interpretations are possible, these are not recorded; but a choice has been made according to our judgement. The overall purpose is to fulfil a felt need for an easily accessible selection of *Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire*; accurate to the best standards of contemporary scholarship, but in English and uncluttered with technical detail.

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Frontmatter
More information

Abbreviations

Full details of works referred to by author and date may be found in the Bibliography. Abbreviations of journal titles follow those in *L'Année Philologique* (Paris, 1927-).

APAW	Abhandlungen der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin, 1815–1907; philosoph.-hist. Klasse, 1908–49.
Arab.	Arabic
Aug.	Aurelius Augustinus (Augustine)
Chin.	Chinese
CJ	*Codex Justinianus*, ed. P. Krueger, *Corpus Iuris Civilis,* II (Berlin 1929)
CMC	*Cologne Mani-Codex*
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Paris, Louvain etc. 1903ff)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1866ff)
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, 49 vols. (Bonn 1828–78)
CT	*Codex Theodosianus*, eds. Th. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer, *Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*, 2 vols. (Berlin 1905)
Fihrist	an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel (1871)
Gr.	Greek
GSR	Klimkeit (1993)
Hipp.	Hippolytus
Hom.	*Manichäische Homilien*, ed. H. J. Polotsky (Stuttgart 1934)

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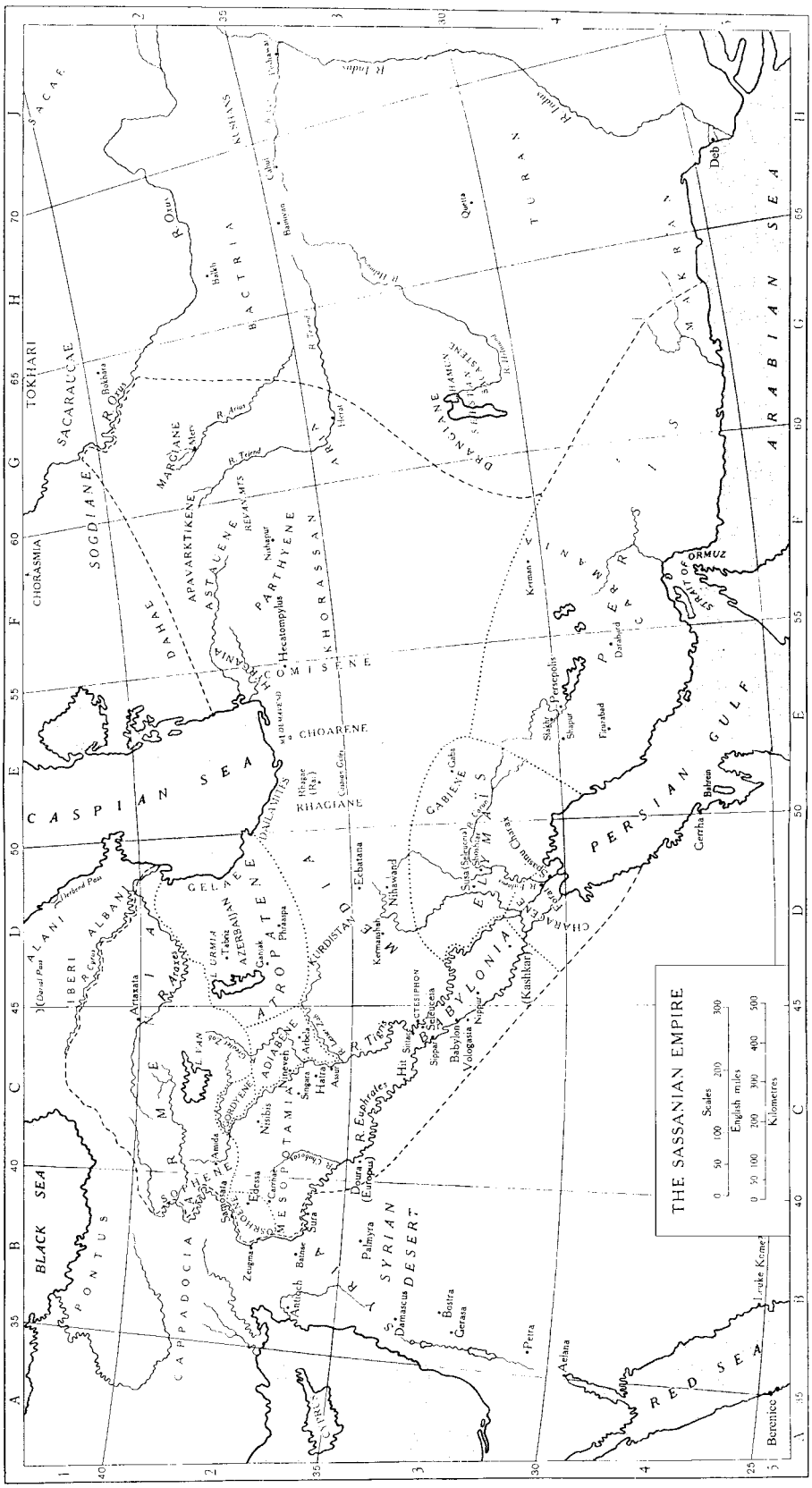
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Frontmatter
More information

HR II	F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan* II, aus den Anhang zu den APAW, 1904, 1–117
Keph.	*Kephalaia*, eds. A. Böhlig and H. J. Polotsky (1940); A. Böhlig (1966) and W.-P. Funk (1999-) (Stuttgart)
KG	Sundermann (1981)
MCPCBL	Giversen (1986, 1988)
Mid. Pers.	Middle Persian
MM I-III	F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch Turkestan* I, *SPAW* 1932, X, 175–222; II *SPAW* 1933, VII, 294–363; III *SPAW* 1934, XXVII, 848–912
P. Harr. I	*The Rendall Harris Papyri of Woodbrooke College, Birmingham*, ed. J. E. Powell (Cambridge 1936)
P. Kell. II	Gardner (1996)
P. Kell. V	Gardner, Alcock and Funk (1999)
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus*, series Graeco-Latina, eds. J. P. Migne et al., 162 vols. (Paris 1857–66).
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completu*s, series Latina, eds. J. P. Migne et al., 221 vols. (Paris 1844–64) and 5 suppl. (1958–74)
PO	Patrologia Orientalis, eds. R. Graffin and F. Nau (Paris 1907ff)
P. Oxy.	*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* I- (London 1898-)
PsBk2.	*A Manichaean Psalm-Book. Part II*, ed. C. R. C. Allberry (Stuttgart 1938)
Pth.	Parthian
Sogd.	Sogdian
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Berlin, 1882–1921; philosoph.-hist. Klasse, 1922–49.
T. Kell.	Tabula Kelliensis, texts either in Gardner (1996); or published separately (publication details in respective entries)

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Frontmatter
More information

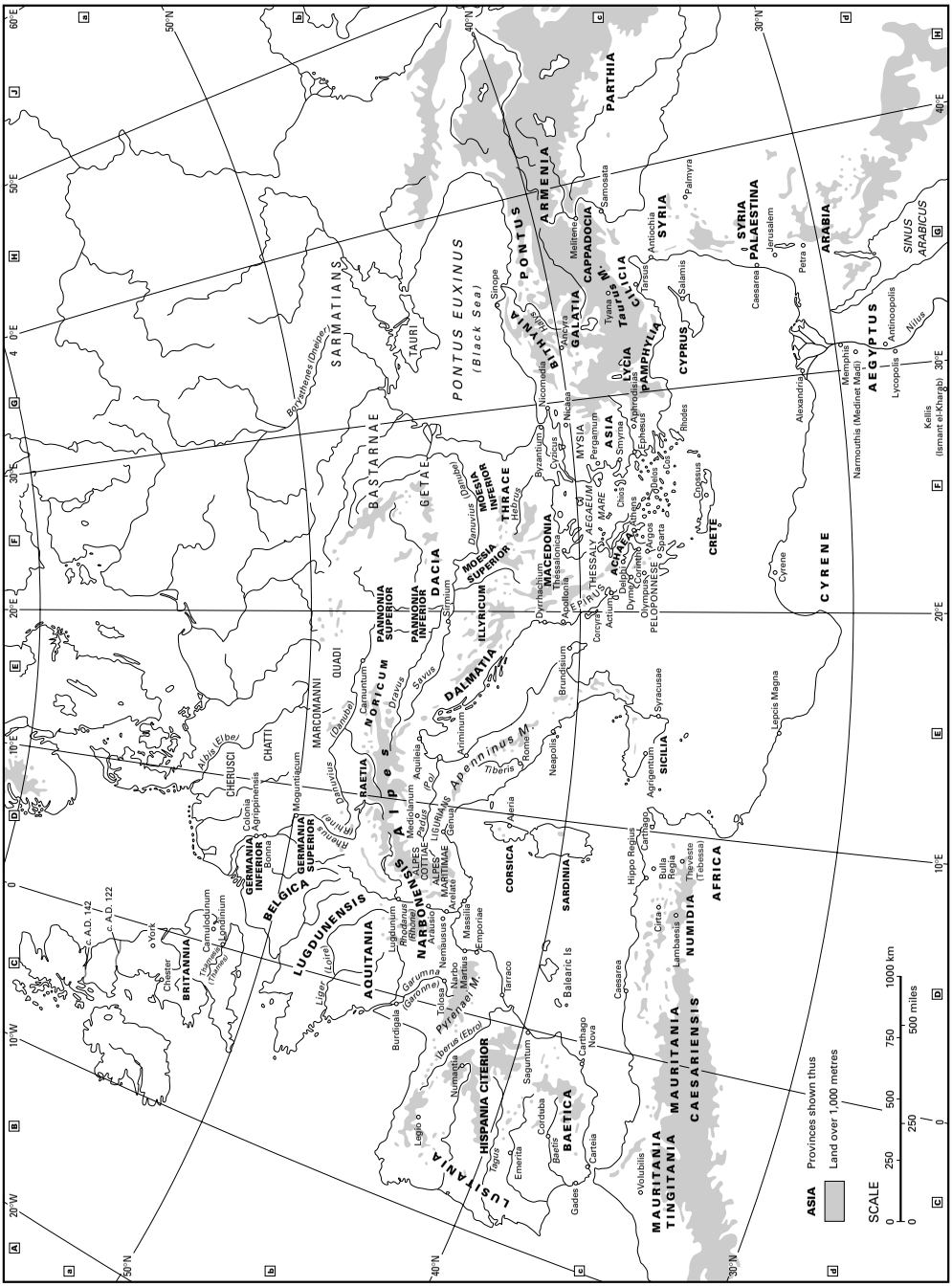


Map 1 The Sassanian Empire

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Frontmatter
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Map 2 The Roman Empire

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MANICHAEISM



MICHEL TARDIEU

Translated from the French by M. B. DeBevoise

Introduction by Paul Mirecki

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Manichaeism

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Translated from the French
by M. B. DeBevoise

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Contents

Introduction *Paul Mirecki* vii

Translator's Note xii

1. Mani 1
2. The Books 31
3. The Community 57
4. The Pantheon 75

Chronology of Manichaeism after Mani 91

Maps 100

Bibliography 103

Index 107

Introduction

Paul Mirecki

It is often said, and rightly so, that the modern study of Manichaeism began with "Ein Mani-Fund"—that is, with the publication in 1933 of an article by Hans-Jacob Polotsky and Carl Schmidt entitled "Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten: Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler." This article focused on the sensational discovery of several fourth-century Coptic Manichaean codices at Narmouthis (modern Medinet Madi) in Egypt's Faiyum, first attested to have been seen in Egypt in 1929. Although significant Manichaean manuscripts in Latin, Iranian, Turkic, and Chinese had been discovered previously (the most important eastern manuscripts had been found in Central Asia by A. von Le Coq and A. Grünwedel in 1904–14 and by A. Stein in 1905–7; in the West, the Latin fragments found near Tebessa, Algeria, were published by H. Omont in 1918, the same year as their discovery), the Coptic papyri discussed by Polotsky and Schmidt were to exert an immediate, significant, and long-lasting influence on the history of Manichaean research in the second half of the twentieth century and beyond.

Within a few years, primary Coptic Manichaean texts in transcription and modern translation were made available by Polotsky (1934), C. R. C. Allberry (1938), and A. Böhlig and Polotsky (1940) and published in folio editions by W. Kohlhammer Verlag in Stuttgart. For the first time scholars could analyze the seemingly complex and little known Manichaean religion on its own terms rather than on the biased accounts of the ancient and medieval heresiologists.

The war years could not have helped but have a stifling effect on the mostly European-based Manichaean scholarship of the time, which suffered the loss of a number of promising researchers, including Allberry himself, a brilliant young British coptologist who died during an ill-fated

Royal Air Force mission over Nedeweert, Holland, on 3 April 1943 (he was later memorialized by his friend, the scientist and author C. P. Snow, in his novels *The Light and the Dark* [1947] and *The Masters* [1951]). During the chaos that engulfed Europe following the war, some of the precious Manichaean papyri housed in Germany were lost; others survived, but with their identities confused. Some were even temporarily housed with other antiquities in one of the three large antiaircraft towers in wartime Berlin—specifically, the tower located at the Berlin Zoo.

But from the 1950s to the 1970s, with the rapidly growing interest in the so-called gnostic library discovered in 1945 near Nag Hammadi, Egypt, scholars turned their attention to the new Coptic collection (which contained dozens of texts with intriguing titles such as the Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Philip, the Dialogue of the Savior, and the Secret Book of John), to the disadvantage of the Coptic Manichaean texts. Even so, the enormous amount of scholarly commentary on the Nag Hammadi texts, together with the interest aroused by numerous international conferences, provided a model for the development of Coptic Manichaean studies and soon an entire field of Manichaean research. Although the close relationship between the Nag Hammadi and Medinet Madi collections was on the whole positive, prompting many scholars to work in both fields, it had the unfortunate result of causing Manichaeism to be classified as just another form of gnosticism—a modern category that fit neither collection very well.

Research in Manichaeism nonetheless received fresh impetus from A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, who announced in 1970 that they had succeeded in deciphering a small Greek vellum "butterfly" codex acquired in Egypt, published in 1971, and known today as the Cologne Mani Codex. Scholars now refer to its fragmentary text as "On the Origin of His Body" (i.e., on the origins of Mani's church—this is a modern quotation from the text, since the original title has been lost), an early anthology based primarily on Mani's own statements about his life that presented researchers with new information about the crucial early period of Mani's ministry and its interpretation by his disciples. The codex drew a great deal of attention from scholars of late antiquity, as much for its unusual form in miniature as for its intended purpose, then unclear.

Michel Tardieu's short introductory volume, which first appeared in

1981 as part of the popular "Que Sais-Je?" series, published in Paris by Presses Universitaires de France, made current research in the scholarly study of Manichaeism accessible to a new generation of students and scholars. In the meantime, the International Association of Manichaean Studies had been founded and in 1987 hosted its first international congress in Lund, Sweden; the following year a research group called the Manichaean Consultation (now the Manichaean Studies Seminar) was founded in North America under the auspices of the Society of Biblical Literature. Both groups continue to sponsor international conferences and issue publications on a regular basis today. Tardieu's book therefore came out at a most timely moment indeed, and in 1997 it appeared in a second, revised edition—evidence both of the warm reception it had received in academic circles and of the accelerating pace of research. Even so, its audience remained limited to those who could read French. This situation has now changed with the appearance of an excellent English translation by M. B. DeBevoise under the imprint of the University of Illinois Press.

◦ ◦ ◦ Manichaean research in the twentieth century was necessarily dominated by codicological and philological work that sought to clarify the nature of the newly discovered texts by producing and publishing long-awaited critical editions, modern translations, and photographic facsimiles. This activity also involved the long and difficult process of restoring and conserving often heavily damaged papyrus manuscripts—work that still continues for much of the extant material.

With the growth of Manichaean studies in the 1980s, however, and the resulting availability of Manichaean primary texts in critical editions and translations, research quickly moved from its initial preoccupation with philological issues and descriptive history-of-religions models to the adoption of new, synthetic methodologies pioneered in the humanities and social sciences. These methods have cast light on the diverse ways in which Mani's church interacted with the various social and religious traditions that formed the cultural context from which Manichaeism arose and in terms of which it defined itself. Today one finds textual analysis being carried out from the novel perspectives of gender studies and ritual studies, as well as those of the more traditional disciplines, such

as art history (since Mani and his disciples were also evangelistic painters working in a recognizable Manichaean style); even the early concern with the basic philological issues of establishing texts and producing critical editions and translations has been extended to include an examination of the broader contextual evidence these texts provide with respect to the dialects and idiolects of individual Manichaean scribes.

Recent research has led scholars to challenge the claims of formerly dominant patristic and other heresiological sources by exposing the strong biases (whether Buddhist, Christian, Muslim, or Zoroastrian) of their authors. Reevaluation of these sources has given rise to the view that such "outsider texts" tell us more about the heresiologists themselves than about their Manichaean opponents. Both the medieval conception of Manichaeism as a heresy and its more recent interpretation as a form of gnosticism, as well as the very notion of orthodoxy, now find themselves subject to intense scrutiny by scholars. Indeed, it has been suggested that the study of Manichaeism constitutes a test case for the deconstruction of received official histories in general.

In contrast to their counterparts a century ago, today's students of Manichaeism enjoy a rich selection of primary and secondary Manichaean sources from a broad variety of ancient cultures extending from Algeria to southeast China, in addition to an abundance of published studies, anthologies, and reference works. Moreover, the growth in the number of university courses and graduate seminars on Manichaeism over the past twenty years reflects a coincident increase in the number of teaching faculty who are familiar with Manichaeism, or actually specializing in it, with the result that more doctoral dissertations on Manichaean studies are being submitted in universities in Europe and North America every year.

Modern scholars, in examining the works of the early heresiologists, have argued that the great weakness of Manichaeism was not only the intense ascetical demands it made on its followers but also the complexity of its mythology. In this book, Michel Tardieu presents one of the clearest and most accessible accounts of this mythology, as well as of Mani's life, his writings and those of his disciples, and the structure and nature of the Manichaean Church. Its place as required reading for future generations of students and scholars is therefore assured.

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Translator's Note

In the translation of extracts from primary sources I have followed the author's renderings for the most part, while taking care to compare these to other versions. An English translation by Iain Gardner of much of the Coptic *Kephalaia* is now available as *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* (Leiden, 1995). Several important commentaries have appeared since the publication of the second edition of the French text. The recent volume by Gardner and Samuel N. C. Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 2004), contains a good deal of material translated from the *Cologne Mani-Codex* that takes Römer's suggested revisions into account. On Syro-Mesopotamian gnosis and Jewish traditions, see John C. Reeves, *Heralds of That Good Realm* (Leiden, 1996). English versions of a number of the Iranian and Turkish texts cited, including the Manichaean commandments, can be found in Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road* (San Francisco, 1993). The Chinese Manichaean heritage is treated in considerable detail in Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China* (Leiden, 1998).

Here and there I have inserted brief glosses, either to explain terms that otherwise would be familiar only to specialists in the history of ancient religions (such as *encratism, synaxis,* and the like) or to make it easier to follow the sometimes elliptical exposition of the French text. Additionally, I have expanded the bibliographic information embedded in the text and slightly added to the chronological account that follows it.

The author's system of simplified transcription has been retained, though variants are occasionally noted and familiar English renderings substituted for place names (*Merv,* for example, rather than *Merw*; *Karabalghasun* rather than *Qara-balghasun*) and proper names (*Shapur* rather than *Shabuhr* or *Sapores*) where these are generally used in the

scholarly literature of the ancient Near East. In transliterating foreign terms I have followed the French text both in forgoing the diacritical marks customarily employed to distinguish simple from emphatic phonemes, long from short vowels, and the voiced from the unvoiced *h* and in using the groups *th, kh* (or *x*), *dh,* the palato-alveolar fricative *sh,* and *gh* to transcribe the letters *tha', kha',* and so on; *tch* and *zh* to transcribe the *č* and *ž* of Persian and Turkish; and *sh, f, h, j, c,* and *ti* to transcribe the six demotic letters peculiar to Coptic. On the other hand, I have tended to substitute *v* for the *w* found in certain Sogdian transliterations (thus, for example, *Xvastvaneft* rather than *Xwastweneft* or the strict reading *X*$^{u\bar{a}}$*stvānift*) and made similarly minor changes where conventional Anglo-American practice departs from the French. Finally, the reader will note that the author's use of the Wade-Giles (rather than the pinyin) system for transcribing Chinese names has been preserved.

The following acronyms and abbreviations have been brought over from the French edition as well: Ar = Arabic; Aram = Aramaic; c = common to all sources; ca. = about (*circa*); Chin = Chinese; *CMC* = *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis;* Copt = Coptic; Gr = Greek; H = Hegiran year; Lat = Latin; MP = Middle Persian; Parth = Parthian; Sogd = Sogdian; Syr = Syriac; OT = Old Turkish (or Uighur).

Manichaeism

CHAPTER 1

Mani

Date and Place of Mani's Birth

Mani himself indicated the date and place of his birth. In the *Shabuhragan* (composed in Middle Persian in honor of Shapur [Shabuhr] I—whence its title), in the chapter titled "On the Coming of the Prophet," Mani says that he was born in Babylonia, in the year 527 of the era of the astronomers of Babel, four years after the beginning of the reign of the Parthian king Adharban, which is to say Artavan (Artabanus) V, last sovereign of the Arsacid Dynasty, in a town [*qarya*] called Mardinu on the nahr-Kutha (Nahr Kuta). The versatile Khwarazmian writer and computist al-Biruni (died ca. H 442/A.D. 1050) refers twice to this passage from the *Shabuhragan* in his *Kitab al-athar al-baqiya.* Various indirect and composite sources, on the other hand, among them works by the Mesopotamian Theodore bar Konai (eighth century) and the Arab Ibn al-Nadim (died ca. H 380/990), contain little more than hearsay evidence. Any attempt to square these accounts with the details furnished by al-Biruni seems doomed to failure.

The compiler of the Coptic *Kephalaia* drew the biographical details given there from the *Shabuhragan* as well. In *Keph.* 1, entitled "On the Coming of the Apostle," he places the event in the Egyptian month of Pharmouthi during the reign of Artabanus. The Chinese *Compendium,* written by a Manichaen dignitary in 731 on the order of the imperial chancellery, also confirms that Mani was born in the year 527 of the era governed by the twelfth constellation (*mo-sieh*), on the eighth day of the second month of the thirteenth year of the Chien-an period of the Emperor Hsien of the (last) Han Dynasty. The computations of various calendars (Babylonian, Iranian, Chinese, Egyptian) therefore give the same date: the year 527 of the lunar Seleucid (or Alexandrian) era, or

216 of our era. As for the mention of the day and the month (8 Nisan = 14 April) found in several non-Arabic sources, it has no historical value, serving only to allow Manichaeans to establish the calendar of their festivals.

Mani came into the world in a rural community on the banks of the upper course of the Nahr Kuta, which flows from a point northeast of Babylon southward to Nippur (Nuffar). The Akkadian place name, for which the Aramaic name of Mardinu has been substituted as the birthplace of Mani, has not been identified.

Mani's Parents

Only the name of the head of the family, Mani's father, is known with certainty. The Manichaean compilation "On the Origin of His Body," written in Greek in a small parchment manuscript volume (4.5 x 3.5 centimeters) and conserved at the University of Cologne—hence the acronym *CMC* (*Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis* = *Cologne Mani Codex*) used to refer to it—calls Mani's father Pattikios, a Hellenized form of the Iranian Pattig or Patteg (Patiq in Syriac).

Manichaean tradition later embellished the origins of its founder. Iranizing apologetics, on the one hand, cast Patteg as a descendant of an old Parthian family, the Haskaniya, whose roots were in the Median capital of Hamadan. Persian Manichaeans attributed many names to Mani's mother (Mays, Karussa, Utakhim, Taqshit, Nushit), associating her with the Kamsaragan family, itself related to the royal house of the Arsacids. One finds a distinguished lineage ascribed to the founder of a religion in the case of Buddhism and Christianity as well.

As a result of Christianizing apologetics, on the other hand, Mani's mother was also given the name of Jesus' mother: Maryam (Mariam). Eastern Manichaeans made his father an emigrant and defector who had left Hamadan for al-Mada'in and al-Mada'in for the region of Nahr Kutha, in imitation of accounts of Jesus' childhood, which relate the departure of Joseph of Nazareth for Jerusalem, and from there to Egypt. Like Jesus, Mani was said to have been an only son. And like his Christian precursor, claimed as the descendant of an ancient princely family of Israel, Mani

the Aramaean was said to be descended from an ancient princely family of Iran.

The Religions of Mani's Father

What was Patteg's religion? The Arab encyclopedist Ibn al-Nadim supplies us with a few hints in the *Kitab al-Fihrist,* or "Catalogue" (H 377/990):

> It is related that at al-Mada'in [= Ctesiphon] there was a house of idols that Fattiq [Patteg] was in the habit of frequenting, like many other people. Now, one day, there resounded for him from the inner sanctum of the house of idols this cry: "O Fattiq, eat no meat, drink no wine, abstain from all sexual relations!" Fattiq heard this call many times, for three days. Having understood the message, he associated himself with a group of people near Dastumisan known as the Cleansers [*al-mughtasila*]. Even in our time, some of them still survive in these regions and in the Bata'ih. They followed the religious law [*al-madhhab*] to which Fattiq had been ordered to adhere while his wife was pregnant with Mani.

In transferring to the father the visions of the son (for the sanctity of the latter implies that of the former), the tradition from which Ibn al-Nadim's source derived represents an illuminating episode in Manichaean hagiography—all the more so since it tells us that Patteg was a pagan, that his conversion preceded or slightly followed the birth of Mani, and that the religious community he joined professed Babylonian Mughtasilism.

The expressions "house of idols" and "shrine of the house of the idols" attest that the temple frequented by Patteg was not a temple of fire. It follows that the religious milieu in which Mani was brought up was not Zoroastrian. It may be further supposed that Patteg's paganism was what *Keph.* 121 calls the "sect of *nobe,*" established "in the midst of the land of Babylon." According to the Coptic text, the priest of this religion, with whom Mani was to engage in controversy, was an idolater [*refshmshe eidōlon*]. If one assumes that the word *nobe,* unknown in Coptic, comes from the Semitic, then Mani's father would have been, before becoming a Mughtasila, a worshiper of the god Nabu—that is, a follower of the traditional religion still current in Babylonia and northern Mesopotamia (Harran).

The three commandments whose call Patteg heard from the shrine of the idols show that the motivation for his conversion was essentially practical. Patteg abandoned one way of life for another. And by submitting to a rule founded on abstinence and continence, he left one religion, whose Harranian form known by Arab writers was removed from ascetic practices, to adhere to a religious tendency dominated by encratism [a doctrine that abominated matter and enjoined its followers to abstain from all carnal pleasure]. Inasmuch as the priests of the traditional religion were astrologers accustomed to dispensing visions and revelations, Patteg, in becoming a baptist, only exchanged one variety of revelation for another.

The Mughtasila

The group that Patteg joined while his wife was pregnant with Mani was called by Ibn al-Nadim *al-mughtasila* ("those who wash themselves"), the Arabic counterpart to the Greek word *baptistai* (baptists). In the ninth and tenth centuries, remnants of these baptist communities were still found in these parts of Babylonia, and in particular in the Bata'ih, a technical term of geography designating the marshy expanses of the Mesopotamian low country, between Wasit and al-Basra. "These people are numerous in the Bata'ih," repeats Ibn al-Nadim in the account he gives concerning them in the *Fihrist*:

> They are the Sabaeans of the Bata'ih. They practice ablutions, and wash everything that they eat. Their leader is called al-Khasayh [= Gr *CMC*: Alkhasaios (mss: al-Hasayh)]. It is he who gave the community its law. They assert that the two fields of being [*al-kawnayn*] are male and female: edible herbs are hair of the male, dodder [a leafless parasitic plant] is hair of the female, and the trees are their veins. They recount monstrous tales, which take the form of fables. The disciple of al-Khasayh was called Sham'un. They agreed with the Manichaeans on the Two Principles. Their community later broke away [from the Manichaeans]. There are some among them still today who venerate the stars.

Al-Nadim goes on to echo another tradition concerning the Sabaeans of the Bata'ih:

> These people uphold the ancient doctrine of the Nabataeans: they venerate the stars and have images and idols. The ordinary Sabaeans are called Harranians, although it is said they are not identical to them either as a group or as individuals. [After the French translation by G. Monnot]

The geographical and ideological proximity of the Mughtasila Sabaeans and the star-worshiping Sabaeans of Harran led the Arab historian to group them together. Even if, as we have seen, these two forms of "Sabaeism" are close variants of a single system of revelation, they must not be confused, since it was by passing from one to the other that Mani's father is said to have changed his religion, that is, his way of life.

The essential aspect of the religious practice of these Mughtasila consisted in ritual ablutions, both corporeal and dietary. This is why Theodore bar Konai called them by the Syriac name *mnaqqede* ("those who purify themselves"); according to bar Konai, they called themselves *halle heware* ("white garments"), white clothing being the sign of their state of purity. With regard to ablutions, nothing distinguishes Mughtasilism from other baptist sects, whether Palestinian or Babylonian.

What appears to have been specific to the Mughtasila movement is its code of dietary observance. In addition to prohibiting the consumption of fermented beverages and meat, it divided foods into two categories based on social criteria. Jewish bread (that is, the locally made bread of the poor) was permitted, but Greek bread (the bread of foreigners and the rich) was forbidden. Vegetables from the gardens of the community, regarded as being essentially male, were allowed; the same vegetables coming from outside the community, and so considered to be essentially female, were disallowed. Every male vegetable had to be "baptized"—washed and ritually blessed—before being eaten.

This system of classification and exclusion needs to be kept in mind if the history of the conflicts that were to mark the stages of Mani's development and his awareness of himself as a prophet is to be understood. As a member of the Mughtasila community, Mani was to challenge and ultimately to reject this system; later, as the founder of a church, he was to impose his own dietary code, drawing inspiration from the one that he had grown up with and that he had rejected.

Elchasai

According to Ibn al-Nadim, the person who had constituted the Mughtasila community in terms of law, in other words, the chief founder of this religion, was called al-Khasayh (mss: al-Hasayh). He is therefore the Alkhasaios of the *CMC* and the Elchasai of the Christian heresiologists. Al-Nadim, following the example not only of Manichaean tradition but also of the Fathers of the Church, spoke of Elchasai as someone who had actually lived. It is more likely that we are dealing here with the historicization of a mythical figure who was credited with authorship of a book of revelations that was widely known in Judeo-Christian circles in Palestine and Mesopotamia at the beginning of the Christian era. The term "Elchasai" will be used in what follows to refer not to a historical person but to the anonymous author of the book that gave birth to Elchasaitic Mughtasilism, and to the book itself.

A Greek version of this book was brought to Rome at the beginning of the third century by a certain Alcibiades of Apamea. Its contents are known from a Christian polemicist who subsequently discussed it in an encyclopedia of the errors of his time entitled *Elenchos*. According to this source, Alcibiades related that Elchasai, living in the land of the Parthians, had received this book from an angel of gigantic size and had transmitted it to his immediate disciple, one Sobiai. This event was said to have occurred "in the third year of Trajan's reign," or the year 100 of our era.

Elchasai, whom Epiphanius declared to be a Jew by both birth and religious upbringing, had become head of a new community by rejecting the forms of worship and the social basis of the Hebrew religion, namely, the bloody sacrifice instituted by the patriarchs and perpetuated in Passover practice, in the course of which the sacrificial animal's throat was cut and its carcass roasted on the altar. As a consequence, all forms of meat were excluded from the Elchasaitic diet.

While rejecting the institution and practice of sacrifice, Elchasai, who called himself "just," scrupulously observed the letter of the [Jewish] law in other matters: circumcision and strict monotheism, as well as (even though the heresiologists claimed otherwise) rejection of divination and astrology, respect for the sacerdotal institution and for Jerusalem as the

direction of prayer [*qibla*], observance of the Sabbath and of fasts, explicit approval of marriage, and distrust of the various forms of continence practiced in other Jewish sects.

Holding fire to be a diabolical instrument of the vulgar traditions of the old religion, Elchasai made water a thaumaturgic instrument of the new religion, saying:

> My children, do not go near to the appearance of fire lest you be led into error, for fire is only wrongdoing. You see it right in front of you when it is very far away! Take care then not to go near its appearance, follow instead the voice of the water!

Elchasaitic legalism consisted, then, in substituting for the sacrificial and deadly fire of Judaism the life-giving water of Palestinian baptist communities. The rite of initiation into the religion involved baptism for the forgiveness of sins, the catechumen being plunged fully dressed into the running waters of an outdoor stream. This baptismal epiclesis was accompanied by the invocation of elements endowed with therapeutic properties: water, earth, wind, oil, and salt (the last two occupying the place left vacant by fire).

The rite automatically entailed the pardon of all sins and consecrated the initiate's repentance, in other words, his conversion and his change of life. But it also, and above all, had a direct, curative effect on the body. For the moral purity that it conferred was itself only a consequence of the essentially physical and corporeal effect of word and gesture. The purpose of the rite was therefore to clean the body and to heal it of its maladies by delivering it from the evil demons that had possessed it. "If a man, a woman, or a child is bitten by a rabid dog," declares a fragment preserved in the *Elenchos,* "let him at that very moment run toward a river or an abundant spring, let him immerse himself in it fully dressed and confidently invoke great and most high God!" Consumptives and the demonically possessed were prescribed a treatment consisting of baths to be taken in cold water "forty times in seven days."

The regime of corporeal ablutions, whether these were performed on a daily basis or in accordance with the liturgical calendar, was supplemented by a second baptismal code, likewise very strict, that called for all authorized foods (coming exclusively from the ovens and gardens of

the community) to be baptized, or cleansed by immersion in water, before being consumed. "Pagan" foods, by contrast, were purely and simply taboo.

Grafted onto this essentially Jewish legalistic practice, and combined with it, were the prophetology of the apocalypticians and the christology of the sayings [*logia*] of Jesus. Though the fact of Elchasaitic Christianity, which regarded Jesus as the last of a series of Christs or messiahs descended from Adam, is undeniable, it differed profoundly from the one that Paul of Tarsus succeeded in imposing. For whereas Paul broke with the world of Jewish observances for tactical reasons, Elchasai remained a Judeo-Christian in the strict sense: a Christian practicing the kind of Jewish life that had been fixed once and for all by the prescriptions of the Torah.

By the beginning of the second century of our era, Elchasaitic Judeo-Christianity was firmly established in Transjordan and very active in Arabia. At the beginning of the third century, when Mani's father joined one of its Babylonian communities, Alcibiades of Apamea became its proponent in Rome. In the middle of the same century, Origen noted its "recent" progress in Palestine under Philip the Arab (244–49). In the following century, Epiphanius, an authority on religious movements in Palestine and Syria, noted that the baptist communities of Jordan had almost everywhere been assimilated by Elchasaitism. It was therefore a powerful movement. Some six hundred years later, Ibn al-Nadim, writing in the fourth century of the Hegira, confirmed its continuing presence under the name Mughtasila in the marshlands of Mesopotamia.

Call of the Angel

For the first twenty-five years of his life, Mani was an adherent of Elchasaitic baptism. When Mani was four his father brought him to the rural community of Dastumisan. One of Mani's first disciples, Salmaios, reported (*CMC* 11–12) that his master had confided in him the following:

> It was then [at the age of four] that I entered the religion of the baptists, in which I was brought up. Owing to the youth of my body, I was protected by the strength of the angels of light and the very mighty powers

> who were charged by Jesus [= Jesus the Splendor] with watching over me. . . . Thus it was that from the fourth year until the moment when I reached the maturity of my body I was kept safe in the hands of the most holy angels and powers of holiness.

This testimony is no doubt an idealized reconstruction. Having become a member of the Elchasaitic baptist community in early childhood, Mani is said to have been raised by a convert, his father, who awakened his religious sensitivity to the daily practices of the sect and to the marvelous sayings that were recounted about Jesus. Everything suggests that Mani's childhood was modeled on that of Jesus.

In the *Athar* al-Biruni twice affirms that, in the chapter of the *Shabuhragan* entitled "On the Coming of the Prophet," Mani says that revelation [*al-wahy*] came to him during his thirteenth year. Al-Biruni concludes from this that it was in the year 539 of the astronomers of Babylonia, two years after the beginning of the reign of Ardashir, king of kings. Ibn al-Nadim, for his part, declares in the *Fihrist*: "When he had attained twelve years of age, there came to him the revelation: it was, according to him, from the king of the paradise of light. The angel bearing this revelation was called al-Tawm, a Nabataean word meaning companion."

The event would therefore have occurred in 228 of our era, in the second year of the reign of Ardashir, as al-Biruni says more correctly in another passage of his chronology. *Keph.* 1 places the event in "the same year when Artaxoos [Ardashir] was to receive the crown." The name of the heavenly messenger is Aramaic: *tawma* = Gr *suzugos* [*CMC* (*saïsh* in the Coptic texts)]. *Keph.* 1 calls him *paraclētos* ("The living paraclete came down to me and conversed with me"), recalling the language of John 14:26.

In connection with the training of the future prophet, one encounters the legendary accounts of Syriac Christianity concerning the apostle Thomas, whose name signifies the "twin" (he was, or passed for, the twin brother of Jesus) and toward whom all forms of piety were nourished by the various Gospels and Acts current in the East during this period. Onto the traditional schema, Paraclete → Jesus × Thomas, the son of Patteg was to graft the secret of his vision: Paraclete → Jesus × Thomas → Mani.

For twelve years Mani allowed his secret to ripen—or, rather, the secrets [*musteria*] revealed to him by his heavenly companion—and, little by little, entered into conflict with his earthly companions, the Elchasaites. This initial period of conflict concluded, according to the liturgical account of Manichaean tradition, with a second and solemn visit from the angel al-Tawm. The *CMC* relates the event in these terms:

> At the time when my body had reached its development, unexpectedly there descended and appeared before me this very beautiful and sublime mirror of myself. When I was twenty-four years old, the year when Dariadaxar [Ardashir] the king of Persia subdued the city of Atra [Hatra] and when the king Sapores [Shapur I] his son was crowned with the very great diadem, in the month of Pharmouthi on the eighth day of the moon, the most blessed Lord took pity upon me and called me to his grace. He sent me from there my twin [*suzugon mou*]. . . . When therefore [my twin] came, he released me and took me away from the world of that Law in which I had been brought up. Thus it is that [the Lord] called, chose, and separated me from the midst of those people.

Here again the desired concordance of dates served Mani's theological and missionary purpose. The second epiphany of the angel coincided, within the space of a few days, with three successive events: the investiture of Shapur I as coregent with his father, Ardashir I (1 Nisan 551 in the Seleucid calendar = 12 April 240); the full moon that occurred on the thirteenth day of the same month; and Mani's twenty-fourth birthday (8 Nisan = 14 April). Mani was therefore entering his twenty-fifth year, as the extract from the homily of Baraies conserved in the *CMC* confirms.

This concordance satisfied an apologetic need to demonstrate the alignment of three worlds, astrological, political, and prophetic: a new time, a new king, a new prophet. Underlying this coincidence was, if not flattery, at least a discreet appeal addressed to the new *shahanshah.* If Mani wrote the message of the revelation he had received in the language of the king and for the king, it is because he hoped that the reign that had just begun would be placed in the service of the new religion.

Anti-Elchasaite Controversies

Mani was to develop his plans for a new religion in a manner consistent with the religion of his time and place and, at the same time, in contradiction to it. But here again one needs to take into account the idealization of his life, which was promoted no less by Mani himself than by his biographers. Just as Mani was portrayed in childhood as copying the child Jesus, so Mani as a young man disputing with the authorities of his community imitated the role of Jesus as a young man in the anti-Judaizing controversies reported by the synoptic Gospels. Nonetheless, this part of the biography, even allowing for embellishment, stands out as the historically most recent and most certain element contributed by the *CMC*.

Mani's disputes with the Elchasaites bore not only on the baptismal practices applied to fruits and vegetables but on all the observances and prescriptions of the religion. "I questioned them about the way of God," Mani declares in a saying ascribed to the authority of Baraies (the Abrahaya of Arab tradition), "and the commandments of the Savior."

The Elchasaite custom of baptizing foods prompted the future prophet to resort to irony. Mani's argument was one of simple common sense. To subject food to baptismal cleansing eliminates neither blood nor bile nor gas nor excrement; only abstinence can diminish the quantity of waste [*apedumata*]: "Let someone partake of food that has been ritually washed and purified, and then partake of what has not been so washed, it is plain that the effect on the beauty and strength of the body is the same. Similarly, the excrement and residue of the two sorts of food cannot be perceived to differ in any way from one another. Therefore, food that has been ritually washed, which the body evacuates and expels, does not differ from any other unbaptized food" (*CMC* 82).

Mani explained to his interlocutors that bathing and ablutions confer no purity whatever. He showed them that the Savior, Jesus, did not say a word about such practices in his "commandments," that the body, by its nature impure, cannot be cleansed by water. "The purity of which the Scripture [= Jesus] speaks is that purity which comes from knowing how to separate light from darkness, death from life, clear waters from

clouded waters. . . . This is the most righteous purity that you have been commanded to practice" (*CMC* 84–85).

Such remarks aroused murmurs and suspicion in certain quarters; in others, respect and admiration. Some of his supporters considered him a religious leader; others, a prophet; still others, a visionary favored with a secret revelation. His opponents regarded him as the anti-Christ and the false prophet announced by tradition, a fomenter of schisms who deserved to be put to death: "He is the enemy of our Law! He wishes to go among the pagans and eat [Greek] bread. For we have heard him say: It is right to partake of [Greek] bread" (*CMC* 87). Favorable and unfavorable reactions alike drew inspiration from New Testament accounts of the identity of Jesus and the counts of indictment brought against him by the Jews of Palestine.

The disturbances and schisms caused by Mani's zealousness as an antiestablishment preacher forced the community's religious leader, Sitaios, to convene the council of elders, which decided to ask Mani's father to explain the behavior of his son. Patteg listened to his son's accusers and then, declining all responsibility, answered in the fashion of the parents of the man in the gospel who had been born blind (John 9:21): "Summon him yourselves and try to make him see reason!" (*CMC* 90).

When Mani appeared in his turn before the presbyterial assembly, his judges praised first his virtues: "Since your childhood you have been among us and you have tirelessly persevered in the prescriptions and observances of our Law. What has happened to you now, what vision have you had? For you oppose yourself to our Law, you overturn and abolish our religion [*dogma*]. The path you take is different from ours" (*CMC* 90–91). Mani was then accused of rejecting the rites of purification, the commandments of the Savior, the dietary prohibitions against wheat bread and vegetables, and agricultural labor.

Mani's response was, first, to show that in all his words and actions he was only following the example of Jesus, who had blessed bread, eaten with publicans and sinners, shared meals with Martha and Mary, and sent his disciples on missions equipped with neither millstone nor baking dish, only a single article of clothing: "Observe then that the disciples of the Savior ate bread that came from women and idolaters and that they made no distinction between this and that bread, any more than between

this and that vegetable, and in order to eat they did not concern themselves with either laboring with their hands or working the land, as you do today" (*CMC* 93).

Having pointed out the contradiction between the practice of the baptists and the actions of Jesus, Mani went on to say that baptists contradicted their own tradition. His first apothegms illustrated the conduct of Elchasai himself, the founder of the law.

Going out one day to bathe, Elchasai saw in the waters a human figure and heard it moan and say that it had been injured by the daily baths of animals and men. Elchasai went away, and then another day, when he sought to wash his body in a puddle of water, once again the human image appeared to him, saying: "We and the waters of the sea are one. You have come to commit in this very place a sin and to injure us." Elchasai was persuaded by these words and, the text adds, let "the mud dry on his head" (*CMC* 96).

Just as he did not practice ablutions, Elchasai did not devote himself to agricultural labor. One day when he was learning to use a plough to work the land, he heard the earth groan. He then took a clod of the earth that had spoken to him, wept, kissed it, and placed it on his breast, saying: "Here is the flesh and blood of my Lord" (*CMC* 97). On another occasion, when his disciples were cooking bread, Elchasai heard the bread speak to him and then ordered his disciples to cease their cooking.

Even if Mani's diatribe against Elchasaism in the names of Jesus and of Elchasai himself, as related by the *CMC,* was a piece of self-justification composed after the fact from proselytical necessity, it nonetheless gives us a good sense of the tense atmosphere that reigned in the baptist community at the time when Mani claimed to have been visited by his celestial companion.

The Seal of the Prophets

The second appearance of the angel al-Tawm in the idealized biography of Mani marks both a rupture with Elchasaism and the ecclesiastical birth of Manichaeism. Ibn al-Nadim reports the event in these terms in the *Fihrist*: "When he had finished his twenty-fourth year, al-Tawm came to him, saying: 'The time has now come for you to manifest yourself

[*kharaja*] in order to announce your power.'" The Muslim compiler then cites a logion, no doubt extracted by his source from the *Shabuhragan,* in which the angel solemnly proclaims Mani's epiphany and commands him to undertake a mission: "Peace unto you, Mani, from me and from the Lord who sent me to you. He has elected you to his apostolate, and so it is your mission to call [the peoples] to your truth. You shall proclaim the gospel of truth [*bushra al-haqq*] in his name and devote yourself to this task with all your strength." The end of Mani's attachment to the religion of his childhood and the beginning of his apostolate as the founder of a new religion were formulated in the language of visions popularized by the apocalyptic style of the day. Such language provided the sole possible scriptural basis for asserting the authenticity of religious reform during this period.

On the theological content of Mani's apostolate, al-Biruni reports in the *Athar* a logion taken from the first part of the *Shabuhragan*:

> Wisdom [*hikma*] and knowledge [*a'mal* in the manuscript, corrected to read *'ilm*] are what the apostles of God constantly bring in one period after another. Thus [these things] appeared in one of the [past] centuries through the apostle called al-Bidada [Buddha] in the lands of India, and in another through Zaradasht [Zoroaster] in the lands of Persia, and in another through 'Isa [Jesus] in the lands of the West. Then in the present century there came down this revelation and appeared this prophecy through me, Mani, sent by the God of truth in the lands of Babel.

Following the example of the heroes of the apocalypses read in Judeo-Christian circles, Mani presented himself as the executor of a heavenly revelation. He went on to clarify the object of this revelation—namely, his decision to found a new religion—employing the eschatological language of the Gospels: nearness of the end of time, manifestation of this end through the announcement of good news, and election to the apostolate, that is, the gathering into a church of those who are prepared to welcome the good news transmitted by the chosen apostle. On all these points Mani imitated Jesus' consciously messianic decision to travel throughout Palestine, spreading the good news of the imminent coming of the kingdom of God and sending forth twelve disciples in his turn ("He who receives you receives me, and he who receives me receives him who

Figure 1. List of the Prophets or Apostles of Humanity

'Abd al-Jabbar	al-Biruni	al-Shahrastani	Ibn al-Murtada	*M 299a*	*Giants*	Chinese *Compendium*	*M 42*	*Keph. I*	*CMC 48–63*	*Hom. III*	*Ps. 142–3*
Adam		Adam	Adam					Adam	Adam	Adam	Adam
Seth		Seth	Seth	Shem/Sem	Seth			Seth	Seth		Seth
				Enos				Enos	Enos	Enos	Enos
				Enoch				Enoch	Sem	Sem	Noah
Noah		Noah	Noah					Noah	Enoch	Enoch	Sem
								Sem			Enoch
		Abraham									
Zoroaster	Buddha	Buddha	Buddha		Zarathustra	Lao-tzu	Zarathustra	Buddha		Jesus	
Buddha	Zoroaster	Zoroaster	Zoroaster		Buddha	Buddha	Buddha	Zoroaster		Paul	
Jesus	Jesus	the Messiah	Jesus		Christ		Jesus	Jesus		Zoroaster	Jesus
		Paul						Paul	Paul	Buddha	Paul
Mani	Mani		Mani			Mani		Mani	Mani	Mani	Mani
		Muhammad									

sent me" [Matthew 10:40]). The undertakings of Mani and of Jesus were identical: prophetic awareness is inherently missionary.

Nonetheless, the prophetic acts of the two were profoundly different. To distinguish himself from John the Baptist, who announced repentence by a baptism of water, the Jesus of the Gospels preached the good news of a "baptism of fire" through the dispatch of a paraclete, or intercessor: the Holy Ghost. The good news that Mani claimed to have been assigned the mission of spreading (he was the same age as Jesus was, according to the Gospels, when Jesus received his calling) was no longer to announce a hope but to say that this hope was fulfilled—that the hope announced by Jesus had been realized in him, Mani. Indeed, in the *Gospel,* which he composed using the twenty-two letters of the Aramaic alphabet, Mani expressly said (according to al-Biruni in the *Athar*) that "he is the Paraclete announced by Christ and that he is the seal of the prophets."

The doctrine of the seal of prophecy is a fundamental aspect of Judeo-Christianity in the strict sense of the term, and the young Mani was as familiar with it as the young Jesus was familiar with Jewish messianic thought.

But Mani did not take his prophetological doctrine from Elchasaism alone. In fact, if Judeo-Christianized baptism recognized Jesus as the fulfillment of the prophecy and of the salvation heralded by the earliest apostles and sages of humanity, that is, by the heroes of the mythical ethnohistory of the Jews (essentially Adam and the major Sethites, by contrast with the Cainites, makers of tools and sowers of disorder), it thereby restricted its theology of the history of salvation solely to what was contained in the Jewish legends, from Adam to Shem, son of Noah. The profound alteration that Mani made to the received prophetological schema followed from his refusal to interpret it from either the Jewish or Judeo-Christian point of view. On the one hand, he extended this schema to the entire inhabited earth [*oikoumenē*]; on the other, he made it converge upon himself.

The previous table (fig. 1) listing the prophets recorded in the Manichaean literature and in Muslim heresiography needs to be supplemented by a diagram (fig. 2) showing Mani's own position in relation to these prophets at the time of his break with Elchasaism:

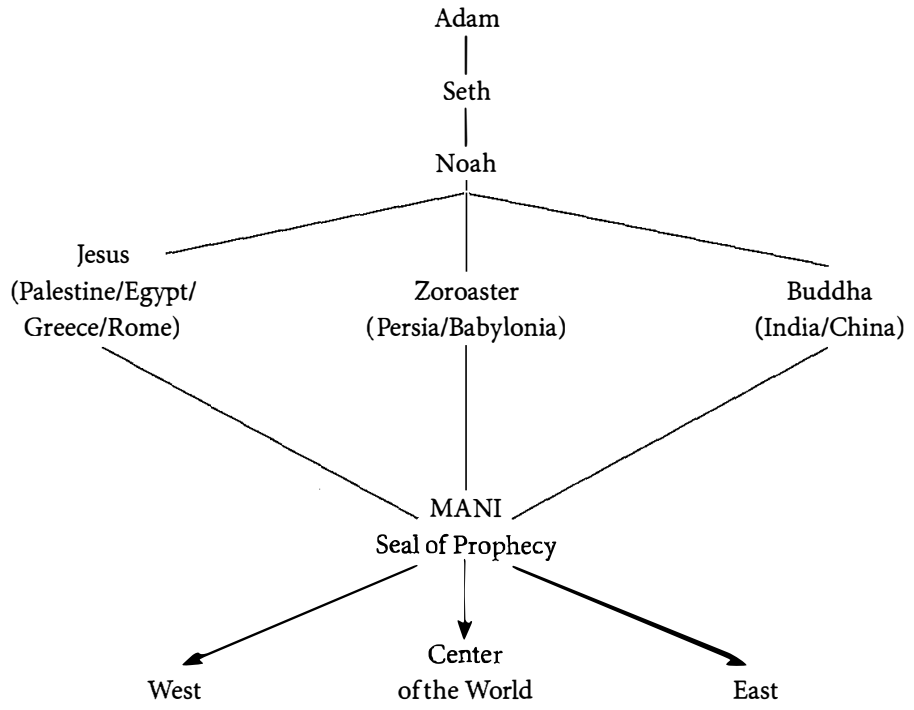


Figure 2.

Mani expressed the spirit of such an arrangement for the first time in the *Shabuhragan,* and later he explicitly referred to it in the *Book of Giants.* If the legendary names transmitted by Genesis go unmentioned in the *Shabuhragan,* this was a tactical omission motivated by the fact that the monarch to whom Mani had dedicated his book was unacquainted with Jewish culture. Moreover, in restricting himself to the founders of the three great world religions, the prophet sought to suggest to the king of Iran that his new reign, devoted to the political domination of the world, coincided *with* and would be facilitated *by* the institution of a universal religion founded by one of Shapur's own subjects, the spiritual heir to Buddha, Zoroaster, and Jesus. This prophetology, carrying with it all the wisdom and knowledge of the world [MP *xrad ud danishn*], that is, of these three sages of the ancient oral tradition, was at the very heart of Mani's doctrine. The originality of Manichaeism is not dualism as a dogmatic construction—this was to be the achievement of his disciples—but the fact that it elaborated an ecclesiology based on a universalist prophetology.

The resolutely anti-Elchasaitic (and therefore anti-Judaic) character of such a prophetology can be seen first in the exclusion of all the representatives of historical Jewish nationalism from its statement of ecclesiastical purpose. The mention of Abraham (as of Muhammad) in the list given by al-Shahrastani [in *Kitab al-Milal*] was plainly due to the Muslim heresiologist himself, influenced as he surely was by the Koranic list of the messengers of God, the title of seal of the prophets being attributed by the Koran to the founder of Islam.

Anti-Elchasaism is also, and especially, apparent in the rejection of ritual and belief as norms of salvation. In the *Shabuhragan* Mani lays down as the criterion of decision in matters of final judgment the same criterion laid down by Jesus (the text of Matthew 25:31–46 is literally and fully adopted in the *Shabuhragan*). Salvation did not depend upon the observance of a particular practice or upon conformity to an orthodoxy—from this was to come the dogmatic malleability of cultural Manichaeism, which in all places was Christian but also just as much, depending on the area, Zoroastrian, Marcionite, Buddhist, or Taoist; the salvation of every person, whether Manichaean or non-Manichaean (Mani was addressing himself, let us not forget, to Shapur), was a consequence of the acts of mercy shown toward the "religious," namely, the faithful of the church: "I was naked and you clothed me. I was sick and you cared for me. I was bound and you untied me. I was captive and you freed me. And I was exiled and wandering and you welcomed me into your homes."

The anti-Elchasaitism (and therefore the anti-Judaism) of Manichaean ecclesiology may be seen finally in the mention, by both Jesus and Mani, of the apostle Paul. This detail is quite obviously absent from the *Shabuhragan,* but the direct Manichaean sources (*Kephalaia, CMC, Homily* III [= *Hom.* 42.9–85.34], Psalm Book), compiled following Mani's death, all mention the name of Paul. It is certain that Mani himself, confronted at the end of his life by the fierce repression ordered by the Mazdean (Zoroastrian) authorities and approved by the imperial court, likened his own fate to that of all the persecuted prophets—Jesus, of course, but also his disciples, in particular Paul and the first Christian martyrs (the Manichaean Psalm Book gives the names of several of these).

It would be a mistake, however, to believe that Mani's Pauline sympathies were belated or in any way secondary. The youthful protago-

nist of the anti-Elchasaite controversies was unable to ignore someone whom his coreligionists especially detested as a destroyer of the law and whose letters and writings they had, for this reason, excluded from their own canon of writings. It is probable, therefore, that Mani became fascinated at a very young age with the personality of a man whose writings (authentic and inauthentic alike, canonical and extra-canonical) recounted at length his sudden conversion on the road to Damascus, the rapture of the third heaven, and the missionary achievements in the West. It was in Paul's school that Mani forged his vocation as a visionary and apostle. As for the five messengers—Adam, Seth, Enosh, Shem, Enoch—whose names precede that of Paul in the list given by Baraies (*CMC* 48–59), they have in common the experience of having been, like Paul, favored with visions, apparitions, and raptures that, as in the case of Paul, were recorded in writings of revelation (apocalypses) associated with their names, one or more extracts from each of which are quoted in the *Homilies*.

In sum, the decisive reasons that made Mani the founder of a new religion are of two kinds:

1. Rejection in the name of Jesus of an unbearable practice, namely, Jewish legalism, which was perpetuated in its own fashion by Elchasaite baptism, and as a consequence of this, rejection of a doctrine narrowly concerned with the strict maintenance of a practice that had become "foreign to the commandments of the Savior."

2. Influence of the Pauline model known through the New Testament and the apocryphal literature associated with his name. With Mani this latter influence led to a thorough reworking of the first Judeo-Christian prophetology in the direction of a radically ecumenical doctrine.

Travels and Missions

Having broken with Elchasaism in the name of Jesus and Paul, Mani became an active apostle after the manner of Paul, apostle of Jesus Christ. No period of transition separated the break from the apostolate. Mani did not first conceive, in the secrecy of some retreat, a grandiose project for a new metaphysics or a new theology; nor did he seek to found a new religion by first drafting statutes. When he broke with the baptists

of Babylonia, he set out at once on the roads and the seas, for his religion propelled him forward.

Yet there are differences between the apostolates of Paul and Mani. On the one hand, there were differences of substance: Paul preached the message of a dead and living Christ, that is, Jesus as he was worshiped by the first Christian community of Jerusalem; Mani, however, preached the message of Mani, for as prophet and seal of the prophets, he identified himself with the Paraclete, or Holy Ghost, which constituted the faith and hope of the Jesus of the Gospels. On the other hand, there were differences of environment as well: Paul of Tarsus, a Jew of Greek culture and Roman citizenship, journeyed to the West and in his earliest missions made a point of introducing himself, at each town along the way, to the Jews of the local diaspora before going to meet the local Greeks; Mani, a Babylonian of Judeo-Christian culture and Iranian citizenship, set out to the East in search of the Iranian world, seeking to establish himself in the Judeo-Christian communities scattered between the Caucasus and India.

Mani, a man from the country, discovered the cities and the great commercial thoroughfares of the land. Departing from Seleucia-Ctesiphon, where he was unable to cross the Tigris on account of rising waters, Mani took refuge together with two companions at Nasēr (Nasir), near Sippar. In this, the place where he founded his religion, he announced to his father that the law of the baptists was no longer his law. The small group then crossed the river and made their way northwest toward the mountains of Media, passing through Diyala. From there they reached the mining country of Ganazak (Ganzak), south of Lake Urmiya in Azerbaijan. There Mani healed the daughter of a wealthy man and conceived the institutional embryo of his church in the form of messengers [*presbeutai* and *apostoloi*], whom he succeeded in sending into the Caucasus (Armenia and Georgia). In the centuries that followed, the official historiography of these two regions' conversion to Christianity took over from local Manichaean propaganda its characteristic themes and accounts: royal conversions obtained during a hunting expedition, healings of members of the royal family, controversies with the pagans.

As for Mani himself, he traveled onward with his father along the commercial route over which Azerbaijani tin was carried, going from Ganazak,

where this mineral was extracted and refined, as far as Pharat, the port of Mesene on the Persian Gulf, whence Arab merchants carried it to "India," that is, Deb (Daybul), in the estuary of the Indus River.

This itinerary was said to be the one that had been taken about two centuries previously by the apostle Thomas. Small Christian communities had been established along this route, up to and beyond the Strait of Hormuz. According to legend, Thomas had been reluctant at first to undertake the mission ordered by Jesus: "How can I, who am Jewish, go among the Indians?" Mani, who knew the marvelous tales surrounding the voyages of Thomas, desired of his own free will and for his own reasons to follow the route taken by his illustrious predecessor. It was, therefore, members of these Christian communities, scattered between Fars and Turan and claiming to follow the teaching of Thomas, whom Mani met in the course of his first missionary voyage. Making contact with these communities, not the study of Buddhism, was the object and purpose of this voyage.

Just as the Acts of Thomas credited Thomas with great success among the local princes and chieftains, Manichaean hagiography was to contrive an analogous missiology for Mani. A Parthian fragment (M 48) recounts Mani's success in converting the Buddhist king of Turan. Having publicly performed a feat of levitation, which led the king to acknowledge the true wisdom, Mani revealed his missionary purpose: "When the Turanshah and the notables [*azadan*] heard this, they rejoiced. They accepted the faith and showed themselves favorable to the apostle of the religion." A few members of the family and of the royal court converted in their turn. At the sight of Mani rising again into the air to take leave of him, the king fell on his knees, but Mani called to him. The Turanshah then went to meet him in the air and kissed Mani, declaring to him: "You are the Buddha!"

The brief duration of this Indian mission, at most two years, excludes any possibility of proselytism or integration in Buddhist circles. If it could hardly have led to the spectacular conversions attributed to him by Manichaean legend, it nonetheless enjoyed a certain success in Christian circles since, according to another Parthian fragment (M 4575^{r}), on his return to Rew-Ardaxshir Mani sent his father, Patteg, one of his first converts, and his brother John (Hanni) to look after the community he had just founded there.

On the dating of this first mission and the activity that followed, the essential details come from the Coptic *Kephalaia* (1:15–16):

> In the last years of Artaxoos [Artashir] the king I set out to preach, I reached by sea [*jiore*] the country of the Indians, I preached to them the hope of life, I elected [*sotp*] in this place a good election [= community, church]. Yet in the year when Artaxoos the king died and Sapores [Shapur] his son became king, I went back by sea from the country of the Indians to the land of the Persians, and again from the land of Persis I reached the land of Babylon, Mesene, and the region of Susa. I presented myself to Sapores the king. He received me with great honor and gave me permission to travel through his territories and to preach there the word of life. I spent some years in the royal retinue [*komitaton*], some years in Persis, in the country of the Parthians, [and] as far [north] as Adiabene and the borderlands of the kingdom of the Romans.

Kephalaia 76, on the voyages of Mani, describes the circumstances of his meeting with Shapur I and gives a summary account of the missions directed by Mani:

> Further, it happened one day, while our master and luminous enlightener Mani was living in the city of Ctesiphon, that Sapores the king inquired after him and summoned him to come. Our master set out and went to Sapores the king, then came back and went to his church. When he had been there for not quite an hour, without delaying any longer Sapores the king inquired after him again, summoned him to come, and [our master] set out again; once again he went to Sapores the king, spoke with him, proclaimed the word of God to him, and then returned and went to his church. Yet a third time Sapores the king inquired after him and bade him to come, and [our master] returned to the king once more. . . . [Then Mani himself declared:] At the moment when I sailed upon the sea by boat . . . I stirred the whole land of the Indians [period of success followed by setbacks due to opposition from the political authorities]; I took to the sea once more. I left the land of the Indians and reached the land of Persis. . . . [success, then setbacks]; I came out from the land of Persis and reached the city of Mesene, which . . . [there is a gap in the text here; success once again followed by reverses]; from this place I came to the land of Babylon, the city of the Assyrians. . . . [success followed by setbacks due mainly to the authorities of the "dogmata," that is, the Zo-

roastrian and Christian clergies]. This country waged against me a host of struggles. This is why I quit the Assyrians and went into the land of the Medes and Parthians. In this place I played the harp of wisdom.

Comparing these two texts with what is known from other sources, a few observations can be made. It was very probably at the beginning of A.D. 243 that the Indian mission came to an end in Turan. There as everywhere else Mani knew success as well as reverses but nonetheless managed to establish a community ("elect an election") at Deb. The Parthian fragment (M 4575^{r}) and *Keph.* 1 agree on this point. Mani came back from Turan by sea following the same route he took in setting out. On his return he settled at Rew-Ardaxshir in the province of Persis (Fars).

From there he made many voyages through Persis, crisscrossing Susiana, Mesene, Babylonia, and the "Cities" (Seleucia-Ctesiphon). In all these places he entered into controversies with his former baptist coreligionists. His new recruits, Ammo, Adda, and Sis, were educated Aramaeans and polyglot city dwellers. They were to become his closest collaborators. Once he had established contacts with Iranian and Zoroastrian dignitaries and with the royal princes and provincial governors in their lands, the Prophet did not record spectacular conversions, as later Manichaean historiography recounts, but formed instead relationships based upon trust. One such relationship was with Peroz, a "brother" of the king, through whom Mani obtained an audience at the palace and, in 253, a guarantee of safe passage for him and his disciples. The meeting with the king of kings was interpreted by the Manichaeans, wrongly, as constituting official recognition of their religion: one such tradition, recorded by Ibn al-Nadim, describes the entry of the prophet into the reception hall as that of a radiant Buddha ("there were on his shoulders two lights like lamps").

Having now settled on the west bank of the Tigris at Veh-Ardaxshir, a part of Ctesiphon, Mani composed for the king a summary of the principles of his religion (the *Shabuhragan*), drew up the definitive statutes of his church, and organized the missions of his disciples "to the four regions of the world." To the West—that is, to Palmyra and Egypt, the first stages on the road to Rome—he sent Adda and Patteg; to the Northeast (Parthia and Khurasan) he sent Ammo, who was to reach Abarshahr (Nishapur), Merv, and the territory of the Kushans. Other missions must have been

dispatched at this time, accounts of which have not come down to us: into northeast Arabia (Hatta) but also to the caravan settlements of the Southwest as far as the end of the Arabian Peninsula.

Mani himself assumed responsibility for the Northwest. He went first into Bet(h)-Garmai and Adiabene, where he gave encouragement to the already existing community founded by Adda and Abzakhuya (Abzaxya) the Persian at Karnuk, and with other brethren he established several new communities in the region of Mosul, then going on to Bet(h)-ʿArabaye and Tur ʿAbdin, that is (in the words of *Keph.* 1), "to the borderlands of the kingdom of the Romans." From 264 to 270 Mani found himself in the very heart of Syriac Christianity.

By 270 Mani's religion was established throughout Iran; outside this country the network of missions extended, as Mani says in *Keph.* 1, "from East to West," and he adds, "My hope [*elpis*—a synonym for church] has reached as far as the sunrise of the world and in all parts of the inhabited lands, to the clime of the North and to the South. Not one of the apostles [who preceded me] did ever achieve such a thing." By virtue of this, Mani—who in *Keph.* 76 declares that he had traveled throughout the world "running" (literally, on the tips of his toes)—may be considered to have succeeded in thirty years of peregrinations in carrying out to the letter Jesus's command: "Go to the four regions [*klimata*] of the world."

The missiology of the four *klimata,* which formed the conclusion to the collections of evangelical pericopes and the basis for the apocryphal traditions of the apostles from which Mani derived it, is the ecclesiastical and practical side of Manichaean prophetology—the very heart of Manichaeism as Mani conceived it, formulated it, and experienced it. In a fragment in Pahlavi (M 5794), Mani laid out a series of ten reasons the religion that he had "elected" [*wizidan*] was superior, and to be preferred, to all the ones that had come before. The first of these reasons, which Mani continually emphasized to his disciples, is of cardinal importance: "The preceding religions were [spread in] a single land and a single language. But my religion is such that it is manifest [*paydag*] in every land and in every language and is taught in distant lands."

This is not an isolated text. A passage in the Coptic *Kephalaia* (154)

admirably summarizes Mani's ecclesiastical and missionary purpose in similar terms:

> He [Jesus] who elected his church in the West, his church has not reached the East. He [Buddha] who elected his church in the East, his election [*eklogē*] has not come to the West. My hope is to administer [my church] in such a way that it reaches the West and that it may be carried at the same time to the East. And the voice of its preaching will be heard in every language, and it will be announced in every city. My church is superior, in this primary respect, to preceding churches, for the preceding churches were elected only for particular places and particular cities. I administer my church in such a way that it comes to all cities and that its good news reaches all countries.

The Last Years

When Shapur I died (ca. 272–73), Mani made the Sassanid capital the fief of his religion and established a network of communities not only in the cities of the empire but in its most remote regions. In principle, Iran might wake up one morning to find itself Manichaean if the king of kings should so decide. But this did not in fact come to pass, for Ardashir's son and son-in-law had remained Zoroastrian, which is to say that they maintained the state religion under the control of the priests of fire.

Mani, like all religious leaders, recognized that the success of a mission and the future of a church depend on political will. With the accession of Hormizd (Ohrmizd) I to the throne of his father, Shapur, he hastened to make his way to the capital.

It is unlikely that Mani waited for events to develop. Almost certainly he devoted himself at once to intrigues at court, and this all the more easily as he was close to members of the royal family and palace officials. Initially he would have been reassured of the new king's good intentions toward him, Hormizd having pledged to continue his father's policy of tolerance. But Hormizd's reign suddenly came to an end after only a few months (late in 273?), without the decisive change of status Mani sought for his religion being approved in the interval.

The status quo was maintained during the first months of the reign of

Hormizd's brother and successor, Bahram (Vahram) I, whom A. Christensen has depicted as "greedy for power and irresolute." Little by little Bahram let real power pass into the hands of the official clergy, in particular, one of its leading figures, a Zoroastrian prelate named Karder (also Kirdir or Karter).

Karder had not awaited Bahram's reign in order to judge Mani the man and his work. Priest and teacher of the Zoroastrian religion in the *comitatus* (court) of Shapur I, Karder would have been in an ideal position to assist the birth and expansion of this new religion, which claimed to bring together under its banner Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus. Surely it must very quickly have aroused his suspicions, as the head priest of fire [*herbed*] in the Persis region, to see Mani wooing the king, successfully rallying to his cause some of the royal princes and provincial governors, and infiltrating the imperial administration—in short, scheming with the evident purpose of one day supplanting the traditional religion and becoming the sole minister of an official cult having no rivals that had come, in the final analysis, from abroad.

Karder's inscription, found on "Ka'ba-i Zardusht" at Naqsh-i Rustam, near the site of ancient Persepolis, expressly notes that he was promoted (or rather promoted himself) from *herbed* to *mobed*, that is, to a position at the summit of the Zoroastrian hierarchy, which under the reigns of Ardashir's grandsons laid claim to the status of orthodoxy. Karder mentioned, among his many self-professed services to religion, the following:

> I caused many fires [= fire temples] and magi to prosper in the country of Iran; and likewise, in the lands of Aniran, I [caused to prosper] the fires and magi who were in the lands of Aniran, whither came horses and men of the king of kings: [from] the city of Antioch, and the country of Syria and what is beyond Syria, the city of Tarsus and the country of Cilicia, and what is beyond the country of Cilicia, and beyond Cappadocia, toward the country of Galatia and the country of Armenia, Iberia [= modern Georgia], Albania, and Balasakan, as far as the border of Albania—Shapur, king of kings, by his horses and his men, pillaged, burned, and wrought devastation, even there, I myself, on the order of the king of kings, I organized the fires and magi who were in these countries. I forbade looting, and the booty that had been seized I restored to these countries. The magi

> who were good I gave rank and authority in the country. As for heretical or degenerate men in the body of the magi who led an unsuitable life, I made them submit to punishment and reprimand. They mended their ways and I drew up charters and patents for many fires and magi. Thanks to the support of the gods and of the king of kings, I founded in Iranshahr many fires, and I made many marriages between blood relations; many men who did not profess [the faith] professed it, and many of those who held the doctrine of the demons, thanks to my action, abandoned the doctrine of the demons, and adopted the doctrine of the gods. [After the translation by J. de Menasce]

Accompanying Shapur to the borderlands of the empire and beyond, Karder reestablished Zoroastrian orthodoxy and strict law in all the areas pacified by the soldiers. In the same places, during the same period, in the same circumstances, in the same royal entourage, Mani too had occasion to profit from pacification in order to preach his "hope" and to establish his own institutions. The Sassanid conquest seems, then, to have been followed by a dual mission in opposite directions: on the one hand, a centripetal movement—Karder's reform—aimed at shoring up an orthodoxy that could only decay and crumble under the influence of foreign contact; and on the other, the centrifugal force of a "heresy"—Mani's prophetology—that could only be strengthened by foreign contact. In the ideological combat in which the two visionaries engaged during Shapur's time, it was Karder who gradually achieved control of political power. Under the reign of Bahram I, this control seemed very nearly total.

Mani's only alternative at this point was to quit the stage where the policy of the great actors of the Iranian world was destined to play itself out without him and against him. He knew now that he had lost in a merciless game and, moreover, that his life was lost. It is in the context of this painful period that the pessimistic and dualistic radicalization of Manichaean lyric poetry and homiletics ought, in my view, to be situated, as well as the composition of Mani's own version of the *Book of Giants*. In this narrative, behind the veil of the language of a biblical tale popularized by the most celebrated of the apocalypses (*Enoch*), he recounted the misdeeds of tyrants [*kawan*] and prophesied their decline and fall.

Mani's last travels were to bring him back to the places of his child-

hood, his youth, and the birth of his church. Thus he visited first the communities of Babylonia and welcomed back from their missions the brethren of his faith, giving them letters, documents, and instructions. By small stages he reached Hormizd-Ardaxshir (Suq al-Ahwaz), in the province of Susiana (Khuzistan), with the intention (the testimony of the Coptic *Homilies* is definite on this point) of undertaking a long voyage to Khurasan. This would have brought him to the Kushan territory, where Ammo had gone previously as a scout and whose many Manichaean institutions had made a fief of the faith. But his plan could not be carried out. Mani was stopped by the imperial police and forbidden from going farther. He returned to Mesene and traveled upriver by boat to Ctesiphon.

He went on to Kholassar (Artemita), halfway between Baghdad and Dastagerd, about fifty-five miles from Seleucia. A minor prince of Kholassar by the name of Bat was one of his recent converts. It was there that the order reached Mani to go to Beth-Lapat (also Belapat or Gundeshabuhr) in Susiana to appear before the king. W. B. Henning plausibly sees the conversion of Bat, one of Bahram's vassals, as the direct cause of the king's anger and of the decision to summon Mani.

Bat accompanied Mani at least until Gaukhai (also Jukhi or Jukha), home to an important Manichaean community, in Beth-Deraye. A local popular tradition, recorded by Ibn al-Nadim, later made Gaukhai the prophet's birthplace, no doubt in memory of his farewell visit made there.

Mani arrived finally at Beth-Lapat in the company of his dragoman Nuhzadag (bar-Nuh), Abzakhuya (Abzaxya) the Persian, and Kustai. The police led the group at once to the royal residence. Warned of Mani's arrival, Karder in his turn informed the king's aide-de-camp, who warned Bahram, now dining on his return from a hunting party: "Mani is here; he waits at the door." Bahram had him instruct Mani to wait a moment. Mani returned to the guardhouse at the entrance to the building. Having finished his meal, Bahram got up from the table and, arm in arm with the queen of Sakas and Karder, joined Mani. A dialogue ensued:

BAHRAM: You are not welcome!
MANI: What wrong have I done?

BAHRAM [evasively]: I swore not to let you enter this land. [Then, in a flood of words (as the Coptic *Homilies* say), his face twisted with anger and contempt, he continued:] Ah, what are you good for? You are neither a soldier nor a hunter. Perhaps you are needed to administer drugs and medicines? But you are not capable even of that!

MANI: I have done nothing wrong. I have always acted well toward you and your family. Many are your servants whom I have delivered from demons and bewitchments; many are those whom I have healed of sickness; many are those from whom I have dispelled all sorts of fever; many are those who were dying and whom I restored to health!

BAHRAM [going straight to the point]: It is now three whole years that you have walked with Bat! What is this religion [*nomos*] that you have taught him, that he should end up abandoning our [priests] [= the Zoroastrian clergy] and follow yours? How do you explain that? Why did you not go with him where I had ordered you to go?

The king's true motives are to be found in this exchange. For Bahram and his minister of worship, Bat's conversion was intolerable. Furthermore, Mani had not complied with the sentence of house arrest, which must have been communicated to him on his return from Hormizd-Ardaxshir to Ctesiphon, probably somewhere near the capital.

At this point no possible means of escape were left to Mani, and it is very doubtful that a debate on theological issues ensued, as the account of the interview given in the Coptic *Homilies* (*Hom.* 42.9–50.17) would have one believe.

Mani, no longer having anything to lose, then remarked that Bahram's attitude stood in contradiction to that of his father, Shapur, who had shown himself attentive to Mani's every need and gave written evidence of his respect for him. Proof to hand, Mani read a letter that Shapur had addressed to him. This was too much! Mani was put in irons at once. Fettered with more than one hundred pounds of chains—one chain around his neck, three around his ankles, and three more around his wrists—he had just enough strength to receive his disciples and confide to them a final message. Exhausted after a few days of detention, he died.

The canonical month of Mani's passion ("crucifixion"), recorded in the Coptic *Homilies*, is a sanctification of the period of punishment invented by tradition (four days of trial plus twenty-six of detention), not a reli-

able historical chronology. Moreover, it is difficult to know what became of Mani's corpse. Was it dismembered? Flayed? Stuffed with straw and publicly displayed? Torn apart by wild beasts? Decapitated and the head stuck atop one of the gates to the city? Cut in two and then nailed to both gates? All these details may be found in Manichaean hagiography, which mixes together all known facts and hearsay concerning the great martyr. Al-Biruni, ordinarily so forthcoming in the matter of dates and calendars, is mute with regard to the date of Mani's death, embarrassed perhaps by the silence or disagreement of his sources. The references to months, days, and hours contained in the documents that have come down to us from central Asia constitute no more than a calendar for liturgical use. The year of Mani's death remains a disputed question. A Uighur Manichaean chronology, based on the Sino-Turkic Calendar of the Twelve Animals, fixes "the departure of the Buddha Mani for his celestial place" in the year of the pig, that is, 274 of the Christian era. Theoretically possible later dates (276 or 277) can be obtained by attempting to reconcile local or international calendars with Manichaean conventions for designating feast days. Mani was in any case about sixty years old when he died.

CHAPTER 2

The Books

What Mani Read

As a consequence of the religious training customarily undergone by someone of his social background, Mani had access at a very early age to the New Testament writings—the four Gospels and the Epistles of Paul—through an eastern Aramaic translation. He also knew the four Gospels in a diatessarial, or harmonized, form. Gospel fragments cited in Latin by the African doctors of the Manichaean Church during their exegetical jousts with Augustine, as well as fragments of Jesus' parabolic narratives found at Turfan, show that a harmonized form of the Gospels was also used by disciples at the two extremities of Manichaeism's geographical expanse. Analysis of these fragments reveals that this harmony did not derive from Tatian's *Diatessaron* and, moreover, that it existed in several versions.

Owing to his Elchasaitic background, Mani had also become familiar with the writings that were read in the baptist community, not only the book of revelations that had been confided to Elchasai, but also, as he grew older, the various books of revelations and visions ascribed to the authority of the first messengers of God that were then very much in vogue in Judeo-Christian circles (the Apocalypses of Adam, Seth, Enoch, and Noah).

Mani's fascination with missionary adventure was also due to prolonged exposure to the novelistic accounts, filled in their turn with visions, voyages, and dramas, that the Aramaean Christians had built up around their favorite apostles: the apocryphal Acts of John, Peter, Paul, Andrew, and Thomas. The fate of this last apostle made a particular impression upon the young Mani for at least three reasons. First, tradition

had made Thomas, as his very name would have had it, the "twin" [*tawm*] of Jesus; second, it was to this Thomas, his twin, that Jesus had communicated his secret words (Gospel of Thomas); and it was to Thomas, finally, that Jesus had entrusted the mission of going farthest to the East, as far as India, to convert the kings and their peoples (Acts of Thomas). The legend of Thomas may be said to have determined Mani's career; indeed, the vocation of the latter appears to have been the direct product of the belief of eastern Christianity in the exceptional destiny of the former—so much so that understanding Mani depends in large part on examining the traditions associated with the literary fiction of the apostle Thomas.

Having founded his own religion, Mani read and assimilated (as the contents of the *Book of Mysteries* testify) the philosophical treatises and collections of the sacred poems and songs of Bardesanes. It seems unlikely that he himself knew the quite recent revelations written in Greek and ascribed by the "Hellenized magi" to the Chaldean prophets: the Apocalypses of Nicotheos, Zoroaster, Zostrianos, Allogenes, and Messos. On the other hand, we know that he used the Apocalypse of Hystaspes to write the second section of his *Mysteries*. To all these writings it is necessary to add other minor writings attributed to some person or other in the Old or New Testament (cycles of legends, prayers, hymnic evocations), as well as brief but literarily autonomous pieces (catilenas, laments, and canticles from the Christian communities of Iran).

Mani seems almost surely not to have known (or to have sought to know) the text of the Jewish Bible, not even through its Targumic interpretation. What was Jewish not only did not interest him; it was a source of profound personal irritation as well. He abhorred the Pentateuch since it continued to guide his baptist brethren, who therefore remained subjugated by Jewish law—while professing to be Christians! It was the growing awareness of this contradiction that led to his rupture with Elchasaism. The only sections of the Jewish Bible that he thought worthy of notice, the first chapters of Genesis, he knew through the apocryphal traditions.

From books Mani learned to revere the knowledge that they contained, and he passed along his love of fine books to his disciples. A painter of great distinction (his name in the culture of Islamic Iran has come to symbolize beauty of the most refined kind), Mani was recognized as a master in the art of drawing letters, to which he brought the same pre-

cision and employed the same harmony as painters do in ordering the intricate interplay of lines and colors. It is too often forgotten that Manichaeism was also an aesthetic, and its founder, an artist.

From books of revelation written in cursive eastern Aramaic script Mani learned to use his mother tongue and to make of it a tool perfectly suited to the transmission of his doctrine. But in order for his own works, written in Syriac, to be accessible to an Iranian-speaking audience, they had to be translated. No Iranian idiom—neither Pahlavi, the language of the southwest, derived from Old Persian, nor Parthian, the language of the northeast, derived from Median—was sufficient to the task: on the one hand, because in each case the written language was far removed from the spoken language, on account of the very small number of signs employed (thirteen), which led to great confusion and ambiguity in the interpretation of manuscripts and the copying of texts; on the other hand, because the constant presence in Iranian texts of deformed Aramaic words for the most common notions (the so-called ideographic system) transformed the simplest text into a veritable rebus. Mani therefore undertook a drastic reform of idiomatic Iranian writing, first, by substituting the eastern Syriac alphabet (twenty-two letters with semivowels) for Pahlavi script; second, by abandoning the system of ideograms and, with it, the archaicizing bias of official copyists. In short, he sought to enable the living language to overtake the hieratic, so that Iranian would be written as it was pronounced. The instrument that resulted from this reform—customarily called the "Manichaean alphabet"—was so practical and so clear that it not only became an indispensable tool of Manichaean missions throughout the Iranian domain but was also adopted by non-Manichaeans (Sogdians and Turks) to transcribe and translate the Indian and Buddhist scriptures.

For the same reason as well, Mani occupies a central place in Iranian culture and, more generally, in the history of writing. In casting his prophecy in a modern and clearly written language, he resolutely turned his back on the custodians of linguistic hieraticism who served the state religion (archaicizing language being the sign of outmoded religious practice) and prepared the way for the adoption of the Arab script in Iran following the advent of Islam. The prophecies of Mani and Muhammad each constituted a religion of the book. Such a religion, in order to give voice to God, must possess clarity of language and writing.

The Works of Mani

The works of Mani are nine in number: *Shabuhragan,* the *Gospel,* the *Treasure, Mysteries, Legends, Image, Giants, Letters,* and *Psalms and Prayers.*

⊙ ⊙ *Shabuhragan*

The earliest of Mani's works is a text composed directly in Pahlavi and dedicated to Shapur I. Substantial pieces of the original work have survived thanks to the manuscripts found at Turfan and have been rearranged (with the addition of a good number of new pieces), transliterated, translated, and annotated by D. N. MacKenzie ("Mani's Šābuhragā," I and II, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 42 [1979]: 500–534; 43 [1980]: 288–310).

In writing the *Shabuhragan* Mani's purpose was to formulate some of the fundamental intuitions of the new religion and to help his royal dedicatee understand its main aspects. These intuitions, or cosmic insights, belong to two domains that jointly define the plan of the work: prophetology and apocalypticism.

The prophetology, with which the book opens and of which al-Biruni preserved an essential fragment, affirmed the continuity of the proclamation of "wisdom and knowledge" from Adam to Mani. Coming at the end of this succession, Mani proclaimed himself "seal of the prophets," that is, the one who, in being historically and absolutely the last one, put an end to history and prepared the advent of a new aeon.

The theology of the "seal of the prophet" led directly to the description of a metahistory whose literary form was at this time apocalyptic. To construct the scenario of his eschatological hope, Mani once more drew abundantly, and especially, on New Testament writings (synoptic pericopes on the end of the world and judgment and Pauline accounts of the Parousia, that is, anticipation of the Second Coming of the Son of Man), as well as on a more specialized literature, chiefly the *Enoch* writings.

After a brief reminder of the two principles considered from a cosmological point of view (here one finds the fragment from ʿAbd al-Jabbar [in *al-Mughni*] copied by al-Shahrastani [in *al-Milal*]), Mani comes right away to his apocalyptical purpose. The portents of the end of time are described

in the colors of a "great war," an era of conflicts and upheavals in empires, religions, and the stars. These premonitory symptoms open the way to the messianic era marked by the Second Coming of the Son of Man, here called Xradeshahryazd ("God of the World of Wisdom"), namely, Jesus the Splendor, who attends to the judgment of the good (followers of the true religion) and the wicked (enemies of religion). To describe this judgment, Mani reproduces word for word the whole text from the Gospel according to Matthew relating to the last judgment (25:31–46). The separation of antinomic worlds that follows this judgment marks a return to beginnings, just as the entry into the last age of Xradeshahryazd, under the aegis of the prophet who had brought the chain of the prophets to its end, marked a return to the first prophecy sealed in the Adamic revelation and to a state of paradise. With this return commences the apocatastasis [MP *frashegird*] inaugurated by the appearance of Mihryazd, the Living Spirit, descending to earth from the chariot of the sun. Mihryazd then unleashes the great cataclysmic fire of the worlds and so causes the particles of light trapped on earth to be reassembled in heaven and the elect to reign in a renewed celestial realm, the new paradise [*wahisht i nog*].

The opening section of the *Shabuhragan* (prophetology) served as a theoretical framework for the author of *Keph.* 1, entitled "On the Coming of the Apostle"; the final section (apocalypticism) was commented on by Kustai in "The Sermon of the Great War" (*Hom.* 7.8–42.8).

⊙ ⊙ The *Gospel*

Placed at the head of the corpus by Mani's immediate successors, the *Gospel* (whose complete title was *The Living Gospel,* and which Manichaean tradition nicknamed "The Great Living Gospel" and also "The Gospel of the Very Holy Hope") was written by Mani in Syriac and divided by him into twenty-two sections, corresponding to the twenty-two letters of the Aramaic alphabet, from *alef* to *taw* (the Coptic *Homilies* say from *alpha* to *omega,* using the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet).

Three fragments of this *Gospel* are conserved in the *CMC.* The first, a preamble, is found on page 66 (4–68, 5): "I, Mani, apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God the Father of Truth. . . ." In the second, on page 68 (6–69, 8), Mani declares that his mission consists in revealing to the world—that is, declaring before the false religions and pagan nations—the secrets

[*aporreta*] that were confided to him by means of revelations. In the third, these revelations are said to have taken place at the moment when Mani was still an adherent of the law, that is, a baptist, and received the visit of the angel, his "twin."

According to the succinct but invaluable summary of the *Gospel* supplied by al-Biruni (who possessed a copy in his library) in *al-Athar,* Mani professed that he was "the paraclete heralded by Christ and the seal of the prophets." It is highly probable that in this work the founder expanded upon the claims of the opening pages of the *Shabuhragan* through the systematic use of scriptural argument, that is, with the aid of an exegetical demonstration based on glossed citations drawn from the Synoptic Gospels, the Gospel of John, and the Pauline Epistles. Just as the New Testament had reinterpreted the ancient prophecies of the Jewish Bible in terms of Jesus, so Mani in his *Gospel* reinterpreted the New Testament in terms of himself. It is therefore with good reason that the Coptic Psalm Book, in placing it at the head of the Manichaean canon, nicknamed this *Gospel* the "king" of Mani's writings, his "New Testament," since the founder developed in it the biblical and prophetological foundations of his ecclesiastical mission. In the first fragment he says:

> Truth I showed to my traveling companions, peace I announced to the children of peace, hope I proclaimed to the immortal generation, election I elected, and the way that leads to the top I showed to those who go to the top, and this revelation I revealed, and this immortal gospel I put in writing in order to deposit in it these sublime mysteries [*orgia*] and to reveal in it three great works [*erga*].

This *Gospel* was the book that Manichaean missionaries carried with them on their travels. During Mani's lifetime it had already been translated into all the languages spoken by the communities established by the founder—Greek, of course (the text of the fragments in the *CMC*), but also Middle Persian (M 17 and 733) and Parthian, from which the Sogdian version (M 172) derives. A good number of Turfan fragments relating to Manichaean prophetology and the exegesis of the New Testament parables ought, in my opinion, to be reattached to the *Gospel,* as has been done in the case of the *Synaxeis* (Dublin, Codex B).

⊙ ⊙ The *Treasure*

Composed in Syriac and known formally either as *The Treasure of the Living* [Syr *Simath hayye*] or *The Treasure of Life* [Copt *pthesauros mponh*], the "treasure" of the title is a word drawn from biblical wisdom vocabulary. The Arabs referred to this work as *The Treasure of the Vivification* [*Kanz al-ihya*]. Three fragments have come down to us indirectly through later authors. They are to be read in the following order:

Fragment *a*: al-Biruni, *Tahqiq*. The armies [*al-junud*—a Hebraicism designating the legions of angels] differ with regard not to beauty or sex (*a1*) but to the function assigned to them by the Third Messenger (Ambassador) (*a2*). The two parts of this fragment are linked by a brief scholium by al-Biruni.

Fragment *b*: Augustine, *De natura boni contra Manichaeos*, 44 (cited by Evodius, *De fide contra Manichaeos*, 14–16). The Third Messenger, who oversees the course of divine energies in the world from on high, is responsible for exploiting the "deadly unclean lust" congenital to hostile bodies in the heavens in order to cause them to release the living elements they contain. These elements then rise up and become reintegrated with the luminous powers, or particles of light, the unrecoverable residue falling back to earth and becoming mixed with the vegetable world.

Fragment *c*: Augustine, *Contra felicem Manichaeum*, II, 5 (cited by Evodius, *De fide contra Manichaeos*, 5). If the residual elements of the demons [*spiritus*] penetrate men, it is owing to the negligence of men. From this Augustine rightly drew the conclusion that Mani did not deny free will.

These three fragments, which form a unity, are part of a single passage, no doubt in Book VII, which Augustine explicitly mentions in introducing fragment *b*. The expression "in book II of the *Treasure*," which introduces the quotation from fragment *c* in Evodius alone, refers to the

place of the work in the Manichaean canon and must not be understood as referring to an internal division of the work itself.

Three accounts of the *Treasure* [Lat *Thesaurus*] are known; that is, three sources refer to parts of this work. In it, according to the Coptic *Kephalaia* (91, p. 230), Mani speaks of the "good pearl." Al-Mas'udi indicates in *al-Tanbih wa-l-ishraf* that Mani discusses the Marcionites. The *Ta'riq* of al-Ya'qubi records that, in seeking to explain the origin of moral evil, Mani represents it as the consequence of conflicts inherent in the world of celestial powers, conflicts not totally eliminated by the intervention of the messenger heralded by Elijah.

This much suggests that the *Treasure* was the first systematic exposition of Manichaean theology, composed as a defensive apology. Supplementing the conception of the church as the spiritual body of the prophet, developed in the *Gospel,* is the view of it in the *Treasure* as consubstantial with the angelic church.

⊙ ⊙ The *Mysteries*

The plan of the *Mysteries* [Syr *raze*], also known as *The Book of Mysteries* [Gr *Ta tōn mustērion,* Copt *Pjōme nmmusterion,* Ar *Sifr al-asrar*], is known from a note by Ibn al-Nadim in *al-Fihrist* that provides the names of the eighteen sections or chapters [*abwab*] of the work:

1. "An Account of the Daysanites": This is an attack on the theories of Bardesanes (Bardaisan), poet and "philosopher of the Aramaeans," who died in 222 and whose disciples were settled not only in the Christian communities of Osrhoene and Tur 'Abdin but also in Babylonia. Ephraem Syrus indicates that Bardesanes had also composed a book of mysteries. This would explain the title chosen by Mani, having wished in this way to oppose to Bardesanes' *De mysteriis* his own *De mysteriis.*

2. "Testimony of Hystaspes Regarding the Beloved": It may be supposed that in this chapter Mani gave an account drawn from a text of revelation ascribed to Hystaspes (Ar Ystasf, also Vishtaspa), the mythical king converted by Zoroaster, and applied it to one of the figures in his own pantheon, probably Jesus.

3. "Account [. . .] Regarding His Soul [= about Mani himself] as Given to Jacob": The text prefaced by this title is not established. The exegetical method used seems to have been the same as in the preceding chapter,

incorporating a piece of pseudepigraphal speculation (the Prayer of Joseph) related to the angel Jacob in support of an aspect of Mani's own mythology.

4. "The Son of the Widow": The title calls to mind the son of the widow of Zarephath brought back to life by the prophet Elijah (see 1 Kings 17:8–24 and Luke 4:25–26). But the gloss of Ibn al-Nadim is categorical: "For Mani it was the crucified Messiah whom the Jews crucified." The title is therefore to be taken analogically: Jesus, son of Mary, widow of Joseph.

5. "Account of Jesus Regarding His Soul [= about himself] as Given to Judas": In view of the preamble to the *Gospel of Thomas* ("These are the secret words which the living Jesus spoke and which Didymos Judas Thomas wrote down"), it might be supposed that Mani's purpose in this section was to comment on the words [*logia*] of Jesus transmitted as part of a tradition ascribed to Judas Thomas and adopted by the *Gospel of Thomas*.

6. "Beginning of the Testimony of the Just [Man] after His Triumph": This is perhaps an exegesis of a fragment of the *Apocalypse of Enoch*. Enoch was known as the Just [*al-Yamin*].

7. "The Seven Spirits": The word "spirits" [*arwah*] is to be understood in its demonological sense as meaning a personification of the powers of darkness associated with the seven stars of destiny, reinterpreted in the Manichaean version given here.

8. "Discourse [*al-qaul*] Regarding the Four Transient Spirits": The demonological personification is concerned here not with the days of the week but with the months of the year, grouped in tetrads.

9. "Mockery" [*al-duhka*]—not, I think, "Laughter" [*al-dahka*]: This is perhaps an allusion to the mockeries directed against Mani by the upholders of the false religions, recalling Jesus, who was the laughingstock of his coreligionists.

10. "Testimony of Adam Regarding Jesus": It seems probable that here Mani was interpreting prophetological extracts drawn from an apocalypse of Adam (no doubt the one cited by the *CMC*, not the Coptic one found in the Nag Hammadi manuscripts) in order to establish the chain of prophets from Adam to Jesus.

11. "Forfeit of [= Fall from] Religion": This section might have concerned not religious apostasy but certain points of moral practice whose

nonobservance has the effect of leading the faithful astray from the true religion.

12. "Doctrine of the Daysanites [= Bardesanites] Regarding the Soul and the Body": The Bardesanian theory, derived from Greek (in particular Platonist) philosophical ideas, was extended here in the direction of a radical antiphysicalism (see the following, xiii[a]).

13. "Refutation of the Bardesanites Concerning the Living Soul": This is a continuation of the preceding section, containing the following three fragments (mentioned by al-Biruni in the *Tahqiq ma li-l-Hind*) in connection with the highest part of the soul, called the "living self" or "soul of life" [*nafs al-hayah*]:

(a) Since the body is a prison and a punishment, the soul is able truly to live only outside the body (p. 212, 15–18 Afshar).

(b) Mani quotes a logion of Jesus on the punishment of souls who have not attained rest, that is, have not found the truth at the end of their transmigrations (p. 212, 11–14 Afshar; al-Biruni expressly declares that the fragment comes from *Sifr al-asrar* and cautions that in Mani's use of the term, "to perish" means not "to disappear" but "to be punished").

(c) Mani cites another logion of Jesus on the immortality of the soul that has found life (not found in Afshar).

14. "The Three Trenches": This section is concerned to develop a point of cosmology. The trenches [Ar *khanadiq*, Gr *phossata*] designate a series of pits (varying between three and seven in number) dug around the world into which the demonic waste of the firmaments is poured (see *Keph.* 43, 45).

15. "The Preservation of the Cosmos": This section deals with the demiurgical work of the Living Spirit and the supporting activity of the Third Messenger, particularly in establishing the two lights (the sun and the moon) and cosmic ligaments. I would locate in this section the logion of Mani cited in al-Biruni's *Tahqiq* (19–21 Afshar) concerning the role of the sun and moon as "paths" or "gates" of souls.

16. "The Three Days": The theme of the three days [*ayyam*] of theogony was adopted and developed by the tradition of the *Kephalaia* (39): "On the Three Days and the Two Deaths."

17. "The Prophets": Here Mani clarified certain points of his propheto-

logical doctrine, distinguishing the "false prophets" of the world's religions (in particular the historical prophets of Judaism) from the true prophets or envoys of God (Adam, Seth, and Jesus). Al-Ya'qubi refers to this section of the *Mysteries,* declaring that Mani in the *Sifr al-asrar* mocked the miracles of the prophets. A fragment against the astrologists, probably taken from this section, is quoted in al-Biruni's *Tahqiq* (214, 23–25, 2 Afshar).

18. "The Final Judgment": The last section of the work is dedicated to eschatology and completing the exposition of the *Shabuhragan.* The Arabic chapter heading [*al-qiyama*] cannot be interpreted as signifying "resurrection."

The *Mysteries* is therefore, like the *Treasure,* a work of justification. In it one finds brief accounts of certain points of thought and religion alongside attacks upon Bardesanites, Jews, and "false religions," all of them motivated by circumstance and the need to prepare disciples to preach under adverse conditions. The book's originality consists in its extensive use of apocryphal traditions (Christian and other) whose maxims and accounts were applied by Mani to Jesus. This fact, as well as the important place reserved for anti-Bardesanite controversies, shows that the work was composed while Mani was in contact with the Christian communities of Syria and Mesopotamia, mainly during the final phase of his missionary activity (260–70).

In his list of Mani's letters and those of his successors, Ibn al-Nadim indicates that the *Mysteries* was the object of a commentary in the form of an epistle [*risala*] by a certain 'Abdiel, who may well have been the Timotheos cited several times in the *CMC.*

⊙ ⊙ *Legends*

Mani composed in Syriac a cycle of legends whose Greek title, *Pragmateia,* was brought over into Aramaic and reproduced in the Arabic and Chinese translations of the work.

What does the Greek title mean? In this case the term does not have the philosophical sense of "treatise." Indeed, to translate it in this way would be not only awkward (in view of the risk of confusion with the Chinese Manichaean exposition published and translated by Chavannes

and Pelliot in 1911–13 and commonly called the *Traité,* its original title having been lost) but also mistaken. For while it is quite true, in the vocabulary of Greek rhetoric and epistemology from the time of Aristotle, that *"pragmateia"* had the technical sense of "treatise" (Sextus Empiricus used it to speak of a work on music or physics), with Mani the term reacquired the popular and scholarly sense given it earlier in the headings of Homeric epics or in the plots of dramas and romances. Thus it is that in the Greek of the preclassical period, the (grammatically singular) expression *troikè pragmateia* signifies not a "treatise" relating to the Trojan War but legendary accounts—or, more simply, legends—of the Trojan War. These legends [*pragmateia*] were therefore synonymous with myths [*muthoi*] or mythological inventions [*muthologika*].

The text of this work was widely read and plundered by non-Manichaeans, for the picturesque aspect of its accounts of the birth of the gods and of men furnished heresiologists with a great many piquant and comical details, well suited to confound and ridicule the disciples of a teller of such tales. One of the authors who applied himself to this task was an eighth-century Nestorian doctor from Kaskar, in southern Babylonia, named Theodore bar Konai. His method in presenting Mani's doctrine was to collect various "tall tales" told by a man whom he called the "villain." An attentive reading of the eleventh book of Theodore's *Liber scholiorum* shows that it is not a simple summary but instead a series of quotations taken from Mani's book. Despite the apparently disjointed and incoherent character of these quotations, each introduced by the formula "he says," they form a complete, unified narrative that begins with the birth of the gods outside the world of light and continues up to Adam's rescue by "brilliant Jesus." What one is dealing with here, then, is a cycle of legends concerning the origin of things and of creatures from which all eschatological perspective has deliberately been excluded. For, apart from the fact that Mani had treated this perspective elsewhere, in the *Shabuhragan* and the *Gospel,* he did not regard eschatology as belonging to the domain of *muthos,* which is subject to borrowing and variation among different cultures; it constituted instead the very object of the *logos* of revelation transmitted by the prophet to his church. Accordingly there is no alternative but to conclude that the

doctrinal part of Theodore's exposition transmits the key passages of the *Pragmateia* in their original language.

Mani composed this collection of legends to respond to the curiosity of his followers, who were eager to know "how things had happened in the earliest times of the world." As the founder of a religion, Mani had to take into account the mentality of people who, having been nourished by imaginary tales from childhood, were perpetually starving for new mythologies. In order for his religion to win popular support, he needed to create an imaginary world that would be rich in incident and adventure, yet at the same time controlled and coherent. It was this poetical purpose to which he devoted himself in the *Pragmateia,* without suspecting that it was to become the essential part of his teaching for many of his followers and a hobbyhorse for all future adversaries of his church.

⊙ ⊙ *Image*

In *Bayan al-adyan,* the first Persian book of heresiology, composed in A.D. 485 (H 1092), Abu l-Ma'ali-ye 'Alavi wrote (in Massé's translation), "Mani was a past master of pictorial art. It is said that, on a piece of white silk, he traced a line in such a way that on removing a single silk thread, the line could no longer be seen; he composed a book with various images, a book called *Arzhang Mani* that is in the treasures of Ghaznin."

This book of images was called *Ardahang* in Middle Persian and Parthian. In the Chinese *Compendium,* it is placed at the end of the Manichaean canon under the title of *Ta-men-ho-i* (the Great Men-ho-i) and described as "the drawing of the two great principles." It was, therefore, an album of plates painted by Mani to illustrate his theogony and his cosmogony. The Coptic *Homilies* (p. 25, 5) mention it in an appendix to the Manichaean Heptateuch under the Greek title *Eikōn,* but the title is sometimes met with in the plural, *Eikones* (Images), as well. Another passage in the *Homilies* (p. 18, 5–6), describing the tribulations of a Manichaean church beset by persecutions and autos-da-fé, puts these words in Mani's mouth: "I weep over the paintings of my *Image* while I commemorate their beauty."

H. J. Polotsky suggested that this album of images (also known as the *Picture Book*) was meant to illustrate the *Gospel.* The known fragments

of this latter work concern prophetology, however, and the work as a whole seems to be a sort of *praeparatio evangelica* of Manichaeism based on exegeses of texts taken from the apocalypses and Gospels. The purpose would have readily been understood, and in order to communicate its message Mani would have had no need to rewrite it using lines and colors. A more probable hypothesis, confirmed by the Stein fragment, is that Mani thought to explain the much more complicated contents of his collection *Legends* by means of iconography (the word appears in the *Kephalaia*). This collection presented readers (or listeners) with a skein of situations, characters, and cosmic places so tangled that the thread of the account was liable to be lost at any moment. In response to the needs of the catechism, and perhaps also to a request made by one of his disciples, Mani resolved to use his brush to fix in the minds of the faithful a few key scenes that his imagination as a poet and visionary had created in the *Pragmateia*: the antinomic worlds of light and darkness and the struggle of the two principles; the defeat, then the rescue, and finally the victory of Ohrmizd; the call of the Living Spirit; the creation of the visible universe by the demiurge; and the dispatch of the Third Messenger. Each picture was accompanied by a legend in the strict sense, that is, an explanatory note or caption making it possible to "read" the picture. Taken together, these explanations amounted to a sustained guide or commentary upon the volume—the *Ardahang wifras,* of which we possess a few fragments in Parthian and Middle Persian.

The success of this collection of illustrations was immense, and not only among Manichaeans. As Abu l-Ma'ali-ye 'Alavi testified in the eleventh century, and along with him many Persian poets and men of letters who came after, Islamic Iran was unstinting in its admiration for the author of *Image.* Opposed as a prophet (or rather, supplanted in this function by another prophet from Arabia), but still revered as a painter and artist, Mani has occupied an exalted and contested place in the collective memory of his compatriots from the Hegira until the present day.

⊙ ⊙ *Giants*

Mani composed, in addition to the collection of legends (*Pragmateia*), another cycle of fabulous narratives, this one entitled *Kawan* in Middle

Persian and Parthian. The Coptic texts call it *Tgraphe nngigas, Pjome nngigas,* or else *Pjome nncalashire*: *Book of Giants.* This is the title that it bears in Arabic as well: *Sifr al-jababira.* In the preamble to the *Kephalaia,* the compiler has Mani enumerate the books of the canon of the Manichaean church, established after his death. There Mani includes *Giants,* describing it as "the book I wrote at the request of the Parthians." It may well have been at the request [Copt *laice* = Gr *aitema*] of the Parthians—actually, that is, of Mar Ammo—that Mani undertook to recount an episode of the history of origins only mentioned in the *Pragmateia.* He wrote this story in Syriac, and we can be sure that his missionaries carried it not only into Parthia but beyond, since the fragments of it that have survived and that W. B. Henning reassembled come from all the languages spoken in Central Asia.

The central theme of the book was not new in the literature of the period, for popular memory was filled with stories of giants. In the Judeo-Aramaean literary domain, to which Mani belonged by virtue of the religious training he received as a child, giants [*nephilim*] figured in the biblical account of the causes of the Flood (Genesis 6:1–2, 4):

> When men began to multiply on the face of the ground, and daughters were born to them, the sons of God saw that the daughters of men were fair; and they took to wife such of them as they chose. . . . The Nephilim were on the earth in those days, and also afterward, when the sons of God came in to the daughters of men, and they bore children to them. These were the mighty men that were of old, the men of renown.

The story told in these three verses was borrowed and amplified in a Jewish apocalypse written in Hebrew in about A.D. 150, the *Apocalypse of Enoch,* a vade mecum of eschatological beliefs current at the dawn of the Christian era. Its success among adherents of the various forms of Christianity and Judeo-Christianity was extraordinary. In addition to a complete version found in Ethiopic (known as *1 Enoch*), long fragments survive in Greek papyri, and a readaptation for the use of Slavic Christians (*2 Enoch*) exists as well. Aramaic fragments, found in the caves of Qumran, also testify to the influence of this work in marginal Jewish movements. J. T. Milik has noticed, among other things, that some of these fragments come from a different version of the "Book of the

Watchers," which constitutes the first part of *1 Enoch.* Now these fragments could not have been quotations from the "Book of the Watchers"; they belong instead to an independent account that relates, with a great many details and proper names, the amorous and dramatic adventures of the fallen angels and their terrestrial progeny, the giants [*gibborim*]. Thanks to the Manichaean fragments reassembled by Henning, Milik was able to identify the fragments of the Qumran caves as the remnants of a Jewish Second Temple–era *Book of Giants.* Thus Mani, who was familiar with apocalyptical literature from his early Elchasaitic education, in particular the *Apocalypse of Enoch* and the *Book of Giants,* drew from this latter work the material for his own book. His missionaries popularized it not only in the northeastern lands of the Iranian Empire but also in the Greco-Latin world. Indeed, the Manichaean *Book of Giants* ultimately reached the two extremities of the known world: in the West, the Gelasian Decree, which condemned it at the beginning of the sixth century along with the other apocalyptical writings, mentioned it under the title *Liber de Ogia,* from the name of one of the giants named in the book; in the East, the eighth-century Chinese *Compendium* referred to it by the title that it bears in Parthian and Middle Persian, *Chu-huan* ["Book of Strong Heroes" = *Kawan*].

From the Jewish *Book of Giants,* with its visions, dreams, and celestial voyages, Mani created a new version while leaving the situations and characters unchanged. In both tellings Shemihaza gives birth to two sons, Ohya (= Ogias) and Ahya (Pat-Sahm in the Sogdian transmission). The first of these two brothers fought the dragon Leviathan; the second attacked Mahawai, son of Virogdad. In the Pahlavi and Sogdian adaptations known through the Turfan fragments, the two sons of Shemihaza/Shahmizad assume the names of Sam and Nariman, more familiar to Iranian readers than the Aramaic names of the Jewish source text. The exploits and combats of these giants, against the monsters and among themselves, are followed by a fantastic gigantomachy that ends, as in the *Apocalypse of Enoch,* with the victory of a tetrad of angels (Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, Istrael) over the combined forces of demonic anarchy.

These colorful stories constitute an essential part of the Semitic heritage in the Manichaean imagination. Mani's successors at the head of the

church, like him Aramaeans, retained the *Book of Giants* in the canon of scriptures while excluding from it the *Shabuhragan,* which no longer served any purpose since the kings of Iran had now become the active enemies of the church. One might even consider the *Book of Giants* to be a sort of anti-*Shabuhragan.* It is not impossible, in fact, that at the end of his life, writing a stronger version of the Jewish book "for the Parthians," Mani (like his readers), confronted with the hatred of the powers of this world, had seen and read in the violence and corruption of the original giants the fate of failure and death befalling historical empires and their princes—and this all the more readily as the Middle Persian word for "giants" [*kawan*] was, during the Sassanid period, synonymous with "tyrants." The Manichaean *Book of Giants* was therefore conceived and perceived as a political pamphlet in the guise of allegory and myth. This would explain its retention in the canon and, as a further consequence, the elimination of the *Shabuhragan.*

⊙ ⊙ *Letters*

Mani, like Paul at the dawn of the Christian era, wrote a great many letters. Indeed, he was the most prolific letter writer of the Sassanid period. Some of these letters were no more than brief notes meant to salute the founding of a new community, announce a visit by the founder, accompany the dispatch of one of his writings, or settle a particular matter; others had the character of doctrinal epistles, addressed generally to the heads of missions and intended to fortify their faith by emphasizing certain fundamental aspects of the thought, history, and liturgy of the church; still others, finally, were disciplinary messages, or monitions, concerning the internal organization of the communities of the church and their supervision. Incessantly copied, translated, and recopied during the lifetime of their author, these writings were diligently collected by his successors into a great corpus that included, along with letters written by the founder, ones composed by dignitaries close to him and, by virtue of this fact, held to be of equal value.

This collection, originally part of the Manichaean library found in Egypt, is now lost. Only a few pages have survived (Berlin P 15998 and Warsaw). Ibn al-Nadim, in the *Fihrist,* conserved superscriptions con-

taining the names and addresses of the recipients of seventy-six letters [*rasa'il*]; he knew, and recopied, only those ecclesiastical titles created by Manichaean tradition while the corpus was being constituted. The nomenclature was subjected by translators and copyists to a great many alterations in the course of transmission, particularly with regard to proper names. Nonetheless, it gives us some idea of the remarkable variety of this correspondence, in which the practical problems facing the young Manichaean church were predominant.

⊙ ⊙ *Psalms and Prayers*

The Manichaean Psalm Book found in Coptic says that Mani composed "two Psalms" and "Prayers." The Manichaean compilers of the great liturgical edition of the Coptic Psalter did not include these two psalms and prayers in their work, however. It is therefore practically impossible to determine with certainty whether some of the Turfan fragments come from these two psalms and prayers composed by Mani. The ascription to Mani of this or that piece is a theological claim, not a label of authenticity.

Probably after the example of Bardesanes, and a century before Ephraem began to imitate the lyricism of the "philosopher of the Aramaeans," Mani used Syriac metrical forms to compose the two psalms and the prayers. The beauty and the rhythm of these verses resisted all translation. As a true poet, Mani would naturally have sought instead to encourage his disciples to create new psalms and prayers in their own native languages; and in fact such compositions constitute by far the greatest part of the Manichaean hymnic literature that has come down to us through papyrological and archaeological discoveries.

The Canon of Scriptures

The fixing of a canon of scriptures—that is, the application of a rule determining whether a particular text is to be admitted into a closed collection of sacred works—is a disciplinary decision that falls within the competence of the supreme authority of a religion at a given moment of its history and that over time comes to be granted inviolable authority in the name of tradition. In the case of Manichaeism this decision seems to have been taken following Mani's death under the pontificate of Sis,

in keeping with the founder's wishes, and until quite late in its history it was regarded as sacrosanct.

Three things argue in favor of this conclusion. First, the Coptic sources uniformly attest that the canon was fixed as a heptateuch, consisting of the written works left by Mani (in contradistinction to Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus, who left only oral traditions), during the same period that witnessed the redaction of the first great doctrinal commentaries of the new church and the constitution of the liturgical psalm book. Second, these same sources attribute the order of the canon to Mani on three occasions (preamble to the *Kephalaia*, *Keph.* 148, and p. 94 of the *Homilies*: "I wrote to you . . . ," "I gave to you . . ."). Finally, the presence of the same canon in the *Compendium* indicates that the decision of the founding Babylonian church continued to be respected by Chinese Manichaeans under the T'ang Dynasty.

The comparative nomenclature of the canon in the Manichaean sources reveals, in addition to the exclusion of the *Shabuhragan*, that the canon was constituted as a heptateuch. Further, the list in the *Compendium* follows exactly the one given in the final section of the Coptic *Homilies* (p. 94). Notwithstanding a difference in the ordering of *Mysteries*, *Legends*, and *Giants* in these two lists, they are grouped together in both: *Keph.* 148 expressly declares that "these three writings form only a single one." By placing the three books concerned with the exposition of mythology together in this way, the Manichaean sources themselves show that the primitive and authentic heptateuch can *also* be considered as a pentateuch. This view is confirmed by the testimony of the Manichaean Felix, who during his debate with Augustine in December 404 referred to the five *auctores* (*Contra felicem*, I, 14)—that is, to the totality of Mani's works, classified as a pentateuch for reasons of theological concordance, as the very title of *Keph.* 148 makes clear: "On the Five Books insofar as They Belong to the Five Fathers."

By contrast, the tetrateuch represented by Christian heresiologists, Syriac, Greek, and Latin alike, as forming the Manichaean canon has no foundation in the Manichaean sources. This erroneous interpretation goes back to the *Acta Archelai* (Acts of Archelaus) and improperly combines three works by Mani with the great doctrinal commentary of the later Manichaean tradition, the *Kephalaia*.

The False Tetrateuch

Latin Hegemonius *Acta Archelai* (62.3)	Greek Epiphanius *Panarion* (66.2.9)	Syriac Theodore bar Konai *Scholia* (312.6–8)
1. Mysteria	Musteria	Raze
2. Capitula	Kephalaia	Rishe
3. Euangelium	Euangelion	Ewangeliyun
4. Thesaurus	Thesauros	Simatha

The Manichaean Patrology

The Manichaeans divided their holy books into three categories: the heptateuch of Mani; *Image*; and works sanctioned by tradition. The "Sermon of the Great War" by Kustai and the Chinese *Compendium* place *Image* as an appendix to the heptateuch. After *Image* come all the written productions of the ancient Manichaean tradition. The *Compendium* calls them the "Teachings" of Mani; the Coptic Psalm Book (p. 47), his "words"; and the *Homilies* (p. 25), "his revelations, his parables, and his mysteries." These latter works, recording and commenting on the sayings of Mani as interpreted in the tradition of his church, and elaborating its ritual, together form what is legitimately called the Manichaean patrology. They may be divided in turn into four groups: hagiographic accounts, doctrinal commentaries, sacred songs, and practical guides.

⊙ ⊙ 1. Hagiographic Accounts

These concern the life of Mani but are neither "lives" nor "autobiographies" in the modern sense of these words. They are catechisms intended to evoke decisive moments in Mani's prophetic mission.

(A) *COLOGNE MANI CODEX (CMC)* Parchment manuscript volume in miniature format (4.5 x 3.5 cm) consisting of 192 pages divided into 23 lines per page (written surface: 3.5 x 2.5 cm), conserved at the University of Cologne (P. Colon. 4780 = 1012 Van Haelst). Written in Greek and originating in Upper Egypt (Lycopolis/Asyut), it is commonly known by its title, "On the Birth of His Body." The paleographic dating of this codex is a matter of dispute (fourth–fifth century, sixth century, perhaps even eighth century, though this last date is unlikely). It contains a

Figure 3. From Heptateuch to Pentateuch

Heptateuch	*Keph. 148; Hom. 25*	*Ps. 46–47; 139–40*	*Keph. 5*	*Hom. 94*	Chinese *Compendium*	*Pentateuch*	
1. Gospel	Euaggelion	Euaggelion	Euaggelion	Euaggelion	Ying-loun < Gr : euaggelion	Gospel	1.
2. Treasure	Thēsauros	Thēsauros	Thēsauros	Thēsauros	Hsin-t'i < Aram : SMTh	Treasure	2.
3. Legends	Pragmateia	Pragmateia	Pragmateia	[Epistolaue]	Ni-wan < MP : diwan	Letters	3.
4. Mysteries	mMustērion	mMustērion	pTa tōn mustērion	mMustērion	A-lo-tsan < MP : razan	Mysteries	
5. Giants	nGigas	nCalashire	graphē ntlaice nnParthos	Pragmateia	Po-tchia-ma-ti-yeh < Gr : Pragmateia	Legends	4.
6. Letters	Epistolaue	Epistolaue	Epistolaue	graphe [ntlaice nnParthos]	Tchü-houan < MP : kawan	Giants	
7. Prayers + Psalms	mPsalmos + nShlel	nShlel + 2 Psalmos	mPsalmos + nShlel	nShlel	A-fu-yin < MP : afrin	Prayers	5.

moralizing reconstruction of the conflicts of Mani's youth based on the founder's own accounts as interpreted by his disciples (Baraies, Abiesus, Innaios, Timotheos, and Zacheas [MP: Zaku]). This document is fundamental for understanding Mani's spiritual development up until his decision to break with Elchasaism and found a new religion.

(B) THE COPTIC *HOMILIES* Papyrus manuscript volume containing 48 leaves (= 96 pages), coming from the Faiyum in Egypt and conserved today at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (Codex D). It contains four *logoi*, or meditative homilies for the catechism, composed by Mani's immediate disciples. The first homily (1.1–7.7) is a lament by Salmaios, in the form of a prayer, on the death of Mani. The second (7.8–42.8), attributed to Kustai and entitled "Sermon of the Great War," is a meditation on the apocalyptic section of the *Shabuhragan*. The third (42.9–85.34) is the catechistic evocation of the "crucifixion," that is, the imprisonment and death of Mani, and of the first persecutions undergone by the community in Iran under Bahram I. The fourth (86.1–96.27) is a eulogy for Mani risen to heaven. These four pieces are to Mani's last years what the *CMC* is to his early years. Their tragic beauty stands out in sharp contrast to the moralizing and apologetic quality of the *CMC*. For the faithful these two collections were a source of hope. The Berlin counterpart to these Homilies (P 15999) is lost.

(C) THE *ACTS* A complement to the *CMC* and the *Homilies* for the history of the Manichaean church, this codex of Acts [*Praxeis*], written in Coptic, survives only through fragments of pages conserved in Berlin (P 15997) and a page in Dublin (facsimile in *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library*, vol. 2 [Geneva, 1986], pls. 99–100).

⊙ ⊙ 2. Doctrinal Commentaries

(A) THE COPTIC *KEPHALAIA* This great doctrinal commentary on the logia of Mani forms a volume of more than eight hundred pages in the Coptic translation found in the Faiyum, the first part of which is conserved in Berlin (P 15996) and the second, in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (Codex C; facsimiles: *Manichaean Coptic Papyri*, vol. 1 [Geneva, 1986]). The general Greek title given to the collection by its

Manichaean compilers, *Kephalaia,* suggests that it constituted a veritable *summa theologica* of Manichaeism, assembled at a moment when the new religion was obliged, in the face of the first controversies unleashed by rival (Zoroastrian and Christian) ecclesiastical authorities, to structure, clarify, and develop in its smallest details the thought of the master. The authors of the compilation sought above all to respond to the attacks that had been brought against the *Pragmateia.* Their argument consisted in showing that each situation, each term, and each figure in Mani's cosmo-theogonic exposition has several facets, and therefore multiple interpretations, and that these interpretations combine to form a complex whole, so that the effect of exegesis is to remove the possibility of reading Mani's mythological exposition in linear terms as a historical account and therefore to structure doctrine instead as an allegorizing science in the service of ecclesiology.

(B) THE *SYNAXEIS* Another Coptic collection of exegeses of the logia of Mani and of quotations from his works, commented on for liturgical purposes, this codex is conserved only in fragmentary form, in Dublin (Codex B; facsimiles in *Manichaean Coptic Papyri,* vol. 2, pl. 101–26) and in Berlin (P 15995).

(C) THE CHINESE *TRAITÉ* The great scroll found in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas at Tun-huang, and conserved today in Beijing, dates roughly from the middle of the tenth century. The beginning of the manuscript has disappeared, and with it the original title. The two French scholars who published and translated the surviving text, Chavannes and Pelliot, gave their monograph the title "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine" (A Manichaean treatise found in China), and it has been customary to refer to it by this title since. Cast in a literary framework borrowed from the *sutra,* the *Traité* appears to have been an exegesis of a cosmo-theogonic exposition drawn from Iranian sources, assimilating the panallegorism of the method of the *Kephalaia* and adapted to a Buddhist cultural milieu.

⊙ ⊙ 3. Sacred Songs

(A) THE COPTIC PSALM BOOKS The manuscript of the antiphonary of the Manichaean church of Egypt fills a large papyrus volume of

medium-size format (27 x 17.5 cm) originating in the Faiyum and today conserved at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (Codex A). Only the second part of the codex has been published, by C. R. C. Allberry (*A Manichaean Psalm-Book* [Stuttgart, 1938]); the first part is available in facsimile form (*Manichaean Coptic Papyri,* vol. 3 [Geneva, 1988]; facsimiles of the second part may be found in vol. 4 of the same work, also published in 1988). At the end of the second part the copyist indexed all the numbered pieces of the volume, grouping them according to their liturgical use or their supposed author: psalms for the synaxis (assembly of monks), for Sunday service, for Easter, psalms by Heracleides, psalms for vigils, for the Bema festival, psalms to Jesus (this subtitle, which is not in the manuscript, was inserted by a modern editor), and Heraclidean psalms again. There are also a great many pieces whose use is not specified, placed under the head "Various." Following the numbered collection are unnumbered groups of hymns that undoubtedly were not used in the liturgy: Various, Psalms of the Wanderers, of Heracleides, and of Thomas (these last, according to Polotsky, were Mandean hymns that had been incorporated into the Psalm Book). Taken together, these pieces constitute a monument of the highest importance for appreciating liturgical prayer as it was actually practiced by a Manichaean community during the middle of the fourth century.

Additional evidence of great value regarding liturgical prayer among Coptic Manichaeans is furnished by the wooden codices found during archaeological excavations of the site of Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab), 365 kilometers west of Luxor in the Dakhlah oasis (I. Gardner, "A Manichaean Liturgical Codex Found at Kellis," *Orientalia* 62 [1993]: 30–59).

(B) THE IRANIAN HYMNALS Like the Manichaean community in Egypt, Iranian-speaking Manichaeans possessed their own antiphonary, similarly equipped with an index and found piece by piece at Turfan. The Pahlavi hymnal is represented by two texts: the "Hymn to the Living Self (Soul)" [*Govishn ig griv zindag*] and the "Hymn of the Luminous Self (Soul)" [*Govishn ig griv roshn*]; no new reconstitution of either one has been proposed since the work of Henning. The Parthian hymnal is known through two long texts—"Our Chance" [*Huyadagman*] and "Armed with Wisdom" [*Angad roshnan*], which take their

names from the first words of the first song in each—attributed to Mar Ammo, whose fragments have been ably reconstituted by Mary Boyce (*The Manichaean Hymn-Cycles in Parthian* [Oxford, 1954]; facsimiles of the Parthian and Sogdian fragments may be found in Werner Sundermann, *The Manichaean Hymn Cycles* Huyadagmān *and* Angad Rōšnān *in Parthian and Sogdian* [London, 1990]). With these two Parthian hymnals may also be associated the rhythmic prose of the great Parthian hymns [*Wazargan afriwan*], a few remnants of which also exist in Sogdian. Like those of the Coptic Psalm Book, all these hymns are quite remarkable for the religious sensibility they manifest, their poetic qualities, and the central place accorded to Jesus in prayer.

(C) THE CHINESE HYMNAL (HYMNSCROLL) Twenty-five hymns are preserved in the scroll discovered at Tun-huang, presently conserved in London (Br. L. Or. Stein 2659). As shown by Hymn XIII, which is a complete Chinese version of the first song of the *Huyadagman* (identification due to Henning, 1943), the Chinese hymnal is an adaptation of the Parthian Manichaean poetry to a Buddhist cultural milieu and presents, with respect to its contents, the same characteristics as Parthian and Coptic hymnology.

⊙ ⊙ 4. The Practical Guides

Although late, the two following pieces deserve to be mentioned by virtue of the originality of their form and content.

(A) THE UIGHUR *XVASTVANEFT* In the tenth and eleventh centuries the Manichaean church of Turkestan made use of formularies for the confession of sins by monks (the elect) and by lay worshipers (hearers). Formularies for the elect survive in fragmentary form in Sogdian (particularly M 801); only one is attested in Late Pahlavi (M 201). By contrast, we possess the complete text of a prayer-confessional for hearers, the *Xvastvaneft,* also originating in the region of Turfan and translated into Old Turkish (Br. L. Or. 8212) on the basis of a Sogdian original and published successively by A. von Le Coq, W. Bang, and J. P. Asmussen. Such formularies consisted not of lists of culpable sins but, in the fashion of medieval Christian apologies, of a confession of faith proclaiming fundamental points of belief. These statements automatically marked off

the boundaries of unacceptable conduct, that is, behavior in contradiction to the confessed dogma. In the Uighur *Xvastvaneft,* for example, each doctrinal assertion is accompanied by a request to be pardoned. This formulary formed part of the festive liturgy of the Bema and was recited by an officiating priest in the name of the faithful.

(B) THE CHINESE *COMPENDIUM* The first part (= the first four articles) of a scroll dating from 731 and found at Tun-huang, entitled *Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light,* is conserved in London (Br. L. Or. Stein 3969); the second part (articles 5 and 6) is conserved in Paris (B. N. Or. Pelliot chinois 3884). The end of the text, that is, the end of article 6 and the following articles, has not been found. This unique text in the documentation of the Manichaean corpus, translated from the Parthian into Chinese by a Manichaean bishop familiar with Buddhist terminology, is a condensed version ("a sort of catechism," in Pelliot's words) of all Manichaeism, intended in its Chinese version for the religious authorities of the imperial T'ang government.

The six articles of the Stein and Pelliot fragments, stating the doctrines and rules of the religion, are composed of the following sections: (1) His Descent into a Body and His Homeland, His Names and Titles, His Own Doctrines [= Manichaean dates and personality of the founder]; (2) Rules Concerning His Corporeal Representations [= rules for representing Mani as a Buddha of Light]; (3) Rules Concerning the Canon of the Scriptures and *Image* [= the heptateuch, *Image,* works sanctioned by tradition]; (4) Rules Concerning the Five Orders [= hierarchy and duties inherent in each order]; (5) Rules Concerning the Buildings of the Monastery [= enumeration of rooms, way of life of the elect]; (6) Rules for Entering the Religion [= rules for becoming a Manichaean: accepting the doctrines of the Two Principles and the Three Times].

CHAPTER 3

The Community

Jesus left it to his successors to write gospels and to found a church—a decision that gave rise to disagreements, quarrels, and schisms. To preserve the unity of his disciples, Mani resolved to compose his gospel himself and personally to organize his religion into a church. Announcing to his contemporaries that hope and justice had come in him and through him, as the seal of prophecy, Mani took the same care in organizing the growing community of those who responded to his call that he took in writing his books and painting his images. Each member of the flock was assigned a place and function. The continuity of testimony regarding the strictly ecclesiastical structure given to this community, from its origins until the Middle Ages, shows that it would be a mistake to oppose Mani's prophetic charisma to the (late or secondary) institutional character of his church. Mani was at once prophet and lawgiver, an energetic apostle and an organizer of people. He was, say the texts, the head of a church whose members were all his brothers. He described "the birth of his body"—that is, the his church, located in the midst of the (false) religions of the earth—with the same meticulousness that he displayed in the *Pragmateia* in describing the genesis of the gods and men in the great body of the world. It must be recognized that Manichaeism's ability to resist Islam for as long as it did, particularly in the Iranian world, was due to its powerful esprit de corps, a direct consequence of effective institutional organization.

The Hierarchy of the Church

Apart from the fourth article of the Chinese *Compendium,* there exist two essential texts concerning the composition of the Manichaean Church,

one due to an ex-Manichaean, Augustine, and the other taken from a hymn to the apostles (or missionaries) from Turfan.

In chapter 46 of *De haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum,* composed in 428–29 (shortly before Augustine's death on 28 August 430), the former Manichaean who had gone on to become bishop of Hippo wrote: "The Manichaeans would that their church be composed only of these two states of life [*professiones*], that is, that of the elect [*electi*] and that of the hearers [*auditores*]. . . . From their elect they draw twelve, whom they call masters [*magistri*], plus a thirteenth who is their head [*princeps*]. They also have seventy-two bishops [*episcopi*], who receive their orders from the masters. The bishops also have deacons [*diaconi*]. The rest are called merely the elect [*electi*]."

The "Hymn to the Apostles" conserved in Middle Persian in the Turfan fragments (M 801; see also Mary Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* [Leiden: Brill, 1975], text cu 23–25) enumerates "all the deacons, masters of the house [= administrators], the choirmasters, the sagacious preachers, the valiant scribes, the sweet-voiced cantors, and all the pure and holy brethren [*bradaran*], . . . the virginal and holy sisters [*wxarin*] with their community and monastery, . . . and all the hearers, brothers and sisters, from the East and from the West, from the North and from the South."

The church therefore comprised two great bodies of believers, divided in turn into five classes or grades. On the one hand, there was the mass of lay followers who constituted the economic base of the ecclesiastical society (fifth class). On the other, there was the community of monks in the broad sense of the term, who fell into four classes: those who were monks only in the narrow sense, variously called elect, just, perfect, or holy (fourth class), from whom were recruited a limited number of members of the clergy; the masters of the house [of law], or administrators, who may be likened to the priests of the Christian Church (third class); ministers of worship and servants of the church, in a sense peculiar to the Manichaean term "deacons," analogous to Christian bishops (second class); and finally, confessors and doctors, called "masters" and "apostles," upon whom fell responsibility for the defense of doctrine, the government of the ecclesiastical provinces, and missionary policy (first class). At the

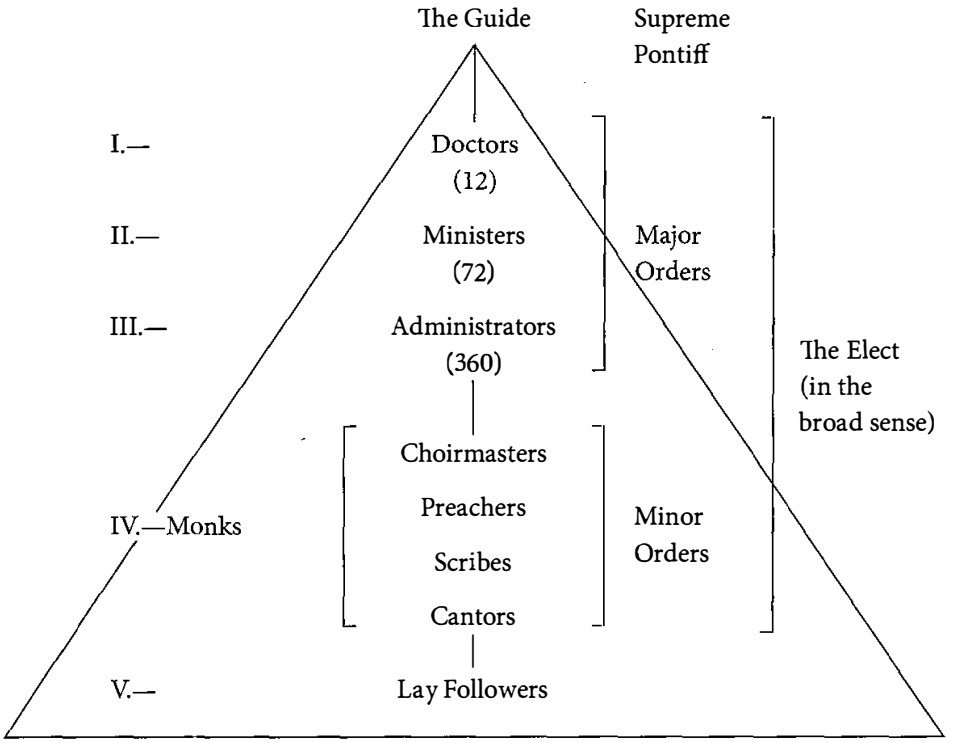


Figure 4. Hierarchy of the Manichaean Church

summit of this pyramid sat the guide of the faithful, Mani's successor in Babylon.

The number of lay persons, belonging to the fifth class, was unlimited as a matter of law and actual practice. In the fourth class, however, as a practical matter, the number of monks was restricted. A quota was attached to each class of the clergy: the administrators of the third class could not exceed 360, a figure corresponding to the number of days in a lunar cycle multiplied by the number of solar months; the maximum number of ministers, or deacons of the second class, was fixed at seventy-two, a figure corresponding to the number of disciples sent on missions by Jesus (see the Gospel according to Luke 10:1 Syr and Tatian, *Diatessaron*); and the number of doctors of the first class was fixed at twelve, on account of the twelve apostles that Jesus chose for himself (Gospel according to Matthew 10:1–2).

The key distinction was not between clergy and laity but between monks

and hearers. For a hearer to become a monk involved a radical change of life that could be approved only by a plenary meeting of the elect (synaxis). Both the laity and the order of monks were composed not only of men (brothers) but also of women (sisters), though accession to the first three classes was reserved for men. Lay brothers and sisters kept their ordinary clothes; male and female monks alike dressed in white and wore white headcloths.

Each group of lay followers had at its head a father-master, who was responsible for conducting services and for making the doctrine of the church comprehensible to his flock. This "elder" brother, known formally as the "master of the hearers" [MP *niyoshagbed*], was recruited from the third class. The lay brothers and sisters were obliged continually to show obedience and deference to their counterparts in the order of monks. On meeting one of them, the hearer knelt as a sign of respect, "so that the hand might be laid upon him as supplicant" (Augustine). Insulting a monk led to immediate expulsion from the church; the same fate befell a monk who publicly violated a commandment, but excommunication could not be pronounced until the matter had been brought before the synaxis and duly deliberated and judged.

Brothers and sisters of the fourth class lived apart from lay followers in monasteries (or temples). Established in cities and administered on the basis of endowment monies and gifts alone, monasteries [MP *manestan*; Persian *khangah*] constituted the true centers of worship of the Manichaean faith, as well as the focus of spiritual life and cultural activity, at least in lands where the religion was not condemned to a clandestine existence. They contained a scriptorium and library ("room of holy books and images") along with an infirmary, a chapter house (for community gatherings), a building for adoration and confession, and another for fasting days. But they had neither gardens nor kitchens, since meals were brought every day by the hearers.

Government of the monastery's affairs was placed under the jurisdiction of the first three grades. The choirmaster [MP *afrinsar*] occupied an eminent rank, as one would expect of a way of life devoted to choral recitation and prayer; he was charged with selecting hymns for the annual cycle of festivals, as well as with composing new ones and determining

the sequence of ceremonies. The preacher [*xrohxwan*] monitored the instruction of the monks and carried the good word to the outside world; his duties included teaching his brothers and sisters to preach. Once trained, they were sent out in their turn to spread the religion—"either to strengthen and support this error where it exists," Augustine said maliciously, "or to plant it where it does not" (*De haeresibus,* 46). For every monk had not only to pray and to sing but also to preach. The masters of the scriptorium [*dibiran*] wrote out the holy books and antiphonaries in a decorative hand. The cantor [*mahrsray*] was responsible for the proper execution of liturgical song and for giving his brethren choral instruction. The Chinese *Compendium* mentions another office whose occupant was "in charge of the month," according to Pelliot; according to Gauthiot, he "supervis[ed] the recitation of the sermon"; according to Benveniste, he was "responsible for pious endowments."

The functions of the upper three classes, carried out by a very small number of monks, were subsequently adopted by the hierarchy of the Christian Church in Mesopotamia: (1) doctors [Syr *malpan*] perpetuated the apostolic tradition of the founder through teaching and defense of the doctrine; (2) ministers supported the activity of the church as servants (deacons) and supervisors (bishops) charged with organizing worship and governing the diocese [MP *paygos*]; (3) administrators, or masters of the house [Gr *oikodespotēs*] (also called "elders" [Gr *presbuteros*]), assisted the bishops in pastoral tasks and managed the affairs of the community. The ecclesiastical title "master of the house" came from Qumran by way of the Babylonian baptist rite in which Mani was raised. As for the fundamental conception of monks and lay followers as distinct and complementary, the former assuring the latter eternal salvation in exchange for material subsistence, this was taken over directly from Buddhism. Manichaean monasticism cannot be reduced to the Christian model, then, since Mani's monks did not seek to remove themselves from the world in isolated, self-sufficient communities; nor can Manichaean prophetology and eschatology be reduced to the pre-Valentinian model, since the distinctive features of Manichaeism—its doctrine of prophecy and ecclesiastical structure—root it in history and in institutions.

Figure 5. Comparative Nomenclature of Classes and Positions

	Greek	*Coptic*	*Latin*	*Pahlavi*	*Parthian*	*Chinese*	*Arabic*	*Syriac*
The Guide	arkhēgos	p-arkhēgos	princeps	sarar	sarar	yen-mo	imam	qphalpala
I.—Doctors								
Synon.:								
masters	didaskaloi	n-sah	magistri	hammozagan	ammozhagan	mu-chö	mu'allimun	malpane
apostles	apostoloi	n-apostolos		frestagan				
II.—Ministers								
Synon.:								
deacons		n-shnshete	diaconi	ispasagan	ispasagan	sa-po-sai	mushammisun	mshamshane
bishops	episcopoi	n-episcopos	episcopi			fu-to-tan		
III.—Administrators	oikodespotai			mansararan	mansardaran			
Synon.:								
priests	presbuteroi	n-presbuteros	presbyteri	mahistagan		mo-hi-si-tö	qissisun	qashishe
IV.—Monks			religiosi	denawaran	denabaran	tien-na-wu		
Synon.:								
the elect	eklektoi	n-sôtp	electi	wizidagan	wizhidagan			
the just	dikaioi	n-dikaios		ardawan	ardawan	a-lo-huan	siddiqun	zaddiqe
the perfect			perfecti					
the holy		netouabe	sancti					
Positions:								
choirmasters				afrinsaran	afriwansaran			
preachers				xrohxwanan				
scribes				dibiran	dibiran			
cantors	psaltai	n-psaltēs		mahrsrayan				
V.—Lay Followers								
Synon.:								
hearers			auditores	niyoshagan	nigoshagan	nu-cha-yen	samma'un	shamu'e
catechumens	katēkhoumenoi	n-katēkhoumenos						

The Moral Code of the Monks

According to the Pahlavi "Hymn to the Apostles" (M 801), strict observance of the five commandments [*andarzan*] and the three seals [*muhran*] was required of all monks. The Sogdian formulary of confession for the elect, contained in the second part of M 801, described the content of the five commandments in great detail; unfortunately the surviving fragments concern only the (complete) second and (partial) third commandments, plus a few lines of the fourth. By contrast, the complete list of the five commandments is reproduced in Sogdian (M 14 V) and in Coptic (Hymn 235) for the Bema festival:

Sogdian	Coptic
1. Truth	Do not lie
2. Nonviolence	Do not kill
3. Religious behavior	Do not eat meat
4. Purity of mouth	Be pure
5. Blessed poverty	Blessed poverty

The three seals [Lat *tria signacula*; Ar *thalath khawatin*] express in the mode of corporeal symbolism the content of the three commandments that the laity was bound to observe in part. The seal of the mouth [Lat *signaculum oris*] refers to the fourth commandment; the seal of the hands [Lat *signaculum manuum*], or peace of the hands [Copt *pmtan nncij*], to the second; the seal of the bosom (heart) [Lat *signaculum sinus*], or virginal purity [Copt *ptoubo ntparthenia*], to the third.

⊙ ⊙ 1. First Commandment

Called "Truth" in Sogdian [*reshtyaq*], the first commandment prohibits lying in the broad sense of the term, that is, any attitude contradicting the profession of religious faith. Inasmuch as the essential aspect of the life of the elect was openness and obedience to the Holy Spirit that had come down into Mani, apostle of truth, and that continued to act upon and within the church, the imperative of truth can be seen as a theological justification of the virtue of obedience to the will of the founder. The first commandment thus gave the entire religious life of the elect its

fundamental orientation: in order to be capable, as Mani had been, "of wandering continually in the world to preach and to guide" (the formula is due to al-Biruni), the monk had to anchor himself firmly in the truth, that is, place himself wholly in the service of the apostolic mission of the founder by accepting the authority of his church.

⊙ ⊙ 2. Second Commandment

Of all the moral principles imposed upon the monk, none surprised Christian and Muslim adversaries of Manichaeism more than this one. In enjoining the monk to "nonviolence" [Sogd *puazarmya*], in the literal sense of the word, the second commandment, or seal of the hands, forbade the monk from engaging in any violent act liable to injure one of the five elements—light, fire, water, wind, air—that are found in a mixed state in living creatures, or in plants, or in nature itself. The cosmological foundation of this commandment had to do with the conviction that imprisoned in every composite body are particles of pure light that await release; taken together, these particles form an immense cross of light [Lat *crux luminis*] extending throughout the world that recalls and perpetuates the suffering of Jesus [Lat *Iesus patibilis*]. Since shattering any composite body risks causing damage to the delicate light elements themselves, and so to the cross of light and heavenly Jesus as well, the second commandment ordered the monk not to kill or to injure, even if only a plant or small animal would be harmed.

Hence the prohibition against agricultural labor: "The harvest workers, who do the reaping, are like the archons, who were in darkness from the beginning, when they ate of the armor of the First Man. So they must be transformed into grass or beans or barley or wheat or vegetables, so that they too can be harvested and cut down," declared Turbo in the *Acta Archelai* [the Latin version of this work conserved in the Codex Bobiensis identifies Turbo with Mani's disciple Adda]. "If anyone kills a bird, he shall become a bird; if anyone kills a mouse, he shall become in his turn a mouse. . . . If a man reaps, he shall be reaped; and so, too, if anyone casts grain into the mill, he shall be cast into it in his turn; whoever kneads shall also be kneaded, whoever bakes bread shall also be baked himself" (9.2–9.8). Nonviolence also required that remedies devised by sorcerers to treat wounds and heal the sick not be used and that certain

medicinal preparations not be administered. The least part of nature was to be respected: a clump of earth, a puddle of water, a flake of snow, a drop of dew. A monk who inadvertently damaged one or another of the copyist's utensils—brush, tablet, paper—was also liable to be accused before his brothers of having infringed the second commandment.

⊙ ⊙ 3. The Third Commandment

Known in Sogdian as "behavior in accordance with religion" [*dentchihreft*], the third commandment, or seal of the bosom, obliged the monk to practice not only continence but also total chastity, both in the strict sense, through the prohibition of all sexual relations (Manichaean monks, male and female alike, swore a vow of celibacy for life), and in the broader sense, through the prohibition of all contact by which pleasure might be obtained, if only by touching snow, dew, or a fine fabric. To take a bath was to commit two sins: against the second commandment, on account of the injury caused to the water, and against the third, because the contact of the water with the skin produced an agreeable sensation. The third commandment forbade monks from committing any act that might favor, directly or indirectly, the reproduction of living beings, animals, or plants. Thus, if cutting down a tree contravened the second commandment, planting one was an infraction of the third: "He who has planted a [fruit-yielding tree] shall pass through several bodies until the [tree] has been felled." The theological reason for this was simple: to encourage reproduction was to endlessly retard the process by which the particles of light trapped in the bodies of living things were finally and permanently liberated.

⊙ ⊙ 4. Fourth Commandment

Known in Sogdian as "purity of mouth" [*qutchizpartya*], the fourth commandment, or seal of the mouth, was mainly concerned with dietary prohibitions. Meats, fermented drinks (beer, wine, or rice alcohol), and dairy products of any sort were proscribed because their preparation involved a series of violent acts harmful to the luminous souls contained in them. Manichaean monks were therefore strict vegetarians. Even so, their ascetic vows obliged them to show extreme care in choosing among the fruits and vegetables offered to them, and prepared for their consumption, by the lay faithful. Further constraining their appetite for edible nourish-

ment were the rigorous and protracted fasts that punctuated the calendar of monastic life. Moreover, the fourth commandment concerned not only what enters the mouth but also what comes out of it: words. In matters of speech, as in other things, monks were obliged to observe the moderation and respectful form of utterance appropriate to one who loved the justice of the prophet's church and therefore not to malign or slander any other person or to lie, blaspheme, swear, or perjure themselves.

⊙ ⊙ 5. Fifth Commandment

The last commandment enjoined monks to lead a life of poverty [Sogd *dushtautch*]—"blessed poverty," according to both the Sogdian prose fragment on the New Man (M 14 V) and a Bema hymn in Coptic (no. 235 in the Medinet Medi *Psalm Book* codex [ed. Allberry]), echoing the beatitude of the poor proclaimed by Jesus as the condition of entering the kingdom of heaven. Monks were permitted neither to accumulate personal possessions nor to acquire any goods, apart (according to al-Biruni) from a day's supply of food and enough clothing for a year. The complete destitution of the elect made him a free man, able to devote himself entirely to preaching and prayer, and a "blessed" man in the evangelical sense—in sum, a happy man.

Upright, nonviolent, chaste, abstinent, and poor—such was the Manichaean monk who practiced the five commandments laid down by Mani to express his ideal of evangelical blessedness and purpose. Polemicists on all sides were united in denigrating the morality of the Manichaeans, which they saw as proof of unfathomable stupidity and maliciousness. The Muslim al-Biruni was the only ancient writer, at least to my knowledge, to recognize that the kind of life required of Manichaean monks in fact set a very high moral standard and the only one to defend Mani against the "grotesque" charge that he would have approved, among other things, pederasty. Manichaean ethics, regarded as diabolical and insane in the West, had the effect among the peoples of Upper Asia of helping to moderate bloodthirsty behavior: "Countries with barbaric customs where blood used to stream," al-Biruni noted (in Pelliot's translation), "were transformed into a land where one ate vegetables; states where one used to kill were transformed into a kingdom where one exhorted oth-

ers to do good." These lines, taken from a trilingual inscription found in Karabalghasun, on the Orchon River, that recounts the early history of Manichaeism in the Uighur Empire of Bögü Khan, suggest the civilizing impact of such an ethics in Turco-Mongolian lands in the second half of the eighth century.

The Moral Code of the Laity

The lay followers were not an inferior class of Manichaean whose sole usefulness consisted in justifying Augustine's caustic remark: "To those who were called 'elect' and 'holy' [*electi et sancti*] we brought foods, out of which, in the workshop of their stomachs, they were to make us angels and gods, by whom we might be liberated" (*Confessions* 4.1.1). Lay men and women were members of the church on the same level with monks, and their functions, although different, were complementary. The layman allowed the monk to devote himself completely to the service of prayer and speech; the monk assured the layman of eternal salvation through the counsels that he imparted and the liturgical celebrations that he conducted. Thus the moral code of lay followers who remained in one place was not fundamentally different from that of monks called to apostolic nomadism: it corresponded to a different way of life.

The canonical obligations of the hearers are known through a formulary of confession intended specifically for them, the *Xvastvaneft*, a complete version of which is conserved in Old Turkish. The sequence of these simple and clear rituals, which are of five kinds, immediately calls to mind the five pillars of Islam. The similarity is not at all accidental, for just as Manichaeism furnished Islam with the essential elements of its prophetology, it also supplied the basis for Islamic ritual:

Manichaeism	Islam
1. Commandments	Profession of faith
2. Prayer	Prayer
3. Alms	Alms
4. Fasting	Fasting
5. Confession of sins	Pilgrimage

⊙ ⊙ 1. The Ten Commandments

These summarized the major articles of the Manichaean credo: love, faith, fear of God, and wisdom, sealed in the heart of the hearers by the four gods. The Uighur formulary refers explicitly to these gods and their qualities: the absolute transcendence of the Father, whose greatness depends only on the Good (I.2); the goodness of the Living Spirit, demiurge of the sun and the moon, by whom the light becomes separated from the darkness each day (II.2); the life and power of the Primal Man, whose five luminous elements form the limbs of the soul (III.2); and the wisdom of the messengers, prophets of God and bearers of salvation—in other words, the community of monks (IV.2).

The purpose of the ten commandments was to regulate the conduct of the laity as a consequence of this profession of faith.

1. The first commandment required hearers to renounce idolatry. The abandonment of idols implied a rejection of anthropomorphism, for the supreme God [= the Father of Greatness] gives neither life nor death. To attribute to him what does not depend on him was a sin; to appeal to the devil, that is, to the author of evil, as a god came under the same prohibition. This first imperative concerned the whole self or person, the nine others being distributed among three seals: mouth, heart, hands (IX.1).

2. Hearers were to monitor the purity of the mouth by refraining from blasphemy, lying, perjury, false witness, and slander; they had always to stand up for the innocent.

3. Meat and fermented beverages were to be excluded from the tables of the laity.

4. Hearers were to abstain from all inappropriate speech, especially that which was irreverent toward the prophets, for monks were the "true messengers of God" and did only good works (IV.2).

5. The heart of the hearer was to remain faithful to the man or woman who had been taken in marriage, and hearers were to refrain from all sexual relations during fasting days. Polygamy was condemned on the same ground as adultery.

6. Hearers were to come to the aid of the afflicted and refrain from all displays of greed.

7. They were to take care not to obey false prophets and impostors, that is, excommunicated or renegade Manichaeans.

8. The hearer was to avoid using his hands to frighten, injure, beat, torture, or kill not only human bipeds but also four-legged animals, birds, fish, and reptiles. Nor could his ten fingers cause suffering to the Living Self (III.3).

9. The hearer was to take care not to commit theft or fraud.

10. Finally, he was to refrain from all magical practices, forswearing the fabrication of charms, potions, and evil spells.

⊙ ⊙ 2. Prayer

The lay Manichaean was bound to observe four daily prayers, spaced between dawn and night (on rising, at midday and sunset, and after dark). During the day they had to be made facing the sun and in the evening, facing the moon; if the sun or the moon were not visible, he was to pray toward the north and the Pole Star. From the earliest days of the faith, this obligation [*qibla*] aroused attacks and erroneous interpretations on all sides. Mani responded to them in the *Mysteries*: "Sun and moon are our path and the gate through which we make our way in the world of our existence"—that is, toward the heavenly homeland. Ritual and prayer were strictly regulated: purifications and ablutions were required as a condition of entering a place of worship; formulas had to be recited correctly and in their entirety; the proper gestures and prostrations had to be performed while praying. To neglect one of these points, or to be inattentive to them, was sinful.

⊙ ⊙ 3. Alms

This obligation fell specifically on lay followers, just as poverty did on monks. In giving a tenth (or seventh) of his possessions, the hearer was purified of worldly works and, in this way, allowed the community of his brothers [and sisters], the elect, to discharge their duty of prayer and preaching. Almsgiving was therefore a service to the church, a communal manifestation of justice. If a hearer was prevented from obeying this rule, on account of poverty, destitution, or some other reason, he was nonetheless bound to ask forgiveness for having failed to fulfill his duty.

Typically it took the form of gifts: bread, fruits, vegetables, clothes, or sandals. It could also take other forms depending on the person's social importance: ransom of a captive, slave, or prisoner; substantial aid in rescuing distant brothers from distress; the temporary loan of a servant, relative, or son to help the community; the endowment of various functions placed under the administrative authority of the church hierarchy; or maintenance of monastery buildings or responsibility for additions to them. As the financial lifeblood of the church, alms were an occasion of sharing and exchange: in giving a part of his possessions, the layman obtained salvation; by accepting alms, the monk entered into an apprenticeship of true poverty, the sine qua non of holiness.

◎ ◎ 4. Fasting

Like monks, hearers were obliged to observe a cycle of fasting on both a weekly and a yearly basis. The weekly fast took place on Sunday, day of the sun. This meant having not only to abstain from food and all sexual relations but also to forgo all worldly labor. The dominical fast served to unite the church, for on this day the layman was a full-fledged member of his community, in no way different from the monk. Yet observance of this fast was by no means universal, particularly among notables, merchants, and breeders of livestock (the version of the *Xvastvaneft* in use among the Turkish-speaking Manichaean populations of Upper Asia during the eighth to tenth centuries mentions managers of great estates, faced with the demands of tending to both domesticated animals and roaming herds, as well as ordinary people suffering from poverty and frail health). To miss a fast—voluntarily or involuntarily, whether through laziness or negligence—was a sin. Hearers were bound also to observe an annual fast of thirty days, which itself was preceded at regular intervals by very brief fasts associated with feast days and culminating in the celebration of the Bema festival. The obligation to fast was subject to many different interpretations, both over time and from country to country. Contact with Islam, and the spirit of competition to which it gave rise, had the effect of strengthening the insistence of the church hierarchy on strict observance, particularly with regard to fasting.

⊙ ⊙ 5. Confession of Sins

Weekly confession took place on Monday, day of the moon, for hearers as well as the elect. The hearer knelt down before the monk, his brother, and asked forgiveness for every sin of thought, word, and deed. The annual confession was collective and took place at the end of the thirty-day fast, when the community came together to celebrate the passion of the Lord, that is, to commemorate the tragic events that marked Mani's last days on earth. An officiant, acting on behalf of the hearers, recited the confessional formulas composed especially for them (to save time he could confine himself to the final formula), with the result that all the sins of the past year were pardoned, and the lay members of the church were able to enter into the celebration of the community's great festival with the innocent heart of a newborn infant.

The Liturgy

The festival cycle of the Manichaean Church (which in Christian regions included Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost) was based on an idealized reconstruction of the major dates of its founder's life: Mani's birth, the call of the angel, the dispatch of the prophet, his passion and death, and the martyrdom of the first apostles. Each festival had the threefold purpose of commemorating a past event, realizing the communion of the faithful through the pardon of sins and the singing of hymns, and announcing the triumph of the (true) religion at the Final Judgment. And by dividing the planetary year into periods, the festival cycle actualized and recapitulated the three times of earthly history: the past origins of the church, the present moment of its ecclesiastical life, and the expectation and hope of final matters.

What was true of each festival was especially true of the most solemn of all Manichaean occasions, the Bema (from the Greek word meaning "dais," "tribune," "seat," "chair," or "throne" [Syr *bima*, MP *gah*]). In the architecture of Syriac Christian churches, the bema, erected in the middle of the nave, was the episcopal throne from which the bishop presided and the good news was proclaimed. In Manichaean churches and places

of worship, where it was constructed as a raised platform having five levels or steps, covered with precious fabrics and placed in full view of the congregation, the dais symbolized the five classes of the hierarchy. The top level was left vacant, however, for in commemorating Mani's reign the Bema festival perpetuated the memory of a leader who, invisibly, continued to instruct, judge, and guide his community.

The Bema was for Manichaeans what Easter was for Christians, namely, the festival to which all others led. The essential features of the Manichaean event were borrowed from its Christian counterpart: date (the vernal equinox), preparations (vigils and fasts of long duration), and significance (celebration of a passion). Although Manichaeans had never ceased to celebrate Easter, it was soon eclipsed in importance by the Bema, for the Christian festival celebrated what in the eyes of the Manichaeans was only apparently a passion and death (since the heavenly Jesus was incapable either of being born or of dying), whereas the Manichaean festival commemorated a man who had really suffered and who had really died. It was therefore in relation to Mani alone that Easter was a true passover, that is, a passing over from death to life, from the night of suffering and exile to the light of blessed eternity, from the prison of the body and the world to deliverance from the cycle of rebirths.

The Bema was indissociable from the fasts that preceded it, for the calendrical rules governing the computation of these fast dates served also to determine the date of the ultimate solemnities. The old calendar of the Manichaean Church of Babylon is known to us in its main features from Ibn al-Nadim's account. An initial fast of two days took place when the moon was full, the sun being in Sagitarius (= 14–15 November). With the first appearance of the next new moon plus one ("when the crescent begins to come into view"), a second fast of two continuous days (= 1–2 January) took place. A third fast of equal duration coincided with the next full moon, when the sun was in Capricorn (= 14–15 January). A fourth, discontinuous fast of thirty days, during which fasting was interrupted each evening after the setting of the sun, began with the advent of the new moon once the sun had entered into Aquarius, that is, on the eighth day of the month—this by synchronic analogy with the dates traditionally assigned to Mani's passion (= 8 February to 8 March). Thus from late autumn until late winter, Manichaeans of all ranks performed a series of

three forty-eight-hour fasts in memory of their holy martyrs, followed by a fourth and final month-long fast in memory of the founder of their faith, closing out the liturgical year.

The cycle of fasting culminated with the celebration of the Bema. Just as the beginning of the great annual fast (8 February) was made to correspond to Mani's imprisonment and the fastening of his chains, the end of the fast (8 March) fell on the canonical date of his deliverance and his ascent to heaven. Apart from eighth- to ninth-century Manichaean miniatures from Chotcho (Xotcho), the bulk of the surviving documentation concerning the Bema consists of the first part of M 801 (in Middle Persian and Parthian) and a Sogdian fragment (T II D 123) published by Henning. The texts do not give the first part of the ceremony, but it seems likely to have opened with a reading of Mani's passion, from the moment of his crucifixion [= imprisonment] until the leaving of his body [death and ascension]. We know that prayers of intercession were then addressed to Mani, punctuated by hymns of praise. Next came the solemn celebration of Mani's *Gospel,* a copy of which was held up by an officiant for adoration by the faithful. This was succeeded by a general confession of sins, made by means of formularies read out by the ministers in the name of the congregation and accompanied by the singing of three hymns beseeching Mani for forgiveness. After this penitential rite came a reading of the "Letter of the Seal" [MP *muhr dib*]—the last message that Mani, seal of the prophets, wrote for his followers shortly before his death—followed by a hymn glorifying the apostle ascendant in heaven and his triumphant church. Then came communion, a holy banquet offered to the elect by the hearers at which fine fruits, particularly rich in light particles, were shared and eaten. The feast concluded with songs of thanksgiving.

The entire night preceding the Bema celebration was passed in prayers and songs; indeed, most of the hymns bearing the festival's name that are conserved in the Turfan texts and the Coptic Psalm Book were composed for this service. In the early hours the doors of the shrine were opened wide to let in the sun's first rays. As the hymn to the dawn (likening Mani to the rising sun) resounded throughout the space, the hearers entered bearing gifts of fruit and bread, which they placed on a golden tripod and on the communion table in front of the dais. Around the table, bowls were gradually filled with armfuls of roses collected by the hearers. Juice

from the fruits was poured into a golden vase from which the elect would drink. A linen veil covered the five-tiered dais, which represented the throne of Mani, who, represented by his icon, was shown symbolically as seated at the summit of his church. The Manichaeans' great day of joy thus began in the midst of flowers, colors, and songs. In the words of the Bema Psalm (*Psalm Book 2* p. 8, 14–21): "Greetings, Bema of victory! Now this day all the trees have been made new again! Now the roses display their beauty, for the withe that blanched their petals has been severed! The air is everywhere luminous, and the earth pushes up its blossoms, the waves of the sea are calmed, for the dark winter that overflowed with torment has fled."

CHAPTER 4

The Pantheon

Mani, a poet and a visionary, worked out his ideas about the nature of things, about their causes and their modalities, within the literary framework of an account of legends, the *Pragmateia*—for he was neither a philosopher nor a theologian, neither Greek nor Jewish. To his mind, the cardinal virtue of the historical Messiah (Jesus) was to have destroyed the Jewish Bible, that is, to have demonstrated the falsity of a religion founded on the law. But it remained to communicate the revelation: to show why evil had come to be mixed with good; to expose the true genesis of things, since the other Genesis had been abolished; to provide a history that says everything and explains everything from start to finish—beginning, middle, end; in short, to state the Two Principles and the Three Times (or Epochs).

To make such a revelation belonged by right to the seal of prophecy, since the prophet was supposed to embody the fullness of wisdom and knowledge. Thus it was that Mani the writer began by saying what had impressed Mani the reader of apocalypses: he wrote the *Shabuhragan,* his first book, to describe the final time or state (of separation). In order to recount in detail the early and middle times (of nonlimitation and mixture, respectively), he wrote the *Pragmateia.* Whereas the *Shabuhragan* announced a hope, the *Pragmateia* expounded a tragic myth. Rather than draw up a composite summary of this latter work from extant sources, I will give the version of it transmitted in the late eighth century by the Nestorian doctor Theodore bar Konai, who had made his own summary on the basis of a Syriac copy of the *Pragmateia.* Though composed in a haphazard fashion and sprinkled with errors introduced by copyists, this text stands still today as the most complete version of the Manichaean myth as Mani had conceived and written it.

I have added a small amount of transitional commentary, set in italic, to make it easier to follow the tale.

The Narrative

⊙ ⊙ 1. The Early Time

Before the existence of the heavens and of the earth and of everything that is in them, there were two natures [*kyanin*], the one good, the other bad. The good nature inhabited the land [or "world"] of light, which Mani called Father of Greatness [*abba d-rabbutha*]. Apart from him were his dwellings [or "realms"—*skinatha*]: reason, sense, thought, reflection, intention. The bad nature Mani called King of Darkness [*mlek heshuka*], who lived in his dark land, in his five dark worlds: the world of smoke, the world of fire, the world of wind, the world of water, and the world of darkness.

⊙ ⊙ 2. The Middle Time

A. *THE FIRST WAR* (a) *Outbreak of hostilities: the King of Darkness glimpses the beauty of the land of light and prepares to mount an assault upon it.* When the King of Darkness contemplated climbing up toward the land of light, its five dwellings feared for their safety.

(b) *The Father of Greatness resolves to respond to the attack of the King of Darkness through an initial series of "Calls" (First Creation).* The Father of Greatness thought and said: "I will not send any of my dwellings, any of these five realms, into combat because it was for prosperity and peace that they were created by me, but it is myself [*b-nafshey*] who will go and make war!" Mani says that the Father of Greatness called [*qra*] the Mother of Life (the Living) [*emma d-hayye*], the Mother of Life called the Primal (First) Man [*nasha qadmaya*], and the Primal Man called his five sons [or "arms"], like one who arms himself to do battle.

(c) *Defeat of the Primal Man.* Then there came out to meet the Primal Man an angel by the name of Nahashbat, who held in his hand the crown of victory. The angel spread out the light before the Primal Man. On seeing this the King of Darkness thought and said: "What I searched for far away I have found close at hand." Then the Primal Man offered himself

[*nafsh-eh*] and his five sons as nourishment to the five sons of darkness, like one who, having an enemy, mixes a deadly poison into a cake and offers it to him. When the sons of darkness had eaten, the intelligence of the Five Shining Gods [*ziwane* = sons of the First Man] was toppled. They were like a man bitten by a rabid dog or by a serpent, this on account of the venom of the sons of darkness.

(d) *Second reply of the Father of Greatness, who issues a fresh series of Calls (Second Creation), and rescue of the Primal Man by the Living Spirit.* Intelligence having returned to him, the Primal Man addressed seven times a prayer to the Father of Greatness. The Father of Greatness called [second call (*qrayta*)] the Friend of the Lights. The Friend of the Lights called the Great Builder [*ban rabba*], the Great Builder called the Living Spirit [*ruha hayya*], and the Living Spirit called his five sons: the Ornament of Splendor [*sfat ziwa*], so called for his reason [Gr *noūs*, Lat *mens*]; the Great King of Magnificence [*malka rabba d-iqara*], for his sense [= powers of perception]; the Adamas (or Adamant) of Light [*Adamas-nuhra*], for his thought [= practical understanding]; the King of Glory [*mlek shubha*], for his reflection [= powers of deliberation]; and the Porter (or Atlas) [*subbala*], for his intention [= ability to plan]. They went into the land of darkness, where they found the Primal Man swallowed up by the darkness and his five sons. Then the Living Spirit called out in a loud voice. The voice of the Living Spirit was like a sharp sword, and it laid bare the form of the Primal Man and said to him: "Peace be with you, who are the good amid the wicked, the light amid the darkness, the god who dwells amid wrathful animals that know not the magnificence [of the sons of light]!" Then the Primal Man responded, saying: "Come in peace, you who bring the wages of prosperity and peace." And moreover the Primal Man said to him: "How goes it with our fathers, the sons of light, in their abode?" And the Call [*qraya*] said to him: "They are well." The Call and the Response [*'naya*] joined with one another and together ascended to the Mother of Life and to the Living Spirit. And the Living Spirit clothed himself in the Call, and the Mother of Life clothed herself in the Response, her beloved child. Then they descended into the land of darkness, where they found the Primal Man and his sons. *The rest of the story is known from* Keph. *9 and the account given by Turbo in the* Acta Archelai *(7.7):* The Living Spirit held out his right hand to the Primal Man and drew him out of the

darkness. The Mother of Life embraced her son and kissed him. Then the Primal Man was brought back in triumph among his family in the land of light. *End of the first war, return to the text of Theodore bar Konai.*

B. *INTERLUDE I: THE DEMIURGICAL WORK OF THE LIVING SPIRIT* (a) *Slaughter of the archons, whose spoils are used to make the world.* Then the Living Spirit commanded three of his sons, telling one to kill and another to flay the archons, sons of darkness, in order that they be brought to the Mother of Life. And the Mother of Life [gave her orders, and the Living Spirit] spread out the sky with their skins and made eleven heavens. Then the three sons of the Living Spirit threw their corpses onto the land of darkness and made eight earths [= layers of the world].

(b) *The sons of the Living Spirit are charged with watching over the cosmos.* And the five sons of the Living Spirit were all invested with their own responsibilities: the Ornament of Splendor was charged with supporting the Five Shining Gods by their loins, and beneath their loins the heavens were spread out; the Porter, with bending one of his knees and supporting the earths; and after the heavens and the earths had been made, the Great King of Magnificence sat in the middle of the sky and watched to see that they were held in place.

(c) *Making of the sun and the moon and creation of the cosmic wheels.* Then the Living Spirit manifested his forms to the sons of darkness. With the light that they had swallowed and that came from these Five Shining Gods, he brought about a [first] filtering of the light and made the sun and the moon. With the light that was left over, from these vessels [or "ships of light"], he made wheels of wind, water, and fire. Then he descended and fixed [mss: formed] them from beneath near the Porter. And the King of Glory called [= created] and established for them an orbit so that they could make their ascent by passing above the archons, who were divided among the earths. [The] purpose [of the wheels] was to serve the Five Shining Gods and to prevent them from being consumed by the poison of the archons.

C. *INTERLUDE II: COMPLETION OF THE WORLD'S CREATION BY THE MESSENGER* (a) *Third Call (or Creation). The Messenger sets in motion the cosmic machine.* Mani said that then the Mother of Life, the

Primal Man, and the Living Spirit rose to pray and that they invoked the Father of Greatness. He heard them and called, third call, the Messenger [*izgadda*]. And the Messenger called the Twelve Virgins with their vestments, their crowns, and their attributes. The first was royalty; the second, wisdom; the third, innocence; the fourth, persuasion; the fifth, purity; the sixth, firmness; the seventh, faith; the eighth, endurance; the ninth, uprightness; the tenth, goodness; the eleventh, justice; and the twelfth, light. And when the Messenger reached the vessels [= the sun and moon], he directed three servants to set them in motion. And the Great Builder was directed by him to construct a new earth and [to activate] the three wheels to make them rise up.

(b) *The Messenger manifests himself to provoke an ejaculation by the archons.* Once the vessels had begun to move and reached the middle of the sky, then did the Messenger manifest his male and female forms, and he was perceived by all the archons, sons of darkness, male and female. At the sight of the Messenger in the beauty of his forms, all the archons burned with desire for him: the males for the female figure and the females for the male figure. And they began to let escape, along with their desire, the light that they had swallowed and that came from the Five Shining Gods. It was then that the sin [= sperm] of the archons was contained, for having been mixed with the light that had come out of the archons, like a hair in a cake, it sought to enter [the Messenger at the same time as the light].

(c) *The Messenger hides himself to begin separating the light from "sin" (origin of the vegetable and animal world).* Then did the Messenger conceal his forms and separate from the light of the Five Shining Gods the sin [= sperm] of the archons. And the sin, which had fallen from the archons, fell back onto them. But they did not accept it, like someone who is disgusted by his own vomit. The sin then fell onto the earth, half of it onto the wet [= water] and half onto the dry [= land]. The half that had fallen onto the wet became a monstrous beast in the likeness of the King of Darkness. And the Adamas of Light was dispatched against it, did battle with it, vanquished it, turned it over on its back, and thrust a spear through its heart. Then he brought down his shield upon its mouth and put one foot on its haunches and the other on its breast. As for the half that had fallen onto the dry, it gave birth to five trees. *End of the creation of the world.*

D. *THE SECOND WAR* (a) *Outbreak of hostilities. The demons undertake a countercreation (Adam and Eve) to perpetuate the exile of the light particles through the human race.* Mani said that these daughters of darkness were pregnant from the beginning on account of their own nature, and that because of the beauty of the forms of the Messenger they had glimpsed, their fetuses were aborted and fell to earth, where they ate the shoots of the trees. And the abortions deliberated among themselves and recalled the form of the Messenger that they had seen, saying, "Where is the form that we saw?" And Ashaqlun, son of the King of Darkness, said to the abortions, "Give me your sons and your daughters, and I shall make you a form like the one that you saw!" They brought them to him and gave them to him. He ate the males and gave the females to Nebroel (Namrael), his companion. And Nebroel and Ashaqlun came together, and Nebroel conceived of him and gave birth to a son, whom she called Adam. Then she conceived and gave birth to a daughter, whom she called Eve.

(b) *Reply of the Father of Greatness. Jesus the Splendor is dispatched to rouse Adam from his torpor.* And Mani said that Jesus the Splendor approached the innocent Adam and awakened him from the sleep of death, so that he might be delivered from an overabundant spirit, as if a righteous man found someone to be possessed of a dreadful demon and silenced it by his art. Thus was Adam also [released], when the friend [= Jesus the Splendor] found him plunged into a deep sleep, wakened him, shook him and roused him from his torpor, drove the seductive demon far away from him, and bound up the far-reaching female archon far away from him. And thus did Adam examine his soul [*nafsh-eh*] and know who he was. And Jesus the Splendor showed him the fathers on high [= the five intellectual faculties], and his own self [= Adam], thrust entire into the jaws of the leopard and into the jaws of the elephant, swallowed by the swallowers and sucked by the suckers, devoured by the dogs and mixed and imprisoned in all that exists, and shackled in the stench of darkness. Then Jesus the Splendor made Adam stand and taste of the tree of life. Then did Adam look and weep, and let out a great cry like the roaring lion. He tore out his hair and beat his breast, saying: "Woe, woe upon the maker of my body and upon the one who has shackled my soul and upon the rebels that have enslaved me!" *The second war, ended*

among the gods, has now only just begun among men. It will last until the last particle of light is freed from the material mixture of the world and reunites the Perfect Man with the five Intellectual Splendors of the Father.

⊙ ⊙ 3. The Final Time

Theodore bar Konai says nothing of the final time, and this because eschatology did not enter into the purpose of the *Pragmateia.* It need merely be noted that the final time was to witness the third and last war, called the "great war" in the Manichaean sources and described by Mani in the *Shabuhragan.* The successive episodes that mark these last ends (persecutions of the faithful, followed by universal triumph of the Manichaean Church, parousia of Jesus, last judgment, crumbling of the worlds and conflagration, and the definitive separation of natures) all belong in the main to the Judeo-Christian apocalyptic literature with which Mani became acquainted as an adolescent.

Synopsis of the Manichaean Pantheon

Three essential features—polarity, quinarity, polyonymy—characterize the Manichaean pantheon. Polarity, wrongly identified with metaphysical dualism, is the dialectical game (Manichaeans said "combat") to which gods and antigods devoted themselves in the world and in the bodies of the living. The role of the demons and of their supreme leader, who occupied the southern lands of mythic space, was not to challenge the transcendence and supremacy of the First Established One, who inhabited the Septentrion, but instead to serve as parasitic (though absolutely necessary) foils to the work of the gods of the three creations. Mani had no wish to devise an original demonology; the quite rudimentary one found in the international folklore of his time amply sufficed in his view for the purpose of elaborating what for him was the essential thing: theogony.

Quinarity was the specific organizing principle of theogony. This topic will be treated in the following section.

Polyonymy, that is, the superimposition of names given to a single god in the various spoken languages of Manichaeism, has been explained as an effect of syncretism or an argument from missionary doctrine. In Mani's thought it was the direct consequence of a cultural milieu in which

the names of national gods served only to describe functions within the hierarchical organization of heavenly space.

⊙ ⊙ 1. Demonology

King of Darkness (c)

Other names: Devil (Gr, Lat, Copt); Satan (Ar); Ahremen (MP, Parth, OT); Shimanu/Shimnu (Sogd, OT); Prince of Darkness (Lat, Copt); Great Archon (Gr, Lat); Matter (Syr, Gr, Lat); Evil (Lat).

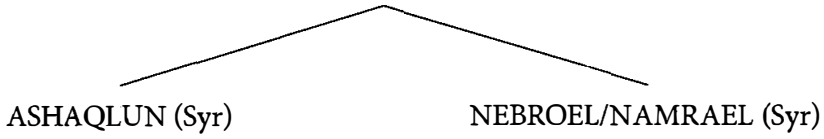


Figure 6.

Other names of Ashaqlun [= Shaqlun: MP, Parth, Sogd, Ar; Saclas: Gr, Lat, Copt]: Prince of Rutting (Gr); Lu-yi (Chin); Desire [Parth: *Awarzhog*]; Son of the King of Darkness (c). Other names of Nebroel/Namrael: Concupiscence, or Greed [MP, Parth, Sogd: *Az*]; Ye-lo-yang (Chin); Wife of Saclas (c).

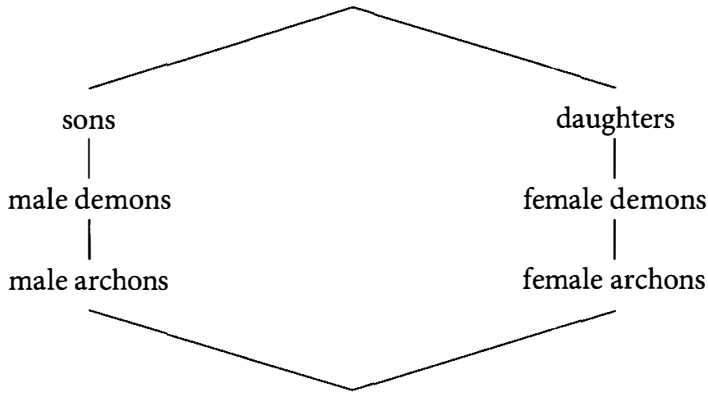


Figure 7.

⊙ ⊙ 2. Theogony

Father of Greatness

Other names: Father of Light (Parth); Magnificent Father of the Lights (Copt); First Father (Copt); Primal Father (Parth); God (c); the Good Lord (Gr); God Sroshaw (Parth); Zurvan [MP, Parth, Sogd: *Azrua*; OT: *Äzrua*];

Sovereign of Paradise (MP, Parth); Sovereign God of the Paradise of Light (Sogd); King of the Gardens of Light (Ar); Venerable One of the Light of the World of the Pure Light (Chin); Great King (Ar); King of the World of Light (Ar); King of Truth (Copt); True God (Parth); Lord of All (Copt).

FIRST CREATION (CALL)

I. Mother of Life (c)

Other names: Mother of Life (c); Living Mother (Parth); Excellent or Good Mother (Chin); Primal Mother (Copt); Mother of the Just/Righteous (Parth, Sogd); Mother of Light (Parth); Mother of the Lord Ohrmizd/Ohrmazd (MP, Parth); Gynemorphous God (MP); God Who Dispenses Peace and Joy (Sogd); Joyous Mother (Ar); Holy Primal Spirit (Copt); Great Spirit (Copt, Parth); Spirit of the Righteous (Ar); Holy Spirit (c).

II. Primal Man (c)

Other names: Lord Ohrmizd/Ohrmazd (MP, Parth, Sogd); God Ohrmizd (OT); Sien-yi (Chin).

III. The Five Sons of the Primal Man (c)

Other names: The Five Shining Gods [Syr: *Ziwane*]; the Five Gods (Syr); Quinary God (OT); the Five Lights (Syr, Parth); the Sons of Light (Syr); the Five Elements (Syr, Gr, Lat, Copt); the Five Bodies (Ar, Chin); the Five Limbs (Gr, Ar); the Splendors (Syr); Armor (c); the Immortal Saints [MP, Sogd: *Amahraspandan*]; Soul or Self (c); the Good Soul (MP); the Living Soul (Syr, Copt, Parth, Sogd); Light Self (MP, Parth); Living Self (MP, Parth, Sogd, OT); God of That Which Really Is (MP).

Syr	Copt	Ar[1]	Gr + Lat	MP	Ar[2] + OT
1. light	light	fire	wind	air	breeze
2. wind	fire	light	light	wind	wind
3. water	water	wind	water	light	light
4. fire	wind	water	fire	water	water
5. air	air	breeze	[air]	fire	fire

SECOND CREATION (CALL)

I. Friend of the Lights (Syr, MP, Ar)

Other names: Blessed/Beloved of the Lights (Syr, Parth, Sogd); Sublime of the Lights (MP).

II. Great Builder (Syr, MP, Parth, Sogd)

Other names: Artisan God of the New Earth (Syr, MP, Parth); God Bam [Parth < Syr *Ban*]; Architect of the Lights (MP).

III. Living Spirit (c)

Other names: Pure Breath (Chin); Demiurge (Gr [Sogd: *Vishparkar*]); God Mihr [MP: *Mihryazd*]; Lord of the Seven Parts of the World (Sogd); Father of Life (Copt); Judge of Truth (Copt); Just Judge (Parth, Sogd, Copt).

IV. The Five Sons of the Living Spirit (c)

Other names: the Saints of the Macrocosm (Chin); the Five Envoys of Light (Chin); the Five Guardians Who Do Not Sleep (Copt).

1. ORNAMENT OF SPLENDOR (SYR)

Other names: He Who Maintains the World (Sogd, Chin); Keeper of the Splendors [Lat: *Splenditenens*; Gr: *Pheggokatokos*]; Master of the Land [MP: *Dahibed*].

2. GREAT KING OF MAGNIFICENCE (SYR)

Other names: King of Honor [Lat: *Rex honoris*]; Lord of Heaven (Sogd); Great King of the Ten Heavens (Chin); Master of the Guardhouse [MP: *Pahrbed/Pahragbed*].

3. ADAMAS/ADAMANT OF LIGHT (SYR, COPT)

Other names: Adamas (Gr, Lat); Fighting Hero (Lat); Conqueror Who Subdues the Demons (Chin); Master of the Village [MP: *Wisbed*]; Tetramorphous God (MP); Lord Vahram (Sogd).

4. KING OF GLORY [SYR, COPT, LAT: GLORIOSUS REX]

Other names: He Who Hastens Clarity (Chin); God of the Three Wheels (OT); God Who Makes the Breath Rise, Who Evokes the Spirit (MP); Master of the Tribe [MP: *Zandbed*]; God of the Earth [Sogd: *Spendarmard*].

5. PORTER (SYR)

Other names: Atlas (Gr, Lat, Copt); Omophorus (Gr, Copt, Lat [*Mundum ferens humeris*], Sogd); He Who Is in the Bowels of the Earth (Chin); Master of the House [MP: *Manbed*].

THIRD CREATION (CALL)

I. The Messenger (Syr)

Other names: The One Who Has Been Sent (Gr, Copt); Third Envoy (Gr, Copt, Lat [*Tertius legatus*], Parth, Sogd); Great Envoy of the Beneficent Light (Chin); Able Worker (Chin); God Narisah (MP); God Narisaf (Parth, Sogd); God of the Land of the Light (MP, Parth); Lord Zenares (MP); God Mihr (Parth).

II. Jesus the Splendor (Syr, MP, Parth)

Other names: Savior (Gr, Copt, Lat); God of the World of Wisdom [MP: *Xradeshahryazd*]; Envoy of Light (Chin); Christ (Copt).

III. Virgin/Maiden of the Light (c)

Other names: the Twelve Virgins/Maidens (Syr); the Virgins (Parth); the Twelve Virgins of the Light (Syr, MP); the Twelve Daughters of God (Sogd); the Twelve Sovereignties (Parth); Sadwis (Parth); Divine Gynemorphous Manifestation (MP).

IV. Perfect Man (Gr, Copt, Lat, MP, Parth)

Other names: Wahman (MP, Parth); Intellect-Light (Copt, Parth, Sogd); Great Intellect (Copt, MP); Great Light (Chin); New Man (Copt, Lat, Chin); Pillar of Glory (Syr, Gr̈, Copt, Ar, Parth [*Bamistun*], Sogd); Just Srosh/Srosha (MP, Sogd, Chin); God Porter of the Worlds (MP); Great Porter [Copt: Omophorus]; Glory of Religion (MP, Parth, Sogd); God Fully Embodied (Sogd); God Nomqutï (OT).

The Five Limbs of the Perfect Man (Copt, Ar)

Other names: the Five Kinds (Ar); the Five Thoughts (Parth); the Five Worlds (Syr, Ar, Gr, Lat); the Five Aeons (Gr); the Five Dwellings (Syr); the Names of the Soul (Gr); the Fathers (Syr); the Intellectual Splendors (Gr); the Five Intellectuals of Life/Light (Copt).

Syr	Gr	Lat	MP
1. reason	noūs	mens	bam
2. sense	ennoia	sensus	manohmed
3. thought	phronēsis	prudentia	us
4. reflection	enthumēsis	intellectus	andeshisn
5. intention	logismos	cogitatio	parmanag

The Quinary System

The heart of the mythological system concerns the issuing of three series of "Calls" that resolve into quinarity and consist, respectively, of (A) undecomposable elements, (B) personified cosmic functions, and (C) personified intellectual faculties:

(A)	I	II	III	———	→5
(B)	I	II	III	IV	→5
(C)	I	II	III	IV	V →5

These three series represent the three possible modes for apprehending the nature of light: physics, cosmology, and psychology.

The first series, involving the five sons of the Primal Man (or splendors) [Syr: *ziwane*], is formed of the constitutive elements of the luminous bodies, or light particles, that fill up the atmosphere and that come from the sun itself. In codifying its mythology, Manichaean doctrine made two decisive modifications to the fundamental pentadic structure of solar bodies (a cosmology already found in Bardesanes and debated in all the Greek-language philosophy of the period): on the one hand, the *ziwane* were relocated to the summit of the universe, where they formed the dwellings of the supreme entity (Father of Greatness); on the other hand, these same *ziwane,* stripped from the armor of the Primal Man by the violence of Satan's desire, were thrust down into the lower realms or cellars of the cosmos, where they became mixed with their "unclean" and "compact" contraries, to quote the terms used by al-Shahrastani in the table of categories in *al-Milal*:

Syr/Copt	Ar^1	Ar^2
1. smoke	fog	blaze
2. fire	blaze	darkness
3. wind	simoom	simoom
4. water	poison	fog
5. darkness	darkness	smoke → Hummama

The sources agree in describing this mixture as a combat that concludes with the swallowing and ingestion of the *ziwane* in the cosmic belly of

the King of Darkness. Al-Shahrastani unambiguously states that the first series of Calls constitutes the cosmological foundation of the Manichaean conception of light as astral essence: "The land of light did not cease to be fine [= made up of luminous particles] by contrast with the form of this land; it has the form of the body [*jirm*] of the sun and its radiance is like the radiance of the sun." It is these fundamental corpuscular elements (rather than the conceptual elements insisted upon not only by Iranian sources but also, it appears, by Turbo in the *Acta Archelai*) that give the narrative its impetus and that supply a basis for the system at the end of the process of the Third Creation.

The second series of Calls introduces four demiurgical functions exercised by the five sons of the Living Spirit: guardianship of the *ziwane* by the Ornament of Splendor; struggle against the *ziwane*-swallowing demons by the Great King of Magnificence and the Adamas of Light; supervision of the distillatory function of the cosmic wheels by the King of Glory; and support of the heavenly lands by Atlas. Our sources have a great deal to say about these functions, and the popular success of Manichaean gigantomachy made it possible to expand upon Mani's exposition by the addition of many details that capture the imagination. This fact must not, however, cause us to lose sight of the essential thing, namely, that the demiurge made the two lustrous bodies from the "remains of the soul," that is, from the light elements ingurgitated by the archons and then spat out by them and eventually filtered. The two stars were therefore, as ʿAbd al-Jabbar said [in *al-Mughni*], "pure light" and, by virtue of this, located beyond the zodiac and the planets.

The third series, of personified faculties, forms the Perfect Man (or Light-*Noūs*) as a result of the operation of the machine for purifying the last particles of light dispersed in the world. The Messenger positions himself in the sun, and Jesus the Splendor, assisted by the Virgin of Light, in the moon. Then begins the refining of the *ziwane* by the action of the three wheels of wind, water, and fire: the particles of light recovered from the depths of matter (*hylē*) by the machine's buckets are first purified and then conveyed to the moon, which carries them to the sun, which in turn transports them to the land of light at the summit of the universe. This axis of transmission, around which the bodies borne up by the circular

motion of the wheels rotate and escape the darkness, links the lower parts of the cosmos with the higher parts. Rotation around the axis has the effect of radically transforming the nature of these luminous bodies, making them Limbs of the Intellect [Gr *noera*], which jointly constitute the Perfect Man:

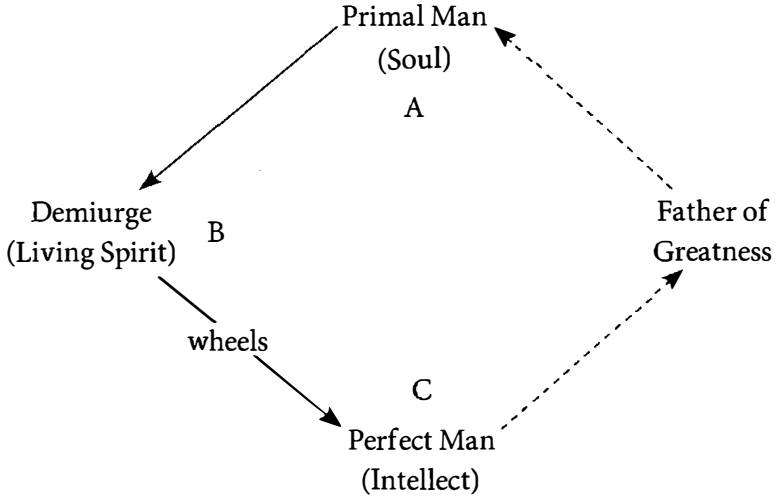


Figure 8.

Mani worked out the design of his system not as a philosopher but as a painter. This system was the product not of theoretical reflection but of behavior linked to the perception of colors, odors, and flavors. The physics of the *ziwane* is therefore a sensory physics. "The agreeable taste that is in foods," Mani declared in a passage cited by Ephraem, "belongs to the light that is mixed in them." In al-Shahrastani's account, the land of light, abode of the Father of Greatness, is likewise described in sensory terms: "It smells very good, and its colors are the colors of the rainbow." Augustine, for his part, noted that if the Manichaeans were particularly fond of cereals, grapes, melons, lettuce, olives, roses, and violets, it was because the colors of these fruits and vegetables are "signs of the presence of God." Color is therefore the first of the three goods [*tria bona*] that light (masculine in Aramaic) inseminates in the eye (feminine). Four colors of the *ziwane* are known through a fragment of Bardesanes cited in Ephraem's *Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardesanes*: "Light is white, fire red, the wind blue, water green." The fifth color is gold, which

Augustine mentions as a sign of the light inherent in melons and which applies to the fifth element, air, breeze, or ether.

It must be noted, finally, that the process by which the gastric machine of the Manichaean elect distills the light diffused in foods is the biological counterpart to the cosmic process by which the three-wheeled machine called into existence during the Second Creation purifies the *ziwane*. In other words, the Manichaean stands in the same relation to his stomach as the demiurge and his sons stand to the world, which is to say that he is a maker of light. The microcosm repeats the macrocosm.

Augustine understood the mechanism of this exchange very well. After having summarized the myth of the mixture that leads to panpsychism, in *De moribus Manichaeorum* [On the Customs of the Manichaeans, 15.36], he added, "If the food prepared from vegetables and fruits enters the bodies of the holy [= the elect], by their chastity, their prayers, and their psalms everything in these foods that is noble and divine is purified, that is, perfected in every way, so that it can regain its own domain free from all defilement." Chewing, swallowing, and digestion work to separate the dark matter of food, evacuated in stools, from its luminous and divine part, the "limb of God" [*membrum dei*], which brings about the return to pure light.

A passage in *De natura boni* (§45) clarifies the text just quoted from *De moribus*: "The portion and nature of God that has been mixed is purified [*purgari*] by the elect when they eat and drink, for it is fettered in all foods, they say. Therefore, when the elect or holy, taking these foods for the reflection of their bodies, eat them and drink them, by their sanctity the portion of God that is mixed is detached [*soavi*], sealed [*signari*], and delivered [*liberari*]." The four verbs mentioned by Augustine have a technical sense: thanks to the luminosity trapped within his body (otherwise known as the *sanctitas*), the elect is able to filter the light by separating out what is unclean and keeping intact the filtered part, which is then liberated and restored to the world from on high. Manducation therefore involves two essential operations: descent of foods from the mouth to the stomach, where filtering [Syr: *sulala*; Lat: *purgatio*] takes place, and a rising back up of the filtered and recovered [Syr: *masaqta*; Lat: *reditus*] particles. This two-part movement repeats on the level of the human

body the dual cosmic motion of the descent and rise of the *ziwane*, which were first swallowed by the demons, then spat out by them, and finally distilled, being drawn up out of the world and carried to the moon and the sun, whence they were conducted to the land of light. According to the fine formula of the Chinese Manichaeans, "The universe is the pharmacy where the luminous bodies heal."

Chronology of Manichaeism after Mani

274 (or 276/277): Shortly before his death in prison at Beth-Lapat, Mani designates Sis (Sisin, Sisinnios) of Kaskar, in southern Baylonia, to succeed him as head of the church (*Kephalaia,* pl. 211–12). Under Karder's influence, Bahram II, the fifth Sassanian sovereign (274–91), son of Bahram I (271–74), unleashes persecutions against Manichaeans and Christians.

Ca. 280: P. Rylands 469 (= 700 Van Haelst), Gr. pastoral letters from an Egyptian bishop (Theonas of Alexandria?) taking issue with the ritual and ascetic practices of Manichaeans and warning against the propaganda of the women of the sect. The oldest anti-Manichaean document so far found.

284 (or 286 or 287): Arrest and appearance of Sis before Karder and Bahram II at Beshabuhr in Fars; there he suffers martyrdom after ten years as supreme pontiff. Innaios, brother of Zabed, succeeds him at the head of the Manichaean Church (*Hom.* 81–83).

Ca. 290: Manichaeans frequent the school of Alexander at Lycopolis (Asyut) in Upper Egypt. Alexander writes a treatise in Greek that has come down to us as *Contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio* (Against the doctrine of Mani).

292: After an interregnum of four months following the death of Bahram II, Narseh, son of Shapur, becomes king of kings (292–301). End of persecutions against Manichaeans and Christians.

297: On 31 March, following a report from Julianus, proconsul of Africa, Diocletian promulgates from Alexandria an edict against Manichaeans suspected of being agents of the Romans' traditional enemy: *Persica adversaria nobis gente.*

298: Narseh is vanquished by Galerius, commander of the Roman army, and cedes five provinces of Lesser Armenia to Rome. The peace treaty was to last some forty years.

Ca. 301–2: First appearance of books 1–8 of the *Historia ecclesiae* (Church history) by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea. In his brief note regarding Mani (7.31), Eusebius fails to mention the *Acta Archelai.*

302–9: Reign of Hormuz II, son of Narseh: resumption of persecutions against Manichaeans and Christians.

Ca. 306: Ephraem Syrus is born at Nisibis.

336–37: Afrahat ("the Persian sage") writes his first ten "demonstrations" [*tahwyatha*] in Syriac. First mention of Mani (2.9) among writers in the Syriac language.

Ca. 340: Greek redaction of the *Acta Archelai* ("The Acts of the Disputation [of Archelaus, Bishop of Caschar in Mesopotamia] with the Hesiarch Manes"), attributed to Hegemonius—a fantastic exposition of Mani's origins that was to become the major source for Christian heresiology. Mani is presented as the petty slave of a rich widow descended from a certain Terbinthos/Buddha, himself descended from a Greek-educated Arab merchant named Scythianos. Having freed Kubrikos/Mani, the widow is said to have bequeathed her fortune to him on her death.

Ca. 345: Eusebius, bishop of Emesa, writes a treatise against the Manichaeans, mentioned by Epiphanius and Theodoret. Text lost.

348: Cyril of Jerusalem composes the sixth of his *Catechetical Lectures.* First known quotation from the *Acta Archelai.*

Ca. 350: Composition of the Coptic codices known as the Nag Hammadi library [from the place of their discovery in Upper Egypt in 1945].

Ca. 352: George of Laodicea writes a treatise against the Manichaeans, cited by Epiphanius and Theodoret. Text lost.

354: On 13 November Augustine is born at Thagaste in Numidia (modern-day Souk Ahras in Algeria).

Ca. 358: Death of Serapion of Thmuis, author of a treatise against the Manichaeans. Text conserved.

363: The Roman emperor Julian ("the Apostate") dies in his war against Shapur II. As a consequence of the peace accord signed with his successor, Jovian, the Iranians reacquire Nisibis and the provinces of Lesser Armenia previously lost by Narseh.

364: The pagan rhetorician Libanius writes to his friend Priscianus, governor of Palestine: "There are Manichaeans more or less everywhere, but nowhere are they numerous. They harm no one, but some harm them."

Ca. 365: Latin version of the *Acta Archelai.* Titus of Bostra composes a treatise in four books against the Manichaeans, complete only in its Syriac version.

Ca. 370: Lefort fragment (Paris, B.N., 131[4], fols. 154–58), an extract from a treatise against pagans and heretics written in Sahidic Coptic by a monk in

the White Monastery of Upper Egypt. Identified by H. J. Polotsky in 1932, it contains four quotations from Turbo in the *Acta Archelai.*

372: On 2 March Valentinian I issues edict against the Manichaeans of Rome. Fines, banishment, and confiscation of places of worship.

373: Augustine enters as *auditor* (hearer) in the Manichaean Church of Africa. Death of Ephraem Syrus at Edessa (9 June?).

Ca. 375: Macarius of Magnesia composes his *Apocritus,* in which he argues that Manichaeism has "corrupted" all regions of the East.

376: Epiphanius drafts Heresy 66 of his *Panarion,* relating to the Manichaeans. Long quotations from the *Acta Archelai* and useful information regarding the Manichaean community in Palestine.

Ca. 378: Diodorus of Tarsus composes his great treatise against the Manichaeans, mentioned by Theodoret and by Photius. Text lost. In the first seven books he refutes the *Gospel* of Mani and the *Modion* of Addas.

Ca. 380: P. Heidelberg 684. Fragment of a Sahidic Coptic translation of the sixth catechism of Cyril of Jerusalem.

381: On 8 May Theodosius I issues an edict imposing attainder upon Manichaeans and depriving them of the right to draw up a will. Renewed on 31 March 382 and applied to every "Manichaean" hiding behind the names Encratite, Saccophorus, and Hydroparataste.

383: Augustine, now twenty-nine years of age, meets Faustus of Milevis, Manichaean *episcopus* of Africa, at Carthage. Disappointed by Faustus, Augustine begins to detach himself from Manichaeanism without, however, definitively breaking with it.

385: Priscillian and his associates are executed at Trier as "Manichaeans." Filstrus of Brescia writes a catalogue of heresies, drawing upon the Latin version of the *Acta Archelai* for the section on the Manichaeans (61).

386: Faustus of Milevis is condemned to exile with other Manichaeans. In January 387, on the occasion of the *vota publica* of Theodosius and Arcadius, the sentence is abrogated.

387: Augustine is baptized at Milan during the night of 24–25 April.

388–89: Augustine writes *De moribus Manichaeorum* (On the customs of the Manichaeans), his first work against the Manichaeans.

389: On 17 June Valentinian II (in reality Theodosius I) issues an edict condemning the Manichaeans of Rome to exile.

Ca. 390: Composition of the Coptic Manichaean codices found in Upper Egypt in 1929, at Medinet Madi in the Faiyum.

392: Public debate at Hippo between Augustine and Fortunatus, Manichaean *presbyter* of Hippo. Faustus of Milevis dies around this time.

394: Augustine writes *Contra Adimantum.*

396–97: Augustine writes *Contra epistulam fundamenti.*

398–400: Augustine reads the thirty-three *Capitula* of Faustus of Milevis and drafts the thirty-three books of his *Contra Faustum Manichaeum.*

404: Disputes between Porphyrus, bishop of Gaza, and Julius of Antioch, a Manichaean monk. In December, at Hippo, a public debate between Augustine and Felix, *electus* of the Manichaean Church of Africa.

405: Honorius renews the constitutions of his predecessors against the Manichaeans on 12 February. Heavy fines are levied on governors and officials who do not carry out his orders.

Ca. 420: A Manichaean by the name of Cresconius, in his oath of renunciation, denounces eleven of his coreligionists residing in Mauretania Caesariensis.

425: On 23 October Valentinian III forbids the Manichaeans to live within a hundred kilometers of Rome.

428: Theodosius II prohibits Manichaeans from staying in cities.

430: Augustine dies at Hippo on 28 August.

443: Pope Leo I the Great hastens to take harsh measures against the Manichaeans of Rome and against their bishop.

445: On 19 June Valentinian III renews all the measures taken by his predecessors against the Manichaeans.

Ca. 453: Theodoret composes his catalogue of heresies—the first statement by a Greek Christian writer that has come down to us giving a precise description of the Manichaean myth.

Ca. 490: Heracleon of Chalcedon writes a treatise against the Manichaeans in twenty volumes, mentioned by Photius. It refuted Mani's *Gospel, Book of Giants,* and *Treasure.*

492: Pope Gelasius I discovers several Manichaeans in Rome and sentences them to deportation after having burned their books.

Ca. 510: Julian of Halicarnassus composes a treatise against the Manichaeans, mentioned in the *Doctrina Patrum.*

518: Severus, monophysite patriarch of Antioch, pronounces a homily against the Manichaeans (123) on 25 March. Text conserved in a Syriac version, by James of Edessa (early eighth century), reproducing lengthy extracts from the beginning of Mani's *Pragmateia.*

Ca. 520: Pope Hormisdas subjects several Manichaeans to torture and burns their books before sentencing them to exile.

527: Updating of anti-Manichaean legislation by the emperors Justin and Justinian. The death penalty now falls not only upon Manichaeans but also

upon converts who failed to denounce their former coreligionists or who are suspected of having contacts with them. Severe punishments are provided for officials who preserve Manichaean books or fail to denounce their Manichaean colleagues. The Nestorian Paul the Persian is assigned responsibility for refuting the Manichaean Photinus, who had just been thrown in prison, in public debate. First Greek formulas of renunciation imposed on the Manichaeans.

531: Khosrau I Anushirwan ascends the imperial throne at Ctesiphon on 13 September. He dies in 579.

540: Justinian orders a roundup of opponents (pagans and heretics from Constantinople and Asia Minor); the monophysite John of Asia conducts the raids and carries out interrogations. At Harran, in northwest Mesopotamia, the Greek Neoplatonist philosopher Simplicius writes his commentary on Epictetus's *Enchiridion*, in which he undertakes a methodical refutation of Manichaean cosmology and ethics; he was in contact with a local Manichaean monk ("one of those who among them were considered sages," 35.91)

Ca. 570: Rebellion of the Manichaean communities of Transoxiana led by Shad-Ohrmizd. These Manichaeans, known as Denawars, were rigorists in matters of religion [*den*—whence their name] and broke with the Mother Church of Babylon. They were to be the missionaries of Upper Asia and China. At Mecca, in Arabia, the birth of Muhammad.

Ca. 595: Pope Gregory the Great reckons there are still Manichaeans in Sicily and in northern Africa.

600–601: Death of the reformer Shad-Ohrmizd. Sogdian, the language spoken in the vicinity of Samarkand, gradually replaces Parthian as the language of the Manichaean Church.

Ca. 612: Muhammad hears the call of the angel proclaiming him "messenger of God." Visions, revelations, and heavenly voyages continue until 621.

1 H/622: Migration [*hijra*] of Muhammad and his followers to Yathrib = Medina (the "City").

11 H/632: Muhammad leads a farewell pilgrimage [*hajj*] to Mecca. Returning to Medina, he dies on 8 June.

16 H/637: The Arabs seize Ctesiphon [= al-Mada'in]. The last Sassanid king, Yazdigird III, is defeated at the battle of Jalula.

29 H/649: The Arabs push onward into Khurasan.

54 H/674: Bukhara is conquered by the Arabs.

55 H/675: Sogdian-speaking Manichaeans, having departed from Samarkand, cross into Chinese Turkestan and reach the Yellow River.

56 H/676: Samarkand falls into the hands of the Arabs.

75 H/694: Many Manichaeans who had left Mesopotamia under the last Sassanids return to Iraq and benefit from the tolerance of the governor al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf, without, however, being granted the legal protection accorded to non-Muslims [*dhimma*]. The same year, the presence of a Manichaean dignitary is recorded at the Chinese court.

91–93 H/710–12: The Arabs subjugate Sogdiana. At al-Mada'in, Mihr becomes head of the Manichaean Church of Babylon. His pontificate lasts until 740.

106 H/724: Khalid b. 'Abd Allah al-Qasri, who was born of a Christian mother, is governor of Iraq. Zoroastrians, Christians, and Manichaeans benefit from his tolerance. Dismissed in 120 H/738, he died under torture in 126 H/743–44. The *Fihrist* says that he was an infidel [*zindiq*].

Ca. 110 H/728: Wasil b. 'Ata', the founder of Mu'tazilism, attempts to refute the Manichaeans in his *Thousand Questions*. Work lost. First Muslim writer to have written on Manichaeanism.

Ca. 112 H/730: Mihr, the Manichaean imam of al-Mada'in, tries to put an end to the schism of the Denawars.

731: On 16 July, on the order of the emperor Hsüan-tsung, a Manichaean bishop composes in Chinese a compendium of the doctrines and rules of Manichaeanism, found around 1900 at Tun-huang.

Ca. 117 H/735: Internal disputes within the Manichaean communities of Iraq over the question of fasting. Rebellion breaks out in the community of Miqlas. Abu Sa'id Raja becomes imam of the church.

132 H/750: The city of Kashgar, in Chinese Turkestan, an important Manichaean fief, falls to the Qarluqs (Karluks) and becomes subject to Turkic influences.

142 H/759: Ibn al-Muqaffa', accused of heresy [*zandaqa*], dies in prison.

Ca. 143 H/760: Abu Hilal al-Dayhuri, an African Manichaean, becomes supreme leader of the Manichaean Church in al-Mada'in. He puts an end to the Miqlas revolt.

762: On 20 November the Uighurs take and sack the rebel Chinese city of Lo-yang on the Yellow River. On this occasion their ruler [*qaghan*, or "great khan"], Meu-yu, makes the acquaintance of the Manichaean missionaries residing in the city and converts to Manichaeism.

763: After his victory over the rebel Chinese of Lo-yang, the Uighur *qaghan* returns to his capital, Ordu Balïq, in the Orkhon Valley. He brings back with him four Manichaean monks, including a certain Juei-si, from the

community of Lo-yang. Manichaeism becomes the official religion of the Turkish Empire, and a Manichaean master settles in Ordu Baliq.

768: Acceding to the *qaghan*'s request, the Chinese emperor authorizes the Manichaeans residing in his lands to erect temples and monasteries. This authorization is renewed in 771.

163–170 H/779–86: Under the third and fourth Abbasid caliphs repression strikes the Manichaeans of Iraq and the intellectuals accused of *zandaqa*.

781: Nestorian stele of Si-ngan-fu erected.

791–92: Theodore bar Konai, a Nestorian from the region of Wasit, completes the eleven treatises of his *Liber scholiorum* (Book of scholia). The eleventh treatise contains a catalogue of heresies; the doctrinal part of the section on Mani is a summary of the *Pragmateia*.

806: Arrival of Manichaean priests at the Chinese court in the company of a Uighur embassy from Ordu Baliq.

Ca. 815: Trilingual inscription (Chinese, Turkish, Sogdian) from Karabalghasun relating the history of Manichaeism's introduction among the Uighurs.

Ca. 817: Second Uighur embassy to the Chinese court, again with a Manichaean delegation.

Ca. 205 H/820: The seventh Abbasid caliph, al-Ma'mun, writes a treatise against the Manichaeans. His work has not survived.

840: An army of "one hundred thousand" Kirghiz horsemen takes Ordu Baliq. End of the Uighur Empire having its seat at Orkhon and dispersion of the Turkish tribes.

843: The Chinese Emperor Wu-tsung orders the closing of the Manichaean monasteries, the confiscation of property, and the destruction of books.

Ca. 231 H/845: Death of the Mu'tazilite al-Nazzam, author of a refutation of the Manichaeans. Text known solely through the citations to it by al-Khayyat (who died shortly after 300 H/912) in his *Kitab al-intisar*.

849: Founding of the Uighur kingdom at Chotcho (Xotcho), in the Turfan oasis. Manichaean princes were to stay there for two centuries.

236 H/850–51: Abu 'Isa l-Warraq composes his collection of doxographies. The charge of *zandaqa* brought against him leads to the disappearance of his work. Muslim heresiology is largely inspired by his works.

Ca. 256 H/870: Death of the philosopher al-Kindi, author of several refutations of dualists and Manichaeans. Works lost but largely drawn upon by Ibn al-Nadim.

293 H/906: Death of the Mu'tazilite al-Nashi'. The surviving fragments of his

doxography (*Kitab al-ausat fi l-maqalat*) show that he had a precise knowledge of Manichaean cosmology.

Ca. 320 H/932: Ibn al-Nadim reports that some five hundred Manichaeans still live in Samarkand at this time.

Ca. 339 H/950: According to Ibn al-Nadim, there are some three hundred Manichaeans in Baghdad under the reign of the first Buyid Dynasty of Iraq.

345 H/956: Death of al-Mas'udi.

349 H/960: The Turkish population of Kashgar (Chinese Turkistan) is Islamized.

372 H/982: The anonymous Persian author of the *Kitab hudud al-'alam* reports the existence of a Manichaean monastery [*khangah*] at Samarkand.

377 H/987: Ibn al-Nadim completes the *Fihrist*. The first section of the ninth chapter is devoted in large part to the Manichaeans, the fullest heresiological exposition of the history and doctrine of Manichaeism. At this time there are, according to him, only five Manichaeans living in Baghdad.

380 H/990: 'Abd al-Jabbar, Mu'tazilite theologian and judge [*qadi*] of Rayy, completes *al-Mughni*.

ca. 390 H/1000: Al-Biruni writes *al-Athar al-baqiya* (Chronology of the ancient nations).

1028: The Tanguts seize control of the Uighur principality of Kan-chu.

Ca. 424 H/1033: Al-Biruni composes the *Tahqiq ma li-l-Hind* (Book of inquiry into India).

Ca. 1035: The chamber in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, near Tunhuang, containing the Manichaean *Compendium* and other manuscripts is sealed, not to be reopened until 1900 or so, when its contents were discovered by a Taoist monk. Aurel Stein visited it in 1906. Paul Pelliot entered the chamber on 3 March 1908 and undertook an inventory of its contents. In 1910 the Chinese government repatriated the surviving documents to Beijing.

427 H/1036: Al-Biruni writes his epistle on the catalogue of al-Razi's writings and relates how he obtained Mani's heptateuch.

485 H/1092: Abu l-Ma'ali-ye 'Alavi composes the *Bayon al-adyan*.

518 H/1124: Beginning of the reign of the first chief of khans [*gürkhan*] of the Qara Khitay (Kara-khitai) over all of Chinese Turkestan. Ibn al-Athir characterizes him as "Manichaean," that is, pagan and idolatrous.

548 H/1153: Death of al-Shahrastani.

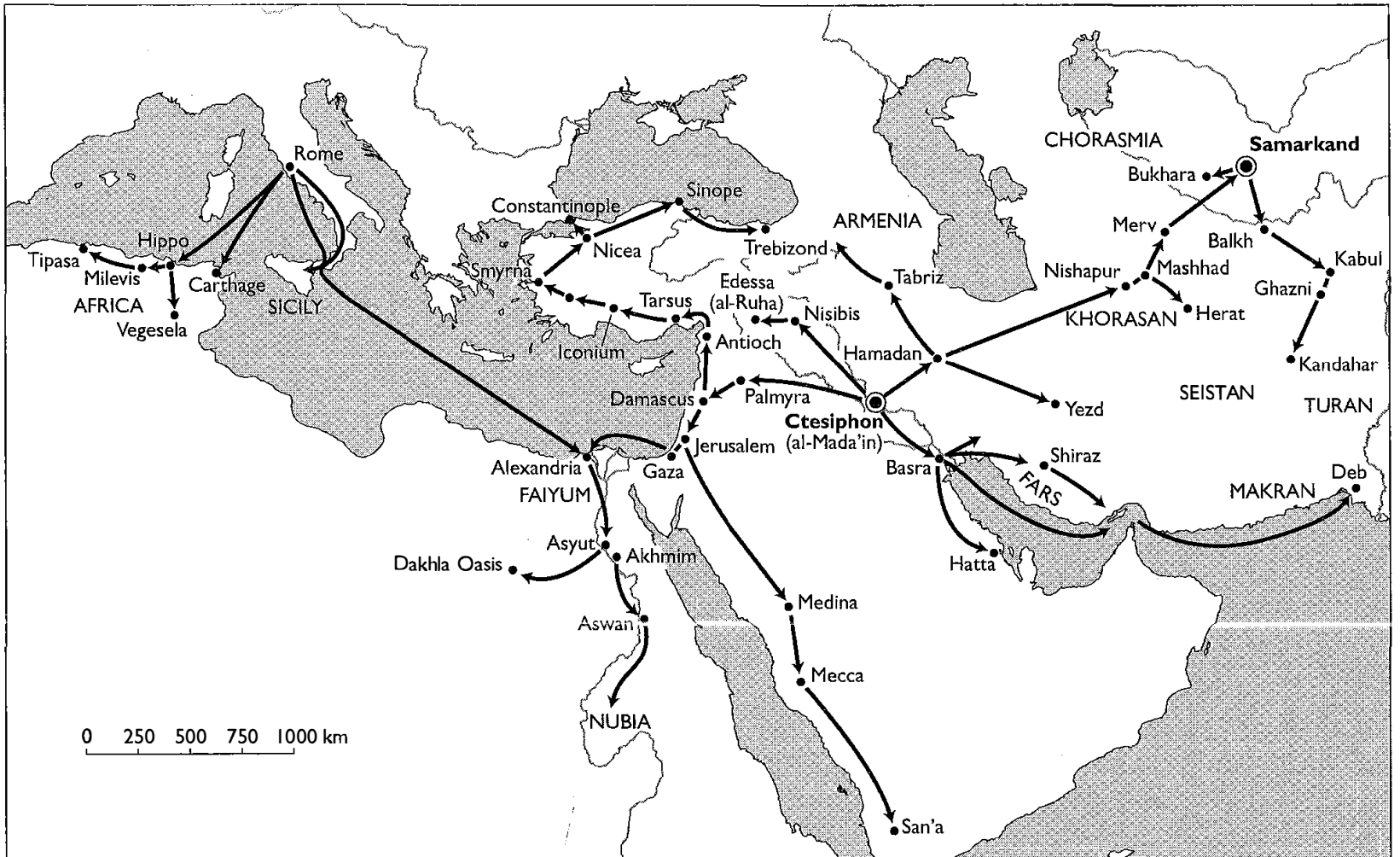
1206: On the upper Onon River, in the presence of all the Mongol chiefs and princes, Tämüjin receives the title of Tchinggis-qan [= Genghis-khan].

608 H/1211: Collapse of the Qara Khitay Empire, centered in the Tarim Basin, to the profit of their vassals and neighbors, the Muslim rulers of Khwarazm (Chorasmia).

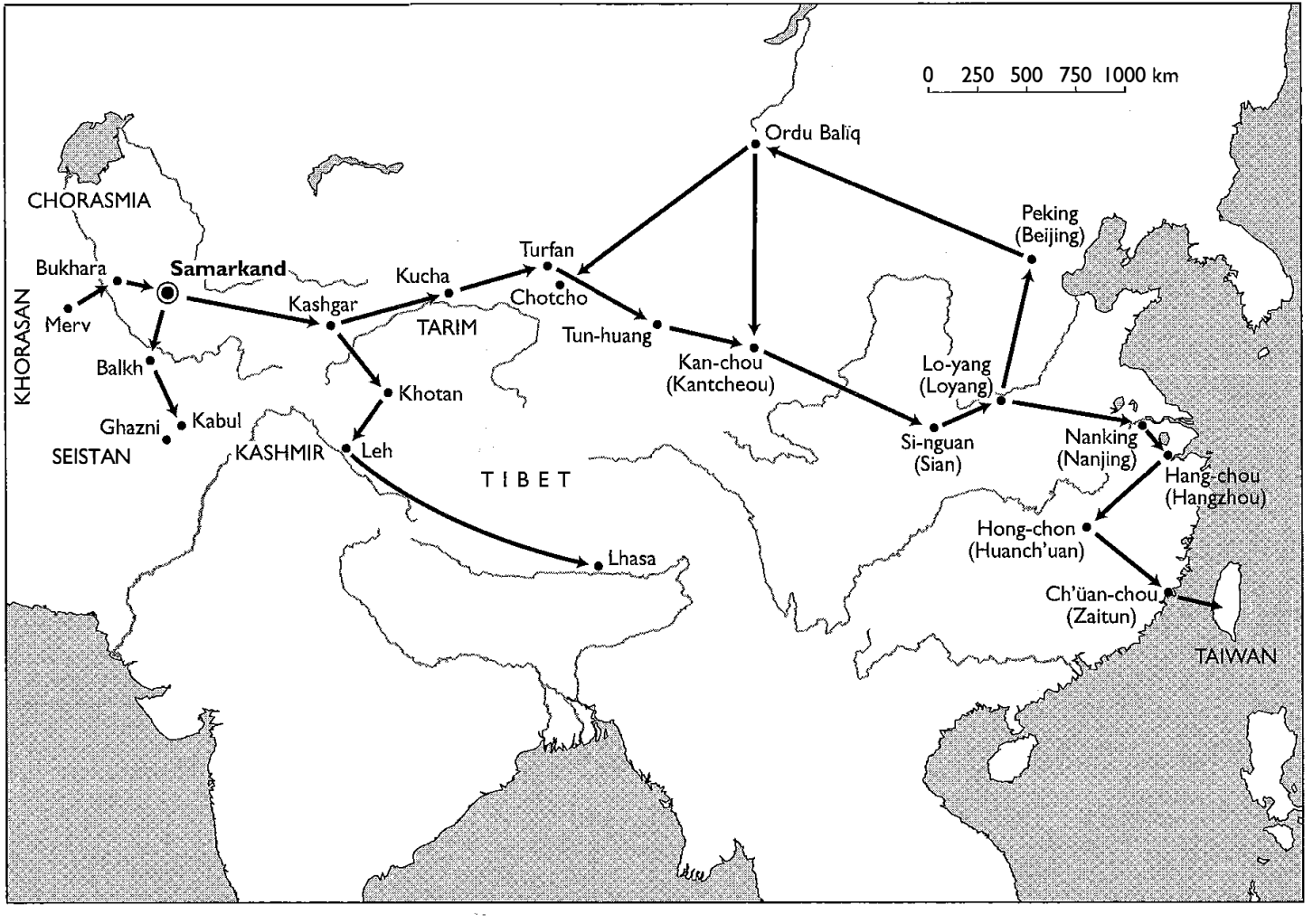
618 H/1221: The capital of Khwarazm is invested by Chaghatay and Ögedey, chiefs of the Golden Horde.

1265: A Chinese Manichaean dignitary, Chang Hi-cheng, writes two letters to Huang Chen, the Confucian archivist at the imperial court, to demonstrate to him the scriptural soundness and respectability of his religion.

1292: Marco Polo and his uncle Mafeo meet a group of Manichaeans at Ch'üan-chou (Zaitun).



Map 1. The Extent of Babylonian Manichaeism (3rd–6th centuries)



Map 2. The Extent of Sogdian Manichaeism (7th–13th centuries)

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Index

'Abd al-Jabbar, 87, 98
'Abd Allah al-Qasri, 96
'Abdiel, 41
Abarshahr (Nishapur), 23
Abiesus, 52
Abraham, 18
Abu Hilal al-Dayhuri, 96
Abu 'Isa l-Warraq, 97
Abu l-Ma'ali-ye 'Alavi, 43, 98
Abu Sa'id Raja, 96
Abzakhuya (Abzaxya) the Persian, 24, 28
Acta Archelai (Acts of Archelaus), 49, 77, 91, 92, 104
Adam, 8, 15–17, 19, 31, 34, 39, 41, 42, 80
Adamas of Light, 77, 79, 84, 87
Adda, 23, 24
Addas, 93
Adiabene, 24
Afrahat, 92
Afshār-e Shīrāzī, 40, 104
Ahya (Pat-Sahm), 46
Albania, 24
Alcibiades of Apamea, 6, 8
Alexander of Lycopolis, 91, 103
Alkhasios, 6
Allberry, C. R. C., vii, 54
Allogenes, 32
Alms, 69–70
Ammo, 23, 28
Andrew (Christian apostle), 31
angels, 6, 8–10, 13, 14, 36, 37, 39, 46, 67, 71, 76, 95
Aniran, 26
Antioch, 26
apocalypses, Judeo-Christian, 31, 32
apocatastasis, 35
Arabia, 8, 24, 44, 95
Aramaic, 33
Arcadius, 93
Archelaus, 92
Archons, 78, 79
Ardashir I, 9, 10, 22, 25
Aristotle, 42
Armenia, 26; Lesser Armenia, 91, 92
Artavan (Artabanus) V, 1
Ashaqlun, 80, 82
Asmussen, Jes P., 55
Asmussen, Jes P., 55
Assyrians, 22, 23
Atlas, 87. *See* Porter.
Augustine, Saint, 60, 89, 92, 93, 94; *Confessions*, 67; *Contra Adimantum*, 94; *Contra epistulam fundamenti*, 94; *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, 94; *Contra felicem Manichaeum*, 37, 49; *De haeresibus ad Quod vultdeum*, 58, 61; *De moribus Manichaeorum*, 89, 93; *De natura boni*, 37, 89
Azerbaijan, 20

Babylon, 2, 3, 22, 59, 72, 95, 96
Babylonia, 1, 3, 4, 9, 17, 20, 23, 28, 38, 42, 91
Baghdad, 28, 98
Bahram (Vahram) I, 26–29, 52, 91
Bahram II, 91

Balasakan, 26
Bang, Willy, 55
Baptists, 7–8
Baraies, 11, 19, 52; homily of, 10
Bardesanes, 32, 48, 86, 88
Bardesanites, 38, 40, 41
Bat, 28–29
BeDuhn, J., xi, 104
Bema festival, 71–74
Benveniste, Émile, 61
Bet(h) 'Arabaye, 24, 104
Beth-Deraye, 28
Bet(h) Garmai, 24
Beth-Lapat (Belapat, Gundeshabuhr), 28, 91
al-Biruni, 30, 34, 66–67; *al-Athar al-baqiya* [Chronology of the Ancient Nations], 1, 9, 14, 16, 36, 98; *Tahqiq ma li-l-Hind* [Book of Inquiry into India], 37, 40, 41, 98
Bögü Khan, 67
Böhlig, A., vii
Book of Giants (Jewish), 46–47
Boyce, Mary, 55, 58
Buddha, 14, 15, 17, 21, 25–26, 49, 56
Buddhism, 2, 18, 61
Bukhara, 95

Cainites, 16
Call and Response, 77
Cappadocia, 26
Carthage, 93
Caucasus, 20
Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, 53, 98
Chaghatay, 99
Chang Hi-cheng (Manichaean dignitary), 99
Chavannes, Édouard, 41, 53
Chinese Compendium, 1, 15, 43, 46, 49, 50, 51, 56, 57, 61, 96, 98, 105
Chinese Hymnal (Hymnscroll), 55
Chinese *Traité*. *See Traité*.
Chotcho (Xotcho), 73, 97
Christensen, Arthur, 26
Ch'üan-chou (Zaitun), 99
Cilicia, 26
Colditz, I., 104
Cologne Mani Codex, (Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis, CMC) viii, xii, xiii, 2, 4, 6, 8–13, 15, 18, 19, 35, 36, 39, 41, 50–52, 103
confession, 71
Constantinople, 95
Contini, Riccardo, 103
Coptic Psalm Books, 53–54, 73–74
Cosmic Wheels, 78, 87
Cresconius (Manichaean follower), 94
Ctesiphon (al-Mada'in), 22, 23, 28, 29, 95
Cyril of Jerusalem, 92, 93

Dakhlah oasis, 54
Dastagerd, 28
Dastumisan, 8
Daysanites. *See* Bardesanites.
Deb (Daybul), 21
Demons, 82
Denawars, 95, 96
Dialogue of the Savior, viii
Didymos Judas Thomas, 39
Diocletian, 91
Diodorus of Tarsus, 93
Dubois, J. D., 103

Easter, 72
Egypt, vii, viii, 1, 2, 17, 23, 47, 50, 52, 53, 54, 91, 92, 93
Elchasai, 6–8, 13, 31
Elchasaism, 13, 103
Elenches, 6, 7
Elijah, 38
encratism, xii, 4
Enoch, 19; Apocalypse of, 27, 31, 39, 45–46
Enosh, 19
Ephraem Syrus (Saint Ephraem), 38, 48, 88, 92, 93
Epictetus, 95, 104
Epiphanius, 6, 8, 50, 92, 93

Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, 91, 104
Eusebius, bishop of Emesa, 92
Eve, 80
Evodius, 37

Fars. *See* Persis.
Fasting, 70, 72
Father of Greatness, 76–77, 79–80, 82–83, 86, 88
Faustus of Milevis, 93
Faiyum, 52, 54, 93
Felix (Manichaean monk), 49, 94
Filstrus of Brescia, 93
First Call (Creation), 76
Five Commandments (monks), 63, 66
Five Limbs of the Perfect Man, 85
Five Shining Gods, 77, 83
Five Sons of Darkness, 77, 79
Five Sons of the Living Spirit, 77–78, 84, 87
Five Sons of the Primal Man (*Ziwane*), 83, 86, 88–90
Fortunatus, 93
Fouchécour, C.-H. de, 104
Friend of the Lights, 77, 83
Funk, W.-P., 104

Galatia, 26
Galerius, 91
Ganazak (Ganzak), 20
Gardner, Iain, xii, 54
Gaukhai (Jukhi or Jukha), 28
Gauthiot, Robert, 61
Gelasian Decree, the, 46
Gelasius I, Pope, 94
Genesis, 32, 45
Genghis Khan (Tämüjun), 98
George of Laodicea, 92
Georgia, 36
gigantomachy, 87
giants [*nephilim*], 45
Gignoux, Ph., 104
Gimaret, D., 104
Giversen, S., 104
Gnoli, Gh., 104
Golden Horde, 99
Gospel of Philip, vii
Gospel of Thomas, vii, 32
Great Builder, 77, 79, 84
Great King of Magnificence, 77, 78, 84, 87
Great War, the, 35, 81
Gregory the Great, Pope, 95
Gründwedel, A., vii

Hadot, I., 104
al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf, 96
halle heware, 5
Hamilton, J., 105
Hatta, 24
Hegemonius, 50, 92
Henning, Walter Bruno, 28, 45, 46, 54, 55, 73
Henrichs, A., viii
Heracleides, 54
Heracleon of Chalcedon, 94
Homeric epics, 42
Homilies, 18, 19, 29, 35, 49, 50–52, 91
Honorius, 94
Hormisdas, Pope, 94
Hormizd (Ohrmizd) I, 25–26
Hormizd-Ardaxshir (Suq al-Ahwaz), 28
Hormuz II, 92
Hormuz, Strait of, 21
Hsien, Emperor, 1
Hsüan-tsung, 96
Huang Chen, 99
Hystaspes (Vishtaspa), 32, 38

Ibn al-Athir, 98
Ibn al-Muqaffa', 96
Ibn al-Nadim, 1, 6, 8, 28, 41, 97, 98; *Fihrist*, 3–4, 9, 13, 47, 72, 96, 98
India, 32, 98
Indus River, 21
Innaios, 52, 91
International Association of Manichaean Studies, ix
Iran, 3, 17, 24, 25, 26, 32, 44, 52, 104

Iranian Hymnals, 54–55
Iranshahr, 27
Iraq, 96, 97, 98
Islam, 67, 70

Jacob, 38, 39
Jalula, battle of, 95
James of Edessa, 94
Jesus, 2, 8, 9, 11–21, 25–26, 31–32, 36, 39, 31, 42, 49, 54, 55, 57, 59, 75,
Jesus the Splendor, 35, 80, 85
John (Hanni), brother of Mani, 21
John (the Baptist), 16
John of Asia, 95
Jordan, 8
Joseph of Nazareth, 2
Joseph, son of Jacob, 39
Jovian, 92
Judas, 39
Juei-si (Manichaean monk), 96
Julian ("the Apostate"), 92
Julian of Halicarnassus, 94
Julianus, 91
Julius of Antioch, 94
Justin, 94
Justinian, 94, 95

Kan-chu, 98
Karabalghasun, 67, 97
Karder (Kirdir or Karter), 26–28, 91
Karnuk, 24
Kashgar, 96, 98
Kaskar, 91
Kellis, 54
Kephalaia, xii, 1, 3, 9, 18, 22–25, 35, 38, 40, 49, 52–53, 77, 91, 104
al-Khayyat, 97
Kholassar (Artemita), 28
Khosrau I Anushirwan, 95
Khurasan, 23, 28, 95
Khwarazm (Chorasmia), 99
al-Kindi, 97
King of Darkness, 76, 79–80, 82, 87
King of Glory, 77–78, 84
Kitab hudud al-ʿalam, 98
Klimkeit, Hans-Joachim, xi, xii
Koenen, L., viii, xi, 103
Koran, the, 18
Kushans, territory of the, 23, 28
Kustai, 28, 35, 50, 52

Last Judgment, 35, 41, 81
Le Coq, Albert von, vii, 55
Leo I the Great, Pope, 94
Leviathan, 46
Libanius, 92
Lieu, Samuel N. C., xi, xii, 105
Limbs of the Intellect, 88
Living Spirit (Demiurge), 35, 40, 68, 77–79, 84, 88
Lo-yang, 96, 97

Macarius of Magnesia, 93
MacKenzie, David Neill, 34
al-Madaʾin, 96
Mafeo, 99
Mahawai, 46
al-Maʾmun, 97
Mani: birth of, 1–2; break with Elchasaites, 18–19, 32; eschatology of, 14, 34, 41, 42, 81; last years of, 25–30; liturgical doctrine of, 10, 48, 49, 53–54, 71–74; missionary travels, 19–25; "paraclete," 9, 16, 20, 36; passion ("crucifixion") of, 29–30, 52, 71, 73; prophetology of, 15–18, 34–35, 44, 61, 67; religious training, 8–10, 31; "seal of the prophets," 13–19, 34, 53, 73; theology of, 14, 16, 19, 34, 38, 49, 53, 75
Mani, works of: *Book of Giants,* 17, 27, 44–47, 49, 94; *Gospel,* 35–36, 73, 93, 94; *Image* [Picture Book], 43–44, 50; *Legends,* 41–43, 49; *Letters,* 47–48, 73; *Mysteries,* 32, 34, 38–41, 49, 69; *Pragmateia,* 41–43, 57, 75, 81, 94; *Shabuhragan,* 1, 14, 17, 23, 34–36, 42, 47, 49, 75, 81; *Treasure,* 34, 37–38, 41, 51, 94
"Manichaean alphabet," 33

Manichaean Studies Seminar, ix
Manichaeism, canon of scriptures, 34–56; Gods, names of, 81–85; hagiography, 3; hierarchy, 58–63; liturgy, 71–74; monks, 58–67; moral codes, 63–69; pantheon, 75–90
Mar Ammo, 45, 55
Marcion, 88
Marcionites, 18, 38
Mary and Martha, 12
Maryam (Mariam), mother of Mani, 2
Massé, Henri, 43
al-Mas'udi, 38, 98
Mecca, 95
Medes, 23
Medina (Yathrib), 95
Medinet Madi, 93
Menasce, Jean de, 27
Merv, xii, 23
Mesene, 21, 22, 23, 28
Mesopotamia, 41, 61, 92, 95, 96, 104
Messenger, the, 78–80, 85, 87
Messos, 32
Meu-yu, 96
Mihr (Manichaean imam), 96
Mihryazd. *See* Living Spirit.
Mikkelsen, Gunner B., 103
Milik, J. T., 45, 46
Miqlas, 96
Mirecki, Paul, xi, 104
mnaggede, 5
Monnot, G., 104
Moriyasu, T., 105
Mosul, 23
Mother of Life, 76–79, 83
Mughtasilism, 4–5, 8. *See also* Baptists.
Muhammad, 15, 18, 33, 95
Müller, F.W.K.
Mu'tazilism, 96, 97, 98
Mysteries. See Mani, works of.

Nabataeans, 5
Nabu (god), 3
Nag Hammadi manuscripts, viii, 39, 92
Nahashbat, 76
nahr-Kutha (Nahr-Kuta River), 1, 2
Nariman, 46
Naqsh-i Rustam, 26
Narseh, 91, 92
Nasêr (Nasir), 20
al-Nashi', 97
al-Nazzam, 97
Nebroel (Namrael), 80, 82
Nestorians, 97
Nicotheos, 32
Nippur (Nuffar), 2
Nisibis, 92
Noah, 15, 16, 17, 31
Nuhzadag (bar-Nuh), 28

Ögedey, 99
Ohrmizd (Ohrmazd), 44
Ohya (Ogias), 46
Omont, H., vii
Onon River, 98
"On the Birth of His Body," viii, 50
Orchon River, 67
Ordu Balïq, 96, 97
Origen, 8
Ornament of Splendor, 77–78, 84
Osrhoene, 38

Palestine, 12, 92
Palmyra, 23
Parthia, 23
Parthians, 6, 22, 23, 45, 47
Patteg (Pattikios), father of Mani, 2–4, 9, 12, 21, 23
Paul of Tarsus, 8, 18–20, 31, 47
Paul the Persian, 95
Pelliot, Paul, 42, 53, 56, 66, 98
Pennacchietti, F. A., 104
Pentateuch, the, 32
Perfect Man, the, 81, 85, 87, 88
Peroz, 23
Persepolis, 26
Persia, 10, 14, 17
Persis (Fars), 21, 22

Peter [Christian apostle], 31
Pharat, 21
Philip the Arab, 8
Photinus, 95
Photius, 93, 94
polarity, 81
Polo, Marco, 99
Polotsky, Hans Jakob, vii, xi, 43, 54, 93
polyonymy, 81
Porphyrus, bishop of Gaza, 94
Porter, 77, 84
Pragmateia. See Mani, works of.
prayer, 67
Primal (First) Man, 68, 76–79, 83, 88
Priscianus, 92
Priscillian, 93

Qara Khitay (Kara-khitai), 98, 99
Qarluqs (Karluks), 96
Quinarity, 81
Qumran, caves of, 45, 46

Rāza, Farideh, 103
al-Razi, 98
Reck, Ch., 104
Reeves, John C., xii, 103
Rew-Ardaxshir, 21
Robinson, J. M., xi
Rome, 91; Roman Empire, borderlands of, 24
Römer, C., xi, xii, 103
Rylands, P., 91

Sabaeans, 4–5
Sakas, queen of, 28
Salmaios, 8–9
Sam, 46
Samarkand, 95, 96, 98
Satan, 86
Schmidt, C., xi
Schmidt-Glintzer, H., 105
Scopello, M., 104
Scott, D. A., 104
Scythanos, 92
Second Call (Creation), 77
Seleucia, 28
Seleusia-Ctesiphon ("the Cities"), 23
Septentrion, 81
Serapion of Thmuis, 92
Seth, 15, 16, 17, 31, 41
Sethites, 16
"Seven Spirits," 39
Severus, patriarch of Antioch, 94
Sextus Empiricus, 42
Shabuhragan. See Mani, works of.
Shad-Ohrmizd, 95
al-Shahrastani, 87, 98
Shapur (Shabuhr) I, 1, 10, 18, 22, 25–27, 29, 34, 91
Shapur II, 92
Shem, 15, 16, 19
Shemihaza (Shahmizad), 46
Simplicius, 95, 103, 104
Sippar, 20
Sis, 91
Sitaios, 12
Skjaervø, P. O., 104
Snow, C. P., viii
Sobiai, 6
Sogdiana, 96
Stein fragments, 56
Stein, M. Aurel, vii, 55, 98
Sundermann, Werner, 55, 104
Susiana (Khuzistan), 23, 28
Synaxeis, 36, 53
synaxis, 54
Syria, 24, 26
Syriac, 48

Tahadod, N., 105
Tämüjin (Genghis-khan), 98
Tanguts, 98
Taoists, 18
Taqī-Zāde, 104
Tardieu, Michel, 103, 104
Tatian, 31, 59
al-Tawm (angel), 9–10, 13, 36
Ten Commandments (lay followers), 68

Terbinthos, 92
Thagaste (Souk Ahras), 92
Theodore bar Konai, 1, 5, 50, 97; summary of the *Pragmateia*, 42, 75, 77, 81, 97
Theodoret, 92, 93, 94
Theodosius I, 93
Theodosius II, 94
Theonas of Alexandria, 91
Third Call (Creation), 78–79
Third Messenger (Ambassador), 40, 44
Thomas, apostle of Jesus, 31, 32
"Three Days," 40
Three Seals, doctrine of the, 63
Three Times, doctrine of the, 75
Tigris River, 20, 23
Timotheos, 41
Titus of Bostra, 92
Traité, 42, 53
Trajan, 6
Treasure. *See* Mani, works of.
Trier, 93
Tun-huang, 55, 96
Tur 'Abdin, 24, 38
Turan, 21
Turbo. *See Acta Archelai*.
Turfan oasis, 54, 97, 105
Turfan texts, 58, 73, 104
Turkestan, 95, 96, 98
Twelve Virgins, 79, 85
Two Principles, doctrine of the, 75

Uighur Empire, 67, 96, 97
Urmiya, Lake, 20

Valentinian I, 93
Valentinian II, 93
Valentinian III, 94
Van Haelst, 91
Veh-Ardaxshir, 23
Villey, A., 103, 104
Virgin (Maiden) of the Light, 87
Virogdad, 46

Wasil b. 'Ata', 96
Wu-tsung, 97

Xradeshahryazd. *See* Jesus the Splendor.
Xvastvaneft, 55–56, 67, 70

al-Ya'qubi, 38, 41
Yazdigird III, 95

Zabed, 91
Zacheas (Zaku), 52
Ziwane. *See* Five Sons of the Primal Man
Zoroaster, 14, 15, 17, 26, 32, 38, 49
Zoroastrianism, 18, 25–29, 53, 96
Zostrianos, 32

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MANICHAEISM



MICHEL TARDIEU

Translated from the French by M. B. DeBevoise

Introduction by Paul Mirecki

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Manichaeism

MICHEL TARDIEU

Translated from the French
by M. B. DeBevoise

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Contents

Introduction *Paul Mirecki* vii

Translator's Note xii

1. Mani 1
2. The Books 31
3. The Community 57
4. The Pantheon 75

Chronology of Manichaeism after Mani 91

Maps 100

Bibliography 103

Index 107

Introduction

Paul Mirecki

It is often said, and rightly so, that the modern study of Manichaeism began with "Ein Mani-Fund"—that is, with the publication in 1933 of an article by Hans-Jacob Polotsky and Carl Schmidt entitled "Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten: Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler." This article focused on the sensational discovery of several fourth-century Coptic Manichaean codices at Narmouthis (modern Medinet Madi) in Egypt's Faiyum, first attested to have been seen in Egypt in 1929. Although significant Manichaean manuscripts in Latin, Iranian, Turkic, and Chinese had been discovered previously (the most important eastern manuscripts had been found in Central Asia by A. von Le Coq and A. Grünwedel in 1904–14 and by A. Stein in 1905–7; in the West, the Latin fragments found near Tebessa, Algeria, were published by H. Omont in 1918, the same year as their discovery), the Coptic papyri discussed by Polotsky and Schmidt were to exert an immediate, significant, and long-lasting influence on the history of Manichaean research in the second half of the twentieth century and beyond.

Within a few years, primary Coptic Manichaean texts in transcription and modern translation were made available by Polotsky (1934), C. R. C. Allberry (1938), and A. Böhlig and Polotsky (1940) and published in folio editions by W. Kohlhammer Verlag in Stuttgart. For the first time scholars could analyze the seemingly complex and little known Manichaean religion on its own terms rather than on the biased accounts of the ancient and medieval heresiologists.

The war years could not have helped but have a stifling effect on the mostly European-based Manichaean scholarship of the time, which suffered the loss of a number of promising researchers, including Allberry himself, a brilliant young British coptologist who died during an ill-fated

Royal Air Force mission over Nedeweert, Holland, on 3 April 1943 (he was later memorialized by his friend, the scientist and author C. P. Snow, in his novels *The Light and the Dark* [1947] and *The Masters* [1951]). During the chaos that engulfed Europe following the war, some of the precious Manichaean papyri housed in Germany were lost; others survived, but with their identities confused. Some were even temporarily housed with other antiquities in one of the three large antiaircraft towers in wartime Berlin—specifically, the tower located at the Berlin Zoo.

But from the 1950s to the 1970s, with the rapidly growing interest in the so-called gnostic library discovered in 1945 near Nag Hammadi, Egypt, scholars turned their attention to the new Coptic collection (which contained dozens of texts with intriguing titles such as the Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Philip, the Dialogue of the Savior, and the Secret Book of John), to the disadvantage of the Coptic Manichaean texts. Even so, the enormous amount of scholarly commentary on the Nag Hammadi texts, together with the interest aroused by numerous international conferences, provided a model for the development of Coptic Manichaean studies and soon an entire field of Manichaean research. Although the close relationship between the Nag Hammadi and Medinet Madi collections was on the whole positive, prompting many scholars to work in both fields, it had the unfortunate result of causing Manichaeism to be classified as just another form of gnosticism—a modern category that fit neither collection very well.

Research in Manichaeism nonetheless received fresh impetus from A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, who announced in 1970 that they had succeeded in deciphering a small Greek vellum "butterfly" codex acquired in Egypt, published in 1971, and known today as the Cologne Mani Codex. Scholars now refer to its fragmentary text as "On the Origin of His Body" (i.e., on the origins of Mani's church—this is a modern quotation from the text, since the original title has been lost), an early anthology based primarily on Mani's own statements about his life that presented researchers with new information about the crucial early period of Mani's ministry and its interpretation by his disciples. The codex drew a great deal of attention from scholars of late antiquity, as much for its unusual form in miniature as for its intended purpose, then unclear.

Michel Tardieu's short introductory volume, which first appeared in

1981 as part of the popular "Que Sais-Je?" series, published in Paris by Presses Universitaires de France, made current research in the scholarly study of Manichaeism accessible to a new generation of students and scholars. In the meantime, the International Association of Manichaean Studies had been founded and in 1987 hosted its first international congress in Lund, Sweden; the following year a research group called the Manichaean Consultation (now the Manichaean Studies Seminar) was founded in North America under the auspices of the Society of Biblical Literature. Both groups continue to sponsor international conferences and issue publications on a regular basis today. Tardieu's book therefore came out at a most timely moment indeed, and in 1997 it appeared in a second, revised edition—evidence both of the warm reception it had received in academic circles and of the accelerating pace of research. Even so, its audience remained limited to those who could read French. This situation has now changed with the appearance of an excellent English translation by M. B. DeBevoise under the imprint of the University of Illinois Press.

◦ ◦ ◦ Manichaean research in the twentieth century was necessarily dominated by codicological and philological work that sought to clarify the nature of the newly discovered texts by producing and publishing long-awaited critical editions, modern translations, and photographic facsimiles. This activity also involved the long and difficult process of restoring and conserving often heavily damaged papyrus manuscripts—work that still continues for much of the extant material.

With the growth of Manichaean studies in the 1980s, however, and the resulting availability of Manichaean primary texts in critical editions and translations, research quickly moved from its initial preoccupation with philological issues and descriptive history-of-religions models to the adoption of new, synthetic methodologies pioneered in the humanities and social sciences. These methods have cast light on the diverse ways in which Mani's church interacted with the various social and religious traditions that formed the cultural context from which Manichaeism arose and in terms of which it defined itself. Today one finds textual analysis being carried out from the novel perspectives of gender studies and ritual studies, as well as those of the more traditional disciplines, such

as art history (since Mani and his disciples were also evangelistic painters working in a recognizable Manichaean style); even the early concern with the basic philological issues of establishing texts and producing critical editions and translations has been extended to include an examination of the broader contextual evidence these texts provide with respect to the dialects and idiolects of individual Manichaean scribes.

Recent research has led scholars to challenge the claims of formerly dominant patristic and other heresiological sources by exposing the strong biases (whether Buddhist, Christian, Muslim, or Zoroastrian) of their authors. Reevaluation of these sources has given rise to the view that such "outsider texts" tell us more about the heresiologists themselves than about their Manichaean opponents. Both the medieval conception of Manichaeism as a heresy and its more recent interpretation as a form of gnosticism, as well as the very notion of orthodoxy, now find themselves subject to intense scrutiny by scholars. Indeed, it has been suggested that the study of Manichaeism constitutes a test case for the deconstruction of received official histories in general.

In contrast to their counterparts a century ago, today's students of Manichaeism enjoy a rich selection of primary and secondary Manichaean sources from a broad variety of ancient cultures extending from Algeria to southeast China, in addition to an abundance of published studies, anthologies, and reference works. Moreover, the growth in the number of university courses and graduate seminars on Manichaeism over the past twenty years reflects a coincident increase in the number of teaching faculty who are familiar with Manichaeism, or actually specializing in it, with the result that more doctoral dissertations on Manichaean studies are being submitted in universities in Europe and North America every year.

Modern scholars, in examining the works of the early heresiologists, have argued that the great weakness of Manichaeism was not only the intense ascetical demands it made on its followers but also the complexity of its mythology. In this book, Michel Tardieu presents one of the clearest and most accessible accounts of this mythology, as well as of Mani's life, his writings and those of his disciples, and the structure and nature of the Manichaean Church. Its place as required reading for future generations of students and scholars is therefore assured.

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Translator's Note

In the translation of extracts from primary sources I have followed the author's renderings for the most part, while taking care to compare these to other versions. An English translation by Iain Gardner of much of the Coptic *Kephalaia* is now available as *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* (Leiden, 1995). Several important commentaries have appeared since the publication of the second edition of the French text. The recent volume by Gardner and Samuel N. C. Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 2004), contains a good deal of material translated from the *Cologne Mani-Codex* that takes Römer's suggested revisions into account. On Syro-Mesopotamian gnosis and Jewish traditions, see John C. Reeves, *Heralds of That Good Realm* (Leiden, 1996). English versions of a number of the Iranian and Turkish texts cited, including the Manichaean commandments, can be found in Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road* (San Francisco, 1993). The Chinese Manichaean heritage is treated in considerable detail in Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China* (Leiden, 1998).

Here and there I have inserted brief glosses, either to explain terms that otherwise would be familiar only to specialists in the history of ancient religions (such as *encratism, synaxis,* and the like) or to make it easier to follow the sometimes elliptical exposition of the French text. Additionally, I have expanded the bibliographic information embedded in the text and slightly added to the chronological account that follows it.

The author's system of simplified transcription has been retained, though variants are occasionally noted and familiar English renderings substituted for place names (*Merv,* for example, rather than *Merw*; *Karabalghasun* rather than *Qara-balghasun*) and proper names (*Shapur* rather than *Shabuhr* or *Sapores*) where these are generally used in the

scholarly literature of the ancient Near East. In transliterating foreign terms I have followed the French text both in forgoing the diacritical marks customarily employed to distinguish simple from emphatic phonemes, long from short vowels, and the voiced from the unvoiced *h* and in using the groups *th, kh* (or *x*), *dh,* the palato-alveolar fricative *sh,* and *gh* to transcribe the letters *tha', kha',* and so on; *tch* and *zh* to transcribe the *č* and *ž* of Persian and Turkish; and *sh, f, h, j, c,* and *ti* to transcribe the six demotic letters peculiar to Coptic. On the other hand, I have tended to substitute *v* for the *w* found in certain Sogdian transliterations (thus, for example, *Xvastvaneft* rather than *Xwastweneft* or the strict reading *X*$^{u\bar{a}}$*stvānift*) and made similarly minor changes where conventional Anglo-American practice departs from the French. Finally, the reader will note that the author's use of the Wade-Giles (rather than the pinyin) system for transcribing Chinese names has been preserved.

The following acronyms and abbreviations have been brought over from the French edition as well: Ar = Arabic; Aram = Aramaic; c = common to all sources; ca. = about (*circa*); Chin = Chinese; *CMC* = *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis;* Copt = Coptic; Gr = Greek; H = Hegiran year; Lat = Latin; MP = Middle Persian; Parth = Parthian; Sogd = Sogdian; Syr = Syriac; OT = Old Turkish (or Uighur).

Manichaeism

CHAPTER 1

Mani

Date and Place of Mani's Birth

Mani himself indicated the date and place of his birth. In the *Shabuhragan* (composed in Middle Persian in honor of Shapur [Shabuhr] I—whence its title), in the chapter titled "On the Coming of the Prophet," Mani says that he was born in Babylonia, in the year 527 of the era of the astronomers of Babel, four years after the beginning of the reign of the Parthian king Adharban, which is to say Artavan (Artabanus) V, last sovereign of the Arsacid Dynasty, in a town [*qarya*] called Mardinu on the nahr-Kutha (Nahr Kuta). The versatile Khwarazmian writer and computist al-Biruni (died ca. H 442/A.D. 1050) refers twice to this passage from the *Shabuhragan* in his *Kitab al-athar al-baqiya.* Various indirect and composite sources, on the other hand, among them works by the Mesopotamian Theodore bar Konai (eighth century) and the Arab Ibn al-Nadim (died ca. H 380/990), contain little more than hearsay evidence. Any attempt to square these accounts with the details furnished by al-Biruni seems doomed to failure.

The compiler of the Coptic *Kephalaia* drew the biographical details given there from the *Shabuhragan* as well. In *Keph.* 1, entitled "On the Coming of the Apostle," he places the event in the Egyptian month of Pharmouthi during the reign of Artabanus. The Chinese *Compendium,* written by a Manichaen dignitary in 731 on the order of the imperial chancellery, also confirms that Mani was born in the year 527 of the era governed by the twelfth constellation (*mo-sieh*), on the eighth day of the second month of the thirteenth year of the Chien-an period of the Emperor Hsien of the (last) Han Dynasty. The computations of various calendars (Babylonian, Iranian, Chinese, Egyptian) therefore give the same date: the year 527 of the lunar Seleucid (or Alexandrian) era, or

216 of our era. As for the mention of the day and the month (8 Nisan = 14 April) found in several non-Arabic sources, it has no historical value, serving only to allow Manichaeans to establish the calendar of their festivals.

Mani came into the world in a rural community on the banks of the upper course of the Nahr Kuta, which flows from a point northeast of Babylon southward to Nippur (Nuffar). The Akkadian place name, for which the Aramaic name of Mardinu has been substituted as the birthplace of Mani, has not been identified.

Mani's Parents

Only the name of the head of the family, Mani's father, is known with certainty. The Manichaean compilation "On the Origin of His Body," written in Greek in a small parchment manuscript volume (4.5 x 3.5 centimeters) and conserved at the University of Cologne—hence the acronym *CMC* (*Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis* = *Cologne Mani Codex*) used to refer to it—calls Mani's father Pattikios, a Hellenized form of the Iranian Pattig or Patteg (Patiq in Syriac).

Manichaean tradition later embellished the origins of its founder. Iranizing apologetics, on the one hand, cast Patteg as a descendant of an old Parthian family, the Haskaniya, whose roots were in the Median capital of Hamadan. Persian Manichaeans attributed many names to Mani's mother (Mays, Karussa, Utakhim, Taqshit, Nushit), associating her with the Kamsaragan family, itself related to the royal house of the Arsacids. One finds a distinguished lineage ascribed to the founder of a religion in the case of Buddhism and Christianity as well.

As a result of Christianizing apologetics, on the other hand, Mani's mother was also given the name of Jesus' mother: Maryam (Mariam). Eastern Manichaeans made his father an emigrant and defector who had left Hamadan for al-Mada'in and al-Mada'in for the region of Nahr Kutha, in imitation of accounts of Jesus' childhood, which relate the departure of Joseph of Nazareth for Jerusalem, and from there to Egypt. Like Jesus, Mani was said to have been an only son. And like his Christian precursor, claimed as the descendant of an ancient princely family of Israel, Mani

the Aramaean was said to be descended from an ancient princely family of Iran.

The Religions of Mani's Father

What was Patteg's religion? The Arab encyclopedist Ibn al-Nadim supplies us with a few hints in the *Kitab al-Fihrist,* or "Catalogue" (H 377/990):

> It is related that at al-Mada'in [= Ctesiphon] there was a house of idols that Fattiq [Patteg] was in the habit of frequenting, like many other people. Now, one day, there resounded for him from the inner sanctum of the house of idols this cry: "O Fattiq, eat no meat, drink no wine, abstain from all sexual relations!" Fattiq heard this call many times, for three days. Having understood the message, he associated himself with a group of people near Dastumisan known as the Cleansers [*al-mughtasila*]. Even in our time, some of them still survive in these regions and in the Bata'ih. They followed the religious law [*al-madhhab*] to which Fattiq had been ordered to adhere while his wife was pregnant with Mani.

In transferring to the father the visions of the son (for the sanctity of the latter implies that of the former), the tradition from which Ibn al-Nadim's source derived represents an illuminating episode in Manichaean hagiography—all the more so since it tells us that Patteg was a pagan, that his conversion preceded or slightly followed the birth of Mani, and that the religious community he joined professed Babylonian Mughtasilism.

The expressions "house of idols" and "shrine of the house of the idols" attest that the temple frequented by Patteg was not a temple of fire. It follows that the religious milieu in which Mani was brought up was not Zoroastrian. It may be further supposed that Patteg's paganism was what *Keph.* 121 calls the "sect of *nobe,*" established "in the midst of the land of Babylon." According to the Coptic text, the priest of this religion, with whom Mani was to engage in controversy, was an idolater [*refshmshe eidōlon*]. If one assumes that the word *nobe,* unknown in Coptic, comes from the Semitic, then Mani's father would have been, before becoming a Mughtasila, a worshiper of the god Nabu—that is, a follower of the traditional religion still current in Babylonia and northern Mesopotamia (Harran).

The three commandments whose call Patteg heard from the shrine of the idols show that the motivation for his conversion was essentially practical. Patteg abandoned one way of life for another. And by submitting to a rule founded on abstinence and continence, he left one religion, whose Harranian form known by Arab writers was removed from ascetic practices, to adhere to a religious tendency dominated by encratism [a doctrine that abominated matter and enjoined its followers to abstain from all carnal pleasure]. Inasmuch as the priests of the traditional religion were astrologers accustomed to dispensing visions and revelations, Patteg, in becoming a baptist, only exchanged one variety of revelation for another.

The Mughtasila

The group that Patteg joined while his wife was pregnant with Mani was called by Ibn al-Nadim *al-mughtasila* ("those who wash themselves"), the Arabic counterpart to the Greek word *baptistai* (baptists). In the ninth and tenth centuries, remnants of these baptist communities were still found in these parts of Babylonia, and in particular in the Bata'ih, a technical term of geography designating the marshy expanses of the Mesopotamian low country, between Wasit and al-Basra. "These people are numerous in the Bata'ih," repeats Ibn al-Nadim in the account he gives concerning them in the *Fihrist*:

> They are the Sabaeans of the Bata'ih. They practice ablutions, and wash everything that they eat. Their leader is called al-Khasayh [= Gr *CMC*: Alkhasaios (mss: al-Hasayh)]. It is he who gave the community its law. They assert that the two fields of being [*al-kawnayn*] are male and female: edible herbs are hair of the male, dodder [a leafless parasitic plant] is hair of the female, and the trees are their veins. They recount monstrous tales, which take the form of fables. The disciple of al-Khasayh was called Sham'un. They agreed with the Manichaeans on the Two Principles. Their community later broke away [from the Manichaeans]. There are some among them still today who venerate the stars.

Al-Nadim goes on to echo another tradition concerning the Sabaeans of the Bata'ih:

> These people uphold the ancient doctrine of the Nabataeans: they venerate the stars and have images and idols. The ordinary Sabaeans are called Harranians, although it is said they are not identical to them either as a group or as individuals. [After the French translation by G. Monnot]

The geographical and ideological proximity of the Mughtasila Sabaeans and the star-worshiping Sabaeans of Harran led the Arab historian to group them together. Even if, as we have seen, these two forms of "Sabaeism" are close variants of a single system of revelation, they must not be confused, since it was by passing from one to the other that Mani's father is said to have changed his religion, that is, his way of life.

The essential aspect of the religious practice of these Mughtasila consisted in ritual ablutions, both corporeal and dietary. This is why Theodore bar Konai called them by the Syriac name *mnaqqede* ("those who purify themselves"); according to bar Konai, they called themselves *halle heware* ("white garments"), white clothing being the sign of their state of purity. With regard to ablutions, nothing distinguishes Mughtasilism from other baptist sects, whether Palestinian or Babylonian.

What appears to have been specific to the Mughtasila movement is its code of dietary observance. In addition to prohibiting the consumption of fermented beverages and meat, it divided foods into two categories based on social criteria. Jewish bread (that is, the locally made bread of the poor) was permitted, but Greek bread (the bread of foreigners and the rich) was forbidden. Vegetables from the gardens of the community, regarded as being essentially male, were allowed; the same vegetables coming from outside the community, and so considered to be essentially female, were disallowed. Every male vegetable had to be "baptized"—washed and ritually blessed—before being eaten.

This system of classification and exclusion needs to be kept in mind if the history of the conflicts that were to mark the stages of Mani's development and his awareness of himself as a prophet is to be understood. As a member of the Mughtasila community, Mani was to challenge and ultimately to reject this system; later, as the founder of a church, he was to impose his own dietary code, drawing inspiration from the one that he had grown up with and that he had rejected.

Elchasai

According to Ibn al-Nadim, the person who had constituted the Mughtasila community in terms of law, in other words, the chief founder of this religion, was called al-Khasayh (mss: al-Hasayh). He is therefore the Alkhasaios of the *CMC* and the Elchasai of the Christian heresiologists. Al-Nadim, following the example not only of Manichaean tradition but also of the Fathers of the Church, spoke of Elchasai as someone who had actually lived. It is more likely that we are dealing here with the historicization of a mythical figure who was credited with authorship of a book of revelations that was widely known in Judeo-Christian circles in Palestine and Mesopotamia at the beginning of the Christian era. The term "Elchasai" will be used in what follows to refer not to a historical person but to the anonymous author of the book that gave birth to Elchasaitic Mughtasilism, and to the book itself.

A Greek version of this book was brought to Rome at the beginning of the third century by a certain Alcibiades of Apamea. Its contents are known from a Christian polemicist who subsequently discussed it in an encyclopedia of the errors of his time entitled *Elenchos*. According to this source, Alcibiades related that Elchasai, living in the land of the Parthians, had received this book from an angel of gigantic size and had transmitted it to his immediate disciple, one Sobiai. This event was said to have occurred "in the third year of Trajan's reign," or the year 100 of our era.

Elchasai, whom Epiphanius declared to be a Jew by both birth and religious upbringing, had become head of a new community by rejecting the forms of worship and the social basis of the Hebrew religion, namely, the bloody sacrifice instituted by the patriarchs and perpetuated in Passover practice, in the course of which the sacrificial animal's throat was cut and its carcass roasted on the altar. As a consequence, all forms of meat were excluded from the Elchasaitic diet.

While rejecting the institution and practice of sacrifice, Elchasai, who called himself "just," scrupulously observed the letter of the [Jewish] law in other matters: circumcision and strict monotheism, as well as (even though the heresiologists claimed otherwise) rejection of divination and astrology, respect for the sacerdotal institution and for Jerusalem as the

direction of prayer [*qibla*], observance of the Sabbath and of fasts, explicit approval of marriage, and distrust of the various forms of continence practiced in other Jewish sects.

Holding fire to be a diabolical instrument of the vulgar traditions of the old religion, Elchasai made water a thaumaturgic instrument of the new religion, saying:

> My children, do not go near to the appearance of fire lest you be led into error, for fire is only wrongdoing. You see it right in front of you when it is very far away! Take care then not to go near its appearance, follow instead the voice of the water!

Elchasaitic legalism consisted, then, in substituting for the sacrificial and deadly fire of Judaism the life-giving water of Palestinian baptist communities. The rite of initiation into the religion involved baptism for the forgiveness of sins, the catechumen being plunged fully dressed into the running waters of an outdoor stream. This baptismal epiclesis was accompanied by the invocation of elements endowed with therapeutic properties: water, earth, wind, oil, and salt (the last two occupying the place left vacant by fire).

The rite automatically entailed the pardon of all sins and consecrated the initiate's repentance, in other words, his conversion and his change of life. But it also, and above all, had a direct, curative effect on the body. For the moral purity that it conferred was itself only a consequence of the essentially physical and corporeal effect of word and gesture. The purpose of the rite was therefore to clean the body and to heal it of its maladies by delivering it from the evil demons that had possessed it. "If a man, a woman, or a child is bitten by a rabid dog," declares a fragment preserved in the *Elenchos,* "let him at that very moment run toward a river or an abundant spring, let him immerse himself in it fully dressed and confidently invoke great and most high God!" Consumptives and the demonically possessed were prescribed a treatment consisting of baths to be taken in cold water "forty times in seven days."

The regime of corporeal ablutions, whether these were performed on a daily basis or in accordance with the liturgical calendar, was supplemented by a second baptismal code, likewise very strict, that called for all authorized foods (coming exclusively from the ovens and gardens of

the community) to be baptized, or cleansed by immersion in water, before being consumed. "Pagan" foods, by contrast, were purely and simply taboo.

Grafted onto this essentially Jewish legalistic practice, and combined with it, were the prophetology of the apocalypticians and the christology of the sayings [*logia*] of Jesus. Though the fact of Elchasaitic Christianity, which regarded Jesus as the last of a series of Christs or messiahs descended from Adam, is undeniable, it differed profoundly from the one that Paul of Tarsus succeeded in imposing. For whereas Paul broke with the world of Jewish observances for tactical reasons, Elchasai remained a Judeo-Christian in the strict sense: a Christian practicing the kind of Jewish life that had been fixed once and for all by the prescriptions of the Torah.

By the beginning of the second century of our era, Elchasaitic Judeo-Christianity was firmly established in Transjordan and very active in Arabia. At the beginning of the third century, when Mani's father joined one of its Babylonian communities, Alcibiades of Apamea became its proponent in Rome. In the middle of the same century, Origen noted its "recent" progress in Palestine under Philip the Arab (244–49). In the following century, Epiphanius, an authority on religious movements in Palestine and Syria, noted that the baptist communities of Jordan had almost everywhere been assimilated by Elchasaitism. It was therefore a powerful movement. Some six hundred years later, Ibn al-Nadim, writing in the fourth century of the Hegira, confirmed its continuing presence under the name Mughtasila in the marshlands of Mesopotamia.

Call of the Angel

For the first twenty-five years of his life, Mani was an adherent of Elchasaitic baptism. When Mani was four his father brought him to the rural community of Dastumisan. One of Mani's first disciples, Salmaios, reported (*CMC* 11–12) that his master had confided in him the following:

> It was then [at the age of four] that I entered the religion of the baptists, in which I was brought up. Owing to the youth of my body, I was protected by the strength of the angels of light and the very mighty powers

> who were charged by Jesus [= Jesus the Splendor] with watching over me. . . . Thus it was that from the fourth year until the moment when I reached the maturity of my body I was kept safe in the hands of the most holy angels and powers of holiness.

This testimony is no doubt an idealized reconstruction. Having become a member of the Elchasaitic baptist community in early childhood, Mani is said to have been raised by a convert, his father, who awakened his religious sensitivity to the daily practices of the sect and to the marvelous sayings that were recounted about Jesus. Everything suggests that Mani's childhood was modeled on that of Jesus.

In the *Athar* al-Biruni twice affirms that, in the chapter of the *Shabuhragan* entitled "On the Coming of the Prophet," Mani says that revelation [*al-wahy*] came to him during his thirteenth year. Al-Biruni concludes from this that it was in the year 539 of the astronomers of Babylonia, two years after the beginning of the reign of Ardashir, king of kings. Ibn al-Nadim, for his part, declares in the *Fihrist*: "When he had attained twelve years of age, there came to him the revelation: it was, according to him, from the king of the paradise of light. The angel bearing this revelation was called al-Tawm, a Nabataean word meaning companion."

The event would therefore have occurred in 228 of our era, in the second year of the reign of Ardashir, as al-Biruni says more correctly in another passage of his chronology. *Keph.* 1 places the event in "the same year when Artaxoos [Ardashir] was to receive the crown." The name of the heavenly messenger is Aramaic: *tawma* = Gr *suzugos* [*CMC* (*saïsh* in the Coptic texts)]. *Keph.* 1 calls him *paraclētos* ("The living paraclete came down to me and conversed with me"), recalling the language of John 14:26.

In connection with the training of the future prophet, one encounters the legendary accounts of Syriac Christianity concerning the apostle Thomas, whose name signifies the "twin" (he was, or passed for, the twin brother of Jesus) and toward whom all forms of piety were nourished by the various Gospels and Acts current in the East during this period. Onto the traditional schema, Paraclete → Jesus × Thomas, the son of Patteg was to graft the secret of his vision: Paraclete → Jesus × Thomas → Mani.

For twelve years Mani allowed his secret to ripen—or, rather, the secrets [*musteria*] revealed to him by his heavenly companion—and, little by little, entered into conflict with his earthly companions, the Elchasaites. This initial period of conflict concluded, according to the liturgical account of Manichaean tradition, with a second and solemn visit from the angel al-Tawm. The *CMC* relates the event in these terms:

> At the time when my body had reached its development, unexpectedly there descended and appeared before me this very beautiful and sublime mirror of myself. When I was twenty-four years old, the year when Dariadaxar [Ardashir] the king of Persia subdued the city of Atra [Hatra] and when the king Sapores [Shapur I] his son was crowned with the very great diadem, in the month of Pharmouthi on the eighth day of the moon, the most blessed Lord took pity upon me and called me to his grace. He sent me from there my twin [*suzugon mou*]. . . . When therefore [my twin] came, he released me and took me away from the world of that Law in which I had been brought up. Thus it is that [the Lord] called, chose, and separated me from the midst of those people.

Here again the desired concordance of dates served Mani's theological and missionary purpose. The second epiphany of the angel coincided, within the space of a few days, with three successive events: the investiture of Shapur I as coregent with his father, Ardashir I (1 Nisan 551 in the Seleucid calendar = 12 April 240); the full moon that occurred on the thirteenth day of the same month; and Mani's twenty-fourth birthday (8 Nisan = 14 April). Mani was therefore entering his twenty-fifth year, as the extract from the homily of Baraies conserved in the *CMC* confirms.

This concordance satisfied an apologetic need to demonstrate the alignment of three worlds, astrological, political, and prophetic: a new time, a new king, a new prophet. Underlying this coincidence was, if not flattery, at least a discreet appeal addressed to the new *shahanshah.* If Mani wrote the message of the revelation he had received in the language of the king and for the king, it is because he hoped that the reign that had just begun would be placed in the service of the new religion.

Anti-Elchasaite Controversies

Mani was to develop his plans for a new religion in a manner consistent with the religion of his time and place and, at the same time, in contradiction to it. But here again one needs to take into account the idealization of his life, which was promoted no less by Mani himself than by his biographers. Just as Mani was portrayed in childhood as copying the child Jesus, so Mani as a young man disputing with the authorities of his community imitated the role of Jesus as a young man in the anti-Judaizing controversies reported by the synoptic Gospels. Nonetheless, this part of the biography, even allowing for embellishment, stands out as the historically most recent and most certain element contributed by the *CMC*.

Mani's disputes with the Elchasaites bore not only on the baptismal practices applied to fruits and vegetables but on all the observances and prescriptions of the religion. "I questioned them about the way of God," Mani declares in a saying ascribed to the authority of Baraies (the Abrahaya of Arab tradition), "and the commandments of the Savior."

The Elchasaite custom of baptizing foods prompted the future prophet to resort to irony. Mani's argument was one of simple common sense. To subject food to baptismal cleansing eliminates neither blood nor bile nor gas nor excrement; only abstinence can diminish the quantity of waste [*apedumata*]: "Let someone partake of food that has been ritually washed and purified, and then partake of what has not been so washed, it is plain that the effect on the beauty and strength of the body is the same. Similarly, the excrement and residue of the two sorts of food cannot be perceived to differ in any way from one another. Therefore, food that has been ritually washed, which the body evacuates and expels, does not differ from any other unbaptized food" (*CMC* 82).

Mani explained to his interlocutors that bathing and ablutions confer no purity whatever. He showed them that the Savior, Jesus, did not say a word about such practices in his "commandments," that the body, by its nature impure, cannot be cleansed by water. "The purity of which the Scripture [= Jesus] speaks is that purity which comes from knowing how to separate light from darkness, death from life, clear waters from

clouded waters. . . . This is the most righteous purity that you have been commanded to practice" (*CMC* 84–85).

Such remarks aroused murmurs and suspicion in certain quarters; in others, respect and admiration. Some of his supporters considered him a religious leader; others, a prophet; still others, a visionary favored with a secret revelation. His opponents regarded him as the anti-Christ and the false prophet announced by tradition, a fomenter of schisms who deserved to be put to death: "He is the enemy of our Law! He wishes to go among the pagans and eat [Greek] bread. For we have heard him say: It is right to partake of [Greek] bread" (*CMC* 87). Favorable and unfavorable reactions alike drew inspiration from New Testament accounts of the identity of Jesus and the counts of indictment brought against him by the Jews of Palestine.

The disturbances and schisms caused by Mani's zealousness as an antiestablishment preacher forced the community's religious leader, Sitaios, to convene the council of elders, which decided to ask Mani's father to explain the behavior of his son. Patteg listened to his son's accusers and then, declining all responsibility, answered in the fashion of the parents of the man in the gospel who had been born blind (John 9:21): "Summon him yourselves and try to make him see reason!" (*CMC* 90).

When Mani appeared in his turn before the presbyterial assembly, his judges praised first his virtues: "Since your childhood you have been among us and you have tirelessly persevered in the prescriptions and observances of our Law. What has happened to you now, what vision have you had? For you oppose yourself to our Law, you overturn and abolish our religion [*dogma*]. The path you take is different from ours" (*CMC* 90–91). Mani was then accused of rejecting the rites of purification, the commandments of the Savior, the dietary prohibitions against wheat bread and vegetables, and agricultural labor.

Mani's response was, first, to show that in all his words and actions he was only following the example of Jesus, who had blessed bread, eaten with publicans and sinners, shared meals with Martha and Mary, and sent his disciples on missions equipped with neither millstone nor baking dish, only a single article of clothing: "Observe then that the disciples of the Savior ate bread that came from women and idolaters and that they made no distinction between this and that bread, any more than between

this and that vegetable, and in order to eat they did not concern themselves with either laboring with their hands or working the land, as you do today" (*CMC* 93).

Having pointed out the contradiction between the practice of the baptists and the actions of Jesus, Mani went on to say that baptists contradicted their own tradition. His first apothegms illustrated the conduct of Elchasai himself, the founder of the law.

Going out one day to bathe, Elchasai saw in the waters a human figure and heard it moan and say that it had been injured by the daily baths of animals and men. Elchasai went away, and then another day, when he sought to wash his body in a puddle of water, once again the human image appeared to him, saying: "We and the waters of the sea are one. You have come to commit in this very place a sin and to injure us." Elchasai was persuaded by these words and, the text adds, let "the mud dry on his head" (*CMC* 96).

Just as he did not practice ablutions, Elchasai did not devote himself to agricultural labor. One day when he was learning to use a plough to work the land, he heard the earth groan. He then took a clod of the earth that had spoken to him, wept, kissed it, and placed it on his breast, saying: "Here is the flesh and blood of my Lord" (*CMC* 97). On another occasion, when his disciples were cooking bread, Elchasai heard the bread speak to him and then ordered his disciples to cease their cooking.

Even if Mani's diatribe against Elchasaism in the names of Jesus and of Elchasai himself, as related by the *CMC,* was a piece of self-justification composed after the fact from proselytical necessity, it nonetheless gives us a good sense of the tense atmosphere that reigned in the baptist community at the time when Mani claimed to have been visited by his celestial companion.

The Seal of the Prophets

The second appearance of the angel al-Tawm in the idealized biography of Mani marks both a rupture with Elchasaism and the ecclesiastical birth of Manichaeism. Ibn al-Nadim reports the event in these terms in the *Fihrist*: "When he had finished his twenty-fourth year, al-Tawm came to him, saying: 'The time has now come for you to manifest yourself

[*kharaja*] in order to announce your power.'" The Muslim compiler then cites a logion, no doubt extracted by his source from the *Shabuhragan,* in which the angel solemnly proclaims Mani's epiphany and commands him to undertake a mission: "Peace unto you, Mani, from me and from the Lord who sent me to you. He has elected you to his apostolate, and so it is your mission to call [the peoples] to your truth. You shall proclaim the gospel of truth [*bushra al-haqq*] in his name and devote yourself to this task with all your strength." The end of Mani's attachment to the religion of his childhood and the beginning of his apostolate as the founder of a new religion were formulated in the language of visions popularized by the apocalyptic style of the day. Such language provided the sole possible scriptural basis for asserting the authenticity of religious reform during this period.

On the theological content of Mani's apostolate, al-Biruni reports in the *Athar* a logion taken from the first part of the *Shabuhragan*:

> Wisdom [*hikma*] and knowledge [*a'mal* in the manuscript, corrected to read *'ilm*] are what the apostles of God constantly bring in one period after another. Thus [these things] appeared in one of the [past] centuries through the apostle called al-Bidada [Buddha] in the lands of India, and in another through Zaradasht [Zoroaster] in the lands of Persia, and in another through 'Isa [Jesus] in the lands of the West. Then in the present century there came down this revelation and appeared this prophecy through me, Mani, sent by the God of truth in the lands of Babel.

Following the example of the heroes of the apocalypses read in Judeo-Christian circles, Mani presented himself as the executor of a heavenly revelation. He went on to clarify the object of this revelation—namely, his decision to found a new religion—employing the eschatological language of the Gospels: nearness of the end of time, manifestation of this end through the announcement of good news, and election to the apostolate, that is, the gathering into a church of those who are prepared to welcome the good news transmitted by the chosen apostle. On all these points Mani imitated Jesus' consciously messianic decision to travel throughout Palestine, spreading the good news of the imminent coming of the kingdom of God and sending forth twelve disciples in his turn ("He who receives you receives me, and he who receives me receives him who

Figure 1. List of the Prophets or Apostles of Humanity

'Abd al-Jabbar	al-Biruni	al-Shahrastani	Ibn al-Murtada	*M 299a*	*Giants*	Chinese *Compendium*	*M 42*	*Keph. I*	*CMC 48–63*	*Hom. III*	*Ps. 142–3*
Adam		Adam	Adam					Adam	Adam	Adam	Adam
Seth		Seth	Seth	Shem/Sem	Seth			Seth	Seth		Seth
				Enos				Enos	Enos	Enos	Enos
				Enoch				Enoch	Sem	Sem	Noah
Noah		Noah	Noah					Noah	Enoch	Enoch	Sem
								Sem			Enoch
		Abraham									
Zoroaster	Buddha	Buddha	Buddha		Zarathustra	Lao-tzu	Zarathustra	Buddha		Jesus	
Buddha	Zoroaster	Zoroaster	Zoroaster		Buddha	Buddha	Buddha	Zoroaster		Paul	
Jesus	Jesus	the Messiah	Jesus		Christ		Jesus	Jesus		Zoroaster	Jesus
		Paul						Paul	Paul	Buddha	Paul
Mani	Mani		Mani			Mani		Mani	Mani	Mani	Mani
		Muhammad									

sent me" [Matthew 10:40]). The undertakings of Mani and of Jesus were identical: prophetic awareness is inherently missionary.

Nonetheless, the prophetic acts of the two were profoundly different. To distinguish himself from John the Baptist, who announced repentence by a baptism of water, the Jesus of the Gospels preached the good news of a "baptism of fire" through the dispatch of a paraclete, or intercessor: the Holy Ghost. The good news that Mani claimed to have been assigned the mission of spreading (he was the same age as Jesus was, according to the Gospels, when Jesus received his calling) was no longer to announce a hope but to say that this hope was fulfilled—that the hope announced by Jesus had been realized in him, Mani. Indeed, in the *Gospel,* which he composed using the twenty-two letters of the Aramaic alphabet, Mani expressly said (according to al-Biruni in the *Athar*) that "he is the Paraclete announced by Christ and that he is the seal of the prophets."

The doctrine of the seal of prophecy is a fundamental aspect of Judeo-Christianity in the strict sense of the term, and the young Mani was as familiar with it as the young Jesus was familiar with Jewish messianic thought.

But Mani did not take his prophetological doctrine from Elchasaism alone. In fact, if Judeo-Christianized baptism recognized Jesus as the fulfillment of the prophecy and of the salvation heralded by the earliest apostles and sages of humanity, that is, by the heroes of the mythical ethnohistory of the Jews (essentially Adam and the major Sethites, by contrast with the Cainites, makers of tools and sowers of disorder), it thereby restricted its theology of the history of salvation solely to what was contained in the Jewish legends, from Adam to Shem, son of Noah. The profound alteration that Mani made to the received prophetological schema followed from his refusal to interpret it from either the Jewish or Judeo-Christian point of view. On the one hand, he extended this schema to the entire inhabited earth [*oikoumenē*]; on the other, he made it converge upon himself.

The previous table (fig. 1) listing the prophets recorded in the Manichaean literature and in Muslim heresiography needs to be supplemented by a diagram (fig. 2) showing Mani's own position in relation to these prophets at the time of his break with Elchasaism:

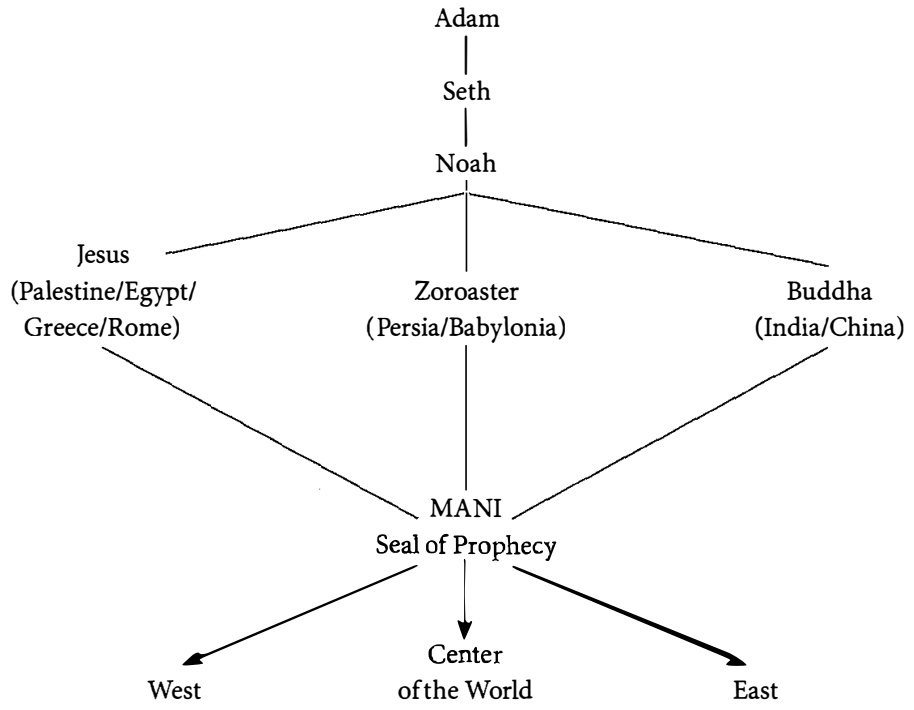


Figure 2.

Mani expressed the spirit of such an arrangement for the first time in the *Shabuhragan,* and later he explicitly referred to it in the *Book of Giants.* If the legendary names transmitted by Genesis go unmentioned in the *Shabuhragan,* this was a tactical omission motivated by the fact that the monarch to whom Mani had dedicated his book was unacquainted with Jewish culture. Moreover, in restricting himself to the founders of the three great world religions, the prophet sought to suggest to the king of Iran that his new reign, devoted to the political domination of the world, coincided *with* and would be facilitated *by* the institution of a universal religion founded by one of Shapur's own subjects, the spiritual heir to Buddha, Zoroaster, and Jesus. This prophetology, carrying with it all the wisdom and knowledge of the world [MP *xrad ud danishn*], that is, of these three sages of the ancient oral tradition, was at the very heart of Mani's doctrine. The originality of Manichaeism is not dualism as a dogmatic construction—this was to be the achievement of his disciples—but the fact that it elaborated an ecclesiology based on a universalist prophetology.

The resolutely anti-Elchasaitic (and therefore anti-Judaic) character of such a prophetology can be seen first in the exclusion of all the representatives of historical Jewish nationalism from its statement of ecclesiastical purpose. The mention of Abraham (as of Muhammad) in the list given by al-Shahrastani [in *Kitab al-Milal*] was plainly due to the Muslim heresiologist himself, influenced as he surely was by the Koranic list of the messengers of God, the title of seal of the prophets being attributed by the Koran to the founder of Islam.

Anti-Elchasaism is also, and especially, apparent in the rejection of ritual and belief as norms of salvation. In the *Shabuhragan* Mani lays down as the criterion of decision in matters of final judgment the same criterion laid down by Jesus (the text of Matthew 25:31–46 is literally and fully adopted in the *Shabuhragan*). Salvation did not depend upon the observance of a particular practice or upon conformity to an orthodoxy—from this was to come the dogmatic malleability of cultural Manichaeism, which in all places was Christian but also just as much, depending on the area, Zoroastrian, Marcionite, Buddhist, or Taoist; the salvation of every person, whether Manichaean or non-Manichaean (Mani was addressing himself, let us not forget, to Shapur), was a consequence of the acts of mercy shown toward the "religious," namely, the faithful of the church: "I was naked and you clothed me. I was sick and you cared for me. I was bound and you untied me. I was captive and you freed me. And I was exiled and wandering and you welcomed me into your homes."

The anti-Elchasaitism (and therefore the anti-Judaism) of Manichaean ecclesiology may be seen finally in the mention, by both Jesus and Mani, of the apostle Paul. This detail is quite obviously absent from the *Shabuhragan,* but the direct Manichaean sources (*Kephalaia, CMC, Homily* III [= *Hom.* 42.9–85.34], Psalm Book), compiled following Mani's death, all mention the name of Paul. It is certain that Mani himself, confronted at the end of his life by the fierce repression ordered by the Mazdean (Zoroastrian) authorities and approved by the imperial court, likened his own fate to that of all the persecuted prophets—Jesus, of course, but also his disciples, in particular Paul and the first Christian martyrs (the Manichaean Psalm Book gives the names of several of these).

It would be a mistake, however, to believe that Mani's Pauline sympathies were belated or in any way secondary. The youthful protago-

nist of the anti-Elchasaite controversies was unable to ignore someone whom his coreligionists especially detested as a destroyer of the law and whose letters and writings they had, for this reason, excluded from their own canon of writings. It is probable, therefore, that Mani became fascinated at a very young age with the personality of a man whose writings (authentic and inauthentic alike, canonical and extra-canonical) recounted at length his sudden conversion on the road to Damascus, the rapture of the third heaven, and the missionary achievements in the West. It was in Paul's school that Mani forged his vocation as a visionary and apostle. As for the five messengers—Adam, Seth, Enosh, Shem, Enoch—whose names precede that of Paul in the list given by Baraies (*CMC* 48–59), they have in common the experience of having been, like Paul, favored with visions, apparitions, and raptures that, as in the case of Paul, were recorded in writings of revelation (apocalypses) associated with their names, one or more extracts from each of which are quoted in the *Homilies*.

In sum, the decisive reasons that made Mani the founder of a new religion are of two kinds:

1. Rejection in the name of Jesus of an unbearable practice, namely, Jewish legalism, which was perpetuated in its own fashion by Elchasaite baptism, and as a consequence of this, rejection of a doctrine narrowly concerned with the strict maintenance of a practice that had become "foreign to the commandments of the Savior."

2. Influence of the Pauline model known through the New Testament and the apocryphal literature associated with his name. With Mani this latter influence led to a thorough reworking of the first Judeo-Christian prophetology in the direction of a radically ecumenical doctrine.

Travels and Missions

Having broken with Elchasaism in the name of Jesus and Paul, Mani became an active apostle after the manner of Paul, apostle of Jesus Christ. No period of transition separated the break from the apostolate. Mani did not first conceive, in the secrecy of some retreat, a grandiose project for a new metaphysics or a new theology; nor did he seek to found a new religion by first drafting statutes. When he broke with the baptists

of Babylonia, he set out at once on the roads and the seas, for his religion propelled him forward.

Yet there are differences between the apostolates of Paul and Mani. On the one hand, there were differences of substance: Paul preached the message of a dead and living Christ, that is, Jesus as he was worshiped by the first Christian community of Jerusalem; Mani, however, preached the message of Mani, for as prophet and seal of the prophets, he identified himself with the Paraclete, or Holy Ghost, which constituted the faith and hope of the Jesus of the Gospels. On the other hand, there were differences of environment as well: Paul of Tarsus, a Jew of Greek culture and Roman citizenship, journeyed to the West and in his earliest missions made a point of introducing himself, at each town along the way, to the Jews of the local diaspora before going to meet the local Greeks; Mani, a Babylonian of Judeo-Christian culture and Iranian citizenship, set out to the East in search of the Iranian world, seeking to establish himself in the Judeo-Christian communities scattered between the Caucasus and India.

Mani, a man from the country, discovered the cities and the great commercial thoroughfares of the land. Departing from Seleucia-Ctesiphon, where he was unable to cross the Tigris on account of rising waters, Mani took refuge together with two companions at Nasēr (Nasir), near Sippar. In this, the place where he founded his religion, he announced to his father that the law of the baptists was no longer his law. The small group then crossed the river and made their way northwest toward the mountains of Media, passing through Diyala. From there they reached the mining country of Ganazak (Ganzak), south of Lake Urmiya in Azerbaijan. There Mani healed the daughter of a wealthy man and conceived the institutional embryo of his church in the form of messengers [*presbeutai* and *apostoloi*], whom he succeeded in sending into the Caucasus (Armenia and Georgia). In the centuries that followed, the official historiography of these two regions' conversion to Christianity took over from local Manichaean propaganda its characteristic themes and accounts: royal conversions obtained during a hunting expedition, healings of members of the royal family, controversies with the pagans.

As for Mani himself, he traveled onward with his father along the commercial route over which Azerbaijani tin was carried, going from Ganazak,

where this mineral was extracted and refined, as far as Pharat, the port of Mesene on the Persian Gulf, whence Arab merchants carried it to "India," that is, Deb (Daybul), in the estuary of the Indus River.

This itinerary was said to be the one that had been taken about two centuries previously by the apostle Thomas. Small Christian communities had been established along this route, up to and beyond the Strait of Hormuz. According to legend, Thomas had been reluctant at first to undertake the mission ordered by Jesus: "How can I, who am Jewish, go among the Indians?" Mani, who knew the marvelous tales surrounding the voyages of Thomas, desired of his own free will and for his own reasons to follow the route taken by his illustrious predecessor. It was, therefore, members of these Christian communities, scattered between Fars and Turan and claiming to follow the teaching of Thomas, whom Mani met in the course of his first missionary voyage. Making contact with these communities, not the study of Buddhism, was the object and purpose of this voyage.

Just as the Acts of Thomas credited Thomas with great success among the local princes and chieftains, Manichaean hagiography was to contrive an analogous missiology for Mani. A Parthian fragment (M 48) recounts Mani's success in converting the Buddhist king of Turan. Having publicly performed a feat of levitation, which led the king to acknowledge the true wisdom, Mani revealed his missionary purpose: "When the Turanshah and the notables [*azadan*] heard this, they rejoiced. They accepted the faith and showed themselves favorable to the apostle of the religion." A few members of the family and of the royal court converted in their turn. At the sight of Mani rising again into the air to take leave of him, the king fell on his knees, but Mani called to him. The Turanshah then went to meet him in the air and kissed Mani, declaring to him: "You are the Buddha!"

The brief duration of this Indian mission, at most two years, excludes any possibility of proselytism or integration in Buddhist circles. If it could hardly have led to the spectacular conversions attributed to him by Manichaean legend, it nonetheless enjoyed a certain success in Christian circles since, according to another Parthian fragment (M 4575^{r}), on his return to Rew-Ardaxshir Mani sent his father, Patteg, one of his first converts, and his brother John (Hanni) to look after the community he had just founded there.

On the dating of this first mission and the activity that followed, the essential details come from the Coptic *Kephalaia* (1:15–16):

> In the last years of Artaxoos [Artashir] the king I set out to preach, I reached by sea [*jiore*] the country of the Indians, I preached to them the hope of life, I elected [*sotp*] in this place a good election [= community, church]. Yet in the year when Artaxoos the king died and Sapores [Shapur] his son became king, I went back by sea from the country of the Indians to the land of the Persians, and again from the land of Persis I reached the land of Babylon, Mesene, and the region of Susa. I presented myself to Sapores the king. He received me with great honor and gave me permission to travel through his territories and to preach there the word of life. I spent some years in the royal retinue [*komitaton*], some years in Persis, in the country of the Parthians, [and] as far [north] as Adiabene and the borderlands of the kingdom of the Romans.

Kephalaia 76, on the voyages of Mani, describes the circumstances of his meeting with Shapur I and gives a summary account of the missions directed by Mani:

> Further, it happened one day, while our master and luminous enlightener Mani was living in the city of Ctesiphon, that Sapores the king inquired after him and summoned him to come. Our master set out and went to Sapores the king, then came back and went to his church. When he had been there for not quite an hour, without delaying any longer Sapores the king inquired after him again, summoned him to come, and [our master] set out again; once again he went to Sapores the king, spoke with him, proclaimed the word of God to him, and then returned and went to his church. Yet a third time Sapores the king inquired after him and bade him to come, and [our master] returned to the king once more. . . . [Then Mani himself declared:] At the moment when I sailed upon the sea by boat . . . I stirred the whole land of the Indians [period of success followed by setbacks due to opposition from the political authorities]; I took to the sea once more. I left the land of the Indians and reached the land of Persis. . . . [success, then setbacks]; I came out from the land of Persis and reached the city of Mesene, which . . . [there is a gap in the text here; success once again followed by reverses]; from this place I came to the land of Babylon, the city of the Assyrians. . . . [success followed by setbacks due mainly to the authorities of the "dogmata," that is, the Zo-

roastrian and Christian clergies]. This country waged against me a host of struggles. This is why I quit the Assyrians and went into the land of the Medes and Parthians. In this place I played the harp of wisdom.

Comparing these two texts with what is known from other sources, a few observations can be made. It was very probably at the beginning of A.D. 243 that the Indian mission came to an end in Turan. There as everywhere else Mani knew success as well as reverses but nonetheless managed to establish a community ("elect an election") at Deb. The Parthian fragment (M 4575^{r}) and *Keph.* 1 agree on this point. Mani came back from Turan by sea following the same route he took in setting out. On his return he settled at Rew-Ardaxshir in the province of Persis (Fars).

From there he made many voyages through Persis, crisscrossing Susiana, Mesene, Babylonia, and the "Cities" (Seleucia-Ctesiphon). In all these places he entered into controversies with his former baptist coreligionists. His new recruits, Ammo, Adda, and Sis, were educated Aramaeans and polyglot city dwellers. They were to become his closest collaborators. Once he had established contacts with Iranian and Zoroastrian dignitaries and with the royal princes and provincial governors in their lands, the Prophet did not record spectacular conversions, as later Manichaean historiography recounts, but formed instead relationships based upon trust. One such relationship was with Peroz, a "brother" of the king, through whom Mani obtained an audience at the palace and, in 253, a guarantee of safe passage for him and his disciples. The meeting with the king of kings was interpreted by the Manichaeans, wrongly, as constituting official recognition of their religion: one such tradition, recorded by Ibn al-Nadim, describes the entry of the prophet into the reception hall as that of a radiant Buddha ("there were on his shoulders two lights like lamps").

Having now settled on the west bank of the Tigris at Veh-Ardaxshir, a part of Ctesiphon, Mani composed for the king a summary of the principles of his religion (the *Shabuhragan*), drew up the definitive statutes of his church, and organized the missions of his disciples "to the four regions of the world." To the West—that is, to Palmyra and Egypt, the first stages on the road to Rome—he sent Adda and Patteg; to the Northeast (Parthia and Khurasan) he sent Ammo, who was to reach Abarshahr (Nishapur), Merv, and the territory of the Kushans. Other missions must have been

dispatched at this time, accounts of which have not come down to us: into northeast Arabia (Hatta) but also to the caravan settlements of the Southwest as far as the end of the Arabian Peninsula.

Mani himself assumed responsibility for the Northwest. He went first into Bet(h)-Garmai and Adiabene, where he gave encouragement to the already existing community founded by Adda and Abzakhuya (Abzaxya) the Persian at Karnuk, and with other brethren he established several new communities in the region of Mosul, then going on to Bet(h)-ʿArabaye and Tur ʿAbdin, that is (in the words of *Keph.* 1), "to the borderlands of the kingdom of the Romans." From 264 to 270 Mani found himself in the very heart of Syriac Christianity.

By 270 Mani's religion was established throughout Iran; outside this country the network of missions extended, as Mani says in *Keph.* 1, "from East to West," and he adds, "My hope [*elpis*—a synonym for church] has reached as far as the sunrise of the world and in all parts of the inhabited lands, to the clime of the North and to the South. Not one of the apostles [who preceded me] did ever achieve such a thing." By virtue of this, Mani—who in *Keph.* 76 declares that he had traveled throughout the world "running" (literally, on the tips of his toes)—may be considered to have succeeded in thirty years of peregrinations in carrying out to the letter Jesus's command: "Go to the four regions [*klimata*] of the world."

The missiology of the four *klimata,* which formed the conclusion to the collections of evangelical pericopes and the basis for the apocryphal traditions of the apostles from which Mani derived it, is the ecclesiastical and practical side of Manichaean prophetology—the very heart of Manichaeism as Mani conceived it, formulated it, and experienced it. In a fragment in Pahlavi (M 5794), Mani laid out a series of ten reasons the religion that he had "elected" [*wizidan*] was superior, and to be preferred, to all the ones that had come before. The first of these reasons, which Mani continually emphasized to his disciples, is of cardinal importance: "The preceding religions were [spread in] a single land and a single language. But my religion is such that it is manifest [*paydag*] in every land and in every language and is taught in distant lands."

This is not an isolated text. A passage in the Coptic *Kephalaia* (154)

admirably summarizes Mani's ecclesiastical and missionary purpose in similar terms:

> He [Jesus] who elected his church in the West, his church has not reached the East. He [Buddha] who elected his church in the East, his election [*eklogē*] has not come to the West. My hope is to administer [my church] in such a way that it reaches the West and that it may be carried at the same time to the East. And the voice of its preaching will be heard in every language, and it will be announced in every city. My church is superior, in this primary respect, to preceding churches, for the preceding churches were elected only for particular places and particular cities. I administer my church in such a way that it comes to all cities and that its good news reaches all countries.

The Last Years

When Shapur I died (ca. 272–73), Mani made the Sassanid capital the fief of his religion and established a network of communities not only in the cities of the empire but in its most remote regions. In principle, Iran might wake up one morning to find itself Manichaean if the king of kings should so decide. But this did not in fact come to pass, for Ardashir's son and son-in-law had remained Zoroastrian, which is to say that they maintained the state religion under the control of the priests of fire.

Mani, like all religious leaders, recognized that the success of a mission and the future of a church depend on political will. With the accession of Hormizd (Ohrmizd) I to the throne of his father, Shapur, he hastened to make his way to the capital.

It is unlikely that Mani waited for events to develop. Almost certainly he devoted himself at once to intrigues at court, and this all the more easily as he was close to members of the royal family and palace officials. Initially he would have been reassured of the new king's good intentions toward him, Hormizd having pledged to continue his father's policy of tolerance. But Hormizd's reign suddenly came to an end after only a few months (late in 273?), without the decisive change of status Mani sought for his religion being approved in the interval.

The status quo was maintained during the first months of the reign of

Hormizd's brother and successor, Bahram (Vahram) I, whom A. Christensen has depicted as "greedy for power and irresolute." Little by little Bahram let real power pass into the hands of the official clergy, in particular, one of its leading figures, a Zoroastrian prelate named Karder (also Kirdir or Karter).

Karder had not awaited Bahram's reign in order to judge Mani the man and his work. Priest and teacher of the Zoroastrian religion in the *comitatus* (court) of Shapur I, Karder would have been in an ideal position to assist the birth and expansion of this new religion, which claimed to bring together under its banner Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus. Surely it must very quickly have aroused his suspicions, as the head priest of fire [*herbed*] in the Persis region, to see Mani wooing the king, successfully rallying to his cause some of the royal princes and provincial governors, and infiltrating the imperial administration—in short, scheming with the evident purpose of one day supplanting the traditional religion and becoming the sole minister of an official cult having no rivals that had come, in the final analysis, from abroad.

Karder's inscription, found on "Ka'ba-i Zardusht" at Naqsh-i Rustam, near the site of ancient Persepolis, expressly notes that he was promoted (or rather promoted himself) from *herbed* to *mobed*, that is, to a position at the summit of the Zoroastrian hierarchy, which under the reigns of Ardashir's grandsons laid claim to the status of orthodoxy. Karder mentioned, among his many self-professed services to religion, the following:

> I caused many fires [= fire temples] and magi to prosper in the country of Iran; and likewise, in the lands of Aniran, I [caused to prosper] the fires and magi who were in the lands of Aniran, whither came horses and men of the king of kings: [from] the city of Antioch, and the country of Syria and what is beyond Syria, the city of Tarsus and the country of Cilicia, and what is beyond the country of Cilicia, and beyond Cappadocia, toward the country of Galatia and the country of Armenia, Iberia [= modern Georgia], Albania, and Balasakan, as far as the border of Albania—Shapur, king of kings, by his horses and his men, pillaged, burned, and wrought devastation, even there, I myself, on the order of the king of kings, I organized the fires and magi who were in these countries. I forbade looting, and the booty that had been seized I restored to these countries. The magi

> who were good I gave rank and authority in the country. As for heretical or degenerate men in the body of the magi who led an unsuitable life, I made them submit to punishment and reprimand. They mended their ways and I drew up charters and patents for many fires and magi. Thanks to the support of the gods and of the king of kings, I founded in Iranshahr many fires, and I made many marriages between blood relations; many men who did not profess [the faith] professed it, and many of those who held the doctrine of the demons, thanks to my action, abandoned the doctrine of the demons, and adopted the doctrine of the gods. [After the translation by J. de Menasce]

Accompanying Shapur to the borderlands of the empire and beyond, Karder reestablished Zoroastrian orthodoxy and strict law in all the areas pacified by the soldiers. In the same places, during the same period, in the same circumstances, in the same royal entourage, Mani too had occasion to profit from pacification in order to preach his "hope" and to establish his own institutions. The Sassanid conquest seems, then, to have been followed by a dual mission in opposite directions: on the one hand, a centripetal movement—Karder's reform—aimed at shoring up an orthodoxy that could only decay and crumble under the influence of foreign contact; and on the other, the centrifugal force of a "heresy"—Mani's prophetology—that could only be strengthened by foreign contact. In the ideological combat in which the two visionaries engaged during Shapur's time, it was Karder who gradually achieved control of political power. Under the reign of Bahram I, this control seemed very nearly total.

Mani's only alternative at this point was to quit the stage where the policy of the great actors of the Iranian world was destined to play itself out without him and against him. He knew now that he had lost in a merciless game and, moreover, that his life was lost. It is in the context of this painful period that the pessimistic and dualistic radicalization of Manichaean lyric poetry and homiletics ought, in my view, to be situated, as well as the composition of Mani's own version of the *Book of Giants*. In this narrative, behind the veil of the language of a biblical tale popularized by the most celebrated of the apocalypses (*Enoch*), he recounted the misdeeds of tyrants [*kawan*] and prophesied their decline and fall.

Mani's last travels were to bring him back to the places of his child-

hood, his youth, and the birth of his church. Thus he visited first the communities of Babylonia and welcomed back from their missions the brethren of his faith, giving them letters, documents, and instructions. By small stages he reached Hormizd-Ardaxshir (Suq al-Ahwaz), in the province of Susiana (Khuzistan), with the intention (the testimony of the Coptic *Homilies* is definite on this point) of undertaking a long voyage to Khurasan. This would have brought him to the Kushan territory, where Ammo had gone previously as a scout and whose many Manichaean institutions had made a fief of the faith. But his plan could not be carried out. Mani was stopped by the imperial police and forbidden from going farther. He returned to Mesene and traveled upriver by boat to Ctesiphon.

He went on to Kholassar (Artemita), halfway between Baghdad and Dastagerd, about fifty-five miles from Seleucia. A minor prince of Kholassar by the name of Bat was one of his recent converts. It was there that the order reached Mani to go to Beth-Lapat (also Belapat or Gundeshabuhr) in Susiana to appear before the king. W. B. Henning plausibly sees the conversion of Bat, one of Bahram's vassals, as the direct cause of the king's anger and of the decision to summon Mani.

Bat accompanied Mani at least until Gaukhai (also Jukhi or Jukha), home to an important Manichaean community, in Beth-Deraye. A local popular tradition, recorded by Ibn al-Nadim, later made Gaukhai the prophet's birthplace, no doubt in memory of his farewell visit made there.

Mani arrived finally at Beth-Lapat in the company of his dragoman Nuhzadag (bar-Nuh), Abzakhuya (Abzaxya) the Persian, and Kustai. The police led the group at once to the royal residence. Warned of Mani's arrival, Karder in his turn informed the king's aide-de-camp, who warned Bahram, now dining on his return from a hunting party: "Mani is here; he waits at the door." Bahram had him instruct Mani to wait a moment. Mani returned to the guardhouse at the entrance to the building. Having finished his meal, Bahram got up from the table and, arm in arm with the queen of Sakas and Karder, joined Mani. A dialogue ensued:

BAHRAM: You are not welcome!
MANI: What wrong have I done?

BAHRAM [evasively]: I swore not to let you enter this land. [Then, in a flood of words (as the Coptic *Homilies* say), his face twisted with anger and contempt, he continued:] Ah, what are you good for? You are neither a soldier nor a hunter. Perhaps you are needed to administer drugs and medicines? But you are not capable even of that!

MANI: I have done nothing wrong. I have always acted well toward you and your family. Many are your servants whom I have delivered from demons and bewitchments; many are those whom I have healed of sickness; many are those from whom I have dispelled all sorts of fever; many are those who were dying and whom I restored to health!

BAHRAM [going straight to the point]: It is now three whole years that you have walked with Bat! What is this religion [*nomos*] that you have taught him, that he should end up abandoning our [priests] [= the Zoroastrian clergy] and follow yours? How do you explain that? Why did you not go with him where I had ordered you to go?

The king's true motives are to be found in this exchange. For Bahram and his minister of worship, Bat's conversion was intolerable. Furthermore, Mani had not complied with the sentence of house arrest, which must have been communicated to him on his return from Hormizd-Ardaxshir to Ctesiphon, probably somewhere near the capital.

At this point no possible means of escape were left to Mani, and it is very doubtful that a debate on theological issues ensued, as the account of the interview given in the Coptic *Homilies* (*Hom.* 42.9–50.17) would have one believe.

Mani, no longer having anything to lose, then remarked that Bahram's attitude stood in contradiction to that of his father, Shapur, who had shown himself attentive to Mani's every need and gave written evidence of his respect for him. Proof to hand, Mani read a letter that Shapur had addressed to him. This was too much! Mani was put in irons at once. Fettered with more than one hundred pounds of chains—one chain around his neck, three around his ankles, and three more around his wrists—he had just enough strength to receive his disciples and confide to them a final message. Exhausted after a few days of detention, he died.

The canonical month of Mani's passion ("crucifixion"), recorded in the Coptic *Homilies*, is a sanctification of the period of punishment invented by tradition (four days of trial plus twenty-six of detention), not a reli-

able historical chronology. Moreover, it is difficult to know what became of Mani's corpse. Was it dismembered? Flayed? Stuffed with straw and publicly displayed? Torn apart by wild beasts? Decapitated and the head stuck atop one of the gates to the city? Cut in two and then nailed to both gates? All these details may be found in Manichaean hagiography, which mixes together all known facts and hearsay concerning the great martyr. Al-Biruni, ordinarily so forthcoming in the matter of dates and calendars, is mute with regard to the date of Mani's death, embarrassed perhaps by the silence or disagreement of his sources. The references to months, days, and hours contained in the documents that have come down to us from central Asia constitute no more than a calendar for liturgical use. The year of Mani's death remains a disputed question. A Uighur Manichaean chronology, based on the Sino-Turkic Calendar of the Twelve Animals, fixes "the departure of the Buddha Mani for his celestial place" in the year of the pig, that is, 274 of the Christian era. Theoretically possible later dates (276 or 277) can be obtained by attempting to reconcile local or international calendars with Manichaean conventions for designating feast days. Mani was in any case about sixty years old when he died.

CHAPTER 2

The Books

What Mani Read

As a consequence of the religious training customarily undergone by someone of his social background, Mani had access at a very early age to the New Testament writings—the four Gospels and the Epistles of Paul—through an eastern Aramaic translation. He also knew the four Gospels in a diatessarial, or harmonized, form. Gospel fragments cited in Latin by the African doctors of the Manichaean Church during their exegetical jousts with Augustine, as well as fragments of Jesus' parabolic narratives found at Turfan, show that a harmonized form of the Gospels was also used by disciples at the two extremities of Manichaeism's geographical expanse. Analysis of these fragments reveals that this harmony did not derive from Tatian's *Diatessaron* and, moreover, that it existed in several versions.

Owing to his Elchasaitic background, Mani had also become familiar with the writings that were read in the baptist community, not only the book of revelations that had been confided to Elchasai, but also, as he grew older, the various books of revelations and visions ascribed to the authority of the first messengers of God that were then very much in vogue in Judeo-Christian circles (the Apocalypses of Adam, Seth, Enoch, and Noah).

Mani's fascination with missionary adventure was also due to prolonged exposure to the novelistic accounts, filled in their turn with visions, voyages, and dramas, that the Aramaean Christians had built up around their favorite apostles: the apocryphal Acts of John, Peter, Paul, Andrew, and Thomas. The fate of this last apostle made a particular impression upon the young Mani for at least three reasons. First, tradition

had made Thomas, as his very name would have had it, the "twin" [*tawm*] of Jesus; second, it was to this Thomas, his twin, that Jesus had communicated his secret words (Gospel of Thomas); and it was to Thomas, finally, that Jesus had entrusted the mission of going farthest to the East, as far as India, to convert the kings and their peoples (Acts of Thomas). The legend of Thomas may be said to have determined Mani's career; indeed, the vocation of the latter appears to have been the direct product of the belief of eastern Christianity in the exceptional destiny of the former—so much so that understanding Mani depends in large part on examining the traditions associated with the literary fiction of the apostle Thomas.

Having founded his own religion, Mani read and assimilated (as the contents of the *Book of Mysteries* testify) the philosophical treatises and collections of the sacred poems and songs of Bardesanes. It seems unlikely that he himself knew the quite recent revelations written in Greek and ascribed by the "Hellenized magi" to the Chaldean prophets: the Apocalypses of Nicotheos, Zoroaster, Zostrianos, Allogenes, and Messos. On the other hand, we know that he used the Apocalypse of Hystaspes to write the second section of his *Mysteries*. To all these writings it is necessary to add other minor writings attributed to some person or other in the Old or New Testament (cycles of legends, prayers, hymnic evocations), as well as brief but literarily autonomous pieces (catilenas, laments, and canticles from the Christian communities of Iran).

Mani seems almost surely not to have known (or to have sought to know) the text of the Jewish Bible, not even through its Targumic interpretation. What was Jewish not only did not interest him; it was a source of profound personal irritation as well. He abhorred the Pentateuch since it continued to guide his baptist brethren, who therefore remained subjugated by Jewish law—while professing to be Christians! It was the growing awareness of this contradiction that led to his rupture with Elchasaism. The only sections of the Jewish Bible that he thought worthy of notice, the first chapters of Genesis, he knew through the apocryphal traditions.

From books Mani learned to revere the knowledge that they contained, and he passed along his love of fine books to his disciples. A painter of great distinction (his name in the culture of Islamic Iran has come to symbolize beauty of the most refined kind), Mani was recognized as a master in the art of drawing letters, to which he brought the same pre-

cision and employed the same harmony as painters do in ordering the intricate interplay of lines and colors. It is too often forgotten that Manichaeism was also an aesthetic, and its founder, an artist.

From books of revelation written in cursive eastern Aramaic script Mani learned to use his mother tongue and to make of it a tool perfectly suited to the transmission of his doctrine. But in order for his own works, written in Syriac, to be accessible to an Iranian-speaking audience, they had to be translated. No Iranian idiom—neither Pahlavi, the language of the southwest, derived from Old Persian, nor Parthian, the language of the northeast, derived from Median—was sufficient to the task: on the one hand, because in each case the written language was far removed from the spoken language, on account of the very small number of signs employed (thirteen), which led to great confusion and ambiguity in the interpretation of manuscripts and the copying of texts; on the other hand, because the constant presence in Iranian texts of deformed Aramaic words for the most common notions (the so-called ideographic system) transformed the simplest text into a veritable rebus. Mani therefore undertook a drastic reform of idiomatic Iranian writing, first, by substituting the eastern Syriac alphabet (twenty-two letters with semivowels) for Pahlavi script; second, by abandoning the system of ideograms and, with it, the archaicizing bias of official copyists. In short, he sought to enable the living language to overtake the hieratic, so that Iranian would be written as it was pronounced. The instrument that resulted from this reform—customarily called the "Manichaean alphabet"—was so practical and so clear that it not only became an indispensable tool of Manichaean missions throughout the Iranian domain but was also adopted by non-Manichaeans (Sogdians and Turks) to transcribe and translate the Indian and Buddhist scriptures.

For the same reason as well, Mani occupies a central place in Iranian culture and, more generally, in the history of writing. In casting his prophecy in a modern and clearly written language, he resolutely turned his back on the custodians of linguistic hieraticism who served the state religion (archaicizing language being the sign of outmoded religious practice) and prepared the way for the adoption of the Arab script in Iran following the advent of Islam. The prophecies of Mani and Muhammad each constituted a religion of the book. Such a religion, in order to give voice to God, must possess clarity of language and writing.

The Works of Mani

The works of Mani are nine in number: *Shabuhragan,* the *Gospel,* the *Treasure, Mysteries, Legends, Image, Giants, Letters,* and *Psalms and Prayers.*

⊙ ⊙ *Shabuhragan*

The earliest of Mani's works is a text composed directly in Pahlavi and dedicated to Shapur I. Substantial pieces of the original work have survived thanks to the manuscripts found at Turfan and have been rearranged (with the addition of a good number of new pieces), transliterated, translated, and annotated by D. N. MacKenzie ("Mani's Šābuhragā," I and II, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 42 [1979]: 500–534; 43 [1980]: 288–310).

In writing the *Shabuhragan* Mani's purpose was to formulate some of the fundamental intuitions of the new religion and to help his royal dedicatee understand its main aspects. These intuitions, or cosmic insights, belong to two domains that jointly define the plan of the work: prophetology and apocalypticism.

The prophetology, with which the book opens and of which al-Biruni preserved an essential fragment, affirmed the continuity of the proclamation of "wisdom and knowledge" from Adam to Mani. Coming at the end of this succession, Mani proclaimed himself "seal of the prophets," that is, the one who, in being historically and absolutely the last one, put an end to history and prepared the advent of a new aeon.

The theology of the "seal of the prophet" led directly to the description of a metahistory whose literary form was at this time apocalyptic. To construct the scenario of his eschatological hope, Mani once more drew abundantly, and especially, on New Testament writings (synoptic pericopes on the end of the world and judgment and Pauline accounts of the Parousia, that is, anticipation of the Second Coming of the Son of Man), as well as on a more specialized literature, chiefly the *Enoch* writings.

After a brief reminder of the two principles considered from a cosmological point of view (here one finds the fragment from ʿAbd al-Jabbar [in *al-Mughni*] copied by al-Shahrastani [in *al-Milal*]), Mani comes right away to his apocalyptical purpose. The portents of the end of time are described

in the colors of a "great war," an era of conflicts and upheavals in empires, religions, and the stars. These premonitory symptoms open the way to the messianic era marked by the Second Coming of the Son of Man, here called Xradeshahryazd ("God of the World of Wisdom"), namely, Jesus the Splendor, who attends to the judgment of the good (followers of the true religion) and the wicked (enemies of religion). To describe this judgment, Mani reproduces word for word the whole text from the Gospel according to Matthew relating to the last judgment (25:31–46). The separation of antinomic worlds that follows this judgment marks a return to beginnings, just as the entry into the last age of Xradeshahryazd, under the aegis of the prophet who had brought the chain of the prophets to its end, marked a return to the first prophecy sealed in the Adamic revelation and to a state of paradise. With this return commences the apocatastasis [MP *frashegird*] inaugurated by the appearance of Mihryazd, the Living Spirit, descending to earth from the chariot of the sun. Mihryazd then unleashes the great cataclysmic fire of the worlds and so causes the particles of light trapped on earth to be reassembled in heaven and the elect to reign in a renewed celestial realm, the new paradise [*wahisht i nog*].

The opening section of the *Shabuhragan* (prophetology) served as a theoretical framework for the author of *Keph.* 1, entitled "On the Coming of the Apostle"; the final section (apocalypticism) was commented on by Kustai in "The Sermon of the Great War" (*Hom.* 7.8–42.8).

⊙ ⊙ The *Gospel*

Placed at the head of the corpus by Mani's immediate successors, the *Gospel* (whose complete title was *The Living Gospel,* and which Manichaean tradition nicknamed "The Great Living Gospel" and also "The Gospel of the Very Holy Hope") was written by Mani in Syriac and divided by him into twenty-two sections, corresponding to the twenty-two letters of the Aramaic alphabet, from *alef* to *taw* (the Coptic *Homilies* say from *alpha* to *omega,* using the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet).

Three fragments of this *Gospel* are conserved in the *CMC.* The first, a preamble, is found on page 66 (4–68, 5): "I, Mani, apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God the Father of Truth. . . ." In the second, on page 68 (6–69, 8), Mani declares that his mission consists in revealing to the world—that is, declaring before the false religions and pagan nations—the secrets

[*aporreta*] that were confided to him by means of revelations. In the third, these revelations are said to have taken place at the moment when Mani was still an adherent of the law, that is, a baptist, and received the visit of the angel, his "twin."

According to the succinct but invaluable summary of the *Gospel* supplied by al-Biruni (who possessed a copy in his library) in *al-Athar,* Mani professed that he was "the paraclete heralded by Christ and the seal of the prophets." It is highly probable that in this work the founder expanded upon the claims of the opening pages of the *Shabuhragan* through the systematic use of scriptural argument, that is, with the aid of an exegetical demonstration based on glossed citations drawn from the Synoptic Gospels, the Gospel of John, and the Pauline Epistles. Just as the New Testament had reinterpreted the ancient prophecies of the Jewish Bible in terms of Jesus, so Mani in his *Gospel* reinterpreted the New Testament in terms of himself. It is therefore with good reason that the Coptic Psalm Book, in placing it at the head of the Manichaean canon, nicknamed this *Gospel* the "king" of Mani's writings, his "New Testament," since the founder developed in it the biblical and prophetological foundations of his ecclesiastical mission. In the first fragment he says:

> Truth I showed to my traveling companions, peace I announced to the children of peace, hope I proclaimed to the immortal generation, election I elected, and the way that leads to the top I showed to those who go to the top, and this revelation I revealed, and this immortal gospel I put in writing in order to deposit in it these sublime mysteries [*orgia*] and to reveal in it three great works [*erga*].

This *Gospel* was the book that Manichaean missionaries carried with them on their travels. During Mani's lifetime it had already been translated into all the languages spoken by the communities established by the founder—Greek, of course (the text of the fragments in the *CMC*), but also Middle Persian (M 17 and 733) and Parthian, from which the Sogdian version (M 172) derives. A good number of Turfan fragments relating to Manichaean prophetology and the exegesis of the New Testament parables ought, in my opinion, to be reattached to the *Gospel,* as has been done in the case of the *Synaxeis* (Dublin, Codex B).

⊙ ⊙ The *Treasure*

Composed in Syriac and known formally either as *The Treasure of the Living* [Syr *Simath hayye*] or *The Treasure of Life* [Copt *pthesauros mponh*], the "treasure" of the title is a word drawn from biblical wisdom vocabulary. The Arabs referred to this work as *The Treasure of the Vivification* [*Kanz al-ihya*]. Three fragments have come down to us indirectly through later authors. They are to be read in the following order:

Fragment *a*: al-Biruni, *Tahqiq*. The armies [*al-junud*—a Hebraicism designating the legions of angels] differ with regard not to beauty or sex (*a1*) but to the function assigned to them by the Third Messenger (Ambassador) (*a2*). The two parts of this fragment are linked by a brief scholium by al-Biruni.

Fragment *b*: Augustine, *De natura boni contra Manichaeos*, 44 (cited by Evodius, *De fide contra Manichaeos*, 14–16). The Third Messenger, who oversees the course of divine energies in the world from on high, is responsible for exploiting the "deadly unclean lust" congenital to hostile bodies in the heavens in order to cause them to release the living elements they contain. These elements then rise up and become reintegrated with the luminous powers, or particles of light, the unrecoverable residue falling back to earth and becoming mixed with the vegetable world.

Fragment *c*: Augustine, *Contra felicem Manichaeum*, II, 5 (cited by Evodius, *De fide contra Manichaeos*, 5). If the residual elements of the demons [*spiritus*] penetrate men, it is owing to the negligence of men. From this Augustine rightly drew the conclusion that Mani did not deny free will.

These three fragments, which form a unity, are part of a single passage, no doubt in Book VII, which Augustine explicitly mentions in introducing fragment *b*. The expression "in book II of the *Treasure*," which introduces the quotation from fragment *c* in Evodius alone, refers to the

place of the work in the Manichaean canon and must not be understood as referring to an internal division of the work itself.

Three accounts of the *Treasure* [Lat *Thesaurus*] are known; that is, three sources refer to parts of this work. In it, according to the Coptic *Kephalaia* (91, p. 230), Mani speaks of the "good pearl." Al-Mas'udi indicates in *al-Tanbih wa-l-ishraf* that Mani discusses the Marcionites. The *Ta'riq* of al-Ya'qubi records that, in seeking to explain the origin of moral evil, Mani represents it as the consequence of conflicts inherent in the world of celestial powers, conflicts not totally eliminated by the intervention of the messenger heralded by Elijah.

This much suggests that the *Treasure* was the first systematic exposition of Manichaean theology, composed as a defensive apology. Supplementing the conception of the church as the spiritual body of the prophet, developed in the *Gospel,* is the view of it in the *Treasure* as consubstantial with the angelic church.

⊙ ⊙ The *Mysteries*

The plan of the *Mysteries* [Syr *raze*], also known as *The Book of Mysteries* [Gr *Ta tōn mustērion,* Copt *Pjōme nmmusterion,* Ar *Sifr al-asrar*], is known from a note by Ibn al-Nadim in *al-Fihrist* that provides the names of the eighteen sections or chapters [*abwab*] of the work:

1. "An Account of the Daysanites": This is an attack on the theories of Bardesanes (Bardaisan), poet and "philosopher of the Aramaeans," who died in 222 and whose disciples were settled not only in the Christian communities of Osrhoene and Tur 'Abdin but also in Babylonia. Ephraem Syrus indicates that Bardesanes had also composed a book of mysteries. This would explain the title chosen by Mani, having wished in this way to oppose to Bardesanes' *De mysteriis* his own *De mysteriis.*

2. "Testimony of Hystaspes Regarding the Beloved": It may be supposed that in this chapter Mani gave an account drawn from a text of revelation ascribed to Hystaspes (Ar Ystasf, also Vishtaspa), the mythical king converted by Zoroaster, and applied it to one of the figures in his own pantheon, probably Jesus.

3. "Account [. . .] Regarding His Soul [= about Mani himself] as Given to Jacob": The text prefaced by this title is not established. The exegetical method used seems to have been the same as in the preceding chapter,

incorporating a piece of pseudepigraphal speculation (the Prayer of Joseph) related to the angel Jacob in support of an aspect of Mani's own mythology.

4. "The Son of the Widow": The title calls to mind the son of the widow of Zarephath brought back to life by the prophet Elijah (see 1 Kings 17:8–24 and Luke 4:25–26). But the gloss of Ibn al-Nadim is categorical: "For Mani it was the crucified Messiah whom the Jews crucified." The title is therefore to be taken analogically: Jesus, son of Mary, widow of Joseph.

5. "Account of Jesus Regarding His Soul [= about himself] as Given to Judas": In view of the preamble to the *Gospel of Thomas* ("These are the secret words which the living Jesus spoke and which Didymos Judas Thomas wrote down"), it might be supposed that Mani's purpose in this section was to comment on the words [*logia*] of Jesus transmitted as part of a tradition ascribed to Judas Thomas and adopted by the *Gospel of Thomas*.

6. "Beginning of the Testimony of the Just [Man] after His Triumph": This is perhaps an exegesis of a fragment of the *Apocalypse of Enoch*. Enoch was known as the Just [*al-Yamin*].

7. "The Seven Spirits": The word "spirits" [*arwah*] is to be understood in its demonological sense as meaning a personification of the powers of darkness associated with the seven stars of destiny, reinterpreted in the Manichaean version given here.

8. "Discourse [*al-qaul*] Regarding the Four Transient Spirits": The demonological personification is concerned here not with the days of the week but with the months of the year, grouped in tetrads.

9. "Mockery" [*al-duhka*]—not, I think, "Laughter" [*al-dahka*]: This is perhaps an allusion to the mockeries directed against Mani by the upholders of the false religions, recalling Jesus, who was the laughingstock of his coreligionists.

10. "Testimony of Adam Regarding Jesus": It seems probable that here Mani was interpreting prophetological extracts drawn from an apocalypse of Adam (no doubt the one cited by the *CMC*, not the Coptic one found in the Nag Hammadi manuscripts) in order to establish the chain of prophets from Adam to Jesus.

11. "Forfeit of [= Fall from] Religion": This section might have concerned not religious apostasy but certain points of moral practice whose

nonobservance has the effect of leading the faithful astray from the true religion.

12. "Doctrine of the Daysanites [= Bardesanites] Regarding the Soul and the Body": The Bardesanian theory, derived from Greek (in particular Platonist) philosophical ideas, was extended here in the direction of a radical antiphysicalism (see the following, xiii[a]).

13. "Refutation of the Bardesanites Concerning the Living Soul": This is a continuation of the preceding section, containing the following three fragments (mentioned by al-Biruni in the *Tahqiq ma li-l-Hind*) in connection with the highest part of the soul, called the "living self" or "soul of life" [*nafs al-hayah*]:

(a) Since the body is a prison and a punishment, the soul is able truly to live only outside the body (p. 212, 15–18 Afshar).

(b) Mani quotes a logion of Jesus on the punishment of souls who have not attained rest, that is, have not found the truth at the end of their transmigrations (p. 212, 11–14 Afshar; al-Biruni expressly declares that the fragment comes from *Sifr al-asrar* and cautions that in Mani's use of the term, "to perish" means not "to disappear" but "to be punished").

(c) Mani cites another logion of Jesus on the immortality of the soul that has found life (not found in Afshar).

14. "The Three Trenches": This section is concerned to develop a point of cosmology. The trenches [Ar *khanadiq*, Gr *phossata*] designate a series of pits (varying between three and seven in number) dug around the world into which the demonic waste of the firmaments is poured (see *Keph.* 43, 45).

15. "The Preservation of the Cosmos": This section deals with the demiurgical work of the Living Spirit and the supporting activity of the Third Messenger, particularly in establishing the two lights (the sun and the moon) and cosmic ligaments. I would locate in this section the logion of Mani cited in al-Biruni's *Tahqiq* (19–21 Afshar) concerning the role of the sun and moon as "paths" or "gates" of souls.

16. "The Three Days": The theme of the three days [*ayyam*] of theogony was adopted and developed by the tradition of the *Kephalaia* (39): "On the Three Days and the Two Deaths."

17. "The Prophets": Here Mani clarified certain points of his propheto-

logical doctrine, distinguishing the "false prophets" of the world's religions (in particular the historical prophets of Judaism) from the true prophets or envoys of God (Adam, Seth, and Jesus). Al-Ya'qubi refers to this section of the *Mysteries,* declaring that Mani in the *Sifr al-asrar* mocked the miracles of the prophets. A fragment against the astrologists, probably taken from this section, is quoted in al-Biruni's *Tahqiq* (214, 23–25, 2 Afshar).

18. "The Final Judgment": The last section of the work is dedicated to eschatology and completing the exposition of the *Shabuhragan.* The Arabic chapter heading [*al-qiyama*] cannot be interpreted as signifying "resurrection."

The *Mysteries* is therefore, like the *Treasure,* a work of justification. In it one finds brief accounts of certain points of thought and religion alongside attacks upon Bardesanites, Jews, and "false religions," all of them motivated by circumstance and the need to prepare disciples to preach under adverse conditions. The book's originality consists in its extensive use of apocryphal traditions (Christian and other) whose maxims and accounts were applied by Mani to Jesus. This fact, as well as the important place reserved for anti-Bardesanite controversies, shows that the work was composed while Mani was in contact with the Christian communities of Syria and Mesopotamia, mainly during the final phase of his missionary activity (260–70).

In his list of Mani's letters and those of his successors, Ibn al-Nadim indicates that the *Mysteries* was the object of a commentary in the form of an epistle [*risala*] by a certain 'Abdiel, who may well have been the Timotheos cited several times in the *CMC.*

⊙ ⊙ *Legends*

Mani composed in Syriac a cycle of legends whose Greek title, *Pragmateia,* was brought over into Aramaic and reproduced in the Arabic and Chinese translations of the work.

What does the Greek title mean? In this case the term does not have the philosophical sense of "treatise." Indeed, to translate it in this way would be not only awkward (in view of the risk of confusion with the Chinese Manichaean exposition published and translated by Chavannes

and Pelliot in 1911–13 and commonly called the *Traité,* its original title having been lost) but also mistaken. For while it is quite true, in the vocabulary of Greek rhetoric and epistemology from the time of Aristotle, that *"pragmateia"* had the technical sense of "treatise" (Sextus Empiricus used it to speak of a work on music or physics), with Mani the term reacquired the popular and scholarly sense given it earlier in the headings of Homeric epics or in the plots of dramas and romances. Thus it is that in the Greek of the preclassical period, the (grammatically singular) expression *troikè pragmateia* signifies not a "treatise" relating to the Trojan War but legendary accounts—or, more simply, legends—of the Trojan War. These legends [*pragmateia*] were therefore synonymous with myths [*muthoi*] or mythological inventions [*muthologika*].

The text of this work was widely read and plundered by non-Manichaeans, for the picturesque aspect of its accounts of the birth of the gods and of men furnished heresiologists with a great many piquant and comical details, well suited to confound and ridicule the disciples of a teller of such tales. One of the authors who applied himself to this task was an eighth-century Nestorian doctor from Kaskar, in southern Babylonia, named Theodore bar Konai. His method in presenting Mani's doctrine was to collect various "tall tales" told by a man whom he called the "villain." An attentive reading of the eleventh book of Theodore's *Liber scholiorum* shows that it is not a simple summary but instead a series of quotations taken from Mani's book. Despite the apparently disjointed and incoherent character of these quotations, each introduced by the formula "he says," they form a complete, unified narrative that begins with the birth of the gods outside the world of light and continues up to Adam's rescue by "brilliant Jesus." What one is dealing with here, then, is a cycle of legends concerning the origin of things and of creatures from which all eschatological perspective has deliberately been excluded. For, apart from the fact that Mani had treated this perspective elsewhere, in the *Shabuhragan* and the *Gospel,* he did not regard eschatology as belonging to the domain of *muthos,* which is subject to borrowing and variation among different cultures; it constituted instead the very object of the *logos* of revelation transmitted by the prophet to his church. Accordingly there is no alternative but to conclude that the

doctrinal part of Theodore's exposition transmits the key passages of the *Pragmateia* in their original language.

Mani composed this collection of legends to respond to the curiosity of his followers, who were eager to know "how things had happened in the earliest times of the world." As the founder of a religion, Mani had to take into account the mentality of people who, having been nourished by imaginary tales from childhood, were perpetually starving for new mythologies. In order for his religion to win popular support, he needed to create an imaginary world that would be rich in incident and adventure, yet at the same time controlled and coherent. It was this poetical purpose to which he devoted himself in the *Pragmateia,* without suspecting that it was to become the essential part of his teaching for many of his followers and a hobbyhorse for all future adversaries of his church.

⊙ ⊙ *Image*

In *Bayan al-adyan,* the first Persian book of heresiology, composed in A.D. 485 (H 1092), Abu l-Ma'ali-ye 'Alavi wrote (in Massé's translation), "Mani was a past master of pictorial art. It is said that, on a piece of white silk, he traced a line in such a way that on removing a single silk thread, the line could no longer be seen; he composed a book with various images, a book called *Arzhang Mani* that is in the treasures of Ghaznin."

This book of images was called *Ardahang* in Middle Persian and Parthian. In the Chinese *Compendium,* it is placed at the end of the Manichaean canon under the title of *Ta-men-ho-i* (the Great Men-ho-i) and described as "the drawing of the two great principles." It was, therefore, an album of plates painted by Mani to illustrate his theogony and his cosmogony. The Coptic *Homilies* (p. 25, 5) mention it in an appendix to the Manichaean Heptateuch under the Greek title *Eikōn,* but the title is sometimes met with in the plural, *Eikones* (Images), as well. Another passage in the *Homilies* (p. 18, 5–6), describing the tribulations of a Manichaean church beset by persecutions and autos-da-fé, puts these words in Mani's mouth: "I weep over the paintings of my *Image* while I commemorate their beauty."

H. J. Polotsky suggested that this album of images (also known as the *Picture Book*) was meant to illustrate the *Gospel.* The known fragments

of this latter work concern prophetology, however, and the work as a whole seems to be a sort of *praeparatio evangelica* of Manichaeism based on exegeses of texts taken from the apocalypses and Gospels. The purpose would have readily been understood, and in order to communicate its message Mani would have had no need to rewrite it using lines and colors. A more probable hypothesis, confirmed by the Stein fragment, is that Mani thought to explain the much more complicated contents of his collection *Legends* by means of iconography (the word appears in the *Kephalaia*). This collection presented readers (or listeners) with a skein of situations, characters, and cosmic places so tangled that the thread of the account was liable to be lost at any moment. In response to the needs of the catechism, and perhaps also to a request made by one of his disciples, Mani resolved to use his brush to fix in the minds of the faithful a few key scenes that his imagination as a poet and visionary had created in the *Pragmateia*: the antinomic worlds of light and darkness and the struggle of the two principles; the defeat, then the rescue, and finally the victory of Ohrmizd; the call of the Living Spirit; the creation of the visible universe by the demiurge; and the dispatch of the Third Messenger. Each picture was accompanied by a legend in the strict sense, that is, an explanatory note or caption making it possible to "read" the picture. Taken together, these explanations amounted to a sustained guide or commentary upon the volume—the *Ardahang wifras,* of which we possess a few fragments in Parthian and Middle Persian.

The success of this collection of illustrations was immense, and not only among Manichaeans. As Abu l-Ma'ali-ye 'Alavi testified in the eleventh century, and along with him many Persian poets and men of letters who came after, Islamic Iran was unstinting in its admiration for the author of *Image.* Opposed as a prophet (or rather, supplanted in this function by another prophet from Arabia), but still revered as a painter and artist, Mani has occupied an exalted and contested place in the collective memory of his compatriots from the Hegira until the present day.

⊙ ⊙ *Giants*

Mani composed, in addition to the collection of legends (*Pragmateia*), another cycle of fabulous narratives, this one entitled *Kawan* in Middle

Persian and Parthian. The Coptic texts call it *Tgraphe nngigas, Pjome nngigas,* or else *Pjome nncalashire*: *Book of Giants.* This is the title that it bears in Arabic as well: *Sifr al-jababira.* In the preamble to the *Kephalaia,* the compiler has Mani enumerate the books of the canon of the Manichaean church, established after his death. There Mani includes *Giants,* describing it as "the book I wrote at the request of the Parthians." It may well have been at the request [Copt *laice* = Gr *aitema*] of the Parthians—actually, that is, of Mar Ammo—that Mani undertook to recount an episode of the history of origins only mentioned in the *Pragmateia.* He wrote this story in Syriac, and we can be sure that his missionaries carried it not only into Parthia but beyond, since the fragments of it that have survived and that W. B. Henning reassembled come from all the languages spoken in Central Asia.

The central theme of the book was not new in the literature of the period, for popular memory was filled with stories of giants. In the Judeo-Aramaean literary domain, to which Mani belonged by virtue of the religious training he received as a child, giants [*nephilim*] figured in the biblical account of the causes of the Flood (Genesis 6:1–2, 4):

> When men began to multiply on the face of the ground, and daughters were born to them, the sons of God saw that the daughters of men were fair; and they took to wife such of them as they chose. . . . The Nephilim were on the earth in those days, and also afterward, when the sons of God came in to the daughters of men, and they bore children to them. These were the mighty men that were of old, the men of renown.

The story told in these three verses was borrowed and amplified in a Jewish apocalypse written in Hebrew in about A.D. 150, the *Apocalypse of Enoch,* a vade mecum of eschatological beliefs current at the dawn of the Christian era. Its success among adherents of the various forms of Christianity and Judeo-Christianity was extraordinary. In addition to a complete version found in Ethiopic (known as *1 Enoch*), long fragments survive in Greek papyri, and a readaptation for the use of Slavic Christians (*2 Enoch*) exists as well. Aramaic fragments, found in the caves of Qumran, also testify to the influence of this work in marginal Jewish movements. J. T. Milik has noticed, among other things, that some of these fragments come from a different version of the "Book of the

Watchers," which constitutes the first part of *1 Enoch.* Now these fragments could not have been quotations from the "Book of the Watchers"; they belong instead to an independent account that relates, with a great many details and proper names, the amorous and dramatic adventures of the fallen angels and their terrestrial progeny, the giants [*gibborim*]. Thanks to the Manichaean fragments reassembled by Henning, Milik was able to identify the fragments of the Qumran caves as the remnants of a Jewish Second Temple–era *Book of Giants.* Thus Mani, who was familiar with apocalyptical literature from his early Elchasaitic education, in particular the *Apocalypse of Enoch* and the *Book of Giants,* drew from this latter work the material for his own book. His missionaries popularized it not only in the northeastern lands of the Iranian Empire but also in the Greco-Latin world. Indeed, the Manichaean *Book of Giants* ultimately reached the two extremities of the known world: in the West, the Gelasian Decree, which condemned it at the beginning of the sixth century along with the other apocalyptical writings, mentioned it under the title *Liber de Ogia,* from the name of one of the giants named in the book; in the East, the eighth-century Chinese *Compendium* referred to it by the title that it bears in Parthian and Middle Persian, *Chu-huan* ["Book of Strong Heroes" = *Kawan*].

From the Jewish *Book of Giants,* with its visions, dreams, and celestial voyages, Mani created a new version while leaving the situations and characters unchanged. In both tellings Shemihaza gives birth to two sons, Ohya (= Ogias) and Ahya (Pat-Sahm in the Sogdian transmission). The first of these two brothers fought the dragon Leviathan; the second attacked Mahawai, son of Virogdad. In the Pahlavi and Sogdian adaptations known through the Turfan fragments, the two sons of Shemihaza/Shahmizad assume the names of Sam and Nariman, more familiar to Iranian readers than the Aramaic names of the Jewish source text. The exploits and combats of these giants, against the monsters and among themselves, are followed by a fantastic gigantomachy that ends, as in the *Apocalypse of Enoch,* with the victory of a tetrad of angels (Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, Istrael) over the combined forces of demonic anarchy.

These colorful stories constitute an essential part of the Semitic heritage in the Manichaean imagination. Mani's successors at the head of the

church, like him Aramaeans, retained the *Book of Giants* in the canon of scriptures while excluding from it the *Shabuhragan,* which no longer served any purpose since the kings of Iran had now become the active enemies of the church. One might even consider the *Book of Giants* to be a sort of anti-*Shabuhragan.* It is not impossible, in fact, that at the end of his life, writing a stronger version of the Jewish book "for the Parthians," Mani (like his readers), confronted with the hatred of the powers of this world, had seen and read in the violence and corruption of the original giants the fate of failure and death befalling historical empires and their princes—and this all the more readily as the Middle Persian word for "giants" [*kawan*] was, during the Sassanid period, synonymous with "tyrants." The Manichaean *Book of Giants* was therefore conceived and perceived as a political pamphlet in the guise of allegory and myth. This would explain its retention in the canon and, as a further consequence, the elimination of the *Shabuhragan.*

⊙ ⊙ *Letters*

Mani, like Paul at the dawn of the Christian era, wrote a great many letters. Indeed, he was the most prolific letter writer of the Sassanid period. Some of these letters were no more than brief notes meant to salute the founding of a new community, announce a visit by the founder, accompany the dispatch of one of his writings, or settle a particular matter; others had the character of doctrinal epistles, addressed generally to the heads of missions and intended to fortify their faith by emphasizing certain fundamental aspects of the thought, history, and liturgy of the church; still others, finally, were disciplinary messages, or monitions, concerning the internal organization of the communities of the church and their supervision. Incessantly copied, translated, and recopied during the lifetime of their author, these writings were diligently collected by his successors into a great corpus that included, along with letters written by the founder, ones composed by dignitaries close to him and, by virtue of this fact, held to be of equal value.

This collection, originally part of the Manichaean library found in Egypt, is now lost. Only a few pages have survived (Berlin P 15998 and Warsaw). Ibn al-Nadim, in the *Fihrist,* conserved superscriptions con-

taining the names and addresses of the recipients of seventy-six letters [*rasa'il*]; he knew, and recopied, only those ecclesiastical titles created by Manichaean tradition while the corpus was being constituted. The nomenclature was subjected by translators and copyists to a great many alterations in the course of transmission, particularly with regard to proper names. Nonetheless, it gives us some idea of the remarkable variety of this correspondence, in which the practical problems facing the young Manichaean church were predominant.

⊙ ⊙ *Psalms and Prayers*

The Manichaean Psalm Book found in Coptic says that Mani composed "two Psalms" and "Prayers." The Manichaean compilers of the great liturgical edition of the Coptic Psalter did not include these two psalms and prayers in their work, however. It is therefore practically impossible to determine with certainty whether some of the Turfan fragments come from these two psalms and prayers composed by Mani. The ascription to Mani of this or that piece is a theological claim, not a label of authenticity.

Probably after the example of Bardesanes, and a century before Ephraem began to imitate the lyricism of the "philosopher of the Aramaeans," Mani used Syriac metrical forms to compose the two psalms and the prayers. The beauty and the rhythm of these verses resisted all translation. As a true poet, Mani would naturally have sought instead to encourage his disciples to create new psalms and prayers in their own native languages; and in fact such compositions constitute by far the greatest part of the Manichaean hymnic literature that has come down to us through papyrological and archaeological discoveries.

The Canon of Scriptures

The fixing of a canon of scriptures—that is, the application of a rule determining whether a particular text is to be admitted into a closed collection of sacred works—is a disciplinary decision that falls within the competence of the supreme authority of a religion at a given moment of its history and that over time comes to be granted inviolable authority in the name of tradition. In the case of Manichaeism this decision seems to have been taken following Mani's death under the pontificate of Sis,

in keeping with the founder's wishes, and until quite late in its history it was regarded as sacrosanct.

Three things argue in favor of this conclusion. First, the Coptic sources uniformly attest that the canon was fixed as a heptateuch, consisting of the written works left by Mani (in contradistinction to Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus, who left only oral traditions), during the same period that witnessed the redaction of the first great doctrinal commentaries of the new church and the constitution of the liturgical psalm book. Second, these same sources attribute the order of the canon to Mani on three occasions (preamble to the *Kephalaia*, *Keph.* 148, and p. 94 of the *Homilies*: "I wrote to you . . . ," "I gave to you . . ."). Finally, the presence of the same canon in the *Compendium* indicates that the decision of the founding Babylonian church continued to be respected by Chinese Manichaeans under the T'ang Dynasty.

The comparative nomenclature of the canon in the Manichaean sources reveals, in addition to the exclusion of the *Shabuhragan*, that the canon was constituted as a heptateuch. Further, the list in the *Compendium* follows exactly the one given in the final section of the Coptic *Homilies* (p. 94). Notwithstanding a difference in the ordering of *Mysteries*, *Legends*, and *Giants* in these two lists, they are grouped together in both: *Keph.* 148 expressly declares that "these three writings form only a single one." By placing the three books concerned with the exposition of mythology together in this way, the Manichaean sources themselves show that the primitive and authentic heptateuch can *also* be considered as a pentateuch. This view is confirmed by the testimony of the Manichaean Felix, who during his debate with Augustine in December 404 referred to the five *auctores* (*Contra felicem*, I, 14)—that is, to the totality of Mani's works, classified as a pentateuch for reasons of theological concordance, as the very title of *Keph.* 148 makes clear: "On the Five Books insofar as They Belong to the Five Fathers."

By contrast, the tetrateuch represented by Christian heresiologists, Syriac, Greek, and Latin alike, as forming the Manichaean canon has no foundation in the Manichaean sources. This erroneous interpretation goes back to the *Acta Archelai* (Acts of Archelaus) and improperly combines three works by Mani with the great doctrinal commentary of the later Manichaean tradition, the *Kephalaia*.

The False Tetrateuch

Latin Hegemonius *Acta Archelai* (62.3)	Greek Epiphanius *Panarion* (66.2.9)	Syriac Theodore bar Konai *Scholia* (312.6–8)
1. Mysteria	Musteria	Raze
2. Capitula	Kephalaia	Rishe
3. Euangelium	Euangelion	Ewangeliyun
4. Thesaurus	Thesauros	Simatha

The Manichaean Patrology

The Manichaeans divided their holy books into three categories: the heptateuch of Mani; *Image*; and works sanctioned by tradition. The "Sermon of the Great War" by Kustai and the Chinese *Compendium* place *Image* as an appendix to the heptateuch. After *Image* come all the written productions of the ancient Manichaean tradition. The *Compendium* calls them the "Teachings" of Mani; the Coptic Psalm Book (p. 47), his "words"; and the *Homilies* (p. 25), "his revelations, his parables, and his mysteries." These latter works, recording and commenting on the sayings of Mani as interpreted in the tradition of his church, and elaborating its ritual, together form what is legitimately called the Manichaean patrology. They may be divided in turn into four groups: hagiographic accounts, doctrinal commentaries, sacred songs, and practical guides.

⊙ ⊙ 1. Hagiographic Accounts

These concern the life of Mani but are neither "lives" nor "autobiographies" in the modern sense of these words. They are catechisms intended to evoke decisive moments in Mani's prophetic mission.

(A) *COLOGNE MANI CODEX (CMC)* Parchment manuscript volume in miniature format (4.5 x 3.5 cm) consisting of 192 pages divided into 23 lines per page (written surface: 3.5 x 2.5 cm), conserved at the University of Cologne (P. Colon. 4780 = 1012 Van Haelst). Written in Greek and originating in Upper Egypt (Lycopolis/Asyut), it is commonly known by its title, "On the Birth of His Body." The paleographic dating of this codex is a matter of dispute (fourth–fifth century, sixth century, perhaps even eighth century, though this last date is unlikely). It contains a

Figure 3. From Heptateuch to Pentateuch

Heptateuch	*Keph. 148; Hom. 25*	*Ps. 46–47; 139–40*	*Keph. 5*	*Hom. 94*	Chinese *Compendium*	*Pentateuch*	
1. Gospel	Euaggelion	Euaggelion	Euaggelion	Euaggelion	Ying-loun < Gr : euaggelion	Gospel	1.
2. Treasure	Thēsauros	Thēsauros	Thēsauros	Thēsauros	Hsin-t'i < Aram : SMTh	Treasure	2.
3. Legends	Pragmateia	Pragmateia	Pragmateia	[Epistolaue]	Ni-wan < MP : diwan	Letters	3.
4. Mysteries	mMustērion	mMustērion	pTa tōn mustērion	mMustērion	A-lo-tsan < MP : razan	Mysteries	
5. Giants	nGigas	nCalashire	graphē ntlaice nnParthos	Pragmateia	Po-tchia-ma-ti-yeh < Gr : Pragmateia	Legends	4.
6. Letters	Epistolaue	Epistolaue	Epistolaue	graphe [ntlaice nnParthos]	Tchü-houan < MP : kawan	Giants	
7. Prayers + Psalms	mPsalmos + nShlel	nShlel + 2 Psalmos	mPsalmos + nShlel	nShlel	A-fu-yin < MP : afrin	Prayers	5.

moralizing reconstruction of the conflicts of Mani's youth based on the founder's own accounts as interpreted by his disciples (Baraies, Abiesus, Innaios, Timotheos, and Zacheas [MP: Zaku]). This document is fundamental for understanding Mani's spiritual development up until his decision to break with Elchasaism and found a new religion.

(B) THE COPTIC *HOMILIES* Papyrus manuscript volume containing 48 leaves (= 96 pages), coming from the Faiyum in Egypt and conserved today at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (Codex D). It contains four *logoi*, or meditative homilies for the catechism, composed by Mani's immediate disciples. The first homily (1.1–7.7) is a lament by Salmaios, in the form of a prayer, on the death of Mani. The second (7.8–42.8), attributed to Kustai and entitled "Sermon of the Great War," is a meditation on the apocalyptic section of the *Shabuhragan*. The third (42.9–85.34) is the catechistic evocation of the "crucifixion," that is, the imprisonment and death of Mani, and of the first persecutions undergone by the community in Iran under Bahram I. The fourth (86.1–96.27) is a eulogy for Mani risen to heaven. These four pieces are to Mani's last years what the *CMC* is to his early years. Their tragic beauty stands out in sharp contrast to the moralizing and apologetic quality of the *CMC*. For the faithful these two collections were a source of hope. The Berlin counterpart to these Homilies (P 15999) is lost.

(C) THE *ACTS* A complement to the *CMC* and the *Homilies* for the history of the Manichaean church, this codex of Acts [*Praxeis*], written in Coptic, survives only through fragments of pages conserved in Berlin (P 15997) and a page in Dublin (facsimile in *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library*, vol. 2 [Geneva, 1986], pls. 99–100).

⊙ ⊙ 2. Doctrinal Commentaries

(A) THE COPTIC *KEPHALAIA* This great doctrinal commentary on the logia of Mani forms a volume of more than eight hundred pages in the Coptic translation found in the Faiyum, the first part of which is conserved in Berlin (P 15996) and the second, in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (Codex C; facsimiles: *Manichaean Coptic Papyri*, vol. 1 [Geneva, 1986]). The general Greek title given to the collection by its

Manichaean compilers, *Kephalaia,* suggests that it constituted a veritable *summa theologica* of Manichaeism, assembled at a moment when the new religion was obliged, in the face of the first controversies unleashed by rival (Zoroastrian and Christian) ecclesiastical authorities, to structure, clarify, and develop in its smallest details the thought of the master. The authors of the compilation sought above all to respond to the attacks that had been brought against the *Pragmateia.* Their argument consisted in showing that each situation, each term, and each figure in Mani's cosmo-theogonic exposition has several facets, and therefore multiple interpretations, and that these interpretations combine to form a complex whole, so that the effect of exegesis is to remove the possibility of reading Mani's mythological exposition in linear terms as a historical account and therefore to structure doctrine instead as an allegorizing science in the service of ecclesiology.

(B) THE *SYNAXEIS* Another Coptic collection of exegeses of the logia of Mani and of quotations from his works, commented on for liturgical purposes, this codex is conserved only in fragmentary form, in Dublin (Codex B; facsimiles in *Manichaean Coptic Papyri,* vol. 2, pl. 101–26) and in Berlin (P 15995).

(C) THE CHINESE *TRAITÉ* The great scroll found in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas at Tun-huang, and conserved today in Beijing, dates roughly from the middle of the tenth century. The beginning of the manuscript has disappeared, and with it the original title. The two French scholars who published and translated the surviving text, Chavannes and Pelliot, gave their monograph the title "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine" (A Manichaean treatise found in China), and it has been customary to refer to it by this title since. Cast in a literary framework borrowed from the *sutra,* the *Traité* appears to have been an exegesis of a cosmo-theogonic exposition drawn from Iranian sources, assimilating the panallegorism of the method of the *Kephalaia* and adapted to a Buddhist cultural milieu.

⊙ ⊙ 3. Sacred Songs

(A) THE COPTIC PSALM BOOKS The manuscript of the antiphonary of the Manichaean church of Egypt fills a large papyrus volume of

medium-size format (27 x 17.5 cm) originating in the Faiyum and today conserved at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (Codex A). Only the second part of the codex has been published, by C. R. C. Allberry (*A Manichaean Psalm-Book* [Stuttgart, 1938]); the first part is available in facsimile form (*Manichaean Coptic Papyri,* vol. 3 [Geneva, 1988]; facsimiles of the second part may be found in vol. 4 of the same work, also published in 1988). At the end of the second part the copyist indexed all the numbered pieces of the volume, grouping them according to their liturgical use or their supposed author: psalms for the synaxis (assembly of monks), for Sunday service, for Easter, psalms by Heracleides, psalms for vigils, for the Bema festival, psalms to Jesus (this subtitle, which is not in the manuscript, was inserted by a modern editor), and Heraclidean psalms again. There are also a great many pieces whose use is not specified, placed under the head "Various." Following the numbered collection are unnumbered groups of hymns that undoubtedly were not used in the liturgy: Various, Psalms of the Wanderers, of Heracleides, and of Thomas (these last, according to Polotsky, were Mandean hymns that had been incorporated into the Psalm Book). Taken together, these pieces constitute a monument of the highest importance for appreciating liturgical prayer as it was actually practiced by a Manichaean community during the middle of the fourth century.

Additional evidence of great value regarding liturgical prayer among Coptic Manichaeans is furnished by the wooden codices found during archaeological excavations of the site of Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab), 365 kilometers west of Luxor in the Dakhlah oasis (I. Gardner, "A Manichaean Liturgical Codex Found at Kellis," *Orientalia* 62 [1993]: 30–59).

(B) THE IRANIAN HYMNALS Like the Manichaean community in Egypt, Iranian-speaking Manichaeans possessed their own antiphonary, similarly equipped with an index and found piece by piece at Turfan. The Pahlavi hymnal is represented by two texts: the "Hymn to the Living Self (Soul)" [*Govishn ig griv zindag*] and the "Hymn of the Luminous Self (Soul)" [*Govishn ig griv roshn*]; no new reconstitution of either one has been proposed since the work of Henning. The Parthian hymnal is known through two long texts—"Our Chance" [*Huyadagman*] and "Armed with Wisdom" [*Angad roshnan*], which take their

names from the first words of the first song in each—attributed to Mar Ammo, whose fragments have been ably reconstituted by Mary Boyce (*The Manichaean Hymn-Cycles in Parthian* [Oxford, 1954]; facsimiles of the Parthian and Sogdian fragments may be found in Werner Sundermann, *The Manichaean Hymn Cycles* Huyadagmān *and* Angad Rōšnān *in Parthian and Sogdian* [London, 1990]). With these two Parthian hymnals may also be associated the rhythmic prose of the great Parthian hymns [*Wazargan afriwan*], a few remnants of which also exist in Sogdian. Like those of the Coptic Psalm Book, all these hymns are quite remarkable for the religious sensibility they manifest, their poetic qualities, and the central place accorded to Jesus in prayer.

(C) THE CHINESE HYMNAL (HYMNSCROLL) Twenty-five hymns are preserved in the scroll discovered at Tun-huang, presently conserved in London (Br. L. Or. Stein 2659). As shown by Hymn XIII, which is a complete Chinese version of the first song of the *Huyadagman* (identification due to Henning, 1943), the Chinese hymnal is an adaptation of the Parthian Manichaean poetry to a Buddhist cultural milieu and presents, with respect to its contents, the same characteristics as Parthian and Coptic hymnology.

⊙ ⊙ 4. The Practical Guides

Although late, the two following pieces deserve to be mentioned by virtue of the originality of their form and content.

(A) THE UIGHUR *XVASTVANEFT* In the tenth and eleventh centuries the Manichaean church of Turkestan made use of formularies for the confession of sins by monks (the elect) and by lay worshipers (hearers). Formularies for the elect survive in fragmentary form in Sogdian (particularly M 801); only one is attested in Late Pahlavi (M 201). By contrast, we possess the complete text of a prayer-confessional for hearers, the *Xvastvaneft,* also originating in the region of Turfan and translated into Old Turkish (Br. L. Or. 8212) on the basis of a Sogdian original and published successively by A. von Le Coq, W. Bang, and J. P. Asmussen. Such formularies consisted not of lists of culpable sins but, in the fashion of medieval Christian apologies, of a confession of faith proclaiming fundamental points of belief. These statements automatically marked off

the boundaries of unacceptable conduct, that is, behavior in contradiction to the confessed dogma. In the Uighur *Xvastvaneft,* for example, each doctrinal assertion is accompanied by a request to be pardoned. This formulary formed part of the festive liturgy of the Bema and was recited by an officiating priest in the name of the faithful.

(B) THE CHINESE *COMPENDIUM* The first part (= the first four articles) of a scroll dating from 731 and found at Tun-huang, entitled *Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light,* is conserved in London (Br. L. Or. Stein 3969); the second part (articles 5 and 6) is conserved in Paris (B. N. Or. Pelliot chinois 3884). The end of the text, that is, the end of article 6 and the following articles, has not been found. This unique text in the documentation of the Manichaean corpus, translated from the Parthian into Chinese by a Manichaean bishop familiar with Buddhist terminology, is a condensed version ("a sort of catechism," in Pelliot's words) of all Manichaeism, intended in its Chinese version for the religious authorities of the imperial T'ang government.

The six articles of the Stein and Pelliot fragments, stating the doctrines and rules of the religion, are composed of the following sections: (1) His Descent into a Body and His Homeland, His Names and Titles, His Own Doctrines [= Manichaean dates and personality of the founder]; (2) Rules Concerning His Corporeal Representations [= rules for representing Mani as a Buddha of Light]; (3) Rules Concerning the Canon of the Scriptures and *Image* [= the heptateuch, *Image,* works sanctioned by tradition]; (4) Rules Concerning the Five Orders [= hierarchy and duties inherent in each order]; (5) Rules Concerning the Buildings of the Monastery [= enumeration of rooms, way of life of the elect]; (6) Rules for Entering the Religion [= rules for becoming a Manichaean: accepting the doctrines of the Two Principles and the Three Times].

CHAPTER 3

The Community

Jesus left it to his successors to write gospels and to found a church—a decision that gave rise to disagreements, quarrels, and schisms. To preserve the unity of his disciples, Mani resolved to compose his gospel himself and personally to organize his religion into a church. Announcing to his contemporaries that hope and justice had come in him and through him, as the seal of prophecy, Mani took the same care in organizing the growing community of those who responded to his call that he took in writing his books and painting his images. Each member of the flock was assigned a place and function. The continuity of testimony regarding the strictly ecclesiastical structure given to this community, from its origins until the Middle Ages, shows that it would be a mistake to oppose Mani's prophetic charisma to the (late or secondary) institutional character of his church. Mani was at once prophet and lawgiver, an energetic apostle and an organizer of people. He was, say the texts, the head of a church whose members were all his brothers. He described "the birth of his body"—that is, the his church, located in the midst of the (false) religions of the earth—with the same meticulousness that he displayed in the *Pragmateia* in describing the genesis of the gods and men in the great body of the world. It must be recognized that Manichaeism's ability to resist Islam for as long as it did, particularly in the Iranian world, was due to its powerful esprit de corps, a direct consequence of effective institutional organization.

The Hierarchy of the Church

Apart from the fourth article of the Chinese *Compendium,* there exist two essential texts concerning the composition of the Manichaean Church,

one due to an ex-Manichaean, Augustine, and the other taken from a hymn to the apostles (or missionaries) from Turfan.

In chapter 46 of *De haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum,* composed in 428–29 (shortly before Augustine's death on 28 August 430), the former Manichaean who had gone on to become bishop of Hippo wrote: "The Manichaeans would that their church be composed only of these two states of life [*professiones*], that is, that of the elect [*electi*] and that of the hearers [*auditores*]. . . . From their elect they draw twelve, whom they call masters [*magistri*], plus a thirteenth who is their head [*princeps*]. They also have seventy-two bishops [*episcopi*], who receive their orders from the masters. The bishops also have deacons [*diaconi*]. The rest are called merely the elect [*electi*]."

The "Hymn to the Apostles" conserved in Middle Persian in the Turfan fragments (M 801; see also Mary Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* [Leiden: Brill, 1975], text cu 23–25) enumerates "all the deacons, masters of the house [= administrators], the choirmasters, the sagacious preachers, the valiant scribes, the sweet-voiced cantors, and all the pure and holy brethren [*bradaran*], . . . the virginal and holy sisters [*wxarin*] with their community and monastery, . . . and all the hearers, brothers and sisters, from the East and from the West, from the North and from the South."

The church therefore comprised two great bodies of believers, divided in turn into five classes or grades. On the one hand, there was the mass of lay followers who constituted the economic base of the ecclesiastical society (fifth class). On the other, there was the community of monks in the broad sense of the term, who fell into four classes: those who were monks only in the narrow sense, variously called elect, just, perfect, or holy (fourth class), from whom were recruited a limited number of members of the clergy; the masters of the house [of law], or administrators, who may be likened to the priests of the Christian Church (third class); ministers of worship and servants of the church, in a sense peculiar to the Manichaean term "deacons," analogous to Christian bishops (second class); and finally, confessors and doctors, called "masters" and "apostles," upon whom fell responsibility for the defense of doctrine, the government of the ecclesiastical provinces, and missionary policy (first class). At the

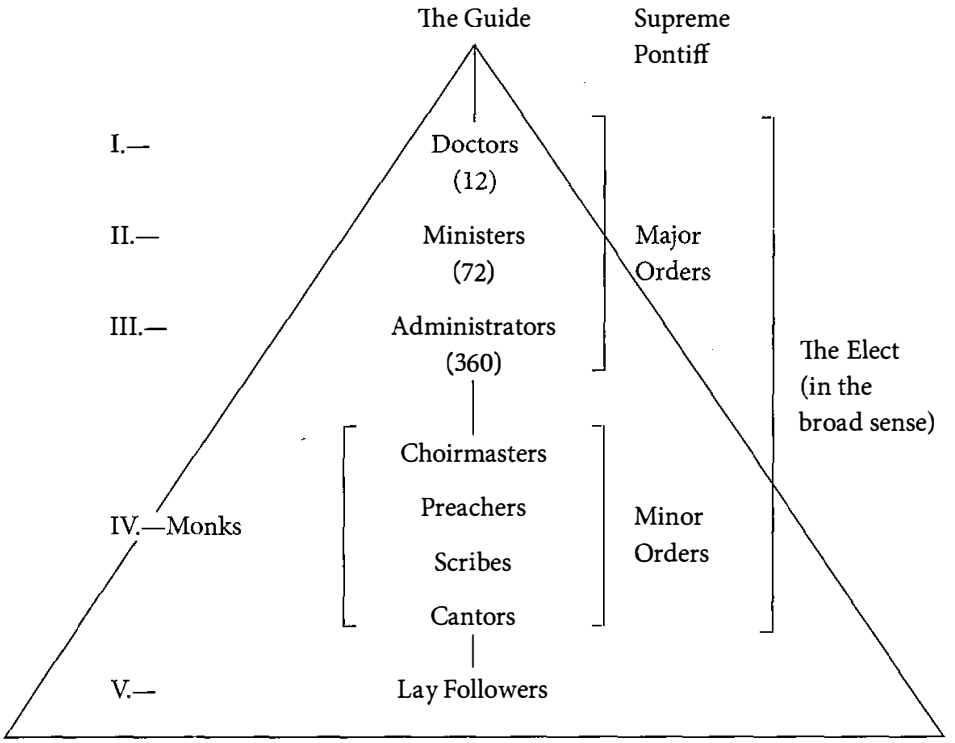


Figure 4. Hierarchy of the Manichaean Church

summit of this pyramid sat the guide of the faithful, Mani's successor in Babylon.

The number of lay persons, belonging to the fifth class, was unlimited as a matter of law and actual practice. In the fourth class, however, as a practical matter, the number of monks was restricted. A quota was attached to each class of the clergy: the administrators of the third class could not exceed 360, a figure corresponding to the number of days in a lunar cycle multiplied by the number of solar months; the maximum number of ministers, or deacons of the second class, was fixed at seventy-two, a figure corresponding to the number of disciples sent on missions by Jesus (see the Gospel according to Luke 10:1 Syr and Tatian, *Diatessaron*); and the number of doctors of the first class was fixed at twelve, on account of the twelve apostles that Jesus chose for himself (Gospel according to Matthew 10:1–2).

The key distinction was not between clergy and laity but between monks

and hearers. For a hearer to become a monk involved a radical change of life that could be approved only by a plenary meeting of the elect (synaxis). Both the laity and the order of monks were composed not only of men (brothers) but also of women (sisters), though accession to the first three classes was reserved for men. Lay brothers and sisters kept their ordinary clothes; male and female monks alike dressed in white and wore white headcloths.

Each group of lay followers had at its head a father-master, who was responsible for conducting services and for making the doctrine of the church comprehensible to his flock. This "elder" brother, known formally as the "master of the hearers" [MP *niyoshagbed*], was recruited from the third class. The lay brothers and sisters were obliged continually to show obedience and deference to their counterparts in the order of monks. On meeting one of them, the hearer knelt as a sign of respect, "so that the hand might be laid upon him as supplicant" (Augustine). Insulting a monk led to immediate expulsion from the church; the same fate befell a monk who publicly violated a commandment, but excommunication could not be pronounced until the matter had been brought before the synaxis and duly deliberated and judged.

Brothers and sisters of the fourth class lived apart from lay followers in monasteries (or temples). Established in cities and administered on the basis of endowment monies and gifts alone, monasteries [MP *manestan*; Persian *khangah*] constituted the true centers of worship of the Manichaean faith, as well as the focus of spiritual life and cultural activity, at least in lands where the religion was not condemned to a clandestine existence. They contained a scriptorium and library ("room of holy books and images") along with an infirmary, a chapter house (for community gatherings), a building for adoration and confession, and another for fasting days. But they had neither gardens nor kitchens, since meals were brought every day by the hearers.

Government of the monastery's affairs was placed under the jurisdiction of the first three grades. The choirmaster [MP *afrinsar*] occupied an eminent rank, as one would expect of a way of life devoted to choral recitation and prayer; he was charged with selecting hymns for the annual cycle of festivals, as well as with composing new ones and determining

the sequence of ceremonies. The preacher [*xrohxwan*] monitored the instruction of the monks and carried the good word to the outside world; his duties included teaching his brothers and sisters to preach. Once trained, they were sent out in their turn to spread the religion—"either to strengthen and support this error where it exists," Augustine said maliciously, "or to plant it where it does not" (*De haeresibus,* 46). For every monk had not only to pray and to sing but also to preach. The masters of the scriptorium [*dibiran*] wrote out the holy books and antiphonaries in a decorative hand. The cantor [*mahrsray*] was responsible for the proper execution of liturgical song and for giving his brethren choral instruction. The Chinese *Compendium* mentions another office whose occupant was "in charge of the month," according to Pelliot; according to Gauthiot, he "supervis[ed] the recitation of the sermon"; according to Benveniste, he was "responsible for pious endowments."

The functions of the upper three classes, carried out by a very small number of monks, were subsequently adopted by the hierarchy of the Christian Church in Mesopotamia: (1) doctors [Syr *malpan*] perpetuated the apostolic tradition of the founder through teaching and defense of the doctrine; (2) ministers supported the activity of the church as servants (deacons) and supervisors (bishops) charged with organizing worship and governing the diocese [MP *paygos*]; (3) administrators, or masters of the house [Gr *oikodespotēs*] (also called "elders" [Gr *presbuteros*]), assisted the bishops in pastoral tasks and managed the affairs of the community. The ecclesiastical title "master of the house" came from Qumran by way of the Babylonian baptist rite in which Mani was raised. As for the fundamental conception of monks and lay followers as distinct and complementary, the former assuring the latter eternal salvation in exchange for material subsistence, this was taken over directly from Buddhism. Manichaean monasticism cannot be reduced to the Christian model, then, since Mani's monks did not seek to remove themselves from the world in isolated, self-sufficient communities; nor can Manichaean prophetology and eschatology be reduced to the pre-Valentinian model, since the distinctive features of Manichaeism—its doctrine of prophecy and ecclesiastical structure—root it in history and in institutions.

Figure 5. Comparative Nomenclature of Classes and Positions

	Greek	*Coptic*	*Latin*	*Pahlavi*	*Parthian*	*Chinese*	*Arabic*	*Syriac*
The Guide	arkhēgos	p-arkhēgos	princeps	sarar	sarar	yen-mo	imam	qphalpala
I.—Doctors								
Synon.:								
masters	didaskaloi	n-sah	magistri	hammozagan	ammozhagan	mu-chö	mu'allimun	malpane
apostles	apostoloi	n-apostolos		frestagan				
II.—Ministers								
Synon.:								
deacons		n-shnshete	diaconi	ispasagan	ispasagan	sa-po-sai	mushammisun	mshamshane
bishops	episcopoi	n-episcopos	episcopi			fu-to-tan		
III.—Administrators	oikodespotai			mansararan	mansardaran			
Synon.:								
priests	presbuteroi	n-presbuteros	presbyteri	mahistagan		mo-hi-si-tö	qissisun	qashishe
IV.—Monks			religiosi	denawaran	denabaran	tien-na-wu		
Synon.:								
the elect	eklektoi	n-sôtp	electi	wizidagan	wizhidagan			
the just	dikaioi	n-dikaios		ardawan	ardawan	a-lo-huan	siddiqun	zaddiqe
the perfect			perfecti					
the holy		netouabe	sancti					
Positions:								
choirmasters				afrinsaran	afriwansaran			
preachers				xrohxwanan				
scribes				dibiran	dibiran			
cantors	psaltai	n-psaltēs		mahrsrayan				
V.—Lay Followers								
Synon.:								
hearers			auditores	niyoshagan	nigoshagan	nu-cha-yen	samma'un	shamu'e
catechumens	katēkhoumenoi	n-katēkhoumenos						

The Moral Code of the Monks

According to the Pahlavi "Hymn to the Apostles" (M 801), strict observance of the five commandments [*andarzan*] and the three seals [*muhran*] was required of all monks. The Sogdian formulary of confession for the elect, contained in the second part of M 801, described the content of the five commandments in great detail; unfortunately the surviving fragments concern only the (complete) second and (partial) third commandments, plus a few lines of the fourth. By contrast, the complete list of the five commandments is reproduced in Sogdian (M 14 V) and in Coptic (Hymn 235) for the Bema festival:

Sogdian	Coptic
1. Truth	Do not lie
2. Nonviolence	Do not kill
3. Religious behavior	Do not eat meat
4. Purity of mouth	Be pure
5. Blessed poverty	Blessed poverty

The three seals [Lat *tria signacula*; Ar *thalath khawatin*] express in the mode of corporeal symbolism the content of the three commandments that the laity was bound to observe in part. The seal of the mouth [Lat *signaculum oris*] refers to the fourth commandment; the seal of the hands [Lat *signaculum manuum*], or peace of the hands [Copt *pmtan nncij*], to the second; the seal of the bosom (heart) [Lat *signaculum sinus*], or virginal purity [Copt *ptoubo ntparthenia*], to the third.

⊙ ⊙ 1. First Commandment

Called "Truth" in Sogdian [*reshtyaq*], the first commandment prohibits lying in the broad sense of the term, that is, any attitude contradicting the profession of religious faith. Inasmuch as the essential aspect of the life of the elect was openness and obedience to the Holy Spirit that had come down into Mani, apostle of truth, and that continued to act upon and within the church, the imperative of truth can be seen as a theological justification of the virtue of obedience to the will of the founder. The first commandment thus gave the entire religious life of the elect its

fundamental orientation: in order to be capable, as Mani had been, "of wandering continually in the world to preach and to guide" (the formula is due to al-Biruni), the monk had to anchor himself firmly in the truth, that is, place himself wholly in the service of the apostolic mission of the founder by accepting the authority of his church.

⊙ ⊙ 2. Second Commandment

Of all the moral principles imposed upon the monk, none surprised Christian and Muslim adversaries of Manichaeism more than this one. In enjoining the monk to "nonviolence" [Sogd *puazarmya*], in the literal sense of the word, the second commandment, or seal of the hands, forbade the monk from engaging in any violent act liable to injure one of the five elements—light, fire, water, wind, air—that are found in a mixed state in living creatures, or in plants, or in nature itself. The cosmological foundation of this commandment had to do with the conviction that imprisoned in every composite body are particles of pure light that await release; taken together, these particles form an immense cross of light [Lat *crux luminis*] extending throughout the world that recalls and perpetuates the suffering of Jesus [Lat *Iesus patibilis*]. Since shattering any composite body risks causing damage to the delicate light elements themselves, and so to the cross of light and heavenly Jesus as well, the second commandment ordered the monk not to kill or to injure, even if only a plant or small animal would be harmed.

Hence the prohibition against agricultural labor: "The harvest workers, who do the reaping, are like the archons, who were in darkness from the beginning, when they ate of the armor of the First Man. So they must be transformed into grass or beans or barley or wheat or vegetables, so that they too can be harvested and cut down," declared Turbo in the *Acta Archelai* [the Latin version of this work conserved in the Codex Bobiensis identifies Turbo with Mani's disciple Adda]. "If anyone kills a bird, he shall become a bird; if anyone kills a mouse, he shall become in his turn a mouse. . . . If a man reaps, he shall be reaped; and so, too, if anyone casts grain into the mill, he shall be cast into it in his turn; whoever kneads shall also be kneaded, whoever bakes bread shall also be baked himself" (9.2–9.8). Nonviolence also required that remedies devised by sorcerers to treat wounds and heal the sick not be used and that certain

medicinal preparations not be administered. The least part of nature was to be respected: a clump of earth, a puddle of water, a flake of snow, a drop of dew. A monk who inadvertently damaged one or another of the copyist's utensils—brush, tablet, paper—was also liable to be accused before his brothers of having infringed the second commandment.

⊙ ⊙ 3. The Third Commandment

Known in Sogdian as "behavior in accordance with religion" [*dentchihreft*], the third commandment, or seal of the bosom, obliged the monk to practice not only continence but also total chastity, both in the strict sense, through the prohibition of all sexual relations (Manichaean monks, male and female alike, swore a vow of celibacy for life), and in the broader sense, through the prohibition of all contact by which pleasure might be obtained, if only by touching snow, dew, or a fine fabric. To take a bath was to commit two sins: against the second commandment, on account of the injury caused to the water, and against the third, because the contact of the water with the skin produced an agreeable sensation. The third commandment forbade monks from committing any act that might favor, directly or indirectly, the reproduction of living beings, animals, or plants. Thus, if cutting down a tree contravened the second commandment, planting one was an infraction of the third: "He who has planted a [fruit-yielding tree] shall pass through several bodies until the [tree] has been felled." The theological reason for this was simple: to encourage reproduction was to endlessly retard the process by which the particles of light trapped in the bodies of living things were finally and permanently liberated.

⊙ ⊙ 4. Fourth Commandment

Known in Sogdian as "purity of mouth" [*qutchizpartya*], the fourth commandment, or seal of the mouth, was mainly concerned with dietary prohibitions. Meats, fermented drinks (beer, wine, or rice alcohol), and dairy products of any sort were proscribed because their preparation involved a series of violent acts harmful to the luminous souls contained in them. Manichaean monks were therefore strict vegetarians. Even so, their ascetic vows obliged them to show extreme care in choosing among the fruits and vegetables offered to them, and prepared for their consumption, by the lay faithful. Further constraining their appetite for edible nourish-

ment were the rigorous and protracted fasts that punctuated the calendar of monastic life. Moreover, the fourth commandment concerned not only what enters the mouth but also what comes out of it: words. In matters of speech, as in other things, monks were obliged to observe the moderation and respectful form of utterance appropriate to one who loved the justice of the prophet's church and therefore not to malign or slander any other person or to lie, blaspheme, swear, or perjure themselves.

⊙ ⊙ 5. Fifth Commandment

The last commandment enjoined monks to lead a life of poverty [Sogd *dushtautch*]—"blessed poverty," according to both the Sogdian prose fragment on the New Man (M 14 V) and a Bema hymn in Coptic (no. 235 in the Medinet Medi *Psalm Book* codex [ed. Allberry]), echoing the beatitude of the poor proclaimed by Jesus as the condition of entering the kingdom of heaven. Monks were permitted neither to accumulate personal possessions nor to acquire any goods, apart (according to al-Biruni) from a day's supply of food and enough clothing for a year. The complete destitution of the elect made him a free man, able to devote himself entirely to preaching and prayer, and a "blessed" man in the evangelical sense—in sum, a happy man.

Upright, nonviolent, chaste, abstinent, and poor—such was the Manichaean monk who practiced the five commandments laid down by Mani to express his ideal of evangelical blessedness and purpose. Polemicists on all sides were united in denigrating the morality of the Manichaeans, which they saw as proof of unfathomable stupidity and maliciousness. The Muslim al-Biruni was the only ancient writer, at least to my knowledge, to recognize that the kind of life required of Manichaean monks in fact set a very high moral standard and the only one to defend Mani against the "grotesque" charge that he would have approved, among other things, pederasty. Manichaean ethics, regarded as diabolical and insane in the West, had the effect among the peoples of Upper Asia of helping to moderate bloodthirsty behavior: "Countries with barbaric customs where blood used to stream," al-Biruni noted (in Pelliot's translation), "were transformed into a land where one ate vegetables; states where one used to kill were transformed into a kingdom where one exhorted oth-

ers to do good." These lines, taken from a trilingual inscription found in Karabalghasun, on the Orchon River, that recounts the early history of Manichaeism in the Uighur Empire of Bögü Khan, suggest the civilizing impact of such an ethics in Turco-Mongolian lands in the second half of the eighth century.

The Moral Code of the Laity

The lay followers were not an inferior class of Manichaean whose sole usefulness consisted in justifying Augustine's caustic remark: "To those who were called 'elect' and 'holy' [*electi et sancti*] we brought foods, out of which, in the workshop of their stomachs, they were to make us angels and gods, by whom we might be liberated" (*Confessions* 4.1.1). Lay men and women were members of the church on the same level with monks, and their functions, although different, were complementary. The layman allowed the monk to devote himself completely to the service of prayer and speech; the monk assured the layman of eternal salvation through the counsels that he imparted and the liturgical celebrations that he conducted. Thus the moral code of lay followers who remained in one place was not fundamentally different from that of monks called to apostolic nomadism: it corresponded to a different way of life.

The canonical obligations of the hearers are known through a formulary of confession intended specifically for them, the *Xvastvaneft*, a complete version of which is conserved in Old Turkish. The sequence of these simple and clear rituals, which are of five kinds, immediately calls to mind the five pillars of Islam. The similarity is not at all accidental, for just as Manichaeism furnished Islam with the essential elements of its prophetology, it also supplied the basis for Islamic ritual:

Manichaeism	Islam
1. Commandments	Profession of faith
2. Prayer	Prayer
3. Alms	Alms
4. Fasting	Fasting
5. Confession of sins	Pilgrimage

⊙ ⊙ 1. The Ten Commandments

These summarized the major articles of the Manichaean credo: love, faith, fear of God, and wisdom, sealed in the heart of the hearers by the four gods. The Uighur formulary refers explicitly to these gods and their qualities: the absolute transcendence of the Father, whose greatness depends only on the Good (I.2); the goodness of the Living Spirit, demiurge of the sun and the moon, by whom the light becomes separated from the darkness each day (II.2); the life and power of the Primal Man, whose five luminous elements form the limbs of the soul (III.2); and the wisdom of the messengers, prophets of God and bearers of salvation—in other words, the community of monks (IV.2).

The purpose of the ten commandments was to regulate the conduct of the laity as a consequence of this profession of faith.

1. The first commandment required hearers to renounce idolatry. The abandonment of idols implied a rejection of anthropomorphism, for the supreme God [= the Father of Greatness] gives neither life nor death. To attribute to him what does not depend on him was a sin; to appeal to the devil, that is, to the author of evil, as a god came under the same prohibition. This first imperative concerned the whole self or person, the nine others being distributed among three seals: mouth, heart, hands (IX.1).

2. Hearers were to monitor the purity of the mouth by refraining from blasphemy, lying, perjury, false witness, and slander; they had always to stand up for the innocent.

3. Meat and fermented beverages were to be excluded from the tables of the laity.

4. Hearers were to abstain from all inappropriate speech, especially that which was irreverent toward the prophets, for monks were the "true messengers of God" and did only good works (IV.2).

5. The heart of the hearer was to remain faithful to the man or woman who had been taken in marriage, and hearers were to refrain from all sexual relations during fasting days. Polygamy was condemned on the same ground as adultery.

6. Hearers were to come to the aid of the afflicted and refrain from all displays of greed.

7. They were to take care not to obey false prophets and impostors, that is, excommunicated or renegade Manichaeans.

8. The hearer was to avoid using his hands to frighten, injure, beat, torture, or kill not only human bipeds but also four-legged animals, birds, fish, and reptiles. Nor could his ten fingers cause suffering to the Living Self (III.3).

9. The hearer was to take care not to commit theft or fraud.

10. Finally, he was to refrain from all magical practices, forswearing the fabrication of charms, potions, and evil spells.

⊙ ⊙ 2. Prayer

The lay Manichaean was bound to observe four daily prayers, spaced between dawn and night (on rising, at midday and sunset, and after dark). During the day they had to be made facing the sun and in the evening, facing the moon; if the sun or the moon were not visible, he was to pray toward the north and the Pole Star. From the earliest days of the faith, this obligation [*qibla*] aroused attacks and erroneous interpretations on all sides. Mani responded to them in the *Mysteries*: "Sun and moon are our path and the gate through which we make our way in the world of our existence"—that is, toward the heavenly homeland. Ritual and prayer were strictly regulated: purifications and ablutions were required as a condition of entering a place of worship; formulas had to be recited correctly and in their entirety; the proper gestures and prostrations had to be performed while praying. To neglect one of these points, or to be inattentive to them, was sinful.

⊙ ⊙ 3. Alms

This obligation fell specifically on lay followers, just as poverty did on monks. In giving a tenth (or seventh) of his possessions, the hearer was purified of worldly works and, in this way, allowed the community of his brothers [and sisters], the elect, to discharge their duty of prayer and preaching. Almsgiving was therefore a service to the church, a communal manifestation of justice. If a hearer was prevented from obeying this rule, on account of poverty, destitution, or some other reason, he was nonetheless bound to ask forgiveness for having failed to fulfill his duty.

Typically it took the form of gifts: bread, fruits, vegetables, clothes, or sandals. It could also take other forms depending on the person's social importance: ransom of a captive, slave, or prisoner; substantial aid in rescuing distant brothers from distress; the temporary loan of a servant, relative, or son to help the community; the endowment of various functions placed under the administrative authority of the church hierarchy; or maintenance of monastery buildings or responsibility for additions to them. As the financial lifeblood of the church, alms were an occasion of sharing and exchange: in giving a part of his possessions, the layman obtained salvation; by accepting alms, the monk entered into an apprenticeship of true poverty, the sine qua non of holiness.

◎ ◎ 4. Fasting

Like monks, hearers were obliged to observe a cycle of fasting on both a weekly and a yearly basis. The weekly fast took place on Sunday, day of the sun. This meant having not only to abstain from food and all sexual relations but also to forgo all worldly labor. The dominical fast served to unite the church, for on this day the layman was a full-fledged member of his community, in no way different from the monk. Yet observance of this fast was by no means universal, particularly among notables, merchants, and breeders of livestock (the version of the *Xvastvaneft* in use among the Turkish-speaking Manichaean populations of Upper Asia during the eighth to tenth centuries mentions managers of great estates, faced with the demands of tending to both domesticated animals and roaming herds, as well as ordinary people suffering from poverty and frail health). To miss a fast—voluntarily or involuntarily, whether through laziness or negligence—was a sin. Hearers were bound also to observe an annual fast of thirty days, which itself was preceded at regular intervals by very brief fasts associated with feast days and culminating in the celebration of the Bema festival. The obligation to fast was subject to many different interpretations, both over time and from country to country. Contact with Islam, and the spirit of competition to which it gave rise, had the effect of strengthening the insistence of the church hierarchy on strict observance, particularly with regard to fasting.

⊙ ⊙ 5. Confession of Sins

Weekly confession took place on Monday, day of the moon, for hearers as well as the elect. The hearer knelt down before the monk, his brother, and asked forgiveness for every sin of thought, word, and deed. The annual confession was collective and took place at the end of the thirty-day fast, when the community came together to celebrate the passion of the Lord, that is, to commemorate the tragic events that marked Mani's last days on earth. An officiant, acting on behalf of the hearers, recited the confessional formulas composed especially for them (to save time he could confine himself to the final formula), with the result that all the sins of the past year were pardoned, and the lay members of the church were able to enter into the celebration of the community's great festival with the innocent heart of a newborn infant.

The Liturgy

The festival cycle of the Manichaean Church (which in Christian regions included Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost) was based on an idealized reconstruction of the major dates of its founder's life: Mani's birth, the call of the angel, the dispatch of the prophet, his passion and death, and the martyrdom of the first apostles. Each festival had the threefold purpose of commemorating a past event, realizing the communion of the faithful through the pardon of sins and the singing of hymns, and announcing the triumph of the (true) religion at the Final Judgment. And by dividing the planetary year into periods, the festival cycle actualized and recapitulated the three times of earthly history: the past origins of the church, the present moment of its ecclesiastical life, and the expectation and hope of final matters.

What was true of each festival was especially true of the most solemn of all Manichaean occasions, the Bema (from the Greek word meaning "dais," "tribune," "seat," "chair," or "throne" [Syr *bima*, MP *gah*]). In the architecture of Syriac Christian churches, the bema, erected in the middle of the nave, was the episcopal throne from which the bishop presided and the good news was proclaimed. In Manichaean churches and places

of worship, where it was constructed as a raised platform having five levels or steps, covered with precious fabrics and placed in full view of the congregation, the dais symbolized the five classes of the hierarchy. The top level was left vacant, however, for in commemorating Mani's reign the Bema festival perpetuated the memory of a leader who, invisibly, continued to instruct, judge, and guide his community.

The Bema was for Manichaeans what Easter was for Christians, namely, the festival to which all others led. The essential features of the Manichaean event were borrowed from its Christian counterpart: date (the vernal equinox), preparations (vigils and fasts of long duration), and significance (celebration of a passion). Although Manichaeans had never ceased to celebrate Easter, it was soon eclipsed in importance by the Bema, for the Christian festival celebrated what in the eyes of the Manichaeans was only apparently a passion and death (since the heavenly Jesus was incapable either of being born or of dying), whereas the Manichaean festival commemorated a man who had really suffered and who had really died. It was therefore in relation to Mani alone that Easter was a true passover, that is, a passing over from death to life, from the night of suffering and exile to the light of blessed eternity, from the prison of the body and the world to deliverance from the cycle of rebirths.

The Bema was indissociable from the fasts that preceded it, for the calendrical rules governing the computation of these fast dates served also to determine the date of the ultimate solemnities. The old calendar of the Manichaean Church of Babylon is known to us in its main features from Ibn al-Nadim's account. An initial fast of two days took place when the moon was full, the sun being in Sagitarius (= 14–15 November). With the first appearance of the next new moon plus one ("when the crescent begins to come into view"), a second fast of two continuous days (= 1–2 January) took place. A third fast of equal duration coincided with the next full moon, when the sun was in Capricorn (= 14–15 January). A fourth, discontinuous fast of thirty days, during which fasting was interrupted each evening after the setting of the sun, began with the advent of the new moon once the sun had entered into Aquarius, that is, on the eighth day of the month—this by synchronic analogy with the dates traditionally assigned to Mani's passion (= 8 February to 8 March). Thus from late autumn until late winter, Manichaeans of all ranks performed a series of

three forty-eight-hour fasts in memory of their holy martyrs, followed by a fourth and final month-long fast in memory of the founder of their faith, closing out the liturgical year.

The cycle of fasting culminated with the celebration of the Bema. Just as the beginning of the great annual fast (8 February) was made to correspond to Mani's imprisonment and the fastening of his chains, the end of the fast (8 March) fell on the canonical date of his deliverance and his ascent to heaven. Apart from eighth- to ninth-century Manichaean miniatures from Chotcho (Xotcho), the bulk of the surviving documentation concerning the Bema consists of the first part of M 801 (in Middle Persian and Parthian) and a Sogdian fragment (T II D 123) published by Henning. The texts do not give the first part of the ceremony, but it seems likely to have opened with a reading of Mani's passion, from the moment of his crucifixion [= imprisonment] until the leaving of his body [death and ascension]. We know that prayers of intercession were then addressed to Mani, punctuated by hymns of praise. Next came the solemn celebration of Mani's *Gospel,* a copy of which was held up by an officiant for adoration by the faithful. This was succeeded by a general confession of sins, made by means of formularies read out by the ministers in the name of the congregation and accompanied by the singing of three hymns beseeching Mani for forgiveness. After this penitential rite came a reading of the "Letter of the Seal" [MP *muhr dib*]—the last message that Mani, seal of the prophets, wrote for his followers shortly before his death—followed by a hymn glorifying the apostle ascendant in heaven and his triumphant church. Then came communion, a holy banquet offered to the elect by the hearers at which fine fruits, particularly rich in light particles, were shared and eaten. The feast concluded with songs of thanksgiving.

The entire night preceding the Bema celebration was passed in prayers and songs; indeed, most of the hymns bearing the festival's name that are conserved in the Turfan texts and the Coptic Psalm Book were composed for this service. In the early hours the doors of the shrine were opened wide to let in the sun's first rays. As the hymn to the dawn (likening Mani to the rising sun) resounded throughout the space, the hearers entered bearing gifts of fruit and bread, which they placed on a golden tripod and on the communion table in front of the dais. Around the table, bowls were gradually filled with armfuls of roses collected by the hearers. Juice

from the fruits was poured into a golden vase from which the elect would drink. A linen veil covered the five-tiered dais, which represented the throne of Mani, who, represented by his icon, was shown symbolically as seated at the summit of his church. The Manichaeans' great day of joy thus began in the midst of flowers, colors, and songs. In the words of the Bema Psalm (*Psalm Book 2* p. 8, 14–21): "Greetings, Bema of victory! Now this day all the trees have been made new again! Now the roses display their beauty, for the withe that blanched their petals has been severed! The air is everywhere luminous, and the earth pushes up its blossoms, the waves of the sea are calmed, for the dark winter that overflowed with torment has fled."

CHAPTER 4

The Pantheon

Mani, a poet and a visionary, worked out his ideas about the nature of things, about their causes and their modalities, within the literary framework of an account of legends, the *Pragmateia*—for he was neither a philosopher nor a theologian, neither Greek nor Jewish. To his mind, the cardinal virtue of the historical Messiah (Jesus) was to have destroyed the Jewish Bible, that is, to have demonstrated the falsity of a religion founded on the law. But it remained to communicate the revelation: to show why evil had come to be mixed with good; to expose the true genesis of things, since the other Genesis had been abolished; to provide a history that says everything and explains everything from start to finish—beginning, middle, end; in short, to state the Two Principles and the Three Times (or Epochs).

To make such a revelation belonged by right to the seal of prophecy, since the prophet was supposed to embody the fullness of wisdom and knowledge. Thus it was that Mani the writer began by saying what had impressed Mani the reader of apocalypses: he wrote the *Shabuhragan,* his first book, to describe the final time or state (of separation). In order to recount in detail the early and middle times (of nonlimitation and mixture, respectively), he wrote the *Pragmateia.* Whereas the *Shabuhragan* announced a hope, the *Pragmateia* expounded a tragic myth. Rather than draw up a composite summary of this latter work from extant sources, I will give the version of it transmitted in the late eighth century by the Nestorian doctor Theodore bar Konai, who had made his own summary on the basis of a Syriac copy of the *Pragmateia.* Though composed in a haphazard fashion and sprinkled with errors introduced by copyists, this text stands still today as the most complete version of the Manichaean myth as Mani had conceived and written it.

I have added a small amount of transitional commentary, set in italic, to make it easier to follow the tale.

The Narrative

⊙ ⊙ 1. The Early Time

Before the existence of the heavens and of the earth and of everything that is in them, there were two natures [*kyanin*], the one good, the other bad. The good nature inhabited the land [or "world"] of light, which Mani called Father of Greatness [*abba d-rabbutha*]. Apart from him were his dwellings [or "realms"—*skinatha*]: reason, sense, thought, reflection, intention. The bad nature Mani called King of Darkness [*mlek heshuka*], who lived in his dark land, in his five dark worlds: the world of smoke, the world of fire, the world of wind, the world of water, and the world of darkness.

⊙ ⊙ 2. The Middle Time

A. *THE FIRST WAR* (a) *Outbreak of hostilities: the King of Darkness glimpses the beauty of the land of light and prepares to mount an assault upon it.* When the King of Darkness contemplated climbing up toward the land of light, its five dwellings feared for their safety.

(b) *The Father of Greatness resolves to respond to the attack of the King of Darkness through an initial series of "Calls" (First Creation).* The Father of Greatness thought and said: "I will not send any of my dwellings, any of these five realms, into combat because it was for prosperity and peace that they were created by me, but it is myself [*b-nafshey*] who will go and make war!" Mani says that the Father of Greatness called [*qra*] the Mother of Life (the Living) [*emma d-hayye*], the Mother of Life called the Primal (First) Man [*nasha qadmaya*], and the Primal Man called his five sons [or "arms"], like one who arms himself to do battle.

(c) *Defeat of the Primal Man.* Then there came out to meet the Primal Man an angel by the name of Nahashbat, who held in his hand the crown of victory. The angel spread out the light before the Primal Man. On seeing this the King of Darkness thought and said: "What I searched for far away I have found close at hand." Then the Primal Man offered himself

[*nafsh-eh*] and his five sons as nourishment to the five sons of darkness, like one who, having an enemy, mixes a deadly poison into a cake and offers it to him. When the sons of darkness had eaten, the intelligence of the Five Shining Gods [*ziwane* = sons of the First Man] was toppled. They were like a man bitten by a rabid dog or by a serpent, this on account of the venom of the sons of darkness.

(d) *Second reply of the Father of Greatness, who issues a fresh series of Calls (Second Creation), and rescue of the Primal Man by the Living Spirit.* Intelligence having returned to him, the Primal Man addressed seven times a prayer to the Father of Greatness. The Father of Greatness called [second call (*qrayta*)] the Friend of the Lights. The Friend of the Lights called the Great Builder [*ban rabba*], the Great Builder called the Living Spirit [*ruha hayya*], and the Living Spirit called his five sons: the Ornament of Splendor [*sfat ziwa*], so called for his reason [Gr *noūs*, Lat *mens*]; the Great King of Magnificence [*malka rabba d-iqara*], for his sense [= powers of perception]; the Adamas (or Adamant) of Light [*Adamas-nuhra*], for his thought [= practical understanding]; the King of Glory [*mlek shubha*], for his reflection [= powers of deliberation]; and the Porter (or Atlas) [*subbala*], for his intention [= ability to plan]. They went into the land of darkness, where they found the Primal Man swallowed up by the darkness and his five sons. Then the Living Spirit called out in a loud voice. The voice of the Living Spirit was like a sharp sword, and it laid bare the form of the Primal Man and said to him: "Peace be with you, who are the good amid the wicked, the light amid the darkness, the god who dwells amid wrathful animals that know not the magnificence [of the sons of light]!" Then the Primal Man responded, saying: "Come in peace, you who bring the wages of prosperity and peace." And moreover the Primal Man said to him: "How goes it with our fathers, the sons of light, in their abode?" And the Call [*qraya*] said to him: "They are well." The Call and the Response [*'naya*] joined with one another and together ascended to the Mother of Life and to the Living Spirit. And the Living Spirit clothed himself in the Call, and the Mother of Life clothed herself in the Response, her beloved child. Then they descended into the land of darkness, where they found the Primal Man and his sons. *The rest of the story is known from* Keph. *9 and the account given by Turbo in the* Acta Archelai *(7.7):* The Living Spirit held out his right hand to the Primal Man and drew him out of the

darkness. The Mother of Life embraced her son and kissed him. Then the Primal Man was brought back in triumph among his family in the land of light. *End of the first war, return to the text of Theodore bar Konai.*

B. *INTERLUDE I: THE DEMIURGICAL WORK OF THE LIVING SPIRIT* (a) *Slaughter of the archons, whose spoils are used to make the world.* Then the Living Spirit commanded three of his sons, telling one to kill and another to flay the archons, sons of darkness, in order that they be brought to the Mother of Life. And the Mother of Life [gave her orders, and the Living Spirit] spread out the sky with their skins and made eleven heavens. Then the three sons of the Living Spirit threw their corpses onto the land of darkness and made eight earths [= layers of the world].

(b) *The sons of the Living Spirit are charged with watching over the cosmos.* And the five sons of the Living Spirit were all invested with their own responsibilities: the Ornament of Splendor was charged with supporting the Five Shining Gods by their loins, and beneath their loins the heavens were spread out; the Porter, with bending one of his knees and supporting the earths; and after the heavens and the earths had been made, the Great King of Magnificence sat in the middle of the sky and watched to see that they were held in place.

(c) *Making of the sun and the moon and creation of the cosmic wheels.* Then the Living Spirit manifested his forms to the sons of darkness. With the light that they had swallowed and that came from these Five Shining Gods, he brought about a [first] filtering of the light and made the sun and the moon. With the light that was left over, from these vessels [or "ships of light"], he made wheels of wind, water, and fire. Then he descended and fixed [mss: formed] them from beneath near the Porter. And the King of Glory called [= created] and established for them an orbit so that they could make their ascent by passing above the archons, who were divided among the earths. [The] purpose [of the wheels] was to serve the Five Shining Gods and to prevent them from being consumed by the poison of the archons.

C. *INTERLUDE II: COMPLETION OF THE WORLD'S CREATION BY THE MESSENGER* (a) *Third Call (or Creation). The Messenger sets in motion the cosmic machine.* Mani said that then the Mother of Life, the

Primal Man, and the Living Spirit rose to pray and that they invoked the Father of Greatness. He heard them and called, third call, the Messenger [*izgadda*]. And the Messenger called the Twelve Virgins with their vestments, their crowns, and their attributes. The first was royalty; the second, wisdom; the third, innocence; the fourth, persuasion; the fifth, purity; the sixth, firmness; the seventh, faith; the eighth, endurance; the ninth, uprightness; the tenth, goodness; the eleventh, justice; and the twelfth, light. And when the Messenger reached the vessels [= the sun and moon], he directed three servants to set them in motion. And the Great Builder was directed by him to construct a new earth and [to activate] the three wheels to make them rise up.

(b) *The Messenger manifests himself to provoke an ejaculation by the archons.* Once the vessels had begun to move and reached the middle of the sky, then did the Messenger manifest his male and female forms, and he was perceived by all the archons, sons of darkness, male and female. At the sight of the Messenger in the beauty of his forms, all the archons burned with desire for him: the males for the female figure and the females for the male figure. And they began to let escape, along with their desire, the light that they had swallowed and that came from the Five Shining Gods. It was then that the sin [= sperm] of the archons was contained, for having been mixed with the light that had come out of the archons, like a hair in a cake, it sought to enter [the Messenger at the same time as the light].

(c) *The Messenger hides himself to begin separating the light from "sin" (origin of the vegetable and animal world).* Then did the Messenger conceal his forms and separate from the light of the Five Shining Gods the sin [= sperm] of the archons. And the sin, which had fallen from the archons, fell back onto them. But they did not accept it, like someone who is disgusted by his own vomit. The sin then fell onto the earth, half of it onto the wet [= water] and half onto the dry [= land]. The half that had fallen onto the wet became a monstrous beast in the likeness of the King of Darkness. And the Adamas of Light was dispatched against it, did battle with it, vanquished it, turned it over on its back, and thrust a spear through its heart. Then he brought down his shield upon its mouth and put one foot on its haunches and the other on its breast. As for the half that had fallen onto the dry, it gave birth to five trees. *End of the creation of the world.*

D. *THE SECOND WAR* (a) *Outbreak of hostilities. The demons undertake a countercreation (Adam and Eve) to perpetuate the exile of the light particles through the human race.* Mani said that these daughters of darkness were pregnant from the beginning on account of their own nature, and that because of the beauty of the forms of the Messenger they had glimpsed, their fetuses were aborted and fell to earth, where they ate the shoots of the trees. And the abortions deliberated among themselves and recalled the form of the Messenger that they had seen, saying, "Where is the form that we saw?" And Ashaqlun, son of the King of Darkness, said to the abortions, "Give me your sons and your daughters, and I shall make you a form like the one that you saw!" They brought them to him and gave them to him. He ate the males and gave the females to Nebroel (Namrael), his companion. And Nebroel and Ashaqlun came together, and Nebroel conceived of him and gave birth to a son, whom she called Adam. Then she conceived and gave birth to a daughter, whom she called Eve.

(b) *Reply of the Father of Greatness. Jesus the Splendor is dispatched to rouse Adam from his torpor.* And Mani said that Jesus the Splendor approached the innocent Adam and awakened him from the sleep of death, so that he might be delivered from an overabundant spirit, as if a righteous man found someone to be possessed of a dreadful demon and silenced it by his art. Thus was Adam also [released], when the friend [= Jesus the Splendor] found him plunged into a deep sleep, wakened him, shook him and roused him from his torpor, drove the seductive demon far away from him, and bound up the far-reaching female archon far away from him. And thus did Adam examine his soul [*nafsh-eh*] and know who he was. And Jesus the Splendor showed him the fathers on high [= the five intellectual faculties], and his own self [= Adam], thrust entire into the jaws of the leopard and into the jaws of the elephant, swallowed by the swallowers and sucked by the suckers, devoured by the dogs and mixed and imprisoned in all that exists, and shackled in the stench of darkness. Then Jesus the Splendor made Adam stand and taste of the tree of life. Then did Adam look and weep, and let out a great cry like the roaring lion. He tore out his hair and beat his breast, saying: "Woe, woe upon the maker of my body and upon the one who has shackled my soul and upon the rebels that have enslaved me!" *The second war, ended*

among the gods, has now only just begun among men. It will last until the last particle of light is freed from the material mixture of the world and reunites the Perfect Man with the five Intellectual Splendors of the Father.

⊙ ⊙ 3. The Final Time

Theodore bar Konai says nothing of the final time, and this because eschatology did not enter into the purpose of the *Pragmateia.* It need merely be noted that the final time was to witness the third and last war, called the "great war" in the Manichaean sources and described by Mani in the *Shabuhragan.* The successive episodes that mark these last ends (persecutions of the faithful, followed by universal triumph of the Manichaean Church, parousia of Jesus, last judgment, crumbling of the worlds and conflagration, and the definitive separation of natures) all belong in the main to the Judeo-Christian apocalyptic literature with which Mani became acquainted as an adolescent.

Synopsis of the Manichaean Pantheon

Three essential features—polarity, quinarity, polyonymy—characterize the Manichaean pantheon. Polarity, wrongly identified with metaphysical dualism, is the dialectical game (Manichaeans said "combat") to which gods and antigods devoted themselves in the world and in the bodies of the living. The role of the demons and of their supreme leader, who occupied the southern lands of mythic space, was not to challenge the transcendence and supremacy of the First Established One, who inhabited the Septentrion, but instead to serve as parasitic (though absolutely necessary) foils to the work of the gods of the three creations. Mani had no wish to devise an original demonology; the quite rudimentary one found in the international folklore of his time amply sufficed in his view for the purpose of elaborating what for him was the essential thing: theogony.

Quinarity was the specific organizing principle of theogony. This topic will be treated in the following section.

Polyonymy, that is, the superimposition of names given to a single god in the various spoken languages of Manichaeism, has been explained as an effect of syncretism or an argument from missionary doctrine. In Mani's thought it was the direct consequence of a cultural milieu in which

the names of national gods served only to describe functions within the hierarchical organization of heavenly space.

⊙ ⊙ 1. Demonology

King of Darkness (c)

Other names: Devil (Gr, Lat, Copt); Satan (Ar); Ahremen (MP, Parth, OT); Shimanu/Shimnu (Sogd, OT); Prince of Darkness (Lat, Copt); Great Archon (Gr, Lat); Matter (Syr, Gr, Lat); Evil (Lat).

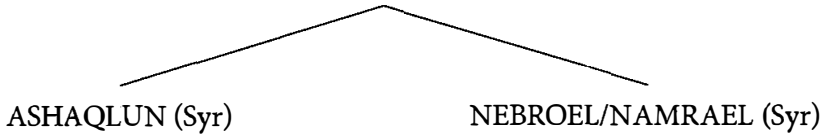


Figure 6.

Other names of Ashaqlun [= Shaqlun: MP, Parth, Sogd, Ar; Saclas: Gr, Lat, Copt]: Prince of Rutting (Gr); Lu-yi (Chin); Desire [Parth: *Awarzhog*]; Son of the King of Darkness (c). Other names of Nebroel/Namrael: Concupiscence, or Greed [MP, Parth, Sogd: *Az*]; Ye-lo-yang (Chin); Wife of Saclas (c).

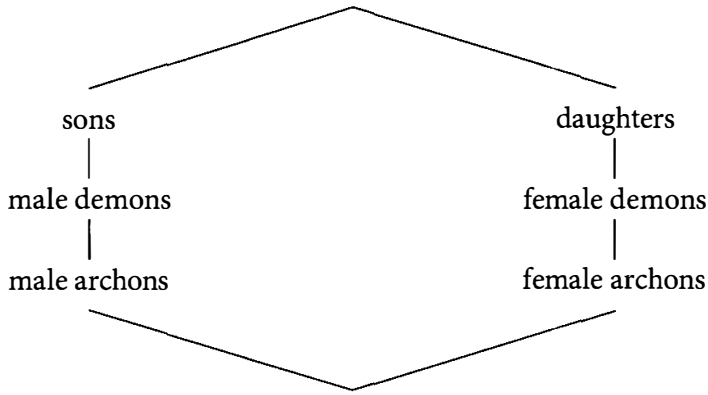


Figure 7.

⊙ ⊙ 2. Theogony

Father of Greatness

Other names: Father of Light (Parth); Magnificent Father of the Lights (Copt); First Father (Copt); Primal Father (Parth); God (c); the Good Lord (Gr); God Sroshaw (Parth); Zurvan [MP, Parth, Sogd: *Azrua*; OT: *Äzrua*];

Sovereign of Paradise (MP, Parth); Sovereign God of the Paradise of Light (Sogd); King of the Gardens of Light (Ar); Venerable One of the Light of the World of the Pure Light (Chin); Great King (Ar); King of the World of Light (Ar); King of Truth (Copt); True God (Parth); Lord of All (Copt).

FIRST CREATION (CALL)

I. Mother of Life (c)

Other names: Mother of Life (c); Living Mother (Parth); Excellent or Good Mother (Chin); Primal Mother (Copt); Mother of the Just/Righteous (Parth, Sogd); Mother of Light (Parth); Mother of the Lord Ohrmizd/Ohrmazd (MP, Parth); Gynemorphous God (MP); God Who Dispenses Peace and Joy (Sogd); Joyous Mother (Ar); Holy Primal Spirit (Copt); Great Spirit (Copt, Parth); Spirit of the Righteous (Ar); Holy Spirit (c).

II. Primal Man (c)

Other names: Lord Ohrmizd/Ohrmazd (MP, Parth, Sogd); God Ohrmizd (OT); Sien-yi (Chin).

III. The Five Sons of the Primal Man (c)

Other names: The Five Shining Gods [Syr: *Ziwane*]; the Five Gods (Syr); Quinary God (OT); the Five Lights (Syr, Parth); the Sons of Light (Syr); the Five Elements (Syr, Gr, Lat, Copt); the Five Bodies (Ar, Chin); the Five Limbs (Gr, Ar); the Splendors (Syr); Armor (c); the Immortal Saints [MP, Sogd: *Amahraspandan*]; Soul or Self (c); the Good Soul (MP); the Living Soul (Syr, Copt, Parth, Sogd); Light Self (MP, Parth); Living Self (MP, Parth, Sogd, OT); God of That Which Really Is (MP).

Syr	Copt	Ar[1]	Gr + Lat	MP	Ar[2] + OT
1. light	light	fire	wind	air	breeze
2. wind	fire	light	light	wind	wind
3. water	water	wind	water	light	light
4. fire	wind	water	fire	water	water
5. air	air	breeze	[air]	fire	fire

SECOND CREATION (CALL)

I. Friend of the Lights (Syr, MP, Ar)

Other names: Blessed/Beloved of the Lights (Syr, Parth, Sogd); Sublime of the Lights (MP).

II. Great Builder (Syr, MP, Parth, Sogd)

Other names: Artisan God of the New Earth (Syr, MP, Parth); God Bam [Parth < Syr *Ban*]; Architect of the Lights (MP).

III. Living Spirit (c)

Other names: Pure Breath (Chin); Demiurge (Gr [Sogd: *Vishparkar*]); God Mihr [MP: *Mihryazd*]; Lord of the Seven Parts of the World (Sogd); Father of Life (Copt); Judge of Truth (Copt); Just Judge (Parth, Sogd, Copt).

IV. The Five Sons of the Living Spirit (c)

Other names: the Saints of the Macrocosm (Chin); the Five Envoys of Light (Chin); the Five Guardians Who Do Not Sleep (Copt).

1. ORNAMENT OF SPLENDOR (SYR)

Other names: He Who Maintains the World (Sogd, Chin); Keeper of the Splendors [Lat: *Splenditenens*; Gr: *Pheggokatokos*]; Master of the Land [MP: *Dahibed*].

2. GREAT KING OF MAGNIFICENCE (SYR)

Other names: King of Honor [Lat: *Rex honoris*]; Lord of Heaven (Sogd); Great King of the Ten Heavens (Chin); Master of the Guardhouse [MP: *Pahrbed/Pahragbed*].

3. ADAMAS/ADAMANT OF LIGHT (SYR, COPT)

Other names: Adamas (Gr, Lat); Fighting Hero (Lat); Conqueror Who Subdues the Demons (Chin); Master of the Village [MP: *Wisbed*]; Tetramorphous God (MP); Lord Vahram (Sogd).

4. KING OF GLORY [SYR, COPT, LAT: GLORIOSUS REX]

Other names: He Who Hastens Clarity (Chin); God of the Three Wheels (OT); God Who Makes the Breath Rise, Who Evokes the Spirit (MP); Master of the Tribe [MP: *Zandbed*]; God of the Earth [Sogd: *Spendarmard*].

5. PORTER (SYR)

Other names: Atlas (Gr, Lat, Copt); Omophorus (Gr, Copt, Lat [*Mundum ferens humeris*], Sogd); He Who Is in the Bowels of the Earth (Chin); Master of the House [MP: *Manbed*].

THIRD CREATION (CALL)

I. The Messenger (Syr)

Other names: The One Who Has Been Sent (Gr, Copt); Third Envoy (Gr, Copt, Lat [*Tertius legatus*], Parth, Sogd); Great Envoy of the Beneficent Light (Chin); Able Worker (Chin); God Narisah (MP); God Narisaf (Parth, Sogd); God of the Land of the Light (MP, Parth); Lord Zenares (MP); God Mihr (Parth).

II. Jesus the Splendor (Syr, MP, Parth)

Other names: Savior (Gr, Copt, Lat); God of the World of Wisdom [MP: *Xradeshahryazd*]; Envoy of Light (Chin); Christ (Copt).

III. Virgin/Maiden of the Light (c)

Other names: the Twelve Virgins/Maidens (Syr); the Virgins (Parth); the Twelve Virgins of the Light (Syr, MP); the Twelve Daughters of God (Sogd); the Twelve Sovereignties (Parth); Sadwis (Parth); Divine Gynemorphous Manifestation (MP).

IV. Perfect Man (Gr, Copt, Lat, MP, Parth)

Other names: Wahman (MP, Parth); Intellect-Light (Copt, Parth, Sogd); Great Intellect (Copt, MP); Great Light (Chin); New Man (Copt, Lat, Chin); Pillar of Glory (Syr, Gr̈, Copt, Ar, Parth [*Bamistun*], Sogd); Just Srosh/Srosha (MP, Sogd, Chin); God Porter of the Worlds (MP); Great Porter [Copt: Omophorus]; Glory of Religion (MP, Parth, Sogd); God Fully Embodied (Sogd); God Nomqutï (OT).

The Five Limbs of the Perfect Man (Copt, Ar)

Other names: the Five Kinds (Ar); the Five Thoughts (Parth); the Five Worlds (Syr, Ar, Gr, Lat); the Five Aeons (Gr); the Five Dwellings (Syr); the Names of the Soul (Gr); the Fathers (Syr); the Intellectual Splendors (Gr); the Five Intellectuals of Life/Light (Copt).

Syr	Gr	Lat	MP
1. reason	noūs	mens	bam
2. sense	ennoia	sensus	manohmed
3. thought	phronēsis	prudentia	us
4. reflection	enthumēsis	intellectus	andeshisn
5. intention	logismos	cogitatio	parmanag

The Quinary System

The heart of the mythological system concerns the issuing of three series of "Calls" that resolve into quinarity and consist, respectively, of (A) undecomposable elements, (B) personified cosmic functions, and (C) personified intellectual faculties:

(A)	I	II	III	———	→5
(B)	I	II	III	IV	→5
(C)	I	II	III	IV	V →5

These three series represent the three possible modes for apprehending the nature of light: physics, cosmology, and psychology.

The first series, involving the five sons of the Primal Man (or splendors) [Syr: *ziwane*], is formed of the constitutive elements of the luminous bodies, or light particles, that fill up the atmosphere and that come from the sun itself. In codifying its mythology, Manichaean doctrine made two decisive modifications to the fundamental pentadic structure of solar bodies (a cosmology already found in Bardesanes and debated in all the Greek-language philosophy of the period): on the one hand, the *ziwane* were relocated to the summit of the universe, where they formed the dwellings of the supreme entity (Father of Greatness); on the other hand, these same *ziwane,* stripped from the armor of the Primal Man by the violence of Satan's desire, were thrust down into the lower realms or cellars of the cosmos, where they became mixed with their "unclean" and "compact" contraries, to quote the terms used by al-Shahrastani in the table of categories in *al-Milal*:

Syr/Copt	Ar^1	Ar^2
1. smoke	fog	blaze
2. fire	blaze	darkness
3. wind	simoom	simoom
4. water	poison	fog
5. darkness	darkness	smoke → Hummama

The sources agree in describing this mixture as a combat that concludes with the swallowing and ingestion of the *ziwane* in the cosmic belly of

the King of Darkness. Al-Shahrastani unambiguously states that the first series of Calls constitutes the cosmological foundation of the Manichaean conception of light as astral essence: "The land of light did not cease to be fine [= made up of luminous particles] by contrast with the form of this land; it has the form of the body [*jirm*] of the sun and its radiance is like the radiance of the sun." It is these fundamental corpuscular elements (rather than the conceptual elements insisted upon not only by Iranian sources but also, it appears, by Turbo in the *Acta Archelai*) that give the narrative its impetus and that supply a basis for the system at the end of the process of the Third Creation.

The second series of Calls introduces four demiurgical functions exercised by the five sons of the Living Spirit: guardianship of the *ziwane* by the Ornament of Splendor; struggle against the *ziwane*-swallowing demons by the Great King of Magnificence and the Adamas of Light; supervision of the distillatory function of the cosmic wheels by the King of Glory; and support of the heavenly lands by Atlas. Our sources have a great deal to say about these functions, and the popular success of Manichaean gigantomachy made it possible to expand upon Mani's exposition by the addition of many details that capture the imagination. This fact must not, however, cause us to lose sight of the essential thing, namely, that the demiurge made the two lustrous bodies from the "remains of the soul," that is, from the light elements ingurgitated by the archons and then spat out by them and eventually filtered. The two stars were therefore, as ʿAbd al-Jabbar said [in *al-Mughni*], "pure light" and, by virtue of this, located beyond the zodiac and the planets.

The third series, of personified faculties, forms the Perfect Man (or Light-*Noūs*) as a result of the operation of the machine for purifying the last particles of light dispersed in the world. The Messenger positions himself in the sun, and Jesus the Splendor, assisted by the Virgin of Light, in the moon. Then begins the refining of the *ziwane* by the action of the three wheels of wind, water, and fire: the particles of light recovered from the depths of matter (*hylē*) by the machine's buckets are first purified and then conveyed to the moon, which carries them to the sun, which in turn transports them to the land of light at the summit of the universe. This axis of transmission, around which the bodies borne up by the circular

motion of the wheels rotate and escape the darkness, links the lower parts of the cosmos with the higher parts. Rotation around the axis has the effect of radically transforming the nature of these luminous bodies, making them Limbs of the Intellect [Gr *noera*], which jointly constitute the Perfect Man:

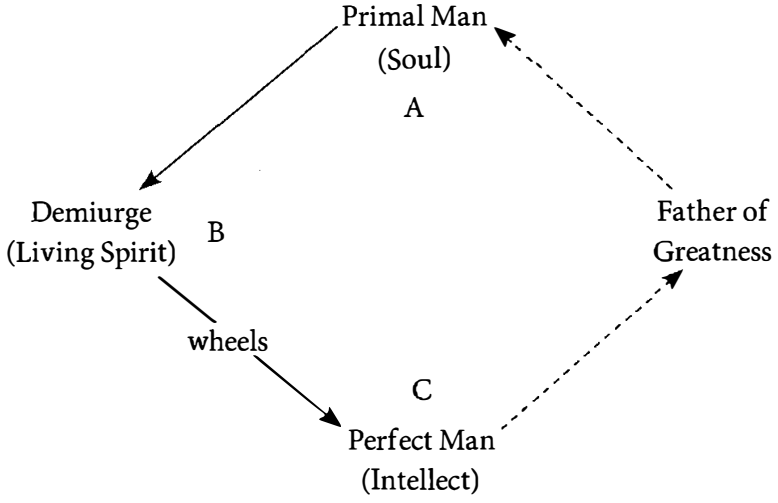


Figure 8.

Mani worked out the design of his system not as a philosopher but as a painter. This system was the product not of theoretical reflection but of behavior linked to the perception of colors, odors, and flavors. The physics of the *ziwane* is therefore a sensory physics. "The agreeable taste that is in foods," Mani declared in a passage cited by Ephraem, "belongs to the light that is mixed in them." In al-Shahrastani's account, the land of light, abode of the Father of Greatness, is likewise described in sensory terms: "It smells very good, and its colors are the colors of the rainbow." Augustine, for his part, noted that if the Manichaeans were particularly fond of cereals, grapes, melons, lettuce, olives, roses, and violets, it was because the colors of these fruits and vegetables are "signs of the presence of God." Color is therefore the first of the three goods [*tria bona*] that light (masculine in Aramaic) inseminates in the eye (feminine). Four colors of the *ziwane* are known through a fragment of Bardesanes cited in Ephraem's *Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardesanes*: "Light is white, fire red, the wind blue, water green." The fifth color is gold, which

Augustine mentions as a sign of the light inherent in melons and which applies to the fifth element, air, breeze, or ether.

It must be noted, finally, that the process by which the gastric machine of the Manichaean elect distills the light diffused in foods is the biological counterpart to the cosmic process by which the three-wheeled machine called into existence during the Second Creation purifies the *ziwane*. In other words, the Manichaean stands in the same relation to his stomach as the demiurge and his sons stand to the world, which is to say that he is a maker of light. The microcosm repeats the macrocosm.

Augustine understood the mechanism of this exchange very well. After having summarized the myth of the mixture that leads to panpsychism, in *De moribus Manichaeorum* [On the Customs of the Manichaeans, 15.36], he added, "If the food prepared from vegetables and fruits enters the bodies of the holy [= the elect], by their chastity, their prayers, and their psalms everything in these foods that is noble and divine is purified, that is, perfected in every way, so that it can regain its own domain free from all defilement." Chewing, swallowing, and digestion work to separate the dark matter of food, evacuated in stools, from its luminous and divine part, the "limb of God" [*membrum dei*], which brings about the return to pure light.

A passage in *De natura boni* (§45) clarifies the text just quoted from *De moribus*: "The portion and nature of God that has been mixed is purified [*purgari*] by the elect when they eat and drink, for it is fettered in all foods, they say. Therefore, when the elect or holy, taking these foods for the reflection of their bodies, eat them and drink them, by their sanctity the portion of God that is mixed is detached [*soavi*], sealed [*signari*], and delivered [*liberari*]." The four verbs mentioned by Augustine have a technical sense: thanks to the luminosity trapped within his body (otherwise known as the *sanctitas*), the elect is able to filter the light by separating out what is unclean and keeping intact the filtered part, which is then liberated and restored to the world from on high. Manducation therefore involves two essential operations: descent of foods from the mouth to the stomach, where filtering [Syr: *sulala*; Lat: *purgatio*] takes place, and a rising back up of the filtered and recovered [Syr: *masaqta*; Lat: *reditus*] particles. This two-part movement repeats on the level of the human

body the dual cosmic motion of the descent and rise of the *ziwane*, which were first swallowed by the demons, then spat out by them, and finally distilled, being drawn up out of the world and carried to the moon and the sun, whence they were conducted to the land of light. According to the fine formula of the Chinese Manichaeans, "The universe is the pharmacy where the luminous bodies heal."

Chronology of Manichaeism after Mani

274 (or 276/277): Shortly before his death in prison at Beth-Lapat, Mani designates Sis (Sisin, Sisinnios) of Kaskar, in southern Baylonia, to succeed him as head of the church (*Kephalaia,* pl. 211–12). Under Karder's influence, Bahram II, the fifth Sassanian sovereign (274–91), son of Bahram I (271–74), unleashes persecutions against Manichaeans and Christians.

Ca. 280: P. Rylands 469 (= 700 Van Haelst), Gr. pastoral letters from an Egyptian bishop (Theonas of Alexandria?) taking issue with the ritual and ascetic practices of Manichaeans and warning against the propaganda of the women of the sect. The oldest anti-Manichaean document so far found.

284 (or 286 or 287): Arrest and appearance of Sis before Karder and Bahram II at Beshabuhr in Fars; there he suffers martyrdom after ten years as supreme pontiff. Innaios, brother of Zabed, succeeds him at the head of the Manichaean Church (*Hom.* 81–83).

Ca. 290: Manichaeans frequent the school of Alexander at Lycopolis (Asyut) in Upper Egypt. Alexander writes a treatise in Greek that has come down to us as *Contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio* (Against the doctrine of Mani).

292: After an interregnum of four months following the death of Bahram II, Narseh, son of Shapur, becomes king of kings (292–301). End of persecutions against Manichaeans and Christians.

297: On 31 March, following a report from Julianus, proconsul of Africa, Diocletian promulgates from Alexandria an edict against Manichaeans suspected of being agents of the Romans' traditional enemy: *Persica adversaria nobis gente.*

298: Narseh is vanquished by Galerius, commander of the Roman army, and cedes five provinces of Lesser Armenia to Rome. The peace treaty was to last some forty years.

Ca. 301–2: First appearance of books 1–8 of the *Historia ecclesiae* (Church history) by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea. In his brief note regarding Mani (7.31), Eusebius fails to mention the *Acta Archelai.*

302–9: Reign of Hormuz II, son of Narseh: resumption of persecutions against Manichaeans and Christians.

Ca. 306: Ephraem Syrus is born at Nisibis.

336–37: Afrahat ("the Persian sage") writes his first ten "demonstrations" [*tahwyatha*] in Syriac. First mention of Mani (2.9) among writers in the Syriac language.

Ca. 340: Greek redaction of the *Acta Archelai* ("The Acts of the Disputation [of Archelaus, Bishop of Caschar in Mesopotamia] with the Hesiarch Manes"), attributed to Hegemonius—a fantastic exposition of Mani's origins that was to become the major source for Christian heresiology. Mani is presented as the petty slave of a rich widow descended from a certain Terbinthos/Buddha, himself descended from a Greek-educated Arab merchant named Scythianos. Having freed Kubrikos/Mani, the widow is said to have bequeathed her fortune to him on her death.

Ca. 345: Eusebius, bishop of Emesa, writes a treatise against the Manichaeans, mentioned by Epiphanius and Theodoret. Text lost.

348: Cyril of Jerusalem composes the sixth of his *Catechetical Lectures.* First known quotation from the *Acta Archelai.*

Ca. 350: Composition of the Coptic codices known as the Nag Hammadi library [from the place of their discovery in Upper Egypt in 1945].

Ca. 352: George of Laodicea writes a treatise against the Manichaeans, cited by Epiphanius and Theodoret. Text lost.

354: On 13 November Augustine is born at Thagaste in Numidia (modern-day Souk Ahras in Algeria).

Ca. 358: Death of Serapion of Thmuis, author of a treatise against the Manichaeans. Text conserved.

363: The Roman emperor Julian ("the Apostate") dies in his war against Shapur II. As a consequence of the peace accord signed with his successor, Jovian, the Iranians reacquire Nisibis and the provinces of Lesser Armenia previously lost by Narseh.

364: The pagan rhetorician Libanius writes to his friend Priscianus, governor of Palestine: "There are Manichaeans more or less everywhere, but nowhere are they numerous. They harm no one, but some harm them."

Ca. 365: Latin version of the *Acta Archelai.* Titus of Bostra composes a treatise in four books against the Manichaeans, complete only in its Syriac version.

Ca. 370: Lefort fragment (Paris, B.N., 131[4], fols. 154–58), an extract from a treatise against pagans and heretics written in Sahidic Coptic by a monk in

the White Monastery of Upper Egypt. Identified by H. J. Polotsky in 1932, it contains four quotations from Turbo in the *Acta Archelai.*

372: On 2 March Valentinian I issues edict against the Manichaeans of Rome. Fines, banishment, and confiscation of places of worship.

373: Augustine enters as *auditor* (hearer) in the Manichaean Church of Africa. Death of Ephraem Syrus at Edessa (9 June?).

Ca. 375: Macarius of Magnesia composes his *Apocritus,* in which he argues that Manichaeism has "corrupted" all regions of the East.

376: Epiphanius drafts Heresy 66 of his *Panarion,* relating to the Manichaeans. Long quotations from the *Acta Archelai* and useful information regarding the Manichaean community in Palestine.

Ca. 378: Diodorus of Tarsus composes his great treatise against the Manichaeans, mentioned by Theodoret and by Photius. Text lost. In the first seven books he refutes the *Gospel* of Mani and the *Modion* of Addas.

Ca. 380: P. Heidelberg 684. Fragment of a Sahidic Coptic translation of the sixth catechism of Cyril of Jerusalem.

381: On 8 May Theodosius I issues an edict imposing attainder upon Manichaeans and depriving them of the right to draw up a will. Renewed on 31 March 382 and applied to every "Manichaean" hiding behind the names Encratite, Saccophorus, and Hydroparataste.

383: Augustine, now twenty-nine years of age, meets Faustus of Milevis, Manichaean *episcopus* of Africa, at Carthage. Disappointed by Faustus, Augustine begins to detach himself from Manichaeanism without, however, definitively breaking with it.

385: Priscillian and his associates are executed at Trier as "Manichaeans." Filstrus of Brescia writes a catalogue of heresies, drawing upon the Latin version of the *Acta Archelai* for the section on the Manichaeans (61).

386: Faustus of Milevis is condemned to exile with other Manichaeans. In January 387, on the occasion of the *vota publica* of Theodosius and Arcadius, the sentence is abrogated.

387: Augustine is baptized at Milan during the night of 24–25 April.

388–89: Augustine writes *De moribus Manichaeorum* (On the customs of the Manichaeans), his first work against the Manichaeans.

389: On 17 June Valentinian II (in reality Theodosius I) issues an edict condemning the Manichaeans of Rome to exile.

Ca. 390: Composition of the Coptic Manichaean codices found in Upper Egypt in 1929, at Medinet Madi in the Faiyum.

392: Public debate at Hippo between Augustine and Fortunatus, Manichaean *presbyter* of Hippo. Faustus of Milevis dies around this time.

394: Augustine writes *Contra Adimantum.*

396–97: Augustine writes *Contra epistulam fundamenti.*

398–400: Augustine reads the thirty-three *Capitula* of Faustus of Milevis and drafts the thirty-three books of his *Contra Faustum Manichaeum.*

404: Disputes between Porphyrus, bishop of Gaza, and Julius of Antioch, a Manichaean monk. In December, at Hippo, a public debate between Augustine and Felix, *electus* of the Manichaean Church of Africa.

405: Honorius renews the constitutions of his predecessors against the Manichaeans on 12 February. Heavy fines are levied on governors and officials who do not carry out his orders.

Ca. 420: A Manichaean by the name of Cresconius, in his oath of renunciation, denounces eleven of his coreligionists residing in Mauretania Caesariensis.

425: On 23 October Valentinian III forbids the Manichaeans to live within a hundred kilometers of Rome.

428: Theodosius II prohibits Manichaeans from staying in cities.

430: Augustine dies at Hippo on 28 August.

443: Pope Leo I the Great hastens to take harsh measures against the Manichaeans of Rome and against their bishop.

445: On 19 June Valentinian III renews all the measures taken by his predecessors against the Manichaeans.

Ca. 453: Theodoret composes his catalogue of heresies—the first statement by a Greek Christian writer that has come down to us giving a precise description of the Manichaean myth.

Ca. 490: Heracleon of Chalcedon writes a treatise against the Manichaeans in twenty volumes, mentioned by Photius. It refuted Mani's *Gospel, Book of Giants,* and *Treasure.*

492: Pope Gelasius I discovers several Manichaeans in Rome and sentences them to deportation after having burned their books.

Ca. 510: Julian of Halicarnassus composes a treatise against the Manichaeans, mentioned in the *Doctrina Patrum.*

518: Severus, monophysite patriarch of Antioch, pronounces a homily against the Manichaeans (123) on 25 March. Text conserved in a Syriac version, by James of Edessa (early eighth century), reproducing lengthy extracts from the beginning of Mani's *Pragmateia.*

Ca. 520: Pope Hormisdas subjects several Manichaeans to torture and burns their books before sentencing them to exile.

527: Updating of anti-Manichaean legislation by the emperors Justin and Justinian. The death penalty now falls not only upon Manichaeans but also

upon converts who failed to denounce their former coreligionists or who are suspected of having contacts with them. Severe punishments are provided for officials who preserve Manichaean books or fail to denounce their Manichaean colleagues. The Nestorian Paul the Persian is assigned responsibility for refuting the Manichaean Photinus, who had just been thrown in prison, in public debate. First Greek formulas of renunciation imposed on the Manichaeans.

531: Khosrau I Anushirwan ascends the imperial throne at Ctesiphon on 13 September. He dies in 579.

540: Justinian orders a roundup of opponents (pagans and heretics from Constantinople and Asia Minor); the monophysite John of Asia conducts the raids and carries out interrogations. At Harran, in northwest Mesopotamia, the Greek Neoplatonist philosopher Simplicius writes his commentary on Epictetus's *Enchiridion*, in which he undertakes a methodical refutation of Manichaean cosmology and ethics; he was in contact with a local Manichaean monk ("one of those who among them were considered sages," 35.91)

Ca. 570: Rebellion of the Manichaean communities of Transoxiana led by Shad-Ohrmizd. These Manichaeans, known as Denawars, were rigorists in matters of religion [*den*—whence their name] and broke with the Mother Church of Babylon. They were to be the missionaries of Upper Asia and China. At Mecca, in Arabia, the birth of Muhammad.

Ca. 595: Pope Gregory the Great reckons there are still Manichaeans in Sicily and in northern Africa.

600–601: Death of the reformer Shad-Ohrmizd. Sogdian, the language spoken in the vicinity of Samarkand, gradually replaces Parthian as the language of the Manichaean Church.

Ca. 612: Muhammad hears the call of the angel proclaiming him "messenger of God." Visions, revelations, and heavenly voyages continue until 621.

1 H/622: Migration [*hijra*] of Muhammad and his followers to Yathrib = Medina (the "City").

11 H/632: Muhammad leads a farewell pilgrimage [*hajj*] to Mecca. Returning to Medina, he dies on 8 June.

16 H/637: The Arabs seize Ctesiphon [= al-Mada'in]. The last Sassanid king, Yazdigird III, is defeated at the battle of Jalula.

29 H/649: The Arabs push onward into Khurasan.

54 H/674: Bukhara is conquered by the Arabs.

55 H/675: Sogdian-speaking Manichaeans, having departed from Samarkand, cross into Chinese Turkestan and reach the Yellow River.

56 H/676: Samarkand falls into the hands of the Arabs.

75 H/694: Many Manichaeans who had left Mesopotamia under the last Sassanids return to Iraq and benefit from the tolerance of the governor al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf, without, however, being granted the legal protection accorded to non-Muslims [*dhimma*]. The same year, the presence of a Manichaean dignitary is recorded at the Chinese court.

91–93 H/710–12: The Arabs subjugate Sogdiana. At al-Mada'in, Mihr becomes head of the Manichaean Church of Babylon. His pontificate lasts until 740.

106 H/724: Khalid b. 'Abd Allah al-Qasri, who was born of a Christian mother, is governor of Iraq. Zoroastrians, Christians, and Manichaeans benefit from his tolerance. Dismissed in 120 H/738, he died under torture in 126 H/743–44. The *Fihrist* says that he was an infidel [*zindiq*].

Ca. 110 H/728: Wasil b. 'Ata', the founder of Mu'tazilism, attempts to refute the Manichaeans in his *Thousand Questions*. Work lost. First Muslim writer to have written on Manichaeanism.

Ca. 112 H/730: Mihr, the Manichaean imam of al-Mada'in, tries to put an end to the schism of the Denawars.

731: On 16 July, on the order of the emperor Hsüan-tsung, a Manichaean bishop composes in Chinese a compendium of the doctrines and rules of Manichaeanism, found around 1900 at Tun-huang.

Ca. 117 H/735: Internal disputes within the Manichaean communities of Iraq over the question of fasting. Rebellion breaks out in the community of Miqlas. Abu Sa'id Raja becomes imam of the church.

132 H/750: The city of Kashgar, in Chinese Turkestan, an important Manichaean fief, falls to the Qarluqs (Karluks) and becomes subject to Turkic influences.

142 H/759: Ibn al-Muqaffa', accused of heresy [*zandaqa*], dies in prison.

Ca. 143 H/760: Abu Hilal al-Dayhuri, an African Manichaean, becomes supreme leader of the Manichaean Church in al-Mada'in. He puts an end to the Miqlas revolt.

762: On 20 November the Uighurs take and sack the rebel Chinese city of Lo-yang on the Yellow River. On this occasion their ruler [*qaghan*, or "great khan"], Meu-yu, makes the acquaintance of the Manichaean missionaries residing in the city and converts to Manichaeism.

763: After his victory over the rebel Chinese of Lo-yang, the Uighur *qaghan* returns to his capital, Ordu Balïq, in the Orkhon Valley. He brings back with him four Manichaean monks, including a certain Juei-si, from the

community of Lo-yang. Manichaeism becomes the official religion of the Turkish Empire, and a Manichaean master settles in Ordu Baliq.

768: Acceding to the *qaghan*'s request, the Chinese emperor authorizes the Manichaeans residing in his lands to erect temples and monasteries. This authorization is renewed in 771.

163–170 H/779–86: Under the third and fourth Abbasid caliphs repression strikes the Manichaeans of Iraq and the intellectuals accused of *zandaqa*.

781: Nestorian stele of Si-ngan-fu erected.

791–92: Theodore bar Konai, a Nestorian from the region of Wasit, completes the eleven treatises of his *Liber scholiorum* (Book of scholia). The eleventh treatise contains a catalogue of heresies; the doctrinal part of the section on Mani is a summary of the *Pragmateia*.

806: Arrival of Manichaean priests at the Chinese court in the company of a Uighur embassy from Ordu Baliq.

Ca. 815: Trilingual inscription (Chinese, Turkish, Sogdian) from Karabalghasun relating the history of Manichaeism's introduction among the Uighurs.

Ca. 817: Second Uighur embassy to the Chinese court, again with a Manichaean delegation.

Ca. 205 H/820: The seventh Abbasid caliph, al-Ma'mun, writes a treatise against the Manichaeans. His work has not survived.

840: An army of "one hundred thousand" Kirghiz horsemen takes Ordu Baliq. End of the Uighur Empire having its seat at Orkhon and dispersion of the Turkish tribes.

843: The Chinese Emperor Wu-tsung orders the closing of the Manichaean monasteries, the confiscation of property, and the destruction of books.

Ca. 231 H/845: Death of the Mu'tazilite al-Nazzam, author of a refutation of the Manichaeans. Text known solely through the citations to it by al-Khayyat (who died shortly after 300 H/912) in his *Kitab al-intisar*.

849: Founding of the Uighur kingdom at Chotcho (Xotcho), in the Turfan oasis. Manichaean princes were to stay there for two centuries.

236 H/850–51: Abu 'Isa l-Warraq composes his collection of doxographies. The charge of *zandaqa* brought against him leads to the disappearance of his work. Muslim heresiology is largely inspired by his works.

Ca. 256 H/870: Death of the philosopher al-Kindi, author of several refutations of dualists and Manichaeans. Works lost but largely drawn upon by Ibn al-Nadim.

293 H/906: Death of the Mu'tazilite al-Nashi'. The surviving fragments of his

doxography (*Kitab al-ausat fi l-maqalat*) show that he had a precise knowledge of Manichaean cosmology.

Ca. 320 H/932: Ibn al-Nadim reports that some five hundred Manichaeans still live in Samarkand at this time.

Ca. 339 H/950: According to Ibn al-Nadim, there are some three hundred Manichaeans in Baghdad under the reign of the first Buyid Dynasty of Iraq.

345 H/956: Death of al-Mas'udi.

349 H/960: The Turkish population of Kashgar (Chinese Turkistan) is Islamized.

372 H/982: The anonymous Persian author of the *Kitab hudud al-'alam* reports the existence of a Manichaean monastery [*khangah*] at Samarkand.

377 H/987: Ibn al-Nadim completes the *Fihrist*. The first section of the ninth chapter is devoted in large part to the Manichaeans, the fullest heresiological exposition of the history and doctrine of Manichaeism. At this time there are, according to him, only five Manichaeans living in Baghdad.

380 H/990: 'Abd al-Jabbar, Mu'tazilite theologian and judge [*qadi*] of Rayy, completes *al-Mughni*.

ca. 390 H/1000: Al-Biruni writes *al-Athar al-baqiya* (Chronology of the ancient nations).

1028: The Tanguts seize control of the Uighur principality of Kan-chu.

Ca. 424 H/1033: Al-Biruni composes the *Tahqiq ma li-l-Hind* (Book of inquiry into India).

Ca. 1035: The chamber in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, near Tunhuang, containing the Manichaean *Compendium* and other manuscripts is sealed, not to be reopened until 1900 or so, when its contents were discovered by a Taoist monk. Aurel Stein visited it in 1906. Paul Pelliot entered the chamber on 3 March 1908 and undertook an inventory of its contents. In 1910 the Chinese government repatriated the surviving documents to Beijing.

427 H/1036: Al-Biruni writes his epistle on the catalogue of al-Razi's writings and relates how he obtained Mani's heptateuch.

485 H/1092: Abu l-Ma'ali-ye 'Alavi composes the *Bayon al-adyan*.

518 H/1124: Beginning of the reign of the first chief of khans [*gürkhan*] of the Qara Khitay (Kara-khitai) over all of Chinese Turkestan. Ibn al-Athir characterizes him as "Manichaean," that is, pagan and idolatrous.

548 H/1153: Death of al-Shahrastani.

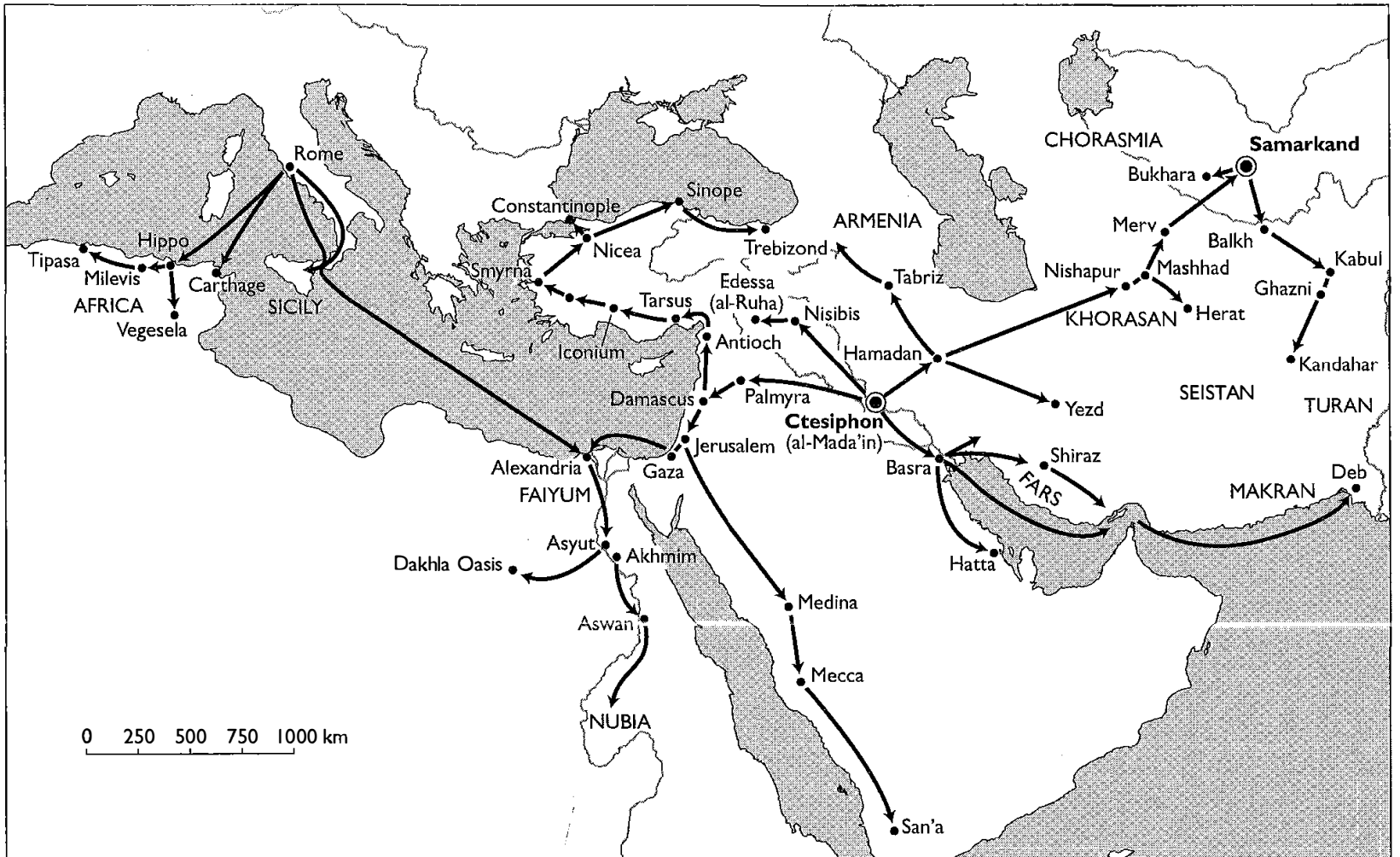
1206: On the upper Onon River, in the presence of all the Mongol chiefs and princes, Tämüjin receives the title of Tchinggis-qan [= Genghis-khan].

608 H/1211: Collapse of the Qara Khitay Empire, centered in the Tarim Basin, to the profit of their vassals and neighbors, the Muslim rulers of Khwarazm (Chorasmia).

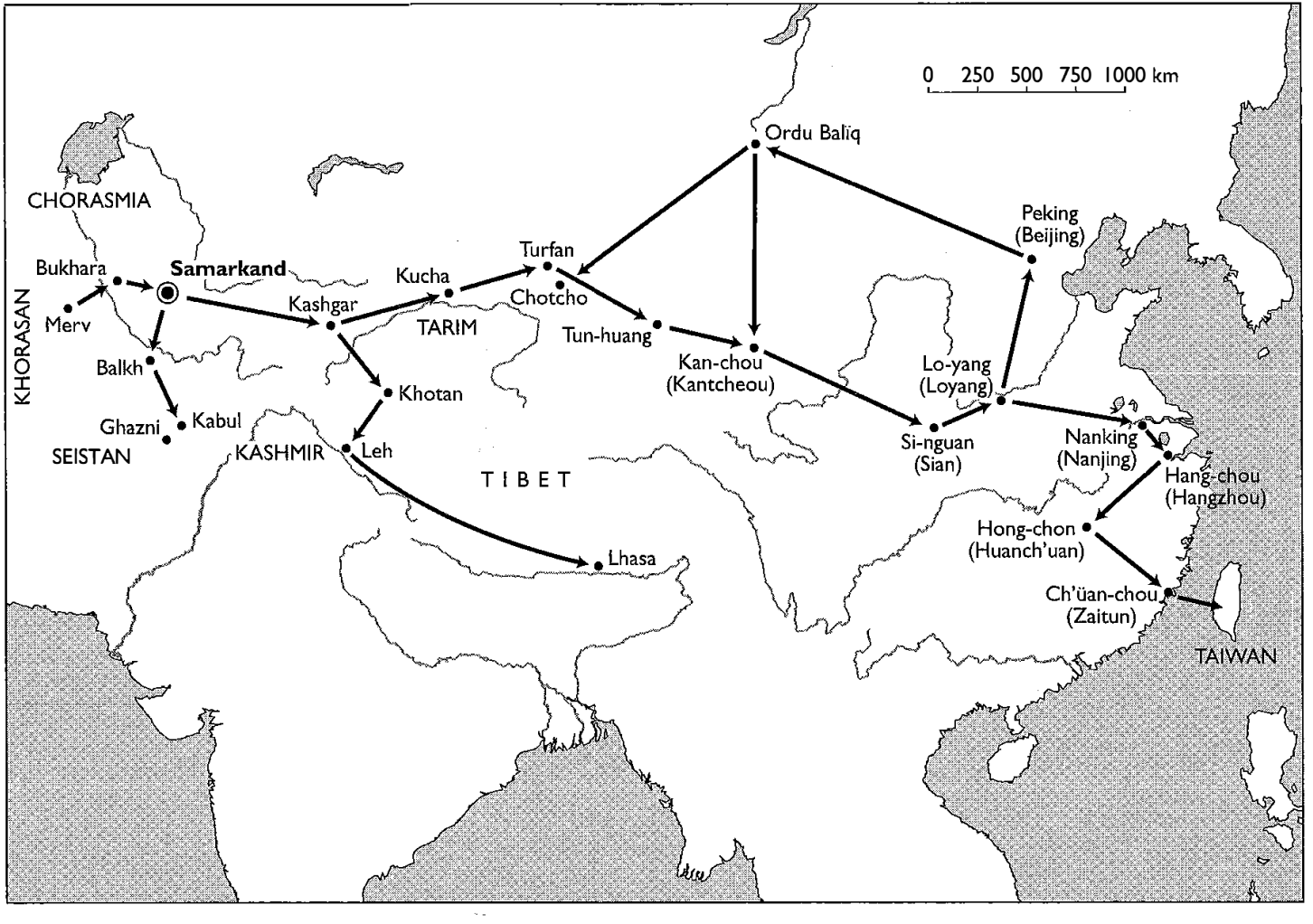
618 H/1221: The capital of Khwarazm is invested by Chaghatay and Ögedey, chiefs of the Golden Horde.

1265: A Chinese Manichaean dignitary, Chang Hi-cheng, writes two letters to Huang Chen, the Confucian archivist at the imperial court, to demonstrate to him the scriptural soundness and respectability of his religion.

1292: Marco Polo and his uncle Mafeo meet a group of Manichaeans at Ch'üan-chou (Zaitun).



Map 1. The Extent of Babylonian Manichaeism (3rd–6th centuries)



Map 2. The Extent of Sogdian Manichaeism (7th–13th centuries)

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Index

'Abd al-Jabbar, 87, 98
'Abd Allah al-Qasri, 96
'Abdiel, 41
Abarshahr (Nishapur), 23
Abiesus, 52
Abraham, 18
Abu Hilal al-Dayhuri, 96
Abu 'Isa l-Warraq, 97
Abu l-Ma'ali-ye 'Alavi, 43, 98
Abu Sa'id Raja, 96
Abzakhuya (Abzaxya) the Persian, 24, 28
Acta Archelai (Acts of Archelaus), 49, 77, 91, 92, 104
Adam, 8, 15–17, 19, 31, 34, 39, 41, 42, 80
Adamas of Light, 77, 79, 84, 87
Adda, 23, 24
Addas, 93
Adiabene, 24
Afrahat, 92
Afshār-e Shīrāzī, 40, 104
Ahya (Pat-Sahm), 46
Albania, 24
Alcibiades of Apamea, 6, 8
Alexander of Lycopolis, 91, 103
Alkhasios, 6
Allberry, C. R. C., vii, 54
Allogenes, 32
Alms, 69–70
Ammo, 23, 28
Andrew (Christian apostle), 31
angels, 6, 8–10, 13, 14, 36, 37, 39, 46, 67, 71, 76, 95
Aniran, 26
Antioch, 26
apocalypses, Judeo-Christian, 31, 32
apocatastasis, 35
Arabia, 8, 24, 44, 95
Aramaic, 33
Arcadius, 93
Archelaus, 92
Archons, 78, 79
Ardashir I, 9, 10, 22, 25
Aristotle, 42
Armenia, 26; Lesser Armenia, 91, 92
Artavan (Artabanus) V, 1
Ashaqlun, 80, 82
Asmussen, Jes P., 55
Asmussen, Jes P., 55
Assyrians, 22, 23
Atlas, 87. *See* Porter.
Augustine, Saint, 60, 89, 92, 93, 94; *Confessions*, 67; *Contra Adimantum*, 94; *Contra epistulam fundamenti*, 94; *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, 94; *Contra felicem Manichaeum*, 37, 49; *De haeresibus ad Quod vultdeum*, 58, 61; *De moribus Manichaeorum*, 89, 93; *De natura boni*, 37, 89
Azerbaijan, 20

Babylon, 2, 3, 22, 59, 72, 95, 96
Babylonia, 1, 3, 4, 9, 17, 20, 23, 28, 38, 42, 91
Baghdad, 28, 98
Bahram (Vahram) I, 26–29, 52, 91
Bahram II, 91

Balasakan, 26
Bang, Willy, 55
Baptists, 7–8
Baraies, 11, 19, 52; homily of, 10
Bardesanes, 32, 48, 86, 88
Bardesanites, 38, 40, 41
Bat, 28–29
BeDuhn, J., xi, 104
Bema festival, 71–74
Benveniste, Émile, 61
Bet(h) 'Arabaye, 24, 104
Beth-Deraye, 28
Bet(h) Garmai, 24
Beth-Lapat (Belapat, Gundeshabuhr), 28, 91
al-Biruni, 30, 34, 66–67; *al-Athar al-baqiya* [Chronology of the Ancient Nations], 1, 9, 14, 16, 36, 98; *Tahqiq ma li-l-Hind* [Book of Inquiry into India], 37, 40, 41, 98
Bögü Khan, 67
Böhlig, A., vii
Book of Giants (Jewish), 46–47
Boyce, Mary, 55, 58
Buddha, 14, 15, 17, 21, 25–26, 49, 56
Buddhism, 2, 18, 61
Bukhara, 95

Cainites, 16
Call and Response, 77
Cappadocia, 26
Carthage, 93
Caucasus, 20
Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, 53, 98
Chaghatay, 99
Chang Hi-cheng (Manichaean dignitary), 99
Chavannes, Édouard, 41, 53
Chinese Compendium, 1, 15, 43, 46, 49, 50, 51, 56, 57, 61, 96, 98, 105
Chinese Hymnal (Hymnscroll), 55
Chinese *Traité*. *See Traité*.
Chotcho (Xotcho), 73, 97
Christensen, Arthur, 26
Ch'üan-chou (Zaitun), 99
Cilicia, 26
Colditz, I., 104
Cologne Mani Codex, (Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis, CMC) viii, xii, xiii, 2, 4, 6, 8–13, 15, 18, 19, 35, 36, 39, 41, 50–52, 103
confession, 71
Constantinople, 95
Contini, Riccardo, 103
Coptic Psalm Books, 53–54, 73–74
Cosmic Wheels, 78, 87
Cresconius (Manichaean follower), 94
Ctesiphon (al-Mada'in), 22, 23, 28, 29, 95
Cyril of Jerusalem, 92, 93

Dakhlah oasis, 54
Dastagerd, 28
Dastumisan, 8
Daysanites. *See* Bardesanites.
Deb (Daybul), 21
Demons, 82
Denawars, 95, 96
Dialogue of the Savior, viii
Didymos Judas Thomas, 39
Diocletian, 91
Diodorus of Tarsus, 93
Dubois, J. D., 103

Easter, 72
Egypt, vii, viii, 1, 2, 17, 23, 47, 50, 52, 53, 54, 91, 92, 93
Elchasai, 6–8, 13, 31
Elchasaism, 13, 103
Elenches, 6, 7
Elijah, 38
encratism, xii, 4
Enoch, 19; Apocalypse of, 27, 31, 39, 45–46
Enosh, 19
Ephraem Syrus (Saint Ephraem), 38, 48, 88, 92, 93
Epictetus, 95, 104
Epiphanius, 6, 8, 50, 92, 93

Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, 91, 104
Eusebius, bishop of Emesa, 92
Eve, 80
Evodius, 37

Fars. *See* Persis.
Fasting, 70, 72
Father of Greatness, 76–77, 79–80, 82–83, 86, 88
Faustus of Milevis, 93
Faiyum, 52, 54, 93
Felix (Manichaean monk), 49, 94
Filstrus of Brescia, 93
First Call (Creation), 76
Five Commandments (monks), 63, 66
Five Limbs of the Perfect Man, 85
Five Shining Gods, 77, 83
Five Sons of Darkness, 77, 79
Five Sons of the Living Spirit, 77–78, 84, 87
Five Sons of the Primal Man (*Ziwane*), 83, 86, 88–90
Fortunatus, 93
Fouchécour, C.-H. de, 104
Friend of the Lights, 77, 83
Funk, W.-P., 104

Galatia, 26
Galerius, 91
Ganazak (Ganzak), 20
Gardner, Iain, xii, 54
Gaukhai (Jukhi or Jukha), 28
Gauthiot, Robert, 61
Gelasian Decree, the, 46
Gelasius I, Pope, 94
Genesis, 32, 45
Genghis Khan (Tämüjun), 98
George of Laodicea, 92
Georgia, 36
gigantomachy, 87
giants [*nephilim*], 45
Gignoux, Ph., 104
Gimaret, D., 104
Giversen, S., 104
Gnoli, Gh., 104
Golden Horde, 99
Gospel of Philip, vii
Gospel of Thomas, vii, 32
Great Builder, 77, 79, 84
Great King of Magnificence, 77, 78, 84, 87
Great War, the, 35, 81
Gregory the Great, Pope, 95
Gründwedel, A., vii

Hadot, I., 104
al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf, 96
halle heware, 5
Hamilton, J., 105
Hatta, 24
Hegemonius, 50, 92
Henning, Walter Bruno, 28, 45, 46, 54, 55, 73
Henrichs, A., viii
Heracleides, 54
Heracleon of Chalcedon, 94
Homeric epics, 42
Homilies, 18, 19, 29, 35, 49, 50–52, 91
Honorius, 94
Hormisdas, Pope, 94
Hormizd (Ohrmizd) I, 25–26
Hormizd-Ardaxshir (Suq al-Ahwaz), 28
Hormuz II, 92
Hormuz, Strait of, 21
Hsien, Emperor, 1
Hsüan-tsung, 96
Huang Chen, 99
Hystaspes (Vishtaspa), 32, 38

Ibn al-Athir, 98
Ibn al-Muqaffa', 96
Ibn al-Nadim, 1, 6, 8, 28, 41, 97, 98; *Fihrist*, 3–4, 9, 13, 47, 72, 96, 98
India, 32, 98
Indus River, 21
Innaios, 52, 91
International Association of Manichaean Studies, ix
Iran, 3, 17, 24, 25, 26, 32, 44, 52, 104

Iranian Hymnals, 54–55
Iranshahr, 27
Iraq, 96, 97, 98
Islam, 67, 70

Jacob, 38, 39
Jalula, battle of, 95
James of Edessa, 94
Jesus, 2, 8, 9, 11–21, 25–26, 31–32, 36, 39, 31, 42, 49, 54, 55, 57, 59, 75,
Jesus the Splendor, 35, 80, 85
John (Hanni), brother of Mani, 21
John (the Baptist), 16
John of Asia, 95
Jordan, 8
Joseph of Nazareth, 2
Joseph, son of Jacob, 39
Jovian, 92
Judas, 39
Juei-si (Manichaean monk), 96
Julian ("the Apostate"), 92
Julian of Halicarnassus, 94
Julianus, 91
Julius of Antioch, 94
Justin, 94
Justinian, 94, 95

Kan-chu, 98
Karabalghasun, 67, 97
Karder (Kirdir or Karter), 26–28, 91
Karnuk, 24
Kashgar, 96, 98
Kaskar, 91
Kellis, 54
Kephalaia, xii, 1, 3, 9, 18, 22–25, 35, 38, 40, 49, 52–53, 77, 91, 104
al-Khayyat, 97
Kholassar (Artemita), 28
Khosrau I Anushirwan, 95
Khurasan, 23, 28, 95
Khwarazm (Chorasmia), 99
al-Kindi, 97
King of Darkness, 76, 79–80, 82, 87
King of Glory, 77–78, 84
Kitab hudud al-ʿalam, 98
Klimkeit, Hans-Joachim, xi, xii
Koenen, L., viii, xi, 103
Koran, the, 18
Kushans, territory of the, 23, 28
Kustai, 28, 35, 50, 52

Last Judgment, 35, 41, 81
Le Coq, Albert von, vii, 55
Leo I the Great, Pope, 94
Leviathan, 46
Libanius, 92
Lieu, Samuel N. C., xi, xii, 105
Limbs of the Intellect, 88
Living Spirit (Demiurge), 35, 40, 68, 77–79, 84, 88
Lo-yang, 96, 97

Macarius of Magnesia, 93
MacKenzie, David Neill, 34
al-Madaʾin, 96
Mafeo, 99
Mahawai, 46
al-Maʾmun, 97
Mani: birth of, 1–2; break with Elchasaites, 18–19, 32; eschatology of, 14, 34, 41, 42, 81; last years of, 25–30; liturgical doctrine of, 10, 48, 49, 53–54, 71–74; missionary travels, 19–25; "paraclete," 9, 16, 20, 36; passion ("crucifixion") of, 29–30, 52, 71, 73; prophetology of, 15–18, 34–35, 44, 61, 67; religious training, 8–10, 31; "seal of the prophets," 13–19, 34, 53, 73; theology of, 14, 16, 19, 34, 38, 49, 53, 75
Mani, works of: *Book of Giants,* 17, 27, 44–47, 49, 94; *Gospel,* 35–36, 73, 93, 94; *Image* [Picture Book], 43–44, 50; *Legends,* 41–43, 49; *Letters,* 47–48, 73; *Mysteries,* 32, 34, 38–41, 49, 69; *Pragmateia,* 41–43, 57, 75, 81, 94; *Shabuhragan,* 1, 14, 17, 23, 34–36, 42, 47, 49, 75, 81; *Treasure,* 34, 37–38, 41, 51, 94
"Manichaean alphabet," 33

Manichaean Studies Seminar, ix
Manichaeism, canon of scriptures, 34–56; Gods, names of, 81–85; hagiography, 3; hierarchy, 58–63; liturgy, 71–74; monks, 58–67; moral codes, 63–69; pantheon, 75–90
Mar Ammo, 45, 55
Marcion, 88
Marcionites, 18, 38
Mary and Martha, 12
Maryam (Mariam), mother of Mani, 2
Massé, Henri, 43
al-Mas'udi, 38, 98
Mecca, 95
Medes, 23
Medina (Yathrib), 95
Medinet Madi, 93
Menasce, Jean de, 27
Merv, xii, 23
Mesene, 21, 22, 23, 28
Mesopotamia, 41, 61, 92, 95, 96, 104
Messenger, the, 78–80, 85, 87
Messos, 32
Meu-yu, 96
Mihr (Manichaean imam), 96
Mihryazd. *See* Living Spirit.
Mikkelsen, Gunner B., 103
Milik, J. T., 45, 46
Miqlas, 96
Mirecki, Paul, xi, 104
mnaggede, 5
Monnot, G., 104
Moriyasu, T., 105
Mosul, 23
Mother of Life, 76–79, 83
Mughtasilism, 4–5, 8. *See also* Baptists.
Muhammad, 15, 18, 33, 95
Müller, F.W.K.
Mu'tazilism, 96, 97, 98
Mysteries. See Mani, works of.

Nabataeans, 5
Nabu (god), 3
Nag Hammadi manuscripts, viii, 39, 92
Nahashbat, 76
nahr-Kutha (Nahr-Kuta River), 1, 2
Nariman, 46
Naqsh-i Rustam, 26
Narseh, 91, 92
Nasêr (Nasir), 20
al-Nashi', 97
al-Nazzam, 97
Nebroel (Namrael), 80, 82
Nestorians, 97
Nicotheos, 32
Nippur (Nuffar), 2
Nisibis, 92
Noah, 15, 16, 17, 31
Nuhzadag (bar-Nuh), 28

Ögedey, 99
Ohrmizd (Ohrmazd), 44
Ohya (Ogias), 46
Omont, H., vii
Onon River, 98
"On the Birth of His Body," viii, 50
Orchon River, 67
Ordu Balïq, 96, 97
Origen, 8
Ornament of Splendor, 77–78, 84
Osrhoene, 38

Palestine, 12, 92
Palmyra, 23
Parthia, 23
Parthians, 6, 22, 23, 45, 47
Patteg (Pattikios), father of Mani, 2–4, 9, 12, 21, 23
Paul of Tarsus, 8, 18–20, 31, 47
Paul the Persian, 95
Pelliot, Paul, 42, 53, 56, 66, 98
Pennacchietti, F. A., 104
Pentateuch, the, 32
Perfect Man, the, 81, 85, 87, 88
Peroz, 23
Persepolis, 26
Persia, 10, 14, 17
Persis (Fars), 21, 22

Peter [Christian apostle], 31
Pharat, 21
Philip the Arab, 8
Photinus, 95
Photius, 93, 94
polarity, 81
Polo, Marco, 99
Polotsky, Hans Jakob, vii, xi, 43, 54, 93
polyonymy, 81
Porphyrus, bishop of Gaza, 94
Porter, 77, 84
Pragmateia. See Mani, works of.
prayer, 67
Primal (First) Man, 68, 76–79, 83, 88
Priscianus, 92
Priscillian, 93

Qara Khitay (Kara-khitai), 98, 99
Qarluqs (Karluks), 96
Quinarity, 81
Qumran, caves of, 45, 46

Rāza, Farideh, 103
al-Razi, 98
Reck, Ch., 104
Reeves, John C., xii, 103
Rew-Ardaxshir, 21
Robinson, J. M., xi
Rome, 91; Roman Empire, borderlands of, 24
Römer, C., xi, xii, 103
Rylands, P., 91

Sabaeans, 4–5
Sakas, queen of, 28
Salmaios, 8–9
Sam, 46
Samarkand, 95, 96, 98
Satan, 86
Schmidt, C., xi
Schmidt-Glintzer, H., 105
Scopello, M., 104
Scott, D. A., 104
Scythanos, 92
Second Call (Creation), 77
Seleucia, 28
Seleusia-Ctesiphon ("the Cities"), 23
Septentrion, 81
Serapion of Thmuis, 92
Seth, 15, 16, 17, 31, 41
Sethites, 16
"Seven Spirits," 39
Severus, patriarch of Antioch, 94
Sextus Empiricus, 42
Shabuhragan. See Mani, works of.
Shad-Ohrmizd, 95
al-Shahrastani, 87, 98
Shapur (Shabuhr) I, 1, 10, 18, 22, 25–27, 29, 34, 91
Shapur II, 92
Shem, 15, 16, 19
Shemihaza (Shahmizad), 46
Simplicius, 95, 103, 104
Sippar, 20
Sis, 91
Sitaios, 12
Skjaervø, P. O., 104
Snow, C. P., viii
Sobiai, 6
Sogdiana, 96
Stein fragments, 56
Stein, M. Aurel, vii, 55, 98
Sundermann, Werner, 55, 104
Susiana (Khuzistan), 23, 28
Synaxeis, 36, 53
synaxis, 54
Syria, 24, 26
Syriac, 48

Tahadod, N., 105
Tämüjin (Genghis-khan), 98
Tanguts, 98
Taoists, 18
Taqī-Zāde, 104
Tardieu, Michel, 103, 104
Tatian, 31, 59
al-Tawm (angel), 9–10, 13, 36
Ten Commandments (lay followers), 68

Terbinthos, 92
Thagaste (Souk Ahras), 92
Theodore bar Konai, 1, 5, 50, 97; summary of the *Pragmateia*, 42, 75, 77, 81, 97
Theodoret, 92, 93, 94
Theodosius I, 93
Theodosius II, 94
Theonas of Alexandria, 91
Third Call (Creation), 78–79
Third Messenger (Ambassador), 40, 44
Thomas, apostle of Jesus, 31, 32
"Three Days," 40
Three Seals, doctrine of the, 63
Three Times, doctrine of the, 75
Tigris River, 20, 23
Timotheos, 41
Titus of Bostra, 92
Traité, 42, 53
Trajan, 6
Treasure. *See* Mani, works of.
Trier, 93
Tun-huang, 55, 96
Tur 'Abdin, 24, 38
Turan, 21
Turbo. *See Acta Archelai*.
Turfan oasis, 54, 97, 105
Turfan texts, 58, 73, 104
Turkestan, 95, 96, 98
Twelve Virgins, 79, 85
Two Principles, doctrine of the, 75

Uighur Empire, 67, 96, 97
Urmiya, Lake, 20

Valentinian I, 93
Valentinian II, 93
Valentinian III, 94
Van Haelst, 91
Veh-Ardaxshir, 23
Villey, A., 103, 104
Virgin (Maiden) of the Light, 87
Virogdad, 46

Wasil b. 'Ata', 96
Wu-tsung, 97

Xradeshahryazd. *See* Jesus the Splendor.
Xvastvaneft, 55–56, 67, 70

al-Ya'qubi, 38, 41
Yazdigird III, 95

Zabed, 91
Zacheas (Zaku), 52
Ziwane. *See* Five Sons of the Primal Man
Zoroaster, 14, 15, 17, 26, 32, 38, 49
Zoroastrianism, 18, 25–29, 53, 96
Zostrianos, 32

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Manichaean Writings

Archive Notes

As classical Gnosticism was waning, another Gnostic movement developed under the inspiration of the Prophet Mani. The Manichaean movement became a true world religion, spreading to Europe, Central Asia and China; it survived as a living religion in the Orient up until the present century. Though once anathematized and little understood, the discovery of several ancient documents during the last century, including large collections of Manichaean texts in Central Asia, has stimulated a new study and understanding of one of Gnosticism's most important representatives.

For an introduction to the Prophet Mani and the Manichaean tradition, we suggest listening to a lecture by Dr. Stephan Hoeller: Mani: Helmsman of the Ship of Light (MP3 format, about 70 minutes.)

Randomly reading any ten of the following texts will give new insights into the spiritual depths of this forgotten Gnostic tradition (you might start with Psalms to Jesus).

The Manichaean texts come from a wide number of sources. Originally many texts in Latin and Greek certainly existed, but during the persecution of the movement in the West most of these were lost (a major exception is the Greek Cologne Mani-Codex, recovered in 1969). What remains to us in large part was recorded in several different and now little-studied ancient languages (including Coptic, Middle Persian, Sogdian, Parthian, Uigur, Bactrian and Chinese). These languages well represent the vast geographical area influenced by the mission of the Prophet Mani.

A useful summary of current Manichaean studies is found in Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources by Paul Allan Mirecki & Jason BeDuhn -- we provide here a short excerpt from the introduction.

In these ancient manuscripts there are lost or unreadable sections. Lost words are marked with an ellipsis (. . .) and questionable readings are marked (?).

A Manichaean Prophecy

Before reflecting on these texts, consider the startling words written by a Manichaean scribe 1700 years ago as he labored to copy, preserve, and propagate the writings that have now come to your hands:

A thousand books will be preserved ... they will come into the hand of the just and the faithful [the] Gospel and the Treasury of Life, the Pragmateia and the Book of Mysteries, the Book of Giants and the Epistles, the Psalms and [the] Prayers of my lord, his Icon and his Revelations, his Parables and his Mysteries ... How many will be lost? How

many will be destroyed? A thousand lost, another thousand recovered; for they will find them at the end. They will kiss them, and say: "O Wisdom of Greatness, O Armor of the Apostle of Light! When you were lost ... where did they find you?" ... And you shall find them reading them aloud, uttering the name [of each book] among them: the name of its lord .. and the name of those who gave all [for it to be written] and the name of the scribe who wrote it... and of the one who punctuated it.... (Homilies 23.13-25.19)

The Psalms to Jesus

A page from the Cologne Mani Codex, in Greek. 5th century AD, found near the ancient Lycopolis, Egypt.
Psalm I.
Psalm II.
Psalm V.
Psalm VII.
Psalm X.
Psalm XI.
Psalm XXI.
Psalm XXX.
Psalm XXXI.

The Psalms of the Festival of Bema (The Mercy Seat)

Psalm CCXXIII.
Psalm CCXXVIII.
Psalm CCXXX.
Psalm CCXXXV.
Psalm CCXXXVII.
Psalm CCXXXIX.
Psalm CCXL.
Psalm CXLI.

Separate Psalms

Taste and Know that the Lord is Sweet
Put in Me a Holy Heart, My God.
Light Your Lamps.

The Kephalia of the Lord Mani

Excerpt from the Kephalia:
The Three Blows Struck at the Enemy on Account of The Light.

Parthian Hymns and Prayers

Manichaean Text

Leaf from a Manichaean Book. Khocho, Ruin K. 8th/9th century AD. Painting on paper. 17.2x 11.2 cm. III 6368.
The Hymn on the Third Messenger and the Archons.
Hymn to the Father of Greatness.
The Hymn about the Captivity of Light.
Invocation of Jesus the Splendor.
Hymn on the Second Coming of Jesus.
Hymn on the Fate of the Living Soul.
Hymn Exhorting the Soul to Remembrance
Hymn to the Living Soul .
Hymn to the Third Messenger.
Hymn in Praise of Mani.
Commemorative Hymn for Mar Zaku.
Homily on the Correct Preparations for the Sacred Meal.
Invocation of the Angels.
The Invocation of Bar Simus.
Invocation of the Gods in the Moon.
A Confessional Prayer for the Elect.
The Hymn on the End of the World.
The Hymn on Body-and-Soul.
The Funerary Hymn.
Hymns to the Soul.
Hymn in Honor of the Dominions of Light.
Untitled Parthian Hymn.
The Crucifixion Hymn.

Hymns and Writings Ascribed to Mani

The Praise of the Lesser Ones.
The Praise of the Greater Ones.
We Would Fulfill: Mani's Hymn to Jesus, the King.
The Praise of Jesus the Life-giver.
Untitled Psalm fragment.
The Opening Words of the Living Gospel.
Apocryphal letter to Màr Ammo ascribed to Mani.

Parables

Parable about the Auditors.
Parable about the Farmer.

Parable of the Pearl Borer.
The Parable of the Monk and the Girl.
Parable about the Two Snakes.

Miscellaneous Manichaean Scriptures

The Psalms of Thomas (a collection of 12 psalms)
A Manichaean Psalm: A summary of the Manichaean creation myth
Primal Man, a Manichaean fragment.
Come to Me, My Kinsman, the Light, My Guide. A Manichaean Prayer.
The End of the Deficiency. A Manichaean eschatological hymn.
Joy Came Over Me. A Manichaean fragment.
Salvation of the Soul. A Turkish Manichaean fragment.
Excerpt from the Fundamental Epistle of Mani.
O Soul, a Manichaean fragment.

Secondary Sources: Anti-Manichaean Writings of Augustine

De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae
(On the Morals of the Catholic Church)
De Moribus Manichaerorum
(On the Morals of the Manichaeans)
De Duabus Animabus Contra Manichaeos
(Concerning Two Souls: Against the Manichaeans)
Disputatio Contra Fortunatum Manichaeum
(Disputations Against Fortunatus, the Manichaean)
Contra Epistolam Fundamenti Manichaei
(Against the Fundamental Epistle of Mani)
Contra Faustum Manichaeum Books, I - XV
(Against Faustus, the Manichaean)
Contra Faustum Manichaeum Books, XVI-XXII
Contra Faustum Manichaeum Books, XXIII-XXXIII
De Natura Boni, Contra Manichaeos
(Concerning the Nature of Good: Against the Manichaeans)

Psalms to Jesus

Psalm I

Come, my Savior Jesus, do not forsake me.
Jesus, thee have I loved, I have given my soul
. . . . . armor (?);
I have not given it rather to the foul (?) lusts
of the, world. Jesus, do not forsake me.
Lo, the glorious armor wherein thou hast girded thy
. . . holy commandment, I have put it upon my limbs,
I have fought against my enemies. Jesus, do not forsake me.

I, wandered into the whole world, I, witnessed all the
things that are in it, I saw that all men run vainly too and fro.
Jesus, do not forsake me.

O how long is the evil genius and madness of the Darkness
wherein they have been bound ; for they have forgotten
God, who came and gave himself up to death for them.
Jesus, do not forsake me.

When I saw these things, my Lord, I took thy hope and made
myself strong upon it. Thy yoke which thou didst enjoin on me,
I did not refuse it, my Lord.
Jesus, do not forsake me.

Thy excellent commandments which thou didst enjoin on me
I have fulfilled them my Savior.
Thy lamps of Light, I have not suffered
my enemies to put them out.
Jesus, do not forsake me.

Now I call to thee in the anguish of my soul that
thou mayest have compassion upon me;
for the powers of heaven and earth desire
to submerge me.
Jesus, do not forsake me.

O my prayers and my fasts and my virginity which I have
perfected in thy name; for this is the hour of dread,
wherein I need thee.

I beheld my judge, I was not confounded at all in my deeds
that I have done. He gave me victoriously into the hands
of the angels (?) and they escorted me to his kingdom.

Jesus, do not forsake me.

My brethren, be not hesitant in doing good
by night and by day; for that which a man plants (?)
the same shall he reap.
Jesus, do not forsake me.

The light-armed in the fight consume one another for
a garland that passes away; and they shall be stripped of
their (?) . . . and shall pay the penalty for that which
they have done.
Jesus. do not forsake me.

He that . . . after you is a great one; for you have conquered
heaven and earth, the powers and principalities,
and you shall rest yourselves in your new Aeon.

Glory and Victory to our Lord, our Light, Mani,
and his holy Elect, and the soul of the blessed
Mary, Theona.

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Psalms to Jesus

Psalm II

Come to me, my Savior, the haven of my trust.
Bestir thyself, O soul that watchest in the chains
that have long endured, and remember the ascent
into the air of joy; for a deadly (?) lure is the
sweetness of this flesh .

May the first that . . . . to thee (?) persuade thy heart,
and do thou fight for thyself to put senility behind
thee and become new again.

Jesus, the new God, to whose hope I have hung:
I have made myself strong upon his coming:
He was not born in a womb corrupted:
not even the mighty were counted worthy of
him for him to dwell beneath their roof, that he
should be confined in a womb of a woman of
low stature (?). Lo, the glory of my faith that shall
help me to the end, that I have purified thee, my God.

Thy kin are these sure seals that are upon thee, O soul,
by reason of which no demon can touch thee;
for thou hast worshipped aright him, who has broken
the goad (?) of Error, thou hast laid thy treasures in
the heavens . . .

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Psalms to Jesus

Psalm V

Come, my Lord Jesus, the Savior of souls, who hast
saved me from the drunkenness and Error of the world .
Thou art the Paraclete whom I have loved since my youth:
thy Light shines forth in me like the lamp of light:
Thou hast driven away from me the oblivion of Error:
Thou hast taught me to bless God and his Lights.
I have distinguished this pair of trees of this pair of
kingdoms . . . . . the bitter fountain and the holy essence of God.

The Light I have distinguished from the Darkness,
life from death, Christ and the Church I have distinguished

from the deceit of the world .

I have known my soul and this body that lies upon it,
that they are enemies to each other before the creations,
the . . . . . of divinity and the hostile power that are distinguished always.
The body of death indeed and the soul are never in accord.

The God of this Aeon has shut the heart of the unbelieving and has sunk
them in his Error and the deceit of drunkenness. He has
made them blaspheme against the God of Truth and his . . . . . .
. . . his power and his wisdom (Sophia).

If it was God who created the evil and the good
and Christ and Satan. . . . . .
. . . . ., then who sent Jesus, that he might. . .
and work among the Jews until they slew (?) him (?)

When Adam and Eve were created and put in Paradise,
who was it that ordered them: 'Eat not of the Tree',
that they might not distinguish the evil from the good?
Another fought against him and made them eat of the Tree.
He cries out in the Law saying: 'I am God . . . .
. . . . no cluster (?) falls from a tree wiThout the Lord God ;
. . . . to fall into a snare nor to . . . . in a city ; who then led
Adam astray and crucified the Savior (?)

The Savior and his apostles and they that belong to the
race of life revealed the Darkness and the essence of the
Enemy; they wept for the body of death, the son of the great . . .
this lion-faced dragon, and his mother also, Matter .
The Light has shone forth for you, o you that sleep in Hell, the
knowledge of the Paraclete, the ray of Light; drink of the water
of memory, cast away oblivion. He that is wounded and desires
healing, let him come to the physician.

I have forsaken the world and its Error, I have loved
my Savior , prayed, fasted , given alms . . . from
my youth up, because of the hour of need,
Come now, my Lord Jesus, and help me.
All hail, O busy soul that has finished her fight and
subdued the ruling-power , the body and its affections.
Receive the garland from the hand of the Judge
and the gifts of Light, and ascend to thy kingdom
and have thy rest.

Glory and honor to our Father, the God of Truth.

Victory and blessing to his beloved son, Jesus, and his Holy

Spirit, our Lord the Paraclete, and all his holy Elect.
Glory to the blessed soul of the blessed Mary, Theona.

| Return to Manichaean Scriptures Section |

Gnosis Archive | Gnostic Society Library |
The Gnostic Society Library
Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica |
Gnostic Society

The Psalms to Jesus
Psalms VII

Jesus, the only-begotten, save me.
The body of the earth I will put off me: the. . . . . .
old. . . I will forsake it, the fire of the . . . . . .
of guile, the camp of the enemies. . . . . .
through the armour of the Paraclete I will conquer them.

I have renounced thee, o devil; the angels of the . .
. . . . of the demons. I will strip myself of the world and the
likeness (?) of these five stars, and I will destroy the guile of
the Archons which I wear and I will shine in the remembrance
of the Paraclete.

O Mind that subdues the Matter, spread thy mercy
upon my spirit. I will anchor in thy congregation,
I, the new (?) man, and receive all the gifts which
thou hast promised me, which are the victory in thy
eternal kingdom.

Jesus is the first gift that was given:
Jesus is the holy flower of the Father:
Jesus is the first to sit upon the luminaries:
Jesus is the Perfect Man in the Pillar:
Jesus is the resurrection of them that have died in the church.

Thou art he that delivered me to the fight in the beginning:
thou art the second who didst give me thy right hand:
thou too art the third who didst shine forth with thy Light for me.
Thou too didst receive the victory (?) in the fourth war .

Save me now, I beseech thee, my Lord.
I call unto thee, o victor eternal: hear my cry,
o compassionate one, and let thy members
cleanse me, and do thou wash me in thy holy
waters and make me spotless, even as I am.

Lo, the time has drawn near, may I return to my habitations.
Thou art the way, thou art the door of life eternal, in
truth the son of God, my Savior, who has taught me to
wear his holy commandments .
The weapons of the enemy, I bring them to the ground, thy . . . .
. . . . . being to me a landing-place.

. . . . . for ever; thou art the . . . . . .
bend the knee to thee; the armies of the skies are looking for thee;
thou also art he unto whom all generations call;
thou also art the seal of every wonder;
thou also art he who shall give to the victory to the soul of Mary.

| Return to Manichaean Scriptures Section |

Gnosis Archive | Gnostic Society Library |
The Gnostic Society Library
Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica |
Gnostic Society

The Psalms to Jesus
Psalms X

Christ, my bridegroom, has taken me to his bridechamber,
I have rested with him in the land) of the immortal. My brethren,
I have received my garland.

My land I have beheld, my Fathers I have found, the godly
have rejoiced over me, my Aeons have welcomed me.
My brethren, I have received my garland.

There is a gain, my brethren, none shall be able to take it from me:
an imperishable treasure, to which thieves find not the way.
My brethren, I have received my garland.

I am like a sheep seeking for its pastor; lo, my true shepherd
I have found, he has brought me to my fold again.

My brethren, I have received my garland.

Lo, the fight I have finished; lo, my ship I have brought to the shore,
no storm has overwhelmed it, no wave has seized it,
I was sitting marveling, like poor men that have been taken
prisoner : adoration to the mercy of the Father.
My brethren, I have received my garland.

I was heading for shipwreck before I found the ship of Truth
a divine tacking was Jesus who helped me.
Who then shall be able to tell of the gift that came to me?
An unspeakable grace overtook me.
My brethren, I have received my garland.

Take unto you the word of Truth, o men that love God;
The world is nothing, there is no gain in it at all.
My brethren, I have received my garland.

Men are thinking that they are at rest yet
they know not that trouble is preparing for them.
My brethren, I have received my garland.

They run and burst forth until the hour overtakes them.
They have been called, they have not understood;
they have gone too and fro in vanity.
My brethren, I have received my garland.

I have despised the world so as to give life unto my soul:
the things of the flesh I have forsaken, the things of the
Spirit I have been in accord with them.
My brethren, I have received my garland.

Since I found my Savior I have walked in his steps.
I have not hung back at all of this garland to receive it.
My brethren, I have received my garland.

O how great is the joy that is prepared for the Perfect . . . .
. . . . . all of you, my brethren, we inherit it.
My brethren, I have received my garland.

. . . . . against this deceitful friend the darts of
the . . . . . ye have conquered them.
My brethren, I have received my garland.

Glory and honor to Jesus, the king of the holy ones, and his
holy Elect. Victory to the soul of the blessed Mary, Cleopatra.

Psalms to Jesus
Psalms XI

Thou hast been released from the grievous bonds of the flesh:
thou hast been garlanded in justification over all thy enemies.

The joyous Image of Christ - thou shalt have thy fill of it now:
go thy way therefore victoriously to thy city of Light.

Thou art glad because thou hast mixed with the holy angels:
upon thee is set the seal of thy glorious purity.

Thou art joyful because thou hast seen thy divine brethren
with whom thou shalt dwell in the Light for ever.
The authority of the flesh - thou hast passed quickly beyond it:
thou hast ascended like a swift bird into the air of the Gods.

Thou hast . . . . the nets of souls which is Hades of the dead:
therefore shall they not be able to compel thee to serve the . . . . .

Thou hast thrown upon the earth the garment of sickness:
thou hast trodden upon overweening pride which is deceitful and cruel.
The bitter darts of lust the murderers of souls, thou hast not tasted,
thou, o. holy son undefiled.

Thou hast put to shame the demons and devils of fire:
the rivers of dread marvel at thee now.
They summon thee today to dwell with the angels,
because thou hast left the land of the . . . . men of Hades.

The Savior Jesus, lo, he has . . . . . may he give .....
. . . . to thee, thou hast been merciful. . . .
the army looks to the. . . . . .
. . . . therefore thou being confident, o holy Righteous one
. . . . . from the need . . . .
. . . read books. . . . . .
. . . . the judge who sees the universe. . . . .

. . . . . O Light, he has given(?). . . . . .
. . . . therefore now, for thou hast received the palm . . . .
thou . . . find (?). . . . . harbor; the ships which. . . .
have. . . . . O . . . . thee with the rays of the . . . .
death.

. . . . my son, thou hast finished thy fight
thou hast ascended on high from us, thou hast left behind . . . .
I myself therefore now will praise the strength of the . . . .
I will restrain my tears because of the perfection of thy godliness.

Thou hast quickly escaped from the fearful . . . thou hast . . . .
at rest to the Paradise of life.

Thou hast reached the place wherein there is neither heat nor cold,
where there is neither hunger nor thirst, and the . . . . . body .

Thou art worthy of the Paradise of the Gods . . . . .
not preventing thee from rejoicing and singing unto God (?).

Thou hast been victorious, o Mani, thou hast given the victory to
them that have shown zeal for God, to thy Elect and thy faithful
and the soul of the blessed Mary.

| Return to Manichaean Scriptures Section |

Gnosis Archive | Gnostic Society Library |
The Gnostic Society Library
Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica |
Gnostic Society

Psalms to Jesus
Psalms XXI

Let me be worthy of thy bride-chambers that are full of Light.
Jesus Christ, receive me into thy bride-chambers,
thou my Saviour. The body of death which . . . . . .
I have killed it, I have made it keep far from my members . . . . . .
indeed put me to shame. I am a maiden unspotted and holy.

Let me see thy image , my holy Father, which I saw
before the world was created, before the Darkness
presumed to stir up envy against thy Aeons.
Because of it I became a stranger to my kingdom,

I severed its root, I went up victoriously on high.

Purify me, my bridegroom, o Saviour, with thy waters
. . . . . that are full of grace.

| Return to Manichaean Scriptures Section |

Gnosis Archive | Gnostic Society Library |
The Gnostic Society Library
Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica |
Gnostic Society

The Psalms to Jesus
Psalm XXX

Jesus Christ in whom I have believed,
show thyself to me quickly and save me.

O merciful and good , full of mercy upon . . . .
O First-born, Jesus, whom I have loved,
do not forsake me in my tribulations . . .

Since my youth unto thee have I given thanks;
I forsook the universe, I believed in thee,
I stood in thy name, O only-begotten.
Do not forsake me in my tribulations.

It is heavy upon me, the vesture wherein I stood:
all men hating it and persecuting it; but thou it is to
whom I gave my soul.
Do not forsake me in my tribulations.

Lo, they of the sky stand against me and they that are
below multiply my tribulations; they that are with
me also are filled with wrath against my soul.

[illegible section]

I beseech thee in entreaties,
for thou art the bidden joy of thy children.

I called unto thee: do not turn away from me, but
. . . . and bear me quickly and make thy mercy
overtake my weakness.

Hear me and make thy succor overtake me,
that I may rest from all afflictions and my soul too
rejoice because it called unto thee and thou didst answer it.

Glory and victory to our Lord. Mani, the Spirit of Truth,
who cometh from the Father, and his holy perfect Elect,
and the soul of the blessed (paKapia) Mary, Tbeona, Pshai, Jmnoute.

| Return to Manichaean Scriptures Section |

Gnosis Archive | Gnostic Society Library |
The Gnostic Society Library
Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica |
Gnostic Society

The Psalms to Jesus
Psalm XXXI

Jesus Christ, in whom I have believed,
stand with me in the hour of my need.
I also am one in the number of thy hundred sheep
which thy Father gave into thy bands that thou
mightest feed them.

The ravenous wolf, the son of the desert , heard
my sweet cry and came up raging.

Thy lot fell on me among all my kin: . . . . . .
until I had finished my fight.
I gave myself up to death trusting in the . . . divine word:
'He that dies shall live, he that bumbles himself shall be exalted'.
glorified in the wisdom that thou gavest me . . .
the Sects ; never was man able to contend against me.

Lo, I made thy commandments an armour for me,
I armed myself 'and went into the world, I called the . . . . .
When I hear the cry of thy . . . . holy trumpet
sounding summer and winte r. . . . . .

I follow thee.
I betook myself far from the world, I left my parents,
I passed unto the Lord who is greater than heaven and earth.
I hid not from thee, my God, I did not do the will of the

body , that thou mightest not leave me in the hour . . . .
For the things of the smaller life pass away, they do not satisfy the . . .
the lifetime also of men is a lamp that goes out.

As I was saying these things in tears the Saviour called me:
crime, o busy champion, and give the garland of Light to me.
Who can see, my brethren, and return to the earth again and
tell all men of the glory which I have received today?
I beseech you all, my brethren, my kinsmen,
do not weep for me, for I have found the reward of my toil.

Glory land victory to our Lord Mani and all his
Elect. Victory to the soul of the blessed Mary.

| Return to Manichaean Scriptures Section |

Gnosis Archive | Gnostic Society Library |
The Gnostic Society Library
Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica |
Gnostic Society

Psalm CCXXIIII
of the Manichaean Bema Psalms

Let us worship the Spirit of the Paraclete.
Let us bless our Lord Jesus who has sent us
the Spirit of Truth. He came and separated us from the Error
of the world, he brought us a mirror, we looked, we saw the Universe in it.

When the Holy Spirit came he revealed to us the way of Truth
and taught us that there are two Natures, that of Light and that of Darkness,
separate one from the other from the beginning.

The Kingdom of Light, on the one hand, consisted in five Greatnesses,
and they are the Father and his twelve Aeons and the Aeons of the Aeons,
the Living Air, the Land of Light ; the great Spirit breathing in them,
nourishing them with his Light.

But the Kingdom of Darkness consists of five storehouses,
which are Smoke and Fire and Wind and Water and Darkness;
their Counsel creeping in them, moving them and inciting them to
make war with one another.

Now as they were making war with one another they dared to make an

attempt upon the Land of Light, thinking that they would be able to conquer it.
But they know not that which they have thought to do they will bring down upon their own heads.

But there was a multitude of angels in the Land of Light, having powers to go forth to subdue the enemy of the Father, whom it pleased that by his Word that he would send,
he should subdue the revels who desired to exalt themselves above that which was more
exalted than they.

Like unto a shepherd that shall see a lion coming to destroy his sheep-fold:
for he uses guile and takes a lamb and sets it as a snare that he may catch him by it : for by a single lamb he saves his sheep-fold. After these things he heals the lamb that has been wounded by the lion:

This too is the way of the Father, who sent his strong son ; and he produced from himself his Maiden equipped with five powers, that she might fight against the five abysses if the Dark.

When the Watcher stood in the boundaries of light, he showed to them his Maiden who is his soul; they bestirred themselves in their abyss, desiring to exalt themselves over her, they opened their mouth desiring to swallow her.

He held her power fast, he spread her over them, like nets over fishes, he made her rain down
upon them like purified clouds of water, she thrust herself within them like piercing lightning.
She crept in their inward parts, she bound them all, they not knowing it.

When the First Man had finished his war the Father sent his second son.
He came and helped his brother out of the abyss; he established this whole world out of the mixture that took place of the Light and the Darkness.

He spread out all the powers of the abyss to ten heavens and eight earths,
he shut them up into this world once, he made it a prison too for all the powers of Darkness,
it is also a place of purification for the Soul that was swallowed in them.

The sun and moon he founded, he set them on high, to purify the Soul.
Daily they take up the refined part to the height, but the dregs however they erase . . . . . .
. . . . . mixed, they convey it above and below.

This whole world stands firm for a season, there being a great building which is being built
outside this world. So soon as the builder shall finish, the whole world will dissolve and set on fire that the fire may smelt it away.

All life, the relic of Light wheresoever it be, he will gather to himself and of it depict and image.
And the counsel of death too, all the Darkness, he will gather together and make a likeness
of its very self, it and the Ruler.

In a moment the living Spirit will come . . . . . he will succor the Light. But the counsel of death and the darkness he will
shut up in the dwelling that was established for it, that it might be bound in it for ever.

There is no other means to bind the Enemy save this means; for he will not be received to the Light because he is a stranger to it : nor again can he be left in his land of Darkness,
that he may not wage a war greater than the first.

A new Aeon shall be built in the place of the world that shall dissolve, that in it the powers of the Light
may reign, because they have performed and fulfilled the will of the Father entire, they have subdued
the hated one, they have . . . . . over him for ever.

This is the Knowledge of Mani, let us worship him and bless him.
Blessed is every man that shall have trust in him, for he it is shall live with all
the Righteous. Glory and victory to our Lord Mani, the Spirit of Truth, that cometh from the Father,
who has revealed to us the Beginning, the Middle and the End.
Victory to the soul of the blessed Mary, Theona, Pshaijmnoute.

| Return to Manichaean Scriptures Section |

Gnosis Archive | Gnostic Society Library |
The Gnostic Society Library
Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica | Gnostic Society

Psalm CCXXVIII
of the Manichaean Bema Psalms

He anointed him in his power,
he made him perfect by the Spirit of his love.
Implore him all.

He appointed him to three powers,
to tribulation, to the right hand, to bliss.
Implore him all.
He gave into his hands the medicine of life
that he might heal the wounded.
Implore him all.

He gave light with his Light to our Lamps.
Put oil into them by your faith.
Implore him all.

He gave the helmsman to the ships;
the butter he brought to the warm milk.
Implore him all.

He gave the bread of life to the hungry;
the clothing he brought to the naked.
Implore him all.

He gave light by his love to our Intelligence;
he made his faith shine in our Reason.
Implore him all.

He brought perfection to our Thought,
long-suffering to our Counsel.
Implore him all.

He bestowed Wisdom on our Intention
that it might be as butter for us.
Implore him all.

He wounded with his trumpet
in the worlds that are far, that are near, he roused them all.
Implore him all.

The ruler of the earth rose up against him
and persecuted him in his cities.
Implore him all.

He assumed the heart of his judges
that they might condemn him like the impious.
Implore him all.

They shut him up in their prisons
and loaded his limbs with iron.
We implore him.

They counseled against him in their evil counsels
that they might cast a slur on him daily.
Implore him all.
In the power of his glorious Father . . .
. . . he gave his Spirit.
Implore him all.

He was put to shame, the judge of lawlessness,
he brought his wrath down upon his body.
Implore him all.

They hung his head upon the gate,
knowing not what they were doing.
Implore him all.

The wise ones also that are among men
bore witness concerning his eminence.
Implore him all.

Let us bless him now, my brethren,
and sing to him in one spirit.
Implore him all.

We pray thee all of us together,
the Elect and the Believers.
Implore him all.

Do not make reckoning with us now, our Lord,
according to the multitude of our sins.
Implore him all.

Glory to the Father,
who sent thee for the salvation of thy holy Churches.
Implore him all.

Glory and victory to the Paraclete,
our Light, Man, and the soul of Mary.
Implore him all.

| Return to Manichaean Scriptures Section |

Gnosis Archive | Gnostic Society Library |
The Gnostic Society Library
Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica |

Psalm CCXXX
of the Manichaean Bema Psalms
Light resplendent, the Bema, thou art come;
we call unto thee, the children of the Paraclete, our Lord Mani.
I will keep festival for thee today : I have purified my heart,
o Bema, holy likeness, that overawes him that approaches it.
I bless thee, o glorious seat, the sign of the Wisdom ;
we worship the sign of thy greatness and the mysteries ineffable.

Thou art the blessed Root. Thou art the confirmation of the Luminaries.
Thou art the gift of the air. Thou art the manifestation of the victory of the Light.

We see thee now, blessed one, the word that is in singleness of heart:
we gaze after thee, the holy one, the . . . . . .
that is new indeed.

Thou art he that waits for Christ, that he may judge the sinners through thee:
today also though thee the Mind puts to shame the portions of Error.
Thanks to thee and peace, the garland and the palm.
Thou art the new year's day of joy. Thou art the hour of gladness.
Thou art the medicine of the healing of our wounds, which are . . . . . .
and the wounds of the Faithful which cannot be healed.....
. . . . . salvation and rest.

Thou art he that crushes the evil, setting a garland upon godliness :
thou art he that cleanses the Light from the Darkness ;
thou art he that gives rest unto the souls of man.

Thou art the honor that is honored before all the apostles ;
thou art the throne of the judges of godliness that separate the two natures.

Thou art. . . . . sparing ; thou art compassion entire ; thou art the holy . . . . . .

Glory to thee, Mani : victory also to thy Bema.
Victory to thy Elect and thy Catechumens and
the soul of Mary, Jmnoute, Pshai.

| Return to Manichaean Scriptures Section |

Gnosis Archive | Gnostic Society Library |
The Gnostic Society Library
Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica |

Psalm CCXXXV
of the Manichaean Bema Psalms

This is the memorial of the Living Spirit :
this is the memorial of the Twelve Maidens:
this is the memorial of the Helmsmen ;
this is the memorial of the Splenditenens ;
this is the memorial of the King of Honour ;
this is the memorial of the King of Glory ;
the memorial of the great stout-hearted Omophorus.

This is the purity of the Apostle of Light ; this is the
purity of the Saviour Christ ; this is the purity of the
Pacraclete-Spirit ; this is the purity of the Love (agapa)
. . . . . ; this is the purity of the good Faith ;
this is the purity of the Perfection ; this is the purity of Patience;
this is the purity of Wisdom (Sophia) and Godliness.

This is the honour of the Paraclete-Spirit ; the honour of fasting,
Prayer, and Almsgiving : the honour of the commandment that
we lie not ; the honour of the commandment that we kill not ;
the honour of the commandment that we eat no flesh ;
the honour of the commandment that we make ourselves pure ;
the honour of the commandment of blessed Poverty ;
the honour of Humility and Kindliness.

My brethren let us pray with a great power . . . . . [large section illegible.]
. . . . . of your . . . . . .
one another. Ye Catechumens, repent in . . . . . .
praying with a great prayer . . . . . .

[large sections illegible.] . . . . above the elements. He gave . . . . . .
. . . . . be a sign of the Light. . . . . .
Thine is the glory and the victory,our Lord Mani , ...
. . . . our Lord Sisinnios, this is the . . . . . Innaios. Victory to Gabriab, our Lord . .
. . . . victory to Salmaios, our Lord Pappos . . . . . .
.
our Lord Ozeos; glory to Addas, our Lord . . . . . Be there victory to all the Living Ones
. . . . . to the soul of Plousiane, the Soul of Theona, and the soul of the blessed
Mary

| Return to Manichaean Scriptures Section |

Psalm CCXXXVII
from the Manichaean Bema Psalms

Sing ye all unto the glorious one, the Sage, the Paraclete,
the Spirit of the Dawn, and the Gods and the Father-Gods of
the Light, the glorious chiefs of the Kingdom indestructible,
they all praying in joy, and their Five Greatnesses.
They render glory unto the Giver of Light, the Sage, the Paraclete.

The Aeons, glorious and unperishing, the holy Emanations of the
mother of Life, the First man, the glorious firstborn, the five Elements,
active and strong - they render holy glory to the Sage, the Paraclete.

The Beloved of the Luminaries, the straight resplendent Word,
and the Great Builder that builds the New Aeon, the strong light-giving
. . . . . the Father of the Living - they render glory unto the Blessed One,
the Sage, the Paraclete.

The third Father who is victorious, the Rich one, the Blessed and the
Twelve Wise Maidens that . . . . . of the Light, the Helmsmen
. . . . . third ; thou art an envoy, another has send thee to us, o glorious one,
the Sage, the Paraclete.

. . . . the Column of Glory and the powers of the Omophori,
the Angels and the . . . . . and the three wheels that are below, the winds,
the water and the fire . . . . . this one alone, the Sage, the Paraclete.

The shining sun . . . . . .
and the glorious Maiden of Light . . . . . and
the Righteous Judge and the Light-Mind . . . . . they render
glory unto the Sage, the Paraclete.

. . . . . and the Heavens and the congregation of the stars
make song with harps and lutes, all worshipping him in joy, and the wise powers . . . .
. . . . . the sage, the Paraclete.

. . . . . and the mountains of the earth, the rivers . . . . . .
.
the waters, the four worlds and the . . . . . blossoming trees, the gardens of fragrance, and the breath of the wind - they render glory unto this unperishing one, the Sage, the Paraclete.

The race of the Righteous and the spirits and souls of the wise, the assemblies of the Apostles . . . . . glorious, the living merchants, the preachers of Light,
they render glory to this conqueror, the Sage, the Paraclete.

Sing with the Angels and bless the Mind of the shining Light of the Father, the sun . . . . . .
. . . . . and his strong active power and his glorious Wisdom (Sophia), ye sons of joy, render glory unto the Sage, the Paraclete.

Let us all sing together unto Mani, the man of God, on the holy perfect day, and let us be glad
and learn the mysteries of the life of the Saviour Jesus and make festival and render glory
to the Sage, the Paraclete.

Light your lamps and . . . . . and keep watch on the day of the Bema for the Bridegroom of joy and receive the holy rays of Light of the good Father, and you . . . . . the Sage, the Paraclete.

. . . . . all of us, the blessed ones, the Sage, the Paraclete who hast forgiven all thy members - the Elect , the Righteous, and the Faithful also together . . . . .
.
. . . . resplendent of the holy Bema.
Honour to the glorious one, the exalted living King, and the Luminaries that are held in honour, and Christ Jesus.

Glory to the Paraclete, our sage Lord and all his holy Elect, and the soul of Mary, Theona!

| Return to Manichaean Scriptures Section |

Gnosis Archive | Gnostic Society Library |
The Gnostic Society Library
Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica | Gnostic Society

Psalm CCXXXIX

from the Manichaean Bema Psalms

Lo, the amnesty of the forgiveness of sins has come ; it is Jesus,
who giveth repentance unto him that repents.
He stands in our midst, he winks unto us secretly, saying :
"Repent, that I may forgive you your sins".
He is not far from us, my brethren, even as he said in his
preaching , "I am near to you, like the clothing of your body".

He that is angry, sins : he that causes wrath is a murderer;
he that sheds a life, of him shall it be demanded.
The Good is destined to come : blessed is he by whom it
comes ; the Evil too is near to be : woe unto him because of
whom it comes.

When thou comest in with thy gift to set it on the table, be
reconciled with thy adversary that thy gift may be received from thee.
Look out, my brethren : smite not at the life of them that . . . . . .
. . . . . pass you . . . . . .

O man, thou desirest to honour thyself, let thy fruits . . . . . .
for the fruits of the tree which . . . . . forth . . . . . .
Man, thou lovest thy life : love thy neighbour as thyself ;
that which . . . . . do it not, that thou come not to
judgment concerning it. If thou art to give a lesson, perform it
first before thou givest it : . . . . . thou shalt be a sign of that
. . . . . Judge not thy brother in the thing which thou shalt be found . . . . . .
look not at the mote which is in his eye lest . . . . . all of it
beneath thine.

He has need of the physician who goes . . . . . and bears forth the
burning of the medicines, that he may see the light. The physician of the
souls, he is the Light-Mind ; this is the New Man : the burning medicines are
the Commandments. But the cool medicines, they are the forgiveness of
sins: he that would be healed, lo, of two kinds are the medicines of life.

Be not ashamed, o Faithful one, as thou goest unto thy . . . . . life ;
do not seek to please man and become an enemy of God.
Thou hast been ashamed of Him today : He will be ashamed of thee
at the end: do not be at ease in thy body and pay the penalty with thy soul.
For all men are running about, desiring to profit their soul, fearing and all
confounded, desiring to save their lives.

The life and death of each man is in his hands, he knowing that perchance
this is the man who shall be half dead in the middle of the way.
They all passed him by , none pitied him save only the Faithful who knew their soul.
The fire that dwells in the body, its affair is eating and drinking ; but the soul thirst

for the Word of God always. Blessed is the man whose heart condemns him not; the faithful man of God judges himself of his own accord.

Pray for thy enemies, bless them that revile thee, that thou mayest be good like thy Father who is in heaven. He that shines . . . . . that are evil and them that are good equally, spreading his Light upon every man.
Let us be merciful to one another that we may ourselves receive mercy ; let us forgive one another that we ourselves be forgiven.

Glory and honour to Jesus, the king of the holy ones and his holy Elect and the soul of Plousiane and the blessed Mary!

| Return to Manichaean Scriptures Section |

Gnosis Archive | Gnostic Society Library |
The Gnostic Society Library
Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica | Gnostic Society

Psalm CCXL
of the Manichaean Bema Psalms

We bless and sing to thee, our Father Mani, our Saviour, O glorious one. Thou art he unto whom we call, Father, king , god immortal; hear the prayer of thy fold, O glorious one.

. . . . . he whom the Father sent forth from on high that he might release the souls that are counted to him, O glorious one.

We now therefore make festival fulfilling thy holy day, passing the night in vigil in thy joy, O glorious one.

Thou art a creature immortal on the day of this third; thou art an envoy, another has send thee to us, O glorious one.

Wash us now therefore in the dew-drops of thy joy, for we are ordained to the service of the holy Bema, O glorious one.

Open to us the passage of the vaults of the skies and walk before us to the joy of thy kingdom, O glorious one.

We are wont to worship the sign of thy seat when thou spreadest it out on the day of the Filling of the Measure which is hidden today,

o glorious one.

Glory to thee, Mani , glorious one; victory to thy blessed Bema,
o glorious one, and the soul of the blessed Mary.

| Return to Manichaean Scriptures Section |

Gnosis Archive | Gnostic Society Library |
The Gnostic Society Library
Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica |
Gnostic Society

Psalm CCXLI
of the Manichaean Bema Psalms

Open the doors of mercy; arise that we may receive the present.
The great Judge is seated: let us gather and glorify him and bless him.

Say: Hail new sun, that has come forth with his Light.
Hail Holy Spirit, that art come today to save us:
Our Lord Mani, that forgives us our sins.
Blessing to thy Father peace to the kingdom on high.
Thanks to thy divine brethren who have believed in they coming to us.
Glory to the Aeons of Light who commemorated the things pertaining to
the celebration of thy birth into matter.
We worship the ships of Light that ferried thee across as thou camest.
Honour to the Perfect Man, the way of peace whereby thou didst come.
We bless thy Light-familiar, the Christ, the author of our good.
Honour to thy wisdom that has defeated the Error of the divisions.
We bless the Angels that brought thee from bound to bound.
We worship thy sufferings which thou didst endure because of thy children:

For thou didst leave thy great glory, thou didst come and give thyself for souls.
Thou didst assume different forms until thou hadst visited all races:
For the sake of thy loved ones, until thou hadst chosen them out of their midst.
. . . . . the earth, the seas and the . . . . . also.
Thou didst seek out thy beloved, thy Church, until thou hadst found her.
Thou didst appear unto the crowned ones, the princes received thy word.
Shapur honoured thee, Oromazd also received thy truth.
. . . . . Bahram . . . . . for he believed not in thy preaching.
He hearkened to thy enemies, the deniers of thy hope.
. . . . . Herod, who crucified Jesus Christ.

Woe unto them, the children of the fire; for they sinned against thy holy body.
I was speaking of the Magi who looked upon thy blood.
They loved the evil-genius of the persecutors, the murderers of God.
They wrote their lying screeds, they gave them our concerning thee.
O Judge of all the races, they arraigned thee and judged thee.
From the time that thou didst confound their Error they loaded thee with iron
and bound thee.
They loaded thy hands and feet and put fetters also upon thy body.
They cast thee into their prisons, thinking that they could hold thee in.
Thou didst spend twenty-six days and nights of them in irons.
. . . . . thy children beside thee, thou didst embrace them all.

[illegible section]

Thou didst appoint the twelve Teachers and the seventy-two Bishops.
Thou didst make Sisinnios leader over thy children.
When thou hadst set thy affairs in order thou didst implore thy Father,
he answered thee.
Thou didst leave them thy body and didst ascend to thy kingdom.
The lawless men were confounded, they brought their wrath upon thy body.
They shed thy blood in the midst of the street of their city.
They struck off thy head and set it on high upon their gate.
They rejoiced in thy murder, knowing not that there is a judgement:

For an account shall be demanded of thy death and thy blood shall be avenged.
Their godless city shall receive the recompense for the outrage which it committed.
Blessed are thy loved ones that shed their tears for thee.
Lo, the grief of thy body, the joy of thy spirit that has ascended.
Blessed one, our Father, number us also among thy Elect today.

[illegible section]

The Man who has suffered wrong - lo, the protection of the Judge let him hasten unto it:
He whom grief has killed, he on whom anger has leapt:
He for whom lust has soiled the whiteness of his clothes:
He from whom obduracy stole away the sweetness of his heart:
He whom folly made mock of and took away his wisdom:
He for whom the devouring fire allied with his enemies, doing him harm:
He whom overweening pride deceived and tumbled to the ground:
Lo, the judge has sat down, he calls out the name of him who has been wronged.
There is no favouring in his judgment, no turning in his justice.
He knows how to forgive him that shall sin and repent.
He makes reckoning with none that shall come to him and implore him.
But the divided man - him he forgives not.
Let us not neglect ourselves and fail in our hearts through our own fault.
Lo, the great physician has come; he knows how to heal all men.
He has spread his medicine-chest, he has called out, - "He that wishes to be cured,

come hither!"
Look at the multitude of his cures; there is no cure save in him.
He does not recoil from him that is sick, he does not mock him that has a wound in him.
A skilful one is he in his work: his mouth is also sweet in its words.
He knows how to cut a wound, to put a cool medicament upon it.
He cuts and cleanses; he cauterizes and soothes in a single day.
Look, his loving-kindness has made each one of us reveal our sickness.
Let us not hide our sickness from him and leave the cancer in our members,
the fair and mighty image of the New Man, so that it destroys it.

He has the antidote that is good for every affection:
His Great Gospel, the good tidings of all them that are of the Light.
His water-pot is the Thesaurus, the treasure of life.
In it there is hot water: there is some cold water also mixed with it.
His soft sponge that wipes away bruises is the Pragmateia.
His knife for cutting is the Book of the Mysteries.
His excellent swabs are the Book of the Giants.
The [...] of every cure is the Book of Letters..
[illegible section.] . . . . hot, the two psalms, the lamentations
. . . . . cool also, his Prayers and all his Logia.

Lo, the test of our physician: my brethren, let us implore him.
May he give us a cure that heals our . . . . . .
The forgiveness of our sins, that he may bestow it upon us all.
May he wipe away our iniquities, the scars that are branded on our souls.
Year by year there is the day: let us not forget, so that it goes . . . . . .
We are his holy ones, they that preach and they that hear, all of them.
He that sings a psalm is like them that weave a garland.
They that answer after him are like them that put roses into his hands.
Victory to the judge of Truth and his glorious Bema.
May he give it to all of us also, his Elect and his Catechumens.
Glory and honour to them that keep festival on this mighty day.
Victory to the soul of Plousiane, Apa Polydoxus, Apa Pshai, Panai, Pshai,
Jmnoute, Theona and the soul also of Mary.

| Return to Manichaean Scriptures Section |

Gnosis Archive | Gnostic Society Library |
The Gnostic Society Library
Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica | Gnostic Society

Taste and Know that the Lord is Sweet
(Preparation for Communion)

Taste and Know that the Lord is sweet.
Christ is the word of Truth; he that hears it shall live.

I tasted a sweet taste, I found nothing sweeter than the word of Truth.
Taste and Know that the Lord is sweet.

I tasted a sweet taste, I found nothing sweeter than the name of God.
Taste and Know that the Lord is sweet.

I tasted a sweet taste, I found nothing sweeter than Christ.

Where is there a kind mother like my mother, Love?
Where is there a kind father like my father, Christ?
What honey is so sweet as this name, Church?

Wisdom invites you, that you may eat with your Spirit.
Lo, the new wine has been broached; lo, the cups have been brought in.

Drink what you shall drink, gladness surrounding you.

Eat that you may eat, glad in your Spirit.

The Bride is the Church, the Bridegroom is Christ.
The Bride is the soul, the Bridegroom is Jesus.

Rejoice, and know you are the sons of the Light.

This is the true joy that will endure with us!

Here is words of wisdom, hear:
He that humbleth himself shall be received,
he that exalteth himself in self-glory, shall be humbled.

He that dies lives, he that labours has his rest.
After the labour is the rest, after sorrow there is joy again.
Let us rejoice in this joy from the aeons of aeons.
Glory and honour to Jesus, the Majesty of the holy ones,
and his holy Elect, and the soul of our Church, the Blessed Mary.

| Return to Manichaean Scriptures Section |

Gnosis Archive | Gnostic Society Library |
The Gnostic Society Library
Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica |
Gnostic Society

Put in Me a Holy Heart, My God

Put in me a holy heart, my God:
let an upright Spirit be new within me.

The holy heart is Christ;
if he rises in us, we also shall rise in him.

Christ has risen, the dead shall rise with him.
If we believe in him, we shall pass beyond death and come to life.

The sons of faith, - they shall see faith:
lo, ... come, let us put oil in our lamps.

Let us gather in and become warm milk;
this creature . . . . . hope which has come from on high.

The creature of the Darkness is this body we wear:
the soul which is in it is the First Man.

The First Man who was victorious in the Land of Darkness,
he also today will be victorious in the body of death.

The Living Spirit that gave help to the First Man,
he also today is the Paraclete-Spirit (Comforting Spirit) .

One is the Mind that is to come, that reveals,
gathering in, choosing his holy Church.

Purify me, my God, purify me within, without:
purify the body, the soul and the Spirit.

Let . . . . . be a holy body for me:
the knowledge . . . . . Spirit and Mind for me.

Purify me, my God, ... in these three . . . .
. . . . . my mouth . . . . . and the purity of my virginity.

Jesus has risen: he has risen in three days,
the Cross of Light that rises in the three powers.

The Sun and the Moon and the Perfect Man,
-- these three powers are the Church of the Great World.

Jesus, the Maiden, and the Mind which is in their midst
-- these three powers are the Church of the Little World.

The Kingdom of the heavens, behold, it is within us, behold, it is outside us;
if we believe in it we shall live in it for ever.

Glory, victory to every man that has heard these things
and believed in them and fulfilled them in joy.
Victory to the Soul of the blessed Mary.

| Return to Manichaean Scriptures Section |

Gnosis Archive | Gnostic Society Library |
The Gnostic Society Library
Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica |
Gnostic Society

Light Your Lamps

Light your lamps , for lo, the Saviour has come;
he of the holy name, he will make revelation.
Let us quickly break the nets of the body . . . .

lo him that is bound, lest we come to a judgment.
The flesh . . . . . our Spirit is glad within us.
Come to us, blessed (?) Jesus, and make us glad.

Do not flinch or lose heart , o man : thou hast . . . . .
heedlessly what they that have flinched have done.
Do not glory now, for this is not a place of glorying:
the place of glorying is the Luminaries,
the place of rejoicing is the Perfect Man.

Many are the ships that have gone down after they were near to
mooring to the bank; a number of houses have fallen after the
parapet had been reached. So it is also, my brethren, that there
is a soul that shall fight at first and the storm arises upon it and
the waves seize it.

There is none that can fight if he is committed to both sides.
The insidious and the meddlers never find God;

but they that have shut their eyes,to the good , -
for them how greatly I care that they should repent.

Unto whom do I go that I may find his heart well-established, that he may
support the burden that is upon me?
He knows it, that it is naught but sweet.
Men have been accustomed to the Darkness and have loved the
burden of the sins; but do thou be zealous for God, my Spirit, do not
flinch within thee.

Do not seek to please men and lose . . . . . .
hidden things of shame, - bring them to the Light,
o son of God. For what is anything at all in the sight of
God save the holy?
The holy also, if they slack , shall suffer.

Be thou like the sun, o faithful man, for he does not
say : 'Fair am I', though the Lights are a thing of beauty.
But thou, if thou wouldest be like thy Father --
fair are others glorying in thee and thou holding thy peace,.
oh that the Saviour were ours : oh that we were worthy of him.

Jesus is a ship: blessed are we if we sail upon it.
The Church is a garland for which they gather in every corner:
the garland-weaver who weaves it casts roses
. . . . . .
But there are false roses that are esteemed: when thou regardest
them they are fair, when thou smellest them there is no smell at all.
Woe to thee, o false rose, for thou hast lost the garland
. . . . . .change in time.

Glory and victory to the Paraclete, our joyous Luminary ,
our sun that has risen for us, the Saviour of spirits,
the Helper of souls, and his holy Elect.
Victory to the soul of the blessed, Mary, Apa Panai, Theona.

| Return to Manichaean Scriptures Section |

Gnosis Archive | Gnostic Society Library |
The Gnostic Society Library
Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica |
Gnostic Society

Excerpt from the

Kephalia of the Prophet

Concerning the three blows struck at the enemy
on account of the light.

He turned again and said:

"The Darkness, the Enemy, on the other hand, received three hard blows and suffered three wars and menacing perils on the part of the Light in these three wars."

"The first blow: He was removed from the center and separated from his Land of Darkness, from whence he had come. He was vanquished in the first war and seized and bound by the Living Soul."

"The second blow: This is the time when he is dissolved and melted away in the great fire and destroyed and annihilated, out of the images, which are all the things in which he exists, and gathered into the fetters corresponding to his first appearance, and so he shall become as he was at the very beginning."

"The third blow, which will strike the Enemy, is the setting in of the end, and the male is parted from the female. The male shall be chained up in the bolos [heap] but the female shall be cast into the grave. He shall be divided into pieces [. . . . .] stone in their center of all generations and eternities."

"This is the manner the Enemy shall be bound, in heavy and painfull bondage from which there is no way out, ever, but they have succeeded in separating him off and have separated him off for eternity."

"For this reason I say to my loved ones: Hearken to my words which I proclaim to thee. Hold fast to the works of life!"

"Endure persecutions and temptations, which will come to you, fortify yourselves in these commandments which I gave you, that you may escape the second death and these last bonds, in which there is no hope of life, and that you may avoid the evil end of the deniers and blasphemers who have seen the truth with their own eyes and have turned away from it. They shall come unto the Place of Punishment at which there is no day of life. For the shining Light shall hide from them, and from that hour onward they shall not see it. The wind and the air shall be taken from them, and from them they shall receive no breath of life from that hour onward. Water and dew shall be removed from them and they shall never again taste these."

"Hail to all those who escape the end of the sinners and deniers and avoid the ruin

which confronts them in concealing for all eternity!"

| Return to Manichaean Scriptures Section |

Gnosis Archive | Gnostic Society Library |
The Gnostic Society Library
Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica | Gnostic Society

Manichaean Scriptures

Hymn on the Third Messenger and the Archons
- Manichaean hymn in Parthian.

He (the third Messenger) takes the Light away from them (the demons)
in many forms and fashions, by gentle means and harsh.
He releases the captives from bondage.

He purifies His own life and he exhorts them to approach the visible
form and to follow its appearance.

Bright Sadvês shows her form to the Demon of Wrath.
She seduces him with her own appearance, and he thinks it is real.

He sows his seed, ... he groans when he no longer sees her form.
Light is born in the sphere of the world; she passes it on to the
higher powers.

Filth and dross flow from him to the earth. They clothe themselves in
manifold forms and are reborn in many fruits.

The dark Demon of Wrath is ashamed, for in his confusion he had become
naked. He had not attained the heights, and he had been robbed of
whatever he had achieved.

He left the body an empty shell and descended in shame.
He was clothed in the womb of the earths, from where he had risen in brutishness.

...

The Gnostic Society Library
Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica | Gnostic Society

Manichaean Scriptures
The Hymn to the Father of Greatness
- a hymn ascribed to Mani, in Parthian.

You are worthy of praise, beneficient Father, primeaval Ancestor!
Blessed are you, beneficient God!

You, Lord, are the first alif and the last tau.
Through you yourself your pious wish has been fulfilled and
accomplished.

All gods and aeons, the deities of Light,
And the righteous bring praise to you,
singing "Holy" repeatedly.

The spirits, the plants and all . . . . truly implore you
to blessing. And bring forth supplications with one voice.

Grant us our pious wish . . . .
They bear the form that we have given up from afar.

Be merciful unto us in your mercy;
Show us your form, the noble epiphany, for which we yearn.

Let your brightness shine upon us, sweet source and breath of life!

Make, us, your children, strong.
In vain the dark foe boasts, together with the bellicose,
rebellious giants, In vain he wishes to cling to the Aeons.

...

Manichaean Scriptures
Hymn about the Captivity of Light
- Manichaean hymn in Parthian.

Lo, that great Kingdom of Salvation, waits on high,
Ready for those who have gnosis, so that they may
finally find peace there.

Sinful, dark Pêsûs runs hither and tither brutishly,
She gives no peace at all to the upper and lower limbs of Light.

She seizes and binds the Light in the six great bodies,
In earth, water and fire, plants and animals.

She fashions it in many forms; she molds it into many figures;
She fetters it in a prison so that it may not ascend to the height.

She weaves a net around it on all sides, she piles it up;
she sets a watchman over it.

Greed and lust are made its fellow-captives.

She mixes destructive air into those six great bodies.
She nurtures her own body both destroys their sons.

The power of Light on high confuse all demons of wrath,
The sons of that Pêsûs, who is in a higher place.

(three further verses missing)

...

Manichaean Scriptures
Invocation of Jesus the Splendor -
A Manichaean hymn in Persian.

We would fill our eyes with praise
And would open our mouths to invoke you.
We would bring to you ... honor and greatness,
To you, Jesus the Splendor, liberated ruler and
New Dispensation.

You are, You are the garment of blessing.
You are the dearest brother.
Come for salvation, who are complete salvation.
Come for beneficence, who are complete beneficence.
Come to bring love, who are complete love.
Come as physician, who are complete healing.
Come to bring peace, who are complete peace.
Come as victor, who are complete victory.
Come as lord, who are complete lordship.

Come for redemption, who are complete soul-service.

Welcome, new lord and new physician.
Welcome, new redeemer and redeemed one.
Welcome, new God, noble lustre and great light.
Welcome, oh day that is complete joy.
Welcome, oh year that brings a good harvest.
Welcome, original one and primeval first-born one.
Welcome, good mediator ... who mediates between us
and the Father.

...

Manichaean Scriptures
Hymn on the Second Coming of Jesus
- Manichaean Hymn in Persian with Parthian words.

Speak to me, Lord and Friend, and reveal to me, Son
of the most beloved, the time of your coming, when
you will appear at the end.

Oh great Redeemer, my Teacher, speak of that time and its signs.
The speakers, the righteous and chosen ones, who must live
in the Realm of the Lie, Do not accumulate herds and belongings.
Therefore they are persecuted.

Ha, this irate potentate! How long will he continue to rule?
How long will the poor and the Family of Peace be persecuted?
Tell me what reward the wise and righteous ones that are now
persecuted will have.
You of compassionate race, tell of the coming subjugation of
the sinners who are now exalted.
The strong and valiant Son of the Most Beloved taught me what
I asked him:

That time, the coming years and periods, will be different from now,
because of the ensuing battles.
For they (the years) shall flow like water in the rivers,
Now that time is near at hand.
The covetous heretics that now rejoice
shall you then vanquish, you Wrathful One.
They will be persecuted, as they have persecuted,

And they shall do penance for their offences.
Then shall those who have wept be joyful,
And those who now laugh weep.
He who is grieved and belongs to the Family of Peace
Shall be rewarded with prosperity and protection.
Then the righteous religion shall hold sway over the false teachings and nations.
Then shall the springs of Living Water open their mouths in praise.
Lament, give honor and praise, for the time is near,
Of which these are the signs.

... the annointed.
The vihidan(?) of the Ruler are called.
Persecution and suppression shall then be recompensed by eternal life.

...

Manichaean Scriptures
Hymn on the fate of the Living Soul -
A Manichaean Hymn in Parthian.

I hail from the Light and from the gods,
Yet I have become as one banished, seperated from them.
The foes assembled above me
And took me to the realm of death.
- Blessed be he who rescues my soul from distress,
so that it may be saved. -

A god am I, born of the gods,
A bright, radiant and shaining,
Beaming, fragrant and beautiful god.
But now I have fallen into misery.
Countless demons seized me,
Loathsome ones captured me.
My soul has been subjugated by them,
I am torn to pieces and devoured.
Demons, yakshas and peris,
Black, hideous, stinking dragons
That I could hardly repulse:
I experienced much pain and death at their hands.
They all roar and attack me,
They pursue me and rise up against me,
...

Manichaean Scriptures
Hymn exhorting the soul to remembrance -
A Manichaean Hymn in Parthian.

... all sins, the inner and the outer ones, of thought, word and deed,
what is in their harmful consequence?
Teach that pious and sinful thought are intertwined, and distinguishable between them.
Comprehend your being and the pure word, which is the master of the soul in the body,
And thereby learn to see through the false word that leads to Hell, even the Hell of Darkness.
Weigh, as with a judge`s scales, those redeemed and those condemned by the word,
Remember the cycle of rebirths and the torture of Hell, where souls are hurt and oppressed.
Maintain the fervor of the soul and the treasure of the word, so that you may enter the Paradise of Light.

(two verses missing)

Restrain your mind from sinful rebellion, walk on the path of the peace unto the home of Light.

...
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Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica | Gnostic Society

Manichaean Scriptures
Hymn to the Living Soul -
A Manichaean hymn in Parthian.

You, oh Soul, would we praise, our bright Life!
You would we praise, Jesus Messiah!

Merciful savior, look upon us!
Worthy are you to honor , redeemed Soul of Light!
Salvation to you, and may we also receive salvation!
Worthy are you of the Soul of Light, bright shining limb of Light.
You have salvation, bright Soul of the gods that shines in the darkness.
You sons of Truth, praise the Soul, the valiant god eager for battle.
This fettered Soul has arrived, gathered in ...
... from heaven and from the depths of the earth,
And from all creation.
Meritorious and blessed is the auditor who gathers the Soul
together, And blissful is the elect who purifies it.
This redeemed Soul has come,
It has come to this Church of Righteousness.
Praise it forever, you elect,
So that it may wondrously purify me
And lead me to life.
Blessed are you, oh Soul, you with the divine form!
Blessed are you, oh Soul, weapon and battlement of the gods,
Blessed are you, radiant Soul,
Splendor and glory of the ... Worlds of Light!
Blessed are you, divine radiant Soul,
Weapon and might, soul and body, gift of the Father of Light.

...

Manichaean Scriptures
Hymn to the Third Messenger -
A Manichaean Hymn in Parthian.

I will bring praise to your Light,
Second Great One, God Narisaf,
Beautiful form, radiance,
Judge and observer of all ...
Light with a thousand eyes ...
Where you set is extinction, and Light is where you arise.
With you lives the Mother of the Righteous,
with you abides also the Living Spirit;
With you are the mighty Fathers that gathers pearls,
The twin lights, the two great lamps.
It is a house of peace where the gods abide,
They move the world and radiant light.
Full of joy are the divine abodes,

The noble ships, the ferries that are created by the word.
The mighty powers, the giants eager for battle,
Withdraw Light from all creatures.
In two bright forms they seduce the demons of wrath,
As in open joy of heart
They come and go independently and in wondrous power.
The chariots of Light are the gate to the Kingdom,
Joyful are the melodies that sound from them.
You will I praise, God Narisaf,
Honor first to you and to your whole Greatness;
In your mercy redeem even me, your child.

...

Manichaean Scriptures
Hymn in praise of Mani -
A Manichaean hymn in Parthian.

You have come with salvation, oh Savior of our souls,
Lord Mani, Apostle of Light!
You have come with salvation, oh Redeemer of our souls!
You have come with salvation, oh great Savior!
You have come with salvation, oh great Shepherd ... !

(fourteen verses missing)

You have come with salvation, oh bright gatherer of souls!
You have come with salvation, oh mighty and strong One!
You have come with salvation, most Beloved of the Lights!
You have come with salvation, oh Lord of the Church!
You have come with salvation, oh beautiful trunk!
You have come with salvation, oh Name ...

You have come with salvation, oh dearest and most Beloved One!
Hail to your twin and to your Glory, that have come forth with you!

You have come with salvation, oh Twin of the gods!
Hail to the bright gods of whom you are born!

(seven verses missing)

You have come with salvation, oh Messenger of Joy!

Salvation to the auditors that hear your message!

You have come with salvation, oh Savior of beautiful
and most beloved name!
Hail to the blessed that honor you!

...

Manichaean Scriptures
Commemorative hymn for Mâr Zaku -
A Manichaean Hymn in Parthian.

Oh great teacher, Mâr Zaku ... Shepherd!
Oh great lamp that was so suddenly extinguished!
Our eyes were darkened, made faint and weak.
Oh battle-seeking Hero who left his army behind;
Terror seized the troop, the army was thrown into confusion.
Oh great Tree whose height was felled!
The birds started to quiver; their nest has been destroyed.
Oh great Sun that sank below the earth!
Our eyes saw only darkness, for the light was veiled.
Oh zealous Caravan leader who left his caravan behind
In deserts, wastes, mountains and gorges!
Oh Heart and Soul that have departed from us!
We need your skill, your reason and your glory.
Oh living Sea that has dried up!
The course of the rivers is obstructed and they no longer flow.
Oh green Mountain on which sheep graze!
The milk for the lambs runs dry, the sheep bleat pitifully.
Oh mighty Father, for whom many sons mourn,
All the children that have been orphaned.
Oh Lord who was spared no pains, who endured want!
You cared for the well-being of the house of God in every way.
Oh great Spring , whose source is stopped up!
Sweet nourishment is held back from our mouths.
Oh bright Lamp whose radiant light shone into another world!
Darkness befell us.
Oh Mâr Zaku, Shepherd, blessed Teacher!
Our power is now seperated from you.
No longer do we look into your bright eyes;
No longer do we hear your sweet words.
Oh God Sroshâv with the sweet name, bright Lord!

None is like to you amongst all the gods.
We sigh and weep bitterly, we are grieved,
We constantly remember your love.
You were exalted in all the lands,
The kings and the great ones honored you.
Lovely and kind was your natue, mild was your speech
That never succumbed to bitter wrath.
Oh great, strong Giant who displayed great patience!
You tolerated everyone, you were renowned.
Oh righteous Father, meek and merciful,
Magnanimous and generous, compassionate and kind,
You bright joy to the oppressed; many souls
Did you save from misery, guiding them home.
Strong, good, powerful One who has attained a throne
Like all the Apostles, Buddhas and Gods,
First to you will I pay homage, I your meanest son
Who was left behind as a homeless orphan by you, Father.

Additional note:
Come, let us write a letter to the beneficent King of Light.
We will request him: Forgive our sins!

...

Manichaean Scriptures
Homily on the correct preparations for the sacred Meal -
A Manichaean fragment on the eucharist, in Sogdian.

... and receive it (the sacred meal) like gold, transmit it correctly and completely to its owner (the Father of Light) so that you may not be subjected to evil. Guard it with care, preserve it with great steadfastness, so that it may not be soiled by dry or wet blood, just as it, in turn, makes you glad and joyful. And all of you together, keep it from being ...
by jealousy and hatefulness ... Remember your fault on the day of ...
when by greed it was ...
Begin to Ponder: One`s body, with whose sign is it decorated or covered? In whose service does it stand? And what is it that you eat? For everyone who partakes of the meal and is not worthy of it loses the fruit of his great efforts and is shut out of the Paradise of Light. But the chosen righteous ones and the auditors who believe realize the greatness of the Living Soul and will be joyful in the Paradise of Light, in eternal life ...
Dear brother, cleanse yourself and hear the good message from me.

It is a duty and an obligation to those who know to stand in the Church
under this sign and to serve ...

...

Manichaean Scriptures
Invocation of the angels -
A Manichaean text in Persian.

Come, you shall live together with the mighty angels.
Guard and protect the holy Church,
And cut off the heads of the adversaries,
The foes of peace.

May Raphael, Michael, Gabriel and Sarael,
Together with all the most powerful angels,
Increase peace and faith
For the whole Church of the Eastern Province.

Blessing upon the mighty angels!
May these powerful ones, these humble ones, be praised,
So that they may protect the "sons of the right handI"
From the spiritual (demonic) and temporal (fleshly) powers.

I bless the God Mani, the Lord,
I venerate your great, bright glory,
I pray to the Holy Spirit,
Together with the glories and strong angels.

Praise to the almighty angels! May they protect
The religion of the gods,
And may they overcome
Those attacking righteousness.

The angel full of wisdom, the loving deity,
Beautiful in appearance, the strong God,
He of noble name, King Frêdon, and the valiant Jacob,
May they protect the Church, and us, their children!

May blessing and praise from all of us
Be accepted by the three Lords,
So that they may send us power and strenght

On this day and at this time of joy.

May blessing come from the gods on high
And new help from the power of the mighty;
May it come upon the land and its ruler,
So that their faith in the holy religion may increase.

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Manichaean Scriptures
The Invocation of Bar Sîmûs -
A Manichaean text in Persian.

I venerate Bar Sîmûs and Jacob
And praise Bar ...
So that they may increase ...
With Joy ever anew ... for this whole community.
Mihr Yazd, our Father, Redeemer and Benefactor,
Together with the valiant Frêdon and all the angels.
May they protect and care for the holy Church
And its blessed head, the Lord of good name.

Oh Sun that brings Light, God Zênârês,
together with the Mother of the Living,
Mihr Yazd, together with all the angels,
The five and the twelve,
May they all be praised by the holy Church!

May new blessing, new victory, come from God Zurvan
Upon the glories and angels and the spirits of this world,
So that it (the world) may accept the holy religion.
May He (Zurvan) be guardian, friend and protector within and without.

I invoke the powerful angels, the mighty ones,
Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, Sarael,
So that they may protect us from all misfortune
And deliver us from evil Ahriman.

I venerate the Lord Jacob the angel,
Together with the glories, powers and valiant spirits,
That they may protect us with their mighty power
And may lead us within and without.

I joyously venerate the mighty power,
Jacob the angel, the leader of the angels;
Receive from the whole holy Church
Blessing ever anew, and mighty praise!

May peace and new salvation come from God Zurvan,
You glories and spirits!
May blessing and new joy
From the gods and the angels be prepared for you!
May you lead us on this way to salvation!

May new power come from Jacob the angel,
New joy from all the angels!
May this land receive new aid,
May they (the angels) lead it to peace ever new.

Come, you glories, spirits and powers,
Grasp the right hand ...

...

Manichaean Scriptures
Invocation of the gods in the Moon -
A Manichaean text in Parthian.

Eternal praise from the whole community that has been pardoned.
Chief of the messengers, Lord, Friend, Jesus, Savior, Ruler of the holy religion -
You are eternally holy!

The first of those that go out ... who dispel the dark foes,
beloved of the Lights -
You are eternally holy!

Merciful Mother, Maiden of Light, soul of the God Zurvan,
head of all wisdom, who has enlightened all the gods -
You are eternally holy!

Soul gathering angels, seven shiplords ...

...

Manichaean Scriptures
A Confessional Prayer for the elect -
A Manichaean text in Sogdian.

The first commandment: Truthfulness ...

The second commandment: Nonviolence.

... if by me their divine light has been injured: daily a small portion
is lost on the way. For all this I say: Forgive me!

The third commandment: Behavior in accordance with religion,
with its two parts.

I cannot remain virtuous ...
First : I do not fret at the cutting off or planting of trees (or even whole)
groves of trees. I do not consider the affliction of the sprouts of trees
or even the holy Light Element on a spring morning.
We all strive to plant and to sow a garden or a piece of land with our bodies.
Second: the male and the female bodies ...

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Manichaean Scriptures
The Hymn on the End of the World -
A Manichaean liturgical hymn in Parthian.

The message of heaven and the earth`s answer :

Hear, oh world, the words of the Lord!
We would invoke the gods that they may save us
from this evil age of tyranny, full of strife and unbelief.
Oh angels and twins, save us from all distress.
That time (the end) has come,
Just as the redeemer (Mani) has written.

Here ends the hymn on the End of the World.

...

Manichaean Scriptures
The Hymn on Body-and-Soul -
A Manichaean liturgical hymn in Parthian.

Sweet place of rest, oh garden!
May you be a sweet place of rest for me
Return to me, remain in me.
May we be of one accord through your beneficence.

Here ends the hymn on Body and Soul.

...

Manichaean Scriptures
The Funerary Hymn -
A Manichaean liturgical hymn in Parthian.

Set into the world am I, this divine form, deprived of my heavenly
apparel. And I saw the redeemer, as he spoke to me in loving kindness.
Hope then came to me when I was constantly oppressed.
The marvel was illumined for me, My mind became joyful.
How quickly, how hastily has come the end of my life?
Free me from terrible distress on this day of death!
Come, my redeemer, accompanied by praise, saving God,
Lord Mani, together with the three sons of God.
Remember, kind God, this believing soul of your own child,
an auditor, who follows you.
Beneficent God, think of me, my thoughts are fixed upon the final day.
Come, oh God, look upon me, my helper at this time of death!

Here ends the funerary hymns.

...

Manichaean Scriptures
Hymns to the soul -
A Manichaean liturgical hymn in Parthian.

... Worthy are you of salvation.
To you, oh Soul of Light, will I give much counsel,
so that you may attain redemption.

Come, oh souls, to this ship of Light!

My most beloved soul, who is happy and noble,
where have you gone? Return!
Awake, dear soul, from the sleep of drunkenness
into which you have fallen!
Look upon the foes, see how they prepare death all around you!
Reach your home, the heavenly earth created by the Word,
Where you were in the beginning.

The distressed soul cries out loudly because of wicked greed,
deceptive delusion and the devouring blaze of fire.
An angel from Paradise has come, a herald from the Kingdom.
Here end the beautiful hymns to the soul.

...

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Manichaean Scriptures
Hymn in honor of the Dominions of Light -
A Manichaean Hymn in Persian.

On the Twelve Dominions.

(...)

Ninth: Righteousness, the sower of goodness.
You are a living tree, a firm column, with which you put the living powers of the Vahman in order, with righteousness and generosity.
And you proclaim them with great righteousness in the lower community and the upper community.

Tenth: Thankfulness, you good redeemer, resurrector of dead souls.
You fulfil the wishes of the three immortal ones, and you give understanding and beneficence to the children of the faith, whole limbs you have vitalized with thankfulness. And you caused Jesus the Splendor to be honored.

Eleventh: Goodness, which is the living spirit, the wisdom of the Father and the splendor of the gods. You are the revelation of the life of the World of Light, and the first of those revelations, that are full of wondrous power and wisdom.
And you caused the spirit of Zurvan to be strenghtened.

Twelfth: Light.
You are Light from the World of Lights. Those that are illuminated by you are themselves signs of Light. You are yourself the praised spirit in the hearts of the blessed. And you freed them from the slavery of being in the state of confusion (mixture of good and evil).
And you praised the radiant Vahman, the ruler of the Church.

We revere with great beneficence the whole community of the elect ...

...

Manichaean Scriptures
Verses from a Parthian hymn

... Lead me, Father, to my own family!
Fortunate is every man who in purity and truth
Recognize your skill, your manliness and wondrous power, oh God!
To fulfil completely, oh God, your counsels and your commandments,
I shall strive and wait on you. I am ardent, by day and night.
Earthly pleasures and things of the world, with Greed has avidly and cunnigly prepared, Have I given up to your counsel.
Hear, oh God, my supplication, and do not hesitate to accept my veneration and prayer.
Lead me out of this poisonous deep!
This is the way, this is the mystery, this is the great commandment

and the gate of salvation.
Fulfill in me, oh God, your will. May your glory protect me and always foster patience, zeal and fear of God in me.
My eye and ear ...

...

Manichaean Scriptures
The Crucifixion Hymn -
A Manichaean hymn in Parthian.

... Because of Satan the select were chosen by Jesus.
He (Satan) wanted to break through the fiery waves, to burn the whole world with fire. The noble ruler (Jesus) changed his garment and appeared before Satan in his power.
Then heaven and earth trembled, and Sammaèl plunged into the deep. The true interpreter (Jesus) as filled with pity because of the Light which the foe had devoured. He had raised it (the Light) up from the deep pit of death to that place of zeal from which it had descended.
Honor to you, Son of Greatness, who has liberated your righteous ones. Protect, now, too, the Teacher Màr Zaku, the great keeper of your radiant herd.

...

Awake, brethren, you chosen ones, on this day of the salvation of souls, the foutreenth day of the month of Mihr, on which Jesus, the Son of God, entered Parinirvana.
Harken, all you faithful:
When the time for the perfection of the Son of Man had come, all the demons knew it. And the lord of the sinful doctrine ... covered himself in deceit. And the demons took cunsel with each other. The twelve thrones above were disturbed. Poison flowed down on the lower creation, upon the sons, and the chalce of death was prepared for him (Jesus).
The Jews, the servants of the most high God, conceived of a deception ... They conspired against the Son of Man. They devised evil; in deception they brought forth false witnesses. Accursed Satan, who had always troubled the apostles, molested the herd of Christ. He turned the treacherous Iscariot into a steed, when the Most Beloved Jesus trusted the disciples.
He (Judas) indicated him to the night-watchman by a kiss on his hand.

He delivered the Son of God to the foes. He betrayed Truth. For the
sake of a rewrd that the Jews gave, he offered up his own lord and teacher.

...

The Manichaean Psalms of Thomas
I: Concerning the Light

My father, the glad light, the glad light, the glorious.

My father, the glad light, the glad and blessed light.

My father, the glad light, the glad and honored light.

He evoked the aeons of light, he appointed them to the joy of his greatness.

He evoked the aeons of peace, in whom there is no waning or diminution.

He evoked the aeons of light, he summoned his sons and set them up in them.

He evoked the aeons of peace, he summoned his richnessses and set them up in them.

He evoked the aeons of rest, he summoned his angels and set them up in them.

He established dwellings of life and set up living images in them.

He set up living images in them which never perish.

He evoked clouds of brightness, dropping down dew and life,

He summoned a holy fire, giving a sweet burning.

He evoked a wind and and air, breathing the breath of the living.

He evoked holy mountains, sending up fragrant roots.

They are all in agreement and concord: there is no waning or diminution in them,

they are rejoicing and being glad in the glory, full, abiding in eternity.

I know not where the son of evil saw them.

He rose up saying "May I be one like them?"

Where did the son of evil see them?

He rose up saying, "May I be one like them?"

Where did the son of evil see them - the poor one who has nothing,

no riches in his treasure,

no eternity in his possession, no riches in his treasure?

He rose up saying, "May I be one like them?"

He caught the hand of seven companions and his twelve helpers.

He caught the hand of his seven companions,

he went, he looked to them in a moment, in order that,

if any should fall and come down, he might go and be one like them.

The great father therefore took the first step.

He strengthened all his angels, saying

"Assemble, all of you, and guard yourselves from the eye of the evil one which has looked up".

One of the sons of light looked from on high and saw him.

He said to his rich brethren:

"O my brethren, the sons of light, in whom there is no waning or dissolution:

I looked down to the abyss,

I saw the evil one, the son of evil,

I saw the evil one, the son of evil, desiring to wage war.

I saw their cruel armor which is ready to make the war,

I saw snares set and nets cast and spread,

so that the bird which should come might be caught and not escape from them.

I saw them reclining, drinking stolen wine, eating plundered flesh."

The little one passed his months until he . . .

He that is small among them that are on high stepped forth.

He armed himself and girt his loins.

The son of the brightnesses and the richnesses armed himself and girt his loins.

He leapt and sped down into the abyss.

He leapt, he came into their midst that he might make war with them

He humbled the son of evil and his seven companions and his twelve ministers.

He uprooted their tent and threw it down.

He put out their burning fire.

He fettered the poor wretches that were at hand, thinking to make war.

He seized their cruel armour, that had been provided to make a war.

He broke their snares that were set.

He burst also their nets that were spread.

He let the fish out to their sea.

He let the birds fly in the air.

He let the sheep into their fold.

He rolled up his wealth, he took it.

He took it up to the land of rest.

That which the living ones took therefore was saved.

They will return again to that which is theirs.

II: Concerning the coming of the Soul

They that are not as I am made themselves like me.

They that are unworthy of me made me angry.

The wretches that belong not to the house of my father rose,

they took arms against me,

they rose, they took arms against me, making war with me, making war with me,

fighting for my holy robe,

for my enlightening light, that it might lighten their darkness,

for my sweet fragrance, that it might sweeten their foulness,

because of my brethren, the sons of light,

that they might give a peace to their land,

because of my sister, the hour of light,

that she might be a strengthening of their building.

A part therefore went forth into my robe,

it went, it lightened their darkness:

my sweet fragrance went, it sweetened their stink;

my brethren, the sons of light, went, they gave a peace to their land;

my sister went, the hour of light,

she was a strengthening of their building.

They take arms against me, making war with me, crying out against me,

like men going to subdue a camp; they drew the swords against me,

like men going to kill lions; they stretched their hands to the bow against me,

like thieves going to attack a man, they did not stir from warring with me until they had made a wall against me:

the weak and paralyzed ones continually crept,

they did not stir until they had made a wall against me:

they established a watch outside me . . .

the bell was made to go round because of me,

my good fortune came on my behalf,

the wretches thinking in their heart that I was a man for whom none would seek.

I therefore was looking towards my father, that he might send aid,

looking towards my brethren, the sons of light, that they might come, tracking me.

My father therefore sent the aid to me,

my brethren arose, they became one with me.

Through a cry which only my brethren uttered, their wall tottered and fell,

their wall tottered and fell, their watches were unable to stop them,

nor was he that goes round with the bell and cries good fortune found,

against the cry which my brethren uttered.

The demons ran to the darkness,

the demons ran to the darkness, trembling seized their archon entirely.

But I said to my brethren, "Suffer me yet this hour".

I was quieting my brethren that they might not destroy their firmament:

for I await my robe until it comes and clothes him that shall wear it.

I will await my enlightening light until it strips itself of their darkness.

I will await my pleasant fragrance until it returns to its place.

I will await my sister, the hour of light, until she casts their corruption away.

I will await my brethren, the sons of light, until their stature is completed for them.

When therefore my shining robe comes and clothes him that shall wear it:

when my pleasant fragrance strips itself of their stink and returns to its place:

when my lightening light leaves the darkness:

when my brethren, the sons of light, are complete in their stature:

when my sister, the hour of light, goes up and sees the land of light:

then I will strike my foot on the earth and sink their darkness down.

I will smite their height with my head and shake their firmament

and the stars shall fall down like hail . . .

I will uproot the darkness and cast it out and plant the light in its place,

I will uproot the evil and cast it out and plant the good in its place.

The world shall be full of glory, the earth shall be without suspicion,

the whole world shall contain the righteous, they of the earth shall dwell in peace,

there being no more rebel from henceforth,

no name of sin shall be uttered again,

the rich ones of light shall rejoice on every side without any grief.

That which the living ones took was saved, they will return again to that which is their own.

III: Concerning the First Man

The ship whose keel is the dawn,

the ropes of light are they that are on it,

its helmsmen are glorious ones,

its crew are clothed with the dawn,

they that bring the treasure of the mighty one that is upon it,

immeasurable and countless,

laden with the wealth of the living ones which can never be counted.

I know not where the son of evil saw it.

He took thieves and sent them to it,

the thieves poured upon the ship,

they drew it out into the middle of the sea,

they wounded its helmsmen,

they that were entrusted with the treasure,

they were endangered.

They seized the treasure of the mighty one which is measureless and countless,

they stole the wealth of the mighty one which is measureless and countless,

they stole the wealth of the living ones which can never be counted.

The treasure which they stole from it they spread and scattered to their worlds,

they took roots and fragrant grasses and planted them in their land,

they filled it.

They took beryls and jewels,

nailed them and fixed them to their firmament.

The hungry ate and were sated,

the prostrate ones arose,

the naked were clothed,

they bound diadems upon their heads,

the poor became rich and gloried in things that were not theirs.

The report therefore reached the mighty one that an enemy had overtaken his ship

and its helmsmen were wounded

and they that were entrusted with the treasure were endangered.

He called an envoy, a storehouse of life, which is the mind,

he called an envoy and sent him forth unto the ship, saying,

"Go to the place hither; tend its helmsmen;

set them up that were entrusted with the treasure;

dig up their land and upturn the fragrant roots;

destroy and tumble down their firmament and cast down the jewels and the beryls;

gather all the treasure of the mighty one and take it and put it aboard the ship;

dishonour them, the poor ones, and cast the diadem from their head;

dishonour the poor ones that glory in things that are not theirs;

aid the righteous that there may be sent up to them the distilled part."

Then he armed himself and girt himself at once, the son of the lights and the richnesses,

he armed himself and girt his loins;

he leapt and came forth unto the ship;

he tended its helmsmen;

he aided its faithful ones;

he dug up their land with the spade;

he tore up the fragrant roots and took them;

he destroyed their firmament;

he cast the beryls and the jewels down;

he dishonoured them, the poor ones;

he cast the diadem from their head;

he helped his righteous that all the distilled part might be sent up to them on high;

he strengthened the ship and set a bulwark on it and took it up as a gift to the mighty one;

he took it up as a gift to the mighty one;

peacefulness came to the land of light; the ship sent a palm forth;

its helmsmen came to that which is theirs.

IV: Concerning the First Man: That of the Cross of Light.

The youth groaned and wept in the pit which is at the bottom of Hades;

the youth groaned and wept, his cry rose up:

"Hast thou not heard, O great brightness?

Has none informed you that Hades has been stirred up

and rebelled

and they of the abyss have put their arms upon them?

The false gods that have rebelled

have taken their armor against me.

The goddesses, the daughters of shame, have set up their armor against me;

the goddesses, the daughters of shame, have set up their spears:

the stinking and foul demons have prepared to make war with me."

When the mighty one heard,

when they told him the word,

he called an envoy,

the Adamas of light, the son of the . . . ;

he called the Adamas of light, the pitiless, the subduer of the rebels,

saying, "Go down, go, O Adamas; succour the youth;

succour the youth that is beneath the pit that is at the bottom of Hades;

the demons,

-- put fetters on their feet;

the goddesses,

-- put iron on their hands

the stinking and foul devils,

-- let their neck break beneath the collar;

the false gods that have rebelled,

-- bind them beneath the dark mountain;

strengthen and encourage the youth who is beneath the pit which is Hades below;

strengthen and encourage the youth, and go and come up before thy father".

The Adamas armed himself and sped down;

he succoured the youth;

he succoured the youth beneath the pit of Hades which is below;

he put fetters on the feet of the demons; he put iron on the hands of the goddesses;

the stinking and foul devils,

-- he made their neck break beneath the collar;

the false gods also that rebelled he bound beneath the dark mountain;

he strengthened and encouraged the youth that was beneath the pit of Hades below;

he strengthened and encouraged the youth;

he went and came up before his father;

his father said, "All hail to thee".

The rich ones of light said "Greeting and praise,

receive greeting and praise, O youth, for thou hast found rest, O little one".

V: The Soul, which is the First Man.

O the treasure of the great ones of life, the jewel of the living mighty ones.

O the great treasure of the living ones. Who are you from the storehouses?

Who are you from the storehouses?

He cast him beneath the dark mountain, the dwelling of them of the Hebdomad.

They of the Hebdomad came, they caused the treasure to run and it came forth.

They set sixty snares for me, they spread sixty traps;

they smeared madness on their snares;

they put fire in their traps,

the wretches thinking in their heart that I should fall into the snares and be defeated.

But they know not, they of the Hebdomad, that my eyes see the snares,

my eyes see the snares, my heart marks the traps.

I joined my feet, I seized them, the traps . . . . . of the . . . .

I run, they run after me . . . . me in the world:

I run, they run after me, that . . . . . forth to the man, for he has escaped from the snares,

he has got free from the traps.

I turned back, I said the them, the weaklings, the wretches that run after me,

"Go away, go, you of the . . . . ;

go, attend to your snares;

go, attend to your snares and let your snares attend to you.

Go, sink down in the madness and fall into the fire that is kindled;

I am not of the sons of the world that I should fall into the snares and be caught.

I am a . . . . of the living ones, a lamp of light entire". I

walked therefore, I . . . , I walked, until I reached the bank of the Euphrates:

on the bank of the river . . . . there is a youth sitting, making music,

the youth there sits and makes music in the scent of life which dwelt upon him.

He said, "My heart, be a mountain for me: my conscience, grow for me into a mind.

My heart, be a mountain for me.

Be . . . . . and the living ones send after you . . . . . how long,

for they took an envoy, they sent him after me,

he grasped the . . . . of my hand,

he brought me up to the land of peace.

VI: Concerning the Living Spirit

I was clothed, as I stood, in a robe without spot,

a robe without spot, wherein there was no waning or diminution ever.

The living ones passed my cry . . . . . my care, I arose;

they grasped . . . . . me to that which . . . . gave to me;

the light no longer . . . . they said to me,

"Thou . . . the light . . . . . full of light;

when the light therefore goes to its place

the darkness shall fall and not rise again henceforth.

VII : That of the Living Spirit.

O wise one of the . . . . . who came to subdue the rebels of the word.

He floated in great power, he appeared in great brightness;

in his power and the power of his father he came,

he made war with them;

he subdued their camps;

he hurt their height; . . . he came,

he caught . . . . . , he threw the diadem from his head,

he threw the diadem from his head, he . . . . . of the fire,

he fettered the tyrants of the earth,

he took from them their kingdom, he deprived them of their kingdom,

he caused them to be led away to the punishment,

he seized the authorities, he wrested from them their power,

he cast them from the . . . of the fire, he closed the fountains of fire,

he closed the fountains of fire that they might not again send up darkness,

he quenched the furnaces of fire,

he brought the light

he set it in its place,

he closed the doors of Hades that the righteous might not be shut in in them; he stopped,

he hindered the course that . . . . . .

he seized the goddesses and the gods, he wrest their vehicles from them,

he took their vehicles from them, he appointed them to . . . . . of the living,

he blocked the troubled rivers,

he distilled the clear waters,

he uprooted the darkness and cast it out;

he brought the light and planted it in its place;

he closed all the fountains,

he put the . . . . . upon them,

He spread out the great sea,

he built the ships and launched them on it,

the ships of the great traders, the faithful men of truth,

the barks of the merchants, that will convey up the distilled part to life.

He subdued the great sea, he subdued the rebels also that are in it,

he sank its rebels also in it, he set guards over them to watch them,

he set up them that fell,

he healed them that were wounded,

he awakened them that sleep,

he gave memory to them that forgot,

he gave the light to the eyes of the righteous, that they might go up and see the land of light,

he gathered them that were scattered,

he enlightened the poor ones of darkness,

he appointed and made straight the course which his living father enjoined on him,

he made smooth the royal road that the righteous might go upon it,

the righteous might go upon it and see the land of light.

Brightness is set upon them there,

a diadem is bound upon their head and they are added to the number of the angels.

He planted him a plant in the lives,

he called his beloved ones,

he set them up upon it that they might purify the seed and take it forth

. . . . . and purify . . . the seed and take it forth upon the ships and the barks.

On those ships of light therefore shall your souls go aboard.

VIII: That of the Envoy.

From the ranks of the kingdom, from the ranks of the exalted one,

one of the sons of light did . . . . . of the darkness.

An image of light was revealed in the dwelling-place of the beasts,

an image of light was revealed in the land of the foul stink . . . . balsam spread.

The worlds and they of the . . . gathered and came to see his image,

they grovelled,

they became mad because of his brightness,

they arose that they might mark his likeness,

they fell,

they became mad by reason of his beauty,

they arose that they might mark his beauty,

they were sweetened with his fragrance,

they grovelled, they bent their knees,

they worshipped him,

they set up their . . . . ,

they sang to him:

"You have come in peace, O son of the brightnesses, son of the lights and richnesses.

You have come in peace, O son of the brightnesses, who shall be the illuminer of our worlds.

Come and rule over our land and set peace in our city".

The demons were saying this with their mouth, yet planning evil nevertheless in their heart:

Come, let us cast him into the stocks,

let us set a fetter on him,

let us shut him up in a cage and put him in the world and secure him.

Let us shut him up in the cage, that he may not return

and . . . . . the word that the demons spoke in truth,

the living ones desired to set it up,

they made it true, that which they planned, f

or . . . . . his . . . . . from them.

When . . . . . had gone to . . . . , the iron went to their hands,

they were shut up in the cage, because they loved not the truth . . . .

But the great light spoke and said to them . . . . .

It is not possible that the glorious light should go to the land of the demons of the darkness.

It is not possible again that the fragrant smell should . . . . the land of the stink,

It is not possible that the image of the living man should come to the dwelling-places of the beasts.

The light shall go to the light,

the fragrance shall go to the fragrance,

the image of the living man shall go to the living land from which it came.

The light shall return to its place, the darkness shall fall and not rise again.

IX: That of the Perfect Man.

There was a man weeping down in the abyss:

his cry was lifted up.

He said, ". . . . . to me.

Have the householders of the house . . . . . taking up our burden upon them?

. . . . . in the world, while . . . . . daily, his burden being thrown . . .

I will throw the burden and dash it from me; the darkness shall fall and not rise again."

From the heights of truth the holy one did . . . . his rest:

"Bear that which the enduring one bears, that you may find that which the enduring one finds.

Strengthen yourself, stand fast, O righteous one; strengthen yourself, stand fast yet this hour.

For the lord of this house, the seducer of the whole world, has been given a number of months,

a number of years are in his hand . . . . . shall be ended now and thy aeons all be fulfilled.

His number shall . . . . and the world shall fall and not rise again.

Then the light shall go to the light and the darkness be blotted out from its place;

he that is below the . . . . shall come up, he that is cast in the stocks shall be released.

The souls of the lawless shall suffer in the world,

the men . . . . . up unto him whom they have guarded.

X: Concerning the molding of the . . . .

. . . . a . . . , a king's son, a king's son, . one that belongs to the princes.

He was . . . . . the princes, they did . . . . . .

they conveyed me from temple to temple, they took me,

they cast me into two rivers, the two rivers received me, they took me,

they cast me out into the great sea.

Seven full years did I spend, receiving nourishment in the sea.

At the end of the seven years I, the little one, . . . shore, that I might come to land;

when they were about to receive me . . . . . blatta;

when the worlds . . . . . but then when I saw them I wept.

XI: . . . . . concerning his son.

The lion took my fair daughter, he seized her,

he took her within his lair with his great dragon also.

When they had taken her into their pit the lion roared within in his lair,

in his lair, his companions also gathered,

the dragon whistled and hissed,

all his . . . gathered unto him.

Lo, they with all their powers also roar out in every place,

not appearing unto my daughter lest their power should be lessened.

Therefore I call up with my cry unto the mighty one, the great one of all the powers;

I . . . . my father, the son . . . . . whose garment is set upon the universe, saying:

"If I have done wrong to the great lion, then let the lion eat me in his lair,

if I have done wrong to the great dragon, let him swallow me here . . . . .

but if I have not done wrong to the lion . . . . . from his midst,

let me be able to escape from his lair and bring my daughter away from him

. . . . . the father of us all, the garment of the . . . . . all.

I struck all their ranks, ... their nets also,

I opened up their lair; I cast . . . . . into it,

I . . . . the great dragon; the serpent, his consort also, I enmeshed;

I took my daughter from them and set her high above them all;

I shot at their troxos until I had thrown it beneath them all,

in order that I and my daughter might together destroy all the nets,

we . . . . the great lion and the dragon out of the universe,

we reaching the time of the . . . . . in to the land of the righteous,

and that we might . . . . . land which they . . . . . they know it;

from the midst of the second lair brought my daughter into the . . . . . .

they also shall rejoice . . . . . shall come to pass

and the bride shall go to her bride-chamber.

XII: . . . . of the Savior

Jesus dug a river in the world;

he dug a river, even he of the sweet name.

He dug it with the spade of truth,

he dredged it with the basket of wisdom,

the stones which he dredged from it are like drops of incense;

all the waters that are in it are roots of light and . . . . .

three ships sail, they voyage in the river of testing:

one laden, one half-freighted, the third empty,

there being nothing in it.

The ship which is full and laden goes in it, being . . . . ;

it does not fear . . . . . voyages . . . . .

That which is half-freighted . . . . . bank

. . . . . bank . . . . . which is empty,

It arrived at the middle, it . . . . . that which is all laden,

it arrives; that which is empty is left behind.

Woe to it, the empty one, that comes empty to the place of the customs:

it shall be asked, having nothing to give.

Woe to it, for it has nothing aboard: it shall be despoiled evilly as it deserves and sent back to the metaaggismos.

It shall suffer what the corpses suffer, for they called into his ear, he did not hear.

Referance: A Manichaean Psalm-Book Edited by C. R. C. Allberry (Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1938.)
Thanks to Stevan Davies for contributing this file.

Manichaean Scriptures
The Praise of the Lesser Ones
Hymn ascribed to Mani, in Parthian.

.... Eternally shall we praise you, we and our kin, who are chosen,
and the family, to which we belong, that is those that are of you.

Father, we would call upon you, we would lift up our eyes to you.
Our souls sing before you, so that you may be merciful to us in
your great mercy, so that you may send us the helper ....

(some verses missing)

Holy, Holy, to your twelve Worlds of Light.
Holy, Holy to the Worlds of Light that are appointed
as jewels to your greatness.
Holy to the Living Ether, the bright storeroom of the wonderful worlds,
Holy, Holy, Holy to the praised Earth,
Holy to the bright appearance of the blessed inhabitants...

(some verses missing)

Holy, Holy to your Greatness, you highest of all epiphanies,
And to your bright beauty which is immeasurable,
Holy, Holy to you, Father!
Holy, Holy, Holy, Holy to your praised reign.
Holy, Holy, Holy to you, Father!
Holy to your chosen name!
Holy, Holy, Holy to you, Father!

(some verses missing)

Holy, Holy, Holy to your great Thought from which every
beneficial and zealous thought has arisen.
Holy to your great Understanding from which every
beneficial and zealous understanding has arisen.
Holy, Holy, Holy to you, Father!
Holy to your great and praised Ether that is above
all ethers in the world.

Manichaean Scriptures
Praise of the Great Ones
Hymn ascribed to Mani.

Praised, living, vigilant and immortal are you, oh beautiful form,
Lord Jesus the Splendor, best loved of all the kings of Light,
Ruler, Messiah!

Give to us, Lord, of your good gifts, for you are the beginning of

all good gifts ...

You are the physician ...

You are, Lord, the redeemer, the savior ...

(a number of lines missing)

Praised, living, vigilant and immortal are you, oh blessed sign,
Spirit and beautiful form, Lord Jesus the Splendor!

Most noble of the beings of light,
... loving and beneficent one,
Ardent, bright and glorious one!
You are our God ...
Ruler, God ... Life-giver!

Manichaean Scriptures
We Would Fulfill: Mani's Hymn to Jesus, the King
A hymn ascribed to Mani. Verses in Sogdian

Hymn in Praise of Jesus, the King.

With mouths full of praise we would bless thee,
Praise and honor to the great Moon of Light,
To the life-giver, the dear son of the god Zurvân,
To the merciful Lord of the whole world!
You we do invoke with a loud voice,
May your light enter our minds;
Your power is gathered in our limbs,

You have come with Salvation,
You have come with Salvation,
You have come with Salvation,
Light of the whole world!

You have come with Salvation, our whole Self,
You have come with Salvation, Light in our minds,
You have come with Salvation, beneficent God
Who are kindlier than all other gods.

Verses in Parthian, continuing:

You have come with Salvation, great life-giver of all life-givers.
You have come with Salvation, Third Great One, who are the mediator between us and the Father.
You have come with Salvation, redeemer of our souls from the midst of the dead.
You have come with Salvation, our upper eye, and our ear with which we hear.
You have come with Salvation, our primeval right hand and our breath of life.
You have come with Salvation, our unified nous and our true mind.
You have come with Salvation, our whole intelligence , our ardent thought and our understanding free of grief.

(Some verses missing)

You have come with Salvation, our great door and ship of our souls.
You have come with Salvation, our new dominion and our exalted flock, beloved Son.
You have come with Salvation, our beneficent Father and our true hope.
You have come like a father, our beneficent physician.
You have arisen like a mother, and you are helpful like a brother.
You have sent us like a son,
You have served like a servant.
Come quickly, beneficent Father, put our souls in order...

Manichaean Scriptures
Praise of Jesus the Life-giver
Hymn ascribed to Mani.

... all in one mind.
And we would stretch out our hands in invocation.
And we would lift up our eyes to your beautiful figure,
And we would open our mouths to call upon you,
And we would prepare our tongues to praise you;
We would call upon you, Jesus the Splendor, the New Dispensation.
You, even you are the just God, the noble physician,
The dearest son, the most blessed soul.

Welcome, liberated sovereign!
Come to help, good spirit, messenger of peace,
Helper of the meek and victor over the aggressors!

Welcome, redeemer of the imprisoned
And physician of the wounded!
Welcome, you who do awaken the sleepers,
Who do rouse those that slumber,
Who do cause the dead to rise!

Welcome, mighty God and sanctifying Voice!
Welcome, true Logos, great lamp and bountiful Light!
Welcome, new ruler and new day!
Welcome, foundation of the worlds and sacred meal of many!
Welcome, gift of the good, blessing of the gentle,
Who is venerated by those that sanctify!

Welcome, Loving Father, munificent benefactor
Of those that take refuge in you!
Welcome, our Father, who are our mighty refuge,
In whom we firmly trust!

(six lines missing)

Have mercy upon us and show us your love,
Oh beneficent one who are all love!
And reckon us not among the evildoers!
Save those that have taken refuge in you,
And be merciful to us.

Oh most beloved and loving one,
We have seen you, the New Dispensation,
And we have yearned for you who are all love.

Joyfully have we seen you, loving Lord,
And your name do we acknowledge, Mam-sin.
Separate us from the company of sinners
And distance us from the aggressors.
Lord, we are your own, have mercy upon us!
Come quickly, hasten to vanquish the sinners,
For they are haughty and have said,
"We are who we are, and no one is like us."
Be mighty and vanquish the aggressors!

(three lines missing)

We praise your name which is truly praiseworthy,
And your noble greatness which is pure joy.
Praise be to your name, Father,
And honor to your greatness!
Be it so for ever and ever!

Manichaean Scriptures
Untitled Psalm fragment, ascribed to Mani.

Welcome, my great stature,
Welcome, my bright form,
Welcome, my shining appearance!

...

Welcome, my powerful word,
From which I let others drink eternal life!

...

Welcome, my nourishing meal,
With which I satisfy the hunger of my friends!
Welcome, my chalice of salvation,
With which I delight the loved ones!
Welcome, my strong shield and my trusty sword
of speech and hearing,
And my well-prepared armor, which is in all alertness.
Welcome, comrade and companion in all battles!

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Manichaean Scriptures
The Opening Words of the Living Gospel

A fragment of a writing ascribed to Mani, in Sogdian and Persian.

The most Beloved Son, the Savior Jesus, the head of all these gifts,
Who is a refuge for the holy and a blessing for the wise, is exalted.
May he be praised!

The Maiden of Light, the chief of all wisdom, is exalted.
May she be praised!

The Holy Religion, by the power of the Father,
by the blessing of the Mother and by the wisdom of the Son, is exalted.
May it be praised!

Well-being and blessing to the sons of goodness
and to the speakers and hearers of the true Word!
Praise and honor to the Father and the Son
and the Holy Spirit and to the holy recollection!

He (Mani) teaches the word of the Living Gospel
for Eye and Ear, and he preaches the fruit of righteousness.

I, Mani, the Apostle of Jesus the Friend, by the will of the Father,
the true God, of Him, by whom I have become ...
Everything that is and everything that was and will be is by His Power.
The blessed ones will receive this message,
the wise ones understand it,
the strong ones will take on the wisdom of the wise ....

Manichaean Scriptures
The Sweet Teaching of the Sinless
An Apocryphal Epistle to Mar Ammo, Ascribed to Mani.

A fragment of a writing ascribed to Mani, in Parthian.

...And if someone strikes you, do not strike him back. And if someone hates you, do not hate him in return. And if someone envies you, do not envy him for your part. And if someone is angry with you, speak kindly with him always. And do not do yourself what you detest in another person. Rather, one should endure insults and other abuses from one`s superiors, from one`s equals and one`s subordinates; nobody can make the patient dènàvar (devout one) waver even slightly. It is like someone throwing flowers at an elephant. Or it is like raindrops falling upon a stone; the raindroups could not melt the stone. Likewise, insults and abuses should not cause a patient denavar to waver even slightly.

There are times when the denavar should hold himself as high as Mount Sumeru. And there are times when the denavar should appear as a pupil, and there are times when he should appear as a teacher or a servant or a lord.

Likewise, in this sinful time, the pure denavar should sit down in pious meditation (andesisn) and should turn away from sin and develop what is good ....

(a number of lines illegible)

And I, Mar Mani, am this sinless one (nàg) who is the writer and you, Mar Ammo, are the addressee. And he whose name is Akundag is Ahriman (the Devil). I have spoken these words so that everyone who pay heed to them and listen to them attentively. For everyone who hears and believes them and keep them in mind and serves through pious deeds shall find salvation from this cycle of rebirths, and shall be saved from his sins. For I, Mar Mani, and you, Mar Ammo, and all those people of old as well as all those fortunate ones that are reborn in this time, and likewise those that shall be reborn in the future, shall be saved from this cycle of rebirth through this behavior and this humility. For in this cycle of rebirths (this life) there is nothing good except for the merit accumulated by men of understanding and their pious deeds. Those who follow me, Mar Mani, and put their hope in God Ohrmizd and want the pure and righteous elect to be their leaders, they are the ones that are saved and find salvation from this cycle of rebirths and attain eternal redemption.

Here ends the sweet teaching about the sinless.

Manichaean Scriptures
Parables about the Auditors
A Manichaean Text in Parthian.

... And like the highway robber who killed those sons, so you all who stretch out your hands against the earth ... and harm it in every manner ... And with your whole body you trample and injure the earth ... And you martyr and ill-treat this Living Soul from which you were born, and it cries out and laments constantly because of your hands that mistreat it.

You auditors who stand there laden with so much sin and guilt, you need absolution and grace once and for all for your many sins. Therefore ask the elect day after day for conventions(?) and absolution so that they ... may bring grace upon you.

[eight lines missing]

They (the perfect auditors) are like a man who is ... healthy in his whole body and free from pain, and who has no pain or illness of any kind.

Yet he scratches himself a little at some limb, and he stands up

restlessly and turns to it (that limb) again and again, and wonders when this sore will be healed, so that his whole body will be well and free from pain.

And again, they are comparable to a rich man who ... is not used to borrowing anything from anyone. And the necessity for something arises and he borrows a drachma from someone else. Thereafter, he constantly thinks, "When will I pay back the drachma to my creditor according to ... " Similar to that ...

Manichaean Scriptures
Parable about the Farmer
A Manichaean text in Parthian.

... He gathers in that wheat, and he takes it to the vessel from which
it had come. And he goes to his house from which he had come,
for he had accomplished the task for which he had come, and
because he has reaped and gathered in what he had come for,
and because that which is stored in his vessel ...

"... We want to receive ... favor and accompany him safely on even paths."
And this testimony that he has spoken is true.

Furthermore, he said, "Take heed that no one leads you astray,
for many will come in my name, saying, "We are Jesus (disciples?),
and his time has come." And many will deceive them.

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Manichaean Scriptures
Parable of the "Pearl-borer"
A Manichaean text in Sogdian.

A merchant had many precious gems. In order to have them bored, he hired a man for hundred pieces of gold per day, and he went with him to his domicile. When he (the hired man) sat down, a lute happened to be there, and the worker looked at it.

When the merchant asked him if he knew how to play the lute, he answered, "Yes, very well." For he was skilled in this art. He (the merchant) said, "Then take it." He (the hired man) thus took it and played beautiful melodies in a correct manner for the

merchant the whole day long, leaving the box with gems open and beating the time with his hand and swaying his head to it, with great joy.

In the evening, the worker said to him (the merchant), "Have my wages given to me." When the other said, "Have you done anything to earn wages?", he answered, "You hired me, and I did what you told me to do." Thus he urged him, until he received the hundred pieces of gold without any deduction, while the gems remained unbored. ... There was a quarrel, it could not be settled.

So on the next day they went before a judge for a trial. The owner of the pearls spoke thus, "My lord, when this gentleman saw me beside the bazaar, he asked me, "Hey, what work can you do?" I replied, "Sir, whatever work you may order me to do, I can do it all." When he had taken me to his house, he ordered me to play the lute. Until nightfall I played on the lute at the owner's bidding."

The judge pronounced this verdict, "You hired this man to do work for you, so why did you not order him to bore the pearls? Why did you bid him play on the lute instead? The man's wages will have to be paid in full. If again there should be any pearls to be bored, give him another hundred gold denares, and he shall then bore your pearls another day."

Thus under constraint, the owner of the pearls paid the hundred gold denares, his pearls remained unbored, left for another day, and he himself was filled with shame and contrition.

The wise give this allegorical explanation: That man who understood all arts and crafts represents the body ... The pearl-borer is the body. The hundred denares represent a life of a hundred years. The owner of the pearls is the soul, and the boring of the pearls represents piety. (Kephalaion)

That one is a righteous dčndār (elect), who saves many people from Hell, and sets them on the way to Paradise. And now I command you, Hearers, that so long there is strength in your bodies, you should strive for the salvation of your souls. Keep my instructions and my words in mind, the Straight Path and the True Mold which I have shown to you, namely, the Sacred Religion. Strive through that Mold so that you will join me in eternal life.

Thereupon all the Hearers became very joyful and happy on account of the divine words and priceless instructions which they had heard from the Apostle, the Lord Mar Mani. They paid exquisite homage, and received ...

And again the Apostle, the Lord Mar Mani spoke thus:

"The wise and soul-loving person (the auditor) should divide the day into three parts. The first part should be devoted to service of the kings and lords so that they will be content, that their majesty not be infringed, and that they do not start quarreling and scheming. The second to the pursuit of worldly affairs, to tilling and sowing, to allotments and legacies, to buying and selling, so that the house be maintained, the wife

and children not be in distress, and that kinsmen, friends, and well wishers can be served ...

Manichaean Scriptures
The Parable of the Monk and the Girl
A Manichaean text in Parthian.

" ... I want to place the alms therein (in the vessel)."

Then the woman gave him a girl, and the monk placed the girl in it. And he went away. And that woman was visited by ... a ... hunter. He caught a wolf and brought it to ... He wanted to put it in the vessel. When he opened it, he saw the girl, and she was very beautiful. Immediately he asked the woman , "What is in the vessel?" And she answered, " A monk put his alms into it." At once the hunter took the girl out and put the wolf in ...

At night time, the monk came, thinking, "I want to take the girl ... out." When he put his hand into the vessel .. the wolf came out and ate up the monk.

This parable deals with the sinners, who, being constantly seized by ... think this ... But they go to dark Hell. Just as the monk looked for the girl and found the wolf ...

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Manichaean Scriptures
The Parable about the Two Snakes
A Manichaean text in Sogdian.

Here begins the story about the snakes "Heavy-to-carry" and "Light-to-carry".

Furthermore it was heard that there were once two snakes, and the first snake was called "Heavy-to-carry". Their bodies were equally large, and their tails were very long.

Being of one mind, they loved each other so much that one could not bear to be separated from the other. And lo, they went along a path together. After they had traversed much land, one snake glided into a depression. And the other snake proceeded along the way.

On one side of the path there were a very steep mountain, and on the other side a very deep body of water. And on the path, a trapper had set up a snare and a pitfall. Inside it was full of burning coals, and all kinds of fiery apparitions rose from it into the air.

The trapper was hiding nearby. And when the snake came to that place, it was pleased and amazed at the fiery apparition in the air. But it was not possible for it to avoid the pitfall, for, ala , it had to go ahead along this path and there was no way back. And lo, it paused, and then darted ahead, thinking, "I want to jump over the pitfall with my whole body."

But, because the pitfall was very wide and the snake's body was long and very thin in the middle, and its tail was very long, it could not cross the pitfall. Its head came across, but the tail remained behind lying across the pit, and the snake could not pull it over to its neck. So it burned there and died.

And the trapper came quickly, stretched out his hand toward the pit, cut open the head neatly, took the stone, and went away very happy.

The second snake came along and found its companion dead, its head mutilated. It cried out from the depths of its soul, "Alas! You were very dear to me." And it wept and lamented bitterly, wailed pitifully and said, "O wonderful brother, how have you died without your brother and in shame?"

When it had stopped lamenting, it thought to itself, "My brother died because he had not thought of a remedy for the body. If I, too, do not find a remedy for the body, I will also have to die." And it considered the matter carefully.

And the snake said, "Because he was a male, he could not bear the separation from his dear tail; he could not endure corruption and suffering in his body. But there is really no other way out. If I endure separation from my dear tail and endure a little pain in my body for the sake of the soul, then I will be able to jump over the pitfall."

Then it returned to the depression and found the abandoned fire of the shepherd. And it burned off as much of its tail as could be harmful to its body. And, when it had become smaller, the tailless body jumped very lightly and crossed the pitfall safely.

Of these two snakes, one is the person who loves the body, for whom bearing [....] is troublesome, but who is unconcerned about the soul. And his [....] is long. The second snake is the person for whom the soul is dearer than the body. There is very little poison in him and his attachment to the world is very weak, and the fetters binding his

soul are very thin. And the pitfall, the high mountain and the deep body of water are the three trenches. The trapper is Ahriman, and the stone the soul.

Ultimately the Old Man, without good works, is the one who cannot jump over the three ditches with the tail of the body. But the chosen New Man has purged the three poisons from the body and has borne in his body the agony caused by observing the Law, and he can endure separation from his dear wife and children and from riches, and on the Final Day his soul will arise from the body and will attain the peace of Paradise ...

The Manichaean Psalms of Thomas
I: Concerning the Light

My father, the glad light, the glad light, the glorious.

My father, the glad light, the glad and blessed light.

My father, the glad light, the glad and honored light.

He evoked the aeons of light, he appointed them to the joy of his greatness.

He evoked the aeons of peace, in whom there is no waning or diminution.

He evoked the aeons of light, he summoned his sons and set them up in them.

He evoked the aeons of peace, he summoned his richnessses and set them up in them.

He evoked the aeons of rest, he summoned his angels and set them up in them.

He established dwellings of life and set up living images in them.

He set up living images in them which never perish.

He evoked clouds of brightness, dropping down dew and life,

He summoned a holy fire, giving a sweet burning.

He evoked a wind and and air, breathing the breath of the living.

He evoked holy mountains, sending up fragrant roots.

They are all in agreement and concord: there is no waning or diminution in them,

they are rejoicing and being glad in the glory, full, abiding in eternity.

I know not where the son of evil saw them.

He rose up saying "May I be one like them?"

Where did the son of evil see them?

He rose up saying, "May I be one like them?"

Where did the son of evil see them - the poor one who has nothing,

no riches in his treasure,

no eternity in his possession, no riches in his treasure?

He rose up saying, "May I be one like them?"

He caught the hand of seven companions and his twelve helpers.

He caught the hand of his seven companions,

he went, he looked to them in a moment, in order that,

if any should fall and come down, he might go and be one like them.

The great father therefore took the first step.

He strengthened all his angels, saying

"Assemble, all of you, and guard yourselves from the eye of the evil one which has looked up".

One of the sons of light looked from on high and saw him.

He said to his rich brethren:

"O my brethren, the sons of light, in whom there is no waning or dissolution:

I looked down to the abyss,

I saw the evil one, the son of evil,

I saw the evil one, the son of evil, desiring to wage war.

I saw their cruel armor which is ready to make the war,

I saw snares set and nets cast and spread,

so that the bird which should come might be caught and not escape from them.

I saw them reclining, drinking stolen wine, eating plundered flesh."

The little one passed his months until he . . .

He that is small among them that are on high stepped forth.

He armed himself and girt his loins.

The son of the brightnesses and the richnesses armed himself and girt his loins.

He leapt and sped down into the abyss.

He leapt, he came into their midst that he might make war with them

He humbled the son of evil and his seven companions and his twelve ministers.

He uprooted their tent and threw it down.

He put out their burning fire.

He fettered the poor wretches that were at hand, thinking to make war.

He seized their cruel armour, that had been provided to make a war.

He broke their snares that were set.

He burst also their nets that were spread.

He let the fish out to their sea.

He let the birds fly in the air.

He let the sheep into their fold.

He rolled up his wealth, he took it.

He took it up to the land of rest.

That which the living ones took therefore was saved.

They will return again to that which is theirs.

II: Concerning the coming of the Soul

They that are not as I am made themselves like me.

They that are unworthy of me made me angry.

The wretches that belong not to the house of my father rose,

they took arms against me,

they rose, they took arms against me, making war with me, making war with me,

fighting for my holy robe,

for my enlightening light, that it might lighten their darkness,

for my sweet fragrance, that it might sweeten their foulness,

because of my brethren, the sons of light,

that they might give a peace to their land,

because of my sister, the hour of light,

that she might be a strengthening of their building.

A part therefore went forth into my robe,

it went, it lightened their darkness:

my sweet fragrance went, it sweetened their stink;

my brethren, the sons of light, went, they gave a peace to their land;

my sister went, the hour of light,

she was a strengthening of their building.

They take arms against me, making war with me, crying out against me,

like men going to subdue a camp; they drew the swords against me,

like men going to kill lions; they stretched their hands to the bow against me,

like thieves going to attack a man, they did not stir from warring with me until they had made a wall against me:

the weak and paralyzed ones continually crept,

they did not stir until they had made a wall against me:

they established a watch outside me . . .

the bell was made to go round because of me,

my good fortune came on my behalf,

the wretches thinking in their heart that I was a man for whom none would seek.

I therefore was looking towards my father, that he might send aid,

looking towards my brethren, the sons of light, that they might come, tracking me.

My father therefore sent the aid to me,

my brethren arose, they became one with me.

Through a cry which only my brethren uttered, their wall tottered and fell,

their wall tottered and fell, their watches were unable to stop them,
nor was he that goes round with the bell and cries good fortune found,
against the cry which my brethren uttered.
The demons ran to the darkness,
the demons ran to the darkness, trembling seized their archon entirely.

But I said to my brethren, "Suffer me yet this hour".
I was quieting my brethren that they might not destroy their firmament:
for I await my robe until it comes and clothes him that shall wear it.
I will await my enlightening light until it strips itself of their darkness.
I will await my pleasant fragrance until it returns to its place.
I will await my sister, the hour of light, until she casts their corruption away.
I will await my brethren, the sons of light, until their stature is completed for them.

When therefore my shining robe comes and clothes him that shall wear it:
when my pleasant fragrance strips itself of their stink and returns to its place:
when my lightening light leaves the darkness:
when my brethren, the sons of light, are complete in their stature:
when my sister, the hour of light, goes up and sees the land of light:
then I will strike my foot on the earth and sink their darkness down.

I will smite their height with my head and shake their firmament
and the stars shall fall down like hail . . .

I will uproot the darkness and cast it out and plant the light in its place,

I will uproot the evil and cast it out and plant the good in its place.

The world shall be full of glory, the earth shall be without suspicion,

the whole world shall contain the righteous, they of the earth shall dwell in peace,

there being no more rebel from henceforth,

no name of sin shall be uttered again,

the rich ones of light shall rejoice on every side without any grief.

That which the living ones took was saved, they will return again to that which is their own.

III: Concerning the First Man

The ship whose keel is the dawn,

the ropes of light are they that are on it,

its helmsmen are glorious ones,

its crew are clothed with the dawn,

they that bring the treasure of the mighty one that is upon it,

immeasurable and countless,

laden with the wealth of the living ones which can never be counted.

I know not where the son of evil saw it.

He took thieves and sent them to it,

the thieves poured upon the ship,

they drew it out into the middle of the sea,

they wounded its helmsmen,

they that were entrusted with the treasure,

they were endangered.

They seized the treasure of the mighty one which is measureless and countless,

they stole the wealth of the mighty one which is measureless and countless,

they stole the wealth of the living ones which can never be counted.

The treasure which they stole from it they spread and scattered to their worlds,

they took roots and fragrant grasses and planted them in their land,

they filled it.

They took beryls and jewels,

nailed them and fixed them to their firmament.

The hungry ate and were sated,

the prostrate ones arose,

the naked were clothed,

they bound diadems upon their heads,

the poor became rich and gloried in things that were not theirs.

The report therefore reached the mighty one that an enemy had overtaken his ship

and its helmsmen were wounded

and they that were entrusted with the treasure were endangered.

He called an envoy, a storehouse of life, which is the mind,

he called an envoy and sent him forth unto the ship, saying,

"Go to the place hither; tend its helmsmen;

set them up that were entrusted with the treasure;

dig up their land and upturn the fragrant roots;

destroy and tumble down their firmament and cast down the jewels and the beryls;

gather all the treasure of the mighty one and take it and put it aboard the ship;

dishonour them, the poor ones, and cast the diadem from their head;

dishonour the poor ones that glory in things that are not theirs;

aid the righteous that there may be sent up to them the distilled part."

Then he armed himself and girt himself at once, the son of the lights and the richnesses,

he armed himself and girt his loins;

he leapt and came forth unto the ship;

he tended its helmsmen;

he aided its faithful ones;

he dug up their land with the spade;

he tore up the fragrant roots and took them;

he destroyed their firmament;

he cast the beryls and the jewels down;

he dishonoured them, the poor ones;

he cast the diadem from their head;

he helped his righteous that all the distilled part might be sent up to them on high;

he strengthened the ship and set a bulwark on it and took it up as a gift to the mighty one;

he took it up as a gift to the mighty one;

peacefulness came to the land of light; the ship sent a palm forth;

its helmsmen came to that which is theirs.

IV: Concerning the First Man: That of the Cross of Light.

The youth groaned and wept in the pit which is at the bottom of Hades;

the youth groaned and wept, his cry rose up:

"Hast thou not heard, O great brightness?

Has none informed you that Hades has been stirred up

and rebelled

and they of the abyss have put their arms upon them?

The false gods that have rebelled

have taken their armor against me.

The goddesses, the daughters of shame, have set up their armor against me;

the goddesses, the daughters of shame, have set up their spears:

the stinking and foul demons have prepared to make war with me."

When the mighty one heard,

when they told him the word,

he called an envoy,

the Adamas of light, the son of the . . . ;

he called the Adamas of light, the pitiless, the subduer of the rebels,

saying, "Go down, go, O Adamas; succour the youth;

succour the youth that is beneath the pit that is at the bottom of Hades;

the demons,

-- put fetters on their feet;

the goddesses,

-- put iron on their hands

the stinking and foul devils,

-- let their neck break beneath the collar;

the false gods that have rebelled,

-- bind them beneath the dark mountain;

strengthen and encourage the youth who is beneath the pit which is Hades below;

strengthen and encourage the youth, and go and come up before thy father".

The Adamas armed himself and sped down;

he succoured the youth;

he succoured the youth beneath the pit of Hades which is below;

he put fetters on the feet of the demons; he put iron on the hands of the goddesses;

the stinking and foul devils,

-- he made their neck break beneath the collar;

the false gods also that rebelled he bound beneath the dark mountain;

he strengthened and encouraged the youth that was beneath the pit of Hades below;

he strengthened and encouraged the youth;

he went and came up before his father;

his father said, "All hail to thee".

The rich ones of light said "Greeting and praise,

receive greeting and praise, O youth, for thou hast found rest, O little one".

V: The Soul, which is the First Man.

O the treasure of the great ones of life, the jewel of the living mighty ones.

O the great treasure of the living ones. Who are you from the storehouses?

Who are you from the storehouses?

He cast him beneath the dark mountain, the dwelling of them of the Hebdomad.

They of the Hebdomad came, they caused the treasure to run and it came forth.

They set sixty snares for me, they spread sixty traps;

they smeared madness on their snares;

they put fire in their traps,

the wretches thinking in their heart that I should fall into the snares and be defeated.

But they know not, they of the Hebdomad, that my eyes see the snares,

my eyes see the snares, my heart marks the traps.

I joined my feet, I seized them, the traps . . . . . of the . . . .

I run, they run after me . . . . me in the world:

I run, they run after me, that . . . . . forth to the man, for he has escaped from the snares,

he has got free from the traps.

I turned back, I said the them, the weaklings, the wretches that run after me,

"Go away, go, you of the . . . . ;

go, attend to your snares;

go, attend to your snares and let your snares attend to you.

Go, sink down in the madness and fall into the fire that is kindled;

I am not of the sons of the world that I should fall into the snares and be caught.

I am a . . . . of the living ones, a lamp of light entire". I

walked therefore, I . . . , I walked, until I reached the bank of the Euphrates:

on the bank of the river . . . . there is a youth sitting, making music,

the youth there sits and makes music in the scent of life which dwelt upon him.

He said, "My heart, be a mountain for me: my conscience, grow for me into a mind.

My heart, be a mountain for me.

Be . . . . . and the living ones send after you . . . . . how long,

for they took an envoy, they sent him after me,

he grasped the . . . . of my hand,

he brought me up to the land of peace.

VI: Concerning the Living Spirit

I was clothed, as I stood, in a robe without spot,

a robe without spot, wherein there was no waning or diminution ever.

The living ones passed my cry . . . . . my care, I arose;

they grasped . . . . . me to that which . . . . gave to me;

the light no longer . . . . they said to me,

"Thou . . . the light . . . . . full of light;

when the light therefore goes to its place

the darkness shall fall and not rise again henceforth.

VII : That of the Living Spirit.

O wise one of the . . . . . who came to subdue the rebels of the word.

He floated in great power, he appeared in great brightness;

in his power and the power of his father he came,

he made war with them;

he subdued their camps;

he hurt their height; . . . he came,

he caught . . . . . , he threw the diadem from his head,

he threw the diadem from his head, he . . . . . of the fire,

he fettered the tyrants of the earth,

he took from them their kingdom, he deprived them of their kingdom,

he caused them to be led away to the punishment,

he seized the authorities, he wrested from them their power,

he cast them from the . . . of the fire, he closed the fountains of fire,

he closed the fountains of fire that they might not again send up darkness,

he quenched the furnaces of fire,

he brought the light

he set it in its place,

he closed the doors of Hades that the righteous might not be shut in in them; he stopped,

he hindered the course that . . . . . .

he seized the goddesses and the gods, he wrest their vehicles from them,

he took their vehicles from them, he appointed them to . . . . . of the living,

he blocked the troubled rivers,

he distilled the clear waters,

he uprooted the darkness and cast it out;

he brought the light and planted it in its place;

he closed all the fountains,

he put the . . . . . upon them,

He spread out the great sea,

he built the ships and launched them on it,

the ships of the great traders, the faithful men of truth,

the barks of the merchants, that will convey up the distilled part to life.

He subdued the great sea, he subdued the rebels also that are in it,

he sank its rebels also in it, he set guards over them to watch them,

he set up them that fell,

he healed them that were wounded,

he awakened them that sleep,

he gave memory to them that forgot,

he gave the light to the eyes of the righteous, that they might go up and see the land of light,

he gathered them that were scattered,

he enlightened the poor ones of darkness,

he appointed and made straight the course which his living father enjoined on him,

he made smooth the royal road that the righteous might go upon it,

the righteous might go upon it and see the land of light.

Brightness is set upon them there,

a diadem is bound upon their head and they are added to the number of the angels.

He planted him a plant in the lives,

he called his beloved ones,

he set them up upon it that they might purify the seed and take it forth

. . . . . and purify . . . the seed and take it forth upon the ships and the barks.

On those ships of light therefore shall your souls go aboard.

VIII: That of the Envoy.

From the ranks of the kingdom, from the ranks of the exalted one,

one of the sons of light did . . . . . of the darkness.

An image of light was revealed in the dwelling-place of the beasts,

an image of light was revealed in the land of the foul stink . . . . balsam spread.

The worlds and they of the . . . gathered and came to see his image,

they grovelled,

they became mad because of his brightness,

they arose that they might mark his likeness,

they fell,

they became mad by reason of his beauty,

they arose that they might mark his beauty,

they were sweetened with his fragrance,

they grovelled, they bent their knees,

they worshipped him,

they set up their . . . . ,

they sang to him:

"You have come in peace, O son of the brightnesses, son of the lights and richnesses.

You have come in peace, O son of the brightnesses, who shall be the illuminer of our worlds.

Come and rule over our land and set peace in our city".

The demons were saying this with their mouth, yet planning evil nevertheless in their heart:

Come, let us cast him into the stocks,

let us set a fetter on him,

let us shut him up in a cage and put him in the world and secure him.

Let us shut him up in the cage, that he may not return

and . . . . . the word that the demons spoke in truth,

the living ones desired to set it up,

they made it true, that which they planned, f

or . . . . . his . . . . . from them.

When . . . . . had gone to . . . . , the iron went to their hands,

they were shut up in the cage, because they loved not the truth . . . .

But the great light spoke and said to them . . . . .

It is not possible that the glorious light should go to the land of the demons of the darkness.

It is not possible again that the fragrant smell should . . . . the land of the stink,

It is not possible that the image of the living man should come to the dwelling-places of

the beasts.

The light shall go to the light,

the fragrance shall go to the fragrance,

the image of the living man shall go to the living land from which it came.

The light shall return to its place, the darkness shall fall and not rise again.

IX: That of the Perfect Man.

There was a man weeping down in the abyss:

his cry was lifted up.

He said, ". . . . . to me.

Have the householders of the house . . . . . taking up our burden upon them?

. . . . . in the world, while . . . . . daily, his burden being thrown . . .

I will throw the burden and dash it from me; the darkness shall fall and not rise again."

From the heights of truth the holy one did . . . . his rest:

"Bear that which the enduring one bears, that you may find that which the enduring one finds.

Strengthen yourself, stand fast, O righteous one; strengthen yourself, stand fast yet this hour.

For the lord of this house, the seducer of the whole world, has been given a number of months,

a number of years are in his hand . . . . . shall be ended now and thy aeons all be fulfilled.

His number shall . . . . and the world shall fall and not rise again.

Then the light shall go to the light and the darkness be blotted out from its place;

he that is below the . . . . shall come up, he that is cast in the stocks shall be released.

The souls of the lawless shall suffer in the world,

the men . . . . . up unto him whom they have guarded.

X: Concerning the molding of the . . . .

. . . . a . . . , a king's son, a king's son, . one that belongs to the princes.

He was . . . . . the princes, they did . . . . . .

they conveyed me from temple to temple, they took me,

they cast me into two rivers, the two rivers received me, they took me,

they cast me out into the great sea.

Seven full years did I spend, receiving nourishment in the sea.

At the end of the seven years I, the little one, . . . shore, that I might come to land;

when they were about to receive me . . . . . blatta;

when the worlds . . . . . but then when I saw them I wept.

XI: . . . . . concerning his son.

The lion took my fair daughter, he seized her,

he took her within his lair with his great dragon also.

When they had taken her into their pit the lion roared within in his lair,

in his lair, his companions also gathered,

the dragon whistled and hissed,

all his . . . gathered unto him.

Lo, they with all their powers also roar out in every place,

not appearing unto my daughter lest their power should be lessened.

Therefore I call up with my cry unto the mighty one, the great one of all the powers;

I . . . . my father, the son . . . . . whose garment is set upon the universe, saying:

"If I have done wrong to the great lion, then let the lion eat me in his lair,

if I have done wrong to the great dragon, let him swallow me here . . . . .

but if I have not done wrong to the lion . . . . . from his midst,

let me be able to escape from his lair and bring my daughter away from him

. . . . . the father of us all, the garment of the . . . . . all.

I struck all their ranks, ... their nets also,

I opened up their lair; I cast . . . . . into it,

I . . . . the great dragon; the serpent, his consort also, I enmeshed;

I took my daughter from them and set her high above them all;

I shot at their troxos until I had thrown it beneath them all,

in order that I and my daughter might together destroy all the nets,

we . . . . the great lion and the dragon out of the universe,

we reaching the time of the . . . . . in to the land of the righteous,

and that we might . . . . . land which they . . . . . they know it;

from the midst of the second lair brought my daughter into the . . . . . .

they also shall rejoice . . . . . shall come to pass

and the bride shall go to her bride-chamber.

XII: . . . . of the Savior

Jesus dug a river in the world;

he dug a river, even he of the sweet name.

He dug it with the spade of truth,

he dredged it with the basket of wisdom,

the stones which he dredged from it are like drops of incense;

all the waters that are in it are roots of light and . . . . .

three ships sail, they voyage in the river of testing:

one laden, one half-freighted, the third empty,

there being nothing in it.

The ship which is full and laden goes in it, being . . . . ;

it does not fear . . . . . voyages . . . . .

That which is half-freighted . . . . . bank

. . . . . bank . . . . . which is empty,

It arrived at the middle, it . . . . . that which is all laden,

it arrives; that which is empty is left behind.

Woe to it, the empty one, that comes empty to the place of the customs:

it shall be asked, having nothing to give.

Woe to it, for it has nothing aboard: it shall be despoiled evilly as it deserves and sent back to the metaaggismos.

It shall suffer what the corpses suffer, for they called into his ear, he did not hear.

Referance: A Manichaean Psalm-Book Edited by C. R. C. Allberry (Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1938.)
Thanks to Stevan Davies for contributing this file.
| Return to Manichaean Scriptures Section |

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The Gnostic Society Library
Manichaean Scriptures
Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica | Gnostic Society

Manichaean Scriptures
Let Us Worship the Spirit of the Paraclete

Let us worship the spirit of the Paraclete (comforter).
Let us bless our Lord Jesus who has sent us the Spirit of Truth.
He came and separated us from the Error of the World.
He brought us a mirror. We looked into it, and saw in it the Universe.

When the Holy Spirit came,
he revealed to us the way of truth and taught us that there are two Natures,
that of the Light and that of the Darkness,
separated from each other since the beginning.

The Kingdom of Light consisted of five Greatnesses,
these are the Father and his twelve Aeons,
the Aeon of Aeons, the Living Air, and the Land of Light,
the Great Spirit blows in them and feeds them with its Light.

The Kingdom of Darkness, however, consisted in five Chambers,
these are Smoke, Fire, Wind and Water and Darkness.
Their resolution crawls in them,
moves them and spurs them on to make war with one another.

Now as they were warring with each other,
they made bold to attack the Land of Light,
considering themselves capable of conquering it.
Yet they know not that what they thought will recoil upon their own heads.

But there was a host of angels in the Land of Light
which possessed the power to issue forth and overcome the enemy of the Father,
whom it pleased that through the Word that he would send,
he would subdue the rebels
who desired to raise themselves above what was more exalted than they.

Like a shepherd who sees a lion approaching to destroy his sheepfold,
he uses guile, takes a lamb and sets it as a snare that he may catch it with it,
for with a single lamb he saves his sheepfold.
Afterwards he heals the lamb that has been wounded by the lion.

In this way too the Father acted,
who sent his stout Son.
He produced out of himself his Maiden, furnished with the five Powers
that she might fight against the five Abysses of the Dark.

When the Watchman stood fast within the frontiers of Light
he showed the powers of the Darkness his Maiden, who is his Soul.
They became agitated in the Abyss and wanted to possess her,
they opened their mouths and tried to swallow her.

He seized the Maidens power and spread it over the Powers of the Darkness,
like nets over fish, he rained her down on them.

Like purified clouds of water, she penetrated into them like a piercing lightning stroke.
She crept inside their insides and bound them all without their ever knowing.

When the First Man had ended his struggle the Father sent forth his Second Son.
He came and helped his brother out of the Abyss.
He built this whole world up out of the mixture
that had come into existence out of Light and Darkness.

All the Powers of the Abyss he spread out to the ten Heavens and to eight Earths,
he shut them up into this World and made it a dungeon for all the Powers of Darkness.
This World is also, however, a place of purification of the soul
which had been swallowed up in the Powers of Darkness.

The Sun and the Moon where set up and fixed in the heights, to purify the Soul.
They take the refined part daily upward to the heights but they destroy the deposit.
They convey it up and down.

This whole World stands firm for a Season,
since there is a great Building being erected outside the World.
At the Hour when the Architect shall complete it, the entire World shall be dissolved.
It shall be set afire, that the fire may melt it away.

All Life, the Remnants of Light in every Place
he shall gather to himself and form of it a Statue (Eidolon -- image, likeness).
Even the Resolution of Death also, the whole of Darkness,
he shall gather in and make an image of itself along with the Archon.

In a moment the Living Spirit shall come.
It will succor to the Light,
but the Resolution of Death and the Darkness
lock away in the chamber that was built for it that it may lie in chains forever.

There is no other means save this means to bind the Enemy,
for he shall not be received into the Light because he is a stranger to it,
but he shall also not be left in his Land of darkness,
lest he may wage a greater war than the first.

A New Aeon shall be built in the place of this World, which shall be dissolved,
so that in it the Powers of Light may reign
since they have preformed and fulfilled the whole of the Father's will.
They have overthrown the hateful one, they have defeated him forever.

This is the knowledge of Mani,
let us worship him and bless him.
Blessed is every man that may trust in him
for he shall live with the Righteous.

Honor and Victory to our Lord Mani, the Spirit of Truth,

that cometh from the Father and has revealed to us
the Beginning, the Middle, and the End.
Victory to the Soul of the Blessed Mary. Theona, Pshai, Jemnoute.

Manichaean Scriptures
The Hymn of the First Primal Man
The good God, the highest of the gods,
a diadem and eternal glory, blissful among the lights,
was proud and happy when you was born in his realm.
The twelve sons and the aeons of the aeons of the vast
air were also happy.

All gods and the inhabitants of his realm -
the mountains, trees, springs , the broad strong palaces
and halls, were happy through you, Friend.
When the lovely women and girls born of the Sense saw you,
they praised you, blessed you , perfect youth.
Songs filled the air. Tambourine, harp, and flute exploded.
All gods stood before you, Prince, son of a king.
Voices ring from the vast air, songs from the Light-Earth,
tell the Father of Light;

Born is the battler who make peace.
The all-good highest of the gods gives you three tasks;
Destroy death, strike the enemies, and cover the whole
Paradise of Light! You paid homage and went out for battle
and covered the whole Paradise of Light.
The tyrant prince was bound forever and the dwelling place
of the Dark Ones was destroyed.
The Light Friend, Primal Man, remained until he carried
out his fathers will.

Manichaean Scriptures

Come to me my Kinsman, the Light, My Guide.
A manichean prayer
Come to me, my kinsman, the light, my Guide.
Since I went forth into the darkness I was given a water to drink.
I bear up beneath a burden which is not my own.
I am in the midst of my enemies, the beasts surrounding me ;
the burden which I bear is of the powers and principalities.
They burned in their wrath, they rose up against me.
Matter and her sons divided me up amongst them,
they burnt me in their fire, they gave me a bitter likeness.
The strangers with whom I mixed, me they know not;
they tasted my sweetness, they desired to keep me with them.
I was life to them, but they were death to me ; I bore up beneath them,
they wore me as a garment upon them.
I am in everything, I bear the skies, I am the foundation, I support the earths;
I am the Light that shines forth, that gives joy to the souls.
I am the life of the world; I am the milk that is in all trees; I am the sweet water
that is beneath the sons of matter.
I bore these things until I had fulfilled the will of my Father; the First Man is
my father whose will I have carried out.
Lo, the darkness I have subdued ; lo, the fire of the fountains I have extinguished,
as the sphere turns hurrying round, as the sun receives the refined part of life.
O soul, raise your eyes to the height and contemplate your bond, lo, your fathers
are calling you.
Now go aboard the Ship of Light and receive your garland of glory and return to
your kingdom and rejoice with all the Aeons.

Manichaean Scriptures

The End of the deficiency.
A manichean eschatological hymn.
T his whole World stands firm for a Season, since there is a
great Building being erected outside of the World,
At the Hour when its Architect shall complete it,
the entire World shall be dissolved.
It shall be set afire, that fire may melt it away.

All Life, the Remnants of Light in every Place
he shall gather to himself and form of it a Statue.
Even the Resolution of Death also, the whole of the Darkness,
he shall gather in and make an image of itself
along with the Archon.

In a moment the Living Spirit shall come.
It will succor the Light,
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it shall lock away in the chamber
that was built for it
that it may lie in chains in it forever.

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for he shall not be received into the Light
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in his Land of Darkness,
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Victory to the Soul of the Blessed Mary.
Theona, Pshai , Jemnoute.

Manichaean Scriptures

Joy Came Over Me
. . . Joy came over me
and no one will ever be able to tell of it.
My brethren, I have received my garland.

Take unto you the word of Truth
O men who love God!
The world is nothing.

There is nothing to be gained in it.
My brethren, I have received my garland.

Men go on thinking that
they are at rest
and they know not
that trouble is being prepared for them.
My brethren, I have received my garland.

They run and break forth
till the hour catches up with them.
They have been called and have not understood.
They came empty and go empty.
My brethren, I have received my garland.

I have despised the world
in order to give life to my soul.
The things of the flesh I have forsaken,
With the things of the Spirit I have made my peace.
My brethren, I have received my garland.

Since I have found my Savior
I have walked in his steps.
Nothing could keep me
from receiving this garland.
My brethren, I have received my garland.

How great is the joy
prepared for the perfect!
... all of you, my brethren,
we inherit it.
My brethren, I have received my garland.

Manichaean Scriptures

Salvation of the Soul.
Like the gray wolf I will walk with you;
like the black raven I will stay on earth.
Like charcoal to the disease,
like the spittle to the whetstone I will be.
You are our powerful and great ruler.

Like gold rounded,
like a ball rounded,
you are our glorious wise lord.
And your numerous people
at your wide breast,
at your long seam,
you keep and proect, you nurse, take care of.

Manichaean Scriptures

From the Fundamental Epistle of Mani.
Mani, by providence of God the Father, Apostle of Jesus the Christ:

These are the healthful words from the perennial and living source,
he who first hears and believes them, then guards what they teach,
shall never be subject to death, but will enjoy eternal and glorious life.
Happy indeed may he be deemed who has been initated in this divine Gnosis
whereby he will be liberated and abide in everlasting life!

May the peace of the invisible God and the knowledge of the Truth
be with the holy and most dear brothers
who believe in the heavenly precepts and at the same time fully keep them!
May also the right hand of Light guard and save you
from every evil assault and from the snares of the world!
May the pity of the Holy Spirit open your heart
and let you see your soul with your own eyes!

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Manichaean Scriptures

O Soul..
This visible Bema (mercy seat), the Word,
has been set before thee that it may sow in thee
through what is visible

the memory of the hidden Law which thou hast forgotten
since the day thou didst drink the water of the madness.

O Soul, see: to thee has come the grace of the Day of Rejoicing;
do thou reveal without fear all thy sins today
and remember thy end and prepare thyself in thy works,
for the Bema of Wisdom moves thee thereto.

This is the way of truth, this is the stairway that leads on high,
which shall take us on these holy steps!
From the beginning he is this Way, namely the First Man,
and Jesus the Radiant, and the Spiritual Advocate;
they have summoned thee
O Soul!

ST. AUGUSTIN: OF THE MORALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

ST. AUGUSTIN OF THE MORALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.
[DE MORIBUS ECCLESIAE CATHOLICAE.]
A.D. 388.

IT IS LAID DOWN AT THE OUTSET THAT THE CUSTOMS OF THE HOLY LIFE OF THE CHURCH SHOULD BE REFERRED TO THE CHIEF GOOD OF MAN, THAT IS, GOD. WE MUST SEEK AFTER GOD WITH SUPREME AFFECTION; AND THIS DOCTRINE IS SUPPORTED IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH BY THE AUTHORITY OF BOTH TESTAMENTS. THE FOUR VIRTUES GET THEIR NAMES FROM DIFFERENT FORMS OF THIS LOVE. THEN FOLLOW THE DUTIES OF LOVE TO OUR NEIGHBOR. IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH WE FIND EXAMPLES OF CONTINENCE AND OF TRUE CHRISTIAN CONDUCT.

CHAP. I.--HOW THE PRETENSIONS OF THE MANICHAEANS ARE TO BE REFUTED. TWO MANICHAEAN FALSEHOODS.

I. ENOUGH, probably, has been done in our other books [2] in the way of answering the ignorant and profane attacks which the Manichaeans make on the law, which is called the Old Testament, in a spirit of vainglorious boasting, and with the approval of the uninstructed. Here, too, I may shortly touch upon the subject. For every one with average intelligence can easily see that the explanation of the Scriptures should be sought for from those who are the professed teachers of the Scriptures; and that it may happen, and indeed always happens, that many things seem absurd to the ignorant, which, when they are explained by the learned, appear all the more excellent, and are received in the explanation with the greater pleasure on account of the obstructions

which made it difficult to reach the meaning. This commonly happens as regards the holy books of the Old Testament, if only the man who meets with difficulties applies to a pious teacher, and not to a profane critic, and if he begins his inquiries from a desire to find truth, and not in rash opposition. And should the inquirer meet with some, whether bishops or presbyters, or any officials or millers of the Catholic Church, who either avoid in all cases opening up mysteries, or, content with simple faith, have no desire for more recondite knowledge, he must not despair of finding the knowledge of the truth in a case where neither are all able to teach to whom the inquiry is addressed, nor are all inquirers worthy of learning the truth. Diligence and piety are both necessary: on the one hand, we must have knowledge to find truth, and, on the other hand, we must deserve to get the knowledge.

2. But as the Manichaeans have two tricks for catching the unwary, so as to make them take them as teachers,--one, that of finding fault with the Scriptures, which they either misunderstand or wish to be misunderstood, the other, that of making a show of chastity and of notable abstinence,--this book shall contain our doctrine of life and morals according to Catholic teaching, and will perhaps make it appear how easy it is to pretend to virtue, and how difficult to possess virtue. I will refrain, if I can, from attacking their weak points, which I know well, with the violence with which they attack what they know nothing of; for I wish them, if possible, to be cured rather than conquered. And I will quote such testimonies from the Scriptures as they are bound to believe, for they shall be from the New Testament; and even from this I will take none of the passages which the Manichaeans when hard pressed are accustomed to call spurious, but passages which they are obliged to acknowledge and approve. And for every testimony from apostolic teaching I will bring a similar statement from the Old Testament, that if they ever become willing to wake up from their persistent dreams, and to rise towards the light of Christian faith, they may discover both how far from being Christian is the life which they profess, and how truly Christian is the Scripture which they cavil at.

CHAP. 2.--HE BEGINS WITH ARGUMENTS, IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE MISTAKEN METHOD OF THE MANICHAEANS.

3. Where, then, shall I begin ? With authority, or with reasoning ? In the order of nature, when we learn anything, authority precedes reasoning. For a reason may seem weak, when, after it is given, it requires authority to confirm it. But because the minds of men are obscured by familiarity with darkness, which covers them in the night of sins and evil habits, and cannot perceive in a way suitable to the clearness and purity of reason, there is most wholesome provision for bringing the dazzled eye into the light of truth under the congenial shade of authority. But since we have to do with people who are perverse in all their thoughts and words and actions, and who insist on nothing more than on beginning with argument, I will, as a concession to them, take what I think a wrong method in discussion. For I like to imitate, as far as I can, the gentleness of my Lord Jesus Christ, who took on Himself the evil of death itself, wishing to free us from it.

CHAP. 3.--HAPPINESS IS IN THE ENJOYMENT OF MAN'S CHIEF GOOD. TWO CONDITIONS OF THE CHIEF GOOD: 1ST, NOTHING IS BETTER THAN IT; 2D, IT CANNOT BE LOST AGAINST THE WILL.

4. How then, according to reason, ought man to live ? We all certainly desire to live happily; and there is no human being but assents to this statement almost before it is made. But the title happy cannot, in my opinion, belong either to him who has not what he loves, whatever it may be, or to him who has what he loves if it is hurtful or to him who does not love what he has, although it is good in perfection. For one who seeks what he cannot obtain suffers torture, and one who has got what is not desirable is cheated, and one who does not seek for what is worth seeking for is diseased. Now in all these cases the mind cannot but be unhappy, and happiness and unhappiness cannot reside at the same time in one man; so in none of these cases can the man be happy. I find, then, a fourth case, where the happy life exists,--when that which is man's chief good is both loved and possessed. For what do we call enjoyment but having at hand the objects of love ? And no one can be happy who does not enjoy what is man's chief good, nor is there any one who enjoys this who is not happy. We must then have at hand our chief good, if we think of living happily.

5. We must now inquire what is maws chief good, which of course cannot be anything inferior to man himself. For whoever follows after what is inferior to himself, becomes himself inferior. But every man is bound to follow what is best. Wherefore man's chief good is not inferior to man. Is it then something similar to man himself ? It must be so, if there is nothing above man which he is capable of enjoying. But if we find something which is both superior to man, and can be possessed by the man who loves it, who can doubt that in seeking for happiness man should endeavor to reach that which is more excellent than the being who makes the endeavor. For if happiness consists in the enjoyment of a good than which there is nothing better, which we call the chief good, how can a man be properly called happy who has not yet attained to his chief good ? or how can that be the chief good beyond which something better remains for us to arrive at? Such, then, being the chief good, it must be something which cannot be lost against the will. For no one can feel confident regarding a good which he knows can be taken from him, although he wishes to keep and cherish it. But if a man feels no confidence regarding the good which he enjoys, how can he be happy while in such fear of losing it ?

CHAP. 4.--MAN--WHAT ?

6. Let us then see what is better than man. This must necessarily be hard to find, unless we first ask and examine what man is. I am not now called upon to give a definition of

man. The question here seems to me to be,--since almost all agree, or at least, which is enough, those I have now to do with are of the same opinion with me, that we are made up of soul and body,--What is man ? Is he both of these ? or is he the body only, or the soul only ? For although the things are two, soul and body, and although neither without the other could be called man (for the body would not be man without the soul, nor again would the soul be man if there were not a body animated by it), still it is possible that one of these may be held to be man, and may be called so. What then do we call man ? Is he soul and body, as in a double harness, or like a centaur ? Or do we mean the body only, as being in the service of the soul which rules it, as the word lamp denotes not the light and the case together, but only the case yet it is on account of the light that it is so called ? Or do we mean only the mind, and that on account of the body which it rules, as horseman means not the man and the horse, but the man only, and that as employed in ruling the horse ? This dispute is not easy to settle; or, if the proof is plain, the statement requires time. This is an expenditure of time and strength which we need not incur. For whether the name man belongs to both, or only to the soul, the chief good of man is not the chief good of the body; but what is the chief good either of both soul and body, or of the soul only, that is man's chief good.

CHAP. 5.--MAN'S CHIEF GOOD IS NOT THE CHIEF GOOD OF THE BODY ONLY, BUT THE CHIEF GOOD OF THE SOUL.

7. Now if we ask what is the chief good of the body, reason obliges us to admit that it is that by means of which the body comes to be in its best state. But of all the things which invigorate the body, there is nothing better or greater than the soul. The chief good of the body, then, is not bodily pleasure, not absence of pain, not strength, not beauty, not swiftness, or whatever else is usually reckoned among the goods of the body, but simply the soul. For all the things mentioned the soul supplies to the body by its presence, and, what is above them all, life. Hence I conclude that the soul is not the chief good of man, whether we give the name of man to soul and body together, or to the soul alone. For as according to reason, the chief good of the body is that which is better than the body, and from which the body receives vigor and life, so whether the soul itself is man, or soul and body both, we must discover whether there is anything which goes before the soul itself, in following which the soul comes to the perfection of good of which it is capable in its own kind. If such a thing can be found, all uncertainty must be at an end, and we must pronounce this to be really and truly the chief good of man.

8. If, again, the body is man, it must be admitted that the soul is the chief good of man. But clearly, when we treat of morals,--when we inquire what manner of life must be held in order to obtain happiness,--it is not the body to which the precepts are addressed, it is not bodily discipline which we discuss. In short, the observance of good customs belongs to that part of us which inquires and learns,, which are the prerogatives of the soul; so, when we speak of attaining to virtue, the question does not regard the body. But if it follows, as it does, that the body which is ruled over by a soul possessed of

virtue is ruled both better and more honorably, and is in its greatest perfection in consequence of the perfection of the soul which rightfully governs it, that which gives perfection to the soul will be man's chief good, though we call the body man. For if my coachman, in obedience to me, feeds and drives the horses he has charge of in the most satisfactory manner, himself enjoying the more of my bounty in proportion to his good conduct, can any one deny that the good condition of the horses, as well as that of the coachman, is due to me ? So the question seems to me to be not, whether soul and body is man, or the soul only, or the body only, but what gives perfection to the soul; for when this is obtained, a man cannot but be either perfect, or at least much better than n the absence of this one thing.

CHAP. 6.--VIRTUE GIVES PERFECTION TO THE SOUL; THE SOUL OBTAINS VIRTUE BY FOLLOWING GOD; FOLLOWING GOD IS THE HAPPY LIFE.

9. No one will question that virtue gives perfection to the soul. But it is a very proper subject of inquiry whether this virtue can exist by itself or only in the soul. Here again arises a profound discussion, needing lengthy treatment; but perhaps my summary will serve the purpose. God will, I trust, assist me, so that, notwithstanding our feebleness, we may give instruction on these great matters briefly as well as intelligibly. In either case, whether virtue can exist by itself without the soul, or can exist only in the soul, undoubtedly in the pursuit of virtue the soul follows after something, and this must be either the soul itself, or virtue, or something else. But if the soul follows after itself in the pursuit of virtue, it follows after a foolish thing; for before obtaining virtue it is foolish Now the height of a follower's desire is to reach that which he follows after. So the soul must either not wish to reach what it follows after, which is utterly absurd and unreasonable, or, in following after itself while foolish, it reaches the folly which it Bees from. But if it follows after virtue in the desire to reach it, how can it follow what does not exist ? or how can it desire to reach what it already possesses ? Either, therefore, virtue exists beyond the soul, or if we are not allowed to give the name of virtue except to the habit and disposition of the wise soul, which can exist only in the soul, we must allow that the soul follows after something rise in order that virtue may be produced in itself; for neither by following after nothing, nor by following after folly, can the soul, according to my reasoning, attain to wisdom.

10. This something else then, by following after which the soul becomes possessed of virtue and wisdom, is either a wise man or God. But we have said already that it must be something that we cannot lose against our will. No one can think it necessary to ask whether a wise man, supposing we are content to follow after him, can be taken from us in spite of our unwillingness or our persistence. God then remains, in following after whom we live well, and in reaching whom we live both well and happily. If any deny God's existence, why should I consider the method of dealing with them, when it is doubtful whether they ought to be dealt with at all ? At any rate, it would require a different starting-point, a different plan, a different investigation from what we are now engaged in. I am now addressing those who do not deny the existence of God, and

who, moreover, allow that human affairs are not disregarded by Him. For there is no one, I suppose, who makes any profession of religion but will hold that divine Providence cares at least for our souls.

CHAP. 7.--THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD TO BE OBTAINED FROM THE SCRIPTURE. THE PLAN AND PRINCIPAL MYSTERIES OF THE DIVINE SCHEME OF REDEMPTION.

11. But how can we follow after Him whom we do not see ? or how can we see Him, we who are not only men, but also men of weak understanding ? For though God is seen not with the eyes but with the mind, where can such a mind be found as shall, while obscured by foolishness, succeed or even attempt to drink in that light ? We must therefore have recourse to the instructions of those whom we have reason to think wise. Thus far argument brings us. For in human things reasoning is employed, not as of greater certainty, but as easier from use. But when we come to divine things, this faculty turns away; it cannot behold; it pants, and gasps, and burns with desire; it falls back from the light of truth, and turns again to its wonted obscurity, not from choice, but from exhaustion. What a dreadful catastrophe is this, that the soul should be reduced to greater helplessness when it is seeking rest from its toil ! So, when we are hasting to retire into darkness, it will be well that by the appointment of adorable Wisdom we should be met by the friendly shade of authority, and should be attracted by the wonderful character of its contents, and by the utterances of its pages, which, like shadows, typify and attemper the truth.

12. What more could have been done for our salvation ? What can be more gracious and bountiful than divine providence, which, when man had fallen from its laws, and, in not wholly abandon him ? For in this most righteous government, whose ways are strange and inscrutable, there is, by means of unknown connections established in the creatures sub jeer to it, both a severity of punishment and a mercifulness of salvation. How beautiful this is, how great, how worthy of God, in fine, how true, which is all we are seeking for, we shall never be able to perceive, unless, beginning with things human and at hand, and holding by the faith and the precepts of true religion, we continue without turning from it in the way which God has secured for us by the separation of the patriarchs, by the bond of the law, by the foresight of the prophets, by the witness of the apostles, by the blood of the martyrs, and by the subjugation of the Gentiles. From this point, then, let no one ask me for my opinion, but let us rather hear the oracles, and submit our weak inferences to the announcements of Heaven.[1]

CHAP. 8.--GOD IS THE CHIEF GOOD, WHOM WE ARE TO SEEK AFTER WITH SUPREME AFFECTION.

13. Let us see how the Lord Himself in the gospel has taught us to live; how, too, Paul the apostle,--for the Manichaeans dare not reject these Scriptures. Let us hear, O Christ, what chief end Thou dost prescribe to us; and that is evidently the chief end after which we are told to strive with supreme affection. "Thou shalt love," He says, "the Lord thy God." Tell me also, I pray Thee, what must be the measure of love; for I fear lest the desire enkindled in my heart should either exceed or come short in fervor. "With all thy heart," He says. Nor is that enough. "With all thy soul." Nor is it enough yet. "With all thy mind."[1] What do you wish more ? I might, perhaps, wish more if I could see the possibility of more. What does Paul say on this ? "We know," he says, "that all things issue in good to them that love God." Let him, too, say what is the measure of love. "Who then," he says, "shall separate us from the love of Christ ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or the sword?"[2] We have heard, then, what and how much we must love; this we must strive after, and to this we must refer all our plans. The perfection of all our good things and our perfect good is God. We must neither come short of this nor go beyond it: the one is dangerous, the other impossible.

CHAP. 9.--HARMONY OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT ON THE PRECEPTS OF CHARITY.[3]

14. Come now, let us examine, or rather let us take notice,--for it is obvious and can be seen, at once,--whether the authority of the Old Testament too agrees with those statements taken from the gospel and the apostle. What need to speak of the first statement, when it is clear to all that it is a quotation from the law given by Moses ? For it is there written, " Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind."[4] And not to go farther for a passage of the Old Testament to compare with that of the apostle, he has himself added one. For after saying that no tribulation, no distress, no persecution, no pressure of bodily want, no peril, no sword, separates us from the love of Christ, he immediately adds, "As it is written, For Thy sake we are in suffering all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter."[5] The Manichaeans are in the habit of saying that this is an interpolation,--so unable are they to reply, that they are forced in their extremity to say of this. But every one can see that this is all a that is left for men to say when it is proved that they are wrong.

15. And yet I ask them if they deny that this is said in the Old Testament, or if they hold that the passage in the Old Testament does not agree with that of the apostle. For the first, the books will prove it; and as for the second, those prevaricators who fly off at a tangent will be brought to agree with me, if they will only reflect a little and consider what is said, or else I will press upon them the opinion of those who judge impartially. For what could agree more harmoniously than these passages ? For tribulation, distress, persecution, famine, nakedness, peril, cause great suffering to man while in

this life. So all these words are implied in the single quotation from the law, where it is said," For Thy sake we are in suffering."[6] The only other thing is the sword, which does not inflict a painful life, but removes whatever life it meets with. Answering to this are the words, "We are accounted as sheep for the slaughter." And love could not have been more plainly expressed than by the words,, "For Thy sake." Suppose, then, that this testimony is not found in the Apostle Paul, but is quoted by me, must you not prove, you heretic, either that this is not written in the old law, or that it does not harmonize with the apostle ? And if you dare not say either of these things (for you are shut up by the reading of the manuscript, which will show that it is written, and by common sense, which sees that nothing could agree better with what is said by the apostle), why do you imagine that there is any force in accusing the Scriptures of being corrupted ? And once more, what will you reply to a man who says to you, This is what I understand, this is my view, this is my belief, and I read these books only because I see that everything in them agrees with the Christian faith ? Or tell me at once if you will venture deliberately to tell me to the face that we are not to believe that the apostles and martyrs are spoken of as having endured great sufferings for Christ's sake, and as having been accounted by their persecutors as sheep for the slaughter ? If you cannot say this, why should you bring a charge against the book in which I find what you acknowledge I ought to believe ?

CHAP. 10.--WHAT THE CHURCH TEACHES ABOUT GOD. THE TWO GODS OF THE MANICHAEANS.

16. Will you say that you grant that we are bound to love God, but not the God worshipped by those who acknowledge the authority of the Old Testament ? In that case you refuse to worship the God who made heaven and earth, for this is the God set forth all through these books. And you admit that the whole of the world, which is called heaven and earth, had God and a good God good and the other bad.

But if you say that you worship and approve of worshipping the God who made heaven and earth, but not the God supported by the authority of the Old Testament, you act impertinently in trying, though vainly, to attribute to us views and opinions altogether unlike the wholesome and profitable doctrine we really hold. Nor can your silly and profane discourses be at all compared with the expositions in which learned and pious men of the Catholic Church open up those Scriptures to the willing and worthy. Our understanding of the law and the prophets is quite different from what you suppose. Mistake us no longer. We do not worship a God who repents, or is envious, or needy, or cruel, or who takes pleasure in the blood of men or beasts, or is pleased with guilt and crime, or whose possession of the earth is limited to a little corner of it. These and such like are the silly notions you are in the habit of denouncing at great length. Your denunciation does not touch us. The fancies of old women or of children you attack with a vehemence that is only ridiculous. Any one whom you persuade in this way to join you shows no fault in the teaching of the Church, but only proves his own ignorance of it.

17. If, then, you have any human feeling,--if you have any regard for your own welfare,--you should rather examine with diligence and piety the meaning of these passages of Scripture. You should examine, unhappy beings that you are; for we condemn with no less severity and copiousness any faith which attributes to God what is unbecoming Him, and in those by whom these passages are literally understood we correct the mistake of ignorance, and look upon persistence in it as absurd. And in many other things which you cannot understand there is in the Catholic teaching a check on the belief of those who have got beyond mental childishness, not in years, but in knowledge and understanding--old in the progress towards wisdom. For we learn the folly of believing that God is bounded by any amount of space, even though infinite; and it is held unlawful to think of God, or any part of Him, as moving from one place to another. And should any one suppose that anything in God's substance or nature can suffer change or conversion, he will be held guilty of wild profanity. There are thus among us children who think of God as having a human form, which they suppose He really has, which is a most degrading idea; and there are many of full age to whose mind the majesty of God appears in its inviolableness and unchangeableness as not only above the hum. a body, but above their own mind itself. These ages, as we said, are distinguished not by time, but by virtue and discretion. Among you, again, there is no one who will picture God in a human form; but neither is there one who sets God apart from the contamination of human error. As regards those who are fed like crying babies at the breast of the Catholic Church, if they are not carried off by heretics, they are nourished according to the vigor and capacity of each, and arrive at last, one in one way and another in another, first to a perfect man, and then to the maturity and hoary hairs of wisdom, when they may get life as they desire, and life in perfect happiness.

CHAP. II.--GOD IS THE ONE OBJECT OF LOVE; THEREFORE HE IS MAN'S CHIEF GOOD. NOTHING IS BETTER THAN GOD. GOD CANNOT BE LOST AGAINST OUR WILL.

18. Following after God is the desire of happiness; to reach God is happiness itself. We follow after God by loving Him; we reach Him, not by becoming entirely what He is, but in nearness to Him, and in wonderful and immaterial contact with Him, and in being inwardly illuminated and occupied by His truth and holiness. He is light itself; we get enlightenment from Him. The greatest commandment, therefore, which leads to happy life, and the first, is this: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and soul, and mind." For to those who love the Lord all things issue in good. Hence Paul adds shortly after, "I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor virtue, nor things present, nor things future, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." (1) If, then, to those who love God all things issue in good, and if, as no one doubts, the chief or perfect good is not only to be loved, but to be loved so that nothing shall be loved better, as is expressed in the words, "With all thy soul, with all thy heart, and with all thy mind," who, I ask, will not at once conclude, when these things are all settled and most surely

believed, that our chief good which we must hasten to arrive at in preference to all other things is nothing else than God? And then, if nothing can separate us, from His love, must not this be surer as well as better than any other good?

19. But let us consider the points separately. No one separates us from this by threatening death. For that with which we love God cannot die, except in not loving God; for death is not to love God, and that is when we prefer anything to Him in affection and pursuit. No one separates us from this in promising life; for no one separates us from the fountain in promising water. Angels do not separate us; for the mind cleaving to God is not inferior in strength to an angel. Virtue does not separate us; for if what is here called virtue is that which has power in this world, the mind cleaving to God is far above the whole world. Or if this virtue is perfect rectitude of our mind itself, this in the case of another will favor our union with God, and in ourselves will itself unite us with God. Present troubles do not separate us; for we feel their burden less the closer we ring to Him from whom they try to separate us. The promise of future things does not separate us; for both future good of every kind is surest in the promise of God, and nothing is better than God Himself, who undoubtedly is already present to those who truly cleave to Him. Height and depth do not separate us; for if the height and depth of knowledge are what is meant, I will rather not be inquisitive than be separated from God; nor can any instruction by which error is removed separate me from Him, by separation from whom it is that any one is in error. Or if what is meant are the higher and lower parts of this world, how can the promise of heaven separate me from Him who made heaven? Or who from beneath can frighten me into forsaking God, when I should not have known of things beneath but by forsaking Him? In fine, what place can remove me from His love, when He could not be all in every place unless He were contained in none?

CHAP. 12.--WE ARE UNITED TO GOD BY LOVE,IN SUBJECTION TO HIM.

20. "No other creature," he says, separates us. O man of profound mysteries ! He thought it not enough to say, no creature: but he says no other creature; teaching that with which we love God and by which we cleave to God, our mind, namely, and understanding, is itself a creature. Thus the body is another creature; and if the mind is an object of intellectual perception, and is known only by this means, the other creature is all that is an object of sense, which as it were makes itself known through the eyes, or ears, or smell, or taste, or touch, and this must be inferior to what is perceived by the intellect alone. Now, as God also can be known by the worthy, only intellectually,[2] exalted though He is above the intelligent mind as being its Creator and Author, there was danger lest the human mind, from being reckoned among invisible and immaterial things, should be thought to be of the same nature with Him who created it, and so should fall away by pride from Him to whom it should be united by love. For the mind becomes like God, to the extent vouchsafed by its subjection of itself to Him for information and enlightenment. And if it obtains the greatest nearness by that subjection

which produces likeness, it must be far removed from Him by that presumption which would make the likeness greater. It is this presumption which leads the mind to refuse obedience to the laws of God, in the desire to be sovereign, as God is.

21. The farther, then, the mind departs from God, not in space, but in affection and lust after things brow Him, the more it is filled with folly and wretchedness. So by love it returns to God,-- a love which places it not along with God, but under Him. And the more ardor and eagerness there is in this, the happier and more elevated will the mind be, and with God as sole governor it will be in perfect liberty. Hence it must know that it is a creature. It must believe what is the truth,--that its Creator remains ever possessed of the inviolable and immutable nature of truth and wisdom, and must confess, even in view of the errors from which it desires deliverance, that it is liable to folly and falsehood. But then again, it must take care that it be not separated by the love of the other creature, that is, of this visible world, from the love of God Himself, which sanctifies it in order to lasting happiness. No other creature, then,--for we are ourselves a creature,-- separates us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

CHAP. 13.--WE ARE JOINED INSEPARABLY TO GOD BY CHRIST AND HIS SPIRIT.

22. Let this same Paul tell us who is this Christ Jesus our Lord. "To them that are called," he says, "we preach Christ the virtue of God, and the wisdom of God." (1) And does not Christ Himself say, "I am the truth?" If, then, we ask what it is to live well,--that is, to strive after happiness by living well,--it must assuredly be to love virtue, to love wisdom, to love truth, and to love with all the heart, with all the soul, and with all the mind; virtue which is inviolable and immutable, wisdom which never gives place to folly, truth which knows no change or variation from its uniform character. Through this the Father Himself is seen; for it is said, "No man cometh unto the Father but by me." To this we cleave by sanctification. For when sanctified we burn with full and perfect love, which is the only security for our not turning away from God, and for our being conformed to Him rather than to this world; for "He has predestinated us," says the same apostle, "that we should be conformed to the image of His Son." (3)

23. It is through love, then, that we become conformed to God; and by this conformation, and configuration, and circumcision from this world we are not confounded with the things which are properly subject to us. And this is done by the Holy Spirit. "For hope," he says, "does not confound us; for the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, which is given unto us." (4) But we could not possibly be restored to perfection by the Holy Spirit, unless He Himself continued always perfect and immutable. And this plainly could not be unless He were of the nature and of the very substance of God, who alone is always possessed of immutability and invariableness. "The creature," it is affirmed, not by me but by Paul, "has been made subject to vanity." (5) And what is subject to vanity is unable to separate us from vanity, and to unite us to the truth. But the Holy Spirit does this for us. He is therefore no creature. For whatever is, must be either God or the creature.

CHAP. 14.--WE CLEAVE TO THE TRINITY, OUR CHIEF GOOD, BY LOVE.

24. We ought then to love God, the Trinity in unity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; for this must be said to be God Himself, for it is said of God, truly and in the most exalted sense," Of whom are all things, by whom are all things, in whom are all things." Those are Paul's words. And what does he add? "To Him be glory." (6) All this is exactly true. He does not say, To them; for God is one. And what is meant by, To Him be glory, but to Him be chief and perfect and widespread praise? For as the praise improves and extends, so the love and affection increases in fervor. And when this is the case, mankind cannot but advance with sure and firm step to a life of perfection and bliss. This, I suppose, is all we wish to find when we speak of the chief good of man, to which all must be referred in life and conduct. For the good plainly exists; and we have shown by reasoning, as far as we were able, and by the divine authority which goes beyond our reasoning, that it is nothing else but God Himself. For how can any thing be man's chief good but that in cleaving to which he is blessed? Now this is nothing but God, to whom we can cleave only by affection, desire, and love.

CHAP. 15.--THE CHRISTIAN DEFINITION OF THE FOUR VIRTUES.

25. As to virtue leading us to a happy life, I hold virtue to be nothing else than perfect love of God. For the fourfold division of virtue I regard as taken from four forms of love. For these four virtues (would that all felt their influence in their minds as they have their names in their mouths !), I should have no hesitation in defining them: that temperance is love giving itself entirely to that which is loved; fortitude is love readily bearing all things for the sake of the loved object; justice is love serving only the loved object, and therefore ruling rightly; prudence is love distinguishing with sagacity between what hinders it and what helps it. The object of this love is not anything, but only God, the chief good, the highest wisdom, the perfect harmony. So we may express the definition thus: that temperance is love keeping itself entire and incorrupt for God; fortitude is love bearing everything readily for the sake of God; justice is love serving God only, and therefore ruling well all else, as subject to man; prudence is love making a right distinction between what helps it towards God and what might hinder it. (7)

CHAP. 16.--HARMONY OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

26. I will briefly set forth the manner of life according to these virtues, one by one, after I have brought forward, as I promised, passages from the Old Testament parallel to those I have been quoting from the New Testament. For is Paul alone in saying that we should be joined to God so that there should be nothing between to separate us? Does not the prophet say the same most aptly and concisely in the words, "It is good for me to cleave to God?" (1) Does not this one word cleave express all that the apostle says at length about love? And do not the words, It is good, point to the apostle's statement, "All things issue in good to them that love God?" Thus in one clause and in two words the prophet sets forth the power and the fruit of love.

27. And as the apostle says that the Son of God is the virtue of God and the wisdom of God,-- virtue being understood to refer to action, and wisdom to teaching (as in the gospel these two things are expressed in the words, "All things were made by Him," which belongs to action and virtue; and then, referring to teaching and the knowledge of the truth, he says, "The life was the light of men" (2),--could anything agree better with these passages than what is said in the Old Testament (3) of wisdom, "She reaches from end to end in strength, and orders all things sweetly?" For reaching in strength expresses virtue, while ordering sweetly expresses skill and method. But if this seems obscure, see what follows: "And of all," he says, "God loved her; for she teaches the knowledge of God, and chooses His works." Nothing more is found here about action; for choosing works is not the same as working, so this refers to teaching. There remains action to correspond with the virtue, to complete the truth we wish to prove. Read then what comes next: "But if," he says, "the possession which is desired in life is honorable, what is more honorable than wisdom, which works all things?" Could anything be brought forward more striking or more distinct than this, or even more fully expressed? Or, if you wish more, hear another passage of the same meaning. "Wisdom," he says, "teaches sobriety, and justice, and virtue." (4) Sobriety refers, I think, to the knowledge of, the truth, or to teaching; justice and virtue to work and action. And I know nothing comparable to these two things, that is, to efficiency in action and sobriety in contemplation, which the virtue of God and the wisdom of God, that is, the Son of God, gives to them that love Him, when the same prophet goes on to show their value; for it is thus stated: "Wisdom teaches sobriety, and justice, and virtue, than which nothing is more useful in life to man." (5)

28. Perhaps some may think that those passages do not refer to the Son of God. What, then, is taught in the following words: "She displays the nobility of her birth, having her dwelling with God? " (6) To what does birth refer but to parentage? And does not dwelling with the Father claim and assert equality? Again, as Paul says that the Son of God is the wisdom of God, (7) and as the Lord Himself says, "No man knoweth the

Father save the only-begotten Son," (8) what could be more concordant than those words of the prophet: "With Thee is wisdom which knows Thy works, which was present at the time of Thy making the world, and knew what would be pleasing in Thine eyes?" (9) And as Christ is called the truth, which is also taught by His being called the brightness of the Father (10) (for there is nothing round about the sun but its brightness which is produced from it), what is there in the Old Testament more plainly and obviously in accordance with this than the words, "Thy truth is round about Thee?" (11) Once more, Wisdom herself says in the gospel, "No man cometh unto the Father but by me;" (12) and the prophet says, " Who knoweth Thy mind, unless Thou givest wisdom?" and a little after, "The things pleasing to Thee men have learned, and have been healed by wisdom." (13)

29. Paul says, "The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given unto us;" (14) and the prophet says, "The Holy Spirit of knowledge will shun guile." (15) For where there is guile there is no love. Paul says that we are "conformed to the image of the Son of God ;" (16) and the prophet says, "The light of Thy countenance is stamped upon us." (1) Paul teaches that the Holy Spirit is God, and therefore is no creature; and the prophet says, "Thou sendest Thy Spirit from the higher." (2) For God alone is the highest, than whom nothing is higher. Paul shows that the Trinity is one God, when he says, "To Him be glory;"[3] and in the Old Testament it is said, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one God." (4)

CHAP. 17.--APPEAL TO THE MANICHAEANS, CALLING ON THEM TO REPENT.

30. What more do you wish? Why do you resist ignorantly and obstinately? Why do you pervert untutored minds by your mischievous teaching? The God of both Testaments is one. For as there is an agreement in the passages quoted from both, so is there in all the rest, if you are willing to consider them carefully and impartially. But because many expressions are undignified, and so far adapted to minds creeping on the earth, that they may rise by human things to divine, (5) while many are figurative, that the inquiring mind. may have the more profit from the exertion of finding their meaning, and the more delight when it is found, you pervert this admirable arrangement of the Holy Spirit for the purpose of deceiving and ensnaring your followers. As to the reason why divine Providence permits you to do this, and as to the truth of the apostle's saying, "There must needs be many heresies, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you," (6) it would take long to discuss these things, and you, with whom we have now to do, are not capable of understanding them. I know you well. To the consideration of divine things, which are far higher than you suppose, you bring minds quite gross and sickly, from being fed with material images.

31. We must therefore in your case try not to make you understand divine things, which is impossible, but to make you desire to understand. This is the work of the pure and guileless love of God, which is seen chiefly in the conduct, and of which we have already said much. This love, inspired by the Holy Spirit, leads to the Son, that is, to the

wisdom of God, by which the Father Himself is known. For if wisdom and truth are not sought for with the whole strength of the mind, it cannot possibly be found. But when it is sought as it deserves to be, it cannot withdraw or hide itself from its lovers. Hence its words, which you too are in the habit of repeating, "Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you:" (7) "Nothing is hid which shall not be revealed." (8) It is love that asks, love that seeks, love that knocks, love that reveals, love, too, that gives continuance in what is revealed. From this love of wisdom, and this studious inquiry, we are not debarred by the Old Testament, as you always say most falsely, but are exhorted to this with the greatest urgency.

32. Hear, then, at length, and consider, I pray you, what is said by the prophet: "Wisdom is glorious, and never fadeth away; yea, she is easily seen of them that love her, and found of such as seek her. She preventeth them that desire her, in making herself first known unto them. Whoso seeketh her early shall have no great travail; for he shall find her sitting at his doors. To think, therefore, upon her is perfection of wisdom; and whoso watcheth for her shall quickly be without care. For she goeth about seeking such as are worthy of her, showeth herself favorably unto them in the ways, and meeteth them in every thought. For the very true beginning of her is the desire of discipline; and the care of discipline is love; and love is the keeping of her laws; and the giving heed unto her laws is the assurance of incorruption; and incorruption maketh us near unto God. Therefore the desire of wisdom bringeth to a kingdom." (9) Will you still continue in dogged hostility to these things? Do not things thus stated, though not yet understood, make it evident to every one that they contain something deep and unutterable? Would that you could understand the things here said! Forthwith you would abjure all your silly legends and your unmeaning material imaginations, and with great alacrity, sincere love, and full assurance of faith, would betake yourselves bodily to the shelter of the most holy bosom of the Catholic Church.

CHAP. 18.--ONLY IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IS PERFECT TRUTH ESTABLISHED ON THE HARMONY OF BOTH TESTAMENTS.

33. I could, according to the little ability I have, take up the points separately, and could expound and prove the truths I have learned, which are generally more excellent and lofty than words can express; but this cannot be done while you bark at it. For not in vain is it said, "Give not that which is holy to dogs." (1) Do not be angry. I too barked and was a dog; and then, as was right, instead of the food of teaching, I got the rod of correction. But were there in you that love of which we are speaking, or should it ever be in you as much as the greatness of the truth to be known requires, may God vouchsafe to show you that neither is there among the Manichaeans the Christian faith which leads to the summit of wisdom and truth, the attainment of which is the true happy life, nor is it anywhere but in the Catholic teaching. Is not this what the Apostle Paul appears to desire when he says, "For this cause I bow my knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, from whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, that He would grant unto you, according to the riches of His glory, to be strengthened with

might by His Spirit in the inner man: that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the height, and length, and breadth, and depth, and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye may be filled with all the fullness of God?" (2) Could anything be more plainly expressed?

34. Wake up a little, I beseech you, and see the harmony of both Testaments, making it quite plain and certain what should be the manner of life in our conduct, and to what all things should be referred. To the love of God we are incited by the gospel, when it is said, "Ask, seek, knock;"[3] by Paul, when he says, "That ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend;" (4) by the prophet also, when he says that wisdom can easily be known by those who love it, seek for it, desire it, watch for it, think about it, care for it. The salvation of the mind (5) and the way of happiness is pointed out by the concord of both Scriptures; and yet you choose rather to bark at these things than to obey them. I will tell you in one word what I think. Do you listen to the learned men of the Catholic Church with as peaceable a disposition, and with the same zeal, that I had when for nine years I attended on you: (6) there will be no need of so long a time as that during which you made a fool of me. In a much, a very much, shorter time you will see the difference between truth and vanity.

CHAP. 19.--DESCRIPTION OF THE DUTIES OF TEMPERANCE, ACCORDING TO THE SACRED SCRIPTURES.

35. It is now time to return to the four virtues, and to draw out and prescribe a way of life in conformity with them, taking each separately. First, then, let us consider temperance, which promises us a kind of integrity and incorruption in the love by which we are united to God. The office of temperance is in restraining and quieting the passions which make us pant for those things which turn us away from the laws of God and from the enjoyment of His goodness, that is, in a word, from the happy life. For there is the abode of truth; and in enjoying its contemplation, and in cleaving closely to it, we are assuredly happy; but departing from this, men become entangled in great errors and sorrows. For, as the apostle says, "The root of all evils is covetousness; which some having followed, have made shipwreck of the faith, and have pierced themselves through with many sorrows." (7) And this sin of the soul is quite plainly, to those rightly understanding, set forth in the Old Testament in the transgression of Adam in Paradise. Thus, as the apostle says, "In Adam we all die, and in Christ we shah all rise again." (8) Oh, the depth of these mysteries! But I refrain; for I am now engaged not in teaching you the truth, but in making you unlearn your errors, if I can, that is, if God aid my purpose regarding you.

36. Paul then says that covetousness is the root of all evils; and by covetousness the old law also intimates that the first man fell. Paul tells us to put off the old man and put on the new. (9) By the old man he means Adam who sinned, ant by the new man him whom the Son of God took to Himself in consecration for our redemption. For he says in

another place, "The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is from heaven, heavenly. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy; and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, let us also bear the image of the heavenly," (10)--that is, put off the old man, and put on the new. The whole duty of temperance, then, is to put off the old man, and to be renewed in God,--that is, to scorn all bodily delights, and the popular applause, and to turn the whole love to things divine and unseen. Hence that following passage which is so admirable: "Though our outward man perish, our inward man is renewed day by day." (1) Hear, too, the prophet singing, "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me." (2) What can be said against such harmony except by blind barkers?

CHAP. 20.--WE ARE REQUIRED TO DESPISE ALL SENSIBLE THINGS, AND TO LOVE GOD ALONE.

37. Bodily delights have their source in all those things with which the bodily sense comes in contact, and which are by some called the objects of sense; and among these the noblest is light, in the common meaning of the word, because among our senses also, which the mind uses in acting through the body, there is nothing more valuable than the eyes, and so in the Holy Scriptures all the objects of sense are spoken of as visible things. Thus in the New Testament we are warned against the love of these things in the following words: "While we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal."[3] This shows how far from being Christians those are who hold that the sun and moon are to be not only loved but worshipped. For what is seen if the sun and moon are not? But we are forbidden to regard things which are seen. The man, therefore, who wishes to offer that incorrupt love to God must not love these things too.This subject I will inquire into more particularly elsewhere. Here my plan is to write not of faith, but of the life by which we become worthy of knowing what we believe. God then alone is to be loved; and all this world, that is, all sensible things, are to be despised,--while, however, they are to be used as this life requires.

CHAP. 21.--POPULAR RENOWN AND INQUISITIVENESS ARE CONDEMNED IN THE SACRED SCRIPTURES.

38. Popular renown is thus slighted and scorned in the New Testament: "If I wished," says St. Paul, "to please men, I should not be the servant of Christ" (4) Again, there is another production of the soul formed by imaginations derived from material things, and called the knowledge of things. In reference to this we are fitly warned against inquisitiveness to correct which is the great function of temperance. Thus it is said, "Take heed lest any one seduce you by philosophy." And because the word philosophy originally means the love and pursuit of wisdom, a thing of great value and to be sought

with the whole mind, the apostles, with great prudence, that he might not be thought to deter from the love of wisdom, has added the words, "And the elements of this world." (5) For some people, neglecting virtues, and ignorant of what God is, and of the majesty of nature which remains always the same, think that they are engaged in an important business when searching with the greatest inquisitiveness and eagerness into this material mass which we call the world. This begets so much pride, that they look upon themselves as inhabitants of the heaven of which they often discourse. The soul, then, which purposes to keep itself chaste for God must refrain from the desire of vain knowledge like this. For this desire usually produces delusion, so that the soul thinks that nothing exists but what is material; or if, from regard to authority, it confesses that there is an immaterial existence, it can think of it only under material images, and has no belief regarding it but that imposed by the bodily sense. We may apply to this the precept about fleeing from idolatry.

39. To this New Testament authority, requiring us not to love anything in this world,[6] especially in that passage where it is said, "Be not conformed to this world," (7)--for the point is to show that a man is conformed to whatever he loves,--to this authority, then, if I seek for a parallel passage in the Old Testament, I find several; but there is one book of Solomon, called Ecclesiastes, which at great length brings all earthly things into utter contempt. The book begins thus: "Vanity of the vain, saith the Preacher, vanity of the vain; all is vanity. What profit hath a man of all his labor which he taketh under the sun?" (8) If all these words are considered, weighed, and thoroughly examined, many things are found of essential importance to those who seek to flee from the world and to take shelter in God; but this requires time and our discourse hastens on to other topics. But, after this beginning, he goes on to show in detail that the vain (9) are those who are deceived by things of this sort; and he calls this which deceives them vanity,-- not that God did not create those things, but because men choose to subject themselves by their sins to those things, which the divine law has made subject to them in well-doing. For when you consider things beneath yourself to be admirable and desirable, what is this but to be cheated and misled by unreal goods ? The man, then, who is temperate in such mortal and transient things has his rule of life confirmed by both Testaments, that he should love none of these things, nor think them desirable for their own sakes, but should use them as far as is required for the purposes and duties of life, with the moderation of an employer instead of the ardor of a lover These remarks on temperance are few in proportion to the greatness of the theme, but perhaps too many in view of the task on hand.

CHAP. 22.--FORTITUDE COMES FROM THE LOVE OF GOD.

40. On fortitude we must be brief. The love, then, of which we speak, which ought with all sanctity to burn in desire for God, is called temperance, in not seeking for earthly things, and fortitude in bearing the loss of them. But among all things which are

possessed in this life, the body is, by God's most righteous laws, for the sin of old, man's heaviest bond, which is well known as a fact but most incomprehensible in its mystery. Lest this bond should be shaken and disturbed, the soul is shaken with the fear of toil and pain; lest it should be lost and destroyed, the soul is shaken with the fear of death. For the soul loves it from the force of habit, not knowing that by using it well and wisely its resurrection and reformation will, by the divine help and decree, be without any trouble made subject to its authority. But when the soul turns to God wholly in this love, it knows these things, and so will not only disregard death, but will even desire it.

41. Then there is the great struggle with pain. But there is nothing, though of iron hardness, which the fire of love cannot subdue. And when the mind is carried up to God in this love, it will soar above all torture free and glorious, with wings beauteous and unhurt, on which chaste love rises to the embrace of God. Otherwise God must allow the lovers of gold, the lovers of praise, the lovers of women, to have more fortitude than the lovers of Himself, though love in those cases is rather to be called passion or lust. And yet even here we may see with what force the mind presses on with unflagging energy, in spite of all alarms, towards that it loves; and we learn that we should bear all things rather than forsake God, since those men bear so much in order to forsake Him.

CHAP. 23.--SCRIPTURE PRECEPTS AND EXAMPLES OF FORTITUDE.

42. Instead of quoting here authorities from the New Testament, where it is said, "Tribulation worketh patience; and patience, experience and experience, hope; "[1] and where, in addition to these words, there is proof and confirmation of them from the example of those who spoke them; I will rather summon an example of patience from the Old Testament, against which the Manichaeans make fierce assaults. Nor will I refer to the man who, in the midst of great bodily suffering, and with a dreadful disease in his limbs, not only bore human evils, but discoursed of things divine. Whoever gives considerate attention to the utterances of this man, will learn from every one of them what value is to be attached to those things which men try to keep in their power, and in so doing are themselves brought by passion into bondage, so that they become the slaves of mortal things, while seeking ignorantly to be their masters. This man, in the loss of all his wealth, and on being suddenly reduced to the greatest poverty, kept his mind so unshaken and fixed upon God, as to manifest that these things were not great in his view, but that he was great in relation to them, and God to him.[2] If this mind were to be found in men in our day, we should not be so strongly cautioned in the New Testament against the possession of these things in order that we may be perfect; for to have these things without cleaving to them is much more admirable than not to have them at all.[3]

43. But since we are speaking here of bearing pain and bodily sufferings, I pass from this man, great as he was, indomitable as he was: this is the case of a man. But these Scriptures present to me a woman of amazing fortitude, and I must at once go on to her case. This woman, along with seven children, allowed the tyrant and executioner to extract her vitals from her body rather than a profane word from her mouth, encouraging

her sons by her exhortations, though she suffered in the tortures of their bodies, and was herself to undergo what she called on them to bear.[4] What patience could be greater than this ? And yet why should we be astonished that the love of God, implanted in her inmost heart, bore up against tyrant, and executioner, and pain, and sex, and natural affection ? Had she not heard, "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints ?" [5] Had she not heard, "A patient man is better than the mightiest ? "[6] Had she not heard, "All that is appointed thee receive; and in pain bear it; and in abasement keep thy patience: for in fire are gold and silver tried?"(2) Had she not heard, "The fire tries the vessels of the potter, and for just men is the trial of tribulation?"(2) These she knew, and many other precepts of fortitude written in these books, which alone existed at that time, by the same divine Spirit who writes those in the New Testament.

CHAP. 24.--OF JUSTICE AND PRUDENCE.

44. What of justice that pertains to God? As the Lord says, "Ye cannot serve two masters,"(3) and the apostle denounces those who serve the creature rather than the Creator,(4) was it not said before in the Old Testament, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve?"(5) I need say no more on this, for these books are full of such passages. The lover, then, whom we are describing, will get from justice this rule of life, that he must with perfect readiness serve the God whom he loves, the highest good, the highest wisdom, the highest peace;(6) and as regards all other things, must either rule them as subject to himself, or treat them with a view to their subjection. This rule of life, is, as we have shown, confirmed by the authority of both Testaments.

45. With equal brevity we must treat of prudence, to which it belongs to discern between what is to be desired and what to be shunned. Without this, nothing can be done of what we have already spoken of. It is the part of prudence to keep watch with most anxious vigilance, lest any evil influence should stealthily creep in upon us. Thus the Lord often exclaims, "Watch;"(7) and He says, "Walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you."(8) And then it is said, "Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump?"(9) And no passage can be quoted from the Old Testament more expressly condemning this mental somnolence, which makes us insensible to destruction advancing on us step by step, than those words of the prophet, "He who despiseth small things shall fall by degrees."(10) On this topic I might discourse at length did our haste allow of it. And did our present task demand it, we might perhaps prove the depth of these mysteries, by making a mock of which profane men in their perfect ignorance fall, not certainly by degrees, but with a headlong overthrow.

CHAP. 25.--FOUR MORAL DUTIES REGARDING THE LOVE OF GOD, OF WHICH LOVE THE REWARD IS ETERNAL LIFE AND THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE TRUTH.

46. I need say no more about right conduct. For if God is man's chief good, which you cannot deny, it clearly follows, since to seek the chief good is to live well, that to live well is nothing else but to love God with all the heart, with all the soul, with all the mind; and, as arising from this, that this love must be preserved entire and incorrupt, which is the part of temperance; that it give way before no troubles, which is the part of fortitude; that it serve no other, which is the part of justice; that it be watchful in its inspection of things lest craft or fraud steal in, which is the part of prudence. This is the one perfection of man, by which alone he can succeed in attaining to the purity of truth. This both TeStaments enjoin in concert; this is commended on both sides alike. Why do you continue to cast reproaches on Scriptures of which you are ignorant? Do you not see the folly of your attack upon books which only those who do not understand them find fault with, and which only those who find fault fail in understanding? For neither can an enemy know them, nor can one who knows them be Other than a friend to them.

47. Let us then, as many as have in view to reach eternal life, love God with all the heart, with all the soul, with all the mind. For eternal life contains the whole reward in the promise of which we rejoice; nor can the reward precede desert, nor be given to a man before he is worthy of it. What can be more unjust than this, and what is more just than God? We should not then demand the reward before we deserve to get it. Here, perhaps, it is not out of place to ask what is eternal life; or rather let us hear the Bestower of it: "This," He says, "is life eternal, that they should know Thee, the true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent."(11) So eternal life is the knowledge of the truth. See, then, how perverse and preposterous is the character of those who think that their teaching of the knowledge of God will make us perfect, when this is the reward of those already perfect! What else, then, have we to do but first to love with full affection Him whom we desire to know?(12) Hence arises that principle on which we have all along insisted, that there is nothing more wholesome in the CathOlic Church than using authority(1) before argument.

CHAP. 26.--LOVE OF OURSELVES AND OF OUR NEIGHBOR.

48. To proceed to what remains. It may be thought that there is nothing here about man himself, the lover. But to think this, shows a want of clear perception. For it is impossible for one who loves God not to love himself. For he alone has a proper love for himself who aims diligently at the attainment of the chief and true good; and if this is nothing else but God, as has been shown. what is to prevent one who loves God from loving himself? And then, among men should there be no bond of mutual love? Yea, verily; so that we can think of no surer step towards the love of God than the love of man to man.

49. Let the Lord then supply us with the other precept in answer to the question about

the precepts of life; for He was not satisfied with one as knowing that God is one thing and man another, and that the difference is nothing less than that between the Creator and the thing created in the likeness of its Creator. He says then that the second precept is, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."(2) Now you love yourself suitably when you love God better than yourself. What, then, you aim at in yourself you must aim at in your neighbor, namely, that he may love God with a perfect affection. For you do not love him as yourself, unless you try to draw him to that good which you are yourself pursuing. For this is the one good which has room for all to pursue it along with thee. From this precept proceed the duties of human society, in which it is hard to keep from error. But the first thing to aim at is, that we should be benevolent, that is, that we cherish no malice and no evil design against another. For man is the nearest neighbor of man.

50. Hear also what Paul says: "The love of our neighbor," he says, "worketh no ill."(3) The testimonies here made use of are very short, but, if I mistake not, they are to the point, and sufficient for the purpose. And every one knows how many and how weighty are the words to be found everywhere in these books on the love of our neighbor. But as a man may sin against another in two ways, either by injuring him or by not helping him when it is in his power, and as it is for these things which no loving man would do that men are called wicked, all that is required is, I think, proved by these words, "The love of our neighbor worketh no ill." And if we cannot attain to good unless we first desist from working evil, our love of our neighbor is a sort of cradle of our love to God, so that, as it is said, "the love of our neighbor worketh no ill," we may rise from this to these other words, "We know that all things issue in good to them that love God."(4)

51. But there is a sense in which these either rise together to fullness and perfection, or, while the love of God is first in beginning, the love of our neighbor is first in coming to perfection. For perhaps divine love takes hold on us more rapidly at the outset, but we reach perfection more easily in lower things. However that may be, the main point is this, that no one should think that while he despises his neighbor he will come to happiness and to the God whom he loves. And would that it were as easy to seek the good of our neighbor, or to avoid hurting him, as it is for one well trained and kind-hearted to love his neighbor! These things require more than mere good-will, and can be done only by a high degree of thoughtfulness and prudence, which belongs only to those to whom it is given by God, the source of all good. On this topic--which is one, I think, of great difficulty--I will try to say a few words such as my plan admits of, resting all my hope in Him whose gifts these are.

CHAP. 27.--ON DOING GOOD TO THE BODY OF OUR NEIGHBOR.

52. Man, then, as viewed by his fellowman, is a rational soul with a mortal and earthly body in its service. Therefore he who loves his neighbor does good partly to the man's

body, and partly to his soul. What benefits the body is called medicine; what benefits the soul, discipline. Medicine here includes everything that either preserves or restores bodily health. It includes, therefore, not only what belongs to the art of medical men, properly so called, but also food and drink, clothing and shelter, and every means of covering and protection to guard our bodies against injuries and mishaps from without as well as from within. For hunger and thirst, and cold and heat, and all violence from without, produce loss of that health which is the point to be considered.

53. Hence those who seasonably and wisely supply all the things required for warding off these evils and distresses are called compassionate, although they may have been so wise that no painful feeling disturbed their mind in the exercise of compassion.(1) No doubt the word compassionate implies suffering in the heart of the man who feels for the sorrow of another. And it is equally true that a wise man ought to be free from all painful emotion when he assists the needy, when he gives food to the hungry and water to the thirsty, when he clothes the naked, when he takes the stranger into his house, when he sets free the oppressed, when, lastly, he extends his charity to the dead in giving them burial. Still the epithet compassionate is a proper one, although he acts with tranquillity of mind, not from the stimulus of painful feeling, but from motives of benevolence. There is no harm in the word compassionate when there is no passion in the case.

54. Fools, again, who avoid the exercise of compassion as a vice, because they are not sufficiently moved by a sense of duty without feeling also distressful emotion, are frozen into hard insensibility, which is very different from the calm of a rational serenity. God, on the other hand, is properly called compassionate; and the sense in which He is so will be understood by those whom piety and diligence have made fit to understand. There is a danger lest, in using the words of the learned, we harden the souls of the unlearned by leading them away from compassion instead of softening them with the desire of a charitable disposition. As compassion, then, requires us to ward off these distresses from others, so harmlessness forbids the infliction of them.

CHAP. 28.--ON DOING GOOD TO THE SOUL OF OUR NEIGHBOR. TWO PARTS OF DISCIPLINE, RESTRAINT AND INSTRUCTION. THROUGH GOOD CONDUCT WE ARRIVE AT THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE TRUTH.

55. As regards discipline, by which the health of the mind is restored, without which bodily health avails nothing for security against misery, the subject is one of great difficulty. And as in the body we said it is one thing to cure diseases and wounds, which few can do properly, and another thing to meet the cravings of hunger and thirst, and to give assistance in all the other ways in which any man may at any time help another; so in the mind there are some things in which the high and rare offices of the teacher are not much called for,--as, for instance, in advice and exhortation to give to the needy the things already mentioned as required for the body. To give such advice is to aid the mind by discipline, as giving the things themselves is siding the body by our resources.

But there are other cases where diseases of the mind, many and various in kind, are healed in a way strange and indescribable. Unless His medicine were sent from heaven to men, so heedlessly do they go on in sin, there would be no hope of salvation; and, indeed, even bodily health, if you go to the root of the matter, can have come to men from none but God, who gives to all things their being and their well-being.

56. This discipline, then, which is the medicine of the mind, as far as we can gather from the sacred Scriptures, includes two things, restraint and instruction. Restraint implies fear, and instruction love, in the person benefited by the discipline; for in the giver of the benefit there is the love without I the fear. In both of these God Himself, by i whose goodness and mercy it is that we are anything, has given us in the two Testaments a rule of discipline. For though both are found in both Testaments, still fear is prominent in the Old, and love in the New; which the apostle calls bondage in the one, and liberty in the other. Of the marvellous order and divine harmony of these Testaments it would take long to speak, and many pious and learned men have discoursed on it. The theme demands many books to set it forth and explain it as far as is possible for man. He, then, who loves his neighbor endeavors all he can to procure his safety in body and in soul, making the health of the mind the standard in his treatment of the body. And as regards the mind, his endeavors are in this order, that he should first fear and then love God. This is true excellence of conduct, and thus the knowledge of the truth is acquired which we are ever in the pursuit of.

57. The Manichaeans agree with me as regards the duty of loving God and our neighbor, but they deny that this is taught in the Old Testament. How greatly they err in this is, I think, clearly shown by the passages quoted above on both these duties. But, in a single word, and one which only stark madness can oppose, do they not see the unreasonableness of denying that these very two precepts which they commend are quoted by the Lord in the Gospel from the Old Testament, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind;" and the other, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself?"(1) Or if they dare not deny this, from the light of truth being too strong for them, let them deny that these precepts are salutary; let them deny, if they can, that they teach the best morality; let them assert that it is not a duty to love God, or to love our neighbor; that all things do not issue in good to them that love God; that it is not true that the love of our neighbor worketh no ill (a two-fold regulation of human life which is most salutary and excellent). By such assertions they cut themselves off not only from Christians, but from mankind. But if they dare not speak thus, but must confess the divinity of the precepts, why do they not desist from assailing and maligning with horrible profanity the books from which they are quoted?

58. Will they say, as they often do, that although we find these precepts in the books, it does not follow that all is good that is found there? How to meet and refute this quibble I do not well see. Shall I discuss the words of the Old Testament one by one, to prove to stubborn and ignorant men their perfect agreement with the New Testament? But when will this be done? When shall I have time, or they patience? What, then, is to be done? Shall I desert the cause, and leave them to escape detection in an opinion which, though false and impious, is hard to disprove? I will not. God will Himself be at hand to aid me; nor will He suffer me in those straits to remain helpless or forsaken.

CHAP. 29.--OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE SCRIPTURES.

59. Attend, then, ye Manichaeans, if perchance there are some of you of whom your superstition has hold so as to allow you yet to escape. Attend, I say, without obstinacy, without the desire to oppose, otherwise your decision will be fatal to yourselves. No one can doubt, and you are not so lost to the truth as not to understand that if it is good, as all allow, to love God and our neighbor, whatever hangs on these two precepts cannot rightly be pronounced bad. What it is that hangs on them it would be absurd to think of learning from me. Hear Christ Himself; hear Christ, I say; hear the Wisdom of God: "On these two commandments," He says, "hang all the law and the prophets."(2)

60. What can the most shameless obstinacy say to this? That these are not Christ's words? But they are written in the Gospel as His words. That the writing is false? Is not this most profane blasphemy? Is it not most presumptuous to speak thus? Is it not most foolhardy? Is it not most criminal? The worshippers of idols, who hate even the name of Christ, never dared to speak thus against these Scriptures. For the utter overthrow of all literature will follow, and there will be an end to all books handed down from the past, if what is supported by such a strong popular belief and established by the uniform testimony of so many men and so many times, is brought into such suspicion, that it is not allowed to have the credit and the authority of common history. In fine, what can you quote from any writings of which I may not speak in this way if it is quoted against my opinion and my purpose?(3)

61. And is it not intolerable that they forbid us to believe a book widely known and placed now in the hands of all, while they insist on our believing the book which they quote? If any writing is to be suspected, what should be more so than one which has not merited notoriety, or which may be throughout a forgery, bearing a false name? If you force such a writing on me against my will, and make a display of authority to drive me into belief, shall I, when I have a writing which I see spread far and wide for a length of time, and sanctioned by the concordant testimony of churches scattered over all the world, degrade myself by doubting, and, worse degradation, by doubting at your suggestion? Even if you brought forward other readings, I should not receive them unless supported by general agreement; and this being the case, do you think that now, when you bring forward nothing to compare with the text except your own silly and inconsiderate statement, mankind are so unreasonable and so forsaken by divine Providence as to prefer to those Scriptures not others quoted by you in refutation, but merely your own words? You ought to bring forward another manuscript with the same contents, but incorrupt and more correct, with only the passage wanting which you charge with being spurious. For example, if you hold that the Epistle of Paul to the Romans is spurious, you must bring forward another incorrupt, or rather another manuscript with the same epistle of the same apostle, free from error and corruption. You say you will not, lest you be suspected of corrupting it. This is your usual reply, and a true one. Were you to do this, we should assuredly have this very suspicion; and all men of any sense would have it too. See then what you are to think of your own

authority; and consider whether it is right to believe your words against these Scriptures, when the simple fact that a manuscript is brought forward by you makes it dangerous to put faith in it.

CHAP. 30.--THE CHURCH APOSTROPHISED AS TEACHER OF ALL WISDOM. DOCTRINE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

62. But why say more on this? For who but sees that men who dare to speak thus against the Christian Scriptures, though they may not be what they are suspected of being, are at least no Christians? For to Christians this rule of life is given, that we should love the Lord Our God with all the heart, with all the soul, and with all the mind, and our neighbor as ourselves; for on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets. Rightly, then, Catholic Church, most true mother of Christians, dost thou not only teach that God alone, to find whom is the happiest life, must be worshipped in perfect purity and chastity, bringing in no creature as an object of adoration whom we should be required to serve; and from that incorrupt and inviolable eternity to which alone man should be made subject, in cleaving to which alone the rational soul escapes misery, excluding everything made, everything liable to change, everything under the power of time; without confounding what eternity, and truth, and peace itself keeps separate, or separating what a common majesty unites: but thou dost also contain love and charity to our neighbor in such a way, that for all kinds of diseases with which souls are for their sins afflicted, there is found with thee a medicine of prevailing efficacy.

63. Thy training and teaching are childlike for children, forcible for youths, peaceful for the aged, taking into account the age of the mind as well as of the body. Thou subjectest women to their husbands in chaste and faithful obedience, not to gratify passion, but for the propagation of offspring,(1) and for domestic society. Thou givest to men authority over their wives, not to mock the weaker sex, but in the laws of unfeigned love. Thou dost subordinate children to their parents in a kind of free bondage, and dost set parents over their children in a godly rule. Thou bindest brothers to brothers in a religions tie stronger and closer than that of blood. Without violation of the connections of nature and of choice, thou bringest within the bond of mutual love every relationship of kindred, and every alliance of affinity. Thou teachest servants to cleave to their masters from delight in their task rather than from the necessity of their position. Thou renderest masters forbearing to their servants, from a regard to God their common Master, and more disposed to advise than to compel. Thou unitest citizen to citizen, nation to nation, yea, man to man, from the recollection of their first parents, not only in society but in fraternity. Thou teachest kings to seek the good of their peoples; thou counsellest peoples to be subject to their kings. Thou teachest carefully to whom honor is due, to whom regard, to whom reverence, to whom fear, to whom consolation, to whom admonition, to whom encouragement, to whom discipline, to whom rebuke, to whom punishment; showing both how all are not due to all, and how to all love is due, and how injury is due to none.(2)

64. Then, after this human love has nourished and invigorated the mind cleaving to thy breast, and fitted it for following God, when the divine majesty has begun to disclose itself as far as suffices for man while a dweller on the earth, such fervent charity is produced, and such a flame of divine love is kindled, that by the burning out of all vices, and by the purification and sanctification of the man, it becomes plain how divine are these words, "I am a consuming fire,"(3) and, "I have come to send fire on the earth."(4) These two utterances of one God stamped on both Testaments, exhibit with harmonious testimony, the sanctification of the soul, pointing forward to the accomplishment of that which is also quoted in the New Testament from the Old: "Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? Where. O death, is thy contest?" (1) Could these heretics understand this one saying, no longer proud but quite reconciled, they would worship God nowhere but with thee and in thy bosom. In thee, as is fit, divine precepts are kept by widely-scattered multitudes. In thee, as is fit, it is well understood how much more heinous sin is when the law is known than when it is unknown. For "the sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law," (2) which adds to the force with which the consciousness of disregard of the precept strikes and slays. In thee it is seen, as is fit, how vain is effort under the law, when lust lays waste the mind, and is held in Check by fear of punishment, instead of being overborne by the love of virtue. Thine, as is fit, are the many hospitable, the many friendly, the many compassionate, the many learned, the many chaste, the many saints, the many so ardent in their love to God, that in perfect continence and amazing indifference to this world they find happiness even in solitude.

CHAP. 31.--THE LIFE OF THE ANACHORETES AND COENOBITES SET AGAINST THE CONTINENCE OF THE MANICHAEANS.

65. What must we think is seen by those who can live without seeing their fellow-creatures, though not without loving them? It must be something transcending human things in contemplating which man can live without seeing his fellow-man. Hear now, ye Manichaeans, the customs and notable continence of perfect Christians, who have thought it right not only to praise but also to practise the height of chastity, that you may be restrained, if there is any shame in you, from vaunting your abstinence before uninstructed minds as if it were the hardest of all things. I will speak of things of which you are not ignorant, though you hide them from us. For who does not know that there is a daily increasing multitude of Christian men of absolute continence spread all over the world, especially in the East and in Egypt, as you cannot help knowing?

66. I will say nothing of those to whom I just now alluded, who, in complete seclusion from the view of men, inhabit regions utterly barren, content with simple bread, which is brought to them periodically, and with water, enjoying communion with God, to whom in purity of mind they cleave, and most blessed in contemplating His beauty, which can be seen only by the understanding of saints. I will say nothing of them, because some people think them to have abandoned human things more than they ought, not considering how much those may benefit us in their minds by prayer, and in their lives

by example, whose bodies we are not permitted to see. But to discuss this point would take long, and would be fruitless; for if a man does not of his own accord regard this high pitch of sanctity as admirable and honorable, how can our speaking lead him to do so? Only the Manichaeans, who make a boast of nothing, should be reminded that the abstinence and continence of the great saints of the Catholic Church has gone so far, that some think it should be checked and recalled within the limits of humanity,--so far above men, even in the judgment of those who disapprove, have their minds soared.

67. But if this is beyond our tolerance, who can but admire and commend those who, slighting and discarding the pleasures of this world, living together in a most chaste and holy society, unite in passing their time in prayers, in readings, in discussions, without any swelling of pride, or noise of contention, or sullenness of envy; but quiet, modest, peaceful, their life is one of perfect harmony and devotion to God, an offering most acceptable to Him from whom the power to do those things is obtained? No one possesses anything of his own; no one is a burden to another. They work with their hands in such occupations as may feed their bodies without distracting their minds from God. The product of their toil they give to the decans or tithesmen,--so called from being set over the tithes,--so that no one is occupied with the care of his body, either in food or clothes, or in anything else required for daily use or for the common ailments. These decans, again, arranging everything with great care, and meeting promptly the demands made by that life on account of bodily infirmities, have one called "father," to whom they give in their accounts. These fathers are not only more saintly in their conduct, but also distinguished for divine learning, and of high character in every way; and without pride they superintend those whom they call their children, having themselves great authority in giving orders, and meeting with willing obedience from those under their charge. At the close of the day they assemble from their separate dwellings before their meal to hear their father, assembling to the number of three thousand at least for one father; for one may have even a much larger number than this. They listen with astonishing eagerness in perfect silence, and give expression to the feelings of their minds as moved by the words of the preacher, in groans, or tears, or signs of joy without noise or shouting. Then there is refreshment for the body, as much as health and a sound condition of the body requires, every one checking unlawful appetite, so as not to go to excess even in the poor, inexpensive fare provided. So they not only abstain from flesh and wine, in order to gain the mastery over their passions, but also from those things which are only the more likely to whet the appetite of the palate and of the stomach, from what some call their greater cleanness, which often serves as a ridiculous and disgraceful excuse for an unseemly taste for exquisite viands, as distant from animal food. Whatever they possess in addition to what is required for their support (and much is obtained, owing to their industry and frugality), they distribute to the needy with greater care than they took in procuring it for themselves. For while they make no effort to obtain abundance, they make every effort to prevent their abundance remaining with them,--so much so, that they send shiploads to places inhabited by poor people. I need say no more on a matter known to all. (1)

68. Such, too, is the life of the women, who serve God assiduously and chastely, living apart and removed as far as propriety demands from the men, to whom they are united only in pious affection and in imitation of virtue. No young men are allowed access to them, nor even old men, however respectable and approved, except to the porch, in

order to furnish necessary supplies. For the women occupy and maintain themselves by working in wool, and hand over the cloth to the brethren, from whom, in return, they get what they need for food. Such customs, such a life, such arrangements, such a system, I could not commend as it deserves, if I wished to commend it; besides, I am afraid that it would seem as if I thought it unlikely to gain acceptance from the mere description of it, if I considered myself obliged to add an ornamental eulogium to the simple narrative. Ye Manichaeans, find fault here if you can. Do not bring into prominence our tares before men too blind to discriminate.

CHAP. 32.--PRAISE OF THE CLERGY.

69. There is not, however, such narrowness in the moral excellence of the Catholic Church as that I should limit my praise of it to the life of those here mentioned. For how many bishops have I known most excellent and holy men, how many, presbyters, how many deacons, and ministers of all kinds of the divine sacraments, whose virtue seems to me more admirable and more worthy of commendation on account of the greater difficulty of preserving it amidst the manifold varieties of men, and in this life of turmoil ! For they preside over men needing cure as much as over those already cured. The vices of the crowd must be borne with in order that they may be cured, and the plague must be endured before it is subdued. To keep here the best way of life and a mind calm and peaceful is very hard. Here, in a word, we are among people who are learning to live. There they live.

CHAP. 33.--ANOTHER KIND OF MEN LIVING TOGETHER IN CITIES. FASTS OF THREE DAYS.

70. Still I would not on this account cast a slight upon a praiseworthy class of Christians,-- those, namely, who live together in cities, quite apart from common life. I saw at Milan a lodging-house of saints, in number not a few, presided over by one presbyter, a man of great excellence and learning. At Rome I knew several places where there was in each one eminent for weight of character, and prudence, and divine knowledge, presiding over all the rest who lived with him, in Christian charity, and sanctity, and liberty. These, too, are not burdensome to any one; but, in the Eastern fashion, and on the authority of the Apostle Paul, they maintain themselves with their own hands. I was told that many practised fasts of quite amazing severity, not merely taking only one meal daily towards night, which is everywhere quite common, but very often continuing for three days or more in succession without food or drink. And this among not men only, but women, who also live together in great numbers as widows or virgins, gaining a livelihood by spinning and weaving, and presided over in each case by a woman of the greatest judgment and experience, skilled and accomplished not only in

directing and forming moral conduct, but also in instructing the understanding. (2)

71. With all this, no one is pressed to endure hardships for which he is unfit; nothing is imposed on any one against his will; nor is he condemned by the rest because he confesses himself too feeble to imitate them: for they bear in mind how strongly Scripture enjoins charity on all: they bear in mind "To the pure all things are pure," (1) and "Not that which entereth into your mouth defileth you, but that which cometh out of it." (2) Accordingly, all their endeavors are concerned not about the rejection of kinds of food as polluted, but about the subjugation of inordinate desire and the maintenance of brotherly love. They remember, "Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats; but God shall destroy both it and them;" (3) and again, "Neither if we eat shall we abound, nor if we refrain from eating shall we be in want;" (4) and, above all, this: "It is good, my brethren, not to eat flesh, nor drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother is offended;" for this passage shows that love is the end to be aimed at in all these things. "For one man," he says, "believes that he can eat all things: another, who is weak, eateth herbs. He that eateth, let him not despise him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not judge him that eateth: for God hath approved him. Who art thou that thou shouldest judge another man's servant? To his own master he stands or fails; but he shall stand: for God is able to make him to stand." And a little after: "He that eateth, to the Lord he eateth, and giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks." And also in what follows: "So every one of us shall give account of himself to God. Let us not, then, any more judge one another: but judge this rather, that ye place no stumbling-block, or cause of offence, in the way of a brother. I know, and am confident in the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing common in itself: but to him that thinketh anything to be common, to him it is common." Could he have shown better that it is not in the things we eat, but in the mind, that there is a power able to pollute it, and therefore that even those who are fit to think lightly of these things, and know perfectly that they are not polluted if they take any food in mental superiority, without being gluttons, should still have regard to charity? See what he adds: "For if thy brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkest thou not charitably." (5)

72. Read the rest: it is too long to quote all. You will find that those able to think lightly of such things,--that is, those of greater strength and stability,--are told that they must nevertheless abstain, lest those should be offended Who from their weakness are still in need of such abstinence. The people I was describing know and observe these things; for they are Christians, not heretics. They understand Scripture according to the apostolic teaching, not according to the presumptuous and fictitious name of apostle. (6) Him that eats not no one despises; him that eats no one judges; he who is weak eats herbs. Many who are strong, however, do this for the sake of the weak; with many the reason for so doing is not this, but that they may have a cheaper diet, and may lead a life of the greatest tranquillity, with the least expensive provision for the support of the body. "For all things are lawful for me," he says; "but I will not be brought under the power of any." (7) Thus many do not eat flesh, and yet do not superstitiously regard it as unclean. And so the same people who abstain when in health take it when unwell without any fear, if it is required as a cure. Many drink no wine; but they do not think that wine defiles them; for they cause it to be given with the greatest propriety and moderation to people of languid temperament, and, in short, to all who cannot have bodily health without it. When some foolishly refuse it, they counsel them as brothers

not to let a silly superstition make them weaker instead of making them holier. They read to them the apostle's precept to his disciple to "take a little wine for his many infirmities." (8) Then they diligently exercise piety; bodily exercise, they know, profiteth for a short time, as the same apostle says. (9)

73. Those, then who are able, and they are without number, abstain both from flesh and from wine for two reasons: either for the weakness of their brethren, or for their own liberty. Charity is principally attended to. There is charity in their choice of diet, charity in their speech, charity in their dress, charity in their looks. Charity is the point where they meet, and the plan by which they act. To transgress against charity is thought criminal, like transgressing against God. Whatever opposes this is attacked and expelled; whatever injures it is not allowed to continue for a single day. They know that it has been so enjoined by Christ and the apostles; that without it all things are empty, with it all are fulfilled.

CHAP. 34. --THE CHURCH IS NOT TO BE BLAMED FOR THE CONDUCT OF BAD CHRISTIANS, WORSHIPPERS OF TOMBS AND PICTURES.

74. Make objections against these, ye Manichaeans, if you can. Look at these people, and speak of them reproachfully, if you dare, without falsehood. Compare their fasts with your fasts, their chastity with yours; compare them to yourselves in dress, food, self-restraint, and, lastly, in charity. Compare, which is most to the point, their precepts with yours. Then you will see the difference between show and sincerity, between the right way and the wrong, between faith and imposture, between strength and inflatedness, between happiness and wretchedness, between unity and disunion; in short, between the sirens of superstition and the harbor of religion.

75. Do not summon against me professors of the Christian name, who neither know nor give evidence of the power of their profession. (1) Do not hunt up the numbers of ignorant people, who even in the true religion are superstitious, or are so given up to evil passions as to forget what they have promised to God. I know that there are many worshippers of tombs and pictures. I know that there are many who drink to great excess over the dead, and who, in the feasts which they make for corpses, bury themselves over the buried, and give to their gluttony and drunkenness the name of religion. I know that there are many who in words have renounced this world, and yet desire to be burdened with all the weight of worldly things, and rejoice in such burdens. Nor is it surprising that among so many multitudes you should find some by condemning whose life you may deceive the unwary and seduce them from Catholic safety; for in your small numbers you are at a loss when called on to show even one out of those whom you call the elect who keeps the precepts, which in your indefensible superstition you profess. How silly those are, how impious, how mischievous, and to what extent they are neglected by most, nearly all of you, I have shown in another volume.

76. My advice to you now is this: that you should at least desist from slandering the

Catholic Church, by declaiming against the conduct of men whom the Church herself condemns, seeking daily to correct them as wicked children. Then, if any of them by good will and by the help of God are corrected, they regain by repentance what they had lost by sin. Those, again, who with wicked will persist in their old vices, or even add to them others still worse, are indeed allowed to remain in the field of the Lord, and to grow along with the good seed; but the time for separating the tares will come. (2) Or if, from their having at least the Christian name, they are to be placed among the chaff rather than among thistles, there will also come One to purge the floor and to separate the chaff from the wheat, and to assign to each part (according to its desert) the due reward.(3)

CHAP. 35.--MARRIAGE AND PROPERTY ALLOWED TO THE BAPTIZED BY THE APOSTLES.

77. Meanwhile, why do you rage? why does party spirit blind your eyes? Why do you entangle yourselves in a long defence of such great error? Seek for fruit in the field, seek for wheat in the floor: they will he found easily, and will present themselves to the inquirer. Why do you look so exclusively at the dross? Why do you use the roughness of the hedge to scare away the inexperienced from the fatness of the garden? There is a proper entrance, though known to but a few; and by it men come in, though you disbelieve it, or do not wish to find it. In the Catholic Church there are believers without number who do not use the world, and there are those who "use it," in the words of the apostle, "as not using it," (4) as was proved in those times when Christians were forced to worship idols. For then, how many wealthy men, how many peasant householders, how many merchants, how many military men, how many leading men in their own cities, and how many senators, people of both sexes, giving up all these empty and transitory things, though while they used them they were not bound down by them, endured death for the salutary faith and religion, and proved to unbelievers that instead of being possessed by all these things they really possessed them?

78. Why do you reproach us by saying that men renewed in baptism ought no longer to beget children, or to possess fields, and houses, and money? Paul allows it. For, as cannot be denied, he wrote to believers, after recounting many kinds of evil-doers who shall not possess the kingdom of God: "And such were you," he says: "but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and by the Spirit of our God." By the washed and sanctified, no one, assuredly, will venture to think any are meant but believers, and those who have renounced this world. But, after showing to whom he writes, let us see whether he allows these things to them. He goes on: "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any. Meat for the belly, and the belly for meats: but God will destroy both it and them. Now the body is not for fornication, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body. But God raised up the Lord, and will raise us up also by His own power. Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ? shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the

members of an harlot? God forbid. Know ye not that he which is joined to an harlot is made one body? for the twain, saith He, shall be one flesh. But he that is joined to the Lord is one spirit. Flee fornication. Whatever sin a man doeth is without the body: but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body. Know ye not that your members are the temple of the Holy Spirit which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own? For ye are bought with a great price: glorify God, and carry Him in your body. (1) "But of the things concerning which ye wrote to me: it is good for a man not to touch a woman. Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband. Let the husband render unto the wife due benevolence: and likewise also the wife unto the husband. The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband: and likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife. Defraud ye not one the other, except it be with consent for a time, that ye may have leisure for prayer; and come together again, that Satan tempt you not for your incontinency. But I speak this by permission, and not of commandment. For I would that all men were even as I myself: but every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that." (2)

79. Has the apostle, think you, both shown sufficiently to the strong what is highest, and permitted to the weaker what is next best? Not to touch a woman he shows is highest when he says, "I would that all men were even as I myself." But next to this highest is conjugal chastity, that man may not be the prey of fornication. Did he say that these people were not yet believers because they Were married? Indeed, by this conjugal chastity he says that those who are united are sanctified by one another, if one of them is an unbeliever, and that their children also are sanctified. "The unbelieving husband," he says, "is sanctified by the believing wife, and the unbelieving woman by the believing husband: otherwise your children would be unclean; but now are they holy." (3) Why do you persist in opposition to such plain truth? Why do you try to darken the light of Scripture by vain shadows?

80. Do not say that catechumens are allowed to have wives, but not believers; that catechumens may have money, but not believers. For there are many who use as not using. And in that sacred washing the renewal of the new man is begun so as gradually to reach perfection, in some more quickly in others more slowly. The progress, however, to a new life is made in the case of many, if we view the matter without hostility, but attentively. As the apostle says of himself, "Though the outward man perish, the inward man is renewed day by day." (4) The apostle says that the inward man is renewed day by day that it may reach perfection; and you wish it to begin with perfection ! And it were well if you did wish it. In reality, you aim not at raising the weak, but at misleading the unwary. You ought not to have spoken so arrogantly, even if it were known that you are perfect in your childish precepts. But when your conscience knows that those whom you bring into your sect, when they come to a more intimate acquaintance with you, will find many things in you which nobody hearing you accuse others would suspect, is it not great impertinence to demand perfection in the weaker Catholics, to turn away the inexperienced from the Catholic Church, while you show nothing of the kind in yourself to those thus turned away? But not to seem to inveigh against you without reason, I will now close this volume, and will proceed at last to set forth the precepts of your life and your notable customs.The Gnostic Society Library
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ST. AUGUSTIN: ON THE MORALS OF THE MANICHAEANS

ST.AUGUSTIN ON THE MORALS OF THE MANICHAEANS.
[DE MORIBUS MANICHAEORUM.] A. D. 388.

CONTAINING A PARTICULAR REFUTATION OF THE DOCTRINE OF THESE HERETICS REGARDING THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF EVIL; AN EXPOSURE OF THEIR PRETENDED SYMBOLICAL CUSTOMS OF THE MOUTH, OF THE HANDS, AND OF THE BREAST; AND A CONDEMNATION OF THEIR SUPERSTITIOUS ABSTINENCE AND UNHOLY MYSTERIES. LASTLY, SOME CRIMES BROUGHT TO LIGHT AMONG THE MANICHAEANS ARE MENTIONED.

CHAP. 1.--THE SUPREME GOOD IS THAT WHICH IS POSSESSED OF SUPREME EXISTENCE.

1. EVERY one, I suppose, will allow that the question of things good and evil belongs to moral science, in which such terms are in common use. It is therefore to be wished that men would bring to these inquiries such a clear intellectual perfection as might enable them to see the chief good, than which nothing is better or higher, next in order to which comes a rational soul in a state of purity and perfection.(1) If this were clearly understood, it would also become evident that the chief good is that which is properly described as having supreme and original existence. For that exists in the highest sense of the word which continues always the same, which is throughout like itself, which cannot in any part be corrupted or changed, which is not subject to time, which admits of no variation in its present as compared with its former condition. This is existence in its true sense. For in this signification of the word existence there is implied a nature which is self- contained, and which continues immutably. Such things can be said only of God, to whom there is nothing contrary in the strict sense of the word. For the contrary of existence is non-existence. There is therefore no nature contrary to God. But since the minds with which we approach the study of these subjects have their vision damaged and dulled by silly notions, and by perversity of will, let us try as we can to gain some little knowledge of this great matter by degrees and with caution, making our inquiries not like men able to see, but like men groping the dark.

CHAP. 2.--WHAT EVIL IS. THAT EVIL IS THAT WHICH IS AGAINST NATURE. IN ALLOWING THIS, THE MANICHAEANS REFUTE THEMSELVES,

2. You Manichaeans often, if not in every case, ask those whom you try to bring over to your heresy, Whence is evil? Suppose I had now met you for the first time, I would ask you, if you please, to follow my example in putting aside for a little the explanation you suppose yourselves to have got of these subjects, and to commence this great inquiry with me as if for the first time. You ask me, Whence is evil? I ask you in return, What is evil? Which is the more reasonable question? Are those right who ask whence a thing

is, when they do not know what it is; or he who thinks it necessary to inquire first what it is, in order to avoid the gross absurdity of searching for the origin of a thing unknown? Your answer is quite correct, when you say that evil is that which is contrary to nature; for no one is so mentally blind as not to see that, in every kind, evil is that which is contrary to the nature of the kind. But the establishment of this doctrine is the overthrow of your heresy. For evil is no nature, if it is contrary to nature. Now, according to you, evil is a certain nature and substance. Moreover, whatever is contrary to nature must oppose nature and seek its destruction. For nature means nothing else than that which anything is conceived of as being in its own kind. Hence is the new word which we now use derived from the word for being,--essence namely, or, as we usually say, substance,--while before these words were in use, the word nature was used instead. Here, then, if you will consider the matter without stubbornness, we see that evil is that which falls away from essence and tends to non-existence.

3. Accordingly, when the Catholic Church declares that God is the author of all natures and substances, those who understand this understand at the same time that God is not the author of evil. For how can He who is the cause of the being of all things be at the same time the cause of their not being,--that is, of their falling off from essence and tending to non-existence? For this is what reason plainly declares to be the definition of evil. Now, how can that race of evil of yours, which you make the supreme evil, be against nature, that is, against substance, when it, according to you, is itself a nature and substance? For if it acts against itself, it destroys its own existence; and when that is completely done, it will come at last to be the supreme evil. But this cannot be done, because you will have it not only to be, but to be everlasting. That cannot then be the chief evil which is spoken of as a substance.(1)

4. But what am I to do? I know that many of you can understand nothing of all this. I know, too, that there are some who have a good understanding and can see these things, and yet are so stubborn in their choice of evil,--a choice that will ruin their understanding as well,--that they try rather to find what reply they can make in order to impose upon inactive and feeble minds, instead of giving their assent to the truth. Still I shall not regret having written either what one of you may come some day to consider impartially, and be led to abandon your error, or what men of understanding and in allegiance to God, and who are still untainted with your errors, may read and so be kept from being led astray by your addresses.

CHAP. 3.--IF EVIL IS DEFINED AS THAT WHICH IS HURTFUL, THIS IMPLIES ANOTHER REFUTATION OF THE MANICHAEANS.

5. Let us then inquire more carefully, and, if possible, more plainly. I ask you again, What is evil? If you say it is that which is hurtful, here, too, you will not answer amiss. But consider, I pray you; be on your guard, I beg of you; be so good as to lay aside party spirit, and make the inquiry for the sake of finding the truth, not of getting the better of it. Whatever is hurtful takes away some good from that to which it is hurtful; for without the loss of good there can be no hurt. What, I appeal to you, can be plainer than this? what more intelligible? What else is required for complete demonstration to one of

average understanding, if he is not per verse? But, if this is granted, the consequence seems plain. In that race which you take for the chief evil, nothing can be liable to be hurt, since there is no good in it. But if, as you assert, there are two natures,--the kingdom of light and the kingdom of darkness; since you make the kingdom of light to be God, attributing to it an uncompounded nature,(2) so that it has no part inferior to another, you must grant, however decidedly in opposition to yourselves, you must grant, nevertheless, that this nature, which you not only do not deny to be the chief good, but spend all your strength in trying to show that it is so, is immutable, incorruptible, impenetrable, inviolable, for otherwise it would not be the chief good; for the chief good is that than which there is nothing better, and for such a nature to be hurt is impossible. Again, if, as has been shown, to hurt is to deprive of good, there can be no hurt to the kingdom of darkness, for there is no good in it. And as the kingdom of light cannot be hurt, as it is inviolable, what can the evil you speak of be hurtful to?

CHAP. 4.--THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WHAT IS GOOD IN ITSELF AND WHAT IS GOOD BY PARTICIPATION.

6. Now, compare with this perplexity, from which you cannot escape, the consistency of the statements in the teaching of the Catholic Church, according to which there is one good which is good supremely and in itself, and not by the participation of any good, but by its own nature and essence; and another good which is good by participation, and by having something bestowed. Thus it has its being as good from the supreme good, which, however, is still self-contained, and loses nothing. This second kind of good is called a creature, which is liable to hurt through falling away. But of this failing away God is not the author, for He is author of existence and of being. Here we see the proper use of the word evil; for it is correctly applied not to essence, but to negation or loss. We see, too, what nature it is which is liable to hurt. This nature is not the chief evil, for when it is hurt it loses good; nor is it the chief good, for its falling away from good is because it is good not intrinsically, but by possessing the good. And a thing cannot be good by nature when it is spoken of as being made, which shows that the goodness was bestowed. Thus, on the one hand, God is the good, and all things which He has made are good, though not so good as He who made them. For what madman would venture to require that the works should equal the workman, the creatures the Creator? What more do you want? Could you wish for anything plainer than this?

CHAP. 5.--IF EVIL IS DEFINED TO BE CORRUPTION, THIS COMPLETELY REFUTES THE MANICHAEAN HERESY.

7. I ask a third time, What is evil? Perhaps you will reply, Corruption. Undeniably this is a general definition of evil; for corruption implies opposition to nature, and also hurt. But corruption exists not by itself, but in some substance which it corrupts; for corruption itself is not a substance. So the thing which it corrupts is not corruption, is not evil; for what is corrupted suffers the loss of integrity and purity. So that which has no purity to lose cannot be corrupted; and what has, is necessarily good by the participation of

purity. Again, what is corrupted is perverted; and what is perverted suffers the loss of order, and order is good. To be corrupted, then, does not imply the absence of good; for in corruption it can be deprived of good, which could not be if there was the absence of good. Therefore that race of darkness, if it was destitute of all good, as you say it was, could not be corrupted, for it had nothing which corruption could take from it; and if corruption takes nothing away, it does not corrupt. Say now, if you dare, that God and the kingdom of God can be corrupted, when you cannot show how the kingdom of the devil, such as you make it, can be corrupted.

CHAP. 6.--WHAT CORRUPTION AFFECTS AND WHAT IT IS.

8. What further does the Catholic light say? What do you suppose, but what is the actual truth, that it is the created substance which can be corrupted, for the uncreated, which is the chief good, is incorruptible; and corruption, which is the chief evil, cannot be corrupted; besides, that it is not a substance? But if you ask what corruption is, consider to what it seeks to bring the things which it corrupts; for it affects those things according to its own nature. Now all things by corruption fall away from what they were, and are brought to non-continuance, to non-existence; for existence implies continuance. Thus the supreme and chief existence is so called because it continues in itself, or is self-contained. In the case of a thing changing for the better, the change is not from continuance, but from perversion to the worse, that is, from falling away from essence; the author of which falling away is not He who is the author of the essence. So in some things there is change for the better, and so a tendency towards existence. And this change is not called a perversion, but reversion or conversion; for perversion is opposed to orderly arrangement. Now things which tend towards existence tend towards order, and, attaining order they attain existence, as far as that is possible to a creature. For order reduces to a certain uniformity that which it arranges; and existence is nothing else than being one. Thus, so far as anything acquires unity, so far it exists. For uniformity and harmony are the effects of unity, and by these compound things exist as far as they have existence. For simple things exist by themselves, for they are one. But things not simple imitate unity by the agreement of their parts; and so far as they attain this, so far they exist, This arrangement is the cause of existence, disorder of non-existence; and perversion or corruption are the other names for disorder. So whatever is corrupted tends to non-existence. You may now be left to reflect upon the effect of corruption, that you may discover what is the chief evil; for it is that which corruption aims at accomplishing.

CHAP. 7.--THE GOODNESS OF GOD PREVENTS CORRUPTION FROM BRINGING ANYTHING TO NON-EXISTENCE. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CREATING AND FORMING.

9. But the goodness of God does not permit the accomplishment of this end, but so orders all things that fall away that they may exist where their existence is most suitable, till in the order of their movements they return to that from which they fell away. (1)

Thus, when rational souls fall away from God, although they possess the greatest amount of free- will, He ranks them in the lower grades of creation. where their proper place is. So they suffer misery by the divine judgment, while they are ranked suitably to their deserts. Hence we see the excellence of that saying which you are always inveighing against so strongly, "I make good things, and create evil things." (1) To create is to form and arrange. So in some copies it is written, "I make good things and form evil things." To make is used of things previously not in existence; but to form is to arrange what had some kind of existence, so as to improve and enlarge it. Such are the things which God arranges when He says, "I form evil things," meaning things which are falling off, and so tending to non-existence,--not things which have reached that to which they tend. For it has been said, Nothing is allowed in the providence of God to go the length of non-existence.(2)

10. These things might be discussed more fully and at greater length, but enough has been said for our purpose in dealing with you. We have only to show you the gate which you despair of finding, and make the uninstructed despair of it too. You can be made to enter only by good-will, on which the divine mercy bestows peace, as the song in the Gospel says, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good-will." (3) It is enough, I say, to have shown you that there is no way of solving the religious question of good and evil, unless whatever is, as far as it is, is from God; while as far as it falls away from being it is not of God, and yet is always ordered by Divine Providence in agreement with the whole system. If you do not yet see this, I know nothing else that I can do but to discuss the things already said with greater particularity. For nothing save piety and purity can lead the mind to greater things.

CHAP. 8.--EVIL IS NOT A SUBSTANCE, BUT A DISAGREEMENT HOSTILE TO SUBSTANCE.

11. For what other answer will you give to the question, What is evil? but either that it is against nature, or that it is hurtful, or that it is corruption, or something similar? But I have shown that in these replies you make shipwreck of your cause, unless, indeed, you will answer in the childish way in which you generally speak to children, that evil is fire, poison, a wild beast, and so on. For one of the leaders of this heresy, whose instructions we attended with great familiarity land frequency, used to say with reference to a person who held that evil was not a sub stance, "I should like to put a scorpion in the man's hand, and see whether he would not withdraw his hand; and in so doing he would get a proof, not in words but in the thing itself, that evil is a substance, for he would not deny that the animal is a substance." He said this not in the presence of the person, but to us, when we repeated to him the remark which had troubled us, giving, as I said, a childish answer to children. For who with the least tincture of learning or science does not see that these things hurt by disagreement with the bodily temperament, while at other times they agree with it, so as not only not to hurt, but to produce the best effects? For if this poison were evil in itself, the scorpion itself would suffer first and most. In fact, if the poison were quite taken from the animal, it would die. So for its body it is evil to lose what it is evil for our body to receive; and it is good for it to have what it is good for us to want. Is the same thing then both good and evil? By no

means; but evil is what is against nature, for this is evil both to the animal and to us. This evil is the disagreement, which certainly is not a substance, but hostile to substance. Whence then is it? See what it leads to, and you will learn, if any inner light lives in you. It leads all that it destroys to non-existence. Now God is the author of existence; and there is no existence which, as far as it is existing, leads to non-existence: Thus we learn whence disagreement is not; as to whence it is, nothing can be said.

12. We read in history of a female criminal in Athens, who succeeded in drinking the quantity of poison allotted as a fatal draught for the condemned with little or no injury to her health, by taking it at intervals. So being condemned, she took the poison in the prescribed quantity like the rest, but rendered it powerless by accustoming herself to it, and did not die like the rest. And as this excited great wonder, she was banished. If poison is an evil, are we to think that she made it to be no evil to her? What could be more absurd than this? But because disagreement is an evil, what she did was to make the poisonous matter agree with her own body by a process of habituation. For how could she by any amount of cunning have brought it about that disagreement should not hurt her? Why so? Because what is truly and properly an evil is hurtful both always and to all. Oil is beneficial to our bodies, but very much the opposite to many six- footed animals. And is not hellebore sometimes food, sometimes medicine, and sometimes poison. Does not every one maintain that salt taken in excess is poisonous? And yet the benefits to the body from salt are innumerable and most important. Sea-water is injurious when drunk by land animals, but it is most suitable and useful to many who bathe their bodies in it and to fish it is useful and wholesome in both ways. Bread nourishes man, but kills hawks. And does not mud itself, which is offensive and noxious when swallowed or smelt, serve as cooling to the touch in hot weather, and as a cure for wounds from fire? What can be nastier than dung, or more worthless than ashes? And yet they are of such use to the fields, that the Romans thought divine honors due to the discoverer, Stercutio, from whose name the word for dung [stercus] is derived.

13. But why enumerate details which are countless? We need not go farther than the four elements themselves, which, as every one knows, are beneficial when there is agreement, and bitterly opposed to nature when there is disagreement in the objects acted upon. We who live in air die under earth or under water, while innumerable animals creep alive in sand or loose earth, and fish die in our air. Fire consumes our bodies, but, when suitably applied, it both restores from cold, and expels diseases without number. The sun to which you bow the knee, and than which, indeed, there is no fairer object among visible things, strengthens the eyes of eagles, but hurts and dims our eyes when we gaze on it; and yet we too can accustom ourselves to look upon it without injury. Will you, then, allow the sun to be compared to the poison which the Athenian woman made harmless by habituating herself to it? Reflect for once, and consider that if a substance is an evil because it hurts some one, the light which you worship cannot be acquitted of this charge. See the preferableness of making evil in general to consist in this disagreement, from which the sun's ray produces dimness in the eyes, though nothing is pleasanter to the eyes than light. (1)

CHAP. 9.--THE MANICHAEAN FICTIONS ABOUT THINGS GOOD AND EVIL ARE

NOT CONSISTENT WITH THEMSELVES.

14. I have said these things to make you cease, if that is possible, giving the name of evil to a region boundless in depth and length; to a mind wandering through the region; to the five caverns of the elements,--one full of darkness, another of waters, another of winds, another of fire, another of smoke; to the animals born in each of these elements,--serpents in the darkness, swimming creatures in the waters, flying creatures in the winds, quadrupeds in the fire, bipeds in the smoke. For these things, as you describe them, cannot be called evil; for all such things, as far as they exist, must have their existence from the most high God, for as far as they exist they are good. If pain and weakness is an evil, the animals you speak of were of such physical strength that their abortive offspring, after, as your sect believes, the world was formed of them, fell from heaven to earth, according to you, and could not die. If blindness is an evil, they could see; if deafness, they could hear. If to be nearly or altogether dumb is an evil, their speech was so clear and intelligible, that, as you assert, they decided to make war against God in compliance with an address delivered in their assembly. If sterility is an evil, they were prolific in children. If exile is an evil, they were in their own country, and occupied their own territories. If servitude is an evil, some of them were rulers. If death is an evil, they were alive, and the life was such that, by your statement, even after God was victorious, it was impossible for the mind ever to die.

15. Can you tell me how it is that in the chief evil so many good things are to be found, the opposites of the evils above mentioned? and if these are not evils, can any substance be an evil, as far as it is a substance? If weakness is not an evil, can a weak body be an evil? If blindness is not an evil, can darkness be an evil? If deafness is not an evil, can a deaf man be an evil? If dumbness is not an evil, can a fish be an evil? If sterility is not an evil, how can we call a barren animal an evil? If exile is not an evil, how can we give that name to an animal in exile, or to an animal sending some one into exile? If servitude is not an evil, in what sense is a subject animal an evil, or one enforcing subjection? If death is not an evil, in what sense is a mortal animal an evil, or one causing death? Or if these are evils, must we not give the name of good things to bodily strength, sight, hearing, persuasive speech, fertility, native land, liberty, life, all which you hold to exist in that kingdom of evil, and yet venture to call it the perfection of evil?

16. Once more, if, as has never been denied, unsuitableness is an evil, what can be more suitable than those elements to their respective animals,--the darkness to serpents, the waters to swimming creatures, the winds to flying creatures, the fire to voracious animals, the smoke to soaring animals? Such is the harmony which you describe as existing in the race of strife; such the order in the seat of confusion. If what is hurtful is an evil, I do not repeat the strong objection already stated, that no hurt can be suffered where no good exists; but if that is not so clear, one thing at least is easily seen and understood as following from the acknowledged truth, that what is hurtful is an evil. The smoke in that region did not hurt bipeds: it produced them, and nourished and sustained them without injury in their birth, their growth, and their rule. But now, when the evil has some good mixed with it, the smoke has become more hurtful, so that we, who certainly are bipeds, instead of being sustained by it, are blinded, and suffocated,

and killed by it. Could the mixture of good have given such destructiveness to evil elements? Could there be such confusion in the divine government?

17. In the other cases, at least, how is it that we find that congruity which misled your author and induced him to fabricate falsehoods? Why does darkness agree with serpents, and waters with swimming creatures, and winds with flying creatures, though the fire burns up quadrupeds, and smoke chokes us? Then, again, have not serpents very sharp sight, and do they not love the sunshine, and abound most where the calmness of the air prevents the clouds from gathering much or often? How very absurd that the natives and lovers of darkness should live most comfortably and agreeably where the clearest light is enjoyed! Or if you say that it is the heat rather than the light that they enjoy, it would be more reasonable to assign to fire serpents, which are naturally of rapid motion, than the slow-going asp. (1) Besides, all must admit that light is agreeable to the eyes of the asp, for they are compared to an eagle's eyes. But enough of the lower animals. Let us, I pray, attend to what is true of ourselves without persisting in error, and so our minds shall be disentangled from silly and mischievous falsehoods. For is it not intolerable perversity to say that in the race of darkness, where there was no mixture of light, the biped animals had so sound and strong, so incredible force of eyesight, that even in their darkness they could see the perfectly pure light (as you represent it) of the kingdom of God? for, according to you, even these beings could see this light, and could gaze at it, and study it, and delight in it, and desire it; whereas our eyes, after mixture with light, with the chief good, yea, with God, have become so tender and weak, that we can neither see anything in the dark, nor bear to look at the sun, but, after looking, lose sight of what we could see before.

18. The same remarks are applicable if we take corruption to be an evil, which no one doubts. The smoke did not corrupt that race of animals, though it corrupts animals now. Not to go over all the particulars, which would be tedious, and is not necessary, the living creatures of your imaginary description were so much less liable to corruption than animals are now, that their abortive and premature offspring, cast headlong from heaven to earth, both lived and were productive, and could band together again, having, forsooth, their original vigor, because they were conceived before good was mixed with the evil; for, after this mixture, the animals born are, according to you, those which we now see to be very feeble and easily giving way to corruption. Can any one persist in the belief of error like this, unless he fails to see these things, or is affected by your habit and association in such an amazing way as to be proof against all the force of reasoning?

CHAP. 10.--THREE MORAL SYMBOLS DEVISED BY THE MANICHAEANS FOR NO GOOD.

19. Now that I have shown, as I think, how much darkness and error is in your opinions about good and evil things in general, let us examine now those three symbols which you extol so highly, and boast of as excellent observances. What then are those three symbols? That of the mouth, that of the hands, and that of the breast. What does this mean? That man, we are told, should be pure and innocent in mouth, in hands, and in

breast. But what if he sins with eyes, ears, or nose? What if he hurts some one with his heels, or perhaps kills him? How can he be reckoned criminal when he has not sinned with mouth, hands, or breast? But, it is replied, by the mouth we are to understand all the organs of sense in the head; by the hands, all bodily actions; by the breast, all lustful tendencies. To what, then, do you assign blasphemies ? To the mouth or to the hand? For blasphemy is an action of the tongue. And if all actions are to be classed under one head, why should you join together the actions of the hands and the feet, and not those of the tongue. Do you wish to separate the action of the tongue, as being for the purpose of expressing something, from actions which are not for this purpose, so that the symbol of the hands should mean abstinence from all evil actions which are not for the purpose of expressing something? But then, what if some one sins by expressing something with his hands, as is done in writing or in some significant gesture? This cannot be assigned to the tongue and the mouth, for it is done by the hands. When you have three symbols of the mouth, the hands, and the breast, it is quite inadmissible to charge against the mouth sins found in the hands. And if you assign action in general to the hands, there is no reason for including under this the action of the feet and not that of the tongue. Do you see how the desire of novelty, with its attendant error, lands you in great difficulties? For you find it impossible to include purification of all sins in these three symbols, which you set forth as a kind of new classification.

CHAP. 11.--THE VALUE OF THE SYMBOL OF THE MOUTH AMONG THE MANICHAEANS, WHO ARE FOUND GUILTY OF BLASPHEMING GOD.

20. Classify as you please, omit what you please, we must discuss the doctrines you insist upon most. You say that the symbol of the mouth implies refraining from all blasphemy. But blasphemy is speaking evil of good things. So usually the word blasphemy is applied only to speaking evil of God; for as regards man there is uncertainty, but God is without controversy good. If, then, you are proved guilty of saying worse things of God than any one else says, what becomes of your famous symbol of the mouth? The evidence is not obscure, but clear and obvious to every understanding, and irresistible, the more so that no one can remain in ignorance of it, that God is incorruptible, immutable, liable to no injury, to no want, to no weakness, to no misery. All this the common sense of rational beings perceives, and even you assent when you hear it.

21. But when you begin to relate your fables, that God is corruptible, and mutable, and subject to injury, and exposed to want and weakness, and not secure from misery, this is what you are blind enough to teach, and what some are blind enough to believe. And this is not all; for, according to you, God is not only corruptible, but corrupted; not only changeable, but changed; not only subject to injury, but injured; not only liable to want, but in want; not only possibly, but actually weak; not only exposed to misery, but miserable. You say that the soul is God, or a part of God. I do not see how it can be part of God without being God. A part of gold is gold; of silver; of stone; and, to come to greater things, part of earth is earth, part of water is water, and of air; and if you take part from fire, you will not deny it to be fire; and part of light can be nothing but light. Why then should part of God not be God? Has God a jointed body, like man and the

lower animals? For part of man is not man.

22. I will deal with each of these opinions separately. If you view God as resembling light, you must admit that part of God is God. Hence, when you make the soul part of God, though you allow it to be corrupted as being foolish, and changed as having once been wise, and in want as needing health, and feeble as needing medicine, and miserable as desiring happiness, all these things you profanely attribute to God. Or if you deny these things of the mind, it follows that the Spirit is not required to lead the soul into truth, since it is not in folly; nor is the soul renewed by true religion, since it does not need renewal; nor is it perfected by your symbols, since it is already perfect; nor does God give it assistance, since it does not need it; nor is Christ its physician, since it is in health; nor does it require the promise of happiness in another life. Way then is Jesus called the deliverer, according to His own words in the Gospel, "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed?" (1) And the Apostle Paul says, "Ye have been called to liberty." (2) The soul, then, which has not attained this liberty is in bondage. Therefore, according to you, God, since part of God is God, is both corrupted by folly, and is changed by falling, and is injured by the loss of perfection, and is in need of help, and is weakened by disease, and bowed down with misery, and subject to disgraceful bondage.

23. Again, if part of God is not God, still He is not incorrupt when His part is corrupted, nor unchanged when there is change in any part, nor uninjured when He is not perfect in every part, nor free from want when He is busily endeavoring to recover part of Himself, nor quite whole when He has a weak part, nor perfectly happy when any part is suffering misery, nor entirely free when any part is under bondage. These are conclusions to which you are driven, because you say that the soul, which you see to be in such a calamitous condition, is part of God. If you can succeed in making your sect abandon these and many similar opinions, then you may speak of your mouth being free from blasphemies. Better still, leave the sect; for if you cease to believe and to repeat what Manichaeus has written, you will be no longer Manichaeans.

24. That God is the supreme good, and that than which nothing can be or can be conceived better, we must either understand or believe, if we wish to keep clear of blasphemy. There is a relation of numbers which cannot possibly be impaired or altered, nor can any nature by any amount of violence prevent the number which comes after one from being the double of one. This can in no way be changed; and yet you represent God as changeable! This relation preserves its integrity inviolable; and you will not allow God an equality even in this! Let some race of darkness take in the abstract the number three, consisting of indivisible units, and divide it into two equal parts, Your mind perceives that no hostility could effect this. And can that which is unable to injure a numerical relation injure God? If it could not, what possible necessity could there be for a part of him to be mixed with evil, and driven into such miseries?

CHAP. 12.--MANICHAEAN SUBTERFUGE.

25. For this gives rise to the question, which used to throw us into great perplexity even

when we were your zealous disciples, nor could we find any answer,--what the race of darkness would have done to God, supposing He had refused to fight with it at the cost of such calamity to part of Himself. For if God would not have suffered any loss by remaining quiet, we thought it hard that we had been sent to endure so much. Again, if He would have suffered, His nature cannot have been incorruptible, as it behoves the nature: of God to be. Sometimes the answer was, that it was not for the sake of escaping evil or avoiding injury, but that God in His natural goodness wished to bestow the blessing of order on a disturbed and disordered nature. This is not what we find in the Manichaean books: there it is constantly implied and constantly asserted that God guarded against an invasion of His enemies. But supposing this answer, which was given from want of a better, to represent the opinion of the Manichaeans, is God, in their view, vindicated from the charge of cruelty or weakness? For this goodness of His to the hostile race proved most pernicious to His own subjects. Besides, if God's nature could not be corrupted nor changed, neither could any destructive influence corrupt or change us; and the order to be bestowed on the race of strangers might have been bestowed without robbing us of it.

26. Since those times, however, another answer has appeared which I heard recently at Carthage. For one, whom I wish much to see brought out of this error, when reduced to this same dilemma, ventured to say that the kingdom had its own limits, which might be invaded by a hostile race, though God Himself could not be injured. But this is a reply which your founder would never consent to give; for he would be likely to see that such an opinion would lead to a still speedier demolition of his heresy. And in fact any one of average intellect, who hears that in this nature part is subject to injury and part not, will at once perceive that this makes not two but three natures,--one violable, a second inviolable, and a third violating.

CHAP. 13.--ACTIONS TO BE JUDGED OF FROM THEIR MOTIVE, NOT FROM EXTERNALS. MANICHAEAN ABSTINENCE TO BE TRIED BY THIS PRINCIPLE.

27. Having every day in your mouth these blasphemies which come from your heart, you ought not to continue holding up the symbol of the mouth as something wonderful, to ensnare the ignorant. But perhaps you think the symbol of the mouth excellent and admirable because you do not eat flesh or drink wine. But what is your end in this? For according as the end we have in view in our actions, on account of which we do whatever we do, is not only not culpable but also praiseworthy, so only can our actions merit any praise. If the end we have regard to in any performance is unlawful and blameworthy, the performance itself will be unhesitatingly condemned as improper.

28. We are told of Catiline that he could bear cold, thirst, and hunger. (1) This the vile miscreant had in common with our apostles. What then distinguishes the parricide from our apostles but the precisely opposite end which he followed? He bore these things in order to gratify his fierce and ungoverned passions; they, on the other hand, in order to restrain these passions and subdue them to reason. You often say, when you are told of the great number of Catholic virgins, a she-mule is a virgin. This, indeed, is said in

ignorance of the Catholic system, and is not applicable. Still, what you mean is that this continence is worthless unless it leads, on right principles, to an end of high excellence. Catholic Christians might also compare your abstinence from wine and flesh to that of cattle and many small birds, as likewise of countless sorts of worms. But, not to be impertinent like you, I will not make this comparison prematurely, but will first examine your end in what you do. For I suppose I may safely take it as agreed on, that in such customs the end is the thing to look to. Therefore, if your end is to be frugal and to restrain the appetite which finds gratification in eating and drinking, I assent and approve. But this is not the case.

29. Suppose, what is quite possible, that there is one so frugal and sparing in his diet, that, instead of gratifying his appetite or his palate, he refrains from eating twice in one day, and at supper takes a little cabbage moistened and seasoned with lard, just enough to keep down hunger; and quenches his thirst, from regard to his health, with two or three draughts of pure wine; and this is his regular diet: whereas another of different habits never takes flesh or wine, but makes an agreeable repast at two o'clock on rare and foreign vegetables, varied with a number of courses, and well sprinkled with pepper, and sups in the slime style towards night; and drinks honey- vinegar, mead, raisin-wine, and the juices of various fruits, no bad imitation of wine, and even surpassing it in sweetness; and drinks not for thirst but for pleasure; and makes this provision for himself daily, and feasts in this sumptuous style, not because he requires it, but only gratifying his taste;--which of these two do you regard as living most abstemiously in food and drink? You cannot surely be so blind as not to put the man of the little lard and wine above this glutton!

30. This is the true view; but your doctrine sounds very differently. For one of your elect distinguished by the three symbols may live like the second person in this description, and though he may be reproved by one or two of the more sedate, he cannot be condemned as abusing the symbols. But should he sup with the other person, and moisten his lips with a morsel of rancid bacon, or refresh them with a drink of spoilt wine, he is pronounced a transgressor of the symbol, and by the judgment of your founder is consigned to hell, while you, though wondering, must assent. Will you not discard these errors? Will you not listen to reason? Will you not offer some little resistance to the force of habit? Is not such doctrine most unreasonable? Is it not insanity? Is it not the greatest absurdity that one, who stuffs and loads his stomach every day to gratify his appetite with mushrooms, rice, truffles, cake, mead, pepper, and assafoetida, and who fares thus every day, cannot be convicted of transgressing the three symbols, that is, the rule of sanctity; whereas another, who seasons his dish of the commonest herbs with some smoky morsel of meat, and takes only so much of this as is needed for the refreshment of his body, and drinks three cups of wine for the sake of keeping in health, should, for exchanging the former diet for this, be doomed to certain punishment?

CHAP. 14.--THREE GOOD REASONS FOR ABSTAINING FROM CERTAIN KINDS OF FOOD.

31. But, you reply, the apostle says, "It is good, brethren, neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine."(1) No one denies that this is good, provided that it is for the end already mentioned, of which it is said," Make not provision for the flesh to fulfill the lusts thereof;" (2) or for the ends pointed out by the apostle, namely, either to check the appetite, which is apt to go to a more wild and uncontrollable excess in these things than in others, or lest a brother should be offended, or lest the weak should hold fellowship with an idol. For at the time when the apostle wrote, the flesh of sacrifices was often sold in the market. And because wine, too, was used in libations to the gods of the Gentiles, many weaker brethren, accustomed to purchase such things, preferred to abstain entirely from flesh and wine rather than run the risk of having fellowship, as they considered it, with idols, even ignorantly. And, for their sakes, even those who were stronger, and had faith enough to see the insignificance of these things, knowing that nothing is unclean except from an evil conscience, and holding by the saying of the Lord, "Not that which entereth into your mouth defileth you, but that which cometh out of it," (3) still, lest these weaker brethren should stumble, were bound to abstain from these things. And this is not a mere theory, but is clearly taught in the epistles of the apostle himself. For you are in the habit of quoting only the words, "It is good, brethren, neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine," without adding what follows, "nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended or is made weak." These words show the intention of the apostle in giving the admonition.

32. This is evident from the preceding and succeeding context. The passage is a long one to quote, but, for the sake of those who are indolent in reading and searching the sacred Scriptures, we must give the whole of it. "Him that is weak in the faith," says the apostle, "receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations. For one believeth that he may eat all things: another, who is weak, eateth herbs. Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not judge him that eateth, for God hath received him. Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth; yea, he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand. One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it to the Lord. He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks. For none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live, therefore, or die, we are the Lord's. For to this end Christ both lived, and died and rose again, that He might be Lord both of the dead and living. But why dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at nought thy brother? for we shall all stand before the judgment- seat of God. For it is written, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God.(1) So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God. Let us not, therefore, judge one another any more: but judge this rather, that no man put a stumbling- block, or occasion to fall, in his brother's way. I know, and am persuaded in the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing common of itself: but to him that esteemeth anything to be common, to him it is common. But if thy brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkest thou not charitably. Destroy not him with thy meat, for whom Christ died. Let not then our good be evil spoken of. For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. For he who in this serveth Christ is acceptable to God, and approved of men. Let us therefore follow after the

things which make for peace, and things whereby one may edify another. For meat destroys not the work of God. All things indeed are pure; but it is evil for that man who eateth with offense. It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak. Hast thou faith? have it to thyself before God. Happy is he who condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth. And he that distinguishes is damned if he eats, because he eateth not of faith: for whatsoever is not of faith is sin. We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves. Let every one of us please his neighbor for his good to edification. For even Christ pleased not Himself." (2)

33. Is it not clear that what the apostle required was, that the stronger should not eat flesh nor drink wine, because they gave offense to the weak by not going along with them, and made them think that those who in faith judged all things to be pure, did homage to idols in not abstaining from that kind of food and drink? This is also set forth in the following passage of the Epistle to the Corinthians: "As concerning, therefore, the eating of those things that are offered in sacrifice unto idols, we know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one. For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in Him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by Him. Howbeit there is not in every man that knowledge: for some, with conscience of the idol unto this hour, eat it as a thing offered to an idol; and their conscience being weak is defiled. But meat commendeth us not to God: for neither, if we eat, shall we abound; neither, if we eat not, shall we suffer want. But take heed, lest by any means this liberty of yours become a stumbling-block to them that are weak. For if any man see one who has knowledge sit at meat in the idol's temple, shall not his conscience being weak be emboldened to eat those things which are offered to idols; and through thy knowledge shall the weak brother perish, for whom Christ died? But when ye sin so against the brethren, and wound their weak conscience, ye sin against Christ. Wherefore, if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh forever, lest I make my brother to offend." (3)

34. Again, in another place: "What say I then ? that the idol is anything? or that which is offered in sacrifice to idols is anything? But the things which the Gentiles sacrifice they sacrifice to devils, and not to God: and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils: ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of devils. Do we provoke the Lord to jealousy ? are we stronger than He? All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me, but all things edify not. Let no man seek his own, but every man what is another's. Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no question for conscience sake. But if any man say unto you, This is offered in sacrifice unto idols, eat not for his sake that shows it, and for conscience sake: conscience, I say, not thine own, but another's: for why is my liberty judged of another man's conscience? For if I be a partaker with thanksgiving, why am I evil spoken of for that for which I give thanks? Whether, therefore, ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God. Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Greeks, nor to the Church of God: even as I please all men in all things not seeking mine own profit, but the profit of many that they may be saved. Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ." (1)

35. It is clear, then, I think, for what end we should abstain from flesh and wine. The end is threefold: to check indulgence, which is mostly practised in this sort of food, and in this kind of drink goes the length of intoxication; to protect weakness, on account of the things which are sacrificed and offered in libation; and, what is most praiseworthy of all, from love, not to offend the weakness of those more feeble than ourselves, who abstain from these things. You, again, consider a morsel of meat unclean; whereas the apostle says that all things are clean, but that it is evil to him that eateth with offence. And no doubt you are defiled by such food, simply because you think it unclean. For the apostle says, "I know, and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing common of itself: but to him that esteemeth anything common, to him it is common." And every one can see that by common he means unclean and defiled. But it is folly to discuss passages of Scripture with you; for you both mislead people by promising to prove your doctrines, and those books which possess authority to demand our homage you affirm to be corrupted by spurious interpolations. Prove then to me your doctrine that flesh defiles the eater, when it is taken without offending any one, without any weak notions. and without any excess.(2)

CHAP. 15.--WHY THE MANICHAEANS PROHIBIT THE USE OF FLESH.

36. It is worth while to take note of the whole reason for their superstitious abstinence, which is given as follows:--Since, we are told, the member of God has been mixed with the substance of evil, to repress it and to keep it from excessive ferocity,--for that is what you say,--the world is made up of both natures, of good and evil, mixed together. But this part of God is daily being set free in all parts of the world, and restored to its own domain. But in its passage upwards as vapor from earth to heaven, it enters plants, because their roots are fixed in the earth, and so gives fertility and strength to all herbs and shrubs. From these animals get their food, and, where there is sexual intercourse, fetter in the flesh the member of God, and, turning it from its proper course, they come in the way and entangle it in errors and troubles. So then, if food consisting of vegetables and fruits comes to the saints, that is, to the Manichaeans by means of their chastity, and prayers, and psalms, whatever in it is excellent and divine is purified, and so is entirely perfected, in order to restoration, free from all hindrance, to its own domain. Hence you forbid people to give bread or vegetables, or even water, which would cost nobody anything, to a beggar, if he is not a Manichaean, lest he should defile the member of God by his sins, and obstruct its return.

37. Flesh, you say, is made up of pollution itself. For, according to you, some portion of that divine part escapes in the eating of vegetables and fruits: it escapes while they undergo the infliction of rubbing, grinding, or cooking, as also of biting or chewing. It escapes, too, in all motions of animals, in the carriage of burdens, in exercise, in toil, or in any sort of action. It escapes, too, in our rest, when digestion is going on in the body by means of internal heat. And as the divine nature escapes in all these ways, some very unclean dregs remain, from which, in sexual intercourse, flesh is formed. These dregs, however, fly off, in the motions above mentioned, along with what is good in the soul; for though it is mostly, it is not entirely good. So, when the soul has left the flesh,

the dregs are utterly filthy, and the soul of those who eat flesh is defiled.

CHAP. 16.--DISCLOSURE OF THE MONSTROUS TENETS OF THE MANICHAEANS.

38. O the obscurity of the nature of things How hard to expose falsehood! Who that hears these things, if he is one who has not learned the causes of things, and who, not yet illuminated by any ray of truth, is deceived by material images, would not think them true, precisely because the things spoken of are invisible, and are presented to the mind under the form of visible things, and can be eloquently expressed? Men of this description exist in numbers and in droves, who are kept from being led away into these errors more by a fear grounded on religious feeling than by reason. I will therefore endeavor, as God may please to enable me, so to refute these errors, as that their falsehood and absurdity will be manifest not only in the judgment of the wise, who reject them on hearing them, but also to the intelligence of the multitude.

39. Tell me then, first, where you get the doctrine that part of God, as you call it, exists in corn, beans, cabbage, and flowers and fruits. From the beauty of the color, say they, and the sweetness of the taste; this is evident; and as these are not found in rotten substances, we learn that their good has been taken from them. Are they not ashamed to attribute the finding of God to the nose and the palate? But I pass from this. For I will speak, using words in their proper sense; and, as the saying is, this is not so easy in speaking to you. Let us see rather what sort of mind is required to understand this; how, if the presence of good in bodies is shown by their color, the dung of animals, the refuse of flesh itself, has all kinds of bright colors, sometimes white, often golden; and so on, though these are what you take in fruits and flowers as proofs of the presence and indwelling of God. Why is it that in a rose you hold the red color to be an indication of an abundance of good, while the same color in blood you condemn? Why do you regard with pleasure in a violet the same color which you turn away from in cases of cholera, or of people with jaundice, or in the excrement of infants? Why do you believe the light, shining appearance of oil to be a sign of a plentiful admixture of good, which you readily set about purifying by taking the oil into your throats and stomachs, while you are afraid to touch your lips with a drop of fat, though it has the same shining appearance as oil? Why do you look upon a yellow melon as part of the treasures of God, and not rancid bacon fat or the yolk of an egg? Why do you think that whiteness in a lettuce proclaims God, and not in milk? So much for colors, as regards which (to mention nothing else) you cannot compare any flower-clad meadow with the wings and feathers of a single peacock, though these are of flesh and of fleshly origin.

40. Again, if this good is discovered also by smell, perfumes of excellent smell are made from the flesh of some animals. And the smell of food, when cooked along with flesh of delicate flavor, is better than if cooked without it. Once more, if you think that the things that have a better smell than others are therefore cleaner, there is a kind of mud which you ought to take to your meals instead of water from the cistern; for dry earth moistened with rain has an odor most agreeable to the sense, and this sort of mud has a better smell than rain-water taken by itself. But if we must have the authority of taste to J prove the presence in any object of part of God, he must dwell in dates and honey more than in pork, but more in pork than in beans. I grant that He dwells more in a fig

than in a liver; but then you must allow that He is more in liver than in beet. And, on this principle, must you not confess that some plants, which none of you can doubt to be cleaner than flesh, receive God from this very flesh, if we are to think of God as mixed with the flavor? For both cabbages taste better when cooked along with flesh; and, while we cannot relish the plants on which cattle feed, when these are turned into milk we think them improved in color, and find them very agreeable to the taste.

41. Or must we think that good is to be found in greater quantity where the three good qualities--a good color, and smell, and taste--are found together? Then you must not admire and praise flowers so much, as yon cannot admit them to be tried at the tribunal of the palate. At least you must not prefer purslain to flesh, since flesh when cooked is superior in color, smell, and taste. A young pig roasted (for your ideas on this subject force us to discuss good and evil with you as if you were cooks and confectioners, instead of men of reading or literary taste) is bright in color, and agreeable in smell, and pleasant in taste. Here is a perfect evidence of the presence of the divine substance. You are invited by this threefold testimony, and called on to purify this substance by your sanctity. Make the attack. Why do you hold back? What objection have you to make. In color alone the excrement of an infant surpasses lentils; in smell alone a roast morsel surpasses a soft green fig; in taste alone a kid when slaughtered surpasses the plant which it fed on when alive: and we have found a kind of flesh in flavor of which all three give evidence. What more do you require? What reply will you make? Why should eating meat make you unclean, if using such monstrosities in discussion does not? And, above all, the rays of the sun, which you surely think more of than all animal or vegetable food, have no smell or taste, and are remarkable among other substances only by their eminently bright color; which is a loud call to you, and an obligation, in spite of yourselves, to place nothing higher than a bright color among the evidences of an admixture of good.

42. Thus you are forced into this difficulty, that you must acknowledge the part of God as dwelling more in blood, and in the filthy but bright-colored animal refuse which is thrown out in the streets, than in the pale leaves of the olive. If you reply, as you actually do, that olive leaves when burnt give out a flame, which proves the presence of light, while flesh when burnt does not, what will you say of oil, which lights nearly all the lamps in Italy? What of cow dung (which surely is more unclean than the flesh), which peasants use when dry as fuel, so that the fire is always at hand, and the liberation of the smoke is always going on? And if brightness and lustre prove a greater presence of the divine part, why do you yourselves not purify it, why not appropriate it, why not liberate it? For it is found chiefly in flowers, not to speak of blood and countless things almost the same as blood in flesh or coming from it, and yet you cannot feed on flowers. And even if you were to eat flesh, you would certainly not take with your gruel the scales of fish, or some worms and flies, though these all shine with a light of their own in the dark.

43. What then remains, but that you should cease saying that you have in your eyes, nose, and palate sufficient means of testing the presence of the divine part in material objects? And, without these means, how can you tell not only that there is a greater part of God in plants than in flesh, but that there is any part in plants at all? Are you led to think this by their beauty--not the beauty of agreeable color, but that of agreement of

parts? An excellent reason, in my opinion. For you will never be so bold as to compare twisted pieces of wood with the bodies of animals, which are formed of members answering to one another. But if you choose the testimony of the senses, as those must do who cannot see with their mind the full force of existence, how do you prove that the substance of good escapes from bodies in course of time, and by some kind of attrition, but because God has gone out of it, according to your view, and has left one place for another? The whole is absurd. But, as far as I can judge, there are no marks or appearances to give rise to this opinion. For many things plucked from trees, or pulled out of the ground, are the better of some interval of time before we use them for food, as leeks and endive, lettuce, grapes, apples, figs, and some pears; and there are many other things which get a better color when they are not used immediately after being plucked, besides being more wholesome for the body, and having a finer flavor to the palate. But these things should not possess all these excellent and agreeable qualities, if, as you say, they become more destitute of good the longer they are kept after separation from their mother earth. Animal food itself is better and more fit for use the day after the animal is killed; but this should not be, if, as you hold, it possessed more good immediately after the slaughter than next day, when more of the divine substance had escaped.

44. Who does not know that wine becomes purer and better by age? Nor is it, as you think, more tempting to the destruction of the senses, but more useful for invigorating the body,--only let there be moderation, which ought to control everything. The senses are sooner destroyed by new wine. When the must has been only a short time in the vat, and has begun to ferment, it makes those who look down into it fall headlong, affecting their brain, so that without assistance they would perish. And as regards health, every one knows that bodies are swollen up and injuriously distended by new wine? Has it these bad properties because there is more good in it? Are they not found in wine when old because a good deal of the divine substance has gone? An absurd thing to say, especially for you, who prove the divine presence by the pleasing effect produced on your eyes, nose, and palate! And what a contradiction it is to make wine the poison of the princes of darkness, and yet to eat grapes! Has it more of the poison when in the cup than when in the cluster? Or if the evil remains unmixed after the good is gone, and that by the process of time, how is it that the same grapes, when hung up for awhile, become milder, sweeter, and more wholesome? or how does the wine itself, as already mentioned, become purer and brighter when the light has gone, and more wholesome by the loss of the beneficial substance?

45. What are we to say of wood and leaves, which in course of time become dry, but cannot be the worse on that account in your estimation? For while they lose that which produces smoke, they retain that from which a bright flame arises; and, to judge by the clearness, which you think so much of, there is more good in the dry than in the green. Hence you must either deny that there is more of God in the pure light than in the smoky one, which will upset all your evidences; or you must allow it to be possible that, when plants are plucked up, or branches plucked off, and kept for a time, more of the nature of evil may escape from them than of the nature of good. And, on the strength of this, we shall hold that more evil may go off from plucked fruits; and so more good may remain in animal food. So much on the subject of time.

46. As for motion, and tossing, and rubbing, if these give the divine nature the opportunity of escaping from these substances, many things of the same kind are against you, which are improved by motion. In some grains the juice resembles wine, and is excellent when moved about. Indeed, as must not be overlooked, this kind of drink produces intoxication rapidly; and yet you never called the juice of grain the poison of the princes of darkness. There is a preparation of water, thickened with a little meal, which is the better of being shaken, and, strange to say, is lighter in color when the light is gone. The pastry cook stirs honey for a long time to give it this light color, and to make its sweetness milder and less unwholesome: you must explain how this can come from the loss of good. Again, if you prefer to test the presence of God by the agreeable effects on the hearing, and not sight, or smell, or taste, harps get their strings and pipes their bones from animals; and these become musical by being dried, and rubbed, and twisted. So the pleasures of music, which you hold to have come from the divine kingdom, are obtained from the refuse of dead animals, and that, too, when they are dried by time, and lessened by rubbing, and stretched by twisting. Such rough treatment, according to you, drives the divine substance from living objects; even cooking them, you say, does this. Why then are boiled thistles not unwholesome? Is it because God, or part of God, leaves them when they are cooked?

47. Why mention all the particulars, when it is difficult to enumerate them? Nor is it necessary; for every one knows how many things are sweeter and more wholesome when cooked. This ought not to be, if, as you suppose, things lose the good by being thus moved about. I do not suppose that you will find any proof from your bodily senses that flesh is unclean, and defiles the souls of those who eat it, because fruits, when plucked and shaken about in various ways, become flesh; especially as you hold that vinegar, in its age and fermentation, is cleaner than wine, and the mead you drink is nothing else than cooked wine, which ought to be more impure than wine, if material things lose the divine members by being moved about and cooked. But if not, you have no reason to think that fruits, when plucked, kept, handled, cooked, and digested, are forsaken by the good, and therefore supply most unclean matter for the formation of bodies.

48. But if it is not from their color and appearance, and smell and taste, that you think the good to be in these things, what else can you bring forward? Do you prove it from the strength and vigor which those things seem to lose when they are separated from the earth and put to use? If this is your reason (though its erroneousness is seen at once, from the fact that the strength of some things is increased after their separation from the earth, as in the case already mentioned of wine, which becomes stronger from age),--if the strength, then, is your reason, it would follow that the part of God is to be found in no food more abundantly than in flesh. For athletes, who especially require vigor and energy, are not in the habit of feeding on cabbage and fruit without animal food.

49. Is your reason for thinking the bodies of trees better than our bodies, that flesh is nourished by trees and not trees by flesh. You forget the obvious fact that plants, when manured with dung, become richer and more fertile and crops heavier, though you think it your gravest charge against flesh that it is the abode of dung. This then gives nourishment to things you consider clean, though it is, according to you, the most

unclean part of what you consider unclean. But if you dislike flesh because it springs from sexual intercourse, you should be pleased with the flesh of worms, which are bred in such numbers, and of such a size, in fruits, in wood, and in the earth itself, without any sexual intercourse. But there is some insincerity in this. For if you were displeased with flesh because it is formed from the cohabitation of father and mother, you would not say that those princes of darkness were born from the fruits of their own trees; for no doubt you think worse of these princes than of flesh, which you refuse to eat.

50. Your idea that all the souls of animals come from the food of their parents, from which confinement you pretend to liberate the divine substance which is held bound in your viands, is quite inconsistent with your abstinence from flesh, and makes it a pressing duty for you to eat animal food. For if sours are bound in the body by those who eat animal food, why do you not secure their liberation by being beforehand in eating the food? You reply, it is not from the animal food that the good part comes which those people bring into bondage, but from the vegetables which they take with their meat. What will you say then of the souls of lions, who feed only on flesh? They drink, is the reply, and so the soul is drawn in from the water and confined in flesh. But what of birds without number? What of eagles, which eat only flesh, and need no drink? Here you are at a loss, and can find no answer. For if the soul comes from food, and there are animals which neither drink anything nor have any food but flesh, and yet bring forth young, there must be some soul in flesh; and you are bound to try your plan of purifying it by eating the flesh. Or will you say that a pig has a soul of light, because it eats vegetables, and drinks water; and that the eagle, because it eats only flesh, has a soul of darkness, though it is so fond of the sun?(1)

51. What a confusion of ideas! What amazing fatuity! All this you would have escaped, if you had rejected idle fictions, and had followed what truth sanctions in abstinence from food, which would have taught you that sumptuous eating is to be avoided, not to escape pollution, as there is nothing of the kind, but to subdue the sensual appetite. For should any one, from inattention to the nature of things, and the properties of the soul and body, allow that the soul is polluted by animal food, you will admit that it is much much more defiled by sensuality. Is it reasonable, then, or rather, is it not most unreasonable, to expel from the number of the elect a man who, perhaps for his health's sake, takes some animal food without sensual appetite; while, if a man eagerly devours peppered truffles, you can only reprove him for excess, but cannot condemn him as abusing your symbol? So one who has been induced, not by sensuality, but for health, to eat part of a fowl, cannot remain among your elect; though one may remain who has yielded voluntarily to an excessive appetite for comfits and cakes without animal matter. You retain the man plunged in the defilements of sensuality, and dismiss the man polluted, as you think, by the mere food; though you allow that the defilement of sensuality is far greater than that of meat. You keep hold of one who gloats with delight over highly-seasoned vegetables. unable to keep possession of himself; while you shut out one who, to satisfy hunger, takes whatever comes, if suitable for nourishment, ready either to use the food, or to let it go. Admirable customs! Excellent morals! Notable temperance!

52. Again, the notion that it is unlawful for any one but the elect to touch as food what is

brought to your meals for what you call purification, leads to shameful and sometimes to criminal practices. For sometimes so much is brought that it cannot easily be eaten up by a few; and as it is considered sacrilege to give what is left to others, or, at least, to throw it away, you are obliged to eat to excess, from the desire to purify, as you call it, all that is given. Then, when you are full almost to bursting, you cruelly use force in making the boys of your sect eat the rest. So it was charged against some one at Rome that he killed some poor children, by compelling them to eat for this superstitious reason. This I should not believe, did I not know how sinful you consider it to give this food to those who are not elect, or, at any rate, to throw it away. So the only way is to eat it; and this leads every day to gluttony, and may sometimes lead to murder.

53. For the same reason you forbid giving bread to beggars. By way of showing compassion, or rather of avoiding reproach, you advise to give money. The cruelty of this is equalled by its stupidity. For suppose a place where food cannot be purchased: the beggar will die of starvation, while you, in your wisdom and benevolence, have more mercy on a cucumber than on a human being This is in truth (for how could it be better designated) pretended compassion, and real cruelty. Then observe the stupidity. What if the beggar buys bread for himself with the money you give him? Will the divine part, as you call it, not suffer the same in him when he buys the food as it would have suffered if he had taken it as a gift from you? So this sinful beggar plunges in corruption part of God eager to escape, and is aided in this crime by your money! But you in your great sagacity think it enough that you do not give to one about to commit murder a man to kill, though you knowingly give him money to procure somebody to be killed. Can any madness go beyond this? The result is, that either the man dies if he cannot get food for his money, or the food itself dies if he gets it. The one is true murder; the other what you call murder: though in both cases you incur the guilt of real murder. Again, there is the greatest folly and absurdity in allowing your followers to eat animal food, while you forbid them to kill animals. If this food does not defile, take it yourselves. If it defiles, what can be more unreasonable than to think it more sinful to separate the soul of a pig from its body than to defile the soul of a man with the pig's flesh.

CHAP. 17.--DESCRIPTION OF THE SYMBOL OF THE HANDS AMONG THE MANICHAEANS.

54. We must now notice and discuss the symbol of the hands. And, in the first place, your abstaining from the slaughter of animals and from injuring plants is shown by Christ to be mere superstition; for, on the ground that there is no community of rights between us and brutes and trees, He both sent-the devils into an herd of swine,(1) and withered by His curse a tree in which He had found no fruit(2) The swine assuredly had not sinned, nor had the tree. We are not so insane as to think that a tree is fruitful or barren by its own choice. Nor is it any reply to say that our Lord wished in these actions to teach some other truths; for every one knows that. But assuredly the Son of God would not commit murder to illustrate truth,if you call the destruction of a tree or of an animal murder. The signs which Christ wrought in the case of men, with whom we certainly have a community of rights, were in healing, not in killing them. And it would have been the same in the case of beasts and trees, if we had that community with

them which you imagine.

55. I think it right to refer here to the authority of Scripture, because we cannot here enter on a profound discussion about the soul of animals, or the kind of life in trees. But as you preserve the right to call the Scriptures corrupted, in case you should find them too strongly opposed to you,-- although you have never affirmed the passages about the tree and the herd of swine to be spurious,--still, lest some day you should wish to say this of them too, when you find how much they are against you, I will adhere to my plan, and will ask you, who are so liberal in your promises of evidence and truth, to tell me first what harm is done to a tree, I say not by plucking a leaf or an apple,--for which, however, one of you would be condemned at once as having abused the symbol, if he did it intentionally, and not accidentally,--but if you tear it up by the root. For the soul in trees, which, according to you, is a rational soul, is, in your theory, freed from bondage when the tree is cut down,--a bondage, too, where it suffered great misery and got no profit. For it is well known that you, in the words of your founder, threaten as a great, though not the greatest punishment, the change from a man to a tree; and it is not probable that the soul in a tree can grow in wisdom as it does in a man. There is the best reason for not killing a man, in case you should kill one whose wisdom or virtue might be of use to many, or one who might have attained to wisdom, whether by the advice of another without himself, or by divine illumination in his own mind. And the more wisdom the soul has when it leaves the body, the more profitable is its departure, as we know both from well-grounded reasoning and from wide-spread belief. Thus to cut down a tree is to set free the soul from a body in which it makes no progress in wisdom. You--the holy men, I mean--ought to be mainly occupied in cutting down trees, and in leading the souls thus emancipated to better things by prayers and psalms. Or can this be done only with the souls which you take into your belly, instead of aiding them by your understanding?

56. And you cannot escape the admission that the souls in trees make no progress in wisdom while they are there, when you are asked why no apostle was sent to teach trees as well as men, or why the apostle sent to men did not preach the truth to trees also. Your reply must be, that the souls while in such bodies cannot understand the divine precepts. But this reply lands you in great difficulties; for you declare that these souls can hear your voices and understand what you say, and see bodies and their motions, and even discern thoughts. If this is true, why could they learn nothing from the apostle of light? Why could they not learn even much better than we, since they can see into the mind? Your master, who, as you say, has. difficulty in teaching you by speech, might have taught these souls by thought; for they could see his ideas in his mind before he expressed them. But if this is untrue, consider into what errors you have fallen.

57. As for your not plucking fruits or pulling up vegetables yourselves, while you get your followers to pluck and pull and bring them to you, that you may confer benefits not only on those who bring the food but on the food which is brought, what thoughtful person can bear to hear this? For, first, it matters not whether you commit a crime yourself, or wish another to commit it for you. You deny that you wish this! How then can relief be given to the divine part contained in lettuce and leeks, unless some one pull them and bring them to the saints to be purified. And again, if you were passing

through a field where the right of friendship permitted you to pluck anything you wished, what would you do if you saw a crow on the point of eating a fig? Does not, according to your ideas, the fig itself seem to address you and to beg of you piteously to pluck it yourself and give it burial in a holy belly, where it may be purified and restored, rather than that the crow should swallow it and make it part of his cursed body, and then hand it over to bondage and torture in other forms? If this is true, how cruel you are! If not, how silly! What can be more contrary to your opinions than to break the symbol? What can be more unkind to the member of God than to keep it?

58. This supposes the truth of your false and vain ideas. But you can be shown guilty of plain and positive cruelty flowing from the same error. For were any one lying on the road, his body wasted with disease, weary with journeying, and half-dead from his sufferings, and able only to utter some broken words, and if eating a pear would do him good as an astringent, and were he to beg you to help him as you passed by, and were he to implore you to bring the fruit from a neighboring tree, with no divine or human prohibition to prevent your doing so, while the man is sure to die for the want of it, you, a Christian man and a saint, will rather pass on and abandon a man thus suffering and entreating, test the tree should lament the loss of its fruit, and you should be doomed to the punishment threatened by Manichæus for breaking the symbol. Strange customs, and strange harmlessness!

59. Now, as regards killing animals, and the reasons for your opinion, much that has been said will apply also to this. For what harm will be done to the soul of a wolf by killing the wolf, since the wolf, as long as it lives, will be a wolf, and will not listen to any preacher, or give up, in the least, shedding the blood of sheep; and, by killing it, the rational soul, as you think, will be set free from its confinement in the body? But you make this slaughter unlawful even for your followers; for you think it worse than that of trees. And in this there is not much fault to be found with your senses,--that is, your bodily senses. For we see and hear by their cries that animals die with pain, although man disregards this in a beast, with which, as not having a rational soul, we have no community of rights. But as to your senses in the observation of trees, you must be entirely blind. For not to mention that l there are no movements in the wood expressive of pain, what is clearer than that a tree is never better than when it is green and flourishing, gay with flowers, and rich in fruit? And this comes generally and chiefly from pruning. But if it felt the iron, as you suppose, it ought to die of wounds so many, so severe, instead of sprouting at the places, and reviving with such manifest delight.

60. But why do you think it a greater crime to destroy animals than plants, although you hold that plants have a purer soul than animals? There is a compensation, we are told, when part of what is taken from the fields is given to the elect and the saints to be purified. This has already been refuted; and it has, I think, been proved sufficiently that there is no reason for saying that more of the good part is found in vegetables than in flesh. But should any one support himself by selling butcher-meat, and spend the whole profit of his business in purchasing food for Four elect, and bring larger supplies for those saints than any peasant or farmer, will he not plead this compensation as a warrant for his killing animals? But there is, we are told, some other mysterious reason; for a cunning man can always find some resource in the secrets of nature when addressing unlearned people. The story, then, is that the heavenly princes who were

taken from the race of darkness and bound, and have a place assigned them in this region by the Creator of the world, have animals on the earth specially belonging to them, each having those coming from his own stock and class; and they hold the slaughterers of those animals guilty, and do not allow them to leave the earth, but harass them as much as they can with pains and torments. What simple man will not be frightened by this, and, seeing nothing in the darkness shrouding these things, will not think that the fact is as described? But I will hold to my purpose, with God's help, to rebut mysterious falsehood by the plainest truth.

61. Tell me, then, it animals on land and in water come in regular succession by ordinary generation from this race of princes, since the origin of animal life is traced to the abortive births in that race;--tell me, I say, whether bees and frogs, and many other creatures not sprung from sexual intercourse,(1) may be killed with impunity. We are told they cannot. So it is not on account of their relation to certain princes that you forbid your followers to kill animals. Or if you make a general relationship to all bodies, the princes would be equally concerned about trees, which you do not require your followers to spare. You are brought back to the weak reply, that the injuries done in the case of plants are atoned for by the fruits which your followers bring to your church. For this implies that those who slaughter animals, and sell their flesh in the market, if they are your followers, and if they bring to you vegetables bought with their gains, may think nothing of the daily slaughter, and are cleared of any sin that may be in it by your repasts.

62. But if you say that, in order to expiate the slaughter, the thing must be given as food, as in the case of fruits and vegetables,--which cannot be done, because the elect do not eat flesh, and so your followers must not slaughter animals,--what reply will you give in the case of thorns and weeds, which farmers destroy in clearing their fields, while they cannot bring any food to you from them? How can there be pardon for such destruction, which gives no nourishment to the saints? Perhaps you also put away any sin committed, for the benefit of the fruits and vegetables, by eating some of these. What then if the fields are plundered by locusts, mice, or rats, as we see often happen? Can your rustic follower kill these with impunity, because he sins for the good of his crops? Here you are at a loss; for you either allow your followers to kill animals, which your founder prohibited, or you forbid them to be cultivators, which he made lawful. Indeed, you sometimes go so far as to say that an usurer is more harmless than a cultivator,--you feel so much more for melons than for men. Rather than hurt the melons, you would have a man ruined as a debtor. Is this desirable and praiseworthy justice, or not rather atrocious and damnable error? Is this commendable compassion, or not rather detestable barbarity?

63. What, again, of your not abstaining yourselves from the slaughter of lice, bugs, and fleas? You think it a sufficient excuse for this to say that these are the dirt of our bodies. But this is clearly untrue of fleas and bugs; for every one knows that these animals do not come from our bodies. Besides, if you abhor sexual intercourse as much as you pretend to do, you should think those animals all the cleaner which come from our bodies without any other generation; for although they produce offspring of their own, they are not produced in ordinary generation from us. Again, if we must consider as most filthy the production of living bodies, still worse must be the production of dead

bodies. There must be less harm, therefore, in killing a rat, a snake, or a scorpion, which you constantly say come from our dead bodies. But to pass over what is less plain and certain, it is a common opinion regarding bees that they come from the carcases of oxen; so there is no harm in killing them. Or if this too is doubted, every one allows that beetles, at least, are bred in the ball of mud which they make and bury.(1) You ought therefore to consider these animals, and others that it would be tedious to specify, more unclean than your lice; and yet you think it sinful to kill them, though it would be foolish not to kill the lice. Perhaps you hold the lice cheap because they are small. But if an animal is to be valued by its size, you must prefer a camel to a man.

64. Here we may use the gradation which often perplexed us when we were your followers. For if a flea may be killed on account of its small size, so may the fly which is bred in beans. And if this, so also may one of a little larger size, for its size at birth is even less. Then again, a bee may be killed, for its young is no larger than a fly. So on to the young of a locust, and to a locust; and then to the young of a mouse, and to a mouse. And, to cut short, it is clear we may come at last to an elephant; so that one who thinks it no sin to kill a flea, because of its small size, must allow that it would be no sin in him to kill this huge creature. But I think enough has been said of these absurdities.

CHAP. 18.--OF THE SYMBOL OF THE BREAST, AND OF THE SHAMEFUL MYSTERIES OF THE MANICHAEANS.

65. Lastly, there is the symbol of the breast, in which your very questionable chastity consists. For though you do not forbid sexual intercourse, you, as the apostle long ago said, forbid marriage in the proper sense, although this is the only good excuse for such intercourse. No doubt you will exclaim against this, and will make it a reproach against us that you highly esteem and approve perfect chastity, but do not forbid marriage, because your followers--that is, those in the second grade among you--are allowed to have wives. After you have said this with great noise and heat, I will quietly ask, Is it not you who hold that begetting children, by which souls are confined in flesh, is a greater sin than cohabitation? Is it not you who used to counsel us to observe as much as possible the time when a woman, after her purification, is most likely to conceive, and to abstain from cohabitation at that time, lest the soul should be entangled in flesh? This proves that you approve of having a wife, not for the procreation of children, but for the gratification of passion. In marriage, as the marriage law declares, the man and woman come together for the procreation of children. Therefore whoever makes the procreation of children a greater sin than copulation, forbids marriage, and makes the woman not a wife, but a mistress, who for some gifts presented to her is joined to the man to gratify his passion. Where there is a wife there must be marriage. But there is no marriage where motherhood is not in view; therefore neither is there a wife. In this way you forbid marriage. Nor can you defend yourselves successfully from this charge, long ago brought against you prophetically by the Holy Spirit.

66. Moreover, when you are so eager in your desire to prevent the soul from being confined in flesh by conjugal intercourse, and so eager in asserting that the soul is set free from seed by the food of the saints, do you not sanction, unhappy beings, the

suspicion entertained about you? For why should it be true regarding corn and beans and lentils and other seeds, that when you eat them you wish to set free the soul, and not true of the seeds of animals? For what you say of the flesh of a dead animal, that it is unclean because there is no soul in it, cannot be said of the seed of the animal; for you hold that it keeps confined the soul which will appear in the offspring, and you avow that the soul of Manichæus himself is thus confined. And as your followers cannot bring these seeds to you for purification, who will not suspect that you make this purification secretly among yourselves, and hide it from your followers, in case they should leave you? (1) If you do not these things, as it is to be hoped you do not, still you see how open to suspicion your superstition is, and how impossible it is to blame men for thinking what your own profession suggests, when you maintain that you set free souls from bodies and from senses by eating and drinking. I wish to say no more about this: you see yourselves what room there is here for denunciation. But as the matter is one rather to repress than to invite remark, and also as throughout my discourse my purpose appears of exaggerating nothing, and of keeping to bare facts and arguments, we shall pass on to other matters.

CHAP. 19.--CRIMES OF THE MANICHAEANS.

67. We see then, now, the nature of your three symbols. These are your customs. This is the end of your notable precepts, in which there is nothing sure, nothing steadfast, nothing consistent, nothing irreproachable, but all doubtful, or rather undoubtedly and entirely false, all contradictory, abominable, absurd. In a word, evil practices are detected in your customs so many and so serious, that one wishing to denounce them all, if he were at all able to enlarge, would require at least a separate treatise for each. Were you to observe these, and to act up to your profession, no childishness, or folly, or absurdity would go beyond yours; and when you praise and teach these things without doing them, you display craft and deceit and malevolence equal to anything that can be described or imagined.

68. During nine full years that I attended you with great earnestness and assiduity, I could not hear of one of your elect who was not found transgressing these precepts, or at least was not suspected of doing so. Many were caught at wine and animal food, many at the baths; but this we only heard by report. Some were proved to have seduced other men's wives, so that in this case I could not doubt the truth of the charge. But suppose this, too, a report rather than a fact. I myself saw, and not I only, but others who have either escaped from that superstition, or will, I hope, yet escape,--we saw, I say, in a square in Carthage, on a road much frequented, not one, but more than three of the elect walking behind us, and accosting some women with such indecent sounds and gestures as to outdo the boldness and insolence of all ordinary rascals. And it was clear that this was quite habitual, and that they behaved in this way to one another, for no one was deterred by the presence of a companion,showing that most of them, if not all, were affected with this evil tendency. For they did not all come from one house, but lived in quite different places, and quite accidentally left together the place where they had met. It was a great shock to us, and we lodged a complaint about it. But who thought of inflicting punishment,--I say not by separation from the church, but even by

severe rebuke in proportion to the heinousness of the offence?

69. All the excuse given for the impunity of those men was that, at that time, when their meetings were forbidden by law, it was feared that the persons suffering punishment might retaliate by giving information. What then of their assertion that they will always have persecution in this world, for which they suppose that they will be thought the more of? for this is the application they make of the words about the world hating them.(2) And they will have it that truth must be sought for among them, because, in the promise of the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, it is said that the world cannot receive Him.(3) This is not the place to discuss this question. But clearly, if you are always to be persecuted, even to the end of the world, there will be no end to this laxity, and to the unchecked spread of all this immorality, from your fear of giving offence to men of this character.

70. This answer was also given to us, when we reported to the very highest authorities that a woman had complained to us that in a meeting, where she was along with other women, not doubting of the sanctity of these people, some of the elect came in, and when one of them had put out the lamp, one, whom she could not distinguish, tried to embrace her, and would have forced her into sin, had she not escaped by crying out. How common must we conclude the practice to have been which led to the misdeed on this occasion! And this was done on the night when you keep the feast of vigils. Forsooth, besides the fear of information being given, no one could bring the offender before the bishop, as. he had so well guarded against being recognized. As if all who entered along with him were not implicated in the crime; for in their indecent merriment they all wished the lamp to be put out.

71. Then what wide doors were opened for suspicions, when we saw them full of envy, full of covetousness, full of greed for costly foods, constantly at strife, easily excited about trifles.! We concluded that they were not competent to abstain from the things they professed to abstain from, if they found an opportunity in secret or in the dark. There were two of sufficiently good character, of active minds, and leaders in their debates, with whom we had a more particular and intimate acquaintance than with the rest. One of them was much associated with us, because he was also engaged in liberal studies; he is said to be now an elder there. These two were very jealous of one another, and one accused the other--not openly, but in conversation, as he had opportunity, and in whispers--of having made a criminal assault on the wife of one of the followers. He again, in clearing himself to us, brought the same charge against another of the elect, who lived with this follower as his most trusted friend. He had, going in suddenly, caught this man with the woman, and his enemy and rival had advised the woman and her paramour to raise this false report about him, that he might not be believed if he gave any information. We were much distressed, and took it greatly to heart, that although there was a doubt about the assault on the woman, the jealous feeling in those two men, than whom we found none better in the place, showed itself so keenly, and inevitably raised a suspicion of other things.(1)

72. Another thing was, that we very often saw in theatres men belonging to the elect, men of years and, it was supposed, of character, along with a hoary-headed elder We pass over the youths, whom we used to come upon quarrelling about the people connected with the stage and the races; from which we may safely conclude how they

would be able to refrain in secret, when they could not subdue the passion by which they were exposed in the eyes of their followers, bringing on them disgrace and flight. In the case of the saint, whose discussions we attended in the street of the fig-sellers, would his atrocious crime have been discovered if he had been able to make the dedicated virgin his wife without making her pregnant? The swelling womb betrayed the secret and unthought-of iniquity. When her brother, a young man, heard of it from his mother, he felt keenly the injury, but refrained, from regard to religion, from a public accusation. He succeeded in getting the man expelled from that church, for such conduct cannot always be tolerated; and that the crime might not be wholly unpunished, he arranged with some of his friends to have the man well beaten and kicked. When he was thus assailed, he cried out that they should spare him, from regard to the authority of the opinion of Manichæeus, that Adam the first hero had sinned, and was a greater saint after his sin.

73. This, in fact, is your notion about Adam and Eve.(2) It is a long story; but I will touch only on what concerns the present matter. You say that Adam was produced from his parents, the abortive princes of darkness; that he had in his soul the most part of light, and very little of the opposite race. So while he lived a holy life, on account of the prevalence of good, still the opposite part in him was stirred up, so that he was led away into conjugal intercourse. Thus he fell and sinned, but afterwards lived in greater holiness. Now, my complaint is not so much about this wicked man, who, under the garb of an elect and holy man, brought such shame and reproach on a family of strangers by his shocking immorality. I do not charge you with this. Let it be attributed to the abandoned character of the man, and not to your habits. I blame the man for the atrocity, and not you. Still there is this in you all that cannot, as far as I can see, be admitted or tolerated, that while you hold the soul to be part of God, you still maintain that the mixture of a little evil prevailed over the superior force and quantity of good. Who that believes this, when incited by passion, will not find here an excuse, instead of checking and controlling his passion?

CHAP. 20.--DISGRACEFUL CONDUCT DISCOVERED AT ROME.

74. What more shall I say of your customs? I have mentioned what I found myself when I was in the city when the things were dome. To go through all that happened at Rome in my absence would take a long time. I will, however, give a short account of it; for the matter became so notorious, that even the absent could not remain in ignorance of it. And when I was afterwards in Rome, I ascertained the truth of all I had heard, although the story was told me by an eye-witness whom I knew so well and esteemed so highly, that I could not feel any doubt about it. One of your followers, then, quite equal to the elect in their far-famed abstinence, for he was both liberally educated, and was in the habit of defending your sect with great zeal, took it very ill that he had cast in his teeth the vile conduct of the elect, who lived in all kinds of places, and went hither and thither for lodging of the worst description. He therefore desired, if possible, to assemble all who were willing to live according to the precepts into his own house, and to maintain them at his own expense; for he was above the average in carelessness as to spending money, besides being above the average in the amount he had to spend. He

complained that Iris efforts were hindered by the remissness of the bishops, whose assistance he required for success. At last one of your bishops was found,--a man, as I know, very rude and unpolished, but somehow, from his very moroseness, the more inclined to strict observance of morality. The follower eagerly lays hold of this man as the person he had long wished for and found at last, and relates his whole plan. He approves and assents, and agrees to be the first to take up his abode in the house. When this was done, all the elect who could be at Rome were assembled there. The rule of life in the epistle of Manichaeus was laid before them. Many thought it intolerable, and left; not a few felt ashamed, and stayed. They began to live as they had agreed, and as this high authority enjoined. The follower all the time was zealously enforcing everything on everybody, though never, in any case, what he did not undertake himself. Meanwhile quarrels constantly arose among the elect. They charged one another with crimes, all which he lamented to hear, and managed to make them unintentionally expose one another in their altercations. The revelations were vile beyond description. Thus appeared the true character of those who were unlike the rest in being willing to bend to the yoke of the precepts. What then is to be suspected, or rather, concluded, of the others? To come to a close, they gathered together on one occasion and complained that they could not keep the regulations. Then came rebellion. The follower stated his case most concisely, that either all must be kept, or the man who had given such a sanction to such precepts, which no one could fulfill, must be thought a great fool. But, as was inevitable, the wild clamor of the mob prevailed over the opinion of one man. The bishop himself gave way at last, and took to flight with great disgrace; and he was said to have got in provisions by stealth, contrary to rule, which were often discovered. He had a supply of money from his private purse, which he carefully kept concealed.

75. If you say these things are false, you contradict what is too clear and public. But you may say so if you like. For, as the things are certain, and easily known by those who wish to know them, those who deny that they are true show what their habit of telling the truth is. But you have other replies with which I do not find fault. For you either say that some do keep your precepts, and that they should not be mixed up with the guilty in condemning the others; or that the whole inquiry into the character of the members of your sect is wrong, for the question is of the character of the profession. Should I grant both of these (although you can neither point out those faithful observers of the precepts, nor clear your heresy of all those frivolities and iniquities), still I must insist on knowing why you heap reproaches on Christians of the Catholic name on seeing the immoral life of some, while you either have the effrontery to repel inquiry about your members, or the still greater effrontery not to repel it, wishing it to be understood that in your scanty membership there are some unknown individuals who keep the precepts they profess, but that among the multitudes in the Catholic Church there are none.
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ST. AUGUSTIN: CONCERNING TWO SOULS,
AGAINST THE MANICHAEANS

ST.AUGUSTIN CONCERNING TWO SOULS, AGAINST THE MANICHAEANS.

[DE DUABUS ANIMABUS CONTRA MANICHAEOS.]
A.D. 391.

ONE BOOK.

CHAP. I.--BY WHAT COURSE OF REASONING THE ERROR OF THE MANICHAEANS CONCERNING TWO SOULS, ONE OF WHICH IS NOT FROM GOD, IS REFUTED. EVERY SOUL, INASMUCH AS IT IS A CERTAIN LIFE, CAN HAVE ITS EXISTENCE ONLY FROM GOD THE SOURCE OF LIFE.

1. Through the assisting mercy of God, the snares of the Manichaeans having been broken to pieces and left behind, having been restored at length to the bosom of the Catholic Church, I am disposed now at least to consider and to deplore my recent wretchedness. For there were many things that I ought to have done to prevent the seeds of the most true religion wholesomely implanted in me from boyhood, from being banished from my mind, having been uprooted by the error and fraud of false and deceitful men. For, in the first place, if I had soberly and diligently considered, with prayerful and pious mind, those two kinds of souls to which they attributed natures and properties so distinct that they wished one to be regarded as of the very substance of God, but were not even willing that God should be accepted as the author of the other; perhaps it would have appeared to me, intent on learning, that there is no life whatsoever, which, by the very fact of its being life and in so far as it is life at all, does not pertain to the supreme source and beginning of life,(2) which we must acknowledge to be nothing else than the supreme and only and true God. Wherefore there is no reason why we should not confess, that those souls which the Manichaeans call evil are either devoid of life and so not souls, neither will anything positively or negatively, neither follow after nor flee from anything; or, if they live so that they can be souls, and act as the Manichaeans suppose, in no way do they live unless by life, and if it be an established fact, as it is, that Christ has said: "I am the life,"(3) that all souls seeing that they cannot be souls except by living were created and fashioned by Christ, that is, by the Life.

CHAP. 2.--IF THE LIGHT THAT IS PERCEIVED BY SENSE HAS GOD FOR ITS AUTHOR, AS THE MANICHAEANS ACKNOWLEDGE, MUCH MORE. THE SOUL WHICH IS PERCEIVED BY INTELLECT ALONE.

2. But if at that time(4) my thought was not able to bear and sustain the question concerning life and partaking of life, which is truly a great question, and one that requires much calm discussion among the learned, I might perchance have had power to discover that which to every man considering himself, without a study of the individual

parts, is perfectly evident, namely, that everything we are said to know and to understand, we comprehend either by bodily sense or by mental operation. That the five bodily senses are commonly enumerated as sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, than all of which intellect is immeasurably more noble and excellent, who would have been so ungrateful and impious as not to concede to me; which being established and confirmed, we should have seen how it follows, that whatsoever things are perceived by touch or sight or in any bodily manner at all, are by so much inferior to those things that we comprehend intellectually as the senses are inferior to the intellect. Wherefore, since all life, and so every soul, can be perceived by no bodily sense, but by the intellect alone, whereas while yonder sun and moon and every luminary that is beheld by these mortal eyes, the Manichaeans themselves also say must be attributed to the true and good God, it is the height of madness to claim that that belongs to God which we observe bodily; but, on the other hand, to think that what we receive not only by the mind, but by the highest form of mind,(1) namely, reason and intellect,(2) that is life, whatsoever it may be called, nevertheless life, should be deprived and bereft of the same God as its author. For if having invoked God, I had asked myself what living is, how inscrutable it is to every bodily sense, how absolutely incorporeal it is, could not I have answered? Or would not the Manichaeans also confess not only that the souls they detest live, but that they live also immortally? and that Christ's saying: "Send the dead to bury their dead,"(3) was uttered not with reference to those not living at all, but with reference to sinners, which is the only death of the immortal soul; as when Paul writes: "The widow that giveth herself to pleasure is dead while she liveth," (4) he says that she at the same time is dead, and alive. Wherefore I should have directed attention not to the great degree of contamination in which the sinful soul lives, but only to the fact itself that it lives. But if I cannot perceive except by an act of intelligence, I believe it would have come into the mind, that by as much as any mind whatever is to be preferred to the light which we see through these eyes, by so much we should give to intellect the preference over the eyes themselves.

CHAP, 3.--HOW IT IS PROVED THAT EVERY BODY ALSO IS FROM GOD. THAT THE SOUL WHICH IS CALLED EViL BY THE MANICHAEANS IS BETTER THAN LIGHT.

They also affirm that the light is from the Father of Christ: should I then have doubted that every soul is from Him? But not even then, as a man forsooth so inexperienced and so youthful as I was, should I have been in doubt as to the derivation not only of the soul, but also of the body, nay of everything whatsoever, from Him, if I had reverently and cautiously reflected on what form is, or what has been formed, what shape is and what has been endued with shape.

3. But not to speak at present concerning the body, I lament concerning the soul, concerning spontaneous and vivid movement, concerning action, concerning life, concerning immortality; in fine, I lament that I, miserable, should have believed that anything could have all these properties apart from the goodness of God, which

properties, great as they are, I sadly neglected to consider; this I think, should be to me a matter of groaning and of weeping. I should have inwardly pondered these things, I should have discussed them with myself, I should have referred them to others, I should have propounded the inquiry, what the power of knowing is, seeing there is nothing in man that we can compare to this excellency? And as men, if only they had been men, would have granted me this, I should have inquired whether seeing with these eyes is knowing? In case they had answered negatively, I should first have concluded, that mental intelligence is vastly inferior to ocular sensation; then I should have added, that what we perceive by means of a better thing must needs be judged to be itself better. Who would not grant this? I should have gone on to inquire, whether that soul which they call evil is an object of ocular sensation or of mental intelligence? They would have acknowledged that the latter is the case. All which things having been agreed upon and confirmed between us, I should have shown how it follows, that that soul forsooth which they execrate, is better than that light which they venerate, since the former is an object of mental knowledge, the latter an object of corporeal sense perception. But here perhaps they would have halted, and would have refused to follow the lead of reason, so great is the power of inveterate opinion and of falsehood long defended and believed. But I should have pressed yet more upon them halting, not harshly, not in puerile fashion, not obstinately; I should have repeated the things that had been conceded, and have shown how they must be conceded. I should have exhorted that they consult in common, that they may see clearly what must be denied to us; whether they think it false that intellectual perception is to be preferred to these carnal organs of sight, or that what is known by means of the excellency of the mind is more excellent than what is known by vile corporeal sensation; whether they would be unwilling to confess that those souls which they think heterogenous, can be known only by intellectual perception, that is, by the excellency itself of the mind; whether they would wish to deny that the sun and the moon are made known to us only by means of these eyes. But if they had replied that no one of these things could be denied otherwise than most absurdly and most impudently, I should have urged that they ought not to doubt but that the light whose worthiness of worship they proclaim, is viler than that soul which they admonish men to flee.

CHAP. 4.--EVEN THE SOUL OF A FLY IS MORE EXCELLENT THAN THE LIGHT.

4. And here, if perchance in their confusion they had inquired of me whether I thought that the soul even of a fly(1) surpasses that light, I should have replied, yes, nor should it have troubled me that the fly is little, but it should have confirmed me that it is alive. For it is inquired, what causes those members so diminutive to grow, what leads so minute a body here and there according to its natural appetite, what moves its feet in numerical order when it is running, what regulates and gives vibration to its wings when flying? This thing whatever it is in so small a creature towers up so prominently to one well considering, that it excels any lightning flashing upon the eyes.

CHAP. 5.--HOW VICIOUS SOULS, HOWEVER wORTHY OF CONDEMNATION THEY MAY BE, EXCEL THE LIGHT WHICH IS PRAISEWORTHY IN ITS KIND.

Certainly nobody doubts that whatever is an object of intellectual perception, by virtue of divine laws surpasses in excellence every sensible object and consequently also this light. For what, I ask, do we perceive by thought, if not that it is one thing to know with the mind, and another thing to experience bodily sensations, and that the former is incomparably more sublime than the latter, and so that intelligible things must needs be preferred to sensible things, since the intellect itself is so highly exalted above the senses?

5. Hence this also I should perchance have known, which manifestly follows, since injustice and intemperance and other vices of the mind are not objects of sense, but of intellect, how it comes about that these too which we detest and consider condemnable, yet in as much as they are objects of intellect, can outrank this light however praiseworthy it may be in its kind. For it is borne in upon the mind subjecting itself well to God, that, first of all, not everything that we praise is to be preferred to everything that we find fault with. For in praising the purest lead, I do not therefore put a higher value upon it than upon the gold that I find fault with. For everything must be considered in its kind. I disapprove of a lawyer ignorant of many statutes, yet I so prefer him to the most approved tailor, that I should think him incomparably superior. But I praise the tailor because he is thoroughly skilled in his own craft, while I rightly blame the lawyer because he imperfectly fulfills the functions of his profession. Wherefore I should have found out that the light which in its own kind is perfect, is rightly to be praised; yet because it is included in the number of sensible things, which class must needs yield to the class of intelligible things, it must be ranked below unjust and intemperate souls, since these are intelligible; although we may without injustice judge these to be most worthy of condemnation. For in the case of these we ask that they be reconciled to God, not that they be preferred to that lightning. Wherefore, if any one had contended that this luminary is from God, I should not have opposed; but rather I should have said, that souls, even vicious ones, not in so far as they are vicious, but in so far as they are souls, must be acknowledged to be creatures of God.

CHAP. 6.--WHETHER EVEN VICES THEMSELVES AS OBJECTS OF INTELLECTUAL APPREHENSION ARE TO BE PREFERRED TO LIGHT AS AN OBJECT OF SENSE PERCEPTION, AND ARE TO BE ATTRIBUTED TO GOD AS THEIR AUTHOR. VICE OF THE MIND AND CERTAIN DEFECTS ARE NOT RIGHTLY TO BE COUNTED AMONG INTELLIGIBLE THINGS. DEFECTS THEMSELVES EVEN IF THEY SHOULD BE COUNTED AMONG INTELLIGIBLE THINGS SHOULD NEVER BE PUT BEFORE SENSIBLE THINGS. IF LIGHT IS VISIBLE BY GOD, MUCH MORE IS THE SOUL, EVEN IF VICIOUS, WHICH IN SO FAR AS IT LIVES IS AN INTELLIGIBLE THING. PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE ARE ADDUCED BY THE MANICHAEANS TO THE CONTRARY.

At this point, In case some one of them, cautious and watchful, now also more studious than pertinacious, had admonished me that the inquiry is not about vicious souls but about vices themselves, which, seeing that they are not known by corporeal sense, and yet are known, can only be received as objects of intellectual apprehension, which if they excel all objects of sense, why can we not agree in attributing light to God as its author, but only a sacrilegious person would say that God is the author of vices; I should have replied to the man, if either on the spur of the moment, as is customary to the worshippers of the good God, a solution of this question had darted like lightning from on high, or a solution had been previously prepared. If I had not deserved or was unable to avail myself of either of these methods, I should have deferred the undertaking, and should have confessed that the thing propounded was difficult to discern and arduous. I should have withdrawn to myself, prostrated myself before God, groaned aloud asking Him not to suffer me to halt in mid space, when I should have moved forward with assured arguments, asking Him that I might not be compelled by a doubtful question either to subordinate intelligible things to sensible, and to yield, or to call Himself the author of vices; since either of these alternatives would have been absolutely full of falsehood and impiety. I can by no means suppose that He would have deserted me in such a frame of mind. Rather, in His own ineffable way, He would have admonished me to consider again and again whether vices of mind concerning which I was so troubled should be reckoned among intelligible things. But that I might find out, on account of the weakness of my inner eye, which rightly befell me on account of my sins, I should have devised some sort of stage for gazing upon spiritual[things in visible things themselves, of which we have by no means a surer knowledge, but a more confident familiarity. Therefore I should straightway have inquired, what properly pertains to the sensation of the eyes. I should have found that it is the color, the dominion of which the light holds. For these are the things that no other sense touches, for the motions and magnitudes and intervals and figures of bodies, although they also can be perceived by the eyes, yet to perceive such is not their peculiar function, but belongs also to touch. Whence I should have gathered that by as much as yonder light excels other corporeal and sensible things, by so much is sight more noble than the other senses. The light therefore having been selected from all the things that are perceived by bodily sense, by this [light] I should have striven, and in this of necessity I should have placed that stage of my inquiry. I should have gone on to consider what might be done in this way, and thus I should have reasoned with myself: If yonder sun, conspicuous by its brightness and sufficing for day by its light, should little by little decline in our sight into the likeness of the moon, would we perceive anything else with our eyes than light however refulgent, yet seeking light by reason of not seeing what had been, and using it for seeing what was present? Therefore we should not see the decline, but the light that should survive the decline. But since we should not see, we should not perceive; for whatever we perceive by sight must necessarily be seen; wherefore if that decline were perceived neither by sight nor by any other sense, it cannot be reckoned among objects of sense. For nothing is an object of sense that cannot be perceived by sense. Let us apply now the consideration to virtue, by whose intellectual light we most fittingly say the mind shines. Again, a certain decline from this light of virtue, not destroying the soul, but obscuring it, is called vice. Therefore also vice can by no means be reckoned

among objects of intellectual perception, as that decline of light is rightly excluded from the number of objects of sense perception. Yet what remains of soul, that is that which lives and is soul is just as much an object of intellectual perception as that is an object of sense perception which should shine in this visible luminary after any imaginable degree of decline. And so the soul, in so far as it is soul and partakes of life, without which it can in no way be soul, is most correctly to be preferred to all objects of sense perception. Wherefore it is most erroneous to say that any soul is not from God, from whom you boast that the sun and moon have their existence.

7. But if now it should be thought fit to designate as objects of sense perception not only all those things that we perceive by the senses, but also all those things that though not perceiving by the senses we judge of by means of the body, as of darkness through the eyes, of silence through the ears,--for not by seeing darkness and not by hearing silence do we know of their existence,--and again, in the case of objects of intellectual perception, not those things only which we see illuminated by the mind, as is wisdom itself, but also those things which by the illumination itself we avoid, such as foolishness, which I might fittingly designate mental darkness; I should have made no controversy about a word, but should have dissolved the whole question by an easy division, and straightway I should have proved to those giving good attention, that by the divine law of truth intelligible subsistences are to be preferred to sensible subsistences, not the decline of these subsistences, even though we should choose to call these intelligible, those sensible. Wherefore, that those who acknowledge that these visible luminaries and those intelligible souls are subsistences, are in every way compelled to grant and to attribute the sublimer part to souls; but that defects of either kind cannot be preferred the one to the other, for they are only privative and indicate nonexistence, and therefore have precisely the same force as negations themselves. For when we say, It is not gold, and, It is not virtue, although there is the greatest possible difference between gold and virtue, yet there is no difference between the negations that we adjoin to them. But that it is worse indeed not to be virtue than not to be gold, no sane man doubts. Who does not know that the difference lies not in the negations themselves, but in the things to which they are adjoined? For by as much as virtue is more excellent than gold, by so much is it more wretched to be in want of virtue than of gold. Wherefore, since intelligible things excel sensible things, we rightly feel greater repugnance towards defect in intelligible than in sensible things, esteeming not the defects, but the things that are deficient more or less precious. From which now it appears, that defect of light, which is intelligible, is far more wretched than defect of the sensible light, because, forsooth, life which is known is by far more precious than yonder light which is seen.

8. This being the case, who will dare, while attributing sun and moon, and whatever is refulgent in the stars, nay in this fire of ours and in this visible earthly life, to God, to decline to grant that any souls whatsoever, which are not souls except by the fact of their being perfectly alive, since in this fact alone life has the precedence of light, are from God. And since he speaks truth who says, In as far as a thing shines it is from God, would I speak falsely, mighty God, if I should say, In so far as a thing lives it is from God? Let not, I beseech thee, blindness of intellect and perversions of mind be increased to such an extent that men may fail to know these things. But however great their error and pertinacity might have been, trusting in these arguments and armed

therewith, I believe that when I should have laid the matter before them thus considered and canvassed, and should have calmly conferred with them, I should have feared lest any one of them should have seemed to me to be of any consequence, should he endeavor to subordinate or even to compare to bodily sense, or to those things that pertain to bodily sense as objects of knowledge, either intellect or those things that are perceived (not by way of defect) by the intellect. Which point having been settled, how would he or any other have dared to deny that such souls as he would consider evil, yet since they are souls, are to be reckoned in the number of intelligible things, nor are objects of intellectual perception by way of defect? This is on the supposition that souls are souls only by being alive. For if they were intellectually perceived as vicious through defect, being vicious by lack of virtue, yet they are perceived as souls not through defect, for they are souls by reason of being alive. Nor can it be maintained that presence of life is a cause of defect, for by as much as anything is defective, by so much is it severed from life.

9. Since therefore it would have been every way evident that no souls can be separated from that Author from whom yonder light is not separated, whatever they might have now adduced I should not have accepted, and should rather have admonished them that they should choose with me to follow those who maintain that whatever is, since it is, and in whatever degree it is, has its existence from the one God.

CHAP. 7.--HOW EVIL MEN ARE OF GOD, OR NOT OF GOD.

They might have cited against me those words of the gospel: "Ye therefore do not hear, because ye are not of God;" "Ye are of your father the devil."(1) I also should have cited: "All things were made by Him and without Him was not anything made,"(2) and this of the Apostle: "One God of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ through whom are all things,"(1) and again from the same Apostle: "Of whom are all things, through whom are all things, in whom are all things, to Him be glory."(2) I should have exhorted those men (if indeed I had found them men), that we should presume upon nothing as if we had found it out, but should rather inquire of the masters who would demonstrate the agreement and harmony of those passages that seem to be discordant. For when in one and the same Scriptural authority we read: "All things are of God,"(3) and elsewhere: "Ye are not of God," since it is wrong rashly to condemn books of Scripture, who would not have seen that a skilled teacher should be found who would know a solution of this problem, from whom assuredly if endowed with good intellectual powers, and a "spiritual man," as is said by divine inspiration(4) (for he would necessarily have favored the true arguments concerning the intelligible and sensible nature, which, as far as I can, I have conducted and handled, nay he would have disclosed them far better and more convincingly); we should have heard nothing else concerning this problem, except, as might happen, that there is no class of souls but has its existence from God, and that it is yet rightly said to sinners and unbelievers: "Ye are not of God." For we also, perchance, Divine aid having been implored, should have been able easily to see, that it is one thing to live and another to sin, and (although life

in sin may be called death in comparison with just life,(5) and while in one man it may be found, that he is at the same time alive and a sinner) that so far as he is alive, he is of God, so far as he is a sinner he is not of God. In which division we use that alternative that suits our sentiment; so that when we wish to insist upon the omnipotence of God as Creator, we may say even to sinners that they are of God. For we are speaking to those who are contained in some class, we are speaking to those having animal life, we are speaking to rational beings, we are speaking lastly--and this applies especially to the matter in hand--to living beings, all which things are essentially divine functions. But when our purpose is to convict evil men, we rightly say: "Ye are not of God." For we speak to them as averse to truth, unbelieving, criminal, infamous, and, to sum up all in one term--sinners, all of which things are undoubtedly not of God. Therefore what wonder is it, if Christ says to sinners, convicting them of this very thing that they were sinners and did not believe in Him: "Ye are not of God;" and on the other hand, without prejudice to the former statement: "All things were made through Him," and "All things are of God?" For if not to believe Christ, to repudiate Christ's advent, not to accept Christ, was a sure mark of souls that are not of God; and so it was said: "Ye therefore hear not, because ye are not of God;" how would that saying of the apostle be true that occurs in the memorable beginning of the gospel: "He came unto his own things, and his own people did not receive him?"(6) Whence his own if they did not receive him; or whence therefore not his own because they did not receive him, unless that sinners by virtue of being men belong to God, but by virtue of being sinners belong to the devil? He who says: "His own people received him not" had reference to nature; but he who says: "Ye are not of God." had reference to will; for the evangelist was commending the works of God, Christ was censuring the sins of men

CHAP. 8.--THE MANICHAEANS INQUIRE WHENCE IS EVIL AND BY THIS QUESTION THINK THEY HAVE TRIUMPHED. LET THEM FIRST KNOW, WHICH IS MOST EASY TO DO, THAT NOTHING CAN LIVE WITHOUT GOD. CONSUMMATE EVIL CANNOT BE KNOWN EXCEPT BY THE KNOWLEDGE OF CONSUMMATE GOOD, WHICH IS GOD.

Here perchance some one may say: Whence are sins themselves, and whence is evil in general? If from man, whence is man? if from an angel, whence is the angel? When it is said, however truly and rightly, that these are from God, it nevertheless seems to those unskillful and possessed of little power to look into recondite matters, that evils and sins are thereby connected, as by a sort of chain, to God. By this question they think themselves triumphant, as if forsooth to ask were to know;--would it were so, for in that case no one would be more knowing than myself. Yet very often in controversy the propounder of a great question, while impersonating the great teacher, is himself more ignorant in the matter concerning which he would frighten his opponent, than he whom he would frighten.

These therefore suppose that they are superior to the common run, because the former ask questions that the latter cannot answer. If therefore when I most unfortunately was

associated with them, not in the position in which I have now for some time been, they had raised these objections when I had brought forward this argument, I should have said: I ask that you meanwhile agree with me, which is most easy, that if nothing can shine without God, much less can anything live without God. Let us not persist in such monstrous opinions as to maintain that any souls whatsoever have life apart from God. For perchance it may so happen that with me you are ignorant as to this thing, namely whence is evil, let us then learn either simultaneously or in any order, I care not what. For what if knowledge of the perfection of evil is impossible to man without knowledge of the perfection of good? For we should not know darkness if we were always in darkness. But the notion of light does not allow its opposite to be unknown. But the highest good is that than which there is nothing higher. But God is good and than Him nothing can be higher. God therefore is the highest good. Let us therefore together so recognize God, and thus what we seek too hastily will not be hidden from us. Do you suppose then that the knowledge of God is a matter of small account or desert. For what other reward is there for us than life eternal, which is to know God? For God the Master says: "But this is life eternal, that they might know Thee the only and true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."(1) For the soul, although it is immortal, yet because aversion from the knowledge of God is rightly called its death, when it is converted to God, the reward of eternal life to be attained is that knowledge; so that this is, as has been said, eternal life. But no one can be converted to God, except he turn himself away from this world. This for myself I feel to be arduous and exceedingly difficult, whether it is easy to you, God Himself would have seen. I should have been inclined to think it easy to you, had I not been moved by the fact, that, since the world from which we are commanded to turn away is visible, and the apostle says: "The things that are seen are temporal, but; the things that are unseen are eternal,"(2) you ascribe more importance to the judgment of these eyes than to that of the mind, asserting and believing as you do that there is no shining feather that does not shine from God; and that there are living souls that do not live from God. These and like things I should either have said to them or considered with myself, for even then, supplicating God with all my bowels, so to speak, and examining as attentively as possible the Scriptures, I should perchance have been able either to say such things or to think them, so far as was necessary for my salvation.

CHAP. 9.--AUGUSTIN DECEIVED BY FAMILIARITY WITH THE MANICHAEANS, AND BY THE SUCCESSION OF VICTORIES OVER IGNORANT CHRISTIANS REPORTED BY THEM. THE MANICHAEANS ARE LIKEWISE EASILY REFUTED FROM THE KNOWLEDGE OF SIN AND THE WILL.

But two things especially, which easily lay hold upon that unwary age, urged me through wonderful circuits. One of these was familiarity, suddenly, by a certain false semblance of goodness, wrapped many times around my neck as a certain sinuous chain. The other was, that I was almost always noxiously victorious in arguing with ignorant Christians who yet eagerly attempted, each as he could, to defend their faith.(3) By which frequent success the ardor of youth was kindled, and by its own impulse rashly

verged upon the great evil of stubbornness. For this kind of wrangling, after I had become an auditor among them, whatever I was able to do either by my own genius, such as it was, or by reading the works of others, I most gladly devoted to them alone. Accordingly from their speeches ardor in disputations was daily increased, from success in disputations love for them [the Manichćans]. Whence it resulted that whatever they said, as if affected by certain strange disorders, I approved of as true, not because I knew it to be true, but because I wished it to be. So it came about that, however slowly and cautiously, yet for a long time I followed men that preferred a sleek straw to a living soul.

12. So be it, I was not able at that time to distinguish and discern sensible from intelligible things, carnal forsooth from spiritual. It did not belong to age, nor to discipline, nor even to any habit, nor, finally, to any deserts; for it is a matter of no small joy and felicitation: had I not thus been able at length even to grasp that which in the judgment of all men nature itself by the laws of the most High God has established?

CHAP. 10.--SIN IS ONLY FROM THE WILL. HIS OWN LIFE AND WILL BEST KNOWN TO EACH INDIVIDUAL. WHAT WILL IS.

For let any men whatever. if only no madness has broken them loose from the common sense of the human race, bring whatever zeal they like for judging, whatever ignorance, nay whatever slowness of mind, I should like to find out what they would have replied to me had I asked, whether a man would seem to them to have sinned by whose hand while he was asleep another should have written something disgraceful? Who doubts that they would have denied that it is a sin, and have exclaimed against it so vehemently that they might perchance have been enraged that I should have thought them proper objects of such a question? Of whom reconciled and restored to equanimity, as best I could do it, I should have begged that they would not take it amiss if I asked them another thing just as manifest, just as completely within the knowledge of all. Then I should have asked, if some stronger person had done some evil thing by the hand of one not sleeping but conscious, yet with the rest of his members bound and in constraint, whether because he knew it, though absolutely unwilling, he should be held guilty of any sin? And here all marvelling that I should ask such questions, would reply without hesitation, that he had absolutely not sinned at all. Why so? Because whoever has done anything evil by means of one unconscious or unable to resist, the latter can by no means be justly condemned. And precisely why this is so, if I should inquire of the human nature in these men, I should easily bring out the desired answer, by asking in this manner: Suppose that the sleeper already knew what the other would do with his hand, and of purpose aforethought, having drunk so much as would prevent his being awakened, should go to sleep, in order to deceive some one with an oath. Would any amount of sleep suffice to prove his innocence? What else than a guilty man would one pronounce him? But if he has also willingly been bound that he may deceive some one by this pretext, in what respect then would those chains profit as a means of relieving him of sin? Although bound by these he was really not able to resist, as in the

other case the sleeper was absolutely ignorant of what he was then doing. Is there therefore any possibility of doubting that both should be judged to have sinned? Which things having been conceded, I Should have argued, that sin is indeed nowhere but in the will,(1) since this consideration also would have helped me, that justice holds guilty those sinning by evil will alone, although they may have been unable to accomplish what they willed.

13. For who could have said that, in adducing these considerations, I was dwelling upon obscure and recondite things, where on account of the fewness of those able to understand, either fraud or suspicion of ostentation is accustomed to arise? Let that distinction between intelligible and sensible things withdraw for a little: let me not be found fault with for following up slow minds with the stimuli of subtle disputations. Permit me to know that I live, permit me to know that I will to live. If in this the human race agrees, as our life is known to us, so also is our will. Nor when we become possessed of this knowledge, is there any occasion to fear lest any one should convince us that we may be deceived; for no one can be deceived as to whether he does not live, or wishes nothing. I do not think that I have adduced anything obscure, and my concern is rather lest some should find fault with me for dwelling on things that are too manifest. But let us consider the bearing of these things.

14. Sinning therefore takes place only by exercise of will. But our will is very well known to us; for neither should I know that I will, if I did not know what will itself is. Accordingly, it is thus-defined: will is a movement of mind, no one compelling, either for not losing or for obtaining something.(1) Why therefore could not I have so defined it then? Was it difficult to see that one unwilling is contrary to one willing, just as the left hand is contrary to the right, not as black to white? For the same thing cannot be at the same time black and white. But whoever is placed between two men is on the left hand with reference to one, on the right with reference to the other. One man is both on the right hand and on the left hand at the same time, but by no means both to the one man. So indeed one mind may be at the same time unwilling and willing, but it cannot be at the same time unwilling and willing with reference to one and the same thing. For when any one unwillingly does anything; if you ask him whether he wished to do it, he says that he did not. Likewise if you ask whether he wished not to do it, he replies that he did. So you will find him unwilling with reference to doing, willing with reference to not doing, that is to say, one mind at the same time having both attitudes, but each referring to different things. Why do I say this? Because if we should again ask wherefore though unwilling he does this, he will say that he is compelled. For every one also who does a thing unwillingly is compelled, and every one who is compelled, if he does a thing, does it only unwillingly. It follows that he that is willing is free from compulsion, even if any one thinks himself compelled. And in this manner every one who willingly does a thing is not compelled, and whoever is not compelled, either does it willingly or not at all. Since nature itself proclaims these things in all men whom we can interrogate without absurdity, from the boy even to the old man, from literary sport even to the throne of the wise, why then should I not have seen that in the definition of will should be put, "no one compelling," which now as if with greater experience most cautiously I have done. But if this is everywhere manifest, and promptly occurs to all not by instruction but by nature, what is there left that seems obscure, unless perchance it be concealed from some one, that when we wish for something, we will, and our mind is moved towards it, and we

either have it or do not have it, and if we have it we will to retain it, if we have it not, to acquire it? Wherefore everyone who wills, wills either not to lose something or to obtain it. Hence if all these things are clearer than day, as they are, nor are they given to my conception alone, but by the liberality of truth itself to the whole human race, why could I not have said even at that time: Will is a movement of the mind, no one compelling, either for not losing or for obtaining something?

CHAP. II.--WHAT SIN IS.

Some one will say: What assistance would this have furnished you against the Manichćans? Wait a moment; permit me first also to define sin, which, every mind reads divinely written in itself, cannot exist apart from will. Sin therefore is the will to retain and follow after what justice forbids, and from which it is free to abstain.(2) Although if it be not free, it is not will. But I have preferred to define more roughly than precisely. Should I not also have carefully examined those obscure books, whence I might have learned that no one is worthy of blame or punishment who either wills what justice does not prohibit him from willing, or does not do what he is not able to do? Do not shepherds on mountains, poets in theatres, unlearned in social intercourse, learned in libraries, masters in schools, priests in consecrated places, and the human race throughout the whole world, sing out these things? But if no one is worthy of blame and condemnation, who either does not act against the prohibition of justice, or who does not do what he cannot do, yet every sin is blameworthy and condemnable, who doubts then that it is sin, when willing is unjust, and not willing is free. And hence that definition is both true and easy to understand, and not only now but then also could have been spoken by me: Sin is the will of retaining or of obtaining, what justice forbids, and whence it is free to abstain?

CHAP. 12.--FROM THE DEFINITIONS GIVEN OF SIN AND WILL, HE OVERTHROWS THE ENTIRE HERESY OF THE MANICHĆANS. LIKEWISE FROM THE JUST CONDEMNATION OF EVIL SOULS IT FOLLOWS THAT THEY ARE EVIL NOT BY NATURE BUT BY WILL. THAT SOULS ARE GOOD BY NATURE, TO WHICH THE PARDON OF SINS IS GRANTED.

16. Come now, let us see in what respect these things would have aided us. Much every way, so that I should have desired nothing more; for they end the whole cause; for whoever consulting in the inner mind, where they are more pronounced and assured, the secrets of his own conscience, and the divine laws absolutely imposed

upon nature, grants that these two definitions of will and sin are true, condemns without any hesitation by the fewest and the briefest, but plainly the most invincible reasons, the whole heresy of the Manichćans. Which can be thus considered. They say that there are two kinds of souls, the one good, which is in such a way from God, that it is said not to have been made by Him out of any material or out of nothing, but to have proceeded as a certain part from the very substance itself of God; the other evil, which they believe and strive to get others to believe pertains to God in no way whatever; and so they maintain that the one is the perfection of good, but the other the perfection of evil, and that these two classes were at one time distinct but are now commingled. The character and the cause of this commingling I had not yet heard; but nevertheless I could have inquired whether that evil kind of souls, before it was mingled with the good, had any will. For if not, it was without sin and innocent, and so by no means evil.(1) But if evil in such a way, that though without will, as fire, yet if it should touch the good it would violate and corrupt it; how impious it is to believe that the nature of evil is powerful enough to change any part of God, and that the Highest Good is corruptible and violable! But if the will was present, assuredly there was present, no one compelling, a movement of the mind either towards not losing something or obtaining something. But this something was either good, or was thought to be good, for not otherwise could it be earnestly desired. But in supreme evil, before the commingling which they maintain, there never was any good. Whence then could there be in it either the knowledge or the thought of good? Did they wish for nothing that was in themselves, and earnestly desire that true good which was without? That will must truly be declared worthy of distinguished and great praise by which is earnestly desired the supreme and true good. Whence then in supreme evil was this movement of mind most worthy of so great praise? Did they seek it for the sake of injuring it? In the first place, the argument comes to the same thing. For he who wishes to injure, wishes to deprive another of some good for the sake of some good of his own. There was therefore in them either a knowledge of good or an opinion of good, which ought by no means to belong to supreme evil. In the second place, whence had they known, that good placed outside of themselves, which they designed to injure, existed at all. If they had intellectually perceived it, what is more excellent than such a mind? Is there anything else for which the whole energy of good men is put forth except the knowledge of that supreme and sincere good? What therefore is now scarcely conceded to a few good and just men, was mere evil, no good assisting, then able to accomplish? But if those souls bore bodies and saw the supreme good with their eyes, what tongues, what hearts, what intellects suffice for lauding and proclaiming those eyes, with which the minds of just men can scarcely be compared? How great good things we find in supreme evil! For if to see God is evil, God is not a good; but God is a good; therefore to see God is good; and I know not what can be compared to this good. Since to see anything is good, whence can it be made out that to be able to see is evil? Therefore whatever in those eyes or in those minds brought it about, that the divine essence could be seen by them, brought about a great thing and a good thing most worthy of ineffable praise. But if it was not brought about, but it was such in itself and eternal, it is difficult to find anything better than this evil.

17. Lastly, that these souls may have nothing of these praiseworthy things which by the reasonings of the Manichćans they are compelled to have, I should have asked, whether God condemns any or no souls. If none, there is no judgment of rewards and punishments, no providence, and the world is administered by chance rather than by

reason, or rather is not administered at all. For the name administration must not be given to chances. But if it is impious for all those that are bound by any religion to believe this, it remains either that there is condemnation of some souls, or that there are no sins. But if there are no sins, neither is there any evil. Which if the Manichćans should say, they would slay their heresy with a single blow. Therefore they and I agree that some souls are condemned by divine law and judgment. But if these souls are good, what is that justice? If evil, are they so by nature, or by will? But by nature souls can in no way be evil. Whence do we teach this. From the above definitions of will and sin. For to speak of souls, and that they are evil, and that they do not sin, is full of madness; but to say that they sin without will, is great craziness, and to hold any one guilty of sin for not doing what he could not do, belongs to the height of iniquity and insanity. Wherefore whatever these souls do, if they do it by nature not by will, that is, if they are wanting in a movement of mind free both for doing and not doing, if finally no power of abstaining from their work is conceded to them; we cannot hold that the sin is theirs.(1) But all confess both that evil souls are justly, and souls that have not sinned are unjustly condemned; therefore they confess that those souls are evil that sin. But these, as reason teaches, do not sin. Therefore the extraneous class of evil souls of the Manichćans, whatever it may be, is a non-entity.

18. Let us now look at that good class of souls, which again they exalt to such a degree as to say that it is the very substance of God. But how much better it is that each one should recognize his own rank and merit, nor be so puffed up with sacrilegious pride as to believe that as often as he experiences a change in himself it is the substance of that supreme good, which devout reason holds and teaches to be unchangeable! For behold! since it is manifest that souls do not sin in not being such as they cannot be; it follows that these supposititious souls, whatever they may be, do not sin at all, and moreover that they are absolutely non-existent; it remains that since there are sins, they find none to whom to attribute them except the good class of souls and the substance of God. But especially are they pressed by Christian authority; for never have they denied that forgiveness of sins is granted when any one has been converted to God; never have they said (as they have said of many other passages) that some corrupter has interpolated this into the divine Scriptures. To whom then are sins attributed? If to those evil souls of the alien class, these also can become good, can possess the kingdom of God with Christ. Which denying, they [the Manichćans] have no other class except those souls which they maintain are of the substance of God. It remains that they acknowledge that not only these latter also, but these alone sin. But I make no contention about their being alone in sinning; yet they sin. But are they compelled to sin by being commingled with evil? If so compelled that there was no power of resisting, they do not sin. If it is in their power to resist, and they voluntarily consent, we are compelled to find out through their [the Manichćan] teaching, why so great good things in supreme evil, why this evil in supreme good, unless it be that neither is that which they bring into suspicion evil, nor is that which they pervert by superstition supreme good?

CHAP.13.--FROM DELIBERATION ON THE EVIL AND ON THE GOOD PART IT RESULTS THAT TWO CLASSES OF SOULS ARE NOT TO BE HELD TO. A CLASS

OF SOULS ENTICING TO SHAMEFUL DEEDS HAVING BEEN CONCEDED, IT DOES NOT FOLLOW THAT THESE ARE EVIL BY NATURE, THAT THE OTHERS ARE SUPREME GOOD.

19. But if I had taught, or at any rate had myself learned, that they rave and err regarding those two classes of souls, why should I have thenceforth thought them worthy of being heard or consulted about anything? That I might learn hence, that these two kinds of souls are pointed out, which in the course of deliberation assent puts now on the evil side, now on the good? Why is not this rather the sign of one soul which by free will can be borne here and there, swayed hither and thither? For it was my own experience to feel that I am one, considering evil and good and choosing one or the other, but for the most part the one pleases, the other is fitting, placed in the midst of which we fluctuate. Nor is it to be wondered at, for we are now so constituted that through the flesh we can be affected by sensual pleasure, and through the spirit by honorable considerations. Am I not therefore compelled to acknowledge two souls? Nay, we can better and with far less difficulty recognize two classes of good things, of which neither is alien from God as its author, one soul acted upon from diverse directions, the lower and the higher, or to speak more correctly, the external and the internal. These are the two classes which a little while ago we considered under the names sensible and intelligible, which we now prefer to call more familiarly carnal and spiritual. But it has been made difficult for us to abstain from carnal things, since our truest bread is spiritual. For with great labor we now eat this bread. For neither without punishment for the sin of transgression have we been changed from immortal into moral. So it happens, that when we strive after better things, habit formed by connection with the flesh and our sins in some way begin to militate against us and to put obstacles in our way, some foolish persons with most obtuse superstition suspect that there is another kind of souls which is not of God.

20. However even if it be conceded to them that we are enticed to shameful deeds by another inferior kind of souls, they do not thence make it evident that those enticing are evil by nature, or those enticed, supremely good. For it may be, the former of their own will, by striving after what was not lawful, that is, by sinning, from being good have become evil; and again they may be made good, but in such manner that for a long time they remain in sin, and by a certain occult suasion traduce to themselves other souls. Then, they may not be absolutely evil, but in their own kind, however inferior, they may exercise their own functions without any sin. But those superior souls to whom justice, the directress of things, has assigned a far more excellent activity, if they should wish to follow and to imitate those inferior ones, become evil, not because they imitate evil souls, but because they imitate in an evil way. By the evil souls is done what is proper to them, by the good what is alien to them is striven after. Hence the former remain in their own grade, the latter are plunged into a lower. It is as when men copy after beasts. For the four-fooled horse walks beautifully, but if a man on all fours should imitate him, who would think him worthy even of chaff for food? Rightly therefore we generally disapprove of one who imitates, while we approve of him whom he imitates. But we disapprove not because he has not succeeded, but for wishing to succeed at all. For in the horse we approve of that to which by as much as we prefer man, by so much are we

offended that he copies after inferior creatures. So among men, however well the crier may do in sending forth his voice, would not the senator be insane, if he should do it even more clearly and better than the crier? Take an illustration from the heavenly bodies: The moon when shining is praised, and by its course and its changes is quite pleasing to those that pay attention to such things. But if the sun should wish to imitate it (for we may feign that it has desires of this sorts), who would not be greatly and rightly displeased. From which illustrations I wish it to be understood, that even if there are souls (which meanwhile is left an open question(2)) devoted to bodily offices not by sin but by nature, and even if they are related to us, however inferior they may be, by some inner affinity, they should not be esteemed evil simply because we are evil ourselves in following them and in loving corporeal things. For we sin by loving corporeal things, because by justice we are required and by nature we are able to love spiritual things, and when we do this we are, in our kind, the best and the happiest.(3)

21. Wherefore what proof does deliberation, violently urged in both directions, now prone to sin, now borne on toward right conduct, furnish, that we are compelled to accept two kinds of souls, the nature of one of which is from God, of the other not; when we are free to conjecture so many other causes of alternating states of mind? But that these things are Obscure and are to no purpose pried into by blear-eyed minds, whoever is a good judge of things sees. Wherefore those things rather which have been said regarding the will and sin, those things, I say, that supreme justice permits no man using his reason to be ignorant of, those things which if they were taken from us, there is nothing whence the discipline of virtue may begin, nothing whence it may rise from the death of vices, those things I say considered again and again with sufficient clearness and lucidity convince us that the heresy of the Manichćans is false.

CHAP. 14.--AGAIN IT IS SHOWN FROM THE UTILITY OF REPENTING THAT SOULS ARE NOT BY NATURE EVIL. SO SURE A DEMONSTRATION IS NOT CONTRADICTED EXCEPT FROM THE HABIT OF ERRING.

22. Like the foregoing considerations is what I shall now say about repenting. For as among all sane people it is agreed, and this the Manichćans themselves not only confess but also teach, that to repent of sin is useful. Why shall I now, in this matter, collect the testimonies of the divine Scriptures, which are scattered throughout their pages? It is also the voice of nature; notice of this thing has escaped no fool. We should be undone, if this were not deeply imbedded in our nature. Some one may say that he does not sin; but no barbarity will dare to say, that if one sins he should not repent of it. This being the case, I ask to which of the two kinds of souls does repenting pertain? I know indeed that it can pertain neither to him who does ill nor to him who cannot do well. Wherefore, that I may use the words of the Manichćans, if a soul of darkness repent of sin, it is not of the substance of supreme evil, if a soul of light, it is not of the substance of supreme good; that disposition of repenting which is profitable testifies alike that the penitent has done ill, and that he could have done well. How, therefore, is there from me nothing of evil, if I have acted unadvisedly, or how can I rightly repent if I

have not so done? Hear the other part. How is there from me nothing of good, if in me there is good will, or how do I rightly repent if there is not? Wherefore, either let them deny that there is great utility in repenting, so that they may be driven not only from the Christian name, but from every even imaginary argument for their views, or let them cease to say and to teach that there are two kinds of souls, one of which has nothing of evil, the other nothing of good; for that whole sect is propped up by this two- headed or rather headlong (2) variety of souls.

23. And to me indeed it is sufficient thus to know that the Manichćans err, that I know that sin must be repented of; and yet if now by right of friendship I should accost some one of my friends who still thinks that they are worthy of being listened to, and should say to him: Do you not know that it is useful, when any one has sinned, to repent? Without hesitation he will swear that he knows. If then I shall have convinced you that Manichćism is false, will you not desire anything snore? Let him reply what more he can desire in this matter. Very well, so far. But when I shall have begun to show the sure and necessary arguments which, bound to it with adamantine chains, as the saying is, follow that proposition, and shall have conducted to its conclusion the whole process by which that sect is overthrown, he will deny perhaps that he knows the utility of repenting, which no learned man, no unlearned, is ignorant of, and will rather contend, when we hesitate and deliberate, that two souls in us furnish each its own proper help to the solution of the different parts of the question. O habit of sin! O accompanying penalty of sin! Then you turned me away from the consideration of things so manifest, but you injured me when I did not discern. But now, among my most familiar acquaintances who do not discern, you wound and torment me discerning.

CHAP. 15.--HE PRAYS FOR HIS FRIENDS WHOM HE HAS HAD AS ASSOCIATES IN ERROR.

24. Give heed to these things, I beseech you, dearly beloved. Your dispositions to have well known. If you now concede to me the mind and the reason of any sort of man, these things are far more certain than the things that we seemed to learn or rather were compelled to believe. Great God, God omnipotent, God of supreme goodness, whose right it is to be believed and known to be inviolable and unchangeable. Trinal Unity, whom the Catholic Church worships, as one who have experienced in myself Thy mercy, I supplicate Thee, that Thou wilt not permit those with whom from boyhood I have lived most harmoniously in every relation to dissent from me in Thy worship. I see bow it was especially to be expected in this place that I should either even then have defended the Catholic Scriptures attacked by the Manichćans, if as I say, I had been cautious; or I should now show that they can be defended. But in other volumes God will aid my purpose, for the moderate length of this, as I suppose, already asks to be spared.(3) Augustin and Fortunatus are at variance with reference to the subject for discussion, the former having proposed to dispute about doctrine, the latter preferring to vindicate his party through the testimony of Augustin from the slanderous accusations that are current among the Catholics. Fortunatus makes a confession of his faith, in

which he confesses to believe that God is incorruptible, lucid, unapproachable, intenible, impassible; and expresses his adherence to a doctrine of the Trinity somewhat like that held by Orthodox Christians. Augustin shows that the Manichćan God is subject to necessity, corruptible, violable, liable to suffering, etc., and presses upon Fortunatus the question, Why God sent a portion of his substance to combat the race of darkness, and so to become involved in corruption and misery? Fortunatus attempts, without success, to show the consistency of his confession of faith with the Manichćan view of two eternally existing antagonistic principles, and the conflict between the two resulting in the mingling of good and evil in the present order of things by quoting freely from the Christian Scriptures. Knowing the deceitfulness of Fortunatus in his use of Scripture, Augustin insists that the discussion be conducted on rational grounds. The audience take sides with Augustin, and raise a clamor that results in the suspension of the discussion, and after they have expressed horror at Fortunatus' assertion that the Word of God is lettered in the race of darkness, the meeting is closed.
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ST. AUGUSTIN: ACTS OR DISPUTATION AGAINST FORTUNATUS

ST. AUGUSTIN
ACTS OR DISPUTATION AGAINST FORTUNATUS, THE MANICHAEAN.
[ACTA SEU DISPUTATIO CONTRA FORTUNATUM MANICHAEUM.]
A.D. 392. (1)

DISPUTATION OF THE FIRST DAY.

ON THE FIFTH OF SEPTEMBER, THE MOST RENOWNED MEN ARCADIUS AUGUSTUS (THE SECOND TIME) AND RUFINUS BEING CONSULS, A DISPUTATION AGAINST FORTUNATUS, AN ELDER OF THE MANICHAEANS, WAS HELD IN THE CITY OF HIPPO REGIUS, IN THE BATHS OF SOSSIUS, IN THE PRESENCE OF THE PEOPLE.

1. AUGUSTIN said: I now regard as error what formerly I regarded as truth. I desire to hear from you who are present whether my supposition is correct. First of all I regard it as the height of error to believe that Almighty God, in whom is our one hope, is in any part either violable, or contaminable, or corruptible. This I know your heresy affirms, not indeed in the words that I now use; for when you are questioned you confess that God is incorruptible, and absolutely inviolable, and incontaminable; but when you begin to expound the rest of your system, we are compelled to declare Him corruptible, penetrable, contaminable. For you say that another race of darkness, whatever it may be, has rebelled against the kingdom of God; but that Almighty God, when He saw what ruin and desolation threatened his domains, unless he should make some opposition to the adverse race and resist it, sent this virtue, from whose commingling with evil and the race of darkness the world was framed. Hence it is that here good souls labor, serve, err, are corrupted: that they may see the need of a liberator, who should purge them

from error, loose them from this commingling with evil, and liberate them from servitude. I think it impious to believe that Almighty God ever feared any adverse race, or was under necessity to precipitate us into afflictions.

FORTUNATUS said: Because I know that you have been in our midst, that is, have lived as an adherent among the Manichaeans, these are the principles of our faith. The matter now to be considered is our mode of living, the falsely alleged crimes for which we are maltreated. Therefore let the good men present hear from you whether these things with which we are charged and which we have thrown in our teeth are true or false. For from your instruction, and from your exposition and explanation, they will have been able to gain more correct information about our mode of life, if it shall have been set forth by you.

2. AUGUSTIN said: I was among you, but faith and morals are different questions. I proposed to discuss faith. But if those present prefer to hear about morals, I do not decline that question.

FORTUNATUS said: I wish first to purge myself in your conscience in which we are polluted, by the testimony of a competent man, (who even now is competent for me), and in view of the future examination of Christ, the just judge, whether he saw in us, or himself practiced by imitation, the things that are now thrown in our teeth?

3. AUGUSTIN said: You call me to something else, when I had proposed to discuss faith, but concerning your morals only those who are your Elect can fully know. But you know that I was not your Elect, but an Auditor. Hence though I was present at your prayer meetings, (1) as you have asked (whether separately among yourselves you have any prayer meetings, God alone and yourselves can know); yet in your prayer meetings where I have been present I have seen nothing shameful take place; but only that the faith that I afterwards learned and approved is denounced, and that you perform your services facing the sun. Besides this I found out nothing new in your meetings, but whoever raises any question of morals against you, raises it against your Elect. But what you who are Elect do among yourselves, I have no means of knowing. For I have often heard from you that you receive the Eucharist. But since the time of receiving it was concealed from me, how could I know what you receive? (2) So keep the question about morals, if you please, for discussion among your Elect, if it can be discussed. You gave me a faith that I today disapprove. This I proposed to discuss. Let a response be made to my proposition.

FORTUNATUS said: And our profession is this very thing: that God is incorruptible, lucid, unapproachable, intenible, impassible, that He inhabits His own eternal lights, that nothing corruptible proceeds from Him, neither darkness, demons, Satan, nor anything adverse can be found in His kingdom. But that He sent forth a Saviour like Himself; that the Word born from the foundation of the world, when He had formed the world, after the formation of the world came among men; that He has chosen souls worthy of Himself according to His own holy will, sanctified by celestial command, imbued with the faith and reason of celestial things; that under His leadership those souls will return hence again to the kingdom of God according to the holy promise of Him who said: "I am the way, the truth, and the door;" (3) and "No one can come unto the Father, except

through me." These things we believe because otherwise, that is, through another mediator, souls cannot return to the kingdom of God, unless they find Him as the way, the truth, and the door. For Himself said: "He that hath seen me, hath seen my Father also;" (4) and "whosoever shall have believed on me shall not taste death forever, but has passed from death unto life, and shall not come into judgment." (5) These things we believe and this is the reason of our faith, and according to the strength of our mind we endeavor to act according to His commandments, following after the one faith of this Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Spirit. (6)

4. AUGUSTIN said: What was the cause of those souls being precipitated into death, whom you confess come through Christ from death to life?

FORTUNATUS said: Hence now deign to go on and to contradict, if there is nothing besides God.

5. AUGUSTIN said: Nay, do you deign to answer the question put to you: What cause has given these souls to death?

FORTUNATUS said: Nay but do you deign to say whether there is anything besides God, or all things are in God.

6. AUGUSTIN said: This I can reply, that the Lord wished me to know that God cannot suffer any necessity, nor be violated or corrupted in any part. Which, since you also acknowledge, I ask by what necessity He sent hither souls that you say return through Christ?

FORTUNATUS said: What you have said: that thus far God has revealed to you, that He is incorruptible, as He has also revealed to me; the reason must be sought, how and wherefore souls have come into this world, so that now of right God should liberate them from this world through his Son only begotten and like Himself, if besides Himself there is nothing?

7. AUGUSTIN said: We ought not to disappoint those present, being men of note, and from the question proposed for discussion go to another. So we both confess, so we concede to ourselves, that God is incorruptible and inviolable, and could have in no way suffered. From which it follows, that your heresy is false, which says that God, when He saw desolation and ruin threaten His kingdom, sent forth a power that should do battle with the race of darkness, and that out of this commingling our souls are laboring. My argument is brief, and as I suppose, perfectly clear to any one. If God could have suffered nothing from the race of darkness because He is inviolable, without cause He sent us hither that we might here suffer distress. But if anything can suffer, it is not inviolable, and you deceive those to whom you say that God is inviolable. For this your heresy denies when you expound the rest of it.

FORTUNATUS said: We are of that mind in which the Apostle Paul instructs us, who says: "Let this mind be in you that was also in Christ Jesus, who when He had been constituted in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but emptied Himself receiving the form of a servant, having been made in the likeness of men, and

having been found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, and was made obedient even unto death." (1) We have this mind therefore about ourselves, which we have also about Christ,who when He was constituted in the form of God, was made obedient even unto death that He might show the similitude of our souls. And like as He showed in Himself the similitude of death, and having been raised from the midst of the dead showed that He was from the Father, in the same manner we think it will be with our souls, because through Him we shall have been able to be freed from this death, which is either alien from God, or if it belongs to God, His mercy ceases, and the name of liberator, and the works of Him who liberates. (2)

8. AUGUSTIN said: I ask how we came into death, and you tell how we may be liberated from death.

FORTUNATUS said: So the apostle said that we ought to have that mind concerning ourselves which Christ has shown us. If Christ was in suffering and death, so also are we.

9. AUGUSTIN said: It is known to all that the Catholic faith is to the effect that our Lord, that is the Power and Wisdom of God, (3) and the Word through whom all things have been made and without whom was not anything made, (4) took upon Himself man to liberate us. In the man whom He took upon Himself, He demonstrated those things that you spoke of. But we now ask concerning the substance of God Himself and of Unspeakable Majesty, whether anything can injure it or not. For if anything can injure it, He is not inviolable. If nothing can injure I the substance of God, what was the race of darkness about to do to it, against which you say war was waged by God before the foundation of the world; in which war you assert that we, that is souls that are now manifestly in need of a liberator, have been commingled with every evil and implicated in death. For I return to that very brief statement: If He could be injured, He is not inviolable; if He could not, He acted cruelly in sending us hither to suffer these things.

FORTUNATUS said: Does the soul belong to God, or not?

10. AUGUSTIN said: If it is just that you should fail to respond to my questions, and that I should be questioned, I will reply.

FORTUNATUS said: Does the soul act independently? This I ask of you.

11. AUGUSTIN said: I indeed will tell what you have asked; only remember this, that while you have refused to respond to my questions, I have responded to yours. If you ask whether the soul descended from God, it is indeed a great question; but whether it descends from God or not, I make this reply concerning the soul, that it is not God; that God is one thing, the soul another. That God is inviolable, incorruptible, and impenetrable, and incontaminable, who also could be corrupted in no part and to whom no injury can be done in any part. But we see also that the soul is sinful, and is conversant with misery, and seeks the truth, and is in want of a liberator. This changing condition of the soul shows me that the soul is not God. For if the soul is the substance of God, the substance of God errs, the substance of God is corrupted, the substance of God is violated, the substance of God is deceived; which it is impious to say.

FORTUNATUS said: Therefore you have denied that the soul is of God, so long as it serves sins, and vices, and earthly things, and is led by error, because it cannot happen that either God or His substance should suffer this thing. For God is incorruptible and His substance immaculate and holy. But here it is inquired of you whether the soul is of God, or not? Which we confess, and show from the advent of the Saviour, from His holy preaching, from His election; while He pitied souls, and the soul is said to have come according to His will, that He might free it from death and might bring it to eternal glory, and restore it to the Father. But what do you say and hope concerning the soul; is it from God or not? Can the substance of God, from which you deny that the soul has its being, be subject to no passions?

12. AUGUSTIN said: I have denied that the soul is the substance of God in the sense of its being God; but yet I hold that it is from God as its author, because it was made by God. The Maker is one thing, the thing made is another. He who made cannot be corruptible at all, but what He made cannot be at all equal to Him who made it.

FORTUNATUS said: Nor have I said that the soul is like God. But because you have said that the soul is an artificial thing, and that there is nothing besides God, I ask whence then God invented the substance of the soul?

13. AUGUSTIN said: Only bear in mind that I reply to your interrogations, but that you do not reply to mine. I say that the soul was made by God as all other things that were made by God; and that among the things that God Almighty made the principal place was given to the soul. But if you ask whence God made the soul, remember that you and I agree in confessing that God is almighty. But he is not almighty who seeks the assistance of any material whence he may make what he will. From which it follows, that according to our faith, all things that God made through His Word and Wisdom, He made out of nothing. For so we read: He ordered and they were made; He commanded and they were created." (1)

FORTUNATUS said: Do all things have their existence from God's command?

14. AUGUSTIN said: So I believe, but all things which were made.

FORTUNATUS said: As things made they agree, but because they are unsuitable to themselves, therefore on this account it follows, that there is not one substance, although from the same order of the One they came to the composition and fashioning of this world. But it is plain in the things themselves that there is no similarity between darkness and light, truth and falsehood, death and life, soul and body, and other similar things which differ from each other both in names and appearances. And for good reason did our Lord say: "The tree which my heavenly Father has not planted shall be rooted up and cast into the fire, because it brings not forth good fruit:" (2) and that the tree has been rooted up. Hence truly it follows from the reason of things that there are two substances in this world which agree in forms and in names, of which one belongs to corporeal natures, but the other is the eternal substance of the omnipotent Father, which we believe to be God's substance.

15. AUGUSTIN said: Those contrary things that move you so that we think adversely, have happened on account of our sin, that is, on account of the sin of man. For God made all things good, and ordered them well; but He did not make sin, and our voluntary sin is the only thing that is called evil. There is another kind of evil, which is the penalty of sin. Since therefore there are two kinds of evil, sin and the penalty of sin, sin does not pertain to God; the penalty of sin pertains to the avenger. For as God is good who constituted all things, so He is just in taking vengeance on sin. Since therefore all things are ordered in the best possible way, which seem to us now to be adverse, it has deservedly happened to fallen man who was unwilling to keep the law of God. For God gave free will to the rational soul which is in man. For thus it would have been possible to have merit, if we should be good voluntarily and not of necessity. Since therefore it behooves us to be good not of necessity but voluntarily, it behooved God to give to the soul free will. But to this soul obeying His laws, He subjected all things without adversity, so that the rest of the things that God made should serve it, if also the soul itself had willed to serve God. But if it should refuse to serve God, those things that served it should be converted into its punishment. Wherefore if all things are rightly ordered by God, and are good, neither does God suffer evil.

FORTUNATUS said: He does not suffer, but prevents evil.

16. AUGUSTIN said: From whom then was He about to suffer it?

FORTUNATUS said: This is my point, that He wished to prevent it, not rashly, but by power and prescience. But deny evil to be apart from God, when other precepts can be shown which are done apart from His will. A precept is not introduced, unless where there is contrariety. The free faculty of living is not given except where there is a fall according to the argument of the apostle who says: "And you did he quicken, when ye were dead in your trespasses and sins, wherein aforetime ye walked according to the rulership of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, of the spirit that now worketh in the souls of disobedience; among whom we also all once lived in the lusts of our flesh, doing the desires of the counsels of the flesh, and were by nature children of wrath, even as the rest: but God, who is rich in all mercy, had mercy on us. And when we were dead by sins, quickened us together in Christ, by whose grace ye have been saved; and at the same time also raised us up, and made us to sit with Him in the heavenly places with Christ Jesus, that in the ages to come He might show the exceeding riches of his grace in kindness toward us in Christ Jesus. For by grace have ye been saved through faith; and that not of yourselves, for it is a gift of God; not of works, lest any one should glory. For we are his workmanship created in Christ Jesus in good works, which God prepared that we should walk in them. Wherefore remember, that aforetime ye were Gentiles in the flesh, who are called uncircumcision, by that which is called circumcision in flesh made by hands, because ye were at that time without Christ, alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers of the covenant, having no hope of the promise, and without God in this world. But now in Christ Jesus, ye that once were far off are made nigh in the blood of Christ. For He is our peace, who made both one, and breaking down the middle wall of partition, the enmities in His flesh, making void by His decrees the law of commandments, that in Himself He might unite the two into one new man, making peace, that He might reconcile them both in one body unto God through the cross, slaying the enmities in

Himself. And He came and preached peace unto you that were far off, and peace to them that were nigh. For through Him we both have our access in one Spirit unto the Father." (1)

17. AUGUSTIN said: This passage from the apostle, which you have thought fit to recite, if I mistake not, makes very strongly for my faith and against yours. In the first place, because free will itself, on which I have said that the possibility of the soul's sinning depends, is here sufficiently expressed, when sins are mentioned, and it is said that our reconciliation with God takes place through Jesus Christ. For by sinning we were brought into opposition to God; but by holding to the precepts of Christ we are reconciled to God; so that we who were dead in sins may be made alive by keeping His precepts, and may have peace with Him in one Spirit, from whom we were alienated, by failure to keep His precepts; as is set forth in our faith concerning the man who was first created. I ask of you, therefore, according to that passage which has been read, how can we have sins if contrary nature compels us to do what we do? For he who is compelled by nature to do anything, does not sin. But he who sins, sins by free will. Wherefore would repentance be enjoined upon us, if we have done nothing evil, but only the race of darkness? Likewise, I ask, to whom is forgiveness of sins granted, to us or to the race of darkness? If to the race of darkness, their race will also reign with Him, receiving the forgiveness of sin; but if to us it is manifest that we have sinned voluntarily. For it is the height of folly for him to be pardoned who has done no evil. But he has done no evil, who has done nothing of his own will. Therefore the soul that today promises itself forgiveness of sins and reconciliation to God, if it should cease to sin, and repent of past sins: if it should answer according to your faith and should say: In what have I sinned? In what am I guilty? Why hast Thou expelled me from Thy domains, that I might do battle with some sort of race? I have been trodden under foot, I have been mixed up, I have been corrupted, I am worn out, (2) my free will has not been preserved. Thou knowest the necessity by which I am preserved: Why dost Thou impute to me the wounds that I have received? Wherefore dost Thou compel me to repentance when Thou art the cause of my wounds; when Thou knowest what I have suffered, what the race of darkness has done against me, Thou being the author who couldst suffer no harm and yet wishing to save the domains which nothing could injure, Thou didst thrust me down into these miseries. If indeed I am a part of Thee, who have proceeded from Thy bowels, if I am from Thy kingdom and Thy mouth, I ought not to suffer anything in this race of darkness, so that I being uncorrupted that race should be subjected, if I was a part of the Lord. But now since it cannot be controlled except by my corruption, how can I either be said to be a part of Thee, or Thou remain inviolable, or not be cruel in wishing me to suffer for those domains, that could in no way be injured by that race of darkness? Respond to this if you please, and deign also to explain to me how it was said by the apostle, "We were by nature children of wrath," who, he says, have been reconciled to God. If therefore they were by nature children of wrath, how do you say that the soul is by nature a daughter and portion of God?

FORTUNATUS Said: If with regard to the soul the apostle had said that we are by nature children of wrath, the soul would have been alienated by the mouth of the apostle from God. From this argument you only show that the soul does not belong to God, because, the apostle says, "We are by nature children of wrath." But if it is said in view of the fact that the apostle (1) was held by the law, descending as he himself

testifies, from the seed of Abraham, it follows that he has said corporeally, that we [i.e., Jews] were children of wrath even as the rest of mankind. But he shows that the substance of the soul is of God, and that the soul cannot otherwise i be reconciled to God than through the Master, who is Christ Jesus. For the enmity having been slain, the soul seemed to God unworthy to have existed. But that it was sent, this we confess, by God yet omnipotent, both deriving its origin from Him and sent for the sealing of His will. In the same way we believe also that Christ the Saviour came from heaven to fulfill the will of the Father. Which will of the Father was this, to free our souls from the same enmity, this enmity having been slain, which if it had not been opposed to God could neither be called enmity where there was unity, nor could slaying be spoken of or take place where there was life.

18. AUGUSTIN said: Remember that the apostle said that we are alienated from God by our manner of life.

FORTUNATUS said: I submit, that there were two substances. In the substance of light, as we have above said, God is to be held incorruptible; but that there was a contrary nature of darkness, that which I also today confess is vanquished by the power of God, and that Christ has been sent forth as a Saviour for my restoration, as previously the same apostle says.

19. AUGUSTIN said That we should discuss on rational grounds the belief in two natures, has been made obligatory by those who are hearing us. But inasmuch as you have again betaken yourself to the Scriptures, I descend to them, and demand that nothing be passed by, lest using certain statements we should bring confusion into the minds of those to whom the Scriptures are not well known. Let us therefore consider a statement that the apostle has in his epistle to the Romans. For on the first page is what is strongly against you. For he says: "Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, separated unto the gospel of God, which He promised aforetime by His prophets in the Holy Scriptures, concerning his Son,who was made unto Him of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was predestinated to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness from the resurrection from the dead of our Lord Jesus Christ." (2) We see that the apostle teaches us concerning our Lord Jesus Christ that before the flesh he was predestinated by the power of God, and according to the flesh was made unto Him of the seed of David. Since you have always denied and always will deny this, how do you so earnestly demand the Scriptures that we should discuss rather according to them.

FORTUNATUS said: You assert that according to the flesh Christ was of the seed of David, when it should be asserted that he was born of a virgin, (3) and should be magnified as Son of God. For this cannot be, unless as what is from spirit may be held to be spirit, so also what is from flesh may be known to be flesh. (4) Against which is the authority of the Gospel in which it is said, that "flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God, neither shall corruption inherit incorruption." (5)

Here a clamor was made by the audience who wished the argument to be conducted on rational grounds, because they saw that Fortunatus was not wilting to receive all things

that are written in the Codex of the apostle. Then little discussions began to be held here and there by all, until Fortunatus said that the Word of God has been fettered in the race of darkness. At which, when those present had expressed their horror, the meeting was close. (6)

DISPUTATION OF THE SECOND DAY.

THE NEXT DAY, A NOTARY HAVING AGAIN BEEN SUMMONED, THE DISCUSSION WAS CONDUCTED

AS FOLLOWS:

FORTUNATUS said: I say that God Almighty brings forth from Himself nothing evil, and that the things that are His remain incorrupt, having sprung and being born from an inviolable source; but other contrary things which have their being in this world, do not flow from God nor have appeared in this world with God as their author; that is to say, they do not derive their origin from God. These things therefore we have received in the belief that evil things are foreign to God.

20. AUGUSTIN said: And our faith is this, that God is not the progenitor of evil things, neither has He made any evil nature. But since both of us agree that God is incorruptible and incontaminable, it is the part of the prudent and faithful to consider, which faith is purer and worthier of the majesty of God that in which it is asserted that either the power of God, or some part of God, or the Word of God, can be changed, violated, corrupted, fettered; or that in which it is said that Almighty God and His entire nature and substance can never be corrupted in any part, but that evils have their being by the voluntary sin of the soul, to which God gave free will. Which free will if God had not given, there could be no just penal judgment, nor merit of righteous conduct, nor divine instruction to repent of sins, nor the forgiveness of sins itself which God has bestowed upon us through our Lord Jesus Christ. Because he who sins not voluntarily, sins not at all. This I suppose to be open and perspicuous to all. Wherefore it ought not to trouble us if according to our deserts we suffer some inconveniences in the things God has made. For as He is good, that He should constitute all things; so He is just, that He may not spare sins, which sins, as I have said, unless free will were in us, would not be sins. For if any one, so to speak, should be bound by some one in his other members, and with his hand something false should be written without his own will, I ask whether if this were laid open before a judge, he could condemn this one for the

crime of falsehood. Wherefore, if it is manifest that there is no sin where there is not free exercise of will,(1) I wish to hear what evil the soul which you call either part, or power, or word, or something else, of God, has done, that it should be punished by God, or repent of sin, or merit forgiveness, since it has in no way sinned?

FORTUNATUS said: I proposed concerning substances, that God is to be regarded as creator only of good things, but as the avenger of evil things, for the reason that evil things are not of Him. Therefore for good reason I think this, and that God avenges evil things because they are not of Himself. But if they were from Him, either He would give them license to sin, as you say that God has given free will, He would be already found a participator in my fault, because He would be the author of my fault; or ignorant what I should be, he left me whom he did not constitute worthy of Himself. This therefore is proposed by me, and what I ask now is, whether God instituted evil or not? and whether He Himself instituted the end of evils. For it appears from these things, and the evangelical faith teaches, that the things which we have said were made by God Himself as God the Creator, as having been created and begotten by Him, are to be esteemed incorruptible. These things I also proposed which belong to our belief, and which can be confirmed by you in that profession of ours, without prejudice to the authority of the Christian faith. And because I can in no way show that I rightly believe, unless I should confirm that belief by the authority of the Scriptures, this is therefore what I have insinuated, what I have said. Either if evil things have appeared in the world with God as their author, deign to say so yourself; or if it is right to believe that evil things are not of God, this also the contemplation of those present ought to honor and receive. I have spoken about substances, not about sin that dwells in us. For if what we think to make faults had no origin, we should not be compelled to come to sin or to fault. For because we sinned unwillingly, and are compelled by a substance contrary and hostile to ourselves, therefore we follow the knowledge of things. By which knowledge the soul admonished and restored to pristine memory, recognizes the source from which it derives its existence, in what evil it dwells, by what good works emending again that in which unwillingly it sinned, it may be able through the emendation of its faults, for the sake of good works, to secure for itself the merit of reconciliation with God, our Saviour being the author of it, who teaches us also to practice good things and to flee from evil. For you ask us to believe that not by some contrary nature, but by his own choice, man either serves righteousness or becomes involved in sins; since, no contrary race existing, if the soul, to which as you say God has given free will, having been constituted in the body, dwells alone, it would be without sin, nor would it become involved in sins.

21. AUGUSTIN said: I say it is not sin, if it be not committed by one's own will; hence also there is reward, because of our own will we do right. Or if he who sins unwillingly deserves punishment, he who unwillingly does well ought to deserve reward. But who doubts that reward is only bestowed upon him who does something of good will? From which we know that punishment also is inflicted upon him who does something of ill will. But since you recall me to primordial natures and substances, my faith is that God Almighty--which must especially be attended to and fixed in the mind--that God Almighty has made good things. But the things made by Him cannot be such as is He who made them. For it is unjust and foolish to believe that works are equal to the workman, things made to the maker. Wherefore if it is reverential to believe that God made all good

things, than which nevertheless He is by far more excellent and by far more pre-eminent; the origin and head of evil is sin, as the apostle said: "Covetousness is the root of all evils; which some following after have made shipwreck of the faith, and have pierced themselves through with many sorrows."(1) For if you seek the root of all evils, you have the apostle saying that covetousness is the root of all evils. But the root of a root I cannot seek. Or if there is another evil, whose root covetousness is not, covetousness will not be the root of all evils. But if it is true that covetousness is the root of all evils, in vain do we seek some other kind of evil. But as regards that contrary nature of yours which you introduce, since I have responded to your objections, I ask that you deign to tell me whether it is wholly evil, whether there can be no sin apart from it, whether by this alone punishment is deserved, not by the soul by which no sin has been committed. But if you say that this contrary nature alone deserves punishment, and not the soul, I ask to which is repentance, which is commanded, vouchsafed. If the soul is commanded to repent, sin is from the soul, and the soul has sinned voluntarily. For if the soul is compelled to do evil, that which it does is not evil. Is it not foolish and most absurd to say that the race of darkness has sinned and that I repent of the sins. Is it not most absurd to say that the race of darkness has sinned and that forgiveness of sins is vouchsafed to me, who according to your faith may well say: What have I done? What have I committed? I was with Thee, I was in a state of integrity, I was contaminated with no pollution. Thou didst send me hither, Thou didst suffer necessity, Thou didst protect Thy domains when great pollution and desolation threatened them. Since therefore Thou knowest the necessity by which I have been here oppressed, by reason of which I could not breathe, which I could not resist; why dost Thou accuse me as if sinning? or why dost Thou promise forgiveness of sins? Reply to this without evasion, if you please, as I have replied to you.

FORTUNATUS said: We say this, that the soul is compelled by contrary nature to transgress, for which transgression you maintain there is no root save the evil that dwells in us; for it is certain that apart from our bodies evil things dwell in the whole world. For not those things alone that we have in our bodies, dwell in the whole world, and are known by their names as good; an evil root also inheres. For your dignity said that this covetousness that dwells in our bodies is the root of evils; since therefore there is no desire of evil out of our bodies, from that source contrary nature dwells in the whole world. For the apostle designated that, namely covetousness, as the root of evils, not one evil which you have called the root of all evils. But not in one manner is covetousness, which you have said is the root of all evils, understood, as if of that which dwells in our bodies alone; for it is certain that this evil which dwells in us descends from an evil author and that this root as you call it is a small portion of evil, so that it is not the root itself, but is a small portion of evil, of that evil which dwells everywhere. Which root and tree our Lord called evil, as never bearing good fruit, which his Father did not plant, and which is deservedly rooted up and cast into the fire.(2) For as you say, that sin ought to be imputed to the contrary nature, that nature belongs to evil; and that this is sin of the soul, if after the warning of our Saviour and his wholesome instruction, the soul shall have segregated itself from its contrary and hostile race, adorning itself also with purer things; that otherwise it cannot be restored to its own substance. For it is said: "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin. But now that I have come and spoken, and they have refused to believe me, they shall have no excuse for their sin."(1) Whence it is perfectly plain, that repentance has been given

after the Saviour's advent, and after this knowledge of things, by which the soul can, as if washed in a divine fountain from the filth and vices as well of the whole world as of the bodies in which the same soul dwells, be restored to the kingdom of God whence it has gone forth. For it is said by the apostle, that "the mind of the flesh is hostile to God; is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be." Therefore it is evident from these things that the good soul seems to sin not voluntarily, but by the doing of that which is not subject to the law of God. For it likewise follows that "the flesh lusteth against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh; so that ye may not do the things that ye will."(3) Again: "I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind and leading me captive in the law of sin and of death. Therefore I am a miserable man; who shall deliver me from the body of this death, unless it be the grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ,"(4) "through whom the world has been crucified to me and I to the world?"(5)

22. AUGUSTIN said: I recognize and embrace the testimonies of the divine Scriptures, and I will show in a few words, as God may deign to grant, how they are consistent with my faith. I say that there was free exercise of will in that man who was first formed. He was so made that absolutely nothing could resist his will, if he had willed to keep the precepts of God. But after he voluntarily sinned, we who have descended from his stock were plunged into necessity. But each one of us can by a little consideration find that what I say is true. For today in our actions before we are implicated by any habit, we have free choice of doing anything or not doing it. But when by that liberty we have done something and the pernicious sweetness and pleasure of that deed has taken hold upon the mind, by its own habit the mind is so implicated that afterwards it cannot conquer what by sinning it has fashioned for itself. We see many who do not wish to swear, but because the tongue has already become habituated, they are not able to prevent those things from going forth from the mouth which we cannot but ascribe to the root of evil. For that I may discuss with you those words, which as they do not withdraw from your mouth so may they be understood by your heart: you swear by the Paraclete. If therefore you wish to find out experimentally whether what I say is true, determine not to swear. You will see, that that habit is borne along as it has become accustomed to be. And this is what wars against the soul, habit formed in the flesh. This is indeed the mind of the flesh, which, as long as it cannot thus be subject to the law of God, so long is it the mind of the flesh; but when the soul has been illuminated it ceases to be the mind of the flesh. For thus it is said the mind of the flesh cannot be subject to the law of God, just as if it were said, that snow cannot be warm. Far so long as it is snow, it can in no way be warm. But as the snow is melted by heat, so that it may become warm, so the mind of the flesh, that is, habit formed with the flesh, when our mind has become illuminated, that is, when God has subjected for Himself the whole man to the choice of the divine law, instead of the evil habit of the soul, makes a good habit. Accordingly it is most truly said by the Lord of the two trees, the one good and the other evil, which you have called to mind, that they have their own fruits; that is, neither can the good tree yield evil fruit, nor the evil tree good fruit, but so long as it is evil. Let us take two men, a good and a bad. As long as he is good he cannot yield evil fruit; as long as he is bad he cannot yield good fruit. But that you may know that those two trees are so placed by the Lord, that free choice may be there signified, that these two trees are not natures but our wills, He Himself says in the gospel: "Either make the tree good, or make the tree evil."(6) Who is it that can make nature? If therefore we are commanded to make a tree

either good or evil, it is ours to choose what we will. Therefore concerning that sin of man and concerning that habit of soul formed with the flesh the apostle says: "Let no one seduce you;"(7) "Every creature that has been made by God is good."(8) The same apostle whom you also have cited says: "As through the disobedience of the one the many were constituted sinners; so also through the obedience of the one the many are constituted righteous."(9) "Since through man is death, through man also is resurrection of the dead." As long therefore as we bear the image of the earthly man,(10) that is, as long as we live according to the flesh, which is also called the old man, we have the necessity of our habit, so that we may not do what we will. But when the grace of God has breathed the divine love into us and has made us subject to His will, to us it is said: "Ye are called for freedom,"(1) and "the grace of God has made me free from the law of sin and of death."(2) But the law of sin is that whoever has sinned shall die. From this law we are freed when we have begun to be righteous. The law of death is that by which it was said to man: "Earth thou art and into earth thou shalt go."(3) For from this very fact we are all so born, because we are earth, and from the fact that we are all so born because we are earth, we shall all go into earth on account of the desert of the sins of the first man. But on account of the grace of God, which frees us from the law of sin and of death, having been converted to righteousness we are freed; so that afterwards this same flesh tortures us with its punishment so long as we remain in sins, is subjected to us in resurrection, and shakes us by no adversity from keeping the law of God and His precepts. Whence, since I have replied to your questions, deign to reply as I desire, how it can happen, that if nature is contrary to God, sin should be imputed to us, who were sent into that nature not voluntarily, but by God Himself, whom nothing could injure?

FORTUNATUS said: Just as also the Lord said to His disciples: Behold I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves."(4) Hence it must be known that not with hostile intent did our Saviour send forth His lambs, that is His disciples, into the midst of wolves, unless there had been some contrariety, which He would indicate by the similitude of wolves, where also He had sent His disciples; that the souls which perchance might be deceived in the midst of wolves might be recalled to their proper substance. Hence also may appear the antiquity of our times to which we return, and of our years, that before the foundation of the world souls were sent in this way against the contrary nature, that subjecting the same by their passion, victory might be restored to God. For the same apostle said, that not only there should be a struggle against flesh and blood, but also against principalities and powers, and the spiritual things of wickedness, and the domination of darkness."(5) If therefore in both places evils dwell and are esteemed wickednesses, not only now is evil in our bodies, but in the whole world, where souls appear to dwell, which dwell beneath yonder heaven and are fettered.

23. AUGUSTIN said: The Lord sent His lambs into the midst of wolves, that is, just men into the midst of sinners for the preaching of the gospel received in the time of man from the inestimable divine Wisdom, that He might call us from sin to righteousness. But what the apostle says, that our struggle is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, and the other things that have been quoted, this signifies that the devil and his angels, as also we, have fallen and lapsed by sin, and have secured possession of earthly things, that is, sinful men, who, as long as we are sinners, are under their yoke, just as when we shall be righteous, we shall be under the yoke of

righteousness; and against them we have a struggle, that passing over to righteousness we may be freed from their dominion. Do you also therefore deign to reply to the one question that I ask: Could God suffer injury, or not? But I ask you to reply: He could not.

FORTUNATUS said: He could not suffer injury.

24. AUGUSTIN said: Wherefore then did He send us hither, according to your faith?

FORTUNATUS said: My profession is this, that God could not be injured, and that He directed us hither. But since this is contrary to your view, do you tell how you account for the soul being here, which our God desires to liberate both by His commandments and by His own Son whom He has sent.

25. AUGUSTIN said: Since I see that you cannot answer my inquiries, and wish to ask me something, behold I satisfy you, provided only that you bear in mind that you have not replied to my question. Why the soul is here in this world involved in miseries has been explained by me not just now, but again and again a little while ago. The soul sinned, and therefore is miserable. It accepted free choice, used free choice, as it willed; it fell, was cast out from blessedness, was implicated in miseries. As bearing upon this I recited to you the testimony Of the apostle who says: "As through one man death, so also through one man came the resurrection of the dead." What more do you ask? Hence do you reply, wherefore did He, who could not suffer injury, send us hither?

FORTUNATUS said: The cause must be sought, why the soul came hither, or wherefore God desires hence to liberate the soul that lives in the midst of evils?

26. AUGUSTIN said: This cause I ask of you, that is, if God could not suffer injury, wherefore He sent us hither?

FORTUNATUS said: It is inquired of us, if evil cannot injure God, wherefore the soul was sent hither, or for what reason was it mingled with the world? Which is manifest in what the apostle says: "Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, why hast thou formed me thus?"(1) If therefore this cause must be pleaded, He must be asked, why He sent the soul, no necessity compelling Him. But if there was necessity for sending the soul, of right is there also the will of liberating it.

27. AUGUSTIN said: Then God is pressed by necessity, is He?

FORTUNATUS said: Now this is it. Do not seek to bring odium upon what has been said because we do not make God subject to necessity, but to have voluntarily sent the soul.

28. AUGUSTIN said: Recall what was said above. And it runs: "But if there was necessity for sending the soul, of right is there also the will of liberating it. Augustin said: We have heard: But if there was necessity for sending the soul, of right is there also the will of liberating it." You, therefore, said that there was necessity for sending the soul. But if you only wish to say "a will to send," I add this also: He who could suffer no injury, had the cruel will to send the soul to so great miseries. Because I speak for the sake of

refuting this statement, I ask pardon from the mercy of that One in whom we have hope of liberation from all the errors of heretics.

FORTUNATUS said: You asseverate that we say that God is cruel in sending the soul, but that God made man, breathed into him a soul which assuredly He foreknew to be involved in future misery, and not to be able by reason of evils to be restored to its inheritance. This belongs either to one who is ignorant, or who gives the soul up to these aforesaid evils. This I have cited because you said not long since, that God adopted the soul, not that it is from Him; for to adopt is a different matter.

29. AUGUSTIN said: Concerning adoption I remember that I spoke some days ago according to the testimony of the apostle, who says that we have been called into the adoption of sons.(2) This was not my reply, therefore, but the apostle's, concerning which thing, that is, that adoption, we may inquire, if we please, in its own time; and concerning that I will reply without delay, when you shall have answered my objections.

FORTUNATUS said: I say that there was a going forth of the soul against a contrary nature, which nature could not injure God.

30. AUGUSTIN said: What need was there for that going forth, when God whom nothing could injure had nothing to protect?

FORTUNATUS said: Do you conscientiously hold that Christ came from God?

31. AUGUSTIN said: Again you are questioning me. Reply to my inquiries.

FORTUNATUS said: So I have received in faith, that by the will of God He came hither.

32. AUGUSTIN said: And I say: Why did God, omnipotent, inviolable, immutable, whom nothing could injures send hither the soul, to miseries, to error, to those things that we suffer?

FORTUNATUS said: For it has been said: "I have power to lay down my soul and I have power to take it again."(3) Now He said that by the will of God the soul went forth.

33. AUGUSTIN said: I ask for the reason why God, when He can in no way suffer injury, sent the soul hither?

FORTUNATUS said: We have already said that God can in no way suffer injury, and we have said that the soul is in a contrary nature, therefore that it imposes a limit on the contrary nature. The restraint having been imposed on the contrary nature, God takes the same. For He Himself said, "I have power to lay down my soul and power to take it." The Father gave to me the power of laying down my soul, and of taking it. To what soul, therefore, did God who spoke in the Son refer? Evidently our soul, which is held in these bodies,which came of His will, and of His will is again taken up.

34. AUGUSTIN said: Why our Lord said: "I have power to lay down my soul and power to take it," is known to all; because He was about to suffer and to rise again. But I ask of

you again and again, If God could in no way suffer injury, why did he send souls hither?

FORTUNATUS said: To impose a limit on contrary nature.

35. AUGUSTIN said: And did God omnipotent, merciful and supreme, that He might impose a restraint on contrary nature, wish it to be limited so that He might make us unrestrained?

FORTUNATUS said: But so He calls us back to Himself.

36. AUGUSTIN said: If He recalls to Himself from an unrestrained state, if from sin, from error, from misery, what need was there for the soul to suffer so great evils through so longs time till the world ends? since God by whom you say it was sent could in no way suffer injury.

FORTUNATUS said: What then am I to say?

37. AUGUSTIN said: I know that you have nothing to say, and that I, when I was among you, never found anything to say on this question, and that I was thus admonished from on high to leave that error and to be converted to the Catholic faith or rather to recall it, by the indulgence of Him who did not permit me to inhere forever in this fallacy. But if you confess that you have nothing to reply, I will expound the Catholic faith to all those hearing and investigating, seeing that they are believers, if they permit and wish.

FORTUNATUS said: Without prejudice to my profession I might say: when I shall have reconsidered with my superiors the things that have been opposed by you, if they fail to respond to this question of mine, which is now in like manner proposed to me by you, it will be in my contemplation (since I desire my soul to be liberated by an assured faith) to come to the investigation of this thing that you have proposed to me and that you promise you will show.

AUGUSTIN said: Thanks be to God.

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ST. AUGUSTIN:
AGAINST THE EPISTLE OF MANICHAEUS
CALLED FUNDAMENTAL
ST.AUGUSTIN:

AGAINST THE EPISTLE OF MANICHAEUS CALLED FUNDAMENTAL.
[CONTRA EPISTOLAM MANICHAEI QUAM VACANT FUNDAMENTI.]
A.D. 397.

CHAP. I.--TO HEAL HERETICS IS BETTER THAN TO DESTROY THEM.

1. MY prayer to the one true, almighty God, of whom, and through whom, and in whom are all things, has been, and is now, that in opposing and refuting the heresy of you Manichaeans, as you may after all be heretics more from thoughtlessness than from malice, He would give me a mind calm and composed, and aiming at your recovery rather than at your discomfiture. For while the Lord, by His servants, overthrows the kingdoms of error, His will concerning erring men, as far as they are men, is that they should be amended rather than destroyed. And in every case where, previous to the final judgment, God inflicts punishment, whether through the wicked or the righteous, whether through the unintelligent or through the intelligent, whether in secret or openly, we must believe that the designed effect is the healing of men, and not their ruin; while there is a preparation for the final doom in the case of those who reject the means of recovery. Thus, as the universe contains some things which serve for bodily punishment, as fire, poison, disease, and the rest, and other things, in which the mind is punished, not by bodily distress, but by the entanglements of its own passions, such as loss, exile, bereavement, reproach, and the like; while other things, again, without tormenting are fitted to comfort and soothe the languishing, as, for example, consolations, exhortations, discussions, and such things; in all these the supreme justice of God makes use sometimes even of wicked men, acting in ignorance, and sometimes of good men, acting intelligently. It is ours, accordingly, to desire in preference the better part, that we might attain our end in your correction, not by contention, and strife, and persecutions, but by kindly consolation, by friendly exhortation, by quiet discussion; as it is written, "The servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle toward all men, apt to teach, patient; in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves."(2) It is ours, I say, to desire to obtain this part in the work; it belongs to God to give what is good to those who desire it and ask for it.

CHAP. 2.--WHY THE MANICHAEANS SHOULD BE MORE GENTLY DEALT WITH.

2. Let those rage against you who know not with what labor the truth is to be found and with what difficulty error is to be avoided. Let those rage against you who know not how rare and hard it is to overcome the fancies of the flesh by the serenity of a pious disposition. Let those rage against you who know not the difficulty of curing the eye of the inner man that he may gaze upon his Sun,--not that sun which you worship, and which shines with the brilliance of a heavenly body in the eyes of carnal men and of beasts,--but that of which it is written through the prophet, "The Sun of righteousness has arisen upon me;"(1) and of which it is said in the gospel, "That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."(2) Let those rage against you who know not with what sighs and groans the least particle of the knowledge of God is obtained. And, last of all, let those rage against you who have never been led astray in the same way that they see that you are.

CHAP. 3.--AUGUSTIN ONCE A MANICHAEAN.

3. For my part, I,--who, after much and long-continued bewilderment, attained at last, to the discovery of the simple truth, which is learned without being recorded in any fanciful legend; who, unhappy that I was, barely succeeded, by God's help, in refuting the vain imaginations of my mind, gathered from theories and errors of various kinds; who so late sought the cure of my mental obscuration, in compliance with the call and the tender persuasion of the all-merciful Physician; who long wept that the immutable and inviolable Existence would vouchsafe to convince me inwardly of Himself, in harmony with the testimony of the sacred books; by whom, in fine, all those fictions which have such a firm hold on you, from your long familiarity with them, were diligently examined, and attentively heard, and too easily believed, and commended at every opportunity to the belief of others, and defended against opponents with determination and boldness,--I can on no account rage against you; for I must bear with you now as formerly I had to bear with myself, and I must be as patient towards you as my associates were with me, when I went madly and blindly astray in your beliefs.

4. On the other hand, all must allow that you owe it to me, in return, to lay aside all arrogance on your part too, that so you may be the more disposed to gentleness, and may not oppose me in a hostile spirit, to your own hurt. Let neither of us assert that he has found truth; let us seek it as if it were unknown to us both. For truth can be sought with zeal and unanimity if by no rash presumption it is believed to have been already found and ascertained. But if I cannot induce you to grant me this, at least allow me to suppose myself a stranger now for the first time hearing you, for the first time examining your doctrines. I think my demand a just one. And it must be laid down as an understood thing that I am not to join you in your prayers, or in holding conventicles, or in taking the name of Manichaeus, unless you give me a clear explanation, without any obscurity, of all matters touching the salvation of the soul.

CHAP. 4.--PROOFS OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH.

5. For in the Catholic Church, not to speak of the purest wisdom, to the knowledge of which a few spiritual, men attain in this life, so as to know it, in the scantiest measure,

deed, because they are but men, still without any uncertainty (since the rest of the multitude derive their entire security not from acuteness of intellect, but from simplicity of faith,)--not to speak of this wisdom, which you do not believe to be in the Catholic Church, there are many other things which most justly keep me in her bosom. The consent of peoples and nations keeps me in the Church; so does her authority, inaugurated by miracles, nourished by hope, enlarged by love, established by age. The succession of priests keeps me, beginning from the very seat of the Apostle Peter, to

whom the Lord, after His resurrection, gave it in charge to feed His sheep, down to the present episcopate. And so, lastly, does the name itself of Catholic, which, not without reason, amid so many heresies, the Church has thus retained; so that, though all heretics wish to be called Catholics, yet when a stranger asks where the Catholic Church meets, no heretic will venture to point to his own chapel or house. Such then in number and importance are the precious ties belonging to the Christian name which keep a believer in the Catholic Church, as it is right they should, though from the slowness of our understanding, or the small attainment of our life, the truth may not yet fully disclose itself. But with you, where there is none of these things to attract or keep me, the promise of truth is the only thing that comes into play. Now if the truth is so clearly proved as to leave no possibility of doubt, it must be set before all the things that keep me in the Catholic Church; but if there is only a promise without any fulfillment, no one shall move me from the faith which binds my mind with ties so many and so strong to the Christian religion.

?in which almost all that you believe is contained. For in that unhappy time when we read it we were in your opinion enlightened. The epistle begins thus:--" Manichaeus, an apostle of Jesus Christ, by the providence of God the Father. These are wholesome words from the perennial and living fountain.; Now, if you please, patiently give heed to my inquiry. I donor believe Manichaeus to be an apostle of Christ. Do not, I beg of you, be enraged and begin to curse. For you know that it is my rule to believe none of your statements without consideration. Therefore I ask, who is this Manichaeus? You will reply, An apostle of Christ. I do not believe it. Now you are at a loss what to say or do; for you promised to give knowledge of the truth, and here you are forcing me to believe what I have no knowledge of. Perhaps you will read the gospel to me, and will attempt to find there a testimony to Manichaeus. But should you meet with a person not yet believing the gospel, how would you reply to him were he to say, I do not believe? For my part, I should not believe the gospel except as moved by the authority of the Catholic Church. (1) So when those on whose authority I have consented to believe in the gospel tell me not to believe in Manichaeus, how can I but consent? Take your choice. If you say, Believe the Catholics: their advice to me is to put no faith in you; so that, believing them, I am precluded from believing you;--If you say, Do not believe the Catholics: you cannot fairly use the gospel in bringing me to faith in Manichaeus; for it was at the command of the Catholics that I believed the gospel;--Again, if you say, You were right in believing the Catholics when they praised the gospel, but wrong in believing their vituperation of Manichaeus: do you think me such a fool as to believe or not to believe as you like or dislike, without any reason? It is therefore fairer and safer by far for me, having in one instance put faith in the Catholics, not to go over to you, till, instead of bidding me believe, you make me understand something in the clearest and most open manner. To convince me, then, you must put aside the gospel. If you keep to the gospel, I will keep to those who commanded me to believe the gospel; and, in obedience to them, I will not believe you at all. But if haply you should succeed in finding in the gospel an incontrovertible testimony to the apostleship of Manichaeus, you will weaken my regard for the authority of the Catholics who bid me not to believe you; and the effect of that will be, that I shall no longer be able to believe the gospel either, for it was through the Catholics that I got my faith in it; and so, whatever you bring from the gospel will no longer have any weight with me. Wherefore, if no clear proof of the

apostleship of Manichaeus is found in the gospel, I will believe the Catholics rather than you. But if you read thence some passage clearly in favor of Manichaeus, I will believe neither them nor you: not them, for they lied to me about you; nor you, for you quote to me that Scripture which I had believed on the authority of those liars. But far be it that I should not believe the gospel; for believing it, I find no way of believing you too. For the names of the apostles, as there recorded, (2) do not include the name of Manichaeus. And who the successor of Christ's betrayer was we read in the Acts of the Apostles; (3) which book I must needs believe if I believe the gospel, since both writings alike Catholic authority commends to me. The same book contains the well-known narrative of the calling and apostleship of Paul. (4) Read me now, if you can, in the gospel where Manichaeus is called an apostle, or in any other book in which I have professed to believe. Will you read the passage where the Lord promised the Holy Spirit as a Paraclete, to the apostles? Concerning which passage, behold how many and how great are the things that restrain and deter me from believing in Manichaeus.

CHAP. 6.--WHY MANICHAEUS CALLED HIMSELF AN APOSTLE OF CHRIST.

7. For I am at a loss to see why this epistle begins, "Manichaeus, an apostle of Jesus Christ," and not Paraclete, an apostle of Jesus Christ. Or if the Paraclete sent by Christ sent Manichaeus, why do we read, "Manichaeus, an apostle of Jesus Christ," instead of Manichaeus, an apostle of the Paraclete? If you say that it is Christ Himself who is the Holy Spirit, you contradict the very Scripture, where the Lord says, "And I will send you another Paraclete." (5) Again, if you justify your putting of Christ's name, not because it is Christ Himself who is also the Paraclete, but because they are both of the same substance,--that is, not because they are one person, but one existence [non quia unus est, sed quia unum sunt],--Paul too might have used the words, Paul, an apostle of God the Father; for the Lord said, "I and the Father are one." (6) Paul nowhere uses these words; nor does any of the apostles write himself an apostle of the Father. Why then this new fashion? Does it not savor of trickery of some kind or other? For if he thought it made no difference, why did he not for the sake of variety in some epistles call himself an apostle of Christ, and in others of the Paraclete? But in every one that I know of, he writes, of Christ; and not once, of the Paraclete. What do we suppose to be the reason of this, but that pride, the mother of all heretics, impelled the man to desire to seem to have been sent by the Paraclete, but to have been taken into so close a relation as to get the name of Paraclete himself? As the man Jesus Christ was not sent by the Son of God, that is, the power and wisdom of God--by which all things were made, but, according to the Catholic faith, was taken into such a relation as to be Himself the Son of God--that is, that in Himself the wisdom of God was displayed in the healing of sinners,--so Manichaeus wished it to be thought that he was so taken up by the Holy Spirit, whom Christ promised, that we are henceforth to understand that the names

Manichaeus and Holy Spirit alike signify the apostle of Jesus Christ,--that is, one sent by Jesus Christ, who promised to send him. Singular audacity this! and unutterable sacrilege!

CHAP. 7.--IN WHAT SENSE THE FOLLOWERS OF MANICHAEUS BELIEVE HIM TO BE THE HOLY SPIRIT.

8. Besides, you should explain how it is that, while the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are united in equality of nature, as you also acknowledge, you are not ashamed to speak of Manichaeus, a man taken into union with the Holy Spirit, as born of ordinary generation; and yet you shrink from believing that the man taken into union with the only-begotten Wisdom of God was born of a Virgin. If human flesh, if generation [concubitus viri], if the womb of a woman could not contaminate the Holy Spirit, how could the Virgin's womb contaminate the Wisdom of God? This Manichaeus, then, who boasts of a connection with the Holy Spirit, and of being spoken of in the gospel, must produce his claim to either of these two things,--that he was sent by the Spirit, or that he was taken into union with the Spirit. If he was sent, let him call himself the apostle of the Paraclete; if taken into union, let him allow that He whom the only-begotten Son took upon Himself had a human mother, since he admits a human father as well as mother in the case of one taken up by the Holy Spirit. Let him believe that the Word of God was not defiled by the virgin womb of Mary, since he exhorts us to believe that the Holy Spirit could not be defiled by the married life of his parents. But if you say that Manichaeus was united to the Spirit, not in the womb or before conception, but after his birth, still you must admit that he had a fleshly nature derived from man and woman. And since you are not afraid to speak of the blood and the bodily substance of Manichaeus as coming from ordinary generation, or of the internal impurities contained in his flesh, and hold that the Holy Spirit, who took on Himself; as you believe, this human being, was not contaminated by all those things, why should I shrink from speaking of the Virgin's womb and body undefiled, and not rather believe that the Wisdom of God in union with the human being in his mother's flesh still remained free from stain and pollution? Wherefore, as, whether your Manichaeus professes to be sent by or to be united with the Paraclete, neither statement can hold good, I am on my guard, and refuse to believe either in his mission or in his susception.

CHAP. 8.--THE FESTIVAL OF THE BIRTH-DAY

OF MANICHAEUS.

9. In adding the words, "by the providence of God the Father," what else did Manichaeus design but that, having got the name of Jesus Christ, whose apostle he

calls himself, and of God the Father, by whose providence he says he was sent by the Son, we should believe himself, as the Holy Spirit, to be the third person? His words are: "Manichaeus, an apostle of Jesus Christ, by the providence of God the Father." The Holy Spirit is not named, though He ought specially to have been named by one who quotes to us in favor of his apostleship the promise of the Paraclete, that he may prevail upon ignorant people by the authority of the gospel. In reply to this, you of course say that in the name of the Apostle Manichaeus we have the name of the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, because He condescended to come into Manichaeus. Why then, I ask again, should you cry out against the doctrine of the Catholic Church, that He in whom divine Wisdom came was born of a virgin, when you do not scruple to affirm the birth by ordinary generation of him in whom you say the Holy Spirit came? I cannot but suspect that this Manichaeus, who uses the name of Christ to gain access to the minds of the ignorant, wished to be worshipped instead of Christ Himself. I will state briefly the reason of this conjecture. At the time when I was a student of your doctrines, to my frequent inquiries why it was that the Paschal feast of the Lord was celebrated generally with no interest, though sometimes there were a few languid worshippers, but no watchings, no prescription of any unusual fast,--in a word, no special ceremony,--while great honor is paid to your Bema, that is, the day on which Manichaeus was killed, when you have a platform with fine steps, covered with precious cloth, placed conspicuously so as to face the votaries,--the reply was, that the day to observe was the day Of the passion of him who really suffered, and that Christ, who was not born, but appeared to human eyes in an unreal semblance of flesh, only feigned suffering, without really bearing it. Is it not deplorable, that men who wish to be called Christians are afraid of a virgin's womb as likely to defile the truth, and yet are not afraid of falsehood? But to go back to the point, who that pays attention can help suspecting that the intention of Manichaeus in denying Christ's being born of a woman, and having a human body, was that His passion, the time of which is now a great festival all over the world, might not be observed by the believers in himself, so as to lessen the devotion of the solemn commemoration which he wished in honor of the day of his own death? For to us it was a great attraction in the feast of the Bema that it was held during Pascha, since we used all the more earnestly to desire that festal day [the Bema], that the other which was formerly most sweet had been withdrawn.

CHAP. 9.--WHEN THE HOLY SPIRIT WAS SENT.

10. Perhaps you will say to me, When, then, did the Paraclete promised by the Lord come? As regards this, had I nothing else to believe on the subject, I should rather look for the Paraclete as still to come, than allow that He came in Manichaeus. But seeing that the advent of the Holy Spirit is narrated with perfect clearness in the Acts of the Apostles, where is the necessity of my so gratuitously running the risk of believing heretics? For in the Acts it is written as follows: "The former treatise have we made, O Theophilus, of all that Jesus began both to do and teach, in the day in which He chose the apostles by the Holy Spirit, and commanded them to preach the gospel. By those to whom He showed Himself alive after His passion by many proofs in the daytime, He

was seen forty days, teaching concerning the kingdom of God. And how He conversed with them, and commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith He, ye have heard of me. For John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall begin to be baptized with the Holy Spirit, whom also ye shall receive after not many days, that is, at Pentecost. When they had come, they asked him, saying, Lord, wilt Thou at this time manifest Thyself? And when will be the kingdom of Israel? And He said unto them, No one can know the time which the Father hath put in His own power. But ye shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judaea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." (1) Behold you have here the Lord reminding His disciples of the promise of the Father, which they had heard from His mouth, of the coming of the Holy Spirit. Let us now see when He was sent; for shortly after we read as follows: "And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance. And there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven. And when the sound was heard, the multitude came together, and were confounded, because every man heard them speak in his own language. And they were all amazed, and marvelled, saying one to another, Are not all these which speak Galilaeans? and how heard we every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born? Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, in Armenia, and in Cappadocia, in Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the regions of Africa about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews, natives, Cretes, and Arabians, they heard them speak in their own tongues the wonderful works of God. And they were all amazed, and were in doubt on account of what had happened, saying, What meaneth this? But others, mocking, said, These men are full of new wine." (2) You see when the Holy Spirit came. What more do you wish? If the Scriptures are credible, should not I believe most readily in these Acts, which have the strongest testimony in their support, and which have had the advantage of becoming generally known, and of being handed down and of being publicly taught along with the gospel itself, which contains the promise of the Holy Spirit, which also we believe? On reading, then, these Acts of the Apostles, which stand, as regards authority, on a level with the gospel, I find that not only was the Holy Spirit promised to these true apostles, but that He was also sent so manifestly, that no room was left for errors on this subject.

CHAP. 10.--THE HOLY SPIRIT TWICE GIVEN.

11. For the glorification of our Lord among men is His resurrection from the dead and His ascension to heaven. For it is written in the Gospel according to John: "The Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified." (1) Now if the reason why He was not given was that Jesus was not yet glorified, He was given

immediately on the glorification of Jesus. And since that glorification was twofold, as regards man and as regards God, twice also was the Holy Spirit given: once, when, after His resurrection from the dead, He breathed on the face of His disciples, saying, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost;" (2) and again, ten days after His ascension to heaven. This number ten signifies perfection; for to the number seven which embraces all created things, is added the trinity of the Creator. (3) On these things there is much pious and sober discourse among spiritual men. But I must keep to my point; for my business at present is not to teach you, which you might think presumptuous, but to take the part of an inquirer, and learn from you, as I tried to do for nine years without success. Now, therefore, I have a document to believe on the subject of the Holy Spirit's advent; and if you bid me not to believe this document, as your usual advice is not to believe ignorantly, without consideration, (4) much less will I believe your documents. Away, then, with all books, and disclose the truth with logical clearness, so as to leave no doubt in my mind; or bring forward books where I shall find not an imperious demand for my belief, but a trustworthy statement of what I may learn. Perhaps you say this epistle is also of this character. Let me, then, no longer stop at the threshold: let us see the contents.

CHAP. 11.--MANICHAEUS PROMISES TRUTH, BUT DOES NOT MAKE GOOD HIS WORD.

12. "These," he says, "are wholesome words from the perennial and living fountain; and whoever shall have heard them, and shall have first believed them, and then shall have observed the truths they set forth, shall never suffer death, but shall enjoy eternal life in glory. For he is to be judged truly blessed who has been instructed in this divine knowledge, by which he is made free and shall abide in everlasting life." And this, as you see, is a promise of truth, but not the bestowal of it. And you yourselves can easily see that any errors whatever might be dressed up in this fashion, so as under cover of a showy exterior to steal in unawares into the minds of the ignorant. Were he to say, These are pestiferous words from a poisonous fountain; and whoever shall have heard them, and shall have first believed them, and then have observed what they set forth, shall never be restored to life, but shall suffer a woful death as a criminal: for assuredly he is to be pronounced miserable who falls into this infernal error, in which he will sink so as to abide in everlasting torments;--were he to say this, he would say the truth; but instead of gaining any readers for his book, he would excite the greatest aversion in the minds of all into whose hands the book might come. Let us then pass on to what follows; nor let us be deceived by words which may be used alike by good and bad, by learned and unlearned. What, then, comes next?

13. "May the peace," he says, "of the invisible God, and the knowledge of the truth, be with the holy and beloved brethren who both believe and also yield obedience to the divine precepts." Amen, say we. For the prayer is a most amiable and commendable one. Only we must bear in mind that these words might be used by false teachers as well as by good ones. So, if he said nothing more than this, all might safely read and embrace it. Nor should I disapprove of what follows:

May also the right hand of light protect you, and deliver you from every hostile assault, and from the snares of the world." In fact, I have no fault to find with the beginning of this epistle, till we come to the main subject of it. For I wish not to spend time on minor points. Now, then, for this writer's plain statement of what is to be expected from him.

CHAP 12.--THE WILD FANCIES OF MANICHAEUS. THE BATTLE BEFORE THE CONSTITUTION OF THE WORLD.

14. "Of that matter," he says, "beloved brother of Patticus, of which you told me, saying that you desired to know the manner of the birth of Adam and Eve, whether they were produced by a word or sprung from matter, I will answer you as is fit. For in various writings and narratives we find different assertions made and different descriptions given by many authors. Now the real truth on the subject is unknown to all peoples, even to those who have long and frequently treated of it. For had they arrived at a clear knowledge of the generation of Adam and Eve, they would not have remained liable to corruption and death." Here, then, is a promise to us of clear knowledge of this matter, so that we shall not be liable to corruption and death And if this does not suffice, see what follows: "Necessarily," he says, "many things have to be said by way of preface, before a discovery of this mystery free from all uncertainty can be made." This is precisely what I asked for, to have such evidence of the truth as to free my knowledge of it from all uncertainty. And even were the promise not made by this writer himself, it was proper for me to demand and to insist upon this, so that no opposition should make me ashamed of becoming a Manichaean from a Catholic Christian, in view of such a gain as that of perfectly clear and certain truth. Now, then, let us hear what he has to state.

15. "Accordingly," he says, "hear first, if you please, what happened before the constitution of the world, and how the battle was carried on, that you may be able to distinguish the nature of light from that of darkness." Such are the utterly false and incredible statements which this writer makes. Who can believe that any battle was fought before the constitution of the world? And even supposing it credible, we wish now to get something to know, not to believe. For to say that the Persians and Scythians long ago fought with one another is a credible statement; but while we Believe it when we read or hear it, we cannot know it as a fact of experience or as a truth of the understanding. So, then, as I would repudiate any such statement on the ground that I have been promised something, not that I must believe on authority, but that I shall understand without any ambiguity; still less will I receive statements which are not only uncertain, but incredible. But what if he have some evidence to make these things clear and intelligible? Let us hear, then, if we can, what follows with all possible patience and forbearance.

CHAP. 13.--TWO OPPOSITE SUBSTANCES. THE KINGDOM OF LIGHT.

MANICHAEUS TEACHES UNCERTAINTIES INSTEAD OF CERTAINTIES.

16. "In the beginning, then," he says, "these two substances were divided. The empire of light was held by God the Father, who is perpetual in holy origin, magnificent in virtue, true in His very nature, ever rejoicing in His own eternity, possessing in Himself wisdom and the vital senses, by which He also includes the twelve members of His light, which are the plentiful resources of his kingdom. Also in each of His members are stored thousands of untold and priceless treasures. But the Father Himself, chief in praise, incomprehensible in greatness, has united to Himself happy and glorious worlds, incalculable in number and duration, along with which this holy and illustrious Father and Progenitor resides, no poverty or infirmity being admitted in His magnificent realms. And these matchless realms are so founded on the region of light and bliss, that no one can ever move or disturb them." (1)

17. Where is the proof of all this? And where did Manichaeus learn it? Do not frighten me with the name of the Paraclete. For, in the first place, I have come not to put, faith in unknown things, but to get the knowledge of undoubted truths, according to the caution enjoined on me by yourselves. For you know how bitterly you taunt those who believe without consideration. And what is more, this writer, who here begins to tell of very doubtful things, himself promised a little before to give complete and well-grounded knowledge.

CHAP. 14.--MANICHAEUS PROMISES THE KNOWLEDGE OF UNDOUBTED THINGS, AND THEN DEMANDS FAITH IN DOUBTFUL THINGS.

In the next place, if faith is what is required of me, I should prefer to keep to the Scripture, which tells me that the Holy Spirit came and inspired the apostles, to whom the Lord had promised to send Him. You must therefore prove, either that what Manichaeus says is true, and so make clear to me what I am unable to believe; or that Manichaeus is the Holy Spirit, and so lead me to believe in what you cannot make clear. For I profess the Catholic faith, and by it I expect to attain certain knowledge. Since, then, you try to overthrow my faith, you must supply me with certain knowledge, if you can, that you may convict me of having adopted my present belief without consideration. You make two distinct propositions,--one when you say that the speaker is the Holy Spirit, and another when you say that what the speaker teaches is evidently true. I might fairly ask undeniable proof for both propositions. But I am not greedy and require to be convinced only of one. Prove this person to be the Holy Spirit, and I will believe what he says to be true, even without understanding it; or prove that what he says is true, and I will believe him to be the Holy Spirit, even without evidence. Could anything be fairer or kinder than this? But you cannot prove either one or other of these propositions. You can find nothing better than to praise your own faith and ridicule mine. So, after having in my turn praised my belief and ridiculed yours, what result do you

think we shall arrive at as regards our judgment and our conduct, but to part company with those who promise the knowledge of indubitable things, and then demand from us faith in doubtful things? while we shall follow those who invite us to begin with believing what we cannot yet fully perceive, that, strengthened by this very faith, we may come into a position to know what we believe by the inward illumination and confirmation of our minds, due no longer to men, but to God Himself.

18. And as I have asked this writer to prove these things to me, I ask him now where he learned them himself. If he replies that they were revealed to him by the Holy Spirit, and that his mind was divinely enlightened that he might know them to be certain and evident, he himself points to the distinction between knowing and believing. The knowledge is his to whom these things are fully made known as proved; but in the case of those who only hear his account of these things, there is no knowledge imparted, but only a believing acquiescence required. Whoever thoughtlessly yields this becomes a Manichaean, not by knowing undoubted truth, but by believing doubtful statements. Such were we when in our inexperienced youth we were deceived. Instead, therefore, of promising knowledge, or clear evidence, or the settlement of the question free from all uncertainty, Manichaeus ought to have said that these things were clearly proved to him, but that those who hear his account of them must believe him without evidence. But were he to say this, who would not reply to him, If I must believe without knowing, why should I not prefer to believe those things which have a widespread notoriety from the consent of learned and unlearned, and which among all nations are established by the weightiest authority? From fear of having this said to him, Manichaeus bewilders the inexperienced by first promising the knowledge of certain truths, and then demanding faith in doubtful things. And then, if he is asked to make it plain that these things have been proved to himself, he fails again, and bids us believe this too. Who can tolerate such imposture and arrogance?

CHAP. 15.--THE DOCTRINE OF MANICHAEUS NOT ONLY UNCERTAIN, BUT FALSE. HIS ABSURD FANCY OF A LAND AND RACE OF DARKNESS BORDERING ON THE HOLY REGION AND THE SUBSTANCE OF GOD. THE ERROR, FIRST OF ALL, OF GIVING TO THE NATURE OF GOD LIMITS AND BORDERS, AS IF GOD WERE A MATERIAL SUBSTANCE, HAVING EXTENSION IN SPACE.

19. What if I shall have shown, with the help of God and of our Lord, that this writer's statements are false as well as uncertain? What more unfortunate thing can be found than that superstition which not only fails to impart the knowledge and the truth which it promises, but also teaches what is directly opposed to knowledge and truth? This will appear more clearly from what follows: "In one direction on the border of this bright and holy land there was a land of darkness deep and vast in extent, where abode fiery bodies, destructive races. Here was boundless darkness, flowing from the same source in immeasurable abundance, with the productions properly belonging to it. Beyond this were muddy turbid waters with their inhabitants; and inside of them winds terrible and violent with their prince and their progenitors. Then again a fiery region of destruction,

with its chiefs and peoples. And similarly inside of this a race full of smoke and gloom, where abode the dreadful prince and chief of all, having around him innumerable princes, himself the mind and source of them all. Such are the five natures of the pestiferous land."

20. To speak of God as an aerial or even as an ethereal body is absurd in the view of all who, with a clear mind, possessing some measure of discernment, can perceive the nature of wisdom and truth as not extended or scattered in space, but as great, and imparting greatness without material size, nor confined more or less in any direction, but throughout co-extensive with the Father of all, nor having one thing here and another there, but everywhere perfect, everywhere present. (1)

CHAP. 16.--THE SOUL, THOUGH MUTABLE, HAS NO MATERIAL FORM. IT IS ALL PRESENT IN EVERY PART OF THE BODY.

But why speak of truth and wisdom which surpass all the powers of the soul, when the nature of the soul itself, which is known to be mutable, still has no kind of material extension in space? For whatever consists of any kind of gross matter must necessarily be divisible into parts, having one in one place, and another in another. Thus, the finger is less than the whole hand, and one finger is less than two; and there is one place for this finger, and another for that, and another for the rest of the hand. And this applies not to organized bodies only, but also to the earth, each part of which has its own place, so that one cannot be where the other is. So in moisture, the smaller quantity occupies a smaller space, and the larger quantity a larger space; and one part is at the bottom of the cup, and another part near the mouth. So in air, each part has its own place; and it is impossible for the air in this house to have along with itself, in the same house at the same moment, the air that the neighbors have. And even as regards light itself, one part pours through one window, and another through another; and a greater through the larger, and a smaller through the smaller. Nor, in fact, can there be any bodily substance, whether celestial or terrestrial, whether aerial or moist, which is not less in part than in whole, or which can possibly have one part in the place of another at the same time; but, having one thing in one place and another in another, its extension in space is a substance which has distinct limits and parts, or, so to speak, sections. The nature of the soul, on the other hand, though we leave out of account its power of perceiving truth, and consider only its inferior power of giving unity to the body, and of sensation in the body, does not appear to have any material extension in space. For it is all present in each separate part of its body when it is all present in any sensation. There is not a smaller part in the finger, and a larger in the arm, as the bulk of the finger is less than that of the arm; but the quantity everywhere is the same, for the whole is present everywhere. For when the finger is touched, the whole mind feels, though the sensation is not through the whole body. No part of the mind is unconscious of the touch, which proves the presence of the whole. And yet it is not so present in the finger or in the sensation as to abandon the rest of the body, or to gather itself up into the one place where the sensation occurs. For when it is all present in the sensation in a finger,

if another part, say the foot, be touched, it does not fail to be all present in this sensation too: so that at the same moment it is all present in different places, without leaving one in order to be in the other, and without having one part in one, and another in the other; but by this power showing itself to be all present at the same moment in separate places. Since it is all present in the sensations of these places, it proves that it is not bound by the conditions of space. (1)

CHAP, 17.--THE MEMORY CONTAINS THE IDEAS OF PLACES OF THE GREATEST SIZE,

Again, if we consider the mind's power of remembering not the objects of the intellect, but material objects, such as we see brutes also remembering (for cattle find their way without mistake in familiar places, and animals return to their cribs, and dogs recognize the persons of their masters, and when asleep they often growl, or break out into a bark, which could not be unless their mind retained the images of things before seen or perceived by some bodily sense), who can conceive rightly where these images are contained, where they are kept, or where they are formed? If, indeed, these images were no larger than the size of our body, it might be said that the mind shapes and retains them in the bodily space which contains itself. But while the body occupies a small material space,the mind revolves images of vast extent, of heaven and earth, with no want of room, though they come and go in crowds; so that clearly, the mind is not diffused through space: for instead of being contained in images of the largest spaces, it rather contains them; not, however, in any material receptacle, but by a mysterious faculty or power, by which it can increase or diminish them, can contract them within narrow limits, or expand them indefinitely, can arrange or disarrange them at pleasure, can multiply them or reduce them to a few or to one.

CHAP, 18.--THE UNDERSTANDING JUDGES OF THE TRUTH OF THINGS, AND OF ITS OWN ACTION.

What, then, must be said of the power of perceiving truth, and of making a vigorous resistance against these very images which take their shape from impressions on the bodily senses, when they are opposed to the truth? This power discerns the difference between, to take a particular example, the true Carthage and its own imaginary one, which it changes as it pleases with perfect ease. It shows that the countless worlds of Epicurus, in which his fancy roamed without restraint, are due to the same power of imagination, and, not to multiply examples, that we get from the same source that land of light, with its boundless extent, and the five dens of the race of darkness, with their inmates, in which the fancies of Manichæus have dared to usurp for themselves the name of truth. What then is this power which discerns these things? Clearly, whatever

its extent may be, it is greater than all these things, and is conceived of without any such material images. Find, if you can, space for this power; give it a material extension; provide it with a body of huge size. Assuredly if you think well, you cannot. For of everything of this corporeal nature your mind forms an opinion as to its divisibility, and you make of such things one part greater and another less, as much as you like; while that by which you form a judgment of these things you perceive to be above them, not in local loftiness of place, but in dignity of power.

CHAP. 19.--IF THE MIND HAS NO MATERIAL EXTENSION, MUCH LESS HAS GOD.

22. So then, if the mind, so liable to change, whether from a multitude of dissimilar desires, or from feelings varying according to the abundance or the want of desirable things, or from these endless sports of the fancy, or from forgetfulness and remembrance, or from learning and ignorance; if the mind, I say, exposed to frequent change from these and the like causes, is perceived to be without any local or material extension, and to have a vigor of action which surmounts these material conditions, what must we think or conclude of God Himself, who remains superior to all intelligent beings in His freedom from perturbation and from change, giving to every one what is due? Him the mind dares to express more easily than to see; and the clearer the sight, the less is the power of expression. And yet this God, if, as the Manichaean fables are constantly asserting, He were limited in extension in one direction and unlimited in others, could be measured by so many subdivisions or fractions of greater or less size, as every, one might fancy; so that, for example, a division of the extent of two feet would be less by eight parts than one of ten feet. For this is the property of all natures which have extension in space, and therefore cannot be all in one place. But even with the mind this is not the case; and this degrading and perverted idea of the mind is found among people who are unfit for such investigations.

CHAP. 20.--REFUTATION OF THE ABSURD IDEA OF TWO TERRITORIES,

22. But perhaps, instead of thus addressing carnal minds, we should rather descend to the views of those who either dare not or are as yet unfit to turn from the consideration or material things to the study of an immaterial and spiritual nature, and who thus are unable to reflect upon their own power of reflection, so as to see how it forms a judgment of material extension without itself possessing it. Let us descend then to these material ideas, and let us ask in what direction, and on what border of the shining and sacred territory, to use the expressions of Manichæus, was the region of darkness? For he speaks of one direction and border, without saying which,whether the right or the left. In any case, it is clear that to speak of one side implies that there is another. But where there are three or more sides, either the figure is bounded in all directions,or if it extends infinitely in one direction, still it must be limited in the directions where it has sides.

If,then, on one side of the region of light there was the race of darkness, what bounded it on the other side or sides? The Manichaeans say nothing in reply to this; but when pressed, they say that on the other sides the region of light, as they call it, is infinite, that is, extends throughout boundless space. They do not see, what is plain to the dullest understanding, that in that case there could be no sides? For the sides are where it is bounded. What, then, he says, though there are no sides? But what you said of one direction or side, implied of necessity the existence of another direction and side, or other directions and sides. For if there was only one side, you should have said, on the side, not an one side; as in reference to our body we say properly, By one eye, because there is another; or on one breast, because there is another. But if we spoke of a thing as being on one nose, or one navel, we should be-ridiculed by learned and unlearned, since there is only one. But I do not insist on words, for you may have used one in the sense of the only one.

CHAP. 21.--THIS REGION OF LIGHT MUST BE MATERIAL IF IT IS JOINED TO THE REGION OF DARKNESS. THE SHAPE OF THE REGION OF DARKNESS JOINED TO THE REGION OF LIGHT.

What, then, bordered on the side of the region which you call shining and sacred? The region, you reply, of darkness. Do you then allow this latter region to have been material? Of course you must, since you assert that all bodies derive their origin from it. How then is it that, dull and carnal as you are, you do not see that unless both regions were material, they could not have their sides joined to one another? How could you ever be so blinded in mind as to say that only the region of darkness was material, and that the so-called region of light was immaterial and spiritual? My good friends, let us open our eyes for once, and see, now that we are told of it, what is most obvious, that two regions cannot be joined at their sides unless both are material.

23. Or if we are too dull and stupid to see this, let us hear whether the region of darkness too has one side, and is boundless in the other directions, like the region of light. They do not hold this from fear of making it seem equal to God. Accordingly they make it boundless in depth and in length; but upwards, above it, they maintain that there is an infinity of empty space. And lest this region should appear to be a fraction equal in amount to half of that representing the region of light, they narrow it also on two sides. As if, to give the simplest illustration, a piece of bread were made into four squares, three white and one black; then suppose the three white pieces joined as one, and conceive them as infinite upwards and downwards, and backwards in all directions: this represents the Manichaean region of light. Then conceive the black square infinite downwards and backwards, but with infinite emptiness above it: this is their region of darkness. But these are secrets which they disclose to very eager and anxious inquirers.

CHAP. 22.--THE FORM OF THE REGION OF LIGHT

THE WORSE OF THE TWO.

Well, then, if this is so, the region of darkness is clearly touched on two sides by the region of light. And if it is touched on two sides, it must touch on two. So much for its, being on one side, as we were told before.

24. And what an unseemly appearance is this of the region of light!--like a cloven arch, with a black wedge inserted below, bounded only in the direction of the cleft, and having a void space interposed where the boundless emptiness stretches above the region of darkness. Indeed, the form of the region of darkness is better than that of the region of light: for the former cleaves, the latter is cloven; the former fills the gap which is made in the latter; the former has no void in it, while the latter is undefined in all directions, except that where it is filled up by the wedge of darkness. In an ignorant and greedy notion of giving more honor to a number of pans than to a single one, so that the region of light should have six, three upwards and three downwards, they have made this region be split up, instead of sundering the other. For, according to this figure, though there may be no commixture of darkness with light, there is certainly penetration.

CHAP. 23.--THE ANTHROPOMORPHITES NOT SO

BAD AS THE MANICHAEANS.

25. Compare, now, not spiritual men of the Catholic faith, whose mind, as far as is possible in this life, perceives that the divine substance and nature has no material extension, and has no shape bounded by lines, but the carnal and weak of our faith, who, when they hear the members of the body used figuratively, as, when God's eyes or ears are spoken of, are accustomed, in the license of fancy, to picture God to themselves in a human form; compare these with the Manichaeans, whose custom it is to make known their silly stories to anxious inquirers as if they were great mysteries: and consider who have the most allowable and respectable ideas of God, --those who think of Him as having a human form which is the most excellent of its kind, or those who think of Him as having boundless material extension, yet not in all directions, but with three parts infinite and solid, while in one part He is cloven, with an empty void, and with undefined space above, while the region of darkness is inserted wedge-like below. Or perhaps the proper expression is, that He is unconfined above in His own nature, but encroached on below by a hostile nature. I join with you in laughing at the folly of carnal men, unable as yet to form spiritual conceptions, who think of God as having a human form. Do you too join me, if you can, in laughing at those whose unhappy conceptions represent God as having a shape cloven or cut in such an unseemly and unbecoming way, with such an empty gap above, and such a dishonorable curtailment below.

Besides, there is this difference, that these carnal people, who think of God as having a human form, if they are content to be nourished with milk from the breast of the Catholic Church, and do not rush headlong into rash opinions, but cultivate in the Church the pious habit of inquiry, and there ask that they may receive, and knock that it may be opened to them, begin to understand spiritually the figures and parables of the Scriptures, and gradually to perceive that the divine energies are suitably set forth under the name, sometimes of ears, sometimes of eyes, sometimes of hands or feet, or even of wings and feathers a shield too, and sword, and helmet, and all the other innumerable things. And the more progress they make in this understanding, the more are they confirmed as Catholics. The Manichæans, on the other hand,when they abandon their material fancies,cease to be Manichæans. For this is the chief and special point in their praises of Manichæeus, that the divine mysteries which were taught figuratively in books from ancient times were kept for Manichæeus, who was to come last, to solve and demonstrate; and so after him no other teacher will come from God, for he has said nothing in figures or parables, but has explained ancient sayings of that kind, and has himself taught in plain,simple terms. Therefore,when the Manichæans hear these words of their founder, on one side and border of the shining and sacred region was the region of darkness, they have no interpretations to fall back on. Wherever they turn, the wretched bondage of their own fancies brings them upon clefts or sudden stoppages and joinings or sunderings of the most unseemly kind, which it would be shocking to believe as true of any immaterial nature, even though mutable, like the mind, not to speak of the immutable nature of God. And yet if I were unable to rise to higher things, and to bring my thoughts from the entanglement of false imaginations which are impressed on the memory by the bodily senses, into the freedom and purity of spiritual existence, how much better would it be to think of God as in the form of a man, than to fasten that wedge of darkness to His lower edge, and, for want of a covering for the boundless vacuity above to leave it void and unoccupied throughout infinite space! What notion could be worse than this? What darker error can be taught or imagined?

CHAP. 24.--OF THE NUMBER OF NATURES IN THE MANICHAEAN FICTION.

26. Again, I wish to know, when I read of God the Father and His kingdoms founded on the shining and happy region, whether the Father and His kingdoms, and the region, are all of the same nature and substance. If they are, then it is not another nature or sort of body of God which the wedge of the race of darkness cleaves and penetrates,which itself is an unspeakably revolting thing, but it is actually the very nature of God which undergoes this. Think of this, I beseech you: as you are men, think of it, and flee from it; and if by tearing open your breasts you can cast out by the roots such profane fancies from your faith, I pray you to do it. Or will you say that these three are not of one and the same nature, but that the Father is of one, the kingdoms of another, and the region of another, so that each has a peculiar nature and substance, and that they are arranged according to their degree of excellence? If this is true, Manichaeus should have taught that there are four natures, not two; or if the Father and the kingdoms have one nature,

and the region only one of its own, he should have made three. Or if he made only two, because the region of darkness does not belong to God, in what sense does the region of light belong to God? For if it has a nature of its own, and if God neither generated nor made it, it does not belong to Him, and the seat of His kingdom is in what belongs to another. Or if it belongs to Him because of its vicinity, the region of darkness must do so too; for it not only borders on the region of light, but penetrates it so as to sever it in two. Again, if God generated it, it cannot have a separate nature. For what is generated by God must be what God is, as the Catholic Church believes of the only begotten Son. So you are brought back of necessity to that shocking and detestable profanity, that the wedge of darkness sunders not a region distinct and separate from God, but the very nature of God. Or if God did not generate, but make it, of what did He make it? Or if of Himself, what is this but to generate? If of some other nature, was this nature good or evil? If good, there must have been some good nature not belonging to God; which you will scarcely have the boldness to assert. If evil, the race of darkness cannot have been the only evil nature. Or did God take a part of that region and turn it into a region of light, in order to found His kingdom upon it? If He had, He would have taken the whole, and there would have been no evil nature left. If God, then, did not make the region of light of a substance distinct from His own, He must have made it of nothing. (1)

CHAP. 25. --- OMNIPOTENCE CREATES GOOD THINGS DIFFERING IN DEGREE, IN EVERY DESCRIPTION WHATSOEVER OF THE JUNCTION OF THE TWO REGIONS THERE IS EITHER IMPROPRIETY OR ABSURDITY.

27. If, then, you are now convinced that God is able to create some good thing out of nothing, come into the Catholic Church, and learn that all the natures which God has created and founded in their order of excellence from the highest to the lowest are good, and some better than others; and that they were made of nothing, though God, their Maker, made use of His own wisdom as an instrument, so to speak, to give being to what was not, and that as far as it had being it might be good, and that the limitation of its being might show that it was not begotten by God, but made out of nothing. If you examine the matter, you will find nothing to keep you from agreeing to this. For you cannot make your region of light to be what God is, without making the dark section an infringement on the very nature of God. Nor can you say that it was generated by God, without being reduced to the same enormity, from the necessity of concluding that as begotten of God, it must be what God is. Nor can you say that it was distinct from Him, test you should be forced to admit that God placed His kingdom in what did not belong to Him, and that there are three natures. Nor can you say that God made it of a substance distinct from His own, without making something good besides God, or something evil besides the race of darkness. It remains, therefore that you must confess that God made the region of light out of nothing: and you are unwilling to believe this; because if God could make out of nothing some great good which yet was inferior to Himself, He could also, since He is good, and grudges no good, make another good inferior to the former, and again a third inferior to the second, and so on, in order down to the lowest good of created natures, so that the whole aggregate, instead of extending

indefinitely without number or measure should have a fixed and definite consistency. Again, if you will not allow this either, that God made the region of light out of nothing, you will have no escape from the shocking profanities to which your opinions lead.

28. Perhaps, since the carnal imagination can fancy any shapes it likes, you might be able to devise Borne other form for the junction of the two regions, instead of presenting to the mind such a disagreeable and painful description as this, that the region of God, whether it be of the same nature as God or not, where at least God's kingdoms are founded, lies through immensity in such a huge mass that its members stretch loosely to an infinite extent, and that on their lower part that wedge of the region of darkness, itself of boundless size encroaches upon them. But whatever other form you contrive for the junction of these two regions, you cannot erase what Manichæus has written. I refer not to other treatises where a more particular description is given,-for perhaps, because they are in the hands of only a few, there might not be so much difficulty with them,--but to this Fundamental Epistle which we are now considering, with which all of you who are called enlightened are usually quite familiar. Here the words are: "On one side the border of the shining and sacred region was the region of darkness, deep and boundless in extent."

CHAP. 26.--THE MANICHÆANS ARE REDUCED TO THE CHOICE OF A TORTUOUS, OR CURVED, OR STRAIGHT LINE OF JUNCTION. THE THIRD KIND OF LINE WOULD GIVE SYMMETRY AND BEAUTY SUITABLE TO BOTH REGIONS.

What more is to be got? we have now heard what is on the border. Make what shape you please, draw any kind of lines you like, it is certain that the junction of this boundless mass of the region of darkness to the region of light must have been either by a straight line, or a curved, or a tortuous one. If the line of junction is tortuous the side of the region of light must also be tortuous; otherwise its straight side joined to a tortuous one would leave gaps of infinite depth, instead of having vacuity only above the land of darkness, as we were told before. And if there were such gaps, bow much better it would have been for the region of light to have been still more distant, and to have had a greater vacuity between, so that the region of darkness might not touch it at all! Then there might have been such a gap of bottomless depth, that, on the rise of any mischief in that race, although the chiefs of darkness might have the foolhardy wish to cross over, they would fall headlong into the gap (for bodies cannot fly without air to support them); and as there is infinite space downwards, they could do no more harm, though they might live for ever, for they would be for ever falling. Again, if the line of junction was a curved one, the region of light must also have had the disfigurement of a curve to answer it. Or if the land of darkness were curved inwards like a theatre, there would be as much disfigurement in the corresponding line in the region of light. Or if the region of darkness had a curved line, and the region of light a straight one, they cannot have touched at all points. And certainly, as I said before, it would have been better if they had not touched, and if there was such a gap between that the regions might be kept distinctly separate, and that rash evildoers might fall headlong so as to be

harmless. If, then,the line of junction was a straight one, there remain, of course, no more gaps or grooves, but, on the contrary, so perfect a junction as to make the greatest possible peace and harmony between the two regions. What more beautiful or more suitable than that one side should meet the other in a straight line, without bends or breaks to disturb the natural and permanent connection throughout endless space and endless duration? And even though there was a separation, the straight sides of both regions would be beautiful in themselves, as being straight; and besides, even in spite of an interval, their correspondence, as running parallel, though not meeting, would give a symmetry to both. With the addition of the junction, both regions become perfectly regular and harmonious; for nothing can be devised more beautiful in description or in conception than this junction of two straight lines. (1)

CHAP. 27.--THE BEAUTY OF THE STRAIGHT LINE MIGHT BE TAKEN FROM THE REGION OF DARKNESS WITHOUT TAKING ANYTHING FROM ITS SUBSTANCE. SO EVIL NEITHER TAKES FROM NOR ADDS TO THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SOUL. THE STRAIGHTNESS OF ITS SIDE WOULD BE SO FAR A GOOD BESTOWED ON THE REGION OF DARKNESS BY GOD THE CREATOR.

29. What is to be done with unhappy minds, perverse in error, and held fast by custom? These men do not know what they say when they say those things; for they do not consider. Listen to me; no one forces you, no one quarrels with you, no one taunts you with past errors, unless some one who has not experienced the divine mercy in deliverance from error: all we desire is that the errors should some time or other be abandoned. Think a little without animosity or bitterness. We are all human beings: let us hate, not one another, but errors and lies. Think a little, I pray you. God of mercy, help them to think, and kindle in the minds of inquirers the true light. If anything is plain, is not this, that right is better than wrong? Give me, then, a calm and quiet answer to this, whether making crooked the right line of the region of darkness which joins on to the right line of the region of light, would not detract from its beauty. If you will not be dogged, you must confess that not only is beauty taken from it by its being made crooked, but also the beauty which it might have had from connection with the right line of the region of light. Is it the case, then, that in this loss of beauty, in which right is made crooked, and harmony becomes, discord. and agreement disagreement, there is any loss of substance? Learn, then, from this that substance is not evil; but as in the body, by change of form for the worse, beauty is lost, or rather lessened, and what was called fair before is said to be ugly, and what was pleasing becomes displeasing, so in the mind the seemliness of a right will, which makes a just and pious life, is injured when the will changes for the worse; and by this sin the mind becomes miserable, instead of enjoying as before the happiness which comes from- the ornament of a right will, without any gain or loss of substance.

30. Consider, again, that though we admit that the border of the region of darkness was evil for other reasons, such as that it was dim and dark, or any other reason, still it was not evil in being straight. So, if I admit that there was some evil in its color, you must

admit that there was some good in its straightness. Whatever the amount of this good, it is not allowable to attribute it to any other than God the Maker, from whom we must believe that all good in whatsoever nature comes, if we are to escape deadly error. It is absurd, then, to say that this region is perfect evil, when in its straightness of border is found the good of not a little beauty of a material kind; and also to make this region to be altogether estranged, from the almighty and good God, when this good which we find in it can be attributed to no other but the author of all good things. But this border, too, we are told, was evil. Well, suppose it evil: it would surely have been worse had it been crooked instead of straight. And how can that be the perfection of evil than which something worse than itself can be thought of? And to be worse implies that there is some good, the want of which makes the thing worse. Here the want of straightness would make the line worse. Therefore its straightness is something good. And you will never answer the question whence this goodness comes, without reference to Him from whom we must acknowledge that all good things come, whether small or great. But now we shall pass on from considering this border to something else.

CHAP. 28.--MANICHÆUS PLACES FIVE NATURES IN THE REGION OF DARKNESS.

31. "There dwelt," he says, "in that region fiery bodies, destructive races." By speaking of dwelling, he must mean that those bodies were animated and in life. But, not to appear to cavil at a word, let us see how he divides into five classes all these inhabitants of this region. "Here," he says, "was boundless darkness, flowing from the same source in immeasurable abundance, with the productions properly belonging to it. Beyond this were muddy turbid waters, with their inhabitants; and inside of them winds terrible and violent, with their prince and their progenitors. Then, again, a fiery region of destruction, with its chiefs and peoples. And, similarly, inside of this a race full of smoke and gloom, where abode the dreadful prince and chief of all, having around him innumerable princes, himself the mind and source of them all. Such are the five natures of the pestiferous region." We find here five natures mentioned as part of one nature, which he calls the pestiferous region. The natures are darkness, waters, winds, fire, smoke; which he so arranges as to make darkness first, beginning at the outside. Inside of darkness he puts the waters; inside of the waters, the winds; inside of the winds, the fire; inside of the fire, the smoke. And each of these natures had its peculiar kind of inhabitants, which were likewise five in number. For to the question, Whether there was only one kind in all, or different kinds corresponding to the different natures; the reply is, that they were different: as in other books we find it stated that the darkness had serpents; the waters swimming creatures, such as fish; the winds flying creatures, such as birds; the fire quadrupeds, such as horses, lions, and the like; the smoke bipeds, such as men.

CHAP. 29.--THE REFUTATION OF THIS ABSURDITY.

32. Whose arrangement, then, is this? Who made the distinctions and the classification? Who gave the number, the qualities, the forms, the life? For all these things are in themselves good, nor could each of the natures have them except from the bestowal of God, the author of all good things. For this is not like the descriptions or suppositions of poets about an imaginary chaos, as being a shapeless mass, without form, without quality, without measurement, without weight and number, without order and variety; a confused something, absolutely destitute of qualities, so that some Greek writers call it ?pqtqn. So far from being like this is the Manichaean description of the region of darkness, as they call it, that, in a directly contrary style, they add side to side, and join border to border; they number five natures; they separate, arrange, and assign to each its own qualities. Nor do they leave the natures barren or waste, but people them with their proper inhabitants; and to these, again, they give suitable forms, and adapted to their place of habitation, besides giving the chief of all endowments, life. To recount such good things as these, and to speak of them as having no connection with God, the author of all good things, is to lose sight of the excellence of the order in the things, and of the great evil of the error which leads to such a conclusion.

CHAP. 30.--THE NUMBER OF GOOD THINGS IN THOSE NATURES WHICH MANICHAEUS PLACES IN THE REGION OF DARKNESS.

33. "But," is the reply, "the orders of beings inhabiting those five natures were fierce and destructive." As if I were praising their fierceness and destructiveness. I, you see, join with you in condemning the evils you attribute to them; join you with me in praising the good things which you ascribe to them: so it will appear that there is a mixture of good and evil in what you call the last extremity of evil. If I join you in condemning what is mischievous in this region, you must join with me in praising what is beneficial. For these beings could not have been produced, or nourished, or have continued to inhabit that region, without some salutary influence. I join with you in condemning the darkness; join with me in praising the productiveness. For while you call the darkness immeasurable, you speak of "suitable productions." Darkness, indeed, is not a real substance, and means no more than the absence of light, as nakedness means the want of clothing, and emptiness the want of material contents: so that darkness could produce nothing, although a region in darkness--that is, in the absence of light--might produce something. But passing over this for the present, it is certain that where productions arise there must he a beneficent adaptation of substances, as well as a symmetrical arrangement and construction in unity of the members of the beings produced,--a wise adjustment making them agree with one another. And who will deny that all these things are more to be praised than darkness is to be condemned? If I join with you in condemning the muddiness of the waters, you must join with me in praising the waters as far as they possessed the form and quality of water, and also the agreement of the members of the inhabitants swimming in the waters, their life

sustaining and directing their body, and every particular adaptation of substances for the benefit of health. For though you find fault with the waters as turbid and muddy, still, in allowing them the quality of producing and maintaining their living inhabitants, you imply that there was some kind of bodily form, and similarity of parts, giving unity and congruity of character; otherwise there could be no body at all: and, as a rational being, you must see that all these things are to be praised. And however great you make the ferocity of these inhabitants, and their massacrings and devastations in their assaults, you still leave them the regular limits of form, by which the members of each body are made to agree together, and their beneficial adaptations, and the regulating power of the living principle binding together the parts of the body in a friendly and harmonious union. And if all these are regarded with common sense it will be seen that they are more to be commended than the faults are to be condemned. I join with you in condemning the frightfulness of the winds; join with me in praising their nature, as giving breath and nourishment, and their material form in its continuousness and diffusion by the connection of its parts: for by these things these winds had the power of producing and nourishing, and sustaining in vigor these inhabitants you speak of; and also in these inhabitants--besides the other things which have already been commended in all animated creatures--this particular power of going quickly and easily whence and whither they please, and the harmonious stroke of their wings in flight, and their regular motion. I join with you in condemning the destructiveness of fire; join with me in commending the productiveness of this fire, and the growth of these productions, and the adaptation of the fire to the beings produced, so that they had coherence, and came to perfection in measure and shape, and could live and have their abode there: for you see that all these things deserve admiration and praise, not only in the fire which is thus habitable, but in the inhabitants too. I join with you in condemning the denseness of smoke, and the savage character of the prince who, as you say, abode in it; join with me in praising the similarity of all the parts in this very smoke, by which it preserves the harmony and proportion of its parts among themselves, according to its own nature, and has an unity which makes it what it is: for no one can calmly reflect on these things without wonder and praise. Besides, even to the smoke you give the power and energy of production, for you say that princes inhabited it; so that in that region the smoke is productive, which never happens here. and, moreover, affords a wholesome dwelling place to its inhabitants.

CHAP. 31.--THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

34. And even in the prince of smoke himself, instead of mentioning only his ferocity as a bad quality, ought you not to have taken notice of the other things in his nature which you must allow to be commendable ? For he had a soul and a body; the soul life-giving, and the body endowed with life. Since the soul governed and the body obeyed, the soul took the lead and the body followed; the soul gave consistency, the body was not dissolved; the soul gave harmonious motion, and the body was constructed of a well-proportioned framework of members. In this single prince are you not induced to express approval of the orderly peace or the peaceful order? And what applies to one

applies to all the rest. You say he was fierce and cruel to others. This is not what I commend, but the other important things which you will not take notice of. Those things, when perceived and considered,--after advice by any one who has without consideration put faith in Manichaeus,--lead him to a clear conviction that, in speaking of those natures, he speaks of things good in a sense, not perfect and un-created, like God the one Trinity, nor of the higher rank of created things, like the holy angels and the ever-blessed powers; but of the lowest class, and ranked according to the small measure of their endowments. These things are thought to be blameworthy by the uninstructed when they compare them with higher things; and in view of their want of some good, the good they have gets the name of evil, because it is defective. My reason also for thus discussing the natures enumerated by Manichaeus is that the things named are things familiar to us in this world. We are familiar with darkness, waters, winds, fire, smoke; we are familiar, too, with animals, creeping, swimming, flying; with quadrupeds and biped. With the exception of darkness (which, as I have said already, is nothing but the absence of light, and the perception of it is only the absence of sight, as the perception of silence is the absence of hearing; not that darkness is anything, but that light is not, as neither that silence is anything, but that sound is not), all the other things are natural qualities and are familiar to all; and the form of those natures, which is commendable and good as far as it exists, no wise man attributes to any other author than God, the author of all good things. (1)

CHAP. 32.--MANICHAEUS GOT THE ARRANGEMENT OF HIS FANCIFUL NOTIONS FROM VISIBLE OBJECTS.

35. For in giving to these natures which he has learned from visible things, an arrangement according to his fanciful ideas, to represent the race of darkness, Manichaeus is clearly in error. First of all, he makes darkness productive, which is impossible. But, he replies, this darkness was unlike what you are familiar with. How, then, can you make me understand about it? After so many promises to give knowledge, will you force me to take your word for it? Suppose I believe you, this at least is certain, that if the darkness had no form, as darkness usually has not, it could produce nothing; if it had form, it was better than ordinary darkness: whereas, when you call it different from the ordinary kind, you wish us to believe that it is worse. You might as well say that silence, which is the same to the ear as darkness to the eyes, produced some deaf or dumb animals in that region; and then, in reply to the objection that silence is not a nature, you might say that it was different silence from ordinary silence; in a word, you might say what you pleased to those whom you have once misled into believing you. No doubt, the obvious facts relating to the origin of animal life led Manichaeus to say that serpents were produced in darkness. However, there are serpents which have such sharp sight, and such pleasure in light, that they seem to give evidence of the most weighty kind against this idea. Then the idea of swimming things in the water might easily be got here, and applied to the fanciful objects in that region; and so of flying things in the winds, for the motion of the lower air in this world, where birds fly, is called wind. Where he got the idea of the quadrupeds in fire, no one can tell.

Still he said this deliberately, though without sufficient thought, and from great misconception. The reason usually given is, that quadrupeds are voracious and salacious. But many men surpass any quadruped in voracity, though they are bipeds, and are called children of the smoke, and not of fire. Geese, too, are as voracious as any animal; and though he might place them in fire as bipeds, or in the water because they love to swim, or in the winds because they have wings and sometimes fly, they certainly have nothing to do with fire in this classification. As regards salaciousness, I suppose he was thinking of neighing horses, which sometimes bite through the bridle and rush at the mares; and writing hastily, with this in his mind, he forgot the common sparrow, in comparison of which the hottest stallion is cold. The reason they give for assigning bipeds to the smoke is, that bipeds are conceited and proud, for men are derived from this class; and the idea, which is a plausible one, is that smoke resembles proud people in rising up into the air, round and swelling. This idea might warrant a figurative description of proud men, or an allegorical expression or explanation, but not the belief that bipeds are born in smoke and of smoke. They might with equal reason be said to be born in dust, for it often rises up to the heaven with a similar circling and lofty motion; or in the clouds, for they are often drawn up from the earth in such a way, that those looking from a distance are uncertain whether they are clouds or smoke. Once more, why, in the case of the waters and the winds, does he suit the inhabitants to the character of the place, as we see swimming things in water, and flying things in the wind; whereas, in the face of fire and smoke, this bold liar is not ashamed to assign to these places the most unlikely inhabitants? For fire burns quadrupeds, and consumes them, and smoke suffocates and kills bipeds. At least he must acknowledge that he has made these natures better in the race of darkness than they are here, though he wishes us to think everything to be worse. For, according to this, the fire there produced and nourished quadrupeds, and gave them a lodging not only harmless, but most convenient. The smoke, too, provided room for the offspring of its own benign bosom, and cherished them up to the rank of prince. Thus we see that these lies, which have added to the number of heretics, arose from the perception by carnal sense, only without care or discernment, of visible objects in this world, and when thus conceived, were brought forth by fancy, and then presumptuously written and published.

CHAP. 33.--EVERY NATURE, AS NATURE, IS GOOD.

36. But the consideration we wish most to urge is the truth of the Catholic doctrine, if they can understand it, that God is the author of all natures. I urged this before when I said, I join with you in your condemnation of destructiveness, of blindness, of dense muddiness, of terrific violence, of perishableness, of the ferocity of the princes, and so on; join with me in commending form, classification, arrangement, harmony, unity of structure, symmetry and Correspondence of members, provision for vital breath and nourishment, wholesome adaptation, regulation and control by the mind, and the subjection of the bodies, and the assimilation and agreement of parts in the natures, both those inhabiting and those inhabited, and all the other things of the same kind. From this, if they would only think honestly, they would understand that it implies a

mixture of good and evil, even in the region where they suppose evil to be alone and in perfection: so that if the evils mentioned were taken away, the good things will remain, without anything to detract from the commendation given to them; whereas, if the good things are taken away, no nature is left. From this every one sees, who can see, that every nature, as far as it is nature, is good; since in one and the same thing in which I found something to praise, and he found something to blame, if the good things are taken away, no nature will remain; but if the disagreeable things are taken away, the nature will remain unimpaired. Take from waters their thickness and muddiness, and pure clear water remains; take from them the consistence of their parts, and no water will be left. If then, after the evil is removed, the nature remains in a purer state, and does not remain at all when the good is taken away, it must be the good which makes the nature of the thing in which it is, while the evil is not nature, but contrary to nature. Take from the winds their terribleness and excessive force, with which you find fault, you can conceive of winds as gentle and mild; take from them the similarity of their parts which gives them continuity of substance, and the unity essential to material existence, and no nature remains to be conceived of. It would be tedious to go through all the cases; but all who consider the subject free from party spirit must see that in their list of natures the disagreeable things mentioned are additions to the nature; and when they are removed, the natures remain better than before. This shows that the natures, as far as they are natures, are good; for when you take from them the good instead of the evil, no natures remain. And attend, you who wish to arrive at a correct judgment, to what is said of the fierce prince himself. If you take away his ferocity, see how many excellent things will remain; his material frame, the symmetry of the members on one side with those on the other, the unity of his form, the settled continuity of his Darts, the orderly adjustment of the mind as ruling and animating, and the body as subject and animated. The removal of these things, and of others I may have omitted to mention, will leave no nature remaining.

CHAP. 34.--NATURE CANNOT BE WITHOUT SOME GOOD. THE MANICHAEANS DWELL UPON THE EVILS.

37. But perhaps you will say that these evils cannot be removed from the natures, and must therefore be considered natural. The question at present is not what can be taken away, and what cannot; but it certainly helps to a clear perception that these natures, as far as they are natures, are good, when we see that the good things can be thought of without these evil things, while without these good things no nature can be conceived of. I can conceive of waters without muddy commotion; but without settled continuity of parts no material form is an object of thought or of sensation in any way. Therefore even these muddy waters could not exist without the good which was the condition of their material existence. As to the reply that these evil things cannot be taken from such natures, I rejoin that neither can the good things be taken away. Why, then, should you call these things natural evils, on account of the evil things which you suppose cannot be taken away, and yet refuse to call them natural good things, on account of the good things which, as has been proved, cannot be taken away?

38. You may next ask, as you usually do for a last resource, whence come these evils which I have said that I too disapprove of. I shall perhaps tell you, if you first tell me whence are those good things which you too are obliged to commend, if you would not be altogether unreasonable. But why should I ask this, when we both acknowledge that all good things whatever, and how great soever, are from the one God, who is supremely good? You must therefore yourselves oppose Manichaeus who has placed all these important good things which we have mentioned and justly commended,--the continuity and agreement of parts in each nature, the health and vigor of the animated creatures, and the other things which it would be wearisome to repeat,--(in an imaginary region of darkness, so as to separate them altogether from that God whom he allows to be the author of all good things.) He lost sight of those good things, while taking notice only of what was disagreeable; as if one, frightened by a lion's roaring, and seeing him dragging away and tearing the bodies of cattle or human beings which he had seized, should from childish pusillanimity be so overpowered with fear as to see nothing but the cruelty and ferocity of the lion; and overlooking or disregarding all the other qualities, should exclaim against the nature of this animal as not only evil, but a great evil, his fear adding' to his vehemence. But were he to see a tame lion, with its ferocity subdued, especially if he had never been frightened by a lion, he would have leisure, in the absence of danger and terror, to observe and admire the beauty of the animal. My only remark on this is one closely connected with our subject: that any nature may be in some case disagreeable, so as to excite hatred towards the whole nature; though it is clear that the form of a real living beast, even when it excites terror in the woods, is far better than that of the artificial imitation which is commended in a painting on the wall. We must not then be misled into this error by Manichæus, or be hindered from observing the forms of the natures, by his finding fault with some things in them in such a way as to make us disapprove of them entirely, when it is impossible to show that they deserve entire disapproval. And when our minds are thus composed and prepared to form a just judgment, we may ask whence come those evils which I have said that I condemn. It will be easier to see this if we class them all under one name.

CHAP. 35.--EVIL ALONE IS CORRUPTION. CORRUPTION IS NOT NATURE, BUT CONTRARY TO NATURE. CORRUPTION IMPLIES PREVIOUS GOOD.

39. For who can doubt that the whole of that which is called evil is nothing else than corruption? Different evils may, indeed, be called by different names; but that which is the evil of all things in which any evil is perceptible is corruption. So the corruption of an educated mind is ignorance; the corruption of a prudent mind is imprudence; the corruption of a just mind, injustice; the corruption of a brave mind, cowardice; the corruption of a calm, peaceful mind, cupidity, fear, sorrow, pride. Again, in a living body, the corruption of health is pain and disease; the corruption of strength is exhaustion; the corruption of rest is toil. Again, in any corporeal thing, the corruption of beauty is ugliness; the corruption of straightness is crookedness; the corruption of order is confusion; the corruption of entireness is disseverance, or fracture, or diminution. It

would be long and laborious to mention by name all the corruptions of the things here mentioned, and of countless other things; for in many cases the words may apply to the mind as well as to the body, and in innumerable cases the corruption has a distinct name of its own. But enough has been said to show that corruption does harm only as displacing the natural condition; and so, that corruption is not nature, but against nature. And if corruption is the only evil to be found anywhere, and if corruption is not nature, no nature is evil.

40. But if, perchance, you cannot follow this, consider again, that whatever is corrupted is deprived of some good: for if it were not corrupted, it would be incorrupt; or if it could not in any way be corrupted, it would be incorruptible. Now, if corruption is an evil, both incorruption and incorruptibility must be good things. We are not, however, speaking at present of incorruptible nature, but of things which admit of corruption, and which, while not corrupted, may be called incorrupt, but not incorruptible. That alone can be called incorruptible which not only is not corrupted, but also cannot in any part be corrupted. Whatever things, then, being incorrupt, but liable to corruption, begin to be corrupted, are deprived of the good which they had as incorrupt. Nor is this a slight good, for corruption is a great evil. And the continued increase of corruption implies the continued presence of good, of which they may be deprived. Accordingly, the natures supposed to exist in the region of darkness must have been either corruptible or incorruptible. If they were incorruptible, they were in possession of a good than which nothing is higher. If they were corruptible, they were either corrupted or not corrupted. If they were not corrupted, they were incorrupt, to say which of anything is to give it great praise. If they were corrupted, they were deprived of this great good of incorruption; but the deprivation implies the previous possession of the good they are deprived of; and if they possessed this good, they were not the perfection of evil, and consequently all the Manichaean story is a falsehood.

CHAP. 36.--THE SOURCE OF EVIL OR OF CORRUPTION OF GOOD.

41. After thus inquiring what evil is, and learning that it is not nature, but against nature, we must next inquire whence it is. If Manichæus had done this, he might have escaped falling into the snare of these serious errors. Out of time and out of order, he began with inquiring into the origin of evil, without first asking what evil was; and so his inquiry led him only to the reception of foolish fancies, of which the mind, much fed by the bodily senses, with difficulty rids itself. Perhaps, then, some one, desiring no longer argument, but delivery from error, will ask, Whence is this corruption which we find to be the common evil of good things which are not incorruptible? Such an inquirer will soon find the answer if he seeks for truth with great earnestness, and knocks reverently with sustained assiduity. For while man can use words as a kind of sign for the expression of his thoughts, teaching is the work of the incorruptible Truth itself, who is the one true, the one internal Teacher. He became external also, that He might recall us from the external to the internal; and taking on Himself the form of a servant, that He might bring down His height to the knowledge of those rising up to Him, He condescended to

appear in lowliness to the low. In His name let us ask, and through Him let us seek mercy of the Father while making this inquiry. For to answer in a word the question, Whence is corruption? it is hence, because these natures that are capable of corruption were not begotten by God, but made by Him out of nothing; and as we already proved that those natures are good, no one can say with propriety that they were not good as made by God. If it is said that God made them perfectly good, it must be remembered that the only perfect good is God Himself, the maker of those good things.

CHAP. 37.--GOD ALONE PERFECTLY GOOD.

42. What harm, you ask, would follow if those things too were perfectly good? Still, should any one, who admits and believes the perfect goodness of God the Father, inquire what source we should reverently assign to any other perfectly good thing, supposing it to exist, our only correct reply would be, that it is of God the Father, who is perfectly good. And we must bear in mind that what is of Him is born of Him, and not made by Him out of nothing, and that it is therefore perfectly, that is, incorruptibly, good like God Himself. So we see that it is unreasonable to require that things made out of nothing should be as perfectly good as He who was begotten of God Himself, and who is one as God is one, otherwise God would have begotten something unlike Himself. Hence it shows ignorance and impiety to seek for brethren for this only-begotten Son through whom all good things were made by the Father out of nothing, except in this, that He condescended to appear as man. Accordingly in Scripture He is called both only-begotten and first-begotten; only-begotten of the Father, and first-begotten from the dead. "And we beheld," says John, "His glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." (1) And Paul says, "that He might be the first-born among many brethren." (2)

43. But should we say, These things made out of nothing are not good things, but only God's nature is good, we shall be unjust to good things of great value. And there is impiety in calling it a defect in anything not to be what God is, and in denying a thing to be good because it is inferior to God. Pray submit then, thou nature of the rational soul, to be somewhat less than God, but only so far less, that after Him nothing else is above thee. Submit, I say, and yield to Him, lest He drive thee still lower into depths where the punishment inflicted will continually detract more and more from the good which thou hast. Thou exaltest thyself against God, if thou art indignant at His preceding thee; and thou art very contumacious in thy thoughts of Him, if thou dost not rejoice unspeakably in the possession of this good, that He alone is above thee. This being settled as certain, thou art not to say, God should have made me the only nature: there should be no good thing after me. It could not be that the next good thing to God should be the last. And in this is seen most clearly how great dignity God conferred on thee, that He who in the order of nature alone rules over thee, made other good things for thee to rule over. Nor be surprised that they are not now in all respects subject to thee, and that sometimes they pain thee; for thy Lord has greater authority over the things subject to thee than thou hast, as a master over the servants of his servants. What wonder, then,

if, when thou sinnest, that is, disobeyest thy Lord, the things thou before ruledst over are made instrumental in thy punishment? For what is so just, or what is more just than God? For this befell human nature in Adam, of whom this is not the place to speak. Suffice it to say, the righteous Ruler acts in character both in just rewards and in just punishments, in the happiness of those who live rightly, and in the penalty inflicted on sinners. Nor yet art thou (3) left without mercy, since by an appointed distribution of things and times thou art called to return. Thus the righteous control of the supreme Creator extends even to earthly good things, which are corrupted and restored, that thou mightest have consolations mingled with punishments; that thou mightest both praise God when delighted by the order of good things, and mightest take refuge in Him when tried by experience of evils. So, as far as earthly things are subject to thee, they teach thee that thou art their ruler; as far as they distress thee, they teach thee to be subject to thy Lord.

CHAP, 38.--NATURE MADE BY GOD; CORRUPTION COMES FROM NOTHING.

44. In this way, though corruption is an evil, and though it comes not from the Author of natures, but from their being made out of nothing, still, in God's government and control over all that He has made, even corruption is so ordered that it hurts only the lowest natures, for the punishment of the condemned, and for the trial and instruction of the returning, that they may keep near to the incorruptible God, and remain incorrupt, which is our only good; as is said by the prophet, "But it is good for me that I keep near to God." (1) And you must not say, God did not make corruptible natures: for, as far as they are natures, God made them; but as far as they are corruptible, God did not make them: for corruption cannot come from Him who alone is incorruptible. If you can receive this, give thanks to God; if you cannot, be quiet and do not condemn what you do not yet understand, but humbly wait on Him who is the light of the mind that thou mayest know. For in the expression "corruptible nature" there are two words, and not one only. So, in the expression, God made out of nothing, "God" and "nothing" are two separate words. Render therefore to each of these words that which belongs to each, so that the word "nature" may go with the word "God,"and the word "corruptible" with the word "nothing." And vet even the corruptions, though they have not their origin from God, are to be overruled by Him in accordance with the order of inanimate things and the deserts of His intelligent creatures. Thus we say rightly that reward and punishment are both from God. For God's not making corruption is consistent with His giving over to corruption the man who deserves to be corrupted, that is, who has begun to corrupt himself by sinning, that he who has wilfully yielded to the allurements of corruption may, against his will, suffer its pains.

CHAP. 39.--IN WHAT SENSE EVILS ARE FROM GOD.

45. Not only is it written in the Old Testament, "I make good, and create evil; " (2) but more clearly in the New Testament, where the Lord says, "Fear not them which kill the body, and have no more that they can do but fear him who, after he has killed the body, has power to cast the soul into hell." (3) And that to voluntary corruption penal corruption is added in the divine judgment, is: plainly declared by the Apostle Paul, when he says, "The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are; whoever corrupts the temple of God, him will God corrupt." (4) If this had been said in the Old Law, how vehemently would the Manichaeans have denounced it as making God a corrupter! And from fear of the word, many Latin translators make it, "him shall God destroy," instead of corrupt, avoiding the offensive word without any change of meaning. Although these would inveigh against any passage in the Old Law or the prophets if God was called in it a destroyer. But the Greek original here shows that corrupt is the true word; for it is written distinctly, "Whoever corrupts the temple of God, him will God corrupt." If the Manichaeans are asked to explain the words, they will say, to escape making God a corrupter, that corrupt here means to give over to corruption, or some such explanation. Did they read the Old Law in this spirit, they would both find many admirable things in it; and instead of spitefully attacking passages which they did not understand, they would reverently postpone the inquiry.

CHAP. 40.--CORRUPTION TENDS TO NON-EXISTENCE.

46. But if any one does not believe that corruption comes from nothing, let him place before himself existence and non-existence--one, as it were, on one side, and the other on the other (to speak so as not to outstrip the slow to understand); then let him set something, say the body of an animal, between them, and let him ask himself whether, while the body is being formed and produced, while its size is increasing, while it gains nourishment, health, strength, beauty, stability, it is tending, as regards its duration and permanence, to this side or that, to existence or non-existence. He will see without difficulty, that even in the rudimentary form there is an existence, and that the more the body is established and built up in form, and figure and strength, the more does it come to exist, and to tend to the side of existence. Then, again, let the body begin to be corrupted; let its whole condition be enfeebled, let its vigor languish, its strength decay, its beauty be defaced, its framework be sundered, the consistency of its parts give way and go to pieces; and let him ask now where the body is tending in this corruption, whether to existence or non-existence: he will not surely be so blind or stupid as to doubt how to answer himself, or as not to see that, in proportion as anything is corrupted, in that proportion it approaches decease. But whatever tends to decease tends to non-existence. Since, then, we must believe that God exists immutably and incorruptibly, while what is called nothing is clearly altogether non-existent; and since, after setting before yourself existence and non- existence, you have observed that the more a visible object increases the more it tends towards existence, while the more it is corrupted the more it tends towards non-existence why are you at a loss to tell regarding any nature what in it is from God, and what from nothing; seeing that visible

form is natural, and corrupt!on against nature? The increase of form leads to existence, and we acknowledge God as supreme existence; the increase of corruption leads to non- existence, and we know that what is non-existent is nothing. Why then, I say, are you at a loss to tell regarding a corruptible nature, when you have both the words nature and corruptible, what is from God, and what from nothing? And why do you inquire for a nature contrary to God, since, if you confess that He is the supreme existence, it follows that non-existence is contrary to Him? (1)

CHAP. 41.--CORRUPTION IS BY GOD'S PERMISSION, AND COMES FROM US.

47. You ask, Why does corruption take from nature what God has given to it? It takes nothing but where God permits; and He permits in righteous and well-ordered judgment, according to the degrees of non-intelligent and the deserts of intelligent creatures. The word uttered passes away as an object of sense, and perishes in silence; and yet the coming and going of these passing words make our speech, and the regular intervals of silence give pleasing and appropriate distinction; and so it is with temporal natures which have this lowest form of beauty, that transition gives them being, and the death of what they give birth to gives them individuality. And if our sense and memory could rightly take in the order and proportions of this beauty, it would so please us, that we should not dare to give the name of corruptions to those imperfections which give rise to the distinction. And when distress comes to us through their peculiar beauty, by the loss of beloved tern petal things passing away, we both pay the penalty of our sins, and are exhorted to set our affection on eternal things.

CHAP. 42.--EXHORTATION TO THE CHIEF GOOD.

48. Let us, then, not seek in this beauty for what has not been given to it (and from not having what we seek for, this is the lowest form of beauty); and in that which has been given to it, let us praise God, because He has bestowed this great good of visible form even on the lowest degree of beauty. And let us not cleave as lovers to this beauty, but as praisers of God let us rise above it; and from this superior position let us pronounce judgment on it, instead of so being bound up in it as to be judged along with it. And let us hasten on to that good which has no motion in space or advancement in time, from which all natures in space and time receive their sensible being and their form. To see this good let us purify our heart by faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, who says, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." (2) For the eyes needed in order to see this good are not those with which we see the light spread through space, which has part in one place and part in another, instead of being all in every place. The sight and the discernment we are to purify is that by which we see, as far as is allowed in this life, what is just, what is pious, what is the beauty of wisdom. He who sees these

things,values them far above the fullness of all regions in space, aria finds that the vision of these things requires not the extension of his perception through distances in space, but its invigoration by an immaterial influence. (3)

CHAP. 43.--CONCLUSION.

49. And as this vision is greatly hindered by those fancies which are originated by the carnal sense, and are retained and modified by the imagination, let us abhor this heresy which has been led by faith in its fancies to represent the divine substance as extended and diffused through space, even through infinite space, and to cut short one side so as to make room for evil,--not being able to perceive that evil is not nature, but against nature; and to beautify this very evil with such visible appearance, and forms, and consistency of parts prevailing in its several natures, not being able to conceive of any nature without those good things, that the evils found fault with in it are buried under a countless abundance of good things.

Here let us close this part of the treatise. The other absurdities of Manichaeus will be exposed in what follows, by the permission and help of God. (4)

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Augustin: Reply to Faustus the Manichaean
Books 1 - 15
Reply to Faustus the Manichaean

Sections:

[Books 1 - 15 | Book 16 - 22 | Book 23 to 33]

[CONTRA FAUSTUM MANICHAEUM.] A.D. 400.

Written about the year 400. [Faustus was undoubtedly the acutest, most determined and most unscrupulous opponent of orthodox Christianity in the age of Augustin. The occasion of Augustin's great writing against him was the publication of Faustus' attack on the Old Testament Scriptures, and on the New Testament so far as it was at variance with Manichaean error. Faustus seems to have followed in the footsteps of Adimantus, against whom Augustin had written some years before, but to have gone considerably beyond Adimantus in the recklessness of his statements. The incarnation of Christ, involving his birth from a woman, is one of the main points of attack. He makes the variations in the genealogical records of the Gospels a ground for rejecting the whole as spurious. He supposed the Gospels, in their present form, to be not the works of the Apostles, but rather of later Judaizing falsifiers. The entire Old Testament

system he treats with the utmost contempt, blaspheming the Patriarchs, Moses, the Prophets, etc., on the ground of their private lives and their teachings. Most of the objections to the morality of the Old Testament that are now current were already familiarly used in the time of Augustin. Augustin's answers are only partially satisfactory, owing to his imperfect view of the relation of the old dispensation to the new; but in the age in which they were written they were doubtless very effective. The writing is interesting from the point of view of Biblical criticism, as well as from that of polemics against Manichaeism.--A. H. N.]

BOOK I.

WHO FAUSTUS WAS. FAUSTUS'S OBJECT IN WRITING THE POLEMICAL TREATISE THAT FORMS THEBASIS OF AUGUSTIN'S REPLY. AUGUSTIN'S REMARKS THEREON

1. FAUSTUS was an African by race, a citizen of Mileum; he was eloquent and clever, but had adopted the shocking tenets of the Manichaean heresy. He is mentioned in my Confessions,(1) where there is an account of my acquaintance with him. This man published a certain volume against the true Christian faith and the Catholic truth. A copy reached us, and was read by the brethren, who called for an answer from me, as part of the service of love which I owe to them. Now, therefore, in the name and with the help of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I undertake the task, that all my readers may know that acuteness of mind and elegance of style are of no use to a man unless the Lord directs his steps.(3) In the mysterious equity of divine mercy, God often bestows His help on the slow and the feeble; while from the want of this help, the most acute and eloquent run into error only with greater rapidity and willfulness. I will give the opinions of Faustus as if stated by himself, and mine as if in reply to him.

2. FAUSTUS said: As the learned Adimantus, the only teacher since the sainted Manichaeus deserving of our attention, has plentifully exposed and thoroughly refuted the errors of Judaism and of semi-Christianity, I think it not amiss that you should be supplied in writing with brief and pointed replies to the captious objections of our adversaries, that when, like children of the wily serpent, they try to bewilder you with their quibbles, you may be prepared to give intelligent answers. In this way they will be kept to the subject, instead of wandering from one thing to another. And I have placed our opinions and those of our opponent over against one another, as plainly and briefly as possible, so as not to perplex the reader with a long and intricate discourse.

3. AUGUSTIN replies: You warn against semi-Christians, which you say we are; but we warn against pseudo-Christians, which we have shown you to be. Semi-Christianity may be imperfect without being false. So, then, if the faith of those whom you try to mislead is imperfect, would it not be better to supply what is lacking than to rob them of what they have? It was to imperfect Christians that the apostle wrote, "joying and beholding your conversation," and "the deficiency in your faith in Christ."(1) The apostle had in

view a spiritual structure, as he says elsewhere, "Ye are God's building;"(2) and in this structure he found both a reason for joy and a reason for exertion. He rejoiced to see part already finished; and the necessity of bringing the edifice to perfection called for exertion. Imperfect Christians as we are, you pursue us with the desire to pervert what you call our semi-Christianity by false doctrine; while even those who are so deficient in faith as to be unable to reply to all your sophisms, are wise enough at least to know that they must not have anything at all to do with you. You look for semi-Christians to deceive: we wish to prove you pseudo-Christians, that Christians may learn something from your refutation, and that the less advanced may learn to avoid you. Do you call us children of the serpent? You have surely forgotten how often you have found fault with the prohibition in Paradise, and have praised the serpent for opening Adam's eyes. You have the better claim to the title which you give us. The serpent owns you as well when you blame him as when you praise him.

BOOK II.

FAUSTUS CLAIMS TO BELIEVE THE GOSPEL, YET REFUSES TO ACCEPT THE GENEALOGICAL TABLES

ON VARIOUS GROUNDS WHICH AUGUSTIN SEEKS TO SET ASIDE.

1. FAUSTUS said: Do I believe the gospel? Certainly. Do I therefore believe that Christ was born? Certainly not. It does not follow that because I believe the gospel, as I do, I must therefore believe that Christ was born. This I do not believe; because Christ does not say that He was born of men, and the gospel, both in name and in fact, begins with Christ's preaching. As for the genealogy. the author himself does not venture to call it the gospel. For what did he write? "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ the Son of David."(1) The book of the generation is not the book of the gospel. It is more like a birth-register, the star confirming the event. Mark, on the other hand, who recorded the preaching of the Son of God, without any genealogy, begins most suitably with the words, "The gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God." It is plain that the genealogy is not the gospel. Matthew himself says, that after John was put in prison, Jesus began to preach the gospel of the kingdom; so that what is mentioned before this is the genealogy, and not the gospel. Why did not Matthew begin with, "The gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God," but because he thought it sinful to call the genealogy the gospel? Understand, then, what you have hitherto overlooked --the distinction between the genealogy and the gospel. Do I then admit the truth of the gospel? Yes; understanding by the gospel the preaching of Christ. I have plenty to say about the generations too, if you wish. But you seem to me now to wish to know not whether I accept the gospel, but whether I accept the generations.

2. AUGUSTIN replied: Well, in answer to your own questions, you tell us first that you believe the gospel, and next, that you do not believe in the birth of Christ; and your reason is, that the birth of Christ is not in the gospel. What, then, will you answer the apostle when he says, "Remember that Christ Jesus rose from the dead, of the seed of David, according to my gospel?"(1) You surely are ignorant, or pretend to be ignorant, what the gospel is. You use the word, not as the apostle teaches, but as suits your own errors. What the apostles call the gospel you depart from; for you do not believe that Christ was of the seed of David. This was Paul's gospel; and it was also the gospel of the other apostles, and of all faithful stewards of so great a mystery. For Paul says elsewhere, "Whether, therefore, I or they, so we preach, and so ye believed."(2) They did not all write the gospel, but they all preached it. The name evangelist is properly given to the narrators of the birth, the actions, the words, the sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ. The word gospel means good news, and might be used of any good news, but is properly applied to the narrative of the Saviour. If, then, you teach something different, you must have departed from the gospel. Assuredly those babes whom you despise as semi-Christians will oppose you, when they hear their mother Charity declaring by the mouth of the apostle, "If any one preach another gospel than that which we have preached to you, let him be accursed."(3) Since, then, Paul, according to his gospel, preached that Christ was of the seed of David, and you deny this and preach something else, may you be accursed! And what can you mean by saying that Christ never declares Himself to have been born of men, when on every occasion He calls Himself the Son of man?

3. You learned men, forsooth, dress up for our benefit some wonderful First Man, who came down from the race of light to war with the race of darkness, armed with his waters against the waters of the enemy, and with his fire against their fire, and with his winds against their winds. And why not with his smoke against their smoke, and with his darkness against their darkness? According to you, he was armed against smoke with air, and against darkness with light. So it appears that smoke and darkness are bad, since they could not belong to his goodness. The other three, again--water, wind, and fire--are good. How, then, could these belong to the evil of the enemy? You reply that the water of the race of darkness was evil, while that which the First Man brought was good; anti so, too, his good wind and fire fought against the evil wind and fire of the adversary. But why could he not bring good smoke against evil smoke? Your falsehoods seem to vanish in smoke. Well, your First Man warred against an opposite nature. And yet only one of the five things he brought was the opposite of what the hostile race had. The light was opposed to the darkness, but the four others are not opposed to one another. Air is not the opposite of smoke, and still less is water the opposite of water, or wind of wind, or fire of fire.

4. One is shocked at your wild fancies about this First Man changing the elements which he brought, that he might conquer his enemies by pleasing them. So you make what you call the kingdom of falsehood keep honestly to its own nature, while truth is changeable in order to deceive. Jesus Christ, according to you, is the son of this First Man. Truth springs, forsooth, from your fiction. You praise this First Man for using changeable and delusive forms in the contest. If you, then, speak the truth, you do not imitate him. If you imitate him, you deceive as he did. But our Lord and Saviour Jesus

Christ, the true and truthful Son of God, the true and truthful Son of man, both of which He testifies of Himself, derived the eternity of His godhead from true God, and His incarnation from true man. Your First Man is not the first man of the apostle. "The first man," he says, "was of the earth, earthy; the second man is from heaven, heavenly. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy; as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. As we have borne the image of the earthy, let us also bear the image of the heavenly."(4) The first man of the earth, earthy, is Adam, who was made of dust. The second man from heaven, heavenly, is the Lord Jesus Christ; for, being the Son of God, He became flesh that He might be a man outwardly, while He remained God within; that He might be both the true Son of God, by whom we were made, anti the true Son of man, by whom we are made anew. Why do you conjure up this fabulous First Man of yours, and refuse to acknowledge the first man of the apostle? Is this not a fulfillment of what the apostle says: "Turning away their ears from the truth, they will give heed to fables?"(5) According to Paul, the first man is of the earth, earthy; according to Manichaeus, he is not earthy, and is equipped with five elements of some unreal, unintelligible kind. Paul says: "If any one should have announced to you differently from what we have announced let him be accursed." Therefore lest Paul be a liar, let Manichaeus be accursed.

5. Again, you find fault with the star by which the Magi were led to worship the infant Christ, which you should be ashamed of doing, when yon represent your fabulous Christ, the son of your fabulous First Man not as announced by a star, but as bound up in all the stars.(1) For you say that he mingled with the principles of darkness in his conflict with the race of darkness, that by capturing these principles the world might be made out of the mixture. So that, by your profane fancies, Christ is not only mingled with heaven and all the stars, but conjoined and compounded with the earth and all its productions,(2)--a Saviour no more, but needing to be saved by you, by your eating and disgorging Him.

This foolish custom of making your disciples bring you food, that your teeth and stomach may be the means of relieving Christ, who is bound up in it, is a consequence of your profane fancies. You declare that Christ is liberated in this way--not, however, entirely; for you hold that some tiny particles of no value still remain in the excrement, to be mixed up and compounded again and again in various material forms, and to be released and purified at any rate by the fire in which the world will be burned up, if not before. Nay, even then, you say, Christ is not entirely liberated; but some extreme particles of His good and divine nature, which have been so defiled that they cannot be cleansed, are condemned to stay for ever in the horrid mass of darkness. And these people pretend to be offended with our saying that a star announced the birth of the Son of God, as if this were placing His birth under the influence of a constellation; while they subject Him not to stars only, but to such polluting contact with all material things, with the juices of all vegetables, and with the decay of all flesh, and with the decomposition of all food, in which He is bound up, that the only way of releasing Him, at least one great means, is that men, that is the Elect of the Manichaeans, should succeed in digesting their dinner.

We, too, deny the influence of the stars upon the birth of any man; for we maintain that, by the just law of God, the free-will of man, which chooses good or evil, is under no

constraint of necessity. How much less do we subject to any constellation the incarnation of the eternal Creator and Lord of all! When Christ was born after the flesh, the star which the Magi saw had no power as governing, but attended as a witness. Instead of assuming control over Him, it acknowledged Him by the homage it did. Besides, this star was not one of those which from the beginning of the world continue in the course ordained by the Creator. Along with the new birth from the Virgin appeared a new star, which served as a guide to the Magi who were themselves seeking for Christ; for it went before them till they reached the place where they found the Word of God in the form of a child. But what astrologer ever thought of making a star leave its course, and come down to the child that is born, as they imagine, under it? They think that the stars affect the birth, not that the birth changes the course of the stars; so,if the star in the Gospel was one of those heavenly bodies, how could it determine Christ's action, when it was compelled to change its own action at Christ's birth? But if, as is more likely, a star which did not exist before appeared to point out Christ, it was the effect of Christ's birth, and not the cause of it. Christ was not born because the star was there; but the star was there because Christ was born. If there was any fate, it was in the birth, and not in the star. The word fate is derived from a word which means to speak; and since Christ is the Word of God by which all things were spoken before they were, the conjunction of stars is not the fate of Christ, but Christ is the fate of the stars. The same will that made the heavens took our earthly nature. The same power that ruled the stars laid down His life and took it again.

6. Why, then, should the narrative of the birth not be the gospel, since it conveys such good news as heals our malady? Is it because Matthew begins, not like Mark, with the words, "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ," but, "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ?" In this way, John, too, might be said not to have written the gospel, for he has not the words, Beginning of the gospel, or Book of the gospel, but, "In the beginning was the Word." Perhaps the clever word-maker Faustus will call the introduction in John a Verbidium, as he called that in Matthew a Genesidium. The wonder is, that you are so impudent as to give the name of gospel to your silly stories. What good news is there in telling us that, in the conflict against some strange hostile nation, God could protect His own kingdom only by sending part of His own nature into the greedy jaws of the former, and to be so defiled, that after all those toils and tortures it cannot all be purged? Is this bad news the gospel? Every one who has even a slender knowledge of Greek knows that gospel means good news. But where is your good news, when your God himself is said to weep as under eclipse till the darkness and defilement are removed from his members? And when he ceases to weep, it seems he becomes cruel. For what has that part of him which is to be involved in the mass done to deserve this condemnation? This part must go on weeping for ever. But no; whoever examines this news will not weep because it is bad, but will laugh because it is not true.

BOOK III.

FAUSTUS OBJECTS TO THE INCARNATION OF GOD ON THE GROUND THAT THE

EVANGELISTS ARE AT VARIANCE WITH EACH OTHER, AND THAT INCARNATION IS UNSUITABLE TO DEITY. AUGUSTIN ATTEMPTS TO REMOVE THE CRITICAL AND THEOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES.

1. FAUSTUS said: Do I believe in the incarnation? For my part, this is the very thing I long tried to persuade myself of, that God was born; but the discrepancy in the genealogies of Luke and Matthew stumbled me, as I knew not which to follow. For I thought it might happen that, from not being omniscient, I might take the true for false, and the false for true. So, in despair of settling this dispute, I betook myself to Mark and John, two authorities still, and evangelists as much as the others. I approved with good reason of the beginning of Mark and John, for they have nothing of David, or Mary, or Joseph. John says, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God," meaning Christ. Mark says, "The gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God," as if correcting Matthew, who calls him the Son of David. Perhaps, however, the Jesus of Matthew is a different person from the Jesus of Mark. This is my reason for not believing in the birth of Christ.

Remove this difficulty, if you can, by harmonizing the accounts, and I am ready to yield. In any case, however, it is hardly consistent to believe that God, the God of Christians, was born from the womb.

2. AUGUSTIN replied: Had you read the Gospel with care, and inquired into those places where you found opposition, instead of rashly condemning them, you would have seen that the recognition of the authority of the evangelists by so many learned men all over the world, in spite of this most obvious discrepancy, proves that there is more in it than appears at first sight. Any one can see, as well as you, that the ancestors of Christ in Matthew and Luke are different; while Joseph appears in both, at the end in Matthew and at the beginning in Luke. Joseph, it is plain, might be called the father of Christ, on account of his being in a certain sense the husband of the mother of Christ; and so his name, as the male representative, appears at the beginning or end of the genealogies. Any one can see as well as you that Joseph has one father in Matthew and another in Luke, and so with the grandfather and with all the rest up to David. Did all the able and learned men, not many Latin writers certainly, but innumerable Greek, who have examined most attentively the sacred Scriptures, overlook this manifest difference? Of course they saw it. No one can help seeing it. But with a due regard to the high authority of Scripture, they believed that there was something here which would be given to those that ask, and denied to those that snarl; would be found by those that seek, and taken away from those that criticise; would be open to those that knock, and shut against those that contradict. They asked, sought, and knocked; they received, found, and entered in.

3. The whole question is how Joseph had two fathers. Supposing this possible, both genealogies may be correct. With two fathers, why not two grandfathers, and two great-grandfathers, and so on, up to David, who was the father both of Solomon, who is mentioned in Matthew's list, and of Nathan, who occurs in Luke? This is the difficulty with many people who think it impossible that two men should have one and the same

son, forgetting the very obvious fact that a man may be called the son of the person who adopted him as well as of the person who begot him.

Adoption, we know, was familiar to the ancients, for even women adopted the children of other women, as Sarah adopted Ishmael, and Leah her handmaid's son, and Pharaoh's daughter Moses. Jacob, too, adopted his grandsons, the children of Joseph. Moreover, the word adoption is of great importance in the system of our faith, as is seen from the apostolic writings. For the Apostle Paul, speaking of the advantages of the Jews, says: "Whose are the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law whose are the fathers, and of whom, according to the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever."(1) And again: "We ourselves also groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption of the sons of God, even the redemption of the body."(2) Again, elsewhere: "But in the fullness of time, God sent His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons."(3) These passages show clearly that adoption is a significant symbol. God has an only Son, whom He begot from His own substance, of whom it is said, "Being in the form of God, He thought it not robbery to be equal to God."(4) Us He begot not of His own substance, for we belong to the creation which is not begotten, but made; but that He might make us the brothers of Christ, He adopted us. That act, then, by which God, when we were not born of Him, but created and formed, begot us by His word and grace, is called adoption. So John says, "He gave them power to become the sons of God."(5)

Since, therefore; the practice of adoption is common among our fathers, and in Scripture, is there not irrational profanity in the hasty condemnation of the evangelists as false because the genealogies are different, as if both could not be true, instead of considering calmly the simple fact that frequently in human life one man may have two fathers, one of whose flesh he is born, and another of whose will he is afterwards made a son by adoption? If the second is not rightly called father, neither are we right in saying, "Our Father which art in heaven," to Him of whose substance we were not born, but of whose grace and most merciful will we were adopted, according to apostolic doctrine, and truth most sure. For one is to us God, and Lord, and Father: God, for by Him we are created, though of human parents; Lord, for we are His subjects; Father, for by His adoption we are born again. Careful students of sacred Scripture easily saw, from a little consideration, how, in the different genealogies of the two evangelists, Joseph had two fathers, and consequently two lists of ancestors. You might have seen this too, if you had not been blinded by the love of contradiction. Other things far beyond your understanding have been discovered in the careful investigation of all parts of these narratives. The familiar occurrence of one man begetting a son and another adopting him, so that one man has two fathers, you might, in spite of Manichaean error, have thought of as an explanation, if you had not been reading in a hostile spirit.

4. But why Matthew begins with Abraham and descends to Joseph, while Luke begins with Joseph and ascends, not to Abraham, but to God, who made man, and, by giving a commandment, gave him power to become, by believing, a son of God; and why Matthew records the generations at the commencement of his book, Luke after the baptism of the Saviour by John; and what is the meaning of the number of the generations in Matthew, who divides them into three sections of fourteen each, though in the whole sum there appears to be one wanting; while in Luke the number of

generations recorded after the baptism amount to seventy-seven, which number the Lord Himself enjoins in connection with the forgiveness of sins, saying, "Not only seven times, but seventy-seven times;" --these things you will never understand, unless either you are taught by some Catholic of superior stamp, who has studied the sacred Scriptures, and has made all the progress possible, or you yourselves turn from your error, and in a Christian spirit ask that you may receive, seek that you may find, and knock that it may be opened to you.

5. Since, then, this double fatherhood of nature and adoption removes the difficulty arising from the discrepancy of the genealogies, there is no occasion for Faustus to leave the two evangelists and betake himself to the other two, which would be a greater affront to those he betook himself to than to those he left. For the sacred writers do not desire to be favored at the expense of their brethren. For their joy is in union, and they are one in Christ; and if one says one thing, and another another, or one in one way and another in another, still they all speak truth, and in no way contradict one another; only let the reader be reverent and humble, not in an heretical spirit seeking occasion for strife, but with a believing heart desiring edification. Now, in this opinion that the evangelists give the ancestors of different fathers, as it is quite possible for a man to have two fathers, there is nothing inconsistent with truth. So the evangelists are harmonized, and you, by Faustus's promise are bound to yield at once.

6. You may perhaps be troubled by that additional remark which he makes: "In any case, however, it is hardly consistent to believe that God, the God of Christians, was born from the womb." As if we believed that the divine nature came from the womb of a woman. Have I not just quoted the testimony of the apostle, speaking of the Jews: "Whose are the fathers, and of whom, according to the flesh, Christ came, who is God over all, blessed for ever?" Christ, therefore, our Lord and Saviour, true Son of God in His divinity, and true son of man according to the flesh, not as He is God over all was born of a woman, but in that feeble nature which He took of us, that in it He might die for us, and heal it in us: not as in the form of God, in which He thought it not robbery to be equal to God, was He born of a woman, but in the form of a servant, in taking which He emptied Himself. He is therefore said to have emptied Himself because He took the form of a servant, not because He lost the form of God. For in the unchangeable possession of that nature by which in the form of God He is equal to the Father, He took our changeable nature, by which He might be born of a virgin. You, while you protest against putting the flesh of Christ in a virgin's womb, place the very divinity of God in the womb not only of human beings, but of dogs and swine. You refuse to believe that the flesh of Christ was conceived in the Virgin's womb, in which God was not found nor even changed; while you assert that in all men and beasts, in the seed of male and in the womb of female, in all conceptions on land or in water, an actual part of God and the divine nature is continually bound, and shut up, and contaminated, never to be wholly set free.(1)

BOOK IV.

FAUSTUS'S REASONS FOR REJECTING THE OLD TESTAMENT, AND AUGUSTIN'S ANIMADVERSIONS THEREON.

1. FAUSTUS said: Do I believe the Old Testament? If it bequeaths anything to me, I believe it; if not, I reject it. It would be an excess of forwardness to take the documents of others which pronounce me disinherited. Remember that the promise of Canaan in the Old Testament is made to Jews, that is, to the circumcised, who offer sacrifice, and abstain from swine's flesh, and from the other animals which Moses pronounces unclean, and observe Sabbaths, and the feast of unleavened bread, and other things of the same kind which the author of the Testament enjoined. Christians have not adopted these observances, and no one keeps them; so that if we will not take the inheritance, we should surrender the documents. This is my first reason for rejecting the Old Testament, unless you teach me better. My second reason is, that this inheritance is such a poor fleshly thing, without any spiritual blessings, that after the New Testament, and its glorious promise of the kingdom of heaven and eternal life, I think it not worth the taking.

2. AUGUSTIN replied: No one doubts that promises of temporal things are contained in the Old Testament, for which reason it is called the Old Testament; or that the kingdom of heaven and the promise of eternal life belong to the New Testament. But that in these temporal things were figures of future things which should be fulfilled in us upon whom the ends of the ages are come, is not my fancy, but the judgment of the apostle, when he says of such things, "These things were our examples;" and again, "These things happened to them for an example, and they are written for us on whom the ends of the ages are come."(1) We receive the Old Testament, therefore, not in order to obtain the fulfillment of these promises, but to see in them predictions of the New Testament; for the Old bears witness to the New. Whence the Lord, after He rose from the dead, and allowed His disciples not only to see but to handle Him, still, lest they should doubt their mortal and fleshly senses, gave them further confirmation from the testimony of the ancient books, saying, "It was necessary that all things should be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets and Psalms, concerning me."(2) Our hope, therefore, rests not on the promise of temporal things. Nor do we believe that the holy and spiritual men of these times - - the patriarchs and prophets -- were taken up with earthly things. For they understood, by the revelation of the Spirit of God, what was suitable for that time, and how God appointed all these sayings and actions as types and predictions of the future. Their great desire was for the New Testament; but they had a personal duty to perform in those predictions, by which the new things of the future were foretold. So the life as well as the tongue of these men was prophetic. The carnal people, indeed, thought only of present blessings, though even in connection with the people there were prophecies of the future.

These things you do not understand, because, as the prophet said, "Unless you believe, you shall not understand."(1) For you are not instructed in the kingdom of heaven, -- that is, in the true Catholic Church of Christ. If you were, you would bring forth from the treasure of the sacred Scriptures things old as well as new. For the Lord Himself says,

"Therefore every scribe instructed in the kingdom of heaven is like an householder who brings forth from his treasure things new and old."(2) And so, while you profess to receive only the new promises of God, you have retained the oldness of the flesh, adding only the novelty of error; of which novelty the apostle says, "Shun profane novelties of words, for they increase unto more ungodliness, and their speech eats like a cancer. Of whom is Hymenćus and Philetus, who concerning the faith have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already, and have overthrown the faith of some."(3) Here you see the source of your false doctrine, in teaching that the resurrection is only of souls by the preaching of the truth, and that there will be no resurrection of the body. But how can you understand spiritual things of the inner man, who is renewed in the knowledge of God, when in the oldness of the flesh, if you do not possess temporal things, you concoct fanciful notions about them in those images of carnal things of which the whole of your false doctrine consists? You boast of despising as worthless the land of Canaan, which was an actual thing, and actually given to the Jews; and yet you tell of a land of light cut asunder on one side, as by a narrow wedge, by the land of the race of darkness, -- a thing which does not exist, and which you believe from the delusion of your minds; so that your life is not supported by having it, and your mind is wasted in desiring it.(4)

BOOK V.

FAUSTUS CLAIMS THAT THE MANICHAEANS AND NOT THE CATHOLICS ARE CONSISTENT BELIEVERS IN THE GOSPEL, AND SEEKS TO ESTABLISH THIS CLAIM BY COMPARING MANICHAEAN AND CATHOLIC OBEDIENCE TO THE PRECEPTS OF THE GOSPEL. AUGUSTIN EXPOSES THE HYPOCRISY OF THE MANICHAEANS AND PRAISES THE ASCETICISM OF CATHOLICS.

1. FAUSTUS said: Do I believe the gospel ? You ask me if I believe it, though my obedience to its commands shows that I do. I should rather ask you if you believe it, since you give no proof of your belief. I have left my father, mother, wife, and children, and all else that the gospel requires;(1) and do you ask if I believe the gospel? Perhaps you do not know what is called the gospel. The gospel is nothing else than the preaching and the precept of Christ. I have parted with all gold and silver, and have left off carrying money in my purse; content with daily food; without anxiety for tomorrow; and without solicitude about how I shall be fed, or where-withal I shall be clothed: and do you ask if I believe the gospel? You see in me the blessings of the gospel;(2) and do you ask if I believe the gospel? You see me poor, meek, a peacemaker, pure in heart, mourning, hungering, thirsting, bearing persecutions and enmity for righteousness' sake; and do you doubt my belief in the gospel? One can understand now how John the Baptist, after seeing Jesus, and also hearing of His works, yet asked whether He was Christ. Jesus properly and justly did not deign to reply that He was; but reminded him of the works of which he had already heard: "The blind see, the deaf hear, the dead are

raised."(3)

In the same way, I might very well reply to your question whether I believe the gospel, by saying, I have left all, father, mother, wife, children, gold, silver, eating, drinking, luxuries, pleasures; take this as a sufficient answer to your questions, and believe that you will be blessed if you are not offended in me.(1)

2. But, according to you, to believe the gospel is not only to obey its commands, but also to believe in all that is written in it; and, first of all, that God was born. But neither is believing the gospel only to believe that Jesus was born, but also to do what He commands. So, if you say that I do not believe the gospel because I disbelieve the incarnation, much more do you not believe because you disregard the commandments. At any rate, we are on a par till these questions are settled. If your disregard of the precepts does not prevent you from professing faith in the gospel, why should my rejection of the genealogy prevent me? And if, as you say, to believe the gospel includes both faith in the genealogies and obedience to the precepts, why do you condemn me, since we both are imperfect? What one wants the other has. But if, as there can be no doubt, belief in the gospel consists solely in obedience to the commands of God, your sin is twofold. As the proverb says, the deserter accuses the soldier. But suppose, since you will have it so, that there are these two parts of perfect faith, one consisting in word, or the confession that Christ was born, the other in deed or the observance of the precepts; it is plain that my part is hard and painful, yours light and easy. It is natural that the multitude should flock to you and away from me, for they know not that the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power. Why, then, do you blame me for taking the harder part, and leaving to you, as to a weak brother, the easy part? You have the idea that your part of faith, or confessing that Christ was born, has more power to save the soul than the other parts.

3. Let us then ask Christ Himself, and learn from His own mouth, what is the chief means of our salvation. Who shall enter, O Christ, into Thy kingdom? He that doeth the will of my Father in heaven,(2) is His reply; not, "He that confesses that I was born." And again, He says to His disciples, "Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things which I have commanded you."(3) It is not, "teaching them that I was born," but, "to observe my commandments." Again, "Ye are my friends if ye do what I command you;"(4) not, "if you believe that I was born." Again, "If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love," (5) and in many other places. Also in the sermon on the mount, when He taught, "Blessed are the poor, blessed are the meek, blessed are the peacemakers, blessed are the pure in heart, blessed are they that mourn, blessed are they that hunger, blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake," (6) He nowhere says, "Blessed are they that confess that I was born." And in the separation of the sheep from the goats in the judgment, He says that He will say to them on the right hand, "I was hungry, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink" (7) and so on; therefore" inherit the kingdom." Not, "Because ye believe that I was born, inherit the kingdom." Again, to the rich man seeking for eternal life, He says, "Go, sell all that thou hast, and follow me;" (8) not, "Believe that I was born, that you may have eternal life." You see, the kingdom, life, happiness, are everywhere promised to the part I have chosen of what you call the two parts of faith, and nowhere to your part. Show, if you

can, a place where it is written that whoso confesses that Christ was born of a woman is blessed, or shall inherit the kingdom, or have eternal life. Even supposing, then, that there are two parts of faith, your part has no blessing. But what if we prove that your part is not a part of faith at all? It will follow that you are foolish, which indeed will be proved beyond a doubt. At present, it is enough to have shown that our part is crowned with the beatitudes. Besides, we have also a beatitude for a confession in words: for we confess that Jesus Christ is the Son of the living God; and Jesus declares with His own lips that this confession has a benediction, when He says to Peter, "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." (9) So that we have not one, but both these parts of faith, and in both alike are we pronounced blessed by Christ; for in one we reduce faith to practice, while in the other our confession is unmixed with blasphemy.

4. AUGUSTIN replied: I have already said that the Lord Jesus Christ repeatedly calls Himself the Son of man, and that the Manichaeans have contrived a silly story about some fabulous First Man, who figures in their impious heresy, not earthly, but combined with spurious elements, in opposition to the apostle, who says, "The first man is of the earth, earthy;"(1) and that the apostle carefully warns us, "If any one preaches to you differently from what we have preached, let him be accursed," (2) So that we must believe Christ to be the Son of man according to apostolic truth, not according to Manichaean error. And since the evangelists assert that Christ was born of a woman, of the seed of David, and Paul writing to Timothy says, "Remember that Jesus Christ, of the seed of David, was raised from the dead, according to my gospel" (3) it is clear what sense we must believe Christ to be the Son of man; for being the Son of God by whom we were made, He also by His incarnation became the Son of man, that He might die for our sins, and rise again for our justification. (4) Accordingly He calls Himself both Son of God and Son of man. To take only one instance out of many, in the Gospel of John it is written. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour cometh, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live. For as the Father hath life in Himself, so He hath given to the Son to have life in Himself; and hath given Him power to execute judgment also, because He is the Son of man." (5) He says, "They shall hear the voice of the Son of God;" and He says, "because He is the Son of man." As the Son of man, He has received power to execute judgment, because He will come to judgment in human form, that He may be seen by the good and the wicked. In this form He ascended into heaven, and that voice was heard by His disciples, "He shall so come as ye have seen Him go into heaven."(6) As the Son of God, as God equal to and one with the Father, He will not be seen by the wicked; for "blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." Since, then, He promises eternal life to those that believe in Him, and since to believe in Him is to believe in the true Christ, such as He declares Himself and His apostles declare Him to be, true Son of God and true Son of man; you, Manichćans, who believe on a false and spurious son of a false and spurious man, and teach that God Himself, from fear of the assault of the hostile race, gave up His own members to be tortured, and after all not to be wholly liberated, are plainly far from that eternal life which Christ promises to those who believe in Him. It is true, He said to Peter when he confessed Him to be the Son of God, "Blessed art thou, Simon. Barjona." But does He promise nothing to those who believe Him to be the Son of man, when the Son of God and the Son of man are the same? Besides, eternal life is expressly promised to those who believe in the Son of man. "As

Moses," He says, "lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life."(7) What more do you wish? Believe then in the Son of man, that you may have eternal life; for He is also the Son of God, who can give eternal life: for He is "the true God and eternal life," as the same John says in his epistle. John also adds, that he is antichrist who denies that Christ has come in the flesh.(8)

5. There is no need, then that you should extol so much the perfection of Christ's commands, because you obey the precepts of the gospel. For the precepts, supposing you really to fulfill them, would not profit you without true faith. Do you not know that the apostle says, "If I distribute all my goods to the poor, and give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing?"(9) Why do you boast of having Christian poverty, when you are destitute of Christian charity? Robbers have a kind of charity to one another, arising from a mutual consciousness of guilt and crime; but this is not the charity commended by the apostle. In another passage he distinguishes true charity from all base and vicious affections, by saying, "Now the end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned."(10) How then can you have true charity from a fictitious faith?(11) You persist in a faith corrupted by falsehood: for your First Man, according to you, used deceit in the conflict by changing his form, while his enemies remained in their own nature; and, besides, you maintain that Christ, who says, "I am the truth," reigned His incarnation, His death on the cross, the wounds of His passion, the marks shown after His resurrection. If you speak the truth, and your Christ speaks falsehood, you must be better than he. But if you really follow your own Christ, your truthfulness may be doubted, and your obedience to the precepts you speak of may be only a pretence. Is it true, as Faustus says, that you have no money in your purses? He means, probably, that your money is in boxes and bags; nor would we blame you for this, if you did not profess one thing and practise another. Constantius, who is still alive, and is now our brother in Catholic Christianity, once gathered many of your sect into his house at Rome, to keep these precepts of Manichćsus, which you think so much of, though they are very silly and childish. The precepts proved too much for your weakness, and the gathering was entirely broken up. Those who persevered separated from your communion, and are called Mattarians, because they sleep on mats, -- a very different bed from the feathers of Faustus and his goatskin coverlets, and all the grandeur that made him despise not only the Mattarians, but also the house of his poor father in Mileum. Away, then, with this accursed hypocrisy from your writing, if not from your conduct; or else your language will conflict with your life by your deceitful words, as your First Man with the race of darkness by his deceitful elements.

6. I am, however, addressing not merely men who fail to do what they are commanded, but the members of a deluded sect. For the precepts of Manichćus are such that, if you do not keep them, you are deceivers; if you do keep them, you are deceived. Christ never taught you that you should not pluck a vegetable for fear of committing homicide; for when His disciples were hungry when passing through a field of corn, He did not forbid them to pluck the ears on the Sabbath-day; which was a rebuke to the Jews of the time since the action was on Sabbath; and a rebuke in the action itself to the future Manichćans. The precept of Manichćus, however, only requires you to do nothing while others commit homicide for you; though the real homicide is that of ruining miserable

souls by such doctrines of devils.

7. The language of Faustus has the typhus of heresy in it, and is the language of overweening arrogance. "You see in me" he says, "the beatitudes of the gospel; and do you ask if I believe the gospel? You see me poor, meek, a peacemaker, pure in heart, mourning, hungering, thirsting, bearing persecution and enmity for righteousness' sake; and do you doubt my belief in the gospel?" If to justify oneself were to be just, Faustus would have flown to heaven while uttering these words. I say nothing of the luxurious habits of Faustus, known to all the followers of the Manichćans, and especially to those at Rome. I shall suppose a Manichćan such as Constantius sought for, when he enforced the observance of these precepts with the sincere desire to see them observed. How can I see him to be poor in spirit, when he is so proud as to believe that his own soul is God, and is not ashamed to speak of God as in bondage? How can I see him meek, when he affronts all the authority of the evangelists rather than believe? How a peacemaker, when he holds that the divine nature itself by which God is whatever is, and is the only true existence, could not remain in lasting peace? How pure in heart, when his heart is filled with so many impious notions? How mourning, unless it is for his God captive and bound till he be freed and escape, with the loss, however, of a part which is to be united by the Father to the mass of darkness, and is not to be mourned for? How hungering and thirsting for righteousness, which Faustus omits in his writings lest, no doubt, he should be thought destitute of righteousness? But how can they hunger and thirst after righteousness, whose perfect righteousness will consist in exulting over their brethren condemned to darkness, not for any fault of their own, but for being irremediably contaminated by the pollution against which they were sent by the Father to contend?

8. How do you suffer persecution and enmity for righteousness' sake, when, according to you, it is righteous to preach and teach these impieties? The wonder is, that the gentleness of Christian times allows such perverse iniquity to pass wholly or almost unpunished. And yet, as if we were blind or silly, you tell us that your suffering reproach and persecution is a great proof of your righteousness. If people are just according to the amount of their suffering, atrocious criminals of all kinds suffer much more than you. But, at any rate, if we are to grant that suffering endured on account of any sort of profession of Christianity proves the sufferer to be in possession of true faith and righteousness, you must admit that any case of greater suffering that we can show proves the possession of truer faith and greater righteousness. Of such cases you know many among our martyrs, and chiefly Cyprian himself, whose writings also bear witness to his belief that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary. For this faith, which you abhor, he suffered and died along with many Christian believers of that day, who suffered as much, or more. Faustus, when shown to be a Manichćan by evidence, or by his own confession, on the intercession of the Christians themselves, who brought him before the proconsul, was, along with some others, only banished to an island, which can hardly be called a punishment at all, for it is what God's servants do of their own accord every day when they wish to retire from the tumult of the world. Besides, earthly sovereigns often by a public decree give release from this banishment as an act of mercy. And in this way all were afterwards released at once. Confess, then, that they were in possession of a truer faith and a more righteous life, who were accounted worthy to suffer for it much more than you ever suffered. Or else, cease boasting of the

abhorrence which many feel for you, and learn to distinguish between suffering for blasphemy and suffering for righteousness. What it is you suffer for, your own books will show in a way that deserves your most particular attention.

9. Those evangelical precepts of peculiar sublimity which you make people who know no better believe that you obey, are really obeyed by multitudes in our communion. Are there not among us many of both sexes who have entirely refrained from sexual intercourse, and many formerly married who practise continence? Are there not many others who give largely of their property, or give it up altogether, and many who keep the body in subjection by fasts, either frequent or daily, or protracted beyond belief? Then there are fraternities whose members have no property of their own, but all things common, including only things necessary for food and clothing, living with one soul and one heart towards God, inflamed with a common feeling of charity. In all such professions many turn out to be deceivers and reprobates, while many who are so are never discovered; many, too, who at first walk well, fall away rapidly from willfulness. Many are found in times of trial to have adopted this kind of life with another intention than they professed; and again, many in humility and steadfastness persevere in their course to the end, and are saved. There are apparent diversities in these societies; but one charity unites all who, from some necessity, in obedience to the apostle's injunction, have their wives as if they had them not, and buy as if they bought not, and use this world as if they used it not. With these are joined, in the abundant riches of God's mercy, the inferior class of those to whom it is said, "Defraud not one another, except it be with consent for a time, that ye may give yourselves to prayer; and come together again, that Satan tempt you not for your incontinency. But I speak this by permission, and not of commandment." To such the same apostle also says, "Now therefore there is utterly a fault among you, that ye go to law one with another;" while, in consideration of their infirmity, he adds, "If ye have judgments of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the Church."(2) For in the kingdom of heaven there are not only those who, that they may be perfect, sell or leave all they have and follow the Lord; but others in the partnership of charity are joined like a mercenary force to the Christian army, to whom it will be said at last, "I was hungry, and ye gave me meat," and so on. Otherwise, there would be no salvation for those to whom the apostle gives so many anxious and particular directions about their families, telling the wives to be obedient to their husbands, and husbands to love their wives; children to obey their parents, and parents to bring up their children in the instruction and admonition of the Lord; servants to obey with fear their masters according to the flesh, and masters to render to their servants what is just and equal. The apostle is far from condemning such people as regardless of gospel precepts, or unworthy of eternal life. For where the Lord exhorts the strong to attain perfection, saying,"' If any man take not up his cross and follow me, he cannot be my disciple," He immediately adds, for the consolation of the weak, "Whoso receiveth a just man in the name of a just man shall receive a just man's reward; and whoso receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward." So that not only Be who gives Timothy a little wine for his stomach's sake, and his frequent infirmities, but he who gives to a strong man a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, shall not lose his reward.(3)

10. If it is true that a man cannot receive the gospel without giving up everything, why do you delude your followers, by allowing them to keep in your service their wives, and

children, and households, and houses, and fields? Indeed, you may well allow them to disregard the precepts of the gospel: for all you promise them is not a resurrection, but a change to another mortal existence, in which they shall live the silly, childish, impious life of those you call the Elect, the life you live yourself, and are so much praised for; or if they possess greater merit, they shall enter into melons or cucumbers, or some eatables which you will masticate, that they may be quickly purified by your digestion. Least of all should you who teach such doctrines profess any regard for the gospel. For if the faith of the gospel had any connection with such nonsense, the Lord should have said, not, "I was hungry, and ye gave me meat;" but, "Ye were hungry, and ye ate me," or, "I was hungry, and I ate you."

For, by your absurdities, a man will not be received into the kingdom of God for the service of giving food to the saints, but, because he has eaten them and belched them out, or has himself been eaten and belched into heaven. Instead of saying, "Lord, when saw we Thee hungry, and fed Thee?" the righteous must say, "When saw we Thee hungry, and were eaten by Thee?" And He must answer, not, "When ye gave food to one of the least of these my brethren, you gave to me;" but, "When you were eaten by one of the least of these my brethren, you were eaten by me."

11. Believing and teaching such monstrosities, and living accordingly, you yet have the boldness to say that you obey the precepts of the gospel, and to decry the Catholic Church, which includes many weak as well as strong, both of whom the Lord blesses, because both according to their measure obey the precepts of the gospel and hope in its promises. The blindness of hostility makes you see only the tares in our harvest: for you might easily see wheat too, if you were willing that there should be any. But among you, those who are pretended Manichćans are wicked, and those who are really Manichćans are silly. For where the faith itself is false, he who hypocritically professes it acts deceitfully, while he who truly believes is deceived. Such a faith cannot produce a good life, for every man's life is good or bad according as his heart is engaged. If your affections were set upon spiritual and intellectual good, instead of material forms, you would not pay homage to the material sun as a divine substance, and as the light of wisdom, which every one knows you do, though I now only mention it in passing.

BOOK VI.

FAUSTUS AVOWS HIS DISBELIEF IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND HIS DISREGARD OF ITS PRECEPTS, AND ACCUSES CATHOLICS OF INCONSISTENCY IN NEGLECTING ITS ORDINANCES, WHILE CLAIMING TO ACCEPT IT AS AUTHORITATIVE. AUGUSTIN EXPLAINS THE CATHOLIC VIEW OF THE RELATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TO THE NEW.

I. FAUSTUS said: You ask if I believe the Old Testament. Of course not, for I do not

keep its precepts. Neither, I imagine, do you. I reject circumcision as disgusting; and if I mistake not, so do you. I reject the observance of Sabbaths as superfluous: I suppose you do the same. I reject sacrifice as idolatry, as doubtless you also do. Swine's flesh is not the only flesh I abstain from; nor is it the only flesh you eat. I think all flesh unclean: you think none unclean. Both alike, in these opinions, throw over the Old Testament. We both look upon the weeks of unleavened bread and the feast of tabernacles as unnecessary and useless. Not to patch linen garments with purple; to count it adultery to make a garment of linen and wool; to call it sacrilege to yoke together an ox and an ass when necessary; not to appoint as priest a bald man, or a man with red hair, or any similar peculiarity, as being unclean in the sight of God, are things which we both despise and laugh at, and rank as of neither first nor second importance; and yet they are all precepts and judgments of the Old Testament. You cannot blame me for rejecting the Old Testament; for whether it is right or wrong to do so, you do it as much as I. As for the difference between your faith and mine, it is this, that while you choose to act deceitfully, and meanly to praise in words what in your heart you hate, I, not having learned the art of deception, frankly declare that I hate both these abominable precepts and their authors.

2. AUGUSTIN replied: How and for what purpose the Old Testament is received by the heirs of the New Testament has been already explained.(1) But as the remarks of Faustus were then about the promises of the Old Testament, and now he speaks of the precepts, I reply that he displays ignorance of the difference between moral and symbolical precepts. For example, "Thou shalt not covet" is a moral precept; "Thou shalt circumcise every male on the eighth day" is a symbolical precept. From not making this distinction, the Manichćans, and all who find fault with the writings of the Old Testament, not seeing that whatever observance God appointed for the former dispensation was a shadow of future things, because these observances are now discontinued, condemn them, though no doubt what is unsuitable now was perfectly suitable then as prefiguring the things now revealed. In this they contradict the apostle who says, "All these things happened to them for an example, and they were written for our learning, on whom the end of the world is come."(1) The apostle here explains why these writings are to be received, and why it is no longer necessary to continue the symbolical observances. For when he says, "They were written for our learning," he clearly shows that we should be very diligent in reading and in discovering the meaning of the Old Testament Scriptures, and that we should have great veneration for them, since it was for us that they were written. Again, when he says, "They are our examples," and "these things happened to them for an example," he shows that, now that the things themselves are clearly revealed, the observance of the actions by which these things were prefigured is no longer binding. So he says elsewhere, "Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon or of the sabbath-days, which are a shadow of things to come."(2) Here also, when he says, "Let no one judge you" in these things, he shows that we are no longer bound to observe them. And when he says, "which are a shadow of things to come," he explains how these observances were binding at the time when the things fully disclosed to us were symbolized by these shadows of future things.

3. Assuredly, if the Manichćans were justified by the resurrection of the Lord,--the day of whose resurrection, the third after His passion, was the eighth day, coming after the

Sabbath, that is, after the seventh day,--their carnal minds would be delivered from the darkness of earthly passions which rests on them; and rejoicing in the circumcision of the heart, they would not ridicule it as prefigured in the Old Testament by circumcision in the flesh, although they should not enforce this observance under the New Testament. But, as the apostle says, "To the pure all things are pure. But to the impure and unbelieving nothing is pure, but both their mind and conscience are defiled."(3) So these people, who are so pure in their own eyes, that they regard, or pretend to regard, as impure these members of their bodies, are so defiled with unbelief and error, that, while they abhor the circumcision of the flesh,--which the apostle calls a seal of the righteousness of faith,--they believe that the divine members of their God are subjected to restraint and contamination in these very carnal members of theirs. For they say that flesh is unclean; and it follows that God, in the part which is detained by the flesh, is made unclean: for they declare that He must be cleansed, and that till this is done, as far as it can be done, He undergoes all the passions to which flesh is subject, not only in suffering pain and distress, but also in sensual gratification. For it is for His sake, they say, that they abstain from sexual intercourse, that He may not be bound more closely in the bondage of the flesh, nor suffer more defilement. The apostle says, "To the pure all things are pure." And if this is true of men, who may be led into evil by a perverse will, how much more must all things be pure to God, who remains for ever immutable and immaculate! In those books which you defile with your violent reproaches, it is said of the divine wisdom, that "no defiled thing falleth into it, and it goeth everywhere by reason of its pureness." (4) It is mere prurient absurdity to find fault with the sign of human regeneration appointed by that God, to whom all things are pure, to be put on the organ of human generation, while you hold that your God, to whom nothing is pure, is in a part of his nature subjected to taint and corruption by the vicious actions in which impure men employ the members of their body. For if you think there is pollution in conjugal intercourse, what must there be in all the practices of the licentious? If you ask, then, as you often do, whether God could not find some other way of sealing the righteousness of faith, the answer is, Why not this way, since all things are pure to the pure, much more to God? And we have the authority of the apostle for saying that circumcision was the seal of the righteousness of the faith of Abraham. As for you, you must try not to blush when you are asked whether your God had nothing better to do than to entangle part of his nature with these members that you revile so much. These are delicate subjects to speak of, on account of the penal corruption attending the propagation of man. They are things which call into exercise the modesty of the chaste, the passions of the impure, and the justice of God.

4. The rest of the Sabbath we consider no longer binding as an observance, now that the hope of our eternal rest has been revealed. But it is a very useful thing to read of, and to reflect on. In prophetic times, when things now manifested were prefigured and predicted by actions as well as words, this sign of which we read was a presage of tim reality which we possess. But I wish to know why you observe a sort of partial rest. The Jews, on their Sabbath, which they still keep in a carnal manner. neither gather any fruit in the field, nor dress and cook it at home. But you, in your rest, wait till one of your followers takes his knife or hook to the garden, to get food for you by murdering the vegetables, and brings back, strange to say, living corpses. For if cutting plants is not murder, why are you afraid to do it? And yet, if the plants are murdered, what becomes of the life which is to obtain release and restoration from your mastication and

digestion? Well, you take the living vegetables, and certainly you ought, if it could be done to swallow them whole; so that after the one wound your follower has been guilty of inflicting in pulling them, of which you will no doubt consent to absolve him, they may reach without loss or injury your private laboratory, where your God may be healed of his wound. Instead of this, you not only tear them with your teeth, but, if it pleases your taste, mince them, inflicting a multitude of wounds in the most criminal manner. Plainly it would be a most advantageous thing if you would rest at home too, and not only once a week, like the Jews, but every day of the week. The cucumbers suffer while you are cooking them, without any benefit to the life that is in them: for a boiling pot cannot be compared to a saintly stomach. And yet you ridicule as superfluous the rest of the Sabbath. Would it not be better, not only to refrain from finding fault with the fathers for this observance, in whose case it was not superfluous, but, even now that it is superfluous, to observe this rest yourselves instead of your own, which has no symbolical use, and is condemned as grounded on falsehood? According to your own foolish opinions, you are guilty of a defective observance of your own rest, though the observance itself is foolish in the judgment of truth. You maintain that the fruit suffers when it is pulled from the tree, when it is cut and scraped, and cooked, and eaten. So you are wrong in eating anything that can not be swallowed raw and unhurt, so that the wound inflicted might not be from you, but from your follower in pulling them. You declare that you could not give release to so great a quantity of life, if you were to eat only things which could be swallowed without cooking or mastication. But if this release compensates for all the pains you inflict, why is it unlawful for you to pull the fruit? Fruit may be eaten raw, as some of your sect make a point of eating raw vegetables of all kinds. But before it can be eaten at all, it must be pulled or fall off, or be taken in some way from the ground or from the tree. You might well be pardoned for pulling it, since nothing can be done without that, but not for torturing the members of your God to the extent you do in dressing your food. One of your silly notions is that the tree weeps when the fruit is pulled. Doubtless the life in the tree knows all things, and perceives who it is that comes to it. If the elect were to come and pull the fruit, would not the tree rejoice to escape the misery of having its fruit plucked by others, and to gain felicity by enduring a little momentary pain? And yet, while you multiply the pains and troubles of the fruit after it is plucked, you will not pluck it. Explain that, if you can! Fasting itself is a mistake in your case. There should be no intermission in the task of purging away the dross of the excrements from the spiritual gold, and of releasing the divine members from confinement. The most merciful man among you is he who keeps himself always in good health, takes raw food, and eats a great deal. But you are cruel when you eat, in making your food undergo so much suffering; and you are cruel when you fast, in desisting from the work of liberating the divine members.(1)

5. With all this, you venture to denounce the sacrifices of the Old Testament, and to call them idolatry, and to attribute to us the same impious notion. To answer for ourselves in the first place, while we consider it no longer a duty to offer sacrifices, we recognize sacrifices as part of the mysteries of Revelation, by which the things prophesied were foreshadowed. For they were our examples, and in many and various ways they all pointed to the one sacrifice which we now commemorate. Now that this sacrifice has been revealed, and has been offered in due time, sacrifice is no longer binding as an act of worship. while it retains its symbolical authority. For these things "were written for our learning, upon whom the end of the world is come." (2) What you object to in

sacrifice is the slaughter of animals, though the whole animal creation is intended conditionally in some way for the use of man. You are merciful to beasts, believing them to contain the souls of human beings, while you refuse a piece of bread to a hungry beggar. The Lord Jesus, on the other hand, was cruel to the swine when He granted the request of the devils to be allowed to enter into them. (1) The same Lord Jesus, before the sacrifice of His passion, said to a leper whom He had cured, "Go, show thyself to the priest, and give the offering, as Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them."(2) When God, by the prophets, repeatedly declares that He needs no offering, as indeed reason teaches us that offerings cannot be needed by Him who stands in need of nothing, the human mind is led to inquire what God wished to teach us by these sacrifices. For, assuredly, He would not have required offerings of which He had no need. except to teach us something that it would profit us to know, and which was suitably set forth by means of these symbols. How much better and more honorable it would be for you to be still bound by these sacrifices, which have an instructive meaning, though they are not now necessary, than to require your followers to offer to you as food what you believe to be living victims. The Apostle Paul says most appropriately of some who preached the gospel to gratify their appetite, that their "god was their belly." (3) But the arrogance of your impiety goes much beyond this; for, instead of making your belly your god, you do what is far worse in making your belly the purifier of God. Surely it is great madness to make a pretence of piety in not slaughtering animals, while you hold that the souls of animals inhabit all the food you eat, and yet make what you call living creatures suffer such torture from your hands and teeth.

6. If you will not eat flesh why should you not slay animals in sacrifice to your God, in order that their souls, which you hold to be not only human, but so divine as to be members of God Himself, may be released from the confinement of flesh, and be saved from returning by the efficacy of your prayers? Perhaps, however, your stomach gives more effectual aid than your intellect, and that part of divinity which has had the advantage of passing through your bowels is more likely to be saved than that which has only the benefit of your prayers. Your objection to eating flesh will be that you cannot eat animals alive, and so the operation of your stomach will not avail for the liberation of their souls. Happy vegetables, that, torn up with tire hand, cut with knives, tortured in fire, ground by teeth, yet reach alive the altars of your intestines Unhappy sheep and oxen, that are not so tenacious of life, and therefore are refused entrance into your bodies! Such is the absurdity of your notions. And you persist in making out an opposition in us to the Old Testament, because we consider no flesh unclean: according to the opinion of the apostle, "To the pure all things are pure;" (4) and according to the saying of our Lord Himself, "Not that which goeth into your mouth defileth you, but that which cometh out." (5) This was not said to the crowd only, as your Adimantus, whom Faustus, in his attack on the Old Testament, praises as second only to Manichćus, wishes us to understand; but when retired from the crowd, the Lord repeated this still more plainly and pointedly to His disciples. Adimantus quotes this saying of our Lord in opposition to the Old Testament, where the people are prohibited from eating some animals which are pronounced unclean; and doubtless he was afraid that he should be asked why, since he quotes a passage from the Gospel about man not being defiled by what enters into his mouth and passes into his belly, and out into the draft, he yet considers not some only, but all flesh unclean, and abstains from eating it. It is in order

to escape from this strait, when the plain truth is too much for his error, that he makes the Lord say this to the crowd; as if the Lord were in the habit of speaking the truth only in small companies, while He blurted out falsehoods in public. To speak of the Lord in this way is blasphemy. And all who read the passage can see that the Lord said the same thing more plainly to His disciples in private. Since Faustus praises Adimantus so much at the beginning of this book of his, placing him next to Manichćus, let him say in a word whether it is true or false that a man is not defiled by what enters into his mouth. If it is false, why does this great teacher Adimantus quote it against the Old Testament? If it is true, why, in spite of this, do you believe that eating any flesh will defile you ? It is true, if you choose this explanation, that the apostle does not say that all things are pure to heretics, but, "to the pure all things are pure." The apostle also goes on to explain why all things are not pure to heretics: "To the impure and unbelieving nothing is pure, but both their mind and conscience are defiled." (6) So to the Manichćns there is absolutely nothing pure; for they hold that the very substance or nature of God not only may be, but has actually been defiled, and so defiled that it can never be wholly restored and purified. What do they mean when they call animals unclean, and refrain from eating them, when it is impossible for them to think anything, whether food or whatever it may be, clean? According to them, vegetables too, fruits, all kinds of crops, the earth and sky, are defiled by mixture with the race of darkness. Why do they not act up to their opinions about other things as well as about animals? Why do they not abstain altogether, and starve themselves to death, instead of persisting in their blasphemies? If they will not repent and reform, this is evidently the best thing that they could do.

7. The saying of the apostle, that "to the pure all things are pure," and that "every creature of God is good," is not opposed to the prohibitions of the Old Testament; and the explanation, if they can understand it, is this. The apostle speaks of the natures of the things, while the Old Testament calls some animals unclean, not in their nature, but symbolically, on account of the prefigurative character of that dispensation. For instance, a pig and a lamb are both clean in their nature, for every creature of God is good; but symbolically, a lamb is clean, and a pig unclean. So the words wise and fool are both clean in their nature, as words composed of letters but fool may be called symbolically unclean, because it means an unclean thing. Perhaps a pig is the same among symbols as a fool is among real things. The animal, and the four letters which compose the word, may mean the same thing. No doubt the animal is pronounced unclean by the law, because it does not chew the cud; which is not a fault but its nature. But the men of whom this animal is a symbol are unclean, not by nature, but from their own fault; because, though they gladly hear the words of wisdom, they never reflect on them afterwards. For to recall, in quiet repose, some useful instruction from the stomach of memory to the mouth of reflection, is a kind of spiritual rumination. The animals above mentioned are a symbol of those people who do not do this. And the prohibition of the flesh of these animals is a warning against this fault. Another passage of Scripture speaks of the precious treasure of wisdom, and describes ruminating as clean, and not ruminating as unclean: "A precious treasure resteth in the mouth of a wise man; but a foolish man swallows it up."(1) Symbols of this kind, either in words or in things, give useful and pleasant exercise to intelligent minds in the way of inquiry and comparison. But formerly people were required not only to hear, but to practise many such things. For at that time it was necessary that, by deeds as well as by words, those

things should be foreshadowed which were in after times to be revealed. After the revelation by Christ and in Christ, the community of believers is not burdened with the practice of the observances, but is admonished to give heed to the prophecy. This is our reason for accounting no animals unclean, in accordance with the saying of the Lord and of the apostle, while we are not opposed to the Old Testament, where some animals are pronounced unclean. Now let us hear why you consider all animal food unclean.

8. One of your false doctrines is, that flesh is unclean on account of mixture with the race of darkness. But this would make not only flesh unclean, but your God himself, in that part which he sent to become subject to absorption and contamination, in order that the enemy might be conquered and taken captive. Besides, on account of this mixture, all that you eat must be unclean. But you say flesh is especially unclean. It requires patience to listen to all their absurd reasons for this peculiar impurity of flesh. I will mention only what will suffice to show the inveterate folly of these critics of the Old Testament, who, while they denounce flesh, savor only fleshly things, and have no sort of spiritual perception. And a lengthy discussion of this question may perhaps enable us to dispense with saying much on some other points. The following, then, is an account of their vain delusions in this matter:--In that battle, when the First Man ensnared the race of darkness by deceitful elements, princes of both sexes belonging to this race were taken. By means of these princes the world was constructed; and among those used in the formation of the heavenly bodies, were some pregnant females. When the sky began to rotate, the rapid circular motion made these females give birth to abortions, which, being of both sexes, fell on the earth, and lived, and grew, and came together, and produced offspring. Hence sprang all animal life in earth, air, and sea.(2) Now if the origin of flesh is from heaven, that is no reason for thinking it especially unclean. Indeed, in this construction of the world, they hold that these principles of darkness were arranged higher or lower, according to the greater or less amount of good mixed with them in the construction of the various parts of the world. So flesh ought to be cleaner than vegetables which come out of the earth, for it comes from heaven. And how irrational to suppose that the abortions, before becoming animate, were so lively, though in an abortive state, that after failing from the sky, they could live and multiply; whereas, after becoming animate, they die if brought forth prematurely, and a fall from a very moderate height is enough to kill them! The kingdom of life in contest with the kingdom of death ought to have improved them, by giving them life instead of making them more perishable than before. If the perishableness is a consequence of a change of nature, it is wrong to say that there is a bad nature. The change is the only cause of the perishableness. Both natures are good, though one is better than the other. Whence then comes the peculiar impurity of flesh as it exists in this world, sprung, as they say, from heaven? They tell us, indeed, of the first bodies of these principles of darkness being generated like worms from trees of darkness; and the trees, they say, are produced from the five elements. But supposing that the bodies of animals come in the first place from trees, and afterwards from heaven, why should they be more unclean than the fruit of trees? Perhaps it will be said that what remains after death is unclean, because the life is no longer there. For the same reason fruits and vegetables must be unclean, for they die when they are pulled or cut. As we saw before, the elect get others to bring their food to them, that they may not be guilty of murder. Perhaps, since they say that; every living being has two souls, one of the race

of light, and the other of the race of darkness, the good soul leaves at death, and the bad soul remains. But, in that case, the animal would be as much alive as it was in the kingdom of darkness, when it had only the soul of its own race, with which it had rebelled against the kingdom of God. So, since both souls leave at death, why call the flesh unclean, as if only the good soul had left? Any life that remains must be of both kinds; for some remains of the members of God are found, we are told, even in filth. There is therefore no reason for making flesh more unclean than fruits. The truth is, they pretend to great chastity in holding flesh unclean because it is generated. But if the divine body is more grossly shut in by flesh, there is all the more reason that they should liberate it by eating. And there are innumerable kinds of worms not produced from sexual intercourse; some in the neighborhood of Venice come from trees, which they should eat, since there is not the same reason for their being unclean. Besides, there are the frogs produced by the earth after a shower of rain.(1) Let them liberate the members of their God from these. Let them rebuke the mistake of mankind in preferring fowls and pigeons produced from males and females to the pure frogs, daughters of heaven and earth. By this theory, the first principles of darkness produced from trees must be purer than Manichćus, who was produced by generation; and his followers, for the same reason, must be less pure than the lice which spring from the perspiration of their bodies. But if everything that comes from flesh is unclean, because the origin of flesh itself is unclean, fruits and vegetables must also be unclean, because they are manured with dung. After this, what becomes of the notion that fruits are cleaner than flesh? Dung is the most unclean product of flesh, and also the most fertilizing manure. Their doctrine is, that the life escapes in the mastication and digestion of the food, so that only a particle remains in the excrement. How is it, then, that this particle of life has such an effect on the growth and the quality of your favorite food? Flesh is nourished by the productions of the earth, not by its excrements; while the earth is nourished by the excrements of flesh, not by its productions. Let them say which is the cleaner. Or let them turn from being unbelieving and impure to whom nothing is clean, and join with us in embracing the doctrine of the apostle, that to the pure all things are pure; that the earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof; that every creature of God is good. All things in nature are good in their own order; and no one sins in using them, unless, by disobedience to God, he transgresses his own order, and disturbs their order by using them amiss.

9. The elders who pleased God kept their own order by their obedience, in observing, according to God's arrangement, what was appointed as suitable to certain times. So, although all animals intended for food are by nature clean, they abstained from some which had then a symbolical uncleanness, in preparation for the future revelation of the things signified. And so with regard to unleavened bread and all such things, in which the apostle says there was a shadow of future things, neglect of their observance under the old dispensation, when this observance was enjoined, and was employed to prefigure what was afterwards to be revealed, would have been as criminal, as it would now be foolish in us, after the light of the New Testament has arisen, to think that these predictive observances could be of any use to us. On the other hand, since the Old Testament teaches us that the things now revealed were so long ago prefigured, that we may be firm and faithful in our adherence to them, it would be blasphemy and impiety to discard these books, simply because the Lord requires of us now not a literal, but a spiritual and intelligent regard to their contents. They were written, as the apostle

says, for our admonition, on whom the end of the world is come.(1) "For whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning." (2) Not to eat unleavened bread in the appointed seven days was a sin in the time of the Old Testament; in the time of the New Testament it is not a sin. But having the hope of a future world through Christ,who makes us altogether new by clothing our souls with righteousness and our bodies with immortality,to believe that the bondage and infirmity of our original corruption will prevail over us or over our actions, must continue to be a sin, till the seven days of the course of time are accomplished. In the time of the Old Testament, this, under the disguise of a type, was perceived by some saints. In the time of the New Testament it is fully declared and publicly preached. (3)

What was then a precept of Scripture is now a testimony. Formerly, not to keep the feast of tabernacles was a sin, which is not the case now. But not to form part of the building of God's tabernacle, which is the Church, is always a sin. Formerly this was acted in a figure; now the record serves as testimony. The ancient tabernacle, indeed, would not have been called the tabernacle of the testimony, unless as an appropriate symbol it had borne testimony to some truth which was to be revealed in its own time. To patch linen garments with purple, or to wear a garment of woollen and linen together, is not a sin now. But to live intemperately, and to wish to combine opposite modes of life,--as when a woman devoted to religion wears the ornaments of married women, or when one who has not abstained from marriage dresses like a virgin,--is always sin. So it is sin whenever inconsistent things are combined in any man's life. This, which is now a moral truth, was then symbolized in dress. What was then a type is now revealed truth. So the same Scripture which then required symbolical actions, now testifies to the things signified. The prefigurative observance is now a record for the confirmation of our faith. Formerly it was unlawful to plough with an ox and an ass together; now it is lawful. The apostle explains this when he quotes the text about not muzzling the ox that is treading out the corn. He says, "Does God care for oxen?" What, then, have we to do with an obsolete prohibition? The apostle teaches us in the following words, "For our sakes it is written." (4) It must be impiety in us not to read what was written for our sakes; for it is more for our sakes, to whom the revelation belongs, than for theirs who had only the figure. There is no harm in joining an ox with an ass where it is required. But to put a wise man and a fool together, not that one should teach and the other obey, but that both with equal authority should declare the word of God, cannot be done without causing offence. So the same Scripture which was once a command enjoining the shadow in which future things were veiled, is now an authoritative witness to the unveiled truth.

In what he says of the uncleanness of a man that is bald or has red hair, Faustus is inaccurate, or the manuscript he has used is incorrect. (3) Would that Faustus were not ashamed to bear on his forehead the cross of Christ, the want of which is baldness, instead of maintaining that Christ, who says, "I am the truth," showed unreal marks, after His resurrection, of unreal wounds ! Faustus says he has not learned the art of deceiving, and speaks what he thinks. He cannot therefore be a disciple of his Christ, whom he madly declares to have shown false marks of wounds to his disciples when they doubted. Are we to believe Faustus, not only in his other absurdities, but also when he tells us that he does not deceive us in calling Christ a deceiver? Is he better than Christ? Is he not a deceiver, while Christ is? Or does he prove himself to be a disciple

not of the truthful Christ, but of the deceiver Manichaeus, by this very falsehood, when he boasts that he has not learned the art of deceiving ?

BOOK VII.

THE GENEALOGICAL QUESTION IS AGAIN TAKEN UP AND ARGUED ON BOTH SIDES.

1. FAUSTUS said: You ask why I do not believe in the genealogy of Jesus. There are many reasons; but the principal is, that He never declares with His own lips that He had an earthly father or descent, but on the contrary, that he is not of this world, that He came forth from God the Father, that He descended from heaven, that He has no mother or brethren except those who do the will of His Father in heaven. Besides, the framers of these genealogies do not seem to have known Jesus before His birth or soon after it, so as to have the credibility of eye-witnesses of what they narrate. They became acquainted with Jesus as a young man of about thirty years of age, if it is not blasphemy to speak of the age of a divine being. Now the question regarding a witness is always whether he has seen or heard what he testifies to. But the writers of these genealogies never assert that they heard the account from Jesus Himself, nor even the fact of His birth; nor did they see Him till they came to know Him after his baptism, many years after the time of His birth. To me, therefore, and to every sensible man, it appears as foolish to believe this account, as it would be to call into court a blind and deaf witness.

2. AUGUSTIN replied: As regards what Faustus calls his principal reason for not receiving the genealogy of Jesus Christ, a complete refutation is found in the passages formerly quoted, where Christ declares Himself to be the Son of man, and in what we have said of the identity of the Son of man with the Son of God: that in His Godhead He has no earthly descent, while after the flesh He is of the seed of David, as the apostle teaches. We are to believe, therefore, that He came forth from the Father, that He descended from heaven, and also that the Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst men. If the words, "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?" (1) are quoted to show that Christ had no earthly mother or descent, it follows that we must believe that His disciples, whom He here teaches by His own example to set no value on earthly relationship, as compared with the kingdom of heaven, had no fathers, because Christ says to them, "Call no man father upon earth; for one is your Father, even God." (2) What He taught them to do with reference to their fathers, He Himself first did in reference to His own mother and brethren; as in many other things He condescended to set us an example, and to go before that we might follow in His footsteps. Faustus'

principal objection to the genealogy fails completely; and after the defeat of this invincible force, the rest is easily routed. He says that the apostles who declared Christ to be the Son of man as well as the Son of God are not to be believed, because they were not present at the birth of Christ, whom they joined when He had reached manhood, nor heard of it from Christ Himself. Why then do they believe John when he says, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made," (3) and such passages, which they agree to, without understanding them ? Where did John see this, or did he ever hear it from the Lord Himself ? In whatever way John learned this, those who narrate the nativity may have learned also. Again, how do they know that the Lord said, "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren ?" If on the authority of the evangelist, why do they not also believe that the mother and the brethren of Christ were seeking for Him? They believe that Christ said these words, which they misunderstand, while they deny a fact resting on the same authority. Once more, if Matthew could not know that Christ was born, because he knew Him only in His manhood, how could Manichaeus, who lived so long after, know that He was not born ? They will say that Manichaeus knew this from the Holy Spirit which was in him. Certainly the Holy Spirit would make him speak the truth. But why not rather believe what Christ's own disciples tell us, who were personally acquainted with Him, and who not only had the gift of inspiration to supply defects in their knowledge, but in a purely natural way obtained information of the birth of Christ, and of His descent, when the event was fresh in memory? And yet he dares to call the apostles deaf and blind. Why were you not deaf and blind, to prevent you from learning such profane nonsense, and dumb too, to prevent you from uttering it?

BOOK VIII.

FAUSTUS MAINTAINS THAT TO HOLD TO THE OLD TESTAMENT AFTER THE GIVING OF THE NEW IS PUTTING NEW CLOTH ON AN OLD GARMENT. AUGUSTIN FURTHER EXPLAINS THE RELATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TO THE NEW, AND REPROACHES THE MANICHAEANS WITH CARNALITY.

1. FAUSTUS said: Another reason for not receiving the Old Testament is, that I am provided with the New; and Scripture says that

old and new do not agree. For "no one putteth a piece of new cloth unto an old garment, otherwise the rent is made worse." (1) To avoid making a worse rent, as you have done, I do not mix Christian newness with Hebrew oldness. Every one accounts it mean, when a man has got a new dress, not to give the old one to his inferiors. So, even if I were a

Jew by birth, as the apostles were, it would be proper for me, on receiving the New Testament, to discard the Old, as the apostles did. And having the advantage of being born free from the yoke of bondage, and being early introduced into the full liberty of Christ, what a foolish and ungrateful wretch I should be to put myself again under the yoke! This is what Paul blames the Galatians for; because, going back to circumcision, they turned again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto they desired again to be in bondage.(2) Why should I do what I see another blamed for doing ? My going into bondage would be worse than their returning to it.

2. AUGUSTIN replied: We have already shown sufficiently why and how we maintain the authority of the Old Testament, not for the imitation of Jewish bondage, but for the confirmation of Christian liberty. It is not I, but the apostle, who says, "All these things happened to them as an example, and they were written for our admonition, on whom the ends of the world are come."(3) We do not therefore, as bondmen, observe what was enjoined as predictive of us; but as free, we read what was written to confirm us. So any one may see that the apostle remonstrates with the Galatians not for devoutly reading what Scripture says of circumcision, but for superstitiously desiring to be circumcised. We do not put a new cloth to an old garment, but we are instructed in the kingdom of heaven, like the householder, whom the Lord describes as bringing out of his treasure things new and old.(4) He who puts a new cloth to an old garment is the man who attempts spiritual self-denial before he has renounced fleshly hope. Examine the passage, and you will see that, when the Lord was asked about fasting, He replied, "No man putteth a new cloth to an old garment." The disciples had still a carnal affection for the Lord; for they were afraid that, if He died, they would lose Him. So He calls Peter Satan for dissuading Him from suffering, because he understood not the things of God, but the things of men.(5) The fleshly character of your hope is evident from your fancies about the kingdom of God, and from your paying homage and devotion to the light of the sun, which the carnal eye perceives, as if it were an image of heaven. So your carnal mind is the old garment to which you join your fasts. Moreover, if a new cloth and an old garment do not agree, how do the members of your God come to be not only joined or fastened, but to be united far more intimately by mixture and coherence to the principles of darkness? Perhaps both are old, because both are false, and both of the carnal mind. Or perhaps you wish to prove that one was new and the other old, by the rent being made worse, in tearing away the unhappy piece of the kingdom of light, to be doomed to eternal imprisonment in the mass of darkness. So this pretended artist in the fashions of the sacred Scriptures is found stitching together absurdities, and dressing himself in the rags of his own invention.

BOOK IX.

FAUSTUS ARGUES THAT IF THE APOSTLES BORN UNDER THE OLD COVENANT COULD LAWFULLY DEPART FROM IT, MUCH MORE CAN HE HAVING BEEN BORN A GENTILE. AUGUSTIN EXPLAINS THE RELATION OF JEWS AND GENTILES ALIKE TO THE GOSPEL.

1. FAUSTUS said: Another reason for not receiving the Old Testament is, that if it was allowable for the apostles, who were born under it, to abandon it, much more may I, who was not born under it, be excused for not thrusting myself into it. We Gentiles are not born Jews, nor Christians either. Out of the same Gentile world some are induced by the Old Testament to become Jews, and some by the New Testament to become Christians. It is as if two trees, a sweet and a bitter, drew from one soil the sap which each assimilates to its own nature. The apostle passed from the bitter to the sweet; it would be madness in me to change from the sweet to the bitter.

2. AUGUSTIN replied: You say that the apostle, in leaving Judaism, passed from the bitter to the sweet. But the apostle himself says that the Jews, who would not believe in Christ, were branches broken off, and that the Gentiles, a wild olive tree, were grafted into the good olive, that is, the holy stock of the Hebrews, that they might partake of the fatness of the olive. For, in warning the Gentiles not to be proud on account of the fall of the Jews, he says: "For I speak to you Gentiles, inasmuch as I am the apostle of the Gentiles. I magnify my office; if by any means I may provoke to emulation them which are my flesh, and might save some of them. For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead? For if the first fruit be holy, the lump is also holy; and if the root be holy, so are the branches. And if some of the branches are broken off, and thou, being a wild olive tree, were grafted in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive tree; boast not against the branches: but if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee. Thou wilt say then, The branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in. Well; because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear; for if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest He also spare not thee. Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell, severity; but toward thee, goodness, if thou continue in His goodness; otherwise thou also shalt be cut off. And they also, if they abide not still in unbelief, shall be grafted in; for God is able to graft them in again. For if thou weft cut out of the olive tree, which is wild by nature, and weft grafted contrary to nature into a good olive tree; how much more shall these, which be the natural branches, be grafted into their own olive tree? For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery (lest ye should be wise in your own conceits), that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in; and so all Israel shall be saved."(1) It appears from this, that you, who do not wish to be graffed into this root, though you are not broken off, like the carnal unbelieving Jews, remain still in the bitterness of the wild olive. Your worship of the sun and moon has the true Gentile flavor. You are none the less in the wild olive of the Gentiles, because you have added thorns of a new kind, and worship along with the sun and moon a false Christ, the fabrication not of your hands, but of your perverse heart. Come, then, and be grafted into the root of the olive tree, in his return to which the apostle rejoices, after by unbelief he had been among the broken branches. He speaks of himself as set free, when he made the happy transition from Judaism to Christianity. For Christ was always preached in the olive tree, and those who did not believe on Him when He came were broken off, while those who believed were grafted in. These are thus warned against pride: "Be not high-minded, but fear; for if God

spared not the natural branches, neither will He spare thee." And to prevent despair of those broken off, he adds: "And they also, if they abide not still in unbelief, shall be grafted in; for God is able to graft them in again. For if thou weft cut out of the olive tree, which is wild by nature, and wert grafted contrary to nature into a good olive tree, how much more shall these, which be the natural branches, be grafted into their own olive tree." The apostle rejoices in being delivered from the condition of a broken branch, and in being restored to the fatness of the olive tree. So you who have been broken off by error should return and be grafted in again. Those who are still in the wild olive should separate themselves from its barrenness, and become partakers of fertility.

BOOK X.

FAUSTUS INSISTS THAT THE OLD TESTAMENT PROMISES ARE RADICALLY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF THE NEW. AUGUSTIN ADMITS A DIFFERENCE, BUT MAINTAINS THAT THE MORAL PRECEPTS ARE THE SAME IN BOTH.

1. FAUSTUS said: Another reason for not receiving the Old Testament is, that both the Old and the New teach us not to covet what belongs to others. Everything in the Old Testament is of this kind. It promises riches, and plenty, and children, and children's children, and long life, and withal the land of Canaan; but only to the circumcised, the Sabbath observers,those offering sacrifices, and abstaining from swine's flesh. Now I, like every other Christian, pay no attention to these things, as being trifling and useless for the salvation of the soul. I conclude, therefore, that the promises do not belong to me. And mindful of the commandment, Thou shall not covet, I gladly leave to the Jews their own property, and content myself with the gospel, and with the bright inheritance of the kingdom of heaven. If a Jew were to claim part in the gospel, I should justly reproach him with claiming what he had no right to, because he does not obey its precepts. And a Jew might say the same to me if I professed to receive the Old Testament while I disregard its requirements.

2. AUGUSTIN replied: Faustus is not ashamed to repeat the same nonsense again and again. But it is tiresome to repeat the same answers, though it is to repeat truth. What Faustus says here has already been answered. (1) But if a Jew asks me why I profess to believe the Old Testament while I do not observe its precepts, my reply is this: The moral precepts of the law are observed by Christians; the symbolical precepts were properly observed during the time that the things now revealed were prefigured. Accordingly, those observances, which I regard as no longer binding, I still look upon as a testimony, as I do also the carnal promises from which the Old Testament derives its name. For although the gospel teaches me to hope for eternal blessings, I also find a confirmation of the gospel in those things which "happened to them for an example, and were written for our admonition, on whom the ends of the world are come." So much for our answer to the Jews. And now we have something to say to the Manichaeans.

3. By showing the way in which we regard the authority of the Old Testament we have

answered the Jews, by whose question about our not observing the precepts Faustus thought we would be puzzled. But what answer can you give to the question, why you deceive simple-minded people by professing to believe in the New Testament, while you not only do not believe it, but assail it with all your force? It will be more difficult for you to answer this than it was for us to answer the Jews. We hold all that is written in the Old Testament to be true, and on joined by God for suitable times. But in your inability to find a reason for not receiving what is written in the New Testament, you are obliged, as a last resource, to pretend that the passages are not genuine. This is the last gasp of a heretic in the clutches of truth; or rather it is the breath of corruption itself. Faustus, however, confesses that the Old Testament as well as the New teaches him not to covet. His own God could never have taught him this. For if this God did not covet what belonged to another, why did he construct new worlds in the region of darkness? Perhaps the race of darkness first coveted his kingdom. But this would be to imitate their bad example. Perhaps the kingdom of light was previously of small extent, and war was desirable in order to enlarge it by conquest. In that case, no doubt, there was covetousness, though the hostile race was allowed to begin the wars to justify the conquest. If there had been no such desire, there was no necessity to extend the kingdom beyond its old limits into the region of the conquered foe. If the Manichaeans would only learn from these Scriptures the moral precepts, one of which is, Do not covet, instead of taking offence at the symbolical precept, they would acknowledge in meekness and candor that they suited the time then present. We do not covet what belongs to another, when we read in the Old Testament what "happened to them for examples, and was written for our admonition, on whom the ends of the world are come." It is surely not coveting when a man reads what is written for his benefit.

BOOK XI.

FAUSTUS QUOTES PASSAGES TO SHOW THAT THE APOSTLE PAUL ABANDONED BELIEF IN THE INCARNATION, TO WHICH HE EARLIER HELD. AUGUSTIN SHOWS THAT THE APOSTLE WAS CONSISTENT WITH HIMSELF IN THE UTTERANCES QUOTED.

1. FAUSTUS said: Assuredly I believe the apostle. And yet I do not believe that the Son of God was born of the seed of David

according to the flesh,(1) because I do not believe that God's apostle could contradict himself, and have one opinion about our Lord at one time, and another at another. But, granting that he wrote this,--since yon will not hear of anything being spurious in his writings,--it is not against us. For this seems to be Paul's old belief about Jesus, when he thought, like everybody else, that Jesus was the son of David. Afterwards, when he learned that this was false, he corrects himself; and in his Epistle to the Corinthians he says: "We know no man after the flesh; yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more." (1) Observe the difference between these two verses. In one he asserts that Jesus was the son of David after the flesh; in

the other he says that now he knows no man after the flesh. If Paul wrote both, it can only have been in the way I have stated. In the next verse he adds: "Therefore, if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new." The belief that Jesus was born of the seed of David according to the flesh is of this old transitory kind; whereas the faith which knows no man after the flesh is new and permanent. So, he says elsewhere: "When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things."(2) We are thus warranted in preferring the new and amended confession of Paul to his old and faulty one. And if you hold by what is said in the Epistle to the Romans, why should not we hold by what is said to the Corinthians? But it is only by your insisting on the correctness of the text that we are made to represent Paul as build ins again the things which he destroyed, in spite of his own repudiation of such prevarication. If the verse is Paul's, he has corrected himself. If Paul should not be supposed to have written anything requiring correction, the verse is not his.

2. AUGUSTIN replied: As I said a little ago, when these men are beset by clear testimonies of Scripture, and cannot escape from their grasp, they declare that the passage is spurious. The declaration only shows their aversion to the truth, and their obstinacy in error. Unable to answer these statements of Scripture, they deny their genuineness. But if this answer is admitted, or allowed to have any weight, it will be useless to quote any book or any passage against your errors. It is one thing to reject the books themselves, and to profess no regard for their authority, as the Pagans reject our Scriptures, and the Jews the New Testament, and as we reject any books peculiar to your sect, or any other heretical sect, and also the apocryphal books, which are so called, not because of any mysterious regard paid to them, but because they are mysterious in their origin, and in the absence of clear evidence, have only some obscure presumption to rest upon; and it is another thing to say, This holy man wrote only the truth, and this is his epistle, but some verses are his, and some are not. And then, when you are asked for a proof, instead of referring to more correct or more ancient manuscripts, or to a greater number, or to the original text, your reply is, This verse is his, because it makes for me; and this is not his, because it is against me. Are you, then, the rule of truth ? Can nothing be true that is against you ? But what answer could you give to an opponent as insane as yourself, if he confronts you by saying, The passage in your favor is spurious, and that against you is genuine? Perhaps you will produce a book, all of which can be explained so as to support you. Then, instead of rejecting a passage, he will reply by condemning the whole book as spurious. You have no resource against such an opponent. For all the testimony you can bring in favor of your book from antiquity or tradition will avail nothing.

In this respect the testimony of the Catholic Church is conspicuous, as supported by a succession of bishops from the original seats of the apostles up to the present time, and by the consent of so many nations. Accordingly, should there be a question about the text of some passage, as there are a few passages with various readings well known to students of the sacred Scriptures, we should first consult the manuscripts of the country where the religion was first taught; and if these still varied, we should take the text of the greater number, or of the more ancient. And if any uncertainty remained, we should consult the original text. This is the method employed by those who, in any question about the Scriptures, do not lose sight of the regard due to their authority, and inquire

with the view of gaining information, not of raising disputes.(3)

3. As regards the passage from Paul's epistle which teaches, in opposition to your heresy, that the Son of God was born of the seed of David, it is found in all manuscripts both new and old of all Churches, and in all languages. So the profession which Faustus makes of believing the apostle is hypocritical. Instead of saying, "Assuredly I believe," he should have said, Assuredly I do not believe, as he would have said if he had not wished to deceive people. What part of his belief does he get from the apostle? Not the first man, of whom the apostle says that he is of the earth, earthy; and again, "The first man Adam was made a living soul." Faustus' First Man is neither of the earth, earthy, nor made a living soul, but of the substance of God, and the same in essence as God; and this being is said to have mixed up with the race of darkness his members, or vesture, or weapons, that is, the five elements, which also are part of the substance of God, so that they became subject to confinement and pollution. Nor does Faustus get from Paul his Second Man, of whom Paul says that He is from heaven, and that He is the last Adam, and a quickening spirit; and also that He was born of the seed of David after the flesh, that He was made of a woman, made under the law, that He might redeem them that were under the law.(1) Of Him Paul says to Timothy: "Remember that Jesus Christ, of the seed of David, was raised from the dead, according to my gospel."' And this resurrection he quotes as an example of our resurrection: "I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins, according to the Scriptures; and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures." And a little further on he draws an inference from this doctrine: "Now, if Christ be preached that He rose from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead?"(3) Our professed believer in Paul believes nothing of all this. He denies that Jesus was born of the seed of David, that He was made of a woman (by the word woman is not meant a wife in the common sense of the word, but merely one of the female sex, as in the book of Genesis, where it is said that God made a woman before she was brought to Adam(4)); he denies His death, His burial, and His resurrection. He holds that Christ had not a mortal body, and therefore could not really die; and that the marks of His wounds which He showed to His disciples when He appeared to them alive after His resurrection, which Paul also mentions, (5) were not real. He denies, too, that our mortal body will be raised again, changed into a spiritual body; as Paul teaches: "It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body." To illustrate this distinction between the natural and the spiritual body, the apostle adds what I have quoted already about the first and the last Adam. Then he goes on: "But this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." And to explain what he means by flesh and blood, that it is not the bodily substance, but corruption, which will not enter into the resurrection of the just, he immediately says, "Neither shall corruption inherit incorruption." And in case any one should still suppose that it is not what is buried that is to rise again, but that it is as if one garment were laid aside and a better taken instead, he proceeds to show distinctly that the same body will be changed for the better, as the garments of Christ on the mount were not displaced, but transfigured: "Behold, I show you a mystery; we shall not all be changed, but we shall all rise." (6) Then he shows who are to be changed: "In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall rise incorruptible, and we shall be changed." And if it should be said that it is not as regards our mortal and corruptible body, but as regards our soul, that we are to be changed, it

should be observed that the apostle is not speaking of the soul, but of the body, as is evident from the question he starts with: "But some one will say, How are the dead raised, and with what body do they come?" So also, in the conclusion of his argument, he leaves no doubt of what he is speaking: "This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality."(7) Faustus denies this; and the God whom Paul declares to be "immortal, incorruptible, to whom alone is glory and honor,"(8) he makes corruptible. For in this monstrous and horrible fiction of theirs, the substance and nature of God was in danger of being wholly corrupted by the race of darkness, and to save the rest part actually was corrupted. And to crown all this, he tries to deceive the ignorant who are not learned in the sacred Scriptures, by making this profession: I assuredly believe the Apostle Paul; when he ought to have said, I assuredly do not believe.

4. But Faustus has a proof to show that Paul changed his mind, and, in writing to the Corinthians, corrected what he had written to the Romans; or else that he never wrote the passage which appears as his, about Jesus Christ being born of the seed of David according to the flesh. And what is this proof? If the passage, he says, in the Epistle to the Romans is true, "the Son of God, who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh," what he says to the Corinthians cannot be true, "Henceforth know we no man after the flesh; yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we

Him no more." We must therefore show that both these passages are true, and not opposed to one another. The agreement of the manuscripts proves both to be genuine. In some Latin versions the word "born"(1) is used instead of "made,"(2) which is not so literal a rendering, but gives the same meaning. For both these translations, as well as the original, teach that Christ was of the seed of David after the flesh. We must not for a moment suppose that Paul corrected himself on account of a change of opinion. Faustus himself felt the impropriety and impiety of such an explanation, and preferred to say that the passage was spurious, instead of that Paul was mistaken.

5. As regards our writings, which are not a rule of faith or practice, but only a help to edification, we may suppose that they contain some things falling short of the truth in obscure and recondite matters, and that these mistakes may or may not be corrected in subsequent treatises. For we are of those of whom the apostle says: "And if ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you."(3) Such writings are read with the right of judgment, and without any obligation to believe. In order to leave room for such profitable discussions of difficult questions, there is a distinct boundary line separating all productions subsequent to apostolic times from the authoritative canonical books of the Old and New Testaments. The authority of these books has come down to us from the apostles through the successions of bishops and the extension of the Church, and, from a position of lofty supremacy, claims the submission of every faithful and pious mind. If we are perplexed by an apparent contradiction in Scripture, it is not allowable to say, The author of this book is mistaken; but either the manuscript is faulty, or the translation is wrong, or you have not understood. In the innumerable books that have been written latterly we may sometimes find the same truth as in Scripture, but there is not the same authority. Scripture has a sacredness peculiar to itself. In other books the reader may form his own opinion, and perhaps, from

not understanding the writer, may differ from him, and may pronounce in favor of what pleases him, or against what he dislikes. In such cases, a man is at liberty to withhold his belief, unless there is some clear demonstration or some canonical authority to show that the doctrine or statement either must or may be true. But in consequence of the distinctive peculiarity of the sacred writings, we are bound to receive as true whatever the canon shows to have been said by even one prophet, or apostle, or evangelist. Otherwise, not a single page will be left for tim guidance of human fallibility, if contempt for the wholesome authority of the canonical books either puts an end to that authority altogether, or involves it in hopeless confusion.(4)

6. With regard, then, to this apparent contradiction between the passage which speaks of the Son of God being of the seed of David, to the words, "Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more, even though both quotations were not from the writings of one apostle,--though one were from Paul, and the other from Peter, or Isaiah, or any other apostle or prophet,--such is the equality of canonical authority, that it would not be allowable to doubt of either. For the utterances of Scripture, harmonious as if from the mouth of one man, commend themselves to the belief of the most accurate and clear-sighted piety, and demand for their discovery and confirmation the calmest intelligence and the most ingenious research. In the case before us both quotations are from the canonical, that is, the genuine epistles of Paul. We cannot say that the manuscript is faulty, for the best Latin translations substantially agree; or that the translations are wrong, for the best texts have the same reading. So that, if any one is perplexed by the apparent contradiction, the only conclusion is that he does not understand. Accordingly it remains for me to explain how both passages, instead of being contradictory, may be harmonized by one rule of sound faith. The pious inquirer will find all perplexity removed by a careful examination.

7. That the Son of God was made man of the seed of David, is not only said in other places by Paul, but is taught elsewhere in sacred Scripture. As regards the words, "Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more," the context shows what is the apostle's meaning. Here, or elsewhere, he views with an assured hope, as if it were already present and in actual possession, our future life, which is now fulfilled in our risen Head and Mediator, the man Christ Jesus. This life will certainly not be after the flesh, even as Christ's life is now not after the flesh. For by flesh the apostle here means not the substance of our bodies, in which sense the Lord used the word when, after His resurrection, He said, "Handle me, and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have,"(1) but the corruption and mortality of flesh, which will then not be in us, as now it is not in Christ. The apostle uses the word flesh in the sense of corruption in the passage about the resurrection quoted before: "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither shall corruption inherit incorruption." So, after the event described in the next verse, "Behold, I show you a mystery; we shall all rise, but we shall not all be changed. In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump (for the trumpet shall sound); and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality," (2)--then flesh, in the sense of the substance of the body, will, after this change, no longer have flesh, in the sense of the corruption of mortality; and yet, as regards its own nature, it will be the same flesh, the same which rises and which is changed. What the Lord said after His resurrection is true, "Handle

me, and see for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have;" and what the apostle says is true, "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." The first is said of the bodily substance, which exists as the subject of the change: the second is said of the corruption of the flesh, which will cease to exist, for, after its change, flesh will not be corrupted. So, "we have known Christ after the flesh," that is, after the mortality of flesh, before His resurrection; "now henceforth we know Him no more," because, as the same apostle says, "Christ being risen from the dead, dieth no more, and death hath no more dominion over Him."(3) The words, "we have known Christ after the fleshy" strictly speaking, imply that Christ was after the flesh, for what never was cannot be known. And it is not "we have supposed," but "we have known." But not to insist on a word, in case some one should say that known is used in the sense of supposed, it is astonishing, if one could be surprised at want of sight in a blind man, that these blind people do not perceive that if what the apostle says about not knowing Christ after the flesh proves that Christ had not flesh, then what he says in the same place of not knowing any one henceforth after the flesh proves that all those here referred to had not flesh. For when he speaks of not knowing any one, he cannot intend to speak only of Christ; but in his realization of the future life with those who are to be changed at the resurrection, he says, "Henceforth we know no man after the flesh;" that is, we have such an assured hope of our future incorruption and immortality, that the thought of it makes us rejoice even now. So he says elsewhere: "If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things that are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God. Set your affections upon things above, and not on things on the earth." (4) It is true we have not yet risen as Christ has, but we are said to have risen with Him on account of the hope which we have in Him. So again he says: "According to His mercy He saved us, by the washing of regeneration." (5) Evidently what we obtain in the washing of regeneration is not the salvation itself, but the hope of it. And yet, because this hope is certain, we are said to be saved, as if the salvation were already bestowed. Elsewhere it is said explicitly: "We groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, even the redemption of our body. For we are saved by hope. But hope which is seen is not hope; for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for? But if we hope for what we see not, then do we with patience wait for it." (6) The apostle says not, "we are to be saved," but, "We are now saved," that is, in hope, though not yet in reality. And in the same way it is in hope, though not yet in reality, that we now know no man after the flesh. This hope is in Christ, in whom what we hope for as promised to us has already been fulfilled. He is risen, and death has no more dominion over Him. Though we have known Him after the flesh, before His death, when there was in His body that mortality which the apostle properly calls flesh, now henceforth know we Him no more; for that mortal of His has now put on immortality, and His flesh, in the sense of mortality, no longer exists.

8. The context of the passage containing this clause of which our adversaries make such a bad use, brings out its real meaning. "The love of Christ," we read, "constrains us, because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then all died; and He died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but to Him who died for them, and rose again. Therefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh; and though we have known Christ after the flesh, ret now henceforth know we Him no more." The words, "that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him who died for them, and rose again," show plainly that the resurrection of Christ is the ground of the apostle's statement. To live not to themselves, but to Him, must mean to

live not after the flesh, in the hope of earthly and perishable goods, but after the spirit, in the hope of resurrection,--a resurrection already accomplished in Christ. Of those, then, for whom Christ died and rose again, and who live henceforth not to themselves, but to Him, the Apostle says that he knows no one after the flesh, on account of the hope of future immortality to which they were looking forward,--a hope which in Christ was already a reality. So, though he has known Christ after the flesh, before His death, now he knows Him no more; for he knows that He has risen, and that death has no more dominion over Him. And because in Christ we all are even now in hope, though not in reality, what Christ is, he adds: "Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new. And all things are of God, who has reconciled us to Himself by Christ."(1) What the new creature --that is, the people renewed by faith--hopes for regarding itself, it has already in Christ; and the hope will also hereafter be actually realized. And, as regards this hope, old things have passed away, because we are no longer in the times of the Old Testament, expecting a temporal and carnal kingdom of God; and all things are become new, making the promise of the kingdom of heaven, where there shall be no death or corruption, the ground of our confidence. But in the resurrection of the dead it will not be as a matter of hope, but in reality, that old things shall pass away, when the last enemy, death, shall be destroyed; and all things shall become new when this corruptible has put on incorruption, and this mortal has put on immortality. This has already taken place in Christ, whom Paul accordingly, in reality, knew no longer after the flesh. But not yet in reality, but only in hope, did be know no one after the flesh of those for whom Christ died and rose again. For, as he says to the Ephesians, we are already saved by grace. The whole passage is to the purpose: "But God, who is rich in mercy, for His great love wherewith He loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ, by whose grace we have been saved." The words, "hath quickened us together with Christ," correspond to what he said to the Corinthians, "that they which live should no longer live to themselves, but to Him that died for them and rose again." And in the words, "by whose grace we have been saved," he speaks of the thing hoped for as already accomplished. So, in the passage quoted above, he says explicitly, "We have been saved by hope." And here he proceeds to specify future events as if already accomplished. "And has raised us up together," he says, "and has made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus." Christ is certainly already seated in heavenly places, but we not yet. But as in an assured hope we already possess the future, he says that we sit in heavenly places, not in ourselves, but in Him. And to show that it is still future, in case it should be thought that what is spoken of as accomplished in hope has been accomplished in reality, he adds, "that He might show in the ages to come the exceeding riches of His grace in His kindness towards us in Christ Jesus."(2) So also we must understand the following passage: "For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins, which were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death."(3) He says, "when we were in the flesh," as if they were no longer in the flesh. He means to say, when we were in the hope of fleshly things, referring to the time when the law, which can be fulfilled only by spiritual love, was in force, in order that by transgression the offence might abound, that after the revelation of the New Testament, grace and the gift by grace might much more abound. And to the same effect he says elsewhere, "They which are in the flesh cannot please God;" and then, to show that he does not mean those not yet dead, he adds, "But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit." (4) The meaning is, those who are in the hope of fleshly good cannot please

God; but you are not in the hope of fleshly things, but in the hope of spiritual things, that is, of the kingdom of heaven, where the body itself, which now is natural, will, by the change in the resurrection, be, according to the capacity of its nature, a spiritual body. For "it is sown a natural body, it will be raised a spiritual body." If, then, the apostle knew no one after the flesh of those who were said to be not in the flesh, because they were not in the hope of fleshly things, although they still were burdened with corruptible and mortal flesh; how much more significantly could he say of Christ that he no longer knew Him after the flesh, seeing that in the body of Christ what they hoped for had already been accomplished! Surely it is better and more reverential to examine the passages of sacred Scripture so as to discover their agreement with one another, than to accept some as true, and condemn others as false, whenever any difficulty occurs beyond the power of our weak intellect to solve. As to the apostle in his childhood understanding as a child, this is said merely as an illustration.(1) And when he was a child he was not a spiritual man, as he was when he produced for the edification of the churches those writings which are not, as other books, merely a profitable study, but which authoritatively claim our belief as part of the ecclesiastical canon.

BOOK XII.

FAUSTUS DENIES THAT THE PROPHETS PREDICTED CHRIST. AUGUSTIN PROVES SUCH PREDICTION FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT, AND EXPOUNDS AT LENGTH THE PRINCIPAL TYPES OF CHRIST IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

1. FAUSTUS said: Why do I not believe the prophets? Rather why do you believe them? On account, you will reply, of their prophecies about Christ. For my part, I have read the prophets with the most eager attention, and have found no such prophecies. And surely it shows a weak faith not to believe in Christ without proofs and testimonies. Indeed, you yourselves are accustomed to teach that Christian faith is so simple and absolute as not to admit of laborious investigations. Why, then, should you destroy the simplicity of faith by buttressing it with evidences, and Jewish evidences too? Or if you are changing your opinion about evidences, what more trustworthy witness could you have than God Himself testifying to His own Son when He sent Him on earth,--not by a prophet or an interpreter,--by a voice immediately from heaven: "This is my beloved Son, believe Him?" (1) And again He testifies of Himself: "I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world; (2) and in many similar passages. When the Jews quarrelled with this testimony, saying "Thou bearest witness of thyself, thy witness is not true," He replied: "Although I bear witness of myself, my witness is true. It is written in your law, The witness of two men is true. I am one that bear witness of myself, and the Father who sent me beareth witness of me."(3) He does not mention the prophets. Again He appeals to the testimony of His own works, saying, "If ye believe not me, believe the works;" (4) not, "If ye believe not me, believe the prophets." Accordingly we require no testimonies concerning our Saviour. All we look for in the prophets is

prudence and virtue, and a good example, which, you are well aware, are not to be found in the Jewish prophets. This, no doubt, explains your referring me at once to their predictions as a reason for believing them, without a word about their actions. This may be good policy, but it is not in harmony. with the declaration of Scripture, that it is impossible to gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles. This may serve meanwhile as a brief and sufficient reply to the question, why we do not believe the prophets. The fact that they did not prophesy of Christ is abundantly proved in the writings of our fathers. I shall only add this, that if the Hebrew prophets knew and preached Christ, and yet lived such vicious lives, what Paul says of the wise men among the Gentiles might be applied to them: "Though they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, nor were thankful; but they became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened." (5) You see the knowledge of great things is worth little, unless the life corresponds.

2. AUGUSTIN replied: The meaning of all this is, that the Hebrew prophets foretold nothing of Christ, and that, if they did, their predictions are of no use to us, and they themselves did not live suitably to the dignity of such prophecies. We must therefore prove the fact of the prophecies; and their use for the truth and steadfastness of our faith; and that the lives of the prophets were in harmony with their words. In this threefold discussion, it would take a long time under the first head to quote from all the books the passages in which Christ may be shown to have been predicted. Faustus' frivolity may be met effectually by the weight of one great authority. Although Faustus does not believe the prophets, he professes to believe the apostles. Above, as if to satisfy the doubts of some opponent, he declares that he assuredly believes the Apostle Paul. (6) Let us then hear what Paul says of the prophets. His words are: "Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, separated unto the gospel of God, which He had promised before by His prophets in the holy Scriptures, concerning His Son, who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh."(1) What more does Faustus wish? Will he maintain that the apostle is speaking of some other prophets, and not of the Hebrew prophets? In any case, the gospel spoken of as promised was concerning the Son of God, who was made for Him of the seed of David according to the flesh: and to this gospel the apostle says that he was separated. So that the Manichćan heresy is opposed to faith in the gospel, which teaches that the Son of God was made of the seed of David according to the flesh. Besides, there are many passages where the apostle plainly testifies in behalf of the Hebrew prophets, with an authority by which the necks of these proud Manichćans are broken.

3. "I speak the truth in Christ," says the apostle, "I lie not, my conscience bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost, that I have great heaviness and continual sorrow of heart. For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ, for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh: who are Israelites; to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever."(2) Here is the most abundant and express testimony and the most solemn commendation. The adoption here spoken of is evidently through the Son of God; as the apostle says to the Galatians: "In the fullness of time, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, that He might redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons." (3) And the glory spoken of

is chiefly that of which he says in the same Epistle to the Romans: "What advantage hath the Jew? or what profit is there in circumcision? Much every way: chiefly, because unto them were committed the oracles of God." (4) Can the Manichćans tell us of any oracles of God committed to the Jews besides those of the Hebrew prophets? And why are the covenants said to belong especially to the Israelites, but because not only was the Old Testament given to them, but also the New was prefigured in the Old? Our opponents often display much ignorant ferocity in attacking the dispensation of the law given to the Israelites, not understanding that God wishes us to be not under the law, but under grace. They are here answered by the apostle himself, who, in speaking of the advantages of the Jews, mentions this as one, that they had the giving of the law. If the law had been bad, the apostle would not have referred to it in praise of the Jews. And if Christ had not been preached by the law, the Lord Himself would not have said, "If ye believe Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me;" (5) nor would He have borne the testimony He did after His resurrection, saying, "All things must needs be fulfilled that were written in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me."(6)

4. But because the Manichćans preach another Christ, and not Him whom the apostles preached, but a false Christ of their own false contrivance, in imitation of whose falsehood they themselves speak lies, though they may perhaps be believed when they are not ashamed to profess to be the followers of a deceiver, that has befallen them which the apostle asserts of the unbelieving Jews: "When Moses is read, a veil is upon their heart." Neither will this veil which keeps them from understanding Moses be taken away from them till they turn to Christ; not a Christ of their own making, but the Christ of the Hebrew prophets. For, as the apostle says, "When thou shalt turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away." (7) We cannot wonder that they do not believe in the Christ who rose from the dead, and who said, "All things must needs be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me;" for this Christ has Himself told us what Abraham said to a hard-hearted rich man when he was in torment in hell, and asked Abraham to send some one to his brothers to teach them, that they might not come too into that place of torment. Abraham's reply was: "They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them." And when the rich man said that they would not believe unless some one rose from the dead, he received this most truthful answer: "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe even though one rose from the dead." (8) Wherefore, the Manichćans will not hear Moses and the prophets, and so they do not believe Christ, though He rose from the dead. Indeed, they do not even believe that Christ rose from the dead. For how can they believe that He rose, when they do not believe that He died? For, again, how can they believe that He died, when they deny that He had a mortal body?

5. But we reject those false teachers whose Christ is false, or rather, whose Christ never existed. For we have a Christ true and truthful, foretold by the prophets, preached by the apostles, who in innumerable places refer to the testimonies of the law and the prophets in support of their preaching. Paul, in one short sentence, gives the right view of this subject. "Now," he says, "the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets." (1) What prophets, if not of Israel, to whom, as he expressly says, pertain the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the promises? And what promises, but about Christ? Elsewhere, speaking of Christ, he

says concisely: "All the promises of God are in Him yea." (2) Paul tells me that the giving of the law pertained to the Israelites. He also tells me that Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. He also tells me that all the promises of God are in Christ yea. And you tell me that the prophets of Israel foretold nothing of Christ. Shall I believe the absurdities of Manichaeus relating a vain and long fable in opposition to Paul? or shall I believe Paul when he forewarns us: "If any man preach to you another gospel than that which we have preached, let him be accursed?"

6. Our opponents may perhaps ask us to point out passages where Christ is predicted by the prophets of Israel. One would think they might be satisfied with the authority of the apostles, who declare that what we read in the writings of the Hebrew prophets was fulfilled in Christ, or with that of Christ Himself, who says that these things were written of Him. Whoever is unable to point out the passages should lay the blame on his own ignorance; for the apostles and Christ and the sacred Scriptures are not chargeable with falsehood. However, one instance out of many may be adduced. The apostle, in the verses following the passage quoted above, says: "The word of God cannot fail. For they are not all Israel which are of Israel; neither, because they are the seed of Abraham, are they all children: but, In Isaac shall thy seed be called: that is, they which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God; but the children of promise are counted for the seed." (3) What can our opponent says against this, in view of the declaration made to Abraham: "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed?" At the time when the apostle gave the following exposition of this promise, "To Abraham and to his seed were the promises made. He saith not, To seed, as of many, but as of one, To thy seed, which is Christ," (4) a doubt on this point might then have been less inexcusable, for at that time all nations had not yet believed on Christ, who is preached as of the seed of Abraham. But now that we see the fulfillment of what we read in the ancient prophecy,--now that all nations are actually blessed in the seed of Abraham, to whom it was said thousands of years ago, "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed, "--it is mere obstinate folly to try to bring in another Christ, not of the seed of Abraham, or to hold that there are no predictions of Christ in the prophetical books of the children of Abraham.

7. To enumerate all the passages in the 'Hebrew prophets referring to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, would exceed the limits of a volume, not to speak of the brief replies of which this treatise consists. The whole contents of these Scriptures are either directly or indirectly about Christ. Often the reference is allegorical or enigmatical, perhaps in a verbal allusion, or in a historical narrative, requiring diligence in the student, and rewarding him with the pleasure of discovery. Other passages, again, are plain; for, without the help of what is clear, we could not understand what is obscure. And even the figurative passages, when brought together, will be found so harmonious in their testimony to Christ as to put to shame the obtuseness of the sceptic.

8. In the creation God finished His works in six days, and rested on the seventh. The history of the world contains six periods marked by the dealings of God with men. The first period is from Adam to Noah; the second, from Noah to Abraham; the third, from Abraham to David; the fourth, from David to the captivity in Babylon; the fifth, from the captivity to the advent of lowliness of our Lord Jesus Christ; the sixth is now in progress, and will end in the coming of the exalted Saviour to judgment. What answers to the

seventh day is the rest of the saints,-not in this life, but in another, where the rich man saw Lazarus at rest while he was tormented in hell; where there is no evening, because there is no decay. On the sixth day, in Genesis, man is formed after the image of God; in the sixth period of the world there is the clear discovery of our transformation in the renewing of our mind, according to the image of Him who created us, as the apostle says. (1) As a wife was made for Adam from his side while he slept, the Church becomes the property of her dying Saviour, by the sacrament of the blood which flowed from His side after His death. The woman made out of her husband's side is called Eve, or Life, and the mother of living beings; and the Lord says in the Gospel: "Except a man eat my flesh and drink my blood, he has no life in him." (2) The whole narrative of Genesis, in the most minute details, is a prophecy of Christ and of the Church with reference either to the good Christians or to the bad. There is a significance in the words of the apostle when he calls Adam "the figure of Him that was to come;" (3) and when he says, "A man shall leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the Church." (4) This points most obviously to the way in which Christ left His Father; for "though He was in the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be equal with God, He emptied Himself, and took upon Him the form of a servant." (5) And so, too, He left His mother, the synagogue of the Jews which cleaved to the carnality of the Old Testament, and was united to the Church His holy bride, that in the peace of the New Testament they two might be one flesh. For though with the Father He was God, by whom we were made, He became in the flesh partaker of our nature, that we might become the body of which He is the head.

9. As Cain's sacrifice of the fruit of the ground is rejected, while Abel's sacrifice of his sheep and the fat thereof is accepted. so the faith of the New Testament praising God in the harmless service of grace is preferred to the earthly observances of the Old Testament. For though the Jews were right in practising these things, they were guilty of unbelief in not distinguishing the time of the New Testament when Christ came, from the time of the Old Testament. God said to Cain, "If thou offerest well, yet if thou dividest not well, thou hast sinned." (6) If Cain had obeyed God when He said, "Be content, for to thee shall be its reference, and thou shalt rule over it," he would have referred his sin to himself, by taking the blame of it, and confessing it to God; and so assisted by supplies of grace, he would have ruled over his sin, instead of acting as the servant of sin in killing his innocent brother. So also the Jews, of whom all these things are a figure, if they had been content, instead of being turbulent, and had acknowledged the time of salvation through the pardon of sins by grace, and heard Christ saying, "They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick; I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance;" (7) and, "Every one that committeth sin is the servant of sin;" and, "If the Son make you free, ye shall be free indeed," (8)--they would in confession have referred their sin to themselves, saying to the Physician, as it is written in the Psalm, "I said, Lord, be merciful to me; heal my soul, for I have sinned against Thee." (9) And being made free by the hope of grace, they would have ruled over sin as long as it continued in their mortal body. But now, being ignorant of God's righteousness, and wishing to establish a righteousness of their own, proud of the works of the law, instead of being humbled on account of their sins, they have not been content; and in subjection to sin reigning in their mortal body, so as to make them obey it in the lusts thereof, they have stumbled on the stone of stumbling, and have been

inflamed with hatred against him whose works they grieved to see accepted by God. The man who was born blind, and had been made to see, said to them, "We know that God heareth not sinners; but if any man serve Him, and do His will, him He heareth;" (10) as if he had said, God regardeth not the sacrifice of Cain, but he regards the sacrifice of Abel. Abel, the younger brother, is killed by the elder brother; Christ, the head of the younger people, is killed by the elder people of the Jews. Abel dies in the field; Christ dies on Calvary.

10. God asks Cain where his brother is, not as if He did not know, but as a judge asks a guilty criminal. Cain replies that he knows not, and that he is not his brother's keeper. And what answer can the Jews give at this day, when we ask them with the voice of God, that is, of the sacred Scriptures, about Christ, except that they do not know the Christ that we speak of? Cain's ignorance was pretended, and the Jews are deceived in their refusal of Christ. Moreover, they would have been in a sense keepers of Christ, if they had been willing to receive and keep the Christian faith. For the man who keeps Christ in his heart does not ask, like Cain, Am I my brother's keeper? Then God says to Cain, "What hast thou done? The voice of i thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground." So the voice of God in the Holy Scriptures accuses the Jews. For the blood of Christ has a loud voice on the earth, when the responsive Amen of those who believe in Him comes from all nations. This is the voice of Christ's blood, because the clear voice of the faithful redeemed by His blood is the voice of the blood itself.

11. Then God says to Cain: "Thou art cursed from the earth, which hath opened its mouth to receive thy brother's blood at thy hand. For thou shalt till the earth, and it shall no longer yield unto thee its strength. A mourner and an abject shalt thou be on the earth." It is not, Cursed is the earth, but, Cursed art thou from the earth, which hath opened its mouth to receive thy brother's blood at thy hand. So the unbelieving people of the Jews is cursed from the earth, that is, from the Church, which in the confession of sins has opened its mouth to receive the blood shed for the remission of sins by the hand of the people that would not be under grace, but under the law. And this murderer is cursed by the Church; that is, the Church admits and avows the curse pronounced by the apostle: "Whoever are of the works of the law are under the curse of the law." (1) Then, after saying, Cursed art thou from the earth, which has opened its mouth to receive thy brother's blood at thy hand, what follows is not, For thou shalt till it, but, Thou shalt till the earth, and it shall not yield to thee its strength. The earth he is to till is not necessarily the same as that which opened its mouth to receive his brother's blood at his hand. From this earth he is cursed, and so he tills an earth which shall no longer yield to him its strength. That is, the Church admits and avows the Jewish people to be cursed, because after killing Christ they continue to till the ground of an earthly circumcision, an earthly Sabbath, an earthly passover, while the hidden strength or virtue of making known Christ, which this tilling contains, is not yielded to the Jews while they continue in impiety and unbelief, for it is revealed in the New Testament. While they will not turn to God, the veil which is on their minds in reading the Old Testament is not taken away. This veil is taken away only by Christ, who does not do away with the reading of the Old Testament, but with the covering which hides its virtue. So, at the crucifixion of Christ, the veil was rent in twain, that by the passion of Christ hidden mysteries might be revealed to believers who turn to Him with a mouth opened in confession to drink His blood. In this way the Jewish people, like Cain, continue tilling

the ground, in the carnal observance of the law, which does not yield to them its strength, because they do not perceive in it the grace of Christ. So too, the flesh of Christ was the ground from which by crucifying Him the Jews produced our salvation, for He died for our offences. But this ground did not yield to them its strength, for they were not justified by the virtue of His resurrection, for He arose again for our justification. As the apostle says: "He was crucified in weakness, but He liveth by the power of God." (2) This is the power of that ground which is unknown to the ungodly and unbelieving. When Christ rose, He did not appear to those who had crucified Him. So Cain was not allowed to see the strength of the ground which he tilled to sow his seed in it; as God said, "Thou shalt till the ground, and it shall no longer yield unto thee its strength."

12. "Groaning and trembling shalt thou be on the earth." Here no one can fail to see that in every land where the Jews are scattered they mourn for the loss of their kingdom, and are in terrified subjection to the immensely superior number of Christians. So Cain answered, and said: "My case is worse, if Thou drivest me out this day from the face of the earth, and from Thy face shall I be hid, and I shall be a mourner and an outcast on the earth; and it shall be that every one that findeth me shall slay me." Here he groans indeed in terror, lest after losing his earthly possession he should suffer the death of the body. This he calls a worse ease than that of the ground not yielding to him its strength, or than that of spiritual death. For his mind is carnal; for he thinks little of being hid from the face of God, that is, of being under the anger of God, were it not that he may be found and slain. This is the carnal mind that tills the ground, but does not obtain its strength. To be carnally minded is death; but he, in ignorance of this, mourns for the loss of his earthly possession, and is in terror of bodily death. But what does God reply? "Not so," He says; "but whosoever shall kill Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold." That is, It is not as thou sayest; not by bodily death shall the ungodly race of carnal Jews perish. For whoever destroys them in this way shall suffer sevenfold vengeance, that is, shall bring upon himself the sevenfold penalty under which the Jews lie for the crucifixion of Christ. So to the end of the seven days of time, the continued preservation of the Jews will be a proof to believing Christians of the subjection merited by those who, in the pride of their kingdom, put the Lord to death.

13. "And the Lord God set a mark upon Cain, lest any one finding him should slay him." It is a most notable fact, that all the nations subjugated by Rome adopted the heathenish ceremonies of the Roman worship; while the Jewish nation, whether under Pagan or Christian monarchs, has never lost the sign of their law, by which they are distinguished from all other nations and peoples. No emperor or monarch who finds under his government the people with this mark kills them, that is, makes them cease to be Jews, and as Jews to be separate in their observances, and unlike the rest of the world. Only when a Jew comes over to Christ, he is no longer Cain, nor goes out from the presence of God, nor dwells in the land of Nod, which is said to mean commotion. Against this evil of commotion the Psalmist prays, "Suffer not my feet to be moved;" (1) and again, "Let not the hands of the wicked remove me;" (2) and, "Those that trouble me will rejoice when I am moved:" (3) and, "The Lord is at my right hand, that I should not be moved;" (4) and so in innumerable places. This evil comes upon those who leave the presence of God, that is, His loving-kindness. Thus the Psalmist says, "I said in my prosperity, I shall never be moved." But observe what follows, "Lord, by Thy favor Thou

hast given strength to my honor; Thou didst hide Thy face, and I was troubled;" (5) which teaches us that not in itself, but by participation in the light of God, can any soul possess beauty, or honor, or strength. The Manichaeans should think of this, to keep them from the blasphemy of identifying themselves with the nature and substance of God. But they cannot think, because they are not content. The Sabbath of the heart they are Strangers to. If they were content, as Cain was told to be, they would refer their sin to themselves; that is, they would lay the blame on themselves, and not on a race of darkness that no one ever heard of, and so by the grace of God they would prevail over their sin. But now the Manichaeans, and all who oppose the truth by their various heresies, leave the presence of God, like Cain and the scattered Jews, and inhabit the land of commotion, that is, of carnal disquietude, instead of the enjoyment of God, that is instead of Eden, which is interpreted Feasting, where Paradise was planted. But not to depart too much from the argument of this treatise I must limit myself to a few, short remarks under this head.

14. Omitting therefore many passages in these Books where Christ may be found, but which require longer explanation and proof, although the most hidden meanings are the sweetest, convincing testimony may be obtained from the enumeration of such things as the following:-- That Enoch, the seventh from Adam, pleased God, and was translated, as there is to be a seventh day of rest into which all will be translated who, during the sixth day of the world's history, are created anew by the incarnate Word. That Noah, with his family is saved by water and wood, as the family of Christ is saved by baptism, as representing the suffering of the cross. That this ark is made of beams formed in a square, as the Church is constructed of saints prepared unto every good work: for a square stands firm on any side. That the length is six times the breadth, and ten times the height, like a human body, to show that Christ appeared in a human body. That the breadth reaches to fifty cubits; as the apostle says, "Our heart is enlarged," (6) that is, with spiritual love, of which he says again, "The love of God is shed abroad in our heart by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us." (7) For in the fiftieth day after His resurrection, Christ sent His Holy Spirit to enlarge the hearts of His disciples. That it is three hundred cubits long, to make up six times fifty; as there are six periods in the history of the world during which Christ has never ceased to be preached,--in five foretold by the prophets, and in the sixth proclaimed in the gospel. That it is thirty cubits high, a tenth part of the length; because Christ is our height, who in his thirtieth year gave His sanction to the doctrine of the gospel, by declaring that He came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it. Now the ten commandments are to be the heart of the law; and so the length of the ark is ten times thirty. Noah himself, too, was the tenth from Adam. That the beams of the ark are fastened within and without with pitch, to signify by compact union the forbearance of love, which keeps the brotherly connection from being impaired, and the bond of peace from being broken by the offences which try the Church either from without or from within. For pitch is a glutinous substance, of great energy and force, to represent the ardor of love which, with great power of endurance, beareth all things in the maintenance of spiritual communion.

15. That all kinds of animals are inclosed in the ark; as the Church contains all nations, which was also set forth in the vessel shown to Peter. That clean and unclean animals are in the ark; as good and bad take part in the sacraments of the Church. That the clean are in sevens, and the unclean in twos; not because the bad are fewer than the

good, but because the good preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace; and the Spirit is spoken of in Scripture as having a sevenfold operation, as being "the Holy Spirit of wisdom and understanding, of counsel and might, of knowledge and piety, and of the fear of God." (1) So also the number fifty, which is connected with the advent of the Holy Spirit, is made up of seven times seven, and one over; whence it is said, "Endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." (2) The bad, again, are in twos, as being easily divided, from their tendency to schism. That Noah, counting his family, was the eighth; because the hope of our resurrection has appeared in Christ, who rose from the dead on the eighth day, that is, on the day after the seventh, or Sabbath day. This day was the third from His passion; but in the ordinary reckoning of days, it is both the eighth and the first.

16. That the whole ark together is finished in a cubit above; as the Church, the body of Christ gathered into unity, is raised to perfection. So Christ says in the Gospel: "He that gathereth not with me, scattereth." (3) That the entrance is on the side; as no man enters the Church except by the sacrament of the remission of sins which flowed from Christ's opened side. That the lower spaces of the ark are divided into two and three chambers: as the multitude of all nations in the Church is divided into two, as circumcised and uncircumcised; or into three, as descended from the three sons of Noah. And these parts of the-ark are called lower, because in this earthly state there is a difference of races, and above we are completed in one. Above there is no diversity; for Christ is all and in all, finishing us, as it were, in one cubit above with heavenly unity.

17. That the flood came seven days after Noah entered the ark; as we are baptized in the hope of the future rest, which was denoted by the seventh day. That all flesh on the face of the earth, outside the ark, was, destroyed by the flood; as, beyond the communion of the Church, though the water off baptism is the same, it is efficacious only for destruction, and not for salvation. That it rained for forty days and forty nights; as the sacrament of heavenly baptism washes away all the guilt of the sins against the ten commandments throughout all the four quarters of the world (four times ten is forty), whether that guilt has been contracted in the day of prosperity or in the night of adversity.

18. That Noah was five hundred years old when God told him to make the ark, and six hundred when he entered the ark; which shows that the ark was made during one hundred years, which seem to correspond to the years of an age of the world. So the sixth age is occupied with the construction of the Church by the preaching of the gospel. The man who avails himself of the offer of salvation is made like a square beam, fitted for every good work, and forms part of the sacred fabric. Again, it was the second month of the six hundredth year when Noah entered the ark, and in two months there are sixty days; so that here, as in every multiple of six, we have the number denoting the sixth age.

19. That mention is made of the twenty seventh day of the month; as we have already seen the Significance of the square in the beams. Here especially it is significant; for as twenty-seven is the cube of three, there is a trinity in the means by which we are, as it were, squared, or fitted for every good work. By the memory we remember God; by the understanding we know Him; by the will we love Hi m. That in the seventh month the ark

rested; reminding us again of the seventh day of rest. And here again, to denote the perfection of those at rest, the twenty-seventh day of the month is mentioned for the second time. So what is promised in hope is realized in experience. There is here a combination of seven and eight; for the water rose fifteen cubits above the mountains, pointing to a profound mystery in baptism,--the sacrament of our regeneration. For the seventh day of rest is connected with the eighth of resurrection. For when the saints receive again their bodies after the rest of the intermediate state, the rest will not cease; but rather the whole man, body and soul united, renewed in the immortal health, will attain to the realization of his hope in the enjoyment of eternal life. Thus the sacrament of baptism, like the waters of Noah, rises above all the wisdom of the proud. Seven and eight are also combined in the number of one hundred and fifty, made up of seventy and eighty, which was the number of days during which the water prevailed, pointing out the deep import of baptism in consecrating the new man to hold the faith of rest and resurrection.

20. That the raven sent out after forty days did not return, being either prevented by the water or attracted by some floating carcase; as men defiled by impure desire, and therefore eager for things outside in the world, are either baptized, or are led astray into the company of those to whom, as they are outside the ark, that is, outside the Church, baptism is destructive. That the dove when sent forth found no rest, and returned; as in the New Testament rest is not promised to the saints in this world. The dove was sent forth after forty days, a period denoting the length of human life. When again sent forth after seven days, denoting the sevenfold operation of the Spirit, the dove brought back a fruitful olive branch; as some even who are baptized outside of the Church, if not destitute of the fatness of charity, may come after all, as it were in the evening, and be brought into the one communion by the mouth of the dove in the kiss of peace. That, when again sent forth after seven days, the dove did not return; as, at the end of the world, the rest of the saints shall no longer be in the sacrament of hope, as now, while in the communion of the Church, they drink what flowed from the side of Christ, but in the perfection of eternal safety, when the kingdom shall be delivered up to God and the Father, and when, in that unclouded contemplation of unchangeable truth, we shall no longer need natural symbols.

21. There are many other points which we cannot take notice of even in this cursory manner. Why in the six hundred and first year of Noah's life--that is, after six hundred years were completed--the covering of the ark is removed, and the hidden mystery, as it were, disclosed. Why the earth is said to have dried on the twenty-seventh day of the second month; as if the number fifty-seven denoted the completion of the rite of baptism. For the twenty-seventh day of the second month is the fifty-seventh day of the year; and the number fifty-seven is seven times eight, which are the numbers of the spirit and the body, with one over, to denote the bond of unity. Why they leave the ark together, though they entered separately. For it is said: "Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him, into the ark;" the men and the women being spoken of separately; which denotes the time when the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. But they go forth, Noah and his wife, and his sons and their wives,--the men and women together. For in the end of the world, and in the resurrection of the just, the body will be united to the spirit in perfect harmony, undisturbed by the wants and the passions of mortality. Why, after leaving the ark, only

clean animals are offered in sacrifice to God, though both clean and unclean were in the ark.

52. Then, again, it is significant that when God speaks to Noah, and begins anew, as it were, in order, by repetition in various forms, to draw attention to the figure of the Church, the sons of Noah are blessed, and told to replenish the earth, and all animals are given to them for food; as was said to Peter of the vessel, "Kill and eat." That they are told to pour out the blood when they eat; that the former life may not be kept shut up in the conscience, but may be, as it were, poured out in confession. That God makes the bow, which appears in the clouds only when the sun shines, the sign of His covenant with men, and with every living thing, that He will not destroy them with a flood; as those do not perish by the flood, in separation from the Church, who in the clouds of God--that is, in the prophets and in all the sacred Scriptures --discern the glory of Christ. instead of seeking their own glory. The worshippers of the sun, however, need not pride themselves on this; for they must understand that the sun, as also a lion, a lamb, and a stone, are used as types of Christ because they have some resemblance, not because they are of the same substance.

23. Again, the sufferings of Christ from His own nation are evidently denoted by Noah being drunk with the wine of the vineyard he planted, and his being uncovered in his tent. For the mortality of Christ's flesh was uncovered, to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness; but to them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, both Shem and Japhet, the power of God and the wisdom of God. Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men. (1)

Moreover, the two sons, the eldest and the youngest, carrying the garment backwards, are a figure of the two peoples, and the sacrament of the past and completed passions of the Lord. They do not see the nakedness of their father, because they do not consent to Christ's death; and yet they honor it with a covering, as knowing whence they were born. The middle son is the Jewish people, for they neither held the first place with the apostles, nor believed subsequently with the Gentiles. They saw the nakedness of their father, because they consented to Christ's death; and they told it to their brethren outside, for what was hidden in the prophets was disclosed by the Jews. And thus they are the servants of their brethren. For what else is this nation now but a desk for the Christians, bearing the law and the prophets, and testifying to the doctrine of the Church, so that we l honor in the sacrament what they disclose in the letter?

54. Again, every one must be impressed, and be either enlightened or confirmed in the faith, by the blessing of the two sons who honored the nakedness of their father, though they turned away their faces, as displeased with the evil done by the vine. "Blessed," he says, "be the Lord God of Shem." For although God is the God of all nations, even the Gentiles acknowledge Him to be in a peculiar sense the God of Israel. And how is this to be explained but by the blessing of Japhet? The occupation of all the world by the Church among the Gentiles was exactly foretold in the words: "Let God enlarge Japhet, and let him dwell in the tents of Shem." That is for the Manichaean to attend to. You see what the state of the world actually is. The very thing that you are astonished and grieved at in us is this, that God is enlarging Japhet. Is He not dwelling in the tents of Shem ?--that is, in the churches built by the apostles, the sons of the prophets. Hear

what Paul says to the believing Gentiles: "Ye were at that time without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants; having no hope of the promise, and without God in the world." In these words there is a description of the state of Japhet before he dwelt in the tents of Shem. But observe what follows: "Now then;" he says, "ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, being built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone." (1) Here we have Japhet enlarged, and dwelling in tile tents of Shem. These testimonies are taken from the epistles of the apostles, which you yourselves acknowledge, and read, and profess to follow. You occupy an unhappy middle position in a building of which Christ is not the chief corner-stone. For you do not belong to the wall of those who, like the apostles, being of the circumcision, believed in Christ; nor to the wall of those who, being of the uncircumcision, like all the Gentiles, are joined in the unity of faith, as in the fellowship of the cornerstone. However, all who accept and read any books of our canon in which Christ is spoken of as having been born and having suffered in the flesh, and who do not unite with us in a common veiling with the sacrament of the mortality, uncovered by the passion, but without the knowledge of piety and charity make known that from which we all are born, --although they differ among themselves, whether as Jews and heretics, or as heretics of one kind or other,--are still all useful to the Church, as being all alike servants, either in bearing witness to or in proving some truth. For of heretics it is said: "There must be heresies, that those who are approved among you may be manifested." (2) Go on, then, with your objections to the Old Testament Scriptures! Go on, ye servants of Ham! You have despised the flesh from which you were born when uncovered. For you could not have called yourselves Christians unless Christ had come into the world, as foretold by the prophets, and had drunk of His own vine that cup which could not pass from Him, and had slept in His passion, as in the drunkenness of the folly which is wiser than men; and so, in the hidden counsel of God, the disclosure had been made of that infirmity of mortal flesh which is stronger than men. For unless the Word of God had taken on Himself this infirmity, the name of Christian, in which you also glory, would not exist in the earth. Go on, then, as I have said. Declare in mockery what we may honor with reverence. Let the Church use yon as her servants to make manifest those members who are approved. So particular are the predictions of the prophets regarding the state and the sufferings of the Church, that we can find a place even for you in what is said of the destructive error by which the reprobate are to perish, while the approved are to be manifested.

25. You say that Christ was not foretold by the prophets of Israel, when, in fact, their Scriptures teem with such predictions, if you would only examine them carefully, instead of treating them with levity. Who in Abraham leaves his country and kindred that he may become rich and prosperous among strangers, but He who, leaving the land and country of the Jews, of whom He was born in the flesh, is now extending His power, as we see, among the Gentiles? Who in Isaac carried the wood for His own sacrifice, but He who carried His own cross? Who is the ram for sacrifice, caught by the horns in a. bush, but He who was fastened to the cross as an offering for us?

26. Who in the angel striving with Jacob, on the one hand is constrained to give him a blessing, as the weaker to the stronger, the conquered to the conqueror, and on the other hand puts his thigh-bone out of joint, but He who, when He suffered the people of

Israel to prevail against Him, blessed those among them who believed, while the multitude, like Jacob's thigh- bone, halted in their carnality? Who is the stone placed under Jacob's head, but Christ the head of man? And in its anointing the very name of Christ is expressed, for, as all know, Christ means anointed. Christ refers to this in the Gospel, and declares it to be a type of Himself, when He said of Nathanael that he was an Israelite indeed, in whom was no guile, and when Nathanael, resting his head, as it were, on this Stone, or on Christ, confessed Him as the Son of God and the King of Israel anointing the Stone by his confession, in which he acknowledged Jesus to be Christ. On this occasion the Lord made appropriate mention of what Jacob saw in his dream "Verily I say unto you, Ye shall see heaven opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man." (1) This Jacob saw, who in the blessing was called Israel, when he had the stone for a pillow, and had the vision of the ladder reaching from earth to heaven, on which the angels of God were ascending and descending. (2) The angels denote the evangelists, or preachers of Christ. They ascend when they rise above the created universe to describe the supreme majesty of the divine nature of Christ as being in the beginning God with God, by whom all things were made. They descend to tell of His being made of a woman, made under the law, that He might redeem them that were under the law. Christ is the ladder reaching from earth to heaven, or from the carnal to the spiritual: for by His assistance the carnal ascend to spirituality; and the spiritual may be said to descend to nourish the carnal with milk when they cannot speak to them as to spiritual, but as to carnal. (3) There is thus both an ascent and a descent upon the Son of man. For the Son of man is above as our head, being Himself the Saviour; and He is below in His body, the Church. He is the ladder, for He says, "I am the way." We ascend to Him to see Him in heavenly places; we descend to Him for the nourishment of His weak members. And the ascent and descent are by Him as well as to Him. Following His example, those who preach Him not only rise to behold Him exalted, but let themselves down to give a plain announcement of the truth. So the apostle ascends, "Whether we be beside ourselves, it is to God;" and descends, "Whether we be sober, it is for your sake." And by whom did he ascend and descend? "For the love of Christ constraineth us: for we thus judge, that if one died for all, then all died; and that He died for all, that they which live should no longer live unto themselves, but unto Him that died for them, and rose again." (4)

27. The man who does not find pleasure in these views of sacred Scripture is turned away to fables, because he cannot bear sound doctrine. The fables have an attraction for childish minds in people of all ages; but we who are of the body of Christ should say with the Psalmist; "O Lord, the wicked have spoken to me pleasing things, but they are not after Thy law." (5) In every page of these Scriptures, while I pursue my search as a son of Adam in the sweat of my brow, Christ either openly or covertly meets and refreshes me. Where the discovery is laborious my ardor is increased, and the spoil obtained is eagerly devoured, and is hidden in my heart for my nourishment.

28. Christ appears to me in Joseph, who was persecuted and sold by his brethren, and after his troubles obtained honor in Egypt. We have seen the troubles of Christ in the world, of which Egypt was a figure, in the sufferings of the martyrs. And now we see the honor of Christ in the same world which He subdues to Himself, in exchange for the food which He bestows. Christ appears to me in the rod of Moses, which became a serpent when cast on the earth as a figure of His death, which came from the serpent.

Again, when caught by the tail it became a rod, as a figure of His return after the accomplishment of His work in His resurrection to what He was before, destroying death by His new life, so as to leave no trace of the serpent. We, too, who are His body, glide along in the same mortality through the folds of time; but when at last the tail of this course of things is laid hold of by the hand of judgment that it shall go no further, we shall be renewed, and rising from the destruction of death, the last enemy, we shall be the sceptre of government in the right hand of God.

29. Of the departure of Israel from Egypt, let us hear what the apostle himself says: "I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea, and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink of the same spiritual drink. For they drank of the spiritual rock which followed them, and that rock was Christ." (6)

The explanation of one thing is a key to the rest. For if the rock is Christ from its stability, is not the manna Christ, the living bread which came down from heaven, which gives spiritual life to those who truly feed on it? The Israelites died because they received the figure only in its carnal sense. The apostle, by calling it spiritual food, shows its reference to Christ, as the spiritual drink is explained by the words, "That rock was Christ," which explain the whole. Then is not the cloud and the pillar Christ, who by His uprightness and strength supports our feebleness; who shines by night and not by day, that they who see not may see, and that they who see may be made blind? In the clouds and the Red Sea there is the baptism consecrated by the blood of Christ. The enemies following behind perish, as past sins are put away.

30. The Israelites are led through the wilderness, as those who are baptized are in the wilderness while on the way to the promised land, hoping and patiently waiting for that which they see not. In the wilderness are severe trials, lest they should in heart return to Egypt. Still Christ does not leave them the pillar does not go away. The bitter waters are sweetened by wood, as hostile people become friendly by learning to honor the cross of Christ. The twelve fountains watering the seventy palm trees are a figure of apostolic grace watering the nations. As seven is mutiplied by ten, so the decalogue is fulfilled in the sevenfold operation of the Spirit. The enemy attempting to stop them in their way is overcome by Moses stretching out his hands in the figure of the cross. The deadly bites of serpents are healed by the brazen serpent, which was lifted up that they might look at it. The Lord Himself gives the explanation of this: "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in Him may not perish, but have everlasting life." (1) So in many other things we may find a protest against the obstinacy of unbelieving hearts. In the passover a lamb is killed, representing Christ, of whom it is said in the Gospel, "Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world!" (2) In the passover the bones of the lamb were not to be broken; and on the cross the bones of the Lord were not broken. The evangelist, in reference to this, quotes the words, "A bone of Him shall not be broken." (3) The posts were marked with blood to keep away destruction, as people are marked on their foreheads with the sign of the Lord's passion for their salvation. The law was given on the fiftieth day after the passover; so the Holy Spirit came on the fiftieth day after the passion of the Lord. The law is said to have been written with the finger of God; and the

Lord says of the Holy Spirit, "With the finger of God I cast out devils." (4) Such are the Scriptures in which Faustus, after shutting his eyes, declares that he can see no prediction of Christ. But we need not wonder that he should have eyes to read and yet no heart to understand, since, instead of knocking in devout faith at the door of the heavenly secret, he dares to act in profane hostility. So let it be, for so it ought to be. Let the gate of salvation be shut to the proud. The meek, to whom God teaches His ways, will find all these things in the Scriptures, and those things which he does not see he will believe from what he sees.

31. He will see Jesus leading the people into the land of promise; for this name was given to the leader of Israel, not at first, or by chance, but on account of the work to which he was called. He will see the cluster from the land of promise hanging from a wooden pole. He will see in Jericho, as in this perishing world, an harlot, one of those of whom the Lord says that they go before the proud into the kingdom of heaven, putting out of her window a scarlet line symbolical of blood, as confession is made with the mouth for the remission of sins. He will see the walls of Jericho, like the frail defences of the world, fall when compassed seven times by the ark of the covenant; as now in the course. of the seven days of time the covenant of God compasses the whole globe, that in the end, death, the last enemy, may be destroyed, and the Church, like one single house, be saved from the destruction of the ungodly, purified from the defilement of fornication by the window of confession in the blood of remission.

32. He will see the times of the judges precede those of the kings, as the judgment will precede the kingdom. And under both the judges and the kings he will see Christ and the Church repeatedly prefigured in many and various ways. Who was in Samson, when he killed the lion that met him as he went to get a wife among strangers, but He who, when going to call His Church from among the Gentiles, said, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world?" (5) What means the hive in the mouth of the slain lion, but that, as we see, the very laws of the earthly kingdom which once raged against Christ have now lost their fierceness, and have become a protection for the preaching of gospel sweetness? What is that woman boldly piercing the temples of the enemy with a wooden nail, but the faith of the Church casting down the kingdom of the devil by the cross of Christ? What is the fleece wet while the ground was dry, and again the fleece dry while the ground was wet, but the Hebrew nation at first possessing alone in its typical institution Christ the mystery of God, while the whole world was in ignorance? And now the whole world has this mystery revealed, while the Jews are destitute of it.

33. To mention only a few things in the times of the kings, at the very outset does not the change in the priesthood when Eli was rejected and Samuel chosen, and in the kingdom when Saul was rejected and David chosen, clearly predict the new priesthood and kingdom to come in our Lord Jesus Christ, when the old, which was a shadow of the new, was rejected? Did not David, when he ate the shew-bread, which it was not lawful for any but the priests to eat, prefigure the union of the kingdom and priesthood in one person, Jesus Christ? In the separation of the ten tribes from the temple while two were left, is there not a figure of what the apostle asserts of the whole nation: "A remnant is saved by the election of grace."? (1)

34. In the time of famine, Elijah is fed by ravens bringing bread in the morning and flesh

in the evening; but the Manichćans cannot in this perceive Christ, who, as it were, hungers for our salvation, and to whom sinners come in confession, having now the first-fruits of the Spirit, while in the end, that is to say in the evening of the age, they will have the resurrection of their bodies also. Elijah is sent to be fed by a widow woman of another nation, who was going to gather two sticks before she died, denoting the two wooden beams of the cross. Her meal and oil are blessed, as the fruit and cheerfulness of charity do not diminish by expenditure, for God loveth a cheerful giver. (2)

35. The children that mocked Elisha by calling out Baldhead, are devoured by wild beasts, as those who in childish folly scoff at Christ crucified on Calvary are destroyed by devils. Elisha sends his servants to lay his staff on the dead body, but it does not revive; he comes himself, and lays himself exactly upon the dead body, and it revives: as the Word of God sent the law by His servant, without any profit to mankind dead in sins; and yet it was not sent without purpose by Him who knew the necessity of its being first sent. Then He Himself came, conformed Himself to us by participation in our death, and we were revived. When they were cutting down wood with axes, the iron, flying off the wood, sank to the bottom of the river, and came up again when the wood was thrown in by Elisha. So, when Christ's bodily presence was cutting down the unfruitful trees among the unbelieving Jews, according to the saying of John, "Behold, the axe is laid to the roots of the tree," (3) by the death they inflicted, Christ was separated from His body, and descended to the depths of the infernal world; and then, when His body was laid in the tomb, like the wood on the water, His spirit returned, like the iron to the handle, and He rose. The reader will observe how many things of this kind are omitted for the sake of brevity.

36. As regards the departure to Babylon, where the Spirit of God by the prophet Jeremiah enjoins them to go, telling them to pray for the people in whose land they dwell as strangers, because in their peace they would find peace, and to build houses, and plant vineyards and gardens,--the figurative meaning is plain, when we consider that the true Israelites, in whom is no guile, passed over in the ministry of the apostles with the ordinances of the gospel into the kingdom of the Gentiles. So the apostle, like an echo of Jeremiah, says to us, "I will first of all that prayer, supplications, intercessions and giving of thanks be made for all men, and for those in authority, that we may live a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and charity; for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth." (4) Accordingly the basilicas of Christian congregations have been built by believers as abodes of peace, and vineyards of the faithful have been renewed, and gardens planted, where chief among the plants is the mustard tree, in whose wide-spreading branches the pride of the Gentiles, like the birds of heaven, in its soaring ambition, takes shelter. Again, in the return from captivity after seventy years, according to Jeremiah's prophecy, and in the restoration of the temple, every believer in Christ must see a figure of our return as the Church of God from the exile of this world to the heavenly Jerusalem, after the seven days of time have fulfilled their course. Joshua the high priest, after the captivity, who rebuilt the temple, was a figure of Jesus Christ, the true High Priest of our restoration. The prophet Zechariah saw this Joshua in a filthy garment; and after the devil who stood by to accuse him was defeated, the filthy garment was taken from him, and a dress of honor and glory given him. So the body of Jesus Christ, which is the Church, when the adversary is conquered

in the judgment at the end of the world, will pass from the pains of exile to the glory of everlasting safety. This is the song of the Psalmist at the dedication of his house: "Thou hast turned for me my mourning into gladness; Thou hast removed my sackcloth, and girded me with gladness, that my glory may sing praise unto Thee, and not be silent." (1)

37. It is impossible, in a digression like this, to refer, however briefly, to all the figurative predictions of Christ which are to be found in the law and the prophets. Will it be said that these things happened in the regular course of things, and that it is a mere ingenious fancy to make them typical of Christ? Such an objection might come from Jews and Pagans; but those who wish to be considered Christians must yield to the authority of the apostle when he says, "All these things happened to them for an example;" and again, "These things are our examples." (2) For if two men, Ishmael and Isaac, are types of the two covenants, can it be supposed that there is no significance in the vast number of particulars which have no historical or natural value? Suppose we were to see some Hebrew characters written on the wall of a noble building, should we be so foolish as to conclude that, because we cannot understand the characters, they are not intended to be read, and are mere painting, without any meaning? So, whoever with a candid mind reads all these things that are contained in the Old Testament Scriptures, must feel constrained to acknowledge that they have a meaning.

38. As an example of those particulars which have no meaning at all if not a symbolical one: Granting that it was necessary that woman should be made as an help meet for man, what natural reason can be assigned for her being taken from his side while he slept? Granting that an ark was required in order to escape from the flood, why should it have precisely these dimensions, and why should they be recorded for the devout study of future generations? Granting that the animals were brought into the ark to preserve the various races, why should there be seven clean and two unclean? Granting that the ark must have a door, why should it be in the side, and why should this fact be committed to writing? Abraham is commanded to sacrifice his son: we may allow that this proof of his obedience was required in order to make it conspicuous in all ages; we may allow, too, that it was a proper thing for the son to carry the wood instead of the aged father, and that in the end the fatal stroke was forbidden, lest the father should be left childless. But what had the shedding of the ram's blood to do with Abraham's trial? or if it was necessary to complete the sacrifice, was the ram any the better of being caught by the horns in a bush? The human mind, that is to say, a rational mind, is led by the consideration of the way in which these apparently superfluous things are blended with what is necessary, first to acknowledge their significance, and then to try to discover it.

39. The Jews themselves, who scoff at the crucified Saviour in whom we believe, and who consequently will not allow that Christ is predicted in the sayings and actions recorded in the Old Testament, are compelled to come to us for an explanation of those things which, if not explained, must appear trifling and ridiculous. This led Philo, a Jew of great learning, whom the Greeks speak of as rivalling Plato in eloquence, to attempt to explain some things without any reference to Christ, in whom he did not believe. His attempt only shows the inferiority of all ingenious speculations, when made without keeping Christ in view, to whom all the predictions really point. So true is that saying of

the apostle: "When they shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away." (3) For instance, Noah's ark is, according to Philo, a type of the human body, member by member: with this view, he shows that the numerical proportions agree perfectly. For there is no reason why a type of Christ should not be a type of the human body, too, since the Saviour of mankind appeared in a human body, though what is typical of a human body is not necessarily typical of Christ. Philo's explanation fills, however, as regards the door in the side of the ark. He actually, for the sake of saying something, makes this door represent the lower apertures of the body. He has the hardihood to put this in words, and on paper. Indeed, he knew not the door and could not understand the symbol. Had he turned to Christ the veil would have been taken away, and he would have found the sacraments of the Church flowing from the side of Christ's human body. For, according to the announcement, "They two shall be one flesh," some things in the ark which is a type of Christ, refer to Christ, and some to the Church. This contrast between the explanations which keep Christ in view, and all other ingenious perversions, is the same in every particular of all the figures in Scripture.

40. The Pagans, too, cannot deny our right to give a figurative meaning to both words and things, especially as we can point to the fulfillment of the types and figures. For the Pagans themselves try to find in their own fables figures of natural and religious truth. Sometimes they give clear explanations, while at other times they disguise their meaning, and what is sacred in the temples becomes a jest in the theatres. They unite a disgraceful licentiousness to a degrading superstition.

41. Besides this wonderful agreement between the types and the things typified, the adversary may be convinced by plain prophetic intimations, such as this: "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed." This was said to Abraham, (1) and again to Isaac, (2) and again to Jacob. (3) Hence the significance of the words "I am the God of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob." (4) God fulfills His promise to their seed in blessing all nations. With a like significance, Abraham himself, when he made his servant swear, told him to put his hand under his thigh; (5) for he knew that thence would come the flesh of Christ, in whom we have now, not the promise of blessing to all nations, but the promise fulfilled.

42. I should like to know, or rather, it would be well not to know, with what blindness of mind Faustus reads the passage where Jacob calls his sons, and says, "Assemble, that I may tell you the things that are to happen in the last day. Assemble and hear, ye sons of Jacob; give ear to Israel, your father." Surely these are the words of a prophet. What, then, does he say of his son Judah, of whose tribe Christ came of the seed of David according to the flesh, as the apostle teaches ? "Judah," he says, "thy brethren shall praise thee: thy hand shall be upon the backs of thine enemies; the sons of thy father shall bow down to thee. Judah is a lion's whelp; my son and offspring: bowing down, thou hast gone up: thou sleepest as a lion, and as a young lion, who will rouse him up? A prince shall not depart from Judah, nor a leader from his loins, till those things come which have been laid up for him. He also is the desire of nations: binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt with sackcloth, he shall wash his garment in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes: his eyes are bright with wine, and his teeth whiter than milk." (6) There is no falsehood or obscurity in these words when we read them in the clear light of Christ. We see His brethren the apostles and all His joint-heirs praising Him, seeking, not their own glory, but His. We see His hands on the backs of His

enemies, who are bent and bowed to the earth by the growth of the Christian communities in spite of their opposition. We see Him worshipped by the sons of Jacob, the remnant saved according to the election of grace. Christ, who was born as an infant, is the lion's whelp, as it is added, My son and offspring, to show why this whelp, in whose praise it is said, "The lion's whelp is stronger than the herd," (7) is even in infancy stronger than its elders. We see Christ ascending the cross, and bowing down when He gave up His spirit. We see Him sleeping as a lion, because in death itself He was not the conquered, but the conqueror, and as a lion's whelp; for the reason of His birth and of His death was the same. And He is raised from the dead by Him whom no man hath seen or can see; for the words, "Who will raise Him up?" point to an unknown power. A prince did not depart from Judah, nor a leader from his loins, till in due time those things came which had been laid up in the promise. For we learn from the authentic history of the Jews themselves, that Herod, under whom Christ was born, was their first foreign king. So the sceptre did not depart from the seed of Judah till the things laid up for him came. Then, as the promise is not only to the believing Jews, it is added: "He is the desire of the nations." Christ bound His foal--that is, His people--to the vine, when He preached in sackcloth, crying, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." The Gentiles made subject to Him are represented by the ass's colt, on which He also sat, leading it into Jerusalem, that is, the vision of peace teaching the meek His ways. We see Him washing His garments in wine; for He is one with the glorious Church, which He presents to Himself, not having spot or wrinkle; to whom also it is said by Isaiah: "Though your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as snow." (8) How is this done but by the remission of sins? And the wine is none other than that of which it is said that it is "shed for many, for the remission of sins." Christ is the cluster that hung on the pole. So it is added, " and His clothes in the blood of the grape." Again, what is said of His eyes being bright with wine, is understood by those members of His body who are enabled, in holy aberration of mind from the current of earthly things, to gaze on the eternal light of wisdom. So Paul says in a passage quoted before: "If we be beside ourselves, it is to God." Those are the eyes bright with wine. But he adds: "If we be sober, it is for your sakes." The babes needing to be fed with milk are not forgotten, as is denoted by the words, "His teeth are whiter than milk."

43. What can our deluded adversaries say to such plain examples, which leave no room for perverse denial, or even for sceptical uncertainty? I call on the Manichaeans to begin to inquire into these subjects, and to admit the force of these evidences, on which I have no time to dwell; nor do I wish to make a selection, in case the ignorant reader should think there are no others, while the Christian student might blame me for the omission of many points more striking than those which occur to me at the moment. You will find many passages which require no such explanation as has been given here of Jacob's prophecy. For instance, every reader can understand the words, "He was led as a lamb to the slaughter," and the whole of that plain prophecy, "With His stripes we are healed" --" He bore our sins." (1) We have a poetical gospel in the words: "They pierced my hands and feet. They have told all my bones. They look and stare upon me. They divided my garments among them, and cast lots on my vesture." (2) The blind even may now see the fulfillment of the words: "All the ends of the earth shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all kingdoms of the nations shall worship before Him." The words in the Gospel, "My soul is sorrowful, even unto death," "My soul is troubled," are a repetition of the words in the Psalm, "I slept in trouble." (3) And who made Him sleep?

Whose voices cried, Crucify him, crucify him? The Psalm tells us: "The sons of men, their teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword." (4) But they could not prevent His resurrection, or His ascension above the heavens, or His filling the earth with the glory of His name; for the Psalm says: "Be Thou exalted, O God, above the heavens, and let Thy glory be above all the earth." Every one must apply these words to Christ: "The Lord said unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee. Ask of me, and I will give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession." (5) And what Jeremiah says of wisdom plainly applies to Christ: "Jacob delivered it to his son, and Israel to his chosen one. Afterwards He appeared on earth, and conversed with men." (6)

44. The same Saviour is spoken of in Daniel, where the Son of man appears before the Ancient of days, and receives a kingdom without end, that all nations may serve Him. (7) In the passage quoted from Daniel by the Lord Himself, "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place, let him that readeth understand," (3) the number of weeks points not only to Christ, but to the very time of His advent. With the Jews, who look to Christ for salvation as we do, but deny that He has come and suffered, we can argue from actual events. Besides the conversion of the heathen, now so universal, as prophesied of Christ in their own Scriptures, there are the events in the history of the Jews themselves. Their holy place is thrown down, the sacrifice has ceased, and the priest, and the ancient anointing; which was all clearly foretold by Daniel when he prophesied of the anointing of the Most Holy. (9) Now, that all these things have taken place, we ask the Jews for the anointed Most Holy, and they have no answer to give. But it is from the Old Testament that the Jews derive all the knowledge they have of Christ and His advent. Why do they ask John whether he is Christ? Why do they say to the Lord, 'How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou art the Christ, tell us plainly." Why do Peter and Andrew and Philip say to Nathanael, "We have found Messias, which is interpreted Christ," but because this name was known to them from the prophecies of their Scriptures? In no other nation were the kings and priests anointed, and called Anointed or Christs. Nor could this symbolical anointing be discontinued till the coming of Him who was thus prefigured. For among all their anointed ones the Jews looked for one who was to save them. But in the mysterious justice of God they were blinded; and thinking only of the power of the Messiah, they did not understand His weakness, in which He died for us. In the book of Wisdom it is prophesied of the Jews: "Let us condemn him to an ignominious death; for he will be proved in his words. If he is truly the Son of God, He will aid him; and deliver him from the hand of his enemies. Thus they thought, and erred; for their wickedness blinded them." (1) These words apply also to those who, in spite of all these evidences, in spite of such a series of prophecies, and of their fulfillment, still deny that Christ is foretold in the Scriptures. As often as they repeat this denial, we can produce fresh proofs, with the help of Him who has made such provision against human perversity, that proofs already given need not be repeated.

45. Faustus has an evasive objection, which he no doubt thinks a most ingenious way of eluding the force of the clearest evidence of prophecy, but of which one is unwilling to take any notice, because answering it may give it an appearance of importance which it does not really possess. What could be more irrational than to say that it is weak faith which will not believe in Christ without evidence? Do our adversaries, then, believe in

testimony about Christ? Faustus wishes us to believe the voice from heaven as distinguished from human testimony. But did they hear this voice? Has not the knowledge of it come to us through human testimony? The apostle describes the transmission of this knowledge, when he says: "How shall they call on Him on whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe on Him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent? As it is written, "How beautiful are the feet of them who publish peace, who bring good tidings!" (2) Clearly, in the preaching of the apostles there was a reference to prophetic testimony. The apostles quoted the predictions of the prophets, to prove the truth and importance of their doctrines. For although their preaching was accompanied with the power of working miracles, the miracles would have been ascribed to magic, as some even now venture to insinuate, unless the apostles had shown that the authority of the prophets was in their favor. The testimony of prophets who lived so long before could not be ascribed to magical arts. Perhaps the reason why Faustus will not have us believe the Hebrew prophets as witnesses of the true Christ, is because he believes Persian heresies about a false Christ.

46. According to the teaching of the Catholic Church, the Christian mind must first be nourished in simple faith, in order that it may become capable of understanding things heavenly and eternal. Thus it is said by the prophet: "Unless ye believe, ye shall not understand." (3) Simple faith is that by which, before we attain to the height of the knowledge of the love of Christ, that we may be filled with all the fullness of God, we believe that not without reason was the dispensation of Christ's humiliation, in which He was born and suffered as man, foretold so long before by the prophets through a prophetic race, a prophetic people, a prophetic kingdom. This faith teaches us, that in the foolishness which is wiser than men, and in the weakness which is stronger than men, is contained the hidden means of our justification and glorification. There are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, which are opened to no one who despises the nourishment transmitted through the breast of his mother that is, the milk of apostolic and prophetic instruction; or who, thinking himself too old for infantile nourishment, devours heretical poison instead of the food of wisdom, for which he rashly thought himself prepared. To require simple faith is quite consistent with requiring faith in the prophets. The very use of simple faith is to believe the prophets at the outset, while the understanding of the person who speaks in the prophets is attained after the mind has been purified and strengthened.

47. But, it is said, if the prophets foretold Christ, they did not live in a way becoming their office. How can you tell whether they did or not? You are bad judges of what it is to live well or ill, whose justice consists in giving relief to an inanimate melon by eating it, instead of giving food to the starving beggar. It is enough for the babes in the Catholic Church, who do not yet know the perfect justice of the human soul, and the difference between the justice aimed at and that actually attained, to think of those men according to the wholesome doctrine of the apostles, that the just lives by faith. "Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness. For the scripture, fore-seeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thy seed shall all nations be blessed." (4) These are the words of the apostle. If you would, at his clear well-known voice, wake up from your unprofitable dreams, you would follow in the footsteps of our father Abraham, and would be blessed, along with

all nations, in his seed. For, as the apostle says, "He received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had, yet being uncircumcised, that he might be the father of all that believe in un-circumcision; that he might be the father of circumcision not only to those who are of the circumcision, but also to those who follow the footsteps of the faith of our father Abraham in uncircumcision." (1) Since the righteousness of Abraham's faith is thus set forth as an example to us, that we too, being justified by faith, may have peace with God, we ought to understand his manner of life, without finding fault with it; lest, by a premature separation from mother-Church, we prove abortions, instead of being brought forth in due time, when the conception has arrived at completeness.

48. This is a brief reply to Faustus in behalf of the character of the patriarchs and prophets. It is the reply of the babes of our faith, among whom I would reckon myself, inasmuch as I would not find fault with the life of the ancient saints, even if I did not understand its mystical character. Their life is proclaimed to us with approval by the apostles in their Gospel, as they themselves in their prophecy foretold the future apostles, that the two Testaments, like the seraphim, might cry to one another, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of hosts." (2) When Faustus, instead of the vague general accusation which he makes here, condemns particular actions in the lives of the patriarchs and the prophets, the Lord their God, and ours also, will assist me to reply suitably and appropriately to the separate charges. For the present, the reader must choose whether to believe the commendation of the Apostle Paul or the accusations of Faustus the Manichćn. (3)

BOOK XIII.

FAUSTUS ASSERTS THAT EVEN IF THE OLD TESTAMENT COULD BE SHOWN TO CONTAIN PREDICTIONS, IT WOULD BE OF INTEREST ONLY TO THE JEWS, PAGAN LITERATURE SUBSERVING THE SAME PURPOSE FOR GENTILES. AUGUSTIN SHOWS THE VALUE OF PROPHESY FOR GENTILES AND JEWS ALIKE.

1. FAUSTUS said: We are asked how we worship Christ when we reject the prophets, who declared the promise of His advent. It is doubtful whether, on examination, it can be shown that the Hebrew prophets foretold our Christ, that is, the Son of God. But were it so, what does it matter to us? these testimonies of the prophets that you speak of were the means of converting any one from Judaism to Christianity, and if he should afterwards neglect these prophets, he would certainly be in the wrong, and would be chargeable with ingratitude. But we are by nature Gentiles, of the uncircumcision; as Paul says, born under another law. Those whom the Gentiles call poets were our first religious teachers, and from them we were afterwards converted to Christianity. We did not first become Jews, so as to reach Christianity through faith in their prophets; but were attracted solely by the fame, and the virtues, and the wisdom of our liberator Jesus

Christ. If I were still in the religion of my fathers, and a preacher were to come using the prophets as evidence in favor of Christianity, I should think him mad for attempting to support what is doubtful by what is still more doubtful to a Gentile of another religion altogether. He would require first to persuade me to believe the prophets, and then through the prophets to believe Christ. And to prove the truth of the prophets, other prophets would be necessary. For if the prophets bear witness to Christ, who bears witness to the prophets? You will perhaps say that Christ and the prophets mutually support each other. But a Pagan, who has nothing to do with either, would believe neither the evidence of Christ to the prophets, nor that of the prophets to Christ. If the Pagan becomes a Christian, he has to thank his own faith, and nothing else. Let us, for the sake of illustration, suppose ourselves conversing with a Gentile inquirer. We tell him to believe in Christ, because He is God. He asks for proof. We refer him to the prophets. He asks, What prophets? We reply, The Hebrew. He smiles, and says that he does not believe them. We remind him that Christ testifies to them. He replies, laughing, that we must first make him believe in Christ. The result of such a conversation is that we are silenced, and the inquirer departs, thinking us more zealous than wise. Again, I say, the Christian Church, which consists more of Gentiles than of Jews, can owe nothing to Hebrew witnesses. If, as is said, any prophecies of Christ are to be found in the Sibyl, (1) or in Hermes, (2) called Trismegistus, or Orpheus, or any heathen poet, they might aid the faith of those who, like us, are converts from heathenism to Christianity. But the testimony of the Hebrews is useless to us before conversion, for then we cannot believe them; and superfluous after, for we believe without them.

2. AUGUSTIN replied: After the long reply of last book, a short answer may suffice here. To one who has read that reply, it must seem insanity in Faustus to persist in denying that Christ was foretold by the Hebrew prophets, when the Hebrew nation was the only one in which the name Christ had a peculiar sacredness as applied to kings and priests; in which sense it continued to be applied till the coming of Him whom those kings and priests typified. Where did the Manichaean learn the name of Christ? If from Manichaeus, it is very strange that Africans, not to speak of others, should believe the Persian Manichaeus, since Faustus finds fault with the Romans and Greeks, and other Gentiles, for believing the Hebrew prophets as belonging to another race. According to Faustus, the predictions of the Sibyl, or Orpheus, or any heathen poet, are more suitable for leading Gentiles to believe in Christ. He forgets that none of these are read in the churches, whereas the voice of the Hebrew prophets, sounding everywhere, draws swarms of people to Christianity. When it is so evident that men are everywhere led to Christ by the Hebrew prophets, it is great absurdity to say that those prophets are not suitable for the Gentiles.

3. Christ as foretold by the Hebrew prophets does not please you; but this is the Christ in whom the Gentile nations believe, with whom, according to you, Hebrew prophecy should have no weight. They receive the gospel which, as Paul says, "God had promised before by His prophets in the Holy Scriptures of His Son, who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh." (3) So we read in Isaiah: "There shall be a Root of Jesse, which shall rise to reign in the nations; in Him shall the Gentiles trust." (4) And again: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and they shall call His name Emmanuel," (5) which is, being interpreted, God with us. Nor let the Manichaean think that Christ is foretold only as a man by the Hebrew prophets; for this is what

Faustus seems to insinuate when he says, "Our Christ is the Son of God," as if the Christ of the Hebrews was not the Son of God. We can prove Christ the virgin's son of Hebrew prophecy to be God. For the Lord Himself teaches the carnal Jews not to think that, because He is foretold as the son of David, He is therefore no more than that. He asks: "What think ye of Christ? Whose son is He?" They reply: "Of David." Then, to remind them of the name Emmanuel, God with us, He says: "How does David in the Spirit call Him Lord, saying, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou at my right hand, till I make Thine enemies Thy footstool? " (6) Here, then, Christ appears as God in Hebrew prophecy. What prophecy can the Manichaeans show with the name of Christ in it?

4. Manichaeus indeed was not a prophet of Christ, but calls himself an apostle, which is a shameless falsehood; for it is well known that this heresy began not only after Tertullian, but after Cyprian. In all his letters Manichaeus begins thus: "Manichaeus, an apostle of Jesus Christ." Why do you be lieve what Manichaeus says of Christ? What evidence does he give of his apostleship? This very name of Christ is known to us only from the Jews, who, in their application of it 'to their kings and priests, were not individually, but nationally, prophets of Christ and Christ's kingdom. What right has he to use this name, who forbids you to believe the Hebrew prophets, that he may make you the heretical disciples of a false Christ, as he himself is a false and heretical apostle? And if Faustus quotes as evidence in his own support some prophets who, according to him, foretell Christ, how will he satisfy his supposed inquirer, who will not believe either the prophets or Faustus? Will he take our apostles as witnesses? Unless he can find some apostles in life, he must read their writings; and these are all against him. They teach our doctrine that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, that He was the Son of God, of the seed of David according to the flesh. He cannot pretend that the writings have been tampered with, for that would be to attack the credit of his own witnesses. Or if he produces his own manuscripts of the apostolic writings, he must also obtain for them the authority of the churches founded by the apostles themselves, by showing that they have been preserved and transmitted with their sanction. It will be difficult for a man to make me believe him on the evidence of writings which derive all their authority from his own word, which I do not believe.

5. But perhaps you believe the common report about Christ. Faustus makes a feeble suggestion of this kind as a last resource, to escape being obliged either to produce his worthless authorities, or to come under the power of those opposed to him. Well, if report is your authority, you should consider the consequences of trusting to such evidence. There are many bad things reported of you which you do not wish people to believe. Is it reasonable to make the same evidence true about Christ and false about yourselves? In fact, you deny the common report about Christ. For the report most widely spread, and which every one has heard repeated, is that which distinctly asserts that Christ was born of the seed of David, according to the promise made in the Hebrew Scriptures to Abraham and Isaac and Jacob: "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed." You will not admit this Hebrew testimony, but you do not seem to have any other. The authority of our books, which is confirmed by the agreement of so many nations, supported by a succession of apostles, bishops, and councils, is against you. Your books have no authority, for it is an authority maintained by only a few, and these the worshippers of an untruthful God and Christ. If they are not following the example of the beings they worship, their testimony must be against their own false doctrine. And, once

more, common report gives a very bad account of you, and invariably asserts, in opposition to you, that Christ was of the seed of David. You did not hear the voice of the Father from heaven. You did not see the works by which Christ bore witness to Himself. The books which tell of these things you profess to receive, that you may maintain a delusive appearance of Christianity; but when anything is quoted against you, you say that the books have been tampered with. You quote the passage where Christ says, "If ye believe not me, believe the works;" and again, "I am one that bear witness of myself, and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me;" but you will not let us quote in reply such passages as these: "Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think that ye have eternal life, and they are they that testify of me;" "If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me, for he wrote of me;" "They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them;" "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe though one rose from the dead." What have you to say for yourselves? Where is your authority? If you reject these passages of Scripture, in spite of the weighty authority in their favor, what miracles can you show? However, if you did work miracles, we should be on our guard against receiving their evidence in your case; for the Lord has forewarned us: "Many false Christs and false prophets shall arise, and shall do many signs and wonders, that they may deceive, if it were possible, the very elect: behold, I have told you before." (1) This shows that the established authority of Scripture must outweigh every other; for it derives new confirmation from the progress of events which happen, as Scripture proves, in fulfillment of the predictions made so long before their occurrence.

6. Are, then, your doctrines so manifestly true, that they require no support from miracles or from any testimony? Show us these self-evident truths, if you have anything of the kind to show. Your legends, as we have already seen, are long and silly, old wives fables for the amusement of women and children. The beginning is detached from the rest, the middle is unsound, and the end is a miserable failure. If you begin with the immortal, invisible, incorruptible God, what need was there of His fighting with the race of darkness? And as for the middle of your theory, what becomes of the incorruptibility and unchangeableness of God, when His members in fruits and vegetables are purified by your mastication and digestion? And for the end, is it just that the wretched soul should be punished with lasting confinement in the mass of darkness, because its God is unable to cleanse it of the defilement contracted from evil external to itself in the fulfillment of His own commission? You are at a loss for a reply. See the worthlessness of your boasted manuscripts, numerous and valuable as you say they are! Alas for the toils of the antiquaries! Alas for the property of the unhappy owners! Alas for the food of the deluded followers! Destitute as you are of Scripture authority, of the power of miracles, of moral excellence, and of sound doctrine, depart ashamed, and return penitent, confessing that true Christ, who is the Saviour of all who believe in Him, whose name and whose Church are now displayed as they were of old foretold, not by some being issuing from subterranean darkness, but by a nation in a distinct kingdom established for this purpose, that there those things might be figuratively predicted of Christ which are now in reality fulfilled, and the prophets might foretell in writing what the apostles now exhibit in their preaching.

7. Let us suppose, then, a conversation with a heathen inquirer, in which Faustus described us as making a poor appearance, though his own appearance was much more deplorable. If we say to the heathen, Believe in Christ, for He is God, and, on his

asking for evidence, produce the authority of the prophets, if he says that he does not believe the prophets, because they are Hebrew and he is a Gentile, we can prove the truth of the prophets from the actual fulfillment of their prophecies. He could scarcely be ignorant of the persecutions suffered by the early Christians from the kings of this world; or if he was ignorant, he Could be informed from history and the records of imperial laws. But this is what we find foretold long ago by the prophet, saying, "Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the princes take counsel together against the Lord, and against His Christ." The rest of the Psalm shows that this is not said of David. For what follows might convince the most stubborn unbeliever: "The Lord said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee. Ask of me, and I will give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for Thy possession." (1) This never happened to the Jews, whose king, David was, but is now plainly fulfilled in the subjection of all nations to the name of Christ. This and many similar prophecies, which it would take too long to quote, would surely impress the mind of the inquirer. He would see these very kings of the earth now happily subdued by Christ, and all nations serving Him; and he would hear the words of the Psalm in which this was so long before predicted: "All the kings of the earth shall bow down to Him; all nations shall serve Him." (2) And if he were to read the whole of that Psalm, Which is figuratively applied to Solomon, he would find that Christ is the true King of peace, for Solomon means peaceful; and he would find many things in the Psalm applicable to Christ, which have no reference at all to the literal King Solomon. Then there is that other Psalm where God is spoken of as anointed by God, the very word anointed pointing to Christ, showing that Christ is God, for God is represented as being anointed. (3) In reading what is said in this Psalm of Christ and of the Church, he would find that what is there foretold is fulfilled in the present state of the world. He would see the idols of the nations perishing from off the earth, and he would find that this is predicted by the prophets, as in Jeremiah, "Then shall ye say unto them, The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth shall perish from the earth, and from under heaven;" (4) and again, "O Lord, my strength, and my fortress, and my refuge in the day of affliction, the Gentiles shall come unto Thee from the ends of the earth, and shall say, Surely our fathers have inherited lies, vanity, and things wherein there is no profit. Shall a man make gods unto himself, and they are no gods? Therefore, behold, I will at that time cause them to know, I will cause them to know mine hand and my might; and they shall know that I am the Lord." (5) Hearing these prophecies, and seeing their actual fulfillment, I need not say that he would be affected; for we know by experience how the hearts of believers are confirmed by seeing ancient predictions now receiving their accomplishment.

8. In the same prophet the inquirer would find clear proof that Christ is not merely one of the great men that have appeared in the world. For Jeremiah goes on to say: "Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord: for he shall be like the heath in the desert, and shall not see when good cometh; but shall inhabit the parched places of the wilderness, in a salt land not inhabited. Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is: for he shall be as a tree beside the water, that spreadeth out its roots by the river: he shall not fear when heat cometh, but his leaf shall be green; he shall not be careful in the year of drought, neither shall cease from yielding fruit." (6) On hearing this curse pronounced in the figurative language of prophecy on him that trusts in man, and the

blessing in similar style on him that trusts in God, the inquirer might have doubts about our doctrine, in which we teach not only that Christ is God, so that our trust is not in man, but also that He is man because He took, our nature. So some err by denying Christ's humanity, while they allow His divinity. Others, again, assert His humanity, but deny His divinity, and so either become infidels or incur the guilt of trusting in man. The inquirer, then, might say that the prophet says only that Christ is God, without any reference to His human nature; whereas, in our apostolic doctrine, Christ is not only God in whom we may safely trust, but the Mediator between God and man--the man Jesus. The prophet explains this in the words in which he seems to check himself, and to supply the omission: "His heart," he says "is sorrowful throughout; and He is man, and who shall know Him?" (1) He is man, in order that in the form of a servant He might heal the hard in heart, and that they might acknowledge as God Him who became man for their sakes, that their trust might be not in man, but in God-man. He is man taking the form of a servant. And who shall know Him? For "He was in the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be equal to God." (2) He is man, for "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." And who shall know Him? For "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." (3) And truly His heart was sorrowful throughout. For even as regards His own disciples His heart was sorrowful, when He said, "Have I been so long time with you, and yet have ye not known me?" "Have I been so long time with you" answers to the words "He is man," and "Have ye not known me?" to "Who shall know Him?" And the person is none other but He who says, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." (4) So that our trust is not in man, to be under the curse of the prophet, but in God-man, that is, in the Son of God, the Saviour Jesus Christ, the Mediator between God and man. In the form of a servant the Father is greater than He; in the form of God He is equal with the Father.

9. In Isaiah we read: "The pride of man shall be brought low; and the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day. And they shall hide the workmanship of their hands in the clefts of the rocks, and in dens and caves of the earth, from fear of the Lord, and from the glory of His power, when He shall arise to shake terribly the earth. For in that day a man shall cast away his idols of gold and silver, which they have made to worship, as useless and hurtful." (5) Perhaps the inquirer himself, who, as Faustus supposes, would laugh and say that he does not believe the Hebrew prophets, has hid idols made with hands in some cleft, or cave, or den. Or he may know a friend, or neighbor, or fellow-citizen who has done this from the fear of the Lord, who by the severe prohibition of the kings of the earth, now serving and bowing down to him, as the prophet predicted, shakes the earth, that is, breaks the stubborn heart of worldly men. The inquirer is not likely to disbelieve the Hebrew prophets, when he finds their predictions fulfilled, perhaps in his own person.

10. One might rather fear that the inquirer, in the midst of such copious evidence, would say that the Christians composed those writings when the events described had already begun to take place, in order that those occurrences might appear to be not due to a merely human purpose, but as if divinely foretold. One might fear this, were it not for the widely spread and widely known people of the Jews; that Cain, with the mark that he should not be killed by any one; that Ham, the servant of his brethren, carrying as a load the books for their instruction. From the Jewish manuscripts we prove that these things were not written by us to suit the event, but were long ago published and preserved as

prophecies in the Jewish nation. These prophecies are now explained in their accomplishment: for even what is obscure in them--because these things happened to them as an example, and were written for our benefit, on whom the ends of the world are come-- is now made plain; and what was hidden in the shadows of the future is now visible in the light of actual experience.

11. The inquirer might bring forward as a difficulty the fact that those in whose books these prophecies are found are not united with us in the gospel. But when convinced that this also is foretold, he would feel how strong the evidence is. The prophecies of the unbelief of the Jews no one can avoid seeing, no one can pretend to be blind to them. No one can doubt that Isaiah spoke of the Jews when he said, "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib; but Israel hath not known, and my people hath not considered ;" (6) or again, in the words quoted by the apostle, "I have stretched out my hands all the day to a wicked and gainsaying people;" (7) and especially where he says, "God has given them the spirit of remorse, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear, and should not understand," (8) and many similar passages. If the inquirer objected that it was not the fault of the Jews if God blinded them so that they did not know Christ, we should try in the simplest manner possible to make him understand that this blindness is the just punishment of other secret sins known to God. We should prove that the apostle recognizes this principle when he says of some persons, "God gave them up to the lusts of their own hearts, and to a reprobate mind, to do things not convenient;" (1) and that the prophets themselves speak of this. For, to revert to the words of Jeremiah, "He is man, and who shall know Him?" lest it should be an excuse for the Jews that they did not know,--for if they had known, as the apostle says, "they would not have crucified the Lord of glory," (2) --the prophet goes on to show that their ignorance was the result of secret criminality; for he says: "I the Lord search the heart and try the reins, to give to every one according to his ways, and according to the fruits of his doings."

12. If the next difficulty in the mind of the inquirer arose from the divisions and heresies among those called Christians, he would learn that this too is taken notice of by the prophets. For, as if it was natural that, after being satisfied about the blindness of the Jews, this objection from the divisions among Christians should occur, Jeremiah, observing this order in his prophecy, immediately adds in the passage already quoted: "The partridge is clamorous, gathering what it has not brought forth, making riches without judgment." For the partridge is notoriously quarrelsome, and is often caught from its eagerness in quarreling. So the heretics discuss not to find the truth, but with a dogged determination to gain the victory one way or another, that they may gather, as the prophet says, what they have not brought forth. For those whom they lead astray are Christians already born of the gospel, whom the Christian profession of the heretics misleads. Thus they make riches not with judgment, but with inconsiderate haste. For they do not consider that the followers whom they gather as their riches are taken from the genuine original Christian society, and deprived of its benefits; and as the apostle describes these heretics in the words: "As Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so they also resist the truth: men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. But they shall proceed no further: for their folly shall be manifest to all men, as theirs also was." (3) So the prophet goes on to say of the partridge, which gathers what it has not brought forth: "In the midst of his days they shall leave him, and in the end he shall be a fool;"

that is, he who at first misled people by a promising display of superior wisdom, shall be a fool, that is, shall be seen to be a fool. He will be seen when his folly is manifest to all men, and to those to whom he was at first a wise man he will then be a fool.

13. As if anticipating that the inquirer would ask next by what plain mark a young disciple, not yet able to distinguish the truth among so many errors, might find the true Church of Christ. since the clear fulfillment of so many predictions compelled him to believe in Christ, the prophet answers this question in what follows, and teaches that the Church of Christ, which he describes prophetically, is conspicuously visible. His words are: "A glorious high throne is our sanctuary." (4) This glorious throne is the Church of which the apostle says: "The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are." (5) The Lord also, foreseeing the conspicuousness of the Church as a help to young disciples who might be misled, says, "A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid." (6) Since, then, a glorious high throne is our sanctuary, no attention is to be paid to those who would lead us into sectarianism, saying, "Lo, here is Christ," or "Lo there." Lo here, lo there, speaks of division; but the true city is on a mountain, and the mountain is that which, as we read in the prophet Daniel, grew from a little stone till it filled the whole earth. (7) And no attention should be paid to those who, professing some hidden mystery confined to a small number, say, Behold, He is in the chamber; behold, in the desert: for a city set on an hill cannot be hid, and a glorious high throne is our sanctuary.

14. After considering these instances of the fulfillment of prophecy about kings and people acting as persecutors, and then becoming believers, about the destruction of idols, about the blindness of the Jews, about their testimony to the writings which they have preserved, about the folly of heretics, about the dignity of the Church of true and genuine Christians, the inquirer would most reasonably receive the testimony of these prophets about the divinity of Christ. No doubt, if we were to begin by urging him to believe prophecies yet unfulfilled, he might justly answer, What have I to do with these prophets, of whose truth I have no evidence? But, in view of the manifest accomplishment of so many remarkable predictions, no candid person would despise either the things which were thought worthy of being predicted in those early times with so much solemnity, or those who made the predictions. To none can we trust more safely, as regards either events long past or those still future, than to men whose words are supported by the evidence of so many notable predictions having been fulfilled.

15. If any truth about God or the Son of God is taught or predicted in the Sibyl or Sibyls, or in Orpheus, or in Hermes, if there ever was such a person, or in any other heathen poets, or theologians, or sages, or philosophers, it may be useful for the refutation of Pagan error, but cannot lead us to believe in these writers. For while they spoke, because they could not help it, of the God whom we worship, they either taught their fellow-countrymen to worship idols and demons, or allowed them to do so without daring to protest against it. But our sacred writers, with the authority and assistance of God, were the means of establishing and preserving among their people a government under which heathen customs were condemned as sacrilege. If any among this people fell into idolatry or demon-worship, they were either punished by the laws, or met by the awful denunciations of the prophets. They worshipped one God, the maker of heaven and earth They had rites; but these rites were prophetic, or symbolical of things to

come, and were to cease on the appearance of the things signified. The whole state was one great prophet, with its king and priest symbolically anointed which was discontinued, not by the wish of the Jews themselves, who were in ignorance through unbelief, but only on the coming of Him who was God, anointed with spiritual grace above His fellows, the holy of holies, the true King who should govern us, the true Priest who should offer Himself for us. In a word, the predictions of heathen ingenuity regarding Christ's coming are as different from sacred prophecy as the confession of devils from the proclamation of angels.

16. By such arguments, which might be expanded if we were discussing with one brought up in heathenism, and might be supported by proofs in still greater number, the inquirer whom Faustus has brought before us would certainly be led to believe, unless he preferred his sins to his salvation. As a believer, he would be taken to be cherished in the bosom of the Catholic Church, and would be taught in due course the conduct required of him. He would see many who do not practise the required duties; but this would not shake his faith, even though these people should belong to the same Church and partake of the same sacraments as himself. He would understand that few share in the inheritance of God, while many partake in its outward signs; that few are united in holiness of life, and in the gift of love shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit who is given to us, which is a hidden spring that no stranger can approach; and that many join in the solemnity of the sacra-merit, which he that eats and drinks un-worthily eats and drinks judgment to himself, while he who neglects to eat it shall not have life in him, (1) and so shall never reach eternal life. He will understand, too, that the good are called few as compared with the multitude of the evil, but that as scattered over the world there are very many growing among the tares, and mixed with the chaff, till the day of harvest and of purging. As this is taught in the Gospel, so is it foretold by the prophets. We read, "As a lily among thorns, so is my beloved among the daughters;" (2) and again, "I have dwelt in the tabernacles of Kedar; peaceful among them that hated peace; " (3) and again, "Mark in the forehead those who sigh and cry for the iniquities of my people, which are done in the midst of them." (4) The inquirer would be confirmed by such passages; and being now a fellow-citizen with the saints and of the household of God, no longer an alien from Israel, but an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile, would learn to utter from a guileless heart the words which follow in the passage of Jeremiah already quoted, "O Lord, the patience of Israel: let all that forsake Thee be dismayed." After speaking of the partridge that is clamorous, and gathers what it has not brought forth; and after extolling the city set on an hill which cannot be hid, to prevent heretics from drawing men away from the Catholic Church; after the words, "A glorious high throne is our sanctuary," he seems to ask himself, What do we make of all those evil men who are found mixed with the Church, and who become more numerous as the Church extends, and as all nations are united in Christ? And then follow the words, "O Lord, the patience of Israel." Patience is necessary to obey the command, "Suffer both to grow together till the harvest." (5) Impatience towards the evil might lead to forsaking the good, who in the strict sense are the body of Christ, and to forsake them would be to forsake Him. So the prophet goes on to say, "Let all that forsake Thee be dismayed; let those who have departed to the earth be confounded." The earth is man trusting in himself, and inducing others to trust in him. So the prophet adds: "Let them be overthrown, for they have forsaken the Lord, the fountain of life." This is the cry of the partridge, that it has got the fountain of life, and will give it; and so men are gathered to

it, and depart from Christ, as if Christ, whose name they had professed, had not fulfilled His promise. The partridge gathers those whom it has not brought forth. And in order to do this, it declares, The salvation which Christ promises is with me; I will give it. In opposition to this the prophet says: "Heal me, O Lord, and I shall be healed; save me, and I shall be saved." So we read in the apostle, "Let no man glory in men;" (1) or in the words of the prophet, "Thou art my praise." (2) Such is a specimen of instruction in apostolic and prophetic doctrine, by which a man may be built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets.

17. Faustus has not told us how he would prove the divinity of Christ to the heathen, whom he makes to say: I believe neither the prophets in support of Christ, nor Christ in support of the prophets. It would be absurd to suppose that such a man would believe what Christ says of Himself, when he disbelieves what He says of others. For if he thinks Him unworthy of credit in one case, he must think Him so in all, or at least more so when speaking of Himself than when speaking of others. Perhaps, failing this, Faustus would read to him the Sibyls and Orpheus, and any heathen prophecies about Christ that he could find. But how could he do this, when he confesses that he knows none? His words are: "If, as is said, any prophecies of Christ are to be found in the Sibyl, or in Hermes, called Trismegistus, or Orpheus, or any heathen poet." How could he read writings of which he knows nothing, and which he supposes to exist only from report, to one who will not believe either the prophets or Christ? What, then, would be do? Would he bring forward Manichćus as a witness to Christ? The opposite of this is what the Manichćans do. They take advantage of the widespread fragrance of the name of Christ to gain acceptance for Manichćus, that the edge of their poisoned cup may be sweetened with this honey. Taking hold of the promises of Christ to His disciples that He would send the Paraclete, that is, the Comforter or Advocate, they say that this Paraclete is Manichćus, or in Manichćus, and so steal an entrance into the minds of men who do not know when He who was promised by Christ really came. Those who have read the canonical book called the Acts of the Apostles find a reference to Christ's promise, and an account of its fulfillment. Faustus, then, has no proof to give to the inquirer. It is not likely that any one will be so infatuated as to take the authority of Manichćus when he rejects that of Christ. Would he not reply in derision, if not in anger, Why do you ask me to believe Persian books, when you forbid me to believe Hebrew books? The Manichćan has no hold on the inquirer, unless he is already in some way convinced of the truth of Christianity. When he finds him willing to believe Christ, then he deludes him with the representation of Christ given by Manichćus. So the partridge gathers what it has not brought forth. When will you whom he gathers leave him? When will you see him to be a fool. who tells you that Hebrew testimony is worthless in the case of unbelievers, and superfluous to believers?

18. If believers are to throw away all the books which have led them to believe, I see no reason why they should continue reading the Gospel itself. The Gospel, too, must be worthless to this inquirer, who, according to Faustus' pitiful supposition, rejects with ridicule the authority of Christ. And to the believer it must be superfluous, if true notices of Christ are superfluous to believers. And if the Gospel should be read by the believer, that he may not forget what he has believed, so should the prophets, that he may not forget why he believed. For if he forgets this his faith cannot be firm. By this principle, you should throw away the books of Manichćus, on the authority of which you already

believe that light--that is, God--fought with darkness, and that, in order to bind darkness, the light was first swallowed up and bound, and polluted and mangled by darkness, to be restored, and liberated, and purified, and healed by your eating, for which you are rewarded by not being condemned to the mass of darkness for ever, along with that part of the light which cannot be extricated. This fiction is sufficiently published by your practice and your words. Why do you seek for the testimony of books, and add to the embarrassment of your God by the consumption of strength in the needless task of writing manuscripts? Burn all your parchments, with their finely-ornamented binding; so you will be rid of a useless burden, and your God who suffers confinement in the volume will be set free. What a mercy it would be to the members of your God, if you could boil your books and eat them! There might be a difficulty, however, from the prohibition of animal food. Then the writing must share in the impurity of the sheepskin. Indeed, you are to blame for this, for, like what you say was done in the first war between light and darkness, you brought what was clean in the pen in contact with the uncleanness of the parchment. Or perhaps, for the sake of the colors, we may put it the other way; and so the darkness would be yours, in the ink which you brought against the light of the white pages. If these remarks irritate you, you should rather be angry with yourselves for believing doctrines of which these are the necessary consequences. As for the books of the apostles and prophets, we read them as a record of our faith, to encourage our hope and animate our love. These books are in perfect harmony with one another; and their harmony, like the music of a heavenly trumpet, wakens us from the torpor of worldliness, and urges us on to the prize of our high calling. The apostle, after quoting from the prophets the words, "The reproaches of them that reproached Thee fell on me," goes on to speak of the benefit of reading the prophets: "For whatsoever things were written beforetime were written for our learning; that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope." (1) If Faustus denies this, we can only say with Paul, "If any one shall preach to you another doctrine than that ye have received, let him be accursed." (2)

BOOK XIV.

FAUSTUS ABHORS MOSES FOR THE AWFUL CURSE HE HAS PRONOUNCED UPON CHRIST. AUGUSTIN EXPOUNDS THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF THE SUFFERING SAVIOUR BY COMPARING OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT PASSAGES.

I. FAUSTUS said: If you ask why we do not believe Moses, it is on account of our love and reverence for Christ. The most reckless man cannot regard with pleasure a person who has cursed his father. So we abhor Moses, not so much for his blasphemy of everything human and divine, as for the awful curse he has pronounced upon Christ the Son of God, who for our salvation hung on the tree. Whether Moses did this intentionally or not is your concern. Either way, he cannot be excused, or considered worthy of belief. His words are, "Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree." (1) You tell me to believe this-man, though, if he was inspired, he must have cursed Christ knowingly and intentionally; and if he did it in ignorance, he cannot have been divine. Take either

alternative. Moses was no prophet, and while cursing in his usual manner, he fell ignorantly into the sin of blasphemy against God. Or he was indeed divine, and foresaw the future; and from ill-will to our salvation, he directs the venom of his malediction against Him who was to accomplish that salvation on a tree. He who thus injures the Son cannot surely have seen or known the Father. He who knew nothing of the final ascension of the Son, cannot surely have foretold His advent. Moreover, the extent of the injury inflicted by this curse is to be considered. For it denounces all the righteous men and martyrs, and sufferers of every kind, who have died in this way, as Peter and Andrew, and the rest. Such a cruel denunciation could never have come from Moses if he had been a prophet, unless he was a bitter enemy of these sufferers. For he pronounces them cursed not only of men but of God. What hope, then, of blessing remains to Christ, or his apostles, or to us if we happen to be crucified for Christ's sake? It indicates great thoughtlessness in Moses, and the want of all divine inspiration, that he overlooked the fact that men are hung on a tree for very different reasons, some for their crimes, and others who suffer in the cause of God and of righteousness. In this thoughtless way lie heaps all together without distinction under the same curse; whereas if he had had any sense, not to say inspiration, if he wished to single out the punishment of the cross from all others as specially detestable, he would have said, Cursed is every guilty and impious person that hangeth on a tree. This would have made a distinction between the guilty and the innocent. And yet even this would have been incorrect, for Christ took the malefactor from the cross along with himself into the Paradise of his Father. What becomes of the curse on every one that hangeth on a tree? Was Barabbas, the notorious robber, who certainly was not hung on a tree, but was set free from prison at the request of the Jews, more blessed than the thief who accompanied Christ from the cross to heaven? Again, there is a curse on the man that worships the sun or the moon. Now if under a heathen monarch I am forced to worship the sun, and if from fear of this curse I refuse, shall I incur this other curse by suffering the punishment of crucifixion? Perhaps Moses was in the habit of cursing everything good. We think no more of his denunciation than of an old wife's scolding. So we find him pronouncing a curse on all youths of both sexes, when he says: "Cursed is every one that raiseth not up a seed in Israel." (1) This is aimed directly at Jesus, who, according to you, was born among the Jews, and raised up no seed to continue his family. It points too at his disciples, some of whom he took from the wives they had married, and some who were unmarried he forbade to take wives. We have good reason, you see, for expressing our abhorrence of the daring style in which Moses hurls his maledictions against Christ, against light, against chastity, against everything divine. You cannot make much of the distinction between hanging on a tree and being crucified, as you often try to do by way of apology; for Paul repudiates such a distinction when he says, "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us; as it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree." (2)

2. Augustin replied: The pious Faustus is pained because Christ is cursed by Moses. His love for Christ makes him hate Moses. Before explaining the sacred import and the piety of the words, "Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree," I would ask these pious people why they are angry with Moses, since his curse does not affect their Christ. If Christ hung on the tree, He must have been fastened to it with nails, the marks of which He showed to His doubting disciple after His resurrection. Accordingly He must have had a vulnerable and mortal body, which the Manichćans deny. Call the wounds

and the marks false, and it follows that His hanging on the tree was false. This Christ is not affected by the curse, and there is no occasion for this indignation against the person uttering the curse. If they pretend to be angry with Moses for cursing what they call the false death of Christ, what are we to think of themselves, who do not curse Christ, but, what is much worse, make Him a liar? If it is wrong to curse mortality, it is a much more heinous offense to sully the purity of truth. But let us make these heretical cavils an occasion for explaining this mystery to believers.

3. Death comes upon man as the punishment of sin, and so is itself called sin; not that a man sins in dying, but because sin is the cause of his death. So the word tongue, which properly means the fleshy substance between the teeth and the palate, is applied in a secondary sense to the result of the tongue's action. In this sense we speak of a Latin tongue and a Greek tongue. The word hand, too, means both the members of the body we use in working, and the writing which is done with the hand. In this sense we speak of writing as being proved to be the hand of a certain person, or of recognizing the hand of a friend. The writing is certainly not a member of the body, but the name hand is given to it because it is the hand that does it. So sin means both a bad action deserving punishment, and death the consequence of sin. Christ has no sin in the sense of deserving death, but He bore for our sakes sin in the sense of death as brought on human nature by sin. This is what hung on the tree; this is what was cursed by Moses. Thus was death condemned that its reign might cease, and cursed that it might be destroyed. By Christ's taking our sin in this sense, its condemnation is our deliverance, while to remain in subjection to sin is to be condemned.

4. What does Faustus find strange in the curse pronounced on sin, on death, and on human mortality, which Christ had on account of man's sin, though He Himself was sinless? Christ's body was derived from Adam, for His mother the Virgin Mary was a child of Adam. But God said in Paradise, "On the day that ye eat, ye shall surely die." This is the curse which hung on the tree. A man may deny that Christ was cursed who denies that He died. But the man who believes that Christ died, and acknowledges that death is the fruit of sin, and is itself called sin, will understand who it is that is cursed by Moses, when he hears the apostle saying "For our old man is crucified with Him." (3) The apostle boldly says of Christ, "He was made a curse for us;" for he could also venture to say, "He died for all." "He died," and "He was cursed," are the same. Death is the effect of the curse; and all sin is cursed, whether it means the action which merits punishment, or the punishment which follows. Christ, though guiltless, took our punishment, that He might cancel our guilt, and do away with our punishment.

5. These things are not my conjectures, but are affirmed constantly by the apostle, with an emphasis sufficient to rouse the careless and to silence the gainsayers. "God," he says, "sent His Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, that by sin He might condemn sin in the flesh." (4) Christ's flesh was not sinful, because it was not born of Mary by ordinary generation; but because death is the effect of sin, this flesh, in being mortal, had the likeness of sinful flesh. This is called sin in the following words, "that by sin He might condemn sin in the flesh." Again he says: "He hath made Him to be sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him." (1) Why should not Moses call accursed what Paul calls sin? In this prediction the prophet claims a share with the apostle in the reproach of the heretics. For whoever finds fault with the word

cursed in the prophet, must find fault with the word sin in the apostle; for curse and sin go together.

6. If we read, "Cursed of God is every one that hangeth on a tree," the addition of the words "of God" creates no difficulty. For had not God hated sin and our death, He would not have sent His Son to bear and to abolish it. And there is nothing strange in God's cursing what He hates. For His readiness to give us the immortality which will be had at the coming of Christ, is in proportion to the compassion with which He hated our death when it hung on the cross at the death of Christ. And if Moses curses every one that hangeth on a tree, it is certainly not because he did not foresee that righteous men would be crucified, but rather because He foresaw that heretics would deny the death of the Lord to be real, and would try to disprove the application of this curse to Christ, in order that they might disprove the reality of His death. For if Christ's death was not real, nothing cursed hung on the cross when He was crucified, for the crucifixion cannot have been real. Moses cries from the distant past to these heretics: Your evasion in denying the reality of the death of Christ is useless. Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree; not this one or that, but absolutely every one. What! the Son of God? Yes, assuredly. This is the very thing you object to, and that you are so anxious to evade. You will not allow that He was cursed for us, because you will not allow that He died for us. Exemption from Adam's curse implies exemption from his death. But as Christ endured death as man, and for man; so also, Son of God as He was, ever living in His own righteousness, but dying for our offences, He submitted as man, and for man, to bear the curse which accompanies death. And as He died in the flesh which He took in bearing our punishment, so also, while ever blessed in His own righteousness, He was cursed for our offences, in the death which He suffered in bearing our punishment. And these words "every one" are intended to check the ignorant officiousness which would deny the reference of the curse to Christ, and so, because the curse goes along with death, would lead to the denial of the true death of Christ.

7. The believer in the true doctrine of the gospel will understand that Christ is not reproached by Moses when he speaks of Him as cursed, not in His divine majesty, but as hanging on the tree as our substitute, bearing our punishment, any more than He is praised by the Manichćans when they deny that He had a mortal body, so as to suffer real death. In the curse of the prophet there is praise of Christ's humility, while in the pretended regard of the heretics there is a charge of falsehood. If, then, you deny that Christ was cursed, you must deny that He died; and then you have to meet, not Moses, but the apostles. Confess that He died, and you may also confess that He, without taking our sin, took its punishment. Now the punishment of sin cannot be blessed, or else it would be a thing to be desired. The curse is pronounced by divine justice, and it will be well for us if we are redeemed from it. Confess then that Christ died, and you may confess that He bore the curse for us; and that when Moses said, "Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree," he said in fact, To hang on a tree is to be mortal, or actually to die. He might have said, "Cursed is every one that is mortal," or "Cursed is every one dying;" but the prophet knew that Christ would suffer on the cross, and that heretics would say that He hung on the tree only in appearance, without really dying. So he exclaims, Cursed; meaning that He really died. He knew that the death of sinful man, which Christ though sinless bore, came from that curse, "If ye touch it, ye shall surely die." Thus also, the serpent hung on the pole was intended to show that Christ did not

feign death, but that the real death into which the serpent by his fatal counsel cast mankind was hung on the cross of Christ's passion. The Manichćans turn away from the view of this real death, and so they are not healed of the poison of the serpent, as we read that in the wilderness as many as looked were healed.

8. It is true, some ignorantly distinguish between hanging on a tree and being crucified. So some explain this passage as referring to Judas. But how do they know whether he hung himself from wood or from stone? Faustus is right in saying that the apostle obliges us to refer the words to Christ. Such ignorant Catholics are the prey of the Manichćans. Such they get hold of and entangle in their sophistry. Such were we when we fell into this heresy, and adhered to it. Such were we, when, not by our own strength, but by the mercy of God, we were rescued.

9. What attacks on divine things does Faustus speak of when he charges Moses with sparing nothing human or divine? He makes the charge without stopping to prove it. We know, on the contrary, that Moses gave due praise to everything really divine, and in human affairs was a just ruler, considering his times and the grace of his dispensation. It will be time to prove this when we see any proof of Faustus' charges. It may be clever to make such charges cautiously, but there is great incaution in the cleverness which ruins its possessor. It is good to be clever on the side of truth, but it is a poor thing to be clever in opposition to the truth. Faustus says that Moses spared nothing human or divine; not that he spared no god or man. If he said that Moses did not spare God, it could easily be shown in reply that Moses everywhere does honor to the true God, whom he declares to be the Maker of heaven and earth. Again, if he said that Moses spared none of the gods, he would betray himself to Christians as a worshipper of the false gods that Moses denounces; and so he would be prevented from gathering what he has not brought forth, by the brood taking refuge under the wings of the Mother Church. Faustus tries to ensnare the babes, by saying that Moses spared nothing divine, wishing not to frighten Christians with a profession of belief in the gods, which would be plainly opposed to Christianity, and at the same time appearing to take the side of the Pagans against us; for they know that Moses has said many plain and pointed things against the idols and gods of the heathen, which are devils.

10. If the Manichćans disapprove of Moses on this account, let them confess that they are worshippers of idols and devils. This, indeed, may be the case without their being aware of it. The apostle tells us that "in the last days some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and to doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy." (1) Whence but from devils, who are fond of falsehood, could the idea have come that Christ's sufferings and death were unreal, and that the marks which He showed of His wounds were unreal? Are these not the doctrines of lying devils, which teach that Christ, the Truth itself, was a deceiver? Besides, the Manichćans openly teach the worship, if not of devils, still of created things, which the apostle condemns in the words, "They worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator." (2)

11. As there is an unconscious worship of idols and devils in the fanciful legends of the Manichćans, so they knowingly serve the creature in their worship of the sun and moon. And in what they call their service of the Creator they really serve their own fancy, and not the Creator at all. For they deny that God created those things which the apostle

plainly declares to be the creatures of God, when he says of food, "Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it is received with thanksgiving." (3) This is sound doctrine, which you cannot bear, and so turn to fables. The apostle praises the creature of God, but forbids the worship of it; and in the same way Moses gives due praise to the sun and moon, while at the same time he states the fact of their having been made by God, and placed by Him in their courses, --the sun to rule the day, and the moon to rule the night. Probably you think Moses spared nothing divine, simply because he forbade the worship of the sun and moon, whereas you turn towards them in all directions in your worship. But the sun and moon take no pleasure in your false praises. It is the devil, the transgressor, that delights in false praises. The powers of heaven, who have not fallen by sin, wish their Creator to be praised in them; and their true praise is that which does no wrong to their Creator. He is wronged when they are said to be His members, or parts of His substance. For He is perfect and independent, underived, not divided or scattered in space, but unchangeably self-existent, self-sufficient, and blessed in Himself. In the abundance of His goodness, He by His word spoke, and they were made: He commanded, and they were created. And if earthly bodies are good, of which the apostle spoke when he said that no food is unclean, because every creature of God is good, much more the heavenly bodies, of which the sun and moon are the chief; for the apostle says again, "The glory of the terrestrial is one, and the glory of the celestial is another." (4)

12. Moses, then, casts no reproach on the sun and moon when he prohibits their worship. He praises them as heavenly bodies; while he also praises God as the Creator of both heavenly and earthly, and will not allow of His being insulted by giving the worship due to Him to those who are praised only as dependent upon Him. Faustus prides himself on the ingenuity of his objection to the curse pronounced by Moses on the worship of the sun and moon. He says, "If under a heathen monarch I am forced to worship the sun, and if from fear of this curse I refuse, shall I incur this other curse by suffering the punishment of crucifixion?" No heathen monarch is forcing you to worship the sun: nor would the sun itself force you, if it were reigning on the earth, as neither does it now wish to be worshipped. As the Creator bears with blasphemers till the judgment, so these celestial bodies bear with their deluded worshippers till the judgment of the Creator. It should be observed that no Christian monarch could enforce the worship of the sun. Faustus instances a heathen monarch, for he knows that their worship of the sun is a heathen custom. Yet, in spite of this opposition to Christianity, the partridge takes the name of Christ, that it may gather what it has not brought forth. The answer to this objection is easy, and the force of truth will soon break the horns of this dilemma. Suppose, then, a Christian threatened by royal authority with being hung on a tree if he will not worship the sun. If I avoid, you say, the curse pronounced by the law on the worshipper of the sun, I incur the curse pronounced by the same law on him that hangs on a tree. So you will be in a difficulty; only that you worship the sun without being forced by anybody. But a true Christian, built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, distinguishes the curses, and the reasons of them. He sees that one refers to the mortal body which is hung on the tree, and the other to the mind which worships the sun. For though the body. bows in worship,--which also is a heinous offence,--the belief or imagination of the object worshipped is an act of the mind. The death implied in both curses is in one case the death of the body, and in the other the death of the soul. It is better to have the curse in bodily death,--which will be removed in

the resurrection,--than the curse in the death of the soul, condemning it along with the body to eternal fire. The Lord solves this difficulty in the words: "Fear not them that kill the body, but cannot kill the soul; but fear him who has power to cast both soul and body into hell-fire." (1) In other words, fear not the curse of bodily death, which in time is removed; but fear the curse of spiritual death, which leads to the eternal torment of both soul and body. Be assured, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree is no old wife's railing, but a prophetical utterance. Christ, by the curse, takes the curse away, as He takes away death by death, and sin by sin. In the words, "Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree," there is no more blasphemy than in the words of the apostle, "He died," or, "Our old man was crucified along with Him," (2) or, "By sin He condemned sin," (3) or, "He made Him to be sin for us who knew no sin," (4) and in many similar passages. Confess, then, that when you exclaim against the curse of Christ, you exclaim against His death. If this is not an old wife's railing on your part, it is devilish delusion, which makes you deny the death of Christ because your own souls are dead. You teach people that Christ's death was feigned, making Christ your leader in the falsehood with which you use the name of Christian to mislead men.

13. If Faustus thinks Moses an enemy of continence or virginity because he says, "Cursed is everyone that raiseth not up seed in Israel," let them hear the words of Isaiah: "Thus saith the Lord to all eunuchs; To them who keep my precepts, and choose the things that please me, and regard my covenant, will I give in my house and within my walls a place and a name better than of sons and of daughters; I will give them an everlasting name, that shall not be cut off." (5) Though our adversaries disagree with Moses. if they agree with Isaiah it is something gained. It is enough for us to know that the same God spoke by both Moses and Isaiah, and that every one is cursed who raiseth not up seed in Israel, both then when begetting children in marriage (for the continuation of the people was a civil duty), and now because no one spiritually born should rest content without seeking spiritual increase in the production of Christians by preaching Christ, each one according to his ability. So that the times of both Testaments are briefly described in the words, "Cursed is every one that raiseth not up seed in Israel." (6)

BOOK XV.

FAUSTUS REJECTS THE OLD TESTAMENT BECAUSE IT LEAVES NO ROOM FOR CHRIST. CHRIST THE ONE BRIDEGROOM SUFFICES FOR HIS BRIDE THE CHURCH. AUGUSTIN ANSWERS AS WELL AS HE CAN, AND REPROVES THE MANICHĆANS WITH PRESUMPTION IN CLAIMING TO BE THE BRIDE OF CHRIST.

1. FAUSTUS said: Why do we not receive the Old Testament? Because when a vessel is full, what is poured on it is not received, but allowed to run over; and a full stomach rejects what it cannot hold. So the Jews, satisfied with the Old Testament, reject the New; and we who have received the New Testament from Christ, reject the Old. You receive both because you are only half filled with each, and the one is not completed, but corrupted by the other. For vessels half filled should not be filled up with anything of a different nature from what they already contain. If it contains wine, it should be filled up with wine, honey with honey, vinegar with vinegar. For to pour gall on honey, or water on wine, or alkalies on vinegar, is not addition, but adulteration. This is why we do not receive the Old Testament. Our Church, the bride of Christ, the poor bride of a rich bridegroom, is content with the possession of her husband, and scorns the wealth of inferior lovers, and despises the gifts of the Old Testament and of its author, and from regard to her own character, receives only the letters of her husband. We leave the Old Testament to your Church, that, like a bride faithless to her spouse, delights in the letters and gifts of another. This lover who corrupts your chastity, the God of the Hebrews in his stone tablets promises you gold and silver, and abundance of food, and the land of Canaan. Such low rewards have tempted you to be unfaithful to Christ, after all the rich dowry bestowed by him. By such attractions the God of the Hebrews gains over the bride of Christ. You must know that you are cheated, and that these promises are false. This God is in poverty and beggary, and cannot do what he promises. For if he cannot give these things to the synagogue, his proper wife, who obeys him in all things like a servant, how can he bestow them on you who are strangers, and who proudly throw off his yoke from your necks? Go on, then, as you have begun, join the new cloth to the old garment, put the new wine in old bottles, serve two masters without pleasing either, make Christianity a monster, half horse and half man; but allow us to serve only Christ, content with his immortal dower, and imitating the apostle who says, "Our sufficiency is of God, who I has made us able ministers of the New Testament." (1) In the God of the Hebrews we have no interest whatever; for neither can he perform his promises, nor do we desire that he should. The liberality of Christ has made us indifferent to the flatteries of this stranger. This figure of the relation of the wife to her husband is sanctioned by Paul, who says: "The woman that has a husband is bound to her husband as long as he liveth; but if her husband die, she is freed from the law of her husband. So, then, if while her husband liveth she be joined to another man, she shall be called an adulteress; but if her husband be dead, she is not an adulteress, though she be married to another man." (2) Here he shows that there is a spiritual adultery in being united to Christ before repudiating the author of the law, and counting him, as it were, as dead. This applies chiefly to the Jews who believe in Christ, and who ought to forget their former superstition. We who have been converted to Christ front heathenism, look upon the God of the Hebrews not merely as dead, but as never having existed, and do not need to be told to forget him. A Jew, when he believes, should regard Adonai as dead; a Gentile should regard his idol as dead; and so with everything that has been held sacred before conversion. One who, after giving up idolatry, worships both the God of the Hebrews and Christ, is like an abandoned woman, who after the death of one husband marries two others.

2. Augustin replied: Let all who have given their hearts to Christ say whether they can listen patiently to these things, unless Christ Himself enable them. Faustus, full of the new honey, rejects the old vinegar; and Paul, full of the old vinegar, has poured out half

that the new honey may be poured in, not lobe kept, but lobe corrupted. When the apostle calls himself a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, separated unto the gospel of God, this is the new honey. But when he adds, "which He promised before by His prophets in the Holy Scriptures of His Son, who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh," (3) this is the old vinegar. Who could bear to hear this, unless the apostle himself consoled us by saying: "There must be heresies, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you?" (1) Why should we repeat what we said already? (2)--that the new cloth and the old garment, the new wine and the old bottles, mean not two Testaments, but two lives and two hopes,--that the relation of the two Testaments is figuratively described by the Lord when He says: "Therefore every scribe instructed in the kingdom of God is like an householder bringing out of his treasure things new and old." (3) The reader may remember this as said before, or he may find it on looking back. For if any one tries to serve God with two hopes, one of earthly felicity, and the other of the kingdom of heaven, the two hopes cannot agree; and when the latter is shaken by some affliction, the former will be lost too. Thus it is said, No man can serve two masters; which Christ explains thus: "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." (4) But to those who rightly understand it, the Old Testament is a prophecy of the New. Even in that ancient people, the holy patriarchs and prophets, who understood the part they performed, or which they were instrumental in performing, had this hope of eternal life in the New Testament. They belonged to the New Testament, because they understood and loved it, though revealed only in figure. Those belonging to the Old Testament were the people who cared for nothing else but the temporal promises, without understanding them as significant of eternal things. But all this has already been more than enough insisted on.

3. It is amazingly bold in the impious and impure sect of the Manichćans to boast of being the chaste bride of Christ. All the effect of such a boast on the really chaste members of the holy Church is to remind them of the apostle's warning against deceivers: "I have joined you to one husband, to present you as a chaste virgin to Christ. But I fear lest, as the serpent deceived Eve by his guile, so your minds also should be corrupted from the purity which is in Christ." (5) What else do those preachers of another gospel than that which we have received try to do, but to corrupt us from the purity which we preserve for Christ, when they stigmatize the law of God as old, and praise their own falsehoods as new, as if all that is new must be good, and all that is old bad? The Apostle John, however, praises the old commandment, and the Apostle Paul bids us avoid novelties in doctrine. As an unworthy son and servant of the Catholic Church, the true bride of the true Christ, I too, as appointed to give out food to my fellow-servants, would speak to her a word of counsel. Continue ever to shun the profane errors of the Manichćans, which have been tried by the experience of thine own children, and condemned by their recovery. By that heresy I was once separated from thy fellowship, and after running into danger which ought to have been avoided, I escaped. Restored to thy service, my experience may perhaps be profitable to thee. Unless thy true and truthful Bridegroom, from whose side thou wert made, had obtained the remission of sins through His own real blood, the gulf of error would have swallowed me up; I should have become dust, and been devoured by the serpent. Be not misled by the name of truth. The truth is in thine own milk, and in thine own bread. They have the name only, and not the thing. Thy full-grown children, indeed, are secure; but I speak to thy babes, my brothers, and sons, and masters, whom thou, the virgin mother,

fertile as pure, dost cherish into life under thine anxious wings, or dost nourish with the milk of infancy. I call upon these, thy tender offspring, not to be seduced by noisy vanities, but rather to pronounce accursed any one that preaches to them another gospel than that which they have received in thee. I call upon these not to leave the true and truthful Christ, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge; not to forsake the abundance of His goodness which He has laid up for them that fear Him, and has wrought for them that trust in Him. (6) How can they expect to find truthful words in one who preaches an untruthful Christ? Scorn the reproaches cast on thee, for thou knowest well that the gift which thou desirest from thy Bridegroom is eternal life, for He Himself is eternal life.

4. It is a silly falsehood that thou hast been seduced to another God, who promises abundance of food and the land of Canaan. For thou canst perceive how the saints of old, who were also thy children, were enlightened by these figures which were prophecies of thee. Thou needest not regard the poor jest against the stone tablets, for the stony heart of which they were in old times a figure is not in thee. For thou art an epistle of the apostles, "written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not on tables of stone, but on the fleshy tables of the heart." (7) Our opponents ignorantly think that these words are in their favor, and that the apostle finds fault with the dispensation of the Old Testament, where- as they are the words of the prophet. This utterance of the apostles was a fulfillment of the long anterior utterances of the prophet whom the Manichćans reject, for they believe the apostles without understanding them. The prophet says: "I will take away from them the stony heart, and I will give them a heart of flesh." (1) What is this but "Not on tables of stones but on the fleshy tables of the heart"? For by the heart of flesh and the fleshy tables is not meant a carnal understanding: but as flesh feels, whereas a stone cannot, the insensibility of stone signifies an unintelligent heart, and the sensibility of flesh signifies an intelligent hurt. Instead, then, of scoffing at thee, they deserve to be ridiculed who say that earth, and wood, and stones have sense, and that their life is more intelligent than animal life. So, not to speak of the truth, even their own fiction obliges them to confess that the law written on tables of stone was purer than their sacred parchments. Or perhaps they prefer sheepskin to stone, because their legends make stones the bones of princes. In any case, the ark of the Old Testament was a cleaner covering for the tables of stone than the goatskin of their manuscripts. Laugh at these things, while pitying them, to show their falsehood and absurdity. With a heart no longer stony, thou canst see in these stone tablets a suitableness to that hard- hearted people; and at the same time thou canst find even there the stone, thy Bridegroom, described by Peter as "a living stone, rejected by men, but chosen of God, and precious." To them He was "a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence;" but to thee, "the stone which the builders rejected has become the head of the corner." (2) This is all explained by Peter, and is quoted from the prophets, with whom these heretics have nothing to do. Fear not, then, to read these tablets-- they are from thy Husband; to others the stone was a sign of insensibility, but to thee of strength and stability. With the finger of God these tablets were written; with the finger of God thy Lord east out devils; with the finger of God drive thou away the doctrines of lying devils which sear the conscience. With these tablets thou canst confound the seducer who calls himself the Paraclete, that he may impose upon thee by a sacred name. For on the fiftieth day after the passover the tables were given; and on the fiftieth day after the passion of thy Bride-groom--of whom the

passover was a type--the finger of God, the Holy Spirit, the promised Paraclete, was given. Fear not the tablets which convey to thee ancient writings now made plain. Only be not under the law, lest fear prevent thy fulfilling it; but be under grace, that love, which is the fulfilling of the law, may be in thee. For it was in a review of these very tablets that the friend of thy Bridegroom said: "For thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not murder, Thou shalt not covet, and if there be any other commandment, it is contained in this word, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbor; therefore love is the fulfilling of the law." (3) One table contains the precept of love to God, and the other of love to man. And He who first sent these tablets Himself came to enjoin those precepts on Which hang the law and the prophets. (4) In the first precept is the chastity of thy espousals; in the second is the unity of thy members. In the one thou art united to divinity; in the other thou dost gather a society. And these two precepts are identical with the ten, of which three relate to God, and seven to our neighbor. Such is the chaste tablet in which thy Lover and thy Beloved of old prefigured to thee the new song on a psaltery of ten strings; Himself to be extended on the cross for thee, that by sin He might condemn sin in the flesh, and that the righteouness of the law might be fulfilled in thee. Such is the conjugal tablet, which may well be hated by the unfaithful wife.

5. I turn now to thee, thou deluded and deluding congregation of Manichćus,--wedded to so many elements, or rather prostituted to so many devils, and impregnated with blasphemous falsehoods,--dost thou dare to slander as unchaste the marriage of the Catholic Church with thy Lord? Behold thy lovers, one balancing creation, and the other bearing it up like Atlas. For one, by thy account, holds the sources of the elements, and hangs the world in space; while the other keeps him up by kneeling down and carrying the weight on his shoulders. Where are those beings? And if they are so occupied, how can they come to visit thee, to spend an idle hour in getting their shoulders or their fingers relieved by thy soft, soothing touch? But thou art deceived by evil spirits which commit adultery with thee, that thou mayest conceive falsehoods and bring forth vanities. Well mayest thou reject the message of the true God, as opposed to thy parchments, where in the vain imaginations of a wanton mind thou hast gone after so many false gods. The fictions of the poets are more respectable than thine, in this at least, that they deceive no one; while the fables in thy books, by assuming an appearance of truth, mislead the childish, both young and old, and pervert their minds. As the apostle says, they have itching ears, and turn away from hearing the truth to listen to fables. (1) How shouldest thou bear the sound doctrine of these tables, where the first commandment is, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord," (2) when thy corrupt affections find shameful delight in so many false deities? Dost thou not remember thy love-song, where thou describest the chief ruler in perennial majesty, crowned with flowers, and of fiery countenance? To have even one such lover is shameful; for a chaste wife seeks not a husband crowned with flowers. And thou canst not say that this description or representation has a typical meaning, for thou art wont to praise Manichćus for nothing more than for speaking to thee the simple naked truth without the disguise of figures. So the God of thy song is a real king, bearing a sceptre and crowned with flowers. When he wears a crown of flowers, he ought to put aside his sceptre; for effeminacy and majesty are incongruous. And then he is not thy only lover; for the song goes on to tell of twelve seasons clothed in flowers, and filled with song, throwing their flowers at their father's face. These are twelve great gods of thine, three

in each of the four regions surrounding the first deity. How this deity can be infinite, when he is thus circumscribed, no one can say. Besides, there are countless principalities, and hosts of gods, and troops of angels, which thou sayest were not created by God, but produced from His substance.

6. Thou art thus convicted of worshipping gods without number; for thou canst not bear the sound doctrine which teaches that there is one Son of one God, and one Spirit of both. And these, instead of being without number, are not three Gods; for not only is their substance one and the same, but their operation by means of this substance is also one and the same, while they have a separate manifestation in the material creation. These things thou dost not understand, and canst not receive. Thou art full, as thou sayest, for thou art steeped in blasphemous absurdities. Will thou continue burying thyself under such crudities? Sing on, then, and open thine eyes, if thou canst, to thine own shame. In this doctrine of lying devils thou art invited to fabulous dwellings of angels in a happy clime, and to fragrant fields where nectar flows for ever from trees and hills, in seas and rivers. These are the fictions of thy foolish heart, which revels in such idle fancies. Such expressions are sometimes used as figurative descriptions of the abundance of spiritual enjoyments; and they lead the mind of the student to inquire into their hidden meaning. Sometimes there is a material representation to the bodily senses, as the fire in the bush, the rod becoming a serpent, and the serpent a rod, the garment of the Lord not divided by His persecutors, the anointing of His feet or of His head by a devout woman, the branches of the multitude preceding and following Him when riding on the ass. Sometimes, either in sleep or in a trance, the spirit is informed by means of figures taken from material things, as Jacob's ladder, and the stone in Daniel cut out without hands and growing into a mountain, and Peter's vessel, and all that John saw. Sometimes the figures are only in the language; as in the Song of Songs, and in the parable of a householder making a marriage for his son, or that of the prodigal son, or that of the man who planted a vineyard and let it out to husbandmen. Thou boastest of Manichćus as having come last, not to use figures, but to explain them. His expositions throw light on ancient types, and leave no problem unsolved. This idea is supported by the assertion that the ancient types, in vision or in action or in words, had in view the coming of Manichćus, by whom they were all to be explained; while he, knowing that no one is to follow him, makes use of a style free from all figurative expressions. What, then, are those fields, and shady hills, and crowns of flowers, and fragrant odors, in which the desires of thy fleshly mind take pleasure? If they are not significant figures, they are either idle fancies or delirious dreams. If they are figures, away with the impostor who seduces thee with the promise of naked truth, and then mocks thee with idle tales. His ministers and his wretched deluded followers are wont to bait their hook with that saying of the apostle, "Now we see through a glass in a figure, but then face to face." (3) As if, forsooth, the Apostle Paul knew in part, and prophesied in part, and saw through a glass in a figure; whereas all this is removed at the coming of Manichćus, who brings that which is perfect, and reveals the truth face to face. O fallen and shameless! still to continue uttering such folly, still feeding on the wind, still embracing the idols of thine own heart. Hast thou, then, seen face to face the king with the sceptre, and the crown of flowers, and the hosts of gods, and the great world-holder with six faces and radiant with light, and that other exalted ruler surrounded with troops of angels, and the invincible warrior with a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left, and the famous sovereign who moves the three wheels of

fire, water, and wind, and Atlas, chief of all, bearing the world on his shoulders, and supporting himself on his arms? These, and a thousand other marvels, hast thou seen face to face, or are thy songs doctrines learned from lying devils, though thou knowest it not? Alas! miserable prostitute to these dreams, such are the vanities which thou drinkest up instead of the truth; and, drunk with this deadly poison, thou darest with this jest of the tablets to affront the matronly purity of the spouse of the only Son of God; because no longer under the tutorship of the law, but under the control of grace, neither proud in activity nor crouching in fear, she lives by faith, and hope, and love, the Israel in whom there is no guile, who hears what is written: "The Lord thy God is one God." This thou hearest not, and art gone a whoring after a multitude of false gods.

7. Of necessity these tables are against thee, for the second commandment is, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain;" whereas thou dost attribute the vanity of falsehood to Christ Himself, who, to remove the vanity of the fleshly mind, rose in a true body, visible to the bodily eye. So also the third commandment about the rest of the Sabbath is against thee, for thou art tossed about by a multitude of restless fancies. How these three commandments relate to the love of God, thou hast neither the power nor the will to understand. Shamefully headstrong and turbulent, thou hast reached the height of folly, vanity, and worthlessness; thy beauty is spoiled, and thine order perished. I know thee, for I was once the same. How shall I now teach thee that these three precepts relate to the love of God, of whom, and by whom, and in whom are all things? How canst thou understand this, when thy pernicious doctrines prevent thee from understanding and from obeying the seven precepts relating to the love of our neighbor, which is the bond of human society? The first of these precepts is, "Honor thy father and mother;" which Paul quotes as the first commandment with promise, and himself repeats the injunction. But thou art taught by thy doctrine of devils to regard thy parents as thine enemies, because their union brought thee into the bonds of flesh, and laid impure fetters even on thy god. The doctrine that the production of children is an evil, directly opposes the next precept, "Thou shall not commit adultery;" for those who believe this doctrine, in order that their wives may not conceive, are led to commit adultery even in marriage. They take wives, as the law declares, for the procreation of children; but from this erroneous fear of polluting the substance of the deity, their intercourse with their wives is not of a lawful character; and the production of children, which is the proper end of marriage, they seek to avoid. As the apostle long ago predicted of thee, thou dost indeed forbid to marry, for thou seekest to destroy the purpose of marriage. Thy doctrine turns marriage into an adulterous connection, and the bed-chamber into a brothel. This false doctrine leads in a similar way to the transgression of the commandment, "Thou shall not kill." For thou dost not give bread to the hungry, from fear of imprisoning in flesh the member of thy God. From fear of fan-tied murder, thou dost actually commit murder. For if thou wast to meet a beggar starving for want of food, by the law of God to refuse him food would be murder; while to give food would be murder by the law of Manichćus. Not one commandment in the decalogue dost thou observe. If thou wert to abstain from theft, thou wouldst be guilty of allowing bread or food, whatever it might be, to undergo the misery of being devoured by a man of no merit, instead of running off with it to the laboratory of the stomach of thine elect; and so by theft saving thy god from the imprisonment with which he is threatened, and also from that from which he already suffers. Then, if thou art caught in the theft, wilt thou not swear by this god that thou art not guilty? For what will he do to

thee when thou sayest to him, I swore by thee falsely, but it was for thy benefit; a regard for thine honor would have been fatal to thee? So the precept, Thou shall not bear false witness, will be broken, not only in thy testimony, but in thine oath, for the sake of the liberation of the members of thy god. The commandment, "Thou shall not covet thy neighbor's wife," is the only one which thy false doctrine does not oblige thee to break. But if it is unlawful to covet our neighbor's wife, what must it be to excite covetousness in others? Remember thy beautiful gods and goddesses presenting themselves with the purpose of exciting desire in the male and female leaders of darkness, in order that the gratification of this passion might effect the liberation of this god, who is in confinement everywhere, and who requires the assistance of such self- degradation. The last commandment, "Thou shall not covet the possessions of thy neighbor," it is wholly impossible for thee to obey. Does not this god of thine delude thee with the promise of making new worlds in a region belonging to another, to be the scene of thine imaginary triumph after thine imaginary conquest? In the desire for the accomplishment of these wild fancies, while at the same time thou believest that this land of darkness is in the closest neighborhood with thine own substance, thou certainly covetest the possessions of thy neighbor. Well indeed mayest thou dislike the tables which contain such good precepts in opposition to thy false doctrine. The three relating to the love of God thou dost entirely set aside. The seven by which human society is preserved thou keepest only from a regard to the opinion of men, or from fear of human laws; or good customs make thee averse to some crimes; or thou art restrained by the natural principle of not doing to another what thou wouldst not have done to thyself. But whether thou doest what thou wouldst not have done to thyself, or refrainest from doing what thou wouldst not have done to thyself, thou seest the opposition of the heresy to the law, whether thou actest according to it or not.

8. The true bride of Christ, whom thou hast the audacity to taunt with the stone tablets, knows the difference between the letter and the spirit, or in other words, between law and grace; and serving God no longer in the oldness of the letter, but in newness of spirit, she is not under the law, but under grace. She is not blinded by a spirit of controversy, but learns meekly from the apostle what is this law which we are not to be under; for "it was given, "he says, "on account of transgression, till the seed should come to whom the promise was made." (1) And again: "It entered, that the offence might abound; but where sin abounded, grace has much more abounded." (2) Not that the law is sin, though it cannot give life without grace, but rather increases the guilt; for "where there is no law, there is no transgression." (3) The letter without the spirit, the law without grace, can only condemn. So the apostle explains his meaning, in case any should not understand: "What shall we say then? Is the law sin? God forbid. For I had not known sin but by the law. For I had not known lust unless the law had said, Thou shalt not covet. But sin, taking occasion by the command-merit, deceived me, and by it slew me. Therefore the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good. Was then that which is good made death unto me? God forbid. But sin, that it might appear sin, wrought death in me by that which is good." (4) She at whom thou scoffest knows what this means; for she asks earnestly, and seeks humbly, and knocks meekly. She sees that no fault is found with the law, when it is said, "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life," any more than with knowledge, when it is said, "Knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth." (5) The passage runs thus: "We know that we all have knowledge. Knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth." The apostle certainly had no desire to be

puffed up; but he had knowledge, because knowledge joined with love not only does not puff up, but strengthens. So the letter when joined with the spirit, and the law when joined with grace, is no longer the letter and the law in the same sense as when by itself it kills by abounding sin. In this sense the law is even called the strength of sin, because its strict prohibitions increase the fatal pleasure of sin. Even thus, however, the law is not evil; but "sin. that it may appear sin, works death by that which is good." So things that are not evil may often be hurtful to certain people. The Manichćans, when they have sore eyes, will shut out their god the sun. The bride of Christ, then, is dead to the law, that is, to sin, which abounds more from the prohibition of the law; for the law apart from grace commands, but does not enable. Being dead to the law in this sense, that she may be married to another who rose from the dead, she makes this distinction without any reproach to the law, which would be blasphemy against its author. This is thy crime; for though the apostle tells thee that the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good, thou dost not acknowledge it as the production of a good being. Its author thou makest to be one of the princes of darkness. Here the truth confronts thee. They are the words of the Apostle Paul: "The law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good." Such is the law given by Him who appointed for a great symbolical use the tablets which thou foolishly deridest. The same law which was given by Moses becomes through Jesus Christ grace and truth; for the spirit is joined to the letter, that the righteousness of the law might begin to be fulfilled, which when unfulfilled only added the guilt of transgression. The law which is holy, and just, and good, is the same law by which sin works death, and to which we must die, that we may be married to another who rose from the dead. Hear what the apostle adds: "But sin, that it might appear sin, wrought death in me by that which is good, that sin by the commandment might become exceeding sinful." Deaf and blind, dost thou not now hear and see? "Sin wrought death in me," he says, "by that which is good." The law is always good': whether it hurts those who are destitute of grace, or benefits those who are filled with grace, itself is always good; as the sun is always good, for every creature of God is good, whether it hurts weak eyes or gladdens the sight of the healthy. Grace fits the mind for keeping the law, as health fits the eyes for seeing the sun. And as healthy eyes die not to the pleasure of seeing the sun, but to that painful effect of the rays which beat upon the eye so as to increase the darkness; so the mind, healed by the love of the spirit, dies not to the justice of the law, but to the guilt and transgression which followed on the law in the absence of grace. So it is said "The law is good, if used lawfully;" and immediately after of the same law, "Knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man." The man who delights in righteousness itself, does not require the restraint of the letter.

9. The bride of Christ rejoices in the hope of full salvation, and desires for thee a happy conversion from fables to truth. She desires that the fear of Adoneus, as if he were a strange lover, may not prevent thy escape from the seductions of the wily serpent. Adonai is a Hebrew word, meaning Lord, as applied only to God. In the same way the Greek word latria means service, in the sense of the service of God; and Amen means true, in a special sacred sense. This is to be learned only from the Hebrew Scriptures, or from a translation. The Church of Christ understands and loves these names. without regarding the evils of those who scoff because they are ignorant. What she does not yet understand, she believes may be explained, as similar things have already been explained to her. If she is charged with loving Emmanuel, she laughs at the ignorance of

the accuser, and holds fast by the truth of this name. If she is charged with loving Messiah, she scorns her powerless adversary, and clings to her anointed Master. Her prayer for thee is, that thou also mayest be cured of thy errors, and be built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets. The monstrosity with which thou ignorantly chargest the true doctrine, is really to be found in the world which, according to thy fanciful stories, is made partly of thy god and partly of the world of darkness. This world, half savage and half divine, is worse than monstrous. The view of such follies should make thee humble and penitent, and should lead thee to shun the serpent, who seduces thee into such errors. If thou dost not believe what Moses says of the guile of the serpent, thou mayest be warned by Paul, who, when speaking of presenting the Church as a chaste virgin to Christ, says, "I fear lest, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his craftiness, your minds also should be corrupted from the simplicity and purity which is in Christ." (1) In spite of this warning, thou hast been so misled, so infatuated by the serpent's fatal enchantments, that while he has persuaded other heretics to believe various falsehoods. he has persuaded thee to believe that he is Christ. Others, though fallen into the maze of manifold error, still admit the truth of the apostle's warning. But thou art so far gone in corruption, and so lost to shame, that thou holdest as Christ the very being by whom the apostle declares that Eve was beguiled, and against whom he thus seeks to put the virgin bride of Christ on her guard. Thy heart is darkened by the deceiver, who intoxicates thee with dreams of glittering groves. What are these promises but dreams? What reason is there to believe them true? O drunken, but not with wine!

10. Thou hast the impious audacity to accuse the God of the prophets of not fulfilling His promises even to His servants the Jews. Thou dost not mention, however, any promise that is unfulfilled; otherwise it might. be shown, either that the promise has been fulfilled, and so that thou dost not understand it, or that it is yet to be fulfilled, and so that thou dost not believe it. What promise has been fulfilled to thee, to make it probable that thou wilt obtain new worlds gained from the region of darkness? If there are prophets who predict the Manichćans with praise, and if it is said that the existence of the sect is a fulfillment of this prediction, it must first be proved that these predictions were not forged by Manichćus in order to gain followers. He does not consider falsehood sinful. If he declares in praise of Christ that He showed false marks of wounds in His body, he can have no scruple about showing false predictions in his sheepskin volumes. Assuredly there are predictions of the Manichćans, less clear in the prophets, and most explicit in the apostle. For example: "The Spirit," he says, "speaketh expressly, that in the last times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and to doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared, forbidding to marry, abstaining from meats, which God has created to be received with thanksgiving by believers, and those who know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving." (1) The fulfillment of this in the Manichćans is as clear as day to all that know them, and has already been proved as fully as time permits.

11. She whom the apostle warns against the guile of the serpent by which thou hast been corrupted, that he may present her as a chaste virgin to Christ, her only husband, acknowledges the God of the prophets as the true God, and her own God, So many of His promises have already been fulfilled to her, that she looks confidently for the

fulfillment of the rest. Nor can any one say that these prophecies have been forged to suit the present time, for they are found in the books of the Jews. What could be more unlikely than that all nations should be blessed in Abraham's seed, as it was promised? And yet how plainly is this promise now fulfilled! The last promise is made in the following short prophecy: "Blessed are they that dwell in Thy house: they shall ever praise Thee." (2) When trial is past, and death, the last enemy, is destroyed, there will be rest in the constant occupation of praising God, where there shall be no arrivals and no departures. So the prophet says elsewhere: "Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem; celebrate thy God, o Zion: for He hath strengthened the bars of thy gates; He hath blessed thy children within thee." (3) The gates are shut, so that none can go in or out. The Bridegroom Himself says in the Gospel, that He will not open to the foolish virgins though they knock. This Jerusalem, the holy Church, the bride of Christ, is described fully in the Revelation of John. And that which commends the promises of future bliss to the belief of this chaste virgin is, that now she is in possession of what was foretold of her by the same prophets. For she is thus described: "Hearken, O daughter, and regard, and incline thine ear; forget also thine own people, and thy father's house. For the King hath greatly desired thy beauty; and He is thy God. The daughters of Tyre shall worship Him with gifts; the rich among the people shall entreat thy favor. The daughter of the King is all glorious within; her clothing is of wrought gold. The virgins following her shall be brought unto the King: her companions shall be brought unto thee; with gladness and rejoicing shall they be brought into the temple of the King. Instead of thy fathers, children shall be born to thee, whom thou shall make princes over all the earth. Thy name shall be remembered to all generations: therefore shall the people praise thee for ever and ever." (4) Unhappy victim of the serpent's guile, the inward beauty of the daughter of the King is not for thee even to think of. For this purity of mind is that which thou hast lost in opening thine eyes to love and worship the sun and moon. And so by the just judgment of God thou art estranged from the tree of life, which is eternal and internal wisdom; and with thee nothing is called or accounted truth or wisdom but that light which enters the eyes opened to evil, and which in thy impure mind expands and shapes itself into fanciful images. These are thy abominable whoredoms. Still the truth calls on thee to reflect and return. Return to me, and thou shall be cleansed and restored, if thy shame leads thee to repentance. Hear these words of the true Truth, who neither with feigned shapes fought against the race of darkness, nor with feigned blood redeemed thee.

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Augustin: Reply to Faustus the Manichaean
Book 16 - 22
Reply to Faustus the Manichaean

Sections:

[Books 1 - 15 | Book 16 - 22 | Book 23 to 33]

BOOK XVI.

FAUSTUS WILLING TO BELIEVE NOT ONLY THAT THE JEWISH BUT THAT ALL GENTILE PROPHETS WROTE OF CHRIST, IF IT SHOULD BE PROVED; BUT HE WOULD NONE THE LESS INSIST UPON REJECTING THEIR SUPERSTITIONS. AUGUSTIN MAINTAINS THAT ALL MOSES WROTE IS OF CHRIST, AND THAT HIS WRITINGS MUST BE-EITHER ACCEPTED OR REJECTED AS A WHOLE.

1. FAUSTUS said: You ask why we do not believe Moses, when Christ says, "Moses wrote of me; and if ye believed Moses, ye would also believe me." I should be glad if not only Moses, but all prophets, Jew and Gentile, had written of Christ. It would be no hindrance, but a help to our faith, if we could cull testimonies from all hands agreeing in favor of our God. You could extract the prophecies of Christ out of the superstition which we should hate as much as ever. I am quite willing to believe that Moses, though so much the opposite of Christ, may seem to have written of Him. No one but would gladly find a flower in every thorn, and food in every plant, and honey in every insect, although we would not feed on insects or on grass, nor wear thorns as a crown. No one but would wish pearls to be found in every deep, and gems in every land, and fruit on every tree. We may eat fish from the sea without drinking the water. We may take the useful, and reject what is hurtful. And why may we not take the prophecies of Christ from a religion the rites of which we condemn as useless? This need not make us liable to be led into the bondage of the errors; for we do not hate the unclean spirits less because they confessed plainly and openly that Jesus was the Son of God. If any similar testimony is found in Moses, I will accept it. But I will not on this account be brought into subjection to his law, which to my mind is pure Paganism. There is no reason whatever for thinking that I can have any objections to receiving prophecies of Christ from every spirit.

2. Since you have proved that Christ declared that Moses wrote of him, I should be very grateful if you would show me what he has written. I have searched the Scriptures, as we are told to do, and have found no prophecies of Christ, either because there are none, or because I could not understand them. The only escape from this perplexity was in one or other of two conclusions. Either this verse must be spurious, or Jesus a liar. As it is not consistent with piety to suppose God a liar, I preferred to attribute falsehood to the writers, rather than to the Author, of truth. Moreover, He Himself tells that those who came before him were thieves and robbers, which applies first of all to Moses. And when, on the occasion of His speaking of His own majesty, and calling Himself the light of the world, the Jews angrily rejoined, "Thou bearest witness of thyself, thy witness is not true," I do not find that He appealed to the prophecies of Moses, as might have been expected. Instead of this, as having no connection with the Jews, and receiving no testimony from their fathers, He replied: "It is written in your law, that the testimony of two men is true. I am one who bear witness of myself, and the Father who sent me beareth witness of me." (1) He referred to the voice from heaven which all had heard: "This is my beloved Son, believe Him." I think it likely that if Christ had said that Moses wrote of Him, the ingenious hostility of the Jews would have led them at once to ask what He supposed Moses to have written. The silence of the Jews

is a proof that Jesus never made such a statement.

3. My chief reason, however, for suspecting the genuineness of this verse is what I said before, that in all my search of the writings of Moses I have found no prophecy of Christ. But now that I have found in you a reader of superior intelligence, I hope to learn something; and I promise to be grateful if no feeling of ill-will prevents you from giving me the benefit of your higher attainments, as your lofty style of reproof entitles me to expect from you, I ask for instruction in whatever the writings of Moses contain about our God and Lord which has escaped me in reading. I beseech you not to use the ignorant argument that Christ affirms Moses to have written of Him. For suppose you had not to deal with me, as in my case there is an obligation to believe Him whom I profess to follow, but with a Jew or a Gentile, in reply to the statement that Moses wrote of Christ, they will ask for proofs. What shall we say to them? We cannot quote Christ's authority, for they do not believe in Him. We must point out what Moses wrote.

4. What, then, shall we point to? Shall it be that passage which you often quote where the God of Moses says to him: "I will raise up unto them from among their brethren a prophet like unto thee?" (2) But the Jew can see that this does not refer to Christ, and there is every reason against our thinking that it does. Christ was not a prophet, nor was He like Moses: for Moses was a man, and Christ was God; Moses was a sinner, and Christ sinless; Moses was born by ordinary generation, and Christ of a virgin according to you, or, as I hold, not born at all: Moses, for offending his God, was put to death on the mountain; and Christ suffered voluntarily, and the Father was well pleased in Him. If we were to assert that Christ was a prophet like Moses, the Jew would either deride us as ignorant or pronounce us untruthful.

5. Or shall we take another favorite passage of yours:" They shall see their life hanging, and shall not believe their life?" (3) You insert the words "on a tree," which are not in the original. Nothing can be easier than to show that this has no reference to Christ. Moses is uttering dire threatenings in case the people should depart from his law, and says among other things that they would be taken captive by their enemies, and would be expecting death day and night, having no confidence in the life allowed them by their conquerors, so that their life would hang in uncertainty from fear of impending danger. This passage will not do, we must try others. I cannot admit that the words, "Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree," refer to Christ, or when it is said that the prince or prophet must be killed who should try to turn away the people from their God, or should break any of the commandments. (1) That Christ did this I am obliged to grant. But if you assert that these things were written of Christ, it may be asked in reply, What spirit dictated these prophecies in which Moses curses Christ and orders him to be killed? If he had the Spirit of God, these things are not written of Christ; if they are written of Christ, he had not the Spirit of God. The Spirit of God would not curse Christ, or order Him to be killed. To vindicate Moses, you must confess that these passages too have no reference to Christ. So, if you have no others to show, there are none. If there are none, Christ could not have said that there were; and if Christ did not say so, that verse is spurious.

6. The next verse too is suspicious, "If ye believed Moses, ye would also believe me;" for the religion of Moses is so entirely different from that of Christ, that if the Jews

believed one, they could not believe the other. Moses strictly forbids any work to be done on Sabbath, and gives as a reason for this prohibition that God made the world and all that is therein in six days, and rested on the seventh day, which is Sabbath; and therefore blessed or sanctified it as His haven of repose after toil, and commanded that breaking the Sabbath should be punished with death. The Jews, in obedience to Moses, insisted strongly on this, and so would not even listen to Christ when He told them that God always works, and that no day is appointed for the intermission of His pure and unwearied energy, and that accordingly He Himself had to work incessantly even on Sabbath. "My Father," he says, "worketh always, and I too must work." (2) Again, Moses places circumcision among the rites pleasing to God, and commands every male to be circumcised in the foreskin of his flesh, and declares that this is a necessary sign of the covenant which God made with Abraham, and that every male not circumcised would be cut off from his tribe, and from his part in the inheritance promised to Abraham and to his seed. (3) In this observance, too, the Jews were very zealous, and consequently could not believe in Christ, who made light of these things, and declared that a man when circumcised became twofold a child of hell. (4) Again, Moses is very particular about the distinction in animal foods, and discourses like an epicure on the merits of fish, and birds, and quadrupeds, and orders some to be eaten as clean, and others which are unclean not to be touched. Among the unclean he reckons the swine and the hare, and fish without scales, and quadrupeds that neither divide the hoof nor chew the cud. In this also the Jews carefully obeyed Moses, and so could not believe in Christ, who taught that all food is alike, and though he allowed no animal food to his own disciples, gave full liberty to the laity to eat whatever they pleased, and taught that men are polluted not by what goes into the mouth, but by the evil things which come out of it. In these and many other things the doctrine of Jesus, as everybody knows, contradicts that of Moses.

7. Not to enumerate all the points of difference, it is enough to mention this one fact, that most Christian sects, and, as is well known, the Catholics, pay no regard to what is prescribed in the writings of Moses. If this does not originate in some error, but in the doctrine correctly transmitted from Christ and His disciples, you surely must acknowledge that the teaching of Jesus is opposed to that of Moses, and that the Jews did not believe in Christ on account of their attachment to Moses. How can it be otherwise than false that Jesus said to the Jews, "If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me also," when it is perfectly clear that their belief in Moses prevented them from believing in Jesus, which they might have done if they had left off believing in Moses? Again I ask you to show me anything that Moses wrote of Christ.

8. Elsewhere FAUSTUS says: When you find no passage to point to, you use this weak and inappropriate argument, that a Christian is bound to believe Christ when he says that Moses wrote of Him, and that whoever does not believe this is not a Christian. It would be far better to confess at once that you cannot find any passage. This argument might be used with me, because my reverence for Christ compels me to believe what He says. Still it may be a question whether this is Christ's own declaration, requiring absolute belief, or only the writer's, to be carefully examined. And disbelief in falsehood is no offence to Christ, but to impostors. But of whatever use this argument may be with Christians, it is wholly inapplicable in the case of the Jew or Gentile, with whom we are supposed to be discussing. And even with Christians the argument is objectionable.

When the Apostle Thomas was in doubt, Christ did not spurn him from Him. Instead of saying, "Believe, if thou art a disciple; whoever does not believe is not a disciple," Christ sought to heal the wounds of his mind by showing him the marks of the wounds in His own body. Does it become you then to tell me that I am not a Christian because I am in doubt, not about Christ, but about the genuineness of a remark attributed to Christ? But, you say, He calls those especially blessed, who have not seen, and yet have believed. If you think that this refers to believing without the use of judgment and reason, you are welcome to this blind blessedness.I shall be content with rational blessedness.

9. AUGUSTIN replied: Your idea of taking any prophecies of Christ to be found in Moses, as a fish out of the sea, while you throw away the water from which the fish is taken, is a clever one. But since all that Moses wrote is of Christ, or relates to Christ, either as predicting Him by words and actions, or as illustrating His grace and glory, you, with your faith in the untrue and untruthful Christ from the writings of Manichćus, and your unbelief in Moses, will not even eat the fish. Moreover, though you are sincere in your hostility to Moses, you are hypocritical in your praise of fish. For how can yon say that there is no harm in eating a fish taken out of the sea, when your doctrine is that such food is so hurtful, that you would rather starve than make use of it? If all flesh is unclean, as you say it is, and if the wretched life of),our god is confined in all water or plants, from which it is liberated by your using them for food, according to your own vile superstition, you must throw away the fish you have praised, and drink the water and eat the thistles you speak of as useless. As for your comparison of the servant of God to devils, as if his prophecies of Christ resembled their confession, the servant does not refuse to bear the reproach of his master. If the Master of the house was called Beelzebub, how much more they of His household! (1) You have learned this reproach from Christ's enemies; and you are worse than they were. They did not believe that Jesus was Christ, and therefore thought Him an impostor. But the only doctrine you believe in is that which lares to make Christ a liar.

10. What reason have you for saying that the law of Moses is pure Paganism? Is it because it speaks of a temple, and an altar of sacrifices, and priests? But all these names are found also in the New Testament. Destroy," Christ says, "this temple, and in three days I will raise it up;"' and again, "When thou offerest thy gift at the altar;" (3) and again, "Go, show thyself to the priest, and offer for thyself a sacrifice as Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them." (4) What these things prefigured the Lord Himself partly tells us, when He calls His own body the temple; and we learn also from the apostle, who says, "The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are;" (5) and again, "I beseech you therefore by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God ;" 6 and in similar passages. As the same apostle says, in words which cannot be too often quoted, these things were our examples, for they were not the work of devils, but of the one true God who made heaven and earth, and who, though not needing such things, yet, suiting His requirements to the time, made ancient observances significant of future realities. Since you pretend to abhor Paganism, though it is only that you may lead astray by your deception unlearned Christians or those not established in the faith, show us any authority in Christian books for your worship and service of the sun and moon. Your heresy is liker Paganism than the law of Moses is. For you do not worship Christ, but only something that you call Christ, a fiction of your own fancy; and the gods you serve are either the bodies visible

in the heavens, or hosts of your own contrivance. If you do not build shrines for these worthless idols, the creatures of the imagination, yon make your hearts their temple.

11. You ask me to show what Moses wrote of Christ. Many passages have already been pointed out. But who could point out all? Besides, when any quotation is made, you are ready perversely to try to give the words another meaning; or if the evidence is too strong to be resisted, you will say that you take the passage as a sweet fish out of the salt water, and that you will not therefore consent to drink all the brine of the books of Moses. It will be enough, then, to take those passages in the Hebrew law which Faustus has chosen for criticism, and to show that, when rightly understood, they apply to Christ. For if the things which our adversary ridicules and condemns are made to prove that he himself is condemned by Christian truth, it will be evident that either the mere quotation or the careful examination of the other passages will be enough to show their agreement with Christian faith. Well, then, O thou full of all subtilty, when the Lord in the Gospel says, "If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me also, for he wrote of me," (1) there is no occasion for the great perplexity you pretend to be in, or for the alternative of either pronouncing this verse spurious or calling Jesus a liar. The verse is as genuine as its words are true. I preferred, says Faustus, to attribute falsehood to the writers, rather than to the Author of truth. What sort of faith can you have in Christ as the author of truth, when your doctrine is that His flesh and His; death, His wounds and their marks, were reigned? And where is your authority for saying that Christ is the author of truth, if you dare to attribute falsehood to those who wrote of Him, whose testimony has come down to us with the confirmation of those immediately succeeding them? You have not seen Christ, nor has He conversed with you as with the apostles, nor called you from heaven as He did Saul. What knowledge or belief can we have of Christ, but on the authority of Scripture? Or if there is falsehood in the Gospel which has been widely published among all nations, and has been held in such high sacredness in all churches since the name of Christ was first preached, where shall we find a trustworthy record of Christ? If the Gospel is called in question in spite of the general consent regarding it, there can be no writing which a man may not call spurious if he does not wish to believe it.

12. You go on to quote Christ's words, that all who came before Him were thieves and robbers. How do you know that these were Christ's words, but from the Gospel? You profess faith in these words, as if you had heard them from the mouth of the Lord Himself. But if any one declares the verse to be spurious, and denies that Christ said this, you will have, in reply, to exert yourself in vindication of the authority of the Gospel. Unhappy being! what you refuse to believe is written in the same place as that which you quote as spoken by the Lord Himself. We believe both, for we believe the sacred narrative in which both are contained. We believe both that Moses wrote of Christ, and that all that came before Christ were thieves and robbers. By their coming He means their not being sent. Those who were sent, as Moses and the holy prophets, came not before Him, but with Him. They did not proudly wish to precede Him, but were the humble bearers of the message which He tittered by them. According to the meaning which you give to the Lord's words, it is plain that with you there can be no prophets. And so you have made a Christ for yourselves who should prophesy a Christ to come. If you have any prophets of your own, they will have, of course, no authority, as not being recognized by any others; but if there are any that you dare to quote as prophesying

that Christ would come in an unreal body, and would suffer an unreal death, and would show to His doubting disciples unreal marks of wounds, not to speak of the abominable nature of such prophecies, and of the evident untruthfulness of those who commend falsehood in Christ, by your own interpretation those prophets must have been thieves and robbers, for they could not have spoken of Christ as coming in any manner unless they had come before Him. If by those who came before Christ we understand those who would not come with Him, --that is, with the Word of God,--but without being sent by God brought their own falsehoods to men, you yourselves, although you are born in this world after the death and the resurrection of Christ, are thieves and robbers. For, without waiting for His illumination that you might preach His truth, you have come before Him to preach up your own deceits.

13. In the passage where we read of the Jews saying to Christ, Thou bearest witness of thyself, thy witness is not true, you do not see that Christ replies by saying that Moses wrote of Him, simply because you have not got the eye of piety to see with. The answer of Christ is this: "It is written in your law, that the testimony of two men is true; I am one who bear witness of myself, and the Father that sent me heareth witness of me." (2) What does this mean, if rightly understood, but that this number of witnesses required by the law was fixed upon and consecrated in the spirit of prophecy, that even thus might be prefigured the future revelation of the Father and Son, whose spirit is the Holy Spirit of the inseparable Trinity? So it is written: " In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established." (3) As a matter of fact, one witness generally speaks the truth, while a number tell lies. And the world, in its conversion to Christianity, believed one apostle preaching the gospel rather than the mistaken multitude who persecuted him. There was a special reason for requiring this number of witnesses, and in His answer the Lord implied that Moses prophesied of Him. Do you carp at His saying your law instead of the law of God? But, as every one knows, this is the common expression in Scripture. Your law means the law given to you. So the apostle speaks of his gospel, while at the same time he declares that he received it not from man,but by the revelation of Jesus Christ. You might as well say that Christ denies God to be His Father, when He uses the words your Father instead of our Father. Again, you should refuse to believe the voice which you allude to as having come from heaven This is my beloved Son, believe Him, because you did not hear it. But if you believe this because you find it in the sacred Scriptures, you will also find there what you deny, that Moses wrote of Christ, besides many other things that you do not acknowledge as true. Do you not see that your own mischievous argument may be used to prove that this voice never came from heaven? To your own destruction, and to the detriment of the welfare of mankind, you try to weaken the authority of the gospel, by arguing that it cannot be true that Christ said that Moses wrote of Him; because if He had said this, the ingenious hostility of the Jews would have led them at once to ask what He supposed Moses to have written of Him. In the same way, it might be impiously argued that if that voice had really come from heaven, all the Jews who heard it would have believed. Why are you so unreasonable as not to consider that, as it was possible for the Jews to remain hardened in unbelief after hearing the voice from heaven, so it was possible for them, when Christ said that Moses wrote of Him, to refrain from asking what Moses wrote, because in their ingenious hostility they were afraid of being proved to be in the wrong?

14. Besides that this argument is an impious assault on the gospel, Faustus himself is

aware of its feebleness, and therefore insists more on what he calls his chief difficulty,--that in all his search of the writings of Moses he has found no prophecies of Christ. The obvious reply is, that he does not understand. And if any one asks why he does not understand, the answer is that he reads with a hostile, unbelieving mind; he does not search in order to know, but thinks he knows when he is ignorant. This vainglorious presumption either blinds the eye of his understanding so as to prevent his seeing anything, or distorts his vision, so that his remarks of approval or disapproval are misdirected. I ask, he says, for instruction in whatever the writings of Moses contain about our God and Lord, which has escaped me in reading. I reply at once that it has all escaped him, for all is written of Christ. As we cannot go through the whole, I will, with the help of God, comply with your request, to the extent I have already promised, by showing that the passages which you specially criticise refer to Christ. You tell me not to use the ignorant argument that Christ affirms Moses to have written of Him. But if I use this argument, it is not because I am ignorant, but because I am a believer. I acknowledge that this argument will not convince a Gentile or a Jew. But, in spite of all your evasions, you are obliged to confess that it tells against you, who boast of possessing a kind of Christianity. You say, Suppose you had not to deal with me, as in my case there is an obligation to believe Him whom I profess to follow, but with a Jew or a Gentile. This is as much as to say that you, at any rate, with whom I have at present to do, are satisfied that Moses wrote of Christ; for you are not bold enough to discard altogether the well-grounded authority of the Gospel where Christ's own declaration is recorded. Even when you attack this authority indirectly, you feel that you are attacking your own position. You are aware that if you refuse to believe the Gospel, which is so generally known and received, you must fail utterly in the attempt to substitute for it any trustworthy record of the sayings and doings of Christ. You are afraid that the loss of the Christian name might lead to the exposure of your absurdities to universal scorn and condemnation. Accordingly you try to recover yourself, by saying that your profession of Christianity obliges you to believe these words of the Gospel. So you, at any rate, which is all that we need care for just now, are caught and slain in this death blow to your errors. You are forced to confess that Moses wrote of Christ, because the Gospel, which your profession obliges you to believe, states that Christ said so. As regards a discussion with a Jew or a Gentile, I have already shown as well as I could how I think it should be conducted.

15. I still hold that there is a reference to Christ in the passage which you select for refutation, where God says to Moses, "I will raise up unto them from among their brethren a prophet like unto thee." (1) The string of showy antitheses with which you try to ornament your dull discourse does not at all affect my belief of this truth. You attempt to prove, by a comparison of Christ and Moses, that they are unlike, and that therefore the words. "I will raise up a prophet like unto thee," cannot be understood of Christ. You specify a number of particulars in which you find a diversity: that the one is man, and the other God; that one is a sinner, the other sinless; that one is born of ordinary generation, the other, as we hold, of a virgin, and, as you hold, not even of a virgin; the one incurs God's anger, and is put to death on a mountain, the other suffers voluntarily, law ing throughout the approval of His Father. But surely things may be said to be like, although they are not like in every respect. Besides the resemblance between things of the same nature, as between two men, or between parents and children, or between men in general, or any species of animals, or in trees, between one olive and another,

or one laurel and another, there is often a resemblance in things of a different nature, as between a wild and a tame olive, or between wheat and barley. These things are to some extent allied. But there is the greatest possible distance between the Son of God, by whom all things were made, and a beast or a stone. And yet in the Gospel we read, "Behold the Lamb of God," (1) and in the apostle, "That rock was Christ." (2) This could not be said except on the supposition of some resemblance. What wonder, then, if Christ condescended to become like Moses, when He was made like the lamb which God by Moses commanded His people to eat as a type of Christ, enjoining that its blood should be used as a means of protection, and that it should be called the Passover, which every one must admit to be fulfilled in Christ? The Scripture, I acknowledge, shows points of difference; and the Scripture also, as I call on you to acknowledge, shows points of resemblance. There are points of both kinds, and one can be proved as well as the other. Christ is unlike man, for He is God; and it is written of Him that He is "over all, God blessed for ever." (3) Christ is also like man, for He is man; and it is likewise written of Him, that He is the "Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." (4) Christ is unlike a sinner, for He is ever holy; and He is like a sinner, for "God sent His Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, that by sin He might condemn sin in the flesh." (5) Christ is unlike a man born in ordinary generation, for He was born of a virgin; and yet He is like, for He too was born of a woman, to whom it was said, "That holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." (6) Christ is unlike a man, who dies on account of his own sin, for He died without sin, and of His own free-will; and again, He is like, for He too died a real death of the body.

16. You ought not to say, in disparagement of Moses, that he was a sinner, and that he was put to death on a mountain because his God was angry with him. For Moses could glory in the Lord as his Saviour, who is also the Saviour of him who says, "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief." (7) Moses, indeed, is accused by the voice of God, because his faith showed signs of weakness when he was commanded to draw water out of the rock. (8) In this he may have sinned as Peter did, when from the weakness of his faith he became afraid in the: midst of the waves. (9) But we cannot think from this, that he who, as the Gospel tells us, was counted worthy to be present with the Lord along with holy Elias on the mount of transfiguration, was separated from the eternal fellowship of the saints. The sacred history shows in what favor he was with God even after his sin. But since you may ask why God speaks of this sin as deserving the punishment of death, and as I have promised to point out prophecies of Christ in those passages which you select for criticism, I will try, with the Lord's help, to show that what you object to in the death of Moses is, when rightly understood, prophetical of Christ.

17. We often find in the symbolical passages of Scripture, that the same person appears in different characters on different occasions. So, on this occasion, Moses represents and prefigures the Jewish people as placed under the law. As, then, Moses, when he struck the rock with his rod, doubted the power of God, so the people who were under the law given by Moses, when they nailed Christ to the cross, did not believe Him to be the power of God. And as water flowed from the smitten rock for those that were athirst, so life comes to believers from the stroke of the Lord's passion. The testimony of the apostle is clear and decisive on this point, when he says, "This rock was Christ." (10) In the command of God, that the death of the flesh of Moses

should take place on the mountain, we see the divine appointment that the carnal doubt of the divinity of Christ should die on Christ's exaltation. As the rock is Christ, so is the mountain. The rock is the fortitude of His humiliation; the mountain the height of His exaltation. For as the apostle says, "This rock was Christ," so Christ Himself says, "A city set upon an hill cannot be hid," (11) showing that He is the hill, and believers the city built upon the glory of His name. The carnal mind lives when, like the smitten rock, the humiliation of Christ on the cross is despised. For Christ crucified is to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness. And the carnal mind dies when, like the mountain-top, Christ is seen in His exaltation. "For to them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ is the power of God, and the wisdom of God." (1) Moses therefore ascended the mount, that in the death of the flesh he might be received by the living spirit. If Faustus had ascended, he would not have uttered carnal objections from a dead mind. It was the carnal mind that made Peter dread the smiting of the rock, when, on the occasion of the Lord's foretelling His passion, he said, "Be it far from Thee, Lord; spare Thyself." And this sin too was severely rebuked, when the Lord replied, "Get thee behind me, Satan; thou art an offense unto me: for thou savorest not the things which be of God, but those which be of men." (2) And where did this carnal distrust die but in the glorification of Christ, as on a mountain height? If it was alive when Peter timidly denied Christ, it was dead when he fearlessly preached Him. It was alive in Saul, when, in his aversion to the offense of the cross, he made havoc of the Christian faith, and where but on this mountain had it died, when Paul was able to say, "I live no longer, but Christ liveth in me?"3

18. What other reason has your heretical folly to give for thinking that there is no prophecy of Christ in the words, "I will raise lip unto them a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee?" Your showing Christ to be unlike Moses is no reason; for we can show that in other respects He is like. How can you object to Christ's being called a prophet, since He condescended to be a man, and actually foretold many future events? What is a prophet, but one who predicts events beyond human foresight? So Christ says of Himself: "A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country." (4) But, turning from you, since you have already acknowledged that your profession of Christianity obliges you to believe the Gospel, I address myself to the Jew, who enjoys the poor privilege of liberty from the yoke of Christ, and who therefore thinks it allowable to say: Your Christ spoke falsely; Moses wrote nothing of him.

19. Let the Jews say what prophet is meant in this promise of God to Moses: "I will raise up unto them a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee." Many prophets appeared after Moses; but one in particular is here pointed out. The Jews will perhaps naturally think of the successor of Moses, who led into the promised land the people that Moses had brought out of Egypt. Having this successor of Moses in his mind, he may perhaps laugh at me for asking to what prophet the words of the promise refer, since it is recorded who followed Moses in ruling and leading the people. When he has laughed at my ignorance, as Faustus supposes him to do, I will still continue my inquiries, and will desire my laughing opponent to give me a serious answer to the question why Moses changed the name of this successor, who was preferred to himself as the leader of the people into the promised land, to show that the law given by Moses not to save, but to convince the sinner, cannot lead us into heaven, but only the grace and truth which are by Jesus Christ. This successor was called Osea, and Moses gave

him the name of Jesus. Why . then did he give him this name when he sent him from the valley of Pharan into the land into which he was to lead the people? (5) The true Jesus says, "If I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself." (6) I will ask the Jew if the prophet does not show the prophetical meaning of these things when he says, "God shall come from Africa, and the Holy One from Pharan." Does this not mean that the holy God would come with the name of him who came from Africa by Pharan, that is, with the name of Jesus? Then, again, it is the Word of God Himself who speaks when He promises to provide this successor to Moses, speaking of him as an angel,--a name commonly given in Scripture to those carrying any message. The words are: "Behold I send my angel before thy face, to preserve thee in the way, and to bring thee into the land which I have sworn to give thee. Take heed unto him, and obey, and beware of unbelief in him; for he will not take anything from thee wrongfully, for my name is in him." (7) Consider these words. Let the Jew, not to speak of the Manichaean, say what other angel he can find in Scripture to whom these words apply, but this leader who was to bring the people into the land of promise. Then let him inquire who it was that succeeded Moses, and brought in the people. He will find that it was Jesus, and that this was not his name at first, but after his name was changed. It follows that He who said, "My name is in him," is the true Jesus, the leader who brings His people into the inheritance of eternal life, according to the New Testament, of which the Old was a figure. No event or action could have a more distinctly prophetical character than this, where the very name is a prediction.

20. It follows that this Jew, if he wishes to be a Jew inwardly, in the spirit, and not in the letter, if he wishes to be thought a true Israelite, in whom is no guile, will recognize in this dead Jesus, who led the people into the land of mortality, a figure of the true living Jesus, whom he may follow into the land of life. In this way, he will no longer in a hostile spirit resist so plain a prophecy, but, influenced by the allusion to the Jesus of the Old Testament, he will be prepared to listen meekly to Him whose name he bore, and who leads to the true land of promise; for He says, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the land."(1) The Gentile also, if his heart is not too stony, if he is one of those stones from which God raises up children unto Abraham, must allow it to be wonderful that in the ancient books of the people of whom Jesus was born, so plain a prophecy, including His very name, is found recorded; and must remark at the same time, that it is not any many of the name of Jesus who is prophesied, of, but a divine person, because God said that His name was in that man who was appointed to rule the people, and to lead them into the kingdom, and who by a change of name was called Jesus. In His being sent with this new name, He brings a great and divine message, and is therefore called an Angel, which, as every tyro in Greek knows, means messenger. No Gentile, therefore, it he were not perverse and obstinate, would despise these books merely because be is not subject to the law of the Hebrews, to whom the books belong; but would think highly of the books, no matter whose they were, on finding in them prophecies of such ancient date, and of what he sees now taking place. Instead of despising Christ Jesus because He is foretold in the Hebrew Scriptures, he would conclude that one thought worth), of being the subject of prophetic description, whoever the writers might be, for so many ages before His coming into the world,--sometimes in plain announcements, sometimes in figure by symbolic actions and utterances,--must claim to be regarded with profound admiration and reverence, and to be followed with implicit reliance. Thus the facts of Christian history would prove the truth of the

prophecy, and the prophecy would prove the claims of Christ. Call this fancy, if it is not actually the case that men all over the world have been led, and are now led, to believe in Christ by reading these books.

21. In view of the multitudes from all nations who have become zealous believers in these books, it is laughably absurd to tell us that it is impossible to persuade a Gentile to learn the Christian faith from Jewish books. Indeed, it is a great confirmation of our faith that such important testimony is borne by enemies. The believing Gentiles cannot suppose these testimonies to Christ to be recent forgeries; for they find them in books held sacred for so many ages by those who crucified Christ, and still regarded with the highest veneration by those who every day blaspheme Christ. If the prophecies of Christ were the production of the preachers of Christ. we might suspect their genuineness. But now the preacher expounds the text of the blasphemer. In this way the Most High God order the blindness of the ungodly for the profit of the saint, in His righteous government bringing good out of evil, that those who by their own choice live wickedly may be, in His just judgment, made the instruments of His will. So, lest those that were to preach Christ to the world should be thought to have forged the prophecies which speak of Christ as to be born, to work miracles, to suffer unjustly, to die, to rise again, to ascend to heaven, to publish the gospel of eternal life among all nations, the unbelief of the Jews has been made of signal benefit to us; so that those who do not receive in their heart for their own good these truths, carry, in their hands for our benefit the writings in which these truths are contained. And the unbelief of the Jews increases rather than lessens the authority of the books, for this blindness is itself, foretold. They testify to the truth by their not understanding it. By not understanding the books which predict that they would not understand, they prove these books to be true.

22. In the passage, "Thou shalt see thy life hanging, and shalt not believe thy life,"(2) Faustus is deceived by the ambiguity of the words. The words may be differently interpreted; but that they cannot be understood of Christ is not said by Faustus, nor can be said by anyone who does not deny that Christ is life, or that He was seen by the Jews hang-lug on the cross, or that they did not believe Him. Since Christ Himself says, "I am the life,"(3) and since there is no doubt that He was seen hanging by the unbelieving Jews, I see no reason for doubting that this was written of Christ; for, as Christ says, Moses wrote of Him. Since we have already refuted Faustus' arguments by which he tries to show that the words, "I will raise up from among their brethren a prophet like unto thee," do not apply to Christ, because Christ is not like Moses, we need not insist on this other prophecy. Since, in the one case, his argument is that Christ is unlike Moses, so here he ought to argue that Christ is not the life, or that He was not seen hanging by the unbelieving Jews. But as he has not said this, and as no one will now venture to say so, there should be no difficulty in accepting this too as a prophecy of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, uttered by His servant. These words, says Faustus, occur in a chapter of curses. But why should it be the less a prophecy because it occurs in the midst of prophecies? Or why should it not be a prophecy of Christ, although the context does not seem to refer to Christ? Indeed, among all the curses which the jews brought on themselves by their sinful pride, nothing could be worse than this, that they should see their Life--that is, the Son of God --hanging, and should not believe their Life. For the curses of prophecy are not hostile imprecations, but announcements of coming judgment. Hostile imprecations are forbidden, for it is

said, "Bless, and curse not."(1) But prophetic announcements are often found in the writings of the saints, as when the Apostle Paul says: "Alexander the coppersmith has done me much evil; the Lord shall reward him according to his works."(2) So it might be thought that the apostle was prompted by angry feeling to utter this imprecation: "I would that they were even made eunuchs that trouble you."(3) But if we remember who the writer is, we may see in this ambiguous expression an ingenious style of benediction. For there are eunuchs which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake.(4) If Faustus had a pious appetite for Christian food, he would have found a similar ambiguity in the words of Moses. By the Jews the declaration, "Thou shalt see thy life hanging, and shalt not believe thy life," may have been understood to mean that they would see their life to be in danger from the threats and plots of their enemies, and would not expect to live. But the child of the Gospel, who has heard Christ say, "He wrote of me." distinguishes in the ambiguity of the prophecy between what is thrown to swine and what is addressed to man. To his mind the thought immediately suggests itself of Christ hanging as the life of man, and of the Jews not believing in Him for this very reason, that they saw Him hanging. As to the objection that these words, "Thou shalt see thy life hanging, and shalt not believe thy life," are the only words referring to Christ in a passage containing maledictions not applicable to Christ, some might grant that this is true. For this prophecy might very well occur among the curses pronounced by the prophet upon the ungodly people, for these curses are of different kinds. But I, and those who with me. consider more closely the saying of the Lord in His Gospel, which is not, He wrote also of me, as admitting that Moses wrote other things not referring to Christ, but, "He wrote of me," as teaching that in searching the Scriptures we should view them as intended solely to illustrate the grace of Christ, see a reference to Christ in the rest of the passage also. But it would take too much time to explain this here.

23. So far from these words of Faustus' quotation being proved not to refer to Christ by their occurring among the other curses, these curses cannot be rightly understood except as prophecies of the glory of Christ, in which lies the happiness of man. And what is true of these curses is still more true of this quotation. If it could be said of Moses that his words have a different meaning from what was in his mind, I would rather suppose him to have prophesied without knowing it, than allow that the words, "Thou shalt see thy life hanging, and shalt not believe thy life," are not applicable to Christ. So the words of Caiaphas had a different meaning from what he intended, when, in his hostility to Christ, he said that it was expedient that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation should not perish, where the Evangelist added that he said this not of himself, but, since he was high priest, he prophesied.(5) But Moses was not Caiaphas; and therefore when Moses said 16 the Hebrew people, "Thou shalt see thy life hanging, and shalt not believe thy life," he not only spoke of Christ, as he certainly did, even though he spoke without knowing the meaning of what he said, lint he knew that he spoke of Christ. For he was a most faithful steward of the prophetic mystery, that is, of the priestly unction which gives the knowledge of the name of Christ; and in this mystery even Caiaphas, wicked as he was, was able to prophesy without knowing it. The prophetic unction enabled him to prophesy, though his wicked life prevented him from knowing it. Who then can say that there are no prophecies of Christ in Moses, with whom began that unction to which we owe the knowledge of Christ's name, and by which even Caiaphas, the persecutor of Christ, prophesied of Christ

without knowing it?

24. We have already said as much as appeared desirable of the curse pronounced on every one that hangs on a tree. Enough has been said to show that the command to kill any prophet or prince who tried to turn away the children of Israel from their God, or to break any commandment, is not directed against Christ. The more we consider the words and actions of our Lord Jesus Christ, the more clearly will this appear; for Christ never tried to turn away any of the Israelites from their God. The God whom Moses taught the people to love and serve, is the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, whom the Lord Jesus Christ speaks of by this name, using the name in refutation of the Sadducees, who denied the resurrection of the dead. He says, "Of the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read what God said from the bush to Moses, I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living; for all live unto Him."(1) In the same words with which Christ answered the Sadducees we may answer the Manichaeans, for they too deny the resurrection, though in a different way. Again, when Christ said, in praise of the centurion's faith, "Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel," He added, "And I say unto you, that many shall come from the east and from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom shall go into outer darkness."(2) If, then, as Faustus must admit, the God of whom Moses spoke was the God of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, of whom Christ also spoke, as these passages prove, it follows that Christ did not try to turn away the people from their God. On the contrary, He warned them that they would go into outer darkness, because He saw that they were turned away from their God, in whose kingdom He says the Gentiles called from the whole world will sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob; implying that they would believe in the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob. So the apostle also says: "The Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, preached the gospel beforehand to Abraham, saying, In thy seed shall all nations be blessed."(3) It is implied that those who are blessed in the seed of Abraham shall imitate the faith of Abraham. Christ, then, did not try to turn away the Israelites from their God, but rather charged them with being turned away. The idea that Christ broke one of the commandments given by Moses is not a new one, for the Jews thought so; but it is a mistake, for the Jews were in the wrong. Let Faustus mention the commandment which he supposes the Lord to have broken, and we will point out his mistake, as we have done already, when it was required. Meanwhile it is enough to say, that if the Lord had broken any commandment, He could not have found fault with the Jews for doing so. For when the Jews blamed His disciples for eating with unwashen hands, in which they transgressed not a commandment of God, but the traditions of the elders, Christ said, "Why do ye also transgress the commandment of God, that ye may observe your traditions?" He then quotes a commandment of God, which we know to have been given by Moses. "For God said," He adds, "Honor thy father and mother, and he that curseth father or mother shall die the death. But ye say, Whoever shall say to his father or mother, It is a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me, is not obliged to honor his father. So ye make the word of God of none effect by your traditions."(4) From this several things maybe learned: that Christ did not turn away the Jews from their God; that He not only did not Himself break God's commandments, but found fault with those who did so; and that it was God Himself who gave these commandments by Moses.

25. In fulfillment of our promise that we would prove the reference to Christ in those passages selected by Faustus from the writings of Moses for adverse criticism, since we cannot here point out the reference to Christ which we believe to exist in all the writings of Moses, it becomes our duty to show that this commandment of Moses, that every prophet or prince should be killed who tried to turn away the people from their God, or to break any commandment, refers to the preservation of the faith which is taught in the Church of Christ. Moses no doubt knew in the spirit of prophecy, and from what he himself heard from God. that many heretics, would arise to teach errors of all kinds against the doctrine of Christ, and to preach another Christ than the true Christ. For the true Christ is He that was foretold in the prophecies uttered by Moses himself, and by the other holy men of that nation. Moses accordingly commanded that whoever tried to teach another Christ should be put to death. In obedience to this command, the voice of the Catholic Church, as with the spiritual two-edged sword of both Testaments, puts to death all who try to turn us away from our God, or to break any of the commandments. And chief among these is Manichaeus himself; for the truth of the law and the prophets convinces him of error as trying to turn us away from our God, the God of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, whom Christ acknowledges, and as trying to break the commandments of the law, which, even when they are only figurative, we regard as prophetic of Christ.

26. Faustus uses an argument which is either very deceitful or very stupid. And as Faustus is not stupid, it is probable that he used the argument intentionally, with the design of misleading the careless reader. He says: If these things are not written of Christ, and if you cannot show any others, it follows that there are none at all. The proposition is true; but it remains to be proved, both that these things are not written of Christ, and that no other can be shown. Faustus has not proved this; for we have shown both how these things are to be understood of Christ, and that there are many other things which have no meaning but as applied to Christ. So it does not follow, as Faustus says, that nothing was written by Moses of Christ. Let us repeat Faustus' argument: If these things are not written of Christ, and if you cannot show any others, it follows that there are none at all. Perfectly so. But as both these things and many others have been shown to be written of Christ, or with reference to Christ, the true conclusion is that Faustus' argument is worthless. In the passages quoted by Faustus, he has tried, though without success, to show that they were not written of Christ. But in order to draw the conclusion that there are none at all, he should first have proved that no others can be shown. Instead of this, he takes for granted that the readers of his book will be blind, or the hearers deaf, so that the omission will be overlooked, and runs on thus: If there are none, Christ could not have asserted that there were any. And if Christ did not make this assertion, it follows that this verse is spurious. Here is a man who thinks so much of what he says himself, that he does not consider the possibility of another person saying the opposite. Where is your wit? Is this all you could say for a bad cause? But if the badness of the cause made you utter folly, the bad cause was your own choice. To prove your antecedent false, we have only to show some other things written of Christ. If there are some, it will not be true that there are none. And if there are some, Christ may have asserted that there were. And if Christ may have asserted this, t follows that this verse of the Gospel is not spurious. Coming back, then, to Faustus' proposition, If you cannot show any other, it follows that there are none at all, it requires

to be proved that we cannot show any other. We need only refer to what we showed before, as sufficient to prove the truth of the text in the Gospel, in which Christ says, "If ye believed Moses, ye would also believe me; for he wrote of me." And even though from dullness of mind we could find nothing written of Christ by Moses, still, so strong is the evidence in support of the authority of the Gospel, that it would be incumbent on us to believe that not only some things, but everything written by Moses, refers to Christ; for He says not, He wrote also of me, but, He wrote of me. The truth then is this, that even though there were doubts, which God forbid, of the genuineness of this verse, the doubt would be removed by the number of testimonies to Christ which we find in Moses; while, on the other hand, even if we could find none, we should still be bound to believe that these are to be found, because no doubts can be admitted regarding any verse in the Gospel.

27. As to your argument that the doctrine of Moses was unlike that of Christ, and that therefore it was improbable that if they believed Moses, they would believe Christ too; and that it would rather follow that their belief in one would imply of necessity opposition to the other,--you could not have said this if you had turned your mind's eye for a moment to see men all the world over, when they are not blinded by a contentious spirit, learned and unlearned, Greek and barbarian, wise and unwise, to whom the apostle called himself a debtor,(1) believing in both Christ and Moses. If it was improbable that the Jews would believe both Christ and Moses, it is still more improbable that all the world would do so. But as we see all nations believing both, and in a common and well-grounded faith holding the agreement of the prophecy of the one with the gospel of the other, it was no impossible thing to which this one nation was called, when Christ said to them, "If ye believed Moses, ye would also believe me." Rather we should be amazed at the guilty obstinacy of the Jews, who refused to do what we see the whole world has done.

28. Regarding the Sabbath and circumcision, and the distinction in foods, in which you say the teaching of Moses differs from what Christians are taught by Christ, we have already shown that, as the apostle says, "all those things were our examples."(2) The difference is not in the doctrine, but in the time. There was a time when it was proper that these things should be figuratively predicted; and there is now a different time when it is proper that they should be openly declared and fully accomplished. It is not surprising that the Jews, who understood the Sabbath in a carnal sense, should oppose Christ, who began to open up its spiritual meaning. Reply, if you can, to the apostle, who declares that the rest of the Sabbath was a shadow of something future.(1) If the Jews opposed Christ because they did not understand what the true Sabbath is, there is no reason why you should oppose Him, or refuse to learn what true innocence is. For on that occasion when Jesus appears especially to set aside the Sabbath, when His disciples were hungry, and pulled the ears of corn through which they were passing, and ate them, Jesus, in replying to the Jews, declared His disciples to be innocent. "If you knew," He said "what this meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice, you would not have condemned the innocent."(2) They should rather have pitied the wants of the disciples, for hunger forced them to do what they did. But pulling ears of corn, which is innocence in the teaching of Christ, is murder in the teaching of Manichaeus. Or was it an act of charity in the apostles to pull the ears of corn, that they might in eating set free the members of God, as in your foolish notions? Then it must be cruelty in you not to do

the same. Faustus' reason for setting aside the Sabbath is because he knows that God's power is exercised without cessation, and without weariness. It is for those to say this, who believe that all times are the production of an eternal act of God's will. But you will find it difficult to reconcile this with your doctrine, that the rebellion of the race of darkness broke your god's rest, which was also disturbed by a sudden attack of the enemy; or perhaps God never had rest, as he foresaw this from eternity, and could not feel at ease in the prospect of so dire a conflict, with such loss and disaster to his members.

29. Unless Christ had considered this Sabbath-which in your want of knowledge and of piety you laugh at--one of the prophecies written of Himself, He would not have borne such a testimony to it as He did. For when, as you say in praise of Christ, He suffered voluntarily, and so could choose His own time for suffering and for resurrection, He brought it about that His body rested from all its works on Sabbath in the tomb, and that His resurrection on the third day. which we call the Lord's day, the day after the Sabbath, and therefore the eighth, proved the circumcision of the eighth day to be also prophetical of Him. For what does circumcision mean, but the eradication of the mortality which comes from our carnal generation? So the apostle says: "Putting off from Himself His flesh, He made a show of principalities and powers, triumphing over them in Himself."(3) The flesh here said to be put off is that mortality of flesh on account of which the body is properly called flesh. The flesh is the mortality, for in the immortality of the resurrection there will be no flesh; as it is written, "Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God." You are accustomed to argue from these words against our faith in the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, which has already taken place in the Lord Himself. You keep out of view the following words, in which the apostle explains his meaning. To show what he here means by flesh, he adds, "Neither shall corruption inherit incorruption." For this body, which from its mortality is properly called flesh, is changed in the resurrection, so as to be no longer corruptible arid mortal. This is the apostle's statement, and not a supposition of ours, as his next words prove. "Lo" he says, "I show you a mystery: we shall all use again, but we shall not all be changed. In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; for the last trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall rise incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality."(4) To put on immortality, the body puts off mortality. This is the mystery of circumcision, which by the law took place on the eighth day; and on the eighth day, the Lord's day, the day after the Sabbath, was fulfilled in its true meaning by the Lord. Hence it is said, "Putting off His flesh, He made a show of principalities and powers." For by means of this mortality the hostile powers of hell ruled over us. Christ is said to have made a show or example of these, because in Himself, our Head, He gave an example which will be fully realized in the liberation of His whole body, the Church, from the power of the devil at the last resurrection. This is our faith. And according to the prophetic declaration quoted by Paul, "The just shall live by faith." This is our justification.(5) Even Pagans believe that Christ died. But only Christians believe that Christ rose again. "If thou confess with thy mouth," says the apostle, "that Jesus is the Lord, and believest in thy heart that God raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved."(1) Again, because we are justified by faith in Christ's resurrection, the apostle says, "He died for our offenses, and rose again for our justification."(2) And because this resurrection by faith in which we are justified was prefigured by the circumcision of the eighth day, the apostle says of Abraham, with

whom the observance began, "He received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of faith."(3) Circumcision, then, is one of the prophecies of Christ, written by Moses, of whom Christ said, "He wrote of me." In the words of the Lord, "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves,"(4) it is not the circumcision of the proselyte which is meant, but his imitation of the conduct of the scribes and Pharisees, which the Lord forbids His disciples to imitate, when He says: "The scribes and Pharisees sit on Moses' seat: what they say unto you, do; but do not after their works; for they say, and do not."(5) These words of the Lord teach us both the honor due to the teaching of Moses, in whose seat even bad men were obliged to teach good things, and the reason of the proselyte becoming a child of hell, which was not that he heard from the Pharisees the words of the law, but that he copied their example. Such a circumcised proselyte might have been addressed in the words of Paul: "Circumcision verily profiteth, if thou keep the law."(6) His imitation of the Pharisees in not keeping the law made him a child of hell. And he was twofold more than they, probably because of his neglecting to fulfill what he voluntarily undertook, when, not being born a Jew, he chose to become a Jew.

30. Your scoff is very inappropriate, when you say that Moses discusses like a glutton what should be eaten, and commands some things to be freely used as clean, and other things as unclean to be not even touched. A glutton makes no distinction, except in choosing the sweetest food. Perhaps you wish to commend to the admiration of the uninitiated the innocence of your abstemious habits, by appearing not to know, or to have forgotten, that swine's flesh tastes better than mutton. But as this too was written by Moses of Christ in figurative prophecy, in which the flesh of animals signifies those who are to be united to the body of Christ, which is the Church, or who are to be cast out, you are typified by the unclean animals; for your disagreement with the Catholic faith shows that you do not ruminate on the word of wisdom, and that you do not divide the hoof, in the sense of making a correct distinction between the Old Testament and the New. But you show still more audacity in adopting the erroneous opinions of your Adimantus.

31. You follow Adimantus in saying that Christ made no distinction in food, except in entirely prohibiting the use of animal food to His disciples, while He allowed the laity to eat anything that is eatable; and declared that they were not polluted by what enters into the mouth, but that the unseemly things which come out of the mouth are the things which defile a man. These words of yours are unseemly indeed, for they express notorious falsehood. If Christ taught that the evil things which come out of the mouth are the only things that defile a man, why should they not be the only things to defile His disciples, so as to make it unnecessary that any food should be forbidden or unclean? Is it only the laity that are not polluted by what goes into the mouth, but by what comes out of it? In that case, they are better protected from impurity than the saints, who are polluted both by what goes in and by what comes out. But as Christ, comparing Himself with John, who came neither eating nor drinking, says that He came eating and drinking, I should like to know what He ate and drank. When exposing the perversity which found fault with both, He says: "John came neither eating nor drinking; and ye say, He hath a devil. The Son of man cometh eating and drinking; and ye say, Behold a glutton and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners."(7) We know what John ate

and drank. For it is not said that he drank nothing, but that he drank no wine or strong drink; so he must have drunk water. He did not live without food, but his food was locusts and wild honey.(8) When Christ says that John did not eat or drink, He means that he did not use the food which the Jews used. And because the Lord used this food, He is spoken of, in contrast with John, as eating and drinking. Will it be said that it was bread and vegetables which the Lord ate, and which John did not eat? It would be strange if one was said not to eat, because he used locusts and honey, while the other is said to eat simply because he used bread and vegetables. But whatever may be thought of the eating, certainly no one could be called a wine-bibber unless he used wine. Why then do you call wine unclean? It is not in order to subdue the body by abstinence that you prohibit these things, but because they are unclean, for you say that they are the poisonous filth of the race of darkness; whereas the apostle says, "To the pure all things are pure."(1) Christ, according to this doctrine, taught that all food was alike, but forbade His disciples to use what the Manichaeans call unclean. Where do you find this prohibition? You are not afraid to deceive men by falsehood; but in God's righteous providence, you are so blinded that you provide us with the means of refuting you. For I cannot resist quoting for examination the whole of that passage of the Gospel which Faustus uses against Moses; that we may see from it the falsehood of what was said first by Adimantus, and here by Faustus, that the Lord Jesus forbade the use of animal food to His disciples, and allowed it to the laity. After Christ's reply to the accusation that His disciples ate with unwashen hands, we read in the Gospel as follows: "And He called the multitude, and said unto them, Hear and understand. Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man: but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man. Then came His disciples, and said unto Him, Knowest Thou that the Pharisees were offended after they heard this saying?" Here, when addressed by His disciples, He ought certainly, according to the Manichaeans, to have given them special instructions to abstain from animal food, and to show that His words, "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man, but that which goeth out of the mouth," applied to the multitude only. Let us hear, then, what, according to the evangelist, the Lord replied, not to the multitude, but to His disciples: "But He answered and said, Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up. Let them alone: they be blind leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." The reason of this was, that in their desire to observe their own traditions, they did not understand the commandments of God. As yet the disciples had not asked the Master how they were to understand what He had said to the multitude. But now they do so; for the evangelist adds: Then answered Peter and said unto Him, Declare unto us this parable." This shows that Peter thought that when the Lord said, "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man, but that which goeth out of the mouth," He did not speak plainly and literally, but, as usual, wished to convey some instruction under the guise of a parable. When His disciples, then, put this question in private, does He tell them, as the Manichaeans say, that all animal food is unclean, and that they must never touch it? Instead of this, He rebukes them for not understanding His plain language, and for thinking it a parable when it was not. We read: "And Jesus said, Are ye also yet without understanding? Do not ye yet understand, that whatsoever entereth in at the mouth goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the drought? But those things which proceed out of the mouth come forth from the heart, and they defile the man. For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies. These are the things which defile a man: but to eat with unwashen hands

defileth not a man."(2)

32. Here we have a complete exposure of the falsehood of the Manichaeans: for it is plain that the Lord did not in this matter teach one thing to the multitude, and another in private to His disciples. Here is abundant evidence that the error and deceit are in the Manichaeans, and not in Moses, nor in Christ, nor in the doctrine taught figuratively in one Testament and plainly in the other,--prophesied in one, and fulfilled in the other. How can the Manichaeans say that the Catholics regard none of the things that Moses wrote, when in fact they observe them all, not now in the figures, but in what the figures were intended to foretell? No one would say that one who reads the Scripture subsequently to its being written does not observe it because he does not form the letters which he reads. The letters are the figures of the sounds which he utters; and though he does not form the letters, he cannot read without examining them. The reason why the Jews did not believe in Christ, was because they did not observe even the plain literal precepts of Moses. So Christ says to them: "Ye pay tithe of mint and cummin, and omit the weightier matters of the law, mercy and judgment. Ye strain out a gnat and swallow a camel. These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone."(3) So also He told them that by their traditions they made of none effect the commandment of God to give honor to parents. On account of this pride and perversity in neglecting what they understood, they were justly blinded, so that they could not understand the other things.

33. You see, my argument is not that if you are a Christian you must believe Christ when He says that Moses wrote of Him, and that if you do not believe this you are no Christian. The account you give of yourself in asking to be dealt with as a Jew or a Gentile is your own affair. My endeavor is to leave no avenue of error open to you. I have shut you out, too, from that precipice to which you rush as a last resort, when you say that these are spurious passages in the Gospel; so that, freed from the pernicious influence of this opinion, you may be reduced to the necessity of believing in Christ. You say you wish to be taught like the Christian Thomas, whom Christ did not spurn from Him because he doubted of Him, but, in order to heal the wounds of his mind, showed him the marks of the wounds in His own body. These are your own words. It is well that you desire to be taught as Thomas was. I feared yon would make out this passage too to be spurious. Believe, then, the marks of Christ's wounds. For if the marks were real, the wounds must have been real. And the wounds could not have been real, unless His body had been capable of real wounds; which upsets at once the whole error of the Manichaeans. If you say that the marks were unreal which Christ showed to His doubting disciple, it follows that He must be a deceitful teacher, and that you wish to be deceived in being taught by Him. But as no one wishes to be deceived, while many wish to deceive, it is probable that you would rather imitate the teaching which you ascribe to Christ than the learning you ascribe to Thomas. If, then, you believe that Christ deceived a doubting inquirer by false marks of wounds, you must yourself be regarded, not as a safe teacher, but as a dangerous impostor. On the other hand, if Thomas touched the real marks of Christ's wounds, you must confess that Christ had a real body. So, if you believe as Thomas did, you are no more a Manichaean. If you do not believe even with Thomas, you must be left to your infidelity.

BOOK XVII.

FAUSTUS REJECTS CHRIST'S DECLARATION THAT HE CAME NOT TO DESTROY THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS BUT TO FULFILL THEM, ON THE GROUND THAT IT IS FOUND ONLY IN MATTHEW, WHO WAS NOT PRESENT WHEN THE WORDS PURPORT TO HAVE BEEN SPOKEN. AUGUSTIN REBUKES THE FOLLY OF REFUSING TO BELIEVE MATTHEW AND YET BELIEVING MANICHAEUS, AND SHOWS WHAT THE PASSAGE OF SCRIPTURE REALLY MEANS.

1. FAUSTUS said: You ask why we do not receive the law and the prophets, when Christ said that he came not to destroy them, but to fulfill them. Where do we learn that Jesus said this? From Matthew, who declares that he said it on the mount. In whose presence was it said? In the presence of Peter, Andrew, James, and John--only these four; for the rest, including Matthew himself, were not yet chosen. Is it not the case that one of these four--John, namely--wrote a Gospel? It is. Does he mention this saying of Jesus? No. How, then, does it happen that what is not recorded by John, who was on the mount, is recorded by Matthew, who became a follower of Christ long after He came down from the mount? In the first place, then, we must doubt whether Jesus ever said these words, since the proper witness is silent on the matter, and we have only the authority of a less trustworthy witness. But, besides this, we shall find that it is not Matthew that has imposed upon us, but some one else under his name, as is evident from the indirect style of the narrative. Thus we read: "As Jesus passed by, He saw a man, named Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom, and called him; and he immediately rose up, and followed Him."(1) No one writing of himself would say, He saw a man, and called him; and he followed Him; but, He saw me, and called me, and I followed Him. Evidently this was written not by Matthew himself, but by some one else under his name. Since, then, the passage already quoted would not be true even if it had been written by Matthew, since he was not present when Jesus spoke on the mount; much more is its falsehood evident from the fact that the writer was not Matthew himself, but some one borrowing the names both of Jesus and of Matthew.

2. The passage itself, in which Christ tells the Jews not to think that He came to destroy the law, is rather designed to show that He did destroy it. For, had He not done something of the kind, the Jews would not have suspected Him. His words are: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law." Suppose the Jews had replied, What actions of thine might lead us to suspect this? Is it because thou exposest circumcision, breakest the Sabbath, discardest sacrifices, makest no distinction in foods? this would be the natural answer to the words, Think not. The Jews had the best possible reason for thinking that Jesus destroyed the law. If this was not to destroy the law, what is? But, indeed, the law and the prophets consider themselves already so faultlessly perfect, that they have no desire to be fulfilled. Their author and father condemns adding to them as much as taking away anything from them; as we read in Deuteronomy: "These precepts which I deliver unto thee this day, O Israel, thou shalt observe to do; thou shalt

not turn aside from them to the right hand or to the left; thou shalt not add thereto nor diminish from it, that thy God may bless thee."(1) Whether, therefore, Jesus turned aside to the right by adding to the law and the prophets in order to fulfill them, or to the left in taking away from them to destroy them, either way he offended the author of the law. So this verse must either have some other meaning, or be spurious.

3. AUGUSTIN replied: What amazing folly, to disbelieve what Matthew records of Christ, while you believe Manichaeus! If Matthew is not to be believed because he was not present when Christ said, "I came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfill," was Manichaeus present, was he even born, when Christ appeared among men? According, then, to your rule, you should not believe anything that Manichaeus says of Christ. On the other hand, we refuse to believe what Manichaeus says of Christ; not because he was not present as a witness of Christ's words and actions, but because he contradicts Christ's disciples, and the Gospel which rests on their authority. The apostle, speaking in in he Holy Spirit, tells us that such teachers would arise. With reference to such, he says to believers: "If any man preaches to you another gospel than that ye have received, let him be accursed."(2) If no one can say what is true of Christ unless he has himself seen and heard Him, no one now can be trusted. But if believers can now say what is true of Christ because the truth has been handed down in word or writing by those who saw and heard, why might not Matthew have heard the truth from his fellow-disciple John, if John was present and he himself was not, as from the writings of John both we who are born so long after and those who shall be born after us can learn the truth about Christ? In this way, the Gospels of Luke and Mark, who were companions of the disciples, as well as the Gospel of Matthew, have the same authority as that of John. Besides, the Lord Himself might have told Matthew what those called before him had already been witnesses of. Your idea is, that John should have recorded this saying of the Lord, as he was present on the occasion. As if it might not happen that, since it was impossible to write all that be heard from the Lord, he set himself to write some, omitting this among others. Does he not say at the close of his Gospel: "And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written"?(3) This proves that he omitted many things intentionally, But if you choose John as an authority regarding the law and the prophets, I ask you only to believe his testimony to them. It is John who writes that Isaiah saw the glory of Christ.(4) It is in his Gospel we find the text I already treated of: "If ye believed Moses, ye would also believe me; for he wrote of me."(5) Your evasions are met on every side. You ought to say plainly that you do not believe the gospel of Christ. For to believe what you please, and not to believe what you please, is to believe yourselves, and not the gospel.

4. Faustus thinks himself wonderfully clever in proving that Matthew was not the writer of this Gospel, because, when speaking of his own election, he says not, He saw me, and said to me, Follow me; but, He saw him, and said to him, Follow me. This must have been said either in ignorance or from a design to mislead. Faustus can hardly be so ignorant as not to have read or heard that narrators, when speaking of themselves, often use a construction as if speaking of another. It is more probable that Faustus wished to bewilder those more ignorant than himself, in the hope of getting hold on not a few unacquainted with these things. It is needless to resort to other writings to quote

examples of this construction from profane authors for the information of our friends, and for the refutation of Faustus. We find examples in passages quoted above from Moses by Faustus himself, without any denial, or rather with the assertion, that they were written by Moses, only not written of Christ. When Moses, then, writes of himself, does he say, I said this, or I did that, and not rather, Moses said, and Moses did? Or does he say, The Lord called me, The Lord said to me, and not rather, The Lord called Moses, The Lord said to Moses, and so on? So Matthew, too, speaks of himself in the third person. And John does the same; for towards the end of his book he says: "Peter, turning, saw the disciple whom Jesus loved, who also lay on His breast at supper, and who said to the Lord, Who is it that shall betray Thee?" Does he say, Peter, turning, saw me? Or will you argue from this that John did not write this Gospel? But he adds a little after: "This is the disciple that testifies of Jesus, and has written these things; and we know that his testimony is true."(1) Does he say, I am the disciple who testify of Jesus, and who have written these things, and we know that my testimony is true? Evidently this style is common in writers of narratives. There are innumerable instances in which the Lord Himself uses it. "When the Son of man," He says, "cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?"(2) Not, When I come, shall I find? Again, "The Son of man came eating and drinking;"(3) not, I came. Again, "The hour shall come, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live;"(4) not, My voice. And so in many other places. This may suffice to satisfy inquirers and to refute scoffers.

5. Every one can see the weakness of the argument that Christ could not have said, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law and the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfill," unless He had done something to create a suspicion of this kind. Of course, we grant that the unenlightened Jews may have looked upon Christ as the destroyer of the law and the prophets; but their very suspicion makes it certain that the true and truthful One, in saying that He came not to destroy the law and the prophets, referred to no other law than that of the Jews. This is proved by the words that follow: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled. Whosoever therefore shall break one of the least of these commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven. But whosoever shall do and teach them, shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven." This applied to the Pharisees, who taught the law in word, while they broke it in deed. Christ says of the Pharisees in another place, "What they say, that do; but do not after their works: for they say, and do not."(5) So here also He adds, "For I say unto you, Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven;"(6) that is, Unless ye shall both do and teach what they teach without doing, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. This law, therefore, which the Pharisees taught without keeping it, Christ says He came not to destroy, but to fulfill; for this was the law connected with the seat of Moses in which the Pharisees sat, who because they said without doing, are to be heard, but not to be imitated.

6. Faustus does not understand, or pretends not to understand, what it is to fulfill the law. He supposes the expression to mean the addition of words to the law, regarding which it is written that nothing is to be added to or taken away from the Scriptures of God. From this Faustus argues that there can be no fulfillment of what is spoken of as so perfect that nothing can be added to it or taken from it. Faustus requires to be told

that the law is fulfilled by living as it enjoins. "Love is the fulfilling of the law,"(7) as the apostle says. The Lord has vouch-safed both to manifest and to impart this love, by sending the Holy Spirit to His believing people. So it is said by the same apostle: "The love of God is shed abroad in our heart by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us."(8) And the Lord Himself says: "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another."(9) The law, then, is fulfilled both by the observance of its precepts and by the accomplishment of its prophecies. For "the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ."(10) The law itself, by being fulfilled, becomes grace and truth. Grace is the fulfillment of love, and truth is the accomplishment of the prophecies. And as both grace and truth are by Christ, it follows that He came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it; not by supplying any defects in the law, but by obedience to what is written in the law. Christ's own words declare this. For He does not say, One jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till its defects are supplied, but "till all be fulfilled."

BOOK XVIII.

THE RELATION OF CHRIST TO PROPHECY, CONTINUED.

1. FAUSTUS said: "I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it." If these are Christ's words, unless they have some other meaning, they are as much against you as against me. Your Christianity as well as mine is based on the belief that Christ came to destroy the law and the prophets. Your actions prove this, even though in words you deny it. It is on this ground that you disregard the precepts of the law and the prophets. It is on this ground that we both acknowledge Jesus as the founder of the New Testament, in which is implied the acknowledgment that the Old Testament is destroyed. How, then, can we believe that Christ said these words without first confessing that hitherto we have been wholly in error, and without showing our repentance by entering on a course of obedience to the law and the prophets, and of careful observance of their requirements, whatever they may be? This done, we may honestly believe that Jesus said that he came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it. As it is, you accuse me of not believing what you do not believe yourself, and what therefore is false.

2. But grant that we have been in the wrong hitherto. What is to be done now? Shall we come under the law, since Christ has not destroyed, but fulfilled it? Shall we by circumcision add shame to shame, and believe that God is pleased with such sacraments? Shall we observe the rest of the Sabbath, and bind ourselves in the fetters of Saturn? Shall we glut the demon of the Jews, for he is not God, with the slaughter of bulls, rams, and goats, not to say of men; and adopt, only with greater cruelty, in obedience to the law and the prophets, the practices on account of which we abandoned idolatry? Shall we, in fine, call the flesh of some animals clean, and that Of others unclean, among which, according to the law and the prophets, swine's flesh has

a particular defilement? Of course you will allow that as Christians we must not do any of these things, for you remember that Christ says that a man when circumcised becomes twofold a child of hell.(1) It is plain also that Christ neither observed the Sabbath himself, nor commanded it to be observed. And regarding foods, he says expressly that man is not defiled by anything that goes into his mouth, but rather by the things which come out of it.(2) Regarding sacrifices, too, he often says that God desires mercy, and not sacrifice.(3) What becomes, then, of the statement that he came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it? If Christ said this, he must have meant something else, or, what is not to be thought of, he told a lie, or he never said it. No Christian will allow that Jesus spoke falsely; therefore he must either not have said this, or said it with another meaning.

3. For my part, as a Manichaean, this verse has little difficulty for me, for at the outset I am taught to believe that many things which pass in Scripture under the name of the Saviour are spurious, and that they must therefore be tested to find whether they are true, and sound, and genuine; for the enemy who comes by night has corrupted almost every passage by sowing tares among the wheat. So I am not alarmed by these words, notwithstanding the sacred name affixed to them; for I still claim the liberty to examine whether this comes from the hand of the good sower, who sows in the day-time, or of the evil one, who sows in the night. But what escape from this difficulty can there be for you, who receive everything without examination, condemning the use of reason, which is the prerogative of human nature, and thinking it impiety to distinguish between truth and falsehood, and as much afraid of separating between what is good and what is not as children are of ghosts? For suppose a Jew or any one acquainted with these words should ask you why you do not keep the precepts of the law and the prophets, since Christ says that he came not to destroy but to fulfill them: you will be obliged either to join in the superstitious follies of the Jews, or to declare this verse false, or to deny that you are a follower of Christ.

4. AUGUSTIN replied: Since you continue repeating what has been so often exposed and refuted, we must be content to repeat the refutation. The things in the law and the prophets which Christians do not observe, are only the types of what they do observe. These types were figures of things to come, and are necessarily removed when the things themselves are fully revealed by Christ, that in this very removal the law and the prophets may be fulfilled. So it is written in the prophets that God would give a new covenant, "not as I gave to their fathers."(1) Such was the hardness of heart of the people under the Old Testament, that many precepts were given to them, not so much because they were good, as because they suited the people. Still, in all these things the future was foretold and prefigured, although the people did not understand the meaning of their own observances. After the manifest appearance of the things thus signified, we are not required to observe the types; but we read them to see their meaning. So, again, it is foretold in the prophets, "I will take away their stony heart, and will give them a heart of flesh,"(2)--that is, a sensible heart, instead of an insensible one. To this the apostle alludes in the words: "Not in tables of stone, but in the fleshy tables of the heart."(3) The fleshy tables of the heart are the same as the heart of flesh. Since, then, the removal of these observances is foretold, the law and the prophets could not have been fulfilled but by this removal. Now, however, the prediction is accomplished, and the fulfillment of the law and the prophets is found in what at first sight seems the very

opposite.

5. We are not afraid to meet your scoff at the Sabbath, when you call it the fetters of Saturn. It is a silly and unmeaning expression, which occurred to you only because you are in the habit of worshipping the sun on what you call Sunday. What you call Sunday we call the Lord's day, and on it we do not worship the sun, but the Lord's resurrection. And in the same way, the fathers observed the rest of the Sabbath, not because they worshipped Saturn, but because it was incumbent at that time, for it was a shadow of things to come, as the apostle testifies.(4) The Gentiles, of whom the apostle says that they "worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator,"(5) gave the names of their gods to the days of the week. And so far you do the same, except that you worship only the two brightest luminaries, and not the rest of the stars, as the Gentiles did. Besides, the Gentiles gave the names of their gods to the months. In honor of Romulus, whom they believed to be the son of Mars, they dedicated the first month to Mars, and called it March. The next month, April, is named not from any god, but from the word for opening, because the buds generally open in this month. The third month is called May, in honor of Maia the mother of Mercury. The fourth is called June, from Juno. The rest to December used to be named according to their number The fifth and sixth, however, got the names of July and August from men to whom divine honors were decreed; while the others, from September to December, continued to be named from their number. January, again, is named from Janus, and February from the rites of the Luperci called Februae. Must we say that you worship the god Mars in the month of March? But that is the month in which you hold the feast you call Bema with great pomp. But if you think it allowable to observe the month of March without thinking of Mars, why do you try to bring in the name of Saturn in connection with the rest of the seventh day enjoined in Scripture, merely because the Gentiles call the day Saturday? The Scripture name for the day is Sabbath, which means rest. Your scoff is as unreasonable as it is profane.

6. As regards animal sacrifices, every Christian knows that they were enjoined as suitable to a perverse people, and not because God had any pleasure in them. Still, even in these sacrifices there were types of what we enjoy; for we cannot obtain purification or the propitiation of God without blood. The fulfillment of these types is in Christ, by whose blood we are purified and redeemed. In these figures of the divine oracles, the bull represents Christ, because with the horns of His cross He scatters the wicked; the lamb, from His matchless innocence; the goat, from His being made in the likeness of sinful flesh, that by sin He might condemn sin.(6) Whatever kind of sacrifice you choose to specify, I will show you a prophecy of Christ in it. Thus we have shown regarding circumcision, and the Sabbath, and the distinction of food, and the sacrifice of animals, that all these things were our examples, and our prophecies, which Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfill, by fulfilling what was thus foretold. Your opponent is the apostle, whose opinion I give in his own words: "All these things were our examples."(7)

7. If you have learned from Manichaeus the willful impiety of admitting only those parts of the Gospel which do not contradict your errors, while you reject the rest, we have learned from the apostle the pious caution of looking on every one as accursed that preaches to us another gospel than that which we have received. Hence Catholic

Christians look upon you as among the tares; for, in the Lord's exposition of the meaning of the tares, they are not falsehood mixed with truth in the Scriptures, but children of the wicked one--that is, people who imitate the deceitfulness of the devil. It is not true that Catholic Christians believe everything; for they do not believe Manichaeus or any of the heretics. Nor do they condemn the use of human reason; but what you call reasoning they prove to be fallacious. Nor do they think it profane to distinguish truth from falsehood; for they distinguish between the truth of the Catholic faith and the falsehood of your doctrines. Nor do they fear to separate good from evil; but they contend that evil, instead of being natural, is unnatural. They know nothing of your race of darkness, which, you say, is produced from a principle of its own, and fights against the kingdom of God, and of which your god seems really to be more frightened than children are of ghosts; for, according to you, he covered himself with a veil, that he might not see his own members taken and plundered by the assault of the enemy. To conclude, Catholic Christians are in no difficulty regarding the words of Christ, though in one sense they may be said not to observe the law and the prophets; for by the grace of Christ they keep the law by their love to God and man; and on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.(1) Besides, they see in Christ and the Church the fulfillment of all the prophecies of the Old Testament, whether in the form of actions, or of symbolic rites, or of figurative language. So we neither join in superstitious follies, nor declare this verse false; nor deny that we are followers of Christ; for on those principles which I have set forth to the best of my power, the law and the prophets which Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfill, are no other than those recognized by the Church.

BOOK XIX.

FAUSTUS IS WILLING TO ADMIT THAT CHRIST MAY HAVE SAID THAT HE CAME NOT TO DESTROY THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS, BUT TO FULFILL THEM; BUT IF HE DID, IT WAS TO PACIFY THE JEWS AND IN A MODIFIED SENSE. AUGUSTIN REPLIES, AND STILL FURTHER ELABORATES THE CATHOLIC VIEW OF PROPHECY AND ITS FULFILLMENT.

1. FAUSTUS said: I will grant that Christ said that he came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfill them. But why did Jesus say this? Was it to pacify the Jews, who were enraged at seeing their sacred institutions trampled upon by Christ, and regarded him as a wild blasphemer, not to be listened to, much less to be followed? Or was it for our instruction as Gentile believers, that we might learn meekly and patiently to bear the yoke of commandment laid on our necks by the law and the prophets of the Jews? You yourself can hardly suppose that Christ's words were intended to bring us under the authority of the law and the prophets of the Hebrews. So that the other explanation which I have given of the words must be the true one. Every one knows that the Jews were always ready to attack Christ, both with words and with actual violence.

Naturally, then, they would be enraged at the idea that Christ was destroying their law and their prophets; and, to appease them, Christ might very well tell them not to think that he came to destroy the law, but that he came to fulfill it. There was no falsehood or deceit in this, for he used the word law in a general sense, not of any particular law.

2. There are three laws. One is that of the Hebrews, which the apostle calls the law of sin and death.(1) The second is that of the Gentiles, which he calls the law of nature. "For the Gentiles," he says," do by nature the things contained in the law; and, not having the law, they are a law into themselves; who show the work of the law written on their hearts."(2) The third law is the truth of which the apostle speaks when he says, "The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death."(3) Since, then, there are three laws, we must carefully inquire which of the three Christ spoke of when He said that He came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it. In the same way, there are prophets of the Jews, and prophets of the Gentiles, and prophets of truth. With the prophets of the Jews, of course, every one is acquainted. If any one is in doubt about the prophets of the Gentiles, let him hear what Paul says when writing of the Cretans to Titus: "A prophet of their own has said, The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies."(4) This proves that the Gentiles also had their prophets. The truth also has its prophets, as we learn from Jesus as well as from Paul. Jesus says: "Behold, I send unto you wise men and prophets, and some of them ye shall kill in divers places."(1) And Paul says: "The Lord Himself appointed first apostles, and then prophets."(2)

3. As "the law and the prophets" may have three different meanings, it is uncertain in what sense the words are used by Jesus, though we may form a conjecture from what follows. For if Jesus had gone on to speak of circumcision, and Sabbaths, and sacrifices, and the observances of the Hebrews, and had added something as a fulfillment, there could have been no doubt that it was the law and the prophets of the Jews of which He said that He came not, to destroy, but to fulfill them. But Christ, without any allusion to these, speaks only of commandments which date from the earliest times: "Thou shall not kill; Thou shalt not commit adultery; Thou shalt not bear false witness." These, it can be proved, were of old promulgated in the world by Enoch and Seth, and the other righteous men, to whom the precepts were delivered by angels of lofty rank, in order to tame the savage nature of men. From this it appears that Jesus spoke of the law and the prophets of truth. And so we find him giving a fulfillment of those precepts already quoted. "Ye have heard," He says, "that it was said by them of old time, Thou shale not kill; but I say unto you, Be not even angry." This is the fulfillment. Again: "Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shale not commit adultery; but I say unto you, Do not lust even." This is the fulfillment. Again: "It has been said, Thou shalt not bear false witness; but I say unto you, Swear not." This too is the fulfillment. He thus both confirms the old precepts and supplies their defects. Where He seems to speak of some Jewish precepts, instead of fulfilling them, He substitutes for them precepts of an opposite tendency. He proceeds thus: "Ye have heard that it has been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." This is not fulfillment, but destruction. Again: "It has been said, Thou shall love thy friend, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for your persecutors." This too is destruction. Again: "It has been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give

her a writing of divorcement; but I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery, and is himself an adulterer if he afterwards marries another woman."(3) These precepts are evidently destroyed because they are the precepts of Moses; while the others are fulfilled because they are the precepts of the righteous men of antiquity. If you agree to this explanation, we may allow that Jesus said that he came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it. If you disapprove of this explanation, give one of your own. Only beware of making Jesus a liar, and of making yourself a Jew, by binding yourself to fulfill the law because Christ did not destroy it.

4. If one of the Nazareans, or Symmachians, as they are sometimes called, were arguing with me from these words of Jesus that he came not to destroy the law, I should find some difficulty in answering him. For it is undeniable that, at his coming, Jesus was both in body and mind subject to the influence of the law and the prophets. Those people, moreover, whom I allude to, practise circumcision, and keep the Sabbath, and abstain from swine's flesh and such like things, according to the law, although they profess to be Christians. They are evidently misled as well as you, by this verse in which Christ says that he came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it. It would not be easy to reply to such opponents without first getting rid of this troublesome verse. But with you I have no difficulty, for you have nothing to go upon; and instead of using arguments, you seem disposed, in mere mischief, to induce me to believe that Christ said what you evidently do not yourself believe him to have said. On the strength of this verse you accuse me of dullness and evasiveness, without yourself giving any indication of keeping the law instead of destroying it. Do you too, like a Jew or a Nazarean, glory in the obscene distinction of being circumcised? Do you pride yourself in the observance of the Sabbath? Can you congratulate yourself on being innocent of swine's flesh? Or can you boast of having gratified the appetite of the Deity by the blood of sacrifices and the incense of Jewish offerings? If not, why do you contend that Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it?

5. I give unceasing thanks to my teacher, who prevented me from falling into this error, so that I am still a Christian. For I, like you, from reading this verse without sufficient consideration, had almost resolved to become a Jew. And with reason; for if Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it, and as a vessel in order to be filled full must not be empty, but partly filled already, I concluded that no one could become a Christian but an Israelite, nearly filled already with the law and the prophets, and coming to Christ to be filled to the full extent of his capacity. I concluded, too, that in thus coming he must not destroy what he already possesses; otherwise it would be a case, not of fulfilling, but of emptying. Then it appeared that I, as a Gentile, could get nothing by coming to Christ, for I brought nothing that he could fill up by his additions. This preparatory supply is found, on inquiry, to consist of Sabbaths, circumcision, sacrifices, new moons, baptisms, feasts of unleavened bread, distinctions of foods, drink, and clothes, and other things, too many to specify. This, then, it appeared, was what Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfill. Naturally it must appear so: for what is a law without precepts, or prophets without predictions? Besides, there is that terrible curse pronounced upon those who abide not in all things that are written in the book of the law to do them.(1) With the fear of this curse appearing to come from God on the one side, and with Christ on the other side, seeming, as the Son of God, to say that he came not to destroy these

things, but to fulfill them, what was to prevent me from becoming a Jew? The wise instruction of Manichaeus saved me from this danger.

6. But how can you venture to quote this verse against me? Or why should it be against me only, when it is as much against yourself? If Christ does not destroy the law and the prophets, neither must Christians do so. Why then do you destroy them? Do you begin to perceive that you are no Christian? How can you profane with all kinds of work the day pronounced sacred in the law and in all the prophets, on which they say that God, the maker of the world, himself rested, without dreading the penalty of death pronounced against Sabbath-breakers, or the curse on the transgressor? How can you refuse to receive in your person the unseemly mark of circumcision, which the law and all the prophets declare to be honorable, especially in the case of Abraham, after what was thought to be his faith; for does not the God of the Jews proclaim that whosoever is without this mark of infamy shall perish from his people? How can you neglect the appointed sacrifices, which were made so much of both by Moses and the prophets under the law, and by Abraham in his faith? And how can you defile your souls by making no distinction in foods, if you believe that Christ came not to destroy these things, but to fulfill them? Why do you discard the annual feast of unleavened bread, and the appointed sacrifice of the lamb, which, according to the law and the prophets, is to be observed for ever? Why, in a word, do you treat so lightly the new moons, the baptisms, and the feast of tabernacles, and all the other carnal ordinances of the law and the prophets, if Christ did not destroy them? I have therefore good reason for saying that, in order to justify your neglect of these things, you must either abandon your profession of being Christ's disciple, or acknowledge that Christ himself has already destroyed them; and from this acknowledgment it must follow, either that this text is spurious in which Christ is made to say that he came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it, or that the words have an entirely different meaning from what you suppose.

7. AUGUSTIN replied: If you allow, in consideration of the authority of the Gospel, that Christ said that He came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfill them, you should show the same consideration to the authority of the apostle, when he says, "All these things were our examples;" and again of Christ, "He was not yea and nay, but in Him was yea; for all the promises of God are in Him yea;"(2) that is, they are set forth and fulfilled in Him. In this way you will see in the clearest light both what law Christ fulfilled, and how He fulfilled it. It is a vain attempt that you make to escape by your three kinds of law and your three kinds of prophets. It is quite plain, and the New Testament leaves no doubt on the matter, what law and what prophets Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfill. The law given by Moses is that which by Jesus Christ became grace and truth.(3) The law given by Moses is that of which Christ says, "He wrote of me."(4) For undoubtedly this is the law which entered that the offence might abound;(5) words which you often ignorantly quote as a reproach to the law. Read what is there said of this law: "The law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good. Was then that which is good made death unto me? God forbid. But sin, that it might appear sin, wrought death in me by that which is good."(6) The entrance of the law made the offense abound, not because the law required what was wrong, but because the proud and self-confident incurred additional guilt as transgressors after their acquaintance with the holy, and just, and good commandments of the law; so that, being thus humbled, they might learn that only by grace through faith could they be freed from subjection to

the law as transgressors, and be reconciled to the law as righteous. So the same apostle says: "For before faith came, we were kept under the law, shut up unto the faith which was afterwards revealed. Therefore the law was our schoolmaster in Christ Jesus; but after faith came, we are no longer under a schoolmaster."(1) That is, we are no longer subject to the penalty of the law, because we are set free by grace. Before we received in humility the grace of the Spirit, the letter was only death to us, for it required obedience which we could not render. Thus Paul also says: "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."(2) Again, he says: "For if a law had been given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law; but the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe."(3) And once more: "What the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sent His Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, that by sin He might condemn sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit."(4) Here we see Christ coming not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it. As the law brought the proud under the guilt of transgression, increasing their sin by commandments which they could not obey, so the righteousness of the same law is fulfilled by the grace of the Spirit in those who learn from Christ to be meek and lowly in heart; for Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it. Moreover, because even for those who are under grace it is difficult in this mortal life perfectly to keep what is written in the law, Thou shall not covet, Christ, by the sacrifice of His flesh, as our Priest obtains pardon for us. And in this also He fulfills the law; for what we fail in through weakness is supplied by His perfection, who is the Head, while we are His members. Thus John says: "My little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not; and if any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: He is the propitiation for our sins."(5)

8. Christ also fulfilled the prophecies, because the promises of God were made good in Him. As the apostle says in the verse quoted above, "The promises of God are in Him yea." Again, he says: "Now I say that Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the fathers."(6) Whatever, then, was promised in the prophets, whether expressly or in figure, whether by words or by actions, was fulfilled in Him who came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfill them. You do not perceive that if Christians were to continue in the use of acts and observances by which things to come were prefigured, the only meaning would be that the things prefigured had not yet come. Either the thing prefigured has not come, or if it has, the figure becomes superfluous or misleading. Therefore, if Christians do not practise some things enjoined in the Hebrews by the prophets, this, so far from showing, as you think, that Christ did not fulfill the prophets, rather shows that He did. So completely did Christ fulfill what these types prefigured, that it is no longer prefigured. So the Lord Himself says: "The law and the prophets were until John."(7) For the law which shut up transgressors in increased guilt, and to the faith which was afterwards revealed, became grace through Jesus Christ, by whom grace superabounded. Thus the law, which was not fulfilled in the requirement of the letter, was fulfilled in the liberty of grace. In the same way, everything in the law that was prophetic of the Saviour's advent, whether in words or in typical actions, became truth in Jesus Christ. For "the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ."(8) At Christ's advent the kingdom of God began to be preached; for the law and the prophets were until John: the law, that its transgressors might desire salvation; the

prophets, that they might foretell the Saviour. No doubt there have been prophets in the Church since the ascension of Christ. Of these prophets Paul says: "God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers," and so on.(9) It is not of these prophets that it was said, "The law and the prophets were until John," but of those who prophesied the first coming of Christ, which evidently cannot be prophesied now that it has taken place.

9. Accordingly, when you ask why a Christian is not circumcised if Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it, my reply is, that a Christian is not circumcised precisely for this reason, that what was prefigured by circumcision is fulfilled in Christ. Circumcision was the type of the removal of our fleshly nature, which was fulfilled in the resurrection of Christ, and which the sacrament of baptism teaches us to look forward to in our own resurrection. The sacrament of the new life is not wholly discontinued, for our resurrection from the dead is still to come; but this sacrament has been improved by the substitution of baptism for circumcision, because now a pattern of the eternal life which is to come is afforded us in the resurrection of Christ, whereas formerly there was nothing of the kind. So, when you ask why a Christian does not keep the Sabbath, if Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it, my reply is, that a Christian does not keep the Sabbath precisely because what was prefigured in the Sabbath is fulfilled in Christ. For we have our Sabbath in Him who said, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls."(1)

10. When you ask why a Christian does not observe the distinction in food as enjoined in the law, if Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it, I reply, that a Christian does not observe this distinction precisely because what was thus prefigured is now fulfilled in Christ, who admits into His body, which in His saints He has predestined to eternal life, nothing which in human conduct corresponds to the characteristics of the forbidden animals. When you ask, again, why a Christian does not offer sacrifices to God of the flesh and blood of slain animals, if Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it, I reply, that it would be improper for a Christian to offer such sacrifices, now that what was thus prefigured has been fulfilled in Christ's offering of His own body and blood. When you ask why a Christian does not keep the feast of unleavened bread as the Jews did, if Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it, I reply, that a Christian does not keep this feast precisely because what was thus prefigured is fulfilled in Christ, who leads us to a new life by purging out the leaven of the old life.(2) When you ask why a Christian does not keep the feast of the paschal lamb, if Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it, my reply is, that he does not keep it precisely because what was thus prefigured has been fulfilled in the sufferings of Christ, the Lamb without spot. When you ask why a Christian does not keep the feasts of the new moon appointed in the law, if Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it, I reply, that he does not keep them precisely because what was thus prefigured is fulfilled in Christ. For the feast of the new moon prefigured the new creature, of which the apostle says: "If therefore there is any new creature in Christ Jesus, the old things have passed away; behold, all things are become new."(3) When you ask why a Christian does not observe the baptisms for various kinds of uncleanness according to the law, if Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it, I reply, that he does not observe them precisely because they were figures of things to come, which Christ has fulfilled. For He came to bury us

with Himself by baptism into death, that as Christ rose again from the dead, so we also should walk in newness of life.(4) When you ask why Christians do not keep the feast of tabernacles, if the law is not destroyed, but fulfilled by Christ, I reply that believers are God's tabernacle, in whom, as they are united and built together in love, God condescends to dwell, so that Christians do not keep this feast precisely because what was thus prefigured is now fulfilled by Christ in His Church.

11. I touch upon these things merely in passing with the utmost brevity, rather than omit them altogether. The subjects, taken separately, have filled many large volumes, written to prove that these observances were typical of Christ. So it appears that all the things in the Old Testament which you think are not observed by Christians because Christ destroyed the law, are in fact not observed because Christ fulfilled the law. The very intention of the observances was to prefigure Christ. Now that Christ has come, instead of its being strange or absurd that what was done to prefigure His advent should not be done any more, it is perfectly right and reasonable. The typical observances intended to prefigure the coming of Christ would be observed still, had they not been fulfilled by the coming of Christ; so far is it from being the case that our not observing them now is any proof of their not being fulfilled by Christ's coming. There can be no religious society, whether the religion be true or false, without some sacrament or visible symbol to serve as a bond of union. The importance of these sacraments cannot be overstated, and only scoffers will treat them lightly. For if piety requires them, it must be impiety to neglect them.

12. It is true, the ungodly may partake in the visible sacraments of godliness, as we read that Simon Magus received holy baptism. Such are they of whom the apostle says that "they have the form of godliness, but deny the power of it."(5) The power of godliness is the end of the commandment, that is, love out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned.(1) So the Apostle Peter, speaking of the sacrament of the ark, in which the family of Noah was saved from the deluge, says, "So by a similar figure baptism also saves you." And lest they should rest content with the visible sacrament, by which they had the form of godliness, and should deny its power in their lives by profligate conduct, he immediately adds, "Not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience."(2)

13. Thus the sacraments of the Old Testament, which were celebrated in obedience to the law, were types of Christ who was to come; and when Christ fulfilled them by His advent they were done away, and were done away because they were fulfilled. For Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfill. And now that the righteousness of faith is revealed, and the children of God are called into liberty, and the yoke of bondage which was required for carnal and stiffnecked people is taken away, other sacraments are instituted, greater in efficacy, more beneficial in their use, easier in performance, and fewer in number.

14. And if the righteous men of old, who saw in the sacraments of their time the promise of a future revelation of faith, which even then their piety enabled them to discern in the dim light of prophecy, and by which they lived, for the just can live only by faith;(3) if, then, these righteous men of old were ready to suffer, as many actually did suffer, all trials arid tortures for the sake of those typical sacraments which prefigured things in the

future; if we praise the three children and Daniel, because they refused to be defiled by meat from the king's table, from their regard for the sacrament of their day; if we feel the strongest admiration for the Meccabees, who refused to touch food which Christians lawfully use;(4) how much more should a Christian in our day be ready to suffer all things for Christ's baptism, for Christ's Eucharist, for Christ's sacred sign, since these are proofs of the accomplishment of what the former sacraments only pointed forward to in the future! For what is still promised to the Church, the body of Christ, is both clearly made known, and in the Saviour Himself, the Head of the body, the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, has already been accomplished. Is not the promise of eternal life by resurrection from the dead? This we see fulfilled in the flesh of Him of whom it is said, that the Word became flesh and dwelt among us.(5) In former days faith was dim, for the saints and righteous men of those times all believed and hoped for the same things, and all these sacraments and ceremonies pointed to the future; but now we have the revelation of the faith to which the people were shut up under the law;(6) and what is now promised to believers in the judgment is already accomplished in the example of Him who came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfill them.

15. It is a question among the students of the sacred Scriptures, whether the faith in Christ before His passion and resurrection, which the righteous men of old learned by revelation or gathered from prophecy, had the same efficacy as faith has now that Christ has suffered and risen; or whether the actual shedding of the blood of the Lamb of God, which was, as He Himself says, for many for the remission of sins,(7) conferred any benefit in the way of purifying or adding to the purity of those who looked forward in faith to the death of Christ, but left the world before it took place; whether, in fact, Christ's death reached to the dead, so as to effect their liberation. To discuss this question here, or to prove what has been ascertained on the subject, would take too long, besides being foreign from our present purpose.

16. Meanwhile it is sufficient to prove, in opposition to Faustus' ignorant cavils, how greatly they mistake who conclude, from the change in signs and sacraments, that there must be a difference in the things which were prefigured in the rites of a prophetic dispensation, and which are declared to be accomplished in the rites of the gospel; or those, on the other hand, who think that as the things are the same, the sacraments which announce their accomplishment should not differ from the sacraments which foretold that accomplishment. For if in language the form of the verb changes in the number of letters and syllables according to the tense, as done signifies the past, and to be done the future, why should not the symbols which declare Christ's death and resurrection to be accomplished, differ from those which predicted their accomplishment, as we see a difference in the form and sound of the words, past and future, suffered and to suffer, risen and to rise? For material symbols are nothing else than visible speech, which, though sacred, is changeable and transitory. For while God is eternal, the water of baptism, and all that is material in the sacrament, is transitory: the very word "God," which must be pronounced in the consecration, is a sound which passes in a moment. The actions and sounds pass away, but their efficacy remains the same, and the spiritual gift thus communicated is eternal. To say, therefore, that if Christ had not destroyed the law and the prophets, the sacraments of the law and the prophets would continue to be observed in the congregations of the Christian Church, is the

same as to say that if Christ had not destroyed the law and the prophets, He would still be predicted as about to be born, to suffer, and to rise again; whereas, in fact, it is proved that He did not destroy, but fulfill those things, because the prophecies of His birth, and passion, and resurrection, which were represented in these ancient sacraments, have ceased, and the sacraments now observed by Christians contain the announcement that He has been born, has suffered, has risen. He who came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfill them, by this fulfillment did away with those things which foretold the accomplishment of what is thus shown to be now accomplished. Precisely in the same way, he might substitute for the expressions, "He is to be born, is to suffer, is to rise," which were in these times appropriate, the expressions, "He has been born, has suffered, has risen," which are appropriate now that the others are accomplished, and so done away.

17. Corresponding to this change in words is the change which naturally took place in the substitution of new sacraments instead of those of the Old Testament. In the case of the first Christians, who came to the faith as Jews, it was by degrees that they were brought to change their customs, and to have a clear perception of the truth; and permission was given them by the apostle to preserve their hereditary worship and belief, in which they had been born and brought up; and those who had to do with them were required to make allowance for this reluctance to accept new customs. So the apostle circumcised Timothy, the son of a Jewish mother and a Greek father, when they went among people of this kind; and he himself accommodated his practice to theirs, not hypocritically, but for a wise purpose. For these practices were harmless in the case of those born and brought up in them, though they were no longer required to prefigure things to come. It would have done more harm to condemn them as hurtful in the case of those to whose time it l was intended that they should continue. Christ, who came to fulfill all these prophecies, found those people trained in their own religion. But in the case of those who had no such training, but were brought to Christ, the corner-stone, from the opposite wall of circumcision, there was no obligation to adopt Jewish customs. If, indeed, like Timothy, they chose to accommodate themselves to the views of those of the circumcision who were still wedded to their old sacraments, they were free to do so. But if they supposed that their hope and salvation depended on these works of the law, they were warned against them as a fatal danger. So the apostle says: "Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing;"(1) that is, if they were circumcised, as they were intending to be, in compliance with some corrupt teachers, who told them that without these works of the law they could not be saved. For when, chiefly through the preaching of the Apostle Paul, the Gentiles were coming to the faith of Christ, as it was proper that they should come, without being burdened with Jewish observances--for those who were grown up were deterred from the faith by fear of ceremonies to which they were not accustomed, especially of circumcision; and if they who had not been trained from their birth to such observances had been made proselytes in the usual way, it would have implied that the coming of Christ still required to be predicted as a future event;--when, then, the Gentiles were admitted without these ceremonies, those of the circumcision who believed, not understanding why the Gentiles were not required to adopt their customs, nor why they themselves were still allowed to retain them, began to disturb the Church with carnal contentions. because the Gentiles were admitted into the people of God without being made proselytes in the i usual way by circumcision and the other legal observances. Some also of the

converted Gentiles were bent on these ceremonies, from fear of the Jews among whom they lived. Against these Gentiles the Apostle Paul often wrote, and when Peter was carried away by their hypocrisy, he corrected him with a brotherly rebuke.(2) Afterwards, when the apostles met in council, decreed that these works of the law were not obligatory in the case of the Gentiles,(3) some Christians of the circumcision were displeased, because they failed to understand that these observances were permissible only in those who had been trained in them before the revelation of faith, to bring to a close the prophetic life in those who were engaged in it before the prophecy was fulfilled, lest by a compulsory abandonment it should seem to be condemned rather than closed; while to lay these things on the Gentiles would imply either that they were not instituted to prefigure Christ, or that Christ was still to be prefigured. The ancient people of God, before Christ came to fulfill the law and the prophets, were required to observe all these things by which Christ was prefigured. It was freedom to those who understood the meaning of the observance, but it was bondage to those who did not. But the people in those latter times who come to believe in Christ as having already come, and suffered, and risen, in the case of those whom this faith found trained to those sacraments, are neither required to observe them, nor prohibited from doing so; while there is a prohibition in the case of those who were not bound by the ties of custom, or by any necessity, to accommodate themselves to the practice of others, so that it might become manifest that these things were instituted to prefigure Christ, and that after His coming they were to cease, because the promises had been fulfilled. Some believers of the circumcision who did not understand this were displeased with this tolerant arrangement which the Holy Spirit effected through the apostles, and stubbornly insisted on the Gentiles becoming Jews. These are the people of whom Faustus speaks under the name of Symmachians or Nazareans. Their number is now very small, but the sect still continues,

18. The Manichaeans, therefore have no ground for saying, in disparagement of the law and the prophets, that Christ crime to destroy rather than to fulfill them, because Christians do not observe what is there enjoined: for the only things which they do not observe are those that prefigured Christ, and these are not observed because their fulfillment is in Christ, and what is fulfilled is no longer prefigured; the typical observances having properly come to a close in the time of those who, after being trained in such things, had come to believe in Christ as their fulfillment. Do not Christians observe the precept of Scripture "Hear, O Israel; the Lord thy God is one God;" "Thou shalt not image," and so on? Do make Christians not observe the precept, "Thou shall not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain?" Do Christians not observe the Sabbath, even in the sense of a true rest? Do Christians not honor their parents, according to the commandment? Do Christians not abstain from fornication, and murder. and theft, and false witness, from coveting their neighbor's wife, and from coveting his property,--all of which things are written in the law? These moral precepts are distinct from typical sacraments: the former are fulfilled by the aid of divine grace, the latter by the accomplishment of what they promise. Both are fulfilled in Christ, who has ever been the bestower of this grace, which is also now revealed in Him, and who now makes manifest the accomplishment of what He in former times promised; for "the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ."(1) Again, these things which concern the keeping of a good conscience are fulfilled in the faith which worketh by love;(2) while types of the future pass away when they are accomplished.

But even the types are not destroyed, but fulfilled; for Christ, in bringing to light what the types signified, does not prove them vain or illusory.

19. Faustus, therefore, is wrong in supposing that the Lord Jesus fulfilled some precepts of righteous men who lived before the law of Moses, such as, "Thou shall not kill," which Christ did not oppose, but rather confirmed by His prohibition of anger and abuse; and that He destroyed some things apparently peculiar to the Hebrew law, such as, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," which Christ. seems rather to abolish than to confirm, when He says, "But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but if any one smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also,"(3) and so on. But we say that even these things which Faustus thinks Christ destroyed by enjoining the opposite, were suitable to the times of the Old Testament, and were not destroyed, but fulfilled by Christ.

20. In the first place let me ask our opponents if these ancient righteous men, Enoch and Seth, whom Faustus mentions particularly, and any others who lived before Moses, or even, if you choose, before Abraham, were angry with their brother without a cause, or said to their brother, Thou fool. If not, why may they not have taught these things as well as preached them? And if they taught these things, how can Christ be said to have fulfilled their righteousness or their teaching, any more than that of Moses, by adding, "But I say unto you, if any man is angry with his brother, or if he says Racha, or if he says, Thou fool, he shall be in danger of the judgment, or of the council, or of hell-fire," since these men did these very things themselves, and enjoined them upon others? Will it be said that they were ignorant of its being the duty of a righteous man to restrain his passion, and not to provoke his brother with angry abuse; or that, knowing this, they were unable to act accordingly? In that case, they deserved the punishment of hell, and could not have been righteous. But no one will venture to say that in their righteousness there was such ignorance of duty, and such a want of self-control, as to make them liable to the punishment of hell. How, then, can Christ be said to have fulfilled the law, by which these men lived by means of adding things without which they could have had no righteousness at all? Will it be said that a hasty temper and bad language are sinful only since the time of Christ, while formerly such qualities of the heart and speech were allowable; as we find some institutions vary according to the times, so that what is proper at one time is improper at another, and vice versa? You will not be so foolish as to make this assertion. But even were you to do so, the reply will be that, according to. this idea, Christ came not to fulfill what was defective in the old law, but to institute a law which did not previously exist; if it is true that with the righteous men of old it was not a sin to say to their brother, Thou fool, which Christ pronounces so sinful, that whoever does so is in danger of hell. So, then, you bare not succeeded in finding any law of which it can be said that Christ supplied its defect by these additions.

21. Will it be said that the law in these early times was incomplete as regards not committing adultery, till it was completed by the Lord, who added that no one should look on a woman to lust after her? This is what you imply in the way you quote the words, "Ye have heard that it has been said, Thou shalt not commit adultery: but I say unto you, Do not lust even." "Here," you say, "is the fulfillment." But let us take the words as they stand in the Gospel, without any of your modifications, and see what character you give to those righteous men of antiquity. The words are: "Ye have heard

that it has been said, thou shall not commit adultery; but I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."(1) In your opinion, then, Enoch and Seth, and the rest, committed adultery in their hearts; and either their heart was not the temple of God, or they committed adultery in the temple of God. But if you dare not say this, how can you say that Christ, when He came, fulfilled the law, which was already in the time of those men complete?

22. As regards not swearing, in which also you say that Christ completed the law given to these righteous men of antiquity, I cannot be certain that they did not swear, for we, find that Paul the apostle swore. With you, swearing is still a common practice, for you swear by the light, which you love as flies do; for the light of the mind which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, as distinct from mere natural light, you know nothing of. You swear, too, by your master Manichaeus, whose name in his own tongue was Manes. As the name Manes seemed to be connected with the Greek word for madness, you have changed it by adding a suffix, which only makes matters worse, by giving the new meaning of pouring forth madness. One of your own sect told me that the name Manichaeus was intended to be derived from the Greek words for pouring forth manna; for keein means to pour. But, as it is, you only express the idea of madness with greater emphasis. For by adding the two syllables, while you have forgotten to insert another letter in the beginning of the word, you make it not Manichaeus, but Manichaeus; which must mean that he pours forth madness in his long unprofitable discourses. Again, you often swear by the Paraclete,--not the Paraclete promised and sent by Christ to His disciples, but this same madness-pourer himself. Since, then, you are constantly swearing, I should like to know in what sense you make Christ to have fulfilled this part of the law, which is one you mention as belonging to the earliest times. And what do you make of the oaths of the apostle? For as to your authority, it cannot weigh much with yourselves, not to speak of me or any other person. It is therefore evident that Christ's words, am come not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it," have not the meaning which you give them, Christ makes no reference in these words to His comments on the ancient sayings which He quotes, and of which His discourse was an explanation, but not a fulfillment.

23. Thus, as regards murder, which was understood to mean merely the destruction of the body, by which a man is deprived of life, the Lord explained that every unjust disposition to injure our brother is a kind of murder. So John also says, "He that hateth his brother is a murderer."(2) And as it was thought that adultery meant only the act of unlawful intercourse with a woman, the Master showed that the lust He describes is also adultery. Again, because perjury is a heinous sin, while there is no sin either in not swearing at all or in swearing truly, the Lord wished to secure us from departing from the truth by not swearing at all, rather than that we should be in danger of perjury by being in the habit of swearing truly. For one who never swears is less in danger of swearing falsely than one who is in the habit of swearing truly. So, in the discourses of the apostle which are recorded, he never used an oath, lest he should ever fall unawares into perjury from being in the habit of swearing. In his writings, on the other hand, where he had more leisure and opportunity for caution, we find him using oaths in several places,(1) to teach us that there is no sin in swearing truly, but that, on account of the infirmity of human nature, we are best preserved from perjury by not swearing at all. These considerations will also make it evident that the things which Faustus

supposes to be peculiar to Moses were not destroyed by Christ, as he says they were.

24. To take, for instance, this saying of the ancients, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy," how does Faustus make cut that this is peculiar to Moses? Does not the Apostle Paul speak of some men as hateful to God?(3) And, indeed, in connection with this saying, the Lord enjoins on us that we should imitate God. His words are: "That ye may be the children of your Father in heaven, who maketh the sun to rise upon the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust."(3) In ore sense we must hate our enemies, after the example of God, to whom Paul says some men are hateful; while, at the same time, we must also love our enemies after the example of God, who makes the sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust. If we understand this, we shall find that the Lord, in explaining to those who did not rightly understand the saying, Thou shalt hate thine enemy, made use of it to show that they should love their enemy, which was a new idea to them. It would take too long to show the consistency of the two things here. But when the Manichaeans condemn without exception the precept, Thou shall hate thine enemy, they may easily be met with the question whether their god loves the race of darkness. Or, if we should love our enemies now, because they have a part of good, should we not also hate them as having a part of evil? So even in this way it would appear that there is no opposition between the saying of ancient times, Thou shall hate thine enemy, and that of the Gospel, Love your enemies. For every wicked man should be hated as far as he is wicked; while he should be loved as a man. The vice which we rightly hate in him is to be condemned, that by its removal the human nature which we rightly love in him may be amended. This is precisely the principle we maintain, that we should hate our enemy for what is evil in him, that is, for his wickedness; while we also love our enemy for that which is good in him, that is, for his nature as a social and rational being. The difference between us and the Manichaeans is, that we prove the man to be wicked, not by nature, either his own or any other, but by his own will; whereas they think that a man is evil on account of the nature of the race of darkness, which, according to them, was an object of dread to God when he existed entire, and by which also he was partly conquered, so that he cannot be entirely set free. The intention of the Lord, then, is to correct those who, from knowing without understanding what was said by them of old time, Thou shalt hate thine enemy, hated their fellow-men instead of only hating their wickedness; and for this purpose He says, Love your enemies. Instead of destroying what is written about hatred of enemies in the law, of which He said, "I am come not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it," He would have us learn, from the duty of loving our enemies, how it is possible in the case of one and the same person, both to Late him for his sin, and to love him for his nature. It is too much to expect our perverse opponents to understand this. But we can silence them, by showing that by their irrational objection they condemn their own god, of whom they cannot say that he loves the race of darkness; so that in enjoining on every one to love his enemy, they cannot quote his example. There would appear to be more love of their enemy in the race of darkness than in the god of the Manichaeans. The story is, that the race of darkness coveted the domain of light bordering on their territory, and, from a desire to possess it, formed the plan of invading it. Nor is there any sin in desiring true goodness and blessedness. For the Lord says, "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force."(4) This fabulous race of darkness, then, wished to take by force the good they desired, for its beautiful and attractive appearance. But God, instead of returning the love of those who

wished to possess Him, hated it so as to endeavor to annihilate them. If, therefore, the evil love the good in the desire to possess it, while the good hate the evil in fear of being defiled, I ask the Manichaeans, which of these obeys the precept of the Lord, "Love your enemies"? If you insist on making these precepts opposed to one another, it will follow that your god obeyed what is written in the law of Moses, "Thou shall hate thine enemy"; while the race of darkness obeyed what is written in the Gospel, "Love your enemies." However, you have never succeeded in explaining the difference between the flies that fly in the day-time and the moths that fly at night; for both, according to you, belong to the race of darkness. How is it that one kind love the light, contrary to their nature; while the other kind avoid it, and prefer the darkness from which they sprung? Strange, that filthy sewers should breed a cleaner sort than dark closets!

25. Nor, again, is there any opposition between that which was said by them of old time, "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," and what the Lord says, "But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but if any one smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also," and so on(1) The old precept as well as the new is intended to check the vehemence of hatred, and to curb the impetuosity of angry passion. For who will of his own accord be satisfied with a revenge equal to the injury? Do we not see men, only slightly hurt, eager for slaughter, thirsting for blood, as if they could never make their enemy suffer enough? If a man receives a blow, does he not summon his assailant, that he may be condemned in the court of law? Or if he prefers to return the blow, does he not fall upon the man with hand and heel, or perhaps with a weapon, if he can get hold of one? To put a restraint upon a revenge so unjust from its excess, the law established the principle of compensation, that the penalty should correspond to the injury inflicted. So the precept, "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," instead of being a brand to kindle a fire that was quenched, was rather a covering to prevent the fire already kindled from spreading. For there is a just revenge due to the injured person from his assailant; so that when we pardon, we give up what we might justly claim. Thus, in the Lord's prayer, we are taught to forgive others their debts that God may forgive us our debts. There is no injustice in asking back a debt, though there is kindness in forgiving it. But as, in swearing, one who swears, even though truly, is in danger of perjury, of which one is in no danger who never swears; and while swearing truly is not a sin, we are further. from sin by not swearing; so that the command not to swear is a guard against perjury: in the same way since it is sinful to wish to be revenged with an unjust excess, though there is no sin in wishing for revenge within the limits of justice, the man who wishes for no revenge at all is further from the sin of an unjust revenge. It is sin to demand more than is due, though it is no sin to demand a debt. And the best security against the sin of making an unjust demand is to demand nothing, especially considering the danger of being compelled to pay the debt to Him who is in debted to none. Thus, I would explain the passage as follows: It has been said by them of old time, Thou shall not take unjust revenge; but I say, Take no revenge at all: here is the fulfillment. It is thus that Faustus, after quoting," It has been said, Thou shall not swear falsely; but I say unto you, swear not at all," adds: here is the fulfillment. I might use the same expression if I thought that by the addition of these words Christ supplied a defect in the law, and not rather that the intention of the law to prevent unjust revenge is best secured by not taking revenge at all, in the same way as the intention to prevent perjury is best secured by not swearing at all. For if "an eye for an eye" is opposed to "If any one smite thee on the cheek, turn to him the other also," is there not as much opposition

between "Thou shalt perform unto the Lord thine oath," and "Swear not at all?"(2) If Faustus thinks that there is not destruction, but fulfillment, in the one case, he ought to think the same of the other. For if "Swear not" is the fulfillment of "Swear truly," why should not "Take no revenge" be the fulfillment of "Take revenge justly"?

So, according to my interpretation, there is in both cases a guard against sin, either of false swearing or of unjust revenge; though, as regards giving up the right to revenge, there is the additional consideration that, by forgiving such debts, we shall obtain the forgiveness of our debts. The old precept was required in the case of a self-willed people, to teach them not to be extravagant in their demands. Thus, when the rage eager for unrestrained vengeance, was subdued, there would be leisure for any one so disposed to consider the desirableness of having his own debt cancelled by the Lord, and so to be led by this consideration to forgive the debt of his fellow-servant.

26. Again, we shall find on examination, that there is no opposition between the precept of the Lord about not putting away a wife, and what was said by them of old time: "Whosoever putteth away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement."(3) The Lord explains the intention of the law, which required a bill of divorce in every case where a wife was put away. The precept not to put away a wife is the opposite of saying that a man may put away his wife if he pleases; which is not what the law says. On the contrary, to prevent the wife from being put away, the law required this intermediate step, that the eagerness for separation might be checked by the writing of the bill, and the man might have time to think of the evil of putting away his wife; especially since, as it is said, among the Hebrews it was unlawful for any but the scribes to write Hebrew: for the scribes claimed the possession of superior wisdom; and if they were men of upright and pious character, their pursuits might justly entitle them to make this claim. In requiring, therefore, that in putting away his wife, a man should give her a writing of divorcement, the design was that he should be obliged to have recourse to those from whom he might expect to receive a cautious interpretation of the law, and suitable advice against separation. Having no other way of getting the bill written, the man should be obliged to submit to their direction, and to allow of their endeavors to restore peace and harmony between him and his wife. In a case where the hatred could not be overcome or checked, the bill would of course be written A wife might with reason be put away when wise counsel failed to restore the proper feeling and affection in the mind of her husband. If the wife is not loved, she is to be put away. And that she may not be put away, it is the husband's duty to love her. Now, while a man cannot be forced to love against his will, he may be influenced by advice and persuasion. This was the duty of the scribe, as a wise and upright man; and the law gave him the opportunity, by requiring the husband in all cases of quarrel to go to him, to get the bill of divorcement written. No good or prudent man would write the bill unless it were a case of such obstinate aversion as to make reconciliation impossible. But according to your impious notions, there can be nothing in putting away a wife; for matrimony, according to you, is a criminal indulgence. The word "matrimony" shows that a man takes a wife in order that she may become a mother, which would be an evil in your estimation. According to you, this would imply that part of your god is overcome and captured by the race of darkness, and bound in the fetters of flesh.

27. But, to explain the point in hand: If Christ, in adding the words, "But I say unto you,"

to the quotations He makes of ancient sayings, neither fulfilled the law of primitive times by His additions, nor destroyed the law given to Moses by opposite precepts, but rather paid such deference to the Hebrew law in all the quotations He made from it, as to make His own remarks chiefly explanatory of what the law stated less distinctly, or a means of securing the design intended by the law, it follows that from the words, "I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it" we are not to understand that Christ by His precepts filled up what was wanting in the law; but that what the literal command failed in doing from the pride and disobedience of men, is accomplished by grace in those who are brought to repentance and humility. The fulfillment is not in additional words, but in acts of obedience. So the apostle says "Faith worketh by love;"(1) and again, He that loveth another hath fulfilled the law."(2) This love, by which also the righteousness of the law can be fulfilled was bestowed in its significance by Christ in His coming, through the spirit which He sent according to His promise; and therefore He said, "I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it." This is the New Testament in which the promise of the kingdom of heaven is made to this love; which was typified in the Old Testament, suitably to the times of that dispensation. So Christ says again; "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another."(3)

28. So we find in the Old Testament all or nearly all the counsels and precepts which Christ introduces with the words "But I say unto you.' Against anger it is written, "Mine eyes troubled because of anger;"(4) and again, "Better is he that conquers his anger, than he that taketh a city."(5) Against hard words, 'The stroke of a whip maketh a wound; but the stroke of the tongue breaketh the bones."(6) Against adultery in the heart, "Thou shall not covet thy neighbor's wife."(7) It is not," Thou shall not commit adultery;" but, "Thou shall not covet." The apostle, in quoting this, says: "I had not known lust, unless the law had said, Thou shalt not covet."(8) Regarding patience in not offering resistance, a man is praised who "giveth his cheek to him that smiteth him, and who is filled full with reproach."(9) Of love to enemies it is said: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink."(10) This also is quoted by the apostle."(11) In the Psalm, too, it is said, "I was a peacemaker among them that hated peace;"(1) and in many similar passages. In connection also with our imitating God in refraining from taking revenge, and in loving even the wicked, there is a passage containing a full description of God in this character; for it is written: "To Thee alone ever belongeth great strength, and who can withstand the power of Thine arm? For the whole world before Thee is as a little grain of the balance; yea, as a drop of the morning dew that falleth down upon the earth. But Thou hast mercy upon all, for Thou canst do all things, and winkest at the sins of men, because of repentance. For Thou lovest all things that are, and abhorrest nothing which Thou hast made; for never wouldest Thou have made anything if Thou hadst hated it. And how could anything have endured, if it had not been Thy will? or been preserved, if not called by Thee? But Thou sparest all; for they are Thine, O Lord, Thou lover of souls. For Thy good Spirit is in all things; therefore chastenest Thou them by little and little that offend, and warnest them by putting them in remembrance wherein they have offended, that learning their wickedness, they may believe in Thee, O Lord."(2) Christ exhorts us to imitate this long-suffering goodness of God, who maketh the sun to rise upon the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust; that we may not be careful to revenge, but may do good to them that hate us, and so may be perfect, even as our Father in heaven is perfect.(3) From another passage in these ancient books we learn that, by not exacting the vengeance

due to us, we obtain the remission of our own sins; and that by not forgiving the debts of others, we incur the danger of being refused forgiveness when we pray for the remission of our own debts: "He that revengeth shall find vengeance from the Lord, and He will surely keep his sin in remembrance. Forgive thy neighbor the hurt that he hath done to thee; so shall thy sins also be forgiven when thou prayest. One man beareth hatred against another, and cloth he seek pardon of the Lord? He showeth no mercy to a man who is like himself; and doth he ask forgiveness of his own sins? If he that is but flesh nourishes hatred, and asks for favor from the Lord, who will entreat for the pardon of his sins?"(4)

29. As regards not putting away a wife, there is no need to quote any other passage of the Old Testament than that referred to most appropriately in the Lord's reply to the Jews when they questioned Him on this subject. For when they asked whether it is lawful for a man to put away his wife for any reason, the Lord answered: "Have ye not read, that He that made them at the beginning made them male and female, and said, For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they two shall be one flesh? Therefore they are no longer twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined, let no man put asunder."(5) Here the Jews, who thought that they acted according to the intention of the law of Moses in putting away their wives, are made to see from the book of Moses that a wife should not be put away. And, by the way, we learn here, from Christ's own declaration, that God made and joined male and female; so that by denying this, the Manichaeans are guilty of opposing the gospel of Christ as well as the writings of Moses. And supposing their doctrine to be true, that the devil made and joined male and female, we see the diabolical cunning of Faustus in finding fault with Moses for dissolving marriages by granting a bill of divorce, and praising Christ for strengthening the union by the precept in the Gospel. Instead of this, Faustus, consistently with his own foolish and impious notions, should have praised Moses for separating what was made and joined by the devil, and should have blamed Christ for ratifying a bond of the devil's workmanship. To return, let us hear the good Master explain how Moses, who wrote of the conjugal chastity in the first union of male and female as so holy and inviolable, afterwards allowed the people to put away their wives. For when the Jews replied, "Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away?" Christ said unto them, "Moses, because of the hardness of your heart, suffered you to put away your wives."(6) This passage we have already explained.(7) The hardness must have been great indeed which could not be induced to admit the restoration of wedded love, even though by means of the writing an opportunity was afforded for advice to be given to this effect by wise and upright men. They the Lord quoted the same law, to show both what was enjoined on the good and what was permitted to the hard; for, from what is written of the union of male and female, He proved that a wife must not be put away, and pointed out the divine authority for the union; and shows from the same Scriptures that a bill of divorcement was to be given because of the hardness of the heart, which might be subdued or might not.

30. Since, then, all these excellent precepts of the Lord, which Faustus tries to prove to be contrary to the old books of the Hebrews, are found in these very books, the only sense in which the Lord came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it, is this, that besides the fulfillment of the prophetic types, which are set aside by their actual

accomplishment, the precepts also, in which the law is holy, and just, and. good, are fulfilled in us, not by the oldness of the letter which commands, and increases the offence of the proud by the additional guilt of transgression, but by the newness of the Spirit, who aids us, and by the obedience of the humble, through the saving grace which sets us free. For, while all these sublime precepts are found in the ancient books, still the end to which they point is not there revealed; although the holy men who foresaw the revelation lived in accordance with it, either veiling it in prophecy as suited the time, or themselves discovering the truth thus veiled.

31. I am disposed, after careful examination, to doubt whether the expression so often used by the Lord, "the kingdom of heaven," can be found in these books. It is said, indeed, "Love wisdom, that ye may reign for ever."(1) And if eternal life had not been clearly made known in the Old Testament, the Lord would not have said, as He did even to the unbelieving Jews: "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think that ye have eternal life, and they are they that testify of me."(2) And to the same effect are the words of the Psalmist: "I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord."(3) And again: "Enlighten mine eyes, lest I sleep the sleep of death."(4) Again, we read, "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of the Lord, and pain shall not touch them;" and immediately following: "They are in peace; and if they have suffered torture from men, their hope is full of immortality; and after a few trouble, they shall enjoy many rewards."(5) Again, in another place: "The righteous shall live for ever, and their reward is with the Lord, and their concern with the Highest; therefore shall they receive from the hand of the Lord a kingdom of glory and a crown of beauty."(6) These and many similar declarations of eternal life, in more or less explicit terms, are found in these writings. Even the resurrection of the body is spoken of by the prophets. The Pharisees, accordingly, were fierce opponents of the Sadducees, who disbelieved the resurrection. This we learn not only from the canonical Acts of the Apostles, which the Manichaeans reject, because it tells of the advent of the Paraclete promised by the Lord, but also from the Gospel, when the Sadducees question the Lord about the woman who married seven brothers, one dying after the other, whose wife she would be in the resurrection.(7) As regards, then, eternal life and the resurrection of the dead, numerous testimonies are to be found in these Scriptures. But I do not find there the expression, "the kingdom of heaven." This expression belongs properly to the revelation of the New Testament, because in the resurrection our earthly bodies shall, by that change which Paul fully describes, become spiritual bodies, and so heavenly, that thus we may possess the kingdom of heaven. And this expression was reserved for Him whose advent as King to govern and Priest to sanctify His believing people, was ushered in by all the symbolism of the old covenant, in its genealogies, its typical acts and words, its sacrifices and ceremonies and feasts, and in all its prophetic utterances and events and figures. He came full of grace and truth, in His grace helping us to obey the precepts, and in His truth securing the accomplishment of the promises. He came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it.

BOOK XX.

FAUSTUS REPELS THE CHARGE OF SUN-WORSHIP, AND MAINTAINS THAT WHILE THE MANICHAEANS BELIEVE THAT GOD'S POWER DWELLS IN THE SUN AND HIS WISDOM IN THE MOON, THEY YET WORSHIP ONE DEITY, FATHER, SON, AND HOLY SPIRIT. THEY ARE NOT A SCHISM OF THE GENTILES, NOR A SECT. AUGUSTIN EMPHASIZES THE CHARGE OF POLYTHEISM, AND GOES INTO AN ELABORATE COMPARISON OF MANICHAEAN AND PAGAN MYTHOLOGY.

1. Faustus said: You ask why we worship quire into the matter, that we may see whether the sun, if we are a sect or separate religion, the name of Gentiles is more applicable to and not Pagans, or merely a schism of the you or to us. Perhaps, in giving you in a Gentiles. It may therefore be as well to in a friendly way this simple account of my faith,

I shall appear to be making an apology for it, as if I were ashamed, which God forbid, of doing homage to the divine luminaries. You may take it as you please; but I shall not regret what I have done if I succeed in conveying to some at least this much knowledge, that our religion has nothing in common with that of the Gentiles.

2. We worship, then, one deity under the threefold appellation of the Almighty God the Father, and his son Christ, and the Holy Spirit. While these are one and the same, we believe also that the Father properly dwells in the highest or principal light, which Paul calls "light inaccessible,"(1) and the Son in his second or visible light. And as the Son is himself twofold, according to the apostle, who speaks of Christ as the power of God and the wisdom of God,(2) we believe that His power dwells in the sun, and His wisdom in the moon. We also believe that the Holy Spirit, the third majesty, has His seat and His home in the whole circle of the atmosphere. By His influence and spiritual infusion, the earth conceives and brings forth the mortal Jesus, who, as hanging from every tree, is the life and salvation of men.(3) Though you oppose, these doctrines so violently, your religion resembles ours in attaching the same sacredness to the bread and wine that we do to everything. This is our belief, which you will have an opportunity of hearing more of, if you wish to do so. Meanwhile there is some force in the consideration that you or any one that is asked where his God dwells, will say that he dwells in light; so that the testimony in favor of my worship is almost universal.

3. As to your calling us a schism of the Gentiles, and not a sect, I suppose the word schism applies to those who have the same doctrines and worship as other people, and only choose to meet separately. The word sect, again, applies to those whose doctrine is quite unlike that of others, and who have made a form of divine worship peculiar to themselves. If this is what the words mean, in the first place, in our doctrine and worship we have no resemblance to the Pagans. We shall see presently whether you have. The Pagan doctrine is, that all things good and evil, mean and glorious, fading and unfading, changeable and unchangeable, material and divine, have only one principle. In opposition to this, my belief is that God is the principle of all good things, and Hyle [matters] of the opposite. Hyle is the name given by our master in divinity to the principle

or nature of evil. The Pagans accordingly think it right to worship God with altars, and shrines, and images, and sacrifices, and incense. Here also my practice differs entirely from theirs: for I look upon myself as a reasonable temple of God, if I am worthy to be so; and I consider Christ his Son as the living image of his living majesty; and I hold a mind well cultivated to be the true altar, and pure and simple prayers to be the true way of paying divine honors and of offering sacrifices. Is this being a schism of the Pagans?

4. As regards the worship of the Almighty God, you might call us a schism of the Jews, for all Jews are bold enough to profess this worship, were it not for the difference in the form of our worship, though it may be questioned whether the Jews really worship the Almighty. But the doctrine I have mentioned is common to the Pagans in their worship of the sun, and to the Jews in their worship of the Almighty. Even in relation to you, we are not properly a schism, though we acknowledge Christ and worship Him; for our worship and doctrine are different from yours. In a schism, little or no change is made from the original; as, for instance, you, in your schism from the Gentiles, have brought with you the doctrine of a single principle, for you believe that all things are of God. The sacrifices you change into love-feasts, the idols into martyrs, to whom you pray as they do to their idols. You appease the shades of the departed with wine and food. You keep the same holidays as the Gentiles; for example, the calends and the solstices. In your way of living you have made no change. Plainly you are a mere schism; for the only difference from the original is that you meet separately. In this you have followed the Jews, who separated from the Gentiles, bat differed only in not having images. For they used temples, and sacrifices, and altars. and a priesthood, and the whole round of ceremonies the same as those of the Gentiles, only more superstitious. Like the Pagans, they believe in a single principle; so that both you and the Jews are schisms of the Gentiles. for you have the same faith, and nearly the same worship, and you call yourselves sects only because you meet separately. The fact is, there are only two sects, the Gentiles and ourselves. We and the Gentiles are as contrary in our belief as truth and falsehood, day and night, poverty and wealth, health and sickness. You, again, are not a sect in relation either to truth or to error. You are merely a schism and a schism not of truth, but of error.

5. Augustin replied: O hateful mixture of ignorance and cunning! Why do you put arguments in the mouth of your opponent, which no one that knows you would use? We do not call you Pagans, or a schism of Pagans; but we say that you resemble them in worshipping many gods. But you are far worse than Pagans, for they worship things which exist, though they should not be worshipped: for idols have an existence, though for salvation they are nought. So, to worship a tree with prayers, instead of improving it by cultivation, is not to worship nothing, but to worship in a wrong way. When the apostle says that "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons, and not to God,"(1) he means that these demons exist to whom the sacrifices are made, and with whom he wishes us not to be partakers. So, too, heaven and earth, the sea and air, the sun and moon, and the other heavenly bodies, are all objects which have a sensible existence. When the Pagans worship these as gods, or as parts of one great God (for some of them identify the universe with the Supreme Deity), they worship things which have an existence. In arguing with Pagans, we do not deny the existence of these things, but we say that they should not be worshipped; and we recommend the worship of the invisible Creator of all these things, in whom alone man can find the happiness

which all allow that he desires. To those, again, who worship what is invisible and immaterial, but still is created, as the soul or mind of man, we say that happiness is not to be found in the creature even under this form, and that we must worship the true God, who is not only invisible, but unchangeable; for He alone is to be worshipped, in the enjoyment of whom the worshipper finds happiness, and without whom the soul must be wretched, whatever else it possesses. You, on the other hand, who worship things which have no existence at all except in your fictitious legends, would be nearer true piety and religion if you were Pagans, or if you were worshippers of what has an existence, though not a proper object of worship. In fact, you do not properly worship the sun, though he carries your prayers with him in his course round the heavens.

6. Your statements about the sun himself are so false and absurd, that if he were to repay you for the injury done to him, he would scorch you to death. First of all, you call the sun a ship, so that you are not only astray worlds off, as the saying is, but adrift. Next, while every one sees that the sun is round, which is the form corresponding from its perfection to his position among the heavenly bodies, you maintain that he is triangular, that is, that his light shines on the earth through a triangular window in heaven. Hence it is that you bend and bow your heads to the sun, while you worship not this visible sun, but some imaginary ship which you suppose to be shining through a triangular opening. Assuredly this ship would never have been heard of, if the words required for the composition of heretical fictions had to be paid for, like the wood required for the beams of a ship. All this is comparatively harmless, however ridiculous or pitiable. Very different is your wicked fancy about youths of both sexes proceeding from this ship, whose beauty excites eager desire in the princes and princesses of darkness; and so the members of your god are released from this humiliating confinement in the members of the race of darkness, by means of sinful passion and sensual appetite. And to these filthy rags of yours you would unite the mystery of the Trinity; for you say that the Father dwells in a secret light, the power of the Son in the sun, and His wisdom in the moon, and the Holy Spirit in the air.

7. As for this threefold or rather fourfold fiction, what shall I say of the secret light of the Father, but that you can think of no light except what you have seen? From your knowledge of visible light, with which beasts and insects as well as men are familiar, you form some vague idea in your mind, and call it the light in Which God the Father dwells with His subjects. How can you distinguish between the light by which we see, and that by which we understand, when, according to your ideas, to understand truth is nothing else than to form the conception of material forms, either finite or in some cases infinite; and you actually believe in these wild fancies? It is manifest that the act of my mind in thinking of your region of light which has no existence, is entirely different from my conception of Alexandria, which exists, though I have not seen it. And, again, the act of forming a conception of Alexandria, which I have never seen, is very different from thinking of Carthage, which I know. But this difference is insignificant as compared with that between my thinking of material things which I know from seeing them, and my understanding justice, chastity, faith, truth, love, goodness, and things of this nature. Can you describe this intellectual light, which gives us a clear perception of the distinction between itself and other things, as well as of the distinction between those things themselves? And yet even this is not the sense in which it can be said that God is light, for this light is created, whereas God is the Creator; the light is made, and He is

the Maker; the light is changeable. For the intellect changes from dislike to desire, from ignorance to knowledge, from forgetfulness to recollection; whereas God remains the same in will, in truth, and in eternity. From God we derive the beginning of existence, the principle of knowledge, the law of affection. From God all animals, rational and irrational, derive the nature of their life, the capacity of sensation, the faculty of emotion. From God all bodies derive their subsistence in extension, their beauty in number, and their order in weight. This light is one divine being, in an inseparable triune existence; and yet, without supposing the assumption of any bodily form, you assign to separate places parts of the immaterial, spiritual, anti unchangeable substance. And instead of three places for the Trinity, you have four: one, the light inaccessible, which you know nothing about, for the Father; two, the sun and moon, for the Son; and again one, the circle of the atmosphere, for the Holy Spirit. Of the inaccessible light of the Father I shall say nothing further at present, for orthodox believers do not separate the Son and the Spirit from the Father in relation to this light.

8. It is difficult to understand how you have been taken with the absurd idea of placing the power of the Son in the sun, and His wisdom in the moon. For, as the Son remains inseparably in the Father, His wisdom and power cannot be separated from one another, so that one should be in the sun and the other in the moon. Only material things can be thus assigned to separate places. If you only understood this, it would have prevented you from taking the productions of a diseased fancy as the material for so many fictions. But there is inconsistency and improbability as well as falsehood in your ideas. For, according to you, the seat of wisdom is inferior in brightness to the seat of power. Now energy and productiveness are the qualities of power, whereas light teaches and manifests; so that if the sun had the greater heat, and the moon the greater light, these absurdities might appear to have some likelihood to men of carnal minds, who know nothing except through material conceptions. From the connection between great heat and motion, they might identify power with heat; while light from its brightness, and as making things discernible, they might represent wisdom. But what folly as well as profanity, in placing power in the sun, which excels so much in light, and wisdom in the moon, which is so inferior in brightness! And while you separate Christ from Himself, you do not distinguish between Christ and the Holy Spirit; whereas Christ is one, the power of God, and the wisdom of God, and the Spirit is a distinct person. But according to you, the air, which you make the seat of the Spirit, fills and pervades the universe. So the sun and moon in their course are always united to the air. But the moon approaches the sun at one time, and recedes from it at another. So that, if we may believe you, or rather, if we may allow ourselves to be imposed on by you, wisdom recedes from power by half the circumference of a circle, and again approaches it by the other half. And when wisdom is full, it is at a distance from power. For when the moon is full, the distance between the two bodies is so great, that the moon rises in the east while the sun is setting in the west. But as the loss of power produces weakness, the fuller the moon is, the weaker must wisdom be. If, as is certainly true, the wisdom of God is unchangeable in power, and the power of God unchangeable in wisdom, how can you separate them so as to assign them to different places? And how can the place be different when the substance is the same? Is this not the infatuation of subjection to material fancies; showing such a want of power and wisdom that your wisdom is as weak as your power is foolish? This execrable absurdity would divide Christ between the sun and the moon,-- His power in one, and His wisdom in the other; so that He

would be incomplete in both, lacking wisdom in the sun, and power in the moon, while in both He supplies youths, male and female, to excite the affection of the princes and princesses of darkness. Such are the tenets which you learn and profess. Such is the faith which directs your conduct. And can you wonder that you are regarded with abhorrence?

9. But besides your errors regarding these conspicuous and familiar luminaries, which you worship not for what they are, but for what your wild fancy makes them to be, your other absurdities are still worse than this. Your illustrious World-bearer, and Atlas who helps to hold him up, are unreal beings. Like innumerable other creatures of your fancy, they have no existence, and yet you worship them. For this reason we say that you are worse than Pagans, while you resemble them in worshipping many gods. You are worse, because, while they worship things which exist though they are not gods, you worship things which are neither gods nor anything else, for they have no existence. The Pagans, too, have fables, but they know them to be fables; and either look upon them as amusing poetical fancies, or try to explain them as representing the nature of things, or the life of man. Thus they say that Vulcan is lame, because flame in common fire has an irregular motion: that Fortune is blind, because of the uncertainty of what are called fortuitous occurrences: that there are three Fates, with distaff, and spindle, and fingers spinning wool into thread, because there are three times,--the past, already spun and wound on the spindle; the present, which is passing through the fingers of the spinner; and the future, still in wool bound to the distaff, and soon to pass through the fingers to the spindle, that is, through the present into the future: and that Venus is the wife of Vulcan, because pleasure has a natural connection with heat; and that she is the mistress of Mars, because pleasure is not properly the companion of warriors: and that Cupid is a boy with wings and a bow, from the wounds inflicted by thoughtless, inconstant passion in the hearts of unhappy beings: and so with many other fables. The great absurdity is in their continuing to worship these beings, after giving such explanations; for the worship without the explanations, though criminal, would be a less heinous crime. The very explanations prove that they do not worship that God, the enjoyment of whom can alone give happiness, but things which He has created. And even in the creature they worship not only the virtues, as in Minerva, who sprang from the head of Jupiter, and who represents prudence,--a quality of reason which, according to Plato, has its seat in the head,--but their vices, too, as in Cupid. Thus one of their dramatic poets says, "Sinful passion, in favor of vice, made Love a god."(1) Even bodily evils had temples in Rome, as in the case of pallor and fever. Not to dwell on the sin of the worshippers of these idols, who are in a way affected by the bodily forms, so that they pay homage to them as deities, when they see them set up in some lofty place, and treated with great honor and reverence, there is greater sin in the very explanations which are intended as apologies for these dumb, and deaf, and blind, and lifeless objects. Still, though, as I have said, these things are nothing in the way of salvation or of usefulness, both they and the things they are said to represent are real existences. But your First Man, warring with the five elements; and your Mighty Spirit, who constructs the world from the captive bodies of the race of darkness, or father from the members of your god in subjection and bondage; and your World-holder, who has in his hand the remains of these members, and who bewails the capture and bondage and pollution of the rest; and your giant Atlas, who keeps up the World-holder on his shoulders, lest he should from weariness throw away his burden, and so prevent the

completion of the final imitation of the mass of darkness, which is to be the last scene in your drama;--these and countless other absurdities are not represented in painting or sculpture, or in any explanation; and yet you believe and worship things which have no existence, while you taunt the Christians with being credulous for believing in realities with a faith which pacifies the mind under its influence. The objects of your worship can be shown to have no existence by many proofs, which I do not bring forward here, because, though I could without difficulty discourse philosophically on the construction of the world, it would take too long to do so here. One proof suffices. If these things are real, God must be subject to change, and corruption, and contamination; a supposition as blasphemous as it is irrational. All these things, therefore, are vain, and false, and unreal. Thus you are much worse than those Pagans, with whom all are familiar, and who still preserve traces of their old customs, of which they themselves are ashamed; for while they worship things which are not gods, you worship things which do not exist.

10. If you think that your doctrines are true because they are unlike the errors of the Pagans, and that we are in error because we perhaps differ more from you than from them, you might as well say that a dead man is in good health because he is not sick; or that good health is undesirable, because it differs less from sickness than from death. Or if the Pagans should be viewed in many cases as rather dead than sick, you might as well praise the ashes in the tomb because they have no longer the human shape, as compared with the living body, which does not differ so much from a corpse as from ashes. It is thus we are reproached for having more resemblance to the dead body of Paganism than to the ashes of Manichaeism. But in division, it often happens that a thing is placed in different classes, according to the point of resemblance on which the division proceeds, For instance, if animals are divided into those that fly and those that cannot fly, in this division men and beasts are classed together as distinct from birds, because they are both unable to fly. But if they are divided into rational and irrational, beasts and birds are classed together as distinct from men, for they are both destitute of reason. Faustus did not think of this when he said: There are in fact only two sects, the Gentiles and ourselves, for we are directly opposed to them in our belief. The opposition he means is this, that the Gentiles believe in a single principle, whereas the Manichaeans believe also in the principle of the race of darkness. Certainly, according to this division we agree in general with the Pagans. But if we divide all who have a religion into those who worship one God and those who worship many gods, the Manichaeans must be classed along with the Pagans, and we along with the Jews. This is another distinction, which may be said to make only two sects. Perhaps you l will say that you hold all your gods to be of one substance, which the Pagans do not. But you at least resemble them in assigning to your gods different powers, and functions, and employments. One does battle with the race of darkness; another constructs the world from the part which is captured; another, standing above, has the world in his band; another holds him up from below; another turns the wheels of the fires and winds and waters beneath; another, in his circuit of the heavens, gathers with his beams the members of your god from cesspools. Indeed, your gods have innumerable occupations, according to your fabulous descriptions, which you neither explain nor represent in a visible form. But again, if men were divided into those who believe that God takes an interest in human affairs and those who do not, the Pagans and Jews, and you and all heretics that have anything of Christianity, will be classed together, as opposed to the Epicureans, and any others holding similar views. As this is a principle

of importance, here again we may say that there are only two sects, and you belong to the same sect as we do. You will hardly venture to dissent from us in the opinion that God is concerned in human affairs, so that in this matter your opposition to the Epicureans makes you side with us. Thus, according to the nature of the division, what is in one class at one time, is in another at another time: things joined here are separated there: in some things we are classed with others, and they with us; in other things we are classed separately, and stand alone. If Faustus thought of this, he would not talk such eloquent nonsense.

11. But what are we to make of these words of Faustus: The Holy Spirit, by his influence and spiritual infusion, makes the earth conceive and bring forth the mortal Jesus, who, as hanging from every tree, is the life and salvation of men? Letting pass for a moment the absurdity of this statement, we observe the folly of believing that the mortal Jesus can be conceived through the power of the Holy Spirit by the earth, but not by the Virgin Mary. Dare you compare the holiness of that chaste virgin's womb with any piece of ground where trees and plants grow? Do you pretend to look with abhorrence upon a pure virgin, while you do not shrink from believing that Jesus is produced in gardens watered by the filthy drains of a city? For plants of all kinds spring up and are nourished in such moisture. You will have Jesus to be born in this way, while you cry out against the idea of His being born of a virgin. Do you think flesh more unclean than the excrements which its nature rejects? Is the filth cleaner than the flesh which expels it? Are you not aware how fields are manured in order to make them productive? Your folly comes to this, that the Holy Spirit, who, according to you, despised the womb of Mary, makes the earth conceive more fruitfully in proportion as it is carefully enriched with animal off-scourings. Do you reply that the Holy Spirit preserves His incorruptible purity everywhere? I ask again, Why not also in the virgin's womb? Passing from the conception, you maintain in regard to the mortal Jesus--who, as you say, is born from the earth, which has conceived by the power of the Holy Spirit-that He hangs in the shape of fruit from every tree: so that, besides this pollution, He suffers additional defilement from the flesh of the countless animals that eat the fruit; except, indeed, the small amount that is purified by your eating it. While we believe and confess Christ the Son of God, and the Word of God, to have become flesh without suffering defilement, because the divine substance is not defiled by flesh, as it is not defiled by anything, your fanciful notions would make Jesus to be defiled even as hanging on the tree, before entering the flesh of any animal; for if He were not defiled, there would be no need of His being purified by your eating Him. And if all trees are the cross of Christ, as Faustus seems to imply when he says that Jesus hangs from every tree, why do you not pluck the fruit, and so take Jesus down from hanging on the tree to bury Him in your stomach, which would correspond to the good deed of Joseph of Arimathea, when he took down the true Jesus from the cross to bury Him?(1)

Why should it be impious to take Christ from the tree, while it is pious to lay Him in the tomb? Perhaps you wish to apply to yourselves the words quoted from the prophet by Paul, "Their throat is an open sepulchre:"(1) and so you wait with open mouth till some one comes to use your throat as the best sepulchre for Christ. Once more, how many Christs do you make? Is there one whom you call the mortal Christ, whom the earth

conceives and brings forth by the power of the Holy Spirit; and another crucified by the Jews under Pontius Pilate; and a third whom you divide between the sun and the moon? Or is it one and the same person, part of whom is confined in the trees, to be released by the help of the other part which is not confined? If this is the case, and you allow that Christ suffered under Pontius Pilate, though it is difficult to see how he could have suffered without flesh, as you say he did, the great question is, with whom he left those ships you speak of, that he might come down and suffer these things, which he certainly could not have suffered without having a body of some kind. A mere spiritual presence could not have made him liable to these sufferings, and in his bodily presence he could not be at the same time in the sun, in the moon, and on the cross. So, then, if he had not a body, he was not crucified; and if he had a body, the question is, where he got it: for, according to you, all bodies belong to the race of darkness, though you cannot think of the divine substance except as being material. Thus you must say either that Christ was crucified without a body; which is utterly absurd; or that he was crucified in appearance and not in reality, which is blasphemy; or that all bodies do not belong to the race of darkness, but that the divine substance has also a body, and that not an immortal body, but liable to crucifixion and death, which, again, is altogether erroneous; or that Christ had a mortal body from the race of darkness, so that, while you will not allow that Christ's body came from the Virgin Mary, you derive it from the race of demons. Finally, as in Faustus' statement, in which he alludes in the briefest manner possible to the lengthy stories of Manichaean invention, the earth by the power of the Holy Spirit conceives and brings forth the mortal Jesus, who, hanging from every tree, is the life and salvation of men, why should this Saviour be represented by whatever is hanging, because he hung on the tree, and not by whatever is born, because he was born? But if you mean that the Jesus on the trees, and the Jesus crucified under Pontius Pilate, and the Jesus divided between the sun and the moon, are all one and the same substance, why do you not give the name of Jesus to your whole host of deities? Why should not your World-holder be Jesus too, and Atlas, and the King of Honour, and the Mighty Spirit, and the First Man, and all the rest, with their various names and occupations?

12. So, with regard to the Holy Spirit, how can you say that he is the third person, when the persons you mention are innumerable? Or why is he not Jesus himself? And why does Faustus mislead people, in trying to make out an agreement between himself and true Christians, from whom he differs only too widely, by saying, We worship one God under the threefold appellation of the Almighty God the Father, Christ his Son, and the Holy Spirit? Why is the appellation only threefold, instead of being manifold? And why is the distinction in appellation only, and not in reality, if there are as many persons as there are names? For it is not as if you gave three names to the same thing, as the same weapon may be called a short sword, a dagger, or a dirk; or as you give the name of moon, and the lesser ship, and the luminary of night, and so on, to the same thing. For you cannot say that the First Man is the same as the Mighty Spirit, or as the World-Holder, or as the giant Atlas. They are all distinct persons, and you do not call any of them Christ. How can there be one Deity with opposite functions? Or why should not Christ himself be the single person, if in one substance Christ hangs on the trees, and was persecuted by the Jews, and exists in the sun and moon? The fact is, your fancies are all astray, and are no better than the dreams of insanity.

13. How can Faustus think that we resemble the Manichaeans in attaching sacredness to bread and wine, when they consider it sacrilege to taste wine? They acknowledge their god in the grape, but not in the cup; perhaps they are shocked at his being trampled on and bottled. It is not any bread and wine that we hold sacred as a natural production, as if Christ were confined in corn or in vines, as the Manichaeans fancy, but what is truly consecrated as a symbol. What is not consecrated, though it is bread and wine, is only nourishment or refreshment, with no sacredness about it; although we bless and thank God for every gift, bodily as well as spiritual. According to your notion, Christ is confined in everything you eat, and is released by digestion from the additional confinement of your intestines. So, when you eat, your god suffers; and when you digest, you suffer from his recovery. When he fills you, your gain is his loss. This might be considered kindness on his part, because he suffers in you for your benefit, were it not that he gains freedom by escaping and leaving you empty. There is not the least resemblance between our reverence for the bread and wine, and your doctrines, which have no truth in them. To compare the two is even more foolish than to say, as some do, that in the bread and wine we worship Ceres and Bacchus. I refer to this now, to show where you got your silly idea that our fathers kept the Sabbath in honor of Saturn. For as there is no connection with the worship of the Pagan deities Ceres and Bacchus in our observance of the sacrament of the bread and wine, which you approve so highly that you wish to resemble us in it, so there was no subjection to Saturn in the case of our fathers, who observed the rest of the Sabbath in a manner suitable to prophetic times.

14. You might have found a resemblance in your religion to that of the Pagans as regards Hyle [matter], which the Pagans often speak of. You, on the contrary, maintain that you are directly opposed to them in your belief in the evil principle which your teacher in theology calls Hyle. But here you only show your ignorance, and, with an affectation of learning, use this word without knowing what it means. The Greeks, when speaking of nature, give the name Hyle to the subject- matter of things, which has no form of its own, but admits of all bodily forms, and is known only through these changeable phenomena, not being itself an object of sensation or perception. Some Gentiles, indeed, erroneously make this matter co-eternal with God, as not being derived from Him, though the bodily forms are. In this manifest error you resemble the Pagans, for you hold that Hyle has a principle of its own, and does not come from God. It is only ignorance that leads you to deny this resemblance. In saying that Hyle has no form of its own, and can take its forms only from God, the Pagans come near to the truth which we believe in contradistinction from your errors. Not knowing what Hyle or the subject-matter of things is, you make it the race of darkness, in which you place not only innumerable bodily forms of five different kinds, but also a formative mind. Such, indeed, is your ignorance or insanity, that you call this mind Hyle, and make it give forms instead of taking them. If there were such a formative mind as you speak of, and bodily elements capable of form, the word Hyle would properly be applicable to the bodily elements, which would be the matter to be formed by the mind, which you make the principle of evil. Even this would not be a quite accurate use of the word Hyle, which has no form of any kind; whereas these elements, although capable of new forms, have already the form of elements, and belong to different kinds. Still this use of the word would not be so much amiss, notwithstanding your ignorance; for it would thus be applied, as it properly is, to that which takes form, and not to that which gives it. Even

here, however, your folly and impiety would appear in tracing so much that is good to the evil principle, from your not knowing that all natures of every kind, all forms in their proportion, and all weights in their order, can come only from the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. As it is, you know neither what Hyle is, nor what evil is. Would that I could persuade you to refrain from misleading people stilt more ignorant than yourselves!

15. Every one must see the folly of your boasting of superiority to the Pagans because they use altars and temples, images and sacrifices and incense, in the worship of God, which you do not. As if it were not better to build an altar and offer sacrifice to a stone, which has some kind of existence, than to employ a heated imagination in worshipping things which have no existence at all. And what do you mean by saying that you are a rational temple of God? Can that be God's temple which is partly the construction of the devil? And is this not true of you, as you say that all your members and your whole body were formed by the evil principle which you call Hyle, and that part of this formative mind dwells in the body along with part of your god? And as this part of your god is bound and confined, you should be called the prison of God rather than his temple. Perhaps it is your soul that is the temple of God, as you have it from the region of light. But you generally call your soul not a temple, but a part or member of God. So, when you say you are the temple of God, it must be in your body, which, you say, was formed by the devil. Thus you blaspheme the temple of God, calling it not only the workmanship of Satan, but the prison-house of God. The apostle, on the other hand, says: "The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are," And to show that this refers not merely to the soul, he says expressly: "Know ye not that your bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God?"(1) You call the workmanship of devils the temple of God, and there, to use Faustus' words, you place Christ, the Son of God, the living image of living majesty. Your impiety may well contrive a fabulous temple for a fabulous Christ. The image you speak of must be so called, because it is the creature of your imagination.

16. If your mind is an altar, you see whose altar it is. You may see from the very doctrines and duties in which you say you are trained. You are taught not to give food to a beggar; and so your altar smokes with the sacrifice of cruelty. Such altars the Lord destroys; for in words quoted from the law. He tells us what offering pleases God: "I desire mercy, and not sacrifice." Observe on what occasion the Lord uses these words. It was when, in passing through a field, the disciples plucked the ears of corn because they were hungry. Your doctrine would lead you to call this murder. Your mind is an altar, not of God, but of lying devils, by whose doctrines the evil conscience is seared as with a hot iron,(1) calling murder what the truth calls innocence. For in His words to the Jews, Christ by anticipation deals a fatal blow to you: "If ye had known what this meaneth, I desire mercy, and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless."(2)

17. Nor can you say that you honor God with sacrifices in the shape of pure and simple prayers: for, in your low, dishonoring notions about the divine nature and substance, you make your god to be the victim in the sacrifices of Pagans; so far are you from pleasing the true God with your sacrifices. For you hold that God is confined not only in trees and plants, or in the human body, but also in the flesh of animals, which

contaminates Him with its impurity. And how can your soul give praise to God, when you actually reproach Him by calling your soul a particle of His substance taken captive by the race of darkness; as if God could not maintain the conflict except by this corruption of His members, and this dishonorable captivity? Instead of honoring God in your prayers, you insult Him. For what sin did you commit, when you belonged to Him, that you should be thus punished by the god you cry to, not because you left Him sinfully of your own: choice; for he himself gave you to His enemies, to obtain peace for His kingdom? You are not even given as hostages to be honorably guarded. Nor is it as when a shepherd lays a snare to catch a wild beast: for he does not put one of his own members in the snare, but some animal from his flock; and generally, so that the wild beast is caught before the animal is hurt. You, though you are the members of your god, are given to the enemy, whose ferocity you keep off from your god only by being contaminated with their impurity, infected with their corruptions, without any fault of your own. You cannot in your prayers use the words: "Free us, O Lord, for the glory of Thy name; and for Thy name's sake pardon our sins."(3) Your prayer is: "Free us by Thy skill, for we suffer here oppression, and torture, and pollution, only that Thou mayest mourn unmolested in Thy kingdom." These are words of reproach, not of entreaty. Nor can you use the words taught us by the Master of truth: "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors."(4) For who are the debtors who have sinned against you? If it is the race of darkness, you do not forgive their debts, but make them be utterly cast out and shut up in eternal imprisonment. And how can God forgive your debts, when He rather sinned against you by sending you into such a state, than you against Him, whom you obeyed by going? If this was not a sin in Him, because He was compelled to do it, this excuse must apply you, now that you have been overthrown in the conflict, more than to Him before the conflict began. You suffer now from the mixture of evil, which was not the case with Him when nevertheless He was compelled to send you. So either He requires that you should forgive Him his debt; or, if He is not in debt to you, still less are you to Him. It appears that your sacrifices and your pure and simple prayers are false and vile blasphemies.

18. How is it, by the way, that you use the words temple, altar, sacrifice, for the purpose of commending your own practices? If such things can be spoken of as properly belonging to true religion, they must constitute the true worship of the true God. And if there is such a thing as true sacrifice to the true God, which is implied in the expression divine honors, there must be some one true sacrifice of which the rest are imitations. On the one hand, we have the spurious imitations in the case of false and lying gods, that is, of devils, who proudly demand divine honors from their deluded votaries, as is or was the case in the temples and idols of the Gentiles. On the other hand, we have the prophetic intimations of one most true sacrifice to be offered for the sins of all believers, as in the sacrifices enjoined by God on our fathers; along with which there was also the symbolical anointing typical of Christ, as the name Christ itself means anointed. The animal sacrifices, therefore, presumptuously claimed by devils, were an imitation of the true sacrifice which is due only to the one true God, and which Christ alone offered on His altar. Thus the apostle says: "The sacrifices which the Gentiles offer, they offer to devils, and not to God."(1) He does not find fault with sacrifices, but with offering to devils. The Hebrews, again, in their animal sacrifices, which they offered to God in many varied forms, suitably to the significance of the institution, typified the sacrifice offered by Christ. This sacrifice is also commemorated by Christians, in the sacred

offering and participation of the body and blood of Christ. The Manichaeans understand neither the sinfulness of the Gentile sacrifices, nor the importance of the Hebrew sacrifices, nor the use of the ordinance of the Christian sacrifice. Their own errors are the offering they present to the devil who has deceived them. And thus they depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and to doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy.

19. It may be well that Faustus, or at least that those who are charmed with Faustus' writings, should know that the doctrine of a single principle did not come to us from the Gentiles; for the belief in one true God, from whom every kind of nature is derived, is a part of the original truth retained among the Gentiles, notwithstanding their having fallen away to many false gods. For the Gentile philosophers had the knowledge of God, because, as the apostle says, "the invisible things of God, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse." But, as the apostle adds, "when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations. and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-fooled beasts, and creeping things."(2) These are the idols of the Gentiles, which they cannot explain except by referring to the creatures made by God; so that this very explanation of their idolatry, on which the more enlightened Gentiles were wont to pride themselves as a proof of their superiority, shows the truth of the following words of the apostle: "They worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever."(3) Where you differ from the Gentiles, you are in error; where you resemble them, you are worse than they. You do not believe, as they do, in a single principle; and so you fall into the impiety of believing the substance of the one true God to be liable to subjugation and corruption. As regards the worship of a plurality of gods. the doctrine of lying devils has led the Gentiles to worship many idols, and you to worship many phantasms.

20. We do not turn the sacrifices of the Gentiles into love-feasts, as Faustus says we do. Our love-feasts are rather a substitute for the sacrifice spoken of by the Lord, in the words already quoted: "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice." At our love-feasts the poor obtain vegetable or animal food; and so the creature of God is used, as far as it is suitable, for the nourishment of man, who is also God's creature. You have been led by lying devils, not in self-denial, but in blasphemous error, "to abstain from meats which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving."(4) In return for the bounties of the Creator, you ungratefully insult Him with your impiety; and because in our love-feasts flesh is often given to the poor, you compare Christian charity to Pagan sacrifices. This indeed, is another point in which you resemble some Pagans. You consider it a crime to kill animals, because you think that the souls of men pass into them; which is an idea found in the writings of some Gentile philosophers, although their successors appear to have thought differently. But here again you are most in error: for they dreaded slaughtering a relative in the animal; but you dread the slaughter of your god, for you hold even the souls of animals to be his members.

21. As to our paying honor to the memory of the martyrs, and the accusation of Faustus, that we worship them instead of idols, I should not care to answer such a charge, were it not for the sake of showing how Faustus, in his desire to cast reproach on us, has overstepped the Manichaean inventions, and has fallen heedlessly into a popular notion found in Pagan poetry, although he is so anxious to be distinguished from the Pagans. For in saying that we have turned the idols into martyrs, be speaks of our worshipping them with similar rites, and appeasing the shades of the departed with wine and food. Do you, then, believe in shades? We never heard you speak of such things, nor have we read of them in your books. In fact, you generally oppose such ideas: for you tell us that the souls of the dead, if they are wicked, or not purified, are made to pass through various changes, or suffer punishment still more severe; while the good souls are placed in ships, and sail through heaven to that imaginary region of light which they died fighting for. According to you, then, no souls remain near the burying-place of the body; and how can there be any shades of the departed? What and where are they? Faustus' love of evil-speaking has made him forget his own creed; or perhaps he spoke in his sleep about ghosts, and did not wake up even when he saw his words in writing. It is true that Christians pay religious honor to the memory of the martyrs, both to excite us to imitate them and to obtain a share in their merits, and the assistance of their prayers. But we build altars not to any martyr, but to the God of martyrs, although it is to the memory of the martyrs. No one officiating at the altar in the saints' burying-place ever says, We bring an offering to thee, O Peter! or O Paul! or O Cyprian! The offering is made to God, who gave the crown of martyrdom, while it is in memory of those thus crowned. The emotion is increased by the associations of the place, and. love is excited both towards those who are our examples, and towards Him by whose help we may follow such examples. We regard the martyrs with the same affectionate intimacy that we feel towards holy men of God in this life, when we know that their hearts are prepared to endure the same suffering for the truth of the gospel. There is more devotion in our feeling towards the martyrs, because we know that their conflict is over; and we can speak with greater confidence in praise of those already victors in heaven, than of those still combating here. What is properly divine worship, which the Greeks call latria, and for which there is no word in Latin, both in doctrine and in practice, we give only to God. To this worship belongs the offering of sacrifices; as we see in the word idolatry, which means the giving of this worship to idols. Accordingly we never offer, or require any one to offer, sacrifice to a martyr, or to a holy soul, or to any angel. Any one falling into this error is instructed by doctrine, either in the way of correction or of caution. For holy beings themselves, whether saints or angels, refuse to accept what they know to be due to God alone. We see this in Paul and Barnabas, when the men of Lycaonia wished to sacrifice to them as gods, on account of the miracles they performed. They rent their clothes, and restrained the people, crying out to them, and persuading them that they were not gods. We see it also in the angels, as we read in the Apocalypse that an angel would not allow himself to be worshipped, and said to his worshipper, "I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethen."(1) Those who claim this worship are proud spirits, the devil and his angels, as we see in all the temples and rites of the Gentiles. Some proud men, too, have copied their example; as is related of some kings of Babylon. Thus the holy Daniel was accused and persecuted, because when the king made a decree that no petition should be made to any god, but only to the king, he was found worshipping and praying to his own God, that is, the one true God.(2) As for those who drink to excess at the feasts of the martyrs, we of course condemn their

conduct; for to do so even in their own houses would be contrary to sound doctrine. But we must try to amend what is bad as well as prescribe what is good, and must of necessity bear for a time with some things that are not according to our teaching. The rules of Christian conduct are not to be taken from the indulgences of the intemperate or the infirmities of the weak. Still, even in this, the guilt of intemperance is much less than that of impiety. To sacrifice to the martyrs, even fasting, is worse than to go home intoxicated from their feast: to sacrifice to the martyrs, I say, which is a different thing from sacrificing to God in memory of the martyrs, as we do constantly, in the manner required since the revelation of the New Testament, for this belongs to the worship or latria which is due to God alone. But it is vain to try to make these heretics understand the full meaning of these words of the Psalmist: "He that offereth the sacrifice of praise glorifieth me, and in this way will I show him my salvation."(3) Before the coming of Christ, the flesh and blood of this sacrifice were foreshadowed in the animals slain; in the passion of Christ the types were fulfilled by the true sacrifice; after the ascension of Christ, this sacrifice is commemorated in the sacrament. Between the sacrifices of the Pagans and of the Hebrews there is all the difference that there is between a false imitation and a typical anticipation. We do not despise or denounce the virginity of holy women because there were vestal virgins. And, in the same way, it is no reproach to the sacrifices of our fathers that the Gentiles also had sacrifices. The difference between the Christian and vestal virginity is great, yet it consists wholly in the being to whom the vow is made and paid; and so the difference in the being to whom the sacrifices of the Pagans and Hebrews are made and offered makes a wide difference between them. In the one case they are offered to devils, who presumptuously make this claim in order to be held as gods, because sacrifice is a divine honor. In the other case they are offered to the one true God, as a type of the true sacrifice, which also was to be offered to Him in the passion of the body and blood of Christ.

22. Faustus is wrong in saying that our Jewish forefathers, in their separation from the Gentiles, retained the temple, and sacrifices, and altars, and priesthood, and abandoned only graven images or idols, for they might have sacrificed, as some do, without any graven image, to trees and mountains, or even to the sun and moon and the stars. If they had thus rendered to these objects the worship called lards, they would have served the creature instead of the Creator, and so would have fallen into the serious error of heathenish superstition; and even without idols, they would have found devils ready to take advantage of their error, and to accept their offerings. For these proud and wicked spirits feed not, as some foolishly suppose, on the smell of the sacrifice, and the smoke, but on the errors of men. They enjoy not bodily refreshment, but a malevolent gratification, when they in any way deceive people, or when, with a bold assumption of borrowed majesty, they boast of receiving divine honors. It was not, therefore, only the idols of the Gentiles that our Jewish forefathers abandoned. They sacrificed neither to the earth nor to any earthly thing, nor to the sea, nor to heaven, nor to the hosts of heaven, but laid the victims on the altar of the one God, Creator of all, who required these offerings as a means of foreshadowing the true victim, by whom He has reconciled us to Himself in the remission of sins through our Lord Jesus Christ. So Paul, addressing believers, who are made the body of which Christ is the Head, says: "I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God."(1) The Manichaeans, on the other hand, say that human bodies are the workmanship of the race of darkness, and the prison in

which the captive deity is confined. Thus Faustus' doctrine is very different from Paul's. But since whosover preaches to you another gospel than that ye have received must be accursed, what Christ says in Paul is the truth, while Manichaeus in Faustus is accursed.

23. Faustus says also, without knowing what he says, that we have retained the manners of the Gentiles. But seeing that the just lives by faith, and that the end of the commandment is love out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned, and that these three, faith, hope, and love, abide to form the life of believers, it is impossible that there should be similarity in the manners of those who differ in these three things. Those who believe differently, and hope differently, and love differently, must also live differently. And if we resemble the Gentiles in our use of such things as food and drink, and houses and clothes and baths, and those of us who marry, in taking and keeping wives, and in begetting and bringing up children as our heirs, there is still a great difference between the man who uses these things for some end of his own, and the man who, in using them, gives thanks to God, having no unworthy or erroneous ideas about God. For as you, according to your own heresy, though you eat the same bread as other men, and live upon the produce of the same plants and the water of the same fountain, and are clothed like others in wool and linen, yet lead a different life, not because you eat or drink, or dress differently, but because you differ from others in your ideas and in your faith, and in all these things have m view an end of your own--the end, namely, set forth in your false doctrines; in the same way we, though we resemble the Gentiles in the use of this and other things, do not resemble them in our life; for while the things are the same, the end is different: for the end we have in view is, according to the just commandment of God, love out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned; from which some having erred, are turned to vain jangling. In this vain jangling you bear the palm, for you do not attend to the fact that so great is the difference of life produced by a different faith, even when the things in possession and use are the same, that though your followers have wives, and in spite of themselves get children, for whom they gather and store up wealth; though they eat flesh, drink wine, bathe, reap harvests, gather vintages, engage in trade, and occupy high official positions, you nevertheless reckon them as belonging to you, and not to the Gentiles, though in their actions they approach nearer to the Gentiles than to you. And though some of the Gentiles in some things resemble you more than your own followers,--those, for instance, who in superstitious devotion abstain from flesh, and wine, and marriage,--you still count your own followers, even though they use all these things, and so are unlike you, as belonging to the flock of Manichaeus rather than those who resemble you in their practices. You consider as belonging to you a woman that believes in Manichaeus, though she is a mother, rather than a Sibyl, though she never marries. But you will say that many who are called Catholic Christians are adulterers, robbers, misers, drunkards, and whatever else is contrary to sound doctrine. I ask if none such are to be found in your company, which is almost too small to be called a company. And because there are some among the Pagans who are not of this character, do you consider them as better than yourselves? And yet, in fact, your heresy is so blasphemous, that even your followers who are not of such a character are worse than the Pagans who are. It is therefore no impeachment to sound doctrine, which alone is Catholic, that many wish to take its name, who will not yield to its beneficial influence. We must bear in mind the true meaning of the contrast which the Lord makes between

the little company and the mass of mankind, as spread over all the world; for the company of saints and believers is small, as the amount of grain is small when compared with the heap of chaff; and yet the good grain is quite sufficient far to outnumber you, good and bad together, for good and bad are both strangers to the truth. In a word, we are not a schism of the Gentiles, for we differ from them greatly for the better; nor are you, for you differ from them greatly for the worse.(1)

BOOK XXI.

FAUSTUS DENIES THAT MANICHAEANS BELIEVE IN TWO GODS. HYLE NO GOD. AUGUSTIN DISCUSSES AT LARGE THE DOCTRINE OF GOD AND HYLE, AND FIXES THE CHARGE OF DUALISM UPON THE MANICHAEANS.

1. FAUSTUS said: Do we believe in one God or in two? In one, of course. If we are accused of making two gods, I reply that it cannot be shown that we ever said anything of the kind. Why do you suspect us of this? Because, you say, you believe in two principles, good and evil. It is true, we believe in two principles; but one we call God, and the other Hyle, or, to use common popular language, the devil. If you think this means two gods, you may as well think that the health and sickness of which doctors speak are two kinds of health, or that good and evil are two kinds of good, or that wealth and poverty are two kinds of wealth. If I were describing two things, one white and the other black, or one hot and the other cold, or one sweet and the other bitter, it would appear like idiocy or insanity in you to say that I was describing two white things, or two hot things, or two sweet things. So, when I assert that there are two principles, God and Hyle, you have no reason for saying that I believe in two gods. Do you think that we must call them both gods because we attribute, as is proper, all the power of evil to Hyle, and all the power of good to God? If so, you may as well say that a poison and the antidote must both be called antidotes, because each has a power of its own, and certain effects follow from the action of both. So also, you may say that a physician and a poisoner are both physicians; or that a just and an unjust man are both just, because both do something. If this is absurd, it is still more absurd to say that God and Hyle must both be gods, because they both produce certain effects. It is a very childish and impotent way of arguing, when you cannot refute my statements, to make a quarrel about names. I grant that we, too, sometimes call the hostile nature God; not that we believe it to be God, but that this name is already adopted by the worshippers of this nature, who in their error suppose it to be God. Thus the apostle says: "The god of this world has blinded the minds of them that believe not."(1) He calls him God, because he would be so called by his worshippers; adding that he blinds their minds, to show that he is not the true God.

2. AUGUSTIN replied: You often speak in your discourses of two gods, as indeed you acknowledge, though at first you denied it. And you give as a reason for thus speaking

the words of the apostle: "The god of this world has blinded the minds of them that believe not." Most of us punctuate this sentence differently, and explain it as meaning that the true God has blinded the minds of unbelievers. They put a stop after the word God, and read the following words together. Or without this punctuation you may, for the sake of exposition, change the order of the words, and read, "In whom God has blinded the minds of unbelievers of this world," which gives the same sense. The act of blinding the minds of unbelievers may in one sense be ascribed to God, as the effect not of malice, but of justice. Thus Paul himself says elsewhere, "Is God unjust, who taketh vengeance?"(1) and again, "What shall we say then? Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid. For Moses saith, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and will have compassion on whom I will have compassion." Observe what he adds, after asserting the undeniable truth that there is no unrighteousness with God: "But what if God, willing to show His wrath, and to make His power known, endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted. for destruction, and that He might manifest the riches of His grace towards the vessels of mercy, which He hath before prepared unto glory?"(2) etc. Here it evidently cannot be said that it is one God who shows his wrath, and makes known his power in the vessels of wrath fitted for destruction, and another God who shows his riches in the vessels of mercy. According to the apostle's doctrine, it is one and the same God who does both. Hence he says again, "For this cause God gave them up to the lusts of their own heart, to uncleanness, to dishonor their own bodies between themselves;" and immediately after, "For this cause God gave them up unto vile affections;" and again, "And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind."(3) Here we see how the true and just God blinds the minds of unbelievers. For in all these words quoted from the apostle no other God is understood than He whose Son, sent by Him, came saying, "For judgment am I come into this world, that they which see not might see, and that they which see might be made blind."(4) Here, again, it is plain to the minds of believers how God blinds the minds of unbelievers. For among the secret things, which contain the righteous principles of God's judgment, there is a secret which determines that the minds of some shall be blinded, and the minds of some enlightened. Regarding this, it is well said of God, "Thy judgments are a great deep."(5) The apostle, in admiration of the unfathomable depth of this abyss, exclaims: "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!"(6)

3. You cannot distinguish between what God does in mercy and what He does in judgment, because you can neither understand nor use the words of our Psalter: "I will sing of mercy and judgment unto Thee, O Lord."(7) Accordingly, whatever in the feebleness of your frail humanity seems amiss to you, you separate entirely from the will and judgment of God: for you are provided with another evil god, not by a discovery of truth, but by an invention of folly; and to this god you attribute not only what you do unjustly, but also what you suffer justly. Thus you assign to God the bestowal of blessings, and take from Him the infliction of judgments, as if He of whom Christ says that He has prepared everlasting fire for the wicked were a different being from Him who makes His sun to rise upon the evil and the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust. Why do you not understand that this great goodness and great severity belong to one God, but because you have not learned to sing of mercy and judgment? Is not He who causes the sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the just and

on the unjust, the same who also breaks off the natural branches, and engrafts contrary to nature the wild olive tree? Does not the apostle, in reference to this, say of this one God: "Thou seest, then, the goodness and severity of God: to them which were broken off, severity; but toward thee, goodness, if thou continue m His goodness?"(8) Here it is to be observed how the apostle takes away neither judicial severity from God, nor free-will from man. It is a profound mystery, impenetrable by human thought, how God both condemns the ungodly and justifies the ungodly; for both these things are said of Him in the truth of the Holy Scriptures. But is the mysteriousness of the divine judgments any reason for taking pleasure in cavilling against them? How much more becoming, and more suitable to the limitation of our powers, to feel the same awe which the apostle felt, and to exclaim, "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!" How much better thus to admire what you cannot explain, than to try to make an evil god in addition to the true God, simply because you cannot understand the one good God! For it is not a question of names, but of actions.

4. Faustus glibly defends himself by saying, "We speak not of two gods, but of God and Hyle." But when you ask for the meaning of Hyle, you find that it is in fact another god. If the Manichaeans gave the name of Hyle, as the ancients did, to the unformed matter which is susceptible of bodily forms, we should not accuse them of making two gods. But it is pure folly and madness to give to matter the power of forming bodies, or to deny that what has this power is God. When you give to some other being the power which belongs to the true God of making the qualities and forms, by which bodies, elements, and animals exist, according to their respective modes, whatever name you choose to give to this being, you are chargeable with making another god. There are indeed two errors in this blasphemous doctrine. In the first place, you ascribe the act of God to a being whom you are ashamed to call god; though you must call him god as long as you make him do things which only God can do. In the second place, the good things done by a good God you call bad, and ascribe to an evil god, because you feel a childish horror of whatever shocks the frailty of fallen humanity, and a childish pleasure in the opposite. So you think snakes are made by an evil being; while you consider the sun so great a good, that you believe it to be not the creature of God, but an emission from His substance. You must know that the true God, in whom, alas, you have not vet come to believe, made both the snake along with the tower creatures, and the sun along with other exalted creatures. Moreover, among still more exalted creatures, not heavenly bodies, but spiritual beings, He has made what far surpasses the light of the sun, and what no carnal man can perceive, much less you, who, in your condemnation of flesh, condemn the very principle by which you determine good and evil. For your only idea of evil is from the disagreeableness of some things to the fleshly sense; and your only idea of good is from sensual gratification.

5. When I consider the things lowest in the scale of nature, which are within our view, and which, though earthly, and feeble, and mortal, are still the works of God, I am lost in admiration of the Creator, who is so great, in the great works and no less great in the small. For the divine skill seen in the formation of all creatures in heaven and earth is always like itself, even in those things that differ from one another; for it is everywhere perfect, in the perfection which it gives to everything in its own kind. We see each creature made not as a whole by itself, but in relation to the rest of the creation; so that

the whole divine skill is displayed in the formation of each, arranging each in its proper place and order, and providing what is suitable for all, both separately and unitedly. See here, lowest in the scale, the animals which fly, and swim, and walk, and creep. These are mortal creatures, whose life, as it is written, "is as a vapor which appeareth for a little time."(1) Each of these, according to the capacity of its kind, contributes the measure appointed in the goodness of the Creator to the completeness of the whole, so that the lowest partake in the good which the highest possess in a greater degree. Show me, if you can, any animal, however despicable, whose soul hates its own flesh, and does not rather nourish and cherish it, by its vital motion minister to its growth and direct its activity, and exercise a sort of management over a little universe of its own, which it makes subservient to its own preservation. Even in the discipline of his own body by a rational being, who brings his body under, that earthly passion may not hinder his perception of wisdom, there is love for his own flesh, which he then reduces to obedience, which is its proper condition. Indeed, you yourselves, although your heresy teaches you a fleshly abhorrence of the flesh, cannot help loving your own flesh, and caring for its safety and comfort, both by avoiding all injury from blows, and falls, and inclement weather, and by seeking for the means of keeping it in health. Thus the law of nature is too strong for your false doctrine.

6. Looking at the flesh itself, do we not see in the construction of its vital pans, in the symmetry of form, in the position and arrangement of the limbs of action and the organs of sensation, all acting in harmony; do we not see in the adjustment of measures, in the proportion of numbers, in the order of weights, the handiwork of the true God, of whom it is truly said, "Thou hast ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight"?(2) If your heart was not hardened and corrupted by falsehood, you would understand the invisible things of God from the things which He has made, even in these feeble creatures of flesh. For who is the author of the things I have mentioned, but He whose unity is the standard of all measure, whose wisdom is the model of all beauty, and whose law is the rule of all order? If you are blind to these things, hear at least the words of the apostle.

7. For the apostle, in speaking of the love which husbands ought to have for their wives gives, as an example, the love of the soul for the body. The words are: "He that loveth his wife, loveth himself: for no man ever yet hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as Christ the Church."(1) Look at the whole animal creation, and you find in the instinctive self- preservation of every animal this natural principle of love to its own flesh. It is so not only with men, who, when they live aright, both provide for the safety of their flesh, and keep their carnal appetites in subjection to the use of reason; the brutes also avoid pain, and shrink from death, and escape as rapidly as they can from whatever might break up the construction of their bodies, or dissolve the connection of spirit and flesh; for the brutes, too, nourish and cherish their own flesh. "For no one ever yet," says the apostle, "hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as Christ the Church." See where the apostle begins, and to what he ascends. Consider, if you can, the greatness which creation derives from its Creator, embracing as it does the whole extent from the host of heaven down to flesh and blood,

with the beauty of manifold form, and the order of successive gradations.

8. The same apostle again, when speaking of spiritual gifts as diverse, and yet tending to harmonious action, to illustrate a matter so great, and divine, and mysterious, makes a comparison with the human body,--thus plainly intimating that this flesh is the handiwork of God. The whole passage, as found in the Epistle to the Corinthians, is so much to the point, that though it is long, I think it not amiss to insert it all: "Now concerning spiritual gifts, brethren, I would not have you ignorant. Ye know that ye were Gentiles, carried away unto these dumb idols, even as ye were led. Wherefore I give you to understand, that no man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus accursed; and that no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost. Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are diversities of administrations, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal. For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues: but all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will. For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit. For the body is not one member, but many. If the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body? And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body? If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? But now hath God set the members every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased Him. And if they were all one member, where were the body? But now are they many members, yet but one body. And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much more those members of the body, which seem to be more feeble, are necessary; and those members of the body which we think to be less honorable, upon these we bestow more abundant honor; and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness. For our comely parts have no need; but God hath tempered the body together, having given more abundant honor to that part which lacked: that there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it."(2) Apart altogether from Christian faith, which would lead you to believe the apostle, if you have common sense to perceive what is self- evident, let each examine and see for himself the plain truth regarding those things of which the apostle speaks,--what greatness belongs to the least, and what goodness to the lowest; for these are the things which the apostle extols, in order to illustrate by means of these common and visible bodily objects, unseen spiritual realities of the most exalted nature.

9. Whoever, then, denies that our body and its members, which the apostle so approves and extols, are the handiwork of God, you see whom he contradicts, preaching contrary to what you have received. So, instead of refuting his opinions, I may leave him to be

accursed of all Christians. The apostle says, God tempered the body. Faustus says, Not God, but Hyle. Anathemas are more suitable than arguments to such contradictions. You cannot say that God is here called the God of this world. And if any one understands the passage where this expression does occur to mean that the devil blinds the minds of unbelievers, we grant that he does so by his evil suggestions, from yielding to which, men lose the light of righteousness in God's righteous retribution. This is all in accordance with sacred Scripture. The apostle himself speaks of temptation from without: "I fear lest, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity and purity. that is in Christ."(1) To the same purpose are the words. "Evil communications corrupt good manners;"(2) and when he speaks of a man deceiving himself, "Whoever thinketh himself to be anything, when he is nothing, deceiveth himself;"(3) or again, in the passage already quoted of the judgment of God, "God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient."(4) Similarly, in the Old Testament, after the words, "God did not create death, nor hath He pleasure in the destruction of the living," we read, "By the envy of the devil death entered into the world."(5) And again of death, that men may not put the blame from themselves, "The wicked invite her with hands and voice; and thinking her a friend, they are drawn down."(6) Elsewhere. however, it is said, "Good and evil, life and death, riches and poverty, are from the Lord God."(7) This seems perplexing to people who do not understand that, apart from the manifest judgment to follow hereafter upon every evil work, there is an actual judgment at the time; so that in one action, besides the craft of the deceiver and the wickedness of the voluntary agent, there is also the just penalty of the judge: for while the devil suggests, and man consents, God abandons. So, if you join the words, God of this world, and understand that the devil blinds unbelievers by his mischievous delusions, the meaning is not a bad one. For the word God is not used by itself, but with the qualification of this world, that is, of wicked men, who seek to prosper only in this age. In this sense the world is also called evil, where it is written, "that He might deliver us from this present evil age."(8) In the same way, in the expression, "whose god is their belly," it is only in connection with the word whose that the belly is called god. So also, in the Psalms, the devils would not be called gods without adding "of the nations."(9) But in the passage we are now considering it is not said, The god of this world, or, Whose god is their belly, or, The gods of the nations are devils; but simply, God has tempered the body, which can be understood only of the true God, the Creator of all. There is no disparaging addition here, as in the other cases. But perhaps Faustus will say that God tempered the body, not as the maker of it, in the arrangement of its members, but by mixing His light with it. Thus Faustus would attribute to some other being than God the construction of the body, and the arrangement of its members, while God tempered the evil of the construction by the mixture of His goodness. Such are the inventions with which the Manichaeans cram feeble minds. But God, in aid of the feeble, by the mouth of the sacred writers rebukes this Opinion. For we read a few verses before: "God has placed the members every one of them in the body, as it has pleased Him." Evidently, God is said to have tempered the body, because He has constructed it of many members, which in their union preserve the variety of their respective functions.

10. Do the Manichaeans suppose that the animals which, according to their wild notions, were constructed by Hyle in the race of darkness, had not this harmonious action of their members, commended by the apostle, before God mixed His light with

them; so that then the head did say to the feet, or the eye to the hand, I have no need of thee? This is not and cannot be the Manichaean doctrine, for they describe the animals as using all these members, and speak of them as creeping, walking, swimming, flying, each in its own kind. They could all see, too, and hear, and use the other senses, and nourish and cherish their own bodies with appropriate means and appliances. Hence. moreover, they had the power of reproduction, for they are spoken of as having offspring. All these things, of which Faust speaks disparagingly as the works of Hyle, could not be done without that harmonious arrangement which the apostle praises and ascribes to God. Is it not now plain who is to be followed, and who is to be pronounced accursed? Indeed, the Manichaeans tell us of animals that could speak; and their speeches were heard and understood and approved of by all creatures, whether creeping things, or quadrupeds, or birds, or fish. Amazing and supernatural eloquence! Especially as they had no grammarian or elocutionist to teach them, and had not passed through the painful experience of the cane and the birch. Why, Faustus himself began late in life to learn oratory, that he might discourse eloquently on these absurdities; and with all his cleverness, after ruining his health by study, his preaching has gained a mere handful of followers. What a pity that he was born in the light, and not in that region of darkness! If he had discoursed there against the light, the whole animal creation, from the biped to the centipede, from the dragon to the shell-fish, would have listened eagerly, and obeyed at once; whereas, when he discourses here against the race of darkness, he is oftener called eloquent than learned, and oftener still a false teacher of the worst kind. And among the few Manichaeans who extol him as a great teacher, he has none of the lower animals as his disciples; and not even his horse is any the wiser for his master's instructions, so that the mixture of a part of deity seems only to make the animals more stupid. What absurdity is this! When will these deluded beings have the sense to compare the description in the Manichaean fiction of what the animals were formerly in their own region, with what they are now in this world? Then their bodies were strong, now they are feeble; then their power of vision was such that they were induced to invade the region of God on account of the beauty which they saw, now it is too weak to face the rays of the sun; then they had intelligence sufficient to understand a discourse addressed to them, now they have no ability of the kind; then this astonishing and effective eloquence was natural, now eloquence of the most meagre kind requires diligent study and preparation. How many good things did the race of darkness Jose by the mixture of good!

11. Faustus has displayed his ingenuity, in the remarks to which I am now replying, by making for himself a long list of opposites--health and sickness, riches and poverty, white and black, cold and hot, sweet and bitter. We need not say much about black and white. Or, if there is a character for good or evil in colors, so that white must be ascribed to God and black to Hyle; if God threw a white color on the wings of birds, when Hyle, as the Manichaeans say, created them, where had the crows gone to when the swans got whitened? Nor need we discuss heat and cold, for both are good in moderation, and dangerous in excess. With regard to the rest, Faustus probably intended that good and evil, which he might as well have put first, should be understood as including the rest, so that health, riches, white, hot, sweet, should belong to good; and sickness, poverty, black, cold, bitter, to evil. The ignorance and folly of this is obvious. It might look like reviling if I were to take up separately white and black, hot and cold, sweet and bitter, health and sickness. For if white and sweet are both good, and black and bitter evil, how

is it that most grapes and all olives become black as they become sweet, and so get good by getting evil? And if heat and health are both good, and cold and sickness evil, why do bodies become sick when heated? Is it healthy to have fever? But I let these things pass, for they may have been put down hastily, or they may have been given as merely instances of opposition, and not as being good and bad, especially as it is nowhere stated that the fire among the race of darkness is cold, so that heat in this case must unquestionably be evil.

12. We pass on, then, to health, riches, sweetness, which Faustus evidently accounts good in his contrasts. Was there no health of body in the race of darkness where animals were born and grew up and brought forth, and had such vitality, that when some that were with child were taken, as the story is, and were put in bonds in heaven, even the abortive offspring of a premature birth, falling from heaven to earth, nevertheless lived, and grew, and produced the innumerable kinds of animals which now exist? Or were there no riches where trees could grow not only in water and wind, but in smoke and fire, and could bear such a rich produce, that animals, according to their several kinds, sprang from the fruit, and were provided with the means of subsistence from those fertile trees, and showed how well fed they were by a numerous progeny? And all this where there was no toil in cultivation, and no inclement change from summer to winter, for there was no sun to give variety to the seasons by his annual course. There must have been perennial productiveness where the trees were not only born in their own element, but had a supply of appropriate nourishment to make them constantly fertile; as we see orange-trees bearing fruit all the year round if they are well watered. The riches must have been abundant, and they must have been secure from harm; for there could be no fear of hailstorms when there were no light-gatherers who, in your fable, set the thunder in motion.

13. Nor would the beings in this race of darkness have sought for food if it had not been sweet and pleasant, so that they would have died from want. For we find that all bodies have their peculiar wants, according to which food is either agreeable or offensive. If it is agreeable, it is said to be sweet or pleasant; if it is offensive, it is said to be bitter or sour, or in some way disagreeable. In human beings we find that one desires food which another dislikes, from a difference in constitution or habit or state of health. Still more, animals of quite different make can find pleasure in food which is disagreeable to us. Why else should the goats feed so eagerly on the wild olives? This food is sweet to them, as in some sicknesses honey tastes bitter to us. To a thoughtful inquirer these things suggest the beauty of the arrangement in which each finds what suits it, and the greatness of the good which extends from the lowest to the highest, and from the material to the spiritual. As for the race of darkness, if an animal sprung from any element fed on what was produced by that element, doubtless the food must have been sweet from its appropriateness. Again, if this animal had found food of another element, the want of appropriateness would have appeared in its offensiveness to the taste. Such offensiveness is called sourness, or bitterness, or disagreeableness, or something of the kind; or if its adverse nature is such as to destroy the harmony of the bodily constitution, and so take away life or reduce the strength, it is called poison, simply on account of this want of appropriateness, while it may nourish the kind of life to which it is appropriate. So, if a hawk eat the bread which is our daily food, it dies; and we die if we eat hellebore, which cattle often feed on, and which may itself in a certain form be used

as a medicine. If Faustus bad known or thought of this, he would not have given poison and antidote as an example of the two natures of good and evil, as if God were the antidote and Hyle the poison. For the same thing, of one and the same nature, kills or cures, as it is used appropriately or inappropriately. In the Manichaean legends, their god might be said to have been poison to the race of darkness; for he so injured their bodies, that from being strong, they became utterly feeble. But then again, as the light was itself taken, and subjected to loss and injury, it may be said to have been poison to itself.

14. Instead of one good and one evil principle, you seem to make both good or both evil, or rather two good and two evil; for they are good in themselves, and evil to one another. We may see afterwards which is the better or the worse; but meanwhile we may think of them as both good in themselves. Thus God reigned in one region, while Hyle reigned in the other. There was health in both kingdoms, and rich produce in both; both had a numerous progeny, and both tasted the sweetness of pleasures suitable to their respective natures. But the race of darkness, say the Manichaeans, excepting the part which was evil to the light which it bordered on, was also evil to itself. As, however, I have already pointed out many good things in it, if you can point out its evils, there will still be two good kingdoms, though the one where there are no evils will be the better of the two. What, then, do you call its evils? They plundered, and killed, and devoured one another, according to Faustus. But if they did nothing else than this, how could such numerous hosts be born and grow up to maturity? They must have enjoyed peace and tranquillity too. But, allowing the kingdom where there is no discord to be the better of the two, still they should both be called good, rather than one good and the other bad. Thus the better kingdom will be that where they killed neither themselves nor one another; and the worse, or less good, where, though they fought with one another, each separate animal preserved its own nature in health and safety. But we cannot make much difference between your god and the prince of darkness, whom no one opposed, whose reign was acknowledged by all, and whose proposals were unanimously agreed to. All this implies great peace and harmony. Those kingdoms are happy where all agree heartily in obedience to the king. Moreover, the rule of this prince extended not only to his own species, or to bipeds whom you make the parents of mankind, but to all kinds of animals, who waited in his presence, obeying his commands, and believing his declarations. Do you think people are so stupid as not to recognize the attributes of deity in your description of this prince, or to think it possible that you can have another? If the authority of this prince rested on his resources, he must have been very powerful; if on his fame, he must have been renowned; if on love, the regard must have been universal; if on fear, he must have kept the strictest order. If some evils, then, were mixed with so many good things, who that knows the meaning of words would call this the nature of evil? Besides, if you call this the nature of evil, because it was not only evil to the other nature, but was also evil in itself, was there no evil, think you, in the dire necessity to which your god was subjected before the mixture with the opposite nature, so that he was compelled to right with it, and to send his own members to be swallowed up so mercilessly as to be beyond the hope of complete recovery? This was a great evil in that nature before its mixture with the only thing you allow to be evil. Your god must either have had it in his power not to be injured and sullied by the race of darkness, in which case his own folly must have brought him into trouble; or if his substance was liable to corruption, the object of your worship is not the incorruptible God of whom the

apostle speaks.(1) Does not, then this liability to corruption, even apart from the actual experience, seem to you to be an evil in your god?

15. It is plain, moreover, that either he must have been destitute of prescience,--a great defect, surely, in the Deity, not to know what is coming; or if he had prescience, he can never have felt secure, but must have been in constant terror, which you must allow to be a serious evil. There must have been the fear at every moment, that the time might be come for that conflict in which his members suffered such loss and contamination, that to liberate and purify them costs infinite labor, and, after all, can be done only partially. If it is going too far to attribute this state of alarm to the Deity himself, his members at least must have dreaded the prospect of suffering all these evils. Then, again, if they were ignorant of what was to happen, the substance of your god must have been so far wanting in prescience. How many evils do you reckon in your chief good? Perhaps you will say that they had no fear, because they foresaw, along with the suffering, their liberation and triumph. But still they must have feared for their companions, if they knew that they were to be cut off from their kingdom, and bound for ever in the mass of darkness.

16. Had they not the charity to feel a kindly sympathy, for those who were doomed to suffer eternal punishment, without having committed any sin? These souls that were to be bound up with the mass, were not they too part of your god? Were they not of the same origin, the same substance? They at least must have felt grief or fear in the prospect of their own eternal bondage. To say that they did not know what was to happen, while the others did, is to make one and the same substance partly acquainted with the future, and partly ignorant. How can you call this substance the pure, and perfect, and supreme good, if there were such evils in it, even before its mixture with the evil principle? You will have to confess your two principles either both good or both evil. If you make two evils, you may make either of them the worse, as you please. But if you make two goods, we shall have to inquire which you make the better. Meanwhile there is an end to your doctrine of two principles, one good and the other evil, which are in fact two gods, one good and the other evil. But if hurting another is evil, they both hurt one another. Perhaps the greater evil was in the principle that first began the attack. But if one began the injury, the other returned it; and not by the law of compensation, an eye for an eye, which you are foolish enough to find fault with, but with far greater severity. You must choose which you will call the worse,-- the one that began the injury, or the one that had the will and the power to do still greater injury. The one tried to get a share in the enjoyment of light; the other effected the entire overthrow of its opponent. If the one had got what it desired, it would certainly have done no harm to itself. But the other, in the discomfiture of its adversary, did great mischief to part of itself; reminding us of the well-known passionate exclamation, which is on record as having been actually used, "Perish our friends, if that will rid us of our enemies."(2) For part of your god was sent to suffer hopeless contamination, that there might be a covering for the mass in which the enemy is to be buried for ever alive. So much will he continue to be dreaded even when conquered and bound, that the security, such as it is, of one part of the deity must be purchased by the eternal misery of the other parts. Such is the harmlessness of the good principle! Your god, it appears, is guilty of the crime with which you charge the race of darkness--of injuring both friends and enemies. The charge is proved in the case of your god, by that final mass in which his enemies are confined, while his own

subjects are involved in it. In fact, the principle that you call god is the more injurious of the two, both to friends and to enemies. In the case of Hyle, there was no desire to destroy the opposite kingdom, but only to possess it; and though some of its subjects were put to death by the violence of others, they appeared again in other forms, so that in the alternation of life and death they had intervals of enjoyment in their history. But your god, with all the omnipotence and perfect excellence that you ascribe to him, dooms his enemies to eternal destruction, and his friends to eternal punishment. And the height of insanity is in believing that while internal contest occasions the injury of the members of Hyle, victory brings punishment to the members of God. What means this folly? To use Faustus' comparison of God and Hyle to the antidote and poison, the antidote seems to be more mischievous than the poison. We do not hear of Hyle shutting up God for ever in a mass of darkness, or driving its own members into it; or, which is worst of all, slandering this unfortunate remnant, as an excuse for not effecting its purification. For Manichaeus, in his Fundamental Epistle, says that these souls deserved to be thus punished, because they allowed themselves to be led away from their original brightness, and became enemies of holy light; whereas it was God himself that sent them to dose themselves in the region of darkness, that light might be opposed to light: which was unjust, if he forced them against their will; while, if they went willingly, he is ungrateful in punishing them. These souls can never have been happy, if they were tormented with fear before the conflict, from knowing that they were to become enemies to their original principle, and then in the conflict were hopelessly contaminated, and afterwards eternally condemned. On the other hand, they can never have been divine, if before the conflict they were unaware of what was coming, from want of prescience, and then showed feebleness in the conflict, and suffered misery afterwards. And what is true of them must be true of God, since they are of the same substance. Is there any hope of your seeing the folly of these blasphemies? You attempt, indeed, to vindicate the goodness of God, by asserting that Hyle when shut up is prevented from doing any more injury to itself. Hyle, it seems, is to get some good, when it has no longer any good mixed with it. Perhaps, as God before the conflict had the evil of necessity, when the good was unmixed with evil, so Hyle after the conflict is to have the good of rest, when the evil is unmixed with good. Your principles are thus either two evils, one worse than the other; or two goods, both imperfect, but one better than the other. The better, however, is the more miserable; for if the issue of this great conflict is that the enemy gets some good by the cessation of mutual injuries in Hyle, while God's own subjects suffer the serious evil of being driven into the mass of darkness, we may ask who has got the victory. The poison, we are to understand, is Hyle, where, nevertheless, animal life found a plentiful supply of the means of growth and productiveness; while the antidote is God, who could condemn his own members, but could not restore them. In reality, it is as absurd to call the one Hyle, as it is to call the other God. These are the follies of men who turn to fables because they cannot bear sound doctrine.(1)

BOOK XXII.

FAUSTUS STATES HIS OBJECTIONS TO THE MORALITY OF THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS, AND AUGUSTIN SEEKS BY THE APPLICATION OF THE TYPE AND THE ALLEGORY TO EXPLAIN AWAY THE MORAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

1. FAUSTUS said: You ask why we blaspheme the law and the prophets. We are so far from professing or feeling any hostility to the law and the prophets, that we are ready, if you will allow us, to declare the falsehood of all the writings which make the law and the prophets appear objectionable. But this you refuse to admit, and by maintaining the authority of your writers, you bring a perhaps unmerited reproach upon the prophets; you slander the patriarchs, and dishonor the law. You are so unreasonable as to deny that your writers are false, while you uphold the piety and sanctity of those who are described in these writings as guilty of the worst crimes, and as leading wicked lives. These opinions are inconsistent; for either these were bad characters, or the writers were untruthful.

2. Supposing, then, that we agree in condemning the writers, we may succeed in vindicating the law and the prophets, By the law must be understood not circumcision, or Sabbaths, or sacrifices, or the other Jewish observances, but the true law, viz., Thou shall not kill, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not bear false witness, and so on. To this law, promulgated throughout the world, that is, at the commencement of the present constitution of the world, the Hebrew writers did violence, by infecting it with the pollution of their disgusting precepts about circumcision and sacrifice. As a friend of the law, you should join with me in condemning the Jews for injuring the law by this mixture of unsuitable precepts. Plainly, you must be aware that these precepts are not the law, or any part of the law, since you claim to be righteous, though you make no attempt to keep the precepts. In seeking to lead a righteous life, you pay great regard to the commandments which forbid sinful actions, while you take no notice of the Jewish observances; which would be unjustifiable if they were one and the same law. You resent as a foul reproach being called negligent of the precept," Thou shalt not kill," or "Thou shall not commit adultery." And if you showed the same resentment at being called uncircumcised, or negligent of the Sabbath, it would be evident that you considered both to be the law and the commandment of God. In fact, however, you consider the honor and glory of keeping the one no way endangered by disregard of the other. It is plain, as I have said, that these observances are not the law, but a disfigurement of the law. If we condemn them, it is not as being genuine, but as spurious. In this condemnation there is no reproach of the law, or of God its author, but only of those who published their shocking superstitions under these names. If we sometimes abuse the venerable name of law in attacking the Jewish precepts, the fault is yours, for refusing to distinguish between Hebrew observances and the law. Only restore to the law its proper dignity, by removing these foul Israelitish blots; grant that these writers are guilty of disfiguring the law, and you will see at once that we are the enemies not of the law, but of Judaism. You are misled by the word law; for you do not know to what that name properly belongs.

3. For my part, I see no reason for your thinking that we blaspheme your prophets and

patriarchs. There would indeed be some ground for the charge, if we had been directly or remotely the authors of the account given of their actions. But as this account is written either by themselves, in a criminal desire to be famous for their misdeeds, or by their companions and coevals, why should you blame us? You condemn them in abhorrence of the wicked actions of which they have voluntarily declared themselves guilty, though there was no occasion for such a confession. Or if the narrative is only a malicious fiction, let its authors be punished, let the books be condemned, let the prophetic name be cleared from this foul reproach, let the patriarchs recover the respect due to their simplicity and purity of managers.

4. These books, moreover, contain shocking calumnies against God himself. We are told that he existed from eternity in darkness, and admired the light when he saw it; that he was so ignorant of the future, that he gave Adam a command, not foreseeing that it would be broken; that his perception was so limited that he could not see Adam when, from the knowledge of his nakedness, he hid himself in a corner of Paradise; that envy made him afraid lest his creature man should taste of the tree of life, and live for ever; that afterwards he was greedy for blood, and fat from all kinds of sacrifices, and jealous if they were offered to any one but himself; that he was enraged sometimes against his enemies, sometimes against his friends; that he destroyed thousands of men for a slight offense, or for nothing; that he threatened to come with a sword and spare nobody, righteous or wicked. The authors of such bold libels against God might very well slander the men of God. You must join with us in laying the blame on the writers if you wish to vindicate the prophets.

5. Again, we are not responsible for what is said of Abraham, that in his irrational craving to have children, and not believing God, who promised that his wife Sara should have a son, he defiled himself with a mistress, with the knowledge of his wife, which only made it worse;(1) or that, in sacrilegious profanation of his marriage, he on different occasions, from avarice and greed, sold his wife Sara for the gratification of the kings Abimelech and Pharas, telling them that she was his sister, because she was very fair.(2) The narrative is not ours, which tells how Lot, Abraham's brother, after his escape from Sodom, lay with his two daughters on the mountain(3) (better for him to have perished in the conflagration of Sodom, than to have burned with incestuous passion); or how Isaac imitated his father's conduct, and called his wife Rebecca his sister, that he might gain a shameful livelihood by her;(4) or how his son Jacob, husband of four wives--two full sisters, Rachel and Leah, and their handmaids--led the life of a goat among them, so that there was a daily strife among his women who should be the first to lay hold of him when he came from the field, ending sometimes in their hiring him from one another for the night;(5) or, again, how his son Judah slept With his daughter-in-law Tamar, after she had been married to two of his sons, deceived, we are told, by the harlot's dress which Tamar put on, knowing that her father-in-law was in the habit of associating with such characters;(1) or how David, after having a number of wives, seduced the wife of his soldier Uriah, and caused Uriah himself to be killed in the battle;(2) or how his son Solomon had three hundred wives, and seven hundred concubines, and princesses without number;(3) or how the first prophet Hosea got children from a prostitute, and, what is worse, it is said that this disgraceful conduct was enjoined by God;(4) or how Moses committed murder,(5) and plundered Egypt,(6) and waged wars, and commanded, or himself perpetrated, many cruelties.(7) And he too

was not content with one wife. We are neither directly nor remotely the authors of these and similar narratives, which are found in the books of the patriarchs and the prophets. Either your writers forged these things, or the fathers are really guilty. Choose which you please; the crime in either case is detestable, for vicious conduct and falsehood are equally hateful.

6. AUGUSTIN replied: You understand neither the symbols of the law nor the acts of the prophets, because you do not know what holiness or righteousness means. We have repeatedly shown at great length, that the precepts and symbols of the Old Testament contained both what was to be fulfilled in obedience through the grace bestowed in the New Testament, and what was to be set aside as a proof of its having been fulfilled in the truth now made manifest. For in the love of God and of our neighbor is secured the accomplishment of the precepts of the law, while the accomplishment of its promises is shown in the abolition of circumcision, and of other typical observances formerly practised. By the precept men were led, through a sense of guilt. to desire salvation; by the promise they were led to find in the typical observances the assurance that the Saviour would come. The salvation desired was to be obtained through the grace bestowed on the appearance of the New Testament; and the fulfillment of the expectation rendered the types no longer necessary. The same law that was given by Moses became grace and truth in Jesus Christ. By the grace in the pardon of sin, the precept is kept in force in the case of those supported by divine help. By the truth the symbolic rites are set aside, that the promise might, in those who trust in the divine faithfulness, be brought to pass.

7. Those, accordingly, who, finding fault with what they do not understand, call the typical institutions of the law disfigurements and excrescences, are like men displeased with things of which they do not know the use. As if a deaf man, seeing others move their lips in speaking, were to find fault with the motion of the mouth as needless and unsightly; or as if a blind man, on hearing a house commended, were to test the truth of what he heard by passing his hand over the surface of the wall, and on coming to the windows were to cry out against them as flaws in the level, or were to suppose that the wall had fallen in.

8. How shall I make those whose minds are full of vanity understand that the actions of the prophets were also mystical and prophetic? The vanity of their minds is shown in their thinking that we believe God to have once existed in darkness, because it is written, "Darkness was over the deep."(8) As if we called the deep God, where there was darkness, because the light did not exist there before God made it by His word. From their not distinguishing between the light which is God, and the light which God made, they imagine that God must have been in darkness before He made light, because darkness was over the deep before God said, "Let there be light, and there was light." In the New Testament both these things are ascribed to God. For we read, "God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all;"(9) and again, "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts."(10) So also, in the Old Testament, the name "Brightness of eternal light"(11) is given to the wisdom of God, which certainly was not created, for by it all things were made; and of the light which exists only as the production of this wisdom it is said, "Thou wilt light my candle, O Lord; my God, Thou wilt enlighten my darkness."(12) In the same way, in the beginning, when

darkness was over the deep, God said, "Let there be light, and there was light," which only the light-giving light, which is God Himself, could have made.

9. For as God is His own eternal happiness, and is besides the bestower of happiness, so He is His own eternal light, and is also the bestower of light. He envies the good of none, for He is Himself the source of happiness to all good beings; He fears the evil of none, for the loss of all evil beings is in their being abandoned by Him. He can neither be benefited by those on whom He Himself bestows happiness, nor is He afraid of those whose misery is the doom awarded by His own judgment. Very different, O Manichaeus, is the object of your worship.

You have departed from God in the pursuit of your own fancies, which of all kinds have increased and multiplied in your foolish roving hearts, drinking in through the sense of sight the light of the heavenly bodies. This light, though it too is made by God, is not to be compared to the light created in the minds of the pious, whom God brings out of darkness into light, as He brings them out of sinfulness into righteousness. Still less can it be compared to that inaccessible light from which all kinds of light are derived. Nor is this light inaccessible to all; for "blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."(1) "God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all;" but the wicked shall not see light, as is said in Isaiah.(2) To them the light-giving light is inaccessible. From the light comes not only the spiritual light in the minds of the pious, but also the material light, which is not denied to the wicked, but is made to rise on the evil and on the good.

10. So, when darkness was over the deep, He who was light said, "Let there be light." From what light this light came is clear; for the words are, "God said." What light is that which was made, is not so clear. For there has been a friendly discussion among students of the sacred Scriptures, whether God then made the light in the minds of the angels, or, in other words, these rational spirits themselves, or some material light which exists in the higher regions of the universe beyond our ken. For on the fourth day He made the visible luminaries of heaven. And it is also a question whether these bodies were made at the same time as their light, or were somehow kindled from the light made already. But whoever reads the sacred writings in the pious spirit which is required to understand them, must be convinced that whatever the light was which was made when, at the time that darkness was over the deep, God said, "Let there be light," it was created light, and the creating Light was the maker of it.

11. Nor does it follow that God, before He made light, abode in darkness, because it is said that darkness was over the deep, and then that the Spirit of God moved on the waters. The deep is the unfathomable abyss of the waters. And the carnal mind might suppose that the Spirit abode in the darkness which was over the deep, because it is said that He moved on the waters. This is from not understanding how the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not, till by the word of God those who were darkness are made light, and it is said to them, "Ye were once darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord."(3) But if rational minds which are in darkness through a sinful will cannot comprehend the light of the wisdom of God, though it is present everywhere,

because they are separated from it not in place, but in disposition: why may not the Spirit of God have moved on the darkness of the waters, when He moved on the waters, though at an immeasurable distance from it, not in place, but in nature?

12. In all this I know I am singing to deaf ears; but the Lord, from whom is the truth which we speak, can open some ears to catch the strain. But what shall we say of those critics of the Holy Scriptures who object to God's being pleased with His own works, and find fault with the words, "God saw the light that it was good," as if this meant that God admired the light as something new? God's seeing His works that they were good, means that the Creator approved of His own works as pleasing to Himself. For God cannot be forced to do anything against His will, so that He should not be pleased with His own work; nor can He do anything by mistake, so that He should regret having done it. Why should the Manichaeans object to our God seeing His work that it was good, when their god placed a covering before himself when he mingled his own members with the darkness? For instead of seeing his work that it is good, he refuses to look at it because it is evil.

13. Faustus speaks of our God as astonished, which is not said in Scripture; nor does it follow that one must be astonished when he sees anything to be good. There are many good things which we see without being astonished, as if they were better than we expected; we merely approve of them as being what they ought to be. We can, however, give an instance of God being astonished, not from the Old Testament, which the Manichaeans assail with undeserved reproach, but from the New Testament, which they profess to believe in order to entrap the unwary. For they acknowledge Christ as God, and use this as a bait to entice Christ's followers into their snares. God, then, was astonished when Christ was astonished. For we read in the Gospel, that when Christ heard the faith of a certain centurion, He was astonished, and said to His disciples, "Verily I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel."(4) We have already given our explanation of the words, "God saw that it was good." Better men may give a better explanation. Meanwhile let the Manichaeans explain Christ's being astonished at what He foresaw before it happened, and knew before He heard it. For though seeing a thing to be good is quite different from being astonished at it, in this case there is some resemblance, for Jesus was astonished at the light of faith which He Himself had created in the heart of the centurion; for Jesus is the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world.

14. Thus an irreligious Pagan might bring the same reproaches against Christ in the Gospel, as Faustus brings against God in the Old Testament. He might say that Christ lacked foresight, not only because He was astonished at the faith of the centurion, but because He chose Judas as a disciple who proved disobedient to His commands; as Faustus objects to the precept given in Paradise, which, as it turned out, was not obeyed. He might also cavil at Christ's not knowing who touched Him, when the woman suffering from an issue of blood touched the hem of His garment; as Faustus blames God for not knowing where Adam had hid himself. If this ignorance is implied in God's saying, "Where art thou, Adam?"(1) the same may be said of Christ's asking, "Who touched me?"(2) The Pagans also might call Christ timid and envious, in not wishing five of the ten virgins to gain eternal life by entering into His kingdom, and in shutting them out, so that they knocked in vain in their entreaty to have the door opened, as if

forgetful of His own promise, "Knock, and it shall be opened unto you;"(3) as Faustus charges God with fear and envy in not admitting man after his sin to eternal life. Again, he might call Christ greedy of the blood, not of beasts, but of men, because he said, "He that loseth his life for my sake, shall keep it unto life eternal;"(4) as Faustus reproaches God in reference to those animal sacrifices which prefigured the sacrifice of blood-shedding by which we are redeemed. He might also accuse Christ of jealousy, because in narrating His driving the buyers and sellers out of the temple, the evangelist quotes as applicable to Him the words, "The jealousy of Thine house hath eaten me up;"(5) as Faustus accuses God of jealousy in forbidding sacrifices to be offered to other gods. He might say that Christ was angry with both His friends and His enemies: with His friends, because He said, "The servant that knows his lord's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes;" and with His enemies, because He said, "If any one shall not receive you, shake off against him the dust of your shoes; verily I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable for Sodom in the day of judgment than for that city;"(6) as Faustus accuses God of being angry at one time with His friends, and at another with His enemies; both of whom are spoken of thus by the apostle: "They that have sinned without law shall perish without law, and they that have sinned in the law shall be judged by the law."(7) Or he might say that Christ shed the blood of many without mercy, for a slight offense or for nothing. For to a Pagan there would appear to be little or no harm in not having a wedding garment at the marriage feast, for which our King in the Gospel commanded a man to be bound hand and foot, and cast into outer darkness;(8) or in not wishing to have Christ for a king, which is the sin of which Christ says, "Those that would not have me to reign over them, bring hither and slay before me;"(9) as Faustus blames God in the Old Testament for slaughtering thousands of human beings for slight offenses, as Faustus calls them, or for nothing. Again, if Faustus finds fault with God's threatening to come with the sword, and to spare neither the righteous nor the wicked, might not the Pagan. find as much fault with the words of the Apostle Paul, when he says of our God," He spared not His own Son, but gave Him up for us all;"(10)

or of Peter, when, in exhorting the saints to be patient in the midst of persecution and slaughter, he says, "It is time that judgment begin from the house of God; and if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of them that believe not the gospel of the Lord? And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinner appear?"(11) What can be more righteous than the Only-Begotten, whom nevertheless the Father did not spare? And what can be plainer than that the righteous also are not spared, but chastised with manifold afflictions, as is clearly implied in the words, "If the righteous scarcely are saved"? As it is said in the Old Testament, "Whom the Lord loveth He correcteth, and chastiseth every son whom He receiveth;"(12) and, "If we receive good at the hand of the Lord, shall we not also receive evil?"(13) So we read also in the New Testament, "Whom I love I rebuke and chasten;"(14) and, "If we judge ourselves, we shall not be judged of the Lord; but when we are judged, we are corrected of the Lord, that we may not be condemned with the world."(15) If a Pagan were to make such objections to the New Testament, would not the Manichaeans try to answer them, though they themselves make similar objections to the Old Testament? But supposing them able to answer the Pagan, how absurd it would be to defend in the one Testament what they find fault with in the other! But if they could not answer the objections of the Pagan, why should they not allow in both Testaments, instead of in one only, that what

appears wrong to unbelievers, from their ignorance, should be believed to be right by pious readers even when they also are ignorant?

15. Perhaps our opponents will maintain that these parallel passages quoted from the New Testament are themselves neither authoritative nor true: for they claim the impious liberty of holding and teaching, that whatever they deem favorable to their heresy was said by Christ and the apostles; while they have the profane boldness to say, that whatever in the same writings is unfavorable to them is a spurious interpolation I have already at some length, as far as the intention of the present work required, exposed the unreasonableness of this assault upon the authority of the whole of Scripture.

16. At present I would call attention to the fact, that when the Manichaeans, although they disguise their blasphemous absurdities under the name of Christianity, bring such objections against the Christian Scriptures, we have to defend the authority of the divine record in both Testaments against the Manichaeans as much as against the Pagans. A Pagan might find fault with passages in the New Testament in the same way as Faustus does with what he calls unworthy representations of God in the Old Testament; and the Pagan might be answered by the quotation of similar passages from his own authors, as in Paul's speech at Athens.(1) Even in Pagan writings we might find the doctrine that God created and constructed the world, and that He is the giver of light, which does not imply that before light was made He abode in darkness; and that when His work was finished He was elated with joy, which is more than saying that He saw that it was good; and that He made a law with rewards for obedience, and punishments for disobedience, by which they do not mean to say that God was ignorant of the future, because He gave a law to those by whom it was to be broken. Nor could they make asking questions a proof of a want of foresight even in a human being; for in their books many questions are asked only for the purpose of using the answers for the conviction of the persons addressed: for the questioner knows not only what answer he desires, but what will actually be given. Again, if the Pagan tried to make out God to be envious of any one, because He will not give happiness to the wicked, he would find many passages in the writings of his own authors in support of this principle of the divine government.

17. The only objection that a Pagan would make on the subject of sacrifice would refer to our reason for finding fault with Pagan sacrifices, when in the Old Testament God is described as requiring men to offer sacrifice to Him. If I were to reply at length on this subject, I might prove to him that sacrifice is due only to the one true God, and that this sacrifice was offered by the one true Priest, the Mediator of God and man; and that it was proper that this sacrifice should be pre figured by animal sacrifices, in order to foreshadow the flesh and blood of the one sacrifice for the remission of sins contracted by flesh and blood, which shall not inherit the kingdom of God: for the natural body will be endowed with heavenly attributes, as the fire in the sacrifice typified the swallowing up of death in victory. Those observances properly belonged to the people whose kingdom and priesthood were prophetic of the King and Priest who should come to govern and to consecrate believers in all nations, and to lead them into the kingdom of heaven, and the holy society of angels and eternal life. And as this true sacrifice was piously set forth in the Hebrew observances, so it was impiously caricatured by the Pagans, because, as the apostle says, what they offer they offer to devils, and not to God.(2) The typical rite of blood-shedding in sacrifice dates from the earliest ages,

pointing forward from the outset of human history to the passion of the Mediator. For Abel is mentioned in the sacred Scripture as the first who offered such sacrifices.(3) We need not therefore wonder that fallen angels who occupy the air, and whose chief sins are pride and falsehood, should demand from their worshippers by whom they wished to be considered as gods what they knew to be due to God only. This deception was favored by the folly of the human heart, especially when regret for the dead led to the making of likenesses, and so to the use of images(4) By the increase of this homage, divine honors came to be paid to the dead as dwelling in heaven, while devils took their place on earth as the objects of worship, and required that their deluded and degraded votaries should present sacrifices to them. Thus the nature of sacrifice as due only to God appears not only when God righteously claims it, but also when a false god proudly arrogates it. If the Pagan was slow to believe these things, I should argue from the prophecies, and point out that, though uttered long ago, they are now fulfilled. If he still remained in unbelief, this is rather to be expected than to be wondered at; for the prophecy itself intimates that all would not believe.

18. If the Pagan, in the next place, were to find fault with both Testaments as attributing jealousy to God and Christ, he would only show his own ignorance of literature, or his forgetfulness. For though their philosophers distinguish between desire and passion, joy and gratification, caution and fear, gentleness and tender-heartedness, prudence and cunning, boldness and daring, and so on, giving the first name in each pair to what is good, and the second to what is bad, their books are notwithstanding full of instances in which, by the abuse of these words, virtues are called by the names which properly belong to vices; as passion is used for desire, gratification for joy, fear for caution, tender-heartedness for gentleness, cunning for prudence, daring for boldness. The cases are innumerable in which speech exhibits similar inaccuracies. Moreover, each language has its own idioms. For in religious writings I remember no instance of the word tender-heartedness being used in a bad sense. And common usage affords examples of similar peculiarities in the use of words. In Greek, one word stands for two distinct things, labor and pain; while we have a separate name for each. Again, we use the word in two senses, as when we say of what is not dead, that it has life; and again, of any one that he is a man of good life, whereas in Greek each of these meanings has a word of its own. So that, apart from the abuse of words which prevails in all languages, it may be an Hebrew idiom to use jealousy in two senses, as a man is called jealous when he suffers from a diseased state of mind caused by distress on account of the faithlessness of his wife, in which sense the word cannot be applied to God; or as when diligence is manifested in guarding conjugal chastity, in which sense it is profitable for us not only unhesitatingly to admit, but thankfully to assert, that God is jealous of His people when He calls them His wife, and warns them against committing adultery with a multitude of false gods. The same may be said of the anger of God. For God does not suffer perturbation when He visits men in anger; but either by an abuse of the word, or by a peculiarity of idiom, anger is used in the sense of punishment.

19. The slaughter of multitudes would not seem strange to the Pagan, unless he denied the judgment of God, which Pagans do not; for they allow that all things in the universe, from the highest to the lowest, are governed by God's providence. But if he would not allow this, he would be convinced either by the authority of Pagan writers, or by the more tedious method of demonstration; and if still obstinate and perverse, he would be

left to the judgment which he denies. Then, if he were to give instances of the destruction of men for no offense, or for a very slight one, we should show that these were offenses, and that they were not slight. For instance, to take the case already referred to of the wedding garment, we should prove that it was a great crime in a man to attend the sacred feast, seeking not the bridegroom's glory, but his own, or whatever the garment may be found on better interpretation to signify. And in the case of the slaughter before the king of those who would not have him to reign over them, we might perhaps easily prove that, though it may be no sin in a man to refuse to obey his fellow-man, it is both a fault and a great one to reject the reign of Him in whose reign alone is there righteousness, and happiness, and continuance.

20. Lastly, as regards Faustus' crafty insinuation, that the Old Testament misrepresents God as threatening to come with a sword which will spare neither the righteous nor the wicked, if the words were explained to the Pagan, he would perhaps disagree neither with the Old Testament nor with the New; and he might see the beauty of the parable in the Gospel, which people who pretend to be Christians either misunderstand from their blindness, or reject from their perversity. The great husbandman of the vine uses his pruning-hook differently in the fruitful and in the unfruitful branches; yet he spares neither good nor bad, pruning one and cutting off the other.(1) There is no man so just as not to require to be tried by affliction to advance, or to establish, or to prove his virtue. Do the Manichaeans not reckon Paul as righteous, who, while confessing humbly and honestly his past sins, still gives thanks for being justified by faith in Jesus Christ? Was Paul then spared by Him whom fools misunderstand, when He says, "I will spare neither the righteous nor the sinner"? Hear the apostle himself: "Lest I should be exalted above measure by the abundance of the revelation, there was given me a thorn in the flesh, a messenger of Satan to buffet me. For this I besought the Lord thrice, that He would remove it from me; and He said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee: for strength is perfected in weakness."(1) Here a just man is not spared that his strength might be perfected in weakness by Him who had given him an angel of Satan to buffet him. If yon say that the devil gave this angel, it follows that the devil sought to prevent Paul's being exalted above measure by the abundance of the revelation, and to perfect his strength. This is impossible. Therefore He who gave up this righteous man to be buffeted by the messenger of Satan, is the same as He who, through Paul, gave up to Satan himself the wicked persons of whom Paul says: "I have delivered them to Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme."(2) Do you see now how the Most High spares neither the righteous nor the wicked? Or is it the sword that frightens you? For to be buffeted is not so bad as to be put to death. But did not the thousands of martyrs suffer death in various forms? And could their persecutors have had this power against them except it had been given them by God, who thus spared neither the righteous nor the wicked? For the Lord Himself, the chief martyr, says expressly to Pilate: "Thou couldst have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above."(3) Paul also, besides recording his own experience, says that the afflictions and persecutions of the righteous exhibit the judgment of God.(4) This truth is set forth at length by the Apostle Peter in the passage already quoted, where he says: "It is time that judgment should begin at the house of the Lord. And if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of those that believe not the gospel of God? And if the righteous scarcely are saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?"(5) Peter also explains how the wicked are not spared, for they are branches broken off to be burnt; while the righteous are not spared,

because their purification is to be brought to perfection. He ascribes these things to the will of Him who says in the Old Testament, I will spare neither the righteous nor the wicked; for he says: "It is better, if the will of the Spirit of God be so, that we suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing."(6) So, when by the will of the Spirit of God men suffer for well- doing, the righteous are not spared; when they suffer for evil-doing, the wicked are not spared. In both cases it is according to the will of Him who says: I will spare neither the righteous nor the wicked; correcting the one as a son, and punishing the other as a transgressor.

21. I have thus shown, to the best of my power, that the God we worship did not abide from eternity in darkness, but is Himself light, and in Him is no darkness at all; and in Himself dwells in light inaccessible; and the brightness of this light is His coeternal wisdom. From what we have said, it appears that God was not taken by surprise by the unexpected appearance of light, but that light owes its existence to Him as its Creator, as its owes its continued existence to His approval. Neither was God ignorant of the future, but the author of the precept as well as the punisher of disobedience; that by showing His righteous anger against transgression, He might provide a restraint for the time, and a warning for the future Nor does He ask questions from ignorance, but by His very inquiry declares His judgment. Nor is He curious or timid, but excludes the transgressor from eternal life, which is the just reward of obedience. Nor is He greedy for blood and fat; but by requiring from a carnal people sacrifices, suited to their character, He by certain types prefigures the true sacrifice. Nor is His jealousy an emotion of pale anxiety, but of quiet benevolence, in desire to keep the soul, which owes chastity to the one true God, from being defiled and prostituted by serving many false gods. Nor is He enraged with a passion similar to human auger, but is angry, not in the sense of desiring vengeance, but in the peculiar sense of giving full effect to the sentence of a righteous retribution. Nor does He destroy thousands of men for trifling offenses, or for nothing, but manifests to the world the benefit to be obtained from fearing Him, by the temporal death of those already mortal. Nor does He punish the righteous and sinners indiscriminately, but chastises the righteous for their good, in order to perfect them, and gives to sinners the punishment justly due to them. Thus, ye Manichaeans, do your suspicions lead you astray, when, by misunderstanding our Scriptures, or by hearing bad interpreters, you form a mistaken judgment of Catholics. Hence you leave sound doctrine, and turn to impious fables; and in your perversity and estrangement from the society of saints, you reject the instruction of the New Testament, which, as we have shown, contains statements similar to those which you condemn in the Old Testament. So we are obliged to defend both Testaments against you as well as against the Pagans.

22. But supposing that there is some one so deluded by carnality as to worship not the God whom we worship, who is one and true, but the fiction of your suspicions or your slanders, whom you say we worship, is not even this god better than yours? Observe, I beseech you, what must be plain to the feeblest understanding; for here there is no need of great perspicacity. I address all, wise and unwise. I appeal to the common sense and judgment of all alike. Hear, consider, judge. Would it not have been better for your god to have remained in darkness from eternity, than to have plunged the light coeternal with him and cognate to him into darkness? Would it not have been better to have expressed admiration in surprise at the appearance of a new light coming to

scatter the darkness, than to have been unable to baffle the assault of darkness except by the concession of his own light? Unhappy if he did this in alarm, and cruel if there was no need of it. Surely it would have been better to see light, made by himself, and to admire it as good, than to make the light begotten by himself evil; better than that his own light should become hostile to himself in repelling the forces of darkness. For this will be the accusation against those who will be condemned for ever to the mass of darkness, that they suffered themselves to lose their original brightness, and became the enemies of sacred light. If they did not know from eternity that they would be thus condemned, they must have suffered the darkness of eternal ignorance; or if they did know, the darkness of eternal fear. Thus part of the substance of your god really did remain from eternity in its own darkness; and instead of admiring new light on its appearance, it only met with another and a hostile darkness, of which it had always been in fear. Indeed, God himself must have been in the darkness of fear for this part of himself, if he was dreading the evil coming upon it. If he did not foresee the evil, he must have been in the darkness of ignorance. If he foresaw it, and was not in fear, the darkness of such cruelty is worse than the darkness either of ignorance or of fear. Your god appears to be destitute of the quality which the apostle commends in the body, which you insanely believe to be made not by God, but by Hyle: "If one member suffers, all the members suffer with it."(1) But suppose he did suffer; he foresaw, he feared, he suffered, but he could not help himself. Thus he remained from eternity in the darkness of his own misery; and then, instead of admiring a new light which was to drive away the darkness, he came in contact, to the injury of his own light, with another darkness which he had always dreaded. Again, would it not have been much better, I say, not to have given a commandment like God, but even to have received a commandment like Adam, which he would be rewarded for keeping and punished for breaking, acting either way by his own free-will, than to be forced by inevitable necessity to admit darkness into his light in spite of himself? Surely it would have been better to have given a precept to human nature, not knowing that it would become sinful, than to have been driven by necessity to sin contrary to his own divine nature. Think for a moment, and say how darkness could be conquered by one who was himself conquered by necessity. Conquered already by this greater enemy, he fought under his conqueror's orders against a less formidable opponent. Would it not have been better not to know where Adam had hid himself, than to have been himself destitute of any means of escape, first from a hard and hateful necessity, and then from a dissimilar and hostile race? Would it not have been better to grudge eternal life to human nature, than to consign to misery the divine nature; to desire the blood and fat of sacrifices, than to be himself slaughtered in so many forms, on account of his mixture with the blood and fat of every victim; to be disturbed by jealousy at these sacrifices being offered to other gods as well as to himself, than to be himself offered on all altars to all devils, as mixed up not only with all fruits, but also with all animals? Would it not have been much better to be affected even with human anger, so as to be enraged against both his friends and his enemies for their sins, than to be himself influenced by fear as well as by anger wherever these passions exist, or than to share in all the sin that is committed, and in all punishment that is suffered? For this is the doom of that part of your god which is in confinement everywhere, condemned to this by himself, not as guilty, but in order to conquer his dreaded enemy. Doomed himself to such a fatal necessity, the part of himself which he has given over to condemnation might pardon him, if he were as humble as he is miserable. But how can you pretend to find fault with God for His anger

against both friends and enemies when they sin, when the god of your fancies first under compulsion compels his own members to go to be devoured by sin, and then condemns them to remain in darkness? Though he does this, you say that it will not be in anger. But will he not be ashamed to punish, or to appear to punish, those from whom he should ask pardon in words such as these: "Forgive me, I beseech you. You are my members; could I treat you thus, except from necessity? You know yourselves, that you were sent here because a formidable enemy had arisen; and now you must remain here to prevent his rising again"? Again, is it not better to slay thousands of men for trifling faults, or for nothing, than to cast into the abyss of sin, and to condemn to the punishment of eternal imprisonment, God's own members, his substance--in fact, God himself? It cannot properly be said of the real substance of God that it has the choice of sinning or not sinning, for God's substance is absolutely unchangeable. God cannot sin, as He cannot deny Himself Man, on the contrary, can sin and deny God, or he can choose not to do so. But suppose the members of your god had, like a rational human soul, the choice of sinning or not sinning; they might perhaps be justly punished for heinous offenses by confinement in the mass of darkness. But you cannot attribute to these parts a liberty which you deny to God himself. For if God had not given them up to sin, he would have been forced to sin himself, by the prevalence of the race of darkness. But if there was no danger of being thus forced, it was a sin to send these parts to a place where they incurred this danger. To do so, indeed, from free choice is a crime deserving the torment which your god unnaturally inflicts upon his own parts, more than the conduct of these parts in going by his command to a place where they lost the power of living in righteousness. But if God himself was in danger of being forced to sin by invasion and capture, unless he had secured himself first by the misconduct and then by the punishment of his own parts, there can have been no free-will either in your god or in his parts. Let him not set himself up as judge, but confess himself a criminal. For though he was forced against his own will, he professes to pass a righteous sentence in condemning those whom he knows to have suffered evil rather than done it; making this profession that he may not be thought of as having been conquered; as if it could do a beggar any good to be called prosperous and happy. Surely it would have been better for your god to have spared neither righteous nor wicked in indiscriminate punishment (which is Faustus' last charge against our God), than to have been so cruel to his own members,--first giving them up to incurable contamination, and then, as if that was not enough, accusing them falsely of misconduct. Faustus declares that they justly suffer this severe and eternal punishment, because they allowed themselves to be led astray from their original brightness, and became hostile to sacred light. But the reason of this, as Faustus says, was that they were so greedily devoured in the first assault of the princes of darkness, that they were unable to recover themselves, or to separate themselves from the hostile principle. These souls, therefore, did no evil themselves, but in all this were innocent sufferers. The real agent was he who sent them away from himself into this wretchedness. They suffered more from their father than from their enemy. Their father sent them into all this misery; while their enemy desired them as something good, wishing not to hurt them, but to enjoy them. The one injured them knowingly, the other in ignorance. This god was so weak and helpless that he could not otherwise secure himself first against an enemy threatening attack, and then against the same enemy in confinement. Let him, then, not condemn those parts whose obedience defended him, and whose death secures his safety. If he could not avoid the conflict, why slander his defenders? When

these parts allowed themselves to be led astray from their original brightness, and became hostile to sacred light, this must have been from the force of the enemy; and if they were forced against their will, they are innocent; while, if they could have resisted had they chosen, there is no need of the origin of evil in an imaginary evil nature, since it is to be found in free-will. Their not resisting, when they could have done so, is plainly their own fault, and not owing to any force from without. For, supposing them able to do a thing, to do which is right, while not to do it is great and heinous sin, their not doing it is their own choice. So, then, if they choose not to do it, the fault is in their will not in necessity. The origin of sin is in the will; therefore in the will is also the origin of evil, both in the sense of acting against a just precept, and in the sense of suffering under a just sentence. There is thus no reason why, in your search for the origin of evil, you should fall into so great an evil as that of calling a nature so rich in good things the nature of evil, and of attributing the terrible evil of necessity to the nature of perfect good, before any commixture with evil. The cause of this erroneous belief is your pride, which you need not have unless you choose; but in your wish to defend at all hazards the error into which you have fallen, you take away the origin of evil from freewill, and place it in a fabulous nature of evil. And thus you come at last to say, that the souls which are to be doomed to eternal confinement in the mass of darkness became enemies to sacred light not from choice, but by necessity; and to make your god a judge with whom it is of no use to prove, in behalf of your clients. that they were under compulsion, and a king who will make no allowance for your brethren, his own sons and members, whose hostility against you and against himself you ascribe not to choice, but to necessity. What shocking cruelty! unless you proceed in the next place to defend your god, as also acting not from choice, but by necessity. So, if there could be found another judge free from necessity, who could decide the question on the principles of equity, he would sentence your god to be bound to this mass, not by being fastened on the outside, but by being shut up inside along with the formidable enemy. The first in the guilt of necessity ought to be first in the sentence of condemnation. Would it not be much better. then, in comparison with such a god as tills, to choose the god whom we indeed do not worship, but whom you think or pretend to think we worship? Though he spares not his servants, whether righteous or sinful, making no proper separation, and not distinguishing between punishment and discipline, is he not better than the god who spares not his own members though innocent, if necessity is no crime, or guilty from their obedience to him, if necessity itself is criminal; so that they are condemned eternally by him, along with whom they should have been released, if any liberty was recovered by the victory, while he should have bean condemned along with them if the victory reduced the force of necessity even so far as to give this small amount of force to justice? Thus the god whom you represent us as worshipping, though he is not the one true God whom we really worship, is far better than your god. Neither, indeed, has any existence; but both are the creatures of your imaginations. But, according to your own representations, the one whom you call ours, and find fault with, is better than the one whom you call your own, and whom you worship.[1]

23. So also the patriarchs and prophets whom you cry out against are not the men whom we honor, but men whose characters are drawn from your fancy, prompted by illwill. And yet even thus as you paint them, I will not be content with showing them to be superior to your elect, who keep all the precepts of Manichaeus, but will prove their superiority to your god himself. Before proving this, however, I must, with the help of

God, defend our holy fathers the patriarchs and prophets against your accusations, by a clear exposition of the truth as opposed to the carnality of your hearts. As for you Manichaeans, it would be enough to say that the faults you impute to our fathers are preferable to what you praise in your own, and to complete your shame by adding that your god can be proved far inferior to our fathers as you describe them. This would be a sufficient reply for you. But as, even apart from your perversities, some minds are of themselves disturbed when comparing the life of the prophets in the Old Testament with that of the apostles in the New,--not discerning between the manner of the time when the promise was under a veil, and that of the time when the promise is revealed,--I must first of all reply to those who either have the boldness to pride themselves as superior in temperance to the prophets, or quote the prophets in defence of their own bad conduct.

24. First of all, then, not only the speech of these men, but their life also, was prophetic; and the whole kingdom of the Hebrews was like a great prophet, corresponding to the greatness of the Person prophesied. So, as regards those Hebrews who were made wise in heart by divine instruction, we may discover a prophecy of the coming of Christ and of the Church, both in what they said and in what they did; and the same is true as regards the divine procedure towards the whole nation as a body. For, as the apostle says, "all these things were our examples."

25. Those who find fault with the prophets, accusing them of adultery for instance, in actions which are above their comprehension, are like those Pagans who profanely charge Christ with folly or madness because He looked for fruit from a tree out of the season;[2] or with childishness, because He stooped down and wrote on the ground, and, after answering the people who were questioning Him, began writing again.[3] Such critics are incapable of understanding that certain virtues in great minds resemble closely the vices of little minds, not in reality, but in appearance. Such criticism of the great is like that of boys at school, whose learning consists in the important rule, that if the nominative is in the singular, the verb must also be in the singular; and so they find fault with the best Latin author, because he says, Pars in frusta secant.[1] He should have written, say they, secat. And again, knowing that religio is spelt with one l, they blame him for writing relligio, when he says, Relligione patrum.[2] Hence it may with reason be said, that as the peotical usage of words differs from the solecisms and barbarisms of the unlearned, so, in their own way, the figurative actions of the prophets differ from the impure actions of the vicious. Accordingly, as a boy guilty of a barbarism would be whipped if he pled the usage of Virgil; so any one quoting the example of Abraham begetting a son from Hagar, in defence of his own sinful passion for his wife's handmaid, ought to be corrected not by carting only, but by severe scourging, that he may not suffer the doom of adulterers in eternal punishment. This indeed is a comparison of great and important subjects with trifles; and it is not intended that a peculiar usage in speech should be put on a level with a sacrament, or a solecism with adultery. Still, allowing for the difference in the character of the subjects, what is called learning or ignorance in the proprieties and improprieties of speech, resembles wisdom or the want of it in reference to the grand moral distinction between virtue and vice.[3]

26. Instead of entering on the distinctions between the praiseworthy and the

blameworthy, the criminal and the innocent, the dangerous and the harmless, the guilty and the guiltless, the desirable and the undesirable, which are all illustrations of the distinction between sin and righteousness, we must first consider what sin is, and then examine the actions of the saints as recorded in the holy books, that, if we find these saints described as sinning, we may if possible discover the true reason for keeping these sins in memory by putting them on record. Again, if we find things recorded which, though they are not sins, appear so to the foolish and the malevolent, and in fact do not exhibit any virtues, here also we have to see why these things are put into the Scriptures which we believe to contain wholesome doctrine as a guide in the present life, and a title to the inheritance of the future. As regards the examples of righteousness found among the acts of the saints, the propriety of recording these must be plain even to the ignorant. The question is about those actions the mention of which may seem useless if they are neither righteous nor sinful, or even dangerous if the actions are really sinful, as leading people to imitate them, because they are not condemned in these books, and so may be supposed not to be sinful, or because, though they are condemned, men may copy them from the idea that they must be venial if saints did them.

27. Sin, then, is any transgression in deed, or word, or desire, of the eternal law. And the eternal law is the divine order or will of God, which requires the preservation of natural order, and forbids the breach of it. But what is this natural order in man? Man, we know, consists of soul and body; but so does a beast. Again, it is plain that in the order of nature the soul is superior to the body. Moreover, in the soul of man there is reason, which is not in a beast. Therefore, as the soul is superior to the body, so in the soul itself the reason is superior by the law of nature to the other parts which are found also in beasts; and in reason itself, which is partly contemplation and partly action, contemplation is unquestionably the superior part. The object of contemplation is the image of God, by which we are renewed through faith to sight. Rational action ought therefore to be subject to the control of contemplation, which is exercised through faith while we are absent from the Lord, as it will be hereafter through sight, when we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is.[4] Then in a spiritual body we shall by His grace be made equal to angels, when we put on the garment of immortality and incorruption, with which this mortal and corruptible shall be clothed, that death may be swallowed up of victory, when righteousness is perfected through grace. For the holy and lofty angels have also their contemplation and action. They require of themselves the performance of the commands of Him whom they contemplate, whose eternal government they freely because sweetly obey. We, on the other hand, whose body is dead because of sin, till God quicken also our mortal bodies by His Spirit dwelling in us, live righteously in our feeble measure, according to the eternal law in which the law of nature is preserved, when we live by that faith unfeigned which works by love, having in a good conscience a hope of immortality and in-corruption laid up in heaven, and of the perfecting of righteousness to the measure of an inexpressible satisfaction, for which in our pilgrimage we must hunger and thirst, while we walk by faith and not by sight.

28. A man, therefore, who acts in obedience to the faith which obeys God, restrains all mortal affections, and keeps them within the natural limit, regulating his desires so as to put the higher before the lower. If there was no pleasure in what is unlawful, no one would sin. To sin is to indulge this pleasure instead of restraining it. And by unlawful is

meant what is forbidden by the law in which the order of nature is preserved. It is a great question whether there is any rational creature for which there is no pleasure in what is unlawful. If there is such a class of creatures, it does not include man, nor that angelic nature which abode not in the truth. These rational creatures were so made, that they had the potentiality of restraining their desires from the unlawful; and in not doing this they sinned. Great, then, is the creature man, for he is restored by this potentiality, by which, if he had so chosen, he would not have fallen. And great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised, who created man. For He created also inferior natures which cannot sin, and superior natures which will not sin. Beasts do not sin, for their nature agrees with the eternal law from being subject to it, without being in possession of it. And again, angels do not sin, because their heavenly nature is so in possession of the eternal law that God is the only object of its desire, and they obey His will without any experience of temptation. But man, whose life on this earth is a trial on account of sin, subdues to himself what he has in common with beasts, and subdues to God what he has in common with angels; till, when righteousness is perfected and immortality attained, he shall be raised from among beasts and ranked with angels.

29. The exercise or indulgence of the bodily appetites is intended to secure the continued existence and the invigoration of the individual or of the species. If the appetites go beyond this, and carry the man, no longer master of himself, beyond the limits of temperance, they become unlawful and shameful lusts, which severe discipline must subdue. But if this unbridled course ends in plunging the man into such a depth of evil habits that he supposes that there will be no punishment of his sinful passions, and so refuses the wholesome discipline of confession and repentance by which he might be rescued; or, from a still worse insensibility, justifies his own indulgences in profane opposition to the eternal law of Providence; and if he dies in this state, that unerring law sentences him now not to correction, but to damnation.

30. Referring, then, to the eternal law which enjoins the preservation of natural order and forbids the breach of it, let us see how our father Abraham sinned, that is, how he broke this law, in the things which Faus-tus has charged him with as highly criminal. In his irrational craving to have children, says Faustus, and not believing God, who promised that his wife Sara should have a son, he defiled himself with a mistress. But here Faustus, in his irrational desire to find fault, both discloses the impiety of his heresy, and in his error and ignorance praises Abraham's intercourse with the handmaid. For as the eternal law--that is, the will of God the Creator of all-- for the preservation of the natural order, permits the indulgence of the bodily appetite under the guidance of reason in sexual intercourse, not for the gratification of passion, but for the continuance of the race through the procreation of children; so, on the contrary, the unrighteous law of the Manichaeans, in order to prevent their god, whom they bewail as confined in all seeds, from suffering still closer confinement in the womb, requires married people not on any account to have children, their great desire being to liberate their god. Instead, therefore, of an irrational craving in Abraham to have children, we find in Manichaeus an irrational fancy against having children. So the one preserved the natural order by seeking in marriage only the production of a child; while the other, influenced by his heretical notions, thought no evil could be greater than the confinement of his god.

31. So, again, when Faustus says that the wife's being privy to her husband's conduct made the matter worse, while he is prompted only by the uncharitable wish to reproach Abraham and his wife, he really, without intending it, speaks in praise of both. For Sara did not connive at any criminal action in her husband for the gratification of his unlawful passions; but from the same natural desire for children that he had, and knowing her own barrenness, she warrantably claimed as her own the fertility of her handmaid; not consenting with sinful desires in her husband, but requesting of him what it was proper in him to grant. Nor was it the request of proud assumption; for every one knows that the duty of a wife is to obey her husband. But in reference to the body, we are told by the apostle that the wife has power over her husband's body, as he has over hers;[1] so that, while in all other social matters the wife ought to obey her husband, in this one matter of their bodily connection as man and wife their power over one another is mutual,--the man over the woman, and the woman over the man. So, when Sara could not have children of her own, she wished to have them by her handmaid, and of the same seed from which she herself would have had them, if that had been possible. No woman would do this if her love for her husband were merely an animal passion; she would rather be jealous of a mistress than make her a mother. So here the pious desire for the procreation of children was an indication of the absence of criminal indulgence.

32. Abraham, indeed, cannot be defended, if, as Faustus says, he wished to get children by Hagar, because he had no faith in God, who promised that he should have children by Sara. But this is an entire mistake: this promise had not yet been made. Any one who reads the preceding chapters will find that Abraham had already got the promise of the land with a countless number of inhabitants,[1] but that it had not yet been made known to him how the seed spoken of was to be produced, whether by generation from his own body, or from his choice in the adoption of a son, or, in the case of its being from his own body, whether it would be by Sara or another. Whoever examines into this will find that Faustus has made either an imprudent mistake or an impudent misrepresentation. Abraham, then, when he saw that he had no children, though the promise was to his seed, thought first of adoption. This appears from his saying of his slave, when speaking to God, "This is mine heir;" as much as to say, As Thou hast not given me a seed of my own, fulfill Thy promise in this man. For the word seed may be applied to what has not come oat of a man's own body, else the apostle could not call us the seed of Abraham: for we certainly are not his descendants in the flesh; but we are his seed in following his faith, by believing in Christ, whose flesh did spring from the flesh of Abraham. Then Abraham was told by the Lord "This shall not be thine heir; but he thai cometh out of thine own bowels shall be thine heir."[2] The thought of adoption was thus removed; but it still remained uncertain whether the seed which was to come from himself would be by Sara or another. And this God was pleased to keep concealed, till a figure of the Old Testament had been supplied in the handmaid. We may thus easily understand how Abraham, seeing that his wife was barren, and that she desired to obtain from her husband and her handmaid the offspring which she herself could not produce, acted not in compliance with carnal appetite, but in obedience to conjugal authority, believing that Sara had the sanction of God for her wish; because God had already promised him an heir from his own body, but had not foretold who was to be the mother. Thus, when Faustus shows his own infidelity in accusing Abraham of unbelief, his groundless accusation only proves the madness of the assailant. In other cases, Faustus' infidelity has prevented him from understanding;

but here, in his love of slander, he has not even taken time to read.

33. Again, when Faustus accuses a righteous and faithful man of a shameless profanation of his marriage from avarice and greed, by selling his wife Sara at different times to the two kings Abimelech and Pharaoh, telling them that she was his sister, because she was very fair, he does not distinguish justly between right and wrong, but unjustly condemns the whole transaction. Those who think that Abraham sold his wife cannot discern in the light of the eternal law the difference between sin and righteousness; and so they call perseverance obstinacy, and confidence presumption, as in these and similar cases men of wrong judgment are wont to blame what they suppose to be wrong actions. Abraham did not become partner in crime with his wife by selling her to others: but as she gave her handmaid to her husband, not to gratify his passion, but for the sake of offspring, in the authority she had consistently with the order of nature, requiring the performance of a duty, not complying with a sinful desire; so in this case, the husband, in perfect assurance of the chaste attachment of his wife to himself, and knowing her mind to be the abode of modest and virtuous affection, called her his sister, without saying that she was his wife, test he himself should be killed, and his wife fall into the hands of strangers and evil-doers: for he was assured by his God that He would not allow her to suffer violence or disgrace. Nor was he disappointed in his faith and hope; for Pharaoh, terrified by strange occurrences, and after enduring many evils on account of her, when he was informed by God that Sara was Abraham's wife, restored her with honor uninjured. Abimelech also did the same, after learning the truth in a dream.

34. Some people, not scoffers and evil-speakers like Faustus, but men who pay due honor to the Scriptures, which Faustus finds fault with because he does not understand them, or which he fails to understand because of his fault-finding, in commenting on this act of Abraham, are of opinion that he stumbled from weakness of faith, and denied his wife from fear of death, as Peter denied the Lord. If this is the correct view, we must allow that Abraham sinned; but the sin should not cancel or obliterate all his merits, any more than in the case of the apostle. Besides, to deny his wife is not the same as to deny the Saviour. But when there is another explanation, why not abide by it, instead of giving blame without cause, since there is no proof that Abraham told a lie from fear? He did not deny that Sara was his wife in answer to any question on the subject; but when asked who she was, he said she was his sister, without denying her to be his wife: he concealed part of the truth, but said nothing false.

35. It is waste of time to observe Faustus' remark, that Abraham falsely called Sara his sister; as if Faustus had discovered the family of Sara, though it is not mentioned in Scripture. In a matter which Abraham knew, and we do not, it is surely better to believe the patriarch when he says what he knows, than to believe Manichaeus when he finds fault with what he knows nothing about. Since, then, Abraham lived at that period in human history, when, though marriage had become unlawful between children of the same parents, or of the same father or mother, no law or authority interfered with the custom of marriage between the children of brothers, or any less degree of consanguinity, why should he not have had as wife his sister, that is, a woman descended from his father? For he himself told the king, when he restored Sara, that she was his sister by his father, and not by his mother. And on this occasion he could

not have been led to tell a falsehood from fear, for the king knew that she was his wife, and was restoring her with honor, because he had been warned by God. We learn from Scripture that, among the ancients, it was customary to call cousins brothers and sisters. Thus Tobias says in his prayer to God, before having intercourse with his wife, 'And now, O Lord, Thou knowest that not in wantonness I take to wife my sister;"[1] though she was not sprung immediately from the same father or the same mother, but only belonged to the same family. And Lot is called the brother of Abraham, though Abraham was his uncle.[2] And, by the same use of the word, those called in the Gospel the Lord's brothers are certainly not children of the Virgin Mary, but all the blood relations of the Lord.[3]

36. Some may say, Why did not Abraham's confidence in God prevent his being afraid to confess his wife? God could have warded off from him the death which he feared, and could have protected both him and his wife while among strangers, so that Sara, although very fair, should not have been desired by any one, nor Abraham killed on account of her. Of course, God could have done this; it would be absurd to deny it. But if, in reply to the people, Abraham had told them that Sara was his wife, his trust in God would have included both his own life and the chastity of Sara. Now it is part of sound doctrine, that when a man has any means in his power, he should not tempt the Lord his God. So it was not because the Saviour was unable to protect His disciples that He told them, "When ye are persecuted in one city, flee to another."[4] And He Himself set the example. For though He had the power of laying down His own life, and did not lay it down till He chose to do so, still when an infant He fled to Egypt, carried by His parents;[5] and when He went up to the feast, He went not openly, but secretly, though at other times He spoke openly to the Jews, who in spite of their rage and hostility could not lay hands on Him, because His hour was not come,[6]--not the hour when He would be obliged to die, but the hour when He would consider it seasonable to be put to death. Thus He who displayed divine power by teaching and reproving openly, without allowing the rage of his enemies to hurt Him, did also, by escaping and concealing Himself, exhibit the conduct becoming the feebleness of men, that they should not tempt God when they have any means in their power of escaping threatened danger. So also in the apostle, it was not from despair of divine assistance and protection, or from loss of faith, that he was let down over the wall in a basket, in order to escape being taken by his enemies:[7] not from want of faith in God did he thus escape, but because not to escape, when this escape was possible, would have been tempting God. Accordingly, when Abraham was among strangers, and when, on account of the remarkable beauty of Sara, both his life and her chastity were in danger, since it was in his power to protect not both of these, but one only,--his life, namely,--to avoid tempting God he did what he could; and in what he could not do, he trusted to God. Unable to conceal his being a man, he concealed his being a husband, test he should be put to death; trusting to God to preserve his wife's purity.

37. There might also be a difference of opinion on the nice point whether Sara's chastity would have been violated even if some one had intercourse with her, since she submitted to this to save her husband's life, both with his knowledge and by his authority. In this there would be no desertion of conjugal fidelity or rebellion against her husband's authority; in the same way as Abraham was not an adulterer, when, in submission to the lawful authority of his wife, he consented to be made a father by his

wife's handmaid. But, from the nature of the relationship, for a wife to have two husbands, both in life, is not the same thing as for a man to have two wives: so that we regard the explanation already given of Abraham's conduct as the most correct and unobjectionable; that our father Abraham avoided tempting God by taking what measures he could for the preservation of his own life, and that he showed his hope in God by entrusting to Him the chastity of his wife.

38. But a pleasure which all must feel is obtained from this narrative so faithfully recorded in the Holy Scriptures, when we examine into the prophetic character of the action, and knock with pious faith and diligence at the door of the mystery, that the Lord may open, and show us who was prefigured in the ancient personage, and whose wife this is, who, while in a foreign land and among strangers, is not allowed to be stained or defiled, that she may be brought to her own husband without spot or wrinkle. Thus we find that the righteous life of the Church is for the glory of Christ, that her beauty may bring honor to her husband, as Abraham was honored on account of the beauty of Sara among the inhabitants of that foreign land. To the Church, to whom it is said in the Song of Songs, "O thou fairest among women,"(1) kings offer gifts in acknowledgment of her beauty; as king Abimelech offered gifts to Sara, admiring the grace of her appearance; all the more that, while he loved, he was not allowed to profane it. The holy Church, too is in secret the spouse of the Lord Jesus Christ. For it is secretly, and in the hidden depths of the Spirit, that the soul of man is joined to the word of God, so that they two are one flesh; of which the apostle speaks as a great mystery in marriage, as referring to Christ and the Church.(2) Again, the earthly kingdom of this world, typified by the kings which were not allowed to defile Sara, had no knowledge or experience of the Church as the spouse of Christ, that is, of how faithfully she maintained her relation to her Husband, till it tried to violate her, and was compelled to yield to the divine testimony borne by the faith of the martyrs, and in the person of later monarchs was brought humbly to honor with gifts the Bride whom their predecessors had not been able to humble by subduing her to themselves. What, in the type, happened in the reign of one and the same king, is fulfilled in the earlier monarchs of this era and their successors.

39. Again, when it is said that the Church is the sister of Christ, not by the mother but by the father, we learn the excellence of the relation, which is not of the temporary nature of earthly descent, but of divine grace, which is everlasting. By this grace we shall no longer be a race of mortals when we receive power to be called and to become sons of God. This grace we obtain not from the synagogue, which is the mother of Christ after the flesh, but from God the Father. And when Christ calls us into another life where there is no death, He teaches us, instead of acknowledging, to deny the earthly relationship, where death soon follows upon birth; for He says to His disciples, "Call no man your father upon earth; for you have one Father, who is in heaven."(3) And He set us an example of this when He said, "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren? And stretching forth His hand to His disciples, He said, These are my brethren." And lest any one should think that He referred to an earthly relationship, He added, "Whosoever shall do the will of my Father, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother;"(4) as much as to say, I derive this relationship from God my Father, not from the Synagogue my mother; I call you to eternal life, where I have an immortal birth, not to earthly life, for to call you away from this life I have taken mortality.

40. As for the reason why, though it is concealed among strangers whose wife the Church is, it is not hidden whose sister she is, it is plainly because it is obscure and hard to understand how the human soul and the Word of God are united or mingled, or whatever word may be used to express this connection between God and the creature. It is from this connection that Christ and the Church are called bridegroom and bride, or husband and wife. The other relationship, in which Christ and all the saints are brethren by divine grace and not by earthly consanguinity, or by the father and not by the mother, is more easily expressed in words, and more easily understood. For the same grace makes all the saints to be also brethren of one another; while in their society no one is the bridegroom of all the rest. So also, notwithstanding the surpassing justice and wisdom of Christ, His manhood was much more plainly and readily recognized by strangers, who, indeed, were not wrong in believing Him to be man, but they did not understand His being God as well as man. Hence Jeremiah says: "He is both a man, and who shall know Him?"(1) He is a man, for it is made manifest that He is a brother. And who shall know Him? for it is concealed that He is a husband. This must suffice as a defense of our father Abraham against Faustus' impudence and ignorance and malice.

41. Lot also, the brother of Abraham, was just and hospitable in Sodom, and was found worthy to escape the conflagration which prefigured the future judgment; for he was free from all participation in the corruption of the people of Sodom. He was a type of the body of Christ, which in the person of all the saints both groans now among the ungodly and wicked, to whose evil deeds it does not consent, and will at the end of the world be rescued from their society, when they are doomed to the punishment of eternal fire Lot's wife was the type of a different class of men,--of those, namely, who, when called by the grace of God, look back, instead of, like Paul, forgetting the things that are behind, and looking forward to the things that are before.(2) The Lord Himself says: "No man that putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is fit for the kingdom of Heaven."(3) Nor did He omit to mention the case of Lot's wife; for she, for our warning, was turned into a pillar of salt, that being thus seasoned we might not trifle thoughtlessly with this danger, but be on our guard against it. So, when the Lord was admonishing every one to get rid of the things that are behind by the most strenuous endeavor to reach the things that are before, He said, "Remember Lot's wife."(4) And, in addition to these, there is still a third type in Lot, when his daughters lay with him. For here Lot seems to prefigure the future law; for those who spring from the law, and are placed under the law, by misunderstanding it, stupefy it, as it were, and bring forth the works of unbelief by an unlawful use of the law. "The law is good" says the apostle, "if a man use it lawfully."(5)

42. It is no excuse for this action of Lot or of his daughters that it represented the perversity which was afterwards in certain cases to be displayed. The purpose of Lot's daughters is one thing, and the purpose of God is another, in allowing this to happen that He might make some truth manifest; for God both pronounces judgment on the actions of the people of those times, and arranges in His providence for the prefigurement of the future. As a part of Scripture, this action is a prophecy; as part of the history of those concerned, it is a crime.

43. At the same time there is in this transaction no reason for the torrent of abuse which Faustus' blind hostility discharges on it. By the eternal law which requires the preservation of the order of nature and condemns its violation, the judgment in this case is not what it would have been if Lot had been prompted by a criminal passion to commit incest with his daughters, or if they had been inflamed with unnatural desires. In justice, we must ask not only what was done, but with what motive, in order to obtain a fair view of the action as the effect of that motive. The resolution of Lot's daughters to lie with their father was the effect of the natural desire for offspring in order to preserve the race; for they supposed that there were no other men to be found, thinking that the whole world had been consumed in that conflagration, which, for all they knew, had left no one alive but themselves. It would have been better for them never to have been mothers, than to have become mothers by their own father. But still, the fulfillment of a desire like this is very different from the accursed gratification of lust.

44. Knowing that their father would condemn their design, Lot's daughters thought it necessary to fulfill it without his knowledge. We are told that they made him drunk, so that he was unaware of what happened. His guilt therefore is not that of incest, but of drunkenness. This, too, is condemned by the eternal law, which allows meat and drink only as required by nature for the preservation of health. There is, indeed, a great difference between a drunk man and an habitual drunkard; for the drunkard is not always drunk, and a man may be drunk on one occasion without being a drunkard. However, in the case of a righteous man, we require to account for even one instance of drunkenness. What can have made Lot consent to receive from his daughters all the cups of wine which they went on mixing for him, or perhaps giving him unmixed? Did they feign excessive grief, and did he resort to this consolation in their loneliness, and in the loss of their mother, thinking that they were drinking too, while they only pretended to drink? But this does not seem a proper method for a righteous man to take in consoling his friends when in trouble. Had the daughters learned in Sodom some vile art which enabled them to intoxicate their father with a few cups, so that in his ignorance he might sin, or rather be sinned against? But it is not likely that the Scripture would have omitted all notice of this, or that God would have allowed His servant to be thus abused without any fault of his own.

45. But we are defending the sacred Scriptures, not man's sins. Nor are we concerned to justify this action, as if our God had either commanded it or approved of it; or as if, when men are called just in Scripture, it meant that they could not sin if they chose. And as, in the books which those critics find fault with, God nowhere expresses approval of this action, what thoughtless folly it is to bring a charge from this narrative against these writings, when in other places such actions are condemned by express prohibitions! In the story of Lot's daughters the action is related, not commended. And it is proper that the judgment of God should be declared in some cases, and concealed in others, that by its manifestation our ignorance may be enlightened, and that by its concealment our minds may be improved by the exercise of recalling what we already know, or our indolence stimulated to seek for an explanation. Here, then, God, who can bring good out of evil, made nations arise from this origin, as He saw good, but did not bring upon His own Scriptures the guilt of man's sin. It is God's writing, but not His doing; He does not propose these things for our imitation, but holds them up for our warning.

46. Faustus' effrontery appears notably in his accusing Isaac also, the son of Abraham of pretending that his wife Rebecca was his sister.(1) For as regards the family of Rebecca Scripture is not silent, and it appears that she was his sister in the well-known sense of the word. His concealing that she was his wife is not surprising, nor is it insignificant, if he did it in imitation of his father, so that he can be justified on the same grounds. We need only refer to the answer already given to Faustus' charge against Abraham, as being equally applicable to Isaac. Perhaps, however some inquirer will ask what typical significance there is in the foreign king discovering Rebecca to be the wife of Isaac by seeing him playing with her; for he would not have known, had he not seen Isaac playing with Rebecca as it would have been improper to do with a woman not his wife. When holy men act thus as husbands, they do it not foolishly, but designedly: for they accommodate themselves to the nature of the weaker sex in words and actions of gentle playfulness; not in effeminacy, but in subdued manliness. But such behavior towards any woman except a wife would be disgraceful. This is a question in good manners, which is referred to only in case some stern advocate of insensibility should find fault with the holy man even for playing with his wife. For if these men without humanity see a sedate man chatting playfully with children that he may adapt himself to the childish understanding with kindly sympathy, they think that he is insane; forgetting that they themselves were once children, or unthankful for their maturity. The typical meaning, as regards Christ and His Church, which is to be found in this great patriarch playing with his wife, and in the conjugal relation being thus discovered, will be seen by every one who, to avoid offending the Church by erroneous doctrine, carefully studies in Scripture the secret of the Church's Bridegroom. He will find that the Husband of the Church concealed for a time in the form of a servant the majesty in which He was equal to the Father, as being in the form of God, that feeble humanity might be capable of union with Him, and that so He might accommodate Himself to His spouse. So far from being absurd, it has a symbolic suitableness that the prophet of God should use a playfulness which is of the flesh to meet the affection of his wife, as the Word of God Himself became flesh that He might dwell among us.

47. Again, Jacob the son of Isaac is charged with having committed a great crime because he had four wives. But here there is no ground for a criminal accusation: for a plurality of wives was no crime when it was the custom; and it is a crime now, because it is no longer the custom. There are sins against nature, and sins against custom, and sins against the laws. In which, then, of these senses did Jacob sin in having a plurality of wives? As regards nature, he used the women not for sensual gratification, but for the procreation of children. For custom, this was the common practice at that time in those countries. And for the laws, no prohibition existed. The only reason of its being a crime now to do this, is because custom and the laws forbid it. Whoever despises these restraints, even though he uses his wives only to get children, still commits sin, and does an injury to human society itself, for the sake of which it is that the procreation of children is required. In the present altered state of customs and laws, men can have no pleasure in a plurality of wives, except from an excess of lust; and so the mistake arises of supposing that no one could ever have had many wives but from sensuality and the vehemence of sinful desires. Unable to form an idea of men whose force of mind is beyond their conception, they compare themselves with themselves, as the apostle says,(1) and so make mistakes. Conscious that, in their intercourse though with one wife only, they are often influenced by mere animal passion instead of an intelligent

motive, they think it an obvious inference that, if the limits of moderation are not observed where there is only one wife, the infirmity must be aggravated where there are more than one.

48. But those who have not the virtues of temperance must not be allowed to judge of the conduct of holy men, any more than those in fever of the sweetness and wholesomeness of food. Nourishment must be provided not by the dictates of the sickly taste, but rather by the judgment and direction of health, so as to cure the sickness. If our critics, then, wish to attain not a spurious and affected, but a genuine and sound moral health, let them find a cure in believing the Scripture record, that the honorable name of saint is given not without reason to men who had several wives; and that the reason is this, that the mind can exercise such control over the flesh as not to allow the appetite implanted in our nature bY Providence to go beyond the limits of deliberate intention. By a similar misunderstanding, this criticism, which consists rather in dishonest slander than in honest judgment, might accuse the holy apostles too of preaching the gospel to so many people, not from the desire of begetting children to eternal life, but from the love of human praise. There was no lack of renown to these our fathers in the gospel, for their praise was spread in numerous tongues through the churches of Christ. In fact, no greater honor and glory could have been paid by men to their fellow-creatures. It was the sinful desire for this glory in the Church which led the reprobate Simon in his blindness to wish to purchase for money what was freely bestowed on the apostles by divine grace.(2) There must have been this desire of glory in the man whom the Lord in the Gospel checks in his desire to follow Him, saying, "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay His Head."(3) The Lord saw that his mind was darkened by false appearances and elated by sudden emotion, and that there was no ground of faith to afford a lodging to the Teacher of humility; for in Christ's discipleship the man sought not Christ's grace, but his own glory. By this love of glory those were led away whom the Apostle Paul characterizes as preaching Christ not sincerely, but of contention and envy; and yet the apostle rejoices in their preaching, knowing that it might happen that, while the preachers gratified their desire for human praise, believers might be born among their hearers,--not as the result of the envious feeling which made them wish to rival or surpass the fame of the apostles, but by means of the gospel which they preached, though not sincerely; so that God might bring good out of their evil. So a man may be induced to marry by sensual desire, and not to beget children; and yet a child may be born, a good work of God, due to the natural power, not to the misconduct of the parent. As, therefore, the holy apostles were gratified when their doctrine met with acceptance from their hearers, not because they were greedy for praise, but because they desired to spread the truth; so the holy patriarchs in their conjugal intercourse were actuated not by the love of pleasure, but by the intelligent desire for the continuance of their family. Thus the number of their hearers did not make the apostles ambitious; nor did the number of their wives make the patriarchs licentious. But why defend the husbands, to whose character the divine word bears the highest testimony, when it appears that the wives themselves looked upon their connection with their husbands only as a means of getting sons? So, when they found themselves barren, they gave their handmaids to their husbands; so that while the handmaids had the fleshly motherhood, the wives were mothers in intention.

49. Faustus makes a most groundless statement when he accuses the four women of quarreling like abandoned characters for the possession of their husband. Where Faustus read this I know not, unless it was in his own heart, as in a book of impious delusions, in which Faustus himself is seduced by that serpent with regard to whom the apostle feared for the Church, which he desired to present as a chaste virgin to Christ; lest, as the serpent had deceived Eve by his subtlety, so he should also corrupt their minds by turning them away from the simplicity of Christ.(4) The Manichaeans are so fond of this serpent, that they assert that he did more good than harm. From him Faustus must have got his mind corrupted with the lies instilled into it, which he now reproduces in these infamous calumnies, and is even bold enough to put down in writing. It is not true that one of the handmaids carried off Jacob from the other, or that they quarreled about possessing him. There was arrangement, because there was no licentious passion; and the law of conjugal authority was all the stronger that there was none of the lawlessness of fleshly desire. His being hired by one of his wives proves what is here said, in plain opposition to the libels of the Manichaeans. Why should one have hired him, unless by the arrangement he was to have gone in to the other? It does not follow that he would never have gone in to Leah unless she had hired him. He must have gone to her always in her turn, for he had many children by her; and in obedience to her he had children by her hand-maid, and afterwards, without any hiring, by herself. On this occasion it was Rachel's turn, so that she had the power so expressly mentioned in the New Testament by the apostle, "The husband hath not power over his own body, but the wife."(1) Rachel had a bargain with her sister, and, being in her sister's debt, she referred her to Jacob, her own debtor. For the apostle uses this figure when he says, "Let the husband render unto the wife what is due."(2) Rachel gave what was in her power as due from her husband, in return for what she had chosen to take from her sister.

50. If Jacob had been of such a character as Faustus in his incurable blindness supposes, and not a servant of righteousness rather than of concupiscence, would he not have been looking forward eagerly all day to the pleasure of passing the night with the more beautiful of his wives, whom he certainly loved more than the other, and for whom he paid the price of twice seven years of gratuitous service? How, then, at the close of the day, on his way to his beloved, could he have consented to be turned aside, if he had been such as the ignorant Manichaeans represent him? Would he not have disregarded the wish of the women, and insisted upon going to the fair Rachel, who belonged to him that night not only as his lawful wife, but also as coming in regular order? He would thus have used his power as a husband, for the wife also has not power over her own body, but the husband; and having on this occasion the arrangement in their obedience in favor of the gratification of his love of beauty, he might have enforced his authority the more successfully. In that case it would be to the credit of the women, that while he thought of his own pleasure they contended about having a son. As it was, this virtuous man, in manly control of sensual appetite, thought more of what was due from him than to him, and instead of using his power for his own pleasure, consented to be only the debtor in this mutual obligation. So he consented to pay the debt to the person to whom she to whom it was due wished him to pay it. When, by this private bargain of his wives, Jacob was suddenly and unexpectedly forced to turn from the beautiful wife to the plain one, he did not give way either to anger or to disappointment, nor did he try to persuade his wives to let him have his own way; but,

like a just husband and an intelligent parent, seeing his wives concerned about the production of children, which was all he himself desired in marriage, he thought it best to yield to their authority, in desiring that each should have a child: for, since all the children were his, his own authority was not impaired. As if he had said to them: Arrange as you please among yourselves which is to be the mother; it matters not to me, since in any case I am the father. This control over the appetites, and simple desire to beget children, Faustus would have been clever enough to see and approve, unless his mind had been corrupted by the shocking tenets of his sect, which lead him to find fault with everything in the Scripture, and, moreover, teach him to condemn as the greatest crime the procreation of children, which is the proper design of marriage.

51. Now, having defended the character of the patriarch, and refuted an accusation arising from these detestable errors, let us avail ourselves of the opportunity of searching out the symbolical meaning, and let us knock with the reverence of faith, that the Lord may open to us the typical significance of the four wives of Jacob, of whom two were free, and two slaves. We see that, in the wife and bond-slaves of Abraham, the apostle understands the two Testaments.(3) But there, one represents each; here, the application does not suit so well, as there are two and two. There, also, the son of the bond-slave is disinherited; lint here the sons of the slaves receive the land of promise along with the sons of the free women: so that this type must have a different meaning.

52. Supposing that the two free wives point to the New Testament, by which we are called to liberty, what is the meaning of there being two? Perhaps because in Scripture, as the attentive reader will find, we are said to have two lives in the body of Christ,--one temporal, in which we suffer pain, and one eternal, in which we shall behold the blessedness of God. We see the one in the Lord's passion, and the other in His resurrection. The names of the women point to this meaning: It is said that Leah means Suffering, and Rachel the First Principle made visible, or the Word which makes the First Principle visible. The action, then, of our mortal human life, in which we live by faith, doing many painful tasks without knowing what benefit may result from them to those in whom we are interested, is Leah, Jacob's first wife. And thus she is said to have had weak eyes. For the purposes of mortals are timid, and our plans uncertain. Again, the hope of the eternal contemplation of God, accompanied with a sure and delightful perception of truth, is Rachel. And on this account she is described as fair and well-formed. This is the beloved of every pious student, and for this he serves the grace of God, by which our sins, though like scarlet, are made white as snow.(1) For Laban means making white; and we read that Jacob served Laban for Rachel.(2) No man turns to serve righteousness, in subjection to the grace of forgiveness, but that he may live in peace in the Word which makes visible the First Principle, or God; that is, he serves for Rachel, not for Leah. For what a man loves in the works of righteousness is not the toil of doing and suffering. No one desires this life for its own sake; as Jacob desired not Leah, who yet was brought to him, and became his wife, and the mother of children. Though she could not be loved of herself, the Lord made her be borne with as a step to Rachel; and then she came to be approved of on account of her children. Thus every useful servant of God, brought into His grace by which his sins are made white, has in his mind, and heart, and affection, when he thus turns to God, nothing but the knowledge of wisdom. This we often expect to attain as a reward for practising the seven precepts of the law which concern the love of our neighbor, that we injure no one:

namely, Honor thy father and mother; Thou shall not commit adultery; Thou shall not kill; Thou shalt not steal; Thou shall not bear false witness; Thou shalt not desire thy neighbor's wife; Thou shall not covet thy neighbor's property. When a man has obeyed these to the best of his ability, and, instead of the bright joys of truth which he desired and hoped for, finds in the darkness of the manifold trials of this world that he is bound to painful endurance, or has embraced Leah instead of Rachel, if there is perseverance in his love, he bears with the one in order to attain the other; and as if it were said to him, Serve seven Other years for Rachel, he hears seven new commands,--to be poor in spirit, to be meek, to be a mourner, to hunger and thirst after righteousness, to be merciful, pure, and a peacemaker.(3) A man would desire, if it were possible, to obtain at once the joys of lovely and perfect wisdom, without the endurance of toil in action and suffering; but this is impossible in mortal life. This seems to be meant, when it is said to Jacob: "It is not the custom in our country to marry the younger before the elder."(4) The elder may very well mean the first in order of time. So, in the discipline of man, the toil of doing the work of righteousness precedes the delight of understanding the truth.

53. To this purpose it is written: "Thou hast desired wisdom; keep the commandments, and the Lord shall give it thee."(5) The commandments are those concerning righteousness, and the righteousness is that which is by faith, surrounded with the uncertainty of temptations; so that understanding is the reward of a pious belief of what is not yet understood. The meaning I have given to these words, "Thou hast desired wisdom; keep the commandments, and the Lord shall give it thee, "I find also in the passage, "Unless ye believe, ye shall not understand;"(6) showing that as righteousness is by faith, understanding comes by wisdom. Accordingly, in the case of those who eagerly demand evident truth, we must not condemn the desire, but regulate it, so that beginning with faith it may proceed to the desired end through good works. The life of virtue is one of toil; the end desired is unclouded wisdom. Why should I believe, says one, what is not clearly proved? Let me hear some word which will disclose the first principle of all things. This is the one great craving of the rational soul in the pursuit of truth. And the answer is, What you desire is excellent, and well worthy of your love; but Leah is to be married first, and then Rachel. The proper effect of your eagerness is to lead you to submit to the right method, instead of rebelling against it; for without this method you cannot attain what you so eagerly long for. And when it is attained, the possession of the lovely form of knowledge will be in this world accompanied with the toils of righteousness. For however clear and true our perception in this life may be of the unchangeable good, the mortal body is still a weight on the mind and the earthly tabernacle is a clog on the intellect in its manifold activity. The end then, is one, but many things must be gone through for the sake of it.

54. Thus Jacob has two free wives; for both are daughters of the remission of sins, or of whitening, that is, of Laban. One is loved, the other is borne. But she that is borne is the most and the soonest fruitful, that she may be loved, if not for herself, at least for her children. For the toil of the righteous is specially fruitful in those whom they beget for the kingdom of God, by preaching the gospel amid many trials and temptations; and they call those their joy and crown for whom they are in labors more abundantly, in stripes above measure, in deaths often,(2)--for whom they have fightings without and fears within.(3) Such births result most easily and plentifully from the word of faith, the preaching of Christ crucified, which speaks also of His human nature as far as it can be

easily understood, so as not to hurt the weak eyes of Leah. Rachel, again, with clear eye, is beside herself to God,(4) and sees in the beginning the Word of God with God, and wishes to bring forth, but cannot; for who shall declare His generation? So the life devoted to contemplation, in order to see with no feeble mental eye things invisible to flesh, but understood by the things that are made, and to discern the ineffable manifestation of the eternal power and divinity of God, seeks leisure from all occupation, and is therefore barren. In this habit of retirement, where the fire of meditation burns bright, there is a want of sympathy with human weakness, and with the need men have of our help in their calamities. This life also burns with the desire for children (for it wishes to teach what it knows, and not to go with the corruption of envy(5)), and sees its sister-life fully occupied with work and with bringing forth; and it grieves that men run after that virtue which cares for their wants l and weaknesses, instead of that which has a divine imperishable lesson to impart. This is what is meant when it is said, "Rachel envied her sister."(6) Moreover, as the pure intellectual perception of that which is not matter, and so is not the object of the bodliy sense, cannot be expressed in words which spring from the flesh, the doctrine of wisdom prefers to get some lodging for divine truth in the mind by whatever material figures and illustrations occur, rather than to give up teaching these things; and thus Rachel preferred that her husband should have children by her handmaid, rather than that she should be without any children. Bilhah, the name of her handmaid, is said to mean old; and so, even when we speak of the spiritual and unchangeable nature of God, ideas are suggested relating to the old life of the bodily senses.

55. Leah, too, got children by her handmaid, from the desire of having a numerous family. Zilpah, her handmaid, is, interpreted, an open mouth. So Leah's handmaid represents those who are spoken of in Scripture as engaging in the preaching of the gospel with open mouth, but not with open heart. Thus it is written of some: "This people honor me with their lips, but their heart is far from me."(7) To such the apostle says: "Thou that preachest that a man should not steal, dost thou steal? Thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery?"(8) But that even by this arrangement the free wife of Jacob, the type of labor or endurance, might obtain children to be heirs of the kingdom, the Lord says: "What they say, do; but do not after their works."(9) And again, the apostolic life, when enduring imprisonment, says: "Whether Christ is preached in pretence or in truth, I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice."(10) It is the joy of the mother over her numerous family, though born of her handmaid.

56. In one instance Leah owed her becoming a mother to Rachel, who, in return for some mandrakes, allowed her husband to give her night to her sister. Some, I know, think that eating this fruit has the effect of making barren women productive, and that Rachel, from her desire for children, was thus bent on getting the fruit from her sister. But I should not agree to this, even had Rachel conceived at the time. As Leah then conceived, and, besides, had two other children before God opened Rachel's womb, there is no reason for supposing any such quality in the mandrake, without any experience to prove it. I will give my explanation; those better able than I may give a better. Though this fruit is not often met with, I had once, to my great satisfaction, on account of its connection with this passage of Scripture, an opportunity of seeing it. I examined the fruit as carefully as I could, not with the help of any recondite knowledge

of the nature of roots or the virtues of plants, but only as to what I or any one might learn from the sight, and smell, and taste. I thought it a nice-looking fruit, and sweet-smelling, but insipid; and I confess it is hard to say why Rachel desired it so much, unless it was for its rarity and its sweet smell. Why the incident should be narrated in Scripture, in which the fancies of women would not be mentioned as important unless it was intended that we should learn some important lesson from them, the only thing I can think of is the very simple idea that the fruit represents a good character; not the praise given a man by a few just and wise people, but popular report, which bestows greatness and renown on a man, and which is not desirable for its own sake, but is essential to the success of good men in their endeavors to benefit their fellow-men. So the apostle says, that it is proper to have a good report of those that are without;(1) for though they are not infallible, the lustre of their praise and the odor of their good opinion are a great help to the efforts of those who seek to benefit them. And this popular renown is not obtained by those that are highest in the Church, unless they expose themselves to the toils and hazards of an active life. Thus the son of Leah found the mandrakes when he went out into the field, that is, when walking honestly towards those that are without. The pursuit of wisdom, on the other hand, retired from the busy crowd, and lost in calm meditation, could never obtain a particle of this public approval, except through those who take the management of public business, not for the sake of being leaders, but in order to be useful. These men of action and business exert themselves for the public benefit, and by a popular use of their influence gain the approval of the people even for the quiet life of the student and inquirer after truth; and thus through Leah the mandrakes come into the hands of Rachel. Leah herself got them from her first-born son, that is, in honor of her fertility, which represents all the useful result of a laborious life exposed to the com mort vicissitudes; a life which many avoid on account of its troublesome engagements, because, although they might be able to take the lead, they are bent on study, and devote all their powers to the quiet pursuit of knowledge, in love with the beauty of Rachel.

57. But as it is right that this studious life should gain public approval by letting itself be known, while it cannot rightly gain this approval if it keeps its follower in retirement, instead of using his powers for the management of ecclesiastical affairs, and so prevents his being generally useful; to this purpose Leah says to her sister, "Is it a small matter that thou hast taken my husband? and wouldest thou take away my son's mandrakes also?"(2) The husband represents all those who, though fit for active life, and able to govern the Church, in administering to believers the mystery of the faith, from their love of learning and of the pursuit of wisdom, desire to relinquish all troublesome occupations, and to bury themselves in the classroom. Thus the words, "Is it a small matter that thou hast taken my husband? and wouldest thou take away my son's mandrakes also?" mean, "Is it a small matter that the life of study keeps in retirement men required for the toils of public life? and does it ask for popular renown as well?"

58. To get this renown justly, Rachel gives her husband to her sister for the night; that is, those who, by a talent for business, are fitted for government, must for the public benefit consent to bear the burden and suffer the hardships of public life; lest the pursuit of wisdom, to which their leisure is devoted, should be evil spoken of, and should not gain from the multitude the good opinion, represented by the fruit, which is necessary

for the encouragement of their pupils. But the life of business must be forced upon them. This is clearly shown by Leah's meeting Jacob when coming from the field, and laying hold of him, saying, "Thou shalt come in to me; for I have hired thee with my son's mandrakes."(3) As if she said, Dost thou wish the knowledge which thou lovest to be well thought of? Do not shirk the toil of business. The same thing happens constantly in the Church. What we read is explained by what we meet with in our own experience. Do we not everywhere see men coming from secular employments, to seek leisure for the study and contemplation of truth, their beloved Rachel, and intercepted mid-way by ecclesiastical affairs, which require them to be set to work, as if Leah said to them, You must come in to me? When such men minister in sincerity the mystery of God, so as in the night of this world to beget sons in the faith, popular approval is gained also for that life, in love for which they were led to abandon worldly pursuits, and from the adoption of which they were called away to undertake the benevolent task of government. In all their labors they aim chiefly at this, that their chosen way of life may have greater and wider renown, as having supplied the people with such leaders; as Jacob consents to go with Leah, that Rachel may obtain the sweet-smelling and good-looking fruit. Rachel, too, in course of time, by the mercy of God, brings forth a child herself, but not till after some time; for it seldom happens that there is a sound, though only partial, apprehension, without fleshly ideas, of such sacred lessons of wisdom as this: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."(1)

59. This must suffice as a reply to the false accusations brought by Faustus against the three fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, from whom the God whom the Catholic Church worship was pleased to take His name. This is not the place to discourse on the merits and piety of these three men, or on the dignity of their prophetic character, which is beyond the comprehension of carnal minds. It is enough in this treatise to defend them against the calumnious attacks of malevolence and falsehood, in case those who read the Scriptures in a carping and hostile spirit should fancy that they have proved anything against the sacredness and the profitableness of these books, by their attempts to blacken the character of men who are there mentioned so honorably.

60. It should be added that Lot, the brother, that is the blood relation, of Abraham, is not to be ranked as equal to those of whom God says, "I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob;" nor does he belong to those testified to in Scripture as having continued righteous to the end, although in Sodom he lived a pious and virtuous life, and showed a praiseworthy hospitality, so that he was rescued from the fire, and a land was given by God to his seed to dwell in, for the sake of his uncle Abraham. On these accounts he is commended in Scripture--not for intemperance or incest. But when we find bad and good actions recorded of the same person, we must take warning from the one, and example from the other. As, then, the sin of Lot, of whom we are told that he was righteous previous to this sin, instead of bringing a stain on the character of God, or the truth of Scripture, rather calls on us to approve and admire the record in its resemblance to a faithful mirror, which reflects not only the beauties and perfections, but also the faults and deformities, of those who approach it; still more, in the case of Judah, who lay with his daughter-in-law, we may see how groundless are the reproaches cast on the narrative. The sacred record has an authority which raises it far above not merely the cavils of a handful of Manichaeans, but the determined enmity of the whole Gentile world; for, in confirmation of its claims, we see that already it has brought nearly all

people from their idolatrous superstitions to the worship of one God, according to the rule of Christianity. It has conquered the world, not by violence and warfare, but by the resistless force of truth. Where, then, is Judah praised in Scripture? Where is anything good said of him, except that in the blessing pronounced by his father he is distinguished above the rest, because of the prophecy that Christ would come in the flesh from his tribe?(2)

61. Judah, as Faustus says, committed fornication; and besides that, we can accuse him of selling his brother into Egypt. Is it any disparagement to light, that in revealing all things it discloses what is unsightly? So neither is the character of Scripture affected by the evil deeds of which we are informed by the record itself. Undoubtedly, by the eternal law, which requires the preservation of natural order, and forbids the transgression of it, conjugal intercourse should take place only for the procreation of children, and after the celebration of marriage, so as to maintain the bond of peace. Therefore, the prostitution of women, merely for the gratification of sinful passion, is condemned by the divine and eternal law. To purchase the degradation of another, disgraces the purchaser; so that, though the sin would have been greater if Judah had knowingly lain with his daughter-in-law (for if, as the Lord says, man and wife are no more two, but one flesh,(3) a daughter-in-law is the same as a daughter); still, it is plain that, as regards his own intention, he was disgraced by his intercourse with an harlot. The woman, on the other hand, who deceived her father-in-law, sinned not from wantonness, or because she loved the gains of iniquity, but from her desire to have children of this particular family. So, being disappointed in two of the brothers, and not obtaining the third, she succeeded by craft in getting a child by their father; and the reward which she got was kept, not as an ornament, but as a pledge. It would certainly have been better to have remained childless than to become a mother without marriage. Still, her desire to have her father-in-law as the father of her children was very different from having a criminal affection for him. And when, by his order, she was brought out to be killed, on her producing the staff and necklace and ring, saying that the father of the child was the man who had given her those pledges, Judah acknowledged them, and said, "She hath been more righteous than I" --not praising her, but condemning himself. He blamed her desire to have children less than his own unlawful passion, which had led him to one whom he thought to be an harlot. In a similar sense, it is said of some that they justified Sodom;(1) that is, their sin was so great, that Sodom seemed righteous in comparison. And even allowing that this woman is not spoken of as comparatively less guilty, but is actually praised by her father-in-law, while, on account of her not observing the established rites of marriage, she is a criminal in the eye of the eternal law of right, which forbids the transgression of natural order, both as regards the body, and first and chiefly as regards the mind, what wonder though one sinner should praise another?

62. The mistake of Faustus and of Manichaeism generally, is in supposing that these objections prove anything against us, as if our reverence for Scripture, and our profession of regard for its authority, bound us to approve of all the evil actions mentioned in it; whereas the greater our homage for the Scripture, the more decided must be our condemnation of what the truth of Scripture itself teaches us to condemn. In Scripture, all fornication and adultery are condemned by the divine law; accordingly, when actions of this kind are narrated, without being expressly condemned, it is intended not that we should praise them, but that we should pass judgment on them

ourselves. Every one execrates the cruelty of Herod in the Gospel, when, in his uneasiness on hearing of the birth of Christ, he commanded the slaughter of so many infants.(2) But this is merely narrated without being condemned. Or if Manichaean absurdity is bold enough to deny the truth of this narrative, since they do not admit the birth of Christ, which was what troubled Herod, let them read the account of the blind fury of the Jews, which is related without any expression of reproach, although the feeling of abhorrence is the same in all.

63. But, it is said, Judah, who lay with his daughter-in-law, is reckoned as one of the twelve patriarchs. And was not Judas, who betrayed the Lord, reckoned among the twelve apostles? And was not this one of them, who was a devil, sent along with them to preach the gospel?(3) In reply to this, it will be said that after his crime Judas hanged himself, and was removed from the number of the apostles; while Judah, after his evil conduct, was not only blessed along with his brethren, but got special honor and approval from his father, who is so highly spoken of in Scripture. But the main lesson to be learned from this is, that this prophecy refers not to Judah, but to Christ, who was foretold as to come in the flesh from his tribe; and the very reason for the mention of this crime of Judah is to be found in the desirableness of teaching us to look for another meaning in the words of his father, which are seen not to be applicable to him in his misconduct, from the praise which they express.

64. Doubtless, the intention of Faustus' calumnies is to damage this very assertion, that Christ was born of the tribe of Judah. Especially, as in the genealogy given by Matthew we find the name of Zara, whom this woman Tamar bore to Judah. Had Faustus wished to reproach Jacob's family merely, and not Christ's birth, he might have taken the case of Reuben the first-born, who committed the unnatural crime of defiling his father's bed, of which fornication the apostle says, that it was not so much as named among the Gentiles.(4) Jacob also mentions this in his blessing, charging his son with the infamous deed. Faustus might have brought up this, as Reuben seems to have been guilty of deliberate incest, and there was no harlot's disguise in this case, were it not that Tamar's conduct in desiring nothing but to have children is more odious to Faustus than if she had acted from criminal passion, and did he not wish to discredit the incarnation, by bringing reproach on Christ's progenitors. Faustus unhappily is not aware that the most true and truthful Saviour is a teacher, not only in His words, but also in His birth. In His fleshly origin there is this lesson for those who should believe on Him from all nations, that the sins of their fathers need be no hindrance to them. Besides, the Bridegroom, who was to call good and bad to His marriage,(5) was pleased to assimilate Himself to His guests, in being born of good and bad. He thus confirms as typical of Himself the symbol of the Passover, in which it was commanded that the lamb to be eaten should be taken from the sheep or from the goats--that is, from the righteous or the wicked.(6) Preserving throughout the indication of divinity and humanity, as man He consented to have both bad and good as His parents, while as God He chose the miraculous birth from a virgin.

65. The impiety, therefore, of Faustus' attacks on Scripture can injure no one but himself; for what he thus assails is now deservedly the object of universal reverence. As has been said already, the sacred record, like a faithful mirror, has no flattery in its portraits, and either itself passes sentence upon human actions as worthy of approval or

disapproval, or leaves the reader to do so. And not only does it distinguish men as blameworthy or praiseworthy, but it also takes notice of cases where the blameworthy deserve praise, and the praiseworthy blame. Thus, although Saul was blameworthy, it was not the less praiseworthy in him to examine so carefully who had eaten food during the curse, and to pronounce the stern sentence in obedience to the commandment of God.(1) So, too, he was right in banishing those that had familiar spirits and wizards out of the land.(2) And although David was praiseworthy, we are not called on to approve or imitate his sins, which God rebukes by the prophet. And so Pontius Pilate was not wrong in pronouncing the Lord innocent, in spite of the accusations of the Jews;(3) nor was it praiseworthy in Peter to deny the Lord thrice; nor, again, was he praiseworthy on that occasion when Christ called him Satan because, not understanding the things of God, he wished to withhold Christ from his passion, that is, from our salvation. Here Peter, immediately after being called blessed, is called Satan.(4) Which character most truly belonged to him, we may see from his apostleship, and from his crown of martyrdom.

66. In the case of David also, we read of both good and bad actions. But where David's strength lay, and what was the secret of his success, is sufficiently plain, not to the blind malevolence with which Faustus assails holy writings and holy men, but to pious discernment, which bows to the divine authority, and at the same time judges correctly of human conduct. The Manichaeans will find, if they read the Scriptures, that God rebukes David more than Faustus does.(5) But they will read also of the sacrifice of his penitence, of his surpassing gentleness to his merciless and bloodthirsty enemy, whom David, pious as he was brave, dismissed unhurt when now and again he fell into his hands.(6) They will read of his memorable humility under divine chastisement, when the kingly neck was so bowed under the Master's yoke, that he bore with perfect patience bitter taunts from his enemy, though he was armed, and had armed men with him. And when his companion was enraged at such things being said to the king, and was on the point of requiting the insult on the head of the scoffer, he mildly restrained him, appealing to the fear of God in support of his own royal order, and saying that this bad happened to him as a punishment from God, who had sent the man to curse him.(7) They will read how, with the love of a shepherd for the flock entrusted to him, he was willing to die for them, when, after he had numbered the people, God saw good to punish his sinful pride by lessening the number he boasted of. In this destruction, God, with whom there is no iniquity, in His secret judgment, both took away the lives of those whom He knew to be unworthy of life, and by this diminution cured the vainglory which had prided itself on the number of the people. They will read of that scrupulous fear of God in his regard for the emblem of Christ in the sacred anointing, which made David's heart smite him with regret for having secretly cut off a small piece of Saul's garment, that he might prove to him that he had no wish to kill him, when he might have done it. They will read of his judicious behavior as regards his children, and also of his tenderness toward them--how, when one was sick, he entreated the Lord for him with many tears and with much self-abasement, but when he died, an innocent child, he did not mourn for him; and again, how, when his youthful son was carried away with unnatural hostility to an infamous violation of his father's bed, and in a parricidal war, he wished him to live, and wept for him when he was killed; for he thought of the eternal doom of a soul guilty of such crimes, and desired that he should live to escape this doom by being brought to submission and repentance. These, and many other

praiseworthy and exemplary things, may be seen in this holy man by a candid examination of the Scripture narrative, especially if in humble piety and unfeigned faith we regard the judgment of God, who knew the secrets of David's heart, and who, in His infallible inspection, so approves of David as to commend him as a pattern to his sons.

67. It must have been on account of this inspection of the depths of David's heart by the Spirit of God that, when on being reproved by the prophet, he said, I have sinned, he was considered worthy to be told, immediately after this brief confession, that he was pardoned--that is, that he was admitted to eternal salvation. For he did not escape the correction of the fatherly rod, of which God spoke in His threatening, that, while by his confession he obtained eternal exemption, he might be tried by temporal chastisement. And it is a remarkable evidence of the strength of David's faith, and of his meek and submissive spirit, that, when he had been told by the prophet that God had forgiven him, although the threatened consequences were still permitted to follow, he did not accuse the prophet of having deluded him, or murmur against God as having mocked him with a declaration of forgiveness. This deeply holy man, whose soul was lifted up unto God, and not against God, knew that had not the Lord mercifully accepted his confession and repentance, his sins would have deserved eternal punishment. So when, instead of this, he was made to smart under temporal correction, he saw that, while the pardon remained good, wholesome discipline was also provided. Saul, too, when he was reproved by Samuel, said, I have sinned.(1) Why, then, was he not considered fit to be told, as David was, that the Lord had pardoned his sin? Is there acceptance of persons with God? Far from it. While to the human ear the words were the same, the divine eye saw a difference in the heart. The lesson for us to learn from these things is, that the kingdom of heaven is within us,(2) and that we must worship God from our inmost feelings, that out of the abundance of the heart the mouth may speak, instead of honoring Him with our lips, like the people of old, while our hearts are far from Him. We may learn also to judge of men, whose hearts we cannot see, only as God judges, who sees what we cannot, and who cannot be biased or misled. Having, on the high authority of sacred Scripture, the plainest announcement of God's opinion of David, we may regard as absurd or deplorable the rashness of men who hold a different opinion. The authority of Scripture, as regards the character of these men of ancient times, is supported by the evidence from the prophecies which they contain, and which are now receiving their fulfillment.

68. We see the same thing in the Gospel, where the devils confess that Christ is the Son of God in the words used by Peter, but with a very different heart. So, though the words were the same, Peter is praised for his faith, while the impiety of the devils is checked. For Christ, not by human sense. but by divine knowledge, could inspect and infallibly discriminate the sources from which the words came. Besides, there are multitudes who confess that Christ is the Son of the living God, without meriting the same approval as Peter--not only of those who shall say in that day, "Lord, Lord," and shall receive the sentence, "Depart from me," but also of those who shall be placed on the right hand. They may probably never have denied Christ even once; they may never have opposed His suffering for our salvation; they may never have forced the Gentiles to do as the Jews;(3) and yet they shall not be honored equally with Peter, who, though he did all these things, will sit on one of the twelve thrones, and judge not only the twelve tribes, but the angels. So, again, many who have never desired another man's

wife, or procured the death of the husband, as David did, will never reach the place which David nevertheless held in the divine favor. There is a vast difference between what is in itself so undesirable that it must be utterly rejected, and the rich and plenteous harvest which may afterwards appear. For farmers are best pleased with the fields from which, after weeding them, it may be, of great thistles, they receive an hundred-fold; not with fields which have never had any thistles, and hardly bear thirty-fold.

69. So Moses, too, who was so faithful a servant of God in all his house; the minister of the holy, just, and good law; of whose character the apostle speaks in the words here quoted;(4) the minister also of the symbols which, though not conferring salvation, promised the Saviour, as the Saviour Himself shows, when He says, "If ye believed Moses, ye would also believe me, for he wrote of me,"--from which passage we have already sufficiently answered the presumptuous cavils of the Manichaeans;--this Moses, the servant of the living, the true, the most high God, that made heaven and earth, not of a foreign substance, but of nothing--not from the pressure of necessity, but from plenitude of goodness--not by the suffering of His members, but by the power of His word;--this Moses, who humbly put from him this high ministry, but obediently accepted it, and faithfully kept it, and diligently fulfilled it; who ruled the people with vigilance, reproved them with vehemence, loved them with fervor, and bore with them in patience, standing for his subjects before God to receive His counsel, and to appease His wrath;--this great and good man is not to be judged of from Faustus' malicious representations, but from what is said by God, whose word is a true expression of His true opinion of this man, whom He knew because He made him. For the sins of men are also known to God, though He is not their author; but He takes notice of them as a judge in those who refuse to own them, and pardons them as a father in those who make confession. His servant Moses, as thus described, we love and admire, and to the best of our power imitate, coming indeed far short of his merits, though we have killed no Egyptian, nor plundered any one, nor carried on any war; which actions of Moses were in one case prompted by the zeal of the future champion of his people, and in the other cases commanded by God.

70. It might be shown that, though Moses slew the Egyptian, without being commanded by God, the action was divinely permitted, as, from the prophetic character of Moses, it prefigured something in the future. Now however, I do not use this argument, but view the action as having no symbolical meaning. In the light, then, of the eternal law, it was wrong for one who had no legal authority to kill the man, even though he was a bad character, besides being the aggressor. But in minds where great virtue is to come, there is often an early crop of vices, in which we may still discern a disposition for some particular virtue, which will come when the mind is duly cultivated. For as farmers, when they see land bringing forth huge crops, though of weeds, pronounce it good for corn; or when they see wild creepers, which have to be rooted out, still consider the land good for useful vines; and when they see a hill covered with wild olives, conclude that with culture it will produce good fruit: so the disposition of mind which led Moses to take the law into his own hands, to prevent the wrong done to his brother, living among strangers, by a wicked citizen of the country from being unrequited, was not unfit for the production of virtue, but from want of culture gave signs of its productiveness in an unjustifiable manner. He who afterwards, by His angel, called Moses on Mount Sinai,

with the divine commission to liberate the people of Israel from Egypt, and who trained him to obedience by the miraculous appearance in the bush burning but not consumed, and by instructing him in his ministry, was the same who, by the call addressed from heaven to Saul when persecuting the Church, humbled him, raised him up, and animated him; or in figurative words, by this stroke He cut off the branch, grafted it, and made it fruitful. For the fierce energy of Paul, when in his zeal for hereditary traditions he persecuted the Church, thinking that he was doing God service, was like a crop of weeds showing great signs of productiveness. It was the same in Peter, when he took his sword out of its sheath to defend the Lord, and cut off the right ear of an assailant, when the Lord rebuked him with something like a threat, saying, "Put up thy sword into its sheath; for he that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword."(1) To take the sword is to use weapons against a man's life, without the sanction of the con stituted authority. The Lord, indeed, had told His disciples to carry a sword; but He did not tell them to use it. But that after this sin Peter should become a pastor of the Church was no more improper than that Moses, after smiting the Egyptian, should become the leader of the congregation. In both cases the trespass originated not in inveterate cruelty, but in a hasty zeal which admitted of correction. In both cases there was resentment against injury, accompanied in one case by love for a brother, and in the other by love, though still carnal, of the Lord. Here was evil to be subdued or rooted out; but the heart with such capacities needed only, like good soil, to be cultivated to make it fruitful in virtue.

71. Then, as for Faustus' objection to the spoiling of the Egyptians, he knows not what he says. In this Moses not only did not sin, but it would have been sin not to do it. It was by the command of God,(2) who, from His knowledge both of the actions and of the hearts of men, can decide on what every one should be made to suffer, and through whose agency. The people at that time were still carnal, and engrossed with earthly affections; while the Egyptians were in open rebellion against God, for they used the gold, God's creature, in the service of idols, to the dishonor of the Creator, and they had grievously oppressed strangers by making them work without pay. Thus the Egyptians deserved the punishment, and the Israelites were suitably employed in inflicting it. Perhaps, indeed, it was not so much a command as a permission to the Hebrews to act in the matter according to their own inclinations; and God, in sending the message by Moses, only wished that they should thus be informed of His permission. There may also have been mysterious reasons for what God said to the people on this matter. At any rate, God's commands are to be submissively received, not to be argued against. The apostle says, "Who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been His counsellor?"(3) Whether, then, the reason was what I have said, or whether in the secret appointment of God, there was some unknown reason for His telling the people by Moses to borrow things from the Egyptians, and to take them away with them, this remains certain, that this was said for some good reason, and that Moses could not lawfully have done otherwise than God told him, leaving to God the reason of the command, while the servant's duty is to obey.

72. But, says Faustus, it cannot be admitted that the true God, who is also good, ever gave such a command. I answer, such a command can be rightly given by no other than the true and good God, who alone knows the suitable command in every case, and who alone is incapable of inflicting unmerited suffering on any one. This ignorant and spurious goodness of the human heart may as well deny what Christ says, and object to

the wicked being made to suffer by the good God, when He shall say to the angels, "Gather first the tares into bundles to burn them." The servants, however, were stopped when they wished to do this prematurely: "Lest by chance, when ye would gather the tares, ye root up the wheat also with them."(1) Thus the true and good God alone knows when, to whom, and by whom to order anything, or to permit anything. In the same way, this human goodness, or folly rather, might object to the Lord's permitting the devils to enter the swine, which they asked to be allowed to do with a mischievous intent?(2) especially as the Manichaeans believe that not only pigs, but the vilest insects, have human souls. But setting aside these absurd notions, this is undeniable, that our Lord Jesus Christ, the only son of God, and therefore the true and good God, permitted the destruction of swine belonging to strangers, implying loss of life and of a great amount of property, at the request of devils. No one can be so insane as to suppose that Christ could not have driven the devils out of the men without gratifying their malice by the destruction of the swine. If, then, the Creator and Governor of all natures, in His superintendence, which, though mysterious, is ever just, indulged the violent and unjust inclination of those lost spirits already doomed to eternal fire, why should not the Egyptians, who were unrighteous oppressors, be spoiled by the Hebrews, a free people, who would claim payment for their enforced and painful toil, especially as the earthly possessions which they thus lost were used by the Egyptians in their impious rites, to the dishonor of the Creator? Still, if Moses had originated this order, or if the people had done it spontaneously, undoubtedly it would have been sinful; and perhaps the people did sin, not in doing what God commanded or permitted, but in some desire of their own for what they took. The permission given to this action by divine authority was in accordance with the just and good counsel of Him who uses punishments both to restrain the wicked and to educate His own people; who knows also how to give more advanced precepts to those able to bear them, while He begins on a lower scale in the treatment of the feeble. As for Moses, he can be blamed neither for coveting the property, nor for disputing, in any instance, the divine authority.

73. According to the eternal law, which requires the preservation of natural order, and forbids the transgression of it, some actions have an indifferent character, so that men are blamed for presumption if they do them without being called upon, while they are deservedly praised for doing them when required. The act, the agent, and the authority for the action are all of great importance in the order of nature. For Abraham to sacrifice his son of his own accord is shocking madness. His doing so at the command of God proves him faithful and submissive. This is so loudly proclaimed by the very voice of truth, that Faustus, eagerly rummaging for some fault, and reduced at last to slanderous charges, has not the boldness to attack this action. It is scarcely possible that he can have forgotten a deed so famous, that it recurs to the mind of itself without any study or reflection, and is in fact repeated by so many tongues, and portrayed in so many places, that no one can pretend to shut his eyes or his ears to it. If, therefore, while Abraham's killing his son of his own accord would have been unnatural, his doing it at the command of God shows not only guiltless but praiseworthy compliance, why does Faustus blame Moses for spoiling the Egyptians? Your feeling of disapproval for the mere human action should be restrained by a regard for the divine sanction. Will you venture to blame God Himself for desiring such actions? Then "Get thee behind me, Satan, for thou understandest not the things which be of God, but those which be of men." Would that this rebuke might accomplish in you what it did in Peter, and that you

might hereafter preach the truth concerning God, which you now, judging by feeble sense, find fault with! as Peter became a zealous messenger to announce to the Gentiles what he objected to at first, when the Lord spoke of it as His intention.

74. Now, if this explanation suffices to satisfy human obstinacy and perverse misinterpretation of right actions of the vast difference between the indulgence of passion and presumption on the part of men, and obedience to the command of God, who knows what to permit or to order, and also the time and the persons, and the due action or suffering in each case, the account of the wars of Moses will not excite surprise or abhorrence, for in wars carried on by divine command, he showed not ferocity but obedience; and God in giving the command, acted not in cruelty, but in righteous retribution, giving to nil what they deserved, and warning those who needed warning. What is the evil in war? Is it the death of some who will soon die in any case, that others may live in peaceful subjection? This is mere cowardly dislike, not any religious feeling. The real evils in war are love of violence, revengeful cruelty, fierce and implacable enmity, wild resistance, and the lust of power, and such like; and it is generally to punish these things, when force is required to inflict the punishment, that, in obedience to God or some lawful authority, good men undertake wars, when they find themselves in such a position as regards the conduct of human affairs, that right conduct requires them to act, or to make others act in this way. Otherwise John, when the soldiers who came to be baptized asked, What shall we do? would have replied, Throw away your arms; give up the service; never strike, or wound, or disable any one. But knowing that such actions in battle were not murderous but authorized by law, and that the soldiers did not thus avenge themselves, but defend the public safety, he replied, "Do violence to no man, accuse no man falsely, and be content with your wages."(1) But as the Manichaeans are in the habit of speaking evil of John, let them hear the Lord Jesus Christ Himself ordering this money to be given to Caesar, which John tells the soldiers to be content with. "Give," He says, "to Caesar the things that are Caesar's."(2) For tribute-money is given on purpose to pay the soldiers for war. Again, in the case of the centurion who said, "I am a man under authority, and have soldiers under me: and I say to one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it," Christ gave due praise to his faith;(3) He did not tell him to leave the service. But there is no need here to enter on the long discussion of just and unjust ways.

75. A great deal depends on the causes for which men undertake wars, and on the authority they have for doing so; for the natural order which seeks the peace of mankind, ordains that the monarch should have the power of undertaking war if he thinks it advisable, and that the soldiers should perform their military duties in behalf of the peace and safety of the community. When war is undertaken in obedience to God, who would rebuke, or humble, or crush the pride of man, it must be allowed to be a righteous war; for even the wars which arise from human passion cannot harm the eternal well-being of God, nor even hurt His saints; for in the trial of their patience, and the chastening of their spirit, and in bearing fatherly correction, they are rather benefited than injured. No one can have any power against them but what is given him from above. For there is no power but of God,(4) who either orders or permits. Since, therefore, a righteous man, serving it may be under an ungodly king, may do the duty belonging to his position in the State in fighting by the order of his sovereign,--for in

some cases it is plainly the will of God that he should fight, and in others, where this is not so plain, it may be an unrighteous command on the part of the king, while the soldier is innocent, because his position makes obedience a duty,--how much more must the man be blameless who carries on war on the authority of God, of whom every one who serves Him knows that He can never require what is wrong?

76. If it is supposed that God could not enjoin warfare, because in after times it was said by the Lord Jesus Christ, "I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but if any one strike thee on the right cheek, turn to him the left also,"(5) the answer is, that what is here required is not a bodily action, but an inward disposition. The sacred seat of virtue is the heart, and such were the hearts of our fathers, the righteous men of old. But order required such a regulation of events, and such a distinction of times, as to show first of all that even earthly blessings (for so temporal kingdoms and victory over enemies are considered to be, and these are the things which the community of the ungodly all over the world are continually begging from idols and devils) are entirely under the control and at the disposal of the one true God. Thus, under the Old Testament, the secret of the kingdom of heaven, which was to be disclosed in due time, was veiled, and so far obscured, in the disguise of earthly promises. But when the fullness of time came for the revelation of the New Testament, which was hidden under the types of the Old, clear testimony was to be borne to the truth, that there is another life for which this life ought to be disregarded, and another kingdom for which the opposition of all earthly kingdoms should be patiently borne. Thus the name martyrs, which means witnesses, was given to those who, by the will of God, bore this testimony, by their confessions, their sufferings, and their death. The number of such witnesses is so great, that if it pleased Christ--who called Saul by a voice from heaven, and having changed him from a wolf to a sheep, sent him into the midst of wolves--to unite them all in one army, and to give them success in battle, as He gave to the Hebrews, what nation could withstand them? what kingdom would remain unsubdued? But as the doctrine of the New Testament is, that we must serve God not for temporal happiness in this life, but for eternal felicity hereafter, this truth was most strikingly confirmed by the patient endurance of what is commonly called adversity for the sake of that felicity. So in fullness of time the Son of God, made of a woman, made under the law, that He might redeem them that were under the law, made of the seed of David according to the flesh sends His disciples as sheep into the midst of wolves, and bids them not fear those that can kill the body, but cannot kill the soul, and promises that even the body will be entirely restored, so that not a hair shall be lost.(1) Peter's sword He orders back into its sheath, restoring as it was before the ear of His enemy that had been cut off. He says that He could obtain legions of angels to destroy His enemies, but that He must drink the cup which His Father's will had given Him.(2) He sets the example of drinking this cup, then hands it to His followers, manifesting thus, both in word and deed, the grace of patience. Therefore God raised Him from the dead, and has given Him a name which is above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and of things in earth, and of things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.(3) The patriarchs and prophets, then, have a kingdom in this world, to show that these kingdoms, too, are given and taken away by God: the apostles and martyrs had no kingdom here, to show the superior desirableness of the kingdom of heaven. The prophets, however, could even in those times die for the truth, as the Lord Himself says, "From the blood of Abel to the blood of

Zacharia;(4) and in these days, since the commencement of the fulfillment of what is prophesied in the psalm of Christ, under the figure of Solomon, which means the peacemaker, as Christ is our peace,(5) "All kings of the earth shall bow to Him, all nations shall serve Him,"(6) we have seen Christian emperors, who have put all their confidence in Christ, gaining splendid victories over ungodly enemies, whose hope was in the rites of idolatry and devil-worship. There are public and undeniable proofs of the fact, that on one side the prognostications of devils were found to be fallacious, and on the other, the predictions of saints were a means of support; and we have now writings in which those facts are recorded.

77. If our foolish opponents are surprised at the difference between the precepts given by God to the ministers of the Old Testament, at a time when the grace of the New was still undisclosed, and those given to the preachers of the New Testament, now that the obscurity of the Old is removed, they will find Christ Himself saying one thing at one time, and another at another. "When I sent you," He says, "without scrip, or purse, or shoes, did ye lack anything? And they said, Nothing. Then saith He to them, But now, he that hath a scrip, let him take it, and also a purse; and he that hath not a sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one." If the Manichaeans found passages in the Old and New Testaments differing in this way, they would proclaim it as a proof that the Testaments are opposed to each other. But here the difference is in the utterances of one and the same person. At one time He says, "I sent you without scrip, or purse, or shoes, and ye lacked nothing;" at another, "Now let him that hath a scrip take it, and also a purse; and he that hath a tunic, let him sell it and buy a sword." Does not this show how, without any inconsistency, precepts and counsels and permissions may be changed, as different times require different arrangements? If it is said that there was a symbolical meaning in the command to take a scrip and purse, and to buy a sword, why may there not be a symbolical meaning in the fact, that one and the same God commanded the prophets in old times to make war, and forbade the apostles? And we find in the passage that we have quoted from the Gospel, that the words spoken by the Lord were carried into effect by His disciples. For, besides going at first without scrip or purse, and yet lacking nothing, as from the Lord's question and their answer it is plain they did, now that He speaks of buying a sword, they say, "Lo, here are two swords;" and He replied, "It is enough." Hence we find Peter with a weapon when he cut off the assailant's ear, on which occasion his spontaneous boldness was checked, because, although he had been told to take a sword, he had not been told to use it.(1) Doubtless, it was mysterious that the Lord should require them to carry weapons, and forbid the use of them. But it was His part to give the suitable precepts, and it was their part to obey without reserve.

78. It is therefore mere groundless calumny to charge Moses with making war, for there would have been less harm in making war of his own accord, than in not doing it when God commanded him. And to dare to find fault with God Himself for giving such a command, or not to believe it possible that a just and good God did so, shows, to say the least, an inability to consider that in the view of divine providence, which pervades all things from the highest to the lowest, time can neither add anything nor take away; but all things go, or come, or remain according to the order of nature or desert in each separate case, while in men a right will is in union with the divine law, and ungoverned passion is restrained by the order of divine law; so that a good man wills only what is

commanded, and a bad man can do only what he is permitted, at the same time that he is punished for what he wills to do unjustly. Thus, in all the things which appear shocking and terrible to human feebleness, the real evil is the injustice; the rest is only the result of natural properties or of moral demerit. This injustice is seen in every case where a man loves for their own sake things which are desirable only as means to an end, and seeks for the sake of something else things which ought to be loved for themselves. For thus, as far as he can, he disturbs in himself the natural order which the eternal law requires us to observe. Again, a man is just when he seeks to use things only for the end for which God appointed them, and to enjoy God as the end of all, while he enjoys himself and his friend in God and for God. For to love in a friend the love of God is to love the friend for God. Now both justice and injustice, to be acts at all, must be voluntary; otherwise, there can be no just rewards or punishments; which no man in his senses will assert. The ignorance and infirmity which prevent a man from knowing his duty, or from doing all he wishes to do, belong to God's secret penal arrangement, and to His unfathomable judgments, for with Him there is no iniquity. Thus we are informed by the sure word of God of Adam's sin; and Scripture truly declares that in him all die, and that by him sin entered into the world, and death by sin.(2) And our experience gives abundant evidence, that in punishment for this sin our body is corrupted, and weighs down the soul, and the clay tabernacle clogs the mind in its manifold activity;(3) and we know that we can be freed from this punishment only by gracious interposition. So the apostle cries out in distress, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord."(4) So much we know; but the reasons for the distribution of divine judgment and mercy, why one is in this condition, and another in that, though just, are unknown. Still, we are sure that all these things are due either to the mercy or the judgment of God, while the measures and numbers and weights by which the Creator of all natural productions arranges all things are concealed from our view. For God is not the author, but He is the controller of sin; so that sinful actions, which are sinful because they are against nature, are judged and controlled, and assigned to their proper place and condition, in order that they may not bring discord and disgrace on universal nature. This being the case, and as the judgments of God and the movements of man's will contain the hidden reason why the same prosperous circumstances which some make a right use of are the ruin of others, and the same afflictions under which some give way are profitable to others, and since the whole mortal life of man upon earth is a trial,(5) who can tell whether it may be good or bad in any particular case--in time of peace, to reign or to serve, or to be at ease or to die--or in time of war, to command or to fight, or to conquer or to be killed? At the same time, it remains true, that whatever is good is so by the divine blessing, and whatever is bad is so by the divine judgment.

79. Let no one, then, be so daring as to make rash charges against men, not to say against God. If the service of the ministers of the Old Testament, who were also heralds of the New, consisted in putting sinners to death, and that of the ministers of the New Testament, who are also interpreters of the Old, in being put to death by sinners, the service in both cases is rendered to one God, who, varying the lesson to suit the times, teaches both that temporal blessings are to be sought from Him, and that they are to be forsaken for Him, and that temporal distress is both sent by Him and should be endured for Him. There was, therefore, no cruelty in the command, or in the action of Moses. when, in his holy jealousy for his people, whom he wished to be subject to the one true

God, on learning that they had fallen away to the worship of an idol made by their own hands, he impressed their minds at the time with a wholesome fear, and gave them a warning for the future, by using the sword in the punishment of a few, whose just punishment God, against whom they had sinned, appointed in the depth of His secret judgment to be immediately inflicted. That Moses acted as he did, not in cruelty, but in great love, may be seen from the words in which he prayed for the sins of the people: "If Thou wilt forgive their sin, forgive it; and if not, blot me out of Thy book."(1) The pious inquirer who compares the slaughter with the prayer will find in this the clearest evidence of the awful nature of the injury done to the soul by prostitution to the images of devils, since such love is roused to such anger. We see the same in the apostle, who, not in cruelty, but in love, delivered a man up to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.(2) Others, too, he delivered up, that they might learn not to blaspheme.(3) In the apocryphal books of the Manichaeans there is a collection of fables, published by some unknown authors under the name of the apostles. The books would no doubt have been sanctioned by the Church at the time of their publication, if holy and learned men then in life, and competent to determine the matter, had thought the contents to be true. One of the stories is, that the Apostle Thomas was once at a marriage feast in a country where he was unknown, when one of the servants struck him, and that he forthwith by his curse brought a terrible punishment on this man. For when he went out to the fountain to provide water for the guests, a lion fell on him and killed him, and the hand with which he had given a slight blow to the apostle was torn off, in fulfillment of the imprecation, and brought by a dog to the table at which the apostle was reclining. What could be more cruel than this? And yet, if I mistake not, the story goes on to say, that the apostle made up for the cruelty by obtaining for the man the blessing of pardon in the next world; so that, while the people of this strange country learned to fear the apostle as being so dear to God, the man's eternal welfare was secured in exchange for the loss of this mortal life. It matters not whether the story is true or false. At any rate, the Manichaeans, who regard as genuine and authentic books which the canon of the Church rejects, must allow, as shown in the story, that the virtue of patience, which the Lord enjoins when He says, "If any one smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him thy left also," may be in the inward disposition, though it is not exhibited in bodily action or in words. For when the apostle was struck, instead of turning his other side to the man, or telling him to repeat the blow, he prayed to God to pardon his assailant in the next world, but not to leave the injury unpunished at the time. Inwardly he preserved a kindly feeling, while outwardly he wished the man to be punished as an example. As the Manichaeans believe this, rightly or wrongly, they may also believe that such was the intention of Moses, the servant of God, when he cut down with the sword the makers and worshippers of the idol; for his own words show that he so entreated for pardon for their sin of idolatry as to ask to be blotted out of God's book if his prayer was not heard. There is no comparison between a stranger being struck with the hand, and the dishonor done to God by forsaking Him for an idol, when He had brought the people out of the bondage of Egypt, had led them through the sea, and had covered with the waters the enemy pursuing them. Nor, as regards the punishment, is there any comparison between being killed with the sword and being torn in pieces by wild beasts. For judges in administering the law condemn to exposure to wild beasts worse criminals than are condemned to be put to death by the sword.

80. Another of Faustus' malicious and impious charges which has to be answered, is about the Lord's saying to the prophet Hosea, "Take unto thee a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms."(4) As regards this passage, the impure mind of our adversaries is so blinded that they do not understand the plain words of the Lord in His gospel, when He says to the Jews, "The publicans and harlots shall go into the kingdom of heaven before you."(5) There is nothing contrary to the mercifulness of truth, or inconsistent with Christian faith, in a harlot leaving fornication, and becoming a chaste wife. Indeed, nothing could be more unbecoming in one professing to be a prophet than not to believe that all the sins of the fallen woman were pardoned when she changed for the better. So when the prophet took the harlot as his wife, it was both good for the woman to have her life amended, and the action symbolized a truth of which we shall speak presently. But it is plain what offends the Manichaeans in this case; for their great anxiety is to prevent harlots from being with child. It would have pleased them better that the woman should continue a prostitute, so as not to bring their god into confinement, than that she should become the wife of one man, and have children.

81. As regards Solomon, it need only be said that the condemnation of his conduct in the faithful narrative of holy Scripture is much more serious than the childish vehemence of Faustus' attacks. The Scripture tells us with faithful accuracy both the good that Solomon had at first, and the evil actions by which he lost the good he began with; while Faustus, in his attacks, like a man closing his eyes, or with no eyes at all, seeks no guidance from the light, but is prompted only by violent animosity. To pious and discerning readers of the sacred Scriptures evidence of the chastity of the holy men who are said to have had several wives is found in this, that Solomon, who by his polygamy gratified his passions, instead of seeking for offspring, is expressly noted as chargeable with being a lover of women. This, as we are informed by the truth which accepts no man's person, led him down into the abyss of idolatry.

82. Having now gone over all the cases in which Faustus finds fault with the Old Testament, and having attended to the merit of each, either defending men of God against the calumnies of carnal heretics, or, where the men were at fault, showing the excellence and the majesty of Scripture, let us again take the cases in the order of Faustus' accusations, and see the meaning of the actions recorded, what they typify, and what they foretell. This we have already done in the case of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, of whom God said that He was their God, as if the God of universal nature were the God of none besides them; not honoring them with an unmeaning title, but because He, who could alone have a full and perfect knowledge, knew the sincere and remarkable charity of these men; and because these three patriarchs united formed a notable type of the future people of God, in not only having free children by free women, as by Sarah, and Rebecca, and Leah, and Rachel, but also bond children, as of this same Rebecca was born Esau, to whom it was said, "Thou shalt serve thy brother;"(1) and in having by bond women not only bond children, as by Hagar, but also free children, as by Bilhah and Zilphah. Thus also in the people of God, those spiritually free not only have children born into the enjoyment of liberty, like those to whom it is said, "Be ye followers of me, as I also am of Christ"(2) but they have also children born into guilty bondage, as Simon was born of Philip.(3) Again, from carnal bondmen are born not only children of guilty bondage, who imitate them, but also children of happy liberty, to whom it is said, "What they say, do; but do not after their works."(4) Whoever rightly

observes the fulfillment of this type in the people of God, keeps the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, by continuing to the end in union with some, and in patient endurance of others. Of Lot, also, we have already spoken, and have shown what the Scripture mentions as praiseworthy in him, and what as blameworthy and the meaning of the whole narrative.

83. We have next to consider the prophetic significance of the action of Judah in lying with his daughter-in-law. But, for the sake of those whose understanding is feeble, we shall begin with observing, that in sacred Scripture evil actions are sometimes prophetic not of evil, but of good. Divine providence preserves throughout its essential goodness, so that, as in the example given above, from adulterous intercourse a man-child is born, a good work of God from the evil of man, by the power of nature, and not due to the misconduct of the parents; so in the prophetic Scriptures, where both good and evil actions are recorded, the narrative being itself prophetic, foretells something good even by the record of what is evil, the credit being due not to the evil- doer, but to the writer. Judah, when, to gratify his sinful passion, he went in to Tamar, had no intention by his licentious conduct to typify anything connected with the salvation of men, any more than Judas, who betrayed the Lord, intended to produce any result connected with the salvation of men. So then if from the evil deed of Judas the Lord brought the good work of our redemption by His own passion, why should not His prophet, of whom He Himself says "He wrote of me," for the sake of instructing us make the evil action of Judah significant of something good? Under the guidance and inspiration of the Holy Spirit, the prophet has compiled a narrative of actions so as to make a continuous prophecy of the things he designed to foretell. In foretelling good, it is of no consequence whether the typical actions are good or bad. If it is written in red ink that the Ethiopians are black, or in Black ink that the Gauls are white, this circumstance does not affect the information which the writing conveys. No doubt, if it was a painting instead of a writing, the wrong color would be a fault; so when human actions are represented for example or for warning much depends on whether they are good or bad. But when actions are related or recorded as types, the merit or demerit of the agents is a matter of no importance, as long as there is a true typical relation between the action and the thing signified. So in the case of Caiaphas in the Gospel as regards his iniquitous and mischievous intention, and even as regards his words in the sense in which he used them, that a just man should be put to death unjustly, assuredly they were bad; and yet there was a good meaning in his words which he did not know of when he said, "It is expedient that one man should die for the people and that the whole nation perish not." So it is written of Him, "This he spake not of himself; but being the high priest, he prophesied that Jesus should die for the people."(1) In the same way the action of Judah was bad as regards his sinful passion, but it typified a great good he knew nothing of. Of himself he did evil while it was not of himself that he typified good. These introductory remarks apply not only to Judah, but also to all the other cases where in the narrative of bad actions is contained a prophecy of good.

84. In Tamar, then, the daughter-in-law of Judah, we see the people of the kingdom of Judah, whose kings, answering to Tamar's husbands, were taken from this tribe. Tamar means bitterness; and the meaning is suitable, for this people gave the cup of gall to the Lord.(2) The two sons of Judah represent two classes of kings who governed ill--those who did harm and those who did no good. One of these sons was evil or cruel before

the Lord; the other spilled the seed on the ground that Tamar might not become a mother. There are only those two kinds of useless people in the world--the injurious and those who will not give the good they have but lose it or spill it on the ground. And as injury is worse than not doing good, the evil-doer is called the eider and the other the younger. Er, the name of the elder, means a preparer of skins, which were the coats given to our first parents when they were punished with expulsion from paradise.(3) Onan, the name of the younger, means, their grief; that is, the grief of those to whom he does no good, wasting the good he has on the earth. The loss of life implied in the name of the elder is a greater evil than the want of help implied in the name of the younger. Both being killed by God typifies the removal of the kingdom from men of this character. The meaning of the third son of Judah not being joined to the woman, is that for a time the kings of Judah were not of that tribe. So this third son did not become the husband of Tamar; as Tamar represents the tribe of Judah, which continued to exist, although the people received no king from it. Hence the name of this son, Selom, means, his dismission. None of those types apply to the holy and righteous men who, like David, though they lived in those times, belong properly to the New Testament, which they served by their enlightened predictions. Again, in the time when Judah ceased to have a king of its own tribe, the eider Herod does not count as one of the kings typified by the husbands of Tamar; for he was a foreigner, and his union with the people was never consecrated with the holy oil. His was the power of a stranger, given him by the Romans and by Caesar. And it was the same with his sons, the tetrarchs, one of whom, called Herod, like his father, agreed with Pilate at the time of the Lord's passion.(4) So plainly were these foreigners considered as distinct from the sacred monarchy of Judah, that the Jews themselves, when raging against Christ, exclaimed openly, "We have no king but Caesar."(5) Nor was Caesar properly their king, except in the sense that all the world was subject to Rome. The Jews thus condemned themselves, only to express their rejection of Christ, and to flatter Caesar.

85. The time when the kingdom was removed from the tribe of Judah was the time appointed for the coming of Christ our Lord, the true Saviour, who should come not for harm, but for great good. Thus was it prophesied, "A prince shall not fail from Judah, nor a leader from his loins, till He come for whom it is reserved: He is the desire of nations."(6) Not only the kingdom, but all government, of the Jews had ceased, and also, as prophesied by Daniel, the sacred anointing from which the name Christ or Anointed is derived. Then came He for whom it was reserved, the desire of nations; and the holy of holies was anointed with the oil of gladness above His fellows.(7) Christ was born in the time of the eider Herod, and suffered in the time of Herod the tetrarch. He who thus came to the lost sheep of the house of Israel was typified by Judah when he went to shear his sheep in Thamna, which means, failing. For then the prince had failed from Judah, with all the government and anointing of the Jews, that He might come for whom it was reserved. Judah, we are told, came with his Adullamite shepherd, whose name was Iras; and Adullamite means, a testimony in water. So it was with this testimony that the Lord came, having indeed greater testimony than that of John;(1) but for the sake of his feeble sheep he made use of the testimony in water. The name Iras, too, means, vision of my brother. So John saw his brother, a brother in the family of Abraham, and from the relationship of Mary and Elisabeth; and the same person he recognised as his Lord and his God, for, as he himself says, he received of His fullness.(2) On account of this vision, among those born of woman, there has arisen no

greater than he;(3) because, of all who foretold Christ, he alone saw what many righteous men and prophets desired to see and saw not. He saluted Christ from the womb;(4) he knew Him more certainly from seeing the dove; and therefore, as the Adullamite, he gave testimony by water. The Lord came to shear His sheep, in releasing them from painful burdens, as it is said in praise of the Church in the Song of Songs, that her teeth are like a flock of sheep after shearing.(5)

86. Next, we have Tamar changing her dress; for Tamar also means changing. Still, the name of bitterness must be retained--not that bitterness in which gall was given to the Lord, but that in which Peter wept bitterly.(6) For Judah means confession; and bitterness is mingled with confession as a type of true repentance. It is this repentance which gives fruitfulness to the Church established among all nations. For "it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead, and that repentance and the remission of sins be preached among all nations in His name, beginning at Jerusalem."(7) In the dress Tamar put on there is a confession of sins; and Tamar sitting in this dress at the gate of AEnan or AEnaim, which means fountain, is a type of the Church called from among the nations. She ran as a hart to the springs of water, to meet with the seed of Abraham; and there she is made fruitful by one who knows her not, as it is foretold, "A people whom I have not known shall serve me."(8) Tamar received under her disguise a ring, a bracelet, a staff; she is sealed in her calling, adorned in her justification, raised in her glorification. For "whom He predestinated, them He also called: and whom He called, them He also justified: and whom He justified, them He also glorified."(9) This was while she was still disguised, as I have said; and in the same state she conceives, and becomes fruitful in holiness. Also the kid promised is sent to her as to a harlot. The kid represents rebuke for sin, and it is sent by the Adullamite already mentioned, who, as it were, uses the reproachful words, "O generation of vipers!"(10) But this rebuke for sin does not reach her, for she has been changed by the bitterness of confession. Afterwards, by exhibiting the pledges of the ring and bracelet and staff, she prevails over the Jews, in their hasty judgment of her, who are now represented by Judah himself; as at this day we hear the Jews saying that we are not the people of Christ, and have not the seed of Abraham. But when we exhibit the sure tokens of our calling and justification and glorification, they will immediately be confounded, and will acknowledge that we are justified rather than they. I should enter into this more particularly, taking, as it were, each limb and joint separately, as the Lord might enable me, were it not that such minute inquiry is prevented by the necessity of bringing this work to a close, for it is already longer than is desirable.

87. As regards the prophetic significance of David's sin, a single word must suffice. The names occurring in the narrative show what it typifies. David means, strong of hand, or desirable; and what can be stronger than the Lion of the tribe of Judah, who has conquered the world, or more desirable than He of whom the prophet says, "The desire of all nations shall come?"(11) Bersabee means, well of satisfaction, or seventh well: either of these interpretations will suit our purpose. So, in the Song of Songs, the spouse, who is the Church, is called a well of living water;(12) or again, the number seven represents the Holy Spirit, as in the number of days in Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit came from heaven. We learn also from the book of Tobit, that Pentecost was the feast of seven weeks.(13) To forty-nine, which is seven times seven, one is added to denote unity. To this effect is the saying of the apostle: "Bearing with one another in

love, endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."(14) The Church becomes a well of satisfaction by this gift of the Spirit, the number seven denoting its spirituality; for it is in her a fountain of living water springing up unto everlasting life, and he who has it shall never thirst.(15) Uriah, Bersabee's husband, must, from the meaning of his name, be understood as representing the devil. It is in union to the devil that all are bound whom the grace of God sets free, that the Church without spot or wrinkle may be married to her true Saviour. Uriah means, my light of God; and Hittite means, cut off, referring either to his not abiding in the truth, when he was cut off on account of his pride from the celestial light which he had of God, or to his transforming himself into an angel of light, because after losing his real strength by his fall, he still dares to say, My light is of God. The literal David, then, was guilty of a heinous crime, which God by the prophet condemned in the rebuke addressed to David, and which David atoned for by his repentance. On the other hand, He who is the desire of all nations loved the Church when washing herself on the roof, that is, when cleansing herself from the pollution of the world, and in spiritual contemplation mounting above her house of clay, and trampling upon it; and after commencing an acquaintance, He puts to death the devil, whom He first entirely removes from her, and joins her to Himself in perpetual union. While we hate the sin, we must not overlook the prophetical significance; and while we love, as is His due, that David who in His mercy has freed us from the devil, we may also love the David who by the humility of his repentance healed the wound made by his transgression.

88. Little need be said of Solomon, who is spoken of in Holy Scripture in terms of the strongest disapproval and condemnation, while nothing is said of his repentance and restoration to the divine favor. Nor can I find in his lamentable fall even a symbolical connection with anything good. Perhaps the strange women he lusted after may be thought to represent the Churches chosen from among the Gentiles. This idea might have been admissible, if the women had left their gods for Solomon's sake to worship his God. But as he for their sakes offended his God and worshipped their gods, it seems impossible to think of any good meaning. Doubtless, something is typified, but it is something bad, as in the case already explained of Lot's wife and daughters. We see in Solomon a notable pre-eminence and a notable fall. Now, this good and evil which we see in him at different periods, first good and then evil, are in our day found together in the Church. What is good in Solomon represents, I think, the good members of the Church; and what was bad in him represents the bad members. Both are in one man, as the bad and the good are in the chaff and grain of one floor, or in the tares and wheat of one field. A closer inquiry into what is said of Solomon in Scripture might disclose, either to me or to others of greater learning and greater worth, some more probable interpretation. But as we are now engaged on a different subject, we must not allow this matter to break the connection of our discourse.

89. As regards the prophet Hosea, it is unnecessary for me to explain the meaning of the command, or of the prophet's conduct, when God said to him, "Go and take unto thee a wife of whoredoms and produce children of whoredoms," for the Scripture itself informs us of the origin and purpose of this direction. It proceeds thus: "For the land hath committed great whoredom, departing from the Lord. So he went and took Gomer the daughter of Diblaim; which conceived, and bare him a son. And the Lord said unto him, Call his name Jezreel; for yet a little while, and I will avenge the blood of Jezreel

upon the house of Judah, and will cause to cease the kingdom of the house of Israel. And it shall come to pass at that day, that I will break the bow of Israel in the valley of Jezreel. And she conceived again, and bare a daughter. And God said unto him, Call her name No-mercy: for I will no more have mercy upon the house of Israel; but I will utterly take them away. But I will have mercy upon the house of Judah, and will save them by the Lord their God, and will not save them by bow, nor by sword, nor by battle, by horses, nor by horsemen. Now when she had weaned No-mercy, she conceived, and bare a son. Then said God, Call his name Not-my-people: for ye are not my people, and I will not be your God. Yet the number of the children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, which cannot be measured for multitude; and it shall come to pass that in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are not my people, there it shall be said unto them, Ye are the sons of the living God. Then shall the children of Israel and the children of Judah be gathered together, and appoint themselves one head, and they shall come up out of the land: for great shall be the day of Jezreel. Say ye unto your brethren, My people; and to your sister, She hath found mercy."(1) Since the typical meaning of the command and of the prophet's conduct is thus explained in the same book by the Lord Himself, and since the writings of the apostles declare the fulfillment of this prophecy in the preaching of the New Testament, every one must accept the explanation thus given of the command and of the action of the prophet as the true explanation. Thus it is said by the Apostle Paul, "That He might make known the riches of His glory on the vessels of mercy, which He had afore prepared unto glory, even us, whom He hath called, not of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles. As He saith also in Hosea, I will call them my people, which were not my people; and her beloved, which was not beloved. And it shall come to pass, that in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are not my people, there shall they be called the children of the living God."(1) Here Paul applies the prophecy to the Gentiles. So also Peter, writing to the Gentiles, without naming the prophet, borrows his expressions when he says, "But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye might show forth the praises of Him who has called you out of darkness into His marvellous light; which in time past were not a people, but are now the people of God: which had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy."(2) From this it is plain that the words of the prophet, "And the number of the children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, which cannot be measured for multitude," and the words immediately following, "And it shall be that in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are not my people, there they shall be called the children of the living God," do not apply to that Israel which is after the flesh, but to that of which the apostle says to the Gentiles, "Ye therefore are the seed of Abraham, and heirs according to the promise."(3) But, as many Jews who were of the israel after the flesh have believed, and will yet believe; for of these were the apostles, and all the thousands in Jerusalem of the company of the apostles, as also the churches of which Paul speaks, when he says to the Galatians, "I was unknown by face to the churches of Judaea which were in Christ;"(4) and again, he explains the passage in the Psalms, where the Lord is called the cornerstone,(5) as referring to His uniting in Himself the two walls of circumcision and uncircumcision, "that He might make in Himself of twain one new man, so making peace; and that He might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby: and that He might come and preach peace to them that are far off, and to them that are nigh," that is, to the Gentiles and to the Jews; "for He is our peace, who hath made of both one;"(6) to the same purpose we find the prophet speaking of the Jews as the children of Judah,

and of the Gentiles as children of Israel, where he says, "The children of Judah and the children of Israel shall be gathered together, and shall make to themselves one head, and shall go up from the land." Therefore, to speak against a prophecy thus confirmed by actual events, is to speak against the writings of the apostles as well as those of the prophets; and not only to speak against writings, but to impugn in the most reckless manner the evidence clear as noonday of established facts. In the case of the narrative of Judah, it is perhaps not so easy to recognize, under the disguise of the woman called Tamar, the harlot representing the Church gathered from among the corruption of Gentile superstition; but here, where Scripture explains itself, and where the explanation is confirmed by the writings of the apostles, instead of dwelling longer on this, we may proceed at once to inquire into the meaning of the very things to which Faustus objects in Moses the servant of God.

90. Moses killing the Egyptian in defending one of his brethren reminds us naturally of the destruction of the devil, our assailant in this land of strangers, by our defender the Lord Christ. And as Moses hid the dead body in the sand, even so the devil, though slain, remains concealed in those who are not firmly settled. The Lord, we know, builds the Church on a rock; and those who hear His word and do it, He compares to a wise man who builds his house upon a rock, and who does not yield or give way before temptation; and those who hear and do not, He compares to a foolish man who builds on the sand, and when his house is tried its ruin is great.(7)

91. Of the prophetic significance of the spoiling of the Egyptians, which was done by Moses at the command of the Lord his God, who commands nothing but what is most just, I remember to have set down what occurred to me at the time in my book entitled On Christian Doctrine;(8) to the effect that the gold and silver and garments of the Egyptians typified certain branches of learning which may be profitably learned or taught among the Gentiles. This may be the true explanation; or we may suppose that the vessels of gold and silver represent the precious souls, and the garments the bodies, of those from among the Gentiles who join themselves to the people of God, that along with them they may be freed from the Egypt of this world. Whatever the true interpretation may be, the pious student of the Scriptures will feel certain that in the command, in the action, and in the narrative there is a purpose and a symbolic meaning.

92. It would take too long to go through all the wars of Moses. It is enough to refer to what has already been said, as sufficient for the purpose in this reply to Faustus of the prophetic and symbolic character of the war with Amalek.(1) There is also the charge of cruelty made against Moses by the enemies of Scriptures, or by those who have never read anything. Faustus does not make any specific charge, but speaks of Moses as commanding and doing many cruel things. But, knowing the things they are in the habit of bringing forward and of misrepresenting, I have already taken a particular case and have defended it, so that any Manichaeans who are willing to be corrected, and all other ignorant and irreligious people, may see that there is no ground for their accusations. We must now inquire into the prophetic significance of the command, that many of those who, while Moses was absent, made an idol for themselves should be slain without regard to relationship. It is easy to see that the slaughter of these men represents the warfare against the evil principles which led the people into the same

idolatry. Against such evil we are commanded to wage war in the words of the psalm, "Be ye angry and sin not.(2) And a similar command is given by the apostle, when he says, "Mortify your members which are on earth fornication, uncleanness, luxury, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is idolatry."(3)

93. It requires closer examination to see the meaning of the first action of Moses in burning the calf in fire, and grinding it to powder, and sprinkling it in the water for the people to drink. The tables given to him, written with the finger of God, that is, by the agency of the Holy Spirit, he may have broken, because he judged the people unworthy of having them read to them; and he may have burned the calf, and ground it, and scattered it so as to be carried away by the water, in order to let nothing of it remain among the people. But why should he have made them drink it? Every one must feel anxious to discover the typical significance of this action. Pursuing the inquiry, we may find that in the calf there was an embodiment of the devil, as there is in men of all nations who have the devil as their head or leader in their impious rites. The calf is gold, because there is a semblance of wisdom in the institution of idolatrous worship. Of this the apostle says, "Knowing God, they glorified Him not as God, nor were thankful; but they became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise they became foolish, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of corruptible man, and of birds, and of four-footed beasts, and of creeping things."(4) From this so- called wisdom came the golden calf, which was one of the forms of idolatry among the chief men and professed sages of Egypt. The calf, then, represents every body or society of Gentile idolaters. This impious society the Lord Christ burns with that fire of which He says in the Gospel, "I am come to send fire on the earth;"(5) for, as there is nothing hid from His heat,(6) when the Gentiles believe in Him they lose the form of the devil in the fire of divine influence. Then all the body is ground, that is, after the dissolution of the combination in the membership of iniquity comes humiliation under the word of truth. Then the dust is sprinkled in the water, that the Israelites, that is, the preachers of the gospel, may in baptism admit those formerly idolaters into their own body, that is, the body of Christ. To Peter, who was one of those Israelites, it was said of the Gentiles, "Kill, and eat."(7) To kill and eat is much the same as to grind and drink. So this calf, by the fire of zeal, and the keen penetration of the word, and the water of baptism, was swallowed up by the people, instead of their being swallowed up by it.

94. Thus, when the very passages on which the heretics found their objections to the Scriptures are studied and examined, the more obscure they are the more wonderful are the secrets which we discover in reply to our questions; so that the mouths of blasphemers are completely stopped, and the evidence of the truth so stifles them that they cannot even utter a sound. The unhappy men who will not receive into their hearts the sweetness of the truth must feel its force as a gag in their mouths. All those passages speak of Christ. The head now ascended into heaven along with the body still suffering on earth is the full development of the whole purpose of the authors of Scripture, which is well called Sacred Scripture. Every part of the narrative in the prophetical books should be viewed as having a figurative meaning, except what serves merely as a framework for the literal or figurative predictions of this king and of his people. For as in harps and other musical instruments the musical sound does not come from all parts of the instrument, but from the strings, and the rest is only for

fastening and stretching the strings so as to tune them, that when they are struck by the musician they may give a pleasant sound; so in these prophetical narratives the circumstances selected by the prophetic spirit either predict some future event, or if they have no voice of their own, they serve to connect together other significant utterances.

95. Should the heretics reject our exposition of those allegorical narratives, or even insist on understanding them only in a literal sense, to dispute about such a difference of understanding would be as useless as to dispute about a difference of taste. Only, the fact that the divine precepts have either a moral and religious character or a prophetic meaning must be believed, whether intelligently or not. Moreover, the figurative interpretations must all be in the interest of morality and religion. So, if the Manichaeans or any others disagree with our interpretation, or differ from us in method or in any particular opinion, suffice it that the character of the fathers whom God commends for their conduct and obedience to His precepts is vindicated on a principle which all but those inveterate in their hostility will acknowledge to be true; and that the purity and dignity of the Scriptures are maintained in reference to those passages which the enemies of the truth find fault with, where certain actions are either praised or blamed, or merely narrated for us to form a judgment of them.

96. In fact, nothing could have been devised more likely to instruct and benefit the pious reader of sacred Scripture than that, besides describing praiseworthy characters as examples, and blameworthy characters as warnings, it should also narrate cases where good men have gone back and fallen into evil, whether they are restored to the right path or continue irreclaimable; and also where bad men have changed, and have attained to goodness, whether they persevere in it or relapse into evil; in order that the righteous may be not lifted up in the pride of security, nor the wicked hardened in despair of cure. And even those passages in Scripture which contain no examples or warnings are either required for connection, so as to pass on to essential matters, or, from their very appearance of superfluity, indicate the presence of some secret symbolical meaning. For in the books we speak of, so far from there being a want or a scarcity of prophetical announcements, such announcements are numerous and distinct; and now that the fulfillment has actually taken place, the testimony thus borne to the divine authority of the books is irresistibly strong, so that it is mere madness to suppose that there can be any useless or unmeaning passages in books to which all classes of men and of minds do homage, and which themselves predict what we see thus actually coming to pass.

97. If, then, any one reading of the action of David, of which he repented when the Lord rebuked and threatened him, find in the narrative an encouragement to sin, is Scripture to be blamed for this? Is not the man's own guilt in proportion to the abuse which he makes for his own injury or destruction of what was written for his recovery and release? David is set forth as a great example of repentance, because men who fall into sin either proudly disregard the cure of repentance, or lose themselves in despair of obtaining salvation or of meriting pardon. The example is for the benefit of the sick, not for the injury of those in health. If madmen destroy themselves, or if evil-doers destroy others, with surgical instruments, it is not the fault of surgery.

98. Even supposing that our fathers the patriarchs and prophets, of whose devout and

religious habits so good a report is given in that Scripture which every one who knows it, and has not lost entirely the use of his reason, must admit to have been provided by God for the salvation of men, were as lustful and cruel as the Manichaeans falsely and fanatically allege, they might still be shown to be superior not only to those whom the Manichaeans call the Elect, but also to their god himself. Is there in the licentious intercourse of man with woman anything so bad as the self-abasement of unclouded light by mixture with darkness? Here, is a man prompted by avarice and greed to pass off his wife as his sister and sell her to her lover; but worse still and more shocking, that one should disguise his own nature to gratify criminal passion, and submit gratuitously to pollution and degradation. Why, even one who knowingly lies with his own daughters is not equally criminal with one who lets his members share in the defilement of all sensuality as gross as this, or grosser. And is not the Manichaean god a partaker in the contamination of the most atrocious acts of uncleanness? Again, if it were true, as Faustus says, that Jacob went from one to another of his four wives, not desiring offspring, but resembling a he-goat in licentiousness, he would still not be sunk so low as your god, who must not only have shared in this degradation, from his being confined in the bodies of Jacob and his wives so as to be mixed up with all their movements, but also, in union with this very he-goat of Faustus' coarse comparison, must have endured all the pains of animal appetite, incurring fresh defilement at every step, as partaking in the passion of the male, the conception of the female, and the birth of the kid. And, in the same way, supposing Judah to have been guilty not only of fornication, but of incest, a share in the heats and impurities of this incestuous passion would also belong to your god. David repented of his sin in loving the wife of another, and in ordering the death of her husband; but when will your god repent of giving up his members to the wanton passion of the male and female chiefs of the race of darkness, and of putting to death not the husband of his mistress, but his own children, whom he confines in the members of the very demons who were his own lovers? Even if David had not repented, nor been thus restored to righteousness, he would still have been better than your god. David may have been defiled by this one act, or to the extent to which one man is capable of such defilement; but your god suffers the pollution of his members in all such actions by whomsoever committed. The prophet Hosea, too, is accused by Faustus: and, supposing him to have taken the harlot to wife because he had a criminal affection for her, if he is licentious and she a prostitute, their souls, according to your own assertion, are parts and members of your god and of his nature. In plain language, the harlot herself must be your god. You cannot pretend that your god is not confined in the contaminated body, or that he is only present, while preserving entire the purity of his own nature; and you acknowledge that the members of your god are so defiled as to require a special purification. This harlot, then, for whom you venture to find fault with the man of God, even if she had not been changed for the better by becoming a chaste wife, would still have been your god; at least you must admit her soul to have been a part, however small, of your god. But one single harlot is not so bad as your god, for he on account of his mixture with the race of darkness shares in every act of prostitution; and wherever such impurities are perpetrated, he goes through the corresponding experiences of abandonment, of release, and of confinement, and this from generation to generation, till this most corrupt part reaches its final state in the mass of darkness, like an irreclaimable harlot. Such are the evils and such the shameful abominations which your god could not ward off from his members, and to which he was brought irresistibly by his merciless enemy; for only by the sacrifice of his own subjects, or rather

his own parts, could he effect the destruction of his formidable assailant. Surely, there was nothing so bad as this in killing an Egyptian so as to preserve uninjured a fellow-countryman. Yet Faustus finds fault with this most absurdly, while with amazing infatuation he overlooks the case of his own god. Would it not have been better for him to have carried off the gold and silver vessels of the Egyptians, than to let his members be carried off by the race of darkness? And yet the worshippers of this unfortunate god find fault with the servant of our God for carrying on wars, in which he with his followers were always victorious, so that, under the leadership of Moses, the children of Israel carried captive their enemies, men and women, as your god would have done too, if he had been able. You profess to accuse Moses of doing wrong, while in fact you envy his success. There was no cruelty in punishing with the sword those who had sinned grievously against God. Indeed, Moses entreated pardon for this sin, even offering to bear himself in their stead the divine anger. But even had he been cruel instead of compassionate, he would still have been better than your god. For if any of his followers had been sent to break the force of the enemy and had been taken captive, he would never, if victorious, have condemned him when he had done no wrong, but acted in obedience to orders. And yet this is what your god is to do with the part of himself which is to be fastened in the mass of darkness, because it obeyed orders, and advanced at the risk of its own life in defence of his kingdom against the body of the enemy. But, says the Manichaean, this part, after mixture and combination with evil during the course of ages, has not been obedient. But why? If the obedience was voluntary, the guilt is real, and the punishment just. But from this it would follow that there is no nature opposed to sin; otherwise it would not sin voluntarily; and so the whole system of Manichaeism falls at once. If, again, this part suffers from the power of this enemy against whom it was sent, and is subdued by a force it was unable to resist, the punishment is unjust, and flagrantly cruel. The god who is defended on the plea of necessity is a fit object of worship to those who refuse to worship the one true God. Still, it must be allowed that, however debasing the worship of this god may be, the worshippers are so far better than their deity, that they have an existence, while he is nothing more than a fabulous invention. Proceed we now to the rest of Faustus' vagaries.(1)

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Augustin: Reply to Faustus the Manichaean
Book 23 to 33
Reply to Faustus the Manichaean

Sections:

[Books 1 - 15 | Book 16 - 22 | Book 23 to 33]

BOOK XXIII.

FAUSTUS RECURS TO THE GENEALOGICAL DIFFICULTY AND INSISTS THAT

EVEN ACCORDING TO MATTHEW JESUS WAS NOT SON OF GOD UNTIL HIS BAPTISM. AUGUSTIN SETS FORTH THE CATHOLIC VIEW OF THE RELATION OF THE DIVINE AND THE HUMAN IN THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

1. FAUSTUS said: On one occasion, when addressing a large audience, I was asked by one of the crowd, Do you believe that Jesus was born of Mary? I replied, Which Jesus do you mean? for in the Hebrew it is the name of several people. One was the son of Nun, the follower of Moses;(1) another was the son of Josedech the high priest;(2) again, another is spoken of as the son of David;(3) and another is the Son of God.(4) Of which of these do you ask whether I believe him to have been born of Mary? His answer was, The Son of God, of course. On what evidence, said I, oral or written, am I to believe this? He replied, On the authority of Matthew. What, said I, did Matthew write? He replied, "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham "(Matt. i. 1). Then said I, I was afraid you were going to say, The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the Son of God; and I was prepared to correct you. Now that you have quoted the verse accurately, you must nevertheless be advised to pay attention to the words. Matthew does not profess to give an account of the generation of the Son of God, but of the son of David.

2. I will, for the present, suppose that this person was right in saying that the son of David was born of Mary. It still remains true, that in this whole passage of the generation no mention is made of the Son of God till we come to the baptism; so that it is an injurious misrepresentation on your part to speak of this writer as making the Son of God the inmate of a womb. The writer, indeed, seems to cry out against such an idea, and in the very title of his book to clear himself of such blasphemy, asserting that the person whose birth he describes is the son of David, not the Son of God. And if you attend to the writer's meaning and purpose, you will see that what he wishes us to believe of Jesus the Son of God is not so much that He was born of Mary, as that He became the Son of God by baptism at the river Jordan. He tells us that the person of whom he spoke at the outset as the son of David was baptized by John, and became the Son of God on this particular occasion, when about thirty years old, according to Luke, when also the voice was heard saying to Him, "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee."(5) It appears from this, that what was born, as is supposed, of Mary thirty years before, was not the Son of God, but what was afterwards made so by baptism at Jordan, that is, the new man, the same as in us when we were converted from Gentile error, and believe in God. This doctrine may or may not agree with what you call the Catholic faith; at all events, it is what Matthew says, if Matthew is the real author. The words, Thou art my Son, this day I have begotten Thee, or, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, do not occur in connection with the story of Mary's motherhood, but with the putting away of sin at Jordan. This is what is written; and if you believe this doctrine, you must be called a Matthaean, for you will no longer be a Catholic. The Catholic doctrine is well known; and it is as unlike Matthew's representations as it is unlike the truth. In the words of your creed, you declare that you believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was born of the Virgin Mary. According to you, therefore, the Son of God comes from Mary; according to Matthew, from the Jordan; while we believe Him to come from God. Thus the doctrine of Matthew, if we are right in assigning the authorship to him, is as different from yours as from ours; only we acknowledge that he is more cautious than you in ascribing the being born of a

woman to the son of David, and not to the Son of God. As for you, your only alternative is to deny that those statements were made, as they appear to be, by Matthew, or to allow that you have abandoned the faith of the apostles.

3. For our part, while no one can alter our conviction that the Son of God comes from God, we might indulge a credulous disposition, to the extent of admitting the fiction, that Jesus became the Son of God at Jordan, but not that the Son of God was born of a woman. Then, again, the son said to have been born of Mary cannot properly be called the son of David, unless it is ascertained that he was begotten by Joseph. You say he was not, and therefore you must allow him not to have been the son of David, even though he were the son of Mary. The genealogy proceeds in the line of Hebrew fathers from Abraham to David, and from David to Joseph; and as we are told that Joseph was not the real father of Jesus, Jesus cannot be said to be the son of David. To begin with calling Jesus the son of David, and then to go on to tell of his being born of Mary before the consummation of her marriage with Joseph, is pure madness. And if the son of Mary cannot be called the son of David, on account of his not being the son of Joseph, still less can the name be given to the Son of God.

4. Moreover, the Virgin herself appears to have belonged not to the tribe of Judah, to which the Jewish kings belonged, and which all agree was David's tribe, but to the priestly tribe of Levi. This appears from the fact that the Virgin's father Joachim was a priest; and his name does not occur in the genealogy. How, then, can Mary be brought within the pale of relationship to David, when she has neither father nor husband belonging to it? Consequently, Mary's son cannot possibly be the son of David, unless you can bring the mother into some connection with Joseph, so as to be either his wife or his daughter.

5. AUGUSTIN replied: The Catholic, which is also the apostolic, doctrine, is, that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is both the Son of God in His divine nature, and the Son of David after the flesh. This we prove from the writings of the evangelists and apostles, so that no one can reject our proofs without also rejecting these writings. Faustus' plan is to represent some one as saying a few words, without bringing forward any evidence in answer to Faustus' fertile sophistry. But with all his ingenuity, the proofs I have to give will leave Faustus no reply, but that these passages are spurious interpolations in the sacred record,--a reply which serves as a means of escaping, or of trying to escape, the force of the plainest statements in Holy Scripture. We have already in this treatise sufficiently exposed the irrational absurdity, as well as the daring profanity, of such criticism; and not to exceed all limits, we must avoid repetition. It cannot be necessary that we should bring together all the passages scattered throughout Scripture, which show, in answer to Faustus, that in the books of the highest and most sacred authority He who is called the only-begotten Son of God, even God with God, is also called the Son of David, on account of His taking the form of a servant from the Virgin Mary, the wife of Joseph. To instance only Matthew, since Faustus' argument refers to this Gospel, as the whole book cannot be quoted here, let whoever choose read it, and see how Matthew carries on to the passion and the resurrection the narrative of Him whom He calls the Son of David in the introduction to the genealogy. Of this same Son of David he speaks as being conceived and born of the Virgin Mary by the Holy Ghost. He also applies to this the declaration of the prophet, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and

shall bear a son, and they shall call His name Emmanuel, which is being interpreted, God with us."(1) Again, He who was called, even from the Virgin's womb, God-with- us, is said to have heard, when He was baptized by John, a voice from heaven, saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."(2) Will Faustus say that to be called God is less than to be called the Son of God? He seems to think so, for he tries to prove that because this voice came from heaven at the time of the baptism, therefore, according to Matthew, He must then have become the Son of God; whereas the same evangelist, in a previous passage, quotes the sacred announcement made by the prophet, in which the child horn of the Virgin is called God- with-us.

6. It is remarkable how, amid his wild irrelevancies, this wretched trifler loses no available opportunity of darkening the declarations of Scripture by the fabulous creations of his own fancy. Thus he says of Abraham, that when he took his handmaid to wife he disbelieved God's promise that he should have a child by Sarah; whereas, in fact, this promise had not at that time been given. Then he accuses Abraham of falsehood in calling Sarah his sister, not having read what may be learned on the authority of Scripture about the family of Sarah. Abraham's son Isaac also he accuses of falsely calling his wife his sister, though a distinct account is given of her family. Then he accuses Jacob of there being a daily quarrel among his four wives, which should be the first to appropriate him on his return from the field, while nothing of this is said in Scripture. And this is the man who pretends to hate the writers of the sacred books for their falsehood, and who has the effrontery so to misrepresent even the gospel record, though its authority is admitted by all as possessing the most abundant confirmation, as to try to make it appear, not indeed that Matthew himself,--for in that case he would have been forced to yield to apostolic authority,--but that some one under the name of Matthew, has written about Christ what he refuses to believe, and attempts to refute with a contumelious ingenuity!

7. The voice from heaven at the Jordan should be compared with the voice heard on the Mount.(1) In neither case do the words, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," imply that He was not the Son of God before; for He who from the Virgin's womb took the form of a servant "was in the form of God, and thought it no robbery to be equal with God."(2) And the same Apostle Paul himself says distinctly elsewhere," "But in the fullness of time, God sent His Son, made of a woman, made under the law;"(3) that is, a woman in the Hebrew sense, not a wife, but one of the female sex. The Son of God is both Lord of David in His divine nature, and Son of David as being of the seed of David after the flesh. And if it were not profitable for us to believe this, the same apostle would not have made it so prominent as he does, when he says to Timothy, "Remember that Christ Jesus, of the seed of David, rose from the dead, according to my gospel."(4) And he carefully enjoins believers to regard as accursed whoever preaches another gospel contrary to this.

8. This assailant of the holy Gospel need find no difficulty in the fact that Christ is called the Son of David, though He was born of a virgin, and though Joseph was not His real father; while the genealogy is brought down by the evangelist Matthew, not to Mary, but to Joseph. First of all, the husband, as the man, is the more honorable; and Joseph was Mary's husband, though she did not live with him, for Matthew himself mentions that she was called Joseph's wife by the angel; as it is also from Matthew that we learn that Mary

conceived not by Joseph, but by the Holy Spirit. But if this, instead of being a true narrative written by Matthew the apostle, was a false narrative written by some one else under his name, is it likely that he would have contradicted himself in such an apparent manner, and in passages so immediately connected, as to speak of the Son of David as born of Mary without conjugal intercourse, and then, in giving His genealogy, to bring it down to the very man with whom the Virgin is expressly said not to have had intercourse, unless he had some reason for doing so? Even supposing there were two writers, one calling Christ the Son of David, and giving an account of Christ's progenitors from David down to Joseph; while the other does not call Christ the Son of David, and says that He was born of the Virgin Mary without intercourse with any man; those statements are not irreconcilable, so as to prove that one or both writers must be false. It will appear on reflection that both accounts might be true; for Joseph might be called the husband of Mary, though she was his wife only in affection, and in the intercourse of the mind, which is more intimate than that of the body. In this way it might be proper that the husband of the virgin-mother of Christ should have a place in the list of Christ's ancestors. It might also be the case that some of David's blood flowed in Mary herself, so that the flesh of Christ, although produced from a virgin, still owed its origin to David's seed. But as, in fact, both statements are made by one and the same writer, who informs us both that Joseph was the husband of Mary and that the mother of Christ was a virgin, and that Christ was of the seed of David, and that Joseph is in the list of Christ's progenitors in the line of David, those who prefer the authority of the sacred Gospel to that of heretical fiction must conclude that Mary was not unconnected with the family of David, and that she was properly called the wife of Joseph, because being a woman she was in spiritual alliance with him, though there was no bodily connection. Joseph, too, it is plain, could not be omitted in the genealogy; for, from the superiority of his sex, such an omission would be equivalent to a denial of his relation to the woman with whom he was inwardly united; and believers in Christ are taught not to think carnal connection the chief thing in marriage, as if without this they could not be man and wife, but to imitate in Christian wedlock as closely as possible the parents of Christ, that so they may have the more intimate union with the members of Christ.

9. We believe that Mary, as well as Joseph, was of the family of David, because we believe the Scriptures, which assert both that Christ was of the seed of David after the flesh, and that His mother was the Virgin Mary, He having no human father. Therefore, whoever denies the relationship of Mary to David, evidently opposes the pre-eminent authority of these passages of Scripture; and to maintain this opposition he must bring evidence in support of his statement from writings acknowledged by the Church as canonical and catholic, not from any writings he pleases. In the matters of which we are now treating, only the canonical writings have any weight with us; for they only are received and acknowledged by the Church spread over all the world, which is itself a fulfillment of the prophecies regarding it contained in these writings. Accordingly, I am not bound to admit the uncanonical account of Mary's birth which Faustus adopts, that her father was a priest of the tribe of Levi, of the name of Joachim. But even were I to admit this account, I should still contend that Joachim must have in some way belonged to the family of David, and had somehow been adopted from the tribe of Judah into that of Levi; or if not he, one of his ancestors; or, at least, that while born in the tribe of Levi, he had still some relation to the line of David; as Faustus himself acknowledges that Mary, though belonging to the tribe of Levi, could be given to a husband of the tribe of

Judah; and he expressly says that if Mary were Joseph's daughter, the name Son of David would be applicable to Christ. In this way, by the marriage of Joseph's daughter in the tribe of Levi, her son, though born in the tribe of Levi, might not improperly be called the Son of David. And so, if the mother of that Joachim, who in the passage quoted by Faustus is called the father of Mary, married in the tribe of Levi while she belonged to the tribe of Judah and to the family of David, there would thus be a sufficient reason for speaking of Joachim and Mary and Mary's son as belonging to the seed of David. If I felt obliged to pay any regard to the apocryphal scripture in which Joachim is called the father of Mary, I should adopt some such explanation as the above, rather than admit any falsehood in the Gospel, where it is written both that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and our Saviour, was of the seed of David after the flesh, and that He was born of the Virgin Mary. It is enough for us that the enemies of these Scriptures, which record these truths and which we believe, cannot prove against them any charge of falsehood.

10. Faustus cannot pretend then I am unable to prove that Mary was of the family of David, as I have shown him unable to prove that she was not. I produce the strongest evidence from Scriptures of established authority, which declare that Christ was of the seed of David, and that He was born without a father of the Virgin Mary. Faustus expresses what he considers a most becoming indignation against impropriety when he says, It is an injurious misrepresentation of the writer to make him speak of the Son of God as the inmate of a womb. Of course, the Catholic doctrine which teaches that Christ the Son of God was born in the flesh of a virgin, does not make the Son of God the inmate of her womb in the sense of having no existence beyond it, as if He had abandoned the government of heaven and earth, or as if He had left the presence of the Father. The mistake is with the Manichaeans, whose understanding is so incapable of forming a conception of anything except what is material, that they cannot comprehend how the Word of God, who is the virtue and wisdom of God, while remaining in Himself and with the Father, and while governing the universe, reaches from end to end in strength, and sweetly orders all things.(1) In the faultless procedure of this adorable providence, He appointed for Himself an earthly mother; and to free His servants from the bondage of corruption He took in this mother the form of a servant, that is, a mortal body; and this body which He took He showed openly, and when it had been exposed, even to suffering and death, He raised it again from the dead, and built again the temple which had been destroyed. You who shrink from this doctrine as blasphemous, make the members of your god to be confined not in a virgin's womb, but in the wombs of all female animals, from elephants down to flies. Perhaps you think the less of the true Christ, because the Word is said so to have become incarnate in the Virgin's womb as to provide a temple for Himself in human nature, while His own nature continued unaltered in its integrity; and, on the other hand, you think the more of your god, because in the bonds and pollution of his confinement in flesh, in the part which is to be made fast to the mass of darkness, he seeks for help to no purpose, or is even rendered powerless to ask for help.

BOOK XXIV.

FAUSTUS EXPLAINS THE MANICHAEAN DENIAL THAT MAN WAS MADE BY GOD

AS APPLYING TO THE FLESHLY MAN NOT TO THE SPIRITUAL. AUGUSTIN ELUCIDATES THE APOSTLE PAUL'S CONTRASTS BETWEEN FLESH AND SPIRIT SO AS TO EXCLUDE THE MANICHAEAN VIEW.

1. FAUSTUS said: We are asked the reason But we do not assert that man is in no sense for our denial that man is made by God. made by God; we only ask in what sense, and when, and how. For, according to the apostle, there are two men, one of whom he calls sometimes the outer man, generally the earthy, sometimes, too, the old man: the other he calls the inner or heavenly or new man.(1) The question is, Which of these is made by God? For there are likewise two times of our nativity; one when nature brought us forth into this light, binding us in the bonds of flesh; and the other, when the truth regenerated us on our conversion from error and our entrance into the faith. It is this second birth of which Jesus speaks in the Gospel, when He says, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."(2) Nicodemus, not knowing what Christ meant, was at a loss, and inquired how this could be, for an old man could not enter into his mother's womb and be born a second time. Jesus said in reply, "Except a man be born of water and of the Holy Spirit, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Then He adds, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." Hence, as the birth in which our bodies originate is not the only birth, but there is another in which we are born again in spirit, an important question arises from this distinction as to which of those births it is in which God makes us. The manner of birth also is twofold. In the humiliating process of ordinary generation, we spring from the heat of animal passion; but when we are brought into the faith, we are formed under good instruction in honor and purity in Jesus Christ, by the Holy Spirit. For this reason, in all religion, and especially in the Christian religion, young children are invited to membership. This is hinted at in the words of His apostle: "My little children, of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you."(3) The question, then, is not whether God makes man, but what man He makes, and when, and how. For if it is when we are fashioned in the womb that God forms us after His own image, which is the common belief of Gentiles and Jews, and which is also your belief, then God makes the old man, and produces us by means of sensual passion, which does not seem suitable to His divine nature. But if it is when we are converted and brought to a better life that we are formed by God, which is the general doctrine of Christ and His apostles, and which is also our doctrine, in this case God makes us new men, and produces us in honor and purity, which would agree perfectly with His sacred and adorable majesty. If you do not reject Paul's authority, we will prove to you from him what man God makes, and when, and how. He says to the Ephesians, "That ye put off according to your former conversation the old man, which is corrupt through deceitful lusts; and be renewed in the spirit of your mind; and put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and holiness of truth."4 This shows that in the creation of man after the image of God, it is another man that is spoken of, and another birth, and another manner of birth. The putting off and putting on of which he speaks, point to the time of the reception of the truth; and the assertion that the new man is created by God implies that the old man is created neither by God nor after God. And when he adds, that this new man is made in holiness and righteousness and truth, he thus points to another manner of birth of which this is the character, and which, as I have said, differs widely

from the manner in which bodily generation is effected. And as he declares that only the former is of God, it follows that the latter is not. Again, writing to the Colossians, he uses words to the same effect: "Put off the old man with his deeds, and put on the new man, which is renewed in the knowledge of God according to the image of Him who created Him in you." Here he not only shows that iris the new man that God makes, but he declares the time and manner of the formation, for the words in the knowledge of God point to the time of believing. Then he adds, according to the image of Him who created him, to make it clear that the old man is not the image of God, nor formed by God. Moreover, the following words, "Where there is neither male nor female, Jew nor Greek, Barbarian nor Scythian,"5 show more plainly still that the birth by which we are made male and female, Greeks and Jews, Scythians and Barbarians, is not the birth in which God effects the formation of man; but that the birth with which God has to do is that in which we lose the difference of nation and sex and condition, and become one like Him who is one, that is, Christ. So the same apostle says again, "As many as have been baptized in Christ have put on Christ: there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither male nor female, there is neither bond nor free; but all are one in Christ."6 Man, then, is made by God, not when from one he is divided into many, but when from many he becomes one. The division is in the first birth, or that of the body; union comes by the second, which is immaterial and divine. This affords sufficient ground for our opinion, that the birth of the body should be ascribed to nature, and the second birth to the Supernal Majesty. So the same apostle says again to the Corinthians, "I have begotten you in Christ Jesus by the gospel;"(1) and, speaking of himself, to the Galatians, "When it pleased Him, who separated me from my mother's womb, to reveal His Son in me, that I might preach Him among the Gentiles, immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood."(2) It is plain that everywhere he speaks of the second or spiritual birth as that in which we are made by God, as distinct from the indecency of the first birth, in which we are on a level with other animals as regards dignity and purity, as we are conceived in the maternal womb, and are formed, and brought forth. You may observe that in this matter the dispute between us is not so much about a question of doctrine as of interpretation. For you think that it is the old or outer or earthy man that is said to have been made by God; while we apply this to the heavenly man, giving the superiority to the inner or new man. And our opinion is not rash or groundless, for we have learned it from Christ and His apostles, who are proved to have been the first in the world who thus taught.

2. AUGUSTIN replied: The Apostle Paul certainly uses the expression the inner man for the spirit of the mind, and the outer man for the body and for this mortal life; but we nowhere find him making these two different men, but one, which is all made by God, both the inner and the outer. However, it is made in the image of God only as regards the inner, which, besides being immaterial, is rational, and is not possessed by the lower animals. God, then, did not make one man after His own image, and another man not after that image; but the one man, which includes both the inner and the outer, He made after His own image, not as regards the possession of a body and of mortal life, but as regards the rational mind with the power of knowing God, and with the superiority as compared with all irrational creatures which the possession of reason implies. Faustus allows that the inner man is made by God, when, as he says, it is renewed in the knowledge of God after the image of Him that created him. I readily admit this on the apostle's authority. Why does not Faustus admit on the same authority that "God has

placed the members every one in the body, as it has pleased Him"?(3) Here we learn from the same apostle that God is the framer of the outer man too. Why does Faustus take only what he thinks to be in his own favor, while he leaves out or rejects what upsets the follies of the Manichaeans? Moreover, in treating of the earthy and the heavenly man, and making the distinction between the mortal and the immortal, between that which we are in Adam and that which we shall be in Christ, the apostle quotes the declaration of the law regarding the earthy or natural body, referring to the very book and the very passage where it is written that God made the earthy man too. Speaking of the manner in which the dead shall rise again, and of the body with which they shall come, after using the similitude of the seeds of corn, that they are sown bare grain, and that God gives them a body as it pleases Him, and to every seed his own body,--thus, by the way, overthrowing the error of the Manichaeans, who say that grains and plants, and all roots and shoots, are created by the race of darkness, and not by God, who, according to them, instead of exerting power in the production of these objects, is Himself subject to confinement in them,--he goes on, after this refutation of Manichaean impieties, to describe the different kinds of flesh. "All flesh," he says, "is not the same flesh." Then he speaks of celestial and terrestrial bodies, and then of the change of our body by which it will become spiritual and heavenly. "It is sown," he says, "in dishonor, it shall rise in glory; it is sown in weakness, it shall rise in power; it is sown a natural body, it shall rise a spiritual body." Then, in order to show the origin of the animal body, he says, "There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body; as it is written, The first man, Adam, was made a living soul."4 Now this is written in Genesis,5 where it is related how God made man, and animated the body which He had formed of the earth. By the old man the apostle simply means the old life, which is a life in sin, and is after the manner of Adam, of whom it is said, "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, in that all have sinned."6 Thus the whole of this man, both the inner and the outer part, has become old because of sin, and liable to the punishment of mortality. There is, however, a restoration of the inner man, when it is renewed after the image of its Creator, in the putting off of unrighteousness--that is, the old man, and putting on righteousness--that is, the new man. But when that which is sown a natural body shall rise a spiritual body, the outer man too shall attain the dignity of a celestial character; so that all that has been created may be created anew, and all that has been made be remade by the Creator and Maker Himself. This is briefly explained in the words: "The body is dead because of sin; but the spirit is life because of righteousness. But if the Spirit of Him who raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead will also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit dwelling in you."(1) No one instructed in the Catholic doctrine but knows that it is in the body that some are male and some female, not in the spirit of the mind, in which we are renewed after the image of God. But elsewhere the apostle teaches that God is the Maker of both; for he says, "Neither is the woman without the man, nor the man without the woman, in the Lord; for as the woman is of the man, so is the man by the woman; but all things are of God."(2) The only reply given to this, by the perverse stupidity of those who are alienated from the life of God by the ignorance which is in them, on account of the blindness of their heart, is, that whatever pleases them in the apostolic writings is true, and whatever displeases them is false. This is the insanity of the Manichaeans, who will be wise if they cease to be Manichaeans. As it is, if they are asked whether it is He that remakes and renews the inner man (which they acknowledge to be renewed after the image of God, and they themselves quote the

passage in support of this; and, according to Faustus, God makes man when the inner man is renewed in the image of God), they will answer, yes. And if we then go on to ask when God made what He now renews, they must devise some subterfuge to prevent the exposure of their absurdities. For, according to them, the inner man is not formed or created or originated by God, but is part of His own substance sent against His enemies; and instead of becoming old by sin, it is through necessity captured and damaged by the enemy. Not to repeat all the nonsense they talk, the first man they speak of is not the man of the earth earthy that the apostle speaks of,(3) but an invention proceeding from their own magazine of untruths. Faustus, though he chooses man as a subject for discussion, says not a word of this first man; for he is afraid that his opponents in the discussion might come to know something about him.

BOOK XXV.

FAUSTUS SEEKS TO BRING INTO RIDICULE THE ORTHODOX CLAIM TO BELIEVE IN THE INFINITY OF GOD BY CARICATURING THE ANTHROPOMORPHIC REPRESENTATIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. AUGUSTIN EXPRESSES HIS DESPAIR OF BEING ABLE TO INDUCE THE MANICHAEANS TO ADOPT RIGHT VIEWS OF THE INFINITUDE OF GOD SO LONG AS THEY CONTINUE TO REGARD THE SOUL AND GOD AS EXTENDED IN SPACE.

1. FAUSTUS said: Is God finite or infinite? He must be finite unless you are mistaken in addressing Him as the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob; unless, indeed, the being thus addressed is different from the God you call infinite. In the case of the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, the mark of circumcision, which separated these men from fellowship with other people, marked also the limit of God's power as extending only to them. And a being whose power is finite cannot himself be infinite. Moreover, in this address, you do not mention even the ancients before Abraham, such as Enoch, Noah, and Shem, and others like them, whom you allow to have been righteous though in uncircumcision; but because they lacked this distinguishing mark, you will not call God their God, but only of Abraham and his seed. Now, if God is one and infinite, what need of such careful particularity in addressing Him, as if it was not enough to name God, without adding whose God He is--Abraham's, namely, and Isaac's and Jacob's; as if Abraham were a landmark to steer by in your invocation, to escape shipwreck among a shoal of deities? The Jews, who are circumcised, may very properly address this deity, as having a reason for it, because they call God the God of circumcision, in contrast to the gods of uncircumcision. But why you should do the same, it is difficult to understand; for you do not pretend to have Abraham's sign, though you invoke his God. If we understand the matter rightly, the Jews and their God seem to have set marks upon one another for the purpose of recognition, that they might not lose each ether. So God gave them the disgusting mark of circumcision, that, in whatever land or among whatever people they might be, they might by being circumcised be known to be His.

They again marked God by calling Him the God of their fathers, that, wherever He might be, though among a crowd of gods, He might, on hearing the name God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, know at once that He was addressed. So we often see, in a number of people of the same name, that no one answers till called by his surname. In the same way the shepherd or herdsman makes use of a brand to prevent his property being taken by others. In thus marking God by calling Him the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, you show not only that He is finite, but also that you have no connection with Him, because you have not the mark of circumcision by which He recognizes His own. Therefore, if this is the God you worship, there can be no doubt of His being finite. But if you say that God is infinite, you must first of all give up this finite deity, and by altering your invocation, show your penitence for your past errors. We have thus proved God to be finite, taking you on your own ground. But to determine whether the supreme and true God is infinite or not, we need only refer to the opposition between good and evil. If evil does not exist, then certainly God is infinite; otherwise He must be finite. Evil, however, undoubtedly exists; therefore God is not infinite. It is where good stops that evil begins.

2. AUGUSTIN replied: No one that knows you would dream of asking you about the infinitude of God, or of discussing the matter with you. For, before there can be any degree of spirituality in any of your conceptions, you must first have your minds cleared by simple faith, and by some elementary knowledge, from the illusions of carnal and material ideas. This your our heresy prevents you from doing, for it invariably represents the body and the soul and God as extended in space, either finite or infinite, while the idea of space is applicable only to the body. As long as this is the case, it will be better for you to leave this matter alone; for you can teach no truth regarding it, any more than in other matters; and in this you are unfit for learning, as you might do in other things, if you were not proud and quarrelsome. For in such questions as how God can be finite, when no space can contain Him; how He can be infinite, when the Son knows Him perfectly; how He can be finite, and yet unbounded; how He can be infinite, and yet perfect; how He can be finite, who is without measure; how He can be infinite, who is the measure of all things--all carnal ideas go for nothing; and if the carnality is to be removed, it must first become ashamed of itself. Accordingly, your best way of ending the matter you have brought forward of God as finite or infinite, is to say no more about it till you cease going so far astray from Christ, who is the end of the law. Of the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob we have already said enough to show why He who is the true God of all creatures wished to be familiarly known by His people under this name. On circumcision, too, we have already spoken in several places in answer to ignorant reproaches. The Manichaeans would find nothing to ridicule in this sign if they would view it as appointed by God, to be an appropriate symbol of the putting off of the flesh. They ought thus to consider the rite with a Christian instead of a heretical mind; as it is written, "To the pure all things are pure." But, considering the truth of the following words, "To the unclean and unbelieving nothing is pure, but even their mind and conscience are defiled,"(1) we must remind our witty opponents, that if circumcision is indecent, as they say it is, they should rather weep than laugh at it; for their god is exposed to restraint and contamination in conjunction both with the skin which is cut and with the blood which is shed.

BOOK XXVI.

FAUSTUS INSISTS THAT JESUS MIGHT HAVE DIED THOUGH NOT BORN, BY THE EXERCISE OF DIVINE POWER, YET HE REJECTS BIRTH AND DEATH ALIKE. AUGUSTIN MAINTAINS THAT THERE ARE SOME THINGS THAT EVEN GOD CANNOT DO, ONE OF WHICH IS TO DIE. HE REFUTES THE DOCETISM OF THE MANICHAEANS.

1. FAUSTUS said: You ask, If Jesus was not born, how did He die? Well this is a probability, such as one makes use of in want of proofs. We will, however, answer the question by examples taken from what you generally believe. If they are true, they will prove our case; if they are false, they will help you no more than they will us. You say then,

How could Jesus die, if He were not man? In return, I ask you, How did Elias not die, though he was a man? Could a mortal encroach upon the limits of immortality, and could not Christ add to His immortality whatever experience of death was required? If Elias, contrary to nature, lives for ever, why not allow that Jesus, with no greater contrariety to nature, could remain in death for three days? Besides that, it is not only Elias, but Moses and Enoch you believe to be immortal, and to have been taken up with their bodies to heaven. Accordingly, if it is a good argument that Jesus was a man because He died, it is an equally good argument that Elias was not a man because he did not die. But as it is false that Elias was not a man, notwithstanding his supposed immortality, so it is false that Jesus was a man, though He is considered to have died. The truth is, if you will believe it, that the Hebrews were in a mistake regarding both the death of Jesus and the immortality of Elias. For it is equally untrue that Jesus died and that Elias did not die. But you believe whatever you please; and for the rest, you appeal to nature. And, allowing this appeal, nature is against both the death of the immortal and the immortality of the mortal. And if we refer to the power of effecting their purpose as possessed by God and by man, it seems more possible for Jesus to die than for Elias not to die; for the power of Jesus is greater than that of Elias. But if you exalt the weaker to heaven, though nature is against it, and, forgetting his condition as a mortal, endow him with eternal felicity, why should I not admit that Jesus could die if He pleased, even though I were to grant His death to have been real, and not a mere semblance? For, as from the outset of His taking the likeness of man He underwent in appearance all the experiences of humanity, it was quite consistent that He should complete the system by appearing to die.

2. Moreover, it is to be remembered that this reference to what nature grants as possible, should be made in connection with all the history of Jesus, and not only with His death. According to nature, it is impossible that a man blind from his birth should see the light; and yet Jesus appears to have performed a miracle of this kind, so that the Jews themselves exclaimed that from the beginning of the world it was not seen that

one opened the eyes of a man born blind.(1) So also healing a withered hand, giving the power of utterance and expression to those born dumb, restoring animation to the dead, with the recovery of their bodily frame after dissolution had begun, produce a feeling of amazement, and must seem utterly incredible in view of what is naturally possible and impossible. And yet, as Christians, we believe all the things to have been done by the same person; for we regard not the law of nature, but the powerful operation of God. There is a story, too, of Jesus having been cast from the brow of a hill, and having escaped unhurt. If, then, when thrown down from a height He did not die, simply because He chose not to die, why should He not have had the power to die when He pleased? We take this way of answering you because you have a fancy for discussion, and affect to use logical weapons not properly belonging to you. As regards our own belief, it is no more true that Jesus died than that Elias is immortal.

3. AUGUSTIN replied: As to Enoch and Elias and Moses, our belief is determined not by Faustus' suppositions, but by the declarations of Scripture, resting as they do on foundations of the strongest and surest evidence. People in error, as you are, are unfit to decide what is natural, and what contrary to nature. We admit that what is contrary to the ordinary course of human experience is commonly spoken of as contrary to nature. Thus the apostle uses the words, "If thou art cut out of the wild olive, and engrafted contrary to nature in the good olive."(2) Contrary to nature is here used in the sense of contrary to human experience of the course of nature; as that a wild olive engrafted in a good olive should bring forth the fatness of the olive instead of wild berries. But God, the Author and Creator of all natures, does nothing contrary to nature; for whatever is done by Him who appoints all natural order and measure and proportion must be natural in every case. And man himself acts contrary to nature only when he sins; and then by punishment he is brought back to nature again. The natural order of justice requires either that sin should not be committed or that it should not go unpunished. In either case, the natural order is preserved, if not by the soul, at least by God. For sin pains the conscience, and brings grief on the mind of the sinner, by the loss of the light of justice, even should no physical sufferings follow, which are inflicted for correction, or are reserved for the incorrigible. There is, however, no impropriety in saying that God does a thing contrary to nature, when it is contrary to what we know of nature. For we give the name nature to the usual common course of nature; and whatever God does contrary to this, we call a prodigy, or a miracle. But against the supreme law of nature, which is beyond the knowledge both of the ungodly and of weak believers, God never acts, any more than He acts against Himself. As regards spiritual and rational beings, to which class the human soul belongs, the more they partake of this unchangeable law and light, the more clearly they see what is possible, and what impossible; and again, the greater their distance from it, the less their perception of the future, and the more frequent their surprise at strange occurrences.

4. Thus of what happened to Elias we are ignorant; but still we believe the truthful declarations of Scripture regarding him. Of one thing we are certain, that what God willed happened, and that except by God s will nothing can happen to any one. So, if I am told that it is possible that the flesh of a certain man shall be changed into a celestial body, I allow the possibility, but I cannot tell whether it will be done; and the reason of my ignorance is, that I am not acquainted with the will of God in the matter. That it will be done if it is God's will, is perfectly clear and indubitable. Again, if I am told that

something would happen if God did not prevent it from happening, I reply confidently that what is to happen is the action of God, not the event which might otherwise have happened. For God knows His own future action, and therefore He knows also the effect of that action in preventing the happening of what would otherwise have happened; and, beyond all question, what God knows is more certain than what man thinks. Hence it is as impossible for what is future not to happen, as for what is past not to have happened; for it can never be God's will that anything should, in the same sense, be both true and false. Therefore all that is properly future cannot but happen; what does not happen never was future; even as all things which are properly in the past did indubitably take place.

5. Accordingly, to say, if God is almighty, let Him make what has been done to be undone, is in fact to say, if God is almighty, let Him make a thing to be in the same sense both true and false. God can put an end to the existence of anything, when the thing to be put an end to has a present existence; as when He puts an end by death to the existence of any one who has been brought into existence in birth; for in this case there is an actual existence which may be put a stop to. But when a thing does not exist, the existence cannot be put a stop to. Now, what is past no longer exists and whatever has an existence which can be put an end to cannot be past. What is truly past is no longer present; and the truth of its past existence is in our judgment, not in the thing itself which no longer exists. The proposition asserting anything to be past is true when the thing no longer exists. God cannot make such a proposition false, because He cannot contradict the truth. The truth in this case, or the true judgment, is first of all in our own mind, when we know and give expression to it. But should it disappear from our minds by our forgetting it, it would still remain as truth. It will always be true that the past thing which is no longer present had an existence; and the truth of its past existence after it has stopped is the same as the truth of its future existence before it began to be. This truth cannot be contradicted by God, in whom abides the supreme and unchangeable truth, and whose illumination is the source of all the truth to be found in any mind or understanding. Now God is not omnipotent in the sense of being able to die; nor does this inability prevent His being omnipotent. True omnipotence belongs to Him who truly exists, and who alone is the source of all existence, both spiritual and corporeal. The Creator makes what use He pleases of all His creatures; and His pleasure is in harmony with true and unchangeable justice, by which, as by His own nature, He, Himself unchangeable, brings to pass the changes of all changeable things according to the desert of their natures or of their actions. No one, therefore, would be so foolish as to deny that Elias being a creature of God could be changed either for the worse or for the better; or that by the will of the omnipotent God he could be changed in a manner unusual among men. So we can have no reason for doubting what on the high authority of Scripture is related of him, unless we limit the power of God to things which we are familiar with.

6. Faustus' argument is, If Elias who was a man could escape death, why might not Christ have the power of dying, since He was more than man? This is the same as to say, If human nature can be changed for the better, why should not the divine nature be changed for the worse?--a weak argument, seeing that human nature is changeable, while the divine nature is not. Such a method of inference would lead to the glaring absurdity, that if God can bestow eternal glory on man, He must also have the power of

consigning Himself to eternal misery. Faustus will reply that his argument refers only to three days of death for God, as compared with eternal life for man. Well, if you understood the three days of death in the sense of the death of the flesh which God took as a part of our mortal nature, you would be quite correct; for the truth of the gospel makes known that the death of Christ for three days was for the eternal life of men. But in arguing that there is no impropriety in asserting a death of three days of the divine nature itself, without any assumption of mortality, because human nature can be endowed with immortality, you display the folly of one who knows neither God nor the gifts of God. And indeed, since you make part of your god to be fastened to the mass of darkness for ever, how can you escape the absurd conclusion already mentioned, that God consigns Himself to eternal misery,? You will then require to prove that part of light is light, while part of God is not God. To give you in a word, without argument, the true reason of our faith, as regards Elias having been caught up to heaven from the earth, though only a man, and as regards Christ being truly born of a virgin, and truly dying on the cross, our belief in both cases is grounded on the declaration of Holy Scripture,(1) which it is piety to believe, and impiety to disbelieve. What is said of Elias you pretend to deny, for you will pretend anything. Regarding Christ, although even you do not go the length of saying that He could not die, though He could be born, still you deny His birth from a virgin, and assert His death on the cross to have been feigned, which is equivalent to denying it too, except as a mockery for the delusion of men; and you allow so much merely to obtain indulgence for your own falsehoods from the believers in these fictions.

7. The question which Faustus makes it appear that he is asked by a Catholic, If Jesus was not born, how could He die? could be asked only by one who overlooked the fact that Adam died, though he was not born. Who will venture to say that the Son of God could not, if He had pleased, have made for Himself a true human body in the same way as He did for Adam; for all things were made by Him?(2) or who will deny that He who is the Almighty Son of the Almighty could, if He had chosen, have taken a body from a heavenly substance, or from air or vapor, and have so changed it into the precise character of a human body, as that He might have lived as a man, and have died in it? Or, once more, if He had chosen to take a body of none of the material substances which He had made, but to create for Himself from nothing real flesh, as all things were created by Him from nothing, none of us will oppose this by saying that He could not have done it. The reason of our believing Him to have been born of the Virgin Mary, is not that He could not otherwise have appeared among men in a true body, but because it is so written in the Scripture, which we must believe in order to be Christians, or to be saved. We believe, then, that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, because it is so written in the Gospel; we believe that He died on the cross, because it is so written in the Gospel; we believe that both His birth and death were real, because the Gospel is no fiction. Why He chose to suffer all these things in a body taken from a woman is a matter known only to Himself. Perhaps He took this way of giving importance and honor to both the sexes which He had created, taking the form of a man, and being born of a woman; or there may have been some other reason, we cannot tell. But this may be confidently affirmed, that what took place was exactly as we are told in the Gospel narrative, and that what the wisdom of God determined upon was exactly what ought to have happened. We place the authority of the Gospel above all heretical discussions; and we admire the counsel of divine wisdom more than any counsel of any creature.

8. Faustus calls upon us to believe him, and says, The truth is, if you will believe it, that the Hebrews were in a mistake regarding both the death of Jesus and the immortality of Elias. And a little after he adds, As from the outset of His taking the likeness of man He underwent in appearance all the experiences of humanity, it was quite consistent that He should seal the dispensation by appearing to die. How can this infamous liar, who declares that Christ feigned death, expect to be believed? Did Christ utter falsehood when He said, "It behoves the Son of man to be killed, and to rise the third day?"(3) And do you tell us to believe what you say, as if you utter no falsehoods? In that case, Peter was more truthful than Christ when he said to Him, "Be it far from Thee, Lord; this shall not be unto Thee;" for which it was said to him, "Get thee behind me, Satan."(4) This rebuke was not lost upon Peter, for, after his correction and full preparation, he preached even to his own death the truth of the death of Christ. But if Peter deserved to be called Satan for thinking that Christ would not die, what should you be called, when you not only deny that Christ died, but assert that He reigned death? You give, as a reason for Christ's appearing to die, that He underwent in appearance all the experiences of humanity. But that He reigned all the experiences of humanity is only your opinion in opposition to the Gospel. In reality, when the evangelist says that Jesus slept,(1) that He was hungry,(2) that He was thirsty,(3) that He was sorrowful,(4) or glad, and so on,--these things are all true in the sense of not being feigned, but actual experiences; only that they were undergone, not from a mere natural necessity, but in the exercise of a controlling will, and of divine power. In the case of a man, anger, sorrow, sleeping, being hungry and thirst, are often involuntary; in Christ they were acts of His own will. So also men are born without any act of their own will, and suffer against their will; while Christ was born and suffered by His own will. Still, the things are true; and the accurate narrative of them is intended to instruct whoever believes in Christ's gospel in the truth, not to delude him with falsehoods.

BOOK XXVII.

FAUSTUS WARNS AGAINST PRESSING TOO FAR THE ARGUMENT, THAT IF JESUS WAS NOT BORN HE CANNOT HAVE SUFFERED. AUGUSTIN ACCEPTS THE BIRTH AND DEATH ALIKE ON THE TESTIMONY OF THE GOSPEL NARRATIVE, WHICH IS HIGHER AUTHORITY THAN THE FALSEHOOD OF MANICHAEUS.

1. FAUSTUS said: If Jesus was not born, He cannot have suffered; but since He did suffer, He must have been born. I advise you not to have recourse to logical inference in these matters, or else your whole faith will be shaken. For, even according to you, Jesus was born miraculously of a virgin; which the argument from consequents to antecedents shows to be false. For your argument might thus be turned against you: If Jesus was born of a woman, He must have been begotten by a man; but He was not

begotten by a man, therefore He was not born of a woman. If, as you believe, He could be born without being begotten, why could He not also suffer without being brought forth?

2. AGUSTIN replied: The argument which you here reply to is one which could be used only by such ignorant people as you succeed in misleading, not by those who know enough to refute you. Jesus could both be born without being begotten and suffer without being brought forth. His being one and not the other was the effect of His own will. He chose to be born without being begotten, and not to suffer without being brought forth. And if you ask how I know that He was brought forth, and that He suffered, I read this in the faithful Gospel narrative. If I ask how you know what you state, you bring forward the authority of Manichaeus, and charge the Gospel with falsehood. Even if Manichaeus did not set forth falsehood as an excellence in Christ, I should not believe his statements. His praise of falsehood comes from nothing that he found in Christ, but from his own moral character.

BOOK XXVIII.

FAUSTUS RECURS TO THE GENEALOGY AND INSISTS UPON EXAMINING IT AS REGARDS ITS CONSISTENCY WITH ITSELF. AUGUSTIN TAKES HIS STAND ON SCRIPTURE AUTHORITY AND MAINTAINS THAT MATTHEW"S STATEMENTS AS TO THE BIRTH OF CHRIST MUST BE ACCEPTED AS FINAL.

1. FAUSTUS said: Christ, you say, could not have died, had He not been born. I reply, If He was born, He cannot have been God; or if He could both be God and be born, why could He not both be born and die? Plainly, arguments and necessary consequences are not applicable to those matters, where the question is of the account to be given of Jesus. The answer must be obtained from His own statements, or from the statements of His apostles regarding Him. The genealogy must be examined as regards its consistency with itself, instead Of arguing from the supposition of Christ's death to the fact of His birth; for He might have suffered without having been born, or He might have been born, and yet never have suffered; for you yourselves acknowledge that with God nothing is impossible, which is inconsistent with the denial that Christ could have suffered without having been born.

2. AUGUSTIN replied: You are always answering arguments which no one uses, instead of our real arguments, which you cannot answer. No one says that Christ could not die if He had not been born; for Adam died though he had not been born. What we say is, Christ was born, because this is said not by this or that heretic, but in the holy Gospel; and He died, for this too is written, not in some heretical production, but in the holy Gospel. You set aside argument on the question of the true account to be given of Jesus, and refer to what He says of Himself, and what His apostles say of Him; and yet,

when I begin to quote the Gospel of His apostle Matthew, where we have the whole narrative of Christ's birth, you forthwith deny that Matthew wrote the narrative, though this is affirmed by the continuous testimony of the whole Church, from the days of apostolic presidency to the bishops of our own time. What authority will you quote against this? Perhaps some book of Manichaeus, where it is denied that Jesus was born of a virgin. As, then, I believe your book to be the production of Manichaeus, since it has been kept and handed down among the disciples of Manichaeus, from the time when he lived to the present time, by a regular succession of your presidents, so I ask you to believe the book which I quote to have been written by Matthew, since it has been handed down from the days of Matthew in the Church, without any break in the connection between that time and the present. The question then is, whether we are to believe the statements of an apostle who was in the company of Christ while He was on earth, or of a man away in Persia, born long after Christ. But perhaps you will quote some other book bearing the name of an apostle known to have been chosen by Christ; and you will find there that Christ was not born of Mary. Since, then, one of the books must be false, the question in this case is, whether we are to yield our belief to a book acknowledged and approved as handed down from the beginning in the Church founded by Christ Himself, and maintained through the apostles and their successors in an unbroken connection all over the world to the present day; or to a book which this Church condemns as unknown, and which, moreover, is brought forward by men who prove their veracity by praising Christ for falsehood.

3. Here you will say, Examine the genealogy as given in the two Gospels, and see if it is consistent with itself. The answer to this has been given already.(1) Your difficulty is how Joseph could have two fathers. But even if you could not have thought of the explanation, that one was his own father, and the other adopted, you should not have been so ready to put yourself in opposition to such high authority. Now that this explanation has been given you, I call upon you to acknowledge the truth of the Gospel, and above all to cease your mischievous and unreasonable attacks upon the truth.

4. Faustus most plausibly refers to what Jesus said of Himself. But how is this to be known except from the narratives of His disciples? And if we do not believe them when they tell us that Christ was born of a virgin, how shall we believe what they record as said by Christ of Himself? For, as regards any writing professing to come immediately from Christ Himself, if it were really His, how is it not read and acknowledged and regarded as of supreme authority in the Church, which, beginning with Christ Himself, and continued by His apostles, who were succeeded by the bishops, has been maintained and extended to our own day, and in which is found the fulfillment of many former predictions. while those concerning the last days are sure to be accomplished in the future? In regard to the appearance of such a writing, it would require to be considered from what quarter it issued. Supposing it to have issued from Christ Himself, those in immediate connection with Him might very well have received it, and have transmitted it to others. In this case, the authority of the writing would be fully established by the traditions of various communities, and of their presidents, as I have already said. Who, then, is so infatuated as in our day to believe that the Epistle of Christ issued by Manichaeus is genuine, or to disbelieve Matthew's narrative of Christ's words and actions? Or, if the question is of Matthew being the real author, who would not, in this also, believe what he finds in the Church, which has a distinct history in

unbroken connection from the days of Matthew to the present time, rather than a Persian interloper, who comes more than two hundred years after, and wishes us to believe his account of Christ's words and actions rather than that of Matthew; whereas, even in the case of the Apostle Paul, who was called from heaven after the Lord's ascension, the Church would not have believed him, had there not been apostles in life with whom he might communicate, and compare his gospel with theirs, so as to be recognized as belonging to the same society? When it was ascertained that Paul preached what the apostles preached, and that he lived in fellowship and harmony with them, and when God's testimony was added by Paul's working miracles like those done by the apostles, his authority became so great, that his words are now received in the Church, as if, to use his own appropriate words, Christ were speaking in him.(1) Manichaeus, on the other hand, thinks that the Church of Christ should believe what he says in opposition to the Scriptures, which are supported by such strong and continuous evidence, and in which the Church finds an emphatic injunction, that whoever preaches to her differently from what she has received must be anathema.(2)

5. Faustus tells us that he has good grounds for concluding that these Scriptures are unworthy of credit. And yet he speaks of not using arguments. But the argument too shall be refuted. The end of the whole argument is to bring the soul to believe that the reason of its misery in this world is, that it is the means of preventing God from being deprived of His kingdom, and that God's substance and nature is so exposed to change, corruption, injury, and contamination, that part of it is incurably defiled, and is consigned by Him self to eternal punishment in the mass of darkness, though, when it was in harmless union with Himself, and guilty of no crime, He knowingly sent it where it was to suffer defilement. This is the end of all your arguments and fictions; and would that there were an end of them as regards your heart and your lips, that you might sometime desist from believing and uttering those execrable blasphemies! But, says Faustus, I prove from the writings themselves that they cannot be in all points trustworthy, for they contradict one another. Why not say, then, that they are wholly untrustworthy, if their testimony is inconsistent and self-contradictory? But, says Faustus, I say what I think to be in accordance with truth. With what truth? The truth is only your own fiction, which begins with God's battle, goes on to His contamination, and ends with His damnation. No one, says Faustus, believes writings which contradict themselves. But if you think they do this, it is because you do not understand them; for your ignorance has been manifested in regard to the passages you have quoted in support of your opinion, and the same will appear in regard to any quotations you may still make. So there is no reason for our not believing these writings, supported as they are by such weighty testimony; and this is itself the best reason for pronouncing accursed those whose preaching differs from what is there written.

BOOK XXIX.

FAUSTUS SEEKS TO JUSTIFY THE DOCETISM OF THE MANICHAEANS. AUGUSTIN INSISTS THAT THERE IS NOTHING DISGRACEFUL IN BEING BORN.

1. FAUSTUS said: If Christ was visible, and suffered without having been born, this was sorcery. This argument of yours may be turned against you, by replying that it was sorcery if He was conceived or brought forth without being begotten. It is not in accordance with the law of nature that a virgin should bring forth, and still less that she should still be a virgin after bringing forth. Why, then, do you refuse to admit that Christ, in a preternatural manner, suffered without submitting to the condition of birth? Believe me: in substance, both our beliefs are contrary to nature; but our belief is decent, and yours is not. We give an explanation of Christ's passion which is at least probable, while the only explanation you give of His birth is false. In fine, we hold that He suffered in appearance, and did not really die; you believe in an actual birth, and conception in the womb. If it is not so, you have only to acknowledge that the birth too was a delusion, and our whole dispute will be at an end. As to what you frequently allege, that Christ could not have appeared or spoken to men without having been born, it is absurd; for, as our teachers have shown, angels have often appeared and spoken to men.

2. AUGUSTIN replied: We do not say that to die without having been born is sorcery; for, as we have said already, this happened in the case of Adam. But, though it had never happened, who will venture to say that Christ could not, if He had so pleased, have come without taking His body from a virgin, and yet appearing in a true booty to redeem us by a true death? However, it was better that He should be, as He actually was, born of a virgin, and, by His condescension, do honor to both sexes, for whose deliverance He was to die, by taking a man's body born of a woman. In this He testifies emphatically against you, and refutes your doctrine, which makes the sexes the work of the devil. What we call sorcery in your doctrine is your making Christ's passion and death to have been only in appearance, so that, by a spectral illusion, He seemed to die when He did not. Hence you must also make His resurrection spectral and illusory and false; for if there was no true death, there could not be a real resurrection. Hence also the marks which He showed to His doubting disciples must have been false; and Thomas was not assured by truth, but cheated by a lie, when he exclaimed, "My Lord, and my God."(1) And yet you would have us believe that your tongue utters truth, though Christ's whole body was a falsehood. Our argument against you is, that the Christ you make is such that you cannot be His true disciples unless you too practise deceit. The fact that Christ's body was the only one born of a virgin does not prove that there was sorcery in His birth, any more than there is sorcery in its being the only body to rise again on the third day, never to die any more. Will you say that there was sorcery in all the Lord's miracles because they were unusual? They really happened, and their appearance, as seen by men, was true, and not an illusion; and when they are said to be contrary to nature, it is not that they oppose nature, but that they transcend the method of nature to which we are accustomed. May God keep the minds of His people who are still babes in Christ from being influenced by Faustus, when he recommends as a duty that we should acknowledge Christ's birth to have been illusory and not real, that so we may end our dispute Nay, verily, rather let us continue to contend for the truth against them, than agree with them in falsehood.

3. But if we are to end the controversy by saying this, why do not our opponents

themselves say it? While they assert the death of Christ to have been not real but feigned, why do they make out that He had no birth at all, not even of the same kind as His death? If they had so much regard for the authority of the evangelist as to oblige them to admit that Christ suffered, at least in appearance, it is the same authority which testifies to His birth. Two evangelists, indeed, give the story of the birth;(2) but in all we read of Jesus having a mother.(3) Perhaps Faustus was unwilling to make the birth an illusion, because the difference of the genealogies given in Matthew and Luke causes an apparent discrepancy. But, supposing a man ignorant, there are many things also relating to the passion of Christ in which he will think the evangelists disagree; suppose him instructed, he finds entire agreement. Can it be right to feign death, and wrong to feign birth? And yet Faustus will have us acknowledge the birth to be feigned, in order to put an end to the dispute. It will appear presently in our reply to another objection what we think to be the reason why Faustus will not admit of any birth, even a feigned one.

4. We deny that there is anything disgraceful in the bodies of saints. Some members, indeed, are called uncomely, because they have not so pleasing an appearance as those constantly in view.(4) But attend to what the apostle says, when from the unity and harmony of the body he enjoins charity on the Church: "Much more those members of the body, which seem to be feeble, are necessary: and those members of the body, which we think to be less honorable, upon these we bestow more abundant honor; and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness. For our comely parts have no need: but God hath tempered the body together, having given more abundant honor to that part which lacked: that there should be no schism in the body."(5) The licentious and intemperate use of those members is disgraceful, but not the members themselves; for they are preserved in purity not only by the unmarried, but also by wedded fathers and mothers of holy life, in whose case the natural appetite, as serving not lust, but an intelligent purpose in the production of children, is in no way disgraceful. Still more, in the holy Virgin Mary, who by faith conceived the body of Christ, there was nothing disgraceful in the members which served not for a common natural conception, but for a miraculous birth. In order that we might conceive Christ in sincere hearts, and, as it were, produce Him in confession, it was meet that His body should come from the substance of His mother without injury to her bodily purity. We cannot suppose that the mother of Christ suffered loss by His birth, or that the gift of productiveness displaced the grace of virginity. If these occurrences, which were real and no illusion, are new and strange, and contrary to the common course of nature, the reason is, that they are great, and amazing, and divine; and all the more on this account are they true, and firm, and sure. Angels, says Faustus, appeared and spoke without having been born. As if we held that Christ could not have appeared or spoken without having been born of a woman! He could, but He chose not; and what He chose was best. And that He chose to do what He did is plain, because He acted, not like your god, from necessity, but voluntarily. That He was born we know, because we put faith not in a heretic, but in Christ's gospel.

BOOK XXX.

FAUSTUS REPELS THE INSINUATION THAT THE PROPHECY OF PAUL WITH REFERENCE TO THOSE THAT SHOULD FORBID TO MARRY, ABSTAIN FROM MEATS, ETC., APPLIES TO THE MANICHAEANS MORE THAN TO THE CATHOLIC ASCETICS, WHO ARE HELD IN THE HIGHEST ESTEEM IN THE CHURCH. AUGUSTIN JUSTIFIES THIS APPLICATION OF THE PROPHECY, AND SHOWS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MANICHAEAN AND CHRISTIAN ASCETICISM.

1. FAUSTUS said: You apply to us the words of Paul: "Some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to lying spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their consciences seared as with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, abstaining from meats, which God has created to be received with thanksgiving by believers."(1) I refuse to admit that the apostle said this, unless you first acknowledge that Moses and the prophets taught doctrines of devils, and were the interpreters of a lying and malignant spirit; since they enjoin with great emphasis abstinence from swine's flesh and other meats, which they call unclean. This case must first be settled; and you must consider long and carefully how their teaching is to be viewed: whether they said these things from God, or from the devil. As regards these matters, either Moses and the prophets must be condemned along with us; or we must be acquitted along with them. You are unjust in condemning us, as you do now, as followers of the doctrine of devils, because we require the priestly class to abstain from animal food; for we limit the prohibition to the priesthood, while you hold that your prophets, and Moses himself, who forbade all classes of men to eat the flesh of swine, and hares, and conies, besides all varieties of cuttle-fish, and all fish wanting scales, said this not in a lying spirit, nor in the doctrine of devils, but from God, and in the Holy Spirit. Even supposing, then, that Paul said these words, you can convince me only by condemning Moses and the prophets; and so, though you will not do it for reason or truth, you will contradict Moses for the sake of your belly.

2. Besides, you have in your Book of Daniel the account of the three youths, which you will find it difficult to reconcile with the opinion that to abstain from meats is the doctrine of devils. For we are told that they abstained not only from what the law forbade, but even from what it allowed;(2) and you are wont to praise them, and count them as martyrs; though they too followed the doctrine of devils, if this is to be taken as the apostle's opinion. And Daniel himself declares that he fasted for three weeks, not eating flesh or drinking wine, while he prayed for his people.(3) How is it that he boasts of this doctrine of devils, and glories in the falsehood of a lying spirit?

3. Again, what are we to think of you, or of the better class of Christians among you, some of whom abstain from swine's flesh, some from the flesh of quadrupeds, and some from all animal food, while-all the Church admires them for it, and regards them with profound veneration, as only not gods? You obstinately refuse to consider that if the words quoted from the apostle are true and genuine, these people too are misled by doctrines of devils. And there is another observance which no one will venture to explain away or to deny, for it is known to all, and is practised yearly with particular attention in the congregation of Catholics all over the world--I mean the fast of forty days, in the due observance of which a man must abstain from all the things which,

according to this verse, were created by God that we might receive them, while at the same time he calls this abstinence a doctrine of devils. So, my dear friends, shall we say that you too, during this fast, while celebrating the mysteries of Christ's passion, live after the manner of devils, and are deluded by a seducing spirit, and speak lies in hypocrisy, and have your conscience seared with a hot iron? If this does not apply to you, neither does it apply to us. What is to be thought of this verse, or its author; or to whom does it apply, since it agrees neither with the traditions of the Old Testament, nor with the institutions of the New? As regards the New Testament, the proof is from your own practice; and though the Old requires abstinence only from certain things, still it requires abstinence. On the other hand, this opinion of yours makes all abstinence from animal food a doctrine of devils. If this is your belief, once more I say it, you must condemn Moses, and reject the prophets, and pass the same sentence on yourselves; for, as they always abstained from certain kinds of food, so you sometimes abstain from all food.

4. But if you think that in making a distinction in food, Moses and the prophets established a divine ordinance, and not a doctrine of devils; if Daniel in the Holy Spirit observed a fast of three weeks; if the youths Ananias, Azarias, and Mishael, under divine guidance, chose to live on cabbage or pulse; if, again, those among you who abstain, do it not at the instigation of devils; if your abstinence from wine and flesh for forty days is not superstitious, but by divine command,- consider, I beseech you, if it is not perfect madness to suppose these words to be Paul's that abstinence from food and forbidding to marry are doctrines of devils. Paul cannot have said that to dedicate virgins to Christ is a doctrine of devils. But you read the words, and inconsiderately, as usual, apply them to us, without seeing that this stamps your virgins too as led away by the doctrine of devils, and that you are the functionaries of the devils in your constant endeavors to induce virgins to make this profession, so that in all your churches the virgins nearly outnumber the married women. Why do you still adhere to such practises? Why do you ensnare wretched young women, if it is the will of devils, and not of Christ, that they fulfill? But, first of all, I wish to know if making virgins is, in all cases, the doctrine of devils, or only the prohibition of marriage. If it is the prohibition, it does not apply to us, for we too hold it equally foolish to prevent one who wishes, as it is criminal and impious to force one who has some reluctance. But if you say that to encourage the proposal, and not to resist such a desire, is all the doctrine of devils, to say nothing of the consequence as regards you, the apostle himself will be thus brought into danger, if he must be considered as having introduced the doctrines of devils into Iconium, when Thecla, after having been betrothed, was by his discourse inflamed with the desire of perpetual virginity.(1) And what shall we say of Jesus, the Master Himself, and the source of all sanctity, who is the unwedded spouse of the virgins who make this profession, and who, when specifying in the Gospel three kinds of eunuchs, natural, artificial, and voluntary, gives the palm to those who have "made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven,"(2) meaning the youths of both sexes who have extirpated from their hearts the desire of marriage, and who in the Church act as eunuchs of the King's palace? Is this also the doctrine of devils? Are those words, too, spoken in a seducing spirit? And if Paul and Christ are proved to be priests of devils, is not their spirit the same that speaks in God? I do not mention the other apostles of our Lord, Peter, Andrew, Thomas, and the example of celibacy, the blessed John, who in various ways commended to young men and maidens the excellence of this profession, leaving

to us, and to you too, the form for making virgins. I do not mention them, because you do not admit them into the canon, and so you will not scruple impiously to impute to them doctrines of devils. But will you say the same of Christ, or of the Apostle Paul, who, we know, everywhere expressed the same preference for unmarried women to the married, and gave an example of it in the case of the saintly Thecla? But if the doctrine preached by Paul to Thecla, and which the other apostles also preached, was not the doctrine of devils, how can we believe that Paul left on record his opinion, that the very exhortation to sanctity is the injunction and the doctrine of devils? To make virgins simply by exhortation, without forbidding to marry, is not peculiar to you. That is our principle too; and he must be not only a fool, but a madman, who thinks that a private law can forbid what the public law allows. As regards marriage, therefore, we too encourage virgins to remain as they are when they are willing to do so; we do not make them virgins against their will. For we know the force of will and of natural appetite when opposed by public law; much more when the law is only private, and every one is at liberty to disobey it. If, then, it is no crime to make virgins in this manner, we are guiltless as well as you. If it is wrong to make virgins in any way, you are guilty as well as we. So that what you mean, or intend, by quoting this verse against us, it is impossible to say.

5. AUGUSTIN replied: Listen, and you shall hear what we mean and intend by quoting this verse against you, since you say that you do not know. It is not that you abstain from animal food; for, as you observe, our ancient fathers abstained from some kinds of food, not, however, as condemning them, but with a typical meaning, which you do not understand, and of which I have said already in this work all that appeared necessary. Besides, Christians, not heretics, but Catholics, in order to subdue the body, that the soul may be more humbled in prayer, abstain not only from animal food, but also from some vegetable productions, without, however, believing them to be unclean. A few do this always; and at certain seasons or days, as in Lent, almost all, more or less, according to the choice or ability of individuals. You, on the other hand, deny that the creature is good, and call it unclean, saying that animals are made by the devil of the worst impurities in the substance of evil and so you reject them with horror, as being the most cruel and loathsome places of confinement of your god. You, as a concession, allow your followers, as distinct from the priests, to eat animal food; as the apostle allows, in certain cases, not marriage in the general sense, but the indulgence of passion m marriage.(1) It is only sin which is thus made allowance for. This is the feeling you have toward all animal food; you have learned it from your heresy, and you teach it to your followers. You make allowance for your followers, because, as I said before, they supply you with necessaries; but you grant them indulgence without saying that it is not sinful. For yourselves, you shun contact with this evil and impurity; and hence our reason for quoting this verse against you is found in the words of the apostle which follow those with which you end the quotation. Perhaps it was for this reason that you left out the words, and then say that you do not know what we mean or intend by the quotation; for it suited you better to omit the account of our intention than to express it. For, after speaking of abstaining from meats, which God has created to be received with thanksgiving by believers, the apostle goes on, "And by them who know the truth; for every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer."(2) This you deny; for

your idea, and motive, and belief in abstaining from such food is, that they are not typically, but naturally, evil and impure. In this assuredly you blaspheme the Creator; and in this is the doctrine of devils. You need not be surprised that, so long before the event, this prediction regarding you was made by the Holy Spirit.

6. So, again, if your exhortations to virginity resembled the teaching of the apostle, "He who giveth in marriage doeth well, and he who giveth not in marriage doeth better;"(3) if you taught that marriage is good, and virginity better, as the Church teaches which is truly Christ's Church, you would not have been described in the Spirit's prediction as forbidding to marry. What a man forbids he makes evil; but a good thing may be placed second to a better thing without being forbidden. Moreover, the only honorable kind of marriage, or marriage entered into for its proper and legitimate purpose, is precisely that you hate most. So, though you may not forbid sexual intercourse, you forbid marriage; for the peculiarity of marriage is, that it is not merely for the gratification of passion, but, as is written in the contract, for the procreation of children. And, though you allow many of your followers to retain their connection with you in spite of their refusal, or their inability, to obey you, you cannot deny that you make the prohibition. The prohibition is part of your false doctrine, while the toleration is only for the interests of the society. And here we see the reason, which I have delayed till now to mention, for your making not the birth but only the death of Christ reigned and illusory. Death being the separation of the soul, that is, of the nature of your god, from the body which belongs to his enemies, for it is the work of the devil, you uphold and approve of it; and thus, according to your creed, it was meet that Christ, though He did not die, should commend death by appearing to die. In birth, again, you believe your god to be bound instead of released; and so you will not allow that Christ was born even in this illusory fashion. You would have thought better of Mary had she ceased to be a virgin without being a mother, than as being a mother without ceasing to be a virgin. You see, then, that there is a great difference between exhorting to virginity as the better of two good things, and forbidding to marry by denouncing the true purpose of marriage; between abstaining from food as a symbolic observance, or for the mortification of the body, and abstaining from food which God has created for the reason that God did not create it. In one case, we have the doctrine of the prophets and apostles; in the other, the doctrine of lying devils.

BOOK XXXI.

THE SCRIPTURE PASSAGE: "TO THE PURE ALL THINGS ARE PURE, BUT TO THE IMPURE AND DEFILED IS NOTHING PURE; BUT EVEN THEIR MIND AND CONSCIENCE ARE DEFILED," IS DISCUSSED FROM BOTH THE MANICHAEAN AND THE CATHOLIC POINTS OF VIEW, FAUSTUS OBJECTING TO ITS APPLICATION TO HIS PARTY AND AUGUSTIN INSISTING ON ITS APPLICATION.

1. FAUSTUS said: "To the pure all things are pure. But to the impure and defiled is nothing pure; but even their mind and conscience are defiled." As regards this verse, too, it is very doubtful whether, for your own sake, you should believe it to have been written by Paul. For it would follow that Moses and the prophets were not only influenced by devils in making so much in their laws of the distinctions in food, but also that they themselves were impure and defiled in their mind and conscience, so that the following words also might properly be applied to them: "They profess to know God, but in works deny Him."(1) This is applicable to no one more than to Moses and the prophets, who are known to have lived very differently from what was becoming in men knowing God. Up to this time I have thought only of adulteries and frauds and murders as defiling the conscience of Moses and the prophets; but now, from what this verse says, it is plain that they were also defiled, because they looked upon something as defiled. How, then, can you persist in thinking that the vision of the divine majesty can have been bestowed on such men, when it is written that only the pure in heart can see God? Even supposing that they had been pure from unlawful crimes, this superstitious abstinence from certain kinds of food, if it defiles the mind, is enough to debar them from the sight of deity. Gone for ever, too, is the boast of Daniel, and of the three youths, who, till now that we are told that nothing is unclean, have been regarded among the Jews as persons of great purity and excellence of character, because, in observance of hereditary customs, they carefully avoided defiling themselves with Gentile food, especially that of sacrifices.(2) Now it appears that they were defiled in mind and conscience most of all when they were closing their mouth against blood and idol-feasts.

2. But perhaps their ignorance may excuse them; for, as this Christian doctrine of all things being pure to the pure had not then appeared, they may have thought some things impure. But there can be no excuse for you in the face of Paul's announcement, that there is nothing which is not pure, and that abstinence from certain food is the doctrine of devils, and that those who think anything defiled are polluted in their mind, if you not only abstain, as we have said, but make a merit of it, and believe that you become more acceptable to Christ in proportion as you are more abstemious, or, according to this new doctrine, as your minds are defiled and your conscience polluted. It should also be observed that, while there are three religions in the world which, though in a very different manner, appoint chastity and abstinence as the means of purification of the mind, the religions, namely, of the Jews, the Gentiles, and the Christians, the opinion that everything is pure cannot have come from any one of the three. It is certainly not from Judaism, nor from Paganism, which also makes a distinction of food; the only difference being, that the Hebrew classification of animals does not harmonize with the Pagan. Then as to the Christian faith, if you think it peculiar to Christianity to consider nothing defiled, you must first of all confess that there are no Christians among you. For things offered to idols, and what dies of itself, to mention nothing else, are regarded by you all as great defilement. If, again, this is a Christian practice, on your part, the doctrine which is opposed to all abstinence from impurities cannot be traced to Christianity either. How, then, could Paul have said what is not in keeping with any religion? In fact, when the apostle from a Jew became a Christian, it was a change of customs more than of religion. As for the writer of this verse, there

seems to be no religion which favors his opinion.

3. Be sure, then, whenever you discover anything else in Scripture to assail our faith with, to see, in the first place, that it is not against you, before you commence your attack on us. For instance, there is the passage you continually quote about Peter, that he once saw a vessel let down from heaven in which were all kinds of animals and serpents, and that, when he was surprised and astonished, a voice was heard, saying to him, Peter, kill and eat whatsoever thou seest in the vessel, and that he replied, Lord I will not touch what is common or unclean. On this the voice spoke again, What I have cleansed, call not unclean.(1) This, indeed, seems to have an allegorical meaning, and not to refer to the absence of distinction in food. But as you choose to give it this meaning, you are bound to feed upon all wild animals, and scorpions, and snakes, and reptiles in general, in compliance with this vision of Peter's. In this way, you will show that you are really obedient to the voice which Peter is said to have heard. But you must never forget that you at the same time condemn Moses and the prophets, who considered many things polluted which, according to this utterance, God has sanctified.

4. AUGUSTIN replied: When the apostle says, "To the pure all things are pure," he refers to the natures which God had created,--as it is written by Moses in Genesis, "And God made all things; and behold they were very good,"(2)--not to the typical meanings, according to which God, by the same Moses, distinguished the clean from the unclean. Of this we have already spoken at length more than once, and need not dwell on it here. It is clear that the apostle called those impure who, after the revelation of the New Testament, still advocated the observance of the shadows of things to come, as if without them the Gentiles could not obtain the salvation which is in Christ, because in this they were carnally minded; and he called them unbelieving, because they did not distinguish between the time of the law and the time of grace. To them, he says, nothing is pure, because they made an erroneous and sinful use both of what they received and of what they rejected; which is true of all unbelievers, but especially of you Manichaeans, for to you nothing whatever is pure. For, although you take great care to keep the food which you use separate from the contamination of flesh, still it is not pure to you, for the only creator of it you allow is the devil. And you hold, that, by eating it, you release your god, who suffers confinement and pollution in it. One would think you might consider yourselves pure, since your stomach is the proper place for purifying your god. But even your own bodies, in your opinion, are of the nature and handiwork of the race of darkness; while your souls are still affected by the pollution of your bodies. What, then, is pure to you? Not the things you eat; not the receptacle of your food; not yourselves, by whom it is purified. Thus you see against whom the words of the apostle are directed; he expresses himself so as to include all who are impure and unbelieving, but first and chiefly to condemn you. To the pure, therefore, all things are pure, in the nature in which they were created; but to the ancient Jewish people all things were not pure in their typical significance; and, as regards bodily health, or the customs of society, all things are not suitable to us. But when things are in their proper places, and the order of nature is preserved, to the pure all things are pure; but to the impure and unbelieving, among whom you stand first, nothing is pure. You might make a wholesome application to yourselves of the following words of the apostle, if you desired a cure for your seared consciences. The words are: "Their very mind and conscience are defiled."

BOOK XXXII.

FAUSTUS FAILS TO UNDERSTAND WHY HE SHOULD BE REQUIRED EITHER TO ACCEPT OR REJECT THE NEW TESTAMENT AS A WHOLE, WHILE THE CATHOLICS ACCEPT OR REJECT THE VARIOUS PARTS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AT PLEASURE. AUGUSTIN DENIES THAT THE CATHOLICS TREAT THE OLD TESTAMENT ARBITRARILY, AND EXPLAINS THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS IT.

1. FAUSTUS said: You say, that if we believe the Gospel, we must believe everything that is written in it. Why, then, since you believe the Old Testament, do you not believe all that is found in any part of it? Instead of that, you cull out only the prophecies telling of a future King of the Jews, for you suppose this to be Jesus, along with a few precepts of common morality, such as, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not commit adultery; and all the rest you pass over, thinking of the other things as Paul thought of the things which he held to be dung.(1) Why, then, should it seem strange or singular in me that I select from the New Testament whatever is purest, and helpful for my salvation, while I set aside the interpolations of your predecessors, which impair its dignity and grace?

2. If there are parts of the Testament of the Father which we are not bound to observe (for you attribute the Jewish law to the Father, and it is well known that many things in it shock you, and make you ashamed, so that in heart you no longer regard it as free from corruption, though, as you believe, the Father Himself partly wrote it for you with His own finger while part was written by Moses, who was faithful and trustworthy), the Testament of the Son must be equally liable to corruption, and may equally well contain objectionable things; especially as it is allowed not to have been written by the Son Himself, nor by His apostles, but long after, by some unknown men, who, lest they should be suspected of writing of things they knew nothing of, gave to their books the names of the apostles, or of those who were thought to have followed the apostles, declaring the contents to be according to these originals. In this, I think, they do grievous wrong to the disciples of Christ, by quoting their authority for the discordant and contradictory statements in these writings, saying that it was according to them that they wrote the Gospels, which are so full of errors and discrepancies, both in facts and in opinions, that they can be harmonized neither with themselves nor with one another. This is nothing else than to slander good men, and to bring the charge of dissension on the brotherhood of the disciples. In reading the Gospels, the clear intention of our heart perceives the errors, and, to avoid all injustice, we accept whatever is useful, in the way of building up our faith, and promoting the glory of the Lord Christ, and of the Almighty God, His Father, while we reject the rest as unbecoming the majesty of God and Christ, and inconsistent with our belief.

3. To return to what I said of your not accepting everything in the Old Testament. You do not admit carnal circumcision, though that is what is written;(1) nor resting from all occupation on the Sabbath, though that is enjoined;(2) and instead of propitiating God, as Moses recommends, by offerings and sacrifices, you cast these things aside as utterly out of keeping with Christian worship, and as having nothing at all to recommend them. In some cases, however, you make a division, and while you accept one part, you reject the other. Thus, in the Passover, which is also the annual feast of the Old Testament, while it is written that in this observance you must slay a lamb to be eaten in the evening, and that you must abstain from leaven for seven days, and be content with unleavened bread and bitter herbs,(3) you accept the feast, but pay no attention to the rules for its observance. It is the same with the feast of Pentecost, or seven weeks, and the accompaniment of a certain kind and number of sacrifices which Moses enjoins:(4) you observe the feast, but you condemn the propitiatory rites, which are part of it, because they are not in harmony with Christianity. As regards the command to abstain from Gentile food, you are zealous believers in the uncleanness of things offered to idols, and of what has died of itself; but you are not so ready to believe the prohibition of swine's flesh, and hares, and conies, and mullets, and cuttle-fish, and all the fish that you have a relish for, although Moses pronounces them all unclean.

4. I do not suppose. that you will consent, or even listen, to such things as that a father-in-law should lie with his daughter-in-law, as Judah did; or a father with his daughters, like Lot; or prophets with harlots, like Hosea; or that a husband should sell his wife for a night to her lover, like Abraham; or that a man should marry two sisters, like Jacob; or that the rulers of the people and the men you consider as most inspired should keep their mistresses by hundreds and thousands; or, according to the provision made in Deuteronomy about wives, that the wife of one brother, if he dies without children, should marry the surviving brother, and that he should raise up seed from her instead of his brother; and that if the man refuses to do this, the fair plaintiff should bring her case before the elders, that the brother may be called and admonished to perform this religious duty; and that, if he persists in his refusal, he must not go unpunished, but the woman must loose his shoe from his right foot, and strike him in the face, and send him away, spat upon and accursed, to perpetuate the reproach in his family.(5) These, and such as these, are the examples and precepts of the Old Testament. If they are good, why do you not practise them? If they are bad, why do you not condemn the Old Testament, in which they are found? But if you think that these are spurious interpolations, that is precisely what we think of the New Testament. You have no right to claim from us an acknowledgment for the New Testament which you yourselves do not make for the Old.

5. Since you hold to the divine authorship of the Old as well as of the New Testament, it would surely be more consistent and more becoming, as you do not obey its precepts, to confess that it has been corrupted by improper additions, than to treat it so contemptuously, if it is genuine and uncorrupted. Accordingly, my explanation of your neglect of the requirements of the Old Testament has always been, and still is, that you are either wise enough to reject them as spurious, or that you have the boldness and irreverence to disregard them if they are true. At any rate, when you would oblige me to believe everything contained in the documents of the New Testament because I receive the Testament itself, you should consider that, though you profess to receive the Old

Testament, you in your heart disbelieve many things in it. Thus, you do not admit as true or authoritative the declaration of the Old Testament, that every one that hangeth on a tree is accursed,(1) for this would apply to Jesus; or that every man is accursed who does not raise up seed in Israel,(2) for that would include all of both sexes devoted to God; or that whoever is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin will be cut off from among his people,(3) for that would apply to all Christians; or that whoever breaks the Sabbath must be stoned to death;(4) or that no mercy should be shown to the man who breaks a single precept of the Old Testament. If you really believe these things as certainly enjoined by God, you would, in the time of Christ, have been the first to assail Him, and you would now have no quarrel with the Jews, who, in persecuting Christ with heart and soul, acted in obedience to their own God.

6. I am aware that instead of boldly pronouncing these passages spurious, you make out that these things were required of the Jews till the coming of Jesus; and that now that He is come, according, as you say, to the predictions of this Old Testament, He Himself teaches what we should receive, and what we should set aside as obsolete. Whether the prophets predicted the coming of Jesus we shall see presently. Meanwhile, I need say no more than that if Jesus, after being predicted in the Old Testament, now subjects it to this sweeping criticism, and teaches us to receive a few things and to throw over many things, in the same way the Paraclete who is promised in the New Testament teaches us what part of it to receive, and what to reject; as Jesus Himself says in the Gospel, when promising the Paraclete, "He shall guide you into all truth, and shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance."(5) So then, with the help of the Paraclete, we may take the same liberties with the New Testament as Jesus enables you to take with the Old, unless you suppose that the Testament of the Son is of greater value than that of the Father, if it is really the Father's; so that while many parts of the one are to be condemned, the other must be exempted from all disapproval; and that, too, when we know, as I said before, that it was not written by Christ or by His apostles.

7. Hence, as you receive nothing in the Old Testament except the prophecies and the common precepts of practical morality, which we quoted above, while you set aside circumcision, and sacrifices, and the Sabbath and its observance, and the feast of unleavened bread, why should not we receive nothing in the New Testament but what we find said in honor and praise of the majesty of the Son, either by Himself or by His apostles, with the proviso, in the case of the apostles, that it was said by them after reaching perfection, and when no longer in unbelief; while we take no notice of the rest, which, if said at the time, was the utterance of ignorance or inexperience, or, if not, was added by crafty opponents with a malicious intention, or was stated by the writers without due consideration, and so handed down as authentic? Take as examples, the shameful birth of Jesus from a woman, His being circumcised like the Jews, His offering sacrifice like the Gentiles, His being baptized in a humiliating manner, His being led about by the devil in the wilderness, and His being tempted by him in the most distressing way. With these exceptions, besides whatever has been inserted under the pretence of being a quotation from the Old Testament, we believe the whole, especially the mystic nailing to the cross, emblematic of the wounds of the soul in its passion; as also the sound moral precepts of Jesus, and His parables, and the whole of His immortal discourse, which sets forth especially the distinction of the two natures, and

therefore must undoubtedly be His. There is, then, no reason for your thinking it obligatory in me to believe all the contents of the Gospels; for you, as has been proved, take so dainty a sip from the Old Testament, that you hardly, so to speak, wet your lips with it.

8. AUGUSTIN replied: We give to the whole Old Testament Scriptures their due praise as true and divine; you impugn the Scriptures of the New Testament as having been tampered with and corrupted. Those things in the Old Testament which we do not observe we hold to have been suitable appointments for the time and the people of that dispensation, besides being symbolical to us of truths in which they have still a spiritual use, though the outward observance is abolished; and this opinion is proved to be the doctrine of the apostolic writings. You, on the other hand, find fault with everything in the New Testament which you do not receive, and assert that these passages were not spoken or written by Christ or His apostles. In these respects there is a manifest difference between us. When, therefore, you are asked why you do not receive all the contents of the New Testament, but, while you approve of some things, reject a great many in the very same books as false and spurious interpolations, you must not pretend to imitate us in the distinction which we make, reverently and in faith, but must give account of your own presumption.

9. If we are asked why we do not worship God as the Hebrew fathers of the Old Testament worshipped Him, we reply that God has taught us differently by the New Testament fathers, and yet in no opposition to the Old Testament, but as that Testament itself predicted. For it is thus foretold by the prophet: "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt."(9) Thus it was foretold that that covenant would not continue, but that there would be a new one. And to the objection that we do not belong to the house of Israel or to the house of Judah, we answer according to the teaching of the apostle, who calls Christ the seed of Abraham, and says to us, as belonging to Christ's body, "Therefore ye are Abraham's seed."(2) Again, if we are asked why we regard that Testament as authoritative when we do not observe its ordinances, we find the answer to this also in the apostolic writings; for the apostle says, "Let no man judge you in meat or drink, or in respect of a holiday, or a new moon, or of Sabbaths, which are a shadow of things to come."(3) Here we learn both that we ought to read of these observances, and ackowledge them to be of divine institution, in order to preserve the memory of the prophecy, for they were shadows of things to come; and also that we need pay no regard to those who would judge us for not continuing the outward observance; as the apostle says elsewhere to the same purpose, "These things happened to them for an example; and they are written for our admonition, on whom the end of the ages are come."(4) So, when we read anything in the books of the Old Testament which we are not required to observe in the New Testament, or which is even forbidden, instead of finding fault with it, we should ask what it means; for the very discontinuance of the observance proves it to be, not condemned, but fulfilled. On this head we have already spoken repeatedly.

10. To take, for example, this requirement on which Faustus ignorantly grounds his charge against the Old Testament, that a man should take his brother's wife to raise up

seed for his brother, to be called by his name; what does this prefigure, but that every preacher of the gospel should so labor in the Church as to raise up seed to his deceased brother, that is, Christ, who died for us, and that this seed should bear His name? Moreover, the apostle fulfills this requirement not now in the typical observance, but in the spiritual reality, when he reproves those of whom he says that he had begotten them in Christ Jesus by the gospel,(5) and points out to them their error in wishing to be of Paul. "Was Paul," he says, "crucified for you? Or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?"(6) As if he should say, I have begotten you for my deceased brother; your name is Christian, not Paulian. Then, too, whoever refuses the ministry of the gospel when chosen by the Church, justly deserves the contempt of the Church. So we see that the spitting in the face is accompanied with a sign of reproach in loosing a shoe from one foot, to exclude the man from the company of those to whom the apostle says, "Let your feet be shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace;"(9) and of whom the prophet thus speaks "How beautiful are the feet of them who publish peace, who bring good tidings of good!"(8) The man who holds the faith of the gospel so as both to profit himself and to be ready when called to serve the Church, is properly represented as shod on both feet. But the man who thinks it enough to secure his own safety by believing, and shirks the duty of benefiting others, has the reproach of being unshod, not in type, but in reality.

11. Faustus needlessly objects to our observance of the passover, taunting us with differing from the Jewish observance: for in the gospel we have the true Lamb, not in shadow, but in substance; and instead of prefiguring the death, we commemorate it daily, and especially in the yearly festival. Thus also the day of our paschal feast does not correspond with the Jewish observance, for we take in the Lord's day, on which Christ rose. And as to the feast of unleavened bread, all Christians sound in the faith keep it, not in the leaven of the old life, that is, of wickedness, but in the truth and sincerity of the faith; not for seven days, but always, as was typified by the number seven, for days are always counted by sevens. And if this observance is somewhat difficult in this world since the way which leads to life is strait and narrow,(2) the future reward is sure; and this difficulty is typified in the bitter herbs, which are a little distasteful.

12. The Pentecost, too, we observe, that is, the fiftieth day from the passion and resurrection of the Lord, for on that day He sent to us the Holy Paraclete whom He had promised; as was prefigured in the Jewish passover, for on the fiftieth day after the slaying of the lamb, Moses on the mount received the law written with the finger of God.(3) If you read the Gospel, you will see that the Spirit is there called the finger of God.(4) Remarkable events which happened on certain days are annually commemorated in the Church, that the recurrence of this festival may preserve the recollection of things so important and salutary. If you ask, then, why we keep the passover, it is because Christ was then sacrificed for us. If you ask why we do not retain the Jewish ceremonies, it is because they prefigured future realities which we commemorate as past; and the difference between the future and the past is seen in the different words we use for them. Of this we have already said enough.

13. Again, if you ask why, of all the kinds of food prohibited in the former typical dispensation, we abstain only from food offered to idols and from what dies of itself, you

shall hear, if for once you will prefer the truth to idle calumnies. The reason why it is not expedient for a Christian to eat food offered to idols is given by the apostle: "I would not," he says, "that ye should have fellowship with demons." Not that he finds fault with sacrifice itself, as offered by the fathers to typify the blood of the sacrifice with which Christ has redeemed us. For he first says, "The things which the Gentiles offer, they offer to demons, and not to God;" and then adds these words: "I would not that ye should have fellowship with demons."(5) If the uncleanness were in the nature of sacrificial flesh. it would necessarily pollute even when eaten in ignorance. But the reason for not partaking knowingly is not in the nature of the food, but, for conscience sake, not to seem to have fellowship with demons. As regards what dies of itself, I suppose the reason why such food was prohibited was that the flesh of animals which have died of themselves is diseased, and is not likely to be wholesome, which is the chief thing in food. The observance of pouring out the blood which was enjoined in ancient times upon Noah himself after the deluge,(6) the meaning of which we have already explained, is thought by many to be what is meant in the Acts of the Apostles, where we read that the Gentiles were required to abstain from fornication, and from things sacrificed, and from blood,(7) that is, from flesh of which the blood has not been poured out. Others give a different meaning to the words, and think that to abstain from blood means not to be polluted with the crime of murder. It would take too long to settle this question, and it is not necessary. For, allowing that the apostles did on that occasion require Christians to abstain from the blood of animals, and not to eat of things strangled, they seem to me to have consulted the time in choosing an easy observance that could not be burdensome to any one, and which the Gentiles might have in common with the Israelities, for the sake of the Corner-stone, who makes both one in Himself;(8) while at the same time they would be reminded how the Church of all nations was prefigured by the ark of Noah, when God gave this command,- -a type which began to be fulfilled in the time of the apostles by the accession of the Gentiles to the faith. But since the close of that period during which the two walls of the circumcision and the uncircumcision, although united in the Corner-stone, still retained some distinctive peculiarities, and now that the Church has become so entirely Gentile that none who are Outwardly Israelites are to be found in it, no Christian feels bound to abstain from thrushes or small birds because their blood has not been poured out, or from hares because they are killed by a stroke on the neck without shedding their blood. Any who still are afraid to touch these things are laughed at by the rest: so general is the conviction of the truth, that "not what entereth into the mouth defileth you, but what cometh out of it;"(9) that evil lies in the commission of sin, and not in the nature of any food in ordinary use.

14. As regards the deeds of the ancients, both those which seem sinful to foolish and ignorant people, when they are not so, and those which really are sinful, we have already explained why they have been written, and how this rather adds to than impairs the dignity of Scripture. So, too, about the curse on him who hangeth on a tree, and on him who raises not up seed in Israel, our reply has already been given in the proper place, when meeting Faustus' objections.(1) And in reply to all objections whatsoever, whether we have already answered them separately, or whether they are contained in the remarks of Faustus which we are now considering, we appeal to our established principles, on which we maintain the authority of sacred Scripture. The principle is this, that all things written in the books of the Old Testament are to be received with approval

and admiration, as most true and most profitable to eternal life; and that those precepts which are no longer observed outwardly are to be understood as having been most suitable in those times, and are to be viewed as having been shadows of things to come, of which we may now perceive the fulfillments. Accordingly, whoever in those times neglected the observance of these symbolical precepts was righteously condemned to suffer the punishment required by the divine statute, as any one would be now if he were impiously to profane the sacraments of the New Testament, which differ from the old observances only as this time differs from that. For as praise is due to the righteous men of old who refused not to die for the Old Testament sacraments, so it is due to the martyrs of the New Testament. And as a sick man should not find fault with the medical treatment, because one thing is prescribed to-day and another to-morrow, and what was at first required is afterwards forbidden, since the method of cure depends on this; so the human race, sick and sore as it is from Adam to the end of the world, as long as the corrupted body weighs down the mind,(2) should not find fault with the divine prescriptions, if sometimes the same observances are enjoined, and sometimes an old observance is exchanged for one of a different kind; especially as there was a promise of a change in the appointments.

15. Hence there is no force in the analogy which Faustus institutes between Christ's pointing out to us what to believe and what to reject in the Old Testament, in which He Himself is predicted, and the Paraclete's doing the same to you as regards the New Testament, where there is a similar prediction of Him. There might have been some plausibility in this, had there been anything in the Old Testament which we denounced as a mistake, or as not of divine authority, or as untrue. We do nothing of the kind; we receive everything, both what we observe as rules of conduct, and what we no longer observe, but still recognize as having been prophetical observances, once enjoined and now fulfilled. And besides, the promise of the Paraclete is found in those books, all the contents of which you do not accept; and His mission is recorded in the book which you shrink from even naming. For, as is stated above, and has been said repeatedly, there is a distinct narrative in the Acts of the Apostles of the mission of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, and the effect produced showed who it was. For all who first received Him spoke with tongues;(3) and in this sign there was a promise that in all tongues, or in all nations, the Church of after times would faithfully proclaim the doctrine of the Spirit as well as of the Father and of the Son.

16. Why, then, do you not accept everything in the New Testament? Is it because the books have not the authority of Christ's apostles, or because the apostles taught what was wrong? You reply that the books have not the authority of the apostles. That the apostles were wrong in their teaching is what Pagans say. But what can you say to prove that the publication of these books cannot be traced to the apostles? You reply that in many things they contradict themselves and one another. Nothing could be more untrue; the fact is, you do not understand. In every case where Faustus has brought forward what you think a discrepancy, we have shown that there was none; and we will do the same in every other case. It is intolerable that the reader or learner should dare to lay the blame on Scriptures of such high authority, instead of confessing his own stupidity. Did the Paraclete teach you that these writings are not of the apostles' authorship, but written by others under their names? But where is the proof that it was the Paraclete from whom you learned this? If you say that the Paraclete was promised

and sent by Christ, we reply that your Paraclete was neither promised nor sent by Christ; and we also show you when He sent the Paraclete whom He promised. What proof have you that Christ sent your Paraclete? Where do you get the evidence in support of your informant, or rather misinformant? You reply that you find the proof in the Gospel. In what Gospel? You do not accept all the Gospel, and you say that it has been tampered with. Will you first accuse your witness of corruption, and then call for his evidence? To believe him when you wish it, and then disbelieve him when you wish it, is to believe nobody but yourself. If we were prepared to believe you, there would be no need of a witness at all. Moreover, in the promise of the Holy Spirit as the Paraclete, it is said, "He shall lead you into all truth;"(1) but how can you be led into all truth by one who teaches you that Christ was a deceiver? And again, if you were to prove that all that is said in the Gospel of the promise of the Paraclete could apply to no one but Manichaeus, as the predictions of the prophets are applicable to Christ; and if you quoted passages from those manuscripts which you say are genuine, we might say that on this very point, as proving Manichaeus to be the only person intended, the passages have been altered in the interest of your sect. Your only answer to this would be, that you could not possibly alter documents already in the possession of all Christians; for at the very outset of such an attempt, it would be met by an appeal to older copies. But if this proves that the books could not be corrupted by you, it also proves that they could not be corrupted by any one. The first person who ventured to do such a thing would be convicted by a comparison of older manuscripts; especially as the Scripture is to be found not in one language only, but in many. As it is, false readings are sometimes corrected by comparing older copies or the original language. Hence you must either acknowledge these documents as genuine, and then your heresy cannot stand a moment; or if they are spurious, you cannot use their authority in support of your doctrine of the Paraclete, and so you refute yourselves.

17. Further, what is said in the promise of the Paraclete shows that it cannot possibly refer to Manichaeus, who came so many years after. For it is distinctly said by John, that the Holy Spirit was to come immediately after the resurrection and ascension of the Lord: "For the Spirit was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified."(2) Now, if the reason why the Spirit was not given was, that Jesus was not glorified, He would necessarily be given immediately on the glorification of Jesus. In the same way, the Cataphrygians(3) said that they had received the promised Paraclete; and so they fell away from the Catholic faith, forbidding what Paul allowed, and condemning second marriages, which he made lawful. They turned to their own use the words spoken of the Spirit, "He shall lead you into all truth," as if, forsooth, Paul and the other apostles had not taught all the truth, but had left room for the Paraclete of the Cataphrygians. The same meaning they forced from the words of Paul: "We know in part, and we prophesy in part; but when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away;"(4) making out that the apostle knew and prophesied in part, when he said, "Let him do what he will; if he marries. he sinneth not,"(5) and that this is done away by the perfection of the Phrygian Paraclete.(6) And if they are told that they are condemned by the authority of the Church, which is the subject of such ancient promises, and is spread all over the world, they reply that this is in exact fulfillment of what is said of the Paraclete, that the world cannot receive Him.(7) And are not those passages, "He shall lead you into all truth," and, "When that which is perfect is come, that which is in part shall be done away," and, "The world cannot receive Him," precisely those in which you

find a prediction of Manichaeus? And so every heresy arising under the name of the Paraclete will have the boldness to make an equally plausible application to itself of such texts. For there is no heresy but will call itself the truth; and the prouder it is, the more likely it will be to call itself perfect truth: and so it will profess to lead into all truth; and since that which is perfect has come by it, it will try to do away with the doctrine of the apostles, to which its own errors are opposed. And as the Church holds by the earnest admonition of the apostle, that "whoever preaches another gospel to you than that which ye have received, let him be accursed;"(8) when the heretical preacher begins to be pronounced accursed by all the world, will he not forthwith exclaim, This is what is written, "The world cannot receive Him"?

18. Where, then, will you find the proof required to show that it is from the Paraclete that you have learned that the Gospels were not written by the apostles? On the other hand, we have proof that the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, came immediately after the glorification of Jesus. For "He was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified." We have proof also that He leads into all truth, for the only way to truth is by love, and "the love of God,': says the apostle, "is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost who is given unto us."(9) We show, too, that in the words, "when that which is perfect is come," Paul spoke of the perfection in the enjoyment of eternal life. For in the same place he says: "Now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face."(10) You cannot reasonably maintain that we see God face to face here. Therefore that which is perfect has not come to you. It is thus clear what the apostle thought on this subject. This perfection will not come to the saints till the accomplishment of what John speaks of: "Now we are the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when it shall appear we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is."(1) Then we shall be led into all truth by the Holy Spirit, of which we have now received the pledge. Again, the words, "The world cannot receive Him," plainly point to those who are usually called the world in Scripture--the lovers of the world, the wicked, or carnal; of whom the apostle says: "The natural man perceiveth not the things which are of the Spirit of God."(2) Those are said to be of this world who can understand nothing beyond material things, which are the objects of sense in this world; as is the case with you, when, in your admiration of the sun and moon, you suppose all divine things to resemble them. Deceivers. and being deceived, you call the author of this silly theory the Paraclete. But as you have no proof of his being the Paraclete, you have no reliable ground for the statement that the Gospel writings, which you receive only in part, are not of apostolic authorship. Thus your only remaining argument is, that these writings contain things disparaging to the glory of Christ; such as, that He was born of a virgin, that He was circumcised, that the customary sacrifice was offered for Him, that He was baptized, that He was tempted of the devil.

19. With those exceptions, including also the testimonies quoted from the Old Testament, you profess, to use the words of Faustus, to receive all the rest, especially the mystic nailing to the cross, emblematic of the wounds of the soul in its passion; as also the sound moral precepts of Jesus, and the whole of His immortal discourse, which sets forth especially the distinction of the two natures, and therefore must undoubtedly be His. Your design clearly is to deprive Scripture of all authority, and to make every man's mind the judge what passage of Scripture he is to approve of, and what to disapprove of. This is not to be subject to Scripture in matters of faith, but to make

Scripture subject to you. Instead of making the high authority of Scripture the reason of approval, every man makes his approval the reason for thinking a passage correct. If, then, you discard authority, to what, poor feeble soul, darkened by the mists of carnality, to what, I beseech you, will you betake yourself? Set aside authority, and let us hear the reason of your beliefs. Is it by a logical process that your long story about the nature of God concludes necessarily with this startling announcement, that this nature is subject to injury and corruption? And how do you know that there are eight continents and ten heavens, and that Atlas bears up the world, and that it hangs from the great world-holder, and innumerable things of the same kind? Who is your authority? Manichaeus, of course, you will say. But, unhappy being, this is not sight, but faith. If, then, you submit to receive a load of endless fictions at the bidding of an obscure and irrational authority, so that you believe all those things because they are written in the books which your misguided judgment pronounces trustworthy, though there is no evidence of their truth, why not rather submit to the authority of the Gospel, which is so well founded, so confirmed, so generally acknowledged and admired, and which has an unbroken series of testimonies from the apostles down to our own day, that so you may have an intelligent belief, and may come to know that all your objections are the fruit of folly and perversity; and that there is more truth in the opinion that the unchangeable nature of God should take part of mortality, so as, without injury to itself from this union, to do and to suffer not feignedly, but really, whatever it behoved the mortal nature to do and to suffer for the salvation of the human race from which it was taken, than in the belief that the nature of God is subject to injury and corruption, and that, after suffering pollution and captivity, it cannot be wholly freed and purified, but is condemned by a supreme divine necessity to eternal punishment in the mass of darkness?

20. You say, in reply, that you believe in what Manichaeus has not proved, because he has so clearly proved the existence of two natures, good and evil, in this world. But here is the very source of your unhappy delusion; for as in the Gospels, so in the world, your idea of what is evil is derived entirely from the effect on your senses of such disagreeable things as serpents, fire, poison, and so on; and the only good you know of is what has an agreeable effect on your senses, as pleasant flavors, and sweet smells, and sunlight, and whatever else recommends itself strongly to your eyes, or your nostrils, or your palate, or any other organ of sensation. But had you begun with looking on the book of nature as the production of the Creator of all, and had you believed that your own finite understanding might be at fault wherever anything seemed to be amiss, instead of venturing to find fault with the works of God, you would not have been led into these impious follies and blasphemous fancies with which, in your ignorance of what evil really is, you heap all evils upon God.

21. We can now answer the question, how we know that these books were written by the apostles. In a word, we know this in the same way that you know that the books whose authority you are so deluded as to prefer were written by Manichaeus. For, suppose some one should raise a question on this point, and should contend, in arguing with you, that the books which you attribute to Manichaeus are not of his authorship; your only reply would be, to ridicule the absurdity of thus gratuitously calling in question a matter confirmed by successive testimonies of such wide extent. As, then, it is certain that these books are the production of Manichaeus, and as it is ridiculous in one born so many years after to start objections of his own, and so raise a discussion on the point;

with equal certainty may we pronounce it absurd, or rather pitiable, in Manichaeus or his followers to bring such objections against writings originally well authenticated, and carefully handed down from the times of the apostles to our own day through a constant succession of custodians.

22. We have now only to compare the authority of Manichaeus with that of the apostles. The genuineness of the writings is equally certain in both cases. But no one will compare Manichaeus to the apostles, unless he ceases to be a follower of Christ, who sent the apostles. Who that did not misunderstand Christ's words ever found in them the doctrine of two natures opposed to one another, and having each its own principle? Again, the apostles, as becomes the disciples of truth, declare the birth and passion of Christ to have been real events; while Manichaeus, who boasts that he leads into all truth, would lead us to a Christ whose very passion he declares to have been an illusion. The apostles say that Christ was circumcised in the flesh which He took of the seed of Abraham; Manichaeus says that God, in his own nature, was cut in pieces by the race of darkness. The apostles say that a sacrifice was offered for Christ as an infant in our nature, according to the institutions of the time; Manichaeus, that a member, not of humanity, but of the divine substance itself, must be sacrificed to the whole host of demons by being introduced into the nature of the hostile race. The apostles say that Christ, to set us an example, was baptized in the Jordan; Manichaeus, that God immersed himself in the pollution of darkness, and that he will never wholly emerge, but that the part which cannot be purified will be condemned to eternal punishment. The apostles say that Christ, in our nature, was tempted by the chief of the demons; Manichaeus, that part of God was taken captive by the race of demons. And in the temptation of Christ He resists the tempter; while in the captivity of God, the part taken captive cannot be restored to its origin even after victory. To conclude, Manichaeus, under the guise of an improvement, preaches another gospel, which is the doctrine of devils; and the apostles, after the doctrine of Christ, enjoin that whoever preaches another gospel shall be accursed.(1)

BOOK XXXIII.

FAUSTUS DOES NOT THINK IT WOULD BE A GREAT HONOR TO SIT DOWN WITH ABRAHAM, ISAAC AND JACOB, WHOSE MORAL CHARACTERS AS SET FORTH IN THE OLD TESTAMENT HE DETESTS. HE JUSTIFIES HIS SUBJECTIVE CRITICISM OF SCRIPTURE. AUGUSTIN SUMS UP THE ARGUMENT, CLAIMS THE VICTORY, AND EXHORTS THE MANICHAEANS TO ABANDON THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT NOTWITHSTANDING THE DIFFICULTIES THAT IT PRESENTS, AND TO RECOGNIZE THE AUTHORITY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

1. FAUSTUS said: You quote from the Gospel the words, "Many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the

kingdom of heaven,"(1) and ask why we do not acknowledge the patriarchs. Now, we should be the last to grudge to any human being that God should have compassion on him, and bring him out of perdition to salvation. At the same time, we should acknowledge in such a case the clemency shown in this act of compassion, and not the merit of the person whose life is undeniably blameworthy. Thus, in the case of the Jewish fathers, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, who are mentioned by Christ in this verse, supposing it to be genuine, although they led wicked lives, as we may learn from their descendant Moses, or whoever was the author of the history called Genesis, which describes their conduct as having been most shocking and detestable we are ready to allow that they may, after all, be in the kingdom of heaven, in the place which they neither believed in, nor hoped for, as is plain enough from their books. But then it must be kept in mind that, as you yourselves confess, if they did attain to what is spoken of in this verse, it was something very different from the nether dungeons of woe to which their own deserts consigned them, and that their deliverance was the work of our Lord Christ, and the result of His mystic passion. Who would grudge to the thief on the cross that deliverance was granted to him by the same Lord, and that Christ said that on that very day he should be with Him in the paradise of His Father?(1) Who is so hard-hearted as to disapprove of this act of benevolence? Still, it does not follow that, because Jesus pardoned a thief, we must approve of the habits and practices of thieves; any more than of the publicans and harlots, whose faults Jesus pardoned, declaring that they would go into the kingdom of heaven before those who behaved proudly.(2) For, when He acquitted the woman accused by the Jews as sinful, and as having been caught in adultery, He told her to sin no more.(3) If, then, He has done something of the same kind in the case of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, all the praise is His; for such actions towards souls are becoming in Him who maketh His sun to rise upon the evil and upon the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.(4) One thing perplexes me in your doctrine: why you limit your statements to the fathers of the Jews, and are not of opinion that the Gentile patriarchs had also a share in this grace of our Redeemer; especially as the Christian Church consists of their children more than of the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. You will say that the Gentiles worshipped idols, and the Jews the Almighty God, and that therefore Jesus had regard only to the Jews. It would seem from this that the worship of the Almighty God is the sure way to hell, and that the Son must come to the aid of the worshipper of the Father. That is as you please. For my part, I am ready to join you in the belief that the fathers reached heaven, not by any merit of their own, but by that divine mercy which is stronger than sin.

2. However, there is a difficulty in deciding as regards this verse too, whether the words were really spoken to Christ, for there is a discrepancy in the narratives. For while two evangelists, Matthew and Luke, both alike tell of the centurion whose servant was sick, and to whom these words of Jesus are supposed to have applied, that He had not seen so great faith, no, not in Israel, as in this man, though a Gentile and a Pagan, because he said that he was not worthy that Jesus should come under his roof, but wished Him only to speak the word, and his servant should be healed; Matthew alone adds that Jesus went on to say, "Verily I say unto you, that many shall come from the east and from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom shall be cast into outer darkness." By the many who should come are meant the Pagans, on account of the centurion, in whom,

although he was a Gentile, so great faith was found; and the children of the kingdom are the Jews, in whom there was no faith found. Luke, again, though he too mentions the occurrence in his Gospel as part of the narrative of the miracles of Christ, says nothing of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. If it is said that he omitted it because it had been already said by Matthew, why does he tell the story at all of the centurion and his servant, since that, too, has the advantage of being recorded at length in Matthew's ingenious narrative? But the passage is corrupt. For, in describing the centurion's application to Jesus, Matthew says that he came himself to ask for a cure; while Luke says he did not, but sent elders of the Jews, and that they, in case Jesus should despise the centurion as a Gentile (for they will have Jesus to be a thorough Jew), set about persuading Him, by saying that he was worthy for whom He should do this, because he loved their nation, and had built them a synagogue;(5) here again taking for granted that the Son of God was concerned in a pagan centurion having thought it proper to build a synagogue for the Jews. The words in question are, indeed, found in Luke also, perhaps because on reflection he thought they might be genuine; but they are found in another place, and in a connection altogether different. The passage is where Jesus says to His disciples, "Strive to enter in at the strait gate; for many shall come seeking to enter in, and shall not be able. When once the Master of the house has entered in, and has shut to the door, ye shall begin to stand without, and to knock, saying Lord, open to us. And He shall answer and say, I know you not. Then ye shall begin to say, We have eaten and drunk in Thy presence, and Thou hast taught in our streets and synagogues; but He shall say unto you, I know not whence ye are; depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, entering into the kingdom of God, and you yourselves cast out. And they shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God."(1) The part where it is said that many shall be shut out of the kingdom of God, who have only borne the name of Christ, without doing His works, is not left out by Matthew; but he makes no mention here of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. In the same way, Luke mentions the centurion and his servant, without alluding in that connection to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. Since it is uncertain when the words were spoken, we are at liberty to doubt whether they were spoken at all.

3. It is not without reason that we bring a critical judgment to the study of Scriptures where there are such discrepancies and contradictions. By thus examining everything, and comparing one passage with another, we determine which contains Christ's actual words, and what may or may not be genuine. For your predecessors have made many interpolations in the words of our Lord, which thus appear under His name, while they disagree with His doctrine. Besides, as we have proved again and again, the writings are not the production of Christ or of His apostles, but a compilation of rumors and beliefs, made, long after their departure, by some obscure semi-Jews, not in harmony even with one another, and published by them under the name of the apostles, or of those considered the followers of the apostles, so as to give the appearance of apostolic authority to all these blunders and falsehoods. But whatever you make of that, as regards this verse, I repeat that I do not insist on rejecting it. It is enough for my position, that, as I said before, and as you are obliged to confess, before the coming of our Lord all the patriarchs and prophets of Israel lay in infernal darkness for their sins. Even though they may have been restored to light and liberty by Christ, that has nothing

to do with the hateful character of their lives. We hate and eschew not their persons, but their characters; not as they are now, when they are purified, but as they were, when impure. So, whatever you think of this verse, it does not affect us: for if it is genuine, it only illustrates Christ's goodness and compassion; and if it is spurious, those who wrote it are to blame. Our cause is as safe as it always is.

4. AUGUSTIN replied: Poor safety, indeed! when you contradict yourself by hating the patriarchs as impure, at the same time that you grieve for your impure god. You allow that, since the advent of the Saviour, the patriarchs have had purity restored, and have enjoyed the rest of the blessed; while your god, even after the Saviour's advent, still lies in darkness, is still sunk in the ocean of iniquity, still wallows in the mire of all uncleanness. These men, therefore, were not only better than your god in their lives, but also happier in their death. Where was the abode of the just who departed from this life before Christ's coming in the flesh, and whether their condition also was improved by the passion of Christ, in whom they had believed as to come, and to suffer, and to rise again, and had, moreover, foretold this in suitable language under the guidance of the Spirit of prophecy, is to be discovered from the Holy Scriptures, if any clear discovery in this matter is possible; we are not called on to adopt the crude notions of all and sundry, still less the heretical opinions of men who have gone astray into such egregious error. There is a vain attempt here on the part of Faustus to introduce by a side-door the idea that we may obtain something after this life besides the due reward of our conduct in this life. It will be better for you to abandon your error while you are still alive, and to embrace and hold the truths of the Catholic faith. Otherwise the expectations of the unrighteous will be sadly disappointed when God begins to fulfill His threatenings to the unrighteous.

5. I have already given what I considered a sufficient answer to Faustus' calumnies of the lives of the patriarchs. That they were punished at their death, or that they were justified after the Lord's passion, is not what we learn from His commendation of them, when He admonished the Jews that, if they were Abraham's children, they should do the works of Abraham, and said that Abraham desired to see His day, and was glad when he saw it;(2) and that it was into his bosom, that is, some deep recess of blissful repose, that the angels carried the poor sufferer who was despised by the proud rich man.(1) And what are we to make of the Apostle Paul? Is there any idea of justification after death in his praise of Abraham, when he says that before he was circumcised he believed God, and that it was counted to him for righteousness?(2) And so much importance does he attach to this, that the single ground which he specifies for our becoming Abraham's children, though not descended from him in the flesh, is, that we follow the footsteps of his faith.

6. You are so hardened in your errors against the testimonies of Scripture, that nothing can be made of you; for whenever anything is quoted against you, you have the boldness to say that it is written not by the apostle, but by some pretender under his name. The doctrine of demons which you preach is so opposed to Christian doctrine, that you could not continue, as professing Christians, to maintain it, unless you denied the truth of the apostolic writings. How can you thus do injury to your own souls? Where will you find any authority, if not in the Gospel and apostolic writings? How can we be sure of the authorship of any book, if we doubt the apostolic origin of those books which

are attributed to the apostles by the Church which the apostles themselves rounded, and which occupies so conspicuous a place in all lands, and if at the same time we acknowledge as the undoubted production of the apostles what is brought forward by heretics in opposition to the Church, whose authors, from whom they derive their name, lived long after the apostles? And do we not see in profane literature that there are well-known authors under whose names many things have been published after their time which have been rejected, either from inconsistency with their ascertained writings, or from their not having been known in the lifetime of the authors, so as to be banded down with the confirmatory statement of the authors themselves, or of their friends? To give a single example, were not some books published lately under the name of the distinguished physician Hippocrates, which were not received as authoritative by physicians? And this decision remained unaltered in spite of some similarity in style and matter: for, when compared to the genuine writings of Hippocrates, these books were found to be inferior; besides that they were not recognized as his at the time when his authorship of his genuine productions was ascertained. Those books, again, from a comparison with which the productions of questionable origin were rejected, are with certainty attributed to Hippocrates; and any one who denies their authorship is answered only by ridicule, simply because there is a succession of testimonies to the books from the time of Hippocrates to the present day, which makes it unreasonable either now or hereafter to have any doubt on the subject. How do we know the authorship of the works of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Varro, and other similar writers, but by the unbroken chain of evidence? So also with the numerous commentaries on the ecclesiastical books, which have no canonical authority, and yet show a desire of usefulness and a spirit of inquiry. How is the authorship ascertained in each case, except by the author's having brought his work into public notice as much as possible in his own lifetime. and, by the transmission of the information from one to another in continuous order, the belief becoming more certain as it becomes more general, up to our own day; so that, when we are questioned as to the authorship of any book, we have no difficulty in answering? But why speak of old books? Take the books now before us: should any one, after some years, deny that this book was written by me, or that Faustus' was written by him, where is evidence for the fact to be found but in the information possessed by some at the present time, and transmitted by them through successive generations even to distant times? From all this it follows, that no one who has not yielded to the malicious and deceitful suggestions of lying devils, can be so blinded by passion as to deny the ability of the Church of the apostles--a community of brethren as numerous as they were faithful--to transmit their writings unaltered to posterity, as the original seats of the apostles have been occupied by a continuous succession of bishops to the present day, especially when we are accustomed to see this happen in the case of ordinary writings both in the Church and out of it.

7. But Faustus finds contradictions in the Gospels. Say, rather, that Faustus reads the Gospels in a wrong spirit, that he is too foolish to understand, and too blind to see. If you were animated with piety instead of being misled by party spirit, you might easily, by examining these passages, discover a wonderful and most instructive harmony among the writers. Who, in reading two narratives of the same event, would think of charging one or both of the authors with error or falsehood, because one omits what the other mentions, or one tells concisely, but with substantial agreement, what the other relates in detail, so as to indicate not only what was done, but also how it was done? This is

what Faustus does in his attempt to impeach the truth of the Gospels; as if Luke's omitting some saying of Christ recorded in Matthew implied a denial on the part of Luke of Matthew's statement. There is no real difficulty in the case; and to make a difficulty shows want of thought, or of the ability to think. There is, indeed, a point in the narrative of the centurion which is discussed among believers, and on which objections are raised by unbelievers of no great learning, who prove their quarrelsomeness, when, after being instructed, they do not give up their errors. The point is, that Matthew says that the centurion came to Jesus "beseeching Him, and saying;" while Luke says that he sent to Jesus the elders of the Jews with this same request, that He would heal his servant who was sick; and that when He came near the house he sent others, through whom he said that he was not worthy that Jesus should come into his house, and that he was not worthy to come himself to Jesus. How, then, do we read in Matthew, "He came to Him, beseeching Him, and saying, My servant lieth at home sick of the palsy, and grievously tormented?"(1) The explanation is, that Matthew's narrative is correct, but brief, mentioning the centurion's coming to Jesus, without saying whether he came himself or by others, or whether the words about his servant were spoken by himself or through others. But is it not common to speak of a person as coming near to a thing, although he may not reach it? And even the word reach, which is the strongest form of expression, is frequently used in cases where the person spoken of acts through others, as when we say he took his case to court, he reached the presence of the judge; or, again, he reached the presence of some man in power, although it may probably have been through his friends, and the person may not have seen him whose presence he is said to have reached. And from the word for to reach we give the name of Perventors to those who by ambitious arts gain access, either personally or through friends, to the, so to speak, inaccessible minds of the great. Are we, then, in reading to forget the common usage of speech? Or must the sacred Scripture have a language of its own? The cavils of forward critics are thus met by a reference to the usual forms of speech.

8. Those who examine this matter not in a disputatious but in a calm believing spirit are invited to come to Jesus, not outwardly but in heart, not in bodily presence but in the power of faith, as the centurion did, and then they will better understand Matthew's narrative. To such it is said in the Psalm "Come unto Him, and be enlightened; and your faces shall not be ashamed."(2) Hence we learn that the centurion, whose faith was so highly spoken of, came to Christ more truly than the people who carried his message. We find an analogous case in the woman with the issue of blood, who was healed by touching the hem of Christ's garment. when Christ said, "Some one hath touched me." The disciples wondered what Christ meant by saying, "Who hath touched me?" "Some one hath touched me," when the crowd was thronging Him. In fact, they made this reply: "The crowd throngeth Thee, and sayest Thou, Who hath touched me?"(3) Now, as the people thronged Christ while the woman touched Him, so the messengers were sent to Christ, but the centurion really came to Him. In Matthew we have a not infrequent form of expression, and at the same time a symbolical import; while in Luke there is a simple narrative of the whole event, such as to draw our attention to the manner in which Matthew has recorded it. I wish one of those people who found their silly objections to the Gospels on such trifling difficulties would himself tell a story twice over, honestly giving a true account of what happened, and that his words were written down and read over to him. We should then see whether he would not say more or less at one time than at another; and whether the order would not be changed, not only of words, but of

things; and whether he would not put some opinion of his own into the mouth of another, because, though he never heard him say it, he knew it perfectly well to be in his mind; and whether he would not sometimes put in a few words what he had before related at length. In these and other ways, which might perhaps be reduced to rule, the narratives of the same thing by two persons, or two narratives by the same person, might differ in many things without being opposed, might be unlike without being contradictory. Thus are undone all the bandages with which poor Manichaeans stifle themselves to keep in the spirit of error, and to keep out all that might lead to their salvation.

9. Now that all Faustus' calumnies have been refuted, those at least on the subjects here treated of at large and explained fully as the Lord has enabled me, I close with a word of counsel to you who are implicated in those shocking and damnable errors, that, if you acknowledge the supreme authority of Scripture, you should recognise that authority which from the time of Christ Himself, through the ministry of His apostles, and through a regular succession of bishops in the seats of the apostles, has been preserved to our own day throughout the whole world, with a reputation known to all. There the Old Testament too has its difficulties solved, and its predictions fulfilled. If you ask for demonstration, consider first what you are, how unfit for comprehending the nature of your own soul, not to speak of God; I mean an intelligent comprehension, such as you profess to desire, or to have once desired, and not the notions of a credulous fancy. Admitting this incompetency, which must continue while you remain as you are, you may at least be referred to the natural conviction of every human mind, unless it is corrupted by error, of the perfect unchangeableness and incorruptibility of the nature and substance of God. Admit this, or believe it, and you will no longer be Manichaeans, so that in course of time you may become Catholics.
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AUGUSTIN: CONCERNING THE NATURE OF GOOD, AGAINST THE MANICHAEANS

AUGUSTIN: CONCERNING THE NATURE OF GOOD, AGAINST THE MANICHAEANS
[DE NATURA BONI CONTRA MANICHAEOS.]
c. A.D. 405.

[Written after the year 404. It is put in the Retractations immediately after the De Actis cure Felice Manichaeo, which was written about the end of the year 404. It is one of the most argumentative of the Anti-Manichaean treatises, and so one of the most abstruse and difficult. The lines of argument here pursued have already been employed in part in the earlier treatises. The most interesting portions of the contents of the treatise, and the most damaging to the Manichaeans, are the long extracts from Mani's Thesaurus, and his Fundamental Epistle.-- A. H. N.]

CHAP. 1.--GOD THE HIGHEST AND UNCHANGEABLE GOOD, FROM WHOM ARE

ALL OTHER GOOD THINGS, SPIRITUAL AND CORPOREAL.

THE highest good, than which there is no higher, is God, and consequently He is unchangeable good, hence truly eternal and truly immortal. All other good things are only from Him, not of Him. For what is of Him, is Himself. And consequently if He alone is unchangeable, all things that He has made, because He has made them out of nothing, are changeable. For He is so omnipotent, that even out of nothing, that is out of what is absolutely non-existent, He is able to make good things both great and small, both celestial and terrestrial, both spiritual and corporeal. But because He is also just, He has not put those things that He has made out of nothing on an equality with that which He begat out of Himself. Because, therefore, no good things whether great or small, through whatever gradations of things, can exist except from God; but since every nature, so far as it is nature, is good, it follows that no nature can exist save from the most high and true God: because all things even not in the highest degree good, but related to the highest good, and again, because all good things, even those of most recent origin, which are far from the highest good, can have their existence only from the highest good. Therefore every spirit, though subject to change, and every corporeal entity, is from God, and all this, having been made, is nature. For every nature is either spirit or body. Unchangeable spirit is God, changeable spirit, having been made, is nature, but is better than body; but body is not spirit, unless when the wind, because it is invisible to us and yet its power is felt as something not inconsiderable, is in a certain sense called spirit.

CHAP. 2.--HOW THIS MAY SUFFICE FOR CORRECTING THE MANICHAEANS.

But for the sake of those who, not being able to understand that all nature, that is, every spirit and every body, is naturally good, are moved by the iniquity of spirit and the mortality of body, and on this account endeavor to bring in another nature of wicked spirit and mortal body, which God did not make, we determine thus to bring to their understanding what we say can be brought. For they acknowledge that no good thing can exist save from the highest and true God, which also is true and suffices for correcting them, if they are willing to give heed.

CHAP. 3.--MEASURE, FORM, AND ORDER, GENERIC GOODS IN THINGS MADE BY GOD.

For we Catholic Christians worship God, from whom are all good things whether great or small; from whom is all measure great or small; from whom is all form great or small;

from whom is all order great or small. For all things in proportion as they are better measured, formed, and ordered, are assuredly good in a higher degree; but in proportion as they are measured, formed, and ordered in an inferior degree, are they the less good. These three things, therefore, measure, form, and order,--not to speak of innumerable other things that are shown to pertain to these three,--these three things, therefore, measure, form, order, are as it were generic goods in things made by God, whether in spirit or in body. God is, therefore, above every measure of the creature, above every form, above every order, nor is He above by local spaces, but by ineffable and singular potency, from whom is every measure, every form, every order. These three things, where they are great, are great goods, where they are small, are small goods; where they are absent, there is no good. And again where these things are great, there are great natures, where they are small, there are small natures, where they are absent, there is no nature. Therefore all nature is good.

CHAP. 4.--EVIL IS CORRUPTION OF MEASURE, FORM, OR ORDER,

When accordingly it is inquired, whence is evil, it must first be inquired, what is evil, which is nothing else than corruption, either of the measure, or the form, or the order, that belong to nature. Nature therefore which has been corrupted, is called evil, for assuredly when incorrupt it is good; but even when corrupt, so far as it is nature it is good, so far as it is corrupted it is evil.

CHAP. 5.--THE CORRUPTED NATURE OF A MORE EXCELLENT ORDER SOMETIMES BETTER THAN AN INFERIOR NATURE EVEN UNCORRUPTED.

But it may happen, that a certain nature which has been ranked as more excellent by reason of natural measure and form, though corrupt, is even yet better than another incorrupt which has been ranked lower by reason of an inferior natural measure and form: as in the estimation of men, according to the quality which presents itself to view, corrupt gold is assuredly better than incorrupt silver, and corrupt silver than incorrupt lead; so also in more powerful spiritual natures a rational spirit even corrupted through an evil will is better than an irrational though incorrupt, and better is any spirit whatever even corrupt than any body whatever though incorrupt. For better is a nature which, when it is present in a body, furnishes it with life, than that to which life is furnished. But however corrupt may be the spirit of life that has been made, it can furnish life to a body, and hence, though corrupt, it is better than the body though incorrupt.

CHAP. 6.--NATURE WHICH CANNOT BE CORRUPTED IS THE HIGHEST GOOD;

THAT WHICH CAN, IS SOME GOOD.

But if corruption take away all measure, all form, all order from corruptible things, no nature will remain. And consequently every nature which cannot be corrupted is the highest good, as is God. But every nature that can be corrupted is also itself some good; for corruption cannot injure it, except by taking away from or diminishing that which is good.

CHAP. 7.--THE CORRUPTION OF RATIONAL SPIRITS IS ON THE ONE HAND VOLUNTARY, ON THE OTHER PENAL.

But to the most excellent creatures, that is, to rational spirits, God has offered this, that if they will not they cannot be corrupted; that is, if they should maintain obedience under the Lord their God, so should they adhere to his incorruptible beauty; but if they do not will to maintain obedience, since willingly they are corrupted in sins, unwillingly they shall be corrupted in punishment, since God is such a good that it is well for no one who deserts Him, and among the things made by God the rational nature is so great a good, that there is no good by which it may be blessed except God. Sinners, therefore, are ordained to punishment; which ordination is punishment for the reason that it is not conformable to their nature, but it is justice because it is conformable to their fault.

CHAP. 8.--FROM THE CORRUPTION AND DESTRUCTION OF INFERIOR THINGS IS THE BEAUTY OF THE UNIVERSE.

But the rest of things that are made of nothing, which are assuredly inferior to the rational soul, can be neither blessed nor miserable. But because in proportion to their fashion and appearance are things themselves good, nor could there be good things in a less or the least degree except from God, they are so ordered that the more infirm yield to the firmer, the weaker to the stronger, the more impotent to the more powerful; and so earthly things harmonize with celestial, as being subject to the things that are pre-eminent. But to things falling away, and succeeding, a certain temporal beauty in its kind belongs, so that neither those things that die, or cease to be what they were, degrade or disturb the fashion and appearance and order of the universal creation; as a speech well composed is assuredly beautiful, although in. it syllables and all sounds rush past as it were in being born and in dying.

CHAP. 9.--PUNISHMENT IS CONSTITUTED FOR THE SINNING NATURE THAT IT MAY BE RIGHTLY ORDERED.

What sort of punishment, and how great, is due to each fault, belongs to Divine judgment, not to human; which punishment assuredly when it is remitted in the case of the converted, there is great goodness on the part of God, and when it is deservedly inflicted, there is no injustice on the part of God; because nature is better ordered by justly smarting under punishment than by rejoicing with impunity in sin; which nature nevertheless, even thus having some measure, form, and order, in whatever extremity there is as yet some good, which things, if they were absolutely taken away, and utterly consumed, there will be accordingly no good, because no nature will remain.

CHAP. 10.--NATURES CORRUPTIBLE, BECAUSE MADE OF NOTHING.

All corruptible natures therefore are natures at all only so far as they are from God, nor would they be 'corruptible if' they were of Him; because they would be what He himself is. Therefore of whatever measure, of whatever form, of whatever order, they are, they are so because it is God by whom they were made; but they are not immutable, because it is nothing of which they were made. For it is sacrilegious audacity to make nothing and God equal, as when we wish to make what has been born of God such as what has been made by Him out of nothing.

CHAP. 11.--GOD CANNOT SUFFER HARM, NOR CAN ANY OTHER NATURE EXCEPT BY HIS PERMISSION.

Wherefore neither can God's nature suffer harm, nor can any nature under God suffer harm unjustly: for when by sinning unjustly some do harm, an unjust will is imputed to them; but the power by which they are permitted to do harm is from God alone, who knows, while they themselves are ignorant, what they ought to suffer, whom He permits them to harm.

CHAP. 12.--ALL GOOD THINGS ARE FROM GOD ALONE.

All these things are so perspicuous, so assured, that if they who introduce another

nature which God did not make, were willing to give attention, they would not be filled with so great blasphemies, as that they should place so great good things in supreme evil, and so great evil things in God. For what the truth compels them to acknowledge, namely, that all good things are from God alone, suffices for their correction, if they were willing to give heed, as I said above. Not, therefore, are great good things from one, and small good things from another; but good things great and small are from the supremely good alone, which is God.

CHAP. 13.--INDIVIDUAL GOOD THINGS, WHETHER SMALL OR GREAT, ARE FROM GOD.

Let us, therefore, bring before our minds good things however great, which it is fitting that we attribute to God as their author, and these having been eliminated let us see whether any nature will remain. All life both great and small, all power great and small, all safety great and small, all memory great and small, all virtue great and small, all intellect great and small, all tranquillity great and small, all plenty great and small, all sensation great and small, all light great and small, all suavity(1) great and small, all measure great and small, all beauty great and small, all peace great and small, and whatever other like things may occur, especially such as are found throughout all things, whether spiritual or corporeal, every measure, every form, every order both great and small, are from the Lord God. All which good things whoever should wish to abuse, pays the penalty by divine judgment; but where none of these things shall have been present at all, no nature will remain.

CHAP. 14.--SMALL GOOD THINGS IN COMPARISON WITH GREATER ARE CALLED BY CONTRARY NAMES.

But in all these things, whatever are small are called by contrary names in comparison with greater things; as in the form of a man because the beauty is greater, the beauty of the ape in comparison with it is called deformity. And the imprudent are deceived, as if the former is good, and the latter evil, nor do they regard in the body of the ape its own fashion, the equality of members on both sides, the agreement of parts, the protection of safety, and other things which it would be tedious to enumerate.

CHAP. 15.--IN THE BODY OF THE APE THE GOOD OF BEAUTY IS PRESENT, THOUGH IN A LESS DEGREE.

But that what we have said may be understood, and may satisfy those too slow of comprehension, or that even the pertinacious and those repugnant to the most manifest truth may be compelled to confess what is true, let them be asked, whether corruption can harm the body of an ape? But if it can, so that it may become more hideous, what diminishes but the good of beauty? Whence as long as the nature of the body subsists, so long something will remain. If, accordingly, good having been consumed, nature is consumed, the nature is therefore good. So also we say that slow is contrary to swift, but yet he who does not move at all cannot even be called slow. So we say that a heavy voice is contrary to a sharp voice, or a harsh to a musical; but if you completely remove any kind of voice, there is silence where there is no voice, which silence, nevertheless, for the simple reason that there is no voice, is usually opposed to voice as something contrary thereto. So also lucid and obscure are called as it were two contrary things, yet even obscure things have something of light, which being absolutely wanting, darkness is the absence of light in the same way in which silence is the absence of voice.

CHAP. 16.--PRIVATIONS IN THINGS ARE FIT-TINGLY ORDERED BY GOD.

Yet even these privations of things are so ordered in the universe of nature, that to those wisely considering they not unfittingly have their vicissitudes. For by not illuminating certain places and times, God has also made the darkness as fittingly as the day. For if we by restraining the voice fittingly interpose silence in speaking, how much more does He, as the perfect framer of all things, fittingly make privations of things? Whence also in the hymn of the three children, light and darkness alike praise God,(1) that is, bring forth praise in the hearts of those who well consider.

CHAP. 17.--NATURE, IN AS FAR AS IT IS NATURE, NO EVIL.

No nature, therefore, as far as it is nature, is evil; but to each nature there is no evil except to be diminished in respect of good. But if by being diminished it should be consumed so that there is no good, no nature would be left; not only such as the Manichaeans introduce, where so great good things are found that their exceeding blindness is wonderful, but such as any one can introduce.

CHAP. 18.--HYLE, WHICH WAS CALLED BY THE ANCIENTS THE FORMLESS MATERIAL OF THINGS, IS NOT AN EVIL.

For neither is that material, which the ancients called Hyle, to be called an evil. I do not

say that which Manichaeus with most senseless vanity, not knowing what he says, denominates Hyle, namely, the former of corporeal beings; whence it is rightly said to him, that he introduces another god. For nobody can form and create corporeal beings but God alone; for neither are they created unless there subsist with them measure, form, and order, which I think that now even they themselves confess to be good things, and things that cannot be except from God. But by Hyle I mean a certain material absolutely formless and without quality, whence those qualities that we perceive are formed, as the ancients said. For hence also wood is called in Greek ulh, because it is adapted to workmen, not that itself may make anything, but that it is the material of which something may be made. Nor is that Hyle, therefore, to be called an evil which cannot be perceived through any appearance, but can scarcely be thought of through any sort of privation of appearance. For this has also a capacity of forms; for if it cannot receive the form imposed by the workman, neither assuredly may it be called material. Hence if form is some good, whence those who excel in it are called beautiful,(2) as from appearance they are called handsome,(3) even the capacity of form is undoubtedly something good. As because wisdom is a good, no one doubts that to be capable of wisdom is a good. And because every good is from God, no one ought to doubt that even matter, if there is any, has its existence from God alone.

CHAP. 19.--TO HAVE TRUE EXISTENCE IS AN EXCLUSIVE PREROGATIVE OF GOD.

Magnificently and divinely, therefore, our God said to his servant: "I am that I am," and "Thou shalt say to the children of Israel. He who is sent me to you."(1) For He truly is because He is unchangeable. For every change makes what was not, to be: therefore He truly is, who is unchangeable; but all other things that were made by Him have received being form Him each in its own measure. To Him who is highest, therefore nothing can be contrary, save what is not; and consequently as from Him everything that is good has its being, so from Him is everything that by nature exists; since everything that exists by nature is good. Thus every nature is good, and everything good is from God; therefore every nature is from God.

CHAP. 20.--PAIN ONLY IN GOOD NATURES.

But pain which some suppose to be in an especial manner an evil, whether it be in mind or in body, cannot exist except in good natures. For the very fact of resistance in any being leading to pain, involves a refusal not to be what it was, because it was something good; but when a being is compelled to something better, the pain is useful, when to something worse, it is useless. Therefore in the case of the mind, the will resisting a greater power causes pain; in the case of the body, sensation resisting a more powerful

body causes pain. But evils without pain are worse: for it is worse to rejoice iniquity than to bewail corruption; yet even such rejoicing cannot exist save from the attainment of inferior good things. But iniquity is the desertion of better things. Likewise in a body, a wound with pain is better than painless putrescence, which is especially called the corruption which the dead flesh of the Lord did not see, that is, did not suffer, as was predicted in prophecy: "Thou shall not suffer Thy Holy one to see corruption."(2) For who denies that He was wounded by the piercing of the nails, and that He was stabbed with the lance?(3) But even what is properly called by men corporeal corruption, that is, putrescence itself, if as yet there is anything left to consume, increases by the diminution of the good. But if corruption shall have absolutely consumed it, so that there is no good, no nature will remain, for there will be nothing that corruption may corrupt; and so there will not even be putrescence, for there will be nowhere at all for it to be.

CHAP. 21.--FROM MEASURE THINGS ARE SAID

TO BE MODERATE-SIZED.(4)

Therefore now by common usage things small and mean are said to have measure, because some measure remains in them, without which they would no longer be moderate-sized, but would not exist at all. But those things that by reason of too much progress are called immoderate, are blamed for very excessiveness; but yet it is necessary that those things themselves be restrained in some manner under God who has disposed all things in extension, number, and weight.(5)

CHAP. 22.--MEASURE IN SOME SENSE IS SUITABLE TO GOD HIMSELF.

But God cannot be said to have measure, lest He should seem to be spoken of as limited. Yet He is not immoderate by whom measure is bestowed upon all things, so that they may in any measure exist. Nor again ought God to be called measured, as if He received measure from any one. But if we say that He is the highest measure, by chance we say something; if indeed in speaking of the highest measure we mean the highest good. For every measure in so far as it is a measure is good; whence nothing can be called measured, modest, modified, without praise, although in another sense we use measure for limit, and speak of no measure where there is no limit, which is sometimes said with praise as when it is said: "And of His kingdom there shall be no limit."(6) For it might also be said, "There shall be no measure," so that measure might be used in the sense of limit; for He who reigns in no measure, assuredly does not reign at all.

CHAP. 23.--WHENCE A BAD MEASURE, A BAD FORM, A BAD ORDER MAY SOMETIMES BE SPOKEN OF.

Therefore a bad measure, a bad form, a bad order, are either so called because they are less than they should be, or because they are not adapted to those things to which they should be adapted; so that they may be called bad as being alien and incongruous; as if any one should be said not to have done in a good measure because he has done less than he ought, or because he has done in such a thing as he ought not to have done, or more than was fitting, or not conveniently; so that the very fact of that being reprehended which is done in a bad measure, is justly reprehended for no other cause than that the measure is not there maintained. Likewise a form is called bad either in comparison with something more handsome or more beautiful, this form being less, that greater, not in size but in comeliness; or because it is out of harmony with the thing to which it is applied, so that it seems alien and unsuitable. As if a man should walk forth into a public place naked, which nakedness does not offend if seen in a bath. Likewise also order is called bad when order itself is maintained in an inferior degree. Hence not order, but rather disorder, is bad; since either the ordering is less than it should be, or not as it should be. Yet where there is any measure, any form, any order, there is some good and some nature; but where there is no measure, no form, no order, there is no good, no nature.

CHAP. 24.--IT IS PROVED BY THE TESTIMONIES OF SCRIPTURE THAT GOD IS UNCHANGEABLE. THE SON OF GOD BEGOTTEN, NOT MADE.

Those things which our faith holds and which reason in whatever way has traced out, are fortified by the testimonies of the divine Scriptures, so that those who by reason of feebler intellect are not able to comprehend these things, may believe the divine authority, and so may deserve to know. But let not those who understand, but are less instructed in ecclesiastical literature, suppose that we set forth these things from our own intellect rather than what are in those Books. Accordingly, that God is unchangeable is written in the Psalms: "Thou shalt change them and they shall be changed; but Thou thyself art the same."(1) And in the book of Wisdom, concerning wisdom: "Remaining in herself, she renews all things."(2) Whence also the Apostle Paul: "To the invisible, incorruptible, only God."(3) And the Apostle James: "Every best giving and every perfect gift is from above, descending from the Father of light, with whom there is no changeableness, neither obscuring of influence."(4) Likewise because what He begat of Himself is what He Himself is, it is said in brief by the Son Himself: "I and the Father are one."(5) But because the Son was not made, since through Him were all things made, thus it is written "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word; this was in the beginning with God. All things were made through Him, and without Him was made nothing;"(6) that is, without Him

was not anything made.

CHAP. 25.--THIS LAST EXPRESSION MISUNDERSTOOD BY SOME.

For no attention should be paid to the ravings of men who think that nothing should be understood to mean something, and moreover think to compel any one to vanity of this kind on the ground that nothing is placed at the end of the sentence. Therefore, they say, it was made, and because it was made, nothing is itself something. They have lost their senses by zeal in contradicting, and do not understand that it makes no difference whether it be said: "Without Him was made nothing," or "without Him nothing was made." For even if the order were the last mentioned, they could nevertheless say, that nothing is itself something because it was made. For in the case of what is in truth something, what difference does it make if it be said "Without him a house was made," so long as it is understood that something was made without him, which something is a house? So also because it is said: "Without Him was made nothing," since nothing is assuredly not anything, when it is truly and properly spoken, it makes no difference whether it be said: "Without Him was made nothing or Without Him nothing was made," or "nothing was made." But who cares to speak with men who can say of this very expression of mine "It makes no difference," "Therefore it makes some difference, for nothing itself is something?" But those whose brains are not addled, see it as a thing most manifest that this something is to be understood when it says "It makes no difference," as when I say "It matters in no respect." But these, if they should say to any one, "What hast thou done?" and he should reply that he has done nothing, would, according to this mode of disputation, falsely accuse him saying, "Thou hast done something, therefore, because thou hast done nothing; for nothing is itself something." But they have also the Lord Himself placing this word at the end of a sentence, when He says: "And in secret have I spoken nothing."(7) Let them read, therefore, and be silent.(8)

CHAP. 26.--THAT CREATURES ARE MADE OF NOTHING.

Because therefore God made all things which He did not beget of Himself, not of those things that already existed, but of those things that did not exist at all, that is, of nothing," the Apostle Paul says: "Who calls the things that are not as if they are."(9) But still more plainly it is written in the book of Maccabees: "I pray thee, son, look at the heaven and the earth and all the things that are in them; see and know that it was not these of which the Lord God made us."(1) And from this that is written in the Psalm: "He spake, and they were made."(2) It is manifest. that not of Himself He begat these things, but that He made them by word and command. But what is not of Himself is assuredly of nothing. For there was not anything of which he should make them, concerning which

the apostle says most openly: "For from Him, and through Him, and in Him are all things."(3)

CHAP. 27.--"FROM HIM" AND "OF HIM" DO NOT MEAN THE SAME THING.

But "from Him" does not mean the same as "of Him."(4) For what is of Him may be said to be from Him; but not everything that is from Him is rightly said to be of Him. For from Him are heaven and earth, because He made them; but not of Him because they are not of His substance. As in the case of a man who begets a son and makes a house, from himself is the son, from himself is the house, but the son is of him, the house is of earth and wood. But this is so, because as a man he cannot make something even of nothing; but God of whom are all things, through whom are all things, in whom are all things, had no need of any material which He had not made to assist His omnipotence.

CHAP. 28.--SIN NOT FROM GOD, BUT FROM THE WILL OF THOSE SINNING.

But when we hear: "All things are from Him, and through Him, and in Him," we ought assuredly to understand all natures which naturally exist. For sins, which do not preserve but vitiate nature, are not from Him; which sins, Holy Scripture in many ways testifies, are from the will of those sinning, especially in the passage where the apostle says: "But dost thou suppose this, O man, that judgest those who do such things, and doest them, that thou shall escape the judgment of God? Or dost thou despise the riches of His goodness, and patience, and long- suffering, not knowing that the patience of God leadeth thee to repentance? But according to the hardness of thy heart and thy impenitent heart, thou treasurest up for thyself wrath against the day of wrath and of the revelation of the just judgment of God, who will render unto every one according to his works."(5)

CHAP. 29.--THAT GOD IS NOT DEFILED BY OUR SINS.

And yet, though all things that He established are in Him, those who sin do not defile Him, of whose wisdom it is said: "She touches all things by reason of her purity, and nothing defiled assails her."(6) For it behooves us to believe that as God is incorruptible and unchangeable, so also is He consequently undefilable.

CHAP. 30.--THAT GOOD THINGS, EVEN THE LEAST, AND THOSE THAT ARE EARTHLY, ARE BY GOD.

But that God made even the least things, that is, earthly and mortal things, must undoubtedly be understood from that passage of the apostle, where, speaking of the members of our flesh: "For if one member is glorified, all the members rejoice with it, and if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it;" also this he then says: "God has placed the members each one of them in the body as he willed;" and "God has tempered the body, giving to that to which it was wanting greater honor, that there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another."(7) But what the apostle thus praises in the measure and form and order of the members of the flesh, you find in the flesh of all animals, alike the greatest and the least; for all flesh is among earthly goods, and consequently is esteemed among the least.

CHAP. 31.--TO PUNISH AND TO FORGIVE SINS BELONG EQUALLY TO GOD.

Likewise because it belongs to divine judgment, not human, what sort of punishment and how great is due to every. fault, it is thus written: "O the height of the riches of the wisdom and the knowledge of God! how inscrutable are His judgments and his ways past finding out!"(8) Likewise because by the goodness of God sins are forgiven to the converted, the very fact that Christ was sent sufficiently shows, who not in His own nature as God, but in our nature, which He assumed from a woman, died for us; which goodness of God with reference to us, and which love of God, the apostle thus sets forth: "But God commendeth His love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us; much more now being justified in His blood we shall be saved from wrath through Him. For if when we were enemies we were reconciled to God through the death of His Son, much more being reconciled we shall be saved in His life."(1) But because even when due punishment is rendered to sinners, there is no unrighteousness on God's part, he thus says: "What shall we say? Is God unrighteous who visiteth with wrath?"(2) But in one place he has briefly admonished that goodness and severity are alike from Him, saying: "Thou sceNt then the goodness and severity of God; toward them that have fallen, severity, but towards thee goodness, if thou shouldst continue in goodness.(3)

CHAP. 32.--FROM GOD ALSO IS THE VERY POWER TO BE HURTFUL.

Likewise because the power even of those that are hurtful is from God alone, thus it stands written, Wisdom speaking: "Through me kings reign and tyrants hold the land through me."(4) The apostle also says: "For there is no power but of God."(5) But that it is worthily done is written in the book of Job: "Who maketh to reign a man that is a hypocrite. on account of the perversity of the people."(6) And concerning the people of Israel God says: "I gave them a king in my wrath."(7) For it is not unrighteous, that the wicked receiving the power of being hurtful, both the patience of the good should be proved and the iniquity of the evil punished. For through power given to the Devil both Job was proved so that he might appear righteous,(8) and Peter was tempted lest he should be presumptuous,(9) and Paul was buffeted lest he should be exalted,(10) and Judas was damned so that he should hang himself.(11) When, therefore, through the power which He has given the Devil, God Himself shall have done all things righteously, nevertheless punishment shall at last be rendered to the Devil not for these things justly done, but for the unrighteous willing to be hurtful, which belonged to himself, when it shall be said to the impious who persevered in consenting to his wickedness, "Go ye into everlasting fire which my God has prepared for the Devil and his angels."(12)

CHAP. 33.--THAT EVIL ANGELS HAVE BEEN MADE EVIL, NOT BY GOD, BUT BY SINNING.

But because evil angels also were not constituted evil by God, but were made evil by sinning, Peter in his epistle says: "For if God spared not angels when they sinned, but casting them down into the dungeons of smoky hell, He delivered them to be reserved for punishment in judgment."(13) Hence Peter shows that there is still due to them the penalty of the last judgment, concerning which the Lord says: "Go ye into everlasting fire, which has been prepared for the Devil and his angels." Although they have already penally received this hell, that is, an inferior smoky air as a prison, which nevertheless since it is also called heaven, is not that heaven in which there are stars, but this lower heaven by the smoke of which the clouds are conglobulated, and where the birds fly; for both a cloudy heaven is spoken of, and flying things are called heavenly. As when the Apostle Paul calls those evil angels, against whom as enemies by living piously we contend, "spiritual things of wickedness in heavenly places."(14) That this may not be understood of the upper heavens, he plainly says elsewhere: "According to the presence of the prince of this air, who now worketh in the sons of disobedience."(15)

CHAP. 34.--THAT SIN IS NOT THE STRIVING FOR AN EVIL NATURE, BUT THE DESERTION OF A BETTER.

Likewise because sin, or unrighteousness, is not the striving after evil nature but the desertion of better, it is thus found written in the Scriptures: "Every creature of God is

good."(16) And accordingly every tree also which God planted in Paradise is assuredly good. Man did not therefore strive after an evil nature when he touched the forbidden tree; but by deserting what was better, he committed an evil deed. Since the Creator is better than any creature which He has made, His command should not have been deserted, that the thing forbidden, however good, might be touched; since the better having been deserted, the good of the creature was striven for, which was touched contrary to the command of the Creator. God did not plant an evil tree in Paradise; but He Himself was better who prohibited its being touched.

CHAP. 35.--THE TREE WAS FORBIDDEN TO ADAM NOT BECAUSE IT WAS EVIL, BUT BECAUSE IT WAS GOOD FOR MAN TO BE SUBJECT TO GOD.

For besides, He had made the prohibition, in order to show that the nature of the rational soul ought not to be in its own power, but in subjection to God, and that it guards the order of its salvation through obedience, corrupting it through disobedience. Hence also He called the tree, the touching of which He forbade, the tree "of the knowledge of good and evil;"(1) because when man should have touched it in the face of the prohibition, he would experience the penalty of sin, and so would know the difference between the good of obedience, and the evil of disobedience.

CHAP. 36.--NO CREATURE OF GOD IS EVIL, BUT TO ABUSE A CREATURE OF GOD IS EVIL.

For who is so foolish as to think a creature of God, especially one planted in Paradise, blameworthy; when indeed not even thorns and thistles, which the earth brought forth, according to the judiciary judgment of God, for wearing out the sinner in labor, should be blamed? For even such herbs have their measure and form and order, which whoever considers soberly will find praiseworthy; but they are evil to that nature which ought thus to be restrained as a recompense for sin. Therefore, as I have said, sin is not the striving after an evil nature, but the desertion of a better, and so the deed itself is evil, not the nature which the sinner uses amiss. For it is evil to use amiss that which is good. Whence the apostle reproves certain ones as condemned by divine judgment, "Who have worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator."(2) He does not reprove the creature, which he who should do would act injuriously towards the Creator, but those who, deserting the better, have used amiss the good.

CHAP. 37.--GOD MAKES GOOD USE OF THE EVIL DEEDS OF SINNERS.

Accordingly, if all natures should guard their own proper measure and form and order, there would be no evil: but if any one should wish to misuse these good things, not even thus does he vanquish the will of God, who knows how to order righteously even the unrighteous; so that if they themselves through the iniquity of their will should misuse His good things, He through the righteousness of His power may use their evil deeds, tightly ordaining to punishment those who have perversely ordained themselves to sins.

CHAP 38.--ETERNAL FIRE TORTURING THE WICKED, NOT EVIL.

For neither is eternal fire itself, which is to torture the impious, an evil nature, since it has its measure, its form and its order depraved by no iniquity; but it is an evil torture for the damned, to whose sins it is due. For neither is yonder light, because it tortures the blear-eyed, an evil nature.

CHAP. 39.--FIRE IS CALLED ETERNAL, NOT AS GOD IS, BUT BECAUSE WITHOUT END.

without beginning; but God is also without beginning. Then, although it may be employed perpetually for the punishment of sinners, yet it is mutable nature. But that is true eternity which is true immortality, that is that highest immutability, which cannot be changed at all. For it is one thing not to suffer change, when change is possible, and another thing to be absolutely incapable of change. Therefore, just as man is called good, yet not as God, of whom it was said, "There is none good save God alone;"(3) and just as the soul is called immortal, yet not as God, of whom it was said, "Who alone hath immortality;"(4) and just as a man is called wise, yet not as God, of whom it was said, "To God the only wise;"(5) so fire is called eternal, yet not as God, whose alone is immortality itself and true eternity.

CHAP. 40.--NEITHER CAN GOD SUFFER HURT, NOR ANY OTHER, SAVE BY THE JUST ORDINATION OF GOD.

Since these things are so, according to the Catholic faith, and wholesome doctrine, and truth perspicuous to those of good understanding, neither can any one hurt the nature of God, nor can the nature of God unrighteously hurt any one, or suffer any one to do hurt

with impunity. "For he that doeth hurt shall receive," says the apostle, "according to the hurt that he has done; and there is no accepting of persons with God."(6)

CHAP. 41.--HOW GREAT GOOD THINGS THE MANICHAEANS PUT IN THE NATURE OF EVIL, AND HOW GREAT EVIL THINGS IN THE NATURE OF GOOD.

But if the Manichaeans were willing, without pernicious zeal for defending their error, and with the fear of God, to think, they would not most criminally blaspheme by supposing two natures, the one good, which they call God, the other evil, which God did not make: so erring, so delirious, nay so insane, are they that they do not see, that even in what they call the nature of supreme evil they place so great good things: life, power safety, memory, intellect, temperance, virtue, plenty, sense, light, suavity, extensions, numbers, peace, measure, form, order; but in what they call supreme good, so many evil things: death, sickness, forgetfulness, foolishness, confusion, impotence, need, stolidity, blindness, pain, unrighteousness, disgrace, war, intemperance, deformity, perversity. For they say that the princes of darkness also have been alive in their own nature, and in their own kingdom were safe, and remembered and understood. For they say that the Prince of Darkness harangued in such a manner, that neither could he have said such things, nor could he have been heard by those by whom he was said to have been heard, without memory and understanding; and to have had a temper suitable to his mind and body, and to have ruled by virtue of power, and to have had abundance and fruitfulness with respect; to his elements, and they are said to have perceived themselves mutually and the light as near at hand, and to have had eyes by which they could see the light afar off; which eyes assuredly could not have seen the light without some light (whence also they are rightly called light); and they are said to have enjoyed exceedingly the sweetness of their pleasures, and to have been determined by measured members and dwelling-places. But unless there had been some sort of beauty there, they would not have loved their wives, nor would their bodies have been steady by adaptation of parts; without which, those things could not have been done there which the Manichaeans insanely say were done. And unless some peace had been there, they would not have obeyed their Prince. Unless measure had been there, they would have done nothing else than eat or drink, or rage, or whatever they might have done, without any society: although not even those that did these things would have had determinate forms, unless measure had been there. But now the Manichaeans say that they did such things that they cannot be denied to have had in all their actions measures suitable to themselves. But if form had not been there, no natural quality would have there subsisted. But if there had been no order there, some would not have ruled, others been ruled; they would not have lived harmoniously in their element; in fine, they would not have that the Manichaeans vainly fable. But if they say that God's nature does not die, what according to their vanity does Christ raise from the dead? If they say that it does not grow sick, what does He cure? If they say that it is not subject to forgetfulness, what does He remind? If they say that it is not deficient in wisdom, what does He teach? If they say that it is not confused, what does He restore? If they say that it was not vanquished and taken captive, what does He liberate? If they

say that it was not in need, to what does He minister aid? If they say that it did not lose feeling, what does He animate? If they say that it has not been blinded,what does He illuminate? If it is not in pain, to what does He give relief? If it is not unrighteous, what does He correct through precepts? If it is not in disgrace, what does He cleanse? If it is not in war, to what does He promise peace? If it is not deficient in moderation, upon what does He impose the measure of law? If it is not deformed, what does He reform? If it is not attributed not to that thing which was made by God, and which has become depraved by its own free choice in sinning, but to the very nature, yea to the very substance of God, which is what God Himself is.

CHAP. 42. ---MANICHAEAN BLASPHEMIES CONCERNING THE NATURE OF GOD.

What can be compared to those blasphemies? Absolutely nothing, unless the errors of other sectaries be considered; but if that error be compared with itself in another aspect, of which we have not yet spoken, it will be convicted of far worse and more execrable blasphemy. For they say that some souls, which they will have to be of the substance of God and of absolutely the same nature, which have not sinned of their own accord, but have been overcome and oppressed by the race of darkness, which they call evil, for combating which they descended not of their own accord, but at the command of the Father, are lettered forever in the horrible sphere of darkness. So according to their sacrilegious vaporings, God liberated Himself in a certain part from a great evil, but again condemned Himself in another part, which He could not liberate, and triumphed over the enemy itself as if it had been vanquished from above. O criminal, incredible audacity, to believe, to speak, to proclaim such things about God! Which when they endeavor to defend, that with their eyes shut they may rush headlong into yet worse things, they say that the commingling of the evil nature does these things, in order that the good nature of God may suffer so great evils: for that this good nature were lauded as incorruptible, because it does not hurt itself, and not because it cannot suffer hurt from another. Then if the nature of God hurt the nature of darkness, and the nature of God, there are therefore two evil things which hurt each other in turn, and the race of darkness was the better disposed, because if it committed hurt it did it unwillingly; for it did not wish to commit hurt, but to enjoy the good which belonged to God. But God wished to extinguish it, as Manichaeus most openly raves forth in his epistle of the ruinous Foundation. For forgetting that he had shortly before said: "But His most resplendent realms were so founded upon the shining and happy land, that they could never be either moved or shaken by any one;" he afterwards said: "But the Father of the most blessed light, knowing that great ruin and desolation which would arise from the darkness, threaten his holy worlds, unless he should send in opposition a deity excellent and renowned, mighty in strength, by whom he might at the same time overcome and destroy the race of darkness, which having been extinguished, the inhabitants of light would enjoy perpetual rest." Behold, he feared ruin and desolation that threatened his worlds! Assuredly they were so founded upon the shining and happy land that they never could be either moved or shaken by any one? Behold, from fear he wished to hurt the neighboring race, which he endeavored to destroy and extinguish, in order that the

inhabitants of light might enjoy perpetual rest. Why did he not add, and perpetual bondage? Were not these souls that he fettered forever in the sphere of darkness, the inhabitants of light, of whom he says plainly, that "they have suffered themselves to err from their former bright nature?" when against his will he is compelled to say, that they sinned by free will, while he wishes to ascribe sin only to the necessity of the contrary nature: everywhere ignorant what to say, and as if he were himself already in the sphere of darkness which he invented, seeking, and not finding, how he may escape. But let him say what he will to the seduced and miserable men by whom he is honored far more highly than Christ, that at this price he may sell to them such long and sacrilegious fables. Let him say what he will, let him shut up, as it were, in a sphere, as in a prison, the race of darkness, and let him fasten outside the nature of light, to which he promised perpetual rest on the extinction of the enemy: behold, the penalty of light is worse than that of darkness; the penalty of the divine nature is worse than that of the adverse race. But since although the latter is in the midst of darkness it pertains to its nature to dwell in darkness; but souls which are the very same thing that God is, cannot be received, he says, into those peaceful realms, and are alienated from the life and liberty of the holy light, and are fettered in the aforesaid horrible sphere: whence he says, "Those souls shall adhere to the things that they have loved, having been left in the same sphere of darkness, bringing this upon themselves by their own deserts." Is not this assuredly flee voluntary choice? See how insanely he ignores what he says, and by making self-contradictory statements wages a worse war against himself than against the God of the race of darkness itself. Accordingly, if the souls of light are damned, because they loved darkness, the race of darkness, which loved light, is unjustly damned. And the race of darkness indeed loved light from the beginning, violently, it may be, but yet so as to wish for its possession, not its extinction: but the nature of light wished to extinguish in war the darkness; therefore when vanquished it loved darkness. Choose which you will: whether it was compelled by necessity to love darkness, or seduced by free will. If by necessity, wherefore is it damned? if by free will, wherefore is the nature of God involved in so great iniquity? If the nature of God was compelled by necessity to love darkness, it did not vanquish, but was vanquished: if by free will, why do the wretches hesitate any longer to attribute the will to sin to the nature which God made out of nothing, lest they should thereby attribute it to the light which He begat?

CHAP. 43.--MANY EVILS BEFORE HIS COMMINGLING WITH EVIL ARE ATTRIBUTED TO THE NATURE OF GOD BY THE MANICHAEANS.

What if we should also show that before the commingling of evil, which stupid fable they have most madly believed, great evils were in what they call the nature of light? what will it scum possible to add to these blasphemies? For before the conflict, there was the hard and inevitable necessity of fighting: here is truly a great evil, before evil is commingled with good. Let them say whence this is, when as yet no commingling had taken place? But if there was no necessity, there was therefore free will: whence also this so great evil, that God himself should wish to hurt his own nature, which could not

be hurt by the enemy, by sending it to be cruelly commingled, to be basely purged, to be unjustly damned? Behold, the great evil of a pernicious, noxious, and savage will, before any evil from the contrary nature was mingled with it! Or perchance he did not know that this would happen to his members, that they should love darkness and become hostile to holy light, as Manichaeus says, that is, not only to their own God, but also to the Father from whom they had their being? Whence therefore this so great evil of ignorance, before any evil from the nature of darkness was mingled with it? But if he knew that this would happen, either there was in him everlasting cruelty, if he did not grieve over the contamination and damnation of his own nature that was to take place, or everlasting misery, if he did so grieve: whence also this so great evil of your supreme good before any commingling with your supreme evil? Assuredly that part of the nature itself which was fettered in the eternal chain of that sphere, if it knew not that this fate awaited it, even so was there everlasting ignorance in the nature of God, but if it knew, then everlasting misery: whence this so great evil before any evil from the contrary nature was commingled? Or perchance did it, in the greatness of its love (charity), rejoice that through its punishment perpetual rest was prepared for the residue of the inhabitants of light? Let him who sees how abominable it is to say this, pronounce an anathema. But if this should be done so that at least the good nature itself should not become hostile to the light, it might be possible, perchance, not for the nature of God indeed, but for some man, as it were, to be regarded as praiseworthy, who for the sake of his country should be willing to suffer something of evil, which evil indeed could be only for a time, and not forever: but now also they speak of that fettering in the sphere of darkness as eternal, and not indeed of a certain thing but of the nature of God; and assuredly it were a most unrighteous, and execrable, and ineffably sacrilegious joy, if the nature of God rejoiced that it should love darkness, and should become hostile to holy light. Whence this so monstrous and abominable evil before any evil from the contrary nature was commingled? Who can endure insanity so perverse and so impious, as to attribute so great good things to supreme evil, and so great evils to supreme good, which is God?

CHAP. 44.--INCREDIBLE TURPITUDES IN GOD IMAGINED BY MANICHAEUS.

But now when they speak of that part of the nature of God as everywhere mixed up in heaven, in earth, in all bodies dry and moil, in all sorts of flesh, in all seeds of trees, herbs, men, and animals: not as present by the power of divinity, for administering and ruling all things, undefilably, inviolably, incorruptibly, without any connection with them, which we say of God; but fettered, oppressed, polluted, to be loosed and liberated, as they say, not only through the running to and fro of the sun and the moon, and through the powers of light, but also through their Elect: what sacrilegious and incredible turpitudes this kind of error recommends to them even if it does not induce them to accept, it is horrible to speak of. For they say that the powers of light are transformed into beautiful males and are set over against the women of the race of darkness; and that the same powers again are transformed into beautiful females and are set over against the males of the race of darkness; that through their beauty they enkindle the foulest lust of the princes of darkness, and in this manner vital substance, that is, the

nature of God, which they say is held lettered in their bodies, having been loosed from their members relaxed through lust, flies away, and when it has been taken up or cleansed, is liberated. This the wretches read, this they say, this they hear, this they believe, this they put as follows, in the seventh book of their Thesaurus (for so they call a certain writing of Manichaeus, in which these blasphemies stand written): "Then the blessed Father, who has bright ships, little apartments, dwelling-places, or magnitudes, according to his in dwelling clemency, brings the help by which he is drawn out and liberated from the impious bonds, straits, and torments of his vital substance. And so by his own invisible nod he transforms those powers of his, which are held in this most brilliant ship, and makes them to bring forth adverse powers, which have been arranged in the various tracts of the heavens. Since these consist of both sexes, male and female, he orders the afore said powers to bring forth partly in the form of beardless youths, for the adverse race of females, partly in the form of bright maidens, for the contrary race of males: knowing that all these hostile powers on account of the deadly and most foul lust innate in them, are very easily taken captive, delivered up to these most beautiful forms which appear, and in this manner they are dissolved. But you may know that this same blessed Father of ours is identical with his powers, which for a necessary reason he transforms into the undefiled likeness of youths and maidens. But these he uses as his own arms, and through them he accomplishes his will. But there are bright ships full of these divine powers, which are stationed after the likeness of marriage over against the infernal races, and who with alacrity and ease effect at the very moment what they have planned. Therefore, when reason demands that these same holy powers should appear to males, straightway also they show by their dress the likeness of most beautiful maidens. Again when females are to be dealt with, putting aside the forms of maidens, they show the forms of beardless youths. But by this handsome appearance of theirs, ardor and lust increase, and in this way the chain of their worst thoughts is loosed, and the living soul which was held by their members, relaxed by this occasion escapes, and is mingled with its own most pure air; when the souls thoroughly cleansed ascend to the bright ships, which have been prepared for conveying them and for ferrying them over to their own country. But that which still bears the stains of the adverse race, descends little by little through billows and fires, and is mingled with trees and other plants and with all seeds, and is plunged into divers fires. And in what manner the figures of youths and maidens from that great and most glorious ship appear to the contrary powers which live in the heavens and have a fiery nature; and from that handsome appearance, par of the life which is held in their members having been released is conducted away through fires into the earth: in the same manner also, that most high power, which dwells in the ship of vital waters appears in the likeness of youths and holy maidens to those powers whose nature is cold and moist, and which are arranged in the heavens. And indeed to those that are females, among these the form of youths appears, but to the males, the form of maidens. By his changing and diversity of divine and most beautiful persons, the princes male and female of the moist and cold race are loosed, and what is vital in them escapes; but whatever should remain, having been relaxed, is conducted into the earth through cold, and is mingled with all the races of darkness" Who can endure this? Who can believe, not indeed that it is true, but that it could even be said? Behold those who fear to anathematize Manichaeus teaching these things, and do not fear to believe in a God doing them and suffering them!

CHAP. 45.--CERTAIN UNSPEAKABLE TURPITUDES BELIEVED, NOT WITHOUT REASON, CONCERNING THE MANICHAEANS THEMSELVES.

But they say, that through their own Elect that same commingled part and nature of God is purged, by eating and drinking forsooth, (because they say that it is held lettered in all foods); that when they are taken up by the Elect for the nourishment of the body in eating and drinking, it is loosed, sealed, and liberated through their sanctity. Nor do the wretches pay heed to the fact that this is believed about them not without good reason, and they deny it in vain, so long as they do not anathematize the books of Manichaeus and cease to be Manichaeans. For if, as they say, a part of God is fettered in all seeds, and is purged by eating on the part of the Elect; who may not properly believe, that they do what they read in the Thesaurus was done among the powers of heaven and the princes of darkness; since indeed they say that their flesh is also from the race of darkness, and since they do not hesitate to believe and to affirm that the vital substance fettered in them is a part of God? Which assuredly if it is to be loosed, and purged by eating, as their lamentable error compels them to acknowledge; who does not see, who does not shudder at the greatness and the unspeakableness of what follows?

CHAP. 46.--THE UNSPEAKABLE DOCTRINE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL EPISTLE.

For they even say that Adam, the first man, was created by certain princes of darkness so that the light might be held by them test it should escape. For in the epistle which they call Fundamental, Manichaeus wrote as follows respecting the way in which the Prince of Darkness, whom they represent as the father of the first man, spoke to the rest of his allied princes of darkness, and how he acted: "Therefore with wicked inventions he said to those present: What does this huge light that is rising seem to you to be? See how the pole moves, how it shakes most of the powers. Wherefore it is right for me rather to ask you beforehand for whatever light you have in your powers: since thus I will form an image of that great one who has appeared in his glory, through which we may be able to rule, freed in some measure from the conversation of darkness. Hearing these things, and deliberating for a long time among themselves, they thought it most just to furnish what was demanded of them. For they did not have confidence in being able to retain the light that they had forever; hence they thought it better to offer it to their Prince, by no means without hope that in this way they would-rule. It must be considered therefore how they furnished the light that they had. For this also is scattered throughout all the divine scriptures and the heavenly secrets; but to the wise it is easy enough to know how it was given: for it is known immediately and openly by him who should truly and faithfully wish to consider. Since there was a promiscuous throng of those who had come together, females and males of course, he impelled them to copulate among themselves: in Which copulation the males emitted seed, the females

were made pregnant. But the offspring were like those who had begotten them, the first obtaining as it were the largest portion of the parents' strength. Taking these as a special gift their Prince rejoiced. And just as even now we see take place, that the nature of evil taking thence strength forms the fashioner of bodies, so also the aforesaid Prince, taking the offspring of his companions, which had the senses of their parents, sagacity, light, procreated at the same time with themselves in the process of generation, devoured them; and very many powers having been taken from food of this kind, in which there was present not only fortitude, but much more astuteness and depraved sensibilities from the ferocious race of the progenitors, he called his own spouse to himself, springing from the same stock as himself, emitted, like the rest the abundance of evils that he had devoured, himself also adding something from his own thought and power, so that his disposition became the former and arranger of all the things that he had poured forth; whose consort received these things as soil cultivated in the best way is accustomed to receive seed. For in her were constructed and woven together the images of all heavenly and earthly powers, so that what was formed obtained the likeness, so to speak, of a full orb."

CHAP. 47.--HE COMPELS TO THE PERPETRATION OF HORRIBLE TURPITUDES.

O abominable monger! O execrable perdition and ruin of deluded souls! I am not speaking of the blasphemy of saying these things about the nature of God which is thus fettered. Let the wretches deluded and hunted by deadly error give heed to this at least, that if a part of their God is fettered by the copulation of males and females which they profess to loose and purge by eating it, the necessity of this unspeakable error compels them not only to loose and purge the part of God from bread and vegetables and fruits, which done they are seen publicly to, partake of, but also from that which might be fettered through copulation, if conception should take place. That they do this some are said to have confessed before a public tribunal, not only in Paphlagonia, but also in Gaul, as I heard in Rome from a certain Catholic Christian; and when they were asked by the authority of what writing they did these things, they betrayed this fact concerning the Thesaurus that I have just mentioned. But when this is cast in their teeth, they are in the habit of replying, that some enemy or other has withdrawn from their number, that is from the number of their Elect, and has made a schism, and has founded a most foul heresy of this kind. Whence it is manifest that even if they do not themselves practise this thing, some who do practise it do it on the basis of thor books. Therefore let them reject the books, if they abhor the crime, which they are compelled to commit, if they hold to the books; or if they do not commit them, they endeavor in opposition to the books to live more purely. But what do they do when it is said to them, either purge the light from whatever seeds you can, so that you cannot refuse to do that which you assert that you do not do; or else anathematize Manichaeus, when he says that a part of God is in all seeds, and that it is fettered by copulation, but that whatever of light, that is, of the aforesaid part of God, should become the food of the Elect, is purged by being eaten. Do you see what he compels you to believe, and do you still hesitate to anathematize him? What do they do, I say, when this is said to them? To what

subterfuges do they betake themselves, when either so nefarious a doctrine is to be anathematized, or so nefarious a turpitude committed, in comparison with which all those intolerable evils to which I have already called attention, seem tolerable, namely, that they say of the nature of God that it was pressed by necessity to wage war, that it was either secure by everlasting ignorance, or was disturbed by everlasting grief and fear, when the corruption of com-mingling and the chain of everlasting damnation should come upon it, that finally as a result of the conflict it should be taken captive, oppressed, polluted, that after a false victory it should be fettered forever in a horrible sphere and separated from its original blessedness, while if considered in themselves they cannot be endured?

CHAP. 48.--AUGUSTIN PRAYS THAT THE MANICHAEANS MAY BE RESTORED TO THEIR SENSES.

O great is Thy patience, Lord, full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy, and true;(1) who makest Thy sun to rise upon the good and the evil, and who sendest rain upon the just and the unjust;(2) who willest not the death of the sinner, so much as that he return and live;(3) who reproving in parts, dost give place to repentance, that wickedness having been abandoned, they may believe on Thee, O Lord;(1) who by Thy patience dost lead to repentance, although many according to the hardness of their heart and their impenitent heart treasure up for themselves wrath against the day of wrath and of the revelation of Thy righteous judgment, who wilt render to every man according to his works;(2) who in the day when a man shall have turned from his iniquity to Thy mercy and truth, wilt forget all his iniquities:(3) stand before us, grant unto us that through our ministry, by which Thou hast been pleased to refute this execrable and too horrible error, as many have already been liberated, many also may be liberated, and whether through the sacrament Of Thy holy baptism, or through the sacrifice of a broken spirit and a contrite and humbled heart,(4) in the sorrow of repentance, they may deserve to receive the remission of their sins and blasphemies, by which through ignorance they have offended Thee. For nothing is of any avail, save Thy surpassing mercy and power, and the truth of Thy baptism, and the keys of the kingdom of heaven in Thy holy Church; so that we must not despair of men as long as by Thy patience they live on this earth, who even knowing how great an evil it is to think or to say such things about Thee, are detained in that malign profession on account of the use or the attainment of temporal or earthly convenience, if rebuked by Thy reproaches they in any way flee to Thy ineffable goodness, and prefer to all the enticements of the carnal life, the heavenly and eternal life.

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Kephalaia

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For the work by Evagrius Ponticus, see Kephalaia Gnostika.
Kephalaia
Information
Religion Manichaeism
Language Coptic[1]
Period c. 5th century
Kephalaia (Koine Greek and Coptic: ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲁ, lit. 'chapters, headings') is a genre of Manichaean literature represented mainly by two large papyrus codices containing Coptic translations from 5th-century Roman Egypt.[1] The kephalaia are sometimes seen as the actual words or teachings of the prophet Mani, but are probably better viewed as later discourses and interpretations laid upon "an authoritative oral tradition" ostensibly going back to Mani and thus analogous to the Talmud in Judaism and the ḥadīth in Islam.[2]

Although the Kephalaia likely originated, like hadiths, as accounts of the life and actions of Mani, the utility of the genre was such that it came to incorporate a wide variety of literary styles subjected artificially to the constraints of the format: instruction, exegesis, narrative, dialogue, parable, miracle-story, and even epic traditions.[1][3]

The discovery of the Kephalaia has been revolutionary in transforming scholarship on early Manichaean traditions and even the secular history of the Sasanian Empire.[1]

Despite the apocryphal and heavily reworked nature of the available text, most prominently from Coptic translation, it is an authentic representation of traditions first held and developed by the Manichaean communities in the early Sasanian period within the empire. As such, this is a unique source for literature, religion and society from a known context that substantially pre-dates most other available resources concerning the reigns of Shapur II and his successors.[1]

While Jesus is only rarely called Jesus the Splendour in other Manichaen writings, he is commonly called as such in the Kephalaia of the Teacher.[4] In the Kephalaia, Jesus is an emanation of the Father of Greatness and identical with the "Third Envoy" and the "living word," brought forth to restore the damage done by the rebellion of the Archons.[5] When Jesus the Splendour descends to the earth, he later takes on the shape of flesh to manifest himself in the material world.[6]

The descriptions of the Lord of Darkness in chapters 6 and 27 of the Kephalaia have

close parallels in chapter 12.6 of the Mandaean Right Ginza.[7]

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External links

Text

vte
Manichaeism
Prophets
Mani (Founder)JesusSakyamuniZarathustraNarayanaSeth

Seal with figure of Mani, possibly 3rd century CE, possibly Irak. Cabinet des Médailles, Paris

Scripture
Seven treatises of Manichaeism (Gospel of Mani, Treasure of Life, The Epistles, The Book of Mysteries, Pragmateia, The Book of Giants, Psalms and Prayers)Book of PicturesShabuhragan
Extracanonical
literature
New TestamentFundamental EpistleManichaean Psalm BookPsalms of ThomasKephalaiaXuastvaniftCologne Mani-CodexMedinet Madi libraryDunhuang Manichaean texts XiabuzanManichaean CompendiumIncomplete scripture of ManichaeismIrk Bitig†Turpan Manichaean texts Sogdian-language Manichaean letterXiapu Manichaean manuscripts Moni Guangfo
Theology
Father of GreatnessPrince of DarknessZarathustra in ManichaeismThe Buddha in ManichaeismJesus in ManichaeismTwo Principles and Three MomentsGnosisMessenger of LightXroshtag and PadvaxtagArchonAsrestar
History
ApostlesMar AmmoMar SisinMar ZakuMar AddaShad OhrmazdMihrFaustusAgapiusAphthoniusHegemoniusMarcusThree Persian religionsHuichang Persecution of ManichaeismBögü QaghanSergius-TychicusEast-West SchismAmr ibn AdiAbū Hilāl al-DayhūriLü ShinangSynod of GangraLin DengPersecutionUyghur KhaganateCangnan SteleQianku
Sects
See of BabylonDenawarsAstatiChinese ManichaeismMiqlāsiyya
Organisation
ArchegosPatriarchApostleBishopPresbyterElectHearers
Commandments
Three SealsPañcavidyā
Rituals
EucharistEvangelismRepentanceFasting
Buildings
Cao'anPuxi Fushou Palace [zh]Flying Road Pagoda [zh]Leshan Temple [zh]
Visual art
Birth of ManiBook of PicturesDiagram of the UniverseEpisodes from Mani's Missionary WorkIcon of ManiLeaf from a Manichaean book MIK III 4959Leaf from a Manichaean book MIK III 4974Leaf from a Manichaean book MIK III 4979Leaf from a Manichaean book MIK III 6368Leaf from a Manichaean book MIK III 8259Mani's Community EstablishedMani's ParentsManichaean stone reliefs of Shangwan villageManichaean temple banner MIK III 6286Manichaean wall painting MIK III 6918Painting of the Buddha JesusSealstone of ManiSermon on Mani's Teaching of SalvationVeneration of the Tree of Life
Writing system
Manichaean scriptManichaean (Unicode block)
In fiction
Ming CultThe Gardens of LightStory of the Twin Dragons of Great TangThe Secret of Heaven
Notes: † mainly a Tengrist text but recorded in a Manichaean monastery
Categories: Manichaean textsMedinet Madi library
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KEPHALAIA, genre of literature developed by the Manichean communities in the early Sasanian empire that spread with the church across Eurasia and North Africa, primarily preserved by two large papyrus codices in Coptic translation from Egypt dating to the early fifth century CE (see COPTIC MANICHEAN TEXTS).

The Kephalaia (Greek and Coptic: “chapters,” “summaries,” “principal points”) are better characterised as an evolving and open-ended genre of literature than as a single book. The governing features are the formatting of text into numbered chapters each with a header (“This kephalaion tells about such and such”) and a formulaic opening that presents the material as the verbatim teaching of Mani himself, often in response to a question (“Once again, it happened one time while the apostle was sitting in the congregation of his disciples, a catechumen questioned him,” vel sim.). The earliest kephalaic material was primarily doctrinal, the format providing a suitable vehicle for the complex teachings of the community as organised by the scholastic tradition of the elect into elaborate but tersely-expressed taxonomies (e.g., “Concerning the five forms that exist in the rulers of darkness”; “Concerning the three days and the two deaths”). The utility of the genre was such that it came to incorporate a wide variety of literary styles subjected artificially to the constraints of the format: instruction, exegesis, narrative, dialogue, parable, miracle-story, and even epic traditions. Although it is probable that some authentic details of the life and teaching of Mani himself are preserved, the Kephalaia do not belong to his authored canon of scripture. They are apocryphal, heavily-reworked, and came in time to incorporate other bodies of textual material beyond the oral memory of the community concerning its founder and his revelation (Pettipiece, pp. 8-9). Current scholarly research is only beginning to disentangle the redactional layers of the extant texts and attempt an archaeology of the resources preserved (Gardner, 2010, for initial comments; Pedersen, 2017, considered application of the method). The value of the Coptic sources for information regarding Iranian epic traditions (BeDuhn, 2015b), andarz literature and folk-tales at such an early date has not yet been realised.

The earliest evidence is a brief allusion found in a fragmentary passage of the apocalyptic text The Sermon on the Great War (Manichaean Homilies, ed. Pedersen, p. 18, 6): “I weep for the Kephalaia.” This tragic vision of the wrath and suffering visited upon the churches is ascribed to Koustaios (Kuštai), Mani’s scribe according to one of his own Epistles (unpublished, Berlin P. 15998, f. 13). The line is rendered as if spoken by the apostle himself, but notably without the possessive found in the previous line for one of his authentic works (“my Picture-Book”; see ARŽANG). Although the Coptic codex in which the only copy of The Sermon on the Great War is preserved dates to circa 400 CE, the original writing would have been composed in eastern Aramaic in Sasanian Mesopotamia during the persecutions subsequent to the apostle’s martyrdom in 277 CE(?). This would locate the existence and perhaps source of the Kephalaia within Mani’s immediate circle in the late third century or the very start of the fourth; thus during the reign of Bahrām II or his immediate successors as persecutors of the community. The early date appears confirmed by its naming (Lat. Capitula), together with authentic works by Mani in the Acta Archelai (ed. Beeson, 62, 6; see ARCHELAUS), a polemic that must be dated to circa 330-340 CE (Lieu in Vermes, pp. 6-8). Note also the Capitula of the Manichean bishop Faustus of Milevis, written late fourth-century in Latin in Roman North Africa and cited at length by Augustine in his Contra Faustum (for caution as regards dating van den Berg, 2013, pp. 20-21 and for an overview of research van Gaans). G. Wurst has argued for a parallelism between this work and the Kephalaia themselves (also van den Berg, 2010, pp. 181-84) as represented in the Coptic codices; but the broadly Biblical content of Faustus’ book and

the fact that the teaching is his own and not cited as the words of Mani makes it preferable to assign it to the erōtapokrisis or question-and-answer literature widespread in late antiquity. The Kephalaia necessarily belong to this category (Pettipiece, pp. 9-10), but they had notable features and possible parallels with Iranian and Buddhist models (Dilley, 2015a, pp. 22-23) that mark them out as a specific, definable sub-group.

In 1929 there appeared on the Cairo antiquities market a cache of large Coptic papyrus codices, two volumes of which included the term Kephalaia (Coptic n-kephalaion) in their titles. The date of the artifacts is most probably between 380-430 CE (BeDuhn and Hodgins, 2017). The exact history of the so-called Medinet Madi (in the Egyptian Fayyum) find, its gradual publication and many problems is exceedingly complicated (see Robinson); but broadly speaking one Kephalaia volume is now preserved in Berlin (1Ke = The Chapters of the Teacher) and the other in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (2Ke = The Chapters of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani).

At first the editing and publication of the Coptic text of 1Ke (Berlin P. 15996) in the series Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin with German translation proceeded rapidly, the first half completed by 1940 and edited by H. J. Polotsky (pp. 1-102) and A. Böhlig (pp. 103-244). Publication of the so-called second half by Böhlig commenced in 1966 (to p. 291), although much of the work for this had been prepared earlier; but then nothing further was made available for several decades. As a consequence, the English translation by I. Gardner in 1995 of the edited text to that point (pp. 1-295, chapter 122 completed by means of an unpublished draft provided by Funk) has become the standard means by which the work is accessed and cited in the anglophone world. This is what is commonly glossed as the Kephalaia, but it is misleading as it covers only part of the contents of 1Ke and none of 2Ke; nor is there reason to suppose that these Coptic codices preserve an archetypal version of the work. Funk has now completed the original series published by W. Kohlhammer of Stuttgart (1999, 2000 and 2017) to a final total of 522 pages for the Berlin codex; but these latter sections are less well-known to non-specialists nor widely available. A summary account of the codicology, with indices to the complete Coptic text and extensive addenda and corrigenda to the entirety of 1Ke from its start, is in process by Funk and projected as a final volume of Supplementa.

The contents of 2Ke remained largely unknown until a facsimile edition of the manuscript was made available by S. Giversen in 1986. The publication provided no transcripts, and left many codicological problems unsolved; but the opportunity to view the plates led to a series of articles with readings and discussions of short passages (Böhlig, 1989, 1992; Funk, 1990, 1997, 2002; Gardner, 2005; Gnoli; Sundermann; Tardieu, 1988, 1991). A particular interest was the question of the relationship between 1Ke and 2Ke, noting the different titles. Gh. Gnoli and M. Tardieu argued that the latter codex might represent an eastern or Iranian tradition associated with the apostle's disciple Mār Ammō, whilst the former was associated with Mār Addā/Adimantus and the mission to the west. In 2005 Gardner and BeDuhn, later joined by Dilley, began a new project to edit 2Ke (Gardner, 2015a). An initial part has been published in 2018 (Coptic text and English translation of chapters 321-347, pp. 343-442) with three more in process to complete the edition of the Dublin codex. This on-going work has advanced the understanding of the Coptic Kephalaia corpus as follows.

Despite the different titles it appears that the two volumes were part of a continuous production totalling in excess of one thousand pages on papyrus. Funk (private communication) calculates that 1Ke probably concluded between chapters 205-210; the final identifiable number and header being that for 199. The first kephalaion number in 2Ke as yet read is 220, and the last one in this redaction is 347. The final quires of 1Ke and the earlier of 2Ke are poorly preserved but it is most economic to suppose that the chapter sequencing was continuous between the codices. The primary distinction is not between the two, but rather the entire massive work is composed of a series of separate 'books' so that the chapter numbers and total of 347 can only be a secondary imposition on the whole, and presumably specific to this redaction rather than archetypal of the work as a single-authored composition. The original books are apparent because each of them starts with a version of the text known as On the Coming of the Apostle (kephalaion 1) or some form of duplicate title or contents. The first 'book' begins at chapter 1 and gathers together scholastic teachings concerning cosmology and cosmogony; theology, theogony and demonology; human origins; time and soteriology. It is possible that this was the 'original' Kephalaia, and if the notion of authorship has any meaning it should be found here although a great deal of other material has been added to the core in the only comprehensive version available (i.e., 1Ke). A second 'book' begins in chapter 76 entitled On Lord Mani: How he Journeyed. It deals with topics that can loosely be described as community practice and ethics, although again a great many other text-units and subjects have been collected here. Redaction is very unstable and limited throughout: Some individual chapters clearly contain multiple blocks of material; introductory formulae are mostly artificial; organization according to subject, catchphrase or an overall schema is rudimentary (Gardner, 1995, pp. xix-xxiv).

In 2Ke another block of material is inserted and arranged from chapters 295 ([On Jesus the Christ]: How his Coming to the World Occurred) to 304, which can be dubbed the 'Jesus-book' as it collates traditions about the savior in gospel sequence from his advent to the ascension. At number 305, more than midway through 2Ke, there begins the 'Iranian Kephalaia-book', which contains duplicate material to chapter 1 but here the advent of the apostles is framed by an Iranian genealogy rather than the Biblical history from the antediluvian prophets to Jesus that controls the former. Iranian epic and Buddhist traditions are utilized for parallel purposes to those of the first kephalaion, where the frame was broadly Judeo-Christian, and point to an eastern cultural context for the formation and redaction of the contents that follow. This 'book,' which itself incorporates discrete sources all of a distinct Sasanian cultural and geographical setting, will prove an invaluable resource for Iranian scholarship. Here are found parallels to Manichean Middle Iranian texts previously recovered from Central Asia (BeDuhn, 2015a), as well as entirely unexpected evidence of the use made by the community of andarz literature and folk-tales previously known only from Middle Persian and Arabic sources of a much later date.

Thus the distinguishing features noted by scholars such as Tardieu in their first examination of pages from 2Ke made available by Giversen in 1986 are not between the two Coptic volumes in themselves, but rather between different kephalaia-books that have been incorporated into the collection as it is represented in the Medinet Madi codices that circulated in Egypt at around 400 CE. Finally, it is notable that around the

entire corpus there is gathered introductory material provided to frame and justify the work (1Ke, pp. 1-9.10), while after the final kephalaion ends (2Ke, p. 442.6) the compilation concludes with a lengthy version of the literary cycle concerning Mani's last days (Gardner, 2015c) together with comments on the very final page to record the writing of these Kephalaia (unpublished, but see Funk, 1997, pp. 153-54).

Now that the overall construction of the Coptic volumes has become clear it is certain that one cannot speak of this compilation as a single composition with an author to be identified. One could suppose an original redactor, responsible for the distinct features of the genre; and this person might be sought in the first generation of disciples (see above). It is possible that the contents of that primal Kephalaia might be at the core of the first 'book' where there is a somewhat stronger sense of ordering manifested in actual numbers given to the earliest chapters (e.g., The Second: On the Parable of the Tree), but any attempt to reconstruct this would be highly speculative and the idea itself is only an hypothesis. The identification of this person as Addā as first suggested by Tardieu is unprovable, although has been attractive to scholars (Funk, 1997, p. 154; van den Berg, 2010, pp. 208-11 for the proposal that the figure of Adimantus connects it to Faustus as his student and the latter's own Capitula, cf. Augustine c. Faust.1, 2). It is linked to the idea of the work as somehow intrinsically connected to the western mission; but the new identification of an "Iranian Kephalaia-book" embedded in 2Ke reopens this construction. Manichean scholarship has been enormously advanced by the rapid publication of the earlier parts of 1Ke, but this has also prejudiced the meaning given to the term. There are substantial examples of very similar types of textual material circulated by the Manichean communities in Iranian (Sundermann and e.g., Henning) and Chinese (Lieu and Mikkelsen, pp. xxxii-xxxiv); but there has been a noted reluctance to name these as Kephalaia due to comparison with the supposed archetype recovered in the Coptic translation of the first Medinet Madi codex (1Ke). For possible evidence of kephalaic material circulated in Coptic in other formats see the finds at Ismant el-Kharab (in the Dakhleh/Daḵla Oasis), notably T. Kellis II Copt. 1, P. Kellis II Copt. 5 and 8 (Gardner, 1996).

The publication of the Kephalaia has greatly influenced all research on Manicheism since its inception (e.g., major studies by Böhlig, 2013; van Lindt; Pettipiece; Woschitz). Despite the apocryphal and heavily reworked nature of the available text, most prominently from Coptic translation, it is an authentic representation of traditions first held and developed by the Manichean communities in the early Sasanian period and within the Iranian empire. As such, this is a unique source for literature, religion and society from a known context that substantially pre-dates most other available resources concerning the reigns of Šāpur I and his successors. Strictly historical data (though much stylised) is thickest in the biographical sections relating to Mani's call and the announcement of his public mission (chapter 1), his travels (76), and the appendix where community tradition records his final travels, trial and imprisonment. Other notable passages include the apostle witnessing the Tigris in flood (61), his dialogue with a Nazorean (89), his encounter with the King of Ṭurān (323), and the remarkable debate before King Šāpur that is facilitated by the courtier Kirdīr, son of Ardawān (338, see ŠKZ and discussion by Gardner, 2015b). Information on other presumed historical persons and Mazdayasnian festival or ceremony are found in chapters 322 and 326, whilst a written 'law of Zarades' (Coptic p-nomos n-zaradēs) is directly cited in 341 and

345 (Dilley, 2015b). The Iranian epic material with the story of Kay Ḵosrow (here as ‘Chasrō the blessed’) and much more may be 306; but this number is uncertain and awaits final editing. Examples of andarz literature and folk-tales incorporated into the tradition are prevalent in the series of chapters concerning Mani’s debates with Gūndēš and other sages at the Sasanian court (327-340).

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Contents

A Dream-Work: An Analysis of Nāṣer Ḵosrow's Dream and Intellectual Transformation 1
Yahia Baiza

Iranian Linguistic Attitudes and Persian Language Planning: A Case Study in Tehran 21
Negar Davari Ardakani, Hossein Moghani

Manichaean Remarks in ʿAwfī's Javāmeʾ al-ḥekāyāt wa lawāmeʿ al-rewāyāt 45
Abolghasem Esmailpour Motlagh

Field Report on the 2015 Current Archaeological Works of the Joint Iran-French Project on Pasargadae and Its Territory 60
Sébastien Gondet, Kourosh Mohammadkhani, Mahdokht Farjamirad, Nabil Ibnoeirida, Farhad Zare Kordshouli, Hamid Reza Karami, Damien Laisney

Establishment of Odontometric Sexual Dimorphism in Archaeological Populations: A Case Study of Ḥasanlu 88
Seyedeh Mandan Kazzazi, Elena Kranioti

An Implementation of Task-Based Approach in Teaching Official Persian Language to Local Speakers of the Lārī Language 103
Mahinnaz Mirdehghan, Behzad Moridi, Muhammed Ourang

New Light on the Coptic Manichaean *Synaxeis*, A Codicological and Textological Survey (With Two Appendices) 120
Mohammad Shokri-Foumeshi

A Dream-Work: An Analysis of Nāṣer Ḵosrow's Dream and Intellectual Transformation

Yahia Baiza[*]

Abstract
Believing in dreams and dream interpretation is part of the human psyche and human culture across all societies. Prophets, pious men and women are believed to have had the special gift of understanding and interpreting both the manifest and the latent contents of dreams and providing guidance and predictions. This paper presents an analysis of a dream that Nāṣer Ḵosrow experienced in the forty-second year of his life. It analyses the context and the content of this dream, which he describes in his *Safar-nāmah* (Travelogue), and how this dream turned into a dream-work that transformed Nāṣer Ḵosrow's life and enabled him to leave behind a rich intellectual legacy.[**]

Keywords: Nāṣer Ḵosrow, Shiʿite Ismāʿili, Nāṣer Ḵosrow's dream, intellectual transformation.

Introduction

Despite having a long and visible historical presence, the history of the Shīʿa Ismāʿili (hereafter, Ismāʿili) *daʿwat* (summons) and communities in Khorasan has largely remained unexplored. This is because history as a scholarly discipline is still dominated by conventional historiography, which mainly focuses on 'big narratives', and rarely pays attention to the history and events of minority groups. The lack of attention to the

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overall history of the Ismāʿili *daʿwat* in Khorasan also appears to have had an impact on the study of life, thought and intellectual legacy of Nāṣer Ḵosrow.[1] Therefore, despite an increasing interest in the study of Nāṣer Ḵosrow's thoughts and ideas in Persian and major European languages, the fields of Ismāʿili studies in general and Nāṣer Ḵosrow studies in particular are still explored and discussed in the margins of Islamic studies.

It may sound a strong statement to say that until the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, Nāṣer Ḵosrow was one of the most overlooked literary and religious personalities. Over the past nine centuries since his death in 469/1077 or 486/1093 until the beginning of the twentieth century only a handful of scholars are known to have written about Nāṣer Ḵosrow. Some critics may counter the argument that he has been overlooked by referring to a list of historical sources which refer to Nāṣer Ḵosrow. However, by saying that Nāṣer Ḵosrow was one of the most overlooked personalities until the late nineteenth century, this author does not necessarily mean that Nāṣer Ḵosrow remained unknown as a person. Rather, not only were his ideas, thoughts and legacies left unexplored, but when some small number of writers did pay attention to him we note that a series of fictional and fabricated narratives were developed and attributed to him on the one hand, and many negative views and comments were passed to him on the other. The sources analysed and discussed in this introduction are generally divided into pre-late nineteenth and post-late nineteenth century. The former category of sources often do not exceed a few lines of prose and poetry, with a passing mention to Nāṣer Ḵosrow while at the same time containing mixed polemical and unhistorical views. It is only in the post-nineteenth century literature that Nāṣer Ḵosrow's books, thoughts and ideas have attracted scholars' attention.

The earlier sources paint Nāṣer Ḵosrow's life and thoughts in negative, and positive and neutral pictures. One such early source is a piece of short poetry (*qiṭʿa*), written by a late sixth-century poet from Samarqand, Dehqān ʿAlī Šaṭranjī, known by his sobriquet *Jamāl al-ḥokamāʾ* (The

1. I use a simplified version of the name Nāṣer-e Ḵosrow for the ease of reading.

Beauty of Scholars). The poem appears in Muḥammad ʿAwfī's *Lobāb al-albāb* (*the Essence of Intellect*), the first Persian biographical work. ʿAwfī (d. 639/1242) dedicates seven pages of his biographical work to Šaṭranjī, who describes Nāṣer Ḵosrow in pejorative terms. Firstly, Šaṭranjī wrongly states that Nāṣer Ḵosrow adopted the sobriquet of *Ḥamid al-Dīn* (Praiseworthy of Religion) and then muses on how Nāṣer Ḵosrow can deserve such a title, when the dung of the former, i.e., *Ḥamid al-Dīn*, is far better than the goodness (*maḥāsin*) of this, i.e., Nāṣer Ḵosrow (ʿAwfī 1903 vol. 2, 202). Nāṣir Khuraw never adopted the sobriquet *Ḥamid al-Dīn* for himself. Rather it is part of his full name, Abū Moʿīn Ḥamid al-Dīn Nāṣer ibn Ḵosrow. Apparently, Šaṭranjī either mistakenly attributes Nāṣer Ḵosrow's name as his sobriquet, or he purposely plays with words in order to pass a derogatory comment to him.

Another work of the same era belongs to Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyāʾ b.Muḥammad Qazvīnī (d. 681/1283). In his geographical account, *Āṯār al-belād wa aḵbār al-ʿebād*, Qazvīnī gives a fictional image of Nāṣer Ḵosrow under the geographical account of Yumgān.[2] After describing Yumgān as a valley minerals in Badaḵšān surrounded by mountains full of precious, he describes Nāṣer Ḵosrow's life and activities on the authority of a certain Amīr Ḥesām-al-Dīn Abu'l Moʾayyad b.Noʿmān. Qazvīnī describes Nāṣer Ḵosrow as the king of Balḵ who escaped his kingdom and took refuge in Yumgān because of people's rebellion. In Yumgān, Qazvīnī attributes to Nāṣer Ḵosrow the creation of certain statues and figures that used to move and speak non-human languages, and that people were forbidden to look at them so they could remain safe from potential harm. He also describes the construction of fictional gardens and buildings, mainly mysterious *ḥammāms* (hot baths), as the works of Nāṣer Ḵosrow (Qazvīnī 1969, 489-90, 1994, 567-68). This would seem to be a purely fictional and unhistorical account, because Nāṣer Ḵosrow was neither the king of Balḵ nor he was the builder of mysterious gardens or structures or figures. However, the reason why Qazvīnī includes fictional narratives and attributes them to Nāṣer

2. The author spells it as Yumkān, instead of Yumgān, because the Arabic alphabet does not have the letter '*gāf*'.

Ḵosrow is that he himself was a fiction writer, and loved to give his fiction historical contexts. Qazvīnī is known for his love for fiction which led him to write *ʿAjāʾeb al-Maḵlūqāt wa ḡarāʾeb al-mawjūdāt* (*Marvels of Creatures and Strange Beings*) in 678/1280. His passion for fiction is very likely to have been one of the main reasons why he interwove his account of Yumgān and Nāṣer Ḵosrow with fictional narratives.

A third source is that of the eighth-century historian, Ḥamd-Allāh Mostawfī. In his *Tārīḵ-e gozīda*, Mostawfī gives an account of creation from the beginning to his own time in 730/1330. All the entries in the book are of dubious historical accuracy. This is particularly evident on the history of Fatimid imams and caliphs, namely caliph al-Mostanṣer billāh (r. 427-487/1036-1094), who designated Nāṣer Ḵosrow as his chief *dāʿī* with the title of *ḥujjat* for Khorasan. Mostawfī's entry on Nāṣer Ḵosrow contains four short sentences which also include erroneous information. For example, he states that Nāṣer Ḵosrow lived for nearly a hundred years and that he was born in 359/970 (Mostawfī 1960, 514-15, 753-54). A similar historical inaccuracy can be found in the *Majmaʿ al-Foṣaḥā* of Riżā-qolī Ḵān Hedāyat (1215-1289/1800-1872), who states that Nāṣer Ḵosrow lived in Yumgān for nearly 25 years and died at the age of 140 in 534[/1140] (2003, 2119). These mistakes very likely became introduced because writers did not rigorously research their subject matter. For instance, Mostawfī gives an erroneous year for Nāṣer Ḵosrow's birth, even though Nāṣer Ḵosrow himself records this in his *Dīwān* as 394/1004. In addition, Mostawfī also mistakenly states that Nāṣer Ḵosrow lived for nearly one hundred years. By contrast, Hedāyat states the correct date of his birth, but erroneously claims that Nāṣer Ḵosrow lived for 140 years. This even contradicts his own account in which he states that Nāṣer Ḵosrow took refuge in Yumgān at the age of 44 and lived there for 25 years, giving an age at death of 69 and not 140.

In addition, Alice Hunsberger also provides a brief survey of several sources, starting from the earliest period and contemporaries of Nāṣer Ḵosrow to the nineteenth century (2000, 18-32). Hunsberger discusses

how most of these early accounts present uncritical and often repetitive, pseudo-biographies of Nāṣer Ḵosrow. For instance, Amīr Dowlat Šāh's *Taḏkerat al-šoʿarā* (893/1487) extensively copies from Qāżī al-Bayżāwi's *Niẓām al-tawārīḵ* (674/1275). The accounts of many others, such Moḥammad b. Niʿma ibn ʿObaydallāh b. ʿAlī, known as Abu'l-Maʿālī, are clearly influenced by anti-Ismāʿili polemics (Hunsberger 2000, 19-20). Abu'l-Maʿālī's account of Nāṣer Ḵosrow itself belongs to this genre of anti-Ismāʿili literature. From the viewpoint of modern scholarship, such accounts are still valuable, because they inform modern readers about the authors' political and religious perceptions on the one hand, and what kind of image of Nāṣer Ḵosrow these authors were offering their readers on the other hand.

What is important to note is that these major historical sources give only a passing mention to Nāṣer Ḵosrow in the first instance. Secondly, their accounts often contain fictional and polemical statements. Some of the factual errors, such as the years of birth and death, are understandable as these authors may not have had access to Nāṣer Ḵosrow's books. However, they have to bear full responsibility for presenting polemic, judgemental, fictional and distorted accounts. Edward Granville Browne states that most of the historians, chronologists and biographers ignored Nāṣer Ḵosrow because of his Ismāʿili faith (Browne 1905, 325). Undoubtedly, there is an element of truth in this, but the fact that Nāṣer Ḵosrow wrote his prose and poetry in Persian-Dari may have been another reason why Arab, or generally non-Persian speaking, scholars could not write much about him. In addition, for a very long time and mainly for security reasons, the Ismāʿili communities strictly guarded the writings of their *dāʿīs* from outsiders. Therefore, until the rise of modern scholarship in Europe, Nāṣer Ḵosrow's writings had largely remained unknown.

The field of Nāṣer Ḵosrow studies has been rapidly changing since the second half of the nineteenth century. The key factor that has facilitated this change in Nāṣer Ḵosrow studies is European exploration and translation of the oriental scientific and literary traditions into major European languages. Nāṣer Ḵosrow's books also attracted the attention

of European scholars, who made the findings of their research available to the wider scholarly community through academic journals and/or editing and publishing Nāṣer Ḵosrow's book. Prior to this period, Nāṣer Ḵosrow's books existed in the form of hand-copied manuscripts, often preserved by the Ismāʿili communities of modern-day Afghanistan, Tajikistan and the northern parts of Pakistan. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries orientalists noticed the richness, depth, and beauty and eloquence of Nāṣer Ḵosrow's thoughts, and started to translate them into European languages.

The orientalists' interest in Nāṣer Ḵosrow's works and their translations into French, German and English also attracted the attention of his native Persian speakers. The early European orientalists who paid attention to Nāṣer Ḵosrow and wrote about him include Abraham R. Füller (1872), Hermann Ethé (1879 and 1896-1904), Charles H. A. Schefer (1881), Franz Teufel (1882a, b), Guy le Strange (1888), V. Shukovski (1890), Edward G. Browne (1906) *inter alia*. They often worked with native Persian speakers to explore and understand handwritten manuscripts. Orientalists were particularly enthused by the *Safar-nāma*, because it contains some very detailed observations on geography, architecture, culture, traditions, markets, trade and people in various cities in Khorasan, modern-day Iran and the Middle East. Nāṣer Ḵosrow's *Safar-nāma* and poetry, including parts of his *Dīwān*, rolled off the printing press in the late nineteenth century. These publications raised awareness and scholarly interest among Persian-speakers, who slowly but steadily began to explore, analyse and interpret Nāṣer Ḵosrow's thoughts, a process which gained further momentum from the mid-twentieth century onwards.

Dream: Its Meaning and Function

There has always been a wide range of theories and views about dream, and its meaning and function. From the ancient to the modern time, there has always been a dual view of dream. As Siegmund Freud stated, the meaning and function of dream were subject to scientific theories as well as essential part of folk-belief. He further wrote that Aristotle even believed that the nature of dream is indeed daemonic, but not divine

(Freud 1999, 7, 63). On the contrary, popular folk-belief distinguishes between valuable and unimportant dreams. The former is believed to be the divine nature of dream, a gift of the gods for the purpose of directing the actions of men, whereas as the latter is dispensable (Freud 1999, 7). This dual approach to dream continues to engage scientists and the belief of laypeople in the modern era.

In the modern Western literature, the works of the German physician W. Robert followed by Freud are particularly noteworthy. Although neither Robert's nor Freud's works are part of mandatory reading list of psychology courses in modern universities, they are still important in the study of dream and psychology literature (Robertson 1999, xxix). In his *Der Traum als Naturnothwendigkeit erklärt*, Robert describes dream as an activity of the psyche and a physical process (Robert 1886, 17, 32), without any supra-natural intervention. He states that dream has a two-fold function: an unfinished impression that becomes erased and an in-depth impression that becomes absorbed in the 'memory treasure' (*Gedächtnisschatz*). The erasure takes place quickly whereas the absorption takes a longer period of time. Following this observation, Robert gave importance to the depth of the impression and the interest the dreamer has in the content of the dream (1886, 20-21). Freud followed Robert's approach and further developed it. He accepted that dream is a psychological process of thought and a physical action, that it is a recollection of memory from everyday life (Freud 1999, 65-66). Pursuing this theory, Freud worked hard to provide a scientific proof that through developing psychological method and technique one can interpret dreams. As Robertson states, Freud's approach argues that dream is principally an expression of a person's unacknowledged feelings like envy, and guilt and desire that appear in dream in a state of suspended laws of logic. While acknowledging some degree of validity of this theory, Robertson doubts its applicability for all dreams (Robertson 1999, xii-xiii).

The Qurʾānic view of dream and the Muslim literature differ from that of scientists. They take a different approach to dream, its meaning and function. They differentiate between dream and vision. Every person dreams, but not every dream is a vision. Dream is a generic

term that refers to what a person sees during his/her sleep, whereas a vision is understood to be a dream of a higher status that a person may experience it when asleep or awake, or in an in-between state. The Qurʾān presents prophets both as recipients of visions and as excellent interpreters of dreams. For instance, the Qurʾān narrates that God gave Joseph a special gift of interpreting dreams. Joseph was both a dreamer of true visions and an excellent dream interpreter. In *sūra Yūsof*, the Qurʾān narrates Joseph's dream of seeing eleven stars, the sun and the moon prostrating before him (Qurʾān 12, 4), God's decision to teach Joseph the interpretation of events (*taʾwīl al-aḥādīṯ*) (Qurʾān 12, 21), and how Joseph uses this divine gift in interpreting two co-prisoners' dreams and then the dream of the king of Egypt (Qurʾān 12, 36-49). Muslim literature also refers to the Prophet Moḥammad as an interpreter of dreams. The Prophet's night journey to heaven (*meʿrāj*), which occurred around the year 621, is also recorded in the Qurʾān. The *sūra Isrāʾ* narrates that:

> Glory be to Him who took his servant (Moḥammad) by night from the sacred mosque (Kaʿba) to the farthest mosque (Masjid al-aqṣā), whose precincts we blessed, during which we showed him some of Our signs, indeed He is the one who is the all-Hearing and the all-Seeing.
>
> (Qurʾān 17, 1)

Although, prior to this journey, the Prophet had been experiencing prophetic visions by way of receiving revelations through the Angel Gabriel, the *meʿrāj* was perhaps one of the finest and subtlest prophetic visions the Prophet experienced. Muslims, however, differ in their interpretation of the above quoted verse. While many Muslims believe that the Prophet had made the physical journey to heaven, Nāṣer Ḵosrow adopts a more rationalist and Ismāʿili-specific *taʾwil* approach to the above verse and argues that the Prophet's journey to heaven was spiritual (1969, 120-21). In the modern Muslim context, too, people continue to regard visions and dreams of subtle qualities as a sign of divine intervention, particularly when the Qurʾān, angels, and the Prophet Moḥammad or someone from his household appear in a person's dream. The same was true for Nāṣer Ḵosrow and the people of his time. However, before analysing Nāṣer Ḵosrow's dream and his intellectual

transformation, it is worth analysing the intellectual circumstances of Nāṣer Ḵosrow, which is not without a relevance to the content of this dream.

Nāṣer Ḵosrow and His Intellectual Circumstances

The *Safar-nāma* and *Dīwān* are our main sources of knowledge about Nāṣer Ḵosrow's life and intellectual circumstances prior to his dream. Nāṣer Ḵosrow describes himself in his *Safar-nāma* and *Dīwān* as a learned man, with a professional position in the local Saljūq administration in Balḵ, an important city in Khorasan (now the northern part of Afghanistan), where he lived a comfortable life. A close reading of *Safar-nāma*, particularly Nāṣer Ḵosrow's narration of events prior to his dream, suggests that the he was undergoing a personal intellectual crisis. This crisis appears to be the result of his search for a more in-depth source of knowledge. In the words of Nāṣer Ḵosrow himself, he was in search of *tawāngarī ḥaqīqī*, literally true power (Nāṣer Ḵosrow 1956, 1). Apparently, it was this search for true power and his inability to attain it that brought about a temporary intellectual crisis. As he describes it, his life and everything around him, including his position as a finance officer, his material wealth and his social status did not satisfy his thirst for true power, which I term here *true knowledge*. Undoubtedly, he was not after more material power or wealth. True power for him meant true knowledge.

The next question is about what kind of knowledge Nāṣer Ḵosrow was pursuing. Apparently, he must have had questions in mind for which he was seeking answers in reliable source of knowledge. One way to look into his intellectual concerns is to read closely the works he produced years after he saw the dream. His writings demonstrate that questions such as why people are born in this world, where they come from, and where they depart to once they leave this mortal coil, what is religion, why God sent prophets and books, why people are divided into different religions and schools of thoughts and the importance of intellect in religion, must all have engaged him prior to seeing the life-changing dream. We know from his philosophical works as well as his *Dīwān* (2001, 258-59) that these questions concerned him most. In his

Dīwān, he states that it was in the forty-second year of his life that he actively sought answers to these questions (Nāṣer Ḵosrow 2001, 258). He further adds that he had exhausted all possible sources of knowledge, including three Sunni schools of jurisprudence, the Ḥanafī, Mālekī, and Šāfeʿī in Khorasan (Nāṣer Ḵosrow 2001, 258-9). It appears that none of the sources of knowledge available to him in Khorasan were convincing and he continued his search further.

He was aware of how the Saljūq sultans and their local administrators and governors were devoid of intellectual thought. He was surrounded by good friends, bureaucrats, and poets, but none appears to have been of any significant intellectual and philosophical level. At the same time, he was apparently suffering from an intellectual void created by the death of the beacons of knowledge of his time, from Avicenna (d. 428/1037) to Ferdowsī (d. 410/1020) and Bīrūnī (d. 439/1048). He had probably met some of these master intellects and had some interaction with them. We know this at least from one of his *qaṣīda* in his *Dīwān*, in which calls upon himself: "wake up from your sweet dream, O you asleep for forty years. Look around! None of your close friends is left alive" (Nāṣer Ḵosrow 2001, 258). The *qaṣīda* also suggests that the intellectual emptiness he was experiencing, after the death of his close friends, could have been one of the key factors contributing to his intellectual sorrow and pain. He tried to ameliorate his situation through quick solution of imbibing wine. He confesses that in Jūzjānān he became a regular wine drinker for at least a month (Nāṣer Ḵosrow 1956, 1). It was within this intellectual and personal context that in the forty-second year of his life he asked God to grant him *tawāngarī ḥaqīqī*, i.e., the true knowledge, which shows that Nāṣer Ḵosrow gradually refined his search for solution and was became convinced that wine drinking was not necessarily the correct long-term solution.

A Dream-work: An Insight into Nāṣer Ḵosrow's Dream and Intellectual Transformation

Retrospectively, the search for *tawāngarī ḥaqīqī* (true knowledge) meant a change in the framework of life and thought. Wine drinking

could only provide the comfort of temporary oblivion. Similarly, writing poetry, or spending time in the company of learned men, which undoubtedly had always been a popular culture in Khorasan, could only provide fleeting satisfaction, while at the same time prolonging the problem of his crisis. Eventually, he appears to have developed a better understanding of his situation and managed to identify true knowledge as the appropriate intellectual tool to enable him to change, or more precisely to break out of, his existing stasis and to endeavour to create a new framework, which I would term an intellectual framework. His real challenge, which still remained unresolved, was how and where to attain this intellectual framework.

The change of framework might, in other words, be described as a revolution, an intellectual revolution. This was precisely what Nāṣir Ḵosrow meant by asking God to give him true power or true knowledge. It is at this juncture of his life that he saw a life-changing dream which he described in the following words:

One night in a dream I saw someone saying to me, "How long will you continue to drink of this wine, which destroys man's intellect? If you were to stay sober, it would be better for you."

In reply I said, "The wise have not been able to come up with anything other than this to lessen the sorrow of this world".

"To be without one's senses is no repose", he answered me. "He cannot be called wise who leads men to senselessness. Rather, one should seek out that which increases reason and wisdom".

"Where can I find such a thing?" I asked.

"Seek and you shall find", he said, and then he pointed toward the *qebla* and said nothing more.

(Nāṣer Ḵosrow 1986, 1)

It is this dream that stands at the heart of Nāṣer Ḵosrow's intellectual transformation. The dream, as Nāṣer Ḵosrow himself confesses, left a deep impact on him. He states that:

When I woke up, I remembered everything from the dream, which had truly worked on me. "You have woken up from last night's sleep, now you must wake up from a forty-year dream", I said to myself. "Unless I alter all my deeds and attitudes, I shall not find liberation", I said to myself.

(Nāṣer Ḵosrow 1956, 2)

A key point in the above quotation, which supports the main thesis of this paper, is that the dream stands at the centre of Nāṣer Ḵosrow's life and intellectual transformation. The dream becomes a mechanism that translates his search for, and the dream of finding, true knowledge into a reality. Nāṣer Ḵosrow highlights the power and impact of his dream in very clear words: [*ḵāb*] *bar man kār kard*, meaning, [the dream] had truly worked, or made a deep impression, on me. There are several pieces of evidence that indicate the influence of the dream in his real life. Firstly, he confesses the psychological impression he had from his dream, as he acknowledges that the dream had truly worked and made a deep impression on him. Secondly, it leads him to make a solemn promise to himself that now was the right time to wake up from a forty-year dream. Thirdly, he also commits himself to changing his way of life and all his past habits, among which wine-drinking was a major issue. Fourthly, he cleanses himself from head to foot, goes to the mosque to pray, and asks God for help and commits himself fulfilling his duties and avoiding whatever is forbidden (Nāṣer Ḵosrow 1956, 2). These points demonstrate that Nāṣer Ḵosrow took his dream seriously, and apparently believed that it was not an ordinary, but a divinely-inspired dream.

The dream becomes a transformative power and a dream-work in Nāṣer Ḵosrow's life. The logic, the latent meaning and the message of the dream create an extraordinary burst of energy in Nāṣer Ḵosrow. This leads him to undertake a long exploratory and often exciting journey towards the *qebla* and then to Cairo. He leaves behind his past attitudes and way of life, including his position in the Saljūq administration. The dream leads him to an initiation into a new life and a new world. Although the dream itself gradually fades into the background of Nāṣer

Ḵosrow's journey in search of reason and intellect, it remains the *Wendepunkt* in his life. The dream retains its power over him until it completely changes his way of life, intellectual career, and brings his quest for true power and knowledge to fruition.

Nāṣer Ḵosrow experienced the main stage of his transformational journey during his stay in Cairo. Here, he met the Fatimid Ismāʿili chief *dāʿī*, al-Moʾayyad fi'l-Dīn Šīrāzī (b. 396/1006), who became his personal master and mentor in Ismāʿili esoteric doctrine. His meeting with Moʾayyad, that culminated in his meeting the Fatimid imam-caliph Mostanṣer (427-487/1036-1095) marks the apogee of his life and consequently in the life of Ismāʿilis of Khorasan. Nāṣer Ḵosrow credits Moʾayyad for preparing him to give his *beyʿat* (oath of allegiance) to Mostanṣer (Nāṣer Ḵosrow 1928, *qaṣīda* No. 104, 2001, 261), who appointed Nāṣer Ḵosrow as the *ḥujjat*[3] (proof) for the *jazīra* (island, pl. *jazāʾīr*), or region, of Khorasan, a commission to which he dedicated the rest of his life. The Fatimid Ismāʿili imams, as Faquir Hunzai states, divided the world into twelve 'islands', and appointed a *ḥujjat* for each one to oversee the *daʿwat* mission and activities (Hunzai 2011, 1). Nāṣer Ḵosrow was one of the twelve *ḥujjats* and responsible for Khorasan. Since a *ḥujjat* had full authority over the designated daʿwat territory, Nāṣer Ḵosrow was also known as *ṣāḥeb-e jazīra-ye Khorasan* (the lord of the region of Khorasan).

Upon his return to Khorasan in 444/1052, Nāṣer Ḵosrow's new task was to disseminate and share the *tawāngarī ḥaqīqī* (true knowledge) he acquired in Cairo with the world, specifically with the people of Khorasan. He immersed himself in the *daʿwat* activities, summoning people to the Ismāʿili esoteric doctrine and fostering allegiance to the Ismāʿili Fatimid imam-caliph. As expected, Nāṣer Ḵosrow's new mission soon antagonised the local Sunni clerics, who accused him of being a *molḥed* (heretic). In order to punish him and put an end to his preaching, they incited people's religious sentiment against him by accusing him of being irreligious (Persian, *bad-dīn*), a *molḥed*, a Qermaṭī and a

3. For further discussion on the term *ḥujjat* and its usage in the Shīʿa tradition, see Daftary 2007, 117-18.

Rāfeżī (rejecter of truth). They also demolished his house, plundered his property, and threatened to assassinate him (Daftary 2007, 206). Consequently, Nāṣer Ḵosrow sought refuge in the valley of Yumgān, a very remote valley in Badaḵšān of Afghanistan. At this time, Yumgān was one of the territories of an autonomous local ruler Amīr Abu'l-Maʿālī ʿAlī b. Asad (Nāṣer Ḵosrow 1953), who was either an Ismāʿili or a sympathiser of the Ismāʿili *daʿwat*. Apparently, the presence of this Amīr and probably the Ismāʿili communities in Badaḵšān were the key reasons why Nāṣer Ḵosrow decided to settle in Yumgān.

In Yumgān, he engaged in intellectual activities. He trained local *dāʿīs*, supervised their work in different parts of Khorasan, and wrote books. His *qaṣīdas* reveal that he monitored *daʿwat* activities in Khorasan and he sent *daʿwat* treatises every year for the instruction of local *dāʿīs* (Nāṣer Ḵosrow 1928, *qaṣīda* No. 167). Today, the Pashayie, Hazāra, Tājik and Badaḵšānī Ismāʿili communities in Afghanistan, the Badaḵšānī or Pāmīrī Ismāʿilis in Gorno-Badaḵšān Autonomous Oblast of Tajikistan, the Tājīk Ismāʿilis in the westernmost part of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in the People's Republic of China, and the Ismāʿilis of Gilgit-Baltistan (formerly known as the Northern Areas and Chitral of Pakistan), show great honour and respect to Nāṣer Ḵosrow. They read and regard his poetry and prose as fundamental Ismāʿili texts. It was also in Yumgān that he wrote numerous books and treatises on various issues, from religion and philosophy to the esoteric interpretation of the *šarīʿa* and reconciliation between religious and rational truths. Nāṣer Ḵosrow's books clearly demonstrate the fruit of his search for true knowledge, and the new intellectual framework which he acquired during his seven-year long journey. His intellectual legacy has become an everlasting source of intellectual guidance, inspiration and support for the Ismāʿili communities in regions of Khorasan as well as other Ismāʿili communities in other parts of the world.

The intellectual and *daʿwat* mission earned Nāṣer Ḵosrow a special position in the history of the Ismāʿili *daʿwat* in general and in Khorasan in particular. Under his leadership, the Ismāʿili *daʿwat* and communities entered a new phase of history. He transformed the Khorasani *daʿwat* school into an organised system, the legacy of which has lasted until

now. He further developed and articulated Fatimid Ismāʿili religious beliefs, practices, and interpretations through a set of finely elaborated poetical and theo-philosophical literature, and made them accessible to the people of Khorasan for the first time in the Persian-Dari language, the lingua franca of the region. In doing so, he also entered into the list of the pioneers of the renaissance of the Persian-Dari language.

The fruition of Nāṣer Ḵosrow's dream and the dream-work are even today visible in the intellectual legacy he left behind. This legacy can be classified into several genres of literature, namely travelogue (*Safar-nāma*), collection of poems (*Dīwān-e Aš ʿār*), ethics (*Rowšanāʾī-nāma*), theological philosophy (*Ḵwān al-eḵwān*), philosophy (*Zād al-mosāfirīn*), and philosophical theology (*Gushāyesh wa Rehāyesh*), a collector of philosophical and religious thoughts (*Jāmeʿ al-Ḥekmatayn*), and the science of esoteric interpretation (*Wajh-e Dīn*). Nāṣer Ḵosrow wrote all these works in Persian-Dari thereby making them accessible to the people of Khurāsan. This is also one of the key reasons why his books have remained the core of Ismāʿili religious education and popular religious literature for the Central Asian Ismāʿili communities over the centuries.

Nāṣer Ḵosrow was the last Fatimid *dāʿī* of Khorasan. According to two most quoted dates, he died either at the age of 73 (469/1077) or 89 (486/1093). This would mean that he did not experience the split of the Fatimid caliphate and Ismāʿili *daʿwat* into the Mostaʿlī and Nezārī branches that occurred after the death of imam-caliph Mostanṣer in 487/1094. As in his writings, including his *Dīwān*, there is no indication of the Mostaʿlī-Nezārī split, it can safely be claimed that Nāṣer Ḵosrow died before the year 487/1094.

Conclusion

This paper has analysed Nāṣer Ḵosrow's dream and his intellectual transformation. It argued that Nāṣer Ḵosrow's dream played a central role and fully revolutionised and transformed his intellectual life beyond imagination. The dream he saw turned his ambition of gaining true knowledge into a dream-work, an everlasting reality. It not only

transformed his life and career, but also influenced the lives of hundred thousand people from modern-day Iran and Afghanistan to Central and South Asia until today.

The intellectual transformation Nāṣer Ḵosrow achieved was the result of a continuous, complex, eventful and tireless struggle. He was a learned man with an inquisitive mind and was constantly pushing the boundaries of his thought and knowledge beyond what was locally available to him. His endless pursuit of deeper knowledge, and his questioning of things, such as the purpose of life, religion, world, the political authorities, and the growing intellectual decay in Khorasan, created in him an ardent desire to find a true master who could guide him and answer his questions. This pursuit and thirst for knowledge on the one hand, and the absence of local resources on the other, led him to experience an intellectual crisis. He must have lived with this crisis for some time, during which he tried certain piece-meal solutions, including wine-drinking.

It was in the forty-second year of his life that he eventually found the answer to his situation. He expressed it in two simple words: *true power*. He began to believe that only true power or true knowledge as I have termed it in this paper, as a thorough intellectual transformation and an intellectual revolution could bring him out of the crisis and open a new horizon of knowledge for him. It is at this moment of his life that he experienced a dream that became a dream-work and a life-changing experience. Eventually, it was this dream-work that transformed his life, nourished an intellectual revolution in him, and enabled him to leave behind a rich intellectual legacy until the current date.

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Iranian Linguistic Attitudes and Persian Language Planning: A Case Study in Tehran

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Abstract
This paper aims to evaluate the linguistic attitudes of Persian speakers to provide an information base for language policy-making regarding Persian planning in Iran. To this end, the paper proposes the following questions:
- What are the main components of Tehrani Persian speakers' attitudes?
- What is the least important component among the other components?
- Regarding the above mentioned attitude components, how could we schematize the dominant overt and covert language planning policies?
To fulfill this aim, a questionnaire consisting of several questions on different aspects of linguistic attitudes has been distributed among four groups of Tehrani residents. The questionnaire has been organized so as to evaluate the awareness, affection and behavior towards Persian corpus, status and language in education. The size of the sample population (a total of 820) has been determined based on a formula developed by Krejcie and Morgan (Krejcie and Morgan, 1970). After collecting the questionnaires, the data were then encoded and entered into the SPSS statistical software. The independent variables of this analysis are social identity and age. The instruments used in this study are intersecting or ANOVA tables as well as other methods such as X^2, Somer's, Kramers, and Kendal. The paper concludes that the most important component of linguistic attitudes of the studied groups is affection towards Persian status. The least important components, on the other hand, are Iranian

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linguistic consciousness, attitude towards English, awareness of Persian status, hopefulness towards Persian improvement and affection towards present Persian planning. Furthermore, it turned out that covert and overt Persian language policies differ in some key aspects.

Keywords: attitude, linguistic attitude, language planning, linguistic corpus, linguistic status, linguistic behavior.

Introduction

Linguistic attitude is a term primarily used in the interdisciplinary field of socio-psychology, as well as in sociolinguistics and, especially, in the discipline of language planning. Linguistic attitudes are most commonly considered to be made up of three cognitive, affective and behavioral components, namely, knowledge about language, affections towards language and behavior towards language. Assessment of linguistic attitudes is one of the basic processes in the evaluative phase of language planning. As for this, language planners assess social groups' attitudes in order to accommodate language covert policy with its overt one. According to Schiffman (1996), it is the covert linguistic policy that determines the future of a language. Following this, this study assesses the linguistic attitudes of Persian speakers (resident in Tehran) so as to provide an information base for language policy-making regarding Persian planning in Iran.

The three components of attitude are, hence, assessed according to different relevant linguistic aspects, namely, corpus, status and language in education, in both spoken and written codes. In order to achieve this goal, a questionnaire has been devised. Different corpus issues (including phonetic and spelling, lexical, morphological, syntactic and discoursal language planning processes such as codification, standardization, renovation, etc.), status issues (language as an instrument vs. language as an affectional entity) and acquisition challenges are some of the main items touched in the questionnaire. The study aims at answering the following questions: What is/are the most important constructional component(s) of Tehrani Persian speakers' linguistic attitudes? Which

of the mentioned linguistic issues has the least effect on the construction of Tehrani Persian speakers' attitudes? And finally, how do the answers to the two mentioned questions contribute to the formation of covert and overt policies? Linguistic attitudes of four groups of Tehrani Persian speakers (high school students, university students, university lecturers and Persian Academy (PA) members) are assessed so as to answer the last question. The linguistic attitudes of the first three groups are considered as covert linguistic policy in contrast to the linguistic attitudes of the last group, namely, Persian Academy members, as indicators of overt policy.

Review of Literature and Theoretical Foundations

Rubin (1977c), who considers language policy as a part of national policy, is one of the researchers who focuses on the importance of target populations and the distribution of language products in language planning. The most accessible populations which he mentions are high school teachers and students, university lecturers, municipality personnel and industry managers and personnel.

MacNamara (1971, 69, quoted in Rubin and Jernudd 1971) investigates the relevant factors leading to the failure of Irish maintenance efforts in spite of the implementation of the overt policies based on Irish maintenance. He refers the failure of Irish maintenance efforts to the fact that Irish speakers preferred to use English instead of Irish. In addition, he recommends that language planners recognize the opposite opinions towards language policies.

Perry (1985) in his comparison between language planning in Iran (1st Pahlavi) and Turkey (Ataturk) declares that Reżā Shah's language planning was not successful because the Shah did not engage people in this process. In other words, Perry considers Persian language planning in that era as an elite affair, whereas Ataturk engaged every literate Turk in the process.

Cooper (1989) represents a comprehensive picture of the process of language planning and all the influential factors affecting it. A

comprehensive schema of Cooper's and his predecessors is designed below:

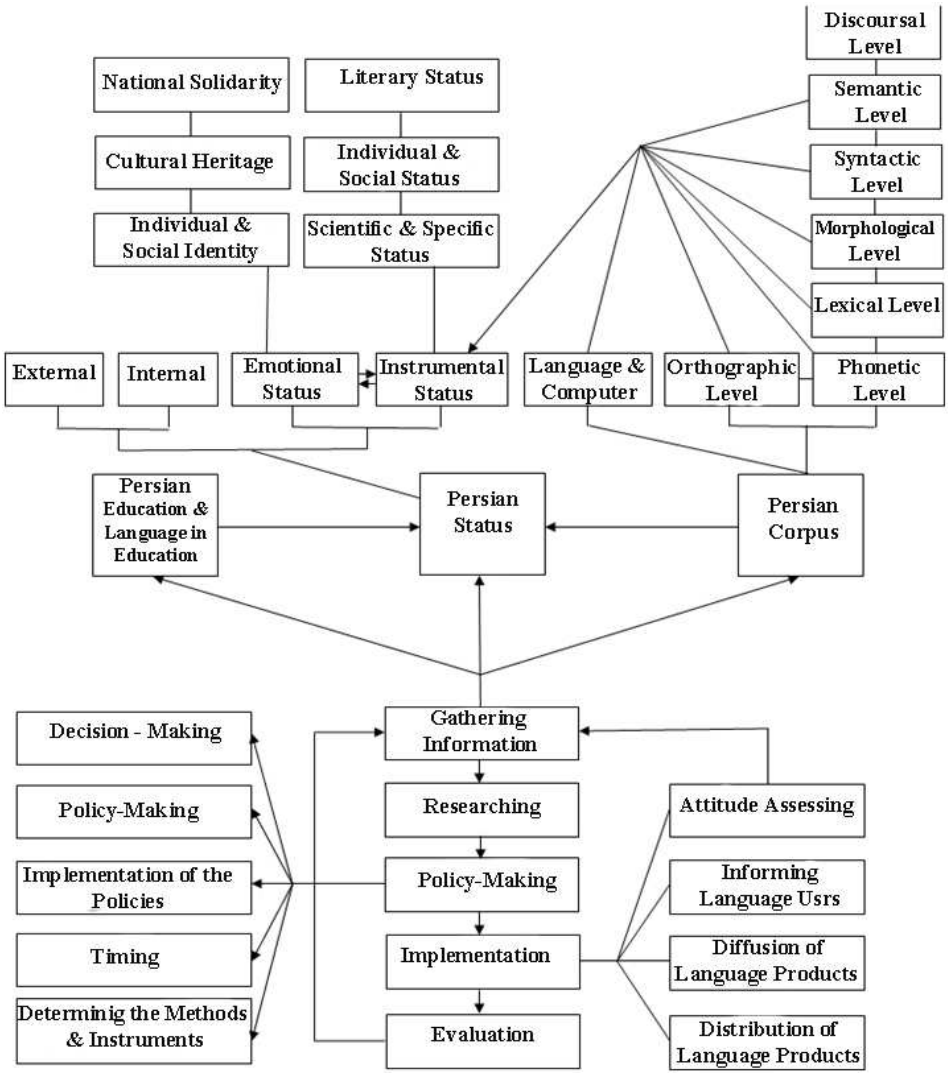


Chart 1. Different types of language planning and all the influential factors affecting it, inspired by Cooper (1989).

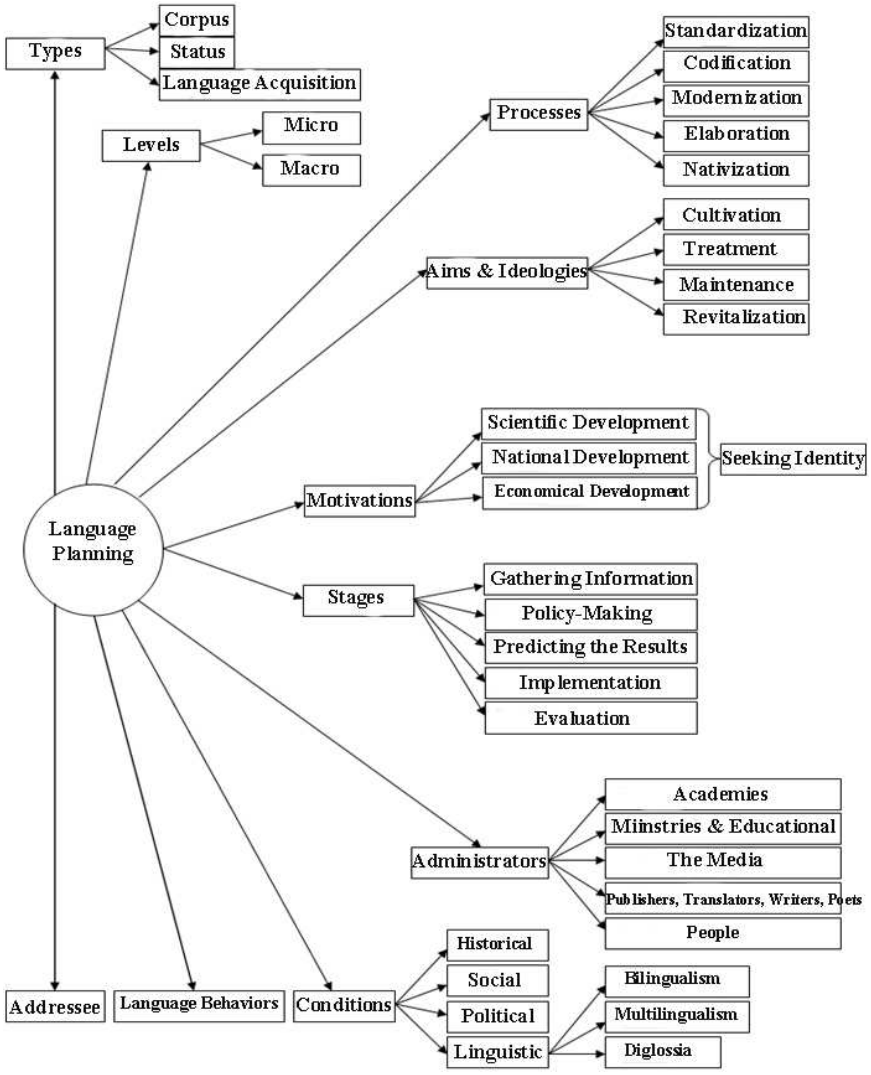


Chart 2. A network of the internal relations of the different influential factors in language planning.

Probing into Cooper's ideas, we are inevitably led to the point that the most common issue in the field of sociolinguistics is the social organization of language behaviors. In other words, sociolinguistics is not limited to the language use per se; on the contrary, it covers a wider

range of topics including diverse issues such as linguistic attitudes and overt and covert linguistic behaviors. For Cooper, language planning is the most typical example of "overt linguistic behavior" that affects "language use", yet itself is affected by "language attitudes". Evidently, the study of linguistic motivations and attitudes of the potential receivers of language planning decisions has been highly recommended by Cooper.

Baker (1992) theorized the concept of linguistic attitudes, including cognitive, affective and behavioral elements. Baker's theory of linguistic attitudes together with Cooper's components of language planning comprises the foundation of this research.

Schiffman (1996) considers covert linguistic policy as a reflection of speaker's linguistic attitudes, which is a part of their culture. Schiffman recognizes inconsistency between these two language policies as a major cause of language planning failure.

Oakes (2001) in his comparative study of the contribution of national language in the formation of national identity (in local, national, European and global scopes) in France and Sweden finds a wider gap between covert and overt language policy in France as compared to Sweden. He, therefore, interprets the gap as a sign of attitude shift.

Kunja and Batula (2004) study the effect of attitudes in language maintenance and shift in an immigrant society.

Jahani (2004) has investigated the linguistic attitudes of Iranian immigrants in Sweden, studying the effect of ethnicity on linguistic attitudes. Her study shows that Baluchi[1] immigrants have the most positive attitude towards Swedish compared to the other three immigrant groups (Armenians, Fars and Turkish). Armenians, Jahani's study showed, have the most positive attitudes towards maintaining Armenian. Fars and Turkish people are in between the two other mentioned ethnic groups.

1. A relatively large Balouchi-speaking ethnic group residing in Sistān and Balouchestān province in the south-eastern part of Iran.

Regarding the above mentioned literature, the present research has integrated the main concepts of language planning and linguistic attitudes in order to schematize a network of relationships among the elements. The following schemas are some theoretical findings of the present research. The questionnaire is devised on the basis of these findings. Attempts have been made so as to touch every detail element relating to language.

Methodology and Discussion

Based on the systematic classification devised in charts 1 and 2, a questionnaire consisting of several questions on different aspects and componants of linguistic attitudes was designed and distributed among four groups of Tehrani residents (high school students, university students, university lecturers and members and researchers of the Persian Academy). The questionnaire was organized so as to evaluate the following items: awareness (of), affection and behavior towards Persian corpus, status and language in education (see charts 1 and 2 for more details). Regarding Persian status, it aims at evaluating the informants' attitudes towards "Persian in danger", "Persian as a language of science", "Persian as a national identity symbol", "Persian as a connection to Iran's ancient history" and attitudes towards foreign languages (see Table 1 for more details).
Attitudes towards Persian's corpus are assessed in regard to borrowing words and syntactic structures from foreign languages. Attitudes towards language in education planning are also assessed. Furthermore, the sum of the above-mentioned attitudes, which is called linguistic consciousness, has also been evaluated. Some other aspects of attitudes towards Persian, namely, suggestions for improving Persian, definition of Persian and Persian planning authorities are also evaluated. All the assessed linguistic attitude components are schematized in the following table (Table 1).

The questionnaires were distributed among 820 high school students, university students, university lecturers and Academy professors. The size of the sample population was determined as per a formula

Table 1. The assessed linguistic attitude components.

<table>
<tr><td>ATTITUDE COMPONENT</td><td colspan="4">LINGUISTIC ATTITUDES</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">corpus</td><td>Awareness</td><td>Affection</td><td colspan="2">Behavior</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3"></td><td rowspan="3">Foreign Languages</td><td rowspan="2">Lexical Borrowing</td><td>Arabic</td></tr>
<tr><td>English</td></tr>
<tr><td>syntactic borrowing</td><td>old Persian</td></tr>
<tr><td>Planning</td><td>Planning</td><td colspan="2">Planning</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="8">Status</td><td rowspan="7"></td><td>Persian in Danger</td><td colspan="2">Planning</td></tr>
<tr><td>Persian as the Language of Science</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Persian as a Symbol of Identity</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Persian as a Link to History</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Foreign Languages</td><td colspan="2">Arabic</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">English</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Old Persian</td></tr>
<tr><td>Planning</td><td>Planning</td><td colspan="2">Planning</td></tr>
<tr><td>Language in Education</td><td>Planning</td><td>Planning</td><td colspan="2">Planning</td></tr>
<tr><td>Linguistic Consciousness</td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Suggestions for Improving Persian</td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Definition of Persian</td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Language Planning Authorities</td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
</table>

developed by Krejcie and Morgan (Krejcie and Morgan 1970). Out of a total Iranian student population of 16,543,440, about 1,106,617 of them are in the third year of middle school, 128,405 of them being in Tehran (59,581 of them, boys and 68,824 of them, girls). Consulting Krejcie and Morgan's table, we conclude that a study of Tehran's middle school students would need a sample population of 384 people in order to limit the margin of error as much as possible. There are (at the time of doing the research) 175,965 university students in Tehran province (120,308 of whom are graduate students). So, for this population, too, a sample population of 384 is needed. The university teaching body in Tehran consists of 17,664 people (requiring a sample population of 376). From the Academy of Language – which has 300 professors and researchers, some of whom belonging to the teaching body as well[2]– a sample population of 60 was selected. Together, this leaves us with a sample population of 1,140. One thousand of the questionnaires were returned, 200 of which were illegible or incomplete. We were forced then to settle for a sample population of 820. The distribution of population in each group is shown in the following table (Table 2).

Table 2. The distribution of population in each target group.

	Social Group	**Number of Pupulation**	**Percentage of Pupulation**
1	High School Students	351	42.8
2	University Students	311	37.9
3	University Lecturers	110	13.4
4	Persian Academy Members and Researchers	48	5.9
Sum		820	100

2. It is for this reason that we do not consider this group as separate from the former.

After collecting the questionnaires, the data were encoded and entered into the SPSS statistical software. The independent variables of this analysis were social identity and, accordingly, age. Special attention was given to these two variables, while others bearing only secondary importance. The data for age, education level, social class, and other independent variables were analyzed using intersecting or ANOVA tables. Other methods – such as X^2, Somer's, Kramers, and Kendal – were used when comparing two aggregate data totals and their interdependence. In both intersecting and ANOVA tables, it was observed that the relatively high number of readings mandates that the level of significance be set very low (0.05 percent, to be exact). The ANOVA method was used when dealing with nominal variables, and the intersecting method when dealing with ordinal variables. The results are shown in the following table (Table 3).

Conclusion

1. What is/are the main component(s) of Tehrani Persian speakers› linguistic attitude?

According to the attitude assessing test described above, affection towards Persian status seems to be the main component of Tehrani Persian speakers' linguistic attitude. Additionally, the following decreasing order of influence has been observed:

- affection towards Persian corpus,
- affection towards Persian as a language- in- education,
- awareness of Persian corpus, behavior towards Persian planning,
- awareness of Persian status,
- awareness of Persian as a language-in-education.

2. What is/are the least important component(s) among the other components?

With a significant difference, attitude towards English is considered to be the least important component of Persian speakers' linguistic attitude. To summarize, it should be noted that the most important component of linguistic attitudes of the studied groups in Tehran is the affection

Table 3. The results.

Attitude Component		Total Attitude of the Four Groups		Total Positive Attitude towards Persian	Total Positive Attitude towards LP	β Coefficient		
						Persian	Persian LP	Persian LC
Awareness	Corpus	17.2		32.4	28.6	0/303	0/063	0/19
	Status	83.6				0/065	0/030	0/057
	Language in Education	25.3				0.051		0.079
	Language Planning	10.3						
Affection	Corpus	34.6				0/361	0/059	0/193
	Status	26				0/114	0/54	0/341
	Language in Education	49.1				0/068		0/062
	Language Planning	Corpus Planning	13.6			0/017	0/196	0/093
		Status Planning					0/249	0/096
		Education Planning					0/19	0/083
Behavior	Language Planning	18.6					0/334	0/187
High) Linguistic) Consciousness		17.8				-	0/13	-

towards Persian status. The least important component, on the other hand, is the attitude towards English.

3. Regarding the above mentioned attitude components, how could we schematize the dominant overt and covert language planning policies?

In the case of the third question of the study, it was revealed that covert and overt Persian language policies, though quite similar and even equal in nature, differ in some key aspects. Because such a difference between overt and covert policies could potentially lead to the failure of official language plannings, it is recommended that these differential points be taken into account and analyzed in detail, for this, in turn, would improve the overt language policies and, as a result, lead to the reinforcement of the status of Persian language. Following, the observed differential points of attitudinal components between members and researches of the Persian Academy and the other three groups (high school students, university students and university lecturers) representing lay people will be briefly presented, illustrating, therefore, the status of the overt versus covert Persian language policy and, as a consequence, paving the way for determining the dominance of one of these policies over the other.

The linguistic attitudes of the first three groups considered as the covert linguistic policy contrasts to the linguistic attitudes of the last group (i.e., Persian Academy members) considered the overt policy, differing in the following aspects:

- The attitude of the Academy members towards Persian language and Persian language planning is more positive than the other groups, benefiting, therefore, from a higher level of linguistic consciousness;
- The percentage of the affection towards Persian-in-danger and the inefficiency of Persian language is less positive in the attitudes of Academy members, although their affection towards the probability of Persian language shift being less positive as compared to the other groups; furthermore, they have a more positive attitude towards Persian as a language of science;

Table 4. Answer to the third question of the study.

	Linguistic Attitude Component	High School Students	University Students	University Lecturers	Members and Researchers of Persian Academy
		(Min)			(Max)
1	Awareness of Past Planning Activities	14.1	17.3	30.5	60
2	Awareness of Present Planning Activities	37.2	50	72.9	87.3
3	Awareness of Necessity of Word Coinage	58	67.3	85	89.6
4	Awareness of Persian Academy Word Coinages	27.8	29.2	46.7	68.7
5	Affection towards Persian in Danger	43.1	52.8	50	57.4
6	Affection towards Probability of Language Shift	38.7	24.8	7.4	6.5
7	Affection towards Necessity of Persian Maintenance	81.5	94.8	92.6	97.9
8	Hopefulness towards Persian Improvement	61.3	75.2	92.6	93.5
9	Persian as a Link to Iran's History	76	87.3	96.3	91.5
10	Persian as a Cultural Heritage	82.5	98	96.4	100
11	Persian as a Language of Science	23.6	20.6	15.8	8.7

12	English as the Language of Science (in Iran)	39.7	33.8	39.3	12.7
13	Positive Attitudes towards English	22.2	19.6	20	22.9
14	General Avoidance of Syntactic Borrowing	51.3	73.1	62.5	85.5
15	General avoidance of lexical borrowing	52.6	52.8	54.1	51
16	Usefulness of Knowing Arabic in Persian Knowledge	34.4	43.1	61.4	81.3
17	Necessity of Purifying Persian from Arabic	71.9	51.8	36.3	8.4
18	Affection towards Past Language Planning Activities	28.3	18.7	24.5	25.5
19	Affection towards Present Language Planning Activities	42.7	33.7	50.4	61.7
20	Old Versions of Persian	26.9	26.9	40.7	59.5
21	Persian as a Symbol of Identity	17.8	49.8	60.2	79.5
22	General Avoidance of Excessive Borrowing	69.1	81	86.4	93.8

- The Academy members have a higher anti-western attitude as compared to the other groups;
-
The Academy members have a lower anti-Arabic attitude as contrast to the other groups;

- The Academy members, as compared to the other three groups, have a higher tendency towards the past language planning activities and think positive of these activities;

- The Academy members have a more level of awareness of present Persian planning activities and are more adjustable to them;

- The Academy members are more aware of Persian Academy word coinage activities and insist more on the necessity of Persian word coinage. They also feel more pressure and need for coining words for scientific concepts;

- The Academy members have a considerably higher tendency towards the use of old versions of Persian (Old Persian, Middle Persian and Pahlavi);

- Persian is considered as the first and most important symbol of identity among all the four groups, with the Academy members attributing the highest symbolic functions (%79.5) to Persian, as compared to the other three groups and high school students the least symbolic functions (%17.8). Between them lie the university students and university lecturers scoring %49.8 and %60.2 percent respectively. The second immediate attribute functioning as the Persian speakers' symbols of identity are variable as amongst the four groups, ranging from good behavioral characters and flag to religion and history. This is while all the four groups under study have in the same way attributed 'history' as the third component of the Persian speakers' symbol of identity. The sum of the first three components of the speakers' identity symbol is presented in the table below (Table 5).

- According to the variable "social identity", the most significant difference is observed between the Academy members and researchers and the high school students.

The consistencies among the attitudes of the overt policy representatives and the covert policy representatives are observed in the following items: awareness of necessity of word coinage, general avoidance of

Table 5. The first three components of the speakers' symbols of identity.

Symbols of Identity	**High School Students**	**University Students**	**University Lecturers**	**Members and Researchers of Persian Academy**
1st Symbolic Function	Persian (%17.8)	Persian (%49.8)	Persian (%60.2)	Persian (%79.5)
2nd Symbolic Function	Good Behavioral Characters	Flag	Religion	History
3rd Symbolic Function	Culture	Culture	Culture	Culture

excessive borrowing. After that, the gap decreases in the following order: usefulness of Arabic, awareness of past Persian plannings, necessity of word coinage, attitude towards PA word coinages, general avoidance of syntactic borrowing, attitudes towards old versions of Persian, hopefulness towards Persian improvement, probability of Persian shift and etc. The discrepancies are usually between high school students and members and researchers of Persian Academy. However, in the case of affection towards present language planning activity, university students have the minimum positive attitude.

It is also observed, as according to the results, that the percentage of Persian speakers with positive affectional attitude towards Persian and its planning is more comparing to the ones with positive awareness attitude. Among the affectional components of attitude, the most percentage is seen for positive affectional attitude towards status and language in education. Totally, only 17.8 % of the informants are considered to have high language consciousness and 32.4 % of them had positive attitude towards Persian. It was also seen that the increase of awareness and affection leads to the increase of readiness for acting towards language.

Table 6. Suggestions for Improving Persian

	Samples of the Most Important Suggestions for Improving Persian	**High School Students**	**Uni-versity Students**	**University Lecturers**	**Members and Re-searchers of Persian Academy**
1	Propagation				
2	Word coinage		*		
3	Purification of Persian from Arabic and English	*			
4	Improvement of Persian Teaching				
5	Stopping Formal Word Coinage				
6	Research				*
7	Improvement of the Persian Academy			*	

As is shown in the table below (Table 6), the improvement of Persian through 'propagation' has been determined as the most important factor among the four groups. The results of the study also revealed that %18.2 of the high school students chose the purification of Persian from Arabic and English, %23 of the university lecturers opted for the improvement of the Persian Academy, and % 23 of the members and researchers of the Persian academy considered doing researches on the Persian language as the ways to improve Persian. At the same time, the majority of university students proposed word coinage activities as the most important solution for the improvement of Persian.

Therefore, it is shown that, with an increase in age and education, more holistic attitudes towards language will be formed. For example, university lecturers are benefiting from more holistic attitudes towards language than university students and the latter group, in turn, shows a higher level of holistic attitude towards language as compared to high school students. The university lecturers have indirectly called for the existence of a formal institution for language planning activities. This suggestion is considered as a supportive point for the Academy and needs to be taken into consideration with thorough scientific policy-making. The proposal of the Academy regarding the need for the accomplishment of scientific researches on Persian, on the other hand, illustrates the lack of fundamental researches as the theoretical foundations for the administrative activities of the Persian Academy.

Moreover, it seems, as according to the following table (Table 7), that Persian benefits from a high level of status in the Persian speakers' point of view and as regarding the acceptance of different roles in the society, although the high percentage of the results representing the formal role for Persian is illustrative of the common belief in the multilingualism phenomenon in Iran. There is, of course, a difference between the attitudes of the high school students on the one hand, and the other three groups on the other hand towards Persian; i.e., the degree of formality of Persian in the attitudes of the former group is lower as compared to the latter group.

A possible justification of this observation could be that high school students have not yet accepted any formal roles through the socialization process in the society. Furthermore, the great majority of the students have been resident in Tehran and have grown up in a monolingual situation, being, therefore, unable to distinguish between the general and specific roles of Persian use; this is where a majority of other three groups have come from other provinces of Iran, speaking, more or less, dialects and languages different from Persian.

In respect of the positive attitudes towards different authorities for Persian Language Planning, on the other hand, is has been revealed that

Table 7. Definition of Persian

Definition Components	High School Students	University Students	University Lecturers	Members and Researchers of Persian Academy
Persian is the language of radio and television.	4.9	5.4	7.9	8.5
Persian is the language of classrooms.	1.1	0.3	0.8	1.7
Persian is the language of governmental officials.	25.1	41.5	38.9	55.9
Persian is the language of myself.	18.3	14.3	22.2	11.9
Persian includes all the above propositions.	45.9	31	23.8	20.3
Persian includes none of the above propositions	4.6	7.5	6.3	1.7

the ‘elites’ group has the lowest degree of the agreement (%26.4) as regarding the acceptance of the authoritative role in Persian planning, followed by ‘Every Iranian’ or ‘people’ (%30 approximately) and the ‘academicians’ (%40). ‘Translators and writers’ attained the highest level of agreement among the four groups of ‘elites, people, academicians, and translators and writers’. A possible explanation for this fact could be that they (translators and writers) have to deal with Persian language

Table 8. Positive attitudes towards different authorities for Persian Language Planning.

LP Authorities	Elites	Academicians	Academicians' Word Coinage	Radio and TV	Translators and Writers	Every Iranian	People
Percentage	26.4	40.5	41.3	85.5	52.6	31.7	25.3
LP Authorities	High School Students' Word Coinage	University students' word Coinage	Good Persian Users	LP Institutions	Readiness for Cooperation with this Institution	Positive Attitude towards the Establishment of this Institutions	
Percentage	53.3	61.1	87.2	28.6	71.1	81.4	

problems more than any other group. The effect of 'the media' (the Radio and TV) is more intense as compared to the 'translators and writers', and more still is the effect of the good Persian users (Table 8).

The relatively high percentage of the high school students' ability for word coinage (%53.3) is a sign of their dynamism in the field of language planning. This is true of university students too (%61.1) and as for this, is will be of use to incorporate the high school and university students in Persian word coinage activities.

Furthermore, mention should be made of the fact that, the awareness of only %28.6 of people of the existence of the Persian Academy is suggestive of the lack of attempt to establish the Academy's language planning activities in the society.

As a conclusion, it seems that Persian language planners could concentrate on the improvement of affective component of Persian speakers' attitude. However, it is clear that affective attitudes gain their stability from awareness; i.e., awareness could build stable and consistent affections. Attempts to minimize the gaps between social groups are also recommended according to this research. Furthermore, mention should be made of the fact that the existence of long-time differences between overt and covert Persian language policies could possibly lead to some undesirable causes, causes which will gradually affect the status of Persian language and make it wear down. Persian language planners, therefore, are highly recommended to take into account such matters as the affective attitude of Persian speakers – especially the affectional attitude towards status and language in education – and help it positively progress, improving in this way the amount of language consciousness as well as increasing the readiness for acting towards language.

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Manichaean Remarks in ʿAwfī's Jawāmeʿ al-ḥekāyāt wa lawāmeʿ al-rewāyāt

*Abolghasem Esmailpour Motlagh**

Abstract

Jawāmeʿ al-ḥekāyāt wa lawāmeʿ al-rewāyāt (Comprehensive Anecdotes and Luminous Narratives) was written in the first decades of the 13th century AD (c. 1247-1252) by Sadīd b. Moḥammad ʿAwfī, and contains interesting information on Manichaean themes that shall be examined in this paper. The book, for instance, introduces Mānī the inventor of the Zandīqs as the last prophet. His religīion had still followers among Iranians at the time of the composition of the book (13th century AD). A new point in ʿAwfī's narrative is that he called Manichaeans as Bāṭenī (Esoterics) that shows a kind of assimilation of the Manichaeans with the sect of Bāṭenīya or Ismaʿilis. According to ʿAwfī, Mānī had traveled to India, Keshmir and Tibet, and that the people of Turkistan followed him. Mānī's journey to the western borders of India (although not to Kashmir and Tibet) and the influence of Mānīchaeism in Xin Jiang of China have been confirmed through the original Manichaean texts. Mānī told his followers that he'll go up to heaven. So, he hid himself in a cave and painted a paper scroll called Arţang (Ardahang) as a sacred book from the Lord. According to ʿAwfī, secret life was a tradition established by Mānī, and the Manichaeans rejected the strangers, a habit inherited in China through Manichaeans.

Keywords: Mānī, Mānīchaeism, the Zandīqs, Bāṭenīya, Aržang

Introduction

Jawāmeʿ al-ḥekāyāt wa lawāmeʿ al-rewāyāt, (*Comprehensive Anecdotes and Luminous Narratives*) was written by Sadīd-al-dīn

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Moḥammad b. Moḥammad ʿAwfī Boḵārī Hanafī (d. after 630/1252), in the beginning of the 13th century AD, between 625/1247 and 630/1252. The book consists of 2113 anecdotes and narratives arranged in four chapters (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 505).

While the author has provided noticeable information through the narratives and reports related to Mānī and Manichaeism based on classical Persian and Arabic sources, his exact birth date is not known, leaving us with an assumption that he was living in the latter half of the 12th to the middle of the 13th century AD. He has commented on some of the narratives in his own specific way. There are two manuscripts of the book in Nationale Biblioteque in Paris: manuscript A has been signed as the number of 2043 while manuscript B shows 2044. The first manuscript has been written in 717/1339 and the latter doesn't bear any date. This paper shall examine the sections related to Mānī and Manichaeism based on these two manuscripts with respect to new Manichaean studies.

Analysis of the Texts

1." *Maqdesī writes in his* ***History***[1] *that Mānī was the founder of the Zandīqs*[2] *and the people were fascinated by him. He invited the people to heresy and today that false claim (or religion) has survived among the people. And each impious one who touched it has called him a name; both the ignorant and the wise ones who were interested in it in different ways took hold to it and now that community who believes in that false religion is called the Bāṭenīs*."[3] (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 505-506)

1. The writer means *Creation and History*, Arabic version compiled by Abū ʿAbdollāh Moḥammad b. Aḥmad al- Maqdesī in 10th century AD.

2. The emphasis on the phrases is by the writer of paper.

3. *Maqdesī dar Tārīḵ-e ḵod āvarde ast ke Mānī vāzʿ-e zandaqe būd va ḵalq 'ū rā soḡbe šodand va 'ū da`vat-e ḵalq be bīdīnī mīkard va tā emrūz ān da`vat (yā maḏhab-e) bāṭel dar mīyān-e mardom mānde ast va har bīdīnī ke dast dar ān zad, 'ū rā nāmī nahād va nādān va dānā be tarīqehāye moḵtalef dar ān ta`alloq sāḵtand va bedān tamassok nimūdand va aknūn ān Ĵemā`at rā ke bedān maḏhab-e bāṭel īmān ārand Bāṭenī ḵānand.* (Afshar-Shirazi 1335/1957, 505-506)

According to ʿAwfī's claim, Mānī was the founder of the Zandīq sect and he was the leader of the Zandīqs. Although there is doubt that all the Zandīqs were Manichaeans it seems that at least up to the beginning of the 13th century AD, Mānī was regarded as the head of the Zandīqs by medieval Iranian and Arab writers. Regardless, the noticeable fact in this narrative is that "today that false claim (or religion) has survived among the people" (Ibid. 506). It means that Manichaeism had still followers in the 13th century in Iran. They were hidden under the sectarian umbrella term of Bāṭenīya. Since the 8th century AD, the Bāṭenīs became active as a mixed community consisting of some Gnostic, exaggerative and extremist sects that mainly originated from the Shiʿite part and some had also pre-Islamic Iranian or Syrian Gnostic roots (Levis 1984, 1).

ʾThis work shows that Manichaeans in Iran and Syria continued their religious and ideological life under the umbrella term of Bāṭenīya that is one of the more general names of the Ismaʿilites such as Ahl-e Bāṭen, Ahl-e Taʾwīl, Ahl-e Taʾīd etc (Frye 1985, 448). The treatise known as *'Umm'l-Ketāb* belong to Ḡolāt of Kūfī at the end of 8*th* century AD explains an apocalypse with Gnostic motifs. (Petro Culianu 1987, 575) Abu'l-Ḵaṭṭāb is the first one who thought about the Bāṭenī's movement and organized it. His followers are considered as the Shiʿite Gnostics. The mentioned *'Umm'l-Ketāb* which reflexes Abu'l-Ḵaṭṭāb's doctrine and his followers' notions, should be regarded as a "remind[er of] the books of Edris (Ḵenoḵ or Enoch) and Valentinian gnosis". (Frye 1985, 575) Moreover, "the first Ḵāṭṭābīya (followers of Abu'l-Ḵaṭṭāb) claimed of the divinity of the Imams and thought that it is based on the Divine Light that each Imam inherited it naturally. Also the credit of the emphasis on the Bāṭenī hermeneutics or the symbolic and allegorical exegesis of Qur'ān and the Holy Books goes back to them. The Isma`ilites took this kind of hermeneutics. They expanded and completed it" (Daftary 1998, 107).

ʿAwfī's word of Bāṭenīya, however, can be seen as a remark to Nezārian (the sect of Nezārīya) of 12th century AD who had esoteric comments on all the juridical principles, laws and traditions. (Ibid. 444) So, ʿAwfī and other historians and narrators from 9th to 13th century AD attributed

the Bāṭenī beliefs to Manichaeism and knew Mānī as the founder of Zandaqe and Bāṭenīya. The Ḡolāt, a sect among Mawālī who established the main body of the extremist Shi'ites, were impressive. Non-Arab Mavālī, especially Iranian Mavālī who became Moslem purposefully, brought many old ideas – including Manichaean beliefs to Shi'ite Islam. They probably took the ideas related to the fate of soul after death and the quality of "pādāš and pādefrāh" (compensation and punishment) from Manichaeism. (Ibid. 71, 82)

2. "*In the book called* **Āgrāż al-sīyāsa**[4] *it is studied that Mānī appeared at the time of Bahrām Hormoz; and he was a perfect painter and a wise geometrician; and he deceived the people and founded a false religion among the peoples; and the outline of his word was that he said that the soul which is bridged in human body is from that world and here is imprisoned and defeated in body, such as a bird in a cage and it always hits itself on the cage*[5] *in order to be released; it also is ready and waiting for opening of the (shutters) of the cage so that it goes to its flight and destination; and now man should try to make his pure spirit free from the agony of the oppressor Self; and he (Mānī) deceived people through this deceit and trickery and said (that) dying is better than living and temporary life has not origin*."[6] (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 507)

In this paragraph, ʿAwfī cites the outline of Mānī's doctrine in the way

4. In the manuscript B, we read "A`rāż al-Rīyāsa fī A`rāż al-Sīyāsa."

5. In the manuscript B, we read: "and always it hits on the shutters of the cage."

6. *Dar ketābī ke ān rā Āgrāż al-sīyāsa ḵānand čonīn moṭāle`e oftāde ast ke Mānī dar ʿahd-e Bahrām Hormoz dar āmad va naqqāšī kāmel va mohandesī dānā būd va be tazvīr ḵalq rā befarīft va kīšī bad dar mīyān-e ḵalāyeq padīd āvard va ḵolāseye soḵan-e 'ū ān būd ke goftī ke rūḥ ke dar badan-e ādamīzād majsūr ast vey az ān ʿālam ast va īnjā dar badan maḥbūs ast va maqhūr čonān-ke morḡ dar qafas oftād va peyvaste ḵod rā bar qafas mīzanad tā ke ḵalāṣ yābad 'ū nīz peyvaste moteraṣṣed va montaẓer ast tā ke bāšad ke ān qafas bogšāyad tā be maṭār va maqṣad-e ḵod ravad va aknūn jahd dar ān bāyad kard tā ādamī ḵod rā čonān sāzad ke har čand zūdtar rūḥ-e ṣāfī-e 'ū az kodūrat-e nafs-e jāfī ḵalāṣ yābad va bedīn tamvīh va tazvīr ḵalq ra befarīft va goftī mordan beh az zīstan va ḥayāt-e ʿārīyatī aṣlī nadārad.* (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 507)

that the bird of Soul is imprisoned in the cage of body and the material life is not original. The motif of the most Manichaean Parthian hymn-cycles is also the salvation and deliverance of the imprisoned Light or Soul that is exactly in line with ʿAwfī's narrative. In Manichaean hymns we see that the Soul is always seeking redemption. The Soul is disappointed and cries "who will save me?" a lonely, frightened and crying Soul who is seeking the Light and freedom. Then the Saviour comes forth and says a kind and lovely word. The devils flee and good news of salvation is given to the Soul. The Soul puts on the cloth of Light and becomes free from the dark prison of body and flies to heaven as a released bird. (Esmailpour Motlagh, 2007: 192)

This Gnostic-Manichaean motif is also explained in the mystic poems of Ḥāfeẓ, the great Iranian poet:

Such a cage is not worthy of me as bearing sweet tones,
I shall go to the Garden of Paradise, that I am a bird of that green yard.[7]
(Ḥāfeẓ 2000, 333)
Or:

I am a bird of the sacred Garden, how I express the sense of departure
That how I fell at this trap of adventure.[8] (Ibid. 308)

It is obvious that this Gnostic theme originates in Manichaean gnosis, as we see the agony of the soul in one of Manichaean hymn:

Who will take me up to that happy realm?

So that joy shall be mine in union with all (its) in habitations?
(Boyce 1954, 93)
Or:

I am mixed with (this material word) and agonized
Take me out from the bosom of Death
(Boyce 1975, 102)

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۷. چنین قفس نه سزای چو من خوش الحانی است / روم به گلشن رضوان که مرغ آن چمنم.

۸. طایر قدسم چه دهم شرح فراق / که در این دامگه حادثه چون افتادم.

3. "*And one of the other false men who claimed prophecy was Mānī of China; and he had many followers, and his birth-place was Babylon,*[9] *and his claim was mostly in the science of painting*[10] *; and one of his perfect deeds of his science was that he painted on a warp of silk of which length was twenty* ***gaz*** *(meters); then, he took a pen and drew a circle and put a compasses on it and examined it, there was not any difference*"[11] (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 509).

In the coming pages, we shall discuss Mānī's claim of prophecy. However, the other points of this text are Mānī's birth-place and his perfect skill in the art of painting that tallies with the Manichaean authentic sources. In manuscript B of *Jawāmeʿ al-ḥekāyāt* we see that Mānī's birth-place is Babylon and "from a village called Mardīnū from the city of Lūyā." (Ibid.). According to Bīrūnī's writing in *Chronology*, directly cited from Mānī's writings, "Mānī was born in a village called Mardīnū; this village is located near the river Kūṭā Aʿlā" (Bīrūnī 1985: 309). So, ʿAwfī mentioning of the village of Mardīnū means Mardīnū, and Lūgā is an orthographical mistake of Kūṭā as W.B. Henning also confirmed this point (Henning 1977, 87-88).

As mentioned earlier, ʿAwfī's narrative on Mānī's claim of skill in the art of painting resonates with Abū'l-Maʿālī's narrative in *Bayān al-adyān*: "and this man was master in the art of painting; and he appeard at the time of Šāpūr b. Ardašīr. He claimed among the magi and his claim was the art of pen and painting. It is said (that) he drew a line on a piece of white silk; when they took out that warp of the silk, that line disappeared. And he made (created) a book painted with kinds

9. Manuscript B: "from a village that is called Mardīū (Mardīnū) from the city of Luyā." (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 509).

10. Manuscript B: "and he had a perfect skim in that science."

11. Va dīgar az Mobtelān ke daʿvī-e nabovvat kardand Mānī-e Čīn būd va ū rā tebāʾ besīyār būd va mawled-e ū az Bābel būd va daʿvī-e ū bīštarīn dar ʿelm-e naqqāšī būd va yekī az kamāl-e ʿelm-e ū ān būd ke yek tāye ḥarīr bāz kešīdī ke ṭūl-e ān bīst gaz būd pas qalam bargereftī va dāʾereʾī bekešīdī va pargār bar ān nehādī va begardānīdī yek ḏarre tafāvot nabūdī. (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 509)

of pictures called Aržang (Ardahang) of Mānī; and it is (survived) at Ḡaznein treasurers" (Abu'l-Maʿālī 1934, 17).

Ferdowsī, too, confirmed Mānī's art of painting:
"There came an eloquent speaker from China
That the earth will not see a painter like him
(Ferdowsī 1968, Vol. 7, 250)

4. "*And he (Mānī) was Qārūn the sage's student who knew well the laws of Christians and the magi*[12]*; then he appeared at the time of Šāpūr Ardašīr and claimed prophecy and said: In any era, the creator of the great splendid world gave the expression of science, philosophy and prophecy to one of his angels*[13] *and at the time of Goštāsp*[14]*, Zarathushtra was sent to the earth and in another era, Jesus was sent to the land of the Arabs; and at this time, I was sent to you as a messenger. And he (Mānī) said (that) Light and Darkness are primeval and killing the animals is unlawful*[15]*, and Dervīšī (poverty) is better than wealth*[16]*; and he also said that saving [things] is unlawful and one should not take food more than one day and take cloth more than a year and marriage more than once, and one must give one tenth of his properties to the poor and fast [during] one-seventh of his life and travel permanently for invitation [the people to the religion] not for business, and help the friends*[17]*; and he (Mānī) composed some books such as Jelīyya*[18] *with Abjad letters*[19] *and the book of Šābūrqān and Kanz al-aḵbār (=Kanz al-*

12. Manuscript B: "the magi and the dualists." (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 509)

13. Manuscript B: "the prophets" (Ibid.).

14. Manuscript B: "Goštāsf" (Ibid.).

15. Manuscript B: "and injuring the Dervishes and the animals is unlawful." (Ibid. 510).

16. Manuscript B: "and killing the greed and lust and leaving the world and piety are also good." (Ibid.).

17. Manuscript B: "and helping the friends and taking more friends." (Ibid.)

18. Manuscript B: "Ḥile" (Ibid.).

19. Manuscript B: "put on twenty two letters." (Ibid.).

Aḥyāʾ)[20] *and Sefr al-asrār; and he claimed that I am a person*[21] *whom Jesus has promised; I am the last prophet and what Jesus said I am commentator of that*"[22] (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 509-510).

There are many points in this paragraph that are noticeable. First, Mānī was introduced as a student of Qārūn the sage. In the narratives of Masʿūdī's *Morūj al-ẕahab* and *Gardīzī's Zayn al-aḵbār* it is stated as "Qārdūn" (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 486), and also in Bīrūnī's narrative in *Chronology* it is stated as "Fāderūn", and finally "Qārdūn" in Ebn al-Balḵī's *Fārs-nāma* that is presumably one of Alḵasīh's epithets, who was the leader of the sect of Moǧtasele (Esmailpour Motlagh 2004, 123-124).

Mānī's claim of prophecy is obvious. It was narrated in many of the sources. The unlawfulness of killing of the animals and other subjects related to the popular followers of Mānī (Niyōšāgān) correspond to Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian original texts. In a Middle Persian text, (text *w*) the prohibition of killing of animals and the injuries of meat-eating are openly described (Boyce 1975, 57-58). This text is apparently addressed to Manichaean class of Wīzīdagān (the Elects), for Niyōšāgān ordinary class of Manichaeans were allowed to

20. Manuscript B: "*Sefr al-ḥabere*." (Ibid.).

21. Manuscript B: "I am that Paraclete." (Ibid.).

22. Va ū šāgerd-e Qārūn-e ḥakīm būd va aḥkām-e tarsāyān va moǧān nekū dānestī; pas dar rūzegār-e Šāpūr Ardašīr borūn āmad va daʿvī-e peyǧābarī kard va goft: bayān-e ʿelm va ḥekmat va ersāl dar har ʿahdī āfarīdegār-e ʿālam-e jalā va `alā be yekī az fereštegān-e ḵod maḵsūs gardānd va dar ʿahd-e Goštāsb Zardošt rā be Zamīn ferestād va dar ʿahdī dīgar ʿIsā rā be zamīn-e ʿArab va dar īn vaqt marā be peyǧāmbarī be šomā ferestād va goft nūr va ẓolmat qadīm ast va koštan-e ḥeyvān ḥarām ast va darvīšī beh az tavāngarī va dīgar goft ke zaḵīre ḥarām ast va našāyad ziyādat az qūt-e yek rūz nehādan va ziyādat az lebās yek sāl našāyad va ziyādat az yek zan dāštan ḥarām bovad va ʿošr-e melk be ṣadaqe dādan vājeb ast va sabʿ-e ʿomr rūze dāštan va safar peyvaste kardan az barāye daʿwat na az barāye tejārat va bā dūstān movāsā kardan va čand ketāb rā taṣnif kard čon jelīyya bar ḥorūf-e abjad nehād va ketāb-e *Šābūrqān va Kanz al-aḵbār* (= *Kanz al-Aḥyāʾ*) va *Sefr al-Asrār* va čonīn daʿvī mīkard ke man ān kas-am ke ʿIsā vaʿde dāde ast man ḵātam-e peyǧambarān-am va ānče ʿIsā farmūd man šāreḥ-e ān-am. (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 509-510)

eat meat to some extent, as it is stated in fragment V (Ibid. 58; also see Bahar and Esmailpour Motlagh forthcoming, 267-270). ʿAwfī's narrative, nevertheless, advocate the persecution of the animals as an unlawful act.

With respect to the obligation of *ṣadaqa* (almsgiving) for Manichaeans in the above mentioned text is the same "ruwānagān" which was specific for niyōšāgān. Three books of *Jalia / Ḥila, Kanz al-aḵbār* and *Sefr al-asrār* are the same *Jebele*, *Kanz al-aḥyāʾ* (*The Treasure of the Livings, and Rāzān*. *Jebele* is the same *Book of Kawān* or *Giants* (Henning 1977, 115); *Kanz al-aḥyāʾ* is the same *Niyān ī Zindagān*; and *Sefr al-asrār* is the same famous Middle persian *Book of Rāzān* (*The Mystries*). Important fragments of the *Book of Giants* have survived. Also some fragments of *Kanz al-aḥyāʾ* were cited by Augustine and Bīrūnī; and the contents of chapters of the *Book of Rāzān* were mentioned by Ebn al-Nadīm and some fragments were translated by Bīrūnī. (Bahar and Esmailpour Motlagh, forthcoming, 32-33)

5. "*When Šāpūr became aware of his situation, he dismissed him from his realm*[23]*; and he went to the land of India, to Kashmir and Tibet and the people of Tibet and Turkestan accepted him and*[24] *he made idols, and misled them with pictures and deceits; and he walked up*[25] *the mountains there many times and did not stay in one place; and during this journey, when he arrived at the opening of a mount*[26] *that at the body*[27] *of it, there was current water and a pleasant place; and [when he sees that] its entrance is narrow, then he chose the place and took his food*[28] *there for a year so as no one became aware of him; so,*

23. Manuscript B: "and he said [that] when you come forth to my country, I will kill you." (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 511)

24. Manuscript B: "and in India." (Ibid.).

25. Manuscript B: "and at the way of China and" (Ibid.).

26. Manuscript B: "and he showed" (Ibid.).

27. Manuscript B : "in *ligh or tif*" (Ibid.).

28. Manuscript B: "his food and clothes" (Ibid.).

one day he told his followers: I will go to the heaven[29] and I will stay there. When a year passed you should gather at a day at the foot of a mount[30], and bring a horse so that I come forth and announce you. Then suddenly he came in to the cave and stayed there; and provided a great epistle in paper scroll form that was similar to an egg in tenderness and whiteness. Then he painted wonderful pictures on that epistle[31]; and he worked on it during one year and at the time promised, he took the epistle in his hand and came out and said: I was at the service of God of the Heaven; I was ordered to conceal his laws and this is the Book of God. When the people saw it and all were disabled of its example, they believed and accepted it and called it the Artang of Mānī, and it is still survived among the treasures of the king of China[32], and when he [finished] his mission in those lands and got at his aim, the wish of his main land and the enthusiasm of home [and place] moved him to his home; he could reach [at Turkestan]; another place becomes so."[33](Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 510-513)

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29. Manuscript B: "and God the Great and splendid has called me forth." (Ibid.).

30. Manuscript B: "at the gate of that cave" (Ibid.).

31. Manuscrpt B: "and the picture of any cruelty and punishment of that cruelty was painted." (Afshar-Shirazi 1975, 510)

32. Manuscript B: "it is still survived among the treasures of the kings of China and the most Chinese and some of Indians accepted his religion." (Ibid.).

33. čon Šāpūr az ḥāl-e ū āgāh šod ū rā az mamlekat-e ḵod bīrūn kard va ʻū be zamīn-e Hendūstān be Kašmīr va Tabbat raft va ahl-e Tabbat va Turkestān ʻū rā qabūl kardand va botān sāḵt va be taṣvīr va tazvīr īšān rā az rāh bord va dar kūh-hā-e ānjā besīyār begašt va be yek jāy qarār nemīgereft va dar aṣnāye īn seyr vaqtī be šekāf-e kūhi resīd ke dar taneye ān kūh āb-hā-e ravān va fażā-e faṣīh būd va madḵal-e ān tangnāʾi dārad, pas ān mowże` rā eḵtīyār kard va yek sāle ṭaʿām-e ḵod dar ānjā bord čonān-ke hīč kas az ʻū ḵabar nabūd; pas yek rūz aṣḥāb-e ḵod rā goft man be āsemān ḵāham raft va yek sāl ānjā ḵāham būd; čon sar-e sāl šod be felān rūz bāyad ke šomā dar pāy-e felān kūh jam` šavīd va asbī bīyārīd tā man bīyāyam va az marāsem-e dīn va maḥāsen-e šarī`at-e ḵod šomā rā e`lām deham; pas nāgāh bedān ḡār dar šod va moḡām sāḵt va darjī bozorg be šekl-e kāḡazī ṭūmārī moḥayyā karde būd ke dar tangī va ṣafā-e bayāż be pūst-e beyże-ye morḡ mānande būd; pas dar ān [darj] sūrathā-e ajīb naqš kard va dar moddat-e yek sāl ān rā pardāḵt va be hamān vaqt-e mīʿād ān darj-e [moṣavvar dar dast gereft va borūn āmad va goft man be ḵedmat va dargāh-e ḵodāye āsemān būdam, marā farmūd tā aḥkām-e ū rā qāyem konam va īn ketāb-e ḵodāyast; čon ḵalq ān rā be dīdand va hamegān az meṯl-e ān ʿājez būdand, bāvar dāštand va taṣdīq kardand va ān

The exile of Mānī to Kašmir, Tibet and Turkestān by Šāpūr has been also reported by Mīrḵwānd (d. 1525 AD) in *Rowżat al-ṣafā* (Mīrḵwānd 1892, 223). Mānī's journey to the north eastern part of Iran and to India is mentioned in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian texts to some extent. At the time of Mānī's visit in India, some parts such as Tūrān, Makrān, Pardān, some regions of India and Kūšānšahr to Paškīpūr were parts of Erānšahr according to great inscription of Šāpūr (Lieu 1992, 71). During most Parthian dynasty, these regions belonged to Kūšānian kingdom which joined in Erānšahr during Ardašīr reign. This said, Mānī's journey to China emerges as only a legend (Esmailpour Motlagh 2005, 31).

According to original Manichaean narratives, Mānī's dismissal and exile is clouded with uncertainty as he was favored by Šāpūr, and thus the king let him propagandize his religion within and outwith the Sassanian empire. Mīrḵwānd's report narrativizes the situation of the end part of Šāpūr's reign and Hormoz's period as a prince. According to a unique report of Ebn al-Balḵī's *Fārs-nāma*, "Hormoz killed the Zandīqs and Mānī's followers" (Ebn al-Balḵī 1921, 20). This is also confirmed by a newly discovered Uigur text reported by Professor Geng Shimin (Esmailpour Motlagh 2005, 124).

The legend of the cave and creation of Mānī's *Ardahang* tallies with Abū'l Maʿālī's report in *Bayān al-adyān* (Abū'l Maʿālī 1934, 52).

Similar to this legend is also reported in Mīrḵwānd's *Rowżat al-ṣafā* (Mīrḵwānd 1892, 223). ʿAwfī's report according to manuscript B shows that Mānī's *Ardahang* "survived up to that time (13th century AD) among the treasures of Chinese emperors" (ʿAwfī 1985, 245; Esmailpour Motlagh 2005, 86-87).

6. *And one of Chinese people's customs is that they do not let the strangers to come to their cities; and if a stranger goes there for an important mission or for business or for embassy, when he succeeds,*

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rā *Arthang-e Mānī* ḵāndand va ān dar mīyān-e ḵazāyen-e pādešāh-e Čīn hanūz bāqī ast va čon dar ān belād kār-e ū [sāḵte šod] va maqsūd-e ū be ḥoṣūl peywast, ārezūye vatan-e aṣlī va eštīyaq-e ḵāne [va jāygāh] ū rā dar ḥarkat āvard; rūy be velāyat-e ḵod āvard [tā rūy be Torkestān] moyassar šod jāye dīgar hamān bešavad. (Ibid.)

they excuse him to leave there and this is a tradition founded by Mānī; for he made them (Manichaeans) believe in the religion of Mystery (Dualism) that not a wise man arrives there and tell the corruption and falsehood of that religion; he founded that tradition so that no stranger should come to their province.[34] (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 514)

A new bulk of research shows that Manichaeism in Turfan and Kansu is going to be declined as a result of Moslem's attack during ʿAwfī's time (13th century AD) and even a century before him at the time of Ebn al-Balk̲ī's (12th century AD). At this time, the region of Tai became the center of Manichaeism. Manichaeans in the north part of China began their underground activities, and little by little moved to the south east parts of the land and stayed there up to 11th/17th century (Lieu 1992, 271-274).

Therefore, rejection of the strangers that was regarded one of "Chinese traditions" (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 514), is a sign of Manichaeans' survival in Chinese Turkestān or the Province of Xing Jiang, namely, people who had not any confidence in strangers to conserve their minority; thus, they did not let them join their secret meetings.

7. *And all of Chinese men are followers of Mānī's religion, but the people of Qatāi (K̲atāi) and Yighur (Uigur)*[35] *are some sun-worshippers and the others are Christians*.[36] (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 515)
This part of ʿAwfī's report shows that Manichaeans were living in China at his time (13th century AD) and the people of K̲atāi and Uighur were part sun-worshippers (Zoroastrians), and part Christians. This

34. Va yekī az ʿādāt-e ahl-e Čīn ān ast ke īšān ḡarībān rā dar šahr-e k̲od nagd̲ārand va agar be mohemmī ḡarībī ānjā ravad yā be tejārat yā be sefārat, čon ḡaraz-e ʻū be ḥoṣūl bepeyvandad, ʻū rā ʿod̲r k̲āhand tā beravad; va īn sonnatīst ke Mānī nehāde ast. če čonān dar del-hāye īšān e`teqād-e mad̲hab-e serrīyye (thanavīyye) rā rāsek̲ gardānīd ke nabāyad ke `ālemī ānjā rasad va fasād va boṭlān-e ān mad̲hab bā īšān taqrīr konad; ān sonnat benhād ke hīč bīgāne rā bāyad ke dar velāyat-e k̲od rāh nadahīd. (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 514)

35. In the text: Fanā and Ya`rūk (Afshar-Shirazi 1957, 515).

36..Va jomlegī-e ahl-e Čīn bar kīš-e Mānī-and be k̲elāf-e fanā (K̲atāi) va Yaʾruk (Yīghūr).

point seems partially to be correct, for at that time there were still many Manichaean, Zoroastrian and Christian businessmen in central Asia and western regions of China doing business (Lieu 1992, 272). This Chinese habit in which [the people] had not any confidence in strangers goes back to Manichaean behavior.

Conclusion

Surveying seven fragments of ʿAwfī's *Jawāmeʿ al-ḥekāyāt* we can conclude that Manichaeans continued their religious life in Iran as sects such as Zandaqe, especially Bāṭenīya until the 13th century AD. According to this report, it was revealed that Manichaeans were living in China contemporaneously with the writer. Mānī's birth place and his claim of prophecy mentioned in the text correspond to Manichaean original texts. According to ʿAwfī, Mānī was a disciple of Qārdūn/ Fāderūn who was presumably one of al-Ḵasīh's epithets, the first *moršed* (leader) of the sect of Moḡtasele. The narration of Mānī's banishment and dismissal to the eastern part [of Iran] and India by Šāpūr, is probably a sign of the restrictions against Mānī at the end period of Šāpūr and during Hormoz's reign, which historically tallies with Ebn al-Balḵī in *Fārs-nāma* and with a new discovered Uighur text.

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Field Report on the 2015 Current Archaeological Works of the Joint Iran-French Project on Pasargadae and its Territory

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Abstract

The Iranian-French project resumed its archaeological work on the site of Pasargadae in the latter half of 2015, the capital founded by Cyrus the Great in the center of the ancient province of Persia. It is the first step of a program that will span over several years and during which we will gradually enrich the Pasargadae archaeological map on a large scale. In the continuity of the previous 1999-2009 programs, we tried to have a better understanding of the layout of the Achaemenid city that was developed following a new pattern where the garden, the park, plays a prominent role. We also would like to further study the territorial changes just before the Achaemenid Empire as well as after its fall until the Islamic period. To approach these topics we gather a pluridisciplinary team that carried out complementary survey works (geophysics, topography, fieldwalking, surface ceramic collection, geoarchaeology) to build a comprehensive reconstruction of the Pasargadae cityscape from the early Achaemenid to Islamic periods. The works were performed inside the protected area of the site as well as in its nearby surroundings. This article presents our methodology as well as our preliminary results. The important 2015 achievements were to demonstrate that the south Tol-e Takt hillslope is built, to firmly show

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that the Achaemenid/post-Achaemenid occupation extended southeast of the Royal Garden and to shed light on the ancient settlement system some kilometers north of the city core part. In the same time an important topography work has been started to accurately document the whole visible archaeological features over the site. The main fallout of these surveys is to bring to light parts of the Cyrus project for Pasargadae as well as the complex and evolving landscape of the site and its territory before and after the Achaemenid period.

Keywords: Fars, Pasargadae, archaeology, survey, mapping, geophysics, topography, fieldwalking, Achaemenid, post-Achaemenid, Islamic, cityscape, territorial management.

Introduction

The Iranian-French project "Shiraz" resumed fieldwork in the latter half of 2015 on the World Heritage Site of Pasargadae, the Achaemenid city founded by Cyrus the Great around 550 BCE. Our 2015 campaign continued and expanded upon an earlier archaeological fieldwork, which was begun in 1999 by Rémy Boucharlat in collaboration with the Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research (ICAR) and the Parsa-Pasargadae Research Foundation (PPRF) headed at that time by Dr. Mohammad Hassan Talebian. Considering the promising results obtained between 1999 and 2008, we decided to restart archaeological fieldwork with the goal to reconstruct the contents and boundaries of the Achaemenid landscape of Pasargadae and its nearby territory by means of complementary survey methods. Past work on the site has served to define new research topics and areas to explore the core, the buffer and the environment of the protected site. It led us to widen our approach with methods and new multidisciplinary approaches previously unexplored in research at Pasargadae.

The renewed five-year Iranian-French project is managed by Dr. Kourosh Mohammadkhani (Shahid Beheshti University) and Dr. Sébastien Gondet (UMR 5133 Archéorient – Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, CNRS/Lyon 2 University). It is implemented under

the agreement of the Iranian Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts & Tourism Organization (ICHTO) and in collaboration with the Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research (ICAR), headed by Dr. Hamideh Choubak, branch of the Research Institute for Cultural Heritage and Tourism (RICHT). The field research program has been built with the Parsa-Pasargadae Research Foundation (PPRF) and Hamid Fadaei, head of the Pasargadae office. The Pasargadae office also gives critical support to the work by providing access to infrastructure and by the active involvement of two additional archaeologists on the team. The project takes place within the framework of a Memorandum of Understanding for academic and research collaborations signed by the RICHT and the University Lyon 2 in 2015. Funding is provided by the French Foreign Ministry office for international archaeological collaborations. The project is supported by the French Research Institute in Iran (IFRI) and by the Lyon 2 University/National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) Archéorient team, a lab part of the Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée Research Centre. The 2015 archaeological work of the Iranian-French mission to Pasargadae[1] and its environment was conducted between the 12th of November and the 6th of December.[2]

Revealing Pasargadae and its Territory: Recent Contributions (1999-2009)

Past archaeological fieldwork at Pasargadae led by Ernst Herzfeld (Herzfeld 1929-30), Ali Sami (Sami 1956) and David Stronach (Stronach 1978) provided accurate mapping and reconstruction

1. Our team consisted of 13 members. Aside from the authors of the present article, the team included 2 geophysicists and 4 undergraduate and graduate students in archaeology: Eng. Colas Finck (Pierre and Marie Curie University, Paris), Ebrahim Roustaei Farsi (Azad University, Tehran), Eng. Sare Ebrahimi Nia (Azad University of Abhar); Maryam Hoseini (Shiraz University); Fahimeh Shahvand (Isfahan University of Art); Tayebeh Rahimi (Tehran University).

2. We would like to thank warmly Rémy Boucharlat for his relevant scientific remarks and generally speaking for his support to the project. This restarting program has been built together with him in the continuation of the mission he has established in the early 1990s. Many thanks also to Alexander Nagel and Alfred Booth for having kindly corrected the English text of this article.

of a number of monuments on the plain, of the layout of the Royal Garden encompassing several of these buildings, and of the citadel built on the Tol-e Takt. Taking into account only the maps published by Stronach, Pasargadae appeared as a rather empty city where monumental buildings where loosely distributed over a large area. It became evident that these constructions must be considered today the only visible parts remaining from Cyrus' project at Pasargadae as a capital for ruling the province of Persia as well as his residence and final resting place. After his reign, his successors continued to develop the site that probably remained a local administrative unit and where regular celebrations were performed (Henkelmann 2008, 433-441). That is to say that the site certainly sheltered a permanent population during the Achaemenid period and long after, as has been revealed by the excavation of Stronach. At the same time, however, it became evident that Pasargadae served as a central place for the surrounding Dasht-e Morghab plain. Its environment must have been managed to supply Pasargadae with various farming products, raw materials and water. An absence of sufficient data on these aspects prevented us from drawing more conclusions about the past. Thus, the image of an empty site placed in an empty region resembling the idea of a nomad camp (Herzfeld 1935, 28) has been transmitted for a while.

Until recently, archaeological fieldwork at Pasargadae and its territory has shown an important breakdown in the research strategies. The most recent contributions from Iranian teams as well as international research collaborations were firmly oriented towards a better understanding of the archaeological landscape of the city and its hinterland. Between 1999 and 2009, an Iranian-French project began mapping the site by means of innovative methodological approaches: geophysical surveys complemented by archaeological, topographical and aerial kite photography surveys.

The comprehensive study of the site enabled researchers to reveal parts of the city's layout (Boucharlat and Benech 2002, Mohammadkhani 2006, Boucharlat, Benech and Gondet 2012). The surveys have firmly demonstrated that Pasargadae extended far beyond the central Royal

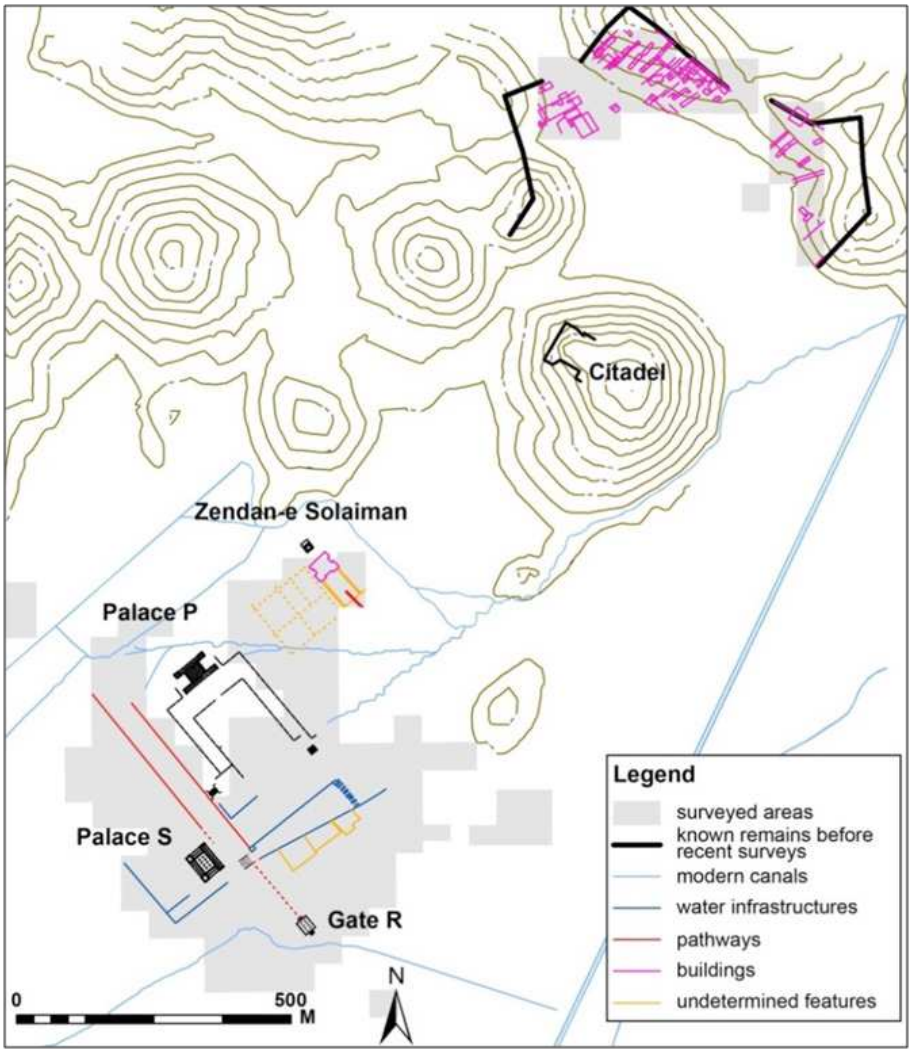


Fig. 1: Interpretation map of the results obtained from the 1999-2009 magnetic surveys carried out on Pasargadae (adapted from Benech, Boucharlat, Gondet 2012, 29 Fig. 15).

Garden, the Tol-e Takt and the Cyrus tomb (Fig. 1). Based on the results of geophysical inspection, researchers were able to document other previously unknown built areas on the site. Within the polygonal wall to the north of the Tol-e Takt, a complex of buildings was partly mapped

within the fortified area. It has been demonstrated that the southeastern limit of the Royal Garden corresponds to a large elongated trapezoidal basin crossed by the bridge next to the Palace S. Also along the southeastern limits of this basin, some features indicate parts of a larger settled area extending further east on the plain. A series of ditches and/or a canal system was identified encompassing the so-called Zendan-i Soleiman tower and a related monumental building nearby (Boucharlat 2003, Benech, Boucharlat and Gondet 2012, 20-23). These ditches followed the same orientation as the stone canal networks known further south. This evidence draws a common layout encompassing all monuments and built sectors on the plain and brings to light the existence of a large park, i.e. the "paradise" of Pasargadae, extending beyond the Royal Garden (Boucharlat 2009, Boucharlat 2011). Taken together, these interrelated buildings and sectors, distributed over at least 300 ha, reveal the original settlement pattern, considered by Cyrus, as an open and diffuse cityscape without a densely built core defining the center of the city.

However, questions remained regarding the chronology of the built environment and the development which could have been different for each of the separate sectors documented. Generally speaking, the chronology of the sectors remains a subject of debate, since the publication of the excavations on the Tol-e Takt by Stronach. Then in 2006 and 2007, an Iranian-Italian team implemented several soundings in the west part of the Tol-e Takt. This work allowed them to better define the chronology of the Achaemenid/post-Achaemenid phases thanks to new radiocarbon dating (Askari Chaverdi and Callieri 2010) and to suggest, for example, that the Citadel might have seen changes at the end of the 5th century (Callieri and Askari Chaverdi 2013, 705-706).

During the 2000's, the hinterland of Pasargadae was also the object of important archaeological fieldwork. Data were retrieved from an international rescue excavation program carried in the Tang-e Bulaghi valley during the years 2005-2007 during the building of a recent dam across the Sivand River further to the south. These rescue excavations brought to light a vivid picture of what could be the settlement system

during the Achaemenid period in an area located next to Pasargadae and most probably placed under its administrative scope: several small rural settlements were excavated, including farmsteads (Askari Chaverdi and Callieri 2009), stock houses (Asadi and Kaim 2009, Helwing and Seyyedin 2009) and a pavilion (Atai and Boucharlat 2009, Boucharlat 2014a). It appears that long canals running along both sides of the valley supplied these structures with water (Atai and Boucharlat 2009: 23-32).

Achaemenid territorial development and expansion were based on water control and a network of interrelated small farming settlements. This pattern seems to have been established further on the Dasht-e Morghab plain, at least north of Pasargadae, as has been tentatively shown through the results of the large scale surveys from an Iranian-Japanese project (Yamauchi and Nishiyama 2008). The Iranian-Japanese team pointed out several new Achaemenid settlements associated with remains of ancient canals. At the same time, results from the Iranian-French comprehensive studies on the remains of dams and canals on two connected dams, located near the Shahidabad village thirty kilometers north of Pasargadae, provided evidence that the water was regionally controlled by the Achaemenids (Asadi *et al*. 2010, De Schacht *et al*. 2012). This water control was conceived at the scale of the Sivand upper catchment basin to supply Pasargadae and its territory with water and to protect it from floods. Geomorphological studies allowed us to assess the past variations of the Sivand River flow (Rigot 2010). Taken together, the hydraulic remains are proof that the foundation of Pasargadae required a monumental and complex reshaping of its nearby territory, which had probably been deserted before the Achaemenid period.

Aims and Methods of the Current Iranian-French Project

During these recent fieldwork projects, new questions concerning the study of the Pasargadae city and its territory were developed as most of the issues raised above needed further investigations (Boucharlat, Benech and Gondet 2012, 28-35, Boucharlat 2014b). These new

questions formed the basis of our new research project which has now been calibrated by considering the necessity of the conservation of the site and the preservation of the heritage in its surrounding protection area (Talebian 2014, Nagel 2016). Our program can be divided into the six main following topics:

1- *Defining the urbanization processes and the town-planning layout*: after several years of geophysical surveys on Pasargadae, several blank areas still remain. They have to be filled in order to have a more comprehensive reconstruction of the Pasargadae cityscape. We need to complete the map of the city southwest towards the tomb of Cyrus in order to assess if it was placed within the "paradise" as asserted by the Greek authors. We also wish to extend the survey from the Royal Garden area towards the eastern slope of the Tol-e Takt and further beyond towards the fortified area that we intend to cover entirely. Finally, the presence of a built area east of the large trapezoidal basin needs to be better characterized. The geophysical surveys, using the routine magnetic method as well as innovative electromagnetic ones, will be carried out at the same time for more accurate topographic works. We intend to work on the base map of the site recently made by the Pasargadae office by surveying and drawing the entire remains visible on the surface.

2- *Limits of the Pasargadae urban area and settlement pattern of its nearby territory*: the cityscape of Pasargadae was very open, including parks, gardens, fields and/or orchards as well as built sectors within the same layout. This pattern questions our ability to delineate the city of Pasargadae. It is highly possible that the urban and rural spheres were fully integrated within a same, shared landscape. We should be able to reveal the extent of the urbanized area only by systematic archaeological surveys in the Pasargadae buffer zone and by accurately defining the dating, the plan and the function of all the settled places identified so far. At the same time, we will compare the farming management near Pasargadae with information revealed from the preventive excavations in the Tang-e Bulaghi. Finally, our other objective is to tackle the still enigmatic question of the burial customs during the occupation

phases of Pasargadae by visiting and recording all the funerary remains. Completing such an archaeological map is also closely linked to the objectives of the Pasargadae office in charge of the long term preservation of the heritage around the site.

3- *Chronological dynamics*: during the first phases of our extensive work, we approached only slightly the chronological aspects of the development of Pasargadae and its territory. Indeed, we needed first to get a better overview of the layout before carrying out more careful studies on the dating of the several settled areas revealed. However, our suggested reconstruction of the cityscape divided into separated sectors raises the question of their dating as they could have been developed in several stages and have been occupied before or reoccupied after the Achaemenid period. We will approach the question of the development dynamics of the Pasargadae urban space by systematic mapping and collecting the surface ceramic sherds on the site. At the same time the archaeological surveys in the Pasargadae buffer zone will allow us to insert the Pasargadae foundation into the long-term settlement dynamics of the Dasht-e Morghab plain.

4- *Water control in the Sivand catchment basin*: previous studies have revealed a lot of data concerning the Achaemenid regional water control customs. If we can rely upon a good general reconstruction of this system, more accurate data are needed particularly concerning the function and the dating of some of the dams and canals that formed the still visible framework of the wider Achaemenid territorial management of the Pasargadae region. As an example, we know a several-kilometers long canal network, known as Gur-e Dokhtar, running across the eastern part of the Dasht-e Morghab plain. It has been said that it must be dated back only to the Islamic era, but recent studies implemented by the Pasargadae office at a large Achaemenid site called Miyan Jade have demonstrated that it is probably linked to this canal. Further south this canal system seems to be linked to a long dam built at the southeastern end of the plain. Our works will include the accurate mapping of the hydraulic infrastructures and the dating by means of radiocarbon and/or

OSL methods. Thus the focus on the water control is also an entry point to consider the regional settlement pattern.

5- *Environmental characteristics and changes*: until now little is known concerning the past environmental background of the Pasargadae region. First, this question needs to be approached by a better defining the present day environmental settings: climate, hydrology, geology, soils, geomorphology, and vegetation. Data are already available but we lack a comprehensive study and model of the present environment. Based on this core work, we intend to gradually reconstruct the environmental background of past times by means of comprehensive and interdisciplinary geo-archaeological approaches. Following closely the former phases of the Iranian-French project, we have already studied the fluvial deposits and suggested a general reconstruction of the past river changes that still needs to be better defined. This question is critical because it concerns the water availability that will also be approached by studying the numerous springs of the Morghab plain. Another highly relevant topic, closely linked to the water availability and climate changes, is the region's history of vegetation that will be studied through palynology. It concerns the determination of the natural and the cultivated vegetation at the regional scale as well as, at the Pasargadae site scale, the study of the species growing in the Royal Garden.

Preliminary Results of the Fall 2015 Campaign

The work implemented during the fall 2015 has mainly concerned points 1 to 3 of the program presented above. That is to say that we focused our works on the archaeology of the Pasargadae site and its surrounding territories. The wider survey of the Achaemenid water control system as well as the palaeo-environmental studies were the subject of a second mission carried out during the second half of June 2016 that brought together a team made up of a hydrologist, a geomorphologist and a palynologist. Writing the report concerning this second mission is still ongoing and several soil samples collected in the Royal Garden

as well as on several hydraulic constructions in the plain are still under examination in various laboratories.

In fall 2015 we implemented various complementary survey methods: field-walking surveys, systematic mapping and collecting surface ceramics, topography, geophysics and aerial photography by kite. We focused on two areas (Fig. 2): (1) the Pasargadae protected site, and (2) its vicinity including the Abulvardi area, 3 km north of the Palace P, including the Tol-e Gholam hill range that surrounds a small plain located north of the Abulvardi village and west of the Dehno village. Within the general framework of our project, the main goals for the 2015 season were the following:

- To continue the mapping of Pasargadae by means of geophysical methods and at the same time to start the topographical survey of the remains visible on the surface of the site.

- To gain a better occupation chronology of some of the previously revealed settled sectors of the city by means of the mapping, the systematic collection and the study of the surface ceramics sherds.

- To start, in the Abulvardi area, the systematic archaeological survey of the Pasargadae's vicinity.

Mapping the Pasargadae City

Magnetic surveys

Encouraged by the promising results of the 1999-2008 geophysical survey campaigns (Benech, Boucharlat and Gondet 2012), we have decided to continue investigating the site using the same instrumentation, i.e. a cesium gradiometer providing magnetic maps of the subsoil. The 2015 surveys were carried out in three sectors (Fig. 3). The first corresponds to the fortified sector located to the northeast of the site, beyond the Tol-e Takt. The second is located southeast of the Tol-e Takt hill where we surveyed an area extending on the hillslope to the

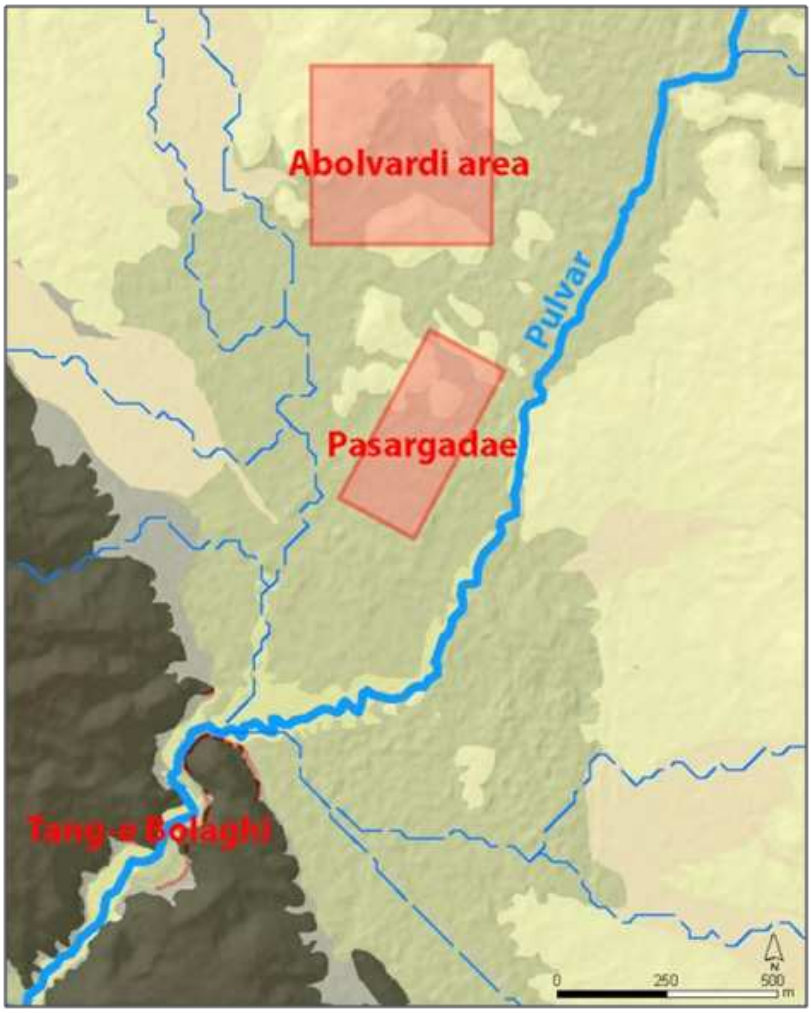


Fig. 2: Location of the studied areas during the 2015 season of surveys over Pasargadae and its nearby territory (red rectangles).

plain and encompassing a small hill located some hundred meters to the south of the Tol-e Takt hill. Finally, several areas chosen southwest of the Palace S, towards the tomb of Cyrus, were investigated.

The maps obtained within the fortified area have shown an extension of the architectural elements as revealed after our previous surveys.

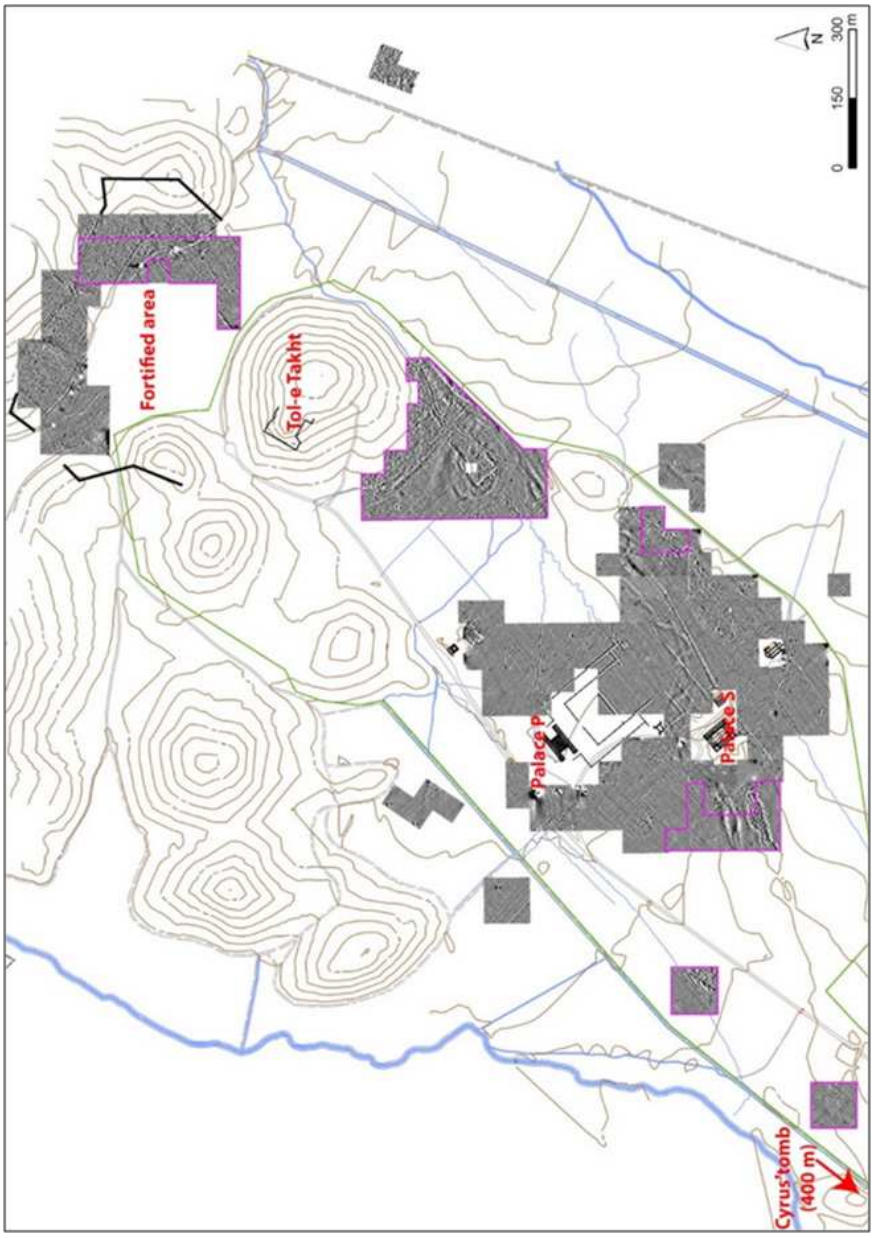


Fig. 3: Magnetic surveys carried out at Pasargadae since 1999 (Benech, Boucharlat and Gondet 2011 for the surveys prior to 2015; the new areas surveyed in 2015 are outlined in purple. Magnetic map dynamics -2/+2 nT from white to black. 2015 surveys carried out by C. Fink, S. Gondet, K. Mohammadkhani and E. Roustaei Farsi).

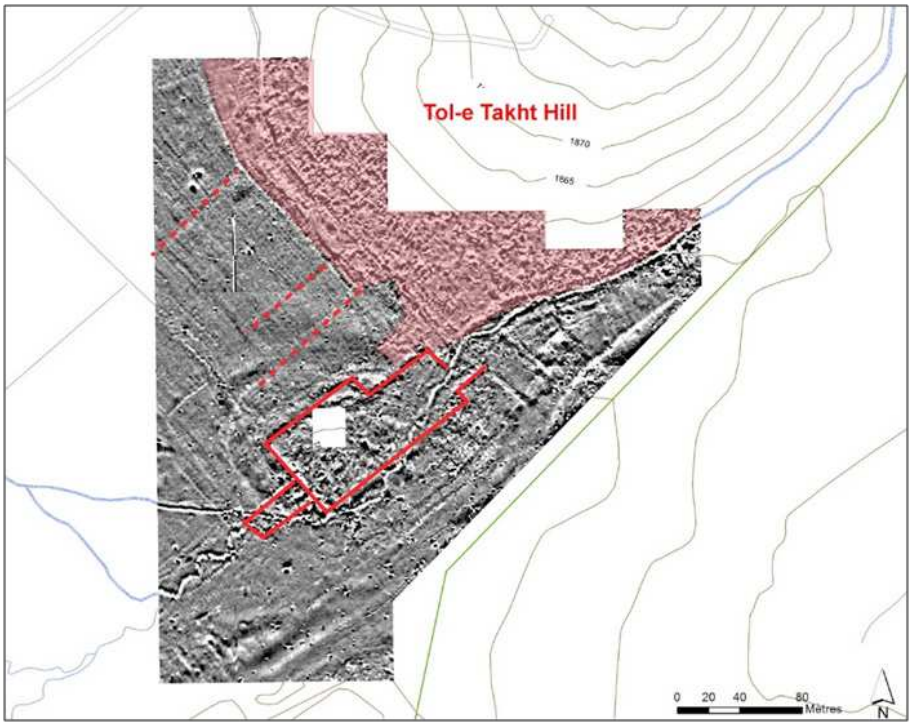


Fig. 4: Magnetic map of the sector surveyed southwest of the Tol-e Takht hill overlaid by an interpretative scheme. Red area = built slope, red plain lines = large features around the small hill, red dashed lines = long structures running towards the plain.

The neighboring buildings were made of lines of rooms, not larger than 100 m², generally built parallel to the slope. The 2015 results attest that the hillslopes beyond the Tol-e Takt were densely built. Southwest of the Palace S the surveys were implemented to test several areas in the direction of the tomb of Cyrus. The results are promising because elements of a grid system (ditches or pathways) and a small part of a possible built area have been revealed. The surveys in that direction need to be extended during future campaigns to compile a more comprehensive map of this sector. Finally the most interesting results have been obtained southeast of the Tol-e Takt where almost 9 ha were mapped. We focused on this area since the team of the Pasargadae office discovered there, in 2012, several scattered Achaemenid architectural stone blocks (a threshold and a column fragment).

The map obtained southwest of the Tol-e Takt is very informative (Fig. 4). First, it demonstrates that the southern hillslope was densely built and parts of several quadrangle buildings are visible, particularly at the foothill. Another interesting result concerns the limit between the built slope and the plain that seems to be outlined by a long, linear and continuous feature. It might be a wall or a rampart that would be an extension of the fortification line running on the hilltops beyond the Tol-e Takt. This hypothesis needs to be confirmed with new surveys of that sector in a future season. If confirmed, previous reconstructions of the northeastern part of Pasargadae would need to be corrected: during a period that needs to be precisely dated and compared to the occupation phases brought to light on the Takht (from early Achaemenid to post-Achaemenid-Seleucid and later Islamic), the buildings standing on the platform of the Tol-e Takt would have overlooked a densely built and walled sector extending not only towards north but also onto the hillslopes. Towards the southwest, on the plain, we can observe several parallel lines in the similar orientation that some of the features revealed on the slope. They could correspond to pathways or drains running from the hill towards the plain. Finally, south of the hill, our map indicates long linear features, probably large walls that once encircled a small hill. Because of the recent agricultural activities in this area it is hard to determine if these features are connected to the possible above-mentioned wall, running along the hillslope. Nevertheless, a continuation of the built and walled area towards the south and the small hill is a hypothesis to take into account. In this place, the complementary topographical works will give us some answers as several wall basements are visible on the surface; they will be complemented by surveys of the surface ceramic which are needed to better date the occupation on this strategic area.

Topographic Surveys

A part of the topographic plan of visible surface remains of the Pasargadae protected site was established in 2015 with a total station on an area of about 50 ha, ranging from north to south between the

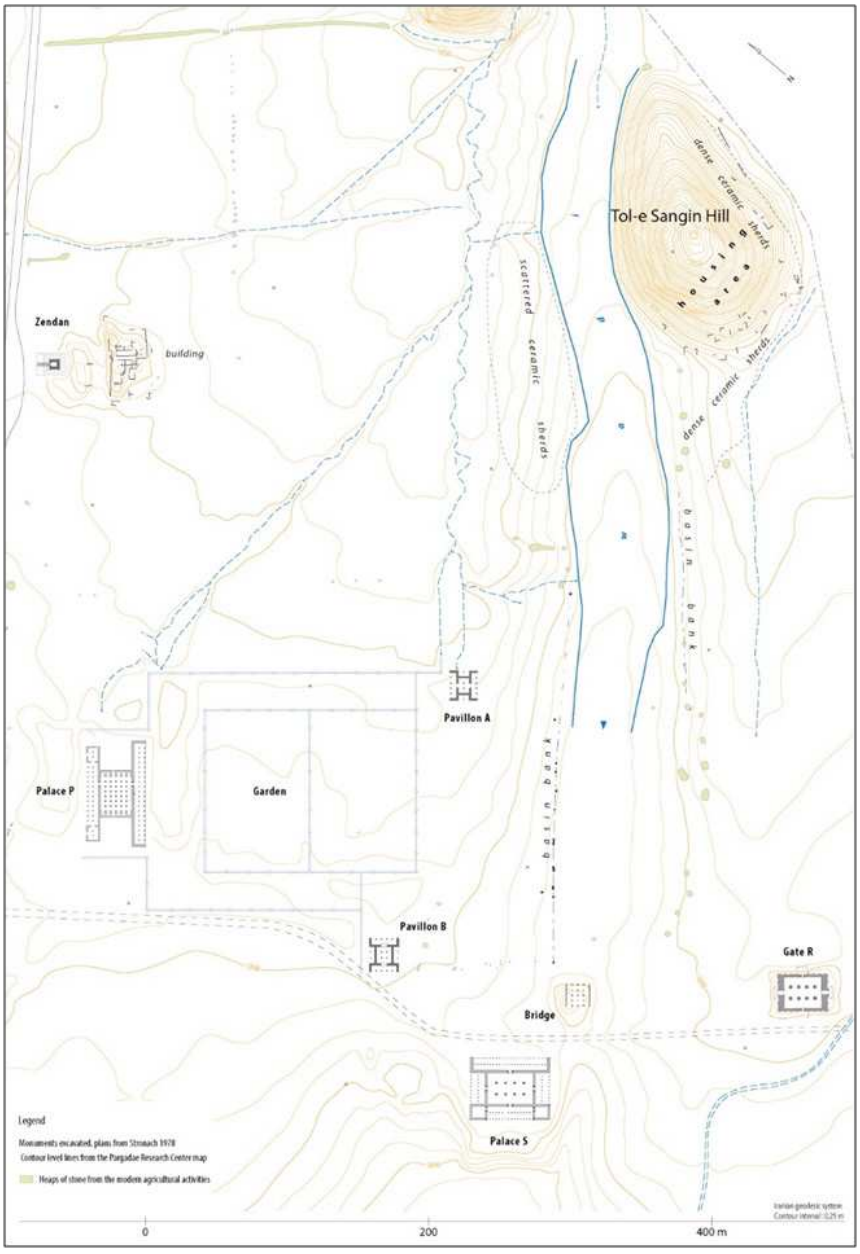


Fig. 5: Extract of the 2015 topographic map. Archaeological features are drawn on the topographic base map recently produced by the Pasargadae office (Topographic surveys: D. Laisney).

Tol-e-Takht foothill and the Palace S and from west to east between the asphalted road and the fence protecting the site. Traces of agricultural activities, like heaps of stones as well as canals (Fig. 5), have been drawn. Concerning the canals, we can distinguish that some have been abandoned more recently than others. In the future we need to assess which could have been in use during the Achaemenid period and were linked with the park. Built features have also been detected that echo the result of the geophysical surveys. Lines of limestone blocks north of the bridge correspond to the banks of the large basin southeast of the Royal Garden. Behind the tower of Zendan-e Soleiman, on a slight hill, several walls were identified and recorded with denser level points in order to draw an accurate topographic map of this zone with level lines. On this hill we found a large building linked to the tower, as mapped by geophysics, and lying southeast of it. Finally, new settled sectors were revealed. Several areas with ceramic sherds have been delineated. The ruins of walls were found and two housing areas with archaeological material (ceramic sherds, limestone blocks, grindstone, ...) have been identified, generally located on the foothills. They will need to be better dated during our future campaigns.

Systematic Collection of Surface Ceramic Sherds

According to our previous results coming from the geophysical surveys, several questions have been raised concerning the exact nature and dating of several of the settled sectors revealed. One of the solutions to approach these questions is to accurately map and to collect the surface ceramics at strategic places. Two areas were surveyed in 2015: southeast of the large trapezoidal basin revealed by previous geophysical surveys; northwest of the fortified area beyond the Tol-e Takt. The sherds have been picked up at each meter along transects and within a 20x20 m grid. Afterwards the sherds have been sorted to select the diagnostic ones that have then been described and drawn. All sherds have been stocked in the storeroom of the Pasargadae office. We will focus on the results coming from the surveyed areas located to the southeast of the basin (Fig. 6). It ranges to the northeast from a hill named Tol-e Sangin towards the bridge spanning the basin and placed in the axis of the Gate

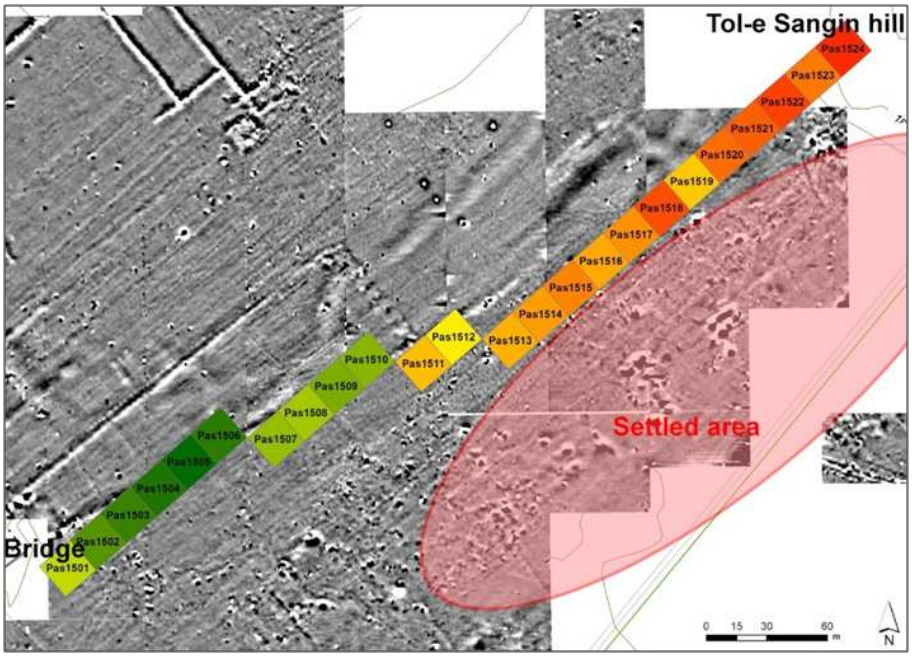


Fig. 6: Magnetic map (1999-2008 results) of the area located in between the bridge and the Tol-e Takht hill overlaid by the ceramic density map (from dark green 0.01 sherd/m² to red 2.5 sherds/m²). The location of the settled area revealed by geophysical surveys is outlined in red (Ceramic surveys: all team members).

R. The area has been chosen because the magnetic maps have shown that a settled sector would have spread along the southeastern bank of the basin. Then our goals were to firmly demonstrate the presence of a built sector by mapping the ceramics and eventually to date it.

The first information comes from the density map where it can be observed that the ceramic concentration increases from the southwest to the northeast. This increase is not steady and we can observe a sharp change 200 m northeast of the bridge. From almost no sherds as far as this point, the ceramics concentration reaches 2.5 sherds/m² and remains quite constant as far as the southern slope of the Tol-e Sangin hill. It means that a settled area stood there, a result that fits with the geophysical results that revealed a built area over the same place, the demonstration confirmed by overlaying the sherd density map and the magnetic map. We are now certain that a built sector of

the city, probably of residential nature, stood there. The other important information comes from the type of ceramic we have collected. From the bridge as far as the three last squares, the types are comparable to those of the period 2 and 3 from the Tol-e Takt Citadel excavation, as described by Stronach. It means that the ceramics, as well as the settled sector, date back to the Achaemenid/post-Achaemenid period. On the three last squares, i.e. on the southern slope of the Tol-e Sangin hill, the ceramic assemblage changes. We can find some sherds dating back from the Sassanid period to the early Islamic that are probably linked to a housing area revealed during the topographic surveys (Fig. 5). They demonstrate that the hill was probably occupied long after the Achaemenid/post-Achaemenid period.

Survey of the Abulvardi Area

Within the framework of our task to map the archaeological remains of the territory surrounding the Pasargadae protected site, we decided to focus our surveys (field-walking and topographic surveys as well as aerial kite photographs) on an area of approximately 10 km² located around a small plain northeast of the Abulvardi village. We chose this area because surveys in 2005 and 2007 from an Iranian-Japanese team (Yamauchi and Nishiyama 2008) demonstrated rich archaeological evidence of various natures: ancient canals, long walls, settlements including two dated back to the Achaemenid period, numerous burial cairn remains. If some of the archaeological evidence was known then, it has not been accurately studied and mapped until now and the area was not systematically surveyed during the former Iranian-Japanese campaigns, based mainly on satellite image interpretation. Two groups of our team were involved in the study of the Abulvardi area: one focusing on the settlements and infrastructure remains; the second surveying the burial remains.

Hydraulic Remains and Settlement Pattern

One objective of the surveys in this area was to define the type and length of the canal located on the east side of Tol-e Gholam hills

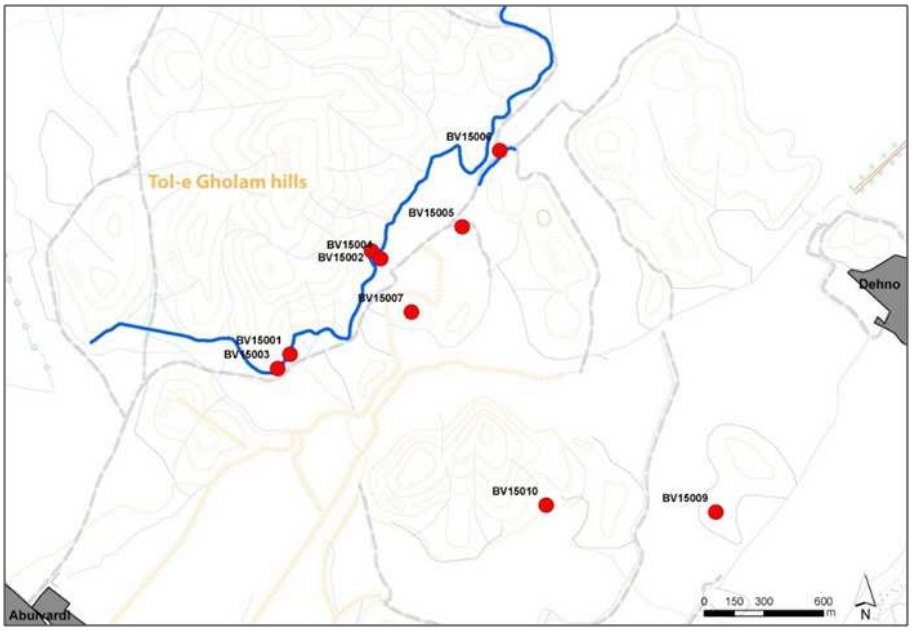


Fig. 7: Location map of the sites surveyed in between in the Abulvardi area (red dots) and of the ancient canal course (blue line) (Surveys: N. Ibnoerida, F. Zare Kroshouli).

complex, partly drawn on the maps published by the Iranian-Japanese team. The canal is about 4.5 km long (Fig. 7), its width is between 1.40 m and 1.70 m and its depth is probably between 0.60-0.80 m. Connected to this main canal a number of smaller ones have been identified running towards the plain to irrigate it. Topographic measures have established that the canal has a relatively regular slope between 0.06 and 0.07 % form northeast to southwest. We have not been able to locate the origin nor the end of this canal. The hypothesis that could be advanced, after examining satellite imagery and reconnaissance on the ground, is that the canal is supplied by a spring located to the north of the Dehno village; but this needs to be studied during the next missions. The Iranian-Japanese team proposed that two other canals run parallel to the one mentioned above. After our reexaminations, we suggest that there is only one canal channel. What looked like other canals is in fact a terracing system used as a substructure for the canal and to contain possible landslides.

Linked to this canal we have surveyed several settlements. One would be Achaemenid in date (BV15007 on Fig. 7) and was identified by the Iranian-Japanese mission as a "watch tower" because the site is placed on the top of a hill. But we have observed that the hill where the so called "watch tower" was placed is lower than the other surrounding hills which dismisses a control function for this site. The survey on this 2.5 ha site has brought to light some interesting data: it would seem the type of soil located at the top is different from that below. It is produced from the erosion of clayish material and could come from a platform or structure that stood there. This upper part of the site has been subject to illegal excavations and in one trench some fragments of human bones have been identified. This might suggest that the building placed on the top of the hill was reused as a funerary place. Along the southeast side of the site, we have identified an area with potsherds dating back to the Achaemenid/Post-Achaemenid period as well as several wall or terrace sections spread over the entire lower part of the hillslope. A second Achaemenid "watch tower" (BV15008) was identified by the Iranian-Japanese team but it corresponds to an Islamic building located on a small hill. Finally, a multi-period site has been found southwest of Dehno (BV15009). The pottery on the surface testifies to various occupation periods from the protohistoric to Islamic periods. A small amount of Achaemenid/post-Achaemenid pottery was located on the east side of hill. The other settlements found in the area are often difficult to date, although one is certainly early Islamic (BV15002).

Burial Remains

The Iranian-Japanese survey conducted on the Tol-e Gholam hills was resumed in 2015, focusing on the cairns and funerary landscape of the Abulvardi area with three main objectives:

- To complete the map of the burials
- To clarify the chronological and cultural contexts of cairns
- To study the nature of burial practice on the Morghab Plain during historical periods.

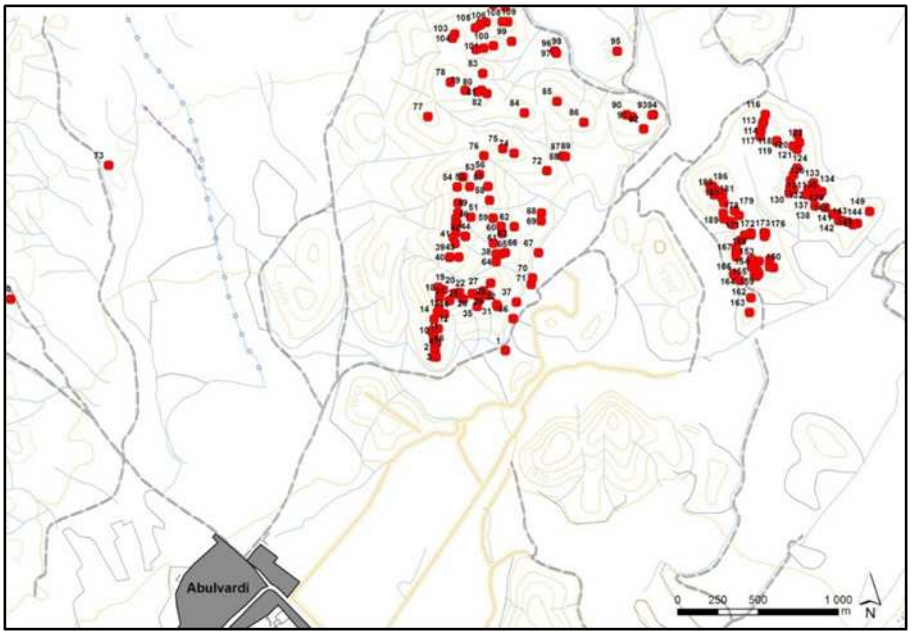


Fig. 8: Location map of the burial cairns surveyed in the North Abulvardi Plain area, on the Tol-e Gholam hills (Survey: M. Farjamirad, H. Karami).

Despite the fact that many of the cairns were completely ruined due to illegal excavations, our surveys allowed us to draw some interesting remarks and have highlighted the importance of funerary remains of Tol-e Gholam for further archaeological studies. Cairns at Tol-e Gholam (Fig. 8) were built with local stone blocks on a rocky surface. With no exception, all contained one or several rectangular burial chambers locked and sealed by several stone slabs and then covered by piles of stones. Preliminary observations indicate that burial chambers were not filled by soil after inhumation. Based on extent and dimensions, we were able to identify three groups of cairns:

1. Large cairns were only located on the highest parts of the hills with equal distances from each other. These cairns are between ca. 10.00 to 15.00 m in diameter. They consist of one, two or several rectangular burial chambers. The dimensions of the burial chambers within differ between ca. 1.50 m by 3.00 m and ca. 0.70 m by 1.00 m.

2. Medium-sized cairns were situated slightly below the large-sized cairns, mostly on the eastern slopes of the hills. Like the large-sized group, cairns of this group contain one or several burial chambers. These cairns are ca. 5.00 to 9.00 m in diameter. The size of the burial chambers varies between 1.00 m by 2.00 m and 0.50 m by 1.00 m.

3. The smallest cairns were mainly located on the foot of the slopes near the plain. Based on our preliminary observations, small cairns only contained one burial chamber that measured between ca. 2.50 and 4.50 m in diameter.

The positioning and distribution of the cairns may imply information about the social position of the tomb owners. The large-sized cairns with several burial chambers would suggest that the tomb owners were of a high-ranking social class while small-sized cairns on the foot slopes of the hills could have belonged to the middle class. However, other explanations must be considered, such as gender or age dictated distinctions. Further analysis and fieldwork will certainly enable us to answer these questions. The type of burial, the accurate orientations of the chamber (most often destroyed) and body treatments remains enigmatic, but the measurements of burial chambers in large and medium-sized cairns may suggest that body positioning was the same in all cairns. These hypotheses need to be further examined, taking into account the former studies on other cairn sites in Iran.

Material remains found during the surveys included potsherds scattered in the tomb chambers and around the cairns. While it proved difficult to determine precise chronologies, since most of the materials were not diagnostic, the evidence included types of pottery known as “festoon ware”. Parallel examples of “festoon ware” were reported from Nahavand in western Iran where they have been dated to the post-Achaemenid and Seleucid periods (Haerinck 1983, 98–100; Rahbar *et al*. 2014, 301-329). However, this single evidence can hardly offer a firm date to the funerary landscape of Abulvardi area and Tol-e Gholam. We also recorded and sampled bone fragments. Due to the poor preservation of the cairns, the bone materials had been severely

damaged and disturbed previously. Hence, we could only recover some partial bones and numerous teeth that possibly belonged to both human and domestic animals. These bones were sent to the laboratory of Tehran University for further studies. We are looking forward to the results of the laboratory analysis which might offer us insights into both the chronology and context of some of the cairns.

Conclusive Remarks

In the Pasargadae protected site and thanks to the geophysical surveys, we have revealed a new settled area: the southern slope of the Tol-e Takt was certainly densely built and maybe fortified. Beyond the hill we have continued to demonstrate that the fortified sector northeast of the site was settled. Altogether, these results demonstrate that a single fortified settlement might have stood around the Tol-e Takt hill during a period that still needs to be better studied. The geophysical surveys to the southwest of Palace S enabled us to identify features which need to be better characterized by future works. Important results came from the systematic mapping and collection of surface potsherds. The presence of settled sectors beyond the Tol-e Takt as well as east of the Royal Garden has been confirmed. A more in-depth study of the ceramics from these sectors is planned in future seasons to add answers to the chronological question. Finally, the topographic work allows us to correct and enhance existing maps of the site, in order to gain a better understanding of the dynamics of its development.

The data gathered in the Abulvardi area are of particular interest. There is new evidence for irrigation works in this part of the Morghab plain which supplied water to several settlements and agricultural activities in the fields. The fact that a quite large Achaemenid settlement has been proven in the Abulvardi area shows that Achaemenid/post-Achaemenid occupation was not restricted to the supposed limits of Pasargadae's "Sacred Precinct". It is necessary to continue archaeological mapping of the Pasargadae vicinity in order to reveal the Achaemenid landscape on a larger scale. At the same time, a systematic survey of the funerary landscape is crucial, as evidence from the numerous burial remains in

the region would produce data to improve our knowledge about the funerary customs in the Central Fars for the 1st millennium B.C.E. The 2015 season has already demonstrated a spatial system of the cairns distribution and has allowed us to collect materials for further analyses.

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Establishment of Odontometric Sexual Dimorphism in Archaeological Populations: A Case Study of Ḥasanlu

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Elena Kranioti **

Abstract

The accurate sex estimation in skeletal remains is considered to be an important step in the reconstruction of the biological profile of unknown individual in an archaeological context. Teeth are among the most frequently recovered human tissues that remain after death as they are hard, long lasting, and resistance to post-mortem insults. In general, males have larger teeth than females and this characteristic could be used in sex estimation. Present study aimed to investigate the degree of sexual dimorphism in the permanent teeth of Ḥasanlu, the Iron Age population in the Solduz Valley (West Azerbaijan Province of Iran). The Ḥasanlu site was excavated between 1956 and 1974 by a joined expedition of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Archaeological Service of Iran. The skeletal remains of Ḥasanlu are housed at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. In total, the collection consists of 263 individuals including 184 adults and 79 subadults. Analysis of the Ḥasanlu skeletal material was conducted from April to March 2014 and a total of 51 male and 33 female adult individuals belong to Iron Age levels (V, IV, and IVB) were used for sex estimation. The cervical mesiodistal and buccolingual measurements were collected from 299 upper and lower 3rd and 4th premolar teeth using Hillson-Fitzgerald dental calliper. Discriminant function analysis was used to evaluate the accuracy of each

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diameter in estimating sex. The mean cervical dimensions in all teeth of males exceeded that of females. The classification accuracy ranged from 74.6% to 85% with lower 4th premolar providing the highest accuracy rate (85%) and the upper 3rd premolar providing the lowest accuracy rate (74.6%). The results indicated that cervical measurements of the premolar is a reliable method for sex estimation and is useful to predict sex in Iranian archaeological populations.

Keywords: Sex estimation, cervical tooth measurements, premolars, Ḥasanlu

Introduction

Most studies on dental sexual dimorphism are based on the traditional mesiodistal and buccolingual crown diameters of teeth (Ditch and Rose 1972, Harris and Bailit 1987, De Vito and Saunders 1990, Acharya and Mainali 2007, Angadi *et al*. 2013, Khamis *et al*. 2014) (Fig. 1). In spite of the usefulness of these measurements, there are a number of limitations that impact their efficacy. The first limitation is the alteration of crown diameters due to the varying levels of expression of non-metric traits (Garn *et al*. 1968). When lower molars have extra cusps (e.g. cusp 6, cusp 7, protostylid), for example, the size of the overall tooth at the maximum dimensions of the crown increases. The second limitation, according to Hillson *et al*. (2005), concerns the difficulty that is normally met during measuring the mesiodistal crown diameters when the teeth are tightly fixed in the jaw. This is because when teeth are firmly wedged against the adjoining tooth, there is not enough space for the calliper points to be placed on the maximum convexity of the mesial and distal crown sides. Researchers, therefore, prefer to work with needlepoint callipers. In some cases, however, it is possible to slightly move the teeth in the jaw so that there is little access for measurements, but it is still nearly impossible to push the points far enough in. Also, there is a high risk of a delicate specimen being damaged very easily (Hillson *et al*. 2005). The third limitation, again as suggested by Hillson *et al*. (2005), is related to dental wear when recording the maximum measurement of contact points. Dental wear is the term used to describe a reduction in the size

of the tooth crown, which proceeds continuously during life (Wallace 1974, Hillson 2002, Koch and Poulsen 2009). As a result of dental wear, the crown diameters are altered and the recording of dental morphology is obscured. A moderate wear of the occlusal surface of the crown can lead to a significant decrease in the mesiodistal measurement. As with the buccolingual diameter, however, only excessive dental wear can affect it (Hillson 2002). In case of extreme dental wear, all the evidence of enamel is erased and the possibilities of making measurements or morphological identifications are eliminated. This is a common problem among archaeological skeletal samples. According to a study by Van Reenen (1982) when the crown is too worn away that the dentin is exposed, the percentage of the reduction in mesiodistal length could be as much as 10%. In case of secondary dentine exposure, this percentage could reach as much as 20% (van Reenen, 1982, Fitzgerald and Hillson, 2005). To solve these issues, alternative measurements of the cervical tooth diameters were proposed by Hillson *et al*. (2005). The authors defined the mesiodistal cervical measurement and the buccolingual cervical measurement as "the distance between the most occlusal points of the cement-enamel junction curve on the mesial and distal sides" and "The maximum measurement at the cement-enamel junction from labial/buccal to lingual/palatal" respectively (Fig. 1). Examining a total of 2559 unworn and isolated teeth, the authors reported that the cervical tooth diameters could provide similar results to those of crown diameters. According to their study, the impact of dental wear on these measurements is relatively small which first leads to a great increase in the sample size and makes it possible to compare heavily-worn teeth of adults against less-worn teeth of juveniles. The alternative dental measurements that Hillson *et al*. (2005) have proposed are specifically useful to take measurements where there is only a relatively small amount of enamel crown height available. This eventually allows access to mesiodistal diameters at the cervical-enamel junction, where the surrounding teeth can no longer obscure them when are still in the jaw. Moreover, given the location of the CEJ with respect to common non-metric traits of the crown, it seems likely that they would be less affected by non-metric trait expression. According to studies, these

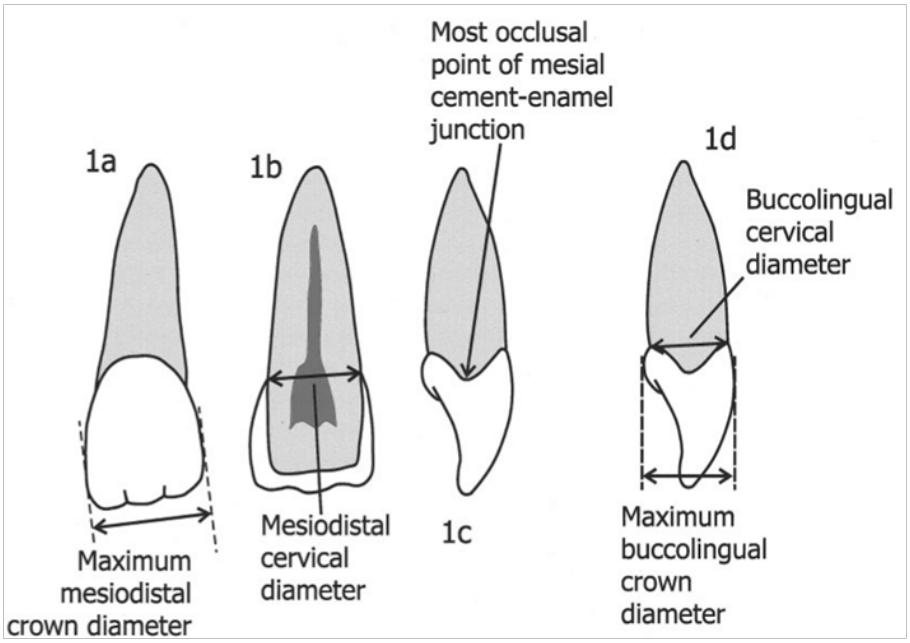


Fig. 1: Mesiodistal and buccolingual crown and cervical diameters (Hillson et al. 2005). 1a: Crown mesiodistal measurements, 1b: Mesiodistal cervical measurement, 1c: Mesial CEJ, 1d: Crown and cervical buccolingual measurements.

variables and those of tooth crown are highly correlated. Therefore, it can be concluded that they represent the same genetic expression of dental metric variation that tradition crown diameters do (Hillson *et al*. 2005, Stojanowski 2007).

Many studies have shown that canine is the most sexually dimorphic tooth in humans (Garn *et al*. 1977, Nair *et al*. 1999, Kaushal *et al*. 2003, Vodanovic *et al*. 2007, Hassett 2011, Viciano 2015). According to Garn *et al*. (1966, 1967) the teeth located adjacent to the canines (lateral incisors and third premolars) are more dimorphic than the others. Some studies on crown and cervical tooth measurements have also shown significant sexual dimorphism in permanent premolar teeth (Işcan and Kedici 2003, Zorba *et al*. 2011, Viciano *et al*. 2013, Sharma *et al*. 2014, Tuttösí and Cardoso 2015). Zorba *et al* (2011) conducted a study on 133

Greek individuals (70 males and 63 females) to measure the mesiodistal and buccolingual diameters of 839 permanent teeth. According to the results of this study, the most dimorphic teeth were the third premolar, maxillary forth premolar, and mandibular second molar following canine.

The purpose of current study was to analyse the cervical tooth measurements and examine the degree of sexual dimorphism in permanent premolars of an Iranian archaeological population.

Materials and Methods

This study was conducted on skeletal remains of 84 adults from Ḥasanlu site (West Azerbaijan, Iran) (Fig. 2) dating from 1450 to 800 B.C. Ḥasanlu skeletons are stored in the University of Pennsylvania's Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (UPM), United States. In total 299 upper and lower permanent 3rd and 4th premolar teeth of 84 skeletons (51 males, 33 females) were studied. The sex of the skeletons was estimated using Phenice (1969) and Walker (2008) methods based on the morphological features of the pelvis and skull.

Tooth measurements in this study were taken as the mesiodistal and buccolingual premolar cervical diameters proposed by Hillson *et al* (2005) using Hillson-Fitzgerald dental calliper. Cervical measurements were taken from right upper and lower 3rd and 4th premolars. In the case of a missing value from the right side, the left antimere was substituted. A one way ANOVA was used to determine if there was any statistical significant differences between the mean values of males and females. Two paired t-test were performed to assess the interaobserver error of the measurements and also to check if there was any statistical differences between right and left side premolars. A discriminant function classification was then carried out to determine the relationship between osteologically estimated sex and premolar size measurements using software package SPSS version 23. A Leave-one-out classification procedure was also used to demonstrate the accuracy rate of the original sample and the one created by cross-validation.



Fig 2. Tepe Ḥasanlu is located in northwest Iran
(in the province of West Azerbaijan, south of Lake Urmia).

Results

To assess the intra-observer error, mesiodistal and buccolingual cervical measurements were collected from 80 randomly selected teeth from the original sample at a different time by the same observer. The paired t-test showed that the interaobserver error associated with the measurements was relatively low ($P < 0.05$) (Table 1).

One-way ANOVA showed that males have statistically larger teeth than females for upper and lower 3rd and 4th premolars and both measurements (Table 2). The paired t-test also showed that there was no statistically significant differences between right and left side teeth.

Table 1. Paired t-test evaluating intraobserver error in tooth measurements.

Measurements	N	Mean difference between measurements	Standard error of measurements	t-value[a]
3rd Premolars				
MD	40	0.00	0.03	0.25
BL	40	0.00	0.02	0.59
4th Premolars				
MD	40	0.00	0.02	0.79
BL	40	0.00	0.03	0.42

MD (mesiodistal)
BL (buccolingual)
[a] None of the t-values are significant at the $p<0.05$ level.

Discriminant analysis was conducted for each tooth and measurement separately. In total 12 discriminant functions were carried out. Classification accuracy of all functions is presented in table 3. It was seen that the accuracy ranged from 66.7% to 88.2% in males and 60.7% to 82.4% in females. The total classification accuracy for upper and lower 3rd premolars was 74.6% and 82.1% and for upper and lower 4th premolars was 75% and 85% respectively. Separate discriminant analysis was also performed for mesiodistal and buccolingual measurements. The results showed that the classification rates from mesiodistal dimensions were much better than that from buccolingual dimensions. The highest accuracy was obtained from mesiodistal diameter of lower 3rd premolar with a correct classification rate of 84.3% in males (Table 3).

In all functions the accuracy in males was greater than females. The only exception was function 10 –buccolingual diameter of upper 4th premolar-

Table 2. Descriptive statistics for 3rd and 4th premolar cervical measurements and the mean differences between the sexes

		Male			Female			
	Diameters	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	P
Upper 3rd premolar								
	MD	43	4.74	0.29	28	4.27	0.36	0.00
	BL	43	8.18	0.52	28	7.66	0.56	0.00
Lower 3rd premolar								
	MD	51	4.91	0.29	33	4.45	0.30	0.00
	BL	51	6.86	0.42	33	6.31	0.42	0.00
Upper 4th premolar								
	MD	38	4.85	0.33	26	4.44	0.30	0.00
	BL	38	8.48	0.61	26	7.75	0.65	0.00
Lower 4th premolar								
	MD	51	5.15	0.33	29	4.64	0.33	0.00
	BL	51	7.30	0.55	29	6.69	0.63	0.00

N: number of teeth, SD: standard deviation

which showed slightly higher accuracy on females (73.1%) than males (71.1%) (Table 3). The highest accuracy for sex classification (85%) was obtained for cervical diameters of lower 4th premolar (function 4). Discriminant analysis for mesiodistal diameter of lower 4th premolar (function 11) gave the next best classification accuracy followed by cervical diameters of lower 3rd premolar (functions 2 and 7). The lowest accuracy rate of assessing sex was obtained from buccolingual diameter of upper 3rd premolar with a correct classification rate of 60.7% in females (function 6).

Table 3. Accuracy of classification results of the original and cross-validated sample

Functions	Males	%	Females	%	Total average%
	N		N		
F1: UP3					
Original	43	76.7%	28	71.4%	74.6%
Cross-validated	43	76.7%	28	71.4%	74.6%
F2: LP3					
Original	51	84.3%	33	78.8%	82.1%
Cross-validated	51	82.4%	33	78.8%	81.0%
F3: UP4					
Original	38	76.3%	26	73.1%	75.0%
Cross-validated	38	76.3%	26	73.1%	75.0%
F4: LP4					
Original	51	88.2%	29	79.3%	85.0%
Cross-validated	51	86.3%	29	75.9%	82.5%
F5: UP3 (MD)					
Original	43	76.7%	28	71.4%	74.6%
Cross-validated	43	76.7%	28	71.4%	74.6%
F6: UP3 (BL)					
Original	43	69.8%	28	60.7%	66.2%
Cross-validated	43	67.4%	28	60.7%	64.8%
F7: LP3 (MD)					
Original	51	84.3%	33	78.8%	82.1%
Cross-validated	51	84.3%	33	72.7%	79.8%
F8: LP3 (BL)					
Original	51	70.6%	33	69.7%	70.2%
Cross-validated	51	70.6%	33	69.7%	70.2%
F9: UP4 (MD)					
Original	38	73.7%	26	73.1%	73.4%
Cross-validated	38	73.7%	26	73.1%	73.4%
F10: UP4 (BL)					
Original	38	71.1%	26	73.1%	71.9%
Cross-validated	38	71.1%	26	73.1%	71.9%

F11: LP4 (MD)					
Original	51	82.8%	29	82.4%	82.5%
Cross-validated	51	82.8%	29	80.4%	81.3%
F12: LP4 (BL)					
Original	51	66.7%	29	65.5%	66.3%
Cross-validated	51	66.7%	29	65.5%	66.3%

U: upper, L: Lower, MD: mesiodistal, BL: buccolingual

The cross validation test did not significantly change the original accuracy (Table 3).

Discussion

Dental sexual dimorphism has been long acknowledged (Garn *et al*. 1966, Ditch and Rose 1972, Hattab *et al*. 1997, Hillson *et al*. 2005, Hassett 2011, Zorba *et al*. 2011, Viciano *et al*. 2015, Tuttösí and Cardoso 2015), demonstrating that dental dimensions can be used successfully in sex diagnosis on both living individuals and skeletal remains.

In the present study, we used the cervical mesiodistal and buccolingual measurements of the upper and lower 3rd and 4th premolars for sex estimation. Studies on sexual dimorphism in tooth cervical diameters have shown that there are differences in tooth size between the two sexes and males usually have larger teeth than females (Vodanovic 2007, Viciano *et al*. 2011, 2013, 2015, Hassett 2011, Mujib 2014). This study also showed that upper and lower 3rd and 4th premolars were larger in males in both cervical mesiodistal and buccolingual dimensions.

Discriminant function analysis gave high classification accuracy for sex estimation (Table 3). The highest rate of accuracy was observed in cervical diameters of the lower 4th premolar (85%). This observation is in agreement with the studies conducted by Viciano *et al*. (2013) and Tuttösí and Cardoso (2015) which reported significant sexual dimorphism on lower 4th premolar. However, some studies on crown and cervical diameters have observed higher sexual dimorphism in

upper 3rd (Zorba *et al*. 2011, Sharma *et al*. 2014) and lower 3rd premolars (Işcan and Kedici 2003). The overall accuracy for sex estimation ranged from 82.4% in females to 88.2% in males (Table 3). Our study also suggested that mesiodistal dimension was more sexually dimorphic than buccolingual dimension based on univariate analysis.

A comparison between the two sexes showed that the classification accuracy of all functions was higher for males. This result is in concordance with other studies on cervical tooth measurements (Vodanovic *et al*. 2008, Hassett *et al*. 2011, Viciano *et al*. 2011, 2013, 2015, Zorba *et al*. 2011, 2013, Mujib *et al*. 2014, Peckmann *et al*. 2015). This means that females have a greatest disparity of teeth sizes and can more often be misclassified as male or that this observation is simply a result of the sample used in this study.

In conclusion sex estimation using dental cervical measurements in an Iranian population has proven to be accurate for both original and cross-validated data. This constitutes this method of significant value for application in unknown skeletal remains from Iran around the same period (Iron age); especially taking under consideration that they are most likely to survive harsh taphonomic conditions than any other skeletal element (Anderson *et al*. 1995, Vodanovic *et al*. 2007, Fereira *et al*. 2008). Cervical mesiodistal and buccolingual diameters of the teeth will allow an increase in sample sizes as they can be obtained from worn teeth or teeth still in the jaw.

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An Implementation of Task-based Approach in Teaching Official Persian Language to Local Speakers of the Lārī Language

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Abstract

This study is aimed to design tasks for teaching official Persian language to speakers of the Lārī language, a language spoken in the southernmost of Iran and other states of the Persian Gulf with around a million speakers. The study, in this respect, is founded on the basis of the importance of tasks in language teaching. In order to teach Persian grammar to Lārī speakers, the tasks are designed according to the similarities and differences between Persian and Lārī in Verbal and Nominal phrases. The study further examines the impact of the syllabus on its applicants. The research has been conducted on the base of a quasi-experimental method. The sample included 60 students selected via purposive selection who were divided into two groups of experimental and control). The experimental group received the research-designed task-based syllabus in learning Persian and control group received their regular syllabus in schools. Having implemented the pretest, the treatment (for 24 sessions, each of which for an hour) and post-test, the data were analyzed through descriptive and inferential statistics (through SPSS). Findings revealed that experimental group outperformed in the post-test. In addition, the results showed that the treatment was effective in enhancing the Persian grammar literacy of

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Lārī speakers. Consequently, the researcher-made model of influential factors proved that tasks made grammar forms salient to the learner via its communicative activities.

Keywords: Task-based syllabus, Persian language, Lārī, grammar.

Introduction

There is a growing awareness that languages not only play a vital role in the development and intercultural dialogues but also in strengthening co-operation and attaining quality general education. Moreover, the effect of language is notable in building inclusive knowledge societies, preserving cultural heritage and mobilizing political will that benefit the application and transformation of science and technology to sustainable developments.

On the other hand, languages are increasingly under threat due to globalization and their fading will lead to the demise of world's rich tapestry of cultural diversity. More than 50 per cent of the approximately 7000 language spoken in the world are likely to die out within a few generations and 96% of these languages are spoken by a mere 4 per cent of the world's population (Moseley 2010).

As UNESCO website (January 2013) has proposed, cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue, promotion of education and development of knowledge societies are central but they are not possible without broad and international commitment to promoting multilingualism and linguistic diversity including the prevention of endangered languages.

International mother language day was proclaimed by UNESCO General Conference in November 1999 which is celebrated yearly on the 21st of February. It should be noted that UNESCO's attention to language and multilingualism takes many forms, one of which is 'education' along with promoting inclusion and quality learning by supporting bi- and multilingual education, especially the use of mother tongue, at all levels and formal and informal settings with special attention to teacher training, literacy provision and health education (Ibid.).

Divided as a '*definitely endangered language*' by the 'UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger', Lārī is of the 14 Iranian Endangered Languages[1] which are to be preserved through research and analysis, raising awareness, supporting projects and most importantly disseminating information such as books and articles. 'Education through mother tongue', furthermore, is one of the UNESCO's five programs in addressing particular aspects of language. Consequently, it is of high significance to provide the teachers with descriptive materials of endangered languages (e.g., Lārī) to develop an appropriate educational syllabus design. Therefore, this research aims at examining the effect of task-based curriculum on Lārī speakers' knowledge of Persian grammar.

Review of Literature

Lārestan Geography and Lārī Language

Lārestan (520° 32′ E, 270° 40′ N) is located at the Southeastern part of Fars province in Iran. It's bound to Fars province from the north, to Hormozgan province from the south, to Kerman province from the east, and to Bushehr province from the west (Ahmadinya 2010). In this township there are nine districts (including Avaz, Khonj, Gerash, Fishvar, Ahel, etc.), the common language of which is Lārī (Moridi 2010). Form an etymological view, 'Lār' is derived from 'Lad' meaning 'the origin and the basis of everything'. Lārī is of the SW branch of Middle Iranian languages, and consists of nine dialects, the most difference of which is in pronunciation (Geravand 2010).

Lārī has so many similarities with Iranian languages. For example, we can take note of the ergative structure of Lārī, namely, the difference between the conjugation of transitive and intransitive verbs. The speech community of this language includes Fars province, Hormozgan Province and some of Arabic-speaking countries like United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, and Oman (Khonji 2010, 15).

1. See www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/

Researches on Lārī

A few authors have written books on this language, the most notable ones being Oskarman (1909), Ramaskowitch (1945), Veladimir Minorski (1980) and Malčanova (1982). One of the most important researchers of this area is Koji Kamioka, Japanese Professor who wrote 'Comparative Basic Vocabulary of Khonji and Lārī' in the Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa in 1997. Furthermore, some Iranian researches like Vosughui (2005) and Eghtedari (1990) have done an invaluable number research about Lārī in various areas; yet, the most important research has been carried out by Lotfali Khonji (2009) who wrote '*Comprehensive study of Lārestani language and Khonji dialect*', which is a book on the linguistic features of Lārī.

Task-based Language Approach

Why Task Method?

The development of task as a newly introduced cornerstone in language classrooms is rooted in changes against the Audiolingual method and its decline in 1960s, and also in the emphasis put on meaningful communication by researchers and curriculum designers.

Numerous factors such as an ever-increasing need to communicate and students' failure in putting their acquired knowledge into use in real life situations culminated in the establishment of CLT approach in which the major trend was towards communication. In this regard, focus on task can be viewed as a logical development of CLT or according to some commentators within CLT because task as a unit of presentation and practice gives learners a stimulation opportunity to learn and practice in real contexts. This has been considered as one of the most promising reasons of task's undeniable importance (Nunan 2006).

In the meantime, the issue of integrating skills has come under the spotlight of many researchers involved in the field of second language learning. In traditional approaches to language teaching, however, a single skill along with its different aspects has been the center of

attention. In other words, language skills have been considered as discrete items in such a way that some researchers preferred to use the term synthetic or process syllabus in classroom (Wilkins 1976, Bruton 2002).

Conversely, task-based approaches and their different contexts of uses as pre-tasks and post-tasks (Skehan 2007) have the capability to integrate different language skills based on an analytic procedure as opposed to the synthetic one, and in this way they immerse students in real life communication. In actual facts, in an analytic procedure we are working through language not on language.

On the other hand, task can be of invaluable importance to those researchers interested in the cognitive processes the learners go through and the strategies they employ. The reason is that, compared with the traditional approaches which are mostly form-focused, task can better boost learning processes. Further, the significance of task can be psychologically perused. Proceeding through the effects of motivation on performing an activity, however, is beyond the scope of the present study. It suffices to mention that the motivation of completing a task and reaching the desired outcome undoubtedly plays a crucial role in getting students involved in classroom activities and also in the effectiveness of the task per se (Nunan 2006).

Task Components

The points discussed above are seen as main task characteristics here, while others are left open for future studies, including matters as arousing motivation, intensive verbal interaction, encouraging collaboration, etc. The task components discussed within the present research are as follows: condition, procedure, product, process (Willis 2001).

Various components of task have been regarded differently by many commentators. Wright in attributes two main elements to task, namely, input data and instructional questions; "...instructional questions which ask demand or even invite learners (or teachers) to perform operations in input data. The data itself may be provided by teaching material or

teachers or learners. I shall term this limited set of tasks instructional tasks" (1987, 48). Nunan (1989) distinguishes task components as input, activities and goals. Particular attention has also been given to what Ellis (2003) believes to be the actual components of task which are goal, input, condition, procedure and predicted outcome (process and product). Having covered the previous assertions about task components, Ellis presents several other aspects in his analysis worth mentioning here. Goal, in Ellis's terms, serves the purpose of the designer when the learner performs a task. It can be considered that goal hereby is different from outcome in that achieving the outcome does not guarantee the fulfillment of the task designer's goal. For instance, in a "spot-the-difference" task in which learners are supposed to verbally express the differences between two relatively similar pictures, they may complete the task yet by a nonverbal means such as coloring. Input is defined as the information or instruction required to perform a task, and can be taken into account from different viewpoints, for example in terms of genre (TV show, diary, newspaper, etc.) or modality (spoken, written, graphs, etc.).

Ellis (2003) states "condition" as the general state of task, for example its authenticity, difficulty and so on. Task conditions have been examined by Robinson (2001, 2007) and Rahimpour and Hazar (2008) with respect to their effects on the amount of learner production, interaction and feedback. These kinds of tasks are referred as "participation variables" such as open and closed tasks, one-way and two-way tasks, and convergent and divergent tasks.

Procedure refers to the way a task is implemented, for example via pair- or group-work activities. This, however, must be distinguished from the concept of procedure introduced by Richards and Rodgers (2001) as the way of managing a task-based class. In task-based classes, task is considered as "syllabus specifier" i.e. language is analyzed in terms of tasks assuming behavioral objectives.

Two issues are dealt with in examining the predicted outcome, namely, process and product. Process refers to the cognitive processes which

the students go through. Product, on the other hand, refers to what discussed earlier as the outcome by which task is evaluated. Generally speaking, there seems to be no clear demarcation between the terms goal and process in the analysis of task components carried out by Ellis.

Research Methodology

Contrastive Analysis and Descriptive Grammar

We are going to use a combination of descriptive and contrastive as well as a syllabus of task-based approach in grammar writing. Then the applied linguistic approach of task-based language teaching will be followed. Task-based language teaching was described earlier, namely, by contrastive approach in grammar writing as Gleason (1961, 207-8) states that this method focuses mainly on the construction patterns of language in comparison. It is useful in developing and designing materials of second language learning. The difficulties of statements of a language (target language) will be revealed in such grammar and the teacher can select the best strategy to meet and eliminate these problems.

Descriptive method of writing grammar on which the contrastive grammar is based is bringing adequate descriptions of the two languages contrasted. These descriptions must each be in terms proper to the languages being described. It is a system of some kind, in fact, recording the structural patterns discernible with corpus on which it is based and therefore assumed to have some features of the language as following:

_ It doesn't evaluate patterns in terms of any non-linguistic factors.

_ Not all patterns or continuations of patterns used have the same social significance.

Design of the Study

The study was implemented on the basis of quasi-experimental. 60 students were selected among which two intact groups were selected

as the control and experimental groups, both from Lārī speakers who wanted to learn Persian. The task curriculum patterns were specified to group two (G2) and group one (G1) received no treatment.

The population of research consisted of 120 students who were homogenized by the use of average score. Finally, 60 students among them were selected as the sample. 30 students as the control group and 30 as the experimental one. It should be mentioned that all groups were mixed by the male and female equally and that's why the gender was of great importance and acted as a moderator variable in the current research. By using two groups, we wanted to analyze the effect of treatment of the syllabus of task-based and contrastive analysis on the experimental group.

Actually, to eliminate the preexisting differences in two groups and homogenize them, a pretest was employed at the beginning of the study to minimize threat to internal and external validity of the research. Three variables were presented in this research: an independent variable which was "using task syllabus", a dependent variable which was "the Lārī learners' knowledge of Persian structure" and finally gender as a modulating variable.[2]

A pretest was given then to both groups of experimental and controls to know their current level of language knowledge. It was given to the control and experimental groups at the same time and all principles of test administration were observed to ensure the reliability and the validity of the test. It means that all the conditions which were of great value in administering a test like the materials and equipment (e.g. printing test, key sheet, etc.), invigilators (who were prepared with detail instruction of administration), candidates (who were given instruction of the time, material to bring to the exam), rooms (which were well-established in equipment like table, chairs and so on), and administration (for example the time candidates were to be arrived, test

2. If the subjects of this research had been chosen among more diverse age groups and also among other levels of proficiency in Persian, the results could have been different.

distribution, etc.). Moreover, the validity of the test was confirmed by experts in university and its reliability was also reported as 0.85 through Cronbach's alpha.

The scores, eventually, were obtained and analyzed. Furthermore, the items were analyzed and the ones with distracting features or irrelevancy were omitted or modified; namely the items which were of no distinctive features between the weak and strong students were omitted, modified or changed to another item. The same was done for the items with very low level of difficulty which was answered by all of the students.

In the next step, the treatment was done over the experimental group. They were taught the syllabus on the basis of task curriculum grammatical patterns for 10 weeks (24 sessions). It's worth mentioning that 10 task syllabuses were designed based on the similarities and differences in Lārī and Persian with regard to nominal and verbal phrases. After the treatment and organizing different above stages, researcher administered a post-test of a grammatical test for all groups; it means that experimental and control group took the post-test of grammar based on what have been taught. (It should be noted that there was a two-week interval). The features of the post-test items were given at the part about the materials and would be reported by the results and the items individually at the end of this section.

Participants

As mentioned earlier, the total number of students participating in the study was 120, who were selected through purposive and random sampling method. After the group got homogeneous by the pretest, the result was 60 students participating in the population, 30 students of whom were male and the rest 30 were female. Each group of male and female was divided into two groups of experimental and control. The age of these students, who studied Persian in the second grade of primary school, ranged variously between 8 to 11 years old, a mean of 9 years. Based on what we obtained from the pretest results, they were all in the advanced level of commanding in Persian grammar due to the

fact that they were students in the second grade of elementary school in and have exposed to Persian in daily life; furthermore, the pretest showed the results of scores as being at the similar level.

About the sample selection, it is to be added that sixty applicants were selected on the basis of one standard deviation (SD) lower than the mean. The mean and the SD were calculated (M≈17.00, and SD≈ 2. 00), thus the scores with one SD lower than the mean (score=15) were considered as acceptable scores. Therefore, the sixty scores were included and the rest twenty ones were excluded consequently.

It should be mentioned that all groups were at the same level of Persian proficiency at the beginning of study after the results of pretest test showed. The participants were all Lārī learners, Lārī native speakers, homogeneous in respect of the proficiency in Persian after pretest was implemented.

All experimental groups received the same instruction based on the task-based language approach (which was designed from similarities and differences between nominal and verbal phrases in Lārī and Persian) for 20 hours in 24 sessions (a sample task as well as the components are presented in Appendix I, Tables A, B, C). The instruction was a syllabus which was developed on the basis of task syllabus pattern. The syllabus included some lessons of grammar along with some tasks in order to improve the student's Persian grammar. The classes were held twice a week, as the procedure of the study took about two months and a half to accomplish.

Materials

The items of our pre-test were chosen from the contrastive analysis of nominal and verbal matters in Lārī and Persian on the subject of research. As the items of test provided here were as objective and to the point as possible, it was decided to have a thorough examination of the items and tests and regards all issues related to the subject like the issues related to the test specification of writing grammar test. They were as to specify the purpose of the test, writing specification,

sampling, and the ways to write the test such as multiple choices. Therefore, the reliability and validity of items were measured by the researcher using the statistical formulas. It means the Cronbach's alpha was used to know the reliability and correlation coefficient to show the appropriateness of items. In fact, the correlation coefficient said that which item was of relationship with other items and which one is not. Usually, the degree upper then 0.6 in correlation coefficient showed that the items were of internal consistency. The reliability was reported as .85 which is considered acceptable.

There were 22 items for pre-test that were taken by the students of both control and experimental group. It should be noted that the pre-test was designed in the format of multiple-choice and all items had just one correct answer which were asked for by clear, to-the-point and short instruction in the question form. Clear instructions, in addition, were provided for each set of related questions to make the understanding of the questions easier.

Furthermore, the posttest has been developed for the sake of checking the effectiveness of our treatment. Therefore, the post-test features were the same and paralleled (comparable) as the pre-test. Thus, to implement the posttest, we went on doing the test similar to the pretest and the scores of this test, like the ones of pretest, were analyzed and the statistical data were extracted. Also, the data obtained from the scores of pre-test and post-test were compared and employed to ensure the process of treatment and the effect of our procedure during the study.

Data Analysis

To compare the scores of the two groups (including control and experimental groups) and interpret the results, the data were done through One-way ANOVA and two-way ANCOVA. Regarding the effects of task syllabus of grammatical patterns on the Lārī learners' knowledge of Persian grammar, this study aimed to see whether or not these patterns had any effects on these sorts of students including male and female ones in this study. The analysis of pretest and posttest were

performed to determine the immediate effect of the treatment. That was the reason to know to what extent a treatment truly resulted in learning.

Furthermore, in order to tabulate the data gathered from the pretest, the post-test, and to perform statistical procedures, the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) (version 18.0) was used.

Discussion

The current study attempted to answer this main question that whether using task-based curriculum has any effect on Iranian male and female Lārī learners' Knowledge of Persian Grammatical Patterns.

Based on what were done through analyses, descriptive analysis for the pretest and the posttest of grammar in the male experimental group, the pretest and the posttest of grammar in the male control group showed increase in the means of the posttest rather than their pretest. The descriptive analysis for the pretest and the posttest of grammar in the female experimental group and the descriptive analysis for the pretest and the posttest of grammar in the female control group of the study represented the same results. In addition, the deviation of the scores from the mean of the pretest was reduced in the post test. These findings showed that the task-based curriculum affected the male linguistic knowledge (Tables 1 and 2).

Inferential analysis of the obtained data of the one-way ANOVA done using the SPSS revealed the ‘compare means’, ‘degree of significance’,

Table 1. One Way ANOVA descriptive Statistics for male experimental group of the study

Dependent Variable: Task-based Curriculum based on contrastive Grammar in Persian and Lārī			
Task-	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
posttest	16.9333	1.70992	15
pretest	11.8000	2.83347	15
Total	14.3667	3.47884	30

Table 2. one way ANCOVA for male control group.

Dependent Variable: Grammar			
Task-posttest	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
	9.6000	2.22967	15
pretest	9.8000	2.56905	15
Total	9.7000	2.36570	30

Table 3. One Way ANOVA for all four groups of the study.

Task-based Curriculum	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	643.933	3			
Within Groups	366.800	56	214.644 6.550	32.770	.000
Total	1010.733	59			

Table 4. Two Way ANCOVA tests of Between-Subjects Effects for male experimental group of the study.

Dependent Variable: Grammar						
Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Task	197.633	1	197.633	36.090	.000	.563

'degree of freedom', and the 'F value' were obtained (Table 3). Also, the mean scores of within and between groups according to ANOVA analysis of the posttest (Table 3), the Mean, F, Sig. and the Degree of Freedom according to ANCOVA analysis of pretest-posttest of male experimental group (Table 4), and the Mean, F, Sig. and the Degree of Freedom according to ANCOVA analysis of pretest-posttest of

Table 5. Two Way ANCOVA tests of Between-Subjects Effects for female experimental group.

Dependent Variable: Grammar						
Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Task	136.533	1	136.533	24.360	.000	.465

female experimental group (Table 5) showed that the higher scores of 'F' in the experimental groups were observable. This together with the experimental lower scores of the Sig. (0.00) meant that the Persian grammatical knowledge of the experimental groups both male and female increased more than the control groups. Therefore, the treatment was influential. The schematic interactions of all factors involved are presented below:

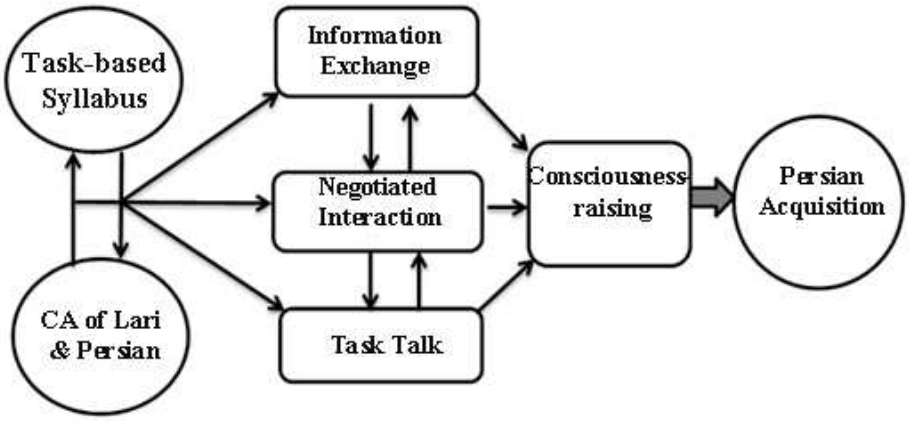


Fig. 1: The researcher-made model for interaction of factors in teaching Persian to Lari-speakers.

Conclusion

The current investigation provided support for the value of a syllabus based on a combination of task-based approach in language teaching

and contrastive analysis in enhancing grammatical knowledge of Lārī speakers. Use of grammatical task-based syllabus patterns as evidenced by the significant differences found between Lārī and Persian verbal and nominal phrases for the learners in the control and experimental groups. The debate over the use of grammar has been always a challenging area of discussion over the years, at least from the advent of communicative language teaching. The research found through the data analysis that using the syllabus were influential in enhancing grammatical knowledge of Lārī speakers.

With regard to table 1, the results of ANOVA showed that the mean score of male learners of experimental group in post-test (16.93) was significantly higher than that in pre-test (11.80), whereas there was no significant difference between mean score of pre- and post-test in control group; thus, it can be inferred that the syllabus was effective in enhancing male Lārī learners of Persian. In addition, results proved that the mean score for female control group was not significant in pre- and post-test (10.40 for pre-test and11.06 for post-test); also, the ANOVA results showed that there was a significant difference between pre- and post-test in female experimental group (p=0.05); therefore, the treatment was influential in female experimental group. Thus the implementation of task based syllables on the basis of the similarities and differences within the two languages under investigation has been effective in improving the grammatical knowledge of Persian in Lārī speaking learners.

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Appendix I: Sample Task

Table A: The past tense of intransitive verb of /onda/ [to come] in Lārī.

Example in Lārī	Equivalent in Persian	Equivalent in English	Example in Lārī	Equivalent in Persian	Equivalent in English
ondom	amadam	I came	ondem	amadim	We came
ondesh	amadi	You came	ondi	amadid	You came
oma	amad	He/she came	ondet	amadand	They came

Table B: The past tense of transitive verb of /deda/ [to see] in Lārī.

Example in Lārī	Equivalent in Persian	Equivalent in English	Example in Lārī	Equivalent in Persian	Equivalent in English
omdi	didam	I saw	modi	didim	We saw
otdi	didi	You saw	todi	dідid	You saw
oshdi	did	He/she saw	shodi	didand	They saw

Table C: The task-based syllabus of similarities and differences in Lārī and Persian.

Please tell a story about one of the topics here (write a 50 words at least):

1. What did you do in last Friday?
2. How did you spend your summer?
3. What was the best event happened in your life?
4. What was the worst event happened in your life?

New Light on the Coptic Manichaean Synaxeis

A Codicological and Textological Survey (With Two Appendices)

Mohammad Shokri-Foumeshi *

Abstract

The Coptic ⲥⲩⲛⲁ̈ⲓⲥ (σύναξις, *Synaxeis*), wherein come the twenty-two chapter titles of each ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ (logos, chapter) of the ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ (the *Living Gospel*,) found in Egypt (Fayyūm), contains only page-headers and is only partly legible. It helps us to reconstruct parts of the contents of Mānī's *Living Gospel*. Although the remaining text of the Middle Persian version of the *Living Gospel* contains only a part of the first chapter, the *Synaxeis* containing *22 logia* lets us know that at least the 'second Meeting' (synaxis) of its sixth Discourse (logos, i.e. chapter) dealt with the Great Builder (Syr. bn rbʾ; MP rʾz ʿy wzrg) and that the content of the ninth chapter was about 'the coming of Jesus the Christ'. The new editions of the codex are of enormous value, giving us new, previously unimaginable information.

Keywords: Coptic Synaxeis, Manichaean Codex, Mānī's Gospel, reconstruction.

Inroduction

To reconstrate of the Turfan Iranian fragments of Mānī's *Living Gospel*, i.e. M17, M172/I/, m644 and m5439, and understand its contents, we

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need to deal with the well-known Manichaean ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲝⲉⲓⲥ (σύναξεις, *Synaxeis*)[1] or *Commentary* (Cf. Böhlig 1968, 222 ff, esp. 225) *on the Living Gospel* (Lieu 1994, 108-109), one of seven Coptic Manichaean codices found in Fayyūm, a town of Medinet Madi (Egypt), in 1929 and dated to circa 400 AD (Mirecki 1994, 199). Although the *Synaxeis* do not correspond to the Middle Persian texts of the *Gospel*, they aid in our understanding of both the structure and the context of the Middle Persian version. The main part of the page-headers of the *Synaxeis* was translated in 1988 by P. A. Mirecki and a part of the – badly damaged – texts was translated by W.-P. Funk in 2009, although tentatively. Work on the translation and the commentary on the codexes is still ongoing.

Chapter-Titles

The Synaxeis codex contains 15 chapter titles and 22 page-headers which have so far been identified and transcribed (Ibid. 206). Only four of the chapter titles reflect the themes of the respective chapters. Unfortunately, two of them are illegible. Thus, the remaining two, which have an added comment, must be considered of importance.[2] Therefore, now we know what these chapters of the *Living Gospel* are about.

1. Sg. σύναξις, *Synaxis*.

2. It is clear that we cannot exclude the other chapter titles which have no comment. As most of the chapter titles including two (or more) synaxeis contained the various themes, in comparision to those that have been formed from one synaxis, I would like here to skim through the remaining synaxeis, which have no comment. These are only the synaxeis and chapter titles that have been identified and transcribed by Mirecki. They are summarized in the following table (according to Mirecki 1988, 137-145; the Coptic text in ibid.):

	Signatures	Sinaxeis and Chapter Titles
1	Leaf 1957.23	*The Second Synaxis of the First Logos*
2	Leaf 1957.21	*The Third Synaxis of the First Logos of the Living Gospel*
3	Leaf 1957.17	*The Fourth Synaxis of the First Logos of the Gospel*
4	Leaf 1957.12	*The Synaxis of the Second Logos of the Living Gospel*
5	Leaf 18 Verso (Berlin)	*The Second Synaxis of the Third Logos of the Gospel*

The first text as follows is an improved re-edition (Mirecki 1994, 207) of the primary publication (Ibid. 142 § 9). [ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲣⲭⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄] in the second line is added by me. Here, ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ 'living' can easily be overlooked.[3] The second text is presented in Mirecki 1994, 207.

Text I: *Leaf 1957.5 /Left-hand page/ Chapter title/ horiz. fibers*

[ⲧⲙⲁϩⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄]ⲥⲩⲛⲁ̈ⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ
ⲉⲣⲉ .ⲛ̣ⲣⲉⲥ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲣⲭⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ {ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄}[4] ⲉⲛ]ⲧ̣ⲟ̣ⲗ̣ⲏ ⲁⲧⲡ̄ ⲡⲛⲁⲃ
ⲛ̄ⲉ̣ⲕ̣ⲱ̣ⲧ̣ ..... ϩ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣⲣⲉ

The Second Synaxis of the Sixth Logos [of the {*Living*} *Gospel*:]| Commandment for the Great | Architect …… ……..…… in the New Age (Ibid. 206).

Text II: *Leaf 1957.2 / Right-hand page/ Chapter title/ horiz. fibers*

ⲧⲥⲩⲛⲁ̈ⲥⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̣ⲁϩⲫ[ⲓ]ⲥ̣ ⲛ̄ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲁ̣ⲣ̣ⲭ̣ⲉ̣ⲗ̣
ⲓⲟⲛ̣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ̄ ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲃⲉ̣ ⲧ̣ⲟ́ⲓ̣ⲛⲉⲓ̣ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲏⲥ̄ ⲡ̄ⲭ̣ⲣ̣ⲥ̣

The Synaxis of the Ninth Logos of the *Living Gospel*. Concerning the Coming of Jesus the Christ (Ibid. 207).

In the *Festschrift für Kurt Rudolph* (1994), Mirecki has offered a model

6	Leaf 16 Verso (Berlin)	*The Third Synaxis of the Third Logos of the Living Gospel*
7	Leaf 14 Verso (Berlin)	*The Third Synaxis of the Eighth Logos of the Living Gospel*
8	Leaf 1955.12	*The Synaxis of the Fourteenth Logos*
9	Leaf 1954.10	*The Synaxis of the Sixteenth Logos of the Living Gospel*
10	Leaf 1954.6	*The Synaxis of the Eighteenth Logos*
11	Leaf 1951/2.6	*The Synaxis of the Ninteenth Logos*
12	Leaf 1951/2.2	*The Synaxis of the Twenty-First Logos*

This little enables us to comment on a few points. See footnote 12.

3. Cf. the *text II* (in the main text) as well as the fragments 1957.21; 1957.17; 1957 .12; 1957.10; etc. (in the footnote 899), as attested in Mirecki 1988, 138 ff.

4. Mine

for the codicological reconstruction of the codex.[5] In his new study on the *Synaxeis*, he believed that the *Synaxeis* text is the last of two texts in the codex and the first *Synaxeis* text is an unknown text possibly related to the *Synaxeis* text. He points out that there was no evidence to suggest whether this unknown Manichaean text is the lost *Living Gospel* or not (Mirecki 1994, 202). He continues:

The contents of the codex are closely related to the contents of the now lost *Living Gospel*. It may be a lengthly introduction to the *Synaxeis* text... . Thirty-seven extant chapter titles and page headers, many of which contain the ordinal numbering system for an unknown number of *Synaxeis* and for the twenty-two *logoi*, have been identified and transcribed (See Ibid. 202 no. 14). Most of these texts make explicit reference to the *Living Gospel* in a manner which suggests that the 22 chapters in the *Synaxeis* text were deliberately coordinated with the structure and contents of the *Living Gospel*. This indicates that an

5. After a critical discussion, and according to his model, Mirecki suggests a new method for the identification of the ordinal numbering system reflected in this codex *via* a chart in four columns (Ibid. 204-205). His codicological reseach informs us that "the first 8 chapters of the *Living Gospel* have an attested minimum of 15 synaxeis in the *Synaxeis* text. This relatively large number of synaxeis per chapter suggests that the Manichaean author of the *Synaxeis* text focussed his exegetical interest on the contents of the first 8 chapters of the *Living Gospel*" (*ibid*. 205), by contrast the contents of the last 14 chapters may have been of less importance to him. In other words, the first 8 chapters could receive a minimum of 17 synaxeis from the *Synaxeis* author (if the silent 4th and 7th chapters had no more than one synaxis each, see column 4), while the remaining 14 chapters of the *Living Gospel* have only 8 synaxeis (column 2). Of course, it is quite possible, as Mirecki points out, that "the *Synaxeis*' author focused on those first 8 chapters for his own reasons regardless of their importance in the *Living Gospel* itself" (Ibid.). Nevertheless, we can assume that entire *Synaxeis* text had 'an estimated minimum of 31 synaxeis'. A few points can also be simply inferred from the chart: first, the *Synaxeis* text's author was not able to complete his work, and, for one reason or another, its composition stopped. The author had perhaps intended to write a summary of the *Living Gospel*, but not a *translation*. The *Living Gospel* used by the *Synaxeis* text's author might be in Syriac, and not in Greek or in Coptic. Secondly, in the text there is seemingly so much hastiness and imbalance that even the title of the *Living Gospel* comes sometimes with the full name as the *Living Gospel*, and occasionally as the *Gospel* only, while it is also sometimes omitted. Thirdly, as Mirecki emphasized, there has been a special interest in the contents of the *logos A* (first chapter) of the *Living Gospel*, as its five synaxeis show (Ibid. 206).

informed understanding of the structure and contents of the *Synaxeis* text ... will also give us more information about the structure and contents of the lost *Living Gospel* (See Ibid. 202 no. 14).

The above two chapter titles inform us that at least 'a Meeting of'[6] the sixth Discourse/chapter (*logos*) of the *Living Gospel* concerned itself with a 'commandment' for ⲡⲁⲁϭ ⲛⲉϥⲕⲱϯ 'the Great Architect/ Builder' (Syr. *bn rb'; MP r'z 'y wzrg* or *r'z 'y rwšn*) (Sundermann 1979, 109)[7] and the whole ninth *logos* of the *Gospel* dealt with ⲧⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲁ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ 'the coming of Jesus the Christ'. Therefore, by finding parallels for these materials we must cautiously consider the Turfan fragments dealing with these divinities. In the synaxis 'commandment for the Great Architect ... in the New Age', the myth might be related to the function of the Great Builder (who holds up a part of the universe) during the eschatological events, namely in the 'Great War', and not to his function in the Creation. We can assume that Mānī in his *Gospel* described the myth of Jesus Christ after the description of the myth of the Great Architect including both of these mythical themes which have been reasonably presented in the first half of the *Living Gospel*.

Plain Text

First Discourse (Logos)

Some parts of the *Synaxeis* codex, which are plain text and recently edited and tentatively[8] translated by W.-P. Funk (2009) enable us to gain more information from the *Living Gospel*. All the following passages of the *Synaxeis* would be intended to show the content of the *Gospel*, as far as possible. In the 'First Meeting' (1st *synaxis*) of the 'First Discourse' (1st *logos*),[9] i.e. Chapter *Aleph*, we read as follows:[10]

6. This is only one of at least two synaxeis for the sixth chapter.

7. For the Coptic attestations, see van Lindt 1992, 78-80.

8. Due to the very damaged papyri

9. Based upon Funk's codicological survey. Idem. 2009, 117.

10. Funk (Ibid. 116) clearly emphasizes that he reads this text "likewise as text of the

Text I: (I have set apart, *or sim*.) ... [the living] offspring [... from] what is dead, the children of the light from (3) [the] offspring [of] darkness.

I have separated the children of the height from the offspring of the abyss, the children of God (5) from the children of the enemy.

I have distinguished the light-gods from the archons ..., etc (Funk 2009, 116).[11]

This testimony in the first person singular can hardly be far away from the following piece of the Greek version of the *Gospel*, where Mānī says: "I have proclaimed hope and revealed this revelation," etc. (*CMC* 67,11 ff.) (Apud Ibid). According to Funk (Ibid. 117), the above-mentioned text is followed by a paragraph of exhortation of the Apostle of Light as follows (246: 4-7 = Series VI, folio 24 vert.):

Text II: Be luminous, be living, be strong, [be] listeners to knowledge! Raise your ears so that your hearing organs may be filled with knowledge through the messenger of the Father of Greatness," etc (Ibid).

Then, we hear Mānī's praise of his own literary work speaking about the great secrets instructed by the twenty-two *logoi* of the primeval alphabet of the new *Gospel* as follows (247: 2-10 = Series VI, folio 23 hor.):

Text III: This is the new *Gospel*, the holy [...][12] of truth, the great revelation of the things of the quality of Greatness, which makes public(5) the great secrets concerning all that happened and concerning all that will happen, from the beginning to [the end] — the one that reveals and instructs about the interpretation [of the] twenty-two *logoi*

Living Gospel". He criticizes (Ibid. 116 no. 3) the suggestions of both Böhlig 1968, 227, and King 1992, 286-288, who believed that "these *Synaxeis* most probably contain excerpts from (and not commentaries on) chapters of Mānī's *Living Gospel*".

11. "In terms of the inventory of the manuscript PCBM 5", Funk (*ibid*. 116, no. 4) says that "this page is identifiable as the horizontal fibre side of the leaf labelled 'Series VI, folio 24'. In the forthcoming edition this will robably be called page 245."

12. Book?

of the primeval alphabet, from which the worlds borrowed and through which (10) they were sown out (Ibid. 117 no. 6).

This part of the preamble "followed by the litany of the twenty-two 'Firsts' or 'Primeval Voice' hymns[13] and concluded by another litany, which assures the readers/listeners of finding in this work what they are looking for" (Funk 2009, 117). In a part of it we read as follows (248 = Series VI, folio 23 hor.):

Text IV: The children of long-suffering will find long-suffering in it, the gentle children will taste gentleness through it, the children of hope will see hope in it, etc (Ibid. 117 no. 8) .

Unfortunately, of these passages belonging to the first part, that is, to the first 'Meeting' (*synaxis*) of the chapter *Aleph*, we find no parallel in the Middle Persian version of the surviving fragments of the *Gospel*. Their textological situation in the MP version must be technically placed almost immediately *after* the last passage of M5439/V/ii/5-6/, i.e., the last surviving words of the MP *Gospel*. About the remaining unpublished synaxeis of the first chapter we can say nothing at the moment, except that editor of the codex, Funk, points out that "the Second to Fifth Meetings of the First Discourse have for their topic the description of the Father of Greatness, the realm of light, and the beauty of the light Aeons." (Ibid. 117-118).

Other Discourses

Mythical Drama

Our information about the rest of the chapters which still are not completely edited is actually very limited. According to Funk's report

13. According to Funk (*ibid*., 117 no. 7), "this place, towards the end of the preamble of Mānī's *Gospel* and shortly after proclaiming the mysterious relationship of the work to the primeval alphabet, would appear to be the canonical anchoring of the 'Primeval Voice' hymn with its twenty-two items. . . . In the *Synaxeis* codex, this hymn is only very fragmentarily preserved and needs a great deal of restoration, which of course helped by knowledge of the Iranian parallels." Cf. above §2.5, section 'Primeval Voice' and Durkin-Meisterernst/ Morano 2010, 10-13.

(Ibid. 118), we know only that the second discourse demonstrated the realm of the darkness and the third chapter dealt with the evil schemes and preparations for battle. It is however natural to assume that this mythical drama was also continued in the fourth chapter (for the content of Chapters VI and IX, see above); otherwise, unfortunately, we do not know what were the contents of Chapters V, VII, VIII, X up to XIV, except that all these chapters had 'mythological contents'(Ibid).

Mānī among the Children of the Nomos

The very badly damaged pages of the *Synaxeis* codex containing the various Meetings of the *fifteenth Discourse* are only understandable with the help of the Greek *CMC*. Here we read as follows (383: 12-13 = Series 1955, folio 6 vert.):

Text V: ... [12] ... the *dogma* and ... (*2 lines illegible*) [...] ...[15] ... in the *nomos* ... [16] [...] ... among them ... (*2 lines illegible*) [18] [...] ... and the birth/generation of the body [...] ... they nourished my body alone [20] [...] ... in that *dogma* [...] ... and its presbyters [...] ... my body ... that I should do [...] ... thus I did not trust them when I was small ...(Ibid).

On the verso page of the same leaf, after another mention of nourishment (line 19, '... to me, with me feeding') as well as a few other things, a dialogue with 'my true and most honoured Twin' is either initiated or continued, and in this context again, mention is made of 'the *dogmata* that walk about in error' (line 22) and 'the children of the nomos' (line 27) (Ibid. 119).
Synaxeis; 391: 10-26 = Series 1955, folio 2 hor.:

Text VI: (*The first ten lines are hardly legible; lines 3f. probably "they are the children [of the no]mos" and the term trophē, 'food' or 'feeding', in illegible context*)

[10] ... in a ... way, according to individual *nomoi* (or '*nomos* by *nomos*'). They did ... [...] ... They separated plant from plant, vegetable from vegetable, [herb] from herb (?). And so did I. I separated (?) ... [...] ... their outrage, according to their *nomos*, ... [15] ... (*3 lines entirely*

illegible) ... I took it from them, they being ... [...] consideration. In this way I chanced upon (?) ... [...] (20) ... they ... by his/its *schēma*, by his/its *typos*, thus [...] outside. I went into the monasteries [which (25) belonged (?)] to them. They (?) desired [...] outside and [inside (?) ...] ... in it. (*A few other lines, but illegible*) (Ibid. 120)[14]

These accounts clearly pertain to Mānī's early youth and his life among the Elchasaites and have parallels in the *CMC*.[15] Here Mānī discusses the practice of the Baptists, which is contrary to his faith, their separation or distinction of some of plants and vegetables; in other words, accepting some while rejecting others.

Voyage to India

The Coptic *Synaxeis* confirm that the *Gospel* reflected Mānī's experiences in India, strictly speaking, in the Hinduist milieus. "The page that carries this report belongs to the same series of leaves as that about the Baptists and may belong to just another 'meeting' (apparently preceding the one that deals with Twin and Elchasaites) but the same Discourse of the *Living Gospel*" (Ibid. 121), i.e., the fifteenth chapter; as follows (379: 4-34 = Series 1955, folio 8 vert.):

Text VII: (*Remains of the first few lines illegible*) ... little by little (5) [...] ... the error of their *nomos*. But ... [...] ... error ... They have already dissolved [and ...] them in/by the bond of the *nomos*, by way of the (*pl*.) ... [...]. They were ... away on account of its error. Thus [I ...] little by little and I drew many away from the error (10) [of the] *nomos*. I led them from death to life, for I [am ...] against them (?) ... according to their ... (12) for a time.

I ... their (?) ... in the countries of the land (?) of the east, of In[dia]. (14) In that place [I encountered (?)] many sects (*dogma*) and castes (15) [which (?) ...] ... except for [their] *nomos*, while the ... (16) [...] ... through one another, according to the ... (17) [...] that place, the ones

14. The *CMC* itself was called 'On the birth/generation of his body'.

15. See Koenen-Römer 1988, 63ff. Cf. Funk 2009, 118-120.

that I distinguished – caste by caste, *dogma* by *dogma*. In that place I took a close look at (19) the caste of the Brahmans (and found out) that they were strong and settled in their (20) ... in the land of east. Thay are respected in their [caste (?) ...] ... other *dogma*(*ta*). Now, their *nomos* is the following. I took (22) a close look at their *nomos* and found that (?) the leaders and the teachers [...] ... in prophecy and ascesis, in special skills (εὐμηχανία) (24) ... the hair of their head. It is to their own teachers that they listen – ever since (?) [their] prophets, their fathers.

When I saw myself that they were (26) in such a manner opposed and incapable of listening to any other but their own ... and their *nomos*, that they are lined up ('in rank and file'? στοιχεῖν) and are (28) [...] ... their caste and did not search outside of ... [...] ... their *nomos*. As soon as [I (?) ...] (30) ... [...] ... my head, I sought after ... [...] ... I travelled around in their countries ... (32) [...] ..., I ... the disposition which [...] ... their places which ... (34) [... I (?)] said (?), "Your *nomos*, which ... [...] ... which ..." (*end of page*) (Ibid. 120).

The Hebrews, the Seed of Abraham and the Babylonians

The following passage seems to be an excerpt from the *Living Gospel*, most likely from its Eighteenth or Nineteenth Discourse (Ibid. 122). The text concerns the Hebrew *people*, Mount Sinai, some speculation about the term *skhina* and finally an ambiguous mention of the Babylonians. The surviving passage – in an imperfect context – seems to describe and interpret the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt and the religious contribution of the Hebrews in Babylonia, where Mānī was born and grew up, as follows (422: 4-32 = Series 1951, folio 12 hor.):

Text VIII: (*Nothing readable of the first five lines of that page, and next to nothing of the preceding one*) ... (6) ... [he] chose the tribe, ... [the] entire [country] ... [He] ... their ... so that they ... (10) godhead. Later on, [he] ... in order to [...], that is (?), the *skhina* ..., in order to seize ... [...] (12) ... set free (?) her army. Finally, then, after having [...] (13) ... the seed of Abraham, she (?) ... them off. They ... and they ... (15) ... the slavery and the humiliation ... [...] ... (forced?) labor. So they departed from

Egypt [and passed (17) through (?)] the field of the mountain of *sina* (that is, Mount Sinai). There were great [quantities (18) of] thistles [growing (?)] in that [place (?)]. Now, the thistle is called *sina* in the language of that place ... (20) [...] ... (21) [That is why (?)] that mountain had been named ... [...] ... *skhina*, after the name of the thorn-tree with which [the whole place (?)] is filled. (23) [...] ... These Babylonians released (?) ... [...] ... and they ... in it. They seized [the land (?) of] ... (25) ... and became kings in it... . (2 lines illegible) ... (27) ... Euphrates ... (29) ... these Chal[daeans (?)] (30) [...] ... in (?) Hebrew ... [...] ... (32) [...] ... in Babylon ... [...] ... (*next to end of page*)

On the next page, some other phrases are also read by Funk as follows (423 = Series 1, 1951, folio 11 hor.):

... from the land of the Egyptians to the country of ... (line 11)
... [people who] worship in that temple ... (lines 20-21)
... those Babylonians who belong to the ancient *dogma* (Ibid. 124, no. 28)[16] ... (lines 21f.)

For discussion, especially concerning the identification of 'the seed of Abraham' with the Mandaean community, see Funk 2009, 122-126.

Jesus

Only a few lines later, the text deals with some sort of Christological discussion, recognizable only with the following words: "Jesus" (line 26), "while they say about him that ..." (line 31), and, on the other side of the sheet, "the son of Mary" (line 20) (Ibid. 124, no. 29).

Conclusion

The Coptic *Synaxeis* codex gives us the most diverse passages of the different chapters of the *Living Gospel* as follows: separating the living offspring from the offspring of darkness, the children of the height from the offspring of the abyss; exhortation to the listeners and hearers of the

16. *Dogma* in square brackets.

true words; the great secrets of the new *Gospel* which are written through twenty-two *logoi* of the primeval alphabet; description of the Father of Greatness, the Realm of Light and the beauty of the light Aeons. All these were the topics of the first chapter (*Aleph*) of the *Gospel*.

Part of the second chapter dealt with the Realm of Darkness, and part of the third chapter with the mythical drama, i.e., the battle between Light and Darkness. Owing to the fact that the codex is fragmentary, we have almost no information about the contents of the fourth up to fourteenth chapters, but it seems that some of them must have had rather mythical subjects. The fifteenth chapter, although very short and fragmentary parts have survived, refers to Mānī's early youth and his life among the Elchasaites, especially to his 'nourishment' as well as his experience among the sect. It is in this chapter that Mānī's Twin warns him from the error of the *nomos* of this community. Here, the text explains Mānī's hard discussion with the Baptist Elchasaites on the acceptance of some plants and vegetables and, by contrast, also his rejection of others. Another topic which was represented presumably in this chapter is Mānī's voyage to India and his missionary efforts in this land. Here he proselytes and discusses with the religious leaders. But, as the incomplete context shows, the mission was not successful for the reason of the dogmatism of the Brahmans' and general public. According to Funk's report, it is most likely that it was in the eighteenth or ninteenth chapter that Mānī dealt with the story of the Hebrew exodus from Egypt. With an uncritical tone, Mānī mentions here from 'the seed of Abraham' and speaks about the Babylonian pagans in an almost ambiguous context. It seems that these Babylonians, who have Hebrew origin, live along the Euphrates River which is mentioned by name in the text. Funk suggests that this group is the same Mandaean community. Interestingly, the text which speaks about the Hebrew people, deals with the etymology of the two words *sina* (the Mount Sinai) and *skhina*. According to the two legible page-headers of the *Synaxeis*, a part of the sixth chapter of the *Gospel* dealt with the 'Great Architect/Builder' and the whole ninth chapter spoke about the 'coming of Jesus the Christ'.

* * *

Appendices
Appendix I: Twenty-two *Logoi*

From both Manichaean and non-Manichaean writings we know that Mānī's *Gospel* was divided into twenty-two chapters (Syr. *mēmrē*, Gr. λόγοι) (Böhlig 1980, 45 and Anm. 134) corresponding to the twenty-two letters of the Syriac/Manichaean alphabet (Asmussen 1987, 31b).[17] The *Synaxeis* author demonstrates numerological interest in the number of 22 chapters (Mirecki 1994, 206). According to the new study and to the edition of the new parts of these papyri, *Synaxeis* emphasized that this *new Gospel* revealed "the interpretation of the twenty-two *logoi* of the primeval alphabet" (Funk 2009, 117, n. 6).

Appendix II: Detailed Contents of the *Living Gospel*

These are all the various themes that, through the various sources, we know from the contents of the *Living Gospel*. Obviously, each of these materials, some of which are even anti-Manichaean, has its own special meaning.

Manichaean Sources				
Nr.	*Topic*	*Situation*	*Source*	*Cf.*
1	Praise of the divinities such as the Holy Ghost, Jesus the life-giver, the Maiden of Light	Exordium	MP Turfan fragments	38, 45
2	Praise of the holy Church	Exordium	MP Turfan fragments	-
3	Praise of the trinity, i.e., the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost	Exordium	MP Turfan fragments	-

17. Flügel 1969, 363, n. 1, writes: "*Fī bāb al-alef* ['in the chapter *Aleph*' <of Mānī's *Gospel*>] möchte ich nicht gern allgemein im ersten Kapitel übersetzen, obwohl es, da *Elif* der erste Buchstabe ist, allerdings mit dem ersten Kapitel in Eins zusammenfällt."

4	Praise upon the children of well-being and on the speakers and the hearers of the true word	Exordium	MP Turfan fragments	8, 12, 16, 17
5	Mānī's self-introduction	1st chapter	MP Turfan fragments	46
6	Mightiness and greatness of God	1st chapter	MP Turfan fragments	20
7	Veneration of the *Gospel*	1st chapter	MP Turfan fragments	
8	Congratulation to the listener and follower of the word of truth	1st chapter	MP Turfan fragments	4, 16, 17
9	Mānī's revelation	1st chapter	MP Turfan fragments	14
10	Great secrets in the *Gospel*	1st chapter	MP Turfan fragments	18
11	Mānī's self-introduction	1st chapter	Greek *CMC*	5, 46
12	Mānī's Saying about the hope and peace	1st chapter	Greek *CMC*	4, 8, 16, 17
13	Mānī's *syzygos* (the Twin)	1st chapter	Greek *CMC*	29
14	Mānī's revelation	1st chapter	Greek *CMC*	9
15	Baptists, i.e., the Elchasaites	1st chapter	Greek *CMC*	28, 30
16	Separation of the living offspring from the offspring of darkness	1st chapter	Coptic *Synaxeis*	4, 8, 12, 17
17	Exhortation to the listeners and hearer of the true words	1st chapter	Coptic *Synaxeis*	4, 8, 12, 16
18	Great secrets in the new *Gospel*	1st chapter	Coptic *Synaxeis*	10
19	Twenty-two *logoi* of the primeval alphabet	1st chapter	Coptic *Synaxeis*	34, 48

20	Description of the Father of Greatness, and his mightiness and greatness	1st chapter	Coptic *Synaxeis*	6
21	Realm of Light	1st chapter	Coptic *Synaxeis*	44
22	Beauty of the light Aeons	1st chapter	Coptic *Synaxeis*	-
23	Realm of Darkness	2nd chapter	Coptic *Synaxeis*	24, 43
24	Battle between Light and Darkness	3rd chapter	Coptic *Synaxeis*	23, 43
	?	4th-5th ch.	?	-
25	Commandment for the Great Architect... in the New Age	6th chapter	Coptic *Synaxeis*	-
	?	7th-8th ch.	?	-
26	Concerning the Coming of Jesus the Christ	9th chapter	Coptic *Synaxeis*	47
	?	10th-14th ch.	?	-
27	Mānī's early youth	15th chapter	Coptic *Synaxeis*	-
28	Mānī's life among the Elchasaites and his discussion with them	15th chapter	Coptic *Synaxeis*	15, 30
29	Mānī's Twin	15th chapter	Coptic *Synaxeis*	13
30	Beliefs of the Baptists in acception some plants and vegetables and rejection of others	15th chapter	Coptic *Synaxeis*	15, 28
31	Mānī's voyage to India and his missionary efforts among the Brahmans and general public	15th chapter?	Coptic *Synaxeis*	-
32	Story of the Hebrew exodus from Egypt, 'the seed of Abraham', *sina* (the Mount Sinai) and *skhina*	18th or 19th ch.?	Coptic *Synaxeis*	-

33	Babylonian pagans, Euphrates river	18th or 19th ch.?	Coptic *Synaxeis*	-
34	Division of the *Gospel* into twenty-two chapters in seven parts	?	Parthian M5510+M5511	19, 48
35	Milky Way	?	Parthian M5510+M5511	-
36	Greatnesses	?	Parthian M5510+M5511	-
37	Mānī as the paraclete (*pasāgrīw*)	?	Parthian M5510+M5511	49
38	Divinities	?	Parthian M5510+M5511	1, 45
39	Community of the righteous	?	Parthian M5510+M5511	-
40	Root and origins of the entire doctrines of Mānī	?	Chinese *Compendium*	-
Non-Manichaean Sources				
Nr.	*Topic*	*Situation*	*Source*	*Cf.*
41	Division of the primordial space into four quarters	?	Greek anti-Manichaean sources	
42	Creation of the world and the mixture	1st chapter	Arabic-Persian writings	-
43	Nature of the Light and the Darkness	1st chapter	Arabic-Persian writings	23
44	Realm of Light and the King of Light	1st chapter	Arabic-Persian writings	21
45	The Primal Man and the Living Spirit	1st chapter	Arabic-Persian writings	1, 38
46	Mānī's self-introduction	1st chapter	Arabic-Persian writings	5, 11
47	The *Living Gospel* as the true interpretation of Christ's Saying	?	Arabic-Persian writings	26
48	Division of the *Gospel* into twenty-two chapters	?	Arabic-Persian writings	19, 34

49	Mānī as the paraclete and the Seal of the prophets	?	Arabic-Persian writings	37
50	Prayer and what one must necessarily do for the redemption of the spirit	?	Arabic-Persian writings	-

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James M. Robinson. *The Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi*. Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2015. xv + 326 pages. ISBN: 978-0-2771-7504-0.

The basic details of the story of the Medinet Madi Manichaean books are fairly well known. Allegedly discovered in a decayed wooden box in the ruins of a house in the south of the Fayum, the seven Coptic papyrus codices appeared on the antiquities market in Egypt in 1929. They were divided up and sold, with the bulk of the material being purchased by Carl Schmidt and Chester Beatty. Most of the find, then, is now split between Berlin and Dublin, with a few leaves to be found in Warsaw and Vienna. The contents of the codices are as follows:

- A collection of Psalms (LDAB 107976)
- A collection of Mani's letters (LDAB 108139)
- A collection of homilies (LDAB 108112 + 108140)
- A book of Acts (LDAB 108138)
- Two volumes of dogmatic material (*Kephalaia*) (LDAB 107977 and LDAB 108111)
- A volume of commentary (*Synaxeis*) (LDAB 108137)

The codices' poor state of preservation challenged even the skills of the great Hugo Ibscher, who performed restoration work on the books in 1930s Berlin, but World War II and its aftermath left the codices geographically scattered and only partially conserved and published. The vicissitudes that the codices have endured since that time make for interesting reading, from the stray leaves that ended up in Warsaw because, according to one story, "someone found along the railroad tracks glassed papyrus leaves that had fallen out from the transport into the USSR" (135) to an ill-timed sneeze that completely obliterated a fragile leaf of one of the codices (156).

Robinson's book appears during a period of renewed interest in the Medinet Madi codices.[1] A project to edit and translate the *Kephalaia* codex in the Chester Beatty Library sponsored by the United States National Endowment for the Humanities and the Australian Research Council is presently underway, and an initial summary of the work so far undertaken has just appeared.[2] Now Robinson's volume makes more widely available a wealth of documenta-

[1] The book under review was first published as an imprint of Cascade Books in 2013 (ISBN 9781597528801).

[2] I. Gardner, J. BeDuhn, and P. Dilley, *Mani at the Court of the Persian Kings: Studies on the Chester Beatty* Kephalaia *Codex* (Leiden 2015). See especially, Gardner's opening contribution, "An Introduction to the Chester Beatty *Kephalaia* Codex," 1-12.

tion concerning the acquisition and early efforts at conservation and restoration of the codices in Dublin and Berlin as well as the difficulties that have attended various attempts to edit and publish the codices.

In recent years, Robinson has produced two other publications providing the records of his work in the 1970s and 1980s. They track the provenance of important discoveries of early Christian codices in Egypt, namely the Nag Hammadi codices and the Bodmer papyri.[3] Like those publications, the book under review conveniently collects published reports and selected archival materials concerning the history of these books since their discovery. A good deal of what Robinson presents in this book is already available to those with access to research libraries. The first two chapters are previously published summaries of the results of Robinson's research in the 1980s.[4] The chapters that follow repeat and considerably elaborate these summaries.

The book is divided into four parts. Part One, "The Acquisition and Initial Conservation and Editing" (49-144), begins with the purchases by Schmidt and Beatty. Robinson reproduces long excerpts from Schmidt's early publications on the discovery printed in twin columns with English translations.[5] This information is supplemented with extended references to archival material in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (much of which was also printed in Robinson's 1992 summary; see n. 4 above). Robinson then provides documentation of the conservation efforts of Hugo Ibscher, again consisting of long excerpts from (and English translations of) Ibscher's own writings paired with a later summary published by Hugo's son and successor Rolf Ibscher. Further archival correspondence from the Beatty Library illuminates the contentious process of attempting to edit the conserved leaves. Finally, Robinson draws together a number of sources to trace the tumultuous history of the codices during and after World War II.

---

[3] J.M. Robinson, *The Story of the Bodmer Papyri: From the First Monastery's Library in Upper Egypt to Geneva and Dublin* (Eugene 2011) and J.M. Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Story* (2 vols.; Leiden 2014).

[4] The first chapter is simply a very brief abstract published in the *Acts of the XVIII International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, available online at: http://www.tertullian.org/rpearse/manuscripts/medinet_madi.htm. The second chapter has been the standard reference for the story of the codices: J.M. Robinson, "The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi: 1929-1989," in G. Wießner and H.-J. Klimkeit (eds.), *Studia Manichaica: II. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus* (Wiesbaden 1992) 19-62.

[5] The primary source is C. Schmidt and H.J. Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten," in *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, philosophisch-historische Klasse* (Berlin 1933) 4-90.

Part Two, "The Conservation by Rolf Ibscher" (145-188), provides excerpts, again with English translations, of published and unpublished accounts by the younger Ibscher of his efforts to conserve the codices both in Berlin and London in the 1950s. The procedures he describes (such as spraying the leaves with a solution of Zaponlack) are no longer considered best practices, as Robinson helpfully shows with the inclusion of extended quotations from the handbook of Michael Fackelmann.[6]

Parts Three and Four (189-311) consist of chapters of varying length dedicated to the various parts of the codices in Berlin and Dublin. There is a great deal of repetition here, both among these chapters and with the preceding material in the book. Part of this could have been alleviated by simply devoting a chapter to each codex rather than, for example, having a chapter on the leaves of the *Synaxeis* codex in Berlin (193-197) separated by ninety pages from a chapter on the portion of the *Synaxeis* held in Dublin (288-302). Despite this quirk, this section remains a useful summary of what is known about the individual books and what special problems attach to each of them. A short glossary of the scholars, collectors and dealers involved in the story brings the book to a close.

It is without question very convenient to have all this material gathered together in a single volume, and anglophones will be pleased to have an English version of the many excerpts of earlier scholarship. The translations are reliable, if a little wooden, sticking closely to the grammar and diction of the German. One wishes that Robinson's thorough knowledge of the scholarship on the codices had been carried forward beyond 1992, the latest publication date in the Bibliography that concludes the book (aside from Robinson's own Foreword to the 2005 reprint of Crum's Coptic dictionary). Robinson notes in the preface that he has left that task for "the next generation of scholarship." Thus, the book will not be the one-stop history of scholarship resource that it might have been. Nevertheless, it will be a key resource for the study of the Manichaean materials from Medinet Madi for the foreseeable future.

Macquarie University Brent Nongbri

[6] M. Fackelmann, *Restaurierung von Papyrus und anderen Schriftträgern aus Ägypten* (Zutphen 1985).

NAG HAMMADI &
MANICHAEAN STUDIES

Pentadic Redaction in the Manichaean *Kephalaia*

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by

Timothy Pettipiece



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CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ix
Abbreviations xi

PART I

PENTADIC REDACTION IN THE MANICHAEAN *KEPHALAIA*

Introduction 3
Number and Religion in Antiquity 3
The Manichaean Love of Numbers 5
Out of Obscurity 6
The *Kephalaia* and Its Compilers 7
Canon and Tradition 13

Chapter One. Basic Ontological Patterning 21
The Two Trees and the Five Limbs 21

Chapter Two. Theological Patterning I: Light-Realm 25
The Faces of the Father 25
The Many Sons of Man 29
Cosmic Parallelism 36
Fathers of Greatness 42

Chapter Three. Theological Patterning II: Dark-Realm 51
The Evolution of Evil 51
King(s) of Darkness 54
Astrological Polemic 62

Chapter Four. Other Forms Of Patterning 69
Soteriological Patterning 69
Ethical Patterning 72
Ecclesiological Patterning 74

Polemical Patterning 75
Aetiological Patterning 76

Conclusions and Implications 79
Scholastic Redaction 79
Adversity and Persecution 85
Missionary Expansion 88
Why five? 89
Who was responsible? 90

PART II

TRANSLATIONS FROM *THE KEPHALAIA OF THE TEACHER* [BERLIN CODEX]

Note on Translations 95

Chapter 2: The Second, on the Parable of the Tree 97
Chapter 3: The Interpretation of Happiness, Wisdom, and Power; what they mean 103
Chapter 4: On the Four Great Days, which are brought forth from one another; along with the Four Nights 105
Chapter 6: On the Five Storehouses that have poured forth from the Land of Darkness from the Beginning; the Five Rulers, the Five Spirits, the Five Bodies, (and) the Five Tastes 108
Chapter 7: The Seventh, on the Five Fathers 112
Chapter 9: The Interpretation of the (Sign of) Peace, what it means; the Right Hand, the Kiss, the Adoration 115
Chapter 10: On the Meaning of the Fourteen [Great] Aeons, about which Sethel spoke in [his] prayer 120
Chapter 12: On the Meaning of the Five Words which are proclaimed *mntparapehout* in the Cosmos 122
Chapter 13: On the Five Saviours, Resurrectors of the Dead, along with the Five Resurrections 124
Chapter 14: The Meaning of the Silence, the Fast, [the Peace], the Day, [and] the Rest; what they mean 125
Chapter 15: [On the] … Five [Parts] … World of 127
Chapter 16: [On the Five] Greatnesses which have [come] out against the Darkness 129

Chapter 18: [On the Five] Wars [which the] Sons of Light waged with [the Sons] of Darkness 135
Chapter 19: On the Five Releases: what they mean 138
Chapter 20: The Chapter on the Name of the Fathers 141
Chapter 21: On the Father of Greatness, how he is established and defined 142
Chapter 24: [On the Times ...] 143
Chapter 25: On the Five [Fathers: from which Limbs they have come] 149
Chapter 27: On the Five Forms which exist in the Archon{s} of Darkness 150
Chapter 33: On the Five Things that he constructed with the Hard Bodies of the Archons 152
Chapter 37: On the Three Zones 153
Chapter 38: On the Light-Mind, the Apostles, and the Saints 154
Chapter 39: On the Three Days and the Two Deaths 166
Chapter 48: On the Conduits(?) 169
Chapter 57: On the Generation of Adam 174
Chapter 65b: (On the Five Qualities of the Sun) 177
Chapter 68: On Fire 178
Chapter 69: On the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Stars 179
Chapter 70: On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos 182
Chapter 91: On the Catechumen, who is saved in a single body 187
Chapter 95: The Apostle asks his Disciples: What does cloud mean? 193
Chapter 100: On the Dragon, the one with Fourteen heads; what is it and 197
Chapter 103: On the Five Wonderworks that the Light-Mind reveals to the Elect 199
Chapter 104: On Food: that it is appointed to Five Products in the Human Body 200
Chapter 107: On the Kind of Speech that 201
Chapter 111: On the Four Qualities that are found in the Eye, and the Fifth, which is hidden in them, to what they belong 202
Chapter 112b: (On the Five Things Revealed by Jesus) 203
Chapter 137: On the Five Types of Brotherhood that are distinguished from one another 205
Chapter 146: The Old Man has Five Foods to live on, the New Man has Five Others 207

Chapter 148: On the Five Books, that they belong to Five Fathers 209
Chapter 165: Envy exists in Five Forms 210
Chapter 176: On Spiritual Transition in Five(?) Forms and that through which the Church changes 212
Chapter 189: [On the Five Temptations] 218
Chapter 191: There are Five Properties in the Image of our Apostle, symbolizing the Five Light Fathers 220
Chapter 193: The Evil One has [Five Properties]; the Good One has [Five other Properties] 222

Appendix. Theodore Bar Khonai's Résumé of the Manichaean Myth (Annotated Translation) 223

Works Cited 231
General Index 237
Index of Modern Authors 241

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Since its inception, this project (generously supported by both doctoral and postdoctoral fellowships from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada [SSHRC]) has greatly benefited from the use of both published and un-published research tools for Manichaean Studies. In particular, Gunner Mikkelsen's *Bibliographica manichaica* (Brepols, 1996) and the *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts I: Texts from the Roman Empire* (Brepols, 1998) from the Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum have been used profitably throughout the course of this study. This project, however, would not have been possible without the generous access granted to me by Dr. Wolf-Peter Funk to a wide array of unpublished concordances, lexical aids, and textual revisions. Without these invaluable research tools as a guide, I may very well have never found my way out of the labyrinthine depths of the Manichaean *Kephalaia*. It is also to him that I offer my sincerest thanks for initially pointing me in this direction and for patiently offering so many insightful comments and suggestions on a multitude of linguistic and methodological matters (ⲁⲕⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲙⲡⲉⲧϩⲏⲡ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ). I would also like to thank Prof. Paul-Hubert Poirier for his unflagging support and encouragement of this project, as well as for his encyclopaedic knowledge of all things early Christian. I am thankful also to Prof. Louis Painchaud for his wisdom and much-valued advice, as I am to my colleagues Tuomas Rasimus, Serge Cazelais, Jennifer Wees, and Michael Kaler for helping to create a sense of community and collegiality. More recently I offer my gratitude to Prof. Pierluigi Piovanelli for his continued interest and encouragement. Most of all, however, I would like to thank my wife, Julie, for her unconditional love and support for all my scholarly endeavours, and to my son, Alex, for the many invaluable moments of distraction and delight that his first four years have offered.

August 2008, Gatineau, QC

NB: An earlier version of "Chapter 2: Faces of the Father" has been published in *Vigiliae Christianae* 61 (2007): 470–477, while an earlier version of portions of "Chapter 2: Cosmic Parallelism" appeared as "Rhetorica manichaica: A Rhetorical Analysis of *Kephalaia* Chapter 38, 'On the Light-Mind, the Apostles, and the Saints'" in *Coptica-Gnostica-Manichaica: Mélanges offerts à Wolf-Peter Funk* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval / Louvain: Éditions Peeters, 2006), 731–741.

ABBREVIATIONS

Medinet Madi Codices

1 Ke	*Kephalaia* vol. 1: "*Kephalaia of the Teacher*" (Polotsky/Böhlig/Funk)
2 Ke	*Kephalaia* vol. 2: "*Kephalaia of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani*" (unpublished; for overview see Funk, "Reconstruction")
1 Ps	*Psalm-Book* part 1 (unpublished)
2 Ps	*Psalm-Book* part 2 (Allberry/Richter/Wurst)
Hom	*Homilies* (Polotsky)
Ep	*Epistles* (unpublished)
Acts	*Acts* (unpublished)
Syn	*Synaxeis* (unpublished)
A&C	Funk. *Kephalaia I: Addenda & Corrigenda* (unpublished)

PART I

PENTADIC REDACTION IN THE MANICHAEAN *KEPHALAIA*

INTRODUCTION

Number and Religion in Antiquity

The role played by numbers in religion is largely unexplored territory. This is due, in part, to the fact that such patterns, if they exist, tend to become so embedded into the collective consciousness of the community that rarely is any exegetical effort expended reflecting on their origins or implications. Jews and Christians, for example, do not tend to inquire as to why there are *ten* commandments and not twelve, why there are *twelve* tribes of Israel and not twenty, or why Jesus, when he wanted to feed a crowd of his hearers, used only *five* loaves and *two* fish. Similarly, Muslims might not be inclined to question why *five* daily prayers are required, instead of *six*, or why the Qurʾān contains 114 *surahs* instead of 141. After all, does it really matter that Buddha only came up with *four* noble truths, instead of eight? In many instances, the presence of such numbers may be considered of little consequence, although in other cases they could carry a great deal of theological weight. For instance, few contemporary Christians may wonder why they are taught to conceive of God as a *trinity* and not a quaternity, or for that matter, a pentad. Such formulations are typically taken as "givens" that have come to form an integral part of a particular tradition's symbolic language. But this does not mean that explanations do not sometimes exist and cannot, therefore, be sought. Numerical aspects of religion just simply are not seen as generating sufficient interest to require sustained attention. Besides, it is not as though "mainstream" religious discourses are brimming over with numerological speculations. The average reader of a standard scriptural text, be it the Tanakh, the New Testament, or the Qurʾān, is not going to be struck by an over-abundance of numerical formulations. Thus, it is not surprising that such a phenomenon goes relatively unnoticed.

The apparent lack of interest among the faithful today does not mean that the use of numbers as part of religious and theological discourse was never a matter of concern or debate. For instance, the use

of numbers in theological and exegetical contexts became particularly controversial for the early church during the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE. Irenaeus, in particular, criticized the practice of *gematria*, that is, calculations based on the numerical value of Greek or Hebrew letters, by his Valentinian opponents as arbitrary and without scriptural foundation. The bishop of Lyons also criticized what he perceived to be the arbitrary selection of biblical numbers in order to fit a particular theological system due to the fact that the scriptures contain such a wide variety of numbers and numerical patterns (*Adversus haereses*, 2.24.3), especially involving *three*, *seven*, *twelve*, and *forty*. Irenaeus cited, for instance, Valentinian exegesis of the thirty years before Jesus' ministry as a representation of the thirty ethereal aeons of the Pleroma (*Adversus haereses*, 1.1.3), while the passion of the twelfth aeon was considered to be an allusion to the betrayal of Christ by Judas (*Adversus haereses*, 1.3.3).

It would seem, however, that, in spite of the decidedly negative reactions of some, there was a certain ambivalence about the meaning and significance of numbers in the early Christian tradition. It is clear from the amount of attention given to the question by Irenaeus that the mixture of mathematics and numerical speculation with theology was viewed by church authorities as a significant problem. Yet while heresiological writers sought to discourage the construction of elaborate theological systems using numeric series or patterns, other more philosophically inclined authors such as Clement of Alexandria and Augustine reflected gladly on the harmony and perfection that they perceived in biblical numbers.

As we can see, while numbers may not figure prominently in "mainstream" (that is, orthodox) religious discourse, faith traditions that are typically seen as existing on the fringes of orthodoxy are far more likely to make creative, even audacious, use of numbers in their efforts to communicate and interpret sacred messages. While the early fathers of the church polemically engaged their Gnostic adversaries over this issue, a similar dynamic would be played out in Rabbinic Judaism and Islam, in their reactions to Kabbalistic and Ismaeli modes of discourse, which also displayed an equally profound interest in numbers and numeric patterns. Added to this group must be the great underdogs of religious history—the people whom we have come to label as *Manichaeans*.

The Manichaean Love of Numbers

The followers of the 3rd-century CE Babylonian prophet known as "Mani the Living" (from the Syriac epithet *Mani hiyya*) inherited a vivid story from their highly imaginative master. What is remarkable for the purposes of this study is the prominent role played by numbers and numeric patterns within the basic frame of that story. In brief, Mani proclaimed that before the creation of the cosmos, two opposing powers existed in relative equilibrium. In the heavens dwelt the Father of Greatness, lord of the eternally blessed realm of light, tranquility, and peace, while far below in the depths a fierce and sinister King of Darkness brooded in his chaos. This balance was upset when the King of Darkness caught a glimpse of the light-realm and sent out an invasion force of his demonic powers. In response, the Father sent his only son, known as *First* Man, into battle along with *five* elemental powers as his armour. Tragically, the First Man was defeated and his armour devoured by the powers of darkness. Fortunately, a rescue operation was mounted when the Father called forth his consort, the Living Spirit, who in addition to retrieving First Man, commissioned *Five* Sons to build the universe out of the slain bodies of the dark powers. In this way, a vast and intricate machinery was put into place to purify the light substance that had been imprisoned in the darkness during the First Man's initial fall. The Father then sent a *third* envoy, the Messenger, along with *twelve* virgins (although other accounts describe only a single virgin), to finish the counter attack and set the cosmic machinery in motion. Unfortunately, a final counter stroke was accomplished by a pair of demons, Ashaqlūn and Namrael, who fashioned the first human couple, Adam and Eve, on the basis of the *Third* Messenger's image, thus condemning human beings to a legacy of ignorance and death. In his wisdom, however, the Father commissioned Jesus, in celestial form, to plant the seed of gnosis in Adam and his kin. Thus begins the Manichaean version of primordial history.

This summary, based on the 9th-century Syriac account of Theodore bar Khonai, illuminates the general contours of the Manichaean creation myth, as Mani himself is likely to have conceived it. What is interesting to note are the basic numerical structures underpinning such a colourful tale. This means that the general Manichaean infatuation with numbers must have its origins in Mani's own predilection for such expressions. As can be imagined, this imaginative use of numerically coloured mythology was met with scorn and ridicule

by the movement's critics, especially mainstream Christians and Muslims, who thought such mythological language violated the basic rules of philosophical dialectic. Yet, in spite of the best efforts of religious leaders and sometimes governments throughout the centuries to stamp them out, the Manichaeans continue to re-emerge from extinction in some most unexpected places.

Out of Obscurity

While European scholars and church historians long knew of the Manichaean "heresy" from anti-heretical writings and Augustine's notorious association with them, a number of things happened in the 19th and 20th centuries to bring them back to light. First, European scholars and orientalists began to notice Manichaeans cropping up in various medieval Muslim authors, such as al-Nadīm and al-Biruni, which provided important evidence as to persistent Manichaean presence in the medieval Muslim world.[1] Next, at the turn of the 20th century, European expeditions uncovered masses of textual fragments and scrolls left behind by Manichaeans at various locales in Central Asia. Most famously, the texts from Turfan (in western China) contain a huge number of mutilated Manichaean texts in a wide variety of obscure Iranian and Turkish dialects. Shortly after, yet another sensational find occurred in 1929 with the discovery of a collection of Coptic codices in Egypt, near the town of Medinet Madi, containing still more original Manichaean writings—writings much earlier than the fragments recovered from Turfan.

One of the things that enabled the identification of these texts as Manichaean was the fact that Carl Schmidt, the scholar who first inspected the codices, had just been reading the proofs of a colleague's edition of Epiphanius' *Panarion*, and was struck by the name of one of the codices—*Kephalaia*—which reminded him of a text described in the heresiologist's exposé of the Manichaeans.[2] This discovery inaugurated what appeared to be a new and promising era in Manichaean studies. After some initial progress, however, war broke out in Europe and publication stalled for several decades. This has meant that most of this

[1] Ries, *Les études manichéennes*, 67–118.
[2] Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 6.

material remained largely unexplored by scholars of Late Antiquity—which brings us to the current study.

The text that jogged the memory of Carl Schmidt is, now that substantial portions of it have been published, striking for another reason, namely, the extensive (some might say obsessive) use of numbers and numeric patterns as a means of expressing Manichaean theological discourse. What is more remarkable is the degree to which the number *five* plays a predominant role in the vast majority of these expressions. This phenomenon, most prominent in the first half of volume one, has gone unexplored[3] and unexplained. In large part, this is due to the fact that the *Kephalaia* presents itself as a record of Mani's discourses to his inner circle. Few have questioned the legitimacy of this presentation and this has led to the erroneous assumption that the prevalence of numbers in the text can easily be attributed to Mani's direct influence. This study aims to correct this error by demonstrating that the use of numeric patterns in the *Kephalaia* far outstrips what is known or can reasonably be assumed about Mani's own mode of expression. We shall see that the use of pentads and five-part numeric patterns in the *Kephalaia* reveals important traces of how Manichaean traditions were transmitted, received, and redacted in response to a variety of internal and external concerns of the text's creators and their community.

The Kephalaia *and Its Compilers*

In spite of the fact that substantial portions of the *Kephalaia* have been edited and published for over half a century,[4] its form and function have remained generally misunderstood. Since these initial publica-

[3] While Michel Tardieu pointed out the importance of five as a basic classification tool in Manichaeism (*Le manichéisme*, 107), few have followed his lead. A superficial index of five-part series from Manichaean sources was given by Ström ("Le chiffre cinq," 333–338), in comparison with other traditions, while in the same volume Couliano suggested that all pentads were based on the demonization of the planets ("The Counterfeit Spirit," 53–58). See also, Lévy ("A propos de la pentade et du dualisme manichéens," 493–500).

[4] The Manichaean *Kephalaia* exist in two Coptic codices discovered near the Egyptian town of Medinet Madi in 1929. The first codex (Berlin codex P. 15 996 or Berlin Kephalaia codex) is entitled "The Kephalaia of the Teacher" (abbreviated 1 Ke), while the second codex (Codex C or Dublin Kephalaia codex) is entitled "The Kephalaia of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani" (2 Ke). For a recent account of the discovery of these manuscripts see Robinson, "The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi:

tions, even some of the most influential scholars have succumbed to the temptation to regard the *Kephalaia* either as a record of Mani's actual discourses[5] and teachings,[6] or as a systematic[7] (albeit secondary) presentation of the "main points" of Manichaean theology. In reality, however, the work is neither. It should not be seen as a record of the *ipsissima verba* of Mani himself, nor should it be viewed as a *summa*[8] of Manichaean theology. Instead, it can be more accurately described as representing the emergence or evolution of a scholastic, interpretive tradition, ostensibly rooted in an authoritative oral tradition analogous to those which led to the compilation of the Jewish Talmudic and Islamic Hadith traditions.

While the *Kephalaia* (literally the "Chapter-book")[9] may present itself as a record of Manichaean oral tradition based on Mani's discourses

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1929–1989," 19–62. Much of the Berlin *Kephalaia* codex was published by Polotsky and Böhlig (1940 and 1966), while the remainder is being published by Funk (1999, 2000, and forthcoming). For a recent account of the characteristics, content, and reconstruction of the *Kephalaia* codices, see Funk, "The Reconstruction of the Manichaean *Kephalaia*," 143–159. The Dublin Kephalaia codex is included in Giversen's 1987 facsimile edition, although it is not (to my knowledge) currently being edited.

[5] See Schmidt, *Ein Mani-Fund*, 23. Also, Lieu, for instance, talks about *Kephalaia* chapters as "extant discourses of Mani" (*Manichaeism in the Roman Empire*, 177). While the enthusiasm of scholars for finding the authentic voice of Mani in such a text is understandable, somewhat more unsettling is the way in which the *Kephalaia*, as a primary source for Manichaeism, is sometimes simply pillaged by scholars for prooftexts in support of particular readings and hypotheses, with little or no attention paid to the chapter context from which such references are taken.

[6] Widengren spoke about "Mani's teaching, as set down in the *Kephalaia*" (*Mani and Manichaeism*, 69), while Ort characterized the *Kephalaia* as "a summary of Mani's doctrines based on his own writings" (*Mani*, 23).

[7] Even Tardieu, in spite of the incredible balance and control of his *Que sais-je* volume, seems to indulge in a slight excess of rhetoric when he characterizes the *Kephalaia* as "une véritable *summa theologica* du manichéisme" based on Mani's *logia* (*Le manichéisme*, 66–67). Similarly, Koenen characterized the *Kephalaia* as a "dogmatic textbook" ("How Dualistic is Mani's Dualism?", 3).

[8] In its existing form, it does not appear to be structured with the same degree of deliberation as other systematic theological treatises from the period, such as Origen's *De principiis*.

[9] This would seem to be the best way to translate the title (Funk, *personal communication*), although common usage prevents us from going that far. Nevertheless, I cannot help wonder whether the intended title is *Kephalaia of the Teacher* or simply just *The Teacher* (or in the case of volume two—*The Wisdom of My Lord Mani*), although evidence from both the Coptic *Homilies* (18.6) and the *Acta Archelai* 62 would seem to support the traditional interpretation of the page headings. As for the identification of individual chapters in this study, I have opted for *chapter* instead of *kephalaion*, a technical term which, though correct, has no real benefit and tends to obscure the unique character of each textual unit.

to his inner circle,[10] it is essentially the product of later theological developments and elaborations that seek to respond to a wide array of specific questions, many of which appear to be rooted in ambiguities found in the canon. Typically (although not always), a chapter opens with Mani being questioned by one of his disciples about a specific point of doctrine or interpretation. This means that one of the primary aims sought by the compilers of this massive work was clarity. While Mani is famous for having recorded his teaching in a series of self-consciously canonical writings intended to definitively replace all previous revelations, the questions that are asked by the disciples give the distinct impression that Mani left many "loose ends" that needed to be resolved.[11] Thus, the *Kephalaia* appears to be a deliberate attempt to deal with some of these issues within an artificially constructed context of Mani's "apostolic authority,"[12] since at the close of the *Kephalaia*'s "prologue" Mani is depicted as extolling his disciples to record the wisdom he imparted to them (1 Ke 9.5–6)—a strange command from someone who was supposed to have provided a definitive and unambiguous record of his revelation. In other words, if Mani had indeed clearly and definitively explained all the subtleties of his vision, then there should have been no need to create such an extensive corpus of secondary literature that seeks to address such a wide array of problems. We might even say that the *Kephalaia* constitutes a sort of *addenda et corrigenda* for Manichaean canonical tradition.

Still, in a more formal way, there are aspects of the *Kephalaia* that allow for its comparison with at least two genres of ancient literature. First, the fact that it exists as a collection of "chapters" (literally, Greek: κεφάλαια) on a variety of theological topics means that it could be compared to certain forms of ancient *Capitaliteratur*, which aimed at the collection of teachings from a spiritual teacher for the purposes of meditation.[13] A classical example of such literature is Epictetus' *Manual* (*Encheiridion*), which is essentially a collection of discourse on miscellaneous topics not unlike those found in the *Kephalaia*, such as *On friendship* (2.22), *On those who plead sickness* (3.5), or *What solitude is; and what*

[10] Funk, "Reconstruction," 151.

[11] In fact, surviving fragments from Mani's writings do indicate that some of them, such as the *Book of Mysteries*, were largely incidental in nature, while others, such as the work(s) known to Titus of Bostra, Theodoret, and Severus seem to have been more generalized, with less attention paid to fixed structures and detail.

[12] Funk, "Reconstruction," 152.

[13] Ivanka, "ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΑ," 285–291.

a solitary person (3.13). During the late-antique period, such literature became particularly popular among monks and ascetics,[14] so it is not inconceivable that ascetically minded Manichaeans would have been interested in producing a work of this sort. The use, however, of the *Kephalaia* as a source of meditative discourses would seem to have more to do with how it was read during later periods than how it was formed.

The second genre with which the *Kephalaia* bears a somewhat closer resemblance, and which speaks more to its compositional origins, is the *erotapokrisis*, or "question-and-answer" literature, that became popular among Jewish and Christian exegetes during the first centuries of the Common Era. This genre, which Claudio Zamagni has described as "un genre très élastique," was a form of secondary literature used primarily for the exegesis and elucidation of canonical texts (be they Jewish, Christian, or pagan), although such works often contained apologetic, didactic, or polemical overtones.[15] In general, the *erotapokrisis* takes as its most basic form a three- part structure consisting of 1) preface/prologue, 2) questions and answers, and 3) postscript/colophon.[16] According to this basic set of criteria, the *Kephalaia* could be classified as part of the *erotapokritic* genre, especially if its primary aim was the explication of ambiguities found within canonical Manichaean tradition.[17]

While such characteristics may allow us to identify the function and literary genre of the text, there are other internal indicators that enable us to situate its compilers within a general historical and geographic frame. I choose to call the creators of this text *compilers*, since it seems clear to me that it is the work of a variety of hands, be they authors, editors, or redactors. But some sense of who these individuals might have been can be gleaned from the sorts of things they wrote about. For instance, we find in the *Kephalaia* references to important figures from the Judaeo-Christian tradition, such as Adam, Enosh, Eve, Jesus, Judas, Noah, Paul, Sem, and Sethel. This is not surprising given the fact that Mani was raised in a Judaeo-Christian sect known as the Elchasaites and later styled himself, even in his letters, as an "Apostle of Jesus Christ." What is somewhat more striking, are the vague and somewhat shadowy allusions to Zarathustra and Buddha, figures little known west

[14] Ivanka, 286–287.
[15] Zamagni, "Une introduction," 7–24.
[16] Zamagni, "Une introduction," 24.
[17] The order of the questions does not necessarily need to reflect the progression of the text being commented on (Bussières, "Conclusions," 185).

of Persia, but considered by Mani to be two of his key prophetic forerunners. We also find references to rival religious groups such as "Baptists" (i.e., Mandaeans), Christians, Jews, Magi, and Nazoreans, most of whom would have been found in Mesopotamia. In terms of geography, the *Kephalaia* makes allusion to places throughout the Ancient Near East such as Adiabene, Babylon, Ctesiphon, Mesene, Parthia, Persia, Susiana, Tigris, although India is also mentioned. In addition, various ethnic groups largely from the same region are mentioned, such as Assyrians, Axumites, Babylonians, Indians, Medes, Parthians, Persians, Romans, as well as important political figures such as Ardashir, Artabanus, Hystaspes, and Shapur. Such allusions seem to indicate a social world rooted in a (predominantly) Judaeo-Christian milieu, likely originating in Mesopotamia during the late 3rd century CE.[18] This is precisely the context that Peter Brown rightly emphasized in his important 1969 article, "The Diffusion of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire." According to Brown, the early history of Manichaeism is firmly rooted in the history of the Syriac speaking belt that crossed the frontiers of both Sassanian Iran and Rome.[19] These early Manichaeans, it seems, were caught between two "reactionary states,"[20] both of which were closing ranks and attempting to consolidate imperial cultures that had less and less room for religious innovation and variety. Thus, in both cases Manichaeans were compelled to respond to external pressures such as persecution and martyrdom as well as internal pressures of group solidarity, doctrinal cohesion, and missionary expansion. One less obvious facet of this response, I will suggest, was the extensive use of numeric patterns as evidenced by the *Kephalaia*.

Yet given the fact that internal evidence appears to indicate a Mesopotamian milieu, how did the *Kephalaia* end up in Upper Egypt and recorded in Coptic, a language far removed from the Syriac used primarily by Mani and his earliest disciples? To address this problem, we may endeavour to propose a hypothetical reconstruction of the *Kephalaia*'s textual history and transmission. First, as we might imagine, come the oral and (especially) written teachings of Mani in Syriac. Mani is, in fact, practically unique in religious history for the care he took to

[18] Other indices (smaller in number) indicate specifically Egyptian providence, such as references to the months Parmouthi and Paophi in *Kephalaia Chapter* 1, although these are largely superficial.

[19] Brown, "Diffusion," 93.

[20] Brown, "Diffusion," 97.

record his own prophetic message in writing, something he harshly criticized his predecessors for not doing. Second, we might imagine the oral and written transmission and interpretation of Mani's teachings by disciples from his inner circle, such as Sisinnios, Kustaios, and Adda in Syriac, if we presume that they came from a similar sociocultural background, but probably to some extent this transmission happened also in Greek.[21] Next, we might suppose that some of this material was organized and composed into "proto-*Kephalaia*," examples of which have been recently discovered elsewhere in Egypt, at the Dakhleh Oasis (ancient Kellis). This was probably done by other disciples and missionaries moving west towards and into Egypt, using Syriac (even just liturgically), Greek,[22] and eventually Coptic as their means of communication. Finally, we might suppose the translation, redaction, and collection of what came to be an enormous amount of *Kephalaia* material into large volumes, such as those found at Medinet Madi,[23]

[21] Funk has asked whether it is possible that a "patristic" tradition developed at a very early stage in the western branch of the Manichaean movement; a tradition with apostolic authority independent of the Manichaean canon. See Funk, "Reconstruction," 152. A document such as the *Cologne Mani Codex*, with its various sections attributed to authoritative individuals such as Salmaios, Baraies (or Barhaies), Timotheos, Innaios, Kustaios, etc., certainly points in this direction, as does the *Acts* codex, which has a similar structure (Funk, *personal communication*).

[22] The issue of original source language has been described as a "vexed question for all the Manichaean texts in Coptic" (See Franzmann "Syriac-Coptic Bilinguals," 115). The debate around this issue, however, is frequently affected by the desire to see in these texts a more primitive stratum than is actually there. To be sure, there are elements from the texts that reveal at least an *interest* in some kind of Syriac sources, as is witnessed also by the Syriac-Coptic translation exercises recently discovered at Kellis (T. Kell. Syr. / Copt. 1; T. Kell. Syr. / Copt. 2) (Gardner, *Kellis Literary Texts*, 101). While these texts have raised the possibility (at least) that the translation process in Egypt could have been more direct, they are by no means the "smoking gun" that they are so often made out to be. After all, as Gardner points out, it is hard to imagine the translator not knowing any Greek, especially since Greek Manichaean texts of considerable literary sophistication have also been found at Kellis (not to mention the *Cologne Mani Codex*, also presumably from Egypt). But, even though it appears textually possible to demonstrate some direct influence, or at least colouring, of Syriac on Coptic Manichaean texts, the question that is never asked is whether or not it is *sociologically* possible for highly literate (and no doubt indigenous) Coptic speaking translators to work directly from Syriac sources without Greek playing some sort of intermediary role either orally or by means of written texts.

[23] The existing *Kephalaia* codices seem to represent two volumes from two different "editions" of the same work (Funk, *personal communication*). The first codex, titled "The Kephalaia of the Teacher," may constitute volume one of its edition, while the second codex, titled "The Kephalaia of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani" may represent volume two of its (separate) edition.

exclusively in Coptic. As such, the traditions, as well as the carriers of these traditions, which led to the composition and production of the *Kephalaia*, would have traversed at least two distinct (yet often overlapping) socio-cultural settings: late 3rd century CE Mesopotamia and late 3rd–4th century CE Egypt.[24] This movement would have been precipitated both by the "built-in" missionary impulse of the religion as well as the persecution of Manichaeans following the executions of Mani and his successor, Sisinnios. Although the temporal division between these two settings is ambiguous, an argument could be made that the most pertinent social setting falls somewhere between the second and third stages of evolution, as outlined above.

Canon and Tradition

Having established the apparent form and function of the text, as well as gaining a general impression of its most likely context and creators, we can now pose the main question addressed by this study: why were the *Kephalaia* compilers so enthusiastic in their use of five-part patterns in particular? Part of the answer lies in the recognition of the already stated contradiction between Mani's well-known insistence on the importance of his own written revelation and the very existence of a work that purports to add to this revelation. Obviously the compilers felt compelled to work something out for themselves. However, before we can get a sense of exactly what they were up to we ought to dispense with another assumption commonplace in scholarly treatments of Manichaeism, namely that Mani's own teaching was highly systematized and unambiguous. In some ways, this assumption was reinforced by the discovery of the *Kephalaia*, which, in combination with the other assumption that it represents Mani's actual discourses, gives the impression of a highly systematic world-view. This second assumption, founded on the first, has resulted in a serious error.

In spite of the fact that the major part of Mani writings have been either lost or, at best, shattered into fragments by the rage of heresiologists and the ravages of time, it is nevertheless possible to form a

[24] There is evidence of Manichaeans in Egypt as early as ca. 280 (Letter of Theonas of Alexandria, P. Rylands 469) and ca. 290 (Alexander of Lycopolis). See Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 112. As for what shape Manichaeism may have taken in Palestine, we have no real *direct* evidence like we have for Egypt.

general idea of their content and style.[25] For instance, the 10th-century Bagdad bookseller and encyclopaedist, al-Nadīm, recorded that

> Mani wrote seven books, one in Farsi (i.e., Perisan) and six in Syriac, the language of Syria. Among them are *The Book of Secrets* (i.e. *The Book of Mysteries*), which contains (a number of) chapters, (including) 'An account of the Daysaniyya (i.e., the followers of Bardaisan of Edessa)', 'The testimony of Yastasif on the Beloved', 'The testimony of … about himself given to Ya 'qub', 'The son of the widow' (who according to Mani was the anointed and crucified one, crucified by the Jews), 'The testimony of Jesus about himself as given in Judaea', 'The commencement of the testimony of al-Yamin as given after his victory', 'The seven spirits', 'The discourse on the four transient spirits', 'Laughter', 'The testimony of Adam regarding Jesus', 'The fall from religion', 'The discourse of the Daysaniyya on the soul and body', 'Refutation of the Daysanites on the soul of life', 'The three trenches', 'The preservation of the World', 'The three days', 'The prophets', (and) 'The resurrection' (trans. Laffan).[26]

Similarly, he stated that Mani wrote *Epistles* on a variety of topics such as "The Two Sources," "The Eminent Ones," "The Great Epistle of India," "The Epistle of Kaskar," and "The Garden."[27] In this way, we can see that canonical works such as the *Book of Mysteries* and the *Epistles*,[28] seem to have been more incidental in orientation, dealing with a seemingly miscellaneous set of doctrinal, polemical, and pastoral issues, while other works such as the *Treasure of Life* and the (unidentified) source(s) used by Titus of Bostra, Theodoret, and Severus of Antioch provide only generalized presentations of Manichaean theology. This is to say that several of them appear to have lacked the rigid structuring and systematization so apparent in the *Kephalaia*, not to mention the compilers' obsession with pentads.

Of all the fragments from canonical writings preserved in Syriac, Greek, Coptic, Latin, Middle Persian, and Arabic, only seven contain traces of Mani's own use of pentadic series. These are: 1) fragments from *Shabuhragan* (presumably composed mid-3rd century CE),[29] 2) pas-

[25] Tardieu provides one of the most concise accounts of canonical writings in *Le manichéisme*, 43–61. See also the (somewhat idiosyncratic) selection of fragments in Gardner and Lieu's *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 151–175.

[26] Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 155.

[27] Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 165. A number of epistles found in this list are attributed to early disciples.

[28] Somewhat clearer, however, is the apparent near absence of doctrinal content from the Medinet Madi and Kellis codices of Mani's *Epistles* (Funk and Gardner, *forthcoming*).

[29] MacKenzie, "Mani's *Šābuhragān*," 83–141. See also those fragments (M 98/99 and

sages of *The Living Gospel* (presumably composed mid- to late- 3rd century CE) from the (unedited) Coptic *Synaxeis* Codex, 3) fragments from the *Book of Giants* (presumably composed mid- to late- 3rd century CE)[30] 4) Mani's *Epistles* (presumably composed mid- to late- 3rd century CE) 5) citations by Ephraim the Syrian (early 4th century CE),[31] 6) citations by the Nestorian scholar Theodore bar Khonai (8th century CE),[32] and 7) the article on Mani in al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (10th century CE).[33] What these sources reveal, as far as we can tell, is a very limited *explicit* use of pentads. Those that can be identified include:

The Five Limbs

Perhaps the most important of all Manichaean pentads, the "Five *shekinahs*" (ܫܟܝܢܗ) (Theodore bar Khonai 313.17 [Scher]) (that is, the "presences" or "dwellings" of God) later become known in Graeco-Coptic tradition as the "Five Limbs"[34] and constitute an ideal set of intellectual faculties possessed by a wide variety of entities, namely 1) Mind, 2) Thought, 3) Insight, 4) Counsel, and 5) Consideration.

The Five Elements

Of equal importance are what Mani termed the "Five *ziwanē*" (ܙܝܘܢܐ)—the "shining gods"—(Ephraim, 235 [Reeves]; Theodore bar Khonai,

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7980–7984) attributed to *Shabuhragan* by Hutter (*Manis kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte*; trans. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, 225).

[30] Henning, "The Book of Giants," 52–74 [115–137].

[31] Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 217–288. Reeves' assertion, however, that Ephraim is "the most important textual witness to the earliest forms of Manichaean discourse" (218) is somewhat misleading, especially when he characterizes what is preserved as "Mani-citations" (220). To be sure the use of the Syriac particle *lam* ܠܡ is a convincing indicator that some verbatim citations are preserved. In the majority of cases, however, statements are introduced by "as they say" (ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ) and thus cannot be *directly* attributable to Mani. As such, while these fragments certainly do bear witness to a very early strata of Manichaean discourse, they cannot, as a whole, be said to represent "portions of Mani's Syriac corpus" (220).

[32] See Theodore bar Khonai, *Liber scholiorum*, 313–318. Tardieu has suggested that these citations come from Mani's *Pragmateia* (*Le manichéisme*, 93).

[33] See *Fihrist*, 773–805 [Dodge]. While the great value of al-Nadīm's account has been recognized since Flügel's 1862 study, De Blois has recently pointed out that significant portions of al-Nadīm's account, especially on cosmogony, are likely derived from al-Warrāq, a 9th-century, mu'tazilah theologian who took an early interest in Manichaeism ("New Light on the Sources of the Manichaean Chapter in the *Fihrist*,") 37–45.

[34] According to Funk, this series was rendered as "Aeons" in the unedited *Synaxeis* codex, which contains readings from Mani's own *Living Gospel*, whereas in the *Epistles* codex they are translated as "Limbs" (*Epistles*) (*personal communication*). Al-Nadīm, for his part, calls them both "worlds" (*Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]) and "limbs" (*Fihrist*, 786 [Dodge]).

314.11 [Scher]) or, as they were more commonly known to Graeco-Coptic tradition, the Five "Elements" (ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲱⲛ) of 1) Living Air, 2) Light, 3) Wind, 4) Water, 5) Fire (see 1 Ke 43.2 etc.).[35] Also known as the Five "Sons of First Man" (*Shabuhragan*, Ephraim, 235 [Reeves], Theodore bar Khonai, 314.1 (not enumerated) [Scher]), "gods" (al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 779 [Dodge] *Shabuhragan*, 513–515 [Mackenzie]), and "Limbs" (al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 786 [Dodge]). They are also put in more traditionally Iranian dress as the "Five Bounteous Immortals" (*panzān (a)mahrāspandān*) in *Shabuhragan* (M 7980–7984 [Boyce y, 74])[36] as well as being described as the "Five Walls" (*panz parisp*) of the Light Chariot, that is, the Sun (M 98/99 [Boyce y, 61]).

The Five Sons of the Living Spirit

As already noted, the Five Sons of the Living Spirit enter the cosmogonic drama when the Father of Greatness responds to the capture of First Man by calling out a second triad made up of "Beloved of Lights," "Great Builder", and the "Living Spirit." Just as First Man (the third being of the first emanation) went into battle accompanied by "five sons," the Living Spirit calls upon his own "five sons" who aid in the slaughter of the Archons and the construction of the cosmos. These Five Sons are called "Ornament (or Keeper) of Splendour," "Great King of Honour," "Adamos (*sic* = Adamas) of Light," "King of Glory," and "Porter" (314.17–20 [Scher]). *Shabuhragan* describes these entities as the "five gods" (*panz yazd*) sent out by the "god Mithra" (*Mihr yazd*), that is, the Living Spirit (M 7980–7984 [Boyce y, 65).

The Five Virtues

Evidence from Mani's *Epistles* has confirmed the parallel ordering of both the Limbs and the Virtues in his own discourse. In particular, the "Seventh Letter to Ctesiphon; that of the Vigils" records Mani's evocation of the Five Limbs of 1) Love, 2) Faith, 3) Perfection, 4) Patience, and 5) Wisdom in association with a blessing provided by Jesus: "But it is he who shall bless you all, my beloved / children. May he leave his love on your head, that is, / the Light-Mind. His great faith, he [will … in] your / vigilant Thought. His perfection, he will establish [in your] / good Insight, and his long-suffering, he [will …] / in your good Counsels. His

[35] See the same choice of vocabulary in the Iranian translation of Mani's *Book of Giants* (see Henning, "Book of Giants," 58).

[36] Al-Nadīm appears to make a distinction between the Five Limbs of the "Realm (Earth) of Light," which equal the Five Elements, and the Five Limbs of the "Sky of Light" (see *Fihrist*, 786 [Dodge]). There does not seem to have been an absolutely clear demarcation between the Limbs and the Elements, since in several instances (see below the question of the identity of the "Intellectuals") they bleed into one another.

wisdom . . . / . . . he will act as in your sharp Considerations . . ."[37] They are also mentioned by al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]).

The Five Vital Powers/Potentials

Also important to the light-realm is the series of five vital powers, known as 1) Life (*zīhr*), 2) Power (*zōr*), 3) Light (*rōšnī*), 4) Fragrance (*xwaš̄*), 5) Beauty (*agrāyī*) (*Shabuhragan* M 7983 = Boyce y 52 [75]).[38]

The Five Worlds of Darkness

As the negative image of the five *shekinahs*, Mani seems to have conceived of the kingdom of darkness as divided into five districts: 1) Smoke, 2) Fire, 3) Wind, 4) Water, 5) Darkness (Theodore 313.19–20 [Scher], al-Nadīm), also known as the "Five Ditches" (*panz kandār*) (*Shabuhragan* M 98/99 [Boyce y, 61]) and the "Five Hells" (*panz dušox*) (*Shabuhragan* M 7980–7984 [Boyce y, 66]). As we shall see, there was some confusion among the compilers as to which demonic power held jurisdiction over these domains.

The Five Sons of Darkness

Theodore bar Khonai makes an ambiguous reference to "five sons of darkness" (314.8, 22 [Scher]) who are said to devour the Five Sons of First Man. Presumably the demonic powers who rule the five worlds.

The Five Trees (of Darkness)

While the *Book of Giants* refers to the fact that the "misguided" fail to recognize the "five elements, [the five kinds of] trees, (and) the five (kinds of) animals" (146 [Henning]), Theodore states that when the Messenger had slain Sin, part of its carcass fell to the ground to produce "Five Trees" (317.3 [Scher]).

Other

Added to this list could be some miscellaneous references from *Shabuhragan* to the "Five Houses" (*mān panz*) of the Light Chariot, the "Five Angels" (*prēstag panz*) who collect souls, the "Five Arches" (*tāg panz*) built by the Living Spirit over earth (M 98/99 [Boyce y, 60–62]), as well as the "Five Constellations" (*panzān axtarān*): Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, and Leo (*Shabuhragan* M 7980–7984 [Boyce y, 66]), and the five components of human body created by demon *Āz*: bones, nerves, flesh, arteries, and skin (*Shabuhragan* M 7980–7984). None of these, however, carry the same weight in subsequent Manichaean discourse.

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[37] *Epistles* [Berlin] 50.8–14; Funk, *A Work Concordance to the Coptic Fragments of Mani's Epistles* (unpublished).

[38] See Hutter, *Manis kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte*, 112–113; 130–134.

While the five-part structures noted above only provide an incomplete picture of what might have existed in Mani's (mostly lost) canonical writings, they are enough to show two aspects of Manichaean discourse that will be encountered repeatedly throughout the course of this study. First, that one of the basic features of Manichaean myth-making is the attribution of five qualities to both good and evil beings, as well as the organization of such beings into groups of five, a phenomenon which is evident especially in Theodore bar Khonai's and al-Nadīm's accounts and, as such, must have formed part of the way in which Mani (at least sometimes) expressed his ideas.[39] Thus, Mani can be said to have established the basic paradigm for this kind of thinking. Second is the fact that already in canonical traditions it can be observed that certain important pentads were known under a variety of aliases.[40]

It should be noted, however, that Theodore bar Khonai's account, which was paraphrased earlier, appears to place emphasis on the basic triadic structure of the mythic narrative.[41] According to Theodore, three groups of three beings are presented as a series of three evocations, or emanations, through which the drama of salvation unfolds. In this account, five-part series appear to be more *attributive* and functional in support of the main actors from what is essentially a three-act play. For instance, the Five Sons of First Man function as "armour" for their father, who is the real hero of the first evocation, while the Five Sons of the Living Spirit, from the second evocation, appear in support of their parent, who employs them for the creation and maintenance of the cosmos.

In contrast to the emphasis on triads that can be observed in Mani's canonical discourse, the *Kephalaia* attempts to bring pentads to the fore. While extensive use is made of canonical pentads from the light-realm such as the Five Limbs, the Five Elements/Sons of First Man, and the Five Sons of the Living Spirit, such series are employed by the compilers of the *Kephalaia*, by and large, in support of other themes such as the nature of divine being and cosmic parallelism. In addition,

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[39] The alternative would be that, by Theodore's time, canonical sources (or even pseudo-canonical sources for that matter) were "retro-fitted" to conform to later scholastic developments.

[40] This may have been due, in part, to the difficulty of rendering Syriac terms like *shekinah* and *ziwanē* into Greek and Coptic. Thus, it is not necessarily Mani's doing.

[41] Even though some commentators, such as Hunter, consider Theodore's citations as "fragmented and disjointed" ("Theodore bar Kônî and the Manichaeans," 168), they do, nevertheless, seem to present a basic narrative.

they seem to have been equally interested in other non- (or at least only quasi-) canonical series, such as those that came to be known as the Five Fathers and the Five Greatnesses. These latter series, as we shall see, exemplify the attempt by the *Kephalaia* compilers to transform the basic mythological structure of Manichaean cosmogony from one based on triads to one based on pentads. This process, which for our purposes will be termed *pentadic redaction*, is a reflection of the compilers' desire to make sense of what may have been obscure or ambiguous canonical material by shaping it into what seemed to them to be a more cohesively structured whole. As for the dark-realm, we shall see that even though the compilers also made use of canonical series such as Five Worlds of Darkness and the Five Trees, these were not always as clearly defined as those belonging to the light-realm. Nevertheless, even though the compilers sought to clarify how these more ambiguous formulations ought to be understood and placed in opposition to series from the light-realm, their inherently negative associations inevitably led to their being employed for certain polemical ends largely aimed at rival religious communities. Finally, the *Kephalaia* also presents a number of more generalized pentadic series relating to a variety of soteriological, ethical, ecclesiological, polemical, and aetiological themes that equally speak to the compilers' desire to construct a distinctly Manichaean reality based on pentads.

As such, in order to understand how five-part patterns contribute to the function and originality of the *Kephalaia*, this study will examine the occurrence of both explicit and implicit five-part structures in order to discover how the compilers shaped, expanded, and redacted canonical material in an effort to communicate their own particular themes and concerns.

CHAPTER ONE

BASIC ONTOLOGICAL PATTERNING

The Two Trees and the Five Limbs

There can be no denying that the foundation of Manichaeism is to be found in the doctrine of the Two Natures, since this concept served as the basis for Manichaean ontology, cosmology, and ethics. As such, it is no surprise that, after establishing the authority of Mani as the most recent messenger of God and legitimizing the validity of the *Kephalaia* as a literary enterprise (1 Ke 9.6–10)[1] in both the "Prologue" and *Chapter 1*, the doctrine of Two Natures would be addressed by the *Kephalaia* compilers straightaway in *Chapter 2 "The Second, on the Parable of the Tree."* In this chapter, Mani is asked by his disciples to give an exegetical reading of Matthew 7:17–20/Luke 6:43–44,[2] where Jesus explains to his disciples that the quality of every tree can be derived from an evaluation of its fruit (1 Ke 17.2–20), while at the same time alluding to an alternate reading of the same text among "the Sects" (ⲛⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ), the generic Manichaean designation for any number of rival religious communities. First, Mani is made to caution that appearances can be deceiving. In the natural world, for instance, the "date-palm" (ⲃⲛⲛⲉ), in spite of its pleasant appearance, is said to be quite useless (1 Ke 17.32 ff.). Similarly, Judas, although he seemed to be a good disciple, still betrayed his master (1 Ke 19.1–6), while Paul, though seemingly wicked and a persecutor of the church, ultimately turned out to be one if its most productive founders (1 Ke 19.7–17).

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[1] One of Mani's principal critiques of previous religious traditions was the fact that the founders did not record their teaching in writing and thus it was corrupted by later disciples (1 Ke 8.8–28; see also *Chapter 151 [On the Ten Advantages of the Manichaean Religion]* [1 Ke 371.6–30]). Yet even though Mani seems to have gone to great lengths to record his message in his own series of self-consciously canonical writings, he is conveniently made to legitimize the *Kephalaia*'s expansion of and commentary on this tradition by both the "Prologue" and "Epilogue" of the work (see Funk, "Reconstruction").

[2] This proof-text is cited by Ephraim against the Manichaeans (see Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 252).

Mani is then made to explain how the "Good Tree" has "Five Limbs" (1 Ke 20.12–14), which in turn are said to represent five key components of the Manichaean cosmos:

> … it (that is, the good tree) has *Five Limbs* / [which are: *Consideration, Counsel, Insight, Thought]* / *Mind*. Its Consideration is the Holy Church. Its Counsel / is the Column of Glory, the Perfect Man. Its Insight / is the First Man, who dwells in the Ship of the Living / Waters. Its Thought is the Third Messenger / [who dwells in] the Ship of the Living Fire, which shines in / [the world]. But, the Mind is the Father, who dwells in the Great-/ness, who exists perfectly in the Aeon of Light. / … this, that the souls who come and attain / the Holy [Church] and also the alms which the Cate-/[chumens] give, as they are purified by the Holy Church / … every deed. Consideration is that which will … / … they ascend to … … is Counsel, / [they] ascend to Insight, which is the First Man, / who dwells in the Ship of the Night. From Insight they ascend / to Thought, which is the Messenger, who dwells in / the Ship of the Day. But he, the Great Thought, who / … them to Mind, who is the Father, the God / of Truth, the great Mind of all Aeons of Glory (1 Ke 20.12–31).

Here the Five Limbs are enumerated in canonical, but ascending, order.[3] In this way, the Five Limbs are presented by the *Kephalaia* compilers in *Chapter 2* as part of a programmatic statement whereby the essentially five-fold nature of being is reflected in the five stages of light liberation from the community and ritual context of the Holy Church, where the ritual activities occur (Consideration), to the cosmic conduit of the Column of Glory, which draws the light particles up (Counsel), through to the first (Insight) and second (Thought) light vessels, onto the divine homeland of the Father (Mind). This enumeration is then contrasted with the limbs of the Evil Tree.

The Five Limbs of the Evil Tree are (somewhat awkwardly) made to parallel those of the Good Tree:

> … … the evil [tree] has *Five Limbs* / [which] are: Consideration, Counsel, Insight, Thought, [Mind]. / Its [Consideration is] the Law of Death which the Sects / are taught. Its Counsel is the transmigration … / in [various] kinds. But, its Insight is the [fiery] furnaces of / … … Gehenna, which are filled with smoke. Its Thought … / … … the vessel. Its Mind is … / … … the lump, the last bond, the … / … … those who Satan has [cast] (1 Ke 21.28–36).

[3] See *Chapter 25*, where the Limbs are listed in descending order.

These Limbs are associated with a progressive process of damnation from the sectarian context or "Law of Death" (Consideration), through the soul's transmigration (Counsel), to Gehenna (Insight), a vessel of some kind (Thought), then finally the eschatological lump, or *bolos* (Mind), into which all matter will be moulded at the end of time (1Ke 21.28–36). One might have expected that the Limbs of the Evil Tree would have been identified with negatively valued qualities such as ignorance, stupidity, or apostasy, but instead, the compiler of *Chapter 2* works to establish a direct parallel between the Limbs of the Tree of Light and those of the Tree of Darkness. Such a manoeuvre is in contrast to the concept of the Five Elements for which there are two different sets. This seems to indicate either that a canonical series of Dark Limbs did not exist or that the series of divine Limbs was canonically applied to the dark-realm. The latter case appears unlikely, given the great care that was generally taken in completely dissociating the Two Natures. Instead, it is more likely that the *Kephalaia* compiler carried over the same canonical series in order to create a symmetrical contrast of the Two Trees and to re-emphasize the chapter's cautionary message about appearances. After all, evil, although essentially different, may nevertheless appear seductive and beguiling to those not adept at separating one tree from the other. In fact, *Chapter 2*, although ostensibly a discussion of the Two Trees, could equally be characterized as a discourse on the "Two Paths"—the good path that leads to liberation and the luminous homeland of the Father and the evil path that traps souls within the cycle of transmigration and ultimate destruction.[4] That both "paths" are described as having five stages is a reflection of the basic five-fold structure of both good and evil entities.

Indeed, we do know that Mani himself characterized his two opposed principles as two fruit-producing trees known as the "Tree of Life" and the "Tree of Death" from Severus of Antioch (*Homily* 123. 104–105),[5] although in his account there is no explicit association with the New Testament parable. Moreover, the language used by Mani in these citations is more cosmological in orientation, since he places emphasis on the fact that the Tree of Life occupies the northern, eastern, and western regions of the cosmos, while the Tree of Death is

[4] The primacy and importance of the "good path" is taken up again (with slight variation) in the following chapter, *Chapter 3 "The Interpretation of Happiness, Wisdom, and Power; what they mean."*.

[5] Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 169.

confined to the south. This means that, while the *Kephalaia* compilers have adapted a canonical metaphor, they have given it a different colouring.

This ornamentation of the Two Natures with parallel, but ontologically opposed, five-part series, so prominently placed in *Chapter 2*, previews the way in which good and evil beings are generally conceived by the *Kephalaia* compilers and establishes a general ontological framework for the interpretation of all sorts of cosmic phenomena. As such, five-part structure was intimately associated with one of the basic, foundational, and no doubt most primitive, of Manichaean metaphors.[6] In fact, just as Manichaean theology as a whole is sometimes characterized as the doctrine of the "two principles and the three times," *Chapter 2* could be stereotyped as encapsulating the *Kephalaia*'s theology in terms of "Two Trees and Five Limbs."

[6] Lieu suggests that the motif of the Two Trees is "unrelated" to the concept of the Two Natures ("Manichaean *technici termini*," 251), although I do not believe that this assertion can be justified.

CHAPTER TWO

THEOLOGICAL PATTERNING I: LIGHT-REALM

The Faces of the Father

Given the fact that, as we just saw, one of the basic metaphors for Manichaean ontology attributes five qualities to each of the Two Principles, it would be expected that a similar characterization be applied to the Father of Greatness, the ruler of the light-realm and the personification of the good principle. *Chapter 21 "On the Father of Greatness, how he is established and defined"* (1 Ke 64.21–23) is particularly informative in this regard:

> Just as he [is found] established in his *Five Light-Limbs*, which are / … the storehouses which are without measure or limit / … Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, and [Consideration] / … his Twelve Light-Limbs, which are / his Twelve Wisdoms. *Five Great Limbs / of Light* are found in each one … *Five Great / Fountains of Blessing* gush forth … There are *Five Great* / [*Trees*(?)] … … of Light (1 Ke 64.20–28).

In this case, the Five Limbs, which we previously saw were applied to the Two Trees, represent those entities which in Theodore bar Khonai's account are known by the Syriac term *shekinah* (ܫܟܝܢܬܐ), although their apparent characterization as his "Storehouses" (ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ) (1 Ke 64.22) may represent an attempt to represent this term more fully.[1] These Five Storehouses, in turn, are associated with Twelve Light-Limbs, also described as Twelve Wisdoms.[2] In turn, we learn that "Five Great Fountains of Blessing" (ϯⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲟ ⲛϩⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲉ) (1 Ke 64.26–27) surround the Father, and, in what appears to be an extension of the basic tree metaphor, "Five Great Trees(?)" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲱⲙ) (1 Ke 64.28). What follows is an enumeration of five characteristics of

[1] The Greek term *tamieion*, however, is usually reserved in the *Kephalaia* for the regions of darkness (see *Kephalaia* Chapter 6). See also 2 Ps. 200.1. Why the compilers opted for the term "Limbs" rather than "Aeons," as the *shekinahs* are known in the Synaxeis codex (Funk, *personal communication*), remains a mystery.

[2] This may mean that each of the Twelve Wisdoms possesses its own set of Five Limbs/Storehouses, although the lacunae in the text obscure the precise relationship.

the Father which, unfortunately, the lacunose state of the text prevents us from completely identifying. All that can be determined for certain from *Chapter 21* is the following list 1) light, 2) pleasant odour, 3) living voice of …, 4) …-ness, and 5) great … (1Ke 64.29–65.2). There is, however, a striking parallel between this passage and a section of the Mandaean *Right-Ginza*, which characterizes the "King of Light" as possessing five qualities: 1) light, 2) fragrance, 3) sweetness of voice, 4) potency of voice, and 5) beauty.[3]

It is unclear whether or not these five qualities are related to the Five Vital Powers found in a Middle Persian fragment attributed to the *Shabuhragan* by Hutter[4] and discussed by Polotsky[5] from Sogdian fragment M 14, which list 1) life, 2) power, 3) light, 4) beauty, and 5) fragrance as five qualities possessed by the soul,[6] although there is some superficial resemblance. Nevertheless, *Chapter 21* does make clear that the *Kephalaia* compilers conceived of the Father of Greatness as a being with *five* characteristics, although this characterization is a formulation that appears to be at odds with other evidence indicating that the Father was known (perhaps even canonically) as the "Four-faced God."

The epithet "Four-faced" (τετραπρόσωπος) is known from Greek abjuration formulae (Seven Chapters 3.59, Long Formula 1461C.14)[7] and the Manichaean *Psalm-Book* (ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲇⲧⲟⲩϩⲟ) (2Ps. 191.12; 186.9–12), although Merkelbach[8] made a rather forced attempt to see the same set of four qualities expressed in *Kephalaia Chapter 4 "On the Four Great Days …," Chapter 20 "The Chapter on the Name of the Fathers,"* and *Chapter 7 "The Seventh, on the Five Fathers."* At any rate, the tetrad *is* relatively well attested in Iranian, Turkish, and Chinese Manichaean sources from the East as representing 1) divinity, 2) light, 3) power, and 4) wisdom (see Iranian: M 176, M 31, M 324; Turkish: T II D 162; Chinese: *Hymnscroll*).[9][10] Frequently, however, the abjuration formulae

[3] See Foerster, *Gnosis*, 150.

[4] M 7983 = Boyce y 52 [75]; Hutter, *Manis kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte*, 130–134.

[5] There is some confusion about the last two elements. See "Manichäische Studien," 263f. (= *Collected Papers*, 664f.)

[6] See Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, 78.

[7] Adam, *Texte zum Manichäismus*, 97.

[8] *Mani und sein Religionssystem*, 39–50.

[9] Tsui Chi, "Mo Ni Chiao Hsia Pu Tsan: 'The Lower (Second?) Section of the Manichaean Hymns,'" 189.

[10] See Williams Jackson, "The Fourfold Aspect of the Supreme Being in Manichaeism," 11–12, although I am sceptical, however, that the "four bright seals" of love, faith, fear, and wisdom from the Turkish confessional text *Xuāstuānīft* represent the same

are the only sources cited for the presence of this concept in Western Manichaean tradition.[11] Samuel Lieu, in his article on the Greek abjuration formulae, states that another potential occurrence of this tetrad is to be found in the "Prayer of the Emanations" from Kellis.[12] In this case, however, the hymnist seeks to glorify the 1) power, 2) glory, 3) light, 4) word, *and* 5) majesty of the Father.[13]

According to Williams Jackson, Mani viewed this four-fold nature of divinity as a "cardinal tenet"[14] of Manichaeism, citing a passage from al-Nadīm in which Mani appears to command his followers to believe in the "Four Greatnesses" of divinity, light, power, and wisdom.[15] Similar statements were made by Widengren[16] and Asmussen who characterized the notion of the "four-fold God" as "the essence and synopsis of the whole Manichaean system."[17] In addition, Williams Jackson made allusion to "a somewhat similar fourfold division" described by Theodore bar Khonai, who lists the "four elements" as *ašwqr*, *pršwqr*, *zwqr*, and *zrwn* (ܐܫܘܩܪ ܦܪܫܘܩܪ ܙܘܩܪ ܙܪܘܢ) which appear to be Syriac transcriptions of Iranian terms.[18] These were interpreted by Zaehner to represent Zurvanite ideas of cosmic conception, birth, decline, and rebirth.[19] This apparent similarity, however, became one of the key components of the thesis of Manichaeism's Iranian origins and, as such, was used by Cumont to justify the statement that "l'origine première du système doive être cherchée dans le mazdéisme zervaniste, répandu en Mésopotamie,"[20] in spite of the fact that Theodore himself makes no connection between a Zurvanite and Manichaean tetrad. Considering that Theodore seems to have been aware of the Zurvanite tetrad, this seems like a significant oversight if, as Williams Jackson suggests, the tetrad constituted a "cardinal tenet" of Manichaean doctrine

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series associated with the Father. For a more recent discussion of the Iranian origins of this series, see Van Tongerloo, "The Father of Greatness," 336–339.

[11] See Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, 19 n. 1; Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, 191 n. 12; Richter, *Die Herakleides-Psalmen*, 67 n. 36b.

[12] "An Early Byzantine Formula for the Renunciation of Manichaeism," in *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East*, 273.

[13] See Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 195–196.

[14] "Fourfold Aspect," 16.

[15] "Fourfold Aspect," 13.

[16] *Mani and Manichaeism*, 46.

[17] *Xuāstuānīft: Studies in Manichaeism*, 220.

[18] See Williams Jackson, "Fourfold Aspect," 15 n. 17.

[19] *Zurvan: A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, 224.

[20] Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme, I.*, 8 n. 2.

and Theodore wanted to "shame" the Manichaeans through an exposé of their "perverse" doctrines. Surely such a scandalous inclusion of a Zurvanite motif would have fuelled the Syriac polemicist's contempt for Mani's followers.

In light of the fact that evidence continues to mount pointing towards the principally Judaeo-Christian origins of Manichaeism,[21] the "four-faced" God is perhaps better understood as a Zurvanite flourish or accommodation. In Mazdaean theology, the god Ohrmizd was conceived as part of a divine tetrad along with time, space, and religion, although the incorporation of this tetrad into "orthodox" Mazdaeism may have been a response to Zurvanite speculations.[22] Williams Jackson admitted, however, that he could really find only one equivalency between the Manichaean and Zurvanite tetrads,[23] and besides, Zaehner identified the Zurvanite tetrad as *time*, *space*, wisdom, and power,[24] which differs markedly from Manichaean attestations. Zaehner also suggested that Zurvanite theology in general was based on an elaborate series of tetrads.[25] Thus, it is conceivable that the particularly Manichaean emphasis on *five* was meant to counter this pattern. Even an Iranist such as Schaeder suggested that Iranian elements in Manichaeism were a result of *Umstilisierung* rather than deliberate borrowing or influence.[26] More recently P.O. Skjaervø (following Böhlig) has pointed out that, since the basic formulation of Mani's system is obviously Christian, when he wanted to "dress this myth in Zoroastrian garb" he had little choice but to represent figures such as the Father and the First Man by Zurvan and Ohrmizd.[27] Mere terminological similarities say nothing about origins and derivations, especially at a time when Zoroastrian traditions were themselves in such a state of flux. As Skjaervø succinctly states: "On no account … can it be said that the Zurvanite myth was part of Mani's system, only the name of Zurwān was."[28]

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[21] As BeDuhn has recently stated, Manichaeism ought to be viewed as a "legitimate, independent, oriental" stream of early Christianity ("A War of Words," 81).

[22] See Duchesne-Guillemin, "L'Église sassanide et le mazdéisme," 10.

[23] "Fourfold Aspect," 15 n. 17.

[24] *Zurvan*, 219.

[25] *Zurvan*, 229–230.

[26] "Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems," 47.

[27] "Iranian Elements in Manichaeism: A Comparative Approach," 271.

[28] "Iranian Elements," 272.

As such, *Kephalaia* Chapter 21 may represent an attempt by the compilers to distance their discourse from a motif that may have appeared too "Iranian," no longer fit their developing vision of how important divinities should be understood and described, or simply had lost its meaning. If Mani himself employed such an epithet for the Father of Greatness, then this would be a striking instance of the *Kephalaia* compilers rejecting a canonical formulation in favour of one that was seen as more compatible with their systematization efforts.[29] Ultimately, the compilers appear to have been quite determined to assert as a general principle the fact that Manichaean divinities, even the Father of Greatness, ought to be conceived as possessing five qualities.[30] As we shall see, this conception of the highest divinity, in turn, fits with their wider efforts at the pentadization of other cosmogonic, ethical, ecclesiological, and soteriological themes so evident in the first volume of *Kephalaia.*

The Many Sons of Man

The series of beings known to the *Kephalaia* primarily as the "Five Sons of First Man" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ) is somewhat problematic due, in part, to the variety of alias under which it was known. Also known as the Five "Elements" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲱⲛ) (1 Ke 43.2), these "Five Sons" (ܒܢܝ ܐܒܗܬܐ) are characterized by Theodore bar Khonai as the "Five Shining Gods" (ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ ܒܢܝ̈ܢ),[31] and though not

[29] Even Merkelbach is forced to admit that certain *Kephalaia* chapters seem to expand the tetrad into a pentad (*Mani*, 45), although he offers no explanation.

[30] Interestingly, a Coptic Manichaean text from Kellis (T. Kell. Copt. 1) describes how the "Third Messenger" reflects the "five properties (σχήματα) of the Father" (see *Kellis Literary Texts I*, 2).

[31] They are also called "Sons of Light" (ܒܢܝ ܢܘܗܪܐ) (*Hypatius*, 81.43 [Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 234]) and "Shining Sons" (ܒܢܝ ܢܗܝܪ) by Ephraim (*Hypatius*, 101.5–24 [Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 235]). Such an expression may lie behind the Coptic formulation "Five Splendours of the Son of Man" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲙⲛⲡⲣ̈ⲓⲉ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲱ[ⲙ]ⲉ) (1 Ke 89.8–9). It seemed much more likely to Burkitt that Jesus, to whom the same term "splendour" is also applied, should be styled "Jesus the Living" or "Life-giving." This, of course, is not how Manichaean translators understood the term, since it is eminently clear that the "Five Sons/Elements" of early Manichaean tradition were understood in Coptic as ⲡⲣ̈ⲓⲉ—"shining forth." While it is certainly possible that Manichaean translators misunderstood such a key technical term (see Franzmann, "Syriac-Coptic Bilinguals," 118–119), it seems unlikely. It is far more probably that the basic elements of the light-realm, not to mention Jesus (one of its key emissaries), were

explicitly enumerated in his account, are known from Coptic and other sources[32] as representing 1) Living Air (ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ), 2) Wind (ⲡⲧⲏⲩ), 3) Light (ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲏⲉ), 4) Water (ⲡⲙⲁⲩ), and 5) Fire (ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ). As the essence of soul and the antithesis of matter,[33] the Five Sons/Elements play a central role in the Manichaean conception of redemption, since they constitute the luminous essence that must be liberated through Manichaean ascetic and liturgical practice. In this way, they form the most direct link between Manichaean myth and praxis.

Outside of the *Kephalaia* there are surprisingly few explicit references (other than those mentioned above) to the Five Sons of First Man, the Five Elements, or the Five Intellectuals in other edited Manichaean Coptic texts—although there are a small number of implicit references (2 Ps. 12.25; 36.22), including an enumeration of each element in a "Psalm of the Wanderers" (2 Ps. 137.20–37). In itself, this is not surprising given the liturgical and hagiographical nature of edited texts such as the *Psalm-Book* and the *Homilies*. One notable exception, however, can be found in "Bema Psalm 223," where the Father's "strong son" (ⲙⲡⲉϥ[ϣⲏ]ⲣⲉ ⲛϫⲱⲣⲉ) (2 Ps. 10.7) produces "a Virgin equipped with Five Powers" (ⲛⲧⲉϥ[ⲡⲁ]ⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲥⲧⲏϣ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲁⲙ) (2 Ps. 10.8) in order to fight the forces of darkness. This reference not only provides an additional synonym for the Five Sons/Elements, but somewhat surprisingly attributes them to a mysterious virgin-figure, who appears to act as a kind of consort or twin to First Man.

On the surface, it is difficult to see why these light-substances should have been described as "sons" at all, since functionally, the "Five Sons" constitute the "armour" or "garments" (1 Ke 69.18; 262.25) put on by First Man before going out to engage the powers of darkness.[34] Perhaps this was simply a result of conventions of language regularly employed

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described as entities which reflect their origin by emanating their essence—in other words, they *shine*.

[32] The canonical order of these elements seems to have been, at least for polemicists, a bit of a problem. Ephraim, for instance, makes reference to air (ܐܘܪ) (*Hypatius*, 31.11 [Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 260–261]), light (ܢܘܗܪܐ), wind (ܪܘܚܐ), water (ܡܝܐ), and fire (ܢܘܪܐ) (*Hypatius*, 101.5–24 [Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 235]), while the *Acta Archelai* gives the somewhat idiosyncratic listing of "wind, light, water, fire, and matter (*sic*!)" (ἄνεμος, φῶς, ὕδωρ, πῦρ, ὕλη) (Beeson), although "matter" (ὕλη) is usually amended by scholars to "air" (ἀήρ) (See *Acta Archelai* [Vermes/Lieu], 47 n. 40; see also 2 Ps. 137.36).

[33] Polotsky, "Manichäismus," 115.

[34] Theodore bar Khonai even records a Syriac pun on the words for "shining" (ܙܗܪܐ) and "armour" (ܙܝܪܐ) (Reeves, "Citations from Ephrem," 269 n. 9).

by Manichaeans, whereby a series of secondary entities emanated by or associated with another primary being are called "sons."[35] Such a tendency is, in fact, borne out by the testimony of Ephraim, who records the way in which the expressions "sons of Light" (ܒܢܝ ܢܘܗܪܐ) and "sons of Darkness" (ܒܢܝ ܚܫܘܟܐ)[36] formed part of early Manichaean discourse.

The terminological situation becomes more complex in the *Kephalaia*, since the compilers made use of a number of other co-referential metaphors for the "Five Sons of First Man," namely the "Five Garments" (ϯϵ ⲛϩⲃⲥⲱ) as in *Chapter 70 "On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos"* (1 Ke 69.18),[37] as well as the "Five Luminous Gods" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲣⲓ[ⲱ]ⲩ) from *Chapter 38 "On the Light-Mind, the Apostles, and the Saints"* (1 Ke 95.16), and the "Five Shining Men" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲙⲛⲡⲣⲏϵ) (1 Ke 85.34; 88.15; 89.8). While the concept of the Elements as "garments" is not attested in known canonical traditions, the epithets "Five Luminous Gods" and "Five Shining Men" are presumably a reflection of the "Five Shining Gods" (ܚܡܫ ܐܠܗ̈ ܙܝܘܢܝ) known from Theodore bar Khonai.

One co-referential series in particular, however, that seems to have caused a great deal of confusion for both ancient and modern commentators is the grouping known as the "Five Intellectuals" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲉⲣⲟⲛ). While Iain Gardner, in his *Kephalaia* "Indices" justifiably lists the Five Limbs under the Five Intellectuals,[38] both the *Kephalaia* and the *Psalm-Book* typically associated the Intellectuals with the Five Elements, a fact that has already been noted by Van Lindt in his study of Coptic Manichaean terminology.[39] For instance, in *Chapter 2 "The Second, on the Parable of the Tree,"* the "intellectuals" that "clothe" the body of the Column of Glory/Perfect Man are clearly equated with the

[35] This, in turn, no doubt reflects Syriac usage of the term *bar* (ܒܪ), which communicates not only the idea of son-ship, but also of "close relation, subjection, or similarity" (Payne-Smith, 53a). As for their original Syriac name—*zīwānā* (ܙܝܘܢܐ), "brilliant, or shining"—Burkitt offered the unlikely suggestion that this is actually an adaptation of the Middle-Iranian term *zywyn'g*, meaning "life-giver" (*Religion of the Manichees*, 111).

[36] Reeves, "Citations from Ephraim," 234 [#28].

[37] See also *Chapter 109 "On the Fifty Lord's Days"* (1 Ke 262.25), and *Chapter 54 "On the Quality of the Garments"* (1 Ke 131.20).

[38] The Limbs are after all "intellectual" properties. See Gardner, *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 297.

[39] *Names of Manichaean Mythological Figures*, 63–64.

"Elements of Light" (1 Ke 20.1–3).[40] This identification can be corroborated by a "Psalm of the Wanderers" which states that the "Five Intellectuals are the Sons of First Man" (2 Ps. 161.25). Nevertheless, there appears to have been a certain degree of ambiguity as to the identity of the Intellectuals, since in *Chapter 31*, the Five Limbs were also associated with the preparatory activities of First Man (see below). As such, the exact equations between concepts such as the Five Elements, the Five Limbs, and the Five Intellectuals seem to have been complex and may not have been any clearer to the compilers than they are to us.

On the abstract level, however, the Sons/Elements, collectively known as the "Living Soul," are "a property shared by all objects"[41] within the cosmos and serve as an ontological link between the Father of Greatness and his children. This can be established by interpreting the testimony of Theodore bar Khonai, who records that when the Father sought to defend his kingdom from the dark invasion, he says, "I *myself* will go" (ܒܢܦܫܝ, literally, "by means of my own soul"). As a result, First Man, whom he calls upon, along with the Five Elements, can be interpreted as the "soul" of the Father sent into battle and eventually captured by the powers of darkness. The Manichaean, in turn, is enjoined to "remember" this imprisonment of the Elements, or Living Soul, and to work for their/its liberation.[42] Once this is recognized, the Manichaean may then become, to use BeDuhn's evocative term, "a cog" in the great cosmic machinery of light-liberation.[43] According to the *Cologne Mani Codex*, the notion of the suffering Living Soul was perceived by Mani at an early age when he heard the cries and lamentations of plants as they were harvested from his sectarian community's vegetable garden (*CMC* 6–10). This means that, according to Manichaean hagiography at least, the plight of the Living Soul constituted one of Mani's earliest insights into the true nature of the world around him.

Yet even in spite of the obvious importance of the "Five Sons of First Man" as a concept within Manichaeism generally, the *Kephalaia*

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[40] Compare Chapter 72 in which the "great garment" of the Pillar of Glory/Perfect Man" is made up of Five Intellectuals (1 Ke 177.3). The fact that the Intellectuals are called a "garment" also supports their identification with the Five Elements.

[41] BeDuhn, *Manichaean Body*, 72.

[42] BeDuhn, *Manichaean Body*, 73.

[43] *Manichaean Body*, 76.

compilers seem to have been primarily interested in using them for the formulation of other rhetorically or doctrinally significant number patterns. For instance, according to *Chapter 3 "The Interpretation of Happiness, Wisdom, and Power,"* these three thematic qualities are said to exist at five levels of divine being, from 1) the Father, through the light-vehicles of 2) Sun and 3) Moon, to 4) the Elements and 5) the Holy Church. At the level of the Elements, "happiness" is said to be constituted by the Column of Glory/Perfect Man, the cosmic apparatus for light-liberation, while the Five Sons of the Living Spirit constitute "wisdom." At the same level, however, "power" is manifested by the Five Sons of First Man, who are "folded into the Universe" (1 Ke 24.25).

Being/Context	*Happiness*	*Wisdom*	*Power*
Father	Father	Great Spirit	rich gods & angels/aeon
Sun	Living Spirit	Mother of Life	rich gods & angels
Moon	Mind (of Father)	Virgin of Light	rich gods & angels
Elements	Column of Glory	*5 Sons of Living Spirit*	*5 Sons of First Man*
Church	Apostle of Light	Leaders & Teachers	Elect, Virgins, Ascetics, Catechumens

Similarly, in *Chapter 4 "On the Four Great Days, which have come out from one another; along with the Four Nights,"* the twelve hours of the third day are calculated by adding the Five Sons of First Man and the Five Sons of the Living Spirit to Call and Response (1 Ke 25.25–30).

Four Days	*Dwelling*	*Hours*
1) Father	Aeon	12 rich gods
2) Third Messenger	Ship of Light	12 virgins
3) Column	(Cosmos)	*5 Sons* + *5 Sons* + Call &Response
4) Jesus the Splendour	Church	12 Wisdoms

An analogous exegetical manoeuvre occurs in *Chapter 10 "On the Meaning of the Fourteen [Great] Aeons about which Sethel spoke in [his] Prayer."* In this context, the Five Elements/Sons are added to Call and Response to form a first set of seven, while the Five Sons of the Living Spirit are added to the Living Spirit and First Man to form a second set of seven. These, Mani is made to explain, constitute the fourteen "blessings" (ⲛⲥ[ⲙⲁⲙⲉ]) (1 Ke 43.8) or "persons" (ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲥ[ⲱⲡⲟⲛ]) (1 Ke 43.9) through which the world was established.

*5 Elements/Sons** + Call &Response	*5 Sons of Living Spirit** + Living Spirit & First Man
(Living Air)	(Keeper of Splendour)
(Wind)	(King of Honour)
(Light)	(King of Glory)
(Water)	(Adamas)
(Fire)	(Porter)
Call	Living Spirit
Response	First Man

*Individual elements and sons not explicitly named in chapter.

Also, the Five Sons of First Man are assigned by *Chapter 16 "[On the Five] Greatnesses which have [come] out against the Darkness"* to the "Second Greatness," along with Mother of Life and First Man (1 Ke 49.19–23):

	Part I	*Part II (fragmentary)*	*Part III*
First Greatness	Father	…	First Man *son of king*
Second Greatness	Mother of Life Fist Man *5 Sons of First Man*	…	Living Spirit *judge*
Third Greatness	Beloved of Lights Great Builder Living Spirit *5 Sons of Living Spirit*	…	Third Ambassador *king*
Fourth Greatness	Third Ambassador Column of Glory Powers of Light	…	Jesus the Splendour *up-rooter of trees*
Fifth Greatness	Jesus the Splendor All his Powers	…	Call & Response *butter in milk*

Finally, in *Chapter 39 "On the Three Days and the Two Deaths,"* the "First Death" is marked by the mixture of Darkness and the Five Sons (1 Ke 102.36–103.2).

3 Days & 2 Deaths	*Events*
1st day	First Man—Living Spirit—Ambassador
2nd day	New Aeon
3rd day	Father reveals himself
1st death	Mixture of Darkness and 5 Sons of First Man
2nd death	Casting out of sinful blasphemers

In this way, even in spite of obvious terminological problems, the Five Sons/Elements were seen more as a convenient rhetorical tool than a concept that required extended commentary and clarification.

What was it, however, that might have led to Mani's equation of the suffering light-soul to a concept of *five* elements in the first place? Throughout antiquity, against the canonical Empedoclean doctrine of four elements, there was an alternate theory of five elements as the basic building-blocks of the cosmos.[44] While it is unclear who may have originated the idea (i.e., pre-Socratics such as Pherecydes of Syros, Pythagoras, or Philolaus, although Mattéi suggests that Philolaus expounded this doctrine),[45] it seems to have taken root in the early Academy and influenced Aristotle and post-Aristotelian philosophy well into Late Antiquity.[46] Eventually, the *quintessence*, as it were, or fifth element, came to be recognized as the ethereal substance of the soul and eventually as that of the heavenly sphere and the stars.[47] As for how such a concept might have entered Mani's immediate environment, a doctrine of five elements seems to have played an important role in the cosmogonic teaching of Syriac sage, Bardaisan of Edessa, and his school. Ephraim the Syrian (in the fourth century CE) called Bardaisan the "teacher of Mani," influencing him particularly in the realm of cosmology.[48] Burkitt accepted Ephraim's analysis that Mani derived at least some of his ideas from Bardaisan, but cautions that Mani and Bardaisan, although similar on certain points, hold very different points of view.[49] Drijvers has also emphasized the difference between the two.[50] Polotsky, in the footnotes to his edition, suggested that there is a veiled allusion to Marcion and/or Bardaisan as precursors to Mani in the *Kephalaia*'s "Introduction" (1 Ke 13.30 ff.). But, as with so many of the most interesting thinkers from Late Antiquity, we are forced to rely largely on fragments and secondary testimony for information about Bardaisan's teaching, some of which may actually be drawn from his followers. Nevertheless, later Syriac tradition attributes to Bardaisan the doctrine that the world came to be from the mixture of five ele-

[44] Moraux, "Quinta essentia," 1171.
[45] *L'Étrange et le simulacre*, 362.
[46] Moraux, 1196 ff.
[47] Moraux, 1213 ff.
[48] Drijvers, *Bardaiṣan of Edessa*, 225.
[49] *Religion of the Manichees*, 78–79.
[50] "Mani und Bardaisan," 469.

ments: fire, wind, water, light, and darkness.[51] But, as Drijvers points out, Bardaisan's cosmological ideas only came under attack in the wake of Manichaeism.[52] Thus, there may have been some desire on the part of later polemicists and heresiologists to overemphasize the role played by Bardaisanean ideas in the formation of Manichaeism. As such, while it is at least possible that Mani drew or adapted a doctrine of five elements from Bardaisan (however reluctantly), the presence of such a doctrine, and the importance of the fifth element as the substance of the soul (not found in Bardaisan), is sufficiently attested in philosophical traditions from Late Antiquity to make other derivations possible.

Cosmic Parallelism

Two chapters in particular demonstrate the *Kephalaia* compilers' interest in the correspondence between the macrocosm and the microcosm: *Chapter 38 "On the Light-Mind, the Apostles, and the Saints,"* and *Chapter 70 "On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos."* In *Chapter 38* especially, five-part patterns are omnipresent in that they provide both the literary as well as the theological framework through which this theme is presented. As such, the compilers draw on three canonical pentads, namely the "Five Sons of the Living Spirit,"[53] the "Five Limbs,"[54] and the "Five Virtues," to communicate their message.

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[51] See the table of accounts from Barhadbeshabba (6th cent. CE), Moses bar Kepha (10th cent. CE), Iwannis of Dara (9th cent. CE), and Theodore bar Khonai (8th cent. CE) provided by Drijvers in *Bardaiṣan*, 98–103.

[52] *Bardaiṣan*, 96.

[53] According to Theodore bar Khonai, in response to the capture of First Man, the Father of Greatness called out a second triad, made up of "Beloved of Lights" (ܚܒܝܒ ܢܗܝܪܐ), "Great Builder" (ܐܒܐ ܕ), and the "Living Spirit" (ܪܘܚܐ ܚܝܐ). Like First Man (the third being of the first emanation), Living Spirit calls upon "Five Sons" who aid in the slaughter of the Archons and the construction of the cosmos, specifically the "Ten Heavens" and the "Eight Earths." These Five Sons are called "Ornament (or Keeper) of Splendour" (ܙܝܘܐ ܢܛܪ), "Great King of Honour" (ܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܝܩܪܐ), "Adamos (*sic* = Adamas) of Light" (ܐܕܡܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ), "King of Glory" (ܡܠܟ ܫܒܚܐ), and "Porter" (ܦܬܚܐ). Personally, I prefer the use of English equivalents for these names, since the use of Latin terminology, such as *Splenditenens*, *Rex honoris*, etc., so frequently used in studies of Manichaean myth, creates the false impression that such terms are somehow more original or accurate when in actual fact they are relatively late.

[54] As we have seen, the most important five-part series in the whole of Manichaean discourse is what came to be known in the Graeco-Coptic tradition as the "Five Limbs" (ϯογ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ). They are usually enumerated as 1) Mind, 2) Thought, 3) Insight, 4) Counsel, and 5) Consideration, although how to accurately translate these terms has

On the rhetorical level, the central importance of five-part patterning to *Chapter 38* is made evident by its initial literary frame, since in an effort to have Mani address the issue of theodicy, the unnamed disciple is made to pose a series of five questions:

> Again at one occasion, a disciple questioned the [Apostle], / saying to him: You have told us that the Light-Mind / is that which comes and supports the saints. [You have told] / us therefore that even though it is one of the gods … / … many gods exist in it. You have told / us also that at the time it enters into [the body] / of the flesh and binds the Old Man with his *Five Counsels*, / setting up its *Five Counsels* on him in the *Five Limbs* / [of his] body. Where is it [though], since the Old Man is bound in the / body? For, I (can) see that rebellions occur in its / bond from time to time. Secondly, I ask / you: If indeed it is a great god, unchanging and / immeasurable, how does it come to appear in the smallness of the / body?
>
> The third thing that I want you to tell / me [is this: If(?)] the Mind is holy and pure, / [how did it come to be joined to(?)] the impurity of this body? /
>
> Fourthly, if truly, the Light-Mind is present in [the] / saints, why does its likeness not appear to us as it / is? The fifth thing: I want / you to tell me (about) and explain your apostleship. / For, behold, it is not clear to me, since they oppress / you and persecute you in the world. / I implore you that you persuade me about these things which I have asked you (1 Ke 89.21–90.7).

Basically, what the disciple wants to know is how a great and noble divine power such as the Light-Mind can inhabit a small and defiled

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been the subject of perennial debate within Manichaean studies. The Syriac version of the series ܪܥܝܢܐ ܪܥܬܥܣܐ ܪܚܝܢܐ ܪܟܪܗ ܪܥܡ (Theodore bar Khonai 313.17 [Scher]) is equivalent to the Greek terms νοῦς, ἔννοια, φρόνησις, ἐνθύμησις, λογισμός, which were then rendered into Latin as *mens, sensus, prudentia, intellectus, cogitatio* (*Acta Archelai*, 10 [Beeson, 15.11/25]). In Coptic the series is ⲛⲟⲩⲥ, ⲙⲉⲩⲉ, ⲥⲃⲱ, ⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ, ⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ. Originally, these are what Theodore identifies as the Five *shekinahs* (ⲥⲏⲙ ⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲉ) (Theodore bar Khonai 313.16 [Scher]). In Syriac, the word ܪܥܬܥܣ represents the "dwelling-place" or "presence" of divinity, as in a temple or shrine (Payne-Smith, 576b). In Theodore's account, the ethereal *shekinahs* of the Father are contrasted with the more concrete "worlds" (حلم) of the King of Darkness. Why the *shekinahs* were understood as "Limbs" (ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ) by the compilers remains a bit of a puzzle, since when associated with the Father of Greatness they would be more properly understood as "aeons" (ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ). This is, in fact, precisely how they are characterized in the Coptic version of Mani's *Living Gospel* (Funk, *personal communication*). This rendering, however, does not seem to have greatly influenced the *Kephalaia* tradition, which opted for the occasional use of ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ and the more regular use of ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ. It does seem, however, that al-Nadīm provides evidence that even in Syriac tradition they may have already been characterized as "Limbs" (*Fihrist*, 768 [Dodge]).

body. Moreover, if this is indeed the case why does Sin[55] (i.e., "rebellion") persist? These two basic questions, however, are extended (somewhat artificially perhaps) into a five-part schema:

> Question i) Where is the Light-Mind in the body, if there are rebellions?
> Question ii) How can this great god come into a small body?
> Question iii) How can the pure Mind occupy the defiled body?
> Question iv) If the Light-Mind exists in the saints, why don't we see his likeness?
> Question v) What is the nature of your apostolate, if you are persecuted?

In response, Mani is made to begin his discourse with an analogy[56] in five parts. The first part of the analogy suggests that the cosmos (metaphorically understood as "Error" [ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ]) is constructed like a human body (1 Ke 90.20–22). Its external aspects are described in descending order from head to feet (1 Ke 90.22–33), while its internal aspects are described from interior to exterior, from heart to skin (1 Ke 91.1–5), followed by several characteristics made unclear by lacunae in the text (1 Ke 91.5–13). According to the second part of the analogy, the soul of the cosmos is represented by the Five Sons of the Living Spirit (the Keeper of Splendor, the King of Honour, the Adamas of Light, the King of Glory, and the Porter), who are characterized as "Five Sleepless Watchers" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ ⲛⲁⲧⲛⲕⲁⲧⲉ) (1 Ke 91.19) and are related to the Five Limbs (Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, Consideration) (1 Ke 91.14–33). To these two groups of five is added a sixth element in the form of a pair: "call and response" (ⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ / ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ) (1 Ke 92.2–3)—the dual values at the core of the Manichaean drama of salvation. Part three states that the Column of Glory represents the Light-Mind at the cosmic level (1 Ke 92.5–6), while part four recounts how the dark powers have rebelled in the watch districts of each of the Five Sons (1 Ke 92.12–93.15). Finally, the fifth part of the analogy describes how the Column of Glory (acting as a kind of Light-Mind for the cosmos) assists the Five Sons in suppressing the rebellions in their respective watch districts (93.16–94.16). By means of this analogy, Mani is made to set up the basic thesis of the discourse, namely that the Light-Mind is indeed present in the body in spite of the presence of sin, thereby answering the first of the disciple's questions.

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[55] In Manichaean discourse "Sin" is often a quasi-personified concept.

[56] Nagel characterized this as the "makrokosmisch-mikrokosmisch … Lagerallegorie" ("Anatomie des Menschen in gnostischer und manichäischer Sicht," 88).

This first part of the discourse is expressed using a series of five-fold structures that progressively integrate each part of the argument while consistently enumerating the five thematic elements in canonical order. The rhetorical repetition of five is meant to express the fundamental interconnectedness of all facets of Manichaean teaching and to reflect the quasi-scientific allure of Manichaean doctrines in Late Antiquity. The Elect, to whom this discourse is addressed, would have had no difficulty in accepting the Manichaean *logic* of this vivid cosmological narrative.

Mani, then, is made to continue with arguments in support of his position by shifting first to the microcosmic level of the body and second to the level of the community. By way of introduction, Mani answers the second of the disciples' five questions (i.e., How can such a great god dwell in a small body?) by stating that even though the gods are great and mighty (1 Ke 95.4), they are nevertheless bound within their proper places (1 Ke 95.4–9). Following this, Mani answers the third of the five questions (i.e., How can the pure Mind occupy the defiled body?) by describing the creation of the body (what Manichaeans term the "Old Man") by the agency of Sin. According to the Apostle of Light, Sin bound the Five Limbs in the body: *Mind* in bone, *Thought* in sinew, *Insight* in vein, *Counsel* in flesh, and *Consideration* in skin (1 Ke 95.13–19). The Light Mind, however, acts to free the Limbs from their bonds (1 Ke 96.8–21), and reestablish them in the Five Virtues of the "New Man," or redeemed individual. As such, Mind becomes *love*, Thought *faith*, Insight *perfection*, Counsel *patience*, and Consideration *wisdom* (1 Ke 96.25–97.6).

Once again the number five plays a crucial role in the elaboration of this highly structured portion of the discourse. The five-fold schema of the Limbs is enumerated again in the same canonical order (Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel and Consideration) in each of the three occurrences, which, in turn, reflect the three key points in the salvation narrative in which the Light-Mind plays a critically important role: imprisonment, liberation, and re-creation.

Sin bound LIMBS in the body,	*but LIGHT-MIND frees them*,	*and creates the NEW MAN.*
i) MIND in bone,	i) MIND from bone,	i) MIND is love
ii) THOUGHT in sinew,	ii) THOUGHT from sinew,	ii) THOUGHT is faith
iii) INSIGHT in vein,	iii) INSIGHT from vein,	iii) INSIGHT is perfection
iv) COUNSEL in flesh,	iv) COUNSEL from flesh,	iv) COUNSEL is patience
v) CONSIDERATION in skin.	v) CONSIDERATION from skin.	v) CONSIDERATION is wisdom

What follows is a discussion of the implications of Sin and adversity at the community level. Here Mani emphasizes that even though the Light-Mind is king of the New Man, Sin may still cause disruptions and lead to difficulties in the Manichaean church:[57]

> As long as the Limbs of Sin[58] are bound / in this way, Sin is contained. Even though the Light-Mind / [is] king, tribulation may still occur in the body from / time to time. Sometimes Sin rises / up in his Consideration and disturbs Counsel, and confuses / the Wisdom and the understanding of the man (1 Ke 97.23–28).

Each of the New Man's Five Limbs,[59] along with the Five Virtues attached to them, can be disturbed and disrupted by Sin, causing doubt in the believer and his or her possible departure from the church. In this case, however, the presence of the Light-Mind in the individual may be preserved by the members of the community, who attempt to "correct his wisdom" (1 Ke 97.33). Yet even the correction and rebuke of the community may not suffice to keep the Light-Mind active in the individual. Eventually, the Mind "(will) be dispersed from him and return to the Apostle who sent it" (1 Ke 99.13–14). This individual will become like "a bird plucked of its feathers" (1 Ke 99.17). Such statements are presumably meant to justify the loss of community members within the wider context of the persistent activity of sin in the cosmos.

Mani then goes on to restate the answers to the first three questions and respond to the fourth (i.e., If the Light-Mind exists in the saints, why don't we see his likeness?), by suggesting that the likeness of the Light-Mind cannot be known since it is not visible in the body (1 Ke 99.24). In addition, Mani re-enforces the macrocosmic/microcosmic parallelism at the core of his argumentation and re-assures the audience about the strong presence of the Light-Mind:

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[57] There is an intriguing correlation here with the *Cologne Mani Codex*. The actual title of this work is Περὶ τῆς γέννης τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, "On the Origin of His Body," i.e., of his church. Thus, there may be an implicit parallel understood here in *Chapter* 38 between the metaphor of the body at the cosmological, anthropological, and ecclesiological levels. See Cameron and Dewey, *The Cologne Mani Codex*, 2 and Henrichs and Koenen, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex*.

[58] Funk, A&C.

[59] In terms of rhetorical structure, it is interesting to note that in this instance, where the Five Limbs are invoked, there is an inversion of their order. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that from a "higher" cosmological perspective the Five Limbs descend in their value, while in the "lower" community context, they ascend. Also, Consideration is presumably weaker than Mind and, as such, would be attacked by sin first.

> Behold the strength and the efficiency of the Light-/Mind: how great it is on all the watch-towers of / the body. It stands in its encampment (and) shields / every impulse of the body from the attractions of Sin. / It fixes them, scatters them, (and) sets them right / according to his will (1 Ke 100.1–100.6).

In conclusion, Mani is made to respond to the fifth and final question by invoking, again in five parts, his own superior status as a prophet. He outlines how he has come into the world as a lone individual and has conquered with the word of God regions which cannot be conquered by force of arms. Even though the powers of the world have attempted to destroy his message, they have failed. In response to such adversities, Mani has freed his children and equipped them with superior wisdom. No one has accomplished more than him, except for Jesus himself (1 Ke 100.15–102.3). In this way, Mani is made to rhetorically re-enforce the superior value of his revelation in the face of persecutions by the worldly powers and thereby validate the chapter's thematic parallelism.

As we can see, *Chapter 38* uses an elaborate mixture of five-part theological and literary patterns to communicate its message of reassurance in the face of sin and evil and to emphasize the analogous relationship between the macrocosmic and microcosmic powers. In addition, it reinforces the intimate relationship between three canonical pentads: The Five Sons of the Living Spirit, the Five Limbs, and the Five Virtues. To Manichaeans accustomed to this way of thinking, *Chapter 38* no doubt offered an impressive presentation of a persistent theological and community problem.

A similar, although less extensive, analogy between body and cosmos is drawn in *Chapter 70 "On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos."* In this chapter, we are told that "the entire cosmos, above and below, resembles the human body" (1 Ke 169.29–30), with each component of the cosmos compared to a part of the body (1 Ke 170.2–16). Here too, as in *Chapter 38*, the Five Sons of the Living Spirit are described as "Watchers" (ⲙⲙⲁⲛⲣⲁⲓⲥ) (1 Ke 171.28) of five regions of the cosmos (1 Ke 170.21–171.15), called "encampments" (ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲏ) (1 Ke 170.21) or "watch-towers" (ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱϥⲉ) (1 Ke 171.11), while the Light-Mind guards five "encampments" of the body:

> [Just as] these *Five Watchers* are found in this great / [bond of these *Five] Encampments* that I have proclaimed / to you, so too is it with this body, which the / Elect bear. There are *Five* other *Encampments* / in it. The Light-Mind guards them along with the / New Man who is with him (1 Ke 171.28–172.4).

Also, as in *Chapter 38*, "tribulation" (ⲑⲗⲓⲫⲓⲥ) (1 Ke 171.11) is said to persist under the watch of the guardians (1 Ke 171.11–172.1). Finally, each of the Five Sons of the Living Spirit is compared to an Elect who, with the aid of the Light-Mind, is able to control the various parts of the body (1 Ke 172.3–20).

5 Sons of the Living Spirit	*who rule*	*are like Elect who*
Keeper of Splendour	First Three Heavens	rules face
King of Honour	Next Seven Heavens	rules heart
Adamas	Firmament to Four Earths	rules chest
King of Glory	Three Wheels & Three Earths	rules stomach
Porter	Great Earth & Four Fixtures	rules feet

In this way it can be seen that, in two different chapters (*Chapters 38* and *70*), the *Kephalaia* compilers sought to emphasize the correspondence between the cosmos and the human form—a concept essential to the Manichaean worldview. This was done to reassure the community that parallel processes of rebellion and divine suppression are at work at both levels of being. In this way, readers could imagine their own bodies as encapsulating the cosmic struggle against the powers of darkness.

Fathers of Greatness

One favourite activity of the *Kephalaia* compilers that speaks to their deliberate efforts at *pentadic redaction* is the grouping of beings from the light-realm into series known either as the "Five Fathers" or the "Five Greatnesses." The first major discussion of this theme can be found in the work as early as *Chapter 7 "The Seventh, on the Five Fathers,"* where the compiler took the unusual step of numerically identifying the placement of the chapter in its title.[60] In this chapter, Mani is made to explain that the Five Fathers have their origin in the Father of Greatness and that all have shared in the victory over the powers of darkness. Each of the Five Fathers is named, along with three of their emanations:

[60] This seems to occur in only one other chapter in 1 Ke—*Chapter 2*, and apparently not at all in 2 Ke (see Funk, "Reconstruction," 158–159).

5 Fathers	*1st Emanation*	*2nd Emanation*	*3rd Emanation*
1st Father of Greatness	Great Spirit/Mother	Beloved of Lights	Third Messenger[61]
2nd Third Messenger	Column of Glory	Jesus the Splendour	Virgin of Light
3rd Jesus the Splendour	Light-Mind	Great Judge	Youth
4th Light-Mind	Apostle of Light	Twin	Light-Form
5th Light-Form	Victory-Angel	Garment-Angel	Crown-Angel

Essentially, what this chapter presents is a five-part ontology of salvation. These Five Fathers represent the five ontological levels at which the work of salvation takes place: 1) the pre-cosmic context of the Light-realm (Father of Greatness), 2) the cosmic context of creation and the defeat of the Archons (Third Messenger), 3) the eschatological context of human history, judgement, and redemption (Jesus the Splendour), 4) the prophetological context of revelation and apostleship (Light Mind), and 5) the ethical and ecclesiological context of the Holy Church (Light-Form).

Whereas the canonical version of the myth, as known from Theodore bar Khonai, contains three series of emanations,[62] the compilers of *Chapter 7* extend this canonical formulation to a five stage process of salvation, with three emanations occurring at each stage. Moreover, each stage moves towards a progressive focalization of the myth from the generalized, pre-cosmic context of the Father of Greatness down to the specific context of the individual Manichaean who has received the Light-Form. For example, *stage one* of salvation occurs at the broad, pre-cosmic level where the three "canonical" emanations occur out of the Father of Greatness.[63] This establishes the transcendent framework of salvation. *Stage two* brings into focus the three components of the Third Messenger, the third canonical emanation, who provides the means by which salvation can be achieved by human beings. *Stage three* enumerates three hypostases of Jesus the Splendour, the main intermediary from the third emanation, who acts not only as enlightener and bringer of the Light-Mind, but as eschatological judge as well. *Stage four* speci-

[61] The Third Messenger was prematurely identified as the "Second Father" by the redactor in the list of the Father of Greatness' three emanations (1 Ke 34.33).

[62] This, of course, cannot be verified since Theodore's account of the myth breaks off after Jesus the Splendour's encounter with Adam.

[63] It is important to keep in mind the role of synonymy in early Manichaean discourse. Even though three beings are emanated in each of the three canonical emanations, only one is named here as representative. Even though the Manichaean myth presents a multiplicity of different beings, in many instances they may be understood as diverse manifestations and hypostases of an original triad.

fies the three principal ways in which the Light-Mind, a main hypostasis of Jesus the Splendour, aids humanity. Finally, *stage five* enumerates the three gifts gained by the individual once he or she has received the Light-Form.

Chapter 20, again with the atypical title of "*The Chapter on the Name of the Fathers*," presents a similar arrangement of five mythological figures. In this chapter, Mani is made to quiz his disciples about why the Father is called "Father of Greatness" (1 Ke 63.23–24). After their stereotypical plea of ignorance, Mani reveals that the Father of Greatness is so-called because he dwells in the Great Earth, where he is surrounded by all his angels and divine companions (1 Ke 63.28–33). The discourse then turns to identifying the "greatness" of four other beings that are also called "Father." The Third Messenger's greatness is the "Ship of the Living Fire," i.e., the Sun, while Jesus the Splendour's greatness is the "Ship of the Living Water," i.e., the Moon. The Column of Glory's greatness has something to do with "Five Gods," while the greatness of the Light-Mind is identified as the Holy Church (1 Ke 63.34–64.10). This list of Five Fathers from *Chapter 20*, however, is different from the list found in *Chapter 7*:

Chapter 7: 5 Fathers	*Chapter 20: 5 Fathers*
Father of Greatness	Father of Greatness
Third Messenger	Third Messenger
Jesus the Splendour	Jesus the Splendour
Light-Mind	*Column of Glory*
Light-Form	Light-Mind

Whereas *Chapter 7* enumerates a soteriological sequence in which the Light-Form is given a central role at the community level, the account from *Chapter 20* inserts the Column of Glory, making no mention of the Light-Form. The aim of *Chapter 20*, however, although also soteriological in character, seems to be to establish the location of each of the Five Fathers at one of the five principal stopping points of the Manichaean cosmic journey of salvation: from the ritual activity of the Holy Church (Light Mind) to the "Five Gods" (?) administered by the Column of Glory, to the Moon and Sun where Jesus the Splendour and the Third Messenger dwell, on to the Great Earth, the homeland of the Father of Greatness. Whereas *Chapter 7* enumerates the five ontological levels of salvation, *Chapter 20* lists those five beings whose efforts facilitate the accomplishment of salvation and the liberation of light.

The situation is further complicated when we look at *Chapter 25 "On the Five [Fathers: From which Limbs they have come],"* where we are presented with yet another variant formulation, only this time the Father of Greatness himself is not included.

Five Fathers	*from Five Limbs*
Messenger	< Mind
Beloved of Lights	< Thought
Mother of Life	< Insight
Jesus the Beloved (*sic*)	< Counsel
Virgin of Light	< Consideration

Unfortunately, almost no context is given by this extremely abbreviated chapter, other than the statement that "one came after the other (and) appeared in his time" (1 Ke 76.25). This seems to imply that the series is meant to be understood temporally, although such an understanding seems to contradict what is known about the sequence of the Manichaean myth from other sources such as Theodore bar Khonai. According to the canonical account, a "temporal" progression of these figures would run Mother of Life—Beloved of Lights—Messenger—Jesus the Beloved—Virgin of Light.[64] Nevertheless, a clue as to how this series might be understood can be found in *Chapter 7*, in which the Third Messenger is called the "model of the King of Light" (1 Ke 35.8) and the "first of all counsellors" (1 Ke 34.33). This would seem to justify the Third Messenger's placement at the head of the *Chapter 25* formulation. The selection and arrangement of the other figures, however, remains obscure.

Another, albeit peculiar, presentation of the Five Fathers can be found in *Chapter 148 "On the Five Books, that they belong to Five Fathers."* In this chapter, Mani is supposed to have associated "five" of his books with the "Fathers of Light" (1 Ke 355.6–7). While the *Living Gospel* is attributed to the Messenger and the *Treasure of Life* to the Column of Glory, the three writings, *Pragmateia*, *Book of Mysteries*, and *Book of*

[64] This example is further complicated by the fact that some of its irregular features may indicate that the compiler may have been drawing on some very early material. For example, the brevity of the chapter indicates that it may be an early "proto-kephalaic" formulation. In addition, the fact that the first father is identified simply as the "Messenger" rather than the "Third Messenger" parallels a detail which can be found in Theodore bar Khonai's account. Similarly, the unusual formulation of "Jesus the Beloved" may be derived from some early source.

Giants are attributed to the Light-Twin, forming a kind of trilogy. The *Letters*, however, are said to be Mani's own gifts. Strangely, no fifth book is named or attributed to a Manichaean divinity. Nor is the seventh of Mani's canonical writings mentioned at all.[65] It appears, however, that an attempt has been made to compress this canonical *heptateuch* into a *pentateuch* more in line with the compilers' penchant for five-part structures.[66] The fact that only six books are mentioned as four gifts may be due to scribal error,[67] since the construction of such a six-four formulation runs contrary to the compilers' penchant for *pentadic redaction*. Nevertheless, the enumeration of the Fathers appears equally puzzling, since it too is at variance with the three previously discussed formulations.

Finally, there seems to have been an additional discussion of the Five Fathers in *Chapter 191 "There are Five Properties in the* Image *of our Apostle symbolizing the Five Light Fathers,"* which unfortunately is entirely obscured by lacunae. At most, a general outline of the discourse can be reconstructed as enumerating Five "Properties" and Five other qualities:

CHAPTER 191 SCHEMA:

INTRO: Again he spoke to his disciples …

DISCOURSE: There are Five Properties in the *Image* …
1) First Property is humility
2) [Second Property …?]
3) Third [Property …?]
4) [Fourth Property] … my *Image*
5) Fifth [Property] is my light-wisdom.

…

[Five other things? …]
1) [First …]
2) [Second …]
3) [Third …]

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[65] That the Manichaean canon contained seven writings is known from 1Ke 5.21–33, 2Ps. 46f., 139f., and Hom 25.2–5, as well as al-Nadīm and the Chinese *Compendium* (Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 62; Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 153–156).

[66] That they succeeded in altering the canon is independently verified by Augustine's *Contra Felicem*, 1.14 (Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 63; see esp. Tardieu's table on page 64).

[67] See Funk 1Ke 335, who suggests that the *Psalms and Prayers* could have been named before the *Letters*. If, however, the title was added only later, then we need not assume that the chapter itself was intentionally structured in five-parts (Funk, *personal communication*).

4) [Fourth …]
5) Fifth is my light-wisdom.

CONCLUSION: I have given victory … over all Sects …

While there is no way of knowing what identity and role the Five Fathers were given in this chapter, it appears as though the emphasis was placed on the qualities attributable to Mani.

As we have seen, the *Kephalaia* compilers present five formulations of the Five Fathers, four of which can be read. Each of these formulations, however, presents a different sequence of Fathers:

Chapter 7	*Chapter 20*	*Chapter 25*	*Chapter 148*
Father of Greatness	Father of Greatness	Messenger	Messenger
Third Messenger	Third Messenger	Beloved of Lights	Column of Glory
Jesus the Splendour	Jesus the Splendour	Mother of Life	Light Twin
Light-Mind	Column of Glory	Jesus the Beloved	—?
Light-form	Light Mind	Virgin of Light	Mani

While the (Third) Messenger is the only figure found in all four formulations, there are nonetheless some similarities between *Chapters 7* and *20* and *Chapters 25* and *148*. On the one hand, *Chapters 7* and *20* appear the most similar, varying only in positions four and five, while *Chapters 25* and *148* place the Messenger in the first position.

What then should we make of these variations?[68] While the compilers were obviously using and building upon some kind of earlier material, it is difficult to imagine that a truly canonical series would be subject to such a degree of malleability, given the rigidity with which other series such are the Five Sons are maintained. Nevertheless, given the fact that we find the same expression "Fathers of Light" used in the *Psalm-Book* (see 2 Ps. 8.8; 36.15; 73.8; 84.29; 202.12) and the *Cologne Mani Codex* (33.2), we may assume that it was an epithet that existed as part of a canonical Manichaean tradition and was probably used by Mani himself as a general designation for any number of divine beings.[69] That

[68] Unfortunately, other Manichaean Coptic sources provide little in the way of clarification, even though the Fathers of Light are invoked several times in the *Psalm-Book*. "Bema Psalm 237," however, does enumerate a somewhat ambiguous series of Five Greatnesses of the Fathers involving 1) Mother of Life/First Man, 2) Beloved of Lights/Great Builder, 3) Third Messenger, 4) Column of Glory/Porters, and 5) Virgin/Judge/Light-Mind (2 Ps. 36.20–37.9).

[69] This can be inferred from Theodore bar Khonai's account, in which First Man responds to Living Spirit with the words "How fare our fathers (ⲉⲓⲙⲁⲓ), the sons of Light in their city?" (315.1 [Scher]).

these Fathers of Light came to be thought of in terms of five-part series is likely an additional by-product of the process of *pentadic redaction* so evident in the *Kephalaia*. The fact that there are so many variant formulations, however, would seem to represent the various attempts at clarification and elaboration of this quasi-canonical trope, which appears to have been left quite ambiguous and flexible. Perhaps a concept of Five Fathers was needed to balance the recurring image of the Five Sons. Or, perhaps the Five Fathers are an attempt to re-emphasize the fact that the Father is a being endowed with five qualities or Limbs, and as such would have been compelled to send five emissaries into the drama of salvation. Or, the variant formulations might have resulted from an overabundance of hypostases and personages invoked by Mani in his writings—i.e., there were simply too many gods and hypostases to choose from. At any rate, the *Kephalaia* chapters dealing with the Five Fathers, although frustratingly contradictory, do provide us with an important glimpse into the ongoing and evolutionary process of clarification and systematization of Manichaean discourse undertaken by the *Kephalaia* compilers. This concept, in particular, appears to have caused considerable confusion and does not appear, at the stage represented by our manuscript at least, to have been resolved.

Although only mentioned in one published *Kephalaia* chapter, the compilers also present a formulation known as the "Five Greatnesses" (ⲧϯⲉ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ).[70] According to *Chapter 16 "[On the Five] Greatnesses which have [come] out against the Darkness,"* the entire series of mythical emanations are presented according to a five-stage schema. The "First Greatness" is presented as the Father of Greatness, who has a "solitary existence" (ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧϥ) (1 Ke 49.17) in the realm of light. The "Second Greatness" is made up of the Mother of Life, First Man, and the Five Sons of First Man (1 Ke 49.19–23). The "Third Greatness," in turn, contains the Beloved of Lights, Great Builder, and the Living Spirit, along with the Five Sons of the Living Spirit (1 Ke 49.23–25). The "Fourth Greatness" is described as the Third Messenger, the Column of Glory, and (somewhat ambiguously) "all the powers of light who are revealed from him" (ⲛϭⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲩⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲙⲁϥ]) (1 Ke 49.26–28). Finally, the "Fifth Greatness" is constituted by Jesus the Splendour and (with similar ambiguity) "all his powers" ([ⲛ]ⲉϥϭⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ) (1 Ke 49.29–31).

[70] The Five Greatnesses are also mentioned in 2 Ps. 136.50.

This formulation varies considerably from the canonical version of the myth known from Theodore bar Khonai. As we have seen, according to his testimony, Mani conceived of his cosmogony as occurring in three emanations, or evocations, each containing three primary figures:

Theodore bar Khonai		*Chapter* 16	
1st Emanation/ Evocation	Father of Greatness Mother of Life First Man 5 Sons of First Man	*1st Greatness*	Father of Greatness
2nd Emanation/ Evocation	Beloved of Lights Great Builder Living Spirit 5 Sons of Living Spirit	*2nd Greatness*	Mother of Life First Man 5 Sons of First Man
3rd Emanation/ Evocation	Third Messenger 12 Virgins Jesus the Splendour	*3rd Greatness*	Beloved of Lights Great Builder Living Spirit 5 Sons of Living Spirit
		4th Greatness	Third Messenger Column of Glory "powers of Light"
		5th Greatness	Jesus the Splendour "all his powers"

As is well known to Manichaean scholars, the third emanation is the most problematic formulation to disentangle.[71] While Theodore states that the Messenger brought forth Twelve Virgins and Jesus the Splendour (although Jesus is not explicitly "called" in Theodore's account), *Chapter 7 ("The Seventh, on the Five Fathers")* states that the Third Messenger emanated three powers: 1) the Column of Glory/Perfect Man, 2) Jesus the Splendour, and 3) a single Virgin of Light (1 Ke 35.7–17). As we have seen, however, *Chapter 16* presents the third emanation as including the Third Messenger, the Column of Glory, and the ambiguous "powers of light" revealed by him (1 Ke 49.26–28). As a result, we are faced with three alternative formulations of the third emanation:

[71] While it is clear that the Messenger is definitely part of the third triad, the remaining two members are ambiguous, since there are essentially three possible candidate: 1) some sort of virgin figure, 2) Jesus the Splendour, and 3) the Column of Glory, also known as the Perfect Man (2 Ps. 133.24–25; 1 Ke 20.15; 24.23; 35.10; 37.3; 155.11).

Theodore bar Khonai	*Kephalaia* Ch. 7	*Kephalaia* Ch. 16.
Messenger	Third Messenger	Third Messenger
12 Virgins	Column of Glory/Perfect Man	Column of Glory
Jesus the Splendour	Jesus the Splendour	"powers of light"
	Virgin of Light	

While the compilers of *Chapter 7*, as we saw above, were motivated by a desire to present the Manichaean soteriological narrative through a telescopic five-part frame in which every "father" emanates three other beings, here the compilers of *Chapter 16* perform a similar operation by attempting to transform the canonical three-part cosmogonical schema into a five-part formulation. This meant isolating the Father of Greatness from his implicit association with the first emanation and dividing the third emanation into two parts (Greatness Four and Five). The integrity of the second emanation, however, is maintained. This, of course, is another example of the *pentadic redaction* imposed by the compilers. In this case, the basic frame of the canonical myth is altered from a three-stage to a five-stage formulation. In addition, conflicting accounts of the third evocation point to an inherent ambiguity within the canonical account that appears to have allowed the compilers to so fundamentally alter the basic frame of their cosmogonic discourse.

CHAPTER THREE

THEOLOGICAL PATTERNING II: DARK-REALM

As we have seen, the *Kephalaia* compilers present a number of five-part patterns associated with the light-realm in order to emphasize the pentadic attributes of its inhabitants as well as the typically five-stage structure of their activities. At the same time, however, they seem to have been equally interested in sorting out the five-part structures associated with the Kingdom of Darkness. Five chapters in particular offer such presentations of the dark-realm: *Chapter 6 "On the Five Storehouses which are brought forth from the Land of Darkness from the Beginning; the Five Rulers, the Five Spirits, the Five Bodies, (and) the Five Tastes," Chapter 15 "[On the] … Five [Parts] … World of …," Chapter 27 "On the Five Forms which exist in the Archon(s) of Darkness," Chapter 57 "On the Generation of Adam,"* and *Chapter 69 "On the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Stars."* As we shall see, the compilers of these chapters were interested in three primary themes—1) the genesis of the dark-realm, 2) the nature of the dark-lord and his companions, and 3) the relation of the dark powers to the zodiac and the planets—which they chose to re-enforce through the use of both theological and literary five-part patterning.

The Evolution of Evil

Unlike the monotheistic theological traditions of Late Antiquity that attempted to arrive at a philosophical solution to the problem of evil by attributing it either to human free-will or divine providence, Manichaeans offered a radically different response in the form of cosmic dualism and attempted to visualize evil by means of vivid mythological images and metaphor. As such, two of the most important presentations of the Land of Darkness from the *Kephalaia* can be found in *Chapter 6 "On the Five Storehouses which are brought forth from the Land of Darkness from the Beginning; the Five Rulers, the Five Spirits, the Five Bodies, (and) the Five Tastes,"* and *Chapter 15 "[On the] … Five [Parts] … World of …."* These chapters, which appear to be attempts at a more or less comprehensive description of the dark-realm, contain a literary phenomenon found

primarily in association with such sinister contexts that may be termed *clustering*. This happens when the compiler lumps together a number of associated five-part patterns into one short passage. For instance, in *Chapter 6*, Mani is made to begin his discourse by saying:

> *Five Store-/houses* have existed from the beginning in the Land of Darkness. *Five / Elements* have poured forth from them. Also, from the *Five / Elements* were fashioned *Five Trees*, (and) from the *Five Trees* / were fashioned *Five Species of Creatures* according to each World, / male and female. But also, the *Five Worlds* [have] / *Five Kings*, *Five Spirits*, *[Five] Bodies*, (and) *Five [Tastes]* / according to each world, which do not resemble [one another] (1 Ke 30.17–24).

The function of this cluster is to concisely summarize the stages by which the dark-realm evolved, while at the same time emphasizing its essentially five-part structure. This proposition is even re-enforced by the literary structuring of the introductory passage, which elaborates five basic statements about the dark-realm, with the fifth statement enumerating five items according to the following pattern.

> Statement 1: Five Storehouses exist in the Land of Darkness.
> Statement 2: Five Elements have poured forth from them.
> Statement 3: Five Trees were fashioned from the Five Elements.
> Statement 4: Five Species came from the Five Trees.
> Statement 5: The (1) Five Worlds of Darkness also have (2) Five Kings, (3) Five Spirits, (4) Five Bodies, and (5) Five Tastes.

A similar cluster occurs in *Chapter 15, "[On the] … Five [Parts] … World of …"*:

> The fifth time it spread itself to its offspring that exist [in the *Five] / Worlds* that were fashioned (and) begotten from the *Five / Fruits of Death*, which are the *Five Worlds of / Flesh*, the *Five Creations of Darkness* which Death established in / them. He spread himself among the Ten Parts, the *Five Male Parts* and the / *Five Female [Parts]* … … … (1 Ke 48.17–22).

This passage fits into a more elaborate discourse about the Five "Parts/Times?"[1] that follows a similar structure to that found in the introduction to *Chapter 6:*

> Part 1: Death-desire …
> Time 2: Five Elements poured fourth …
> Part 3: [Five Trees formed?]

[1] The discourse alternates between enumerating "part" (ⲧⲁϊⲉ) and "time" (ⲥⲁⲡ) in the same five-part list.

Part 4: Five Fruits from Five Trees are Five Worlds.
Time 5: The (1) Five Worlds fashioned from (2) Five Fruits, (3) which are Five Worlds of Flesh, (4), i.e., the Five Creations, distributed in (5) Five Male/Female Parts.

As such, *Chapters 6* and *15* present two similar, although variant, accounts of how the Land of Darkness came into being.

Chapter 6	*Chapter 15*
5 Storehouses	Desire/Death
5 Elements	5 Elements
5 Trees	[5 Trees?]
5 Species of Trees	5 Fruits
5 Worlds, 5 Kings, 5 Spirits, 5 Bodies, 5 Tastes	5 Worlds, 5 Fruits, 5 Flesh, 5 Creations, 5 Parts

Whereas *Chapter 6* begins with the Five Storehouses as its point of origin, *Chapter 15* begins with a more singular principle known as the "Death-desire" (ⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ) (1 Ke 47.34). From this principle, which is essentially a synonym for "Matter" (ϩⲩⲗⲏ) (1 Ke 129.11; 180.15–16), emerge the remaining structures of the dark-realm. In this way the origin of evil is viewed as a generative process in which the Five Dark Elements, spurred on by the evil principle (variously known as Desire, Death, or Matter), develop according to an "organic" process analogous to natural phenomena such as the growth of trees and the production of fruit.

Both *Chapter 6* and *Chapter 15* present conceptions of the dark-realm which may be related to different streams of Manichaean canonical tradition. For example, *Chapter 15* can be compared to the close association between the terms "Matter," "Desire," and "Darkness" known to Ephraim (4th cent. CE), who records that Mani "constructed (the theory) that sometimes Matter (*hylē*) (ⲕⲗⲟⲙ) displayed purposive thought" (ⲕϩⲧⲥⲥⲧ) [Reeves #3]), while Titus of Bostra (4th cent. CE) (*Contra manichaeos*, 1.6), Theodoret (5th cent. CE), and Severus of Antioch (6th cent. CE) (likely drawing upon the same canonical source) state that "Matter" and "Darkness" were co-referential terms (89–90 [Reeves]). Theodoret also records that "Matter later divided itself into multiple worlds (αἰῶσι) and its fruits among them" (Kugener/Cumont, 152). Such presumably canonical accounts, however, can be contrasted with other statements from Theodore bar Khonai (8th cent. CE) and al-Nadīm (10th cent. CE), which both place Darkness and its Five Worlds

at the beginning of their cosmogonies (Theodore bar Khonai 313.18–21 [Scher]; *Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]). In this way, *Chapter 15*'s account can be seen to resemble fragments of canonical tradition from the 4th and 5th centuries CE, while *Chapter 5's* account is similar to later 8th and 10th century CE accounts. This implies not only that Titus, Theodoret, and Severus drew upon a different source than Theodore and al-Nadim, but also that *Chapters 6* and *15* may have drawn upon similarly distinct material.

At any rate, in spite of these differences, the fact that the evolution of the dark-realm is elaborated by the *Kephalaia* compilers in both chapters as occurring in five basic stages accords well with parallel structures applied to the activities of the light-realm and fits with their general project of *pentadic redaction*. The fact that these descriptions contain clusters of five-part series is likely meant to draw special attention to the fact that the Kingdom of Darkness is also infused with patterns parallel to those of the Land of Light.

King(s) of Darkness

Just as beings from the Land of Light are often grouped by the compilers into five-part series, the same holds true for the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Darkness. In fact, figuring out the nature of such tenebrous groupings seems to have been a theological issue of great interest to the *Kephalaia* compilers. One of the best examples of this preoccupation can again be found in *Chapter 6*, which states that it was the King of the World of Smoke as the "chief of all evil and [all] wickedness" (1 Ke 30.27–28), who "waged war with the Light" and "did battle with the exalted kingdom" (1 Ke 30.32–33). He is said to possess five sets of characteristics: 1) five zoomorphic forms (1 Ke 30.34–31.1), 2) five evil qualities of darkness, stench, ugliness, bitterness, and fire (1 Ke 31.3–6), 3) a body "harder than all iron, brass, and steel" (1 Ke 31.14), "magic arts" (1 Ke 31.17), and the ability to understand the speech and signs of all his minions (1 Ke 32.1–8), 4) he is insect-like, with a thundering voice, and short-sighted, and 5) his body is gold, his taste is salty, and his spirit rules the powers of the world.

	1) 5 Forms	*2) 5 (forms)*	*3) Other*	*4) Also …*	*5) Signs*
King of Smoke	head lion-faced	Darkness	hard body	insect like	gold body
	hands & feet demon-faced	Stench	kills w/ magic	thunder voice	salty taste
	shoulders eagle-faced	Ugliness	dark languages	short-sighted	rules powers
	belly dragon-faced	Bitterness			
	tail fish-faced	Fire			

This rather vivid description of the dark-lord, however, reveals a number of editorial seams. For instance, the compiler is not quite sure what to call the chief ruler, whom he variously names as "King of the World of Smoke" (ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲡⲛⲟⲥ [1 Ke 30.25]), "Archon of Smoke" (ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲕⲁ[ⲡⲛⲟⲥ] [1 Ke 31.12]), "King (of those) of Darkness" (ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ [1 Ke 30.33; 31.2, 27–28; 32.1, 14; 33.2, 5]) or simply "King of Darkness" (ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ [1 Ke 31.24]). Remarkably, in much the same way as *Chapter 21*'s description of the ruler of the light-realm (see above), there appears to be interwoven into this depiction of the dark lord two passages with which parallels have been identified in the Mandaean *Right Ginza*:[2]

Passage A: Manichaean

Kephalaia, 30.34–31.1: His head [is lion-faced, his] hands and feet are demon- [and devil-]faced, [his] shoulders are eagle-faced, while his belly [is dragon-faced,] (and) his tail is fished-faced.

Mandaean

Right Ginza, 280: His head is that of a lion, his body is that of a serpent, his wings are those of an eagle, his sides are those of a tortoise, his hands and feet are those of a demon (trans. from Puech).

[2] This is an identification already made by Polotsky in the 1940 edition. See translations of this passage by Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, 278 and Puech, "Le prince des ténèbres," 113. Puech believed that the Mandaean passage was based on the Manichaean, due to what he called "la gaucherie" of the prior (114). Yet, the Manichaean passage is no less (if not more) "gauche" in the way in which the compiler incorporated this outside material. Rather, the Manichaean passage seems more like a development of the Mandaean. It is, however, possible that both passages drew on some unknown antecedent.

Passage B: Manichaean	*Mandaean*
Kephalaia, 32.15–20: When it pleases him to walk, he spreads out all his limbs, and he walks. When it comes to his mind, he draws in his limbs and takes them to himself and rolls them into one another and he falls down like a grape or a great iron ball. He is terrible in his voice, he causes fear (and) frightens his powers with his voice.	*Right Ginza*, 280: When it pleases him, he dilates his body; when it pleases him, he makes himself small. He draws in his members and spreads them again … his appearance is horrible, his body rank, his face distorted (trans. from Puech).

Passage A, in fact, does have a precedent in Manichaean canonical tradition, since al-Nadīm attributes the following description of Satan to Mani: "His head is the head of a lion and his body like the body of a dragon (great serpent). His wing is like the wing of a bird, his tail like the tail of a great fish, and his four feet like the feet of a beast of burden" (*Fihrist*, 778 [Dodge]). Moreover, an additional witness to this zoomorphic description can be found in *Kephalaia Chapter 27 "On the Five Forms which exist in the Archon of Darkness"* (1 Ke 77.29–78.1):

> As for the Archon, the leader of all the powers / [of Darkness], there are [*Five Forms*] in his body, according to / [the form] of the seal [of the *Five] Creations* which exist in the *Five / Worlds of Darkness*. His head has the face of a lion and / originated from [the] World of Fire. His wings and his / [shoulders] have the face of an eagle, according to the form of the Sons of Wind. / [His hands] and [his feet] are demons, according to the form / [of the Sons] of the World of Smoke. His belly has the face of / [a dragon, according to the form of] the World of Darkness. His tail [has] / the form of the fish, which belongs to [the World of the] Sons of Water. These / *Five Forms* are found in him; they [have come] from the *Five [Creations]* / of the *Five Worlds of Darkness* (1 Ke 77.26–78.3).

This means that we are faced with four variant descriptions of the dark-lord, each of which is expressed in five-parts.

Al-Nadīm	*Kephalaia* Ch. 6	*Kephalaia* Ch. 27	*Right Ginza*, 280
head of lion	head lion-faced	head lion-faced	head of lion
body of dragon	hands/feet demon-faced	wings eagle-faced	body of serpent
wing of bird	shoulders eagle-faced	hands/feet demons	wings of eagle
tail of fish	belly dragon-faced	belly dragon-faced	sides of tortoise
feet of beast	tail fish-faced	tail fish-faced	hands/feet of demon

There is obviously a complicated relationship between these accounts. On the one hand the descriptions from *Kephalaia Chapters 6* and *27*

are essentially the same, varying only slightly in the order of their terminology,[3] while on the other hand, the descriptions preserved by al-Nadīm and the *Right Ginza* agree in all but two of their features. Interestingly, however, a variant from the Mandaean description, i.e., the demonic hands and feet, is preserved by both *Kephalaia* accounts. All that we may assume is that a zoomorphic description of some sort did exist as part of Manichaean canonical tradition, although the exact composition of that description remains elusive.[4] After all, it seems difficult to privilege al-Nadīm's testimony from the 10th century, even if he claims to quote Mani directly, over 4th or 5th century descriptions from the *Kephalaia*.

What then, are we to make of such variations? Perhaps the compiler felt that the canonical description available to him did not achieve the desired effect, or, perhaps he was so impressed by the other account that he sought to weave it into is own literary creation—with mixed results. At any rate, the compiler seems to have been confronted by two problems: first, how to describe the chief ruler of darkness, and second, how to name him while still preserving the canonical order of dark worlds established by Mani.

Unfortunately for the compiler, Mani's description of the dark-realm, even if it did include some sort of zoomorphic description of the dark-lord, seems to have been ambiguous at best. Theodore bar Khonai, for instance, simply records that "the Evil Nature he calls 'King of Darkness' and he says that he dwelt in the Land of Darkness with his Five Worlds: the World of Smoke, the World of Fire, the World of Wind, the World of Water, and the World of Darkness" (313.18–21 [Scher]), as does al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]). A certain amount of ambiguity even seems to have surrounded the nature of the term "World" as applied to the regions of Darkness, since according to Theodore bar Khonai, Mani employed the Syriac term ܥܠܡ (*ʿālam*) which can mean either "world" or "age."[5] Augustine, reacting to the so-called *Fundamental Epistle* variously described these entities as *saecula* (*De natura boni*, 42) and *naturae* (*Fundamental Epistle*, Frag. 6b). In *De moribus*, however, Augustine seems to have imagined them as caves (*antra*) (2.19), which

[3] Presumably "wings" and "shoulders" are meant to designate the same feature of the dark-lord.

[4] Mani does seem to have described evil entities in zoomorphic terms in his *Shabuhragan*, where he makes reference to "two lion-shaped archdemons" (Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, 223).

[5] Cumont, *Recherches I*, 11 n. 3.

may dimly reflect the notion of "storehouses" (ταμιεῖα) known to the *Kephalaia* and Simplicius (35.65–66 [Adam]). Cumont's suggestion that the Latin term *saecula* was selected via the Greek αἰῶνες[6] seems to be confirmed from what is beginning to be known about the Coptic translation of Mani's *Living Gospel* (from the *Synaxeis* codex) in which the Five *shekinahs* of the light-realm are called ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ.[7] At any rate, few specific details other than their order are given about the structure, activities, or inhabitants of these dark worlds in known canonical accounts. For instance, a fragment from the *Fundamental Epistle*[8] preserved by Augustine, describes the five regions of the land of darkness (this time in reverse order) impressionistically as

> deep and of immeasurable extent; in it reside fiery bodies, baneful breeds. Here, emanating out of the same principle came a boundless and incalculable darkness, together with its own progeny. Beyond the darkness lay filthy whirling waters with their inhabitants; further within were terrifying and violent storms with their ruler and progenitors. Next followed another fiery region, a prey to destruction, with its leaders and peoples. In the same way there lived inside it a breed filled with gloom and smoke, among whom loitered the horrible ruler and leader of all these worlds, who had congregated around himself innumerable princes, and he himself was the spirit and source of all of them (trans. Hendry).[9]

In addition, Severus of Antioch recorded a statement about how "all the members of the Tree of Darkness … rose up and ascended with numerous powers impossible to calculate."[10] Such descriptions drawn apparently from canonical writings do not achieve the clarity and specificity sought by the *Kephalaia* compilers. This ambiguity is (pardon the pun) in *stark* contrast to the light-realm, where the Father of Greatness, as we have seen, dwells with his Five Limbs, and from which emanates a well-known cast of characters including the First Man and his Five Sons, the Living Spirit and his Five Sons, as well as the Third Ambassador, the Virgin of Light, and Jesus the Splendour. It would seem then that the compiler of *Chapter 6* for some reason felt compelled to clarify just what Mani meant by his seemingly abbreviated, or simply

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[6] Cumont, *Recherches I*, 11 n. 3.

[7] Funk, *personal communication*.

[8] The exact nature of this writing's relationship with the Manichaean canon remains ambiguous.

[9] Feldmann, *Die 'Epistula Fundamenti'*, fragment 6a. For translation see Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 169–170.

[10] Kugener and Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme II*, 125.

ambiguous, description of the dark-realm and to create a greater degree of *parallelism* with the World of Light. His efforts, however, left a number of obvious traces.

In order to frame and re-enforce this clarification, the compiler of *Chapter 6* gave five-part structures a central compositional role. In the first place, the chapter title (which may in fact have been added at some later stage of the textual history) somewhat awkwardly enumerates five *sets of five* to be discussed in the chapter, namely, 1) the Five Storehouses, 2) the Five Rulers, 3) the Five Spirits, 4) the Five Bodies, and 5) the Five Tastes, while (as we have seen) the introductory frame re-emphasizes the thematic centrality of five by means of a *cluster* of five statements (see above). Then, the central discourse begins, which is itself divided into five parts dealing with the five Kings of Darkness, with (as we have also seen) the section about the King of the World of Smoke itself divided into five parts:

1) King of the World of Smoke, chief of evil (1 Ke 30.25–33)
   1) 5 Forms are in him (1 Ke 30.33–31.2)
      i) head lion-faced
      ii) hands-/ feet demon-/ devil-faced
      iii) shoulders eagle-faced
      iv) belly dragon-faced
      v) tail fish-faced
   2) Also, 5 (additional) forms in him (1 Ke 31.3–7)
      i) darkness
      ii) stench
      iii) ugliness
      iv) bitterness
      v) fire
   3) 3 other things (1 Ke 31.8–32.13)
      i) body is harder than any metal
      ii) kills with his magic arts
         (*Interpolated admonition [?]:* Keep away from magic!
            [1 Ke 31.24–33])
      iii) knows languages of 5 worlds
   4) Also, (1 Ke 32.14–32.30)
      i) he can spread out his limbs or draw them in like an insect.
      ii) his voice is terrible like thunder
      iii) he can't see what is far away
   5) These are his evil signs and symbols (1 Ke 32.30–33.8)
      i) his body is gold
      ii) his taste is salty
      iii) he rules over the powers and authorities of the world.

2) The King of the Worlds of Fire (1 Ke 33.9–17)
   i) lion-faced
   ii) brass body
   iii) sour taste
   iv) his spirit rules the kings of the world and the fire-worshiping sect

3) The King of the Worlds of Wind (1 Ke 33.18–24)
   i) eagle-faced
   ii) iron body
   iii) hot taste
   iv) his spirit rules idol-worshipers

4) The King of the World of Water (1 Ke 33.25–32)
   i) fish-faced
   ii) silver body
   iii) sweet taste
   iv) his spirit rules the baptists

5) The King of the World of Darkness (1 Ke 33.33–34.1)
   i) dragon-faced
   ii) tin body
   iii) bitter taste
   iv) his spirit rules oracles and soothsayers

The descriptions of the Five Kings in *Chapter 6* may be summarized by the following table, which reveals that structurally the chapter as a whole enumerates five sets of five: 1) five rulers, 2) five faces, 3) five bodies, 4) five tastes, and 5) spirits or sphere of influence:

5 rulers	*5 faces*	*5 bodies*	*5 tastes*	*5 spirits (rule)*
(King of Smoke)	(all-faced)	(gold body)	(salty taste)	(powers that be)
King of Fire	lion-faced	brass body	sour taste	fire-worshipers
King of Wind	eagle-faced	iron body	hot taste	idol-worshipers
King of Water	fish-faced	silver body	sweet taste	baptists
King of Darkness	dragon-faced	tin body	bitter taste	oracles etc.

While the concept of Five Worlds of Darkness is relatively well attested in canonical sources (Theodore bar Khonai 313.19 [Scher]; implied by *Fundamental Epistle*, Frag. 6b; al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]),[11] in the *Kephalaia* they are known not only as "Five Worlds of Darkness" (1 Ke 31.2; 32.2; 48.17; 48.15; 58.9; 74.29; 77.28; 78.3; 167.23; 169.10;

[11] We cannot say, however, as Gardner and Lieu have recently suggested, that "elaborate descriptions of the kingdom of darkness, and its powers, are a feature of Manichaean … writings that must derive from canonical sources" (*Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 199).

169.13), but also as "Five Worlds of Flesh" (1 Ke 26.33; 48.19; 121.20; 123.3; 177.18; 266.14) and "Five Storehouses" (1 Ke 28.8; 30.13; 30.17; 155.19). The explicit idea of Five Kings or Archons is known almost exclusively from *Chapter 6*,[12] where they are also called the "Five Spirits" (1 Ke 30.15; 30.23; 34.9). This, in itself, may not be that surprising given the confusion that seems to have been created for the compiler of *Chapter 6*,[13] who (as we saw above) found it difficult to reconcile the title "King of Darkness" with the fact that "smoke" is the first of the canonical Five Dark Elements. Nevertheless, the need to dissect the chief ruler of darkness into five sub-rulers is essentially a reflection of the compiler's desire to identify and attribute a particular governing spirit or authority to what he perceived as five spheres of negative influence in the world. In the end, this association serves as the take-home message of this particular chapter.

The danger of these Five Spirits is emphasized at the end of *Chapter 6*, where we find a grave admonition placed in the mouth of Mani: "Therefore I tell you, my brothers and my members, perfect faithful and holy elect: Keep your hearts with you and keep yourselves from the Five Slaveries of the Five Dark Spirits. Abandon the worship of their Five Bodies. Do not interact with them, so that you might escape their bond and their punishment forever" (1 Ke 34.6–12). This passage needs to be placed in its social context if it is to become comprehensible. As such, the King of the World of Smoke, the chief, is said to rule over the "powers and authorities of the earth and the whole world … those who rule over all of creation, as they humble people in their tyranny according to their will" (1 Ke 33.6–8), a reference that could conceivably be applied to authorities in both the Persian and Rome Empires. The King of the World of Fire is said to rule the "kings of the world" as well as the "Sects who worship fire" (1 Ke 33.15–17), no doubt a more explicit reference to the Sassanian Kings and their Zoroastrian clergy. The King of the World of Wind, in turn, rules in "every temple, *eidoleion*, place of worship, statues and images, shrines of worldly Error" (1 Ke 33.22–24), presumably those who follow the traditional cults. The King of the World of Water is said to rule "those who baptize with water" (1 Ke 33.31), a reference to Christians, Elchasaites, or perhaps

[12] The idea of a ruler for each world is also implied by the *Fundamental Epistle* (Fragment 6b [Feldmann]).

[13] This may even represent an innovation on the part of the Chapter 6 compiler.

even Mandaeans, while the King of the World of Darkness can be found in the utterances of soothsayers, oracles, and seers (1 Ke 34.3–4), seemingly the more popular religious practices of the time. The compiler's effort to associate a dark ruler with each of these spheres of influences was probably driven by a desire either to draw, or more likely, to keep members of the Manichaean church away from them and in the fold. After the withdrawal of Persian imperial support, which resulted in Mani's execution in 276/277 CE, his community experienced a period of harsh repression, persecution, and no doubt apostasy. As a result there would have been a strong desire, on the part of Manichaean teachers, missionaries, and catechists, to clearly define the dangers associated with these oppressive and competing spheres of political and religious influence, and to do so in a way that contributed to and strengthened the coherence and symmetry of the Manichaean system. Therefore, as Manichaean missionaries and catechists moved from Mesopotamia into Egypt and the *Kephalaia* (as we know it) began to take shape, numerical patterns, especially in terms of five-part structures, played a key role in how this coherence and symmetry was achieved and communicated.

Astrological Polemic

The third major theme addressed by the *Kephalaia* compilers in their descriptions of the dark-realm is the relation of the dark-powers, specifically the Five Worlds of Darkness, to the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the seven planetary powers. While there are references to the "Twelve Spirits of Error" in *Chapter 15 "[On the] … Five [Parts] … World of …"* (1 Ke 48.34) and anthropomorphic accounts of their cosmic distribution in *Chapter 70 "On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos"* (1 Ke 173.21–175.4), the most explicit description of the relationship between the dark powers and the Zodiac can be found in *Chapter 69 "On the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Stars."* In this chapter the disciples question Mani about what powers rule over the Zodiac and the so-called "Five Stars." In response, Mani is made to begin his discourse with an (unsuccessful) attempt at distributing the twelve signs in pairs to the Five Worlds of Darkness, which inevitably leads to the attribution of three signs to two of the worlds.

> This, however, is how it should be understood: They / are drawn from the *Five Worlds of Darkness*, are bound in the / Sphere, and two zodiacal signs are taken per world. The Twin[14] / and the Archer[15] belong to the World of Smoke, which / is the Mind. Also, the Ram[16] and the Lion[17] belong to the / World of Fire. The Bull,[18] the Water-bearer,[19] and the Scales,[20] / belong to the World of Wind. The Crab[21] and the Virgin[22] / and the Fish[23] belong to the World of Water. The Goat-horn[24] / and the Scorpion[25] belong to the World of Darkness. These are / [the] twelve Archons of wickedness, those who wickedness does not / … … For they commit every evil and / … [in the] world, either in the tree or in the flesh (1 Ke 167.22–167.33).

Following this, each of the "Five Stars" (i.e., planets) is associated with a particular dark world: 1) Zeus/Jupiter to Smoke, 2) Aphrodite/Venus to Fire, 3) Ares/Mars to Wind, 4) Hermes/Mercury to Water, and 5) Kronos/Saturn to Darkness (1 Ke 167.34–168.6). Then, in the third section of the discourse, the signs are divided according to the quadrants of the sky (1 Ke 168.16–23).

What follows is a sort of astronomical revisionism, whereby the Sun and Moon, normally counted among the seven planets by ancient astronomy but cherished by Manichaeans as Light-ships, are substituted by "Two Ascendants." According to *Chapter 69*, Mani is made to state that "these seven, which we have named—the Five Stars and the Two Ascendants (ⲁⲛⲁⲃⲓⲃⲁⲍⲱⲛ)—they are the evil-doers who perpetuate every wickedness and evil in every single land" (1 Ke 168.11–13).

According to Roger Beck, the *anabibazon* is an astronomical concept that represents, along with the *katabibazon*, the two points (or "nodes") at which the orbits of the Sun and Moon intersect on a monthly basis.[26] According to Beck, this seemingly straightforward astronomical concept may have been interpreted in a sinister light by Manichaeans due

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[14] i.e., Gemini.
[15] i.e., Sagittarius.
[16] i.e., Aries.
[17] i.e., Leo.
[18] i.e., Taurus.
[19] i.e., Aquarius.
[20] i.e., Libra.
[21] i.e., Cancer.
[22] i.e., Virgo.
[23] i.e., Pisces.
[24] i.e., Capricorn.
[25] i.e., Scorpio.
[26] "Anabibazontes," 193.

to the fact that it is at one of these two points that eclipses of the Sun and Moon may occur.[27] In addition, the fact that these nodes appear to "move" led to their being considered as quasi-planets and to their eventual incorporation into late antique astrology as the "head and tail" of a great dragon responsible for eclipses.[28] Moreover, in Zoroastrian tradition, the nodes came to represent a "Dark Sun" and "Dark Moon" that acted as agents of Ahriman.[29] Yet according to Beck, this reference to the *anabibazontes* in the *Kephalaia* likely represents the "earliest unambiguous attested instance of the demonization of the lunar nodes."[30] This became necessary due to the fact that Manichaean theology demanded the removal of the Sun and Moon from the standard series of seven planets,[31] thereby requiring substitutes in the form of the *anabibazontes*. The substitution, however, remains somewhat awkward, given the fact that, while the compiler of *Chapter 69* is determined to associate *five* of the planets with the Five Worlds of Darkness, ancient astronomy recognized *seven*. Without this substitution of the Sun and Moon by the nodes Manichaeans would have appeared to violate ancient astronomical *koinē*, thereby discrediting any claims to astronomical orthodoxy, especially in Mesopotamia where rival religious groups such as Zoroastrians and Mandaeans appears to have been steeped in astrological speculations.[32] Yet even in spite of Manichaean efforts to talk about astronomical concepts, observers such as Alexander of Lycopolis and, later, Augustine remained unconvinced.[33] That

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[27] "Anabibazontes," 193–194.

[28] Beck, "Anabibazontes," 194. Seventh century CE Syriac author Severus Sebokht explained that this dragon is known as the *athalia* (ܐܬܠܝܐ) (Nau, "La cosmographie," 253–254), a term attested in both the Manichaean *Psalm-Book* (2 Ps. 196.8: ⲁⲑⲁⲗⲓⲁ) and Syriac Manichaean fragments (Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees*, 114: ܐܬܠܝܐ). According to his description of Indian astronomy, al-Biruni states that "the dragon's head" is counted among the unlucky stars by the Hindus (*India*, 212 [Sachau]).

[29] Beck, "Anabibazontes," 195. See *Bundahišn*, 49.12 (MacKenzie, "Zoroastrian Astrology," 8).

[30] "Anabibazontes," 195–196.

[31] Mani attributed his recognition of the true nature of the Sun and Moon to Jesus in a fragment preserved by al-Biruni (*India*, 284 [Sachau]).

[32] Mandaeans, for instance, spoke about the "seven and the twelve" as malevolent powers (Widengren, *Mani*, 69).

[33] Alexander joked that Manichaeans should have "occasionally visited the astronomers" (*Contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, 22), while Augustine could not reconcile his private study of astronomy with Manichaean teachings (cited by Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 178). See also Ferrari, "Astronomy and Augustine," 263–276, who suggests that eclipses witnessed by Augustine played a role in his break with Manichaeism.

Manichaeans were "amateurs" in astrology[34] does in fact appear to be the case when we do a close reading of *Kephalaia Chapter 69*, which contains significant compositional or editorial flaws.[35] Similarly, the following chapter, *Chapter 70 "On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos,"* contains two conflicting melothesiac[36] descriptions of the Zodiac:

Signs of the Zodiac	*Description A: 1 Ke 174.3–10*	*Description B: 1 Ke 174.21–175.2*
Ram / Aries	Head	Right Temple
Bull / Taurus	Neck & Shoulders	Right Shoulder
Twin / Gemini	2 Forearms	Right Forearm
Crab / Cancer	Oesophagus	Right Rib
Lion / Leo	Stomach	Right Stomach
Virgin / Virgo	Heart	Right Intestines
Scales / Libra	Spine & Intestines	Left Belly
Scorpion / Scorpio	Chest	Left Rib
Archer / Sagittarius	Loins	Left Breast & Kidney
Goat-horn / Capricorn	Feet	Left Elbow
Water-bearer / Aquarius	Shinbones	Left Shoulder
Fish / Pisces	Soles of feet	Left Temple

This chapter, which as Gardner has suggested was likely drawn from "a number of separate sources,"[37] although re-enforcing the compiler's anthropomorphic view of the cosmos, does little to establish his credentials as a serious astrologer.

What then are we to make of this lively, although somewhat incoherent, interest in astrological speculation? Stegemann suggested that the association of the signs of the Zodiac with the Five Worlds was some kind of game with the aspects intended to show the adversarial relationship of the signs to one another.[38] This explanation, however, seems too obscure and technical to have generated any real meaning, even to an educated Manichaean Elect. Instead, I would suggest that the aim of *Chapter 69* might not have been astrological at all, but rather polemi-

[34] Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 179.

[35] Such as the attribution of *three* signs to two of the five worlds.

[36] A similar concept relating the parts of the body to the Zodiac is described by al-Biruni in his chapter on Indian astronomy (*India*, 218 [Sachau]). Nagel compared these arrangements to melothesiac lists from the *Apocryphon of John*, although these are not put in relation to the Zodiac ("Anatomie des Menschen," 91). According to Nagel, such formulations are a reflection of the tendency (or "mania" for that matter) of Manichaean discourse for typology, analogy, harmony, and symmetry ("Anatomie des Menschen," 91).

[37] Gardner, *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 179.

[38] Stegemann, "Zu Kapitel 69," 217–218, followed by Widengren, *Mani*, 70–71.

cal. As we have seen, the compilers went to great lengths in *Chapter 6* to associate each of the Five Dark Worlds with particular spheres of political or religious influence. Thus, it is possible that a similar manoeuvre is at least being attempted in *Chapter 69*. For example, while in *Chapter 6* the World of Smoke was associated with Roman and Sasanian imperial authorities, *Chapter 69*'s attribution of the Twin (Gemini) and the Archer (Sagittarius) may involve a similar symbolic association. Similarly, the association of the Crab (Cancer), the Virgin (Virgo) and the Fish (Pisces) with the World of Water, could reflect *Chapter 6*'s association of this world with rival Christian and "Baptist" groups. This interpretation (already implied by Khosroyev),[39] although highly speculative, seems at least plausible, given the penchant of the compilers for associating mythological formations with concrete social realities. After all, allegorical interpretations of the signs are known in Jewish,[40] Judaeo-Christian,[41] Gnostic,[42] mainstream Christian,[43] and even Mithraic[44] circles, and the planets themselves were sometimes associated by Hellenistic astrologers with particular religious groups.[45]

At any rate, regardless of whatever polemical or scientific intentions may have been behind such formulations, it is at least clear that the *Kephalaia* compilers, like so many other aspects of reality, viewed the astrological powers as basically pentadic in structure. This is emphasized also by a passage from *Chapter 57 "On the Generation of Adam,"* where (also in the form of a *cluster*) Mani is made to describe how

> They increased and again diminished / because there are *Five Types of Authority* and / *Guide* set in the sphere of the Zodiac and the / heavens which are above it. They have ⟨*Five*⟩[46] *Names*, by which / they are called. The first name is the "year", the / second is the "month", the third is the "day", the / [fourth] is the "hour", (and) the fifth is the "minute." These

[39] Khosroyev, "Zu einer astronomischen Realie," 349.

[40] A number of ancient synagogues contained mosaic representations of the Zodiac. See Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*; Hachlili, "The Zodiac in Ancient Jewish Art," 61–77; Ness, "Astrology and Judaism," 126–133.

[41] The signs were associated first with the twelve patriarchs and were then transferred to the twelve apostles (Daniélou, "Les douze apôtres et le zodiaque," 14–21).

[42] Welburn, "The Identity of the Archons," 241–254.

[43] See Zeno of Verona, *Tractatus de duodecim signis ad neophytos* (CCSL 22), 105–106; Hübner, "Das Horoskop der Christen," 120–137.

[44] Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 153.

[45] For instance, Jupiter with Zoroastrianism, Mars with idolaters, or Venus with Arab religion (Khosroyev, "Zu einer astronomischen Realie," 349 n. 32).

[46] Polotsky/Böhlig, 145.10 note.

> *Five / Places* and these *Five Dwellings* are found in the sphere and / the heavens. These regions have *Five Powers* ruling over / them (1 Ke 145.7–16).

In this chapter a certain Babylonian catechumen has questioned Mani about why the lifespan of Adam and his generation seemed so much longer than the people of their time. Mani is made to respond by saying that Five Authorities rule the various life-spans of beings in the world, from year to month to day to hour to minute. The fact that people's lives are becoming increasingly short means that the end is near and that their light substance is dwindling. Whereas Adam and Eve were full of light substance, their lives were longer, they were larger, and produced more offspring, contemporary people are small, ugly and evil, meaning that they are nearly void of light. While this discourse is meant to address the apparent discrepancy between the life-spans of biblical figures and later generations, the explanation is framed by a pentadic conception of both the astrological powers and their influence on history, which is itself conceived of has having five phases. This, of course, represents yet another example of the pervasive emphasis on five-part structures presented by the compilers.

This desire to present a set of astrological speculations based on pentads, although no doubt influenced by the same *pentadization* process observed above, was also driven in this case by a systemic contradiction generated by Manichaean veneration of the Sun and Moon and their generally negative evaluation of five of the canonical seven planets. In this way, the pentadization of the planets can be seen less as a stylistic or ideological preference and more as a response to a genuine doctrinal problem.

But why go to such great lengths to emphasize the pentadic structure of the powers of Darkness if this is already a quality possessed by the powers of Light? On the doctrinal level, the system appears to demand it, particularly when, as in the image of the Two Trees, the natures are depicted as essentially symmetrical in orientation, with parallel sets of Five Limbs attached to two coeternal sources of being. Besides, as we have seen, Mani himself appears to have described the Land of Darkness as made up of Five Elemental Worlds, although, unlike the Realm of Light, he seems to have left fewer clues as to what impact such a structure had on other aspects of evil. Thus, the *Kephalaia* compilers were forced to build upon and expand existing material. One particularly difficult issue for the compilers seems to have been

the way in which Mani ordered the Dark Elements, with Smoke first and Darkness last. This, as we saw in *Chapter 6*, caused a great deal of confusion for the compiler, who found it difficult to reconcile a being called "King of Darkness" with the fact that the World of Darkness came fifth in the canonical series. Similarly, the relation of the Sun and Moon to the planets also caused a theological quandary. Such traces of conflicting and contradictory ideas indicated that even at the stage when the surviving text was being edited, the *Kephalaia* compilers were still engaged in sorting out some of the difficulties contained within the canonical tradition.

CHAPTER FOUR

OTHER TYPES OF PATTERNING

Aside from five-part patterns dealing with specific structural and operational aspects of either the light or dark realms, a variety of other pentadic formulations can also be found in the *Kephalaia* dealing with a range of 1) soteriological, 2) ethical 3) ecclesiological, 4) polemical, and 5) aetiological themes.

Soteriological Patterning

The *Kephalaia* compilers' efforts to present general soteriological themes in five-parts is evident in *Chapter 13 "On the Five Saviours, Resurrectors of the Dead, along with the Five Resurrections," Chapter 16b (On the Five Advents), Chapter 18 "[On the Five] Wars [which the] Sons of Light waged with [the Sons] of Darkness," Chapter 19 "On the Five Releases; what they mean," Chapter 103 "On the Five Wonderworks that the Light-Mind reveals to the Elect," Chapter 112b (On the Five Things Revealed by Jesus)*, and *Chapter 176 "On the Spiritual Transition in Five(?) Forms and that through which the Church changes."*

Chapter 13 presents a series of "Five Resurrecting Saviours" (ϯογ ⲛⲥ̅ⲏ̅ⲣ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ) (1 Ke 45.17), although the fragmentation of the text allows for the identification of only the third and fourth. In this series, the Father is placed in third position, which appears strange given the importance usually accorded to him as the foundation of all subsequent being, while Light-Mind is placed in fourth position.

In *Chapter 18*, the confrontation with the dark-realm is presented as a series of "[Five] Wars" ([ϯογ] ⲙⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ)[1] waged by the "Sons of Light" (ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ) (1 Ke 58.2–3). Here an additional series of "five sons" is created, although this time using primary actors not normally designated as "sons" such as First Man, the Living Spirit, Third Messenger, Jesus the Splendour, and Call & Response. Again, as in *Chapter 16*, the three-part canonical version of the myth is transformed

[1] ϯογ has been restored (1 Ke 58.2). Even though only four of the wars are readable, I am assuming, based on this restoration, that five wars were described.

into a series of five conflicts. Interestingly, the same five figures appear in *Chapter 16b*[2] as a series of five "advents" (ⲛⲟⲓⲛⲉⲓ), with the "advent" of each agent assigned to a particular metaphor. The advent of First Man, for instance, is compared to a noble son deceived by his enemies (1 Ke 50.19–20), while the advent of the Living Spirit is compared to a judge sent by a king to quell an insurrection (1 Ke 50.28 ff.). The advent of the Third Messenger, in turn, is likened to a king who comes to inspect the work of his artisans (1 Ke 52.22 ff.), while the advent of Jesus the Splendour evokes the image of a man sent to root out and burn evil trees (1 Ke 53.19–27). Finally, the advent of Call & Response is compared to the homely image of butter being melted into warm milk (1 Ke 54.26 ff.). *Chapter 19* again presents the same series, only this time it is identified as the "Five Releases" (ⲧⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲓⲛⲣⲃⲁⲗ) or "Liberations" (ⲛⲟⲓⲛⲧⲟⲩⲱ). The fragmentary state of the chapter has obscured many of the details, but in general we find here an additional formulation of Manichaean soteriology in five parts.

Also on the soteriological level, there are a small number of five-part structures relating specifically to the influence of the Light-Mind on the individual. For instance, in *Chapter 103 "On the Five Wonderworks that the Light-Mind reveals to the Elect"* Mani is made to describe "Five Light Signs" (ⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ) (1 Ke 257.13) that the Light-Mind works among the Elect, namely, 1) Wisdom, 2) Faith, 3) …, 4) Love, and 5) Severity of Judgment (1 Ke 257.13–24). It is by means of these Five Signs that the Light-Mind "purifies, refines, raises, and saves" (1 Ke 257. 29–30) the New Man. Although this series of qualities differs from that of the canonical Five Virtues discussed above, which includes 1) Love, 2) Faith, 3) Perfection, 4) Patience, and 5) Wisdom, there is an ecclesiological context to *Chapter 103* that seems to justify the arrangement. Whereas Wisdom is the product of the Elect's preaching activity, Faith is the desired result among his hearers. The unknown third quality appears to promote peace in the community, while Love is engendered among the brothers and sisters. Finally, Severity of Judgement enables the Elect to purify the community of error. In this way, the "Five Light

[2] As we can see, *Chapter 16* somewhat awkwardly juxtaposes two different series, one labelled as the Five Greatnesses and the other (presumably) the Five Advents. This may indicate that two separate *kephalaia* have been combined together to form a single chapter. After all, the benediction at the close of *Chapter 16* mentions only the Five Advents, a series that is described in elaborate detail, while the Five Greatnesses are given only an abbreviated, formulaic description (see Gardner, *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 54).

Signs" revealed by the Light-Mind, although soteriological in nature, are ecclesiological in orientation and can thus be seen to cross over into this category.

An additional soteriological pattern can be found in *Chapter 112b (On the Five Things Revealed by Jesus)*.[3] According to this chapter, Jesus is said to have revealed "Five Great Things" (1 Ke 268.4) to humanity: 1) its affiliation with the race of Light, 2) the condition of the Aeon of Greatness, 3) the heroic activities of the Light, 4) the purpose of his mission, and 5) the imprisonment of the rebels (1 Ke 268.5–18). This list essentially constitutes the "gnosis" originally delivered by Jesus to Adam and Eve (1 Ke 268.2) and, later, by all the "apostles" to humanity. The motif that Jesus revealed to Adam his true nature is recorded by both Theodore bar Khonai (317.15–28 [Scher]) and al-Nadim (*Fihrist*, 784 [Dodge]) as attributed to Mani, although neither source records such a specific, five-part elaboration of this message. Thus, once again, the compiler seems to have shaped canonical material into a pentadic frame.

A final soteriological pattern can be found in *Chapter 176 "On the Spiritual Transition in Five(?) Forms and that through which the Church changes."* In this rather fragmentary chapter, several series of five "transitions" (ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲁⲃⲁⲥⲓⲥ) are described. The first series appears to describe the movement of the individual towards righteousness and entry into the Holy Church (1 Ke 453.4–455.6), while the second series describes the fate of the soul after death, as it passes through the various stations and light-vehicles to its eventual reunification with the Father (1 Ke 455.7–456.17). This second series then appears to be re-expressed, although this time with slight variations in detail and an association with the "Five Dwellings" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲏ) (1 Ke 458 ff.). While the exact details of these transition series are impossible to reconstruct, it is at least clear that the movements of the soul were seen as taking place in five-stages.

These chapters demonstrate the degree to which the *Kephalaia* compilers viewed their drama of salvation as a five-act play, rather than the three acts established by the founder of their religion.

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[3] Here I am suggesting that 1 Ke 267.18–268.18 might have constituted a separate chapter that has been embedded within *Chapter 112 "The Human Being is less than all the Things of the Cosmos, and He is more shipwrecked than them All"* (1 Ke 266.3–268.27). This section even has its own Q & A frame (1 Ke 267.18–28) typical of individual chapters.

Ethical Patterning

Pentadic structures appear to play a role in Manichaean ethics as well, particularly in *Chapter 91 "Also on the Catechumen, who is saved in a Single Body," Chapter 146: "The Old Man has Five Foods to live on; the New Man has Five Others*," *Chapter 165 "Envy exists in Five Forms"* and *Chapter 189 "[On the Five Temptations]."*

Chapter 91 contains two discourses on Catechumenate ethics. For the first discourse, Mani is questioned by an Elect about how a Catechumen can avoid the process of reincarnation. In response, Mani is made to describe three sets of five characteristics that the Catechumen must posses. First, the Catechumen must regard 1) his wife as a stranger, 2) his house as an inn, 3) his family as fellow travellers, 4) his possessions as borrowed, and 5) his thoughts must always be on God (1 Ke 228.24–229.6). Second, the Catechumen must practice continence (*enkrateia*) by 1) not eating meat, 2) fasting and prayer, 3) almsgiving, 4) lack of malice, and 5) devotion to the church (1 Ke 229.20–29). Third, the good Catechumens can be known by the fact that they are 1) like the "good pearl" mentioned in Mani's *Treasure of Life*, 2) not bound by the enemy, 3) purified according to their deeds, 4) healed and purified, and 5) constantly at prayer (1 Ke 230.6–29). For the second part of the discourse, Mani is asked about what happens to the prior sins of those Catechumens who were idolaters, blasphemers, murderers, and magicians before entering the church (1 Ke 231.12–24). In response, Mani is made to argue that as long as such a Catechumen 1) accepts the faith, 2) separates Light from Darkness, 3) perceives the mystery of the Living Soul, 4) receives the right-hand of peace, and 5) prays to the Light-Mind for forgiveness (1 Ke 232.1–8) all prior sins will be forgiven. In addition, the Catechumen's position may be improved by 1) abstinence, 2) vigils, 3) fasting, 4) care for the Living Soul, and 5) prayer (1 Ke 233.5–14). What follows is an account of how the Catechumen's sin is divided into five-parts. While four of these parts may be forgiven by the church, the fifth requires further purification (1 Ke 233.21–234.20).

Essentially what *Chapter 91* presents is four sets of five-part ethical patterns, two from the first discourse (Discourse A) and two from the second (Discourse B):

Discourse A (1)	*Discourse A (2)*	*Discourse B (1)*	*Discourse B (2)*
abstinence	vegetarian diet	faith	abstinence
hospitality	fasting and prayer	separation of natures	vigils
detachment from family	almsgiving	mystery of Living Soul	fasting
detachment from things	lack of malice	right-hand of peace	care for Living Soul
piety	devotion to church	prayer to Light-Mind	prayer

It is interesting, however, to compare what relation these five-part ethical patterns might have with the "Ten Commandments," which according to al-Nadīm, Mani established for the Hearers (i.e., Catechumens) (*Fihrist*, 789 [Dodge]), and which are known in various branches of Manichaeism,[4] against 1) idol-worship, 2) lying, 3) greed, 4) killing, 5) fornication, 6) theft, 7) pretences/false teaching, 8) sorcery, 9) doubt, and 10) sloth.[5] In fact, there is little in either of *Chapter 91*'s lists to suggest any conformity with the canonical list from al-Nadīm, although four of the canonical commandments appear to be alluded to when Mani is asked about the prior sins of idolaters, blasphemers, murderers, and magicians just before the second discourse.

It appears as though the compiler of *Chapter 91*, although apparently interested in the Ten Commandments of the Catechumenate, has decided to divide two variant sets of them into two sets of five, to which he has appended in each case a five-part discussion of purity. It is difficult to imagine why this was done, except perhaps in response to a greater need for ethical flexibility depending on the type of person entering the Catechumenate. Could it be that a generally upstanding person entering the church was subject to a slightly different set of criteria than someone with a criminal past? We cannot be sure. What is clear is that the compiler of *Chapter 91* has rejected a ten-part ethical framework in favour of one with five parts.

Chapter 146 presents the radical difference between what influences and sustains the individual prior to and post conversion. Whereas prior to conversion the individual is sustained by 1) physical beauty, 2) evil discourses and myths, 3) beautiful works (of some kind), 4) worldly

[4] See Sims-Williams, "The Manichaean Commandments," 577–578.
[5] Sims-Williams, "Manichaean Commandments," 578.

foods, and 5) sexual desire (1 Ke 349.24–350.3), after conversion this sustenance is exchanged for 1) the spirit of the church leaders, 2) liturgical prayer, 3) joy, 4) itinerate preaching, and 5) scripture (1 Ke 349.5–18). As is so often the case in *Kephalaia* theology, good and evil, although radically different in their nature, are conceived of as structurally analogous. Just as the Good and Evil Trees both have Five Limbs, so too are the Old Man and New Man driven by five sources of nourishment. Again, this reinforces the fundamentally parallelism of the two opposed natures.

Unfortunately, while the lacunous state of *Chapter 165* completely obscures the five forms of envy, two of the five temptations can be read from *Chapter 189*, namely the fourth, desire for women (1 Ke 485.23), and the fifth, apostasy during persecution (1 Ke 485.30–486.7). Somewhat clearer is the distinction made by *Chapter 193* between the "Five Properties" of the Evil One and the Good One. To the "Evil One" are attributed 1) …, 2) slander, 3) murder, 4) greed, and 5) mixing of light and dark (1 Ke 490.27–29), while to the "Good One" are attributed 1) fasting, 2) grief, 3) almsgiving, 4) faith, and 5) separation of light and dark (1 Ke 491.5–6). Here, again, the qualitative rather than the structural difference between the two natures is emphasized.

It is interesting to note that in none of these ethical chapters is reference made to the canonical "Five Virtues" of 1) love, 2) faith, 3) perfection, 4) patience, and 5) wisdom known from Mani's *Epistles* (50.9–14) and al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]). This indicates yet another deviation from canonical traditions by the compilers.

Ecclesiological Patterning

While we could see that some of the soteriological patterns discussed above had certain ecclesiological overtones, one *Kephalaia* chapter in particular, *Chapter 137 "On the Five Types of Brotherhood that are distinguished from one another,"* contains an important discussion of ecclesiological issues. In this chapter, a distinction is made between five types of individuals who form part of or are associated with the Holy Church, namely 1) brothers, 2) children, 3) disciples, 4) "day-labourers," and 5) slaves (1 Ke 338.25–27). "Brothers" are the "people of righteousness" (ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ[ⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ]) (1 Ke 338.29) guided by the Light-Mind, while the "children" are "considerate people" (ⲛⲣⲙⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ) (1 Ke 339.9) who always follow the ways of truth. "Disciples" are described as "splen-

did sheep" (ⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲉ) (1 Ke 339.17), who follow their teacher in patience, while "day-labourers" (ⲛϫⲁⲏⲃⲉⲕⲉ) are those whose commitment to the Church is not total (1 Ke 339.21–29). Finally, "slaves" (ⲛⲟⲗⲟⲩⲟⲛⲉ) are vain and disobedient people who flee at the first signs of persecution (1 Ke 340.1–12). Interestingly, while the discourse classifies Church members according to these five groups, the reader is encouraged to reject the last two as "foreign races" (ⲙⲡⲓⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲱⲙⲙⲟ) (340.14).[6] While this five-fold division of the Church appears to have nothing to do with the formal, five-part hierarchy of 1) Teachers, 2) Bishops, 3) Presbyters/Elders, 4) Elect, and 5) Hearers known from a variety of Manichaean sources,[7] it is important to remember that what is being described by *Chapter 137* are not formal, ecclesiastical classes but rather types of relationships. Whereas acceptable members of the Church behave like "brothers," "children," or "disciples," unacceptable members act with the indifference of "day-labourers" or, worst of all, the disloyalty of "slaves."[8]

An additional, albeit enigmatic, reference to five-part ecclesiological structures can be found in *Chapter 3 "On the Interpretation of Happiness, Wisdom, and Power; what they mean."* This chapter, after enumerating the five levels of existence at which these three concepts can be found, closes with a *cluster* of references to "Five Happinesses, Five Wisdoms, and Five Powers" (1 Ke 25.3–4) which are then (following a lacuna) set into some kind of relation to "Five Churches" (1 Ke 25.4). What this reference to Five Churches means, however, remains entirely mysterious.

Polemical Patterning

While we have seen that *Chapter 6* and *Chapter 69* used five-part patterns for polemical ends, a similar technique is used in two additional polemical[9] discussions of rival religious groups. The first instance can

[6] This represents a kind of stylistic division sometimes employed in the *Kephalaia* whereby a five-part series is divided into three good and two bad components. A similar effect is achieved by *Chapter 39 "On the Three Days and the Two Deaths,"* in which the doctrine of "Three Times" is contrasted with two moments of defeat for the Darkness.

[7] Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 77–78; Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 27.

[8] There is no doubt a social dimension to this metaphoric revilement of "day-labourers" and "slaves" as "foreign races" that would be worthy of exploration.

[9] Interestingly, both chapters make use of the word ⲙⲛⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲉϩⲟⲩⲧ. While the exact meaning of this word remains a mystery, given its connection with a rival teaching it presumably indicates something to do with error.

be found in *Chapter 12*, where Mani is asked to explain the "Five Words which are proclaimed in the teaching of the Baptists" (1 Ke 44.25–26) and other sects. Unfortunately, the lacunous state of the text once again prevents us from reconstructing what these "Five Words" might have been, with the exception of "Third Messenger" as the second in the series (1 Ke 44.36–45.1). Similarly, in *Chapter 100 "On the Dragon, the one with Fourteen Heads; what is it and …,"* Mani is questioned by a disciple on the existence of a fourteen-headed dragon mentioned in the "laws of the Magi" as dwelling in "Five Hallows" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛϣⲁⲣϣϥ) (1 Ke 252.1–3). In response, Mani is made to give an anthropological interpretation in which the fourteen heads of the dragon are said to represent the seven (*sic!*)[10] senses of the head and the seven senses of the body (1 Ke 252.19–253.2). The "Five Pits" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲃⲏⲃ) in which the dragon dwells, however, are said to represent five of the internal organs (1 Ke 253.2–7).

Aetiological Patterning

Finally, a small class of what might be termed aetiological[11] patterns can be identified in chapters where Mani is made to account for the existence of certain natural or biological phenomena. For instance, in *Chapter 95* Mani is made to offer an explanation of five different manifestations of cloud (1 Ke 240.19–244.13), while in *Chapter 65* he is made to describe five aspects of the sun, namely its 1) light, 2) beauty, 3) peace, 4) life, and 5) force (1 Ke 162.1–13). Similarly in *Chapter 68*, Mani is made to describe five effects of fire, such as the fact that it 1) destroys materials, 2) separates fire, light, ash, and smoke from wood, 3) gives taste to food, 4) helps craftsmen work, and 5) helps people to see (1 Ke 166.19–30). In addition, *Chapter 104* presents a particularly enigmatic discussion of five ways in which the energy provided by food is expended by human beings through 1) intellectual pleasure, 2) speech, 3) physical activity, 4) sexual intercourse, and 5) procreation (1 Ke 258.10–23). Interestingly, emphasis is placed on the well-being and

[10] One would expect Mani to describe the five senses of the head and the body, but the fact that fourteen heads are mentioned necessitates the description of seven. Besides, if one counts two ears, two eyes, two nostrils, and one mouth, one arrives at seven. See 1 Ke 173.1–4.

[11] I use the term aetiological to mean that the author(s) are attempting to account for and explain the existence of various worldly phenomena through the lens of Manichaean ideology.

needs of the fifth product, the child, as most important, while the other four are seen as unimportant and incidental. Finally, *Chapter 107* offers a five-part explication of the production of speech (1 Ke 261.3–12) based on a metaphor involving the work of craftsmen.

Such chapters are generally very brief and seem to have served as simple aetiological discussions about commonplace topics that were likely seen as problematic when viewed through the lens of Manichaean ideology. For instance, the status of fire as both a Light and Dark Element no doubt caused confusion as to its utility. Similarly, Manichaean condemnations of procreation likely perplexed some of the Catechumens with families. The fact that such issues could be explained in terms of five-part patterns would have been reassuring to the *Kephalaia*'s intended audience, for whom a pentadic vision of reality was being constructed.

CONCLUSIONS & IMPLICATIONS

This study of five-part numeric patterns in the Manichaean *Kephalaia* has led to one primary conclusion, namely, that the text contains a considerable number of theological formulations that appear to be at variance with what we know, or can infer, about canonical Manichaean traditions. This means that the compilers of the work deemed it necessary to alter, expand, and improvise upon the teachings of their founder in order to address a variety of themes that were seen as either pressing or simply of interest. If this is the case, then why did they do it? What were some of the factors that might have stimulated this departure from teachings and traditions that Mani, we assume, had expected to be definitive? In response, three factors appear to have been at work that led to this creative use of numeric patterning: 1) scholastic redaction, 2) response to adversity, and 3) missionary expansion. Moreover, by way of conclusion, some suggestions will be offered as to why the number five was favoured in particular as well as who could have been the driving force behind this numeric interest.

Scholastic Redaction

As was stated above, from what we can piece together from the many scattered remains of Mani's own writings, it does not appear that his work was very systematic in nature. Rather, likely written over a substantial period of time in varying circumstances,[1] Mani's writings seem to have been largely incidental, dealing with a wide range of (often miscellaneous) theological, polemical, and pastoral concerns (as in the *Book of Mysteries* and *Epistles*). In some cases, he seems to have presented a more-or-less straightforward narrative of his cosmogonical, prophetological, or eschatological ideas (as in *Shabuhragan*, *Living Gospel*, and the

[1] In fact, we have no clear ideas about how the canon came to be formed or if the canonical writings (plus *Shabuhragan*) were, in fact, the only ones he composed during his lifetime.

source[s] used by Theodore bar Khonai and al-Nadīm), while in others, he appears to have been somewhat of a collector of pre-existing traditions (as in the *Book of Giants*). Besides, the fact that he attempted to portray his vision artistically by means of his *Picture-book* implies that Mani may have been more interested in the aesthetic impact of his message than its systematic presentation. More importantly, however, none of these canonical writings appear to have contained the same degree of fascination with numbers and numeric patterns as can be found so prominently expressed in the *Kephalaia*. This means that, at some point in the (largely obscure) literary history of the work, the compilers of the *Kephalaia* saw fit to introduce these patterns in order to resolve what may have been a substantial number of "loose-ends" and ambiguities in the canonical tradition. By doing so, they were attempting to construct a more cohesive and, by extension, more competitive theological vision of the cosmos. The fact that the compilers of so many chapters display a pronounced preference for *five* means that the editorial efforts in which they engaged can be reasonably described as an essentially scholastic process of *pentadic redaction*.

First, we observed that the compilers of the *Kephalaia* appear to have adopted as a general theological principle the idea that divine beings—both good and evil, light and dark—ought to be conceived of as having five basic properties. This was, as we saw, dramatically (and it would seem programmatically) expressed in *Chapter 2* through the radical opposition between the "Two Trees," an early Manichaean metaphor for the two radically opposed principles. In this case, the two opposed natures, so fundamental to Manichaean cosmology, are conceived of as being qualitatively different, though structurally identical.

Then we directed our attention to the light-realm, where we saw that this interest in conveying the five-fold nature of divine being was extended to the most revered of such beings, the Father of Greatness, who, even though he was known in canonical (and later eastern) traditions both as the "Four-faced God" and as having "Five Limbs," was portrayed by the compiler of *Chapter 21* a being characterized by five qualities.

Following this, we looked at the degree to which the *Kephalaia* compilers were faced with considerable conceptual and terminological challenges in their efforts to describe the constituent elements that give light-being its substance. These "Five Elements," also known as the "Five Sons of First Man," the "Five Luminous Gods," and at times even the "Five Intellectuals," are found in an often bewildering array of

contexts that do not always allow for a clear differentiation of concepts. Nevertheless, in spite of this obvious terminological variability and confusion, we also noted that the compilers do not appear to have been interested in sorting them out. Rather, this series, particularly under the guise of the "Five Sons," served as a convenient literary and rhetorical tool for the construction of other more elaborate patterns and formulations involving other number patterns.

Next, we examined the degree to which five-part patterns played a pivotal role in both the theological and literary formulations of *Chapter 38*, a text that might be considered the centre-piece of *Kephalaia* volume one. In this chapter, really a treatise, Mani is made to go to great lengths to explain to a reticent disciple his assertion that the human body is really just a microcosmic representation of the macrocosm and that both domains display an equally pentadic structure in which a divine guardian watches over five districts continually disturbed by the rebellions of the dark powers.

Our final foray into the light-realm involved an examination of how the *Kephalaia* compilers sought to transform the basic pattern of Manichaean conceptions of divine activity from one based on three-stages (most clearly evidenced by Theodore bar Khonai's account) to one based on five. This was expressed by means of the highly variable series known as the "Five Fathers" as well as the grouping identified as the "Five Greatnesses." Each of these cases appears to have represented a deliberate attempt at the *pentadic redaction* of Manichaean discourse.

When it came to the dark-realm, the compilers were compelled to be more creative in their redaction efforts, since, as far as we can tell, Mani's descriptions of the land of darkness do not appear to have been all that specific. This meant that the compilers had to construct a vision of the dark-realm that was equally rooted in five-part patterns and, as such, could be symmetrically opposed to the light-realm.[2]

In the first place, we saw that the compilers attempted to account for the basic evolution of the dark-realm out of the evil principle variously known as "Matter," "Darkness," "Sin," and "Death." This meant positing five stages of development before the elaboration of

[2] Given the obvious and overriding importance of luminous series such as the "Five Limbs" and the "Five Elements," especially in canonical traditions (see above), I do not accept Couliano's suggestion that the Five Planets are the basis of all Manichaean pentads and, therefore, the dark-realm must have preceded the light-realm in Manichaean ideological formulation ("The Counterfeit Spirit," 57). If anything, this study demonstrates that the opposite was the case.

the dark-realm into five separate elemental worlds. How to describe these individual jurisdictions, however, became a challenge, since the canonical ordering of dark elements, which had placed "smoke" in first position and "darkness" last, led to a terminological difficulty that the compilers were not quite able to overcome. As we saw, this problem became most evident in *Chapter 6*, which applies no less than four different names to the chief ruler of the "Five Worlds of Darkness," although here too, as in *Chapter 38*, five-part patterning was woven into the literary and rhetorical structure in order to drive home the essentially pentadic nature of evil.

Next, we saw that Manichaeans also got into trouble when they attempted to malign only five of the seven planets known to antiquity, with the exception of the Sun and Moon, which they viewed as light-ships ferrying liberated light-particles back to their homeland. This necessitated the substitution of the "Two Ascendants," an astronomical concept that they do not appear to have completely understood, since as Roger Beck has described it, the "Ascendant" (*anabibazon*) was meant to be complimented by a "Descendant" (*katabibazon*).[3] Then, the compilers' attempt to associate the twelve signs of the Zodiac with the "Five Worlds of Darkness" led to equally patchy results, although in this case, this artificial construction seems to have had a polemical motivation.

Then, in a more generalized way, we examined how the *Kephalaia* compilers used five-part numerical patterns in order to address a variety of soteriological, ethical, ecclesiological, polemical, and aetiological themes. Here too, we observed that, especially in soteriological, ethical, and ecclesiological contexts, the compilers presented pentadic constructions at variance with what can be known from canonical traditions.

Such an extensive, albeit often subtle, reshaping of Manichaean discourse implies that the teaching and writings that Mani left behind were not seen as sufficiently clear and, as such, required extensive commentary and retooling. After all, the mere existence of an apparently *scholastic* work such as the *Kephalaia* on such a massive scale indicates that, in fact, there were a considerable number of ambiguities in the Manichaean tradition that needed to be addressed, since we may assume that many chapters have as their kernel some sort of exegetical puzzle found within the canon. This kind of redactional work not only runs contrary to the finality and definitiveness that Mani appears

[3] "Anababizontes," 193.

to have claimed for his "gospel," but it also challenges the assumptions of many modern scholars who have allowed themselves to be influenced by such claims. In fact, there is a long tradition in Manichaean Studies of scholars asserting the general uniformity and consistency of Manichaean doctrine across its bewildering array of culturally specific milieux.[4] Even Polotsky talked about the essential unity of Manichaean traditions from North Africa to China.[5] These conventional assumptions about Manichaean discourse can be summarized as follows:

1) that Mani established a complete theological system in *all* of its details,[6]
2) that this system was transmitted essentially *unchanged* from one socio-historical context to another,[7] and
3) that this system can be reconstructed from the diverse, but essentially *uniform*, sources into which it was recorded.[8]

Today, however, it no longer seems appropriate to talk about a unified "Manichaean system," especially one formulated and set-in-stone by Mani himself. Rather, as this study has shown, Manichaean theology, even at a relatively early stage, seems to have existed in varying states of flux and evolution, depending on the context in which it circulated.[9]

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[4] Such assumptions, for example, have even led Lieu to assert that "literalist" understandings of Mani's teaching made Manichaeism "a static religion" (*Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 32). This implies, however, that basic features of the discourse did not change and made it easily exposed to philosophical attack.

[5] Polotsky, "Manichäismus," 101 [240].

[6] Recently Gardner and Lieu state that in contrast to mainstream Christianity, which worked out its doctrinal formulations over centuries, "Mani took great pains to establish a total religion based upon his own comprehensive scriptures and preaching," thus, there is "less scope in the study of Manichaeism to trace the evolution of doctrine, since all teaching was rigidly tied to the very details of the divine word in Mani's scriptures" (*Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 9–10).

[7] Rudolph suggested that Coptic sources come "closest to the original system" (*Gnosis*, 334), while Heuser, in spite of his efforts to focus on a limited socio-historical source base in his study of Manichaean myth in Coptic texts, suggests that "the Manichaean myth *in toto* can be deduced from" these sources ("The Manichaean Myth," 5).

[8] In his presentation of the Manichaean "system" Hans Jonas stated that he made use primarily of Theodore bar Khonai, "supplemented by whatever pieces of material from parallel texts fit into a particular passage" (*The Gnostic Religion*, 209). Later, Klimkeit would allude to the fact that Manichaean sources reveal "a remarkably unified system" (*Gnosis on the Silk Road*, 4).

[9] Recently, BeDuhn and Mirecki have cautioned against viewing the original Mesopotamian formulation of Manichaeism as "a static base" upon which later tradition rested ("Placing the *Acts of Archelaus*," 7). In the same vein, Sala has pointed to divergent

However, as Jason BeDuhn has pointed out, Manichaean ritual, in contrast to doctrine, seems to have been one aspect of the religion that remained particularly consistent throughout the wide array of cultural environments, and, in fact, theology may have acted more as a conceptual framework meant to support ritual.[10] Thus, it seems more appropriate to talk about *phases* of Manichaean theology. Just as mainstream Christian theology can rightly be identified by any number of qualifiers, such as ante-Nicene, post-Chalcedonean, etc., so too would it be desirable for scholars to develop similar nomenclature based on critical evaluation of the sources. This is partly a result of the fact that some scholars have been somewhat overenthusiastic in their desire to hear the authentic voice of Mani preserved in texts such as the *Kephalaia*, which presents itself (artificially I believe) as a record of his discourses. Such a desire, although not surprising, runs contrary to the function and purpose of the work as identified by this study. A methodological lesson can and should be learned from the degree to which many New Testament scholars are generally sceptical about how much material from the gospels can be directly attributed to Jesus. While Jesus of course never intended to found a religion, it is thought that canonical early Christian writings do contain at least a core of authentic material drawn more or less directly from his teaching (reflected in part by the hypothetically posited Q-document in particular). Many decades of careful study have shown the degree to which this material has been shaped by the redactional and editorial efforts of the first generations of Christians. We should assume that a similar relationship exists between a work such as the *Kephalaia* and the words of Mani himself,[11] although in his case he seems to have *deliberately* sought to found (or at least reform) his notion of the true religion. While it may be assumed that on some level a certain amount of *Kephalaia* material was drawn either from Mani's own writings or from oral traditions passed down by early disciples and teachers, the vast majority seems to have undergone a substantial amount of expansion and revision. It just so happens that

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strains of Manichaean doctrine ("Narrative Options in Manichaean Eschatology," 65–66).

[10] BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body*, 6–7.

[11] In fact, on a basic level, it is difficult to judge the distance of anything attributed to *Manichaios* from Mani himself, since the Syriac epithet, "Mani the Living" (*Mani hiyya*), on which this common form of his name is based seems to reveal at least some degree of hagiography.

this particular study has focused on redactional tendencies by means of numeric patterning, although there would certainly be other thematic gateways worthy of exploration.

Adversity and Persecution

The desire to clarify the teachings of the founder may not have been the only reason that so many *Kephalaia* chapters were shaped by such a redactional tendency, since some of those most deeply interested in five-part patterns also reveal a keen awareness of both external and internal pressures perceived by the community. External pressures, for example, are evoked most explicitly in the efforts of Chapter 6 to describe the properties of the Five Worlds of Darkness, which ultimately lead to an association of these worlds not only with rival religious communities such as Zoroastrians, Christians, and "pagans," but even, as in the case of the great World of Smoke, the "powers that be." As such, we are told most emphatically that "the spirit of the King of (those of) Darkness is the one who rules / today in the powers and authorities of the earth and the / whole world. I mean those who rule over all of creation, / humbling people in their tyranny according to their will" (1 Ke 33.5–8). This statement no doubt reflects bitter memories of persecution at the hands of Sassanian and Roman authorities.

After the deaths of King Shapur I (ca. 272 CE) and his successor Hormizd (273 CE), both of whom had been favourably disposed to Mani and his teaching, religious and political machinations began within the Sassanian administration against the new, upstart religion. In particular, Kirdir, the Zoroastrian "high-priest," sought to bring the empire's religious minorities under control,[12] as is evidenced by one of his surviving inscriptions, which states, in Middle Persian, that "the Jews, the Buddhists and the Brahmans, the Nazarenes (i.e., Aramaic-speaking Christians) and the Christians (i.e., Greek-speaking), the Baptists and the Manichaeans were struck throughout the land."[13] Eventually, this led to the imprisonment and death of Mani (ca. 276 or 277 CE) and the scattering of the Manichaeans from Mesopotamia. Within fifteen years, Mar Sīsin (i.e. Sisinnios), the successor to Mani as head of the church, or

[12] Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 108.

[13] Gignoux, *Les quatres inscriptions du Mage Kirdīr*, 69–70. See also Hutter, "Manichaeism in Iran," 308.

archēgos, was also executed by Vahram II (292 CE).[14] Some Manichaeans, fleeing this persecution, took refuge at the court of King Amaro ('Amr ibn 'Adi) at Hira,[15] to the southwest of Seleucia-Ctesiphon.[16] Eventually, Amaro was even able to convince King Narses to halt the persecution of the Manichaeans, although this was done, in part, strategically, since Emperor Diocletian had recently issued an edict against the Manichaeans on his territory in 303 CE. This was seen by Narses as an opportunity to gain Manichaean support. But, soon enough after, under Hormizd II (303–309 CE), the Zoroastrian priesthood again agitated for the king to strike at the Manichaeans.[17]

Similarly, under the Roman Empire, Manichaeans were faced with periodic persecution and toleration. After making initial inroads into Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, Mani's followers were (unjustly)[18] condemned by Diocletian for purportedly propagating the "damnable customs and perverse laws of the Persians."[19] The so-called "Edict of Milan" (312 CE), however, brought some respite on a whole range of religious matters and, as a result, Manichaeans seem to have flourished in places such as the Nile Valley, where the Coptic *Kephalaia* were likely produced, Palestine, where a teacher such as Julia could flourish,[20] and Italy, where Augustine, on the recommendation of some rather well connected Manichaean "saints," was appointed Chair of Rhetoric in Milan.[21] This relative religious peace was short-lived, since with the accession of Theodosius anti-heretical measures were reinforced (380 CE). Ultimately, by the time of Justinian, Manichaeans were outlawed and the Elect threatened with death.[22]

While the bitter memories of these persecutions are a well-known feature of the Manichaean *Homilies*, especially the "Sermon on the

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[14] According to the *Chronicle of Seert*, the close relation between Manichaeans and Christians in the Sassanian Empire led to Vahram II's persecution of both groups (*Patrologia Orientalis* 4.3:237).

[15] See Pedersen, "A Manichaean Historical Text," 196.

[16] Hutter, "Manichaeism in Iran," 309.

[17] Hutter, "Manichaeism in Iran," 309. See also Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 106–109.

[18] Brown, "Diffusion," 92–103.

[19] For the "Edict of Diocletian" see Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 117–118; see also Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 122–123.

[20] Mark the Deacon, *Life of Porphyry*, 85–91; see Scopello, "Julie, manichéenne d'Antioche," 187–209.

[21] *Confessions*, 18.

[22] Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 111.

Great War,"[23] echoes can also be heard in the *Kephalaia*, which may in fact draw on traditions pre-dating the *Homilies*.[24] For instance, in *Chapter 189 "[On the Five Temptations],"* the fifth temptation menacing the Elect, presumably apostasy, comes during persecution:

> [The fifth is this:] If persecution / [happens] in … through the persecutor … / … the Sects, those who stand in … / … tribulation. Or again as they … / … as they strike him with whips … / … and they come to "crucify"[25] him and he does not turn … / … from his truth and he bears every thing … / … wrath, bond, (and) crucifixion. In these Five / Temptations … … of the Elect / … he receives the … … / … increases in faith and becomes true … / his knowledge … temptation … / … and he returns immediately and reveals / the truth and … gives … (1 Ke 485.30–486.13).

Such a vivid description reveals that persecution formed part of the living memory of the *Kephalaia* compilers and influenced at least some of their pentadic formulations.

The adverse effects of persecution are also incorporated into *Chapter 137 "On the Five Types of Brotherhood that are distinguished from one another."* This chapter, which as we previously saw, enumerated five types of people found in the church, suggests that the fourth and fifth classes, the so-called "day-labourers" and, especially, the "slaves" fleed at the first sign of persecution (1 Ke 340.6–7).

While it is obvious that persecution was a subject that the compilers incorporated into some of their numeric formulations, less obvious is the possibility that such formulations acted as a fortification strategy in the face of real or potential persecutions. It seems at least plausible to suggest that the attempt to shape Manichaean discourse and ideology into such regularized and reoccurring patterns could have served as a means to strengthen the faith of adherents, especially the Elect, to whom the *Kephalaia* as a work appears to have been directed. The broad application of pentadic structures, which were seen as indicative of divinity itself, to such a wide range of phenomena could only serve to reinforce the Manichaean claim to truth and, thereby, support the

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[23] See Pedersen's idiosyncratic, yet thorough, study: *Studies in The Sermon on the Great War*. According to Pedersen, this homiletic texts was meant "to strengthen the persecuted community in 3rd or 4th century Mesopotamia" (28).

[24] For instance, in the "Sermon on the Great War," Mani is made to say "I weep for my *Kephalaia*" (Hom 18.6), which may indicate that "kephalaic" literature of some sort existed prior to the composition of the *Homilies*. See Pedersen, *Studies*, 90–93.

[25] In this case "crucify" is likely a synonym for torture.

typical Manichaean boast to have an explanation for everything. Such a vision of reality, if it could be seen to reproduce itself throughout the cosmos, may have helped to keep adherents in the fold and held them fast during times of adversity and repression.

Missionary Expansion

An additional aspect to which numeric patterning may have contributed is the missionary expansion of the movement. As is well known, Manichaeism was a self-consciously missionary religion. As Lieu has written, "misson was the driving force behind the religion from its very inception."[26] Mani's assertion that the previous revelations of Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus had been unjustly limited to specific socio-cultural settings meant that he actively sought to deliver his message to a wide range of audiences. As such, modelling himself on Paul, Mani undertook missionary journeys to diverse parts of the Sassanian Empire,[27] which enabled him to encounter and preach to Christians in the west, Buddhists and Brahmins in the east, and Zoroastrians in the Iranian heartland. His disciples followed suit, with Mar Adda being primarily responsible for the western mission and Mar Ammō as the chief organizer of the mission to the east.[28]

Numeric patterning may offer us a glimpse into one of the missionary techniques employed by Manichaeans, at least in the western context to which our texts testify. As Asmussen observed: "Mani and his missionaries knew the importance of repetition. When well-known material and names occurred again and again, a feeling of security and confidence was produced in the minds of the listeners."[29] As such, the repeated presentation of Manichaean doctrines in predictable and self-reinforcing patterns, such as those involving *five*, could have contributed to the palatability and plausibility of the missionary's teaching. In addition, the fact that the number five was used with such frequency could have also had a mnemonic value, since a series of five points could be easily recalled using five fingers.[30] After all, a number of the *Kephalaia*

[26] *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 88.
[27] Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 88.
[28] Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 90.
[29] *Manichaean Literature*, 113.
[30] In fact, ancient theoreticians suggested that the five fingers of the hand could

chapters that elaborate five points are extremely brief—almost catechetical (see, for instance, *Chapters 25, 33, 37, 68, 107, 193*)—with little or no literary frame. Such chapters appear to represent "proto-*kephalaia*"[31] and it may well be that many more elaborate chapters have their origins in such brief, mnemonically digestible, didactic texts. This means that numeric patterning, especially those patterns involving five, could have served as a valuable pedagogical tool for the Manichaean missionary.

Why five?

But why, we may ask, was *five* favoured as a figure around which so much of the Manichaean world-view was organized? The fact that *five* played such a central role in the development of Manichaean discourse is, as we have seen, rooted in the fact that Mani and Manichaeans seem to have believed as a general principle that most beings (both Light and Dark) possess five qualities. This concept, in turn, was connected to the Manichaean conviction that the human being, with its five limbs, five senses, five fingers, and five toes (on each limb), was a microcosmic representation of both the wider macro-cosmos[32] and the divine power at its source. After all, according to Manichaean cosmology, when the demons conspired to create Adam and Eve, they used the androgynous image of the Third Messenger as a model (Theodore bar Khonai 317.7–11 [Scher]). This basic anthropological importance of five, however, was likely drawn from 2nd-century Syriac philosopher Bardaisan, who according to Ephraim taught that all entities possess five aspects corresponding to the five senses. Each must have its own colour, its own smell, its own taste, its own texture, and its own voice;[33] sentiments definitely echoed by the description of the dark ruler in *Chapter 6*. In addition, the fact that Mani seems to have inherited a concept of

serve as a valuable tool in the memorization of a discourse (Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 124).

[31] See *T. Kell. Copt. 1* in Gardner, *Kellis Literary Texts*, 2.

[32] For example, *Kephalaia Chapter 70* is called "On the Body, that it was made to resemble the cosmos." Also, the Manichaean account from the *Acta Archelai* states that "this body is called cosmos in relation to the great cosmos (i.e., the macrocosmos)" (τὸ γὰρ σῶμα τοῦτο κόσμος καλεῖται πρὸς τὸν μέγαν κόσμον [9.4]).

[33] See Ephraim, *Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan*, 223 (Mitchell).

Five Elements, perhaps also from the school of Bardaisan, as the basic building blocks of both the soul and its material antithesis, as well as the concept of the Five Limbs, means that some of the most fundamental concepts in Manichaean theology were canonically expressed as pentads. This, in turn, provided the precedent for later teachers and theologians to use, expand, and reinvent this basic paradigm.

Who was responsible?

While we have sought to reconstruct the methods and motivations of an alleged group of anonymous compilers, a clue to who may have instigated or at least influenced this process of enumeration and systematization may be found in a Sogdian fragment from Turfan on the healing of Nafsha of Tadmor/Palmyra. In this text, Mar Adda, the primary Manichaean missionary to the west, is said to have received a vision from the master himself, in which everything, we are told, is explained "fully and completely by numbers."[34] Michel Tardieu suggested that Adda, who held the ecclesiastical rank of "teacher,"[35] may have in fact been the author of the *Kephalaia*.[36] We may never be able to validate such a bold suggestion, but it at least seems plausible that Adda, if not the actual "author" of the *Kephalaia*, may have provided the main impetus or model for the development of this interest in enumeration and systematization. This Iranian fragment would seem to provide the much needed "authorization" from Mani for Adda (and/or his associates) to do something that Mani's great religious project was supposed to have made unnecessary—that is, the interpretation, clarification, and systematization of the teaching of God's ultimate messenger. Mani's canonical writings were supposed to have been definitive, but as the "prologue" to the *Kephalaia* itself reveals (1 Ke 8.34–35), where

[34] So. 18223 + So. 18222 (Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 113). See also Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte*, 44 (3.3).

[35] Funk has raised the question as to whether or not the "teacher" referred to by the title of the first *Kephalaia* volume is in actual fact the author rather than Mani ("Reconstruction," 154, n. 17).

[36] Tardieu, "Principes de l'exégèse manichéenne," 134, n. 73. Cited (tentatively) by Funk, "Reconstruction," 154. Adda is known to have composed his own writings, which were sometimes mistaken for those of Mani (Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 91). This, in fact, may have been the result of conscious imitation or attribution of his words to the master, not unlike the situation found within the *Kephalaia*.

Mani is made to exhort his disciples to record what he taught them, the definitive and final pretence with which Mani packaged his writings was quickly overridden by the needs and circumstances of the communities he left behind.

PART II

TRANSLATIONS FROM *THE KEPHALAIA OF THE TEACHER* [BERLIN CODEX]

Note on Translations

The following translations have been left in their codex page format in order to facilitate cross-referencing with Part I and comparison with the original edition (to which the reader is strongly encouraged to refer). Also, mythological figures and theological concepts of particular relevance to Part I have been rendered in italics purely for emphasis. In addition, I have made every effort to incorporate (as yet unpublished) *Addenda et corrigenda* (A&C) by W.-P. Funk into the translation of these selected chapters. The final published version of these A&C is slated to appear at the end of the Polotsky/Böhlig/Funk edition of *Kephalaia* volume one. As such, references to the A&C are simply meant to indicate that an improved or alternate reading exists. However, as in the case of the translations as a whole, any inaccuracies in the rendering of these valuable A&C are mine. Note also that any words or phrases followed by (?) are conjectural reconstructions.

CHAPTER 2

THE SECOND, ON THE PARABLE OF THE TREE

16.35 The first parable they asked him about (and) implored [him to]
16.36 interpret for them is this: While [crowds of . . .][1]

17.1 were gathered . . . his disciples stood
17.2 before him (and) questioned him, saying: We implore you, our
17.3 Lord, that you [teach us] and interpret for us these
17.4 two trees [which Jesus] described to his disciples, as is written
17.5 in the Gos[pel, where he said]:[2] *The good tree produces*
17.6 *[good fruit,] and [the] evil tree produces bad fruit*
17.7 *[. . . Neither is there a] good [tree] that produces bad fruit,*
17.8 *[nor is there an evil tree that] produces good fruit.*
17.9 *[Every tree is known by] its fruit.*
17.10 [We] implore you, then, that you [now teach us about]
17.11 these two trees [and] interpret them [for us] . . .
17.12 . . . as they grow [on the] earth. For they are described . . .
17.13 [in the] writings . . . . . them . . .
17.14 . . . . . word(?) . . .
17.15 . . . . . mystery by mystery.
17.16 There are some among the Sects[3] who interpret these two
17.17 trees, counting them as good trees along with the rest of the good things[4]
17.18 on this mixed earth. Each [one(?)] . . . . . .
17.19 to them, relating them to . . .
17.20 a single interpretation.
17.21 Then our Lord Manichaios, the Apostle, sent [from[5] the] Greatness, spoke
17.22 to his disciples: Very great is this matter which [you uttered . . .]
17.23 . . . . . .
17.24 . . . . . .
17.25 . . . . . .

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[1] Funk, *personal communication.*

[2] See Luke 6:43,44 and Mt 7-17-20.

[3] ⲛⲁⲟⲅⲙⲁ: the generic term used in Graeco-Coptic Manichaean texts for any number of rival religious groups.

[4] A&C: ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ [ⲉⲩⲥⲁ] |[18] [ⲭ]ⲏ. The disciples appear to want Mani to address an interpretation of this parable that runs counter to Mani's radical separation of the Two Natures.

[5] A&C: ⲡⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ϩ]ⲛⲧⲙⲛ |[22] ⲧⲛⲁϭ.

17.26 by his own mouth … …
17.27 evil. The Sects … …
17.28 … … … …
17.29 … … … …
17.30 This (fact), however, that they [interpret] the two trees, considering them
17.31 … to the trees … in a single interpretation …
17.32 … … For … …
17.33 … tree, which grew on this mixed earth
17.34 … date-palm. For …
17.35 … established them, that the date-palm is not completely useful

18.1 … their child, while it wounds … …
18.2 … first a(?) … … in them
18.3 … they [become sweet(?)] to the end … It was
18.4 in its fibres and its branches … … and dies.[6]
18.5 There is an evil smoke among them … …
18.6 date-palm … before the tree which … …
18.7 evil. For it will pass judgement … …
18.8 … … or those who … …
18.9 … [date-palm(?) is] the one which they name … …
18.10 … … the kind …
18.11 … … name it "tree" …
18.12 … … sweet … …
18.13 … … … in …
18.14 … … … …
18.15 … … … …
18.16 … … … …
18.17 … … writing …
18.18 … … … …
18.19 … it … they establish …
18.20 … … human being … …
18.21 … which … it is sweet …
18.22 … seed of … and it is useful
18.23 for their food … … …
18.24 … … … …
18.25 … … … …
18.26 … … … …
18.27 … … … …
18.28 … from the tree … which …[7]
18.29 … … … …
18.30 … … … …
18.31 … will interp ret … …

[6] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲟⲩ.
[7] A&C: ⲛ̣[. .] … ⲁⲃⲁ̣[ⲗ] ⲙ̣̄ⲡⲱⲙ̣[ⲛ] . ⲉⲧ[. .] . . [… … .] … . .

18.32 … will not join … …
18.33 … p œop l e who are named … …
18.34 … … … …
18.35 … … … …
18.36 … … … …
18.37 … that they … …

19.1 [Apo]stle. He was counted among the [twelve],
19.2 but,[8] in the end, it is written about him that Satan [entered him].
19.3 He handed the Saviour over to the Jews (and) they seized and [crucified him][9]
19.4 to the tree. Thus, Judas Isca[riot was first]
19.5 called a good man, [but in the end, an evil man,][10]
19.6 a traitor, and a murderer … [It is written about]
19.7 Paul that he was a persecutor at first, who … the church
19.8 of God, as he persecuted … … …
19.9 … … … …
19.10 … … … …
19.11 a great revelation, he has [proclaimed it in …][11]
19.12 the church [of] my Lord, he has …
19.13 [a] b æd […] at first … and …
19.14 … … interp ɹet … …
19.15 … … their interpretation … …
19.16 … … a good man, correctly … …
19.17 … being totally evil. For … …
19.18 they were created through the mixture of [Light and Darkness(?)]
19.19 as they all stood in [love(?)] … …
19.20 they were shaped and were established in the … and …
19.21 which are mixed in all things. Behold! … the
19.22 interpretation of the Sects does not agree with[12] … …
19.23 … listen, and I will reveal to you about the …
19.24 [which] the Saviour explained in the [parable] about the good tree and
19.25 the evil tree … … call them from …
19.26 They do not know what sort of thing they are [on their] inside and outside,
19.27 [without] knowledge, they equate them … in their interpretation of
19.28 what kind of thing these two trees are. But, hear how[13]
19.29 I will reveal to you … the interpretation [of the parable (?)][14]

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[8] A&C: ⲇⲉ rather than ⲭⲉ.
[9] A&C: ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲡ[ⲫ] [ⲁⲩⲥ]ⲧⲁ[ⲩⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲫ].
[10] A&C: [ⲁ]ⲧ[ⲯ][ⲁⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲣ]ⲙ̄[ⲃⲱ] |[6] ⲛⲉⲫ.
[11] A&C: ⲉⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲁ[ⲓⲍⲉ ± 10.
[12] A&C: ⲥⲛⲏ[ⲩ] ⲉⲛ ⲁⲯⲣⲛ̄ ⲡ(rest unclear).
[13] A&C: ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ [ⲁ].
[14] A&C: [ⲉⲧ]ⲃⲉ ⲧⲯⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲓ̣ⲁ [ⲛ̄]ⲧ̣ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲟⲗ̣[ⲏ ⲛ̄] (?).

19.30 of the tree and the usefulness(?) … Father …
19.31 … everything, as … in the …
19.32 … … of the world … in the …
19.33 … … [righteous]ness of this good tree …
19.34 … … the light of this good tree …
19.35 … … the Column [of Glory], the Perfect Man[15]

20.1 … these *[Five] Intellectuals* that clothe his body …
20.2 … of this good tree, which are the Elements of
20.3 Light, mixed (and) compounded in the universe. The fruit
20.4 of the good tree is Jesus the Splendour, the glorious, the Father
20.5 [of] all the Apostles. But, the taste of the fruits of the [good]
20.6 tree [is the] Holy Church with its Teachers and its
20.7 … … [Elect and its] Catechumens. Behold! This is the good
20.8 tree] … … …
20.9 … … … …
20.10 … … … evil fruits
20.11 … … [I will] reveal to you … …
20.12 … it (that is, the good tree) has *Five Limbs*
20.13 [which are: Consideration, Counsel, Insight, Thought]
20.14 Mind. Its Consideration is the Holy Church. Its Counsel
20.15 is the Column of Glory, the Perfect Man. Its Insight
20.16 is the First Man, who dwells in the Ship of the Living
20.17 Waters. Its Thought is the Third Messenger
20.18 [who dwells in] the Ship of the Living Fire, which shines in
20.19 [the world]. But, the Mind is the Father, who dwells in the Great-
20.20 ness, who exists perfectly in the Aeon of Light.
20.21 … this, that the souls who come and attain
20.22 the Holy [Church] and also the alms which the Cate-
20.23 [chumens] give, as they are purified by the Holy Church
20.24 … every deed. Consideration is that which will …
20.25 … they ascend to … … is Counsel,
20.26 [they] ascend to Insight, which is the First Man,
20.27 who dwells in the Ship of the Night. From Insight they ascend
20.28 to Thought, which is the Messenger, who dwells in
20.29 the Ship of the Day. But he, the Great Thought, who
20.30 … them to Mind, who is the Father, the God
20.31 of Truth, the great Mind of all Aeons of Glory.
20.32 This is the good tree that produces good fruit …
20.33 … is all life and eternal light … …
20.34 … exists … ever … It is blessed …
20.35 … good … evil … …

[15] A&C: ⲡ[ⲥ]ⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡ]ⲣ̣ⲫⲙ̣[ⲉ] ⲉ̣ⲧ̣[ⲭⲛⲕ].

21.1 … who exists in … …
21.2 … … from … …
21.3 … … also … …
21.4 … … … as he is
21.5 … … … …
21.6 … … … …
21.7 … … … …
21.8 … … … …
21.9 … … … …
21.10 … … … …
21.11 … … … …
21.12 … … the good tree … …
21.13 … … of fire … …
21.14 … … those who [rule(?)] … …
21.15 … … heaven and the wheel [of the stars(?)] … …
21.16 … … they are the *Five Fleshes* who go …
21.17 … the fruits … …
21.18 … Insight as the Error, the mystery which … …
21.19 which Satan has set in the cosmos. But the [taste] of
21.20 these evil fruits are those wicked people, the Sects …
21.21 who are bound by various laws, they and their teachers …
21.22 [the] Law of Death, they taste it (and) thirst for [it]
21.23 [and it delivers] the soul[s] to death. This is the tree, [that]
21.24 [produces] good [fruit], which our Lord has called:
21.25 [*The good tree that*] *produces good fruit.* He has [stated(?)] …
21.26 in the writings … all the Sects know it.
21.27 … … [I will] reveal to you (and) you …
21.28 … … the evil [tree] has *Five Limbs*
21.29 [which] are: Consideration, Counsel, Insight, Thought, [Mind]
21.30 Its [Consideration is] the Law of Death which the Sects
21.31 are taught. Its Counsel is the transmigration …
21.32 in [various] kinds. But, its Insight is the [fiery] furnaces of
21.33 … … Gehenna, which are filled with smoke. Its Thought …
21.34 … … the vessel. Its Mind is …
21.35 … … the lump, the last bond, the …
21.36 … … those who Satan has [cast]

22.1 … … … …
22.2 … … … …
22.3 … … … …
22.4 … … … …
22.5 … … … …
22.6 … … … …
22.7 … … … …
22.8 … … … …
22.9 … … … …
22.10 … … … …

22.11 … … the great … …
22.12 … … and they fall … …
22.13 … … the Darkness … …
22.14 … … all and they take away …
22.15 … engulfed into the lump and are bound …
22.16 … … the fruit of Darkness, which they …
22.17 … … … for eternity.
22.18 … his face … every mishap.[16] The
22.19 [un]fortunate ones [who] will arrive there, they do not have the chance of
22.20 repentance.
22.21 … this is the interpretation of the evil tree which I have
22.22 … [interpreted] … for you …
22.23 … … good fruit … …
22.24 … … its fruits are evil … …
22.25 … … it in its days of being … …
22.26 … it. Therefore … …
22.27 … … and my beloved … …
22.28 … … them in truth, as it is changed … …
22.29 … … they … …
22.30 … who is left in his Good Land … …
22.31 … life and light, since Death and Darkness do not [exist] …
22.32 … But, the evil tree is Matter … …
22.33 … it gave itself form in … …
22.34 … that existed in his Evil Land … …
22.35 … Darkness and Death. Blessed is everyone

23.1 [who recognizes(?)] these two trees and separates them from one another,
23.2 and knows that they did not come to be from one another, (that) they
23.3 did not come from one another, and (that) they did not come out of one. The
23.4 person who separates them will enter into the Aeon of Light.
23.5 … … [as I have] revealed them to you, and he will see …
23.6 … … the bad fruit did not originate from
23.7 it … The one who will not separate it …
23.8 … … from one another, he will fall to the land …
23.9 … … … until he attains …
23.10 … … The … …
23.11 … … Blessed is he who believes and …
23.12 … … Darkness, he who grows …
23.13 … … forever and ever.

[16] A&C: ϩⲛ ⲃⲁⲛϣⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲙ.

CHAPTER 3

THE INTERPRETATION OF HAPPINESS, WISDOM, AND POWER; WHAT THEY MEAN

23.17 Again, the Enlightener spoke to his disciples, as [he(?)]
23.18 [was] sitting in the assembly of the church: What do these
23.19 [three things] mean, which are called in the cosmos "happiness,"
23.20 ["wisdom,"] and "power," which people pride themselves on
23.21 … the happiness of the cosmos …
23.22 … … [wisdom(?)] in the cosmos has a …
23.23 … [power(?)] of the world will pass away.
23.24 [People] pride themselves on them (and) praise …
23.25 Now … thing is revealed in a great[17]
23.26 … … which I have said to you.
23.27 [I will][18] teach you another happiness which does not[19] [perish(?)] …
23.28 [another][20] wisdom [which does not] end, and another power which does not
23.29 [pass away(?)]. But now listen! I will reveal to you
23.30 [how] these three things are—[happiness,]
23.31 wisdom, and power.
23.32 [The first][21] glorious [happiness] is the Father, the God [of]
23.33 [Truth. He who] is established in the Great Land of [Light.]

24.1 But his glorious wisdom is his Great Spirit, who …
24.2 … … below, which is coursing through all his Aeons,
24.3 as they too are sailing through it. His great power is
24.4 all the Rich Gods and Angels who
24.5 are called forth from him, as they … …
24.6 those who are called "Aeons" … …
24.7 … … … …
24.8 … … … …
24.9 [the one] that is named "Sun" … …
24.10 … [the Ship of] Living Fire … [the Third]
24.11 Messenger, the Second Greatness … [The]
24.12 glorious happiness is the [Living] Spirit …

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17 A&C: ⲟⲩⲛⲁ[ⲥ].
18 A&C: [ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲇⲉ] [ⲧ][ⲛⲁ]ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲱⲧⲏⲛⲉ.
19 A&C: ⲉⲙⲁⲥ.
20 A&C: ⲁ[. . ⲁ][ⲥ][ⲁ]ⲛ [ⲕⲉⲥⲟ]ⲫⲓⲁ.
21 A&C: [ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟ]ⲛⲓⲁ.

24.13 … [wisdom(?)] is the Mother of Life …
24.14 … … … [all] the Rich
24.15 Gods and Angels who are found within the ship.
24.16 Happiness, wisdom, and power also exist in the Ship [of the Living]
24.17 [Waters] … … Happiness …
24.18 … … the Mind of the Father. But, wisdom [is the]
24.19 [Virgin] of Light. Power, also, which is in the Ship, is [all]
24.20 the Rich Gods and Angels who are found in it.
24.21 These three (things) also exist in the Elements—happiness, wisdom,
24.22 and power. Happiness is [the Column of Glory],
24.23 the Perfect Man, wisdom is the [*Five Sons of the*]
24.24 *Living Spirit*, but, the great power [is] the
24.25 *Five Sons of the First Man* … … [who]
24.26 [are enclosed] (and) kneaded into the Universe, which … …
24.27 as it supports the Universe.
24.28 Then again, happiness, wisdom, [and power]
24.29 [are found] in the Holy Church. Great, glorious [happiness,]
24.30 is the Apostle of Light, [who is]
24.31 [sent] from the Father. Wisdom [is the Leaders]
24.32 and Teachers, who journey in the Holy Church, [proclaiming]
24.33 wisdom and truth. Great [power] … …

25.1 … all the Elect, the Virgins, and the Chaste,
25.2 [along with] the Catechumens, who are in the [Holy] Church …
25.3 … the *Five Happinesses*, the *Five Wisdoms*, and the *Five Powers* …
25.4 … … in the *Five Churches*. Blessed is
25.5 everyone who will know them, for he … …
25.6 … kingdom forever.

CHAPTER 4

ON THE FOUR GREAT DAYS, WHICH HAVE COME FROM ONE ANOTHER; ALONG WITH THE FOUR NIGHTS

25.11 Again the Enlightener spoke: There are Four Great Days which have come
25.12 [from one another, they] have been called forth [from] one another. The First
25.13 [Great Day] is the Father, the God of Truth, the first …
25.14 … … among the Aeons of his Greatness in his Living
25.15 [Kingdom]. The twelve hours of this Great Day
25.16 [are] the Twelve Great, Rich Gods of [Great]ness,
25.17 [those] who are the first Calls which he called (into being) according to
25.18 his Greatness. He distributed them among the Four Regions,
25.19 three to each side.
25.20 The Second Day is the Third Messenger, who
25.21 dwells in the Ship of Light. Its twelve hours are
25.22 the Twelve Virgins who he summoned in his Greatness.
25.23 [The] Third [Day] is the Column of Glory, [the great]
25.24 [Porter, who is greater than] all [the Porters], who supports …
25.25 all these … those above and those below. Its twelve hours are
25.26 the *Five Sons of the First Man*, the *Five Sons of the Living*
25.27 *Spirit*, those who support all burdens of the
25.28 cosmos, along with the Call and Response, which are counted among their ten
25.29 brothers. These are the twelve light-hours of the Third
25.30 Day. The Fourth Day is Jesus
25.31 the Splendour, who [dwells in] his church. Its twelve
25.32 hours are the twelve Wisdoms, which are his
25.33 [light-hours]. These are the Four Great Days which have come
25.34 [forth from one another] (and) which were called from one another. They …
25.35 … Blessed is everyone who knows them and
25.36 … of Light.

26.1 [Know also this!]: Just as Four Days [exist],
26.2 so too do Four Nights exist.
26.3 The First Night is the Land of Darkness. It has
26.4 twelve dark [shadows], which are the hours

of Darkness. The twelve shadows of the first Night
are the *Five Elements* of the Land of Darkness, [which]
have poured forth in its *Five Senses* and …
have … in its *Five Elements* and its *Five* …
the *Five* [*Spirits*(?)] who dwell in its Elements …
These are the twelve shadows and spirits of the first Night.
    The second Night is Matter, the sculptor … …
… … … who has formed …
and every ruling power that is in the World [of Darkness, which]
has fashioned it in *Five Senses, Five [Male]*
and *Five Female*, two to a world ,as well as the fire and [lust]
[which] dwell in men and women, inflaming them
for one another. These are the twelve Spirits of this
second Night. But, this Matter, it is the Thought of Death, which
causes the King of Darkness and his powers to prepare for
war and battle against the Aeons of Greatness. But,
it was caught (and) snared by the First Man (and) carried
to … … by the powers … it was brought
from the Land of Death (and) placed … above
and below in the [entire] cosmos, in the *Five Parts*
which are above in the heavens along with the *Five* [*Parts* which] are below
in the lower lands, along with the heat [and the] cold, which
are the father and the mother, their fire and their desire.
    This is the second Night, which is born our of the first
Night. It was snared by the First Man (and) brought
by the Living Spirit (and) placed in this mixed world …
above and below. The [upper part is the(?)]
senses of men; the lower part [… the senses(?)]
of women. The third [Night is the *Five*]
Worlds of Flesh … … [*five*(?)]

[male] and the *five* female, those who are born of the powers
… they fell upon the earth, while they are revealed in
the dryness and cold, along with the fire and desire
[which] dwells in them, which impel them towards one another.
[Matter], however, is the Thought of Death, which is [Mother] of
them all, as it is named among them "Night,"
the male and female [powers][22] of flesh, along with the fire and
[desire] … twelve hours of … …
… Night. This, again, is the third Night, in
[the] World of Flesh, which is born out of the second
Night, which the Living Spirit crucified in the

[22] A&C: [ⲛ̄ⲟ]ⲁⲙ.

27.12 [entire[23] cosmos, above] and below in the heaven …
27.13 … The fourth Night is the Law of [Sin,]
27.14 [which] is the Spirit of Darkness that speaks through the twelve
27.15 [spirits], the twelve Sects, which are the strippings,
27.16 the twelve Zodiacs of Matter, which are
27.17 its thrones. It (that is, Matter) is announced, as it is moulded and
27.18 manifest in the Old Man. But, the hours of this fourth
27.19 Night, which is the Old Man who rules among the Sects, they are the
27.20 twelve evil spirits … the Old Man, who …
27.21 … … … …
27.22 … … … …
27.23 … … … …
27.24 [Blessed is he who(?)] distinguishes the day and the night …
27.25 … … of Death. This is the fourth [Night]
27.26 … … which have come forth from one another, one …
27.27 … … as the Days of Light
27.28 that they come out[24] (and) have revealed one another. So too
27.29 … [do the Nights(?)] come to be from one another.
27.30 Blessed is the one who knows and who distinguishes and
27.31 … … forever.

[23] A&C: [ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏ]ⲣ̣[ⲫ].
[24] A&C: [ϫⲉ] ⲛ̣ⲧ[ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ] ⲁⲩ̣[ⲥ]ⲱⲗⲡ.

CHAPTER 6

ON THE FIVE STOREHOUSES WHICH HAVE POURED FORTH FROM THE LAND OF DARKNESS FROM THE BEGINNING; THE FIVE ARCHONS, THE FIVE SPIRITS, THE FIVE BODIES, (AND) THE FIVE TASTES

30.17 Again, the Enlightener spoke to his disciples: *Five Store-*
30.18 *Houses* have existed from the beginning in the Land of Darkness. *Five*
30.19 *Elements* have poured forth from them. Also, from the *Five*
30.20 *Elements* were fashioned *Five Trees*, (and) from the *Five Trees*
30.21 were fashioned *Five Species of Creatures* according to each World,
30.22 male and female. But also, the *Five Worlds* [have]
30.23 *Five Kings*, *Five Spirits*, [*Five*] *Bodies*, (and) *Five* [*Tastes*]
30.24 according to each world, which do not resemble [one another].
30.25 The King of the World of Smoke, [he] … …
30.26 He has come from the depth of [the darkness. This is he who is]
30.27 the chief of all evil and [all] wickedness. The initial
30.28 spread of the war came to be [through] him—all
30.29 battles, fights, quarrels, conflicts, destructions,
30.30 struggles, errors, contests. It is he [who first] stirred
30.31 conflict and war along with his worlds [and his] powers. Afterwards,
30.32 he waged war with the Light, doing battle with
30.33 the exalted kingdom. But,[25] as for [the King] of Darkness,
30.34 there are *Five Forms* in him: his head [is lion-faced, his]
30.35 hands and feet are demon- [and devil-]faced, [his]
30.36 shoulders are eagle-faced, while his belly [is dragon-faced,]

31.1 (and) his tail is fished-faced. These *Five Forms*, the imprints of his
31.2 [*Five*] *Worlds*, are found in the King of (those belonging to) Darkness.
31.3 There are also *Five Properties* in him. The first is his
31.4 darkness. The second is his stench. The third is
31.5 his ugliness. The fourth is his bitterness—his very soul.
31.6 The fifth is his fire, which burns like a
31.7 *peis*[26] of iron being melted by the flame.
31.8 There are also three other things about him: The first is that his [body(?)][27]

[25] A&C: ⲉⲕ[ⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲡⲣⲣⲟ] (cf. 1 Ke 173.27).
[26] Meaning of ⲡⲉⲓϣ unknown, see Polotsky/Böhlig 31 n. 7.
[27] A&C: ⲥϣⲙⲁ (doubtful reading).

31.9 [is hard] (and) very strong, as if (in) its bitterness Matter
31.10 built it …, which is the Thought of Death,
31.11 that which formed it by the nature of the Land of
31.12 Darkness. Thus is the [body(?)] of the Archon of [Smoke]. It is
31.13 harder than all iron, brass, steel, and
31.14 [lead,] since there isn't any cleaver or implement to
31.15 pierce[28] or cut it. For Matter, its fashioner, built it
31.16 … strong and hard. The second (thing is) that he strikes
31.17 [and] kills by the utterance of his magic. His preaching and his
31.18 hearing, all his foolish speech,[29] make magic
31.19 and invocations for him. When it pleases him, he calls it upon
31.20 himself and hides, by his magic, from his
31.21 companions. Also, when it pleases him, he reveals himself to his powers
31.22 [and] appears to them, so that the sorcery which people
31.23 practise today … in this world are the mysteries of
31.24 the King of Darkness. Therefore, I command you
31.25 at all times: Keep yourselves away from magic and the sorcery
31.26 of Darkness, since the person who learns them and
31.27 [practises] them, and perfects them, at the end, where the King
31.28 of (those belonging to) Darkness and his powers will be bound, in that place will
31.29 also be bound the soul of the one who lives by them and
31.30 [walks] in the [magic] of Error. Whether it is a man or a
31.31 [woman], this is the judgement which has been given. They are cut
31.32 … the judgements of God, for he who will
31.33 … and their king.

32.1 The third (is) that the King of (those belonging to) Darkness knows the
32.2 speech and the language of his *Five Worlds*. He understands
32.3 everything that he hears from their mouths, as they speak with one
32.4 another—each according to his language. [Every] plan
32.5 which they conceive against him (and) every deceit which they discuss
32.6 with one another in order to bring it upon him—he knows them.
32.7 He also knows the gestures by which they give signs
32.8 to one another. But his powers and the archons
32.9 who are under him, they do not understand his speech. All these things
32.10 are revealed to him, although their heart is not revealed to him.
32.11 He does not know their mind and their thought, he does not consider their
32.12 beginning or their end, but he knows and perceives only
32.13 that which is before his eyes.

[28] A&C: [ⲭⲱ]ⲧⲉ.
[29] A&C: ⲥⲉⲭⲉ rather than ⲥⲉⲃⲉ.

32.14 There is also another, different thing in the King of (those belonging to)
32.15 Darkness. When it pleases him to walk, he spreads out all his limbs,
32.16 and he walks. When it comes to his mind, he draws
32.17 in his limbs, takes them to himself, rolls them into
32.18 one another, and falls down like a grape or a
32.19 great iron ball. His voice is terrible.
32.20 He causes fear (and) frightens his powers with his voice.
32.21 For, when he speaks, he is like the thunder
32.22 among the clouds and is like the … of the one who …
32.23 When he cries out and he … and he cries …
32.24 on his powers, they tremble and turn and fall at his feet
32.25 like birds, while they … bird …
32.26 and they fall down to the earth. However, there is only this one thing:
32.27 he does not know what is far from him. He does not see what
32.28 is in the distance, nor does he hear it. But that which is
32.29 before his face, this he sees, hearing it (and)
32.30 knowing it. These signs and evil symbols
32.31 are found in the chief of the demons and
32.32 devils, the King of all the mountains of darkness. [When][30]
32.33 the Land of Darkness produced him, it [begot him in its]
32.34 cruelty, in its evil, in its wrath … …

33.1 more than all his fellow-Archons, who are in all his worlds.
33.2 Gold is the body of the King of (those of) Darkness.
33.3 The bodies of all the powers who belong to the World of
33.4 Smoke are gold. But, the taste of its fruit is
33.5 salty. The spirit of the King of (those belonging to) Darkness is the one who rules
33.6 today in the powers and authorities of the earth and the
33.7 whole world. I mean those who rule over all of creation,
33.8 humbling people in their tyranny according to their will.
33.9 But, the King of the Worlds of Fire is lion-faced, the first of
33.10 all beasts. His body is brass. So too are [the bodies]
33.11 of all the Archons who belong to the fire.
33.12 Their taste is the sour taste in every form.
33.13 But, the spirit of the King of those who belong to the World of Fire is the
33.14 one who rules in the nobles and leaders who are
33.15 under the command of the powers and authorities and the kings of the
33.16 world. His spirit is also the one found in the Sects
33.17 who worship fire, as they offer their sacrifices to the fire.

[30] A&C: ⲡ[ⲥⲁ]ⲡ ⲁⲛ [ⲉⲧⲁ]-.

33.18 Also, the King of the Worlds of Wind has an eagle-face. His
33.19 body is iron. Also, the bodies of all those who belong to
33.20 the wind are iron. Their taste is the burnt taste
33.21 in every form. His spirit is that of the idol-worshippers,
33.22 the spirits of Error that are in every temple, *eidoleion*,
33.23 place of worship, statues and images, shrines
33.24 of worldly Error.
33.25 But, the King of the World of Water has a fish-face. His
33.26 body is silver. So too, all the Archons that belong to water,
33.27 their bodies are silver. Also, the taste of their fruit is
33.28 the sweetness of water; the sweet taste in every form.
33.29 Also, the spirit of the King of the Archons of Water is the one who
33.30 rules today in the Sects of Error. Those who
33.31 baptize in the baptism of water, (placing) their hope
33.32 [and] their trust in the baptism of water.
33.33 [The] King of the World of Darkness is a dragon. His
33.34 [body is lead] and tin. So too, all the Archons
33.35 [that belong to the World of] Darkness, their bodies are lead and

34.1 tin. But, the taste of their fruit is bitter.
34.2 Also, the spirit, who rules over them, is the spirit
34.3 who speaks even today in the soothsayers, as they give oracles,
34.4 in seers of every kind, (and) in the demented,
34.5 as well as in spirits who give oracles of any kind.
34.6 Therefore I tell you, my brothers and my
34.7 Limbs, perfect faithful and holy elect:
34.8 Keep your hearts with you and keep yourselves from the
34.9 *Five Slaveries* of the *Five Dark Spirits*.
34.10 Abandon the worship of their *Five Bodies*. Do not
34.11 interact with them, so that you might escape their bond
34.12 and their punishment forever.

CHAPTER 7

THE SEVENTH, ON THE FIVE FATHERS

34.16 Again, as the Enlightener, our father the true Apostle,
34.17 sat among his disciples
34.18 proclaiming to them the greatness of God, he said again to
34.19 them in this way in his revelation: There are *Five Fathers*,
34.20 who have been called forth one from another, and one has also come
34.21 from the other. The First Father is the Father of
34.22 Greatness, the glorious one who is praised, he whose greatness has no
34.23 measure, who is the first *monogenes*, the first
34.24 eternal who exists with the *Five Fathers* forever.
34.25 He who exists before all that has existed and
34.26 will exist. He, then, the glorious Father, he has called
34.27 three emanations from himself. The first is the Great
34.28 Spirit, the First Mother, she who has come from the Father, she was
34.29 revealed first. The second is the Beloved of
34.30 Lights, the great, glorious Beloved, who is honoured, [who]
34.31 has come from the Father and has appeared from him.
34.32 The Third {Father}[31] is the Third [Messenger,]
34.33 the first of all counsellors, [who has come from the]

35.1 First Father (and) has appeared. This is the First Father,
35.2 the First Power, he from whom the three great powers have come.
35.3 This is the First Father, the first eternal, the root
35.4 of all lights. He from whom the three emanations have come.
35.5 They have subdued the Darkness (and) destroyed it. It pleased him not (that)
35.6 they alone be given the victory, (so) the victory is also given to their Aeons.
35.7 The Second Father who has come forth from the First Father is the
35.8 Third Messenger, the replica of the King of Light.
35.9 But, he too has called (and) emanated three
35.10 powers. One is the Column of Glory, the Perfect Man,
35.11 he who supports all things, the Great Column
35.12 of Blessing, the Great Porter, who is greater than

[31] Father (**ⲉⲓⲱⲧ**) here is an error for "emanation" (**ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲏ**) (Funk, *personal communication*).

35.13 all the porters.[32] The second is Jesus the Splendour, the glorious,
35.14 the one through whom eternal life is given. The
35.15 third is the Virgin of Light, the Glorious Wisdom, she
35.16 who stole the heart(s) of the Archons and the Powers by her image,
fulfilling
35.17 the will of the Greatness.
35.18 The Third Father who has come forth from the Second Father,
35.19 he is Jesus the Splendour, the glorious. He too has summoned
35.20 three calls like the Second Father.
35.21 The first power which he called forth is the Light-Mind,
35.22 the Father of all Apostles, the first of all the churches,
35.23 he who Jesus set, after our likeness, in the Holy
35.24 Church. The second power which Jesus called
35.25 is the Great Judge, who judges all the souls
35.26 of people, his tent being set in the air [under(?)]
35.27 the wheel [of the] stars.[33] The third power is
35.28 the Youth, the great [power of][34] light in his two per-
35.29 sons in … I am talking about that one who he established
35.30 in the Call [and] Response. [He has established] himself through his
father
35.31 the King of … the Saviour … see him, as he speaks
35.32 [to the Jews(?)]:[35] "*What*[36] *I have seen by means of my Father*,
35.33 *[this I say to] you. You too, what you have seen*
35.34 *[by means of your father], that you do*."

36.1 The Fourth Father is the Light-Mind, he who chooses
36.2 all the churches. He, too, has called three
36.3 powers after the likeness of Jesus. The first power is the Apostle
36.4 of Light, he who comes whenever he puts on the Church
36.5 of the flesh of humankind and becomes leader of
36.6 Righteousness. The second (power) is the Twin, who comes to the
36.7 Apostle and reveals himself to him, since he is a companion to him,
36.8 being bound to him everywhere (and) always helping him in
36.9 all the tribulations and the dangers. The third (power)
36.10 is the Light-Form, which the Elect and the
36.11 Catechumens assume when they renounce the world.
36.12 The Fifth Father is the Light-Form which
36.13 reveals itself to each one who leaves his
36.14 body in the same way as the Apostle, along with the Three
36.15 Great, Glorious Angels who come with it. While the one holds

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[32] A similar formulation may be found in a hymn/litany from Mani's *Living Gospel* (*Synaxeis*) (Funk, *personal communication)*.

[33] A&C: [ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ [ⲛⲛ]ⲥⲓⲟⲩ.

[34] Funk, *personal communication*.

[35] See Polotsky/Böhlig 35.32.

[36] See John 8.38 (Polotsky/Böhlig 35 n. 32).

36.16 the Victory-prize in his hand, (and) the second wears the Garment
36.17 of Light, the third is the one who holds the Diadem
36.18 and the Wreath and the Crown of Light. These are the
36.19 Three Angels of Light who come with this Light-
36.20 Form and are revealed with it to the Elect and the
36.21 Catechumens. These are the Five Fathers which have come from
36.22 one another, they have revealed (and) appeared from one
36.23 another. Blessed is the one who knows and understands them,
36.24 for he will find eternal life and put on the Garments of
36.25 Light which are given to the Righteous, [the Faithful], the
Peace-Giving,
36.26 and the Doers of Good.

CHAPTER 9

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE (SIGN OF) PEACE, WHAT IT MEANS, THE RIGHT HAND, THE KISS, THE ADORATION

37.31 Again, the Disciples asked the Apostle, saying
37.32 [to him]: This (Sign of) Peace and this Greeting which are found in the world,
37.33 from who [have they come]? Or, the Right Hand which exists in
37.34 [the world], since it is honoured by people, whose is it? Or, the
37.35 [Mystery of the] Kiss, with which people greet one another,
37.36 … … Or, who is it who has revealed this

38.1 Adoration, with which people honour one another? Or, the Laying on of
38.2 Hands, which the great one often lays upon the one bowed
38.3 before him, as he honours him (and) makes him great, whose
38.4 Laying on of Hands is it? Then he spoke to his Disciples:
38.5 These *five matters* which you have asked about, while they appear
38.6 in the world to be minor and small,
38.7 they are, in fact, great (and) glorious. I shall reveal to
38.8 you their mysteries. As for these *Five Signs*,
38.9 they are the mystery of the First Man, he who came with them
38.10 from the Aeon of Light. Also, after he completed
38.11 his struggle, it was with these good signs that he came up
38.12 (and) was received into the Aeon of Light.
38.13 The First (Sign of) Peace is the one that the Gods and Angels in the Land
38.14 of Light gave to the First Man when he came
38.15 out against the Enemy. The Gods and the Angels
38.16 went with him, accompanying him (and) giving him their (Sign of) Peace and
38.17 their might and their blessedness and their victory. This is the First
38.18 (Sign of) Peace which the Gods and Angels gave the First
38.19 Man as he came out from the Aeon of Light.
38.20 The First Right Hand is that which the Mother of Life gave the First
38.21 Man, when he came out to the struggle.
38.22 The First Kiss is that with which the Mother of Life greeted
38.23 the First Man, as he departed from her (and) went
38.24 down to the struggle. All the rest of the Gods and

38.25 the Angels who are in the Aeon of Light kissed him, as well as all the
38.26 … and shrines(?) of the Church and the Companions who
38.27 belong to the house of his people. They kissed him as
38.28 he was to depart from them. They escorted him, kissing
38.29 him with the kiss of love and affection.
38.30 The First Adoration is the adoration with which the First Man
38.31 adored him when he came [from the depth]
38.32 which is below. He bent his knee, [adoring]
38.33 the God of Truth and all the Aeons [of Light],

39.1 who belong to the house of his people, as he implored them for a power to
39.2 accompany him as he was leaving.
39.3 The First Laying on of Hands which the Mother of Life placed upon
39.4 the head of the First Man armed him (and) made him
39.5 strong. She laid hands on him (and) sent him into battle. He came
39.6 down (and) accomplished his struggle with the Great Powers and the
39.7 Enmity. By these *Five Signs*, by these *Five Mysteries*,
39.8 the First Man came from the Aeon of Light
39.9 against the Enemy. He humbled him (and) defeated him with them.
39.10 Also, when he came up from the war, he entered
39.11 the Kingdom of the houses of his people through these *Five Mysteries*.
39.12 The (Sign of) Peace with which [he came] up is the (Sign of) Peace which the
39.13 Call gave to him, when he was sent by the Father of the
39.14 Living. He gave him the (Sign of) Peace in the World of Darkness.
39.15 This same (Sign of) Peace with which he went down is
39.16 also the one with which he came up from the struggle. Thus, it is according to the
39.17 mystery of this (Sign of) Peace, which the Call gave to
39.18 the First Man, that the (Sign of) Peace is found down here, the one
39.19 which has been named and heard among the powers of the Father. The
39.20 second Right Hand, however, is the one which the Living Spirit gave the
39.21 First Man when he came up from the struggle. According to
39.22 the mystery of that Right Hand has this (other) Right Hand come into being.
39.23 It is the one which exists [among] the people, when they give it to one another,
39.24 which is honoured and [appreciated][37] among them. But, this second Kiss,
39.25 the one with which the [Father of] Life and the Mother of the

[37] See Polotsky/Böhlig note 24. Also, Funk, *personal communication*.

39.26 Living kissed the First Man after he came back
39.27 from the struggle, this Kiss is also found among the
39.28 people, when they kiss one another with it, or
39.29 when they depart and are far from one another, or also when
39.30 they approach one another in accordance with this mystery.
39.31 [The] second Adoration (is the one) with which the First Man adored
39.32 [before this][38] time the God of Truth and
39.33 [his twelve(?)][39] blessed Aeons and all the Aeons
39.34 [which exist in the][40] whole Great [World] of Light, when

40.1 the Father of Life and the Mother of the Living raised
40.2 the Man from the depth of the struggle. According to the mystery
40.3 of this second Adoration, has this Adoration existed. This is the one
40.4 that is found today among the people who adore
40.5 and honour one another. The second
40.6 Laying on of Hands is this, that after the Living Spirit had led the First
40.7 Man up from the war, he rescued him from all the
40.8 waves. He brought him up (and) gave him rest in the Great
40.9 Aeons of Light which belong to the house of his people.
40.10 He set him before the Father, the Lord of All.
40.11 Then, when he ascended to the great Father of
40.12 Light, a voice came to him from on high, saying:
40.13 "*Set my son, my first-born, at my right, that I might*
40.14 *place all his enemies as a footstool under his feet.*"
40.15 He received this great Laying on of Hands, so that he might become leader
40.16 of his brothers in the New Aeon. Also, according to the mystery
40.17 of the second Laying on of Hands has the Laying on of Hands
40.18 existed. It is the one which is found among the people, when they lay hands on
40.19 one another, as the great give authority to the small. These *Five*
40.20 *Mysteries*, these *Five Signs* which existed first in the divinity,
40.21 they were proclaimed in this world through an apostle. The people
40.22 have learned them (and) set them in their midst. But[41] these mysteries have not
40.23 existed from the beginning among the
40.24 powers of Darkness. Also, the Light-Mind, which comes
40.25 into the world, it comes in these various forms. With these *Five*
40.26 *Words*, it chooses its Church. First and foremost

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[38] A&C: [ϩ]ⲁⲧ[ⲉϩ]ⲏ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ.
[39] A&C: [ⲡⲉϥⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ].
[40] A&C: [ⲉⲧⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄]ⲕ[ⲁ][ⲓ].
[41] A&C: ⲁⲁ]ⲁⲁ.

40.27 it chooses its Church with a (Sign of) Peace
40.28 and gives peace at first to people. If someone receives the
40.29 (Sign of) Peace and becomes a Child of Peace, afterwards, he is chosen
40.30 for the faith.[42] Thus, when he receives the (Sign of) Peace, he receives [the]
40.31 [Right] Hand and belongs to the Right Hand. Thus, when [he receives] the Right
40.32 Hand, the Light-Mind draws him to himself and makes him approach [the]
40.33 Church. With the Right Hand, he receives the [Kiss of Love]
40.34 and becomes a Child of the [Peace[43] . . .]

41.1 With the Kiss, he receives Adoration and adores the God
41.2 of Truth and adores also the Holy Church . . .
41.3 the hope of the faith of good things. When they
41.4 receive the (Sign of) Peace and the Right Hand, the Kiss and the Adoration,
41.5 at the end of these things they lay upon them the Right Hand of Mercy. They
41.6 too receive the Laying on of Hands, which will be laid upon them and
41.7 they will be set and built in the truth and made strong from it forever.
41.8 They come to the Light-Mind with these good signs
41.9 and they make people perfect and adore and
41.10 glorify the God of Truth.
41.11 Furthermore, at the time of their coming forth, when the Light-
41.12 Form goes out before them and spreads them out from the Darkness to the
41.13 Light and [is in them],[44] the Light-Form calms the
41.14 man with the Kiss and its rest from the terror of
41.15 the demons who destroy his body, by its likeness and its
41.16 image. The heart of the Elect which leaves his body
41.17 finds rest in it, and then the angel who holds the Prize
41.18 extends to him (his) Right Hand and draws him from
41.19 the depth of his body and receives him with the Kiss
41.20 and the Love. This soul adores its redeemer,
41.21 which is the Light-Form. But, at the same time
41.22 that . . . he perfects and increases according to . . .
41.23 . . . . . [and become king][45] in the House of the Living and the Gods
41.24 and Angels and all the Apostles, along with the Elect
41.25 and he takes the crown, the blessing,[46] and the glory in eternal life.
41.26 [Therefore], I say to you, my brothers and Limbs,

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[42] Cited by Crum 365a.
[43] A&C: ⲛⲧⲉ[ⲧ]ⲣⲏⲛⲏ . . . .
[44] Funk, *personal communication*.
[45] A&C: [ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱ]ⲛ ⲥⲙ.
[46] A&C: ⲡⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲁⲩ.

41.27 let there be these *Five* [*Signs*] in your hands, since they are honoured before
41.28 each one of you, which are the (Sign of) Peace, the Right Hand, the
41.29 Kiss, the Adoration, and the Laying on of Hands. This, which I have brought
41.30 to you from the House of the Living, from the Father who has
41.31 sent me. Know that a great mystery
41.32 … … him, by these *Five Signs* which I have brought
41.33 … … you will separate from the world, since
41.34 … … … you have known the first

42.1 (Sign of) Peace, the first Right Hand, the first Kiss,
42.2 the first Adoration and the first Laying on of Hands.
42.3 Therefore, let this Laying on of Hands be great among you who
42.4 honour and adore the Teachers, Deacons, and Presbyters.
42.5 Those who I have lain hands on, I have set upon them the great
42.6 Laying on of Hands, since they are established in a great mystery:
42.7 (that is) the Laying on of Hands of the Divinity is placed upon the
42.8 head of the Teacher. Therefore, he who rejects it and despises
42.9 it, and considers it nothing, he sins against God in a great
42.10 sin and also against me.
42.11 But, you, my beloved, be zealous in these *Five*
42.12 [*Signs*(?)] … … you and … …
42.13 … … perfect in these (things). Each time [you] … …
42.14 … want, he will answer you … …
42.15 … … as he who spoke to [you] … …
42.16 … … in the name of the … …[47]
42.17 … … which are in the Storehouses of [Darkness(?)] will want(?)
42.18 … … your hearts … …
42.19 … … which he established through you … each one
42.20 … … hears you, he knows everything that you
42.21 do … with one another … … this
42.22 … … he turns himself to you … … and he will …
42.23 … from you the tribulation of … …

[47] Funk, *personal communication*.

CHAPTER 10

ON THE MEANING OF THE FOURTEEN [GREAT] AEONS ABOUT WHICH SETHEL SPOKE IN [HIS] PRAYER

42.27 Again, the disciples asked the Apostle (and) said to him: We [implore]
42.28 you, our Lord, that you clarify for us this statement that is written
42.29 [in] the prayer of Sethel, the first-born son of Adam, when he says,
42.30 "*You are glorious, you fourteen great Aeons of Light.*"
42.31 Tell us, our Lord, what do the Fourteen Great
42.32 Aeons of Light mean. Then, the Enlightener [spoke]
42.33 [to them]: Allow me to interpret for you [the fourteen]
42.34 great Aeons of Light, which he spoke about …
42.35 Know this, that … … …

43.1 … below stands in the Fourteen [Great Aeons]
43.2 … … the *Five Elements*, the Sons of the First
43.3 Man, along with the Call and Response, since they are added(?)[48] to them
43.4 (and) dwell in them. These make seven—five and two
43.5 … … the [*Five*(?)] *Sons of the Living Spirit* who
43.6 [support the] entire [weight] of the world, along with the Living
43.7 [Spirit and the First] Man, their parents. These are the Fourteen
43.8 [Blessings which he has] proclaimed—the Blessing which has fourteen
43.9 [aspects(?)],[49] the one through which the world is established.
43.10 [These are the Fourteen] Aeons of Light, the ones about which the [great][50]
43.11 Sethel [spoke(?)] in his prayer, since they were interpreted
43.12 … [the Land] which is not visible. This Land has …
43.13 … [established] them (and) they carried the Enemy …
43.14 … [repaid] them. The hidden fullness which …
43.15 … … [the Third(?)] Messenger, he who came from the Father …
43.16 … … he came (and) established him among these …
43.17 as they call him: Good Father of [all the Aeons and Gods],
43.18 the pure ones and the mixed ones. He has become leader and

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[48] ⲉⲩⲧⲁϩⲥ ⟨ ⲧⲱϩⲥ (meaning unknown—not ⲧⲱϩⲥ "anoint").

[49] προοσευχή or προοσώπον (Polotsky/Böhlig 43.9). See A&C: προοσευχή rarely used in *Kephalaia*.

[50] Funk, *personal communication*.

43.19 great king like the First Father, the Lord of all these counsels.
43.20 It is by this will that the world has been held together
43.21 … … … to the end of all things.

CHAPTER 12

ON THE MEANING OF THE FIVE WORDS WHICH ARE PROCLAIMED *MNTPARAPEHOUT*[51] IN THE COSMOS

44.23 [52]
44.24 Again the disciples [asked the Apostle, saying to]
44.25 to him: Tell us, our Lord, the *Five Words* which are proclaimed
44.26 in the teaching of the Baptists and [these] other words which[53]
44.27 are found in the other Sects. They speak their name, that is, those
44.28 who are called—"pure," saying that this [first][54]
44.29 life and the second life … … …
44.30 … make their heart along with the mind … and the …
44.31 Law of …[55] … …
44.32 … … … …
44.33 … … … …
44.34 name him with the name, "father" … …
44.35 this nameless, the one who no one … …
44.36 … his name. The second [word is the]

45.1 Third Messenger … …
45.2 of Life, who they also call, "father" …
45.3 … … … …
45.4 … … … …
45.5 the First Father. The Law … …
45.6 living … Law of Good and Evil,
45.7 for this is the one who[56] gave victory to the Aeons of Light [(over?) the]
45.8 Enemy (and) humbled the rebels … …
45.9 … … … [their]
45.10 being and their world. It had(?) … …
45.11 them in this border until the end-time. …

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[51] The exact meaning of ⲙⲛⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲉϩⲟⲩⲧ remains unclear. The same word also occurs in a similar polemical context in Chapter 100 (1 Ke 252.10).

[52] A&C: Line count error in Polotsky/Böhlig edition; line 11 jumped.

[53] A&C: ⲙ]ⲛ [ⲛⲓ]ⲕⲉⲥ[ⲉ][ⲭ]ⲉ [ⲉⲧ].

[54] Funk, *personal communication*.

[55] A&C: ⲡⲛⲟ |[30] ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ … .

[56] A&C: ⲧⲁⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ [ⲧⲉ]ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲥ̣ϯ.

45.12 the powers which[57] the world established in them[58]
45.13 … … are [all(?)] one living body
45.14 … … … …
45.15 … … … against one another.

[57] A&C: ⲛ[ⲉⲧ]ⲉⲣⲉ.
[58] A&C: ⲛ[ϩ]ⲏⲧⲟⲩ.

CHAPTER 13

ON THE FIVE SAVIOURS, RESURRECTORS OF THE DEAD, ALONG WITH THE FIVE RESURRECTIONS

45.19 Again, [the] Enlightener spoke … …
45.20 … … … …
45.21 … … … …
45.22 … … … …
45.23 … … … …
45.24 … in him[59] … …
45.25 [The second Resurrector is] … …
45.26 … … … …
45.27 But, the third Resurrector is the Father, the first …
45.28 … … since in his word all life
45.29 … … gathers together and goes to him and receives(?)
45.30 … … they finish[60] and rest.
45.31 [The fourth Resurrector] is the Light-Mind, since
45.32 … … … …

46.1 … each The fifth Resurrector is[61] …
46.2 … fifth Resurrector to the Good …
46.3 … … the Father, the first-established
46.4 … … all powers and he establishes
46.5 … … reveals … upon them
46.6 … … them and he draws them to himself … a great[62] …
46.7 … … pleases(?) him … also
46.8 … … and he sets them …
46.9 … … in him and they remain, until
46.10 … … Blessed is the one
46.11 … … and he … the day of
46.12 … … perfect in eternal life.[63]

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[59] A&C: ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲏⲧⲩ.
[60] A&C: ⲫ]ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲛ.
[61] A&C: [… …] … ⲛⲓⲙ vacat ⲡⲙ̀ⲁ[ⲥ]ϯⲟⲩ … . ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲉ[ⲥ][ⲟ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ̈].
[62] A&C: . ⲃ … … … ⲧ ⲙⲙ̀[ⲁ]ⲩ ⲛ̀[ⲉ̄]ⲥⲁⲕⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [. .] . ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲥ ⲙ̀.
[63] A&C: ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲛ[ⲥ ⲫⲁ]ⲁⲛϩⲥⲉ.

CHAPTER 14

THE MEANING OF THE SILENCE, THE FAST, [THE PEACE], THE DAY, [AND] THE REST; WHAT THEY MEAN

46.16 Again the disciples asked the Enlightener, saying:
46.17 Explain to us the *Five Words* which are spoken in the
46.18 world, since they call … … "Peace," another,
46.19 "Silence," (and) they call [the "Fast"(?)], another "Day," (and) another
46.20 ["Rest"(?)] … [We implore you], our Father, that you clarify
46.21 for us[64] … … …
46.22 … … … …
46.23 … … … …
46.24 … … … …
46.25 … … … …
46.26 … … … …
46.27 … … … …
46.28 … the gatherer … …
46.29 … since he causes the body to … …
46.30 all desires of the world … …
46.31 … the body in righteousness … …
46.32 … the Column of Glory … …
46.33 … since … …

47.1 … … … …
47.2 … … … …
47.3 … He whom they call … he is the
47.4 First Man, he who dwells in the Ship of the Living Waters
47.5 … [Light] … … they call him
47.6 … … … …
47.7 … … … …
47.8 … … … …
47.9 … … … the glorious …
47.10 … … … the Enlightener …
47.11 … call him, "Day" …
47.12 … … … …
47.13 … … … …
47.14 … … in the Great Aeon, that …
47.15 … … scattered in the world, he who …

[64] A&C: ⲛ̣ⲟⲩ̣[ⲓ̈]ⲉ̣ⲧⲛ̄ⲛ̣ [ⲗ]ⲃ̣[ⲗ]ⲗ̣ […etc.

47.16 … … established in the …
47.17 … … and the soul …
47.18 … … rejoice in eternal life.[65]
47.19 Blessed is the one [who …] and believes in
47.20 the great … … forever and
47.21 ever.

[65] A&C (lines 18–19 confused in Polotsky/Böhlig): […] … … … … ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲧ ⲥⲙⲡⲱⲛ[ⲥ] [ⲱ]ⲁⲁⲛϩⲉ vacat |[19] ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲧ[ⲧ] ⲙⲡⲉⲧ … … . ϯⲟⲩⲛ . ⲩ . ⲉ ⲉ … . ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ [ⲁ].

CHAPTER 15

[ON THE] ... FIVE [PARTS(?)][66] ... WORLD OF ...

47.26 [Again, while the Enlightener] was sitting among his disciples
47.27 [and preaching to them about(?)][67] the great and secret things of God
47.28 [and on the][68] Two Natures, his disciples said
47.29 [to him] ...: Has death risen (and) established itself
47.30 ... ... or else has it changed itself ...
47.31 ... ... its armour ... in its ...
47.32 ... ... But, it has fulfilled ... he has installed the foundation[69]
47.33 ... ...
47.34 ... ... this Though of Death exists[70]
47.35 ... ...

48.1 ... ... and it moves it ... ...
48.2 ... those who are in the ... [of] the Land of Darkness ...
48.3 ... ... first p art.
48.4 But, after a long time, in which there is no peace[71] ... the
48.5 Thou gh of Death ... ...
48.6 it gushed (and) poured forth. [These are the *Five Elements*(?)][72]
48.7 of Death, those which have gushed forth ... ...
48.8 ... ... which are [the Smoke,]
48.9 [the Fire, the Wind], the Water, and the [Darkness] ... ...
48.10 ... the second time ... ...
48.11 The Third Part is[73] ... ...
48.12 ... they were formed ... ...
48.13 those that Death has established in them ... ...
48.14 The Fourth Part is the evil fruit ... which has been formed[74]
48.15 on the *Five Trees*, which are in the *Five* [*Worlds of*]
48.16 *the Land of Darkness*.
48.17 The fifth time it spread itself to its offspring that exist [in the *Five*]

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[66] The chapter seems to enumerate a series of parts, although the reconstruction of ⲧⲁⲓⲉ is not acceptable (Funk, *personal communication*).
[67] Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig 47.27.
[68] Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig 47.28.
[69] A&C: ⲁ]ⲫⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲛⲧ[ⲉ.
[70] A&C: [± 11 ⲉⲛⲟⲩ]ⲙⲏⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉ[ⲩ] ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲉ.
[71] A&C: ⲉⲙⲛ̄ [ⲉⲓ]ⲣⲏⲛⲏ [ⲛⲍ]ⲏⲧⲫ.
[72] Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig 48.6.
[73] A&C: ⲧⲙⲁⲍ[ⲱ]ⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ ... .
[74] A&C: [... ... ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥ]^{15}ⲥⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲍⲙ.

48.18 *Worlds* that were fashioned (and) begotten from the *Five*
48.19 *Fruits of Death*, which are the *Five Worlds of*
48.20 *Flesh*, the *Five Creations of Darkness* which Death established in
48.21 them. He spread himself among the Ten Parts, the *Five Male Parts* and the
48.22 *Five Female* [*Parts*] … … …
48.23 … … … …
48.24 Just as in the case of the Land of Darkness, it is its spirit and its …
48.25 that nourish the *Five Elements* … …
48.26 so too concerning the Ten Parts which (are found) in [males and]
48.27 females, the fire and the desire of the flesh … …
48.28 them, as they join with one another … [they have established]
48.29 them against the First Man. This is … …
48.30 … … … of Darkness
48.31 they have condemned him forever. According to the mystery of these
48.32 Twelve Parts which are found in the Darkness … …
48.33 against the First Man, the Twelve … …
48.34 the Twelve Spirits of Error, those who [exist]
48.35 in the Twelve Zodiacs … …

49.1 they are opposing the Second Living Man,
49.2 who dwells in the Holy Church. They persecute him, like
49.3 they persecuted [already][75] in the beginning the First Man in the Land
49.4 of Darkness. As the First Man humbled the Darkness
49.5 … … … …
49.6 … … the Light, that dwells in the Church
49.7 … … the Twelve Sects
49.8 … … his holy Father forever and
49.9 [ever].

[75] A&C: ⲛ̅[ϥⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̅]ⲧⲥⲟⲩⲏⲧⲉ.

CHAPTER 16

[ON THE FIVE] GREATNESSES WHICH HAVE [COME] OUT AGAINST THE DARKNESS

49.13 [Again, the Enlightener spoke] to his disciples: The Light[76]
49.14 … … [the] Darkness, he conquered it with *Five Greatnesses*.
49.15 [The first Greatness] is the Father of Greatness, he who [exists]
49.16 [in] silence and secret, established in his Land
49.17 [of Light,] in his proper place. Four Greatnesses appeared
49.18 (and) came out from him. They were arranged in ten parts and were established
49.19 as a perfect twelve. The second Great-
49.20 ness which poured forth, appeared, (and) was manifested by the first
49.21 Greatness is the Mother of Life, the Great Spirit, along with
49.22 the First Man [and his] *Five Sons*. [These are the second]
49.23 Great[ness]. The third [Greatness is the]
49.24 [Beloved of] Lights, the Great Builder, the Living Spirit, and the
49.25 *Five Sons of the Living Spirit*. These are the third Greatness.
49.26 [The fourth] Greatness is the Third Messenger and
49.27 [the] Column of Glory, and all the powers of light that are revealed
49.28 [from him. These are the] fourth Greatness.
49.29 [The] fifth Greatness which came from the Father is Jesus the
49.30 Splendour and all his powers, which he called forth, his emanations which …
49.31 [are] poured forth (and) revealed by him. As for the fact that they are set forth
49.32 … … these *Five Sons of the First Man*
49.33 … … the entire construction. The other five are the *Five*
49.34 [*Sons of the Living Spirit*], who are set in five places, supporting
49.35 … … … completed in

50.1 twelve parts which … … [There is] another two added
50.2 to them, namely the Call and [the Response], which
50.3 are the father and the mother who Jesus the Splendour appointed by his
50.4 advent as successors in his place … the great Land.
50.5 of Light[77] … … …
50.6 … … … in them.

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[76] A&C: ⲁ ⲡ[ⲟ]ⲩ[ⲁ]ⲓⲛⲉ.
[77] A&C: ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛ[ⲉ].

50.7 … … … …
50.8 the First Man who has come … …
50.9 … … … …
50.10 … … b donging to … …
50.11 existing in[78] their kingdom … …
50.12 rank before those who belong to his [house] … …
50.13 … … … …
50.14 … … his enemies … …
50.15 and suffering through their evil and they take from him …
50.16 and kingdom and they take [him into]
50.17 captivity and they remove (any) company from him. But, he …
50.18 in his humility, he becomes confident and restrains his enemy
50.19 … in silence. Just as this man, this noble son,
50.20 is surrounded by his enemies, so too
50.21 is the coming of the First Man
50.22 [in the midst of the Archons], the enemies of Light.
50.23 The coming of the Living Spirit, however, and the command he received
50.24 (and) with which he fell upon all the Archons, is different from that of
50.25 the First Man. His coming … the coming of the First
50.26 Man. The coming of the Living Spirit is like
50.27 this: once he was sent from the Greatness to bring
50.28 back the First Man, he is like a judge
50.29 the king might send to quell the violence of
50.30 this person, the noble son against whom his enemies
50.31 sinned. But this man … the judge[79]
50.32 strong, firm and severe … … …
50.33 and he … … in his right-[80]

51.1 eousness and his strength and he convicts
51.2 all the condemned according to their rebellious hearts and he
51.3 repays each one according to his worth. Those who are worthy of
51.4 beating, he strikes them with harsh whips. Those, however,
51.5 who are worthy of having some of their limbs cut, or indeed of
51.6 … … and he pays them their due
51.7 … … and he binds them, chains them, and hangs some
51.8 … … and he acts towards them in this way by [righteous]
51.9 judgement [and he] kills them in order to flay their skin
51.10 … … that they be killed by slaughter
51.11 … … until they die. Those, however, for whom it is suitable
51.12 … … to remove them from their homes, he will

[78] A&C: ϵqψ̣o̞o̞n̄ [ϩ]ɴ-.
[79] A&C: ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙϵ … . ⲕ[ⲣⲓ]ⲧⲏ[ⲥ . .].
[80] A&C: [… ϩⲛ̄ ⲧϵqⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓ].

51.13 [remove them according to] righteous judgement, just like those who committed
51.14 crimes [(and) sinned against] the noble son. Also, the colleagues
51.15 [and the servants] of this judge, those who belong to
51.16 [him, in] great strength, suddenly and
51.17 quickly, they do the will of their lord.
51.18 Just as the pure judge was sent by
51.19 the king (in order to) recover this man, the
51.20 noble son, so too was the Living Spirit
51.21 sent by the King of Light
51.22 [to bring] judgment and to recover the First Man,
51.23 he against whom the King of Darkness sinned (and) committed crimes.
51.24 [He] sinned against him, along with his rebellious powers. When he[81] came,
51.25 he brought up the First Man. Also, all the Archons,
51.26 the Powers of Sin, those who committed crimes (and) sinned against the Sons
51.27 [of] the First Man, he judged them according to righteous
51.28 judgment. He bound them in the heaven and the earth. He placed each one
51.29 of them in the place suited to him. He measured each one of them
51.30 according to his cruelty and according to his humility. While some
51.31 of them he shut[82]
51.32 [in prison], others he hung upside down. Some
51.33 … … are crucified, while others (are made to)

52.1 sit down all the time. Some are fastened to
52.2 their companions, distressed by harsh bonds.
52.3 Others he has made wardens over one another,
52.4 among themselves, in order that they might do his will
52.5 to those that are under them.
52.6 Therefore, know, o my beloved,[83] that after
52.7 the Father of Life passed judgment … …
52.8 he revealed (himself) to all the powers [of Darkness (and)]
52.9 judged them like a just judge …
52.10 … … … …
52.11 [This] is the first judgment which the [Living] Spirit [passed] against the Archons
52.12 [concerning the] First Man. [To the First Man] he

[81] That is, the Living Spirit.
[82] Dittography (Polotsky/Böhlig).
[83] A&C: ⲱ ⲛ[ⲁⲙⲉ]ⲣ[ⲉ]ⲧⲉ.

52.13 awarded the victory according to his victory, while the [Archon[84] of Darkness]
52.14 he condemned according to the condemnation by which he erred …
52.15 … he sinned.[85] … Such a bond was found for him …
52.16 the earth until the end-time, when the [world] will be destroyed
52.17 and consumed by the great fire and separated. While [the]
52.18 Light (will) go to its own land, the Darkness (will) remains in
52.19 [the bond] and fetter forever.
52.20 … [As for] the advent of the Third Messenger, who came
52.21 [to inspect] those imprisoned in the Zone, he
52.22 is like a great king who comes and inspects his artisans
52.23 … … and …
52.24 … those who are good among the artisans and the builders
52.25 and the craftsmen who he assigns to each
52.26 place, seeing that they have done their work well
52.27 (and) attended to his works in their way, he rejoices
52.28 [greatly] … he thanks these craftsmen
52.29 who have fixed his things (and) [fulfilled] his orders.
52.30 Just as the great king comes and inspects
52.31 his works and his camps, so [too]
52.32 is the advent of the Third Messenger, [since]
52.33 after he comes, he too sees [his works]
52.34 fixed, accomplished, (and) … …

53.1 ranks of Archons, distributed and fixed
53.2 above and below, outside and
53.3 inside, with great skill, which his brothers had done,
53.4 who came before him to the struggle; those who fixed (and) created
53.5 the world before he had come. He saw the gods and the
53.6 angels standing firm (and) holding camp
53.7 … watching the entire Ruling Power …
53.8 … which the first powers had done,
53.9 [which are the] First Man, the [Living Spirit]
53.10 and [the] Great [Spirit, the] Mother of Life. Then, after he saw
53.11 them, that they [completed with] great wisdom all the works.
53.12 … … … they saw, he spoiled(?) …
53.13 … his [advent], by which he had come (and) [revealed]
53.14 himself. He said to the Living Spirit: The judgment you gave …
53.15 … good, what you proclaimed … …
53.16 you have [given] them accordingly because they have stirred (and) raised
53.17 those who were not worthy.
53.18 The advent of Jesus the Splendour, when he came … …

[84] A&C: ⲡⲁⲣ[ⲭⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ].
[85] A&C: … ⲁⲫ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ.

all, since he was like a man being
[sent] to root out … … …
burn a hard reed[86] with fire. And so when
he first cut the evil trees with his
axe, he rooted [them] out … … …
and their bodies with his fire, so that they might not grow again
[from] now on, nor produce fruit, which the evil are to eat
… afterwards, [he] for his part planted his [good] plant, [the]
Tree of Life, which produces good fruit.
Thus, also, is it with the advent of Jesus the Splendour,
[which] happened in [this way]. For he also appointed himself
… … his power and his wisdom, in his
… … appointed(?) him king and saviour
… … in his glorious wisdom

he has destroyed them, bound them, and consumed them. Just as
the fire burns and destroys trees, so too did he do
his will in the Zone
with many powers, until he reached the fleshly form
of Adam and Eve, the first human beings [and did]
his will through Eve. He … [he gave]
hope also to Adam and the good news …
… glorious, he went up to [the height] …
… [of] light. Then [the Call and the]
Response, the great counsel that came to the Elements,
which stood in a mixture, he [combined with] them (and) established
himself in silence. He takes up … [until the Last]
[Time], when he will awaken and establish himself with the Great
Fire and gather to himself his own soul and mould
it into the Last Statue. You (s.) will find him too, as he
sweeps away (and) throws into impurity that
which is foreign to him. The Life, however, and the Light
which are in all things, he collects it to himself and gathers it
on his body. When this Last Statue
is perfect in all its limbs, then he will depart
and ascend from this great struggle through
the Living Spirit, his father, he who comes and destroys …
limb and brings it up from the gathering(?) … the dissolution
and end of all things. Now, his counsel,
the Call and Response, resembles
a stick of butter, (which) a person takes and puts
it in warm milk. It melts and blends
with this warm milk. It melts again
[in] silence and stillness amid …

[86] A&C: ⲓⲁϩⲕⲉ[ⲙ].

54.30 but, by the power and the taste of this [milk] …
54.31 drawn to it and fixed and makes the [milk cold] …
54.32 in … … and … … [this milk]

55.1 it throws it and casts it out. Also, the cream and the
55.2 fat and the beauty of the milk it draws to itself.
55.3 This is also like the coming of
55.4 that *enthumesis*, the counsel of life, which
55.5 is the Call and Response that came to the Elements.
55.6 That is, at the end it will awaken and establish itself and gather
55.7 together with itself all life and the light which is
55.8 [left] in all things. Placing them on
55.9 its body, it will gather them to itself …
55.10 … in his image forever … …
55.11 … … from this time. Blessed is
55.12 each one who [believing] in these *Five Advents* and strengthening himself
55.13 [in the] knowledge of them will ascend to the height and redeem …
55.14 … … and he is not counted …
55.15 … … … …

CHAPTER 18

[ON THE FIVE] WARS [WHICH THE] SONS OF LIGHT WAGED WITH [THE SONS] OF DARKNESS

58.4 [Again][87] the Enlightener spoke: The Sons of Light have waged *Five*
58.5 [*Wars*] with the Sons of Darkness, in which the Sons of Light
58.6 [have subdued the] Sons of Darkness completely.
58.7 [The First] War is the that of the First Living Man, he who [has]
58.8 [(waged war) with the] King of Darkness and all the Archons who have come
58.9 [from the] *Five Worlds of* [*Darkness*(?)] … he caught
58.10 [them with] his net, which is the Living Soul. He …
58.11 … in the snare and … face of …
58.12 … his maiden, the Living Fire …
58.13 [They had no means] of escape from [his] net …
58.14 … he caught them like fish …
58.15 … the *Five Counsels* of the *Five Elements* …
58.16 … he cut (and) uprooted the roots of [the *Five*]
58.17 [*Trees*(?)][88] … roots of the evil trees like an axe.
58.18 As the Saviour said: *Behold, the axe is at the root*
58.19 *[of] the evil tree, so that it might not produce evil fruit from now on.*[89]
58.20 The Second War is the that of the Living Spirit …
58.21 … he established the works and the Worlds of Light.
58.22 He scattered the Archons (and) bound them in the middle …
58.23 … … the stars in the Eight[90] Earths …
58.24 in the Three Vehicles. For the Archons
58.25 rebelled (and) rose up against the Living Spirit. They wanted to
58.26 … since they knew (and) perceived that he would bind [and]
58.27 fetter them with harsh bonds. But he, the Living Spirit,
58.28 with many faces (and) a multitude of terrors, with many hands
58.29 (and) with great hardheartedness, [revealed] himself to them,
58.30 (and) imprisoned them with great skill. None among
58.31 them could be saved from his [great] bond and his fetter[91]
58.32 since he … … …
58.33 … he d ⲓvid ⲉd them … … …

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[87] A&C: [ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡ]ⲁⲁ[ⲉ].
[88] See Polotsky/Böhlig 58.17.
[89] See Mt 3:10.
[90] A&C: ϩⲏ̄ ⲛ̣[ⲫ]ⲙ̣[ⲟⲩ]ⲛ̣.
[91] A&C: ⲁⲛ̣ ⲛ̣[ⲧ][ⲭ̄][ⲛⲁⲟ ⲏ̄]ⲙ̣ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ̣ ⲛ̣[ⲭ̄ⲥ][32] ⲛⲁϩ.

59.1 … … … …
59.2 … … … …
59.3 [The Third War(?)] is (that of) the Third Messenger,
59.4 [when[92] he revealed] his image … …
59.5 … … bdow … drew
59.6 … … all light and the possessions … …
59.7 … … those who oppressed … …
59.8 … … the entire Ruling Power … …
59.9 … … boasting[93] of the light … …
59.10 … … as he extended himself … …
59.11 … When a man comes, being strong, … …
59.12 … … pœssesses his richness … …
59.13 … … silver and … …
59.14 his[94] arrogance and his wantonness.
59.15 This too is like the Ruling Power …
59.16 all rich … walking …
59.17 … … … Light
59.18 … he cleansed and purified him.
59.19 The Fourth War is the one Jesus the Splendour, the glorious, waged
59.20 with all the rebels who rebelled above and below.
59.21 When the Light was purified from them by the image of the Third
59.22 Messenger, their bonds were stripped …
59.23 … the splendour in the Fourth War, he came and waged …
59.24 … rebellion of the whole Ruling Power. He smote …
59.25 the whole … again he established the entire construction (and) made …
59.26 … … a great struggle. He subdued it
59.27 … he did the will of the Greatness. [He]
59.28 [gave] hope to Adam … his Ship of Light
59.29 … … … which the Counsel of Life
59.30 … … … which are the Call and Response …
59.31 … great … …
59.32 … … he pɬaced … on the …
59.33 … … … and the …

60.1 … … … …
60.2 … … the dœath which …
60.3 … … with it and he conquered …
60.4 forever and gave the kingdom … …
60.5 … … the Great War … …
60.6 … fight[95] with the Sons of Darkness … …

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[92] A&C: ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-.
[93] A&C: ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲟⲩⲫⲟ.
[94] A&C: [ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧ]-.
[95] A&C: … [. ⲙⲓ][ⲫ]ⲉ ⲙⲛ̄.

60.7 … … the good struggle against [the evil(?)][96] …
60.8 … … from eternity to eternity … …
60.9 … … every elect who will … …
60.10 … … placed in him and conquers it … …
60.11 … … like these *Five* … …
60.12 … receive the(?) victory … …

[96] Suggested in Polotsky/Böhlig translation.

CHAPTER 19

ON THE FIVE RELEASES: WHAT THEY MEAN

60.16 [Again,] our Father spoke: There are *Five* [*Releases*]
60.17 by which the Light was saved from all
60.18 [the Archons and] Powers of Darkness.
60.19 [The First] liberation and rescue is the First Man's.
60.20 For, when the First Man escaped from
60.21 [the prison of] the Archons by means of the Living Spirit, who came to
60.22 him[97] … … …
60.23 the First Man, much light and [much] power
60.24 was rescued from the whole Ruling Power. They ascended
60.25 with the First Man to the Aeons of Greatness. This [is the First]
60.26 Release.
60.27 The Second Rescue is the Living Spirit's, for when
60.28 the Father of Life and the Mother of the Living established the
60.29 heavens and the worlds … …
60.30 world, the earths and their rulers. A great deal of Light
60.31 was rescued by them … the First
60.32 Man who had been swallowed … … Light …

61.1 … … … …
61.2 … third war … …
61.3 … until the time when … …
61.4 … above … …
61.5 … on the … …
61.6 … world.
61.7 [The Third Liberation(?)] is the Third
61.8 [Messenger's … he] revealed [his]
61.9 [image] … … he …
61.10 … authority, he … …
61.11 … … which … …
61.12 … … … …
61.13 … … from them … …
61.14 … … Now, this is … …
61.15 … [his] image, which [is illuminated by the]
61.16 Third Messenger.
61.17 [The] Fourth Rescue is Jesus [the Splendour's, for when]

[97] A&C: ⲉ[ⲓⲣⲉ][22]ⲧ[ⲫ].

61.18 he appeared in the Zone, he revealed [his]
61.19 image before the firmaments. He distilled the upper [light]
61.20 (and) established the Original Just One, the beginning[98]
61.21 of all churches. He received the likeness …
61.22 … he made himself like an angel in the … until
61.23 he went and came down to the fleshly form and established
61.24 the earths and all the fixtures. He also liberated
61.25 … the immeasurable Light in the entire construction. He gave
61.26 [the] Call and the Response to the Elements (and) fashioned
61.27 Jesus the Youth. He went up (and) remained in the
61.28 [Land of] Light. The Fifth Release
61.29 and Rescue is the Great Counsel's,
61.30 [which is the] Call [and] the Response. For it too
61.31 … … [the] soul from the [Land(?)] of Greatness.

62.1 … … … …
62.2 … … they smote it(?) …
62.3 … … … …
62.4 … … … …
62.5 … … [the] Living Spirit … …
62.6 … … … …
62.7 … … … …
62.8 … … … …
62.9 … … as he gave … …
62.10 … … the liberation … …
62.11 … The first … …
62.12 … … [he] ascended (and) he … …
62.13 … … as he … …
62.14 … … wisdom … …
62.15 … … … …
62.16 … The Fourth … …
62.17 … … … his wisdom
62.18 … But, the Fifth … …
62.19 … … to him and he set it … his
62.20 Light-image in this Last Statue. These *Five Great*
62.21 *Powers* … revealed and they came to good [but not] to
62.22 evil.[99] They established on … …
62.23 … … First Man … after he came toward
62.24 … … from the struggle, he ordered (and) established
62.25 … … world … …
62.26 … … … First Man
62.27 … … … his coming. In
62.28 this way … they stood with … …

[98] A&C: ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲣ |[21]ⲭⲏ.
[99] A&C: ⲁⲩ |[22]ⲃⲟⲛ[ⲉ] ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ⲁ̣[ⲩ ⲉ]ⲛ̣.

62.29 … … … …
62.30 … … … …
62.31 … … … …
62.32 … … … …
62.33 … … … …

63.1 … because of the Light, which he plucked from …
63.2 … the Messenger. The Counsel [of]
63.3 Life, which is the Call and Response, will make …
63.4 … seal the commandment and the …
63.5 all the apostles in this last time, while they …
63.6 … life of the Statue [and] he will carry out the condemnation of the souls
63.7 … … [he] will send …
63.8 … … power … from …
63.9 … as it lives … … the will …
63.10 Father, the establishment … … …
63.11 strong, they went … enemy (and) they …
63.12 all upon … conquered this land which …
63.13 … … in it forever …
63.14 … … they came from him at the beginning and will return
63.15 again to the Light at the end.
63.16 Blessed is every one who will understand these mysteries …
63.17 … up … from the beginning to …
63.18 it …

CHAPTER 20

THE CHAPTER ON THE NAME OF THE FATHERS

63.22 Again, the Enlightener spoke to his disciples: The [Father]
63.23 [of] Greatness, who is so named, why is he called "Father"
63.24 [of] Greatness? His disciples said
63.25 to him: We implore you, our Lord, that you clarify for
63.26 us concerning this Greatness, namely, what it means that he is called
63.27 "Father" of Greatness. Then, he spoke
63.28 [to] his disciples: The Father is the first established (being),
63.29 [who is called] "Father" of Greatness,
63.30 his greatness is the Great Earth, where he dwells (and) is established
63.31 … … the essence of Light, which supports
63.32 all the Rich Ones and Angels and dwellings
63.33 … … established upon him.
63.34 [Also,] the Third Messenger is called
63.35 ["Father." His greatness] is the Light-ship of the Living Fire,

64.1 [in which he dwells] (and) is established.
64.2 [Also,] Jesus the Splendour is called "Father" too.
64.3 His greatness is the Ship of the Living Waters, in which he dwells
64.4 [(and) is established.)
64.5 The Column of Glory [is also called] "Father." His greatness
64.6 … the *Five Gods* of the holy … who dwell
64.7 [(and) are established] in them … …
64.8 … … Also, the Light-Mind is
64.9 [called] "Father." His greatness is the [Holy]
64.10 Church, since he dwells (and) [is established] in it. It too
64.11 … … in him … … alone. They
64.12 … Light.

CHAPTER 21

ON THE FATHER OF GREATNESS, HOW HE IS ESTABLISHED AND DEFINED

64.17 Again, the Apostle [spoke] to [his] disciples: Hear
64.18 [this statement] which I will proclaim to you: Very great is
64.19 the [size(?)][100] of the Light before those who hear and understand
64.20 it concerning the first Father of Greatness. Just as he
64.21 [is found] established in his *Five Light-Limbs*, which are
64.22 … the storehouses without measure or limit
64.23 … Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, and [Consideration]
64.24 … his Twelve Light-Limbs, which [are]
64.25 his Twelve Wisdoms. *Five Great Limbs*
64.26 of Light are found in each one … *Five Great*
64.27 *Fountains of Blessing* gush forth … There are *Five Great*
64.28 [*Trees*(?)][101] … … of Light.
64.29 The First is his Light, which illuminates … it gushed
64.30 forth and poured … … all Aeons.
64.31 The Second is the Good Odour of the … …
64.32 and permeates all the Aeons of Greatness.
64.33 The Third is his Living Voice of … …
64.34 … all his Aeons … …
64.35 The Fourth is his … -ness … …

65.1 … gu sh forth … from …
65.2 The Fifth is his Great [and] splendid … which …
65.3 which has revealed itself at all times, which lasts all …
65.4 that which is fashioned by them … …
65.5 sealed by them … sealed …
65.6 as they send … in … …
65.7 … they are nourished … … [his]
65.8 Living Voice, also, … … joy …
65.9 set up anew, which gushed forth …
65.10 … as they … and b ecome rich …
65.11 also, beautiful … portrayal …
65.12 adornment … they live …
65.13 … forever.

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[100] Very uncertain, perhaps something like "wonder" or "marvel" (Funk, *personal communication*).

[101] A&C: ⲟ[ⲩ]ⲛ ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲁϭ [ⲛ̄] |[28]ⲯⲏⲛ (very uncertain).

CHAPTER 24

[ON THE TIMES . . .]

70.12 . . . . a great judge
70.13 . . . then a time also . . . which was depicted
70.14 . . . [revealed] by the Father, the first established being. After
70.15 . . . . . the two Calls which he called stood
70.16 in the presence of their Father.[102] The Mother of Life, the Great
70.17 [Spirit(?)] . . . a long period in the First Father . . .
70.18 . . . . . For someone measuring
70.19 the grains of sand or boulders(?) of the mountains or
70.20 the sand of the sea or the body of the firmaments, as they crumble
70.21 . . . the body of the Four Mountains and the Three
70.22 Vehicles that surround the world. As they all crumble
70.23 . . . . . (and are reduced to[?]) fine powder(?)
70.24 Know that there is a limit to the grains of sand [found in(?)]
70.25 the whole world. It is possible to count grains of sand
70.26 yearly [and to count(?)] the grains of sand of the whole world,
70.27 but the period of time that the Great Spirit passed with the Father,
70.28 [the] first established being, cannot be counted. He initially
70.29 formed her in this way—he set her up in his inner storehouse,
70.30 in stillness and silence. When [they] needed
70.31 her, she was called, (and) she came forth from the Father [of Greatness].
70.32 She beheld all her Aeons of Light.
70.33 Moreover, from the time that she was called [she set herself up]

71.1 and came along and was empowered by[103] . . . . . .
71.2 on his [body] . . . all Aeons . . .
71.3 she also received power from them all. This [is also the way]
71.4 with the First Man. This is how the Man
71.5 spent a long time hidden(?)[104] in the Mother, staying in her
71.6 inner chambers. The time-span that I have proclaimed
71.7 to you, from when the First Man came [down to]
71.8 the struggle to the time when his [. . .][105]

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[102] A&C: ⲛ[ⲧⲁⲩ²] ⲁ̣ⲩⲧⲱⲕ |[16]ⲁ̣ⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̣ⲡ̣ⲙ̣ⲧ̣ⲟ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ [ⲙ̄]ⲡ̣ⲟⲩ̈ⲱⲧ.

[103] A&C: ⲁ[ⲍ][ⲟⲩⲛ] ⲁⲥ[ⲭ][ⲓⲥ]ⲁ̣ⲙ ⲛ̣[ⲧⲛ]ⲛ̄ⲛ̣[ⲫ][. . . .

[104] Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig.

[105] A&C: Probably not the "Statue" (ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ) proposed by Polotsky/Böhlig. Read something like ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲫⲟⲩ . [. . ⲛ]ⲏⲩ.

71.9 comes to this time … … …
71.10 … … he revealed …
71.11 … … From the time that they
71.12 called him (and) he came, until the time that he, in turn, called
71.13 [the *Five Shining Gods* who] are his sons. They
71.14 too [also spent a long] time with the Father, that
71.15 [is, the time] that lasted from the descent of the
71.16 [First Man] to the ascent of the Last Statue. The
71.17 [*Five Gods*] spend a period of such length hidden in(?) the First Man.
71.18 But, [during the] time that they waited, they were called (and) came out.
71.19 Hear also this other thing that I will teach to you (about) the
71.20 time when the Mother of Life was called forth from the Father of
71.21 Greatness—Had she pushed herself and come down of her own desire,[106]
71.22 from the height of the Father to the earth, then [she would have spent]
71.23 [a thousand] years and many ten-thousands until she reached the earth.
71.24 [Though] there is no measure or limit to the height of the Father, [when(?)][107]
71.25 he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
71.26 the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the twelve,
71.27 those who are hidden in the veil of light, who
71.28 are established in … the southern region.
71.29 [The] work of the Mother [of] Life is like this, when
71.30 [the Father] called her (and) established her in the place where he wanted
71.31 her to be established as the Thought of people, which
71.32 … … many and searched every place where
71.33 … … the blink of an eye or as a

72.1 … … a b̈rd(?) …
72.2 … … This is also like …
72.3 … the Mother of Life in … when
72.4 … throw it … over to the place …
72.5 … he perfects his Great Spirit and sets her in
72.6 [the place where he wanted] her according to [his will].
72.7 … when[108] the *Five Gods* called by their Father[109]
72.8 [they stood] before him, as he wished, that …

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[106] There may be an element of polemic against Gnostic figures such as Barbelo whose descent occurs of her own will. See *Secret Book of John*.
[107] A&C: ⲡⲉⲓ[ⲩ]ⲁ.
[108] A&C: ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲛⲩ.
[109] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϊ̈ⲱⲧ.

72.9 … … … …
72.10 … … … …
72.11 … … … …
72.12 … … … …
72.13 … … … …
72.14 below, so that they might rule over them … …
72.15 one another. He ordered them (and) spread them about …
72.16 … of the son. He stripped himself from them …
72.17 … … he armed himself (and) bound himself to …
72.18 in one … of the silence on the edge of the earth …
72.19 He, too, the First Man, spent a long time
72.20 until he gave power to his Sons, until he bore
72.21 them. After his bearing of them, while standing in the
72.22 height between the border, he also spend time
72.23 in this way, like the number and quantity of rain-drops,
72.24 dew, and mist which falls in
72.25 the world. This is how he also spend time standing
72.26 between the borders until the moment when he descended to
72.27 the struggle.
72.28 When the Father of Greatness [called] the Great Spirit
72.29 and the First Man and the Glorious Gods who were destined(?)
72.30 to appear from him at this same time,[110] he
72.31 fashioned the Great Builder in the [Land of] Light [and]
72.32 the Living Spirit and the strong and efficient Gods which came [from]
72.33 him. Also at this time, he fashioned the Messenger
72.34 and Jesus the Splendour and the Virgin of Light
72.35 and the Column of Glory and the Gods who [came from them].

73.1 … the Father [shaped them(?)][111]
73.2 and formed [them] at the same time. They came from one another, one by one,
73.3 when … … and the work.
73.4 [Hear] also this other [thing that(?)] [I] will proclaim to you …[112]
73.5 from the time when the Darkness rose up to
73.6 … … … essence of light
73.7 … … … these three emanations
73.8 … from the will of the Father against the Enemy …
73.9 … … he has …
73.10 … … darkness …
73.11 … … according to the will …
73.12 … … … …

[110] A&C: ⲥⲏ̄ ⲧⲓ[ⲥⲛⲩ ⲡ]ⲓⲉⲓⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ.
[111] A&C: … . ⲙ ⲁ ⲡⲏⲱⲧ … . […… … ⲁⲫⲍⲱ]ⲣ̣ⲣ̣[ⲁ]ⲫ̣[ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲏ̄].
[112] A&C: [ⲥ]ⲱⲧ[ⲙ]ⲉ̣ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲧⲡⲓⲕⲉ . . [.] … [. ⲉ][ⲧ̀]ⲛ̣ⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲫ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ [ⲭ]ⲉ̣. There is dittography in the Polotsky/Böhlig edition, in which line 3 of the translation appears twice (73).

73.13 … … … …
73.14 … … the world … …
73.15 … … in it/her(?) … separated from …
73.16 … … in which way he rests and rejoices …
73.17 … in his kingdom until the [time when]
73.18 [the face] of the Father will be unveiled before [all] the glorious
73.19 Gods and all the ones rich in divinity,[113] [the]
73.20 emanations which came forth against the Enemy.
73.21 [From] this time, when he formed the Three Calls[114]
73.22 to the time when the Father will unveil his face
73.23 [and they come] into his hidden Storehouses and he calls them
73.24 and also[115] sets up each in [his place], there is no measure
73.25 [or limit] to this time. And so until that time, it is possible
73.26 [for] all [Teachers] and Saviours, and Apostles of
73.27 Strength to speak of and reveal what
73.28 happened and what will happen. But before
73.29 they were formed above, it was not possible for every
73.30 Apostle and [Teacher] to preach about this beginning,
73.31 … … forever. It is also not possible for [all]
73.32 [Apostles] and Teachers to speak of and reveal
73.33 … … from[116] the time when all the Fathers

74.1 [of Light enter into to the Father's hidden ones and they dwell][117]
74.2 … … find power in them in its place
74.3 … of God … since it exists forever,
74.4 it remains with the Aeons. It has no end,
74.5 but their establishment … … eternal
74.6 is their life (and) it exists in every generation.
74.7 If someone asks … … and
74.8 about this eternal ending … in the ruin
74.9 … But … …
74.10 … that he proclaims … …
74.11 … who asked him … …
74.12 … the disciples … …
74.13 … since … …
74.14 … and he gave … …
74.15 … because of Matter, the Thought [of Death] …
74.16 … which I said to you: [This] is how …
74.17 … come to their storehouse …
74.18 … in its *Five Elements*. It too …
74.19 … the period of time that it spent until it revealed

[113] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ[ⲡⲣⲟ].
[114] A&C: ⲛⲧⲱ |[22][ⲥⲙⲉ].
[115] A&C: [ⲁⲛ ⲛ][ⲭ]ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲩ.
[116] A&C: … . ⲭⲛ̄ⲙⲡⲥⲏ.
[117] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩ |[2]ⲱⲥ.

74.20 itself to its Elements, before it had come to the Trees, it spent
74.21 a long time establishing
74.22 … before it had come down/up(?) to the trees, it made …
74.23 in the trees (and) spent a long time and a great[118] delay …
74.24 among them, before it had formed the fruit
74.25 … and formed the fruit. It also spent a long [time]
74.26 in the fruit. It is not a small amount of time [that it]
74.27 spend in the fruit, before it had formed …
74.28 … after a long time … the [demons]
74.29 of its *Five Worlds* in the immeasurable forms
74.30 … in the production(?) of the fruit in the demons
74.31 and the devils. They fell upon their land …
74.32 nourish. It is not a small amount of time that they [passed in the]
74.33 worlds until they nourished amidst

75.1 … … … to make …
75.2 … that shining land
75.3 and the Great [King], who dwells in it.
75.4 Know that … … who in …
75.5 … … … at the time when …
75.6 … … … its essence, it bore
75.7 … … Matter … to war …
75.8 … … … the person who
75.9 is perfect. [From the time] that the [war] occurred …
75.10 … … … …
75.11 … … existed in …
75.12 … … by which they ensnared a …
75.13 [The Second is] … that he built …
75.14 … [the] world established. The Zone
75.15 … below until the time when it
75.16 is released. The Third is the …-ing
75.17 … … the works and the world will pass away[119]
75.18 [from the] time when they are established until the time [when]
75.19 their end is brought about and their being destroyed …
75.20 [The] Fourth is the release by which the world is released
75.21 and all things restored and destruction
75.22 [reaches] them in that Great Fire [which] will burn them for fourteen-
75.23 hundred and sixty-eight years.[120]
75.24 [The Fifth] is how the Last Statue will be fashioned
75.25 [from] the remains of everything and the Light separates
75.26 from its place and ascends and rules in its kingdom, and

[118] A&C: ⲟⲩⲉⲥⲕⲉ ⲉ̣[ⲛⲁⲫⲱⲥ].
[119] A&C: ⲙⲛ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁ[ⲟ]ⲩ̈ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ̣.
[120] See *Shaburagan* (MacKenzie, 517).

75.27 the Darkness, on the other hand, will be transformed and placed in the tomb …
75.28 … … and (will be) bound with it in an [eternal] fetter.
75.29 From the time when this first war
75.30 occurred until the time of this binding … these *Five Things* …
75.31 … Light.
75.32 [Know][121] that from the time when it moved and rose
75.33 [up in its] earth until the time of its bond, it is possible
75.34 [for the Apostles and the] Elect and the Teachers to speak and make statements

76.1 about it. But before … …
76.2 it from the powers, [no one can count][122]
76.3 it or measure it, since it is eternal.
76.4 [From the time] that it is put in chains and bound
76.5 [in] the Lump … … [there is no measure][123]
76.6 to it. It is not possible for [anyone to … nor is it possible] for[124]
76.7 the Apostle and the Teacher … …
76.8 an eternal bond [in the] Lump … …
76.9 … from the time when … …
76.10 fight[125] with one another [until] the time …
76.11 [one] another and each one … …
76.12 … b◌nd … …
76.13 … and they p◌oclaim … …
76.14 moment and time.

[121] A&C: [ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧ]ⲛ̣ⲥ̣ⲁⲩ̣[ⲛⲉ] ⲭⲉ.
[122] A&C: [ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲟⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲕⲱⲡ] |[3]ⲙ̣[ⲙⲁ]ⲥ̣.
[123] A&C: ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ϣⲓ] |[6]ⲁ† ⲁⲣⲁⲥ.
[124] A&C: ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲟⲁⲙ].
[125] A&C: †[ⲧ]ⲫⲛ̣ ⲙⲛ.

CHAPTER 25

ON THE FIVE[126] [FATHERS: FROM WHICH LIMBS THEY HAVE COME]

76.18 Again the Apostle spoke about [the emanation[127] of the *Five Fathers*]
76.19 [from] the Father, one after the other. Thus he spoke: [the Messenger]
76.20 [came] from his Mind, the Beloved of Lights
76.21 [from his Thought], the Mother of Life from his Insight, [Jesus][128]
76.22 the Beloved from his Counsel, the Virgin of Light
76.23 from his Consideration. This is the way that [these *Five*] *Fathers*
76.24 were called (into being). These *Five Advents* came from the *Five Limbs* of the
76.25 Father. One came after the other (and) appeared in his time.

[126] A&C: ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡ[ⲧ]ⲟⲩ … etc.
[127] A&C: ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧ[ⲡⲣⲟ]ⲃ[ⲟⲗ]ⲏ ⲙⲡ[ⲧⲟⲩ.
[128] A&C: ⲓ[ⲏⲥ].

CHAPTER 27

ON THE FIVE FORMS WHICH EXIST IN THE ARCHON{S} OF DARKNESS

77.25 [Again] as the Apostle sat in the assembly, he said [to]
77.26 [his] disciples: As for the Archon, the leader of all the powers
77.27 [of Darkness], there are [*Five Forms*] in his body, according to
77.28 [the form] of the seal [of the *Five*] *Creations* which exist in the *Five*
77.29 *Worlds of Darkness*. His head has the face of a lion and
77.30 originated from [the] World of Fire. His wings and his
77.31 [shoulders] have the face of an eagle, according to the form of the Sons of Wind.
77.32 [His hands] and [his feet] are demons, according to the form
77.33 [of the Sons] of the World of Smoke. His belly has the face of
77.34 [a dragon, according to the form of the] World of Darkness. His tail [has]

78.1 the form of the fish, which belongs to [the World of the] Sons of Water. These
78.2 *Five Forms*[129] are found in him; they [have come] from the *Five* [*Creations*]
78.3 of the *Five Worlds of Darkness*. When he wants, [he goes]
78.4 [on] his two feet and … the World of [Smoke]
78.5 Also, when he wants, he [appears] to them as four[130] …
78.6 on his hands and feet[131] like [the] Sons of Fire.
78.7 When he wants, he lifts (himself) with his wings like the Sons of
78.8 the [Wind]. Also, when he wants, he leaps(?)[132] into the waters
78.9 [like the] Sons of the Water. Also, when he wants, he creeps on
78.10 [his belly] like the Sons of Darkness. [These *Five*] *Forms* exist
78.11 in him. There are also three other in him. [The First]:
78.12 … his powers … …
78.13 The Second: … …
78.14 his magic. When he [wants, he calls upon it]
78.15 [himself] and hides from his powers. [Also, when he wants]
78.16 he shows himself to them (and) causes wounds and [carnage with his]
78.17 magic. By the word which he utters on occasion, he does [his magic]

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[129] Or "appearances"?
[130] That is, as a quadruped.
[131] A&C: no lacuna.
[132] A&C: ⲃⲗⲟϭ̄ⲭ̣.

78.18 with it. The Third: His body is strong, so that all the …,
78.19 all the teeth and the claws of his powers may not pierce [him].
78.20 No body of iron and copper will be fitting for him nor[133]
78.21 will they imprison him, since he was created and fashioned
78.22 from the bitter Consideration of Matter, the Mother of the demons [and]
78.23 evil spirits. There are also three other (forms) in him. When [he wants]
78.24 his fire blazes and his whole body becomes like a [… of]
78.25 the fire. Also, when he wants, he sends out
78.26 frost and his entire body becomes cold like …
78.27 snow. The Third: When his powers [stand]
78.28 before him, he looks at them and knows what [is]
78.29 in their heart. He knows what is in [their heart]
78.30 and their face so long as they stand before him. [When]
78.31 they retreat from him and remove themselves from him [he does not]
78.32 know what is in their heart. There is no life [in him]
78.33 at all, but his life is the gall of [anger] and [poison,[134] which are visible]
78.34 in his face. By his terror …

79.1 of imprisonment(?) which stands before him. Behold, do not deliver
79.2 yourselves, my beloved, to the forms of this Archon, the root
79.3 of all wickedness, the bosom and camp
79.4 of every ugliness. But, you, keep yourselves
79.5 from him and his evil wisdom which dwells in your
79.6 bodies, lest they mix with you and they destroy your
79.7 gentleness and change your wisdom into a lie.
79.8 But be diligent and perfect
79.9 before the Mind of Truth which has revealed itself to you, that
79.10 you may … and be drawn up …
79.11 to the height and inherit [life] from [eternity]
79.12 [to] eternity.

[133] A&C: ϙ[ϒⲧⲉ].
[134] A&C: ⲙ[ⲛ ⲡ]ⲙⲉⲧϙ[ϒ.

CHAPTER 33

ON THE FIVE THINGS THAT HE CONSTRUCTED WITH THE HARD BODIES OF THE ARCHONS

86.22 Again, the Enlightener spoke: The Living Spirit constructed [*Five*]
86.23 *Great Things* from the veins, brains, [and] hard [bodies.]
86.24 The First is the disk which sits on [the]
86.25 shoulders of the Porter. The [Second] is the arch of [the]
86.26 column which is before him. [The] Third is the [shape]
86.27 of the form of *gehenna*. The Fourth is the [Seven]
86.28 Columns which he set up in the Great Sea in the
86.29 Seven Parts of the world. The Fifth is the Four
86.30 Walls which surround the passage.

CHAPTER 37

ON THE THREE ZONES

89.3 Again the Enlightener spoke about the Living Spirit: When he
89.4 built (and) constructed the worlds, he suspended the zones
89.5 in their zones within their zones again. The First Zone{s}
89.6 are (those of) the *Five Powers of Darkness*, male and female.
89.7 This (statement) that "he suspended a zone in a zone" (means that) he suspended
89.8 the *Five Powers of Darkness* in the *Five Splendours of the Son of*
89.9 *Man*. For the whole enmity is fastened and bound in them.
89.10 Also, within the zone are the *Five Sons of the* [*Living*] *Spirit*,
89.11 for the entire construction hangs on them as he
89.12 … … heard him too. The other …
89.13 … … after them. That he suspended [the zones(?)] (means that)
89.14 [he suspended them from the] upper firmaments [to the firmaments further down]
89.15 … … which is in a zone is the Great [King of Glory],
89.16 who exists … … within the …
89.17 … the world.

CHAPTER 38

ON THE LIGHT-MIND, THE APOSTLES, AND THE SAINTS

89.21 Again at one occasion, a disciple questioned the [Apostle],
89.22 saying to him: You have told us that the Light-Mind
89.23 is that which comes and supports the saints. [You have told]
89.24 us therefore that even though it is one of the gods …
89.25 … many gods are found in it. You have told
89.26 us also that at the time it enters into [the body]
89.27 of the flesh and binds the Old Man with its *Five Counsels*,
89.28 setting up its *Five Counsels* on him in the *Five Limbs*
89.29 [of his] body. Where is it [though], since the Old Man is bound in the
89.30 body? For, I (can) see that rebellions occur in its
89.31 bond from time to time. Secondly, I ask
89.32 you: If indeed it is a great god, unchanging and
89.33 immeasurable, how does it come to appear in the smallness of the
89.34 body? The third thing that I want you to tell
89.35 me [is this: If(?)] the Mind is holy and pure,
89.36 [how did it come to be joined to(?)] the impurity of this body?

90.1 Fourthly, if truly, the Light-Mind is present in [the]
90.2 saints, why does its likeness not appear to us as it
90.3 is? The fifth thing: I want
90.4 you to tell me (about) and explain your apostleship.
90.5 For, behold, it is not clear to me, since they oppress
90.6 you and persecute you in the world.
90.7 I implore you that you persuade me about these things which I have asked you.
90.8 Then he spoke to this disciple: My entire revelation,
90.9 which I have revealed, I have made it known to my Church
90.10 (and) it is true before you. One and the same is it everywhere. [What, then,]
90.11 are you missing?[135] This disciple said [to the Apostle]:
90.12 While indeed you have revealed everything (and) persuaded [us][136] that they are

[135] A&C: ⲉ[ⲩ ⲡⲉⲧ] |[11]ⲕ[ⲫⲁ]ⲣⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ.
[136] A&C: ⲁⲕⲡ̣ⲱⲉ̣ [ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ] ⲉ̣[ⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ]|ⲉ.

90.13 true before us, nevertheless I would also like to get to know[137] the Light-
90.14 Mind as it is.
90.15 Then, the Apostle spoke to him: If I go on once again
90.16 to relate[138] to you these things that you are (already) versed in, they being true
90.17 before you, (then) by means of these things which you are versed in,[139] you will
90.18 come to know [what you are missing]. I will give the perception of those who perceive for your sake. I will let
90.19 the living fountain gush forth for those who thirst, that they might drink and live.
90.20 Then the Apostle said to him: All Error, when the
90.21 Enemy of Light established it, was established after the likeness of
90.22 a human being. The head of the cosmos is the edge of the garments.
90.23 Its neck is the collar[140] of the garments. Its stomach is
90.24 [the] *Five Folds* which are the … of the garments.
90.25 Its ribs are [all] the firmaments. Its navel [is the]
90.26 circuit[141] of stars and the Zodiac. [The parts], however, [which]
90.27 extend from its navel {from its [navel]} to its loins is [the …]
90.28 … which extend from the circuit [to the corners] of the Four
90.29 Worlds. Its loins are the … which is below …
90.30 on the head of the Porter. Its … from the …
90.31 to the earth on which the Porter stands.
90.32 Its shinbones and its feet are … of the [Porter(?)]
90.33 and the entire Zone which belongs … …

91.1 Its heart is humankind, its liver is the four-legged beasts.
91.2 Its lung is the species of birds that [flies in]
91.3 the air. Its spleen is the species of fish that swims in the waters.
91.4 Its kidneys are the world of reptiles who creep [on]
91.5 the earth. Its outer skin is the wall that … [which]
91.6 surrounds the fixtures and the great fire. Its …
91.7 the passages of the great fire. Its flesh is[142] …
91.8 of the Darkness. Its gall is the passage of …[143] its
91.9 large intestine is the breadth of the great …
91.10 of the worlds. Its veins … … all [the springs]
91.11 and sources. Its eyes [are] … …

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137 A&C: ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱ[ⲛ] [ⲍ][ⲱⲧ] ⲙ̇[ⲡ]ⲛⲟ̇ⲩⲥ.
138 A&C: ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ̇ [ⲁⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲧ̇[ⲁ] |[16]ⲧ̇[ⲉ]ⲟ̇ⲩⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ.
139 "being true before you" added by scribe slightly above the line (Polotsky/Böhlig 90.17).
140 Crum 162b.
141 Literally "sphere, globe".
142 A&C: ⲧⲉⲫⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲡⲉ . ⲙ̇ⲏ̇ … .
143 A&C: ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̇[ⲭ]ⲓ̇ⲟⲣⲉ ⲛⲛ … . . ⲡⲉ̇[ⲫ] |[9]ⲛⲁⲇ.

91.12 … Its feet are the Four Regions[144] …
91.13 … … which …
91.14 This is the way that each one has provided the worlds with *mēte*.
91.15 While the *Five Gods* are fixed in it … …
91.16 they are its soul and its life … …
91.17 is a sinful person … …
91.18 … the Living Spirit and the Messenger …
91.19 the *Five Sleepless Watchers*. He has …
91.20 the Keeper of Splendour, the Mind, which is … [in the]
91.21 [world] of the upper Mind. It has …
91.22 the whole … of the powers of heaven [which] in … …
91.23 the great King of Glory who is [the Thought found]
91.24 in the Seventh Firmament. He humbled … …
91.25 … also the Adamas of Light, who is the Insight …
91.26 in this *mēte*. He gave … because of the Desire of Matter.[145] [He has]
91.27 also placed the King of Glory, who is the Counsel …
91.28 the long-suffering upon the Three Images, that of wind, that of
91.29 fire, (and) that of water. He has given him the …
91.30 … do evil.
91.31 [The …] also of the Porter, who is Consideration …
91.32 [the] wisdom in the … which is above, he made him …
91.33 … … the foundation, [which is below] …

92.1 Again, the Messenger distilled from them the *Five*
92.2 *Intellectuals of Life*. Also, the Call and Response were set
92.3 in them, now making them six Sons of the Living Spirit,
92.4 along with six Sons of the First Man.
92.5 Again, the Messenger set in them the Great Mind,
92.6 which is the Column of Glory, the Perfect Man.
92.7 Again, Jesus the Youth was set among them, who is
92.8 the Image of the Living Word, of the Proclamation and the Hearing.
92.9 He strengthened these camps, above and below,
92.10 so that each one of them may secure itself in the circuit of its
92.11 watch-post, (and) so that rebellion and deceit might not occur in its watch.
92.12 Look, then, and see: The Keeper of Splendour stands in the
92.13 Great Mind, in the camp that (sits) above the prison
92.14 of those who are bound, so that he might bring to naught all the gloom of death.
92.15 But, deceit and rebellion occurred. Sin aborted,
92.16 [intertwined] with the soul, and mixed with the Light which was
92.17 freed by the image of the Messenger (and) went [up to] …
92.18 … [in the] Third Firmament, which is above the watch-tower

[144] A&C: ⲡⲫ[ⲧ]ⲁⲩ ⲛⲕⲁⲓⲙⲁ.
[145] A&C: ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛⲧ[ⲍ]ⲩ[ⲗⲏ ⲁⲫ].

92.19 … the Keeper of Splendour. From this place, too, it intertwined
92.20 with the Light. It came out (and) went down
92.21 to the dry and the moist. It [fashioned] the trees [in][146]
92.22 the dry, while in the sea it took form immediately
92.23 and made a great rebellion in the sea.
92.24 Behold and see that the great King of Honour, he who is
92.25 the Thought found in the Third Firmament, he is [terrible]
92.26 with wrath. But, rebellion (still) [occurred], since deceit and
92.27 hate are found in the camp, (that is,) the Watchers
92.28 of heaven who came down to the earth during his watch:
92.29 they engaged in every act of deceit. They revealed the arts
92.30 in the world (and) unveiled to human beings the mysteries [of]
92.31 heaven. There is no limit to (the) rebellion and destruction (that) occurred on the
92.32 earth. The Adamas … …
92.33 … perfection, he stands on … …

93.1 and deceit occurred in his camp: which is, when
93.2 the abortions fell down, Adam and Eve
93.3 were formed and begotten, so that by means of them they might rule the world.
93.4 They accomplished all the works of Desire on the
93.5 earth; the whole world was filled with their Desire. By
93.6 means of this *mēte*,[147] they also persecute the churches (and) kill
93.7 the apostles and the righteous in the watch-district of the Adamas
93.8 of Light, from time to time throughout the generations.
93.9 Also, in the watch of the great King of Glory, he who is
93.10 the great Counsel (and) who has authority over the Three
93.11 Wheels, disturbance and tribulation occurred, since they …
93.12 the earth (and) disturbed the Three Earths. When the Messenger
93.13 revealed his image, the roads closed to their [escape(?)]
93.14 … their departure was hindered [when(?)]
93.15 the wind, the water, and the fire came into them.
93.16 Also, in the watch of the Porter, he who humbled …
93.17 rebellion in the lower depths … …
93.18 bent, the lower fixtures stripped … …
93.19 in the lower foundation. … …
93.20 Because of the earthquake which occurred in the watch of the Keeper
93.21 of Splendour, the Column of Glory came forth being … … and acted as
93.22 [a(?)] helper to the Keeper of Splendour. He bore all the
93.23 weight. Also, because of the deceit and the rebellion which

[146] A&C: [ⲥ][ⲙ̄].
[147] Meaning no known, but something like "leeway"(?).

93.24 occurred during the watch of the great King of Honour, (that is,) the
93.25 Watchers who came down to the earth from the heavens,[148] because of them
93.26 the Four Angels were commanded (to) bind the Watchers
93.27 with a bond forever in the prison of those who are black.[149]
93.28 Their sons were wiped off (the face of) the earth.
93.29 Since the abortions also came down during the watch of the Adamas
93.30 (and) begot Adam and Eve, because of this great deceit
93.31 and the mystery of evil, he sent Jesus
93.32 … the prayer of the *Five Sons*, he bore …
93.33 … the abortions, he fastened them beneath the
93.34 … the Mind of Adam.

94.1 Also, because of the earthquake which occurred in these Three
94.2 Earths, and because the roads ended (and) the fountains of
94.3 wind, water, and fire ceased, Jesus descended (and)
94.4 bore Eve. He made straight the paths of the wind, the water, and
94.5 the fire, opened to them the fountains, (and) constructed for them the paths
94.6 of ascent. Again, since the
94.7 earth which is below the Porter (was) stripped [of the] fixtures which
94.8 … indeed, because of this, Jesus came down to bear
94.9 [Eve.] Before he reached that place, he ordered (and) strengthened
94.10 the fixtures which are below, (then) returned (and) went back up to his
94.11 resting-[place](?). Then the Apostle said to him:
94.12 See all these watches of the Zone, in which these great gods
94.13 are lords, watching over them … …
94.14 rebellion and deceit occurred in them. The …
94.15 … in them from time to time, in great humility,
94.16 until they humble the powers of enmity.
94.17 This is also how it is with the body—a great power dwells
94.18 within it. Even though it is small in its form, Sin nevertheless
94.19 dwells within it along with the Old Man, who resides in it. It is inhabited
94.20 by a very great wisdom, until the Light-Mind
94.21 finds the way to humble this body and drive it [according]
94.22 to its will. As in the watches
94.23 of his great brothers who are lords out in the Zone—
94.24 (that is,) the great body, (where) earthquake and deceit occur
94.25 from time to time—so too in the watch-tower of the

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[148] According to Henning this passages represents a fragment from Mani's *Book of Giants* (*W.B. Henning: Selected Papers II* [Leiden: Brill, 1977], 135).

[149] See Polotsky/Böhlig 93.27. This passage is a puzzling piece of Manichaean cosmology, perhaps reflecting the influence of another (Enochic?) tradition.

94.26 Mind, which is the body of the flesh, does Sin raise
94.27 from time to time its agitations in the body.
94.28 But, in this way, know that the powers of Light
94.29 are good. The beginning and the end are revealed to them.
94.30 Everything they do, they do with correct judgement.
94.31 Because of this, they allow the enmity
94.32 to initiate Error and to do its will [for]
94.33 a while. Then, they are seized …

95.1 … they have acted first in righteous judgement.
95.2 But, as for this other (question), which you posed: How does the Light-
95.3 Mind come, this great strength, and endure such a small
95.4 body of flesh? Behold, again, and see these gods that
95.5 … they [are] great and strong, yet each one of them is limited (and)
95.6 confined in [the] place where it stands, like trees
95.7 cleaving to their taproot.[150] This also is the way that each one
95.8 of them cleaves to its taproot in the world, according to
95.9 [the] size of the place where he stands, enduring until
95.10 … the end[151] … But, know also
95.11 … … the world stands, being established …
95.12 … [the] Living Spirit in all his Limbs
95.13 … … Sin took this body away from the [Land]
95.14 [of Light and(?)] established it in his Limbs. It removed his [body]
95.15 [from the *Five*] *Bodies of Darkness* (and) established the body. His
95.16 [soul], however, he took from the *Five Luminous Gods*
95.17 (and) bound it to the *Five Limbs of the Body*. It bound Mind
95.18 in bone, Thought in sinew, Insight in vein, Counsel
95.19 in flesh, Consideration in skin. It set
95.20 [it] in its *Five Powers*: Its Mind on the Mind of the soul,
95.21 [its] Thought on the Thought of the soul, its Insight on the Insight
95.22 [of] the soul, its Counsel on the Counsel of the soul, (and) its
95.23 Consideration on the Consideration of the soul. It set its *Five*
95.24 *Angels* and its *Authorities* on the *Five Limbs*
95.25 [*of the Soul*], which he took (and) bound in the flesh.
95.26 … impregnating the soul, drawing it each time to
95.27 all (sorts of) evil works, to all sins of Desire, to the
95.28 worship of idols, to the Sects of Error, to
95.29 humility in the humility of slavery, as it stands serving
95.30 the foul things which do not last, worshipping
95.31 … … idols of wood and gold and silver
95.32 … … they *čajē*(?),[152] serving the filthy

[150] See Gardner, *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 99.
[151] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϩⲏ.
[152] ⲟⲁⲭⲏ[?]: meaning unknown and reading uncertain (noted in Polotsy/Böhlig).

96.1 and unclean beasts that are ugly in their appearance and their
96.2 form. It put on Error and oblivion, (and) forgot
96.3 its essence, its race, and its kind. Not
96.4 recognizing the door of the prayer-house, it cried out to
96.5 him (and) became hostile to its father … …
96.6 … itself, being evil … …
96.7 … to its own light. Also, when[153] the Light-
96.8 Mind came and found the soul, it … and gave it a …[154]
96.9 … it put it on in the … …
96.10 … its wisdom … …
96.11 … it becomes for it a … …
96.12 … the bonds … …
96.13 Limb(s) in the body. It[155] frees the Mind [of the Soul and]
96.14 [releases] it from bone. It releases the Thought [of the Soul]
96.15 from sinew and binds, in turn, the Thought [of Sin in]
96.16 sinew. It releases the Insight of the Soul from vein,
96.17 and binds, in turn, the Insight of Sin in vein. It
96.18 frees the Counsel of the Soul and releases it from the flesh
96.19 and binds, in turn, the Counsel of Sin in the flesh. It
96.20 releases the Consideration of the Soul from the skin and binds
96.21 the Consideration of Sin in the skin.
96.22 This is how it releases the Limbs of the Soul
96.23 and makes them free from the *Five Limbs of Sin*.
96.24 These *Five Limbs of Sin* which are released,
96.25 it binds them. It establishes the Limbs of the Soul, builds them up,
96.26 refines them, and establishes them in the New Man, a son of
96.27 righteousness. When it fashions and establishes
96.28 and purifies the New Man, then it acquires *Five*
96.29 *Great, Living Limbs* from the *Five Great Limbs*
96.30 and places them in the Limbs of the New Man. It places its Mind,
96.31 which is Love, in the Mind of the New Man. Thought,
96.32 on the other hand, which is Belief, it sets [in] the Thought [of the New]
96.33 Man, who it refines. Insight, which [is Perfection, it places]

97.1 in the Insight of the New Man. His Counsel, which [is]
97.2 Long-suffering, it places in his Counsel. Wisdom,[156]
97.3 which is his Consideration, (it places) in the Consideration of the New
97.4 Man. It purifies the image of the word from the word of
97.5 Sin and adds it to its (own) word, so that its
97.6 … might be a nourisher and strengthener …

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[153] A&C: ⲡⲛ̀[ϵ]ϒ [ⲁⲛ] ϵ̣ⲧ̣[ϵ]ⲯⲁⲣ̣[ϵ] ⲧ̣ⲛ̀ⲟ̣[ⲩⲥ].
[154] A&C: ⲯ[ⲁ]ⲓ̣[ⲧ] … . . ⲛⲧ[ϯ] ⲛⲉ̣ⲥ [ⲛ̄]ⲟⲩ[.].
[155] That is, the Light-Mind.
[156] Polotsky/Böhlig suggests that the elements "wisdom" and "consideration" should be inversed (97 n. 2).

97.7 … … When it perfects
97.8 … … the twelve limbs, then[157] …
97.9 … … and his wisdom. His …
97.10 … … becomes righteous and perfect …
97.11 … … first he ran …
97.12 … … instead of this, it now runs …
97.13 … its road and its path and its …
97.14 [it] also [raises itself up] to the Great Aeon …
97.15 …. Therefore the Old Man is bound in his …
97.16 … and his desire, his … … his
97.17 foolishness in these *Five Limbs of the Body*. [Just as]
97.18 the Spirit of Darkness is enclosed with them in a bond and in
97.19 a severe affliction, the New Man, on the other hand, rules
97.20 in his Love, in his Belief, in his Perfection, in his
97.21 Long-suffering, and in his Wisdom. Also, his king, who[158]
97.22 [is the Light-Mind], is king over all. It [rules over him]
97.23 [according to] its will. As long as the Limbs of Sin are bound[159]
97.24 in this way, Sin is contained. Even though the Light-Mind
97.25 [is] king, tribulation may still occur in the body from
97.26 time to time. Sometimes Sin rises
97.27 up in his Consideration and disturbs Counsel, and confuses
97.28 Wisdom and the understanding of the man and causes truth
97.29 to leave him in favour of doubt and to make statements (that) are
97.30 inane and without salt.[160] When the sign of his
97.31 foolishness comes … in the Church, the Teachers and
97.32 [the …] and the Deacons,[161] and the Elders gather
97.33 … [and] become his helpers and correct his Wisdom
97.34 … … … his Consideration was established

98.1 in this (man). His Wisdom has secured its place (and) ordered
98.2 … well. If, however, he does not accept the rebuke
98.3 and the encouragement[162] of his brothers and his helpers, then
98.4 Sin rises up again from Consideration to
98.5 Counsel and takes his Long-suffering [from him] and clothes him
98.6 with cowardice and loss, and the sign[163] (of this) becomes evident
98.7 among his brothers, his … …
98.8 every [deed] that he does … …
98.9 the advice of his brothers and he becomes …
98.10 foolishness. A struggle and a war occur (between)

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157 A&C: ⲧⲟⲧⲉ.
158 A&C: ⲡⲫ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲛ [ⲉ]ⲧⲉ.
159 A&C: ⲛ̄ⲓⲛⲁⲃⲉ [ⲙ]ⲏⲣ.
160 A&C: ϩⲛⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲃⲁ | [30][ⲃⲁ]ⲧ ⲉⲙⲛ ϩⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ.
161 A&C: ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[ⲇⲓⲁ]ⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ.
162 Crum 122b.
163 A&C: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ[ⲟ]ⲩⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄.

98.11 the Light-Mind and Sin in Counsel. The
98.12 brothers gather[164] together and they become …
98.13 … him and they quiet the … …
98.14 … they put him in his place again …
98.15 one another in his struggle. If, however, …
98.16 that place, then Sin rises up again to …
98.17 … and clothes him with Desire and pretension and
98.18 pride, and he leaves his Teacher and brothers.
98.19 He always wants to go in and out alone,
98.20 he wants to eat (and) drink alone, as a solitary. He
98.21 always wants to walk alone. This, then, is the
98.22 sign that the habit of his brothers does not please him. If he
98.23 [lets] his heart [succumb(?)] to lust, Sin will again raise
98.24 the Death-desire in his Thought. He … to
98.25 vanity and he gives up his faith and his truth leaves
98.26 him. When the sign of his foolishness
98.27 appears and his notoriety spreads though the Church, the
98.28 wise ones of the Church assemble so that they might strengthen his [heart]
98.29 and build him up in the rule[165] of God. (Then), if he has accepted [the]
98.30 advice of his brothers and heard the … …
98.31 and has turned away from his anger and … …,

99.1 (then) it is possible that he (might) live and conquer Sin and all its
99.2 wars. But if he does not strengthen this watch, it (will) come back
99.3 and put on and disturb his Mind, which was originally
99.4 at rest. It (will) disturb his love for his Teacher and his
99.5 instructor. It (will) remove from his heart the love for the Church
99.6 and fill it totally with hate, and all his brothers (will) become hateful
99.7 to him. His brothers and his beloved and his companions,
99.8 who love him, they (will) be like enemies to him.
99.9 Now, if[166] this man is disturbed in this way, and he abandons his
99.10 love and his desire to change himself, (then) this
99.11 man (will) become, in turn, a lost vessel and he (will) leave the
99.12 Church and he (will) reach his end in the world.
99.13 The Mind which was in him (will) be dispersed from him and return
99.14 to the Apostle who sent it. He becomes filled with evil spirits
99.15 and they play with [him], drawing him here and there, and he, in turn,
99.16 becomes like an worldly man, changing and being like a
99.17 bird plucked of its feathers {and becomes earthly}.

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[164] A&C: ϣⲁⲣ[ϵ] ⲛ̣ |[12]ϲ[ⲛⲏ]ⲩ ϲⲱⲩⲍ.
[165] Crum 122b.
[166] A&C: ϵϣⲁⲛⲧϵ-.

99.18 Behold![167] I have shown you (s.) and clarified for you (s.) that, just as
99.19 agitation occurs in the Zone, in the camps of
99.20 these great and mighty gods. So too
99.21 disturbance happens from time to time in the jurisdiction[168] of the
99.22 Light-Mind. Just as these watchers stand
99.23 [in] the Zone (and) are not visible, so too is it with the
99.24 Light-Mind, [since] it is not visible in the body.
99.25 Also, just as these outer [watchers] are great,
99.26 but bend (and) [bow] (and) shrink according to the size of the task
99.27 assigned to each one of them, so too is it with the
99.28 Mind. It too is great and exalted, but it has bent itself
99.29 (and) shrunk according to this small, repulsive body.
99.30 Just as the gods [in the] outer Zone are excellent,
99.31 pure, (and) established [in] the mixture of the All, and yet not polluted,
99.32 [so too does the] Light-[Mind] stand in its
99.33 … … … …

100.1 Behold the strength and the efficiency of the Light-
100.2 Mind: how great it is on all the watch-towers of
100.3 the body. It stands in its encampment (and) shields
100.4 every impulse of the body from the attractions of Sin.
100.5 It fixes them, scatters them, (and) sets them right
100.6 according to its will. It also does another excellent (and)
100.7 exceptional thing—it sets a great spirit on the
100.8 Elect. Indeed, you (s.) find him established on the earth,
100.9 rising in his heart, (and) going up to the Father, the
100.10 God of Truth, he who is established above
100.11 all the works of loss. It also rushes in
100.12 his Insight and his Consideration, and goes down to
100.13 the Land of Darkness, from which the Darkness has sprung.
100.14 His heart runs and meets everything, after having … them.
100.15 Then he said to that disciple: Behold![169] I have taught you (about)
100.16 the deeds of the Light-Mind. To the one who has
100.17 open and perceptive eyes it will be visible, (but) to the one who
100.18 does not have these eyes it will not be visible.
100.19 As for my work, which is [revealed] (but) is not clear to you—
100.20 the works that I have done—I am the one who will teach
100.21 them and I will clarify for you these wonders [of] my works[170]
100.22 and my leadership.
100.23 Heed this! that I, a single Manichaios, have come into the

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[167] A&C: [ϵ]ⲓⲥⲧϵ.
[168] A&C: ϩⲛ̄ ⲡⲣⲁ ⲛ̄[ϩ]ϵⲡ.
[169] A&C: ϵⲓ[ⲥ][ϩ]ⲏⲧϵ.
[170] A&C: [ⲛⲧϵ]ⲡⲁ[ϩ]ⲱ[ⲃ].

100.24 world alone. Both the forms [and] types of the body,
100.25 both gold and silver, both brass … money and
100.26 numerous gifts, both armour and armaments, [the]
100.27 multitude of humanity have submitted to me—
100.28 many divinities and idols from the
100.29 furnaces. You have seen the [kingdom] of the world, how
100.30 with many graces and gifts, with
100.31 armour and war and [violence] they have hardly humbled the
100.32 cities and subdued the lands. [I, however, I have subdued]
100.33 without armour and without [armaments …][171] distant [cities]

101.1 through the word of God. In distant lands
101.2 they bless my name and it is glorified in all lands.
101.3 Know also this other thing that I will teach you: the
101.4 kings have striven with me, along with the princes and the
101.5 officials and their functionaries, so that they might destroy this truth,
101.6 (but) they have had no power over me in this regard. Now, if I am alone,
101.7 why did they have no power over me, namely, all those who strove
101.8 with me? The third thing is that [there is]
101.9 no one in the world who has given freedom to his children and
101.10 his brothers and his relatives (and) freed them
101.11 from the variability of all things just as I
101.12 have made all my sons free from every toil, and [how I have][172]
101.13 granted every freedom(?).[173] The fourth thing: I have [clothed] them
101.14 with the armour [of] wisdom, so that you (s.) will not find one single
101.15 person who will … and conquer them. Just as no
101.16 one has been able to conquer me in the entire world, so too is it
101.17 with my children. No one will be able to conquer them.
101.18 The fifth thing: I have chosen with my power this entire, great
101.19 election. I have given to my children my staffs of knowledge[174]
101.20 and the great fountains of wisdom. Because the previous[175]
101.21 apostles did not give their churches wisdom[176] as I
101.22 gave to mine,[177] I have strengthened my church (and) have left it
101.23 every good thing that is useful to it in every (sort of) work.
101.24 I have planted good and sown truth in every land, near
101.25 and far. Apostles and elders
101.26 have I sent to every land. Because the previous

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171 A&C: lacuna in manuscript.
172 A&C: ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧ̣[ⲭⲉ ⲉ]ⲧ̣ⲁ̈ⲓ̈.
173 Funk, *personal communication*.
174 A&C: ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡ̣[ⲥ]ⲁ̣ⲩⲛⲉ̣.
175 A&C: ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ̣[ⲛ][ⲱ]ⲁ̣ⲣⲡ̣.
176 A&C: ⲟⲩⲥ̣ⲟ̣ⲫⲓⲁ.
177 A&C: ⲧ[ⲭ]ⲉ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲁⲕ |[22][ⲉⲧ]ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲛⲧⲱⲓ̈.

101.27 apostles who went to them earlier did not accomplish what I have accomplished
101.28 [in] this past generation, save for Jesus alone, the son of
101.29 [the] Greatness who is the father of all apostles.
101.30 For all the apostles have not accomplished what
101.31 [I have] accomplished. Behold and see now how great is my
101.32 [power] and my diligence. For no one among the previous
101.33 [apostles, who appeared before me(?)][178] in the flesh was like me in
101.34 … … through me. For this great

102.1 door has been opened, which I have opened, to the gods and angels and
102.2 the people and all the spirits and living souls which are
102.3 prepared for life and eternal rest.
102.4 Then, when his disciples heard all these words which he had
102.5 proclaimed to them, they answered (and) said to him: Great
102.6 and strong are all these things which you have proclaimed to us; (things) which
102.7 you have done by your power and the power of the one who sent you. Who
102.8 could fully repay you for the grace which you have
102.9 done for us, except this one who sent you? But, this is the only
102.10 thanks available to us to repay you, (namely) that we strengthen ourselves in
102.11 your faith and keep your commandments and, moreover, that we be content
102.12 with the words you have proclaimed to us.

[178] Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig, 101.33.

CHAPTER 39

ON THE THREE DAYS[179] AND THE TWO DEATHS

102.16 Again the Apostle spoke to his disciples:
102.17 Know! my beloved ones, that three great, mighty days
102.18 occur in the universe as well as two great,
102.19 bitter deaths. When his disciples heard (this)
102.20 they said to him: Tell us, our father, what are these
102.21 three great days or what are these two bitter
102.22 deaths. He said to them:
102.23 The first day is our Father, the Man—from the moment
102.24 that the First Man came down to the depth of the Darkness (and)
102.25 was submerged in it. (Then), the Living Spirit was sent(?), who went (down)
102.26 (and) brought him up. After the Man ascended, the Father of
102.27 Life and the Great Spirit set in order the affairs and the worlds
102.28 (both) above and below. Moreover, the glorious Messenger
102.29 came and boarded the Ship of the Day.
102.30 He revealed his glorious image (and) purified [the Light]
102.31 from all things. He journeyed through the heights of the
102.32 heavens, until the time when the world will be dissolved,
102.33 all things destroyed, the Great [Fire] unleashed,
102.34 and the Last Statue ascends. These three deeds
102.35 were begun on this first [day, when the First Man]
102.36 was sent along with his *Five* [*Sons*. The first death],[180]

103.1 however, is the Darkness, which mixed with the *Five Sons*
103.2 *of the First Man*. The second day
103.3 is when the Fathers of Light, who were victorious in the struggle,
103.4 will sit on their thrones in the New Age and dwell
103.5 on the New Earth. They (will) rule in the New [Age]
103.6 until the time when the Father will unveil his image
103.7 above them. It is necessary that they dwell[181] in the New Age
103.8 for the length of the first day that he spent [in affliction].
103.9 They will rule in this way and rejoice in [the New]
103.10 Age. The great third day [is when]

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[179] The topic of the "three days" was, according to al-Nadīm, the subject of a chapter of Mani's work, *Treasure of Life* (Dodge, 798; Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 52).

[180] Something like "night" might make more sense here (Funk, *personal communication*).

[181] A&C: ⲧⲟⲩ(ⲟⲩ)ⲱϩ.

the Father will unveil his [image] over them …
… … and raise them up …
and take them into his hidden storehouse …
and give … to his soul. He will pour upon them …
his ambrosia and his sweet aroma, which will take away
all the tribulation that they saw with their (own) eyes, and give them[182]
relief and eternal joy. When his
grace satisfies them and he gives them his fruit[183] and
they are renewed, he will then call them [in] peace
and silence and perfect their substance [in] the same
measure as his former aeons and reveal every power
in its aeon, in its dwelling place. They will dwell in the New
Age with their aeons. When they dwell with their aeons,
they will become immeasurably rich
for timeless eternity. From this moment on, they will not count this
time among them, nor the number
of days and hours through every generation,
forever and ever. The Father will not be hidden from them from this
moment on. Once he has been unveiled to them,
he will [stay] unveiled forever. These are the three great days
[that the Father of] Greatness has accounted for in the reckoning of
[the number] of days.[184] The two deaths, however, which I have
[proclaimed to you are these:

The first death is from the moment when the Light fell into
the Darkness (and) mixed together with the Archons of Darkness until
the moment when the Light will be purified and separate from the
Darkness through that Great Fire. The remainder, which will be left over in
it, will (be) built (onto) and add(ed) to this Last
Statue. The second death is the death by which
the souls of sinful people die, when
[they] will be stripped of the shining Light which illumined
the world and they are, in turn, separated from the Living Air from which they
received breath, and they are deprived of the Living Soul which
… in the world, and they are separated and swept
away from this Last Statue …
… and they are bound in every limb
… … the woman(?)[185] will become … and …
their torture and their tribulation, because their deeds …

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[182] A&C: [ⲛ][ⲫ][ϯ] ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄-.
[183] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ.
[184] A&C: ⲛ̄]ⲛ[ⲍ][ⲟⲟⲩⲉ].
[185] Unlikely reading, perhaps "terror" (Funk, *personal communication*).

104.16 those three places. Since they have blasphemed (and) despised the
104.17 Holy Spirit in every generation of the world. These are the
104.18 two deaths: the first death is temporal, while the second
104.19 death is eternal—it is the
104.20 [second death!]

CHAPTER 48

ON THE CONDUITS(?)[186]

120.23 Again, the Enlightener spoke: Three conduits are found
120.24 in the entire Zone (running) from the depth to the height.
120.25 The first conduit is the root of all the higher powers:
120.26 those that are found in all the heavens; those that come down
120.27 (and) are bound to the lower earths. Since the lower earth
120.28 is the hide,[187] the garment, and the body of higher powers
120.29 in the heavens. For when the Father of Life
120.30 established the worlds of heaven, he stripped them of their bodies (and)
120.31 threw them to the lower earths. While the upper worlds
120.32 became psychic and pneumatic, the lower worlds
120.33 became somatic and carcass-like …

121.1 Because of this, he … the powers of heaven (and) sealed
121.2 it on their bodies and their carcasses that are in the earths, so that
121.3 when Life comes up from the fullness of these earths,
121.4 it may be completely drawn to the height through the roots of the heavenly, those
121.5 that are nailed in their bodies, and all Life will be distilled from these
121.6 places. The dregs, however, that is swept away from the purity
121.7 which comes up to the height, is left to fall down
121.8 into the channels(?)[188] of the conduits and flow down to …
121.9 and be thrown into the deep.[189] This is the first conduit, which
121.10 runs from the powers of heaven to their bodies and their
121.11 carcasses on the earth. (It) also (runs) from their bodies and [their]
121.12 carcasses on the earth to the powers of heaven.
121.13 The second conduit is the one that runs from the temples and the
121.14 dwellings and the cities in heaven down to

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[186] The precise meaning of ⲁⲓϩⲙⲉ is uncertain.

[187] According to Theodore bar Khonai, the Living Spirit uses the flayed skins of the Archons, i.e., "their hides" (ܦܓܪܝܗܘܢ) (315.10 [Scher]) to construct the heavens and their corpses to construct the earths. This may be the idea reflected by the Coptic term ⲡⲕⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲏⲩ, which Polotsky/Böhlig translated as *das Ausgezogene* and Gardner as "stripping off."

[188] Even though the same word, ⲁⲓϩⲙⲉ, is used, it seems to imply another aspect of the "conduit."

[189] What is being imagined here is some kind of distillation apparatus.

the *Five Kinds of Trees* that grow upon the earth. Life comes
up from the Trees to the temples and the cities. But, the Life
and the Fire of the heavenly ones comes down to the Trees in their
conduits. The third conduit, however, is
all the powers and the companions who dwell in all the firmaments,
those whose roots run down from them to the *Five*
Worlds of Flesh that creep upon the earth, fixed to one another.
While Power and Life gather together in the *Worlds*
of Flesh and go out from them in various forms, the
powers of heaven draw it to them upwards through the conduits.
[The] dregs, however, and the desires and the evils and the wraths, which
abound in the powers [of] heaven, they are poured
their various conduits. They are poured into human beings
[and] the rest of the beasts. When the heavenly cause
the dregs, the stink, and the poison to flow down to the creations
of flesh below, the creations abound
in desire, in wrath, (and) in evil
[through] the energy of their fathers on high.
The Apostle [spoke]:[190] As for the wheel of the stars. It does not have
[a root on this earth] but its roots are bound in the
[All.] But, [the wheel of the stars], thriving on the Power

and the Life that comes up [from] the earth through the conduits
and the firmament above, draws Life from these conduits
that lead up to the firmaments and the worlds
of heaven above it, drawing Life from that place.
Then the disciples asked the Enlightener (and) said to him: If
the wheel has no root on this earth, where then do the stars
and the zodiacal signs find the power to become masters over these *Five*
Fleshes and the *Five Trees*, even though you tell us that the
wheel has no root? For you have told us that as everything
diminishes on the earth, the powers above in
the heavens gather it through a conduit. Also, we see
that every thing which happens to a man—whether wealth
comes to him or he is struck by poverty,
his sickness or his health—it happens to him
through the Zodiac and the stars under which he was begotten.
Then he spoke to his disciples: That which I proclaimed to
you—that the wheel has no root—I proclaimed it to
you correctly. It is certainly correct here, since when the

[190] This may indicate an originally separate chapter.

122.19 Living Spirit, the Father of Life, established the heavens and
122.20 the firmaments above, he bound their roots together with
122.21 the earths below in their carcasses, which he had stripped from
122.22 them. But, after he established the wheel, he did not
122.23 bind its root to the earths, but rather bound the
122.24 root of the wheel to the sea-giant. Then, when the
122.25 Messenger came, he revealed his image,
122.26 purified and took [away] the light from all the heavens, then Matter,
122.27 in turn, which is found in all the Archons, leapt out
122.28 from them against the image of the Messenger (and) ascended
122.29 so that it might attain it, (but) it did not attain it. It turned and fell
122.30 down. Then, when if fell from the height,
122.31 it scattered itself into three parts. The first part
122.32 fell onto the wheel, another [part fell onto the earth, (and still) another]

123.1 one fell into the sea. [From][191] the part which fell to
123.2 the sphere, the roots were bound in the trees and (the) flesh.
123.3 Because of this, they took power and ruled in the *Five*
123.4 *Worlds of Flesh* and the *Five Worlds of the Tree.*
123.5 Through the nature (i.e., of Matter) that came down upon the wheel,
123.6 the root was bound in the trees. Also, through the abortions that
123.7 came down, other roots were bound in the flesh. Because of
123.8 this, too, the stars and the zodiacal signs took power over the trees
123.9 and the fleshes through the root of Sin, which fell down,
123.10 and the root of the abortions who were aborted and fell
123.11 down. But, these other conduits, which the Living Spirit
123.12 bound in the earths, those by which the soul of the Elements came
123.13 to the heavens, they are not bound to the wheel,
123.14 but are robbed from the powers in the wheel
123.15 to which they are attached. The disciples spoke to the
123.16 Enlightener: We implore you, our lord, that as you proclaimed
123.17 to us (and) gathered these words …
123.18 you have told us (about) the first kind of conduit.
123.19 The first is that which runs from the firmament to the earths and
123.20 that which runs from the wheel to the sea-giant.
123.21 This is only one, but the other root runs
123.22 from [the temples] the to the trees. The third (is) the one that is bound
123.23 by the abortions in the flesh. Also, bound in the flesh are the fathers of the
123.24 abortions, who are in heaven … and fettered with and those who
123.25 … We implore you, our lord, that you clarify
123.26 for us [which][192] conduit is it that surpasses its

[191] A&C: ⲭ]ⲛⲛ̄-.
[192] A&C: [ⲛⲟⲩ]ⲓⲉⲧⲛ̣ ⲁ̣[ⲃⲁ]ⲁ̣ [ⲭ]ⲉ̣ ⲉ[ⲱ] ⲛⲁ[ⲓ][ⲍ]ⲙⲉ.

123.27 [counterpart] … with more life and soul being drawn
123.28 [by it] than its counterpart.
123.29 The Enlightener [spoke] to his disciples: You have examined
123.30 … you have asked about this statement in greatness, great
123.31 … [the] earth, many lives come down
123.32 … … the Father of Life has drawn them

124.1 (and) fastened them from [every(?)][193] power. He bound them together with
124.2 the earths which are the roots
124.3 of every ruling power. These (are the conduits) through which the Life of the
124.4 Living Soul is drawn up, coming up from
124.5 the entire earth, from all the mountains, the fields
124.6 and the islands. Second to this first great root
124.7 comes the root of the trees, which was bound to the temples
124.8 and the buildings which are above. Then, since so much life
124.9 comes up from the tree and the whole cross,
124.10 being drawn from them to the height, (it is) like
124.11 a great host. But, the one which is reduced …
124.12 their conduits … taking up …
124.13 place (?)[194] the roots [on][195] earth. They are woven (and) knit [with] the
124.14 entire earth in all worlds. Also, those of the trees are found on
124.15 the entire earth, whether small or great. But the root
124.16 of people and that of beasts is[196] not found
124.17 on the entire earth, but only in this world of the
124.18 south. These fleshes do not yet make … in the
124.19 entire world of the south … there is a little
124.20 bunch of them in … … above
124.21 the world of the south in … …
124.22 also in their number beyond … … I have explained
124.23 to you about the roots [and those (things) that][197] are found in them. [I have]
124.24 taught you that they are bound in their [roots] …
124.25 together with one another. They move toward one another, drawing the
124.26 life from one another through the energy of the higher powers,
124.27 which move toward the nature which dwells in all of them.
124.28 But when they crush the Matter which is in [them] and

193 A&C: [ⲛⲓⲙ²].
194 A&C: ⲕⲁⲁⲧ².
195 A&C: [ⲉⲧϩⲛ].
196 A&C: ⲙⲛ ⲧⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲉ.
197 A&C: ⲛⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ [ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧ][ⲫ]ⲟⲟⲡ.

124.29 plunder it, then it too, this Matter, …
124.30 its limbs and overflow … …
124.31 one another … move … …
124.32 … … … …

CHAPTER 57

ON THE GENERATION OF ADAM

144.15 Again, a Babylonian catechumen questioned the
144.16 Enlightener, saying to him: Speak to me, my lord, and
144.17 clarify for me about Adam, the first man. When
144.18 was he created, in what way was he formed,
144.19 or in what way was he begotten? Does[198] his generation
144.20 resemble the generation which is begotten today among
144.21 humankind, or else is there a distinction to be found between his birth
144.22 and what happens today? For, behold,
144.23 Adam was strong in his substance, great was his
144.24 size, (and) long were his years. He passed many years
144.25 in the world. But he is not the only one that we
144.26 have found to be strong, but also all the others who were
144.27 begotten in his generation. Long were their years also. These
144.28 people, however, who are begotten today, their substance
144.29 diminishes (while) their power and the remainder of their years wane. Why,
144.30 then, is the birth of those begotten today
144.31 different than that of the first … …

145.1 in his very place. Behold also the stars and the zodiacal signs, they remain
145.2 in their places. Why then has the life-span and
145.3 the years of these latter ones diminished and gotten shorter than
145.4 these ancients who are counted among this first generation?
145.5 But he, our Enlightener, in his deep wisdom
145.6 and his great understanding said to this catechumen
145.7 who had asked him: They increased and again diminished
145.8 because there are *Five Types of Authority* and
145.9 *Guide* set in the sphere of the Zodiac and the
145.10 heavens which are above it. They have ⟨*Five*⟩[199] *Names*, by which
145.11 they are called. The first name is the "year", the
145.12 second is the "month", the third is the "day", the
145.13 [fourth] is the "hour", (and) the fifth is the "minute." These *Five*
145.14 *Places* and these *Five Dwellings* are found in the sphere and
145.15 the heavens. These regions have *Five Powers* ruling over

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198 A&C: [ⲁ]ⲣⲁ ⲟⲩⲛ.
199 See Polotsky/Böhlig, 145.10 note.

145.16 them. The ruler of the year is found there, (as is) the ruler of the month,
145.17 the ruler of the day, the ruler of the hour,
145.18 (and) the ruler of the minute; (each) one above his
145.19 companion. The one who is above in each case is lord over the one who is below
145.20 him. As to humanity, which is being begotten along with
145.21 the animals, it is by these powers that it is begotten; but they, these powers,
145.22 have authority from the beginning of creation to the end of the
145.23 world. At the beginning of the generations, it was the powers that rule
145.24 over the years that ruled. Because of this, the offspring
145.25 begotten in their generation and their era found their
145.26 years long, passing many life-spans in the generation of Adam and
145.27 that of Sethel, his son, as well as (the generation) of those who came after him.
145.28 After they ceased to rule, that is, the powers that ruled over the
145.29 years, the powers that rule over the months ruled in turn. Just as the
145.30 months are shorter than the years, so also
145.31 the life-span of the offspring begotten by them is shorter
145.32 [than the life-span of those begotten] in the generation of the powers who ruled

146.1 the years. When the authority of the powers who ruled the months
146.2 was finished, the powers of the days took power after
146.3 them. Therefore, since the days are shorter than the months,
146.4 so too was the life-span of the offspring begotten by them
146.5 shorter than the life-span of those begotten by the powers who ruled
146.6 over the months. Also, in the same way, the offspring who were begotten by the
146.7 hours as well as that of the minute, their *lihme*[200] are shorter than that of
146.8 the months and that of the days. The Enlightener spoke to this
146.9 Babylonian catechumen: Behold how the end
146.10 of the world is nigh! The life-span of
146.11 people is down to nothing. Their days lessen (and) their years
146.12 wane because the Life and the Light [which]
146.13 was in the world in these previous generations was greater than that of
146.14 today. Because of this, they are shrinking in their substance (and) their life-span
146.15 has become shorter. Again, this Babylonian
146.16 catechumen spoke to the Enlightener: I implore
146.17 you, my lord! Just as you clarified for me and persuaded

[200] Perhaps this means that the "conduits" through which life flows into every being are getting shorter or more restricted (Funk, *personal communication*).

me regarding the years—why the
years of these ancients increased and why, in turn,
these latter ones decrease; you told me, also, that they have lessened
in their substance (and) you said that all these ones lessen because
of the Life and the Light which they received in the world—
proclaim to us this other thing, by what sort of birth was all this
offspring of humankind made by one man and one
woman, Adam and Eve? The Enlightener spoke to this
catechumen: You rightly ask about this
matter, so know and understand it. For, just as these
first generations were greater in their Light,
purer in their substance, and also greater are their years, so too
were their offspring more numerous than the offspring of this time.
They passed a longer time being … in [the]
belly of their mother. Afterwards … …

conceived a multitude in a single womb. Sometimes they would beget
five in a single womb. Sometimes they would beget six in a single
belly—sometimes less, sometimes
more. Because of this, the offspring of Eve and that of her children were more
numerous and the earth was filled with them alone.
Since the offspring of the generation of the ancient people who were
begotten in the world was much different than that of today,
their conception and their birth does not resemble that of those born
later, who are born today in the womb of a woman.
For those who are begotten today in these latter generations,
standing small, they are crippled and, it is even as single ones that they are
begotten in a single belly, barely two, more or less,
being ugly in their appearance, reduced in
their size, and weak in their limbs. Their teachings and [their]
thoughts are filled with evil. They are evil-doers. They are drowned.
They consume their life-span with suffering (until) death takes them
quickly. After this catechumen
heard these words, he adored and gave glory, saying to the Enlighterner:
I thank you, my lord, for you have satisfied my heart (and)
persuaded me by making progress about these things that I asked you about.

CHAPTER 65B

(ON THE FIVE QUALITIES OF THE SUN)

161.31 Again, he added and said to his disciples:
161.32 [There are] *Five Qualities* in the Sun which it manifests
161.33 [every time][201] it comes into the world.

162.1 The first is its light, for it illuminates, by means of its light,
162.2 the world and all the creatures found in it.
162.3 The second is its beauty, because when it shines it
162.4 floods beauty and splendour on all creatures
162.5 and all things.
162.6 The third is its peace, because when the Sun
162.7 lights up the world, all people are greeted
162.8 by it and they offer peace to one another.
162.9 The fourth is the Life of the Living Soul, that it releases
162.10 from all bonds and fetters of heaven and earth.
162.11 The fifth: it empowers the Elements, and also gives
162.12 scent and taste to the entire Cross of Light. Just as you
162.13 can see that its light illuminates
162.14 more than all lights found in the world, so too is
162.15 its beauty more beautiful than the beauty of all people. Its peace,
162.16 too, surpasses all the powers and watchers that are found
162.17 in the world. Its liberation, with which it liberates
162.18 the Living Soul, is a full day more than
162.19 all the liberations. The power that is in its Limbs
162.20 is a great power and is stronger than all powers.

[201] A&C: [ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲙ].

CHAPTER 68

ON FIRE

166.19 Again he spoke: This fire that burns (and) is revealed to
166.20 today's world does *Five Things*.
166.21 The first thing that it does is this: It destroys
166.22 (and) burns wood and everything that is placed on it.
166.23 Second: It separates four properties from wood. These
166.24 are fire and light, ash and
166.25 smoke. Third: It gives taste and aroma to
166.26 what(ever) is cooked by it. It also gives warmth and
166.27 joy to who(ever) is brought near to it. The fourth thing that
166.28 it does: All craftsmen mould
166.29 the implements with which they fashion. Fifth:
166.30 It reveals light and people can see with its help.

CHAPTER 69

ON THE TWELVE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC AND THE FIVE STARS

166.34 Again, one time as the Apostle [sat]

167.1 in the assembly, a disciple stood before him (and) asked
167.2 him, saying: We implore you, our lord, that you proclaim
167.3 to us and clarify about the twelve signs of the Zodiac
167.4 which are set in the Sphere. How are they ordered, or to which place do
167.5 they belong according to their nature? Or for that matter these *Five Stars*
167.6 that surround them, where do they come from, or why did the craftsman appoint
167.7 them as authorities and guides? He who is the Great
167.8 Builder, who established the whole of creation, he bound them (and)
167.9 closed them in the Sphere. We implore you, our
167.10 lord, that you satisfy us regarding these things which are hidden from everybody.
167.11 Then, he spoke to this disciple who had asked him: Both
167.12 these twelve zodiacal signs that he put in the sphere and these
167.13 *Five Stars* that turn above them, they are present in all the Archons
167.14 according to their nature. They are all enemies and adversaries to
167.15 one another.[202] They plunder one another through the activity of the Great
167.16 Builder who fashioned all the worlds. He set
167.17 [them] (and) bound them in the Sphere above, which always turns.
167.18 When it turns and moves them, they do everything
167.19 that pleases them above and below according to their will.
167.20 But, there is a governor above them, a debt-collector
167.21 causing them to act, coercing them, (and) taking from them what
167.22 is theirs. This, however, is how it should be understood: They
167.23 are drawn from the *Five Worlds of Darkness*, are bound in the
167.24 Sphere, and two zodiacal signs are taken per world. The Twin[203]
167.25 and the Archer[204] belong to the World of Smoke, which

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[202] Written above line 15: "one is pressing the other; they are hung from one another" (Polotsky/Böhlig).
[203] Gemini.
[204] Sagittarius.

is the Mind. Also, the Ram[205] and the Lion[206] belong to the
World of Fire. The Bull,[207] the Water-bearer,[208] and the Scales,[209]
belong to the World of Wind. The Crab[210] and the Virgin[211]
and the Fish[212] belong to the World of Water. The Goat-horn[213]
and the Scorpion[214] belong to the World of Darkness. These are
[the] twelve Archons of wickedness, those who wickedness does not
… … For it is they commit every evil and
… [in the] world, either in the tree or in the flesh.

Know, also about these *Five Stars*,[215] the wanderers(?),[216] how they are
put in place. The star of Zeus is generated by
the World of Smoke, which is the Mind. Aphrodite,
in turn, came to be from the World of Fire.
Ares, however, belongs to the World of Wind. Hermes
belongs to the World of Water, while Kronos belongs to the World
of Darkness. The Two Ascendants,[217] however, belong to
fire and lust, which are dryness and
moisture, they are the father and mother of all these things. But,
the Sun and the Moon, who are counted along with them,
{in the …}
[they are counted] among their race, but they are counted among
them[218]
artificially, so that they might be ruled over. You will find them
tormenting them
at every moment. These seven, which we have named—the *Five Stars*
and
the Two Ascendants—they are the evil-doers who perpetrate
every wickedness and evil in every single land, above
and below, in every creation, in dryness
and moisture, in tree and flesh.
Again, I am revealing to you about these zodiacal signs: They are

[205] Aries.
[206] Leo.
[207] Taurus.
[208] Aquarius.
[209] Libra.
[210] Cancer.
[211] Virgo.
[212] Pisces.
[213] Capricorn.
[214] Scorpio.
[215] Zeus = Jupiter; Aphrodite = Venus; Ares = Mars; Hermes = Mercury; Kronos = Saturn.
[216] That is, the planets.
[217] The *anabibazontes*, see discussion above.
[218] Inserted between lines 10 and 11 (Polotsky/Böhlig 168). A *homoioleteuton* seems to have occurred due to the double occurrence of ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ. See A&C.

168.18 distributed and ordered to four sides, three at each corner in
168.19 these four places. They are fastened to the Sphere that turns. The Ram,
168.20 the Lion, and the Archer, these three belong to one side.
168.21 The Bull, however, the Goat-horn, and the Virgin,
168.22 these three belong to the other side. But, the Twin,
168.23 the Scales, and the Water-bearer belong to another side. The Scorpion,
168.24 the Fish, and the Crab belong to another corner. They are
168.25 set in this way. They are fixed to these four sides (and) distributed
168.26 in the Sphere. When the side of the Ram,
168.27 the Lion, and the Archer is plundered by the governor
168.28 who is above it, who coerces it along with the guiding (stars) who
168.29 go above it, tribulation
168.30 overtakes every four-footed beast below this place.
168.31 But, when the [side] of the Bull,
168.32 the Virgin, and the Goat-horn is plundered, [tribulation]

169.1 at once comes to be in the herbs and the vegetables and
169.2 all the fruits of the trees. But, when
169.3 the side of the Scorpion, the Fish, and the Crab, is plundered
169.4 there will be a lack of water on the earth
169.5 and famine will occur everywhere. However, when
169.6 the side of the Twin, the Scales, and the Water-bearer
169.7 is plundered, deficiency and diminishment in the category
169.8 of humanity will occur everywhere.
169.9 Behold, I have clarified for you about these twelve
169.10 zodiacal signs, that they have been formed from the *Five*
169.11 *Worlds of Darkness* and bound in the Sphere. I have
169.12 also taught you about the *Five Stars*, that they too have come to be
169.13 from the *Five Worlds of Darkness*. I have proclaimed
169.14 to you, also, about the Two Ascendants, that they stand (according) to
169.15 the mystery of fire and lust, which is
169.16 dryness and moisture, the father and mother.
169.17 I have also revealed to you about the Sun and the Moon, that they are
169.18 foreign to them. But because of the (irresistible) force of the planned arrangement
169.19 according to which one thing takes on the other, and they are being plundered
169.20 them, that is why they were counted among them according to the numerical
169.21 value, although the Sun and Moon come from the Greatness,
169.22 (and) do not belong to the stars and the zodiacal signs.

CHAPTER 70

ON THE BODY, THAT IT WAS MADE TO RESEMBLE THE COSMOS

169.27 [Again], at a time when the Apostle was sitting in
169.28 the assembly amidst the congregation, he spoke to his
169.29 disciples: While the entire cosmos, above and
169.30 below, resembles the human body,
169.31 [the] makeup of this body of flesh (also)

170.1 resembles the cosmos. Its head resembles
170.2 by way of example the *Five Garments*. But, from its neck
170.3 down to the site of its heart, it resembles
170.4 the Ten Firmaments. The heart is there
170.5 in resemblance of the wheel of the Sphere that turns. From its heart
170.6 down to its mid-section, it resembles that air
170.7 which flows from the Sphere down to the earth. The male (part)
170.8 of the body resembles the Great Earth. From its
170.9 intestines down to its loins it resembles
170.10 the Three Earths. But, the shinbones of its foot
170.11 resemble the space where the Porter stands.
170.12 The soles of its feet resemble the Great Earth on which the
170.13 Porter stands and the Four Fixtures which are under his
170.14 feet. Its liver resembles the Vehicle of Fire.
170.15 Its flesh resembles the Vehicle of Darkness. Its
170.16 blood resembles the Vehicle of Water. In this way,
170.17 the small body resembles the great
170.18 cosmos in its firmaments, in its rank, in its
170.19 mountains, its walls, and its vehicles, as I have
170.20 revealed to you. Again, I am revealing to you
170.21 that there are *Five Great Camps* in this
170.22 great outer zone, over which the *Five Sons of the Living*
170.23 *Spirit* rule. In the first upper watch-tower,
170.24 the one in which the Keeper of Splendour rules,
170.25 the pinnacle of all things, his authority is placed
170.26 over the Three Heavens. Those that are under him are,
170.27 nevertheless, above the great King of Honour.
170.28 As for the second watch-tower, the one in which the great King of Honour
170.29 rules, his authority (is) placed over the Seven
170.30 Firmaments below him. As for the third

watch-tower, the one over which the Adamas [has authority,][219]

ruling from the firmament down to the [earth],
it commands[220] according to his authority the Sphere and the
worlds of air, along with the other four worlds, which are fixed on
this earth. The fourth watch-tower, which the King of
Glory possesses is the Three Wheels. But, his
authority lays over the Three Earths which are over
the Porter. The fifth watch-tower is the watch-
tower over which the Porter has authority, since he
also rules, according to his authority, over this Great Earth,
which is established on it, along with the Four Fixtures which are
his feet. Tribulation has occurred in the *Five Watch-Towers* from
time to time. In the watch-tower of the Keeper of Splendour,
Sin wanted to gush forth against the image
of the Messenger, but it was hindered at that
place. He made it turn in shame.
Also, an earthquake and deceit occurred in the watch-tower of the great
King of Honour, that is, the watchers, who existed
when they … … they came down, namely, those
who had been sent, until they were humbled. Also, in the watch-tower
of the Adamas, the abortions came down (and) fashioned the
figure of flesh. Also, in the watch-tower of the King of Glory,
there was movement in these Three Earths, which are above
the Porter. The route and the ascent
of these Three Wheels—(the wheel) of wind,
of water, and of fire—were blocked. Also, in the watch-tower of the
Porter, the lower fixtures were stripped off (and) their
bonds levelled. A great earthquake occurred in that place.
[Just as] these *Five Watchers* are found in this great
[bond of these *Five*] *Encampments* that I have proclaimed

to you, so too is it with this body, which the
Elect bear. There are *Five* other *Encampments*
in it. The Light-Mind guards them along with the
New Man who is with him. The elect person who
dominates and humbles the countenance of his face, which is above his
body, and guides it to the good, he symbolizes the
mystery of the Keeper of Splendour who has power over
the watch-tower above the Zone. He who rules

[219] A&C: [ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲭⲱⲥ ⲉⲕ].
[220] A&C: ⲉ[ⲕ]ϫⲓⲟⲩⲱ.

[over] his heart and humbles it symbolizes the great
King of Honour who humbles the Seven Heavens. He
who rules his chest and humbles his desire
becomes like the mystery of the Adamas of Light, he who
humbles Matter. He who humbles the stomach and
rules the fire found in it, but also the purity
of the food that enters it, he symbolizes
the King of Glory, he who turns the wheels (and) sends
life upward. He who rules over the
rank of the archons beneath his feet and binds it with the
bond of peace symbolizes the Porter, he who humbles
with his feet the lower abyss. Also, the teaching
of wisdom, which circulates through this body,
symbolizes the Virgin of Light, who goes up
(and) comes down in the Zone that is above and
below. Also, the Love and the Joy, the Faith
and the Truth by which a person lives symbolizes
these Two Light Ships. For, it is through them that the Living
Soul ascends, is liberated,
leaves the lower abyss, and attains
the upper height. Again, know this other thing,
that there are Four Worlds in this Body of Flesh (and)
there are Seven Archons in every one [of these Four]
Worlds. The first [world is from its]

neck upwards, but the Seven Archons that are found
in this upper world, they are the two eyes
and the two ears and the two nostrils.
The other is the mouth, which is the taste organ.
[The] second world is from its neck down to
its entire stomach, but the Seven Archons which
are found in this second world, they are its two arms—
those that symbolize its two ears
found in its first world above—and its two
breasts, which symbolize its nostrils,
and the two eyes of its heart and the depth of the stomach
between the two breasts, which are in the chest
symbolize the mouth. Again, there are Seven
Archons in the third world of the body,
which are the fat, the lung(s), the spleen, the liver, the gall,
and its two kidneys. Also, in the fourth world
below, there are seven others in the same pattern—its
two buttocks, its two testicles, its two loins,
and the member from which the seed comes, which begets
all the forms.
Again, the Enlightener said to those who were listening to him:

The

173.22 Ram, the Bull, the Twin, the Crab, the Lion,
173.23 the Virgin, the Scale, the Scorpion, the Archer, the
173.24 Goat-horn, the Water-bearer, and the Fish, these are the twelve
173.25 zodiacal signs that are found in the world of heaven, that are in the
173.26 Sphere, fastened and bound to this turning wheel, the one by which
173.27 they are forced, nailed, and planted. But, behold all these twelve
173.28 zodiacal signs, this is how they are ordered and made head
173.29 [and] … in the Sphere above heaven, which is the wheel of the
173.30 [stars]. This, then, is how they are ordered. They are ordered so that you might
173.31 find the head … and find the tail between one another.[221]
173.32 … … they also exist in this way, namely

174.1 those which we have proclaimed one after the other in this body. They
174.2 are counted among them in their sum and number from the head to the
174.3 feet. Its head is the Ram, its neck and its shoulders
174.4 the Bull, its two forearms the Twin,
174.5 its oesophagus(?)[222] the Crab, its stomach
174.6 [the] Lion, its heart the Virgin, the backbone of the
174.7 statue and its diaphragm the Scales, its chest
174.8 [the] Scorpion, its loins the Archer, its feet
174.9 the Goat-horn, its shinbones the Water-bearer, (and)
174.10 the soles of its feet the Fish. Behold (how) these too
174.11 are distributed among them. They are found in this body,
174.12 turned aside (and) bent like these twelve zodiacal signs.
174.13 They are ordered and spread among one another, the head
174.14 to the tail, just as they are in the wheel
174.15 … which is turned to heaven.[223] They, too, are counted among
174.16 the sum and number of the body and all its limbs.
174.17 But, what we have proclaimed—that they are turned to the side, bent, (and)
174.18 spread out—this is so, because from its head down to its
174.19 loins, they are counted six on its left, (and) six others on its right.
174.20 The six that are on its lower right are those which I
174.21 will proclaim. The right temple is the Ram, its right shoulder
174.22 the Bull, its right forearm
174.23 the Twin, its right rib the Crab,
174.24 its stomach the Lion, (and) the right side of its intestines
174.25 the Virgin. The other six which we have spoken
174.26 about, they are found on the left side, going

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[221] A&C: ⲟⲩⲧⲱϥ ⲛⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ.
[222] While ⲫⲗⲁⲫⲡⲉ normally means "stomach," Böhlig suggested oesophagus (*Speiseröhre*) due to the fact that stomach comes next in the list.
[223] A&C: ⲉⲧⲥ[ⲓⲧⲉ].

174.27 from its loins to its head. Its left …
174.28 is the Scales, its left rib the Scorpion,
174.29 its left breast and its left kidney [the]
174.30 Archer, its left elbow the Goat-horn,

175.1 its left shoulder the Water-bearer, (and)
175.2 its left temple the Fish. This is the way that the
175.3 craftsman of the body ordered (and)
175.4 arranged (and) made them level to one another, head to [tail].
175.5 Again, he spoke: Hear this other word which I will proclaim
175.6 to you. Know that there are many powers found
175.7 in this body—these are the companions who are its leaders.
175.8 There are eight-hundred and forty myriads of Archons
175.9 ruling over the human body. They are distributed
175.10 (and) established four to a dwelling. The sum and
175.11 the number of their dwellings is two-hundred and ten myriads.
175.12 When all these Archons come, creeping (and) wandering
175.13 within the body, and they meet one another, they
175.14 break against one another and destroy one another and …
175.15 in them there. When powers … …
175.16 together(?) they leap out of the body in which a person is going to
175.17 dies, and they cause evil tumours and blows and burning wounds
175.18 on the body. Either they make him sick inside [or][224]
175.19 else they would come out upon him externally. These wounds
175.20 contract at first and pour forth their liquid.
175.21 They release their ooze until they contract …
175.22 … and the core is dug out of the wound. Afterwards,
175.23 their wounds are carved out and healed and relieved
175.24 at the site where they came out.

[224] A&C: [**н**].

CHAPTER 91

ON THE CATECHUMEN, WHO IS SAVED IN A SINGLE BODY

228.8 Again, this Elect spoke to the Apostle:[225] I have
228.9 heard you, my lord, say that there is a Catechumen
228.10 who does not enter a body other than this one alone. Rather
228.11 when he leaves his body, his soul
228.12 … in the firmament above and he journeys to the place
228.13 of [rest]. Now, I implore you, my lord, that you
228.14 open my eyes to the deeds of this Catechumen
228.15 who does not enter into another body—What kind are they or what is
228.16 his form or what is his sign so that I might
228.17 know it and tell the rest of my brothers, that they might proclaim
228.18 it to the Catechumens, so that they might be exalted by
228.19 this and ascend in peace to the Good?
228.20 Then, the Apostle said to him: I will open your
228.21 eyes to the deeds of these Catechumens
228.22 of faith, who do not enter into (another) body. The sign of
228.23 this perfect Catechumen is this—You find his[226]
228.24 wife in the house with him, dealing with him as if they are strangers.
228.25 Also, his house he treats like an inn.
228.26 He says, "I dwell in a house rented by days
228.27 and months." His brothers and his relations
228.28 are considered by him to be strangers attached to him,
228.29 journeying with him on the road, knowing that …
228.30 they will be separated from him and each one returns to [their own place].[227]
228.31 Gold, silver, and vessels of … …

229.1 house, they are considered by him (to be) like vessels on loan. [He]
229.2 takes them, and they serve him, (but) afterwards he gives them [to]
229.3 their owner. He does not place his trust in them or his wealth.
229.4 He removes his Thought from the world, and places his
229.5 heart in the Holy Church. At all times, his Thought
229.6 is set upon God. But, what's more than all that—
229.7 solicitude, respect, and love for the saints who
229.8 are with him—he cares for the Church like [his] house,

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[225] A&C: ⲁⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ.
[226] A&C: ⲧⲉ[ⲫ]-.
[227] A&C: ⲟⲩ[ⲉ ⲯ]ⲉ ⲛⲉⲫ ⲁⲡ[ⲉⲫⲙⲁ].

229.9 in fact more than his house. He entrusts all his wealth to the
229.10 Elect men and women. For this is what [the] Saviour
229.11 preached through the mouth of his Apostle:[228] *From today*
229.12 *onwards those who have wives, let them become like those who do not.*
229.13 *Those who buy like those not buying, those who rejoice like those not rejoicing,*
229.14 *those who weep like those not weeping, those who profit from this world*
229.15 *like those not in wantonness. Those who … those which …*
229.16 proclaimed, were proclaimed about these perfect Catechumens,
229.17 who depart from this body alone and return to
229.18 the height. They are like the Elect in their behaviour.
229.19 This is the sign of these Catechumens who
229.20 do not enter a body. There are others too who possess
229.21 self-control, [keeping] the flesh of every beast from
229.22 their mouths, being eager for fasting and daily prayer,
229.23 helping the Church according to their means
229.24 through almsgiving. Malice is dead in them.
229.25 The motions of their feet made it towards the Church more than towards
229.26 their home. Their hearts are upon it at all times. Their posture and
229.27 their comportment is like that of the Elect. They have stripped all the
229.28 affairs of the world from their hearts. But, this person,
229.29 with the mind set upon the Holy Church
229.30 … at every moment and his gifts and
229.31 … and his honour and his grace which benefits

230.1 his life, as he journeys with them to the Holy Church
230.2 along with those who come to the Church, whether
230.3 they are his children or his wife or one of his relations.
230.4 He rejoices greatly over them and he loves
230.5 them, sharing all his wealth with them.
230.6 Behold! This is the sign and the model of these Catechumens
230.7 who do not (re)enter a body. Like the "good pearl,"
230.8 which I described for you in the *Treasure of Life*—
230.9 it is priceless.[229]
230.10 So too is it for these Catechumens
230.11 who do not (re)enter a body. But, when they do leave
230.12 their bodies, they journey in their way and pass
230.13 on to a higher place and enter into life.
230.14 They are not, however, condemned and bound by the chains of the enemy, but[230]
230.15 they are purified in the heavens and plucked like a fruit

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[228] See 1 Cor 7:29–31.

[229] A&C *pace* Böhlig: "die keinen Wert hat."

[230] A&C: Line 14 of manuscript was missed in original edition. Read and renumber accordingly: ⲙⲁⲩ[ⲧ]ⲁϧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁϧⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ.

230.16 that will ripened and be plucked from the tree. This is also how the
230.17 almsgiving that is passed on to the Elect resembles it
230.18 in many forms, purifies it, and enters into
230.19 the Land of the Living. This is also how the souls
230.20 of these Catechumens resemble it, those who do not (re)enter
230.21 a body. But, as for the matter of the Catechumens,
230.22 I have written it down in the *Treasure of Life*.
230.23 Just as they are freed and are purified one by one
230.24 according to their deeds, according to their approach to the Church,
230.25 this is also the way that their ascent comes closer to them,
230.26 their healing and their purity.
230.27 Therefore, it is also fitting for the Catechumen that he pray at
230.28 all times for repentance and forgiveness of sins from God
230.29 and the Holy Church. Because of his prior
230.30 and present sins, his deeds will be gathered together,
230.31 the earlier and the later ones, and allotted to him.

231.1 Then, after his disciples heard these words from him,
231.2 they blessed him and glorified him with great praise. They
231.3 said: You are praised, our father, (and) you are glorious. Blessed is
231.4 the hope that endures in us because of you. For great is the [wisdom]
231.5 that you bring to souls. For (to) the Elect you have revealed
231.6 the works and the commandments of the election
231.7 in which they will live. And even regarding the Catechumens,
231.8 have you not neglected them, but you have taught them in various
231.9 degrees,[231] stages, and steps so that they might rise
231.10 from them to the Good, each one according to (his) [ability], and
231.11 attain the Land of the Living.
231.12 But now we implore you, our lord, that you proceed and
231.13 preach to us about this matter that we have asked you about[232] and open
231.14 our eyes as to the people who become disciples[233] (and) …
231.15 and enter into the Church, [either] Elect or[234]
231.16 Catechumens. The former sins that they committed [in] the
231.17 world before they became disciples, where do they go? Since
231.18 there are some among them (who) formerly adored idols, worshipping
231.19 (and) revering the gods. Others also among them were firmly established
231.20 in the teaching of the Sects, blaspheming God.

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[231] See W.-P. Funk, "Prolégomènes," 11.
[232] A&C: ⲉⲧⲁⲛϣⲛ[ⲧⲕ ⲁ]ⲣⲁⲩ.
[233] A&C: ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲉⲩⲉ.
[234] A&C: ⲉⲓ[ⲧⲉ ⲍ]ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ [ⲛⲉ] ⲏ ⲍⲛ̄.

They have also blasphemed other enlighteners, who are in the heavens.
Some among them also committed other sins: whether it be theft[235]
or murder or adultery or …
the sin of magic or error of false witness
or other … These are evident in the wicked works of the world
in which people first [walked]. Then, when they[236]
hear the word of God, will they put aside
(their) prior sins or will they not?
[We implore] you, then, our lord, that you open our eyes
[as to this question] which we have asked[237] you and give rest to our hearts.

Then the Apostle spoke to them: Very great is this question
[that] you have asked me. I will reveal (the answer) to you.
[Know],[238] therefore, that every person who accepts the hope
[and the faith] has separated the Light from the Darkness, he has perceived
[the] mysteries of the Living Soul, he has received the right hand of
Peace brought (by) the Light-Mind, who dwells in the Holy
Church, and he has prayed for forgiveness of sins from the Light-
Mind. Know, therefore, that all his prior sins
which he committed from the day he was born until
the day that he accepts the hope of God (and) has removed his heart
from all the Sects and the idols of Error, they are
all forgiven him. He will not be asked about them from now on,
nor will he receive retribution for them—if it is the case that he remains
in his faith and [live] without committing henceforth these
prior sins, which he committed. Afterwards, he has borne …
… … they have been forgiven him, they will
not protect[239] him henceforth from all his prior sins.
Should he return again to his prior actions
and re-offend, then they will be counted against him
along with all his sins, the former and the latter. He will receive
retribution for all of them, since God granted him repentance
and forgiveness from his folly, but
he still did not persevere in the repentance that God
granted to him. But, had he persevered in the catechumenate
(and) in his faith and left all his prior deeds

[235] A&C: ⲏ [ⲟ]ⲩ[ⲭ]ⲓ[ⲟ]ⲩⲉ |[23][ⲡⲉ ⲏ ⲟ]ⲩⲫⲟⲛⲟⲥ.
[236] A&C: ⲉⲧⲉ[ⲟⲩ]ⲉ.
[237] A&C: ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲛ[ⲭ][ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲕ.
[238] A&C: [ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ].
[239] A&C: ⲛ[ⲱ][ⲗ]ⲧ.

232.26 behind him, then all his sins would be left
232.27 to him, whether he is an Elect in his election,
232.28 [or] a Catechumen in his catechumenate.
232.29 The one, then, who is a Catechumen, he will [stand firm]
232.30 in his catechumenate. The latter[240] sins [which]
232.31 he commits, they will be forgiven him *en masse*,
232.32 because of his fasting, and [his prayer and his]

233.1 almsgiving. Hear, now, how I (will) reveal to you
233.2 the works of the faithful Catechumens. The truly
233.3 faithful Catechumen performs his Fifty Fasts,
233.4 fasting on the Fifty Lord's Days of the [year].
233.5 He also retains their purity, restraining himself [from]
233.6 the desire for his wife. He purifies his bed by
233.7 abstaining on all of these Lord's Days. He (restrains himself[?])
233.8 in his eating, and does not defile his food with the …
233.9 of fish or all the pollution of flesh and blood. Also, he [does not]
233.10 eat anything polluted on these Lord's Days. [He] also keeps
233.11 his hands from wounding or inflicting pain on the Living
233.12 [Soul]. Their prayers[241] are observed by him; he observes
233.13 them (and) comes to prayer daily—every hour (of) every
233.14 day. All these hours of prayer will be added[242]
233.15 to his fasting and his almsgiving, which he offers
233.16 every day of the year. Also every act of charity is added to
233.17 his goods: the fasting, which he performed, the clothing which he has given
233.18 to the Saints. They share a daily communion
233.19 with them in their fasting and their good(ness).
233.20 These are counted along with the others and one half of his works
233.21 are performed for good, the other half for sin. Truly, the sins
233.22 which he commits half of the year are
233.23 divided into *Five Parts*. Four of them are forgiven him by
233.24 the patronage of the Holy Church through the faith
233.25 [and the] love of the Elect. On the one hand because of this, but on
233.26 the other, because he is aware of the knowledge (*gnosis*)—he has separated the
233.27 [Light] from the Darkness (and) offered hymns and prayers
233.28 [to the] Enlightener from heaven. Also, the rest that he has
233.29 [taken] … this … Because of these good (deeds) that
233.30 [he performs], four parts are permitted him, four
233.31 … … sins that he has committed

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240 A&C: ⲛ[ϩ]ⲁⲉⲉⲩⲉ.
241 That is, the prayers of the Lord's Day.
242 A&C: ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲁ[ⲡ]ⲟⲩ ⲁ |[15][ⲭ]ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕ-.

234.1 from the day that he became a Catechumen. As for the rest,
234.2 he will be questioned about a single part and receive
234.3 a thrashing[243] and an immersion, and is later
234.4 purified, either above or below. He is
234.5 purified according to the value of his works, and he is
234.6 purified, cleansed, and adorned. Afterwards, he
234.7 is fashioned a Light-image
234.8 and is drawn and elevated to the Land of Rest, so that,
234.9 where his heart is, his treasure is there too.
234.10 Until he becomes strong in his catechumenate
234.11 he will receive repayment for his good (works) in this way.
234.12 If, however, he should lie or turn away from the truth, then
234.13 all his sins will be counted against him again, the former and
234.14 the latter. The judgement [which] condemns his sins will be poured over him.
234.15 But, if he should confirm himself in his faith and
234.16 become strong in it, then a fate will be (assigned[?]) to him and he will come
234.17 back again, be just, escape, and save
234.18 his live in eternal life. At the time of his
234.19 departure, he will go and rest in eternal
234.20 life. When the disciples heard
234.21 these words of wisdom, they glorified their teacher (and) contemplated
234.22 the first Light, which makes wise through the Mind and the
234.23 richness of his knowledge.

[243] A&C: ⲟ[ⲩⲥ]ϩⲱϣⲉ.

CHAPTER 95

THE APOSTLE ASKS HIS DISCIPLES: WHAT DOES CLOUD MEAN?

240.16 Again, as the Apostle sat in the assembly of his
240.17 disciples, the sky was cloudy that day,
240.18 (so) he raised his eyes and looked at this cloud
240.19 (and) said to his disciples: This cloud, which appears
240.20 before you, as you look at it, I will reveal to you
240.21 and teach you how it ascended.
240.22 Know that it is stripped from
240.23 *Five Places*, ascends above this Great Earth, is then revealed
240.24 and is visible in the middle-air.
240.25 The cloud that ascends from the upper fire
240.26 towards the image of the Virgin of Light, which she
240.27 makes visible to it, its sign is the flash
240.28 found in lightning-bolts … passing away …
240.29 But it is purified towards [the image of the Virgin of][244]
240.30 Light [to whom] it becomes visible.[245]

241.1 … the Archons are stripped off of the lightning-bolts. They go out
241.2 and separate, but these angels are sent to
241.3 them immediately so that they might seize them.
241.4 Knowing that they never do good, (and that) every place that they touch
241.5 they cause death and ruin, when
241.6 the angels make for them and come beside(?) …
241.7 they flee in their distress before them and come [to]
241.8 what(ever) they meet and assume it. Like a
241.9 thief, (when he) is caught (and) flees from a man stronger than him, who
241.10 pursues him in order to overtake him. Now, these Archons
241.11 who escape to this cloud, they bear that
241.12 which they meet … … in …
241.13 it, which they do not … will seize
241.14 this little bit, whether a tree [that] they found
241.15 in the way or beasts or people. In short,
241.16 every place that they assume, they burn and

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[244] A&C: [ⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄]-.
[245] A&C: [ⲛⲉⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ].

241.17 destroy with the fire of their bodies—that is the Archons, the
241.18 sons of fire, those who are stripped of the fire.
241.19 The cloud, however, that rises up from the
241.20 water and ascends to the Virgin of
241.21 Light, its sign(s) are this thunder and this noise which
241.22 is in the air in various forms and (which people) hear.
241.23 … when the Archons who belong
241.24 to those found in the cloud find time, they strip themselves
241.25 of this cloud,[246] flee from it and leave it behind
241.26 [them. But, their sign][247] is this, that in every place which [they]
241.27 [destroy] they make frost and hail and snow,
241.28 and they lay waste[248] to seeds and fruit and plants, and they
241.29 … every place [that] they destroy. Angels are also sent
241.30 [down][249] to seize them. But,

242.1 the angels,[250] while pursuing them in order to seize them, cause this destruction.
242.2 [The] cloud, however, which rises up from the wind,
242.3 comes up to the middle-air, towards the image of the
242.4 Virgin who makes it visible—its sign is
242.5 [the] dark wind that blows bitterly.
242.6 By these winds, however, and these storm, living beings
242.7 are purified in her. But, the Archons who are stripped of the wind
242.8 cloud descend from it, being secure in
242.9 their image. All these rivers and seas, which
242.10 they reach and attain, they make waves in them and
242.11 raise … and they … the ships and they
242.12 cause destruction among those who they destroy[251] and they seize them
242.13 and bring them … astray(?).
242.14 Also, the cloud that belongs to the Light, when they
242.15 are stripped of it … …
242.16 … … … the Virgin becomes visible.
242.17 sign(?) too … but its sign is
242.18 this—so that you might find it as it journeys in rest and calm.
242.19 Living beings are purified in it by rest and calm,
242.20 but the Archons that are stripped from it and run (to) every place[252]

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246 A&C: [ⲛ̄ϯⲕ]ⲗ[ⲟⲟ]ⲗⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ.
247 A&C: [ⲥⲱⲩ] ⲡⲟ[ⲩ]ⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ.
248 A&C: [ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱ]ⲫⲫ.
249 A&C: [ⲁ]ⲧ[ⲣ]ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡⲟⲩ.
250 A&C: [ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅ]ⲉⲗⲟⲥ.
251 A&C: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲉⲕ[ⲟ ⲛ̄]ⲧⲙ[ⲏⲧ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟ[ⲩ]ⲛ[ⲁ]ⲧⲉϩⲁⲩ.
252 A&C: ⲛⲥⲉⲡⲱⲧ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓ[ⲙ].

242.21 to which ⟨they⟩[253] come, they leave … and take life[254]
242.22 from them … sent to them[255] and the angels
242.23 seize them. Also, the cloud that rises [up]
242.24 from the mixed air and comes up to [the image]
242.25 of the Virgin, its sign is this, that [their living beings][256]
242.26 are purified by it[257] in rest and peace. These Archons, however,
242.27 who are stripped of this cloud, they come
242.28 down from every place (in which) they are found …
242.29 They cause them(?) … …
242.30 The colour[258] … until [the angels come …][259]

243.1 they seize them and take them in their midst. Their strippings,
243.2 which are left behind at every place
243.3 that they reach, either the begetting of trees or the begetting [of]
243.4 flesh, they bear to the middle … withering(?),
243.5 they cause great danger, but (as for)
243.6 these Archons, the angels are also [sent]
243.7 to the middle and draw the Light from them and
243.8 throw the demons down to those Seven Pits, [which] (are)
243.9 beyond the Great Sea that is the passage of
243.10 the waters found outside of the cosmos.
243.11 Then, his disciples said to him: Open our eyes,
243.12 our Lord, to which place these Seven Pits come
243.13 down to. [The Apostle] spoke to them:
243.14 These pits and these roads [descend][260] until
243.15 they reach the lower earths, and [meet][261] the
243.16 feet of the Porter. Hear, also this other thing:
243.17 Sometimes these angels are dispatched to them
243.18 to catch the Archons. When the Archons …
243.19 because the angels pursue them, they approach[262] them …
243.20 those who are given the commands. But, these Archons
243.21 free themselves and bear
243.22 [the tree] and [the flesh] and swallow them in these two[263] offspring,
243.23 [that of the][264] tree and that of the flesh. The angels leave their

253 A&C: ⲉⲧ⟨ⲟⲩ⟩ⲛⲁⲉⲓ.
254 A&C: ⲟⲩⲱⲛ[ϩ].
255 A&C: ⲧⲛⲛⲁ̣ⲩ [ϩ]ⲓⲣⲉ̣ⲧⲟⲩ.
256 A&C: ⲱ̣ⲁ̣ⲣⲉ̣ⲟ̣[ⲩⲱⲛϩ].
257 A&C: ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ.
258 A&C: ⲉⲟⲩⲉⲛ.
259 A&C: ⲱⲁⲛ[ⲧ]ⲉ ⲛ̣ⲁⲣⲧⲉ̣[ⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲓ … . . ⲛ̄].
260 A&C: ⲛⲓⲙ[ⲗⲁⲓ]ⲧ [ⲃⲏⲕ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄] ⲱⲁⲛ-.
261 A&C: ⲛⲥ̣ⲉ̣ⲧⲱⲙⲧ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲣⲏ |[16]ⲧⲉ̣.
262 A&C: ⲥⲉϯϩⲛⲟ̣.
263 A&C: ⲥ̣[ⲛ]ⲉⲩ.
264 A&C: [ⲡⲁⲡ][ⲱ̣]ⲏⲛ.

243.24 … behind, so that they might guard them until the moment when
243.25 [these] Archons will be stripped of the tree and the
243.26 [flesh] and go up to the height. They also gather
243.27 … … height and they draw them out from
243.28 … … to them in their first
243.29 [forms and images],[265] those that they first bore,

244.1 and they take the Light from those left behind.
244.2 But, they too throw them down to these Seven outer
244.3 [Paths] that are in the Great Sea, the place where
244.4 they threw these first ones. When they return to the middle
244.5 … come and bear the Light that is in them.
244.6 Behold, then, I have opened your eyes concerning this cloud, how
244.7 it ascends to the height and (how) the living beings that are purified in it.
244.8 I have also taught you (about) the Archons that are in it, how
244.9 they cause these adversities and how they are seized
244.10 and thrown into the prison below by the angels
244.11 who were given the command by the power of the Virgin
244.12 of Light, she who has authority over the entire Zone to[266] purify
244.13 the living beings that are in it. Then, after his disciples
244.14 heard [these things from him],[267] they glorified him, saying:
244.15 You … [(have) revealed][268] all the secrets, o
244.16 instructor of all revelations. We thank
244.17 you, our father, with great professions, since you have
244.18 opened our eyes concerning everything. You have given us great
244.19 [staffs][269] of knowledge, so that through them we might give discrimination
244.20 to those who hear us.

[265] A&C: ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲣ |[29][ⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲓ]ⲓ̣ⲕⲱⲛ.
[266] A&C: ⲁ̣ⲥⲱ |[13]ⲧⲟ̄ⲩ̄.
[267] A&C: ⲥⲱⲧ[ⲙⲉ ⲁ]ⲛⲉⲓ̈ [ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ̄ⲩ̄].
[268] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ[ⲕ . .] … . . [ⲟⲱⲗⲙ̄] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ.
[269] A&C: ⲍⲣ[ⲁⲃ]ⲇ̣ⲟⲥ.

CHAPTER 100

ON THE DRAGON, THE ONE WITH FOURTEEN HEADS; WHAT IS IT AND . . .

251.29 [Again] one of his disciples asked the [Apostle . . .]
251.30 . . . . . spreading . . . . . .
251.31 . . . . . .
251.32 . . . . . .

252.1 The laws of the Magi say that there is a
252.2 dragon with fourteen heads holed
252.3 up (in his) lair, in *Five Hollows!* Now, I implore
252.4 you, my lord, that you open my eyes concerning this statement.
252.5 Is there really a real[270]
252.6 dragon who has fourteen heads or is there, rather, a spiritual
252.7 explanation? Then the Apostle said to him:
252.8 There is never any dragon in the flesh, nor does it have fourteen heads,
252.9 as the Magi claim. Rather, this statement is a [parable][271]
252.10 that they have proclaimed in [error(?)][272]
252.11 . . . the Magi did not know, however, the true
252.12 meaning of[273] all the statements that they recorded,
252.13 [supposing them] (to be) real.[274] This is also the way with this
252.14 dragon, which they . . . considering it (to be) a real
252.15 dragon . . . I will open our eyes
252.16 to . . . . . the dragon is the teaching . . .
252.17 . . . . . of the flesh . . .
252.18 . . . the fourteen heads, however, which are attributed to
252.19 the [dragon], they are like this: the seven senses that are found
252.20 on [the] head of the body, which are the two eyes with which
252.21 it sees, the two ears with which it hears,
252.22 the two nostrils with which it smells, as well as
252.23 its tongue[275] with which he selects and tastes

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[270] I take σωματικόν here to mean "real", rather than "bodily" or "corporeal", states that imply real existence. The disciple seems to want to know whether such a dragon *really* exists.

[271] A&C: ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁ[ⲃⲟ] |[10][ⲗⲏ] ⲡⲉ.

[272] A&C: ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧ[ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧ].

[273] A&C: ⲇ[ⲉ] ⲁ̣ⲑ̣ⲉ̣[ⲣ] |[12][ⲙⲏⲛ]ⲓ̣ⲁ̣ ⲙ̣ⲙ̣ⲏ̣[ⲉ].

[274] A&C: ⲁ[ⲣⲁ]ⲩ ⲉⲩ |[13]ⲱ̣[ⲡ ⲛ̄]ⲙ̣ⲁⲩ ⲁ[ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ]ⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ.

[275] A&C: ⲡ]ⲉ̣ⲭⲙⲁⲛ̣[ⲭ]ⲓ[ⲧⲡ]ⲉ.

252.24 the various flavours that are found in every form.
252.25 [These are] the seven heads of the dragon, the seven
252.26 senses that (are part of) the human form …
252.27 … below. The seven of the body
252.28 are these: two hips,[276] two buttocks, [two …]
252.29 … Archon … …
252.30 … … … …
252.31 … … [the] seven [heads that]

253.1 above and below, they add up and make [four]teen
253.2 heads for the dragon. The *Five Pits*, however, which they
253.3 spoke about, in which the dragon is holed
253.4 up (and) spread, they are these: The first is [the] tongue,
253.5 the second is the lung, the third is the heart,
253.6 the fourth is the spleen, and the fifth is the [blood that]
253.7 flows through them. He also looks out from them [and]
253.8 reveals his image and his appearance from above
253.9 and below as he makes war [with]
253.10 his fourteen heads. He who recognizes
253.11 the dragon, which is the desire of [the]
253.12 body, struggles with it, conquers it, and kills
253.13 it in them, will thus [he be called][277]
253.14 the righteous one, holy and elect, a good
253.15 man. He conquers without suffering on the day [of] his
253.16 advent. Behold, then, I have taught you about the dragon, the
253.17 one with fourteen heads and his *Five Pits*,
253.18 in which he hides and conceals (himself), doing his will
253.19 from them at all times. Then this disciple said
253.20 to him: My heart is persuaded, my lord, by that which you have
253.21 proclaimed to me. You have taught me about the dragon, the one with fourteen
253.22 heads. Blessed is everyone in whom it is dead, killed,
253.23 or damaged. He will live forever and become a person who is victorious
253.24 in all his works.

[276] A&C: ⲧⲕⲉ[ϩ]ⲧⲉ.
[277] A&C: ⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲓ[ϩ]ⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲙ[ⲟ]ⲩⲧ[ⲉ] ⲁⲣⲁ[ⲫ] ⲉⲩⲛ[ⲁ]ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ |[14][ⲁ]ⲣⲁⲫ.

CHAPTER 103

ON THE FIVE WONDERWORKS THAT THE LIGHT-MIND REVEALS IN THE ELECT

257.12 Again, the Apostle spoke: The Light-Mind
257.13 works *Five Light-Wonders* for the Elect. The first
257.14 sign is the Wisdom that the Elect preaches
257.15 and proclaims in all its forms, in all its kinds,
257.16 (and) in all its places. The second is Faith,
257.17 since after his preaching of Wisdom, he … the Wisdom[278]
257.18 preached and the others hear it and believe.
257.19 The third is [the] … … in his Wisdom
257.20 by his preaching, with which he proclaims Peace
257.21 to the assembly of his brothers …
257.22 [The] fourth is Love, because he loves Wisdom and the
257.23 brothers and sisters who sit in his [presence.]
257.24 [The] fifth is the terrible Severity of Judgement, with which
257.25 he separates those who have not received the hope[279] of God. Also, those
257.26 in error, whom he finds in the Church, he severely judges
257.27 them rightly on account of their foolishness.
257.28 [The] Light-[Mind] places these *Five Signs* in the New Man,
257.29 [whom] it has purified, refined, raised up, (and)
257.30 [saved] … Blessed is everyone
257.31 … … the Mind and is diligent in his Wisdom
257.32 … this other thing: These *Five Signs*

258.1 are established and perfected in him and perfect him so that
258.2 [he might] become a spotless vessel and a priceless pearl[280]
258.3 forever and ever.

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[278] A&C: ⲉ[.] . . ⲭⲧⲁ … [. .] . . ⲁⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ.

[279] Here "hope" is synonymous with "message" or "gospel" (see *Kephalaia*, "Prologue" 7.18–8.7 and *Kephalaia* 371.6–30). Possibly a reflection of Syriac ܒܫܪܬܐ "gospel" from ܫܒܪ "hope."

[280] Compare *Kephalaia* Chapter 91 "On the Catechumen" (1 Ke 230.6–11).

CHAPTER 104

ON FOOD, THAT IT IS APPOINTED TO FIVE PRODUCTS IN THE HUMAN BODY

258.7 [Again] he spoke to his disciples: The food that
258.8 people gather together of every kind,
258.9 so that they might eat it and (have) it enter into the body, it breaks down into
258.10 *Five Products*. The first product is that which
258.11 comes out of the human being in amazement, raises in
258.12 the Mind, and comes out of all the limbs—it is without
258.13 measure. The second is that which comes out of the
258.14 human being in sound and word. The third is that which
258.15 leaps from them in power and diligence.
258.16 The fourth is that which is produced in the pleasure of desire
258.17 between male and female. The fifth is that
258.18 which is made and formed in the flesh and
258.19 is produced and issues from them—this is this corporeal
258.20 product. This product, which they produce, only its
258.21 parents know. Its affection and its
258.22 reason and its love they seek daily for
258.23 all time. The other four products they do not perceive,
258.24 nor do they pity them, since
258.25 they are not evident to them.

CHAPTER 107

ON THE KIND OF SPEECH THAT . . .

260.31 Again, he spoke about the production of speech, which [comes]
260.32 from the mouth and is heard with the [ears].
260.33 He said … … …

261.1 … and the throat draws it in, the tongue
261.2 is spread, the teeth cut it, and the lips [gather]
261.3 it together. Speech comes out through the power of [these *Five*]
261.4 *Limbs* and is heard outside. Just as
261.5 a coin that one (person) smelts, [another]
261.6 forges, and still another cuts as it is turned, another
261.7 puts a seal on it, (while) another wipes the sieve, [so]
261.8 these *Five Craftsmen* beautify and fashion [their]
261.9 coin, and it comes into people's use and becomes a good
261.10 by which they buy and sell—so too is this speech
261.11 fashioned and adorned by the *Five* [*Limbs*],
261.12 when it comes out (and) is heard by the ears [of]
261.13 others.

CHAPTER III

ON THE FOUR QUALITIES THAT ARE FOUND IN THE EYE AND THE FIFTH, WHICH IS HIDDEN IN THEM; TO WHOM THEY BELONG

265.13 [Again] he spoke: There are Four Qualities found in [the eyes][281]
265.14 of human beings that see, as they look at … …
265.15 [without][282] the four that are hidden in them … they belong …
265.16 While [the cold] that is in the [eye] belongs [to them, the heat(?)][283]
265.17 belongs to the fire. The pupil,[284] however, belongs to the Light-
265.18 Mind, which perceives what is hidden in all things,
265.19 since it inhabits the Living Air.
265.20 [Again] he spoke: Why does the pupil of the eye [see],
265.21 seeing during the day, but the approaching night it [does not see]?
265.22 Which mystery does this signify?
265.23 [This (thing),[285] which] you do not know, I will explain [it]
265.24 [to you.[286] The fact that] the pupil of the eye [cannot see at night]
265.25 [signifies the] mystery of the [First Man] …
265.26 … … is the door …
265.27 … … below …
265.28 … the other four regions. Since in the …
265.29 … … above, he has …
265.30 … … great … they have …
265.31 … … also that which comes down[287] …
265.32 … … the Living Spirit[288] …

266.1 [the] First Man has risen through him (and) has known
266.2 everything.

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281 A&C: ϩN[N̄Bϵⲗ].
282 A&C: [xω]ⲣiⲥ.
283 A&C: [… .]ϣ ⲙϵN ϵTϩN̄ ⲡⲃ̣[ϵ]ⲗ̣ [ϵ][ⲫ]ⲏ̣[ⲡ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ]ⲩ.
284 A&C: ⲕϵⲕϵ.
285 A&C: [ⲡϵⲓ̈ ϵⲧ]ϵⲧN̄-.
286 A&C: [ⲛⲏⲧN̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡϵⲓ̈].
287 A&C: [± 16]ⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲧϵⲧⲁϩϵⲓ.
288 A&C: [± 15 ⲡ]ⲡⲛϵⲩⲙⲁ̣ ϵⲧⲁⲛϩ̄.

CHAPTER 112B

(ON THE FIVE THINGS REVEALED BY JESUS)

267.18 Then, after he had proclaimed this,
267.19 at that moment one of his disciples said
267.20 to him from among those standing before him: Tell
267.21 us, our Lord, and clarify to us this matter.
267.22 If this likeness of humanity does not belong to
267.23 God, as you spoke about, why did Jesus come into
267.24 the world, the Son of the Living God, reveal
267.25 himself (and) suffer tribulation and persecution, get hung
267.26 upon the cross (and) have his enemies commit against him the
267.27 torture and shame of their wickedness?
267.28 [The] Apostle [said] to him: Jesus did not come (and) reveal[289]
267.29 (himself) to the world because of humanity alone, but
267.30 [rather, before he][290] came (and) revealed (himself) on the earth,
267.31 [he accomplished first his][291] great and strong [works] outside of
267.32 [the great world].[292] But, when he finished doing his

268.1 [work] outside of the great world, he came …
268.2 [he *sōrs*][293] out with Adam and Eve (and) revealed [to them].
268.3 Indeed it was he who sent the Apostles for the Good
268.4 to every generation, and revealed to them *Five Great Things*:
268.5 [First]: He told them that they belonged to the race of Light.
268.6 Second: He revealed to them about the Aeons [of Great-]
268.7 [ness], how they exist, and he taught them about [the]
268.8 [nature][294] of Darkness, how it too exists.
268.9 The Third time: He proclaimed to them about the [Heroism][295]
268.10 of Light, how it overcame the power
268.11 [of] Darkness (and) defeated it.
268.12 Fourth: He taught them that he had come to the region of death
268.13 in their midst, which is the flesh, until he might benefit them and bring
268.14 them from the gate of hell below in which they

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289 A&C: ⲁⲫⲟⲩ[ⲱⲛ][ⲍ].
290 A&C: [ⲍⲁⲧⲉⲍⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲙⲡⲁ]ⲧⲉ[ⲩ]ⲉⲓ.
291 A&C: [ⲁⲫⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ][ⲍ]ⲱⲃ.
292 A&C: [ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ].
293 A&C: [ⲁⲫ]ⲥⲱⲣⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ (meaning unknown).
294 A&C: [ⲧⲟⲩ] |[8][ⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄]ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ.
295 A&C: ⲧⲏⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲁⲫⲓⲣⲉ].

were engulfed. The Fifth: He opened our eyes (to the fact)
that the rebels will be bound by a great fetter, those who
rebel against the Good and against the righteousness
which has been proclaimed by the Apostle.

CHAPTER 137

ON THE FIVE TYPES OF BROTHERHOOD THAT ARE DISTINCT FROM ONE ANOTHER

338.22 Again, the Apostle spoke to his disciples …
338.23 as he was sitting among his community: There [are *Five*]
338.24 *Types* (of Brotherhood) found in the Church that I have chosen. The [first]
338.25 are the "brothers," the second are the "children," the [third are]
338.26 the "disciples," the fourth are the "day-labourers," (and the fifth are)
338.27 … (the "slaves")[296] … …
338.28 … which are in it … …
338.29 … the people of righteousness …
338.30 … … … …
338.31 … after he mad e it ready … …

339.1 … their [shadow(?)] is light in the Church …
339.2 … this way. The Light-Mind …
339.3 … which is their shepherd and separates them from …
339.4 … each one according to the hue that it …
339.5 … for they are like brothers, who do not hide themselves [from]
339.6 the task which is appointed them, but rather the task which [they]
339.7 are able to do in the Church, they really do it.
339.8 [The] "children," however, are those caring and wise people,
339.9 the craftsmen, those considerate people …
339.10 … every moment, as they preach the truth always, with
339.11 no falsehood in their mouths at all. Every single Church
339.12 in which a judgement is found, they do not … this
339.13 judgement, but rather they judge according to righteous
339.14 judgement. They do even more and seek God.[297]
339.15 But, they do not separate from him, since they are [his] "children".
339.16 [The] "disciples," too, they are honourable and
339.17 patient people, splendid sheep, who live in
339.18 wisdom, following their teacher in patience
339.19 … as they follow the foot-prints of their shepherd, who
339.20 [is a guide] for them toward (what is) good and useful.
339.21 [The "day-]labourers," however, are those people who stand in

[296] See 340.15. W.-P. Funk, *Kephalaia (I): Zweite Hälfte [Lieferung 13–14]* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1999), 168 note line 338.27.
[297] Funk, *personal communication*.

339.22 righteousness according to three things: on account of the … in order to
339.23 … and on account of the clothing in order to acquire and wear,
339.24 and on account of bodily honour, since they are honoured
339.25 by empty praise until the time
339.26 … When one of these three [things] will be lacking,
339.27 [they …] and they flee and become strangers
339.28 … … … their guide
339.29 … … … …

340.1 But, [the "slaves,"] they are the people who reproach
340.2 … their spirit, which is full of vanity, as they …
340.3 … are heedless and cruel, not heeding
340.4 [their] shepherd. But, their sign is this: as long as …
340.5 … the rest, as they stand in the Church. But, when
340.6 tribulation rises against them
340.7 and persecution comes upon them, they attach themselves to whatever comes
340.8 to them immediately and carry it away by stealth and run away from the
340.9 Church, without anyone knowing, (and) become strangers to it, and
340.10 go to another foreign place—while the people of this place
340.11 do not know—so that they might do the will of their
340.12 desire. Because of this, I say to you
340.13 that blessed is every one who guards himself and does not accept
340.14 the type of these two foreign races, which are the
340.15 "day-labourers" and the "slaves" who are in the
340.16 Holy Church. Rather, he (should) receive … the type of these
340.17 other three: the "brothers," or the "children," or the "disciples,"
340.18 accepting their type so that he might live forever
340.19 in their (Way of) Life.

CHAPTER 146

THE OLD MAN HAS FIVE FOODS TO LIVE ON; THE NEW MAN HAS FIVE OTHERS

348.31 [Again] he spoke … … …

349.1 there is holy food with which the Holy
349.2 Spirit feeds his children, as he …
349.3 … through them in the holy images …
349.4 … … … …
349.5 [The] first food is the spirit, that [of the great(?)]
349.6 teacher, that of the leaders, that of the brothers, and that [of] the
349.7 sisters, which the perfect Elect see and
349.8 rejoice in.
349.9 The second food is the prayer that he (i.e., the Elect) prays
349.10 hour after hour.
349.11 The third food is the joy that he
349.12 proclaims hour after hour and rejoices in.
349.13 The fourth food is the preaching [that he preaches]
349.14 everywhere he goes.
349.15 The fifth food is a holy book that he carries
349.16 in his hand, either reading everything written inside
349.17 or listening to the one who reads it. Or, having read,
349.18 he gets others to listen
349.19 and finds the way to make them read it.
349.20 These are the *Five Foods* which the Elect
349.21 … practices and receives …
349.22 … … the food of life
349.23 … life through it forever.
349.24 Again, he spoke: *Five Foods* also come
349.25 [from] Matter, those on which it feeds …
349.26 … the image of the Old Man.
349.27 [The first] food is every sight of the world
349.28 the various … of pleasant forms
349.29 [that] he will see and rejoice at.
349.30 [The second] food is the evil discourses …
349.31 … the telling of holy myths
349.32 … and the lying speech (found) in
349.33 [them] … the statements and exaggerations …
349.34 … to proclaim, profiting them …
349.35 [The third food] is the beautiful work …

349.36 … … hou ıs of …
349.37 [The fourth food] is the food [of the world(?)]

350.1 which people eat and from which they are sated and rest.
350.2 The [fifth] food is the sexual desire
350.3 with which people fornicate.
350.4 These [are] the *Five Foods* of Matter which
350.5 … sin, (and) from which the Old Man
350.6 eats and becomes strong.
350.7 Blessed is every holy Elect who keeps his
350.8 heart from these *Five Foods* and the dinners of
350.9 Matter … all to snare and sin
350.10 … and drive him to their retribution and their
350.11 torment, under which they will (have to) suffer, that is, those who eat from
350.12 [them].

CHAPTER 148

ON THE FIVE BOOKS, THAT THEY BELONG TO FIVE FATHERS

355.4 Again the Enlightener spoke to his disciples:
355.5 These great writings that I have written for you, they are
355.6 gifts given freely to you by the Fathers of
355.7 Light.
355.8 The great *Living Gospel* is the gift
355.9 of the Messenger
355.10 The *Treasure of Life* is the gift of the Column of
355.11 Glory. The *Pragmateia* and the *Book*
355.12 *of Mysteries* and the *Writing of the Giants*, these
355.13 three holy writings which form a single one,
355.14 they are the gifts of the Light-Twin.
355.15 All the *Epistles*, too, that I have written to you,
355.16 from time to time, they are my gifts and my
355.17 presents. This is the good fruit that I have given
355.18 [to you] from the Good Tree.
355.19 [Be thankful], you yourselves, my beloved,
355.20 [be] encouraged by these good writings,
355.21 [those] which have been freely given to you by
355.22 [the Fathers] of Light. Receive them into your
355.23 [hearts] and believe in them. Write them on you
355.24 … memory, for you will …
355.25 [through them] to eternal life.

CHAPTER 165

ENVY EXISTS IN FIVE FORMS

409.10 [Again] the Enlightener spoke to his disciples: …
409.11 … … … …
409.12 … what is envy? …[298]
409.13 … … … …
409.14 … … … …
409.15 … … … …
409.16 … … … …
409.17 … … … …
409.18 … … … …
409.19 … … … …
409.20 … being wise in wisdom …
409.21 … Also, the third envy is …
409.22 … … … …
409.23 … … … …
409.24 … … … …
409.25 … … … …
409.26 … on account of what … envying …
409.27 … living in … …
409.28 … … … …
409.29 … … … …
409.30 ?
409.31 ?

410.1 either [in] the name of a teacher or because of a
410.2 disciple, either great or small …
410.3 Envy … … …
410.4 alms … … …
410.5 b rother(?) … … …
410.6 … … … …
410.7 … … … …
410.8 … … … …
410.9 … … … …
410.10 … … … …
410.11 … … … …
410.12 Behold, I have clarified for you envy (and)
410.13 its *Five Forms* … … …

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[298] Funk, *personal communication.*

410.14 from you … so that you do not [envy]
410.15 one another … envy …
410.16 one another … envy …
410.17 you … … …
410.18 great … … …
410.19 fight … … …
410.20 toil … Blessed is every one [who separates]
410.21 himself from every envy … …
410.22 … … … …

CHAPTER 176

ON SPIRITUAL TRANSITION IN [FIVE(?)] FORMS AND THAT THROUGH WHICH THE CHURCH ADAPTS

452.31 Again the Apostle spoke to his [disciples who sat]
452.32 in his presence about the [transition . . .]

453.1 . . . done in the Church. He said [to them]:
453.2 [There are] *Five Transitions*, through which . . .
453.3 . . . transitions from [the] body.
453.4 [The first] transition: He passes from the body
453.5 of heaven and earth and the body of human beings. Afterwards,
453.6 he will come to this statue of humanity.
453.7 [The second] transition: He changes from the
453.8 . . . . . .
453.9 . . . . . bearing the body . . .
453.10 . . . the Catechumen.
453.11 [The third] transition: He changes . . .
453.12 . . . . . .
453.13 . . . riches and . . . . . .
453.14 . . . the world and his . . . . . .
453.15 . . . and the [just(?)] . . . . . his righteousness
453.16 he bears the body . . . their righteousness
453.17 . . . . . .
453.18 . . . . . .
453.19 . . . . . .
453.20 . . . . . .
453.21 . . . . . .
453.22 . . . . . .
453.23 . . . . . .
453.24 . . . in the place . . . from the . . .
453.25 . . . . . to the good place . . .
453.26 . . . . . the soul . . .
453.27 . . . . . in the resting place . . .
453.28 . . . The fourth transition . . . . . .
453.29 . . . . . pass . . .
453.30 . . . . . the life of the human being in . . .
453.31 . . . . . .

454.1 The . . . which it . . . . . .
454.2 . . . the entire profit that is polluted . . .

454.3 every … and earthen vessels and herbs …
454.4 … the vessel so that he may acquire it …
454.5 … … the quarrel …
454.6 … retum … …
454.7 … … … …
454.8 … … … …
454.9 … … … …
454.10 … changes … …
454.11 … rest … …
454.12 … … great …
454.13 … … … …
454.14 … … great …
454.15 … … … …
454.16 … … … …
454.17 … … … …
454.18 … … … …
454.19 … … … …
454.20 … … … …
454.21 … … … …
454.22 … … … …
454.23 … … twelve …
454.24 … … … …
454.25 … every … …
454.26 … … … …
454.27 … … … …
454.28 … a man, and he changes …
454.29 … … … …

455.1 … the New Man, who comes to him …
455.2 … he becomes a healthy man …
455.3 … and he does the will that his good physician
455.4 has prescribed for him, which is the commandment of [transition].
455.5 [He] becomes a solitary …
455.6 … as is written in the scripture.
455.7 [He said]: There are *Five* other *Transitions*,
455.8 through which the human being transitions in …
455.9 [of the] body. The first transition that [he experiences]
455.10 is [this]: When the time comes and he leaves his
455.11 body, he passes from the body of destruction,
455.12 from the image of flesh and blood, and abandons human
455.13 custom, he renounces all the mirages
455.14 of this world and enters into the presence of the Great
455.15 [Judge]. His deeds … him before
455.16 [the] Judge of Truth. The second transition
455.17 [that] he experiences: He passes from …
455.18 … … to the First Man …
455.19 … [the] Enlightener of the Night toward the place that …

455.20 … it receives him … …
455.21 … this Holy Church.
455.22 The third transition is this: He passes from
455.23 [the Enlightener] of the Night and goes to the place of the
455.24 Enlightener of the Day. He enters the Ship of the Day
455.25 … holy … of his riches …
455.26 … he has glorified(?) … …
455.27 … … again to the Ship of
455.28 [the Night. The fourth] transition: [He] passes
455.29 [from the Third] Messenger and
455.30 [transitions …] and goes to the place of the Great

456.1 [First] Righteous One. He reaches him and rests in himself …
456.2 … of the teacher. The Great First Righteous One …
456.3 … with the spirit of his brothers and they …
456.4 … and he reaches this place and rejoices for them.
456.5 [The last] transition is when he changes from …
456.6 … at the end time. On the day when the Father will …
456.7 [unveil his(?)] face and all the Fathers of Light
456.8 … to the secrets of the Father, this Elect
456.9 will also rise and all the spirits
456.10 of his brothers elect, and will come to the
456.11 Father, the God of Truth, and find rest by
456.12 their Father. They remain with him for all time, which …
456.13 they, too, the course will suffice for them. The …
456.14 … he will purify them and send them to peace [and]
456.15 rest, and he (will) raise them up and assign them [each]
456.16 one in his place. They (will) dwell in the Light [and]
456.17 live forever, [being] in the heart of the Father …
456.18 … These are the *Five* [*Spiritual*] *Transitions*
456.19 through which the spiritual person passes
456.20 from place to place. But whenever …
456.21 … and they reveal life in the presence [of the Aeon] …
456.22 … forever. Because of this, I say to you
456.23 that blessed is every faithful Elect [who knows]
456.24 that the commandment of this transition is great before … because
456.25 of it, he will become a perfect and thoughtful man, so
456.26 that he might perfect all the commandments …
456.27 and [become] free of fault …
456.28 … … … …
456.29 … the transition. Again [he spoke:(?) I implore you(?) my]
456.30 lord, that you tell me about and [open my eyes to]
456.31 the commandment of transition. The …

457.1 … … also transitions …
457.2 … … from … belongs to
457.3 [whose mystery]? Or does the testimony of this

457.4 [transition] …? Then the Apostle spoke to this
457.5 [disciple]: Rightly have you asked. I will tell
457.6 [you] … say …
457.7 … … … …
457.8 … … … …
457.9 … … likeness of the mystery of …
457.10 … … The soul also …
457.11 … … it will live …
457.12 … … … …
457.13 … the transition of … but …
457.14 … it will bear the earths and clothe them
457.15 … tribulation. … it will cast out in
457.16 … [Sun(?)] and Moon and bears
457.17 … … … …
457.18 … … spirit …
457.19 … … … …
457.20 … … it bears the …
457.21 … Again, it distils it and purifies the
457.22 … and it … and it transitions
457.23 … from every body of the world …
457.24 … … … …
457.25 … … … …
457.26 … … … …
457.27 … first. The power …
457.28 … … … …
457.29 … … … …
457.30 … … passes from …

458.1 rest, those who live in the *Five Dwellings* …
458.2 this transition of stillness.
458.3 [The] first transition is this: [It ascends into]
458.4 the Living Air and comes into the …
458.5 holy, distilled, (and) purified. The [second transition]:
458.6 It ascends to the Column [of Glory and enters the]
458.7 ship of the First Man, which shines …
458.8 The third transition: [It leaves(?) … the]
458.9 ship of the First Man and goes …
458.10 so that every vessel that shines is purified. [The fourth]
458.11 transition: It exits … …
458.12 also the air of the creations and the …
458.13 … The fifth transition … …
458.14 … from [the] Great First Righteous One to …
458.15 … the greatness … and enters his …
458.16 … … from the …
458.17 the chambers of the world … …
458.18 … … … …
458.19 pottery … … …

458.20 … … … …
458.21 … it leaves behind … …
458.22 … in its transition … …
458.23 … it shines and glorifies and …
458.24 … Then, when … …
458.25 … it remains in him … …
458.26 … from … …
458.27 … the living … …
458.28 … the place of enmity … …
458.29 purified also. It goes … …
458.30 [our] image(?), but … [it leaves]
458.31 behind the upper earth and goes … …

459.1 … … … …
459.2 … … … …
459.3 … the Church … …
459.4 … the transition … …
459.5 … Church, and they …
459.6 … and they … …
459.7 … and they are saved … …
459.8 … … … …
459.9
459.10
459.11
459.12
459.13
459.14
459.15 *Middle part of page is not preserved*
459.16
459.17
459.18
459.19
459.20
459.21
459.22 … … holy …
459.23 … … fasting …
459.24 … … which are above …
459.25 … … the holy assembly …
459.26 … … in the height …
459.27 … … he, too, …
459.28 … … small and they …
459.29 … … also …
459.30 … … … …
459.31 … … … …

460.1 … … … …
460.2 … … … …

460.3 . . . . . .
460.4 . . . . . .
460.5 . . . . . .

CHAPTER 189

[ON THE FIVE TEMPTATIONS]

484.20 [Again] … … …
484.21 … … … …
484.22 … … … …
484.23 … … … …
484.24 … … … …
484.25 … … … …
484.26 … … … …
484.27 … … … …

485.1 … and he resists the temptation …
485.2 … and his heart does [not] sink …
485.3 … the desire for something to eat and something to drink …
485.4 … resisting the temptation and he becomes
485.5 … the purification of his food …
485.6 … perfect and true.
485.7 [The] second temptation is when …
485.8 … … … …
485.9 … has established … …
485.10 … … … …
485.11 … … … …
485.12 … this one, however, … the temptation of the …
485.13 … and he … the truth.
485.14 [The third] temptation is when …
485.15 … and suffers from it …
485.16 … … … …
485.17 … … … …
485.18 … and leaves his … …
485.19 … … … …
485.20 … … … …
485.21 … … by which he is tested …
485.22 … … … …
485.23 … The fourth temptation is the desire for women
485.24 … … … …
485.25 … … desire for possessions
485.26 … … wants to let it fall
485.27 … … this perfect Elect has not
485.28 … … and he does not defeat and does not move
485.29 … [but he resists] it.
485.30 [The fifth is this:] When a persecution

486.1 [happens] in … beyond the persecutor …
486.2 … the Sects, those who stand in …
486.3 … tribulation. Or again as they …
486.4 … as they strike him with whips …
486.5 … and they come to crucify him and he does not turn …
486.6 … from his truth and he bears every thing …
486.7 … wrath, bond, (and) crucifixion. In these *Five*
486.8 *Temptations* … … of the Elect
486.9 … he receives the … of … When [he]
486.10 … increases in faith and becomes righteous …
486.11 his knowledge … temptation …
486.12 … and he returns immediately and reveals
486.13 the truth and … gives …
486.14 … … … …

CHAPTER 191

THERE ARE FIVE PROPERTIES IN THE *IMAGE* OF OUR APOSTLE SYMBOLIZING THE FIVE LIGHT FATHERS

487.9 [Again] he spoke to his disciples: There are *Five Properties*
487.10 in the *Image* … in the *Five* …
487.11 … The first is the humble aspect …
487.12 … it is with this property that I have acquired my Church …
487.13 … … and bear the temptation of [good(?) and]
487.14 just [souls(?)] … … …
487.15 … humble … …
487.16 … … … …
487.17 … … … …
487.18 … apostle, the twelve …
487.19 … … … …
487.20 … … the First Man …
487.21 … … chosen …
487.22 … … The third property …
487.23 … … … …
487.24 … … the First Man …
487.25 … he and … …
487.26 … … … …
487.27 … … … …
487.28 … … I have …
487.29 … … … *Image*

488.1 … the beauty revealed to you in the *Image* …
488.2 … … he reveals …
488.3 … in a beautiful image he has saved(?) …
488.4 … through the beauty of his image.
488.5 [The] fifth property is my light-wisdom …
488.6 … … from the Living Fire which …
488.7 … weed(?), but, while I receive the property of …
488.8 … [laying on of hands(?)].[299] Since in his wisdom and his …
488.9 … in all the worlds, he has revealed
488.10 … … … …
488.11 … … … …
488.12 [wears] their flesh. It is his own will that he has done [in]

[299] Funk, *Kephalaia (I): Zweite Hälfte*, 488 [432], note line 8.

488.13 all [the] worlds, in his wisdom, (and) in his love.
488.14 [This is also that way that] I have chosen my Church …
488.15 … … … …
488.16 … … … …
488.17 … … the soul of the …
488.18 … … he received …
488.19 … … … …
488.20 … … … …
488.21 … all … which I have come to love …
488.22 … … … …
488.23 … … … …
488.24 … Father … …
488.25 … … … …
488.26 … … … …
488.27 … again, b dongs to … …
488.28 … I have left it, I have chosen …
488.29 … … … …
488.30 … … … …

489.1 … wicked evil …
489.2 [the] wicked desire of evil …
489.3 … in this *Image* of …
489.4 daily, namely, those who have seen me …
489.5 depict the images, it depicts in their hearts …
489.6 their inner image perfected in my *Image* …
489.7 … likeness and vision of silence.
489.8 [The] fifth: Through my light-wisdom I have separated
489.9 good from evil, Light from
489.10 Darkness. I have separated Error from …
489.11 … their god. I have given victory to them through my …
489.12 … victory. All the Sects …
489.13 … in the … their body …
489.14 … the Land of Light, from which they have come
489.15 … … rest forever.

CHAPTER 193

THE EVIL ONE HAS [FIVE PROPERTIES]; THE GOOD ONE HAS [FIVE OTHER PROPERTIES]

490.26 Again he spoke to his [disciples: The Evil One has]
490.27 *Five Properties*, [which are …]
490.28 slander(?),[300] murder, [greed, mixing of Light]
490.29 and Darkness. This is … …
490.30 about which I have taught you … …

491.1 [He who] acts on them and lives by them …
491.2 … the truth and the kingdom of God …
491.3 … torture and punishment forever.
491.4 [The Good One] also [has] *Five Good Qualities*,
491.5 which are fasting, pity, [almsgiving],
491.6 faith, and separation of Light [and Darkness.]
491.7 He who acts on these *Five Good Qualities* …
491.8 … … [he] will not taste [death] …
491.9 … but, he will share in life …
491.10 … well, and inherit the [kingdom of]
491.11 [God].

[300] Funk, *Kephalaia (I): Zweite Hälfte*, 490 [436].

APPENDIX

THEODORE BAR KHONAI'S RÉSUMÉ OF THE MANICHAEAN MYTH (ANNOTATED TRANSLATION)

Translated from Theodore bar Khonai's Syriac *Liber scholiorum* (ed. Addai Scher; CSCO 69; Louvain: Imprimerie orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1954, pp. 313–318), this excerpt, in spite of its relatively late date, is perhaps the most important secondary witness to how Mani likely conceived of his own cosmogonic myth, especially in terms of Syriac terminology.[1]

313.10 On his abominable teaching: It is, however, necessary that we set down
313.11 a little of the fictitious blasphemy of Mani the wicked in this book
313.12 in order to shame the Manichaeans. For he says that before
313.13 there was heaven and earth and all that is in them, there were two
313.14 natures[2]–one good and the other evil. The good
313.15 nature dwelt in the Realm of Light, and he calls him "Father
313.16 of Greatness." He also says that his *Five Shekinahs* dwelt beside him:[3]
313.17 Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, and Consideration.[4]
313.18 The evil nature he calls King[5] of Darkness and he says

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[1] In the following notes comparative references will be made to the following English, French, and German translations: Yohannan (from Williams Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, 121–154); Schubert (from Haardt, *Gnosis*, 289–295); Reeves (from *Jewish Lore*, 185–206); Reitenztein and Schaeder (from *Studien*, 342–353); Pognon (from *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, 184–193).

[2] ܟܝܢ ܚܕ̈ܐ.

[3] ܫܟ̈ܝܢܬܐ ܕܝܩܪܐ. Yohannan: "Glories"; Schubert: "dwelling-places"; Reeves: "Shekinahs."

[4] While the terms for the Five Shekinahs are notoriously difficult to translate, Burkitt suggested that they should be rendered as follows: sense (as in sanity or sound mind), reason (as in reasoning faculty), thought (or mind), imagination, and intention (as in will) (*Religion of the Manichees*, 33). Pognon translated: *l'intelligence, la science, la pensée, la réflexion*, and *le sentiment*; Yohannan: intelligence, knowledge, reason, thought, and deliberation; Reitzenstein and Schaeder: *Bewußtsein, Vernunft, Denken, Vorstellung*, and *Gesinnung*; and Reeves: mind, knowledge, intellect, thought, and reflection.

[5] Scher's text actually has ܡܠܐܟܐ "angel" of Darkness, while other manuscripts read ܡܠܟܐ "King," which is supported by other sources such as the *Acta Archelai* 12.4 and *Kephalaia Chapter 6* (see Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 201 n. 18). As Reeves points out, the epithet "Angel of Darkness" can be found in 1QS 3:20–22 (Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 201 n. 18).

313.19 that he dwelt in his Dark Land with his *Five Worlds*:[6]
313.20 the World of Smoke, the World of Fire, the World of Wind, the World of Water,
313.21 and the World of Darkness. And he says that when the King of Darkness sought
313.22 to ascend to the Realm of Light, these *Five Shekinahs* stirred
313.23 and he says that the Father of Greatness then
313.24 thought and said: "*From the worlds of these* Five Shekinahs
313.25 *I will not send from them to do battle because for tranquility and peace*
313.26 *they were created by me. Rather, I myself will go and do*
313.27 *battle.*" And he says that the Father of Greatness called the Mother
313.28 of Life, and the Mother of Life called the First Man,[7] and the First

314.1 Man called his *Five Sons*, like a man who puts on armour
314.2 for battle. And he says that an angel went forth against him, whose name
314.3 was *Nhshbt*,[8] holding in his hand a crown of victory. And he says
314.4 that he spread out light before him, i.e.,[9] First Man. When
314.5 the King of Darkness saw it, he thought and said: "*That*
314.6 *which I desired in the distance, I have found nearby.*" Then
314.7 First Man gave himself and his *Five Sons*
314.8 as food for the *Five Sons of Darkness*, like a man
314.9 who has an enemy mixes deadly poison into a cake[10] and gives it
314.10 to him. And he says that when they ate them, their reason
314.11 was taken from the *Five Shining Gods*[11] and they became like
314.12 a man bitten by a rabid dog or snake (because of) the venom

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[6] ,ⲙⲁⲑⲗⲁⲗ ⲣⲉⲛⲧ: Pognon: *cinq mondes* (*Inscriptions mandaïtes*, 184); Yohannan: "five worlds" (*Researches in Manichaeism*, 224); Reitzenstein and Schaeder: *fünf Äonen* (342); Schubert: "five Aeons"; and Reeves: "five Aeons." The translation of ⲕⲗⲁ as "world" is, however, supported by Coptic sources, especially *Kephalaia Chapter 6*, which uses the Graeco-Coptic word ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ for the five regions of darkness. The fact that matter is so closely associated with the dark realm cannot really justify the use of a term such as "aeon," which in such systems is usually reserved for entities of the higher realm.

[7] Yohannan: "Primal Man"; Schubert: "Primary Man" and "Primal Man"; Reeves: "Primal Man."

[8] Both Yohannan and Reeves leave the name unvocalized, while Schubert translates "Nachashbat." This name is not found in any other sources, although the abjuration formulae attest the term στεφανοφόρος "crown-bearer" (Reeves, 201 n. 24).

[9] The ⲛ in this construction seems to be a "pronom annonciateur" (Costaz, 507). Yohannan and Pognon attribute the spreading out of light to First Man, while Reitzenstein and Schaeder, Hespel and Draguet, and Reeves attribute the action to the angel.

[10] Schubert: "in a kitchen."

[11] According to Payne-Smith ⲙⲁⲛⲁ means "guardian" (115a), while ⲙⲁⲛⲁ is not listed with a ⲉ. Why is this? Could there also be some sort of confusion or play on words with ⲙⲁⲛⲁ "armour" (115a), since in other sources the five sons are known as First Man's "armour"?

314.13 of the Sons of Darkness. And he says that when the First Man regained
314.14 his reason and prayed to the Father of Greatness seven times
314.15 and he called the Second Calling—the Beloved of Lights,[12] and the Beloved
314.16 of Lights called the Great Builder,[13] and the Great Builder called the Living
314.17 Spirit,[14] and the Living Spirit called his[15] *Five Sons*: the Ornament of Splendour[16]
314.18 from his Mind, the Great King of Honour from his Thought,
314.19 the Adamos[17] of Light from his Insight, the King of Glory from
314.20 his Counsel, and the Porter[18] from his Consideration. They came
314.21 to the Land of Darkness and found First Man
314.22 swallowed by the Darkness along with his *Five Sons*. Then the Living
314.23 Spirit called out with his voice and the voice of the Living Spirit became like
314.24 a sharp sword and it revealed the form of the First Man,
314.25 and he said: "*Greetings to you, O good one*[19] *in the house of evil,*
314.26 *O shining one*[20] *in the house of darkness, O god who dwells in the house of*
314.27 *wrathful beasts who do not know their*[21] *honour*." Then First Man answered

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[12] ܒܚܒܝܒ… Yohannan: "Friend of Light"; Schubert: "Friend of the Lights"; Reeves: "Friend of the Luminaries."

[13] Yohannan: "Great Ban"; Schubert: "Great Architect"; Reeves: "Great *Ban*."

[14] Payne-Smith states that ܪܘܚܐ is normally feminine "except when used of the Holy Spirit" (533b), which reflects a theologically motivated interpretation of grammar. The Manichaean Living Spirit, rooted in early Syriac images of spirit, would have originally been conceived as feminine, since she is essentially an elaboration of Mother of Life, the second member of the first divine triad. The fact that the neuter word πνεῦμα was used in Greek created a gender ambiguity and an eventual shift in Coptic, in which it is considered a masculine noun.

[15] Theodore reports that the Living Spirit called forth "*his* sons" ܒܢܘܗܝ. It is not inconceivable that an eight-century author such as Theodore, accustomed to the theologically masculine interpretation of "spirit" would have naturally used the masculine suffix when referring to the sons. It cannot be assumed that this wording is taken verbatim from Mani.

[16] Yohannan: "Custody of Splendor"; Schubert: "Adornment of the Light"; Reeves: "Ornament of Splendour."

[17] Yohannan: "Adamas"; Schubert: "Adamas"; Reeves: "Adamos."

[18] Yohannan: "Supporter"; Schubert: "Bearer"; Reeves: "Porter."

[19] Yohannan: "the righteous one"; Schubert: "o Good Man"; Reeves: "O Excellent One."

[20] Yohannan: "the luminous one"; Schubert: "Creature of Light"; Reeves: "O Divine One."

[21] The manuscripts read ܒܝܩܪܗܘܢ, "their glory," which was amended by Lidzbarski to ܒܝܩܪܟ "his honour" (followed by Schaeder and Reeves), presumably referring to the Father. This reading, however, is also problematic since this is a vocative address to the First Man. Thus, it could conceivable be amended to ܒܝܩܪܟ "your glory." The original manuscript reading may simply imply that the beasts are without honour.

314.28 and said: "*Come, you who bear the merchandise of peace*."

315.1 And he said: "*How fare our fathers, the sons of*
315.2 *Light in their city?*" And the Call said to him: "*They are faring*
315.3 *well!*" And ⟨Living Spirit⟩[22] and Call and Response[23] joined with one another
315.4 and they ascended to the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit. And Living Spirit
315.5 put on the Call and the Mother of Life put on the Response, her[24] beloved
315.6 son, and they descended to the Land of Darkness to where First
315.7 Man and his sons (were). Then the Living Spirit ordered three
315.8 of his sons,[25] that one should kill and another skin the Archons, the Sons of
315.9 Darkness, and deliver (them) to the Mother of Life. The Mother of Life
315.10 stretched out the sky from their skins and made Eleven[26] Heavens.
315.11 And they threw down their corpses to the Land of Darkness and made Eight
315.12 Earths. And the *Five Sons of the Living Spirit* each
315.13 completed his task. The Ornament of Splendour is the one who holds the *Five*
315.14 *Shining Gods* by their waists and below their waists the heavens were
315.15 spread out. Also, the Porter is the one who bends down on one of his knees
315.16 and carries the earths. And after the heavens and the earths were
315.17 made the Great King of Glory sat among the heavens
315.18 and kept watch over everything. Then, the Living Spirit
315.19 revealed his forms[27] to the Sons of Darkness and from the light which had been
315.20 swallowed by them from these *Five Shining Gods* he filtered the
315.21 light and built the Sun and the Moon.[28] And (with) light that was left over from

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[22] There appears to have been some confusion by the copyist here (?).

[23] Yohannan: "the Appellant and the Respondent"; Schubert: "the Call and the Answer"; Reeves: "the Caller and the Respondent."

[24] Yohannan: "her"; Schubert: "its"; Reeves: "her."

[25] ⲛ̀ϩⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁⲗⲓ is interpreted by Yohannan, Schubert, and Reeves to mean "three of his sons" since it is clear that Living Spirit has five sons.

[26] Other sources indicated that "ten heavens" should be read instead.

[27] This perhaps indicates the same gender ambiguity as with the Third Messenger who reveals male and female aspects.

[28] Yohannan: "and the light (of the Stars) more than a thousand"; Schubert: "and over a thousand stars."

315.22 (the making of) the vessels she[29] made the wheels:[30] wind and water and fire. He
315.23 descended and forged them beneath the Porter. The King of Glory called
315.24 and raised above them a bed(?) so that they might ascend over those
315.25 Archons who are subdued by the earths that they might serve the *Five*
315.26 *Shining Gods* without being burned by the venom of the Archons.
315.27 And he says that the Mother of Life, First Man, and the Living Spirit
315.28 rose in prayer and asked of the Father of Greatness

316.1 and the Father of Greatness heard them and called the Third Evocation—
316.2 the Messenger. And the Messenger called Twelve Virgins,[31]
316.3 with their garments, their crowns, and their attributes: the first is
316.4 majesty, the second wisdom, the third victory,
316.5 the fourth persuasion, the fifth chastity, the sixth truth,
316.6 the seventh faith, the eighth patience, the ninth
316.7 uprightness, the tenth grace, the eleventh justice,
316.8 (and) the twelfth light. And when the Messenger came to those
316.9 vessels, he commanded three servants to make the vessels move.
316.10 The Great Builder he commanded to build a New Earth and Three
316.11 Vessels[32] to ascend. And when the ships went and reached the middle
316.12 of heaven, then the Messenger revealed his images, male and female,
316.13 and was manifested to all the Archons, the Sons of Darkness, male
316.14 and female. At the appearance of the Messenger, who was beautiful in his forms,
316.15 all the Archons were inflamed with lust, the males
316.16 for the image of the female, and the females for the image of the male.
316.17 They began to expel through their lust the light which they had swallowed from
316.18 the *Five Shining Gods*. Then the sin which was in them
316.19 conspired and like a hair in dough it mixed itself
316.20 with the {light}[33] which came out of the Archons and it sought
316.21 to enter in. Then, the Messenger concealed his image and separated

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[29] This feminine verb form supports the idea that the Living Spirit was conceived as a feminine being by early Manichaeans.

[30] Yohannan and Reeves translate "wheels"; Schaeder *Sphären*; Pognon *vases*.

[31] According to Reeves, the Twelve Virgins are identified with the twelve signs of the Zodiac (*Jewish Lore*, 204 n. 46), yet this needs to be reconciled with the depiction of the Zodiac found in the *Kephalaia* (see Chapter 3 above).

[32] Both Yohannan and Reeves have translated "wheels" for ܓܠ̈ܓ̈ "wheels" (see Payne-Smith, 3a).

[33] All manuscripts read ܢܝܗܪܐ "moon," which has been corrected to "light" ܢܝܗܝܠܐ by most commentators (Yohannan, 245; Reeves, 204 n. 48).

316.22 the light of the *Five Shining Gods* and the sin which (was) in them.
316.23 It (i.e., sin) then fell onto the Archons from whom it had fallen, but they did not
316.24 accept it, like a person who recoils from his vomit. It (i.e., sin) then fell down to
316.25 the earth, half on the moist (part) and half on the dry, and it became
316.26 a hateful animal in the image of the King of Darkness. The Adamos of Light
316.27 was sent against her, made war with her
316.28 and defeated her. He turned her on her back, struck her heart with a spear,[34]

317.1 and threw his shield on her mouth. He set one of his feet on
317.2 her thigh and another on her chest. That (part) which fell on dry land
317.3 sprouted itself into *Five Trees*. He says that these Daughters of
317.4 Darkness were pregnant from before by their natures
317.5 and because of the beauty of the Messenger's form which they saw, they
317.6 miscarried their foetuses[35] and they fell to the earth. They ate the seeds of the
317.7 trees. The abortions counselled with one another and remembered the form
317.8 of the Messenger which they had seen and said: "*Where is the form that we saw*?"
317.9 Then, Ashqalun, the son of the King of Darkness, said to the abortions: "*Give*
317.10 *me your sons and your daughters and I will make you*
317.11 *a form like the one you saw*." They brought (them) and gave (them) to him. He ate
317.12 the males and gave the females to Namrael,[36] his companion.
317.13 Namrael and Ashqalun then united with one another and she conceived
317.14 and gave birth to a son, and named him Adam. She conceived (again) and
317.15 gave birth to a daughter, and named her Eve. He says that Jesus the Splendour
317.16 came to Adam, the innocent, and awoke him from the sleep

[34] Manuscript reads ⲥⲁⲓⲁⲣⲧⲏ "aorta," corrected to ⲥⲁⲗⲓⲟⲩ "spear" by Cumont (See Scher 316 n. 8).

[35] Could there be a play on words here between ⲥⲁⲁⲩ "foetus" and ⲥⲁⲁⲩ "iniquity" (Payne-Smith, 405a)?

[36] There are a number of variants for the name of Ashqalun's consort (See Scher, 317 n. 4, Yohannan, 249 n. 118, Reeves, 204 n. 53), although Namrael has been adopted as standard.

317.17 of death, so that he might be delivered from many (evil) spirit(s).[37] Just as
317.18 a righteous person finds someone possessed by a mighty demon
317.19 and calms him with his skill, thus also was Adam
317.20 when the Beloved found him lying in a deep
317.21 sleep. He awoke him and held him and shook him and expelled from him
317.22 the deceptive demon and bound from him the great
317.23 Archonic power. Then Adam examined himself and recognized who he was.
317.24 He (i.e., Jesus) revealed to him the Fathers on high and how his soul was wholly
317.25 thrown into leopard's teeth and elephant's teeth, swallowed by swallowers
317.26 and gulped by gulpers, eaten by dogs, mixed
317.27 and imprisoned in all that was, and bound in the stench of Darkness.
317.28 He says that he (i.e., Jesus) raised him and made him taste the Tree of Life. Then,

318.1 Adam cried out and wept and raised his voice loudly, like
318.2 a lion that roars and tears. He threw (himself down) and beat (his chest) and said:
318.3 "*Woe, woe to the one who formed my body and to the one who bound my soul*
318.4 *and to the tyrants who have enslaved me*."

[37] Just what this phrase means remains unclear. According to Yohannan, ܪܘܚܐ ܒܝܫܬܐ implies a reference to the "two Archons" mentioned by al-Nadīm (*Researches*, 250), while Reeves suggests it refers to Ashaqlun (*Jewish Lore*, 205 n. 56). See Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, 192 n. 2. At any rate, it seems clear that Adam is being liberated form negative forces.

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GENERAL INDEX

Acta Archelai, 8, 89
Adda, 12, 88, 90
Adiabene, 11
Alexander of Lycopolis, 13, 64
Amaro, 86
Ammo, 88
anababizon, 63, 64, 82
Apocryphon of John, 65, 144
Ardashir, 11
Aristotle, 35
Artabanus, 11
Ashaqlun, 5
Assyrians, 11
Augustine, 4, 6, 46, 57, 64, 86
Axumites, 11

Babylon, 11
Babylonians, 11
Barbelo, 144
Bardaisan, 14, 35, 36, 89, 90
Barhadbeshabba, 36
al-Biruni, 6, 64, 65
Book of Giants, 15, 17, 46, 80, 209
Book of Mysteries, 9, 14, 45, 79, 209
Brahmins, 88
Buddha, 10, 88
Buddhists, 88

Capitaliteratur, 9
Christians, 3, 6, 11, 61, 85, 88
Chinese *Compendium*, 46
Chinese *Hymnscroll*, 26
Chronicle of Seert, 86
Clement of Alexandria, 4
Cologne Mani Codex, 12, 32, 40, 47
Coptic, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18
Ctesiphon, 11

Dakhleh Oasis, 12
Diocletian, 86

Egypt, 11, 12, 13, 62, 86
Elchasaites, 10, 61
Empedocles, 35
Ephraim the Syrian, 15, 29, 30, 35, 89
Epictetus, 9
Epiphanius, 6
Epistles, 14, 15, 16, 17, 74, 79, 209
erotapokrisis, 10

Five Advents, 69, 70, 134, 149
Five Angels, 159
Five Arches, 17
Five Archons (see Rulers) 108
Five Bodies, 51, 52, 59, 61, 108, 111, 159
Five Books, 148
Five Camps, 182
Five Churches, 104
Five Constellations, 17
Five Counsels, 37, 135, 154
Five Craftsmen, 201
Five Creations of Darkness, 52, 53, 56, 150
Five Dark Spirits, 111
Five Dwellings, 71, 174, 215
Five Elements, 15, 18, 29, 30, 32, 34, 36, 53, 61, 67, 80, 81, 90, 106, 108, 127, 128, 135
Five Encampments, 41, 183
Five Fathers, 19, 42, 43, 45, 46, 48, 81, 112, 149
Five Fleshes, 101
Five Folds, 155
Five Foods, 72, 207, 208
Five Forms, 72, 108, 210
Five Fruits of Death, 52, 53, 128
Five Garments, 31, 182
Five Gods, 44, 156

Five Great Fountains of Blessing, 25, 142
Five Great Trees, 25
Five Greatnesses, 19, 34, 42, 47, 48, 70, 81, 129
Five Hallows, 76, 197
Five Happinesses, 75, 104
Five Houses, 17
Five Intellectuals, 30, 31, 32, 80, 100, 156
Five Kings of Darkness, 52, 60, 61, 108
Five Limbs, 15, 16, 18, 22, 32, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 48, 58, 67, 80, 81, 90, 100, 101, 142, 149, 154, 159, 160, 161, 201
Five Limbs of Sin, 160
Five Light Signs, 70
Five Light Wonders, 199
Five Mysteries 116, 117
Five Names, 174
Five Parts, 52, 106
Five Pits, 76, 198
Five Places, 193
Five Powers, 75, 104, 139, 153
Five Products, 200
Five Properties, 220, 222
Five Qualities, 222
Five Qualities of the Sun, 177
Five Releases, 69, 70, 138
Five Resurrections, 69, 124
Five Rulers, 51, 59
Five Saviours, 69, 124
Five Senses, 106
Five *shekinahs*, 223, 224
Five Shining Gods, 29, 31, 80, 144, 159, 224, 226, 227, 228
Five Signs, 115, 116, 117, 119
Five Slaveries, 111
Five Sleepless Watchers, 156
Five Sons of Darkness, 17, 19, 31, 224, 225
Five Sons of First Man, 18, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 49, 80, 106, 129, 166, 224
Five Sons of Living Spirit, 16, 18, 33, 34, 36, 38, 41, 42, 49, 58, 106, 120, 129, 153, 182, 225, 226
Five Spirits, 51, 52, 59, 61, 62, 106, 108
Five Splendours of the Son of Man, 29, 153
Five Stars, 51, 62, 63, 179, 180, 181
Five Storehouses, 25, 51, 52, 53, 59, 61, 108
Five Tastes, 51, 52, 59, 108
Five Temptations, 87, 218, 219
Five Transitions, 212, 213, 214
Five Trees of Darkness, 17, 19, 52, 53, 108, 127, 135, 170, 228
Five Types of Authority, 174
Five Types of Brotherhood, 74, 87, 205
Five Virtues, 16, 36, 39, 41, 70, 74
Five Vital Powers, 17, 26
Five Wars, 69, 135
Five Watchers, 41
Five Watch-Towers, 183
Five Wisdoms, 75, 104
Five Wonderworks, 69
Five Words, 122, 125
Five Worlds of Darkness, 17, 52, 53, 56, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 82, 108, 109, 127, 135, 147, 150, 179, 181, 224
Five Worlds of Flesh, 106, 170, 171
Fundamental Epistle, 58, 60

Gnostics, 4, 66
Greek, 12, 14, 18

Hadith, 8
Hira, 86
Homilies, 8, 46, 86, 87
Hormizd, 85
Hormizd II, 86
Hystapes, 11

India, 11
Indians, 11
Irenaeus, 4
Ismaelis
Iwannis of Dara, 36

Jews, 3, 11, 14, 66
Jesus, 5, 10, 41, 84, 88
Judas, 4, 10, 21
Justinian, 86

Kabbalah, 4
Kellis, 12, 14, 27, 29, 89
Kephalaia, *passim*
Kirdir, 85
Kustaios, 12

Latin, 13, 36
Living Gospel, 15, 45, 58, 79, 209
Luke, Gospel of, 21

Magi, 11
Mandaeans, 11, 26, 62, 64
Mani, *passim*
Manichaeans, *passim*
Marcion, 35
Mark the Deacon, 86
Matthew, Gospel of, 21
Mazdaeism, 28
Medes, 11
Medinet Madi, 6, 12, 14
Mesene, 11
Mesopotamia, 11, 13, 62, 64
Middle-Persian, 14
Moses bar Kepha, 36
Muslims, 3, 6

al-Nadīm, 6, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 27, 37, 46, 53, 54, 56, 57, 60, 71, 73, 80, 229
Nafsha of Tadmor/Palmyra, 90
Narses, 86
Nazoreans, 11
New Testament, 3

Origen, 8

Palestine, 13, 86
Parthia, 11
Parthians, 11
Paul, 10, 88
Persia, 11
Persians, 11, 61, 66, 85
Pherecydes of Syros, 35
Philolaus, 35
Picture-book, 80
pleroma, 4
Pragmateia, 45, 209
Prayer of the Emanations, 27
Psalm-Book, 30, 31, 46, 47, 64
Pythagoras, 35

Qurʾān, 3

Rabbinic Judaism, 4
Right Ginza, 26, 55, 56, 57
Romans, 11, 61, 66, 85

Seleucia-Ctesiphon, 86
Severus of Antioch, 9, 23, 53, 58
Severus Sebokht, 64
Shapur, 11, 85
Shabuhragan, 14, 16, 17, 26, 79, 147
shekinah, 15, 18, 25, 58
Simplicius, 58
Sisinnios, 12, 13, 85
Sogdian, 26, 90
Susiana, 11
Synaxeis, 15
Syria, 86
Syriac, 11, 12, 14, 18, 31

Talmud, 8
Tanakh, 3
Theodore bar Khonai, 5, 15, 17, 18, 25, 27, 30, 32, 36, 37, 43, 45, 47, 53, 54, 57, 60, 71, 80, 81, 83, 89, 169, 223
Theodoret, 9, 53
Tigris, 11
Titus of Bostra, 9, 53
Treasure of Life, 14, 45, 72, 166, 188, 189, 209
Turfan, 6, 90

Valentinians, 4
Vahram, 86

al-Warraq, 15

Zarathustra, see Zoroaster, 10
Zeno of Verona, 66
ziwane, 18, 31
zodiac, 65, 66, 82
Zoroaster, see Zarathustra, 88
Zoroastrians, 64, 85, 88
Zurvanism, 27, 28

INDEX OF MODERN AUTHORS

Adam, 26
Allberry, 27
Asmussen, 27, 88

BeDuhn, 28, 32, 83, 84
Beck, 63, 64
Boussières, 10
Böhlig, 28, 66, 108, 113, 116, 120, 122, 125, 127, 131, 135, 143, 145, 155, 158, 160, 165, 169, 179, 180, 185
Boyce, 16, 17, 26
Brown, 11, 86
Burkitt, 27, 29, 35, 64, 223

Couliano, 7, 81
Crum, 118, 155, 161, 162
Cumont, 27, 53, 57, 58

Daniélou, 66
De Blois, 15
Drijvers, 35, 36
Duchesne-Guillemin, 28

Feldmann, 58, 61
Ferrari, 64
Foerster, 26
Franzmann, 12, 29
Funk, 8, 9, 12, 15, 17, 21, 25, 37, 40, 42, 46, 58, 90, 97, 112, 113, 116, 118, 119, 120, 122, 127, 142, 145, 164, 166, 167, 175, 189, 205, 220, 222

Gardner, 12, 14, 27, 31, 46, 60, 65, 70, 83, 86, 90, 159
Gignoux, 85
Giversen, 8
Goodenough, 66

Hachlili, 66
Haardt, 223
Henning, 15, 158
Heuser, 83
Hunter, 18
Hutter, 15, 17, 26, 85, 86

Ivanka, 9

Jonas, 83

Khosroyev, 66
Klimkeit, 15, 26, 57, 83
Koenen, 8
Kugener, 53, 58

Lévy, 7
Lidzbarski, 55
Lieu, 8, 14, 24, 27, 30, 46, 60, 64, 65, 75, 83, 85, 86, 88, 90

MacKenzie, 14, 64, 147
Mattéi, 35
Merkelbach, 26, 29
Mirecki, 83
Moraux, 35

Nagel, 38, 65
Nau, 64
Ness, 66

Ort, 8

Payne-Smith, 224, 225, 228
Pedersen, 86, 87
Pognon, 223, 229
Polotsky, 6, 26, 30, 36, 55, 66, 83, 108, 113, 116, 120, 122, 125, 127, 131, 135, 143, 155, 158, 160, 165, 169, 180

Puech, 55

Reeves, 15, 21, 23, 29, 30, 31, 53, 223, 227, 229
Reitzenstein, 223
Richter, 27
Ries, 6
Robinson, 7
Rudoph, 83

Sala, 83
Schaeder, 28, 223
Schmidt, 6, 7, 8
Scopello, 86
Sims-Williams, 73
Skjaervø, 28
Stegemann, 65
Ström, 7

Tardieu, 7, 13, 14, 15, 46, 75, 90, 166
Tsui Chi, 26

van Lindt, 31
van Tongerloo, 27

Welburn, 66
Widengren, 8, 27, 65
Williams Jackson, 26, 27, 28, 223

Zaehner, 27, 28
Zamagni, 10

NAG HAMMADI &
MANICHAEAN STUDIES

Pentadic Redaction in the Manichaean *Kephalaia*

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TIMOTHY PETTIPIECE

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by

Timothy Pettipiece



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CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ix
Abbreviations xi

PART I

PENTADIC REDACTION IN THE MANICHAEAN *KEPHALAIA*

Introduction 3
Number and Religion in Antiquity 3
The Manichaean Love of Numbers 5
Out of Obscurity 6
The *Kephalaia* and Its Compilers 7
Canon and Tradition 13

Chapter One. Basic Ontological Patterning 21
The Two Trees and the Five Limbs 21

Chapter Two. Theological Patterning I: Light-Realm 25
The Faces of the Father 25
The Many Sons of Man 29
Cosmic Parallelism 36
Fathers of Greatness 42

Chapter Three. Theological Patterning II: Dark-Realm 51
The Evolution of Evil 51
King(s) of Darkness 54
Astrological Polemic 62

Chapter Four. Other Forms Of Patterning 69
Soteriological Patterning 69
Ethical Patterning 72
Ecclesiological Patterning 74

Polemical Patterning 75
Aetiological Patterning 76

Conclusions and Implications 79
Scholastic Redaction 79
Adversity and Persecution 85
Missionary Expansion 88
Why five? 89
Who was responsible? 90

PART II

TRANSLATIONS FROM *THE KEPHALAIA OF THE TEACHER* [BERLIN CODEX]

Note on Translations 95

Chapter 2: The Second, on the Parable of the Tree 97
Chapter 3: The Interpretation of Happiness, Wisdom, and Power; what they mean 103
Chapter 4: On the Four Great Days, which are brought forth from one another; along with the Four Nights 105
Chapter 6: On the Five Storehouses that have poured forth from the Land of Darkness from the Beginning; the Five Rulers, the Five Spirits, the Five Bodies, (and) the Five Tastes 108
Chapter 7: The Seventh, on the Five Fathers 112
Chapter 9: The Interpretation of the (Sign of) Peace, what it means; the Right Hand, the Kiss, the Adoration 115
Chapter 10: On the Meaning of the Fourteen [Great] Aeons, about which Sethel spoke in [his] prayer 120
Chapter 12: On the Meaning of the Five Words which are proclaimed *mntparapehout* in the Cosmos 122
Chapter 13: On the Five Saviours, Resurrectors of the Dead, along with the Five Resurrections 124
Chapter 14: The Meaning of the Silence, the Fast, [the Peace], the Day, [and] the Rest; what they mean 125
Chapter 15: [On the] … Five [Parts] … World of 127
Chapter 16: [On the Five] Greatnesses which have [come] out against the Darkness 129

Chapter 18: [On the Five] Wars [which the] Sons of Light waged with [the Sons] of Darkness 135
Chapter 19: On the Five Releases: what they mean 138
Chapter 20: The Chapter on the Name of the Fathers 141
Chapter 21: On the Father of Greatness, how he is established and defined 142
Chapter 24: [On the Times ...] 143
Chapter 25: On the Five [Fathers: from which Limbs they have come] 149
Chapter 27: On the Five Forms which exist in the Archon{s} of Darkness 150
Chapter 33: On the Five Things that he constructed with the Hard Bodies of the Archons 152
Chapter 37: On the Three Zones 153
Chapter 38: On the Light-Mind, the Apostles, and the Saints 154
Chapter 39: On the Three Days and the Two Deaths 166
Chapter 48: On the Conduits(?) 169
Chapter 57: On the Generation of Adam 174
Chapter 65b: (On the Five Qualities of the Sun) 177
Chapter 68: On Fire 178
Chapter 69: On the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Stars 179
Chapter 70: On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos 182
Chapter 91: On the Catechumen, who is saved in a single body 187
Chapter 95: The Apostle asks his Disciples: What does cloud mean? 193
Chapter 100: On the Dragon, the one with Fourteen heads; what is it and 197
Chapter 103: On the Five Wonderworks that the Light-Mind reveals to the Elect 199
Chapter 104: On Food: that it is appointed to Five Products in the Human Body 200
Chapter 107: On the Kind of Speech that 201
Chapter 111: On the Four Qualities that are found in the Eye, and the Fifth, which is hidden in them, to what they belong 202
Chapter 112b: (On the Five Things Revealed by Jesus) 203
Chapter 137: On the Five Types of Brotherhood that are distinguished from one another 205
Chapter 146: The Old Man has Five Foods to live on, the New Man has Five Others 207

Chapter 148: On the Five Books, that they belong to Five Fathers 209
Chapter 165: Envy exists in Five Forms 210
Chapter 176: On Spiritual Transition in Five(?) Forms and that through which the Church changes 212
Chapter 189: [On the Five Temptations] 218
Chapter 191: There are Five Properties in the Image of our Apostle, symbolizing the Five Light Fathers 220
Chapter 193: The Evil One has [Five Properties]; the Good One has [Five other Properties] 222

Appendix. Theodore Bar Khonai's Résumé of the Manichaean Myth (Annotated Translation) 223

Works Cited 231
General Index 237
Index of Modern Authors 241

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ABBREVIATIONS

Medinet Madi Codices

1 Ke	*Kephalaia* vol. 1: "*Kephalaia of the Teacher*" (Polotsky/Böhlig/Funk)
2 Ke	*Kephalaia* vol. 2: "*Kephalaia of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani*" (unpublished; for overview see Funk, "Reconstruction")
1 Ps	*Psalm-Book* part 1 (unpublished)
2 Ps	*Psalm-Book* part 2 (Allberry/Richter/Wurst)
Hom	*Homilies* (Polotsky)
Ep	*Epistles* (unpublished)
Acts	*Acts* (unpublished)
Syn	*Synaxeis* (unpublished)
A&C	Funk. *Kephalaia I: Addenda & Corrigenda* (unpublished)

PART I

PENTADIC REDACTION IN THE MANICHAEAN *KEPHALAIA*

INTRODUCTION

Number and Religion in Antiquity

The role played by numbers in religion is largely unexplored territory. This is due, in part, to the fact that such patterns, if they exist, tend to become so embedded into the collective consciousness of the community that rarely is any exegetical effort expended reflecting on their origins or implications. Jews and Christians, for example, do not tend to inquire as to why there are *ten* commandments and not twelve, why there are *twelve* tribes of Israel and not twenty, or why Jesus, when he wanted to feed a crowd of his hearers, used only *five* loaves and *two* fish. Similarly, Muslims might not be inclined to question why *five* daily prayers are required, instead of *six*, or why the Qurʾān contains 114 *surahs* instead of 141. After all, does it really matter that Buddha only came up with *four* noble truths, instead of eight? In many instances, the presence of such numbers may be considered of little consequence, although in other cases they could carry a great deal of theological weight. For instance, few contemporary Christians may wonder why they are taught to conceive of God as a *trinity* and not a quaternity, or for that matter, a pentad. Such formulations are typically taken as "givens" that have come to form an integral part of a particular tradition's symbolic language. But this does not mean that explanations do not sometimes exist and cannot, therefore, be sought. Numerical aspects of religion just simply are not seen as generating sufficient interest to require sustained attention. Besides, it is not as though "mainstream" religious discourses are brimming over with numerological speculations. The average reader of a standard scriptural text, be it the Tanakh, the New Testament, or the Qurʾān, is not going to be struck by an over-abundance of numerical formulations. Thus, it is not surprising that such a phenomenon goes relatively unnoticed.

The apparent lack of interest among the faithful today does not mean that the use of numbers as part of religious and theological discourse was never a matter of concern or debate. For instance, the use

of numbers in theological and exegetical contexts became particularly controversial for the early church during the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE. Irenaeus, in particular, criticized the practice of *gematria*, that is, calculations based on the numerical value of Greek or Hebrew letters, by his Valentinian opponents as arbitrary and without scriptural foundation. The bishop of Lyons also criticized what he perceived to be the arbitrary selection of biblical numbers in order to fit a particular theological system due to the fact that the scriptures contain such a wide variety of numbers and numerical patterns (*Adversus haereses*, 2.24.3), especially involving *three*, *seven*, *twelve*, and *forty*. Irenaeus cited, for instance, Valentinian exegesis of the thirty years before Jesus' ministry as a representation of the thirty ethereal aeons of the Pleroma (*Adversus haereses*, 1.1.3), while the passion of the twelfth aeon was considered to be an allusion to the betrayal of Christ by Judas (*Adversus haereses*, 1.3.3).

It would seem, however, that, in spite of the decidedly negative reactions of some, there was a certain ambivalence about the meaning and significance of numbers in the early Christian tradition. It is clear from the amount of attention given to the question by Irenaeus that the mixture of mathematics and numerical speculation with theology was viewed by church authorities as a significant problem. Yet while heresiological writers sought to discourage the construction of elaborate theological systems using numeric series or patterns, other more philosophically inclined authors such as Clement of Alexandria and Augustine reflected gladly on the harmony and perfection that they perceived in biblical numbers.

As we can see, while numbers may not figure prominently in "mainstream" (that is, orthodox) religious discourse, faith traditions that are typically seen as existing on the fringes of orthodoxy are far more likely to make creative, even audacious, use of numbers in their efforts to communicate and interpret sacred messages. While the early fathers of the church polemically engaged their Gnostic adversaries over this issue, a similar dynamic would be played out in Rabbinic Judaism and Islam, in their reactions to Kabbalistic and Ismaeli modes of discourse, which also displayed an equally profound interest in numbers and numeric patterns. Added to this group must be the great underdogs of religious history—the people whom we have come to label as *Manichaeans*.

The Manichaean Love of Numbers

The followers of the 3rd-century CE Babylonian prophet known as "Mani the Living" (from the Syriac epithet *Mani hiyya*) inherited a vivid story from their highly imaginative master. What is remarkable for the purposes of this study is the prominent role played by numbers and numeric patterns within the basic frame of that story. In brief, Mani proclaimed that before the creation of the cosmos, two opposing powers existed in relative equilibrium. In the heavens dwelt the Father of Greatness, lord of the eternally blessed realm of light, tranquility, and peace, while far below in the depths a fierce and sinister King of Darkness brooded in his chaos. This balance was upset when the King of Darkness caught a glimpse of the light-realm and sent out an invasion force of his demonic powers. In response, the Father sent his only son, known as *First* Man, into battle along with *five* elemental powers as his armour. Tragically, the First Man was defeated and his armour devoured by the powers of darkness. Fortunately, a rescue operation was mounted when the Father called forth his consort, the Living Spirit, who in addition to retrieving First Man, commissioned *Five* Sons to build the universe out of the slain bodies of the dark powers. In this way, a vast and intricate machinery was put into place to purify the light substance that had been imprisoned in the darkness during the First Man's initial fall. The Father then sent a *third* envoy, the Messenger, along with *twelve* virgins (although other accounts describe only a single virgin), to finish the counter attack and set the cosmic machinery in motion. Unfortunately, a final counter stroke was accomplished by a pair of demons, Ashaqlūn and Namrael, who fashioned the first human couple, Adam and Eve, on the basis of the *Third* Messenger's image, thus condemning human beings to a legacy of ignorance and death. In his wisdom, however, the Father commissioned Jesus, in celestial form, to plant the seed of gnosis in Adam and his kin. Thus begins the Manichaean version of primordial history.

This summary, based on the 9th-century Syriac account of Theodore bar Khonai, illuminates the general contours of the Manichaean creation myth, as Mani himself is likely to have conceived it. What is interesting to note are the basic numerical structures underpinning such a colourful tale. This means that the general Manichaean infatuation with numbers must have its origins in Mani's own predilection for such expressions. As can be imagined, this imaginative use of numerically coloured mythology was met with scorn and ridicule

by the movement's critics, especially mainstream Christians and Muslims, who thought such mythological language violated the basic rules of philosophical dialectic. Yet, in spite of the best efforts of religious leaders and sometimes governments throughout the centuries to stamp them out, the Manichaeans continue to re-emerge from extinction in some most unexpected places.

Out of Obscurity

While European scholars and church historians long knew of the Manichaean "heresy" from anti-heretical writings and Augustine's notorious association with them, a number of things happened in the 19th and 20th centuries to bring them back to light. First, European scholars and orientalists began to notice Manichaeans cropping up in various medieval Muslim authors, such as al-Nadīm and al-Biruni, which provided important evidence as to persistent Manichaean presence in the medieval Muslim world.[1] Next, at the turn of the 20th century, European expeditions uncovered masses of textual fragments and scrolls left behind by Manichaeans at various locales in Central Asia. Most famously, the texts from Turfan (in western China) contain a huge number of mutilated Manichaean texts in a wide variety of obscure Iranian and Turkish dialects. Shortly after, yet another sensational find occurred in 1929 with the discovery of a collection of Coptic codices in Egypt, near the town of Medinet Madi, containing still more original Manichaean writings—writings much earlier than the fragments recovered from Turfan.

One of the things that enabled the identification of these texts as Manichaean was the fact that Carl Schmidt, the scholar who first inspected the codices, had just been reading the proofs of a colleague's edition of Epiphanius' *Panarion*, and was struck by the name of one of the codices—*Kephalaia*—which reminded him of a text described in the heresiologist's exposé of the Manichaeans.[2] This discovery inaugurated what appeared to be a new and promising era in Manichaean studies. After some initial progress, however, war broke out in Europe and publication stalled for several decades. This has meant that most of this

[1] Ries, *Les études manichéennes*, 67–118.
[2] Schmidt and Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund," 6.

material remained largely unexplored by scholars of Late Antiquity—which brings us to the current study.

The text that jogged the memory of Carl Schmidt is, now that substantial portions of it have been published, striking for another reason, namely, the extensive (some might say obsessive) use of numbers and numeric patterns as a means of expressing Manichaean theological discourse. What is more remarkable is the degree to which the number *five* plays a predominant role in the vast majority of these expressions. This phenomenon, most prominent in the first half of volume one, has gone unexplored[3] and unexplained. In large part, this is due to the fact that the *Kephalaia* presents itself as a record of Mani's discourses to his inner circle. Few have questioned the legitimacy of this presentation and this has led to the erroneous assumption that the prevalence of numbers in the text can easily be attributed to Mani's direct influence. This study aims to correct this error by demonstrating that the use of numeric patterns in the *Kephalaia* far outstrips what is known or can reasonably be assumed about Mani's own mode of expression. We shall see that the use of pentads and five-part numeric patterns in the *Kephalaia* reveals important traces of how Manichaean traditions were transmitted, received, and redacted in response to a variety of internal and external concerns of the text's creators and their community.

The Kephalaia *and Its Compilers*

In spite of the fact that substantial portions of the *Kephalaia* have been edited and published for over half a century,[4] its form and function have remained generally misunderstood. Since these initial publica-

[3] While Michel Tardieu pointed out the importance of five as a basic classification tool in Manichaeism (*Le manichéisme*, 107), few have followed his lead. A superficial index of five-part series from Manichaean sources was given by Ström ("Le chiffre cinq," 333–338), in comparison with other traditions, while in the same volume Couliano suggested that all pentads were based on the demonization of the planets ("The Counterfeit Spirit," 53–58). See also, Lévy ("A propos de la pentade et du dualisme manichéens," 493–500).

[4] The Manichaean *Kephalaia* exist in two Coptic codices discovered near the Egyptian town of Medinet Madi in 1929. The first codex (Berlin codex P. 15 996 or Berlin Kephalaia codex) is entitled "The Kephalaia of the Teacher" (abbreviated 1 Ke), while the second codex (Codex C or Dublin Kephalaia codex) is entitled "The Kephalaia of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani" (2 Ke). For a recent account of the discovery of these manuscripts see Robinson, "The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi:

tions, even some of the most influential scholars have succumbed to the temptation to regard the *Kephalaia* either as a record of Mani's actual discourses[5] and teachings,[6] or as a systematic[7] (albeit secondary) presentation of the "main points" of Manichaean theology. In reality, however, the work is neither. It should not be seen as a record of the *ipsissima verba* of Mani himself, nor should it be viewed as a *summa*[8] of Manichaean theology. Instead, it can be more accurately described as representing the emergence or evolution of a scholastic, interpretive tradition, ostensibly rooted in an authoritative oral tradition analogous to those which led to the compilation of the Jewish Talmudic and Islamic Hadith traditions.

While the *Kephalaia* (literally the "Chapter-book")[9] may present itself as a record of Manichaean oral tradition based on Mani's discourses

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1929–1989," 19–62. Much of the Berlin *Kephalaia* codex was published by Polotsky and Böhlig (1940 and 1966), while the remainder is being published by Funk (1999, 2000, and forthcoming). For a recent account of the characteristics, content, and reconstruction of the *Kephalaia* codices, see Funk, "The Reconstruction of the Manichaean *Kephalaia*," 143–159. The Dublin Kephalaia codex is included in Giversen's 1987 facsimile edition, although it is not (to my knowledge) currently being edited.

[5] See Schmidt, *Ein Mani-Fund*, 23. Also, Lieu, for instance, talks about *Kephalaia* chapters as "extant discourses of Mani" (*Manichaeism in the Roman Empire*, 177). While the enthusiasm of scholars for finding the authentic voice of Mani in such a text is understandable, somewhat more unsettling is the way in which the *Kephalaia*, as a primary source for Manichaeism, is sometimes simply pillaged by scholars for prooftexts in support of particular readings and hypotheses, with little or no attention paid to the chapter context from which such references are taken.

[6] Widengren spoke about "Mani's teaching, as set down in the *Kephalaia*" (*Mani and Manichaeism*, 69), while Ort characterized the *Kephalaia* as "a summary of Mani's doctrines based on his own writings" (*Mani*, 23).

[7] Even Tardieu, in spite of the incredible balance and control of his *Que sais-je* volume, seems to indulge in a slight excess of rhetoric when he characterizes the *Kephalaia* as "une véritable *summa theologica* du manichéisme" based on Mani's *logia* (*Le manichéisme*, 66–67). Similarly, Koenen characterized the *Kephalaia* as a "dogmatic textbook" ("How Dualistic is Mani's Dualism?", 3).

[8] In its existing form, it does not appear to be structured with the same degree of deliberation as other systematic theological treatises from the period, such as Origen's *De principiis*.

[9] This would seem to be the best way to translate the title (Funk, *personal communication*), although common usage prevents us from going that far. Nevertheless, I cannot help wonder whether the intended title is *Kephalaia of the Teacher* or simply just *The Teacher* (or in the case of volume two—*The Wisdom of My Lord Mani*), although evidence from both the Coptic *Homilies* (18.6) and the *Acta Archelai* 62 would seem to support the traditional interpretation of the page headings. As for the identification of individual chapters in this study, I have opted for *chapter* instead of *kephalaion*, a technical term which, though correct, has no real benefit and tends to obscure the unique character of each textual unit.

to his inner circle,[10] it is essentially the product of later theological developments and elaborations that seek to respond to a wide array of specific questions, many of which appear to be rooted in ambiguities found in the canon. Typically (although not always), a chapter opens with Mani being questioned by one of his disciples about a specific point of doctrine or interpretation. This means that one of the primary aims sought by the compilers of this massive work was clarity. While Mani is famous for having recorded his teaching in a series of self-consciously canonical writings intended to definitively replace all previous revelations, the questions that are asked by the disciples give the distinct impression that Mani left many "loose ends" that needed to be resolved.[11] Thus, the *Kephalaia* appears to be a deliberate attempt to deal with some of these issues within an artificially constructed context of Mani's "apostolic authority,"[12] since at the close of the *Kephalaia*'s "prologue" Mani is depicted as extolling his disciples to record the wisdom he imparted to them (1 Ke 9.5–6)—a strange command from someone who was supposed to have provided a definitive and unambiguous record of his revelation. In other words, if Mani had indeed clearly and definitively explained all the subtleties of his vision, then there should have been no need to create such an extensive corpus of secondary literature that seeks to address such a wide array of problems. We might even say that the *Kephalaia* constitutes a sort of *addenda et corrigenda* for Manichaean canonical tradition.

Still, in a more formal way, there are aspects of the *Kephalaia* that allow for its comparison with at least two genres of ancient literature. First, the fact that it exists as a collection of "chapters" (literally, Greek: κεφάλαια) on a variety of theological topics means that it could be compared to certain forms of ancient *Capitaliteratur*, which aimed at the collection of teachings from a spiritual teacher for the purposes of meditation.[13] A classical example of such literature is Epictetus' *Manual* (*Encheiridion*), which is essentially a collection of discourse on miscellaneous topics not unlike those found in the *Kephalaia*, such as *On friendship* (2.22), *On those who plead sickness* (3.5), or *What solitude is; and what*

[10] Funk, "Reconstruction," 151.

[11] In fact, surviving fragments from Mani's writings do indicate that some of them, such as the *Book of Mysteries*, were largely incidental in nature, while others, such as the work(s) known to Titus of Bostra, Theodoret, and Severus seem to have been more generalized, with less attention paid to fixed structures and detail.

[12] Funk, "Reconstruction," 152.

[13] Ivanka, "ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΑ," 285–291.

a solitary person (3.13). During the late-antique period, such literature became particularly popular among monks and ascetics,[14] so it is not inconceivable that ascetically minded Manichaeans would have been interested in producing a work of this sort. The use, however, of the *Kephalaia* as a source of meditative discourses would seem to have more to do with how it was read during later periods than how it was formed.

The second genre with which the *Kephalaia* bears a somewhat closer resemblance, and which speaks more to its compositional origins, is the *erotapokrisis*, or "question-and-answer" literature, that became popular among Jewish and Christian exegetes during the first centuries of the Common Era. This genre, which Claudio Zamagni has described as "un genre très élastique," was a form of secondary literature used primarily for the exegesis and elucidation of canonical texts (be they Jewish, Christian, or pagan), although such works often contained apologetic, didactic, or polemical overtones.[15] In general, the *erotapokrisis* takes as its most basic form a three- part structure consisting of 1) preface/prologue, 2) questions and answers, and 3) postscript/colophon.[16] According to this basic set of criteria, the *Kephalaia* could be classified as part of the *erotapokritic* genre, especially if its primary aim was the explication of ambiguities found within canonical Manichaean tradition.[17]

While such characteristics may allow us to identify the function and literary genre of the text, there are other internal indicators that enable us to situate its compilers within a general historical and geographic frame. I choose to call the creators of this text *compilers*, since it seems clear to me that it is the work of a variety of hands, be they authors, editors, or redactors. But some sense of who these individuals might have been can be gleaned from the sorts of things they wrote about. For instance, we find in the *Kephalaia* references to important figures from the Judaeo-Christian tradition, such as Adam, Enosh, Eve, Jesus, Judas, Noah, Paul, Sem, and Sethel. This is not surprising given the fact that Mani was raised in a Judaeo-Christian sect known as the Elchasaites and later styled himself, even in his letters, as an "Apostle of Jesus Christ." What is somewhat more striking, are the vague and somewhat shadowy allusions to Zarathustra and Buddha, figures little known west

[14] Ivanka, 286–287.
[15] Zamagni, "Une introduction," 7–24.
[16] Zamagni, "Une introduction," 24.
[17] The order of the questions does not necessarily need to reflect the progression of the text being commented on (Bussières, "Conclusions," 185).

of Persia, but considered by Mani to be two of his key prophetic forerunners. We also find references to rival religious groups such as "Baptists" (i.e., Mandaeans), Christians, Jews, Magi, and Nazoreans, most of whom would have been found in Mesopotamia. In terms of geography, the *Kephalaia* makes allusion to places throughout the Ancient Near East such as Adiabene, Babylon, Ctesiphon, Mesene, Parthia, Persia, Susiana, Tigris, although India is also mentioned. In addition, various ethnic groups largely from the same region are mentioned, such as Assyrians, Axumites, Babylonians, Indians, Medes, Parthians, Persians, Romans, as well as important political figures such as Ardashir, Artabanus, Hystaspes, and Shapur. Such allusions seem to indicate a social world rooted in a (predominantly) Judaeo-Christian milieu, likely originating in Mesopotamia during the late 3rd century CE.[18] This is precisely the context that Peter Brown rightly emphasized in his important 1969 article, "The Diffusion of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire." According to Brown, the early history of Manichaeism is firmly rooted in the history of the Syriac speaking belt that crossed the frontiers of both Sassanian Iran and Rome.[19] These early Manichaeans, it seems, were caught between two "reactionary states,"[20] both of which were closing ranks and attempting to consolidate imperial cultures that had less and less room for religious innovation and variety. Thus, in both cases Manichaeans were compelled to respond to external pressures such as persecution and martyrdom as well as internal pressures of group solidarity, doctrinal cohesion, and missionary expansion. One less obvious facet of this response, I will suggest, was the extensive use of numeric patterns as evidenced by the *Kephalaia*.

Yet given the fact that internal evidence appears to indicate a Mesopotamian milieu, how did the *Kephalaia* end up in Upper Egypt and recorded in Coptic, a language far removed from the Syriac used primarily by Mani and his earliest disciples? To address this problem, we may endeavour to propose a hypothetical reconstruction of the *Kephalaia*'s textual history and transmission. First, as we might imagine, come the oral and (especially) written teachings of Mani in Syriac. Mani is, in fact, practically unique in religious history for the care he took to

[18] Other indices (smaller in number) indicate specifically Egyptian providence, such as references to the months Parmouthi and Paophi in *Kephalaia Chapter* 1, although these are largely superficial.

[19] Brown, "Diffusion," 93.

[20] Brown, "Diffusion," 97.

record his own prophetic message in writing, something he harshly criticized his predecessors for not doing. Second, we might imagine the oral and written transmission and interpretation of Mani's teachings by disciples from his inner circle, such as Sisinnios, Kustaios, and Adda in Syriac, if we presume that they came from a similar sociocultural background, but probably to some extent this transmission happened also in Greek.[21] Next, we might suppose that some of this material was organized and composed into "proto-*Kephalaia*," examples of which have been recently discovered elsewhere in Egypt, at the Dakhleh Oasis (ancient Kellis). This was probably done by other disciples and missionaries moving west towards and into Egypt, using Syriac (even just liturgically), Greek,[22] and eventually Coptic as their means of communication. Finally, we might suppose the translation, redaction, and collection of what came to be an enormous amount of *Kephalaia* material into large volumes, such as those found at Medinet Madi,[23]

[21] Funk has asked whether it is possible that a "patristic" tradition developed at a very early stage in the western branch of the Manichaean movement; a tradition with apostolic authority independent of the Manichaean canon. See Funk, "Reconstruction," 152. A document such as the *Cologne Mani Codex*, with its various sections attributed to authoritative individuals such as Salmaios, Baraies (or Barhaies), Timotheos, Innaios, Kustaios, etc., certainly points in this direction, as does the *Acts* codex, which has a similar structure (Funk, *personal communication*).

[22] The issue of original source language has been described as a "vexed question for all the Manichaean texts in Coptic" (See Franzmann "Syriac-Coptic Bilinguals," 115). The debate around this issue, however, is frequently affected by the desire to see in these texts a more primitive stratum than is actually there. To be sure, there are elements from the texts that reveal at least an *interest* in some kind of Syriac sources, as is witnessed also by the Syriac-Coptic translation exercises recently discovered at Kellis (T. Kell. Syr. / Copt. 1; T. Kell. Syr. / Copt. 2) (Gardner, *Kellis Literary Texts*, 101). While these texts have raised the possibility (at least) that the translation process in Egypt could have been more direct, they are by no means the "smoking gun" that they are so often made out to be. After all, as Gardner points out, it is hard to imagine the translator not knowing any Greek, especially since Greek Manichaean texts of considerable literary sophistication have also been found at Kellis (not to mention the *Cologne Mani Codex*, also presumably from Egypt). But, even though it appears textually possible to demonstrate some direct influence, or at least colouring, of Syriac on Coptic Manichaean texts, the question that is never asked is whether or not it is *sociologically* possible for highly literate (and no doubt indigenous) Coptic speaking translators to work directly from Syriac sources without Greek playing some sort of intermediary role either orally or by means of written texts.

[23] The existing *Kephalaia* codices seem to represent two volumes from two different "editions" of the same work (Funk, *personal communication*). The first codex, titled "The Kephalaia of the Teacher," may constitute volume one of its edition, while the second codex, titled "The Kephalaia of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani" may represent volume two of its (separate) edition.

exclusively in Coptic. As such, the traditions, as well as the carriers of these traditions, which led to the composition and production of the *Kephalaia*, would have traversed at least two distinct (yet often overlapping) socio-cultural settings: late 3rd century CE Mesopotamia and late 3rd–4th century CE Egypt.[24] This movement would have been precipitated both by the "built-in" missionary impulse of the religion as well as the persecution of Manichaeans following the executions of Mani and his successor, Sisinnios. Although the temporal division between these two settings is ambiguous, an argument could be made that the most pertinent social setting falls somewhere between the second and third stages of evolution, as outlined above.

Canon and Tradition

Having established the apparent form and function of the text, as well as gaining a general impression of its most likely context and creators, we can now pose the main question addressed by this study: why were the *Kephalaia* compilers so enthusiastic in their use of five-part patterns in particular? Part of the answer lies in the recognition of the already stated contradiction between Mani's well-known insistence on the importance of his own written revelation and the very existence of a work that purports to add to this revelation. Obviously the compilers felt compelled to work something out for themselves. However, before we can get a sense of exactly what they were up to we ought to dispense with another assumption commonplace in scholarly treatments of Manichaeism, namely that Mani's own teaching was highly systematized and unambiguous. In some ways, this assumption was reinforced by the discovery of the *Kephalaia*, which, in combination with the other assumption that it represents Mani's actual discourses, gives the impression of a highly systematic world-view. This second assumption, founded on the first, has resulted in a serious error.

In spite of the fact that the major part of Mani writings have been either lost or, at best, shattered into fragments by the rage of heresiologists and the ravages of time, it is nevertheless possible to form a

[24] There is evidence of Manichaeans in Egypt as early as ca. 280 (Letter of Theonas of Alexandria, P. Rylands 469) and ca. 290 (Alexander of Lycopolis). See Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 112. As for what shape Manichaeism may have taken in Palestine, we have no real *direct* evidence like we have for Egypt.

general idea of their content and style.[25] For instance, the 10th-century Bagdad bookseller and encyclopaedist, al-Nadīm, recorded that

> Mani wrote seven books, one in Farsi (i.e., Perisan) and six in Syriac, the language of Syria. Among them are *The Book of Secrets* (i.e. *The Book of Mysteries*), which contains (a number of) chapters, (including) 'An account of the Daysaniyya (i.e., the followers of Bardaisan of Edessa)', 'The testimony of Yastasif on the Beloved', 'The testimony of … about himself given to Ya 'qub', 'The son of the widow' (who according to Mani was the anointed and crucified one, crucified by the Jews), 'The testimony of Jesus about himself as given in Judaea', 'The commencement of the testimony of al-Yamin as given after his victory', 'The seven spirits', 'The discourse on the four transient spirits', 'Laughter', 'The testimony of Adam regarding Jesus', 'The fall from religion', 'The discourse of the Daysaniyya on the soul and body', 'Refutation of the Daysanites on the soul of life', 'The three trenches', 'The preservation of the World', 'The three days', 'The prophets', (and) 'The resurrection' (trans. Laffan).[26]

Similarly, he stated that Mani wrote *Epistles* on a variety of topics such as "The Two Sources," "The Eminent Ones," "The Great Epistle of India," "The Epistle of Kaskar," and "The Garden."[27] In this way, we can see that canonical works such as the *Book of Mysteries* and the *Epistles*,[28] seem to have been more incidental in orientation, dealing with a seemingly miscellaneous set of doctrinal, polemical, and pastoral issues, while other works such as the *Treasure of Life* and the (unidentified) source(s) used by Titus of Bostra, Theodoret, and Severus of Antioch provide only generalized presentations of Manichaean theology. This is to say that several of them appear to have lacked the rigid structuring and systematization so apparent in the *Kephalaia*, not to mention the compilers' obsession with pentads.

Of all the fragments from canonical writings preserved in Syriac, Greek, Coptic, Latin, Middle Persian, and Arabic, only seven contain traces of Mani's own use of pentadic series. These are: 1) fragments from *Shabuhragan* (presumably composed mid-3rd century CE),[29] 2) pas-

[25] Tardieu provides one of the most concise accounts of canonical writings in *Le manichéisme*, 43–61. See also the (somewhat idiosyncratic) selection of fragments in Gardner and Lieu's *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 151–175.

[26] Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 155.

[27] Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 165. A number of epistles found in this list are attributed to early disciples.

[28] Somewhat clearer, however, is the apparent near absence of doctrinal content from the Medinet Madi and Kellis codices of Mani's *Epistles* (Funk and Gardner, *forthcoming*).

[29] MacKenzie, "Mani's *Šābuhragān*," 83–141. See also those fragments (M 98/99 and

sages of *The Living Gospel* (presumably composed mid- to late- 3rd century CE) from the (unedited) Coptic *Synaxeis* Codex, 3) fragments from the *Book of Giants* (presumably composed mid- to late- 3rd century CE)[30] 4) Mani's *Epistles* (presumably composed mid- to late- 3rd century CE) 5) citations by Ephraim the Syrian (early 4th century CE),[31] 6) citations by the Nestorian scholar Theodore bar Khonai (8th century CE),[32] and 7) the article on Mani in al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (10th century CE).[33] What these sources reveal, as far as we can tell, is a very limited *explicit* use of pentads. Those that can be identified include:

The Five Limbs

Perhaps the most important of all Manichaean pentads, the "Five *shekinahs*" (ܫܟܝܢܗ) (Theodore bar Khonai 313.17 [Scher]) (that is, the "presences" or "dwellings" of God) later become known in Graeco-Coptic tradition as the "Five Limbs"[34] and constitute an ideal set of intellectual faculties possessed by a wide variety of entities, namely 1) Mind, 2) Thought, 3) Insight, 4) Counsel, and 5) Consideration.

The Five Elements

Of equal importance are what Mani termed the "Five *ziwanē*" (ܙܝܘܢܐ)—the "shining gods"—(Ephraim, 235 [Reeves]; Theodore bar Khonai,

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7980–7984) attributed to *Shabuhragan* by Hutter (*Manis kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte*; trans. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, 225).

[30] Henning, "The Book of Giants," 52–74 [115–137].

[31] Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 217–288. Reeves' assertion, however, that Ephraim is "the most important textual witness to the earliest forms of Manichaean discourse" (218) is somewhat misleading, especially when he characterizes what is preserved as "Mani-citations" (220). To be sure the use of the Syriac particle *lam* ܠܡ is a convincing indicator that some verbatim citations are preserved. In the majority of cases, however, statements are introduced by "as they say" (ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ) and thus cannot be *directly* attributable to Mani. As such, while these fragments certainly do bear witness to a very early strata of Manichaean discourse, they cannot, as a whole, be said to represent "portions of Mani's Syriac corpus" (220).

[32] See Theodore bar Khonai, *Liber scholiorum*, 313–318. Tardieu has suggested that these citations come from Mani's *Pragmateia* (*Le manichéisme*, 93).

[33] See *Fihrist*, 773–805 [Dodge]. While the great value of al-Nadīm's account has been recognized since Flügel's 1862 study, De Blois has recently pointed out that significant portions of al-Nadīm's account, especially on cosmogony, are likely derived from al-Warrāq, a 9th-century, mu'tazilah theologian who took an early interest in Manichaeism ("New Light on the Sources of the Manichaean Chapter in the *Fihrist*,") 37–45.

[34] According to Funk, this series was rendered as "Aeons" in the unedited *Synaxeis* codex, which contains readings from Mani's own *Living Gospel*, whereas in the *Epistles* codex they are translated as "Limbs" (*Epistles*) (*personal communication*). Al-Nadīm, for his part, calls them both "worlds" (*Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]) and "limbs" (*Fihrist*, 786 [Dodge]).

314.11 [Scher]) or, as they were more commonly known to Graeco-Coptic tradition, the Five "Elements" (ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲱⲛ) of 1) Living Air, 2) Light, 3) Wind, 4) Water, 5) Fire (see 1 Ke 43.2 etc.).[35] Also known as the Five "Sons of First Man" (*Shabuhragan*, Ephraim, 235 [Reeves], Theodore bar Khonai, 314.1 (not enumerated) [Scher]), "gods" (al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 779 [Dodge] *Shabuhragan*, 513–515 [Mackenzie]), and "Limbs" (al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 786 [Dodge]). They are also put in more traditionally Iranian dress as the "Five Bounteous Immortals" (*panzān (a)mahrāspandān*) in *Shabuhragan* (M 7980–7984 [Boyce y, 74])[36] as well as being described as the "Five Walls" (*panz parisp*) of the Light Chariot, that is, the Sun (M 98/99 [Boyce y, 61]).

The Five Sons of the Living Spirit

As already noted, the Five Sons of the Living Spirit enter the cosmogonic drama when the Father of Greatness responds to the capture of First Man by calling out a second triad made up of "Beloved of Lights," "Great Builder", and the "Living Spirit." Just as First Man (the third being of the first emanation) went into battle accompanied by "five sons," the Living Spirit calls upon his own "five sons" who aid in the slaughter of the Archons and the construction of the cosmos. These Five Sons are called "Ornament (or Keeper) of Splendour," "Great King of Honour," "Adamos (*sic* = Adamas) of Light," "King of Glory," and "Porter" (314.17–20 [Scher]). *Shabuhragan* describes these entities as the "five gods" (*panz yazd*) sent out by the "god Mithra" (*Mihr yazd*), that is, the Living Spirit (M 7980–7984 [Boyce y, 65).

The Five Virtues

Evidence from Mani's *Epistles* has confirmed the parallel ordering of both the Limbs and the Virtues in his own discourse. In particular, the "Seventh Letter to Ctesiphon; that of the Vigils" records Mani's evocation of the Five Limbs of 1) Love, 2) Faith, 3) Perfection, 4) Patience, and 5) Wisdom in association with a blessing provided by Jesus: "But it is he who shall bless you all, my beloved / children. May he leave his love on your head, that is, / the Light-Mind. His great faith, he [will … in] your / vigilant Thought. His perfection, he will establish [in your] / good Insight, and his long-suffering, he [will …] / in your good Counsels. His

[35] See the same choice of vocabulary in the Iranian translation of Mani's *Book of Giants* (see Henning, "Book of Giants," 58).

[36] Al-Nadīm appears to make a distinction between the Five Limbs of the "Realm (Earth) of Light," which equal the Five Elements, and the Five Limbs of the "Sky of Light" (see *Fihrist*, 786 [Dodge]). There does not seem to have been an absolutely clear demarcation between the Limbs and the Elements, since in several instances (see below the question of the identity of the "Intellectuals") they bleed into one another.

wisdom . . . / . . . he will act as in your sharp Considerations . . ."[37] They are also mentioned by al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]).

The Five Vital Powers/Potentials

Also important to the light-realm is the series of five vital powers, known as 1) Life (*zīhr*), 2) Power (*zōr*), 3) Light (*rōšnī*), 4) Fragrance (*xwaš̄*), 5) Beauty (*agrāyī*) (*Shabuhragan* M 7983 = Boyce y 52 [75]).[38]

The Five Worlds of Darkness

As the negative image of the five *shekinahs*, Mani seems to have conceived of the kingdom of darkness as divided into five districts: 1) Smoke, 2) Fire, 3) Wind, 4) Water, 5) Darkness (Theodore 313.19–20 [Scher], al-Nadīm), also known as the "Five Ditches" (*panz kandār*) (*Shabuhragan* M 98/99 [Boyce y, 61]) and the "Five Hells" (*panz dušox*) (*Shabuhragan* M 7980–7984 [Boyce y, 66]). As we shall see, there was some confusion among the compilers as to which demonic power held jurisdiction over these domains.

The Five Sons of Darkness

Theodore bar Khonai makes an ambiguous reference to "five sons of darkness" (314.8, 22 [Scher]) who are said to devour the Five Sons of First Man. Presumably the demonic powers who rule the five worlds.

The Five Trees (of Darkness)

While the *Book of Giants* refers to the fact that the "misguided" fail to recognize the "five elements, [the five kinds of] trees, (and) the five (kinds of) animals" (146 [Henning]), Theodore states that when the Messenger had slain Sin, part of its carcass fell to the ground to produce "Five Trees" (317.3 [Scher]).

Other

Added to this list could be some miscellaneous references from *Shabuhragan* to the "Five Houses" (*mān panz*) of the Light Chariot, the "Five Angels" (*prēstag panz*) who collect souls, the "Five Arches" (*tāg panz*) built by the Living Spirit over earth (M 98/99 [Boyce y, 60–62]), as well as the "Five Constellations" (*panzān axtarān*): Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, and Leo (*Shabuhragan* M 7980–7984 [Boyce y, 66]), and the five components of human body created by demon *Āz*: bones, nerves, flesh, arteries, and skin (*Shabuhragan* M 7980–7984). None of these, however, carry the same weight in subsequent Manichaean discourse.

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[37] *Epistles* [Berlin] 50.8–14; Funk, *A Work Concordance to the Coptic Fragments of Mani's Epistles* (unpublished).

[38] See Hutter, *Manis kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte*, 112–113; 130–134.

While the five-part structures noted above only provide an incomplete picture of what might have existed in Mani's (mostly lost) canonical writings, they are enough to show two aspects of Manichaean discourse that will be encountered repeatedly throughout the course of this study. First, that one of the basic features of Manichaean myth-making is the attribution of five qualities to both good and evil beings, as well as the organization of such beings into groups of five, a phenomenon which is evident especially in Theodore bar Khonai's and al-Nadīm's accounts and, as such, must have formed part of the way in which Mani (at least sometimes) expressed his ideas.[39] Thus, Mani can be said to have established the basic paradigm for this kind of thinking. Second is the fact that already in canonical traditions it can be observed that certain important pentads were known under a variety of aliases.[40]

It should be noted, however, that Theodore bar Khonai's account, which was paraphrased earlier, appears to place emphasis on the basic triadic structure of the mythic narrative.[41] According to Theodore, three groups of three beings are presented as a series of three evocations, or emanations, through which the drama of salvation unfolds. In this account, five-part series appear to be more *attributive* and functional in support of the main actors from what is essentially a three-act play. For instance, the Five Sons of First Man function as "armour" for their father, who is the real hero of the first evocation, while the Five Sons of the Living Spirit, from the second evocation, appear in support of their parent, who employs them for the creation and maintenance of the cosmos.

In contrast to the emphasis on triads that can be observed in Mani's canonical discourse, the *Kephalaia* attempts to bring pentads to the fore. While extensive use is made of canonical pentads from the light-realm such as the Five Limbs, the Five Elements/Sons of First Man, and the Five Sons of the Living Spirit, such series are employed by the compilers of the *Kephalaia*, by and large, in support of other themes such as the nature of divine being and cosmic parallelism. In addition,

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[39] The alternative would be that, by Theodore's time, canonical sources (or even pseudo-canonical sources for that matter) were "retro-fitted" to conform to later scholastic developments.

[40] This may have been due, in part, to the difficulty of rendering Syriac terms like *shekinah* and *ziwanē* into Greek and Coptic. Thus, it is not necessarily Mani's doing.

[41] Even though some commentators, such as Hunter, consider Theodore's citations as "fragmented and disjointed" ("Theodore bar Kônî and the Manichaeans," 168), they do, nevertheless, seem to present a basic narrative.

they seem to have been equally interested in other non- (or at least only quasi-) canonical series, such as those that came to be known as the Five Fathers and the Five Greatnesses. These latter series, as we shall see, exemplify the attempt by the *Kephalaia* compilers to transform the basic mythological structure of Manichaean cosmogony from one based on triads to one based on pentads. This process, which for our purposes will be termed *pentadic redaction*, is a reflection of the compilers' desire to make sense of what may have been obscure or ambiguous canonical material by shaping it into what seemed to them to be a more cohesively structured whole. As for the dark-realm, we shall see that even though the compilers also made use of canonical series such as Five Worlds of Darkness and the Five Trees, these were not always as clearly defined as those belonging to the light-realm. Nevertheless, even though the compilers sought to clarify how these more ambiguous formulations ought to be understood and placed in opposition to series from the light-realm, their inherently negative associations inevitably led to their being employed for certain polemical ends largely aimed at rival religious communities. Finally, the *Kephalaia* also presents a number of more generalized pentadic series relating to a variety of soteriological, ethical, ecclesiological, polemical, and aetiological themes that equally speak to the compilers' desire to construct a distinctly Manichaean reality based on pentads.

As such, in order to understand how five-part patterns contribute to the function and originality of the *Kephalaia*, this study will examine the occurrence of both explicit and implicit five-part structures in order to discover how the compilers shaped, expanded, and redacted canonical material in an effort to communicate their own particular themes and concerns.

CHAPTER ONE

BASIC ONTOLOGICAL PATTERNING

The Two Trees and the Five Limbs

There can be no denying that the foundation of Manichaeism is to be found in the doctrine of the Two Natures, since this concept served as the basis for Manichaean ontology, cosmology, and ethics. As such, it is no surprise that, after establishing the authority of Mani as the most recent messenger of God and legitimizing the validity of the *Kephalaia* as a literary enterprise (1 Ke 9.6–10)[1] in both the "Prologue" and *Chapter 1*, the doctrine of Two Natures would be addressed by the *Kephalaia* compilers straightaway in *Chapter 2 "The Second, on the Parable of the Tree."* In this chapter, Mani is asked by his disciples to give an exegetical reading of Matthew 7:17–20/Luke 6:43–44,[2] where Jesus explains to his disciples that the quality of every tree can be derived from an evaluation of its fruit (1 Ke 17.2–20), while at the same time alluding to an alternate reading of the same text among "the Sects" (ⲛⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ), the generic Manichaean designation for any number of rival religious communities. First, Mani is made to caution that appearances can be deceiving. In the natural world, for instance, the "date-palm" (ⲃⲛⲛⲉ), in spite of its pleasant appearance, is said to be quite useless (1 Ke 17.32 ff.). Similarly, Judas, although he seemed to be a good disciple, still betrayed his master (1 Ke 19.1–6), while Paul, though seemingly wicked and a persecutor of the church, ultimately turned out to be one if its most productive founders (1 Ke 19.7–17).

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[1] One of Mani's principal critiques of previous religious traditions was the fact that the founders did not record their teaching in writing and thus it was corrupted by later disciples (1 Ke 8.8–28; see also *Chapter 151 [On the Ten Advantages of the Manichaean Religion]* [1 Ke 371.6–30]). Yet even though Mani seems to have gone to great lengths to record his message in his own series of self-consciously canonical writings, he is conveniently made to legitimize the *Kephalaia*'s expansion of and commentary on this tradition by both the "Prologue" and "Epilogue" of the work (see Funk, "Reconstruction").

[2] This proof-text is cited by Ephraim against the Manichaeans (see Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 252).

Mani is then made to explain how the "Good Tree" has "Five Limbs" (1 Ke 20.12–14), which in turn are said to represent five key components of the Manichaean cosmos:

> … it (that is, the good tree) has *Five Limbs* / [which are: *Consideration, Counsel, Insight, Thought]* / *Mind*. Its Consideration is the Holy Church. Its Counsel / is the Column of Glory, the Perfect Man. Its Insight / is the First Man, who dwells in the Ship of the Living / Waters. Its Thought is the Third Messenger / [who dwells in] the Ship of the Living Fire, which shines in / [the world]. But, the Mind is the Father, who dwells in the Great-/ness, who exists perfectly in the Aeon of Light. / … this, that the souls who come and attain / the Holy [Church] and also the alms which the Cate-/[chumens] give, as they are purified by the Holy Church / … every deed. Consideration is that which will … / … they ascend to … … is Counsel, / [they] ascend to Insight, which is the First Man, / who dwells in the Ship of the Night. From Insight they ascend / to Thought, which is the Messenger, who dwells in / the Ship of the Day. But he, the Great Thought, who / … them to Mind, who is the Father, the God / of Truth, the great Mind of all Aeons of Glory (1 Ke 20.12–31).

Here the Five Limbs are enumerated in canonical, but ascending, order.[3] In this way, the Five Limbs are presented by the *Kephalaia* compilers in *Chapter 2* as part of a programmatic statement whereby the essentially five-fold nature of being is reflected in the five stages of light liberation from the community and ritual context of the Holy Church, where the ritual activities occur (Consideration), to the cosmic conduit of the Column of Glory, which draws the light particles up (Counsel), through to the first (Insight) and second (Thought) light vessels, onto the divine homeland of the Father (Mind). This enumeration is then contrasted with the limbs of the Evil Tree.

The Five Limbs of the Evil Tree are (somewhat awkwardly) made to parallel those of the Good Tree:

> … … the evil [tree] has *Five Limbs* / [which] are: Consideration, Counsel, Insight, Thought, [Mind]. / Its [Consideration is] the Law of Death which the Sects / are taught. Its Counsel is the transmigration … / in [various] kinds. But, its Insight is the [fiery] furnaces of / … … Gehenna, which are filled with smoke. Its Thought … / … … the vessel. Its Mind is … / … … the lump, the last bond, the … / … … those who Satan has [cast] (1 Ke 21.28–36).

[3] See *Chapter 25*, where the Limbs are listed in descending order.

These Limbs are associated with a progressive process of damnation from the sectarian context or "Law of Death" (Consideration), through the soul's transmigration (Counsel), to Gehenna (Insight), a vessel of some kind (Thought), then finally the eschatological lump, or *bolos* (Mind), into which all matter will be moulded at the end of time (1Ke 21.28–36). One might have expected that the Limbs of the Evil Tree would have been identified with negatively valued qualities such as ignorance, stupidity, or apostasy, but instead, the compiler of *Chapter 2* works to establish a direct parallel between the Limbs of the Tree of Light and those of the Tree of Darkness. Such a manoeuvre is in contrast to the concept of the Five Elements for which there are two different sets. This seems to indicate either that a canonical series of Dark Limbs did not exist or that the series of divine Limbs was canonically applied to the dark-realm. The latter case appears unlikely, given the great care that was generally taken in completely dissociating the Two Natures. Instead, it is more likely that the *Kephalaia* compiler carried over the same canonical series in order to create a symmetrical contrast of the Two Trees and to re-emphasize the chapter's cautionary message about appearances. After all, evil, although essentially different, may nevertheless appear seductive and beguiling to those not adept at separating one tree from the other. In fact, *Chapter 2*, although ostensibly a discussion of the Two Trees, could equally be characterized as a discourse on the "Two Paths"—the good path that leads to liberation and the luminous homeland of the Father and the evil path that traps souls within the cycle of transmigration and ultimate destruction.[4] That both "paths" are described as having five stages is a reflection of the basic five-fold structure of both good and evil entities.

Indeed, we do know that Mani himself characterized his two opposed principles as two fruit-producing trees known as the "Tree of Life" and the "Tree of Death" from Severus of Antioch (*Homily* 123. 104–105),[5] although in his account there is no explicit association with the New Testament parable. Moreover, the language used by Mani in these citations is more cosmological in orientation, since he places emphasis on the fact that the Tree of Life occupies the northern, eastern, and western regions of the cosmos, while the Tree of Death is

[4] The primacy and importance of the "good path" is taken up again (with slight variation) in the following chapter, *Chapter 3 "The Interpretation of Happiness, Wisdom, and Power; what they mean."*.

[5] Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 169.

confined to the south. This means that, while the *Kephalaia* compilers have adapted a canonical metaphor, they have given it a different colouring.

This ornamentation of the Two Natures with parallel, but ontologically opposed, five-part series, so prominently placed in *Chapter 2*, previews the way in which good and evil beings are generally conceived by the *Kephalaia* compilers and establishes a general ontological framework for the interpretation of all sorts of cosmic phenomena. As such, five-part structure was intimately associated with one of the basic, foundational, and no doubt most primitive, of Manichaean metaphors.[6] In fact, just as Manichaean theology as a whole is sometimes characterized as the doctrine of the "two principles and the three times," *Chapter 2* could be stereotyped as encapsulating the *Kephalaia*'s theology in terms of "Two Trees and Five Limbs."

[6] Lieu suggests that the motif of the Two Trees is "unrelated" to the concept of the Two Natures ("Manichaean *technici termini*," 251), although I do not believe that this assertion can be justified.

CHAPTER TWO

THEOLOGICAL PATTERNING I: LIGHT-REALM

The Faces of the Father

Given the fact that, as we just saw, one of the basic metaphors for Manichaean ontology attributes five qualities to each of the Two Principles, it would be expected that a similar characterization be applied to the Father of Greatness, the ruler of the light-realm and the personification of the good principle. *Chapter 21 "On the Father of Greatness, how he is established and defined"* (1 Ke 64.21–23) is particularly informative in this regard:

> Just as he [is found] established in his *Five Light-Limbs*, which are / … the storehouses which are without measure or limit / … Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, and [Consideration] / … his Twelve Light-Limbs, which are / his Twelve Wisdoms. *Five Great Limbs / of Light* are found in each one … *Five Great / Fountains of Blessing* gush forth … There are *Five Great* / [*Trees*(?)] … … of Light (1 Ke 64.20–28).

In this case, the Five Limbs, which we previously saw were applied to the Two Trees, represent those entities which in Theodore bar Khonai's account are known by the Syriac term *shekinah* (ܫܟܝܢܬܐ), although their apparent characterization as his "Storehouses" (ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ) (1 Ke 64.22) may represent an attempt to represent this term more fully.[1] These Five Storehouses, in turn, are associated with Twelve Light-Limbs, also described as Twelve Wisdoms.[2] In turn, we learn that "Five Great Fountains of Blessing" (ϯⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲟ ⲛϩⲁⲗⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲉ) (1 Ke 64.26–27) surround the Father, and, in what appears to be an extension of the basic tree metaphor, "Five Great Trees(?)" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲱⲙ) (1 Ke 64.28). What follows is an enumeration of five characteristics of

[1] The Greek term *tamieion*, however, is usually reserved in the *Kephalaia* for the regions of darkness (see *Kephalaia* Chapter 6). See also 2 Ps. 200.1. Why the compilers opted for the term "Limbs" rather than "Aeons," as the *shekinahs* are known in the Synaxeis codex (Funk, *personal communication*), remains a mystery.

[2] This may mean that each of the Twelve Wisdoms possesses its own set of Five Limbs/Storehouses, although the lacunae in the text obscure the precise relationship.

the Father which, unfortunately, the lacunose state of the text prevents us from completely identifying. All that can be determined for certain from *Chapter 21* is the following list 1) light, 2) pleasant odour, 3) living voice of …, 4) …-ness, and 5) great … (1Ke 64.29–65.2). There is, however, a striking parallel between this passage and a section of the Mandaean *Right-Ginza*, which characterizes the "King of Light" as possessing five qualities: 1) light, 2) fragrance, 3) sweetness of voice, 4) potency of voice, and 5) beauty.[3]

It is unclear whether or not these five qualities are related to the Five Vital Powers found in a Middle Persian fragment attributed to the *Shabuhragan* by Hutter[4] and discussed by Polotsky[5] from Sogdian fragment M 14, which list 1) life, 2) power, 3) light, 4) beauty, and 5) fragrance as five qualities possessed by the soul,[6] although there is some superficial resemblance. Nevertheless, *Chapter 21* does make clear that the *Kephalaia* compilers conceived of the Father of Greatness as a being with *five* characteristics, although this characterization is a formulation that appears to be at odds with other evidence indicating that the Father was known (perhaps even canonically) as the "Four-faced God."

The epithet "Four-faced" (τετραπρόσωπος) is known from Greek abjuration formulae (Seven Chapters 3.59, Long Formula 1461C.14)[7] and the Manichaean *Psalm-Book* (ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲇⲧⲟⲩϩⲟ) (2Ps. 191.12; 186.9–12), although Merkelbach[8] made a rather forced attempt to see the same set of four qualities expressed in *Kephalaia Chapter 4 "On the Four Great Days …," Chapter 20 "The Chapter on the Name of the Fathers,"* and *Chapter 7 "The Seventh, on the Five Fathers."* At any rate, the tetrad *is* relatively well attested in Iranian, Turkish, and Chinese Manichaean sources from the East as representing 1) divinity, 2) light, 3) power, and 4) wisdom (see Iranian: M 176, M 31, M 324; Turkish: T II D 162; Chinese: *Hymnscroll*).[9][10] Frequently, however, the abjuration formulae

[3] See Foerster, *Gnosis*, 150.

[4] M 7983 = Boyce y 52 [75]; Hutter, *Manis kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte*, 130–134.

[5] There is some confusion about the last two elements. See "Manichäische Studien," 263f. (= *Collected Papers*, 664f.)

[6] See Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, 78.

[7] Adam, *Texte zum Manichäismus*, 97.

[8] *Mani und sein Religionssystem*, 39–50.

[9] Tsui Chi, "Mo Ni Chiao Hsia Pu Tsan: 'The Lower (Second?) Section of the Manichaean Hymns,'" 189.

[10] See Williams Jackson, "The Fourfold Aspect of the Supreme Being in Manichaeism," 11–12, although I am sceptical, however, that the "four bright seals" of love, faith, fear, and wisdom from the Turkish confessional text *Xuāstuānīft* represent the same

are the only sources cited for the presence of this concept in Western Manichaean tradition.[11] Samuel Lieu, in his article on the Greek abjuration formulae, states that another potential occurrence of this tetrad is to be found in the "Prayer of the Emanations" from Kellis.[12] In this case, however, the hymnist seeks to glorify the 1) power, 2) glory, 3) light, 4) word, *and* 5) majesty of the Father.[13]

According to Williams Jackson, Mani viewed this four-fold nature of divinity as a "cardinal tenet"[14] of Manichaeism, citing a passage from al-Nadīm in which Mani appears to command his followers to believe in the "Four Greatnesses" of divinity, light, power, and wisdom.[15] Similar statements were made by Widengren[16] and Asmussen who characterized the notion of the "four-fold God" as "the essence and synopsis of the whole Manichaean system."[17] In addition, Williams Jackson made allusion to "a somewhat similar fourfold division" described by Theodore bar Khonai, who lists the "four elements" as *ašwqr*, *pršwqr*, *zwqr*, and *zrwn* (ܐܫܘܩܪ ܦܪܫܘܩܪ ܙܘܩܪ ܙܪܘܢ) which appear to be Syriac transcriptions of Iranian terms.[18] These were interpreted by Zaehner to represent Zurvanite ideas of cosmic conception, birth, decline, and rebirth.[19] This apparent similarity, however, became one of the key components of the thesis of Manichaeism's Iranian origins and, as such, was used by Cumont to justify the statement that "l'origine première du système doive être cherchée dans le mazdéisme zervaniste, répandu en Mésopotamie,"[20] in spite of the fact that Theodore himself makes no connection between a Zurvanite and Manichaean tetrad. Considering that Theodore seems to have been aware of the Zurvanite tetrad, this seems like a significant oversight if, as Williams Jackson suggests, the tetrad constituted a "cardinal tenet" of Manichaean doctrine

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series associated with the Father. For a more recent discussion of the Iranian origins of this series, see Van Tongerloo, "The Father of Greatness," 336–339.

[11] See Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, 19 n. 1; Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, 191 n. 12; Richter, *Die Herakleides-Psalmen*, 67 n. 36b.

[12] "An Early Byzantine Formula for the Renunciation of Manichaeism," in *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East*, 273.

[13] See Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 195–196.

[14] "Fourfold Aspect," 16.

[15] "Fourfold Aspect," 13.

[16] *Mani and Manichaeism*, 46.

[17] *Xuāstuānīft: Studies in Manichaeism*, 220.

[18] See Williams Jackson, "Fourfold Aspect," 15 n. 17.

[19] *Zurvan: A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, 224.

[20] Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme, I.*, 8 n. 2.

and Theodore wanted to "shame" the Manichaeans through an exposé of their "perverse" doctrines. Surely such a scandalous inclusion of a Zurvanite motif would have fuelled the Syriac polemicist's contempt for Mani's followers.

In light of the fact that evidence continues to mount pointing towards the principally Judaeo-Christian origins of Manichaeism,[21] the "four-faced" God is perhaps better understood as a Zurvanite flourish or accommodation. In Mazdaean theology, the god Ohrmizd was conceived as part of a divine tetrad along with time, space, and religion, although the incorporation of this tetrad into "orthodox" Mazdaeism may have been a response to Zurvanite speculations.[22] Williams Jackson admitted, however, that he could really find only one equivalency between the Manichaean and Zurvanite tetrads,[23] and besides, Zaehner identified the Zurvanite tetrad as *time*, *space*, wisdom, and power,[24] which differs markedly from Manichaean attestations. Zaehner also suggested that Zurvanite theology in general was based on an elaborate series of tetrads.[25] Thus, it is conceivable that the particularly Manichaean emphasis on *five* was meant to counter this pattern. Even an Iranist such as Schaeder suggested that Iranian elements in Manichaeism were a result of *Umstilisierung* rather than deliberate borrowing or influence.[26] More recently P.O. Skjaervø (following Böhlig) has pointed out that, since the basic formulation of Mani's system is obviously Christian, when he wanted to "dress this myth in Zoroastrian garb" he had little choice but to represent figures such as the Father and the First Man by Zurvan and Ohrmizd.[27] Mere terminological similarities say nothing about origins and derivations, especially at a time when Zoroastrian traditions were themselves in such a state of flux. As Skjaervø succinctly states: "On no account … can it be said that the Zurvanite myth was part of Mani's system, only the name of Zurwān was."[28]

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[21] As BeDuhn has recently stated, Manichaeism ought to be viewed as a "legitimate, independent, oriental" stream of early Christianity ("A War of Words," 81).

[22] See Duchesne-Guillemin, "L'Église sassanide et le mazdéisme," 10.

[23] "Fourfold Aspect," 15 n. 17.

[24] *Zurvan*, 219.

[25] *Zurvan*, 229–230.

[26] "Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems," 47.

[27] "Iranian Elements in Manichaeism: A Comparative Approach," 271.

[28] "Iranian Elements," 272.

As such, *Kephalaia* Chapter 21 may represent an attempt by the compilers to distance their discourse from a motif that may have appeared too "Iranian," no longer fit their developing vision of how important divinities should be understood and described, or simply had lost its meaning. If Mani himself employed such an epithet for the Father of Greatness, then this would be a striking instance of the *Kephalaia* compilers rejecting a canonical formulation in favour of one that was seen as more compatible with their systematization efforts.[29] Ultimately, the compilers appear to have been quite determined to assert as a general principle the fact that Manichaean divinities, even the Father of Greatness, ought to be conceived as possessing five qualities.[30] As we shall see, this conception of the highest divinity, in turn, fits with their wider efforts at the pentadization of other cosmogonic, ethical, ecclesiological, and soteriological themes so evident in the first volume of *Kephalaia.*

The Many Sons of Man

The series of beings known to the *Kephalaia* primarily as the "Five Sons of First Man" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ) is somewhat problematic due, in part, to the variety of alias under which it was known. Also known as the Five "Elements" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲱⲛ) (1 Ke 43.2), these "Five Sons" (ܒܢܝ ܐܒܗܬܐ) are characterized by Theodore bar Khonai as the "Five Shining Gods" (ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ ܒܢܝ̈ܢ),[31] and though not

[29] Even Merkelbach is forced to admit that certain *Kephalaia* chapters seem to expand the tetrad into a pentad (*Mani*, 45), although he offers no explanation.

[30] Interestingly, a Coptic Manichaean text from Kellis (T. Kell. Copt. 1) describes how the "Third Messenger" reflects the "five properties (σχήματα) of the Father" (see *Kellis Literary Texts I*, 2).

[31] They are also called "Sons of Light" (ܒܢܝ ܢܘܗܪܐ) (*Hypatius*, 81.43 [Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 234]) and "Shining Sons" (ܒܢܝ ܢܗܝܪ) by Ephraim (*Hypatius*, 101.5–24 [Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 235]). Such an expression may lie behind the Coptic formulation "Five Splendours of the Son of Man" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲙⲛⲡⲣ̈ⲓⲉ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲱ[ⲙ]ⲉ) (1 Ke 89.8–9). It seemed much more likely to Burkitt that Jesus, to whom the same term "splendour" is also applied, should be styled "Jesus the Living" or "Life-giving." This, of course, is not how Manichaean translators understood the term, since it is eminently clear that the "Five Sons/Elements" of early Manichaean tradition were understood in Coptic as ⲡⲣ̈ⲓⲉ—"shining forth." While it is certainly possible that Manichaean translators misunderstood such a key technical term (see Franzmann, "Syriac-Coptic Bilinguals," 118–119), it seems unlikely. It is far more probably that the basic elements of the light-realm, not to mention Jesus (one of its key emissaries), were

explicitly enumerated in his account, are known from Coptic and other sources[32] as representing 1) Living Air (ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ), 2) Wind (ⲡⲧⲏⲩ), 3) Light (ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲏⲉ), 4) Water (ⲡⲙⲁⲩ), and 5) Fire (ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ). As the essence of soul and the antithesis of matter,[33] the Five Sons/Elements play a central role in the Manichaean conception of redemption, since they constitute the luminous essence that must be liberated through Manichaean ascetic and liturgical practice. In this way, they form the most direct link between Manichaean myth and praxis.

Outside of the *Kephalaia* there are surprisingly few explicit references (other than those mentioned above) to the Five Sons of First Man, the Five Elements, or the Five Intellectuals in other edited Manichaean Coptic texts—although there are a small number of implicit references (2 Ps. 12.25; 36.22), including an enumeration of each element in a "Psalm of the Wanderers" (2 Ps. 137.20–37). In itself, this is not surprising given the liturgical and hagiographical nature of edited texts such as the *Psalm-Book* and the *Homilies*. One notable exception, however, can be found in "Bema Psalm 223," where the Father's "strong son" (ⲙⲡⲉϥ[ϣⲏ]ⲣⲉ ⲛϫⲱⲣⲉ) (2 Ps. 10.7) produces "a Virgin equipped with Five Powers" (ⲛⲧⲉϥ[ⲡⲁ]ⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲥⲧⲏϣ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ̈ ⲁ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲁⲙ) (2 Ps. 10.8) in order to fight the forces of darkness. This reference not only provides an additional synonym for the Five Sons/Elements, but somewhat surprisingly attributes them to a mysterious virgin-figure, who appears to act as a kind of consort or twin to First Man.

On the surface, it is difficult to see why these light-substances should have been described as "sons" at all, since functionally, the "Five Sons" constitute the "armour" or "garments" (1 Ke 69.18; 262.25) put on by First Man before going out to engage the powers of darkness.[34] Perhaps this was simply a result of conventions of language regularly employed

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described as entities which reflect their origin by emanating their essence—in other words, they *shine*.

[32] The canonical order of these elements seems to have been, at least for polemicists, a bit of a problem. Ephraim, for instance, makes reference to air (ܐܘܪ) (*Hypatius*, 31.11 [Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 260–261]), light (ܢܘܗܪܐ), wind (ܪܘܚܐ), water (ܡܝܐ), and fire (ܢܘܪܐ) (*Hypatius*, 101.5–24 [Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 235]), while the *Acta Archelai* gives the somewhat idiosyncratic listing of "wind, light, water, fire, and matter (*sic*!)" (ἄνεμος, φῶς, ὕδωρ, πῦρ, ὕλη) (Beeson), although "matter" (ὕλη) is usually amended by scholars to "air" (ἀήρ) (See *Acta Archelai* [Vermes/Lieu], 47 n. 40; see also 2 Ps. 137.36).

[33] Polotsky, "Manichäismus," 115.

[34] Theodore bar Khonai even records a Syriac pun on the words for "shining" (ܙܗܪܐ) and "armour" (ܙܝܪܐ) (Reeves, "Citations from Ephrem," 269 n. 9).

by Manichaeans, whereby a series of secondary entities emanated by or associated with another primary being are called "sons."[35] Such a tendency is, in fact, borne out by the testimony of Ephraim, who records the way in which the expressions "sons of Light" (ܒܢܝ ܢܘܗܪܐ) and "sons of Darkness" (ܒܢܝ ܚܫܘܟܐ)[36] formed part of early Manichaean discourse.

The terminological situation becomes more complex in the *Kephalaia*, since the compilers made use of a number of other co-referential metaphors for the "Five Sons of First Man," namely the "Five Garments" (ϯϵ ⲛϩⲃⲥⲱ) as in *Chapter 70 "On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos"* (1 Ke 69.18),[37] as well as the "Five Luminous Gods" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲣⲓ[ⲱ]ⲩ) from *Chapter 38 "On the Light-Mind, the Apostles, and the Saints"* (1 Ke 95.16), and the "Five Shining Men" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲙⲛⲡⲣⲏϵ) (1 Ke 85.34; 88.15; 89.8). While the concept of the Elements as "garments" is not attested in known canonical traditions, the epithets "Five Luminous Gods" and "Five Shining Men" are presumably a reflection of the "Five Shining Gods" (ܚܡܫ ܐܠܗ̈ ܙܝܘܢܝ) known from Theodore bar Khonai.

One co-referential series in particular, however, that seems to have caused a great deal of confusion for both ancient and modern commentators is the grouping known as the "Five Intellectuals" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲉⲣⲟⲛ). While Iain Gardner, in his *Kephalaia* "Indices" justifiably lists the Five Limbs under the Five Intellectuals,[38] both the *Kephalaia* and the *Psalm-Book* typically associated the Intellectuals with the Five Elements, a fact that has already been noted by Van Lindt in his study of Coptic Manichaean terminology.[39] For instance, in *Chapter 2 "The Second, on the Parable of the Tree,"* the "intellectuals" that "clothe" the body of the Column of Glory/Perfect Man are clearly equated with the

[35] This, in turn, no doubt reflects Syriac usage of the term *bar* (ܒܪ), which communicates not only the idea of son-ship, but also of "close relation, subjection, or similarity" (Payne-Smith, 53a). As for their original Syriac name—*zīwānā* (ܙܝܘܢܐ), "brilliant, or shining"—Burkitt offered the unlikely suggestion that this is actually an adaptation of the Middle-Iranian term *zywyn'g*, meaning "life-giver" (*Religion of the Manichees*, 111).

[36] Reeves, "Citations from Ephraim," 234 [#28].

[37] See also *Chapter 109 "On the Fifty Lord's Days"* (1 Ke 262.25), and *Chapter 54 "On the Quality of the Garments"* (1 Ke 131.20).

[38] The Limbs are after all "intellectual" properties. See Gardner, *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 297.

[39] *Names of Manichaean Mythological Figures*, 63–64.

"Elements of Light" (1 Ke 20.1–3).[40] This identification can be corroborated by a "Psalm of the Wanderers" which states that the "Five Intellectuals are the Sons of First Man" (2 Ps. 161.25). Nevertheless, there appears to have been a certain degree of ambiguity as to the identity of the Intellectuals, since in *Chapter 31*, the Five Limbs were also associated with the preparatory activities of First Man (see below). As such, the exact equations between concepts such as the Five Elements, the Five Limbs, and the Five Intellectuals seem to have been complex and may not have been any clearer to the compilers than they are to us.

On the abstract level, however, the Sons/Elements, collectively known as the "Living Soul," are "a property shared by all objects"[41] within the cosmos and serve as an ontological link between the Father of Greatness and his children. This can be established by interpreting the testimony of Theodore bar Khonai, who records that when the Father sought to defend his kingdom from the dark invasion, he says, "I *myself* will go" (ܒܢܦܫܝ, literally, "by means of my own soul"). As a result, First Man, whom he calls upon, along with the Five Elements, can be interpreted as the "soul" of the Father sent into battle and eventually captured by the powers of darkness. The Manichaean, in turn, is enjoined to "remember" this imprisonment of the Elements, or Living Soul, and to work for their/its liberation.[42] Once this is recognized, the Manichaean may then become, to use BeDuhn's evocative term, "a cog" in the great cosmic machinery of light-liberation.[43] According to the *Cologne Mani Codex*, the notion of the suffering Living Soul was perceived by Mani at an early age when he heard the cries and lamentations of plants as they were harvested from his sectarian community's vegetable garden (*CMC* 6–10). This means that, according to Manichaean hagiography at least, the plight of the Living Soul constituted one of Mani's earliest insights into the true nature of the world around him.

Yet even in spite of the obvious importance of the "Five Sons of First Man" as a concept within Manichaeism generally, the *Kephalaia*

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[40] Compare Chapter 72 in which the "great garment" of the Pillar of Glory/Perfect Man" is made up of Five Intellectuals (1 Ke 177.3). The fact that the Intellectuals are called a "garment" also supports their identification with the Five Elements.

[41] BeDuhn, *Manichaean Body*, 72.

[42] BeDuhn, *Manichaean Body*, 73.

[43] *Manichaean Body*, 76.

compilers seem to have been primarily interested in using them for the formulation of other rhetorically or doctrinally significant number patterns. For instance, according to *Chapter 3 "The Interpretation of Happiness, Wisdom, and Power,"* these three thematic qualities are said to exist at five levels of divine being, from 1) the Father, through the light-vehicles of 2) Sun and 3) Moon, to 4) the Elements and 5) the Holy Church. At the level of the Elements, "happiness" is said to be constituted by the Column of Glory/Perfect Man, the cosmic apparatus for light-liberation, while the Five Sons of the Living Spirit constitute "wisdom." At the same level, however, "power" is manifested by the Five Sons of First Man, who are "folded into the Universe" (1 Ke 24.25).

Being/Context	*Happiness*	*Wisdom*	*Power*
Father	Father	Great Spirit	rich gods & angels/aeon
Sun	Living Spirit	Mother of Life	rich gods & angels
Moon	Mind (of Father)	Virgin of Light	rich gods & angels
Elements	Column of Glory	*5 Sons of Living Spirit*	*5 Sons of First Man*
Church	Apostle of Light	Leaders & Teachers	Elect, Virgins, Ascetics, Catechumens

Similarly, in *Chapter 4 "On the Four Great Days, which have come out from one another; along with the Four Nights,"* the twelve hours of the third day are calculated by adding the Five Sons of First Man and the Five Sons of the Living Spirit to Call and Response (1 Ke 25.25–30).

Four Days	*Dwelling*	*Hours*
1) Father	Aeon	12 rich gods
2) Third Messenger	Ship of Light	12 virgins
3) Column	(Cosmos)	*5 Sons* + *5 Sons* + Call &Response
4) Jesus the Splendour	Church	12 Wisdoms

An analogous exegetical manoeuvre occurs in *Chapter 10 "On the Meaning of the Fourteen [Great] Aeons about which Sethel spoke in [his] Prayer."* In this context, the Five Elements/Sons are added to Call and Response to form a first set of seven, while the Five Sons of the Living Spirit are added to the Living Spirit and First Man to form a second set of seven. These, Mani is made to explain, constitute the fourteen "blessings" (ⲛⲥ[ⲙⲁⲙⲉ]) (1 Ke 43.8) or "persons" (ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲥ[ⲱⲡⲟⲛ]) (1 Ke 43.9) through which the world was established.

*5 Elements/Sons** + Call &Response	*5 Sons of Living Spirit** + Living Spirit & First Man
(Living Air)	(Keeper of Splendour)
(Wind)	(King of Honour)
(Light)	(King of Glory)
(Water)	(Adamas)
(Fire)	(Porter)
Call	Living Spirit
Response	First Man

*Individual elements and sons not explicitly named in chapter.

Also, the Five Sons of First Man are assigned by *Chapter 16 "[On the Five] Greatnesses which have [come] out against the Darkness"* to the "Second Greatness," along with Mother of Life and First Man (1 Ke 49.19–23):

	Part I	*Part II (fragmentary)*	*Part III*
First Greatness	Father	…	First Man *son of king*
Second Greatness	Mother of Life Fist Man *5 Sons of First Man*	…	Living Spirit *judge*
Third Greatness	Beloved of Lights Great Builder Living Spirit *5 Sons of Living Spirit*	…	Third Ambassador *king*
Fourth Greatness	Third Ambassador Column of Glory Powers of Light	…	Jesus the Splendour *up-rooter of trees*
Fifth Greatness	Jesus the Splendor All his Powers	…	Call & Response *butter in milk*

Finally, in *Chapter 39 "On the Three Days and the Two Deaths,"* the "First Death" is marked by the mixture of Darkness and the Five Sons (1 Ke 102.36–103.2).

3 Days & 2 Deaths	*Events*
1st day	First Man—Living Spirit—Ambassador
2nd day	New Aeon
3rd day	Father reveals himself
1st death	Mixture of Darkness and 5 Sons of First Man
2nd death	Casting out of sinful blasphemers

In this way, even in spite of obvious terminological problems, the Five Sons/Elements were seen more as a convenient rhetorical tool than a concept that required extended commentary and clarification.

What was it, however, that might have led to Mani's equation of the suffering light-soul to a concept of *five* elements in the first place? Throughout antiquity, against the canonical Empedoclean doctrine of four elements, there was an alternate theory of five elements as the basic building-blocks of the cosmos.[44] While it is unclear who may have originated the idea (i.e., pre-Socratics such as Pherecydes of Syros, Pythagoras, or Philolaus, although Mattéi suggests that Philolaus expounded this doctrine),[45] it seems to have taken root in the early Academy and influenced Aristotle and post-Aristotelian philosophy well into Late Antiquity.[46] Eventually, the *quintessence*, as it were, or fifth element, came to be recognized as the ethereal substance of the soul and eventually as that of the heavenly sphere and the stars.[47] As for how such a concept might have entered Mani's immediate environment, a doctrine of five elements seems to have played an important role in the cosmogonic teaching of Syriac sage, Bardaisan of Edessa, and his school. Ephraim the Syrian (in the fourth century CE) called Bardaisan the "teacher of Mani," influencing him particularly in the realm of cosmology.[48] Burkitt accepted Ephraim's analysis that Mani derived at least some of his ideas from Bardaisan, but cautions that Mani and Bardaisan, although similar on certain points, hold very different points of view.[49] Drijvers has also emphasized the difference between the two.[50] Polotsky, in the footnotes to his edition, suggested that there is a veiled allusion to Marcion and/or Bardaisan as precursors to Mani in the *Kephalaia*'s "Introduction" (1 Ke 13.30 ff.). But, as with so many of the most interesting thinkers from Late Antiquity, we are forced to rely largely on fragments and secondary testimony for information about Bardaisan's teaching, some of which may actually be drawn from his followers. Nevertheless, later Syriac tradition attributes to Bardaisan the doctrine that the world came to be from the mixture of five ele-

[44] Moraux, "Quinta essentia," 1171.
[45] *L'Étrange et le simulacre*, 362.
[46] Moraux, 1196 ff.
[47] Moraux, 1213 ff.
[48] Drijvers, *Bardaiṣan of Edessa*, 225.
[49] *Religion of the Manichees*, 78–79.
[50] "Mani und Bardaisan," 469.

ments: fire, wind, water, light, and darkness.[51] But, as Drijvers points out, Bardaisan's cosmological ideas only came under attack in the wake of Manichaeism.[52] Thus, there may have been some desire on the part of later polemicists and heresiologists to overemphasize the role played by Bardaisanean ideas in the formation of Manichaeism. As such, while it is at least possible that Mani drew or adapted a doctrine of five elements from Bardaisan (however reluctantly), the presence of such a doctrine, and the importance of the fifth element as the substance of the soul (not found in Bardaisan), is sufficiently attested in philosophical traditions from Late Antiquity to make other derivations possible.

Cosmic Parallelism

Two chapters in particular demonstrate the *Kephalaia* compilers' interest in the correspondence between the macrocosm and the microcosm: *Chapter 38 "On the Light-Mind, the Apostles, and the Saints,"* and *Chapter 70 "On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos."* In *Chapter 38* especially, five-part patterns are omnipresent in that they provide both the literary as well as the theological framework through which this theme is presented. As such, the compilers draw on three canonical pentads, namely the "Five Sons of the Living Spirit,"[53] the "Five Limbs,"[54] and the "Five Virtues," to communicate their message.

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[51] See the table of accounts from Barhadbeshabba (6th cent. CE), Moses bar Kepha (10th cent. CE), Iwannis of Dara (9th cent. CE), and Theodore bar Khonai (8th cent. CE) provided by Drijvers in *Bardaiṣan*, 98–103.

[52] *Bardaiṣan*, 96.

[53] According to Theodore bar Khonai, in response to the capture of First Man, the Father of Greatness called out a second triad, made up of "Beloved of Lights" (ܚܒܝܒ ܢܗܝܪܐ), "Great Builder" (ܐܒܐ ܕ), and the "Living Spirit" (ܪܘܚܐ ܚܝܐ). Like First Man (the third being of the first emanation), Living Spirit calls upon "Five Sons" who aid in the slaughter of the Archons and the construction of the cosmos, specifically the "Ten Heavens" and the "Eight Earths." These Five Sons are called "Ornament (or Keeper) of Splendour" (ܙܝܘܐ ܢܛܪ), "Great King of Honour" (ܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܝܩܪܐ), "Adamos (*sic* = Adamas) of Light" (ܐܕܡܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ), "King of Glory" (ܡܠܟ ܫܒܚܐ), and "Porter" (ܦܬܚܐ). Personally, I prefer the use of English equivalents for these names, since the use of Latin terminology, such as *Splenditenens*, *Rex honoris*, etc., so frequently used in studies of Manichaean myth, creates the false impression that such terms are somehow more original or accurate when in actual fact they are relatively late.

[54] As we have seen, the most important five-part series in the whole of Manichaean discourse is what came to be known in the Graeco-Coptic tradition as the "Five Limbs" (ϯογ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ). They are usually enumerated as 1) Mind, 2) Thought, 3) Insight, 4) Counsel, and 5) Consideration, although how to accurately translate these terms has

On the rhetorical level, the central importance of five-part patterning to *Chapter 38* is made evident by its initial literary frame, since in an effort to have Mani address the issue of theodicy, the unnamed disciple is made to pose a series of five questions:

> Again at one occasion, a disciple questioned the [Apostle], / saying to him: You have told us that the Light-Mind / is that which comes and supports the saints. [You have told] / us therefore that even though it is one of the gods … / … many gods exist in it. You have told / us also that at the time it enters into [the body] / of the flesh and binds the Old Man with his *Five Counsels*, / setting up its *Five Counsels* on him in the *Five Limbs* / [of his] body. Where is it [though], since the Old Man is bound in the / body? For, I (can) see that rebellions occur in its / bond from time to time. Secondly, I ask / you: If indeed it is a great god, unchanging and / immeasurable, how does it come to appear in the smallness of the / body?
>
> The third thing that I want you to tell / me [is this: If(?)] the Mind is holy and pure, / [how did it come to be joined to(?)] the impurity of this body? /
>
> Fourthly, if truly, the Light-Mind is present in [the] / saints, why does its likeness not appear to us as it / is? The fifth thing: I want / you to tell me (about) and explain your apostleship. / For, behold, it is not clear to me, since they oppress / you and persecute you in the world. / I implore you that you persuade me about these things which I have asked you (1 Ke 89.21–90.7).

Basically, what the disciple wants to know is how a great and noble divine power such as the Light-Mind can inhabit a small and defiled

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been the subject of perennial debate within Manichaean studies. The Syriac version of the series ܪܥܝܢܐ ܪܥܬܥܣܐ ܪܚܝܢܐ ܪܟܪܗ ܪܥܡ (Theodore bar Khonai 313.17 [Scher]) is equivalent to the Greek terms νοῦς, ἔννοια, φρόνησις, ἐνθύμησις, λογισμός, which were then rendered into Latin as *mens, sensus, prudentia, intellectus, cogitatio* (*Acta Archelai*, 10 [Beeson, 15.11/25]). In Coptic the series is ⲛⲟⲩⲥ, ⲙⲉⲩⲉ, ⲥⲃⲱ, ⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ, ⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ. Originally, these are what Theodore identifies as the Five *shekinahs* (ⲥⲏⲙ ⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲉ) (Theodore bar Khonai 313.16 [Scher]). In Syriac, the word ܪܥܬܥܣ represents the "dwelling-place" or "presence" of divinity, as in a temple or shrine (Payne-Smith, 576b). In Theodore's account, the ethereal *shekinahs* of the Father are contrasted with the more concrete "worlds" (حلم) of the King of Darkness. Why the *shekinahs* were understood as "Limbs" (ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ) by the compilers remains a bit of a puzzle, since when associated with the Father of Greatness they would be more properly understood as "aeons" (ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ). This is, in fact, precisely how they are characterized in the Coptic version of Mani's *Living Gospel* (Funk, *personal communication*). This rendering, however, does not seem to have greatly influenced the *Kephalaia* tradition, which opted for the occasional use of ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ and the more regular use of ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ. It does seem, however, that al-Nadīm provides evidence that even in Syriac tradition they may have already been characterized as "Limbs" (*Fihrist*, 768 [Dodge]).

body. Moreover, if this is indeed the case why does Sin[55] (i.e., "rebellion") persist? These two basic questions, however, are extended (somewhat artificially perhaps) into a five-part schema:

> Question i) Where is the Light-Mind in the body, if there are rebellions?
> Question ii) How can this great god come into a small body?
> Question iii) How can the pure Mind occupy the defiled body?
> Question iv) If the Light-Mind exists in the saints, why don't we see his likeness?
> Question v) What is the nature of your apostolate, if you are persecuted?

In response, Mani is made to begin his discourse with an analogy[56] in five parts. The first part of the analogy suggests that the cosmos (metaphorically understood as "Error" [ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ]) is constructed like a human body (1 Ke 90.20–22). Its external aspects are described in descending order from head to feet (1 Ke 90.22–33), while its internal aspects are described from interior to exterior, from heart to skin (1 Ke 91.1–5), followed by several characteristics made unclear by lacunae in the text (1 Ke 91.5–13). According to the second part of the analogy, the soul of the cosmos is represented by the Five Sons of the Living Spirit (the Keeper of Splendor, the King of Honour, the Adamas of Light, the King of Glory, and the Porter), who are characterized as "Five Sleepless Watchers" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ ⲛⲁⲧⲛⲕⲁⲧⲉ) (1 Ke 91.19) and are related to the Five Limbs (Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, Consideration) (1 Ke 91.14–33). To these two groups of five is added a sixth element in the form of a pair: "call and response" (ⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ / ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ) (1 Ke 92.2–3)—the dual values at the core of the Manichaean drama of salvation. Part three states that the Column of Glory represents the Light-Mind at the cosmic level (1 Ke 92.5–6), while part four recounts how the dark powers have rebelled in the watch districts of each of the Five Sons (1 Ke 92.12–93.15). Finally, the fifth part of the analogy describes how the Column of Glory (acting as a kind of Light-Mind for the cosmos) assists the Five Sons in suppressing the rebellions in their respective watch districts (93.16–94.16). By means of this analogy, Mani is made to set up the basic thesis of the discourse, namely that the Light-Mind is indeed present in the body in spite of the presence of sin, thereby answering the first of the disciple's questions.

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[55] In Manichaean discourse "Sin" is often a quasi-personified concept.

[56] Nagel characterized this as the "makrokosmisch-mikrokosmisch … Lagerallegorie" ("Anatomie des Menschen in gnostischer und manichäischer Sicht," 88).

This first part of the discourse is expressed using a series of five-fold structures that progressively integrate each part of the argument while consistently enumerating the five thematic elements in canonical order. The rhetorical repetition of five is meant to express the fundamental interconnectedness of all facets of Manichaean teaching and to reflect the quasi-scientific allure of Manichaean doctrines in Late Antiquity. The Elect, to whom this discourse is addressed, would have had no difficulty in accepting the Manichaean *logic* of this vivid cosmological narrative.

Mani, then, is made to continue with arguments in support of his position by shifting first to the microcosmic level of the body and second to the level of the community. By way of introduction, Mani answers the second of the disciples' five questions (i.e., How can such a great god dwell in a small body?) by stating that even though the gods are great and mighty (1 Ke 95.4), they are nevertheless bound within their proper places (1 Ke 95.4–9). Following this, Mani answers the third of the five questions (i.e., How can the pure Mind occupy the defiled body?) by describing the creation of the body (what Manichaeans term the "Old Man") by the agency of Sin. According to the Apostle of Light, Sin bound the Five Limbs in the body: *Mind* in bone, *Thought* in sinew, *Insight* in vein, *Counsel* in flesh, and *Consideration* in skin (1 Ke 95.13–19). The Light Mind, however, acts to free the Limbs from their bonds (1 Ke 96.8–21), and reestablish them in the Five Virtues of the "New Man," or redeemed individual. As such, Mind becomes *love*, Thought *faith*, Insight *perfection*, Counsel *patience*, and Consideration *wisdom* (1 Ke 96.25–97.6).

Once again the number five plays a crucial role in the elaboration of this highly structured portion of the discourse. The five-fold schema of the Limbs is enumerated again in the same canonical order (Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel and Consideration) in each of the three occurrences, which, in turn, reflect the three key points in the salvation narrative in which the Light-Mind plays a critically important role: imprisonment, liberation, and re-creation.

Sin bound LIMBS in the body,	*but LIGHT-MIND frees them*,	*and creates the NEW MAN.*
i) MIND in bone,	i) MIND from bone,	i) MIND is love
ii) THOUGHT in sinew,	ii) THOUGHT from sinew,	ii) THOUGHT is faith
iii) INSIGHT in vein,	iii) INSIGHT from vein,	iii) INSIGHT is perfection
iv) COUNSEL in flesh,	iv) COUNSEL from flesh,	iv) COUNSEL is patience
v) CONSIDERATION in skin.	v) CONSIDERATION from skin.	v) CONSIDERATION is wisdom

What follows is a discussion of the implications of Sin and adversity at the community level. Here Mani emphasizes that even though the Light-Mind is king of the New Man, Sin may still cause disruptions and lead to difficulties in the Manichaean church:[57]

> As long as the Limbs of Sin[58] are bound / in this way, Sin is contained. Even though the Light-Mind / [is] king, tribulation may still occur in the body from / time to time. Sometimes Sin rises / up in his Consideration and disturbs Counsel, and confuses / the Wisdom and the understanding of the man (1 Ke 97.23–28).

Each of the New Man's Five Limbs,[59] along with the Five Virtues attached to them, can be disturbed and disrupted by Sin, causing doubt in the believer and his or her possible departure from the church. In this case, however, the presence of the Light-Mind in the individual may be preserved by the members of the community, who attempt to "correct his wisdom" (1 Ke 97.33). Yet even the correction and rebuke of the community may not suffice to keep the Light-Mind active in the individual. Eventually, the Mind "(will) be dispersed from him and return to the Apostle who sent it" (1 Ke 99.13–14). This individual will become like "a bird plucked of its feathers" (1 Ke 99.17). Such statements are presumably meant to justify the loss of community members within the wider context of the persistent activity of sin in the cosmos.

Mani then goes on to restate the answers to the first three questions and respond to the fourth (i.e., If the Light-Mind exists in the saints, why don't we see his likeness?), by suggesting that the likeness of the Light-Mind cannot be known since it is not visible in the body (1 Ke 99.24). In addition, Mani re-enforces the macrocosmic/microcosmic parallelism at the core of his argumentation and re-assures the audience about the strong presence of the Light-Mind:

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[57] There is an intriguing correlation here with the *Cologne Mani Codex*. The actual title of this work is Περὶ τῆς γέννης τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, "On the Origin of His Body," i.e., of his church. Thus, there may be an implicit parallel understood here in *Chapter* 38 between the metaphor of the body at the cosmological, anthropological, and ecclesiological levels. See Cameron and Dewey, *The Cologne Mani Codex*, 2 and Henrichs and Koenen, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex*.

[58] Funk, A&C.

[59] In terms of rhetorical structure, it is interesting to note that in this instance, where the Five Limbs are invoked, there is an inversion of their order. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that from a "higher" cosmological perspective the Five Limbs descend in their value, while in the "lower" community context, they ascend. Also, Consideration is presumably weaker than Mind and, as such, would be attacked by sin first.

> Behold the strength and the efficiency of the Light-/Mind: how great it is on all the watch-towers of / the body. It stands in its encampment (and) shields / every impulse of the body from the attractions of Sin. / It fixes them, scatters them, (and) sets them right / according to his will (1 Ke 100.1–100.6).

In conclusion, Mani is made to respond to the fifth and final question by invoking, again in five parts, his own superior status as a prophet. He outlines how he has come into the world as a lone individual and has conquered with the word of God regions which cannot be conquered by force of arms. Even though the powers of the world have attempted to destroy his message, they have failed. In response to such adversities, Mani has freed his children and equipped them with superior wisdom. No one has accomplished more than him, except for Jesus himself (1 Ke 100.15–102.3). In this way, Mani is made to rhetorically re-enforce the superior value of his revelation in the face of persecutions by the worldly powers and thereby validate the chapter's thematic parallelism.

As we can see, *Chapter 38* uses an elaborate mixture of five-part theological and literary patterns to communicate its message of reassurance in the face of sin and evil and to emphasize the analogous relationship between the macrocosmic and microcosmic powers. In addition, it reinforces the intimate relationship between three canonical pentads: The Five Sons of the Living Spirit, the Five Limbs, and the Five Virtues. To Manichaeans accustomed to this way of thinking, *Chapter 38* no doubt offered an impressive presentation of a persistent theological and community problem.

A similar, although less extensive, analogy between body and cosmos is drawn in *Chapter 70 "On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos."* In this chapter, we are told that "the entire cosmos, above and below, resembles the human body" (1 Ke 169.29–30), with each component of the cosmos compared to a part of the body (1 Ke 170.2–16). Here too, as in *Chapter 38*, the Five Sons of the Living Spirit are described as "Watchers" (ⲙⲙⲁⲛⲣⲁⲓⲥ) (1 Ke 171.28) of five regions of the cosmos (1 Ke 170.21–171.15), called "encampments" (ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲡⲟⲗⲏ) (1 Ke 170.21) or "watch-towers" (ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱϥⲉ) (1 Ke 171.11), while the Light-Mind guards five "encampments" of the body:

> [Just as] these *Five Watchers* are found in this great / [bond of these *Five] Encampments* that I have proclaimed / to you, so too is it with this body, which the / Elect bear. There are *Five* other *Encampments* / in it. The Light-Mind guards them along with the / New Man who is with him (1 Ke 171.28–172.4).

Also, as in *Chapter 38*, "tribulation" (ⲑⲗⲓⲫⲓⲥ) (1 Ke 171.11) is said to persist under the watch of the guardians (1 Ke 171.11–172.1). Finally, each of the Five Sons of the Living Spirit is compared to an Elect who, with the aid of the Light-Mind, is able to control the various parts of the body (1 Ke 172.3–20).

5 Sons of the Living Spirit	*who rule*	*are like Elect who*
Keeper of Splendour	First Three Heavens	rules face
King of Honour	Next Seven Heavens	rules heart
Adamas	Firmament to Four Earths	rules chest
King of Glory	Three Wheels & Three Earths	rules stomach
Porter	Great Earth & Four Fixtures	rules feet

In this way it can be seen that, in two different chapters (*Chapters 38* and *70*), the *Kephalaia* compilers sought to emphasize the correspondence between the cosmos and the human form—a concept essential to the Manichaean worldview. This was done to reassure the community that parallel processes of rebellion and divine suppression are at work at both levels of being. In this way, readers could imagine their own bodies as encapsulating the cosmic struggle against the powers of darkness.

Fathers of Greatness

One favourite activity of the *Kephalaia* compilers that speaks to their deliberate efforts at *pentadic redaction* is the grouping of beings from the light-realm into series known either as the "Five Fathers" or the "Five Greatnesses." The first major discussion of this theme can be found in the work as early as *Chapter 7 "The Seventh, on the Five Fathers,"* where the compiler took the unusual step of numerically identifying the placement of the chapter in its title.[60] In this chapter, Mani is made to explain that the Five Fathers have their origin in the Father of Greatness and that all have shared in the victory over the powers of darkness. Each of the Five Fathers is named, along with three of their emanations:

[60] This seems to occur in only one other chapter in 1 Ke—*Chapter 2*, and apparently not at all in 2 Ke (see Funk, "Reconstruction," 158–159).

5 Fathers	*1st Emanation*	*2nd Emanation*	*3rd Emanation*
1st Father of Greatness	Great Spirit/Mother	Beloved of Lights	Third Messenger[61]
2nd Third Messenger	Column of Glory	Jesus the Splendour	Virgin of Light
3rd Jesus the Splendour	Light-Mind	Great Judge	Youth
4th Light-Mind	Apostle of Light	Twin	Light-Form
5th Light-Form	Victory-Angel	Garment-Angel	Crown-Angel

Essentially, what this chapter presents is a five-part ontology of salvation. These Five Fathers represent the five ontological levels at which the work of salvation takes place: 1) the pre-cosmic context of the Light-realm (Father of Greatness), 2) the cosmic context of creation and the defeat of the Archons (Third Messenger), 3) the eschatological context of human history, judgement, and redemption (Jesus the Splendour), 4) the prophetological context of revelation and apostleship (Light Mind), and 5) the ethical and ecclesiological context of the Holy Church (Light-Form).

Whereas the canonical version of the myth, as known from Theodore bar Khonai, contains three series of emanations,[62] the compilers of *Chapter 7* extend this canonical formulation to a five stage process of salvation, with three emanations occurring at each stage. Moreover, each stage moves towards a progressive focalization of the myth from the generalized, pre-cosmic context of the Father of Greatness down to the specific context of the individual Manichaean who has received the Light-Form. For example, *stage one* of salvation occurs at the broad, pre-cosmic level where the three "canonical" emanations occur out of the Father of Greatness.[63] This establishes the transcendent framework of salvation. *Stage two* brings into focus the three components of the Third Messenger, the third canonical emanation, who provides the means by which salvation can be achieved by human beings. *Stage three* enumerates three hypostases of Jesus the Splendour, the main intermediary from the third emanation, who acts not only as enlightener and bringer of the Light-Mind, but as eschatological judge as well. *Stage four* speci-

[61] The Third Messenger was prematurely identified as the "Second Father" by the redactor in the list of the Father of Greatness' three emanations (1 Ke 34.33).

[62] This, of course, cannot be verified since Theodore's account of the myth breaks off after Jesus the Splendour's encounter with Adam.

[63] It is important to keep in mind the role of synonymy in early Manichaean discourse. Even though three beings are emanated in each of the three canonical emanations, only one is named here as representative. Even though the Manichaean myth presents a multiplicity of different beings, in many instances they may be understood as diverse manifestations and hypostases of an original triad.

fies the three principal ways in which the Light-Mind, a main hypostasis of Jesus the Splendour, aids humanity. Finally, *stage five* enumerates the three gifts gained by the individual once he or she has received the Light-Form.

Chapter 20, again with the atypical title of "*The Chapter on the Name of the Fathers*," presents a similar arrangement of five mythological figures. In this chapter, Mani is made to quiz his disciples about why the Father is called "Father of Greatness" (1 Ke 63.23–24). After their stereotypical plea of ignorance, Mani reveals that the Father of Greatness is so-called because he dwells in the Great Earth, where he is surrounded by all his angels and divine companions (1 Ke 63.28–33). The discourse then turns to identifying the "greatness" of four other beings that are also called "Father." The Third Messenger's greatness is the "Ship of the Living Fire," i.e., the Sun, while Jesus the Splendour's greatness is the "Ship of the Living Water," i.e., the Moon. The Column of Glory's greatness has something to do with "Five Gods," while the greatness of the Light-Mind is identified as the Holy Church (1 Ke 63.34–64.10). This list of Five Fathers from *Chapter 20*, however, is different from the list found in *Chapter 7*:

Chapter 7: 5 Fathers	*Chapter 20: 5 Fathers*
Father of Greatness	Father of Greatness
Third Messenger	Third Messenger
Jesus the Splendour	Jesus the Splendour
Light-Mind	*Column of Glory*
Light-Form	Light-Mind

Whereas *Chapter 7* enumerates a soteriological sequence in which the Light-Form is given a central role at the community level, the account from *Chapter 20* inserts the Column of Glory, making no mention of the Light-Form. The aim of *Chapter 20*, however, although also soteriological in character, seems to be to establish the location of each of the Five Fathers at one of the five principal stopping points of the Manichaean cosmic journey of salvation: from the ritual activity of the Holy Church (Light Mind) to the "Five Gods" (?) administered by the Column of Glory, to the Moon and Sun where Jesus the Splendour and the Third Messenger dwell, on to the Great Earth, the homeland of the Father of Greatness. Whereas *Chapter 7* enumerates the five ontological levels of salvation, *Chapter 20* lists those five beings whose efforts facilitate the accomplishment of salvation and the liberation of light.

The situation is further complicated when we look at *Chapter 25 "On the Five [Fathers: From which Limbs they have come],"* where we are presented with yet another variant formulation, only this time the Father of Greatness himself is not included.

Five Fathers	*from Five Limbs*
Messenger	< Mind
Beloved of Lights	< Thought
Mother of Life	< Insight
Jesus the Beloved (*sic*)	< Counsel
Virgin of Light	< Consideration

Unfortunately, almost no context is given by this extremely abbreviated chapter, other than the statement that "one came after the other (and) appeared in his time" (1 Ke 76.25). This seems to imply that the series is meant to be understood temporally, although such an understanding seems to contradict what is known about the sequence of the Manichaean myth from other sources such as Theodore bar Khonai. According to the canonical account, a "temporal" progression of these figures would run Mother of Life—Beloved of Lights—Messenger—Jesus the Beloved—Virgin of Light.[64] Nevertheless, a clue as to how this series might be understood can be found in *Chapter 7*, in which the Third Messenger is called the "model of the King of Light" (1 Ke 35.8) and the "first of all counsellors" (1 Ke 34.33). This would seem to justify the Third Messenger's placement at the head of the *Chapter 25* formulation. The selection and arrangement of the other figures, however, remains obscure.

Another, albeit peculiar, presentation of the Five Fathers can be found in *Chapter 148 "On the Five Books, that they belong to Five Fathers."* In this chapter, Mani is supposed to have associated "five" of his books with the "Fathers of Light" (1 Ke 355.6–7). While the *Living Gospel* is attributed to the Messenger and the *Treasure of Life* to the Column of Glory, the three writings, *Pragmateia*, *Book of Mysteries*, and *Book of*

[64] This example is further complicated by the fact that some of its irregular features may indicate that the compiler may have been drawing on some very early material. For example, the brevity of the chapter indicates that it may be an early "proto-kephalaic" formulation. In addition, the fact that the first father is identified simply as the "Messenger" rather than the "Third Messenger" parallels a detail which can be found in Theodore bar Khonai's account. Similarly, the unusual formulation of "Jesus the Beloved" may be derived from some early source.

Giants are attributed to the Light-Twin, forming a kind of trilogy. The *Letters*, however, are said to be Mani's own gifts. Strangely, no fifth book is named or attributed to a Manichaean divinity. Nor is the seventh of Mani's canonical writings mentioned at all.[65] It appears, however, that an attempt has been made to compress this canonical *heptateuch* into a *pentateuch* more in line with the compilers' penchant for five-part structures.[66] The fact that only six books are mentioned as four gifts may be due to scribal error,[67] since the construction of such a six-four formulation runs contrary to the compilers' penchant for *pentadic redaction*. Nevertheless, the enumeration of the Fathers appears equally puzzling, since it too is at variance with the three previously discussed formulations.

Finally, there seems to have been an additional discussion of the Five Fathers in *Chapter 191 "There are Five Properties in the* Image *of our Apostle symbolizing the Five Light Fathers,"* which unfortunately is entirely obscured by lacunae. At most, a general outline of the discourse can be reconstructed as enumerating Five "Properties" and Five other qualities:

CHAPTER 191 SCHEMA:

INTRO: Again he spoke to his disciples …

DISCOURSE: There are Five Properties in the *Image* …
1) First Property is humility
2) [Second Property …?]
3) Third [Property …?]
4) [Fourth Property] … my *Image*
5) Fifth [Property] is my light-wisdom.

…

[Five other things? …]
1) [First …]
2) [Second …]
3) [Third …]

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[65] That the Manichaean canon contained seven writings is known from 1Ke 5.21–33, 2Ps. 46f., 139f., and Hom 25.2–5, as well as al-Nadīm and the Chinese *Compendium* (Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 62; Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 153–156).

[66] That they succeeded in altering the canon is independently verified by Augustine's *Contra Felicem*, 1.14 (Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 63; see esp. Tardieu's table on page 64).

[67] See Funk 1Ke 335, who suggests that the *Psalms and Prayers* could have been named before the *Letters*. If, however, the title was added only later, then we need not assume that the chapter itself was intentionally structured in five-parts (Funk, *personal communication*).

4) [Fourth …]
5) Fifth is my light-wisdom.

CONCLUSION: I have given victory … over all Sects …

While there is no way of knowing what identity and role the Five Fathers were given in this chapter, it appears as though the emphasis was placed on the qualities attributable to Mani.

As we have seen, the *Kephalaia* compilers present five formulations of the Five Fathers, four of which can be read. Each of these formulations, however, presents a different sequence of Fathers:

Chapter 7	*Chapter 20*	*Chapter 25*	*Chapter 148*
Father of Greatness	Father of Greatness	Messenger	Messenger
Third Messenger	Third Messenger	Beloved of Lights	Column of Glory
Jesus the Splendour	Jesus the Splendour	Mother of Life	Light Twin
Light-Mind	Column of Glory	Jesus the Beloved	—?
Light-form	Light Mind	Virgin of Light	Mani

While the (Third) Messenger is the only figure found in all four formulations, there are nonetheless some similarities between *Chapters 7* and *20* and *Chapters 25* and *148*. On the one hand, *Chapters 7* and *20* appear the most similar, varying only in positions four and five, while *Chapters 25* and *148* place the Messenger in the first position.

What then should we make of these variations?[68] While the compilers were obviously using and building upon some kind of earlier material, it is difficult to imagine that a truly canonical series would be subject to such a degree of malleability, given the rigidity with which other series such are the Five Sons are maintained. Nevertheless, given the fact that we find the same expression "Fathers of Light" used in the *Psalm-Book* (see 2 Ps. 8.8; 36.15; 73.8; 84.29; 202.12) and the *Cologne Mani Codex* (33.2), we may assume that it was an epithet that existed as part of a canonical Manichaean tradition and was probably used by Mani himself as a general designation for any number of divine beings.[69] That

[68] Unfortunately, other Manichaean Coptic sources provide little in the way of clarification, even though the Fathers of Light are invoked several times in the *Psalm-Book*. "Bema Psalm 237," however, does enumerate a somewhat ambiguous series of Five Greatnesses of the Fathers involving 1) Mother of Life/First Man, 2) Beloved of Lights/Great Builder, 3) Third Messenger, 4) Column of Glory/Porters, and 5) Virgin/Judge/Light-Mind (2 Ps. 36.20–37.9).

[69] This can be inferred from Theodore bar Khonai's account, in which First Man responds to Living Spirit with the words "How fare our fathers (ⲉⲓⲙⲁⲓ), the sons of Light in their city?" (315.1 [Scher]).

these Fathers of Light came to be thought of in terms of five-part series is likely an additional by-product of the process of *pentadic redaction* so evident in the *Kephalaia*. The fact that there are so many variant formulations, however, would seem to represent the various attempts at clarification and elaboration of this quasi-canonical trope, which appears to have been left quite ambiguous and flexible. Perhaps a concept of Five Fathers was needed to balance the recurring image of the Five Sons. Or, perhaps the Five Fathers are an attempt to re-emphasize the fact that the Father is a being endowed with five qualities or Limbs, and as such would have been compelled to send five emissaries into the drama of salvation. Or, the variant formulations might have resulted from an overabundance of hypostases and personages invoked by Mani in his writings—i.e., there were simply too many gods and hypostases to choose from. At any rate, the *Kephalaia* chapters dealing with the Five Fathers, although frustratingly contradictory, do provide us with an important glimpse into the ongoing and evolutionary process of clarification and systematization of Manichaean discourse undertaken by the *Kephalaia* compilers. This concept, in particular, appears to have caused considerable confusion and does not appear, at the stage represented by our manuscript at least, to have been resolved.

Although only mentioned in one published *Kephalaia* chapter, the compilers also present a formulation known as the "Five Greatnesses" (ⲧϯⲉ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ).[70] According to *Chapter 16 "[On the Five] Greatnesses which have [come] out against the Darkness,"* the entire series of mythical emanations are presented according to a five-stage schema. The "First Greatness" is presented as the Father of Greatness, who has a "solitary existence" (ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲧϥ) (1 Ke 49.17) in the realm of light. The "Second Greatness" is made up of the Mother of Life, First Man, and the Five Sons of First Man (1 Ke 49.19–23). The "Third Greatness," in turn, contains the Beloved of Lights, Great Builder, and the Living Spirit, along with the Five Sons of the Living Spirit (1 Ke 49.23–25). The "Fourth Greatness" is described as the Third Messenger, the Column of Glory, and (somewhat ambiguously) "all the powers of light who are revealed from him" (ⲛϭⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲩⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲙⲁϥ]) (1 Ke 49.26–28). Finally, the "Fifth Greatness" is constituted by Jesus the Splendour and (with similar ambiguity) "all his powers" ([ⲛ]ⲉϥϭⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ) (1 Ke 49.29–31).

[70] The Five Greatnesses are also mentioned in 2 Ps. 136.50.

This formulation varies considerably from the canonical version of the myth known from Theodore bar Khonai. As we have seen, according to his testimony, Mani conceived of his cosmogony as occurring in three emanations, or evocations, each containing three primary figures:

Theodore bar Khonai		*Chapter* 16	
1st Emanation/ Evocation	Father of Greatness Mother of Life First Man 5 Sons of First Man	*1st Greatness*	Father of Greatness
2nd Emanation/ Evocation	Beloved of Lights Great Builder Living Spirit 5 Sons of Living Spirit	*2nd Greatness*	Mother of Life First Man 5 Sons of First Man
3rd Emanation/ Evocation	Third Messenger 12 Virgins Jesus the Splendour	*3rd Greatness*	Beloved of Lights Great Builder Living Spirit 5 Sons of Living Spirit
		4th Greatness	Third Messenger Column of Glory "powers of Light"
		5th Greatness	Jesus the Splendour "all his powers"

As is well known to Manichaean scholars, the third emanation is the most problematic formulation to disentangle.[71] While Theodore states that the Messenger brought forth Twelve Virgins and Jesus the Splendour (although Jesus is not explicitly "called" in Theodore's account), *Chapter 7 ("The Seventh, on the Five Fathers")* states that the Third Messenger emanated three powers: 1) the Column of Glory/Perfect Man, 2) Jesus the Splendour, and 3) a single Virgin of Light (1 Ke 35.7–17). As we have seen, however, *Chapter 16* presents the third emanation as including the Third Messenger, the Column of Glory, and the ambiguous "powers of light" revealed by him (1 Ke 49.26–28). As a result, we are faced with three alternative formulations of the third emanation:

[71] While it is clear that the Messenger is definitely part of the third triad, the remaining two members are ambiguous, since there are essentially three possible candidate: 1) some sort of virgin figure, 2) Jesus the Splendour, and 3) the Column of Glory, also known as the Perfect Man (2 Ps. 133.24–25; 1 Ke 20.15; 24.23; 35.10; 37.3; 155.11).

Theodore bar Khonai	*Kephalaia* Ch. 7	*Kephalaia* Ch. 16.
Messenger	Third Messenger	Third Messenger
12 Virgins	Column of Glory/Perfect Man	Column of Glory
Jesus the Splendour	Jesus the Splendour	"powers of light"
	Virgin of Light	

While the compilers of *Chapter 7*, as we saw above, were motivated by a desire to present the Manichaean soteriological narrative through a telescopic five-part frame in which every "father" emanates three other beings, here the compilers of *Chapter 16* perform a similar operation by attempting to transform the canonical three-part cosmogonical schema into a five-part formulation. This meant isolating the Father of Greatness from his implicit association with the first emanation and dividing the third emanation into two parts (Greatness Four and Five). The integrity of the second emanation, however, is maintained. This, of course, is another example of the *pentadic redaction* imposed by the compilers. In this case, the basic frame of the canonical myth is altered from a three-stage to a five-stage formulation. In addition, conflicting accounts of the third evocation point to an inherent ambiguity within the canonical account that appears to have allowed the compilers to so fundamentally alter the basic frame of their cosmogonic discourse.

CHAPTER THREE

THEOLOGICAL PATTERNING II: DARK-REALM

As we have seen, the *Kephalaia* compilers present a number of five-part patterns associated with the light-realm in order to emphasize the pentadic attributes of its inhabitants as well as the typically five-stage structure of their activities. At the same time, however, they seem to have been equally interested in sorting out the five-part structures associated with the Kingdom of Darkness. Five chapters in particular offer such presentations of the dark-realm: *Chapter 6 "On the Five Storehouses which are brought forth from the Land of Darkness from the Beginning; the Five Rulers, the Five Spirits, the Five Bodies, (and) the Five Tastes," Chapter 15 "[On the] … Five [Parts] … World of …," Chapter 27 "On the Five Forms which exist in the Archon(s) of Darkness," Chapter 57 "On the Generation of Adam,"* and *Chapter 69 "On the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Stars."* As we shall see, the compilers of these chapters were interested in three primary themes—1) the genesis of the dark-realm, 2) the nature of the dark-lord and his companions, and 3) the relation of the dark powers to the zodiac and the planets—which they chose to re-enforce through the use of both theological and literary five-part patterning.

The Evolution of Evil

Unlike the monotheistic theological traditions of Late Antiquity that attempted to arrive at a philosophical solution to the problem of evil by attributing it either to human free-will or divine providence, Manichaeans offered a radically different response in the form of cosmic dualism and attempted to visualize evil by means of vivid mythological images and metaphor. As such, two of the most important presentations of the Land of Darkness from the *Kephalaia* can be found in *Chapter 6 "On the Five Storehouses which are brought forth from the Land of Darkness from the Beginning; the Five Rulers, the Five Spirits, the Five Bodies, (and) the Five Tastes,"* and *Chapter 15 "[On the] … Five [Parts] … World of …."* These chapters, which appear to be attempts at a more or less comprehensive description of the dark-realm, contain a literary phenomenon found

primarily in association with such sinister contexts that may be termed *clustering*. This happens when the compiler lumps together a number of associated five-part patterns into one short passage. For instance, in *Chapter 6*, Mani is made to begin his discourse by saying:

> *Five Store-/houses* have existed from the beginning in the Land of Darkness. *Five / Elements* have poured forth from them. Also, from the *Five / Elements* were fashioned *Five Trees*, (and) from the *Five Trees* / were fashioned *Five Species of Creatures* according to each World, / male and female. But also, the *Five Worlds* [have] / *Five Kings*, *Five Spirits*, *[Five] Bodies*, (and) *Five [Tastes]* / according to each world, which do not resemble [one another] (1 Ke 30.17–24).

The function of this cluster is to concisely summarize the stages by which the dark-realm evolved, while at the same time emphasizing its essentially five-part structure. This proposition is even re-enforced by the literary structuring of the introductory passage, which elaborates five basic statements about the dark-realm, with the fifth statement enumerating five items according to the following pattern.

> Statement 1: Five Storehouses exist in the Land of Darkness.
> Statement 2: Five Elements have poured forth from them.
> Statement 3: Five Trees were fashioned from the Five Elements.
> Statement 4: Five Species came from the Five Trees.
> Statement 5: The (1) Five Worlds of Darkness also have (2) Five Kings, (3) Five Spirits, (4) Five Bodies, and (5) Five Tastes.

A similar cluster occurs in *Chapter 15, "[On the] … Five [Parts] … World of …"*:

> The fifth time it spread itself to its offspring that exist [in the *Five] / Worlds* that were fashioned (and) begotten from the *Five / Fruits of Death*, which are the *Five Worlds of / Flesh*, the *Five Creations of Darkness* which Death established in / them. He spread himself among the Ten Parts, the *Five Male Parts* and the / *Five Female [Parts]* … … … (1 Ke 48.17–22).

This passage fits into a more elaborate discourse about the Five "Parts/Times?"[1] that follows a similar structure to that found in the introduction to *Chapter 6:*

> Part 1: Death-desire …
> Time 2: Five Elements poured fourth …
> Part 3: [Five Trees formed?]

[1] The discourse alternates between enumerating "part" (ⲧⲁϊⲉ) and "time" (ⲥⲁⲡ) in the same five-part list.

Part 4: Five Fruits from Five Trees are Five Worlds.
Time 5: The (1) Five Worlds fashioned from (2) Five Fruits, (3) which are Five Worlds of Flesh, (4), i.e., the Five Creations, distributed in (5) Five Male/Female Parts.

As such, *Chapters 6* and *15* present two similar, although variant, accounts of how the Land of Darkness came into being.

Chapter 6	*Chapter 15*
5 Storehouses	Desire/Death
5 Elements	5 Elements
5 Trees	[5 Trees?]
5 Species of Trees	5 Fruits
5 Worlds, 5 Kings, 5 Spirits, 5 Bodies, 5 Tastes	5 Worlds, 5 Fruits, 5 Flesh, 5 Creations, 5 Parts

Whereas *Chapter 6* begins with the Five Storehouses as its point of origin, *Chapter 15* begins with a more singular principle known as the "Death-desire" (ⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ) (1 Ke 47.34). From this principle, which is essentially a synonym for "Matter" (ϩⲩⲗⲏ) (1 Ke 129.11; 180.15–16), emerge the remaining structures of the dark-realm. In this way the origin of evil is viewed as a generative process in which the Five Dark Elements, spurred on by the evil principle (variously known as Desire, Death, or Matter), develop according to an "organic" process analogous to natural phenomena such as the growth of trees and the production of fruit.

Both *Chapter 6* and *Chapter 15* present conceptions of the dark-realm which may be related to different streams of Manichaean canonical tradition. For example, *Chapter 15* can be compared to the close association between the terms "Matter," "Desire," and "Darkness" known to Ephraim (4th cent. CE), who records that Mani "constructed (the theory) that sometimes Matter (*hylē*) (ⲕⲗⲟⲙ) displayed purposive thought" (ⲕϩⲧⲥⲥⲧ) [Reeves #3]), while Titus of Bostra (4th cent. CE) (*Contra manichaeos*, 1.6), Theodoret (5th cent. CE), and Severus of Antioch (6th cent. CE) (likely drawing upon the same canonical source) state that "Matter" and "Darkness" were co-referential terms (89–90 [Reeves]). Theodoret also records that "Matter later divided itself into multiple worlds (αἰῶσι) and its fruits among them" (Kugener/Cumont, 152). Such presumably canonical accounts, however, can be contrasted with other statements from Theodore bar Khonai (8th cent. CE) and al-Nadīm (10th cent. CE), which both place Darkness and its Five Worlds

at the beginning of their cosmogonies (Theodore bar Khonai 313.18–21 [Scher]; *Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]). In this way, *Chapter 15*'s account can be seen to resemble fragments of canonical tradition from the 4th and 5th centuries CE, while *Chapter 5's* account is similar to later 8th and 10th century CE accounts. This implies not only that Titus, Theodoret, and Severus drew upon a different source than Theodore and al-Nadim, but also that *Chapters 6* and *15* may have drawn upon similarly distinct material.

At any rate, in spite of these differences, the fact that the evolution of the dark-realm is elaborated by the *Kephalaia* compilers in both chapters as occurring in five basic stages accords well with parallel structures applied to the activities of the light-realm and fits with their general project of *pentadic redaction*. The fact that these descriptions contain clusters of five-part series is likely meant to draw special attention to the fact that the Kingdom of Darkness is also infused with patterns parallel to those of the Land of Light.

King(s) of Darkness

Just as beings from the Land of Light are often grouped by the compilers into five-part series, the same holds true for the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Darkness. In fact, figuring out the nature of such tenebrous groupings seems to have been a theological issue of great interest to the *Kephalaia* compilers. One of the best examples of this preoccupation can again be found in *Chapter 6*, which states that it was the King of the World of Smoke as the "chief of all evil and [all] wickedness" (1 Ke 30.27–28), who "waged war with the Light" and "did battle with the exalted kingdom" (1 Ke 30.32–33). He is said to possess five sets of characteristics: 1) five zoomorphic forms (1 Ke 30.34–31.1), 2) five evil qualities of darkness, stench, ugliness, bitterness, and fire (1 Ke 31.3–6), 3) a body "harder than all iron, brass, and steel" (1 Ke 31.14), "magic arts" (1 Ke 31.17), and the ability to understand the speech and signs of all his minions (1 Ke 32.1–8), 4) he is insect-like, with a thundering voice, and short-sighted, and 5) his body is gold, his taste is salty, and his spirit rules the powers of the world.

	1) 5 Forms	*2) 5 (forms)*	*3) Other*	*4) Also …*	*5) Signs*
King of Smoke	head lion-faced	Darkness	hard body	insect like	gold body
	hands & feet demon-faced	Stench	kills w/ magic	thunder voice	salty taste
	shoulders eagle-faced	Ugliness	dark languages	short-sighted	rules powers
	belly dragon-faced	Bitterness			
	tail fish-faced	Fire			

This rather vivid description of the dark-lord, however, reveals a number of editorial seams. For instance, the compiler is not quite sure what to call the chief ruler, whom he variously names as "King of the World of Smoke" (ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲡⲛⲟⲥ [1 Ke 30.25]), "Archon of Smoke" (ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲕⲁ[ⲡⲛⲟⲥ] [1 Ke 31.12]), "King (of those) of Darkness" (ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ [1 Ke 30.33; 31.2, 27–28; 32.1, 14; 33.2, 5]) or simply "King of Darkness" (ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ [1 Ke 31.24]). Remarkably, in much the same way as *Chapter 21*'s description of the ruler of the light-realm (see above), there appears to be interwoven into this depiction of the dark lord two passages with which parallels have been identified in the Mandaean *Right Ginza*:[2]

Passage A: Manichaean

Kephalaia, 30.34–31.1: His head [is lion-faced, his] hands and feet are demon- [and devil-]faced, [his] shoulders are eagle-faced, while his belly [is dragon-faced,] (and) his tail is fished-faced.

Mandaean

Right Ginza, 280: His head is that of a lion, his body is that of a serpent, his wings are those of an eagle, his sides are those of a tortoise, his hands and feet are those of a demon (trans. from Puech).

[2] This is an identification already made by Polotsky in the 1940 edition. See translations of this passage by Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, 278 and Puech, "Le prince des ténèbres," 113. Puech believed that the Mandaean passage was based on the Manichaean, due to what he called "la gaucherie" of the prior (114). Yet, the Manichaean passage is no less (if not more) "gauche" in the way in which the compiler incorporated this outside material. Rather, the Manichaean passage seems more like a development of the Mandaean. It is, however, possible that both passages drew on some unknown antecedent.

Passage B: Manichaean	*Mandaean*
Kephalaia, 32.15–20: When it pleases him to walk, he spreads out all his limbs, and he walks. When it comes to his mind, he draws in his limbs and takes them to himself and rolls them into one another and he falls down like a grape or a great iron ball. He is terrible in his voice, he causes fear (and) frightens his powers with his voice.	*Right Ginza*, 280: When it pleases him, he dilates his body; when it pleases him, he makes himself small. He draws in his members and spreads them again … his appearance is horrible, his body rank, his face distorted (trans. from Puech).

Passage A, in fact, does have a precedent in Manichaean canonical tradition, since al-Nadīm attributes the following description of Satan to Mani: "His head is the head of a lion and his body like the body of a dragon (great serpent). His wing is like the wing of a bird, his tail like the tail of a great fish, and his four feet like the feet of a beast of burden" (*Fihrist*, 778 [Dodge]). Moreover, an additional witness to this zoomorphic description can be found in *Kephalaia Chapter 27 "On the Five Forms which exist in the Archon of Darkness"* (1 Ke 77.29–78.1):

> As for the Archon, the leader of all the powers / [of Darkness], there are [*Five Forms*] in his body, according to / [the form] of the seal [of the *Five] Creations* which exist in the *Five / Worlds of Darkness*. His head has the face of a lion and / originated from [the] World of Fire. His wings and his / [shoulders] have the face of an eagle, according to the form of the Sons of Wind. / [His hands] and [his feet] are demons, according to the form / [of the Sons] of the World of Smoke. His belly has the face of / [a dragon, according to the form of] the World of Darkness. His tail [has] / the form of the fish, which belongs to [the World of the] Sons of Water. These / *Five Forms* are found in him; they [have come] from the *Five [Creations]* / of the *Five Worlds of Darkness* (1 Ke 77.26–78.3).

This means that we are faced with four variant descriptions of the dark-lord, each of which is expressed in five-parts.

Al-Nadīm	*Kephalaia* Ch. 6	*Kephalaia* Ch. 27	*Right Ginza*, 280
head of lion	head lion-faced	head lion-faced	head of lion
body of dragon	hands/feet demon-faced	wings eagle-faced	body of serpent
wing of bird	shoulders eagle-faced	hands/feet demons	wings of eagle
tail of fish	belly dragon-faced	belly dragon-faced	sides of tortoise
feet of beast	tail fish-faced	tail fish-faced	hands/feet of demon

There is obviously a complicated relationship between these accounts. On the one hand the descriptions from *Kephalaia Chapters 6* and *27*

are essentially the same, varying only slightly in the order of their terminology,[3] while on the other hand, the descriptions preserved by al-Nadīm and the *Right Ginza* agree in all but two of their features. Interestingly, however, a variant from the Mandaean description, i.e., the demonic hands and feet, is preserved by both *Kephalaia* accounts. All that we may assume is that a zoomorphic description of some sort did exist as part of Manichaean canonical tradition, although the exact composition of that description remains elusive.[4] After all, it seems difficult to privilege al-Nadīm's testimony from the 10th century, even if he claims to quote Mani directly, over 4th or 5th century descriptions from the *Kephalaia*.

What then, are we to make of such variations? Perhaps the compiler felt that the canonical description available to him did not achieve the desired effect, or, perhaps he was so impressed by the other account that he sought to weave it into is own literary creation—with mixed results. At any rate, the compiler seems to have been confronted by two problems: first, how to describe the chief ruler of darkness, and second, how to name him while still preserving the canonical order of dark worlds established by Mani.

Unfortunately for the compiler, Mani's description of the dark-realm, even if it did include some sort of zoomorphic description of the dark-lord, seems to have been ambiguous at best. Theodore bar Khonai, for instance, simply records that "the Evil Nature he calls 'King of Darkness' and he says that he dwelt in the Land of Darkness with his Five Worlds: the World of Smoke, the World of Fire, the World of Wind, the World of Water, and the World of Darkness" (313.18–21 [Scher]), as does al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]). A certain amount of ambiguity even seems to have surrounded the nature of the term "World" as applied to the regions of Darkness, since according to Theodore bar Khonai, Mani employed the Syriac term ܥܠܡ (*ʿālam*) which can mean either "world" or "age."[5] Augustine, reacting to the so-called *Fundamental Epistle* variously described these entities as *saecula* (*De natura boni*, 42) and *naturae* (*Fundamental Epistle*, Frag. 6b). In *De moribus*, however, Augustine seems to have imagined them as caves (*antra*) (2.19), which

[3] Presumably "wings" and "shoulders" are meant to designate the same feature of the dark-lord.

[4] Mani does seem to have described evil entities in zoomorphic terms in his *Shabuhragan*, where he makes reference to "two lion-shaped archdemons" (Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, 223).

[5] Cumont, *Recherches I*, 11 n. 3.

may dimly reflect the notion of "storehouses" (ταμιεῖα) known to the *Kephalaia* and Simplicius (35.65–66 [Adam]). Cumont's suggestion that the Latin term *saecula* was selected via the Greek αἰῶνες[6] seems to be confirmed from what is beginning to be known about the Coptic translation of Mani's *Living Gospel* (from the *Synaxeis* codex) in which the Five *shekinahs* of the light-realm are called ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ.[7] At any rate, few specific details other than their order are given about the structure, activities, or inhabitants of these dark worlds in known canonical accounts. For instance, a fragment from the *Fundamental Epistle*[8] preserved by Augustine, describes the five regions of the land of darkness (this time in reverse order) impressionistically as

> deep and of immeasurable extent; in it reside fiery bodies, baneful breeds. Here, emanating out of the same principle came a boundless and incalculable darkness, together with its own progeny. Beyond the darkness lay filthy whirling waters with their inhabitants; further within were terrifying and violent storms with their ruler and progenitors. Next followed another fiery region, a prey to destruction, with its leaders and peoples. In the same way there lived inside it a breed filled with gloom and smoke, among whom loitered the horrible ruler and leader of all these worlds, who had congregated around himself innumerable princes, and he himself was the spirit and source of all of them (trans. Hendry).[9]

In addition, Severus of Antioch recorded a statement about how "all the members of the Tree of Darkness … rose up and ascended with numerous powers impossible to calculate."[10] Such descriptions drawn apparently from canonical writings do not achieve the clarity and specificity sought by the *Kephalaia* compilers. This ambiguity is (pardon the pun) in *stark* contrast to the light-realm, where the Father of Greatness, as we have seen, dwells with his Five Limbs, and from which emanates a well-known cast of characters including the First Man and his Five Sons, the Living Spirit and his Five Sons, as well as the Third Ambassador, the Virgin of Light, and Jesus the Splendour. It would seem then that the compiler of *Chapter 6* for some reason felt compelled to clarify just what Mani meant by his seemingly abbreviated, or simply

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[6] Cumont, *Recherches I*, 11 n. 3.

[7] Funk, *personal communication*.

[8] The exact nature of this writing's relationship with the Manichaean canon remains ambiguous.

[9] Feldmann, *Die 'Epistula Fundamenti'*, fragment 6a. For translation see Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 169–170.

[10] Kugener and Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme II*, 125.

ambiguous, description of the dark-realm and to create a greater degree of *parallelism* with the World of Light. His efforts, however, left a number of obvious traces.

In order to frame and re-enforce this clarification, the compiler of *Chapter 6* gave five-part structures a central compositional role. In the first place, the chapter title (which may in fact have been added at some later stage of the textual history) somewhat awkwardly enumerates five *sets of five* to be discussed in the chapter, namely, 1) the Five Storehouses, 2) the Five Rulers, 3) the Five Spirits, 4) the Five Bodies, and 5) the Five Tastes, while (as we have seen) the introductory frame re-emphasizes the thematic centrality of five by means of a *cluster* of five statements (see above). Then, the central discourse begins, which is itself divided into five parts dealing with the five Kings of Darkness, with (as we have also seen) the section about the King of the World of Smoke itself divided into five parts:

1) King of the World of Smoke, chief of evil (1 Ke 30.25–33)
   1) 5 Forms are in him (1 Ke 30.33–31.2)
      i) head lion-faced
      ii) hands-/ feet demon-/ devil-faced
      iii) shoulders eagle-faced
      iv) belly dragon-faced
      v) tail fish-faced
   2) Also, 5 (additional) forms in him (1 Ke 31.3–7)
      i) darkness
      ii) stench
      iii) ugliness
      iv) bitterness
      v) fire
   3) 3 other things (1 Ke 31.8–32.13)
      i) body is harder than any metal
      ii) kills with his magic arts
         (*Interpolated admonition [?]:* Keep away from magic!
            [1 Ke 31.24–33])
      iii) knows languages of 5 worlds
   4) Also, (1 Ke 32.14–32.30)
      i) he can spread out his limbs or draw them in like an insect.
      ii) his voice is terrible like thunder
      iii) he can't see what is far away
   5) These are his evil signs and symbols (1 Ke 32.30–33.8)
      i) his body is gold
      ii) his taste is salty
      iii) he rules over the powers and authorities of the world.

2) The King of the Worlds of Fire (1 Ke 33.9–17)
   i) lion-faced
   ii) brass body
   iii) sour taste
   iv) his spirit rules the kings of the world and the fire-worshiping sect

3) The King of the Worlds of Wind (1 Ke 33.18–24)
   i) eagle-faced
   ii) iron body
   iii) hot taste
   iv) his spirit rules idol-worshipers

4) The King of the World of Water (1 Ke 33.25–32)
   i) fish-faced
   ii) silver body
   iii) sweet taste
   iv) his spirit rules the baptists

5) The King of the World of Darkness (1 Ke 33.33–34.1)
   i) dragon-faced
   ii) tin body
   iii) bitter taste
   iv) his spirit rules oracles and soothsayers

The descriptions of the Five Kings in *Chapter 6* may be summarized by the following table, which reveals that structurally the chapter as a whole enumerates five sets of five: 1) five rulers, 2) five faces, 3) five bodies, 4) five tastes, and 5) spirits or sphere of influence:

5 rulers	*5 faces*	*5 bodies*	*5 tastes*	*5 spirits (rule)*
(King of Smoke)	(all-faced)	(gold body)	(salty taste)	(powers that be)
King of Fire	lion-faced	brass body	sour taste	fire-worshipers
King of Wind	eagle-faced	iron body	hot taste	idol-worshipers
King of Water	fish-faced	silver body	sweet taste	baptists
King of Darkness	dragon-faced	tin body	bitter taste	oracles etc.

While the concept of Five Worlds of Darkness is relatively well attested in canonical sources (Theodore bar Khonai 313.19 [Scher]; implied by *Fundamental Epistle*, Frag. 6b; al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]),[11] in the *Kephalaia* they are known not only as "Five Worlds of Darkness" (1 Ke 31.2; 32.2; 48.17; 48.15; 58.9; 74.29; 77.28; 78.3; 167.23; 169.10;

[11] We cannot say, however, as Gardner and Lieu have recently suggested, that "elaborate descriptions of the kingdom of darkness, and its powers, are a feature of Manichaean … writings that must derive from canonical sources" (*Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 199).

169.13), but also as "Five Worlds of Flesh" (1 Ke 26.33; 48.19; 121.20; 123.3; 177.18; 266.14) and "Five Storehouses" (1 Ke 28.8; 30.13; 30.17; 155.19). The explicit idea of Five Kings or Archons is known almost exclusively from *Chapter 6*,[12] where they are also called the "Five Spirits" (1 Ke 30.15; 30.23; 34.9). This, in itself, may not be that surprising given the confusion that seems to have been created for the compiler of *Chapter 6*,[13] who (as we saw above) found it difficult to reconcile the title "King of Darkness" with the fact that "smoke" is the first of the canonical Five Dark Elements. Nevertheless, the need to dissect the chief ruler of darkness into five sub-rulers is essentially a reflection of the compiler's desire to identify and attribute a particular governing spirit or authority to what he perceived as five spheres of negative influence in the world. In the end, this association serves as the take-home message of this particular chapter.

The danger of these Five Spirits is emphasized at the end of *Chapter 6*, where we find a grave admonition placed in the mouth of Mani: "Therefore I tell you, my brothers and my members, perfect faithful and holy elect: Keep your hearts with you and keep yourselves from the Five Slaveries of the Five Dark Spirits. Abandon the worship of their Five Bodies. Do not interact with them, so that you might escape their bond and their punishment forever" (1 Ke 34.6–12). This passage needs to be placed in its social context if it is to become comprehensible. As such, the King of the World of Smoke, the chief, is said to rule over the "powers and authorities of the earth and the whole world … those who rule over all of creation, as they humble people in their tyranny according to their will" (1 Ke 33.6–8), a reference that could conceivably be applied to authorities in both the Persian and Rome Empires. The King of the World of Fire is said to rule the "kings of the world" as well as the "Sects who worship fire" (1 Ke 33.15–17), no doubt a more explicit reference to the Sassanian Kings and their Zoroastrian clergy. The King of the World of Wind, in turn, rules in "every temple, *eidoleion*, place of worship, statues and images, shrines of worldly Error" (1 Ke 33.22–24), presumably those who follow the traditional cults. The King of the World of Water is said to rule "those who baptize with water" (1 Ke 33.31), a reference to Christians, Elchasaites, or perhaps

[12] The idea of a ruler for each world is also implied by the *Fundamental Epistle* (Fragment 6b [Feldmann]).

[13] This may even represent an innovation on the part of the Chapter 6 compiler.

even Mandaeans, while the King of the World of Darkness can be found in the utterances of soothsayers, oracles, and seers (1 Ke 34.3–4), seemingly the more popular religious practices of the time. The compiler's effort to associate a dark ruler with each of these spheres of influences was probably driven by a desire either to draw, or more likely, to keep members of the Manichaean church away from them and in the fold. After the withdrawal of Persian imperial support, which resulted in Mani's execution in 276/277 CE, his community experienced a period of harsh repression, persecution, and no doubt apostasy. As a result there would have been a strong desire, on the part of Manichaean teachers, missionaries, and catechists, to clearly define the dangers associated with these oppressive and competing spheres of political and religious influence, and to do so in a way that contributed to and strengthened the coherence and symmetry of the Manichaean system. Therefore, as Manichaean missionaries and catechists moved from Mesopotamia into Egypt and the *Kephalaia* (as we know it) began to take shape, numerical patterns, especially in terms of five-part structures, played a key role in how this coherence and symmetry was achieved and communicated.

Astrological Polemic

The third major theme addressed by the *Kephalaia* compilers in their descriptions of the dark-realm is the relation of the dark-powers, specifically the Five Worlds of Darkness, to the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the seven planetary powers. While there are references to the "Twelve Spirits of Error" in *Chapter 15 "[On the] … Five [Parts] … World of …"* (1 Ke 48.34) and anthropomorphic accounts of their cosmic distribution in *Chapter 70 "On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos"* (1 Ke 173.21–175.4), the most explicit description of the relationship between the dark powers and the Zodiac can be found in *Chapter 69 "On the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Stars."* In this chapter the disciples question Mani about what powers rule over the Zodiac and the so-called "Five Stars." In response, Mani is made to begin his discourse with an (unsuccessful) attempt at distributing the twelve signs in pairs to the Five Worlds of Darkness, which inevitably leads to the attribution of three signs to two of the worlds.

> This, however, is how it should be understood: They / are drawn from the *Five Worlds of Darkness*, are bound in the / Sphere, and two zodiacal signs are taken per world. The Twin[14] / and the Archer[15] belong to the World of Smoke, which / is the Mind. Also, the Ram[16] and the Lion[17] belong to the / World of Fire. The Bull,[18] the Water-bearer,[19] and the Scales,[20] / belong to the World of Wind. The Crab[21] and the Virgin[22] / and the Fish[23] belong to the World of Water. The Goat-horn[24] / and the Scorpion[25] belong to the World of Darkness. These are / [the] twelve Archons of wickedness, those who wickedness does not / … … For they commit every evil and / … [in the] world, either in the tree or in the flesh (1 Ke 167.22–167.33).

Following this, each of the "Five Stars" (i.e., planets) is associated with a particular dark world: 1) Zeus/Jupiter to Smoke, 2) Aphrodite/Venus to Fire, 3) Ares/Mars to Wind, 4) Hermes/Mercury to Water, and 5) Kronos/Saturn to Darkness (1 Ke 167.34–168.6). Then, in the third section of the discourse, the signs are divided according to the quadrants of the sky (1 Ke 168.16–23).

What follows is a sort of astronomical revisionism, whereby the Sun and Moon, normally counted among the seven planets by ancient astronomy but cherished by Manichaeans as Light-ships, are substituted by "Two Ascendants." According to *Chapter 69*, Mani is made to state that "these seven, which we have named—the Five Stars and the Two Ascendants (ⲁⲛⲁⲃⲓⲃⲁⲍⲱⲛ)—they are the evil-doers who perpetuate every wickedness and evil in every single land" (1 Ke 168.11–13).

According to Roger Beck, the *anabibazon* is an astronomical concept that represents, along with the *katabibazon*, the two points (or "nodes") at which the orbits of the Sun and Moon intersect on a monthly basis.[26] According to Beck, this seemingly straightforward astronomical concept may have been interpreted in a sinister light by Manichaeans due

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[14] i.e., Gemini.
[15] i.e., Sagittarius.
[16] i.e., Aries.
[17] i.e., Leo.
[18] i.e., Taurus.
[19] i.e., Aquarius.
[20] i.e., Libra.
[21] i.e., Cancer.
[22] i.e., Virgo.
[23] i.e., Pisces.
[24] i.e., Capricorn.
[25] i.e., Scorpio.
[26] "Anabibazontes," 193.

to the fact that it is at one of these two points that eclipses of the Sun and Moon may occur.[27] In addition, the fact that these nodes appear to "move" led to their being considered as quasi-planets and to their eventual incorporation into late antique astrology as the "head and tail" of a great dragon responsible for eclipses.[28] Moreover, in Zoroastrian tradition, the nodes came to represent a "Dark Sun" and "Dark Moon" that acted as agents of Ahriman.[29] Yet according to Beck, this reference to the *anabibazontes* in the *Kephalaia* likely represents the "earliest unambiguous attested instance of the demonization of the lunar nodes."[30] This became necessary due to the fact that Manichaean theology demanded the removal of the Sun and Moon from the standard series of seven planets,[31] thereby requiring substitutes in the form of the *anabibazontes*. The substitution, however, remains somewhat awkward, given the fact that, while the compiler of *Chapter 69* is determined to associate *five* of the planets with the Five Worlds of Darkness, ancient astronomy recognized *seven*. Without this substitution of the Sun and Moon by the nodes Manichaeans would have appeared to violate ancient astronomical *koinē*, thereby discrediting any claims to astronomical orthodoxy, especially in Mesopotamia where rival religious groups such as Zoroastrians and Mandaeans appears to have been steeped in astrological speculations.[32] Yet even in spite of Manichaean efforts to talk about astronomical concepts, observers such as Alexander of Lycopolis and, later, Augustine remained unconvinced.[33] That

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[27] "Anabibazontes," 193–194.

[28] Beck, "Anabibazontes," 194. Seventh century CE Syriac author Severus Sebokht explained that this dragon is known as the *athalia* (ܐܬܠܝܐ) (Nau, "La cosmographie," 253–254), a term attested in both the Manichaean *Psalm-Book* (2 Ps. 196.8: ⲁⲑⲁⲗⲓⲁ) and Syriac Manichaean fragments (Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees*, 114: ܐܬܠܝܐ). According to his description of Indian astronomy, al-Biruni states that "the dragon's head" is counted among the unlucky stars by the Hindus (*India*, 212 [Sachau]).

[29] Beck, "Anabibazontes," 195. See *Bundahišn*, 49.12 (MacKenzie, "Zoroastrian Astrology," 8).

[30] "Anabibazontes," 195–196.

[31] Mani attributed his recognition of the true nature of the Sun and Moon to Jesus in a fragment preserved by al-Biruni (*India*, 284 [Sachau]).

[32] Mandaeans, for instance, spoke about the "seven and the twelve" as malevolent powers (Widengren, *Mani*, 69).

[33] Alexander joked that Manichaeans should have "occasionally visited the astronomers" (*Contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, 22), while Augustine could not reconcile his private study of astronomy with Manichaean teachings (cited by Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 178). See also Ferrari, "Astronomy and Augustine," 263–276, who suggests that eclipses witnessed by Augustine played a role in his break with Manichaeism.

Manichaeans were "amateurs" in astrology[34] does in fact appear to be the case when we do a close reading of *Kephalaia Chapter 69*, which contains significant compositional or editorial flaws.[35] Similarly, the following chapter, *Chapter 70 "On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos,"* contains two conflicting melothesiac[36] descriptions of the Zodiac:

Signs of the Zodiac	*Description A: 1 Ke 174.3–10*	*Description B: 1 Ke 174.21–175.2*
Ram / Aries	Head	Right Temple
Bull / Taurus	Neck & Shoulders	Right Shoulder
Twin / Gemini	2 Forearms	Right Forearm
Crab / Cancer	Oesophagus	Right Rib
Lion / Leo	Stomach	Right Stomach
Virgin / Virgo	Heart	Right Intestines
Scales / Libra	Spine & Intestines	Left Belly
Scorpion / Scorpio	Chest	Left Rib
Archer / Sagittarius	Loins	Left Breast & Kidney
Goat-horn / Capricorn	Feet	Left Elbow
Water-bearer / Aquarius	Shinbones	Left Shoulder
Fish / Pisces	Soles of feet	Left Temple

This chapter, which as Gardner has suggested was likely drawn from "a number of separate sources,"[37] although re-enforcing the compiler's anthropomorphic view of the cosmos, does little to establish his credentials as a serious astrologer.

What then are we to make of this lively, although somewhat incoherent, interest in astrological speculation? Stegemann suggested that the association of the signs of the Zodiac with the Five Worlds was some kind of game with the aspects intended to show the adversarial relationship of the signs to one another.[38] This explanation, however, seems too obscure and technical to have generated any real meaning, even to an educated Manichaean Elect. Instead, I would suggest that the aim of *Chapter 69* might not have been astrological at all, but rather polemi-

[34] Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 179.

[35] Such as the attribution of *three* signs to two of the five worlds.

[36] A similar concept relating the parts of the body to the Zodiac is described by al-Biruni in his chapter on Indian astronomy (*India*, 218 [Sachau]). Nagel compared these arrangements to melothesiac lists from the *Apocryphon of John*, although these are not put in relation to the Zodiac ("Anatomie des Menschen," 91). According to Nagel, such formulations are a reflection of the tendency (or "mania" for that matter) of Manichaean discourse for typology, analogy, harmony, and symmetry ("Anatomie des Menschen," 91).

[37] Gardner, *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 179.

[38] Stegemann, "Zu Kapitel 69," 217–218, followed by Widengren, *Mani*, 70–71.

cal. As we have seen, the compilers went to great lengths in *Chapter 6* to associate each of the Five Dark Worlds with particular spheres of political or religious influence. Thus, it is possible that a similar manoeuvre is at least being attempted in *Chapter 69*. For example, while in *Chapter 6* the World of Smoke was associated with Roman and Sasanian imperial authorities, *Chapter 69*'s attribution of the Twin (Gemini) and the Archer (Sagittarius) may involve a similar symbolic association. Similarly, the association of the Crab (Cancer), the Virgin (Virgo) and the Fish (Pisces) with the World of Water, could reflect *Chapter 6*'s association of this world with rival Christian and "Baptist" groups. This interpretation (already implied by Khosroyev),[39] although highly speculative, seems at least plausible, given the penchant of the compilers for associating mythological formations with concrete social realities. After all, allegorical interpretations of the signs are known in Jewish,[40] Judaeo-Christian,[41] Gnostic,[42] mainstream Christian,[43] and even Mithraic[44] circles, and the planets themselves were sometimes associated by Hellenistic astrologers with particular religious groups.[45]

At any rate, regardless of whatever polemical or scientific intentions may have been behind such formulations, it is at least clear that the *Kephalaia* compilers, like so many other aspects of reality, viewed the astrological powers as basically pentadic in structure. This is emphasized also by a passage from *Chapter 57 "On the Generation of Adam,"* where (also in the form of a *cluster*) Mani is made to describe how

> They increased and again diminished / because there are *Five Types of Authority* and / *Guide* set in the sphere of the Zodiac and the / heavens which are above it. They have ⟨*Five*⟩[46] *Names*, by which / they are called. The first name is the "year", the / second is the "month", the third is the "day", the / [fourth] is the "hour", (and) the fifth is the "minute." These

[39] Khosroyev, "Zu einer astronomischen Realie," 349.

[40] A number of ancient synagogues contained mosaic representations of the Zodiac. See Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*; Hachlili, "The Zodiac in Ancient Jewish Art," 61–77; Ness, "Astrology and Judaism," 126–133.

[41] The signs were associated first with the twelve patriarchs and were then transferred to the twelve apostles (Daniélou, "Les douze apôtres et le zodiaque," 14–21).

[42] Welburn, "The Identity of the Archons," 241–254.

[43] See Zeno of Verona, *Tractatus de duodecim signis ad neophytos* (CCSL 22), 105–106; Hübner, "Das Horoskop der Christen," 120–137.

[44] Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 153.

[45] For instance, Jupiter with Zoroastrianism, Mars with idolaters, or Venus with Arab religion (Khosroyev, "Zu einer astronomischen Realie," 349 n. 32).

[46] Polotsky/Böhlig, 145.10 note.

> *Five / Places* and these *Five Dwellings* are found in the sphere and / the heavens. These regions have *Five Powers* ruling over / them (1 Ke 145.7–16).

In this chapter a certain Babylonian catechumen has questioned Mani about why the lifespan of Adam and his generation seemed so much longer than the people of their time. Mani is made to respond by saying that Five Authorities rule the various life-spans of beings in the world, from year to month to day to hour to minute. The fact that people's lives are becoming increasingly short means that the end is near and that their light substance is dwindling. Whereas Adam and Eve were full of light substance, their lives were longer, they were larger, and produced more offspring, contemporary people are small, ugly and evil, meaning that they are nearly void of light. While this discourse is meant to address the apparent discrepancy between the life-spans of biblical figures and later generations, the explanation is framed by a pentadic conception of both the astrological powers and their influence on history, which is itself conceived of has having five phases. This, of course, represents yet another example of the pervasive emphasis on five-part structures presented by the compilers.

This desire to present a set of astrological speculations based on pentads, although no doubt influenced by the same *pentadization* process observed above, was also driven in this case by a systemic contradiction generated by Manichaean veneration of the Sun and Moon and their generally negative evaluation of five of the canonical seven planets. In this way, the pentadization of the planets can be seen less as a stylistic or ideological preference and more as a response to a genuine doctrinal problem.

But why go to such great lengths to emphasize the pentadic structure of the powers of Darkness if this is already a quality possessed by the powers of Light? On the doctrinal level, the system appears to demand it, particularly when, as in the image of the Two Trees, the natures are depicted as essentially symmetrical in orientation, with parallel sets of Five Limbs attached to two coeternal sources of being. Besides, as we have seen, Mani himself appears to have described the Land of Darkness as made up of Five Elemental Worlds, although, unlike the Realm of Light, he seems to have left fewer clues as to what impact such a structure had on other aspects of evil. Thus, the *Kephalaia* compilers were forced to build upon and expand existing material. One particularly difficult issue for the compilers seems to have been

the way in which Mani ordered the Dark Elements, with Smoke first and Darkness last. This, as we saw in *Chapter 6*, caused a great deal of confusion for the compiler, who found it difficult to reconcile a being called "King of Darkness" with the fact that the World of Darkness came fifth in the canonical series. Similarly, the relation of the Sun and Moon to the planets also caused a theological quandary. Such traces of conflicting and contradictory ideas indicated that even at the stage when the surviving text was being edited, the *Kephalaia* compilers were still engaged in sorting out some of the difficulties contained within the canonical tradition.

CHAPTER FOUR

OTHER TYPES OF PATTERNING

Aside from five-part patterns dealing with specific structural and operational aspects of either the light or dark realms, a variety of other pentadic formulations can also be found in the *Kephalaia* dealing with a range of 1) soteriological, 2) ethical 3) ecclesiological, 4) polemical, and 5) aetiological themes.

Soteriological Patterning

The *Kephalaia* compilers' efforts to present general soteriological themes in five-parts is evident in *Chapter 13 "On the Five Saviours, Resurrectors of the Dead, along with the Five Resurrections," Chapter 16b (On the Five Advents), Chapter 18 "[On the Five] Wars [which the] Sons of Light waged with [the Sons] of Darkness," Chapter 19 "On the Five Releases; what they mean," Chapter 103 "On the Five Wonderworks that the Light-Mind reveals to the Elect," Chapter 112b (On the Five Things Revealed by Jesus)*, and *Chapter 176 "On the Spiritual Transition in Five(?) Forms and that through which the Church changes."*

Chapter 13 presents a series of "Five Resurrecting Saviours" (ϯογ ⲛⲥ̅ⲏ̅ⲣ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥ) (1 Ke 45.17), although the fragmentation of the text allows for the identification of only the third and fourth. In this series, the Father is placed in third position, which appears strange given the importance usually accorded to him as the foundation of all subsequent being, while Light-Mind is placed in fourth position.

In *Chapter 18*, the confrontation with the dark-realm is presented as a series of "[Five] Wars" ([ϯογ] ⲙⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ)[1] waged by the "Sons of Light" (ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ) (1 Ke 58.2–3). Here an additional series of "five sons" is created, although this time using primary actors not normally designated as "sons" such as First Man, the Living Spirit, Third Messenger, Jesus the Splendour, and Call & Response. Again, as in *Chapter 16*, the three-part canonical version of the myth is transformed

[1] ϯογ has been restored (1 Ke 58.2). Even though only four of the wars are readable, I am assuming, based on this restoration, that five wars were described.

into a series of five conflicts. Interestingly, the same five figures appear in *Chapter 16b*[2] as a series of five "advents" (ⲛⲟⲓⲛⲉⲓ), with the "advent" of each agent assigned to a particular metaphor. The advent of First Man, for instance, is compared to a noble son deceived by his enemies (1 Ke 50.19–20), while the advent of the Living Spirit is compared to a judge sent by a king to quell an insurrection (1 Ke 50.28 ff.). The advent of the Third Messenger, in turn, is likened to a king who comes to inspect the work of his artisans (1 Ke 52.22 ff.), while the advent of Jesus the Splendour evokes the image of a man sent to root out and burn evil trees (1 Ke 53.19–27). Finally, the advent of Call & Response is compared to the homely image of butter being melted into warm milk (1 Ke 54.26 ff.). *Chapter 19* again presents the same series, only this time it is identified as the "Five Releases" (ⲧⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲓⲛⲣⲃⲁⲗ) or "Liberations" (ⲛⲟⲓⲛⲧⲟⲩⲱ). The fragmentary state of the chapter has obscured many of the details, but in general we find here an additional formulation of Manichaean soteriology in five parts.

Also on the soteriological level, there are a small number of five-part structures relating specifically to the influence of the Light-Mind on the individual. For instance, in *Chapter 103 "On the Five Wonderworks that the Light-Mind reveals to the Elect"* Mani is made to describe "Five Light Signs" (ⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ) (1 Ke 257.13) that the Light-Mind works among the Elect, namely, 1) Wisdom, 2) Faith, 3) …, 4) Love, and 5) Severity of Judgment (1 Ke 257.13–24). It is by means of these Five Signs that the Light-Mind "purifies, refines, raises, and saves" (1 Ke 257. 29–30) the New Man. Although this series of qualities differs from that of the canonical Five Virtues discussed above, which includes 1) Love, 2) Faith, 3) Perfection, 4) Patience, and 5) Wisdom, there is an ecclesiological context to *Chapter 103* that seems to justify the arrangement. Whereas Wisdom is the product of the Elect's preaching activity, Faith is the desired result among his hearers. The unknown third quality appears to promote peace in the community, while Love is engendered among the brothers and sisters. Finally, Severity of Judgement enables the Elect to purify the community of error. In this way, the "Five Light

[2] As we can see, *Chapter 16* somewhat awkwardly juxtaposes two different series, one labelled as the Five Greatnesses and the other (presumably) the Five Advents. This may indicate that two separate *kephalaia* have been combined together to form a single chapter. After all, the benediction at the close of *Chapter 16* mentions only the Five Advents, a series that is described in elaborate detail, while the Five Greatnesses are given only an abbreviated, formulaic description (see Gardner, *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 54).

Signs" revealed by the Light-Mind, although soteriological in nature, are ecclesiological in orientation and can thus be seen to cross over into this category.

An additional soteriological pattern can be found in *Chapter 112b (On the Five Things Revealed by Jesus)*.[3] According to this chapter, Jesus is said to have revealed "Five Great Things" (1 Ke 268.4) to humanity: 1) its affiliation with the race of Light, 2) the condition of the Aeon of Greatness, 3) the heroic activities of the Light, 4) the purpose of his mission, and 5) the imprisonment of the rebels (1 Ke 268.5–18). This list essentially constitutes the "gnosis" originally delivered by Jesus to Adam and Eve (1 Ke 268.2) and, later, by all the "apostles" to humanity. The motif that Jesus revealed to Adam his true nature is recorded by both Theodore bar Khonai (317.15–28 [Scher]) and al-Nadim (*Fihrist*, 784 [Dodge]) as attributed to Mani, although neither source records such a specific, five-part elaboration of this message. Thus, once again, the compiler seems to have shaped canonical material into a pentadic frame.

A final soteriological pattern can be found in *Chapter 176 "On the Spiritual Transition in Five(?) Forms and that through which the Church changes."* In this rather fragmentary chapter, several series of five "transitions" (ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲁⲃⲁⲥⲓⲥ) are described. The first series appears to describe the movement of the individual towards righteousness and entry into the Holy Church (1 Ke 453.4–455.6), while the second series describes the fate of the soul after death, as it passes through the various stations and light-vehicles to its eventual reunification with the Father (1 Ke 455.7–456.17). This second series then appears to be re-expressed, although this time with slight variations in detail and an association with the "Five Dwellings" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲏ) (1 Ke 458 ff.). While the exact details of these transition series are impossible to reconstruct, it is at least clear that the movements of the soul were seen as taking place in five-stages.

These chapters demonstrate the degree to which the *Kephalaia* compilers viewed their drama of salvation as a five-act play, rather than the three acts established by the founder of their religion.

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[3] Here I am suggesting that 1 Ke 267.18–268.18 might have constituted a separate chapter that has been embedded within *Chapter 112 "The Human Being is less than all the Things of the Cosmos, and He is more shipwrecked than them All"* (1 Ke 266.3–268.27). This section even has its own Q & A frame (1 Ke 267.18–28) typical of individual chapters.

Ethical Patterning

Pentadic structures appear to play a role in Manichaean ethics as well, particularly in *Chapter 91 "Also on the Catechumen, who is saved in a Single Body," Chapter 146: "The Old Man has Five Foods to live on; the New Man has Five Others*," *Chapter 165 "Envy exists in Five Forms"* and *Chapter 189 "[On the Five Temptations]."*

Chapter 91 contains two discourses on Catechumenate ethics. For the first discourse, Mani is questioned by an Elect about how a Catechumen can avoid the process of reincarnation. In response, Mani is made to describe three sets of five characteristics that the Catechumen must posses. First, the Catechumen must regard 1) his wife as a stranger, 2) his house as an inn, 3) his family as fellow travellers, 4) his possessions as borrowed, and 5) his thoughts must always be on God (1 Ke 228.24–229.6). Second, the Catechumen must practice continence (*enkrateia*) by 1) not eating meat, 2) fasting and prayer, 3) almsgiving, 4) lack of malice, and 5) devotion to the church (1 Ke 229.20–29). Third, the good Catechumens can be known by the fact that they are 1) like the "good pearl" mentioned in Mani's *Treasure of Life*, 2) not bound by the enemy, 3) purified according to their deeds, 4) healed and purified, and 5) constantly at prayer (1 Ke 230.6–29). For the second part of the discourse, Mani is asked about what happens to the prior sins of those Catechumens who were idolaters, blasphemers, murderers, and magicians before entering the church (1 Ke 231.12–24). In response, Mani is made to argue that as long as such a Catechumen 1) accepts the faith, 2) separates Light from Darkness, 3) perceives the mystery of the Living Soul, 4) receives the right-hand of peace, and 5) prays to the Light-Mind for forgiveness (1 Ke 232.1–8) all prior sins will be forgiven. In addition, the Catechumen's position may be improved by 1) abstinence, 2) vigils, 3) fasting, 4) care for the Living Soul, and 5) prayer (1 Ke 233.5–14). What follows is an account of how the Catechumen's sin is divided into five-parts. While four of these parts may be forgiven by the church, the fifth requires further purification (1 Ke 233.21–234.20).

Essentially what *Chapter 91* presents is four sets of five-part ethical patterns, two from the first discourse (Discourse A) and two from the second (Discourse B):

Discourse A (1)	*Discourse A (2)*	*Discourse B (1)*	*Discourse B (2)*
abstinence	vegetarian diet	faith	abstinence
hospitality	fasting and prayer	separation of natures	vigils
detachment from family	almsgiving	mystery of Living Soul	fasting
detachment from things	lack of malice	right-hand of peace	care for Living Soul
piety	devotion to church	prayer to Light-Mind	prayer

It is interesting, however, to compare what relation these five-part ethical patterns might have with the "Ten Commandments," which according to al-Nadīm, Mani established for the Hearers (i.e., Catechumens) (*Fihrist*, 789 [Dodge]), and which are known in various branches of Manichaeism,[4] against 1) idol-worship, 2) lying, 3) greed, 4) killing, 5) fornication, 6) theft, 7) pretences/false teaching, 8) sorcery, 9) doubt, and 10) sloth.[5] In fact, there is little in either of *Chapter 91*'s lists to suggest any conformity with the canonical list from al-Nadīm, although four of the canonical commandments appear to be alluded to when Mani is asked about the prior sins of idolaters, blasphemers, murderers, and magicians just before the second discourse.

It appears as though the compiler of *Chapter 91*, although apparently interested in the Ten Commandments of the Catechumenate, has decided to divide two variant sets of them into two sets of five, to which he has appended in each case a five-part discussion of purity. It is difficult to imagine why this was done, except perhaps in response to a greater need for ethical flexibility depending on the type of person entering the Catechumenate. Could it be that a generally upstanding person entering the church was subject to a slightly different set of criteria than someone with a criminal past? We cannot be sure. What is clear is that the compiler of *Chapter 91* has rejected a ten-part ethical framework in favour of one with five parts.

Chapter 146 presents the radical difference between what influences and sustains the individual prior to and post conversion. Whereas prior to conversion the individual is sustained by 1) physical beauty, 2) evil discourses and myths, 3) beautiful works (of some kind), 4) worldly

[4] See Sims-Williams, "The Manichaean Commandments," 577–578.
[5] Sims-Williams, "Manichaean Commandments," 578.

foods, and 5) sexual desire (1 Ke 349.24–350.3), after conversion this sustenance is exchanged for 1) the spirit of the church leaders, 2) liturgical prayer, 3) joy, 4) itinerate preaching, and 5) scripture (1 Ke 349.5–18). As is so often the case in *Kephalaia* theology, good and evil, although radically different in their nature, are conceived of as structurally analogous. Just as the Good and Evil Trees both have Five Limbs, so too are the Old Man and New Man driven by five sources of nourishment. Again, this reinforces the fundamentally parallelism of the two opposed natures.

Unfortunately, while the lacunous state of *Chapter 165* completely obscures the five forms of envy, two of the five temptations can be read from *Chapter 189*, namely the fourth, desire for women (1 Ke 485.23), and the fifth, apostasy during persecution (1 Ke 485.30–486.7). Somewhat clearer is the distinction made by *Chapter 193* between the "Five Properties" of the Evil One and the Good One. To the "Evil One" are attributed 1) …, 2) slander, 3) murder, 4) greed, and 5) mixing of light and dark (1 Ke 490.27–29), while to the "Good One" are attributed 1) fasting, 2) grief, 3) almsgiving, 4) faith, and 5) separation of light and dark (1 Ke 491.5–6). Here, again, the qualitative rather than the structural difference between the two natures is emphasized.

It is interesting to note that in none of these ethical chapters is reference made to the canonical "Five Virtues" of 1) love, 2) faith, 3) perfection, 4) patience, and 5) wisdom known from Mani's *Epistles* (50.9–14) and al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]). This indicates yet another deviation from canonical traditions by the compilers.

Ecclesiological Patterning

While we could see that some of the soteriological patterns discussed above had certain ecclesiological overtones, one *Kephalaia* chapter in particular, *Chapter 137 "On the Five Types of Brotherhood that are distinguished from one another,"* contains an important discussion of ecclesiological issues. In this chapter, a distinction is made between five types of individuals who form part of or are associated with the Holy Church, namely 1) brothers, 2) children, 3) disciples, 4) "day-labourers," and 5) slaves (1 Ke 338.25–27). "Brothers" are the "people of righteousness" (ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ[ⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ]) (1 Ke 338.29) guided by the Light-Mind, while the "children" are "considerate people" (ⲛⲣⲙⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ) (1 Ke 339.9) who always follow the ways of truth. "Disciples" are described as "splen-

did sheep" (ⲛⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲉ) (1 Ke 339.17), who follow their teacher in patience, while "day-labourers" (ⲛϫⲁⲏⲃⲉⲕⲉ) are those whose commitment to the Church is not total (1 Ke 339.21–29). Finally, "slaves" (ⲛⲟⲗⲟⲩⲟⲛⲉ) are vain and disobedient people who flee at the first signs of persecution (1 Ke 340.1–12). Interestingly, while the discourse classifies Church members according to these five groups, the reader is encouraged to reject the last two as "foreign races" (ⲙⲡⲓⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲱⲙⲙⲟ) (340.14).[6] While this five-fold division of the Church appears to have nothing to do with the formal, five-part hierarchy of 1) Teachers, 2) Bishops, 3) Presbyters/Elders, 4) Elect, and 5) Hearers known from a variety of Manichaean sources,[7] it is important to remember that what is being described by *Chapter 137* are not formal, ecclesiastical classes but rather types of relationships. Whereas acceptable members of the Church behave like "brothers," "children," or "disciples," unacceptable members act with the indifference of "day-labourers" or, worst of all, the disloyalty of "slaves."[8]

An additional, albeit enigmatic, reference to five-part ecclesiological structures can be found in *Chapter 3 "On the Interpretation of Happiness, Wisdom, and Power; what they mean."* This chapter, after enumerating the five levels of existence at which these three concepts can be found, closes with a *cluster* of references to "Five Happinesses, Five Wisdoms, and Five Powers" (1 Ke 25.3–4) which are then (following a lacuna) set into some kind of relation to "Five Churches" (1 Ke 25.4). What this reference to Five Churches means, however, remains entirely mysterious.

Polemical Patterning

While we have seen that *Chapter 6* and *Chapter 69* used five-part patterns for polemical ends, a similar technique is used in two additional polemical[9] discussions of rival religious groups. The first instance can

[6] This represents a kind of stylistic division sometimes employed in the *Kephalaia* whereby a five-part series is divided into three good and two bad components. A similar effect is achieved by *Chapter 39 "On the Three Days and the Two Deaths,"* in which the doctrine of "Three Times" is contrasted with two moments of defeat for the Darkness.

[7] Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 77–78; Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 27.

[8] There is no doubt a social dimension to this metaphoric revilement of "day-labourers" and "slaves" as "foreign races" that would be worthy of exploration.

[9] Interestingly, both chapters make use of the word ⲙⲛⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲉϩⲟⲩⲧ. While the exact meaning of this word remains a mystery, given its connection with a rival teaching it presumably indicates something to do with error.

be found in *Chapter 12*, where Mani is asked to explain the "Five Words which are proclaimed in the teaching of the Baptists" (1 Ke 44.25–26) and other sects. Unfortunately, the lacunous state of the text once again prevents us from reconstructing what these "Five Words" might have been, with the exception of "Third Messenger" as the second in the series (1 Ke 44.36–45.1). Similarly, in *Chapter 100 "On the Dragon, the one with Fourteen Heads; what is it and …,"* Mani is questioned by a disciple on the existence of a fourteen-headed dragon mentioned in the "laws of the Magi" as dwelling in "Five Hallows" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛϣⲁⲣϣϥ) (1 Ke 252.1–3). In response, Mani is made to give an anthropological interpretation in which the fourteen heads of the dragon are said to represent the seven (*sic!*)[10] senses of the head and the seven senses of the body (1 Ke 252.19–253.2). The "Five Pits" (ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲃⲏⲃ) in which the dragon dwells, however, are said to represent five of the internal organs (1 Ke 253.2–7).

Aetiological Patterning

Finally, a small class of what might be termed aetiological[11] patterns can be identified in chapters where Mani is made to account for the existence of certain natural or biological phenomena. For instance, in *Chapter 95* Mani is made to offer an explanation of five different manifestations of cloud (1 Ke 240.19–244.13), while in *Chapter 65* he is made to describe five aspects of the sun, namely its 1) light, 2) beauty, 3) peace, 4) life, and 5) force (1 Ke 162.1–13). Similarly in *Chapter 68*, Mani is made to describe five effects of fire, such as the fact that it 1) destroys materials, 2) separates fire, light, ash, and smoke from wood, 3) gives taste to food, 4) helps craftsmen work, and 5) helps people to see (1 Ke 166.19–30). In addition, *Chapter 104* presents a particularly enigmatic discussion of five ways in which the energy provided by food is expended by human beings through 1) intellectual pleasure, 2) speech, 3) physical activity, 4) sexual intercourse, and 5) procreation (1 Ke 258.10–23). Interestingly, emphasis is placed on the well-being and

[10] One would expect Mani to describe the five senses of the head and the body, but the fact that fourteen heads are mentioned necessitates the description of seven. Besides, if one counts two ears, two eyes, two nostrils, and one mouth, one arrives at seven. See 1 Ke 173.1–4.

[11] I use the term aetiological to mean that the author(s) are attempting to account for and explain the existence of various worldly phenomena through the lens of Manichaean ideology.

needs of the fifth product, the child, as most important, while the other four are seen as unimportant and incidental. Finally, *Chapter 107* offers a five-part explication of the production of speech (1 Ke 261.3–12) based on a metaphor involving the work of craftsmen.

Such chapters are generally very brief and seem to have served as simple aetiological discussions about commonplace topics that were likely seen as problematic when viewed through the lens of Manichaean ideology. For instance, the status of fire as both a Light and Dark Element no doubt caused confusion as to its utility. Similarly, Manichaean condemnations of procreation likely perplexed some of the Catechumens with families. The fact that such issues could be explained in terms of five-part patterns would have been reassuring to the *Kephalaia*'s intended audience, for whom a pentadic vision of reality was being constructed.

CONCLUSIONS & IMPLICATIONS

This study of five-part numeric patterns in the Manichaean *Kephalaia* has led to one primary conclusion, namely, that the text contains a considerable number of theological formulations that appear to be at variance with what we know, or can infer, about canonical Manichaean traditions. This means that the compilers of the work deemed it necessary to alter, expand, and improvise upon the teachings of their founder in order to address a variety of themes that were seen as either pressing or simply of interest. If this is the case, then why did they do it? What were some of the factors that might have stimulated this departure from teachings and traditions that Mani, we assume, had expected to be definitive? In response, three factors appear to have been at work that led to this creative use of numeric patterning: 1) scholastic redaction, 2) response to adversity, and 3) missionary expansion. Moreover, by way of conclusion, some suggestions will be offered as to why the number five was favoured in particular as well as who could have been the driving force behind this numeric interest.

Scholastic Redaction

As was stated above, from what we can piece together from the many scattered remains of Mani's own writings, it does not appear that his work was very systematic in nature. Rather, likely written over a substantial period of time in varying circumstances,[1] Mani's writings seem to have been largely incidental, dealing with a wide range of (often miscellaneous) theological, polemical, and pastoral concerns (as in the *Book of Mysteries* and *Epistles*). In some cases, he seems to have presented a more-or-less straightforward narrative of his cosmogonical, prophetological, or eschatological ideas (as in *Shabuhragan*, *Living Gospel*, and the

[1] In fact, we have no clear ideas about how the canon came to be formed or if the canonical writings (plus *Shabuhragan*) were, in fact, the only ones he composed during his lifetime.

source[s] used by Theodore bar Khonai and al-Nadīm), while in others, he appears to have been somewhat of a collector of pre-existing traditions (as in the *Book of Giants*). Besides, the fact that he attempted to portray his vision artistically by means of his *Picture-book* implies that Mani may have been more interested in the aesthetic impact of his message than its systematic presentation. More importantly, however, none of these canonical writings appear to have contained the same degree of fascination with numbers and numeric patterns as can be found so prominently expressed in the *Kephalaia*. This means that, at some point in the (largely obscure) literary history of the work, the compilers of the *Kephalaia* saw fit to introduce these patterns in order to resolve what may have been a substantial number of "loose-ends" and ambiguities in the canonical tradition. By doing so, they were attempting to construct a more cohesive and, by extension, more competitive theological vision of the cosmos. The fact that the compilers of so many chapters display a pronounced preference for *five* means that the editorial efforts in which they engaged can be reasonably described as an essentially scholastic process of *pentadic redaction*.

First, we observed that the compilers of the *Kephalaia* appear to have adopted as a general theological principle the idea that divine beings—both good and evil, light and dark—ought to be conceived of as having five basic properties. This was, as we saw, dramatically (and it would seem programmatically) expressed in *Chapter 2* through the radical opposition between the "Two Trees," an early Manichaean metaphor for the two radically opposed principles. In this case, the two opposed natures, so fundamental to Manichaean cosmology, are conceived of as being qualitatively different, though structurally identical.

Then we directed our attention to the light-realm, where we saw that this interest in conveying the five-fold nature of divine being was extended to the most revered of such beings, the Father of Greatness, who, even though he was known in canonical (and later eastern) traditions both as the "Four-faced God" and as having "Five Limbs," was portrayed by the compiler of *Chapter 21* a being characterized by five qualities.

Following this, we looked at the degree to which the *Kephalaia* compilers were faced with considerable conceptual and terminological challenges in their efforts to describe the constituent elements that give light-being its substance. These "Five Elements," also known as the "Five Sons of First Man," the "Five Luminous Gods," and at times even the "Five Intellectuals," are found in an often bewildering array of

contexts that do not always allow for a clear differentiation of concepts. Nevertheless, in spite of this obvious terminological variability and confusion, we also noted that the compilers do not appear to have been interested in sorting them out. Rather, this series, particularly under the guise of the "Five Sons," served as a convenient literary and rhetorical tool for the construction of other more elaborate patterns and formulations involving other number patterns.

Next, we examined the degree to which five-part patterns played a pivotal role in both the theological and literary formulations of *Chapter 38*, a text that might be considered the centre-piece of *Kephalaia* volume one. In this chapter, really a treatise, Mani is made to go to great lengths to explain to a reticent disciple his assertion that the human body is really just a microcosmic representation of the macrocosm and that both domains display an equally pentadic structure in which a divine guardian watches over five districts continually disturbed by the rebellions of the dark powers.

Our final foray into the light-realm involved an examination of how the *Kephalaia* compilers sought to transform the basic pattern of Manichaean conceptions of divine activity from one based on three-stages (most clearly evidenced by Theodore bar Khonai's account) to one based on five. This was expressed by means of the highly variable series known as the "Five Fathers" as well as the grouping identified as the "Five Greatnesses." Each of these cases appears to have represented a deliberate attempt at the *pentadic redaction* of Manichaean discourse.

When it came to the dark-realm, the compilers were compelled to be more creative in their redaction efforts, since, as far as we can tell, Mani's descriptions of the land of darkness do not appear to have been all that specific. This meant that the compilers had to construct a vision of the dark-realm that was equally rooted in five-part patterns and, as such, could be symmetrically opposed to the light-realm.[2]

In the first place, we saw that the compilers attempted to account for the basic evolution of the dark-realm out of the evil principle variously known as "Matter," "Darkness," "Sin," and "Death." This meant positing five stages of development before the elaboration of

[2] Given the obvious and overriding importance of luminous series such as the "Five Limbs" and the "Five Elements," especially in canonical traditions (see above), I do not accept Couliano's suggestion that the Five Planets are the basis of all Manichaean pentads and, therefore, the dark-realm must have preceded the light-realm in Manichaean ideological formulation ("The Counterfeit Spirit," 57). If anything, this study demonstrates that the opposite was the case.

the dark-realm into five separate elemental worlds. How to describe these individual jurisdictions, however, became a challenge, since the canonical ordering of dark elements, which had placed "smoke" in first position and "darkness" last, led to a terminological difficulty that the compilers were not quite able to overcome. As we saw, this problem became most evident in *Chapter 6*, which applies no less than four different names to the chief ruler of the "Five Worlds of Darkness," although here too, as in *Chapter 38*, five-part patterning was woven into the literary and rhetorical structure in order to drive home the essentially pentadic nature of evil.

Next, we saw that Manichaeans also got into trouble when they attempted to malign only five of the seven planets known to antiquity, with the exception of the Sun and Moon, which they viewed as light-ships ferrying liberated light-particles back to their homeland. This necessitated the substitution of the "Two Ascendants," an astronomical concept that they do not appear to have completely understood, since as Roger Beck has described it, the "Ascendant" (*anabibazon*) was meant to be complimented by a "Descendant" (*katabibazon*).[3] Then, the compilers' attempt to associate the twelve signs of the Zodiac with the "Five Worlds of Darkness" led to equally patchy results, although in this case, this artificial construction seems to have had a polemical motivation.

Then, in a more generalized way, we examined how the *Kephalaia* compilers used five-part numerical patterns in order to address a variety of soteriological, ethical, ecclesiological, polemical, and aetiological themes. Here too, we observed that, especially in soteriological, ethical, and ecclesiological contexts, the compilers presented pentadic constructions at variance with what can be known from canonical traditions.

Such an extensive, albeit often subtle, reshaping of Manichaean discourse implies that the teaching and writings that Mani left behind were not seen as sufficiently clear and, as such, required extensive commentary and retooling. After all, the mere existence of an apparently *scholastic* work such as the *Kephalaia* on such a massive scale indicates that, in fact, there were a considerable number of ambiguities in the Manichaean tradition that needed to be addressed, since we may assume that many chapters have as their kernel some sort of exegetical puzzle found within the canon. This kind of redactional work not only runs contrary to the finality and definitiveness that Mani appears

[3] "Anababizontes," 193.

to have claimed for his "gospel," but it also challenges the assumptions of many modern scholars who have allowed themselves to be influenced by such claims. In fact, there is a long tradition in Manichaean Studies of scholars asserting the general uniformity and consistency of Manichaean doctrine across its bewildering array of culturally specific milieux.[4] Even Polotsky talked about the essential unity of Manichaean traditions from North Africa to China.[5] These conventional assumptions about Manichaean discourse can be summarized as follows:

1) that Mani established a complete theological system in *all* of its details,[6]
2) that this system was transmitted essentially *unchanged* from one socio-historical context to another,[7] and
3) that this system can be reconstructed from the diverse, but essentially *uniform*, sources into which it was recorded.[8]

Today, however, it no longer seems appropriate to talk about a unified "Manichaean system," especially one formulated and set-in-stone by Mani himself. Rather, as this study has shown, Manichaean theology, even at a relatively early stage, seems to have existed in varying states of flux and evolution, depending on the context in which it circulated.[9]

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[4] Such assumptions, for example, have even led Lieu to assert that "literalist" understandings of Mani's teaching made Manichaeism "a static religion" (*Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 32). This implies, however, that basic features of the discourse did not change and made it easily exposed to philosophical attack.

[5] Polotsky, "Manichäismus," 101 [240].

[6] Recently Gardner and Lieu state that in contrast to mainstream Christianity, which worked out its doctrinal formulations over centuries, "Mani took great pains to establish a total religion based upon his own comprehensive scriptures and preaching," thus, there is "less scope in the study of Manichaeism to trace the evolution of doctrine, since all teaching was rigidly tied to the very details of the divine word in Mani's scriptures" (*Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 9–10).

[7] Rudolph suggested that Coptic sources come "closest to the original system" (*Gnosis*, 334), while Heuser, in spite of his efforts to focus on a limited socio-historical source base in his study of Manichaean myth in Coptic texts, suggests that "the Manichaean myth *in toto* can be deduced from" these sources ("The Manichaean Myth," 5).

[8] In his presentation of the Manichaean "system" Hans Jonas stated that he made use primarily of Theodore bar Khonai, "supplemented by whatever pieces of material from parallel texts fit into a particular passage" (*The Gnostic Religion*, 209). Later, Klimkeit would allude to the fact that Manichaean sources reveal "a remarkably unified system" (*Gnosis on the Silk Road*, 4).

[9] Recently, BeDuhn and Mirecki have cautioned against viewing the original Mesopotamian formulation of Manichaeism as "a static base" upon which later tradition rested ("Placing the *Acts of Archelaus*," 7). In the same vein, Sala has pointed to divergent

However, as Jason BeDuhn has pointed out, Manichaean ritual, in contrast to doctrine, seems to have been one aspect of the religion that remained particularly consistent throughout the wide array of cultural environments, and, in fact, theology may have acted more as a conceptual framework meant to support ritual.[10] Thus, it seems more appropriate to talk about *phases* of Manichaean theology. Just as mainstream Christian theology can rightly be identified by any number of qualifiers, such as ante-Nicene, post-Chalcedonean, etc., so too would it be desirable for scholars to develop similar nomenclature based on critical evaluation of the sources. This is partly a result of the fact that some scholars have been somewhat overenthusiastic in their desire to hear the authentic voice of Mani preserved in texts such as the *Kephalaia*, which presents itself (artificially I believe) as a record of his discourses. Such a desire, although not surprising, runs contrary to the function and purpose of the work as identified by this study. A methodological lesson can and should be learned from the degree to which many New Testament scholars are generally sceptical about how much material from the gospels can be directly attributed to Jesus. While Jesus of course never intended to found a religion, it is thought that canonical early Christian writings do contain at least a core of authentic material drawn more or less directly from his teaching (reflected in part by the hypothetically posited Q-document in particular). Many decades of careful study have shown the degree to which this material has been shaped by the redactional and editorial efforts of the first generations of Christians. We should assume that a similar relationship exists between a work such as the *Kephalaia* and the words of Mani himself,[11] although in his case he seems to have *deliberately* sought to found (or at least reform) his notion of the true religion. While it may be assumed that on some level a certain amount of *Kephalaia* material was drawn either from Mani's own writings or from oral traditions passed down by early disciples and teachers, the vast majority seems to have undergone a substantial amount of expansion and revision. It just so happens that

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strains of Manichaean doctrine ("Narrative Options in Manichaean Eschatology," 65–66).

[10] BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body*, 6–7.

[11] In fact, on a basic level, it is difficult to judge the distance of anything attributed to *Manichaios* from Mani himself, since the Syriac epithet, "Mani the Living" (*Mani hiyya*), on which this common form of his name is based seems to reveal at least some degree of hagiography.

this particular study has focused on redactional tendencies by means of numeric patterning, although there would certainly be other thematic gateways worthy of exploration.

Adversity and Persecution

The desire to clarify the teachings of the founder may not have been the only reason that so many *Kephalaia* chapters were shaped by such a redactional tendency, since some of those most deeply interested in five-part patterns also reveal a keen awareness of both external and internal pressures perceived by the community. External pressures, for example, are evoked most explicitly in the efforts of Chapter 6 to describe the properties of the Five Worlds of Darkness, which ultimately lead to an association of these worlds not only with rival religious communities such as Zoroastrians, Christians, and "pagans," but even, as in the case of the great World of Smoke, the "powers that be." As such, we are told most emphatically that "the spirit of the King of (those of) Darkness is the one who rules / today in the powers and authorities of the earth and the / whole world. I mean those who rule over all of creation, / humbling people in their tyranny according to their will" (1 Ke 33.5–8). This statement no doubt reflects bitter memories of persecution at the hands of Sassanian and Roman authorities.

After the deaths of King Shapur I (ca. 272 CE) and his successor Hormizd (273 CE), both of whom had been favourably disposed to Mani and his teaching, religious and political machinations began within the Sassanian administration against the new, upstart religion. In particular, Kirdir, the Zoroastrian "high-priest," sought to bring the empire's religious minorities under control,[12] as is evidenced by one of his surviving inscriptions, which states, in Middle Persian, that "the Jews, the Buddhists and the Brahmans, the Nazarenes (i.e., Aramaic-speaking Christians) and the Christians (i.e., Greek-speaking), the Baptists and the Manichaeans were struck throughout the land."[13] Eventually, this led to the imprisonment and death of Mani (ca. 276 or 277 CE) and the scattering of the Manichaeans from Mesopotamia. Within fifteen years, Mar Sīsin (i.e. Sisinnios), the successor to Mani as head of the church, or

[12] Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 108.

[13] Gignoux, *Les quatres inscriptions du Mage Kirdīr*, 69–70. See also Hutter, "Manichaeism in Iran," 308.

archēgos, was also executed by Vahram II (292 CE).[14] Some Manichaeans, fleeing this persecution, took refuge at the court of King Amaro ('Amr ibn 'Adi) at Hira,[15] to the southwest of Seleucia-Ctesiphon.[16] Eventually, Amaro was even able to convince King Narses to halt the persecution of the Manichaeans, although this was done, in part, strategically, since Emperor Diocletian had recently issued an edict against the Manichaeans on his territory in 303 CE. This was seen by Narses as an opportunity to gain Manichaean support. But, soon enough after, under Hormizd II (303–309 CE), the Zoroastrian priesthood again agitated for the king to strike at the Manichaeans.[17]

Similarly, under the Roman Empire, Manichaeans were faced with periodic persecution and toleration. After making initial inroads into Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, Mani's followers were (unjustly)[18] condemned by Diocletian for purportedly propagating the "damnable customs and perverse laws of the Persians."[19] The so-called "Edict of Milan" (312 CE), however, brought some respite on a whole range of religious matters and, as a result, Manichaeans seem to have flourished in places such as the Nile Valley, where the Coptic *Kephalaia* were likely produced, Palestine, where a teacher such as Julia could flourish,[20] and Italy, where Augustine, on the recommendation of some rather well connected Manichaean "saints," was appointed Chair of Rhetoric in Milan.[21] This relative religious peace was short-lived, since with the accession of Theodosius anti-heretical measures were reinforced (380 CE). Ultimately, by the time of Justinian, Manichaeans were outlawed and the Elect threatened with death.[22]

While the bitter memories of these persecutions are a well-known feature of the Manichaean *Homilies*, especially the "Sermon on the

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[14] According to the *Chronicle of Seert*, the close relation between Manichaeans and Christians in the Sassanian Empire led to Vahram II's persecution of both groups (*Patrologia Orientalis* 4.3:237).

[15] See Pedersen, "A Manichaean Historical Text," 196.

[16] Hutter, "Manichaeism in Iran," 309.

[17] Hutter, "Manichaeism in Iran," 309. See also Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 106–109.

[18] Brown, "Diffusion," 92–103.

[19] For the "Edict of Diocletian" see Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 117–118; see also Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 122–123.

[20] Mark the Deacon, *Life of Porphyry*, 85–91; see Scopello, "Julie, manichéenne d'Antioche," 187–209.

[21] *Confessions*, 18.

[22] Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 111.

Great War,"[23] echoes can also be heard in the *Kephalaia*, which may in fact draw on traditions pre-dating the *Homilies*.[24] For instance, in *Chapter 189 "[On the Five Temptations],"* the fifth temptation menacing the Elect, presumably apostasy, comes during persecution:

> [The fifth is this:] If persecution / [happens] in … through the persecutor … / … the Sects, those who stand in … / … tribulation. Or again as they … / … as they strike him with whips … / … and they come to "crucify"[25] him and he does not turn … / … from his truth and he bears every thing … / … wrath, bond, (and) crucifixion. In these Five / Temptations … … of the Elect / … he receives the … … / … increases in faith and becomes true … / his knowledge … temptation … / … and he returns immediately and reveals / the truth and … gives … (1 Ke 485.30–486.13).

Such a vivid description reveals that persecution formed part of the living memory of the *Kephalaia* compilers and influenced at least some of their pentadic formulations.

The adverse effects of persecution are also incorporated into *Chapter 137 "On the Five Types of Brotherhood that are distinguished from one another."* This chapter, which as we previously saw, enumerated five types of people found in the church, suggests that the fourth and fifth classes, the so-called "day-labourers" and, especially, the "slaves" fleed at the first sign of persecution (1 Ke 340.6–7).

While it is obvious that persecution was a subject that the compilers incorporated into some of their numeric formulations, less obvious is the possibility that such formulations acted as a fortification strategy in the face of real or potential persecutions. It seems at least plausible to suggest that the attempt to shape Manichaean discourse and ideology into such regularized and reoccurring patterns could have served as a means to strengthen the faith of adherents, especially the Elect, to whom the *Kephalaia* as a work appears to have been directed. The broad application of pentadic structures, which were seen as indicative of divinity itself, to such a wide range of phenomena could only serve to reinforce the Manichaean claim to truth and, thereby, support the

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[23] See Pedersen's idiosyncratic, yet thorough, study: *Studies in The Sermon on the Great War*. According to Pedersen, this homiletic texts was meant "to strengthen the persecuted community in 3rd or 4th century Mesopotamia" (28).

[24] For instance, in the "Sermon on the Great War," Mani is made to say "I weep for my *Kephalaia*" (Hom 18.6), which may indicate that "kephalaic" literature of some sort existed prior to the composition of the *Homilies*. See Pedersen, *Studies*, 90–93.

[25] In this case "crucify" is likely a synonym for torture.

typical Manichaean boast to have an explanation for everything. Such a vision of reality, if it could be seen to reproduce itself throughout the cosmos, may have helped to keep adherents in the fold and held them fast during times of adversity and repression.

Missionary Expansion

An additional aspect to which numeric patterning may have contributed is the missionary expansion of the movement. As is well known, Manichaeism was a self-consciously missionary religion. As Lieu has written, "misson was the driving force behind the religion from its very inception."[26] Mani's assertion that the previous revelations of Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus had been unjustly limited to specific socio-cultural settings meant that he actively sought to deliver his message to a wide range of audiences. As such, modelling himself on Paul, Mani undertook missionary journeys to diverse parts of the Sassanian Empire,[27] which enabled him to encounter and preach to Christians in the west, Buddhists and Brahmins in the east, and Zoroastrians in the Iranian heartland. His disciples followed suit, with Mar Adda being primarily responsible for the western mission and Mar Ammō as the chief organizer of the mission to the east.[28]

Numeric patterning may offer us a glimpse into one of the missionary techniques employed by Manichaeans, at least in the western context to which our texts testify. As Asmussen observed: "Mani and his missionaries knew the importance of repetition. When well-known material and names occurred again and again, a feeling of security and confidence was produced in the minds of the listeners."[29] As such, the repeated presentation of Manichaean doctrines in predictable and self-reinforcing patterns, such as those involving *five*, could have contributed to the palatability and plausibility of the missionary's teaching. In addition, the fact that the number five was used with such frequency could have also had a mnemonic value, since a series of five points could be easily recalled using five fingers.[30] After all, a number of the *Kephalaia*

[26] *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 88.
[27] Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 88.
[28] Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 90.
[29] *Manichaean Literature*, 113.
[30] In fact, ancient theoreticians suggested that the five fingers of the hand could

chapters that elaborate five points are extremely brief—almost catechetical (see, for instance, *Chapters 25, 33, 37, 68, 107, 193*)—with little or no literary frame. Such chapters appear to represent "proto-*kephalaia*"[31] and it may well be that many more elaborate chapters have their origins in such brief, mnemonically digestible, didactic texts. This means that numeric patterning, especially those patterns involving five, could have served as a valuable pedagogical tool for the Manichaean missionary.

Why five?

But why, we may ask, was *five* favoured as a figure around which so much of the Manichaean world-view was organized? The fact that *five* played such a central role in the development of Manichaean discourse is, as we have seen, rooted in the fact that Mani and Manichaeans seem to have believed as a general principle that most beings (both Light and Dark) possess five qualities. This concept, in turn, was connected to the Manichaean conviction that the human being, with its five limbs, five senses, five fingers, and five toes (on each limb), was a microcosmic representation of both the wider macro-cosmos[32] and the divine power at its source. After all, according to Manichaean cosmology, when the demons conspired to create Adam and Eve, they used the androgynous image of the Third Messenger as a model (Theodore bar Khonai 317.7–11 [Scher]). This basic anthropological importance of five, however, was likely drawn from 2nd-century Syriac philosopher Bardaisan, who according to Ephraim taught that all entities possess five aspects corresponding to the five senses. Each must have its own colour, its own smell, its own taste, its own texture, and its own voice;[33] sentiments definitely echoed by the description of the dark ruler in *Chapter 6*. In addition, the fact that Mani seems to have inherited a concept of

serve as a valuable tool in the memorization of a discourse (Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 124).

[31] See *T. Kell. Copt. 1* in Gardner, *Kellis Literary Texts*, 2.

[32] For example, *Kephalaia Chapter 70* is called "On the Body, that it was made to resemble the cosmos." Also, the Manichaean account from the *Acta Archelai* states that "this body is called cosmos in relation to the great cosmos (i.e., the macrocosmos)" (τὸ γὰρ σῶμα τοῦτο κόσμος καλεῖται πρὸς τὸν μέγαν κόσμον [9.4]).

[33] See Ephraim, *Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan*, 223 (Mitchell).

Five Elements, perhaps also from the school of Bardaisan, as the basic building blocks of both the soul and its material antithesis, as well as the concept of the Five Limbs, means that some of the most fundamental concepts in Manichaean theology were canonically expressed as pentads. This, in turn, provided the precedent for later teachers and theologians to use, expand, and reinvent this basic paradigm.

Who was responsible?

While we have sought to reconstruct the methods and motivations of an alleged group of anonymous compilers, a clue to who may have instigated or at least influenced this process of enumeration and systematization may be found in a Sogdian fragment from Turfan on the healing of Nafsha of Tadmor/Palmyra. In this text, Mar Adda, the primary Manichaean missionary to the west, is said to have received a vision from the master himself, in which everything, we are told, is explained "fully and completely by numbers."[34] Michel Tardieu suggested that Adda, who held the ecclesiastical rank of "teacher,"[35] may have in fact been the author of the *Kephalaia*.[36] We may never be able to validate such a bold suggestion, but it at least seems plausible that Adda, if not the actual "author" of the *Kephalaia*, may have provided the main impetus or model for the development of this interest in enumeration and systematization. This Iranian fragment would seem to provide the much needed "authorization" from Mani for Adda (and/or his associates) to do something that Mani's great religious project was supposed to have made unnecessary—that is, the interpretation, clarification, and systematization of the teaching of God's ultimate messenger. Mani's canonical writings were supposed to have been definitive, but as the "prologue" to the *Kephalaia* itself reveals (1 Ke 8.34–35), where

[34] So. 18223 + So. 18222 (Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 113). See also Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte*, 44 (3.3).

[35] Funk has raised the question as to whether or not the "teacher" referred to by the title of the first *Kephalaia* volume is in actual fact the author rather than Mani ("Reconstruction," 154, n. 17).

[36] Tardieu, "Principes de l'exégèse manichéenne," 134, n. 73. Cited (tentatively) by Funk, "Reconstruction," 154. Adda is known to have composed his own writings, which were sometimes mistaken for those of Mani (Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 91). This, in fact, may have been the result of conscious imitation or attribution of his words to the master, not unlike the situation found within the *Kephalaia*.

Mani is made to exhort his disciples to record what he taught them, the definitive and final pretence with which Mani packaged his writings was quickly overridden by the needs and circumstances of the communities he left behind.

PART II

TRANSLATIONS FROM *THE KEPHALAIA OF THE TEACHER* [BERLIN CODEX]

Note on Translations

The following translations have been left in their codex page format in order to facilitate cross-referencing with Part I and comparison with the original edition (to which the reader is strongly encouraged to refer). Also, mythological figures and theological concepts of particular relevance to Part I have been rendered in italics purely for emphasis. In addition, I have made every effort to incorporate (as yet unpublished) *Addenda et corrigenda* (A&C) by W.-P. Funk into the translation of these selected chapters. The final published version of these A&C is slated to appear at the end of the Polotsky/Böhlig/Funk edition of *Kephalaia* volume one. As such, references to the A&C are simply meant to indicate that an improved or alternate reading exists. However, as in the case of the translations as a whole, any inaccuracies in the rendering of these valuable A&C are mine. Note also that any words or phrases followed by (?) are conjectural reconstructions.

CHAPTER 2

THE SECOND, ON THE PARABLE OF THE TREE

16.35 The first parable they asked him about (and) implored [him to]
16.36 interpret for them is this: While [crowds of . . .][1]

17.1 were gathered . . . his disciples stood
17.2 before him (and) questioned him, saying: We implore you, our
17.3 Lord, that you [teach us] and interpret for us these
17.4 two trees [which Jesus] described to his disciples, as is written
17.5 in the Gos[pel, where he said]:[2] *The good tree produces*
17.6 *[good fruit,] and [the] evil tree produces bad fruit*
17.7 *[. . . Neither is there a] good [tree] that produces bad fruit,*
17.8 *[nor is there an evil tree that] produces good fruit.*
17.9 *[Every tree is known by] its fruit.*
17.10 [We] implore you, then, that you [now teach us about]
17.11 these two trees [and] interpret them [for us] . . .
17.12 . . . as they grow [on the] earth. For they are described . . .
17.13 [in the] writings . . . . . them . . .
17.14 . . . . . word(?) . . .
17.15 . . . . . mystery by mystery.
17.16 There are some among the Sects[3] who interpret these two
17.17 trees, counting them as good trees along with the rest of the good things[4]
17.18 on this mixed earth. Each [one(?)] . . . . . .
17.19 to them, relating them to . . .
17.20 a single interpretation.
17.21 Then our Lord Manichaios, the Apostle, sent [from[5] the] Greatness, spoke
17.22 to his disciples: Very great is this matter which [you uttered . . .]
17.23 . . . . . .
17.24 . . . . . .
17.25 . . . . . .

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[1] Funk, *personal communication.*

[2] See Luke 6:43,44 and Mt 7-17-20.

[3] ⲛⲁⲟⲅⲙⲁ: the generic term used in Graeco-Coptic Manichaean texts for any number of rival religious groups.

[4] A&C: ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ [ⲉⲩⲥⲁ] |[18] [ⲭ]ⲏ. The disciples appear to want Mani to address an interpretation of this parable that runs counter to Mani's radical separation of the Two Natures.

[5] A&C: ⲡⲁⲃⲁⲗ [ϩ]ⲛⲧⲙⲛ |[22] ⲧⲛⲁϭ.

17.26 by his own mouth … …
17.27 evil. The Sects … …
17.28 … … … …
17.29 … … … …
17.30 This (fact), however, that they [interpret] the two trees, considering them
17.31 … to the trees … in a single interpretation …
17.32 … … For … …
17.33 … tree, which grew on this mixed earth
17.34 … date-palm. For …
17.35 … established them, that the date-palm is not completely useful

18.1 … their child, while it wounds … …
18.2 … first a(?) … … in them
18.3 … they [become sweet(?)] to the end … It was
18.4 in its fibres and its branches … … and dies.[6]
18.5 There is an evil smoke among them … …
18.6 date-palm … before the tree which … …
18.7 evil. For it will pass judgement … …
18.8 … … or those who … …
18.9 … [date-palm(?) is] the one which they name … …
18.10 … … the kind …
18.11 … … name it "tree" …
18.12 … … sweet … …
18.13 … … … in …
18.14 … … … …
18.15 … … … …
18.16 … … … …
18.17 … … writing …
18.18 … … … …
18.19 … it … they establish …
18.20 … … human being … …
18.21 … which … it is sweet …
18.22 … seed of … and it is useful
18.23 for their food … … …
18.24 … … … …
18.25 … … … …
18.26 … … … …
18.27 … … … …
18.28 … from the tree … which …[7]
18.29 … … … …
18.30 … … … …
18.31 … will interp ret … …

[6] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲟⲩ.
[7] A&C: ⲛ̣[. .] … ⲁⲃⲁ̣[ⲗ] ⲙ̣̄ⲡⲱⲙ̣[ⲛ] . ⲉⲧ[. .] . . [… … .] … . .

18.32 … will not join … …
18.33 … p œop l e who are named … …
18.34 … … … …
18.35 … … … …
18.36 … … … …
18.37 … that they … …

19.1 [Apo]stle. He was counted among the [twelve],
19.2 but,[8] in the end, it is written about him that Satan [entered him].
19.3 He handed the Saviour over to the Jews (and) they seized and [crucified him][9]
19.4 to the tree. Thus, Judas Isca[riot was first]
19.5 called a good man, [but in the end, an evil man,][10]
19.6 a traitor, and a murderer … [It is written about]
19.7 Paul that he was a persecutor at first, who … the church
19.8 of God, as he persecuted … … …
19.9 … … … …
19.10 … … … …
19.11 a great revelation, he has [proclaimed it in …][11]
19.12 the church [of] my Lord, he has …
19.13 [a] b æd […] at first … and …
19.14 … … interp ɹet … …
19.15 … … their interpretation … …
19.16 … … a good man, correctly … …
19.17 … being totally evil. For … …
19.18 they were created through the mixture of [Light and Darkness(?)]
19.19 as they all stood in [love(?)] … …
19.20 they were shaped and were established in the … and …
19.21 which are mixed in all things. Behold! … the
19.22 interpretation of the Sects does not agree with[12] … …
19.23 … listen, and I will reveal to you about the …
19.24 [which] the Saviour explained in the [parable] about the good tree and
19.25 the evil tree … … call them from …
19.26 They do not know what sort of thing they are [on their] inside and outside,
19.27 [without] knowledge, they equate them … in their interpretation of
19.28 what kind of thing these two trees are. But, hear how[13]
19.29 I will reveal to you … the interpretation [of the parable (?)][14]

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[8] A&C: ⲇⲉ rather than ⲭⲉ.
[9] A&C: ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲡ[ⲫ] [ⲁⲩⲥ]ⲧⲁ[ⲩⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲫ].
[10] A&C: [ⲁ]ⲧ[ⲯ][ⲁⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲣ]ⲙ̄[ⲃⲱ] |[6] ⲛⲉⲫ.
[11] A&C: ⲉⲩⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲁ[ⲓⲍⲉ ± 10.
[12] A&C: ⲥⲛⲏ[ⲩ] ⲉⲛ ⲁⲯⲣⲛ̄ ⲡ(rest unclear).
[13] A&C: ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ [ⲁ].
[14] A&C: [ⲉⲧ]ⲃⲉ ⲧⲯⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲓ̣ⲁ [ⲛ̄]ⲧ̣ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲟⲗ̣[ⲏ ⲛ̄] (?).

19.30 of the tree and the usefulness(?) … Father …
19.31 … everything, as … in the …
19.32 … … of the world … in the …
19.33 … … [righteous]ness of this good tree …
19.34 … … the light of this good tree …
19.35 … … the Column [of Glory], the Perfect Man[15]

20.1 … these *[Five] Intellectuals* that clothe his body …
20.2 … of this good tree, which are the Elements of
20.3 Light, mixed (and) compounded in the universe. The fruit
20.4 of the good tree is Jesus the Splendour, the glorious, the Father
20.5 [of] all the Apostles. But, the taste of the fruits of the [good]
20.6 tree [is the] Holy Church with its Teachers and its
20.7 … … [Elect and its] Catechumens. Behold! This is the good
20.8 tree] … … …
20.9 … … … …
20.10 … … … evil fruits
20.11 … … [I will] reveal to you … …
20.12 … it (that is, the good tree) has *Five Limbs*
20.13 [which are: Consideration, Counsel, Insight, Thought]
20.14 Mind. Its Consideration is the Holy Church. Its Counsel
20.15 is the Column of Glory, the Perfect Man. Its Insight
20.16 is the First Man, who dwells in the Ship of the Living
20.17 Waters. Its Thought is the Third Messenger
20.18 [who dwells in] the Ship of the Living Fire, which shines in
20.19 [the world]. But, the Mind is the Father, who dwells in the Great-
20.20 ness, who exists perfectly in the Aeon of Light.
20.21 … this, that the souls who come and attain
20.22 the Holy [Church] and also the alms which the Cate-
20.23 [chumens] give, as they are purified by the Holy Church
20.24 … every deed. Consideration is that which will …
20.25 … they ascend to … … is Counsel,
20.26 [they] ascend to Insight, which is the First Man,
20.27 who dwells in the Ship of the Night. From Insight they ascend
20.28 to Thought, which is the Messenger, who dwells in
20.29 the Ship of the Day. But he, the Great Thought, who
20.30 … them to Mind, who is the Father, the God
20.31 of Truth, the great Mind of all Aeons of Glory.
20.32 This is the good tree that produces good fruit …
20.33 … is all life and eternal light … …
20.34 … exists … ever … It is blessed …
20.35 … good … evil … …

[15] A&C: ⲡ[ⲥ]ⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ [ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲡ]ⲣ̣ⲫⲙ̣[ⲉ] ⲉ̣ⲧ̣[ⲭⲛⲕ].

21.1 … who exists in … …
21.2 … … from … …
21.3 … … also … …
21.4 … … … as he is
21.5 … … … …
21.6 … … … …
21.7 … … … …
21.8 … … … …
21.9 … … … …
21.10 … … … …
21.11 … … … …
21.12 … … the good tree … …
21.13 … … of fire … …
21.14 … … those who [rule(?)] … …
21.15 … … heaven and the wheel [of the stars(?)] … …
21.16 … … they are the *Five Fleshes* who go …
21.17 … the fruits … …
21.18 … Insight as the Error, the mystery which … …
21.19 which Satan has set in the cosmos. But the [taste] of
21.20 these evil fruits are those wicked people, the Sects …
21.21 who are bound by various laws, they and their teachers …
21.22 [the] Law of Death, they taste it (and) thirst for [it]
21.23 [and it delivers] the soul[s] to death. This is the tree, [that]
21.24 [produces] good [fruit], which our Lord has called:
21.25 [*The good tree that*] *produces good fruit.* He has [stated(?)] …
21.26 in the writings … all the Sects know it.
21.27 … … [I will] reveal to you (and) you …
21.28 … … the evil [tree] has *Five Limbs*
21.29 [which] are: Consideration, Counsel, Insight, Thought, [Mind]
21.30 Its [Consideration is] the Law of Death which the Sects
21.31 are taught. Its Counsel is the transmigration …
21.32 in [various] kinds. But, its Insight is the [fiery] furnaces of
21.33 … … Gehenna, which are filled with smoke. Its Thought …
21.34 … … the vessel. Its Mind is …
21.35 … … the lump, the last bond, the …
21.36 … … those who Satan has [cast]

22.1 … … … …
22.2 … … … …
22.3 … … … …
22.4 … … … …
22.5 … … … …
22.6 … … … …
22.7 … … … …
22.8 … … … …
22.9 … … … …
22.10 … … … …

22.11 … … the great … …
22.12 … … and they fall … …
22.13 … … the Darkness … …
22.14 … … all and they take away …
22.15 … engulfed into the lump and are bound …
22.16 … … the fruit of Darkness, which they …
22.17 … … … for eternity.
22.18 … his face … every mishap.[16] The
22.19 [un]fortunate ones [who] will arrive there, they do not have the chance of
22.20 repentance.
22.21 … this is the interpretation of the evil tree which I have
22.22 … [interpreted] … for you …
22.23 … … good fruit … …
22.24 … … its fruits are evil … …
22.25 … … it in its days of being … …
22.26 … it. Therefore … …
22.27 … … and my beloved … …
22.28 … … them in truth, as it is changed … …
22.29 … … they … …
22.30 … who is left in his Good Land … …
22.31 … life and light, since Death and Darkness do not [exist] …
22.32 … But, the evil tree is Matter … …
22.33 … it gave itself form in … …
22.34 … that existed in his Evil Land … …
22.35 … Darkness and Death. Blessed is everyone

23.1 [who recognizes(?)] these two trees and separates them from one another,
23.2 and knows that they did not come to be from one another, (that) they
23.3 did not come from one another, and (that) they did not come out of one. The
23.4 person who separates them will enter into the Aeon of Light.
23.5 … … [as I have] revealed them to you, and he will see …
23.6 … … the bad fruit did not originate from
23.7 it … The one who will not separate it …
23.8 … … from one another, he will fall to the land …
23.9 … … … until he attains …
23.10 … … The … …
23.11 … … Blessed is he who believes and …
23.12 … … Darkness, he who grows …
23.13 … … forever and ever.

[16] A&C: ϩⲛ ⲃⲁⲛϣⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲙ.

CHAPTER 3

THE INTERPRETATION OF HAPPINESS, WISDOM, AND POWER; WHAT THEY MEAN

23.17 Again, the Enlightener spoke to his disciples, as [he(?)]
23.18 [was] sitting in the assembly of the church: What do these
23.19 [three things] mean, which are called in the cosmos "happiness,"
23.20 ["wisdom,"] and "power," which people pride themselves on
23.21 … the happiness of the cosmos …
23.22 … … [wisdom(?)] in the cosmos has a …
23.23 … [power(?)] of the world will pass away.
23.24 [People] pride themselves on them (and) praise …
23.25 Now … thing is revealed in a great[17]
23.26 … … which I have said to you.
23.27 [I will][18] teach you another happiness which does not[19] [perish(?)] …
23.28 [another][20] wisdom [which does not] end, and another power which does not
23.29 [pass away(?)]. But now listen! I will reveal to you
23.30 [how] these three things are—[happiness,]
23.31 wisdom, and power.
23.32 [The first][21] glorious [happiness] is the Father, the God [of]
23.33 [Truth. He who] is established in the Great Land of [Light.]

24.1 But his glorious wisdom is his Great Spirit, who …
24.2 … … below, which is coursing through all his Aeons,
24.3 as they too are sailing through it. His great power is
24.4 all the Rich Gods and Angels who
24.5 are called forth from him, as they … …
24.6 those who are called "Aeons" … …
24.7 … … … …
24.8 … … … …
24.9 [the one] that is named "Sun" … …
24.10 … [the Ship of] Living Fire … [the Third]
24.11 Messenger, the Second Greatness … [The]
24.12 glorious happiness is the [Living] Spirit …

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17 A&C: ⲟⲩⲛⲁ[ⲥ].
18 A&C: [ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲇⲉ] [ⲧ][ⲛⲁ]ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲱⲧⲏⲛⲉ.
19 A&C: ⲉⲙⲁⲥ.
20 A&C: ⲁ[. . ⲁ][ⲥ][ⲁ]ⲛ [ⲕⲉⲥⲟ]ⲫⲓⲁ.
21 A&C: [ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉⲩⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟ]ⲛⲓⲁ.

24.13 … [wisdom(?)] is the Mother of Life …
24.14 … … … [all] the Rich
24.15 Gods and Angels who are found within the ship.
24.16 Happiness, wisdom, and power also exist in the Ship [of the Living]
24.17 [Waters] … … Happiness …
24.18 … … the Mind of the Father. But, wisdom [is the]
24.19 [Virgin] of Light. Power, also, which is in the Ship, is [all]
24.20 the Rich Gods and Angels who are found in it.
24.21 These three (things) also exist in the Elements—happiness, wisdom,
24.22 and power. Happiness is [the Column of Glory],
24.23 the Perfect Man, wisdom is the [*Five Sons of the*]
24.24 *Living Spirit*, but, the great power [is] the
24.25 *Five Sons of the First Man* … … [who]
24.26 [are enclosed] (and) kneaded into the Universe, which … …
24.27 as it supports the Universe.
24.28 Then again, happiness, wisdom, [and power]
24.29 [are found] in the Holy Church. Great, glorious [happiness,]
24.30 is the Apostle of Light, [who is]
24.31 [sent] from the Father. Wisdom [is the Leaders]
24.32 and Teachers, who journey in the Holy Church, [proclaiming]
24.33 wisdom and truth. Great [power] … …

25.1 … all the Elect, the Virgins, and the Chaste,
25.2 [along with] the Catechumens, who are in the [Holy] Church …
25.3 … the *Five Happinesses*, the *Five Wisdoms*, and the *Five Powers* …
25.4 … … in the *Five Churches*. Blessed is
25.5 everyone who will know them, for he … …
25.6 … kingdom forever.

CHAPTER 4

ON THE FOUR GREAT DAYS, WHICH HAVE COME FROM ONE ANOTHER; ALONG WITH THE FOUR NIGHTS

25.11 Again the Enlightener spoke: There are Four Great Days which have come
25.12 [from one another, they] have been called forth [from] one another. The First
25.13 [Great Day] is the Father, the God of Truth, the first …
25.14 … … among the Aeons of his Greatness in his Living
25.15 [Kingdom]. The twelve hours of this Great Day
25.16 [are] the Twelve Great, Rich Gods of [Great]ness,
25.17 [those] who are the first Calls which he called (into being) according to
25.18 his Greatness. He distributed them among the Four Regions,
25.19 three to each side.
25.20 The Second Day is the Third Messenger, who
25.21 dwells in the Ship of Light. Its twelve hours are
25.22 the Twelve Virgins who he summoned in his Greatness.
25.23 [The] Third [Day] is the Column of Glory, [the great]
25.24 [Porter, who is greater than] all [the Porters], who supports …
25.25 all these … those above and those below. Its twelve hours are
25.26 the *Five Sons of the First Man*, the *Five Sons of the Living*
25.27 *Spirit*, those who support all burdens of the
25.28 cosmos, along with the Call and Response, which are counted among their ten
25.29 brothers. These are the twelve light-hours of the Third
25.30 Day. The Fourth Day is Jesus
25.31 the Splendour, who [dwells in] his church. Its twelve
25.32 hours are the twelve Wisdoms, which are his
25.33 [light-hours]. These are the Four Great Days which have come
25.34 [forth from one another] (and) which were called from one another. They …
25.35 … Blessed is everyone who knows them and
25.36 … of Light.

26.1 [Know also this!]: Just as Four Days [exist],
26.2 so too do Four Nights exist.
26.3 The First Night is the Land of Darkness. It has
26.4 twelve dark [shadows], which are the hours

of Darkness. The twelve shadows of the first Night
are the *Five Elements* of the Land of Darkness, [which]
have poured forth in its *Five Senses* and …
have … in its *Five Elements* and its *Five* …
the *Five* [*Spirits*(?)] who dwell in its Elements …
These are the twelve shadows and spirits of the first Night.
    The second Night is Matter, the sculptor … …
… … … who has formed …
and every ruling power that is in the World [of Darkness, which]
has fashioned it in *Five Senses, Five [Male]*
and *Five Female*, two to a world ,as well as the fire and [lust]
[which] dwell in men and women, inflaming them
for one another. These are the twelve Spirits of this
second Night. But, this Matter, it is the Thought of Death, which
causes the King of Darkness and his powers to prepare for
war and battle against the Aeons of Greatness. But,
it was caught (and) snared by the First Man (and) carried
to … … by the powers … it was brought
from the Land of Death (and) placed … above
and below in the [entire] cosmos, in the *Five Parts*
which are above in the heavens along with the *Five* [*Parts* which] are below
in the lower lands, along with the heat [and the] cold, which
are the father and the mother, their fire and their desire.
    This is the second Night, which is born our of the first
Night. It was snared by the First Man (and) brought
by the Living Spirit (and) placed in this mixed world …
above and below. The [upper part is the(?)]
senses of men; the lower part [… the senses(?)]
of women. The third [Night is the *Five*]
Worlds of Flesh … … [*five*(?)]

[male] and the *five* female, those who are born of the powers
… they fell upon the earth, while they are revealed in
the dryness and cold, along with the fire and desire
[which] dwells in them, which impel them towards one another.
[Matter], however, is the Thought of Death, which is [Mother] of
them all, as it is named among them "Night,"
the male and female [powers][22] of flesh, along with the fire and
[desire] … twelve hours of … …
… Night. This, again, is the third Night, in
[the] World of Flesh, which is born out of the second
Night, which the Living Spirit crucified in the

[22] A&C: [ⲛ̄ⲟ]ⲁⲙ.

27.12 [entire[23] cosmos, above] and below in the heaven …
27.13 … The fourth Night is the Law of [Sin,]
27.14 [which] is the Spirit of Darkness that speaks through the twelve
27.15 [spirits], the twelve Sects, which are the strippings,
27.16 the twelve Zodiacs of Matter, which are
27.17 its thrones. It (that is, Matter) is announced, as it is moulded and
27.18 manifest in the Old Man. But, the hours of this fourth
27.19 Night, which is the Old Man who rules among the Sects, they are the
27.20 twelve evil spirits … the Old Man, who …
27.21 … … … …
27.22 … … … …
27.23 … … … …
27.24 [Blessed is he who(?)] distinguishes the day and the night …
27.25 … … of Death. This is the fourth [Night]
27.26 … … which have come forth from one another, one …
27.27 … … as the Days of Light
27.28 that they come out[24] (and) have revealed one another. So too
27.29 … [do the Nights(?)] come to be from one another.
27.30 Blessed is the one who knows and who distinguishes and
27.31 … … forever.

[23] A&C: [ⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏ]ⲣ̣[ⲫ].
[24] A&C: [ϫⲉ] ⲛ̣ⲧ[ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ] ⲁⲩ̣[ⲥ]ⲱⲗⲡ.

CHAPTER 6

ON THE FIVE STOREHOUSES WHICH HAVE POURED FORTH FROM THE LAND OF DARKNESS FROM THE BEGINNING; THE FIVE ARCHONS, THE FIVE SPIRITS, THE FIVE BODIES, (AND) THE FIVE TASTES

30.17 Again, the Enlightener spoke to his disciples: *Five Store-*
30.18 *Houses* have existed from the beginning in the Land of Darkness. *Five*
30.19 *Elements* have poured forth from them. Also, from the *Five*
30.20 *Elements* were fashioned *Five Trees*, (and) from the *Five Trees*
30.21 were fashioned *Five Species of Creatures* according to each World,
30.22 male and female. But also, the *Five Worlds* [have]
30.23 *Five Kings*, *Five Spirits*, [*Five*] *Bodies*, (and) *Five* [*Tastes*]
30.24 according to each world, which do not resemble [one another].
30.25 The King of the World of Smoke, [he] … …
30.26 He has come from the depth of [the darkness. This is he who is]
30.27 the chief of all evil and [all] wickedness. The initial
30.28 spread of the war came to be [through] him—all
30.29 battles, fights, quarrels, conflicts, destructions,
30.30 struggles, errors, contests. It is he [who first] stirred
30.31 conflict and war along with his worlds [and his] powers. Afterwards,
30.32 he waged war with the Light, doing battle with
30.33 the exalted kingdom. But,[25] as for [the King] of Darkness,
30.34 there are *Five Forms* in him: his head [is lion-faced, his]
30.35 hands and feet are demon- [and devil-]faced, [his]
30.36 shoulders are eagle-faced, while his belly [is dragon-faced,]

31.1 (and) his tail is fished-faced. These *Five Forms*, the imprints of his
31.2 [*Five*] *Worlds*, are found in the King of (those belonging to) Darkness.
31.3 There are also *Five Properties* in him. The first is his
31.4 darkness. The second is his stench. The third is
31.5 his ugliness. The fourth is his bitterness—his very soul.
31.6 The fifth is his fire, which burns like a
31.7 *peis*[26] of iron being melted by the flame.
31.8 There are also three other things about him: The first is that his [body(?)][27]

[25] A&C: ⲉⲕ[ⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲡⲣⲣⲟ] (cf. 1 Ke 173.27).
[26] Meaning of ⲡⲉⲓϣ unknown, see Polotsky/Böhlig 31 n. 7.
[27] A&C: ⲥϣⲙⲁ (doubtful reading).

31.9 [is hard] (and) very strong, as if (in) its bitterness Matter
31.10 built it …, which is the Thought of Death,
31.11 that which formed it by the nature of the Land of
31.12 Darkness. Thus is the [body(?)] of the Archon of [Smoke]. It is
31.13 harder than all iron, brass, steel, and
31.14 [lead,] since there isn't any cleaver or implement to
31.15 pierce[28] or cut it. For Matter, its fashioner, built it
31.16 … strong and hard. The second (thing is) that he strikes
31.17 [and] kills by the utterance of his magic. His preaching and his
31.18 hearing, all his foolish speech,[29] make magic
31.19 and invocations for him. When it pleases him, he calls it upon
31.20 himself and hides, by his magic, from his
31.21 companions. Also, when it pleases him, he reveals himself to his powers
31.22 [and] appears to them, so that the sorcery which people
31.23 practise today … in this world are the mysteries of
31.24 the King of Darkness. Therefore, I command you
31.25 at all times: Keep yourselves away from magic and the sorcery
31.26 of Darkness, since the person who learns them and
31.27 [practises] them, and perfects them, at the end, where the King
31.28 of (those belonging to) Darkness and his powers will be bound, in that place will
31.29 also be bound the soul of the one who lives by them and
31.30 [walks] in the [magic] of Error. Whether it is a man or a
31.31 [woman], this is the judgement which has been given. They are cut
31.32 … the judgements of God, for he who will
31.33 … and their king.

32.1 The third (is) that the King of (those belonging to) Darkness knows the
32.2 speech and the language of his *Five Worlds*. He understands
32.3 everything that he hears from their mouths, as they speak with one
32.4 another—each according to his language. [Every] plan
32.5 which they conceive against him (and) every deceit which they discuss
32.6 with one another in order to bring it upon him—he knows them.
32.7 He also knows the gestures by which they give signs
32.8 to one another. But his powers and the archons
32.9 who are under him, they do not understand his speech. All these things
32.10 are revealed to him, although their heart is not revealed to him.
32.11 He does not know their mind and their thought, he does not consider their
32.12 beginning or their end, but he knows and perceives only
32.13 that which is before his eyes.

[28] A&C: [ⲭⲱ]ⲧⲉ.
[29] A&C: ⲥⲉⲭⲉ rather than ⲥⲉⲃⲉ.

32.14 There is also another, different thing in the King of (those belonging to)
32.15 Darkness. When it pleases him to walk, he spreads out all his limbs,
32.16 and he walks. When it comes to his mind, he draws
32.17 in his limbs, takes them to himself, rolls them into
32.18 one another, and falls down like a grape or a
32.19 great iron ball. His voice is terrible.
32.20 He causes fear (and) frightens his powers with his voice.
32.21 For, when he speaks, he is like the thunder
32.22 among the clouds and is like the … of the one who …
32.23 When he cries out and he … and he cries …
32.24 on his powers, they tremble and turn and fall at his feet
32.25 like birds, while they … bird …
32.26 and they fall down to the earth. However, there is only this one thing:
32.27 he does not know what is far from him. He does not see what
32.28 is in the distance, nor does he hear it. But that which is
32.29 before his face, this he sees, hearing it (and)
32.30 knowing it. These signs and evil symbols
32.31 are found in the chief of the demons and
32.32 devils, the King of all the mountains of darkness. [When][30]
32.33 the Land of Darkness produced him, it [begot him in its]
32.34 cruelty, in its evil, in its wrath … …

33.1 more than all his fellow-Archons, who are in all his worlds.
33.2 Gold is the body of the King of (those of) Darkness.
33.3 The bodies of all the powers who belong to the World of
33.4 Smoke are gold. But, the taste of its fruit is
33.5 salty. The spirit of the King of (those belonging to) Darkness is the one who rules
33.6 today in the powers and authorities of the earth and the
33.7 whole world. I mean those who rule over all of creation,
33.8 humbling people in their tyranny according to their will.
33.9 But, the King of the Worlds of Fire is lion-faced, the first of
33.10 all beasts. His body is brass. So too are [the bodies]
33.11 of all the Archons who belong to the fire.
33.12 Their taste is the sour taste in every form.
33.13 But, the spirit of the King of those who belong to the World of Fire is the
33.14 one who rules in the nobles and leaders who are
33.15 under the command of the powers and authorities and the kings of the
33.16 world. His spirit is also the one found in the Sects
33.17 who worship fire, as they offer their sacrifices to the fire.

[30] A&C: ⲡ[ⲥⲁ]ⲡ ⲁⲛ [ⲉⲧⲁ]-.

33.18 Also, the King of the Worlds of Wind has an eagle-face. His
33.19 body is iron. Also, the bodies of all those who belong to
33.20 the wind are iron. Their taste is the burnt taste
33.21 in every form. His spirit is that of the idol-worshippers,
33.22 the spirits of Error that are in every temple, *eidoleion*,
33.23 place of worship, statues and images, shrines
33.24 of worldly Error.
33.25 But, the King of the World of Water has a fish-face. His
33.26 body is silver. So too, all the Archons that belong to water,
33.27 their bodies are silver. Also, the taste of their fruit is
33.28 the sweetness of water; the sweet taste in every form.
33.29 Also, the spirit of the King of the Archons of Water is the one who
33.30 rules today in the Sects of Error. Those who
33.31 baptize in the baptism of water, (placing) their hope
33.32 [and] their trust in the baptism of water.
33.33 [The] King of the World of Darkness is a dragon. His
33.34 [body is lead] and tin. So too, all the Archons
33.35 [that belong to the World of] Darkness, their bodies are lead and

34.1 tin. But, the taste of their fruit is bitter.
34.2 Also, the spirit, who rules over them, is the spirit
34.3 who speaks even today in the soothsayers, as they give oracles,
34.4 in seers of every kind, (and) in the demented,
34.5 as well as in spirits who give oracles of any kind.
34.6 Therefore I tell you, my brothers and my
34.7 Limbs, perfect faithful and holy elect:
34.8 Keep your hearts with you and keep yourselves from the
34.9 *Five Slaveries* of the *Five Dark Spirits*.
34.10 Abandon the worship of their *Five Bodies*. Do not
34.11 interact with them, so that you might escape their bond
34.12 and their punishment forever.

CHAPTER 7

THE SEVENTH, ON THE FIVE FATHERS

34.16 Again, as the Enlightener, our father the true Apostle,
34.17 sat among his disciples
34.18 proclaiming to them the greatness of God, he said again to
34.19 them in this way in his revelation: There are *Five Fathers*,
34.20 who have been called forth one from another, and one has also come
34.21 from the other. The First Father is the Father of
34.22 Greatness, the glorious one who is praised, he whose greatness has no
34.23 measure, who is the first *monogenes*, the first
34.24 eternal who exists with the *Five Fathers* forever.
34.25 He who exists before all that has existed and
34.26 will exist. He, then, the glorious Father, he has called
34.27 three emanations from himself. The first is the Great
34.28 Spirit, the First Mother, she who has come from the Father, she was
34.29 revealed first. The second is the Beloved of
34.30 Lights, the great, glorious Beloved, who is honoured, [who]
34.31 has come from the Father and has appeared from him.
34.32 The Third {Father}[31] is the Third [Messenger,]
34.33 the first of all counsellors, [who has come from the]

35.1 First Father (and) has appeared. This is the First Father,
35.2 the First Power, he from whom the three great powers have come.
35.3 This is the First Father, the first eternal, the root
35.4 of all lights. He from whom the three emanations have come.
35.5 They have subdued the Darkness (and) destroyed it. It pleased him not (that)
35.6 they alone be given the victory, (so) the victory is also given to their Aeons.
35.7 The Second Father who has come forth from the First Father is the
35.8 Third Messenger, the replica of the King of Light.
35.9 But, he too has called (and) emanated three
35.10 powers. One is the Column of Glory, the Perfect Man,
35.11 he who supports all things, the Great Column
35.12 of Blessing, the Great Porter, who is greater than

[31] Father (**ⲉⲓⲱⲧ**) here is an error for "emanation" (**ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲏ**) (Funk, *personal communication*).

35.13 all the porters.[32] The second is Jesus the Splendour, the glorious,
35.14 the one through whom eternal life is given. The
35.15 third is the Virgin of Light, the Glorious Wisdom, she
35.16 who stole the heart(s) of the Archons and the Powers by her image,
fulfilling
35.17 the will of the Greatness.
35.18 The Third Father who has come forth from the Second Father,
35.19 he is Jesus the Splendour, the glorious. He too has summoned
35.20 three calls like the Second Father.
35.21 The first power which he called forth is the Light-Mind,
35.22 the Father of all Apostles, the first of all the churches,
35.23 he who Jesus set, after our likeness, in the Holy
35.24 Church. The second power which Jesus called
35.25 is the Great Judge, who judges all the souls
35.26 of people, his tent being set in the air [under(?)]
35.27 the wheel [of the] stars.[33] The third power is
35.28 the Youth, the great [power of][34] light in his two per-
35.29 sons in … I am talking about that one who he established
35.30 in the Call [and] Response. [He has established] himself through his
father
35.31 the King of … the Saviour … see him, as he speaks
35.32 [to the Jews(?)]:[35] "*What*[36] *I have seen by means of my Father*,
35.33 *[this I say to] you. You too, what you have seen*
35.34 *[by means of your father], that you do*."

36.1 The Fourth Father is the Light-Mind, he who chooses
36.2 all the churches. He, too, has called three
36.3 powers after the likeness of Jesus. The first power is the Apostle
36.4 of Light, he who comes whenever he puts on the Church
36.5 of the flesh of humankind and becomes leader of
36.6 Righteousness. The second (power) is the Twin, who comes to the
36.7 Apostle and reveals himself to him, since he is a companion to him,
36.8 being bound to him everywhere (and) always helping him in
36.9 all the tribulations and the dangers. The third (power)
36.10 is the Light-Form, which the Elect and the
36.11 Catechumens assume when they renounce the world.
36.12 The Fifth Father is the Light-Form which
36.13 reveals itself to each one who leaves his
36.14 body in the same way as the Apostle, along with the Three
36.15 Great, Glorious Angels who come with it. While the one holds

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[32] A similar formulation may be found in a hymn/litany from Mani's *Living Gospel* (*Synaxeis*) (Funk, *personal communication)*.

[33] A&C: [ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ [ⲛⲛ]ⲥⲓⲟⲩ.

[34] Funk, *personal communication*.

[35] See Polotsky/Böhlig 35.32.

[36] See John 8.38 (Polotsky/Böhlig 35 n. 32).

36.16 the Victory-prize in his hand, (and) the second wears the Garment
36.17 of Light, the third is the one who holds the Diadem
36.18 and the Wreath and the Crown of Light. These are the
36.19 Three Angels of Light who come with this Light-
36.20 Form and are revealed with it to the Elect and the
36.21 Catechumens. These are the Five Fathers which have come from
36.22 one another, they have revealed (and) appeared from one
36.23 another. Blessed is the one who knows and understands them,
36.24 for he will find eternal life and put on the Garments of
36.25 Light which are given to the Righteous, [the Faithful], the
Peace-Giving,
36.26 and the Doers of Good.

CHAPTER 9

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE (SIGN OF) PEACE, WHAT IT MEANS, THE RIGHT HAND, THE KISS, THE ADORATION

37.31 Again, the Disciples asked the Apostle, saying
37.32 [to him]: This (Sign of) Peace and this Greeting which are found in the world,
37.33 from who [have they come]? Or, the Right Hand which exists in
37.34 [the world], since it is honoured by people, whose is it? Or, the
37.35 [Mystery of the] Kiss, with which people greet one another,
37.36 … … Or, who is it who has revealed this

38.1 Adoration, with which people honour one another? Or, the Laying on of
38.2 Hands, which the great one often lays upon the one bowed
38.3 before him, as he honours him (and) makes him great, whose
38.4 Laying on of Hands is it? Then he spoke to his Disciples:
38.5 These *five matters* which you have asked about, while they appear
38.6 in the world to be minor and small,
38.7 they are, in fact, great (and) glorious. I shall reveal to
38.8 you their mysteries. As for these *Five Signs*,
38.9 they are the mystery of the First Man, he who came with them
38.10 from the Aeon of Light. Also, after he completed
38.11 his struggle, it was with these good signs that he came up
38.12 (and) was received into the Aeon of Light.
38.13 The First (Sign of) Peace is the one that the Gods and Angels in the Land
38.14 of Light gave to the First Man when he came
38.15 out against the Enemy. The Gods and the Angels
38.16 went with him, accompanying him (and) giving him their (Sign of) Peace and
38.17 their might and their blessedness and their victory. This is the First
38.18 (Sign of) Peace which the Gods and Angels gave the First
38.19 Man as he came out from the Aeon of Light.
38.20 The First Right Hand is that which the Mother of Life gave the First
38.21 Man, when he came out to the struggle.
38.22 The First Kiss is that with which the Mother of Life greeted
38.23 the First Man, as he departed from her (and) went
38.24 down to the struggle. All the rest of the Gods and

38.25 the Angels who are in the Aeon of Light kissed him, as well as all the
38.26 … and shrines(?) of the Church and the Companions who
38.27 belong to the house of his people. They kissed him as
38.28 he was to depart from them. They escorted him, kissing
38.29 him with the kiss of love and affection.
38.30 The First Adoration is the adoration with which the First Man
38.31 adored him when he came [from the depth]
38.32 which is below. He bent his knee, [adoring]
38.33 the God of Truth and all the Aeons [of Light],

39.1 who belong to the house of his people, as he implored them for a power to
39.2 accompany him as he was leaving.
39.3 The First Laying on of Hands which the Mother of Life placed upon
39.4 the head of the First Man armed him (and) made him
39.5 strong. She laid hands on him (and) sent him into battle. He came
39.6 down (and) accomplished his struggle with the Great Powers and the
39.7 Enmity. By these *Five Signs*, by these *Five Mysteries*,
39.8 the First Man came from the Aeon of Light
39.9 against the Enemy. He humbled him (and) defeated him with them.
39.10 Also, when he came up from the war, he entered
39.11 the Kingdom of the houses of his people through these *Five Mysteries*.
39.12 The (Sign of) Peace with which [he came] up is the (Sign of) Peace which the
39.13 Call gave to him, when he was sent by the Father of the
39.14 Living. He gave him the (Sign of) Peace in the World of Darkness.
39.15 This same (Sign of) Peace with which he went down is
39.16 also the one with which he came up from the struggle. Thus, it is according to the
39.17 mystery of this (Sign of) Peace, which the Call gave to
39.18 the First Man, that the (Sign of) Peace is found down here, the one
39.19 which has been named and heard among the powers of the Father. The
39.20 second Right Hand, however, is the one which the Living Spirit gave the
39.21 First Man when he came up from the struggle. According to
39.22 the mystery of that Right Hand has this (other) Right Hand come into being.
39.23 It is the one which exists [among] the people, when they give it to one another,
39.24 which is honoured and [appreciated][37] among them. But, this second Kiss,
39.25 the one with which the [Father of] Life and the Mother of the

[37] See Polotsky/Böhlig note 24. Also, Funk, *personal communication*.

39.26 Living kissed the First Man after he came back
39.27 from the struggle, this Kiss is also found among the
39.28 people, when they kiss one another with it, or
39.29 when they depart and are far from one another, or also when
39.30 they approach one another in accordance with this mystery.
39.31 [The] second Adoration (is the one) with which the First Man adored
39.32 [before this][38] time the God of Truth and
39.33 [his twelve(?)][39] blessed Aeons and all the Aeons
39.34 [which exist in the][40] whole Great [World] of Light, when

40.1 the Father of Life and the Mother of the Living raised
40.2 the Man from the depth of the struggle. According to the mystery
40.3 of this second Adoration, has this Adoration existed. This is the one
40.4 that is found today among the people who adore
40.5 and honour one another. The second
40.6 Laying on of Hands is this, that after the Living Spirit had led the First
40.7 Man up from the war, he rescued him from all the
40.8 waves. He brought him up (and) gave him rest in the Great
40.9 Aeons of Light which belong to the house of his people.
40.10 He set him before the Father, the Lord of All.
40.11 Then, when he ascended to the great Father of
40.12 Light, a voice came to him from on high, saying:
40.13 "*Set my son, my first-born, at my right, that I might*
40.14 *place all his enemies as a footstool under his feet.*"
40.15 He received this great Laying on of Hands, so that he might become leader
40.16 of his brothers in the New Aeon. Also, according to the mystery
40.17 of the second Laying on of Hands has the Laying on of Hands
40.18 existed. It is the one which is found among the people, when they lay hands on
40.19 one another, as the great give authority to the small. These *Five*
40.20 *Mysteries*, these *Five Signs* which existed first in the divinity,
40.21 they were proclaimed in this world through an apostle. The people
40.22 have learned them (and) set them in their midst. But[41] these mysteries have not
40.23 existed from the beginning among the
40.24 powers of Darkness. Also, the Light-Mind, which comes
40.25 into the world, it comes in these various forms. With these *Five*
40.26 *Words*, it chooses its Church. First and foremost

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[38] A&C: [ϩ]ⲁⲧ[ⲉϩ]ⲏ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲉⲩ.
[39] A&C: [ⲡⲉϥⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ].
[40] A&C: [ⲉⲧⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄]ⲕ[ⲁ][ⲓ].
[41] A&C: ⲁⲁ]ⲁⲁ.

40.27 it chooses its Church with a (Sign of) Peace
40.28 and gives peace at first to people. If someone receives the
40.29 (Sign of) Peace and becomes a Child of Peace, afterwards, he is chosen
40.30 for the faith.[42] Thus, when he receives the (Sign of) Peace, he receives [the]
40.31 [Right] Hand and belongs to the Right Hand. Thus, when [he receives] the Right
40.32 Hand, the Light-Mind draws him to himself and makes him approach [the]
40.33 Church. With the Right Hand, he receives the [Kiss of Love]
40.34 and becomes a Child of the [Peace[43] . . .]

41.1 With the Kiss, he receives Adoration and adores the God
41.2 of Truth and adores also the Holy Church . . .
41.3 the hope of the faith of good things. When they
41.4 receive the (Sign of) Peace and the Right Hand, the Kiss and the Adoration,
41.5 at the end of these things they lay upon them the Right Hand of Mercy. They
41.6 too receive the Laying on of Hands, which will be laid upon them and
41.7 they will be set and built in the truth and made strong from it forever.
41.8 They come to the Light-Mind with these good signs
41.9 and they make people perfect and adore and
41.10 glorify the God of Truth.
41.11 Furthermore, at the time of their coming forth, when the Light-
41.12 Form goes out before them and spreads them out from the Darkness to the
41.13 Light and [is in them],[44] the Light-Form calms the
41.14 man with the Kiss and its rest from the terror of
41.15 the demons who destroy his body, by its likeness and its
41.16 image. The heart of the Elect which leaves his body
41.17 finds rest in it, and then the angel who holds the Prize
41.18 extends to him (his) Right Hand and draws him from
41.19 the depth of his body and receives him with the Kiss
41.20 and the Love. This soul adores its redeemer,
41.21 which is the Light-Form. But, at the same time
41.22 that . . . he perfects and increases according to . . .
41.23 . . . . . [and become king][45] in the House of the Living and the Gods
41.24 and Angels and all the Apostles, along with the Elect
41.25 and he takes the crown, the blessing,[46] and the glory in eternal life.
41.26 [Therefore], I say to you, my brothers and Limbs,

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[42] Cited by Crum 365a.
[43] A&C: ⲛⲧⲉ[ⲧ]ⲣⲏⲛⲏ . . . .
[44] Funk, *personal communication*.
[45] A&C: [ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱ]ⲛ ⲥⲙ.
[46] A&C: ⲡⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲁⲩ.

41.27 let there be these *Five* [*Signs*] in your hands, since they are honoured before
41.28 each one of you, which are the (Sign of) Peace, the Right Hand, the
41.29 Kiss, the Adoration, and the Laying on of Hands. This, which I have brought
41.30 to you from the House of the Living, from the Father who has
41.31 sent me. Know that a great mystery
41.32 … … him, by these *Five Signs* which I have brought
41.33 … … you will separate from the world, since
41.34 … … … you have known the first

42.1 (Sign of) Peace, the first Right Hand, the first Kiss,
42.2 the first Adoration and the first Laying on of Hands.
42.3 Therefore, let this Laying on of Hands be great among you who
42.4 honour and adore the Teachers, Deacons, and Presbyters.
42.5 Those who I have lain hands on, I have set upon them the great
42.6 Laying on of Hands, since they are established in a great mystery:
42.7 (that is) the Laying on of Hands of the Divinity is placed upon the
42.8 head of the Teacher. Therefore, he who rejects it and despises
42.9 it, and considers it nothing, he sins against God in a great
42.10 sin and also against me.
42.11 But, you, my beloved, be zealous in these *Five*
42.12 [*Signs*(?)] … … you and … …
42.13 … … perfect in these (things). Each time [you] … …
42.14 … want, he will answer you … …
42.15 … … as he who spoke to [you] … …
42.16 … … in the name of the … …[47]
42.17 … … which are in the Storehouses of [Darkness(?)] will want(?)
42.18 … … your hearts … …
42.19 … … which he established through you … each one
42.20 … … hears you, he knows everything that you
42.21 do … with one another … … this
42.22 … … he turns himself to you … … and he will …
42.23 … from you the tribulation of … …

[47] Funk, *personal communication*.

CHAPTER 10

ON THE MEANING OF THE FOURTEEN [GREAT] AEONS ABOUT WHICH SETHEL SPOKE IN [HIS] PRAYER

42.27 Again, the disciples asked the Apostle (and) said to him: We [implore]
42.28 you, our Lord, that you clarify for us this statement that is written
42.29 [in] the prayer of Sethel, the first-born son of Adam, when he says,
42.30 "*You are glorious, you fourteen great Aeons of Light.*"
42.31 Tell us, our Lord, what do the Fourteen Great
42.32 Aeons of Light mean. Then, the Enlightener [spoke]
42.33 [to them]: Allow me to interpret for you [the fourteen]
42.34 great Aeons of Light, which he spoke about …
42.35 Know this, that … … …

43.1 … below stands in the Fourteen [Great Aeons]
43.2 … … the *Five Elements*, the Sons of the First
43.3 Man, along with the Call and Response, since they are added(?)[48] to them
43.4 (and) dwell in them. These make seven—five and two
43.5 … … the [*Five*(?)] *Sons of the Living Spirit* who
43.6 [support the] entire [weight] of the world, along with the Living
43.7 [Spirit and the First] Man, their parents. These are the Fourteen
43.8 [Blessings which he has] proclaimed—the Blessing which has fourteen
43.9 [aspects(?)],[49] the one through which the world is established.
43.10 [These are the Fourteen] Aeons of Light, the ones about which the [great][50]
43.11 Sethel [spoke(?)] in his prayer, since they were interpreted
43.12 … [the Land] which is not visible. This Land has …
43.13 … [established] them (and) they carried the Enemy …
43.14 … [repaid] them. The hidden fullness which …
43.15 … … [the Third(?)] Messenger, he who came from the Father …
43.16 … … he came (and) established him among these …
43.17 as they call him: Good Father of [all the Aeons and Gods],
43.18 the pure ones and the mixed ones. He has become leader and

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[48] ⲉⲩⲧⲁϩⲥ ⟨ ⲧⲱϩⲥ (meaning unknown—not ⲧⲱϩⲥ "anoint").

[49] προοσευχή or προοσώπον (Polotsky/Böhlig 43.9). See A&C: προοσευχή rarely used in *Kephalaia*.

[50] Funk, *personal communication*.

43.19 great king like the First Father, the Lord of all these counsels.
43.20 It is by this will that the world has been held together
43.21 … … … to the end of all things.

CHAPTER 12

ON THE MEANING OF THE FIVE WORDS WHICH ARE PROCLAIMED *MNTPARAPEHOUT*[51] IN THE COSMOS

44.23 [52]
44.24 Again the disciples [asked the Apostle, saying to]
44.25 to him: Tell us, our Lord, the *Five Words* which are proclaimed
44.26 in the teaching of the Baptists and [these] other words which[53]
44.27 are found in the other Sects. They speak their name, that is, those
44.28 who are called—"pure," saying that this [first][54]
44.29 life and the second life … … …
44.30 … make their heart along with the mind … and the …
44.31 Law of …[55] … …
44.32 … … … …
44.33 … … … …
44.34 name him with the name, "father" … …
44.35 this nameless, the one who no one … …
44.36 … his name. The second [word is the]

45.1 Third Messenger … …
45.2 of Life, who they also call, "father" …
45.3 … … … …
45.4 … … … …
45.5 the First Father. The Law … …
45.6 living … Law of Good and Evil,
45.7 for this is the one who[56] gave victory to the Aeons of Light [(over?) the]
45.8 Enemy (and) humbled the rebels … …
45.9 … … … [their]
45.10 being and their world. It had(?) … …
45.11 them in this border until the end-time. …

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[51] The exact meaning of ⲙⲛⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲉϩⲟⲩⲧ remains unclear. The same word also occurs in a similar polemical context in Chapter 100 (1 Ke 252.10).

[52] A&C: Line count error in Polotsky/Böhlig edition; line 11 jumped.

[53] A&C: ⲙ]ⲛ [ⲛⲓ]ⲕⲉⲥ[ⲉ][ⲭ]ⲉ [ⲉⲧ].

[54] Funk, *personal communication*.

[55] A&C: ⲡⲛⲟ |[30] ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ … .

[56] A&C: ⲧⲁⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ [ⲧⲉ]ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲥ̣ϯ.

45.12 the powers which[57] the world established in them[58]
45.13 … … are [all(?)] one living body
45.14 … … … …
45.15 … … … against one another.

[57] A&C: ⲛ[ⲉⲧ]ⲉⲣⲉ.
[58] A&C: ⲛ[ϩ]ⲏⲧⲟⲩ.

CHAPTER 13

ON THE FIVE SAVIOURS, RESURRECTORS OF THE DEAD, ALONG WITH THE FIVE RESURRECTIONS

45.19 Again, [the] Enlightener spoke … …
45.20 … … … …
45.21 … … … …
45.22 … … … …
45.23 … … … …
45.24 … in him[59] … …
45.25 [The second Resurrector is] … …
45.26 … … … …
45.27 But, the third Resurrector is the Father, the first …
45.28 … … since in his word all life
45.29 … … gathers together and goes to him and receives(?)
45.30 … … they finish[60] and rest.
45.31 [The fourth Resurrector] is the Light-Mind, since
45.32 … … … …

46.1 … each The fifth Resurrector is[61] …
46.2 … fifth Resurrector to the Good …
46.3 … … the Father, the first-established
46.4 … … all powers and he establishes
46.5 … … reveals … upon them
46.6 … … them and he draws them to himself … a great[62] …
46.7 … … pleases(?) him … also
46.8 … … and he sets them …
46.9 … … in him and they remain, until
46.10 … … Blessed is the one
46.11 … … and he … the day of
46.12 … … perfect in eternal life.[63]

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[59] A&C: ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲏⲧⲩ.
[60] A&C: ⲫ]ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲛ.
[61] A&C: [… …] … ⲛⲓⲙ vacat ⲡⲙ̀ⲁ[ⲥ]ϯⲟⲩ … . ⲣⲉⲩⲥⲉ[ⲥ][ⲟ ⲁⲥⲣⲏ̈].
[62] A&C: . ⲃ … … … ⲧ ⲙⲙ̀[ⲁ]ⲩ ⲛ̀[ⲉ̄]ⲥⲁⲕⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ [. .] . ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲥ ⲙ̀.
[63] A&C: ⲥⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲛ[ⲥ ⲫⲁ]ⲁⲛϩⲥⲉ.

CHAPTER 14

THE MEANING OF THE SILENCE, THE FAST, [THE PEACE], THE DAY, [AND] THE REST; WHAT THEY MEAN

46.16 Again the disciples asked the Enlightener, saying:
46.17 Explain to us the *Five Words* which are spoken in the
46.18 world, since they call … … "Peace," another,
46.19 "Silence," (and) they call [the "Fast"(?)], another "Day," (and) another
46.20 ["Rest"(?)] … [We implore you], our Father, that you clarify
46.21 for us[64] … … …
46.22 … … … …
46.23 … … … …
46.24 … … … …
46.25 … … … …
46.26 … … … …
46.27 … … … …
46.28 … the gatherer … …
46.29 … since he causes the body to … …
46.30 all desires of the world … …
46.31 … the body in righteousness … …
46.32 … the Column of Glory … …
46.33 … since … …

47.1 … … … …
47.2 … … … …
47.3 … He whom they call … he is the
47.4 First Man, he who dwells in the Ship of the Living Waters
47.5 … [Light] … … they call him
47.6 … … … …
47.7 … … … …
47.8 … … … …
47.9 … … … the glorious …
47.10 … … … the Enlightener …
47.11 … call him, "Day" …
47.12 … … … …
47.13 … … … …
47.14 … … in the Great Aeon, that …
47.15 … … scattered in the world, he who …

[64] A&C: ⲛ̣ⲟⲩ̣[ⲓ̈]ⲉ̣ⲧⲛ̄ⲛ̣ [ⲗ]ⲃ̣[ⲗ]ⲗ̣ […etc.

47.16 … … established in the …
47.17 … … and the soul …
47.18 … … rejoice in eternal life.[65]
47.19 Blessed is the one [who …] and believes in
47.20 the great … … forever and
47.21 ever.

[65] A&C (lines 18–19 confused in Polotsky/Böhlig): […] … … … … ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲧ ⲥⲙⲡⲱⲛ[ⲥ] [ⲱ]ⲁⲁⲛϩⲉ vacat |[19] ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲧ[ⲧ] ⲙⲡⲉⲧ … … . ϯⲟⲩⲛ . ⲩ . ⲉ ⲉ … . ⲛⲧⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ [ⲁ].

CHAPTER 15

[ON THE] ... FIVE [PARTS(?)][66] ... WORLD OF ...

47.26 [Again, while the Enlightener] was sitting among his disciples
47.27 [and preaching to them about(?)][67] the great and secret things of God
47.28 [and on the][68] Two Natures, his disciples said
47.29 [to him] ...: Has death risen (and) established itself
47.30 ... ... or else has it changed itself ...
47.31 ... ... its armour ... in its ...
47.32 ... ... But, it has fulfilled ... he has installed the foundation[69]
47.33 ... ...
47.34 ... ... this Though of Death exists[70]
47.35 ... ...

48.1 ... ... and it moves it ... ...
48.2 ... those who are in the ... [of] the Land of Darkness ...
48.3 ... ... first p art.
48.4 But, after a long time, in which there is no peace[71] ... the
48.5 Thou gh of Death ... ...
48.6 it gushed (and) poured forth. [These are the *Five Elements*(?)][72]
48.7 of Death, those which have gushed forth ... ...
48.8 ... ... which are [the Smoke,]
48.9 [the Fire, the Wind], the Water, and the [Darkness] ... ...
48.10 ... the second time ... ...
48.11 The Third Part is[73] ... ...
48.12 ... they were formed ... ...
48.13 those that Death has established in them ... ...
48.14 The Fourth Part is the evil fruit ... which has been formed[74]
48.15 on the *Five Trees*, which are in the *Five* [*Worlds of*]
48.16 *the Land of Darkness*.
48.17 The fifth time it spread itself to its offspring that exist [in the *Five*]

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[66] The chapter seems to enumerate a series of parts, although the reconstruction of ⲧⲁⲓⲉ is not acceptable (Funk, *personal communication*).
[67] Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig 47.27.
[68] Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig 47.28.
[69] A&C: ⲁ]ⲫⲉⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲛⲧ[ⲉ.
[70] A&C: [± 11 ⲉⲛⲟⲩ]ⲙⲏⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉ[ⲩ] ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲉ.
[71] A&C: ⲉⲙⲛ̄ [ⲉⲓ]ⲣⲏⲛⲏ [ⲛⲍ]ⲏⲧⲫ.
[72] Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig 48.6.
[73] A&C: ⲧⲙⲁⲍ[ⲱ]ⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ ... .
[74] A&C: [... ... ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲡⲗⲁⲥ]^{15}ⲥⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲍⲙ.

48.18 *Worlds* that were fashioned (and) begotten from the *Five*
48.19 *Fruits of Death*, which are the *Five Worlds of*
48.20 *Flesh*, the *Five Creations of Darkness* which Death established in
48.21 them. He spread himself among the Ten Parts, the *Five Male Parts* and the
48.22 *Five Female* [*Parts*] … … …
48.23 … … … …
48.24 Just as in the case of the Land of Darkness, it is its spirit and its …
48.25 that nourish the *Five Elements* … …
48.26 so too concerning the Ten Parts which (are found) in [males and]
48.27 females, the fire and the desire of the flesh … …
48.28 them, as they join with one another … [they have established]
48.29 them against the First Man. This is … …
48.30 … … … of Darkness
48.31 they have condemned him forever. According to the mystery of these
48.32 Twelve Parts which are found in the Darkness … …
48.33 against the First Man, the Twelve … …
48.34 the Twelve Spirits of Error, those who [exist]
48.35 in the Twelve Zodiacs … …

49.1 they are opposing the Second Living Man,
49.2 who dwells in the Holy Church. They persecute him, like
49.3 they persecuted [already][75] in the beginning the First Man in the Land
49.4 of Darkness. As the First Man humbled the Darkness
49.5 … … … …
49.6 … … the Light, that dwells in the Church
49.7 … … the Twelve Sects
49.8 … … his holy Father forever and
49.9 [ever].

[75] A&C: ⲛ̅[ϥⲁⲣⲡ ⲛ̅]ⲧⲥⲟⲩⲏⲧⲉ.

CHAPTER 16

[ON THE FIVE] GREATNESSES WHICH HAVE [COME] OUT AGAINST THE DARKNESS

49.13 [Again, the Enlightener spoke] to his disciples: The Light[76]
49.14 … … [the] Darkness, he conquered it with *Five Greatnesses*.
49.15 [The first Greatness] is the Father of Greatness, he who [exists]
49.16 [in] silence and secret, established in his Land
49.17 [of Light,] in his proper place. Four Greatnesses appeared
49.18 (and) came out from him. They were arranged in ten parts and were established
49.19 as a perfect twelve. The second Great-
49.20 ness which poured forth, appeared, (and) was manifested by the first
49.21 Greatness is the Mother of Life, the Great Spirit, along with
49.22 the First Man [and his] *Five Sons*. [These are the second]
49.23 Great[ness]. The third [Greatness is the]
49.24 [Beloved of] Lights, the Great Builder, the Living Spirit, and the
49.25 *Five Sons of the Living Spirit*. These are the third Greatness.
49.26 [The fourth] Greatness is the Third Messenger and
49.27 [the] Column of Glory, and all the powers of light that are revealed
49.28 [from him. These are the] fourth Greatness.
49.29 [The] fifth Greatness which came from the Father is Jesus the
49.30 Splendour and all his powers, which he called forth, his emanations which …
49.31 [are] poured forth (and) revealed by him. As for the fact that they are set forth
49.32 … … these *Five Sons of the First Man*
49.33 … … the entire construction. The other five are the *Five*
49.34 [*Sons of the Living Spirit*], who are set in five places, supporting
49.35 … … … completed in

50.1 twelve parts which … … [There is] another two added
50.2 to them, namely the Call and [the Response], which
50.3 are the father and the mother who Jesus the Splendour appointed by his
50.4 advent as successors in his place … the great Land.
50.5 of Light[77] … … …
50.6 … … … in them.

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[76] A&C: ⲁ ⲡ[ⲟ]ⲩ[ⲁ]ⲓⲛⲉ.
[77] A&C: ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛ[ⲉ].

50.7 … … … …
50.8 the First Man who has come … …
50.9 … … … …
50.10 … … b donging to … …
50.11 existing in[78] their kingdom … …
50.12 rank before those who belong to his [house] … …
50.13 … … … …
50.14 … … his enemies … …
50.15 and suffering through their evil and they take from him …
50.16 and kingdom and they take [him into]
50.17 captivity and they remove (any) company from him. But, he …
50.18 in his humility, he becomes confident and restrains his enemy
50.19 … in silence. Just as this man, this noble son,
50.20 is surrounded by his enemies, so too
50.21 is the coming of the First Man
50.22 [in the midst of the Archons], the enemies of Light.
50.23 The coming of the Living Spirit, however, and the command he received
50.24 (and) with which he fell upon all the Archons, is different from that of
50.25 the First Man. His coming … the coming of the First
50.26 Man. The coming of the Living Spirit is like
50.27 this: once he was sent from the Greatness to bring
50.28 back the First Man, he is like a judge
50.29 the king might send to quell the violence of
50.30 this person, the noble son against whom his enemies
50.31 sinned. But this man … the judge[79]
50.32 strong, firm and severe … … …
50.33 and he … … in his right-[80]

51.1 eousness and his strength and he convicts
51.2 all the condemned according to their rebellious hearts and he
51.3 repays each one according to his worth. Those who are worthy of
51.4 beating, he strikes them with harsh whips. Those, however,
51.5 who are worthy of having some of their limbs cut, or indeed of
51.6 … … and he pays them their due
51.7 … … and he binds them, chains them, and hangs some
51.8 … … and he acts towards them in this way by [righteous]
51.9 judgement [and he] kills them in order to flay their skin
51.10 … … that they be killed by slaughter
51.11 … … until they die. Those, however, for whom it is suitable
51.12 … … to remove them from their homes, he will

[78] A&C: ϵqψ̣o̞o̞n̄ [ϩ]ɴ-.
[79] A&C: ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙϵ … . ⲕ[ⲣⲓ]ⲧⲏ[ⲥ . .].
[80] A&C: [… ϩⲛ̄ ⲧϵqⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓ].

51.13 [remove them according to] righteous judgement, just like those who committed
51.14 crimes [(and) sinned against] the noble son. Also, the colleagues
51.15 [and the servants] of this judge, those who belong to
51.16 [him, in] great strength, suddenly and
51.17 quickly, they do the will of their lord.
51.18 Just as the pure judge was sent by
51.19 the king (in order to) recover this man, the
51.20 noble son, so too was the Living Spirit
51.21 sent by the King of Light
51.22 [to bring] judgment and to recover the First Man,
51.23 he against whom the King of Darkness sinned (and) committed crimes.
51.24 [He] sinned against him, along with his rebellious powers. When he[81] came,
51.25 he brought up the First Man. Also, all the Archons,
51.26 the Powers of Sin, those who committed crimes (and) sinned against the Sons
51.27 [of] the First Man, he judged them according to righteous
51.28 judgment. He bound them in the heaven and the earth. He placed each one
51.29 of them in the place suited to him. He measured each one of them
51.30 according to his cruelty and according to his humility. While some
51.31 of them he shut[82]
51.32 [in prison], others he hung upside down. Some
51.33 … … are crucified, while others (are made to)

52.1 sit down all the time. Some are fastened to
52.2 their companions, distressed by harsh bonds.
52.3 Others he has made wardens over one another,
52.4 among themselves, in order that they might do his will
52.5 to those that are under them.
52.6 Therefore, know, o my beloved,[83] that after
52.7 the Father of Life passed judgment … …
52.8 he revealed (himself) to all the powers [of Darkness (and)]
52.9 judged them like a just judge …
52.10 … … … …
52.11 [This] is the first judgment which the [Living] Spirit [passed] against the Archons
52.12 [concerning the] First Man. [To the First Man] he

[81] That is, the Living Spirit.
[82] Dittography (Polotsky/Böhlig).
[83] A&C: ⲱ ⲛ[ⲁⲙⲉ]ⲣ[ⲉ]ⲧⲉ.

52.13 awarded the victory according to his victory, while the [Archon[84] of Darkness]
52.14 he condemned according to the condemnation by which he erred …
52.15 … he sinned.[85] … Such a bond was found for him …
52.16 the earth until the end-time, when the [world] will be destroyed
52.17 and consumed by the great fire and separated. While [the]
52.18 Light (will) go to its own land, the Darkness (will) remains in
52.19 [the bond] and fetter forever.
52.20 … [As for] the advent of the Third Messenger, who came
52.21 [to inspect] those imprisoned in the Zone, he
52.22 is like a great king who comes and inspects his artisans
52.23 … … and …
52.24 … those who are good among the artisans and the builders
52.25 and the craftsmen who he assigns to each
52.26 place, seeing that they have done their work well
52.27 (and) attended to his works in their way, he rejoices
52.28 [greatly] … he thanks these craftsmen
52.29 who have fixed his things (and) [fulfilled] his orders.
52.30 Just as the great king comes and inspects
52.31 his works and his camps, so [too]
52.32 is the advent of the Third Messenger, [since]
52.33 after he comes, he too sees [his works]
52.34 fixed, accomplished, (and) … …

53.1 ranks of Archons, distributed and fixed
53.2 above and below, outside and
53.3 inside, with great skill, which his brothers had done,
53.4 who came before him to the struggle; those who fixed (and) created
53.5 the world before he had come. He saw the gods and the
53.6 angels standing firm (and) holding camp
53.7 … watching the entire Ruling Power …
53.8 … which the first powers had done,
53.9 [which are the] First Man, the [Living Spirit]
53.10 and [the] Great [Spirit, the] Mother of Life. Then, after he saw
53.11 them, that they [completed with] great wisdom all the works.
53.12 … … … they saw, he spoiled(?) …
53.13 … his [advent], by which he had come (and) [revealed]
53.14 himself. He said to the Living Spirit: The judgment you gave …
53.15 … good, what you proclaimed … …
53.16 you have [given] them accordingly because they have stirred (and) raised
53.17 those who were not worthy.
53.18 The advent of Jesus the Splendour, when he came … …

[84] A&C: ⲡⲁⲣ[ⲭⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ].
[85] A&C: … ⲁⲫ̄ⲛⲁⲃⲉ.

all, since he was like a man being
[sent] to root out … … …
burn a hard reed[86] with fire. And so when
he first cut the evil trees with his
axe, he rooted [them] out … … …
and their bodies with his fire, so that they might not grow again
[from] now on, nor produce fruit, which the evil are to eat
… afterwards, [he] for his part planted his [good] plant, [the]
Tree of Life, which produces good fruit.
Thus, also, is it with the advent of Jesus the Splendour,
[which] happened in [this way]. For he also appointed himself
… … his power and his wisdom, in his
… … appointed(?) him king and saviour
… … in his glorious wisdom

he has destroyed them, bound them, and consumed them. Just as
the fire burns and destroys trees, so too did he do
his will in the Zone
with many powers, until he reached the fleshly form
of Adam and Eve, the first human beings [and did]
his will through Eve. He … [he gave]
hope also to Adam and the good news …
… glorious, he went up to [the height] …
… [of] light. Then [the Call and the]
Response, the great counsel that came to the Elements,
which stood in a mixture, he [combined with] them (and) established
himself in silence. He takes up … [until the Last]
[Time], when he will awaken and establish himself with the Great
Fire and gather to himself his own soul and mould
it into the Last Statue. You (s.) will find him too, as he
sweeps away (and) throws into impurity that
which is foreign to him. The Life, however, and the Light
which are in all things, he collects it to himself and gathers it
on his body. When this Last Statue
is perfect in all its limbs, then he will depart
and ascend from this great struggle through
the Living Spirit, his father, he who comes and destroys …
limb and brings it up from the gathering(?) … the dissolution
and end of all things. Now, his counsel,
the Call and Response, resembles
a stick of butter, (which) a person takes and puts
it in warm milk. It melts and blends
with this warm milk. It melts again
[in] silence and stillness amid …

[86] A&C: ⲓⲁϩⲕⲉ[ⲙ].

54.30 but, by the power and the taste of this [milk] …
54.31 drawn to it and fixed and makes the [milk cold] …
54.32 in … … and … … [this milk]

55.1 it throws it and casts it out. Also, the cream and the
55.2 fat and the beauty of the milk it draws to itself.
55.3 This is also like the coming of
55.4 that *enthumesis*, the counsel of life, which
55.5 is the Call and Response that came to the Elements.
55.6 That is, at the end it will awaken and establish itself and gather
55.7 together with itself all life and the light which is
55.8 [left] in all things. Placing them on
55.9 its body, it will gather them to itself …
55.10 … in his image forever … …
55.11 … … from this time. Blessed is
55.12 each one who [believing] in these *Five Advents* and strengthening himself
55.13 [in the] knowledge of them will ascend to the height and redeem …
55.14 … … and he is not counted …
55.15 … … … …

CHAPTER 18

[ON THE FIVE] WARS [WHICH THE] SONS OF LIGHT WAGED WITH [THE SONS] OF DARKNESS

58.4 [Again][87] the Enlightener spoke: The Sons of Light have waged *Five*
58.5 [*Wars*] with the Sons of Darkness, in which the Sons of Light
58.6 [have subdued the] Sons of Darkness completely.
58.7 [The First] War is the that of the First Living Man, he who [has]
58.8 [(waged war) with the] King of Darkness and all the Archons who have come
58.9 [from the] *Five Worlds of* [*Darkness*(?)] … he caught
58.10 [them with] his net, which is the Living Soul. He …
58.11 … in the snare and … face of …
58.12 … his maiden, the Living Fire …
58.13 [They had no means] of escape from [his] net …
58.14 … he caught them like fish …
58.15 … the *Five Counsels* of the *Five Elements* …
58.16 … he cut (and) uprooted the roots of [the *Five*]
58.17 [*Trees*(?)][88] … roots of the evil trees like an axe.
58.18 As the Saviour said: *Behold, the axe is at the root*
58.19 *[of] the evil tree, so that it might not produce evil fruit from now on.*[89]
58.20 The Second War is the that of the Living Spirit …
58.21 … he established the works and the Worlds of Light.
58.22 He scattered the Archons (and) bound them in the middle …
58.23 … … the stars in the Eight[90] Earths …
58.24 in the Three Vehicles. For the Archons
58.25 rebelled (and) rose up against the Living Spirit. They wanted to
58.26 … since they knew (and) perceived that he would bind [and]
58.27 fetter them with harsh bonds. But he, the Living Spirit,
58.28 with many faces (and) a multitude of terrors, with many hands
58.29 (and) with great hardheartedness, [revealed] himself to them,
58.30 (and) imprisoned them with great skill. None among
58.31 them could be saved from his [great] bond and his fetter[91]
58.32 since he … … …
58.33 … he d ⲓvid ⲉd them … … …

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[87] A&C: [ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡ]ⲁⲁ[ⲉ].
[88] See Polotsky/Böhlig 58.17.
[89] See Mt 3:10.
[90] A&C: ϩⲏ̄ ⲛ̣[ⲫ]ⲙ̣[ⲟⲩ]ⲛ̣.
[91] A&C: ⲁⲛ̣ ⲛ̣[ⲧ][ⲭ̄][ⲛⲁⲟ ⲏ̄]ⲙ̣ⲣ̄ⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ̣ ⲛ̣[ⲭ̄ⲥ][32] ⲛⲁϩ.

59.1 … … … …
59.2 … … … …
59.3 [The Third War(?)] is (that of) the Third Messenger,
59.4 [when[92] he revealed] his image … …
59.5 … … bdow … drew
59.6 … … all light and the possessions … …
59.7 … … those who oppressed … …
59.8 … … the entire Ruling Power … …
59.9 … … boasting[93] of the light … …
59.10 … … as he extended himself … …
59.11 … When a man comes, being strong, … …
59.12 … … pœssesses his richness … …
59.13 … … silver and … …
59.14 his[94] arrogance and his wantonness.
59.15 This too is like the Ruling Power …
59.16 all rich … walking …
59.17 … … … Light
59.18 … he cleansed and purified him.
59.19 The Fourth War is the one Jesus the Splendour, the glorious, waged
59.20 with all the rebels who rebelled above and below.
59.21 When the Light was purified from them by the image of the Third
59.22 Messenger, their bonds were stripped …
59.23 … the splendour in the Fourth War, he came and waged …
59.24 … rebellion of the whole Ruling Power. He smote …
59.25 the whole … again he established the entire construction (and) made …
59.26 … … a great struggle. He subdued it
59.27 … he did the will of the Greatness. [He]
59.28 [gave] hope to Adam … his Ship of Light
59.29 … … … which the Counsel of Life
59.30 … … … which are the Call and Response …
59.31 … great … …
59.32 … … he pɬaced … on the …
59.33 … … … and the …

60.1 … … … …
60.2 … … the dœath which …
60.3 … … with it and he conquered …
60.4 forever and gave the kingdom … …
60.5 … … the Great War … …
60.6 … fight[95] with the Sons of Darkness … …

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[92] A&C: ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-.
[93] A&C: ⲙ]ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲟⲩⲫⲟ.
[94] A&C: [ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧ]-.
[95] A&C: … [. ⲙⲓ][ⲫ]ⲉ ⲙⲛ̄.

60.7 … … the good struggle against [the evil(?)][96] …
60.8 … … from eternity to eternity … …
60.9 … … every elect who will … …
60.10 … … placed in him and conquers it … …
60.11 … … like these *Five* … …
60.12 … receive the(?) victory … …

[96] Suggested in Polotsky/Böhlig translation.

CHAPTER 19

ON THE FIVE RELEASES: WHAT THEY MEAN

60.16 [Again,] our Father spoke: There are *Five* [*Releases*]
60.17 by which the Light was saved from all
60.18 [the Archons and] Powers of Darkness.
60.19 [The First] liberation and rescue is the First Man's.
60.20 For, when the First Man escaped from
60.21 [the prison of] the Archons by means of the Living Spirit, who came to
60.22 him[97] … … …
60.23 the First Man, much light and [much] power
60.24 was rescued from the whole Ruling Power. They ascended
60.25 with the First Man to the Aeons of Greatness. This [is the First]
60.26 Release.
60.27 The Second Rescue is the Living Spirit's, for when
60.28 the Father of Life and the Mother of the Living established the
60.29 heavens and the worlds … …
60.30 world, the earths and their rulers. A great deal of Light
60.31 was rescued by them … the First
60.32 Man who had been swallowed … … Light …

61.1 … … … …
61.2 … third war … …
61.3 … until the time when … …
61.4 … above … …
61.5 … on the … …
61.6 … world.
61.7 [The Third Liberation(?)] is the Third
61.8 [Messenger's … he] revealed [his]
61.9 [image] … … he …
61.10 … authority, he … …
61.11 … … which … …
61.12 … … … …
61.13 … … from them … …
61.14 … … Now, this is … …
61.15 … [his] image, which [is illuminated by the]
61.16 Third Messenger.
61.17 [The] Fourth Rescue is Jesus [the Splendour's, for when]

[97] A&C: ⲉ[ⲓⲣⲉ][22]ⲧ[ⲫ].

61.18 he appeared in the Zone, he revealed [his]
61.19 image before the firmaments. He distilled the upper [light]
61.20 (and) established the Original Just One, the beginning[98]
61.21 of all churches. He received the likeness …
61.22 … he made himself like an angel in the … until
61.23 he went and came down to the fleshly form and established
61.24 the earths and all the fixtures. He also liberated
61.25 … the immeasurable Light in the entire construction. He gave
61.26 [the] Call and the Response to the Elements (and) fashioned
61.27 Jesus the Youth. He went up (and) remained in the
61.28 [Land of] Light. The Fifth Release
61.29 and Rescue is the Great Counsel's,
61.30 [which is the] Call [and] the Response. For it too
61.31 … … [the] soul from the [Land(?)] of Greatness.

62.1 … … … …
62.2 … … they smote it(?) …
62.3 … … … …
62.4 … … … …
62.5 … … [the] Living Spirit … …
62.6 … … … …
62.7 … … … …
62.8 … … … …
62.9 … … as he gave … …
62.10 … … the liberation … …
62.11 … The first … …
62.12 … … [he] ascended (and) he … …
62.13 … … as he … …
62.14 … … wisdom … …
62.15 … … … …
62.16 … The Fourth … …
62.17 … … … his wisdom
62.18 … But, the Fifth … …
62.19 … … to him and he set it … his
62.20 Light-image in this Last Statue. These *Five Great*
62.21 *Powers* … revealed and they came to good [but not] to
62.22 evil.[99] They established on … …
62.23 … … First Man … after he came toward
62.24 … … from the struggle, he ordered (and) established
62.25 … … world … …
62.26 … … … First Man
62.27 … … … his coming. In
62.28 this way … they stood with … …

[98] A&C: ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲣ |[21]ⲭⲏ.
[99] A&C: ⲁⲩ |[22]ⲃⲟⲛ[ⲉ] ⲛ̣ⲧ̣ⲁ̣[ⲩ ⲉ]ⲛ̣.

62.29 … … … …
62.30 … … … …
62.31 … … … …
62.32 … … … …
62.33 … … … …

63.1 … because of the Light, which he plucked from …
63.2 … the Messenger. The Counsel [of]
63.3 Life, which is the Call and Response, will make …
63.4 … seal the commandment and the …
63.5 all the apostles in this last time, while they …
63.6 … life of the Statue [and] he will carry out the condemnation of the souls
63.7 … … [he] will send …
63.8 … … power … from …
63.9 … as it lives … … the will …
63.10 Father, the establishment … … …
63.11 strong, they went … enemy (and) they …
63.12 all upon … conquered this land which …
63.13 … … in it forever …
63.14 … … they came from him at the beginning and will return
63.15 again to the Light at the end.
63.16 Blessed is every one who will understand these mysteries …
63.17 … up … from the beginning to …
63.18 it …

CHAPTER 20

THE CHAPTER ON THE NAME OF THE FATHERS

63.22 Again, the Enlightener spoke to his disciples: The [Father]
63.23 [of] Greatness, who is so named, why is he called "Father"
63.24 [of] Greatness? His disciples said
63.25 to him: We implore you, our Lord, that you clarify for
63.26 us concerning this Greatness, namely, what it means that he is called
63.27 "Father" of Greatness. Then, he spoke
63.28 [to] his disciples: The Father is the first established (being),
63.29 [who is called] "Father" of Greatness,
63.30 his greatness is the Great Earth, where he dwells (and) is established
63.31 … … the essence of Light, which supports
63.32 all the Rich Ones and Angels and dwellings
63.33 … … established upon him.
63.34 [Also,] the Third Messenger is called
63.35 ["Father." His greatness] is the Light-ship of the Living Fire,

64.1 [in which he dwells] (and) is established.
64.2 [Also,] Jesus the Splendour is called "Father" too.
64.3 His greatness is the Ship of the Living Waters, in which he dwells
64.4 [(and) is established.)
64.5 The Column of Glory [is also called] "Father." His greatness
64.6 … the *Five Gods* of the holy … who dwell
64.7 [(and) are established] in them … …
64.8 … … Also, the Light-Mind is
64.9 [called] "Father." His greatness is the [Holy]
64.10 Church, since he dwells (and) [is established] in it. It too
64.11 … … in him … … alone. They
64.12 … Light.

CHAPTER 21

ON THE FATHER OF GREATNESS, HOW HE IS ESTABLISHED AND DEFINED

64.17 Again, the Apostle [spoke] to [his] disciples: Hear
64.18 [this statement] which I will proclaim to you: Very great is
64.19 the [size(?)][100] of the Light before those who hear and understand
64.20 it concerning the first Father of Greatness. Just as he
64.21 [is found] established in his *Five Light-Limbs*, which are
64.22 … the storehouses without measure or limit
64.23 … Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, and [Consideration]
64.24 … his Twelve Light-Limbs, which [are]
64.25 his Twelve Wisdoms. *Five Great Limbs*
64.26 of Light are found in each one … *Five Great*
64.27 *Fountains of Blessing* gush forth … There are *Five Great*
64.28 [*Trees*(?)][101] … … of Light.
64.29 The First is his Light, which illuminates … it gushed
64.30 forth and poured … … all Aeons.
64.31 The Second is the Good Odour of the … …
64.32 and permeates all the Aeons of Greatness.
64.33 The Third is his Living Voice of … …
64.34 … all his Aeons … …
64.35 The Fourth is his … -ness … …

65.1 … gu sh forth … from …
65.2 The Fifth is his Great [and] splendid … which …
65.3 which has revealed itself at all times, which lasts all …
65.4 that which is fashioned by them … …
65.5 sealed by them … sealed …
65.6 as they send … in … …
65.7 … they are nourished … … [his]
65.8 Living Voice, also, … … joy …
65.9 set up anew, which gushed forth …
65.10 … as they … and b ecome rich …
65.11 also, beautiful … portrayal …
65.12 adornment … they live …
65.13 … forever.

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[100] Very uncertain, perhaps something like "wonder" or "marvel" (Funk, *personal communication*).

[101] A&C: ⲟ[ⲩ]ⲛ ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲁϭ [ⲛ̄] |[28]ⲯⲏⲛ (very uncertain).

CHAPTER 24

[ON THE TIMES . . .]

70.12 . . . . a great judge
70.13 . . . then a time also . . . which was depicted
70.14 . . . [revealed] by the Father, the first established being. After
70.15 . . . . . the two Calls which he called stood
70.16 in the presence of their Father.[102] The Mother of Life, the Great
70.17 [Spirit(?)] . . . a long period in the First Father . . .
70.18 . . . . . For someone measuring
70.19 the grains of sand or boulders(?) of the mountains or
70.20 the sand of the sea or the body of the firmaments, as they crumble
70.21 . . . the body of the Four Mountains and the Three
70.22 Vehicles that surround the world. As they all crumble
70.23 . . . . . (and are reduced to[?]) fine powder(?)
70.24 Know that there is a limit to the grains of sand [found in(?)]
70.25 the whole world. It is possible to count grains of sand
70.26 yearly [and to count(?)] the grains of sand of the whole world,
70.27 but the period of time that the Great Spirit passed with the Father,
70.28 [the] first established being, cannot be counted. He initially
70.29 formed her in this way—he set her up in his inner storehouse,
70.30 in stillness and silence. When [they] needed
70.31 her, she was called, (and) she came forth from the Father [of Greatness].
70.32 She beheld all her Aeons of Light.
70.33 Moreover, from the time that she was called [she set herself up]

71.1 and came along and was empowered by[103] . . . . . .
71.2 on his [body] . . . all Aeons . . .
71.3 she also received power from them all. This [is also the way]
71.4 with the First Man. This is how the Man
71.5 spent a long time hidden(?)[104] in the Mother, staying in her
71.6 inner chambers. The time-span that I have proclaimed
71.7 to you, from when the First Man came [down to]
71.8 the struggle to the time when his [. . .][105]

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[102] A&C: ⲛ[ⲧⲁⲩ²] ⲁ̣ⲩⲧⲱⲕ |[16]ⲁ̣ⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̣ⲡ̣ⲙ̣ⲧ̣ⲟ ⲁ̣ⲃ̣ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ [ⲙ̄]ⲡ̣ⲟⲩ̈ⲱⲧ.

[103] A&C: ⲁ[ⲍ][ⲟⲩⲛ] ⲁⲥ[ⲭ][ⲓⲥ]ⲁ̣ⲙ ⲛ̣[ⲧⲛ]ⲛ̄ⲛ̣[ⲫ][. . . .

[104] Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig.

[105] A&C: Probably not the "Statue" (ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ) proposed by Polotsky/Böhlig. Read something like ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲫⲟⲩ . [. . ⲛ]ⲏⲩ.

71.9 comes to this time … … …
71.10 … … he revealed …
71.11 … … From the time that they
71.12 called him (and) he came, until the time that he, in turn, called
71.13 [the *Five Shining Gods* who] are his sons. They
71.14 too [also spent a long] time with the Father, that
71.15 [is, the time] that lasted from the descent of the
71.16 [First Man] to the ascent of the Last Statue. The
71.17 [*Five Gods*] spend a period of such length hidden in(?) the First Man.
71.18 But, [during the] time that they waited, they were called (and) came out.
71.19 Hear also this other thing that I will teach to you (about) the
71.20 time when the Mother of Life was called forth from the Father of
71.21 Greatness—Had she pushed herself and come down of her own desire,[106]
71.22 from the height of the Father to the earth, then [she would have spent]
71.23 [a thousand] years and many ten-thousands until she reached the earth.
71.24 [Though] there is no measure or limit to the height of the Father, [when(?)][107]
71.25 he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
71.26 the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the twelve,
71.27 those who are hidden in the veil of light, who
71.28 are established in … the southern region.
71.29 [The] work of the Mother [of] Life is like this, when
71.30 [the Father] called her (and) established her in the place where he wanted
71.31 her to be established as the Thought of people, which
71.32 … … many and searched every place where
71.33 … … the blink of an eye or as a

72.1 … … a b̈rd(?) …
72.2 … … This is also like …
72.3 … the Mother of Life in … when
72.4 … throw it … over to the place …
72.5 … he perfects his Great Spirit and sets her in
72.6 [the place where he wanted] her according to [his will].
72.7 … when[108] the *Five Gods* called by their Father[109]
72.8 [they stood] before him, as he wished, that …

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[106] There may be an element of polemic against Gnostic figures such as Barbelo whose descent occurs of her own will. See *Secret Book of John*.
[107] A&C: ⲡⲉⲓ[ⲩ]ⲁ.
[108] A&C: ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲛⲩ.
[109] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϊ̈ⲱⲧ.

72.9 … … … …
72.10 … … … …
72.11 … … … …
72.12 … … … …
72.13 … … … …
72.14 below, so that they might rule over them … …
72.15 one another. He ordered them (and) spread them about …
72.16 … of the son. He stripped himself from them …
72.17 … … he armed himself (and) bound himself to …
72.18 in one … of the silence on the edge of the earth …
72.19 He, too, the First Man, spent a long time
72.20 until he gave power to his Sons, until he bore
72.21 them. After his bearing of them, while standing in the
72.22 height between the border, he also spend time
72.23 in this way, like the number and quantity of rain-drops,
72.24 dew, and mist which falls in
72.25 the world. This is how he also spend time standing
72.26 between the borders until the moment when he descended to
72.27 the struggle.
72.28 When the Father of Greatness [called] the Great Spirit
72.29 and the First Man and the Glorious Gods who were destined(?)
72.30 to appear from him at this same time,[110] he
72.31 fashioned the Great Builder in the [Land of] Light [and]
72.32 the Living Spirit and the strong and efficient Gods which came [from]
72.33 him. Also at this time, he fashioned the Messenger
72.34 and Jesus the Splendour and the Virgin of Light
72.35 and the Column of Glory and the Gods who [came from them].

73.1 … the Father [shaped them(?)][111]
73.2 and formed [them] at the same time. They came from one another, one by one,
73.3 when … … and the work.
73.4 [Hear] also this other [thing that(?)] [I] will proclaim to you …[112]
73.5 from the time when the Darkness rose up to
73.6 … … … essence of light
73.7 … … … these three emanations
73.8 … from the will of the Father against the Enemy …
73.9 … … he has …
73.10 … … darkness …
73.11 … … according to the will …
73.12 … … … …

[110] A&C: ⲥⲏ̄ ⲧⲓ[ⲥⲛⲩ ⲡ]ⲓⲉⲓⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ.
[111] A&C: … . ⲙ ⲁ ⲡⲏⲱⲧ … . […… … ⲁⲫⲍⲱ]ⲣ̣ⲣ̣[ⲁ]ⲫ̣[ⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲏ̄].
[112] A&C: [ⲥ]ⲱⲧ[ⲙ]ⲉ̣ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲧⲡⲓⲕⲉ . . [.] … [. ⲉ][ⲧ̀]ⲛ̣ⲁⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲫ ⲁⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ [ⲭ]ⲉ̣. There is dittography in the Polotsky/Böhlig edition, in which line 3 of the translation appears twice (73).

73.13 … … … …
73.14 … … the world … …
73.15 … … in it/her(?) … separated from …
73.16 … … in which way he rests and rejoices …
73.17 … in his kingdom until the [time when]
73.18 [the face] of the Father will be unveiled before [all] the glorious
73.19 Gods and all the ones rich in divinity,[113] [the]
73.20 emanations which came forth against the Enemy.
73.21 [From] this time, when he formed the Three Calls[114]
73.22 to the time when the Father will unveil his face
73.23 [and they come] into his hidden Storehouses and he calls them
73.24 and also[115] sets up each in [his place], there is no measure
73.25 [or limit] to this time. And so until that time, it is possible
73.26 [for] all [Teachers] and Saviours, and Apostles of
73.27 Strength to speak of and reveal what
73.28 happened and what will happen. But before
73.29 they were formed above, it was not possible for every
73.30 Apostle and [Teacher] to preach about this beginning,
73.31 … … forever. It is also not possible for [all]
73.32 [Apostles] and Teachers to speak of and reveal
73.33 … … from[116] the time when all the Fathers

74.1 [of Light enter into to the Father's hidden ones and they dwell][117]
74.2 … … find power in them in its place
74.3 … of God … since it exists forever,
74.4 it remains with the Aeons. It has no end,
74.5 but their establishment … … eternal
74.6 is their life (and) it exists in every generation.
74.7 If someone asks … … and
74.8 about this eternal ending … in the ruin
74.9 … But … …
74.10 … that he proclaims … …
74.11 … who asked him … …
74.12 … the disciples … …
74.13 … since … …
74.14 … and he gave … …
74.15 … because of Matter, the Thought [of Death] …
74.16 … which I said to you: [This] is how …
74.17 … come to their storehouse …
74.18 … in its *Five Elements*. It too …
74.19 … the period of time that it spent until it revealed

[113] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ[ⲡⲣⲟ].
[114] A&C: ⲛⲧⲱ |[22][ⲥⲙⲉ].
[115] A&C: [ⲁⲛ ⲛ][ⲭ]ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲩ.
[116] A&C: … . ⲭⲛ̄ⲙⲡⲥⲏ.
[117] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩ |[2]ⲱⲥ.

74.20 itself to its Elements, before it had come to the Trees, it spent
74.21 a long time establishing
74.22 … before it had come down/up(?) to the trees, it made …
74.23 in the trees (and) spent a long time and a great[118] delay …
74.24 among them, before it had formed the fruit
74.25 … and formed the fruit. It also spent a long [time]
74.26 in the fruit. It is not a small amount of time [that it]
74.27 spend in the fruit, before it had formed …
74.28 … after a long time … the [demons]
74.29 of its *Five Worlds* in the immeasurable forms
74.30 … in the production(?) of the fruit in the demons
74.31 and the devils. They fell upon their land …
74.32 nourish. It is not a small amount of time that they [passed in the]
74.33 worlds until they nourished amidst

75.1 … … … to make …
75.2 … that shining land
75.3 and the Great [King], who dwells in it.
75.4 Know that … … who in …
75.5 … … … at the time when …
75.6 … … … its essence, it bore
75.7 … … Matter … to war …
75.8 … … … the person who
75.9 is perfect. [From the time] that the [war] occurred …
75.10 … … … …
75.11 … … existed in …
75.12 … … by which they ensnared a …
75.13 [The Second is] … that he built …
75.14 … [the] world established. The Zone
75.15 … below until the time when it
75.16 is released. The Third is the …-ing
75.17 … … the works and the world will pass away[119]
75.18 [from the] time when they are established until the time [when]
75.19 their end is brought about and their being destroyed …
75.20 [The] Fourth is the release by which the world is released
75.21 and all things restored and destruction
75.22 [reaches] them in that Great Fire [which] will burn them for fourteen-
75.23 hundred and sixty-eight years.[120]
75.24 [The Fifth] is how the Last Statue will be fashioned
75.25 [from] the remains of everything and the Light separates
75.26 from its place and ascends and rules in its kingdom, and

[118] A&C: ⲟⲩⲉⲥⲕⲉ ⲉ̣[ⲛⲁⲫⲱⲥ].
[119] A&C: ⲙⲛ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁ[ⲟ]ⲩ̈ⲓ̈ⲛⲉ̣.
[120] See *Shaburagan* (MacKenzie, 517).

75.27 the Darkness, on the other hand, will be transformed and placed in the tomb …
75.28 … … and (will be) bound with it in an [eternal] fetter.
75.29 From the time when this first war
75.30 occurred until the time of this binding … these *Five Things* …
75.31 … Light.
75.32 [Know][121] that from the time when it moved and rose
75.33 [up in its] earth until the time of its bond, it is possible
75.34 [for the Apostles and the] Elect and the Teachers to speak and make statements

76.1 about it. But before … …
76.2 it from the powers, [no one can count][122]
76.3 it or measure it, since it is eternal.
76.4 [From the time] that it is put in chains and bound
76.5 [in] the Lump … … [there is no measure][123]
76.6 to it. It is not possible for [anyone to … nor is it possible] for[124]
76.7 the Apostle and the Teacher … …
76.8 an eternal bond [in the] Lump … …
76.9 … from the time when … …
76.10 fight[125] with one another [until] the time …
76.11 [one] another and each one … …
76.12 … b◌nd … …
76.13 … and they p◌oclaim … …
76.14 moment and time.

[121] A&C: [ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧ]ⲛ̣ⲥ̣ⲁⲩ̣[ⲛⲉ] ⲭⲉ.
[122] A&C: [ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲟⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲕⲱⲡ] |[3]ⲙ̣[ⲙⲁ]ⲥ̣.
[123] A&C: ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ϣⲓ] |[6]ⲁ† ⲁⲣⲁⲥ.
[124] A&C: ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ ⲟⲁⲙ].
[125] A&C: †[ⲧ]ⲫⲛ̣ ⲙⲛ.

CHAPTER 25

ON THE FIVE[126] [FATHERS: FROM WHICH LIMBS THEY HAVE COME]

76.18 Again the Apostle spoke about [the emanation[127] of the *Five Fathers*]
76.19 [from] the Father, one after the other. Thus he spoke: [the Messenger]
76.20 [came] from his Mind, the Beloved of Lights
76.21 [from his Thought], the Mother of Life from his Insight, [Jesus][128]
76.22 the Beloved from his Counsel, the Virgin of Light
76.23 from his Consideration. This is the way that [these *Five*] *Fathers*
76.24 were called (into being). These *Five Advents* came from the *Five Limbs* of the
76.25 Father. One came after the other (and) appeared in his time.

[126] A&C: ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡ[ⲧ]ⲟⲩ … etc.
[127] A&C: ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧ[ⲡⲣⲟ]ⲃ[ⲟⲗ]ⲏ ⲙⲡ[ⲧⲟⲩ.
[128] A&C: ⲓ[ⲏⲥ].

CHAPTER 27

ON THE FIVE FORMS WHICH EXIST IN THE ARCHON{S} OF DARKNESS

77.25 [Again] as the Apostle sat in the assembly, he said [to]
77.26 [his] disciples: As for the Archon, the leader of all the powers
77.27 [of Darkness], there are [*Five Forms*] in his body, according to
77.28 [the form] of the seal [of the *Five*] *Creations* which exist in the *Five*
77.29 *Worlds of Darkness*. His head has the face of a lion and
77.30 originated from [the] World of Fire. His wings and his
77.31 [shoulders] have the face of an eagle, according to the form of the Sons of Wind.
77.32 [His hands] and [his feet] are demons, according to the form
77.33 [of the Sons] of the World of Smoke. His belly has the face of
77.34 [a dragon, according to the form of the] World of Darkness. His tail [has]

78.1 the form of the fish, which belongs to [the World of the] Sons of Water. These
78.2 *Five Forms*[129] are found in him; they [have come] from the *Five* [*Creations*]
78.3 of the *Five Worlds of Darkness*. When he wants, [he goes]
78.4 [on] his two feet and … the World of [Smoke]
78.5 Also, when he wants, he [appears] to them as four[130] …
78.6 on his hands and feet[131] like [the] Sons of Fire.
78.7 When he wants, he lifts (himself) with his wings like the Sons of
78.8 the [Wind]. Also, when he wants, he leaps(?)[132] into the waters
78.9 [like the] Sons of the Water. Also, when he wants, he creeps on
78.10 [his belly] like the Sons of Darkness. [These *Five*] *Forms* exist
78.11 in him. There are also three other in him. [The First]:
78.12 … his powers … …
78.13 The Second: … …
78.14 his magic. When he [wants, he calls upon it]
78.15 [himself] and hides from his powers. [Also, when he wants]
78.16 he shows himself to them (and) causes wounds and [carnage with his]
78.17 magic. By the word which he utters on occasion, he does [his magic]

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[129] Or "appearances"?
[130] That is, as a quadruped.
[131] A&C: no lacuna.
[132] A&C: ⲃⲗⲟϭ̄ⲭ̣.

78.18 with it. The Third: His body is strong, so that all the …,
78.19 all the teeth and the claws of his powers may not pierce [him].
78.20 No body of iron and copper will be fitting for him nor[133]
78.21 will they imprison him, since he was created and fashioned
78.22 from the bitter Consideration of Matter, the Mother of the demons [and]
78.23 evil spirits. There are also three other (forms) in him. When [he wants]
78.24 his fire blazes and his whole body becomes like a [… of]
78.25 the fire. Also, when he wants, he sends out
78.26 frost and his entire body becomes cold like …
78.27 snow. The Third: When his powers [stand]
78.28 before him, he looks at them and knows what [is]
78.29 in their heart. He knows what is in [their heart]
78.30 and their face so long as they stand before him. [When]
78.31 they retreat from him and remove themselves from him [he does not]
78.32 know what is in their heart. There is no life [in him]
78.33 at all, but his life is the gall of [anger] and [poison,[134] which are visible]
78.34 in his face. By his terror …

79.1 of imprisonment(?) which stands before him. Behold, do not deliver
79.2 yourselves, my beloved, to the forms of this Archon, the root
79.3 of all wickedness, the bosom and camp
79.4 of every ugliness. But, you, keep yourselves
79.5 from him and his evil wisdom which dwells in your
79.6 bodies, lest they mix with you and they destroy your
79.7 gentleness and change your wisdom into a lie.
79.8 But be diligent and perfect
79.9 before the Mind of Truth which has revealed itself to you, that
79.10 you may … and be drawn up …
79.11 to the height and inherit [life] from [eternity]
79.12 [to] eternity.

[133] A&C: ϙ[ϒⲧⲉ].
[134] A&C: ⲙ[ⲛ ⲡ]ⲙⲉⲧϙ[ϒ.

CHAPTER 33

ON THE FIVE THINGS THAT HE CONSTRUCTED WITH THE HARD BODIES OF THE ARCHONS

86.22 Again, the Enlightener spoke: The Living Spirit constructed [*Five*]
86.23 *Great Things* from the veins, brains, [and] hard [bodies.]
86.24 The First is the disk which sits on [the]
86.25 shoulders of the Porter. The [Second] is the arch of [the]
86.26 column which is before him. [The] Third is the [shape]
86.27 of the form of *gehenna*. The Fourth is the [Seven]
86.28 Columns which he set up in the Great Sea in the
86.29 Seven Parts of the world. The Fifth is the Four
86.30 Walls which surround the passage.

CHAPTER 37

ON THE THREE ZONES

89.3 Again the Enlightener spoke about the Living Spirit: When he
89.4 built (and) constructed the worlds, he suspended the zones
89.5 in their zones within their zones again. The First Zone{s}
89.6 are (those of) the *Five Powers of Darkness*, male and female.
89.7 This (statement) that "he suspended a zone in a zone" (means that) he suspended
89.8 the *Five Powers of Darkness* in the *Five Splendours of the Son of*
89.9 *Man*. For the whole enmity is fastened and bound in them.
89.10 Also, within the zone are the *Five Sons of the* [*Living*] *Spirit*,
89.11 for the entire construction hangs on them as he
89.12 … … heard him too. The other …
89.13 … … after them. That he suspended [the zones(?)] (means that)
89.14 [he suspended them from the] upper firmaments [to the firmaments further down]
89.15 … … which is in a zone is the Great [King of Glory],
89.16 who exists … … within the …
89.17 … the world.

CHAPTER 38

ON THE LIGHT-MIND, THE APOSTLES, AND THE SAINTS

89.21 Again at one occasion, a disciple questioned the [Apostle],
89.22 saying to him: You have told us that the Light-Mind
89.23 is that which comes and supports the saints. [You have told]
89.24 us therefore that even though it is one of the gods …
89.25 … many gods are found in it. You have told
89.26 us also that at the time it enters into [the body]
89.27 of the flesh and binds the Old Man with its *Five Counsels*,
89.28 setting up its *Five Counsels* on him in the *Five Limbs*
89.29 [of his] body. Where is it [though], since the Old Man is bound in the
89.30 body? For, I (can) see that rebellions occur in its
89.31 bond from time to time. Secondly, I ask
89.32 you: If indeed it is a great god, unchanging and
89.33 immeasurable, how does it come to appear in the smallness of the
89.34 body? The third thing that I want you to tell
89.35 me [is this: If(?)] the Mind is holy and pure,
89.36 [how did it come to be joined to(?)] the impurity of this body?

90.1 Fourthly, if truly, the Light-Mind is present in [the]
90.2 saints, why does its likeness not appear to us as it
90.3 is? The fifth thing: I want
90.4 you to tell me (about) and explain your apostleship.
90.5 For, behold, it is not clear to me, since they oppress
90.6 you and persecute you in the world.
90.7 I implore you that you persuade me about these things which I have asked you.
90.8 Then he spoke to this disciple: My entire revelation,
90.9 which I have revealed, I have made it known to my Church
90.10 (and) it is true before you. One and the same is it everywhere. [What, then,]
90.11 are you missing?[135] This disciple said [to the Apostle]:
90.12 While indeed you have revealed everything (and) persuaded [us][136] that they are

[135] A&C: ⲉ[ⲩ ⲡⲉⲧ] |[11]ⲕ[ⲫⲁ]ⲣⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ.
[136] A&C: ⲁⲕⲡ̣ⲱⲉ̣ [ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛ] ⲉ̣[ⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ]|ⲉ.

90.13 true before us, nevertheless I would also like to get to know[137] the Light-
90.14 Mind as it is.
90.15 Then, the Apostle spoke to him: If I go on once again
90.16 to relate[138] to you these things that you are (already) versed in, they being true
90.17 before you, (then) by means of these things which you are versed in,[139] you will
90.18 come to know [what you are missing]. I will give the perception of those who perceive for your sake. I will let
90.19 the living fountain gush forth for those who thirst, that they might drink and live.
90.20 Then the Apostle said to him: All Error, when the
90.21 Enemy of Light established it, was established after the likeness of
90.22 a human being. The head of the cosmos is the edge of the garments.
90.23 Its neck is the collar[140] of the garments. Its stomach is
90.24 [the] *Five Folds* which are the … of the garments.
90.25 Its ribs are [all] the firmaments. Its navel [is the]
90.26 circuit[141] of stars and the Zodiac. [The parts], however, [which]
90.27 extend from its navel {from its [navel]} to its loins is [the …]
90.28 … which extend from the circuit [to the corners] of the Four
90.29 Worlds. Its loins are the … which is below …
90.30 on the head of the Porter. Its … from the …
90.31 to the earth on which the Porter stands.
90.32 Its shinbones and its feet are … of the [Porter(?)]
90.33 and the entire Zone which belongs … …

91.1 Its heart is humankind, its liver is the four-legged beasts.
91.2 Its lung is the species of birds that [flies in]
91.3 the air. Its spleen is the species of fish that swims in the waters.
91.4 Its kidneys are the world of reptiles who creep [on]
91.5 the earth. Its outer skin is the wall that … [which]
91.6 surrounds the fixtures and the great fire. Its …
91.7 the passages of the great fire. Its flesh is[142] …
91.8 of the Darkness. Its gall is the passage of …[143] its
91.9 large intestine is the breadth of the great …
91.10 of the worlds. Its veins … … all [the springs]
91.11 and sources. Its eyes [are] … …

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137 A&C: ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱ[ⲛ] [ⲍ][ⲱⲧ] ⲙ̇[ⲡ]ⲛⲟ̇ⲩⲥ.
138 A&C: ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ̇ [ⲁⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲧ̇[ⲁ] |[16]ⲧ̇[ⲉ]ⲟ̇ⲩⲟ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ.
139 "being true before you" added by scribe slightly above the line (Polotsky/Böhlig 90.17).
140 Crum 162b.
141 Literally "sphere, globe".
142 A&C: ⲧⲉⲫⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲡⲉ . ⲙ̇ⲏ̇ … .
143 A&C: ⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̇[ⲭ]ⲓ̇ⲟⲣⲉ ⲛⲛ … . . ⲡⲉ̇[ⲫ] |[9]ⲛⲁⲇ.

91.12 … Its feet are the Four Regions[144] …
91.13 … … which …
91.14 This is the way that each one has provided the worlds with *mēte*.
91.15 While the *Five Gods* are fixed in it … …
91.16 they are its soul and its life … …
91.17 is a sinful person … …
91.18 … the Living Spirit and the Messenger …
91.19 the *Five Sleepless Watchers*. He has …
91.20 the Keeper of Splendour, the Mind, which is … [in the]
91.21 [world] of the upper Mind. It has …
91.22 the whole … of the powers of heaven [which] in … …
91.23 the great King of Glory who is [the Thought found]
91.24 in the Seventh Firmament. He humbled … …
91.25 … also the Adamas of Light, who is the Insight …
91.26 in this *mēte*. He gave … because of the Desire of Matter.[145] [He has]
91.27 also placed the King of Glory, who is the Counsel …
91.28 the long-suffering upon the Three Images, that of wind, that of
91.29 fire, (and) that of water. He has given him the …
91.30 … do evil.
91.31 [The …] also of the Porter, who is Consideration …
91.32 [the] wisdom in the … which is above, he made him …
91.33 … … the foundation, [which is below] …

92.1 Again, the Messenger distilled from them the *Five*
92.2 *Intellectuals of Life*. Also, the Call and Response were set
92.3 in them, now making them six Sons of the Living Spirit,
92.4 along with six Sons of the First Man.
92.5 Again, the Messenger set in them the Great Mind,
92.6 which is the Column of Glory, the Perfect Man.
92.7 Again, Jesus the Youth was set among them, who is
92.8 the Image of the Living Word, of the Proclamation and the Hearing.
92.9 He strengthened these camps, above and below,
92.10 so that each one of them may secure itself in the circuit of its
92.11 watch-post, (and) so that rebellion and deceit might not occur in its watch.
92.12 Look, then, and see: The Keeper of Splendour stands in the
92.13 Great Mind, in the camp that (sits) above the prison
92.14 of those who are bound, so that he might bring to naught all the gloom of death.
92.15 But, deceit and rebellion occurred. Sin aborted,
92.16 [intertwined] with the soul, and mixed with the Light which was
92.17 freed by the image of the Messenger (and) went [up to] …
92.18 … [in the] Third Firmament, which is above the watch-tower

[144] A&C: ⲡⲫ[ⲧ]ⲁⲩ ⲛⲕⲁⲓⲙⲁ.
[145] A&C: ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛⲧ[ⲍ]ⲩ[ⲗⲏ ⲁⲫ].

92.19 … the Keeper of Splendour. From this place, too, it intertwined
92.20 with the Light. It came out (and) went down
92.21 to the dry and the moist. It [fashioned] the trees [in][146]
92.22 the dry, while in the sea it took form immediately
92.23 and made a great rebellion in the sea.
92.24 Behold and see that the great King of Honour, he who is
92.25 the Thought found in the Third Firmament, he is [terrible]
92.26 with wrath. But, rebellion (still) [occurred], since deceit and
92.27 hate are found in the camp, (that is,) the Watchers
92.28 of heaven who came down to the earth during his watch:
92.29 they engaged in every act of deceit. They revealed the arts
92.30 in the world (and) unveiled to human beings the mysteries [of]
92.31 heaven. There is no limit to (the) rebellion and destruction (that) occurred on the
92.32 earth. The Adamas … …
92.33 … perfection, he stands on … …

93.1 and deceit occurred in his camp: which is, when
93.2 the abortions fell down, Adam and Eve
93.3 were formed and begotten, so that by means of them they might rule the world.
93.4 They accomplished all the works of Desire on the
93.5 earth; the whole world was filled with their Desire. By
93.6 means of this *mēte*,[147] they also persecute the churches (and) kill
93.7 the apostles and the righteous in the watch-district of the Adamas
93.8 of Light, from time to time throughout the generations.
93.9 Also, in the watch of the great King of Glory, he who is
93.10 the great Counsel (and) who has authority over the Three
93.11 Wheels, disturbance and tribulation occurred, since they …
93.12 the earth (and) disturbed the Three Earths. When the Messenger
93.13 revealed his image, the roads closed to their [escape(?)]
93.14 … their departure was hindered [when(?)]
93.15 the wind, the water, and the fire came into them.
93.16 Also, in the watch of the Porter, he who humbled …
93.17 rebellion in the lower depths … …
93.18 bent, the lower fixtures stripped … …
93.19 in the lower foundation. … …
93.20 Because of the earthquake which occurred in the watch of the Keeper
93.21 of Splendour, the Column of Glory came forth being … … and acted as
93.22 [a(?)] helper to the Keeper of Splendour. He bore all the
93.23 weight. Also, because of the deceit and the rebellion which

[146] A&C: [ⲥ][ⲙ̄].
[147] Meaning no known, but something like "leeway"(?).

93.24 occurred during the watch of the great King of Honour, (that is,) the
93.25 Watchers who came down to the earth from the heavens,[148] because of them
93.26 the Four Angels were commanded (to) bind the Watchers
93.27 with a bond forever in the prison of those who are black.[149]
93.28 Their sons were wiped off (the face of) the earth.
93.29 Since the abortions also came down during the watch of the Adamas
93.30 (and) begot Adam and Eve, because of this great deceit
93.31 and the mystery of evil, he sent Jesus
93.32 … the prayer of the *Five Sons*, he bore …
93.33 … the abortions, he fastened them beneath the
93.34 … the Mind of Adam.

94.1 Also, because of the earthquake which occurred in these Three
94.2 Earths, and because the roads ended (and) the fountains of
94.3 wind, water, and fire ceased, Jesus descended (and)
94.4 bore Eve. He made straight the paths of the wind, the water, and
94.5 the fire, opened to them the fountains, (and) constructed for them the paths
94.6 of ascent. Again, since the
94.7 earth which is below the Porter (was) stripped [of the] fixtures which
94.8 … indeed, because of this, Jesus came down to bear
94.9 [Eve.] Before he reached that place, he ordered (and) strengthened
94.10 the fixtures which are below, (then) returned (and) went back up to his
94.11 resting-[place](?). Then the Apostle said to him:
94.12 See all these watches of the Zone, in which these great gods
94.13 are lords, watching over them … …
94.14 rebellion and deceit occurred in them. The …
94.15 … in them from time to time, in great humility,
94.16 until they humble the powers of enmity.
94.17 This is also how it is with the body—a great power dwells
94.18 within it. Even though it is small in its form, Sin nevertheless
94.19 dwells within it along with the Old Man, who resides in it. It is inhabited
94.20 by a very great wisdom, until the Light-Mind
94.21 finds the way to humble this body and drive it [according]
94.22 to its will. As in the watches
94.23 of his great brothers who are lords out in the Zone—
94.24 (that is,) the great body, (where) earthquake and deceit occur
94.25 from time to time—so too in the watch-tower of the

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[148] According to Henning this passages represents a fragment from Mani's *Book of Giants* (*W.B. Henning: Selected Papers II* [Leiden: Brill, 1977], 135).

[149] See Polotsky/Böhlig 93.27. This passage is a puzzling piece of Manichaean cosmology, perhaps reflecting the influence of another (Enochic?) tradition.

94.26 Mind, which is the body of the flesh, does Sin raise
94.27 from time to time its agitations in the body.
94.28 But, in this way, know that the powers of Light
94.29 are good. The beginning and the end are revealed to them.
94.30 Everything they do, they do with correct judgement.
94.31 Because of this, they allow the enmity
94.32 to initiate Error and to do its will [for]
94.33 a while. Then, they are seized …

95.1 … they have acted first in righteous judgement.
95.2 But, as for this other (question), which you posed: How does the Light-
95.3 Mind come, this great strength, and endure such a small
95.4 body of flesh? Behold, again, and see these gods that
95.5 … they [are] great and strong, yet each one of them is limited (and)
95.6 confined in [the] place where it stands, like trees
95.7 cleaving to their taproot.[150] This also is the way that each one
95.8 of them cleaves to its taproot in the world, according to
95.9 [the] size of the place where he stands, enduring until
95.10 … the end[151] … But, know also
95.11 … … the world stands, being established …
95.12 … [the] Living Spirit in all his Limbs
95.13 … … Sin took this body away from the [Land]
95.14 [of Light and(?)] established it in his Limbs. It removed his [body]
95.15 [from the *Five*] *Bodies of Darkness* (and) established the body. His
95.16 [soul], however, he took from the *Five Luminous Gods*
95.17 (and) bound it to the *Five Limbs of the Body*. It bound Mind
95.18 in bone, Thought in sinew, Insight in vein, Counsel
95.19 in flesh, Consideration in skin. It set
95.20 [it] in its *Five Powers*: Its Mind on the Mind of the soul,
95.21 [its] Thought on the Thought of the soul, its Insight on the Insight
95.22 [of] the soul, its Counsel on the Counsel of the soul, (and) its
95.23 Consideration on the Consideration of the soul. It set its *Five*
95.24 *Angels* and its *Authorities* on the *Five Limbs*
95.25 [*of the Soul*], which he took (and) bound in the flesh.
95.26 … impregnating the soul, drawing it each time to
95.27 all (sorts of) evil works, to all sins of Desire, to the
95.28 worship of idols, to the Sects of Error, to
95.29 humility in the humility of slavery, as it stands serving
95.30 the foul things which do not last, worshipping
95.31 … … idols of wood and gold and silver
95.32 … … they *čajē*(?),[152] serving the filthy

[150] See Gardner, *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 99.
[151] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϩⲏ.
[152] ⲟⲁⲭⲏ[?]: meaning unknown and reading uncertain (noted in Polotsy/Böhlig).

96.1 and unclean beasts that are ugly in their appearance and their
96.2 form. It put on Error and oblivion, (and) forgot
96.3 its essence, its race, and its kind. Not
96.4 recognizing the door of the prayer-house, it cried out to
96.5 him (and) became hostile to its father … …
96.6 … itself, being evil … …
96.7 … to its own light. Also, when[153] the Light-
96.8 Mind came and found the soul, it … and gave it a …[154]
96.9 … it put it on in the … …
96.10 … its wisdom … …
96.11 … it becomes for it a … …
96.12 … the bonds … …
96.13 Limb(s) in the body. It[155] frees the Mind [of the Soul and]
96.14 [releases] it from bone. It releases the Thought [of the Soul]
96.15 from sinew and binds, in turn, the Thought [of Sin in]
96.16 sinew. It releases the Insight of the Soul from vein,
96.17 and binds, in turn, the Insight of Sin in vein. It
96.18 frees the Counsel of the Soul and releases it from the flesh
96.19 and binds, in turn, the Counsel of Sin in the flesh. It
96.20 releases the Consideration of the Soul from the skin and binds
96.21 the Consideration of Sin in the skin.
96.22 This is how it releases the Limbs of the Soul
96.23 and makes them free from the *Five Limbs of Sin*.
96.24 These *Five Limbs of Sin* which are released,
96.25 it binds them. It establishes the Limbs of the Soul, builds them up,
96.26 refines them, and establishes them in the New Man, a son of
96.27 righteousness. When it fashions and establishes
96.28 and purifies the New Man, then it acquires *Five*
96.29 *Great, Living Limbs* from the *Five Great Limbs*
96.30 and places them in the Limbs of the New Man. It places its Mind,
96.31 which is Love, in the Mind of the New Man. Thought,
96.32 on the other hand, which is Belief, it sets [in] the Thought [of the New]
96.33 Man, who it refines. Insight, which [is Perfection, it places]

97.1 in the Insight of the New Man. His Counsel, which [is]
97.2 Long-suffering, it places in his Counsel. Wisdom,[156]
97.3 which is his Consideration, (it places) in the Consideration of the New
97.4 Man. It purifies the image of the word from the word of
97.5 Sin and adds it to its (own) word, so that its
97.6 … might be a nourisher and strengthener …

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[153] A&C: ⲡⲛ̀[ϵ]ϒ [ⲁⲛ] ϵ̣ⲧ̣[ϵ]ⲯⲁⲣ̣[ϵ] ⲧ̣ⲛ̀ⲟ̣[ⲩⲥ].
[154] A&C: ⲯ[ⲁ]ⲓ̣[ⲧ] … . . ⲛⲧ[ϯ] ⲛⲉ̣ⲥ [ⲛ̄]ⲟⲩ[.].
[155] That is, the Light-Mind.
[156] Polotsky/Böhlig suggests that the elements "wisdom" and "consideration" should be inversed (97 n. 2).

97.7 … … When it perfects
97.8 … … the twelve limbs, then[157] …
97.9 … … and his wisdom. His …
97.10 … … becomes righteous and perfect …
97.11 … … first he ran …
97.12 … … instead of this, it now runs …
97.13 … its road and its path and its …
97.14 [it] also [raises itself up] to the Great Aeon …
97.15 …. Therefore the Old Man is bound in his …
97.16 … and his desire, his … … his
97.17 foolishness in these *Five Limbs of the Body*. [Just as]
97.18 the Spirit of Darkness is enclosed with them in a bond and in
97.19 a severe affliction, the New Man, on the other hand, rules
97.20 in his Love, in his Belief, in his Perfection, in his
97.21 Long-suffering, and in his Wisdom. Also, his king, who[158]
97.22 [is the Light-Mind], is king over all. It [rules over him]
97.23 [according to] its will. As long as the Limbs of Sin are bound[159]
97.24 in this way, Sin is contained. Even though the Light-Mind
97.25 [is] king, tribulation may still occur in the body from
97.26 time to time. Sometimes Sin rises
97.27 up in his Consideration and disturbs Counsel, and confuses
97.28 Wisdom and the understanding of the man and causes truth
97.29 to leave him in favour of doubt and to make statements (that) are
97.30 inane and without salt.[160] When the sign of his
97.31 foolishness comes … in the Church, the Teachers and
97.32 [the …] and the Deacons,[161] and the Elders gather
97.33 … [and] become his helpers and correct his Wisdom
97.34 … … … his Consideration was established

98.1 in this (man). His Wisdom has secured its place (and) ordered
98.2 … well. If, however, he does not accept the rebuke
98.3 and the encouragement[162] of his brothers and his helpers, then
98.4 Sin rises up again from Consideration to
98.5 Counsel and takes his Long-suffering [from him] and clothes him
98.6 with cowardice and loss, and the sign[163] (of this) becomes evident
98.7 among his brothers, his … …
98.8 every [deed] that he does … …
98.9 the advice of his brothers and he becomes …
98.10 foolishness. A struggle and a war occur (between)

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157 A&C: ⲧⲟⲧⲉ.
158 A&C: ⲡⲫ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲛ [ⲉ]ⲧⲉ.
159 A&C: ⲛ̄ⲓⲛⲁⲃⲉ [ⲙ]ⲏⲣ.
160 A&C: ϩⲛⲥⲉⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲃⲁ | [30][ⲃⲁ]ⲧ ⲉⲙⲛ ϩⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ.
161 A&C: ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[ⲇⲓⲁ]ⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ.
162 Crum 122b.
163 A&C: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ[ⲟ]ⲩⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄.

98.11 the Light-Mind and Sin in Counsel. The
98.12 brothers gather[164] together and they become …
98.13 … him and they quiet the … …
98.14 … they put him in his place again …
98.15 one another in his struggle. If, however, …
98.16 that place, then Sin rises up again to …
98.17 … and clothes him with Desire and pretension and
98.18 pride, and he leaves his Teacher and brothers.
98.19 He always wants to go in and out alone,
98.20 he wants to eat (and) drink alone, as a solitary. He
98.21 always wants to walk alone. This, then, is the
98.22 sign that the habit of his brothers does not please him. If he
98.23 [lets] his heart [succumb(?)] to lust, Sin will again raise
98.24 the Death-desire in his Thought. He … to
98.25 vanity and he gives up his faith and his truth leaves
98.26 him. When the sign of his foolishness
98.27 appears and his notoriety spreads though the Church, the
98.28 wise ones of the Church assemble so that they might strengthen his [heart]
98.29 and build him up in the rule[165] of God. (Then), if he has accepted [the]
98.30 advice of his brothers and heard the … …
98.31 and has turned away from his anger and … …,

99.1 (then) it is possible that he (might) live and conquer Sin and all its
99.2 wars. But if he does not strengthen this watch, it (will) come back
99.3 and put on and disturb his Mind, which was originally
99.4 at rest. It (will) disturb his love for his Teacher and his
99.5 instructor. It (will) remove from his heart the love for the Church
99.6 and fill it totally with hate, and all his brothers (will) become hateful
99.7 to him. His brothers and his beloved and his companions,
99.8 who love him, they (will) be like enemies to him.
99.9 Now, if[166] this man is disturbed in this way, and he abandons his
99.10 love and his desire to change himself, (then) this
99.11 man (will) become, in turn, a lost vessel and he (will) leave the
99.12 Church and he (will) reach his end in the world.
99.13 The Mind which was in him (will) be dispersed from him and return
99.14 to the Apostle who sent it. He becomes filled with evil spirits
99.15 and they play with [him], drawing him here and there, and he, in turn,
99.16 becomes like an worldly man, changing and being like a
99.17 bird plucked of its feathers {and becomes earthly}.

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[164] A&C: ϣⲁⲣ[ϵ] ⲛ̣ |[12]ϲ[ⲛⲏ]ⲩ ϲⲱⲩⲍ.
[165] Crum 122b.
[166] A&C: ϵϣⲁⲛⲧϵ-.

99.18 Behold![167] I have shown you (s.) and clarified for you (s.) that, just as
99.19 agitation occurs in the Zone, in the camps of
99.20 these great and mighty gods. So too
99.21 disturbance happens from time to time in the jurisdiction[168] of the
99.22 Light-Mind. Just as these watchers stand
99.23 [in] the Zone (and) are not visible, so too is it with the
99.24 Light-Mind, [since] it is not visible in the body.
99.25 Also, just as these outer [watchers] are great,
99.26 but bend (and) [bow] (and) shrink according to the size of the task
99.27 assigned to each one of them, so too is it with the
99.28 Mind. It too is great and exalted, but it has bent itself
99.29 (and) shrunk according to this small, repulsive body.
99.30 Just as the gods [in the] outer Zone are excellent,
99.31 pure, (and) established [in] the mixture of the All, and yet not polluted,
99.32 [so too does the] Light-[Mind] stand in its
99.33 … … … …

100.1 Behold the strength and the efficiency of the Light-
100.2 Mind: how great it is on all the watch-towers of
100.3 the body. It stands in its encampment (and) shields
100.4 every impulse of the body from the attractions of Sin.
100.5 It fixes them, scatters them, (and) sets them right
100.6 according to its will. It also does another excellent (and)
100.7 exceptional thing—it sets a great spirit on the
100.8 Elect. Indeed, you (s.) find him established on the earth,
100.9 rising in his heart, (and) going up to the Father, the
100.10 God of Truth, he who is established above
100.11 all the works of loss. It also rushes in
100.12 his Insight and his Consideration, and goes down to
100.13 the Land of Darkness, from which the Darkness has sprung.
100.14 His heart runs and meets everything, after having … them.
100.15 Then he said to that disciple: Behold![169] I have taught you (about)
100.16 the deeds of the Light-Mind. To the one who has
100.17 open and perceptive eyes it will be visible, (but) to the one who
100.18 does not have these eyes it will not be visible.
100.19 As for my work, which is [revealed] (but) is not clear to you—
100.20 the works that I have done—I am the one who will teach
100.21 them and I will clarify for you these wonders [of] my works[170]
100.22 and my leadership.
100.23 Heed this! that I, a single Manichaios, have come into the

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[167] A&C: [ϵ]ⲓⲥⲧϵ.
[168] A&C: ϩⲛ̄ ⲡⲣⲁ ⲛ̄[ϩ]ϵⲡ.
[169] A&C: ϵⲓ[ⲥ][ϩ]ⲏⲧϵ.
[170] A&C: [ⲛⲧϵ]ⲡⲁ[ϩ]ⲱ[ⲃ].

100.24 world alone. Both the forms [and] types of the body,
100.25 both gold and silver, both brass … money and
100.26 numerous gifts, both armour and armaments, [the]
100.27 multitude of humanity have submitted to me—
100.28 many divinities and idols from the
100.29 furnaces. You have seen the [kingdom] of the world, how
100.30 with many graces and gifts, with
100.31 armour and war and [violence] they have hardly humbled the
100.32 cities and subdued the lands. [I, however, I have subdued]
100.33 without armour and without [armaments …][171] distant [cities]

101.1 through the word of God. In distant lands
101.2 they bless my name and it is glorified in all lands.
101.3 Know also this other thing that I will teach you: the
101.4 kings have striven with me, along with the princes and the
101.5 officials and their functionaries, so that they might destroy this truth,
101.6 (but) they have had no power over me in this regard. Now, if I am alone,
101.7 why did they have no power over me, namely, all those who strove
101.8 with me? The third thing is that [there is]
101.9 no one in the world who has given freedom to his children and
101.10 his brothers and his relatives (and) freed them
101.11 from the variability of all things just as I
101.12 have made all my sons free from every toil, and [how I have][172]
101.13 granted every freedom(?).[173] The fourth thing: I have [clothed] them
101.14 with the armour [of] wisdom, so that you (s.) will not find one single
101.15 person who will … and conquer them. Just as no
101.16 one has been able to conquer me in the entire world, so too is it
101.17 with my children. No one will be able to conquer them.
101.18 The fifth thing: I have chosen with my power this entire, great
101.19 election. I have given to my children my staffs of knowledge[174]
101.20 and the great fountains of wisdom. Because the previous[175]
101.21 apostles did not give their churches wisdom[176] as I
101.22 gave to mine,[177] I have strengthened my church (and) have left it
101.23 every good thing that is useful to it in every (sort of) work.
101.24 I have planted good and sown truth in every land, near
101.25 and far. Apostles and elders
101.26 have I sent to every land. Because the previous

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171 A&C: lacuna in manuscript.
172 A&C: ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧ̣[ⲭⲉ ⲉ]ⲧ̣ⲁ̈ⲓ̈.
173 Funk, *personal communication*.
174 A&C: ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡ̣[ⲥ]ⲁ̣ⲩⲛⲉ̣.
175 A&C: ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ̣[ⲛ][ⲱ]ⲁ̣ⲣⲡ̣.
176 A&C: ⲟⲩⲥ̣ⲟ̣ⲫⲓⲁ.
177 A&C: ⲧ[ⲭ]ⲉ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲁⲕ |[22][ⲉⲧ]ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲧⲉⲉⲥ ⲛⲧⲱⲓ̈.

101.27 apostles who went to them earlier did not accomplish what I have accomplished
101.28 [in] this past generation, save for Jesus alone, the son of
101.29 [the] Greatness who is the father of all apostles.
101.30 For all the apostles have not accomplished what
101.31 [I have] accomplished. Behold and see now how great is my
101.32 [power] and my diligence. For no one among the previous
101.33 [apostles, who appeared before me(?)][178] in the flesh was like me in
101.34 … … through me. For this great

102.1 door has been opened, which I have opened, to the gods and angels and
102.2 the people and all the spirits and living souls which are
102.3 prepared for life and eternal rest.
102.4 Then, when his disciples heard all these words which he had
102.5 proclaimed to them, they answered (and) said to him: Great
102.6 and strong are all these things which you have proclaimed to us; (things) which
102.7 you have done by your power and the power of the one who sent you. Who
102.8 could fully repay you for the grace which you have
102.9 done for us, except this one who sent you? But, this is the only
102.10 thanks available to us to repay you, (namely) that we strengthen ourselves in
102.11 your faith and keep your commandments and, moreover, that we be content
102.12 with the words you have proclaimed to us.

[178] Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig, 101.33.

CHAPTER 39

ON THE THREE DAYS[179] AND THE TWO DEATHS

102.16 Again the Apostle spoke to his disciples:
102.17 Know! my beloved ones, that three great, mighty days
102.18 occur in the universe as well as two great,
102.19 bitter deaths. When his disciples heard (this)
102.20 they said to him: Tell us, our father, what are these
102.21 three great days or what are these two bitter
102.22 deaths. He said to them:
102.23 The first day is our Father, the Man—from the moment
102.24 that the First Man came down to the depth of the Darkness (and)
102.25 was submerged in it. (Then), the Living Spirit was sent(?), who went (down)
102.26 (and) brought him up. After the Man ascended, the Father of
102.27 Life and the Great Spirit set in order the affairs and the worlds
102.28 (both) above and below. Moreover, the glorious Messenger
102.29 came and boarded the Ship of the Day.
102.30 He revealed his glorious image (and) purified [the Light]
102.31 from all things. He journeyed through the heights of the
102.32 heavens, until the time when the world will be dissolved,
102.33 all things destroyed, the Great [Fire] unleashed,
102.34 and the Last Statue ascends. These three deeds
102.35 were begun on this first [day, when the First Man]
102.36 was sent along with his *Five* [*Sons*. The first death],[180]

103.1 however, is the Darkness, which mixed with the *Five Sons*
103.2 *of the First Man*. The second day
103.3 is when the Fathers of Light, who were victorious in the struggle,
103.4 will sit on their thrones in the New Age and dwell
103.5 on the New Earth. They (will) rule in the New [Age]
103.6 until the time when the Father will unveil his image
103.7 above them. It is necessary that they dwell[181] in the New Age
103.8 for the length of the first day that he spent [in affliction].
103.9 They will rule in this way and rejoice in [the New]
103.10 Age. The great third day [is when]

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[179] The topic of the "three days" was, according to al-Nadīm, the subject of a chapter of Mani's work, *Treasure of Life* (Dodge, 798; Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 52).

[180] Something like "night" might make more sense here (Funk, *personal communication*).

[181] A&C: ⲧⲟⲩ(ⲟⲩ)ⲱϩ.

the Father will unveil his [image] over them …
… … and raise them up …
and take them into his hidden storehouse …
and give … to his soul. He will pour upon them …
his ambrosia and his sweet aroma, which will take away
all the tribulation that they saw with their (own) eyes, and give them[182]
relief and eternal joy. When his
grace satisfies them and he gives them his fruit[183] and
they are renewed, he will then call them [in] peace
and silence and perfect their substance [in] the same
measure as his former aeons and reveal every power
in its aeon, in its dwelling place. They will dwell in the New
Age with their aeons. When they dwell with their aeons,
they will become immeasurably rich
for timeless eternity. From this moment on, they will not count this
time among them, nor the number
of days and hours through every generation,
forever and ever. The Father will not be hidden from them from this
moment on. Once he has been unveiled to them,
he will [stay] unveiled forever. These are the three great days
[that the Father of] Greatness has accounted for in the reckoning of
[the number] of days.[184] The two deaths, however, which I have
[proclaimed to you are these:

The first death is from the moment when the Light fell into
the Darkness (and) mixed together with the Archons of Darkness until
the moment when the Light will be purified and separate from the
Darkness through that Great Fire. The remainder, which will be left over in
it, will (be) built (onto) and add(ed) to this Last
Statue. The second death is the death by which
the souls of sinful people die, when
[they] will be stripped of the shining Light which illumined
the world and they are, in turn, separated from the Living Air from which they
received breath, and they are deprived of the Living Soul which
… in the world, and they are separated and swept
away from this Last Statue …
… and they are bound in every limb
… … the woman(?)[185] will become … and …
their torture and their tribulation, because their deeds …

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[182] A&C: [ⲛ][ⲫ][ϯ] ⲛⲉⲩ ⲛ̄-.
[183] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ.
[184] A&C: ⲛ̄]ⲛ[ⲍ][ⲟⲟⲩⲉ].
[185] Unlikely reading, perhaps "terror" (Funk, *personal communication*).

104.16 those three places. Since they have blasphemed (and) despised the
104.17 Holy Spirit in every generation of the world. These are the
104.18 two deaths: the first death is temporal, while the second
104.19 death is eternal—it is the
104.20 [second death!]

CHAPTER 48

ON THE CONDUITS(?)[186]

120.23 Again, the Enlightener spoke: Three conduits are found
120.24 in the entire Zone (running) from the depth to the height.
120.25 The first conduit is the root of all the higher powers:
120.26 those that are found in all the heavens; those that come down
120.27 (and) are bound to the lower earths. Since the lower earth
120.28 is the hide,[187] the garment, and the body of higher powers
120.29 in the heavens. For when the Father of Life
120.30 established the worlds of heaven, he stripped them of their bodies (and)
120.31 threw them to the lower earths. While the upper worlds
120.32 became psychic and pneumatic, the lower worlds
120.33 became somatic and carcass-like …

121.1 Because of this, he … the powers of heaven (and) sealed
121.2 it on their bodies and their carcasses that are in the earths, so that
121.3 when Life comes up from the fullness of these earths,
121.4 it may be completely drawn to the height through the roots of the heavenly, those
121.5 that are nailed in their bodies, and all Life will be distilled from these
121.6 places. The dregs, however, that is swept away from the purity
121.7 which comes up to the height, is left to fall down
121.8 into the channels(?)[188] of the conduits and flow down to …
121.9 and be thrown into the deep.[189] This is the first conduit, which
121.10 runs from the powers of heaven to their bodies and their
121.11 carcasses on the earth. (It) also (runs) from their bodies and [their]
121.12 carcasses on the earth to the powers of heaven.
121.13 The second conduit is the one that runs from the temples and the
121.14 dwellings and the cities in heaven down to

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[186] The precise meaning of ⲁⲓϩⲙⲉ is uncertain.

[187] According to Theodore bar Khonai, the Living Spirit uses the flayed skins of the Archons, i.e., "their hides" (ܦܓܪܝܗܘܢ) (315.10 [Scher]) to construct the heavens and their corpses to construct the earths. This may be the idea reflected by the Coptic term ⲡⲕⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲏⲩ, which Polotsky/Böhlig translated as *das Ausgezogene* and Gardner as "stripping off."

[188] Even though the same word, ⲁⲓϩⲙⲉ, is used, it seems to imply another aspect of the "conduit."

[189] What is being imagined here is some kind of distillation apparatus.

the *Five Kinds of Trees* that grow upon the earth. Life comes
up from the Trees to the temples and the cities. But, the Life
and the Fire of the heavenly ones comes down to the Trees in their
conduits. The third conduit, however, is
all the powers and the companions who dwell in all the firmaments,
those whose roots run down from them to the *Five*
Worlds of Flesh that creep upon the earth, fixed to one another.
While Power and Life gather together in the *Worlds*
of Flesh and go out from them in various forms, the
powers of heaven draw it to them upwards through the conduits.
[The] dregs, however, and the desires and the evils and the wraths, which
abound in the powers [of] heaven, they are poured
their various conduits. They are poured into human beings
[and] the rest of the beasts. When the heavenly cause
the dregs, the stink, and the poison to flow down to the creations
of flesh below, the creations abound
in desire, in wrath, (and) in evil
[through] the energy of their fathers on high.
The Apostle [spoke]:[190] As for the wheel of the stars. It does not have
[a root on this earth] but its roots are bound in the
[All.] But, [the wheel of the stars], thriving on the Power

and the Life that comes up [from] the earth through the conduits
and the firmament above, draws Life from these conduits
that lead up to the firmaments and the worlds
of heaven above it, drawing Life from that place.
Then the disciples asked the Enlightener (and) said to him: If
the wheel has no root on this earth, where then do the stars
and the zodiacal signs find the power to become masters over these *Five*
Fleshes and the *Five Trees*, even though you tell us that the
wheel has no root? For you have told us that as everything
diminishes on the earth, the powers above in
the heavens gather it through a conduit. Also, we see
that every thing which happens to a man—whether wealth
comes to him or he is struck by poverty,
his sickness or his health—it happens to him
through the Zodiac and the stars under which he was begotten.
Then he spoke to his disciples: That which I proclaimed to
you—that the wheel has no root—I proclaimed it to
you correctly. It is certainly correct here, since when the

[190] This may indicate an originally separate chapter.

122.19 Living Spirit, the Father of Life, established the heavens and
122.20 the firmaments above, he bound their roots together with
122.21 the earths below in their carcasses, which he had stripped from
122.22 them. But, after he established the wheel, he did not
122.23 bind its root to the earths, but rather bound the
122.24 root of the wheel to the sea-giant. Then, when the
122.25 Messenger came, he revealed his image,
122.26 purified and took [away] the light from all the heavens, then Matter,
122.27 in turn, which is found in all the Archons, leapt out
122.28 from them against the image of the Messenger (and) ascended
122.29 so that it might attain it, (but) it did not attain it. It turned and fell
122.30 down. Then, when if fell from the height,
122.31 it scattered itself into three parts. The first part
122.32 fell onto the wheel, another [part fell onto the earth, (and still) another]

123.1 one fell into the sea. [From][191] the part which fell to
123.2 the sphere, the roots were bound in the trees and (the) flesh.
123.3 Because of this, they took power and ruled in the *Five*
123.4 *Worlds of Flesh* and the *Five Worlds of the Tree.*
123.5 Through the nature (i.e., of Matter) that came down upon the wheel,
123.6 the root was bound in the trees. Also, through the abortions that
123.7 came down, other roots were bound in the flesh. Because of
123.8 this, too, the stars and the zodiacal signs took power over the trees
123.9 and the fleshes through the root of Sin, which fell down,
123.10 and the root of the abortions who were aborted and fell
123.11 down. But, these other conduits, which the Living Spirit
123.12 bound in the earths, those by which the soul of the Elements came
123.13 to the heavens, they are not bound to the wheel,
123.14 but are robbed from the powers in the wheel
123.15 to which they are attached. The disciples spoke to the
123.16 Enlightener: We implore you, our lord, that as you proclaimed
123.17 to us (and) gathered these words …
123.18 you have told us (about) the first kind of conduit.
123.19 The first is that which runs from the firmament to the earths and
123.20 that which runs from the wheel to the sea-giant.
123.21 This is only one, but the other root runs
123.22 from [the temples] the to the trees. The third (is) the one that is bound
123.23 by the abortions in the flesh. Also, bound in the flesh are the fathers of the
123.24 abortions, who are in heaven … and fettered with and those who
123.25 … We implore you, our lord, that you clarify
123.26 for us [which][192] conduit is it that surpasses its

[191] A&C: ⲭ]ⲛⲛ̄-.
[192] A&C: [ⲛⲟⲩ]ⲓⲉⲧⲛ̣ ⲁ̣[ⲃⲁ]ⲁ̣ [ⲭ]ⲉ̣ ⲉ[ⲱ] ⲛⲁ[ⲓ][ⲍ]ⲙⲉ.

123.27 [counterpart] … with more life and soul being drawn
123.28 [by it] than its counterpart.
123.29 The Enlightener [spoke] to his disciples: You have examined
123.30 … you have asked about this statement in greatness, great
123.31 … [the] earth, many lives come down
123.32 … … the Father of Life has drawn them

124.1 (and) fastened them from [every(?)][193] power. He bound them together with
124.2 the earths which are the roots
124.3 of every ruling power. These (are the conduits) through which the Life of the
124.4 Living Soul is drawn up, coming up from
124.5 the entire earth, from all the mountains, the fields
124.6 and the islands. Second to this first great root
124.7 comes the root of the trees, which was bound to the temples
124.8 and the buildings which are above. Then, since so much life
124.9 comes up from the tree and the whole cross,
124.10 being drawn from them to the height, (it is) like
124.11 a great host. But, the one which is reduced …
124.12 their conduits … taking up …
124.13 place (?)[194] the roots [on][195] earth. They are woven (and) knit [with] the
124.14 entire earth in all worlds. Also, those of the trees are found on
124.15 the entire earth, whether small or great. But the root
124.16 of people and that of beasts is[196] not found
124.17 on the entire earth, but only in this world of the
124.18 south. These fleshes do not yet make … in the
124.19 entire world of the south … there is a little
124.20 bunch of them in … … above
124.21 the world of the south in … …
124.22 also in their number beyond … … I have explained
124.23 to you about the roots [and those (things) that][197] are found in them. [I have]
124.24 taught you that they are bound in their [roots] …
124.25 together with one another. They move toward one another, drawing the
124.26 life from one another through the energy of the higher powers,
124.27 which move toward the nature which dwells in all of them.
124.28 But when they crush the Matter which is in [them] and

193 A&C: [ⲛⲓⲙ²].
194 A&C: ⲕⲁⲁⲧ².
195 A&C: [ⲉⲧϩⲛ].
196 A&C: ⲙⲛ ⲧⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲉ.
197 A&C: ⲛⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ [ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧ][ⲫ]ⲟⲟⲡ.

124.29 plunder it, then it too, this Matter, …
124.30 its limbs and overflow … …
124.31 one another … move … …
124.32 … … … …

CHAPTER 57

ON THE GENERATION OF ADAM

144.15 Again, a Babylonian catechumen questioned the
144.16 Enlightener, saying to him: Speak to me, my lord, and
144.17 clarify for me about Adam, the first man. When
144.18 was he created, in what way was he formed,
144.19 or in what way was he begotten? Does[198] his generation
144.20 resemble the generation which is begotten today among
144.21 humankind, or else is there a distinction to be found between his birth
144.22 and what happens today? For, behold,
144.23 Adam was strong in his substance, great was his
144.24 size, (and) long were his years. He passed many years
144.25 in the world. But he is not the only one that we
144.26 have found to be strong, but also all the others who were
144.27 begotten in his generation. Long were their years also. These
144.28 people, however, who are begotten today, their substance
144.29 diminishes (while) their power and the remainder of their years wane. Why,
144.30 then, is the birth of those begotten today
144.31 different than that of the first … …

145.1 in his very place. Behold also the stars and the zodiacal signs, they remain
145.2 in their places. Why then has the life-span and
145.3 the years of these latter ones diminished and gotten shorter than
145.4 these ancients who are counted among this first generation?
145.5 But he, our Enlightener, in his deep wisdom
145.6 and his great understanding said to this catechumen
145.7 who had asked him: They increased and again diminished
145.8 because there are *Five Types of Authority* and
145.9 *Guide* set in the sphere of the Zodiac and the
145.10 heavens which are above it. They have ⟨*Five*⟩[199] *Names*, by which
145.11 they are called. The first name is the "year", the
145.12 second is the "month", the third is the "day", the
145.13 [fourth] is the "hour", (and) the fifth is the "minute." These *Five*
145.14 *Places* and these *Five Dwellings* are found in the sphere and
145.15 the heavens. These regions have *Five Powers* ruling over

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198 A&C: [ⲁ]ⲣⲁ ⲟⲩⲛ.
199 See Polotsky/Böhlig, 145.10 note.

145.16 them. The ruler of the year is found there, (as is) the ruler of the month,
145.17 the ruler of the day, the ruler of the hour,
145.18 (and) the ruler of the minute; (each) one above his
145.19 companion. The one who is above in each case is lord over the one who is below
145.20 him. As to humanity, which is being begotten along with
145.21 the animals, it is by these powers that it is begotten; but they, these powers,
145.22 have authority from the beginning of creation to the end of the
145.23 world. At the beginning of the generations, it was the powers that rule
145.24 over the years that ruled. Because of this, the offspring
145.25 begotten in their generation and their era found their
145.26 years long, passing many life-spans in the generation of Adam and
145.27 that of Sethel, his son, as well as (the generation) of those who came after him.
145.28 After they ceased to rule, that is, the powers that ruled over the
145.29 years, the powers that rule over the months ruled in turn. Just as the
145.30 months are shorter than the years, so also
145.31 the life-span of the offspring begotten by them is shorter
145.32 [than the life-span of those begotten] in the generation of the powers who ruled

146.1 the years. When the authority of the powers who ruled the months
146.2 was finished, the powers of the days took power after
146.3 them. Therefore, since the days are shorter than the months,
146.4 so too was the life-span of the offspring begotten by them
146.5 shorter than the life-span of those begotten by the powers who ruled
146.6 over the months. Also, in the same way, the offspring who were begotten by the
146.7 hours as well as that of the minute, their *lihme*[200] are shorter than that of
146.8 the months and that of the days. The Enlightener spoke to this
146.9 Babylonian catechumen: Behold how the end
146.10 of the world is nigh! The life-span of
146.11 people is down to nothing. Their days lessen (and) their years
146.12 wane because the Life and the Light [which]
146.13 was in the world in these previous generations was greater than that of
146.14 today. Because of this, they are shrinking in their substance (and) their life-span
146.15 has become shorter. Again, this Babylonian
146.16 catechumen spoke to the Enlightener: I implore
146.17 you, my lord! Just as you clarified for me and persuaded

[200] Perhaps this means that the "conduits" through which life flows into every being are getting shorter or more restricted (Funk, *personal communication*).

me regarding the years—why the
years of these ancients increased and why, in turn,
these latter ones decrease; you told me, also, that they have lessened
in their substance (and) you said that all these ones lessen because
of the Life and the Light which they received in the world—
proclaim to us this other thing, by what sort of birth was all this
offspring of humankind made by one man and one
woman, Adam and Eve? The Enlightener spoke to this
catechumen: You rightly ask about this
matter, so know and understand it. For, just as these
first generations were greater in their Light,
purer in their substance, and also greater are their years, so too
were their offspring more numerous than the offspring of this time.
They passed a longer time being … in [the]
belly of their mother. Afterwards … …

conceived a multitude in a single womb. Sometimes they would beget
five in a single womb. Sometimes they would beget six in a single
belly—sometimes less, sometimes
more. Because of this, the offspring of Eve and that of her children were more
numerous and the earth was filled with them alone.
Since the offspring of the generation of the ancient people who were
begotten in the world was much different than that of today,
their conception and their birth does not resemble that of those born
later, who are born today in the womb of a woman.
For those who are begotten today in these latter generations,
standing small, they are crippled and, it is even as single ones that they are
begotten in a single belly, barely two, more or less,
being ugly in their appearance, reduced in
their size, and weak in their limbs. Their teachings and [their]
thoughts are filled with evil. They are evil-doers. They are drowned.
They consume their life-span with suffering (until) death takes them
quickly. After this catechumen
heard these words, he adored and gave glory, saying to the Enlighterner:
I thank you, my lord, for you have satisfied my heart (and)
persuaded me by making progress about these things that I asked you about.

CHAPTER 65B

(ON THE FIVE QUALITIES OF THE SUN)

161.31 Again, he added and said to his disciples:
161.32 [There are] *Five Qualities* in the Sun which it manifests
161.33 [every time][201] it comes into the world.

162.1 The first is its light, for it illuminates, by means of its light,
162.2 the world and all the creatures found in it.
162.3 The second is its beauty, because when it shines it
162.4 floods beauty and splendour on all creatures
162.5 and all things.
162.6 The third is its peace, because when the Sun
162.7 lights up the world, all people are greeted
162.8 by it and they offer peace to one another.
162.9 The fourth is the Life of the Living Soul, that it releases
162.10 from all bonds and fetters of heaven and earth.
162.11 The fifth: it empowers the Elements, and also gives
162.12 scent and taste to the entire Cross of Light. Just as you
162.13 can see that its light illuminates
162.14 more than all lights found in the world, so too is
162.15 its beauty more beautiful than the beauty of all people. Its peace,
162.16 too, surpasses all the powers and watchers that are found
162.17 in the world. Its liberation, with which it liberates
162.18 the Living Soul, is a full day more than
162.19 all the liberations. The power that is in its Limbs
162.20 is a great power and is stronger than all powers.

[201] A&C: [ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲙ].

CHAPTER 68

ON FIRE

166.19 Again he spoke: This fire that burns (and) is revealed to
166.20 today's world does *Five Things*.
166.21 The first thing that it does is this: It destroys
166.22 (and) burns wood and everything that is placed on it.
166.23 Second: It separates four properties from wood. These
166.24 are fire and light, ash and
166.25 smoke. Third: It gives taste and aroma to
166.26 what(ever) is cooked by it. It also gives warmth and
166.27 joy to who(ever) is brought near to it. The fourth thing that
166.28 it does: All craftsmen mould
166.29 the implements with which they fashion. Fifth:
166.30 It reveals light and people can see with its help.

CHAPTER 69

ON THE TWELVE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC AND THE FIVE STARS

166.34 Again, one time as the Apostle [sat]

167.1 in the assembly, a disciple stood before him (and) asked
167.2 him, saying: We implore you, our lord, that you proclaim
167.3 to us and clarify about the twelve signs of the Zodiac
167.4 which are set in the Sphere. How are they ordered, or to which place do
167.5 they belong according to their nature? Or for that matter these *Five Stars*
167.6 that surround them, where do they come from, or why did the craftsman appoint
167.7 them as authorities and guides? He who is the Great
167.8 Builder, who established the whole of creation, he bound them (and)
167.9 closed them in the Sphere. We implore you, our
167.10 lord, that you satisfy us regarding these things which are hidden from everybody.
167.11 Then, he spoke to this disciple who had asked him: Both
167.12 these twelve zodiacal signs that he put in the sphere and these
167.13 *Five Stars* that turn above them, they are present in all the Archons
167.14 according to their nature. They are all enemies and adversaries to
167.15 one another.[202] They plunder one another through the activity of the Great
167.16 Builder who fashioned all the worlds. He set
167.17 [them] (and) bound them in the Sphere above, which always turns.
167.18 When it turns and moves them, they do everything
167.19 that pleases them above and below according to their will.
167.20 But, there is a governor above them, a debt-collector
167.21 causing them to act, coercing them, (and) taking from them what
167.22 is theirs. This, however, is how it should be understood: They
167.23 are drawn from the *Five Worlds of Darkness*, are bound in the
167.24 Sphere, and two zodiacal signs are taken per world. The Twin[203]
167.25 and the Archer[204] belong to the World of Smoke, which

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[202] Written above line 15: "one is pressing the other; they are hung from one another" (Polotsky/Böhlig).
[203] Gemini.
[204] Sagittarius.

is the Mind. Also, the Ram[205] and the Lion[206] belong to the
World of Fire. The Bull,[207] the Water-bearer,[208] and the Scales,[209]
belong to the World of Wind. The Crab[210] and the Virgin[211]
and the Fish[212] belong to the World of Water. The Goat-horn[213]
and the Scorpion[214] belong to the World of Darkness. These are
[the] twelve Archons of wickedness, those who wickedness does not
… … For it is they commit every evil and
… [in the] world, either in the tree or in the flesh.

Know, also about these *Five Stars*,[215] the wanderers(?),[216] how they are
put in place. The star of Zeus is generated by
the World of Smoke, which is the Mind. Aphrodite,
in turn, came to be from the World of Fire.
Ares, however, belongs to the World of Wind. Hermes
belongs to the World of Water, while Kronos belongs to the World
of Darkness. The Two Ascendants,[217] however, belong to
fire and lust, which are dryness and
moisture, they are the father and mother of all these things. But,
the Sun and the Moon, who are counted along with them,
{in the …}
[they are counted] among their race, but they are counted among
them[218]
artificially, so that they might be ruled over. You will find them
tormenting them
at every moment. These seven, which we have named—the *Five Stars*
and
the Two Ascendants—they are the evil-doers who perpetrate
every wickedness and evil in every single land, above
and below, in every creation, in dryness
and moisture, in tree and flesh.
Again, I am revealing to you about these zodiacal signs: They are

[205] Aries.
[206] Leo.
[207] Taurus.
[208] Aquarius.
[209] Libra.
[210] Cancer.
[211] Virgo.
[212] Pisces.
[213] Capricorn.
[214] Scorpio.
[215] Zeus = Jupiter; Aphrodite = Venus; Ares = Mars; Hermes = Mercury; Kronos = Saturn.
[216] That is, the planets.
[217] The *anabibazontes*, see discussion above.
[218] Inserted between lines 10 and 11 (Polotsky/Böhlig 168). A *homoioleteuton* seems to have occurred due to the double occurrence of ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲩ. See A&C.

168.18 distributed and ordered to four sides, three at each corner in
168.19 these four places. They are fastened to the Sphere that turns. The Ram,
168.20 the Lion, and the Archer, these three belong to one side.
168.21 The Bull, however, the Goat-horn, and the Virgin,
168.22 these three belong to the other side. But, the Twin,
168.23 the Scales, and the Water-bearer belong to another side. The Scorpion,
168.24 the Fish, and the Crab belong to another corner. They are
168.25 set in this way. They are fixed to these four sides (and) distributed
168.26 in the Sphere. When the side of the Ram,
168.27 the Lion, and the Archer is plundered by the governor
168.28 who is above it, who coerces it along with the guiding (stars) who
168.29 go above it, tribulation
168.30 overtakes every four-footed beast below this place.
168.31 But, when the [side] of the Bull,
168.32 the Virgin, and the Goat-horn is plundered, [tribulation]

169.1 at once comes to be in the herbs and the vegetables and
169.2 all the fruits of the trees. But, when
169.3 the side of the Scorpion, the Fish, and the Crab, is plundered
169.4 there will be a lack of water on the earth
169.5 and famine will occur everywhere. However, when
169.6 the side of the Twin, the Scales, and the Water-bearer
169.7 is plundered, deficiency and diminishment in the category
169.8 of humanity will occur everywhere.
169.9 Behold, I have clarified for you about these twelve
169.10 zodiacal signs, that they have been formed from the *Five*
169.11 *Worlds of Darkness* and bound in the Sphere. I have
169.12 also taught you about the *Five Stars*, that they too have come to be
169.13 from the *Five Worlds of Darkness*. I have proclaimed
169.14 to you, also, about the Two Ascendants, that they stand (according) to
169.15 the mystery of fire and lust, which is
169.16 dryness and moisture, the father and mother.
169.17 I have also revealed to you about the Sun and the Moon, that they are
169.18 foreign to them. But because of the (irresistible) force of the planned arrangement
169.19 according to which one thing takes on the other, and they are being plundered
169.20 them, that is why they were counted among them according to the numerical
169.21 value, although the Sun and Moon come from the Greatness,
169.22 (and) do not belong to the stars and the zodiacal signs.

CHAPTER 70

ON THE BODY, THAT IT WAS MADE TO RESEMBLE THE COSMOS

169.27 [Again], at a time when the Apostle was sitting in
169.28 the assembly amidst the congregation, he spoke to his
169.29 disciples: While the entire cosmos, above and
169.30 below, resembles the human body,
169.31 [the] makeup of this body of flesh (also)

170.1 resembles the cosmos. Its head resembles
170.2 by way of example the *Five Garments*. But, from its neck
170.3 down to the site of its heart, it resembles
170.4 the Ten Firmaments. The heart is there
170.5 in resemblance of the wheel of the Sphere that turns. From its heart
170.6 down to its mid-section, it resembles that air
170.7 which flows from the Sphere down to the earth. The male (part)
170.8 of the body resembles the Great Earth. From its
170.9 intestines down to its loins it resembles
170.10 the Three Earths. But, the shinbones of its foot
170.11 resemble the space where the Porter stands.
170.12 The soles of its feet resemble the Great Earth on which the
170.13 Porter stands and the Four Fixtures which are under his
170.14 feet. Its liver resembles the Vehicle of Fire.
170.15 Its flesh resembles the Vehicle of Darkness. Its
170.16 blood resembles the Vehicle of Water. In this way,
170.17 the small body resembles the great
170.18 cosmos in its firmaments, in its rank, in its
170.19 mountains, its walls, and its vehicles, as I have
170.20 revealed to you. Again, I am revealing to you
170.21 that there are *Five Great Camps* in this
170.22 great outer zone, over which the *Five Sons of the Living*
170.23 *Spirit* rule. In the first upper watch-tower,
170.24 the one in which the Keeper of Splendour rules,
170.25 the pinnacle of all things, his authority is placed
170.26 over the Three Heavens. Those that are under him are,
170.27 nevertheless, above the great King of Honour.
170.28 As for the second watch-tower, the one in which the great King of Honour
170.29 rules, his authority (is) placed over the Seven
170.30 Firmaments below him. As for the third

watch-tower, the one over which the Adamas [has authority,][219]

ruling from the firmament down to the [earth],
it commands[220] according to his authority the Sphere and the
worlds of air, along with the other four worlds, which are fixed on
this earth. The fourth watch-tower, which the King of
Glory possesses is the Three Wheels. But, his
authority lays over the Three Earths which are over
the Porter. The fifth watch-tower is the watch-
tower over which the Porter has authority, since he
also rules, according to his authority, over this Great Earth,
which is established on it, along with the Four Fixtures which are
his feet. Tribulation has occurred in the *Five Watch-Towers* from
time to time. In the watch-tower of the Keeper of Splendour,
Sin wanted to gush forth against the image
of the Messenger, but it was hindered at that
place. He made it turn in shame.
Also, an earthquake and deceit occurred in the watch-tower of the great
King of Honour, that is, the watchers, who existed
when they … … they came down, namely, those
who had been sent, until they were humbled. Also, in the watch-tower
of the Adamas, the abortions came down (and) fashioned the
figure of flesh. Also, in the watch-tower of the King of Glory,
there was movement in these Three Earths, which are above
the Porter. The route and the ascent
of these Three Wheels—(the wheel) of wind,
of water, and of fire—were blocked. Also, in the watch-tower of the
Porter, the lower fixtures were stripped off (and) their
bonds levelled. A great earthquake occurred in that place.
[Just as] these *Five Watchers* are found in this great
[bond of these *Five*] *Encampments* that I have proclaimed

to you, so too is it with this body, which the
Elect bear. There are *Five* other *Encampments*
in it. The Light-Mind guards them along with the
New Man who is with him. The elect person who
dominates and humbles the countenance of his face, which is above his
body, and guides it to the good, he symbolizes the
mystery of the Keeper of Splendour who has power over
the watch-tower above the Zone. He who rules

[219] A&C: [ⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲭⲱⲥ ⲉⲕ].
[220] A&C: ⲉ[ⲕ]ϫⲓⲟⲩⲱ.

[over] his heart and humbles it symbolizes the great
King of Honour who humbles the Seven Heavens. He
who rules his chest and humbles his desire
becomes like the mystery of the Adamas of Light, he who
humbles Matter. He who humbles the stomach and
rules the fire found in it, but also the purity
of the food that enters it, he symbolizes
the King of Glory, he who turns the wheels (and) sends
life upward. He who rules over the
rank of the archons beneath his feet and binds it with the
bond of peace symbolizes the Porter, he who humbles
with his feet the lower abyss. Also, the teaching
of wisdom, which circulates through this body,
symbolizes the Virgin of Light, who goes up
(and) comes down in the Zone that is above and
below. Also, the Love and the Joy, the Faith
and the Truth by which a person lives symbolizes
these Two Light Ships. For, it is through them that the Living
Soul ascends, is liberated,
leaves the lower abyss, and attains
the upper height. Again, know this other thing,
that there are Four Worlds in this Body of Flesh (and)
there are Seven Archons in every one [of these Four]
Worlds. The first [world is from its]

neck upwards, but the Seven Archons that are found
in this upper world, they are the two eyes
and the two ears and the two nostrils.
The other is the mouth, which is the taste organ.
[The] second world is from its neck down to
its entire stomach, but the Seven Archons which
are found in this second world, they are its two arms—
those that symbolize its two ears
found in its first world above—and its two
breasts, which symbolize its nostrils,
and the two eyes of its heart and the depth of the stomach
between the two breasts, which are in the chest
symbolize the mouth. Again, there are Seven
Archons in the third world of the body,
which are the fat, the lung(s), the spleen, the liver, the gall,
and its two kidneys. Also, in the fourth world
below, there are seven others in the same pattern—its
two buttocks, its two testicles, its two loins,
and the member from which the seed comes, which begets
all the forms.
Again, the Enlightener said to those who were listening to him:

The

173.22 Ram, the Bull, the Twin, the Crab, the Lion,
173.23 the Virgin, the Scale, the Scorpion, the Archer, the
173.24 Goat-horn, the Water-bearer, and the Fish, these are the twelve
173.25 zodiacal signs that are found in the world of heaven, that are in the
173.26 Sphere, fastened and bound to this turning wheel, the one by which
173.27 they are forced, nailed, and planted. But, behold all these twelve
173.28 zodiacal signs, this is how they are ordered and made head
173.29 [and] … in the Sphere above heaven, which is the wheel of the
173.30 [stars]. This, then, is how they are ordered. They are ordered so that you might
173.31 find the head … and find the tail between one another.[221]
173.32 … … they also exist in this way, namely

174.1 those which we have proclaimed one after the other in this body. They
174.2 are counted among them in their sum and number from the head to the
174.3 feet. Its head is the Ram, its neck and its shoulders
174.4 the Bull, its two forearms the Twin,
174.5 its oesophagus(?)[222] the Crab, its stomach
174.6 [the] Lion, its heart the Virgin, the backbone of the
174.7 statue and its diaphragm the Scales, its chest
174.8 [the] Scorpion, its loins the Archer, its feet
174.9 the Goat-horn, its shinbones the Water-bearer, (and)
174.10 the soles of its feet the Fish. Behold (how) these too
174.11 are distributed among them. They are found in this body,
174.12 turned aside (and) bent like these twelve zodiacal signs.
174.13 They are ordered and spread among one another, the head
174.14 to the tail, just as they are in the wheel
174.15 … which is turned to heaven.[223] They, too, are counted among
174.16 the sum and number of the body and all its limbs.
174.17 But, what we have proclaimed—that they are turned to the side, bent, (and)
174.18 spread out—this is so, because from its head down to its
174.19 loins, they are counted six on its left, (and) six others on its right.
174.20 The six that are on its lower right are those which I
174.21 will proclaim. The right temple is the Ram, its right shoulder
174.22 the Bull, its right forearm
174.23 the Twin, its right rib the Crab,
174.24 its stomach the Lion, (and) the right side of its intestines
174.25 the Virgin. The other six which we have spoken
174.26 about, they are found on the left side, going

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[221] A&C: ⲟⲩⲧⲱϥ ⲛⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ.
[222] While ⲫⲗⲁⲫⲡⲉ normally means "stomach," Böhlig suggested oesophagus (*Speiseröhre*) due to the fact that stomach comes next in the list.
[223] A&C: ⲉⲧⲥ[ⲓⲧⲉ].

174.27 from its loins to its head. Its left …
174.28 is the Scales, its left rib the Scorpion,
174.29 its left breast and its left kidney [the]
174.30 Archer, its left elbow the Goat-horn,

175.1 its left shoulder the Water-bearer, (and)
175.2 its left temple the Fish. This is the way that the
175.3 craftsman of the body ordered (and)
175.4 arranged (and) made them level to one another, head to [tail].
175.5 Again, he spoke: Hear this other word which I will proclaim
175.6 to you. Know that there are many powers found
175.7 in this body—these are the companions who are its leaders.
175.8 There are eight-hundred and forty myriads of Archons
175.9 ruling over the human body. They are distributed
175.10 (and) established four to a dwelling. The sum and
175.11 the number of their dwellings is two-hundred and ten myriads.
175.12 When all these Archons come, creeping (and) wandering
175.13 within the body, and they meet one another, they
175.14 break against one another and destroy one another and …
175.15 in them there. When powers … …
175.16 together(?) they leap out of the body in which a person is going to
175.17 dies, and they cause evil tumours and blows and burning wounds
175.18 on the body. Either they make him sick inside [or][224]
175.19 else they would come out upon him externally. These wounds
175.20 contract at first and pour forth their liquid.
175.21 They release their ooze until they contract …
175.22 … and the core is dug out of the wound. Afterwards,
175.23 their wounds are carved out and healed and relieved
175.24 at the site where they came out.

[224] A&C: [**н**].

CHAPTER 91

ON THE CATECHUMEN, WHO IS SAVED IN A SINGLE BODY

228.8 Again, this Elect spoke to the Apostle:[225] I have
228.9 heard you, my lord, say that there is a Catechumen
228.10 who does not enter a body other than this one alone. Rather
228.11 when he leaves his body, his soul
228.12 … in the firmament above and he journeys to the place
228.13 of [rest]. Now, I implore you, my lord, that you
228.14 open my eyes to the deeds of this Catechumen
228.15 who does not enter into another body—What kind are they or what is
228.16 his form or what is his sign so that I might
228.17 know it and tell the rest of my brothers, that they might proclaim
228.18 it to the Catechumens, so that they might be exalted by
228.19 this and ascend in peace to the Good?
228.20 Then, the Apostle said to him: I will open your
228.21 eyes to the deeds of these Catechumens
228.22 of faith, who do not enter into (another) body. The sign of
228.23 this perfect Catechumen is this—You find his[226]
228.24 wife in the house with him, dealing with him as if they are strangers.
228.25 Also, his house he treats like an inn.
228.26 He says, "I dwell in a house rented by days
228.27 and months." His brothers and his relations
228.28 are considered by him to be strangers attached to him,
228.29 journeying with him on the road, knowing that …
228.30 they will be separated from him and each one returns to [their own place].[227]
228.31 Gold, silver, and vessels of … …

229.1 house, they are considered by him (to be) like vessels on loan. [He]
229.2 takes them, and they serve him, (but) afterwards he gives them [to]
229.3 their owner. He does not place his trust in them or his wealth.
229.4 He removes his Thought from the world, and places his
229.5 heart in the Holy Church. At all times, his Thought
229.6 is set upon God. But, what's more than all that—
229.7 solicitude, respect, and love for the saints who
229.8 are with him—he cares for the Church like [his] house,

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[225] A&C: ⲁⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ.
[226] A&C: ⲧⲉ[ⲫ]-.
[227] A&C: ⲟⲩ[ⲉ ⲯ]ⲉ ⲛⲉⲫ ⲁⲡ[ⲉⲫⲙⲁ].

229.9 in fact more than his house. He entrusts all his wealth to the
229.10 Elect men and women. For this is what [the] Saviour
229.11 preached through the mouth of his Apostle:[228] *From today*
229.12 *onwards those who have wives, let them become like those who do not.*
229.13 *Those who buy like those not buying, those who rejoice like those not rejoicing,*
229.14 *those who weep like those not weeping, those who profit from this world*
229.15 *like those not in wantonness. Those who … those which …*
229.16 proclaimed, were proclaimed about these perfect Catechumens,
229.17 who depart from this body alone and return to
229.18 the height. They are like the Elect in their behaviour.
229.19 This is the sign of these Catechumens who
229.20 do not enter a body. There are others too who possess
229.21 self-control, [keeping] the flesh of every beast from
229.22 their mouths, being eager for fasting and daily prayer,
229.23 helping the Church according to their means
229.24 through almsgiving. Malice is dead in them.
229.25 The motions of their feet made it towards the Church more than towards
229.26 their home. Their hearts are upon it at all times. Their posture and
229.27 their comportment is like that of the Elect. They have stripped all the
229.28 affairs of the world from their hearts. But, this person,
229.29 with the mind set upon the Holy Church
229.30 … at every moment and his gifts and
229.31 … and his honour and his grace which benefits

230.1 his life, as he journeys with them to the Holy Church
230.2 along with those who come to the Church, whether
230.3 they are his children or his wife or one of his relations.
230.4 He rejoices greatly over them and he loves
230.5 them, sharing all his wealth with them.
230.6 Behold! This is the sign and the model of these Catechumens
230.7 who do not (re)enter a body. Like the "good pearl,"
230.8 which I described for you in the *Treasure of Life*—
230.9 it is priceless.[229]
230.10 So too is it for these Catechumens
230.11 who do not (re)enter a body. But, when they do leave
230.12 their bodies, they journey in their way and pass
230.13 on to a higher place and enter into life.
230.14 They are not, however, condemned and bound by the chains of the enemy, but[230]
230.15 they are purified in the heavens and plucked like a fruit

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[228] See 1 Cor 7:29–31.

[229] A&C *pace* Böhlig: "die keinen Wert hat."

[230] A&C: Line 14 of manuscript was missed in original edition. Read and renumber accordingly: ⲙⲁⲩ[ⲧ]ⲁϧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲙ̄ⲣⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁϧⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ.

230.16 that will ripened and be plucked from the tree. This is also how the
230.17 almsgiving that is passed on to the Elect resembles it
230.18 in many forms, purifies it, and enters into
230.19 the Land of the Living. This is also how the souls
230.20 of these Catechumens resemble it, those who do not (re)enter
230.21 a body. But, as for the matter of the Catechumens,
230.22 I have written it down in the *Treasure of Life*.
230.23 Just as they are freed and are purified one by one
230.24 according to their deeds, according to their approach to the Church,
230.25 this is also the way that their ascent comes closer to them,
230.26 their healing and their purity.
230.27 Therefore, it is also fitting for the Catechumen that he pray at
230.28 all times for repentance and forgiveness of sins from God
230.29 and the Holy Church. Because of his prior
230.30 and present sins, his deeds will be gathered together,
230.31 the earlier and the later ones, and allotted to him.

231.1 Then, after his disciples heard these words from him,
231.2 they blessed him and glorified him with great praise. They
231.3 said: You are praised, our father, (and) you are glorious. Blessed is
231.4 the hope that endures in us because of you. For great is the [wisdom]
231.5 that you bring to souls. For (to) the Elect you have revealed
231.6 the works and the commandments of the election
231.7 in which they will live. And even regarding the Catechumens,
231.8 have you not neglected them, but you have taught them in various
231.9 degrees,[231] stages, and steps so that they might rise
231.10 from them to the Good, each one according to (his) [ability], and
231.11 attain the Land of the Living.
231.12 But now we implore you, our lord, that you proceed and
231.13 preach to us about this matter that we have asked you about[232] and open
231.14 our eyes as to the people who become disciples[233] (and) …
231.15 and enter into the Church, [either] Elect or[234]
231.16 Catechumens. The former sins that they committed [in] the
231.17 world before they became disciples, where do they go? Since
231.18 there are some among them (who) formerly adored idols, worshipping
231.19 (and) revering the gods. Others also among them were firmly established
231.20 in the teaching of the Sects, blaspheming God.

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[231] See W.-P. Funk, "Prolégomènes," 11.
[232] A&C: ⲉⲧⲁⲛϣⲛ[ⲧⲕ ⲁ]ⲣⲁⲩ.
[233] A&C: ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲉⲩⲉ.
[234] A&C: ⲉⲓ[ⲧⲉ ⲍ]ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕⲧⲟⲥ [ⲛⲉ] ⲏ ⲍⲛ̄.

They have also blasphemed other enlighteners, who are in the heavens.
Some among them also committed other sins: whether it be theft[235]
or murder or adultery or …
the sin of magic or error of false witness
or other … These are evident in the wicked works of the world
in which people first [walked]. Then, when they[236]
hear the word of God, will they put aside
(their) prior sins or will they not?
[We implore] you, then, our lord, that you open our eyes
[as to this question] which we have asked[237] you and give rest to our hearts.

Then the Apostle spoke to them: Very great is this question
[that] you have asked me. I will reveal (the answer) to you.
[Know],[238] therefore, that every person who accepts the hope
[and the faith] has separated the Light from the Darkness, he has perceived
[the] mysteries of the Living Soul, he has received the right hand of
Peace brought (by) the Light-Mind, who dwells in the Holy
Church, and he has prayed for forgiveness of sins from the Light-
Mind. Know, therefore, that all his prior sins
which he committed from the day he was born until
the day that he accepts the hope of God (and) has removed his heart
from all the Sects and the idols of Error, they are
all forgiven him. He will not be asked about them from now on,
nor will he receive retribution for them—if it is the case that he remains
in his faith and [live] without committing henceforth these
prior sins, which he committed. Afterwards, he has borne …
… … they have been forgiven him, they will
not protect[239] him henceforth from all his prior sins.
Should he return again to his prior actions
and re-offend, then they will be counted against him
along with all his sins, the former and the latter. He will receive
retribution for all of them, since God granted him repentance
and forgiveness from his folly, but
he still did not persevere in the repentance that God
granted to him. But, had he persevered in the catechumenate
(and) in his faith and left all his prior deeds

[235] A&C: ⲏ [ⲟ]ⲩ[ⲭ]ⲓ[ⲟ]ⲩⲉ |[23][ⲡⲉ ⲏ ⲟ]ⲩⲫⲟⲛⲟⲥ.
[236] A&C: ⲉⲧⲉ[ⲟⲩ]ⲉ.
[237] A&C: ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲛ[ⲭ][ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲕ.
[238] A&C: [ⲙⲙⲉ].
[239] A&C: ⲛ[ⲱ][ⲗ]ⲧ.

232.26 behind him, then all his sins would be left
232.27 to him, whether he is an Elect in his election,
232.28 [or] a Catechumen in his catechumenate.
232.29 The one, then, who is a Catechumen, he will [stand firm]
232.30 in his catechumenate. The latter[240] sins [which]
232.31 he commits, they will be forgiven him *en masse*,
232.32 because of his fasting, and [his prayer and his]

233.1 almsgiving. Hear, now, how I (will) reveal to you
233.2 the works of the faithful Catechumens. The truly
233.3 faithful Catechumen performs his Fifty Fasts,
233.4 fasting on the Fifty Lord's Days of the [year].
233.5 He also retains their purity, restraining himself [from]
233.6 the desire for his wife. He purifies his bed by
233.7 abstaining on all of these Lord's Days. He (restrains himself[?])
233.8 in his eating, and does not defile his food with the …
233.9 of fish or all the pollution of flesh and blood. Also, he [does not]
233.10 eat anything polluted on these Lord's Days. [He] also keeps
233.11 his hands from wounding or inflicting pain on the Living
233.12 [Soul]. Their prayers[241] are observed by him; he observes
233.13 them (and) comes to prayer daily—every hour (of) every
233.14 day. All these hours of prayer will be added[242]
233.15 to his fasting and his almsgiving, which he offers
233.16 every day of the year. Also every act of charity is added to
233.17 his goods: the fasting, which he performed, the clothing which he has given
233.18 to the Saints. They share a daily communion
233.19 with them in their fasting and their good(ness).
233.20 These are counted along with the others and one half of his works
233.21 are performed for good, the other half for sin. Truly, the sins
233.22 which he commits half of the year are
233.23 divided into *Five Parts*. Four of them are forgiven him by
233.24 the patronage of the Holy Church through the faith
233.25 [and the] love of the Elect. On the one hand because of this, but on
233.26 the other, because he is aware of the knowledge (*gnosis*)—he has separated the
233.27 [Light] from the Darkness (and) offered hymns and prayers
233.28 [to the] Enlightener from heaven. Also, the rest that he has
233.29 [taken] … this … Because of these good (deeds) that
233.30 [he performs], four parts are permitted him, four
233.31 … … sins that he has committed

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240 A&C: ⲛ[ϩ]ⲁⲉⲉⲩⲉ.
241 That is, the prayers of the Lord's Day.
242 A&C: ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲁ[ⲡ]ⲟⲩ ⲁ |[15][ⲭ]ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕ-.

234.1 from the day that he became a Catechumen. As for the rest,
234.2 he will be questioned about a single part and receive
234.3 a thrashing[243] and an immersion, and is later
234.4 purified, either above or below. He is
234.5 purified according to the value of his works, and he is
234.6 purified, cleansed, and adorned. Afterwards, he
234.7 is fashioned a Light-image
234.8 and is drawn and elevated to the Land of Rest, so that,
234.9 where his heart is, his treasure is there too.
234.10 Until he becomes strong in his catechumenate
234.11 he will receive repayment for his good (works) in this way.
234.12 If, however, he should lie or turn away from the truth, then
234.13 all his sins will be counted against him again, the former and
234.14 the latter. The judgement [which] condemns his sins will be poured over him.
234.15 But, if he should confirm himself in his faith and
234.16 become strong in it, then a fate will be (assigned[?]) to him and he will come
234.17 back again, be just, escape, and save
234.18 his live in eternal life. At the time of his
234.19 departure, he will go and rest in eternal
234.20 life. When the disciples heard
234.21 these words of wisdom, they glorified their teacher (and) contemplated
234.22 the first Light, which makes wise through the Mind and the
234.23 richness of his knowledge.

[243] A&C: ⲟ[ⲩⲥ]ϩⲱϣⲉ.

CHAPTER 95

THE APOSTLE ASKS HIS DISCIPLES: WHAT DOES CLOUD MEAN?

240.16 Again, as the Apostle sat in the assembly of his
240.17 disciples, the sky was cloudy that day,
240.18 (so) he raised his eyes and looked at this cloud
240.19 (and) said to his disciples: This cloud, which appears
240.20 before you, as you look at it, I will reveal to you
240.21 and teach you how it ascended.
240.22 Know that it is stripped from
240.23 *Five Places*, ascends above this Great Earth, is then revealed
240.24 and is visible in the middle-air.
240.25 The cloud that ascends from the upper fire
240.26 towards the image of the Virgin of Light, which she
240.27 makes visible to it, its sign is the flash
240.28 found in lightning-bolts … passing away …
240.29 But it is purified towards [the image of the Virgin of][244]
240.30 Light [to whom] it becomes visible.[245]

241.1 … the Archons are stripped off of the lightning-bolts. They go out
241.2 and separate, but these angels are sent to
241.3 them immediately so that they might seize them.
241.4 Knowing that they never do good, (and that) every place that they touch
241.5 they cause death and ruin, when
241.6 the angels make for them and come beside(?) …
241.7 they flee in their distress before them and come [to]
241.8 what(ever) they meet and assume it. Like a
241.9 thief, (when he) is caught (and) flees from a man stronger than him, who
241.10 pursues him in order to overtake him. Now, these Archons
241.11 who escape to this cloud, they bear that
241.12 which they meet … … in …
241.13 it, which they do not … will seize
241.14 this little bit, whether a tree [that] they found
241.15 in the way or beasts or people. In short,
241.16 every place that they assume, they burn and

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[244] A&C: [ⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄]-.
[245] A&C: [ⲛⲉⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ].

241.17 destroy with the fire of their bodies—that is the Archons, the
241.18 sons of fire, those who are stripped of the fire.
241.19 The cloud, however, that rises up from the
241.20 water and ascends to the Virgin of
241.21 Light, its sign(s) are this thunder and this noise which
241.22 is in the air in various forms and (which people) hear.
241.23 … when the Archons who belong
241.24 to those found in the cloud find time, they strip themselves
241.25 of this cloud,[246] flee from it and leave it behind
241.26 [them. But, their sign][247] is this, that in every place which [they]
241.27 [destroy] they make frost and hail and snow,
241.28 and they lay waste[248] to seeds and fruit and plants, and they
241.29 … every place [that] they destroy. Angels are also sent
241.30 [down][249] to seize them. But,

242.1 the angels,[250] while pursuing them in order to seize them, cause this destruction.
242.2 [The] cloud, however, which rises up from the wind,
242.3 comes up to the middle-air, towards the image of the
242.4 Virgin who makes it visible—its sign is
242.5 [the] dark wind that blows bitterly.
242.6 By these winds, however, and these storm, living beings
242.7 are purified in her. But, the Archons who are stripped of the wind
242.8 cloud descend from it, being secure in
242.9 their image. All these rivers and seas, which
242.10 they reach and attain, they make waves in them and
242.11 raise … and they … the ships and they
242.12 cause destruction among those who they destroy[251] and they seize them
242.13 and bring them … astray(?).
242.14 Also, the cloud that belongs to the Light, when they
242.15 are stripped of it … …
242.16 … … … the Virgin becomes visible.
242.17 sign(?) too … but its sign is
242.18 this—so that you might find it as it journeys in rest and calm.
242.19 Living beings are purified in it by rest and calm,
242.20 but the Archons that are stripped from it and run (to) every place[252]

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246 A&C: [ⲛ̄ϯⲕ]ⲗ[ⲟⲟ]ⲗⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ.
247 A&C: [ⲥⲱⲩ] ⲡⲟ[ⲩ]ⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ.
248 A&C: [ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱ]ⲫⲫ.
249 A&C: [ⲁ]ⲧ[ⲣ]ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡⲟⲩ.
250 A&C: [ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅ]ⲉⲗⲟⲥ.
251 A&C: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲉⲕ[ⲟ ⲛ̄]ⲧⲙ[ⲏⲧ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟ[ⲩ]ⲛ[ⲁ]ⲧⲉϩⲁⲩ.
252 A&C: ⲛⲥⲉⲡⲱⲧ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓ[ⲙ].

242.21 to which ⟨they⟩[253] come, they leave … and take life[254]
242.22 from them … sent to them[255] and the angels
242.23 seize them. Also, the cloud that rises [up]
242.24 from the mixed air and comes up to [the image]
242.25 of the Virgin, its sign is this, that [their living beings][256]
242.26 are purified by it[257] in rest and peace. These Archons, however,
242.27 who are stripped of this cloud, they come
242.28 down from every place (in which) they are found …
242.29 They cause them(?) … …
242.30 The colour[258] … until [the angels come …][259]

243.1 they seize them and take them in their midst. Their strippings,
243.2 which are left behind at every place
243.3 that they reach, either the begetting of trees or the begetting [of]
243.4 flesh, they bear to the middle … withering(?),
243.5 they cause great danger, but (as for)
243.6 these Archons, the angels are also [sent]
243.7 to the middle and draw the Light from them and
243.8 throw the demons down to those Seven Pits, [which] (are)
243.9 beyond the Great Sea that is the passage of
243.10 the waters found outside of the cosmos.
243.11 Then, his disciples said to him: Open our eyes,
243.12 our Lord, to which place these Seven Pits come
243.13 down to. [The Apostle] spoke to them:
243.14 These pits and these roads [descend][260] until
243.15 they reach the lower earths, and [meet][261] the
243.16 feet of the Porter. Hear, also this other thing:
243.17 Sometimes these angels are dispatched to them
243.18 to catch the Archons. When the Archons …
243.19 because the angels pursue them, they approach[262] them …
243.20 those who are given the commands. But, these Archons
243.21 free themselves and bear
243.22 [the tree] and [the flesh] and swallow them in these two[263] offspring,
243.23 [that of the][264] tree and that of the flesh. The angels leave their

253 A&C: ⲉⲧ⟨ⲟⲩ⟩ⲛⲁⲉⲓ.
254 A&C: ⲟⲩⲱⲛ[ϩ].
255 A&C: ⲧⲛⲛⲁ̣ⲩ [ϩ]ⲓⲣⲉ̣ⲧⲟⲩ.
256 A&C: ⲱ̣ⲁ̣ⲣⲉ̣ⲟ̣[ⲩⲱⲛϩ].
257 A&C: ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ.
258 A&C: ⲉⲟⲩⲉⲛ.
259 A&C: ⲱⲁⲛ[ⲧ]ⲉ ⲛ̣ⲁⲣⲧⲉ̣[ⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲓ … . . ⲛ̄].
260 A&C: ⲛⲓⲙ[ⲗⲁⲓ]ⲧ [ⲃⲏⲕ ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄] ⲱⲁⲛ-.
261 A&C: ⲛⲥ̣ⲉ̣ⲧⲱⲙⲧ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲣⲏ |[16]ⲧⲉ̣.
262 A&C: ⲥⲉϯϩⲛⲟ̣.
263 A&C: ⲥ[ⲛ]ⲉⲩ.
264 A&C: [ⲡⲁⲡ][ⲱ]ⲏⲛ.

243.24 … behind, so that they might guard them until the moment when
243.25 [these] Archons will be stripped of the tree and the
243.26 [flesh] and go up to the height. They also gather
243.27 … … height and they draw them out from
243.28 … … to them in their first
243.29 [forms and images],[265] those that they first bore,

244.1 and they take the Light from those left behind.
244.2 But, they too throw them down to these Seven outer
244.3 [Paths] that are in the Great Sea, the place where
244.4 they threw these first ones. When they return to the middle
244.5 … come and bear the Light that is in them.
244.6 Behold, then, I have opened your eyes concerning this cloud, how
244.7 it ascends to the height and (how) the living beings that are purified in it.
244.8 I have also taught you (about) the Archons that are in it, how
244.9 they cause these adversities and how they are seized
244.10 and thrown into the prison below by the angels
244.11 who were given the command by the power of the Virgin
244.12 of Light, she who has authority over the entire Zone to[266] purify
244.13 the living beings that are in it. Then, after his disciples
244.14 heard [these things from him],[267] they glorified him, saying:
244.15 You … [(have) revealed][268] all the secrets, o
244.16 instructor of all revelations. We thank
244.17 you, our father, with great professions, since you have
244.18 opened our eyes concerning everything. You have given us great
244.19 [staffs][269] of knowledge, so that through them we might give discrimination
244.20 to those who hear us.

[265] A&C: ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲣ |[29][ⲫⲁⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲓ]ⲓ̣ⲕⲱⲛ.
[266] A&C: ⲁ̣ⲥⲱ |[13]ⲧⲟ̄ⲩ̄.
[267] A&C: ⲥⲱⲧ[ⲙⲉ ⲁ]ⲛⲉⲓ̈ [ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ̄ⲩ̄].
[268] A&C: ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ[ⲕ . .] … . . [ⲟⲱⲗⲙ̄] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ.
[269] A&C: ⲍⲣ[ⲁⲃ]ⲇ̣ⲟⲥ.

CHAPTER 100

ON THE DRAGON, THE ONE WITH FOURTEEN HEADS; WHAT IS IT AND . . .

251.29 [Again] one of his disciples asked the [Apostle . . .]
251.30 . . . . . spreading . . . . . .
251.31 . . . . . .
251.32 . . . . . .

252.1 The laws of the Magi say that there is a
252.2 dragon with fourteen heads holed
252.3 up (in his) lair, in *Five Hollows!* Now, I implore
252.4 you, my lord, that you open my eyes concerning this statement.
252.5 Is there really a real[270]
252.6 dragon who has fourteen heads or is there, rather, a spiritual
252.7 explanation? Then the Apostle said to him:
252.8 There is never any dragon in the flesh, nor does it have fourteen heads,
252.9 as the Magi claim. Rather, this statement is a [parable][271]
252.10 that they have proclaimed in [error(?)][272]
252.11 . . . the Magi did not know, however, the true
252.12 meaning of[273] all the statements that they recorded,
252.13 [supposing them] (to be) real.[274] This is also the way with this
252.14 dragon, which they . . . considering it (to be) a real
252.15 dragon . . . I will open our eyes
252.16 to . . . . . the dragon is the teaching . . .
252.17 . . . . . of the flesh . . .
252.18 . . . the fourteen heads, however, which are attributed to
252.19 the [dragon], they are like this: the seven senses that are found
252.20 on [the] head of the body, which are the two eyes with which
252.21 it sees, the two ears with which it hears,
252.22 the two nostrils with which it smells, as well as
252.23 its tongue[275] with which he selects and tastes

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[270] I take σωματικόν here to mean "real", rather than "bodily" or "corporeal", states that imply real existence. The disciple seems to want to know whether such a dragon *really* exists.

[271] A&C: ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁ[ⲃⲟ] |[10][ⲗⲏ] ⲡⲉ.

[272] A&C: ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧ[ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧ].

[273] A&C: ⲇ[ⲉ] ⲁ̣ⲑ̣ⲉ̣[ⲣ] |[12][ⲙⲏⲛ]ⲓ̣ⲁ̣ ⲙ̣ⲙ̣ⲏ̣[ⲉ].

[274] A&C: ⲁ[ⲣⲁ]ⲩ ⲉⲩ |[13]ⲱ̣[ⲡ ⲛ̄]ⲙ̣ⲁⲩ ⲁ[ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ]ⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ.

[275] A&C: ⲡ]ⲉ̣ⲭⲙⲁⲛ̣[ⲭ]ⲓ[ⲧⲡ]ⲉ.

252.24 the various flavours that are found in every form.
252.25 [These are] the seven heads of the dragon, the seven
252.26 senses that (are part of) the human form …
252.27 … below. The seven of the body
252.28 are these: two hips,[276] two buttocks, [two …]
252.29 … Archon … …
252.30 … … … …
252.31 … … [the] seven [heads that]

253.1 above and below, they add up and make [four]teen
253.2 heads for the dragon. The *Five Pits*, however, which they
253.3 spoke about, in which the dragon is holed
253.4 up (and) spread, they are these: The first is [the] tongue,
253.5 the second is the lung, the third is the heart,
253.6 the fourth is the spleen, and the fifth is the [blood that]
253.7 flows through them. He also looks out from them [and]
253.8 reveals his image and his appearance from above
253.9 and below as he makes war [with]
253.10 his fourteen heads. He who recognizes
253.11 the dragon, which is the desire of [the]
253.12 body, struggles with it, conquers it, and kills
253.13 it in them, will thus [he be called][277]
253.14 the righteous one, holy and elect, a good
253.15 man. He conquers without suffering on the day [of] his
253.16 advent. Behold, then, I have taught you about the dragon, the
253.17 one with fourteen heads and his *Five Pits*,
253.18 in which he hides and conceals (himself), doing his will
253.19 from them at all times. Then this disciple said
253.20 to him: My heart is persuaded, my lord, by that which you have
253.21 proclaimed to me. You have taught me about the dragon, the one with fourteen
253.22 heads. Blessed is everyone in whom it is dead, killed,
253.23 or damaged. He will live forever and become a person who is victorious
253.24 in all his works.

[276] A&C: ⲧⲕⲉ[ϩ]ⲧⲉ.
[277] A&C: ⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲓ[ϩ]ⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲙ[ⲟ]ⲩⲧ[ⲉ] ⲁⲣⲁ[ⲫ] ⲉⲩⲛ[ⲁ]ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ |[14][ⲁ]ⲣⲁⲫ.

CHAPTER 103

ON THE FIVE WONDERWORKS THAT THE LIGHT-MIND REVEALS IN THE ELECT

257.12 Again, the Apostle spoke: The Light-Mind
257.13 works *Five Light-Wonders* for the Elect. The first
257.14 sign is the Wisdom that the Elect preaches
257.15 and proclaims in all its forms, in all its kinds,
257.16 (and) in all its places. The second is Faith,
257.17 since after his preaching of Wisdom, he … the Wisdom[278]
257.18 preached and the others hear it and believe.
257.19 The third is [the] … … in his Wisdom
257.20 by his preaching, with which he proclaims Peace
257.21 to the assembly of his brothers …
257.22 [The] fourth is Love, because he loves Wisdom and the
257.23 brothers and sisters who sit in his [presence.]
257.24 [The] fifth is the terrible Severity of Judgement, with which
257.25 he separates those who have not received the hope[279] of God. Also, those
257.26 in error, whom he finds in the Church, he severely judges
257.27 them rightly on account of their foolishness.
257.28 [The] Light-[Mind] places these *Five Signs* in the New Man,
257.29 [whom] it has purified, refined, raised up, (and)
257.30 [saved] … Blessed is everyone
257.31 … … the Mind and is diligent in his Wisdom
257.32 … this other thing: These *Five Signs*

258.1 are established and perfected in him and perfect him so that
258.2 [he might] become a spotless vessel and a priceless pearl[280]
258.3 forever and ever.

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[278] A&C: ⲉ[.] . . ⲭⲧⲁ … [. .] . . ⲁⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ.

[279] Here "hope" is synonymous with "message" or "gospel" (see *Kephalaia*, "Prologue" 7.18–8.7 and *Kephalaia* 371.6–30). Possibly a reflection of Syriac ܒܫܪܬܐ "gospel" from ܫܒܪ "hope."

[280] Compare *Kephalaia* Chapter 91 "On the Catechumen" (1 Ke 230.6–11).

CHAPTER 104

ON FOOD, THAT IT IS APPOINTED TO FIVE PRODUCTS IN THE HUMAN BODY

258.7 [Again] he spoke to his disciples: The food that
258.8 people gather together of every kind,
258.9 so that they might eat it and (have) it enter into the body, it breaks down into
258.10 *Five Products*. The first product is that which
258.11 comes out of the human being in amazement, raises in
258.12 the Mind, and comes out of all the limbs—it is without
258.13 measure. The second is that which comes out of the
258.14 human being in sound and word. The third is that which
258.15 leaps from them in power and diligence.
258.16 The fourth is that which is produced in the pleasure of desire
258.17 between male and female. The fifth is that
258.18 which is made and formed in the flesh and
258.19 is produced and issues from them—this is this corporeal
258.20 product. This product, which they produce, only its
258.21 parents know. Its affection and its
258.22 reason and its love they seek daily for
258.23 all time. The other four products they do not perceive,
258.24 nor do they pity them, since
258.25 they are not evident to them.

CHAPTER 107

ON THE KIND OF SPEECH THAT . . .

260.31 Again, he spoke about the production of speech, which [comes]
260.32 from the mouth and is heard with the [ears].
260.33 He said … … …

261.1 … and the throat draws it in, the tongue
261.2 is spread, the teeth cut it, and the lips [gather]
261.3 it together. Speech comes out through the power of [these *Five*]
261.4 *Limbs* and is heard outside. Just as
261.5 a coin that one (person) smelts, [another]
261.6 forges, and still another cuts as it is turned, another
261.7 puts a seal on it, (while) another wipes the sieve, [so]
261.8 these *Five Craftsmen* beautify and fashion [their]
261.9 coin, and it comes into people's use and becomes a good
261.10 by which they buy and sell—so too is this speech
261.11 fashioned and adorned by the *Five* [*Limbs*],
261.12 when it comes out (and) is heard by the ears [of]
261.13 others.

CHAPTER III

ON THE FOUR QUALITIES THAT ARE FOUND IN THE EYE AND THE FIFTH, WHICH IS HIDDEN IN THEM; TO WHOM THEY BELONG

265.13 [Again] he spoke: There are Four Qualities found in [the eyes][281]
265.14 of human beings that see, as they look at … …
265.15 [without][282] the four that are hidden in them … they belong …
265.16 While [the cold] that is in the [eye] belongs [to them, the heat(?)][283]
265.17 belongs to the fire. The pupil,[284] however, belongs to the Light-
265.18 Mind, which perceives what is hidden in all things,
265.19 since it inhabits the Living Air.
265.20 [Again] he spoke: Why does the pupil of the eye [see],
265.21 seeing during the day, but the approaching night it [does not see]?
265.22 Which mystery does this signify?
265.23 [This (thing),[285] which] you do not know, I will explain [it]
265.24 [to you.[286] The fact that] the pupil of the eye [cannot see at night]
265.25 [signifies the] mystery of the [First Man] …
265.26 … … is the door …
265.27 … … below …
265.28 … the other four regions. Since in the …
265.29 … … above, he has …
265.30 … … great … they have …
265.31 … … also that which comes down[287] …
265.32 … … the Living Spirit[288] …

266.1 [the] First Man has risen through him (and) has known
266.2 everything.

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281 A&C: ϩN[N̄Bϵⲗ].
282 A&C: [xω]ⲣiⲥ.
283 A&C: [… .]ϣ ⲙϵN ϵTϩN̄ ⲡⲃ̣[ϵ]ⲗ̣ [ϵ][ⲫ]ⲏ̣[ⲡ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ]ⲩ.
284 A&C: ⲕϵⲕϵ.
285 A&C: [ⲡϵⲓ̈ ϵⲧ]ϵⲧN̄-.
286 A&C: [ⲛⲏⲧN̄ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲡϵⲓ̈].
287 A&C: [± 16]ⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲧϵⲧⲁϩϵⲓ.
288 A&C: [± 15 ⲡ]ⲡⲛϵⲩⲙⲁ̣ ϵⲧⲁⲛϩ̄.

CHAPTER 112B

(ON THE FIVE THINGS REVEALED BY JESUS)

267.18 Then, after he had proclaimed this,
267.19 at that moment one of his disciples said
267.20 to him from among those standing before him: Tell
267.21 us, our Lord, and clarify to us this matter.
267.22 If this likeness of humanity does not belong to
267.23 God, as you spoke about, why did Jesus come into
267.24 the world, the Son of the Living God, reveal
267.25 himself (and) suffer tribulation and persecution, get hung
267.26 upon the cross (and) have his enemies commit against him the
267.27 torture and shame of their wickedness?
267.28 [The] Apostle [said] to him: Jesus did not come (and) reveal[289]
267.29 (himself) to the world because of humanity alone, but
267.30 [rather, before he][290] came (and) revealed (himself) on the earth,
267.31 [he accomplished first his][291] great and strong [works] outside of
267.32 [the great world].[292] But, when he finished doing his

268.1 [work] outside of the great world, he came …
268.2 [he *sōrs*][293] out with Adam and Eve (and) revealed [to them].
268.3 Indeed it was he who sent the Apostles for the Good
268.4 to every generation, and revealed to them *Five Great Things*:
268.5 [First]: He told them that they belonged to the race of Light.
268.6 Second: He revealed to them about the Aeons [of Great-]
268.7 [ness], how they exist, and he taught them about [the]
268.8 [nature][294] of Darkness, how it too exists.
268.9 The Third time: He proclaimed to them about the [Heroism][295]
268.10 of Light, how it overcame the power
268.11 [of] Darkness (and) defeated it.
268.12 Fourth: He taught them that he had come to the region of death
268.13 in their midst, which is the flesh, until he might benefit them and bring
268.14 them from the gate of hell below in which they

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289 A&C: ⲁⲫⲟⲩ[ⲱⲛ][ⲍ].
290 A&C: [ⲍⲁⲧⲉⲍⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲙⲡⲁ]ⲧⲉ[ⲩ]ⲉⲓ.
291 A&C: [ⲁⲫⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ][ⲍ]ⲱⲃ.
292 A&C: [ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ].
293 A&C: [ⲁⲫ]ⲥⲱⲣⲱ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ (meaning unknown).
294 A&C: [ⲧⲟⲩ] |[8][ⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄]ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ.
295 A&C: ⲧⲏⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲁⲫⲓⲣⲉ].

were engulfed. The Fifth: He opened our eyes (to the fact)
that the rebels will be bound by a great fetter, those who
rebel against the Good and against the righteousness
which has been proclaimed by the Apostle.

CHAPTER 137

ON THE FIVE TYPES OF BROTHERHOOD THAT ARE DISTINCT FROM ONE ANOTHER

338.22 Again, the Apostle spoke to his disciples …
338.23 as he was sitting among his community: There [are *Five*]
338.24 *Types* (of Brotherhood) found in the Church that I have chosen. The [first]
338.25 are the "brothers," the second are the "children," the [third are]
338.26 the "disciples," the fourth are the "day-labourers," (and the fifth are)
338.27 … (the "slaves")[296] … …
338.28 … which are in it … …
338.29 … the people of righteousness …
338.30 … … … …
338.31 … after he mad e it ready … …

339.1 … their [shadow(?)] is light in the Church …
339.2 … this way. The Light-Mind …
339.3 … which is their shepherd and separates them from …
339.4 … each one according to the hue that it …
339.5 … for they are like brothers, who do not hide themselves [from]
339.6 the task which is appointed them, but rather the task which [they]
339.7 are able to do in the Church, they really do it.
339.8 [The] "children," however, are those caring and wise people,
339.9 the craftsmen, those considerate people …
339.10 … every moment, as they preach the truth always, with
339.11 no falsehood in their mouths at all. Every single Church
339.12 in which a judgement is found, they do not … this
339.13 judgement, but rather they judge according to righteous
339.14 judgement. They do even more and seek God.[297]
339.15 But, they do not separate from him, since they are [his] "children".
339.16 [The] "disciples," too, they are honourable and
339.17 patient people, splendid sheep, who live in
339.18 wisdom, following their teacher in patience
339.19 … as they follow the foot-prints of their shepherd, who
339.20 [is a guide] for them toward (what is) good and useful.
339.21 [The "day-]labourers," however, are those people who stand in

[296] See 340.15. W.-P. Funk, *Kephalaia (I): Zweite Hälfte [Lieferung 13–14]* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1999), 168 note line 338.27.
[297] Funk, *personal communication*.

339.22 righteousness according to three things: on account of the … in order to
339.23 … and on account of the clothing in order to acquire and wear,
339.24 and on account of bodily honour, since they are honoured
339.25 by empty praise until the time
339.26 … When one of these three [things] will be lacking,
339.27 [they …] and they flee and become strangers
339.28 … … … their guide
339.29 … … … …

340.1 But, [the "slaves,"] they are the people who reproach
340.2 … their spirit, which is full of vanity, as they …
340.3 … are heedless and cruel, not heeding
340.4 [their] shepherd. But, their sign is this: as long as …
340.5 … the rest, as they stand in the Church. But, when
340.6 tribulation rises against them
340.7 and persecution comes upon them, they attach themselves to whatever comes
340.8 to them immediately and carry it away by stealth and run away from the
340.9 Church, without anyone knowing, (and) become strangers to it, and
340.10 go to another foreign place—while the people of this place
340.11 do not know—so that they might do the will of their
340.12 desire. Because of this, I say to you
340.13 that blessed is every one who guards himself and does not accept
340.14 the type of these two foreign races, which are the
340.15 "day-labourers" and the "slaves" who are in the
340.16 Holy Church. Rather, he (should) receive … the type of these
340.17 other three: the "brothers," or the "children," or the "disciples,"
340.18 accepting their type so that he might live forever
340.19 in their (Way of) Life.

CHAPTER 146

THE OLD MAN HAS FIVE FOODS TO LIVE ON; THE NEW MAN HAS FIVE OTHERS

348.31 [Again] he spoke … … …

349.1 there is holy food with which the Holy
349.2 Spirit feeds his children, as he …
349.3 … through them in the holy images …
349.4 … … … …
349.5 [The] first food is the spirit, that [of the great(?)]
349.6 teacher, that of the leaders, that of the brothers, and that [of] the
349.7 sisters, which the perfect Elect see and
349.8 rejoice in.
349.9 The second food is the prayer that he (i.e., the Elect) prays
349.10 hour after hour.
349.11 The third food is the joy that he
349.12 proclaims hour after hour and rejoices in.
349.13 The fourth food is the preaching [that he preaches]
349.14 everywhere he goes.
349.15 The fifth food is a holy book that he carries
349.16 in his hand, either reading everything written inside
349.17 or listening to the one who reads it. Or, having read,
349.18 he gets others to listen
349.19 and finds the way to make them read it.
349.20 These are the *Five Foods* which the Elect
349.21 … practices and receives …
349.22 … … the food of life
349.23 … life through it forever.
349.24 Again, he spoke: *Five Foods* also come
349.25 [from] Matter, those on which it feeds …
349.26 … the image of the Old Man.
349.27 [The first] food is every sight of the world
349.28 the various … of pleasant forms
349.29 [that] he will see and rejoice at.
349.30 [The second] food is the evil discourses …
349.31 … the telling of holy myths
349.32 … and the lying speech (found) in
349.33 [them] … the statements and exaggerations …
349.34 … to proclaim, profiting them …
349.35 [The third food] is the beautiful work …

349.36 … … hou ıs of …
349.37 [The fourth food] is the food [of the world(?)]

350.1 which people eat and from which they are sated and rest.
350.2 The [fifth] food is the sexual desire
350.3 with which people fornicate.
350.4 These [are] the *Five Foods* of Matter which
350.5 … sin, (and) from which the Old Man
350.6 eats and becomes strong.
350.7 Blessed is every holy Elect who keeps his
350.8 heart from these *Five Foods* and the dinners of
350.9 Matter … all to snare and sin
350.10 … and drive him to their retribution and their
350.11 torment, under which they will (have to) suffer, that is, those who eat from
350.12 [them].

CHAPTER 148

ON THE FIVE BOOKS, THAT THEY BELONG TO FIVE FATHERS

355.4 Again the Enlightener spoke to his disciples:
355.5 These great writings that I have written for you, they are
355.6 gifts given freely to you by the Fathers of
355.7 Light.
355.8 The great *Living Gospel* is the gift
355.9 of the Messenger
355.10 The *Treasure of Life* is the gift of the Column of
355.11 Glory. The *Pragmateia* and the *Book*
355.12 *of Mysteries* and the *Writing of the Giants*, these
355.13 three holy writings which form a single one,
355.14 they are the gifts of the Light-Twin.
355.15 All the *Epistles*, too, that I have written to you,
355.16 from time to time, they are my gifts and my
355.17 presents. This is the good fruit that I have given
355.18 [to you] from the Good Tree.
355.19 [Be thankful], you yourselves, my beloved,
355.20 [be] encouraged by these good writings,
355.21 [those] which have been freely given to you by
355.22 [the Fathers] of Light. Receive them into your
355.23 [hearts] and believe in them. Write them on you
355.24 … memory, for you will …
355.25 [through them] to eternal life.

CHAPTER 165

ENVY EXISTS IN FIVE FORMS

409.10 [Again] the Enlightener spoke to his disciples: …
409.11 … … … …
409.12 … what is envy? …[298]
409.13 … … … …
409.14 … … … …
409.15 … … … …
409.16 … … … …
409.17 … … … …
409.18 … … … …
409.19 … … … …
409.20 … being wise in wisdom …
409.21 … Also, the third envy is …
409.22 … … … …
409.23 … … … …
409.24 … … … …
409.25 … … … …
409.26 … on account of what … envying …
409.27 … living in … …
409.28 … … … …
409.29 … … … …
409.30 ?
409.31 ?

410.1 either [in] the name of a teacher or because of a
410.2 disciple, either great or small …
410.3 Envy … … …
410.4 alms … … …
410.5 b rother(?) … … …
410.6 … … … …
410.7 … … … …
410.8 … … … …
410.9 … … … …
410.10 … … … …
410.11 … … … …
410.12 Behold, I have clarified for you envy (and)
410.13 its *Five Forms* … … …

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[298] Funk, *personal communication.*

410.14 from you … so that you do not [envy]
410.15 one another … envy …
410.16 one another … envy …
410.17 you … … …
410.18 great … … …
410.19 fight … … …
410.20 toil … Blessed is every one [who separates]
410.21 himself from every envy … …
410.22 … … … …

CHAPTER 176

ON SPIRITUAL TRANSITION IN [FIVE(?)] FORMS AND THAT THROUGH WHICH THE CHURCH ADAPTS

452.31 Again the Apostle spoke to his [disciples who sat]
452.32 in his presence about the [transition . . .]

453.1 . . . done in the Church. He said [to them]:
453.2 [There are] *Five Transitions*, through which . . .
453.3 . . . transitions from [the] body.
453.4 [The first] transition: He passes from the body
453.5 of heaven and earth and the body of human beings. Afterwards,
453.6 he will come to this statue of humanity.
453.7 [The second] transition: He changes from the
453.8 . . . . . .
453.9 . . . . . bearing the body . . .
453.10 . . . the Catechumen.
453.11 [The third] transition: He changes . . .
453.12 . . . . . .
453.13 . . . riches and . . . . . .
453.14 . . . the world and his . . . . . .
453.15 . . . and the [just(?)] . . . . . his righteousness
453.16 he bears the body . . . their righteousness
453.17 . . . . . .
453.18 . . . . . .
453.19 . . . . . .
453.20 . . . . . .
453.21 . . . . . .
453.22 . . . . . .
453.23 . . . . . .
453.24 . . . in the place . . . from the . . .
453.25 . . . . . to the good place . . .
453.26 . . . . . the soul . . .
453.27 . . . . . in the resting place . . .
453.28 . . . The fourth transition . . . . . .
453.29 . . . . . pass . . .
453.30 . . . . . the life of the human being in . . .
453.31 . . . . . .

454.1 The . . . which it . . . . . .
454.2 . . . the entire profit that is polluted . . .

454.3 every … and earthen vessels and herbs …
454.4 … the vessel so that he may acquire it …
454.5 … … the quarrel …
454.6 … retum … …
454.7 … … … …
454.8 … … … …
454.9 … … … …
454.10 … changes … …
454.11 … rest … …
454.12 … … great …
454.13 … … … …
454.14 … … great …
454.15 … … … …
454.16 … … … …
454.17 … … … …
454.18 … … … …
454.19 … … … …
454.20 … … … …
454.21 … … … …
454.22 … … … …
454.23 … … twelve …
454.24 … … … …
454.25 … every … …
454.26 … … … …
454.27 … … … …
454.28 … a man, and he changes …
454.29 … … … …

455.1 … the New Man, who comes to him …
455.2 … he becomes a healthy man …
455.3 … and he does the will that his good physician
455.4 has prescribed for him, which is the commandment of [transition].
455.5 [He] becomes a solitary …
455.6 … as is written in the scripture.
455.7 [He said]: There are *Five* other *Transitions*,
455.8 through which the human being transitions in …
455.9 [of the] body. The first transition that [he experiences]
455.10 is [this]: When the time comes and he leaves his
455.11 body, he passes from the body of destruction,
455.12 from the image of flesh and blood, and abandons human
455.13 custom, he renounces all the mirages
455.14 of this world and enters into the presence of the Great
455.15 [Judge]. His deeds … him before
455.16 [the] Judge of Truth. The second transition
455.17 [that] he experiences: He passes from …
455.18 … … to the First Man …
455.19 … [the] Enlightener of the Night toward the place that …

455.20 … it receives him … …
455.21 … this Holy Church.
455.22 The third transition is this: He passes from
455.23 [the Enlightener] of the Night and goes to the place of the
455.24 Enlightener of the Day. He enters the Ship of the Day
455.25 … holy … of his riches …
455.26 … he has glorified(?) … …
455.27 … … again to the Ship of
455.28 [the Night. The fourth] transition: [He] passes
455.29 [from the Third] Messenger and
455.30 [transitions …] and goes to the place of the Great

456.1 [First] Righteous One. He reaches him and rests in himself …
456.2 … of the teacher. The Great First Righteous One …
456.3 … with the spirit of his brothers and they …
456.4 … and he reaches this place and rejoices for them.
456.5 [The last] transition is when he changes from …
456.6 … at the end time. On the day when the Father will …
456.7 [unveil his(?)] face and all the Fathers of Light
456.8 … to the secrets of the Father, this Elect
456.9 will also rise and all the spirits
456.10 of his brothers elect, and will come to the
456.11 Father, the God of Truth, and find rest by
456.12 their Father. They remain with him for all time, which …
456.13 they, too, the course will suffice for them. The …
456.14 … he will purify them and send them to peace [and]
456.15 rest, and he (will) raise them up and assign them [each]
456.16 one in his place. They (will) dwell in the Light [and]
456.17 live forever, [being] in the heart of the Father …
456.18 … These are the *Five* [*Spiritual*] *Transitions*
456.19 through which the spiritual person passes
456.20 from place to place. But whenever …
456.21 … and they reveal life in the presence [of the Aeon] …
456.22 … forever. Because of this, I say to you
456.23 that blessed is every faithful Elect [who knows]
456.24 that the commandment of this transition is great before … because
456.25 of it, he will become a perfect and thoughtful man, so
456.26 that he might perfect all the commandments …
456.27 and [become] free of fault …
456.28 … … … …
456.29 … the transition. Again [he spoke:(?) I implore you(?) my]
456.30 lord, that you tell me about and [open my eyes to]
456.31 the commandment of transition. The …

457.1 … … also transitions …
457.2 … … from … belongs to
457.3 [whose mystery]? Or does the testimony of this

457.4 [transition] …? Then the Apostle spoke to this
457.5 [disciple]: Rightly have you asked. I will tell
457.6 [you] … say …
457.7 … … … …
457.8 … … … …
457.9 … … likeness of the mystery of …
457.10 … … The soul also …
457.11 … … it will live …
457.12 … … … …
457.13 … the transition of … but …
457.14 … it will bear the earths and clothe them
457.15 … tribulation. … it will cast out in
457.16 … [Sun(?)] and Moon and bears
457.17 … … … …
457.18 … … spirit …
457.19 … … … …
457.20 … … it bears the …
457.21 … Again, it distils it and purifies the
457.22 … and it … and it transitions
457.23 … from every body of the world …
457.24 … … … …
457.25 … … … …
457.26 … … … …
457.27 … first. The power …
457.28 … … … …
457.29 … … … …
457.30 … … passes from …

458.1 rest, those who live in the *Five Dwellings* …
458.2 this transition of stillness.
458.3 [The] first transition is this: [It ascends into]
458.4 the Living Air and comes into the …
458.5 holy, distilled, (and) purified. The [second transition]:
458.6 It ascends to the Column [of Glory and enters the]
458.7 ship of the First Man, which shines …
458.8 The third transition: [It leaves(?) … the]
458.9 ship of the First Man and goes …
458.10 so that every vessel that shines is purified. [The fourth]
458.11 transition: It exits … …
458.12 also the air of the creations and the …
458.13 … The fifth transition … …
458.14 … from [the] Great First Righteous One to …
458.15 … the greatness … and enters his …
458.16 … … from the …
458.17 the chambers of the world … …
458.18 … … … …
458.19 pottery … … …

458.20 … … … …
458.21 … it leaves behind … …
458.22 … in its transition … …
458.23 … it shines and glorifies and …
458.24 … Then, when … …
458.25 … it remains in him … …
458.26 … from … …
458.27 … the living … …
458.28 … the place of enmity … …
458.29 purified also. It goes … …
458.30 [our] image(?), but … [it leaves]
458.31 behind the upper earth and goes … …

459.1 … … … …
459.2 … … … …
459.3 … the Church … …
459.4 … the transition … …
459.5 … Church, and they …
459.6 … and they … …
459.7 … and they are saved … …
459.8 … … … …
459.9
459.10
459.11
459.12
459.13
459.14
459.15 *Middle part of page is not preserved*
459.16
459.17
459.18
459.19
459.20
459.21
459.22 … … holy …
459.23 … … fasting …
459.24 … … which are above …
459.25 … … the holy assembly …
459.26 … … in the height …
459.27 … … he, too, …
459.28 … … small and they …
459.29 … … also …
459.30 … … … …
459.31 … … … …

460.1 … … … …
460.2 … … … …

460.3 . . . . . .
460.4 . . . . . .
460.5 . . . . . .

CHAPTER 189

[ON THE FIVE TEMPTATIONS]

484.20 [Again] … … …
484.21 … … … …
484.22 … … … …
484.23 … … … …
484.24 … … … …
484.25 … … … …
484.26 … … … …
484.27 … … … …

485.1 … and he resists the temptation …
485.2 … and his heart does [not] sink …
485.3 … the desire for something to eat and something to drink …
485.4 … resisting the temptation and he becomes
485.5 … the purification of his food …
485.6 … perfect and true.
485.7 [The] second temptation is when …
485.8 … … … …
485.9 … has established … …
485.10 … … … …
485.11 … … … …
485.12 … this one, however, … the temptation of the …
485.13 … and he … the truth.
485.14 [The third] temptation is when …
485.15 … and suffers from it …
485.16 … … … …
485.17 … … … …
485.18 … and leaves his … …
485.19 … … … …
485.20 … … … …
485.21 … … by which he is tested …
485.22 … … … …
485.23 … The fourth temptation is the desire for women
485.24 … … … …
485.25 … … desire for possessions
485.26 … … wants to let it fall
485.27 … … this perfect Elect has not
485.28 … … and he does not defeat and does not move
485.29 … [but he resists] it.
485.30 [The fifth is this:] When a persecution

486.1 [happens] in … beyond the persecutor …
486.2 … the Sects, those who stand in …
486.3 … tribulation. Or again as they …
486.4 … as they strike him with whips …
486.5 … and they come to crucify him and he does not turn …
486.6 … from his truth and he bears every thing …
486.7 … wrath, bond, (and) crucifixion. In these *Five*
486.8 *Temptations* … … of the Elect
486.9 … he receives the … of … When [he]
486.10 … increases in faith and becomes righteous …
486.11 his knowledge … temptation …
486.12 … and he returns immediately and reveals
486.13 the truth and … gives …
486.14 … … … …

CHAPTER 191

THERE ARE FIVE PROPERTIES IN THE *IMAGE* OF OUR APOSTLE SYMBOLIZING THE FIVE LIGHT FATHERS

487.9 [Again] he spoke to his disciples: There are *Five Properties*
487.10 in the *Image* … in the *Five* …
487.11 … The first is the humble aspect …
487.12 … it is with this property that I have acquired my Church …
487.13 … … and bear the temptation of [good(?) and]
487.14 just [souls(?)] … … …
487.15 … humble … …
487.16 … … … …
487.17 … … … …
487.18 … apostle, the twelve …
487.19 … … … …
487.20 … … the First Man …
487.21 … … chosen …
487.22 … … The third property …
487.23 … … … …
487.24 … … the First Man …
487.25 … he and … …
487.26 … … … …
487.27 … … … …
487.28 … … I have …
487.29 … … … *Image*

488.1 … the beauty revealed to you in the *Image* …
488.2 … … he reveals …
488.3 … in a beautiful image he has saved(?) …
488.4 … through the beauty of his image.
488.5 [The] fifth property is my light-wisdom …
488.6 … … from the Living Fire which …
488.7 … weed(?), but, while I receive the property of …
488.8 … [laying on of hands(?)].[299] Since in his wisdom and his …
488.9 … in all the worlds, he has revealed
488.10 … … … …
488.11 … … … …
488.12 [wears] their flesh. It is his own will that he has done [in]

[299] Funk, *Kephalaia (I): Zweite Hälfte*, 488 [432], note line 8.

488.13 all [the] worlds, in his wisdom, (and) in his love.
488.14 [This is also that way that] I have chosen my Church …
488.15 … … … …
488.16 … … … …
488.17 … … the soul of the …
488.18 … … he received …
488.19 … … … …
488.20 … … … …
488.21 … all … which I have come to love …
488.22 … … … …
488.23 … … … …
488.24 … Father … …
488.25 … … … …
488.26 … … … …
488.27 … again, b dongs to … …
488.28 … I have left it, I have chosen …
488.29 … … … …
488.30 … … … …

489.1 … wicked evil …
489.2 [the] wicked desire of evil …
489.3 … in this *Image* of …
489.4 daily, namely, those who have seen me …
489.5 depict the images, it depicts in their hearts …
489.6 their inner image perfected in my *Image* …
489.7 … likeness and vision of silence.
489.8 [The] fifth: Through my light-wisdom I have separated
489.9 good from evil, Light from
489.10 Darkness. I have separated Error from …
489.11 … their god. I have given victory to them through my …
489.12 … victory. All the Sects …
489.13 … in the … their body …
489.14 … the Land of Light, from which they have come
489.15 … … rest forever.

CHAPTER 193

THE EVIL ONE HAS [FIVE PROPERTIES]; THE GOOD ONE HAS [FIVE OTHER PROPERTIES]

490.26 Again he spoke to his [disciples: The Evil One has]
490.27 *Five Properties*, [which are …]
490.28 slander(?),[300] murder, [greed, mixing of Light]
490.29 and Darkness. This is … …
490.30 about which I have taught you … …

491.1 [He who] acts on them and lives by them …
491.2 … the truth and the kingdom of God …
491.3 … torture and punishment forever.
491.4 [The Good One] also [has] *Five Good Qualities*,
491.5 which are fasting, pity, [almsgiving],
491.6 faith, and separation of Light [and Darkness.]
491.7 He who acts on these *Five Good Qualities* …
491.8 … … [he] will not taste [death] …
491.9 … but, he will share in life …
491.10 … well, and inherit the [kingdom of]
491.11 [God].

[300] Funk, *Kephalaia (I): Zweite Hälfte*, 490 [436].

APPENDIX

THEODORE BAR KHONAI'S RÉSUMÉ OF THE MANICHAEAN MYTH (ANNOTATED TRANSLATION)

Translated from Theodore bar Khonai's Syriac *Liber scholiorum* (ed. Addai Scher; CSCO 69; Louvain: Imprimerie orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1954, pp. 313–318), this excerpt, in spite of its relatively late date, is perhaps the most important secondary witness to how Mani likely conceived of his own cosmogonic myth, especially in terms of Syriac terminology.[1]

313.10 On his abominable teaching: It is, however, necessary that we set down
313.11 a little of the fictitious blasphemy of Mani the wicked in this book
313.12 in order to shame the Manichaeans. For he says that before
313.13 there was heaven and earth and all that is in them, there were two
313.14 natures[2]–one good and the other evil. The good
313.15 nature dwelt in the Realm of Light, and he calls him "Father
313.16 of Greatness." He also says that his *Five Shekinahs* dwelt beside him:[3]
313.17 Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, and Consideration.[4]
313.18 The evil nature he calls King[5] of Darkness and he says

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[1] In the following notes comparative references will be made to the following English, French, and German translations: Yohannan (from Williams Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, 121–154); Schubert (from Haardt, *Gnosis*, 289–295); Reeves (from *Jewish Lore*, 185–206); Reitenztein and Schaeder (from *Studien*, 342–353); Pognon (from *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, 184–193).

[2] ܟܝܢ ܚܕ̈ܐ.

[3] ܫܟ̈ܝܢܬܐ ܕܝܩܪܐ. Yohannan: "Glories"; Schubert: "dwelling-places"; Reeves: "Shekinahs."

[4] While the terms for the Five Shekinahs are notoriously difficult to translate, Burkitt suggested that they should be rendered as follows: sense (as in sanity or sound mind), reason (as in reasoning faculty), thought (or mind), imagination, and intention (as in will) (*Religion of the Manichees*, 33). Pognon translated: *l'intelligence, la science, la pensée, la réflexion*, and *le sentiment*; Yohannan: intelligence, knowledge, reason, thought, and deliberation; Reitzenstein and Schaeder: *Bewußtsein, Vernunft, Denken, Vorstellung*, and *Gesinnung*; and Reeves: mind, knowledge, intellect, thought, and reflection.

[5] Scher's text actually has ܡܠܐܟܐ "angel" of Darkness, while other manuscripts read ܡܠܟܐ "King," which is supported by other sources such as the *Acta Archelai* 12.4 and *Kephalaia Chapter 6* (see Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 201 n. 18). As Reeves points out, the epithet "Angel of Darkness" can be found in 1QS 3:20–22 (Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 201 n. 18).

313.19 that he dwelt in his Dark Land with his *Five Worlds*:[6]
313.20 the World of Smoke, the World of Fire, the World of Wind, the World of Water,
313.21 and the World of Darkness. And he says that when the King of Darkness sought
313.22 to ascend to the Realm of Light, these *Five Shekinahs* stirred
313.23 and he says that the Father of Greatness then
313.24 thought and said: "*From the worlds of these* Five Shekinahs
313.25 *I will not send from them to do battle because for tranquility and peace*
313.26 *they were created by me. Rather, I myself will go and do*
313.27 *battle.*" And he says that the Father of Greatness called the Mother
313.28 of Life, and the Mother of Life called the First Man,[7] and the First

314.1 Man called his *Five Sons*, like a man who puts on armour
314.2 for battle. And he says that an angel went forth against him, whose name
314.3 was *Nhshbt*,[8] holding in his hand a crown of victory. And he says
314.4 that he spread out light before him, i.e.,[9] First Man. When
314.5 the King of Darkness saw it, he thought and said: "*That*
314.6 *which I desired in the distance, I have found nearby.*" Then
314.7 First Man gave himself and his *Five Sons*
314.8 as food for the *Five Sons of Darkness*, like a man
314.9 who has an enemy mixes deadly poison into a cake[10] and gives it
314.10 to him. And he says that when they ate them, their reason
314.11 was taken from the *Five Shining Gods*[11] and they became like
314.12 a man bitten by a rabid dog or snake (because of) the venom

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[6] ,ⲙⲁⲑⲗⲁⲗ ⲣⲉⲩⲛ: Pognon: *cinq mondes* (*Inscriptions mandaïtes*, 184); Yohannan: "five worlds" (*Researches in Manichaeism*, 224); Reitzenstein and Schaeder: *fünf Äonen* (342); Schubert: "five Aeons"; and Reeves: "five Aeons." The translation of ⲕⲗⲁ as "world" is, however, supported by Coptic sources, especially *Kephalaia Chapter 6*, which uses the Graeco-Coptic word ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ for the five regions of darkness. The fact that matter is so closely associated with the dark realm cannot really justify the use of a term such as "aeon," which in such systems is usually reserved for entities of the higher realm.

[7] Yohannan: "Primal Man"; Schubert: "Primary Man" and "Primal Man"; Reeves: "Primal Man."

[8] Both Yohannan and Reeves leave the name unvocalized, while Schubert translates "Nachashbat." This name is not found in any other sources, although the abjuration formulae attest the term στεφανοφόρος "crown-bearer" (Reeves, 201 n. 24).

[9] The ⲛ in this construction seems to be a "pronom annonciateur" (Costaz, 507). Yohannan and Pognon attribute the spreading out of light to First Man, while Reitzenstein and Schaeder, Hespel and Draguet, and Reeves attribute the action to the angel.

[10] Schubert: "in a kitchen."

[11] According to Payne-Smith ⲙⲁⲛⲁ means "guardian" (115a), while ⲙⲁⲛⲁ is not listed with a ⲉ. Why is this? Could there also be some sort of confusion or play on words with ⲙⲁⲛⲁ "armour" (115a), since in other sources the five sons are known as First Man's "armour"?

314.13 of the Sons of Darkness. And he says that when the First Man regained
314.14 his reason and prayed to the Father of Greatness seven times
314.15 and he called the Second Calling—the Beloved of Lights,[12] and the Beloved
314.16 of Lights called the Great Builder,[13] and the Great Builder called the Living
314.17 Spirit,[14] and the Living Spirit called his[15] *Five Sons*: the Ornament of Splendour[16]
314.18 from his Mind, the Great King of Honour from his Thought,
314.19 the Adamos[17] of Light from his Insight, the King of Glory from
314.20 his Counsel, and the Porter[18] from his Consideration. They came
314.21 to the Land of Darkness and found First Man
314.22 swallowed by the Darkness along with his *Five Sons*. Then the Living
314.23 Spirit called out with his voice and the voice of the Living Spirit became like
314.24 a sharp sword and it revealed the form of the First Man,
314.25 and he said: "*Greetings to you, O good one*[19] *in the house of evil,*
314.26 *O shining one*[20] *in the house of darkness, O god who dwells in the house of*
314.27 *wrathful beasts who do not know their*[21] *honour*." Then First Man answered

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[12] ܒܚܒܝܒ… Yohannan: "Friend of Light"; Schubert: "Friend of the Lights"; Reeves: "Friend of the Luminaries."

[13] Yohannan: "Great Ban"; Schubert: "Great Architect"; Reeves: "Great *Ban*."

[14] Payne-Smith states that ܪܘܚܐ is normally feminine "except when used of the Holy Spirit" (533b), which reflects a theologically motivated interpretation of grammar. The Manichaean Living Spirit, rooted in early Syriac images of spirit, would have originally been conceived as feminine, since she is essentially an elaboration of Mother of Life, the second member of the first divine triad. The fact that the neuter word πνεῦμα was used in Greek created a gender ambiguity and an eventual shift in Coptic, in which it is considered a masculine noun.

[15] Theodore reports that the Living Spirit called forth "*his* sons" ܒܢܘܗܝ. It is not inconceivable that an eight-century author such as Theodore, accustomed to the theologically masculine interpretation of "spirit" would have naturally used the masculine suffix when referring to the sons. It cannot be assumed that this wording is taken verbatim from Mani.

[16] Yohannan: "Custody of Splendor"; Schubert: "Adornment of the Light"; Reeves: "Ornament of Splendour."

[17] Yohannan: "Adamas"; Schubert: "Adamas"; Reeves: "Adamos."

[18] Yohannan: "Supporter"; Schubert: "Bearer"; Reeves: "Porter."

[19] Yohannan: "the righteous one"; Schubert: "o Good Man"; Reeves: "O Excellent One."

[20] Yohannan: "the luminous one"; Schubert: "Creature of Light"; Reeves: "O Divine One."

[21] The manuscripts read ܒܝܩܪܗܘܢ, "their glory," which was amended by Lidzbarski to ܒܝܩܪܟ "his honour" (followed by Schaeder and Reeves), presumably referring to the Father. This reading, however, is also problematic since this is a vocative address to the First Man. Thus, it could conceivable be amended to ܒܝܩܪܟ "your glory." The original manuscript reading may simply imply that the beasts are without honour.

314.28 and said: "*Come, you who bear the merchandise of peace*."

315.1 And he said: "*How fare our fathers, the sons of*
315.2 *Light in their city?*" And the Call said to him: "*They are faring*
315.3 *well!*" And ⟨Living Spirit⟩[22] and Call and Response[23] joined with one another
315.4 and they ascended to the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit. And Living Spirit
315.5 put on the Call and the Mother of Life put on the Response, her[24] beloved
315.6 son, and they descended to the Land of Darkness to where First
315.7 Man and his sons (were). Then the Living Spirit ordered three
315.8 of his sons,[25] that one should kill and another skin the Archons, the Sons of
315.9 Darkness, and deliver (them) to the Mother of Life. The Mother of Life
315.10 stretched out the sky from their skins and made Eleven[26] Heavens.
315.11 And they threw down their corpses to the Land of Darkness and made Eight
315.12 Earths. And the *Five Sons of the Living Spirit* each
315.13 completed his task. The Ornament of Splendour is the one who holds the *Five*
315.14 *Shining Gods* by their waists and below their waists the heavens were
315.15 spread out. Also, the Porter is the one who bends down on one of his knees
315.16 and carries the earths. And after the heavens and the earths were
315.17 made the Great King of Glory sat among the heavens
315.18 and kept watch over everything. Then, the Living Spirit
315.19 revealed his forms[27] to the Sons of Darkness and from the light which had been
315.20 swallowed by them from these *Five Shining Gods* he filtered the
315.21 light and built the Sun and the Moon.[28] And (with) light that was left over from

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[22] There appears to have been some confusion by the copyist here (?).

[23] Yohannan: "the Appellant and the Respondent"; Schubert: "the Call and the Answer"; Reeves: "the Caller and the Respondent."

[24] Yohannan: "her"; Schubert: "its"; Reeves: "her."

[25] ⲛ̀ϩⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁⲗⲓ is interpreted by Yohannan, Schubert, and Reeves to mean "three of his sons" since it is clear that Living Spirit has five sons.

[26] Other sources indicated that "ten heavens" should be read instead.

[27] This perhaps indicates the same gender ambiguity as with the Third Messenger who reveals male and female aspects.

[28] Yohannan: "and the light (of the Stars) more than a thousand"; Schubert: "and over a thousand stars."

315.22 (the making of) the vessels she[29] made the wheels:[30] wind and water and fire. He
315.23 descended and forged them beneath the Porter. The King of Glory called
315.24 and raised above them a bed(?) so that they might ascend over those
315.25 Archons who are subdued by the earths that they might serve the *Five*
315.26 *Shining Gods* without being burned by the venom of the Archons.
315.27 And he says that the Mother of Life, First Man, and the Living Spirit
315.28 rose in prayer and asked of the Father of Greatness

316.1 and the Father of Greatness heard them and called the Third Evocation—
316.2 the Messenger. And the Messenger called Twelve Virgins,[31]
316.3 with their garments, their crowns, and their attributes: the first is
316.4 majesty, the second wisdom, the third victory,
316.5 the fourth persuasion, the fifth chastity, the sixth truth,
316.6 the seventh faith, the eighth patience, the ninth
316.7 uprightness, the tenth grace, the eleventh justice,
316.8 (and) the twelfth light. And when the Messenger came to those
316.9 vessels, he commanded three servants to make the vessels move.
316.10 The Great Builder he commanded to build a New Earth and Three
316.11 Vessels[32] to ascend. And when the ships went and reached the middle
316.12 of heaven, then the Messenger revealed his images, male and female,
316.13 and was manifested to all the Archons, the Sons of Darkness, male
316.14 and female. At the appearance of the Messenger, who was beautiful in his forms,
316.15 all the Archons were inflamed with lust, the males
316.16 for the image of the female, and the females for the image of the male.
316.17 They began to expel through their lust the light which they had swallowed from
316.18 the *Five Shining Gods*. Then the sin which was in them
316.19 conspired and like a hair in dough it mixed itself
316.20 with the {light}[33] which came out of the Archons and it sought
316.21 to enter in. Then, the Messenger concealed his image and separated

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[29] This feminine verb form supports the idea that the Living Spirit was conceived as a feminine being by early Manichaeans.

[30] Yohannan and Reeves translate "wheels"; Schaeder *Sphären*; Pognon *vases*.

[31] According to Reeves, the Twelve Virgins are identified with the twelve signs of the Zodiac (*Jewish Lore*, 204 n. 46), yet this needs to be reconciled with the depiction of the Zodiac found in the *Kephalaia* (see Chapter 3 above).

[32] Both Yohannan and Reeves have translated "wheels" for ܓܠ̈ܓ̈ "wheels" (see Payne-Smith, 3a).

[33] All manuscripts read ܢܝܗܪܐ "moon," which has been corrected to "light" ܢܝܗܝܠܐ by most commentators (Yohannan, 245; Reeves, 204 n. 48).

316.22 the light of the *Five Shining Gods* and the sin which (was) in them.
316.23 It (i.e., sin) then fell onto the Archons from whom it had fallen, but they did not
316.24 accept it, like a person who recoils from his vomit. It (i.e., sin) then fell down to
316.25 the earth, half on the moist (part) and half on the dry, and it became
316.26 a hateful animal in the image of the King of Darkness. The Adamos of Light
316.27 was sent against her, made war with her
316.28 and defeated her. He turned her on her back, struck her heart with a spear,[34]

317.1 and threw his shield on her mouth. He set one of his feet on
317.2 her thigh and another on her chest. That (part) which fell on dry land
317.3 sprouted itself into *Five Trees*. He says that these Daughters of
317.4 Darkness were pregnant from before by their natures
317.5 and because of the beauty of the Messenger's form which they saw, they
317.6 miscarried their foetuses[35] and they fell to the earth. They ate the seeds of the
317.7 trees. The abortions counselled with one another and remembered the form
317.8 of the Messenger which they had seen and said: "*Where is the form that we saw*?"
317.9 Then, Ashqalun, the son of the King of Darkness, said to the abortions: "*Give*
317.10 *me your sons and your daughters and I will make you*
317.11 *a form like the one you saw*." They brought (them) and gave (them) to him. He ate
317.12 the males and gave the females to Namrael,[36] his companion.
317.13 Namrael and Ashqalun then united with one another and she conceived
317.14 and gave birth to a son, and named him Adam. She conceived (again) and
317.15 gave birth to a daughter, and named her Eve. He says that Jesus the Splendour
317.16 came to Adam, the innocent, and awoke him from the sleep

[34] Manuscript reads ⲥⲁⲓⲁⲣⲧⲏ "aorta," corrected to ⲥⲁⲗⲓⲟⲩ "spear" by Cumont (See Scher 316 n. 8).

[35] Could there be a play on words here between ⲥⲁⲁⲩ "foetus" and ⲥⲁⲁⲩ "iniquity" (Payne-Smith, 405a)?

[36] There are a number of variants for the name of Ashqalun's consort (See Scher, 317 n. 4, Yohannan, 249 n. 118, Reeves, 204 n. 53), although Namrael has been adopted as standard.

317.17 of death, so that he might be delivered from many (evil) spirit(s).[37] Just as
317.18 a righteous person finds someone possessed by a mighty demon
317.19 and calms him with his skill, thus also was Adam
317.20 when the Beloved found him lying in a deep
317.21 sleep. He awoke him and held him and shook him and expelled from him
317.22 the deceptive demon and bound from him the great
317.23 Archonic power. Then Adam examined himself and recognized who he was.
317.24 He (i.e., Jesus) revealed to him the Fathers on high and how his soul was wholly
317.25 thrown into leopard's teeth and elephant's teeth, swallowed by swallowers
317.26 and gulped by gulpers, eaten by dogs, mixed
317.27 and imprisoned in all that was, and bound in the stench of Darkness.
317.28 He says that he (i.e., Jesus) raised him and made him taste the Tree of Life. Then,

318.1 Adam cried out and wept and raised his voice loudly, like
318.2 a lion that roars and tears. He threw (himself down) and beat (his chest) and said:
318.3 "*Woe, woe to the one who formed my body and to the one who bound my soul*
318.4 *and to the tyrants who have enslaved me*."

[37] Just what this phrase means remains unclear. According to Yohannan, ܪܘܚܐ ܒܝܫܬܐ implies a reference to the "two Archons" mentioned by al-Nadīm (*Researches*, 250), while Reeves suggests it refers to Ashaqlun (*Jewish Lore*, 205 n. 56). See Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, 192 n. 2. At any rate, it seems clear that Adam is being liberated form negative forces.

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GENERAL INDEX

Acta Archelai, 8, 89
Adda, 12, 88, 90
Adiabene, 11
Alexander of Lycopolis, 13, 64
Amaro, 86
Ammo, 88
anababizon, 63, 64, 82
Apocryphon of John, 65, 144
Ardashir, 11
Aristotle, 35
Artabanus, 11
Ashaqlun, 5
Assyrians, 11
Augustine, 4, 6, 46, 57, 64, 86
Axumites, 11

Babylon, 11
Babylonians, 11
Barbelo, 144
Bardaisan, 14, 35, 36, 89, 90
Barhadbeshabba, 36
al-Biruni, 6, 64, 65
Book of Giants, 15, 17, 46, 80, 209
Book of Mysteries, 9, 14, 45, 79, 209
Brahmins, 88
Buddha, 10, 88
Buddhists, 88

Capitaliteratur, 9
Christians, 3, 6, 11, 61, 85, 88
Chinese *Compendium*, 46
Chinese *Hymnscroll*, 26
Chronicle of Seert, 86
Clement of Alexandria, 4
Cologne Mani Codex, 12, 32, 40, 47
Coptic, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18
Ctesiphon, 11

Dakhleh Oasis, 12
Diocletian, 86

Egypt, 11, 12, 13, 62, 86
Elchasaites, 10, 61
Empedocles, 35
Ephraim the Syrian, 15, 29, 30, 35, 89
Epictetus, 9
Epiphanius, 6
Epistles, 14, 15, 16, 17, 74, 79, 209
erotapokrisis, 10

Five Advents, 69, 70, 134, 149
Five Angels, 159
Five Arches, 17
Five Archons (see Rulers) 108
Five Bodies, 51, 52, 59, 61, 108, 111, 159
Five Books, 148
Five Camps, 182
Five Churches, 104
Five Constellations, 17
Five Counsels, 37, 135, 154
Five Craftsmen, 201
Five Creations of Darkness, 52, 53, 56, 150
Five Dark Spirits, 111
Five Dwellings, 71, 174, 215
Five Elements, 15, 18, 29, 30, 32, 34, 36, 53, 61, 67, 80, 81, 90, 106, 108, 127, 128, 135
Five Encampments, 41, 183
Five Fathers, 19, 42, 43, 45, 46, 48, 81, 112, 149
Five Fleshes, 101
Five Folds, 155
Five Foods, 72, 207, 208
Five Forms, 72, 108, 210
Five Fruits of Death, 52, 53, 128
Five Garments, 31, 182
Five Gods, 44, 156

Five Great Fountains of Blessing, 25, 142
Five Great Trees, 25
Five Greatnesses, 19, 34, 42, 47, 48, 70, 81, 129
Five Hallows, 76, 197
Five Happinesses, 75, 104
Five Houses, 17
Five Intellectuals, 30, 31, 32, 80, 100, 156
Five Kings of Darkness, 52, 60, 61, 108
Five Limbs, 15, 16, 18, 22, 32, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 48, 58, 67, 80, 81, 90, 100, 101, 142, 149, 154, 159, 160, 161, 201
Five Limbs of Sin, 160
Five Light Signs, 70
Five Light Wonders, 199
Five Mysteries 116, 117
Five Names, 174
Five Parts, 52, 106
Five Pits, 76, 198
Five Places, 193
Five Powers, 75, 104, 139, 153
Five Products, 200
Five Properties, 220, 222
Five Qualities, 222
Five Qualities of the Sun, 177
Five Releases, 69, 70, 138
Five Resurrections, 69, 124
Five Rulers, 51, 59
Five Saviours, 69, 124
Five Senses, 106
Five *shekinahs*, 223, 224
Five Shining Gods, 29, 31, 80, 144, 159, 224, 226, 227, 228
Five Signs, 115, 116, 117, 119
Five Slaveries, 111
Five Sleepless Watchers, 156
Five Sons of Darkness, 17, 19, 31, 224, 225
Five Sons of First Man, 18, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 49, 80, 106, 129, 166, 224
Five Sons of Living Spirit, 16, 18, 33, 34, 36, 38, 41, 42, 49, 58, 106, 120, 129, 153, 182, 225, 226
Five Spirits, 51, 52, 59, 61, 62, 106, 108
Five Splendours of the Son of Man, 29, 153
Five Stars, 51, 62, 63, 179, 180, 181
Five Storehouses, 25, 51, 52, 53, 59, 61, 108
Five Tastes, 51, 52, 59, 108
Five Temptations, 87, 218, 219
Five Transitions, 212, 213, 214
Five Trees of Darkness, 17, 19, 52, 53, 108, 127, 135, 170, 228
Five Types of Authority, 174
Five Types of Brotherhood, 74, 87, 205
Five Virtues, 16, 36, 39, 41, 70, 74
Five Vital Powers, 17, 26
Five Wars, 69, 135
Five Watchers, 41
Five Watch-Towers, 183
Five Wisdoms, 75, 104
Five Wonderworks, 69
Five Words, 122, 125
Five Worlds of Darkness, 17, 52, 53, 56, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 82, 108, 109, 127, 135, 147, 150, 179, 181, 224
Five Worlds of Flesh, 106, 170, 171
Fundamental Epistle, 58, 60

Gnostics, 4, 66
Greek, 12, 14, 18

Hadith, 8
Hira, 86
Homilies, 8, 46, 86, 87
Hormizd, 85
Hormizd II, 86
Hystapes, 11

India, 11
Indians, 11
Irenaeus, 4
Ismaelis
Iwannis of Dara, 36

Jews, 3, 11, 14, 66
Jesus, 5, 10, 41, 84, 88
Judas, 4, 10, 21
Justinian, 86

Kabbalah, 4
Kellis, 12, 14, 27, 29, 89
Kephalaia, *passim*
Kirdir, 85
Kustaios, 12

Latin, 13, 36
Living Gospel, 15, 45, 58, 79, 209
Luke, Gospel of, 21

Magi, 11
Mandaeans, 11, 26, 62, 64
Mani, *passim*
Manichaeans, *passim*
Marcion, 35
Mark the Deacon, 86
Matthew, Gospel of, 21
Mazdaeism, 28
Medes, 11
Medinet Madi, 6, 12, 14
Mesene, 11
Mesopotamia, 11, 13, 62, 64
Middle-Persian, 14
Moses bar Kepha, 36
Muslims, 3, 6

al-Nadīm, 6, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 27, 37, 46, 53, 54, 56, 57, 60, 71, 73, 80, 229
Nafsha of Tadmor/Palmyra, 90
Narses, 86
Nazoreans, 11
New Testament, 3

Origen, 8

Palestine, 13, 86
Parthia, 11
Parthians, 11
Paul, 10, 88
Persia, 11
Persians, 11, 61, 66, 85
Pherecydes of Syros, 35
Philolaus, 35
Picture-book, 80
pleroma, 4
Pragmateia, 45, 209
Prayer of the Emanations, 27
Psalm-Book, 30, 31, 46, 47, 64
Pythagoras, 35

Qurʾān, 3

Rabbinic Judaism, 4
Right Ginza, 26, 55, 56, 57
Romans, 11, 61, 66, 85

Seleucia-Ctesiphon, 86
Severus of Antioch, 9, 23, 53, 58
Severus Sebokht, 64
Shapur, 11, 85
Shabuhragan, 14, 16, 17, 26, 79, 147
shekinah, 15, 18, 25, 58
Simplicius, 58
Sisinnios, 12, 13, 85
Sogdian, 26, 90
Susiana, 11
Synaxeis, 15
Syria, 86
Syriac, 11, 12, 14, 18, 31

Talmud, 8
Tanakh, 3
Theodore bar Khonai, 5, 15, 17, 18, 25, 27, 30, 32, 36, 37, 43, 45, 47, 53, 54, 57, 60, 71, 80, 81, 83, 89, 169, 223
Theodoret, 9, 53
Tigris, 11
Titus of Bostra, 9, 53
Treasure of Life, 14, 45, 72, 166, 188, 189, 209
Turfan, 6, 90

Valentinians, 4
Vahram, 86

al-Warraq, 15

Zarathustra, see Zoroaster, 10
Zeno of Verona, 66
ziwane, 18, 31
zodiac, 65, 66, 82
Zoroaster, see Zarathustra, 88
Zoroastrians, 64, 85, 88
Zurvanism, 27, 28

INDEX OF MODERN AUTHORS

Adam, 26
Allberry, 27
Asmussen, 27, 88

BeDuhn, 28, 32, 83, 84
Beck, 63, 64
Boussières, 10
Böhlig, 28, 66, 108, 113, 116, 120, 122, 125, 127, 131, 135, 143, 145, 155, 158, 160, 165, 169, 179, 180, 185
Boyce, 16, 17, 26
Brown, 11, 86
Burkitt, 27, 29, 35, 64, 223

Couliano, 7, 81
Crum, 118, 155, 161, 162
Cumont, 27, 53, 57, 58

Daniélou, 66
De Blois, 15
Drijvers, 35, 36
Duchesne-Guillemin, 28

Feldmann, 58, 61
Ferrari, 64
Foerster, 26
Franzmann, 12, 29
Funk, 8, 9, 12, 15, 17, 21, 25, 37, 40, 42, 46, 58, 90, 97, 112, 113, 116, 118, 119, 120, 122, 127, 142, 145, 164, 166, 167, 175, 189, 205, 220, 222

Gardner, 12, 14, 27, 31, 46, 60, 65, 70, 83, 86, 90, 159
Gignoux, 85
Giversen, 8
Goodenough, 66

Hachlili, 66
Haardt, 223
Henning, 15, 158
Heuser, 83
Hunter, 18
Hutter, 15, 17, 26, 85, 86

Ivanka, 9

Jonas, 83

Khosroyev, 66
Klimkeit, 15, 26, 57, 83
Koenen, 8
Kugener, 53, 58

Lévy, 7
Lidzbarski, 55
Lieu, 8, 14, 24, 27, 30, 46, 60, 64, 65, 75, 83, 85, 86, 88, 90

MacKenzie, 14, 64, 147
Mattéi, 35
Merkelbach, 26, 29
Mirecki, 83
Moraux, 35

Nagel, 38, 65
Nau, 64
Ness, 66

Ort, 8

Payne-Smith, 224, 225, 228
Pedersen, 86, 87
Pognon, 223, 229
Polotsky, 6, 26, 30, 36, 55, 66, 83, 108, 113, 116, 120, 122, 125, 127, 131, 135, 143, 155, 158, 160, 165, 169, 180

Puech, 55

Reeves, 15, 21, 23, 29, 30, 31, 53, 223, 227, 229
Reitzenstein, 223
Richter, 27
Ries, 6
Robinson, 7
Rudoph, 83

Sala, 83
Schaeder, 28, 223
Schmidt, 6, 7, 8
Scopello, 86
Sims-Williams, 73
Skjaervø, 28
Stegemann, 65
Ström, 7

Tardieu, 7, 13, 14, 15, 46, 75, 90, 166
Tsui Chi, 26

van Lindt, 31
van Tongerloo, 27

Welburn, 66
Widengren, 8, 27, 65
Williams Jackson, 26, 27, 28, 223

Zaehner, 27, 28
Zamagni, 10

GNOSE ET MANICHÉISME

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HOMMAGE À JEAN-DANIEL DUBOIS

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Sous la direction de Anna Van den Kerchove
et Luciana Gabriela Soares Santoprete



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- II -

L'Église manichéenne et la réception des écrits manichéens

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SECRETS OF HEAVEN: MANICHAEAN COSMOLOGY IN ITS LATE ANTIQUE CONTEXT

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In attempting to characterize or summarize the Manichaean religion, researchers have frequently related it to better known traditions, portraying it as an outgrowth of one or another antecedent tradition, and to some degree more understandable in light of its essential relation to such an antecedent tradition. The history of research shows a succession of favored explanatory contexts for Manichaeism, its cosmogonic myth, and its cosmological construct: Buddhism, native Mesopotamian religion, Zoroastrianism or Iranian religion more broadly, and Christianity either generally or specifically in its "gnostic" form. Some of these proposed associations suffer from anachronism, however, since religions such as Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and even Buddhism were still undergoing formation at the time that Manichaeism joined them as a peer emergent entity. The difficulty of sorting out antecedence and dependence among these contemporaneous traditions plagued the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, and led to its demise as an interpretive movement within the comparative study of religions. This interpretive debacle has left a great deal of unfinished business in the study of the Manichaean conception of the cosmos in relation to its historical and cultural context.

There has been less attention than might be imagined to trying to discern the precise cultural conditions in which Mani himself produced the distinctive Manichaean cosmogonic narrative and cosmological model, chiefly within third century Mesopotamia. The rediscovery of ancient Mesopotamian literature starting in the second half of the nineteenth century unveiled the degree to which Manichaean cosmogonic and cosmological themes could be traced back to native Babylonian sources.[1] Yet, the "doctor from Babylon" who

1. See the review of this phase of Manichaean research in J. Ries, *Les Études manichéennes*, Leuven 1988, pp. 81–92.

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introduced "the last significant outburst of mythological thought in the world of antiquity"[2] lived in a Mesopotamia massively transformed in the centuries that preceded him by immigration and cultural colonialism. In order to situate Manichaean cosmology more fully in its *late antique* Mesopotamian context, it is necessary to consider as well mythologies belonging to the non-native Hellenic, Jewish, and Christian traditions that we have good reason to think had infiltrated Mesopotamian religious culture from the west.

It is not my intention to deny originality to Mani's mythopoesis; Mani speaks of visionary experiences, and we must not disregard the importance of these experiences for his authority and the creativity of his discourse.[3] Yet psychologizing Mani's myth offers only a fruitless exercise in speculation. Instead, we need to give due regard to the fact that Mani did not consider his visions as *sui generis*, but as confirmations and clarifications of the visions of prior messengers of God preserved in the cultural traditions around him in West Asia. Mani famously proclaimed his interest in and affirmation of prior religious traditions:

> The writings, wisdom, revelations, parables, and psalms of the earlier churches are from every place collected, brought back to my church, and joined to the wisdom which I have revealed to you. As a river is joined to another river to form a powerful current, just so are the ancient books joined in my writings, and form one great wisdom such as has not existed in preceding generations.[4]

Mani, then, had a self-conscious interest in the existing religious cultures of his world, and openly affirmed them in a kind of "comparative religion" project in his own late antique world, examining and comparing the distinct traditions around him for common elements he could attribute to a primordial ur-myth.

Although it is readily recognized that the Manichaean mission underwent rapid assimilation of new regional elements as it spread, we need to avoid too sharp of a contrast between this development and the conditions in which the religion originated, as if it arose in a singular, monolithic culture with only one antecedent religious context. Mani came to maturity as a cultural interpreter and innovator in a multicultural environment. Among the intriguing data from the *ipsissima verba* of Mani himself indicative of a cosmopolitan Mesopotamian culture linked to the west would be the following: (1) Greek terminology apparently used by Mani himself in his Syriac compositions,

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2. S. Stroumsa – G. G. Stroumsa, "Aspects of Anti-Manichaean Polemic in Late Antiquity and Under Early Islam," *Harvard Theological Review* 81 (1988), pp. 37–58 (p. 40).
3. Of course, it is possible that Mani had no visionary experiences at all, and simply adopted visionary rhetoric as an established conveyance of religio-cultural innovation.
4. *Kephalaion* 151, 372.11–19; W.-P. Funk, *Kephalaia* I, Hälfte 2, Lfg. 15/16, Stuttgart 2000, p. 372; the translation is my own.

including titles of his books (*Evangelion*, *Pragmateia*), and vocabulary such as *hyle*, *bōlos*, *archon*, *hypodektai*, etc.;[5] (2) familiarity with characters and motifs of Greek literary traditions, such as the sage Anacharsis; (3) figures in Manichaean myth apparently modeled on Hellenistic artistic models, such as the "Supporter" (*sabbālā*), *i.e.*, Atlas;[6] (4) Mani's apparent direct knowledge of Jewish literature and traditions, such as the books of Enoch; (5) his knowledge as well of Christian literature produced across the border in the Roman Empire, including the *Diatessaron*, the Letters of Paul, and some writings of Bardaisan of Edessa. In the following pages, I will explore how these three continuums of religious culture—Hellenic, Jewish, and Christian—intersected in providing part of the context for Mani's cosmogonic and cosmological formulations. Out of several interesting points of comparison, I will review three: the primordial combat of the gods against monstrous opponents, the conception of a multi-tiered heaven and earth, and the origin of human beings from a failed sexual assault on a goddess.

The Mesopotamian "Melting Pot"

The Macedonian hegemony established by Alexander's Seleucid successors filled Mesopotamia and neighboring regions with Hellenic settlers along with Hellenistic institutions and material culture. In recent decades, historians of this period have come to understand that the Seleucid Empire had a very clear economic strategy consisting of two axes anchored at the Syrian coast, one running to southern Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf, and the other to Bactria. Most of the state's resources were poured into anchoring these economic axes at their ends, where both rich agricultural land and key trade routes provided a major part of the state's wealth, and as a result southern

5. See F. C. Burkitt, "Introductory Essay," in C. W. Mitchell, *Ephraim's Prose Refutations*, t. II, Oxford 1921, pp. cxxxv–cxl. Geo Widengren's observation that some of these terms are found as loan-words in several Aramaic dialects, including Talmudic literature (*Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism*, Uppsala 1946, pp. 38–39 and p. 38 n. 4) supports the conclusion that Mani did not derive them from any specific sectarian literature, but from Greek vocabulary in common use in cosmopolitan Mesopotamia. The secular character of the terms (e.g., everyday natural and political vocabulary) suggests the same conclusion. Cf. O. Klíma, *Manis Zeit und Leben*, Prague 1962, pp. 108–111, for a thought-provoking demonstration of Greek juridical, military, and civil terminology from the Coptic Manichaica also found in Jewish Aramaic of the Talmud and Targums.

6. Even though Mesopotamian myth also contained an Atlas-like figure, Ubelluri, the figure of Atlas in Manichaean cosmology, both as described literarily and in surviving Manichaean art, is unmistakably dependent on Hellenistic and Roman period architectural decorations employing the Atlas motif. It should be noted that in Manichaean myth Atlas is a positive figure, part of the divine cosmic superstructure, and does not occupy his position as a punishment as in Greek myth (see *Odyssey* 1.52–54: he stands in the sea and holds pillars on which the sky rests).

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Mesopotamia and Bactria witnessed extensive settlement programs.[7] An official communication between Antioch-in-Persis and Magnesia dated 205 BCE (OGIS 233) bears witness to a kind of league of at least seven cities with the status of *polis* in southern Mesopotamia and the northeast rim of the Persian Gulf: Antioch-Persis, Apamea-Seleias (at Silhu, the confluence of the Sillas and Tigris), Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Seleucia-by-the-Erythraean Sea, Seleucia-Eulaeos (Susa), Alexandria-on-the-Tigris (Charax, at the confluence of the Eulaeos and Tigris, refounded in 166/5 BCE as Antioch), and an unidentified Antioch. Of these, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris was one of the largest cities of the ancient world, with a reported population of 600,000. There was a Laodicea-in-Media (Nihavend), as well as Ecbatana/Hamadan, which housed a Seleucid mint which continued to produce Parthian coins with Greek inscriptions, and from which Mani's family reportedly came. Hellenic colonies had also been planted in the city of Babylon and further up the Euphrates at Dura-Europos. Most of these colonies were established early, with the intention of forming the homeland of the Seleucid state. Local peoples mixed with the Hellenes of these metropolises, with ensuing cultural exchange.

They all went on as before under new Parthian masters from the middle of the second century BCE. The Hellenic culture of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris can be traced all the way to its sack by Roman forces in 165 CE;[8] from that point on it lost its distinct Hellenistic institutions in the megalopolis of "The Cities" (Mada'in in the local Aramaic) that had been built up all around it.[9] Dura-Europos also maintained its Macedonian identity up to its conquest by the Romans the same year that Seleucia was sacked, and for some time afterwards, although it came under the increasing domination of a Palmyrene garrison in its latter days.[10] Susa (Seleucia-on-the-Eulaeos) likewise still had a fully functioning Hellenic polis in the 1st century CE.[11]

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7. R. M. Adams, *Heartland of Cities: Surveys of Ancient Settlement and Land Use on the Central Floodplain of the Euphrates*, Chicago 1981, pp. 192ff., documents extensive development of agricultural land and construction of major new canal systems in this period. Mani was himself born in a town along one of these Seleucid canals, the Nar Kutha. Adams also notes the shift of settlement to the Tigris in connection with the development of international trade, for which the river provided more navigable channels than the Euphrates did. He estimates a doubling of settlement relative to the Achaemenid period.
8. See A. Invernizzi, "Ten Years' Research in the Al-Mada'in Area: Seleucia and Ctesiphon," *Sumer* 32 (1976), pp. 166–176.
9. So it was known to Mani. The site of Seleucia was finally abandoned after the second Roman sack of the city in 283, shortly after Mani's death.
10. F. Millar, "Dura-Europos under Parthian Rule," in J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse*, Stuttgart 1998, pp. 473–492, who notes the continued predominance of Greek language in documents and the persistence of a cult of Seleucus Nicator into the period of Roman occupation.
11. F. Cumont, "A Letter of Artaban III to the City of Susa," *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute* 27 (1934), pp. 66–74.

The explicit philhellenism of the Arsacid Parthian regime in its first two centuries was directed at this substantial Hellenic population in the main population center of the empire, and reflected Arsacid reliance on the existing Seleucid political institutions and bureaucracy. The occupants of this network of offices were not, of course, all Hellenes. From the beginning, the Seleucids welcomed native Mesopotamians into the ranks of the government and military, and through these institutions they became Hellenized, at least to the degree of speaking, reading, and writing Greek in their official capacities. Contact of religious cultures also occurred. At Dura and elsewhere, individuals with non-Greek names are recorded as making offerings or serving as priests of Hellenic cults.[12]

It becomes increasingly difficult to follow the traces of the Hellenic population and cultural influence in Mesopotamia as we get to the latter days of the Parthian regime. The Parthians themselves turned away from their public philhellenism in the mid-first century CE, toward a reassertion of their Iranian identity.[13] Yet Vologeses IV, for instance, still took the trouble to dedicate a statue of Herakles he had transferred from Mesene to Seleucia in 151 CE with an inscription in both Greek and Parthian, and fourteen years later Lucius Verus carried off from the same city the Hellenistic image of its still venerated Macedonian chief deity, Apollo Komaios.[14] Continuation of Hellenistic culture cannot be expected in some "pure," unchanged form; that would constitute cultural stagnation. By the time we get to the late Parthian environment that forms the background of Mani, the Hellenic population of the region had been indigenized by 500 years, and for 300 of those years they had been more or less isolated from the Greek homeland. The Hellenic demographic of Mesopotamia had not departed; it was now at home in the region and to varying degrees contributed to the regional "melting pot."[15] The Parthian inscription on the aforementioned statue of Herakles identified the

12. E.g., the temple of Artemis in Dura (L. Dirven, *The Palmyrenes of Dura-Europos*, Leiden 1999, p. 121).
13. This change in policy may have been connected to contemporaneous efforts by the Parthian government (beginning with the reign of Vologases I, *circa* 38–60 CE) to assert more direct control over southern Mesopotamia, in order to better profit from the rapidly accelerating oversea trade on which Seleucia and the other Greek cities of the region had previously enriched themselves.
14. D. S. Potter, "The Inscription on the Bronze Herakles from Mesene: Vologeses IV's War with Rome and the Date of Tacitus' 'Annales'," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 88 (1991), pp. 277–290.
15. See M. Colledge, "Greek and non-Greek Interaction in the Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic East," in A. Kuhrt – S. Sherwin-White, *Hellenism in the East: The Interactions of Greek and non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia after Alexander*, Berkeley 1987, pp. 134–162, esp. 158–162.

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figure as the Iranian deity Verethragna, and the temple to which it was dedicated as that of Tir—Apollo in the Greek inscription. This sort of syncretism contributed to Mani's own synthesis of traditions.

In Mani's lifetime, Mesopotamia contained a sizable Jewish population, in excess of half a million persons, dispersed among urban areas and in places concentrated in agricultural villages.[16] This population had built up over several centuries by immigration from the frequent political and economic turmoil of Judea to the relative stability of Mesopotamia. That security, especially against the hated Rome, was worth fighting for, and the Jewish community rallied to the side of the Parthians against the invasion of Trajan in 115, mounting guerilla resistance that made a permanent Roman occupation impossible. Mani's own community-building ran parallel to similar community-forming developments in the Rabbinic tradition, involving such leading figures as Rav, Samuel, and other foundational 'Amora'im. Yet this tradition represents only a portion of Jewish religious culture of the time, and it remains exceedingly difficult to ascertain the character of the ideas and practices that prevailed in non-Rabbinic Jewish communities.[17] Jacob Neusner collects evidence of distinct liturgical, legal, and exegetical traditions among Babylonian Jews, now largely submerged by later rabbinic discourse.[18] Babylonian-rooted communities re-settled in Galilee established their own synagogues, suggesting liturgical differences with their Palestinian neighbors, and the one synagogue known from Mesopotamia, at Dura, clearly is non-rabbinic in character.[19] Neusner notes a number of indications that the Babylonian Jews might have been particularly engaged in "mystical" speculations connected to Merkavah and Shi'ur Qomah.[20] It is such "mythological" dimensions of the Jewish tradition that have the closest connection to Manichaeism, and there has been considerable speculation about the role of the Elchasaite community—typically characterized as "Jewish-Christian"—in transmitting Jewish traditions to Mani during his youth spent among them.

It is nearly impossible to say anything with confidence concerning the presence and character of Christianity in Mesopotamia prior to the time of Mani. The only historically secure representatives of this elusive entity are Tatian and Bardaisan of Edessa, both of whom belong to "Assyria," in the Roman sphere, rather than "Babylonia" in the Iranian orbit. It is commonly assumed that "gnostic" Christians had found their way to Mesopotamia, and that Mani

16. J. Neusner, *The History of the Jews in Babylonia*, t. II, *The Early Sasanian Period*, Chico 1999, pp. 241–250.
17. J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia*, t. I, *The Parthian Period*, Chico 1984, p. xxv, remarks on how unrepresentative of the Jewish population of the region rabbinic sources probably are.
18. *Ibid*., pp. 156–172.
19. *Ibid*., pp. 161–163.
20. *Ibid*., pp. 166–172.

was directly influenced by them. That assumption will be examined below, leaving aside the very difficult question of the origin of the Mandaeans, who may be fairly classed as a community of "gnostic" character, but certainly not Christian. Bardaisan provided an abstract, elemental account of cosmic origins, traces of which found their way into Mani's conceptualization of cosmogonic forces. But neither he, nor Tatian, nor "gnostic" Christians spoke in terms of a primordial battle between light and darkness, good and evil. Such a dualistic outlook clearly relates to Iranian mythic antecedents, and yet the specific narrative details of the Manichaean myth appear to owe a great deal not only to Babylonian, but also Hellenic mythology.

The Myth of Primordial Battle

Mani's cosmogonic myth takes its starting-point with a dualistic battle between the divine forces of the realm of light, and the monstrous creatures of the realm of darkness. Although this dualistic conflict is often compared to Zoroastrian ideas, it belongs to a more ancient Near Eastern mythological legacy encapsulated in the Babylonian creation story, *Enūma Eliš*. As far as we can tell, the indigenous Babylonian myth of primordial cosmic conflict was alive and well in the centuries leading up to Mani, and points of comparison to Mani's myth have been obvious since the discovery of Assyrian and Babylonian texts at the end of the nineteenth century. The elder gods bring forth the new young and vigorous god Marduk (or Bel) to defeat the monstrous embodiment of the sea, Tiamat. Having slain her, he splits her body in half to make the heavens and the earth. Berossus, writing in the early Seleucid period, supplies a summary of the myth in his *Babyloniaka*, in which he identifies the victorious god Bel with Zeus. With the abandonment of cuneiform and clay tablets in the first century CE, the literary trail in Mesopotamia itself vanishes with the perishable documents on which it no doubt continued to be written.[21]

Whether through an Indo-European mythological legacy or later contact with Babylonia in the "Orientalizing Period," Greek myth shared the idea of primordial divine conflict, including a number of distinct traditions, among which the better-known are the generational conflict between Olympians and Titans, the subsequent war of the Olympians with the Giants, and the individual combat of Zeus with the dragon Typhon.[22] Alexander of Lycopolis refers to

21. The last known cuneiform clay tablet is dated 74 CE: J. Bottéro, *Mesopotamia: Writing, reasoning and the Gods*, Chicago 1992, p. 206. In Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, tens of thousands of clay bullae are all that remain of the huge city archive, the documents they once sealed being utterly lost.
22. Mention should also be made here of the primordial combat for heaven between Kronos and the monster Ophion, related by Pherecydes of Syros in the sixth century BCE, and repeated in such later sources as Apollonius, Celsus, and Eusebius; see N. Forsyth, *The*

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Manichaean discussion of the Gigantomachy: "They also refer to the battle of the giants as told in our poetry, which to their mind proves that the poets were not ignorant of the insurrection of matter against God."[23] Alexander's remark could be taken to refer to secondary cultural adaptation of the Manichaean mission to the Greco-Roman environment. Yet Mani himself composed a *Book of Giants*. W. B. Henning and John Reeves[24] have demonstrated the debt Mani's book owes to the Jewish Enoch literature, and we will return to this connection below. The Enoch narrative, however, bears little connection to the more fundamental, dualistic myth of primordial combat at the heart of Manichaean ideology, which instead shows continuity with the *Enuma Eliš*. A variety of evidence points to the amalgamation of the latter myth with the Greek Gigantomachy in Hellenistic literature and art, when Babylonian and Hellenic culture underwent a new phase of intense engagement.[25]

Ancient critics of Manichaeism expressed horror at the detail that the forces of good are initially "defeated" when the deity Primal Man (in the role of Marduk-Bel) goes out from the realm of light to meet the assault of the dark beings. Yet the theme of initial defeat was a commonplace of divine conflict mythology from Greece to India. In the story of Zeus's combat with the dragon Typhon,[26] for instance, Apollodorus reports such an initial defeat of Zeus, who has his tendons cut out, rendering him paralyzed. Hermes and

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Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth, Princeton 1987, pp. 68–76.

23. *C. Man*. (Brinkmann) 5 (P. W. van der Horst – J. Mansfeld, *An Alexandrian Platonist Against Dualism: Alexander of Lycopolis' Treatise 'Critique of the Doctrines of Mani'*, Leiden 1974, p. 57); cf. similar references in Serapion of Thmuis (R. P. Casey, *Serapion of Thmuis Against the Manichees*, Cambridge 1931, p. 52), and in Titus of Bostra (K. Kessler, *Mani. Forschungen über die manichäische Religion*, Berlin 1889, p. 199).
24. W. B. Henning, "The Book of the Giants," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11 (1943–1946), pp. 52–74; J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony. Studies in the* Book of Giants *Traditions*, Cincinnati 1992.
25. Note that Plutarch sought authoritative interpretation of the Titanomachy and Typhonomachy from a non-Greek sage living near the Erythrian Sea (*i.e.*, Persian Gulf): *Moralia* 421A–E. On artistic syncretism on this mythic theme, see, e.g., the relief in the peristyle of the Temple of Bel in Palmyra, dating to the first century ce, where the primordial battle between Bel and Tiamat has been visually synthesized with the current iconography of the Gigantomachy. For further discussion, see J. BeDuhn, "Apparatus of Salvation," in T. Fuhrer – M. Erler (ed.), *Cosmologies et cosmogonies dans la littérature antique*, Geneva 2015, pp. 219–251.
26. Typhaon or Typhoeus is described by Hesiod as a beast with one hundred snake heads that breathe fire (*Theogony* 845, etc., see T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*, Baltimore 1993, p. 49). But in art, as in a Chalkidian hydria now in Munich (*Ibid.*, p. 596) a figure labeled as Typhoeus has a human head and torso, but a lower body consisting of two snakes; the same representation (unlabeled) is found at Olympia (*Ibid.*, p. 50), and the pediment of the Temple of Artemis at Kerkyra. Later literature (e.g., Apollodorus) concurs with this artistic motif, making the lower part of his body ophidian. We thus can see that in Hellenistic times opponents of the gods—whether Typhon or the Giants—came to be conventionally depicted by this iconographic short-hand.

Aigipan recover the tendons and restore Zeus.[27] This element of the myth also derived from older west Asian tales of divine combat. When Hellenistic culture brought the Greek versions of such myths back into the region, their common motifs would have been immediately recognizable, fostering syncretistic religious culture. Mani turned this common mythological motif into a key *theologoumenon*, which he saw echoed in the passion of Jesus, and took to convey the non-violent character of the divine.

Turning to examine any possible Jewish elements in the Manichaean myth of primordial combat, it is well known that traces of such a myth appear in places of the Tanakh, while being effectively drained from the Genesis creation account.[28] Rabbinic injunctions against discussion of the inner mysteries of the creation (*Berešit*) may point to a tradition of mythological elaboration that no longer survives even in the margins of Jewish literature.[29] What survived the filter of Rabbinic orthodoxy can be found in late collections such as the midrash *Genesis Rabbah* and medieval manuscripts of *Ma'aseh Berešit* (otherwise known as the *Seder Rabbah di-Berešit*). We are in much the same position with the equally esoteric discourse on the divine chariot (*Merkavah*), which has relevance to Manichaean cosmological models, as we shall see. Rabbinic evidence shows more engagement with these traditions in Babylonia than in Roman Palestine.[30] It may well be that the complex demiurgical traditions at the heart of "Gnosticism" derive from exegetical elaborations of the creation account that ventured beyond the limits of emergent post-70 CE Jewish orthodoxy. Thus, "gnostic" texts may provide our only access to the sort of cosmogonic mythology once connected with the Jewish tradition, of which only allusions survive in recognizably Jewish literature.

Although Manichaean texts and ideas were drawn upon in initial definitions of "Gnosticism" a century ago, key differences have now become apparent between Manichaean doctrine and the body of interrelated literature treated in current discussions of the "gnostic" movement. Nowhere are these differences more apparent than in the pre-cosmogonic scenarios of the two respective traditions. Whatever may be meant when modern researchers refer to a "dualist" outlook in gnostic texts, it does not refer to a concept of two original, eternal, and ultimate principles in conflict, as it does in Manichaeism. In fact, most gnostic schools of thought present monistic, devolutionist metaphysics, and a primordial combat narrative is utterly lacking in texts usually classed as "gnostic." This fundamental divergence suggests

27. In another Greek story, the giants Otos and Ephialtes (the "Aloadai") capture Ares and keep him in a bronze jar until Hermes discovers and frees him (*Ibid.*, p. 170).
28. See, e.g., God's combat with the sea, or with monsters such as Leviathan and Rahab in Psalm 74,12–17; Isaiah 27,1 and 51,9–11; Job 38,8–11 and 40,25–32.
29. See *m. Hagigah* 2,1; 26,10–14.
30. D. J. HALPERIN, *The Merkabah in Rabbinic Literature*, New Haven 1980, p. 179.

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that the Manichaean myth of primordial combat owes nothing to "gnostic" antecedents, and likewise nothing to Jewish ones, in so far as they may be reflected in "gnostic" literature.

Other Jewish apocrypha, of a non-"gnostic" kind, present closer affinities to Manichaean mythology in offering accounts of angelic rebellion and conflict, and such traditions carried forward in certain channels of the early Christian tradition. These tales usually set the conflict, and subsequent "fall" of angels, in post-cosmogonic time, however. Mani incorporated these narrative elements accordingly in a later period of his myth, and interpreted the fallen angels as evil beings who had been *imprisoned* in the heavens following the primordial battle, and later escaped.[31] We might speculate that his dualistic solution to the fall of angels may have caused Mani to formulate a prior combat before creation, as the back-story to the later fall. But with more direct examples of primordial combat myths in his cultural environment, such a speculative scenario is unnecessary. Thomas Francis Glasson has argued that *Enoch*'s myth of the fallen angels shows the influence of the Greek Titanomachy and Gigantomachy, traces of which also turn up in lexical choices of the Septuagint.[32] Manichaean myth agrees with *Enoch* (and with underlying Greek myth) that the superhuman opponents of God are not slain, but "confined forever" beneath the earth (*Enoch* 10.11–14). Birger Pearson has demonstrated continuing synthesis of the Titanomachy and the Enochic fall of the angels in the letters of Jude and 2 Peter.[33]

Construction of the Cosmos

The elaborate and systematic Manichaean cosmogonic narrative displays close affinity to myths such as the *Enūma Eliš*, where the cosmos is made from the dissected remains of the slain primordial enemy. Although related themes can be found in Indo-European mythology, they are largely absent from specifically Greek myth; the latter therefore played no obvious role in providing material for Mani's mythopoesis in this regard. It is impossible to say whether the suppressed *Berešit* speculations retained any trace of the mythological personifications of the *tohu wa bohu* of the Jewish creation account. Nevertheless, both Babylonian and Jewish creation narratives offer

31. See J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony*.
32. T. F. Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology*, London 1961, pp. 62–67; cf. N. Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, p. 157 and pp. 168–169. See Num 13,33; 2 Samuel 5,18–22; Judith 16,6. Sibylline Oracles 1.98–124 and 2.231 show the same identification of the fallen angels with the Titans and Giants of Greek mythology, and Josephus makes the same correlation (*Ant*. 1.3.1), while Philo seems to object to it (N. Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, p. 158).
33. B. Pearson, "A Reminiscence of Classical Myth at 2 Peter 2:4," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 10 (1969), pp. 71–80; reprinted in Id., *The Emergence of the Christian Religion: Essays on Early Christianity*, Harrisburg 1997, pp. 75–87.

an implicit theodicy in the potential resistance or imperfection of the material out of which the divine demiurge made the cosmos.[34] Plato took a similar approach to theodicy in the *Timaeus*: matter is intrinsically disorderly, and creation is a positive process of endowing it with order.[35] Manichaeism belongs to this same outlook, in contrast with the typical "gnostic" cosmogony, in which demiurgical activity itself is bad. Ill-intentioned creation appears in Manichaeism only in the case of anthropogony.

The divine demiurgical forces of Manichaean cosmogony construct an elaborate cosmos, consisting of a secondary heavenly domain (the "New Aeon" or "New Paradise") overlooking ten firmaments of the heavens and eight earths, stacked one atop the other. The idea of multiple celestial firmaments appears already in ancient Mesopotamia, and became widely disseminated in the Hellenistic west, in part through astronomical lore. It also entered Jewish thought, and finds a number of elaborations in Jewish apocryphal literature, beginning with the books of Enoch. Gnostic and Manichaean texts assume this complex ouranology, which in the gnostic case certainly also draws on Egyptian ideas.

Most discussions in Rabbinic literature, including Hekhalot tracts, envision seven heavens, with God enthroned in the seventh.[36] The aforementioned *Ma'aseh Berešit* posits a cosmos in which seven firmaments of heaven mirror seven "depths" (*tehomot*) or earths, a motif that goes back to the seven layers of the underworld in Mesopotamian cosmology, and is echoed in the seven earths beneath our own eighth earth in Manichaeism.[37] As in Manichaean cosmology, the firmaments do not correlate to astrological spheres for the seven "planets," all of which are located in the second heaven in *Ma'aseh Berešit*;[38] in the Manichaean scheme the planets (with sun and moon replaced by two dark planets) and zodiac are in the first heaven, while the location of the sun and moon remains unspecified.[39]

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34. See *Genesis Rabbah* 1, 5.
35. Alexander of Lycopolis reports Egyptian Manichaeans directly quoting Plato on the *ataktos kinēsis* of matter.
36. P. Schäfer, "In Heaven as It Is in Hell: The Cosmology of *Seder Rabbah di-Bereshit*," in R. S. Boustan – A. Y. Reed, *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions*, Cambridge 2004, pp. 233–274 (pp. 261–266 and pp. 271–274).
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 238–239. The same construct is found in the *Re'uyot Yehezkel*, which Gruenwald dates to the fourth to fifth centuries (I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, Leiden 2014[2] [1980], p. 168). For the Mesopotamian construct, see especially the Descent of Inanna.
38. P. Schäfer, "In Heaven as It Is in Hell", pp. 245–246 and p. 250.
39. It does little good to posit that seven-heaven schemes in these literatures depend on the Ptolemaic model of planetary spheres, but "misunderstand the model" by clustering planets and stars in one or two of the heavens rather than assigning one planet to each (J. Edward Wright, *The Early History of Heaven*, New York 2000, p. 183). The presumed relationship

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The Enoch corpus contains the idea that the celestial bodies enter and exit the sky through "gates" situated respectively in the east and west;[40] Manichaean cosmology retains these gates, even though they no longer have a specified function. The *Apocalypse of Enoch* (commonly referred to as *2 Enoch*) presents a multi-tiered heaven, like that in later Merkavah literature and the *Ma'aseh Berešit*, and includes the interesting detail that the fallen angels/watchers are imprisoned and punished in the celestial firmaments, rather than in any netherworldly pit.[41] Manichaeans place the binding of evil forces in the same distinctive location, and in some accounts employ expressions such as "watchers" and "rebels" that reveal direct dependence on Enoch literature. The *Apocalypse of Enoch* survives in two recensions, in which there is a total of seven or ten firmaments, respectively, with God enthroned in the highest.[42] The Manichaean firmaments total ten, with a deity enthroned in the seventh, while the firmaments above it lack any detailed description or function, and seemingly exist just to fill out the number ten, above which exists a richly described super-celestial realm.

The midrash *Ma'aseh Berešit* also includes a super-celestial realm beyond the seven heavens, where God reigns enthroned surrounded by light, duplicating the deity enthroned in the seventh heaven, who is described contrastingly amid darkness, clouds, and mist.[43] This doubled deity appears also in *Merkavah* literature, and can be compared with Manichaean multiplication of God into a number of emanations, with the "Great King of Honor" enthroned in the seventh heaven, while other emanations of God are enthroned in the super-celestial "New Aeon," and the Father of Greatness himself remains enthroned in the Realm of Light.

As Peter Schäfer notes, *Ma'aseh Berešit* contains a surprising correspondence between the seventh heaven and the seventh (lowest) earth, anchoring the divine presence in the netherworld.[44] Here, at the very base of creation, the text inventories a mirror-image of the seventh heaven, containing angels and holy creatures, as well as "wheels" (*ofannim*) and a "throne of glory." It is impossible to deny some sort of relation between this set of images and the contents of the lowest of the Manichaean four "earths," which rest in turn upon four "deposits." There, an enthroned deity known as the "King of Glory"

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is based solely on the coincidence of the number seven, which had wider use and significance than just Ptolemaic astronomy. For a different criticism, see P. Schäfer, "In Heaven as It Is in Hell", p. 260.

40. *Enoch* 35.
41. *2 Enoch* 7 and 18; so too the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (*3 Baruch*), in which different categories of the wicked are imprisoned in the first (2:7), second (3:5), and third (4:5; 5:3) heavens.
42. *2 Enoch* 20.
43. P. Schäfer, "In Heaven as It Is in Hell", p. 252. *Hekhalot Rabbati* and *Re'uyot Yehezqel* have the same super-celestial realm of God above the seventh heaven (*Ibid*., pp. 262–263).
44. *Ibid*., pp. 242–243.

supervises the turning of three wheels of wind, water, and fire. Given the late date of rabbinic cosmological texts such as the *Ma'aseh Berešit*, and the relative unlikelihood that they have been influenced by Manichaean cosmology, we must continue to search for earlier sources of these very specific ideas in late antique Mesopotamian Jewish traditions.[45] John Reeves has pointed to the Jewish-rooted apocalyptic ascent narratives quoted in the *Cologne Mani Codex* as "important textual evidence for an unbroken chain of tradition connecting Second Temple Jewish apocalyptic texts to the earliest *Hekhalot* literature," and proposes the Jewish-Christian Elchasaite community as the likely channel of such material into Mani's mythopoesis.[46]

In Manichaean cosmology, the operation of the wheels of wind, water, and fire in the netherworld takes place alongside of an Atlas figure who supports the earths above. This detail brings us back to possible Hellenic sources, and perhaps even more so to another Hellenistic convergence with Babylonian mythology, which had an Atlas figure who bore the heavens on his shoulders.[47] This figure appears among the iconographic repertoire of Mithra cultic centers, and fully Hellenized Atlas figures could be seen as statues or architectural decoration from the Levant to Bactria. Manichaean texts describe the posture of Atlas in quite concrete terms that exactly match the artistic representations that would have been familiar to Mani, and thus demonstrate that he could be influenced as much through the artistic medium as the literary one.

Anthropogony

The Manichaean myth of anthropogony begins with the notorious "Seduction of the Archons" episode, which serves as a prelude to the creation of human beings. One of God's emanations presents itself to the gaze of evil beings who have consumed part of the divine light, and its beauty elicits a libidinous response from them, causing them to release quantities of the captive light through the emission of sexual fluids. These emissions fall to earth, where they become plants and animals. Humans are a derivative

45. A seemingly related image appears in the Latin *Asclepius* of the Hermetic tradition, wherein the soul stained with sin is sent to the underworld by the post-mortem judge, who "consigns it to the storms and whirlpools of air, fire, and water in their ceaseless clashing, its endless punishment to be swept back and forth between heaven and earth in the streams of matter" (*Asclepius* 28; B. P. Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, Cambridge 1992, p. 84).

46. J. C. Reeves, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library," in Id. (ed.), *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, Atlanta 1994, pp. 173–203 (pp. 177–178).

47. See F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme*, t. I, *La Cosmogonie manichéenne d'après Théodore bar Khôni*, Brussels 1908, pp. 69–72.

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product of this event. Here again, the critics of Manichaeism expressed shock at such a tale, despite the fact that the motif had widespread attestation in other mythologies.

Several parallels may be cited from Near Eastern bronze age mythology, but examples exist closer to Mani's own historical context. For example, the tale of the origins of the Athenian people tells how Hephaistos lusted after the virgin goddess Athena, but succeeded only in ejaculating onto her leg. Athena wiped it off and it fell to earth, giving birth to Erichthonios. Pindar (*Pythian Ode* 2.21–48) summarizes a similar tale involving a goddess resisting unwanted advances, in this case Hera against the advances of the Titan Ixion. Zeus substitutes a phantom-Hera made of cloud, and consequently the assaulter's semen misses its target, yet still produces offspring: the eponymous ancestor of the centaurs. As punishment, Ixion is bound to a winged wheel in the sky, which spins him around ceaselessly. Just as Ixion looses his lust on a false apparition of Hera, formed of mere cloud, so in the Manichaean myth the archons pursue illusory, and ultimately untouchable divine forms. Falling to earth, his semen becomes a humanoid creature who mates indiscriminately with horses, producing the centaurs, similar to the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic creatures born of the archons in the Manichaean tale. Finally, the miscreant Ixion is bound to a rotating wheel as punishment, exactly as Mani told of the dark forces being bound to the wheel of the zodiac and spun on it as a means to both punish them and cause them to yield up the light they had consumed. Such very specific narrative parallels scarcely can be coincidental.

The "Seduction of the Archons" is not an isolated tale in Manichaean myth, but leads on to the creation of human beings on the model of the divine form that had elicited the desire of the story's villains.[48] Thus, anthropogenesis has a decidedly negative setting in Manichaeism. Among the many anthropogonies in Mani's immediate environment, several likewise present human creation as in some sense independent of, or even oppositional to, the supreme being, rather than the result of the latter's initiative. Yet the distinctive theme within Manichaean anthropogony of humans being created in imitation of a divine form clearly relates in some way to the enigmatic passage in Genesis 1,26–27, in which a plurality of creators plan and carry out the creation of human beings "in our image." It is not difficult to discern antecedent polytheistic myth here, preserved in the biblical text for some unknown reason without adaptation to the Torah's monotheistic master narrative. These deities become angels in some para-biblical Jewish literature, such as Jubilees.[49]

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48. See *Kephalaia* 55–56; Theodore bar Konai (J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony*, pp. 192–193).
49. Cf. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 62.2; Targum Ps.-Jonathan Genesis 1:26. Note that in Jubilees, the plural creators have been eliminated from the initial creation parallel to Genesis 1, but introduced into the creation of Eve account parallel to Genesis 2.

Philo directly associates angelic creators with the less-than-perfect outcome of anthropogony; in fact, he goes so far as to speak of God assigning "the origin of evil to other workmen than himself," coming remarkably close to a "gnostic" mindset. Only the mind (*nous*) is created by God, Philo explains, while angels are responsible for joining that rational nature to an irrational one, with reference to the collective address in Genesis 1,26.[50] In addition, Philo explicitly states that the image on which humans were modeled was not God's, but that of a "second god," the Logos.[51] The later rabbis, dealing with "Gnostics" and Manichaeans unknown to Philo, grew less comfortable with such divisions of anthropogonic labor. In *Genesis Rabbah* 8,9, "heretics" (*minim*) are reported raising leading questions regarding the use of the plural in the passage, only to be rebuffed by Rabbi Simlai, who draws attention to the singular form of the associated verbs.[52]

The switch from an assistive to an oppositional role for the angelic creators of humanity marks the boundary between more-or-less tolerable kinds of Jewish speculation and the sort of narratives typically classified as "gnostic".[53] Michael Williams has argued that the latter constitute "alternative" solutions to the biblical enigmas, rather than a deliberate "inversion" or "reversal" of the biblical account.[54] These observations suggest that we might, in part, access otherwise suppressed varieties of Jewish demiurgical speculation through so-called "gnostic" literature. Williams' dissection of the modern concept of "Gnosticism" needs to have its day in Manichaean Studies as well. Manichaeism has been associated closely with "Gnosticism" in modern scholarship, and Manichaean material was drawn upon heavily in early definitions and descriptions of "Gnosticism." Yet, as we have seen, Manichaeism has almost nothing in common with Gnostic literature in its theogony and cosmogony: God's emanations do not devolve into morally ambiguous beings, and demiurgical operations are viewed positively overall, rather than negatively. Anthropogenesis provides the principal exception, and is the primary mytholegoumenon that gives us any reason to suppose that

50. *De fuga et inventione* 68–72; cf. *De opificio mundi* 74–75; *De confusione linguarum* 179.
51. *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim* 1.4; 2.62; *Legum allegoriae* 3.96.
52. The Manichaeans raised similar questions, and indeed, may stand behind the *minim* of this report, since Simlai was a contemporary of Mani (see J. Neusner, *The History of the Jews of Babylonia*, Part 2, *The Early Sasanian Period*, Atlanta 1999, p. 144); in which case this passage would not serve as evidence of prior anthropogonic speculation within Judaism.
53. Rather than belabor the many issues with the term "gnostic," I employ it here merely as a designation for a body of literature sharing certain themes, foremost of which is what Michael Williams has termed "demiurgic exegesis," directly related to the subject of this study.
54. M. Williams, *Rethinking 'Gnosticism': An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category*, Princeton 1996, p. 68.

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Mani knew specifically "gnostic" traditions. The similarity is to be found not merely in the basic theme of plural demiurges in opposition to the supreme being, but in more specific parallel narrative elements.

In the *Apocryphon of John* a divine form is revealed in the sky, and is imitated by Yaldabaoth and the archons in crafting Adam (Nag Hammadi Codices II, 14.14ff. and parallels). The direct quotation of Genesis 1,26 in the passage supports the idea that it represents "demiurgical exegesis" of the enigmatic biblical passage. The *Hypostasis of the Archons* presents the scenario in a form even closer to the Manichaean version. A female deity called "Incorruptibility" becomes the object of desire for the archons:

> As Incorruptibility looked down into the region of the waters, her image appeared in the waters; and the authorities of the darkness became enamored of her. But they could not lay hold of that image, which had appeared to them in the waters, because of their weakness—since beings that merely possess a soul cannot lay hold of those that possess a spirit—for they were from below, while it was from above. This is the reason why Incorruptibility looked down into the region: so that, by the Father's will, she might bring the entirety into union with the light. The authorities laid plans and said, "Come, let us create a man that will be soil from the earth." […] They had taken [some soil] from the earth and modeled their [man] after their body and [after the image] of God that had appeared [to them] in the waters. (II, 87.11–33)

A more graphic parallel to the Manichaean scenario occurs later, when the "authorities" (*exousiai*) pursue Eve, who eludes them by means of a shadowy double that they inseminate in ignorance (89.17–28). On *the Origin of the World* employs the theme of sexual discharge from an unconsummated sexual assault in both points of the myth, and draws a very clear connection between them. Yaldabaoth and Pronoia see a human likeness in the heavens above them.

> Then when Pronoia saw the angel, she became enamored of him, but he hated her because she was in darkness. Moreover, she desired to embrace him, but she was not able. When she was unable to quench her love, she poured out her light upon the earth. From that day, that angel was called Adam of Light. (II, 108.14–21 and parallel)

Pronoia's sexual discharge takes the form of blood, which congeals into Eros, an androgynous form that attracts the desire of all the archons, duplicating the narrative theme, this time with various consummations. After a long digression, the text returns to the Adam of Light's self-revelation and its consequences, with the familiar proposition to create human beings built on Genesis 1,26. "And their modelled form became an enclosure of the light" (II,

113.9–10).[55] Later, the seven world-governing archangels see in Eve an exact duplicate of the primordial light image. "Now come, let us seize her and let us cast our seed on her, so that when she is polluted she will not be able to ascend to her light, but those whom she will beget will serve us" (II, 116.13–19). The story unfolds as in *Hypostasis of the Archons*, with Eve escaping their intention by substituting a soulless duplicate. The same theme is attested by Epiphanius for groups he calls "Gnostics" and "Simonians",[56] who speak of a divine being revealing itself to arouse lust in "archons" in order to elicit divine substance they have come to possess. On the basis of such clear narrative parallels, may we conclude that Mani knew and drew upon specifically "gnostic" anthropogony?

The grounds for caution on this question are familiar. The Nag Hammadi codices and testimony of Epiphanius post-date Mani's *Šabuhragan* by a century, and the date of composition for the individual "gnostic" texts is unknown.[57] We cannot rule out, therefore, possible Manichaean influence on such narratives, since Manichaeism entered Syria and Egypt in the mid-third century. Moreover, parallels in individual narrative motifs do not necessarily imply familiarity with the whole texts in which they are known to us, or with the "gnostic" schools of thought within which the texts carried their greatest authority. "Gnostic" and Manichaean literature alike may have adopted the narrative theme of archontic desire for and imitation of a divine form independently of each other from a common West Asian mythological source. That source may have been a demiurgical elaboration of Genesis, or a now lost regional anthropogony to which Genesis, too, was indebted. After all, demiurgical exegesis of the Genesis creation account need not have arisen in an interpretive vacuum, but could have involved reconnecting Genesis to the larger regional mythology from which it had been distilled originally.[58] If Mani had familiarity with fully developed

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55. An attenuated version of this same theme appears in the Hermetic *Poimandres*, where the "father of all" gives birth to a human-formed deity, and the latter in turn looks down into the creation of the demiurge, "showing lower nature the beautiful form of god." Nature and the anthropos become enamored of one another, and mingle in embrace. In this example, the metaphorical and mythical vie for control of the meaning of the story, and comes quite close to Neoplatonic accounts of the descent of mind into matter.
56. *Panarion* 25.2.4 and 21.2–5, respectively.
57. An exception is provided by Irenaeus's report of "gnostic" systems known to him at the end of the second century. Here we find an anthropogenesis that provides some antecedents to the Manichaean one: "But when Achamoth was freed from her passion, she gazed with rapture on the dazzling vision of the angels that were with him [the emanation Savior]; and in her ecstasy, conceiving by them, […] she brought forth new beings, partly after her own image, and partly a spiritual progeny after the image of the Savior's attendants" (1.4.5). "This *enthymesis*, desirous of making all things to the honor of the aeons, formed images of them […] the Demiurge was in the image of the only-begotten Son, and the angels and archangels created by him were in the image of the rest of the aeons" (1.5.1).
58. F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme*, p. 41, n. 4.

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"gnostic" literature, it is difficult to explain why he rejected most of its world view, retaining only echoes of its anthropogony. Given his proven knowledge of the Enoch literature and related parabiblical traditions, it seems more plausible to search for traces of the desire-and-imitation anthropogony in some corner of this non-gnostic material.

The missing Enochic *Book of Giants* may hold the key. The fact that fragments of Mani's own *Book of Giants* contains themes found in some "gnostic" texts, rather than proving a gnostic mediation of the material to Mani, may point to common Jewish parabiblical sources behind both "gnostic" and Manichaean literature.[59] John Reeves has shown that, when the Manichaean myth describes the ejections of the archons falling onto the earth and into the sea, and producing in the latter a giant monster, it closely echoes the story of the origin of Leviathan from *1 Enoch* 60,7–10.[60] The version in the Enochic *Similitudes* offers no explanation of how or why the two monsters were cast, one on the land, and one on the sea; but clearly a more dramatic conflict myth stands behind the allusion to a great agitation among the angels (60,1). Milik proposed that the *Similitudes*, of which no fragments have been found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, took the place of the suppressed *Book of Giants*, which went into greater detail on the conflict between angels and the *nephilim*. In a difficult and enigmatic passage of the *Similitudes*, the angel Michael declares regarding the fallen angels that "They shall not prosper before the eye of the Lord; for they have quarreled with the Lord of the Spirits because they make an image of the Lord" (68,4). It is not at all clear what this alludes to, but the larger context of the *Similitudes* involves the revelation of the "Man"—a heavenly prototype of the messiah.

Guy Stroumsa argues that Manichaean myth consistently shifts themes back to earlier stages of time, and so the seduction of the angels in Genesis 6 and desire of the archons for Eve in "gnostic" texts, has become a cosmological tale set before the creation of humanity in Manichaeism.[61] He contends that the "abortions" which fall from the sky onto the earth as a result of the

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59. G. G. Stroumsa, *Another Seed: Studies in Gnostic Mythology*, Leiden 1984, pp. 165–166, notes striking parallels between fragments of Mani's *Book of Giants* and the *Apocalypse of Adam* on the inversion of the story of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah as the death of 400,000 righteous, and draws attention to the fact that this story is alluded to in the context of references to Enoch (*Homilies* 68:18; *Psalm-Book* 143:7-8). He concludes that "the traces of Gnostic mythologoumena found in the Manichaean fragments are too scant for us to postulate a gnosticized version of the *Book of Giants* as Mani's source." Yet, he goes on to assert that there is "no doubt that if Mani knew the Jewish legends, it was a Gnostic or gnosticizing reading of them with which he became acquainted, most probably while living among the Elchasaites" (p. 166).

60. J. C. Reeves, "An Enochic Motif in Manichaean Tradition," in A. van Tongerloo – S. Giversen (ed.), *Manichaica Selecta: Studies presented to Professor Julien Ries on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, Leuven 1991, pp. 295–298.

61. G. G. Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, pp. 153–154.

"Seduction of Archons" in the Manichaean myth connect with the Enoch traditions regarding the Nephilim produced by the fallen angels, where *nepilīm* ("fallen ones") was exegeted as *nepalīm* ("abortions, miscarriages"), as it is in *Genesis Rabbah* 26,7.[62]

The negative character of human creation shared by "gnostic" and Manichaean texts has much in common with Mesopotamian traditions, in which human beings are created by a plurality of gods in order to serve them. In one account, the goddess Ninhursag/Mami is instructed by the gods: "Create Man that he may bear the yoke," and the goddess effects this task by mixing the blood of a slain god with clay.[63] In a later, related version, the Anunnaki conspire to create human beings (again, from the blood of slain gods), "the service of the gods to be their portion for all times"—a service detailed in a long list of tasks involving the infrastructure of agriculture and the temple, in order to supply an endless stream of offerings.[64] The Gnostic-Manichaean turn on this narrative, so to speak, amounts to rejecting the fate of servitude intrinsic to this account, and seeing the "gods" as unjust slave-masters. The basic narrative itself goes unchanged; only its interpretive frame changes. Its presence in late antique literature shows the continuation of a living regional mythological tradition that had not been as completely supplanted by a Judeo-Christian monotheistic narrative as we might be led to believe by fixation on the biblical tradition in modern scholarship. Jews and Christians were exposed to ideas broader than the Bible, and we catch glimpses of that exposure where orthodoxing pressures have not hidden them from view.

Conclusions

With due caution about the pitfalls of "parallelomania",[65] we cannot afford to dismiss the conditions of cultural contact in which the various traditions we have examined here display intriguingly similar themes and motifs. New religious movements are never completely *sui generis*, but always arise on the foundations of what has come before. Manichaeism provides an effective illustration of this truism. Mani's personal religious experiences included a qualified affirmation of prior religious traditions that he explicitly names as sources of truth. His cosmogonic and cosmological teachings bear clear relation to earlier mythologies present in his cosmopolitan Mesopotamian homeland: Babylonian, Greek, Iranian, and Jewish. Mani represents a development of the regional apocalyptic movement, characterized by revelations

62. *Ibid*., p. 160; see T. Nöldeke, review of Kessler, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 43 (1889), pp. 535–536.
63. A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, Chicago 1951, p. 67.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 68–71.
65. See S. Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81 (1962), pp. 1–13.

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of the secrets of heaven and earth, past and future, as a response to crises in traditional religious institutions. His relation to this movement no doubt stemmed from his upbringing in an Elchasaite community, which exposed him to Enoch literature and other parabiblical Jewish traditions. But his engagement with non Jewish mythology in his immediate environment also is unmistakable. Selected appropriations and in some cases inversions of prior mythologies and world views defines Manichaeism in relation to other contemporaneous movements, such as that represented by various examples of "gnostic" literature. The latter literature draws on some of the same regional traditions as Manichaeism, both Jewish and non-Jewish; but direct engagement of Mani with "gnostic" groups that may have predated him has proven difficult to document. Both movements were in formation at the same time, alongside of the emergence of other forms of Christianity, of Judaism itself, and of Zoroastrianism. Mani formed his views at a time when the boundaries between these various movements were not yet clearly defined, and that circumstance is reflected in the "syncretistic" character of Manichaeism. This character remains more visible in Manichaeism than in the other religions due to Mani's programmatic stance on the validity of prior revelations on a broad scale, in contrast to the more circumscribed affirmations of only particular pasts found in the Judeo-Christian and Zoroastrian traditions. Mani's identity as the new—and last—messenger of God came to be defined in large part by his role as the "Interpreter" of prior religious discourse and practice.

Through the special conditions of his cosmopolitan homeland, where originally distinct cultural traditions came together and blended in ever new combinations, and his own travels and inquiries, Mani became aware of what different regional cultures had to say about the origins of the gods and the cosmos. He recognized certain common and recurring themes among these tales; and well he should have, not only from their common origin—e.g., in an Indo-European substrate of Greek, Iranian, and Indian mythology—but from millennia of contact and amalgamation preceding his own efforts. Mani became convinced that these shared themes represented a repeatedly revealed truth, and explained their diversity through a theory of corrupting transmission. Informed by his own visionary experiences, he sought to purge the existing mythic traditions of their corruptions, and restore a single, pure narrative as the foundation of his religious reform, which nonetheless still operated in the mythic mode. To fully explicate the significance of his achievement, therefore, we need to analyze it in terms both of its synthetic and applied originality, and as the culmination of a rich history of mythic creation and recreation. In the latter sense, Manichaean mythology becomes a valuable witness, informing us of the cultural resources present in Mesopotamia in late antiquity, and in this way illuminating the history of many cultures and religious traditions beyond Manichaeism itself.

GNOSE ET MANICHÉISME

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HOMMAGE À JEAN-DANIEL DUBOIS

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Sous la direction de Anna Van den Kerchove
et Luciana Gabriela Soares Santoprete



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- II -

L'Église manichéenne et la réception des écrits manichéens

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SECRETS OF HEAVEN: MANICHAEAN COSMOLOGY IN ITS LATE ANTIQUE CONTEXT

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In attempting to characterize or summarize the Manichaean religion, researchers have frequently related it to better known traditions, portraying it as an outgrowth of one or another antecedent tradition, and to some degree more understandable in light of its essential relation to such an antecedent tradition. The history of research shows a succession of favored explanatory contexts for Manichaeism, its cosmogonic myth, and its cosmological construct: Buddhism, native Mesopotamian religion, Zoroastrianism or Iranian religion more broadly, and Christianity either generally or specifically in its "gnostic" form. Some of these proposed associations suffer from anachronism, however, since religions such as Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and even Buddhism were still undergoing formation at the time that Manichaeism joined them as a peer emergent entity. The difficulty of sorting out antecedence and dependence among these contemporaneous traditions plagued the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, and led to its demise as an interpretive movement within the comparative study of religions. This interpretive debacle has left a great deal of unfinished business in the study of the Manichaean conception of the cosmos in relation to its historical and cultural context.

There has been less attention than might be imagined to trying to discern the precise cultural conditions in which Mani himself produced the distinctive Manichaean cosmogonic narrative and cosmological model, chiefly within third century Mesopotamia. The rediscovery of ancient Mesopotamian literature starting in the second half of the nineteenth century unveiled the degree to which Manichaean cosmogonic and cosmological themes could be traced back to native Babylonian sources.[1] Yet, the "doctor from Babylon" who

1. See the review of this phase of Manichaean research in J. Ries, *Les Études manichéennes*, Leuven 1988, pp. 81–92.

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introduced "the last significant outburst of mythological thought in the world of antiquity"[2] lived in a Mesopotamia massively transformed in the centuries that preceded him by immigration and cultural colonialism. In order to situate Manichaean cosmology more fully in its *late antique* Mesopotamian context, it is necessary to consider as well mythologies belonging to the non-native Hellenic, Jewish, and Christian traditions that we have good reason to think had infiltrated Mesopotamian religious culture from the west.

It is not my intention to deny originality to Mani's mythopoesis; Mani speaks of visionary experiences, and we must not disregard the importance of these experiences for his authority and the creativity of his discourse.[3] Yet psychologizing Mani's myth offers only a fruitless exercise in speculation. Instead, we need to give due regard to the fact that Mani did not consider his visions as *sui generis*, but as confirmations and clarifications of the visions of prior messengers of God preserved in the cultural traditions around him in West Asia. Mani famously proclaimed his interest in and affirmation of prior religious traditions:

> The writings, wisdom, revelations, parables, and psalms of the earlier churches are from every place collected, brought back to my church, and joined to the wisdom which I have revealed to you. As a river is joined to another river to form a powerful current, just so are the ancient books joined in my writings, and form one great wisdom such as has not existed in preceding generations.[4]

Mani, then, had a self-conscious interest in the existing religious cultures of his world, and openly affirmed them in a kind of "comparative religion" project in his own late antique world, examining and comparing the distinct traditions around him for common elements he could attribute to a primordial ur-myth.

Although it is readily recognized that the Manichaean mission underwent rapid assimilation of new regional elements as it spread, we need to avoid too sharp of a contrast between this development and the conditions in which the religion originated, as if it arose in a singular, monolithic culture with only one antecedent religious context. Mani came to maturity as a cultural interpreter and innovator in a multicultural environment. Among the intriguing data from the *ipsissima verba* of Mani himself indicative of a cosmopolitan Mesopotamian culture linked to the west would be the following: (1) Greek terminology apparently used by Mani himself in his Syriac compositions,

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2. S. Stroumsa – G. G. Stroumsa, "Aspects of Anti-Manichaean Polemic in Late Antiquity and Under Early Islam," *Harvard Theological Review* 81 (1988), pp. 37–58 (p. 40).
3. Of course, it is possible that Mani had no visionary experiences at all, and simply adopted visionary rhetoric as an established conveyance of religio-cultural innovation.
4. *Kephalaion* 151, 372.11–19; W.-P. Funk, *Kephalaia* I, Hälfte 2, Lfg. 15/16, Stuttgart 2000, p. 372; the translation is my own.

including titles of his books (*Evangelion*, *Pragmateia*), and vocabulary such as *hyle*, *bōlos*, *archon*, *hypodektai*, etc.;[5] (2) familiarity with characters and motifs of Greek literary traditions, such as the sage Anacharsis; (3) figures in Manichaean myth apparently modeled on Hellenistic artistic models, such as the "Supporter" (*sabbālā*), *i.e.*, Atlas;[6] (4) Mani's apparent direct knowledge of Jewish literature and traditions, such as the books of Enoch; (5) his knowledge as well of Christian literature produced across the border in the Roman Empire, including the *Diatessaron*, the Letters of Paul, and some writings of Bardaisan of Edessa. In the following pages, I will explore how these three continuums of religious culture—Hellenic, Jewish, and Christian—intersected in providing part of the context for Mani's cosmogonic and cosmological formulations. Out of several interesting points of comparison, I will review three: the primordial combat of the gods against monstrous opponents, the conception of a multi-tiered heaven and earth, and the origin of human beings from a failed sexual assault on a goddess.

The Mesopotamian "Melting Pot"

The Macedonian hegemony established by Alexander's Seleucid successors filled Mesopotamia and neighboring regions with Hellenic settlers along with Hellenistic institutions and material culture. In recent decades, historians of this period have come to understand that the Seleucid Empire had a very clear economic strategy consisting of two axes anchored at the Syrian coast, one running to southern Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf, and the other to Bactria. Most of the state's resources were poured into anchoring these economic axes at their ends, where both rich agricultural land and key trade routes provided a major part of the state's wealth, and as a result southern

5. See F. C. Burkitt, "Introductory Essay," in C. W. Mitchell, *Ephraim's Prose Refutations*, t. II, Oxford 1921, pp. cxxxv–cxl. Geo Widengren's observation that some of these terms are found as loan-words in several Aramaic dialects, including Talmudic literature (*Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism*, Uppsala 1946, pp. 38–39 and p. 38 n. 4) supports the conclusion that Mani did not derive them from any specific sectarian literature, but from Greek vocabulary in common use in cosmopolitan Mesopotamia. The secular character of the terms (e.g., everyday natural and political vocabulary) suggests the same conclusion. Cf. O. Klíma, *Manis Zeit und Leben*, Prague 1962, pp. 108–111, for a thought-provoking demonstration of Greek juridical, military, and civil terminology from the Coptic Manichaica also found in Jewish Aramaic of the Talmud and Targums.

6. Even though Mesopotamian myth also contained an Atlas-like figure, Ubelluri, the figure of Atlas in Manichaean cosmology, both as described literarily and in surviving Manichaean art, is unmistakably dependent on Hellenistic and Roman period architectural decorations employing the Atlas motif. It should be noted that in Manichaean myth Atlas is a positive figure, part of the divine cosmic superstructure, and does not occupy his position as a punishment as in Greek myth (see *Odyssey* 1.52–54: he stands in the sea and holds pillars on which the sky rests).

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Mesopotamia and Bactria witnessed extensive settlement programs.[7] An official communication between Antioch-in-Persis and Magnesia dated 205 BCE (OGIS 233) bears witness to a kind of league of at least seven cities with the status of *polis* in southern Mesopotamia and the northeast rim of the Persian Gulf: Antioch-Persis, Apamea-Seleias (at Silhu, the confluence of the Sillas and Tigris), Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Seleucia-by-the-Erythraean Sea, Seleucia-Eulaeos (Susa), Alexandria-on-the-Tigris (Charax, at the confluence of the Eulaeos and Tigris, refounded in 166/5 BCE as Antioch), and an unidentified Antioch. Of these, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris was one of the largest cities of the ancient world, with a reported population of 600,000. There was a Laodicea-in-Media (Nihavend), as well as Ecbatana/Hamadan, which housed a Seleucid mint which continued to produce Parthian coins with Greek inscriptions, and from which Mani's family reportedly came. Hellenic colonies had also been planted in the city of Babylon and further up the Euphrates at Dura-Europos. Most of these colonies were established early, with the intention of forming the homeland of the Seleucid state. Local peoples mixed with the Hellenes of these metropolises, with ensuing cultural exchange.

They all went on as before under new Parthian masters from the middle of the second century BCE. The Hellenic culture of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris can be traced all the way to its sack by Roman forces in 165 CE;[8] from that point on it lost its distinct Hellenistic institutions in the megalopolis of "The Cities" (Mada'in in the local Aramaic) that had been built up all around it.[9] Dura-Europos also maintained its Macedonian identity up to its conquest by the Romans the same year that Seleucia was sacked, and for some time afterwards, although it came under the increasing domination of a Palmyrene garrison in its latter days.[10] Susa (Seleucia-on-the-Eulaeos) likewise still had a fully functioning Hellenic polis in the 1st century CE.[11]

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7. R. M. Adams, *Heartland of Cities: Surveys of Ancient Settlement and Land Use on the Central Floodplain of the Euphrates*, Chicago 1981, pp. 192ff., documents extensive development of agricultural land and construction of major new canal systems in this period. Mani was himself born in a town along one of these Seleucid canals, the Nar Kutha. Adams also notes the shift of settlement to the Tigris in connection with the development of international trade, for which the river provided more navigable channels than the Euphrates did. He estimates a doubling of settlement relative to the Achaemenid period.
8. See A. Invernizzi, "Ten Years' Research in the Al-Mada'in Area: Seleucia and Ctesiphon," *Sumer* 32 (1976), pp. 166–176.
9. So it was known to Mani. The site of Seleucia was finally abandoned after the second Roman sack of the city in 283, shortly after Mani's death.
10. F. Millar, "Dura-Europos under Parthian Rule," in J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse*, Stuttgart 1998, pp. 473–492, who notes the continued predominance of Greek language in documents and the persistence of a cult of Seleucus Nicator into the period of Roman occupation.
11. F. Cumont, "A Letter of Artaban III to the City of Susa," *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute* 27 (1934), pp. 66–74.

The explicit philhellenism of the Arsacid Parthian regime in its first two centuries was directed at this substantial Hellenic population in the main population center of the empire, and reflected Arsacid reliance on the existing Seleucid political institutions and bureaucracy. The occupants of this network of offices were not, of course, all Hellenes. From the beginning, the Seleucids welcomed native Mesopotamians into the ranks of the government and military, and through these institutions they became Hellenized, at least to the degree of speaking, reading, and writing Greek in their official capacities. Contact of religious cultures also occurred. At Dura and elsewhere, individuals with non-Greek names are recorded as making offerings or serving as priests of Hellenic cults.[12]

It becomes increasingly difficult to follow the traces of the Hellenic population and cultural influence in Mesopotamia as we get to the latter days of the Parthian regime. The Parthians themselves turned away from their public philhellenism in the mid-first century CE, toward a reassertion of their Iranian identity.[13] Yet Vologeses IV, for instance, still took the trouble to dedicate a statue of Herakles he had transferred from Mesene to Seleucia in 151 CE with an inscription in both Greek and Parthian, and fourteen years later Lucius Verus carried off from the same city the Hellenistic image of its still venerated Macedonian chief deity, Apollo Komaios.[14] Continuation of Hellenistic culture cannot be expected in some "pure," unchanged form; that would constitute cultural stagnation. By the time we get to the late Parthian environment that forms the background of Mani, the Hellenic population of the region had been indigenized by 500 years, and for 300 of those years they had been more or less isolated from the Greek homeland. The Hellenic demographic of Mesopotamia had not departed; it was now at home in the region and to varying degrees contributed to the regional "melting pot."[15] The Parthian inscription on the aforementioned statue of Herakles identified the

12. E.g., the temple of Artemis in Dura (L. Dirven, *The Palmyrenes of Dura-Europos*, Leiden 1999, p. 121).
13. This change in policy may have been connected to contemporaneous efforts by the Parthian government (beginning with the reign of Vologases I, *circa* 38–60 CE) to assert more direct control over southern Mesopotamia, in order to better profit from the rapidly accelerating oversea trade on which Seleucia and the other Greek cities of the region had previously enriched themselves.
14. D. S. Potter, "The Inscription on the Bronze Herakles from Mesene: Vologeses IV's War with Rome and the Date of Tacitus' 'Annales'," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 88 (1991), pp. 277–290.
15. See M. Colledge, "Greek and non-Greek Interaction in the Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic East," in A. Kuhrt – S. Sherwin-White, *Hellenism in the East: The Interactions of Greek and non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia after Alexander*, Berkeley 1987, pp. 134–162, esp. 158–162.

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figure as the Iranian deity Verethragna, and the temple to which it was dedicated as that of Tir—Apollo in the Greek inscription. This sort of syncretism contributed to Mani's own synthesis of traditions.

In Mani's lifetime, Mesopotamia contained a sizable Jewish population, in excess of half a million persons, dispersed among urban areas and in places concentrated in agricultural villages.[16] This population had built up over several centuries by immigration from the frequent political and economic turmoil of Judea to the relative stability of Mesopotamia. That security, especially against the hated Rome, was worth fighting for, and the Jewish community rallied to the side of the Parthians against the invasion of Trajan in 115, mounting guerilla resistance that made a permanent Roman occupation impossible. Mani's own community-building ran parallel to similar community-forming developments in the Rabbinic tradition, involving such leading figures as Rav, Samuel, and other foundational 'Amora'im. Yet this tradition represents only a portion of Jewish religious culture of the time, and it remains exceedingly difficult to ascertain the character of the ideas and practices that prevailed in non-Rabbinic Jewish communities.[17] Jacob Neusner collects evidence of distinct liturgical, legal, and exegetical traditions among Babylonian Jews, now largely submerged by later rabbinic discourse.[18] Babylonian-rooted communities re-settled in Galilee established their own synagogues, suggesting liturgical differences with their Palestinian neighbors, and the one synagogue known from Mesopotamia, at Dura, clearly is non-rabbinic in character.[19] Neusner notes a number of indications that the Babylonian Jews might have been particularly engaged in "mystical" speculations connected to Merkavah and Shi'ur Qomah.[20] It is such "mythological" dimensions of the Jewish tradition that have the closest connection to Manichaeism, and there has been considerable speculation about the role of the Elchasaite community—typically characterized as "Jewish-Christian"—in transmitting Jewish traditions to Mani during his youth spent among them.

It is nearly impossible to say anything with confidence concerning the presence and character of Christianity in Mesopotamia prior to the time of Mani. The only historically secure representatives of this elusive entity are Tatian and Bardaisan of Edessa, both of whom belong to "Assyria," in the Roman sphere, rather than "Babylonia" in the Iranian orbit. It is commonly assumed that "gnostic" Christians had found their way to Mesopotamia, and that Mani

16. J. Neusner, *The History of the Jews in Babylonia*, t. II, *The Early Sasanian Period*, Chico 1999, pp. 241–250.
17. J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia*, t. I, *The Parthian Period*, Chico 1984, p. xxv, remarks on how unrepresentative of the Jewish population of the region rabbinic sources probably are.
18. *Ibid*., pp. 156–172.
19. *Ibid*., pp. 161–163.
20. *Ibid*., pp. 166–172.

was directly influenced by them. That assumption will be examined below, leaving aside the very difficult question of the origin of the Mandaeans, who may be fairly classed as a community of "gnostic" character, but certainly not Christian. Bardaisan provided an abstract, elemental account of cosmic origins, traces of which found their way into Mani's conceptualization of cosmogonic forces. But neither he, nor Tatian, nor "gnostic" Christians spoke in terms of a primordial battle between light and darkness, good and evil. Such a dualistic outlook clearly relates to Iranian mythic antecedents, and yet the specific narrative details of the Manichaean myth appear to owe a great deal not only to Babylonian, but also Hellenic mythology.

The Myth of Primordial Battle

Mani's cosmogonic myth takes its starting-point with a dualistic battle between the divine forces of the realm of light, and the monstrous creatures of the realm of darkness. Although this dualistic conflict is often compared to Zoroastrian ideas, it belongs to a more ancient Near Eastern mythological legacy encapsulated in the Babylonian creation story, *Enūma Eliš*. As far as we can tell, the indigenous Babylonian myth of primordial cosmic conflict was alive and well in the centuries leading up to Mani, and points of comparison to Mani's myth have been obvious since the discovery of Assyrian and Babylonian texts at the end of the nineteenth century. The elder gods bring forth the new young and vigorous god Marduk (or Bel) to defeat the monstrous embodiment of the sea, Tiamat. Having slain her, he splits her body in half to make the heavens and the earth. Berossus, writing in the early Seleucid period, supplies a summary of the myth in his *Babyloniaka*, in which he identifies the victorious god Bel with Zeus. With the abandonment of cuneiform and clay tablets in the first century CE, the literary trail in Mesopotamia itself vanishes with the perishable documents on which it no doubt continued to be written.[21]

Whether through an Indo-European mythological legacy or later contact with Babylonia in the "Orientalizing Period," Greek myth shared the idea of primordial divine conflict, including a number of distinct traditions, among which the better-known are the generational conflict between Olympians and Titans, the subsequent war of the Olympians with the Giants, and the individual combat of Zeus with the dragon Typhon.[22] Alexander of Lycopolis refers to

21. The last known cuneiform clay tablet is dated 74 CE: J. Bottéro, *Mesopotamia: Writing, reasoning and the Gods*, Chicago 1992, p. 206. In Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, tens of thousands of clay bullae are all that remain of the huge city archive, the documents they once sealed being utterly lost.
22. Mention should also be made here of the primordial combat for heaven between Kronos and the monster Ophion, related by Pherecydes of Syros in the sixth century BCE, and repeated in such later sources as Apollonius, Celsus, and Eusebius; see N. Forsyth, *The*

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Manichaean discussion of the Gigantomachy: "They also refer to the battle of the giants as told in our poetry, which to their mind proves that the poets were not ignorant of the insurrection of matter against God."[23] Alexander's remark could be taken to refer to secondary cultural adaptation of the Manichaean mission to the Greco-Roman environment. Yet Mani himself composed a *Book of Giants*. W. B. Henning and John Reeves[24] have demonstrated the debt Mani's book owes to the Jewish Enoch literature, and we will return to this connection below. The Enoch narrative, however, bears little connection to the more fundamental, dualistic myth of primordial combat at the heart of Manichaean ideology, which instead shows continuity with the *Enuma Eliš*. A variety of evidence points to the amalgamation of the latter myth with the Greek Gigantomachy in Hellenistic literature and art, when Babylonian and Hellenic culture underwent a new phase of intense engagement.[25]

Ancient critics of Manichaeism expressed horror at the detail that the forces of good are initially "defeated" when the deity Primal Man (in the role of Marduk-Bel) goes out from the realm of light to meet the assault of the dark beings. Yet the theme of initial defeat was a commonplace of divine conflict mythology from Greece to India. In the story of Zeus's combat with the dragon Typhon,[26] for instance, Apollodorus reports such an initial defeat of Zeus, who has his tendons cut out, rendering him paralyzed. Hermes and

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Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth, Princeton 1987, pp. 68–76.

23. *C. Man*. (Brinkmann) 5 (P. W. van der Horst – J. Mansfeld, *An Alexandrian Platonist Against Dualism: Alexander of Lycopolis' Treatise 'Critique of the Doctrines of Mani'*, Leiden 1974, p. 57); cf. similar references in Serapion of Thmuis (R. P. Casey, *Serapion of Thmuis Against the Manichees*, Cambridge 1931, p. 52), and in Titus of Bostra (K. Kessler, *Mani. Forschungen über die manichäische Religion*, Berlin 1889, p. 199).
24. W. B. Henning, "The Book of the Giants," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11 (1943–1946), pp. 52–74; J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony. Studies in the* Book of Giants *Traditions*, Cincinnati 1992.
25. Note that Plutarch sought authoritative interpretation of the Titanomachy and Typhonomachy from a non-Greek sage living near the Erythrian Sea (*i.e.*, Persian Gulf): *Moralia* 421A–E. On artistic syncretism on this mythic theme, see, e.g., the relief in the peristyle of the Temple of Bel in Palmyra, dating to the first century ce, where the primordial battle between Bel and Tiamat has been visually synthesized with the current iconography of the Gigantomachy. For further discussion, see J. BeDuhn, "Apparatus of Salvation," in T. Fuhrer – M. Erler (ed.), *Cosmologies et cosmogonies dans la littérature antique*, Geneva 2015, pp. 219–251.
26. Typhaon or Typhoeus is described by Hesiod as a beast with one hundred snake heads that breathe fire (*Theogony* 845, etc., see T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*, Baltimore 1993, p. 49). But in art, as in a Chalkidian hydria now in Munich (*Ibid.*, p. 596) a figure labeled as Typhoeus has a human head and torso, but a lower body consisting of two snakes; the same representation (unlabeled) is found at Olympia (*Ibid.*, p. 50), and the pediment of the Temple of Artemis at Kerkyra. Later literature (e.g., Apollodorus) concurs with this artistic motif, making the lower part of his body ophidian. We thus can see that in Hellenistic times opponents of the gods—whether Typhon or the Giants—came to be conventionally depicted by this iconographic short-hand.

Aigipan recover the tendons and restore Zeus.[27] This element of the myth also derived from older west Asian tales of divine combat. When Hellenistic culture brought the Greek versions of such myths back into the region, their common motifs would have been immediately recognizable, fostering syncretistic religious culture. Mani turned this common mythological motif into a key *theologoumenon*, which he saw echoed in the passion of Jesus, and took to convey the non-violent character of the divine.

Turning to examine any possible Jewish elements in the Manichaean myth of primordial combat, it is well known that traces of such a myth appear in places of the Tanakh, while being effectively drained from the Genesis creation account.[28] Rabbinic injunctions against discussion of the inner mysteries of the creation (*Berešit*) may point to a tradition of mythological elaboration that no longer survives even in the margins of Jewish literature.[29] What survived the filter of Rabbinic orthodoxy can be found in late collections such as the midrash *Genesis Rabbah* and medieval manuscripts of *Ma'aseh Berešit* (otherwise known as the *Seder Rabbah di-Berešit*). We are in much the same position with the equally esoteric discourse on the divine chariot (*Merkavah*), which has relevance to Manichaean cosmological models, as we shall see. Rabbinic evidence shows more engagement with these traditions in Babylonia than in Roman Palestine.[30] It may well be that the complex demiurgical traditions at the heart of "Gnosticism" derive from exegetical elaborations of the creation account that ventured beyond the limits of emergent post-70 CE Jewish orthodoxy. Thus, "gnostic" texts may provide our only access to the sort of cosmogonic mythology once connected with the Jewish tradition, of which only allusions survive in recognizably Jewish literature.

Although Manichaean texts and ideas were drawn upon in initial definitions of "Gnosticism" a century ago, key differences have now become apparent between Manichaean doctrine and the body of interrelated literature treated in current discussions of the "gnostic" movement. Nowhere are these differences more apparent than in the pre-cosmogonic scenarios of the two respective traditions. Whatever may be meant when modern researchers refer to a "dualist" outlook in gnostic texts, it does not refer to a concept of two original, eternal, and ultimate principles in conflict, as it does in Manichaeism. In fact, most gnostic schools of thought present monistic, devolutionist metaphysics, and a primordial combat narrative is utterly lacking in texts usually classed as "gnostic." This fundamental divergence suggests

27. In another Greek story, the giants Otos and Ephialtes (the "Aloadai") capture Ares and keep him in a bronze jar until Hermes discovers and frees him (*Ibid.*, p. 170).
28. See, e.g., God's combat with the sea, or with monsters such as Leviathan and Rahab in Psalm 74,12–17; Isaiah 27,1 and 51,9–11; Job 38,8–11 and 40,25–32.
29. See *m. Hagigah* 2,1; 26,10–14.
30. D. J. HALPERIN, *The Merkabah in Rabbinic Literature*, New Haven 1980, p. 179.

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that the Manichaean myth of primordial combat owes nothing to "gnostic" antecedents, and likewise nothing to Jewish ones, in so far as they may be reflected in "gnostic" literature.

Other Jewish apocrypha, of a non-"gnostic" kind, present closer affinities to Manichaean mythology in offering accounts of angelic rebellion and conflict, and such traditions carried forward in certain channels of the early Christian tradition. These tales usually set the conflict, and subsequent "fall" of angels, in post-cosmogonic time, however. Mani incorporated these narrative elements accordingly in a later period of his myth, and interpreted the fallen angels as evil beings who had been *imprisoned* in the heavens following the primordial battle, and later escaped.[31] We might speculate that his dualistic solution to the fall of angels may have caused Mani to formulate a prior combat before creation, as the back-story to the later fall. But with more direct examples of primordial combat myths in his cultural environment, such a speculative scenario is unnecessary. Thomas Francis Glasson has argued that *Enoch*'s myth of the fallen angels shows the influence of the Greek Titanomachy and Gigantomachy, traces of which also turn up in lexical choices of the Septuagint.[32] Manichaean myth agrees with *Enoch* (and with underlying Greek myth) that the superhuman opponents of God are not slain, but "confined forever" beneath the earth (*Enoch* 10.11–14). Birger Pearson has demonstrated continuing synthesis of the Titanomachy and the Enochic fall of the angels in the letters of Jude and 2 Peter.[33]

Construction of the Cosmos

The elaborate and systematic Manichaean cosmogonic narrative displays close affinity to myths such as the *Enūma Eliš*, where the cosmos is made from the dissected remains of the slain primordial enemy. Although related themes can be found in Indo-European mythology, they are largely absent from specifically Greek myth; the latter therefore played no obvious role in providing material for Mani's mythopoesis in this regard. It is impossible to say whether the suppressed *Berešit* speculations retained any trace of the mythological personifications of the *tohu wa bohu* of the Jewish creation account. Nevertheless, both Babylonian and Jewish creation narratives offer

31. See J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony*.
32. T. F. Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology*, London 1961, pp. 62–67; cf. N. Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, p. 157 and pp. 168–169. See Num 13,33; 2 Samuel 5,18–22; Judith 16,6. Sibylline Oracles 1.98–124 and 2.231 show the same identification of the fallen angels with the Titans and Giants of Greek mythology, and Josephus makes the same correlation (*Ant*. 1.3.1), while Philo seems to object to it (N. Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, p. 158).
33. B. Pearson, "A Reminiscence of Classical Myth at 2 Peter 2:4," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 10 (1969), pp. 71–80; reprinted in Id., *The Emergence of the Christian Religion: Essays on Early Christianity*, Harrisburg 1997, pp. 75–87.

an implicit theodicy in the potential resistance or imperfection of the material out of which the divine demiurge made the cosmos.[34] Plato took a similar approach to theodicy in the *Timaeus*: matter is intrinsically disorderly, and creation is a positive process of endowing it with order.[35] Manichaeism belongs to this same outlook, in contrast with the typical "gnostic" cosmogony, in which demiurgical activity itself is bad. Ill-intentioned creation appears in Manichaeism only in the case of anthropogony.

The divine demiurgical forces of Manichaean cosmogony construct an elaborate cosmos, consisting of a secondary heavenly domain (the "New Aeon" or "New Paradise") overlooking ten firmaments of the heavens and eight earths, stacked one atop the other. The idea of multiple celestial firmaments appears already in ancient Mesopotamia, and became widely disseminated in the Hellenistic west, in part through astronomical lore. It also entered Jewish thought, and finds a number of elaborations in Jewish apocryphal literature, beginning with the books of Enoch. Gnostic and Manichaean texts assume this complex ouranology, which in the gnostic case certainly also draws on Egyptian ideas.

Most discussions in Rabbinic literature, including Hekhalot tracts, envision seven heavens, with God enthroned in the seventh.[36] The aforementioned *Ma'aseh Berešit* posits a cosmos in which seven firmaments of heaven mirror seven "depths" (*tehomot*) or earths, a motif that goes back to the seven layers of the underworld in Mesopotamian cosmology, and is echoed in the seven earths beneath our own eighth earth in Manichaeism.[37] As in Manichaean cosmology, the firmaments do not correlate to astrological spheres for the seven "planets," all of which are located in the second heaven in *Ma'aseh Berešit*;[38] in the Manichaean scheme the planets (with sun and moon replaced by two dark planets) and zodiac are in the first heaven, while the location of the sun and moon remains unspecified.[39]

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34. See *Genesis Rabbah* 1, 5.
35. Alexander of Lycopolis reports Egyptian Manichaeans directly quoting Plato on the *ataktos kinēsis* of matter.
36. P. Schäfer, "In Heaven as It Is in Hell: The Cosmology of *Seder Rabbah di-Bereshit*," in R. S. Boustan – A. Y. Reed, *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions*, Cambridge 2004, pp. 233–274 (pp. 261–266 and pp. 271–274).
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 238–239. The same construct is found in the *Re'uyot Yehezkel*, which Gruenwald dates to the fourth to fifth centuries (I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, Leiden 2014[2] [1980], p. 168). For the Mesopotamian construct, see especially the Descent of Inanna.
38. P. Schäfer, "In Heaven as It Is in Hell", pp. 245–246 and p. 250.
39. It does little good to posit that seven-heaven schemes in these literatures depend on the Ptolemaic model of planetary spheres, but "misunderstand the model" by clustering planets and stars in one or two of the heavens rather than assigning one planet to each (J. Edward Wright, *The Early History of Heaven*, New York 2000, p. 183). The presumed relationship

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The Enoch corpus contains the idea that the celestial bodies enter and exit the sky through "gates" situated respectively in the east and west;[40] Manichaean cosmology retains these gates, even though they no longer have a specified function. The *Apocalypse of Enoch* (commonly referred to as *2 Enoch*) presents a multi-tiered heaven, like that in later Merkavah literature and the *Ma'aseh Berešit*, and includes the interesting detail that the fallen angels/watchers are imprisoned and punished in the celestial firmaments, rather than in any netherworldly pit.[41] Manichaeans place the binding of evil forces in the same distinctive location, and in some accounts employ expressions such as "watchers" and "rebels" that reveal direct dependence on Enoch literature. The *Apocalypse of Enoch* survives in two recensions, in which there is a total of seven or ten firmaments, respectively, with God enthroned in the highest.[42] The Manichaean firmaments total ten, with a deity enthroned in the seventh, while the firmaments above it lack any detailed description or function, and seemingly exist just to fill out the number ten, above which exists a richly described super-celestial realm.

The midrash *Ma'aseh Berešit* also includes a super-celestial realm beyond the seven heavens, where God reigns enthroned surrounded by light, duplicating the deity enthroned in the seventh heaven, who is described contrastingly amid darkness, clouds, and mist.[43] This doubled deity appears also in *Merkavah* literature, and can be compared with Manichaean multiplication of God into a number of emanations, with the "Great King of Honor" enthroned in the seventh heaven, while other emanations of God are enthroned in the super-celestial "New Aeon," and the Father of Greatness himself remains enthroned in the Realm of Light.

As Peter Schäfer notes, *Ma'aseh Berešit* contains a surprising correspondence between the seventh heaven and the seventh (lowest) earth, anchoring the divine presence in the netherworld.[44] Here, at the very base of creation, the text inventories a mirror-image of the seventh heaven, containing angels and holy creatures, as well as "wheels" (*ofannim*) and a "throne of glory." It is impossible to deny some sort of relation between this set of images and the contents of the lowest of the Manichaean four "earths," which rest in turn upon four "deposits." There, an enthroned deity known as the "King of Glory"

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is based solely on the coincidence of the number seven, which had wider use and significance than just Ptolemaic astronomy. For a different criticism, see P. Schäfer, "In Heaven as It Is in Hell", p. 260.

40. *Enoch* 35.
41. *2 Enoch* 7 and 18; so too the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (*3 Baruch*), in which different categories of the wicked are imprisoned in the first (2:7), second (3:5), and third (4:5; 5:3) heavens.
42. *2 Enoch* 20.
43. P. Schäfer, "In Heaven as It Is in Hell", p. 252. *Hekhalot Rabbati* and *Re'uyot Yehezqel* have the same super-celestial realm of God above the seventh heaven (*Ibid*., pp. 262–263).
44. *Ibid*., pp. 242–243.

supervises the turning of three wheels of wind, water, and fire. Given the late date of rabbinic cosmological texts such as the *Ma'aseh Berešit*, and the relative unlikelihood that they have been influenced by Manichaean cosmology, we must continue to search for earlier sources of these very specific ideas in late antique Mesopotamian Jewish traditions.[45] John Reeves has pointed to the Jewish-rooted apocalyptic ascent narratives quoted in the *Cologne Mani Codex* as "important textual evidence for an unbroken chain of tradition connecting Second Temple Jewish apocalyptic texts to the earliest *Hekhalot* literature," and proposes the Jewish-Christian Elchasaite community as the likely channel of such material into Mani's mythopoesis.[46]

In Manichaean cosmology, the operation of the wheels of wind, water, and fire in the netherworld takes place alongside of an Atlas figure who supports the earths above. This detail brings us back to possible Hellenic sources, and perhaps even more so to another Hellenistic convergence with Babylonian mythology, which had an Atlas figure who bore the heavens on his shoulders.[47] This figure appears among the iconographic repertoire of Mithra cultic centers, and fully Hellenized Atlas figures could be seen as statues or architectural decoration from the Levant to Bactria. Manichaean texts describe the posture of Atlas in quite concrete terms that exactly match the artistic representations that would have been familiar to Mani, and thus demonstrate that he could be influenced as much through the artistic medium as the literary one.

Anthropogony

The Manichaean myth of anthropogony begins with the notorious "Seduction of the Archons" episode, which serves as a prelude to the creation of human beings. One of God's emanations presents itself to the gaze of evil beings who have consumed part of the divine light, and its beauty elicits a libidinous response from them, causing them to release quantities of the captive light through the emission of sexual fluids. These emissions fall to earth, where they become plants and animals. Humans are a derivative

45. A seemingly related image appears in the Latin *Asclepius* of the Hermetic tradition, wherein the soul stained with sin is sent to the underworld by the post-mortem judge, who "consigns it to the storms and whirlpools of air, fire, and water in their ceaseless clashing, its endless punishment to be swept back and forth between heaven and earth in the streams of matter" (*Asclepius* 28; B. P. Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, Cambridge 1992, p. 84).

46. J. C. Reeves, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library," in Id. (ed.), *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, Atlanta 1994, pp. 173–203 (pp. 177–178).

47. See F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme*, t. I, *La Cosmogonie manichéenne d'après Théodore bar Khôni*, Brussels 1908, pp. 69–72.

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product of this event. Here again, the critics of Manichaeism expressed shock at such a tale, despite the fact that the motif had widespread attestation in other mythologies.

Several parallels may be cited from Near Eastern bronze age mythology, but examples exist closer to Mani's own historical context. For example, the tale of the origins of the Athenian people tells how Hephaistos lusted after the virgin goddess Athena, but succeeded only in ejaculating onto her leg. Athena wiped it off and it fell to earth, giving birth to Erichthonios. Pindar (*Pythian Ode* 2.21–48) summarizes a similar tale involving a goddess resisting unwanted advances, in this case Hera against the advances of the Titan Ixion. Zeus substitutes a phantom-Hera made of cloud, and consequently the assaulter's semen misses its target, yet still produces offspring: the eponymous ancestor of the centaurs. As punishment, Ixion is bound to a winged wheel in the sky, which spins him around ceaselessly. Just as Ixion looses his lust on a false apparition of Hera, formed of mere cloud, so in the Manichaean myth the archons pursue illusory, and ultimately untouchable divine forms. Falling to earth, his semen becomes a humanoid creature who mates indiscriminately with horses, producing the centaurs, similar to the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic creatures born of the archons in the Manichaean tale. Finally, the miscreant Ixion is bound to a rotating wheel as punishment, exactly as Mani told of the dark forces being bound to the wheel of the zodiac and spun on it as a means to both punish them and cause them to yield up the light they had consumed. Such very specific narrative parallels scarcely can be coincidental.

The "Seduction of the Archons" is not an isolated tale in Manichaean myth, but leads on to the creation of human beings on the model of the divine form that had elicited the desire of the story's villains.[48] Thus, anthropogenesis has a decidedly negative setting in Manichaeism. Among the many anthropogonies in Mani's immediate environment, several likewise present human creation as in some sense independent of, or even oppositional to, the supreme being, rather than the result of the latter's initiative. Yet the distinctive theme within Manichaean anthropogony of humans being created in imitation of a divine form clearly relates in some way to the enigmatic passage in Genesis 1,26–27, in which a plurality of creators plan and carry out the creation of human beings "in our image." It is not difficult to discern antecedent polytheistic myth here, preserved in the biblical text for some unknown reason without adaptation to the Torah's monotheistic master narrative. These deities become angels in some para-biblical Jewish literature, such as Jubilees.[49]

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48. See *Kephalaia* 55–56; Theodore bar Konai (J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony*, pp. 192–193).
49. Cf. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 62.2; Targum Ps.-Jonathan Genesis 1:26. Note that in Jubilees, the plural creators have been eliminated from the initial creation parallel to Genesis 1, but introduced into the creation of Eve account parallel to Genesis 2.

Philo directly associates angelic creators with the less-than-perfect outcome of anthropogony; in fact, he goes so far as to speak of God assigning "the origin of evil to other workmen than himself," coming remarkably close to a "gnostic" mindset. Only the mind (*nous*) is created by God, Philo explains, while angels are responsible for joining that rational nature to an irrational one, with reference to the collective address in Genesis 1,26.[50] In addition, Philo explicitly states that the image on which humans were modeled was not God's, but that of a "second god," the Logos.[51] The later rabbis, dealing with "Gnostics" and Manichaeans unknown to Philo, grew less comfortable with such divisions of anthropogonic labor. In *Genesis Rabbah* 8,9, "heretics" (*minim*) are reported raising leading questions regarding the use of the plural in the passage, only to be rebuffed by Rabbi Simlai, who draws attention to the singular form of the associated verbs.[52]

The switch from an assistive to an oppositional role for the angelic creators of humanity marks the boundary between more-or-less tolerable kinds of Jewish speculation and the sort of narratives typically classified as "gnostic".[53] Michael Williams has argued that the latter constitute "alternative" solutions to the biblical enigmas, rather than a deliberate "inversion" or "reversal" of the biblical account.[54] These observations suggest that we might, in part, access otherwise suppressed varieties of Jewish demiurgical speculation through so-called "gnostic" literature. Williams' dissection of the modern concept of "Gnosticism" needs to have its day in Manichaean Studies as well. Manichaeism has been associated closely with "Gnosticism" in modern scholarship, and Manichaean material was drawn upon heavily in early definitions and descriptions of "Gnosticism." Yet, as we have seen, Manichaeism has almost nothing in common with Gnostic literature in its theogony and cosmogony: God's emanations do not devolve into morally ambiguous beings, and demiurgical operations are viewed positively overall, rather than negatively. Anthropogenesis provides the principal exception, and is the primary mytholegoumenon that gives us any reason to suppose that

50. *De fuga et inventione* 68–72; cf. *De opificio mundi* 74–75; *De confusione linguarum* 179.
51. *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim* 1.4; 2.62; *Legum allegoriae* 3.96.
52. The Manichaeans raised similar questions, and indeed, may stand behind the *minim* of this report, since Simlai was a contemporary of Mani (see J. Neusner, *The History of the Jews of Babylonia*, Part 2, *The Early Sasanian Period*, Atlanta 1999, p. 144); in which case this passage would not serve as evidence of prior anthropogonic speculation within Judaism.
53. Rather than belabor the many issues with the term "gnostic," I employ it here merely as a designation for a body of literature sharing certain themes, foremost of which is what Michael Williams has termed "demiurgic exegesis," directly related to the subject of this study.
54. M. Williams, *Rethinking 'Gnosticism': An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category*, Princeton 1996, p. 68.

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Mani knew specifically "gnostic" traditions. The similarity is to be found not merely in the basic theme of plural demiurges in opposition to the supreme being, but in more specific parallel narrative elements.

In the *Apocryphon of John* a divine form is revealed in the sky, and is imitated by Yaldabaoth and the archons in crafting Adam (Nag Hammadi Codices II, 14.14ff. and parallels). The direct quotation of Genesis 1,26 in the passage supports the idea that it represents "demiurgical exegesis" of the enigmatic biblical passage. The *Hypostasis of the Archons* presents the scenario in a form even closer to the Manichaean version. A female deity called "Incorruptibility" becomes the object of desire for the archons:

> As Incorruptibility looked down into the region of the waters, her image appeared in the waters; and the authorities of the darkness became enamored of her. But they could not lay hold of that image, which had appeared to them in the waters, because of their weakness—since beings that merely possess a soul cannot lay hold of those that possess a spirit—for they were from below, while it was from above. This is the reason why Incorruptibility looked down into the region: so that, by the Father's will, she might bring the entirety into union with the light. The authorities laid plans and said, "Come, let us create a man that will be soil from the earth." […] They had taken [some soil] from the earth and modeled their [man] after their body and [after the image] of God that had appeared [to them] in the waters. (II, 87.11–33)

A more graphic parallel to the Manichaean scenario occurs later, when the "authorities" (*exousiai*) pursue Eve, who eludes them by means of a shadowy double that they inseminate in ignorance (89.17–28). On *the Origin of the World* employs the theme of sexual discharge from an unconsummated sexual assault in both points of the myth, and draws a very clear connection between them. Yaldabaoth and Pronoia see a human likeness in the heavens above them.

> Then when Pronoia saw the angel, she became enamored of him, but he hated her because she was in darkness. Moreover, she desired to embrace him, but she was not able. When she was unable to quench her love, she poured out her light upon the earth. From that day, that angel was called Adam of Light. (II, 108.14–21 and parallel)

Pronoia's sexual discharge takes the form of blood, which congeals into Eros, an androgynous form that attracts the desire of all the archons, duplicating the narrative theme, this time with various consummations. After a long digression, the text returns to the Adam of Light's self-revelation and its consequences, with the familiar proposition to create human beings built on Genesis 1,26. "And their modelled form became an enclosure of the light" (II,

113.9–10).[55] Later, the seven world-governing archangels see in Eve an exact duplicate of the primordial light image. "Now come, let us seize her and let us cast our seed on her, so that when she is polluted she will not be able to ascend to her light, but those whom she will beget will serve us" (II, 116.13–19). The story unfolds as in *Hypostasis of the Archons*, with Eve escaping their intention by substituting a soulless duplicate. The same theme is attested by Epiphanius for groups he calls "Gnostics" and "Simonians",[56] who speak of a divine being revealing itself to arouse lust in "archons" in order to elicit divine substance they have come to possess. On the basis of such clear narrative parallels, may we conclude that Mani knew and drew upon specifically "gnostic" anthropogony?

The grounds for caution on this question are familiar. The Nag Hammadi codices and testimony of Epiphanius post-date Mani's *Šabuhragan* by a century, and the date of composition for the individual "gnostic" texts is unknown.[57] We cannot rule out, therefore, possible Manichaean influence on such narratives, since Manichaeism entered Syria and Egypt in the mid-third century. Moreover, parallels in individual narrative motifs do not necessarily imply familiarity with the whole texts in which they are known to us, or with the "gnostic" schools of thought within which the texts carried their greatest authority. "Gnostic" and Manichaean literature alike may have adopted the narrative theme of archontic desire for and imitation of a divine form independently of each other from a common West Asian mythological source. That source may have been a demiurgical elaboration of Genesis, or a now lost regional anthropogony to which Genesis, too, was indebted. After all, demiurgical exegesis of the Genesis creation account need not have arisen in an interpretive vacuum, but could have involved reconnecting Genesis to the larger regional mythology from which it had been distilled originally.[58] If Mani had familiarity with fully developed

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55. An attenuated version of this same theme appears in the Hermetic *Poimandres*, where the "father of all" gives birth to a human-formed deity, and the latter in turn looks down into the creation of the demiurge, "showing lower nature the beautiful form of god." Nature and the anthropos become enamored of one another, and mingle in embrace. In this example, the metaphorical and mythical vie for control of the meaning of the story, and comes quite close to Neoplatonic accounts of the descent of mind into matter.
56. *Panarion* 25.2.4 and 21.2–5, respectively.
57. An exception is provided by Irenaeus's report of "gnostic" systems known to him at the end of the second century. Here we find an anthropogenesis that provides some antecedents to the Manichaean one: "But when Achamoth was freed from her passion, she gazed with rapture on the dazzling vision of the angels that were with him [the emanation Savior]; and in her ecstasy, conceiving by them, […] she brought forth new beings, partly after her own image, and partly a spiritual progeny after the image of the Savior's attendants" (1.4.5). "This *enthymesis*, desirous of making all things to the honor of the aeons, formed images of them […] the Demiurge was in the image of the only-begotten Son, and the angels and archangels created by him were in the image of the rest of the aeons" (1.5.1).
58. F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme*, p. 41, n. 4.

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"gnostic" literature, it is difficult to explain why he rejected most of its world view, retaining only echoes of its anthropogony. Given his proven knowledge of the Enoch literature and related parabiblical traditions, it seems more plausible to search for traces of the desire-and-imitation anthropogony in some corner of this non-gnostic material.

The missing Enochic *Book of Giants* may hold the key. The fact that fragments of Mani's own *Book of Giants* contains themes found in some "gnostic" texts, rather than proving a gnostic mediation of the material to Mani, may point to common Jewish parabiblical sources behind both "gnostic" and Manichaean literature.[59] John Reeves has shown that, when the Manichaean myth describes the ejections of the archons falling onto the earth and into the sea, and producing in the latter a giant monster, it closely echoes the story of the origin of Leviathan from *1 Enoch* 60,7–10.[60] The version in the Enochic *Similitudes* offers no explanation of how or why the two monsters were cast, one on the land, and one on the sea; but clearly a more dramatic conflict myth stands behind the allusion to a great agitation among the angels (60,1). Milik proposed that the *Similitudes*, of which no fragments have been found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, took the place of the suppressed *Book of Giants*, which went into greater detail on the conflict between angels and the *nephilim*. In a difficult and enigmatic passage of the *Similitudes*, the angel Michael declares regarding the fallen angels that "They shall not prosper before the eye of the Lord; for they have quarreled with the Lord of the Spirits because they make an image of the Lord" (68,4). It is not at all clear what this alludes to, but the larger context of the *Similitudes* involves the revelation of the "Man"—a heavenly prototype of the messiah.

Guy Stroumsa argues that Manichaean myth consistently shifts themes back to earlier stages of time, and so the seduction of the angels in Genesis 6 and desire of the archons for Eve in "gnostic" texts, has become a cosmological tale set before the creation of humanity in Manichaeism.[61] He contends that the "abortions" which fall from the sky onto the earth as a result of the

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59. G. G. Stroumsa, *Another Seed: Studies in Gnostic Mythology*, Leiden 1984, pp. 165–166, notes striking parallels between fragments of Mani's *Book of Giants* and the *Apocalypse of Adam* on the inversion of the story of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah as the death of 400,000 righteous, and draws attention to the fact that this story is alluded to in the context of references to Enoch (*Homilies* 68:18; *Psalm-Book* 143:7-8). He concludes that "the traces of Gnostic mythologoumena found in the Manichaean fragments are too scant for us to postulate a gnosticized version of the *Book of Giants* as Mani's source." Yet, he goes on to assert that there is "no doubt that if Mani knew the Jewish legends, it was a Gnostic or gnosticizing reading of them with which he became acquainted, most probably while living among the Elchasaites" (p. 166).

60. J. C. Reeves, "An Enochic Motif in Manichaean Tradition," in A. van Tongerloo – S. Giversen (ed.), *Manichaica Selecta: Studies presented to Professor Julien Ries on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, Leuven 1991, pp. 295–298.

61. G. G. Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, pp. 153–154.

"Seduction of Archons" in the Manichaean myth connect with the Enoch traditions regarding the Nephilim produced by the fallen angels, where *nepilīm* ("fallen ones") was exegeted as *nepalīm* ("abortions, miscarriages"), as it is in *Genesis Rabbah* 26,7.[62]

The negative character of human creation shared by "gnostic" and Manichaean texts has much in common with Mesopotamian traditions, in which human beings are created by a plurality of gods in order to serve them. In one account, the goddess Ninhursag/Mami is instructed by the gods: "Create Man that he may bear the yoke," and the goddess effects this task by mixing the blood of a slain god with clay.[63] In a later, related version, the Anunnaki conspire to create human beings (again, from the blood of slain gods), "the service of the gods to be their portion for all times"—a service detailed in a long list of tasks involving the infrastructure of agriculture and the temple, in order to supply an endless stream of offerings.[64] The Gnostic-Manichaean turn on this narrative, so to speak, amounts to rejecting the fate of servitude intrinsic to this account, and seeing the "gods" as unjust slave-masters. The basic narrative itself goes unchanged; only its interpretive frame changes. Its presence in late antique literature shows the continuation of a living regional mythological tradition that had not been as completely supplanted by a Judeo-Christian monotheistic narrative as we might be led to believe by fixation on the biblical tradition in modern scholarship. Jews and Christians were exposed to ideas broader than the Bible, and we catch glimpses of that exposure where orthodoxing pressures have not hidden them from view.

Conclusions

With due caution about the pitfalls of "parallelomania",[65] we cannot afford to dismiss the conditions of cultural contact in which the various traditions we have examined here display intriguingly similar themes and motifs. New religious movements are never completely *sui generis*, but always arise on the foundations of what has come before. Manichaeism provides an effective illustration of this truism. Mani's personal religious experiences included a qualified affirmation of prior religious traditions that he explicitly names as sources of truth. His cosmogonic and cosmological teachings bear clear relation to earlier mythologies present in his cosmopolitan Mesopotamian homeland: Babylonian, Greek, Iranian, and Jewish. Mani represents a development of the regional apocalyptic movement, characterized by revelations

62. *Ibid*., p. 160; see T. Nöldeke, review of Kessler, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 43 (1889), pp. 535–536.
63. A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, Chicago 1951, p. 67.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 68–71.
65. See S. Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81 (1962), pp. 1–13.

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of the secrets of heaven and earth, past and future, as a response to crises in traditional religious institutions. His relation to this movement no doubt stemmed from his upbringing in an Elchasaite community, which exposed him to Enoch literature and other parabiblical Jewish traditions. But his engagement with non Jewish mythology in his immediate environment also is unmistakable. Selected appropriations and in some cases inversions of prior mythologies and world views defines Manichaeism in relation to other contemporaneous movements, such as that represented by various examples of "gnostic" literature. The latter literature draws on some of the same regional traditions as Manichaeism, both Jewish and non-Jewish; but direct engagement of Mani with "gnostic" groups that may have predated him has proven difficult to document. Both movements were in formation at the same time, alongside of the emergence of other forms of Christianity, of Judaism itself, and of Zoroastrianism. Mani formed his views at a time when the boundaries between these various movements were not yet clearly defined, and that circumstance is reflected in the "syncretistic" character of Manichaeism. This character remains more visible in Manichaeism than in the other religions due to Mani's programmatic stance on the validity of prior revelations on a broad scale, in contrast to the more circumscribed affirmations of only particular pasts found in the Judeo-Christian and Zoroastrian traditions. Mani's identity as the new—and last—messenger of God came to be defined in large part by his role as the "Interpreter" of prior religious discourse and practice.

Through the special conditions of his cosmopolitan homeland, where originally distinct cultural traditions came together and blended in ever new combinations, and his own travels and inquiries, Mani became aware of what different regional cultures had to say about the origins of the gods and the cosmos. He recognized certain common and recurring themes among these tales; and well he should have, not only from their common origin—e.g., in an Indo-European substrate of Greek, Iranian, and Indian mythology—but from millennia of contact and amalgamation preceding his own efforts. Mani became convinced that these shared themes represented a repeatedly revealed truth, and explained their diversity through a theory of corrupting transmission. Informed by his own visionary experiences, he sought to purge the existing mythic traditions of their corruptions, and restore a single, pure narrative as the foundation of his religious reform, which nonetheless still operated in the mythic mode. To fully explicate the significance of his achievement, therefore, we need to analyze it in terms both of its synthetic and applied originality, and as the culmination of a rich history of mythic creation and recreation. In the latter sense, Manichaean mythology becomes a valuable witness, informing us of the cultural resources present in Mesopotamia in late antiquity, and in this way illuminating the history of many cultures and religious traditions beyond Manichaeism itself.

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Manichaean Gnosis and Creation Myth

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Manichaean Gnosis and Creation Myth

by
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Contents

Foreword
I. Manichaean Gnosis: An Introduction to Its Iranian Cultural, Artistic and Literary Reflections
Manichaean Gnosis
Cultural Reflections
Artistic Reflections
Literary Reflections
II. Manichaean Creation Myth
The Manichaean Pantheon
The Reconstruction and Narration of the Creation Myth
The Paradise of Light
The Realm of Darkness
The Devil's Invasion of the Realm of Light
The First Creation
The Second Creation
The Creation of the Cosmos
The Third Creation
The Creation of Man
The Fate of the Soul after Death
The End of the World
The Creation of the First Human Beings
III. Mani's Pictorial Manifesto
Introduction
Ārdahang in Classical Persian Literature
The Interpretation of *Ārdahang*
The Pictorial Motifs of Creation
IV. The Role of the Beloved of the Lights
Introduction
Middle Persian and Parthian Texts

Arabic and Persian Texts
Syriac Texts
Coptic Texts
Conclusion
V. Manichaean Gods and Goddesses in a Classical Arabic Treatise
Introduction
The Golden Age
The First Creation
The Second Creation
The Third Creation
Conclusion
VI. Rūmī's Prologue to the *Mathnawī* and Gnostic Hymns: A Comparative Analysis
Introduction
Comparative Analysis
Conclusion

List of the Texts
Bibliography

Foreword

Among various narratives of cosmology throughout the world Manichaean creation myth is undoubtedly unique and significant. In the first chapter, before entering the fantastic imaginary scenario of Manichaean creation myth, I attempt to shine a new light on the cultural, artistic and literary reflections of Manichaean Gnosis and its roots in Iranian culture as an introduction to an Iranian approach to Gnosticism.

However, my main motive is to supply various texts on creation myth or cosmogonical process in Manichaeism. In addition, I found it necessary to coordinate and reconstruct the myth based up on various multilingual texts, such as Parthian, Middle and Classical Persian, Sogdian, Syriac, Coptic, Uigurian, Chinese and Arabic texts, translating these into a fluent narrative. This is provided extensively in the second chapter. Most of the texts referred to throughout the present work are available in my other books: *Ostūre-ye Āfarīnesh dar Ā'īn-e Mānī (The Myth of Creation in Manichaeism*, 2nd edn., 3rd print., Tehran: Cāravān Books, 2004), and *Adabīyyāte Mānavī (Manichaean Literature)* written in collaboration with Professor Mehrdād Bahār (Tehran: Kārnāmeh, 2005). Titles of the original texts referred to are listed at the end of this book.

The third chapter, "Mani's Pictorial Manifesto", contains a pictorial analysis of Manichaean cosmogony based on the surviving texts, including Classical Persian fragments explaining the precious paintings, some of which survive on the walls of

Manichaean monasteries, and also on silk, leather and paper materials found in historical sites in the oasis of Turfan in China.

In the fourth chapter, the role of a significant Manichaean deity, the Beloved of the Lights, in the Process of Cosmogony is discussed through a comparative study of Middle Persian, Parthian, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic and Farsi texts showing the deity as the first direct emanation of the Second Creation.

In the fifth chapter, Manichaean gods and goddesses mentioned in a unique classical Arabic treatise are discussed. The treatise, *Kitāb al-Radd-i 'al'al-Zandīq al-La'īn Ibn-i Muqaffa'(The Book of Refutation against the Damned Zandīq Ibn-i Muqaffa')* was composed by Qāsim Ibn-i Ibrāhīm (d. 246AH / 848AD). The references to seven Manichaean deities are faced with their specific functions. Different functions and characteristics of the deities are surveyed and analysed through a study of the original Manichaean texts, which leads us to find some new specifications.

In the final chapter, Rūmī's prologue to the *Mathnawī* (the poet's masterpiece of the world of mysticism) and its Gnostic roots in some surviving pieces of Middle Persian, Parthian and Coptic sources, especially hymns and prayers, as well as Manichaean psalms, the scope of a comparative study in which the motifs of pre-Islamic Gnostic hymns are analysed. In addition, the themes have been compared with the main content of the prologue to the *Mathnawī*, which leads us to find some common features between Gnostic-mystical motifs of early Christianity and the Muslim mystical literary works. At the end, this sheds a new light on the continuity of the Gnostic-mystical tradition in the broad realm of Christianity, Manichaeism and Islam.

Here, I must offer many thanks to Professor Werner Sundermann, of the German Academy of Human Sciences in Berlin, for his valuable suggestions.

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A. Esmailpour
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I

Manichaean Gnosis:
An Introduction to Its Iranian Cultural, Artistic and Literary Reflections

The rise of Manichaeism in the 3rd century AD has had multiple and widespread representations and reflections in human culture. Its effects can be seen in religious, social, cultural, artistic and literary aspects of human life. The most important and durable representation of Manichaeism is its gnostic aspect, which influenced Persian mysticism after Islam and is still alive as a mystic viewpoint. Manichaeism changed into a widespread religion from the 3rd to the 9th centuries AD. It dominated a vast geographical area that extended from China in the east and to Byzantium and the Roman Empire in the west. Then it continued its religious life as dispersed and transformed sects in Iran, Mesopotamia and some other parts of the world. However, what survives now from Manichaean religious institutions is not notable. Its significance, of course, rests on its later gnostic, cultural and literary influences. Here, after an introduction to Manichaean gnosis, we survey only its Iranian cultural, artistic and literary reflections.

Manichaean Gnosis

The most important feature of Manichaean religion is the idea of gnostic redemption. Thus, its gnostic aspect bears a specific significance. Contrary to Marcion, who said that redemption is

feasible only through faith and divine grace, Mani believed that gnosis and the waking up of the material forgetfulness are the factors of redemption. So, Mani thought of a complex and deep cosmogony which, although affected by mythology, had a marvelous structure and relied on astronomy to some extent.

Manichaeism was deeply a gnostic doctrine. Mani preferred wisdom, knowledge or gnosis to faith and tradition, as we see in one of his writings, which has survived in a Middle Persian fragment (*M 49 II*):

> Now Self (*Narjamīg* 'Twin') goes with me (is with me), bears and guards me, with his force I strive with *Āz* (the Greed Demon) and *Ahreman* (the Devil), and I teach the people wisdom and knowledge, and I release them from *Āz* and *Ahreman*. And I accepted this thing (matter) of gods, wisdom and the knowledge of *Ruwānčīnīh* (gathering the souls), which was from *Narjamīg* (Twin)...[1]

In addition, Mani always emphasized wisdom, books, knowledge and allegories in his books and preachings. However, the wisdom which Mani suggested was based on revelation and illumination.

Mani himself was a member of the Mughtasila ('the Baptizers') sect in his youth. His gnostic adept was al-Khasīḥ ('Alkasai or Alchsaius'). One of the problems which caused Mani to separate himself from the sect was that he opposed baptizing the body and taking part in daily baptism. He believed that the true baptism is possible only through gnosis and knowledge. In other words, he suggested spiritual baptism and preferred it to the baptism of the body. He said:

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[1] *'wm nwnc xwd 'b'g rwyd, 'wm xwd d'ryd 'wd p'yd 'wš pd zwr 'b'g ''z 'wd 'hrmyn qwšym. 'wd mrdwm'n xrd 'wd d'nyšn hmwcym, 'wš'n 'c ''z 'wd 'hrmyn bwzym. 'wd mn 'yn xyr 'y yzd'n, 'wd xrd 'wd d'nyšn 'yg rw'ncynyh, 'ym 'c h'n nrjmyg pdyrypt hynd,*...Cf. M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Leiden-Téhéran-Liège 1975), p. 31; M. Bahār and A. Esmailpour, *Adabīyyāt-e Mānavī* (*Manichaean Literature*) (Tehran 2005), p. 231.

> The purity spoken of [by Jesus] is therefore purity through *gnosis*. It consists of the separation of light from darkness, of life from death, of living water from the congealed.[1]

The 'living water' that is frequently mentioned in Manichaean writings is the spiritual water which causes the purification of human spirit and soul. The use of this term is metaphorical, a gnostic metaphor for the purification of the imprisoned soul and light.

The Middle Persian term *zīndag* ('living') is a relevant word in Manichaean texts denoting light-giver to all who attain the 'fruit of gnosis.' Mani also called his religion *dyn 'yg zyndg* ('living religion') and his Gospel bore the title of *`wnglywn zyndg* (*the Living Gospel*). Manichaeans have also called their prophet *zyndkkr* ('reviver'), because man will be gnostic and knowledgeable through His 'living word'.

Therefore, Manichaean gnosis was, on the one hand, wakeful and illuminating. It was a kind of gnosis that informed man of his true and righteous origin. For, in the Manichaean view, human beings are imprisoned in a world where light is mingled with darkness, and they should release themselves from darkness. The first covenant of this redemption is gnosis, that is, the consciousness of oneself and of the Father of Greatness (Mp. *pyd 'y wzwrgyh / zwrw'n*) or the God of Light, a transcendental deity who lives beyond this material cosmos, with whom mankind shares the same essence. Of course, only some light-filled and spiritual particles of his being, which are imprisoned in the 'jail of body', share the same essence as the deity. This imprisoned or banished essence, which is illustrated as a light-particle, is to be released through man's efforts to reach the gate of gnosis.

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[1] Cf. A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, "Der Kölner Mani-Kodex..., ed. der Seiten 72, 8-99, 9", *ZPE* 32 (1979), pp. 84, 9-16.

In Manichaean gnosis, there is not a word on the descent of spirit (*pneuma*) as the Gnostics of the second and the third century described it, but it shows the world as divided into two separate realms of light and darkness. Spirit itself is originally separated from Matter. Only the envy of the Devil and demons caused them to attack the World of Light. In this way, some light-particles were imprisoned by the demons; then the so-called period of 'mingling of light and darkness' began.

According to Manichaean cosmology, man was born out of this 'mingling period'. The human body is demonic but the human spirit is transcendental and celestial. Man should release this imprisoned soul in order to be redeemed. Otherwise, he would be reborn and would live in agony.

The longing for the Paradise of Light (Mp. *whyšt'w rwšn*) is one of the important themes of Manichaean gnosis. The only wish of the offended, alienated and miserable man in the material world is redemption, then joining the transcendental world, and standing in front of the Father of Greatness who is the supreme and unknown god of the Manichaean pantheon, a deity without any homogeneity with this material world. He lives in the transcendental kingdom, and he will meet the purified and redeemed souls and lights only at the end of the world. All released particles of light which have passed through the Moon to the Sun, and from the Sun to the New Paradise (Mp. *whyšt 'y nwg*)[1] - a temporary paradise until the end of the world - will join in the Paradise of Light. Then, the world becomes absolute light; darkness will be vanquished and the Devil will be imprisoned in a deep pit.

The redeeming process of Manichaean gnosis is different from the process explained in the other Gnostic schools. In Mani's view, redemption will be possible through a complicated process. This

[1] *'wd 'br h'n dysm'n 'y nwg, h'n whyšt 'y nwg kwn*...(and make that New Paradise over that new building...). Cf. M. Boyce, *op. cit.*, p. 66; M. Bahār and A. Esmailpour, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

process will take a mythical form because Manichaean gnosis is knotted with the world of myths and is inseparable from it. Hence, to describe the quality of redemption and soul salvation, we have to draw upon a mythical commentary that is presented in the next chapter. Understanding Manichaean gnosis requires a vast awareness of Manichaean mythology. Mani himself had a mythological analysis of the world and the whole galaxy. Unlike other significant gnostics of early Christianity who had analytical and philosophical minds, he was chiefly fascinated by myth and art. Even when he spoke of cosmogony and the creation process and wanted to present an astrological justification, he sometimes mixed astrological beliefs with mythological concepts of stars and planets. In addition, Mani transferred a deep Gnostic belief into an institutional religion that, indeed, lasted for centuries, but in the end it could not survive as such and was restored once again to the form of a Gnostic school.

One of the significant motifs in Manichaeism is the bondage of the Primordial Man (Mp. *`whrmyzdby*). He descends from the Realm of Light to participate in the battle against the Prince of Darkness at the border of Light and Darkness, because he has the responsibility of keeping the supreme Paradise in peace. The character and function of redemption and watching over the supreme Paradise for which he is responsible show the significance that Mani and other Manichaean gnostics assume for man. The Primordial Man is the symbol of the celestial perfect man, a concept that can be seen in the mysticism of the later periods. He is defeated in his combat and is imprisoned by the demons. Is not his defeat a symbol of man's *jihād* ('holy war') against concupiscence, sometimes symbolizing human defeat in a difficult passage? Manichaean gnostics have regarded the bondage of Primordial Man as a symbol of the human soul imprisoned in the material world. They said that human salvation at the hand of the Redeemer

in itself signifies the salvation and the release of the soul imprisoned in the body.

On the other hand, as the Primordial Man fell unconscious into the depth of darkness, and neither heard nor saw anything, which the Manichaean gnostics interpreted as the forgetfulness, blindness and deafness of man in the material world. The forgotten blind and deaf man, in their view, has fallen into the depth of darkness or into this earthly inferior world, and there is no hope for his salvation. Thus, a large number of prayers, hymns and poems composed by Manichaean gnostics, as well as gnostics of other schools, describe the human sorrow of alienation, forgetfulness and bewilderment.

The Five Elements (Mp. *'mhrspnd'n*), Five Sons of the Primordial Man who also took part at the battle against the powers of darkness, are swallowed and imprisoned by the demons. Although a deity of light is defeated at the first combat of Light and Darkness, this event permits the Paradise of Light to be secured from the aggression of the Devil (Mp. *'hrmyn*) and the Demons (Mp. *dyw'n*). In fact, the Five Sons of Light are sacrificed in order that the supreme Realm of Light will not be the battlefield of the demons. In addition, the Five Sons of Light are of the same essence as the Living Spirit (Mp. *myhr yzd*) who plays a significant role in the creation process. The human soul is made up of the light-particles of these deities. Therefore, man, in spite of his demonic and evil body, has a precious essence imprisoned in him. His apprehension should be the release of this essence. This essence has been compared to a pearl by Manichaeans and other gnostics. It is strikingly similar to the idea presented by Hāfiz, the great Iranian poet, about ten centuries later:

> The pearl that was out of the oyster of the abode of time and space (universe)

It was sought of by the lost beings of the coastline[1]

The essence or pearl is the same light-particle that, in the Manichaean gnostic view, is imprisoned in the oyster-body of man, while it does not belong to the 'oyster of the universe'. The bondage of this essence is not the sign of defeat, but a gnostic symbol and allegory of the spiritually devoted life. It is the sweet final salvation that makes man suffer the anguish of his dark and material body in order to be released from bondage and to find eternal salvation. This immortal salvation is better than the agony of 'suffering the body's load', as Khayyām says:

> No longer can I live without the pure wine
> I cannot suffer the body's load without drinking wine![2]

Thus, the agonized soul finally will be saved. His salvation is at the hand of a powerful and light-embodied deity, the Living Spirit. Although he begins the process of redemption, and organizes some of the light from the first conflict, the bulk of imprisoned light remains to be redeemed by later divine activity. However, he is the symbol of salvation of the jailed Primordial Man, and the creator and arranger of the cosmos with ten firmaments and eight earths; he is also the suppressor of the realm of the demons and the destroyer of the savages and their rebellion.

The salvation of the imprisoned soul is considered one of the fundamental motifs of Manichaean gnosis, such that "the release of the Primordial Man from the bondage of hell" (Mp. *t'r zmyg* 'the Land of Darkness') in the Manichaean view enjoyed the same significance as Christ's ascension in Christianity. To Manichaeans,

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[1] Gowharī kaz sadaf-e kown-o makān bīrūn būd / Talab az gom shodegān-e lab-e daryā mīkard. *Dīvān-e Hāfiz*, ed. by Qazvīnī and Ghanī (Tehran 1993), p. 101.
[2] Man bī mey-e nāb zīstan natvānam / Bī bāde keshīd-e bār-e tan natvānam, 'U. Khayyām, *The Rubā'īyyāt* (Tehran 2003), p. 89.

the release of the Primordial Man was not considered a fact related to the past, but as a symbolic and eternal example; it was also the guarantor of heavenly salvation of all people and, in the eyes of the believers, an indisputable fact, because the agony and the final salvation of the Primordial Man was considered an example of human destiny."[1]

The mythological commentary of the imprisonment of the soul and its salvation in Manichaeism is that gnosis or the mystery of the truth is not explicable through logical and deductive methods. The deciphering of the mystery is possible, however, through meditation, revelation and an intuition resulting from illumination. Although Mani emphasizes 'wisdom, reason and reasoning', his 'wisdom' is illuminative and revelatory. So, in his point of view, myth has also a fundamental role in explaining the truth, because myth has also a symbolic, mysterious and illuminative expression. Gnostic truths are more explicable through symbols and parables. Parables have a significant role in Manichaean and other religious works.[2]

Achieving immortal life and victory is due to receiving gnosis and the 'living words', i.e. deciphering the myths and the mysteries of gnosis, the mysteries that Mani has deciphered in his *Living Gospel*. In one of his treatises, *Epistula Fundamenti* (Mp. *frwrdg 'y dw bwn*), we read:

> Mani, Apôtre de Jesus-Christ, par la Providence de Dieu le Père. Voici les Paroles du Salut, venant de la Source Eternelle et Vivante: celui qui les écoutera, qui les croira d'abord et ensuite conservera ce qu'elles auront mais au profound de luimême, celui-là ne sera jamais sujet à la mort, amis au contraire, il jouira de la Vie éternelle de Gloire. Car, assurément, il faut estimer

[1] M. Bahār amd A. Esmailpour, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
[2] For examples of these parables, see W. Sundermann, *Mittlepersische und partische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer* (Berlin 1973).

> bien heureux celui qui sera initié à la connaissance divine, puisque, libéré par elle, il sera établi dans la Vie sans fin.[1]

In the Manichaean view, as much as the soul is transcendent, divine and pure in its essence, the body is corrupted, demonic, abject and dirty. One of the most essential duties of a Manichaean believer is mortification and abjection of the body. A Manichaean Elect (Mp. *wycydg*) makes the body abject body by following stringent rules, so that he should eat a meal only once a day, a vegetarian meal that is supplied by the Hearers (Mp. *nywš'g'n*). He should put on just a single garment during a year. He must not kill or torture a beast, not break a branch of a plant. He is not permitted to possess anything, and he must fast many days during the year. All these rigidities are so that he will abstain from the material world. Manichaean elects must even refrain from marriage, because they thought that reproduction caused more light-particles to be imprisoned in the bodies of the offspring. However, free relationships were seen among Manichaean men and women. We know through Manichaean scriptures and some artworks that there were ladies who tended to Manichaeism and were considered as members of the Manichaean distinguished classes.[2]

To be redeemed from the hell of the body, one should be knowledgeable and wakened by the redeeming deities. One of the most important redeeming gods is Jesus, who has three unique characteristics as follows:

1) *Jesus the Splendour* (Mp. *yyšw' zyw'(h) / xrdyšhryzd*), who is one of the significant redeeming deities in the Manichaean pantheon. He is a celestial god who is evoked at the third and

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[1] F. Decret, *Mani et la tradition manichéenne* (Paris 1974), p. 80.

[2] For instance, a fragment of a Manichaean miniature (IB 4937) discovered in Qočo shows a row of distinguished ladies, crowned and richly dressed in splendid costumes. Cf. H.-J. Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy* (Leiden 1982), pp. 40-41.

final phase of creation. He presents 'gnosis' to Adam (Mp. *ghymwrd*) and awakens him from the 'sleep of death'. Adam wakes up and knows his savior. Through him, he sees the celestial god and heavenly Father. He also sees "his own Self cast into the teeth of panthers and elephants, being devoured by them – what a devouring! - consumed by them, eaten by the dogs, mingled and bound in everything and finally, imprisoned in the stench of darkness. He raised him up and made him eat of the Tree of Life. Then, Adam cried and lamented: smote his breast, and spoke: 'woe, woe unto the shaper of my body, unto those who fettered my soul, and unto the rebels that enslaved me!'"[1] Jesus the Splendour, according to Manichaean gnosis, is the source of all human revelations. He has the function of providing consciousness and of awakening the seekers of the true path who slumber in this earthly world.

2) *The Suffering Jesus* (Lt. *Jesus Patibilis*). The name used in Western Manichaean writings for the Living Self (Mp. *gryw zyndg*, i.e. the sum of the light suffering in matter), crucified as Jesus was crucified on the cross. The Suffering Jesus has a divine representation and is considered a Manichaean deity. He is also as the light-particle imprisoned in the body.
3) *Jesus the Messiah (Mp. yyšw' mšyh')*. Prophet and Son of God, who had taken on the appearance of man and according to the Christians, had been crucified due to man's sins. Mani himself had opposed the idea of real incarnation and crucifixion of Jesus Christ. He believed in His spiritual crucifixion, i.e. Messiah's ascension to heaven, as the later Islamic view confirms too.

These three conceptions of Jesus are not always kept wholly distinct. Mani knew himself as Paraclete and the first successor of

[1] Theodore bar Konai, quoted from: H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion* (Boston, 2nd edn., 3rd pri., 1970), pp. 86-87.

Jesus Christ, and held high regard for the Buddha and Zoroaster. He clearly had full knowledge of Christ and, to some extent, of the two other prophets.

What Jesus the Splendour taught man is: the theme of three periods of Before, Middle, and After. In the Primordial Period, i.e. the golden era of separation of light and darkness, the cosmos is completely light-filled. The deities and spiritual particles are in the Paradise of Light in absolute peace. The Middle Period is the mingled era of light and darkness, a period that human beings live in and during which the heavenly light-particles are still imprisoned in this world. The Final Period is the Resurrection Day when the imprisoned particles of light will be released and will ascend up to heaven, and Darkness will be defeated. All the impurities will be burnt in a great conflagration, and finally the world will be light-filled and heavenly again.

With this knowledge, the seeker reaches the 'fruit of gnosis'. This is by itself a kind of rebirth, a new life in the Realm of Light and Truth.

In one of his *Epistles*, Mani writes on the redemption of soul and the divine origin of man:

> Mani, Apôtre de Jésus Christ, à sa fille Menoch: sur toi la Grâce et le Salut de notre Dieu, Lui qui assurément est le vrai Dieu. Qu'il illumines lui-même ton âme et qu'il te révèle sa Justice, car tu es le fruit de la Race divine....Tu es rendue à ta splendeur quand tu reconnais ce que tu as d'bord ètè, comment tu es émanée de ce genre d'âmes répandues dans tous les corps, dans la saveur des choses, attachées aux diverses espéces d'êtres. Arrache enfin la Racine souche maudite et alors, à l'instant, tu pourras te contempler toi-même, toute spirituelle.[1]

[1] F. Decret, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.

The Manichaean gnostic and disciple's final wish is: reaching the Paradise of Light and standing in front of the Father of Greatness in the World of Transcendence, in the garment of light, and becoming absolute light. The wish for a merely spiritual and lightful world, the longing for becoming god-like, without any kind of evilness, blurring or darkness are among the purest intentions of a Manichaean disciple. He will get his wish on the Resurrection Day, a day when the multiple firmaments and earths will be cast down, and a great conflagration will burn all the evils and dark-particles. The last light-particles will be refined and will join the New Paradise. Then, the New Paradise will attach to the Paradise of Light or the Paradise of Transcendence. All things will become absolute light. There will be nothing except light.

Cultural Reflections

The cultural origin of Manichaeism was first in Babylonia and Mesopotamia. Mani, although of an Iranian monarchy family, was nurtured in the Gnostic society of Babylonia. However, Manichaeism and its religious-gnostic ideas, when they reached the territory of Persia, naturally took on a Persian tincture. This can be clearly seen through the terms and the nomenclature of Manichaean deities such as Zurwān, Ohrmizdbay, Mihr Yazd, etc.[1] One can see Iranian cultural influence on Manichaeism through its original themes and motifs and also through the functions of the deities. Zoroastrian dualistic doctrine and its impact on the Manichaean approach are undeniable. The specific functions of deities such as Zurwān and Mihr Yazd and their reflections on

[1] But these names are found only in the Middle Iranian translations of Mani's works, and the literature that developed among his Iranian followers. The original names and terms were Syriac, not Iranian, and did not include any of these Iranian deity names. Additionally, Mani himself made the first efforts at applying such names to the Manichaean pantheon in his *Šābuhragān*. Here I thank Dr. Jason Beduhn for his note on Iranian deities' names.

Manichaeism are noticeable as well. In other words, the characteristics and functions of Zoroastrian deities match those of the Manichaean deities that were given their names. For instance, Zurwān, according to Iranian and Armenian source materials, is a God of Time with an unlimited realm who is the origin of Ohrmazd and Ahriman, twin gods of Good and Evil. In this way, Ohrmizdbay of Manichaean cosmogony is comparable with Zoroastrian Ohrmazd. The former is the symbol of forgetfulness and gaining knowledge to be redeemed, and he is the first deity to fight with Ahriman, while the latter is the Lord of knowledge and wisdom and is in conflict with Ahriman too.

On the other hand, Mihr Yazd of Manichaean cosmogony is comparable to Iranian Avestan Mithra to some extent. The former is the savior of Ohrmizdbay and together with his Five Sons fights with demonic powers, while one main function of the latter is also fighting with evil power, and we can see the Avestic *vərəθraγna* (Varahrān or Bahrām), god of war, among his companions.[1]

We also see Manichaean cultural representation in Iran during the first centuries of the Islamic period. Although Manichaean religious practice could not be as effective in Iranian religious life during the Islamic era, it had a deep affect in the cultural dimension. Mani himself was an expert intellectual and artist who had an undeniable and durable influence on Iranian culture through writing gnostic works, as well as through his paintings, calligraphy and tadhīb ('book-gilding').

The negation of earthly life and the rejection of body and materiality in the Manichaean gnostic attitude have much in common with the ascetic themes, piety and rejection of self and sensuality in the Islamic attitude – especially in its Sufistic and mystical approaches. This attitude, in spite of the belief regarding

[1] Cf. I. Gershewitch, *An Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge, Mass. 1954), pp. 28ff.

Manichaeism as a religion with pessimistic views, is not so pessimist as it appears at the first glance. The object of the rejection of the world and worldly inferiorities, in the Manichaean viewpoint, is to reach a deeper and more aesthetic world, and it is originally an optimistic attitude. Longing for a pure and absolute intellectual life is a wish not unshared with the prophets, mystics and significant intellectuals of every period.

Gnosticism has vast, multiple, and even universal aspects. Some scholars regard it as a universal religion that once influenced both the western and eastern world,[1] and even now it can be a response to some ideological and cultural quests at the dawn of the third millennium.

Manichaeism was also a widespread universal religion in specific periods. It was influential in Iran, Central Asia, India and China as well as in Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Byzantium, Rome and even Africa in the west. One of the characteristics of the religion was that wherever it reached, at once it accepted the local religious features and absorbed its cultural elements. This influence was, of course, mutual, i.e. in addition to the absorption of cultural motifs and themes, Manichaean themes themselves also affected the culture and art of that region. Manichaean intellectuals and mystics in addition to mutual religious-cultural influences were the best specimens of dialogue among civilizations.

Gnostic religion has been regarded as a universal phenomenon because it was based on personal specific experience and says that the discovery of truth is possible only through illuminative and apocalyptic wisdom, a religious experience which does not belong to a special theology or philosophy, but which designates a free-thinking gnosis and attitude. All the gnostics agree that the world is not perfect. Nobody has reached the final redemption through

[1] Of these scholars, Hans Jonas should be noted. See his *Gnostic Religion* (Boston 1970).

'worldly affairs'. Hafiz of Shiraz also explained the theme with a sigh:

> The world and worldly affairs are nonsense
> One thousand times have I sought for.[1]

In the view of Hafiz, the nothingness of world affairs is not pessimistic at all but it is essentially longing for a heavenly, transcendental and spiritual world. Therefore, this is the right sort of deep optimism in the world of ideology. Manichaean gnosis also does not reject the world through considering 'the world and worldly affairs' as evil, but it wishes a heavenly, splendid and intellectual universe. Since one cannot reach it in this material world, it should be sought in the heavens, where gods, deities and angels live in a halo of absolute light, which is the right dwelling of the transcendent and gnostic man.

This gnostic belief is seen in the essence of most religions and sects. It has been represented as Cabbalistic mysticism in Judaism; as gnostic faiths and schools in Christianity; as seeing the world afflicted, the bondage of the chain of rebirth, the release of this causal circle or *Saṃsāra*, and reaching *Nirvāna* in Buddhism; as gnostic sects and schools, and Islamic mystic sects such as Zanādiqa, Ismā`īlīyya and Shi'ite Gholāt, etc., which we will discuss later.

Eastern Europe was a refuge of the gnostics and heretics of the Medieval Ages. During the fourth and the fifth centuries, Armenia was a region secure from church cruelties for gnostics such as the followers of Marcion and Mani.[2]

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[1] Jahān-o kār-e jahān jomle hīč dar hīč ast / Hezār bār man īn nokte karde'am tahqīq. *Dīvān-e Hāfiz*, ed. Qazvīnī and Ghanī (Tehran 1993), p. 214.

[2] Cf. J. Petro Culiano, "Gnosticism from Middle Ages to the Present Day", in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. M. Eliade (New York, London 1987), vol. 5, pp. 575f.

Shi'ite Gholāt established different extremist sects who believed "one of Ali's offspring has been gifted with divinity. For a long time after his death, they were waiting for his resurrection such as with Jesus. Today, their last remnants are the Syrian Nuṣairīyya or the Alavians. The treatise of the *Umm'al-Kitāb*, composed at the end of the 2nd century AH / 8th century AD, belongs to the 'Gholāt of Kūfa'. It consists of an apocalypse with vivid gnostic motifs"[1]

In mystical exegeses of the first centuries after Islam, the term N*ūr al-Azalīyya'* (the Eternal Light) has been frequently discussed. For instance, in an exegesis ascribed to Imām Ja`far Ṣādiq, the interpretation of '*Nūn wa'l-Qalam*' we read:

> *Nūn, huwa nūr al-azalīyya, al-ladhī ikhtara`a min al-akwān kulluhā faj`al dhālik li- Muḥammad ṣa'l-Allāhu 'alayh*
>
> "He is the eternal light of which all the beings are originated. So, it was established for Muhammad, Peace Be upon Him."[2]

It is obvious that the 'Eternal Light' is a key figure in Manichaean and Mandaean gnosis. The Realm of Light or Light Paradise is the final redemption. The Eternal Light, in Islamic mystical exegeses, has a fundamental theme that is occasionally mentioned as '*Nūr-i Muḥammadīyya*' (*Muhammadan Light*). Also in Manichaeism, the Father of Greatness radiates his eternal light and creates divinities such as the Primordial Man who evokes Five Light-Sons.

Cultural reflection of Gnosticism in Iran and the Islamic world began at the end of the third century AD after Mani's death. Manichaeans did not withstand the affliction and execution brought by Zoroastrian fanatic clergymen during Bahrām and Shābūhr II reigns and fled to Transoxiana. In the 6th century AD,

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 576.

[2] "Exegesis ascribed to Imām Ja`far Ṣādiq", in *Collected Works of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sulamī*, ed. Paul Noya, 2nd ed., (Tehran 1994), vol. 1, p. 48.

the eastern branch of Manichaeism led by Mār Šād Ōhrmizd was established, a sect which was known as Dēnāwarīyya. In the 5th century AD, the religion of Mazdak built upon the Manichaean dualism of light and darkness and transformed it into a vast social, religious and cultural movement in Sassanian Iran. Even before Mazdak, a person named Bundos – who was undoubtedly related to a Gnostic sect – arose and spoke of the conflict of the realms of light and darkness, thought of a social reformation and promised a classless society. Later, in the Islamic period, Abū Muslim of Khurāsān was also accused of having esoteric thoughts. The social and historical consequences of Gnosticism are much more extensive. However, historical background is not the aim of this chapter.

Ismāīlī gnosis and one of its significant branches, '*Zanādiqa*', in the third century AD were founded by Abdullāh Khūzī. Later the Fatimīd and the Qirmatīs also sprouted as branches of the Ismāīlī Zandīqs. In the 5th century AH /11th AD a sect called Drūziyya 'the Diruzīs' (or better Iranian pronounced '*Darzīyān*' = the sewers) originated from them, a sect whose followers are still living in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine. In the 6th century AH /12th AD the sect of '*Malaḥida*', a branch of Ismāīlī Qirmatīs appeared. All these sects had Gnostic ideas. One of the oldest works of the Ismāīlītes, '*Kitāb al-Kashf*' (*the Book of Revelation*) is about creation and cosmology. It describes a kind of mythology with Gnostic-Manichaean features.[1]

Gnostic myths were very likely transmitted to the 'Gholāt of Shī'ite' and the Ismāīlītes via 'the Mawālī' of Iran, a group who converted to Islam during the reign of Banī `Umayya 'the Umayyīd. They preserved original Iranian customs and traditions. Henceforth, the Islamic world was directly influenced by

[1] Cf. A. Esmailpour, (ed. and tr.), *Ā'īn-e Gnosī va Mānavī* (*Gnosticism and Manichaeism*) (Tehran 1994), p. 60.

Manichaeism and gnostic ideas. These ideas by themselves had cultural reflections as well.[1]

Abū 'Isā Warrāq, Ibn-i Rāvandī, Bashshār ibn-i Burd, Isḥāq ibn-i Khalaf and Ibn-i Sīyābe, most Bamakīds, the most significant of them Faḍl ibn-i Barmakī, were among the Manichaean Zandīqs of Islamic era to whom Ibn-i Nadīm clearly referred in his *al-Fihrist*.[2] Of course, it is noticeable that the Zanādiqa were not exactly Manichaeans, but their esoteric thoughts had Manichaean-Mazdakī features, and they hid their pan-Iranistic and nationalistic attitudes behind them. Being Zandīq meant by itself opposition to the predominant political system and government.

Such a judgement can be true also of Ismāīlī gnosis. Henry Corbin, who has comprehensively researched Ismāīlī gnosis, believes that "Shī'īte gnosis in general, and Ismāīlī gnosis in particular, cannot be conceived simply as a continuation of ancient gnosis. It follows a path that is purely its own, eliminating some themes while it assimilates and transforms other perfectly recognizable ones".[3]

Therefore, we cannot deny the presence of old gnosis and mysticism in Iranian culture, but its quality and functions should be considered. Iranian Gnosticism is related with the intellectual elects. It is not a school of thought for the masses. Old mystics called it 'ilm al-bātin 'esoteric science' and elm al-yaqīn 'science of truth' that are for redemption of the soul. Spiritual birth 'wilāda rūḥānīyya' is possible in the world of exegesis 'ta'wīl', while bodily birth 'wilāda jismānīyya' takes place in the world of revelation 'tanzīl' from heaven. 'Tanzīl' in Corbin's words, "is a figurative shape and 'Ta'wīl' is a spiritual exegesis. They are two opposed poles. Etymologically 'Ta'wīl' means 'to bring back or lead back to', i.e., to bring literal forms 'ẓāhir, sharī`a (appearance,

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[1] Cf. R. Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam* (London 1970), pp. 14-20.
[2] Ibn-i Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (Tehran 1978), p. 660.
[3] H. Corbin, *Cyclical Time and Ismāīlī Gnosis* (London 1983), p. 153.

Law) back to the plane of spiritual Truth 'ḥaqīqa'. By this exegesis, Ismāīlism transforms the literal forms of Koranic Revelation in the same way that the gnosis of antiquity worked with the given forms of Christianity: it performs a transformation of all these forms, events, and persons into symbols. In so doing, it realizes a transmutation of the soul, its resurrection ('qīyāma') – and thereby bears the fundamental feature that relates it to the other forms of gnosis."[1]

The oldest gnostic treatise of the Islamic period, *Umm'al-Kitāb* 'the Mother-Book') was composed in the 2nd century AH / 8th century AD. The author, 'Abu'l Khaṭṭāb', was one of Imām Ja`far Ṣādiq's devoted disciples. Later, the Ismāīlītes knew themselves as the spiritual offspring of the same Abu'l Khaṭṭāb, regarding him as loyal to His Majesty Ismā`īl', the son of Imām Ja`far Ṣādiq.

There are some Gnostic motifs, but with different specifications, that can be seen in the religious-mystical works of Islamic period. How they are reflected in the source materials depends on different mystical schools. Gnosticism expressed in the *Umm'al-Kitāb* is different from the doctrine described through Ismāīlī works of the Fatimīd period. For instance, the structure of paradise and the celestial essence described in the works of Nāṣir Khusrow is different from the parallel view in Ḥamīd al-Dīn Kirmānī's works.

Proto-Ismāīlītes emphasized the case of individual redemption and knew their school as the religion of resurrection 'dīn-i qīyāma', i.e. the resurrection and release of the soul from the material body. This influenced all Iranian Sufistic attitudes. Even the 'mystical secret' ('sirr-i 'irfānī') ascribed to Shams-i Tabrīzī, recorded in the *Walad-Nāmeh* composed by Sultān-i Walad, the son of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, has its exact equivalence in the commentary on the *Khuṭbat*

[1] *Ibid.*

al-Bayān (*'Sermon of Expression'*) which Ismāīlī tradition has attributed to Ḥassan Ṣabbāḥ[1]

On the other hand, Ismālī 'ḥikma' (philosophy) contains Islamic gnosis. It is a kind of gnosis that, in the view of Ismāīlī 'ḥukamā' (philosophers), should present spiritual redemption, and it is possible through illumination and epiphany of the soul. The soul's redemption has common points with the *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq* (the philosophy of Illumination) of Suhrawardī and the *Ḥikma* (*philosophy*) of Ibn-i Arabi.

The theory of ''uqūl' (intelligences) or 'malā'ika' (angels) of Avecinna is substituted for "a succession of *syzygies* that correspond to the structure of the major Gnostic systems. From each Intelligence (`ql), Nous, or Cherub 'karrūb' there proceeds a soul (nafs) that forms a couple with it.... The name of the first of these Cherubs, Wajh al-Quds ('the Holy Face') corresponds to that of the first hypostasis (the Monogenes) in *the Excerpta* of Theodotus: the 'Face of the Father'. The *Taṣawwurāt* (*'Concepts'*) of Nāṣir al-Dīn-i Ṭūsi preserves the same schema, although there it is complicated by the fact that not only the Intelligence, but also the Soul produces acts of contemplation that gives rise to being."[2]

The classes of Ismāīlī 'ukhuwwa' ('brethren') and human characters have spiritual and celestial aspects. For instance, Nāṭiq or the 'Enunciating' is the Prophet ('Nabī') or the First Nous (`Aql-i Awwal') and his spiritual successor or Waṣī ('heir'), that establishes the foundation of Imāmat (leadership), is the Second Nous (`ql-i thānī). Henry Corbin believes that the idea that "an earthly person may represent or typify a heavenly hypostasis also occurs in Medieval Latin Gnosticism."[3]

The second Nous can be conceived as the world spirit that, with the First Nous, makes the eternal couple, or Intelligence and Soul.

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[1] Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 156-157.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

The First Nous is Nāṭiq ('Ennunciating') and the Second is Ṣāmit ('Acute'). So, the Soul is not completely perfect and there is the possibility of fall in it.

Seyyed Aḥmad 'Alavī, one of the significant disciples of Mīr Dāmād (11th century AH / 17th century AD), found a relationship between old Iranian Zurvanism and this notion that "with the unfolding of the First Intelligence there emerges a shadowy dimension (its aspect of non-being, inasmuch as its being is not necessary in itself), a shadow that goes on growing and intensifying until the tenth and last Intelligence (`ql-i 'āshir). To be sure, this comparison does involve a profound modification of Zurvanism, by delaying somewhat the moment at which the Zurvanite schema makes its appearance (since Zurwān here becomes an angel in the Pleroma, rather than the absolute godhead). Moreover, this is the same transposition that one also finds in the cosmic dramaturgy of Ismāīlism, and the shift had already taken place in the doctrine of the Zurvanites (Zurvaniyya) and the Gayōmartians (Kiumarthiyya), as that was described by Shahristānī. This transposition must be listed among those characteristics differentiating Ismāīlī gnosis from dualism in general. Here the crisis that gives birth to Darkness is conceived as situated within the Pleroma – but only so that Darkness may be overcome and banished from it, as soon as it has emerged. That is why the Intelligence who will assume the role of the Demiurge in Ismāīlī gnosis has none of the disquieting traits of an Ialdabaoth, any more than the Angels governing the celestial spheres resemble hostile Archons. On the contrary, the notion of angelic *tarbīya* or pedagogy (already indicated in the *Mi'rāj-Nāma* or *the Book of Ascension* attributed to Avecinna) shows the angels ready to come to the aid of the gnostic in order to help him to 'escape', to return 'home' and carry out his mystical *mir'āj*. Instead, the demonic

force is on the earth, where it manifests itself in the implacable battle carried on by the opponents of Imām."[1]

The Tenth Nous, or the "active intelligence of philosophers, is seen in Ismāīlism. In the mystical traditions of Avecinna and Suhrawardī, the personal relationship of this Nous with a mystic and the role of his celestial pedagogy are decisive. The Tenth Nous is the end of a pilgrimage that is described in the *Treatise of Ghurbat al-Gharbīyya* in which some famous themes of Manichaean gnosis can be found: "the young man thrown into the bottom of a well, the Stranger who is reawakened to the awareness of his Self by a letter sent to him by his heavenly family, the stages of the pilgrimage of return, etc."[2]

One of the angels or the previously mentioned *'uqūls* (Intelligences), in philosophers' words, is Jibrā'īl, the revelation angel, or the same 'Rūḥ al-Qudus' ('the Holy Spirit') in Suhrawardī's words. He was called a human deity. This *'ql* in Ismaili religion, called 'Ādam-i Rūḥānīyya' ('the Spiritual Man') is the same Anthropos or the celebrated Primordial Man in different Gnostic schools. According to the philosophers' cosmogony, he descends from the third stage to the tenth stage of the angels and is the origin of sacred and mythical history. This spiritual man is the same celestial Messiah who has earthly representation.[3]

Abū Ḥatim Rāzī in *'Ālam al-Nubuwwa* (*'The World of Prophecy'*) and Abū Ya'qūb Sejestānī in *Ithbāt al-Nubuwwāt* *'The Proof of Prophecies'*) have presented different gnostic commentaries of the Gospels, especially the Gospel of Matthew.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

[2] "*Risālat al-Ghurbat al-Gharbīyya*", in *Collected Philosophical and Mystic Works of Suhrawardī*, ed. Henry Corbin (Téhéran-Paris 1977), pp. 274-297; Cf. also H. Corbin, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[3] H. Corbin, *Cyclical Time and Ismāīlī Gnosis* (London 1983), pp.160-161.

They have understood them as the early gnostics of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

Ibn-i Nadīm asserts in his *al-Fihrist* that the Dayṣānīyya, the followers of Bardesan, were scattered throughout Khurāsān and China. Bardesan was one of the gnostics before Mani, who disputed with him only in the quality of amalgamation of light and darkness. The Dayṣānīyya themselves were divided into two sects. One believed that light mixed with darkness voluntarily to refine it, but could not do it; the other sect believed that as soon as light felt the cruelty and stench of darkness, it wished to separate from it, and disputed with it involuntarily.[1]

It is obvious that the Daiṣānīyya were active in the 2nd century AD too. "A fervent disciple of Imām Ja`far Sādiq," as Corbin says, "was a family friend of the Barmecids Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, in contact with all sorts of non-Muslim elements (Bardesanian Gnostics, Manichaeans, Nestorians and Jews). He was one of the first Shi'ite theologians and a supporter of the nascent Imamology. A good number of Shi'ite traditions refer to his authority. That someone so representative of the Shi'ite milieu could have had such connections and could even have served as an intermediary between them and the Imām should give some indication of the ways in which gnostic ideas and influences were able to penetrate both Shi'ism and Sufism."[2]

The influential paths of Gnostic thought, especially in its mystic dimension, have been spread in Iranian-Islamic culture in general, and in Iranian mysticism in particular. So, the analysis of all its cultural influences and reflections needs comprehensive research. However, we cannot deal with all aspects of Iranian Gnosticism here.[3]

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[1] Ibn-i Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, Tehran 1987, pp. 602-603.

[2] Corbin, *op.cit.*, p. 166.

[3] Since the 4th century AH / 10th AD, the Manichaean Gnostic attitude continued its life in the form of Bogomile doctrine in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, and in the

Artistic Reflection

Gnostic–Manichaean myths and doctrines have undoubtedly influenced Manichaean art. Originally, the religious-mystical representation of art is one of the significant and vast dimensions of human culture that has been reflected most aesthetically in Manichaeism, especially in the shape of the visual arts. In fact, the relationship of art and mythology has shown its transcendental shape in Manichaean gnosis. Art and myth have been knotted here in an inseparable way. Mani himself was among the artists who tended to painting, calligraphy and nibēgān-nigārīh (a special term of Manichaeans for *tadhhīb* or the art of book painting, gilding and decorating) in order to promote and preserve his religion. Manichaean art was not really intellectualistic but was at the service of the doctrine and religion.

Mani's innovation in his religious-mystical attitude was also represented in his art. It created a new artistic characteristic which is worthy of investigation. The prophet had a volume of illustrations, known as the Ārdahang (Cop. *Eikon*) that illustrated the most important motifs of his teachings. This painting book was even known as '*the Great Men-ho-i*' (*Drawing*) in China.[1]

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form of the Cathar sect in France and Italy. Bogomiles (the Lovers of God; *bogo* comes from Iranian word *baga* or bay 'god') had dualistic thoughts and promoted piety and vegetarianism, and they did not believe in Jesus' sufferings. Bogomile religion spread throughout Turkey and Asia Minor, and finally became a secret mysterious sect in Byzantine Empire in the 11th century AD. However, both the Bogomiles and the Cathars, who emphasized asceticism, piety, and vegetarianism and were also anti-church, followed a qualified dualism, in which Jesus and Satan were brothers, both children of God. Although this is not the Manichaean view, it reflects a similar dualistic way of thought. In addition, it reminds us of the Zurvānite myth in which Ohrmazd and Ahriman are in the womb of Zurwān and they are brothers.

[1] Cf. G. Haloun and W. B. Henning, "The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light" in *Asia Major* (London 1952), N. S. 3, p. 209.

The most significant aesthetical aspect of Manichaean art is also the theme of the human soul's redemption and its reaching the Paradise of Light. The concept of the soul's redemption probably was illustrated in Manichaean paintings. The release of souls from the earthly world – that was regarded as a mixture of light and darkness - would be considered the most significant theme of Manichaean art. Manichaeism, like other Gnostic schools of thought, wished to flee from the material world and seek salvation beyond it.

Mani's *Ārdahang* was a painting-book or perhaps a scroll-like epistle about creation and the story of cosmogony, the world of light and darkness, and the quality of releasing light-particles, reaching the vessel of the moon and the sun, the paradise of eternal light and similar motifs. Although Mani's *Ārdahang*, possibly the most beautiful instance of Iranian pictorial art in the past centuries, vanished in the hands of the fanatics of the time, fragments of its commentary, including a Parthian fragment named Ārdahang *Wirfrās*, have survived, upon the basis of which we can describe the content and pictorial motifs to some extent.[1]

The *Ārdahang*'s paintings were most probably about the cosmogonical processes, creation, the structure of the cosmos, and the end of the world, the motifs of which were painted on several pages of a pictorial book, or in the shape of precious scrolls or pictorial textiles. These paintings were presumably divided into three parts or three scrolls, for Mani thought of three periods of creation; thus we see the content in one of Manichaean wall-paintings preserved in Turfan that has been illustrated as a tree with three trunks symbolizing three sacramental periods.

Therefore, one can presume that the *Ārdahang* contained the illustrations of Manichaean Paradise, and its multiple deities, angels and their functions. The figures such as the Father of

[1] See Chapter III.

Greatness, the Primordial Man, the Mother of Life, the Living Spirit and other celestial characters, the fighting of the demons and the Devil with the deities of light, the creation of the first human beings, and eschatology were most probably among the pictorial themes of Manichaean art.

The Iranian tradition of *pardeh-khānī* (narrating through pictorial curtains in front of the audience), which continued up to the centuries after Islam in Iran and Central Asia and also is still a living tradition in Iran continued by the traditional narrators of the Shahname of Ferdowsi, can be seen to have originated from Manichaean pictorial traditions. This is clearly described in one of the Manichaean scriptures (M 219).[1]

Each of various Manichaean arts is related to a specific geographical and cultural dominion and later spread to other regions. For instance, the art of *nibēgān-nīgārīh* or *tadhhīb* (book-painting and gilding) originates in Jewish and Gnostic artistic traditions of Mesopotamia. Mani himself learned the arts of paintings and calligraphy among these Gnostic sects. On the other hand, Manichaean silk-paintings have been influenced by Chinese and Indian arts. Frescoes and wall-paintings have chiefly survived in *mānestāns* or Manichaean monasteries in Turfan. Therefore, they are affected by the local arts of these regions.

Mani was assumed to be the inventor of a new script which was called 'Manichaean script'. It originated in Syriac-Estrangelo script with 22 alphabetical characters. Several manuscripts have been preserved in Manichaean or Sogdian scripts. The art of *tadhhīb* and book-painting can also be observed through leather, paper, or silk pieces discovered in Turfan treasuries. On these works Klimkeit writes,

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[1] Cf. M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Leiden-Téhéran-Liège 1975), p. 182.

> The holy books of the Manichaeans, together with their illustrations, reflect an inner attitude determined by constant reference to the World of Light. The inner spark in the human person ultimately belongs to that World of Light, and as everything there is filled with brightness, is orderly arranged, is divine and fragrant, so it is also in a pure and well-arranged soul. The beautifully written and embellished page of a handwritten and illustrated book is a mirror of such a soul."[1]

The picture of the benefactors of Shajirat al-Ḥayāt or the Tree of Life has survived in one of the wall-paintings of Manichaean monasteries, the painting of cave no. 38b, in Bäzäqlīq, the oasis of Turfan. The picture symbolizes the Realm of Light. The tree has three trunks or branches which, as mentioned above, may represent the three stages of creation or the three periods of Manichaean cosmogony.[2]

This remarkable motif was found at Bäzäqlīq, of three trunks arising from a body of water in which two water fowl swim. However, the interpreters of the painting "were hitherto of the opinion that this is a symbolic representation of the World of Light. The tree is laden with blossom and fruit, and men, angels and gods adore it. In this interpretation the three trunks could be explained by the fact that, according to the *Book of Giants*, the Kingdom of Light is spread out in three directions." [3] Here, Professor Sundermann, referring to the Chinese Compendium of the

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[1] H.-J. Klimkeit, "On the Nature of Manichaean Art" in M. Heuser and H.-J. Klimkeit, *Studies in Manichaean Literature and Art* (Wiesbaden 1988), p. 288.

[2] Cf. M. Boyce, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

[3] H.-J. Klimkeit, op. cit., p. 307; Severus of Antioch (Patriarch from 512-518 AD) says in reference to the *Book of Giants*: "The good – which they [i.e. Manichaeans] also signify as 'light' and 'tree of life' – has its regions toward the east, the west, and the north, but toward the south is Tree of Death. Of such appearance is the Tree of Life, which is decorated with all its "beauty and with its splendid ornaments" (A. Adam, *Texte zum Manichaismus*, 2nd ed. (Berlin 1969), pp. 11f.); cf. *Ibid.*

Teachings of Mani (art. 5, st. 3), proposes that "the Tree with the three trunks might be viewed as a symbol of the three functions of the Manichaean church, viz. the sacramental, teaching and serving functions. Sundermann refers to the Middle Persian terms that denote these three functions, or rather the people that are concerned with these functions, viz. *āfarīnsar, xrōhwān* and *ruwānagān-ispasag*.[1]

Also, the picture in which the Tree of Life and the Tree of Death are twisted around each other can be seen in the wall-paintings of a Manichaean monastery in the north of Sangim, cave no. 4. The Tree of Life is in blossom, beautiful and green, while the Tree of Death is withered and leafless.[2]

On the Trees of Life and Death, Klimkeit says,

> It becomes clear that the image of the two trees can be interpreted cosmologically and anthropologically. Cosmologically the trees represent the two kingdoms or principles, and anthropologically they represent the righteous and the godless. The texts tell us that the good tree bears fruits, whereas the evil tree is bare, the latter referring to those in whose lives the powers of darkness reign.[3]

However, here Sundermann has another interpretation of the separate but interlacing trees; "he sees in the two trees the duality of religion (or church) and state. This could be substantiated by the

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 308.

[2] Here Dr. Jason Beduhn, on editing the manuscript of this book, adds "This description of the trees in the Sangim temple is found in many publications, but it is inaccurate. The so-called 'Tree of Death' is actually a willow-tree, with a full set of leaves that do not reproduce well in photographs. Therefore, the interpretation may be doubtful."

[3] H.- J. Klimkeit, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

Shepherd of Hermas which depicts the church as a willow tree covering the whole earth."[1]

Manichaeans used a symbolic language to justify their specific aesthetics and to transmit the aesthetic themes. This symbolic language had two pictorial and expressive representations.

Among the fundamental and most frequent symbols of the human soul, the motif of the pearl is noticeable. The Song of Pearl which is included in the *Acts of Thomas* has been reputed to exist in many countries, but it was not really explained or quoted. The metaphor of the pearl is related both to the soul of the individual that requires redemption, and to the lighted soul of the cosmos, i.e. the Living Self that is spread throughout the world and the Manichaean redeeming characters that release it. The quest of the soul is always assimilated to a diver's actions, a diver who dives into the depths of the sea to take up precious treasures. The sea signifies the material world. In eastern Manichaeism, the image of the sea might be the Buddhist idea of Saṃsāra, which is 'the sea of birth and death'.[2]

Manichaeans used the most beautiful imagery in order to explain the concept of redemption and salvation of the soul-particles. Elements such as pearl, treasure, the Arks of the Moon and the Sun, Lotus, the Tree of Life, the Column of Glory, the Harbor of Peace etc. are among the themes of Manichaean gnosis. Treasure or pearl is the symbol of the Living Soul, i.e. the juice of light-particles spread in the world. The Ark of Light carries the light-particles. The helmsman of the Ark is the Primordial Man who is released of the powers of darkness.[3] The navigator of the Ark is the Light Nous (Pth. *mnwhmyd rwšn*) and the Ark itself represents the commandments of Manichaean church or 'Truth'. Therefore, according to *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, the believer is the

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 306.
[2] Cf. H.- J. Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy* (Leiden 1982), p. 14.
[3] C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book* (Stuttgart 1938), pp. 207, 17-25.

treasure which is carried through the Ark to the realm of salvation; sometimes he/she can be the Ark itself which sails into the Harbor of Peace.[1]

Lotus symbolizes birth and the sun, and it is seen in most Manichaean paintings. The deities are mostly depicted standing on beds of lotus. Lotus, as a symbol, has been transmitted into Manichaean art mostly under the influence of the Buddhist art of China and Central Asia.

The Column of Glory, who is considered as one of the Manichaean deities of the Third Creation (the creation of man and his redemption), is the Milky Way through which the pure souls and released light-particles rise up to the moon, the Sun, and the Paradise of Light.

The Harbor of Peace is another Manichaean symbol which refers to the Realm of Light. The ultimate wish of a Manichaean righteous or Gnostic is: reaching the same heavenly abode, and this happens when a great fire appears at the end of the world. It burns all the wickedness and the elements of darkness, and then the world joins the Paradise of Light.

Another Manichaean artistic motif is 'the vine bearing grapes' depicted in a small cave in Sangim. It may represent the church, "as the church has its leader or its head, its archegos, thus the vineyard or the vine is cared for a gardener or tender."[2]

Therefore, the origin of Manichaean aesthetics and symbolism should be investigated in Gnosticism, mythology and art. For, the Gnostics were, in fact, Mani's predecessors who taught him a lot. Manichaeans flourished upon a bed of Gnostic and Parthian art of

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[1] Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 13-14.

[2] Arnold-Doben, *Die Bildersprache des Manichaismus* (Cologne 1979), p. 41, quoted from H. – J. Klimkeit, "Manichaean Art on the Silk Road" in M. Heuser and H. – J. Klimkeit, *Studies in Manichaean Literature and Art* (Wiesbaden 1998), p. 309; V. Arnold-Döben adds that the 'garden of Law' signifies the home of the soul, the Realm of Light.

Mesopotamia, brought the tradition to Central Asia and the far regions of the East, and combined it with Chinese and Indian-Buddhist art.[1]

One of the representations of the combination of Manichaean and Buddhist art can be seen in the painting of the Cross of Čintāmani (the pearl of wish, salvation, and reaching Buddhist Nirvāna) at the scene of Paranirvāna (a Sanskrit term which means 'going towards Nirvāna, or ascending from the causal circle or chain') found in the Petra Cave of Ming Oi, in Turfan.

Other paintings like Akšobhya (one of five representations of Buddha created by Ādibuddha, "the first Buddha". Thunderbolt and the Cross of Light are his signs. It signifies the light and splendour of "divinity" in human beings, animals and plants) and the Cross of Light (Manichaean symbol and the mystery of light-particles spread in the world), the representation of Five Tathāgatas (gone forth toward Nirvāna)[2] in the realms of light, the painting of the Judge Scene, a Manichaean miniature with figure of the Buddha, the pictured fragment of a Sogdian book in Indian Pothi style, and the other examples, prove this combined aesthetic mood of Manichaean-Buddhist art of Central Asia and China.[3]

The Manichaean artworks have been affected also by Iranian art, as the words of Louis Hambis confirm:

> These wall-paintings, which are the only known Manichaean frescoes surviving today, display all the characteristics of Buddhist paintings of Tang dynasty in the oasis of Turfan, and

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[1] Cf. L. Hambis, "Manichaean Art" in *The Encyclopedia of Art*, vol. ix, pp. 433ff.

[2] The term *Tathāgathas* consists of two derivatives, *tathā* (thus) and *gata* (gone forth) from the root of *gam* (go, walk). So, it means 'thus gone forth', and signifies a person who paved the mid-way to reach the sea of Nirvāna. See A. Pāshāi, *Buddha* (Tehran 2003), p. 287.

[3] See H. - J. Klimkeit, "Indian Motifs in Manichaean Art" in M. Heuser and H.-J. Klimkeit, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-299.

> show undoubtedly some effects of later Sassanian art. A specific technique has been applied in the frescoes of Bäzäqlīq, but the frescoes of Qočo have been executed upon a surface that are similar to old Buddhist frescoes of this region. The influence of Chinese art has been reflected in some of its general characteristics, such as the general colourful motifs of some of the frescoes and the importance of its designs through which the lines have given a kind of splendour and fluency to the configuration..., however it seems that Chinese art was not the effective art in Manichaean wall-paintings, but the influence of Iranian Sassanian art is obvious.[1]

As an example, the influence of Sassanian artistic tradition on Manichaean art can be seen in the Sassanian relief of Tāq-e Bostān. In the relief, one can observe the pearl band which is one of the decorative characteristics of Sassanian art.[2] Examples like that reveal the influence of Sassanian art on Manichaean art of Central Asia and the oasis of Turfan. However, since the paintings of the Sassanian dynasty have mostly vanished, should we not build on the common aesthetic aspects of Manichaean and Sassanian art based on the surviving Manichaean paintings? This is, of course, only a suggestion. More discoveries of Manichaean artistic works and miniatures and a comparative survey of Sassanian and Manichaean visual arts are needed to prove their close connection.

Literary Reflection

One of the important representations of Manichaean gnosis can be seen in its literature, i.e. Manichaean religious scriptures, poetry and hymns, which constitute a kind of precious treasure. Some volumes of Mani's own writings of which some fragments survived, and the prose and poetry of his disciples and church

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[1] L. Hambis, "Manichaean Art" in *The Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. IX, pp. 433f.

[2] Cf. *ibid*, p. 446

dignitaries from the 4th through the 9th centuries AD have created a deep and vast literature through which one can survey Manichaean gnosis and its aesthetic values.

Manichaean literature, which has survived chiefly in Syriac, Coptic, Middle Persian, Parthian and Chinese, can be divided into the two categories of prose and poetry. At this point, we should pay attention only to that part of Manichaean literature which depicts aesthetic aspects to some extent. We should undoubtedly refer to specific parables and symbolism of Manichaean writings which bear the most beautiful aspects of symbolic, poetical and gnostic expressions. The prevalent gnostic, philosophical and ritual theme of these writings is the concept of 'two principles and three periods' about which we will speak in the next chapter. Manichaeans used marvelous parables and allegories in their commentary and hermeneutics of this theme, of which the most significant examples are referred to here. One can deduce from Manichaean parables that man has a devil-like and dark origin. According to Manichaean gnosis, the material world has been created of the bodies of the defeated demons in the battles between the forces of light and darkness. It is completely mixed with the realm of darkness and the devil powers, but since this mixture of the material world is felt, redemption is possible. The only way to redemption is throwing away this temporary garment in which the Devil clothed man. And since man puts on this cloth, the 'body-addicted' soul will suffer rebirth to this world in another body. This Manichaean attitude is called *Zādmurd* (birth-death, rebirth), that is, the same metamorphosis found in Buddhist gnosis; presumably it entered Manichaean gnosis under the influence of Buddhism of Central Asia, India and China.

Therefore, there is only one way to save the human soul: the release of light imprisoned in the dark body. In one of the Manichaean Middle Persian texts we see the same motif:

Wake up of deep drunkenness in which thou art slept,
And watch me..., take me out of the bosom of Death.[1]

The Uigurian fragment T II D 78a, II, a prayer for deliverance preserved from Turfan documents, has:

Deliver me from those that do evil,
Separate me from those that are laden with guilt,
And deliver me from the sons of Hell
Who are all wicked
And who do nothing but spread wickedness.
My God, protect me from those devouring
And from manifold kinds of poisonous [snakes].[2]

Thus, life in Manichaean view means the redemption and salvation of the soul; and death means the imprisonment in the material jail. As in another Uigurian fragment (*TM 296*) we read:

Because he deigned to enlighten [us],
We were saved from the place of no return.
Because he established the Law of the Buddha (i.e. Mani),
We were freed from [distress] and misery.[3]

The investigation of the symbolic characters of Manichaean deities, especially in the three periods of the Creation Myth, which is vastly described throughout Manichaean prose and poetical writings, will reveal most of the aesthetic aspects of Manichaeism.

In a prayer of divine beings and the angels, we read:

May happiness and joy increase

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[1] *gr'n mstyft kw xwft 'šti, wygr's' 'wd 'w mn wyn'h..., 'zw'ywm 'c mrn 'gwz.* Cf. M. Boyce, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
[2] H.-J. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road* (San Francisco) 1993, pp. 295.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 291.

> And may there come a new joy,
> Untarnished blessing, growth, increase and new victory,
> Furthermore, may the valiant and mighty angels
> And the great ones, the perfectly meritorious...divine beings, alight;
> May all the great angels grant power and help, victory and triumph.[1]

The description of two essences of light and darkness is found in Manichaean scriptures. The essence of light exists on high, in the Paradise of Light, a heaven which is unlimited on the east, the west and the north, and bordered by darkness on the south. The dark essence exists in the lower depths and borders the Paradise of Light only on the north.

The Father of Greatness is at the head of all Manichaean deities. He is absolute Beauty. In Manichaean literature, he is depicted as a wakeful shepherd and the captain of the Ark of Light. The Father has a crown of light on his head and is surrounded by heavenly light-particles.

In Manichaean scriptures, creation is described as a mythical drama: One day the Father of Greatness, that joyous and splendid Light, invoked the aeons of light and shared them in his grand joy. He invoked all the aeons of peace and all his spiritual offspring. He established the lodge of life depicting undestroyable and living pictures in it. He invoked bright clouds through which he made life fall down as rain. Then, he invoked the sacred fire, wind and air to breathe the spirit of life.[2]

The allegory of the Primordial Man's bondage in Manichaean literature is described as: He was lodged in the ship as treasure; a ship whose bottom was Dawn, upon which were the ropes of light. Its helmsmen were splendid, and its sailors put on Dawn as their

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 359.
[2] Cf. C. R. C. Allberry, A *Manichaean Psalm-Book* (Stuttgart, 1938), pp. 92f.

garments. They brought the treasure of that worthy deity, a treasure that was immeasurable. When the Devil saw the burdened ship of the Primordial Man, he gathered the plunderer and dark-hearted demons and sent them forth towards the ship. They robbed the innumerable treasure of that lightful ship, seizing the rubies and pearls and sailing them on the sky. They also put the diadems on their heads.[1]

Thus, the deity who carried the celestial light was imprisoned in the hands of demons. His captivity is a symbolic theme for later procedures of human soul redemption, the release of light and the saving of the souls captured in the material body. Is not this the Gnostic theme shared with one of the fundamental motifs of Islamic mysticism? To me, we should give high regard, above all to the Iranian great mystics, the significant gnostics such as Mani, Mar Ammo, Wahman Xwarxšēd, and some others who have created deep gnostic hymns, prayers, and poetical prose.[2]

Here we refer only to some examples of hymns and prayers which represent perfect beauty in Manichaean gnostic view:

I knew the King of Light
Who is the Tree of Life
I found Darkness
Who is the Tree of Death.
Whoever taught me wisdom
He put the wreath on your head
Whoever led me towards the sacred ones

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[1] Cf. *Ibid.*

[2] For Mani, Mar Ammo and Wahman Xwarxšēd's surviving fragments, see M. Boyce, *A Reader of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Leiden-Téhéran-Liège 1975), pp. 29-53; 59-90; 163-168; see also H.-J. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road* (Wiesbaden 1993); M. Bahār and A. Esmailpour, *Adabīyyāt-e Mānavī* (*Manichaean Literature*) (Tehran 2005).

He would lead me towards the lights (stars)[1]

Leaving the material body in this world and flying towards the heavens are themes beautifully expressed in the following Manichaean hymn:

I'll pass through the heavens
And will put this body upon the earth.
They invoke me too
Blowing into the trumpets
Towards the immortals
I'll leave my body upon the earth
Of which soil I'd been originated.[2]

Manichaean hymn-cycles are preserved in Middle Persian and mainly in Parthian. Two famous Gnostic hymn-cycles are *Huyadagmān* (*Our Happy-Fortune*) and *Angad Rōšnān* (*The Perfect Lights*). There is also a collection of hymns called *Mahrnāmag* (*Hymn-Book*).[3] The theme of the soul's captivity, for instance, is described in the Hymn-Cycle *Angad Rōšnān*:

The Soul replied:
I'm the tormentless tender-born of the Father
Mixed with the material world
And I'm tormented

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[1] A. Esmailpour, *Sorūd-hāye Rowshanā'ī: Jotstāri dar She'r-e Irān-e Bāstān va Mīyāne* (*The Hymns of Light: A Research in the Old and Middle Iranian Poetry*) (Tehran 2005), p. 276.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 291.
[3] See M. Boyce, *The Manichaean Hymn-cycles in Parthian* (London 1954); W. Sundermann, *The Manichaean Hymncycles 'Huyadagmān and Angad Rōšnān' in Parthian and Sogdian* (London 1990); F. W. K. Müller, *Ein Doppelblat aus einem Manichäischen Hymnenbüch (Mahrnāmag)* (Berlin 1913); A. Esmailpour, "Mahrnāmag: A Manichaean Hymn-Book", *Prof. Mehrdād Bahār's Memorial Volume* (Tehran 1997), pp. 91-98.

Take me out of the bosom of Death.[1]

The theme of the inferior material world and the longing for ascension to the Realm of Light and Beauty is described in a Parthian hymn:

I weep for my Self
I wish I could redeem it
Of the fright of the savages
Who devour each other. [2]

Mahrnāmag, the other hymn-book of the Manichaeans who moved to Turfan, survives most probably from the 9th century AD. It was, first, composed by one of the Manichaean dignitaries, but he could not finish it; during 825-832 AD one of Manichaean *dibīrs* (scribes) called Naxūrīg Rōšn finished it. The original title of this hymn-book was *Xwaš Āwāgān* (*Sweet Voices*). It praises Mani and his ascension to heaven. It also refers to Messiah and Mar Zaku, one of the Manichaean 'teachers' (*hmmwc'g'n*). It consists of a hymn in praise of the Living Self (*gryw zyndg*) who is created of the light-particles of the Five Sons of the Primordial Man. He is the symbol of the imprisoned soul which is freed from the claws of the demons:

Remember us, O thou Soul!
Thou hast come to salute, O thou Soul!
Thou hast come to salute, O thou Soul of the Light!
Came forth this imprisoned Soul
Came forth the Saved Soul![3]

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[1] M. Boyce, *Reader*, p. 108.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 163.
[3] F. W. K. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 24, lines 397-403; A. Esmailpour, *op. cit.*, pp. 91ff.

We see that the grief of alienation or being away from the transcendental principle or essence, which takes the main theme of Islamic mysticism, has a specific representation in Manichaean gnostic poetry. The mystical theme of

> Whoever is alienated from his essence
> Will be in search of his union,[1]

has been expressed also in Psalm 261 of the *Manichaean Psalm-Book* of which we spoke before. The theme of despising Self which is one of the current themes of our mystics, has been represented through Manichaean gnostics' tongues two or three centuries before the rise of Islam:

> This lion that is within me I have strangled
> I have turned him away from my soul
> Him who polluted me at all times.[2]

Or in Manichaean Psalm 265, we read:

> The days of thy life running from thee,
> Why dost thou vainly waste thy zeal
> On the wings of earth
> And puttest behind thee all [the things of evil]?
> Thou hast spent thy life sunk in the worries and cares of the world
> Working thyself into a decline through the pains and sorrows.
> Thou art a stranger housed in a body of earth
> Defiled, how long therefore hast thou been heedless
> Of what thou ignorantly dost?
> Blessed art thou, for the path of journey is open to you.

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[1] One of the opening verses of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's Prologue to the *Mathnawī*; cf. R. Nicholson, ed. and tr., *The Mathnawī* (Tehran 2002), p. 35.
[2] C. R.C. Allberry, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

Do not entrust your journey to oblivion.[1]

Such examples reveal that a deep relationship can be seen between the Gnostic hymns of the Manichaeans and the mystical themes of the Islamic period. The Prologue to Rūmī's *Mathnawī* is indirectly affected by Gnosticism and Christian mysticism of the first centuries AD. It shows the continuity of the Gnostic culture of the Sassanian period for centuries after Islam. The isolation and straying of the human soul and the fall of spirit from heaven down to the material world is the main theme of the Prologue in which the motif of separation is allegorically explained as the separation of *nay* (reed) from the paradaisal *nayistān* (reed bed):

Everyone who is left far from his source
Wishes back the time when he was united with it.[2]

This longing for union with the celestial source can be seen among the followers of the above two systems of Gnosticism. *Inter alia,* in one of the *Manichaean Psalms*:

I will pass up into the skies
And leave this body upon the earth
The trumpet sounds, I hear
They are calling me up to the immortals
I will cast away my body upon the earth
From which it was assembled.[3]

The antagonism between soul and body or the battle between intellect and spirit can be seen explicitly in the poetry of Rūmī:

The soul in its separation from the throne like a she-camel

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 202.
[2] Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, ed. by R. Nocholson (Tehran 2002), p. 31.
[3] C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book* (Stuttgart 1938), p. 261.

The body from its love of the thorn
The soul takes wings towards heaven above
The body claws at the earth
O you who have died for your country, as long as you are with me
My soul will be far from Leilī.[1]

In these couplets, Rūmī has assimilated the tug of war between soul and body or the battle between form and meaning or the antagonism between intellect and spirit to the antagonism of Majnūn with the she-camel.[2] The squabble between soul and body and between intellect and spirit or the dispute between love and intellect, and form and meaning conjures up the duality of Gnostics who believe in the eternal and everlasting separation of the world of light and darkness or of spirit and matter. Of course, this analogy does not suggest that the mystics accepted the fundamentals of Gnostic-Manichaean thought, but it conjures up a kind of dialectical attitude, which is observed in most cultures, *inter alia*, in Iranian mystical and literary works.[3]

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[1] Rūmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-67.

[2] See J. Sattārī, *Hālāt-e 'Eshq-e Majnūn* (*The Aspects of Majnūn's Love*) (Tehran 1987), p. 283.

[3] For more observation, see Chapter VI.

Conclusion

An indication of the continuity of the Manichaean gnostic themes can be seen in some Iranian cultural and literary aspects as discussed above. The influence of Manichaean-gnostic approach in Iran is undeniable. However, as we have seen, the influence was indirect especially during the Sassanian and Islamic era, because the Manichaean idea of dualism was strictly regarded as a dangerous heresy both in early Christianity and the first centuries after Islam. Therefore, Manichaean gnostics tried to hide their beliefs in Christian and Islamic coverings during later periods. In this way, we observe their deep impact on Iranian cultural, mystical and literary dimensions up to the centuries after Islam. Although the idea of the permeation of Gnostic themes into Islamic mysticism, especially the manner in which these themes permeated through the Christian and Manichaean ascetics, is a new trend in mystical and literary researches, the continuation of deep, sustained and steady research might bring about a profound change in the study of mystical texts.

II

Manichaean Creation Myth

Manichaean Pantheon

Gods and Goddesses of the Creation Myth and Their Functions

There are more than twenty gods and goddesses with different names and functions so far known through the original Manichaean sources. The variation of the divinities' names is due to different Manichaean manuscripts in an assortment of languages. Each language has its own way of nomenclature that causes confusion and amazement among most readers. So it is worthwhile to choose a specific name for each deity. For this, we prefer those names - with a little turning- mentioned in Mary Boyce's *Reader*. For the other names of gods and goddesses used in Syrian, Coptic, Greek, Latin, Sogdian, Arabic and Persian, see *Adabīyyāt-e Mānavī (Manichaean Literature)*, edited by M. Bahār and the author.

The Golden Era
(The period of the separation of Light and Darkness before Creation)

The Father of Greatness (*Pid i Wuzurgīh, Zurwān*): The supreme god, father of all the cosmos, and the King of the Paradise of Light.

The Great Spirit (*Wāxš Yoždahr*): Heavenly spouse of the Father of Greatness.

The First Creation
(The period of the Demons' invasion of the border of the Light Realm, their battles with the deities of Light, and the imprisonment of the Primordial Man)

The Mother of Life (*Mādar i Zīndagān*): the Mother of the cosmos and the bearer of the Primordial Man.

The Primordial Man (*Ohrmizdbag*): the Son of the Mother of Life and the symbol of man's bondage in the material world.

The Five Elements (*Amahraspandān*): the Primordial Man's children who are Ether (*Frāwahr*), Wind (*Wād*), Light (*Rōšn*), Water (*Āb*), and Fire (*Ādur*).

The Living Self (*Grīw Zīndag*): a deity shaped from the Five Elements, the light imprisoned in Matter.

The Second Creation
(The Redemption process of the Primordial Man and the Creation of the material world)

The Beloved of the Lights (*Rōšnan Xwārist*): a deity who is the illuminator of the battlefields in the redeeming process of the Primordial Man by the Living Spirit and his Five Sons.

The Great Architect (*Bām Yazd*): the architect and builder of the New Paradise, a temporary paradise to keep the released light-particles until the end of the world.

The Living Spirit (*Mihr Yazd*): the redeemer of the Primordial Man and the creator of the material world.

Five Sons (*Panj Puhrān*): the Sons of the Living Spirit who are:

The Keeper of Splendour (*Dahibed*): the King of the first firmament and the keeper of the three upper firmaments.

The King of Honour (*Pāhragbed*): the king of the seven lower firmaments.

The Adamas of Light (*Wisbed*): a deity standing in the middle of the cosmos and its keeper.

The King of Glory (*Wādahrāmyazd*): the revolver of the three Wheels of Wind, Water and Fire.

Atlas (*Mānbed*): a deity standing on the fifth earth, who holds all the eight earths on his shoulders and feet.

The Call-God (*Xrōštagyazd*): the sixth son of the Living Spirit, a deity who calls the imprisoned Primordial Man.

The Answer-God (*Padwāxtag Yazd*): the sixth son of the Primordial Man, a deity who answers to the Call-God.

The Third Creation
(The period of Man's Creation and his redemption)

The Third Messenger (*Narisah Yazd*): the redeemer and messenger god in the process of releasing the light-particles.

Jesus the Splendour (*Yišō' Zīwā(h)*: the divine messenger and man's spiritual guide.

The Maiden of Light (*Kanīg Rōšn*): the redeemer of some imprisoned light-particles.

The Column of Glory (*Bāmistūn*): the Light-Column or the Milky Way through which the released pure souls and light-particles pass and ascend to the Moon, the Sun, and the New Paradise.

The Best Chariot-Pulling God (*Rahangweh Yazd*): a deity in the chariots of the Moon and the Sun, who is the gatherer and keeper of all the saved light-particles.[1]

The Great Nous (*Wahman Wuzurg*): the redeemer god and man's spiritual guide who has five Limbs: Reason (*Bām*), Mind (*Manohmed*), Intelligence (*Uš*), Thought (*Andešišn*), and Understanding (*Parmānag*).

The Just Judge (**Dādwar i Dādgar*): a god who judges human's souls after death.

The Last God (*Istomēn Yazd*): the last deity of the Manichaean pantheon, who is born – after the Great Fire at the end of the world – of the last released light-particles.

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[1] Cf. H. Reza'ī Bāghbīdī, "On the Unknown Epithet of a Manichaean God" in *Central Asiatic Journal*, 46 (2002) n. 1, pp. 1ff; although the author of the paper regards it as an epithet for the Column of Glory, in my opinion, it is an epithet for another distinctive deity who is traveling in the chariots of the Moon and the Sun. See also the following pages: "The Fate of the Soul after Death", note on *Rahangweh Yazd*.

Abolqasem Esmailpour, Manichaean Gnosis & Creation Myth
Sino-Platonic Papers, 156 (July, 2005)

The Reconstruction and Narration of Manichaean Creation Myth

At the beginning, there were two Essences: the Essence of Light and the Essence of Darkness. The first existed on high, in the Paradise of Light which was unlimited on the east, the west and the north, bordered by the Realm of Darkness on the south. The Essence of Darkness existed in the lower depth which was also unlimited on the east, the west and the south, bordered by the Paradise of Light on the north. The king of the Paradise of Light was the Father of Greatness or Zurwān, and the ruler of the Realm of Darkness was called the Devil or Ahreman.

The Paradise of Light [1]

The Paradise of Light consists of 'Five Greatnesses'[2]: the Father of Greatness, Twelve Aeons[3], the Aeon of Aeons, Pure Air, and the Realm of Light.

First, the Father of Greatness is a splendid king and the god of all gods and the father of all our races.[1] The sun exists in his aeons or

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[1] Among more than a hundred texts on Manichaean creation myth which were chosen to reconstruct the myth, there is only one Sogdian text, which most fantastically describes the Paradise of Light and its ruler, the Father of Greatness. See Sogdian texts, no. 54. The number of the texts are according to the texts given in my *Ostūre-ye Āfarīnesh dar Ā'īn-e Mānī (The Myth of Creation in Manichaeism)* (Tehran 2004). The reader can also find the original texts or their foreign translations according to the Table of the Texts at the end of the book. Cf. also W. B. Henning, "A Sogdian Fragment of Manichaean Cosmogony" in *Selected Papers, Acta Iranica* 15 (Leiden-Téhéran-Liège 1977), pp. 301-313.

[2] 'Five Greatnesses' is called 'Five Lodges' in Syriac text no. 95, 'Five Trees' in Coptic text no. 64, and 'Five Thoughts' in Parthian text no. 12.

[3] Aeons are the eternal beings, light-particles and divine forces of the Paradise of Light, who, as the twelve zodiac signs, obey the King of Paradise of Light and stand in front of His majesty. Here the sacred number 12 in Babylonian beliefs is notable.

spiritual particles.[2] He is as a good and fertile tree that has never born evil fruits; he is the absolute light and eternal beauty; a guard who watches his tower; a sleepless shepherd; a conscious helmsman whose ship never drowns and ultimately reaches the shore of light and immortality; he is the bearer of an undestroyable crown; his throne never falls and he has twelve strong walls.[3]

Second, the Twelve Aeons are in front of the Father of Greatness watching him. The aeons are white and eternal and do not know death. Sometimes they stand obeying like twelve eternal walls, sometimes as twelve stars in front of His sun, watching Him.[4]

Third, the Blessed Places (=Aeons) untouchable and numberless wherein dwell the Light Gods, the Angels, the Elements, and the powers in great bliss and joy, and they have immortal life.

Fourth, the Pure Air is in the Light Paradise, marvelous and beautiful to behold, with immeasurable goodness. It shall bring into being the gods' marvelous dresses and garments, thrones,

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[1] In Iranian Manichaean texts, the Father of Greatness is called Zurwān. Although this god of Time has bisexual character in Zoroastrian and Zurvanite literature – because he is both the father and the mother of Ahura Mazda and Ahriman – he is an untouchable God-father in Manichaean texts. He is too transcendental to interfere directly in the material creation. The Living Spirit creates the material world with the help of the Mother of Life. There is Holy Spirit beside the Father of Greatness. One can imagine her as His metaphysical spouse who has not any role in the creation process. See M. Boyce, *Reader* (Leiden 1975), p. 4.

[2] Here Dr. Jason Beduhn in his notes on the manuscript of the book remarks that "this is the second time you have identified the sun with the Father of Greatness. But to my knowledge the sun is associated with the Third Messenger". However, my description here is based only on the Sogdian fragment referred as text no. 54.

[3] See Coptic text no. 60.

[4] Unfortunately the first part of the description of the Manichaean Paradise of Light in Sogdian fragment 54, which is about the Father of Greatness, has been corrupted.

diadems, and fragrant wreathes, ornaments, and finery of all kinds by its supernatural power.

Fifth, the Realm of Light is self-existent, eternal, miraculous; in height it is beyond reach, its depth can not be perceived. No enemy and no injurer walk in this realm; its divine pavement is of the substance of diamond that never shakes. All good things emerge from it: adorned, graceful hills wholly covered with flowers, grown in much excellence; green fruit-bearing trees whose fruits never drop, never rot, and never become wormed; springs flowing with ambrosia that fill the whole Paradise, its groves and plains; countless mansions and palaces, thrones and benches that exist in perpetuity for ever and ever.

Thus arranged is the Paradise, in these Five Greatnesses. They are calm in quietude and do not know fear. They live in the light, where they have no darkness; in eternal life, where they feel no death; in health without sickness; in joy, where they have no sorrow; in charity without hatred; in the company of friends, where they have no separation; in a shape that is not brought to naught, in a divine body where there is no destruction; on ambrosial food without restriction, wherefore they bear no toil and hardship. In appearance they are ornate, in strength powerful, in wealth exceeding rich; they know not even the name of poverty. Nay, they are equipped, beautiful, and embellished; no damage occurs in their bodies. Their garments of joy are finery that never get soiled, of seventy myriad kinds, set with jewels. Their places are never destroyed.[1]

There are five kinds of trees in the Paradise of Light. These trees are eternally green and bearable during summers and winters.[2] The Great Spirit blows into them and feeds them with her light.[3]

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[1] Sogdian text no. 54.
[2] Coptic text no. 64.
[3] Coptic text no. 58.

The Paradise of light shines with five pure thoughts at every coast, and has a refreshing wind; gods, divinities, essences, trees, springs and plants are happy through it.[1] It is a realm where no one can find wrath, greed, lust, deception, destruction, chaos, theft, sin, hunger and thirst, coldness and warmth, affliction and sorrow, sickness and pain, old age, death and ugliness.[2]

The paradise of Light has five spiritual limbs of breeze, wind, light, water and fire.[3] It has fantastic white outlooks; there are gates, towers, houses, gardens, trees, branches full of fruits and sprouts in them, sparkling in different colours.[4]

The King of Light Paradise, the Father of Greatness, is a great luminous commander who has five limbs: meekness, knowledge, wisdom, absence and cleverness. In addition, he has five other limbs consisting of kindness, faith, loyalty, generosity, and science.[5] He is a noble tree bearing no bad fruits. He is a father with innumerable offspring, a guard who watches his tower, a sleepless shepherd, and an alert helmsman. And his palace has twelve vigorous walls.[6]

One day the Father of Greatness, the splendid and happy light, invoked the aeons of light and shared with them his grand joy. He invoked the aeons of peace and all his spiritual offspring; he established the place of life and depicted living and eternal pictures in it. He invoked the bright clouds, descended the Life as rain through them. Then, he invoked the holy fire, wind and air that blew the spirit of life.[7]

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[1] Parthian text no. 12.
[2] Parthian text no. 41.
[3] If we consider the word to be 'breeze' instead of 'ether, frawahr' these five forces are the same as the Five Sons (Amahraspandān) of the Primordial Man.
[4] Arabic text no. 88.
[5] Arabic texts nos. 88 and 86; in Syriac text no. 94; these five limbs are 'wisdom, knowledge, mind, concept and thought.'
[6] Coptic text no. 60.
[7] Coptic text no. 65.

The Great Spirit, the spiritual and ritual spouse of the Father of Greatness, is always beside him. She eternally reveals the path of truth to us and teaches us that there are two essences: the essence of light and the essence of darkness. They were primordially diverged from each other. The divergence continues until the Devil's attack, and the mingled period lasts up to the end of the material world.

The Realm of Darkness

The Realm of Darkness is deep and unlimited from every side, except on the north, which is bordered by the Realm of Light. The essence of the Realm of Darkness has five limbs: Mist (or Cloud), Fire, Simom (warm and poisonous wind), Poison and Darkness.[1] The ruler of this realm is the Devil or the King of Darkness.[2] He is not eternal in nature, but he bears within him eternal essences. His head is as a lion's, his body as a dragon's, wings as a bird's, and his tail as a fish's. He has four legs as quadrupeds. As soon as the Devil began life, he was poised to swallow and destroy every thing.[3]

The essence of darkness is ugly, deficient, wicked, turbid and putrid, bearing a Self that is evil, low, stupid, offensive and foolish, and his action is mingled with wickedness, corruption, damage and deficiency; his features are wickedness, dying and impure excrement.[4]

There exist fiery bodies and poisonous offspring in the Realm of Darkness. The Devil gathers many commanders and is ready to

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[1] Arabic text no. 86.

[2] In Parthian texts, the Devil is called 'the Prince of Darkness' (text no. 12), in Middle Persian texts 'the King of Demons' (text no. 17), in Arabic texts 'Satan' and in Persian texts 'Ahriman'.

[3] Arabic text no. 86.

[4] Arabic text no. 90.

fight.[1] This realm is equipped with five caves, each deeper than the other; Greed (MP. *Āz Dēw*), the mother of demons and the Devil's spouse, lives there. She is the generator of all evils.[2] The Devil begins combat from these five caves, with five springs polluted with poison, and with five tastes that are salty, sour, hot, rough and bitter.[3]

As the King of Darkness came into being in darkness, he first moved from right to left, corrupting everything. Then he decided to ascend, but when he saw the sparkling of light, he worried and, since he saw that the more he ascended, the more he trembled, so he was drowned in his thoughts and finally he returned to his elements. Afterwards, he decided to ascend once more. The Realm of Light, however, realized the Devil's wicked purpose for slaughter and corruption. This consciousness led to the consciousness of the clever world, then to the consciousness of the world of absence, wisdom and generosity.[4]

Then the King of Darkness went to the border of Light and saw Five Greatnesses or light-beings of Light Paradise. So, he said to him; "Would I be like them?" But he was born of darkness, an unfortunate being that has nothing, no wealth in his treasury and no eternity in his destiny. He watched the light-particles one moment so that if something descended, he would seize it, put on the light garment, and become like him.[5]

Manichaean creation myth is ultimately the story of the Two Principles and the Three Periods. The Two Principles are the essences of light and darkness. Each of them has a unique origin. The Three Periods are: 1) *Primordial Period*, the golden era of

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[1] Latin text no. 98.
[2] We know only from a Parthian text (no. 41) that the Greed Demon is the spouse of the Devil, and the demons are her offspring.
[3] Syriac text no. 95.
[4] Arabic text no. 86.
[5] Coptic text no. 65.

separation and division of light and darkness in which the sky and the earth have not been created yet. 2) *Mingled Period,* when darkness attacks at the Realm of Light and creates misery. Man is created during this era and lives at this burning place, but he promises to flee from it. 3) *Final Period*, when there will be a grand metamorphosis. Righteousness and Evil will return each to its origin. The golden era of separation will begin again. Darkness will be imprisoned at the depth of a pit and the lights will be united for ever.[1]

The Devil's Invasion of the Realm of Light

When the Devil saw the Realm of Light, he wished to possess it. The idea of invasion occupied his mind. He decided to ascend with the help of the Sons of Darkness.

When the Father of Greatness saw this, he invoked the spiritual forces of light and said: "Gather here all of you! And guard yourselves against the Devil's eyes, who has looked up now!"

One of the Sons of Light looked from the sky and as soon as he saw the Devil, he told his light-brothers: "O, my brothers! O, Sons of Light that there is no deficiency and diminution within you; I looked into the pit and saw those evil eyes belonging to that son of evil and darkness who is about to fight. I saw his seven companions and twelve viziers. I saw his established camp with fire burning in its center. I saw those indigent poor ones who were thinking of war; I saw their bloody weapons ready to fight; I saw their traps and nets spread so that when the destined bird comes forth, be it trapped. I saw those sons of corruption and darkness drinking stolen wine, and eating stolen meat."[2]

The Five Greatnesses worried. Then, the Father of Greatness reacted and said: "I never send out to battle one of these forces of Light Paradise which are my spiritual and eternal particles, because

[1] Coptic text no. 58; Chinese text no. 80.
[2] *Ibid.*

I created them for peace and rest. I myself have to take action." So, he invoked the Mother of Life. She invoked her brave son, the Primordial Man. He, in his turn, invoked his Five Sons and was ready to fight.[1]

The First Creation

The grand goddess of the First Creation is the Mother of Life who stands with her hands on her breasts, in front of the Father of Greatness and is his servant. She is the afflicted mother of the Primordial Man, the mother of all the righteous ones and all the living; and she is the first weapon of the Lord, the Father of Greatness.[2]

After the Devil's invasion, the Primordial Man rushed into the Realm of Darkness. First, he put on the garment of 'body' and attacked against the Devil and the demons together with his Five Sons who are Ether, Wind, Light, Water, and Fire. He put into jail many of the demons, but finally, the aeons of wind surrounded him, like a wild army in the territory of the wind. The Primordial Man tried sharply to release himself and his sons, but the demons swallowed the light-particles of his Sons, and he himself was imprisoned at the bottom of the pit.[3]

Then, the demons fastened him. He was shining among the demons of darkness with a handsome body, like a bright star in the

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[1] Syriac text no. 95; in Greek text no. 102, it is stated that there was not any evil in the Father of Greatness nor could he punish the Devil through it. So, he sent out his force called 'Spirit' to fight with the Devil. This process caused the mingling of soul and matter.

[2] Middle Persian text no. 3; Parthian texts nos. 35 and 36; Coptic text no. 57. According to a Middle Persian text (no. 2, st. 1), the Mother of Life, in spite of bearing the Primordial Man, supervises all battle scenes and enrolls as a guide and helper. She proceeds up to the border of the Realm of Darkness (cf. text no. 36) and later tries to release her son.

[3] Parthian texts nos. 1 and 14.

middle of darkness, like a human being among the wild beasts and like a deity among the devils.[1]

At this time, the Living Self, who was originated from the essences of the Five Elements or Five Lights (the Primordial Man's children), helped his father, but he was finally swallowed by the demons too.[2] While the Devil was quarrelling with the Primordial Man, the Five Lights were mingled with Five Elements of Darkness: Smoke with Fire, Light with Darkness, Simoom with Wind, Cloud with Water, and Ether with Poison.[3]

According to other narratives, the Primordial Man was as though in a ship like a rich treasure;[4] a ship whose bottom is 'Dawn', with lightful ropes hanging on it. Its helmsmen were splendid and its captains put on the 'Dawn' as their garments. They brought the treasure of the noble god, an unbound treasury.

When the Devil saw the rich ship of the Primordial Man, he gathered the robber dark-hearted demons, and sent them towards the ship. They stole the innumerable treasures of the lightful ship, seized the hyacinths and jewels.[5]

The Primordial Man thus was imprisoned by the demons and fell unconscious in the dark pit. After a while, he was conscious and supplicated his mother for help. Then, the Mother of Life appealed to the Father of Greatness in order to send a redeemer for her son.[6] When the Father of Greatness knew the incident and heard that the Primordial Man's ship had run into the storm and his helmsmen were injured and captured, he summoned a messenger and ordered

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[1] Middle Persian text no. 18.
[2] Arabic text no. 86.
[3] Parthian text no. 35.
[4] The parable of the ship refers, in fact, to the bondage of the human soul in his material body. This is presumably a Christian parable because it was taken from *Thomas' Psalms*, Psalm no. 3; cf. C.R.C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book* (Stuttgart 1938), pp. 207-209.
[5] Coptic text no. 66.
[6] Parthian text no. 1.

him: "Go there, where the wind carried away the ship. Pull it and bring it here! Guide the helmsmen and bring forth those who were the trustee of the treasure. Dig out the Devil's territory with spade, destroy and upset it. Cast down the firmaments with hyacinths and pearls. Gather all the treasures of that god, put them on the ship. Disgrace them, those worthless ones, and cast their diadems down!"[1]

The Primordial Man's imprisonment was a trap to defeat all evil forces. For the Father of Greatness like a shepherd seeing a lion coming to annihilate his flock, used a lamb as a snare and left it in the battlefield to catch the lion finally. He tried to save all the sheep of his herd by luring it with a lamb and then cure the injured innocent animal.

Such was the Father's way, who sent forth his brave offspring. He, the Primordial Man, together with his Five Elements, attacked the five pits of Darkness. He fell upon them as rain, sank into them as a sparkle, crept into their inner limbs and imprisoned most of the demons, but he himself fell at the bottom of the pit and cried out: "The fetid and malignant demons have rebelled and used their spears against me." Meanwhile, the Father of Greatness invoked: "Greeting and peace be upon thee, O the offspring of Light! Greeting and praise be upon thee, O youth! We will release thee of the demons' claws!"[2]

The Second Creation

The Father of Greatness invoked the Beloved of the Lights or the first deity of the second Creation.[3] The deity tries to release the

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[1] Coptic text no. 66.

[2] Coptic text no. 67.

[3] Syriac tex t no. 96; according to another Syriac text (no. 95), an angel called Naḥashbaṭ visits the Primordial Man with the diadem of victory in his hand, and shines forward. The Beloved of the Lights, whose specific character was stated obscure and uncertain by Mary Boyce (*op. cit.*, p.5) is, in my opinion, a deity who descends following the Primordial Man to the Realm of Darkness and

Primordial Man too and imprisoned a number of the dark forces.[1] Then, the Beloved of the Lights invoked, or gave birth to, the Great Architect. The latter also invoked the Living Spirit who, in turn, invoked his Five Sons. He created the Keeper of Splendour from his reason, the King of Honour from his mind, the Adamas of Light from his intelligence, the King of Glory from his thought, and Atlas from his understanding. These divinities descended down to the Realm of Darkness and found that the Primordial Man and his children had been swallowed by the Devil and the demons.

Therefore, the Living Spirit cried out loudly, called the Primordial Man and told him: "Salutations, O Pious One among the evils! O light-created in the idle of the darkness! O God who has dwelt among the savage beasts! Now the time of your redemption has come forth!"[2]

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seizes some captives from the forces of Darkness (cf. Arabic text no. 86; Syriac text no. 96). One of the functions of the Beloved of the Lights is possibly to assist the Living Spirit through enlightening the scene of the battle. For, according to a Syriac text (no. 95), the angel Naḥashbaṭ has also such a duty and takes a lamp in front of the Primordial Man and illuminates the battle scene in the Realm of Darkness.

[1] Arabic text no. 86.

[2] Syriac text no. 96; in Coptic text no. 58, the redeemer of the Primordial Man is a Maiden equipped with five forces who fights with five pits of darkness. This deity certainly cannot be the Maiden of the Light, for she appears in the Third Creation. She may be the Mother of Life. (Here Dr. Jason Beduhn writes in his editing of the manuscript of this book: " The Chinese texts have the Mother of Life working with the Living Spirit to liberate the Primordial Man. This is probably the same tradition you point to in the Coptic text. But also the child of the Primal Man, Fire, descends as a maiden, who is formed into weapons that attack the Devil, etc., in the Coptic material.") In another Coptic text, no. 67, we read that the Adamas of Light released that 'youth' who is imprisoned in the pit of darkness. In Arabic text no. 86, the redeemer is Ḥabīb al-Anwār or the Maiden of the Lights. Therefore, since most of the Manichaean texts are translated from the texts which themselves are translated from other languages, and also because of the multitude of the divinities, the narrators and interpreters

This call manifested as a deity named the Call-God.[1] He descended too, split the demons' army, greeted the Primordial Man and told him: "Gather your limbs to ascend up to the Paradise of Light!"

The Primordial Man rejoiced at hearing this joyful good news and answered him. From this response, the Answer-God was created.[2] Then, the Primordial Man proclaimed through this deity: "Thou has brought forth salvation and peace for us and for the sons of light. Let us know what has happened to them." The Call-God answered: "They are rejoicing and conferring benevolence." Then, the Call-God and the Answer-God went forth together towards the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit.

The Living Spirit came to the border of the light with darkness. He appeared with Grand Light and came near with his force and his Father's strength in order to fight with the demons and their camps. He threw his right hand down to the border of darkness, pulled up the Primordial Man and brought him to the Paradise of Light.[3] Then, he came down, caught the Devil, cast down his diadem from his head, put the dictators of the Realm of Darkness into jail, took their kingdom and leadership, punished them and cast them down to fiery pits, closed the springs of fire so that they could not send up smoke. He extinguished the sparks of fire, brought up the light and stood it at its right place. He, with the aid of his sons, seized both the masculine and feminine demons, put them into jail, obstructed the troublesome rivers, cleaned the

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of Manichaean creation myth were occasionally confused. So differences in the content of the texts seem natural.

[1] The deity is called Xwandag in Middle Persian texts. He descends hurriedly and fashions five 'Good Omens', one of which is 'Health'. Cf. text no. 30.

[2] Parthian text no. 1.

[3] His nickname in Coptic texts is 'the Spirit of Endurance' and 'our First Right Hand' (Coptic texts nos. 55 and 61), and he is called 'the King of Seven Realms' in Sogdian texts (no. 55, st. 2).

waters and sent up fresh water. He uprooted the darkness, cast it down and finally, established the light in its real abode.

The Living Spirit took the Primordial Man's ship, which had run into the storm, to the coast of salvation. He subdued its inner rebellions, assigned some watchmen to it, venerated its helmsmen, and destroyed and cast down the demons' false heaven on which the stolen hyacinths and pearls were fixed. He disgraced them, cast their diadems down, strengthened the ship and fixed breakwater on it and pulled it up as a gift for the Father of Greatness.[1]

The Living Spirit returned again and said: "Three vehement strokes have beaten the enemy and there were three combats." In the first combat, the Devil attacked the Realm of Light, but the Living Spirit defeated and enchained him. In the second combat, the Devil was torn and burnt at the Grand Fire.[2] In the third combat, all things were devastated and the masculine demons were separated from the feminine ones.[3]

At last, the Living Spirit ascended from the Realm of Darkness and rested beside the Mother of Life and the Primordial Man at the Paradise of Light.

The Creation of Cosmos

Then, the Living Spirit, the god of the Seven Climes along with the Mother of Life began to design the cosmos. After a long counsel, they began to fashion the world. First, they made the 'Five Rugs'[4]and there they seated the splendid deity. The 'Five Rugs' served as a wall between the Paradise of Light and the mingled

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[1] Coptic texts nos. 66 and 67.

[2] The burning of the Devil is based on the Coptic narrations. According to Iranian traditions, the Devil is imprisoned in the pit of depths the mouth of which is covered with a huge rock.

[3] Coptic text no. 79.

[4] The 'Five Rugs' stands between the Paradise and the 'Mingled World'. See Sogdian text no. 17.

cosmos. Below it, they fashioned ten firmaments from the skins of the killed demons. They fixed a magic twelve-faced Lens there, and a divinity watched over it so that the remaining demons could cause no hurt.[1] Then, they created forty angels in order to keep up those ten firmaments with twelve gates on each firmament. So, they built the other four gates on four sides. The thickness of those ten firmaments and of the air was ten myriad parasangs. To each of twelve gates that exist in each of the firmaments they constructed six thresholds, to each threshold thirty Bazaars, in each Bazaar twelve Rows, in each Row two sides; to the one side they made one hundred and eighty stalls, to the other side another one hundred and eighty. In every stall they fettered and enclosed the demons, the males separately from the females.[2]

Afterwards, they assigned the Keeper of Splendour as the ruler of three upper firmaments, and the King of Honour as the ruler of the other seven firmaments. They crowned them.[3] The King of Splendour stood on the first firmament holding the head of the Five Elements or five children of the Primordial Man.[4] The King of Honour will judge the demons and the other creatures of Darkness and will watch over the root of the Light. In his watch-post, there will be an earthquake and evilness and demons named Egrigroi will rise.[5]

Under the Ten Firmaments[6], however, they created a Rolling Wheel[1] and Zodiac. They fastened the most iniquitous, vicious and

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[1] According to Coptic texts (*Kephalaia* 36, 87), a wheel like a twelve-sided lens stands in front of the King of Honour. All the things that are visible to him in the sky stand on a bed in the seventh firmament; this is his miracle mirror.

[2] Sogdian text no. 55.

[3] Coptic text no. 57.

[4] Middle Persian text no. 2, st. 7.

[5] Coptic text no. 70.

[6] According to a Syriac tradition, eleven firmaments. The Last, which is the eleventh, is the same sky we see on which the stars are fixed; cf. Syriac text no. 96.

rebellious demons of Darkness on the Zodiac. They imprisoned the twelve constellations and the Seven Planets and handed them to the lowest firmament along with Two Dragons.[2] They assigned two angels – a male and a female – to revolve them uninterruptedly. They made two bright chariots from the wind, the light, the water and the fire refined of mixture: the Sun's Chariot was built from fire and light, with five walls of ether, wind, light, water and fire; and twelve gates, five houses, three thrones and five 'soul-gatherer' angels who are in the watery wall.[3]

Then, the Living Spirit clothed himself with Three Garments[4] from those refined light-particles which were: the garments of wind, water, and fire. And he set bright stars on different regions of the lower firmament.

At this time, the Great Architect filled and surfaced the five pits of death in order to create the New Paradise.[5] He fashioned a wall

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[1] Something that is similar to the twelve-sided lens.

[2] In fact, two sides of 'Jowzahr' or two cross points of the cycles of the Moon and the Sun that causes eclipses. The Seven Planets are the demons or archons.

[3] The Sun and the Moon are made of the four essences of wind, light, water and fire; and the fifth essence or 'ether' is used to fashion the celestial walls. The Sun and the Moon are the passages of the redeemed light-particles towards the New Paradise. Cf. Greek text no. 103; according to the same text, while the Living Spirit appears, the force is separated from the material, then the Sun and the Moon are fashioned from them. The stars and all the firmaments originate from those particles that are mingled with evil. One can see the influence of western Mithraism in this Greek text. See J. Puhvel, "Mithra as an Indo-European Divinity" in *Études Mithriaques, Acta Iranica* 17 (Leiden-Téhéran-Liège 1978), pp. 335-344; also cf. M. Vermaseren, *Mithra, Ce Dieu Mysterieux* (Bruxelles 1966).

[4] These are spiritual garments, that is, the Living Spirit equipped with these elements. Cf. Middle Persian text no. 2.

[5] It is a temporary Paradise in the Mingling Period of light and darkness that will join the Paradise of Light at the end of the world.

to defend the Paradise of Light from the east, the west, and the south.[1]

The Living Spirit fashioned eight earths from the bodies of the killed demons.[2] Atlas stood on the fifth earth holding the three upper earths on his shoulders. The other four earths were built on the lower parts.

On the fifth earth, there stood a wall from the east to the south and the west. It had three climes, three columns and five domes. Three columns have been fixed respectively in the east, the west and the south. Five domes have been fashioned respectively; the first from the western wall and column, the second from the western column towards the southern column, the third from the southern column to the eastern column, the fourth from the eastern column to the eastern wall, and the fifth grand dome from the eastern column towards the western column. And another great and solid earth was made with twelve gates, which were in front of the firmaments and around the same earth, there stood four walls and three ditches, the innermost in which the demons were fettered.[3]

The Adamas of Light stands in the middle of the world. The King of Glory is a sacred advisor who revolves three Wheels of Wind, Water and Fire. Atlas is the armour of the Primordial Man, who has the heavy weight of the fifth earth on his shoulder and

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[1] Middle Persian text no. 2.

[2] According to Parthian text no. 37, the Living Spirit fashions the earths and firmaments from the mixture of the Five Lights and five demonic caravans. The motive of the Creator to create the cosmos that is a mixture of light and darkness, was to make a prison for the Devil and the demons in order that there would be an opportunity for the swallowed souls or light-particles to be refined (cf. Coptic text no. 58); the eighth earth is our earth on which human beings, animals and plants exist.

[3] Middle Persian text no. 2.

keeps the earths steady with feet and hands. He has three splendid pillars and five holy domes.[1]

After a while the seas, the mountains, the valleys, the springs and the rivers were created on each earth each of which had many realms, countries, tribes, villages and houses. Each country was ruled by a Dahibed (the ruler of the country), each tribe by a Zandbed (the ruler of the tribe), each village by a Wisbed (the leader of the village), and each house by a Mānbed (the leader of a house). Then, Āstānag (month), Rāstwān (twenty-four hours) and Wizihrag (two hours) were created. But the world was still unmovable and timeless.

The Living Spirit and the Mother of Life commanded the Call-God (Mizdagtāz) and the Message-God (Azdegaryazd) to stand in front of the Keeper of Splendour – the king of the first firmament – and obey him.[2]

The Living Spirit and the Mother of Life rose up to the Paradise of Light after creating the cosmos. They were accompanied by the Primordial Man, the Beloved of the Lights and the Great Architect and stood before the King of the Paradise of Light with their hands on their chests; they bowed, praised and said: "We praise thee, O our Father who created us through thy miracle and holy word; and imprisoned the Greed Demon, the Devil, the demons and she-demons by us. So command a deity to go forth and watch the prison of the demons, to motivate and to bestow time to the Sun and to the Moon; to redeem and save the light and splendour of the gods which were harmed by the Greed Demon, the Devil, the demons and she-demons; and to instruct the wind, water and fire to pass forth to the paradise!"

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[1] Coptic texts nos. 57 and 60; according to the Parthian text no. 37, a sphere is also made in addition to ten firmaments and eight earths, and the Syriac text no. 6 tells us that Atlas holds the eight earths on his knees.

[2] Middle Persian text no. 2, st. 7.

The Third Creation

The King of the paradise of Light created three gods through his miracle and holy word: the Third Messenger[1], Jesus the Splendour and the Maiden of Light. The Third Messenger rules over the earth and the sky, keeps the cosmic light, and clears out the days and nights.[2] He invoked the Twelve Maidens whose garments are decorated with signs and diadems: First, strength; second, wisdom; third, victory; fourth, the mind force; fifth, purity; sixth, righteousness; seventh, belief; eighth, piety; ninth, trust; tenth, benevolence; eleventh, beneficence; and twelfth, light.[3]

When the Third Messenger came towards the ships of the sun and the moon, he commanded three servants to move the ships and told the Great Architect to fashion the New Paradise;[4] he also commanded three Chariots of Water, Wind and Fire to raise themselves up. Therefore, when the two ships of the sun and the moon began to sail and reach the middle of the cosmos, movement and time came into being.[5] Time consists of a *month* that is divided into thirty days and into the new Moon and the full Moon; a *day*

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[1] Middle Persian: Narisah Yazd; Parthian: Narisaf Yazd; Avestan: Nairiyō.saŋha; Pahlavi texts: Nēryōsang; and Persian: Narse and Narsī. The word Nēryōsang means 'the masculine feature or the feature of man'. Theodore bar Konai speaks of the legend that Hormazd created Narse as a 15 year old boy and made him nude at the back of the Devil so that the women would fall in love with him and wish him from the Devil. See M. Bahār, *Jostārī dar Asatīr-e Irān (A Research in Iranian Mythology)* (Tehran 1983), pp. 47-48; A. Tafazzoli, "Wooing of Afrāsyāb to Spandārmað", *Iran-Nāmeh*, vol. 7, no. 2 (Winter 1988), pp. 196-7. The nakedness of Narisah Yazd and the Maiden of Light in Manichaean Middle Persian texts is to tempt the demons who are chained in the sky gates so that the imprisoned light-particles can be released through them. Cf. Middle Persian text no. 6.

[2] Middle Persian text no. 2.

[3] In Syriac text no. 97, we see the epithet of 'Twelve Maidens' for the Third Messenger.

[4] The ruler of this paradise is Primordial Man.

[5] Syriac text no. 97; Middle Persian text no. 7.

consisting of a *rāstwān* (twenty four hours or a circle of the sun); a *year* consisting of twelve months which are equal to twelve constellations, divided into spring, summer, autumn and winter.[1]

The Third Messenger transformed himself into masculine and feminine bodies and along with the Maiden of Light appeared nude in front of the chained demons in the sky. As the male demons saw the nude bodies of the Third Messenger and the Maiden of Light, their lusts were stimulated. They ejaculated and threw down the light-particles through their seeds to the earth. Part of the seed falls into the water and becomes a huge sea-monster, which is overcome by the Adamas of Light. Part falls on land and forms the trees and plants. The female demons who were pregnant from unions in hell, miscarry, and their abortions, containing less light than the male semen, fall to earth and people it with the five kinds of living creatures, which correspond with the five species of demons.[2] The Third Messenger concealed his bodies to give back those light-particles to their own deities. But they did not accept the particles, like men who have disgust at their own vomited foods. So, their semen was shed into the earth, half on dry and half on wet regions.[3] From the semen which was poured on dry regions, plant, flowers, grasslands, seedless plants and all kinds of vegetation came into being. The Greed-Demon had also mixed his spirit with them. And the half which was shed into the sea was transformed into an ugly, horrible robber-giant who came out of the sea, spreading sins throughout the world.[4]

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[1] Middle Persian text no. 8.

[2] Cf. M. Boyce, *Reader* (Leiden 1975), p. 6.

[3] Syriac text no. 97.

[4] According to Syriac text no. 97, the semen of the demons which was poured into the sea, was transformed into a horrible giant who was similar to the Devil or the King of Darkness. Then, the Adamas of Light was sent to fight with him. He fought and defeated the giant. First, he turned him on his back, struck on his jugular vein, beat his shield to his jaws, and pressed one foot on his thigh and another on his chest.

Then, the Living Spirit sent the Adamas of Light, one of his Five Sons, to spread the giant's limbs into the north, the west and the east. The Adamas of Light also defeated the giant, overthrew him and stood on him so that he could not commit a sin.[1]

When the demons and she-demons, the wrath-demons, little and great monsters, biped, quadruped, winged, poisonous, creeping-body, and all those who were primordially pregnant by infernal demons and also were imprisoned in the sky, they saw the splendour and beauty of the Third Messenger, they were so capricious that they became unconscious. So, they aborted their offspring who fell down on the earth. Then, they stood on the ground, ate the fruits of the trees, grew and became as grand giants and demons. The Greed-Demon entered their bodies through the same fruits. They were overwhelmed into lust and slept together.[2]

The Creation of Man

The Greed-Demon again saw that the sun and the moon were the guards of the god's splendour and always took light-particles from him and from the material world to purify and guard them through the chariots of the sun and the moon and eventually pass them to

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[1] Middle Persian text no. 5; Andreas-Henning cited a passage which described the defeat of the giant by the Adamas of Light (*Mir. Man.* i., p. 182, n. Z; cf. M. Boyce, *op. cit.*, p. 65). According to this text, the Adamas of the Light, like a lion released from the cage, presses his left foot on the chest and neck, and his right foot on the thigh of the giant (there is not, of course, the word 'thigh' in the text, but it has been used in a similar Syriac tradition. Cf. Syriac text no. 97). Also we know that the Adamas of Light cast down the giant like a deer in the hunting ground, the head to the east, the foot to the west, the middle to the four mountains, waist to the north, and face to the south (cf. *Mir. Man.* I, p. 182). The Adamas of Light is the Coptic name of Wisbed, because he is the Adamas (brilliant) that shines in the sky and is seen from every side. He is the Wisbed of the cosmos in the north, the east, the south and the west, and its keeper. Cf. Middle Persian text no. 5.

[2] Middle Persian text no. 6.

the New Paradise. The Greed-Demon, filled with rage, wished to proceed everywhere. So he thought it well to create two human beings, masculine and feminine, based on the two masculine-feminine shapes of the Third Messenger, so that they would be her clothes and sheathes, and she would dominate them and they would not be taken from her. She would be eternally free from want and she would never be agonized. Therefore, she created two grand demons, masculine and feminine, called Ashaqlūn and Naqbā'īl, from those demonic aborted offspring, descended from the sky.[1] They were lion-bodies, lustful, raging and sinful predators whom she put on as garments and concealed herself in them.

In this way, the Greed-Demon taught Ashaqlūn and Naqbā'īl lust and cohabitation. They cohabitated together and bore dragon offspring. The Greed-Demon also took and ate them to create the bodies of two masculine-feminine creatures from them. Then Ashaqlūn and Naqbā'īl taught all the little demons lust and cohabitation and made them cohabitate together too. The Greed-Demon fashioned the result of that cohabitation with her lust and made the body of a masculine being with bones, tendons, flesh, veins and skins.[2] She fastened the light and splendour of the gods – which were primordially mingled with the offspring of giants and

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[1] Parthian texts nos. 16 & 36; Middle Persian text no. 10. The other name of Ashaqlūn is Sendīd, and the other name of Namrā'īl is Pēsūs. In Syriac texts Namrā'īl is called Naqbā'īl.

[2] The limbs of this body are also described as 'seven evil creatures'. Cf. Middle Persian text no. 24. According to the same text, human limbs totally consist of 360 parts. The human body is sometimes described as microcosm, that is, an imitation of the macrocosm in which human beings can be joyful and deceived (Middle Persian text no. 25); even the microcosm in some of Middle Persian and Parthian texts is called 'micro-corpse' and the macrocosm 'macro-corpse' (cf. texts nos. 18, 1, 3, 25 & 2.). In Coptic texts, the human body has been described as a fourteen-head dragon; seven heads on the top of the body of which two are for sight, two for hearing, two for smelling, and the seventh is the tongue to choose different tastes (cf. text no. 73).

demons – to the body as soul; then, she transmitted her greed and desire, lust and cohabitation, enmity and vilification, jealousy and sinfulness, rage and hot-temper, peevishness and unintelligence, evil-doing, stubbornness and greed, revenge and egotism, agony and sorrow, pain and ache, poverty and need, sickness and senility, and her infection into this masculine creature. He also gave the voices and vowels of those aborted giants to this creature in order to talk and know easily. She created this masculine creature in the likeness of the Third Messenger. Rage, lust and sinfulness rained on him from the giants, the Zodiac and planets so that he became one savage, giant-like and greedy. When the masculine creature was born, he was called Adam (Mp. *Gēhmurd*), who is the first masculine human being.

Another time, the Greed-Demon fashioned a feminine body with bones, tendons, flesh, veins and skins. She imprisoned the light and splendour of the gods – which were primordially mingled with the offspring of giants and demons – into this feminine body, taught her greed and desire, lust and cohabitation, enmity, vilification and other sinfulness. Therefore, when this feminine creature was born, they called her Eve (Mp. *Murdyānag*), who is the first woman. Her sinfulness was more that of than Adam, and she was taught the speech and voice of those aborted giants. The Greed-Demon fashioned Eve in the likeness of the feminine body of the Maiden of Light and filled her with sinfulness and lust so as to deceive Adam.

When these two first masculine and feminine human beings were born and grown in the world, the Greed-Demon and the great demons had great pleasure. The chief of the demons established the committee of great giants and demons and told the two human races: "I created the earth and the sky, the sun and the moon, water and fire, trees and plants, domestic and wild animals for you so that you may have pleasure and joy with them. Be happy and grant my wish!" She then appointed a great terrifying dragon as their

guard not to let anybody take them away since these great giants and demons are afraid of gods and worried that they come would forth and imprison them. And those two offspring have been fashioned like the face and the body of divinities.

In this way, when the first woman and man began to exist, the Greed-Demon was awake in them. They were filled with rage, dammed up the springs, hurt the trees and all plants and were not afraid of the gods.[1] The Five Elements or five children of the Primordial Man appealed to the Father of Greatness, the Mother of Life, the Primordial Man and the Living Spirit to send someone to redeem those two human beings, to present to them *logos* and benefaction, and to save them from the Devil and the demons.

The Gods of Light sent off Jesus the Splendour and the Maiden of Light towards the demons to imprison them so as to save the two human beings.[2] Then, Jesus the Splendour returned to Adam and informed him of the secret of the Paradise, Gods, the Realm of Darkness, the Devil, the Greed-Demon and other demons, the earth and skies; he frightened him of Eve and asked him to flee from this evil woman.[3] Having done so, Adam looked up and wept, cried as

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[1] Middle Persian text no. 10; the creation of the first woman and man in Coptic texts is greatly influenced by Christian traditions. In Coptic text no. 59, we see that when the first woman and man were created, they stood in the paradise; someone orders them not to eat from the tree so that they cannot discern the good from the evil. But Adam was tempted by Eve and ate the fruit of that forbidden tree. The text is presumably distorted it; it does not have a Manichaean feel. From the Manichaean point of view, the first woman and man were not put in paradise at all while they are the offspring of the demons.

[2] According to a Sogdian text (no. 57), at the time of the rise of Jesus the Splendour, two hundred demons descended from the high sky to the sphere; they become excited and angry in the world because their circulation and spiritual veins are attached to the sphere.

[3] Jesus the Splendour says to Adam that his fathers are in the Paradise of Light and half of Adam's soul is mingled with matter; he stands in front of the stings of the leopards and elephants, the predators and dogs eat it; it is mixed with

a groaning lion, plucked his hair, hit on his chest and cried: "Curse, Curse to the fashioner of my body, who drew me into slavery!"[1]

Then, Ashaqlūn cohabited with Eve who gave birth to an ugly offspring named the Red-Haired-Son. Later, this son cohabited with his mother and she gave birth to two daughters named Wise-World and Greed-Daughter. The Red-Haired-Son married Greed-Daughter and let Wise-World marry the White-Faced-Son.

There were divine light and splendour in Wise-World while Greed-Daughter lacked them. One of the angels saw Wise-World and told her: "Keep yourself well, for you will give birth to two sons who fulfill the joy of God." Then, he slept with her and she gave birth to two daughters named Fryād and Pūrfryād. When the White-Faced-Son heard this, he burnt with rage and was filled with sorrow and told her: "How did you bring these two forth? I think they are the offspring of the Red-Haired-Son who has slept with you!" Wise-World told him of that angel. The White-Faced-Son, then, went to his mother and complained of Cain's deed and said: "Do you know what he has done with my sister and wife?" As soon as Cain knew this, he went to the White-Faced-Son and beat on his head with a stone, killed him and took Wise-World as his wife.

When Ashaqlūn and Eve saw this, they became depressed. Ashaqlūn taught her magic doings in order to enchant Adam. She did so and became nude and brought him a diadem of flowers from the Tree of Life. When Adam saw her, he slept with her, filled with

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everything and is chained in the trap of darkness. Then, he takes Adam up and makes him eat of the 'Tree of Life'.

[1] Syriac text no. 97; we read in the same passage that Jesus the Splendour domesticates Adam with his specific art. He wakes up after drowning in a deep sleep. Jesus the Splendour separates the charming demons from him and binds some of them with chain. In the Arabic text no. 87, we see that Jesus the Splendour puts Ashaqlūn and Naqbā'īl in chains.

a magnitude of lust. Then, Eve became pregnant and gave birth to a pretty and healthy baby.

When Ashaqlūn knew this, he became sorrowful and sick and told Eve: "This is not our baby, it is strange to us!" Eve wanted to kill the baby, but Adam took it with him, placed it on the earth at once and drew seven circles around the baby, called it "Alive' and 'Pure';[1] saying "I'll feed it with cow's milk and fruits!" Then he took the baby and went far away.

Ashaqlūn set off the demons to seize the tree and the cow and to take away them from Adam. As soon as Adam saw this, he took the baby and drew three circles around it. He inscribed the name of the Father of Greatness on the first circle; the Primordial Man on the second; the Living Spirit on the third one. Then he appealed to his God and said: "If I'm sinful, what is this baby's fault?" One of those three divinities approached at once. In this way, Ashaqlūn and the other demons were evaded.

Afterwards, there appeared a tree to Adam. It was a Lotus of which sap was leaking. He fed the baby with the sap, called him by name, and after a while the baby was called Seth.[2]

Ashaqlūn, then, was hostile to Adam and the baby. He told Eve: "Go to Adam, may you return him toward us!" She went and charmed Adam. Then she slept with him lustfully. When Seth saw Adam, he scolded and advised him: "Let's flee to the east, towards divine light and logos!" Adam accepted and did not cohabit with Eve for eighty years and he was a righteous man then.[3] Adam and Seth went to a monastery. Adam stayed there up to the time of his death. Then he flew to Paradise. Seth, Fryād and Pūrfryād and their

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[1] Middle Persian text no. 48; Arabic text no. 87.

[2] In Arabic text no. 81 he is called Shātel. According to Coptic texts, he stands at the position of holy men such as Noah and Enoch. Cf. text no. 61.

[3] Middle Persian text no. 48; Arabic text no. 87.

mother, Wise-World, still stayed there up to the moment of their death. Eve, the Red-Haired-Son and Greed-Daughter went to Hell.[1]

Therefore, all the people are of the race of Adam and Eve. Although they are similar to the Third Messenger and the Maiden of Light, they have also devil-like and demonic features. However, there are particles of light imprisoned in every person. So, their major function is to release them.

After a while, the Great Nous came down and helped human beings with his Five Limbs: Reason, Mind, Intelligence, Thought and Understanding. He, as a son among the gods,[2] along with Jesus the Splendour and the Maiden of Light fashioned the temple of the microcosm, in the same way that the sun, the moon, and the Perfect Man fashioned the temple of the great world or macrocosm.[3]

At last, the gates of the prisons were opened and the imprisoned light-particles were released. All the pious ones and the followers of the Great Nous were saved.[4] The Great Nous sent some messengers for the impure and polluted human beings in order to present them with the fruit of Gnosis.

The Fate of the Soul after Death

If death comes to a righteous one, the Primordial Man will send forth a divinity named the Just Judge as a guide, along with three angels who have a jar of water, a set of garments and a light diadem, respectively. A young figure similar to the righteous one

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[1] Arabic text no. 87.

[2] Coptic text no. 60.

[3] Coptic text no. 63; the Great Nous is the god of wisdom and gospel. He sends messengers for the polluted spirits of human beings to bring forth 'Gnosis of Knowledge' for the offspring of man. However, the Devil and the Greed-Demon try to draw their souls to forgetfulness, sleep and intoxication. The awakened soul is called 'the New Man'. This feature is taken from Saint Paul. Cf. M. Boyce, *Reader* (Leiden 1975), p. 7.

[4] Middle Persian text no. 22.

accompanies them. The Devil, the Greed-Demon and the other demons appear. As the righteous one sees them, he/she seeks help from the Just Judge and the other three angels. They approach him/her. As soon as the demons see them, they flee from there. The divinities take the righteous one with them, they clothe him/her in the garments, put the diadem on his/her head and the jar of water on his/her palm. The righteous one flies through the Column of Glory[1] to the Moon, the Sun and the New Paradise, in front of the Primordial Man and the Mother of Life. His/her corpse remains fallen there. The Sun and the Moon absorb its forces that are water, fire and breeze. What remains of the corpse, consisting of pure darkness, falls into hell. Also Rahangweh Yazd (the best-Chariot-Pulling God), a divinity in the Chariots of the Moon and the Sun, is the gatherer and the keeper of all the saved lights.[2]

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[1] The Column of Glory is both a divinity and the passage of the redeemed lights. The Milky Way is one of his manifestations.

[2] In the Middle Persian text no. 8, st. 22, we read: "The Third Messenger stands Rahangweh Yazd in the chariots of the Sun and the Moon in order to...the light and splendour which were swallowed by the demons and takes them in prison..."; unfortunately the rest of the fragment is corrupted, but one can presume that Rahangweh Yazd, lodged in the chariots of the Moon and the Sun, is responsible for gathering and keeping all the redeemed light-particles. Although one can be certain here that the divinity lodges in the chariots of the Sun and the Moon, his/her function has not been discerned in the surviving passages. An intelligent reading of Rahangweh Yazd (the Best-Chariot-Pulling God) is suggested by my colleague Dr. H. Rezā'ī Bāghbīdī ("On the Unknown Epithet of a Manichaean God" in *Central Asiatic Journal*, ed. G. Stary, 46 [2002] 1, pp. 1-4), but his justification of identifying the deity with Kišwarwāryazd (the Column of Glory) is not sufficiently convincing because the sudden changing of the name and epithet of a deity in a specific short stanza is strange. In addition, the refined and redeemed light-particles (souls) pass respectively through the Column of Glory to the chariots of the Moon and the Sun and finally to New Paradise. So how can the Column of Glory stand in the chariots of the Moon and the Sun?

As for a human being who has accepted the Manichaean religion and accompanied the righteous ones, but who also has done evil deeds, when such a one dies, both the deities and the demons approach him/her. He/she pleads with them and implores them to remember his/her good deeds. The deities will save him/her from the demons' claws.

A sinful human who is overwhelmed with greed and lust, faces the torture and agony of the devil and the demons at the moment of his/her death. The divinities approach him/her bearing nice garments in their hands. He/she thinks that they have come to save him/her while actually they want to scold him/her. He/she is reborn in another body in this inferior material world and remains there for a while until his/her final destiny, falling into hell.

These are the three ways in which human souls will take death: the New Paradise for the righteous one; the horrible world or peril for the enemies who, at the same time, accompany the righteous one and guard the religion; and finally hell for the sinful.[1]

Afterwards, the Primordial Man from the north, the Third Messenger[2] from the east, the Great Architect and the Living Spirit from the west, come forth and stand on the New Paradise looking

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[1] Spirit may be embodied many times before redemption. The attitude is influenced by the Buddhist idea of metamorphosis. There are two traditions for the destiny of the spirit at the eve of death: 1) the spirit goes to the Just Judge to be justified. It should either go to the New Paradise or come back again to the world, passing the Mingled Period, or it should go to the inferno; 2) the righteous spirit leaves the body and stands in front of one of the redeeming gods accompanied by three angels who bear its signs of victory: a garland, a diadem, and a celestial garment. The spirit takes all these presents and passes through the Column of Glory to the Moon, the Sun and the New Paradise. Cf. M. Boyce, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

[2] The name of the deity in *al-Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm is Bashīr 'Messenger' (G. Flügel, *al-Fihrist*, p. 336; *al-Fihrist*, Persian tr. by M. Tajaddod, p. 597. The divinity is most probably Narisah Yazd or the Third Messenger. See also D. Dodge, *The Fihrist*, p. 783, n. 193.

at hell. The righteous ones fly towards those lights, quickly reach the League of Gods and look down at hell and the sinful ones.

The End of the World

At the end of the world, the Devil accompanied by the demons tried to spread evil throughout the world by cohabitation and birth, and therefore, to make the imprisonment of the light-particles eternal. He makes more bodily prisons everyday and tries to deceive women – who have fewer light-particles – and to spread the seeds of lust and cohabitation. In this way, more souls are imprisoned and the release from the material body will be more difficult.

At this time, Jesus[1] comes again and sets up the throne of justice. All the light-particles released by the redeeming gods such as the Third Messenger, Jesus the Splendour, and the Great Nous, fly through the Column of Glory to the moon, the sun, and then to the New Paradise. The process continues until there is nothing left of light that the sun and the moon can refine. Then, Atlas who is the bearer of the eight earths leaves his position. The skies and the earths fall down and they are disordered.[2] The earths break down and the cries of the sinful ones reach up to the skies. The fiery, watery, and poisonous walls and all the columns break down,[3] and a grand fire boils out and burns everything in order to release every particle of light in them. This burning and sparkling of fire lasts 1468 years. When these events end and the evil Darkness sees the redemption of light-particles and the flying of the gods and the guards, it weeps and decides to fight. His armies scold him. Darkness falls at the grave which was dug for him. A rock will be put on him as great as the world. He will be smashed and cannot

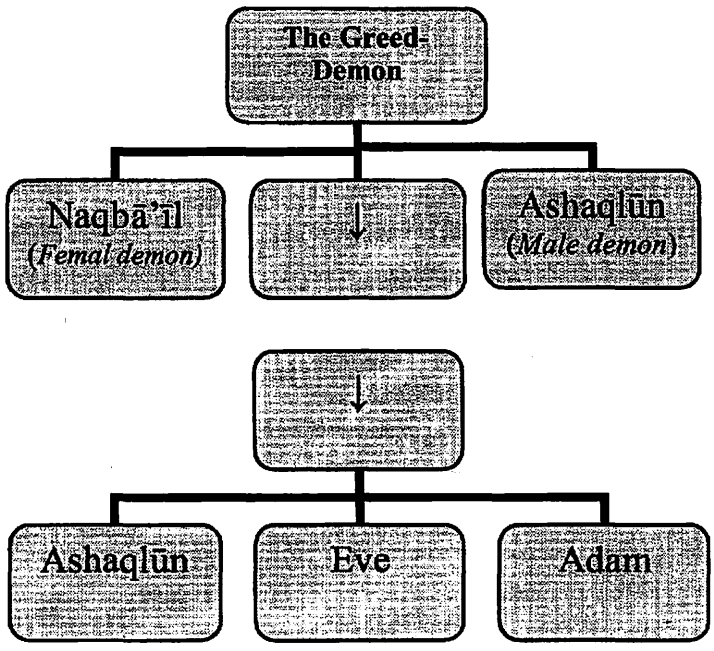
[1] On three different characters of Jesus, see Chapter I.
[2] Arabic text no. 81.
[3] Middle Persian text no. 34.

cause oppression again.[1] Two substances of light and darkness will be separated from each other forever. The last light-particles will be released and they will fashion a divine body called the Last God.[2]

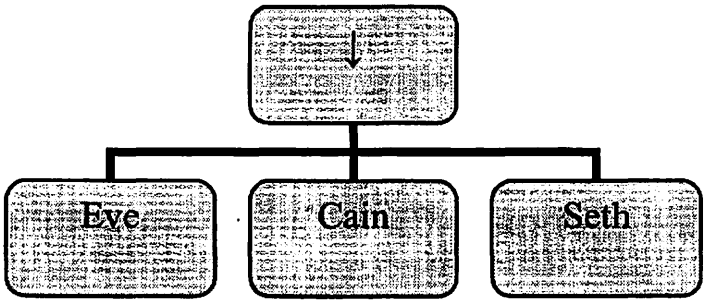
Finally, the New Paradise will join the Paradise of Light. The gods, all the spirits and the released light-particles which have been clothed with the celestial garments, and have diadems of light on their heads and jars of water on their palms, will be in front of the Father of Greatness; a splendid visit that the creation of the material world previously obstructed. Now, the time will be eternal, all beings will become integrated light and the golden primordial era will begin again.

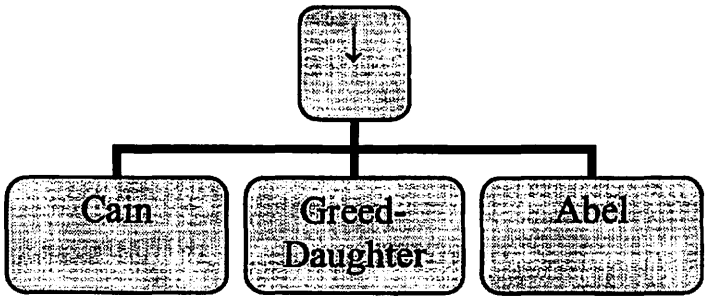
The Creation of the First Human Beings

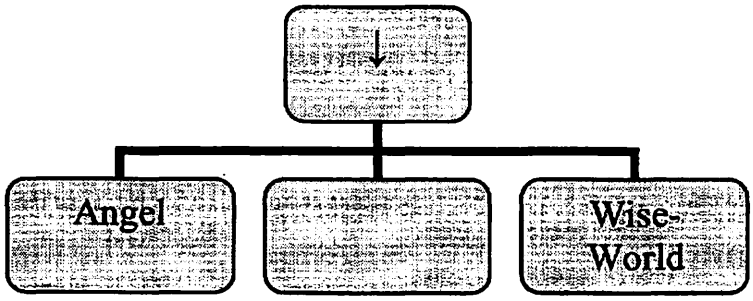
The Genealogy of Human Beings during the Period of the Mingling of Light and Darkness in Manichaean Cosmogony

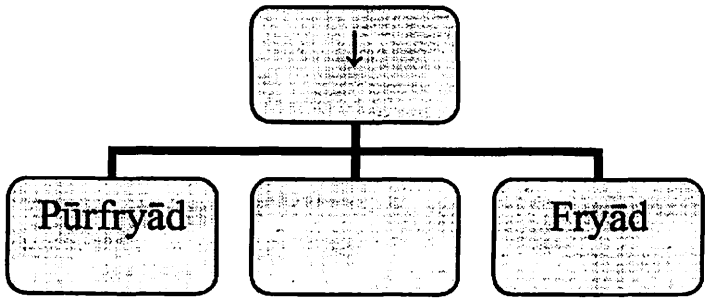


[1] Arabic text no. 86.
[2] Cf. M. Boyce, *op. cit.*, p. 86.


Eve
Cain
Seth


Cain
Greed-
Daughter
Abel


Angel
Wise-
World


Pūrfryād
Fryād

Abolqasem Esmailpour, Manichaean Gnosis & Creation Myth
Sino-Platonic Papers, 156 (July, 2005)

III

Mani's Pictorial Manifesto

Introduction

What was the *Ārdahang* (Pe. *Arzhang*)[1] and what kind of paintings or motifs had it illustrated? This is the quest of our study, which we are to answer to the greatest possible extent allowed by the surviving documents. One can say, first, that the *Ārdahang* was Mani's pictorial manifesto in the third century of our era. It is quite probable that this lost pictorial masterpiece was illustrated by the prophet's disciples or followers in later eras.[2]

Mani himself states in *Kephalaia*, a collection of his sayings and discourses, that "all the prophets have written about their religions and wisdom before me, but I have both written and illustrated them."[3]

Mani called his faith the 'Religion of Light'. It is, like all the other Gnostic approaches, a mystic and illuminative doctrine which manifests the descent of the soul of light into the material world. The main motive of the creation of the cosmos is, in fact, the redemption of the imprisoned light-particles from this world.

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[1] *Arzhang* is the Persian name of the Parthian *Ārdahang* recorded by Classical Persian historians.

[2] Professor Sundermann, after reading the manuscript of this book, among other valuable suggestions, noted that there are some traits that show that the *Ārdahang* was not illustrated by Mani himself.

[3] Polotsky-Böhlig, *Kephalaia* II (Stuttgart 1937), p. 154; cf. also I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* (Leiden 1995).

Iranian mysticism is also an expression of the imprisonment of the human soul in the material body. So, the Religion of Light is by itself the promoter of a special Iranian Gnosticism which has roots in the Sassanian dynasty and even before that. The passionate song of Nay (traditional flute) described in the Prologue to the *Mathnawī* of Rūmī, the great Iranian mystic and poet of 13th century AD, expresses such a motif as well.[1] It relates undoubtedly the descent of the human soul and the separation from one's transcendental essence. The separation and alienation of human spiritual essence can be seen through the Religion of Light as the imprisonment of light-essence in this material world and in the material body of human beings.

Mani learned the pictorial tradition from his Gnostic predecessors. He, as well as his father, Patēg, flourished in the community of the Mughtasila (the Baptizing sect). During his life in Babylon, Mani learned the art of painting and drawing, as well as the art of *nibēgan-nīgārīh* (book-painting) and calligraphy, and in this showed a marvelous talent. He developed his own script based on the Syrian script known as Estrangelo, and many Middle Iranian translations of his books, and those of his disciples, were written in this script.[2]

Arzhang in Classical Persian Literature

Classical Persian literature that speaks of Mani chiefly emphasizes his artistic character and includes some legendary narrations. For instance, the *Shahname* of Ferdowsi described Mani as follows:

> Here came forth an eloquent man from China
> That the earth never saw such an artist.

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[1] See Chapter VI.

[2] Cf. H.-J. Klimkeit, "On the Nature of Manichaean Art" in M. Heuser and H. J. Klimkeit, *Studies in Manichaean Literature and Art* (Wiesbaden 1998), p. 270-271.

He fulfilled his wishes with his skillfulness
An intellectual man called Mani.
I am a Messenger, he said, equipped with the art of painting
Superior to the other prophets.[1]

It is surprising that Mani's detailed biography was not well known in Iran during Ferdowsi's era at the 10th century AD. Ferdowsi called him a painter from China who came forth to the court of Shapur, whose unkindness was so great that it led Mani to an unfortunate destiny. We know, on the contrary, through the documentary Manichaean scriptures of Turfan, that Mani propagandized his religion freely during Shapur's period and even wrote his famous book *Šāburagān*, of which fragments have been preserved, in his name.[2] Later, during the reign of Bahram, Mani was interrogated and executed, and his followers fled to Central Asia and China. They created a precious literary and artistic tradition in the vast regions throughout the Silk Road.

Bayān al-Adyān (The Expression of the Religions), a classical Persian work written by Abu'l-Ma'ālī, describes Mani's story as follows:

> He was a master of painting who flourished in the kingdom of Shapur, son of Ardeshir. He asserted prophecy among the magi and his demonstration was the art of calligraphy and painting. They say he drew a line on a piece of fine silk. When they took out the silk thread, the line disappeared. He created a pictorial book designed with many kinds of paintings which were called Mani's *Arzhang*, and it is in the Ghaznein's treasuries.[3]

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[1] A. Ferdowsi, *The Shahname* (Moscow 1968), vol. 7, pp. 250-251.
[2] See D. N. Mackenzie, "Mani's Šābuhragān" in *BSOAS*, vols. 42/43 (London 1979).
[3] Abu'l-Ma'ālī, M.H.A., *Bayān al-Adyān (The Expression of the Religions)*, ed. by A. Eqbāl Āshtīyanī (Tehran 1312 AH), p. 17; cf. A. Afshār Shīrāzī, *Mutūn-e Arabī va Fārsī dar bāre-ye Māni va Mānavīyyat (Arabic and Persian Texts on*

The document shows that the *Ārdahang*'s paintings were preserved until the end of the 5th century AH/11th AD in Ghazne.

Awfī wrote in his *Jawāmi'al-Hikāyāt wa Lawāmi'al-Riwāyāt* about Mani the painter:

> ...And his claim was chiefly in the art of painting. He was skillful and perfect at it. And one sign of his skills was that he drew a circle on a large silk cloth. Then he took a compass and circled on it, showing that it was matched with his drawn circle.
>
> ...and he (Mani) went to India, Kashmir and Tibet. The people of Tibet and Turkistan adhered to him. He made idols and deceived them with his paintings, wandering on the mountains there and not lodging at one place. And during his wandering, when he reached the cleft of a mountain with running water and a fantastic sphere around and a narrow entrance, he then chose that as his lodge and brought food with him for a year. No one knew of him. Then, one day he told his followers: 'I will fly to the heavens and will stay there for one year. After a year, on a certain day, you should come to a certain mount, bringing a horse so that I come with you and announce my religious ceremonies and the gift of my religious law to you.' Then he suddenly concealed himself in the cave, supplying himself with a large epistle in the form of paper scroll which was very fine and white as the shell of an egg. He drew marvelous paintings on it during the year. At the promised day, he took the pictorial epistle into his hand and came out. He said: 'I was serving at the court of the god of heavens. He commanded me to conceal his commandments and this is the book of God.' When the people saw it, and all were impotent to create it; they believed in and confirmed it. They called it Mani's *Arzhang* and it is still preserved in the treasuries of the emperor of China.[1]

Mani and Manichaeism) in S. H. Taqīzādeh, *Māni va Dn-e `ū (Mani and His Religion)* (Tehran, 1956), p. 491.

[1] A. Afshār Shīrāzī, *op. cit.*, pp. 509, 511-512.

If we accept Awfī's narrative, we can presume that Mani's *Ārdahang* was at hand in the Turkistan of China up to the beginning of 7th century AH/13th century AD. After Mani's death and the cruel assassination of his followers in the following centuries, most Manichaean artistic works including the *Ārdahang* were destroyed.

Up to the beginning of the 20th century when Manichaean scriptures were discovered in Turfan, no one knew of the precious treasures of Gnostic-Manichaean literature. [1] The *Ārdahang*, however, has never been found since then, except some commentaries in Middle Persian and Parthian to which we will refer in the following pages.

Asad Tūsī, quoting from his father, called Mani 'the Painter of Light':

> The Painter of Light cast down the veil of darkness,
> As far as the earth, which, like the sky, became colourful like the *Arthang*.[2]

One can actually call Mani the Painter of Light, for he always sought light, that is, the light-particles lost among the particles of the material cosmos. The whole world is mingled with darkness and the light-particles of the spiritual realm have been imprisoned in it. The prophesied mission of humans is to release these light-particles.

The Painter of Light offered a new miracle for his prophetic mission: painting and portrait drawing. Ḥamdollāh Mostowfī, an Iranian historian, says:

> In Shapur's dynasty, Mani the painter claimed prophecy, and his prophetic sign was that he drew small and large circles, and short lines

[1] See Z. Gulacsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* (Turnhout 2001), p. 6.
[2] Asadī Tūsī, *Lughat-i Furs*, ed. by A. Dabīr Sīyāqī (Tehran 1978), p. 67.

> in such a way that when they used compasses and rulers, they saw they were exactly rendered. And he drew the shape of the inhabited quarter of the earth and the other uninhabited three quarters on the globes of some eggs which showed all cities, mountains, seas and rivers. He made a marvelous shirt, such that when somebody put it on it was visible and by putting it off, it was invisible.[1]

To approach such a miracle, Mani had to leave the people, and he preferred solitude. So he sought asylum in a cave in the way that the other prophets did. Therefore, he hid himself from the people's eyes. His absence lasted one year. Mīrkhwānd presents a fantastic description in his *Rowḍat al-Ṣafā*:

> And Mani was a unique painter. They say he drew a circle with a diameter of five meters. When they examined it with a set of compasses, there weren't any differences in the perimeter at all. Therefore, he became famous and won a vast celebrity in India and Khatā (West China), for he drew marvelous icons and he was continually traveling throughout the eastern countries.
>
> It is said that during his journey he approached a mount which had a cave containing a fantastic space with fresh air and a spring; the cave had only one entrance. Mani, hiding himself from the people, brought food for a year to the cave and told his followers that he would fly to the heavens and his settlement there would last a year. After a year, I will come down to the earth and will bring good news from God to you. And that godless prophet told the community that they should be waiting in a certain place near a cave on the eve of the second year. After this statement of his will, he disappeared and hid himself in the cave. He was busy drawing pictures for a year. He painted marvelous and fantastic portraits on a tablet and called it Mani's *Arzhang*. After a year, he reappeared near the entrance of the cave holding the tablet in his hand, a tablet

[1] Hamdollāh Mostowfī, *Tārīkh-e Gozīdeh (Selected History)*, quoted from A. Afshār Shīrāzī, *op. cit.*, p. 522.

painted with novel pictures, adorned with different marvelous icons. Everybody who saw the tablet would say:

The time will bring a thousand icons
There isn't but one in such a way
That exists in the mirror of our vision.

The people were surprised at seeing the tablet. Mani claimed that he had brought it forth from heaven as his miracle.[1]

The Interpretation of the *Ārdahang*

What was the *Ārdahang* and what icons did it exhibit? Undoubtedly its content was so precious that, according to the legends, it forced the Painter of Light to live in a cave alone for a full year. In addition, the *Ārdahang*'s importance was so high that when his death time approached, according to *Kephalaia*, he foresaw his time of torture and persecution and said:

I weep over the paintings of my Picture[2]

The *Ārdahang* was undoubtedly Mani's pictorial manifesto. His doctrine was hardly comprehensible due to the complex mythology and various marvelous deities. The motifs such as the wonderful structure of the cosmos with ten firmaments and eight earths, the Arks of the Moon and the Sun, Three Wheels of Light, Wind and Fire, Miraculous Turning Wheel, Three Columns and the Five Arches, and New Paradise. The Light paradise, the Realm of Darkness, the Greed-Demon, and the other similar figures overwhelm the reader in surprise and obscurity.

Obviously, it was inevitable for a painter to draw these marvelous religious motifs and to explain them for the Hearers (Mp. *Nīyōšāgān*: the lowest rank of Manichaean community). So one can conclude that the icons of the *Ārdahang* described the

[1] Mīrkhwānd, *Rowḍat al-Ṣafā*; quoted from A. Afshār Shīrāzī, *op. cit.*, pp. 525-526.
[2] H.-J. Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy* (Leiden 1982), p. 16.

cosmogonical doctrine, creation, the process of cosmogony, the structure of the cosmos, the end of the world or eschatology, which would have been presented as some portraits in the shape of a canonical book, precious ritual scrolls or, as they say, in the shape of tablets.

According to some Manichaean manuscripts (e.g. M 219),[1] the tradition of *pardeh-khāni* (reading through the portraits) in front of the audience was relevant during the pre-Islamic period. Mani enjoyed the tradition greatly, and most probably drew the *Ārdahang*'s icons on the *pardeh*s (curtains) or scrolls. In the Islamic period, this tradition remained alive, as the continuation of an old Sassanian tradition, to explain the epic episodes of the Shahname. The tradition is still alive in some regions of Iran, especially in *ghahve-khāneh's* (Iranian traditional coffee shops). It is also known as the tradition of *naqqālī* (minstrelsy), and there are still local minstrels and the manuscripts of *naqqālān* (minstrels) in some regions.

Only few pieces of interpretation of the *Ārdahang* have been preserved. One can deduce from the surviving fragments that there was a comprehensive narration of Manichaean religious paintings of which most parts have been destroyed. One of these interpretations is a text from the treatise the *Ārdahang Wifrās* (*The Interpretation of the Ārdahang*). It was preserved in a Parthian manuscript, *M 35*:

> ...and the story of the Great Fire: like unto (the way in which) the Fire, with powerful wrath, swallows this world and enjoys it; like unto (the way in which) this fire that is in the body, swallows the exterior fire that is (lit. comes) in fruit and food and enjoys it. Again like unto (the story in which) two brothers who found a treasure, and a pursuer lacerated each other, and they died; like unto (the fight in which) Ohya, Lewyatin (Leviathan),

[1] See M. Boyce, *Reader* (Leiden 1975), p. 182, fragment dl.

> and Raphael lacerated each other, and they vanished; like unto (the story in which) a lion cub, a calf in a wood (or: on a meadow), and a fox lacerated them both, [and they vanished, or died]. Thus [the Great Fire swallows, etc.] both of the fires...[1]

The Great Fire is the fire which, according to Manichaean cosmogonical myth, appears at the end of the world, spreads everywhere and swallows the whole universe in such a way that the last particles of light will finally be released.

If we accept that the *Ārdahang*'s pictorial manifesto has drawn the process of creation and eschatology, then, based upon Manichaean manuscripts and various interpretations, we can describe its drawings and ultimately reconstruct it, as I did in the case of the Manichaean creation myth through various scattered texts, including fragments in Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, Coptic, Chinese, etc.[2]

One can even see some pictorial features of the *Ārdahang* in the surviving works of later eras. Professor Chao Ḥuashan has recently recognized some examples of Manichaean paintings some of which represent cosmogonical themes of the *Ārdahang*. For instance, the wall-painting of cave no. 38b in Bäzäqlīq shows a picture of the Tree of Life (Shajirat al-Ḥayāt) with worshippers gathering under it; a grand tree with green leaves and twelve grand flowers and innumerable fruits. The Tree of Life is the symbol of the Realm of Light and has three branches representing three phases of creation or three periods of Manichaean cosmogony. Also, in *Mānestān* (monastery) of North Sangim, cave no. 4, a wall-painting shows the Tree of Life and the Tree of Death, which are entwined with each other. The interweaving of the trees of life

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[1] W. B. Henning, "The Book of Giants" in *BSOAS* (1943), pp. 52-47; *idem*, *Selected Papers, Acta Iranica* 15 (Leiden-Téhéran-Liège 1977), pp. 134-135.

[2] See Chapter II; also cf. A. Esmailpour, *Ostūre-ye Āfarīnesh dar Ā'īn-e Mānī (The Myth of Creation in Manichaeism)* (Tehran 2004).

and death represents the mingling of light and darkness, according to Manichaean doctrine, and this is most probably considered to be one of the important motifs of the *Ārdahang*.[1]

Manichaean paintings, however, are influenced by Iranian, Chinese and Buddhist art. The influence causes Manichaean art to imitate Buddhist themes. For instance, one can recognize lotuses in most Manichaean figures of deities. Colours used in the paintings are purple, red, fiery red, blue, yellow and dark green. The artists used gold leaf to enhance the pictures. Eyes are oblique as in Chinese miniatures, and the lips and mouths have been changed to dots with an unparalleled tenderness.[2]

Manichaean art is also rooted in the Parthian art of the Mesopotamian region. We should not, of course, ignore Sassanian artistic tradition. Mani himself learned the Mesopotamian-Syriac pictorial tradition. His followers were undoubtedly inspired by the Parthian art of Mesopotamian regions as well.

The Mongol-Uigur paintings style has also influenced the artistic works of western Turkistan and Iran. However, Manichaean painting – as well as the Religion of Light – is neither Chinese, nor Buddhist, nor Parthian, but uniquely Manichaean because Mani himself was the inventor of a style of painting and a special script and probably the pioneer of Manichaean book-illustration.

It is obvious that Mani was the innovator of miniature art and the first Manichaean artist. Miniature, the art of book-illustration and gilding of the Islamic period, was also influenced by Manichaean art. We can see this influence in the pictorial tradition of the Ilkhanids and the Timurids. Some scholars think that the artistic tradition of Samarkand and Herāt – which itself was under the

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[1] H. Chao, "Investigation of Manichaean Cave Temples in Turfan" in *Iranian Journal of Archeology & History*, vol. 8, no. 1 (Winter 1994), pp. 4-6.

[2] For the Buddhist artistic influence on Manichaean art, see H.-J. Klimkeit, "Indian Motifs in Manichaean Art" in M. Heuser, and H.-J. Klimkeit, *Studies in Manichaean Literature and Art* (Wiesbaden 1998), pp. 291-299.

influence of Manichaean art – even affected the Indian miniature and later painting school of Tibet during the 11-12th centuries AD and was developed by them.[1]

Now, on the basis of the relative comprehensive narration of Manichaean cosmogonical myth, we can tentatively describe the *Ārdahang*'s pictorial manifesto, or rather, based on the surviving documents and manuscripts and the surviving paintings on the *Mānestān* walls of Turfan, we can reconstruct it in imagination. In addition, I think that we can create a new *Ārdahang* based on the present documents and narrations considering that the motif of the *Ārdahang* can still function artistically.

The portraits of the *Ārdahang*, according to the surviving interpretation, have been most presumably drawn in three parts of a book or three 'screens', 'canvases', or 'tablets' to describe three cosmogonical periods. Most likely, it had been painted both as *nibēgān-nīgārīh* or book-illustration and as painting canvases according to the tradition of *pardeh-khānī* or portrait-reading, i.e. narrating religious or epic episodes through portraits.

The function of the Father of Greatness, who is the absolute light and the highest Manichaean deity of the cosmos, is very important. He is described as a four-faced deity who lives in the Light Paradise. According to Manichaean texts, he is shown as an elegant and fertile tree that has never born any bad fruit; he is the absolute light and eternal beauty. The Paradise of Light has a diamond surface, covered with innumerable beautiful mountains, colourful flowers, fruitful trees of the four seasons, fountains of eternal water, gardens, houses, castles and thrones. The motifs of divine figures which might have been illustrated in the *Ārdahang*, were presumably as follows:

[1] H.- J. Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy* (Leiden 1982), pp. 17ff.

The Motifs of the First Creation: the motifs or the figures of the Mother of Life (mother of the cosmos and the bearer of the Primordial Man); the Primordial Man (Son of God, the symbol of eternal and celestial Man; and the personification of the imprisoned soul in body; Five Sons of Light (the children of the Primordial Man who are: Ether, Wind, Water, Light, and Fire); and the Living Self, a deity symbolizing the imprisoned light in Matter.

The Motifs of the Second Creation: the motifs or the figures of the Beloved of the Lights, a deity who is the illuminator of the battlefield in the redeeming process of the Primordial Man accomplished by the Living Spirit and his Sons); the Great Architect (the builder of the New Paradise, a temporary paradise for the refined light-particles delivered by the Arks of the Moon and the Sun in order to attach to the Paradise of Light at the end of the material world); the Living Spirit (the redeemer of the Primordial Man imprisoned by the King of Darkness at the depths of the pit. He is the creator of the material world built on the dead bodies of the devils); Five Sons of the Living Spirit (the Keeper of Splendour: the king of the first firmament and the guard of three upper firmaments among ten firmaments; the King of Honour: the king of the lower seven firmaments; the Adamas of Light: a deity who is standing in the middle of the cosmos watching it; the King of Glory: the revolver of the Three Wheels of Wind, Water and Fire; Atlas: a deity standing on the 5th earth holding all the eight earths on his shoulders and feet, equal to Atlas of Greek mythology); the Call-God (the 6th son of the Living Spirit, a deity who calls the imprisoned Primordial Man and informs him of his situation); the Answer-God (the 6th son of the Primordial Man who answers to the Call-God).

The Motifs of the Third Creation: the motifs or the figures of this phase of creation are: the Third Messenger (a deity of redemption

and the pattern of the male body of man); Jesus the Splendour (Messenger and man's guide); the Maiden of Light (the redeemer of some imprisoned light-particles and the pattern of the human female body); the column of Glory (the light-column or the Milky Way through which the pure souls and the released light-particles go up to the Chariots of the Moon and the Sun, and eventually to the New Paradise); Rahangweh yazd (a deity who is standing between the Chariots of the Moon and the Sun gathering and keeping the released light-particles)[1]; the Great Nous (the redeeming deity and the guide of human beings, who has five features: Reason, Mind, Intelligence, Thought, and Understanding); the Just Judge (a deity judging the human soul after death); and Istomen Yazd, the last deity in Manichaean cosmogony who is fashioned of the last redeemed light-particles at the end of the world after the Great Fire.

The above imaginary reconstruction of Manichaean portraits is based mostly on Middle Persian and Parthian fragments and similar texts in Syrian, Coptic, Greek and Arabic. Each of the texts shows some parts of the Manichaean narration of cosmogonical myth, the creation of man and eschatology. It is obvious that the most beautiful scene of the Paradise of Light, the battle of the deities of Light with the devils of Darkness, the creation of the first man and woman (Adam and Eve) and the Great Fire of about 1400 years at the end of the world would be among the most important themes of the pictorial-book of the *Ārdahang* which was illustrated by the skillful brush of Mani or his disciples. It is obvious that throughout classical Persian literature, Mani was mostly introduced as a painter and portrayer, rather than a prophet. Most of the Persian historical and literary works ignore his real character as a

[1] See Chapter II, note on *Rahangweh*.

prophet or even as a heretic Gnostic, and if they mention his real personification, they mostly scold his evilness.

The *Ārdahang* was a version of a myth that might be still applicable artistically: clearing out the darkness, the suppression of the devil forces, gathering the imprisoned light-particles in Matter, getting on the Chariots of the Moon and the Sun, and approaching the Father of Greatness's Paradise of Light were always the motifs among human wishes throughout the world, and the *Ārdahang* was, in fact, the narrator and illustrator of the unattainable wishes of humans.

IV

The Role of the Beloved of the Lights In the Process of Manichaean Cosmogony

Introduction

The Beloved of the Lights, whose Middle Persian name is Rōšnān Xwārist, is the same as the Parthian Frih Rōšn, the first deity of the Second Creation of Manichaean cosmological myth. So far, scholars such as F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning (1932, 5-6), A.V. W. Jackson (1966, 75), M. Boyce (1975, 5) and some others following them, mentioned the deity with "unknown, doubtful, or obscure" function. Even in a recent decade, Prof. S. Lieu states that the deity's "precise function in the plan [of cosmogony] is obscure" and relying only on the facts expressed in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, he says that the deity helps the Primordial Man (Lieu: 1992, 15). And finally, M. Heuser, relying only on the Coptic texts, states that "the role of the Beloved of the Lights is almost totally exhausted in his function as an interim being." (Heuser-Klimkeit: 1998, 33) This chapter, however, based on a comparative analysis of some Middle Persian, Parthian, Arabic, Syriac, and Coptic texts, tries to make clear the deity's function as the first direct emanation of the Second Creation.

Middle Persian and Parthian texts

In a Middle Persian fragment, we see Rōšnān Xwārist (the Sweetest of the Lights)[1] together with a group of high-ranking deities, among them Mādar-ī Zīndagān (the Mother of Life), Mihr Yazd (the Living Spirit), Ōhrmizdbay (the Primordial Man) and Nōgsahāfur Yazd (the Great Architect),

> *'wd myhryzd 'wd srygrqyrb qyrdg'r 'wl 'w 'hr'pt hynd 'wd 'b'g 'whrmyzdby 'wd* ***rwšn'nxw'ryst*** *'wd nwgšhr'pwryzd hndym'n 'wy whyšt'w šhry'r dstkš 'st'd hynd.'wš''n ngwcyd 'wd zwwpr nm'c bwrd. 'wš'n 'wh gwpt kw nmbrwm tw, xwd(')y', ky pd xwyš wrz 'wd hww'c 'm'h 'pwryd hwm. 'wt ''z 'wd 'hrmyn 'wd dyw'n 'wd pryg'n pd 'm' bst hynd.* (Boyce: 1975, 63)

> And Mihryazd and the female-formed creator (= the Mother of Life) were led up to Paradise. And together with God Ōhrmizd (= the Primordial Man) and the Sweetest One (the Beloved of the Lights) and the New-World-Maker God (= the Great Architect) they stood saluting before the Sovereign of Paradise. And they prostrated themselves and paid deep homage and spoke thus: 'To you, the Lord, we show reverence, [you] who called us forth through your miraculous power and your word of blessing. And through us you bound Āz (the Greed Demon) and Ahreman (the Devil) and the demons and the witches. (Asmussen: 1975, 123)

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[1] The adjective *xwārist* was translated doubtfully into 'sweetest?' by M. Boyce (1977, 100). Andreas-Henning translated it as 'the most blessed of' (1932, 5). The word comes from the Old Iranian *xwarzišta-*. We can also take it from *xw'r* 'good", as it appears in a geographical name *Xwārazm* (good earth); Av. *Xvārizəma-* (Reichelt: 1968, 97. 111). In Mazandarani or Tabari, an old dialect of Northern Iran, my native language, *xw'r / x'r* means 'good, lovable' and it is still used as a living word. Nyberg takes *xw'r* from *xwāhr* as 'easy, agreeable' (Nyberg: 1974, 220); and Mackenzie as 'light, easy' (Mackenzie: 1971, 95). The Avestan *xvāθra-* is substantive (*hu* + **aθra-* ('breathing': Skt: *Ainti*') 'comfort, happiness, paradise'. The adjective form is xvāθravam 'happy, blessed' (Reichelt: 1968, 281).

The Parthian name of the deity is Frih Rōšn (the Beloved Light).[1] In a Parthian text, M 2 II, we read,

> *`wt kd hrwyn rzmywz'n rngs jm'n `ndr nw'g šhr `ngwd, `wd hwyc qmbyft cy zmyg rwšn `wd qwf'n, `c kw, nw'g šhr dyštn r'd, ``bc'r 'zgryft bwt, `w wxybyh pdm'n gd, `wt 'stwmynyc yzd pt bšn'n hynz'wrystr `wyšt'd, `wt bg'n rzmy'hyg `d pnj rwšn `c xdm drwšt bwt, `b'w `xyzynd hrwyn rdnyn, fryštg'n `wd bg'n rzmywz'n, `wd `wyštynd pt pdwhn `wd wyndyšn `w whyšt šhrd'r: nxwšt `whrmyzdbg `d 'stwmyn yzd, `rd'w'n m'd, fryhrwšn, nrysf yzd, b'myzd, w'd jywndg, yyšw`zyw', qnygrwšn, `wd mnwhmyd wzrg.* (Boyce: 1975, 86, st. 7)

> And when all the fight-seekers rested in the New City (New Paradise) for a while, and also that small part of the earth of light and mountains(?), which it used [as a] tool to make the New City, it came to its convenient place, and also Istomen Yazd (the Last God) stood with the most powerful figures, and the fighting deities with five lights were cured of injury, then all the jems, angels and fight-seeker deities rose, and stood to bestow praise on the King of Paradise: first the Primordial Man with Istomen Yazd (the Last God), the Mother of Life, *the Beloved Light*, the Third Messenger, the Great Architect, the Living Spirit, Jesus the Splendour, the Maiden of Light and the Great Nous.

Also in *Angad Rōšnān I*, a Parthian hymn-cycle, we read,

> *`ngd rwš(n)'n 0 fry'ng pt `xšd*
> *dhwm (z'wr w) hwfry'd 0*
> *pd hrwyn d'hw'n*
> *(`w mn gryw) xwd'y 0 wyn'r'h `wm pdw'c'h*
> *(`wm hwfry'd)(`)h 0 mdy `n dwšmnyn*
> *hrwyn wyg'nyšn 0 (`)c mn wyd'r'h*
> *cy hwyn tnb'r dbgr 0 kym pd drd `bj'myd.*

[1] 'Frih', in my opinion, is an adjective here meaning 'beloved' not a substantive as Prof. Boyce translated it as 'the Friend of the Light' (Boyce: 1975, 9; 1977, 40); see also Sogdian noun *fry'wy (friyāwe)* 'love, desire' (Gharib: 2004, 156-7).

Rich Friend of the beings of Light! In mercy, grant
Me (strength and) succour me with every gift!
Array (my soul), O Lord! Respond to me!
(Succour me) in the midst of the foe!
Make pass from me all the ravages of their deceitful
Body that tortures me with pain.
(Boyce: 1954, 112-113)

On *rwšn'n fry'ng*, it seems to me that it is an equivalent for Rōšnan Xwārist (the Sweetest of the Lights) instead of *fryh rwšn*. It can be translated as 'the Beloved of the Lights', or 'the Beloved Light'. A justification for seeing *rwšn'n fry'ng* in this way is that in the fourth line of the cited fragment, we see 'xwd(')y' as addressed to the deity.

The first Middle Persian fragment quoted above describes the final scene of the Second Creation in which the Living Spirit, having made the world, goes with the other gods of this creation before the Father of Greatness, to entreat him to evoke the Third Messenger. In this way, the process of Third Creation commences.

We are faced, therefore, with a significant deity of this stage of creation who is not, of course, 'an interim figure' as M. Heuser states. (Heuser: 1998, 33)

According to the Parthian text of *Angad Rōšnān I*, 'the Friend of the beings of Light' is a strength / gift bestower and a helper of man among the 'foes and all the ravages of their deceitful bodies.'

Arabic texts

One of the oldest Arabic texts on Manichaeism, surviving more than a century before Ibn al-Nadīm's *al-Fihrist*[1], is *Kitāb al-Radd-i*

[1] The oldest surviving Arabic text on Mani and Manichaeism is, of course, *Tawḥīd al-Mufaḍḍal*, dictated by Imām Ja`far Ṣādiq (d. 148 AH / 770 AD) to Mufaḍḍal Ibn-i `Umar al-Ja`fī; a short fragment in *Kitāb al-Khawās al-Kabīr* by Jābir Ibn-i Ḥayyān (d. 161 AH / 783 AD); *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān,* composed by

'la'l-Zandīq al-La`īn Ibn-i Muqaffa` (*The Book of Refutation against the Damned Zandīq Ibn-i Muqaffa`*) composed by Qāsim Ibn-i Ibrāhīm (d. 246 AH / 848 AD).[1]

Throughout the surviving parts of this book, we see the name of the Beloved of the Lights as 'Ḥabīb al-Anwār' among the great deities such as 'Abu'l 'Aẓimat = the Father of Greatness', '`Umm'l-Ḥayāt al-Mutinassimat / Mutibassimat = the Pleasant / Refreshing or the Smiling / Joyful Mother of Life', and an epithet of the Great Architect's helpers as 'ḥurrās al-khanādiq wa'l-aswār = the guards of the ditches and towers' as follows,

> *alam tarū asmā'ahum allati yusammūna wa mā minhā lāghayrih*[2] *yu`aẓẓimūna faminhā 'indahum Abul-'Aẓimat wa Ummal-Ḥayāt al-Mutinassimat*[3] *wa Ḥabīb al-Anwār wa hurrās al-khanādiq wal-aswār wal-Bashīr wal-Munīr wal-Insān al-Qadīm wa mā dhakarū min al-arākina allatī 'alayhim bihā(bihā 'alayhim) min allāh all'n alla'natuh wa mā qālū min 'Amūd al-Sabḥ*[4] *allati bihim biqawlihim fīhā aqbaḥu mā yustaqbahu wa akdhabu akādhīb al-zawr wa a'jab al-a'ājīb('ajāyib) mā wasafū min al-ẓulmati wal-nūr.*[5]
>
> Do you not see their names which are called, and there is not of these names except those who are honoured, such as Abu'l-`ẓimat (the Father of Greatness), `Umm'l-Ḥayāt al-Mutinassimat / al-Mutibassimat (the Pleasant / Smiling Mother of Life), Habīb

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Jāhiz (d. 255 AH / 877 AD) and some others, but they do not refer to the above mentioned deity.

[1] This book was translated into Italian by Michelangelo Gyuidi (in 54 pp text, 28 pp. intro. and 127 pp. trans.) in Rome in 1927. The translator used four manuscripts signed A, B, C, and D. It is not precisely known that the book is truly a refutation against Ibn-i Muqaff`. See A. Afshār Shīrāzī: 1957, p. 80-81.

[2] In another manuscript signed A in Guidi's edition: la ghayrihā (see *ibid.*).

[3] In manuscript signed D: al-Mutibassimat (see *ibid.*).

[4] In other manuscripts signed as A, C and D: al-Shabḥ (see *ibid.*).

[5] *Ibid.*

> al-Anwār (the Beloved of the Lights) , ḥurrās al-khanādiq wa'l-aswār (the guards of the ditches and towers), al-Bashīr (the Third Messenger, wa'l-Munīr[1] (the Maiden of Light) and al-Insān al-Qadīm (the Primordial Man); and those that have been mentioned of the archons, who would be damned with the worst curses, and what has been told of the 'Amūd al-Sabḥ (the Column of Pray [Glory]), that is, in their words, the ugliest thing which is denounced and is the worst oppressive lie and the most surprising surprise that has been described of light and darkness.

The other section of the fragment refers to Manichaean deities as,

> *fayāwaylahum waylan waylā min aqāwīlihim qīlan qīlā fī Abī 'Aẓimatihim wa Umma Ḥayātihim wa Ḥabīb al-Anwārihim wa Bashīrihim wa Munīrihim wa 'Amūd al-Sabḥihim wa Insānihim wa mā t'abbathū fīhi min arākinihim fa'azzamū minhā ghayri ma'nā wa sammawhā kadhiban bil-asmā' al-husnā.*[2]
>
> Woe to them, Woe! Woe to their sayings, nonsense sayings on the Father of Greatness, the Mother of Life [3], the Beloved of the Lights, the Third Messenger, the Maiden of the Light, the Column of Glory, and the [Primordial] Man, and what they say nonsense of the archons, so they honoured those nonsense names and called Good Names as wicked.

The longest and most authentic Arabic text, however, on Manichaean cosmogony is undoubtedly the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, which calls the Beloved of the Lights as Ḥabīb al-Anwār:

> *wa itba'ahu malika janān al-nūr bi ilāhati ākhir wastanqadhahu wastazahara 'alal-ẓulmat wa yuqālu lihādhā alladhī itba'a bihil-Insān,*

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[1] In other Arabic texts, the deity is called Ilāhat al-Nayyirūn (the Goddess of the Light-givers). See Bahār-Esmailpour: 2005, 76.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[3] Here without the epithet of *al-mutinassimat/al-mutibassimat*.

Ḥabīb al-Anwār fanuzila wa khalasa al-Insān al-Qadīm min al-jahannamāt mu'ammian akhadha wa asara min arwāḥ il-ẓulmat.[1]

And the King of Paradise of Light sent another God [2] following him (the Primordial Man) and saved him, and conquered against Darkness. And this (deity) who was sent following the (Primordial) Man is called Habīb al-Anwār. He fell down and saved the Primordial Man of hells (pits) and took some parts of the spirits of Darkness, and bound them.

The adjective 'habīb' (beloved) is worthy of note. It mostly denotes the angelic and feminine (divine or earthly) figures, and it is quite the opposite of 'muḥib' (lover).[3] In addition, the *Fihrist* used 'ilāh' (god), not 'ilāha' (goddess) for the other gods such as the Father of Greatness, the Call-God, and sometimes 'malak' (angel) for the other deities.

It is also noteworthy that in other manuscripts of the *Fihrist* used by Flügel and in an Egyptian manuscript published in 1348 AH / 1970 AD as well, we never see 'ilāh' (god) in spite of frequent differences of words and expressions quoted by Flűgel and other scholars. However, it is not known why Flügel has translated 'bi-ilāh'/ 'bi-āliha' as 'god/gods'. Perhaps he had in mind angels without any specific sex.

On the other hand, a Persian translator of the *Fihrist*, the late Prof. M. R. Tajaddod, who annotated another Arabic text, and used

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[1] Flügel: 1971, 152; cf. also D. Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadim* (Tehran 1970), pp. 19, 46: n. 50.

[2] Here the word 'bi-ilāha' can be also read as Goddess. Thus, Prof. M. Abolqāsemī, Iranian scholar and the editor of the Manichaean chapter of the *al-Fihrist*, following Flügel's translation presented the deity as a masculine figure; so he had to change 'bi-ilāa' (goddess) into 'bi-ilāh' (god). See M. Abolqāsemī, *Mānī be Revāyat-e Ibn-i Nadīm* (Tehran 1379/2001), pp. 19, 46: n. 50.

[3] See *Al-Mawrid*, ed. by M. Ba`lbakī (Beirut 1994), pp. 98, 542.

a quantity of authentic manuscripts to translate the *Fihrist* into New Persian, took the deity to be 'elāhe' (goddess):

> *fereshte janān al-nūr elāheye dīgarī rā be donbāl-e `ū ravāne dāsht va `ū rā nejāt dādeh va bar zolmat pīrūz gardānīd va ān ke be donbāl-e Ensān-e Qadīm pā'īn āmad va Ensān-e Qadīm rā az ān dūzakhyān rahā'ī bakhšīd va asīrānī az arvāh-e zolmat gereft, Habīb al-Anwār nām dāšt.*[1]
>
> The angel of the Paradise of Light sent forth another goddess following Him (the Primordial Man) and saved him and conquered Darkness, and the one who came down following the (Primordial) Man and released the Primordial Man of those hell-beings and took captives from the spirits of Darkness, was called Ḥabīb al-Anwār (the Beloved of the Lights).

Syriac texts

One of the most coherent and vital accounts of Manichaean cosmology can be seen in the Syriac anti-Manichaean writings of Theodore bar Konai. It has been suggested that he based his criticism directly on one or two of Mani's original books, *Pragmateia* and *Epistula Fundamenti.*[2]

P. van Lindt raises a thoughtful, but unanswered, question on the function of the Beloved of the Lights. He writes,

> The function of different figures mentioned by Theodore bar Konai remains unclear. An example is the Beloved of the Lights, one of the main evocations of the Father of Greatness. Why does he precede, together with the Great Architect, the key figure of the Living Spirit? Would it not have been more meaningful that the Living Spirit was evoked immediately by the Father of Greatness, just like his pair the

[1] Tajaddod: 1988, 586.

[2] Tardieu (1981, 56) suggests *Pragmateia*, but Cumont and Krugener (1912, 4) suggest *Epistula Fundamenti*. Cf. also Lindt: 2000, 378.

Mother of Life? Is the order coincident or has it a deeper purpose?" (Lindt: 2000, 387)

The answer to the first question will be made clearer in the last part of the paper through analyzing Syriac texts. The fact at hand now, is that Syriac texts on Manichaean cosmological myth allude to two significant figures: the angel Nḥšbṭ (Naḥašbaṭ?), and ḥbyb nhyr' (the Beloved of the Lights), as follows,

1 And he says: then an angel named Naḥašbaṭ came forth to see the Primordial Man, holding the diadem of victory in her hand.
2 And he says: Naḥašbaṭ threw light before the Primordial Man, and as the King of Darkness saw this, he showed reflection and said: What I sought for afar, I found at my hand. Consequently, the Primordial Man gave himself and his Five Sons as well, as 'food' to the King of Darkness.
3. Then in the second evocation, the Father of Greatness evoked the Beloved of the Lights (Syr: *ḥbyb nhyr'*).The Great Architect evoked the Living Spirit (Syr: *rwḥ' ḥy'*).
4. They came into the Realm of Darkness and found that the Primordial Man and his Five Sons had been swallowed by Darkness.[1]

Naḥašbaṭ, as the above quoted Syriac fragment conspicuously demonstrates, is an angel who came to meet the Primordial Man with the Crown of Victory throwing light before him.

So the deity's function would be to guide the Primordial Man (Lieu: 1992, 14) and presumably to light the scene of the battlefield. Naḥašbaṭ, though clearly different from the Beloved of the Lights, may be identical with Maiden (without any specific epithet) praised frequently in some Coptic texts such as *A Manichaean Psalm-Book.*

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[1] Theodore bar Konai, *Liber Scholliorum,* ed. by A. Sher, trans. by R. Hespel, and R. Draguet, xi, pp. 313-14; cf. also R. Haardt, *Gnosis*, tr. by J. Hendry (Leiden 1971), pp. 189f.

Coptic texts

Coptic texts are not silent about the Beloved of the Lights, but one may be confused with different usage of Light, Lights, Maiden, Maiden of the Light, or the Beloved of the Lights.

However, *pe merit n nouaine* (the Beloved of the Lights), referred to many times in Coptic texts (but only six times in *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*), is undoubtedly the same Ḥabīb al-Anwār mentioned in Arabic and Syriac texts and the same Rōšnān Xwārist / Frih Rōšn of the Middle Persian / Parthian fragments. We are also faced with frequent descriptions of the Maiden of Light in *A Manichean Psalm-Book*, who is sometimes identical with the Living Self (a deity made up of the Five Elements) of the First Creation; at other times she is identical with the Maiden of Light of the Third Creation.

The Beloved of the Lights in *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*,

> ...Our father, the First Man of Glory
> Whose victory and garland are blessed,
> The Beloved of the Lights that wears the crown...
> For Salvation...
> The Good One, the Great Builder, the first of the...
> ...to the New Aeon to form it..."
>
> (*Manichaean PsB.* ccxix)

> This is the day of the First Man
> This is the day of the Beloved of the Lights;
> The Holy day is that of the Great Builder
> Who builds the New Aeon.
>
> (*Manichaean PsB.* ccxxxv)

Whenever the Beloved of the Lights is referred to, the 'lights' is first plural, sometimes with the epithet of 'Luminaries' (*Manichaean PsB.* ccxxvii); afterwards he is always recited after

the Primordial Man and before the Great Architect and the Living Spirit.

In one of the Manichaean Psalms (Ps. Ψαλμοί Σαρακωϊώυ?), there is a marvelous description of the deity:

> The Second Emanation
> The Beloved of the Lights
> The Lovable of the Angels
> The giver of garlands to the...
> The Ordainer of everything
> His son that is begot.
> Who is the Great Builder
> The Builder of the New Aeon...
> (Allberry: 1938, 137)

What was confusing for the Coptic writer or scribe, and for Theodore bar Konai as well, was that these might have been three figures confused: the Beloved of the Lights, the Maiden (who is sometimes praised as the Living Self, rather than the Maiden of Light, in *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*), and Naḥašbaṭ the angel.

In the second Coptic fragment quoted above, the composer or the scribe might have been confused about the figure, because the giver of the diadem/garland to the Primordial Man is Naḥašbaṭ of the Syriac texts. The use of the epithet 'Angel' is notable.

The other surprising epithet of the Beloved of the Lights is that he is the 'Ordainer of everything'. The deity bears this significant power because the Father of Greatness resigns after his second direct Emanation, i.e. after the emanation of the Beloved of the Lights he assigns the function of continuing the process of creation to him.

Now we can answer the question brought up by M. van Lindt who asked why the Beloved of the Lights precedes the Great Architect and the key figure of the Living Spirit who is the redeemer of the Primordial Man in the Second Creation. It is

because the Beloved of the Lights, like the Mother of Life, is the Father's 'direct Emanation' and the 'Ordainer of everything' at this stage. So, the Beloved of the Lights 'begets' (according to *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*), or 'evokes' (according to Syriac text) the Great Architect who helps the Living Spirit to end the process of cosmogony in the Second Creation. Here, the Mother of Life and the Primordial Man are comparable with the Beloved of the Lights and the Great Architect.

Naḥašbaṭ of the Syriac text, in my opinion, is the same Maiden (Allberry: 1938, 137, 162) who is identical with the Living Self (made up of the Five Elements) and quite different from the Maiden of Light, a significant goddess of the Third Creation). Both Naḥašbaṭ and the Maiden throw light before the Primordial Man and help him in the Battlefield,[1]

> Maiden equipped with five powers
> That might fight against the five abysses of the Dark.
> (*Manichaean PsB*, ccxxiii)
>
> Or,
>
> His (the Primal Man's) beloved Daughter
> ...of her Father
> Who died for her brethren
> Her brother, the Living Wind...
> (Allberry: 1938, 137)

In Syriac texts, we have both Naḥašbaṭ and Ḥabīb Nehīra whose functions, as mentioned above, are clear to some extent. The obscurity lies with Ḥabīb al-Anwār of the Arabic version. If we suggest Naḥašbaṭ as Maiden 1 (=the Living Self) of *A Manichaean Psalm-Book* rather than the Maiden of Light as Maiden 2, we can

[1] Cf. also Heuser: 1998, 28.

come a pace forward. Ḥabīb al-Anwār, as Ibn al-Nadīm describes in his *al-Fihrist*, has both functions of Naḥašbaṭ / Ḥabīb Nehīra and Maiden 1 / the Living Self, i.e. throwing light before the Primordial Man, and consequently being his helper, and the vital function of being a significant deity as the direct Emanation of the Second Creation, and the second Emanation of the Father of Greatness during the whole process. The problem would become clearer if we consider that Arabic texts lack the figures such as Naḥašbaṭ or the Maiden 1(=the Living Self). Then, Maiden 2 (=Maiden of Light) would be active for the Third Creation.

Considering the attributes of the Beloved of the Lights, including the Most Lovable, the Sweetest, Ḥabīb (beloved, not Muḥib or Lover), Frih (dear, beloved) Light, and Angel (just once in *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*), one can deduce that these qualities are mostly used for angelic or feminine figures. The word 'beloved' could be associated with 'maiden' rather than a male figure in the minds of the composers or scribes, especially in eastern regions.

On the other hand, among the twelve attributes emanated by the Father of Greatness, as Professor Gharib states, "with which they accomplish their cosmic actions", the fifth is 'zeal' which is an endowment of the Beloved of the Lights, who "accepts to go to the enemy camp to help the captives, and shows the way to the Primal man" (Gharib: 2002, 19-20).

The word 'zeal' (Pth: *abrang*; Sgd: *audux*) itself refers to a lovable case; the New Persian equivalent is 'dil' (heart). Therefore, we face similar, and easily confused attributes for them, including the Beloved of the Lights, Maiden 1 (the Living Self), Maiden 2 (=the Maiden of Light), Daughter of the Father. The latter may refer to Naḥašbaṭ, or the Living Self.

Conclusion

As far as the texts show, we have three significant and separate Emanations. The First Emanation is the Mother of Life who forms a triad with the Primordial Man and the Living Self. The Second Emanation is undoubtedly the Beloved of the Lights who forms another triad along with the Great Architect and the Living Spirit. The Third Emanation is the Third Messenger who forms the final cosmological triad of deities with Maiden of Light and Jesus the Splendour. It is notable that the Third Emanation, the Third Messenger (Narisah Yazd in Middle Persian texts) has both feminine and masculine figures (Boyce: 1975, 7). Thus, we can suggest this two-fold character for the Beloved of the Lights too. However, this hypothesis needs deeper examination.

V

Manichaean Gods and Goddesses in *Kitāb al-Radd-i 'la'l-Zandīq al-La'īn Ibn al-Muqaffa'*

One of the oldest Arabic texts[1] on Mani and Manichaeism is a precious treatise named *Kitāb al-Radd-i 'al'l-Zandīq al-La'in Ibn al-Muqaff'(The Book of Refutation against the Damned Zandīq Ibn al-Muqaff')* composed by Qāsim Ibn-i Ibrāhīm (d. 246AH / 868AD).[2]

The treatise survived more than a century before al-Nadīm's *Kitāb al-Fihrist* and was translated into Italian by Michelangelo Gyuidi (in 54 pp. text, 28 pp. introduction, and 127 pp translation) published in Rome in 1927. In his introduction, Gyuidi states that he used four manuscripts of the treatise marked with the signs of A, B, C, and D. It is obvious that the book was composed in the first half of the 9th century AD. However, it is not definitely known that

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[1] The oldest Arabic text on Mani and Manichaeism is, of course, *Tawḥīd al-Mufaḍḍal,* dictated by Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq (d. 148AH / 770 AD) to Mufaḍḍal Ibn al-'Umar al-Ja'fī; a short fragment in *Kitāb al-Khawās al-Kabīr* by Jābir Ibn al-Ḥayyān composed by Jāḥiẓ (d. 255AH / 877 AD) and some others. However, they do not refer to Manichaean deities directly. Cf. *Tawḥīd al-Mufaḍḍal,* narrated by Mufaḍḍal Ibn al-'Umar Ja'fī, Najaf, 1369 AH / 1949 AD, pp. 5-90; Jābir Ibn al-Ḥayyān, *Kitāb al-Khawās al-Kabīr*, ed. Paul Kraus (Cairo, 1354 AH / 1933 AD), pp. 224-332.

[2] M. Gyuidi, *Kitāb al-Radd-i 'al'l-Zadīq al-La'in Ibn al-Muqaff'* (Rome 1927); A. Afshār Shīrāzī, *Mutūn-i Arabi va Fārsi dar bāre-ye Mānī va Mānavīyyat,* appended in S. H. Taqīzādeh, *Mānī va Dīn-i `ū* (Tehran 1957).

the book was really a refutation against Ibn al-Muqaffʿ, or against the whole Manichaean doctrine. Although Ibn al-Muqaffʿ is directly addressed in the title of the treatise and is damned by the composer, it is obvious that the treatise pays attention only to the Manichaean dualistic doctrine of light and darkness which threatened the Islamic society at that time and was mostly refuted by the zealot theologians.

The main theme of the treatise is to refute the *zandīqs* or the dualists, especially a Manichaean sect whose leader was called by the writer Mani al-Zandīq. In the author's words,

> *thumma inna firqatan min al-kafara qādahā iṣyānuhā wa na'aqa naqadhatihā fill-kufra wal-'amā shaytānuha imāmuha al-muqaddam wa sayyidihā al-mu'aẓẓam Mānī al-kāfar mā ni'amallāh al-la'īn alladhī lam yabliq kafara qat billāh al-shayātīn.*[1]
>
> A sect of pagans guided by their rebellion that cried and was influenced by paganism, and the blindness of their Satan who was their first Imam (leader) and their mighty lord, Mani the pagan to whom the God may not keep the damned whose paganism never reached the god of the devils.

The author then refers to Mani's doctrine of two contradicted elements of light and darkness,

> *faza'ama annal-ashyā'a kullihā shay'an wa qad yūjadu khilāfu za'imihi bil-'iyān. falā tūjida bayna mā dhukara min al-nūri wal-ẓulmat firqatan illā wujidat al-ashyā'u kullihā bimithlihi lahā mufāriqatun illā anna al-firqatan bayn al-ashyā'i owjida wa min al-ashyā' lilnūr wa ẓulmat.*[2]

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[1] Guidi: 1927, 4; Afshar Shirazi: 1957, 77.
[2] *Ibid.*

> Then he supposed that all things consist of two substances but the opposite side of his supposition is clearly true; and there is no difference (or separation) between the mentioned light and darkness unless there were a separation among the whole things like those two [substances] except the separation among things is clearer and there are things among them that emphasize the darkness.

The dispute on the doctrine of dualism continues throughout the treatise in order to prove its falsehood. Sometimes the author quotes indirectly from Manichaean writings:

> 1. *thumma qāla tahakkimā waftarā za'amā anna al-ashyā'a kullihā min al-nūr wal-ẓulmat mizājun wa annahu lam yakun baynahumā fī mā khalā min dahrihimā imtizājun.*[1]
>
> Then he (Mani) said domineeringly and accuses suspiciously that all things are mixed with light and darkness, and that there has not been any mixture between them for a long time.
>
> 2. *wa qāla fi awlāhimā lam yamtazijā thumma qāla ukhrāhumā imtazajā fajama'ahumā 'indahu fil-imtizāj.*[2]
>
> And [Mani] said [that] they (light and darkness) were not first mixed. Finally it was ordered to be mixed together and to be gathered in amalgamation.
>
> 3. *faqāla bil-nūru wal-ẓulmatu mizājāni wa min var'ihimā falahumā aslān. hal yūjid min dhālika lahum illā mā yūjadu liman·khālafahum.*[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*
[2] Gyuidi: 1927, 5; Afshar Shirazi: 1957, 78.
[3] *Ibid.*

Then he said [that] light and darkness are mixed together and beyond them, there are two principles for them. In this case, do they find anything except for their opposites?

4. *thumma yuqālu lahum ayḍan ḥaddithūnā 'an nūr al-shamsi wa mā yubāshiru abṣār al-mubṣirīn minha 'inda shurūqihi bil-lamsi....*[1]

Then, it is told about sun's light and what the beholders watch while [it is] shining concretely... .

5. *wa za'amū annal-shay'a lā yakūna minha abadan illā mithli jawharihi mujtami'an wa mufradan. wa sha'n al-nūr al-'luw wal-irtifāu wa sh'n al-ẓulmati al-sufūl wal-itḍā' wa kadhalik sha'nu kulli ḍiddayn matā wujiddan mutaḍāddayn matā 'alā hādhā hawā hādhā fahuwa abadan yahwi eddhā ḍidduhu samā wa yusammū idhā ḍidduhu hawā. wa fī firāq al-shay'. lisha'nihi ḥaqīqatun fanā'ihi wa buṭlānihi kal-nāri allatī min sha'nihā al-taskhīnu wallīnu alladhī lāyakūu illā walahu talīyīnu qamtay baṭalat sha'nuhumā baṭalat labuda 'aynahumā liannahu lāḥāra illā muskhkhinun wa lālīn abadan alumalīn.*[2]

And they supposed that nothing of it does create eternally except it is convened and individual; the dignity of light is mighty and sublime; and the dignity of darkness is inferior and longing for lowness. And also the dignity of both opposite things, whenever they are found, and as far as they stand in this nature, when he ascends, the [other] descends, he always descends if its opposite comes up. And everything that is separated from its real dignity will be destroyed, such as fire of which the characteristics are heating and softening; for there is never fire except with its softening [nature]. Whenever these two characteristics run away from it, its essence will be false. Why? Because there is no heat

[1] Gyuidi: 1927, 5; Afshar Shirazi: 1957, 78-79.
[2] Gyuidi: 1927, 52; Afshar Shirazi: 1957, 82.

unless there is a heater and there is no softness unless there is a thing that softens.

6. *wa qad za'amū annal-nūr qad zāla 'an dārihi min al-'ulā wa ṣāra ilā hādhihil-arḍ al-suflā wa fī dhālik min taghyīrihi mā qad qīla min buṭlān 'aynihi wa kadhālik al-ẓulmatu fī buṭlānuhā idhā ṣārat ilā khilāfa sh'nuha faṣārat fī manzilihā suflā ilal-irtifā` wa mu'talā fahumā fīqawlihim qad baṭulā....*[1]

They said that light is separated from its lofty abode and has descended to its inferior, earth, and in this transformation, it was said that its essence has lost its substance; and such is darkness in its falsehood if it is opposing its dignity, then it turns into its inferior position, and such is darkness in losing its dignity. Then, according to their (Manichaeans') saying, they [light and darkness] will be false....

Towards the final pages of the manuscript (Gyuidi: 1927, 52-54), the author refers to eight Manichaean deities. Here the author reveals his enmity and orthodox attitude. For he criticizes the Manichaeans obscenely. He writes,

f*awaylun lahum mimmā katabata aydīhim wa waylun lahum mimmā yaksibūn [al-Qur'ān al-karīm, sūrat al-baqara, āyat 83] wa biayy mutala'abi qātalahum allāha yatal'abūn. alam tarū asmā'ahum allati yusmmūna wa mā minhā lāghayrih (lāghayriha) yu`aẓẓimūna faminhā 'indahum Abul-'Aẓimati wa Ummal-Ḥayāt al-Mutinassimati* [2] *wa Ḥabīb al-Anwāri wa hurrās al-khanādiq wal-aswāri wal-Bashīr wal-Munīr wal-Insān al-Qadīm wa mā dhakarū min al-arākina allatī 'alayhim bihā (bihā 'alayhim) min allāh all'n alla'natuh wa mā qālū min 'Amūd al-Sabḥ allati bihim biqawlihim fīhā aqbaḥu mā*

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] In manuscript signed D: al-Mutibassimat (see *ibid.*).

yustaqbahu wa akdhabu akādhīb al-zawr wa a'jabu a'ājīb ('ajāyib) mā wasafū min al-ẓulmati wal-nūr.[1]

Vow to them on account of what they have written, vow to them on account of what they do. In which playground are they playing? May God kill them! Do you not see the names to which they are called, and there are not among these names except those who are revered including *Abu'l-'Aẓimat* (the Father of Greatness), *'Umm'l-Ḥayāt al-Mutinassimat / al-Mutibassimat* (the Pleasant / Smiling Mother of Life), *Ḥabīb al-Anwār* (the Beloved of the Lights), *ḥurrās al-khanādiq wa'l-aswār* (the guards of the ditches and towers), *al-Bashīr* (the Third Messenger), *wa'l-Munīr* (the Maiden of Light) and *al-Insān al-Qadīm* (the Primordial Man); and what have been mentioned of the archons, who would be damned with the worst curses, and what have been told of the *'Amūd al-Sabḥ* (the Column of Prayer [Glory]) that in their word, it is the filthiest thing which is dishonoured and is the most deceitful cruel deceits and the most surprising which are described of light and darkness.

Again, the gods and goddesses are mentioned at the end of the treatise, this time without stating the 'guards of the ditches and towers' and blaming the Manichaeans for their dishonest deed of mixing the holy names with filthiness and falsehood.[2]

So we are faced with seven deities in *Kitāb al-Rad*, including the following (respectively according to their ranks and positions in the three phases of Manichaean cosmogony).

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *fayāwaylahum waylan waylā min aqāwīlahim qīlan qīlān fī Abī 'Aẓimatihim wa Umma Ḥayātihim wa Ḥabīb al-Anwārihim wa Bashīrihim wa Munīrihim wa 'Amūd al-Sabḥihim wa Insānihim wa mā t'abbathū fīhi min arākinihim fa'azzamū minhā ghayri ma'nā wa sammawhā kadhiban bil-asmā' al-husnā.* Cf. Gyuidi: 1927, 53; Afshar Shirazi: 1957, 82-83.

The Golden Age (before the First Creation)

1. **Abu'l 'Aẓimat = the Father of Greatness.** The greatest god of the Manichaean pantheon. He is beyond the material world and lives in the Paradise of Light. In the *Fihrist* of al-Nadīm, he is called *Malik-i Janān al-Nūr* (the King of the Light Paradise). (Flügel: 1925, 328, 329) The name in *Kitāb al-Rad* appears to be translated from Syriac texts with the equivalent name as *'b' drbwt'*, (bar Konai: 1981, 313), while al-Nadīm apparently quotes the term directly from Middle Persian texts *whyšt'w šhry'r* 'the King of Paradise' (Boyce: 1975, 8). It is confirmed in *al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal* (Shahristāni: 1972, 192; Abolqāsemī: 2004, 45-46, 145-146) as *Malik al-Nūr* or *Malik al-'Ālam al-Nūr* whose New Persian equivalent is Shahryār-e Nūr (the King of Light) or *Shahryār-e Behesht-e Rowshanī* (the King of Light Paradise). However the deity is called Bonus Pater in Latin sources, and *pydr wzwrgyft* (the Father of Greatness) in Parthian texts. (Bahār-Esmailpour: 2005, 72)

The First Creation: The Period of Mixing of Light and Darkness

2. **'Umm'l-Ḥayāt al-Mutinassimat = the Pleasant Mother of Life.** A goddess and the mother of the whole life who is considered as the most important deity of the First Creation or the first phase of cosmological periods. Her original Syriac name is *'ma' dhy'* 'the Mother of the World'. (bar Konai: 1981, 313) The Arabic equivalent is *'Umm'l-Ḥayāt*. Our text appears to present another unique epithet for the goddess, that is, al-Mutibassimat

(Smiling).[1] (Flügel: 1925, 329) Her other names are: Mp. *m'dr y zyndg'n / zyndg'n m'dr*; Pth. *m'd zywndg / 'rd'w'n m'd* 'the Mother of the Righteous ones' / *m'd rwšn* 'the Mother of the Light' / *xwšyzg* 'Sweet, Pleasant' / *'whrmyzdbg m'd* 'the Mother of the Primordial Man'. (Bahār and Esmailpour: 2005, 72) The other epithet of the goddess in Middle Persian fragments M 981, M 991, and M 7980-84, is *srygrqyrb qyrdg'r* 'the Female-Body Deity'. (Boyce: 1975, 63, St. 8, 67, St. 21) She is the first evocation of the Father of Greatness to oppose the invasion of Darkness. The Mother of Life evokes the Primordial Man who is the third deity mentioned in the treatise.

3. **Al-Insān al-Qadīm = the Primordial Man.** His original Syriac name is *'nš' qdmy'* 'the Primordial Man' (bar Konai: 1981, 314), who is the symbol of man descended into the material world and the process of his release is the redemption of man's descended soul. His other names are: Mp. *'whrmyzdby* 'God Ohrmyzd', *n'zwgz'dg* 'the Son of Graceful'; Pth. *'whrmyzdbγ*, *mrd hsyng* 'the Eternal Man', *mrdwhm nxwyn* 'the First Man' and Primus Homo in Latin texts. (Bahār-Esmailpour: 2005, 72) The imprisonment of the Primordial Man is the symbol of the Fall of Light in the material world.

The Second Creation
(The Period of Release of Light and the Creation of the Material World)

4. **Ḥabīb al-Anwār = the Beloved of the Lights.** The deity's original Syriac name is *ḥbyb nhyr'* (bar Konai: 1981, 314)

[1] The other manuscript (with the sign of D) which M. Gyuidi used in his edition of *Kitāb al-Rad* mentions 'al-Mutibassimat' (smiling) which appears for the first time for the deity. See Afshār Shīrāzī: 1957, 82; Flügel: 1925, 3329.

whose function is Manichaean cosmogony is not precisely known, but according to *Kitāb al-Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, he is a pioneer who was instrumental in loosening the Primordial Man from the chains of Darkness (Lieu: 1992, 15). Al-Nadīm writes,

> *wa atba'ahu malika janān al-nūr bi ilāhati ākhar wastanqadhahu wastazhara 'alal-ẓulmati wa yuqālu lihādhā alladhī ittaba'a bihil-Insān, Ḥabīb al-Anwār fanuzila wa khalasa al-Insān al-Qadīm min al-jahannamāt mu'ammian akhadha wa asara min arwāḥ al-ẓulmati.*[1]
>
> And the King of Paradise of Light sent another deity following him (the Primordial Man), saved him and conquered against Darkness. And that he who came down following the [Primordial] Man and saved the Primordial Man from the hells (pits) and took some [parts] of the spirits of the Darkness as prisoners, was called Ḥabīb al-Anwār (the Beloved of the Lights).

It is notable that the Persian translator of *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, Mohammad Reza Tajaddod, read the word 'bi-ilāha' as 'goddess'[2], but Flügel (1925, 329) took it as a 'god' and Mohsen Abolghasemi (2001, 46) changed the word to 'bi-āliha' and took it as a 'god' too. The deity's function would be clearer if we compare different Coptic, Syriac, Middle Persian, Parthian and Arabic texts. However, the deity is one of the direct emanations of the Father of Greatness and has an important role in the second phase of creation. It will not be

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[1] Flügel: 1871, 152.

[2] *ferešte janān al-nūr elāheye dīgarī rā be donbāl-e `ū ravāne dāšt va `ū rā nejāt dādeh va bar zolmat pīrūz gardānīd va ān ke be donbāl-e Ensān-e Qadīm pā'īn āmad va Ensān-e Qadīm rā az ān dūzakhyān rahā'ī bakhšīd va asīrānī az arvāh-e zolmat gereft, Habīb al-Anwār nām dāšt.* (Tajaddod: 1988, 586)

precisely known unless some new original Syriac, Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, Uigurian, or Chinese materials are discovered. The other names of the deity are: Mp. *rwšn'n xw'ryst* (the sweetest of the Lights); Pth. *fryh rwšn* (the Friend of Light / the Beloved Light). (Boyce: 1975, 9)

The Third Creation (The Salvation of Man)

5. **Al-Bashīr (the Messenger) = the Third Messenger.** His original name in Syriac is *'yzgd'* (bar Konai: 1981, 316), who is the first deity of the Third Creation. His other names are: Mp. *nrysh yzd* (God Narisah) / *rwšnšhr yzd* (the God of the Realm of Light); Pth. *nrysf yzd* (God Narisaf / *myhr yzd* (God Mihr, of course different from *myhryzd*, the Living Spirit, an important and key figure of the Second Creation who rescues the Primordial Man and creates the material world) / *rwšnšhr yzd* (the God of Light Realm) / *zyn'rys bg* (God Zēnārēs); and Lt. Tertius Legatus. (Bahār-Esmailpour: 2005, 73) He commands the Great Architect to make New Paradise (a temporary paradise which lasts until the end of the material world and it is the place for the released light particles and spirits). The Third Messenger reveals both his masculine and feminine figures to tempt the archons chained in the sky. (Esmailpour: 2004, 113)

6. **Al-Munīr (the Shining One) = the Maiden of Light.** Her Original Syriac name is *btwlt nhwr' / trt'sr' btwlt'* (Twelve Maidens) (bar Konai: 1981, 316); each of her twelve manifestations refers to a sign of the zodiac (Lieu: 1992, 18); her other names are: Mp. & Pth. *knygrwšn*; Mp. *sdwys* (Sadwēs). She also tempts the male archons

chained above the sky and leads them to ejaculate and drop down the swallowed light particles. Al-Munīr's other Arabic name is *Ilāhat al-Nayyirūn* = the Goddess of the Lights. (Bahār-Esmailpour: 2005, 73) Finally, both al-Bashīr and al-Munīr cause the archons to release the light particles during the redeeming process of creation.

7. **'Mūd al-Sabḥ = the Column of Pray [Glory].** The deity's Syriac name is *'stn šbḥ'* (Ephraim: 1921, 208). His other names are: Mp. *šrws 'hr'y*; Pth. *β'mstwn / kyšwrw'r yzd* (Bahār-Esmailpour: 2005, 73), also *β'mstwn* in Sogdian texts (Gharib: 2004: 97). The deity's visible appearance is the Milky Way. According to the releasing process of the Third Creation, "when three wheels are set in motion by the Third Messenger, the light particles or souls are drawn up, refined and made sublime and at the same time conveyed along the Milky Way from the moon to the sun." (Lieu: 1998: 20) In the *Kitāb al-Fihrist* we read,

> *thumma khalaqa al-shams wal-qamar yastaṣfā al-nūr ikhtalaṭa bil-shayāṭīn al-bard fī 'Amūd al-Sabḥ yataṣā'ad dhāliku ma'ammian yartafi'u min al-tasābī wal-taqādīs wal-kalām al-ṭayyib wa `a'mālil-barr.*[1]
>
> Then, he created the sun and the moon to refine the light of this world. Again, the sun refines the light mixed with the archons of warmth, and the moon [refines] the light mixed with the archons of cold; that [light] ascends to the Column of Pray [Glory] and together with the other prayers, the sacredness, good speech, and fine deeds will go up [to heaven].

[1] Flügel: 1925, 330.

Included with the above mentioned deities, *Kitāb al-Rad* refers to *ḥurrās al-khānadiq wa'l-aswār* (the guards of the ditches and towers) which is evidently related with another god of the Second Creation, the Great Architect whose original name in Syriac is *bn rb'*. (bar Konai: 1981: 314). His other names are: Mp. *r'z 'y wzwrg* (the Great Builder), *nwgšhr'fwryzd* (the New Realm-Maker God); Pth. *β'myzd* (the Light God); and Ar. *Bannā al-Kabīr* (the Great Builder) (Bahār-Esmailpour: 2005, 72).

It seems that *Kitāb al-Rad* refers only to the deity's heavenly comrades who help him guard the ditches and towers made by him after the process of making the material world. However, there is a Middle Persian fragment which directly refers to the function of the Great Architect in cosmological process:

> And *Rāz-i Wuzurg* (the Great Builder) filled in and leveled those five ditches to create New Paradise, and in the same way, he piled up and cast down the firmaments upon four layers of the earth, dark, dry, and black, firing and watery, one upon the other.[1]

Conclusion

A survey of the deities mentioned in *Kitāb al-Rad* shows that although the author wishes to refute Manichaean dualistic doctrine, especially its cosmology, and to reveal the falsehood of its divinities, he cites indirectly and sometimes directly from Manichaean texts. Since the treatise was compiled in the middle of the 9th century AD, and Manichaeans were still living in Iran and Mesopotamia at that time, the author could still use some original Manichaean sources in Arabic and presumably in Syriac which are

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[1] *`wd r'z 'y wzrg, whyšt 'y nwg, `br 'pwrydn r'y, h'n pnz knd'r 'y mrg hngnd `wd h'mgyn qyrd. `wd hmbdyc `sm'n'n `br t'r zmyg nyr'myšn ch'r, hwš'gyn 'wd t'ryn 'dwryn 'wd 'byn, yq 'br dwdy ncyd 'wd nyr'pt.* (Boyce: 1957, 61; Esmailpour: 2004, 132-133)

paralleled with original Middle Persian and Parthian Turfan texts. New findings of this paper consist of two epithets of *al-Mutinassimat* (Pleasant) and *al-Mutibassimat* (Smiling) for the Mother of Life, the significant figure of the First Creation in Manichaean cosmology. The Persian equivalents of the two epithets are *š'dgr* and *xnd'n,* which are not found as the deity's epithets throughout the Middle Persian and Parthian texts discovered so far. In addition, referring to the comrades of the Great Architect as *ḥurrās al-khanādiq wa'l-aswār* (the guards of the ditches and towers / fortifications) is a new theme which needs further consideration with regard to determining the deity's function.

Abolqasem Esmailpour, Manichaean Gnosis & Creation Myth
Sino-Platonic Papers, 156 (July, 2005)

VI

Rūmī's Prologue to the *Mathnawī* and Gnostic Hymns: A Comparative Analysis

Introduction

The prologue to the *Mathnawī* is indeed the epigraph and the manifesto of Iranian-Islamic mysticism, wherein one of the most fundamental mystical themes, that is, the isolation and straying of the human spirit and the fall of the spirit from the heavens down to this earthly world, has been discussed. The separation and isolation of man from his material form has been an obsession of the ascetics. We find its climax in the mysticism of Mowlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Mohammad Balkhī, better known as Rūmi. Here, we shall try to make a comparative analysis of the prologue of the *Mathnawī* and the Gnostic hymns. After surveying the main motifs in the prologue and in the most famous Gnostic hymns, it can be argued that Islamic mystical themes have deep roots in Christian and Manichaean gnosis during the early centuries of the Christian era. The mystic idea of the fall of man from his transcendental dwelling is, at one extreme, comparable with the fall of light from the Paradise of Light in Manichaeism, and in the other extreme, with

the fall and absurdity of human spirit in Christian Gnostic schools of the third to fifth centuries.

The main themes of pre-Islamic gnostic hymns such as in *A Manichaean Psalm-Book* and other Middle Persian and Parthian hymns are analysed here. The themes have been compared with the content of the prologue of the *Mathnawī*. In the final analysis, there have been common features between Gnostic-mystical themes of early Christianity and Muslim mystical works and thoughts, which show the continuity of the mystical tradition in the broad realm of Christianity, Manichaeism and Islam.

The foremost interpreters of the *Mathnawī* have interpreted the reed flute as follows:

> The reed flute applies to the Holy Spirit and the rational soul, which has been isolated from its world and has been held captive in the prison of the body. It is wailing now in its longing for the return to its world and lamenting over its suffering, isolation and imprisonment. Therefore, in the last couplet, *nayistān* (reed bed) must be the world of incorporeal beings or the station of immutable essences.[1]

Later, 'Abdal-Raḥmān Jāmī, and the subsequent interpreters of the *Mathnawī*, considered *nayistān* the first invisible spirit or the first ordained being and / or the second invisible spirit or the second ordained being, and took man and woman as manifestations of the Divine Attributes and possible beings, or intellects and spirits. According to Professor Furūzānfar, this is a mistaken interpretation of and a far cry from the speech of Rūmī.[2] Furūzānfar considered the reed flute as an allegory of Rūmī himself, who lost his being and ego and was overtaken by love and the Beloved. Be that as it may, whether we hold the 'reed flute' to

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[1] B. Furūzānfar, *Sharḥ-e Mathnawī-e Sharīf (The Interpretation of the Intellectual Mathnawī)* (Tehran 1992), vol. 1, p. 8.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

be Rūmī himself or to be the Spirit, it is an essence which has been isolated from its source, that is, the reed bed, and dwells in a state of fusion and burning. Rūmī too seemed to be suffering from being isolated from his eternal and celestial Beloved. His *Mathnawī* describes this state of affairs.

While commenting on the introduction to the *Mathnawī*, Jāmī composed several couplets that described the attributes and archetypes that manifested and burgeoned in man who, nevertheless, lives in captivity:

> In the reed bed wherein each nothingness
> Had the colour of unity with pre-eternity
> Since all names and essences impeccable
> Are manifested in man
> Everybody is wailing
> Each thing is separate from its essence
> The love of nation seized them
> This was the cry of men and women.[1]

Comparative Analysis

What we intend to establish here is the point that the subject of isolation or imprisonment of the spirit within the confines of the body, is not new to Islamic mysticism. The perspective of the captivity of the soul and the imprisonment of the body was first discussed by the Gnostics or mystics in early Christian times and verily constitutes the cornerstone of Gnostic thought. The theme of the fall and captivity of the soul on earth was discussed by the Gnostics of the second and third centuries of the Christian era.

The heretic mystics of the early Christian era were divided into a number of categories. The foremost Christian Gnostic was Simon the Magus, who believed Helena to be the last and lowest incarnation of the spirit isolated from the transcendental world. He

[1] *The Interpretation of Valī Muḥammad Akbarābādī*, quoted from *ibid.*, p. 10.

held that the salvation in the Hereafter would take place simultaneously with the ultimate salvation of the fallen spirit. He also held salvation to be within the temporal order, whereas other Gnostics conceived salvation as attainable only by escaping their earthly prison.With regard to his own fall from the upper world and his passage through the celestial zones, which swelled with mischief and matter, he said:

> I took on a new form in every firmament similar to the form of the creatures of that firmament, so as to hide myself from the eyes of the ruling angels and to descend near Ennuia, called the Holy Spirit, the one through whom I created the angels, and they created the material world and mankind.[1]

Marcion, the heretic gnostic of the early Christian era, headed another movement. He believed that God bore no intrinsic relation to the created universe at all; he also believed that the soul bore no relation to God. Unlike other gnostics, he did not consider the soul to be alien, or corrupted, to this world and held that our souls belonged to this world.

The third approach of the gnostic doctrine is found in the school of Hermes of Egypt. Hermetic writings, such as the treatise of *Poimandres*, have pointed to the basic difference between the soul and the body and are an indication of the profound gnostic thought. Furthermore, it has been stated in this treatise that "at the beginning there was a light in the whole universe, peaceful and pleasing; later on, darkness appeared at the bottom, which was very horrifying, despicable and intertwined like a snake."[2]

In Muslim literature, Hermes has been identified sometimes with Enoch, one of the prophets of the Children of Israel, and sometimes with the Prophet Idris. He has also been presumed to be

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[1] H. Jonas, *Gnostic Religion* (Boston 1970), p. 45.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

the prophet of the Sabeans. A number of works with a tinge of Gnosticism have been ascribed to him. The instances of meeting an angel or a celestial instructor, analogous to the symbolic tales of Avecinna and Suhrawardī, can be found in the works of Enoch. Therefore, unlike the prophetic teachings, the teachings and philosophy of this school came in vogue among Shi'ite Muslims, who accepted and welcomed them. From the second century AH / eighth century AD, the Hermetic literature spread over the entire Muslim world from two main seats, Baghdad and Ḥarran. By the time thinkers like Avecinna, Ibn-i Tufail, Suhrawardī and Ibn-i 'Arabī emerged, the hermetic doctrines had already taken root. There are indications that these Muslim thinkers derived their ideas from those hermetic doctrines.[1]

The Hermetic ideas exercised a great influence on Muslim mysticism. The term 'universal man' frequently mentioned in the works of the mystics is found for the first time in one of the Hermetic works, *The Psalm of Na'assene*. The correlation between the 'First Man' of this world and the Primordial Man is of paramount importance in mysticism.[2]

The fourth approach in the Gnostic doctrine is the school of Valentinus, which has been called the Syro-Egyptian Gnostic school as well. Valentinus believed in an eternal being; when the universe was in a deep state Sophia came into being. Sophia was the latest creation and, by virtue of her eternity, she was isolated from all others. She was so isolated from the eternal essence that

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[1] T. Pūrnāmdārīyān, *Ramz va Dāstānhā-ye Ramzī dar Adab-e Fārsī* (*Symbols and Symbolic Tales in Persian Literature*) (Tehran 1989), p. 258; see also S. H. Nasr, "Hermes and Hermetic Writings in the Muslim World" in the *Journal of Faculty of Literature and Humanities* (Tehran University), vol. 10, issue 2, p. 156; also see A. E. Afīfī, "The Influence if Hermetic Literature on Muslim Thought", *BSOAS*, vol. xiii (London 1960), p. 844; cf. S. Holroyd, *The Elements of Gnosticism*, M.A. Dorset (Victoria 1977), pp. 76-80.

[2] R. Nicholson, *Sufism and the Relation between Man and God* (Tehran 1995), P. 183.

she eventually descended into debauchery and madness. She then embarked upon her liberation and underwent horrid agonies. Later the intellect emerged and liberated Sophia from debauchery and sent her back to the upper world. Thus, according to the gnostics of this school, all the souls that have fallen captive to this world and have become slaves to debauchery, can be liberated and attain perfection through mastering gnostic wisdom.[1]

The last Gnostic approach is the Manichaean asceticism, which took shape during the third century AD, and which exercised a tremendous impact on gnostic movements. Mani, in fact, developed the mystical tendencies preceding him, but strove to change these mystical tendencies into a broad religion. According to Mani's ideas, the human soul is an invisible light which ought to pass through the gate of eternal life. Man presently lives in a time of light and darkness. Redemption is attained when man becomes aware of this fact and redeems his soul or light incarcerated within him. On the other hand, the human soul, being captive in matter, can only attain redemption when it becomes aware of its rightful position, and especially of the fact that its abode is in that world, the realm of light. The material forces always chant to the soul and urge it to sink into a sleep of intoxication (oblivion).

There are thus varying approaches in the gnostic school, but all of them can be categorized broadly into two main systems, the Iranian gnostic system and the Syro-Egyptian gnostic system. In both of these systems, the mystical principles are the same, viz. the gap and isolation noticed between the Transcendent God and the universe, the difference between the universe and man, and most important of all, the duality of the soul and body. But the real difference between these two systems lies in the manner of all and destruction of the soul or light:

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[1] See *Gnosticism and Manichaeism*, ed. & tr. by Esmailpour, (Tehran 1994), p. 35; also see M. Bahār and Esmailpour, *Manichaean Literature* (Tehran 2005), pp. 50-54.

In the Iranian category, which is under the impact of the Iranian transcendental duality, and especially that of Zoroastrianism, the matter did not derive its source from the real light nor from the divine spirit. According to this school, the matter, being unclean and dark, has a non-divine source whereas the soul is clean and pure. It is important to keep in mind that, according to this school, the emergence of the material world lies in neither the abnormal result of the divine light and grace nor in the result of its isolation from God, but it has been manifested as a result of the battle between the matter, i.e. evil and darkness, and the soul, i.e. grace and light. Because of this battle, these opposite poles mingle together and the soul becomes a captive of the matter, and at last attains liberation and returns to its origin, from which it had been separated.[1]

The antagonism between soul and body or the battle between intellect and spirit can be seen explicitly in the poetry of Rūmī:

The soul in its separation from the throne like a she-camel
The body from its love of the thorn
The soul takes wings towards heaven above
The body claws at the earth
O You who have died for your country, as long as you are with me
My soul shall be far from Leilī.[2]

In these couplets, Rūmī has likened the tug of the war between soul and body or the battle between form and meaning and / or the antagonism between intellect and spirit to the antagonism of Majnūn with the she-camel.[3] The squabble between soul and body

[1] M. Bahār and Esmailpour, *op. cit*, p. 42.
[2] J. M. Mowlawī, *Kulliyāte Mathnawī-e Ma'nawī:* with the introduction of B. Furūzānfar (Tehran 1354 AH / 1974 AD), p. 615.
[3] See J. Sattārī, *Hālāt-e 'Eshq-e Majnūn (The Aspects of Majnūn's Love)* (Tehran 1987), p. 283.

and between intellect, and spirit or the dispute between love and intellect and form and meaning conjures up the duality of the gnostics who believe in the eternal and everlasting separation of the world of light and darkness or of spirit and matter. Of course, this analogy does not suggest that the mystics accepted the fundamentals of Gnostic-Manichaean thought, but it conjures up a kind of dialectic, which is observed in most cultures, *inter alia*, in Iranian culture.

On the other hand, in the Syrian school, the two roots of existence are considered to be related to a single divine principle, and all of existence, i.e. the inferior material world and the immaterial world, has been ascribed to a single source. The issue of the fall and destruction of the soul is related to the ignorance of the soul which, separated from its eternal and celestial source, recedes into inferiority and oblivion.

Now let us see what the prologue to the *Mathnawī* with its special perspective, which is the main vignette of Sufis and ascetics of the thirteenth century AD and the preceding phases, has in common with the gnostic poetry of the initial phases. As pointed out earlier, the motif of separation, from the paradisal *nayistān* (reed bed), and the longing for union are among the important perspectives of this *Prologue*:

> Everyone who is left far from his source
> Wishes back the time when he was united with it.

This longing for union with the celestial source can be seen among the followers of the above two Gnostic systems. *Inter alia*, in one of the hymns of Mani (*hymn 261*) it is said:

> I will pass up into the skies
> And leave this body upon the earth
> The trumpet sounds, I hear
> They are calling me up to the immortals

I will cast away my body upon the earth
From which it was assembled.[1]

The gnostics of the early Christian era, including Mani, whose mystical ideas had a more profound impact on the Sufis than the impact of his religious system on the Muslim society, considered this world as a vast prison and an arena of evil and Ahriman, wherein man has become incarcerated like a bird and lives in a state of anguish. According to Manichaean mythology, the perimeters of this earthen sphere are encircled by numerous firmaments similar to concentric globes. The most important among them are the seven firmaments of planets on top of which is the firmament of the fixed stars or the eighth firmament. All these firmaments serve as barriers between man on earth and the fixed and enduring celestial world. Man lives in a state of deep isolation, and it is this isolation that makes man miserable:

But whoever is parted from one who speaks his language
Becomes dumb, though he has a hundred songs.

The soul and spirit of man are incarcerated within the body just like the caged bird. The gnostics, particularly the Stoics, called this part incarcerated in the body 'Pneuma' or the 'Etheric Fiery Being', or the Universal / Divine Soul. This soul or Pneuma is a quotient of the sacred divine being, which has been separated from the kingdom of God and has fallen down to this material world; therefore, its isolation is saddening and biting, as Rūmī says:

Since every limb seeks separation
The dear soul will be within separation
It says, 'O low earthly limbs
My nostalgia is bitterer

[1] C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book* (Stuttgart 1938), p. 191.

I belong to the heaven above.'
The willingness of the soul is for the inspiration
The soul of the place is His essence.[1]

This theme can be observed in a better and beautiful form in one of the famous couplets in the prologue to the *Mathnawī*:

I want a bosom torn by severance,
That I may unfold (to such a one) the pain of live desire.

In the Manichaean hymns, *Angad Rōšnān (The Perfect Lights)*, too, this theme is presented in a different way:

The soul replied: I am the delicate-born of the Father of Greatness
I am mingled with this material world and suffer
Take me out of the arms of death (the low world)[2]

And concerning the redemption of the Living Self it says:

O bright Self (soul and spirit) farewell
Go back to your own place
O happy force, O the elected greatness![3]

In the above hymn-cycle, as well as in *Huyadagmān (Good Luck for Us)*, sung by a great Manichaean gnostic, Mar Wahman Xwarxšed, there are numerous songs regarding the captivity of the soul, the incarcerated man and his redemption. These gnostic hymns are originally composed in Parthian language during the third and fourth centuries AD, that is, during the flourishing period of the Gnostic religion at the beginning of Christianity:

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[1] J. M. Mowlawī, *The Mathnawī* (Tehran 1974), p. 616.
[2] M. Boyce, *Reader* (Leiden-Téhéran-Liège 1975), p. 108, text *ay*; Jes P. Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature* (Delmar 1974), p. 48.
[3] M. Boyce, *op. cit.*, p. 106, text *av*.

I cry upon the soul
Perchance I may attain salvation
From the flocks and predators
Which devour each other. [1]

Or:

O Soul, come and never fear
Death has fallen
Illness has dissipiated
O Soul! Come thee, come up!
Wishes are difficult to achieve
All are doomed to destruction
And the sorrow of death
And you have been separated from your place.[2]

Or:

The guest of light
The incarcerated man
Has stepped into a calm state![3]

Let us now compare these rhymes with the speech of Rūmī:

We belong to heaven above and go upwards
We belong to the sea and go to the sea
We do not belong here or there
Our star is not in the galaxy
We shall go to Pleiades
Do not obstruct the path
We shall go to the mount of Caucasus.[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 163, text *ow*.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 166, text *cz*.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 176, text *dgs*.

The theme of crossing the earth and reaching the empyrean and the abode of the Omnipresent has been given in most of *Manichaean Psalms*. The inferiority and the misery of this world and the futility of affection hereto is the prevailing trend of these hymns, which was uttered by the Manichaean ascetics two or three centuries before Islam:

> This lion that is within me I have strangled
> I have turned him away from my soul
> Him who pollutes me at all times.[2]
>
> I will pass through the skies
> And leave this body upon the earth
> The trumpet sounds, I hear
> They are calling me up to the Immortals
> I will cast away my body upon the earth
> From which I was assembled.[3]
>
> The days of thy life are running from thee;
> Why dost thou vainly waste thy zeal
> On the wings of the earth
> And puttest behind thee all the [things of evil]?
> Thou hast spent thy life sunk in the worries and cares of the world
> Working thyself into a decline through the pains and the sorrows.
> Thou art a stranger housed in a body of the earth
> Defiled, how long therefore hast thou been heedless
> Of what thou ignorantly dost?
> Blessed art thou, for the path of journey is open to you.
> Do not entrust your journey to oblivion.[4]

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[1] *The Dīwān of Shams-e Tabīzī:* with an introduction by B. Furūzānfar and A. Dashtī (Tehran 1972), p. 633.
[2] C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book* (Stuttgart 1938), p. 186.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 291.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 202.

Lo, the time has drawn near
May I return to my habitat
Thou art the way, thou art the way of life eternal.[1]

The gist of the above hymns has been sung by Hāfiz of Shiraz in a beautiful way:

Joyous that day when from this desolate abode, I go
The ease of soul, I seek; and for the sake of the Beloved, I go.

To abandon the world and its attendant errors is the longing of the wandering soul of man:

I have forsaken the world and its errors
I have loved my savior, prayed, fasted
And given alms... [from my youth up]
Because of the hour of need.
Come now my lord, Jesus. And help me
All hail! O busy soul
That hast finished her fight
And subdued the ruling power,
The body and its affections.[2]

It is again uttered by Hāfiz in his mystical couplet:

The world and worldly affairs are nonsense
One thousand times have I sought for.[3]

To a Manichaean gnostic, the inferiority of mundane affairs is such that, in fact, one is not meant not to contaminate oneself with

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 161.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 154.
[3] *Dīvān-e Hāfiz*, ed. by Qazvīnī and Ghanī (Tehran 1993), p. 214.

the darkness and material forces; but since it has been preordained for the soul to become a prisoner of darkness, the ascension to the empyrean and to the heavenly domain has been the desire of every gnostic ascetic:

> I have not been mingled with the mixture of the matter
> For, it is a thing that perishes,
> Thy good fight I have set myself
> To strip myself of the body of destruction,
> The habitation of the powers of death
> And transcend on high to thy aeons (thy Paradise Realm)
> From which I was once separated.[1]

Now we shall see from the viewpoint of the above discussed themes to which one of the two prevailing gnostic systems the first mystics of the Islamic era, *inter alia*, Rūmī were inclined to. We will also examine the ways whereby the gnostic asceticism penetrated into the realm of Muslim mysticism, especially during the seventh century AH / thirteenth century AD.

The majority of the mystics of the Muslim era followed the Syro-Egyptian Gnosticism rather than the Manichaean Gnosticism of Iran, for the Syro-Egyptian Gnosticism was more akin to the monotheistic spirit of Islam than to the duality and amalgamation of light and darkness of Mani, which is a far cry from the unity of the world.

Naturally, the selection of Syro-Egyptian gnostic ideas was easier, for these ideas had a mystical aspect and had not acquired the form of a popular and consummate religion like Manichaeism, whereas Manichaeism had acquired the status of an independent religion during the third century AD and was in vogue up to the ninth and in some areas up to the twelfth century AD. Of course,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 208.

this does not mean that the Manichaean ideas had no impact on the Iranian culture. Manichaeism survived through the survivors of Mazdaism and through a number of sects, *inter alia*, a heretic sect, which had emerged under the impact of Mazdaism.

According to the Gnostics of the Syrian school, the soul is subject to fall, but according to Manichaeism, a portion of the light or heavenly soul becomes captive in the battle of the forces of darkness and the gods of light. The Syrian school tries to ascribe the dual existence (good and evil, soul and matter) to the single Divine source. According to this school, the whole of existence, whether the world of matter or the world of spirit has a single source, and this destruction and ignorance is part of the luminous soul, which has been isolated from its Divine source. Manichaeism, on the contrary, is based on the eternal separation of matter and soul, and of light and darkness.

With the help of Hermetic ideas, the Syro-Egyptian Gnostic school was able to establish its influence among the Muslims. Its widespread influence was observed in some of the main religious centers of Islam, viz., Baghdad and Harran from the second century AH / eight century AD onwards. The hermetic ideas which had a Gnostic foundation were imbibed by the mystics of Islam, especially, by the Shi'ite mystics; thus one can trace the continuation of pre-Islamic mysticism in the initial periods of Islam, which reached its apogee and flourished during the seventh and eighth century AH / thirteenth and fourteenth century AD.

The liberation of the soul imprisoned in matter is conditional on the awareness and wisdom, "As in the macrocosm, man is a prisoner between the seven firmaments; so inside our body, in microcosm, this celestial Pneuma is incarcerated in the seven-fold prison of our spirit, which has its celestial source. If this incarcerated spirit does not attain awareness and gnosis, it is so

embroiled in the darkness of the body as to know nothing of itself."[1]

Rūmī made this liberation conditional on the elixir of love, without which man remained imprisoned in the prison of the body like a bird without plumage:

> When love has no fear of him
> He will remain fearless like a bird
> The body of the dust ascended heavenwards because of love
> The mountain came into dance
> Everything is a beloved and the lover a veil
> The living is a beloved and the lover dead
> Our plumage is his noose of love
> He will drag her by the hair homewards.[2]

It is evident that the awareness and gnosis are attained through illumination and spiritual discoveries, like the light of love which shines on the heart of the traveler and all of a sudden redeems the soul from the fold of darkness and takes it to the realm of light.

The theme of a caged bird, a symbol for the soul, is also mentioned in Manichaean hymns:

> Like a bird in snares, so also am I
> While I am in the body of death
> I have not been a servant of Ahriman
> Pluck my feathers, be ashamed...[3]

The bird of the celestial garden which we find here and there in the poems of Rūmī and other mystics, is the symbol for the virtuous soul or spirit, meaning that the virtuous spirit or soul finds itself essentially with plumage which is flying towards its native

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[1] M. Bahār and Esmailpour, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
[2] J. M. Mowlavi, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
[3] C. R. C. Allberry, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

place, the celestial garden. We can find glimpses of this winged creature in the works of Suhrawardī, Avecinna and Ghazzālī as well as in the Manṭiq al-Ṭayr of Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār.[1]

The allegory of the bird in the gnostic hymns is sometimes given as the allegory of a sheep caught in the grip of matter or the forces of darkness:

> Like sheep that have no shepherd
> Matter and her sons divided me up
> Amongst them, they burnt me in their fire
> They gave me a bitter face.[2]

This rigid and bitter face points to the earthen frame or body, which is rigid and unclean according to the Manichaean gnostics, and ought to be replaced with the attire of light.

> I am the light that shines forth
> That gives joy to souls
> I am the life of the world
> I am the sap of all trees
> I am sweet water that is beneath the sons of matter
> O Soul, raise thy eyes to the heights
> And contemplate thy bonds...[3]

It is the possession of the essence of wisdom that enables the virtuous spirit to travel towards the firmament and to become free from the prison and cast off the veil of matter and stigma of defiling and to attain union with God by transcending the material

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[1] Concerning the symbolism of the bird in mythology and mystical literature, see J. Sattārī, *An Introduction to Mystical Symbolism* (Tehran 1993), pp. 119, 122-123; also see T. Pūrnāmdārīyān, *op. cit.* (Tehran 1989).
[2] C. R. C. Allberry, *op. cit.*, Psalm no. 246.
[3] *Ibid.*, Psalm no. 246.

world. This Gnostic theme can be observed beautifully in the prologue to the Mathnawi:

> Dost thou know why the mirror of thy soul reflects nothing?
> Because the rust is not cleared from its face
> The mirror is separate from the color of adornment
> The ray of light is the sun of God
> Clean the rust off his face
> Then, understand that light
> With the ear of your heart, hearken to this truth
> So you may get out of darkness.[1]

This 'ray of light of God's sun' has been manifested in gnostic poetry as the eternal light, which belongs to the very land of light, i.e. the land of the eminent Father of Greatness or Zurwān, a portion of which has come into this material world through the lesser gods of light.

The imprisonment of light has been described in *Manichaean Psalms* as the incarceration of a boat or ship bearing the light-particles which is besieged by the King of Darkness and his band; thus the light mingles with the darkness. The mission of man is to isolate and liberate himself from his amalgamation, to liberate his inner light through the attainment of gnostic wisdom, to proceed towards the moon and the sun via the Milky Way and thence towards the Paradise of Light, to ascend the Upper Paradise or the Paradise of Light, to present himself before the gods of light and to become part of the absolute light:

> His light is down, up and right
> On His head, shoulders like a crown.

[1] J. M. Mowlavi, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

Or according to another interpretation of Rūmī, it is to become a celestial, imaginary and untraceable substance:

> I shall pass by the angels like birds
> I shall become what will come within the imagination.

As stated above, the only way of redemption is to achieve awareness about the transcendence and alienation of the divine world from this material world. Therefore, in order to be redeemed, man perforce has to recognize the Transcendental God beyond this material and horrible world. Man must recognize Him, must identify Him and must discover his own inner being and must know his source of origin, his place of imprisonment and his future station:

> Whence have I come, for what have I come?
> Where am I going? Why do you not show me my home?

The prerequisite to this wisdom is the discovery of gnostic and ascetic intuition for the attainment of the Truth.

According to the gnostics preceding Mani, the isolation of divine substance or soul had occurred before the creation of the material world. The Messenger of God from the Paradise of Light strove to liberate this soul, but Ahreman and the demons created the material world and man in order to imprison this isolated soul in the body of this world and in the body of man. This fact indicates that the Muslim wisdom, rejecting this point, has played a vital role in the evolution process of Gnosticism. From its very maturity and fostering, i.e. from the second and third century AD, up to its climax and spread in the Muslim world, Gnosticism has traversed a long way and has undergone a process of change during the lapse of time without losing its main substance.

In this far-reaching movement, the Sabeans or Mandaean gnostics, too, had their role in the formation of Islamic mysticism.

Mandaeans have numerous common aspects with the topics of the prologue to the *Mathnawī* and with its corresponding themes in Manichaean songs and hymns. Here we will mention only two examples of Mandaean gnostic hymns:

> Living knowledge came to me
> It cried and opened my eyes
> Woke up my spirit
> Woke the god of secrets
> Raised man from among the dead
> And woke me from sleep
> Life had woken in me.[1]

Or, concerning the redemption of the soul from its worldly abode, it says:

> Hail to thee, hail to thee, O Soul!
> Thou hast fled the world
> From corruption
> Thou hast left the body to the world
> The world is a wicked place
> Arise! Arise! O Soul!
> Come back to the former abode
> To where thou hast come.[2]

The other gnostic allegory is that of pearl, shell and treasure. In the gnostic texts, pearl has the figurative form and is related to the soul of man. In Manichaean texts, pearl is the very light imprisoned in the shell. Shell is the prison, and pearl the prisoner. Thus, if the soul is the very pearl, then it has to be searched for in the ocean. It is because of this that in Manichaeism the struggle of

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[1] A. Esmailpour, *Myth: Symbolic Expression* (Tehran 1998), p. 203.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

soul is likened to the 'divers' who probe into the depths of the ocean (depth of wisdom) to search and find valuable treasures. The goal of Manichaeism is not only the 'liberation of pearls' from the prison of the material through the fragile attire of the body, and 'bringing togrther of spirits' or 'collecting spirits' which are like parts of a body, but their everlasting purification as well.[1]

Besides the allegory of pearl, the symbol of treasure, too, has its importance for Manichaean vision in the description of the Living Spirit. He is the essence of all the scattered pieces of light imprisoned in the world. Even the Manichaean angels are called *radanīn* (jewels).

In the *Mathnawī*, too, shell and pearl are referred to repeatedly. In fact, shell is mentioned and discussed 19 times and pearl 135 times throughout the *Mathnawī*, such as:

> The small and the big pearls are out
> With the shell lives that big treasure.[2]

Or in the prologue to the *Mathnawī*:

> The pitcher of my eye was not filled greedily
> The shell was not convinced, was not filled with pearls.

The *Mathnawī* has several instances. Of these we shall only cite the following as samples:

> One put a pearl in the heart
> He put in the seas and the oceans.[3]

> You said there was a sea within him

---

[1] Cf. I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* (Leiden 1995), p. 204.
[2] *The Mathnawī*, Book I, p. 102, verse 17.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 72, verse 18.

A whole treasure was within his heart.[1]

The light of that pearl is shining out
It has been relieved of these chains.[2]

The metaphor of pearl and shell has a long history in mystical poetry, and they have been mentioned in the ancient poetical works. The pearl is the prevailing metaphor and allegory used for narrating one of the most important mystical themes common in the works of gnostics, Manichaeans, the early Christian ascetics and the Sufi poets. Perhaps we can find its most beautiful expression in the following couplet of Hāfiz, the great Iranian poet:

The pearl that was out of the oyster of time and space abode (universe)
It was sought by the lost beings of the coastline.[3]

One of the gnostic allegorical songs, 'The Song of the Pearl', composed by Judah Thomas, was mentiond in *The Acts of Thomas* (third century AD), also called *The Raiment of Pride*. According to this allegory, the pearl has fallen into the mouth of the python, and the seeker ought to take it out of the mouth of the python and thereby liberate the soul or light imprisoned in the material world:

Hail to thee, our son in Egypt
Arise from the deep slumber
And hearken to my words
Remember thou art the prince
Remember the pearl
For which thou hastened towards Egypt.[4]

---

[1] *Ibid.*, Book II, p. 319, verse 8.
[2] *Ibid.*, Book V, p. 835.
[3] *Dīvān-e Hāfiz*, ed. by Qazvīnī and Ghanī (Tehran 1993), p. 101.
[4] R. Haardt, *Gnosis* (Leiden 1971), pp. 161-167.

The allegory of the merchant, merchandise and treasure describes the position of an apostle or ascetic struggling for the redemption and deliverance of the soul. The gnostic texts even went further to consider the merchant figuratively as Father of the kingdom of God, who possessing tremendous wealth, out of that treasure, kept only the solitary pearl which was a part of the holy and eternal soul:

> The Father of the Kingdom is like a merchant
> Who found treasures and pearls
> He was an intelligent merchant
> He sold all his property
> He possessed only the pearl
> You are looking for a wealth
> Which is not to be exhausted
> A wealth which the blow flies won't gnaw
> And the worms won't corrupt.[1]

Conclusion

It can be concluded from the foregoing that the gnostic Manichaean hymns, the gnostic-mystical themes of early Christianity and Muslim mystical works and thought have several common features, which is an indication of the continuity of the mystical tradition in the broad realm of Christianity, Manichaeism and Islam. Most Iranian scholars, such as the late Professor Ebrāhīm Pūrdāwūd, Malik al-Sho'arā Bahār and Mohammad Mo'īn, mostly emphasized the impact of Zoroastrianism and Mazdaism on Persian culture and literature, while others have pursued research on the gnostic Manichaean impact to a lesser degree. Although the idea of permeation of

[1] *The Gospel of Thomas*, see A. Esmailpour, *Myth: Symbolic Expression* (Tehran 1998), pp. 196-197.

gnostic themes into Islamic mysticism and the manner in which these themes permeated Iranian and Muslim culture through the Christian and Manichaean ascetics is a new trend in literary and mystic research, the continuation of deep, sustained and steady research might bring about a profound change in the study of mystical works.

List of the Texts

1 = M 21
2 = M 981
3 = M 991
4 = M 7980
5 = M 7981
6 = M 7982
7 = M 7983
8 = M 7984
9 = M 7980
10 = M 7981
11 = M 7982
12 = M 533
13 = M 507
14 = M 5877, M 710
15 = M 741
16 = M 741 V
17 = S 13 + S 9 Rii 30
18 = M 100, 10012-16, 1018, 1024, 1029, 1031
19 = M 1103, 1025
20 = M 1021
21 = M 1030, M1014
22 = M 1027, M1007
23 = M 1009
24 = M 1004, 1005, 1008, 1010
25 = M 1002, 1006, 1017, 1023, 1028, 9000
26 = M 1011
27 = M 1022, M 1020
28 = M 1019
29 = M 100
30 = M 819, M 2154
31 = M 853

32 = M 263f, 292, 5228
33 = M 765 I
34 = M 1741
35 = M 316 + 801d, M 8400, M211 + 500g + 2203 + 2205 + 3840, M 2082
36 = M 351
37 = M 384, 2067, 4517, 5190, 5682
38 = M 308a, M 308b
39 = M 99
40 = M 5932
41 = M 183, M 3404 + M 354, M 98
42 = M 8802
43 = M 871
44 = M 2098
45 = M 1208
46 = M 506
47 = M 715d
48 = M 4500, M 4501, M 5567, M 5566
49 = M 2309
50 = M 8280
51 = M 5900
52 = M 8101
53 = M 101, M911
54 = M 178a
55 = M 178b
56 = M 363
57 = MPB (Manichaean Psalm-Book), 1-3
58 = MPB, 9-11
59 = MPB, 57
60 = MPB, 136-139
61 = MPB, 140-142
62 = MPB, 148-9
63 = MPB, 159-160

64 = MPB, 161
65 = MPB, 203-205
66 = MPB, 207-209
67 = MPB, 209-210
68 = MPB, 211-212
69 = MPB, 212-213
70 = Keph (Kephalaia), II, 171, 92-3, 117
71 = Keph, I, 244
72 = Keph, I, 246
73 = Keph, I, 251-3
74 = Keph, I, 268-9
75 = Hom (Homilien), 7
76 = Hom, 39
77 = Hom, 40
78 = Hom, 21
79 = Keph, I, 41
80 = MDC (Manichaische Dogmatik aus Chinesischen), 949
81 = CH (Chinese Hymnscroll), 196-7
82 = CH, 185-197
83 = CH, 176
84 = MCML (Manichaean Confessional Mirror for the Laity), 149
85 = MCML, 151
86 = al-Fihrist, 329-31
87 = al-Fihrist, 331-32
88 = al-Fihrist, 332
89 = al-Fihrist, 3332-33
90 = al-Milal wal-Nihal, 192
91 = Malil-Hind, 26
92 = Ya'qubi, I, 129
93 = Tabsirat al-Ulum, Mutun: 502-4
94-97 = Gnosis, 289-95
98-100 = Gnosis, 295-301

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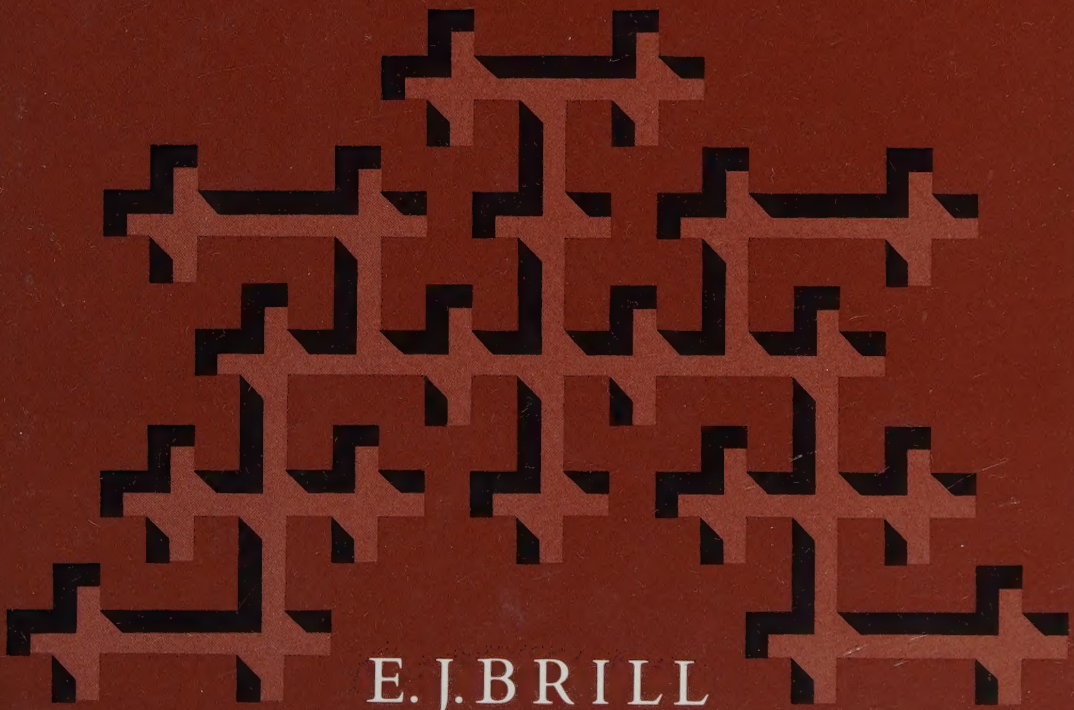
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The Kephalaia of the Teacher

The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary

by

Iain Gardner



E. J. BRILL

The Kephalaia of the Teacher is the most detailed account available to modern scholarship of the teachings of Mani, and of the universal religion that he founded as the final successor to Buddha, Zarathushtra and Jesus. This volume provides the first complete English translation of the Coptic text (*c.* 400 CE), together with an introduction, commentaries and indices. Topics include the apostleship of Mani, the practices of the Manichaean community, accounts of the heavenly and demonic beings and worlds, as well as discussions of astrology and religious psychology.

In Manichaeism many of the gnostic and dualistic themes of early Christianity achieved the status of a world religion, and the subject is the heir to contemporary interest in heterodoxy and the deconstruction of received histories (see the Nag Hammadi codices).

Iain Gardner, Ph.D. (University of Manchester 1983), is Chair of the Department of Religion and Philosophy at Edith Cowan University, Western Australia. He is currently editing the newly-found Coptic and Manichaean texts from Kellis, on behalf of the Dakhleh Oasis Project.



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THE KEPHALAIA OF THE TEACHER

NAG HAMMADI
AND
MANICHAEAN STUDIES

FORMERLY

NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

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XXXVII



THE KEPHALAIA OF THE TEACHER

THE EDITED COPTIC MANICHAEAN TEXTS IN TRANSLATION WITH COMMENTARY

BY

IAIN GARDNER



E.J. BRILL
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To Carole

CONTENTS

Preface ix

Introduction: xi
- Manichaeology and the Religion of Mani xi
- Manichaeism in Egypt xv
- The Medinet Madi Library xvii
- *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* xix
- The *Kephalaia* as Text xxi
- Summary of the Doctrine xxiv
- The Manichaean Ethic and its Practice in the Church xxxiii

Comments on the Translation xxxvii
Abbreviations xxxix
Select Bibliography xl

The Kephalaia of the Teacher: 1
- Conspectus Siglorum 2
- List of Kephalaia 3
- Translation and Commentaries 10

Indices: 295
- The Light and the Darkness 295
- Apostles 304
- Proper Names 306
- Manichaean Scriptures 306
- Citations 307

PREFACE

This volume provides an English translation, together with commentary, of the presently edited Coptic text of the *Kephalaia;* as established primarily by A. Böhlig and H.-J. Polotsky in the 1930's and early 1940's. This is but part of a single codex of the Medinet Madi library of Manichaean writings, the entirety of which codex is considerably greater than will be found here. The editorial process still continues. Work on a second *Kephalaia* codex from the same find has hardly begun. There is also Iranian kephalaic material. Thus I am conscious of the limitations of what is presented here as an entry into the fantastic worlds of Mani and his followers in their search for the God of truth.

My own fascination with this text began in the latter 1970's as I prepared for a doctoral dissertation on the Christology of Manichaeism at the University of Manchester. At that time I attempted rough translations both as a means to understand the doctrine, and as an exercise in the language. At the beginning of this present decade S.N.C. Lieu was kind enough to remember our struggles as graduate students, and wrote to me wondering if I would be willing to revise some of these drafts for a collaborative volume containing Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire. I somewhat arbitrarily set myself to the task of a hundred plus pages from the *Kephalaia,* but rapidly discarded my youthful exercises. Towards the completion of this initial stage Dr. Lieu introduced me to D. Montserrat with the suggestion that we might work together on the complete edited text, and Dr. Montserrat began to prepare drafts of chapters on which I had not yet worked.

In 1992 Dr. Montserrat visited me in Australia, and we enjoyed the opportunity to develop ideas for the volume and to work together on first drafts of difficult sections. Since then other commitments have forced Dominic to withdraw from the collaboration, but I take this opportunity to thank him for his many fine suggestions, and to acknowledge the occasions that his phrasing may have influenced the final version. Similarly I thank Samuel Lieu, and acknowledge that phrasing from collaborative work appears in the introductory material.

However, sole responsibility for the published text is my own.

Now, in 1994, I have again worked through every line. As each reading has brought more light, so I become more aware of the impossibility of the translator's task. However, it is apparent that the density and complexity of this text have proved a barrier to the study of Manichaeism, particularly in the anglophone world. My hope here is to have rendered more accessible the greatest and most detailed of the available primary sources, and thus to encourage future work that will in time supersede my own.

I thank Edith Cowan University for the use of resources and the help of many colleagues, in particular Peter Bedford with whom I have often discussed problems of the translation process. My Faculty was kind enough to grant me time release from teaching during the early part of the work, for which I am indeed grateful.

Mount Lawley October 1994

INTRODUCTION

Manichaeology and the Religion of Mani

The self-declared apostle Mani (216 – 276 c.e.) was a native of Babylonia who founded a world religion in the early years of the Sassanian Empire. He believed himself to be the recipient of direct revelation from his divine Twin Spirit, which being is understood to be the Paraclete foretold by Jesus, and with whom Mani became 'one body and one Spirit (K.15.23 – 24)'. Thus, in his *Gospel* and *Epistles,* he introduces himself as the apostle of Jesus Christ (e.g. CMC. p.66). In Greek and Coptic his name is Manichaios; that is 'Mani the living', as derived from his native Syriac.

Modern scholarship has devoted much attention to the question of the nature and characteristics of Mani's teachings, and of the religion that he founded; and this history of manichaeology may be read as a commentary on that of the discipline itself. For the Christian theologians and leaders of the past Manichaeism had been a dualistic heresy that threatened and attempted to subvert the truths revealed in scripture, as held secure and preached by the church. Thus the origins of the discipline, for western culture, are to be found in the Greek and Latin sources of that world; particularly in the disputations, anathemas and parodies of the bishops such as Augustine (once himself a believer but turned champion of orthodoxy) and Archelaus (the fabled victor over a hapless Mani) and Epiphanius (the acerbic cataloguer of errors).

When western scholarship began to free itself from the heritage of heresiology a new approach to sources, especially by orientalists in the latter nineteenth century with access to Syriac and Arabic authors such as Theodore bar Konai and an-Nadim who quote from Mani himself, gradually started to write a more objective history.

The twentieth century has brought a succession of dramatic textual finds that have repeatedly shifted the focus of attention. The first actual Manichaean writings discovered were in Iranian and Turkic and Chinese literatures, and were plundered from Central Asia by the great European expeditions at the start of this century. In the heyday of the 'History of Religions' as a discipline Manichaeism was reinvented as a Persian religion.

However, even since the 1920's scholarly attention has been repeatedly forced to focus on gnostic and Judaeo-Christian origins and traditions in Mani's teaching. Such are evidenced particularly by the Medinet Madi library from the 1930's, of which the *Kephalaia* is part; and then since 1969 the Cologne *Mani Codex,* which text recounts the genesis of Mani's own life and the community that he founded. Also the flood of scholarship occasioned by the Nag Hammadi library, that is the inaccurately but popularly named gnostic Gospels, has provided a context for the growth of manichaeology as its heir apparent.

Now, near the close of the twentieth century, the student of Manichaeism is presented with a striking array of sources evidencing a religion that spread from Mesopotamia throughout the late classical and Islamic worlds of the Mediterranean and west Asia, and across the Silk Road to finally flare and die in south China. Throughout this century the discipline has been preeminently the domain of specialists, necessitating a high degree of philological and technical skill, particularly such as is preserved in the elite institutions of the European continent. However, developments and projects by the academic community now in process seem certain to render the subject both more accessible and of broader interest. These include the activities of the *International Association of Manichaean Studies,* with its conferences and publications; and the various renewed efforts both to complete the editing of sources and to make them more available.

The latest and still continuing development in the story of Manichaean textual discoveries is part of this process. This is the uncovering of a fourth century Manichaean community and its texts at the late Roman site of Kellis in Egypt, by an Australian archaeological excavation directed by C. Hope on behalf of the Dakhleh Oasis Project. For the first time the social context of a Manichaean church from the early period, indeed of any so-called gnostic group of antiquity, can properly be recovered. Thus the subject becomes part of the documentary record of the late classical world.

Every discipline is a product of its own cultural framework and its time. Manichaeology at the turn of the millenium takes its place in the story of the deconstruction of received histories. The finds at Kellis evidence that the Manichaeans there regarded themselves as the true and holy church. This story subverts that of

the inevitable triumph of, for want of a better phrase, catholic Christianity. Instead, Christianities in context are found to be diverse, subjects of law and economics and inter-personal relations. Doctrine is imposed and undermined, theological orthodoxy is seen to be a social construct.

What then is the meaning of the religion of Mani? The *Mani Codex* is a nascent gospel for the apostle that compiles written testimonies by some of his closest disciples, together with quotations from his own writings; and contextualised by excerpts from Paul and other authoritative apocalypses of the past. While hagiographical elements are already apparent, such as the tutelage of Mani by his Twin (σύζυγος) from youth, it does provide clear evidence of his upbringing in a Judaeo-Christian baptist community. Mani conflicts with the elders over the food and ritual practices of the group (on the perhaps revisionist grounds of actualised Manichaean praxis), and appeals to the teaching of their leader (and founder?) Alchasaios. Thus the community seems related to the Elchasaites of Christian sources, although it is notoriously difficult to disentangle the various teachings of such sects from the available texts.

In any case, it is apparent that Mani broke with the community, and the evolution of his teaching overlaid diverse elements from gnostic and Syriac Christian traditions upon the restricted world of his youth. The influence of Bardaisanite and Marcionite teachings is apparent, although in his scriptures Mani also enters into dispute with such. The adult Mani embarked on his career as healer and apostle, travelling throughout the Persian Empire and to India and the boundaries of Roman power. He seems to have been favourably received by the Sassanian King Shapur I, to have travelled in his entourage, and to have been welcomed in the courts of the aristocracy. Zarathustra and Buddha were incorporated into the tradition of true apostles, together with Jesus, although recent scholarship has tended to downplay the extent of Iranian and Indian influence on the essential structure of Mani's teachings. However, after the deaths of Shapur and his successor Hormizd, Mani was imprisoned by Vahram I probably under the influence of the chief mobed Kirder and the Zoroastrian hierarchy; and there received his own martyrdom. This was then followed by a general persecution of his followers, especially in Mesopotamia.

Since its liberation from heresiology the study of Manichaeism has been driven by philological experts and historians of religion. This has tended towards a dominating interest in the texts in themselves, and in the various strands of Manichaean teaching. However, Mani's vision and the worlds of his followers must also be comprehended as integrated wholes. Mani believed himself to be the recipient of, and owner of, truth.

> This is how everything th[at] has ha[pp]ened and that will happen was unveiled to me by the Paraclete; [...] everything the eye shall see, and the ear hear, and the thought think, a[n]d the [...] I have understood by him everything. I have seen the totality through him! (K. 14.19–23 and see CMC pp. 66-7)

For Mani truth can both be accessed and comprehended. Error attacks and mingles with it in history, but revelation from the eternal world illuminates the good, and offers the sure hope of final victory. Revealed truth is the same as that good that has always been present in the universe, which holds it together, proving life and coherence within death and disorder. Thus, on their own terms, Mani's teachings can not be regarded as eclectic. If his revelations accord with those of earlier apostles it is because they derive from the same source. Where they differ the prior apostolic teaching has been corrupted. Thus Mani reiterates and reveals Zarathustra, Buddha and Christ. Other Buddhisms or Christianities can only be dull reflections of this truth.

In his lifetime Mani devoted himself to the building up of the true church. The superficiality of religious terminology ('church') is important to an understanding of Manichaeism, for as a persecuted minority the community was accused of dissimulation and subversion. Mani wrote his inspired scriptures so that the truth could never again become corrupted by error. He sent out missionaries to east and west, and claimed that no previous revelation had been universal and thus final, as was the one that had been given to him.

From the late third century Manichaeism challenged the Christian hierarchy of the Mediterranean world; but with the triumph of catholic Christianity in the Roman empire, and the common interest of church and state, these western communities gradually failed and died under persecution. In west Asia Manichaeism remained a vibrant force well into the Abbasid era, and

Arabic authors had access to the canonical scripures. However, the religion of light had its longest history in central and east Asia, perhaps surviving in south China until the early modern period. Despite the widely varied cultural forms in which it represented itself, Manichaeism retained an essential unity of vision and expression, and acted as an important conduit for the transmission of cultural ideas between east and west[1].

Manichaeism in Egypt

Manichaean missionaries would have first arrived in Egypt about 260 c.e. By the end of the third century the religion had attracted enough attention to be condemned by both the state, which feared its Persian origins and regarded it as harmful to the fabric of society; and the ecclesiastical authorities, who were particularly shocked by Mani's claim to be the apostle of Jesus Christ, come to restore and renew the true church. Nevertheless, although fiercely combatted and persecuted, Manichaeism attracted a radical and often sophisticated following. The pagan neoplatonist Alexander of Lycopolis, who informs us that the first missionary to reach Egypt was Papos[2], wrote against the doctrine surprised at its attraction for his philosophical colleagues. The religion also spread further west to Roman North Africa, where the writings of Augustine are an eloquent reminder of its appeal in the latter fourth century.

Upper Egypt seems to have become a particularly fruitful area for the Manichaean mission, and Christian writers made frequent attacks upon it. It is highly possible that missionaries reached the Thebaid not only via Alexandria and along the Nile valley, but also directly by sea from Mesopotamia to the coast (Berenice). The region features in the mercantile travels of Scythianus, the proto-Manichaean of Christian polemics. The largest corpus of extant Manichaean texts, the Medinet Madi library including the *Kephalaia*, can perhaps be traced to this area according to dialect. Although Manichaean success in the Roman Empire peaked about 400 c.e., it seems probable that communities survived in areas such as this into the Islamic period.

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[1] For a detailed introduction to Manichaeism and its history see Lieu 1992.

[2] Alexander of Lycopolis, *c. Manich.* II, p.4, 17-19; and see PsBk2. 34.12.

The documentary texts from Kellis will provide much new detail about this process of Manichaean expansion in fourth century Egypt. It is apparent that the believers understood themselves to be the true and holy church. Presumably the mission to Kellis began as an outreach from an established centre such as Lycopolis. At Kellis there appears to have been significant success, for the documentary texts evidence Manichaeism integrated into the life of the community, and psalms have been found in two different parts of the site. Whether this success was an isolated instance, or more common across the Oasis is unknown. The Dakhleh Oasis is even today a relatively remote region, at the edge of habitation. The excavations at Kellis evidence that the pagan temple was still functioning at the beginning of the fourth century, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the process of Christianisation was less advanced here than in major centres. These features may have aided the Manichaean mission.

Certainly the discovery of bilingual glossaries of Manichaean phrases evidence the remarkable fact of translation from Syriac into Lycopolitan Coptic at Kellis. This, together with allusions to persecution in some of the letters sent to Kellis from the Nile valley, supports the hypothesis that the Oasis became a significant Manichaean centre and safe haven for the community. Unfortunately the archive as yet recovered breaks off at the end of the fourth century, and so the future of the community is unknown. Presumably the strengthening of ecclesiastical control, married to state power, means that Kellis would not long have remained immune from the attention of the authorities.

The finds from Kellis evidence a link between the use of Lycopolitan Coptic and Manichaeism. Dialect and text connect these finds to the Medinet Madi library, for the same psalm tradition is a feature of both finds. Minor textual variants indicate that the Kellis material predates that of Medinet Madi, and thus uncover some of the history of the latter codices. It becomes apparent that codices such as the *Psalm Book* and *Kephalaia* are constructed works in the process of evolution.

As regards the social context of Manichaeism: it was a highly literate and transportable religion that in its conscious universalism appealed to and indeed targetted educated elites. It spread along the trade routes and was regarded by the authorities as subversive. It also evidences a strong role for women who are

remarkably visible in the documentary texts from Kellis, as in other Manichaean material such as the doxologies in the *Psalm Book*. The church was strongly structured, programmed for evangelical mission. It developed an elaborate network of what might today be termed safe houses and propaganda factories, for the writing of texts was part of the religious praxis. The letters from Kellis evidence a powerful concern for communication, full of news and greetings and introductions.

Success was founded on the two-fold structure of the community with the elect supported by the catechumens for the full-time service of God, and thus able constantly to travel and to build up the churches. Lay believers, that is catechumens or hearers, could engage in the every day life of family and business; while through their alms-giving they could ensure their eventual salvation. The actual divine work could then safely be left to the elect. Thus the religion, despite its powerful evangelical mission and other worldly focus, was well placed to become an integral part of the community. It is reasonable to presume that Manichaean communities were able to maintain themselves, in areas such as Upper Egypt, for a number of centuries; despite almost continual attack and sporadic enforced persecution.

The Medinet Madi Library

The sensational news of *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten, Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler*, announced in 1933 by C. Schmidt, H. Ibscher and H.J. Polotsky, marks a decisive turning point in the modern rediscovery of the religion. The cache seems to have come from a wooden chest in the ruins of an old house in Medinet Madi, to the south west of the Fayoum in Middle Egypt. The codices were already broken up before they reached the Cairo market, where they were first seen by the Danish egyptologist H.O. Lange in November 1929. However, it was C. Schmidt in 1930, while on his way to Palestine to collect manuscripts for the Prussian Academy, who was shown a codex entitled *Kephalaia* and made the connection with Manichaeism. By sheer coincidence Schmidt was in the process of checking the proofs of the late K. Holl's edition of Epiphanius' *Panarion*, and he remembered that among the books that Mani was alleged to have received from Scythianus was one with the same title. Further examination

revealed the characteristic clause: 'Once more the enlightener speaks to his disciples ...'

News of the discovery was immediately communicated to A. Harnack in Germany; but, before adequate funds could arrive in Egypt for their purchase, part of the find was acquired by the Irish-American philanthropist and collector A. Chester Beatty. His famous collection of classical and biblical manuscripts was housed first in London, but after the second world war transferred to Dublin, where they remain. The rest of the codices were then purchased by Schmidt with financial aid from the Stuttgart publishing company Kohlhammer, and shipped to Berlin.

The entire collection comprised seven codices, four in Berlin and three in London (now Dublin). In Berlin were: the *Kephalaia of the Teacher* (a small part of this went to Vienna); the *Epistles* of Mani; the *Acts,* a history of Mani and the early community; and the *Synaxeis of the Living Gospel,* (this codex also contains an at present unidentified text). In London: the *Psalm Book,* together with an index; a collection of *Homilies*; and the *Kephalaia of the Wisdom of my Lord Mani.*

The Coptic texts themselves date from about 400 c.e., and are translations of Syriac originals which reach back to Mani himself (the *Epistles*), or to the first generations (as with the *Homilies*). They are written in a form (*L4*) of that dialect known as sub-Achmimic or Lycopolitan; and thus seem not to have originated in the Fayoum, but were carried perhaps by missionaries or believers fleeing persecution.

The conservation of the extremely fragile codices from Medinet Madi, both of London and Berlin, was entrusted to the renowned H. Ibscher; and the task of printing the editions consigned to Kohlhammer Verlag. A special Coptic font was cut to resemble as closely as possible the hand of the original. For the first ten years publication proceeded apace: in 1934 H.J. Polotsky's edition and German translation of 96 pages of *Manichäische Homilien;* in 1938 the latter 234 pages of *A Manichaean Psalm-Book. Part II,* with an English translation by C.R.C. Allberry; and fascicles of the Berlin *Kephalaia* by A. Böhlig and H.J. Polotsky reaching page 244 in 1940. Unfortunately the rise of National Socialism in Germany, and the advent of the second world war, heralded a number of tragedies. These included the departure from Germany of a number of the leading scholars due to the

threat of anti-semitism; the death of Allberry; and the loss and probable destruction of some of the codices housed in the soviet sector of Berlin. Specifically the historical work (*Acts*) and the *Epistles* seem to have been removed, and now only portions of these codices remain.

Such events led effectively to an end of work on the Medinet Madi texts for over forty years. Admittedly, A. Böhlig published a further fascicle of the *Kephalaia* (pages 244 – 291) in 1966, but the material for this was largely prepared in 1943. However, the current outlook is much more positive. With the financial support of the Carlsberg foundation S. Giversen has published a facsimile edition of all the Dublin texts in four volumes: *Kephalaia; Homilies and Varia; Psalm Book Part I; and II (Cahiers d'Orientalisme* XIV-XVII, Geneva 1986, 1988). Meanwhile, a separate team under the direction of J. Robinson is working on the remaining texts from Berlin, the *Kephalaia* and *Synaxeis* codices, together with such leaves as remain of the *Acts* and *Epistles*. Another team directed by M. Krause is currently in the process of reediting part II of the *Psalm Book,* before turning to Part I; and S. Giversen is coordinating the reedition of the *Homilies* codex. Also, I. Gardner is editing the new Coptic literary texts from Kellis, and coordinating work on the rest of the Manichaean material there together with other members of the Dakhleh Oasis Project.

The Kephalaia of the Teacher

Two codices of *Kephalaia* (that is 'of the head', thus chapters or summaries) were found at Medinet Madi. Their titles differ slightly, the wording of the Dublin one indicating more explicitly that it is the work of a disciple. However, this may not be of any great significance; and the two codices could well belong together. Until a full edition is made, their relationship will remain unclear. Certainly all the work is apocryphal in terms of Mani's canon of scripture. Still, the reference to the *Kephalaia* in such an early work as *The Sermon of the Great War* (H.18.6) indicates that it belongs in essence to the first generation after the death of the apostle (late third century)[3].

[3] 'I am weeping for the *Kephalaia*'. A reference in the *Acta Archelai* evidences that the work was known of in Christian circles by the 340's at the latest (for dating see Lieu 1994: 46-47, 135-140).

Indeed, in the introductory section to the text there appears to be a justification from Mani himself:

> The world has not permitted me to write down [...] all of it; and if you, my children and my disciples, write all my wisdom [...] the questions that you have asked me [...] and the explanations that I have made clear to you from time to time; the homilies, the lessons, that I have proclaimed with the teachers to the leaders, together with the elect and the catechumens [...] all that I have proclaimed from time to time. They are not written. You must remember them and write them; gather them in different places; because much is the wisdom that I have uttered to you. [...] according to your capacity, and even as you may find strength; remember! And write a little something from the great wisdom that you have heard from me (K. 6.16–27 9.5–7).

In a sense this is curious since it was intrinsic to the Manichaean scheme of things that the messages of previous apostles had been adulterated because they themselves had not written their own canon, unlike Mani, and their disciples had then corrupted their words. Nevertheless, kephalaic material has also been found in Manichaean writings in the east, in Parthian and Chinese, and clearly became an important genre for the propagation of the religion.

The Berlin codex opens with a grand survey of Manichaean cosmogonic doctrine; a listing of the canon; and a justification for the text itself, as above. Chapter One then relates the advent and task of previous apostles, culminating in Mani's own call, and the revelation from the Paraclete (his Twin Spirit or Counterpart). However, whilst the earliest chapters might be supposed to evidence some coherent structure to the work, there rapidly follows perhaps two hundred more linked in the most tenuous fashion if at all. The work illustrates a fascination, presumably Mani's own, with all aspects of the natural world, with astrology and the worlds of gods and demons. All such are ordered into elaborate taxonomies, underpinned by the detail of Mani's revealed doctrine, in order to establish a highly structured and holistic understanding of the cosmos and universal history.

The chapters vary greatly in length, appearing to incorporate blocks of oral and perhaps written tradition from a variety of sources. In general they follow a standard pattern wherein a disciple (occasionally an opponent) asks a question of the apostle, the 'enlightener' (various epithets are used). Usually contextual or

historical detail is missing. The body of the chapter is then taken up with a summary of doctrine on that particular question which convinces all listeners; and may then end with a prayer of praise for Mani and thanks for his revelation. Similar catechetical methods can be found in early Christian and Buddhist texts. Certainly an introductory knowledge of the broad sweep of Manichaean teaching, as provided below, will help before attempting the *Kephalaia.*

The translation offered here is from the edited Coptic text concluding with kephalaion 122 (K. 295.8)[4]. The original extent of the Berlin codex is difficult to ascertain. The last reported page is 501/502, but a fragment with the pagination 514 has been identified. This may indicate an original total of 22 quires (528 pages). W.-P. Funk is currently editing the latter part of the codex and reports that from K. 296 there can now only be traced records or remains of 139 further pages, some of these in early transcriptions by Polotsky and Böhlig. It thus appears that 70 pages are no longer extant, counting to K. 504 (21 quires)[5].

The total number of chapters in the Berlin codex can be calculated as approximately 210/220. Since the lowest number for a kephalaion yet noted in the Dublin codex is 221 (pl. 17), it seems probable that this is in some sense a second volume, despite some apparent variations in the terminology and structure of the work[6]. The facsimile edition contains 354 plates; but the original extent and order of the codex has not been established.

The Kephalaia *as Text*

The *Kephalaia* is a dense and complex work, evidencing a great concern for detail and structure. Who were its authors and readers? Each kephalaion purports to be the verbatim record of a lesson by Mani, yet it is apparent that it is a constructed text in the process of evolution. The sequencing of chapters shows only a limited rationale, with links established by content (e.g. the

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[4] The editors are H.J. Polotsky (K. 1 – 102); A. Böhlig (K. 103 – 291); W.-P. Funk (K. 292 – 295).

[5] See Robinson 1992:46-51; and W. -P. Funk, 'On completing the edition of the Berlin Kephalaia codex', paper read to the *IIIrd International Symposium of Manichaean Studies,* Royal Asiatic Society, London 1992.

[6] See Funk 1990.

actions of the Living Spirit in 42 – 44) or by terminology or some catchphrase regardless of theme (e.g. 'five' in 12 – 16). The incorporation of the number into the title, as with 'The Seventh (kephalaion)', evidences that the sequence is beginning to be fixed; but this is likely only to be true of the very earliest chapters.

Redaction history is also apparent in the body of the material itself. For example the description of the five worlds of darkness that occurs in both chapters 6 and 27, (and in the Mandaean *Right Ginza*), must rely on some prior source. However, since the redactors must have had ready access to Mani's scriptures, they would not have directly incorporated parts of the canon. Indeed, the lessons are presented as secondary to the scriptures, for on occasion they follow requests for the reiteration in condensed form or explanation of what Mani has written elsewhere (e.g K. 16.25 – 28). Therefore, kephalaic material can be understood to evolve as commentary to revelation.

Given the mass of the text the occasions of true historical reminiscence can be supposed to be limited. Sometimes the chapter begins with a narrative, such as Mani's visits to King Shapur (chapter 76) or his observation of the Tigris in flood (chapter 61). However, such examples are few, and in general the framing sequence for each lesson is minimal and to be regarded as a formal device. One of the wooden boards found at Kellis (T. Kell. Copt. 1) enumerates the 'five σχήματα (properties)' of the Father of Greatness as reflected in the Third Ambassador. It could be termed a kind of 'flip card' or easily memorised summary used for teaching purposes. In style it resembles much of the kephalaiac material, but here lacks the framing sequences where a disciple asks Mani some question.

It would be easy to construct such a sequence, for instance: 'At one of the times when the enlightener (Mani) was sitting in the midst of the congregation, one of the disciples stood up and asked him: Tell us, our master, what are the five properties of the Father about which you have spoken?'.

It can be supposed that a rapid multiplication of kephalaic material occured in this way, as providing apostolic authority for the constructed teachings of the community. Similarly, the repetition of blocks of material in different settings evidences an extended textual history, which belies the assertion that they are verbatim accounts of Mani's teaching.

A number of sequences appear to have attained a stylised form. This is particularly true of the abbreviated summaries of Mani's teaching, which have hints of creedal formulae; and of the concluding thanks given by the disciples. Thus:

> [Mani] says [... the] two essences that are present at the beginning [...] the [lig]ht and the darkness, that which is good and that which is evi[l, life and] death (286.27 – 30).

> I proclaimed there the word of [truth and li]fe. With [the voi]ce of the proclamation I se[parated the light from the dark]ness there, what is good from [what is evil ...] (186.27 – 30).

The body of the text is constructed in that some individual chapters appear composite, with blocks of material incorporated where seems appropriate, often with minimal connecting sequences. Thus chapter 26 links together five miscellaneous parables. In chapter 65 Mani lists seven benefits of the sun and seven wickednesses brought by the night. Then follow five further qualities of the sun; and then another set of three. It must be supposed that such blocks circulated independently; and also that some may derive from the teaching of the church after Mani. It seems probable that the source of some material may ultimately be from outside of the community, but for its utility it is brought in to the tradition. Chapter 70 contains two separate schema for relating the zodiacal signs to the parts of the body, schema that have long histories within western astrological tradition.

The delight in numerical sequencing is certainly a feature of Mani's own teaching, thus the five sons of the First Man and the five sons of the Living Spirit. Often the doctrine must be forced to accord to this, such as when pentads are fitted to duodecimal lists. Nevertheless, there are clear catechetical benefits in the approach, especially with a system as complex as this.

Thus, kephalaia develops as a form of discourse within the Manichaean community. In that its basis is the aural memory of the disciples, and this dates to the latter third century c.e., it is perhaps not strictly restricted text. However, it is not basic proselytising material, for the scriptural allusions and sequences presuppose an extensive grasp of the macrotext. Thus, it belongs to the inner circle of the elect and could become a means for argument and demonstration between believing communities; a Manichaean form that has social usages analogous to, for instance,

hadith literature in Islam. The Iranian parallels evidence diverging traditions[7]; and the mass of material from the two Medinet Madi codices shows the utility of the form for the development of the tradition. It is thus best not regarded as an apocryphal book, but as an evolving and fluid discourse that retained its vitality in relation to the life and needs of the community.

Summary of the Doctrine

Manichaeism may be termed a gnostic religion; that is, both in a structural-systemic and in an historic sense. As a religious system it offered the promise of acosmic salvation through the revealed knowledge (gnosis) of transcendent realities, including the divine nature of the soul, and the details of the pathway to eternal life. Again, in its historic origins Manichaeism is to be considered together with the mass of related gnostic traditions that flourished during late antiquity. Thus Mani directly utilised prior revelations, and in this way gnostic concepts can be tracked from the esoteric forms of prior Judaisms and Christianities, through Manichaeism, and into later metamorphoses such as in Shi'ite Islam and the neo-Manichaean sects of the medieval period.

Nevertheless, the gnostic character of Manichaeism must be qualified, for Mani turned his revealed knowledge outwards to a universal evangelical purpose. While the elect learnt the secret workings of the divine nature, all were offered the call to faith, and the religion firmly grounded itself in time and the existential world. Therefore, the religion promulgated faith, knowledge and good works; and rose above the obscure and short-lived irrelevancies of most gnostic sects.

While it is possible and important for the historian to trace the diverse elements that Mani drew upon in his revelation, it is first vital to understand Manichaeism as a discrete and coherent entity, for this is how one can enter the world of the believer. The following account of the teachings of Mani will emphasise this inner structure and coherence. Nevertheless, any such summary inevitably tends towards artificial synthesis. Manichaean knowledge was carefully graded and tailored to the needs of its audience, as with any other avowedly evangelical ideology that

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[7] See Sundermann 1992.

seeks the power to change people's life and thought. For the lay faithful in the Roman Empire it was a kind of superior Christianity, and the metaphysical details that attract the attention of scholars (and the higher echelons of the elect) had little profile. In the personal letters of the believers at Kellis there appears to be scarce knowledge of or interest in the many gods and demons, or the intricacies of cosmology, such as dominate kephalaic material. The evidence from Kellis shows how carefully the hierarchy attempted to draw adherents further into the church and the gnosis.

Whereas Christianity took centuries to formulate its doctrines, and the controversies of the great councils seem far removed from the teachings of Jesus, Mani took great pains to establish a total religion based upon his own comprehensive scriptures and preaching. He may be said to have combined the charisma of Jesus, the missionary purpose of Paul, and the doctrinal stringency of an Augustine. He understood himself to be the final and universal apostle of God, called to restore the truth of all prior messengers, including Jesus, the Buddha and Zarathustra. There is thus less scope in the study of Manichaeism to trace the evolution of doctrine, since all teaching was rigidly tied to the very details of the divine word in Mani's scriptures. Nevertheless, the eschatological urgency of earliest Manichaeism may be said to have slowly turned towards an accommodation with the world.

The revelation was systematised, in substance at least by Mani himself, into an elaborate and holistic account of the cosmos, human history, and the natural world. Manichaean thought was highly structured and maintained a remarkable uniformity from Roman North Africa to medieval China, claiming to provide a coherent and quasi-scientific explanation of everything from the movement of the stars to the origins of fire and the genera of creatures. The claim to knowledge would have been a source of great appeal, but the provision of such detail in the scriptures also demanded a rigidity that finally undermined the religion. For these reasons it can be misleading to describe Manichaean doctrine as a myth; and it was certainly not intended as an allegory.

Mani's teaching was summarised by the catchphrase, that 'of the two principles and the three times (or moments)'. The two principles are those of light and darkness: whose realms in the *beginning* are separate, the dark unknowing of the light; then

during the *middle* are in part mingled, the reality of this present universe; but at the *end* will be the triumph and eternal victory of life and light over death.

In Manichaeism what is true in the macrocosmos is also true for the microcosmos. The individual soul partakes of this whole history, so that our present enfleshment in a demonic body is only the *middle* time between two eternities. Note too that the dualism is not the hellenistic one of spirit and matter, but of two essences, even substances. The divine life is visible, has spatial and quantifiable elements; and evil matter is the active principle of lust, the elements and 'thought of death'.

Manichaean theology is not easily categorised. The Father evokes or emanates powers of himself for purposes in the cosmic drama, and these too may call forth further gods or angels (chapter 50). The language of 'calling out' the powers of light is crucial, to avoid any suggestion of generation, for sexuality is inextricably tied in Manichaean thought to evil matter and the lust that is its nature.

The Manichaeans, or at least the elect, delighted in establishing elaborate systemisations of these beings; but all the divine is ultimately one, so that the diversification represents levels of descent into or entrapment by darkness. Relationships between spiritual levels, for instance a lay believer or catechumen to an elect, will be an exact image of that relationship all the way back up the scale through the gods to the Father. The same is true of all the representatives of the essence of darkness; so that Manichaean teachings are characterised by elaborate series of parallels and shifts of scale.

In the 'first time' the Father of Greatness rules the realm of light, which indeed is an extension of himself, and has four divine attributes: purity, light, power and wisdom. He resides in five intellectuals or limbs: mind, thought, insight, counsel and consideration. These are otherwise substantially detailed as the five elements: living air, light, wind, water and fire. Surrounding the Father are the twelve aeons, distributed three each to the directions of heaven, and refracted also to the one hundred and forty-four aeons of the aeons.

To the south of this kingdom of life is the realm of the King of Darkness. His form combines the shapes of the animals representative of his five warring worlds and their own Kings, also the

corresponding five elements of darkness, (chapter 6). This realm is a seething manifestation of the conflict and carnality that is its essence, Matter, the thought of death. In the course of its constant turmoil, by accident for darkness blindly grasps but can not know, the demonic powers glimpse the light and desire to possess its life. Since peace is the nature of the light the Father must call out from himself the great divinities, both as the only means to defend his kingdom, and to distance the inevitable conflict from the land of light. In the ensuing 'second time' the drama is driven by these gods in the arena of mixture, the universe, while the Father himself remains apart until he can again reveal himself and his inner treasury after the final victory.

First the Father evokes the Great Spirit who is the Mother of Life, and she in turn calls forth the First Man. This is the first emanation, that of the gods of *descent*. It also evidences a consciously trinitarian structure embedded in Mani's system, which in common with other Syriac forms of Christianity details the Spirit as feminine.

It is the Man who descends to battle. This first born son of God is armed with the five light elements, personified as his five sons; and it is this portion of the divine that is devoured by the powers of evil when the demonic forces defeat the warrior of heaven. This living soul comes to be compounded with the dark elements of matter throughout the universe, and is in need of redemption for the duration of the 'second time'.

So, while this first conflict appears outwardly to result in tragedy, as with the crucifixion the believer understands that it was a necessity for the binding of evil, and will lead to the ultimate victory of the life and light over death. Nevertheless, the inevitable consequence is the distress and suffering of the divine soul, (termed the Cross of Light particularly in the context of vegetation), and personified as the suffering Jesus awaiting redemption. The entire resultant history of the 'second time' involves the mechanics of once more separating the light from darkness; not simply as a return to the first eternity, but rather to fundamentally alter the status and relationship of the two principles by so fatally weakening the power of death that it can never again threaten the life.

In order to establish the arena in which liberation can take place, that is the universe, a new divine trinity is called forth: the

Beloved of the Lights, the Great Builder, and the Living Spirit (also termed the Father of Life). This is the second emanation, that of the gods of *creation.*

It is the task of the Living Spirit to rescue the First Man, which is a prototype of all future redemption; and then to fashion the universe from the powers of darkness in which the light elements, the five sons, are mixed. Thus the Living Spirit descends to issue a 'summons' (or call) to the Man who responds with his affirming 'answer'; and who is then lifted up out of the abyss. This is the archetype of the assent proclaimed by the community at prayer (chapter 122).

Summons and answer are themselves hypostasised into a pair of divinities. Together they are the 'counsel of life' that throughout the time of mixture personifies the awakening and motivating force of the soul and light elements that are sunk in darkness (K. 178.2 – 5). To prepare for that, the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life descend to the abyss. There they defeat the demonic powers and rulers, and out of their bodies fashion the universe. Thus the demiurge is a light god, though the dead matter of the creation is darkness, albeit shot through with the elements of life. The structure of the universe is divinely conceived, even if its matter is evil.

The Living Spirit constructs ten heavens and eight earths, flaying and crucifying some of the evil powers above, and forming the earths out of the bodies of others. To hold the whole elaborate structure in place he evokes his own five sons: the Adamant of Light, the Keeper of Splendour, the King of Glory, the King of Honour, and the Porter (or Atlas). By means of three wheels or garments, fire and water and wind, the three evil vessels of fire and water and darkness are swept down from the heavens; and then finally swept into pits that have been prepared for them. The light elements are freed to ascend to purity and rest (chapters 42 – 43).

The Keeper of Splendour oversees the eighth, ninth and tenth heavens; whilst the King of Honour watches over the lower heavens from the seventh. The King of Glory turns the wheels so that the light elements may ascend. The Adamant humbles sporadic demonic uprisings on earth. The Porter supports the entire structure from below. The sun and the moon are vessels of purified light, and stations on the path of ascent or descent for the

redeemed soul and the gods. However, the planets and stars are evil rulers.

Once the machinery for the purification has been made ready by the second series of evoked gods, they all turn to the Father to plea for a new emanation to set the cosmos in motion, and thus to achieve the process of redemption through time (K. 273.15 – 274.11). The Father approves and calls forth his Third Ambassador (or Messenger), so termed because he introduces the third age of the world. He dwells in the ship of the sun; whilst the Virgin of Light, his feminine doublet, has her throne in the ship of the moon. Jesus the Splendour, another in the series of salvific deities, is closely related in Manichaean systematics to this androgynous sun-moon god. This is the third emanation, that of the gods of *salvation* or *ascent*.

The Ambassador and Virgin achieve a first redemption of trapped light, again turning the uncontrollable lust of the darkness, which is its nature, back upon it. They reveal their images, or more graphically appear naked, before the male and female rulers (archons) chained in the heavens. These powers spontaneously ejaculate or abort across the cosmos. Some light is drawn to the heights, while the remainder that is more deeply embedded in matter sinks downwards and must endure further degradation before it is redeemed. A part falls into the sea and rises as a monster that the Adamant subjugates. Other dross falls to the earth to become the seeds of plant life that the abortions eat. Such complicated details of prehistory were drawn from a variety of prior traditions, which seem to have fascinated Mani and his followers. Inevitably they drew the attention and ire of their opponents.

The abortions formed a rampaging demonic group from which the different genera of creatures originate, corresponding to the varieties of the five worlds of darkness from which they stem. Adam and Eve are fashioned by demons 'after the image of God' that they have glimpsed, that is the Ambassador who had appeared to the rulers in the heavens; and are procreated after various cannabalistic and sexual acts by the dominant demonic pair: Saclas and Nebroel.

Thus, lust is endemic in human nature. Mankind has been deliberately fashioned by demonic forces in an attempt to prevent the redemption of the light, for through the urge for sex humans

will multiply, and further entrap the divine soul in multitudes of material bodies. This inverts the core of Hebrew tradition, that God approves of the creation of man and woman, and ordains that they should 'be fruitful and multiply'. Nevertheless, as with the macrocosmos, the structural form of humans is in a sense divinely conceived (in the 'image'), and acts as a mechanism for the purification of soul.

Since the human soul is a principal repository of the trapped divine, the abortions having concentrated therein such that they had gained from the buds and fruits they had eaten, humans become the focus of the salvific mission of the gods. In an archetypal episode Jesus the Splendour approaches Adam, lying as dead after his creation and without consciousness, and awakens him to the saving knowledge of his own condition. Here Manichaeism has inherited and developed the widespread gnostic retelling and inversion of the 'fall' narrative, so that now the serpent has become entirely transformed into the heavenly redeemer.

The process of redemption enters human history. Again Mani drew upon a variety of non-biblical traditions to develop a complex narrative about the family of Adam. Note the veneration of the virginal Seth, a characteristic feature of esoteric traditions; and the fierce antipathy to female sexuality. In another episode from the early generations it is related how the demons guarded by the King of Honour rebelled, and two hundred of these watchers escaped to earth to wreak havoc and unveil to mankind the mysteries of heaven (K. 92.24 – 32). In these episodes prior Judaic material has been reworked and integrated into the Manichaean system.

The revelation by Jesus the Splendour to Adam is the exemplar for all future human redemption. Gradually over the generations more of the divine soul is liberated, so that 'they that are begotten today, in these last generations, stand diminished and maimed (K. 147.10 – 11)'. To achieve this liberation Jesus evokes the Light Mind, and in turn summons forth the Apostle of Light who becomes incarnate in the great religious leaders throughout history and the world. So, the process of redemption is the work of the Light Mind who transforms the human soul by enlightening and freeing the five intellectuals of light from the shackles of the body and the five members of sin. 'He shall set right the

members of the soul; form and purify them and construct a new man of them, a child of righteousness (K. 96.25 – 27)'. This 'new man', a concept ultimately to be derived from Paul, will now display the five virtues of love, faith, perfection, patience and wisdom.

Mani believed that he had been commissioned to make the final and universal proclamation of truth for the last generations. The cycle of true apostleship was important to him. It included patriarchal figures such as Seth, Noah and Enoch; also founders of true religions, in particular Buddha, Zarathushtra and Jesus; and more recent apostles such as the gnostic Nikotheos, and Paul upon whom Mani modelled his own style of mission. *Kephalaia* chapter 1 provides an extended simile wherein the advent of the apostles is compared to the months of seedtime and harvest. Each apostle is a farmer who plants a church, labouring over it till it matures and ripens. As it finally comes to fruition another will be seeded: 'There is not any time the tree is bare of fruit! (K. 11.26 – 27)'.

The various listings of the apostles evidence Mani's concept of universal revelation-history, and indicate sources that he regarded as authentic. Nevertheless, it is the figure of Jesus that dominates all the others who in comparison are little more than names. Preeminently Mani regarded himself as the apostle of Jesus Christ. United with his divine Twin he becomes the Paraclete foretold, as according to John 14:16 where Jesus promises the disciples that he will ask the Father who will send them another helper, the Spirit of truth, who will remain with them for ever.

As a whole Manichaean Christology draws upon a range of influences that are woven into a coherent thread running through the entire revelation. Regarding the historical Jesus the influence of prior docetic tradition is evident. Christian polemic against the Manichaean Jesus as a phantasm without human birth, and capable of only an illusory suffering, reiterates the arguments raised against the second century heretic Marcion. Similarly, the Manichaeans in their missionary endeavour in the Roman Empire drew upon the Marcionite critique of the Old Testament and the Jewish God, even though in contrast to Marcionism the Manichaean demiurge is good. Again, following Marcion, Mani believed that he had been called to restore the true

teaching of Jesus. This had been corrupted and falsely interpreted by Judaisers, against whom Paul had preached, as evidenced by a particular reading of the Pauline epistles. Thus it lay upon Mani to establish a firm canon of scripture that could never again be adulterated.

Mani and the first generation of his church believed that they were living in the last days before the return of Jesus as judge. The powerful salvific and apocalyptic emphases of his teaching are evident in the rich details of the eschatology, both individual and cosmic. At death each soul will be judged, and if triumphant will be greeted by the Form of Light and angels with victory prizes. Devotional texts, such as Manichaean psalms, developed a powerful symbolic language to express this hope.

There are three paths for the soul at death. Gross sinners beyond any hope of redemption will be damned to hell to await the second death at the end of time, when all of matter and the darkness will finally be bound and sealed in its eternal grave. In contrast, the souls of those such as the catechumens, who are not inextricably compounded with lust, will be reborn in new bodies and have the hope of final purification.

The third way is that of the elect, and indeed of all the light freed from dead matter to life, such as that liberated from fruits and vegetables. This divine ascends up the Pillar of Glory, the great porter of souls, to the moon. This Pillar is itself divinised as a god of the third emanation. It is the Perfect Man (see Ephesians 4:12 – 13), the representation of the church as the body of Jesus in its ascent to the Father. The moon in its waxing and waning then provides visual and actual evidence of its role as a ship and stage in the transit of souls; thence to the sun. From the sun the redeemed light passes to the new aeon that has been built by the Great Builder for the time of mixture. Here the gods rest, and the souls must await the final burial of darkness, before the Father will again unveil to them his image, and can once more receive them into his treasury (chapter 39).

Individual and cosmic eschatology are interwoven in Mani's teaching, for each soul's own tragedy and victory are but a microcosm of the history of the universal soul and its liberation from matter. *The Sermon of the Great War* is an apocalyptic treatise (found in the Medinet Madi codex of *Homilies*) from the first generation after Mani's death, wherein the eschatological event is

understood to have already begun. It utilises material from the gospel tradition; as Mani himself did in his earliest writing, the *Shabuhragan*. After the horrors of persecution and the final terrors Jesus will return to take the judgement seat that is prepared for him, to separate the sheep from the goats and to reign in glory.

Then will come the great fire that will achieve such final purification of the light still in the world as is possible. This soul will gather up and rise as the Last Statue, a divinity that in essence recapitulates the descent into the abyss of the First Man. The five sons of the Living Spirit will leave their tasks, and the dead husk of the universe will collapse in upon itself to sink to the depths. All the evil will be sealed in an eternal tomb; but the males and females separated so that they can never again renew themselves and threaten the light.

Time in the sense of the workings of the universe and the history of redemption has come to an end. The 'third moment' is a new eternality without fear.

> (The Father) can give the grace to his fighters, they whom he s[ent] to the contest with the darkness. They will roll back and gather [the cu]rtains, and he unveils to them his image. The [e]ntire l[ight] will be immersed in him. They will go in [to the] treasury. They will also come forth from him in glory (H. 41.13–17).

Now there will be two kings, the Father in the aeons of light, and the First Man reigning with the gods in the new age.

The Manichaean Ethic and its Practice in the Church

In the *Kephalaia* chapters 79 – 93 form a distinct section concerned with the religious praxis of the elect and catechumens. It seems probable that they were gathered together prior to their redaction into the work as it now appears. Indeed, chapter 76, concerning the missions of Mani, has some indications of being a new beginning; whilst 77 and 78 (linked by 'four') seem poorly placed. In any case, this sub-work provides much detail on the actuality of Manichaean concerns and community life.

Mani was himself brought up within the confines of a narrow religious sect; and his teachings, although able to drive a religion of world-wide significance, made radical demands upon his followers. Indeed, the question of submission to the demands of

the world was the focus of the Manichaean accusation that the 'Christians' were only half believers who had betrayed the teachings of Jesus. The sudden influx and even visual appearance of these new ascetics from the late third century on may well be taken as one spark that lit the fire of Christian monasticism in the decades that followed.

It is certainly true that the teachings that underpinned this new ethic provoked fierce polemic from the leaders of the catholic community, and indeed also the imperial authorities. On the one hand the belief that the divine substance was scattered through all the material world led to devotional attitudes, for instance towards fruit and vegetables as vessels of the soul, that were received with horror. Christian polemic focussed on the complex food rituals intended to liberate the divine light from matter and pain, and accused the Manichaeans of worshipping the sun and the moon. On the other hand Mani's negative account of creation, and fierce antipathy to matter and sexuality as intrinsically demonic, was equally abhorrent.

For Mani the whole rationale for history, and any continuation of human existence, is the liberation of the light elements from the dark. The Manichaean attitude to marriage was entirely negative as the act of procreation prolongs the imprisonment of soul, which would now be further diversified into matter. Moreover, if a peasant works the land, or if a craftsman uses his tools or a soldier his weapons, then they harm and pain the living soul. The same applies to speech that calls for such activites; or incites immorality, anger or envy.

The principal symbol was that of the Cross of Light, the universal divine stretched and bound upon matter. Particularly the Cross was associated with plant life as manifested in sweetness, colour and translucence; in comparison to the heavy carnality and odour of flesh.

The Manichaeans strove to consume food and drink with as high a percentage of light as possible, such as melons and cucumbers; and indeed were much concerned with the classification and preparation of foods, which inevitably attracted the scorn of opponents. Specifically, meat and wine were regarded as dominated by the dark elements that would reinfect the believer striving for personal purification, and lead directly to sensuality and ignorance.

On the positive side, while the very act of eating caused pain to the light elements, the body as a microcosm of the universe also acted as a machine for the liberation of the divine; so that the righteous person could literally discard the gross elements below, and breathe forth angels to rise above. Chapters such as 85 and 93 express the determination to rise above quietism by showing that the purification of soul achieved by positive action in the world far outways the temporary pain caused.

Such an ethic could only really be applied by a small group of people. Yet, the goal that Mani felt to be his vocation was the foundation and propagation by mission of a world religion. The compromise was achieved, possibly under Indian influence, by instituting a two-tiered structure incorporating a doctrine of transmigration of souls.

The community was divided into an inner circle of the elect ('the virginal') who lived a life of extreme asceticism; around which a greater number of hearers or catechumens ('the continent') gathered, who were able to profit from the piety and righteousness of the spiritually more advanced. In actual fact the catechumens were allowed to marry and carry out normal daily activities; but they were obliged to see to the alimentary needs of the monks, and to dedicate a proportion of their work to the church. This duty brought merit to the hearers who could hope to advance to perfection in a future life (e.g. chapters 80 and 91). Mani was anxious to stress that both hearers and elect depend upon each other.

As the final apostle of God Mani led the community for as long as he lived, and after his 'crucifixion' was believed to have ascended to the moon to wait in attendance upon the faithful. During his life-time, concerned at the corruption of earlier churches, he endeavoured to establish the community for the rest of history through writings, missions, and a strong hierarchy. Until the tenth century the Twin-Cities (al-Mada'in) remained the seat of his successor: the *archegos* or *imam*. In standard lists ecclesiastical authority was mediated downwards via twelve teachers (*magister* or ϲⲁϩ), seventy-two bishops (*episcopus*), three hundred and sixty elders (*presbyter*), and thence to the general body of the elect and hearers[8]. However, the *Kephalaia,* and

[8] See Lieu 1994:272.

indeed the new texts from Kellis, evidences a more fluid use of these terms[9].

In the Roman Empire the religion established an elaborate network of cells both to facilitate evangelism and to avoid detection. In later centuries the episcopal hierarchy seems to have been better preserved in the east, especially whilst it was the dominant religion in the Turfan area during the early medieval period.

In central Asia the Manichaeans finally had the freedom to worship openly, to observe their regular fasts, and to develop church practices. However, the most important festival remained the commemoration of Mani's martyrdom when a judgement seat (*bema*) was raised in the middle of the worshipping congregation. Upon this was placed a portrait of Mani to celebrate his continuing presence in the community of the elect; and to symbolise his position as proxy for Jesus until his return as judge.

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[9] E.g. the use of *archegos* at 193.33. Note also deacons (ϣⲁϣϣⲉⲧⲉ) at 42.4

COMMENTS ON THE TRANSLATION

The translation provided here is as complete as the surviving edited Coptic allows. Some passages are very fragmentary, where the overall meaning relies more on the impression given by key terms than actual content. With experience an entire episode such as the Third Ambassador displaying his image, and the establishment of life on earth consequent upon the ejaculation and abortion by the heavenly rulers, can be hung by the reader on a slight recurrence of terminology: '[... Amb]assador [... fell to] earth'. Thus the translation attempts to render the lacunose text as accurately as possible. The placing of brackets reproduces the reconstructions of the edited text, with the aim to aid the reader with limited Coptic. Perhaps this is over zealous.

Similarly, the heavily didactic and repetitious style of the original is reflected in the English. The translator's problem is to reproduce intention and not to be misled by the structures of language as system. Inevitably this becomes a matter of interpretation: when is it that the text is repetitive for didactic purposes and when is it the nature of Coptic? This translation errs towards inclusion and faithful representation, hopefully not at the expense of sense. It seems that the style is dense and loaded; terms are ossified and even social and political frameworks appear archaic in the original.

Whilst the English translation endeavours to reproduce the style of the original, the format has been altered in order to try and render it more readable. In particular the text has been broken up into shorter units of paragraphs and lists. Some of these are warranted in accordance with indentations used by the scribe, but the practice has been applied with more consistency. Also, each chapter has been provided with a brief introductory commentary to provide context for the reader, and to aid review of the work as a whole. The Coptic word ⲥⲉϩⲉ ('word' or 'saying') has, where applicable, been rendered as 'lesson'; for this seems best to indicate the quality of Mani's discourses that are the basic material for the constructed *Kephalaia*.

In general there is an attempt to reproduce significant terms and phrases consistently. However, some latitude is necessary to

balance consistency with readability. Policies that have been followed are always to use an English term rather than, say, the Greek (thus 'lump' for bolos); to be sparing in the usage of capitals; and also to attempt to provide an equivalent even where the exact meaning of the original is unclear (thus 'sect of the basket' in chapter 121). Often translations can make the original appear overly arcane by the constant highlighting of the technical. This is a problem with a system as complex as Mani's, with a universe populated by numerous gods and demons. In general capitals are used only for the 'great' gods such as the Living Spirit, while subsidiary figures ('five sons of') and epithets are not capitalised. It is difficult to make this policy entirely coherent, but the index will evidence the intention.

The index itself is an aid to the reader. The listing of epithets and alternative titles (the 'Father of Life' is the Living Spirit) helps to clarify the text, whilst hopefully not being overly interpretative. The many epithets and fluid functions of the spiritual entities in Mani's universe make it difficult to achieve closure in this process, and total consistency can not be claimed.

ABBREVIATIONS

CMC.	Cologne *Mani-Codex.*
H.	*Manichäische-Homilien,* ed. H.-J. Polotsky (Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty 1, Stuttgart 1934) = *Homilies and Varia,* facsimile ed. S. Giversen (The Manichaean Coptic papyri in the Chester Beatty library II, Geneva 1986).
K.	*Kephalaia,* ed. H.-J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig (Man. Hss. der Staatlichen Museen Berlin 1, Stuttgart 1940); ed. A. Böhlig (ibid. 1.2, 1966).
K (Dub).	(Dublin) *Kephalaia,* facs. ed. S. Giversen (ibid. I, Geneva 1986).
PsBk1.	*Psalm-Book,* I, facs. ed. S. Giversen (ibid. III, Geneva 1988).
PsBk2.	*A Manichaean Psalm-Book,* II, ed. C.R.C. Allberry (Man. Mss. Chester Beatty 2, Stuttgart 1938) = facs. ed. S. Giversen (ibid. IV, Geneva 1988).

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THE KEPHALAIA OF THE TEACHER

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

[...]	Lacuna of any length, together with vestiges of letters or words with undetermined meaning.
† †	Unknown word or phrase.
⌜ ⌝	Words or phrases added to the primary text.
[[ ]]	Dittography.
++	Corrupt text.
( )	Explanatory material added by the translator.
	Line break, (each multiple of five and the pages are numbered).

LIST OF KEPHALAIA

No.	Title	Codex	Page
	(Introduction)	1,1 – 9,10	10
1	*Concerning the Ad[vent] of the Apostle.*	9,11 – 16,31	15
2	*The Second, concerning the Parable of the Tree.*	16,32 – 23,13	22
3	*The Interpretation of Happiness, Wisdom and Power; what they signify.*	23,14 – 25,6	27
4	*Concerning the Four great Days th[at have] come forth from one another; together with the Four Nights.*	25,7 – 27,31	28
5	*Concerning Four Hunters of Light and Four of Darkness.*	28,1 – 30,11	31
6	*Concerning the Five Storehouses that have po[ured f]orth from the Land of Darkness since the [Beginning]; the Five Rulers, the Five Spiri[ts], the Five Bodies, the Five Tastes.*	30,12 – 34,12	34
7	*The Seventh, concerning the Five Fathers.*	34,13 – 36,26	38
8	*Concerning the Fourteen Vehicles that Jesus has boarded.*	36,27 – 37,27	41
9	*The Explanation of the Peace, what it is; the Ri[gh]t Hand; the Kiss; the Salutation.*	37,28 – 42,23	42
10	*Concerning the Interpretation of the Fourteen [great A]eons, about which Sethel has spoken in [his P]rayer.*	42,24 – 43,21	47
11	*[Concerning the Interpretation of] all [the] Fathers of [Light], who are distinguished from one another.*	43,22 – 44,18	49
12	*Concerning the Interpretation of the Five Words that are proclaimed {} in the Universe.*	44,19 – 45,15	50

13	*Concer[ning] the Five Saviours, the Resurrectors of they who are Dead; together with the Five Resurrections.*	45,16 – 46,12	51
14	*The Interpretation [of] the S[i]lence, the Fast, [the Peace], the Day, [and] the Rest; [what] they are.*	46,13 – 47,21	52
15	*[Concerning the ...] Five [Parts ...] Worlds of [...]*	47,22 – 49,9	52
16	*[Concerning the Five] Greatnesses who [went forth] against the Darkness.*	49,10 – 55,15	54
17	*The Chapter of the Thr[ee] Seasons.*	55,16 – 57,32	59
18	*[Concerning the Five] War[s that the] Sons of [Li]ght waged wi[th the Sons] of Darkness.*	58,1 – 60,12	62
19	*Concerning the Five Re[le]as[es; what] they [are].*	60,13 – 63,18	64
20	*The Chapter of the Name of the Fathers.*	63,19 – 64,12	66
21	*[C]oncerning the Father of Gr[eat]ness: [ho]w he is established and determined.*	64,13 – 65,13	67
22	*[...] the Land of Light.*	65,14 – 66,27	68
23	*[...] which [...]*	66,28 – 70,7	69
24	*[...]*	70,8 – 76,14	72
25	*[Concerning the Advent of Five Fathers from the Five Limbs of the Father].*	76,15 – 25	77
26	*Concerning the First Man and the Ambassador and the Ship; what they resemble.*	76,26 – 77,21	77
27	*Concerning the Five Forms that exist in the Rulers of Darkness.*	77,22 – 79,12	79
28	*[Concerning the T]welve Judges [of] the Father.*	79,13 – 81,20	81
29	*Concerning the Eighteen great Thrones of all the Fathers.*	81,21 – 83,16	83
30	*Concerning the Three Garments.*	83,17 – 84,4	85

31	*Concerning the Summons, in which Limb of the Soul it descended to the First Man.*	84,5 – 85,18	86
32	*Concerning the Seven Works of the Living Spirit.*	85,19 – 86,17	88
33	*Concerning the Five Things that he constructed with the hard Bodies of the Rulers.*	86,18 – 30	89
34	*Concerning the Ten Things that the Am[bassa]d[or] began by his Ad[vent].*	86,31 – 87,13	90
35	*Concerning the Four Works of the Ambassador.*	87,14 – 29	91
36	*Concerning the Wheel that exists i[n fron]t of the King of Honour.*	87,30 – 88,33	91
37	*Concerning the Three Zones.*	89,1 – 17	93
38	*Concerning the Light Mind and the Apostles and the Saints.*	89,18 – 102,12	93
39	*Concerning the Three Days and the Two Deaths.*	102,13 – 104,20	106
40	*Concerning the Three Things that were established by the Light.*	104,21 – 105,14	108
41	*Concerning the Three Blows that befell the Enemy because of the Light.*	105,15 – 106,21	110
42	*Concerning the Three Vessels.*	106,21 – 111,17	111
43	*Concerning the Vessels.*	111,18 – 113,25	116
44	*Concerning the Sea Giant.*	113,26 – 115,31	119
45	*Concerning the Vessels.*	116,1 – 117,9	122
46	*Concerning the Ambassador.*	117,10 – 118,12	123
47	*Concerning the Four great Things.*	118,13 – 120,20	125
48	*Concerning the Conduits.*	120,21 – 124,32	127
49	*Concerning the Wh[eel and the Conduits].*	125,1 – 24	132
50	*Concerning these Na[mes]: God, Rich One, and Ange[l]; who they are.*	125,25 – 126,29	133
51	*Concerning the First Man.*	126,30 – 127,23	135
52	*Conce[rning] the [...] of the Light.*	127,24 – 129,4	136
53	*Concerning the First Man.*	129,5 – 131,9	137

54	*[Concern]ing the Quality of the Garments.*	131,10 – 133,3	139
55	*Concerning the Fashioning of Adam.*	133,4 – 137,11	141
56	*[Concern]ing Saklas and his Powers.*	137,12 – 144,12	144
57	*Concerning the Generation of Adam.*	144,13 – 147,20	151
58	*The Four Powers that grieve.*	147,21 – 148,20	154
59	*The Chapter of the Elements that wept.*	148,21 – 151,4	156
60	*[Concernin]g the Four Fathers; what they are like.*	151,5 – 152,20	158
61	*Concerning the Garment of the Waters: how great is its Measure.*	152,21 – 155,5	160
62	*Concerning the Three Rocks.*	155,6 – 29	163
63	*Concerning Love.*	155,30 – 156,34	164
64	*[Concerning] Adam.*	157,1 – 158,23	165
65	*Concerning the Sun.*	158,24 – 164,8	167
66	*Concerning the Ambassador.*	164,9 – 165,24	173
67	*Concerning the Light-Giver.*	165,25 – 166,16	174
68	*Concerning Fire.*	166,17 – 30	175
69	*Concerning the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Stars.*	166,31 – 169,22	176
70	*Concerning the Body: It was constructed after the Pattern of the Universe.*	169,23 – 175,24	179
71	*Concerning the Gathering in of the [E]lements.*	175,25 – 176,8	185
72	*Concerning the worn and torn apart Garments, or the tattered Clothes, or the Elements, the Cross, and the rest too.*	176,9 – 178,23	185
73	*Concerning the Envy of Matter.*	178,24 – 180,26	188
74	*Concerning the living Fire: It is present in Eight Places.*	180,27 – 181,31	190
75	*[Concerning the Letter (?)].*	181,31 – 183,9	191
76	*[Conce]rning Lord Manichaios: how he journeyed.*	183,10 – 188,29	193
77	*The Chapter of the Four K[ingdoms].*	188,30 – 190,10	197

78	*Concerning the Four Things over which People kill each other.*	190,11 – 191,8	199
79	*Concerning the Fasting of the Saints.*	191,9 – 192,3	200
80	*The Chapter of the Commandments of Righteousness.*	192,3 – 193,22	201
81	*The Chapter of Fasting, for it engenders a Host of Angels.*	193,23 – 196,31	202
82	*The Chapter of Righteous [Judgement].*	197,1 – 200,8	206
83	*Concerning the Man who is ug[l]y in his Body, [but] beautiful [in his Soul].*	200,9 – 204,23	209
84	*Concerning Wisdom; it is far superior when on the Tongue than in the Heart of the Person.*	204,24 – 208,10	213
85	*Concerning the Cross of Light: [...] trample upon it.*	208,11 – 213,20	216
86	*The Chapter of the Man who asks: Why [am] I sometimes at peace, and troubled at other times?*	213,21 – 216,30	221
87	*Concerning the Alms, that [...] life in the Church.*	216,31 – 218,32	224
88	*Concerning the Catechumen who found fault with the Elect: why he is angry.*	219,1 – 221,17	226
89	*The Chapter of the Nazorean who questions the Teacher.*	221,18 – 223,16	229
90	*Concerning the Fifteen Paths; and whether the Catechumen would have avoided causing his Wealth to go on the Three Paths to Gehenna.*	223,17 – 228,4	231
91	*Also concerning the Catechumen; shall he be saved in a single Body?*	228,5 – 234,23	235
92	*The Apostle is asked: Why when you drew every thing in the Picture (-Book), did you not draw the Purification of the Catechumens who shall be cleansed by Transmigration?*	234,24 – 236,6	241

93	*A Catechumen asked the Apostle: When I give an Offering to the Saints, shall I inflict a Wound on the Alms?*	236,7 – 239,2	242
94	*Concerning the Purification of these Four Elements [that have been place]d in the Flesh.*	239,3 – 240,12	245
95	*The Apostle asks his Disciples: What is Cloud?*	240,13 – 244,20	246
96	*The Three Earths that exist, they bear Fruit.*	244,21 – 246,6	250
97	*Concerning the Three Creations of the Flesh: the ones that were brought forth [...]; and the ones that were begotten by the Abortions; and the ones that were formed of themselves.*	246,7 – 248,10	252
98	*What is Virginal; or, otherwise, what is Continent?*	248,10 – 249,30	253
99	*Concerning Transmigration.*	249,31 – 251,25	255
100	*Concerning the Dragon with Fourte[en] He[ads]; what it is and [...]*	251,26 – 253,24	257
101	*[Concer]ning why, if the Person shall look down into Water, [...]*	253,25 – 255,21	258
102	*Concerning the Light Mind, why it does not exercise Foreknowledge for the Saint as for the Apostle.*	255,22 – 257,7	260
103	*Concerning the Five Wonders that the Light Mind shall display in the Elect.*	257,8 – 258,3	262
104	*Concerning Food: It shall be allocated to Five Products of the human Body.*	258,4 – 25	263
105	*Concerning the Three Things that are great with Mankind, as they are running all the time, in that they [...]*	258,26 – 259,23	264
106	*There is no Joy that shall remain in the World till the End.*	259,24 – 260,27	265
107	*Concerning the Form of the Word, that [...]*	260,28 – 261,13	266

108	*Concerning the Seed Grain that shall be formed by the Elements, [a]nd also be destroyed by them.*	261,14 – 262,9	267
109	*Concerning the Fifty Lord's Days; to what Mysteries do they correspond? Or the Second (Fifty); to whose Sign (are they)?*	262,10 – 264,19	268
110	*Concerning the Nourishment of the Person, for there are Powers in it [...]*	264,20 – 265,8	270
111	*Concerning the Four Archetypes that occur in the Eye, and the Fifth that is hidden in them; to whom do they belong?*	265,9 – 266,2	270
112	*The Human is less than all the Things of the Universe, and he is rebellious beyond them all.*	266,3 – 268,27	271
113	*The Chapter on whether any [Lig]ht comes from the Three Vessels.*	268,27 – 269,13	274
114	*Concerning the Three Images that are in the righteous Person.*	269,14 – 270,24	275
115	*The Catechumen asks the Apostle: Will Rest come about for Someone who has come out of the Body, if the Saints pray [over] and make an Alms-offering [for him]?*	270,25 – 280,19	276
116	*Concerning why if a [Nail] is cut the Person shall not be sick; but if a Limb is cut he shall immediately be pained.*	280,20 – 282,6	284
117	*Concerning why Some shall delay to come forth from the Body, and Others die in an instant.*	282,7 – ?	285
118	*[...]*	283 – 284	286
119	*[...]*	284,? – 286,23	286
120	*Concerning the Two Essences.*	286,24 – 288,18	288
121	*Concerning the Sect of the Basket.*	288,19 – 290,28	290
122	*Concerning the 'Assent' and the 'Amen'.*	290,29 – 295,8	292

••• (Introduction) •••

(1,1 – 9,10)

The introductory section cannot properly be termed a kephalaion. Rather, it is a framing sequence; and a justification for the entire work.

The text (when readable) begins with a grand survey of the crucial moments in the cosmogonic drama: the eternal separation of the two principles at the beginning; the attack by the darkness, and consequent emanation and descent of the First Man in defence of the light; the construction of the universe by the Living Spirit; the role of the Third Ambassador as supreme redeemer; the destruction of the cosmos in the great fire, and final binding of the darkness; the reintegration of the divine, and victory of the Father (– 5.20).

Mani then asserts his revelation of total wisdom in his canonical scriptures. However, he also stresses his oral teaching; and urges his followers to write down what he has taught them. This appears to provide justification for the *Kephalaia,* as a sub-canonical text (– 7.6).

Mani acknowledges the true proclamation by earlier apostles, detailing Jesus, Zarathustra and Buddha. However, they did not write their own scriptures; and so their teachings were adulterated, and their churches will decay and pass away (– 8.28).

In consequence, Mani again admonishes his disciples to remember and write down his teachings (– 9.10).

(**1**) [...] [17] light [...] [33] which he has unveiled [... (**2**) ...] [21] his disciples [... (**3**) ...] entire [...] of wisdom [... / ...] word in the beginning [... / ...] concerning the separation [... / ...] the heights [... [5] ...] to the hei[ghts ...] and they spread out [... / ... unt]il they should make war [... [17] ...] kingdom [... / ... l]ight [... / ...] in the heights [... [20] ... f]rom all the aeons [... / ...] the light, the one that no [... / ...] in it. /

[...] the darkness, the wo[rld / ...] their roo[t ... [25] ...] which poured for[th ... / ...] the one that the earth has [... / ... / ...] darkness [... / ...] it is far from the light [... [30] ...]

Thi[s] is the first [... / ...] concerning the eternality; he [... / ...] to you, for each one of them exis[ts ... / ...] they are divided from one another by their [... / ...] in an eternality since the [... [35] ...] which I have written for you (pl.); this is, that [...] (**4**) the darkness has made war against the light, desiring that it would rei[gn / over an] essence not its own. It spread a quarrel / [...] it disturbed

[... / ...] came up, it [... in [5] this great] need. The power came forth from [... / ... which] is [the Fir]st Man. He [... / ...] the armour of ligh[t ...] / all [the enmity]. He cruc[if]ied it in [... / ...] the armour [... [10] ... / ...]

[... [15] ...] he brought the sun [... / ...] the lig[ht] aeons [... / ... the] L[i]ving [Spirit] spread [out the] universe / [...] the earth [... / ...] the light and the da[rkness in] the beginning [... [20] ...] and the garments. He gave [them ... / ...] He set in order the [... / ...] and the wheel of the cou[rse ... / ...] in the heights, that they would [... / ...] of the darkness. He stood [firm ... [25] ... f]ixed. He constructed the found[ation / ... al]l of it was set up. Unde[rneath ... / ... a]ll of them; and also above he [... / ... thre]e earths, they being conjoined. He enclosed the earth i[n / ... f]our mountains and three vesse[ls [30] ...] in its seas and its mountain[s ... / set in] order upon it. This uni[v]erse stood f[irm / ...] a bond for the evil powers [... / ... li]ght that they joined with the darkness [... /

The]n the Third Ambassador! [He purified the [35] li]ght by his image. He became [redeemer of] / all [thin]gs.

(5) [...] they are in all the [... / ... / ... u]niverse, and the fire blazes in it, and it is devo/[ured ...] all [...] of the light al[s]o, and he bec[omes] [5] purifier, and goes up to his essence. Conversely, the darkness [wh]ich is in / [...] out, and it is gathered in to a bond [... [12] ...] unveil [... / ...] and they go in to him and become [... / ... pe]rfume [... s][15]et up [... an]/d they reign for ever, and a single God comes to be [... ov/er] the totality, being above [the to]tality. You (sg.) find no opponent / from this time on again[st the Father], the King of the Light and the [... / ...] which they occur in, from the [beginning ... [20] ...] they are mixed and joined with one another. /

[... unv]eil in these three lessons*[1] / [...] in them. I have written [them in / my bo]oks of ligh[t: i]n *The Great Gospel* and *Treasu[ry] / of the Life;* in *The Treatise;* in *The One of the Mysteries;* [in] [25] *The Writing,* which I wrote on account of the Parthians; and also all my *Ep[ist/le]s;* in *The Psalms* and *The Prayers.* For the[se three] / lessons are the measure of all wisdom. Everything that has

*[1] ⲥⲉⲍⲉ Perhaps the 'three times'.

occ[ured], / and [th]at will oc[cu]r, is written in them! Have strength to discrim[inate / ...] and know it through them. [Every] wri[ter, [30] if he re]vea[l]s these three great lessons: that on[e is / the writer of truth]. Also, every [te]acher, if he gives instruction and proclaims these th[r/ee lessons, is] the teacher of truth. I also, for my part, behold [I] have / [revealed] these three great lessons. I have given them to yo[u / ...]

The first gr[eat lesson (**6**) [...] which in the [... / ...] / that walks in it because of the twel[v]e [... / ...] in it, which in the cities and the dwelling places found in the [5] [...] because of the doors that are opened in them [... / ...] upon the earth, which in the four corners [... / ... / ... / ... [10] ... / ...] and my pains. For also [... / ...] and my afflictions [... / ...] to them [... / ...] suffices for the person [... [15] ...] wise person.

[Yet], now [I will] entrust to you (pl.) [... / ...] The world has not permitted me to write down [... / ...] to me all of it; and if you, my childr[en and my discip]/les, write all my wisdom [... / ...] the questions that you have asked me [...] [20] and the explanations that I have made clea[r to you from t/im]e to time; the homilies, the lessons, that I have proclaimed with the teache[rs / to] the leaders, together with the elect and the catechume[ns; / and] the ones that I have uttered to free men and free women; [... / ...] all of them, that I have proclaimed from time to time! Th[ey] are [not] writt[en. [25] Y]ou must remember them and write th[em; ga]ther them i[n / differ]ent places; because much is the wisdom that I ha[ve ut]tered [to y/ou].

I did pay heed to each one. I spoke [in (wisdom) about them], / with person after person. Each [one ...] / I have given to him a conviction. The elec[t ... [30] ...] I have given them psychi[c] wisdom [...] (**7**) psychi[c ...] The suckling babe[s], according to their ability, [... / ...] it, even a[s] is fitting for them; so that they would lis[ten /] like th[is]. Also, even the sects and the he[resies ... / o]ut. I have open[ed] the eyes of each one of them [... its [5] wi]sdom and its [scr]ipture, for the truth is this that I have unvei[led. / I have] revealed it [i]n the world. Also the apostles have [... / ...] and the earliest fathers past unveiled it in th[eir scriptures / ...] Concerning this I [...] in haste, in that [... / ...

eve]ry explanation and every wisdom, as I proclaimed in e[ach pl[10]ace], in each c[it]y, in each land [... / ...] and they [...] as he may form it in [... / ...] and [...] truth since [... / ...] which they have [... / ...] the church [... [15] ... / ... / ...] according to [...] book. /

[...] you [... my] beloved ones: At the time that [Jesus t/r]od [...] the land of the west [... [20] ... proc]laimed his hope [... / ...] his disciples [... / ...] which Jesus uttered [... / ... a]fter him they wrote [... / ...] his parables [... [25] ...] and the signs and wonders [... / ...] they wrote a book concerning his [... /

The apostle of] light, the splendrous enlightener, [... / ... he came to] Persia, up to Hystaspes the king [... / ... he chose d]isciples, righteous men of trut[h ... [30] ... he proclaimed hi]s hope in Persia; but [... / ...] Zarathustra (did not) write books. Rather, hi[s / disciples who came a]fter him, they remembered; they wrote [... / ...] that they read today [... / ...]

Again, for his part, when Buddha came, [... (8) ...] about him, fo[r] he too proclaimed [his / hope and] great wisdom. He cho[se] his chur[c/hes, and] perfected his churches. He unve[iled] to them / [his hop]e. Yet, there is only this: that he d[id not] write his wi[5][sdom in bo]oks. His disciples, who came afte[r] him, are the ones who re/[membered] somewhat the wisdom that they had heard from Buddha. They / [wrote it in sc]riptures.

And this, in that the fathers of righteou/[sness] did not [wri]te their wisdom in books [... / ...] know that their righteousn[ess] and their chu[r[10]ch will pass aw]ay from the world; because they did not writ[e / ...] Since [...] write it in book[s / ...] will lead as[tr]ay [...] fall / [...] and they [...] lead astra[y / ...] adulter[at]e, and they [... [15] ...] mix [... / ... / ...] all of it, of the knowledg[e / ...] will unveil [... / ...] in the world, in a [...] Since the fa[thers of [20] righteo]usness know this, that also [... / ...] in the [... / ... / ...] from [... / ... [25] ... / ...] lead astray and [... / ...] as they illuminate [... / ...] write [th]em for you (pl.) in books. /

[... [30] ...] it was not unveiled, nor was it [... / ...] every [...], together with the commandments and [... / ...] unveiled for you in my script[ures ... / ...] to you, that the wisdom and the in[terpretation

... / ... from] time to time, which I did not write [... [35] ...] and you write after me, so that [...] (**9**) it leads you not astray! For you yourselves k[now] / the great wisdom [I have uttered in] / city after city, in each land separately. What [I have written] / in books no human mouth will suffice to write. [5] Nevertheless, according to your capacity, and even as yo[u] may fi[nd] / strength; remember! And write a little something from [the] great [wi]/sdom that you have heard from me.

When [y]/ou write a[nd] are amazed by them [... en]/lighten greatly; and they shall give benefit and make free [...] [10] of the truth.

••• 1 •••

(9,11 – 16,31)

/ Concerning the Ad[vent] / of the Apostle.

The succession of apostles and churches is compared to the continuous cycle of seedtime and harvest. A new apostle releases the spiritual forms of his church, (the heavenly twin motif); and then is sent to earth to sow the seed of his election, at the very moment that the previous church finally ripens to harvest and ascends. Thus, there is no moment when the world is bereft of the means of salvation (see 11.26 – 27).

This recognition of the authenticity of each cycle of revelation is one of the most striking aspects of Mani's teaching. While Mani is likely to have developed it from the concept of the true prophet, found in his Elchasaite heritage and in other Jewish-Christian sects, and it also owes something to Marcion's idea of the renewal of Jesus' true revelation by Paul and himself; nevertheless, the universal application seems to be the product of Mani's particular religious genius. It also, by an historical connection which is not yet clear, may well have influenced the notion of cycles of prophecy that appears in emergent Islam.

The chain of apostles is traced from Sethel, (as in other gnostic teachings), through Enos and Enoch to Sem. Two figures from Indian tradition are then included, the Buddha and Aurentes (from 'arhant'?); and finally Zarathustra and Jesus. Other Manichaean texts provide similar lists, and the concept was open-ended enough to allow the inclusion of other apostles such as Hermes Trismegistus or Lao-Tzu to accord with the missionary expansion of the religion (see Puech 1949: 144 – 146 and now particularly K (Dub). 299). Nevertheless, while universality is obviously the intention, it is noticeable that only Jesus receives any significant detail or historical context. It is difficult to find evidence that Mani had any real knowledge of the lives and teachings of figures such as the Buddha.

Docetic emphases that can be traced back to Marcion are embedded in the Manichaean accounts of Jesus. This kephalaion is particularly interesting for an understanding of Mani's religious heritage because he follows the chain of apostles from Jesus to Paul, and then to one (or two?) righteous man in the Christian church (13.30 – 35). The identity of this figure has been much debated, but the obvious candidates are Elchasai, Marcion, and perhaps Bardaisan.

After the ascent of the church of Jesus Mani's apostolate begins. Thus, the authenticity of later Christianity is rejected. As he foretold, according to the gospel of John, Jesus sends after him the Paraclete. This is Mani's own Twin-Spirit who reveals to him the totality of truth, the knowledge that Mani will then preach and write in his canonical scriptures. The summary of the essentials of revelation given here (14.27 – 15.24) is one of the best known from Manichaean texts; and has an almost creedal ring to it. Mani finishes with a brief summary of his missionary journeys, and a repetition

of his claim to direct revelation. His own apostolate is superior to those before him because it has spread throughout the world; and thus it will last till the final judgement and the return of Jesus (16.3 – 17).

In the framing sequence at the end the disciples are enlightened and thank Mani; and assert that he is the Paraclete. Thus he has become one with his heavenly Twin, 'a single Spirit (see 15.23 – 24)'.

15 The first chapt[e]r is this: His disciples [questioned / h]im concerning his ap[os]tolate and his coming to the wor[ld; / fo]r [h]ow did it happen [... his] / journeying in each city, in each la[nd]; / in what [manner] was he sent [... 20 ...] first, before he had yet chosen h[is church]. /

The apostle [sa]ys to them: I [... / ...] but I will recount to you [... / ... / ...] Understand, O my beloved ones: [A]ll the apost[les] 25 who are on occasion sent to the world re[semble] / farmers; while their churches, which they choose, [are] / like Pa[rm]uthi and Paophi. For, the way Parmuthi [occ/u]rs not in all the months of the year; nor [does Paophi / ...] in all of them. Rather, the season [... 30 ...] for it alone, as they know [... / ...] its vegetables [... / ...] the time they are cropped; also the vegetables and the [... / ...] season; and they tend and ripen the pickings, and they / [...] to Paophi. Of course, now that farmer (**10**) [...] Parmuthi; in that, if he will come and sow some corn seed th/[ere ...] cereal. And he shall be involved from the beginning / [...] a corn seed and toil for it. Yet, when the summer / [comes] each year, and his corn comes to the season of its harvest; 5 [then] the farmer comes forth and harvests it. Even the ga[rdener] from the begin/[ning ...] shall toil for his fruits; and he tends them and he / [...] and they ripen; and he comes forth and picks them from the tree. /

[This is the way of the] apostles who are come to the [wo]rld. They are l/[ike] a [...] of the greatness [...] the season that [... 10 ...] flesh. Rather, they are sent before [... / ...] before they had yet [...] in the wo/[rld ...] from the greatness. They [...] to the [whole] created order; / [and they] choose a selection of the [..., as t]hey make [... / ...] the elect and the catechumens [... 15 ...] their forms, and they make them [free ... / ...] in the flesh [... / ...] the world / [...] to above / [...] as he may make his [...] the winter, and he harvests it 20 [...] also tend to the fruit in the summer and the / [... P]aophi, and he takes them away.

Also the way [... / ...] many years before [... / ... the w]orld, as he journeys below to the [... / ... makes the f]orm of his church free, and [... [25] ...] of the flesh, whose form[s] he had made free / [...]

Like the farmer, for when he will [... / ...] that moment he shall begin [... t]end / [...] it reaches Parmuthi also, he may harvest it [... / ...] toil for the fruits of Paophi [... [30] ...]

Again, this too is [how] the apostl[es ... / ...] from the beginning of the moulding of humanity [... / ... a]s I have t[ol]d you, that when they [... / ...] before every thing he shall [... / ...] free above, first.

Yet, when (11) it [will be] born in the flesh, he shall come down to it and at once [...] it in the [...] / which comes out from the [...] is [r]aised up / to the greatness. [He] shall continue in the world at this time [...] / him, corresponding to the season when the world will come to his [...] [5] when the season will mature he is raised up from the world [...] / and he leaves his church {behind}*[2] and goes forth. Still, he [... / ...] and he helps and aids his church. / Whoever comes out from their body after him, he shall be[come] / for them a s[uppo]rt and a leader; and he goes on before them [...], [10] excepting the othe[rs] who are set firmly in the fles[h]. He is the one who [will / be]come for them a h[e]lper and a guardian; he shall not take [... / ...] in se[cr]et, until his church [... / ch]ange it [...] when [h]is church [... / ... [15] ...] he was raised up after it, and went [in / to the l]and of glory. And he rejoices and rests at the last [... / ...]

Like the far[me]r who shall be glad of heart in [...] / he was bringing in (the harvest). Or like the merchant who [shal]l come up from [a coun]/try with the doubling of his great cargo; and the riches [of his tr][20]ading.

When the apostle will be [rais]/ed up from the world, he and his church [... / ...] for [every] apostle / [...] in the [...] Since [... / ...] tree, that still [is l]aden with its first fruits [25] [...], and they are picked; they shall propagate other ones th[ere], / and they mature to the season to bring them forth. There is not any time [the tree]

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*[2] ⲙⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ

/ is bare of fruit! Rather, instead, those about to ripen as they pick them / shall propagate other ones there. When they bear these [... / t]hem on the tree; they come up and are brought forth upon it[s bran][30]ches. They shall pick from it those that mature and ripen. [The far]/mer do[es not] rest at any time from the labour and the pain. / At what hour [may he] cease? When he can finish harvesting the corn in P[armu]/thi! [...] them in the winter, the fruits of the summer shall [...] / grow [up and] be picked in the month of Paophi.

[35] The apostles are like [t]his [also]. N[o]w, (**12**) when the apostle will be raised up to the heights, he / and his church, and they depart from the world; at t[h]at instant / another apostle shall be sent to it, to another ch/u[rch ...] it [...] Yet, first, [5] he shall make the forms of his church free in the heights, / as I have told you. When [...]; / again, he too shall come down and appear [... / ...] and he releases his church and saves it from the flesh [of / sin ...]

The advent of the apostle has occured at the occasion [10] [... a]s I have told you: From Sethel / [the first] born son of Adam up to Enosh, together with / [Enoch]; fr[om] Enoch u[p] to Sem [the] son of [Noah; / ... / ...] church after it [... [15] ... Bu]ddha to the east, and Aurentes, and the other [... / ...] who were sent to the orient; from the adve[nt] / of Buddha and Aurentes up to the advent of Z[a/ra]thustra to Persia, the occasion that he came to Hystaspes / [the k]ing; from the advent of Zarathustra up to the advent of Jesus [20] [the Christ], the son of greatness. /

[The advent] of Jesus the Christ our master: He came [... / ...] in a spiritual one, in a body [... / ...] as I have told you about him. I [...] him; / for he came without body! Also his apostles have preached [25] in respect of him that he received a servant's form, an appearance as of / men*[3]. He came below. He manifested in the world in / the [s]ect of the Jews. He chose his twelve / [and] his seventy-two. He did the will of his Father, who had / sent him to the world. Afterwards, the evil one awoke [30] envy in the sect of the Jews. Satan went / in to Judas the Iscariot, one am[ong the twe]lve / of Jesus. He accused him before the sec[t of the J]ew/s, with his kiss. He gave [him] over [to the han]/ds of the Jews, and

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*[3] Phil. 2:7

the cohort of the soldie[rs. The Jew](13)s themselves took hold of the son of Go[d. They gave judgement on] / him by lawlessness, in an assembly. They condemned him by i[ni]/quity, while he had not sinned. They lifted him up upon the wood of the cro/ss. They crucified him with some robbers on the cr[o]s[s. [5] Th]ey brought him down from the cross. They placed him in the grave; [and] / after three days he arose from among the dead. He / came towards his disciples, and was visible to them. He laid upon them a / power. He breathed into them his Holy Spirit. [He sen]/t them out through the whole world, that they would preach [the grea][10]tness. Yet, he [hi]mself, he rose up to [the heights.

... / ...] Jesus, [h]is twelve [... / ...] land [... / ...] master [... / ... [15] ... / ...} them. They were not faint-hearted, nor [... / ...] they were all active [... they were raised] / up and rested in the greatness.

[... while] / the apostles stood in the world, [Pau][20]l the apostle [reinforced them]. He also came forth. He preached [... / ...] He gave power to the apostles. He made [them] stro[ng ... / ... the] church of the saviour [... / ... / ...] he preached a [... [25] ...] he too went up and rested in [...] /

After Paul the apostle little by little, day [after] / day, all mankind began to stumble. They le[ft righteousness / b]ehind them; and the path which is narrow and sticky. They preferred [...] / go on the road which is broad.

[30] [A]t this same time also, in the last church, a righteous [m]an / of truth app[ea]red, belonging to the kingdom. He reinforced [... / ...] they cared for*[4] the church of our master according to [their / capacity; bu]t they too were raised up to the lan[d of / light. A]fter those ones again, little by little, the ch[35][urch] perished. The world remained behind without (14) [c]hu[r]ch. Like a tree

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*4 Or 'carved': ⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲕ lit. 'make knife'. See also 218.6 Kasser 1964:50 suggests 'prendre soin de'; but in this context it may indeed mean to separate the righteous Christians from the falsifiers. The switch to plural has been taken by most commentators to mean that the first righteous man (e.g. Marcion) agreed with (ϯⲙⲉⲧⲉ, here translated as 'reinforced') a second (e.g. Bardaisan) who together ⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲕ the church. However, as E. Smagina (1992:365) points out, the lacuna could easily be filled by such a term as 'his disciples'.

will be plucked, and the fr/uits on it taken away. And it remains behind without fruit. /

[Wh]e[n] the church of the saviour was raised to the heights, my apo/stolate began, which you asked me about! From that time on was sent the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth; the one who has / co[me] to you in this last generation. Just like the saviour sa/id: When I go, I will send to you the Paraclete. / [Whe]n the Paraclete comes, he can upbraid the world concerni[ng / sin, and] he can speak with you on behalf of right[eou]sness, and [about] judgement, concerning the sinners who believe / [me not; ...*5 he] can speak with you [... / ... / ... / ... ...] he can s[p]eak with you and preach [... / ...] that [...], the one who will honour me and [... / ...] and he gives to you. /

[...] preach on behalf of the Paraclete of truth, that he / [...] he came to manifest the one whom he had known [... ...] the appointed time of all these years, as they [... / ... from] Jesus until now [... / ... / ...] until he [... / ...] and he makes them free. Yet, when the church assumed the flesh, the season arrived to redeem the souls; like / [the mont]h of Parmuthi that cereal shall ripen i[n], / to be harvested.

At that same season he [...] / my image, I assuming it in the years of Arta[b]anus / the [ki]ng of Parthia. Then, in the years of Ard[ashir], the king of Persia, I was tended and grew tall and attained the ful[lne]ss of the sea/[so]n. In that same year, when Ard[ashi]r the ki/[ng was c]rowned, the living Paraclete came down t[o me. He sp]o(**15**)ke with me. He unveiled to me the hidden mystery, / the one that is hidden from the worlds and the generations, the myster[y] of the dep[ths] / and the heights. He unveiled to me the mystery of the light / and the darkness; the mystery of the calamity of conflict, and the w[ar], and the great [...] the battle that the darkness spread about. Aft[erwards], / he unveiled to me also: How the light [...] / the darkness, through their mingling this universe was set up [...] / H[e o]pened my eyes also to the way that the ships were constructed; [to enable the / go]ds of light to be in them, to purify the li[ght from] creation. Conversely, the dregs and the eff[lue]nt [... to the] / abyss. The

*5 Jn. 16:7–9 +ff.

mystery of the fashioning of Adam, the fir[st ma]/n. He also informed me about the mystery of the tree of knowledge, [wh]/ich Adam ate from; his eyes saw. [Also], the myste/ry of the apostles who were sent to the wor[ld, to enable them] [15] to choose the churches. The mystery of the elect, [with their] / commandments*[6]. / [The] mystery of the catechumens their helpers, with [their] / commandments. The mystery of the sinners with their deeds; / and the punishing that lies hidden for them.

This is how everything th[at] has ha[pp][20]ened and that will happen was unveiled to me by the Paraclete; [...] / everything the eye shall see, and the ear hear, and the th/ought think, a[n]d the [...] I have understood by him e/verything. I have seen the totality through him! I have become a single body, / with a single Spirit!

In the last years of Ardash[ir] [25] the king I came out to preach. I crossed to the country of the Indians. [I] / preached to them the hope of life. I chose in that place / a good election.

Yet, also, in the year [that Ar/da]shir the king died Shapur his son became king. He [...] / I crossed from the country of the Indians to the land of the Persians. Also, from [30] the land of Persia I came [to] the land of Babylon, Mesen[e] / and Susiana. I a[pp]eared before Shapur the king. He rece/i[v]ed me with great ho[nou]r. He gave me permission to journey in [... / ... pr]eaching the word of life. I even spent some year[s / ...] him in the retinue; many years in (**16**) Pers[i]a, in the country of the Parthians, up to Adiabene, and / the bor[de]rs of the provinces of the kingdom of the Romans. /

[I have chosen] you (pl.), the good election, the [h]oly chur/c[h] that I was sent to from the Father. I have [5] [sown] the seed of life. I have [...] them [... / ... fr]om east to west. As you yourselves are seeing, / [my] hope has gone toward the sunrise of the world, and / [every] inhabited part; to the clime of the north, and the [... / ...] Not one among the apostles did ever do these things [... [10] ...]; because all the apostles who were sent / [... / ...] they preached [... / ...] the world [... / ...] (my hope) will remain in the world until

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*6 [[the mystery of the sinners with their de[eds]]]

[(Jesus) ... [15] ...] his throne in it, and he will make [...] in / [...] church, which is the righ[t] side, / [...] which belongs to the left. /

[...] about which you questioned me. S/[ince the] Spirit is of the Paraclete, the one who was sent to me from [20] [the greatness; what has] happened and what will happen [has been] / unveiled to me. For you I have written about it, in full, in my / books already. Today you have again questioned me. Behold, now I have repeated / the lesson to you in brief!

Then, w[he]n his / disciples heard all these things from him, they rejoiced greatly. [25] Their mind was enlightened. They say to him in their joy: We th/ank you, our master! For while you have written about your advent in the / [scri]ptures, how it came to be, and we have received it and believed in it; / still, you have repeated it to us in this place, in a condensed form. And / we, for our parts, have received it in full. We have also believed that you are the [30] Paraclete, this one from the Father, the unveiler of all these hi/dden things!

••• 2 •••

(16,32 – 23,13)

/ The Second, concerning / the Parable of the Tree.

The use of Jesus' parable about the two trees as a proof-text for dualism was already a key feature of Marcion's exegesis (e.g. Tertullian *adv. Marc.* 1.2.1; 4.17), from which it must be traced to Mani, and is thence found throughout Manichaean texts (e.g. PsBk2. 56.21 136.20-21. Augustine *c.Adim.* XXVI).

In this kephalaion Mani begins by discussing sectarian interpretations of the parable. Unfortunately this section is very fragmentary, but it seems to be concerned with the mixture between the two principles that occurs during time and in the cosmos, so that no person or thing of composite nature can be singularly good or evil (17.16 – 19.28).

Mani then presents his own definitive revelation. The limbs of the good tree are the five intellectual qualities through which the soul ascends to the Father and the aeons of glory (20.21 – 31). This equation of the internal mental process of salvation with the eschatological journey through the heavens indicates a living spirituality in Mani's teaching that is often missed by commentators. The fruit of the good tree is Jesus the Splendour, that is Jesus as the universal redeemer and incarnation of divine Intellect, and thus the 'father of all the apostles'. Consequently, its taste is the community of the church.

As an exact negative of this the evil tree is also made up of five intellectual qualities. However, in this case the mental process is directed towards sin and darkness; and the corresponding eschatological journey takes this soul to the ultimate death where it is compounded with the final 'lump' beyond all hope of redemption (21.27 – 22.20). The text does not preserve the fruit of the evil tree; but its taste is the sects that always oppose the true churches.

The chapter ends with an important semi-creedal assertion of belief in absolute dualism (22.35 – 23.13).

35 The first parable that they asked him about! They besought [him to ex]/plain it for them.

This is the [occ]asion that [... (**17**) ...]; for his discip[les, who sat] / before him, questioned him. They say to him: We beseech y[o]u, our / master, that you may re[coun]t and explain t[o] us about these / two [tr]ees [that Jesus pre]ached to his disciples. As it is written in 5 [the] Gosp[el, he says]: The good tree shall give / [good fr]ui[t]; also [the] bad [tr]ee shall give b[ad] fruit / [... There is no] good [tree] that shall give bad fruit; / [nor a bad tree that] shall give [g]ood fruit. [One / kn]ows [each tree by] its fruits*7.

10 Now, [we] entreat you, that you may [...] / two trees, [an]d explain them [... / ...] as they grow u[pon the] earth; because it is written [...] / scriptures [...] them [... / ...] saying [... 15 ...] mystery by mystery. /

While there are some among the sects who explain about these [tw]o tr[ees], / as they reckon them, that a good tree [... remai]/ns behind, on this composite earth; another [...] / to them, comparing them with [...] 20 in a single explanation. /

Then speaks our master Manichaios, the apostle [of gre]/atness, to his disciples. Great is [...] 26 by his own mouth [...] bad / [...] The sec[ts ... / ... / ...] 30 Yet, [th]is that they [expla]in about the two trees, as they reckon the[m, / ...] the trees [...] in an explanation [... / ...] because [... / ...] tree, as it grows on this composite ea[rth, / ...] date palm, because [... 35 ...], for not absolutely every part of the date palm is used! (**18**) [...] their child, as it strikes [... / ...] while first one [...] in them / [...] at the end there is one [...] it

*7 Lk. 6:43–44

occurs / in its fibres and its branches [...] [5] There is a bad dust in them [...] / date palm [...] before the tree that [...] bad; / because they give the decision [... / ... / ...] the one that they name [... [10] ...] the type [... / ...] name it: tree [... / ...] is sweet [... [17] ...] writing [... / ... / ...] they shall establi[sh ... [20] ...] man [... / ...] it is sweet [... / ...] seed of the [...] and it is us[ed] / for their nourishment [... [31] ...] will explain [... / ...] may not join to the [... / ...] mankin[d], as they are named [... / ...]

[35] [... / ... / ...] for as they [... apo(**19**)s]tle. They counted him in the number of [the twelve]. Yet, [at] / the end, it is written about him that Sata[n entered him][*8]. / He gave the saviour into the hands of the Jews; they [...] / upon the wood.

Now, Judas Iscar[iot], first [they] [5] called him a good man; [(but) ... / ...] and traitor and murderer [... It is written about] / Paul, that first he was acting persecutor [... chur]/ch of God[*9], he persecuting [... / ... [10] ...] / a great rev[elat]ion. He [...] / the church [of m]y master. He [... / ...] bad first [... / ...] explain [... [15] ...] their explanation [... / ...] good man, upright [... / ...] completely bad; because [...] / they were fashioned through the mingling of the [...] / they all standing firm in [...] [20] they gave likeness to them, they established them in the [...] / which is mingled in all things.

Behold, [... the ex]/planation of the sects [... / ...] listen and I will revea[l] to you concerning the [... th/at the] saviour preached in the [parable] about the good tree and [25] the bad tree [...] / they know not, for what are [...] and their inner p[ar]ts / [...] know, they being like [...] in their explanation [... / ...] what are th[ese t]wo tre[es]?

[...] / how I will reveal to you [...] the expound[er ...] [30] the trees [...] the Father [... / ...] all of them, as he [...] in the [... / ...] world [... / ...] this g[o]od tree, the [... / ...] the light of this good tree [... [35] ...] the [P]illar [... (**20**) ...] the intellectuals that are cloaked upon its body [... / ...] this good tree. They are the light elements / that are mingled, being compounded in the totality. The fruits / of the

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[*8] Lk. 22:3
[*9] I Cor. 15:9

good tree are glorious Jesus the Splendour, the father [5] [of] all [the apo]st[l]es. Yet, the taste of the fruits of the [good] tree / [is the] holy [c]hurch, in her teachers and her / [...] the c[atech]umens. Behold, this is the [good] tree / [... / ... [10] ...] bad [f]ruit / [... r]evea[l] to you [... / ...] it has five limbs. / [They are consideration, counsel, insight, tho/ught, mind. I]ts consideration is the ho[ly] church. [Its counsel] [15] is [the Pil]lar of Glory, the Perfe[ct] Man. [Its insight / is the Fir]st Man who dwells in the ship of [living] wat[ers]. / Its thought is the Third Ambassador / [who dwells in] the ship of living fire, that shines in / [... A]lso, the min[d] is the Father who dwells in great[20]ness, who is perfe]ct in [the] aeons of light. /

[...] this one, for the souls that ascend and attain / [h]oly [...]; together even with the alms that the cate/[chumen]s give, as they are purified in the [holy] church; / [...] everything. It is consideration that shall [... [25] ...] they shall be raised up [...] is counsel; / [they sh]all be raised up to insight, which is the First Man / [who d]wells in the ship of the night; fr[om] insight they shall ris[e / u]p to thought, which is the Ambass[ad]or who dwells in / [the sh]ip of the day. And he too, great glor[ious] thought, [30] [shall bring] them in to mind; which is the Father, the Go/[d] of truth, the great Mind of all the [ae]ons of glory. /

[Th]is is the good tree that shall give [good] fru[it, ... / ...] is [the] entire life and light for ever [... / ...] occurs [...] ever, it is bles[sed ... [35] ...] goo[d ...] bad [... (**21**) ...] happen in [... / ...] from [... / ...] also [... / ...] the way that it i[5][s ... [12] ...] the good tree [... / ...] of the fire [... / ...] they are the rul[ing-power ... [15] ...] heaven and the wheel [... / ...] they are the five fleshes that walk [... / ...] fruit [... / ... te]aching as of error, the mystery that [... wh]/ich Satan appointed in the world.

However, the [taste of these] [20] bad fruits is these evil people, the sects [... wh]/ich are bound in law after law, they and their teachers [... / the l]aw of death; they taking taste for it, they being thirsty fo[r it / ...] the soul[s] of death.

This is the tree that [shall / give g]ood [fruit]; the one that our master called [25] [the good tree that shall] give good fruit. He [...] / in the scriptures [...] all [the] sects know it. /

[... I will] reveal to you and you [... / ... The] bad [tree] has five limbs. / Th[ey are consid]eration, counsel, insight, thought, [mind]. [30] [It]s c[onsideration is] the law of de[at]h from which the sect[s] / take instruction. I[t]s counsel is [t]ransmigration [...] / in typ[e after type]. Also, its insight is the furnaces of [fire / ... ge]henna; which is full of [s]moke. Thought [... / ... ve]ssel. Its mind is the [... [35] ...] the lump, the last b[o]nd, the [... / ...], they that Satan ca[st away. (**22**) ... [11] ...] the great [... / ...] and they fall [... / ...] the darkness [... / ...] all [...] and they take away [... [15] ... are swall]owed i[n] to the lump, and they are bound [... / ...] the fruit of darkness, the one that they [... / ...] for ever and ev[er / ...] his face [... / ...] will arrive at that place; and they have no [20] repentance therein. /

[...] this is the e[x]planation of the bad tree, as I have e[xpla/ined ...] to you, which you [...] to it [... / ...] good fruit [... / ...] its fruit bad [... [25] ... i]n it, in its existent days [... / ...] in it.

Concerning this [... / ...] and my be[loved on]es [... / ...] them in truth, it being changed from [... / ... [30] ...] which lies in its go[o]d earth [... / ... life] and light; as death and darkness do not ex[ist ... / ...] Also, [the] bad tree is Matter [... / ... i]t, I understand it alone among the [... / ... wh]ich occurs in its bad earth [... [35] ... darkness] and death.

Blessed is [every one (**23**) ...] these [t]wo trees, and separates them on[e] from [an]other. / He understands that they did not arise out of one another, nor did [th]ey come / from one another. They did not come from one! The person / who can separate them out may go up to the aeon of light. [5] [... as I have] revealed it to you. And he sees / [...] bad fruit di[d n]ot arise from / it [...]; but whoever will not separate out [... / ...] from [o]ne another, he falls to the land [of / darkness ...] until he arrives at the [... [10] ... / ...]

Ble[s]sed is whoever can believe! He [... / ...] darkness; which grows out of the [... / ... for e]ver and ever.

••• 3 •••

(23,14 – 25,6)

15 *The Interpretation of Happiness, / Wisdom and Power; what they signify. /*

Mani contrasts true happiness, wisdom and power to their perceived meaning in the world. In a schema that will be repeated throughout the *Kephalaia,* these principles are successively identified with the various levels of divinity (here five) as it descends into time and the universe.

Thus the archetypes are the great Gods in the eternal kingdom, untouched by the conflict with darkness; reflected then in the first evoked gods who have entered into time for the purpose of redemption, and who inhabit the two ships (the sun and moon), which can be regarded as the gateways to eternity for the purified light; then the divine elements and subsidiary gods who have descended into the mixed universe; and finally the human members of the church.

[O]nce aga]in the enlightener speaks to his disciples, whil[e / he si]ts in the assembly of the church: [What] are these thr/[ee things] that in the world are called 'happine[ss', 20 'wisdom]', and 'power'? People boa[s]t of th[em / ...] the happiness of the world [... / ...] in the world it has a [... / ...] of the world shall pass by. /

[People boa]st of them. They praise [... 25 ...] Now, [the] thing is revealed in a [... / ...] as I have told you. /

[I will t]each you of another happiness [... / and another wi]sdom [...] and together another power [...] / So, now, listen that I may reveal to you 30 [how] it is [with] these three: [ha/ppiness], wisdom and power. /

[The happin]ess of the glorious one is the Father, the God of / [truth, who] is established in the great land of [light]. (**24**) His glorious wis[d]om is his Great Spirit that [... / ...] below, which flows through all his aeons, / and t[h]ey float therein. His great power is all the / gods, the rich ones and the angels who were 5 summoned from him as they [...] t/hey that are called aeons [... / ... /

... / which is called] the sun [... 10 the ship of] living fire, [... the Third / Amba]ssador, the second greatne[ss ... The] / glorious

[happiness] is the [Living] Spirit, [... / ..., the wisdom] is the Mother of Lif[e ... / ... and great power] is [all] the gods, [the 15 rich o]nes and the angels who are within the ship. /

Again, [h]appiness, wisdom and power exist in the s[hip of liv/ing waters ...] the happiness [... / ...] the Mind of the Father. / Also, wisdom [is the Vir/gi]n of [Li]ght. And the power that is [i]n the ship is [all] the go[ds], 20 the [ri]ch ones and the angels who are established i[n it].

Again, these three exist in the elements: happiness, wis/d[o]m and power. The happiness is [the Pillar of Glory], / the Perfect Man. Wisdom is the [five sons of the] / Living Spirit; and great powe[r is ... the fi]25ve sons of the First Man [... who are encl]/osed and compounded in the totality, that [...] / while he supports the totality. /

Now, moreover, happiness, wis[dom and power ex/ist] in the holy church. Great, glorious, [happines]30s is the Apostle of Light [who has been s]/ent from the Father. Wisdom [is the leaders / and] the teachers who travel in the [holy] church, [proclaiming] / wisdom and truth. Great [power is ... (**25**) ...] all [the] elect, the virgins and the c[ontinent; / together with the] catechumens who are in the [holy] church. /

[...] five happinesses, the five wisdoms, [a]nd five powers [... / ...] in the five chur[ches]. Blessed, 5 [therefore], is every one who will know them, for he may [... / ...] the kingdom forever.

••• 4 •••

(25,7 – 27,31)

/ *Concerning the Four great Days / th[at have] come forth from one another;* 10 *together with the Four Nights.* /

The concept of the four days and four nights is temporal in the sense that, as each unravels from the last, it represents a descent / ascent from the polarity (the Father / the land of darkness) into the human sphere, where the choice between the two is met (the true church / the sects as representations of the new and the old man).

The schematic elaboration of days and hours is somewhat artificial. Certainly, as a systematisation, it is secondary to other doctrinal taxonomies. The purpose seems to be to enable Mani to link together a number of details around the theme of 'twelve'; and thus to strengthen the coherence of the revelation as a whole.

The twelve aeons or rich gods of the land of light are met elsewhere (see PsBk2. 1.13). Also, the twelve virgins of the Ambassador are known as a variant or elaboration upon the Virgin of Light, his feminine identity. Since Jesus is really the Ambassador's doublet, and the Virgin is sophia, this explains the twelve wisdoms of the fourth day. The summons and the obedience are the vocalisation of the salvific process, the archetype of which is the rescue of the First Man by the Living Spirit. The pairing of these divinities with the respective sets of Five Sons is used variously to elaborate doctrinal details (compare 43.2 – 4).

The necessary sets of twelve hours for the nights appear mostly artificial, since Manichaean doctrine regarding the land of darkness and the worlds of flesh is dominated by pentads. Nevertheless, the link between the sects and the zodiacal signs is found elsewhere (see 48.34 – 5); and the idea that false religions are determined by the planets and the stars is a mainstay of gnostic systems and Mandaeism. The emphasis upon the First Man as a snare is a recurrent feature of Mani's knowledge, and indicates the Christological basis for this doctrinal complex.

Once again the enlightener speaks: Four great days have come / [forth from one another; they] were evoked [out] of one another! The first / [great day] is the Father, the God of truth, the fir[st ... / ... m]idst the aeons of his greatness, in his [l]iving [ki[15]ngdom]. The twelve hours of this great day / [are the] twelve great rich Gods of great[ness. / These], who are the first evocations that he evoked (to mirror) / [h]is greatness, he spread out to the four climes, three b/y three before his face.

[20] The second day is the Third Ambassador, the one w/ho dwells in the light ship. His twelve ho[urs] are / [the] twelv[e v]irgins that he evoked in his greatness. /

[The third day is the Pillar of Glory, the great po/rter that is greater than] all [the po]rters; the one that supports all [...], [25] those above and those below. Its twelve hours are / the five sons [of the F]irst Man; the five sons of the Living Sp[ir]it, / who support all the weights of the uni/[v]erse; together with the summons and the obedience, which are counted to their ten / brethren. These are the twelve light hours of the th[30]ird da[y].

The fourth day is Jesus / the Splendour who [dwells in] his

church. His twelve / [h]ours are the twelve wisdoms, which are his / [light] h[o]u[rs].

These are the four great days that have come / [forth from one another, wh]ich were evoked out of one another. They [35] [... Blessed is] every [o]ne who will know them, and / [...] the light!

(**26**) [...]: For just as four day[s ex]/ist, s[o] too four nights exist. / The first nigh[t] is the land of darkness. It has t[w]e/[l]v[e] black [shadows] therein, which are its [5] dark h[o]ur[s]. The twelve shadows of the f[irst ni]/ght a[re] the five elements of the land of darkness, [which] / poured [fo]rth from its five sense organs; and [...] / which [...] in its [fi]ve elements and its five [...] / the five [sp]irits that dwell in its elements [...] [10] These a[re] the twelve shadows and spirits of the fi[rst] ni[ght]. /

The second night is Matter, the sculptress [... / ...] who has sc[ulpted ... / a]nd the entire [ru]ling-power that is in the worl[ds of darkness]. / She has fashioned it in five sense organs, five [male] [15] and five female, two per world; together with the fire and [the lu]/st [that] dwell in men and women, inflaming [them] / inward to one another. These are the twelve spirits of this [sec]/ond night. Indeed she, this Matter, the thought of death, / ga[ve] the King of the realms of Darkness and his powers strength for the w[20]ar and the fight, against the aeons of greatness. Yet, / he was caught! They laid a snare for him through the Fi[rst M]an. [He] was ta[ken] / t[o ...] through the powers [... He] was brought [u]/p from the land of death and s[et ... ab]/ove and below in the [whole] universe; in the five par[t[25]s] in the heavens above, as well as the five [parts] / in the earths below; together with the heat [and the] cold that / are the father and the mother, their fire and their l[u]st. /

This is the second night that is begotten [fr]om the first ni/ght. They laid a snare for her through the First M[a]n. She was brought u[p] [30] by the hand of the Living Spirit, and set in this composite univers[e ...] / he[r], above and below. The [upper side is the sense] / organs of males; the lower side [...] / fe[mal]es.

The thir[d night is the five] / worlds of flesh [... five (**27**) mal]e, and five female; that were begotten from the powers / [abo]ve.

They have fallen upon the earth, being displayed in wh/[at is d]ry and what is moist; together with the fire and the lust / [that d]we[ll] in them, which drives them inward to one another. [5] [Mat]te[r] herself, the thought of death, is the / [mother] of them all; as among them she is named 'the night'. / [The worlds] of male and female fleshes, together with the fire and the l/[ust], shall [...] twelve hours of [... / ...] night. Again, [it] too, the third night that is in [10] [the] worlds of fl[e]sh, was begotten from the sec[o]nd / [ni]ght; which the Living [Spir]it crucified in the uni/[verse ..., ab]ove and below in heaven [... /...]

The fourth night is the law of [si/n, which] is the dark spirit who speaks in the twelv[e [15] spirits], the twelve sects. They are the nakedne/[sses], the twelve zodiacal signs of Matter. They / [are] her thrones; she who is made public, as she sculpts and is dis/[p]layed in the old man. And, also, the hours of this four[t/h] night that is the old man, who reigns in the sects, are the [tw][20]elve e[vi]l spirits; the [...] of the old man, which / [are ... / ... / ... / ... di]fferentiate the day and night [... [25] ... of] death. This is the fourth ni/[ght ...] that have come forth of one another. One has [... / ...] just like the days of lig[ht / ...] they manifested one another. So als[o / ...] they did arise out of one another.

[30] [Bl]essed is he [who wi]ll know them, and separate them, and / [... for] ever! (**28**)

••• 5 •••

(28,1 - 30,11)

/ Concerning Four Hunters of / Light and Four of Darkness. /

The parallel reverse imagery evident in this kephalaion is typical of Manichaean doctrine. In this instance the powers of light and darkness are compared to hunters trawling various seas from ships and with nets. The teaching is structured in terms of the cosmic history, presupposing a prior knowledge of the entire cycle from the descent of the First Man to the ascent of the Last Statue and the everlasting death of sinners. Thus, the redeeming work of the Third Ambassador, achieved by the revelation of his image in the heavens, is prior to that of Jesus, whose net is the wisdom cast from the church.

Once again the apostle speaks to his discipl[es]: [5] There are four hunters who were sent from [the li]/ght to fulfill the will of the greatness. /

The first hunter is the First Man who was sen[t] / from the greatness. He threw himself down to the five storehouses / [of] d[ar]kn[ess, h]e caught and siezed the enmity [... [10] ...] his net also [... / ...] out over all the children of darkness [... / ...] His ship is his four sons who are swathed / over his body. The sea is the la[nd of darkness ... / ...] his net is [...] [15] and his powers.

The second [hunter is the Th]/ird Ambassador. This one, for by his [lig]ht image, / which he revealed to the depths be[low], / he hunted after the entire light that is in al[l] things; [as it is establ/i]shed in them. His net is his light image, [20] [...] the whole universe and took it prisoner, / to this likeness [... His] / ship is his light ship. [The sea] is the universe [...] / which were hunted after by his n[et ... / ... [25] ...] his [glorious] image. /

The third hunter is Je[sus the Splendour, who came from the] great/[ness], who hunts after the light and lif[e; and he ...] it / to the heights. His net is his wisdom, [the] lig[ht wisdom] / with which he hunts the souls, catching them in the n[et]. [30] His ship is his holy church [... The sea is / the] error of the universe, the law o[f sin ...] / the souls that are drowning in it [...] He catch[es] / them in his net. They are the souls [... / th]em by his light wisdom.

[The fourth] [35] hunter is the great counsel that [...] / that lives in the circuit [...] (**29**) entire universe in it today. Yet, at the end, in the dissoluti/[on] of the universe, this very counsel of life / [will] gather itself in and sculpt its soul in the / Last [St]atue. Its net is its Living Spirit*[10], becau[5][se] with its Spirit it can hunt after the light and the life that is in / all [t]hings; and build it upon its body. Its ship, in which it / [is est]ablished, is this light cloud whereby it itself trav/[els] in the five elements [... / the] great fire that will burn all the buildings of [... [10] ...] in its net is the light and the [life. It can] / rescue and free it from all bonds and fetters. /

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*[10] See 54.22

Blessed is ev[ery] o[n]e who will be perfect in his deeds, so that / at his end [he may escap]e the great fire that is prepared for the uni/verse at [the end of] its time!

O[nc]e again he [s]peaks: As I have revealed to you the four / living hunters of light who belong to the greatness, / [I will] also [t]each you about four other evil hunters who ca/me from the darkness.

The first hunter is the King / of they who belong to the darkness, who hunted after the living soul with his net at the beginning of the worlds. His net is his fi/re and his lust that he has put upon the living soul, / with which he has entangled it [...], through all his powers. /

[The] sec[ond] h[unter i]s the evil counsel that lives in / [...] that hunts after [the] light [...] and [...] / up from [...] the earths to heaven. It binds them with / its powers, which b[ring] them to the heavenly worlds above. / [I]ts net is [...] whereby they are drawn up / [fr]om the abyss [to the heig]hts.

The third hunter is lust [...] walks in every power of the flesh that wa/[lks ...] in the [...] the living souls [... / ... t]hem in its bodies, which [... / ... / ...]

The fourth [hunter is the spirit] of darkness, the law of sin and (**30**) death, that rules in every sect. It hunts after the so[ul]/s of people and entangles them with this erroneo[us] teaching. / Then it drives them to eternal punishment. It[s] / net, whereby it hunts souls to death, is its erroneous teaching full of guile and villainy / and wicked turns. It imprisons foolish people wi[th] / its teaching, subduing them under its net and co[mpelling them to] eternal punishment.

Blessed is e[very] one [w]/ho will recognise these evil hunters through know[ledge, and it will s]ave and free them from their bond and fetter [for ever] and ever!

••• 6 •••

(30,12 – 34,12)

/ Concerning the Five Storehouses that have po[ured f]orth / from the Land of Darkness since the [Beginning]; [15] *the Five Rulers, the Five Spiri[ts], / the Five Bodies, the Five Tastes. /*

Elaborate and highly schematic descriptions of the kingdom of darkness, and its powers, are a feature of Manichaean (and anti-Manichaean) writings that must derive from canonical sources. The overall conception, with its delight in pentads, and a certain attention to what can be termed the psychosymbolism of evil, has a stamp that is unmistakably Mani's. Specific features such as the 'five trees' appear in other gnostic writings, and may serve to indicate Manichaean influence, rather than vice-versa.

Kephalaion 6 (and compare also 27) evidences some textual development; and probably some corruption in the tradition. The redactor appears unsure about the relationship of the supreme King of Darkness (30.33 – 33.1) to his five warring rulers in the various sub-kingdoms; but tends toward identifying him with the King of Smoke (33.2 – 4). He is thus to be distinguished from the ruler or King of the sub-world of Darkness (33.33 – 34.5). Manichaean writings are also unclear about the relationship of the supreme King to personified Matter, who here appears to be prior to him as his fashioner (31.8 – 16). These points have been discussed by H. -Ch. Puech (1948); who also shows that the parallel passage in the Mandaean *Right Ginza* XII, 6 (278 – 282) is secondary to the *Kephalaia.*

O nce again the enlightener speaks to his disciples: Five s[to]/rehouses have arisen since the beginning in the land of darkne[ss! The] fiv[e] / elements poured out of them. Also, from the five e[le][20]ments were fashioned the five trees! Again, from the five tre[es] / were fashioned the five genera of creatures in each wor/ld, male and female. And the five worlds thems[el]ves [ha]/ve five kings therein, and five spiri[ts, five] bodies, five [tastes]; / in each world, they n[ot] resembling [one another]!

[25] The King of the world of Smoke [...] / who came up from the depth of [darkness; this is he who is] / the head of all wickedness, and [all] mal[ignity]. The beginning of / the spread of the war occured [thr]ough him; all the battl[es], / fights, quarrelling, dan[ger]s, destructions, f[i][30]ghts, wrestling-contests! That is the o[ne who fir]st [made] arise [dan]/ger and war, with his worl[ds and his] powers. Af[te]/rwards, also, he waged war with the light. H[e pitched] a battle wi[th] / the exalted kingdom.

Now, regar[ding the King] of Darkness, / there are five shapes on him! His head [is lion-faced; his] [35] hands and feet are demo[n- and devil]-faced; [his] / shoulders are eagle-faced; while h[is] belly [is dragon-faced]; (**31**) his tail is fish-faced. These five shapes, the marks of his / [fi]v[e] worlds, exist on the King of the realms of Darkness! /

Now, [th]ere are five other properties*[11] in him. The first is his / [dark]ness. The second is his putridity. The third is [5] h[i]s ugliness. The fourth is his bitterness, his own soul. / The fifth is his burning, which burns like an / iron {}*[12] as if poured out from fire. /

[There are] also th[r]ee oth[ers] in him! The first, that hi[s body / is ha]rd and very tough, even as she has formed him [...] cru[10][el-hear]ted; namely Matter, who is the though[t] of death, / [the o]ne w[ho] sculpted him from the nature of the land of dark/ness. T[his] is the manner [of] the body of the ruler of Sm[oke]. He is h/[ar]der than every [ir]on, copper and steel and / [lea]d; as there is no cleaver at all, nor any iron implement, can [15] [...] him and cut him. For Matter, his fashioner, has formed him / [...] strong and hard.

The second, that he wounds / [an]d kills by the word of his magic arts. His recitation and / hearing, all his foolish instruction, make magic / and invocations for him. When it pleases him, he can make an invocation [20] [o]ver himself, and by his magic arts be hidden from his compan/[ions]. Again, when it [plea]ses him, he can be manifested over his powers / [and] appear to [them]; so that these enchantments nowadays, which peo/[ple] utilise (?) [...] this world, are the mysteries / [of] the King of Da[rkness]. Concerning this, I command you (pl.) [25] all the [ti]me: K[ee]p away from the magic arts and enchantments / [of] darkness! For any person who will be taught them, / and who [d]oes and accompl[ishes them]; at the last, in the place wh[ere] will be bound the King / [of] the realms of Darkness with his powers, there they will bind t/[ha]t one also, [the s]oul of whoever has lived freely among them and [30] [wal]ked in the

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*[11] Read ⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁ (W.- P. Funk).
*[12] ⲡⲉⲓⲱ

[magic ar]ts of error. Whether it is a man or a / [woman, this is] the sentence given, cut / [... f]rom God's judgement, that whoever will / [...] with their King.

(**32**) The third, that the King of the realms of Darkness knows the [co]/nverse and language of his five worlds. He understands / every thing he hears from their mouths, as they address one / another; each one of them in his language. [Every] design [5] they will consider against him, every snare they d/ebate with one another to bring upon him, he knows them! / He can also understand the gesturing they signal / between one another. Yet, his powers and his rulers, / who are s[ub]ject to him, can not understand his wordy converse. While all these things [10] are unveiled to him; still, their heart is not manifested to him. He k[n]/ows not their mind nor their thought; he can not ponder their / beginning and their end. Rather, he only knows and ap/prehends what is before his eyes. /

Also, another different thing is found in the King of [the] realms of Darkness! [15] For when it pleases him to move, he spreads all his limbs / out and walks. When it comes to mind, he with[draws] / his limbs and takes them in, and is rolled (?) to / his companions; and he falls to the ground like a grape and a / great iron ball! He terrifies by his cry, [20] he is frightful. He frightens his powers with his [s]ound; bec[a]/use when he speaks, being like thunder / in the clouds, he resembles the [...] of the rocks [...] / When he cries out and [...] and calls [...] / over his powers, they shall tremble and to[tter a]nd fall under f[oot];[25] even as some birds would be [...] the bird [... / ...] and they fall down to the earth. Still, [thi]s thing only: / he knows not what is far from him, he sees not w[ho is at] / a distance, nor does he hear him. Rat[her], whoever is befo[re] / his face he sees, hea[ri]ng him and [30] knowing him.

These sign[s a]nd these evil mar/ks are found in the chief of the d[e]mons and / fiends, the King of all the mountains of Darkne[ss ... the one] to [whom] / the land of darkness has given birth, be[gotten in its cru]/elty, in its wickedness and its wrath [...] (**33**) more than all his fellow rulers, who are in all his worlds. /

Gold is the body of the King of the realms of Darkness. / The

body of all the powers who belong to the world of Sm/oke is gold. And also, the taste of its fruits is s[5]alty. The spirit of the King, of the realms of Darkness, is this one who reigns / today in the principalities and authorities of the earth and the entire un/iverse. I mean these who reign over the entire creation, / humiliating mankind with tyranny, according to their heart's desire. /

In contrast, the King of the worlds of Fire is lion-faced, the fore[10]most of all the beasts. Copper is his bo[dy]. Again, [the bo]/dy of all the rulers who belong to Fire is copper. / Their taste is the sour taste that is in every form. / Also, the spirit of the King, of they that belong to the world of Fire, is this one / who reigns i[n the] greater ones and the leaders; who are under [15] the command of the principalities and authorities and the kings of the wo/rld. Also a spirit of his is found in these sects / that worship [fi]re, as their sacrifices are offered to fire. /

Again, the King of the wor[l]d[s] of Wind is eagle-face. His / body is iron. Also, the body of all they who belong to [20] the Wind is iron. Their taste is the sharp taste th/at is in every form. His spirit is the one of idolat/ry to the spirits of error who are in every temple, the sit[es] of ido/[l]s, the sites of statue- and image-worship, the shrines o/[f the] error of the world.

[25] For his part, [the K]ing of the w[o]rld of Water is fish-face. His / body is silv[er]. All the other rulers who belong to Water, / silver is their body. Also, the taste of their fruit is / [the] sweetness of water, the sweet taste that is in every (form). / Again, the spirit of the King, of the rulers of Water, is this one who r[30]eigns today in the sects of error; these that / [d]ip the baptism of the waters, (setting) their hope / [and] their tru[st] in the baptism of the waters. /

Again, [the Kin]g of the [wor]ld of Darkness is a dragon. His / [body is lead] and tin. All the other rulers [35] [who belong to the world of] Darkness, their body is lead and (**34**) tin. And also, the taste of their fruits is bitt/erness. Again, the spirit who reigns in them is the spirit / who speaks till today in the soothsayers, giving oracl[es]; / in the givers of portents, every typ[e]; in they who are poss[5]essed; and the other spirits that give oracles, every type. /

Concerning this I tell you, my [bret]hren and my li/mbs, the perfect faithful, the holy elect: / Hold your heart close to you, and you stay away from the / five enslavements of the five dark spirits. Put [10] behind you the service of their five bodies. Li/ve not in them, that you may break loose their chain / and their chastening for ever!

••• 7 •••

(34,13 – 36,26)

/ The Seventh, concerning [15] *the Five Fathers. /*

This is one of the best known of the kephalaia, due to its full and ordered account of the evocation of various Manichaean divinities. However, it is important to note that the schema of the 'five fathers' is not an archetypal classification prior to all the other theological taxonomies evident throughout the texts; but, rather, only a partial and conditioned representation of the overall system. Thus, temporally, the Third Ambassador is the principal divinity of the third evocation (redemption). In the first evocation (descent) the Father summons the Mother of Life, who then calls forth the First Man and his five sons. In the second (creation) it is the Beloved of the Lights, and then the Living Spirit and his five sons. Kephalaion 7 is concerned with the sequence from the Father through the Ambassador; and its purpose is, therefore, the emanation of the divinities from the aspect of redemption.

Once again the enlightener, our father [the] apostle of / truth, is sitting in the midst of his disciples and pr/eaching to them of the greatnesses of God. Again, he speaks t/o them like this, in his revelation: Five fathers [20] exist, they were summoned forth one of one. [Also], one did come / out of another!

The first Father is the Father of Grea/tness, the blessed one of glory, the [on]e who has no measure to his gr[ea]/tness; who also is the first o[n]ly begotten, the f[i]/rst eternal; who exists with fiv[e fa]thers for ever; [25] the one who exists before every thing that has existed, and th/at will exist.

Now he, the glorious Father, summon[ed] from him / three emanations. The [fi]rst is the Gre[at] / Spirit, the first Mother, who came out of the Father. She app/eared first.

The seco[nd i]s the Belo[ved of] [30] the Lights, the great glori[ous] Beloved, [the one w]ho is honour[ed; w]/ho came out of the Father. [He ma]nifested ou[t of h]im. /

The third father*[13] is the Thir[d Ambassador], / the eldest of [al]l the counsell[ors; who came out of] (**35**) the first Father. He appeared.

This is the first Father, / the first power, the one from whom the three great powers came out, / This is the first Father, the first eternal, the root / of all the lights; from whom the three emanations came out. [5] They have humiliated the darkness. They have brought its heart's desire to naught. They have / given themselves the victory. They have also given the victory to their aeons. /

The second father, who came out of the first Father, is the Th/ird Ambassador, the model of the King of lights. / And again, he too summoned and sent out of him thr[10]ee powers.

One is the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man; / the one who bears up under all things; the great Pillar / of blessing; the great porter, who is greater than all the po/rters.

The second is glorious Jesus the Splendour; / [the] one through whom shall be given life eternal.

The th[15]ird is the Virgin of Light, the glorious wisd[o]m; the on/e who takes away the heart of the [rul]ers and the powers by her image, as she fulfi/lls the pleas[u]re of the greatness. /

The third father, who came out of the second father; h/e is glorious Jesus the Splendour. And, again, he too summoned [20] three evocations after the pattern of the second father. /

The first power whom he summoned is the Light Min[d], / the father of all the apostles, the eldest of [a]ll the [ch]urches; / the one whom Jesus has appointed corresponding to our pattern in the holy chur/ch.

The second power whom Jesus summo[25][n]ed is the gre[at

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*[13] Textual error: the Ambassador is the second father, but the third emanation of the first Father.

Jud]ge, who gives judgement on all the souls / [of] mankind, [his] dwelling being established in the atmosphere under [... / ...] wheel [...] stars.

The third power is / [the Y]outh, the gre[at ...] light in his two pers/ons, in [...], I am speaking about that which has been established [30] [i]n the summons [and] the obedience. [He] too [stood] with his fa[ther / the] king [...] the savio[ur ...] seen, as he tells / [...] I, what I have seen with my Father, / [I tell to] you. For yourselves, what you have seen / [with your fath]er, do that*[14].

(**36**) The fourth father is the Light Mind, the one who chooses all the / churches. And, again, he too summoned three / powers after the pattern of Jesus.

The first power is the Apostle / of Light; the one who shall on occasion come and assume the chur[5]ch of the flesh, of humanity; and he becomes inner leader of ri/ghteousness.

The second is the counterpart, who shall come to the apo/stle and appear to him, becoming companion to him, / sticking close to him everywhere; and providing help to him all the time, from / all afflictions and dangers.

The third [10] is the Light Form; the one whom the elect and the ca/techumens shall receive, should they renounce the world. /

And also the fifth father is this Light Form; the one who / shall appear to everyone who will g[o] out from his bo/dy, corresponding to the pattern of the image to the apostle; and the thr[ee] [15] great glorious angels who are come with her.

One (angel) ho[ld]/s the prize in his hand. The second bears the light garment. / The third is the one who possesses the diadem / and the wreath and the crown of light. These are the thr/ee angels of light, the ones who shall come with this Light Form; [20] and they appear with her to the elect and the / catechumens.

These are the five fathers who have come out / of one another. They have appeared and man[ifes]ted through one ano/ther!

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*14 Jn. 8:38

Blessed is he who will know and understand th[em]! / For he may find life eternal; and receive these light garments [25] that shall be given to the righteous, [the faithful], the givers of peace, / and the doers of good things.

••• 8 •••

(36,27 – 37,27)

/ Concerning the Fourteen Vehicles / that Jesus has boarded. /

The fourteen vehicles correspond to the stations through which Jesus passes as he descends deeper into matter for the purpose of salvation; and to the divine elements that he assumes and thus sanctifies in this descent. The listing of the ten 'carriages in the zone' reverses an order most familiar in accounts of the ascent of the light elements, the qualities of the living soul, as they pass through the redemptive process of summons and obedience, and finally ascend perfected from the Pillar to the moon and thence to the sun (see 71).

[30] Once again, the light-man speaks to the congregati[on that] is sitting in front of / him: When Jesus the son of greatness [came] to these world[s], / at the time that he unveiled the greatness, [he boarded ten] / vehicles! He journeyed in the universe [by them]. /

The first vehicle is the ligh[t] ship, [since] [35] he received instructions from the Ambassador [there].

(**37**) The second carriage is the ship of the First Man, sin/ce his dwelling is established there. /

The third is the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man, sin/ce he shone forth there. He came below, he appeared in the wo[5]rld.

The fourth is the summons that he clothed / upon his body. The fifth is the obedience that he swathed / upon the summons.

The sixth is the living air, and since / he assumed it too, he received anointment there. / The seventh is the living wind that blows. The eighth [10] is the light that illuminates. The ninth is the living w/ater. The tenth is the living fire that is above them all. /

He was journeying in these ten carriages among all the orders and / all the [...], those above and those below. /

After he had assumed these ten, he came and manifested in the [15] flesh. He chose the holy church in four vehic/les. One is all the holy brothers. The second is the / pure sisters. The third is all the catechumens, / the sons of the faith. The fourth is the catechu/-mens, the daughters of the light and truth.

These ten carria[20]ges that he boarded in the zone, and the other four that are in the flesh, / they complete and make fourteen carriages! He has done in them / the pleasure of his Father. He has made alive, has redeemed, and given the victory to / [th]ese who are his. Conversely, [h]e has killed, bound, and destroyed / they who are strangers to him. He has given glory to the Father who sent him, [25] and the entire kingdom of life. Blessed is he who will k/now these mysteries; for he will count to the portion of Jesus, / the son of greatness.

••• 9 •••

(37,28 – 42,23)

/ The Explanation of the Peace, what it is; [30] the Ri[gh]t Hand; the Kiss; the Salutation. /

The ritual actions that occur in human society, and which Mani has instituted in his church, are presented as reenactments of divine archetypes. Mani's lesson is carefully structured, and provides many important details and insights into Manichaean doctrine and church practice.

38.13 – 39.9 The descent of the First Man from the land of light was a favourite theme. Full of the pathos of loss and estrangement, it is in a very real sense the story of each soul. Thus, this text makes much of the familial love and care within the divine household.

39.10 – 40.19 Once the sacrifice of the First Man has been achieved, he is saved by the Living Spirit and returns to the kingdom. This establishes and sanctifies the process of redemption; and, while it occurs at the beginning of the history, it also anticipates the triumphant return at the end of time of the collectivity of the divine, with the First Man at their head, to enter the new aeon.

40.24 – 41.10 Now that the primordial archetypes have been established, Mani immediately relates them to the individual's experience and the practice of the church.

41.11 – 25 Mani then utilises the symbols to focus on the glorious hope offered to the victorious soul, when it meets the Light Form and receives its prizes.

41.26 – 42.23 The lesson ends with the injunction to its hearers to honour and practice this divine teaching.

[O]nce again the disciples questioned the apostle, saying / [to him]: This peace and this greeting that occur in the world, / [from w]hom [did they come fo]rth? Or likewise, the right hand that occurs in / [the world, it being h]onoured by mankind, of whom is it? Or the my[35][stery of the ki]ss that they embrace one another with, / [...]? Or who is the one that reveals this (38) salutation with which they make obeisance to one another? Or this laying on of h/ands, which an immensely great one bequeaths upon his inferior, / giving him an honour and making him great; of / whom is this laying on of hands?

Then he says to his disciples: [5] You have questioned me about these five lessons. Now, they are display/ed in the world as miniatures, being made little; / and yet indeed they are great and honoured. I am the one who can reveal to y/ou their mystery! So, these five signs / are the mystery of the First Man. He came forth wit[10]h them from the aeon of light. Also, when he finished / his contest, he went up with these good signs. / They received him into the aeons of light. /

The first peace is the one that the gods and the [an]gels in the land / of light gave to the First Man; when he comes [15] out against the enemy. The gods and the angels / were walking with him; escorting him, giving to him their peace and / power, and their blessing and fortification. This is the first / peace that the gods and the angels gave to the First / Man; as he comes forth from the aeon of light.

[20] The first right hand is the one that the Mother of Life gave to the First Ma/n; when he comes out to the contest. /

The first kiss is this one with which the Moth[er] of Life embrac/ed the First Man; as he separates from her, coming / down to the contest. Even all the gods and the [an][25]gels who are in the aeons of light were making to em[br]ace him! [...] / all of them also, and the church tutelaries (?), and the kinsf[olk w]/ho

belong to the household of his people. They were making to embrace him as [he] / separates from them, accompanying him out, em[bracing] / him with the kiss of affection and love.

30 The first salutation is the salutation with which the F[ir]st Ma[n] / made obeisance; when he comes ou[t to the depths] / below. He was bending his kn[ees, making obeisance] / to the God of truth, and all the aeons [of light] (**39**) who belong to the household of his people; entreating them for a power to / escort him*15, as he comes forth. /

The first laying on of hands is the one that the Mother of Life bequeathed upon / the head of the First Man. She armed him and made him 5 mighty. She laid hands on him, and sent him to the battle. He des/cended. He completed his struggle with the great powers and the en/mity.

By the[se] five signs and these five myst[e]ri/es the First Man came forth from the aeons of light / against the enemy. He humbled him. He was victorious against him by [th]em.

10 Also, when he ascended from the w[a]r, he came i[n] / to the kingdom of the household of his people by these five mysteri/es!

The peace with which h[e ascen]ded is the peace that the / summons gave to him, [w]hen it was sent forth from the [Fa]ther of L/ife. It gave him the peace in the world of darkness. 15 Also, that peace with which he descended is th/[e sam]e as the one with which he ascended from the struggle! Therefore, appropriate to the my/[s]tery of that peace, which the summons gave / the First Man, did this peace here and now come about. / It was named and heard among the powers of the Father.

Again, this 20 second right hand is the one that the Living Spirit gave the First / Man, when he [brou]ght him upward out from the struggle. Appropriate to / [the] mystery [of t]hat right hand this right hand has come about; / the one that occurs in the [midst of] mankind, as they give it to their companions, / [it b]eing honoured and [...]

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*15 Perhaps the angel Nahashbat referred to in the account of Theodore bar Konai *Lib Schol.* XI.

Also, this second ki[25][s]s is the one with which the [Father o]f Life and the Mother of the living / embraced the F[irst] Man, when he ascended / from the struggle. Again, this kiss occurs among / mankind, as they make to embrace their companions with it; whether then [they] / go away from home and be far from their friends, or else [30] [if] they approach one another, according to the mystery of (the First Man). /

[The] second [s]alutation with which the First Man made obeisance / [... this] time to the God of truth and / [...] the blessed aeons and al[l] the aeons / [... the] whole [land] of light, whe[n] (**40**) the Father of Life and the Mother of the living brought / the Man upward from the abyss of the struggle. Appropriate to the myste/ry of the second salutation this salutation has come about; this one / that occurs today in the midst of mankind, as they make obeisance to one [5] another, doing an honour to their companions.

The second / laying on of hands is this: When the Living Spirit brought the First / Man upward from the war, he saved him from / all the surging waves. He brought him upward, he gave him ease in the great / aeons of light, which belong to the household of his people. [10] He set [him] firmly before the Father, the Lord of the totality. / Now, when he went up before the great Father of the / lights, a voice came forth to him from the heights, saying: / Make my son, my first-born, to sit at my right hand side, until I / set all his enemies for a footstool under his feet.*[16] [15] He received this great laying on of hands that he may become leader / of his brethren in the new aeon. Again, appropriate to the myster/y of the second laying on of hands, this laying on of hands has come / about; the one that occurs in the midst of mankind as they lay hands on one / another, the great giving authority to the lesser.

These five myste[20]ries and these five signs came about first in the divi/ne. They were proclaimed in this world by an [a]postle. Ma[nk]/ind has been taught them; and they have instituted them in their mids[t ... but] these myster[ies] wer[e] / not at the beginning amongst the / powers of darkness.

The Light Mind al[so], who co[mes] [25] to the world, shall come

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*[16] Mk. 12:36

with these several mark[s]. With these five / lessons he shall choose his church.

First, before / everything else, he chooses his church with peace. / And he gives the peace first to mankind; so that the person receives / the peace, and becomes a child of peace. Afterwards he is elected [30] to the faith. Now, when he may receive the peace, he shall receive [the rig]/ht hand and count to the right hand. Then, whe[n he receives] the right hand, / the Light Mind s[h]all draw him to him, and cause [him] to app[roach the ch]/urch.

With the right hand he receives the k[iss of lo]/ve and becomes a child of the c[hurch ...] (**41**) With the kiss he shall receive salutation, and make obeisance to the God / of truth. Also, he makes obeisance to the holy church [...] / the hope of the faith, good works.

When they / will receive the peace and the right hand, the kiss and the salutation, [5] the last of these things shall be bequeathed upon them from the right hand of charity. They / too [receive] the laying on of hands, which will be bequeathed upon them. A/nd they are conformed and built up in the truth, and made strong in it for eve/r. They shall come in to the Light Mind with these good signs; / and become fulfilled people. They make obeisance and [10] [give] glory to the God of truth. /

[On]ce again: At the time of their coming forth, the Light Form / shall come forth before them; and she redeems them from the darkness to the li/ght [...] This Light Form calms the per/son, with the kiss and her quiet, from fear of the [15] demons w[ho de]-stroy his body. By her asp[ec]t and her im/age [the] heart of the elect one, who is come forth from his bo/[d]y, shal[l] be calm for [him]. Afterwards, the angel who h[o]lds the victo/ry prize extends to him the right hand. And it draws him out of / the abyss of his body, and accepts him in with the [k]iss [20] and love. That soul shall make obeisan[ce] to its red/eemer, who is this Light Form. And also, at the inst[ant / when ...] he shall be perfected and increased according to [... / ...] in the household of the living ones, with the go/[ds] and the angel[s] and all the apostles and the chosen. [25] [An]d he receives the crown [...] glory in the life for ever. /

[Concern]ing this I tell you, my brethren and my limbs: / [L]et you (sg.) find these fi[ve signs] in your hands, honoured before / [ea]ch one of [yo]u. They are: the peace; the right hand; the k/[i]ss; the sa[luta]tion; and the laying on of hands. I have brought this [30] [to] you from the household of the living, out from the Father who / [se]nt me.

[Hap]pen you know, that a great myster/[y ...] him, by these five signs that I have brought / [...] you may part from the world, beca/[use ...] you have understood about the first (**42**) peace and the first right hand and the first kiss / [and] the first salutation and the first laying on of hands.

Therefore, le/t them find this laying on of hands being esteemed in your presence; as you give / honour, and make obeisance to the teachers and the deacons and the presby[5]ters, they whom I have laid hands on. I have bequeathed upon them the great / laying on of hands; because they are set in a great myste/[r]y, the laying on of hands of the divine, which is bequeathed upon the h/ead of the teacher. Now, whoever will reject and dis[da]in i/t, and it is made nothing by him: he commits sin subject to God, with gre[at] [10] sin; and also against me too. /

Still, you, my beloved ones, hasten in to these five / [...] you, and you [... / ...] fulfill at these occasions [... / ...] wishes he may answer you [... [15] ...] as he told y[ou ... / ... / ...] that are in the storehouses of [... / ...] your (pl.) heart [...] them, for he [... / ...] which is set right by you [...] each [one [20] ...] listen to him. He knows [ev]ery deed that you d/o, all of them, [...] with your companions [...] this [... / ...] he turns to you [...] and he [...] / from you the afflictions of [...]

••• 10 •••

(42,24 – 43,21)

[25] *Concerning the Interpretation of the Fourteen [great A]eons, / about which Sethel has spoken in [his P]rayer. /*

Mani regarded Seth as the first in the line of true apostles (12.9 – 11); and the various references to him in Manichaean texts show some dependence

upon prior gnostic traditions. The *Cologne Mani-Codex* quotes from an unknown apocalypse of Seth (pp. 50 – 52). The question about the prayer of Seth in this kephalaion may well indicate such a tradition.

However, Mani provides his own interpretation consistent with his revealed teaching. The fourteen great aeons of light are: the five elements or sons of the First Man; the call and the hearing; the five sons of the Living Spirit; the two respective fathers. The fragmentary final section (43.10 – 21) seems to indicate that these fourteen underpin the visible universe; and that the Ambassador, as the principal god of redemption, has become their leader and king after the image of the first eternal Father.

Once again the disciples question the apostle. They sa[y] to him: We be[seech] / you, our master, that you may enlighten us a[bou]t this lesson that is wr[itten / in] the prayer of Sethel, the first-born son of [Ad]am. As he says: [30] 'You are glorious, you fourteen great [ae]ons of [lig]/ht'. Tell us, our master, what are the [f]ourteen grea[t / a]eons of light?

Then the enlighte[ner speaks / to the]m: I am the one who will interpret for you [the fourteen] / great aeons of light abou[t] which he has spoken!

[35] Happen you know this, that the [... (**43**) ...] below abide in fourteen [great aeons /...] the five elements, the sons of the First / Man, together with the call and the hearing. They anoint them, / living in them. These shall make seven, five plus two. [5] [... the] f[ive s]ons of the Living Spirit who / [support] all [the wei]ght of the universe; together with the [Li]vi[ng] Spirit / [and the Fir]st Man, their fathers. These are the fourt/een p[raises that he has] proclaimed, the praise that is made of fourteen / pra[yers], by which the universe is established.

[10] [There are fourt]een aeons of light [...] / of Seth[el ...] about them in his prayer, for they are expl[ai]ned / [... the la]nd that is not revealed. This land [... /... is estab]lished. They bore up under the enemy [... / ... equa]ls them. The hidden plenitude that [... [15] ...] the Ambassador who came from the Father, the [... / ...] He came and stood firm in the midst of these [...] / he is called the good father of [all] the ae[ons and gods] / who are holy and conjoined. He has become leader and a / great king after the likeness of the first Father, the lord of all these cou[nse[20]ls]. This universe is held together by their will / [...] to the end of all things. /

••• 11 •••

(43,22 – 44,18)

/ [Concerning the Interpretation of] all [the] Fathers of / [Light], who are distinguished from one another.

Summary of the characteristics of principal divinities; perhaps for catechetical instruction.

25 [O]nc]e again [the enlig]htener speaks: Happen you know, / [m]y beloved ones, that [the beginn]ing of every good grace is the / [gr]eat Father of the [ligh]ts; since [a]ll [graces] are given by his hand. /

The beginning of each blessing and every prayer / is the Mother of [L]ife, the first Holy Spirit.

30 Also, [the] beginning [of] every good [co]unsel is the T[h/i]rd Am[bassad]or, the king of the glorious realm that lies in this / [wo]rld, [...] of the King of the lights.

The beginning of / [... and] each [hono]ur (?) is the Beloved of the Lights, who is honour/[ed.

The beginning of a]ll [the trappers] and hunters is the First 35 [Man.

... of] all fighters is (**44**) [the] Living [Spirit], the Father of Life, who has distribu[ted about] / his five sons from place to place.

The beginning of all the archit[e]/cts and builders is the Great Builder, who is glo/rious.

Also, the first of all the porters of the gr[e]^{5}a[tness is the Pillar of Glory ... / ...]

The beginning of [all] the deliverers [is Jesus the Splendour]; / or the one who delivers, as he frees whoever belongs [...] / from his words.

The beginning of every wisdom of / truth is the Virgin of Light, [...]

[10] [The beginning of] all [the great]est honoured ones [...] / is the Light Mind; who is the awakene[r of they] / who sleep, the gatherer in of the ones who are sc[att]ered. /

Blessed is he who shall lodge this treasure within hi[m, and] fasten [the knowledge] / of these fathers in his heart! For they a[re] the [root (?) of] [15] all the lights, and such as belong to all life; as [...] / of all souls beside them.

Blessed is he who wi[ll kn]/ow them, and continue in their belief, that he may inh/erit with them eternal life for ever.

••• 12 •••

(44,19 – 45,15)

[20] *Concerning the Interpretation of the Five Words that are / proclaimed {} [*17] / in the Univer[se]. /*

These five words appear to be the divine names used by other sects. Mani explains their significance by equating them with the appropriate Manichaean divinities. Mani was himself brought up in an Elchasaite community; and the *Kephalaia* makes a number of references to contemporary groups such as Baptists, Nazoreans, and Purified Ones (Catharioi). However, the exact identity of and relationship between these diverse Jewish-Christian sects remains unclear. The First and the Second Life are characteristic Mandaean terms.

Once again the disciples [questioned the apostle. They say to] / him: Recount to us, our master, of these five words that are procl[aim][25]ed in the sect of the Baptis[ts ... they] / occur in other sects. [Also, thei]r name is proclaimed by they [w]/ho are called 'Purified Ones', as they say this '[First] / Life' and the 'Second Life' [... / ...] make a heart together with the mind [...] and the l[aw [30] ... /

... / ...] / call it by this name is the Father, the l[ife ...] / this unnameable, whom no one [... [35] ...] his name.

The second [word is the Thi(**45**)r]d Ambassador [...] / of life, whom they also call the father of [... / ... / ...] [5] the first Father.

[*17] ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲗⲉⲗⲟⲩⲑ

The law [...] / living [...] law of the good and the evil ones. / For it, it was given victory by the aeons of lig[ht against the en]/mity. It humbled the rebels [... / ... their] [10] essence and their universe. It overcame*[18] th[em ... t]/hem in th[is b]order until the end time.

[... / ...] the powers [...] the universe is established [... / ... al]l of them are a single living body / [... [15] ...] against one another.

••• 13 •••

(45,16 – 46,12)

/ Concer[ning] the Five Saviours, the Resurrectors / of they who are Dead; together with the Five Resurrections. /

Chapter 12 has begun a series of kephalaia connected only by their pentadic structure.

[O]nce again [the] enlightener speaks: [...

[24] ... i][25]t therein [...] /

[The] sec[ond resurrector is ... / ...] /

And [the] third resurrector is the father, the first [... / ... b]ecause by his word shall a[ll] lives [30] [...] gather in and go to him, and they receive / [...] and re[s]t. /

[The fourth res]urrector is the Light Mind, becau/[se ... (**46**) ... / ...]

The fifth resurrector to the good [... / ...] is the Father, the first [es]tablis[he]d on[e / ...] all the powers, and [he] stands fir[m [5] ...] he shall unveil the [...] over them / [...] and he draws them to him [... / ...] his will [...] and he / [...] them, and he stands them u/[p ...] there, and they remain until [10] [...]

Bl[es]sed is every one who / [...] day of / [...] complete [...] for ever. /

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*[18] Reading ϲωτ‹ⲡ›

••• 14 •••

(46,13 – 47,21)

/ The Interpretation [of] the S[i]lence, the Fast, [the Peace], 15 *the Day, [and] the Rest; [what] they are. /*

Mani provides cosmological archetypes for the ritual practices of the church.

[O]nc]e again the discipl[es] questioned the enli[gh]tener. They say to h[im: Re/coun]t to us of the five [le]sso[ns] that [a]re proclaimed in the [wo/r]ld, [one] being cal[le]d [...] 'the peace', another called '[the] / silence', [...] another 'the day', ano[ther 20 ... We implore you, our] father, that you may p[/roclaim ...

28 ...] the gatherer in [... / ...] then he shall cau[se] the body [...] 30 all the lusts of the world [... / ...] of the body in righteousness [... / ...] is the Pill[a]r of Gl[or]y [... / ...] because [... (**47**) ... / ...] up to the [... / ...]

The one they call [...] it is the / [Fi]rst [M]an who dwel[ls i]n the ship of living waters 5 [... li]ght [...] he is c[alled / ... / ... / ...] that they have [... / ...] glorious [...

10 ...] the enlighten[er ... / ... cal]l it 'day' [... / ... uni]verse as they shall [... / ... / ...] in the great aeon [... 15 ...] are spread in the universe, it is [... / ...] established in the [... / ...] and the so[uls ... / ...] /

Blessed is he [who ...] gives joy by [...] for ever. 20 The great [...] remains for ever and e[ver] / and ever.

••• 15 •••

(47,22 – 49,9)

/ [Concerning the ... / ...] Five [Parts ...] 25 *Worlds of [...] /*

The disciples ask Mani why the realm of darkness became active and death streamed forth against the light. Mani explains that the driving force is fire and lust, charged by the doubling of the evil pentad (five elements,

worlds, categories of creation or flesh) into male and female. Thus there are twelve parts (5 x 2 + fire and lust) ; corresponding to the zodiacal signs and the spirits of the evil sects.

[O nce again, the enlighten]er is sitting in the midst of his discipl[es, / explaining to them about] the great and secret matters of Go[d / ... the] two ess[e]nces. His disciples say / [to him ...]: Did death ari[se] and stand firm [30] [...] up? Or else did it turn itself from [... / ...] its armo[ur ...] in its [... / ...] but it finished [...] the tw[o / ... /

... [35] ... (**48**) ...] it moved it and [... / ...] they that are in the [... of] the earth of dark[ness /...] first part. /

Yet, after a long time, as there was not [... [5] ...] / it gushed and streamed u[p ... the five eleme]/nts of death that gushed [... / ...] which are [smoke, fire, / wind, wa]ter and dar[kness ... [10] ...] the second time [... / ... / ...] they were sculpted [...] / those in which death was established [... /

The] fourth part is the ev[il] fruits [... [15] ...] in the five trees that are in the five [worlds of] / the land of darkness. /

The fifth time it spread itself out to its creatures that exist [in the five] / worlds; the ones that were formed and generated from the fi[ve] / fruits of death. They are the five worlds of fl[20]esh, the five creations of darkness in which death has been established. It / spread itself out to ten parts, five male parts and five fem/[ale ... / ...] /

Now, like the land of darkness, in that its spirit and i[ts ...] [25] they nourished the five elements [...]; / this is also [how] the ten parts that are in [male and / fe]male, the fire and lust of the flesh[es ...] / them, as they yoke them with one another [... they were est]/ab[li]shed against the First Man. This is [... [30] ...] of the darkness, / it was condemned for ever.

Alongside the mystery of these twe/lve parts that came about in the darkness [...] / against the First Man. The twel[ve ...] / the twelve spirits of error that [came] [35] about from the twelve signs of the zodiac [... (**49**) ...] They are estab[lished agai]nst the second living man, w/ho dwells in the [h]oly chur[ch]. They pursue

him the way t/hat they pursued [... at] the beginning of the First Man in the land / of darkness.

As the First Man humiliated the darkness [5] [... / ... the li]ght th[at] dwells in the church / [...] the twelve sects. /

[...] his holy father for ever and / [ever].

••• 16 •••

(49,10 – 55,15)

/ [Concerning the Five] Greatnesses who / [went forth] against the Darkness. /

49.15 – 31 Four of the 'greatnesses' are the Father himself and the standard three series of emanations (corresponding to descent, creation, and ascent). Interestingly, Jesus the Splendour (and his powers) is given a separate place as the fifth greatness, which may be a later development of Manichaean doctrine that attempts to regulate the increasingly dominant role of this god.

49.31 – 50.6 The text remarks on the characteristic pentads of the doctrine; and then notes, in an undoubtedly forced calculation, that together with the summons and the obedience twelve major gods (not counting the series of five sons) can be counted.

50.7 – 55.15 The major part of the chapter is in effect a separate and unrelated kephalaion concerned with the advent of five divinities. The role of each is given a useful summary, and Mani develops similes to aid his hearers' understanding.

[O]nce again the enlightene]r [speaks] to his disciples: / [... the] darkness, it was defeated by five greatnesses.

[15] [The first gre]atness is the Father of Greatness who [exi/sts] in c]alm and hiddeness; as he is established in his [light] / earth, in his own essence.

Four greatnesses were mani/[feste]d and came forth of him. They were appointed to ten parts, and estab/lished in total twelve.

The second gr[20]eatness poured out and was manifested. It was revealed from the first / greatness. It is the Mother of Life, the Great Spirit. Together with / the First Man [and his] five sons; [these are the second / great]ness.

The third [greatness is the Bel/oved of the L]ights, the Great Builder, the Living Spirit, and the five [s]o[25][ns] of the Living Spirit. These are the third greatness. /

[The fou]rth greatness is the Third Ambassador, and / [the P]illar of Glory, and all the light powers who were revealed / [from him. These are the] fourth greatness. /

[The fi]fth greatne[ss] who came from the Father is Jesus the Splendour, and [30] all [h]is powers whom he summoned, his emanations who were [... / They] poured out and were manifested from him.

This is, so that they were [spre]ad out and / [...] five[s]: these five sons of the First Ma/[n ...] the entire building; another five are the five / [sons of the Living Spirit] who are spread out to five places, supporting [35] [...]

[...] total in tw(**50**)elve parts that [... There are] another two [ad]/ded to them who are the summons and [the obedien]ce. They are the father and the mother whom Jesus the Sp[lendour] by his advent has [appointed] / as successors to his place [...] the great earth [5] and the [... / ...] in them. /

[The advent ...] / of the First Man who came [... / ... [10] ...] belonging to [...] / ex[isting i]n a kingdom [...] / esteem [befo]re they who belong to his [household ... / ... / ...] his enemies [...] [15] and suffering by their wickedness; and they take from him [...] / and a richness; and they imprison [him in] / captivity and take from him their companies (?). Yet, h[e ...] / by his humility; and he takes heart and restrains his en[emy / ...] in silence.

Just as with this man, this noble [20] son whose enemies surround him; this also / is how the advent of the First Man happened, / [... rul]ers, the enemies of [the l]ight. /

In contrast, the advent of the Living Spirit and the [comman]dment that he received, / whereby [he] came upon all the rulers; it differs from that of the [25] First Man. His adv[ent ...] the advent of the F[irst] / M[an].

The advent of the Living Spirit is lik[e] / this, when he was sent

from the greatness that he might br[ing] / up the First Man. He resembles a [ju] / dge the king would send to overturn the violence to [30] that man, the noble son against whom his enem[ies] / sinned. And he, this [judge, ...] / hard and cruel [ ] and he gives the means [... by his right](51)eousness and his st[rengt]h, and he also judges all who / are condemned according to their rebellious heart, and re / pays each according to his deserts. They who are worthy of / blows he strikes with hard leather whips. Again, these [5] who are worthy of cutting off their limbs, or indeed their / [...] and he repays them accordingly. / [...] and he binds and fetters them, and hangs by / [...] and thus he does to them with a / [righteous] judgement. And he kills them to flay their skin [10] [...] so that they will be killed by a death / [...] until they die. Again, [they for] whom it is fitting / [...] to banish from their dwellings he may / [remove according to] a righteous judgement; just as they had faulted / [and sinned against] the noble son. Also, the associates in the mystery [15] [and the assis]tants of this judge, these who belong to / [him in] great strength: in an instant and / [h]aste they shall do the will of their master.

Now, just as this genuine judge, who was sent f rom the king to overturn the violence to this man, the [20] noble s[o]n, this is also the case with the Living Spirit. / He also was sent from the King of the lights / [to] over[turn] the vengeance [a]nd violence to the First Man, / against whom the King of the realms of Darkness had sinned. He faulted / [and] sinned against him, and also his rebellious powers. [Thereto]re, when (the Living Spirit) came, [25] he bore up the First Man.

Also, a[ll] the rulers, / the powers of sin who had faulted and sinned against the sons / [of] the First Man, he has judged them according to a right[e]ous judgement. / He has bound them in heaven and earth. He put each one / to the place fitting for him, he weighed each of them [30] [acco]rding to his c[ru]elty and oppression. [While] some [of] the[m] he enclosed in / [the prison, ot]hers he hung head down. Som[e ...] are crucified, others are (52) sat down all the time. Some among them are fixed be / neath their associates, restricted by a strong chain, / others he made the holders of authority over their companions / beneath, so that they may do their pleas[ure amongst these below them.

Happen you know this [...] that w[h]e[n] / the Father of Life established the judgements [...] / He was revealed to all the powers o[f darkness. He] / judged them as a [true] giver of judgement [... [10] ... / This] is the first judgement that the [Living] Spirit [gave] / the rulers [in respect of the] First Man. [Indeed, he] gave victory to the [First Man] / corresponding to his victory; [but] he condemned the [King of the realms of Darkness] / corresponding to that [by] which he had erred.

[... [15] ...] this chain, of this sort, became [...] / the earth till the en[d] time when the [universe] will be dissolved; / and it perishes in the great fire and is separated. While [the li]/ght goes to its country, the darkness remains in / [the chain] and fetter for ever.

[20] The advent also of the Third Ambassador, when he came / [to inspect] they who are imprisoned in the zone. He is / like a great king who comes and inspects cra[f/tsmen ...] and [...] and [... / ...] Also, they who are good, of the craftsmen and archi[te][25]cts and artisans whom he has there in ea[ch] / place; he shall see that [th]ey have worked well, / and have fallen to his works in their fashion. He shall rejoice with / [great joy ...] He shall thank the artisans / who have constructed his works [and completed] his orders.

[30] Now, just as this great king w[ho c]omes and insp[e]/cts his works and fortific[ation]s; so a[lso] / is the advent of the Third Amb[assa]dor. [F]o/r, when he too came, he saw [his works] / established and prepared and [...] (**53**) series of the rulers prepared and established there; / above and below, outside and w/ithin, in the great pattern that his brothers had made. / They had come before him to the contest, they who had fixed and cre[5]ated the universe before he came. He saw the gods and the / a[ng]els est[abl]ished and controlling the fortifi/[cations ...] guarding the [ent]ire ruling-power [... / ...] which his first powe[rs] had done. / [They are the F]irst Man and the [Living Spirit]; [10] a[nd the] Great [Spirit, the M]other of Life.

Therefore, when h[e s]aw / them, that they had [created] everything [with] great wisdom; / [...] as they looked he plundered (?) [.. / ...] in h[is adve]nt, by which he came, he was

un[veil]ed / to [them]. He says to the Living Spirit: 'The judgement that [you] have [... [15] ...] good, what you utt[ered ...] / you [gave to] them correspondingly; so that they were moved and raised up to that of w/h[ich t]hey were not worthy'. /

[The] advent also of Jesus the Splendour, the time when he came to [a]ll [...] / being just like a man if he is [se[20]n]t to pull out a [... / b]urn a difficult f[ig]-garden with fire. Therefore, [aga]in, / when he has [fi]rst cu[t] the bad trees with his a/[x]e and has pulled out [... / ...] and their body with his fire; so that they should not return to sprout [25] [from] this time, no[r] bear fruit bad to eat / [...] Afterwards, [he] also planted [good] plants; [the / t]ree of lif[e] that will make good fruit. /

Again, this is [like] this simile of the advent of Jesus the Splendour. / [It] happened l[ike this]; because he too set out [30] [... h]is power and his wisdom, in his / [...]-ness [... a] king and a saviour / [...] in his glorious wisdom (**54**) he destroyed them. He bound and crushed them like / the fire that shall burn and destroy trees. This is also how / he performed his will in the zone, / among the many powers; until he reached the form [5] of the flesh of Adam and Eve, the first humans. [He perfected] / his will in Eve, he [... He a]lso [gave / h]ope to Adam, and the g[ood] news [...] / glorious [...] He went up to [the heights ... / ... of li]ght.

T[hen the summons and the obed][10]ience, the great counsel that came [to] the el[emen]ts, / which are set in conjunction. It [mixed w]ith them, i[t was es]tabl/ished [i]n silence. It bears u[p ...] un[til the end t]i/me when it can arise and stand f[ir]m in the g[reat] fi/re. It will gather to it its own soul, and sc[ul]p[15]t it in the Last Sta[t]ue. You will a[ls]o find it / sweeps out and casts from it the polluti[on] / that is foreign to it. However, the life and the li[gh]t / that are in all things it gathers in to it, and builds / upon its body. The time when this Last Statue [20] will be perfect in all its limbs, then it can become free / and ascend from that great struggle thr[ough] / the Living Spirit its father, the one who comes and brings a [... l]/imb. He brings it up from within this gathering(?), the melting do[wn] / and destruction of all things.

Now, th[is co][25]unsel, tha[t] summons <and> obedience, resembles / thus cooled butter. If a pers[o]n will take an[d s/e]t it in

hot milk, it melts [dow]n and soak[s] / in with this hot milk. It m[elts] in another [time / i]n silence and quiet to the mids[t ...] [30] yet also, of the power and the taste of this m[ilk ...] / is drawn to (the butter), and (the milk) sets and becomes [cold ...] / in [...] and the [... this mi](55)lk it shall clarify and discard. However, the oil and the grea/se and the 'beauty' of the [m]ilk it shall gather in to it. /

Again, this too is what the advent of / that thought is like; the counsel of life, which [5] is the summons and [o]bedience that came to the el[e]ments. / This is the one that at the end c[an a]rise and stand firm, and will gather / [i]n to it all [the] lives, a[nd] the light that has / [remai]ned behind [in] everything. It can bui[ld] them upon / [it]s body, it will [gath]er them in to it [... [10] ...] in its im[ag]e for ever and ever [... / ...] from this time.

B[l]essed is / every one w[ho will be]lieve in these five advents and [b]e confir[med / in the] knowledge. [He will come to] the heights and be saved [... / ...] and not be counted [... [15] ...]

••• 17 •••

(55,16 – 57,32)

/ The Chapter of the / Thr[ee] Seasons. /

Manichaeism designated itself as the religion 'of the two principles and the three times (or seasons)'. The two principles are light and darkness; and the three times are the beginning, the middle and the end.

In Manichaean tradition there are two primary ways of delineating the three times. Often the whole of history, the time of mixture, is encapsulated in the middle period between the twin eternities before and after its events. Alternatively, as in this kephalaion, the history itself is separated into three: descent, creation, redemption.

It is notable that the primeval events when the First Man is in the land of darkness, before the construction of the universe, cover the longest span. In contrast, the entirety of human history, from the fashioning of Adam and Eve 'after the image of God (the Ambassador)' to the final redemption, occurs in the third period. Thus, it is all eschatological.

O[n]ce again the apostle speaks to his disciples: Fr[om] [20] the time when the light came forth and was crucified in the dark-

ness; / [t]o the season when the Statue will ascend an[d] / the entire light, w[hic]h was conjoined with the darkness, will be puri[fied] and c[lean/sed]. He [s]ays: [Fr]om that time on, [from tha]t time / to the season of the end totals three seasons.

[Thre]e season[s from] the time when the First Man / [went] down to the abyss, and waged the war and the struggle / [against] the King of the realms of [Dark]ness and his other powers. He was victorious, / [whi]le h[is sons remain behi]nd with them in the worlds [... / ...] in the [...] until he shall catch all of them [... he bou]nd them all up, so that not one o[f / them escaped] his hand. He won a great victory [... / ... The First] Man spent human lifetimes and / [generations in the land] of darkness, until he prevailed / [...] (**56**) he fulfilled the will of the greatness that was [commanded] / of him.

Then they sent the Living Spirit, the Father [o]f / Life. He brought the First Man up from the struggle, he / [brought him up to the] land of light. This is the first peri[o]d, from the descen[t] of the First Man / to his ascent. /

The second seas[o]n is from the time [when the F]irst [Ma]/n ascen[d]ed. The Living Spirit came, an[d the] Mother of [Life. / They set in order the th]ings o[f] the univer[se, they] set u[p ... the Father of] / Life [an]d the Mother of the living set in order [... / ...] the u[n]iverse, up to the moment when they go out / [...] it was reckoned to the second season. /

[...] the universe [... ...] the Third Ambassador spread [... / ...] that is in the [...] living; he [... / he separated] beauty from all the powers and scooped [it up] / to the heights, he swept the waste to the abyss, and he [... / ...] Now, from the moment when the Ambassador revealed his image he purified the light. Sin spur[ted] / up towards him. He hid his image. Sin came / [...] from [the dark]ness. It sculpted the trees and the abortion[s fe/l]l down. Afterwards they sculpted Adam a[nd Eve] / in the flesh. Until the moment when Jesus wa[s se]nt and he [... ...] as he performed there h[is w]ill. He gave the [hop]/e to Adam, and ascended to the heig[hts]. /

Now, from the time when the Ambassador [displayed] his

ima[ge] / until the season when [the Sta]tue will [as]/cend at the end, shall be reckoned to the t[hird sea]son.

[30] T[hen] the disciples asked the apost[le ... / ...] / with each other in the ligh[t] earth [... / ...

The apost]/le says to them [... (**57**) ... / ...] lasts long in the time t[hat the] First [Man spent in the wo]/rld of darkness. It is a very great count [of t]ime [more] / than the (other) two seasons!

His discipl[e]s say to h[im: The] [5] first season, wh[ic]h the First Man spent in the [world of] dark/ness, is how mu[ch] longer than the time that this univer[se has been? While it is / es]tablished?

[He replies to them]: If you should say th[at ... / ...] it is small, if y[ou] sho[uld ... / ...] to him [...] and [y]ou consult [... [10] ...] you will tel[l] him: Twe[nty times]! / [It is grea]ter again in this other one that you will c[onsult]. / Th[ir]ty times! Less also is this other o[ne ... / ...] people will receive the {}*[19] of the trees [... / ...] the years and the generations [... [15]...] earth to the heights. This is [...

This / is] the third period, from the time w[hen the Ambassa/d]or revealed his image until the [S]tatue will asc/end from the lump. It again, th[at] time, is / greater than the intermediate; but it does not come equal to the ti[20][me of the Firs]t Man. For this intermediate season, / in [which] the Father of Life and the Mother of Life [constructed the un/ivers]e with its orders, is shorter than that of the First / [Ma]n.

Gr[ea]t [i]s the period of the First Ma/[n]! It lasts longer than the season in which the Ambassador disp[25][l]ayed his image, until the dissolution of / [the] world and [the S]tatue ascends. [From the time / to]o when the Ambassador displayed his image, until / [the dis]solution of the universe [... / ... [30] ...] when the Father of Life and the / [Mother of Life s]haped the universe.

These are the / [... thre]e periods of time that o[ccur]. (**58**)

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*19 ⲁⲅⲁⲉ

••• 18 •••

(58,1 – 60,12)

/ [Concerning the Five] War[s that the] Sons / of [Li]ght waged wi[th the Sons] of Darkness. /

Five major cosmological events in the history are, in sequence, presented as wars in which principal divinities have vanquished the powers of darkness.

58.7 – 19 The descent of the First Man who sacrifices his five sons, the living soul. While this is sometimes presented as a primal tragedy, like the crucifixion it is the bait that ensures the defeat of death.

58.20 – 59.2 The creative activity of the Living Spirit who imprisons the rulers in the universe.

59.3 – 18 The displaying of the divine image by the Third Ambassador who seduces the demons chained in the heavens, thereby drawing out of them their light. Mani develops a short parable to explain this crucial moment.

59.19 – 28 The descent of Jesus the Splendour who subdues a rebellion by evil (see 93.29 – 94.11) and imparts knowledge to Adam.

59.29 – 60.8? Perhaps the eschatological work of the counsel of life that sculpts the Last Statue upon itself, achieving the final victory and redemption (see 81.1 – 6)?

[T]hen] the enlightener [s]peak[s]: The sons of light waged five [5] [war]s against the sons of darkness. The sons of light / [humiliated the s]ons of darkness in them all. /

[The first w]ar is that of the First living [M]an, which [he / waged against the] King of the realms of Darkness, an[d] all the rule[r]s that had come / [forth from] the five worlds of [...] He hunte[d [10] them with] his net, which is [the] living soul. He [... / ...] in the snare and [...] the face of the [... / ... h]is virgin, the living fire [... / they did not find] how to escape h[is n]et [... / ... h]e caught them like fish [... [15] ...] the five counsels of the five elem[ents ... / ...] He cut and dug out the root of [the fi]ve [tr/ees, ...] r[o]ot of the evil tree, like an ax[e. / As] the saviour has said: Behold, the axe is put to the roo[t / of] the evil tree, so that from this time it can not bear evil fruit*[20].

[20] The second war is that of the Liv[ing] Spirit [... / ... h]e has

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*[20] Mt. 3:10

constructed the things and the worlds of l[ight; / he spre]ad out the rulers and chained them in the middle [of ... / ...] the stars in [...] the earths [... / ...] them in the three vessels. For the rulers [25] rebelled and were set [a]gainst the Living Spirit. They wished to [... / ...] since they knew and realised that he might bind [and] / fetter them with a strong chain. Yet he, the L[ivin]g Spirit, / (appeared to them) with many aspects, with numerous [...], with m[a]/ny hands and great cruelties. [He was revea]led to them, [30] he imprisoned them with mu[ch] skill. Not one [of] / them was able to save (himself), and he {}*21 [... / ...] Now, since he [... / ...] he trapped them [... (**59**) ... / ...] /

[The third war] is that of the Third A[mbas]sa/[dor who has display]ed his image [... [5] ...] what is below [... sc]ooped / [...] all [l]ight and the property [... / ...] the ones that are consumed [... / ... the] entire [r]uling-power [... / ...] pride of the li[ght ... [10] ...] extending it [... / ... a] person comes, who is powerful [... / ...] he takes his riches [... / ...] silver [... / ... his] pride and wantonness.

[15] This i[s what] the ruling-[power] is like [...] / all riches [...] as they travel [... / ...] light / [... he] cleansed and purifi[ed] i[t]. /

[The] four[th] war is this that Jesus the gl[orious] one waged against [20] all [the re]bels who had rebelled above and be[lo]w. / [W]hen the light was purified from them by the imag[e of the] Th[i/rd] Am[b]assad[or], their chains loosened [... / ...] the glorious one in the fourth war; he came and brought [... / ... a] rebellion of the entire ruling-power. He girded [himself ... [25] ... a]ll of it another time. [H]e constructed the whole structure and he made [... / ...] a great contest; [h]e humiliated therein. / [...] he fulfilled the will of the greatness, [he / gave the] hope to Ad[am ...] to his light ship. /

[The fifth war is this] that the [co]unsel of li[30]fe ... wh]ich is the summons and the obedience [... / ...] great [... / ...] and it placed [...] upon the [... / ...] and the [... (**60**) ... / ...] of death, which [... / ...] with it. And it was victorious over [...] / for [eve]r, and it gave the kingdo[m ... [5] ...] great wa[rs ... / ...] with the sons of darkne[ss

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*21 ⲥⲁϩⲙⲉ Smagina 1990:116 suggests 'get out' (from ⲥⲱϩⲙ); Vycichl 1983:206 'se libérer'.

... / ...] the good are victorious over the [wicked ... / ...] for ever and eve[r ... /

Blessed is] every [el]ect one who will [... [10] ... li]ves therein and is victorious over it [... / ...] after the likeness of these five [... / ...] receives the victory without [...]

••• 19 •••

(60,13 – 63,18)

/ Concerning the Five Re[le]as[es; [15] what] they [are]. /

These five 'releases', or moments and processes in the redemption of the light, correspond to the five wars in the previous chapter.

[Once again] our father [s]peaks: [There are] five [releases / by] which the light is saved f[rom] / all [the rulers and] powers of darkness! /

[The first loo]sening and saving is that of [the] First Ma[20]n, since when the First M[a]n was freed fro[m / the prison of] the rulers by the Living Spirit, who had come [... / ...] / of the First Man, much light and [much] power was / saved from the entire ruling-power. They ascend[ed] [25] with the First Man to the aeons [of] greatn[ess]. This [is the first] / release. /

The second saving is that of the Liv[ing] Spirit, since whe[n] / the Father of Life and [the] Mother of [Li]fe constructed [the ... / ...] and [w]orlds [... wo][30]rlds, the earths and their [rulers; im]measurable light / was saved f[r]om them [... the First] / Man, who w[a]s devoured [...] lig[ht ... (**61**) ... / ... th]ree wars [... / ...] to the time when he [... / ...] above [... [5] ...] them upon the [... / ...] universe. /

[The third red]emption is that of the Thi[rd / Ambassador ... he] displayed [his / image ...] he [... [10] ... the r]uling-power; he [... / ... / ... / ...] from them [... / ...] So this is [how] the [... [15] ... his] image that [... in the Th/ir]d Ambassador. /

[Th]e fourth s[av]ing is that of Jesus [the Splendour, since whe/n

he was] re[ve]aled in the zone he displayed [his im]/age in front of the firmaments and purified [the light] [20] that is above. He established the first righteous o[ne*[22] ... / ...] all the churches. He took the likeness*[23] [... / ...] he made himself like the angels in [...] un/til he travelled and descended to the form of flesh. He set in order / [t]he earths and all the fastenings. He also loosen[ed [25] ...] light without measure in the entire structure. He gave / [the s]ummons and the obedience to the elements, he formed / [J]esus the Youth. He as[ce]n[d]ed and rested himself in the / light [land].

The fifth release / a[nd s]aving is that of the great counsel, w[30][hich is the s]umm[ons an]d the obedience, since it also / [... the] soul from the [land] of greatness (**62**) [... [5] ... the] Living Spirit [... [9] ...] as he gave [... [10] ... the r]elease [... /...]

The first [... / ... he] ascended and he [... / ...] as he [... / ...] wisdom [... [15] ... / ...]

The fourth [... / ...] its wisdom / [...]

And also, the fifth [... / ...] in to it, and it sets it in order [...] its [20] light image in this Last Statue.

These five grea[t] / powe[rs ...] were revealed. They came to a profit [... / ...] they were established upon [... / ...] First Man [...] when he came to/ward [...] from the struggle. He set in order and constru[25]cted [...] universe [... / ...] the First M[an / ...] his advent.

In / t[his way ...] they st[an]d with [... (**63**) ...] because of the light [th]at had rushed from [... / ...] the Amba[s]sa[d]or.

The counse[l of] / life, which is the [s]ummons and the obedience, will make [... / ...] seal the commandment and the [... [5]of] all [the] apostles. In this last season they [... / the] life of the S[t]at[ue and] he judges the sou[ls / ... he] can send [... /

...] powers, they [...] from the [... / ...] it is alive [...] of the will [of the ...] [10] Father, the establ[ished one ...] / powerful; they g[o ...]

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*[22] Read ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲁⲓⲕ[ⲁⲓⲟⲥ] after P. Kell. Copt. 2 line 139 and PsBk2. 88.15 139.43

*[23] Phil. 2:7

enemy, they [...] / all of them [...] conquer this land that they have [... / ...] in it for ever [... / ... t]hey came fr[om h]im in the beginning, as t[hey will r]eturn [15] again to the light. They [as]cend to him at the la[st]. /

Blessed is every person [who can] understand these mysteries! [... / ...] up [...] from the first to [...] / it [...]

••• 20 •••

(63,19 – 64,12)

[20] *The Chapter of / the Name of the Fathers.* /

The name 'father', as the Father of Greatness, supremely designates the ultimate God and source of all divinity. However, it can also properly be used of the derived gods in their own realms of greatness. Compare chapters 7 and 25.

[O]nce again the enlightener speaks to his disciples: The [Father / of] Greatness, as he is named; due to what reason is he given the name 'the Father / [of] Greatness'?

His disci[25][p]les say to him: We beseech you, our master, that you may enlighte/n us about this [g]reatness; for who is it that is named / 'the Father o[f G]reatness'?

Then he speaks / [to] his disciples: Now, the Father, who is the first esta/[b]lished thing, [shall be cal]led 'the Father of Greatness'. [30] His greatn[ess is the gr]eat earth where he lives, he being established / [i]n it [...] the essence of the light that swathes / all the [r]ich go[d]s and the angels and the dwellings / [...] is set over it. /

[Furthermore, they shall c]all the Third Ambassador [35] ['father'. His greatness i]s the light ship of living fire (**64**) [wherein he lives], he being established in it. /

[Once again, J]esus the Splendour shall himself also be called 'father'. / His [greatn]ess is the ship of living waters where he lives, / [he being established in it].

[5] [They shall] also [call] the Pillar of Glor[y] 'father'. It[s] gre[atness / ...] the five gods of hol[y ...] which [li/ve and are establ]ished in them. They [... / ...]

Again, [the] Li[ght] Mind shall be / [called] 'father'. His gre[atness] is the [holy] church; [10] becaus[e] he lives [and is established i]n it. It also / [...] in it [...] alone. They / [... li]ght.

••• 21 •••

(64,13 – 65,13)

/ [C]oncerning the Father of Gr[eat]ness: [15] [ho]w he is established and / determined. /

The kingdom of light is a manifestation of the Father himself, which he pervades by his qualities or limbs. The kingdom is variously described in the texts, which have difficulty reconciling the sets of five and twelve that structure Mani's system.

Once [again] the apostle [speaks] to h[is d]isciples: Hear / [this lesson t]hat I will recount to you. Very great is / [land of] light*[24] in the presence of they who will hear and kno[20]w it, due to the first Father of Greatness. How he ex/[ists and is] established in his five light limbs, which are / [... the store]houses that have neither limit nor measure to the[m / ...] mind, thought, insight, counsel and [consid/eration ...] his twelve light limbs that [25] are his twelve wisdoms. Now, there are five great light lim[bs] / in each one [...] five grea[t] / springs of praise gush for[th ...] five great / [...] lig[ht ...] /

The first is his light that enlig[htens ...] it gushed [30] forth from him and pour[ed ...] a[ll] aeons. /

The second is the perfume of the [...] / and pervades all the aeons of greatness. /

The third is his living voice of [... / ...] all his aeons [...]

[35] The fourth is his [...]-ness [... (**65**) ... gus]hes forth from him [... o]ut [...] /

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*[24] Suggested reading: ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟϭⲁⲓⲛⲉ

The fif[th] is his great glorio[us ...] that [..., w]/hich [has been ma]nifested all the tim[e], whi[ch contin]ues [...] / all of them. It was sculpted in them [...] [5] se[a]led in the[m ...] sea[led ...] / as they send [...] in [... / ...] they too receive nourishment [...] immediately [... his] / living voi[ce ...] joy [...] / set up anew. It shall gush forth from it [...] [10] they shall [...] and become rich in the [...] / too is beautiful [...] portray[al ...] / adornment [...] and they live [... / ...] for ev[e]r. /

••• 22 •••

(65,14 – 66,27)

[15] *[... / ...] the Land of Light. /*

The theme of the previous kephalaion is here continued with a description of the land of light.

[...] in the great land of greatness / [... a]s I will reveal to you [... [22] ...] above. /

[... f]ace is [... / ... [25] ...] living / [... / fr]om [... / ...] upon him. /

[...] light and [30] [... / ...] face / [... (**66**) ...] out; he has [... f]ace of the [...] / in the [...] now fi[ve ...] of prais[e ... / ...] in the [...] living [am]bros[i]a [...] / five [...] compound [...] they become an image [5] [...] the li[v]ing air [...] also living. [As] / those five shall [...] from all the contests of the greatness / [...] and a beautiful [...] to the limbs of their body / [... w]hich exists [...] the land of light; their / [... l]ife. Just as all the gods and the rich ones and the [10] [angels w]ho were summoned came from the Father, so also / all [the moun]tains [...] springs and trees / [...] gush forth [...] great is / a [...] every thing that you [... / ...] neither water nor [...]

[15] These ar[e ...] which [... / ...] /

The [...]-th [...] great light, the living air [... / ... in which the aeons of grea]tness dwell, being established therein. [... / ... ang]el[s] that [... [22] ...] and the [... / ...] the gi[fts] of the great Father [... / ... [25] ...] in the [...] /

Blessed is whoever will k[now ... / ...]

••• 23 •••

(66,28 – 70,7)

/ [...] [30] which [...] /

Mani begins by telling his disciples that no one can explain the ultimate origin of the two eternal kingdoms, for no prior power has been revealed (66.31 – 67.20). However, the apostle can preach about the time from when the darkness first stirred against the light, to attack it. Thus begins the history of war and conflict (67.20 – 30).

The essence of darkness stirred into the thought of death, and spread and generated the hideous warring powers through its five elemental worlds. These are the five trees that bear evil fruit (67.31 – 68.28). The chief ruler then took charge of his powers; and, noticing the light, conspired to attack (68.29 – 32 and ff.).

The Father of Greatness knows that death can not be allowed to intrude into the eternal land of light; and thus must emanate the gods to take the conflict to the darkness and into the arena of mixture. The plan that will ensure ultimate victory is entrusted to the living soul (the five sons of the First Man), for it will destroy evil from within, using that uncontollable lust that is at the heart of death. Therefore, the First Man puts on his sons as garments, or as armour in preparation for the war (68.33 – 70.7).

O[nc]e again it happened [... / ... / ... / ...] essence in [... [35] a]s I have told y[ou ... / ...] is the land of [... (**67**) ... / ...] and [...] / their last.

What the essence of [...] / no person could re[cou]nt or unveil [or say how it] [5] exists [... f]or ever [...] / all [...] and [...] unve[i]l / [...] etern[ity ...] great [...] / again and the [...] tend [...] / the beginning of eter[nity] and the end [...] [10] set th[at one] down. /

Now, my [...] the land of d[eath ... / ... nat]ure of the essence [... / ...] which exists [... for e]/ver and ever [...] [15] in [...] / with one another.

As for the eternity of [... / ...] which exists from ever, no person is able to / [understand] how they exist. For no other power / [is manifes]ted to them, in that it might speak or recount about their [origin*[25]], [20] how [they e]xist. However, from the time w/[hen

*[25] Perhaps read ⲁⲣⲭⲏ

it] stirred itself and rose up against the light [... / ...] it might come and rule over the land of the living. /

[The Fi]rst Man came forth against it and prevented it, [he k/ept] it apart from the house of the living. He prevented i[25][t]. From that time, when the light was mixed with / [the] darkness, and life [wi]th death, there was a measure of approval and an ability / [for the] first-born [and the a]postle[s] to teach about it. They spe/[a]k and unveil how the reproach and the fight did hap/[pen], [how] the light [was] entwined with the darkness, which they [30][...] life in death. /

[... after it] stirred itself in its essence, its th/[ought ...] in its own land. It [... / ...] the entire land of darkness in its [... / ...] of light in the abyss. For (**68**) [...] essence in [i]t [... / ...] because a [...] they reckoned [... / ...] on its side [...] this first nature / [...] it, bec[ause i]ts body is made strong [5] [... more] than the Adamant [...] every [...] as it exists / [in the univer]se.

[...] of death [... / ...] envy, which [...] the land of [darkness / ... consi]deration in [...] wickedness / [...] for as it [...] the wounds [...] against this land [10] [...]

Then he will run [... f]rom the land / [...] darkness. It drew [...] his members / [...] is deep [... / ... / ...] in them.

[15] [...] every [...] It spread itself o[ut. It] generated itself / [of the five dark elements]; which [are] sm/oke, fire, wind, water and darkness. [... / ...] sprouted trees. It came up [... / ...] it formed its own self in the [... [20] ...] it generated its own self with its birth [in] / numerous [emana]tions, not resembling each other; [in] / the storehouses of its abyss, many [dark] creatures / [...] destroyers and dragons an[d] evil [beas/ts]. It was established and {}*[26] and grew strong [... [25] ...] in the ugly forms of those in the darkness [...] / dark, and by the [...] impetuosity, by their wickedness an[d] / hatred they slaughter [...] / each other as they war with one another. /

Then the counsel of their ruler humbled [it]s world an[d] [30] its

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*[26] ϱєɪ Vycichl 1983:286 suggests 'apparaître, fleurir'.

powers. It sensed the essence of the [light ... / ...] It conspired to wage a war [...] / with the exalted kingdom and the [...] /

However, he, the Father of Great[ness ... (**69**) ...] / it also knew [... w]/ar, to disturb the [land of] light [...] / in the wisdom of his [...]-ness [...] [5] he transformed himself against it [... / ...] against it. /

Indeed, at t[hat t]ime [... / ... / ... [10] ...] / go agains[t ...] God [...] /

[... fr]om its [... p]/oured it out [... i]n the elemen[ts]: in the smoke, / the fi<re>, the win[d], the water and the darkness. It came up from the [great] [15] d[epth], it being set in the trees [... / ...] against it.

Also, at the time when it generated itself / [...] it formed the fruits, it still being set in t/hem. They summoned the five garments, the sons of the Fir[st] / Man.

And at the time when it generated its own self [20] [f]rom the fruits through its offspring, they fell upon the earth and [...] / strength from the elements and were nourished by them. [... / ...] wickedness, together with cruelty [...] / in the ruler, the leader of all the demons. He hum[bled] / his worlds and his powers; he gathered them all in [to [25] hi]m. He made himself ready for the battle; he set himself [to / the] war with that light earth, and the great / King who dwells in it.

At that very moment / the First Man approached his garments, the gods / [who sh]ine forth. He spoke with them, that he might entrust to them a [... [30] ...] he [reve]aled to them and taught them about everything that [... / ...] them. He assumed them. He arranged them [... / ... He] draped them over one another upon his li[mbs ... (**70**) ... / ... d]anger, it [... / ...] the heights of the earth [... / ...] with all its powers [5] [... beg]inning, it being immeasurable / [... / ...]

••• 24 •••

(70,8 – 76,14)

10 *[... / ...] /*

This chapter is concerned with the measurement of time and eternity; and consequently with the question of why apostles can speak of certain episodes in the history, but not of those others that are eternal. In this it is linked to the opening question of the previous kephalaion. Chapter 24 appears also to be composite, with series of textual material loosely strung together on these related themes.

70.12 – 72.27 The duration and process of emanating the Great Spirit, the First Man, and his five sons; from the Father. It is notable that the Mother of Life is in part distinguished here from the Great Spirit (71.25) who comes into existence prior as the female archetype of the divine.

72.28 – 73.3 The other gods were also emanated at the same time.

73.4 – 74.9 Apostles can speak of the middle time, the history of descent and ascent; because it is temporal in contrast to the twin eternities of the beginning and the end.

74.9 – 75.10 The parallel process of evil emanation from Matter.

75.11 – 76.3 A list of six related points; but the exact context is unclear.

76.4 – 14 Reiteration of the theme about time and eternity.

[...] a great ju[d/ge ...] now also a ti[me ...] that they sculpt/[ed ... he was revea]led in the Father, the first est[ab]lished thing.

W[he15n ...] the two summonses that he called [... / ...] the Mother of Life [... / ...] a long duration in the first Father [... / ...]

For someone, if he might set a measure and rule / [...] the earth {particles}*27 and the {pebbles}*28 of the mountains and 20 [... of the] s[e]a and the body of the firmaments. Should they be po[ured / ...] the body of the four mountains and the three ve[s]/sels that [s]urround the universe; if they shall al[l] be poured out / [...] these fine {granules}*29. /

Happen you know that the grains of the earth {particles} are measurable, [and those of] 25 the [entire] uni[verse]. It is possible to count the {particles} of the earth eac[h] / ye[a]r [...] the sand

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*27 ⲕⲁⲏⲁ Cf Vycichl 1983:76 – 77.
*28 ⲁⲁⲟⲁⲉ
*29 ⲙⲉⲥⲁⲏⲥ

grains of the entire universe; / but the duration of the time that the Great Spirit spent in the Father, [the] / first established thing, one will not be able to make a count of it!

He first / sculpted her like this. He established her in his inner storehous[es] [30] in quiet and silen[c]e. When [they had] / need of her she was called and came forth of the Father [of Greatness]. / She looked at all her aeons of lig[ht]!

Once again, from the time when she was called to [...] (**71**) go to [...] she gave [...] / upon his [bod]y [...] al[l] the aeons [...]; / she also [...] all of them. This [is also the case] / with the First Man.

This is how the Man [5] spent a long time being anointed in the Mother, set fast in her / inner storehouses [...] the extent of time that I have rec[ounted] / to you; from when the First Man went d[own to] / the contest, till the time when the [Statue (?) co]mes i[n ...] / this time [... [10] ...] he appeared [... / ...]

Ag[ain], from when he was / [c]alled and came forth, till the time when he [himse]lf call[ed / the five] shining [gods] who are his sons; they / themsel[ves also spent a long] time existing in their father! [15] I[t is the ti]me that occured from the coming down of the Fi/[rst Man] till the going up of the Last Statue. The f/[ive god]s spent this much duration being anointed in the First Man. / Yet, [at the] t[i]me when they were awaited, they were called and came [f]orth. /

Listen also to this, how I would teach you it. At the [20] time when the Mother of Life was called from the Father of Greatness, / when she expelled herself and came down by her [o]wn [wish], / from the heights of the Father to the earth, [she would spend / thousands of] years and many ten thousands until she reached the earth. / [Fo]r there is no measure nor rule to the heights of the Father. Rather, [just as] [25] he had called her in his Great Spirit, so he set her upon / [the] land of greatness thr[ou]gh one of these three that are counted to the twe/[lv]e hidden ones withi[n] the light veil, the ones / [esta]blished after the [...] region of the south. /

[The] matter of the Mother [of L]ife is like this. When [30] [the Fath]er called her he established her in the place he pleased, /

[to] establish her there as the instruction of the people that / [...] many [...]; and she examined everywhere that [...] a blink of an eye, or like a (72) [...] bir[d ... / ...] This also is lik[e / ... the] Mother of Life in [...] whenever / [...] cast her out [... u]pon her to the place [... 5 ...] him. He perfected her in his Great Spirit and set her in / [the place he pl]eased, according to [his wi]ll. /

[Th]is [also is how] they called the [five g]ods from the [Fi rst Man. They were se]t befo[re him], as he wished that [... ... 10 ... ... / ... / ...]-ness [...] / down, that they would rule in them [...] 15 one another. He ordered and distributed them [... ...] the son. He stripped himself of them [...] and he [... ...] he girt and bound himself to [...] / in a [...] of silence upon the border of the earth [... A]/gain, he too, the First Man, spent a long period and [time] 20 until he gave power to his sons; until he assu[m]ed them. After he came to wear them he stood fast in the heights between the borders. Again, he spent a duration and ti[me] like this, corresponding to such amount and measure as the raindrops and dew and falls of mist that come down in 25 the universe. This is how he spent this duration also, [stand]/ing between the borders, until the hour when he cast himself [d]/own to the contest! /

Whenever the Father of Greatn[e]ss [calle]d the Great Spir[it] / and the First Man and the gods [of] the glorious one, who are provide[d to] 30 enable them to reveal him; at that ve[ry ti]me [he] / sculpted the Great Builder in the [land of] light, [and] / the Living Spirit with the might[y] and active gods who came [from] / him. Also, at that time, he sculpted the [Amb]assador, with Jesus the Splendour and the Vi[r]gi[n] of Lig[ht] 35 and the Pillar of Glory, and the gods who [came from them. (73) All these the Father of Greatness sculpted at] / a single time. They came for[th of] one another, one after on/e; the time when [...] and the work./

[...] to recount it to you [...] 5 from the time when the da[rkness] raised itself up to / [...] essence of the light / [...] these three emanations / [...] from the [w]ill of the Father against the enemy [... / ...] he has [... 10 ...] darkness [... / ...] according to the will [... / ... / ... / ...] the universe [... 15 ...] in it [...] separate out [... / ...] rest him in which way, and he rejoices [... / ... i]n his kingdom; until [the time when / the face] of the Father will be unveiled over

[all] the gods / of glory, and all the rich ones of [... the em]anations who came forth against the enemy. /

[From] that time when he sculpted these three [... / ...] till the time when the Father would unveil his face, / [and they g]o in to his hidden storehouses, and he calls them / [...] establishes each one of them to [his place. There is no measure nor ru]le to this period until that time.

It is po[ss]ible / [for] all [the teachers] and saviours and apostles of / greatness, that they can speak and reveal about what has / [ha]ppened and what will happen; but before [... / ...] they are sculpted in heaven there is no possibility for any apost[le] a[nd teacher] to proclaim about this beginning, because / [...] for ever. Nor also is it possible for [al]l the apo/[stles] and teachers to be able to speak and revea[l / ...] the time when all the fathers (**74**) [of lig]ht [go in to the hid]den (places) of the Father, and [dw]/ell [...] power in them to i[t]s / [...] of God [...]; because it exists for e/ver. It is continuous till the a[e]ons. It has no time to the end; but their establishme[nt ...] et/ernal is their life [... gener]ation by generation. /

[If] a person [s]hall ask [...] an/d about th[a]t etern[a]l end [...] in the devastation / [...]

However, [... ...] to enable him to recoun[t ... / ...] who asks him [... / ...] of the disciples [... / ...] because [... / ...] and he gives [... ...] about this Matter, this though[t of death ... / ...] which I have told you; for [this] is the way that [... / ...] came up to its storehouses. It has [... / ...] in its five elements. Again, it also [... / ...] the period and the time that it spent, until it rev[eal]ed itself to its elements, before it came to the trees. It spent / a great period and a long time established [... / ...] before it came up to the trees. It was [...] / in the trees. It spent a long time and duration [...] / existing in them, before it sculpted the fru[its ... ...] and sculpted the fruits. Again, it spent a long [time] / in the fruits. Not little is the period and the tim[e that it / spent] existing in the fruits, before it sculpted [... / ...] after a long time [...] the d[emon]s / of its five worlds in various forms [can not (?)] be measured [...] in p[erfec]tion of the fruits in the de[mons] / and fiends. They fell upon their earth and [...] / were nourished. Not little is the period

that they [spent in the wo]/rlds, until they were nourished [a]mong[st ... (**75**) ...] to make [... / ...] t[h]at [l]and which shin/[es], and the great [King] who dwells there.

[Y]/ou know that [...] that in [... 5 ...] at the time when he / [... i]ts essence. It assumed / [... Mat]ter [...] to the war [... / ...] the Perfect Man. / [From the time] when the [wa]r occured [... 10 ...] /

[The first is ... h]e came to be in some [... / ...] when they ensnared a [...] /

[The second is ...] that h[e] built [... / ... the] universe was established. The zone [... 15 ...] down until the time when it will be / [dissolved].

The third is the [... / ...] the things and the universe will [... / from the] time when they were established there, till the time [when] / their end will be complete and their existence ceases [...]

20 [The f]ourth is the dissolution when they will dissolve the universe / [th]ere, and all things are destroyed. Obliteration / [reaches] them in that great fire, [which wi]ll burn them for fourteen / [hundred] and sixty-eight years. /

[The fift]h is the way that the Last Statue will be sculpted 25 [from] the remnant of all th[in]gs. The light separates / [ou]t to its place, and goes up and rules in its kingdom. / However, [the da]rkness [...] and they take it in to the tomb [... / ... and t]hey are bound with it in an et[ernal] chain. / Now, from [the tim]e when this first war 30 occured, till the [ti]me of this chain [...] these five things [... / ...] li[g]ht. /

[The six]th: From the time when it stirred and raised itself / [up in its] land, till the time of its chaining, it is possible / [for the apostles and the] chosen and the teachers to speak and recount (**76**) about it. However, before [...] / from it out of the powers [... / ...] and measure it; because it is eternal. /

[From the time] when it will be taken in to the chaining and bound 5 [in] the lump [...] / to give to it. No pe[rson] is able [...] /

the apostle and the teacher is enabled to [...] / chaining is eternal [in the] lum[p ... / ...] {}*30. From the time when [... 10 ...] with one anothe[r, till] the t[ime ... / one] another; and eac[h one ... / ...] fetter [... / ...] and they proclaim about the [...] / time and period.

••• 25 •••

(76,15 – 76,25)

/ [Concerning the Advent of Five Fathers / from the Five Limbs of the Father]. /

Once again the apostle speaks concerning [the advent of five fathers / fro]m the Father, one after another. [He] speaks t[hu]s: 20 [The Ambas]sador [came] from his mind; the Beloved of the Lights / [from his thought]; the Mother of Life from his insight; [Jesus] / the Beloved from his counsel; the Virgin of Lig[ht f]/rom his consideration.

So in this way were summone[d these five] / fathers. These five advents came from the five limbs [of the Father]. 25 One came from another and was manifested in its season.

••• 26 •••

(76,26 – 77,21)

/ Concerning the First Man and the Ambassa/dor and the Ship; what they resemble. /

Mani frequently used parables and similes in his teaching. However, the miscellaneous set of five in this kephalaion have little coherence beyond the concept of redemption. Their collection here evidences that the original contexts have been lost during a period of textual transmission.

76.29 – 34 The First Man rescues his treasure, his sons (the living soul), from the powers of darkness.

76.34 – 77.3 The significance of the two sons (usually five) and the two powers is unclear.

77.4 – 7 The Great Spirit has its throne in the sun (see 82.30 – 31); and its role is to beautify and to set matters in order (see 79.29 – 30 102.27).

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*30 ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ

77.8 – 10 The Living Spirit redeems the First Man.
77.11 – 16 The Third Ambassador is the principal god of redemption. The living soul is continually reborn in the material forms in which it is imprisoned.

Once again he speaks: The First [Man] is like a grea[t] distinguished man wh[ose treasu]re has been taken away from him. H[e came] / to pursue his treasure. This [is] how the [First] / Man too came after his sons [f]rom the heights, [so that he] / might redeem*[31] them and retrieve his treasure, which had been scattered among[st] / his enemies.

Once again, [he is like a man] whose two sons were taken away from him by [... He] / came out toward them to redeem them. [Again, this is how (**77**) the F]irst Man [...] shines in the heights because of h[is] / two sons, who were separa[t]ed from him. They are his / living soul that exist in two powers, which makes four. /

[Once] again, the ship [of the day] is like a great spear [... ... The Grea]t Spirit too, which is in it, / is like a wise [crafts]man who might beautify and / set aright [all] the armou[r] for war. /

Once again, the Living Spirit is like a combatant / who might go towards a king's [so]n who has been taken prisone[r of war], and he redeems him [from the] hands of his enemies. /

[The Amba]ssador to[o] is like a great man / [...] because of the treasure / [...] hand of his priso[ners / ...] these light powers [... ... the] sons and their soul, so that they would [... / ... (the soul) might] be brought forth in the land [wherein it] was imprisoned. /

Again he turned, and he says to his discip/[les]: You yourselves must be purifiers and re[dee]/mers of your soul, which is established in every place, so that y[ou may be counted] to the [c]ompany of the fathers of light [... / ...] of the kingdom in the new aeon, in the place of joy.

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*31 Reading: ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲩ for ⲥⲁⲧϥⲟⲩ: 'purify them'.

••• 27 •••

(77,22 – 79,12)

/ Concerning the Five Forms that exist / in the Rulers of Darkness.

Compare chapter 6.

25 [Once agai]n, the apos[tle] is sitting among the congregation. He says [to] / his disciples: Cons[id]er the ruler, the leader of all the powers / [of dark]ness. Now, f[ive forms] exist in his body, corresponding to / (the archetype)*32 [of the five] creations that exist in the five / [wo]rlds of darkness.

Indeed, his head is lion-faced, wh30[ich] came about from [the] world of fire. His wings and his / [shoulders] are eagle-faced, after the likeness of the children of the wind. / [His hands] and [h]is feet are daemons, after the likeness / [of the children] of the [w]orld of smoke. His belly is [dragon]-faced, / [after the likeness of the] world of darkness. His tail [is the] (78) form of the fish , which belongs to [the world of the ch]ildren of water. These [five] / shapes are in him, and [they came] from the five [creations] / of the five worlds of darkness.

[S]hould he wish, h[e shall walk / on] his two feet [...] world of [sm5oke]. Also, when he wants, he shall [... f]our [...] / on his hands and feet [...] like [the] children of f[ire]. / Sh[ou]ld he wish, he shall rise up on h[is] wings, like the children of / the [wind]. Also, should he wish, he shall [plun]ge down to the waters / [like the] children of water. Again, shoul[d he w]ish, he shall crawl on 10 his [bell]y like the children of dark[ness. These] five shapes are / i[n hi]m.

Also, there are three other (qualities) in h[im.

The first]t: / [...] his powers [...] /

The second: Shall a [...] / his magic arts. When he [wishes, he shall make an invocation over 15 himself], and hide from his

*32 Lit. '[the appearance] of the seal'.

powers*33. [When he wants], / he shall show himself to them and strike a [death]-blow [by his] / magic arts. Any word he might utter at that moment, he shall [wreak magic] / by it.

The third: His body is strong, a[l]l [...] / nails and claws of his powers are not able to penetra[te it]. [20] No iron nor copper body will equal hi[m ...] / they will not be able to destroy him, because he was formed and fash[ion]ed / from the hard hearted counsel of Matter, the mother of d[emons and] / fiends.

Again, there are three others in him.

Wh[en he wants], / his fire shall {blaze}*34, and his entire body be made like the [... of] [25] fire.

Also, when he wishes, he shall send out / frost, and his entire body freezes like a [... of] / snow.

The third: Whenever his powe[rs are sto]/od before him, he shall look at them and understand; for [whatever ex]/ists in their heart he shall understand, what is in th[eir heart] [30] and their face so long as they are stood before him. W[hen] / they retreat before him and distance themselves from him, [he shall not und]/erstand what is in their heart. There is no life [in him] / whatsoever, but his 'life' is the bile of [anger] that is app[arent] / on his face and in his fear. Shall a [... (**79**) ...] destruction that is establ[ished be]fore him.

Behold, do not [lay up/on] yourselves, my beloved ones, the shapes of this ruler, the ro/ot of [all] piercing evils and the camp / of every ugliness. Hold yourselves secure [5] from his midst and [h]is wicked teachings that dwell in your / body; so that they may not agree with you and ruin your sweet/ness, nor transform your truths to a lie. /

Rather, do you become zealous and perfect / in the presence of the Mind of truth that has been manifested to you, [so] [10] that you may [...] and they draw you [... u]/p to the he[ights. And you inhe]rit [li]fe for [ever / and] ever.

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*33 Cf 31.30 which has the same phrase. The powers are subsidiary demons.

*34 ⲙⲉⲕⲣⲉ

••• 28 •••

(79,13 – 81,20)

/ [Concerning the T]welve [15] *Judges [of] the Father. /*

While the Father of Greatness is the transcendent and eternal Judge, twelve of the emanated gods act as judges as they take their roles during the course of the history. Mani instructs his followers similarly to walk in the path of righteousness.

[O]nce again] he s[peaks] to his disciples: Twelve jud[ges / ex]ist; the great mighty givers of judgement! They were sen[t and / came] from the [ex]alted greatness to this place. They were assigned to different wo[rk]s / according to the command that the Judge, who belongs to the great[ness], [20] [en]trusted to all these judges. Now he, [the gr]ea[t / Ju]dge, he who transcends all the judges, who exists and [/ is e]stablished in the aeons of greatness; [he] is the Father of [Greatness]. /

[The fir]st judge is the First Ma[n, he w]ho humiliated [the ruler / of Darkness in the] beginning. He judged him ac[cording to a ju]dgement of righteousn[25][ess]; for he had exalted himself [against a kingdom] that [was not] his own. /

[The se]cond judge is the Living Spirit, he who came and bore / up the Man. [He t]oo [made] a judgement on a[ll] the powers [of] /darkness; which had woun[ded] the garments of the First Man./

[The th]ird judge [is the] Mother of Life, the Great Spirit, [she who [30] beauti]fied and set up [the] heavenly part of [the un]iverse, [according to / her] pleasure; which [...] her. She j[udged] the rulers / [abov]e; she f[ettered] and set them firmly in the place / [that is fitting for them.

The fo]urth [judge] is the Great Bu/[ilder, he who built the] new aeon of joy. He [35] [judged, according to a judgement of righte]ousness, the [storeho]uses of the [enemy]; (**80**) that death may not well up from this time on. He has constructed a prison for the / enemy. Also, upo[n] the crown [of the] building he has constructed a / throne for the First Man and all the fathers of

light; / they who engaged the struggle with the evil one and were victorious over him.

The [fif]th [j]udge is the great King of Honour, he who dwells / and is established in the seventh firmament. He is the jud/ge of all the firmaments who gives a true judgement, according to / [a] judgement of righteousness, upon all the powers and all the [king]doms / [of the] firmaments.

The sixth judge is [the Th]ird Ambassador, he who came and displayed / [his image]. He purified the light [...] which his own / [...] also of the enemy, he has [... /

The seventh judge is ... /...] the worlds [... as he gives the victory to] they who are steadfast; but he condemns the on[es who are convicted ... / ...] he shall become for them the steps of the way (?) [...]; / but the convicted he sweeps and ca[sts out / to the] depths.

The eighth judge is Jesus the [Spl/endour], the father of all the apostles; because after [the Am]bassador had displayed his image and the l[i]gh[t] was taken / [...] a mass of rulers rose up from abov[e] / and below. Then they sent Jesus the Splendour. He came [... / ...] he descended and made a judgement in the / [firmaments. He separated] the steadfast [from] the convicted.

The ninth judge i[s the Vir]/gin of Light, [she who took the heart] of the powers by [her] / image, gathering her own ones in to her. She mak[es] / a judgement on the ruler of the moist, and the ru[ler] / of the dry.

The tenth judge is [the Jud]ge who dwells in the atmosphere, judging all mankind. He [ma]/kes a separation between they who are good and they who are evil, setting [apart] / the righteous from the sinners. /

The eleventh judge is the Light Mind, he w[ho shall] / come and appear in the world. And he [choos]es the holy c[hur]ch, and he unveils [...] / and separates light from [darkness, and sets the truth apart from] (**81**) lawlessness.

The twelfth judge is the great / counsel, which is the summons and the obedience, which is appointed in / the elements. It is the

one that makes a separation between / the good and the evil ones. At the end also it can gather itself together [5] and sculpt its own self in the Last St/atue. And it separates [light] from [darkness]. /

These are the twelve great and mighty judges who / were sent. They came from the great Judge, he who transcends / all the judges. He is the Father that is hidden and [immeasurable], [10] the one who exists; who is established in the aeons of gre[atn]ess [upon] / the great throne of honour, which is the King of Ho[nour / ...] in his kingdom. /

[I am telling] you [about this], my beloved ones, so that you / [yourselves may w]alk in true heart on this path o[f [15] righteousn]ess that I have revealed to you. Judge, / according to a true judgement, as judges of righteousness! / May a brother speak with his brother in truth; so that / when you depart (the body) you can receive the victory from these / twelve great judges, and go to rest [20] in this place of rest for ever.

••• 29 •••

(81,21 – 83,16)

/ Concerning the Eighteen great / Thrones of all the Fathers. /

There are nine thrones established for the great gods in the eternal realm. Another nine are appointed in this universe, the arena of conflict, and thus of loss and redemption. The last of these thrones is that upon which the apostle of a particular time sits; and Mani illustrates to his audience that he is now occupying it.

[O]nce again he speaks to his disciples: Eighteen [25] [great thrones for all the fathers] exist and are appointed, which are es/[ta]blished in eighteen places! While there are nine among them / [appointed in] the outer aeons, they ex[is]t / [i]n all the worlds of the damage. /

[The fir]st throne is the throne of the Father, the God of [30] [trut]h, the King of the aeons of greatness, the one who exists; who is esta/[blished ...] he alone, in his own essen[c]e, / [... he ap]art. This is the first throne / [...] the one that surpasses all the thrones.

(82) The second throne is that of the [gl]orious Mother of Life. / She is the origin of all the emanations that have come / to this world.

The third throne is / constructed for the father, the First Man. He is the one who [5] humiliated the entire first enmity, which existed in the / worlds of darkness.

The fourth throne is / that of the Beloved of the Lights, the great honoured Beloved o/f the aeons of greatness.

The fifth throne / is that of the glorious Great Builder; the great architect [10] who built the new aeon for a newn[ess], for [a ...] / for [the] fathers of light; also for a place of binding [and] a pri/son for the enemy and his powers.

[The sixth thro]n[e] / is that of the Living Spirit, the [glorious] mighty one, he who bore / up the First Man out from the [land of darkness]; [15] who also set in order and constructed the world[s ...] / both for a cleansing of the light, [and] for a binding [of the] / powers of the enmity.

The seventh th[rone is] / that of the Third Ambassador, the king of the zone, also the / master of all advices.

[20] The eighth throne is that of Jesus the Splendour, who [is] / the releaser and redeemer [of] all souls. /

The ninth throne is the throne of the great M[ind, he to whom] / all the churches shall gather; and all the [life] / that will be purified from the world returns to him.

[25] These are the nine thrones of ho[no]u[r] appointed in the outer aeo[ns], <which are established> / for the fathers of the glorious realm; [in the kingdom of the King of] / Honour, for ever and ever, amen. /

In contrast, these are the other nine thrones that are appointed in this world o[f] / the zone.

Three thrones in the ship of [the d][30]ay: one is that of the Ambassador, the second i[s that of] / the Great Spirit, the third is that of the Living Spirit. /

Once again, there are another three in the ship that [belongs to the night]: / the first is the throne of Jesus the Splendour, [the second is that of] / the First Man, the third is tha[t of the Virgin of] (83) Light. These six thrones are established in the two ships. /

Also, the seventh throne is established in the sev/enth firmament. The great King of Honour si/ts upon it.

The eighth throne is establis[5]hed in the atmosphere. The Judge of truth sits upon it, / he who judges all mankind. Three paths shall / be distinguished be[f]ore him: one to death, one to life, on[e] to / the mingling.

The ninth throne appointed and established is / for the [a]postle in the holy church. The apo[10]stle who has come to you at this time sits up[on it]; / thus, [as jud]ge of righteousn[ess]. They shall proclaim [true] judgem[ent] / every t[ime]!

Th[ese] are the [nin]e great [th]ro/[nes ...] that are established in this world of / [...] of the glorious realm, the one that the [... [15] ...] honour them [... / ...] and the [...]

••• 30 •••

(83,17 – 84,4)

/ Concerning the Three Garments. /

As the creator the Living Spirit establishes wind, fire and water across the entire universe. These are three garments that he carries with him; and which have to be divested and stretched over the zone from the bottom edges to the topmost point.

[On]c[e again] he speaks to his disciples: Happen you know this, [20] my beloved ones, that when the Living Spirit / came he brought the three garments; that of wind, that of fire, and / that of water. He assumed them from [...] he has / [...] in them in th[ose] three garments / [...] he established [them] for all the things of [this [25] univers]e, both above and below. He arranged them in the [... / he was displ]ayed. After[wards ...] his works / [...] the [... h]e stripped them off before / [the ri]ghteous ones.

Now, when he was about to loose[n them, / ... he] divested himself of them from their {clasp}*35 and he {}*36 and 30 [... i]n them, and thus these three g[arme]nts are arranged / [...] from below the edges of the zone as they clothe i[/t al]l [...] up [...] above [... / ... u]p [...] above them (**84**) strips them of the zone from that place at its topmost point; / and it is placed below them and ra[ised u]p to the hei/ghts above, from which it had been sent o[u]t at / their beginning.

••• 31 •••

(84,5 – 85,18)

/ Concerning the Summons, / in which Limb / of the Soul it descended to the First Man. /

This chapter discusses the relationship between the First Man, who was saved from the abyss by the Living Spirit; and his limbs or sons, the living soul that is scattered throughout the material universe. The summons is the call to salvation, and together with the answer or obedience it forms the counsel of life. This is the active will for redemption that drives the soul (see 178.1 – 5).

Mani shows that the First Man is the head upon which the soul depends for its life. Although hidden in this time and space, his presence is still with us in his image and love which is the virginal soul. The Man gathers in the soul, and builds it up, so that as his trunk it eschatologically ascends back to the land of light. This trunk is the Pillar of Glory which reunites with the First Man at its head. At the end of time it is the Last Statue.

Once again one of the teachers questioned the enlightener. He says to h[im]: 10 In which limb of [the liv]i[ng] sou[l] did [the] summons descend / [to] the Man, who exists in the [a]eon? F[o]r it is written in / the [s]criptures about the Man that he spread himself through the [...] / aeon as to a wooden house.

The [enli]ghtener speaks: / Indeed, the First Man dispersed himself and he [...] 15 limb o[f] the living soul as I have written f[or you ...] / of the living soul; he has [...] he did not know [... / ...] but the blessed, glorious Man c[a]me [in] / secret; in his

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*35 ⲧⲟϯⲥⲱⲡⲉ

*36 ⲥⲁϩⲙⲉ Smagina 1990:116 suggests 'pulled off', (from ⲥⲱϩⲙ); Vycichl 1983:206 'se libérer'.

image; in his shape; in h[i]s lo/ve; in his holy virgin, she who is the v[ir]g[20]in of light, the soul of the father. /

After the fashion of this fleshly body: as the root of / all the lim[bs] hang upon the head, so that should one of / the person's limbs be cut off, while the head exists he has hope for [...] / but if his head should be cut off, the entir[e] body [w]ill d[ie] [25] and he is lost.

This is also the case for the Firs[ṭ] Ma[n]. / He is the head, while his sons attach to it the l[i]mbs [of] / his soul. Or, conversely, like the l[i]ving air, on [w]/hich all flesh entirely lives as it breathes an[d ...] / therein. His head is placed on the body of the Pill[ar of Gl][30]ory in the heights of the universe.

[This i]s also the case [for] / the father, the blessed Man; as he is like the he[ad that is upon the] / body and the air that upon the Pillar is set i[n ...] / being made strong by his l[ight] virgin, [she] who is / his soul that he clothes [...] (**85**) t[h]ose [...]: the mind, thought, insight, counsel and / c[on]sideration that he produced and sent forth from / hi[m to] do his will. He sprang and travelled behind them. / [...] of his living soul, which is entwined among the rebel[5]s; as they are like the limbs of its body, and / [...] universe.

And when they were sent, / at [that ti]m[e] he was found with the Virgin of [Lig/ht an]d [he] stood up, asking and entreating for a p[o]wer*[37]. / [... he] gave him peace and a ki[ss [10] ...] he [gave] him goo[d] tidings / [... M]an. The Man him[s]elf gave [his / ... h]is limbs and gathered his soul i[n / ...] he built it in its place like this to[w]er*[38] / [...] shaped it and beautified it skillfully [... [15] ... f]or[m ...] the voices that he se[n]t / [... he] might sink in and [q]uench [... / ...] so[u]l that was crushed by the enemy. They were gathered in. They came, / [s]et firm onc[e] more, in the image of their father.

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*37 See 38.30 – 39.2
*38 See PsBk2. 198.5 – 6

••• 32 •••

(85,19 – 86,17)

20 *Concerning the Seven Works / of the Living Spirit. /*

The Living Spirit is the principal god of the second emanation (creation), whose tasks connect the first (descent) and the third (redemption). Therefore, he saves the First Man, defeats the demons who have devoured the living soul, and constructs the universe with the use of their bodies in which there is now both light and darkness. The universe is then held in place by the five sons of the Living Spirit and a multitude of other divine powers.

It is the Living Spirit who first called out the summons to redemption that, joined with the obedience of the First Man, becomes the active will to salvation. Thus it is mixed with the five sons of the Man, the soul.

[O]nce] again the enlightener speaks: The Living Spirit has done seven / [wo]rks with his strength.

[The fi/rst]: He brought the First Man up from the contest, the way 25 a pearl is [brought] up from the sea. /

[The s]econd: He spread about the one who had rebelled, he crucified / [h]im in every body.

The third: He / [tr]ampled, piled up, and pierced the essences of death. /

[The f]ourth: He constructed the ships of light.

The fi30[ft]h: He evoked his five sons, and distributed them about. They / [took] possession of the zone, they bore up under all the uni/[vers]e's weight. Also, he evoked three living words. He set / [them] upon the th[re]e vessels, another one upon the giant. / [Again, he evoked the] summons, that it might be mixed with the five shining 35 men.

(86) The sixth: When he had constructed the zone he aro[se] and s[e]/nt forth a multitude of powers and many [angel]s; / so that they would bound the circuit of the z[o]ne on every si[de], / un[t]il he finished [co]nstructing the works. And at the end [of] all the [wor]5ks he to[ok s]ome of them in to his storehouses, / and he appointed others at the watch-posts. /

The [sev]enth: A[t the] time when the Ambass[ador dis]-pl/[aye]d his glorious imag[e], the L[iving] Spirit [established] / many [go]ds and angels. They [...] [10] Th[ey to]ok hold of it, that the entire building [...] not [... / ...] one another against [the] light, which he had [...] /

Also another gr[ea]t and glorious work he will enact at the e[nd] is [the] Last [Statue], / which he will bring up to the aeons of [light]; / and he [...] in, and [he ta]kes hold, and he smites [...], [15] and [he] builds, and he [...], and he [... t]hem.

[Bless/ed is he] who kn[ows] him i[n the] new [aeon], and [dwells in] that [ae]/on of glory and joy!

••• 33 •••

(86,18 – 86,30)

/ Concerning the Five Things that he [20] *constructed with the hard Bodies / of the Rulers. /*

This brief chapter follows the previous, for it discusses intricate details of the work of the Living Spirit in the construction of the universe, utilising parts of the demons that he has destoyed.

Once again the enlightener speaks: The Living Spirit constru[cted five] / great things from veins and skull[s in the] hard [bodies]. /

The first is the disc that is placed upon [the sh][25]oulder of the Porter.

The se[con]d are the arches of [the] / pillar that is before him.

[The th]ird is the [mou]/ld of the fo[r]m for the gehennas.

The fourth are the [seven (?)] / pillars that he has erected in the great sea, in [the] / seven parts of the universe.

The fifth are the four [30] walls that surround the vessels.

••• 34 •••

(86,31 – 87,13)

/ Concerning the Ten Things that the Am[bassa]/d[or] began by his Ad[vent]. /

While the Living Spirit had constructed the universe as a vast and complex machine for purification of the light, it is the advent of the Third Ambassador that begins the cycle of redemption. Now time begins, and the sun and moon revolve through the heavens; the different cosmic cogs start to move; and the various events occur that will lead to life on earth, and thus ultimately to the salvation of the soul.

Once again the enlightener speaks: The Am[bassador performed ten] [35] works by his advent.

[The first: (87) The] Great Builder came forth to build the new aeon. /

[The second]: The ships moved through the heights in the heavens. /

[The th]ird: The wheels begin to s[e]nd the lif[e / to] earth and the upper worlds.

The fourth: [...]

[5] [The fifth i]s the d[o]ors of the ships, that they were opened up / [...

The] sixth is the doors too [... / ... that they were opene]d to receive the waste.

The seven[th i]s / [the sin], which he had separated from the rulers by cause [of the Th/ird Amb]assa[do]r; it fell upon the earth.

[10] [The eig]hth: [Ni]ght and day were separated [... / ...]

The ninth: The abortio[ns fe]ll / [to the g]round.

[The] tenth: Transmigrations [came ab]out / [i]n [the] zone.

••• 35 •••

(87,14 – 87,29)

15 *Concerning the Four Works / of the Ambassador. /*

The displaying of the image of the Ambassador to the rulers of darkness is a crucial moment in the history of salvation, and achieves a first purification of the light that is bound up in the rulers. This leads to the establishment of the heavenly bodies; to the beginnings of life on earth; and ultimately to the completion of the salvific process in the ascent of souls to the sun and the return to the kingdom.

[O n]ce again the enlightener speaks: At the time when the Amba[s]sa/[d]or displaye[d] his image, four great wor[ks] were re/[v]ealed that are very excellent and outstanding.

20 [The f]irst is his image that he displayed in [a] / glorious [image].

The second is all the doors of the f[irm]a/[ments] that were opened at that time. They ope[n / ...] and shut behind him. /

[The t]hird is the light [a]nd the releasing that was purified by 25 his image. That lig[ht] is more than the li/[g]ht that he shall [...] /

[The f]ourth: He has [made appar]ent, by the perfection of people, his / light [s]hip. He has [...] the living soul that sho/[ne forth in] perfection and fullness over the worlds of enmity.

••• 36 •••

(87,30 – 88,33)

/ Concerning the Wheel that exists / i[n fron]t of the King of Honour. /

The King of Honour is enthroned in the seventh firmament from where he is able to control and judge all the evil powers fettered in the heavens. The wheel is here presented as a divination device by which he can know the plans and tricks of these demons as they seek to escape; but also the location of the five shining men, that is the soul mixed throughout the material universe.

[Agai]n the [apostl]e speaks about the wheel that exists in front / [of the King of Honour who dwells in] the seventh firma[35][ment ...] the root of the rulers above and (88) below in a great and cruel fetter; as the entire will / of the great King of Honour is placed in [it]. / Also, their entire enmity, which is in the firmaments, is [...] / and ensnared in it. It exists in a blaze of splendour [with] [5] ornamentation and great beauty. Now, there are twelve / seals in it. The seal between i[s] every [fi]/r[ma]ment and the rulers who are there [... / ...] are in it; for should one of them wish to escape, he will be bound / [...] if he should wish to cause a trick in his bond [... [10] ... will be] apparent and known in [that] wheel / [...] the spheres and stars and [the] l[ea]der of all the powers / exist there, and can be known by it; / i[n f]ront of the King of Honour. /

The twelf[t]h seal that is in it is its five [15] shining men that are conjoined and enmeshed through the entire zone; becau/se every place where they are cramped, and every place where they have s/p[ac]e, is displayed by that wheel. / For the root of all the firmaments above and be[l]/ow, and that of their rulers, is ensnared and fixed in it. The observation [20] [...] is set right at all times opposite the great King o/[f Honour ...] so that fear, wh/ich [...] will assume all the powers of mixture [... / ...] their root affixed there, so that they can not make an esc[a]pe / from the fetter of their bond. That wheel rese[m][25]bles, in this respect, a chain in front of the chief gu/ard, for when [...] in th[ose / ...] in the [... cha]in*[39].

This is / also the case for all the rulers who are in the firmaments, and every power / of the zone: If they should wish to escape, they shall be [30] recognised and revealed by that wheel. / [As] the wheel is like a great mirror, for [the di]/scrimination of all things [... is] / in it. (89)

*[39] Reading [ⲉⲁⲗⲧ]ⲥⲓⲥ

••• 37 •••

(89,1 – 89,17)

/ Concerning the Three Zones. /

The three 'zones' are those of the five powers of darkness, both male and female; the five sons of the First Man; and the five sons of the Living Spirit. The universe is so constructed that the first must depend upon the second, and the second upon the third. Thus the material powers are placed in the most vulnerable position, being 'hung' from soul; and the sons of the Living Spirit are in the strongest, holding the universe in place. Of these the King of Honour in the seventh firmament has a key role.

[O]nce agai]n the enlightener speaks about the Living Spirit: W/hen he built and constructed the worlds, he suspended the zones [5] on their zones, and within another zone also. The first zo/[n]e is the five powers of darkness, males and females. / This is why he hung one zone on a zone! He hung the five / powers of darkness on the five shining men, the sons of the M/[a]n; because all the enmity is entwined and bound in them. [10] Also, within the zone are the five sons of the / [Living] S[pirit; b]ecause the entire edifice is suspended from them, it being [... / ... he]ard (?) him too, the oth[ers ... / ...] after them. And this is the one who came to [... / ... the fi]rmaments above [... [15] ...] which is in one zone, is the great [King of Honour] / who e[xists ...] within the [... / ...] of the universe.

••• 38 •••

(89,18 – 102,12)

/ Concerning the Light Mind and [20] *the Apostles and the Saints. /*

This long and complex chapter demonstrates the correlation between the macrocosmos and the microcosmos of the human body. The prodigious gods and demonic beings who inhabit Mani's worlds are here integrated with the more accessible workings of religious psychology. These insights into the life of the community aid an understanding of the appeal and success of Manichaeism.

89.21 – 90.14 A disciple asks Mani a series of questions about the Light Mind, the god who enters into the believer and transforms the old man

into the new man. How can this happen, and why does the old man continue to rebel? He also asks Mani about his apostolate.

90.15 – 92.8 Mani begins his discussion with the macrocosmos. The universe is constructed in the form of a human. Its life and soul are the five sons of the First Man. The five sons of the Living Spirit are the intellectual qualities, who act as sleepless guardians, each firmly established in its place. The summons and the obedience, that is the active will to salvation personified in Jesus the Youth, become the sixth sons of each. The Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man, is the Mind in the universe.

92.9 – 94.16 The five sons of the Living Spirit each have their appointed watch-districts. Yet, demonic rebellions have occured in each during the course of cosmic history; and have had to be dealt with by various gods.

94.17 – 95.1 Similarly the Light Mind dwells in the human body, and needs to deal with the treachery of sin manifested by the old man who still lies bound within. Mani assures his listeners that despite the recurrence of evil the powers of light know the final victory; and thus always act for the good.

95.2 – 10 Mani briefly answers the disciple's question as to how the mighty Light Mind can live in this small fleshly body.

95.10 – 97.24 Sin constructed the human body from evil matter. Yet, its soul is divine, being taken from the five sons of the First Man. The five intellectual qualities were bound in the body and overlaid by corresponding evil qualities. This led the soul into error and forgetfulness of its true origin. When the Light Mind comes it frees the divine qualities, binds the evil ones, and imprisons sin. Thus the believer is transformed into a new man.

97.24 – 99.17 Nevertheless, sin can rebel and cloud the intellectual qualities, leading the believer once again into error. Mani explains the process by which such a person may gradually come to turn against the true faith, despite the love and support of church leaders and friends.

99.18 – 100.17 Mani emphasises to his disciple that he has now explained the workings of the Light Mind in the body, whose role corresponds to that of the watch-keepers in the macrocosmos. By purifying the spiritual intellect the elect can ascend in their hearts to God the Father, and know everything.

100.19 – 102.3 Mani now turns to the disciple's final question about his apostolate; and explains how he, although a solitary man against the world, has been victorious over all the kings and earthly powers. Thus he has achieved more than all previous apostles, excepting only Jesus.

102.4 – 12 The disciples thank Mani and promise to be strong in their faith.

[O]nce again, at one of the times, a disciple questioned the [apostle] / saying to him: You have told us that the / Light Mi[nd] is this one who shall come and assume the saints. [You sai/d] it to us like this: He too is one among the gods [... [25] ...] many gods are with him. You have also told / us: [W]hen he enters withi[n the body / of] the flesh and binds the ol[d ma]n with his five counsels, he / [set]s his five [couns]els upon him in the five limbs / [of his] body.

[So], no[w], where is he? In that the old man is chained in the bo[30]dy! For I see how rebellions arise there despite / his bondage, from ti[me] to time.

Also, secondly, I a/[s]k you: If then he is a great God, unchanging and im/measurable, how could he come and appear in the smallness of the bo/[dy]?

The third thing I want you to recount to [35][me ...] a holy one is the Mind, and he is pure; / [...] the defilement of this body?

(90) Fourthly: If truly the Light Mind exists in [the s]/aints, why is his likeness not displayed to us, the way th/at he is?

The fifth thing I want, for / you to tell me and explain about your apostola[te]. [5] Look, it is not clear to me! For they oppress / and persecute you in the world. /

I entreat you: Can you persuade me about these things that I have asked you? /

T[hen] he speaks to that disciple: My en[tire] revelati[on], / which I have unveiled, I have declared to my chu[r][10]c[h]. In your presence! This one alone among [... / ...] him.

This disciple says [to the apost]/l[e]: All that you have unveiled you have [...] / in our presence. Yet, I wanted to kno[w ... the] / L[igh]t Mind, the way that he is.

[15] Then the apostle says to him: If I shall repeat [... / ...] to you about these things that you are so set upon, and they become true [f]/o[r] you after you are so set upon them, will you understand what you [... / ...]? On your account I will give vision to they who see! I will / make the living fountain overflow for the thirsty, that they may drink and [l]iv[e].

[20] Then speaks the apostle to him: All the error, when the / en[e]my of the lights constructed it, he constructed after the likeness of / a man. The head of the universe is the beginning of the garments. / [H]is neck is the nape of the garm[ents]. His stomach [is / the] five unfolded ones (?), which a[re ...] of the garm[e]nts. [25] His ribs are all the firmament[s]. His navel [is the] / sphere of the stars and the signs of the zodiac. And, also, [the

par]ts [that] / come from his navel to his hip are [... / ...] that come from the sphere t[o the corne]rs of the four / worlds. His loins are the th[ree eart]hs that are below [... u][30]pon the head of the Porter. His [...] from the [...] / to the earth upon which the Porter [is stood] firm. / His shins and his feet a[re ... / ...] and the entire zone that belongs [...] (**91**) His heart is mankind. His liver is the four-footed / animals. His lung is the race of birds that [fly in] / the air. His spleen is the race of fish that swim in the wat/ers. His kidneys are the world of reptiles that creep [up][5]on the earth. His outer skin is the wall that [... which] / surrounds the piercing and the great fire. His [...] / the vessels of the great fire. His [...] / of darkness. His gall is the [... His] / great intestine is the breadth of the great [... [10] ...] of the worlds. His veins [...] all [the spri]/ngs and wells. His e[yes (?) ... / ...] His feet are his [... / ...] /

This is how each of the worlds h[ave been ha]rmonised (?)*40 . [15] F[iv]e g[od]s are fastened in him. [...] / they are his soul and his life [... / m]an is a sinner [... / ...] the Living Spirit and the Ambassador [... / the] five sleepless guardians.

He has [...] [20] the Keeper of Splendour, the mind that is [... in the wo/r]ld of the mind that is above. He has [... who]le [...] / of the powers of hea[ven that] are in [... / of] the great King of Honour, [who is the thought that exists / i]n the seventh firmament. He has humbled [... [25] ...] also of the Adamant of Lig[h]t, who is the insight [... / f]rom {}*41 he has given [...] because of lust [... He has] / also appointed the King of Glory, who is the coun[sel ...] / patience over the three images; that of wind, that of / fire, and that of water. He has handed over to him the [... [30] ...] do evilness. / [...] the Porter, who is the consideration [... / the wi]sdom in the [...] which is below. He has made him [... / ...] the foundation [below ...]

(**92**) Furthermore: The Ambassador refined from them five / intellectuals of life. Also, the summons / and the obedience were situated there. Now, they made six sons of the Living Spirit, / together with the six sons of the First Man!

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*40 Reading ϵⲧⲁ[ϯ]ⲙⲏⲧϵ as ϯ]ⲙϵⲧϵ

*41 ϩⲛ ϯⲙⲏⲧϵ Also 93.6

Further: The Ambassador placed in them the great Mind; / who is the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man. /

Furthermore: Jesus the Youth was set there; who is the / image of the living word, of the utterance and the obedience. /

He has made strong these camps, those above and those below [...] each one of them will be secure in the circuit of his [watch-]district, / so that neither uprising nor treachery are made in his watch-district. /

And look, see! The Keeper of Splendour is set firm in the / great mind, in the camp above the pris/on of the bound ones, for he brings to nothing [a]ll the gloo[m] of de[ath]. An[d a] treachery came about, and an uprising! The sin abor[te]d, [it / tangled i]n with the soul. It became mixed with this light that it / expelled toward the image of the Ambassador. It went [... / ... in the] third firmament that is above the watch-t[ower / ...] the Keeper of Splendour. From that place also it tang[20]led in with the light. It was detached and came down / to that which is dry and that which is moist. It [fashio]ned the trees [up/on] the dry (land); but in the sea it immediat[ely] took form and / made a great uprising in the sea. /

Again, look, see! The great King of Honour, who is the thought, he is in the thi[r]d firmament*42. He is made [...] / with wrath. And an uprising [came about]! A treachery and a[n] / anger happened in his camp. The watchers / of heaven, who came down to the earth in his watch-district, / they did all the deeds of treachery. They have revealed crafts in the world and have unveiled to people the mysteries [of] / heaven. An uprising came about, and a destruction, on the earth [... / ...] to it.

The Adamant [...] / the fulfillment. He is set firm upo[n ...] (**93**) and a treachery came about in his camp; the occasion / when the abortions fell to the earth. They formed Adam / and Eve. They begat them so as to reign through them in the world. / They fashioned every object of lust upon the earth. The entire world was filled by their lust. / Also, {} they persecute the churches.

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*42 Probably an error for the seventh firmament.

They kill the / apostles and the righteous in the watch-district of the Adam[ant] / of Light, time after time, and from generation to generation. /

Once again: In the watch of the great King of Glory, wh[o] [10] is the great counsel, he who exercises authority over the thre[e] / wheels. A [dis]turbance came about, and an affliction, for [they were ...] / pained and oppressed in the three earths. After the Ambassa/dor displayed his image, the paths closed to their / [... th]eir ascent was impeded by them [...] [15] the w[ind], the water, and the fire ascend on them. /

[O]nce again: In the watch of the Porter, he who humiliates [... / upr]ising of the abysses below [... / ...] bent, the fastenings underneath were loosened [...] / in the foundation below.

[20] [On] account of the earthquake that happened in the watch of the Keeper of Splen/[dour], the Pillar of Glory came forth; as it [... / ...] helper of the Keeper of Splendour. It bore up under all [burden]s. /

Conversely, because of the treachery and the uprising that / happened in the watch of the great King of Honour, which is the wat[25]chers who came down to earth from the heavens; / four angels were called upon about them. They bound the watche/[r]s with an eternal chain, in the prison of the blackened ones (?). / [Th]ey obliterated their children from upon the earth. /

[Th]en, again, the abortions descended in the watch of the Adamant [30] [and] begat Adam and Eve; because of that great treachery wh/[ich] happened, and the mystery of wickedness, he sent Jesus / [...] the prayer of the five sons. He assumed them / [...] the abortions. He fastened them beneath the / [... the] mind of Adam.

(**94**) Also, because of the earthquake that happened in these three / earths, and in that the paths were hindered and the springs of / wind and water and fire were impeded, Jesus cast himself down. He / assumed Eve; and he straightened the tracks of the [win]d, the water, and [5] the fire. He opened the springs for them, and he set [in ord]er the path / of their ascent.

Once [again]: Since the / earth beneath the Porter was loose[ned from] the fastenings that / [...] because of this too Jesus went down, assuming / {Ev]e until he reached tha[t] place. [H]e set in [or]der and stre[10]ngth[ened] the fastenings beneath. He returned, [he came] up to his / [...] rest.

Then speaks the a[po]stl[e] to him: / Look at all these watches of the zon[e], the ones in which these / great gods are master, w[atch]ing over them [...] / Uprisings have happened, and treachery, in them. The [... [15] ...] in them from time to time; with a great hum[iliati]on, / until they humbled the powers of the enmity. /

So also is this body! A mighty power lives / here, even if it is small in its stature. Nevertheless, s/in dwells within, and the old man who is lodged in it. Certainly he is cruel, [20] with great cunning; until the Lig/ht Mind finds how to humble this body, and drive it [according to] / his pleasure.

Just so, in the w[atch-]districts / of his great outer brothers, they who are masters in the zone. / In them, in the great body: the earthquake and treachery happened [25] from time to time. So, also, is the watch-district of the / Mind, which is the body of the flesh. Sin raises [up], / from time to time, its agitations in the body. /

Now you (pl.), understand thus, that the powers of light / are good. The beginning and the end are unveiled to them. [30] All that they do is being done with correct judgement. / Indeed, because of this they may permit the enmity / to initiate error, and do its pleasure [for] / a moment. Then they seize [... (**95**) ...] they have acted first with a righteous judgement. /

And [with resp]ect to this other (question) that you have put forward: How may the Light / Mind come, this great and honoured mighty one, and assume this little / body of the flesh? Again, look, see! These gods, in that [5] [... are] great and mighty ones. And each one of them is enclosed and hard pr/[essed] i[n this pl]ace wherein he is set; like trees / [hol]ding to their taproot. So also this is how each / [o]ne of them has 'held to his taproot' in the world, according to / [the] k[ind] of place in which he is set, bearing up till [10] [...]

Now, also, happen you know / [...] the world is set firm, being ordered [... / the five sons of the] Living Spirit in all its members / [...] sin took this body out from [the] la/[nd (?) ... co]nstructed it in its members. It took its [bod]y [15] [from the five b]odies of darkness. (Sin) constructed the body. Yet, its / [sou]l i[t] took from the five shining gods. / [(Sin) bou]nd (the soul) in the five members of the body. It bound the mind / in bone; the thought in sinew; the insight in vein; the cou/nsel in flesh; the consideration in ski[n].

(Sin) set f[20][ast] its five powers: its mind upon the mind of the soul; / [its] thought upon the thought of the soul; its insight upon the insight / [of] the [s]oul; its counsel upon the counsel of the soul; its consider/[atio]n upon the consideration of the soul. It placed its five / [an]gels and authorities upon the five members [25] [of the] soul, which it had brought in and bound in the flesh. They / [...], pronouncing to the soul and continually leading it on to / every evil thi[n]g, to all the sins of lust, to the / [wor]ship of idols, to erroneous opinions, to humili/[ation]; in the humiliation of slavery! As it is set fast, wors[30][hipping] the things that [...] will not remain; making obeisance / [...] idols of wood and gold and silver. / [...] worshipping beasts (**96**) that are unclean and polluted! They are ugly in their appearances and their / forms.

(The soul) assumed error and forgetfulness. It for/got its essence and its race and its kindred; kn[o]/wing not the door of the place to pray to him, nor call up [5] to him. It became hostile to its father [... / ...] itself, being wicked [... / ...] its own light [...

The] Light / [Mind] comes and finds the soul [... / ...] it assuming it in the [... [10] ...] its wisdom [... / ...] he shall become for it [... / ...] the bonds [...] / members in the body. He shall loosen the m[ind of the soul and relea/se] it from the bone. He shall release the th[ought of the soul] [15] from the sinew; and s[o] bind the thought [of the sin in] the sinew. He shall release the insight of the soul from the vei[n]; / and so bind the insight of the sin in the vein. [He sh]all / loosen the counsel of the soul, and release it from the flesh; / and so bind the counsel of the sin in the flesh. He shall [20] release the consideration of the soul from the skin; and bin[d] / the consideration of the sin in the skin. /

This is how he shall release the members of the soul, / and make them free from the five members of sin. / Conversely, these five members of sin, which were loose; [25] he shall bind them. He shall set right the members of the soul; form / and purify them, and construct a new man of them, a child [o]/f righteousness. [And] when [he] fashions and const[r]/ucts and purifies the new man; then he shall bring forth five / great living members out from the five great memb[ers]. [30] And he places them in the members of the new man. He shall place his m[ind], / which is love, in the mind of the new man. Also, the th[oug]/ht, which is faith, he shall pl[ace in] the thought [of the] / new [man]; whom he shall purify. His insight, which [is perfection, he shall place] (**97**) in the insight of the new man. His counsel, which [is] / patience, he shall place in his counsel. Also, [w]is/dom, which is his consideration, in the consideration of the new m/an. He shall make the image of the word pure from the word of [5] sin; and he adds to it his word, so that his / [... be]comes nourisher and strengthener [... / ...]

Now, when he shall perf[ect / ... the tw]elve members. This [is how / ...] and his wisdom. His [... [10] ...] becomes righteous, as he perf[ects ... / ...] While formerly he was running [... / ...] but instead of this, now he runs [... / ...] his road and his path and his [...] / also [he mounts up] to the heights, to the great aeons [... [15] ...] thus the old man is bound in the [... / ...] and his lust, his [...] his / foolishness in these five members of the bo[dy ...] / the dark spirit is imprisoned with them in a bond and in / severe misery.

Also, the new man reigns [20] [b]y his love, by hi[s] faith, by his perfection, [b]y his / [p]atience, and by his wisdom. Yet, his king [... / the] Light [Min]d, he w[ho is] king over the totality. He re[igns] o[ver it / according to] his pleasure. While the members [...], / thus sin is imprisoned. Still, the Light Mind [25] [is] king, and an affliction may arise in the body from t/[im]e to time.

There are occasions when sin shall mount / [u]p with its foolishness; and it disturbs the consideration, and it clouds / the wisdom and the understanding of the person. It causes truth to be s/[pl]it into doubt in him, and he utters some foo[li]sh words [30] and some [... W]hen the manner of his foo/[lishn]ess will come to the [...] in the church, the teachers and / [the ...] and the [...] and the

presbyters shall gather / [...] helper. And they put straight his wisdo/[m ...] His consideration has been set right (**98**) [about] this. His wisdom has been set in its right place and ordered [... / ...] well.

Now, if he shall not accept the rebuke / and the edification of his brethren and his helpers; then shall / sin mount up again, another time, from the consideration to [5] the counsel. It takes his patience f[rom him], and bestows upon him / faint-heartedness and hurt. And the [si]n is displ/[ayed] in the midst of his brethren. His [...] for / every [thing] that he shall do [...] / advice of his brethren, and he becomes [...] [10] the [fo]olishness. A battle and a war shall arise / (between) the Light Mind and the sin in the counsel [... / they sh]all group together and become [... / ... the]re, and they cause him to cease from the [... / ...] and they put him straight in his place another ti[me ...] his [15] compa[nio]ns in his struggle.

If again the [...] / to that place, then again sin shall rise [... / ...] and clothe him with lust and vanity and / pride. He separates from his teacher and his brethren. / [He sh]all always [w]ant to go in and to come out alone. [20] He shall want to eat and to drink alone, a solitary man. [He sh]all / always want to walk alone. Indeed, this is the [si]/gn that the familiarity of his brethren does not act on him.

Should he again not [...] / his heart from lust; again sin shall mount / up, the thought of death, to his thought. He shall [...] [25] a vanity; and causes his f[ai]th and his truth to le[a]/ve him. When the sign of his foolishness will be [dis]/played, and his reputation spreads in the church, the [wis]/e ones of the church shall gather to him; so [that] they may set right his [heart], / and encourage it with God's edification. If now he took [the adv][30]ice of his brethren, and listened to [...] / and set himself apart from his wrath and [...] (**99**) It is possible he could live and be victorious over the sin, and all its wars. /

Yet, if he shall not make this watch secure, (sin) shall rise up / and assume his mind; and disturb his mind, which formerly was calm. / It shall disrupt his love, away from his teacher and his [5] instructor. It shall take from his heart love of the churc/h,

and fill it full of hatred. And all his brethren become hateful / before him. H[i]s brethren and his loved ones and his friends / who love him; they shall be like enemies before him. / Now, that person is disturbed like this, and he lets his [10] love and his will turn from him. That person shall / [himse]lf become a vessel of loss, and he separates fr[om] / the church, and his end comes down to the world. / The Mind, who was in him, sh[a]ll disperse from him and go / to the apos[t]le who sent him. He shall be filled by evil spirits; [15] and they deal with [him], dragging [hi]m hither and thither. And he himself becomes like / wordl[y] me[n]. [He] will change and become as if a b/[i]rd, were its feathers plucked out. He becomes an earthly man. /

[T]hen, have I taught you, and opened your (sg.) [eyes], as to how / confusion shall arise in the zo[ne]; in the camps of [20] these great mig[hty] gods? Again, this is how / disturbance shall come about, from ti[me] to time, in the [...] of the / [Li]ght [M]ind. So al[so] these watch-keepers, for they are set [... / f]i[rm in] the zone, (but) they are not visible. Again, this too is the way / of the Light Mind, [for he is] not visible in the body.

[25] Also, [corr]esponding to th[ese] outer [watch-keepers]; in that while they are great, / [y]et have they contorted themselves. They have [...], they have become small, to the measure of the task / [th]at is apportioned to each o[n]e [of t]hem. Again, this too is like / [the] Mind, himse[lf] a great one, and exalted; but he is bent over / and [has] become small, to this little worthless [bo]dy.

[30] [Even so] the gods [in the] outer [z]one: they are transcendent / and purified, they are set [f]a[st in] the mingling of the totality, (but) are not defiled. / [This too is like the] Light [Mind]. While he is placed in hi[s / ...]

(**100**) Again, behold the mightiness and the activity of the Light / Mind: how vast he is over all the watch-districts of / the body! He stays fast at his camp. He shuts off / all deliberations of the body from the beguilements of sin. [5] He limits them and distributes them out. He sets them down / at his pleasure.

Also, he does another work, surpassing and ex/ceeding (these). He bestows a great spirit upon the ele/ct one. Indeed, now may

you find him, as he stands on the earth, / [r]ising up in his heart and ascending to the Father, the [10] G[o]d of truth. He who exists and is established above / all the things of loss. [Onc]e again, he may push dow/n [i]n his insight and his consideration, and descend to / the land of darkness, from where the darkness has poured forth. / His heart shall run and touch everything, as it [...]

[15] Then he says to [th]at discip[le: I have taught you] / the deeds of the [Light] Mind! Whoever has / an open and percept[ive] eye, [he can] appear to him. Whoever / has not that eye, he can not appear to him. /

And, also, as to my work that [is] not [manife]st nor revealed to you, [20] the deeds that I have done; I will teach you about t/hem, and open your eyes [to] this wonder [...] / and of my leadership. /

Observe from this! That I, a single Manichaios, I have come to the wo/rld alone. And the races [and] kindreds of the body, [25] and the gold and silver and [br]ass [...] copper, and the / many gifts and breast[plates and] armour of [the] / multitude, and [m]uch humani[ty], submit to me. / Many types of gods and idols from / smelting furnaces! You (pl.) have beheld the k[ingdom] of the world. For, despite great effort, [ev][30]en with many benefits and [gif]ts, with a / breastplate and a violent war; they have not subdued [the ci]/ties nor conquered the countries. [Yet, I, I have conquered] / without breastplate and without [armour] (**101**) distant [cities] by the word of God, and distant countries. / And they bless my name, and it is glorified in all countries. /

[Und]erstand also another thing that I will teach you. The k/in[g]s have striven with me, and the nobles and [offi][5]cials and their powers, so that they might bring to nothing this truth. T/hey did not have the strength for this against me. Now, if I am alone, / why did they not have power against me? Namely, all these who have [striv]/en with me.

The third thing: [No on]/e in the world has given freedom to his children [a]nd [10] his brothers and his kin, and made them fr[ee] f/rom the variance of all things, the way I have. [I who have made] / all my children free from every toil and every [... / ...]

The fourth thing: I have [cover]ed them / with the breastplate [of

wis]dom; so that you will not find a single one among man[15]-[kind ...] and he is victorious over them. For as no single per/son is able to be victorious over me in the entire world; so it [i]s also like this for my children. No person will be able to be victorious over them! /

[The fi]fth thing: I have chosen with my power this entire great elect/ion. I have given my children my emblems of authority [... [20] a]nd the great springs of wisdom, so that [...] / apostle [...] of the church [... / ...] I have made it mine. I have made my church strong, and appointed in it / all [goo]d things that are beneficial to it in every matter. / [I have pl]anted the good, I have sown the truth in every land, f[25]ar and near. Apostles and ambassa/[d]ors I have sent to all countries. Therefore, the former apo/[st]les who came before them did not do as I have do[ne / in] this hard generation; apart from Jesus only, the son of / greatness, who is the father of all the apostles. [30] [S]o, all of the apostles have not done as [I, / I have] done! Look again, and see now: How great is my / [power] and my activity? For not one among the former apo/[stles, ... i]n the flesh has reached my like in the / [...] through me. For this great (**102**) door has been opened, opened by me, to the gods and the angels and / mankind, and all the spirits and the living souls, who are prep/ared for life and eternal rest. /

Then, after his disciples had heard all these sayings, which he [5] proclaimed, his disciples answered. They say to him: Gre[at] / and mighty are all these things that you have uttered to us; which / [you] have [do]ne by your power, and the power of the one who sent you. Who / could fully recompense you for the grace that you have d/one [u]s, except this one who sent you? Still, the on[l]y gift [10] available to us, to repay you, is this: that we will make ourselves strong in / y[our] faith; and persevere in your commandments; and / also be per[s]uaded of your word, which you have proclaimed to us.

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(102,13 – 104,20)

/ Concerning the Three Da[15]*ys and the Two Deaths. /*

Patterns of temporal and sequential classification were of great importance to Mani, who used them to structure his system, to teach, and to evangelise. Compare chapters 4 and 17. The particular focus and interest in this kephalaion is the eschatological detail. Life in this time and world is but a precursor to the reign of the saints in the new age and the new earth. There the First Man, the victorious son, will be king (H. 41.11-20). However, this too comes to an end; when the hidden Father at lasts reveals his image, and receives the souls and gods back into the heart of the eternal kingdom, from where they have been barred since the beginning of the conflict. In contrast to this glorious hope, sinners are warned of a second death, eternally separated from life and the divine.

Once again the apostle speaks to his disciples: Hap/pen you know, my beloved ones, that there exist three great / mighty days in all; and also two great / and bitter deaths.

When his disciples hea[20]rd they say to him: Tell us our father, what are th[ese] / three great days? Or again, what are these two de[aths] / that are bitter?

He speaks to them. / The first day is our father, the Man. From the ti[me] / when the First Man went down to the abyss of darkness [25] and drowned in it; and the Living Spirit was sent, who w[ent] / and bore him up. After the Man had ascended, the Father o/f Life and the Great Spirit set things in order, and the wo/rlds above and below.

Furthermore, the glorious [Am]/bassador came and dwelt in the ship of the day. [30] He displayed his glorious image, and he purified [the li]/ght out of all things. He walked in the heights of the [hea]/vens. Till the time when the world will be dissolved, / all things destroyed, the great [fire] released, / and the Last Statue ascends. [35] These three deeds were be[gun] on this first [day, when they sent] / the First Man with his five [sons].

In contrast, [the first death] (**103**) is the darkness that mixed with the five sons / of the First Man.

The second day / is the time when the fathers of light, who were victorious in the struggle, / will sit on their thrones in the new aeon and dw^{5}ell on the new earth. And they reign in the new [aeon] / till the Father unveils his image / above them.

The {length of the sojourn}*[43] in the [ne]w aeon / equals the measure of the first day spent [in affli]/ction. They will reign like this and rejoice in [the n]ew [aeon].

[10] The great third day [is the time] / when the Father will unveil over them his [image ... / ...] and he raises them up [...] / and he receives them in to his hidden treasur[y ...] / and he gives [...] his soul. He can pour out upon th[em ...] [15] his ambrosia and his sweet perfume, which ta[kes away] / all affliction that they have seen with their eyes. [...] / fullness and a joy eternal! When his / [g]race would sate them, he gives to them his [...] a/[nd t]hey are made anew in them. Also, he can summon them once more [in] peace [20] and silence, and perfect their stature in sa[m]e measure / as his first aeons. And he sets each power / [i]n its aeon, in its dwelling-place. They will dwell in the [n]ew aeon / in their aeons! Now, when they dwell in / their aeons, they will become rich beyond measure, [25] for ever, beyond time.

From then on they will not count / that season amongst them; nor the number / [o]f the days, nor the hours, generation after generation, for / [e]ver and ever. The Father will not be hidden from them, from / [this] tim[e] on. Rather, he has accomplished (his) unveiling to them [...] he being revealed [30] [to them] forever.

These are the three great days, / [which the Fath]er o[f Gre]atness has given number to in the reck/[oning].

In contrast, the two deaths that I have pro/[claimed to you a]re [these].

(**104**) The first death is from the time when the light fell to / the

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*[43] ⲡⲉⲁ ⲙⲡⲧⲟϣⲱⲉ Smagina 1990:118–9 translates as the 'winnowing of the chaff', treating it as an agricultural image for purification.

darkness, and was mixed in with [the] rulers of darkness; un/til the time when the light will become pure, and be separated from the dark/ness in that great fire. The remainder left be[5]hind there can build and add to that Last / Statue.

Now, the second death is the death in which / the s[ou]ls of sinful men shall die; when / [they will] be stripped of the shining light that illuminates / the world. And also they are separated from the living air, from which they receive [10] [livin]g bre[ath]; and they are deprived of this living soul, which / [...] in the world; and they are separated and swept / away from this Last Statue [... / ...] and bound on [... / ...] the female will become [...] [15] their torture and their affliction; for their deeds [...] / those three places; because they have blasphemed and despised the / Holy Spirit since [ev]ery generation of the world.

These are the / two deaths. The first death is temporal; [but] the sec/ond death is eternal. It is the sec[20]o[nd deat]h!

••• 40 •••

(104,21 – 105,14)

/ Concerning the Three Things that / were established by the Light. /

This chapter continues the eschatological theme of the previous. Since the enemy had attacked the light in the beginning, three results became inevitable that would alter the relationship between the two principles in their future eternal separation: the new earth is built over this universe; it will imprison the darkness as in a coffin (?); and the souls of sinners will be condemned and crucified on the enemy.

This doctrine of the final lump, the literal mass of the damned, was an essential part of Mani's system. The tragic loss of some of the light soul, too deeply enmeshed in darkness and sin to be saved, was accepted as an inevitable consequence of the power of evil. In order to ensure that the darkness could never again multiply and rebel against the light, its powers (especially the males and females) are separated so as to sterilise it, and to prevent it planning an attack.

Once again he speaks to his disciples, these who are not associates in the my[stery*44] [25] of his knowledge: Three things

*44 Technical term, see note ch. 52.

would be fashioned / by the light through necessity! For there can be no other way / nor other result, to allow them to stay without coming about. For / the darkness, the enemy, mu[st] be bound by them; he who stood up again[st] / the light from the beginning. Due to this, these things have no (other) res[ult], [30] to allow them to stay without coming about. /

Now, the first thing is the new luminous earth, w[h]/ich was set and built on top of this earth [...] / it, namely that alien body [...] built upo[n it]. /

The second thing is this: They will [...] and they [...] [35] the new earth, the coffin [...] (**105**) of the dark fire, the companion of the enemy.

The thi/rd thing is the souls of all the sinners who have been con/demned by their deeds. They were [...] over them woe; they have been / condemned according to the wicked deeds they had committed, and due to this they will be crucif[5]ied on the enemy, he who had raised himself up against the greatness.

They will / seal up*[45] this final lump when / all the likenesses and images of every shape will be nailed in it. Also, those will be bo[und] / by this last fetter for eternity, and be [plac]ed / as a footstool and a mat*[46] and a rag for this coffin [...] [10] which is the prison of the enemy. It will be placed, being a [bound]ary-/marker and a great void between the two, between the [darkne]ss / and the enemy, so that they can not reach one another, nor can they [h]ea/r their voices; rather they will become sterile as they are separated from each other / for [eve]r and [e]ver.

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*[45] ⲥⲉⲗⲟⲉ Cf ⲥⲱⲗⲟ (Crum 333b), citing Ep. 253 and 549, vessels sealed with clay sealings. Smagina 1990:116–7 suggests that the souls 'will make the cover of ...'

*[46] Cf H. 5.4 and 76.23 where it has the meaning 'trample'. Smagina 1990:117–8 translates 'they will be laid as a foundation, and a base, and a cover of this Ark'.

••• 41 •••

(105,15 – 106,21)

/ Concerning the Three Blows that / befell the Enemy because of the Light. /

The eschatological focus continues with further details on the final binding of the darkness, and the separation of male and female respectively in a lump (βῶλος) and a tomb (τάφος). Mani uses the description of the fate of sinners to exhort the faithful to remain firm despite persecution.

The sequence of content in chapters 39 – 41 provides a good example of how Mani's lessons have undergone some rudimentary redaction in the construction of the *Kephalaia*.

[O]nce again he t[u]rned, and says: The darkness itself, the enemy, / has received three bad blows with three wars; and worse dangers from the light in those three wars. /

The first: (The enemy) was brought out to the middle and separated / from his dark earth, whence he had departed. He was vanquished / in that first war, caught and / [bo]und by the living soul.

The second blow is the time when he will be dissolved and melted, and he perishes in / this great fire. He is destroyed and overthrown, from the images / that are all by which he exists. And he will be gathered in / [to the] fetter corresponding to his archetype, and be made like he w/[a]s from the first beginning.

[The t]hird blow that will befall the enemy is the 'rolling back' / [at the] end when everything will be separated, and male will be divided / [from] female. Now, the male will be bound in the lump, [b]ut the fem/[ale] w[ill be thrown] i[n] to the tomb. For it will be divided / [... by a great] stone in their midst, for generat[ion upon generation, for ever and] ever.

(**106**) This is the way that the binding of the enemy will come about, in a fet/ter that is burdensome and strong, one from which there is never escape; / because [they have achieved] his binding and bound him for ever. / And they have achieved his being set apart, and he has been set apart for ever.

[5] Due to this I say to my beloved ones: Hear my words / that I proclaim to you! Gird yourselves for the things o/[f li]fe. Endure the persecutions and trials th/at wi[ll come] to you. Be you strong in these commandments that I have give/n [y]ou, so that you may escape those two deaths [10] and be free from this final bond [i]n which there is no hope of / lif[e]. And you will escape the terrible end of the de/niers and blasphemers who have seen truth with their own eyes, and have turne/d back from it. They will go to the place of punishm[en]t [where]in / there is no day of life. For the enlightening light will be hidden fr[om t]he[m], [15] and they will be unable to see it from this moment. / Air and wind will be drawn from them, and they will not receive life breath / in them from this moment. Waters and moisture will be taken from them, / and they will not taste them again. /

Blessed is every one who will escape the end of sin[20]ners and deniers, and be free from the ruin that lies hidden for ever!

••• 42 •••

(106,21 – 111,17)

/ Concerning the Three / Vessels. /

This kephalaion begins a sequence of three complex chapters wherein Mani seeks to justify the actions of the Living Spirit in his construction of the universe; and in particular his management of the three vessels of dark elements (water, darkness and fire) by means of the three vessels or garments of light elements (wind, water and fire). Essentially, the Living Spirit discharges down to earth the dark elements from the rulers who are bound in the heavens; and then 'sweeps' them out to the edge of the universe into pits that have been prepared for them. The light elements ascend up through the universe to purity and rest. Since this process must result in some contamination on earth, Mani is at pains to explain that it has been done in the best possible manner.

106.32 – 107.26 The Living Spirit is like a good doctor who discharges sickness and poison (the dark elements) by means of healing drugs (the light elements).

107.26 – 108.16 The light elements cause the dark to be discharged as a child is from its mother.

108.16 – 36 The processes by which the dark elements are poured upon the earth and then swept out to the edge of the universe are carefully managed, so that each occurs at the appropriate time.

109.1 – 111.17 These actions have brought twelve advantages. In the first of these Mani explains that the timing by which each evil vessel is discharged is such as to keep the contamination to a minimum. The other advantages relate to details about the purification of the heavenly realms, and the containment of evil.

Once again the disciples questioned the enlightener, saying t[o h]i[m]: [25] Tell us, our master, and instruct us about these / three vessels that [...] and were discharged fr[om] / above, and how they were discharged and separated from / all [the] rulers who are arranged in the [heaven]s. For it is a ne[ce]/ssity for us to know [the manne]r in which [30] the three vessels have been discharged, while the rulers were [flour]/ishing in their body. /

Then the enlightener speaks to his disciples: [Hap]pen you [kn]/ow, my beloved ones, that when these v[es]/sels [were dis]ch[arged], they were discharged in [...] [35] slaughter, but those [...] these [ves](**107**)sels from them.

They are like the for[m] / of a man who has fallen into a purulent sickness. Other wounds / and diseases are in his body, and even bile and other po[i]/sons are in his inner limbs. [H]e achieves good [5] health by a wise doctor, who gives him one remedy to drink that causes hi[s] / purulent sickness to break out above, and gives him another medicine to drink / that causes his sickness to discharge below, [and he gives him] / yet another medicine [to drink] that cures his wounds for him [...] / calmly and silently. Through the skill of a [10] wis[e] d[oc]tor, with his effective medicines to consume that t[ake awa]y / all sicknesses [in t]his manner and dissolve all magic, the d[oc]tors shall / [...] they work cures through the aroma of the medicine, other wounds / [...] what is hidden, they at last tear them out from / [...] manifested above and below [15] [... throug]h the aroma of edible medicines that were placed upon them. /

This is also [w]hat these vessels / of water, of darkness an[d o]f fire are like, which are hidden in the body / of all the rulers above; while the Living Spirit is li/ke the wise doctor. These three healing d[20]rugs are the three garments that the Living Spirit assumes / upon his body: of wind, of water, and of fire. / Through them he has set in order the things below. For by those th/ree garments he has been displayed to the rulers who are / [ab]ove,

with hard-heartedness, with shaking and fear, with [25] derangement; from them he discharged the three ve/ssels, those of water, of darkness and of fire.

The case / of these vessels is just [lik]e a / [ch]ild who is in his mother's [wo]mb and is swathed by sev/[e]n garments. The first [is] the marrow, the second is the bones, [30] [the] third is the [tendons], the fourth is the flesh, the fi/[fth] the veins, the [sixt]h the blood, the seventh / [the sk]i[n of] the bo[dy th]at covers him. The other garment also [... / ... in the wo]mb of his mother. His mother also / [is] ju[st] like] this child. The marrow [35] [and the bones, the sinews and fl]esh, the veins and blood and [sk](**108**)in, together with the garment that she wears and the linen that swa/thes her, total nine. Together wi[th] the nine of the child, these and the / others, they shall complete and make eighteen garments. Now, you shall find the / soul of this child is entwined within all these. [5] And look see: When the smell of / the action of the demon, which brings about the stench of birth, wi[ll rev]eal the child; immediately [...] shall / [...] all [these things] and it emerges from a crack that has becom/e visible, while no tear nor wound occurs in the body of [10] the [chi]ld. In the same way as this child [opens up] / the w[om]b of his mother, so is it also with / these vessels of water, of dar[kness] and [of] / fire. The actions that open up his [mother]*[47] / to the child, and she shakes him out and reveals [him; these] [15] are the three living garments that the [Living] Spirit [assumed on / his]*[48] body.

For by the aspect of the garment of water [... / ...] from the rulers; he moved / [...] they are the poison and / [d]eath with which their veins and entrails are filled.

[20] By the aspect of the garment of wind, in [which] he was revealed / [...] he has swept away and erased the entire destructive shadow / and dirt, discharged it down to the earth. Afterwards / he swept it out and confined it in the vessel of darkness that / surrounds the universe.

Also, by the garment of living fire, [25] through its splendour and

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*47 Restoring ⲁⲧϥ[ⲙⲉⲑ]
*48 Restoring [ⲣ̄ϕⲟⲣⲉ / ⲁⲁ̄ⲛ ⲡ]ⲥⲱⲙⲁ

vigour, he discharged the fire of the dark[ness f]/rom all the rulers and t[hrew] it down upon this earth. He swept [it] / another time from the earth and confined it in the vessel that surrou/nds all the worlds, and they call [i]t the wall of grea[t] / fire. Now, those three garm[ents], through which he [estab][30]lished these three things, he did not peel t/hem off all at once; but h[e strip]ped them off one by one / at the appropriate time [...] down [to the] e/arth [...] /

In this way the universe of the [... [35] ...] his vessels [...] / these vessels like [...]

(**109**) Furthermore, he continued. He says to his disciples: The us/e of the matter, and the management of these vessels that were swept o/ut and discharged from above to [eart]h, have brought an advantage and benefit of / twelve great deeds. Afterwards, they were swept from the ear[th] [5] and pushed outside to the edges of the worlds and to the {extremity}*[49] / of the zone.

The first deed is this: So that evil-doin/g does not increase in the universe, neither in the creations nor in the tree/[s ... it has set i]tself up in three things.

The [first is / ...]

The second is error [... [10] ...] Indeed, about this I have spoken to [you] as I / [...] For, if it were so, if [the ves/sel of water] had not been [swept] down from above, but rather the wat[ers / existing up t]ill now in the rulers above [... / ... the] torrents that would flow [...] and the droplets that would [15] [...] down, so lust would have sprouted / [... i]n the trees and in the fruits as well as all flesh / [...] down [... / t]oday [...] / you could [not] find a single person [...] in the [... [20] ...] a saint does [...] is master of [...] / Not only this, but if the vess/el of darkness had not been swept out and thrown down to the earth, nor swept from / the earth and cast outside the region of the worlds / into this pit; again the drops of darkness, which will drip down from it, and the torrents [25] that will continue to flow down from above to the earth and assume / [the] trees and [a]l[l] flesh, would have multiplied, and the

*[49] ΤΚΔΙΟ

forget/fulness that is in a thousand people today you would have found in / [just] one person. There is not one among mankind [...] him / [...] the thought and the knowledge of the [...] /

[Further]more, if the fire were in the rulers of the worlds of the heavens until / today, and had not been swept out and cast d/[o]w[n] to the earth, and swept from the earth and shut up i/[nside] the vess[el] of fire that surrounds the worlds; / [...] this fire [... ... ...] abo[ve] through the torrent / [... the tor]ren[t ...] below; (**110**) and the dark fire wo[ul]d have multiplied in the tree and in fruit / and in all flesh. The power of the fire that is now in a thousand / people, you would have found it occurring in a single person / today. You would not have found a single person embracing the fast in the universe.

Behold, I have taught you about / this single evil that w[as] purified by three archetypes [... / ...] /

The second deed: Al[l] the heavens [... / ...] of the sed[im]ent and the pollution [... ...] so that [... / ...] surpasses in [th]em [...] /

[The third]: The heavens and the firma[ments ... / ... b]urden [...] relieved from the weight-ca[rriers*50 ... / ...] and it ceased being heavy. This rich one [... ...] above.

The fourth: Th[at they might pur]/ify and cleans[e] their dwelling places [... / ...] /

The fifth: Because the great[ness and the rich]ness that dwells in / thes[e shi]ps, as it [...] you might find them [living i]n these ships, purified and holy. /

The sixth: That you might find the mixed, incomple[te], / and unconfined temples above at res[t a]nd purified; since / rest will reach [them] and pass through them and purify th[em]. /

The seventh: [...] nature alone of the vessels, which will advance and extend to their places and sites [... / ...] in [...] /

The eighth: That great enclosures and walls would be made, and / confine everything. /

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*50 Read ⲉⲥⲉⲓ̈ⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲉ [ⲧⲡⲱ See 115.5–10

The ninth: When the apostles [...] them, they [30] shall return to the universe and give a sign of [...] / the dissolution of the universe. /

The tenth deed: That they would become releasers and purifier[s of / every]thing at the end of the universe like the fir[e ... / ...] burns [...]

[35] [The] elevent[h d]eed: [...] will make a crossin[g ...] / and the entire rul[ing]-power [...] (**111**) to the outer land, for they were not envious of this [...] / a man who is richer than them; because the aeons of lig/ht are outside [...] the place [...] of / peace, the place of honour and grace, the place where the j[5]oy of the householders who dwell in it shall never pass away nor / recede.

The twelfth: That you might find all the deeds / of loss hidden from the aeons of light, / because of the wall of fire that surrounds the entire building; and / these [un]clean things are displayed (only)*[51] in its [...] /

[10] There was [a] need for these twelve great deeds b[ecau]se the / vessels that were discharged and swept out from [the firmaments] / to the earth, and were also swept from the earth to the {extr[emity]*[52]... / ...] the three words of life watch over them that [... / ... ar]e set over them in great power [15] [...] that they might watch over t[hem] at the last time; because / of this, they are firmly se[t t]hus i[n t]hese fetters, in the way that I have told / you.

••• 43 •••

(111,18 – 113,25)

/ Concerning the Vessels.

Following the previous chapter this kephalaion provides further details about the vessels, and the creative activity of the Living Spirit in the construction of the universe. The demiurge is termed the Father of Life, an epithet that may provide evidence of a particular stage in the development of Mani's thought. The term is often used in the *Kephalaia* when this god is paired with the Mother of Life; see chapter 9.

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*51 ⲥⲱⲣ Probably a scribal error.
*52 ⲧⲕⲁⲓⲟ Also 109.5

111.26 – 112.18 The Living Spirit poured out the vessels of water, darkness and fire (dark elements) upon this earth; and then scooped them up by means of his three garments of wind, water and fire (light elements). The dark were finally poured into three pits that he had constructed. However, a remnant of each remains upon earth, dark qualities that mar the light.

112.24 – 113.19 The Living Spirit had a particular reason for this process, even though it has some negative results. The dark elements that he poured down from above drew towards them those on the earths below; and thus all this waste could be swept out together into the pits that had been prepared.

113.19 – 25 Now that the levels of the universe have been purified, the light elements are able to ascend through them.

20 [O n]ce again the disciples questioned him, saying to him: Wh[en] / the Father of Life discharged these three vessels from / above, they of water and of darkness and of fire, did he perhaps / discharge them to their pits at the edge of the firmament? Or did h/e discharge them first to this earth, and then he swept them from the earth 25 [a]nd threw them to their p[lace]s? /

[Th]en the apostle says to them: As for what you have asked me a/[bo]ut the vessel[s], you must understand this, that when the Father / [of] Life was about to di[sc]harge these three vessels he / [p]oured the three upon this earth, one by one at its (appointed) hour and 30 season. He discharged them and cast them down to the earth. /

[Th]en he bailed and scooped them from this earth in these thr/[ee] garments, they of wind and of water and of fire, which swathed / his body. He poured and made them flow into the three pits / [... w]hich he had [es]tablished during the construc[tio]n of the worlds 35 [...] they [...] something remained (**112**) behind on the face of the earth from these three [v]ess[e]/ls, so that you can find their mark and type display/ed in the universe.

The e[le]m[e]nt that is left in water is / the pungency and the salinity of this salty inner sea that surrounds 5 the worlds.

And the remnant that is left from the darkness / is this black mountain that exists in the s[urroundings] of the sunrise. / For when the sun would shine over the world no / sunlight is visible there, because the darkness that gushes / fr[om i]t manifests above it.

And [the re]mnant [10] that remains behind from the fire, upon the earth, are all the mountains / and islands from where fumes*[53] of fire gush up / [an]d are visible. For these things are the remnant of the great ve/ssel, the vestige that was conjoined with this fire that comes up / from the earth; together with the mountains and hills [...] [15] place[s] where no fruit sprouts on the tr[e]es [...] / greater than that place from the limb and [... / ...] the trees shall not bear / fruit in that place. /

Once again his disciples speak to him: We ask you, our master, [20] to [make clear] and instruct us about the vessels that / surround the universe, and why they were not discharged from above into the / ditches prepared for them (straightaway); but were firstly poured / upon the earth, and afterwards were swept from the earth and cast dow/n into their pits?

Then the enlightener speaks to his discip[25]les: Happen you know this! When the Father o/f Life discharged these vessels from above upon the earth, he poured them out / for this reason: so that also the water and the darkness and the fire that / exist in these three earths would be drawn a[nd] ascend towards they / that had come down from above, and the earths [would be] purified and c[l][30]eansed. Due to this he poured these vessels down to the eart[h], / of water and of darkness and of fire, so that also / the water and darkness and fire that exist in the earths would be drawn up [tow]/ards they that had descended from above.

Now, first o[f] / all, [h]e discharged the water, the waste, [the p]oison of the rule[rs] [35] who are above. He c[leans]ed the firmaments of the [water ...] / he poured do[wn] the [da]rk waters. [Just as the] (**113**) waters fell from heaven to earth, so also the wat/ers below in the earths were drawn and came u/p from below towards the waters that had come from above to the earths. / The waters [were] purified of the dark poison that exists in them. [5] Then he swept them outside and made them a great ve/ssel and a wall of sea that surrounds the universe, / and on w[hi]ch the ships sail.

After the water, he / discharged the darkness. He purified the

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*[53] ⲥⲁⲗⲙⲉ Perhaps from ⲥⲱⲗⲙ Cf Crum 330b.

firmaments and dried from t/hem the darkness with which they are weighed down. He discharged it down to the earth. [10] Just as he had purified the firmaments, so also he puri[f]ied th/e earths. The darkness that is in the earths was drawn up towards the darkness [t]hat had been / [discharged] from above. He swept them both out and s[hut them] i/[n] that [...] of darkness [... / ...] the water.

And he discharged the fire from heaven to earth, [15] [... at] that time again the fire that was shut / [in] the earth below was drawn and came up towards its kind. / Fire was added to fire. Afterwards, he swept it out and cast it / into the outer underworld, which [he had constructed fo]r them outside the uni/verse.

In the same way that he purified the firmaments above as a place [20] for the light-givers to journey [... / ...] so also he purified the earths below and sw/ept from them the fire and the darkness and the water [...] / He has purified them for the ascent of these three powers, they of the wind and the water / and the fire, which ascend before the Porter and [25] traverse the earths.

••• 44 •••

(113,26 – 115,31)

/ Concerning the Sea / Giant. /

113.29 – 114.3 The Living Spirit causes his son the King of Glory to turn the three wheels of wind, water and fire. Thus these good elements are set free. However, the waste of the evil elements (water, darkness and fire) that have been poured onto the earth from the three vessels; this he deposits in the sea. Therefore, its water is salty and bitter.

114.3 – 115.4 Also in the sea is the monstrous giant that takes form from the fire and lust, the active evil 'thought', in the waste matter that the Living Spirit has swept down from the sphere (also 136.23 – 26). Consequently, the sea giant has sealed upon him the aspects of the stars and the signs of the zodiac.

115.5 – 31 The divine plan has three purposes: to purify the sphere of the evil elements; to use the sea giant as a fetter to prevent the evil astral powers ascending or descending; to gather in the sea all the good and evil elements that are washed into it. All the good life that comes into the sea will be purified.

[On]ce again the e[nlightene]r speaks to his disciples: After the [30] Livin[g S]pirit constructed things and the worlds, he came up and / [s]et himself upon this earth. He gave a sign to the King of Glory, who / [t]urned the three wheels and caused the wheels that are found [...] / up above all the mountains; he spread forth the wind to / [the]m, he breathed on them, he stirred them up, he washed the earth with the water[35]s. And the waste and the accretion of the three vessels, they of / [water and of] darkness [and] of fire, which had been discharged upon (the earth), he gathered them / [and deposited them in the]*[54] sea that is within the walls (**114**) and the vessels; because of this sea waters are salty. / For they have received salt and bitterness from the washing out and cle/ansing of the three vessels.

When the Father / of Life came, rising in his ascent to the heights, he dischar[5]ged the wheel of the stars; he washed it out and loosened / all the [sedi]ment that was in it. He cast it down to this great / inner sea like [...] of the mountain. And t[ha]t waste, / the sediment of the washing out of the wheel, he cast it do/wn and mixed it in with the sea waters. Its own th[10]ought collected it together; and (the thought) gathered (the waste) together in / this w[a]y. It made it fa[s]t and fixed it [...] / The sea giant had stamped upon him the seal of the seconds a[nd the hours], / the seal of the days [and months and] / years, the impression of the stars and the signs of the zodiac*[55] [...] [15] He came into existence from them and was discharged from their power / and cast into the sea. The images and the seals and aspects and / doctrines and counsels of [...] were sealed upon the body / of that giant, because he is the residue of them all. Consequently, / each star that will shine, and each sign of the zodiac that will tu[20]rn: of one he shall be its inducement, and of another its confirmation. H/e was discharged into the sea like this, the way a cloud / might discharge rainwater into the midst of the sea. They compelled / him totally through the action of the power and the helms[man]/ship of the angels. He was swept down to the mill, the pla[ce w][25]here he was constructed in the [sett]ing up of the universe; and the / sea also conceived him [...] for its part [...] / it being his chief

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*54 Restoring e.g. ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲧϩⲟⲧ / [ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲧ ϩⲓⲥⲛ̄ ⲧ]ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ

*55 See 157. 24 – 25

sculptor and chief cra[ftsma]n. It sculp[ted h]/im in a likeness, he being changed more than the other residue of the sea / bodies.

This matter is comparable with [a] craftsman who might take the stamped impressions of many co[i]/ns and cast them on the fire, and mould them [to a sin]gle image. / These thousands of impressions and thousands [of sha]pes [are perfected] / and make a single body [...] /

(**115**) This is also the case with the sea giant, who too was moulded / and sculpted by the power of the lust inside him / from many doctrines and counsels th/at belong to the residue of the wheel of the sphere.

The archety[pe] of the giant was constructed for three things.

The first: / That the sphere would be [re]lieved and purified of the burden pres/e[nt in] it. In the same way that the ten firmaments were purified and [re]li/eved [of] the burden of the three vessels; so / was it also done to the sphere, that it too might be relieved [and] puri[10]fi[ed] of the burden and the waste inside it. /

The second: That he might add a {fetter}*56 and a prison to the wheel / and the signs of the zodiac that are bound to it, so that when / they wish to go up above, you can find the s[e]a / giant dragging them back as by an [i]ron {fetter}, and they are unable to go up; and when the powers / of the wheel would take a decision on a guileful thing, and it enters their / mind to come down to the earth, they are not able to descend because / of this stake that is nailed to the wheel upon the {}*57 / of the firmaments. This is one. However, this other one, because of its sleepless watchers that are set over it, it is turned all the time. /

[The t]hird thing: That the [wind] and the water and the fire that gush from / [the] c[ircui]t of the sea, [and the r]ivers that flow upon the face of / [the ear]th discharging into the se[a], and the rainwaters that come to gr/[ound], and the wast[e] and rebirth that come [dow]n to it; that sea will be a hostel / [and g]athering place for all of these.

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*56 ⲟⲧⲱⲩⲛϥⲧⲟ Also 115.14
*57 ⲕⲁⲣ.ⲍ

As for all the power and the li/[fe] that comes down to the sea, and in the breath that the / sea gi[ant] will breathe and draw it into him that he might disturb the sea / [... a] fullness and a [...] becomes between his movement [30] [...] purify; but the sea / [...] (**116**)

••• 45 •••

(116,1 – 117,9)

/ Concerning the Vessels. /

The point of this chapter is the foreknowledge of the powers of light that has enabled them to prepare places to hold and contain various evil forces that arise during cosmic history, until their final imprisonment with the dissolution of the universe. Thus: three ditches for the evil vessels; the sea for the sea-giant; a place for another monster that arises from the sea, and which the Adamant vanquishes (also 136.27 – 137.4); gehennas for the waste of the darkness; 'hostels' for various evil powers who rebel; places (?) for the abortions; a prison for the watchers; cities for the giants of old.

Understand also this other (matter): Before these / vessels were discharged and swept down from heaven, fi[5]rst three ditches were fashioned and constructed for them, / in which they would be bound and fettered. /

Before the sea giant was discharged from the s/phere, the Father of Life constructed a place for [him i]n / this great sea that is within the walls, whereon the [10] ships sail, and where the fullness shall [... / ...]

Also, before the [...] / was displayed to the worlds [...] the earth [... / ... f]ell to the sea and its thought shaped / it, the Father of Life constructed a place for it in [the ... [15] ...] below the four mountains, above / the mountains of the heavens above [...] / that [...] a great plain it di/gs in Matter in the midst of the worlds. When / the Adamant of Light was sent to it, he hastened after it to [20] that place, smote it and threw it between mountains in / the place made ready for it [...] is set fast / upon it till the end of the universe.

Before / the waste and dirt of the darkness were swept out from / creation, [ge]hennas were constructed [i][25]n which the waste might be cov[er]ed till the dissol[ution] of the universe. /

Before the rebels r[ose u]p, they whose co[rps] rebelled / in the ruling-power abov/e and below, they [...] / outside, and also the tyrants in [wh]ose heart it lay [to ty][30]rannise amongst the murk and [the clo]uds and win[ds and] / spirits and storms; for them were constructed in the great outer [s]/ea seven host[e]ls, places whence / they are thrown into the depths and the da[rkness ...] /

Also, before the abortions [fell ... [35] ...] to the earth, there was set apart [...] (**117**) they are gathered in and dwell therein.

Again, before the / watchers rebelled and came down from heaven, / a prison was fashioned and constructed for them in the depths / of the earth, below the mountains.

[5] Before the children of the giants were born, they who had [no] knowledge / of righteousness in them nor divinity, / thirty-six cities were assigned and co[nstructed] for them wherein the children / of [the giants would] live; they who would come to beget from each / othe[r, they w]ho shall spend ten hundred years alive.

••• 46 •••

(117,10 – 118,12)

/ Concerning the Ambassador. /

The point of this chapter, which connects it to the last, is again the foreknowledge of the light. Although entitled *Concerning the Ambassador*, his advent is actually only one of a number of discrete moments in the overall plan of the light chosen to illustrate the idea of determinism.

(1) The Third Ambassador is evoked before the beginning of time, and thus prior to the start of the process of salvation, which is his principal purpose in the drama.

(2) The sun and the moon are prepared for their tasks in the salvific process.

(3) The Judge is emanated.

(4) Christ is ordained in advance of the sects coming into existence, to render them harmless.

(5) The stars and the signs of the Zodiac determine the fates of mankind.

(6) The gods of destruction are made ready to dissolve the universe.

(7) The first architect, the Great Builder, and his angels are summoned to construct the new aeon.

Once again, hear this other lesson that I would teach you! /

Know that before night and day / were differentiated in the universe, the Third [15] [Am]bassador was summoned. And, afterwards, he was sent to this void / and outer waste that he might purify the light, / and separate night and day from each other. /

[B]efore the light was released and freed and ascended / through this zone, the Father of Life made beautiful for it the ships [20] of light. He constructed them so that it might be purified in them, / and be sculpted and fashioned in good order. /

[Bef]ore sin had multiplied and had made a kingdom in the flesh, before / the acquitted and the condemn[ed] were set apart from each other, / the Judge [w]as sent forth and revealed. [25] His throne was created and placed [i]n the living atmosphere, so that he would be / [a] just Judge, so that / there the righteous and the sinners would be set apart and tested / [a]nd separated from each other.

Also, befo/[r]e the error and offence of the sects were disp[30][l]ayed in the universe, the blessed Chr/ist was ordained and brought forth against them, that he might render their error harmless. /

Again, [befo]re mankind had been engendered, some were named / ['rich' and] others 'poor' on earth / [...] upon them. Before they die, (**118**) they who will die are marked out by the stars and the signs of the zo[di]/ac in the sphere. They are appointed for them; in the[m] are their births. / And their root*[58] is bound up with their zodiacal signs; and they are compe/lled by them and brought to an equal judgement [5] in accordance with their deeds and their sins. /

Again, before the universe is dissolved, [and the] entire earth, / the destroyers were appointed and instructed for its di/ssolution.

And before the ne[w] aeon was [built and] / made be[auti]ful and marked out [10] [the] Great Builder [w]as summoned, the first architect and the / angels who are with him, who would build and make beautiful the / new aeon.

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*58 I.e. people's fate.

••• 47 •••

(118,13 – 120,20)

/ Concerning the Four [15] *great Things. /*

The entire 'ruling-power', the collectivity of evil cosmic forces, is apportioned into the four parts of the universe. Three of these are: the ten firmaments; the eight earths; and the surrounding walls and vessels. The fourth is the wheel of the stars, and here are bound the leaders of all these evil rulers, the seven planets (although Mani's system demands the introduction of two ascendants instead of the divine sun and the moon, see 168.7 – 16) and the twelve signs of the zodiac.

Mani explains that this had to be very carefully arranged by the Father and Mother of Life, when they constructed the universe, so as to balance the leaders against their powers. He develops an extended analogy to show that a king is only equal to his retinue, who in turn are equal to the kingdom. Thus, the gods are able to keep control of the evil forces in the universe, although the stars determine the entire created order.

Once again the enlightener speaks: The wheel of the stars, whi/ch is displayed to you, is a great mighty thing! Also, it is one / among the four great things; since the whole ruli[n]/g-power is assigned to four parts.

[20] The first part is the powers who occur in the ten firmame/nts that exist above the wheel, and the rulin/g-power that is bound in them, as it is imprisoned within them in the heaven/s that are above.

The second part is / the eight earths that are below; the four that are composite, [25] and the four places of darkness. The second part / extends from this earth, upon which mankind walks, towards / the underside.

The third part is the [wa]/lls and the vessels that surround the worlds. / They are the four mountains and the three vessels; [30] with what is in them, and the ruling-power that is trapped within them, / and the powers who are masters over them.

The fourt[h] / part is the sphere of the stars that [is appointed] with [gr]ea[t] / diligence, as it is ordered in a [... m]any [...]; / that of the Father of [L]ife, [and that of the Mother of] (**119**) the

living. Its [...] very [...] with diligence, / because of the great and cruel powers, and the titanic figures, [who are] / in it; they being suspended from it. So, all the first-born and the / leaders of all the rulers, they who were existing in the th[5]ree parts, these were garnered. They were collected together, seized, / bound and assigned on this wheel. Each was apportioned / by these three parts. They were distributed, en[twin]ed, / and weighted against their companions of the same size.

Still, for its part, the w[he]el / is equal to them in its strength; the po[wers] of [10] the enmity who are bound on it. [Ind]eed, they were suspended on [the] circling [w]he/el because of their cruelty; so that, d[u]e to / the wind and the motion in which they go round, they comp/rehend not the place wherein they are set. For if / they had been bound in the heavens, the heavens would not have had the strength [15] to support them. Again, if they had been assigned on the earths, on the / fixtures that are below, they also would not have had the strength to support them. / Rather, they were suspended from the wheel of the circling stars; so that / the power and the light that should come up from b/elow can be received, and given to the heavenly ones ab[20]ove them. Conversely, whatever will fall from above, / whether cold or hot, the wheel / of the sphere will also take it and cast it out / [u]pon the entire earth, upon all the wood.

Behold, the ordinance / of the wheel is in this form. For the powers who are entwined on the [25] wheel are like this: a king mastering his / kingdom by this mighty legionary force of all the lea/ders of the kingdom; and with all the armour / [o]f the soldiery that is collected together for him; and also with / [the] mass of the pro[perty] of the kingdom; and the beautiful lustful aspect [30] of the [wo]men who are collected together for him; together with / [...] property [...] and those cattle / [...] that have been distributed about among his r(**120**)etinue. Yet, if you ask about that king, he is matched / with all his retinue. His retinue, for its part, / is matched against his entire kingdom. Judgement shall come forth fr/om him, vindication and condemnation, to his entire kingdom; [5] by his wisdom, skill and strength. /

Now, just as for this king, who is matched against the measure of his entire ki/ngdom by his wisdom, skill and st/rength; so also is

it for the / powers [w]ho are bound on the sphere as compared to the ruling-power, and the [10] powers who exist in the entire zone. Like the king towards his r/etinue; so too is it that this totality is gathered / to the sphere, to seven leaders, to twelve sig/ns of the zodiac. As all the cities are gathered to the king, again they gather / to the leaders of the universe. All that is done [15] in the universe above and below: the battles / and the disorders and the captivity and the hunger and the l/ust and the property; so shall they increase and diminish through / these leaders. They are the motivaters of the whol[e] created order; / the totality being gathered in to them the way that I have to[20]ld you. I have opened your eyes!

••• 48 •••

(120,21 – 124,32)

/ Concerning the Conduits. /

This long and detailed chapter is amongst the most difficult in the *Kephalaia;* not least because the decisive term ⲗⲓⲣⲙⲉ (lihme)*[59] used in the title and throughout is unknown. Here I translate the term as 'conduit'. The import of the term ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲛⲉ ('root'), which seems to be closely related to it, is also unclear. However, the essential idea is that heavenly bodies are inextricably attached to the earthly; and that the three lihme are conduits through which the divine life can be drawn to ascend and be purified, while the demonic waste is poured down through them. In the next chapter, 49, Mani explains that these conduits are spiritual; and thus can never be entangled nor cut by the astral bodies as they turn though the heavens. The significance of the roots is deterministic; and they must also be spiritual. In chapter 46 Mani explains that mankind's 'root' is bound up with their zodiacal signs (118.3); so this could be translated as 'fate'.

120.25 – 121.12 The first conduit is the root of the powers in the heavens; and stretches from them to their bodies and carcasses that were stripped off by the Living Spirit and cast down to the earths. Therefore, the upper worlds are psychic and pneumatic (soul and spirit); while the worlds below are somatic and ptomatic (body and carcass). Life is drawn up through the conduit to be purified in the heavens; but any waste is poured back down through descending conduits.

121.13 – 17 The second conduit stretches from the heavenly cities to the five kinds of trees. For Mani vegetation was particularly rich in divine life.

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*59 See the discussion in Smagina 1990:121–2; and Vycichl 1983:102.

121.17 – 32 The third conduit stretches from the evil heavenly powers to the five kinds of flesh.

121.33 – 122.4 The roots of the wheel of the stars stretch not to earth, but to the heavenly worlds. From these it receives its life.

122.5 – 15 The disciples question Mani. If the stars are not connected to earth, how do they control the fates of mankind and other life on earth?

122.16 – 123.15 Mani explains that when the Living Spirit constructed the universe, he correctly did not bind the stars to earth; although they are bound to the sea giant (see chapter 44). However, when the Ambassador displayed his image to the demons in the heavens and they ejaculated, the sperm fell down on the wheel, the earth and the sea. Subsequently all life on earth developed; and thus the stars control its destiny.

123.15 – 28 The disciples understand, and ask why one conduit is greater than another.

123.29 – 124.22 The first conduit is greatest, because it is bound in all the earths. Then the second, because much life is drawn from vegetation, the Cross of Light, which covers the whole earth. The least is that connected to mankind and other fleshly creatures, because these only cover a small part of the world in the south.

124.22 – 32 Mani's concluding comments.

Once again the enlightener speaks: There are three conduits that e[x]/ist through the entire zone, from the abyss to its heights.

[25] The first conduit is the root of all the powers a[b]/ove, they that exist in all the heavens. They are cast off / and fettered on the earths below; because the earth [be]/low is the 'stripping off', the garment and the body of the powers [th]/at are above the heavens.

For when the Father of Li[fe] [30] constructed the heavenly worlds, he di[vested th]em of their bodies, [he] / threw them to the earths below.

So, the up[per] worlds / are of the soul and the spirit; b[ut the worlds] / below are of the body and the carca[ss ...] (**121**) Now as for this, he [...] the powers of heaven; he se/aled it on their bodies and their carcasses that are on the earths, so that / when life comes up from the fullness of these earths, / it can be entirely drawn up to the heights in the roots of what is heavenly, th[5]at are fastened in their bodies. And also, all life can be purified in that place. / However, the waste that will be swept from the puri/fied one who ascends to the heights will be let fall to the ground / through the conduits of these conduits, and will be poured down [...] a/nd thrown to the underside. This is the first conduit, wh[10]ich comes from the powers of the heavens to their bodies and

their / carcasses that are upon the earth; also, from their bodies and [their] c/arcasses that are on the earths to the powers of the heavens. /

The second conduit is the one that comes from the temples and dw/ellings and cities that exist in the heavens down to the ground, to [15] the five shapes of tree that grow upon the earth. The life comes / up from the trees to the temples and cities. Life*[60] to/o, and the residue of the heavenly ones, comes down to the trees in a / conduit.

And the third conduit is all the / powers and householders who dwell in all the firmaments, [20] whose roots come down from them to the five wo/rlds of flesh that creep upon the earth, being fixed to one another. / Now, the power and the life that shall be gathered in from the worlds / of flesh are dispersed among them in various shapes. The / powers above shall draw them to the upper side through conduits. [25] [The was]te too, and the l[u]st and the evil-doing and the anger th/[at] will be greater in the powers of [heave]n, shall be poured to the ground thr[ough] / their various conduits. They shall be discharged upon mankind / [and] the other remaining animals. When what is heavenly will wash / the waste and the stench and the poison down on the creations [30] of the flesh below, in their turn the creations shall be greate/r [i]n lust and anger and evil-doing against each other / [throug]h the action of their fathers who are on high. /

The apostle [say]s: [St]ill, look at the wheel of the stars! It has no / [root in this earth], but its roots are bound in the to[35][tality. The wheel of stars], then, receives life through the power (**122**) and the life that asce[nd fr]om the earths through conduits / and the firmaments above. It (also) takes life from those conduits / that receive up to the firmaments and the heavenly worlds / above it, it takes life out from that place.

[5] Then the disciples questioned the enlightener. They say to him: Look, / in that the wheel has no root in this earth, from where did the stars / and signs of the zodiac find this authority? They became masters over these five / fleshes and five trees. Even though

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*[60] Probably a scribal error from 121.15

you have told us that / the wheel has no root there! For you said to us that every [10] thing, if it can be reduced from the earth, the heavenly powers above / draw it through a conduit. Also, we see / that every thing that a person will attain, whether it be weal/th that comes into his possession or poverty that will / accrue to him, or his sickness and health; he attains it thro[15]ugh the signs of the zodiac and the star under which he shall be born*[61]. /

Then he says to his disciples: Nevertheless, what I proclaimed to / you, namely that the wheel has no root therein, I have recounted to / you properly. It is set aright in its position. For when / the Living Spirit, the Father of Life, constructed the heavens and [20] the firmaments above, he bound their roots in / to the earths below; in their carcasses that he had stripped / from them. Yet, when he constructed the wheel, [he] did not / bind its root in to the e[arths], but he bound the ro/ot of the wheel by the s[e]a gian[t].

And when [the] [25] Ambassador came, he displa[yed] his image / and purified and brought the light o[ut from] all [the] heavens. M[a]/tter, however, which is present in all the rulers, spurted o[ut] / against the image of the Ambassador. It went u[p] / in order to reach it, but reached it not. It dropped back and fell to the [under][30]side. Now, when it had fallen from above, it / separated out into three parts.

The first part / fell to the wheel; anoth[er part fell to the earth; an(**123**)o]ther part fell to the se[a. By means] of the part that fell to / the sphere, [the r]oot was bound in the trees and flesh. / Therefore, because of this, they received au[thor]ity and became masters in the five / worlds of the flesh and the five worlds of the tree. Through [5] the nat[ure] that came dow[n upo]n the wheel / the root was bound in the trees. Also, by means of the abortions / that came to the ground, another root was bound in the fleshes. Therefore, because / of this, the st[a]rs and signs of the zodiac received authority over the trees / and the fleshes: through the root of sin that fell do[10]wn; and [the ro]ot of the abortions that were aborted there, they fell / to the ground. However, the[se] other conduits that [the] Living Spirit has bo/und in the e[a]rths, they that the soul of the elements c[o]mes u/[p thro]ugh to the

*[61] Cf 117. 32 ff. for more on Manichaean concepts of astral determinism.

heavens; tho[se] (conduits) are not bound to the whe/el. Rather, they are [pl]undered from them by the [p]owers on the wheel, [15] that hang from it.

The disciples of the enlightener say: / We beseech you, our master, that just as you have in/structed us and put together this lesson on [...] / you have told us about the prototype of the conduits. / The first is the one that comes from the firmaments to the earths, and [20] the one that comes from the wheel to the sea giant. / That is only one. So, the other root is the one that comes / [fr]om [the temples] to the trees. The third is bound / by means of the abortions in the f[leshes]; also in the fleshes the fathers of the abort/[ions] who are in the heavens [...] are bound and twined, and the[y] that [25] [...]

We entreat you, our master, that you might in/[str]uct us [... about] the conduits, the one that is greater than its / [partn]er [...] as more life and soul is drawn / [...] than its partner. /

The enlightener [says] to his disciples: You have inquired about a [30] [...] and y[o]u have asked about this lesson in superiority*62, great / [... the ea]rth from which much life ascends / [...] the Father of Life has drawn them. (**124**) He has fastened them from the powers [...] he has bound them in / the earths. (These conduits) are the ro/ots of the ent[ire] ruling-power that the life of the living so/ul is drawn up t[hrou]gh, it coming up f[5]rom the whole earth, from all the mountains, fiel/ds and islands. After that first great root / is the root of the trees, which is bound to the temples / and the buildings above. For there also is much great life / coming up from the tree and the entire Cross, [10] being drawn up from them to the uppe[r si]de like / a gr[eat] ho[s]t. What, however, is lesser [...] of / their conduit [...] he takes up [...] / the roots [...] the earths, they [...] the whole ea/rth in all the worlds. Again, these of the trees are present in [15] the whole earth, whether small or great; but the root of / mankind [...] is not present / in the whole earth, other than only this world of the / south. Therefore, even now these fleshes do not make [...] in the entire wo/rld of the south [...] there is a small [20] part of them in

*62 I.e. the lesson is about the superiority of one conduit over the other.

[...] of the upper side / of the world of the south in [...] / in number than the [...]

I have ins[tr]/ucted you about the roots [...] them, [I] / have taught you that they are bound by their [roots ...] i[25]n with one another. They stir one [anoth]er, they draw / life from one another through the action of the [powers] a[b]/ove, which stirs the nature that dwells in th[em] all. / Now, when the Matter that is in t[hem] will be crushed and [de]/spoiled, then t[h]at Matter too shall [...] [30] its members and overturn them and [...] / each other [...] stir [... / ...] (**125**)

••• 49 •••

(125,1 – 125,24)

/ Concerning the Wh[eel and the Conduits]. /

The conduits are spiritual (pneumatic). Therefore, they can neither be cut by, nor entangled in, the wheel of the stars as it circles in the heavens.

His disciples say to him: Convince us, our master, ab/out this other thing. How does the wheel circle over the conduits, [5] which extend from the heavens to the earths, and it not cut them? Or why / shall the conduits not get entangled in with the wheel / as it circles and drives [... through the u]niverse? /

The enlightener says to them: The reason that the conduits shall not be cut, / for they are not cut, is because they are spiritual. Thus [10] the conduits are like the waters through which ships / sail. You shall find the prow that is in position in the / front part of the ship divides the waters, casting t[h]em back / and forth. So, when it parts the wat[ers] / and that ship opens up the water with its c[leaving] pro[w], [15] immediately and without delay the wat/ers [min]gle with each other again behind the ship; and the pa/th of the ship shall not be discernible in the midst of the waters. /

Just as when a bird flies up in the air, for its / path is not visible in the air,*[63] ++ and in the way of mankind, [20] in the sun within the

*[63] The text seems to be corrupt here: perhaps a line has dropped out

conduits. They also shall not be tangled up / in them, and neither shall you find their path through the air known. /

This is also the case with the wheel. It turns through the conduits and / the air. The wheel shall not cut the conduits, nor / are the conduits them[selves] entangled in the wheel.

••• 50 •••

(125,25 - 126,29)

/ Concerning these Na[mes]: God, Rich One, / and Ange[l]; who they are. /

The many divine emanations in the Manichaean system exist at various levels, depending upon their function in the overall history, and on the directness of their evocation from the supreme Father. In this kephalaion Mani distinguishes the three categories of 'god', 'rich one' and 'angel'.

He then applies these to three distinct moments: the archetypes in the eternal land of light; the emanations who have entered into time and the cosmos; and those who belong to the households of the Great Spirit, the Beloved of the Lights, and the Ambassador. This last sequence is probably intended eschatologically, these being principal figures in the three series of emanations: descent, creation and redemption.

[O]nc]e again the enlightener speaks: This one, a name is given to him in / the world. For people pronounce it with their mouths: 'go[30][d', 'ri]ch one', and 'angel'. Who are they? Who are the gods? Or / [who] are the rich ones? Or who are the angels? Who are these / [three] archetypes?

His disciples asked him. They say: T/[ell] us, our master, who they are! /

[The a]postle [speaks] to them: There are these three archetypes [35] [in the land of light, and there is no measure to] them!

[So], the ones who are call[ed] (**126**) 'god', are the gods whom the Father has summoned / from himself. He has establ[ished them] after the likeness / of his greatness.

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which finished the analogy of the bird's flight and introduced another analogy about mankind.

Conversely, these who are named / 'rich [...]', are the evocations of the first ri[ch] go[5]ds [of] the Father; because, when the Father had summoned (the first), / they themselves summoned evocations. They called them / 'rich'.

They too, the rich ones, have summoned their / evocations. They call them 'angel'.

These are the three / [archety]pes who occur in the land of light. There is no measure to apply to [10] them!

Once again, listen! Other persons / who are named 'god' are the emanations who have / come f[r]om the Father; the evocations of the Father whom he summoned forth. / They came out to the contest and humiliated the enmity. /

Conversely, the 'rich ones' are [the ev]ocations of these first living words. [15] They too, the rich ones, have come and performed and fulfilled the plea/sure of the greatness; [in the] worlds that are above and / below.

On the other hand, the ones who are named the 'ange/ls' are the evocations of the rich ones; who had come from the three / living words. They have been sent in an embassy and [20] an apostolate to this building. They have come to the entire divinity, / which is established in silence and in hiddenness. [An]/d, also, they have come to all the souls who have been entangled in the en[emy]. / They have brought them hope and confidence.

On[ce again] / the enlightener speaks: Again, they are called 'go[d]', [25] all the gods who belong to the household of the Great Spirit. /

Conversely, the ones who are called 'angel', are al[l] the angels / who belong to the household of the Beloved of the Lights.

The ones who are called / 'rich', are all the rich ones who belong to the house[hold of the] glorious [Amb]/assador.

••• 51 •••

(126,30 – 127,23)

/ Concerning the First Man. /

The First Man descends for battle with his armour of the five light elements. These are his garments or sons, the living soul that becomes mixed with the darkness, and which ensures the final victory.

Once again our light father speaks: When the [First] / Man came forth [agai]nst the ene[my ... (**127**) ...] garment [...] the darkness with the garment / [of] living fire. With that garment he withered / the tumescence (?) of the enemy; he brought down i[t]s foolery / and its vanity. Now, this one alone was sufficient [5] for them. [Y]et, si[n]ce the living fire was weakened, because of this / he added [to it another fou]r garments: that of the wind, that of the water, that of the li/ght, and that of the a[i]r. And this, (why) has he given the four? / He gave them s[o] th[a]t they would be helpe[r]s to t[h]at god, / wh[ich i]s the living fire; so that [...] not [10] with[in] the living f[ire], and penetrate it; and [the po]ison / and the [enmi]ty cut it off.

While the fire received / a bl[ow and] a wound in its body; yet still, / [...] all the powers of da[rk]ness because of it [...] It / [...] necessity [...] brothers, to cause them [15] to receive a blow and a woun[d to]o. The power of the en/emy mixed in with them. Rath[er, ex]cept [the air]. The darkness did not / mix in with it, nor was the burning of the enemy able to penet/rate it. Nevertheless, even the one that remained behind without / the wound, which is the air, it stripped off garment and [20] power. It gave it to its [fo]ur brothers in its place; so that by / that [ga]rment of the living air they would become strong, and / [...] profit, and endure, namely its other four brothers. And it / [be]came for them [...] life.

••• 52 •••

(127,24 – 129,4)

25 *Conce[rning] the [...]*[*64] *of the Light. /*

The harmony and common purpose of the divine has enabled the light to overcome, and ultimately to condemn to eternal imprisonment, the evil forces of darkness who rebelled against it. They were disunited in their attack, and thus failed; just as happens between kingdoms in this world. Mani uses this lesson to exhort harmony in truth amongst his followers.

[Onc]e again the en[li]ght[ener] speaks to his disciples: [Now as to what affects the] / light, behold, at the beginning the darkness was strong against it / [...] no disunity [...] exists in the light. /

[...] how far [... the lig]ht that came forth from [... 30 ...] in that place in a / [...] alone / [...] (**128**) the greatness of the light with one another for ever, / and nor did one of them transgress the command and or/der that his brother had entrusted to him forever.

However, the da/rkness, the enemy, was doomed and overcome; because 5 of the arising of disharmony it was divided within itself. Even the kin/gdom was divided within itself; [and] ev[en] the [powers, who had] left / their abyss behind and come up fo[llowing] it, were do/omed because of the disunity that was present in all of them. / The darkness was destroyed, and its other powers were humiliated, because 10 the p[ower] of that first light functions in the same way / as the kingdom of this world. As long as its [associates in the m]yste/ry*[65] are in agreement with it, th[at] kingdom [...] and / they marvel at it and it receives glory, the one that [...] and it sur/passes and is even more exalted than this other kingdom, which is about [to burst out] against [it].

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*64 It would be tempting to restore ⲧ[ⲙⲉ]ⲧⲉ 'harmony', since the theme of the chapter is the concord of the light as opposed to the disunity among the powers of darkness: see K 128.19. The four-letter lacuna, however (if correctly transcribed) would seem to be too long for ⲧ[ⲙⲉ]ⲧⲉ, and it would also be surprising to find no definite article following ⲉⲧⲃⲉ

*65 Cf PsBk1. 164.29? (Psalm 121) ⲛⲱⲃⲣ̄ⲙⲟⲥⲧⲏ[ⲣⲓⲟ]ⲛ̣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲟⲩⲉ and 51.14 104.24 128.11.15

[15] Still, the kingdom, [the one that] its associates in the mystery [are in agreement][*66] / upon, is compelled to condemn that (other) kingdom; and the[y] / are humiliated and come under the hand of this kingdom that is set up against it. /

In exactly the same way, you yourselves, when you are decid/ed and all agreed with one another, and at a single mom[ent] [20] when you are of one mind about this living truth that is / unveiled to you, then it is possible for you all from y[o]/ur least to your greatest to conquer the sin that is set u[p ag]/ainst you. Should you be divided i[n] / this truth that is unveiled to you – may it not happen! – the [conse][25]quence of its happening is that you will be condemned by it a[nd] / also humiliated under [the ha]nd of [s]in, and you / [...] under all its other powers that are set up / [... / ... [30] ... / ... (**129**) ...]

Neither be di[v]ide[d ... a]t your beginning nor / [a]t your end, and you will conquer those above and / those below; and bring under your feet every thing / [t]hat is and that will be!

••• 53 •••

(129,5 – 131,9)

/ Concerning the First Man. /

This chapter discusses the way that the kingdom of darkness and its powers were doomed from the time of the descent of the First Man. He snared the evil forces by his garment of living fire (see further chapter 51); and thus drew them out of their storehouses. The Living Spirit then constructed the universe out of them; and the storehouses were left barren, like a marsh when all the birds and fish have been netted.

Mani develops further analogies: this is like the human body, where the limbs depend upon the head (see also 84.21 – 25). If a limb is cut off the person remains alive; but he dies without the head. Thus, once deprived of Matter and the evil powers, the storehouses were devastated like headless limbs. Similarly, this is like a dead body, once the soul leaves it.

Once again the enlightener speaks: At the time when the First Man was sent / to the war in the first garment of / [living fire],

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[*66] Restoring [ϯⲙⲉⲧⲉ] instead of [ⲡⲁⲣⲁ] of the ed. pr. For ϯⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲉϩⲉⲛ see Crum, 189b.

which he gave to the first nature that ex[10][ists ...] in t[h]at single garment. / [...] he hunted Matter, the tho[ug]ht / [of death, ...] and all its other powers.

[W]hen / [the First M]an came up from the [abys]s, / [... the] Living [S]pirit brought the rulers whom he had [hun]ted [15] [...] element, that [...] of [the land of] dark/ne[ss, that] he might construct from them this universe and fashion / everything appropriate for the greatness. From that time on, / the place of the storehouses of the elements [...] / he destroyed and laid waste the [...] [20] all that were in it.

Just like a marsh, / of which the fish and birds are snared in a net, a/nd only the waters are left behind and the reeds and / the plants that grow in it, this is also the case with the store/[houses of] death. The [First] Man snared their counsels and [25] [their k]in that were [in them], and the storehouses were left b/ehind in their [dwelli]ng place.

So then, the case / [of] the land of darkness is like this, as is that of the storehouses / [t]hat were in it.

[J]ust as the body of man / has [ma]ny lim[bs] in it, [30] [the land of darkness] has [storehouses from] its beginning / [...] all [the limbs] that (**130**) hang from the great head of the [body]. A si[ngle] root / is the root of them all, because they all hang from / the great head that is on top of the body. Should a limb be cut / from the tip of [the]se small [h]eads, [5] the great head that is on top of them [al]l stays in / its place the way that it is [...]*[67]/ you find this person alive. Al[l] these sm[all h]eads / are firmly set in it [...] / Wh[en] they will cut from them [... [10] ...] all of them, these little [heads] shall [... / ...] the corpses, because they might see [... / ...] be firmly set [...] / in the body, which they joined wi[th it ...] /

In exactly this way, it is also the case [that] [15] the storehouses of darkness are the same, the things from which the [darkness gushed] / forth.

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*[67] For the notion that the head is the root of the limbs, and its relationship to the extremities, see also 84.21 – 24 and 280.26 – 29

Also, while that Matter / and all its other powers are present in the depths of the / store[ho]uses, they too are alive. Firmly set / were their kin in them, to do whatever they wished [20] in their storehouses. However, from the time when they took the [po]/ison of this nature, they were deprived of (Matter) and it was separated from them, / and all its powers. Those [store]houses and e[le]/-ments became inactive and were devastated, [no en]ergy wa[s in th]/em to do anything.

Just like a bod[y: When] [25] the soul shall come forth f[rom it no] energy shall be found i[n] it, / nor anything ste[ady] at all, because [the] / soul that was in it leaves and has come forth. For [i]t, the ene[r/g]y*[68], does everything [...] /

This is also the case [with ... [30] ... (**131**) ...] / when [...] in them [...] / every thing that pleases them in those storehouses [... / ...] the elements that are in them; but when they [took] [5] from [th]eir midst death, which is Matter, a division*[69] [... / ...] storehouses and elements [... / ... a] body that is dead [... / ...] land without life as it has no [... / ... i]n it.

••• 54 •••

(131,10 – 133,3)

/ [Concern]ing the Quality of the Garments. /

The Living Spirit constructs the universe out of the mixture of darkness and light resulting from the deliberate sacrifice of the five garments or sons of the First Man. This is then held in place by his own five sons. Mani compares the Living Spirit to an architect who builds a palace for a king. This metaphor is then extended: the Father of Life (i.e. the Living Spirit) as a perfect carpenter, and the Ambassador as king in this universe.

[O]nce again] the enlightener [speaks]: At the time when the F[ir]st / [Man ...] he gave the leadership to his five [sons / ... the] Living [S]pirit and the Mother of Life [...] [15] as the entire ruling-power is entwined and crucified [... / ...] they were poured out

*68 Reading ⲧⲉⲛⲉ[ⲣⲧ]ⲓⲁ for ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲉ[...].ⲓⲁ of the ed. pr.

*69 ⲡⲁⲣⲁ Only here in the chapter as a noun; the root is the same as ⲡⲣⲁⲁ in the previous chapter.

and mixed with each othe[r], / the light with the darkness and the darkness with the li[ght]. /

At that time the Living Spirit called one of [h]is / sons, one rich with power. He gave to him the le[adership] [20] of the garments. Now, he himself [...] of [... / he] hung them and set [them up ... / o]f the Father of [Life ...] he set up / all things [... / ...] he opened [...] ten firmaments [... [25] ...] the wheel of the stars [... / ...] them and the [... / ...]

The Living Spirit is l[ike] / this: Just as [...] and an archite[c/t] who might bu[ild a dwell]ing for the king, and divide it up into [30] separate houses and [separate ... / ...] everything that is requ[ir]ed (**132**) for beauty [... / ...] and he cleans them. And also the stones [... / ...] them for beauty and {loveliness}*[70], and he a[r]/ranges them and makes them so that should the king come and i[n]habit [5] that [palace], he might glorify him. /

[F]urther[mo]re, the Father of Lif[e resembles a] / wise and skilled ca[rpent]er [... / ...] before [it] was worked [... befo]/re it w[a]s established and made beautiful and [... c]arpenter [10] [...] works in it, but [... / ...] in him in his [...] / in his understanding, and he brings the sa[w ... and] / the a[d]ze, and cuts it into separate piec[es ... / ...] it and he pulls the [...] [15] it with the {plane}*[71] and he smooths it. He shall make many [... / ...] wooden implements, arranging them shape by shap[e]; / he cuts and produces wooden implements from it, / wooden [implements] of different kinds, (such as) dishes, bowls. This wood, that [... / ...] since previously it had not been worked before it was sealed [20] by [the ski]ll and wisdom of this dextrous carpenter. / He [cut] it up into different sorts of implements usefu[l / to hi]s master.

So [is it] also with the Father of Lif[e. / In his] wisdom he has [...] in limbs [... / ...] palace [... [25] ...] in it or in a [... us]eful [... / ... th]e ships of light [... / ...] all [the] other works [...] in the [... / ...] so that when the great king comes, h[e] who / is the Third Am[bassador], who [...] [30] he mig[ht] dwell in this universe [...]

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*[70] ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲟⲟϯⲉⲛ Cf 162.3 and 206.14 for the same phrase.

*[71] ϭⲁⲗ

live. The li[ght], / however, that is in it [... (133) ...] wise, and he takes it up / [to the] land; but the waste and the darkness / [will be] gathered and thrown down to the abyss.

••• 55 •••

(133,4 – 137,11)

5 *Concerning the Fashion/ing of Adam.* /

133.7 – 135.26 Since Adam and Eve were fashioned by the evil rulers, after the image of the Ambassador displayed in the heavens, some of the disciples believe that the human figure must have divine approval. Mani explains that this is not the case. The Ambassador displayed his image so as to free the living soul from Matter in which it was entangled. The human image is merely a copy of the divine, fashioned in lust, and very imperfect. Mani develops a parable about a beautiful and noble woman who is forced to come out from her honourable seclusion, and display herself to the lust of every man, in order to help her beloved brother.

135.27 – 136.20 In a similar way not only mankind, but also many other powers in the universe, have received the stamp of the divine image. This image could not have originated from the worlds of darkness.

136.20 – 137.11 Not all forms of life have been generated from sexual intercourse. Mani gives three examples: the sea giant; a second monster that rises from the sea and is overpowered by the Adamant; vegetation. Like mankind, these also were not brought by the King of Darkness into the universe. Instead, they are composite forms of life that come into being during the history, and thus are not solely the products of either good or evil.

[Once more his] disciples questioned the glorious one. They say to [him: / There are some amo]ng us telling us that / we [know (?) ...] that the (Ambassador) consents about [10] [tha]t f[igure] of flesh; he who shall be fashi[oned / ...] at another time. And next, he says: / [The Ambassa]dor displayed his image in / the un[iverse. The] rulers and the powers of the universe saw / h[is image], and they formed their shapes after his [15] likeness, who are Adam and Eve. Behold, you (pl.) see that / g[o]d con[sen]ts to its happening; because of this, he has dis/played his image to the rulers; and they constructed [... / ...] If he was not consenting to humankind, he would not have / uncovered his image, nor they fashioned [20] mankind after his likeness! /

[The]n speaks the glorious one to his disciples: Regarding the Amb/assador, the occasion when he came displaying his image, / he [d]id not come so th[a]t he might reveal his image to the ru/[l]ers in the universe. Rather, he came and displayed [25] to the universe be[cause of h]is soul and his son, who is / [...] every [...], that he might enable him to live [... / an]d make for him a release; and to free (the soul) from / every bond and all the fetters, in which it is entangled and bound. /

Still, you, look and see! The ru[30]lers and the authorities, in that they had no form in / [...] him, they lusted for his (**134**) image. They reflected upon themselves, that [they] had no [one] / like him in their creation. They sealed hi[s im]a[g]e / in their heart, within their soul. Afterward[s, they] / built it according to his likeness; they formed Adam and [Ev]e. [5] They sealed the image of the exalted one in their [soul]. So, they / [co]pied with an imitation; but they have not [copied i]n / truth! Rather, just as [... / ...] it is made as these, for [i]t came [...] / but it is not l[ik]e him in truth. [Again, so too] [10] is this figure of ma[nkind. They copi]/ed it against the image of the exalted one [...] /

Similarly the [t]ree, for while it is like the [... it is] not [copi]/ed in truth.

This matt[er is comparable to] / this: As a great, fre[e] woman [... [15] ...] within her [... / ...] rich in wealth [...] po[ss]essions; / she is also beautiful in her beauty, and is virtuous in her / modesty. She walks in a free and reputable position. / The fame of her beauty has spread in every c[i][20]ty. She sur[passes ...] Behold h[er] / chamber [...] one who is mad, because [of] / the nobles and the great ones. Al[so], they lust / for her beautiful face. They did not [...] her, because / she is hidden in her palace [... [25] ...] within in a [...] / meet that woman [...] his so[n]; / or rather the head [... t]hat garment. / This free woman shall [...] leave the cha[mber] / behind her and come to the street [...] her head [...] [30] and she reveals her [face and her beauty ... (**135**) ...] because of her beloved broth[er]. This wom/an, on whom no man ever looked, nor did they ever see / her fa[ce], as she neither desires nor rejoices [... / ...] leave her chamber behind her, and come in the midst of [5] mankind [...] and everyone view her. The / hones[t] men and the nobles, even the servants too, and the / [... l]ook at her.

In accord with this simile: Again, [this] too [is] how / [...] the Ambassador becomes [... / ...] as this free woman [... not] according to wantonness, in pride, nor / [... she co]nsented to the outer world, she [... / ...], she revealed her face and her [beau]ty / [...] but only due to the constraint of grief / [about] her [bel]ov[ed one].

Now, this too is the way of the Third Ambassador, when he came / and display[ed his] image with a show towards all the powers. / [He did] not [co]me so that all the rulers and the author/[it]ies would sculpt a form [after h]is likeness. R[ather], / he came because of his son being crucified in the totality; [fo]r he would release him, free him, and rescue him from / oppression. Yet, when the rulers looked o[n] him, / [th]ey lusted for his image. They fashioned after his / [like]ness Adam and Eve, without the consent of the gre/[at]ness.

Now, behold, I have e[nl]ightened you [about the answe]r to this question, for which you asked; that y/[ou may] happen to commit it to memory. /

[Understa]nd also this other (matter) that I will teach you. For, [a]s / with Adam and Eve, whom the rulers fashioned and / [se]aled after the image of the exalted one, so too this [i]s how a manifold divinity and many powers / [and] angels [... received] the stamp of that image, (**136**) which was displayed to them. For, in the majesty of the l[ig]/ht and (the image's) love, they glowed with their desire and they were undone. / Th[ey] were eager for their lust; like a m[an who looks] / to the majesty of a lusted after face, and [...] and he is eager for the {}*72 of the desire.

This is [als]o the case / with those powers, when they looked on that majestic / and beautiful [imag]e, they {} [...] / a first image. They received the stamp of th[at image], / which was displayed to them. They copied [... wh]ich th[ey co]pied out in a likeness, it being made [... / ...] the ones that they had put forth, which had received a [stamp of this im]/age; but inward even to the rocks [... / ...] which occur from place to place. The {} of that image, /

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*72 𐤉𐤓𐤈 Also 136.7.13 Smagina 1990:120 relates the word to 𐤉𐤏𐤒 'dig deep'.

which was displayed in the universe [...] [15] they received a stamp, it being revealed there, and an impress. / Now, this new birth that they begot in a new [...] in / the world, is Adam and Eve. [There is not a] form / in their world since the beginning like it; because that / [im]age [occ]urs not in the worlds b[20]elow.

Not all the figures that have been fashioned / were fashioned by birth from displayed intercourse. / Rather, there are other figures fashioned / [...]

One of them is the sea / [gi]ant, the 'sweeping' from the sphere, which the [Father] [25] of Life discharged into the sea. Its own fire / and thought fashioned it [in] / a figure.

The second figure is the one / [that] fell to the earth. It made the sea its womb. Its own l/ust became its sculptor. It alone fashio[30]ned it to a nature, which is the root of / death. Yet, when it came up from the sea, it [...] / that it might destroy the works [...] (**137**) of Life. They immediately sent against it the Adamant / of Light, the great 'instruction of vigour'. He humbled it / in the districts of the north. He has trampled underfoot and set h/imself upon it, until the end of the world.

[5] [The] third figure is the nature that fell on wh/[at] is dr[y. It fash]ioned the tree and set itself there. / [... the] new figure that was fashioned / [... d]isplays.

So, in accord with the essence they / [... the dark]ness; but yet th[ey] did not come with the King of [10] Dark[ness to the wo]rld. Rather, their fashioning [came] about / [...] they are composite and have been displayed in the world.

••• 56 •••

(137,12 – 144,12)

/ [Concern]ing Saklas and his Powers. /

137.15 – 138.19 Consequent to the previous chapter this kephalaion begins with the question as to how Adam and Eve received the seal of the image of the Ambassador, even though they who fashioned them (led by Saklas and

his consort as in other accounts) had not themselves directly seen this image. Mani explains that sinful Matter, which had originally seen the image during the seduction episode, led directly through its subsequent generation to those who shaped Adam and Eve. Thus the seal of the image was retained.

138.20 – 141.14 The next section is essentially a separate kephalaion, loosely linked to the previous passage. In repetitive style Mani explains how the various human senses take in, retain, and can then produce from memory ('storage facilities') earlier perceptions. In an excursus (140.22 – 141.1) he comments that the heart governs the senses, and develops two brief similes.

141.14 – 142.11 Spiritual entities guard the gates of the senses (the orifices of the body) like watchmen at a camp. This understanding of the body as the micro-cosmos full of powers is characteristic of Manichaeism.

142.12 – 143.32 When the Light Mind enters the body, transforming the old man into the new (see ch. 38) it takes over the control of the senses, oppressing the old guard that were directed by sin. Now the senses close to the perceptions of lust, and are open to righteousness. In the final part of this section (143.24 – 32) the rule of the Light Mind is referred to as that of the Holy Spirit, an unusual and interesting shift in terminology.

144.1 – 12 Mani concludes by exhorting his hearers always to guard their senses, secure in righteousness, so as to attain the rest or peace that is eternal salvation.

[O]nc[e again the di]sciples questioned the e[n]lightener. They say to him: [15] All [these a]bortions, am[o]ngst them are Saklas and his / consort and the ones whom they have served [...], they are the ones that shap/ed Adam and Eve. How did they find this beautiful image / laid over their shape, even though when it was / displayed to their fathers they were not in existence? They never saw [20] the image of the Ambassador! And how did they take / the seal of the image of the Ambassador? They added it to / [the] shape of Adam and Eve. /

The enlightener [speak]s to them thus: The sin that spur/ted out from the rulers, which is Matter, shot up [25] [tow]ards the image of the Ambassador. It was cut off from [tha]t place / and came down to the earth, for they did not accept / [it wi]thin the firmaments. When it came do/[wn to] the earth, it formed the tree. It was established / within the wood and formed the fruits. And when [30] [the] abortions fell [to] the ground, to the earth, at the [second] time / [... / ...] (**138**) fruits, it assumed the[m] and spoke in the ruler, / their leader. He says to his companions: Come! Give me yo/ur light, and I will construct for you an image aft[er] / the

likeness of the exalted one. What he said, they did: they gave [5] it to him, and he constructed [...] /

Again the enlightener says: The sin that s[purted out ... / ...] which is the Matter that saw the im[age of the Ambassa]/dor and that formed the tre[e and was established i]/n [i]t; afterwards it came up in the [fruits ...] [10] It went in to the rulers [...] they / formed Adam and Eve after the [likeness of the] exalt[ed one]. / Through the energy of the sin that had s[een the image of the] / Ambassador, it went into the (rulers) [through the fruits. It] / assumed them and they [t]oo sculp[ted ... they] [15] begat each of them according to his destiny [...]; / one he resembles, one he does not resemble.

Behold, I have taught y/ou this lesson, how the rulers shaped Adam and / Eve by the action of the sin that went into the[m] / through the fruits, and he was ordained after the image of the exalted one.

[20] Once again the enlightener speaks: The moulder placed in the / form of Adam and Eve limbs, outside and wi/thin, for perception and activity. He*[73] was apportioned / house by house*[74]. For everything that his perceptions and / elements will receive externally there are internal storehouses [25] and repositories and caviti[es; and] / what is received in to them is stored in them. [When]/ever they will be questioned about what is deposited in their internal store/houses, they bring out what they have received within a/nd give it to the questioner who requested it of them.

[30] In this way his faculty*[75] [...] / outer [limbs] to look at [...] / every type with[in ...] also [the fa](**139**)culty of the eyes [has] houses and caviti/es and repositories and stores within, so that every image / it might see, whether good or evil, whether / loveable or detestable or lu[5]stful, it can receive into its storehouses and / repositories. Also, when the faculty of the / eyes is pleased to send out the image that it saw / and took in, it can go in to its storehouses [at the] / time and think and seek [...] [10] and it brings

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*[73] I.e. Adam or the human form.

*[74] I.e. the physical and mental senses are distributed in the appropriate places throughout the body.

*[75] Lit. 'thought'.

it out [and] gives it to the questioner who requested it / and the one who wan[t]ed it. Whether it be something from / lu[st*76 ... or a]n image of love [or ... / ... something] hateful. And thus shall that faculty (of the eyes) / produce and do what it does in each category.

15 The faculty of the ears has its own storehouses / also. Every sound it might receive, whether good or evil, / shall be taken in and placed in its houses and inner repositor/ies, and it is guarded in its [...] for a / thousand days. After a thousand days, if someone comes and 20 asks that faculty about the sound that it heard / [at] this time and took into its storehouses, immediately / it [sh]all g[o] into its repositories and seek and review / and search after this word, and send it out from where it / was first put, the place in which it was kept.

25 [In] like order, the faculty of scent / [s]hall function just as that of the eyes and that of the auditory organs. / Every [o]dour it shall smell it shall take in [to it] and / [d]eposit in its inner storehouses. Every time it will be / [a]sked by a questioner, it shall go in 30 [...] and [...] storehouse and remember / [...] (**140**) only these things.

However, even the mouth and the tongue within it, / and the taste organ, have a faculty dwelling in them. / Again, that faculty too, o/f taste, has thus cavities and repositories 5 set apart for it. It too receives these tastes and gathers them / in. A[nd] at any moment when someone will ask of a taste, if / [...] it shall send it out and remember tha[t] taste. / It shall snare and give even the mar[k of] th[a]t taste; / give its memory to the qu[est]ioner who asks for it.

10 Again, the fac[ul]ty of touch by the hands is also s[o]: / When it might touch, touch shall [receive i]ts memory. / And it [takes] it in to its inner repository [until] / som[eo]ne will ask this faculty for the memory. [Immediately], / it shall go in again and bring out the memory of this tou15ch that it made, and give it to whoever asks for it. /

And the faculty of the heart that rules over them all is much / the most like this. Every thing that these five fac/ulties will receive

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*76 Reading ⲉⲡ[ⲓⲟⲩⲙⲓⲁ

and put in store for / the faculty of the heart it shall receive and guard. [20] Any time that they will ask for their deposit it shall send out / and give every thing that they gave to it. /

For the counsel of the heart is like the king. / All the ad[v]isers*[77] of his city and the leaders of his a[r]/my are placed with him. Any time if his genera[ls] [25] will entreat him for whatever they wish, he shall give them the ad[v]/ice and opinion by which they move. /

Furthermore, it is like a cellarman: [Eve]ry thing that / will be entrusted to it by them, and given to it, it shall receive / and put in separate vessels and places. Any time [30] [... / ... / ...] (**141**) in the place that it put it.

This also is the way of / the faculty of the body. The vision that the eyes will se/e and give to it, and it receives it in, it shall bring out again / from the storehouses wherein it had placed it; and give it to whoever asks for it.

[5] Again, [the] sound that the ears will hear and give to it, / and it receives it from them. At any time when someone will ask it for that so/und, it shall bring out and give the sound of the ear[s] / to whoever has asked it for that sound. It shall bring out and / give the sound of the ears to whoever has asked.

[10] Again, [the] faculty of smell in this same pattern; and that of taste / i[s] of the same [ty]pe. The touch by the han[ds ... / ...] they shall bring it out in to [... / ...] And whenever they will as[k it] for it, it shall bring it out / and gi[ve it].

Once again the enlightener speaks: [15] Indeed, watchmen are a[t] these doors guarding them, / and bolts are fastened on the doors at the hands of the gu/ards that guard them!

Just like watchmen guarding a c/amp with towers and watch-posts. As the holding rooms come*[78] / out from there and the bolts are upon the gates, the guar[20]ds control the bolts of the gates while they sit at the entrance / [of] the watchposts. So, someone who

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*[77] Lit. advices.

*[78] Reading ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲓ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ for ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲓ.ⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ of the ed. princ.

belongs to their city as a fellow / [cit]izen of them, belonging to their country, for him they shall open / [the ga]te and receive him in by their will. However, the foreigner / who comes they shall prevent, and leave him stand[25][i]ng at the gate. They shall not yield to let him enter. / Again, another one whom they will receive in, with great trouble before / [they] take him in, you shall find many holding rooms [... / ...] that [...] there are a mass [... / ...] them. The number of d[oor] bolts [30] [...] are [...] Whenever someone will wish / [...] the bolts at his hand, opens (**142**) the gate and brings out whoever is hidden within. /

The enlightener says: This body too is like the mighty c/amp. And the gates of the camp with / their guards are like the orifices and organs [5] of the body. Now, the orifices of the body are of sight, / hearing and smell; and they that send o/ut words. There are many sentinels and a ma/ss of guards placed over the limbs of the body, guarding / their orifices. And the faculty in it is the di[10]rective of the body, the queen of the entire camp; so that / whenever it wishes it can open, or when it wishes it can shut. /

However, if and wh[en] the Light Mind comes, it shall tu[rn i]n / to the orifices of the body. The rulers, who [a]re the door gua[rds], / shall h[in]der and restrain it from en[ter]ing. [15] They shall bind the circu[it] of the body so that the foreign[er] can not / enter it.

Nevertheless, the Light Mind / by its wisdom and awe and diligence shall hum/ble the guards who are set at the body's orifices. / When it finishes humbling them it shall take fr[o]m them bolts [20] to all the orifices of the body. Now, the orifices that had been ope/ned before to the parades of lust, to receive i/n the sights of pleasure, to transfer the [wor]/ds of the practice of li[f]e's concerns, to receive in the t[astes] / of the different foods and unclean meals together [25] with the sin therein; whoever stops receiving th[is] in, / his heart and mind shall follow after.

So, now, bec[ause] / the b[olt]s to the body of the righteous person are in the hands of / the Light M[in]d within, he is open [to receive] / i[n] all that is pleasing to God. He is op[en to take] i[n] [30] by his eyes the visions of lov[e ...] and / righteousness. Indeed, due to this, the si[ghts and] the [ad]ornme[nt of the gar](**143**)

ments of kings, which are woven with gold; and the garments of silken wom/en, which are woven with gold and pearls, / made beautiful for the shape of lust; first they were lovable / before the eyes of the chosen person. Yet, now, by the [5] power of the Light Mind that has suffused him and / lived in the body he has humbled lust, the goddess of the bo/dy. The parades of lust have become loathsome in the presence of the righteous pers/on. However, the aspects of divinity a[nd] / righteousness and humility and scorned clothes are pleasing to him.

[10] Again, [these] ears were first opening to empty sounds an/d to the melodies of lust, to the secrecies of [wic]kedn/ess. All these were pleasing at first, at the time when he / he[a]rd them. Yet, now, by the power of the Light Mind, / the sounds of lust and the words o[15]f magic and evil mysteries have become loathsome in his presence; / as he is not pleased to hear them from this time on. Rather, he likes all the time / to listen to the sounds of the lessons of righteousness, the / words of the psalms and of the prayers, the praise of the hy/mns and the lessons of truth, and the knowledge of charity. [20] [S]imply, all orifices in similar fashion were opening / at one time to wickedness, but now have opened / to the good. Sin was ruling in the body / this time, doing anything it liked, having none in command. /

Yet, [n]ow, authority has been taken from the sin in the org[25]ans of the body. The Living Spirit*[79] has become lord over all its / limbs. It has bound them with a chain of peace, and se/aled them with the seal of truth. It has opened the orifices of the / body to the good, and because of this the good enter/s them through the ears and the eyes. It dwells in the heart. The H[o]ly Spirit [30] reigns. It does all that it pleases. It annuls / [the] will of [s]in, the beginning and the end. [In contrast], the will / of the [Hol]y Spir[it] comes about, and the purpose of the Light Mind.

(**144**) The enlightener speaks: About this I tell you my / brothers, my loved ones and my limbs. With wisdom / and skill make yourselves secure at the circuit of the body's orifices, so that the sin that dwells in the body has no power [5] over you. Nor does it take from you your light, nor / scatter it from place to place, nor

*[79] Perhaps a scribal error for 'Holy Spirit'.

{drive}*80 it from / site to site in various forms. Now, / let this not happen to you, but be watchful people, / secure in your truth. Be you prepared from 10 totality till totality, so that as your rest will come / about and your end subject to this, you guard its mark and / its hope!

••• 57 •••

(144,13 – 147,20)

/ Concerning the Generation of Adam.

The structure of this chapter evidences yet again how Mani, as a good teacher and preacher, is able to turn an explanation of the details of his intricate system into a more immediate lesson for his audience.

144.15 – 146.8 Mani explains to a Babylonian catechumen that Adam and the people of the first human generations were greater in size, and longer-lived, because of the stars under which they were born.

146.8 – 147.17 Mani introduces a second and more compelling theme. In these last days the quality and span of people's lives has come down to almost nothing. This is because the divine life and light in the world has grown less and less.

15 Once again, a Babylonian catechumen questioned the en-l/ightener, saying to him: Speak with me my master, and in-s/truct me about Adam, the first man. When / he was fashioned, how did they sculpt him? / Or, how did they beget him? [Rath]er, is his beget20ting like the begetting that is brought forth today, amongst hum/ankind; or not? Does a distinction exist between his bir/th and the one that they bring forth today?

Now, no[te] that A/dam is mighty in his stature, and great is his / size. Even his years are many! He spent many years 25 living in the world. And he is not the only one / we have found to be mighty; but all the others who were / begotten in his generation, many are their years too. Still, these / people who are born today, their st[a]tu/re has been diminished in po[w]er; even their years are lessened. Also, [wh]30y is the birth today, of [the]y who are born, / altered compared with that of these first [...] (**145**) place to place? See, even the stars and signs of the zodiac continue / in

*80 ⲡⲁⲧ/

their positions. Why now have the age and / the years of these last ones diminished, and he has also become smaller, / compared to these ancient ones who belong to these first generations?

5 And for his part our enlightener, in his deep wisdom / and his great understanding, speaks to this catechu/men who had questioned him: They increased, have turned, and diminished; / because there are five types of authorities and / leaders appointed in the sphere of zodiacal signs, and the hea10vens above it. They have names they are ca[lled] / by: the first name is the year; the sec/[on]d is the month; the third is the day; the fou/[rth] is the hour; the fifth is the moment. Now, these five / positions, and these five houses, exist in the sphere and 15 the heavens. These places have five powers, and they are made masters o/ver them. The master of the year exists; the master of the month exists; / the master of the day exists; the master of the hour exists; / the master of the moment exists. In turn one is above his / companion; and in turn the one above is made the master over the one below 20 him.

So, mankind is begotten, and [the ani]/mals. They are born in these powers. And, thus, these powers / have received authority since the beginning of creation till the end of the wo/rld. Now, in the beginning of the generations the powers who were masters / over the years reigned. Therefore, because of this, the offspring 25 [b]orn in their generations and their lifetime: their ye/ars were found to be greater. They attain a long life span in the generation of Adam, and / [tha]t of Sethel his son, and that of the ones who came after him.

Af/ter they ceased to reign, namely the powers who are masters over the ye/ars; the powers who are masters over the months themselves reigned. Like 30 the months, for they are less than the years; again this [is] also the case / with the offspring w[ho were] born in them. Their life span is less / [than the life span of the ones born] in the generation of the powers who master (**146**) the years!

When the authority of the powers who / master the months was completed; the powers of the days received authority af/ter them. Therefore, like the days, for they are less than the months, / this

also is the case with the offspring who were born in them. Their life span [5] is less than the life span of the ones born in the powers who are masters / over the months. Again, even so the offspring who were born in the ho/urs, and of the moments. Their {conduit}*81 is less than that of the m/onths and the days.

Our enlightener speaks to that Babylonian cate/chumen: Do you see, how near the en[10]d [of] the world approaches? The life span of the pe[o]/ple has drawn in to nothing. Their days have diminished. Their ye[ars] have / become less; because the life and the ligh[t that] / was in the world in these first generations was more than that of to/day. Indeed, because of this have they diminished in their stature. Their lif[15]e span has become less for them.

Once again speaks this Baby[l]onian cate/chumen to our enlightener: I entreat / you, my master! How you have instructed and persuaded / me in respect of the years! Why the ye/ars of these ancients increased; or again why [20] these last ones have lessened. You also told me that they have diminished even in their / stature. You say that all these diminished becau/se of the life and the light that was taken from the world.

Now, can y/ou recount to me this other (matter): By what sort of birth was / the entire offspring of mankind made from one man and one [25] woman, Adam and Eve?

The enlightener speaks to that ca/techumen: While well do you ask for this les/son, so yet know and understand it! For the manner of these / first generations is that they are richer in their light and pu/rer in stature. Even their years are greater. Thus, again, [30] even their offspring is much more than the offspring of this tim[e]. / They were spending a longer time [...] in [the w]/omb of their mother. Afterwards, they [...] (**147**) a number in a single womb. There are times five were brought forth / from a single womb, and times six were brought forth from [a] single w/omb! There are some lesser than this; again, some / greater than this. Indeed, because of this the offspring of Eve multipl[5]ied, and of her children. The earth was filled by reason of them alone; b/ecause

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*81 ⲁⲓϩⲙⲉ See ch.48. It is difficult to maintain the translation as 'conduit' here.

the offspring from the generation of the people of old, who they / bore into the world, differ greatly from those of today. / Their conception and their birth is not like latter births, / brought forth nowadays from the wo[ma]n's uterus.

[10] For, they whom they beget today, in these la[st] generations, they / stand diminished and maimed. And, indeed, one by one do they bri[ng t]/hem [forth] from a single womb. Hardly two, or [l]es/s or more. They are even made ugly in their aspect, being diminished in / their size, and feeble in their limbs. Their teachings and [their] [15] considerations are full of wickedness, they are evil. They are drowning, / and they end their life span suffering. Even death catches them / in haste.

When that catechumen had [lis]/tened to these lessons, he paid homage and gave glory. He says to the enlightener: / I thank you, my master, for you have satisfied my heart, and [pers][20]ua-ded me by an exhortation, about these things for which I questioned you.

••• 58 •••

(147,21 – 148,20)

/ The Four Powers that grieve. /

Characteristic of Manichaeism is its emphasis upon the real suffering of the divine, occasioned by the assault of evil. In this it differs markedly from the docetic tendencies of many gnostic systems. Indeed, Manichaeism universalised the degradation and crucifixion throughout Matter of the 'son of God' (the living soul) to an extent that seemed shocking to its Christian commentators.

In this chapter Mani relates the grief of the Mother of Life, the First Man, and himself as apostle, for their children according to their respective levels of concern. He also comments that he grieves not only for the sufferings of his church; but even for those souls who have not received the truth, and who will be damned for ever.

Contrary to the title the text seems only to deal with three powers, although there are four sources of grief.

[O]nce again the enlightener speaks to his disciples: I am one / of they that grieve, amongst these three powers that are heart-broken, [25] who have come from the Father.

The first who grieves is the first M/other of Life. She is sad because of her children who are s/et in affliction, for they were conjoined with the darkness and the / [poi]son. They have been bound with the entire ruling-power. For what was she grieving, / [wa]tching over them taking these afflictions? Whenever she might [30] [s]ee them and how suffering is brought upon them, she shall grieve and be unhap[py] on account of them. /

[The s]econd one who is troubled [of] heart is the First Man, whose / [great]ness and kingdom is established in the li[ght] ship / [...] And he too is troubled of heart because of (**148**) his five sons who are set in the midst of dan/ger. For any time he may see that they are given trouble / {}*82 always he might hear the sound of their / weeping as they cry out because of the blows and wo[5]unds of the enemy who assaults them daily; and as he sees them / like this constantly, he shall g[ri]eve and mourn on account of his / [s]o[n]s.

The third one who grieves am I. / For since the time when I came into the world there has been no joy / for me therein, on account of the holy church that I [10] chose in the name of my Father. I have freed it from the / slavery of the authoritarians, and placed in it / the Light Mind. Always, as I see i[t i]n / tribulation and persecution and being afflicted by its enem[ies], / I will be sad on its behalf. I have also another grief [15] apart from this: for the souls who have refused hope / and have not made themselves strong in this certainty and firmness of / [tru]th. They will come forth and be lost and go to ge/henna for ever. Indeed, due to this I grieve for them in that they have / not accepted repentance, nor have they been reconciled with the right hand o[20]f peace and mercy that I brought from the Father.

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*82 ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ

••• 59 •••

(148,21 – 151,4)

/ The Chapter of the Ele/ments that wept. /

This chapter continues from the last the theme of the suffering of the divine. The five garments or sons of the First Man, that is the light elements, must weep and feel the pain of loss four times during the course of their necessary task. That is, to mix with Matter, and to overcome its assault on the light.

148.29 – 149.3 When they first caught sight of the darkness, and understood the task that they would have to undertake.

149.4 – 13 When the First Man their father ascended from the abyss, and left them behind in mixture.

149.14 – 28 When the Living Spirit stripped off the three garments of activity (wind, water and fire, see chapter 30) in the depths of the cosmos, and they realised that they would have to rise up through all the levels of the universe before purification and salvation could be achieved.

148.29 – 151.1 When the Last Statue will ascend, and they weep for those souls who are eternally lost and bound in the darkness. This moment is much the worst, because it is final. Some of the divine itself can never be redeemed. It is for this reason, to preach the truth and thus to minimise everlasting loss, that all the apostles and divine powers surrender themselves to every affliction in the world.

Mani concludes with a final admonition about the utmost gravity of this matter.

Once again he speaks to his disciples: The garments, [25] the sons of the First Man, wept bitterly three times. / Then they were silent. There is a fourth time of weeping, / for they will weep at the end. And then their crying can stop, / and they will never again weep from this time on. /

Now, the first time of their weeping*[83] is [30] when they had seen the darkness, the enemy being about to burst out against them. / They understood everything that would happen to them. They were aware of / the one that would rise and come upon them, [b]/ut by necessity they hastened to h[i]m and [fought] (**149**) with him. They mastered him, they detained him. [They / bou]nd him with their body and their limbs, they o[ver/ca]me his death and his fire and his dark[ness]. /

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*[83] Lit: the first weeping in which they wept.

[The] second time that they wept is [w5hen the]ir father, the First Man, [ascend]ed from the [abyss] / of darkness and left them behind; that is the time when he stripped [them off] / and left them below. Indeed, when th[ey] / s[aw] how the First Man had risen out of the abyss / and [l]eft them behind, and that they were abandoned in the enmit[y, th]ey 10 wept and were sore of heart. Still, what could they do, wishing [... / ...] their heart to every affliction. They [remained b]e/hind and grew [s]ick under the pressure of the weighty burden of all the / works, until the end time. /

[The] third time that they wept is when the Living Spirit 15 stripped off the three garments of activity, / placing them beneath all things. He gave / them a sign to lift their heads and rise to the / heights from that place; and to pass and journey / through all the earths until they should reach the land of tranquilli[t]y 20 and peace, the place of rest prepared for them. So, when / they had seen him, that he had separated himself from them, while they themselves / remained behind after him and had not ascended; at that mom/ent when they stayed behind these three garments wept. / After their crying, they turned their 25 [hear]t to all the heights that were concealed from them, and were of one mind. For / [they would] soar up and come to the heights; and pass over / all [th]ings until the time that was ordained for them all / [...] at the end of the worlds. /

[The f]ourth time when they will weep is when the 30 [S]tatue will be taken up on the last day, and they will weep / [for] the souls of the liars and blasphemers; for they may give / [...] because their limbs have been severed / [...] of the darkness. And also [th]ose souls, (**150**) when the Statue will go [up / and th]ey are left alo[n]e, they will weep in that they will rema[in] b/[eh]ind in affliction for ever. For they wi[ll be cut / off] and separated from the Last Statue. An[d it is] 5 a necessity to take these souls who are ready for loss / [a]s retribution for the deeds that they have done. They go i[n to] this / [darkne]ss and are bound with the darkness; just as they desired it / an[d] loved it, and placed [t]heir treasure with it. At that very moment, / when the Last Statue rises u[p], 10 the[y wi]ll weep. And then they will scream out loud because they will / be severed from the company

of this great Statue. And they / remain behind for ever. This great weeping [...] / is terrible, it occurs in front of the souls and [...] / who are ready for loss in accordance with their deeds. And they [will] weep [15] with that crying, they will never be silent; / because they will not attain rest from this time on. /

So, they too are the garments of these elements. This fou/rth time of weeping is heart-rending for them. It is much w/orse for them than these other three times of weeping before. This f[ou[20]rt]h time the weeping is not for themselves. Rather they weep and are heartsore for these soul[s] / who will be cut off from peace, because rest will / not come about for them, to allow them to rest from torment for / ever.

Therefore, due to the result of the erring of so/uls, all the apostles and the fathers, the reve[25]alers of the good and the true prophets, surrender [themselves] / to every labour and every aweful necessity. So that the (souls) might be / saved from the second death. Not a single one of all the a/postles wished to receive his reward on eart[h]; / but spent all their time in affliction, [30] suffering and being crucified in their body, so that they might r[e]/deem their souls from that loss [and] / ascend to this eternal rest [... in the] new [ae](**151**)on.

It is not prop[er ...] the wi/se person must constantly be attentive to this lesson, becau/se (this matter) is heartrending and grief for the gods and / the apostles.

••• 60 •••

(151,5 – 152,20)

/ [Concernin]g the Four Fathers; / what they are like. /

Mani uses the analogy of the corporeal body to show that some of the divine teachings are visible in the universe, but others are hidden; like organs and faculties that can or can not be seen. Thus, the Father is like the directive faculty (ⲥⲃⲱ) of the body, hidden in his own kingdom. However, the two light ships of the sun and the moon are the eyes of the body, seen and seeing. The living soul, despite its apparent silence, is like the body; for it can be grasped and struck and wounded. Jesus the Splendour is the tongue,

because he can speak about and explain everything, whether it is visible like the ships, or hidden like the eternal kingdom. Therefore, it is Jesus who makes visible the suffering and the healing of the soul.

Once again the apostle [s]peaks to his disciples: / J[u]st as [the] corporeal body has limbs [10] that are hidden, so it also has others that are visi[b]le. [They] / ca[n be seen] upon it, they can be grasped and receive blows and woun/[d]s, whilst [ot]hers can neithe[r] be grasped no[r / receive] blows. So it is also with this entire greatness, as we resemble it. / Some of it is hidden, [15] whilst some of it is visible; [so]me of it is fa/r away from the blows and suffering, whilst some of it / receives blows and wounds.

Now, thus the directive of the bo/dy that lives within, hidden in the storehouses inside / the body and unseen. So it i[20]s also how the Father, the God o/f truth, exists; as he too is hidden in his kingdom, not display/ed before this outer desolation.

Thus, too, / the body has two eyes that are visible and see/n, and are even the body's source of illumination; so there are also [25] these two light ships that shine and are see/n in the entire universe and the whole of creation. / The light has never been hidden, just like the two eyes of the bo/dy.

The living soul too is like this, / it is established in apparent silence. In [30] its apparent [s]ilence it is grasped and receives b/lows from these five fleshes, which destroy (the soul) and str/[ike it. It can] be likened to the mystery of the [corporeal] body, / as it can be grasped and mastered, (**152**) can receive blows and wounds.

Also, thus / this tongue that speaks, proclaims, reprimands and reveals / about everything happening in this body, in<side and outside, also the considerations [a]nd bod[ily] knowledges>. / The tongue, which is outside, makes it manifest. It also proclaims about [5] the honour and shame of the body. And it speaks, / unveiling the pain of the body [th]at is [s]ick [from] / its sores.

This is also what [Jesus] the Splend[our] / is l[i]ke, who shall be sent fr[o]m the greatness. / He manifests and reveals about everything, both the external and [10] the internal, both what is above and

what is [bel]o[w]. / Be it about the outer aeons that are hidden and [not disp]l[ayed], / or about the ships of light that are se[e]n. H[e is the on]/e who unveils about them. He is also the one who reveals [about the]ir glo/ry, and the greatness that dwells in them. And regarding this beating [15] and wounding of the living so[ul], Jesus is the one who reveals it. / He also preaches ab[o]ut (the soul) and its peace. He revea/ls about its cleansing and healing.

Behold, I have shown / to you the power of revelation of these four fathers, and how / each one of them has his appointed work, whether in [20] secret or visible.

••• 61 •••

(152,21 – 155,5)

/ Concerning the Garment of the Waters: / how great is its Measure. /

The value of this chapter lies in its historical reference; and in the way it enables the reader to penetrate the rather dense cosmological language used in the *Kephalaia* about the elemental garments.

Mani and three of his disciples were stood upon the bank of the Tigris while in flood. One disciple asks the apostle about the source of these vast and powerful waters. Mani then explains that the First Man assumed the elemental garments, including that of water, and used them to combat the immeasurable demonic army that had assembled to assault the light. The evil powers were overcome and bound within the universe; which itself will be destroyed at the end time. As a portion of that flood of water poured into the demons the Tigris is next to nothing. Therefore, the disciples should marvel and be secure in the power and greatness of God.

Once again, at one of the times when the apostle entered [in] [25] to the presence of King Shapur. He gave him a greet[ing], / turned, and went away from before King Shapur.

He st[o]/od on a quayside that was built upon the bank of the mighty river / Tigris. At that time it was the month of Ph[ar]/-mouthi. The river Tigris was engorged with many waters; [30] it had {surged up}*84 and swelled and {burst forth}*85 beneath the

*84 ⲃⲱⲗⲧ=
*85 ⲥⲱⲣⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ

great / force of the flood, so that the waters flowed do[wn ... and] / poured into the gates of the city, they [...] (**153**) only, but the waters flowed into the {}*86 of / the city until they submerged the market place of the city. [...] / are few and the city goes [under ... comes to] / be fear of its wind. Even his kingdom was in [5] great terror because of the enormous size of the flood of these waters. /

So, the apostle was standing there on the quay, w/ith also three disciples standing by him, [le]/aders of his church. They were watching the river engorged / with these many waters. They saw that the waters rose u[10]p against the city walls, and the flood was even inside / the walls.

One of his disciples then spoke. He says to the apos/tle: H[o]w great is the power of the garment of the wat/er[s]? How far shall [it extend]? That it should enter with the roar of its flood and / fill th[is] river Tigris in its vastness like the mighty [15] [s]ea! It has carried waves from river bank to bank, and run from / wall to wall. The source from which a[l]l these waters burst forth, / how great will it be? For they come and come each year at their [ap]poin/ted season!

Then the apostle says to him: / Why are you astonished at the vastness of the Tigris waters, [20] and why are you amazed by its flood? Still, listen t/o what I am about to tell you, and be truly astonished about th[e r]iv[er] / that came into being during the first time. /

[At] the time when the First Man assumed the elements, and stood / [fi]rm against the first enmity that had come about in the darkness, [25] he defied these great and powerful rulers. They / are immeasurable, greater than the extent or size / of thousands and ten thousands of {parasangs}*87. At the start, when he spread the fight a/[ga]inst them, he gave them fire and wind; and afterwards he gave / [the] garment of the waters to the rulers of death. So they, [30] the rulers, drank in and consumed those waters; / [the way that I told] you in the *Great Gospel.* / Many [waters] poured forth from the garment of waters / [...] the rivers flow. The mouth

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*86 ⲰⲦⲎ

*87 Ⲱⲃⲱⲱⲥ Measure of length: see Crum 611a (ⲰⲢⲰ); and K (Dub). 274.2.5

of the rulers / [...] those [...], the warriors of destruction [35] [... l]aboured and brought them forth. There were seven (rivers), (**154**) like the great river Tigris [that you] see, / flowing in to the mouth of each one of them, as they shall not / [...] to a single stomach, to their fill; because / in turn the descent to its stomach shall burn them with its [5] fire and heat. Those rulers were like / the {}*88 of [...] they were not emptied; rain and / [...] their existent days. /

The apostle s[peaks] to t[hat] elect one: The measure / [of th]at river was expanded seven times, as they flow [10] [...] of the body of the [... / ...] waters [...] now. Marvel at / [...] as you say: Grea[t is] its [... / ...] indeed prolonged, for a bearer [... b]ut [...] / you marvel at this. Marvel first [...] [15] that [...] is the first [...] which came into being i[n] this / [...] is how great a struggle, since it has / [...] these creatures of destruction, the mighty giants. Beho/ld, they are entwined, bound, {}*89 and {}*90 in every place. / They are hidden, not revealed before the eyes of every flesh that [20]exists on the land of death [...] these rulers / [...] revealed. The entire universe of flesh will be destroyed / and dissolved [...] all pass away [... / ...] they will be destroyed with their angry voice, / which is mightier than the thunder. Now, as this small stream is reckoned [...] [25] before the vastness of these waters of which I have recounted to you. / For only one river from thousands of rivers of water, from the secrets / that are not revealed, is the river Tigris upon the eart[h]. /

See [...] and be amazed at the measure of the elements of the wa/ters. Marvel at the stature of the Man who bore t[30]hem. And understand how great is t[hat] god, / active in power, the one whom these waters [... t]/han the stature of the First Man who [assumed] (**155**) this garment of such size; and how much was made.

Then his / disciples say to him: We revere you, our master, and w[e] give / thanks that moreover you have opened our eyes to all [the g]re/atnesses that are hidden from every person. Yet, to us you have [5] manifested them!

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*88 ⲥⲁϊⲙⲉ

*89 ⲕⲙⲕⲁⲙ̄ⲧ

*90 ⲧⲁⲙⲥ` Smagina 1990:116 suggests 'hidden' from ⲧⲱⲙⲥ ('bury').

••• 62 •••

(155,6–29)

/ Concerning the Three Rocks. /

Mani uses the term 'rock' to describe three modes of absolute stability established by the divine in the universe.

Once again he speaks to his disciples: Three great / rocks, which exist, were appointed by the greatness. They were set in [10] these outer w[or]lds.

So, the first rock is the / [Pillar] of Glory, the Perfect Man, which was summoned / [by the] glorious Ambassador. He set it in this zone / [... he] brought forth its base (?) from the earth to heaven. It bore up under the [en]tire uni/[verse], and became first of all the weight-carriers in [15] [it]s powers. In its firmness it has been set upright, and has made fast / every [t]hing above and below. /

[The] second great and glorious rock is the new earth of / light, which was set upon the earth of darkness. It has squashed / the fastenings of the five storehouses of death. It has established [20] firmness, with great firmness, over and beyond the earth of darkness. / It has flattened, crushed and fixed the root of death. /

[The] third rock is the great thought, which was summoned / from Jesus, the glorious one. He set it in the holy church. / The church gathered in upon it, and has lived in [25] [it]. It has stood firm, with a true fixity, for ever. /

[These] are the three great rocks, they that have come forth in great / confidence, in three great and honoured places. They were appointed / and distributed in three great places of these [self]same worlds. / They were made fast according to the will of the greatness.

••• 63 •••

(155,30 – 156,34)

/ Concerning Love. /

Mani reveals the divine nature of love, which is manifested in the world in the church. In contrast, hate is the nature of the darkness; but it too is present in this time of mixture.

[O]nce again he speaks [to] his disciples: What is love? / [...] each [...], calling it 'love'.

(**156**) [Lo]ve is the Father of Greatness, who dwells in his / glorious land. The entirety of the divine has been revealed / [there]in! These two are a single living body, the Father / [a]nd his love; because he has given himself for every thing, [5] as he exists in his aeons. Indeed, due to this, they called the Fa/ther, the Lord of the totality, 'love'. For he gave the victory to / his aeons and his limbs.

Again, the beginning of / all the righteousness and the divine that dwells in / the holy church; they have also called it 'love'. [10] As indeed the church is made strong therein! [These] two, / the Mind and the church, a single body is also their likeness; / because, again, the apostle too shall gi[ve] his [own] / self for his church. [And, again], due to th[is], / the church too calls him 'love'. [So] [15] is it written: There is no love greater than this, for someone [to give himself] / to death for his friend*[91]. Likewise, too, the beginning of ri[ght]/eousness is made of love for the church, according both to body and to / spirit. While in the body, in the church here; so in the / spirit, in the heights above.

[20] Once again he speaks: What, conversely, is hate? Hate / is the first death that welled up. It revealed the land / of darkness. This one called 'hate', because / it has ruined all its perdition's offspring; it sinned even against / a power foreign to it, and ruined it. Due to this they shall call [25] it 'hated'; for it has caused destruction, both wounding in / flesh, and what is not its own.

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*[91] Jn. 15:13

Today again it causes wo[unding] / and destruction in all flesh. It kills them all with / diverse deaths; these that are displayed today in every/thing, in every type. Even the Cross of Light, the living [so]ul, likewise too it ruins and kills them; / as it did at the start. Indeed, due to this have they called i[t] / 'hated', this one from the hated; the envy from / the envy; the devil from the devil; the b[a]/d that came about from the bad. (**157**)

••• 64 •••

(157,1 – 158,23)

/ [Concerning] Adam. /

Mani explains that since Adam was fashioned by the evil powers after the image of the divine Ambassador, he was preeminent over all other mixed creations in three ways: his image was more beautiful; his soul fitted the correct distribution of the elements, and thus he had superior intelligence; the powers of the entire universe were sealed in him, and thus mankind became the key to the direction of future history.

This final point leads Mani to explain that the creation of Adam was a deliberate act by the rulers, the focus of their plan to control everything, and to capture the kingdom of light. He summarises their evil purpose in seven further points.

Once again he speaks to his disciples, who listen to his / words: Three great things that are distinct were reveal/ed in Ad[am] the first human. Indeed, due to this, he was found to be better and more outstanding than the conjoined powers that are in heaven / and on earth.

The first: / The image of the exalted one was placed upon him. The creators / and moulders of his body sealed him after the shining form / of the image that had been displayed to them above. Indeed, due to this, the image of Adam was found to be surpassingly beautiful / beyond any conjoined power above and below. /

The second thing: Adam was shaped in his structure / throug[h the li]ght of the first-born of heaven and / [earth ...] the five sons. Indeed, due to this, his struct[ure] was found to differ from the structure of even the other creations; / [sin]ce the form of all

creations is different. As for Adam, / the formation of his soul fits over the / correct distribution of the elements. Therefore, he has / intelligence surpassing that of the other creations and [20] beasts.

The third are the teaching/s and counsels and the seal of all the powers above and / below. The creators, who set him in order, gathered them and se/aled them in him. (Adam) and his consort Eve became a dwelling and home / for the signs of the zodiac and the stars; and the months, the days and the ye[25]ars. For the seal of the entire universe is stamped upon / Adam. Indeed, due to this, heaven and earth moved because of him; / trouble and disorder arose on his account between they that are g/ood and they that are evil. So, the good induce him to life / because of their image and shape placed upon him; while the [30] [wi]cked were drawing him to death, so that they would have po/[w]er through him and they would conceive the kingdom, and through him humiliate / the entire universe.

Furthermore, understand that / [the ru]lers determined and formed Adam so that they would be masters t/[hrough him a]nd c[onceiv]e the kingdom because of seven things.

(**158**) The first: He became the enlightener in their creati[o]n; instead of the li/ght of the image of the Ambassador wh[o] had displayed himself to them / above. For they all desi[re]d / the likeness of the image of the Ambassador. Their heart [5] was drawn after it.

The second: So that they would scoop up / the light through him and restrain and obstruct it / from its ascent to the heights. /

The third: So that because of the image of the Ambassa/dor that is placed upon him the entirety of the divine [10] that is above and below would be humiliated; on account of the likeness of the splendour, of / the beauty of his superiority. For he is superior in his appearance t/o all creatures.

The fourth: [He] is a / seal-ring and a new impression, so [that] / all births who will be begotten might be brought forth after his s[eal].

[15] The fifth: That might be displayed through him all the skil[ls]

/ of the powers, they above and below, secret and / manifest; and that they might determine through him the totality, and / every thing be revealed in him. /

The sixth: That there would come to be a great protection for them [20] through the image of the exalted one that was placed upon him; for as the heavenly would / [...] even rulers; and no evil thing would be done to them on account of Adam. /

The seventh: That he might become chief and king and master over all creatures; / and they might conceive the kingdom through him.

••• 65 •••

(158,24 – 164,8)

[25] *Concerning the Sun.* /

This chapter presents a series of teachings about the divine nature of the sun, and the life-giving qualities of its light, compared with the evils of darkness and the night. It may have been redacted from separate sources. D. McBride (1988) has argued that it evidences heliolatry native to Egyptian Manichaeism; but that would be difficult to prove without a parallel non-Coptic text.

158.26 – 161.30 Mani reveals the greatness of the sun, which so many people and the false sects have not understood. The Old Testament God, here termed Satan, has attempted to obstruct the worship of the light in his law. Mani outlines seven benefits of the sun, contrasted with seven evils of the night.

161.31 – 162.20 Five archetypes or qualities presented by the sun.

162.21 – 163.8 Three further qualities that correspond to the mystery of the Father.

163.9 – 164.8 Mani's concluding comments and admonitions to his disciples. He quotes a saying of Jesus from the *Gospel of Thomas.*

Once again, the apostle is sitting down among the congreg/ation of his disciples, one time, and the sun shone forth. He beg/an to recount to his disciples about the greatness of the su[n] / and its divinity. How was it fashioned after the [li]ke[30]ness of the first greatness? He was revealing to them.

He [say]/s, it is the gate of life and the vessel of [p]/eace, to this

great aeon of l[ight ...] (**159**) However, since Satan knows that it is the gate of the / souls' departure, he placed an exclusionary judgement / in his law that no one worship it, saying: / Whoever will worship it can die*92. He has otherwise called it: 5 The light that will be nullified. He has hindered the souls from / themselves turning their faces towards the light. He has caused them to deny / the light of their being.

Now, people are blind abou/t everything! They have not understood the greatness of this great light-giver. / They have denied the grace of this great light that shines upon them. 10 They have not perceived its greatness and its divinity. / No[r], also, have they understood the good things that it does for them, / even today, as they are entrenched in their body; when it / comes to th[is] world and shines. Behold: How many are the ch/arit[ies] that it does for mankind! Yet they, for their part, de15ny its graces, which they know not. Every day, wo/uld this great light-giver shine its light, it shall do seven / good things for them. Shall they not see them? /

[The] first good thing that it does for them is its light, which it / shines upon them. It opens the eyes of all mankind. 20 They see underfoot as they walk by it. It takes away / the blindness of the night, which made them blind with its darkness. /

[The] second: When (the sun) is come to the world, with its coming / it shall bring calm and peace to the entire world. With its / coming it shall also take away from them all the fear and t25rembling, which their heart is filled with the whole night; for it shall / ta[ke] away the darkness present by its light, and sweep it out. / Also, this is how it extinguishes fear by its calm. /

The third is its vigil; because when (the sun) comes to the wo/rld all sleeping mankind shall arise 30 and awake. And the watchmen too shall cease from / watching. The guards who sit at the gates of camps, they / [bre]ak vigil at the watchposts, because of its light that has shone / [upon them in the w]orld.

(**160**) The fourth: It shall nourish, and give strength, taste and

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*92 Deut. 17:2–5

scent; / to the trees and fruits and vegetables, and all the herbs, / and the flowers and grasses, which are upon the entire earth. /

The fifth: When (the sun) shines in all the world, [5] the evil reptile and the sharp-toothed beasts that are filled of / wickedness, they shall flee to hiding in their dens. /

The sixth: When it shines its light, the wou/nd of any person is eased from pain. Its light shall me/lt away the evil arts of every doer of wickedness.

[10] The seventh: (The sun) shall display and manifest to the wo/rld the sign of the splendour of the aeons of ligh[t], from which it has / come out; it here in this world being their sign. It / brings light to the whole of creation.

Behold: How gre[at i]s the fo/olishness that has befallen the sects of error! [15] Not only that they have not perceived the mystery of [the div]/inity of this great light-giver; but also, even all the benefits / that it does for them. They forget them. They do not perceive t/hem.

Now, just as I have shown you the sun, / which does seven good things in the world, hear al[20]so what I teach you about the night, for it has all wickednes/ses therein. Every occasion, would the night fall, it sha/ll do seven evils in the world. /

The first wickedness that the night shall do in the world / is the darkness, with which it shall fill the entire world; beca[25]use when the sun sinks from the world and dra/ws to it its rays, at that instant the shadow / of the night shall spread out over the whole world. The eye[s] / of the people fill with blackness. They neither see nor wonder / with their eyes, because of the darkness of the night which shall fill the whole wor[30]ld.

The second evil thing that / the night shall do is its fear; because when its / shadow looms forth, its fear and its trembling shall possess all of mankind. The entire world shall fil[l] / of the night.

The third: W[hen the night] (**161**) falls, all creatures take up revolt. / They rebel in their heart, to do wickedness and perdition. /

The fourth: The heaviness of sleep shall lay upon them, and they

/ fall asleep; they slumber and doze, and they are like [5] these corpses in the night.

The fifth is its / ugliness; again, when the night would fall, the form / of the people shall be hidden in the darkness and the ugliness of the night. / The beauty and the form of men and women shall not be displ/ayed before one another, because of its darkness and its ugliness; [10] which it shall spread out over all their forms. /

[The] sixth occasion is when the night would fall on / the world. At that instant evil people shall come / out to do wickedness; the adulterers, and the robbers and pois/one[r]s. The evil beasts shall come out, and all the reptiles [15] that are filled with wickedness, from their dens. And they sta/lk in the night. Also, the demons and fiends find power / to do wickedness in the night. Again, the blows and buffets and / wounds and discharges shall torment people in / the night; because in it the whole of evil shall find strength.

[20] The seventh: The night shall display the sign / of the darkness, its father. It has arisen out of its essence; / because this night that came out of this first darkness has / been displayed in the world. Note this night, the shadow / of this first darkness, the one that is entwined and bound in all things [25] above and below.

Behold, I have tau/ght you about these seven wickednesses of the black night; / the ones that it shall do daily in the world, in the ni/ght. The sects have not seen this black night: / what it is; nor from whence is its essence. That all these evils [30] find strength in it! /

[On]ce again he ramified. He says to his disciples: / [There are] five archetypes occur in the sun, it making them / [...] as it finds the world.

(**162**) The first is its light; for it illumines by its light / the world, and all the creatures who exist in it. /

The second is its beauty; because when it shines, it shall / flood beauty and loveliness upon all creatures [5] and everything. /

The third is its peace; for, again, when the sun would / shine on the world, all people shall receive affect/ion through it, and give peace to one another. /

The fourth is the life of the living soul, which it shall release [10] from all the bonds and fetters of heaven and earth. /

The fifth: It gives a strength to the elements; and also it gives a / scent and a taste to the entire Cross of the Light.

So, / you yourselves see that its light illumines / more than all lights that occur in the world. [15] Also, its beauty [i]s more beautiful than all the beauties of mankind. Again, its pea/ce is more surpassing than all the powers and guards who ex/ist in the world. Its releasing action, by which it releases / the living soul, is a full day ahead of / all releasing actions! The strength that it gives to its li[20]mbs is a great strength, being mightier than all strengths! /

Once again, there are another three archetypes made apparent by the sun, in res/pect of the mystery of the first greatness. /

The first is the filling up of the disk of its ship; because / its ship has filled up every season, and shall not wane at [25] all, the way that the ship of the moon wanes. This continuous filli[ng], / by which it is filled, displays the my/stery of the Father, the great greatness; from whom all the powers / and the gods have come forth. He shall never wane, / nor shall lack ever exist in him!

[30] The second: (The sun's) light surpasses the light of / all the stars, and all the lights that occur in the [universe]; / corresponding to the mystery of the light of the Father; for his l[ight sur]/passes and is greater than the light of his a[eons].

(**163**) The third: This sun is very high above / all else. It surpasses the height of all the mountains and / hills that exist upon the entire earth, corresponding to the mystery of / the Father of Greatness; for he is high above all the household [5] of his light-earth. Also, because the Father himself / is high above all the heights and the mountains of his / light-earth. He is 'filled up' in his image [all] the time / and every hour from eternity to eternity! /

[Beho]ld the two mysteries I have taught you, O my b[e]lov[10]ed ones! The mystery of the night and that of the day, which daily come / forth in the world. Now, the mystery of the li/[g]ht and the mystery of the darkness are displayed dai/[ly] in the created order. The sects have not seen them in their / [error]! The mystery of the first great light is [15] [the] sun, which is this second light-giver, the one that comes dai/ly to the world. It displays all [the] marks o/f its graces, displaying and signifying on its own behalf / that it is good, out of the essence of the good. / It came from the good Father and appeared in [20] this world.

In contrast, this night that is made of fe/ar exists after the mystery of the darkness. Behold too the myster/y of its essence! It displays it in the wo/rld in all these wickednesses. It displays this my/stery daily in the world, but the sects kno[25][w] it not in their error. They do not distinguish the my/[st]ery of the light from that of the darkness. Indeed, concerning this myste/[r]y that is hidden from the sects, the saviour cast an allusion / [to] his disciples: Understand what is before / [y]our face, and then what is hidden from you will be unveiled to you*[93].

[30] [Once] again the apostle speaks: You are the children of the d/[ay and] the children of the light. However, you <[...] the character of the darkness> are the children / [of the night a]nd the children of the darkness.

(**164**) Yet, blessed are you, my beloved ones! Blessed are your / souls, for you have known the mystery of the day and / that of the night. You have understood, that the day exists after the myste/ry of the light, but the night after the mystery of the dark[5]ness. They have not arisen from one another. Blessed is he / who can know this mystery and distinguish these two esse/nces, that of the light and that of the darkness, the ones that have not arisen / from one another; so that he can inherit life eternal!

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*[93] Ev. Thom. log. 5

••• 66 •••

(164,9 – 165,24)

/ Concerning the Ambassador. /

The solar theme is continued from the previous chapter to this one, entitled after the Ambassador as the principal god who dwells in the sun. Mani compares sunrise and sunset to the first and last moments of the history: when the First Man came and shone over the darkness; and when the Last Statue will ascend, leaving behind him eternal death. The entire 'second time' of the cosmos and of mixture is thus the daytime for the creatures of flesh and darkness, between eternal nights both before and afterwards. Mani uses this lesson to exhort his disciples to preach the truth, whilst there is still time for repentance.

10 Once again he speaks to his disciples: Pay attention, look / [and] understand in the way that I show you. / Two great mysteries are apparent in this shining sun, / at its rising and setting. Now, at the moment / when it rises and is visible in the universe, 15 all creatures of flesh shall lift up their heads fr[om their sleep] / towards the splendour of the sun, <and open their doors*94>. While at evening / time, when the sun sinks from the universe, / all people from every place and even all beasts / shall go in to their dark hiding places. The popula20tion of the entire universe shuts their doors*95 and dark night / overcomes them. They go inside and stay within the dark nig/ht in their hiding places. /

Very great is this mystery revealed by the sun! / For when the sun rises and [be]come[s] visible at the beg25inning of the day all people open their doors, and / all of humanity and every creature emerges onto the ear[th] / to destroy this Light Cross that is established i[n] / silence.

This pertains to the mystery of the First / Man, because when he came out from the grea[t]30ness he shone forth over all the children of darkness. At that mome[nt] / all the children of darkness came forth from their stor[e]/houses, its powers and its armies, abandoni[ng] their cav[es] / and their black abyss. They

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*94 Or 'mouths'.
*95 Or 'is silent'.

destroyed the [outer] body / of his five sons, who were swathed over hi[s b]o[dy, in (**165**) t]hat first struggle.

Again, when / the sun sinks from the universe and sets, / and all people go in to their hiding places and / houses and conceal themselves; this also pertains to the mystery of the end, as it presages the consummation of the universe. For, / when all the light will be purified and redeemed i[n] / the universe at the last, the collector of all things, / the Last Statue, will gather in and sculpt it/self. It is the last hour of the day, the time when the Last Statue will go up to the aeo[n of] / light. The enemy too, death, will go in to / bondage; to the prison of the souls of the de[ni]iers / and blasphemers who loved the darkness. They will go in / with it to bondage and the dark night overcomes th[em]; and thenceforth this name 'light' will not shine upon them.

Behold / the two mysteries made visible daily in the sun, / which is this splendrous light-giver. /

Now, [b]ecause of this I say to you, my brothers and loved ones: / Take trouble and train yourselves, and preach to the souls that they might seize the moment, while alive, for their / repentance. As long as there is time to do the good, / before the door is shut and the souls are kept back, stopped / at the gate of life; and they become part of the treasure of the enemy. /

[Wh]en his disciples heard this, they were frightened and alarmed and disturbed <[saying: We ...] in great agitation [...] for we would be saved from death [to dwell in the] imperishable [aeon] for ever>.

••• 67 •••

(165,25 – 166,16)

/ Concerning the Light-Giver. /

This chapter is again based upon an analogy about the sun. This time Mani plays on the title 'enlightener', used both of the sun and of himself. The believers are compared to the sun's rays extending across the entire earth; and Mani promises to draw them all after him to the eternal kingdom of light.

Once again he speaks to his disciples, while he sits / in the midst of the congregation: Note how the sun, the great / light-giver, comes with its splendour when it [30] shines over the universe, and its rays shall extend over / the entire earth. Again, when it is about to set, its ra/ys shall [disappea]r and sink. It does not leave [behind] a single ray / [on the earth].

Again, this is also what I am like! (**166**) In the image of flesh, wherein I have been set, I have been displ/ayed in the universe. Also, all my children, / the righteous elect who are mine in every / country, are like the sun's rays. At the moment, when I will [5] come forth from the universe and go to the household of my people, / I will gather toge[ther] all the elect who have believed in me / to that place. I will draw them to me, each one of them at / the time of his coming forth; I will not leave any one of them / in the darkness.

Now, because of this I say to you: [10] Every one of you who loves me, let him love all my children, the / blessed elect, for I am with them. I / alone. How so? For my wisdom anoints th[em] / all. The great glorious one lives in all of them, and every / one who will love them and mix with them in his charity [15] may live and be victorious with them; and be saved from the black / universe.

••• 68 •••

(166,17 – 30)

/ Concerning Fire. /

Fire is one of the five light elements. Nevertheless, this brief chapter also evidences Mani's delight in classifying all aspects of the world, to establish a totally integrated system.

Once more he speaks: This fire, which burns and is apparent to[20]day in the world, it does five works. /

The first work that it does is this: It incinerates / and burns wood, and everything that shall be placed upon it. /

The second: It separates four aspects of the wood, which / are these: fire and light, ash and sm[25]oke.

The third: It gives a taste and an {aroma}*[96] to / whatever will be cooked on it. It also gives heat and ch/eer to whoever will be close to it.

The fourth work that [it] / does: All craftsmen shall work the / utensils that they will fabricate in it.

The fifth: [30] It sh[all] display light, and the people see by [it].

••• 69 •••

(166,31 – 169,22)

/ Concerning the Twelve Signs of the Zodi/ac and the Five Stars. /

Mani is asked to explain the distribution of the twelve signs of the zodiac and the planetary stars. Since he subscribes to the astral fatalism found throughout gnostic and esoteric systems in late antiquity, he identifies them as evil rulers from the worlds of darkness. However, it is noticeable that this causes a variety of structural problems for his system, all of which are apparent in this chapter.

In Manichaeism the demiurge is one of the light gods, the Living Spirit, unlike the case with many of the other dualistic traditions. Thus, it is constantly necessary to explain why evil powers are given a place and a role in the universe.

The characteristic pentads of Mani's system, here the five worlds of darkness from which the evil powers originate, can not be made to fit the distribution of the twelve zodiacal signs.

Perhaps of most interest, Mani is clearly aware that the ruling powers are commonly understood to be the seven and the twelve (as in Mandaeism). However, since for him the sun and moon are divine vessels, he must develop his teaching about the two ascendants (the two lunar nodes when the moon crosses the ecliptic of the sun). In this chapter there are two obvious attempts to reconcile this matter.

Once more, during one of the times, the apostle [is sitting down] (**167**) among the congregation. A disciple stood before him and question/ed him. He says to him: We entreat you, our master, that you may recount / to us and explain about the twelve signs of the zodiac / that are set in the sphere. How are they determined?

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*96 ⲛⲃⲟ

Or to what place do they belong, [5] according to their essence? Or else again, these five stars that circle / in them, from whence are they? Or why has the demiurge appointed them / as the authorities and leaders? He is the great construc/tor who has appointed the entire creation; and he has bound and fix/ed them on the sphere. Now, we entreat you, our [10] master, that you may satisfy us about these things that are hidden from all mankind. /

[Th]en he speaks to that disciple who had questioned him: Whether / these twelve signs of the zodiac that are fixed on the sphere, or these fi/ve stars that circle upon them; those and these are rulers, all of them, / according to their essence. They are all enemies and rivals to [15] each other <one oppresses another, they threaten each other>. They plunder one another by the action of the great / craftsman who has formed all the worlds. He has gathered / [them] and bound them on the sphere above, which circles const/antly. Now, while it circles and tumbles them, so they shall do every/thing that they desire, above and below, according to their plea[20]sure. Nevertheless, a guardian is over them, a debt-collector a/bove them; compelling, extorting, and taking what is theirs / away from them!

Now, this is how it can rightly be understood. They were / [s]eized from the five worlds of darkness, and bound on the s/[ph]ere. Two zodiacal signs were taken per world. Gemini [25] [an]d Sagittarius belong to the world of smoke, which / is the mind. In contrast, Aries and Leo belong to the wo/rld of fire. Taurus, Aquarius and Libra be/[long] to the world of wind. Cancer and Virgo / [an]d [P]isces belong to the world of water. Capricorn [30] [an]d Scorpio belong to the world of darkness. These are / [the] twelve rulers of depravity, the ones that wicked/[ness] shall not [...] For they cause all the evil and / [... in the wo]rld, whether in tree or in flesh.

(**168**) And understand also about these five stars, the leaders: from where were they / formed? The star of Zeus (Jupiter) was generated from / the world of smoke, which is the mind. In contrast, Aphro/dite (Venus) came about from the world of fire. [5] And then Ares (Mars) belongs to the world of wind. Hermes (Mercury) / belongs to the world of water. Cronos (Saturn) belongs to the world / [of] darkness.

And also, the two ascendants are counted to / fire and desire, the dry and the / moist. They are the father and the mother of all these.

[10] An[d al]so, the sun and the moon, which are counted in with them as a / rule <[counte]d to their kind, but why did they count them in with them?> so that they would reign over them. You will discover they subjugate them at / every moment.

These seven we have named, the five stars and the / two ascendants: They are the doers of wickedness that do every wi/cked and bad act in every land, the whole of it, abo[15]ve and below, in every creature, in the dry / and the moist, in tree and flesh.

Once more I reveal to you about these signs of the zodiac: [They] are / distributed, appointed on four sides, three per angle in / these four places. And they are fixed to this revolving sphere. Ari[es], [20] Leo and Sagittarius, they three belong to a single side*97. / In contrast, Taurus, Capricorn and Virg[o], / these other three belong to another side. And then, Gemini, / Libra and Aquarius belong to another side. Scorp[i]/o, Pisces and Cancer belong to another corner. Now, th[ey] [25] are placed like this, appointed to these four parts, and distribute[d] / on the sphere.

So, when the side of A[ri]/es, Leo and Sagittarius will be plundered by the guard/ian who is over it, who extorts from it and the leaders [w]/ho move upon it; at that instant shall affliction st[r][30]ike all the four-footed creatures below. / However, when [the side] of Tau[rus], / Virgo and Capricorn will be plundered; [affliction] sh[all] (**169**) at once befall the herbs, together with the vegetables and / all the fruits of the trees. Yet again, when / the side of Scorpio, Pisces and Cancer will be plundered; / scarcity shall befall the waters upon the earth, [5] and drought be from place to place. / Conversely, should the side of Gemini, Libra and Aq/uarius be plundered; deformity and stuntedness shall befall / the form of mankind from place to place. /

Behold now, I have explained to you about these tw[el]ve [10] signs

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*97 The circle of the zodiac is quartered, with each set of three houses grouped as by an equilateral triangle. Thus Aries, Leo and Sagittarius are not consecutive signs; but rather the first, fifth, and ninth houses.

of the zodiac: They were fashioned from the five / worlds of darkness, and bound on the sphere.

Also, I have taught / you about the other five, the stars: They too came about / from the five worlds of the land of darkness.

I have recounted / to you also about the [t]wo ascendants: They are se[15]t to the mystery of fire and desire. They / are the dry and the moist, the father and the mother. /

Again, I have revealed to you about the sun and the moon: They / are strangers to them. Still, because of the constraint of the arrangeme/nt, in that the thing receives light, and as they belong and plunder them; [20] because of this they were counted in with them in relation to the calculation of / the number. For, the sun and the moon are from out of the greatness, / not belonging to the stars and the signs of the zodiac.

••• 70 •••

(169,23 – 175,24)

/ Concerning the Body: It was [25] constructed after the Pattern of the Uni/verse. /

Astrology connects this chapter to the last. However, the basic theme here is the correspondence between the micro- and macro-cosmos. The chapter appears to be redacted from a number of separate sources or Manichaean lessons.

170.1 – 20 The structure of the human body and its organs accords to that of the universe.

170.21 – 172.29 The events that occur in the watch-districts of the five sons of the Living Spirit, the conflicts between evil powers and the gods, correlate to those within the individual as the new man struggles with the old. Compare 92.9 – 94.16.

172.29 – 173.20 Demonic rulers exist in the organs of the four worlds of the human body.

173.21 – 174.10 The zodiacal signs correspond to parts of the body vertically from the head to the feet.

174.10 – 175.4 In a second schema the signs are arranged in a circle from the right temple of the head round to the genitals, and returning up the left side of the body.

175.5 – 24 Thousands of evil rulers exist in the human body. They cause illness within, or suppurations on the surface.

[Aga]in, on one of the occasions, the apostle is sitting do/[w]n among the church in the midst of the congregation. He says to his / disciples: This whole universe, above and [30] below, [re]flects the pattern of the hum[an] body; / [as the f]ormation of this body of flesh ac(**170**)cords to the pattern of the universe.

Its head is like / the first-fruits of the five garments. And, from its neck / down to the site of its heart, it resembles the pattern / of the ten firmaments. And again, the heart accords to [5] the wheel of the rotating sphere. And, from its heart / down to its intestines (?), is like this atmosphere / that extends from the sphere down to the earth. The [male] part / of the body corresponds to this great earth. And also, from its / intestines (?) down to its loins is [10] like the three earths. And also, its shinbones to the pa/ttern of the space in which the Porter stands. / Its footsoles to the great earth upon which the Po/rter is stood; and the four fastenings that are under his / feet. Its liver to the vessel of fire. [15] Its flesh to the vessel of darkness. Its b/lood to the vessel of water.

Now, this is how / the small body corresponds to the macro- / cosmos in its firmaments, in its orderings, in its / mountains, its walls and its vessels. As I have [20] made clear to you!

Once more, I reveal to you: / There exist five great camps in this / great outer zone, of which the five sons of the Living / Spirit are masters.

So, in the first watch-station / above, of which the Keeper of Splendour is master, [25] on the battlement of all the works, is found his authority / over the three heavens. Then the ones below him [... / ...] the great King of Honour. /

The second watch, of which the great King of Honour / is master, his own authority (extends) over the seven [30] firmaments beneath him.

The thi[rd] / watch, of which the Adamant [is master, his authority] (**171**) rei[g]ns from the firmament down below to the [earth]. / [And he] invigorates, according to his authority, the sphere and the [wo]/rlds of the atmosphere; and the other four worlds that are appointed on / this earth.

The fourth watch, over which the King of [5] Glory has power, is the three wheels. And his / [auth]ority lies over the three earths upon the hea[d] / of the Porter.

The fifth watch is the wat/ch over which the Porter is authoritative. Again, he is / master, according to his authority, over this great earth [10] he stands upon, and the four fastenings under / his feet.

Affliction has come about in these five watches from ti/me to time.

So, in the watch of the Keeper of Splendour, / s[in] desired to spurt up towards the image / of the Ambassador. Yet, they barred it from that place, [15] and it fell back down in shame. /

Again, an earthquake and treachery occured in the watch of the great / King of Honour, which the watchers who had arisen / at the time and had [...] they who were sent came down, / until they were humbled.

Also, in the watch [20] of the Adamant, the abortions came to the earth and fashioned [the] / figure of flesh.

Again, in the watch of the King of Glory, / a commotion happened in these three earths abo/ve the Porter. The pathway was obstructed for / [the] ascent of these three wheels; that of wind, that of [25] water, and that of fire.

Also, in the watch of the Po/[r]ter, the fastenings beneath were laid bare and strained their / [ch]ains. A great [ear]thquake befell that place. /

[Like] these five watch-[stations], which exist in this great / [... these fi]ve camps, which I have recounted (**172**) [to] you. This is also the case with this body that the e[l/e]ct wear. There are another five camp[s] / there, and the Light Mind is watching over them, and the new / man who is with him.

The elect person who will con[5]trol and subdue the configuration of his face, which is above his bo/dy, and guide it towards the good; he resembles / the mystery of the Keeper of Splendour, who rules o/ver the watch above the zone.

Whoever will become master / [over] his heart and subdue it; he is the sign of the great [10] King of Honour, who subdues the seven heavens.

Wh/oever will become master to his genitals and subdue his lust; he is / the mystery of the Adamant of Light, the one who / subdues Matter.

Whoever will subdue the stomach and / become master to the fire that is in him, and also purify [15] the nourishment that comes in to him; he resembles the likeness / of the King of Glory, the one who turns the wheels, sending / the life above.

Whoever will become master over the ruling-po/wer that is beneath in his feet, and bind it with the / chain of peace; he is like the Porter, the one who subdu[20]es with his footsoles the abysses below.

Also, the teaching / of wisdom, which circulates in that body: to / the likeness of the Virgin of Light, who goes up and / comes down in this zone, above and be/low.

Also, love and joy, faith [25] and truth, in which the person should l[iv]e: they are / to the likeness of these two light ships. For, the living s[o]/ul should go up in them and become free through them; / and it ascends from the abysses below and arrives at [the] / heights above.

Once more, understand this other (truth): [30] There exist four worlds i[n th]is body of the f[lesh], / and there exist countless times seven rulers [in the b]ody [of the four] / worlds!

So, the first w[orld is from its] (**173**) neck up; and also the seven rulers who are / in this upper world are these: the two organs of sigh[t], / and the two of hearing, and the two of smell. / The other one is the mouth, which is the organ of taste.

[5] [The] second world is from its neck down to / its entire upper torso. And also, the seven rulers w[ho] / are in this second world are: its [two] arms / that accord to the pattern of its two ears, which [oc]/cur in its first world above; and i[t]s [10] two breasts that are to the pattern of its organs of smell; / and the two eyes of its heart;

and the gullet of the stoma/ch between the two breasts, which in the che/st is the pattern of the mouth.

Once more, there exist seven / rulers in the third world of the body, which are these: the fat, the lung, the sple[en], the liv[e]r, the gall, / and its two kidneys.

Also, the fourt[h wo]rld b/elow. There are another seven there of this same kind: its / two buttocks (?), and its two testicles, and its two loins; / and the member out of which the seed comes, that begets all the forms. /

[O]nce more the enlightener speaks to his hearers: Ari/es and Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, / Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Ca/pricorn, Aquarius and Pisces; these are the twelve signs of the zodiac that occur in the worlds above, on / the sphere. They are interlocked and bound on this turning wheel, the one in whi/ch they are [...], fixed, and planted. And, regarding [a]ll these twelve / signs of the zodiac, this is how they were appointed and made leaders / [...] on the sphere beneath the heaven that is the wheel of the [stars]. Now, they are appointed like this, they are thus, so that you can find the head of / [...] and you find the tail too [... / ...]

Again, they occur like this, (**174**) these that we have recited, one after another in this body. They are counted / by order and number from the head to the / feet. Its head is Aries. Its neck and its shoul/ders are Taurus. Its two arms Gemini. Its upper torso is Cancer. Its stomach is / Leo. Its belly is Virgo. The v[er]tical spine / and its intestines (?) are Libra. Its genitals / [S]corpio. Its loins are Sagittarius. Its knees ar[e / Capri]corn. Its shinbones are Aquarius. The soles of its feet are Pisces.

Behold, these / are also distributed one after another. They exist in this body, / as if turned to the side and bent to the pattern of the twelve signs of the zodiac. / They too are thus, arranged one against another, head / to tail, a[s] they occur on the wheel [...] up.

Also, they are counted by / order and number of the body and all its members. / So, we have proclaimed that these are turned to the side, bent, and spread / out; because from its head down to its / hip

shall count six to its left, and another six to its right. [20] The six that are down its right are these that I / will recount: the right temple is Aries; its right shoul/der is Taurus; its right arm is / Gemini; its right rib-cage is Cancer; / its stomach is Leo; the right side of its reproductive organs [25] are Virgo. Conversely, the other s[ix] about which we have spoken, / which are to its left, in contrast they come / from its hip to its head: its left [...] / is Libra; its left rib-cage is Scorpi[o]; / its left breast and left kidney [is Sag][30]ittarius; its [left] elbow [is Capric](**175**)orn; its left shoulder is Aquariu[s]; / its left temple is Pisces. This is how / the creator of the body himself has appointed them. He has [set] / them in order and arranged them, one against its companion, head to [tail].

[5] Once more he speaks: Listen to this other lesson that I will pr[ocla]/im to you. Understand that there exist many powers / in this body. They are the house-dwellers who are made the leade[rs] / in it. There are eight hundred and forty times ten thousand [ru]/lers made chiefs in the human b[o]dy! They are distributed and [10] set firm, quartered according to house. The count and / number of their houses is two hundred and ten times ten thousand. /

When all these rulers come creeping and [m]ov/[ing with]in the body, they will meet one another; and they shall / beset and destroy one another, and [...] [15] in them there. When [... t/il]l they shall erupt from the body of the person who [will] / die; and make putrid boils and sores and [bur]ning wounds / in the body. Either they might have made hi[m] sick with[in]; / or else they might come forth upon his outer side. Those woun[20]ds shall first be squeezed and discharge their liquid, / and empty out their pus, until they are squeezed [... / ...] and the suppuration forced out from the wound. Afterwards, / their scars [shal]l close over; and they are healed and obtain relief f/rom the places that came out upon them.

•••71 •••

(175,25 – 176,8)

/ Concerning the Gathering in / of the [E]lements. /

This chapter discusses the sequence by which the light elements will be gathered in and ascend up to the eternal kingdom at the end of time, the destruction of the universe. This corresponds to the eschatological path taken by each soul: to answer the summons of salvation, to become one with the Light Mind, to ascend up the Pillar to the moon (the First Man), then to the sun (the Ambassador), and thus to the aeons.

[O nc]e more the enlightener speaks: In what way shall / [the] elements be gathered in, from one to another?

The l[30][igh]t shall be gathered in [to] the fire, and the fire itself gathered / [in to the water, and the wa]ter gathered in to the wind, and the (**176**) [win]d gathered to the air, and the air gathered to the answer, / [an]d the answer gathered to the summons. Also, the summons / [to the] purified Mind, which is the intellectual. The intellectual to / [the P]illar of Glory, [the P]illar of Glory to the First [5] [M]an, the Man to the Ambassador, the Ambassador / [to] the aeons of greatness.

They are gathered in like this; / but, [they] will be gathered on one occasion only, and go up a/[b]ove to the place of rest for ever and ever.

••• 72 •••

(176,9 – 178,23)

[10] *Concerning the worn / and torn apart Garments, or the tattered Clothes, / or the Elements, the C/ross, and the rest too. /*

The divine light soul (or elements) that descended at the beginning of the history with the First Man was devoured by the evil demonic forces of matter. During the course of the history it has experienced different forms of degradation, and of salvation, depending upon its position and role in the conflict. Since it was the armour (or the five sons) that the First Man had

assumed at his descent, it frequently receives various names that are variants on the concept of a garment. In this chapter Mani explains the different terms and roles during the history; but emphasises that they will all return to a single form and a single name at the final victory.

Once more the apostle is sitting in the congregation of his [15] disciples. He says to [hi]s disciples: What is this lesson / [that] is written in [the scriptures]? It proclaims the name the 'great garm/ents', but what then are these 'great garments'? Or again, this / you sometimes call the 'rags', what are those / 'rags'? Or the 'worn and torn apart'? Or what are [20] the 'images and the tattered clothes'? Or what is this name: / 'light element'? Or conversely, what is the 'Cro/ss of Light'? Or why named otherwise: the 'couns/el of life'? Or what is the 'soul that is slain'; being killed, / oppressed, and murdered in the enemy? What are all these names? [25] Look, they are written and sealed, according to memory, / by a multitude of scriptures. Now then I ask you, / so that you may tell me: What are they? Or how have they changed / with all these names and become set in altered forms, / namely all these?

His disciples say to him: [30] You, our father, are the source [of] all wisdoms. [Th]/erefore, we entreat you that you may open o[ur e]/yes about all these things. Te[ach us these wisdoms], / since you are the fount of [all wisdoms]!

(**177**) Then speaks the apostle to them: It is proper for [yo/u] to understand this. The garments that are named / 'great garment' are the five intellectuals that [make per]/fect the body of the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man. [5] They were purified by the coming of the Ambassador. /

In contrast, the ones named 'rag': the rags are the devoured enlightening power. / It is compounded and entangled in [the bo]/dy of the universe in the rulers who are above, who / exist in all the firmaments. Also, its shine is t[10]hat which lights up and is displayed in the stars of the chain and the powers / [of the] course. And likewise, these rags that are entangled in / these [thre]e [ear]ths below, above the head of the Port/[er ...] on the earth that is under the Porter. These are / [named] the 'rags', because [...] set [... [15] ...]

However, the 'great worn and torn apart garments', / which we have proclaimed, is this entangled living power. / It is reaped, cut, and devoured. / It is overpowered by the five worlds of the flesh, wh/ich creep as they move from place to place.

[20] On the other hand, [these] we have termed the 'images and the great / tattered clothes' [...] are the three great garments / of the wind, the fire, and the water. These the Living Spirit / cloaked upon his body. With them he set in order thing/s in the universe. With them also he emptied the vess25els. He swept them out and laid them bare in front of the Por/[t]er at the foundation of all things. /

Conversely, '[the ele]ments', we have called them this name, are this / [pow]er that remains in all things below. It rises up / [in] the wombs of all the earths, gathering together, and pouring [30] f[ort]h upon [a]ll thin[gs].

And then, the '[Light] Cross' / [we have termed] this bound 'light power'. It / [...] all [...] upon the earth, in (178) the dry and the moist.

Also, the one name[d] / the 'counsel of life' is the summons and the / [obed]ience. It moves in all these powers that we have named. / It awakens them, gives them ease, and drives them [5] to their movement.

The one named 'the soul [that is s/l]ain', which is killed, oppressed and murdered; it is / this power of fruit, vegetables and seeds. They shall be th/[r]eshed, plucked and cut down; and they / give nourishment to the worlds of the flesh. Further: the wood should it be dr[10]y, and the garment should it become ragged, will perish. Again, it is [a pa/]rt of this entire soul that is slain and killed; s/ince also even this whole part of it they kill / [...]

For all these names [... / ...] are a single [...] since the beginning, it [...] [15] as it enlightens; but they separated into all these parts / in this first contest. They became set in all these altered / forms, and these many names. Of course, / if now all these var[iet]ies are laid bare, and stripped / of all these appearances, [and] parted from all [20] these names; they will gather together [and] make a single form, / and a single name, unaltered and unchangeable

for ever in the / land of their first essence, from which they were sent forth / against the enemy.

••• 73 •••

(178,24 – 180,26)

[25]*Concerning the Envy of Matter. /*

178.26 – 179.16 Mani begins by outlining four crucial moments in the history when Matter (hyle), the driving force of the darkness, has displayed the envy that is the essence of its nature. It envied: the First Man; the image of the Ambassador; Adam; Christ and the apostles.

179.16 – 28 Furthermore, it has caused envy for Mani himself, and his church. The apostle turns the discussion into a warning to his listeners that sin will never be content to leave them secure in their faith.

179.28 – 180.19 Mani illustrates the point by recounting the typical actions of an envious person against the faithful, in every church since the beginning.

180.19 – 26 Final admonitions to be steadfast in the faith.

Once again the apostle speaks to his disciples: [The] / entirety of envy is this first nature that occu[red] / in the worlds of darkness.

In this envy that [...] / in it, the First Man [...] its poiso[n ...] [30] its evil-doing. His garment[s] were [...] / it cut them and drew them; [...]

(**179**) It envied the first image of the Ambassad[or], / which he displayed to it in the heights abov[e], / i[n] his form that it saw. It established the seal and the i[m]/age of flesh, and put the impression of t[h]at image [5] on flesh, its very own birth. /

[The th]ird time it envied Adam, the fir[st / hum]an. It seized a power from him, and bore it forth from a / [rib of] of Adam's [flesh].

The fourth time / [it en]vi[ed] all the firs[t-bo]rn and the first f[a[10]thers; an]d the blessed Christ who is the father of / all the [apostles]. Again, he too, it envied his / [endurance upon] the wood of the cross. It envied [the] fa/[thers of r]ighteousness. It was jealous of the [... / ...] all congregations of [... th]eir love over

him, [15] [which] is among them, by the desire of its wickedness. It has [...] t/hem.

Furthermore, I myself was sent now, in this / last generation. It has envied me. For it wishes now, at the end, to be / god in its old land. After it had caused envy for me and / fulfilled its jealousy there, it also envied all my righteous[20]ness and my entire church and the whole assembly / [of] my catechumens. It could not bear to see a / single wise and true person, upright and stead/[fa]st in his deeds. Rather, it shall envy you with / [i]ts jealousy and wickedness; every one, whether [25] [a] great person or a disciple, a man o/r a woman, a male catechumen or a / female catechumen. They who are in truth, being perfect in / [the] faith. These of this kind sin shall not be content to [... /

...] cho[o]sing a single day. He was strong [30] [...] they are of it, but he has separ/[ated himself. He] spoke with them so that he might do (**180**) [a]mong them his will, whether outside or within. / While [in]side, he wounds them by his envy, with / [s]icknesses and pains and physical afflictions; and outside / with false reports and lying accusations [5] that he spreads as rumours after them. He makes [t/he]m hated and stinking among mankind, more and / [m]ore. He shall return to burst against the teacher and the righteous e[lec/t] person. He who preaches, manifestin[g / the] mystery in the revel[at]ion of [... [10] sa]ve by him his lamb[s ... / ...] in his hands. More and more it shall envy [... / ...] speaking after him with [...] words [...] / Now, these who are lesser in power, they [... / ...] negligent and confused i[n their] contorte[d] faith [...] [15] they fall from the faith. This is the desire [of Mat]/ter, the thought of death. This is the envy of its wi[cke]/dness, that it casts upon the entire kindred of life / from the very beginning until my time, from m/e too to my church.

Therefore, it is appropriate [20] for the wise person that he be steadfast and strong, / and stay with his truth and hope. And he not be / defeated nor cowed, nor give himself to the en[vy] / and hatred of dark Matter. Rather, he will stand firm [... / ...] in God and be strong and stay [with] [25] his hope and his [faith]; and he overcomes [...] / Whatever would cover me comes before him.

••• 74 •••

(180,27 – 181,31)

/ Concerning the living Fire: / It is present in Eight Places.

The living fire is one of the five light elements, and its origin is the eternal kingdom. However, the First Man also swathed it upon his body at his descent; and so it is present in this universe, from whence it is purified. It equates to the consideration amongst the five intellectual qualities.

30 Once again the apostle speaks: The [holy] living f[ire] / is present i[n] eight places. /

The first place wherein it is, is this [light] land [where it is present and] / exists. It is established beneath [it ... (**181**) ut]terly beyond the totality. It is the foundatio[n and / ba]sis of that great earth, and the consideratio[n / th]at is beneath them all.

The second pla[ce / whe]rein it is, is the Father, the God of truth; because 5 [the Fathe]r is established in his great, mighty consideration. / So, [firs]t in the Father. The other powers that came from him / were revealed through him, and (the fire) too came w[i]/th them [and was revea]led by them.

The third / [place wherein it is], is the First Man, h[e] wh[o ... 10 ...] armour. Again, it is this fire [... / ...] on the body of the Perfect Man. /

[The fourth is this fir]e that was purified from all the [light] powers, / [which is i]n the outer wall, in the ship of the day. /

[The fifth i]s this fire that is in the light-giver of the night 15 [...] within the water. /

[The] sixth is this f[i]re that is purified from the totality. The Living [Spirit] / swathed it upon his body, over the summons and / the obedience. He has established many things by it. He / went down and stripped himself of it before the Por20ter.

The seventh is this living fire that is of / the new earth, and is the consideration. For it is the first / foundation in the new earth, it

they built anew [... / ...] the first course, that is a crown for the entire earth. T[hey] / are below the totality, over the entire earth of da[rkne]ss [25] [...] in it, in the [...] whole [...] /

[The] eigh[th] is the fire that shall be revealed in this [... / ...] person, and it signifies fear and war. Furthermore it / [...] it displays and manifests its sign in / [its ter]ror. It shall be r[ev]ealed in these two light ships.

[30] This i[s the way] that the holy living fire exists in these / [eight places].

••• 75 •••

(181,31 – 183,9)

/ [Concerning the Letter (?)] /

In this kephalaion the summons and the obedience are considered to be letters, a motif also found in the Hymn of the Pearl in the *Acta Thomae.* These two are the essence of redemption, the call to knowledge and the answer of knowledge, otherwise jointly termed the counsel of life. In Manichaeism the prototypical moment is the salvation of the First Man by the Living Spirit; and the call and answer are themselves divinised as, respectively, the sixth sons of each of these two great gods (92.1 – 4).

However, the point of this chapter is that the letters contain all knowledge of what has happened and what will happen; and thus it emphasises the divine foreknowledge and consequent control of events. As usual Mani connects the primordial event to the present, and makes it relevant to his audience. The Light Mind, which is the call to salvation within the church, is also an all-knowing letter. Similarly, the response of the people in their good works is also a letter; and so Mani can assure his listeners that everything they have done and need is known to Christ.

[O nce again he speaks to h]is disciples, preaching the wo(182)[r]d of life. And thus he speaks to them about the su[mm/o]ns and the obedience: Consider the summons, which was sen[t f]/rom the Living Spirit in the beginning. He sent it [to the First] / Man. It is a peace letter and greet[ing] [5] that he wrote and sent to his brother, in which all the [tid]/ings are written down, together with everything it will / [bring ab]out and establish by [th]at summons. That / [summ]ons, the First Ma[n ... / is o]rdained to happen.

The an[swer that was sent from [10] the] First Man came to the heigh[ts, to the Living Spirit]. / That is also [a] letter, [which was sent from] / the First Man to the Living Spirit, [in which] all [the tidings] / are written down; and [every] w[ar] / and the struggles that he had waged. It did [...] [15] in the answer that the First Man [... / ...] everything that had happened and everything [that would happen], / all [t]hat had been done and whatever is made ready to be done by him. / The Living Spirit knew a[ll] the wars and the dang/ers and the contests that the rulers had waged against the First Ma[20]n.

The Light Mind also, which came from the beloved Chris/t and was sent to the holy church, is a / letter of peace too; in which all the reve[la]/tions and wisdom are written down [...] / all [...] in the light and everything that had happened [... [25] ...] it was prior to all mankind, and all that [...] / to happen at the last in it, as the holy church / shall understand all things.

This creation also [...] / this light product, that shall be generated from the holy church / and go to [...] is [a letter] [30] too; since all the [g]ood works tha[t the] holy ch/urch performs are written down in i[t. Every / thing] that it may entreat its father for, so that [... e]/ase in the world. And at the last [... r]/est before him. They are present in [... fa(**183**)s]ting and prayers and good works that [... / ...] them. It shall go up and be rev[eal]ed b/efore the blessed Christ. He shall answer it [... / ...] he [gives] power and makes it at ease [... [5] ...]

Indeed, [d]ue to this, I say to you: / [...] each [...] and entreaty, since a [... / ...] prayer. Everything that you will ask [for / ...] will be given you*[98], if [... / ...] perfect.

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*[98] Mt. 21:22 Jn 15:7 16:24

••• 76 •••

(183,10 - 188,29)

/ [Conce]rning Lord Manichaios: / how he journeyed. /

This important chapter has clear historical context and content. Mani is so busy answering the calls of King Shapur, (who does seem to have given him and his teaching some real protection), that a disciple wishes that there could be two Manis! The apostle replies that the world has scarcely been able to accept him alone. With authentic frankness he recounts the trials of his missionary journeys and the opposition of the authorities in various lands.

[F]urther, it] ha[pp]ened one time while our master Manichaios, / [our] light [enl]ightener, was staying in the [ci[15]ty] of Ktesiphon. Shapur, the king, enquired / after and summoned him. Our master stood / up and went to Shapur the king. Afterwards / [he] returned and came back to his congregation. When he had been a / [sh]ort while sitting down, before delay elapsed, King Sha[20][p]ur enquired af[te]r him another time. He sent, he called f/[o]r him. Again (Mani) returned, he retraced and went to King Shapur. / He spoke with him and proclaimed to him the word of Go/[d]. Again he retu[r]ned and came to the congregation. Also, a third / occasion, King Sh[ap]ur enquired after and called for him; [25] and [he] returned to him once more. /

[T]hen one of his disci[pl]es made a retort, Aurades by name, / [the] son of [Kap]elos. He says to our enlightener: Please, / our master [Manich]aios, give to us two Manis resembling you; / [pass]ing for you! Good, peaceful, and [30] compassionate [...] disciples in righteousness [like] you / [...] one Mani will remain with us as you; / [and the other go to] King [Sha]pur, his [mind] at ease, / [and proclaiming it] to him.

(**184**) W[h]en our enlightener heard these words from that [dis]/ciple, he shook his head. He says to him: Now be[ho/ld], I, a single Mani, came to the worl[d to / p]roclaim in it the word of [God]; and [do] [5] therein the good will that had been ent[rusted to me]. /

Then look, I, one Mani alone, have not been permitted [to] / speak

freely in the world; I [...] / that I find room to fulfill [the good will] / that has been entrusted to me. Ye[t], I have done [the will of the mys[10]ter]y, which I preach in the [living] tru[th]. /

[Fo]r the world loves the darkness; [but] it h[ates / the lig]ht, because its works are evil*99. [Still, I, I have travelled] / so that I would do the will of the l[ight, and spr]/ead the truth far and wide, in accord with what the[y entrusted to [15] me]. And, behold, the world bears down on me with [... / ...] upon me with its sects. They give me no place [to prea/ch] therein, and besides I am a single Mani. / I came to the world, and they have not given me time to pre/ach according to my will. They have not accepted me. [20] On the other hand, if we do as [...] as you have spoken / [to us], what might we do then? How were [... / ...]? Rather, this [... / ...] to you, and recount it to [you].

At the time when I sail[ed] / the sea in the ship, I went [...] [25] I found it necessary [...] / the life that is with me in the world [... / ...] I stirred the whole land of India [... / ...] all the people who dwell in it [... / ...] all of them to me, so that they might bear [30] two to three times [...] / in their land according to their heart [... / ...] and the wise man [...] / they {}*100 [... (**185**) se]t them against me. At that moment I ceased finding l[i]/ght, I ceased speaking freely with the voice that is / of truth, which is entrusted to me.

Now behold, [... / ...] in India. It may act against me in its [... [5] ... and] accept the greater ones and the counsellor[s / and the] satraps and the governors who are found there [... / ... I was] difficult [for] it, it stirred not [... / ...] because they belong to it [... / ...] from all the sinners [... [10] ...] to me. I was more difficult for it than [all] these / [... did not acce]pt me, and it persisted to [... / ...] it. For the world loves [the] dark/ness; [bu]t [it hates] the light, because its wo[rk]s / [are evil.

I crossed] the seas another time. I took [... [15] ...] India. I went up to the land of Pe[rsia. / I le]apt from the sea and went [... / ...] the land of Persia and its ci[ties ...] / in this living truth that is wi[th me ...] to the [li]ght of [... / ...] proclaim [... the] powers and the

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*99 Jn. 3:19 Also 185.12 – 13
*100 ⲁⲱⲱⲛⲉ

[au]thorities [... [20] ... / ...] and the holders of authority [... / en]lightener [...] in the land of Persia [... / b]ody [...] because of this truth that I proclaimed, si/[tt]ing in their midst [...] to one another. S[ee [25] n]ow, [... / ...] in their land [...] to me the power. The Father [... / ...] livi[ng ...] all occasions. The one who [... / to] it [... / ... [30] ... / ...] in the land [... / ...] (**186**) how strong is it? (The land) tolerates the kings and accepts [the / s]atraps and the governors who are ther[e. It] / stirred [amon]g them, it was not defeated in their midst [... / ...] it was not able to accept [the truth that I pro[5]claimed] there. It did not [...

I] / came [out] from the land of Pers[ia]. I went up / [to Me]sene, the city that [... / ...] in this truth that is in me, in [... I / proc]laimed this knowledge; I separated [the light from the darkness and] [10] d[iscriminat]ed life from death, what is go[od from] / what is evil, the righteous person from the sin[ner. I proc]/la[imed] the path of life and the command[ments ... / ...] Yet, when they had heard the voice [of truth and life], / the [rulin]g-power and the swarm of demons [... [15] ...] and the race of mankind [... / ...] under wickedness and hatred, they [... / ... they did not] allow me, [nor] did they / [permit me] to preach [the tr]uth in [tranquill]ity, the way that it / i[s]. See: In [...] [20] for they tolerate the kings, they acce[pt ...] and the / caesars and the satraps a[nd the governors who] are f[ound] / among them. Yet, the truth that I proc[laimed] among [them], / they did not accept it; and [... they did not listen] / to the voice of life that I cried out [among them].

[25] Again, [fr]om that place I came to the land of Babylon, the [ci]/ty of the Assyrians, and walked in [it]. I went in [to] / the [other] cities, and spoke in this truth [of the life that is with] me. I / proclaimed there the word of [truth and li]fe. / With [the voi]ce of the proclamation I se[parated the light from the dark][30]ness there, what is good from [what is evil ... / ...] the powers who are master [over ...] (**187**) their envy to the heart of the kings and the leaders / there. They and the sects of that place, they / [were s]et against me. Even as you yourselves see, they have w[aged] / some great wars [wit]h me. The lawle[ss] judges [5] [took] me, they watched. They and their rulers and the[ir / lea]ders took me in the midst of their land. If as / [...] to me the protection of the

Father, who does [not] hel[p / the lawless]. Yet I, he helps me at [all] times / against his [enemy]. Still, they would not permit me in B[a[10]bylon] a single day to journey in their land. /

S[ee no]w: How great is the land of the Assyrians? / [It is abl]e to tolerate the kings and accept the eparchs / [and the gen]erals and the caesars and the governors / [... i]n it. It did not stir, nor was it [defe]ated before [them [15] ...] but, on the other hand, to me, it stirred and was disquieted [... / ...] It waged against me a multitude of struggles. [Therefore, I] le[ft be/hind me] the Assyrians.

I went to the land of the Medes and Par/thians. At that place I played the harp of wisdom; [I] / spoke in this living truth [th]at is with me. The [whole] land [20] [of] the Medes and the Parthians stirred, it shook [... / ...], to accept the hope of the life that I [proclaimed]. Yet see: How great / is the land of the Medes and the Parthians? Many / [ci]ties are found there. It was able to accept the kings / [an]d the leaders who were there; but, on the other hand, it was not able to acc[25][e]pt the power of my truth. It stirred, it all shook just as / [...]

Then the apostle speaks to that disciple: / Indeed I, a single Mani, came to the world. / All the cities [of the] world stirred, they shook. (The world) did not wi/[sh to] acce[pt m]e; unless I humbled its rebelliousness [30] [...] I have subdued its powers and brought / [...] all that were there. I have planted in it / [...] I have sown this [s]eed of life. I chose (188) a few from among the multitude [... / I], one Mani alone, came to the world; and [... / ...] all the powers of the world stirred. A turmoil ar[ose] / before me. And thus, if tw[o] Manis had [come] [5] to the world, what place would be able to tolerate them, or [what land] would / [be able] to accept them?

I, a singl[e] Mani, [d/id] come, and walking on tip-toes [... / ... no] pl[ace] was found for me wherein I could stand [fast ... / ...] on the fullness of my feet, [and walk on [10] the] earth like everyone, and do there [... / ... / ...] all of you, pray to God that he might [... / ... fe]et henceforth, this single Mani, who is [among you / on that d]ay, that [...] will happen [... [15] ...] he might do the will of the living ones [in the] / holy [ch]u[rch]. However, you, blessed are you i[f] / you make yourselves strong in this truth that I have

given to you; so that you may be / [confirmed] in it, in the life which continues for ever and ever. /

Then, [whe]n that disciple had heard these things, he says to [20] the apostle: Blessed am I my master! [I], and all my other brothers / who hear these great things from you, we know that w[e] / all are among the living. And we are alive by your advent t[o] / us! We have found the truth more than all people who are in the wo/rld. Who of us will be able fully to repay you for the good[25]ness that you have done us, our father? Only the Father who se/nt you is sufficient fully to repay you for this / toil. For the recompense that you desire of him, the God who has / sent you, is this: every prayer you entreat of the Father, / may he grant you your prayer and your co[nsolation].

••• 77 •••

(188,30 – 190,10)

/ The Chapter of the Four K[ingdoms]. /

In this lesson Mani takes as his text a saying of Jesus, and develops his own teaching from an analysis of the terminology used by the saviour. To share not only with the righteous elect, but even with catechumens, is a deed beyond any achieved by the greatest kingdoms of this world. It will bring an eternal reward.

It is noteable that this kephalaion speaks of the indwelling Holy Spirit, rather than the to be expected Light Mind (and see 143.24 – 32).

Once again the apostle speaks: There are f[our great kingdoms] / in the world.

[The first is the kingdom (**189**) of] the land of Ba[by]lon and of Persia.

The s[ec/o]nd is the kingdom of the Romans.

The thir[d / is the k]ingdom of the Axumites.

The fourth is the kin/[g]dom of Silis.

These four great kingdoms e[x[5]i]st in the world; there is none that surpasses them. /

Yet, I, I say to you in truth that whoever [will give] / bread and a cup of water*101 to one of my disciples on [account of / the name of G]od, on account of this truth that I have m[an]if[est]/ed; [t]hat one is great before God. [He s]ur10passes these four great kingdoms, which are so g[reat]! / He does more than their armies, because t/hey did not listen to God's truth, nor did they h[el]p / r[ighte]ousness.

Not only this, but whoever will [give] bread / and a cup of water to a catechumen of the [truth, on acc]ount of the 15 name of God and on account of the truth [that is manifest]; / that one is brought near to the [truth. Hi]s end will t[u]/rn to rest for ever.

[Just as the saying] that the [g]ood savi[our] / uttered: W[hoever will give bread and a cup of water] / to one of these least [of the faithfu]l who believe me, on account of the name 20 of a disciple [...] /

Now, [the] savi[our] is callin[g] these saints 'least of the faithful'. / So, I, behold I have proclaimed of the catechumens / [th]at whoever will fellowship with catechumens who are / with the knowledge, and helps them, he surpasses these [ki25n]gdoms that I have counted for you; because all these kingdoms / know not the truth of God. For they {}*102 / the lust of the world and care about livelihood. /

Indeed, due to this, I tell you that these two persons / whom I have named, [the] faithful catechumen and the faithful ri30[ghteous one, are the] ones in wh[om] the Holy Spirit dwells. / [...] he sees [...] Indeed, because of this (**190**) [he] will give them alms and fellowship with them. / [He] gives it for the Holy Spirit that dwells in them. / The Holy Spirit too will give his thanks be[fore] / his true father. And the true father will repa[y] 5 his reward at the last day because of / the Holy Spirit that dwells in these saints./

How great is this truth that I have unveiled for you, / {}*103. Due to this I have told y[ou]: Bless/[ed] are these who will hear and believe [it, and] set their 10 [h]eart upon it with a single mind [...]

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*101 See Mt. 10:42 Also 189.13 – 14.18 – 19
*102 ϐϵϩϧ
*103 ⲁϯ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ

••• 78 •••

(190,11 – 191,8)

/ Concerning the Four Things over which Peo/ple kill each other. /

The four obsessions of mankind are food, sex, riches, and strife for glory. Unlike faith and truth, all these are mortal.

On[ce aga]in he speaks to his disciples: Th[ere are] f[ou]r major [15] [things] in the world over which a[ll people / on earth kill] each other. /

T[he firs]t thing is [the obsession] of people; in that they would eat / [for the swell]ing of their body [...] /

The [sec]ond is [sexual inter]course; [...] fornication [20] [...] fornication [... men] and wo/men {}*104 in it with each other.

The third / thing is w[ealth; and ...] the useless riches in [which] / they shall pride themselves without [...] from it. /

The fourth is war; and the d[ispu]tes, the {}*105 [25] and the trials that they instigate against each other. / Someone is victor [o]ver another, [wi]th each o[ther] / in tyranny, so that they have received a name in the world. /

All people, they who side with these four major things that [a]/re on every tongue [in the] world [...] [30] they struggle so that they might generate them [... a]/mong them.

However, I say to yo[u ... (**191**) whoever wi]ll accept faith and invite it in together with this ph[ysi]/cian whom I have brought, and he separates the light from the darkness, / the good from the wicked; he remains in [... / ...] in only-begottenness, in godliness and o[b][5]edience. That one surpasses a[ll] people / who run after these four worldly things [...] / For they will not remain with them for ete[rni]/ty; rather they shall leave them behind and die.

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*104 ϐϵϡϺ
*105 ϡϵϭ.ϵ

••• 79 •••

(191,9 – 192,3)

10 *Concerning the Fasting of the Saints.* /

Once more the enlightener speaks to his disciples: The fa/sting that the saints fast by is profit[able] / for [four] great works.

The first work: S[hall] / the holy man punish his body by fasting, [he sub]15dues the entire ruling-power that exists in him. /

The second: This soul that comes in [to] him in the adm[ini]/stration of his food, day by day; it shall be made holy, [cl]/eansed, purified, and w[ash]ed from the adulteration [of] / the darkness that is mixed in with it.

The third: 20 Th[at] person shall make every deed a holy one; / the mystery of [the children] of light [i]n whom there is neither corruption / nor [...] the food, nor wound it. / [Rat]her, they are holy, [there is nothing] in them that defiles, as they li/[ve] in peace.

The fourth: They make a [... 25 ...] the Cross, they restrain their hands from the hand / [... not] destroy the living soul. /

[The] fasting is profitable to the saints for these four great / [wo]rks should they persist; that is if they are constant in th/[em] daily, and cause the body to make all its 30 [memb]ers to fast [with a] holy [fa]st. /

[...] faith. They who have not strength / [to fast d]aily should make their fast (**192**) [on] the lord's day. They too make a contribution [to the wor/ks] and the fasting of the saints by their faith and their / alms.

••• 80 •••

(192,3 – 193,22)

/ The Chapter of the Command [5]*ments of Righteousness. /*

Summary of essential precepts held by the elect and the catechumens; arranged in two sets of two (by three).

The first righteousness of the elect has three parts: to refrain from all sexual activity; to take great care not to harm the light soul trapped everywhere in matter and especially vegetation (the Cross of Light), for instance by plucking fruit; and not to consume meat or alcohol (192.8 – 13). These correspond to the three seals of mouth, hands and breast discussed by Augustine (signacula oris, manuum et sinus, *mor. Manich.* VII, 10; IX, 18); and also referred to in eastern Manichaean texts.

The second: to multiply wisdom, faith and grace.

The first righteousness of the catechumenate: fasting, prayer and almsgiving. The catechumens had to support the elect who could do no labour, farming or cooking.

The second: to give someone to the church; to share in their good works; to construct something. The catechumens were allowed to marry and procreate, but were expected to compensate in this way.

[O]nce more] the enlightener speaks to his disciples: Know [and] / understand that the first righteousness a per[son] / will do to make truly righteous is this: he can embra/[ce] continence and purity. And he can also acquire 'the rest [10] [of the] hands', so that he will keep his hand still before the Cross of Li[gh/t]. The third is purity of the mouth, so that he will / keep his mouth pure of all flesh and blood; and not take any taste / at all of the 'wine' name, nor fermented drink. This is the fir/[st] righteousness. If a person will do it in his bo[15][dy], he is pronounced righteous by all mankind. /

Then, the second righteousness that he should do is this: / He can add to it [...] wisdom and faith so that / [...] from his wisdom he can give wisdom, to every person who will he/ar it from him. And also from his faith he can give faith, [20] [to th]ese who belong to the faith. From hi[s grace] he can give freely / of love, shower it upon them, that he might join them to him. / For, when that one acquires a great riches [...] / in righteousness. By this second godliness / he may cause others to be sent, resembling him in [righteous][25]ness.

Just as this righteous one should fulfill the se/cond and become a perfect elect; so too, / if the catechumen shall be a catechu/men of the faith, he is perfected in two stages. /

The first work of the catechumenate that he does is fasting, prayer, and almsgiving. Now, the fa[stin]/g b[y] which he can fast is [th]is: / he can fast on the [lord]'s day [and rest from the] / deeds of the world. [And] the pra[yer is this]: (**193**) he can pray to the sun and the moon, the great li[ght-givers. The alms]/giving also is this: he can place it [...] / in the holy one, and give it to them in righteous[ness ...] /

[The] second work of the catechumena[te that he] does is this: A person will give a child to the [ch]/urch for the (sake of) righteousness, or his relative [or member] / of the household; or he can rescue someone beset by troub[le; or] / buy a slave, and give him for righteousness. Accordingly, every [go]/od he might do, namely this one whom he gave as a gift [for righ]teousness; that catechumen [...] / will share in with them. Thirdly: / A person will build a dwelling or construct some pl[ace]; / so they can become for him a portion of alms in the holy ch[urch]. /

If the catechumen shall ful[fill] these three great works, these three great alm[s that he] / gives as a gift for the h[oly] church [...] / which these alms will achieve. Also, that cate[chu]men / himself, who gave them, he can [... / ...] as he shares in them. The catechumens who will give [...] have great lo[ve ther]ein, and a share of eve[ry] grace / and good in the holy church. They will find many / graces.

••• 81 •••

(193,23 - 196,31)

/ The Chapter of Fasting, for it engenders a Host of Angels. /

For the Manichaeans the human body and its digestive processes worked in a very literal way so as to purify the divine light, and thus to discard the evil waste matter. Consequently, as Augustine comments, they believed that they 'breathed forth angels (*Conf.* III.18, IV.1)'.

In this kephalaion one of Mani's disciples, an archegos (leader), recounts how he had joyfully counted the number of angels engendered by the

fasting of the elect in his church. However, for some reason (the relevant passage is fragmentary) he had had a change of heart; and now he asks Mani to release him from this responsibility. He seems to be fearful that he might inadvertently sin. However, Mani encourages him, and points out that this kind of responsible position in the church is very necessary. It brings much more good than the actions of people who are only concerned with their own spiritual edification. Mani charges him to use his abilities for the growth of the church.

[O]nc]e again, it happened one time while the apostle is sitting do[wn] / among the congregation. One of his disciples stood up in front of [him]. / He says to him: I have heard you, my master, saying: / 'Seven angels shall be engendered by the fasting of eac[h [30] on]e of the elect; and not only the elect bu[t / the] catechumens engender them on the lord's d[ay'.

The / work] of fasting is this in summary. Now, I, I have [... / ... have p]assed since I became leader. Fif[ty / elect were with m]e in the church over which I became the head. (**194**) [They stood befo]re me while they fasted every day. / Now, I [took account of the fast]ing that a person performs at these thr/[ee lord's da]ys singly, and I found that each one of these [el/ect] had engendered seven angels by their fasting. So, I [5] [counted the] fasting of the[se] fifty people at the three lo/[rd's da]ys: they totalled three hundred and fifty angels, as seven / [an]gels are reckoned to each one of the elect, who engender / [th]em daily through total fasting. I counted these thr[ee] / lord's days when these fifty people fasted, and [I [10] multi]plied by three. I found: the number of angels en/gendered by them totalled one thousand and fifty, and I / [was grateful] on account of the great profit and go[od] that I had achieved / [on these three] lord's days.

However, I was made to change and beca[me tr]oubled of / [heart]; I had supported [...] this person had committed a sin because of the words [... [15] ...] because of a church, to build [it / ...] to construct it, or because of another necessity / [...] he has sin therein, in these / [...] do I myself sin, I pray, because I command [... / ...] to construct them [...] I shall question myself in my heart [20] [...], saying [...] t[h]u[s / ...] he alone, and he [...] and he [... / ...] and he takes [...] and he [... / ...] them [... / ...] in the presence of God, who will [...] him alone and he supports [.... [25] ...] it is more than [...] my words [...] / the ordinance of their church.

Now I entreat you, my m[aster], / in th[at ...] the worthy thing [...] {obligates}*106 to restrict me to my own [s/e]lf. Consent and [acquie]sce with me, that I may withdraw to pray[er. / ...] that I may walk in the midst of my brothers lik[e] 30 the elders. Perform this grace for me and re[le]ase me from this power / [of] protection of the gods and an[gels]. /

Then, when the apostle had heard [this word of] that [dis]-(**195**)ciple, recounting a[bout ..., he] / performed him this grace.

The apos[tle says to the disciple]: / The saying that you uttered, in th[at ... / ...] by your own mouth! 'I k[n]ow that t[his] is a [go]od thing that is 5 achieved by virtue of these fasts, in which these [h]oly peo[ple] / have fasted on the lord's day'; as i[f] / knowing that this thing is entirely beneficial. Then why do they [ask ex/empt]ion from it? For in these words that you have uttered in my presence / you make [...] as if you had not known anything true; 10 because if you had understood the truth and known [the / be]nefit, your heart would not have come after you to ask exemption from [the go/o]d. If you are [e]ager.

You were not ill to make us say it, nor do you [...] / many times. Truly, if you did know the [tru]e benefit / and found your body ailing, sic[k and] 15 troubled, and you having pain many times, then [... And you] / do not cease from doing the work with which you have been entrusted / the whole time you spend [set] firm in the [body / ...]; as you will go to this great l[and] of rest wi[th the] / children of the living. [And you ent]er with glory and [victory to] 20 what you had set your heart upon. You confirm yourself upon them. Indeed, it [will be / to]ld to you: 'A divine work has come about, [your bo]/dy has been found safe for you [...] there being no blemish nor de[str/uction] nor pain for you'. And after all these things, I wi[ll / ...] you, so that you wish [...] to complete the good, together with 25 that which I have assigned to you.

Now, if you can ask exemption from this matt[er] / and this divine work, are there also others like you / to decline it? Then indeed, all this sort of benefit and / every divine [wo]rk: whoever will do it? For wise people [... / ...] who know the truth, who are

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*106 ⲧⲙⲧⲁϩ

like you, shall not att[30][ain the benef]it [...] that you have given them. They will commit this sin [... / ... so]ul. However, I, this is how I have (**196**) [...] elders / [...] you in it, and you do the work that I have proclaimed / [to y]ou [and assig]ned to you, and a benefit co[mes about / i]n your life. Even if others should {strive}*107 [5] [to] ask exemption [...] do not {strive} / [to a]sk exemption from it. And also, [si]nce thus I am telling / you in truth [...] that greater is the [gl/ory a]nd the victory and the goo[d] of the one who preaches, building / [the] church; than that of the brother who turns [h]is heart in[10]w[ard] and keeps himself to himself, and edifies only himself. /

Ne[vertheless, o]n the matter of the word that [you have] uttered: 'Suppose I have si/[n] at the time when I shall proclaim some word by my [mou/th] concerning building a church or alms' [... / ...] your heart is pained [...] or you are afraid because the person [15] [...] concerning the church's work and the helping of they who / [... as] he commands he edifies by his word, and has no sin / [ther]ein.

However, the person who speaks, commanding / [...] some thing [...] his own need, just as / [...] his [f]lesh [... fo]urteen; or he hastens [20] [...] works that are defil[ed ... / ...] themselves to take his o[wn] care. Therefore, the one who speaks / [...] of this matter, is set utterly in sin. / [...] he is silent and does not proclaim [... / an]y word.

In contrast, you, I assign to you this a[25][lo]ne: Have you power to preach and to build the chu/r[c]h of God, for your toil will be reckoned to your benefit. /

W[he]n that disciple heard these things from the apos[t]/le, he paid homage to him. He says to him: My mast[er], I have received / the word that you have proclaimed to me. I will preach and bu[ild] [30] the church. Only, may your power and glory / aid me! (**197**)

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*107 ⲭⲁⲗⲁⲍⲉⲓⲛ Also 196.5

••• 82 •••

(197,1 - 200, 8)

/ The Chapter of / Righteous [Judgement]. /

A disciple, one of the teachers, asks Mani as to whether righteous anger is a sin or can be justified. The apostle asserts that anger in the service of righteous judgement can be constructive; and he distinguishes it from other kinds of anger that are unacceptable. A strong reprimand can lead to repentance.

Mani uses the analogy of a wise doctor who will on occasion use a cool remedy, and at other times a hot one. These correspond to the two aspects of love and fear; and Mani points out that both of these are revealed in the heavenly sun and the moon. Thus they are able to purify the divine soul that passes through the totality. Therefore, the disciple too is right to use both aspects, in his dealings with the brothers and sisters.

[Onc]e again one among the disciples who [...] apostle. He says to him: I beseech you [that / y]ou may convince me about this lesson, if I may ask you. For [you have to/ld] us that [...] and you give [...] is / [...] their brothers [...] the judgement [... / ...] in accordance with right[eousness ... ...] is [...] a brother or a s[ister]; / and you find, while I speak with them in humility and quietne[ss, t/h]ey themselves [are o]bdurate and do not listen as they r[ush / i]n [...] headlong and reach the end and are lost. / [T]hrough anger, then, I will [...] before [him]. That pe[rson] shall wither and be subdued instantly and come to the place [...] / with righteous judgement.

So, now I b[eseech] / you, my master, that you may instruct me about whether there is [si/n] for me in this anger with which I shall be ang[ry]? W[hy] / do I have sin therein [...] for his benefi[t and I am] in no way ashamed nor am I [...] muzzled [... and / n]ot at all sure about the judgement [...] And because I do not / know if this anger [... with] which I shall be angry, / whether it [...] why what will happen [... / i]t.

Then the apostle speaks [to] that teacher with [words] of sweetness [... / ...] this anger [with] which you shall be angry, you are making in it [a / j]udgement of righteousness [...] difficul[t] people / [...] repentance. Their anger and wickedness and evil-

doing [... / ...] is only a scare and a rebuke; because [... [30] ...] For the anger alone <is> the scare, and when [... / ...] you would censure and upbraid that brother with words [th]at / [sc]are, you are shaming him to good use, so that you might strip him of / [the] obdura[cy ...] in this [... / ... [35] ...] h[i]s heart [... (**198**) ...]

However, you have heard [... / ...] the anger. For this is the anger that lets you find o[cca/sion to] lust after an evil thing with sin [in it. / ...] liste[n] to him [...] and he is ang[ry with [5] a]n anger [...] look at him [... / ...] and he is violent [...] he does not utter constructive [wo/rd]s [...] compose[d] anger; [he is] / angry in his pride and boastful/[n]ess. <They> speak ill in that they would [...] him*[108]. And they do not honour him [as [10] he] is angry and abuses and curses, and wishes to humilia[te / the m]eek, in retaliation and violence against / [h]is ill-treated brothers. He engenders the things that [...] / or else if someone will falter and commit sin [...] / and does not accept judgement. He is angry or he walks in his own [... [15] ...] not of the opinion of his brothers. / [Th]ey reprimand him about it, and he assumes anger and commits an / evil de[e]d in h[i]s anger. This is the evil anger [... / ...] and zeal.

[... c]all it anger. / [...] Whenever you may produce evil or [... [20] ...] two or one [...] becomes obdurate and [not] / listen to you. You see him [...] he humiliates himself, ass[u/m]ing up to now a [...] You understand that they [... / ...] harshness to you [...] them with ha[r]d words, / in cruelty and harshness. And they will not be able to name [i][25]t anger; rather its name is the strong reprimand / that leads to repentance.

For you are lik[e] / a wise doctor, whose hand is sensitive in [... / ...] the wounds that he shall heal are severe [... / ...] sometimes he shall place [on the] wound [a] remedy that is [hot], [30] sometimes a r[emedy that is cool ... (**199**) ...] after the blow. Corresponding to the simi[le ... / ...] this too is how it happens [... / ...] There are some, if he shall take the reb[uke*[109] ... / ...]

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*108 Perhaps read ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲟⲧⲡ(ⲟⲧ) [ⲟ]ⲧⲱⲡ ⲣ̄ⲫⲗⲁⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁ[ ] ⲁⲣⲁϥ, with the last two letters of ⲡⲟⲧⲡⲟⲧ being assimilated into the beginning of ⲟⲧⲱⲡ by homoiteleuton. Cf 202.6 where the scribe wrote ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲧⲱ for ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲧⲟⲧⲱϩ

*109 Reading ⲉⲡⲁϥⲁⲓ ⲧⲉⲡⲓ[ⲧⲏⲙⲓⲁ] Cf line 6 below, ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲏⲙⲓ[which

Through the hard word [... [5] ... the] blow that shall be cured by the remedy [... / ... of] people if he shall [take the] rebu[ke*[110] ... / ...] with the humbling word, just as this [... / ... he]aled by the cool remedy [... / ... the wi]se person is like this underst[anding] doctor [... [10] ... s]peaks to hi[m] as he is subdued corresponding to error [... / ...] in humility. Also, this one who will speak to him [... / ...] he spoke [...] so that [... / ...] they of g[o]dly opinion. And [... / ...] so that he might [... [15] ...] the brother in two aspects [... / ...] love, but the other one with fea[r ... / ...] obduracy in one of his bro[thers / ...] foolishness. He may speak with [tho]se ones with [great] / fear [...] of evil-doing and hate. Fe[ar], however, [20] leads to repenta[nce ...] Yet, this one [... / ...] as even he is [...] he reckons words and what is [...] / in the aspect [...] and he upbraids th[at] brother / until he brings him to re[pentan]ce.

For the light-give[rs that are] / in the heavens shall be revealed with these [two] aspects, [25] in the aspect of love and the aspe[ct of / f]ear. They display these t[wo] aspects / of the powers above that are in the heavens, because of their soul that p[asses] / through the totality. For in these two appearances, the aspect / of love that is beauty and sublimity, together with the other asp[30][ect of] confrontation that is in them, they shall purify / [in th]em the powers above.

Also, you too, wheneve[r / you st]and fir[m] in these two aspects, so long as / [...] the truth and the watchful teaching, you [... (**200**) ...] through yourself. They will question you stealthily [about these / an]d other matters, nor will their anger [... / ...] but wherever your heart and your [...] / your treasure will also be for you in th[at] place*[111].

[Wh[5]e]n that teacher heard that lesson, h[e sa]id: / This is truly told, my master [... / ...] told me. I know that he who will reprimand [... / ... tr]uly he has a victory therein.

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should also conceal the same.

*[110] See note above.

*[111] Mt. 6:21

••• 83 •••

(200,9 – 204,23)

10 *Concerning the Man who is ug[l]y / in his Body, [but] beautiful / [in his Soul]. /*

This chapter begins with a touching story about how Mani publicly embraces one of the elect, despite his deformity, in front of the assembled congregation who are laughing at his ugliness. It is the inner new man, formed by the Light Mind and religious practice, that is of lasting value.

This then leads Mani to develop an extended parable about pearls in their shells (the living soul in the physical body), pearl divers (the apostles), and traders (the sun and the moon). Mani like Jesus frequently used parables for effective teaching, and this motif of the pearl without price has an obvious heritage stemming from the Gospels through early Syriac Christian literature.

However, one distinctive feature of Mani's teaching was his desire to combine religious truths with total scientific knowledge, in order to establish a complete and integrated understanding of the world. Thus this parable begins with a lengthy discourse on the formation of pearls and their shells. While such features are of great historical interest for modern scholars, they did make Manichaeism a rather static religion, its teachings too easily undercut by advances in science.

[O]nce] again it happened one time, while the apost[l]e is [sitting among / a] great gathering, as some [... be]fore 15 [the] teachers and elders [... / ...] by the leaders and first citi[zens]. Now, he / [is s]itting down in their midst. All of a su[dden] one / of the elect came in to his presence, but no[t ... / ... he] is an elect [... 20 ...] his commandments. He is an ugly [man] in his / [bod]y, having {}*112 [... / ...]*113 in his midriff; but he is perfec[t in] his [h]oly righteousnes[s]. / He is a man who is upright in his truthfulnes[s. /

W]hen he came in, he spread himself on the ground and paid hom[age 25 b]efore the apostle in love. The mass[es o/f] well-born men and free women cast their [ey/e]s about and saw that elect crying o/ut in his joy, exulting loudly and giving praise. When [they] / looked and saw him, ugly of body, havin[g] 30 {}, they

*112 ⲕⲁⲕⲉⲁⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲟⲩⲥⲉ Also 200.30

*113 Smagina 1990:122 restores κυρτός 'bent'.

[a]ll mocked him and [sc/of]fed at him. They were speaking to one another a[bout him] / with laughter and scorn [... but the laugh]/ter did not trouble [that] ele[ct. (**201**) He was paying hom]age all the time, giving praise [... / ...] the glorious one stood u[p / from the ju]dgement seat; where he is s[itt]ing. He drew and gathered him [in / to him], and hugged him to his body, kiss[ing] [5] that elect. He sat do[wn / ...]

And [when] he had sat upon his judgement seat [... / ...] with the entire congregation of well-born men a[nd] / free women sitting before him. He says to them: W[h]/y do you laugh at this man, in whom the [Lig]ht Mind [10] and belief dwell? For what reason a[re you / g]aping at a person who is ugly of body [... / ...] in front of you because of the flesh [... / ...] outwardly; yet within great is [... / ...] is like a great [... [15] ...] if he has no worth by his deeds, by [his / p]rayer and fasting and humility. He is like [a] / sharp [k]nife that might devour its [... / ...] its humiliations [...] that you see [... / ...] he destroys [...] and [... [20] ...] while the [o]ld man [... / ...] you [...] he sculpts [... / ...] he is perfect in his limbs [... / ...] a young royal child, who is beautif[ul ... / ...] shape, as the beauty and loveliness is despoiled [... [25] ...] the image that is fixed outwardly [... / ...] and is displayed and unveiled to you. / Its heart would not bear you to laugh at this old man [... / ...] because whoever will laugh at him possess a g[reat / sin] be[f]ore God. For the [saviour] says: [30] [He who sha]res something with these least of the faithful, who [... / ...] their angel sees the face of the Father daily*[114].

(**202**) [...] all heard these words [that the apost/le] uttered about this elect [... / ...] they gazed at him, he [... / ...] and he was in their presence like the [... [5] ...] truth, when its worth is perfected*[115] [... / ...] upon him. When they were settled, they sat [... / w]hile his disciples stand.

They [paid homage, saying] / to him: Tell us, our master, [... / ...] how (pearls) came about and were formed in [the s]e[a [10] ...]

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*[114] Mt. 18:10

*[115] This phrase recurs at 203.16 (see also 201.15), and links the two halves of the kephalaion. Presumably, the ugly elect is compared to a perfect pearl, which then leads the disciples to their question about how such are formed.

+The enlightener says to them:*116+ Pearls shall ar/[ise not] in every place in the sea, nor be formed / [in the s]ea as a whole. Rather, in various places that are in this s/[ea], pearls are formed in them [... / ...] that [sea, in whic]h the [pearls] shall be formed [15] [...] this [... / ...] what the sea shall [... / ...] its fire {blazes}*117 above and comes [down ... / ...] and it makes foam like the drop of water that flows / [...] down in rainwater [... [20] ...] is the water [... / ... d]own first [... / ...] foam and comes down [... / ...] the sweet waters [... / ...] the waters. This drop of water shall [... [25] d]own to the sweet waters and [...] / and they absorbed them and were combined with the [... They did not / d]escend to the depths of the sea, but they [... / ...] it floated on the surface of the waters [... / ...] to it. The foam and the pearl-shell shall be formed [... [30] ...] this wholesome drop [... / ...] it, and it becomes a pe[arl ...] / that makes a drop of rainwater [...] / waters [...] (**203**) it not being whole. It breaks and separates out into [m]any droplets, / and it has time to become a drop of sweet water [...] / and comes up in the sea of [...] rain / [a]nd sweet water; and it is accomodated in the shell, which [5] at first is foam. They shall be joined with each other at [this] / time, and are shaped and become a great pea[rl], / a great and valued kind. When, however, a / drop of rainwater falls, and that drop / breaks into many droplets and various {particles of water}*118, [10] they shall be formed into and be confined in [n]umerous pearls; / in the shell and the pearl-shell. One might [for]/m two pearls, another may form three, / others may form five; some mould more than t/hese, so[me] fewer.

Now, when you might [find a] [15] whole drop, and the shell receives it, it shall become a great and valued [pe]/arl as its worth is perfected. [However], if / these two droplets will have time (to adhere) to one another / before any {water particle} escapes, and they mix with e[ach / o]ther, and the shell [...] before they break into [... [20] ...] within [...] in a great kind [... / ...] the drop of rain, which [... / ...] another one, that [... / ...] the [w]aters form them in [... and] / in a great, valued commodity.

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*116 Corrupt text reads ⲡⲁ]ⲍⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲧ ⲍⲉ

*117 ⲃⲱⲩⲧ

*118 ⲍⲗⲁⲙⲍⲗⲁⲙ unknown word, presumably a reduplicated synonym for ⲧⲗⲧⲗⲉ 'droplets'. Also occurs as ⲍⲗⲁⲙ in line 18 below.

Behold, [I, [25] I have] taught you how / sea-pearls shall be formed. I have told you that as a pe/[a]rl shall come into existence by means of rainwater that has [ti]/me to become foam, the pearl-shell shall come into existence by means of the foam, a/nd the foam itself comes into being by means of the transformation*[119] and the [...] [30] of the sea.

Then immediately at the time when [... / ...] the pearl divers know it, they shall [...] and they / [... d]own to those places [and t]hey bring pea(**204**)rls up from the depths of the sea, and / each pearl diver finds according to the fortune that is / [ordai]ned for him. The pearl divers shall [gi]ve them to the traders, and the t/[ra]ders give them to the kings and the nobles.

[5] This is also what the holy church is like. / It shall be gathered in from the living soul, / gathered up and brought to the heights, raised from the s/ea and placed in the flesh of mankind; while the flesh / of mankind itself is like the shell and the pearl-shell.

[10] [The] booty that shall be seized is like the dr[op of / r]ainwater, while the apostles are like the divers. / The traders are the light-givers of the heavens; the kings and no/b[le]s are the aeons of greatness.

[F]o[r a]ll the souls / that ascend in the flesh of [ma]nk[ind] and [15] are freed shall be brought back to the great aeons of light. / A place of rest comes about for them, at that place in the ae/ons of greatness.

You to[o, my] / b[elo]ved ones, struggle in every way so that you will become good pea/rls and be accounted to heaven by the light diver. [20] He will come to you and bring [you] back to [... the] great / chief merchant, and you will rest in the life for e/[ve]r. You have [... / ...] and the light.

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*119 ⲥⲱⲃⲉ

••• 84 •••

(204,24 – 208,10)

25 *Concerning Wisdom; it is far superior when on the Tongue / than in the Heart of the Person. /*

Mani uses the analogies of a child who is born, and of fire that blazes from wood, to explain why wisdom is superior when it is proclaimed to when it lies silent in the heart.

However, wisdom is not always listened to, nor well-received. In a second speech Mani extends the same two analogies, showing that strangers may reject a child, and the blind can not see the fire.

Once again, on one occasion, one of the disciples sto/od up before the apostle. He questioned him, saying: / I entreat you, my master, that you might instruct me. 30 Behold, when a person will be taught wise wisdom / in his heart, and he seals it in his doctrine, so sh[al]l you find / him rejoicing greatly about it. However, [sh]all his [... / ...] to him, more th[an] when he may proc[laim ...] (**205**) and utter it. He shall be enlightened by it, and [t]hat [wisdom] / shall shine forth the more in him. It is unveil[ed be]/fore him, and through it he assumes power and truth. /

That disciple speaks further before the a[po]5stle: I understand [...] / that this word I have uttered is correct. I know that the w[i]s/-dom I have been taught is spread through my heart and perfected in [m]y / soul. (However), it is not found like the splendour in me, so that I regard it / [ad]vanced, except when I shall proclaim it 10 by my mouth and utter it to others. Indeed, when / I proclaim it, I am giving it to the ears [of] / others to hear. Would I do these same things, even if I had never heard it / in [my] days of being? Would I desire greatly and [m]y / [h]eart be drawn to the wisdom I now proclaim? [I entreat 15 y]ou, my master, that you might instruct me as to [w/hy] this wisdom becomes more advanced when I / [p]roclaim it, than when it is sealed in my heart.

Then / the apostle [s]peaks to that disciple: Well / [do] you ask! And great is this lesson for which you have sought, [that is] w20hence comes my great joy, on account of this wis/dom that I

utter? [...] it is superior in my mouth when / [I] proclaim it than when it is set in m[y heart]. / [Y]ou yourself rejoice in it; and the other one who / [h]ears it from you, he shall rejoice in it, and be enlightened [25] [by] it and receive thereby permanent strength. /

For like this matter, just so a small b/[o]y who is conceived in the belly of his mother. He / [... he] turns in his mother's womb, filling her womb. / [The m]other knows and understands that this child she conceives [30] is alive within her. She rejoices over him until / [the tim]e when she gives birth. And he comes from her alive with his / [limbs whole] and perfect in beauty, without defect, (**206**) [in] the living open air that is more sp/[ac]ious than the first air he was in. / [He] fills his eyes with the light and speaks with his livi[ng] voice / in the way of they who are born.

Now, the time w[5][h]en this woman conceives the child in her belly, / her joy at conceiving him in her womb is not so [ve]ry great as / when she gives birth and sees him; and is full of his / [be]auty and stature in the space of a single moment. / [T]he love and joy over him shall be a hundred [10] [t]imes greater than it was, now that she has given birth and seen him.

For / the first time when she conceived him in her belly, / [h]is beauty and the sight of his eyes was hidden from his m[o/th]er; but when she gave birth to him she saw his beauty. His / s[t]ature and his loveliness came before the e[ye]s of his f[15]athe[r a]nd his mother and all his relatives. They shall rejoic[e] / over him more and more when they look upon him / face to face and see his beauty and delightfulness. /

Just as in this simile, the wisdom that is present [in] / the heart of the person is like the living child who is co[nceived] [20] in the belly of his mother. And when he / is taught and seals it in his heart, it becomes like / the child who shall be born, and they see his beauty. /

So, in this way, the wisdom that the person proclaims, speak[ng] / it from his heart, shall be advanced more and mor[e]. [25] Its enhancement and glory shall double from the time when the bea/-uty and splendour of the saying will be displayed before the eyes [of / t]hey who hear it, and it shall also advance for you [... / ...] your hearing, and you are astonished at what you proclai[m]. /

Once again, the wisdom is like this, while it is hidden in the heart of the person. [Bef]/ore he has uttered it, it is just like [the blaze] / of fire that is hidden in wood. An[d] that wood is [set aflame] / by the blaze of the fire, but the garment of fir[e that exists in] / the wood is not apparent. Indeed, you can see [...] (**207**) wood and they put them in a single house. It is impossible to [put li]/ght to that house as long as the light within [...] / until the time when they are added to the fire, and the light [comes f]/orth from them. It is possible for that entire house [to be] lit by the light of a single piece of wood. /

This is also the case with the wisdom that is in the heart of the person. [It] / is like the fire that is hidden in the wood, as its light is / not [d]isplayed. For its part, the wisdom is like this: its li/ght is hidden and its glory is hidden in the heart; but when the person will proclaim it, its glory shall be displayed be/fore the eyes and the ears of a multitude.

Once / again, for a second time this disciple speaks to the apostle: / So, if the wisdom is like the paradigms / you have taught me, why are there some people who shall h[15]ear the word of wisdom and rejoice in it and give glory / to it; when others shall listen to it and neither rejoice / [i]n it nor receive glory amongst them? /

[Beh]old, the apostle speaks to him: I will persuade you and / satisfy you about this belief, so that I teach you with cl[20]arity of vision.

For in this respect the wisdom is / like this child about whom I have told you, the one who / [was] born from the woman. Now, when he will be born, / his father and mother and family circle shall / [r]ejoice over him. However, you find others grieving by reason of him, [25] [s]ince they are strangers to him. These are not reckoned among his family. / [They do n]ot rejoice over him, because he is not of their race. /

This is also [the case] with the wisdom. When / it is proclaimed by the mouth of the teacher, these who / are [a]kin to it shall receive it to them and rejoice in it; [30] but [those] who are strangers to it neither rejoice in it / [...] nor receive it to them. /

Just like the light of / [the fire, which I] proclaim[ed] to you, that

shall come from the wood / [and be apparent o]utside before the eyes of every one. (**208**) So, [wh]oever looks shall see the light that has [come / fro]m the wood; but whoever is blind does not see the / [fir]e.

This is also the case with the wisdom, / when it will be proclaimed. The person, in whom is the [5] [Mi]nd, of him is the wisdom. Whenever he may hear it, / he shall receive it in to him; but the one who has no Mind in him is a / stranger to it. He neither receives it in to him, nor shall he listen to [it]. /

When that disciple heard these things, he rejoiced gre/atly. He was persuaded in his heart about what had been proclaimed to him. He made obeisanc[e] [10] and sat down.

••• 85 •••

(208,11 – 213,20)

/ Concerning the Cross of Light: / [...] trample / upon it.

The divine light that is crucified in matter throughout the cosmos, (a universalisation of the christological themes of incarnation and atonement), is symbolised and even personified in a number of figures. The Cross refers principally to that most rich source of light: vegetation and all plant life, where the divine hangs on every tree or bush or herb.

In consequence the elect, who hoped to be saved in this one life rather than suffer reincarnation, were at great pains never to harm the Cross; excepting the necessary pain involved in its liberation through the digestive system of the elect themselves.

In this chapter a disciple is concerned about the inadvertent harm he might do in such situations as when sent on a mission journey, or when himself requested to ask for alms. The elect had to take great care wherever they trod, and it was the catechumens who prepared their diet, offering it as alms to them. Mani is anxious to assert that any tasks undertaken for the building up of the church, and thus for the ultimate salvation of the light, even where short-term pain is inflicted on the living soul, can cause no sin. He was very practical in his role as an apostle, and clearly aware that the divine teaching must not lead to self-defeating passivity in the face of the world. Here he uses the analogy of a good doctor who must first cause pain before healing can be achieved.

[15] Onc[e] again another disciple questioned the apostle, saying / to him: I have heard you, my master, say in the congregation / of

the church, that it is proper for the person to watch / his step while he walks on a path; lest he trample the Cro/ss of Light with his foot, and destroy vegetation. Also, it counts firs[t] [20] for any creeping creature, lest he trample upon it and kill it with his foot. /

However, on occasion the superior, [who commands me], may send me to some foreign coun/t[ry] about a godly matter [...] of the church. / Sometimes, also, a teacher [of the] church where I am, or / some of the foreign brethren, may [ask me] about a portion of al[m][25]s, concerning some food that they need. I know / that what I do is good, as I am obeying the one who commands [me], / who sends me on the road to a foreign country. Again, if I [take] / up the alms and it is brought to the church, the br[others] / and the sisters can take their sufficiency of it. I know and perce[30]ive that I have therein a great success, by this matter. [Never]/theless, I am also afraid lest in any way I commit a sin when [I wa]/lk on the path, as I trample upon the earth, [tre]ading on [the Cro]/ss of Light, and make [...] (**209**) without force in my sole on the path, as I walk o[n it].

[W]/hen the apostle heard these words from that [dis]/ciple, he says to him: You have recounted the lesson [like] / this, and it is well composed. Still, listen, and I may well per[suade] [5] you about it! Now, when you walk on [your] / way about some godly matter, as your command[ing] superior / sends you, you do no sin therein. For y[ou are] not [wa]/lking there about some lustful matter, nor concerning [... / ...] of advantage, wherein is sin; but you make y[our] [10] walkway due to the work of God, as you hasten [... not] / because of your own desire. /

[I]ndeed, I, I tell you (pl.) with a great voice: / Every elect and righteous person who walks on a path / due to the work of God, and though w[al]king upon the ear[th] and though [15] treading with the soles of his feet on the Cross of Light, / he does no sin therein. Rather, a crown and palm-branch is his entire path; / because he walks not by his own desire, / nor hastens about an acquisition a[nd] worthless things, / as he tramples upon the earth and the Cross of Light.

[20] [H]owever, the other person who hastens on the path because of his own lu/st and [...] of his body, as he [...] / his own about an

acquisition and [...] things [...] / a total sin is the walkway of that person, / walking on the path of sin and error.

[...] behold, I have told you (pl.): Any one who, if his teacher will send him, / goes on a path about some godly matter, a total victory / is his path. Still, you (sg.) also recounted this: 'I trample u/[p]on the earth and the Cross of Light, I oppress with my / [sole]'. As you say: 'Perhaps I have therein sin because of [the de]ed'.

Again, do not be afraid even with this; because the / liv[ing soul] is like this. As a person, (**210**) if a disease will take hold of his limbs, and his heart / [is sl]ow, his soul distressed, and he has pain in his di[se/a]se. He seeks after a doctor to cure him, to make him strong of heart. / And he cures, attends to, and gives him health [from] the disease that has risen up against him. So he thinks about this. /

[And] a wise person comes, knowing the formulas proper to a skilled / doctor. If he shall achieve a healing of the one whom he [... / ...] it, he recites over him the formulas that he knows, / and he even tramples with his foot upon all his limbs! That [pe]rson, who is ill, knows that this person / is trampling upon him so that he might achieve a healing; rather, not do/ing this to him out of some enmity he had / against him beforehand. Instead, all that he does, / he does to hi[m that] he might make a healing of his body. And he expels [the] disease and the pain, trampling upon him / to occasion this benefit. That person, who is ill, he can / bear no anger nor hatred against this doctor, who tramp[les] / upon him. He can not hate him out of enmity, because he kn/ows that he does this to him to his benefit.

However, should someone come and trample upon him in enmity; he may / hate, prevent and not permit him! For he kno/ws that he tramples upon him in enmity; and as he strikes / out of a wanton whim, he piles another illness upon his di[se]/ase.

Again, this too is the case with the living soul; whether in the earth, or in the Cross of Light. Should you walk a[long] / upon it on the path, should you trample the Cross, it may take no reckon[ing] / against you in anger nor wrath. For it knows that

[you] / walk upon it for relief and healing, to proclaim on its behalf. [You] / walk because of it, to reveal its mysteries. Also, the di[str][30]ess of the bones, which you have oppressed, befits not si[n], / but is set towards the victory. As the savi[our] has said: [Where] / your heart is, your treasure also will come to [be there]*[120]. (**211**) Again, because of this nothing will be lost for you du[e to] / the distress of the bones and your toil; rather, it all accumul[ates] / to the relief (of the soul).

Also, as to this other (case) that you have [rec]/ounted: 'The occasion when a teacher would come up to me, or some foreign brethren, [5] and I speak about the alms; perhaps that word / will lead to a wound, and hurt the [Li]ght Cross?' / Again, do not be afraid even in this; because there is a dist/inction between words! For this is not any saying. Rather, the wo/rd that wounds is this: should a person utter a sayi[ng] [10] for the sake of the murder of a person, or the murder of animals, or for [the sake of] / the murder of trees and the Cross of Light, the ly/ing word and the wrathful and the bitter, or a word of en/vy and [...] only, or a word of accusation, which some/one will spread against his brother; this is the [wor]d that wounds [...] [15] Should the person utter it, it befits [si]n; because [he has br]ought forth / from it the demons [...] concerning this / [...] the righteous person, or [...] / all of them, which I have proclaimed, in order that [...] his word to the fet/ter; because anyone who would [...] his word to the [fet]ter. [20] And again, he [...] his coming forth, they will bind him in / the place wherein he has bound his [...]

Nevertheless, so far as [... / ...] word for the [...] not go [...] / nor will they write it [...] wound [...] / word for the release of the soul [...] for the mystery [25] [of its] healing; because the righteous person, who speaks to the nee/[d of the] alms, speaks to its healing and its gathering in. /

[He is li]ke this, a wise doctor who might turn back [... / ...] his disease. As a wound is in his body, he cuts / [...] this person who is ill, in his wisdom, [... [30] ...] he [...] this wound, and he cuts it. After these things / [...] and he places the soluble drugs upon it, so that / [they will be able to diss]olve. He might incise it with the

*[120] Mt. 6:21

iron, and he casts it out (**212**) [f]rom him, with the soluble drugs. And the wound is purified / [fr]om the fever. After these events, he shall place the soothing drugs / [...] and it heals up. That person, who is ill, he shall give / [...] but he shall not [... 5 ...] he [shall not] generate anger in his heart against him; beca/use he knows that he is making the aspect of his benefit and his / heal[ing]. After the cut that he may make, and the cauterizing that he may / do there, he shall even give rewards to the doctor! He gives / his thanks and is a friend to him his whole life through.

10 Again, this is [how] he is like the doctor, namely the elect / person who encourages the alms-giving and gathers it / in, bringing it to the church. Also, the alms / is like the person who is [ill], because the power of the ene/my is mixed in with it [...] it is gathered 15 [...] to the c[h]urch. It will be purified in the image / of the saints. That [alms-giv]ing will not be able to be saved / without toil and pain, because they [... / ...] which they che[w], / as they eat it [...] and other pain. 20 However, there is no other mode for the alms than this, because he / is its gateway to come forth [...] from the world / in affliction.

Similarly, the holy church / that the apostle shall establish in the world. For with/out toil and pain the elect shall not find strength to become free f25rom the world. Rather, only by the consideration of [...] / and that of prayer, and of self-control, and of [...] / and of only-begottenness, and of withdrawal, wo[unds] / and lashings, the discipline of the chains, the [... / ...] At first these things [... 30 ...] and these pains [...] they inherit [...] / for ever and ever. Whoever [...] / he has not rest therein, in the land of the living ones. Again, this / is [also the case] with this living alms-giving. It shall suff[er] (**213**) pain for a while, and an eternal rest [co]/mes to it from the saints.

However, this I command / you, my brothers and my limbs: Let no pers[on] / unleash his hand and strike this living Cross [...] 5 wantonness and gluttony. Rather, be a leader [fo]r (the alms-giving) / by word to the catechumens. For even the word, see, / we utter it as you utter it. Thus (the alms) exist / in great distress, and you should be mindful to eat it. Do / not eat it in wantonness nor dissipation nor revelry 10 nor gluttony. Rather, eat it in great

hunger, and / drink it in great thirst, and take care of your b[o]/dy with it.

Then speaks the apostle to that di/sciple: Behold, you have heard what I have proclaimed to you / about your own longing. You have no s[i]n therein.

15 [W]hen this disciple heard these things, he was persuaded and rejoiced greatly. / He says to him: I give thanks to you my master, for you persuade / us, as to occasion, about everything. You give ease to our heart with / loving-kindness from now [...] by the ears [...] / living will live [...] by your lessons of life 20 [th]at we have heard from you.

••• 86 •••

(213,21 – 216,30)

*/ The Chapter of the Man / who asks: Why [am] I / sometimes at peace, and trou*25*bled at other times? /*

Mani explains to a disciple that the Light Mind cleanses the soul and makes it a new man, at peace and untroubled. Nevertheless, even such a person still remains prey to disturbances and emotions caused by his star signs. Also, food and drink, being a mixture of light and darkness, can lead either to peace or disturbance depending upon the level of its purity. The positive and living balance of the nourishment becomes greater on account of justified souls who have come into it through transmigration; and thus these ally easily with the light within the person, and he is at peace.

Mani remarks (216.4 - 6) that such justified souls are those who have perfected their deeds, and 'their dues have ceased (ⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲃϯⲁⲟⲩⲉ ⲱⲥⲛⲉ)'. This sounds very like the Buddhist doctrine of karmic consequences, and may provide important evidence that Mani was substantially rather than just superficially influenced by Indian teachings.

On the problematic question of the 'roots' and 'conduits (ⲁⲓⲣⲙⲉ)' see chapter 48.

[O]n]ce again a disciple speaks to our enlightener: I beseech you, / [m]y master, that you might explain to me this lesson I would ask you. /

Sometimes [I] am peaceful in my heart, as my consideration / [is constructive], and all my doctrines are ordered and in place. I conduct 30 [...] my wor[k]s, as I utter my words to all people /

[with swe]etness. I am peaceful of heart in the gladness of the Mind. (**214**) Even my body is carefree, and my soul / [rejo]ices in wisdom and true knowledge.

There are also times / when I shall be troubled. My doctrines are confused. Gloom increa/ses with them, and grief and anger and envy and lu[5]st. I am troubled, struggling with all my might that I would sub/due them; not finding the strength of mind to subdue them at that hour nor / day when they surged up in me. And all these evil teachings / and wicked considerations come forth. They have tormented / me. I do not comprehend, because there is no single shape in all these cou[ns][10]els that have entered me. Are they revealed to me, or / ind[eed did] they enter me from outside and have been shaken in to me? I / do not know if they have wakened within me alone, have / re[belled] inside me and set themselves up against me. I do not know / about [th]at. Howe[ver, th]is only I understand: that [15] I shall be ver[y] badly confused in all my doctrines. I shall / do [...] in my [work]s, and you find my word is worthless in / my mouth. I shall not find how [...], and I become a source of trouble and confus[ion] / for my brothers. Even my body rises up against me, and sick[ens] / for that entire day.

Again, there are other times [y][20]ou shall find my heart carefree, as I rejoice and am glad. My wisd[om] / is sweet for me, and the preaching. My heart is drawn to the fas/ting with which I fast. I shall not wish to stop p[raying]. / You find all my doctrines tranquil, while my other thoughts are j[oyful], / my body being carefree. I shall not slacken as I recite psalm[s, and [25] not] stop saying prayers. I am right indulgent [to] / my brothers, because I am governed by the / constructive state.

So now I beseech you, my master, / that you might persuade me about these two matters. I have tested them [in] / my own body, but not comprehending the ma[nner] [30] by which [they] come in to me. /

Then the apostle speaks [thus] to t[he di]sci[ple]: / Well do you ask about this lesson. B[ehold], I [will explain] it [to you]! (**215**) Understand this: The soul that assumes the body, / [w]hen the Light Mind will come to it, shall be purified by the power o[f] /

wisdom and obedience, and it is cleansed and ma[de] / a new man. There is no trouble in (the soul), nor confusion nor [dist][5]urbance.

However, when a disturbance will arise for [him] / and he will be troubled, this disturbance shall go in to him in [...], / first through his birth-signs and his difficult stars that [...] / they turn over him and stir him and trouble him with / lust and anger and depression and grief, as he wi[10]lls. Also, as he wills, the powers of heaven shall trouble him through the[ir] / roots, to which he is attached.

Again, there are times you shall find the [powers / of] heaven are peaceful and tranquil for him, and it comes to [... / a] difficult part comes into him by the nourishment that he has eaten, / or else indeed in some [...] or in the water that they have drunk. [15] Again, trouble and confusion and anger [will] increase in him, a[nd / l]ust multiplies upon him together with depression and grief; becau/se of the nourishment of the bread he has eaten and the water he has drunk, / which are full of bothersome parts, a vengeful counsel. They shall / enter his body, [mixed in] with these foods, and they [20] even become joined in with the wicked parts of the body and / the sin that is in him; transferring the anger and the lust and / the depression and the grief, these wicked thoughts of the body. /

Now, [beh]old, I have explained to you that should you be troubled [... / ...] them through the c[ondui]ts and the r[oot]s of they above [... [25] ... the f]ood that comes in to you.

There are times, however, / [if] you shall find that the nourishment that comes into you is pure [... / ...], so it is greater in light and life w[hile the / wast]e is less in it, and the evil-doing is diminished [f/rom it]. Even the atmosphere above is still, being purified through the [... [30] ...] also the image is calmed from [... / ...] increases in you through (**216**) [th]ose good parts of the food that come i/[n] to you. And they find you at ease and tranquil, as you are / well gover[n]ed in your abodes because of / [the] living [p]art, which is greater on account of the light of these [ju]stified souls [5] that are in it. The ones that have perfected their deed/[s]. Their dues have ceased, while their soul is carefree / [...] they have been allied with these living souls that / [are p]resent in

you. Due to this you shall find them in you, / [c]alm in tranquillity, and they come from you without tro[10][uble; a]nd you are found flourishing of body. Even your de/[eds] are determined, being well constructed after their manner, and your doct/[rines are in] order, as your words [...] your soul is ca[re]/free within you, ascending like a bird. /

Behol[d, I have] explained to you the determination of this lesson for which you [15] asked: Whe[nce] come [th]ese bad counsels and considerations / in to you, these vengeful thoughts that trou[bl]/e; and also whence come in to you these good counsels / and sweet doctrines, when your Mind is cal/med for you. I have told you that when [your bo]dy*[121] is troubled, you [20] shall be troubled by the conduits of they below, the difficult parts / that come in to you by fo[od and the] act of eating. Aga[in], when / the conduits above are calmed from you, even your fo/od that has come in to you is clear and pure. Your heart shall be found / ordered in its place, your counsels at peace from disturb[ance].

[25] Then, when that disciple had heard these things, he glorified [... / ...] the apostle. He says to him: You are glorious and bless[ed]! / The living [...] that came from you have been added to us. We [... / ... b]elieve you. For everything that we ask of you, you [per/suade] us about it with sweetness; you [... [30] ... the so]uls.

••• 87 •••

(216,31 – 218,32)

/ Concerning the Alms, that [...] / life in the Church. /

Although all the sects of the world may make offerings of alms in the name of God, it is only the holy church of the elect that can purify the light. Thus the elect are the only means for its release; and they themselves depend wholly upon the catechumens, who give the alms.

Mani compares the catechumens to good earth in which the good tree of the elect can grow. Similarly, the living soul can only ascend to rest through the sun and the moon, and again these light-givers will only rest in the land of light. So, too, both the elect and the catechumens will finally find rest in the land of light.

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*121 Reading ⲡⲥⲁⲗ [ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱ]ⲙⲁ

Once [again, it] h[appened one time. The enlightener sat] (**217**) in the midst of the congregation. He says to his disciples: / All these alms are donated in the world because of the / name of God; that is every sect overall (uses) his name. / Their catechumens give them in the name of [5] God. Everywhere these alms will be received for him they are accompanied / by sorrow and affliction and wickedness. [There is no] / rest nor open door that they can come out by and find an / opportunity to go to the God in whose name they were given; ex/[ce]pt only the holy church wherein the com[m][10]andments of alms are established, thro[ugh which] they fulfil / the will of the exalted one.

Now, the holy church / exists in two forms: in the brothers and / the sisters. Indeed, when these alms reach the holy / c[h]urch, they shall be [redee]med through it and purified and r[15]est therein. They shall come from it and [go] to the / God of truth in whose name they were given. / Thus it is this holy church itself that is the place of re[st] / for all those alms that shall rest therein; / and it becomes a doorway for them and a conveyance to that land [20] of rest. Also, the holy church / has no place of rest in this entire world exce/pt for through the catechumens who listen to it, as [...] / only with the catechumens who give it rest. For / [it]s honour is with the catechumens, through whom it shall be pass[25] [ed on].

What does the assembly of catechu/[me]ns resemble? It is like good earth / [...] in which the gardener shall plant a good tree. [Beho]ld, / [th]at good tree transforms the power and the [... / ...] of all earth, and it produces good fruit. [30] [Th]at [gardener] sets at ease the tree of life, and he r/[ests himself].

This too is the case with the [holy] chu/[rch]. It is like a good tree. (**218**) The assembly of the catechumens is li/ke this good earth that shall receive the good seed. / See how large is the assembly of the cate/chumens! For it is like good earth, since i[5]t also shall receive to it the holy church. / It shall provide for it, and give it rest from all its deeds / and sufferings. It shall become a place of rest for it, / [s]ince (the church) rests in it everywhere. The place wher[e]/in there are no catechumens does not have the ho[ly] church [10] resting there.

Likewise this [liv]ing sou[l] / that today is set in mixture; for it wishes / to [as]cend and go to the house of its people, but it kn/ow[s a]nd understands that it has no open door in all the powers / of heaven and earth. For they are its oppression that [15] [...] it everywhere. Indeed, it has no open door / except the sun and the moon themselves, the light-givers of the heavens [... / ...] they become the place of rest for it. And they become a door that opens for it / [in] the coming forth, and (the soul) comes out through them to the country of the household of i[ts] / people. Again, further in, also the light-givers of the heavens have no [20] place of rest amongst all the powers of heaven; except for the lan[d] / of light, that has indeed been theirs for ever.

So, thus / the living soul is purified of all afflictions; / and they provide a rest for it, and open a door that opens to the house [of] / its people.

Also, it is the case that the land of lig[25]ht will become the final receiver for the light-givers of [the] / heavens, and they will rest themselves therein and rule in it [for] / ever.

Again, this is how the [ho]ly church / shall become the place of rest for the alms of the cat[e]/chumens; and the catechumens themselves become the [30] place of rest for the holy church. Nevertheless, both the former and the [latter], / the place of rest wherein they will be at peace [is the land] / of light. (**219**)

••• 88 •••

(219,1 – 221,17)

/ Concerning the Catechumen who found / fault with the Elect: why he is angry. /

Mani castigates a catechumen for finding fault with the elect, though they are sometimes angry, and do not always behave righteously. He compares the elect to a sweet scented and spice-bearing tree. Certainly, its branches may give off acrid smoke when burnt. Nevertheless, the tree is not cut down; but rather, it is carefully cultivated for the good things it produces. Similarly, the elect are placed in an evil material body; and this may cause them to be angry. The catechumen should know about the mystery of the two essences. Mani points out that the elect do not blame him for his frailty, for

living in the world. Rather, they love him, and seek always to help him. So, too, this catechumen should always look to what is constructive.

Once again, it happened one time. A catechumen stood before my master, the apostle. He says to him: / If when I see a righteous one being angry and resentful as he quar/rels with his friend, turning his anger on him a[nd utterin]/g ugly words, not giving in to him; [at that] / moment when I see them arguing with each other [... ...] it is obvious that they are not righteous, / [...] and it is obvious that they are not established in the truth / of [...] condemn them. Directly I shall find fault, s[a]ying: / If these are righteous, why are they / angry? For what reason do they quarrel with each other? Why would one abuse another, as if they had nothing in the un/iverse on which they stand firm? /

Then our enlightener spea[ks] to tha[t] catechumen: / The [saying] that you have uttered is not a constructive saying. You [do] not re/peat it well. Do not be [in]structed by foolishness [...] that it comes to be in you. Rather, know and understand / what you see [...] is clear to you, that these / [...] it shall produce oil [...]-plants. Its aro/ma, and the spices that [shall come] from it, is made use of / by kings and [...] Just as this tree that produces sc[ente]d oil: If a person plucks a bough / and cuts a branch off it and puts it on the fire, / it shall give off abundant smoke / [...] separate from it; but no person [... / ...] this scented oil that has come from it should give perfume to the smoke and ash, and they take an axe / [...] and destroy the entire tree! Rather, they shall make the other / [...] the cultivator of that tree and they nurture it b/[ecause of the s]c[en]t that shall come from it. /

This [is also the case] with the elect. [They are] gods (**220**) as they stand firm in the image of the gods. The divinity / that is planted in them came to them from the heights and / [dw]elt in them. They have done the will of the greatness. /

F[urther], when they will be troubled and angry and resentful, [they] curse each other. However, do not you be troubled in yo/ur heart. You know, once and for all, they are established in a bo/dy that is not their own, hating the flesh of sin that makes the oth[er] / dwell in a foreign land. Due to this they shall be angry, / and say and utter hard words to each others' faces. Still, when you

might see them / angry and wrathful, do not doubly criticise them; do not / speak against them; do not reject them in your heart; / and do not distance yourself from them. Do not ask why th/ey are angry or why quarrelling would aris[e] [15] be[tw]een them. For you have known the mystery of the t[w]o essences, / you have understood that [wha]t is good and what is evil dwell in / every person. You have also understood that the saints bear a great bur/den on their shoulders. So, inasmuch as you have known / all these things, it [is n]ot constructive [to] utter words like this about [20] the saint. For you [your]self have unde[rstood] that they carry / a great burden, they are establis[hed in] the body that is not the/ir own.

Understand also this other [point]: You st/and in sin constantly! You spend your lifetime in eat/ing and drinking, in lusting after women, gold [and] [25] silver. Your hands are always free to beat the Cro/ss of Light. Behold, you are stuck in all these sins. / The saints watch you as you commit them. Neverthe[less], / they neither mock you nor hate you. Nor are they distant / to you. Nor shall they say, 'Inasmuch as he sins like this, I [30] will not be his teacher'. Rather, they shall accept [you] / in love and sweetness; they shall speak wit[h you] / in the wisdom of God, teaching you as you [... / ...] your dissipations and your deeds [...] (**221**) that are sins, and they perform for you all these charities. / They say to you: 'You are our brother. You / are one of our congregation, a companion who will journey with us to the land / of light'.

Behold now, you see how great is the love [5] that they have for you! They bear with you as a friend. / For your part, this is told to you so that you may love / and honour them. Do not speak against them when / you may see something disgraceful among them, being wrathful / with each other.

Then, when the apostle had utt[10]ered these words to that catechumen, he was persuaded / in his heart. He says to him, weeping: Forgive me / my sins, for I have truly understood, my master, about all these things / that you have taught me. For when quarr/elling will arise among the saints [... [15] ...] because the old man too dwells in their [b]ody; / and due to this they shall take offence [... and] / they {dispute}*[122] with one another.

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*122 ⲁⲉⲑⲁⲉⲑ

••• 89 •••

(221,18 – 223,16)

/ The Chapter of the Nazo[20]*rean who questions the Teacher. /*

A member of one of the Jewish-Christian sects seeks to trap Mani by asking him whether his God is good or evil. Presumably he was expected to answer along the lines of Marcionite dualism, with its rather naive division of moral attributes, wherein the good God is wholly loving and merciful without any judgemental qualities. However, in marked contrast, Mani replies that God is a judge. He then explains that while a judge is responsible for the administration of justice, any harm that befalls a sinner he brings upon his own head. Equally the righteous have nothing to fear, for they will receive their reward.

Once again, it happened one time, a Nazorean came before / the apostle. He says to him, I will ask you one wo/rd! You, for your part, persuade me with a single word; / but not many words.

The apostle speaks to him: [25] So, [if] you are able to utter to me a single word, then I / [my]self will also utter to you a single word. However, if / you may ask many, then again I too will proclaim to you / a multitude!

That Nazorean says to the a/postle: Your God, to whom you pray, as you believe in him, [30] is he good or evil?

Then says the apo/[stle] to that Nazorean: So, pay attention, / [see you have] not [asked] a single word; but you have asked a / [mass of words! Then] the apostle says to him: A (**222**) [ju]dge is my God.

And then also that Nazo/rean says to him: Yet I see that there is no city / judge not wont to do evil! For everywhere that a ju/[d]ge is, there are lashes, should he strike people [5] with them. There are racks, should he punish them o/n them. There are neck chains at his disposal, should he cast them upon them. / Also the sword, that he should put them to death by it. The judge shall / do all these things in the city, but all of them are wickednesses. / Look now, you see that the judge is an evil-doer!

[10] The apostle, in turn, speaks to him: The judge is / not a man of

wickedness, but rather the work counteracts wickednes[s], / limiting the evil. Nevertheless, what you have recounted is that the jud/ge shall go and punish, kill and slay. He acts / like this that he might annul the evil and impede [15] the wickedness in the pe[rs]on; and lay it upon the head of the sinn/er.

At any rate, pay attention to this: You shall find a great / many people, free and good, are before the / judge's seat; and he shall not sin against them, [n]or shall he / ruffle their clothing! Also, he shall not cause them reason to fear [so] [20] l[o]ng as they have not sinned. For his part, he shall not err against these / among them. However, the occasion when, if someone will do some wicked/ness, and the ones whom he has sinned against catch him, and they seize and bring [him] / before the judge; he shall indeed bring his sin and his wi[ck]edn[ess] / upon his own head. Now look and see: [25] The evil shall not come about from the judge, nor shall they call / him 'sinner'; rather the one who does the wickedness, [he] shall / set his wickedness upon his own head. Al[so], he who has done / what is right and beneficial; again, he shall be paid recomp[en]/se for the goodness that he has done.

Again, th[is] also [i]s the way [30] of God. And he too is a judge of souls. [Should they] / obey the devil and do this that is evi[l; should they not be won] / over to the truth and the knowledge that are in [...] (**223**) wickedness [...] and he condemns them by their works. / He shall not accept them at their last, rather they shall be made a portion of the d[ev]/il whom they have loved. Even as the saviour has said: [Whe]/re your (pl.) heart is, your treasure will co[me to be] [5] there*[123]. Thus these souls too, according to [their heart] / and according to their treasure, which they have placed before the dev[il, they will] / count to his portion. Nevertheless, God has not done anything that is ev[il to] them, / rather they to themselves. It is their own deeds th/at shall condemn them and cast them in the gehenna of burning. [10] On the other hand, these who are people of good deeds acc/ord to their goodness. He shall recompense them the goodness, / and give to them the kingdom of lig/h[t], and make them heirs in life eter[n]al. /

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*[123] Mt. 6:21

Beh[o]ld now, you see God, that [he] too [is a jud]ge. [15] He shall not do what is evil; but rather as he limits the evil, he takes / it away.

••• 90 •••

(223,17 – 228,4)

/ Concerning the Fifteen Paths; and whether the Ca/techumen would have avoided causing his [20] Wealth to go on the Three Paths to Gehenna. /

In Manichaean teaching each soul, at death, is faced with three possible futures (e.g. see chapter 92): eternal salvation for the elect; eternal damnation for hardened sinners; or rebirth for the catechumens. In this chapter further intricacies become apparent, for there are in fact fifteen possible pathways: four to life; three to hell; and eight to transmigration.

The kephalaion is concerned with a question posed by one of the elect. Given that each soul follows the direction or the pathways of a person's actions in life (their 'wealth'), how can catechumens avoid the damnation caused by their deeds prior to conversion?

Mani's answer evidences a firmly deterministic view of salvation. Each apostle elects his entire church before becoming incarnated in the world, freeing the heavenly forms of each member before they are even born (see also chapter 1). Thus the catechumens are marked out before conversion, and angels waylay their deeds that would otherwise have drawn them to hell, so as to purify them through transmigration. When then the catechumen later converts, these deeds have been cleansed and are ready to travel to the moon, and thus along the path to life, together with the first good deeds resulting from conversion. This is an especial grace (226.10).

In the final section (226.28 – 227.26) Mani uses an extended analogy to show that a persons deeds may precede, accompany, or even follow after an individual soul's own ascent to salvation. As in chapter 86 these teachings appear to be influenced by the Buddhist doctrine of karmic consequences, although thoroughly integrated into Mani's system.

The following chapters are also concerned with transmigration, again evidencing a redaction history to the *Kephalaia.*

Once again, an elect stood up before the apost/le. He says to him: I beseech you, my master, that you might instru/ct me and persuade my heart about this lesson I would require of you. / For we have heard thus from you: 'Fifteen pat[25]hs are drawn out in the zone. Four paths are pure and belong / [to the] light, leading up to life. Eight other paths are / [mixed], leading above from that place. The light shall go / [u]p and become free through them; be

purified and go in / [to the] ships. However, the waste is separated and thrown [30] [dow]n to transmigr[a]tion and the other three paths of / [waste ...] discharged to the gehennas'.

You have explained / [that the three] paths that belong to waste, the ones that are drawn to the gehennas, (**224**) [a]re drawn from the fleshes. O[n]e of them is the appetite for / [lawl]essness, that of people and of all flesh. The second is the / [...] all bodies, which is slaughter, [with] which / all flesh is consumed. The third is the damaging action*[124], which [5] [...] the Cross of Light and every body; together with the / r[est] of the error and the blasphemy that wounds the gods. /

Th[ese th]ree paths have you taught us, that they lead to the gehennas. / And you have also [told] us that every person shall follow after hi[s] / de[e]ds, whether to life or indeed to death.

Now, I beseech [10] y[ou], my master, that you might speak with me and explain / the lesson of the catechumen. How does his end come o/ut? For from the first, before / he rec[eives] the faith of God, these three paths draw him / on. [The a]ppetite in h[is] bones; the appetite of his fornication; and [15] the damaging action that comes from the wounding. So then, is his / richness drawn (to gehenna)?

From the first, before he becomes a ca/techumen, do these three paths lead to transmig/ration, they of the gehennas? If indeed they are drawn to gehenna. Then, / does he entirely go following after his limbs to bondage? [20] If indeed this will happen thus, as according to me, it is very difficult / for him to live. For there are a multitude of catechume/ns set in the world, walking in err/or and derangement, before they receive the faith of / God. To where will their end come?

[25] Then the apostle speaks to that elect: You have [ask]/ed well for a great lesson! I am the one who will en[li]/ghten you and reveal to you how (it) [is]. /

Now, this is how it is for you to understand (about) the souls of the [ele]/ct and the catechumens that shall receive the hop[e of] [30]

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*[124] Lit. 'word'. Also 224.15

God and enter the land of the living. / So that their forms could be chosen in the heights: before / he is born in this human flesh and befo[re the a]/postle is manifested in the flesh, still abid[ing ...] (**225**) he shall choose the forms of his entire church and make th[em] / free, whether of the elect or of the catechume[ns]. / Now, when he chooses the forms of the elect and [the] / catechumens, and makes them free from abov[e], [5] afterwards he shall come down immediately and choose them. /

Now, when he comes and finds them amongst various sects [and] / heresies, he shall choose them by his light word. / And when he chooses them and makes them free from the error of / the sects, even all their deeds that occur in madness [10] come to him through transmigration. The angels shall / guide them to the places wherein they will be purified; becau/se, each catechumen, none of his de[ed]s shall / go to the gehennas, on account of the seal of the faith and the k/nowledge that is stamped to his soul.

Like a royal horse, [15] stamped with the seal of the king, that some person will stealthily muzzle / and take in to his house on account of the mark that is / upon it!

This is also the case with the catechumen, / stamped with the mark of the faith and its / seal of truth. The deeds that he was doing from the [20] first times, none of them went to the gehennas on account of / his form that was chosen from the start, being established a/bove in the heights. For it too, his form, / shall have pity upon him. It shall not leave his deeds to their error. / Just like his latter works that he shall do, for they shall not go [25] [to] the gehennas, on account of his faith. Just so is it also with these / former works that he did, as his form is / first chosen in the heights. They too shall not be lost. /

[Rat]her, they shall be drawn only to the transmigrations and suffering. / [Afterw]ards they come into the h[an]ds of the angels and are purified. [30] [...] you know this, that when they only shall [... / ... p]erson in to the truth, and he receives the knowledge and (**226**) [the] faith; and he begins to fast and he prays and he does g/[oo]d. At that moment, these new deeds that he has done, / [the] fasting by which he has fasted and the prayer he has prayed / and the alms he has given to the saints, all

these shall [...] and nullifier of his first deeds in e[very] place / wherein they will be found. /

Happen you know that from the first day when he left the former / error behind, wherein he was, and he received the right hand / of [p]eace and trusted and became established in the rank of the true catechumenate; at that moment he can receive this grace / and so believe! These first fasts that he has made / sha[ll g]o up [and] be received in, in the light ship / of the night. An indication sha[ll be given] there. Immediately all his / first deeds, that he did before he received the knowledge, shall be freed from every place wherein they are / [bou]nd and snared. They shall loosen their bond and asce/n[d] from heaven and earth, from the trees and the fleshes. / They are loosened from every place wherein they are and go / to the heights with this first fasting and this first prayer; the principal of all his deeds. For it is / the holy sign of his liberation, and cause for / the departure of all his deeds; the former and the latter. /

For his deeds shall not continue outside, awaiting him in e[a]/ch place, until he comes out from the body and frees them al[l] and sends them to the heights. That catechume/n has the ability to free all his deeds / by his own hand, while being in his body. /

Now this matter is like this, the way [som]eone / might dwell at a city, while his enti[re] following [is present] in the cities and the dwellings and the villages [of the country]. (**227**) As long as, overall, the king is living in t[hat] place, / you shall find his entire host living in those [dwelli]ngs / that surround it. Also, whenever he may [give ... / ...] the sign for departure to the country, when he wishes [...] to it, an indication is given by him to his entire follow[ing] / so that he might set out on the road and depart [...] / each [pl]ace wherein it is. And he goes to the place where it i[s]. /

So, there are some among his expedition who shall travel before / him and be prior to him. And there are others am[ong t]hem who shall wait for him and travel with him. They depart [at] / his departure. Also, there are others among them who / shall come after him, travelling behind him. They continue / [very] many days and months travelling until they arrive. /

His entire following shall not depart a[t] a [15] single time; but someone shall go first / and another after him, while others shall d/epart with him.

This is also what the ca/techumen is like, with his deeds. / There are some among his limbs and his deeds shall be puri[20]fied while he is set in the body. They are cleansed in / [the] firmaments of the heavens and go before him. / [Th]ere are some also among his*[125] limbs shall be freed wi/[t]h him, at the time when he comes out from / [h]is body. There are others shall be freed [25] [af]ter him from the bonds of the earth and that of the creatures. / [They] go and reach him in the land of the living. /

[Behold], I have instructed you about the catechumen / [and ab]out his l[im]bs, about his other deeds that [... / ... b]y him. Nor also will one be lost, (**228**) [as] the angels hasten [...] He is healed, so that / he [will be ga]thered in, all of him, and go up to the land of the living. / [He] goes and rests himself upon his hope; upon his / good [deed]s that he has done.

••• 91 •••

(228,5 – 234,23)

/ Also concerning the Catechumen; / shall he be saved in a single Body? /

This chapter is concerned with the religious practices and sins of the catechumens. Normally, catechumens would expect to be reborn, on account of their sins, before they could be saved. As the Manichaean laity they lived within the world, marrying and working; but hoping to accumulate enough merit from their fasts and prayers, and service of the elect through almsgiving, to perhaps become an elect themselves in their next life and thus be saved.

228.8 – 230.30 Mani begins the chapter by explaining that it is possible for catechumens not to need to be reborn; essentially by practising perfection and whole hearted devotion to the church, almost as if they were one of the elect. Such catechumens will receive their final purification during their ascent through the heavens; just as the light in the fruit or vegetables offered to the elect is finally cleansed through their digestive systems.

231.12 – 233.1 Mani then turns to the question of prior sins. Those that believers have committed before entering the church are totally forgiven, so

*125 Read ⲛⲉϥ for ⲛⲉⲧ

long as they persist in the faith. However, if they return to error they will be punished in respect of all their sins, both from before and afterwards.

233.1 – 234.20 As regards the life of a catechumen: Mani explains that if they carefully observe all their due practices over the religious year, the merit from these will be equal to the sin committed during the remainder of a normal catechumen's year. Furthermore, the catechumen will be absolved of four fifths of the sin by the protection of the church, and by their own faith and gnosis. Nevertheless, they will need to be punished and purified for the remainder. Mani finishes with encouragement for the rewards of the catechumenate; tempered by warnings against back-sliding.

Once again that elect speaks to this apostle: I / heard you, my master, saying that there is a catechum[10]e[n who] shall not enter a body other than this one alone; but wh/e[n] he comes out from his body, his s[oul] shall [... / ...] in the firmaments above, and he travels to the place / of r[es]t.

Now I beseech you, my master, that you might / instruct me about the works of that catechumen [15] who does not enter another body. What are or is / his archetype? Or what is his sign, so that I will und/erstand it and can instruct my other brothers. For they would proclaim i/t to the catechumens, in order that they would be exalted by / that, and ascend in peace to the good.

[20] Then the apostle says to him: I am the one who will instr[u]/ct you about the deeds of those catechumens o/f the faith who do not enter (another) body. The sign of that perfect ca/techumen is this: You shall find the / woman in the house with him, and beside him she is like these strange[rs]. [25] His house, in his reckoning, shall be like these lodg[ing] houses. / He says: I am living in a house for rent by da/ys and months. His brothers and his relativ[es] / shall be, in his reckoning, necessary as foreign people who take up with hi[m], / while travelling on the road with him. He [...] [30] they will separate from him, and each on[e ...] may [...] / the gold and the silver and the utensils of the [...] (**229**) house. To him, they shall be like borrowed vessels; [he] / takes them, is served by them, and afterwards gives th[em to] / their owner. He does not set his trust on them, nor his tre[asu]re*[126]. / He has withdrawn his consideration from the world and set his [5] he[art] on the holy church. Always his conside[ration] / is placed with God.

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*[126] Mt. 6:21 Also 234.9

Whoever transcends all these things, / in [wh]om there is solicitude and concern and love for the saints, / c[are]s about the church as for h[is] house. / Directly, even more than his house. He has placed all his treasure in the e[l]ect men and women. For this is what [the] saviour / put in the mouth of his apostle: From today / on, let these who have wives be like they who do not have them; / these who buy be as if they do not buy; these who rejoice be as if they do not rejoice; / these who weep be as if they do not weep; these who [make] a profit in this world be not in wantonness*127.

These things that [...] / proclaimed were proclaimed about these perfect catechumens / who shall be released from this one body and go / to the heights. They are like the elect in their constitution. / This is the sign of those catechumens who shall not enter (another) body.

Again, there are others who master / self-control and have even [kept the flesh] of every animal away from / their mouths. They are eager for fasting and prayer each / day; helping the church with what has come into their hands / [i]n alms. The potential for evil-doing is dead within them. [...] that is to say, they set foot in the church more than in / their [ho]use. Their heart is with it at all times. Their sitting down and / [s]ta[nd]ing up is like that of the elect. They have stripped / [a]ll / worldly th[i]n[gs] from their heart. [Now, th]at person, / the Mind that is in the holy church [...] at every [m]oment, and its gifts and / [its ...] and its honours and graces that benefit (**230**) [h]is life. It steers them to the holy church, / also to these who sh[all] come in to the church, whether / h[i]s children or his wife, or a relative / of his. He shall rejoice over those the more; and love th[em, as] he shall set all his treasure upon them. /

Beho[ld], this is the sign and the archetype of these catechume/ns who shall not enter (another) body. Just like the good pearl, / about which I have written for you in the *Treasure of Life* / and which is beyond price. This is also how these catechumens are, these catechum/ens who shall not enter (another) body. /

When, however, they come f/orth from their body, they travel on

*127 1 Cor. 7:29 – 31

their way and pass by / in the place above, and go in to the life. / They shall be [pu]rified in the heavens, and they are plucked just as a fruit [15] that ripens is plucked from the tree. In just the same way, this al/ms-offering that passes over to the elect is given likeness / in many forms. It is purified and goes in / to the land of the living. Similarly, the soul/s of the catechumens who shall not enter (another) body resemble (the alms).

[20] However, as for the rest of all the catechume/ns, I have written down in the *Treasure of Life* / how they shall be released and purified; each one of t/hem in accordance with his deeds and his contribution to the chur/ch. This is also how his ascent contribut[es] [25] to him his healing and cleansing. /

Therefore, because of this, it is right for the catechumen to pray at / all times for repentance and the forgiveness of sins from Go/d and the holy church; due to his sins, the [first] / and the last. For his deeds will be collected tog[ether, the] [30] first and the last, and be added to his account.

(**231**) [Th]en, when his disciples had heard these lessons fro[m him], / they praised him and gave glory to him with great blessings. They / [sa]y to him: Blessed are you, our father, and you are glorious! Bless[ed] / is the hope that awaits us through you, for great is th[is th][5]ing that you have bestowed the souls. Indeed, you have rev[ealed] / to the e[lect] the works and the commandments of the e[lec]t state, / in which they will live. Further, the catechumens / were not abandoned by you. Rather, you have taught them every / step and stair and rung so that they would climb u[10]p by them to the good. Each one of them in accordance with his [potential], and / they attain the country of the living. /

Now, again, we beseech you, our master, that you might continue a/nd recount to us about this lesson that [...] him; and instru/ct us concerning the person who shall [...] [15] and come into the church [...] are elect [and] / catechumens. The first sins that they have committed [in] the wo/rld, before they became disciples, what happens to them? For / some of them worship idols first, making obeisance / and holding in reverence [...] also others among them were firmly [20] set in the teaching of the sects, blaspheming God. / They even profaned the light-givers that are in the

heavens. Again, som[e] / of them have committed other sins [... / ... m]urder or a sin committing adultery or [... / a]nd a sin of magic or a [...] of fal[se] witness. [25] [The] other one [...] these in the evil deeds of the wo[rl]d, / if a perso[n] ha[s walked] in them first. Now, when / [someone he]a[rs the w]ord of God, will he be absolved fr[om] / the former [s]ins, or will he [not] be absolved? / There[fore, I entrea]t [you, o]ur master, that you might instruct us [30] [...] and set our heart at rest.

(**232**) Th[en] the apostle [sa]ys to them: Very great is this less/[o]n [that] you have asked me. I am the one who can reveal it to you / [...] thus. Every person who has received the hope / [and the fa]ith and has separated the light from the darkness, and has perceiv[5]e[d the] mysteries of the living soul, he has received the right hand of pe/a[ce] from the Light Mind who dwells in the holy / church. And he begs forgiveness from the Light Mind. /

Understand this: All his first sins / that he committed from the day that he was born until the [10] [da]y when he received the hope of God, and took his heart a/way from all the sects and idols of error, he / shall be absolved of them all. He shall not be questioned about them from this time, / nor receive retribution on their account. If, this is, he may persist in / his belief and [live. If] he [shall not] sin from this time by these fi[15]rst [s]ins that he committed. Afterwards, he has been taken f/rom [...] he was absolved and he will be made / [...] from this time in respect of all his first sins. /

Should, however, he return to repeat his first deed/s, and sin by them once again, then he will be accounted [20] for all his sins, the former and the latter. He shall receive / retribution for them all, because God had given repentanc/[e] to him and forgiveness for his foolishnesses; but / nevertheless he was not steadfast in this repentance that God had / given him. So, if he had been steadfast in the cate[chu][25]menate, in his faith, and had left behind all his former deed[s], / then he would have been absolved from [all] his sins. / Whether, indeed, an elect in his el[ect state / or] a catechumen in his [cat]ech[ume]/nate. Now, this one who [i]s a catechumen may [stand f][30]irm in the catechumenate. The other si[ns that he] / committed, a multitude [of th]em will be / absolved because of his fasting and h[is prayer and his a](**233**)lms.

So, listen how I make clear to you / the works of the faithful catechumens. The cat[echu]/men who truly believes performs fifty fasts, wherein [he] / fasts on the fifty lord's days of the y[ear]. [5] Also, he masters their purification, controlling himself [from] / lust for his wife, purifying his bedroom through / self-control on all these lord's days. He shall [...] / in his eating. He shall not defile his nourishment with the [...] / of fish and all the pollution of flesh and blood. H[e shall not e]a[10]t any unclean thing on these lord's days, and [he] also restrains / his hands from wounding and inflicting pain on the living [so]ul. / He keeps to the hours of prayer; he obse[rv]es t/hem and comes daily to prayer. Hour by ho[ur] and / day by day, all these hours of [pra]yer will [...] [15] his fasting, and his alm[s that he] gives o[n] every da/y of the year. [The a]lms wi[ll be coun]ted [...] to / his good, and the fasting that he has performed, and the g[ar]ment that he has put / upon the saints. A daily communion! And they fell/owship with them in their fasting and their g[oo]d. [20] These shall be counted with these other ones, and half of his wo[r]k is done / for the good, the other half for sins.

Still, the sins t/hat he shall commit half the year shall be se/parated into five parts. He shall be absolved from four of them by / [the] protection of the holy church, by the faith [25] [and the] love of the elect. On the one hand because of this, [and] on the othe/[r b]ecause he knows the knowledge and has separated the li/[ght f]rom the darkness, and has offered a hymn and a prayer to / [the l]ight-giver of the heights. Even the quiet that he has m/[ade ...] Now, by cause of these good things t[30][hat he has done, he shall be absolv]ed of four parts, four / [... si]ns that he has committed (**234**) from the day that he became a catechumen.

As for the rest, / he shall be questioned about a singl[e p]art; and receive / bl[o]ws for (those sins) and retribution. Afterwards he is puri/[fi]ed, whether indeed above or below. He shall be [5] purified according to the worth of h[is] deeds, and clean/sed and washed and adorned. After/[wards], he is sculpted a light image; / and [he glid]es up and reaches the land of rest, so th/at [the pl]ace where his heart is, his treasure also will b[10]e [th]ere. This is, if he shall be steadfast in his catechu/m[en]ate he can receive recompense for his good things like this. /

If, however, he sh[al]l speak a lie and turn from the truth, then / will be [cou]nted all his sin[s] again, the former and / the l[a]tter. The judgement [that con]demns his sins will be poured upon hi[m].

[35] Still, i[f he] shall be steadfast in his faith and / bo[l]d in it, then there will be a destiny for him. He asc/ends another time and is made righteous and is released. And he saves / his life in the life for ever and ever. At the time / of h[i]s coming forth, he can go and rest in the life [20] for ever.

When these disciples had heard t/hese lessons of wisdom, they gave glory to their teacher and thought a/bout the first light, the one that brings understanding through the Mind and [the] / riches of its knowledge.

••• 92 •••

(234,24 – 236,6)

[25] *The Apostle is asked: Why when / you drew every thing in the Picture (-Book), did you not / draw the Purification of the Catechumens / who shall be cleansed by Transmigration? /*

Mani was renowned as a painter, and in his *Picture-Book* he depicted details of his complex system. Unfortunately, no trace of this work survives. In this chapter a catechumen asks Mani why he has painted the fate of sinners who will be thrown into hell, and of the righteous elect who will ascend to the land of light; but he has not painted the middle way of the catechumens who must pass through transmigration before being saved.

Mani explains that it is because this middle way is various, with the soul of the catechumen passing through all sorts of possible bodies before it is purified. However, he assures the catechumen that the final ascent is the same as that for the elect, which is painted in the *Picture-Book*.

Once again, at one of the occasions, a cate[chum]e[n ...] [30] stood up. He says to our enlightene[r ...] / Why have you marked every thing [... that ex(235)ists], and what is provided to happen, in the great *Picture (-Book)*?

You have made / clear in that great *Picture (-Book)*; you have depic[t]ed / the righteous one, how he shall be released and

[brou]ght / before the Judge and attain the land of li[ght. You have] [5] also drawn the sinner, how he shall die. [He] shall be [... / s]et before the Judge and tried [...] / the dispenser of justice. And he is thrown into gehenna, where he shall wander / for eternity. Now, both of these have been depicted by you in the [grea]t / *Picture (-Book)*; but why did you not depict [the ca]te[10]chumen? How he shall be released from his bo[dy], and / how he shall be brought before the Judge and [...] reach / the place ordained for him and [...] that he can rest in the / place of rest f[or ever]. For if we can see [...] the path / of the catechumen, and know [...] [15] so have we recognised him with knowledge. If we can also see him / face to face in this *Picture (-Book)* [...] in the / sighting of him! /

Then speaks the enlightener to t[hat] catechumen. It is not / possible to depict the catechum[e]n in the *Picture (-Book)*, b[20]ecause many [...] world[s] and [...] be/[f]ore him from place to place [...] there are / others existing [...] because [... / to de]pict it, since [... / a]lone in a single place [...] you know [25] [...] that the end of the catechumen [...] / his path comes to be with the elect [...] of the e/[l]ect. Look, he is drawn in the *Picture (-Book)* [...] as the e/[lec]t will [...] the catechumen will go / [...] the path of the elect [... [30] ... will] not [g]o in to the land of life / [... of the] elect and the catechumen (**236**) is a single one. However, it is not possible to depict the middle way of the puri/[ficat]ion of the catechumen, / because he shall not be purified in a single place; nor / [clean]sed and washed there.

When that [5] catechumen had heard these things he was persuaded and / [agreed] and kept silent.

••• 93 •••

(236,7 – 239,2)

/ A Catechumen asked the Apo/stle: When I would give an Offer[10]ing to the Saints, shall I inflict a Wound on the Alms? /

This chapter returns to a serious problem for the Manichaeans, the harm and pain caused to the living soul by the very process of saving it. This is the theme of a number of the questions addressed to Mani throughout the

Kephalaia; and the apostle is repeatedly concerned to warn against the consequent tendency to quietism (e.g. see ch. 85)

In this kephalaion the problem concerns the task of providing alms-offerings for the elect, as undertaken by the catechumens. Probably it is the preparation of food that is a principal worry: the plucking of fruit, the baking of bread and so on.

In his answer Mani embarks on a complicated analogy concerning a fight, and then he turns it in to his common theme of the wise doctor who must hurt to heal. While the exact relevance of all players in the analogy is unclear due to the fragmentary text, the basic point is certain. The catechumen must not be afraid of causing sin in the task of preparing and offering alms, for this is an unavoidable process that might cause temporary pain, but will certainly lead to eternal rest and life for the soul trapped in matter. The offering of alms is also a means for the salvation of the catechumen.

Once again, another catechumen questioned the apostle. He tells / him: I know that each time I would provide an alms/-offering for the elect, I know and sense that [...] remainder / [...] of the living soul. A sore and a wound is [15] [...] I awake pain for it in various / form[s ...] / nourishment and their management. Indeed, due to this my heart trembles. / I become very afraid.

I will venture to this place to speak / befo[re] you. Perhaps the good I perform will [20] not repay the sin I am doing to the living soul? /

When the apostl[e] heard these things from / that catechumen, he spoke. He says to him: / Do not be frightened of the sin you will commit that day / to the alms! For al[l] that you do [to] [25] this alms on that day you do to [cause it] / to be healed. You are bringing this alms-offering that you have made to life and r/est.

For this matter is like to two people, if / a personal enemy and an opponent of theirs will hit o/ne first and make a sore and a wound [on] [30] his body. Afterwards he smi[tes him] again and [...] / and he hits over his blows and [...] / blows that have made sores on him and [...] (**237**) strikes him these two times [...] accuses his [ene]/my who has struck him. And this judge questions him to his face about the [...] / of the sores that he has left as marks on his body. And they [...] / on him as if he had split his head. And he is led to judgement and [sent][5]ence, and is punished before the judge of the worl[d. He] / makes retribution for a sore in the sore place, and adds / to him the wound that he had left on this person

who had [not yet s]/inned against him. He shall not omit the retaliation of the opponent, [as] he / is judged [...] according to enmity.

[10] After the end, this enemy is condemned for the retaliation [...] / sin against him. Afterwards, the other one is sick [...] / the one whom this enemy has struck, and a wound comes out [o]n him / [...] and he becomes a sick person by cause of his illness, / and he [...] He calls the doctor and shows him his [15] w[oun]d. However, that doctor has no [...] nor / [...] and he takes the knife to him and cuts this wound. Never[th]eless, / when he cuts i[t] the blood shall pou[r o]ut / of his wound. That person shall be pained, but / he accepts those and these things. This doctor has not retaliated [20] nor was harm imposed on him; because he did this thing / to him for healing his wound. All that he did / to him was done for the good; and not directly for e[v]il. /

After the completion, he cuts this wound and lets blood / [f]rom it and heals it. He shall even make [... [25] ...] gifts and compliments. That illness / [and the] healing become a pride for this doctor, and he is given / [honour].

This is also how this matter of [... / ...] before this living soul. When you make / [an] alms-offering [you] are like this understanding doctor who has [30] [...] he shall heal this ill/[ness ...] strike this alms. At the time (**238**) [...] it [...] you have struck / [...] it is well and [...] ea/[se] shall [e]xist for it. It is healed by the elect, by the psalms / [and] prayers and ble[ssings]. A glory comes about for this [5] [...] healing [...] it exists [...] it is painful [... / ...] for they shall [t]hank you [...] you. /

Also, [this] is the other person [who] struck the comrade of the [... / ...] sick with his [...] he struck in / [...] he being cruel according to [... [10] ... / ...] living soul [...] upon it [... / ...] that [...] accusation / of [... /

...] [15] like [...] the catechum[en]s / [...] / bec[ome ... / ...] in to the church [...] its / heal[ing], you are wearied [... [20] ... / ... / ...] strips off [a ma]/ss of sins for you [...] only, what you [... / ...] to this alms, the ones that you shall be absolved of [... [25] ...] rather you shall be absolved of other sins that y[ou] / commit through the

cleansing and purification [...] / it sh[all] become an intercessor for you and cause yo[u] to be absolved / of a mass of impediments.

Then, when the / catechumen [...] [30] like [...] to the apostle [...] / al[l the] catechumens [... (**239**) ...] and they perform [...] and make res[t] / and healing for the living soul.

••• 94 •••

(239,3 – 240,12)

/ Concerning the Purification of these Four Elem[5]ents [that have been place]d in the Flesh. /

Four of the five light elements that descended with the First Man were mixed with darkness and matter. That is: fire, wind, water and light; but not air (see chapter 51). In this kephalaion Mani explains that it is these elements (the living soul), entering by means of food, which are purified in the bodies of the elect. Thus they will attain the land of light. If they do not enter the elect they must continue through transmigration.

However, Mani warns that the pollutions that have been joined to the elements cause dangers for the body. Here he attempts to classify these in four sets of three, linking each of the elements to parts of the body, emotions and states of mind. Thus fire discharges blood, anger, and the humours. Unfortunately, the text for the fourth set is fragmentary, and probably corrupt. The reference to the tree (239.25 ⲡⲱⲏⲛ) is unclear; but the fourth element must be that of wind.

[O]nce again, on one of [the occasions], the apostle is sitting [among the] / congregation. He speaks thus: The four elements [are what is] purified. / From the beginning they are holy ones, living ones, and / enlighteners. However, when they undertood [...] [10] in that first struggle. The waste was [mixed] i/n with them, and the darkness of the enemy was mixed wit/h them. And when they were come in to the body, stri/pping off these polluted garments, they set them in the flesh. / Their pollutions, which they have stripped off, shall be displa[15]yed in a [...] and become a danger to the bo/dy.

The discharge of this pollution, that [the fir]e / shall disgorge and place in the body, is [blo]od. / The discharge of the blood is anger. The discharge of anger is the / humours.

Also, the emissions that the waters discharge [20] from them are lust. The discharge of l/ust is bitterness. The emission of bitterness is f/[e]ver.

The emission that light shall disgorge / is flesh. The emission of flesh is gloom. / [The] emission of gloom is obstinacy.

The emissions [25] that the tree shall disgorge, they are the voices*[128] / of the winds of shame. The emission of winds of shame / [is ...]

The emission of the / [tear] is the [...]*[129] of these twelve emissions. /

[...] these four elements shall [30] [...] what are gathered in (**240**) are [f]ound by the management of this soul food / [that] enters the body. When they enter / the body, they are cleansed and purified and established / [i]n their living image, which is the new man. They shall live [5] [...] and receive the Light Mind and be purified / in their image; and they come forth, being cleansed and holy. They / attain their first rest.

So, when they shall reach / the elect, this is how they shall be cleansed and go / u[p to] the land of the living ones; but these that come to [10] [...] the sinners and pass through them and [... / ...] in sins. Their end will occur in trans/migration and spirit*[130].

••• 95 •••

(240,13 – 244,20)

/ The Apostle asks his [15] Disciples: What is Cloud? /

Mani distinguishes five types of cloud, each rising up from and corresponding to one of the five light elements.

However, in typical fashion he integrates this natural science aspect of

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*[128] Reading ϩρωοϭ

*[129] The text has ⲡⲥⲉ[....], with the probable meaning of: "the tear is the [collectivity] of these twelve emissions.'

*[130] The reference here to πνεῦμα indicates a tripartite system of pneumatics, psychics and hylics; where transmigration is the middle way between salvation and damnation.

his teaching with the fantastical element of divine and demonic beings populating every corner of the universe. Thus each type of cloud is inhabited by evil rulers that take the relevant opportunity of hail storms or whatever in order to damage the created order. Still, angels are commanded by the Virgin of Light to rush after and seize those rulers, and thus stop them. They are then cast into the seven outer ditches prepared by the light as holding places for the evil forces (see also 116.26 – 33), preparatory to the final destruction of the cosmos.

Mani is thus attempting to explain the constant recurrence of evil in the world, while at the same time asserting the ever-present concern of the light powers and their watchfulness.

In this kephalaion the prominence of the Virgin of Light as having authority over the zone (244.12) is noticeable, for this role is elsewhere taken by her masculine doublet the Third Ambassador (e.g. 82.18).

Once again, the apostle is sitting in the congregation of his d[i]/sciples. The heavens were cloudy that day. / He brought his eyes up and saw the cloud that day. / He says to his disciples: This cloud that is app[20]arent to you, which you see; I will reveal / and teach you about it, how it ascended! /

Happen you know that it shall be released fr[om] / five places and ascend over this great earth and [...] / and it is revealed and seen in the atmosphere between.

[25] So, the cloud shall ascend from fire [to] / the heavens towards the likeness of the Virgin of Lig[ht] tha[t] / she shall display to it. Its sign is the flas[hes that] / occur with lightning storms [... i]ts exchan[ge ...] / And they shall be purified by her towards [...] [30] the light that she shall reveal [... (**241**) ...] the rulers shall be released by the lightning storms and they are f[re]/ed and sent.

However, [these] angels shall immediately be summoned to them. / So that they will seize them, because they kn[ow] / that they shall never do good. Every place they will tou[ch] [5] they shall make dead and a loss. Whenever / the angels will make towards them and come beside [...] / they shall flee in their constraint before them. They go i[n to] / whatever they will meet upon and assume it. Like [a] ro/bber being abandoned and fleeing before one stronger than hi[m], as he [10] runs after him to arrest him.

Now, those rulers / that shall be freed from these clouds and assume wh/atever they will meet upon [...] in to the [... / ...] that

they did not [...] will seize / this thing, whether indeed a [tr]ee to [which] they have found the 15 way or animals or people. Si/mply, every place that they will assume they shall burn a/nd destroy by the fire of their body. Namely, the rulers, [the] chil/dren of fire, they that shall be stripped of the fire. /

In contrast, [the] cloud that shall be raised up from 20 water, and comes above towards the Virgin of Li/ght; its sign is the thunder storms and the booms that / shall come in the atmosphere in various forms and are he[ar]d. / [...] Again, there are times if the rulers that belong / [to t]hem, which exist in the cloud, shall on occasion be constrained 25 [in a] water [clou]d. And they flee from it and aband[on] it. /

Now, [they] too are so, in that every place th[ey wi]ll / [reach], they shall make frost and hail and s[no]w. / [They rui]n the seed-corn and the fruits and the plants; and they / [...] every [pl]ace [that] they will reach.

Again, [ang]els shall be summoned to 30 them who seize them. Still, while the angels (**242**) [ru]sh after them in order to seize them, they shall make this destruction. /

Also, [the cl]oud that will be raised up from wind / ascends to the atmosphere between, towards the likeness of the Vi[r/g]in that she shall display to it. Its sign is 5 [the s]torm wind that shall blow with bitterness. /

So, i[n] those winds and tempests shall the lives / be p[ur]ified. Again, the rulers will be stripped of the clo/ud of wind and they descend from it, safe in / the[ir] image. All the rivers and the seas that they will 10 reach and arrive at, they shall make waves in them a/nd raise [...] and they [...] the ships. They / wreak destruct[ion ...] and they seize / and bring them [...] /

Also the cloud, the one of light, immediately they will 15 be strip[ped] of it [... / ...] the Virgin. She shall / display its sign too [...] And its sign is / this, in that you shall find it sailing in stillness and calm. / The lives in it shall be clea[nsed] in stillness and calm. 20 Again, the rulers that will be stripped of it [...] / that will come forth [...] they shall put [...] and they take [... / ...] there [...] the [a]nge[ls] / seize them.

Again, the cloud that shall be raised [up] / fro[m] the mingled air comes above towards [the image] [25] of the Virgin. Its sign is this, in that [...] / are pur[if]ied in it in stillness and [rest ... these rulers] / that will be stripped of that cloud and [co]me f/rom it; every place that they will find [...] / they shall make it {}*131 [...] [30] one of [...] unt[i]l [... (**243**) th]ey are seized and taken to their midst.

Their stri[p/p]ings, that they shall leave behind them in various places / they will have reached, whether the produce of the trees or the offspring [of] / the fleshes, they shall be taken midst [...] wither away. [5] They shall inflict great dangers, but agai[n] / those rulers also the angels shall s[e]/nd to their midst. They bring the light from them and / cast the demons down to these seven o[ut]er ditches / of the great sea; which i[s] the vessel of [10] the waters that are outside the wo[rl]d. /

Then his disciples say to him: Instruct us, / our master. To what place do those seven ditches go / down?

[The apostle] says [to t]hem: / Those ditches and the [...] unt[15]il they reach the earths below [...] fe/et of the Porter.

Hear also [...] / for sometimes these angels shall be sent to them, / to seize the rulers. Whenever the rulers [... / ...] for the angels rush after them. They beseech them [...] [20] they that are given the command. However, [t]hose [rul]ers / shall be freed from them alone and ass[um]e / [...] and [the fle]sh. They are consumed by this offspring [... / ...] tree and that of flesh. The angels shall set a / [... ov]er them, that they might guard them until the hour when [25] [those r]ulers will be stripped of tree and / [flesh; a]nd they go [u]p above. They shall be gathered / [...] above, and they are poured out / [...] in their first for/[ms ... im]ages in which they first were. (**244**) They take the light from them, which had remained behind in [t/h]em. And they too are cast down to these seve[n] / outer [path]s that are in the great sea; the place to where these former ones [were c/as]t. They shall reach their mids[t [5] ...] and the light that is in them is taken. /

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*131 ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩ(ⲟⲩ)

Beh[old] n[o]w, I have instructed you about this cloud: How / it shall ascend above, and the lives that are in it / are purified. I have also taught you of the rulers that are in it: how / they shall make these {rebellions}*132 and how they shall be {caught}*133. 10 And they are cast to the outer prison by the angels, / when the command is given to them through the power of the Virgin / of Light. She has authority over the entire zone, [and cl]ean/ses [the] life that is in it.

Then, when his disciples / hea[rd these lessons] they glorified him. They say to him: 15 [Y]ou have [instructed us] in all the secrets, the giv/er of [...] of all revelations! We give tha/n[k]s to you, our father, with great confessions. For you have / inst[r]ucted us about every thing. You have given to us great / [...] of the knowledge; so that through them we may give judgem20ent about these things to which we listen.

••• 96 •••

(244,21 – 246,6)

/ The Three Earths that ex/ist, they bear Fruit. /

Mani uses the example of human farmers upon the earth to describe the work of the sun and moon in cultivating the field of the living soul, and the Light Mind toiling over the holy church, to bring them to harvest. He then calls upon his audience to be active in the faith, to do the farming of righteousness, and thus to bring forth fruit.

On[ce] again he speaks to his disciples: Thr[ee earths] 25 exist in the universe, and are being toiled over. At first they [... / ...] the farmer in them. Afterwards they bear [good] fruit / to they who toil over them.

One of them is this great ea[rt]h [th]at / people are living upon. They are ploughing in it [...] / it with iron hoes, th[ey cu]ltivate, [making] 30 the furrows, turning it over [... After]/wards they harvest fruit from [it ...

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*132 ⲥⲗⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ
*133 ⲉⲱⲣⲧ

(**245**) The] second field is the living soul, the ho[ly] one. / It is mixed in the entire zone, above and be[l]/ow. The farmers who toil over it are these two great [ligh]/t-givers, which journey through the heavens. They are toiling and cultivating [5] it, so that they will draw it towards their aspect. And i[t lea]/ps up and comes to the heights. It goes upwards, ou[t] / from every place wherein it is, and it adds to them. /

[The] third earth is this holy church with i[t]s / elect and its catechumens. The farmer who toi[10]ls over i[t] is this Light Mind. He has freed it, / rescued it, and gathered it in from every place. He has made it for [him] / a throne, a dwelling-place to the glory of his gr[ea]tness. / He made it a good field that it might bear good fruit[s]. / In them it can make its appearance beautiful, be victorious, and ascend to [15] the heights. And it goes u[p] on the ladder of the [Li]ght Mind, / [the] good farmer who cultivates it at all times. /

Now, [ju]st as these farmers toil over these three earths, after/wards [they] receive from them the fruits that are valuable [to] them. / You yourelves be good farmers! Do the fa[20][rm]ing of righteousness. Preach and enlighten every soul! / Open the eyes of the people and reveal to them / [li]fe and death; so that you [like]wise may [become / r]ich by your preaching. Whoever will [... / ...] will make rich and enter into the citizenship o[f [25] ...] If you are silent and you / [do not p]reach to the people, you have no strength to bear fruit. / [...] this one, to find a per/[son ...] enlighten [... / ...] but bear him and he awakens not, and he [... [30] ...] in to repentance. These s[o/uls ...] they go to the perdit[ion] (**246**) that is prepared for them there. Since he is able / [to] do the good [...] you now; this has no power to / strike you and make you weak in the spirit. Rat/he[r, to]il! As you cultivate the good earth, [5] reap f[rom it] the good fruits, that you may / l[i]ve o[f them for] ever and ever.

••• 97 •••

(246,7–248,10)

/ Concerning the Three Creations of the Flesh: the ones / that were brought forth [...]; and the ones [10] *that were begotten by the Abortions; and the ones / that were formed of themselves. /*

This chapter shows again how Mani presented his teaching as an integrated science for understanding the entire world. Life arises from the mixed light and dross that fell to earth at the time when the Ambassador displayed his image in the heavens, and the demonic powers ejaculated or aborted in their lust. This matter or sin contained the 'thought' (ἐνθύμησις) or driving force that causes reproduction. Here Mani attempts to classify the different forms of plant life according to various means of propagation.

On[ce again] our enlightener speaks to his disciples: All these / animals that you see, and also the rest of the [crea]/tur[es ...] of the earth, confirm them in three [15] likeness[es ...] them from [... / ...] abortions. Others, / [however, for]m their own selves in their shape [... / ...] Also, their nourishment is thre[e / ... li]ght in them, if they shall wish [... [20] ... / ...] they eat see[ds and] fr[uit / ...] they eat seeds and fruit. / The [...] it entirely, and they [... / ...] the three archetyp[es] from their nature and the [... [25] ...] the time when they are on the ea[rth ... / ... th]ey are seized [...] / in their [... / ...] the Ambassador [... / ...] all powers [... [30] ... / ...] / i[n] it [... / ...] first [...] (**247**) plant them [g]enerally to this name: shoots and grass. It formed / the bad, bitter tre[es], the reeds and the thorns and the [...] / and these others that are like them.

For that th[oug]/ht belongs to the flesh-eating rulers. [St]ill, these [that were] [5] planted (belong to) grass and gourds, since they are in their essence. Nevertheless, [this t]/ho[ugh]t that came down from the rulers, [a]/s they are i[n] fruit and grass first and shall not be planted / in flesh and blood, it formed the trees that shall give nourishing [fru]/it as their gourds are sweet.

Again, this thou[ght] [10] that came down from the powers that eat m[ea]t / and also eat grass and gourds, it has formed the trees / that shall not produce any nourishment. Their / fruits belong neither to good nor evil. /

Behold, I have taught you the growth of the tree. For it was [15] planted from the sin that came down from the [powe]rs of / [...] according to the counsel and teaching of the [...] / them due to them. It grew the tree on the earth and gave fr/u[its] there of different kinds and shapes. /

Furthermore, I also reveal to you another thing about these trees [20] that shall be cut and grow again upon their roo/t; and they produce fruit. There are also others that if they are cut / shall neither grow nor produce fruit. And there are others / if their branches shall be [cu]t they are planted. There are some / [...] and they make fruit and come up and make a tre[e]. And it [25] [produces a bra]nch.

Now these (trees) that shall be cut from / [their] root and flourish and blossom an[ew and / produce] fruit, [t]heir thought is in [their / reproductive pa]rt*[134] and the[ir ro]ot. Again, due to this they shall [... / ...] a firmness exists [... [30] ...]

Howev[er], the other trees [that (**248**) shall be] cut and not grow by their root and repro[ductive / part], their thought that sculpts them / [i]s (in their) twigs. And these others too, from which / branches shall be taken and planted and they sprout, their th[5]ought that sculpts them is in their body / [and subs]tance, as their thought exists in buds [th]at a/[re] in their branches. Also, these others, which shall grow from / the [fr]uits and the seed, their counsel is in their / [fr]uit. Due to this they shall be formed and grow from their [10] [fr]uit.

••• 98 •••

(248,10 – 249,30)

/ What is Virginal; or, / otherwise, what is Continent? /

Mani applies these two terms at five successive levels of the light's descent into matter. The archetypal distinction is between the light that remains in the eternal kingdom, which is virginal; compared to that which has entered into time and mixture. Then, at descending levels, the other pairs are as follows: the gods in time who do not enter mixture compared with

*134 [ⲕⲟⲩⲟⲩ]ⲛϥ

the light that does; the light first purified through the episode when the Ambassador displayed his image, and the light that had to continue through transmigration; the Light Mind and the new man; a human virgin and a person who renounces sex.

Once more, the apostle is sitting down one time among / the congregation of his church. He says to his disciples: [15] W[h]at is the virgin that is named 'virginal'? / Or the [one that] is called 'continent', what is it? Or by what category is / the [vi]rgin called 'virginal'? Or [the co]/ntinent, which is given this name, by what category is it / named '[c]ontinent'?

[20] His disciples say to him: Proclaim to us, my master, of these / [t]wo lessons; since all good gifts are given to us through you. /

Then speaks our enlightener to them: / What is called 'virginal' is assigned to the myster/y of the aeons of greatness. And they called it 'virgi[25]n[a]l' by the category of all the light that did not [taste] / of death, nor come to the enemy's war. / However, what is called 'continent' oc[curs to / the m]ystery of the light that came and was mixe[d with the / dark]ness. It was defiled in bodies [... [30] ...] and went up to the light. [They] called [it 'co/ntine]nt'.

Furthermore, the holy vir[gin]als [... / ...] should they come out against the en[emy ... / ... not] taste death, nor [...] (**249**) On the other hand, what is called 'continent' [is this li]/ght that mixed with the darkness, was purif[ie]d, came [up f]/rom all the creatures, and was confirmed in the great[ness]. / They called it 'continent' since it tasted [of the l][5]ust; but afterwards was cleansed from it and [become an] / holy one.

Furthermore, what is called / ['vi]rginal' is this light that was purified by the ima[ge] of / the [A]mbassador. It wen[t up and] attained [the] he[ights. It was] / confirmed in the image of the gods. Again, what is [called] [10] 'continent' is the remainder of this light th[at] / remained behind, from what was cleansed. It goes up [and comes] / down in transmigration. Al[so], there is a part [of] i/t that shall come and attain the form of [hum]an [fl]esh. / Again, that one too shall be chosen in the flesh, [accept] the ho[15]pe, and become an holy one. And they name it 'continent'. /

Furthermore, what is named 'virginal' is the Light Mind, / should he come and assume the images [of] the ele/ct. However, on the other hand, what is called 'contin[ent]' is / the new man, should it be purified from this old man. And it [20] is cleansed and strips off the sin that is compounded with it, and it becomes / a continent one.

And also, what is called 'virgi/nal' in the flesh, is a man if he has [ne]ver joined himself to woman, / has not been defiled by intercourse. However, [i]n contrast, what is called / 'continent', is the man who has a wom[25]an in the world. Afterwards, he cleanses himself from her / [and] renounces her. And because of this he [...] and he becomes an holy / contin[en]t one.

Behold, I have taught you the categories / [of] the v[ir]ginal and the continent in a great many / [as]pects. For what is virginal, or otherwise what is [30] [con]tinent, is in many forms.

••• 99 •••

(249,31 – 251,25)

/ Concerning Transmigration. /

Mani explains that although both sinners and catechumens must pass into transmigration, the fate of these two categories differs. He compares this to the educative punishment that must on occasion be meted out to erring children, contrasted with that imposed on wicked servants. Thus the catechumens will in the end attain to the light and the life, while sinners will be imprisoned and suffer eternal death.

[Once again o]ne of the catechumens questioned the apost/[le. He says] to him: We have heard a lesson from you, my master. (**250**) You [have] recount[ed it] fo[r] us and written it down in the books, as you [... / ...] people who come out from their body / [are d]riven into transmigration and wandering, and / [ea]ch one is weighed [according to] his actions. Whether the sinners, you [5] [proclaimed] to us that they are driven into transmigration / [... or] they who have received the faith and have / [...] in the [... dr]iven also into tr/[ansmigrat]ion [... / ...] the catechumens surpass the sinn[10] [er]s [...] and again he too is driven into transmig/ration and t[ak]es hope. /

Then the lord [spea]ks. He told them about these two lessons. [... / ...] one concerning the transmigration of the sin/n[er]; he speaks to them about the transmigration of the cate[15]chumen.

Now, listen to this lesson that I will recount to / y[o]u, how this education I will proclaim to you shall be / given to the catechumens during transmigration. /

The [...] education occurs in the world, / by which people shall educate their children, when [20] [...] foolishness. So, they shall hit / [them], but their education is not equivalent with the education / that they give to their servants when they shall sin. / For the striking of children differs from the striking of servants; / b[eca]use when the child transgresses, he should be rebu[25]ked by word and harsh lessons are proclaimed t[o sca/re] him. And if he [...] he is struck [... /

...] educate him. And if [he is in / a p]rison then he is bound by a chain. Similarly, [bl] / ows and fetters [...] and kill him. He will neither [be] [30] killed nor be h[i]t [... / ... / ...] For [...] (**251**) his [thro]ne in the light, which [... w]/hich he had also uttered [...] / When that one will be muzzled, they shall [... / ... [5] ...] cut limb [...] / there is [s]till a [... / ...] / just as you have [...] according to the edu/cat[io]n of the catechumens [... [10] ...] the education of [...] / cat[e]chumen [... / the]ir souls [...] / they are troubled of heart [... / ...] they are mixed [... [15]...] until they attain [... / ...] the sinners [... / ...] they shall be still [... / ...] they are cruel; they shall bind him [... / ... [20] ...] from them [... / ...] to the great fire from the [...] /

This is the end of [... / y]ou: Blessed are you catechumens [... / y]ou are chosen and ordained [...] [25] their end is loss [...]

••• 100 •••

(251,26 – 253,24)

/ Concerning the Dragon with Fourte[en] He[ads]; / what it is and [...] /

Many Manichaean texts describe the human body as a microcosmos full of warring demons. Interestingly, here Mani asserts that this is a spiritual but not a physical truth. He proceeds to relate the fourteen headed dragon in the body, with its five refuges, to different parts of the anatomy. The dragon is really the driving force or 'thought' of the body that the righteous person must overcome, so as to receive the victory.

[Once again], one of h[is] disciples asked the [apostle ... [30] ...] is distributed [... / ... / ... (**252**) the] laws of the Magi. They say that there is / [a d]ragon with fourteen heads, and it is gathered / [i]n and [...] den with five refuges. Now, I beseech / [y]ou, my master, that you may instruct me about this lesson. [5] [Wh]at really is a corporeal dragon wi[th] / fourteen heads? Or is it another spiritual lesson? /

Then the apostle says t[o] him: / [The]re is [n]ever a dragon [i]n the f[l]esh with fourtee[n] hea[ds], / as the Magi say! Rather, this is a [spiri[10]tual les]son. It was uttered in virgini[ty / ...] the Magi did not understand [... / ...] all their words that are written [... / ... spiri]tual (?).

Again, this is how this earth / [...] to it, as it is accounted a co[rp]ore[al] drag[on [15] ...] I will instruct you / [...] the dragon is this doctrine [... / ...] of the flesh [... / ...] also the f[ou]rtee[n] heads that are distributed ove[r] / the d[ragon] are these.

The seven sense organs [o][20]n [the h]ead of the body are the two of sight by whi[ch one] / se[es; the] two of sound b[y] which one hears; / [the] two of scent by which one smells; also the to[ng/ue ...] by [which] one selects, receiving / [th]ere the different tastes that occur in every form.

[25] [These ar]e the seven heads of the dragon, the seven sen/[se] organs that are on the upper part of the person; [... / ...] below. The seven of the [tor/so] are these: two [...]; the two [... / ...] ruler [... [30]

... / ... the se]ven [heads that are (**253**) a]bove; so with the ones below they total and make fou[rteen] / heads of the dragon.

Conversely, the five dens about which they have [spo/k]en, where the dragon is congregated and protrudes, / are these: the first is the tong[ue]; [5] the second is the lungs; the third is the h[eart]; / the fourth is the spleen; the fifth is the b[lood that] / dwells in them. Again, if it shall look out from them [and / r]eveal its likeness and its observation a[bo/v]e and below, it wages war [by [10] i]ts fourteen heads.

Whoever will recognise them [wi]th / the dragon, which is the thought of [the b]o/dy, and struggles with it and is victorious and ki[lls] i/[t] in them [... he is called] / the holy righteous one, elect, good person. [15] He receives the victory without suffering on the day [of h]is com/[in]g forth.

So, behold, I have taught you of the dragon that / [exi]sts with its fourteen heads and five dens, / [wh]erein it is concealed and hidden. It does through them [... / its des]ire all the time.

Then th[a]t disciple says [20] to him: My heart has been persuaded, my master, by what [you have r]e/[count]ed to me. You have taught me of the dragon with the fourteen / [he]ads. Blessed is every one who will slay and kill it; / [and it suffers] loss! He will live for ever and be a person victori[ous / i]n all his deeds.

••• 101 •••

(253,25 – 255,21)

/ [Concer]ning why, if the Person shall look down / into Water, [...] /

This chapter illustrates again Mani's fascination with all aspects of the natural world; and his attempt to create a totally integrated science.

254.1 – 24 Reflection in water is explained as a spiritual mystery signifying the descent of the divine call to the First Man in the abyss, and the corresponding ascent of the answer to the Living Spirit.

254.24 – 255.7 Reflection in water is explained as a physical mystery indicating how humans and other life on earth are inextricably tied to the stars and zodiacal signs (their 'fathers').

255.7 – 11 Reflection also indicates that a child is born head first.

255.12 – 21 Shadows show how the body is fastened to the earth.

This series of loosely grouped teachings may evidence textual development. Also the distinction between spiritual and physical truths, occuring also in the previous kephalaion, may be the link used by the redactor in attempting to order the chapters.

[O]nce again, one of his d]isciples asked the apostle / [... [30] ... in(**254**)stru]ct me about this lesson: When / the person is above water and looking down [into / the wat]ers, if he shall see his face reflected why sh/all you find his head turned upside down and a[l]so his fee[t] [5] upwards? Yet, when he stares down into the wa[te/rs], his face shall not be visible, nor can he see i[t / th]ere? Then the apostle says to him: Ha[p/pen] you know this, that this universe is established / [of m]ystery, and is entirely full of mystery. [And] this: [10] The face of people and the shape of trees shall app[ear] / turned upside down in the water as this is signifi[ed] / in [the] mystery of the summons, when it was sent do[wn] / to the [wo]rlds of darkness towards the First Man. Sin[ce / ...] in this way it cast itself down [...] [15] like a person [who] plunges headlo[ng] into water; / so it is also with the summons. It cast itse[lf] / headlong to the worlds below, with streng[th] / and diligence.

And this too: Shall the pe[rs]/on lift his head up from the water, his face shall not be visibl[e] [20] to him, being bent below. This characterises the m[yste]/ry of the obedience that ascended from below, / from with the First Man his father to the [Liv]ing Spirit. / This is a spiritual mystery that I have [revea]/led to you so that you would understand it.

I[f] [25] you [w]ish to understand another cor[pore]al mystery / on this subject, listen and I may teach you to under[stand it]. / The face of people and of animals [and / of] trees is visible in the water, hangi[ng upside down]. / This occurs to the mystery of the [stars] [30] and the zodiac, which hang upside down and are vis[ible in] / the great sea. For [the face of people a](**255**)nd beasts and all trees hang on the ro[ot] / of the stars and the zodiac, being begotten from them. / Just as their fathers, who are spread out above, [hang] / upside down; so it is also that the m[yste][5]ry of their fathers is being revealed to them whenever th[ey sta]re down into the water. This is, that you shall find their [shapes] / inverted.

Not only this, but [the] child / who is born; as the ho[ur] approaches for him to be born*[135], he hangs upside down and is born [he]ad first. [10] Indeed, due to this, his mystery shall be revealed / in these waters people [s]tare down [int]o. /

Furthermore, I reveal something else to you: Behold, you will find the shadow of the person who walks along is joined to the earth / all the time. If the person is troubled [...] [15] his shadow up upon the earth [...] / above. It is impossible for him to do [... / ...] on the earth. See, this mystery is [a] great / sign, signifying that the entire body came / from the earth and had ascended from the abyss. Again, d[u]e to this, [20] its shadow is joined on the earth, turned downwar[ds], / and hanging from above.

••• 102 •••

(255,22 – 257,7)

/ Concerning the Light Mind, why / it does not exercise Forekno[25]wledge for the Saint as for the Apostle? /

Mani is asked why the Light Mind does not cause the elect to have perfect and prior knowledge, such as the apostles have, when it indwells them all. He gives five practical reasons why such knowledge could lead to abuse and dissension; but promises that it will be given to them when they ascend from their bodies in perfection.

[O]nc]e again one of the elect questioned the apostle, saying / to him: The Light Mind that shall come and be reve/[aled] of the holy church, and assumes the faithful / [and the ele]ct; why shall it not entrust forekno[w[30]ledge] to them [as for] the apostle? In my opinion, it ought to be unve/[iled] to them in a revelation. Just as / [all things are revea]led for the apostle, so also / [ought they] to be unveiled for the elect and they become 'fore/-[knowers]'; so that they will attain them, be they easy or (**256**) difficult. You ought to find them, knowing each other's heart; / because the child of the apostle is the Mind. For whoever / [und]erstands i[t] is able to unveil all things from it, / [just a]s with the apostle!

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*[135] Lit: he is about to be born and his hour comes.

Then the apostle says to [5] [him]: You have recounted this well. I am the one who will te/[ach y]ou about it. Happen you know that the Light M[ind], / who dwells in the elect, has the power to perform all these / w[onders] among the faithful, all these signs that you have re/co[unted] to me; but the elect are not able to persist in [10] the great[ness] that may be unveiled to them.

Not only this, but / [firs]t of all: If it unveiled something to / the [ele]ct and they exercised foreknowledge, they would have become an apostle / and none be humble to his comrade.

Second: / [If t]hey were knowing each other's heart, they would have despised [15] one another. If their counsel and consideration / is unveiled from one [to] another, and the shames of th[eir] / body are revealed to each other, not one among them / [...] the other.

Third: They would have made enemies of / one another because of the counsels and evil considerations t[20]hat they shall ponder over together; due to the flesh that / they assume and the sin that dwells in them. An[d] when / each one of them will understand the evi[l] counsel / that his comrade ponders over, he may become an enemy / to him immediately; and they are set firm against one another [25] in disputation.

Fourth: When / he may exercise foreknowledge, they will understand the lifespan [... / ... of] a body and will not await a gr[eat many] / years in righteousness, but [...] / down to the world. And when they will [...] [30] attain the one found be enlightened [...] / up to righteousness.

Fifth: [If] / everything is unveiled to them, th[ey would have] unveiled it [to the ma](**257**)gicians in the world and these fortune-tellers, and go arou[nd fr]/om place to place taking money to create for them wealth and worldly [ri]/ches.

Now this is why (the Light Mind) shall not give a reve[la]/tion to the elect. It does not add it to them due to these five [thin]gs; [5] but the matter is hidden from them only until the time when [they will come] / forth from their body.

Then every thing that has oc[curred] / and that will occur is unveiled to them!

••• 103 •••

(257,8 – 258,3)

/ Concerning the Five Wonders [10] *that the Light Mind shall / display in the Elect. /*

There are five qualities proclaimed and enacted by the elect person who is indwelt by the Light Mind, and who has thus become a new man.

Once again the apostle speaks: The Light Mind shall / enact five light signs in the elect.

The first si/[gn] is the wisdom that the elect shall preach [15] and proclaim in all its shapes and forms / and manners.

The second is the fai/[th]; since after his preaching of the wisdom, that he / proclaims, the others who hear it be[lieve] it. /

The third is [...] [20] in his preaching [...] peace / of heart for the assembly of his brethren [...] /

[The] fourth is love, for he shall love wisdom [...] the / brothers and sisters who are seated [before] him. /

[The] fifth is the fear of legal excommunication that shall ex[25][clude him amo]ngst these who did not receive the hope of God. Also other iniquit/[ous] people who shall be found in the church; it excludes / them with a legal excommunication, on account of their foolishness. /

[The] Light [Mind] puts these five signs in the new man, / [whom he has] purified, cleansed, supported [and [30] cho]sen [...]

Blessed is every one / [who ...] the [M]ind and is diligent in his wis/[dom ...]

The [other] one: These five sig(**258**)[n]s will be [es]tablished in him and perfected in him, so that / [he] will become a faultless vessel and a pearl with/out [pr]ice for ever at all!

••• 104 •••

(258,4 – 258,25)

[5] *Concerning Food: It shall be allocated to / Five Products of the human Body. /*

Food engenders five productions from the human body. These five may all be understood as physical, if the text is read as euphemistic. For instance: spiritual heat; spittle; sweat; semen and sexual juices; children.

[O]nc]e again he speaks to his disciples: This sustenance / of various kinds that people gather in / and eat, and enters the body; it shall be distributed [10] to five productions.

The first product is this that shall / issue from the person in rapture and rises up in / the Mind, and it comes out from all his limbs, and is immeasurable. /

The second is this that shall issue from the per/son in voice and word.

The third is this th[15]at shall spring from them in strength and activity. /

The fourth is what is engendered by the pleasure of lu[s]/t in men and women.

The fifth is this / that shall be formed and sculpted in the flesh, a/nd be engendered and come from them. It is this cor[20]poreal creature; only its parents / can recognise this creature that they beget. They are attentive to its desire and its / th[oug]ht and its [lo]ve every day, / all the time. However, these other four forms they neither notice / nor are concerned about; because [25] they are not displayed.

••• 105 •••

(258,26 – 259,23)

/ Concerning the Three Things that are great with / Mankind, as they are running all the time, in that they [...] /

Mani recounts how Christians use the name of Christ in invocations, personal names and oaths. He then asserts the success of his own apostolate, evidencing the same use of his name.

Once again he speaks: Chris[tia]n people [...] [30] sow in the universe for t[h]ree [things ...] /

The first: If the person will spe[ak the name of Christ] (**259**) on every thing he may lay his hand to to construct.

The [sec]/ond: They will call people who love him by hi[s name]; / and bestow his name upon their*[136] children and children's [child]/ren.

The third saying: They will swear by hi[s fo][5]rtune and his surety; namely all these who are under hi[s a]/uthority.

And I, Manichaios, who sits before you, / I have sown these three graces; by the grace that was [re/war]ded to me from the Father. For, by the wisdom that I [have manif]est/ed, by the truth that I have revealed and by the truth and [sw][10]eetness wherein I have taught people, I have received a [se]/ed and a good sowing*[137] with they who are counted to me. Also, by my good and useful tea[ch]ings / that I have revealed; s[e]e, / people who love me are c[a]lled of my name! Also, by the aposto/[la]te of my father, who sent me to the world, they w[ho] [15] are mine accept me for themselves.

Behold, they swear by m[y fort]une / [i]n every place and every city! Who is as great as I in / the universe? Or who was active in this creation / the way I myself have been active, other than my brothers the apo/stles who were before me? For indeed those t[20]oo

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*136 Reading ⲛⲉⲧ for ⲛⲉⲩ

*137 Or read ⲥϯⲛⲟⲧⲩⲉ 'perfume'.

were active and laid foundations in the world. / Indeed, due to this, every one who will believe in me and also be persuaded / to my word can become with me inheritors in the new / aeon.

••• 106 •••

(259,24 – 260,27)

25 *There is no Joy that shall remain / in the World till the End. /*

Although they are not themselves oppressed, the sun and the moon (here personified) can never be completely joyful during the time of mixture. This is firstly because they see the rule of the enemy in the universe; and secondly they see the oppression of the living soul everywhere before it reaches them and is finally cleansed.

[O]nce agai]n he speaks to his disciples: There is not [o]ne person / [existing in] the world, standing firm [i]n mixture, for whom / [j]oy remains to the end.

Not only peo[30][ple], even the sun and the moon, the light-givers of the heavens / [...] nor are they oppressed, they know not / [... s]et firm in a summons and an (**260**) [obe]dience. Nevertheless, they too, they do not rejoice comple/[tel]y.

So, one: Their eyes stare at their enemy, they / [perceiv]e him and also look at his ugly shapes. / [They s]ee him, that he is alive and established and is king ab[5][ov]e and below, in secret and manif[e]/st. He does every thing that he wants according to his wil[l]. /

[The s]econd: They perceive the living soul, they see [i]/t and that it is ensnared and set in a great [fetter] a/bove and below, in the tree and in the flesh*[138], [10] [...] with every oppression. It is being pressed, drawn near t/o [and] sliced and eaten as it comes up / and down; from above below and from below ab/ove. It [is] despoiled and moved from / body to body.

Now, because of their living soul that is [15] love[d] by them and honoured of them, when they see it in op[pr]/ession th[ey can] not [re]joice completely.

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*138 Reading ⲥⲁⲣⲍ for ⲥⲁⲣⲧ 'wool'.

So, one about the soul; / and one about their enemy whom they see ruling [in] / what is not his own. He is proud and satisfied with / a wealth that is not his own. Indeed, due to this, they do not rejoice in [20] total; but bear up and swallow their heart unt/il they cleanse the living soul and take it from the enemy's hands. / Then they obliterate the death that is their enemy and they g/ather it in [and fetter it in the lump] for ever and / ever.

When they will chain their enemy in the bond at the [las][25]t, then they will rejoice and no longer grieve from this t[ime]. / Also, they become the very same as they were from the [start] / for ever!

••• 107 •••

(260,28 – 261,13)

/ Concerning the Form of the Word, that [... [30] ...] /

The process of forming a word is compared to the production of a coin.

Once again he speaks about the production of the word t[hat comes] / from the mouth and is heard by the [ears]. / He says [... (**261**) ...] and the throat draws it up and the tongue / spreads it out and the teeth cut it and the lips g[at]/her it! The word shall come forth through the power of th[ese five] / members and be heard outside.

Simila[rly] [5] the coin: One shall pour it out and an[othe]/r beat it and another trim it as it is turned, and a[nother] / put the stamp on it and another wipe it in the sieve (?). [Behold], / these five craftsmen shall shape and beautify [their] / coin, and it comes amongst mankind. It becomes a posse[ssion] [10] to be received and given.

This is also the case with the [wor]d, / as it is formed and embellished by five [member]s. / It comes forth and is heard by the ears [of] / others.

••• 108 •••

(261,14 – 262,9)

15 *Concerning the Seed Grain that shall be / formed by the Elements, [a]/nd also be destroyed by them. /*

The meaning of this chapter is not entirely clear. Perhaps the theme is that there is a cycle of growth and blight, and that one must inevitably lead to the other in this world of mixture. As the light elements are saved, so what is left must be increasingly stricken.

Once again [the] apostle, the builder of the church, spea[ks] to his disciples: / This seed grain and this barley grain 20 that you see shall be formed and [...] a/nd beautified by the five elements. [N]ow, the w[ar]mth / and the cold nourish the seed grain and the / entire [t]ree. So, just as these things nourish it [... / ...] it is destroyed [...] throu[g]h 25 [... / ...] hunger.

In this way also righteousness / [gathe]rs the five to it. So, it shall be chosen by the teachers / [and the ele]ct; and they gather it in and ornament i/[t ... and] it is well established 30 [...] Now, [ju]st as they that shall enlight/[en ...] In this way too, a (**262**) lack and a shortfall shall occur from place to place through / [t]hem; and they who have chosen it have gathered it in and beaut/[ified] and attained it, while an affliction shall arise for it th/[ro]ugh those.

People also shall be caused [to 5 st]umble on their account, through the energy of Matter / [that d]wells in them. It has poured / [its] shadow over them, just as it shall also pour its / [shado]w over the elements and destroy the fruits / [of] all the trees.

••• 109 •••

(262,10 – 264,19)

/ Concerning the Fifty Lord's Days; / to what Mysteries do they correspond? Or the / Second (Fifty)[*139]*; to whose Sign (are they)? /*

Mani is asked to explain the significance of the fifty fasts undertaken by the catechumens, that is once weekly on each lord's day; and also of a further fifty held by the elect. He engages in some rather convoluted calculations to reach these totals.

The first fifty correspond to the mystery of the First Man: five powers for each of his five sons or garments equals twenty-five limbs of the living soul. This divine son/s of the Man (note the deliberate Christological reference) has abstained from the food of life in a world of mixture. The doubling of the twenty-five seems (263.4 – 9?) to be calculated with reference to the ascent of the First Man; and then the ascent of the call and answer, which are the counsel of life or means of salvation for the soul.

The second fifty correspond to the mystery of Jesus as the second man: forty days fasting in the desert, seven days in the house of Simon the leper, and three in the tomb.

Once [again] a disciple stood up. He questions the apo[15]stl[e], saying to him: I beseech you, my m[a]/ster, t[o] recount to us about the fifty lord's days during wh/ich the catechumens fast. For what do they fast, or / for whose mystery do they fa[s]t? Or these seco[20]nd (fifty) that is set between the elect, / to whose mystery were they set [a]mongst them? Proclaim t[hi]s also to / [us] and persuade us about it, because [... / ...] you [...]

Then [he] say[s to] / his questioner and they with him: [25] Happen you know that [in eac]h one of these five garments that the [First] / Man summonsed there are five powers. / They shall be counted to the [... each] / other, these five, and five times [...] / their number. However, at the time [...] (**263**) the summons went down. The answer wis[h]/ed to ascend with it. And the summons with the obedien[ce constitute] twenty-five characteristics in their twenty-five limbs, [which] / are the sons of the Man. The summons and [the obed][5]ience were raised to the heights through them.

[*139] Smagina 1990:122 suggests that the term δευτέρα stands for Monday, i.e. the second day of the week upon which the elect fasted.

Just as their fa[ther] / the living Man raised himself up through them, by th[ese] / these other ones have set up all things a[bov]e / and below. Indeed, these are what are called p[ente]/cost, the fifty great days that are the [archetypes of [10] the] holy [d]ays. They fasted from their [foo]d, / [w]hich is their own. So, from that time until [the time] of / [the adv]ent of Jesus the Splendour, the glorious one who came [... / ... t]heir food which is the [...] of sou[l, w]hich is / the summons and the obedience [...] [15] that spiritual food. They rele[ased ...] / all these fifty days, which [...] this living food / suffices for all of them. It filled them all with power and rich/ness and life. Light [...] / this living food that [... [20] ...] became rich.

They ceased being fifty days. [They] have gone. / They became the one hundred holy days that are the fifty [d]ay/[s ...] fast [... / ...] that they have joined them wit[h them / ... [25] ... / ... / ...] these mysteries of these first fif[ty / ... these s]econd (fifty) also [in] which the elect / [fast] correspond to the sign of the fifty [... [30] ... the] sum[m]ons and the obedience set them in their (**264**) splendrous [places] at the coming of Jesus. Now, behold, these are the / [great] days of the fifty lord's days that I have revealed / [for the] catechumens.

Behold, these are the fifty da/[ys of] the second (group) that I have revealed for the elec[5][t ...] You enquire about these mysteries. They also occur in / [the teachin]gs of the sects. They have fifty days in which they / f[as]t. They call them penteco/[st, b]ecause the apostles themselves fasted for / t[hese fif]ty days, they revealed them to their disciples.

[10] Also, [Chr]ist himself revealed these fifty days to [them] / on [the d]ay, fasting on the mountain, at the time when the [de]/vi[l] tempted him*[140]. He spent another seven days g[oing i]/n [to] the house [of Simon] the leper*[141], together with the three other [days t]/hat he [spent] in the sepulchre among the dead*[142].

[15] Yet, [... in these f]ifty days. And I, I have b[estowed them] / on the entire church with these fifty days in which / the ca[te]chu-

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*[140] See Mt. 4:2
*[141] See Mt. 26:6
*[142] See Lk. 24:46

m[e]ns fast, after the myster/y of the First Man. And the other fifty, after the sign of / the s[ec]ond man who was revealed in the church.

••• 110 •••

(264,20 – 265,8)

/ Concerning the Nourishment of the Person, / for there are Powers in it [... / ...] /

The human body images the macrocosmos as a machine for purifying the light from the darkness. As food is absorbed and passes through the digestive system the light is cleansed and exhaled, while the material dregs and their powers are expelled.

[O]nce again] sp[ea]ks [... [25] ...] exis[t ...] / d[a]ily to the body of the person [...] / there are two hundred and fifty thousand seals in it [...] / there are ano[ther] two hundred and fifty thousand rule[rs ...] / they are cleansed and purified and enter [...] (**265**) by the voice, by the word, and by the [... / ...] quiet with the silence at the time when his heart [... / ...] of God the Father. Also, the twelve [... / ...] rulers that belong to the darkness shall be swept o[ut [5] ...] outside in wandering and in tran[s/mi]gration [... / ...] some of them [... through] this tr[ansmigra]/tion, and others among them shall be brought bac[k].

••• 111 •••

(265,9 – 266,2)

[10] *Concerning the Four Archetypes that occur / in the Eye, and the Fifth that is hidden / in them; to whom do they belong? /*

Too fragmentary to derive the overall sense.

[O]n]ce again he speaks: There are four a[s]pects among / mankind that perceive, as they perceive [... [15] with]out*[143] these four that are hidden in them [...] they belong [... / ...] So, [the ...]

*[143] Reading [χω]ρις

that is in the [... / ...] belongs to the fire. The darkness belongs to the ab[yss]; / but the light that perceives what is hidden in a[ll] these things, / being clear, is the living air.

20 [Once] again he speaks: How shall the pupil of the eye [per]ce/[ive]? While [it percei]ves by day, yet come the nigh[t] it [shall not / perceive]. What myster[y] does this matter signify? / [Look], I am the one who will [explain to you what y]ou do not know [... / ...] the pupil of the eye shall not [... 25 ...] the mystery of the [... / ...] is the door [... / ...] below [... / ...] the other four cardinal points. F[o]r in the [... / ...] above. He has [... 30 ...] great [... / ...] they came do[wn ... / ...] living [... (**266**) the F]irst M[a]n came forth from it and kne[w] / all things.

••• 112 •••

(266,3 – 268,27)

/ The Human is less than all the Things 5 *of the Universe, and he is rebellious beyond them all. /*

This kephalaion seems to begin with a clear historical reminiscence. In the latter part there are two typical catechetical lists that appear to have been added to the text.

266.6 – 267.18 Mani stands in a dry river-bed and points to a great mountain, in order to illustrate his theme. The sense of his comments seems to be that if all of mankind (or perhaps all life forms?) were gathered together they would not equal in size this one mountain, and similarly they would be engulfed (?) in a single sea. And the earth has many mountains and seas existing in silence and peace. Nevertheless, it is humanity that blasphemes against God in all his power, saying that God is the one who created the demonic beings.

267.18 – 268.2 A disciple interprets this attack upon monotheism (correctly) as an assertion that humanity does not belong to God. He therefore asks why Jesus the son of God came into the world, and had to suffer torment and persecution. Mani replies that Jesus did not come to save mankind alone. He had various tasks in the divine plan, including a cosmological role (e.g. 94.1 – 11) and his revelation to Adam and Eve.

268.3 – 18 Jesus sent the apostles and revealed five great things.

268.19 – 27 The faithful shall live by three mighty things.

[F]urthermor]e, it happened one time as the apostle is travelling / [on the] road. He came across a great river marked deep in it[s / be]d. That river was dry. When he had le[apt o]/ut, he stood in its

midst and filled [his] eyes [10] [with its brea]dth and length and deep bed [... / ...] he lifted his eyes up and saw a great mo[untain] / beyond that river.

After he had stood / [in] that place in the midst of the river, he shook his [head]. / He [sa]ys: If one of all these five wo[rlds [15] of the f]lesh [...] today on the surfaces of the earth [... / ...] out from [...] which is deep. They will make it like / [...] and they set them in order [... / with o]ne another, one [wi]th one upon the earth. They all [... / ...] up to the heights against the elevation of this mountain [... [20] ... corresponding to] its height; they will neither come to breadth corresponding to / [its] breadth, nor to width corresponding to its width, [nor / to] depth corresponding to its depth.

Not only this, b[ut e/ach] one, all of them from their smallest to their g[reatest / ...] a single sea [... [25] ...] single [...] but [...] / that [s]ea and they are swallowed an[d ... / ...] is in it [... / ...] they are in [...] earth [... / ...] many [m]ountains [... [30] ...] sea in it, they [... / ...] are very [gre]at in their fa[shion ... / ... t]hey did not guard against him [... / ...] the silence and they [... (**267**) ...] blasphemed hi[m] not, neither against his l[i/gh]t that is displayed, no[r] do they utter {}*[144] blasphemies / [a]gainst his power that supports the totality, nor against the / [e]ssence that is displayed indicating the totality, [5] [nor] against the good works of righteousness. [They / re]count no cause of evil after Go/[d].

However, [the i]dol of ill-fated human[it]y [... / ...] the one that will be unlike anything, that is equal [... / ...] great works; and it was found evil [by] [10] God, the Lord of all. It even blasphemed again[st the] / power that supports the totality, against its hol[y] light; [and / it] profaned its glorious wisdom, bringing forth / the cause of every sin. They say that / every disgraceful wickedness and defilement, the rulers and the [15] demons and the fiends and the satans, they say that they have co/me from God, that he is the one who [es]tablished them [... / ...] they came not from him, and they give false testimony / about him.

Then, when he had recounted this, / at that instant one of his

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*144 ⲉⲁⲣⲡⲥ̀

disciples speaks [20] to him from amongst these who are standing before him: T[e]ll / [u]s, our master, and instruct us about this lesso[n]. /

Now, [i]f this idol of humanity does not belong [t]o / God, according to what you have said about it, why did Jesus come to / [the] world, the son of the Living God? He has been reve[al[25]e]d therein! He suffered tribulation and persecution. They hung h/[im] on the cross, and his enemies perpetrated against him the tor/[ment] and shame of their evil-doing. /

[The ap]ostle [says] to him: Jesus did not come and s[a/ve the] world because of mankind alone, but [30] [... he] came and revealed on earth / [...] was strong outside in / [...] And [whe]n he had finished doing his (**268**) [t]ask outside [i]n the great u[ni]verse, he came [... / he wen]t further with Adam and Eve and revealed [to them]. / Even so, he sent the apostles to the good, / [g]eneration by generation, and revealed to them five great thin[gs].

[5] [Firs]t: He told them that they belong to the race of ligh[t. /

Se]cond: He unveiled to them about the aeons [of the gre/atness], how they occur; and he taught them about [the / manner of] the darkness, how it t[o]o exists. /

[The th]ird time: He proclaimed to them about the [l]ight great-[ness], [10] how it has been active against the pow[er / of] darkness and conquered it. /

Fourth: He taught them that he came to the province of death [... / ...] that is flesh, until he should find profit and bring / them from the gate of the underworld below, for [they had] been swa[ll][15]owed into it.

Fifth: He explained to us / that the rebels shall be bound in a great fetter, they who / shall [r]ebel against the g[o]od and against the righteousness t/hat is proclaimed by the apostle. /

Once [again] the apostle speaks: All the faithful who believe [20] this tr[u]th shall live by three great mighty things. /

The first: They have been counted to the race of faith and truth, this / living one that enlightens.

The second: They have received the right hand and / the peace that came to them from above. They have believed the [a]/postle who has been manifested.

The third: They a[ct] [25] with restraint and charity to the Cross of Light, which g[rie]/ves in the totality, being present in what is visible and what is / not vis[ib]le.

••• 113 •••

(268,27 – 269,13)

/ The Chapter on whether any [Lig]/ht comes from the Three Vessels.

Mani taught that the universe was layered, with eight earths and ten heavens, and carefully constructed for the purification of the light. The term 'vessel (ⲙⲁⲛⲍⲓⲟⲣⲉ)' is variously used in this complex cosmology. However, the reference to such surrounding the universe would seem to indicate the three vessels of water and darkness and fire that the Living Spirit first poured down from the heavens, and that he then swept out to ditches prepared for them at the edge of the universe. See chapters 42 – 45, especially 112.20 – 24. In any case, this kephalaion explains the mechanism by which light may be further refined, even from these vessels.

[30] Once again the disciples questioned our enlightener. They say: [Preac]/h about this bit of life and light that comes from [these three] / vessels that surround the universe [...] / life comes up [...] /

The apostle s[a]ys to them: [... (**269**) ...] b[u]t should the [...] ascend [... / ...] light of the rays that [...] which are received, which shine a[n/d] go in through these great open gates, through these doo[rs] / firmament by firmament. For four [gates [5] o]pen in each world, distributed at the four points of the comp[ass, / op]ening downwards to the vessels. So, due to this, the [light / of the] rays shall go in through these openings and it shines on [that] pla[ce], / and pulls through them the light and the little pi[llar (?) / that ex]ists there. From that place [it] shall be poured [out [10] to the] firmaments. It shall also be clarified in these firmaments [... / ...] a part there is cleansed and it is [all] taken u[p wi/t]h the living ones. However, its other part [...] shall all [be cast] d/[o]wn.

••• 114 •••

(269,14 – 270,24)

15 *Concerning the Three Images that / are in the righteous Person. /*

The elect have three 'images (εἰκών)' in them: the corporeal; the psychic; and the spiritual, which is the new man formed by the Light Mind. The living soul that enters the elect through food is cleansed as it rises up through these three, being stripped of all the corporeal and then the psychic accretions brought by mixture. In the spiritual image the light virgin perfects it.

This latter term is used variously in Manichaean texts. Here she is described as a guide, just as is the eschatological Light Form who comes to greet the departing soul with her three angels carrying the victory prizes. However, in this context she represents the perfection of the elect soul. Essentially the virgin is the manifestation of the soul in all her chastity and power.

Once again our enlightener speaks to his disciples: Thr/[ee] images occur in the elect person. /

[The fi]rst is the [s]piritual image, which is the new man, wh[20]ich the Light Mind shall form in him; and it goes [i]n / to him and dwells in him.

The second image is [the] rem/nant and remainder of the new man, which is the py[ch]ic image / that is bound in the flesh, as the old man [... si]nce the / times of this psychic image.

The other one is the [corp]oreal image [25] [that is] added to them all.

These three images / [...] entirely. When it will [... / ...] through the nourishment of food. If it shall sink [... / ...] down to the corporeal image. [And] the corporeal, / [that] is in it, shall divest itself of it and place it in the [...] image. [30] [...] again it rises up and falls to the [...] image; / it [sh]all divest itself of the psychical of the enemies, which [... / ...] anger. The lust [... / ... / ...] with it.

Then sh[all] a [light] vir[35][gin come and] reveal [the] spiritual image (**270**) that is [there], which [is] the n[ew m]an. / T[h]at virgin acts as a guide. [She g]/oes on before and it is extended to

the heights abo[ve, / and] received in to this spiritual image. And she scu[lpt[5]s] it and adorns it with the new man [wi]t/[hi]n. It is sealed with all the limbs of this light vir/[gin] who is present and dwells in the new man. /

So, this is [h]ow this living limb shall be [puri/fied] and live, the one that comes in to the body of [10] [the ri]ghteous one from without through the administration of food of various ki/[nds], like this. The living soul shall be clea/n[sed] entirely every [d]ay and traverse these three [im]/a[ges][*145].

So, it shall divest itself of the body, which is not its own, / in the corporeal. It shall also divest itself of the souls [15] that are not its own, these that are mixed with it in the psychical [... / ...] anger and desire and [...]-ness / and foolishness and envy and strife; and these other / wicked teachings that are not its own.

However, in [the] / spiritual image itsel[f] it shall live and be joined with [lo][20]ng-sufferingness, the perfection of faith and love / that reigns over them all. It is the virgin of / light who robes the new man and who shall be cal[l]/ed 'the hour of life'. S[he] is the f[irst], / but s[h]e is also the last.

••• 115 •••

(270,25 – 280,19)

/ The Catechumen asks / the Apostle: will Rest / come about for Someone who has come out of the Body, i/f the Saints pray [over] [30] and make an Alms-offering [for him]? /

In this extensive chapter the question concerns the effectiveness of prayer for the dead; and how to reconcile such intercession with the doctrine of retribution for one's sins (the familiar theme of grace versus deeds). Whilst this second problem is not clearly answered in the readable portions of the text, the chapter is of particular interest for evidencing (albeit only implicitly) Manichaean practices as regarding the dead; and the role of the elect or the saints within believing communities.

270.31 – 271.12 Framing sequence and statement of the catechumen's question.

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*145 Reading ⲛ[ⲉⲓ]/ⲕ[ⲱⲛ]

271.13 – 26 Mani replies that supplications made by the elect in faith will be granted; for such petitions have been made by the gods since the beginning, and the right has been passed on to the church.

271.26 – 273.9 Mani explains the archetypal supplication whereby the Mother of Life besought the Father for a helper, on behalf of the First Man; and was granted the Living Spirit that saved him from the abyss.

273.9 – 14 Reiteration: the saints will similarly be granted their prayers.

273.15 – 20 Mani begins to recount a second archetypal episode with a brief description of the constituent parts of the universe.

273.20 – 274.21 The great gods of the first and second emanations beseech the Father for a leader to undertake the process of salvation, the mechanisms for which they have put in place. They are granted the Third Ambassador.

274.22 – 29 Reiteration: the faithful elect and catechumens will similarly be granted their requests.

274.30 – 277.3 (and see 274.16 – 19) Highly fragmented account of a third supplication regarding the liberation of the living soul; and perhaps further episodes concerning Jesus Splendour et al.

277.4 – 278.23 List of four victories achieved by prayer for the dead; with reiteration. Here perhaps might also be found Mani's answer concerning the problem of retribution for past sins.

278.23 – 280.1 Analogy of the process of intercession, and explanation.

280.1 – 19 Mani charges the catechumens with their mission, and receives the thanks of his original questioner (framing sequence).

Once again, it happened one time wh[ile our enlightener is sitting] / in the midst of the co[ngreg]ation. A cate[chu]me[n ...] / stood u[p] in front of him and sp[oke, questioni(**271**)ng] him. He says to hi[m: I be]seech you, my master, [that you / may] recount to me of this lesson; if I ask you it! [About / the] entreaty that the person makes in his pr[ayer, / if he] beseeches charity for someone who has been released from h[is [5] bo]dy.

Tell me: The entreaty and the prayer by which / [the] saints pray, beseeching for [someone; do they / h]elp him any? How is it benef[icial] for him; or el[se does it / he]lp him not? For we have heard from you [just so, th]at / each one shall receive retribution according to his deeds.

[10] So [n]ow, I beseech you my master, that you may instr[uc]t me / about this lesson for which I have asked you; whether [it is] tru[e]? / [F]or it is very great and honoured amongst pe[opl]e. /

[Then] the apostle speaks to him: As to the qu[esti]on / for [which] you ask me, the entreaty occurs and the true pra[yer] [15]

occurs! For every elect [Manich]aean*[146] person, / [if he] beseeches charity in total faith, he is [claimi]ng a / [re]quest from our compassionate Father. So, if he is beseec[hing] over him/[sel]f alone, he shall be favoured his entreaty; [bu]t i[f] again he is / [be]seeching on behalf of someone else, he shall be granted [hi]s r[20][eq]uest.

For this entreaty has been since the beginning [... / ...] the gods first made entreaty of their Father. They were granted / their entreaty and their request. For its part, the [h]oly church / that assumes the flesh is established in [pray/er, and] entreaty above [a]ll, and the pure request [...] [25] him and the son, the Christ. They shall give him it, na/[mely] these first ones that are prior to him.

I will inst/[ruct y]ou how it is that they shall / [beseech] their entreaty from the first ones; or in what form / [they shall en]treat [their req]uest, they who have asked for it [30] [...] every thing. The Great Spirit, the Mother / [of Life, she claimed and pra]yed and besought and glorified and praised (**272**) the first established on[e; who] is the Father. She [beso/ught] him an entreaty. She claimed of him a request. [She / received] a great gift; she and the many powers / [wi]th her.

She besought an entreaty on behalf of the First Man, [bec[5]ause of h]ow he had come forth and thrown himself dow[n. / He became] distant from the Mother of Life. He separated from her and g[ave / him]self; in great affliction. He joined war on [earth / with] the destruction and the grief and the weakness; in the worlds [of / dark]ness; in the abysses made of fear; in the midst [10] of the demons' d[i]t[ch]; amongst the powers of the dev[il]! /

Indeed, h[e is l]ike a king standing in the mids[t of] / h[is] enemies. And when the Mother of Life petitioned and prayed and [gl]/or[ified] and praised the Father, the [f]/irst established one, she did petition him that he might send [15] a po[wer]; a protector and redeemer and helper for the s/on of God who is set in affliction.

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*[146] The reconstruction in the ed. princ. of ⲙ[ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ]ⲁⲓⲟⲥ should be treated with caution. This form of self-designation does not occur elsewhere in the text.

No[w], just as / [she] had [beso]ught and interceded, so likewise was her pray[er] / fulfilled and received in to the presence of the Father of Gre[at]/n[ess]. He turned and gave to her her entreaty: the great [power], [20] the Living Spirit, the giver of ease. The Mother of Life and the Living Spirit came with / gr[ea]t power to the [bo]/rders of the territory. They brought the First Man up fro[m] / that war and struggle, wherein he is se[t]. /

He gave himself as a grace for the Mo[th]er of Life. [He] [25] became estranged and far from her, the one whom his enemi[es] (place) / in great affliction, the one who is in the land of [darkness] / since he [became] weak.

The Living Spirit gr[asp]ed and t[ook him i]/n. He freed him. He set him r[ight and gave] / him [e]ase in the land of res[t ...] [30] the Living Spirit, the first giver of e[ase ...] / the will of these three. The w[el]comer [...] / find with the welcomer that [...

(**273**) ...] a great power [...] of the loved one [...] / the First Man who had been f[a]r away. He had become dista[nt]. / She [had] besought on his behalf. He was set fast in affliction. (The Living Spirit) [went] / to the place of destruction and weakness, the one that freed [5] and redeemed him and gave him ease from the affliction. He se[t him] / right with rest and joy. He has himself become rested, [wi]/th him for ever.

See [no]w, I have taught you [the fi]/rst entreaty that the Mother of Life besought by [her] / prayer. They granted her her entreaty.

Thi[s] also is the case [with the prayer] [10] that the faithful saints [... o]/ver the one who has been released from his body. They shall be granted their / entreaty just as the Mother of Life was given the entreaty th[at sh]e / besought on behalf of the First Man. She was given the First Man / by the entreaty for which she besought the Father.

[15] [...] a/nd they built the universe and completed it with its firmaments, / with its wheels, with the ships of light that are in the heights, / with its fastenings, with its earths and its walls, with its / vessels. They completed the universe and set it right [20] by the fathers of light.

Then, the Great / Spirit stood with the Beloved of the Lights, the Great / Builder with the Living Spirit and the First Man. These / five stood to prayer; they glorified and praised the Father, / the first established one. They besought of him an entreaty. They [25] [clai]med of him a request, that he might give them the power / [...] the leader, a guide to all the things / [of] activity that they had constructed. That he might come and purify / [the] living [so]ul that is set in affliction. /

[They prayed and be]sought their Father, and he received from them their pr[30][ayer ...] he gave them their entreaty and their re/[quest ...] he summoned from him / [...] which is the Third / [Ambassador. H]e, he came from the power of his (**274**) [g]reatness. He saw the entire [soul], how it is entangled [in / a] chain and set fast. [It] sees the things of ac[t]/ivity that his brothers have constructed, that have come from [the hei/ghts]. Again, he saw the living soul, that it is entangled and set [fa[5]st] in a great torture. It is oppressed in the stink of the abys/[s that] is joined with it.

And therefore, he, the Ambassa[dor / ...] in his charity. [S]o, he revealed his way, / before this underworld that is dug deep down, / [to f]ree the living soul. He redeemed it from all the fleshes [10] of death wherein it is pained. He gave it ease. / H[e] set it right in the place of rest and joy.

And / again, he too, the Ambassador, he fulfilled the will / of these three; the will of his brothers who had besought / the Father for him. They claimed of him a request, together with [15] the [...] of the Father, the one that [...] he gave the entrea[ty / that they had besought] of him.

The third is the transferral / of the living [soul] that he had fre[ed]. He released it and / gave it ease from the affliction. He became king and first to / the entire b[o]dy.

Behold, I have instructed you as to [20] the second entreaty by which they [first] besought the Father. / They were given the Third Ambassador. /

Now, happen you know this lesson: Each perfect elect / and every catechumen who believes, being / in the truth and set firm to prayer in faith, if he bese[25]eches and [inter]cedes with faith,

[wheth]er indeed for himself [or] / else for another who has been freed from his [bo]/dy; his entr[eaty] and his request [that he ask]/ed for shall [be] granted for him. Just as the entreaty of his fathers was granted [...] / they who besought the Father for the Ambassador.

30 Again, let us come to the third entreaty wh[en they besought h]/im the third time [...] / display[ed] his image [...] / he hid his image from the [... (**275**) ...] he stood firm [... / ...] they revea[led ... / ... / ...] the light [... 5 ... the F]irst Man [... / ...] mock [...] to him in [... / ...] which is exalted [... / ...] garment [...] they were fr[e/e]d [... 10 ... / ... / ...] to him [... / ...] their voice [...] the bod[y ... / ... p]rayer [... 15 ...] it [...] beseech [...] the bo[dy ... / ... / ... / ...] beseech [... / ...] she besought [...] in [... 20 ...] be free [... / ... / ... / ...] Ambass[ador ... 27 ...] and also [...] (**276**) with the living ones and [... fo]r ever [... / ...] the firs[t ...] from the [... / ...] he gave him the hope [...] /

Also, [Jes]us the Splendour perfec[ted] the will [... 5 ...] the will [... / ...] they found the li[gh]t [...] the wil[l] of the [... / ...] that he had [...] he gave them the power [th]at / is Jesus the Splendour. H[e granted] the will of the elements. / [... 10 ... / ...] for ever. This first [... / ...] he was humbled, he was made free [...] / the [...]-ness is displayed [to] his enemies. He received the hope [... / re]veal [...] Jesus the Splendour, the light power [... 15 ...] and [the] entreaty of the [...] of lig[ht ... / ...]

Now, just as this entreaty [... / ... / ...] the fig[ure ... / ...] that they have [... this] is also how [... 20 ...] the figure of [...] you are set fir[m ... / ...] Happen you know this: Every one [... / ... k]nows, he has perceived [... / ...] all the things [... / ... 25 ...] out from [... / ...] within him [... 29 ...] upon him [... (**277**) ...] will fre[e] him, [an]d they give him ease [... / ...] in it, and they [give h]im rest and [... / ...] and the petition of the hol[y] church. /

[Happen] you k[no]w: That per[son] who enacted the 5 [alm]s and the remembrance for the person who had come ou[t from the b]o/[dy]; he made this peace. He besought an entreaty [...] / his four great victories th[erein].

The first: [... / ...] of the living soul that is entangled and bound

i[n the] entire [uni]/verse. For it shall be freed and clea[nsed] and purifi[ed] and redeemed by cause of him.

The seco[nd]: / He shall make rest for the holy church, b[y the al]/ms that he enacts for the person who has been fr[eed] / from his body. The [...] children of the [chu]r/ch rest upon it. The [...] that living [so]ul, the one that was [...] in the [ho]pe / [...] it shall surpass and be purified [...]

The th/[i]rd victory is [... / ...] the Father [... / ...

The fourth (?) ... ...] who had come out from his body, they [...] him, as he had [...] / alms on his behalf and a remembrance for his br[other; / whether] his father or his mother or his s[o]n / [o]r else [his] daughter or his relative [who / sha]ll come out from his body. He has made alms for [his ... f]rom him. He did not lack his ho[pe / ...] but he enacted for him a remembrance [... / ...] of the church.

The catechumen [... / ...] this alms for a person if he has come out [fr]om / [his body]; as his limb [...] these four [... ... / ...] the sins from the one who has [... / ... / ... (**278**) ... / ...] a brother [...] a relativ[e ... / ...] sick [...] his [... / ...] sin [... ...] from the affliction [... / ...] the way [...] catechumen [... / ...] in his [...] /

So, [...] reward for it [...] the other five [... / ...] he did not remember [...] the catechumen [... ...] He redeemed the living [person] who is entangled [... / ...] entirely. He has [...] his father, the first [... / ...] he made redemption for the s[oul / ...] that he had fre[ed / ...] the light has pity [...] the way als[o ...] a request [...] Cross [... / ... a]ffliction. Again, just as he has [... / ...] of the light [... / ...] give ea[s]e for his [... / ...] grant the entreaty and the re[quest of] this catechumen. He besought for the soul / [...] him, that had come forth from the world. They shall make [... / ... e]ase. It shall be freed from affliction and come forth [... / ...] for ever.

D[u]e to this whole matter [... / ...] like a person [...] a relative [...] if he had sinned he was hung and bound [... / ...] he did it. Afterwards, a comrade [... / ...] or his father or his brother rises and goes [... / ...] for he who was bound a promi[se ... / ...] it shall be determined [... the mast]er whom he had bound [... / ...] before [the chi]e[f ... / ... (**279**) ...] and he petitions [...]

(Mani) says: You have [asked me / about the s]in of his relat[iv]e who is boun[d ... / ...] and the intercession that his [kin/sma]n shall make there before this per[son], [5] who had bound him, [for these other] masters.

Now, by cause of the [re/l]ative of this bound person who beseeches / [that] they might free him, and with the help of they whom he pe[titi]oned / to give something so as to aid either h[e o]r / these others; this person shall fill these other master[s] [10] with charity. And he frees his kinsma[n a]nd achi/eves for him rest.

Again, this too is what / the matter of this person is like, the one who was f[r]ee[d] / from his body. Afterwards a male / and or female catechumen, or a household member of his, [expresses] his [15] love towards him. And he performs a remembrance in the church / on his behalf; and the saints beseech for him a [s]in-entreaty / through the entreaty and the remembrance that they shall perform [on] his behalf / in the holy church. They shall release that soul / and it comes forth from this affliction to ease.

Indeed, this living soul [20] that was freed by cause of this other soul; it / [t]oo, that living soul, it shall be redeemed in the name / [of] that person. It is redeemed*147 and purified and at[tains] / its first essence. Also, it shall become h[is co-]/helper and beseeches for the soul of the one who has been freed [25] [from h]is body. He shall petition charity for it and forgiveness / [of sins] from the powers of light.

Just as eas/[e has come about] for the living soul by cause of this soul, / [this is how] this soul [sha]ll find ease and escape / [tha]t [body]. It goes in to the land of [30] [light ...] soul that was redeemed because of it / [...] comes about for it; and it (**280**) [goes] to the land of [li]fe and rest [...] /

[Then] speaks the apostl[e to t]hat catechu[men]: / I, I have entrusted you al[l; these cat]e/[chu]mens of the faith. For, so long [5] [...] make alms-offerings and remembrances and [... / for these] souls that have come out from their body [... / ...] So long as they are set fast in distress becaus[e / ...] of the alms that you give him, and the cup of wat[er / ...] the saints by it. [What] you are doing

*147 Perhaps read ⲥⲱⲧϥ 'cleansed'.

[is] a great good [10] for this living soul that is set / [...] in transmigration [... / ...] you will perform for it a remembrance as you redeem / i[t] from thousands of afflictions and ten thousands of transmigr/ati[on]s; and you bring it to this brother.

Then, when [15] that catechumen heard these things he prai/sed [and] made obeisance and glorified. He says to him: I am grate/-ful to you my master, with great confessions. For / you, [you have] {opened}*[148] for us every thing. You have instructed us / entirely; with your [wisdom].

••• 116 •••

(280,20 – 282,6)

/ Concerning why if a [Nail] is cut / the Person shall not be sick; but if a Limb is c/ut he shall immediately be pained. /

Mani compares the different responses of parts of the body to the growth patterns of tree varieties.

Once again one of the disciples questioned the apostle. He s[a][25]ys to him: Tell me, my master, why / when limbs are cut from the body / of the person he shall be pained? While if the hair / on the head of the person's body should be shaved, and [the nai/ls o]f his hands and feet be cut, he does not notice it [...] [30] Some of these even now shall grow an[d ...] / again. Just as the na[ils*[149] ...] / so the hair shall grow and [...] / cut a finger, he in [...] / on the limbs of the [bod]y that you [... (**281**) ...] him [...] since this time to the [... / ...] the body ag[a]in.

So, [I besee/ch you], my maste[r], that you might instruct me of the m[atter] / for [which I have ask]ed you.

Then the a[po[5]stle] speaks to him: I am the one who will instruct you [about the / less]on for which you have asked me! Happen you know th[at / the] body is like the earth, wh[ile these] limbs als[o ... / ...] of it are like the trees. There are varieties [...] / of tree

*[148] πωρπ
*[149] Reading ⲛⲓⲉ[ⲉⲃⲉ]

you shall find growing on the earth. They ar[is]e [10] and grow again and stand firm. They have not [... / ...] Again, there are others that if they are cut shall not [grow / ... / ...] and they grow, as they are li[ke / ...] which shall be cut and grow [...] and [15] [...] they too that occur [...] / they shall be cut and not grow, resembling [... / ... neither] grow nor shall they [... [23] ...] it [sh]all please him on [...] and grows [... / ...] in impurity [... [25] ... / ... / ...] from him. This flesh that is corrupt / [... (**282**) ... / ...] in the liv[in]g flesh and they [... / ...] are somewhat sick.

Behold, [I have tau/ght you] about this lesson for which you have asked me [... the] [5] disciple heard this homily [... / ...] he sat down.

••• 117 •••

(282, 7–?)

/ Concerning why Some shall delay to come / forth from the Body, and Oth[10]*ers die in an instant. /*

The fragmentary kephalaion may have continued on to the next leaf, 283, of which virtually nothing survives. Since it is impossible to tell where chapter 117 finished, the few legible words from that leaf are transcribed under the next chapter heading.

Onc[e] again the disciples questioned the apostle, say[ing] / to [him]: We beseech you, our master, th[at you might] / instruct us about these people who shall [... / ...] and their soul is released from [their body ... [15] ...] if he shall fall upon [...] /

The [sec]ond*[150] [...] if he shall fall [... / ...] one [... / ...] one hour [... / ...] [20] others who shall [... / ...] and they remain. They shall delay until they [... / ...] he is freed, and they delay to come toward [... / ...]

So, now, we bes[eech / you, our mast]er, that you might [...] and say [... [25] ...] which names shall be freed, as they [... / ...] release them.

Then he says to the [... / ... the] matter that [...]

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*150 Reading ⲡⲙⲁϩ[ⲥⲛⲧⲉ]

••• 118 •••

(283 – 284)

[...]

The mostly destroyed leaves 283-284 perhaps contained the end of chapter 117, certainly the whole of chapter 118, and the beginning of chapter 119. Only a few words may be read, and no overall sense of the contents is achievable.

(**283**) [... [10] ...] upon [... / ... / ...] from [... / ...] thus [... (**284**) ... [5] ... a]ll of them [... [11] ...] that they shall [... [14] ...] seven people [... [15] ...] Again, he too, this per[son ...] the time when [... / ...] of the light [... [19] ...] the universe [... [20] ...] is revealed [... / ...] take to the light [... / ... utt]erly, the way that he exists [... [25] ...] from [... / ...] these other three [...]

••• 119 •••

(284,? – 286,23)

[...]

Mani describes the First Man in distinctly Christological terms as the only begotten and first righteous one, who was approved and sent forth against the enemy. The point of the lesson or sermon is that the disciples should model themselves after the steadfastness of the son of God, to whom they belong.

(**285**) [...] and the [righte]o[usness ...] is more than [the / ...] the voice through them.

The a[postle] speaks / [to] them about these four [... / ...] people; because they had recounted to him from [the hour] [5] and time.

This one, whom they called 'approved' [... / ...] they approved him in the midst of the ae[ons of] / light. These numerous multitudes set him a[part], / and he came forth against the enemy. They gave this name [... / ...] this matter [... [10] ...] who are

numerous, that are in the aeons of light and who [are without]*151 / measure or number.

This one, [whom they called] / 'righteous', because he is the first righteous one who / had no sin amongst all of the aeons that belong to the light / and the thought [... 15 ...] they knew him, so that [... becau]/se he is the first catechumen [wh]o obe/yed his Father, who had sent him with five sons [...] / perdition.

This one also [whom they called] / 'only begotten', because he was established [...] 20 pour [...] enemy.

So now, I / tell you, my brothers and my limbs, that these / [whom] they have called 'approved', they [... / ...] after the likeness of the First Man; they called [... / ...] to yo[u ... 25 ...] two in ten thousand after the likeness of the First Man [... / ...] 'righteous' after the likeness of the First / [M]an. For, just as he was without sin among the [... / ...] Man. He gave victo[ry] to them [... / ...] you and they who are unyield[ing 30 ...] are without sin among the souls of the / [...] to them the word of life, that / [...] hope of life. They are establishe[d / ...] in love and friendship [... (**286**) ... cate]chumen [...] the cate[chume/ns ... / ...] the rebel[s]. / Again, just as the only begotten ones from your [onl5y] begotten race and you [...] according to flesh [... / ... o]nly begotten also from gold and silver and / all the [...] of the universe.

Just as your father, [the / F]irst Man, himself stood firm in the / [midst] of all the worlds of darkness. He did not love [the] 10 worlds of darkness, nor did he lust for them! Rather, / h[is] thought and love for the household of his people is / in h[i]m. Anything else that the enemy [...] with his / violent de[e]ds. Behold, (the First Man) toils and struggles; so that (the enemy) would be separat/e [from] them and be cast out from them. And he purifies them and ma[ke]s them 15 f[r]ee, and makes them as they were from the beginning. /

You too, so long as you stand firm in this / bo[dy ...] and all its lusts after the likeness of yo/ur [liv]ing father [...] the worlds of darkness. /

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*151 Reading ⲛⲉ[ⲧⲟ ⲛⲁⲧ]/ⲱⲙ Cf 153.26

[...] may they discover the remembrance of the household of his [20] peo[ple], as he remains in this [place ni]ght and day. /

When his disciples heard these lesso[ns], they rejoiced and gave [g]/lory. They praised their father and made obeisance to their teacher. H[e] / sat down and they rejoiced and were glad and [...]

••• 120 •••

(286,24 – 288,18)

[25] *Concerning the Two Essences.* /

In this chapter Mani makes a forceful attack upon monotheism. The initial context is unclear, but possibly he is preaching directly to Christians. If there was nothing apart from God at the beginning, then where did all the evils in the world come from? He scornfully asks his listeners why they reject evil deeds, surely they should perform them if everything comes from God! Indeed, by not doing so they are committing the double crime against their God of rejecting his deeds, and then forgiving the sins of those who fall into them.

Alternatively, if evil did not come from God, the Manichaean position, his listeners have lied against God who will judge them. Mani asserts that Jesus, like all the true apostles, taught dualism. Here Mani develops the favourite proof-text about the good and evil trees, in its five-fold version (see 30.20 48.14 – 19 and kephalaion 2). He ends by warning that at the last judgement his listeners will receive their condemnation.

Once again, when our father looked, he saw a [...] / person [...] before him. [He] says [... the] / two essences that are present at the beginning [...] the [lig]/ht and the darkness, that which is good and that which is evi[l, life and] [30] death.

You, however, the creatures of the [... / i]s a single essence that exist[s ...] / every thing, [from] which everything came abou[t ... / ...] it, the evil and the [... (287) ...] God. Now, therefore, if the [... / ...] among you that only one essence exist[s ... / ... a]nd they say that there is nothing else [apart / from] God.

So, tell me that lying, fal[se] [5] testimony, slander and accusation, sorceries [for] / sake of adultery, theft, the worshipping of id[ols], / robbery, the consuming fire, [...] {}*152 that i[s / i]n the body of a

*152 ⲧⲥⲓⲧ

person like a moth, the lustful[ness] / and fornication in which people revel, the [... [10] ...] struggling with his breath as he shall not be quiet a si[ngl]e hour, / the insatiability of Mammon that the pers[on] shall [...] / as he shall not be satisfied for his lifetime, all these idola[tries], / the evil spirits that are like the night [... / ...] what they are or who cast them in the heart of peop[l]e so [15] [that] they both would die by them, and be tortured / [on their] account.

If they came about from [the] G/[od o]f truth*153, then why do you annul [... / ...] them not. If they are his, you do them! [...] / will receive two woes: one, that you did not do them; the other [...] woe [20] [...] received it, because you annul them and [... / ...] them. You forgive their sins upon the [... / ...]

For if God has hi[mself] created them, / the one who does them [h]as [no] sin therein! If they did not come / [about] from him, nor did he command them to be d[on]e, [25] [y]ou are the one who will speak a lie against God, saying / [that] all [these e]vil things come about from him [... / ... f]rom him, and you may bring two woes to the place. / [...] God (brings) a judgement against you, for while it / [...] through his beloved son in the [30] [manner of] all [the apos]tles, he proclaimed l[ik]e ess/[ence ...] do these evil things, he set a [... / ...] saying that these evil things are / [...] which is the wicked (288) [...] for in this way [... / the] bitter trees that give not fruit [... / ...] the hard earth.

Once again he says: [... / ...] the father plants it, they will [... [5] ... / be]loved [...] every fruit that is o/[n these] five tre[es ...] he and his belov[ed] son / [and hi]s holy spirit and the entire kingdom of they that [... / ...] they say th[at] [10] all the [wic]kednesses are his. They come about from / him. He is the one who established them because of this [... / ...] to separate the good from the darkness. / You will [be c]on[de]mned by this in the presence of God with a great [...]*154 / an[d be]fore his beloved son and his h[oly] spirit [15] at the last [da]y, at his advent.

You shall [come f]/rom your body and see these things that I have recou[nted to] / you; that they occur in truth before the Jud[ge] / of truth, the one who shall not favour anyone.

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*153 Read [ⲡ]ⲛⲟⲩ [ⲧⲉ ⲛ]ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ

*154 Perhaps read ϩⲉⲙ 'judgement'.

••• 121 •••

(288,19 – 290,28)

[20] *Concerning the Sect of the Basket. /*

The interpretation of this chapter must remain speculative whilst the import of the crucial term ⲛⲟⲃⲉ ('basket'?), which is the description of the sect under discussion, remains unclear. From the context it may very tentatively be suggested that these were a sect of fruitarians, and that the basket (if this indeed is the meaning of the word) implies something like 'pickings' or even 'windfall'.

This could explain Mani's analogy about the universe, which leads on to the cosmological details in the latter and very fragmentary part of the kephalaion. Otherwise the relevance to the earlier discussion is uncertain.

Onc[e] again, on one of the occasions, as our enlightener is si[tting / ...] in the midst of the land of Babylon, a m[an came] / before him, a presbyter belonging to the [sect]*[155] / of the basket. He is a worshipper of idols. He [... [25] ...] of the apostle. This presbyter [...] / who belongs to the sect of the basket.

Why [do they call / it] the sect of the 'basket'? For I see the [...] / when it hangs from the tree, they shall not [... / ... w]hen it will be picked in the [... [30] ...] they shall call it [...] in these ways [...] grapes [...] / grapes. It shall not be called [...] / will pick from the vine [... (**289**) ...] the basket [... / ...] their apples in various ways [... / ...] on their tree and they put them in the basket [... / ...] immediately [...]

The ap[ost][5]le speaks to the presbyter of the sect of the basket: So, [the un/i]verse in which you stand i[s l/i]ke a tree; while you are [li]ke the frui[t that h/a]ngs from the tree. Now, if you [your]-self had been plucked from the univers[e] / with the basket, then well could you call yoursel[f] [10] the son of the basket! However, if up till n[ow] you are entangled in / the universe; how then do you call yourself the so[n of] the bas/ket, b[e]fore you are plucked from the universe like [a] fr/uit? For as long as it hangs from the tree, it shall not be call[ed] / 'alms'. And you too, as long as you

*[155] Reading ⲉϥⲏⲡ ⲁⲡ [ⲁⲟⲩⲙⲁ]

are entangled in [the] uni[15][verse] you [shall not be] w[ell] called the son of the [ba]sket. /

He raised his hand to his disciples: B[less]ed / [...] the children of the basket on account of their alms-giving, the ones that [...] / from the universe. He has released them and they [... / po]sses-sions*[156] from the houses, from the gold and silver, from [20] [...] and in [...] they shall be placed in the basket, w[h]ich / [is] the holy c[h]urch!

Then he says to him / [... / ... /...] The[n [25] ... / ... / ...] and the great [... / ...] and the great Mind that is [... / ...] this Youth that is with the [... [30] ...] thirty-six angels [... / ...] twenty-two angels [... / ...] but [...] of the twenty-two [... (**290**) ...] the seven pillars that stan[d ... / ...] the sea that surrounds the universe [... / ... f]our angels that are distributed to the [... the / un]iverse, supporting the mightiness [... [5] ...] below, which is the earth of al[l] the heavens / [...] these other five gods, the sons of the Man, they that [...] / the [un]iverse is stood firm [...] the summons / [and the] obedience [...] the splendour of the [... / ...] holy [ch]urch and the Adamant of Ligh[t [10] ...] they are become en/emie[s ...] they guide it.

The third also, [... / ...] below, there are twelve powers stan[ding f]/ir[m] there. However, the number of the twelve images [...] / the three great pillars of mightiness that [...] [15] pi[ll]ars supporting the disk [...] the other thr[ee / ...] they are the garments that the [Li]ving Spirit / [...] he put them at that time [... / ...] that threw them, together with [... / ...] which is displayed therein [...] this [... [20] ...] perfect before [... / ...] great Porter [... / ...] in his power [... / ... / ...] these are the three great [... [25] ...] against [... a]/re in the midst of people [... / ...] knows [... / ...] entrusts his soul to them [...]

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*156 Reading [ⲛⲭ]ⲣⲏⲙⲁ

••• 122 •••

(290,29 – 295,8)

30 *Concerning the 'Assent' and the 'Amen'. /*

The edited and published text of the *Kephalaia* currently ends in the midst of this chapter at page 291 (Böhlig 1966); although page 292 has been made available in an article that discusses the liturgical context (ibid 1985). However, W. -P. Funk, who is now editing the remainder of the codex, has kindly provided me with his working text of the Coptic for the entire kephalaion. It is from this that the translation of chapter 122 has been completed.

291.4 – 292.8 The assent and the amen are convictions proclaimed by the community at prayer; as in Christian practice. In this chapter Mani asserts their divine archetypes in the summons and the obedience, the two gods that embody the will to redemption. Thus the First Man was redeemed from the abyss; and in the present time they are incarnate in the holy church. Therefore, the assent and the amen uttered by the congregation seal the redemption for which they ask.

292.9 – 25 The assent and the amen also bear forth a beautiful living image sculpted by the faith of the believers; and which ascends daily to the land of rest.

292.26 – 294.22 The assent and the amen are also a great power; for in prayer they bring help both to the sick and at times of temptation.

[O]nce again, one of the disciples [... / ...] to him: Tell me, my master, [... (**291**) ... the] name that we may utter over the blessing [... / ...] we bless, and also the prayer [by] which we pr[ay]. / Tell us: What is the 'assent' and the 'a[men']? /

Our enlightener [s]ays to him: The assent and the a[men] [5] have come about from these great ones of the powers. They were given the na[me] / as the assent belongs to the summons and the amen [belongs to] / the answer.

Just as the summon[s an]d the obedience [ar]e / the ones that opened the portals of mercy and entreaty / for the First Man, so they also became portal[s for the Mo]ther [10] [of Lif]e and the Father of the living. The Firs[t] Ma/n sought and found his redeemer. [An]d [also] the Mother / of Life and the Father of the living sought [...] / this runner, who came forth from them, who is the / First Man; but the summons and the obedience became the [15] portals for them.

Now, in this way they have become portal[s f]or the ae/ons of greatness towards the First Man, and the s[ou]l that was / [c]onjoined with death. They became helpers [...] of the / First Man during his ascent. They gave him [...] / the Father of Life and the Mother of Life [...] [20] They are purifiers of the living soul, be[ing] he/[lp]ers and bestowers of remembrance for it, be it either in [... / ...] in the tree or in the creation of flesh [... / ... the] holy [c]hurch [... / ...] the earth [... summ]ons and the obedience that [25] [...] the portals [...] in the holy church / [... he]lpers, bestowers of power and collectors / [...] teacher [... / ... / ...] purified for thei[r s]ake [... [30] ...] a letter [... / ... (**292**) that] it might be uttered over the psalm and over [the prayer, / with] the entreaty and the supplication. For, whenever o[ne will / b]less and respond to the assent and the a[men, / the] assent and the amen [shall] seal the blesser. Also, [when] [5] the congregation will beseech an entreaty wi[th / a questi]on, and they all answer and say 'verily an[d / ame]n', they shall seal the entreaty that the congregatio[n] has / as[ked] for and besought. /

Hap[pen] you know that the assent and the amen [are] a great per[so]n [10] [w]ho exists in [... / al]l of you, and you rejoice in him with great jo[y]; / be[caus]e he came to you profitably. He has agreed befo[re] / you to bring forth by him a new birth daily, / [v]ery go[od] and honoured in the presence of the living ones abov[e]. [15] [S]o, when grea[t cro]wds of people utter the assent and the amen, / happen you know that the sound / of all the people who respond shall collec[t] / and come together, and it fixes and sculpts [...] / it is [for]med and makes a good image, ver[y] beautiful [20] and honoured. It goes up to the land of tranquillity and / peac[e]. It receives all their grace, because [... / ...] it gathering what has ascended from [a]ll [these] / who responded. For it was uttered by th[em / a]ll. It separated and attained the land of tr[anquillity] [25] and peace by their joy and their alms. /

Happen you know that the assent and this amen are [a great] / power. Whenever one will be found in [... / ...] in bodily danger [...] / sick [...] they pray for it [... [30] f]or the [ass]ent and the amen; and [... / ...] in his sickness, and he improves [... / ...] with power, and they entreat [... (**293**) ...] utter over it [...] being sick [... / ...] one is found among you; while the hand of the pursu[ers / ... / ...

[5] a] great [he]lp comes to him from the assent and [the amen / ...] over it.

Again, it happens [... / ...] among the elect [...] / awakens in us, and it is established [... / ...] in evil counsels, and he is set firm [and ...] [10] his [compani]ons, and he confesses his sin and [...] / as he will beseech for himself charity, so that if [G]od / will {spare}*[157] him this temptation that [... / ...] his [... / ...] and they call over him the assent and the ame[n ...] [15] immediately there is a power come from the assent and [the] amen. / It annuls the lust and the temptatio[n t]hat he has carried [ar]ound / in him. And also, whenever a prayer will be be[so]ught / over that person [... the a]men / that [...] hi[m], as he utters it [...] [20] immediately there is a great power come to him ou[t] from / the assent and the amen. It helps him and [... / ...] in [...] / the assent and the amen go up to the ships, and they [... / ... [25] ...] upon him in the [... / ...] power [... / ...] in it, a[s] the [... / ...] at a place [... / ... [30] ...] Now, whenever he may see them [... / ... / ... (**294**) ... / ...] from him [... / ...] but [...] he [... / ...] his voice in [... [5] ...] and they who guide will [... / ...] he is saved [... / ... / ...] the voice of this person [... / ...] his enemies [...] they took his goods [... [10] ...] because [... / ...] on account of this judgement / [...] also [... / ... / ...] for [... [15] ...] evil [... / ...] they called over him [... / ...] who is master [... / ... / ...] to the heavens and the ships [... [20] ...] helps [... / ...] whenever [...] / the [assent] and the amen.

Behold, [... / ...] the assent and the [amen ... / ... [25] ...] him, your own cry / [... / ...] answer [... / ... / ...] [30] and the ame[n ... / ... / ... (**295**) ...] the pursuers [... / ...] him [... / ...] it might be uttered from God [... / ...] for it might be uttered [... [5] ...] they named it [...] from the apos[tles, / the] first fathers [...] fame, bu[t ... / ...] not.

Then, when the father [... / ...] like this, he glorified and he [...]

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*[157] ⲟⲩⲱⲥⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲁ

THE LIGHT AND THE DARKNESS

Adamant of Light ⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 68.5 91.25 92.32 93.7.29 116.19 137.1 170.31 171.20 172.12 290.9

abortions ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲉ 56.22 87.11 93.2.29.33 116.34 123.6.10.23 137.15.30 171.20 246.10.16

aeons (and see: new aeon) ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ 3.20 24.2.6 35.6 39.33 64.30.34 71.2 84.13 86.13 103.23.24 156.5.7 (162.33) 285.13

aeon ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ 84.11 103.22 <(165.24)>

aeons of glory ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ 20.31

aeons of greatness ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲩ 25.14 26.20 60.25 64.32 (66.18) 81.10.30 82.8 176.6 204.13.17 248.24 268.6 291.16

aeon of light ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 23.4 38.10.19 (158.32) 165.10

aeons of light ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 20.20 38.12.25 (ⲛⲉⲱⲛ).(33) 39.8 40.9 45.7 70.32 111.2.7 160.11 204.15 285.6.10

light aeons ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 4.16

blessed aeons ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ 39.33

first aeons ⲛⲯⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ 103.21

great aeon ⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ 47.14

great aeons ⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ 97.14

outer aeons ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲃⲁⲗ 81.27 82.25 152.11

fourteen great aeons ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲉϥⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ Ch. X

angels ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ Ch. L and 24.4.15.20 38.13.15.18.25 41.24 53.a 61.a 63.32 (66.10.19) 86.(2).9 102.1 114.24 118.11 135.31 193.25.29 194.4.6.7.11.(31) 225.10.29 228.1 241.3.6.30 242.22 243.6.17.19.23 244.10

angel ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 41.17 201.31

three great glorious angels ⲡⲯⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ 36.14-21

four angels ⲡϥⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 93.26 290.3

five angels (see: five intellectuals of darkness)

twenty-two angels ⲡⲥⲟⲩⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 289.32.33

thirty-six angels ⲡⲙⲁⲃⲧⲉⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 289.30

Apostle of Light (divine principle) ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 24.30 36.3

apostle (human) ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ passim

Beloved of Lights ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 34.29 43.33 (49.24) 76.20 82.7 126.27 273.21

great glorious Beloved ⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ 34.30

great honoured Beloved ⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲁⲓⲧ 82.7

conduit ϫⲓϩⲙⲉ Ch. XLVIII and Ch. XLIX and (215.24) 216.20.22

counsel of life (see: summons and obedience)

Cross of Light ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ Ch. LXXXV and 156.29 162.12 176.21 192.10 220.26 224.5 268.25

Cross ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ 124.9 176.12 177.30 191.25 278.15

Light Cross ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 164.27

dark fire ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲕⲉⲕⲉ 105.1

devil (see: enemy)

enemy ⲡϫⲁϫⲉ 38.15 39.9 63.11 73.8.20 (79.35) 80.2.12 82.12 etc.

death ⲡⲙⲟⲩ passim

devil ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ 156.33 222.31 223.2.6 264.11 272.10

enmity ⲧⲙⲛⲧϫⲁϫⲉ Ch. XXXVI and (4.8) 28.9 39.6 45.8 82.5.17 etc.

error ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ passim

evil one ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ 80.4

ⲡⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ 12.29

evil counsel ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲛⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲛ 29.23
counsel ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲛⲉ 68.29
Father (of Greatness) (see: King of Light)
Father of Life (see: Living Spirit)
fire and lust ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧϩⲏⲇⲟⲛⲏ 26.15.27 27.3.7 168.8 169.15
ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ 29.21 48.27
First Man ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ (4.6) 20.16.26 26.21.29 28.7 37.1 38.9.14.18.20.23.30 39.4.8.18.20.26.31 40.6 43.7.(34) 47.4 48.29.33 49.3.4.22 50.8.21.25.26.28 51.22.25 52.12 53.9 55.25.(32) 56.3.5.7 57.(2).5.20.22.23 58.7 60.19.20.23.25.(32) 62.23.26 67.23 69.28 71.1.4.7.(16).17 72.(8).19.29 76.27.29.32 77.1 79.23 80.3 82.4.14.34 84.8.14.25 85.24 102.24.36 126.31.(32) 129.6.8.(13).24 (131.12) 147.31 149.5.8 153.23 154.32 164.28 176.4 178.29 181.9 182.(4).8.10.12.15.19 254.13.22 262.26 264.18 266.1 272.4.22 273.2.13.22 275.5 285.23.25.27.28 286.8 291.9.10.14.16.18
Man ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ 40.2 71.4 79.27 84.11.12 85.11 102.23.26 154.29 176.5
blessed Man ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ 84.17.31
living Man ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 263.6
approved ⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲟⲥ 285.5
father ⲡⲓⲱⲧ 82.4 84.20.31 85.18 102.23 149.5 286.7.18
first-born ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲓⲥⲉ 40.13
only-begotten ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ 285.19
first righteous one ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ 285.12
glorious one ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ 72.29
son ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ 40.13 72.16
son of God ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 272.16
first Righteous One ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ 61.20
first light ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 234.22
five (dark) elements (see also: land of darkness) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟ/ⲱⲛ 26.6.8.9 30.18.19 48.6.25 58.15 74.18.20
elements ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟ/ⲱⲛ 69.13.21 129.15.18 130.23 131.4.6
five (light) elements ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲱⲛ 29.8 43.2 261.21.27
elements ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ 54.10 55.5 61.26 81.3 123.12 148.22 150.17 153.23 157.18 162.11 175.27.29 176.12 177.27 261.16 262.8 276.8
light elements ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 20.2
light element ⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 176.21
four elements ⲡϥⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ Ch. XCIV
living air / wind / light / water / fire ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ / ⲡⲧⲏⲩ / ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ / ⲡⲙⲁⲩ / ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ 37.7-11 126.31 - 127.23 175.29 - 176.1
air ⲡⲁⲏⲣ 104.9 265.19
fire ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ Ch. LXXIV and 153.28
wind ⲡⲧⲏⲩ 153.28
garments (of First Man) 126.31 - 127.23 131.11.20 150.17
garment of fire ⲧϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ 129.(8).10 206.33
garment of waters ⲧϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲛⲙⲙⲟⲩⲓⲉⲩⲉ Ch. LXI
five fathers (Father of Greatness / Third Ambassador / Jesus the Shining / Light Mind / Light Form) Ch. VII
(Ambassador / Beloved of Lights / Mother of life / Jesus the Beloved / Virgin of Light) Ch. XXV
five garments (see also: five elements / five intellectuals / five sons of First Man) ⲧϯⲉ ⲛϩⲃⲥⲱ 170.2 262.25
(five intellectuals of darkness)
consideration / counsel / insight / thought / mind ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ / ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲛⲉ / ⲧⲥⲃⲱ / ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ / ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ 21.29-34 95.20-23 96.15-21
five angels ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 95.23

five counsels ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ 58.15
five members of sin ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ 96.23.24
five intellectuals (of light) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲉⲣⲟⲛ 20.1 92.1 177.3
consideration / counsel / insight / thought / mind ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ / ⲡⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ / ⲧⲥⲃⲱ / ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ / ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ 20.12-20.24-31 64.23 76.20-23 85.1-2 91.20-31 92.12 - 93.19 95.17-19.20-23 96.13-20.22 - 97.7.26 - 99.17 (100.12)
great garments ⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲉⲃⲥⲱ/ⲉⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ 177.2-3
five members of soul ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ 95.24 96.22 - 97.7
five light members ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 64.21.25
storehouses ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ (64.22)
five members of body ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ 95.17 97.17
five sense organs (of darkness) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓⲥⲑⲏⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ 26.7.14
five sons of First Man ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ 24.25 25.26 43.2 49.22.32 51.26 (55.28) 69.18 71.13 72.20 76.32 84.26 102.36 103.1 (131.13) 148.1.(7).25 157.14 164.34 285.17
sons of Man ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ 89.8 263.4 290.6
garments of First Man (see also: five elements) ⲛⲉⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ 69.18.28 79.28 148.24 178.30
five gods ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ (71.17) (72.7) 290.6
five shining gods ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲣⲓⲱⲩ 69.28 (71.13) 95.16
gods ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 72.29
five shining men ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲙ ⲙⲡⲣⲓⲉ 85.34 88.15 89.8
two sons ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ 76.35 - 77.2
four sons ⲡⲫⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ 28.12
six sons ⲡⲥⲁⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ 92.4
five sons of Living Spirit (see: Adamant of Light / Keeper of Splendour / King of Glory / King of Honour / Porter) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉ 24.24 25.26 43.5 44.2 49.25.(34) 85.30 89.10 93.32 (95.12) 170.22
five gods ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 64.6 91.15
gods ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 72.32
five sleepless guardians ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲧⲛⲕⲁⲧⲉ 91.19
lords in the zone ⲍⲁⲓⲥ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ 94.13.23
one of sons ⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ 131.18
six sons ⲥⲁⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ 92.3
five trees ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲛ 122.8 288.7
trees ⲛⲱⲏⲛ 123.22 124.7.9.14 226.17
five shapes of trees ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲱⲏⲛ 30.20 121.15
five worlds of tree ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲱⲏⲛ 123.2-8
five unfolded ones (?) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲁⲡⲗⲱⲙⲁ 90.24
five worlds of flesh ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ 26.34 27.(7).10 48.19 121.21.22 123.2-9 177.18 178.9 266.14
fleshes ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ 123.23 124.18 224.1 226.17
fleshes of death ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ 274.10
five fleshes ⲧϯⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ 21.16 122.8 151.31
five genera of creatures ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲥⲱⲛⲧ 30.21
mankind / four-footed animals / birds / fish / reptiles ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ / ⲛⲧⲃⲛⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲫⲟⲩⲟⲣⲁ / ⲛⲉⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉ / ⲛⲧⲃⲧ / ⲛⲍⲉⲧⲫⲉ 91.1-5
creations of flesh ⲛⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ ⲛⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ 121.29.30 164.15
five powers of darkness ⲧϯⲉ ⲛⲑⲁⲙ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 89.6.8
garments ⲛⲉⲃⲥⲁⲩⲉ Ch. LXXII and passim
giants (see: watchers)
God (of truth) (see: King of Light)
gods of light ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 15.9
gods ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ Ch. L and 24.4.14.19 38.13.15.18.24 41.23 53.5 63.32 66.9

(86.9) 89.24.25 etc
gods of glory ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ 73.18
angels (see: angels)
children of living ones ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 195.19
divine ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 40.20 42.7 156.2.8
emanations ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲏ/ⲁⲩⲉ 34.27 35.4 73.20 82.2 126.11
evocations ⲛⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ Ch. L and 35.20
fathers ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲉ passim
lights ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 35.4.8 etc.
powers ⲛⲥⲁⲙ passim
rich ones ⲛⲣⲙⲙⲁⲁⲓ Ch. L and 24.4.(15).20 63.32 66.9 73.19 103.24
sons of light ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 58.2.4.5
Great Builder ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲧ 44.3 49.24 72.31 (79.33) 82.9 87.1 118.10 273.21
first architect ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲓⲧⲉⲕⲧⲱⲛ 118.10
glorious ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ 44.3 82.9
great fire ⲧⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲉ 29.9.13 52.17 54.13 75.22 (102.33) 104.4 105.26 251.21
Great Spirit (see: Mother of Life)
great thought ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲉ 155.22
holy spirit (Christian trinity) ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ 288.8.14
Holy Spirit (see: Light Mind / Mother of Life / Paraclete)
Jesus Splendour (and see: Jesus (apostle)) ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲡⲣⲓⲉ 20.4 25.30 28.26 35.13.19 49.29 50.3 53.18.28 61.17 64.2 72.34 80.(18).22 82.20.33 (152.7) 263.12 276.4.8.14
Jesus ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅/ⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩⲥ 35.23.24 36.3.29 37.26 59.19 93.31 94.3.8 152.15 155.23 264.1
Jesus Beloved ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ (76.21)
beloved Christ ⲡⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ 182.20
blessed Christ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ 179.10 183.3
deliverer / releaser ⲡⲣⲉϥϣⲱⲗ 44.6 82.21
father of all apostles ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 20.4 80.19
glorious ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ 20.4 35.13.19
glorious one ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ 59.19.23 155.23 263.12
redeemer ⲡⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲉ 82.21
saviour ⲥ̅ⲏ̅ⲣ̅ 53.31
son of greatness ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲥ 36.31 37.27
Jesus Youth ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ 61.27 92.7
Youth ⲡⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ 35.28 289.29
image of living word ⲧϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲥⲉⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 92.8
Judge in atmosphere ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ 80.30
Judge ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ 117.24.26 235.4.6.11
Judge of truth ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ 83.5 288.17
great Judge ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ 35.25
Keeper of Splendour ⲡⲫⲉⲩⲅⲟⲕⲁⲧⲟⲭⲟⲥ 91.20 92.12.19 93.20.22 170.24 171.12 172.7
King of Darkness (see also: king of smoke / enemy / Satan) ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ (30.33) 31.24.(33) 137.9
King of realms of Darkness ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 26.19 29.19 31.2.28 32.1.14 33.2 51.23 (52.13) 55.27 58.8
King of mountains of Darkness ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲧⲟⲩⲓⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 32.32
chief ⲡⲁⲛⲍⲱⲍ 32.31 69.23 77.26
leader ⲡⲣⲉϥⲍⲁⲧⲙⲁⲓⲧ 88.12
ruler ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ 69.23 77.26 79.2
spirit of King of realms of Darkness ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 33.5
spirit of darkness ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 29.35

dark spirit ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲇ̄ ⲛⲕⲉⲕⲉ 27.14
(great) King of Glory ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲧ 91.27 93.9 113.31 171.4.21 172.16
(great) King of Honour ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓⲟ 80.5 81.11 (82.26) 83.3 87.32.(34) 88.2.13.20 (89.15) 91.23 92.24 93.24 170.27.28 171.17 172.10
King of Light ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 5.18
Father ⲡⲓⲱⲧ (5.18) 12.28 16.4.30 19.30 20.19.30 23.32 25.13 34.28.31 43.15 49.29 63.10.28 66.10 70.14.17.27 71.22.24.(30) 73.8.18.22 74.1 76.(17).19.24 79.15 81.9 103.6.11.28 147.25 148.10.20 151.20 181.4.(5).6 259.8 265.3 271.17.21 272.1.13.14.23.29 274.14.15.20.29 277.18 285.17
Father of Greatness ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ 34.21 49.15 63.23.24.27.29 64.14.20 68.33 (70.31) 71.20 72.28 (73.1) (79.22) 103.31 156.1 163.4 272.18
Father of lights ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 40.11 43.27
first Father ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲓⲱⲧ Ch. VII and 43.19 64.20 70.17
glorious Father ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ 34.26
great Father ⲡⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲓⲱⲧ 66.23
God ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 19.8 31.32 34.18 42.9 47.27 74.3 98.29 101.1 142.29 180.24 183.22 188.12.27 189.8.9.12.15. 194.24 196.26 201.29 209.10.14 217.3.5.8 221.29 222.1.30 223.7.14 224.13.24.30 229.6 230.27 231.20.27 232.10.21.23 265.3 267.6.10.16.23 287.1.4.22.25.28 288.13 293.11 295.3
God of truth ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ 20.30 23.32 25.13 38.33 39.32 41.1.10 81.29 100.10 151.20 181.4 217.16 (287.17)
single God ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ 5.16
greatness ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ passim
great greatness ⲧⲛⲁϭ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ 162.27
Judge ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ 79.19.21 81.8
King of aeons ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ 81.30
King of lights ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 35.8 43.32 51.21
great King ⲡⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ 69.27 (75.3)
Lord of all ⲡⲥⲁⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ 40.10 156.6 267.10
root of all lights ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 35.3
established one ⲡⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧϥ 63.10
first established one ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧϥ 63.28 70.14.28 272.1.14 273.24
first eternal ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲱⲁⲁⲛⲏϩⲉ 34.24 35.3
exalted one ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲥⲉ 217.11
first only begotten ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲟⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ 34.23
first power ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛϭⲁⲙ 35.2
King of world of Smoke ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲡⲛⲟⲥ 30.25
ruler of Smoke ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲡⲛⲟⲥ (31.12)
King of world of Water ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲩ 33.25
spirit of King ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲇ̄ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ 33.29
King of worlds of Wind ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲧⲏⲩ 33.18
spirit ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲇ̄ 33.21.22
King of world of Darkness ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 33.33
spirit ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲇ̄ 34.2.5
King of worlds of Fire ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ 33.9
spirit of King ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲇ̄ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ 33.13.16
land of darkness ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 30.14.18 31.11 32.33 48.2.16.24 49.3 (55.33) 67.33 68.7 100.13 129.(15).27.(30) 155.18.20 156.21 169.13 181.24 (272.26)
world of darkness ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 39.14 57.3.5
worlds of darkness ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ (26.13) 82.6 178.28 254.13 272.8 285.9.10.18
dark earth ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲕⲉⲕⲉ 105.22
land of death ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲧ 26.23 (67.11) 154.20
root of death ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲧ 155.21

worlds of enmity ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧⲁⲁⲁⲉ 87.29
storehouses ⲛⲧⲁⲙ(ⲉ)ⲓⲟⲛ 74.17 129.18.23.25.27.(30) 130.15.18.20.(22) 131.3.6 164.31
storehouses of abyss ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ 68.22
five storehouses ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ 28.8 30.13.17 155.19
five bodies (gold / copper / iron / silver / lead and tin: Ch. VI) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ 30.16.23 34.10 (95.15)
five creations ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ 77.28 78.2
five kings (see: kings of smoke / fire / wind / water / darkness) ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ 30.23
five rulers ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ 30.15
five spirits (of principalities and authorities / sects of fire / idolatry / water / oracles: Ch. VI) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ (26.9) 30.15.23 34.9
five tastes (salty / sour / sharp / sweetness / bitterness: Ch. VI) ⲧϯⲉ ⲛϯⲡⲉ 30.16.(23)
five trees ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲯⲏⲛ 48.15 (58.16) 74.20.22.23
trees ⲛⲯⲏⲛ 69.15
five worlds and dark elements (smoke / fire / wind / water / darkness) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ Ch. XXVII and 30.22 31.2 32.2 48.(8).15.18 58.9 68.17 69.14 74.29.(33) 167.22 - 168.7 169.10.13
land of light ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ (13.33) (69.3) 235.4 (279.29)
ⲡⲕⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 38.13 (39.34) 56.4 65.16 66.9.(36) (72.31) 126.9 218.20.24.(32) 221.3
great land of light ⲡⲛⲁϩ ⲛⲕⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 23.33
light land ⲡⲕⲁⲗ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ (49.16) 56.32 (61.28) 69.26 (180.32)
worlds of light ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 58.21
land of first essence ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲧⲯⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ 178.22
land of glory ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ 11.16
glorious land ⲡⲕⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ 156.2
land of greatness ⲡⲕⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϩ (61.31) 65.17 71.26
land of life ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ 235.30 280.1
land of living ones ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 67.22 212.32 224.30 227.26 228.2 230.18 231.11 240.9
land of rest ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲧⲁⲛ 195.18 217.19 234.8 272.29 280.1
land of tranquillity and peace ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲥϭⲣⲁϩⲧ ⲙⲛ ϯⲣⲏⲛⲉⲓ 149.19 292.20.24
land that shines ⲡⲕⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲧⲣⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 75.2
house of living ones ⲡⲏⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 67.24
kingdom ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ (3.17) 13.31 30.33 39.11 etc.
kingdom of life ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ 37.25
kingdom of light ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 223.12
place of rest and joy ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲉ 274.11
Last Statue ⲡⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ ⲛϩⲁⲉ 29.4 54.15.19 62.20 71.16 75.24 81.6 (86.12) 102.34 104.5.12 150.4.9 165.8.10
Statue ⲡⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ 55.21 56.28 57.17.26 (63.6) (71.8) 149.30 150.1.11
Light Form ⲧⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 36.10.12.19 41.11.13.21
redeemer ⲡⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲉ 41.20
Light Mind ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 35.21 36.1 40.24.32 41.8 44.11 45.32 64.8 80.33 89.19.22 90.1.13 94.20 95.2 (96.8) 97.(22).24 98.11 99.22.24.(32) 100.1.16 142.12.16.28 143.5.13.32 148.12 172.3 182.20 201.9 215.2 232.6.7 240.5 245.10.15 249.16 255.23.27 256.6 257.10.(28) 269.20
Mind ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ 24.18 89.35 94.26 99.13.28 156.11 176.3 208.5.6 213.31 216.19 229.29 234.22 256.21 257.31 258.12 289.28
great Mind ⲡⲛⲁϩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲥ 82.22 92.5

Mind of truth ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ 79.9
Holy Spirit ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ 143.29.32 189.30 190.2.3.6
King over totality ⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲍⲙ ⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ 97.22
awakener ⲡⲣⲉϥⲛⲉⲣⲥⲉ 44.11
father of all apostles ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 35.22
gatherer ⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧϥ 44.12
light image ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 234.7
living soul (see: five sons of First Man) ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϥ Ch. LXXII and 29.19.21 77.3 84.10.15.16 85.4 87.28 104.10 105.24 124.4 151.28 152.15 156.30 162.9.18 172.26 191.16.26 204.6 (209.31) 210.24 211.24 218.10.22 232.5 233.11 236.14.20 237.28 238.11 239.2 245.1 260.7.14.21 270.11 273.28 274.4.9.17 277.8.14 279.19.21.27 280.10 291.20
soul ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ 84.8.27.34 85.12.17 260.16 (274.1)
living limb ⲡⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϥ 270.8
Living Spirit ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϥ (4.17) 24.12 26.30 27.11 29.4 39.20 40.6 43.6 (44.1) 49.24 50.23.26 51.20 (52.11) 53.(9).14 54.22 56.2.8 58.20.25.27 60.21.27 62.5 72.32 77.8 79.26 82.13.31 83.20 85.21.22 86.8.22 89.3 91.18 102.25 107.18.20 108.15 113.30 122.19 123.11 129.14 131.14.18.27 143.25 149.14 177.22 (181.16) 182.3.(10).12.18 254.22 272.20.21.27.30 273.22
demiurge ⲡⲁⲏⲙⲓⲟⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ 167.6
Father of Life ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϥ 39.13.(25) 40.1 44.1 52.7 56.2 57.21.30 60.28 102.26 111.21.27 112.25 114.3 116.8.14 117.19 118.34 120.29 122.19 123.32 (131.22) 132.6.22 (136.25) 291.19
Father of living ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϥ 291.10.12
great constructor ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ 167.7
great craftsman ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲧⲉⲭⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ 167.15
lump ⲡⲃⲱⲗⲟⲥ 21.35 22.15 57.18 76.5.8 105.6.32 (260.23)
tomb ⲡⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ 75.27 105.33
Matter ⲧⲫⲩⲗⲏ 22.32 26.11.18 27.(5).16 31.10.15 74.15 75.7 78.22 116.18 122.26 124.28.29 129.11 130.16 131.5 137.24 138.7 172.13 178.25 180.(15).23 262.5
mother ⲧⲙⲉⲧ (27.6) 78.22
sin ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ passim
thought of death ⲧⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲩ 26.18 27.5 31.10 (67.31) 74.15 98.24 (129.11) 180.16
Mind (see: Light Mind)
moon ⲡⲟⲟϥ 162.25 168.10 169.17.22 193.1 218.16 259.30
light-giver ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ 113.20 (193.1) 199.23 204.12 218.16.19.25 231.21 233.28 245.4 259.30
light-giver of night ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲯⲏ 181.14
light ship/s ⲡⲍⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 59.28 147.32 151.25 172.26 181.29 226.12
ships of light ⲛ(ⲉ)ⲍⲏⲩ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 117.19 132.26 152.12 273.17
ship of First Man ⲡⲍⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲯⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ 37.1
ship of night ⲡⲍⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲯⲏ 20.27 82.32 226.13
ship of living waters ⲡⲍⲁⲓ ⲛⲙⲙⲟⲩⲓⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϥ 20.16 (24.16) 47.4 64.3
ship/s ⲛⲉⲍⲉⲩ/ⲛⲉⲍⲏⲩ 15.8 24.19 83.1 85.29 87.2.5 110.(19).20 162.25 223.29 293.23 294.19
Mother of Life ⲧⲙⲟ/ⲙⲉⲩ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϥ 24.13 38.20.22 39.3 43.29 49.21 53.10 56.8 57.21.(31) 60.28 70.16 71.20.29 72.3 76.21 79.29 82.1 131.14 147.26 271.30 272.6.13.21.24 273.8.12 291.9.11.19
Mother ⲧⲙⲟ 71.5
Mother of living ⲧⲙⲟ/ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϥ 39.25 40.1 56.11 (118.34)
first Mother ⲧⲯⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲙⲉⲩ 34.28
first Holy Spirit ⲡⲯⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ 43.29
glorious ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ 82.1

Great Spirit ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ 24.1 34.27 49.21 (53.10) 70.27 71.25 72.5.28 77.5 79.29 82.31 102.27 126.25 271.30 273.20
new aeon ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲃⲣⲣⲉ 40.16 77.21 79.34 82.10 86.16 87.1 103.2-10.22 118.9.11 151.1 259.22
aeon of glory and joy ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲣⲉϣⲉ 86.17
new earth ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲃⲣⲣⲉ 103.2-10 104.31.35 155.17 181.21
new man ⲡⲣⲙ ⲛⲃⲣⲣⲉ 96.22 - 97.7.19 172.3 215.4 240.4 249.19 257.28 269.19.22 270.1.5.7.22
old man ⲡⲣⲙ ⲛⲉⲥ 27.18.19.20 89.27.29 94.19 97.15 201.20 221.15 249.19 269.23
Paraclete ⲡⲡⲣⲕⲗⲧⲥ 14.5.7.8 15.20 16.19.30
Paraclete of truth ⲡⲡⲣⲕⲗⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ 14.18
living Paraclete ⲡⲡⲣⲕⲗⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 14.32
Spirit ⲡⲡⲛⲁ 16.19
Spirit of truth ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ 14.5
Holy Spirit ⲡⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲃⲁⲃⲉ 13.8 104.17
Perfect Man (see: Pillar of Glory)
Pillar of Glory ⲡⲥⲧⲱⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ (19.35) 20.15 (24.22) (25.23) 35.10 37.3 (44.5) 46.32 49.27 64.5 72.35 84.29 92.6 93.21 155.11 176.4 177.40
Pillar ⲡⲥⲧⲱⲗⲟⲥ 84.32
great Pillar of blessing ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲥⲧⲱⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ 35.11
great porter ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ (25.23) 35.12
first of porters ϩⲟⲧⲓⲧ ⲛⲛⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ 44.4
first of weight-carriers ϩⲟⲧⲓⲧ ⲛⲛⲃⲁⲓⲉⲧⲡⲱ 155.14
Perfect Man ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲕ 20.15 24.23 35.10 37.3 75.8 92.6 155.11 177.4 181.11
Porter ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ 86.25 90.30.31 91.31 93.16 94.7 113.24 170.11.12 171.7.8.23.25 172.19 177.12.13.25 181.19 243.16 290.21
rulers ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ 32.8 33.1.11.26.29.34 (35.16) etc
authorities ⲛⲉϫⲟⲧⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲥ passim
children of darkness ⲛϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 28.11 164.30.31
demons ⲛⲁⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ 41.15 69.23 (74.28.30) 77.32 (78.22) 161.16 186.14 211.16 243.8 267.15 272.10
emanations ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲁⲗⲁⲧⲉ 68.21
fiends ⲛⲓϩ 32.32 74.31 78.23 161.16 267.15
powers ⲛⲑⲁⲙ 26.19.22 27.1 30.31 31.21.28 32.8.20.24 35.16 etc.
rebels ⲛⲃⲉϫⲉⲧⲉ 45.8 59.20 85.4 116.26 268.16 286.3
ruling-power ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧⲓⲕⲏ 26.13 53.7 59.8.15.24 60.24 61.10 110.36 116.27 118.18.21.30 120.9 124.3 131.15 147.28 172.17 186.14 191.15
satans ⲛⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ 267.15
sons of darkness ⲛϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 58.3.5.6 60.6
evil spirits ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲧ 99.14 287.13
Saklas ⲥⲁⲕⲗⲁⲥ 137.13.15
ruler ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ 138.1
Satan ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ 12.30 19.2 21.19.36 159.1
sea giant ⲡⲧⲓⲧⲁⲥ ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ Ch. XLIV and 116.7 122.24 123.20 136.24
(seven planets)
seven leaders ⲥⲁϣⲩ ⲛⲣⲉϥϩⲁⲧⲙⲁⲓⲧ 120.12
stars (five) ⲡϯⲟⲧ ⲛⲥⲓⲟⲧ Ch. LXIX and 35.27 58.23 88.11 90.26 114.5.14.19 118.1.16.32 119.17 121.33.35 122.6.15 123.8 131.25 145.1 157.24 162.31 (173.30) 177.10 215.7 (254.29) 255.2
summons and obedience ⲡⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ 25.28 35.30 37.5-7 43.3 50.2 54.(9).25 55.5 59.30 61.26.30 63.3 81.2 92.2-3 178.2 181.17 182.2 259.32 - 260.1 263.2.4.14.30 290.7-8 291.7.14.24

summons / answer ⲡⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ/ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ 176.1-2 291.6-7
utterance and obedience ⲡⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ 92.8
answer ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃ 182.(9).15 263.1
obedience ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ 254.21
summons ⲡⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ 39.13.17 84.6.10 85.34 182.2.7.8 254.12.16 263.1
counsel ⲡⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ 54.25
counsel of life ⲡⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ 29.2 55.4 59.29 63.2 81.2 176.22 178.2
great counsel ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ 28.35 54.10 61.29
sun ⲡⲣⲏ Ch. LXV and Ch. LXVI and 4.15 24.9 112.7 125.20 165.28 166.4 168.9 169.17.20 193.1 218.16 259.30
light-giver ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ 113.20 159.8.16 160.16 163.15 165.17.26.29 (193.1) 199.23 204.12 218.16.19.25 231.21 233.28 245.4 259.30
ships of light ⲛⲉϩⲏⲧ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 117.19 132.26 152.12
light ship ⲡϩⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 25.21 28.22 36.34 63.35 87.28 151.25 172.26 181.29
ship of day ⲡϩⲁⲓ ⲙⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ 20.29 77.4 82.29 102.29 181.13
ship of living fire ⲡϩⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 20.18 24.10 63.35
ship/s ⲛⲉϩⲉⲩ/ⲛⲉϩⲏⲧ 15.8 24.15 76.28 83.1 85.29 87.2.5 110.(19).20 162.23.24 223.29 293.23 294.19 293.23 294.19
Third Ambassador ⲡⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ 4.34 20.17 24.11 25.20 28.16 (34.32) 35.8 43.31 45.1 49.26 52.20.32 56.15 57.24.27 59.3.(22) 61.(8).16 63.34 76.27 77.11 80.10 82.18 (87.9) 117.15 (132.29) 135.15 273.32 274.21
Ambassador ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ 20.28 36.35 43.15 56.19.27 (57.16) 63.2 72.34 76.20 80.20 82.30 86.7.32.(34) 87.16.17 91.18 92.1.5.17 93.12 102.29 117.11 122.25.28 126.29 133.(12).21 135.8 137.20.21.25 138.(8).13 155.12 158.2.4.8 164.9 171.14 176.5 177.5 179.1 246.28 249.8 274.6.12.29 275.23
exalted one ⲡⲡⲉⲧϩⲁⲥⲉ 134.5.11 135.29 138.4.11.19 157.7 158.20
father of aeons ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ 43.17
glorious ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ 102.29 126.29 155.12
king ⲟⲩⲣⲣⲟ 43.19
great king ⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ 132.28
king in this world ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ϩⲙ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ 43.31
king of zone ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ 82.18
purifier ⲡⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧϥ 5.5
three images (corporeal, psychic and spiritual) ⲧϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ Ch. CXIV
three vessels (water, darkness and fire) ⲡϣⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲛϩⲓⲟⲣⲉ Chs. XLII, XLIII, CXIII and 58.24 113.35 114.3 115.8 116.2.4
vessels ⲙⲙⲁⲛϩⲓⲟⲣⲉ 86.30
three wheels ⲡϣⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ (see also: five (light) elements) Ch. XXX and 93.10 113.32 171.5.24 172.16
fire / water / wind ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ / ⲡⲙⲁⲩ / ⲡⲧⲏⲩ 83.21-22 91.28-29 93.15 94.3.4 107.21 111.32 113.23-24 115.21 171.24 177.22
three garments ⲧϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛϩⲃⲥⲱ Ch. XXX and 107.20.23 108.15.29 111.32 149.15.24 177.21 290.16
garment of water ⲧϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲩ 106.16
garment of wind ⲧϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲙⲡⲧⲏⲩ 108.20
garment of fire ⲧϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ 108.24
images and clothes ⲛϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛϣⲧⲏⲛ 176.20 177.20
three images ⲧϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ 91.28
three powers ⲧϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛⲑⲁⲙ 113.23
wheels ⲛⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ 87.3
three words of life ⲡϣⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲥⲉϩⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ 111.13
tomb (see: lump)
twelve great rich Gods ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛⲛⲁⲟ ⲛⲣⲙⲙⲁⲟ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 25.16

twelve virgins ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϩⲥⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ 25.22
twelve wisdoms ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϩⲥⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ 25.32 64.25
twelve light-limbs ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϩⲥ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲟϩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 64.24
(twelve) zodiacal signs ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϩⲥ ⲛⲍⲱⲇⲓⲟⲛ Ch. LXIX and 27.16 48.35 90.26 114.14.19 115.12 118.1.3 120.12 122.7.15 123.8 145.1.9 157.24 173.20 - 175.4 215.7 254.30 255.2
twelve sects ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϩⲥ ⲛⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ 27.15 49.7
twelve spirits ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ 27.14.20 48.34.35
Twin (see: Paraclete)
Counterpart ⲡⲥⲁⲓⲱ 36.6
two ascendants ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲃⲓⲃⲁⲍⲱⲛ ⲥⲛⲉϩ 168.7.13 169.14
Virgin of Light ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟϩⲁⲓⲛⲉ (24.19) 35.15 44.9 72.34 76.22 80.26 (82.34) 84.19.20 172.22 240.26 241.20 244.11
Virgin ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ 242.3.16.25
glorious ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲉⲁϩ 35.15
wisdom ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ 35.15 44.8
virgin of light (soul of First Man) ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟϩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 58.12 84.19.20 85.7
light virgin ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲟϩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 84.33
virgin of light (perfection of soul) ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲟϩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 270.21
light virgin ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟϩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 269.34 - 270.24
hour of life ⲧⲟϩⲛⲟϩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ 270.23
watchers ⲛⲉⲅⲣⲏⲅⲟⲣⲟⲥ 92.27 93.24.26 117.2 171.17
giants ⲛⲅⲓⲅⲁⲥ 117.5.(8)
wheel (of King of Honour) ⲡⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ Ch. XXXVI

APOSTLES

Adam ⲁⲇⲁⲙ Ch. LXIV and 12.11 15.11.13 42.29 54.5.7 56.23.26 (59.28) 93.2.30.34 133.6.15 134.4 135.23.28 136.17 137.17.22 138.11.17.21 144.14.17.23 145.26 146.25 179.6.8 268.2
enlightener ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ 158.1
Aurentes ⲁⲩⲣⲉⲛⲧⲏⲥ 12.15.17
Buddha ⲃⲟⲩⲇⲁⲁⲥ 7.34 8.6 12.15.17
disciples ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ passim
associates in the mystery ⲙⲯⲃⲣⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ 51.14 104.24 128.11.15
Enoch ⲉⲛⲱϫ 12.12
Enosh ⲉⲛⲱⲯ 12.11
Eve ⲉⲧⲣⲏⲁ 54.5.6 (56.23) 93.3.30 94.4.(9) 133.15 (134.4) 135.23.28 136.17 137.17.22 138.11.18.21 146.25 147.4 157.23 268.2
Jesus (see also: Jesus Splendour) ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ 7.(18).22 12.32 13.11 14.21 (17.4) 56.24 101.28 267.23.28
Jesus Christ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ 12.19.21
Christ ⲡⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ/ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ (258.31) 264.10 271.25
blessed Christ ⲡⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ 117.31
father 190.4
father of all apostles ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 101.29
(Mani's) father 259.14
second man ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ 264.19
master ⲡⲥⲁⲓⲥ (13.13)
my master ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲓⲥ 19.12
our master ⲡⲛⲥⲁⲓⲥ 12.21 13.32 21.24

saviour ⲡⲥ̄ⲱ̄ⲣ̄/ⲡⲥ̄ⲏ̄ⲣ̄ 13.22 14.3.6 19.3.24 35.31 58.18 163.27 189.17.20 (201.29) 210.31 223.3 229.10
son ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ 271.25
beloved son ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ 287.29 288.7.14
son of God ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 13.1
son of living God ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 267.24
son of greatness ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ 12.20 101.28
Mani ⲡⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ Ch. LXXVI and 17.21 259.6
single Mani ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ Ch. LXXVI and 100.23
apostle ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ passim
apostle of greatness ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ 17.21
apostle of truth ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲏⲉ 34.16
(our) enlightener ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ 23.17 25.11 30.17 34.16 42.32 43.25 45.19 46.16 47.26 (49.13) 58.4 63.22 84.9.13 85.22 86.22.34 87.17 89.3 106.24.32 112.24 (113.29) 118.16 120.23 122.5 123.16.29 125.8.28 126.24 (127.26) 129.7 131.12 137.14.23 138.6.20 141.14 142.2 144.1 144.15 145.5 146.8.16.25 147.18.23 173.21 175.28 183.27 184.1 191.11 192.6 202.10 213.26 (216.34) 219.17 234.30 235.18 246.12 248.22 268.30 269.17 (270.31) 288.21 291.4
our light enlightener ⲡⲛⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 183.14
our father ⲡⲛⲓⲱⲧ 34.16 46.20 60.16 102.20 176.30 188.25 231.3 244.17 286.26
our light father ⲡⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 126.32
their father ⲡⲟⲩⲓⲱⲧ 286.22
glorious one ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ 133.7.21 201.2
lord ⲕ̄ⲥ̄ 183.11 250.12
man of light ⲡⲣⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 36.30
my master ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ 144.16 146.17 147.19 188.20 (194.26) 196.28 197.17 200.6 204.29 205.15 208.16 213.16.27 214.27 219.5 221.12 223.22 224.10 228.9.13 248.20 249.34 252.4 253.20 262.15 271.1.10 280.17.25 281.3 290.32
our master ⲡⲛϫⲁⲓⲥ 16.26 17.3.21 42.28.31 44.24 112.19 123.16.25 125.3.33 155.2 167.2.10 183.13.16.28 201.8 231.12.29 243.12 267.21 282.12.(24)
Paraclete ⲡⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲕⲗ̄ⲥ̄ 16.30
spirit ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ 16.19
single spirit ⲟⲩⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ 15.24
teacher ⲡⲥⲁϩ 221.20 234.21 286.22
Noah ⲛⲱϩⲉ (12.12)
Paul ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ 13.(19).26 19.7
apostle ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ 229.11
Sem ⲥⲏⲙ 12.12
Sethel ⲥⲏⲑⲏⲗ 12.10 42.26.29.(34) 43.11 145.27
Zarathustra ⲍⲁⲣⲁⲇⲏⲥ 7.31 12.17.19
enlightener ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ 7.27

PROPER NAMES

Adiabene ⲁⲇⲓⲃ 16.1
Ardashir ⲁⲣⲧⲁϫⲟⲟⲥ 14.29.31 15.24.(27)
Artabanus ⲁⲣⲧⲁⲃⲁⲛⲏⲥ 14.28
Assyrians ⲛⲁⲥⲥⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ 186.26 187.11.17
Aurades son of [Kap]elos ⲁⲩⲣⲁⲇⲏⲥ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ[ⲕⲁⲡ]ⲏⲗⲟⲥ 183.26-7
Axumites ⲉϫⲱⲙⲓⲧⲏⲥ 189.3
Babylon ⲧⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ 15.30 186.25 (187.9) 189.1 288.22
Babylonian ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ 144.15 146.9.16
Baptists ⲛⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ 44.25
Christians ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ 258.9
Hystaspes ⲩⲥⲧⲁⲥⲡⲏⲥ 7.28 12.18
India ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲟⲩ 184.27 185.4.15
Indians ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟⲩ 15.25.29
Jews ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓⲟⲥ 12.27.30.32.34 19.3
Judas Iscariot ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲡⲓⲥⲕⲁⲣⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ 12.31 19.4
Ktesiphon ⲕⲧⲏⲥⲓⲫⲱⲛ 183.15
Magi ⲙⲙⲁⲅⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓⲟⲥ 252.1.9.11
Manichaeans ⲙⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ (271.15)
Medes ⲙⲙⲏⲇⲟⲥ 187.17.20.22
Mesene ⲧⲙⲁⲓⲥ/ϫⲁⲛⲟⲥ 15.30 186.7
Nazorean ⲡⲛⲁϫⲟⲣⲉⲩⲥ/ⲁⲓⲟⲥ Ch. LXXXIX
Parthia ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲓⲁ 14.29
Parthians ⲛⲡⲁⲣⲑⲟⲥ 5.25 16.1 187.17.20.22
Persia ⲧⲡⲉⲣⲥⲓⲥ 7.28.30 12.18 14.30 15.30 16.1 185.(15).17.22 186.6 189.1
Persians ⲛⲡⲉⲣⲥⲏⲥ 15.29
Purified ones ⲛⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ 44.27
Romans ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ 16.2 189.2
Shapur ⲥⲁⲡⲱⲣⲏⲥ 15.28.31 152.25.26 183.15.17.19.21.24.32
Silis ⲥⲓⲗⲉⲱⲥ 189.4
Simon the leper ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲱⲍⲓⲧ (264.13)
Susiana ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ/ⲡⲕⲁⲉ ⲛⲟϫⲉⲟⲥ 15.31
Tigris ⲧⲓⲕⲣⲓⲥ 152.28.29 153.14.19 154.1.27

MANICHAEAN SCRIPTURES

(Great) Gospel ⲡⲛⲁⲍ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ 5.23 153.31
Kephalaia ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ passim
Book of Mysteries ⲡⲧⲁ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲱⲛ 5.24
Picture (- *Book*) ⲧⲉⲓⲕⲱⲛ Ch. XCII
Prayer of Sethel Ch. X
Prayers ⲛⲱⲗⲏ 5.26
Psalms ⲙⲯⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ 5.26
Treasury of Life ⲑⲏⲥⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ 5.23 230.8.21
Treatise ⲧⲡⲣⲁⲅⲙⲁⲧⲉⲓⲁ 5.24
Mani's *Epistles* ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ 5.25
Mani's *Writing* (for Parthians) ⲧⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ 5.25

CITATIONS

Deut. 17:2-5 (159.4)
Mt. 3:10 (58.18-19)
Mt. 6:21 (200.3-4 210.31-32 223.3-4 229.3 234.9)
Mt.10:42 (189.6-7.13-14.18-19)
Mt. 18:10 (201.30-31)
Mt. 21:22 (183.7-8)
Mk.12:36 (40.13-14)
Lk. 6:43-44 (17.5-9)
Lk. 22:3 (19.2)
Jn. 3:19 (184.11-12 185.12-13)
Jn. 8:38 (35.32-34)
Jn. 15:7 (183.7-8)
Jn. 15:13 (156.15-16)
Jn. 16:7-9 + ff (14.7-11)
Jn. 16:24 (183.7-8)
I Cor. 7:29-31 (229.10-15)
I Cor. 15:9 (19.7-8)
Phil. 2:7 (12.25 61.21)
Ev. Thom. log. 5 (163.28-29)

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THE EDITED COPTIC MANICHAEAN TEXTS IN TRANSLATION WITH COMMENTARY

BY

IAIN GARDNER



E.J. BRILL
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1995

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To Carole

CONTENTS

Preface ix

Introduction: xi
Manichaeology and the Religion of Mani xi
Manichaeism in Egypt xv
The Medinet Madi Library xvii
The Kephalaia of the Teacher xix
The *Kephalaia* as Text xxi
Summary of the Doctrine xxiv
The Manichaean Ethic and its Practice in the Church xxxiii

Comments on the Translation xxxvii
Abbreviations xxxix
Select Bibliography xl

The Kephalaia of the Teacher: 1
Conspectus Siglorum 2
List of Kephalaia 3
Translation and Commentaries 10

Indices: 295
The Light and the Darkness 295
Apostles 304
Proper Names 306
Manichaean Scriptures 306
Citations 307

PREFACE

This volume provides an English translation, together with commentary, of the presently edited Coptic text of the *Kephalaia;* as established primarily by A. Böhlig and H.-J. Polotsky in the 1930's and early 1940's. This is but part of a single codex of the Medinet Madi library of Manichaean writings, the entirety of which codex is considerably greater than will be found here. The editorial process still continues. Work on a second *Kephalaia* codex from the same find has hardly begun. There is also Iranian kephalaic material. Thus I am conscious of the limitations of what is presented here as an entry into the fantastic worlds of Mani and his followers in their search for the God of truth.

My own fascination with this text began in the latter 1970's as I prepared for a doctoral dissertation on the Christology of Manichaeism at the University of Manchester. At that time I attempted rough translations both as a means to understand the doctrine, and as an exercise in the language. At the beginning of this present decade S.N.C. Lieu was kind enough to remember our struggles as graduate students, and wrote to me wondering if I would be willing to revise some of these drafts for a collaborative volume containing Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire. I somewhat arbitrarily set myself to the task of a hundred plus pages from the *Kephalaia,* but rapidly discarded my youthful exercises. Towards the completion of this initial stage Dr. Lieu introduced me to D. Montserrat with the suggestion that we might work together on the complete edited text, and Dr. Montserrat began to prepare drafts of chapters on which I had not yet worked.

In 1992 Dr. Montserrat visited me in Australia, and we enjoyed the opportunity to develop ideas for the volume and to work together on first drafts of difficult sections. Since then other commitments have forced Dominic to withdraw from the collaboration, but I take this opportunity to thank him for his many fine suggestions, and to acknowledge the occasions that his phrasing may have influenced the final version. Similarly I thank Samuel Lieu, and acknowledge that phrasing from collaborative work appears in the introductory material.

However, sole responsibility for the published text is my own.

Now, in 1994, I have again worked through every line. As each reading has brought more light, so I become more aware of the impossibility of the translator's task. However, it is apparent that the density and complexity of this text have proved a barrier to the study of Manichaeism, particularly in the anglophone world. My hope here is to have rendered more accessible the greatest and most detailed of the available primary sources, and thus to encourage future work that will in time supersede my own.

I thank Edith Cowan University for the use of resources and the help of many colleagues, in particular Peter Bedford with whom I have often discussed problems of the translation process. My Faculty was kind enough to grant me time release from teaching during the early part of the work, for which I am indeed grateful.

Mount Lawley October 1994

INTRODUCTION

Manichaeology and the Religion of Mani

The self-declared apostle Mani (216 – 276 c.e.) was a native of Babylonia who founded a world religion in the early years of the Sassanian Empire. He believed himself to be the recipient of direct revelation from his divine Twin Spirit, which being is understood to be the Paraclete foretold by Jesus, and with whom Mani became 'one body and one Spirit (K.15.23 – 24)'. Thus, in his *Gospel* and *Epistles*, he introduces himself as the apostle of Jesus Christ (e.g. CMC. p.66). In Greek and Coptic his name is Manichaios; that is 'Mani the living', as derived from his native Syriac.

Modern scholarship has devoted much attention to the question of the nature and characteristics of Mani's teachings, and of the religion that he founded; and this history of manichaeology may be read as a commentary on that of the discipline itself. For the Christian theologians and leaders of the past Manichaeism had been a dualistic heresy that threatened and attempted to subvert the truths revealed in scripture, as held secure and preached by the church. Thus the origins of the discipline, for western culture, are to be found in the Greek and Latin sources of that world; particularly in the disputations, anathemas and parodies of the bishops such as Augustine (once himself a believer but turned champion of orthodoxy) and Archelaus (the fabled victor over a hapless Mani) and Epiphanius (the acerbic cataloguer of errors).

When western scholarship began to free itself from the heritage of heresiology a new approach to sources, especially by orientalists in the latter nineteenth century with access to Syriac and Arabic authors such as Theodore bar Konai and an-Nadim who quote from Mani himself, gradually started to write a more objective history.

The twentieth century has brought a succession of dramatic textual finds that have repeatedly shifted the focus of attention. The first actual Manichaean writings discovered were in Iranian and Turkic and Chinese literatures, and were plundered from Central Asia by the great European expeditions at the start of this century. In the heyday of the 'History of Religions' as a discipline Manichaeism was reinvented as a Persian religion.

However, even since the 1920's scholarly attention has been repeatedly forced to focus on gnostic and Judaeo-Christian origins and traditions in Mani's teaching. Such are evidenced particularly by the Medinet Madi library from the 1930's, of which the *Kephalaia* is part; and then since 1969 the Cologne *Mani Codex,* which text recounts the genesis of Mani's own life and the community that he founded. Also the flood of scholarship occasioned by the Nag Hammadi library, that is the inaccurately but popularly named gnostic Gospels, has provided a context for the growth of manichaeology as its heir apparent.

Now, near the close of the twentieth century, the student of Manichaeism is presented with a striking array of sources evidencing a religion that spread from Mesopotamia throughout the late classical and Islamic worlds of the Mediterranean and west Asia, and across the Silk Road to finally flare and die in south China. Throughout this century the discipline has been preeminently the domain of specialists, necessitating a high degree of philological and technical skill, particularly such as is preserved in the elite institutions of the European continent. However, developments and projects by the academic community now in process seem certain to render the subject both more accessible and of broader interest. These include the activities of the *International Association of Manichaean Studies,* with its conferences and publications; and the various renewed efforts both to complete the editing of sources and to make them more available.

The latest and still continuing development in the story of Manichaean textual discoveries is part of this process. This is the uncovering of a fourth century Manichaean community and its texts at the late Roman site of Kellis in Egypt, by an Australian archaeological excavation directed by C. Hope on behalf of the Dakhleh Oasis Project. For the first time the social context of a Manichaean church from the early period, indeed of any so-called gnostic group of antiquity, can properly be recovered. Thus the subject becomes part of the documentary record of the late classical world.

Every discipline is a product of its own cultural framework and its time. Manichaeology at the turn of the millenium takes its place in the story of the deconstruction of received histories. The finds at Kellis evidence that the Manichaeans there regarded themselves as the true and holy church. This story subverts that of

the inevitable triumph of, for want of a better phrase, catholic Christianity. Instead, Christianities in context are found to be diverse, subjects of law and economics and inter-personal relations. Doctrine is imposed and undermined, theological orthodoxy is seen to be a social construct.

What then is the meaning of the religion of Mani? The *Mani Codex* is a nascent gospel for the apostle that compiles written testimonies by some of his closest disciples, together with quotations from his own writings; and contextualised by excerpts from Paul and other authoritative apocalypses of the past. While hagiographical elements are already apparent, such as the tutelage of Mani by his Twin (σύζυγος) from youth, it does provide clear evidence of his upbringing in a Judaeo-Christian baptist community. Mani conflicts with the elders over the food and ritual practices of the group (on the perhaps revisionist grounds of actualised Manichaean praxis), and appeals to the teaching of their leader (and founder?) Alchasaios. Thus the community seems related to the Elchasaites of Christian sources, although it is notoriously difficult to disentangle the various teachings of such sects from the available texts.

In any case, it is apparent that Mani broke with the community, and the evolution of his teaching overlaid diverse elements from gnostic and Syriac Christian traditions upon the restricted world of his youth. The influence of Bardaisanite and Marcionite teachings is apparent, although in his scriptures Mani also enters into dispute with such. The adult Mani embarked on his career as healer and apostle, travelling throughout the Persian Empire and to India and the boundaries of Roman power. He seems to have been favourably received by the Sassanian King Shapur I, to have travelled in his entourage, and to have been welcomed in the courts of the aristocracy. Zarathustra and Buddha were incorporated into the tradition of true apostles, together with Jesus, although recent scholarship has tended to downplay the extent of Iranian and Indian influence on the essential structure of Mani's teachings. However, after the deaths of Shapur and his successor Hormizd, Mani was imprisoned by Vahram I probably under the influence of the chief mobed Kirder and the Zoroastrian hierarchy; and there received his own martyrdom. This was then followed by a general persecution of his followers, especially in Mesopotamia.

Since its liberation from heresiology the study of Manichaeism has been driven by philological experts and historians of religion. This has tended towards a dominating interest in the texts in themselves, and in the various strands of Manichaean teaching. However, Mani's vision and the worlds of his followers must also be comprehended as integrated wholes. Mani believed himself to be the recipient of, and owner of, truth.

> This is how everything th[at] has ha[pp]ened and that will happen was unveiled to me by the Paraclete; [...] everything the eye shall see, and the ear hear, and the thought think, a[n]d the [...] I have understood by him everything. I have seen the totality through him! (K. 14.19–23 and see CMC pp. 66-7)

For Mani truth can both be accessed and comprehended. Error attacks and mingles with it in history, but revelation from the eternal world illuminates the good, and offers the sure hope of final victory. Revealed truth is the same as that good that has always been present in the universe, which holds it together, proving life and coherence within death and disorder. Thus, on their own terms, Mani's teachings can not be regarded as eclectic. If his revelations accord with those of earlier apostles it is because they derive from the same source. Where they differ the prior apostolic teaching has been corrupted. Thus Mani reiterates and reveals Zarathustra, Buddha and Christ. Other Buddhisms or Christianities can only be dull reflections of this truth.

In his lifetime Mani devoted himself to the building up of the true church. The superficiality of religious terminology ('church') is important to an understanding of Manichaeism, for as a persecuted minority the community was accused of dissimulation and subversion. Mani wrote his inspired scriptures so that the truth could never again become corrupted by error. He sent out missionaries to east and west, and claimed that no previous revelation had been universal and thus final, as was the one that had been given to him.

From the late third century Manichaeism challenged the Christian hierarchy of the Mediterranean world; but with the triumph of catholic Christianity in the Roman empire, and the common interest of church and state, these western communities gradually failed and died under persecution. In west Asia Manichaeism remained a vibrant force well into the Abbasid era, and

Arabic authors had access to the canonical scripures. However, the religion of light had its longest history in central and east Asia, perhaps surviving in south China until the early modern period. Despite the widely varied cultural forms in which it represented itself, Manichaeism retained an essential unity of vision and expression, and acted as an important conduit for the transmission of cultural ideas between east and west[1].

Manichaeism in Egypt

Manichaean missionaries would have first arrived in Egypt about 260 c.e. By the end of the third century the religion had attracted enough attention to be condemned by both the state, which feared its Persian origins and regarded it as harmful to the fabric of society; and the ecclesiastical authorities, who were particularly shocked by Mani's claim to be the apostle of Jesus Christ, come to restore and renew the true church. Nevertheless, although fiercely combatted and persecuted, Manichaeism attracted a radical and often sophisticated following. The pagan neoplatonist Alexander of Lycopolis, who informs us that the first missionary to reach Egypt was Papos[2], wrote against the doctrine surprised at its attraction for his philosophical colleagues. The religion also spread further west to Roman North Africa, where the writings of Augustine are an eloquent reminder of its appeal in the latter fourth century.

Upper Egypt seems to have become a particularly fruitful area for the Manichaean mission, and Christian writers made frequent attacks upon it. It is highly possible that missionaries reached the Thebaid not only via Alexandria and along the Nile valley, but also directly by sea from Mesopotamia to the coast (Berenice). The region features in the mercantile travels of Scythianus, the proto-Manichaean of Christian polemics. The largest corpus of extant Manichaean texts, the Medinet Madi library including the *Kephalaia*, can perhaps be traced to this area according to dialect. Although Manichaean success in the Roman Empire peaked about 400 c.e., it seems probable that communities survived in areas such as this into the Islamic period.

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[1] For a detailed introduction to Manichaeism and its history see Lieu 1992.

[2] Alexander of Lycopolis, *c. Manich.* II, p.4, 17-19; and see PsBk2. 34.12.

The documentary texts from Kellis will provide much new detail about this process of Manichaean expansion in fourth century Egypt. It is apparent that the believers understood themselves to be the true and holy church. Presumably the mission to Kellis began as an outreach from an established centre such as Lycopolis. At Kellis there appears to have been significant success, for the documentary texts evidence Manichaeism integrated into the life of the community, and psalms have been found in two different parts of the site. Whether this success was an isolated instance, or more common across the Oasis is unknown. The Dakhleh Oasis is even today a relatively remote region, at the edge of habitation. The excavations at Kellis evidence that the pagan temple was still functioning at the beginning of the fourth century, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the process of Christianisation was less advanced here than in major centres. These features may have aided the Manichaean mission.

Certainly the discovery of bilingual glossaries of Manichaean phrases evidence the remarkable fact of translation from Syriac into Lycopolitan Coptic at Kellis. This, together with allusions to persecution in some of the letters sent to Kellis from the Nile valley, supports the hypothesis that the Oasis became a significant Manichaean centre and safe haven for the community. Unfortunately the archive as yet recovered breaks off at the end of the fourth century, and so the future of the community is unknown. Presumably the strengthening of ecclesiastical control, married to state power, means that Kellis would not long have remained immune from the attention of the authorities.

The finds from Kellis evidence a link between the use of Lycopolitan Coptic and Manichaeism. Dialect and text connect these finds to the Medinet Madi library, for the same psalm tradition is a feature of both finds. Minor textual variants indicate that the Kellis material predates that of Medinet Madi, and thus uncover some of the history of the latter codices. It becomes apparent that codices such as the *Psalm Book* and *Kephalaia* are constructed works in the process of evolution.

As regards the social context of Manichaeism: it was a highly literate and transportable religion that in its conscious universalism appealed to and indeed targetted educated elites. It spread along the trade routes and was regarded by the authorities as subversive. It also evidences a strong role for women who are

remarkably visible in the documentary texts from Kellis, as in other Manichaean material such as the doxologies in the *Psalm Book*. The church was strongly structured, programmed for evangelical mission. It developed an elaborate network of what might today be termed safe houses and propaganda factories, for the writing of texts was part of the religious praxis. The letters from Kellis evidence a powerful concern for communication, full of news and greetings and introductions.

Success was founded on the two-fold structure of the community with the elect supported by the catechumens for the full-time service of God, and thus able constantly to travel and to build up the churches. Lay believers, that is catechumens or hearers, could engage in the every day life of family and business; while through their alms-giving they could ensure their eventual salvation. The actual divine work could then safely be left to the elect. Thus the religion, despite its powerful evangelical mission and other worldly focus, was well placed to become an integral part of the community. It is reasonable to presume that Manichaean communities were able to maintain themselves, in areas such as Upper Egypt, for a number of centuries; despite almost continual attack and sporadic enforced persecution.

The Medinet Madi Library

The sensational news of *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten, Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler*, announced in 1933 by C. Schmidt, H. Ibscher and H.J. Polotsky, marks a decisive turning point in the modern rediscovery of the religion. The cache seems to have come from a wooden chest in the ruins of an old house in Medinet Madi, to the south west of the Fayoum in Middle Egypt. The codices were already broken up before they reached the Cairo market, where they were first seen by the Danish egyptologist H.O. Lange in November 1929. However, it was C. Schmidt in 1930, while on his way to Palestine to collect manuscripts for the Prussian Academy, who was shown a codex entitled *Kephalaia* and made the connection with Manichaeism. By sheer coincidence Schmidt was in the process of checking the proofs of the late K. Holl's edition of Epiphanius' *Panarion*, and he remembered that among the books that Mani was alleged to have received from Scythianus was one with the same title. Further examination

revealed the characteristic clause: 'Once more the enlightener speaks to his disciples ...'

News of the discovery was immediately communicated to A. Harnack in Germany; but, before adequate funds could arrive in Egypt for their purchase, part of the find was acquired by the Irish-American philanthropist and collector A. Chester Beatty. His famous collection of classical and biblical manuscripts was housed first in London, but after the second world war transferred to Dublin, where they remain. The rest of the codices were then purchased by Schmidt with financial aid from the Stuttgart publishing company Kohlhammer, and shipped to Berlin.

The entire collection comprised seven codices, four in Berlin and three in London (now Dublin). In Berlin were: the *Kephalaia of the Teacher* (a small part of this went to Vienna); the *Epistles* of Mani; the *Acts,* a history of Mani and the early community; and the *Synaxeis of the Living Gospel,* (this codex also contains an at present unidentified text). In London: the *Psalm Book,* together with an index; a collection of *Homilies*; and the *Kephalaia of the Wisdom of my Lord Mani.*

The Coptic texts themselves date from about 400 c.e., and are translations of Syriac originals which reach back to Mani himself (the *Epistles*), or to the first generations (as with the *Homilies*). They are written in a form (*L4*) of that dialect known as sub-Achmimic or Lycopolitan; and thus seem not to have originated in the Fayoum, but were carried perhaps by missionaries or believers fleeing persecution.

The conservation of the extremely fragile codices from Medinet Madi, both of London and Berlin, was entrusted to the renowned H. Ibscher; and the task of printing the editions consigned to Kohlhammer Verlag. A special Coptic font was cut to resemble as closely as possible the hand of the original. For the first ten years publication proceeded apace: in 1934 H.J. Polotsky's edition and German translation of 96 pages of *Manichäische Homilien;* in 1938 the latter 234 pages of *A Manichaean Psalm-Book. Part II,* with an English translation by C.R.C. Allberry; and fascicles of the Berlin *Kephalaia* by A. Böhlig and H.J. Polotsky reaching page 244 in 1940. Unfortunately the rise of National Socialism in Germany, and the advent of the second world war, heralded a number of tragedies. These included the departure from Germany of a number of the leading scholars due to the

threat of anti-semitism; the death of Allberry; and the loss and probable destruction of some of the codices housed in the soviet sector of Berlin. Specifically the historical work (*Acts*) and the *Epistles* seem to have been removed, and now only portions of these codices remain.

Such events led effectively to an end of work on the Medinet Madi texts for over forty years. Admittedly, A. Böhlig published a further fascicle of the *Kephalaia* (pages 244 – 291) in 1966, but the material for this was largely prepared in 1943. However, the current outlook is much more positive. With the financial support of the Carlsberg foundation S. Giversen has published a facsimile edition of all the Dublin texts in four volumes: *Kephalaia; Homilies and Varia; Psalm Book Part I; and II (Cahiers d'Orientalisme* XIV-XVII, Geneva 1986, 1988). Meanwhile, a separate team under the direction of J. Robinson is working on the remaining texts from Berlin, the *Kephalaia* and *Synaxeis* codices, together with such leaves as remain of the *Acts* and *Epistles*. Another team directed by M. Krause is currently in the process of reediting part II of the *Psalm Book,* before turning to Part I; and S. Giversen is coordinating the reedition of the *Homilies* codex. Also, I. Gardner is editing the new Coptic literary texts from Kellis, and coordinating work on the rest of the Manichaean material there together with other members of the Dakhleh Oasis Project.

The Kephalaia of the Teacher

Two codices of *Kephalaia* (that is 'of the head', thus chapters or summaries) were found at Medinet Madi. Their titles differ slightly, the wording of the Dublin one indicating more explicitly that it is the work of a disciple. However, this may not be of any great significance; and the two codices could well belong together. Until a full edition is made, their relationship will remain unclear. Certainly all the work is apocryphal in terms of Mani's canon of scripture. Still, the reference to the *Kephalaia* in such an early work as *The Sermon of the Great War* (H.18.6) indicates that it belongs in essence to the first generation after the death of the apostle (late third century)[3].

[3] 'I am weeping for the *Kephalaia*'. A reference in the *Acta Archelai* evidences that the work was known of in Christian circles by the 340's at the latest (for dating see Lieu 1994: 46-47, 135-140).

Indeed, in the introductory section to the text there appears to be a justification from Mani himself:

> The world has not permitted me to write down [...] all of it; and if you, my children and my disciples, write all my wisdom [...] the questions that you have asked me [...] and the explanations that I have made clear to you from time to time; the homilies, the lessons, that I have proclaimed with the teachers to the leaders, together with the elect and the catechumens [...] all that I have proclaimed from time to time. They are not written. You must remember them and write them; gather them in different places; because much is the wisdom that I have uttered to you. [...] according to your capacity, and even as you may find strength; remember! And write a little something from the great wisdom that you have heard from me (K. 6.16–27 9.5–7).

In a sense this is curious since it was intrinsic to the Manichaean scheme of things that the messages of previous apostles had been adulterated because they themselves had not written their own canon, unlike Mani, and their disciples had then corrupted their words. Nevertheless, kephalaic material has also been found in Manichaean writings in the east, in Parthian and Chinese, and clearly became an important genre for the propagation of the religion.

The Berlin codex opens with a grand survey of Manichaean cosmogonic doctrine; a listing of the canon; and a justification for the text itself, as above. Chapter One then relates the advent and task of previous apostles, culminating in Mani's own call, and the revelation from the Paraclete (his Twin Spirit or Counterpart). However, whilst the earliest chapters might be supposed to evidence some coherent structure to the work, there rapidly follows perhaps two hundred more linked in the most tenuous fashion if at all. The work illustrates a fascination, presumably Mani's own, with all aspects of the natural world, with astrology and the worlds of gods and demons. All such are ordered into elaborate taxonomies, underpinned by the detail of Mani's revealed doctrine, in order to establish a highly structured and holistic understanding of the cosmos and universal history.

The chapters vary greatly in length, appearing to incorporate blocks of oral and perhaps written tradition from a variety of sources. In general they follow a standard pattern wherein a disciple (occasionally an opponent) asks a question of the apostle, the 'enlightener' (various epithets are used). Usually contextual or

historical detail is missing. The body of the chapter is then taken up with a summary of doctrine on that particular question which convinces all listeners; and may then end with a prayer of praise for Mani and thanks for his revelation. Similar catechetical methods can be found in early Christian and Buddhist texts. Certainly an introductory knowledge of the broad sweep of Manichaean teaching, as provided below, will help before attempting the *Kephalaia*.

The translation offered here is from the edited Coptic text concluding with kephalaion 122 (K. 295.8)[4]. The original extent of the Berlin codex is difficult to ascertain. The last reported page is 501/502, but a fragment with the pagination 514 has been identified. This may indicate an original total of 22 quires (528 pages). W.-P. Funk is currently editing the latter part of the codex and reports that from K. 296 there can now only be traced records or remains of 139 further pages, some of these in early transcriptions by Polotsky and Böhlig. It thus appears that 70 pages are no longer extant, counting to K. 504 (21 quires)[5].

The total number of chapters in the Berlin codex can be calculated as approximately 210/220. Since the lowest number for a kephalaion yet noted in the Dublin codex is 221 (pl. 17), it seems probable that this is in some sense a second volume, despite some apparent variations in the terminology and structure of the work[6]. The facsimile edition contains 354 plates; but the original extent and order of the codex has not been established.

The Kephalaia *as Text*

The *Kephalaia* is a dense and complex work, evidencing a great concern for detail and structure. Who were its authors and readers? Each kephalaion purports to be the verbatim record of a lesson by Mani, yet it is apparent that it is a constructed text in the process of evolution. The sequencing of chapters shows only a limited rationale, with links established by content (e.g. the

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[4] The editors are H.J. Polotsky (K. 1 – 102); A. Böhlig (K. 103 – 291); W.-P. Funk (K. 292 – 295).

[5] See Robinson 1992:46-51; and W. -P. Funk, 'On completing the edition of the Berlin Kephalaia codex', paper read to the *IIIrd International Symposium of Manichaean Studies*, Royal Asiatic Society, London 1992.

[6] See Funk 1990.

actions of the Living Spirit in 42 – 44) or by terminology or some catchphrase regardless of theme (e.g. 'five' in 12 – 16). The incorporation of the number into the title, as with 'The Seventh (kephalaion)', evidences that the sequence is beginning to be fixed; but this is likely only to be true of the very earliest chapters.

Redaction history is also apparent in the body of the material itself. For example the description of the five worlds of darkness that occurs in both chapters 6 and 27, (and in the Mandaean *Right Ginza*), must rely on some prior source. However, since the redactors must have had ready access to Mani's scriptures, they would not have directly incorporated parts of the canon. Indeed, the lessons are presented as secondary to the scriptures, for on occasion they follow requests for the reiteration in condensed form or explanation of what Mani has written elsewhere (e.g K. 16.25 – 28). Therefore, kephalaic material can be understood to evolve as commentary to revelation.

Given the mass of the text the occasions of true historical reminiscence can be supposed to be limited. Sometimes the chapter begins with a narrative, such as Mani's visits to King Shapur (chapter 76) or his observation of the Tigris in flood (chapter 61). However, such examples are few, and in general the framing sequence for each lesson is minimal and to be regarded as a formal device. One of the wooden boards found at Kellis (T. Kell. Copt. 1) enumerates the 'five σχήματα (properties)' of the Father of Greatness as reflected in the Third Ambassador. It could be termed a kind of 'flip card' or easily memorised summary used for teaching purposes. In style it resembles much of the kephalaiac material, but here lacks the framing sequences where a disciple asks Mani some question.

It would be easy to construct such a sequence, for instance: 'At one of the times when the enlightener (Mani) was sitting in the midst of the congregation, one of the disciples stood up and asked him: Tell us, our master, what are the five properties of the Father about which you have spoken?'.

It can be supposed that a rapid multiplication of kephalaic material occured in this way, as providing apostolic authority for the constructed teachings of the community. Similarly, the repetition of blocks of material in different settings evidences an extended textual history, which belies the assertion that they are verbatim accounts of Mani's teaching.

A number of sequences appear to have attained a stylised form. This is particularly true of the abbreviated summaries of Mani's teaching, which have hints of creedal formulae; and of the concluding thanks given by the disciples. Thus:

> [Mani] says [... the] two essences that are present at the beginning [...] the [lig]ht and the darkness, that which is good and that which is evi[l, life and] death (286.27–30).

> I proclaimed there the word of [truth and li]fe. With [the voi]ce of the proclamation I se[parated the light from the dark]ness there, what is good from [what is evil ...] (186.27–30).

The body of the text is constructed in that some individual chapters appear composite, with blocks of material incorporated where seems appropriate, often with minimal connecting sequences. Thus chapter 26 links together five miscellaneous parables. In chapter 65 Mani lists seven benefits of the sun and seven wickednesses brought by the night. Then follow five further qualities of the sun; and then another set of three. It must be supposed that such blocks circulated independently; and also that some may derive from the teaching of the church after Mani. It seems probable that the source of some material may ultimately be from outside of the community, but for its utility it is brought in to the tradition. Chapter 70 contains two separate schema for relating the zodiacal signs to the parts of the body, schema that have long histories within western astrological tradition.

The delight in numerical sequencing is certainly a feature of Mani's own teaching, thus the five sons of the First Man and the five sons of the Living Spirit. Often the doctrine must be forced to accord to this, such as when pentads are fitted to duodecimal lists. Nevertheless, there are clear catechetical benefits in the approach, especially with a system as complex as this.

Thus, kephalaia develops as a form of discourse within the Manichaean community. In that its basis is the aural memory of the disciples, and this dates to the latter third century c.e., it is perhaps not strictly restricted text. However, it is not basic proselytising material, for the scriptural allusions and sequences presuppose an extensive grasp of the macrotext. Thus, it belongs to the inner circle of the elect and could become a means for argument and demonstration between believing communities; a Manichaean form that has social usages analogous to, for instance,

hadith literature in Islam. The Iranian parallels evidence diverging traditions[7]; and the mass of material from the two Medinet Madi codices shows the utility of the form for the development of the tradition. It is thus best not regarded as an apocryphal book, but as an evolving and fluid discourse that retained its vitality in relation to the life and needs of the community.

Summary of the Doctrine

Manichaeism may be termed a gnostic religion; that is, both in a structural-systemic and in an historic sense. As a religious system it offered the promise of acosmic salvation through the revealed knowledge (gnosis) of transcendent realities, including the divine nature of the soul, and the details of the pathway to eternal life. Again, in its historic origins Manichaeism is to be considered together with the mass of related gnostic traditions that flourished during late antiquity. Thus Mani directly utilised prior revelations, and in this way gnostic concepts can be tracked from the esoteric forms of prior Judaisms and Christianities, through Manichaeism, and into later metamorphoses such as in Shi'ite Islam and the neo-Manichaean sects of the medieval period.

Nevertheless, the gnostic character of Manichaeism must be qualified, for Mani turned his revealed knowledge outwards to a universal evangelical purpose. While the elect learnt the secret workings of the divine nature, all were offered the call to faith, and the religion firmly grounded itself in time and the existential world. Therefore, the religion promulgated faith, knowledge and good works; and rose above the obscure and short-lived irrelevancies of most gnostic sects.

While it is possible and important for the historian to trace the diverse elements that Mani drew upon in his revelation, it is first vital to understand Manichaeism as a discrete and coherent entity, for this is how one can enter the world of the believer. The following account of the teachings of Mani will emphasise this inner structure and coherence. Nevertheless, any such summary inevitably tends towards artificial synthesis. Manichaean knowledge was carefully graded and tailored to the needs of its audience, as with any other avowedly evangelical ideology that

[7] See Sundermann 1992.

seeks the power to change people's life and thought. For the lay faithful in the Roman Empire it was a kind of superior Christianity, and the metaphysical details that attract the attention of scholars (and the higher echelons of the elect) had little profile. In the personal letters of the believers at Kellis there appears to be scarce knowledge of or interest in the many gods and demons, or the intricacies of cosmology, such as dominate kephalaic material. The evidence from Kellis shows how carefully the hierarchy attempted to draw adherents further into the church and the gnosis.

Whereas Christianity took centuries to formulate its doctrines, and the controversies of the great councils seem far removed from the teachings of Jesus, Mani took great pains to establish a total religion based upon his own comprehensive scriptures and preaching. He may be said to have combined the charisma of Jesus, the missionary purpose of Paul, and the doctrinal stringency of an Augustine. He understood himself to be the final and universal apostle of God, called to restore the truth of all prior messengers, including Jesus, the Buddha and Zarathustra. There is thus less scope in the study of Manichaeism to trace the evolution of doctrine, since all teaching was rigidly tied to the very details of the divine word in Mani's scriptures. Nevertheless, the eschatological urgency of earliest Manichaeism may be said to have slowly turned towards an accommodation with the world.

The revelation was systematised, in substance at least by Mani himself, into an elaborate and holistic account of the cosmos, human history, and the natural world. Manichaean thought was highly structured and maintained a remarkable uniformity from Roman North Africa to medieval China, claiming to provide a coherent and quasi-scientific explanation of everything from the movement of the stars to the origins of fire and the genera of creatures. The claim to knowledge would have been a source of great appeal, but the provision of such detail in the scriptures also demanded a rigidity that finally undermined the religion. For these reasons it can be misleading to describe Manichaean doctrine as a myth; and it was certainly not intended as an allegory.

Mani's teaching was summarised by the catchphrase, that 'of the two principles and the three times (or moments)'. The two principles are those of light and darkness: whose realms in the *beginning* are separate, the dark unknowing of the light; then

during the *middle* are in part mingled, the reality of this present universe; but at the *end* will be the triumph and eternal victory of life and light over death.

In Manichaeism what is true in the macrocosmos is also true for the microcosmos. The individual soul partakes of this whole history, so that our present enfleshment in a demonic body is only the *middle* time between two eternities. Note too that the dualism is not the hellenistic one of spirit and matter, but of two essences, even substances. The divine life is visible, has spatial and quantifiable elements; and evil matter is the active principle of lust, the elements and 'thought of death'.

Manichaean theology is not easily categorised. The Father evokes or emanates powers of himself for purposes in the cosmic drama, and these too may call forth further gods or angels (chapter 50). The language of 'calling out' the powers of light is crucial, to avoid any suggestion of generation, for sexuality is inextricably tied in Manichaean thought to evil matter and the lust that is its nature.

The Manichaeans, or at least the elect, delighted in establishing elaborate systemisations of these beings; but all the divine is ultimately one, so that the diversification represents levels of descent into or entrapment by darkness. Relationships between spiritual levels, for instance a lay believer or catechumen to an elect, will be an exact image of that relationship all the way back up the scale through the gods to the Father. The same is true of all the representatives of the essence of darkness; so that Manichaean teachings are characterised by elaborate series of parallels and shifts of scale.

In the 'first time' the Father of Greatness rules the realm of light, which indeed is an extension of himself, and has four divine attributes: purity, light, power and wisdom. He resides in five intellectuals or limbs: mind, thought, insight, counsel and consideration. These are otherwise substantially detailed as the five elements: living air, light, wind, water and fire. Surrounding the Father are the twelve aeons, distributed three each to the directions of heaven, and refracted also to the one hundred and forty-four aeons of the aeons.

To the south of this kingdom of life is the realm of the King of Darkness. His form combines the shapes of the animals representative of his five warring worlds and their own Kings, also the

corresponding five elements of darkness, (chapter 6). This realm is a seething manifestation of the conflict and carnality that is its essence, Matter, the thought of death. In the course of its constant turmoil, by accident for darkness blindly grasps but can not know, the demonic powers glimpse the light and desire to possess its life. Since peace is the nature of the light the Father must call out from himself the great divinities, both as the only means to defend his kingdom, and to distance the inevitable conflict from the land of light. In the ensuing 'second time' the drama is driven by these gods in the arena of mixture, the universe, while the Father himself remains apart until he can again reveal himself and his inner treasury after the final victory.

First the Father evokes the Great Spirit who is the Mother of Life, and she in turn calls forth the First Man. This is the first emanation, that of the gods of *descent*. It also evidences a consciously trinitarian structure embedded in Mani's system, which in common with other Syriac forms of Christianity details the Spirit as feminine.

It is the Man who descends to battle. This first born son of God is armed with the five light elements, personified as his five sons; and it is this portion of the divine that is devoured by the powers of evil when the demonic forces defeat the warrior of heaven. This living soul comes to be compounded with the dark elements of matter throughout the universe, and is in need of redemption for the duration of the 'second time'.

So, while this first conflict appears outwardly to result in tragedy, as with the crucifixion the believer understands that it was a necessity for the binding of evil, and will lead to the ultimate victory of the life and light over death. Nevertheless, the inevitable consequence is the distress and suffering of the divine soul, (termed the Cross of Light particularly in the context of vegetation), and personified as the suffering Jesus awaiting redemption. The entire resultant history of the 'second time' involves the mechanics of once more separating the light from darkness; not simply as a return to the first eternity, but rather to fundamentally alter the status and relationship of the two principles by so fatally weakening the power of death that it can never again threaten the life.

In order to establish the arena in which liberation can take place, that is the universe, a new divine trinity is called forth: the

Beloved of the Lights, the Great Builder, and the Living Spirit (also termed the Father of Life). This is the second emanation, that of the gods of *creation*.

It is the task of the Living Spirit to rescue the First Man, which is a prototype of all future redemption; and then to fashion the universe from the powers of darkness in which the light elements, the five sons, are mixed. Thus the Living Spirit descends to issue a 'summons' (or call) to the Man who responds with his affirming 'answer'; and who is then lifted up out of the abyss. This is the archetype of the assent proclaimed by the community at prayer (chapter 122).

Summons and answer are themselves hypostasised into a pair of divinities. Together they are the 'counsel of life' that throughout the time of mixture personifies the awakening and motivating force of the soul and light elements that are sunk in darkness (K. 178.2 – 5). To prepare for that, the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life descend to the abyss. There they defeat the demonic powers and rulers, and out of their bodies fashion the universe. Thus the demiurge is a light god, though the dead matter of the creation is darkness, albeit shot through with the elements of life. The structure of the universe is divinely conceived, even if its matter is evil.

The Living Spirit constructs ten heavens and eight earths, flaying and crucifying some of the evil powers above, and forming the earths out of the bodies of others. To hold the whole elaborate structure in place he evokes his own five sons: the Adamant of Light, the Keeper of Splendour, the King of Glory, the King of Honour, and the Porter (or Atlas). By means of three wheels or garments, fire and water and wind, the three evil vessels of fire and water and darkness are swept down from the heavens; and then finally swept into pits that have been prepared for them. The light elements are freed to ascend to purity and rest (chapters 42 – 43).

The Keeper of Splendour oversees the eighth, ninth and tenth heavens; whilst the King of Honour watches over the lower heavens from the seventh. The King of Glory turns the wheels so that the light elements may ascend. The Adamant humbles sporadic demonic uprisings on earth. The Porter supports the entire structure from below. The sun and the moon are vessels of purified light, and stations on the path of ascent or descent for the

redeemed soul and the gods. However, the planets and stars are evil rulers.

Once the machinery for the purification has been made ready by the second series of evoked gods, they all turn to the Father to plea for a new emanation to set the cosmos in motion, and thus to achieve the process of redemption through time (K. 273.15 – 274.11). The Father approves and calls forth his Third Ambassador (or Messenger), so termed because he introduces the third age of the world. He dwells in the ship of the sun; whilst the Virgin of Light, his feminine doublet, has her throne in the ship of the moon. Jesus the Splendour, another in the series of salvific deities, is closely related in Manichaean systematics to this androgynous sun-moon god. This is the third emanation, that of the gods of *salvation* or *ascent*.

The Ambassador and Virgin achieve a first redemption of trapped light, again turning the uncontrollable lust of the darkness, which is its nature, back upon it. They reveal their images, or more graphically appear naked, before the male and female rulers (archons) chained in the heavens. These powers spontaneously ejaculate or abort across the cosmos. Some light is drawn to the heights, while the remainder that is more deeply embedded in matter sinks downwards and must endure further degradation before it is redeemed. A part falls into the sea and rises as a monster that the Adamant subjugates. Other dross falls to the earth to become the seeds of plant life that the abortions eat. Such complicated details of prehistory were drawn from a variety of prior traditions, which seem to have fascinated Mani and his followers. Inevitably they drew the attention and ire of their opponents.

The abortions formed a rampaging demonic group from which the different genera of creatures originate, corresponding to the varieties of the five worlds of darkness from which they stem. Adam and Eve are fashioned by demons 'after the image of God' that they have glimpsed, that is the Ambassador who had appeared to the rulers in the heavens; and are procreated after various cannabalistic and sexual acts by the dominant demonic pair: Saclas and Nebroel.

Thus, lust is endemic in human nature. Mankind has been deliberately fashioned by demonic forces in an attempt to prevent the redemption of the light, for through the urge for sex humans

will multiply, and further entrap the divine soul in multitudes of material bodies. This inverts the core of Hebrew tradition, that God approves of the creation of man and woman, and ordains that they should 'be fruitful and multiply'. Nevertheless, as with the macrocosmos, the structural form of humans is in a sense divinely conceived (in the 'image'), and acts as a mechanism for the purification of soul.

Since the human soul is a principal repository of the trapped divine, the abortions having concentrated therein such that they had gained from the buds and fruits they had eaten, humans become the focus of the salvific mission of the gods. In an archetypal episode Jesus the Splendour approaches Adam, lying as dead after his creation and without consciousness, and awakens him to the saving knowledge of his own condition. Here Manichaeism has inherited and developed the widespread gnostic retelling and inversion of the 'fall' narrative, so that now the serpent has become entirely transformed into the heavenly redeemer.

The process of redemption enters human history. Again Mani drew upon a variety of non-biblical traditions to develop a complex narrative about the family of Adam. Note the veneration of the virginal Seth, a characteristic feature of esoteric traditions; and the fierce antipathy to female sexuality. In another episode from the early generations it is related how the demons guarded by the King of Honour rebelled, and two hundred of these watchers escaped to earth to wreak havoc and unveil to mankind the mysteries of heaven (K. 92.24 – 32). In these episodes prior Judaic material has been reworked and integrated into the Manichaean system.

The revelation by Jesus the Splendour to Adam is the exemplar for all future human redemption. Gradually over the generations more of the divine soul is liberated, so that 'they that are begotten today, in these last generations, stand diminished and maimed (K. 147.10 – 11)'. To achieve this liberation Jesus evokes the Light Mind, and in turn summons forth the Apostle of Light who becomes incarnate in the great religious leaders throughout history and the world. So, the process of redemption is the work of the Light Mind who transforms the human soul by enlightening and freeing the five intellectuals of light from the shackles of the body and the five members of sin. 'He shall set right the

members of the soul; form and purify them and construct a new man of them, a child of righteousness (K. 96.25 - 27)'. This 'new man', a concept ultimately to be derived from Paul, will now display the five virtues of love, faith, perfection, patience and wisdom.

Mani believed that he had been commissioned to make the final and universal proclamation of truth for the last generations. The cycle of true apostleship was important to him. It included patriarchal figures such as Seth, Noah and Enoch; also founders of true religions, in particular Buddha, Zarathushtra and Jesus; and more recent apostles such as the gnostic Nikotheos, and Paul upon whom Mani modelled his own style of mission. *Kephalaia* chapter 1 provides an extended simile wherein the advent of the apostles is compared to the months of seedtime and harvest. Each apostle is a farmer who plants a church, labouring over it till it matures and ripens. As it finally comes to fruition another will be seeded: 'There is not any time the tree is bare of fruit! (K. 11.26 - 27)'.

The various listings of the apostles evidence Mani's concept of universal revelation-history, and indicate sources that he regarded as authentic. Nevertheless, it is the figure of Jesus that dominates all the others who in comparison are little more than names. Preeminently Mani regarded himself as the apostle of Jesus Christ. United with his divine Twin he becomes the Paraclete foretold, as according to John 14:16 where Jesus promises the disciples that he will ask the Father who will send them another helper, the Spirit of truth, who will remain with them for ever.

As a whole Manichaean Christology draws upon a range of influences that are woven into a coherent thread running through the entire revelation. Regarding the historical Jesus the influence of prior docetic tradition is evident. Christian polemic against the Manichaean Jesus as a phantasm without human birth, and capable of only an illusory suffering, reiterates the arguments raised against the second century heretic Marcion. Similarly, the Manichaeans in their missionary endeavour in the Roman Empire drew upon the Marcionite critique of the Old Testament and the Jewish God, even though in contrast to Marcionism the Manichaean demiurge is good. Again, following Marcion, Mani believed that he had been called to restore the true

teaching of Jesus. This had been corrupted and falsely interpreted by Judaisers, against whom Paul had preached, as evidenced by a particular reading of the Pauline epistles. Thus it lay upon Mani to establish a firm canon of scripture that could never again be adulterated.

Mani and the first generation of his church believed that they were living in the last days before the return of Jesus as judge. The powerful salvific and apocalyptic emphases of his teaching are evident in the rich details of the eschatology, both individual and cosmic. At death each soul will be judged, and if triumphant will be greeted by the Form of Light and angels with victory prizes. Devotional texts, such as Manichaean psalms, developed a powerful symbolic language to express this hope.

There are three paths for the soul at death. Gross sinners beyond any hope of redemption will be damned to hell to await the second death at the end of time, when all of matter and the darkness will finally be bound and sealed in its eternal grave. In contrast, the souls of those such as the catechumens, who are not inextricably compounded with lust, will be reborn in new bodies and have the hope of final purification.

The third way is that of the elect, and indeed of all the light freed from dead matter to life, such as that liberated from fruits and vegetables. This divine ascends up the Pillar of Glory, the great porter of souls, to the moon. This Pillar is itself divinised as a god of the third emanation. It is the Perfect Man (see Ephesians 4:12 – 13), the representation of the church as the body of Jesus in its ascent to the Father. The moon in its waxing and waning then provides visual and actual evidence of its role as a ship and stage in the transit of souls; thence to the sun. From the sun the redeemed light passes to the new aeon that has been built by the Great Builder for the time of mixture. Here the gods rest, and the souls must await the final burial of darkness, before the Father will again unveil to them his image, and can once more receive them into his treasury (chapter 39).

Individual and cosmic eschatology are interwoven in Mani's teaching, for each soul's own tragedy and victory are but a microcosm of the history of the universal soul and its liberation from matter. *The Sermon of the Great War* is an apocalyptic treatise (found in the Medinet Madi codex of *Homilies*) from the first generation after Mani's death, wherein the eschatological event is

understood to have already begun. It utilises material from the gospel tradition; as Mani himself did in his earliest writing, the *Shabuhragan*. After the horrors of persecution and the final terrors Jesus will return to take the judgement seat that is prepared for him, to separate the sheep from the goats and to reign in glory.

Then will come the great fire that will achieve such final purification of the light still in the world as is possible. This soul will gather up and rise as the Last Statue, a divinity that in essence recapitulates the descent into the abyss of the First Man. The five sons of the Living Spirit will leave their tasks, and the dead husk of the universe will collapse in upon itself to sink to the depths. All the evil will be sealed in an eternal tomb; but the males and females separated so that they can never again renew themselves and threaten the light.

Time in the sense of the workings of the universe and the history of redemption has come to an end. The 'third moment' is a new eternality without fear.

> (The Father) can give the grace to his fighters, they whom he s[ent] to the contest with the darkness. They will roll back and gather [the cu]rtains, and he unveils to them his image. The [e]ntire l[ight] will be immersed in him. They will go in [to the] treasury. They will also come forth from him in glory (H. 41.13–17).

Now there will be two kings, the Father in the aeons of light, and the First Man reigning with the gods in the new age.

The Manichaean Ethic and its Practice in the Church

In the *Kephalaia* chapters 79 – 93 form a distinct section concerned with the religious praxis of the elect and catechumens. It seems probable that they were gathered together prior to their redaction into the work as it now appears. Indeed, chapter 76, concerning the missions of Mani, has some indications of being a new beginning; whilst 77 and 78 (linked by 'four') seem poorly placed. In any case, this sub-work provides much detail on the actuality of Manichaean concerns and community life.

Mani was himself brought up within the confines of a narrow religious sect; and his teachings, although able to drive a religion of world-wide significance, made radical demands upon his followers. Indeed, the question of submission to the demands of

the world was the focus of the Manichaean accusation that the 'Christians' were only half believers who had betrayed the teachings of Jesus. The sudden influx and even visual appearance of these new ascetics from the late third century on may well be taken as one spark that lit the fire of Christian monasticism in the decades that followed.

It is certainly true that the teachings that underpinned this new ethic provoked fierce polemic from the leaders of the catholic community, and indeed also the imperial authorities. On the one hand the belief that the divine substance was scattered through all the material world led to devotional attitudes, for instance towards fruit and vegetables as vessels of the soul, that were received with horror. Christian polemic focussed on the complex food rituals intended to liberate the divine light from matter and pain, and accused the Manichaeans of worshipping the sun and the moon. On the other hand Mani's negative account of creation, and fierce antipathy to matter and sexuality as intrinsically demonic, was equally abhorrent.

For Mani the whole rationale for history, and any continuation of human existence, is the liberation of the light elements from the dark. The Manichaean attitude to marriage was entirely negative as the act of procreation prolongs the imprisonment of soul, which would now be further diversified into matter. Moreover, if a peasant works the land, or if a craftsman uses his tools or a soldier his weapons, then they harm and pain the living soul. The same applies to speech that calls for such activites; or incites immorality, anger or envy.

The principal symbol was that of the Cross of Light, the universal divine stretched and bound upon matter. Particularly the Cross was associated with plant life as manifested in sweetness, colour and translucence; in comparison to the heavy carnality and odour of flesh.

The Manichaeans strove to consume food and drink with as high a percentage of light as possible, such as melons and cucumbers; and indeed were much concerned with the classification and preparation of foods, which inevitably attracted the scorn of opponents. Specifically, meat and wine were regarded as dominated by the dark elements that would reinfect the believer striving for personal purification, and lead directly to sensuality and ignorance.

On the positive side, while the very act of eating caused pain to the light elements, the body as a microcosm of the universe also acted as a machine for the liberation of the divine; so that the righteous person could literally discard the gross elements below, and breathe forth angels to rise above. Chapters such as 85 and 93 express the determination to rise above quietism by showing that the purification of soul achieved by positive action in the world far outways the temporary pain caused.

Such an ethic could only really be applied by a small group of people. Yet, the goal that Mani felt to be his vocation was the foundation and propagation by mission of a world religion. The compromise was achieved, possibly under Indian influence, by instituting a two-tiered structure incorporating a doctrine of transmigration of souls.

The community was divided into an inner circle of the elect ('the virginal') who lived a life of extreme asceticism; around which a greater number of hearers or catechumens ('the continent') gathered, who were able to profit from the piety and righteousness of the spiritually more advanced. In actual fact the catechumens were allowed to marry and carry out normal daily activities; but they were obliged to see to the alimentary needs of the monks, and to dedicate a proportion of their work to the church. This duty brought merit to the hearers who could hope to advance to perfection in a future life (e.g. chapters 80 and 91). Mani was anxious to stress that both hearers and elect depend upon each other.

As the final apostle of God Mani led the community for as long as he lived, and after his 'crucifixion' was believed to have ascended to the moon to wait in attendance upon the faithful. During his life-time, concerned at the corruption of earlier churches, he endeavoured to establish the community for the rest of history through writings, missions, and a strong hierarchy. Until the tenth century the Twin-Cities (al-Mada'in) remained the seat of his successor: the *archegos* or *imam*. In standard lists ecclesiastical authority was mediated downwards via twelve teachers (*magister* or 𐬀𐬌𐬎), seventy-two bishops (*episcopus*), three hundred and sixty elders (*presbyter*), and thence to the general body of the elect and hearers[8]. However, the *Kephalaia,* and

[8] See Lieu 1994:272.

indeed the new texts from Kellis, evidences a more fluid use of these terms[9].

In the Roman Empire the religion established an elaborate network of cells both to facilitate evangelism and to avoid detection. In later centuries the episcopal hierarchy seems to have been better preserved in the east, especially whilst it was the dominant religion in the Turfan area during the early medieval period.

In central Asia the Manichaeans finally had the freedom to worship openly, to observe their regular fasts, and to develop church practices. However, the most important festival remained the commemoration of Mani's martyrdom when a judgement seat (*bema*) was raised in the middle of the worshipping congregation. Upon this was placed a portrait of Mani to celebrate his continuing presence in the community of the elect; and to symbolise his position as proxy for Jesus until his return as judge.

[9] E.g. the use of *archegos* at 193.33. Note also deacons (ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ) at 42.4

COMMENTS ON THE TRANSLATION

The translation provided here is as complete as the surviving edited Coptic allows. Some passages are very fragmentary, where the overall meaning relies more on the impression given by key terms than actual content. With experience an entire episode such as the Third Ambassador displaying his image, and the establishment of life on earth consequent upon the ejaculation and abortion by the heavenly rulers, can be hung by the reader on a slight recurrence of terminology: '[... Amb]assador [... fell to] earth'. Thus the translation attempts to render the lacunose text as accurately as possible. The placing of brackets reproduces the reconstructions of the edited text, with the aim to aid the reader with limited Coptic. Perhaps this is over zealous.

Similarly, the heavily didactic and repetitious style of the original is reflected in the English. The translator's problem is to reproduce intention and not to be misled by the structures of language as system. Inevitably this becomes a matter of interpretation: when is it that the text is repetitive for didactic purposes and when is it the nature of Coptic? This translation errs towards inclusion and faithful representation, hopefully not at the expense of sense. It seems that the style is dense and loaded; terms are ossified and even social and political frameworks appear archaic in the original.

Whilst the English translation endeavours to reproduce the style of the original, the format has been altered in order to try and render it more readable. In particular the text has been broken up into shorter units of paragraphs and lists. Some of these are warranted in accordance with indentations used by the scribe, but the practice has been applied with more consistency. Also, each chapter has been provided with a brief introductory commentary to provide context for the reader, and to aid review of the work as a whole. The Coptic word ⲥⲉϩⲉ ('word' or 'saying') has, where applicable, been rendered as 'lesson'; for this seems best to indicate the quality of Mani's discourses that are the basic material for the constructed *Kephalaia*.

In general there is an attempt to reproduce significant terms and phrases consistently. However, some latitude is necessary to

balance consistency with readability. Policies that have been followed are always to use an English term rather than, say, the Greek (thus 'lump' for bolos); to be sparing in the usage of capitals; and also to attempt to provide an equivalent even where the exact meaning of the original is unclear (thus 'sect of the basket' in chapter 121). Often translations can make the original appear overly arcane by the constant highlighting of the technical. This is a problem with a system as complex as Mani's, with a universe populated by numerous gods and demons. In general capitals are used only for the 'great' gods such as the Living Spirit, while subsidiary figures ('five sons of') and epithets are not capitalised. It is difficult to make this policy entirely coherent, but the index will evidence the intention.

The index itself is an aid to the reader. The listing of epithets and alternative titles (the 'Father of Life' is the Living Spirit) helps to clarify the text, whilst hopefully not being overly interpretative. The many epithets and fluid functions of the spiritual entities in Mani's universe make it difficult to achieve closure in this process, and total consistency can not be claimed.

ABBREVIATIONS

CMC.	Cologne *Mani-Codex.*
H.	*Manichäische Homilien,* ed. H.-J. Polotsky (Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty 1, Stuttgart 1934) = *Homilies and Varia,* facsimile ed. S. Giversen (The Manichaean Coptic papyri in the Chester Beatty library II, Geneva 1986).
K.	*Kephalaia,* ed. H.-J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig (Man. Hss. der Staatlichen Museen Berlin 1, Stuttgart 1940); ed. A. Böhlig (ibid. 1.2, 1966).
K (Dub).	(Dublin) *Kephalaia, facs. ed.* S. Giversen (ibid. I, Geneva 1986).
PsBk1.	*Psalm-Book,* I, facs. ed. S. Giversen (ibid. III, Geneva 1988).
PsBk2.	*A Manichaean Psalm-Book,* II, ed. C.R.C. Allberry (Man. Mss. Chester Beatty 2, Stuttgart 1938) = facs. ed. S. Giversen (ibid. IV, Geneva 1988).

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THE KEPHALAIA OF THE TEACHER

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

[...]	Lacuna of any length, together with vestiges of letters or words with undetermined meaning.
{ }	Unknown word or phrase.
< >	Words or phrases added to the primary text.
[[ ]]	Dittography.
++	Corrupt text.
( )	Explanatory material added by the translator.
/	Line break; (each multiple of five and the pages are numbered).

LIST OF KEPHALAIA

No.	Title	Codex	Page
	(Introduction)	1,1 – 9,10	1
1	*Concerning the Ad[vent] of the Apostle.*	9,11 – 16,31	15
2	*The Second, concerning the Parable of the Tree.*	16,32 – 23,13	22
3	*The Interpretation of Happiness, Wisdom and Power; what they signify.*	23,14 – 25,6	27
4	*Concerning the Four great Days th[at have] come forth from one another; together with the Four Nights.*	25,7 – 27,31	28
5	*Concerning Four Hunters of Light and Four of Darkness.*	28,1 – 30,11	31
6	*Concerning the Five Storehouses that have po[ured f]orth from the Land of Darkness since the [Beginning]; the Five Rulers, the Five Spiri[ts], the Five Bodies, the Five Tastes.*	30,12 – 34,12	34
7	*The Seventh, concerning the Five Fathers.*	34,13 – 36,26	38
8	*Concerning the Fourteen Vehicles that Jesus has boarded.*	36,27 – 37,27	41
9	*The Explanation of the Peace, what it is; the Ri[gh]t Hand; the Kiss; the Salutation.*	37,28 – 42,23	42
10	*Concerning the Interpretation of the Fourteen [great A]eons, about which Sethel has spoken in [his P]rayer.*	42,24 – 43,21	47
11	*[Concerning the Interpretation of] all [the] Fathers of [Light], who are distinguished from one another.*	43,22 – 44,18	49
12	*Concerning the Interpretation of the Five Words that are proclaimed {} in the Universe.*	44,19 – 45,15	50

13	*Concer[ning] the Five Saviours, the Resurrectors of they who are Dead; together with the Five Resurrections.*	45,16 – 46,12	51
14	*The Interpretation [of] the S[i]lence, the Fast, [the Peace], the Day, [and] the Rest; [what] they are.*	46,13 – 47,21	52
15	*[Concerning the ...] Five [Parts ...] Worlds of [...]*	47,22 – 49,9	52
16	*[Concerning the Five] Greatnesses who [went forth] against the Darkness.*	49,10 – 55,15	54
17	*The Chapter of the Thr[ee] Seasons.*	55,16 – 57,32	59
18	*[Concerning the Five] War[s that the] Sons of [Li]ght waged wi[th the Sons] of Darkness.*	58,1 – 60,12	62
19	*Concerning the Five Re[le]as[es; what] they [are].*	60,13 – 63,18	64
20	*The Chapter of the Name of the Fathers.*	63,19 – 64,12	66
21	*[C]oncerning the Father of Gr[eat]ness: [ho]w he is established and determined.*	64,13 – 65,13	67
22	*[...] the Land of Light.*	65,14 – 66,27	68
23	*[...] which [...]*	66,28 – 70,7	69
24	*[...]*	70,8 – 76,14	72
25	*[Concerning the Advent of Five Fathers from the Five Limbs of the Father].*	76,15 – 25	77
26	*Concerning the First Man and the Ambassador and the Ship; what they resemble.*	76,26 – 77,21	77
27	*Concerning the Five Forms that exist in the Rulers of Darkness.*	77,22 – 79,12	79
28	*[Concerning the T]welve Judges [of] the Father.*	79,13 – 81,20	81
29	*Concerning the Eighteen great Thrones of all the Fathers.*	81,21 – 83,16	83
30	*Concerning the Three Garments.*	83,17 – 84,4	85

31	*Concerning the Summons, in which Limb of the Soul it descended to the First Man.*	84,5 – 85,18	86
32	*Concerning the Seven Works of the Living Spirit.*	85,19 – 86,17	88
33	*Concerning the Five Things that he constructed with the hard Bodies of the Rulers.*	86,18 – 30	89
34	*Concerning the Ten Things that the Am[bassa]d[or] began by his Ad[vent].*	86,31 – 87,13	90
35	*Concerning the Four Works of the Ambassador.*	87,14 – 29	91
36	*Concerning the Wheel that exists i[n fron]t of the King of Honour.*	87,30 – 88,33	91
37	*Concerning the Three Zones.*	89,1 – 17	93
38	*Concerning the Light Mind and the Apostles and the Saints.*	89,18 – 102,12	93
39	*Concerning the Three Days and the Two Deaths.*	102,13 – 104,20	106
40	*Concerning the Three Things that were established by the Light.*	104,21 – 105,14	108
41	*Concerning the Three Blows that befell the Enemy because of the Light.*	105,15 – 106,21	110
42	*Concerning the Three Vessels.*	106,21 – 111,17	111
43	*Concerning the Vessels.*	111,18 – 113,25	116
44	*Concerning the Sea Giant.*	113,26 – 115,31	119
45	*Concerning the Vessels.*	116,1 – 117,9	122
46	*Concerning the Ambassador.*	117,10 – 118,12	123
47	*Concerning the Four great Things.*	118,13 – 120,20	125
48	*Concerning the Conduits.*	120,21 – 124,32	127
49	*Concerning the Wh[eel and the Conduits].*	125,1 – 24	132
50	*Concerning these Na[mes]: God, Rich One, and Ange[l]; who they are.*	125,25 – 126,29	133
51	*Concerning the First Man.*	126,30 – 127,23	135
52	*Conce[rning] the [...] of the Light.*	127,24 – 129,4	136
53	*Concerning the First Man.*	129,5 – 131,9	137

54	*[Concern]ing the Quality of the Garments.*	131,10 – 133,3	139
55	*Concerning the Fashioning of Adam.*	133,4 – 137,11	141
56	*[Concern]ing Saklas and his Powers.*	137,12 – 144,12	144
57	*Concerning the Generation of Adam.*	144,13 – 147,20	151
58	*The Four Powers that grieve.*	147,21 – 148,20	154
59	*The Chapter of the Elements that wept.*	148,21 – 151,4	156
60	*[Concernin]g the Four Fathers; what they are like.*	151,5 – 152,20	158
61	*Concerning the Garment of the Waters: how great is its Measure.*	152,21 – 155,5	160
62	*Concerning the Three Rocks.*	155,6 – 29	163
63	*Concerning Love.*	155,30 – 156,34	164
64	*[Concerning] Adam.*	157,1 – 158,23	165
65	*Concerning the Sun.*	158,24 – 164,8	167
66	*Concerning the Ambassador.*	164,9 – 165,24	173
67	*Concerning the Light-Giver.*	165,25 – 166,16	174
68	*Concerning Fire.*	166,17 – 30	175
69	*Concerning the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Stars.*	166,31 – 169,22	176
70	*Concerning the Body: It was constructed after the Pattern of the Universe.*	169,23 – 175,24	179
71	*Concerning the Gathering in of the [E]lements.*	175,25 – 176,8	185
72	*Concerning the worn and torn apart Garments, or the tattered Clothes, or the Elements, the Cross, and the rest too.*	176,9 – 178,23	185
73	*Concerning the Envy of Matter.*	178,24 – 180,26	188
74	*Concerning the living Fire: It is present in Eight Places.*	180,27 – 181,31	190
75	*[Concerning the Letter (?)].*	181,31 – 183,9	191
76	*[Conce]rning Lord Manichaios: how he journeyed.*	183,10 – 188,29	193
77	*The Chapter of the Four K[ingdoms].*	188,30 – 190,10	197

78	*Concerning the Four Things over which People kill each other.*	190,11 – 191,8	199
79	*Concerning the Fasting of the Saints.*	191,9 – 192,3	200
80	*The Chapter of the Commandments of Righteousness.*	192,3 – 193,22	201
81	*The Chapter of Fasting, for it engenders a Host of Angels.*	193,23 – 196,31	202
82	*The Chapter of Righteous [Judgement].*	197,1 – 200,8	206
83	*Concerning the Man who is ug[l]y in his Body, [but] beautiful [in his Soul].*	200,9 – 204,23	209
84	*Concerning Wisdom; it is far superior when on the Tongue than in the Heart of the Person.*	204,24 – 208,10	213
85	*Concerning the Cross of Light: [...] trample upon it.*	208,11 – 213,20	216
86	*The Chapter of the Man who asks: Why [am] I sometimes at peace, and troubled at other times?*	213,21 – 216,30	221
87	*Concerning the Alms, that [...] life in the Church.*	216,31 – 218,32	224
88	*Concerning the Catechumen who found fault with the Elect: why he is angry.*	219,1 – 221,17	226
89	*The Chapter of the Nazorean who questions the Teacher.*	221,18 – 223,16	229
90	*Concerning the Fifteen Paths; and whether the Catechumen would have avoided causing his Wealth to go on the Three Paths to Gehenna.*	223,17 – 228,4	231
91	*Also concerning the Catechumen; shall he be saved in a single Body?*	228,5 – 234,23	235
92	*The Apostle is asked: Why when you drew every thing in the Picture (-Book), did you not draw the Purification of the Catechumens who shall be cleansed by Transmigration?*	234,24 – 236,6	241

93	*A Catechumen asked the Apostle: When I give an Offering to the Saints, shall I inflict a Wound on the Alms?*	236,7 – 239,2	242
94	*Concerning the Purification of these Four Elements [that have been place]d in the Flesh.*	239,3 – 240,12	245
95	*The Apostle asks his Disciples: What is Cloud?*	240,13 – 244,20	246
96	*The Three Earths that exist, they bear Fruit.*	244,21 – 246,6	250
97	*Concerning the Three Creations of the Flesh: the ones that were brought forth [...]; and the ones that were begotten by the Abortions; and the ones that were formed of themselves.*	246,7 – 248,10	252
98	*What is Virginal; or, otherwise, what is Continent?*	248,10 – 249,30	253
99	*Concerning Transmigration.*	249,31 – 251,25	255
100	*Concerning the Dragon with Fourte[en] He[ads]; what it is and [...]*	251,26 – 253,24	257
101	*[Concer]ning why, if the Person shall look down into Water, [...]*	253,25 – 255,21	258
102	*Concerning the Light Mind, why it does not exercise Foreknowledge for the Saint as for the Apostle.*	255,22 – 257,7	260
103	*Concerning the Five Wonders that the Light Mind shall display in the Elect.*	257,8 – 258,3	262
104	*Concerning Food: It shall be allocated to Five Products of the human Body.*	258,4 – 25	263
105	*Concerning the Three Things that are great with Mankind, as they are running all the time, in that they [...]*	258,26 – 259,23	264
106	*There is no Joy that shall remain in the World till the End.*	259,24 – 260,27	265
107	*Concerning the Form of the Word, that [...]*	260,28 – 261,13	266

108	*Concerning the Seed Grain that shall be formed by the Elements, [a]nd also be destroyed by them.*	261,14 – 262,9	267
109	*Concerning the Fifty Lord's Days; to what Mysteries do they correspond? Or the Second (Fifty); to whose Sign (are they)?*	262,10 – 264,19	268
110	*Concerning the Nourishment of the Person, for there are Powers in it [...]*	264,20 – 265,8	270
111	*Concerning the Four Archetypes that occur in the Eye, and the Fifth that is hidden in them; to whom do they belong?*	265,9 – 266,2	270
112	*The Human is less than all the Things of the Universe, and he is rebellious beyond them all.*	266,3 – 268,27	271
113	*The Chapter on whether any [Lig]ht comes from the Three Vessels.*	268,27 – 269,13	274
114	*Concerning the Three Images that are in the righteous Person.*	269,14 – 270,24	275
115	*The Catechumen asks the Apostle: Will Rest come about for Someone who has come out of the Body, if the Saints pray [over] and make an Alms-offering [for him]?*	270,25 – 280,19	276
116	*Concerning why if a [Nail] is cut the Person shall not be sick; but if a Limb is cut he shall immediately be pained.*	280,20 – 282,6	284
117	*Concerning why Some shall delay to come forth from the Body, and Others die in an instant.*	282,7 – ?	285
118	*[...]*	283 – 284	286
119	*[...]*	284,? – 286,23	286
120	*Concerning the Two Essences.*	286,24 – 288,18	288
121	*Concerning the Sect of the Basket.*	288,19 – 290,28	290
122	*Concerning the 'Assent' and the 'Amen'.*	290,29 – 295,8	292

••• (Introduction) •••

(1,1 - 9,10)

The introductory section cannot properly be termed a kephalaion. Rather, it is a framing sequence; and a justification for the entire work.

The text (when readable) begins with a grand survey of the crucial moments in the cosmogonic drama: the eternal separation of the two principles at the beginning; the attack by the darkness, and consequent emanation and descent of the First Man in defence of the light; the construction of the universe by the Living Spirit; the role of the Third Ambassador as supreme redeemer; the destruction of the cosmos in the great fire, and final binding of the darkness; the reintegration of the divine, and victory of the Father (– 5.20).

Mani then asserts his revelation of total wisdom in his canonical scriptures. However, he also stresses his oral teaching; and urges his followers to write down what he has taught them. This appears to provide justification for the *Kephalaia,* as a sub-canonical text (– 7.6).

Mani acknowledges the true proclamation by earlier apostles, detailing Jesus, Zarathustra and Buddha. However, they did not write their own scriptures; and so their teachings were adulterated, and their churches will decay and pass away (– 8.28).

In consequence, Mani again admonishes his disciples to remember and write down his teachings (– 9.10).

(**1**) [...] [17] light [...] [33] which he has unveiled [... (**2**) ...] [21] his disciples [... (**3**) ...] entire [...] of wisdom [... / ...] word in the beginning [... / ...] concerning the separation [... / ...] the heights [... [5] ...] to the hei[ghts ...] and they spread out [... / ... unt]il they should make war [... [17] ...] kingdom [... / ... l]ight [... / ...] in the heights [... [20] ... f]rom all the aeons [... / ...] the light, the one that no [... / ...] in it. /

[...] the darkness, the wo[rld / ...] their roo[t ... [25] ...] which poured for[th ... / ...] the one that the earth has [... / ... / ...] darkness [... / ...] it is far from the light [... [30] ...]

Thi[s] is the first [... / ...] concerning the eternality; he [... / ...] to you, for each one of them exis[ts ... / ...] they are divided from one another by their [... / ...] in an eternality since the [... [35] ...] which I have written for you (pl.); this is, that [...] (**4**) the darkness has made war against the light, desiring that it would rei[gn / over an] essence not its own. It spread a quarrel / [...] it disturbed

[... / ...] came up, it [... in [5] this great] need. The power came forth from [... / ... which] is [the Fir]st Man. He [... / ...] the armour of ligh[t ...] / all [the enmity]. He cruc[if]ied it in [... / ...] the armour [... [10] ... / ...]

[... [15] ...] he brought the sun [... / ...] the lig[ht] aeons [... / ... the] L[i]ving [Spirit] spread [out the] universe / [...] the earth [... / ...] the light and the da[rkness in] the beginning [... [20] ...] and the garments. He gave [them ... / ...] He set in order the [... / ...] and the wheel of the cou[rse ... / ...] in the heights, that they would [... / ...] of the darkness. He stood [firm ... [25] ... f]ixed. He constructed the found[ation / ... al]l of it was set up. Unde[rneath ... / ... a]ll of them; and also above he [... / ... thre]e earths, they being conjoined. He enclosed the earth i[n / ... f]our mountains and three vesse[ls [30] ...] in its seas and its mountain[s ... / set in] order upon it. This uni[v]erse stood f[irm / ...] a bond for the evil powers [... / ... li]ght that they joined with the darkness [... /

The]n the Third Ambassador! [He purified the [35] li]ght by his image. He became [redeemer of] / all [thin]gs.

(**5**) [...] they are in all the [... / ... / ... u]niverse, and the fire blazes in it, and it is devo/[ured ...] all [...] of the light al[s]o, and he bec[omes] [5] purifier, and goes up to his essence. Conversely, the darkness [wh]ich is in / [...] out, and it is gathered in to a bond [... [12] ...] unveil [... / ...] and they go in to him and become [... / ... pe]rfume [... s][15]et up [... an]/d they reign for ever, and a single God comes to be [... ov/er] the totality, being above [the to]tality. You (sg.) find no opponent / from this time on again[st the Father], the King of the Light and the [... / ...] which they occur in, from the [beginning ... [20] ...] they are mixed and joined with one another. /

[... unv]eil in these three lessons*[1] / [...] in them. I have written [them in / my bo]oks of ligh[t: i]n *The Great Gospel* and *Treasu[ry] / of the Life;* in *The Treatise;* in *The One of the Mysteries;* [in] [25] *The Writing,* which I wrote on account of the Parthians; and also all my *Ep[ist/le]s;* in *The Psalms* and *The Prayers.* For the[se three] / lessons are the measure of all wisdom. Everything that has

*[1] ⲥⲉⲍⲉ Perhaps the 'three times'.

occ[ured], / and [th]at will oc[cu]r, is written in them! Have strength to discrim[inate / ...] and know it through them. [Every] wri[ter, 30 if he re]vea[l]s these three great lessons: that on[e is / the writer of truth]. Also, every [te]acher, if he gives instruction and proclaims these th[r/ee lessons, is] the teacher of truth. I also, for my part, behold [I] have / [revealed] these three great lessons. I have given them to yo[u / ...]

The first gr[eat lesson (**6**) [...] which in the [... / ...] / that walks in it because of the twel[v]e [... / ...] in it, which in the cities and the dwelling places found in the 5 [...] because of the doors that are opened in them [... / ...] upon the earth, which in the four corners [... / ... / ... / ... 10 ... / ...] and my pains. For also [... / ...] and my afflictions [... / ...] to them [... / ...] suffices for the person [... 15 ...] wise person.

[Yet], now [I will] entrust to you (pl.) [... / ...] The world has not permitted me to write down [... / ...] to me all of it; and if you, my childr[en and my discip]/les, write all my wisdom [... / ...] the questions that you have asked me [...] 20 and the explanations that I have made clea[r to you from t/im]e to time; the homilies, the lessons, that I have proclaimed with the teache[rs / to] the leaders, together with the elect and the catechume[ns; / and] the ones that I have uttered to free men and free women; [... / ...] all of them, that I have proclaimed from time to time! Th[ey] are [not] writt[en. 25 Y]ou must remember them and write th[em; ga]ther them i[n / differ]ent places; because much is the wisdom that I ha[ve ut]tered [to y/ou].

I did pay heed to each one. I spoke [in (wisdom) about them], / with person after person. Each [one ...] / I have given to him a conviction. The elec[t ... 30 ...] I have given them psychi[c] wisdom [...] (**7**) psychi[c ...] The suckling babe[s], according to their ability, [... / ...] it, even a[s] is fitting for them; so that they would lis[ten /] like th[is]. Also, even the sects and the he[resies ... / o]ut. I have open[ed] the eyes of each one of them [... its 5 wi]sdom and its [scr]ipture, for the truth is this that I have unvei[led. / I have] revealed it [i]n the world. Also the apostles have [... / ...] and the earliest fathers past unveiled it in th[eir scriptures / ...] Concerning this I [...] in haste, in that [... / ...

eve]ry explanation and every wisdom, as I proclaimed in e[ach pl[10]ace], in each c[it]y, in each land [... / ...] and they [...] as he may form it in [... / ...] and [...] truth since [... / ...] which they have [... / ...] the church [... [15] ... / ... / ...] according to [...] book. /

[...] you [... my] beloved ones: At the time that [Jesus t/r]od [...] the land of the west [... [20] ... proc]laimed his hope [... / ...] his disciples [... / ...] which Jesus uttered [... / ... a]fter him they wrote [... / ...] his parables [... [25] ...] and the signs and wonders [... / ...] they wrote a book concerning his [... /

The apostle of] light, the splendrous enlightener, [... / ... he came to] Persia, up to Hystaspes the king [... / ... he chose d]isciples, righteous men of trut[h ... [30] ... he proclaimed hi]s hope in Persia; but [... / ...] Zarathustra (did not) write books. Rather, hi[s / disciples who came a]fter him, they remembered; they wrote [... / ...] that they read today [... / ...]

Again, for his part, when Buddha came, [... (8) ...] about him, fo[r] he too proclaimed [his / hope and] great wisdom. He cho[se] his chur[c/hes, and] perfected his churches. He unve[iled] to them / [his hop]e. Yet, there is only this: that he d[id not] write his wi[5][sdom in bo]oks. His disciples, who came afte[r] him, are the ones who re/[membered] somewhat the wisdom that they had heard from Buddha. They / [wrote it in sc]riptures.

And this, in that the fathers of righteou/[sness] did not [wri]te their wisdom in books [... / ...] know that their righteousn[ess] and their chu[r[10]ch will pass aw]ay from the world; because they did not writ[e / ...] Since [...] write it in book[s / ...] will lead as[tr]ay [...] fall / [...] and they [...] lead astra[y / ...] adulter[at]e, and they [... [15] ...] mix [... / ... / ...] all of it, of the knowledg[e / ...] will unveil [... / ...] in the world, in a [...] Since the fa[thers of [20] righteo]usness know this, that also [... / ...] in the [... / ... / ...] from [... / ... [25] ... / ...] lead astray and [... / ...] as they illuminate [... / ...] write [th]em for you (pl.) in books. /

[... [30] ...] it was not unveiled, nor was it [... / ...] every [...], together with the commandments and [... / ...] unveiled for you in my script[ures ... / ...] to you, that the wisdom and the in[terpretation

... / ... from] time to time, which I did not write [... [35] ...] and you write after me, so that [...] (**9**) it leads you not astray! For you yourselves k[now] / the great wisdom [I have uttered in] / city after city, in each land separately. What [I have written] / in books no human mouth will suffice to write. [5] Nevertheless, according to your capacity, and even as yo[u] may fi[nd] / strength; remember! And write a little something from [the] great [wi]/sdom that you have heard from me.

When [y]/ou write a[nd] are amazed by them [... en]/lighten greatly; and they shall give benefit and make free [...] [10] of the truth.

••• 1 •••

(9,11 – 16,31)

/ Concerning the Ad[vent] / of the Apostle.

The succession of apostles and churches is compared to the continuous cycle of seedtime and harvest. A new apostle releases the spiritual forms of his church, (the heavenly twin motif); and then is sent to earth to sow the seed of his election, at the very moment that the previous church finally ripens to harvest and ascends. Thus, there is no moment when the world is bereft of the means of salvation (see 11.26 – 27).

This recognition of the authenticity of each cycle of revelation is one of the most striking aspects of Mani's teaching. While Mani is likely to have developed it from the concept of the true prophet, found in his Elchasaite heritage and in other Jewish-Christian sects, and it also owes something to Marcion's idea of the renewal of Jesus' true revelation by Paul and himself; nevertheless, the universal application seems to be the product of Mani's particular religious genius. It also, by an historical connection which is not yet clear, may well have influenced the notion of cycles of prophecy that appears in emergent Islam.

The chain of apostles is traced from Sethel, (as in other gnostic teachings), through Enos and Enoch to Sem. Two figures from Indian tradition are then included, the Buddha and Aurentes (from 'arhant'?); and finally Zarathustra and Jesus. Other Manichaean texts provide similar lists, and the concept was open-ended enough to allow the inclusion of other apostles such as Hermes Trismegistus or Lao-Tzu to accord with the missionary expansion of the religion (see Puech 1949: 144 – 146 and now particularly K (Dub). 299). Nevertheless, while universality is obviously the intention, it is noticeable that only Jesus receives any significant detail or historical context. It is difficult to find evidence that Mani had any real knowledge of the lives and teachings of figures such as the Buddha.

Docetic emphases that can be traced back to Marcion are embedded in the Manichaean accounts of Jesus. This kephalaion is particularly interesting for an understanding of Mani's religious heritage because he follows the chain of apostles from Jesus to Paul, and then to one (or two?) righteous man in the Christian church (13.30 – 35). The identity of this figure has been much debated, but the obvious candidates are Elchasai, Marcion, and perhaps Bardaisan.

After the ascent of the church of Jesus Mani's apostolate begins. Thus, the authenticity of later Christianity is rejected. As he foretold, according to the gospel of John, Jesus sends after him the Paraclete. This is Mani's own Twin-Spirit who reveals to him the totality of truth, the knowledge that Mani will then preach and write in his canonical scriptures. The summary of the essentials of revelation given here (14.27 – 15.24) is one of the best known from Manichaean texts; and has an almost creedal ring to it. Mani finishes with a brief summary of his missionary journeys, and a repetition

of his claim to direct revelation. His own apostolate is superior to those before him because it has spread throughout the world; and thus it will last till the final judgement and the return of Jesus (16.3 – 17).

In the framing sequence at the end the disciples are enlightened and thank Mani; and assert that he is the Paraclete. Thus he has become one with his heavenly Twin, 'a single Spirit (see 15.23 – 24)'.

15 The first chapt[e]r is this: His disciples [questioned / h]im concerning his ap[os]tolate and his coming to the wor[ld; / fo]r [h]ow did it happen [... his] / journeying in each city, in each la[nd]; / in what [manner] was he sent [... 20 ...] first, before he had yet chosen h[is church]. /

The apostle [sa]ys to them: I [... / ...] but I will recount to you [... / ... / ...] Understand, O my beloved ones: [A]ll the apost[les] 25 who are on occasion sent to the world re[semble] / farmers; while their churches, which they choose, [are] / like Pa[rm]uthi and Paophi. For, the way Parmuthi [occ/u]rs not in all the months of the year; nor [does Paophi / ...] in all of them. Rather, the season [... 30 ...] for it alone, as they know [... / ...] its vegetables [... / ...] the time they are cropped; also the vegetables and the [... / ...] season; and they tend and ripen the pickings, and they / [...] to Paophi. Of course, now that farmer (**10**) [...] Parmuthi; in that, if he will come and sow some corn seed th/[ere ...] cereal. And he shall be involved from the beginning / [...] a corn seed and toil for it. Yet, when the summer / [comes] each year, and his corn comes to the season of its harvest; 5 [then] the farmer comes forth and harvests it. Even the ga[rdener] from the begin/[ning ...] shall toil for his fruits; and he tends them and he / [...] and they ripen; and he comes forth and picks them from the tree. /

[This is the way of the] apostles who are come to the [wo]rld. They are l/[ike] a [...] of the greatness [...] the season that [... 10 ...] flesh. Rather, they are sent before [... / ...] before they had yet [...] in the wo/[rld ...] from the greatness. They [...] to the [whole] created order; / [and they] choose a selection of the [..., as t]hey make [... / ...] the elect and the catechumens [... 15 ...] their forms, and they make them [free ... / ...] in the flesh [... / ...] the world / [...] to above / [...] as he may make his [...] the winter, and he harvests it 20 [...] also tend to the fruit in the summer and the / [... P]aophi, and he takes them away.

Also the way [... / ...] many years before [... / ... the w]orld, as he journeys below to the [... / ... makes the f]orm of his church free, and [... [25] ...] of the flesh, whose form[s] he had made free / [...]

Like the farmer, for when he will [... / ...] that moment he shall begin [... t]end / [...] it reaches Parmuthi also, he may harvest it [... / ...] toil for the fruits of Paophi [... [30] ...]

Again, this too is [how] the apostl[es ... / ...] from the beginning of the moulding of humanity [... / ... a]s I have t[ol]d you, that when they [... / ...] before every thing he shall [... / ...] free above, first.

Yet, when (**11**) it [will be] born in the flesh, he shall come down to it and at once [...] it in the [...] / which comes out from the [...] is [r]aised up / to the greatness. [He] shall continue in the world at this time [...] / him, corresponding to the season when the world will come to his [...] [5] when the season will mature he is raised up from the world [...] / and he leaves his church {behind}*2 and goes forth. Still, he [... / ...] and he helps and aids his church. / Whoever comes out from their body after him, he shall be[come] / for them a s[uppo]rt and a leader; and he goes on before them [...], [10] excepting the othe[rs] who are set firmly in the fles[h]. He is the one who [will / be]come for them a h[e]lper and a guardian; he shall not take [... / ...] in se[cr]et, until his church [... / ch]ange it [...] when [h]is church [... / ... [15] ...] he was raised up after it, and went [in / to the l]and of glory. And he rejoices and rests at the last [... / ...]

Like the far[me]r who shall be glad of heart in [...] / he was bringing in (the harvest). Or like the merchant who [shal]l come up from [a coun]/try with the doubling of his great cargo; and the riches [of his tr][20]ading.

When the apostle will be [rais]/ed up from the world, he and his church [... / ...] for [every] apostle / [...] in the [...] Since [... / ...] tree, that still [is l]aden with its first fruits [25] [...], and they are picked; they shall propagate other ones th[ere], / and they mature to the season to bring them forth. There is not any time [the tree]

*2 ⲙⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲥ

/ is bare of fruit! Rather, instead, those about to ripen as they pick them / shall propagate other ones there. When they bear these [... / t]hem on the tree; they come up and are brought forth upon it[s bran]ches. They shall pick from it those that mature and ripen. [The far]/mer do[es not] rest at any time from the labour and the pain. / At what hour [may he] cease? When he can finish harvesting the corn in P[armu]/thi! [...] them in the winter, the fruits of the summer shall [...] / grow [up and] be picked in the month of Paophi.

The apostles are like [t]his [also]. N[o]w, (**12**) when the apostle will be raised up to the heights, he / and his church, and they depart from the world; at t[h]at instant / another apostle shall be sent to it, to another ch/u[rch ...] it [...] Yet, first, he shall make the forms of his church free in the heights, / as I have told you. When [...]; / again, he too shall come down and appear [... / ...] and he releases his church and saves it from the flesh [of / sin ...]

The advent of the apostle has occured at the occasion [... a]s I have told you: From Sethel / [the first] born son of Adam up to Enosh, together with / [Enoch]; fr[om] Enoch u[p] to Sem [the] son of [Noah; / ... / ...] church after it [... ... Bu]ddha to the east, and Aurentes, and the other [... / ...] who were sent to the orient; from the adve[nt] / of Buddha and Aurentes up to the advent of Z[a/ra]thustra to Persia, the occasion that he came to Hystaspes / [the k]ing; from the advent of Zarathustra up to the advent of Jesus [the Christ], the son of greatness. /

[The advent] of Jesus the Christ our master: He came [... / ...] in a spiritual one, in a body [... / ...] as I have told you about him. I [...] him; / for he came without body! Also his apostles have preached in respect of him that he received a servant's form, an appearance as of / men*3. He came below. He manifested in the world in / the [s]ect of the Jews. He chose his twelve / [and] his seventy-two. He did the will of his Father, who had / sent him to the world. Afterwards, the evil one awoke envy in the sect of the Jews. Satan went / in to Judas the Iscariot, one am[ong the twe]lve / of Jesus. He accused him before the sec[t of the J]ew/s, with his kiss. He gave [him] over [to the han]/ds of the Jews, and

*3 Phil. 2:7

the cohort of the soldie[rs. The Jew](13)s themselves took hold of the son of Go[d. They gave judgement on] / him by lawlessness, in an assembly. They condemned him by i[ni]/quity, while he had not sinned. They lifted him up upon the wood of the cro/ss. They crucified him with some robbers on the cr[o]s[s. [5] Th]ey brought him down from the cross. They placed him in the grave; [and] / after three days he arose from among the dead. He / came towards his disciples, and was visible to them. He laid upon them a / power. He breathed into them his Holy Spirit. [He sen]/t them out through the whole world, that they would preach [the grea][10]tness. Yet, he [hi]mself, he rose up to [the heights.

... / ...] Jesus, [h]is twelve [... / ...] land [... / ...] master [... / ... [15] ... / ...] them. They were not faint-hearted, nor [... / ...] they were all active [... they were raised] / up and rested in the greatness.

[... while] / the apostles stood in the world, [Pau][20]l the apostle [reinforced them]. He also came forth. He preached [... / ...] He gave power to the apostles. He made [them] stro[ng ... / ... the] church of the saviour [... / ... / ...] he preached a [... [25] ...] he too went up and rested in [...] /

After Paul the apostle little by little, day [after] / day, all mankind began to stumble. They le[ft righteousness / b]ehind them; and the path which is narrow and sticky. They preferred [...] / go on the road which is broad.

[30] [A]t this same time also, in the last church, a righteous [m]an / of truth app[ea]red, belonging to the kingdom. He reinforced [... / ...] they cared for*[4] the church of our master according to [their / capacity; bu]t they too were raised up to the lan[d of / light. A]fter those ones again, little by little, the ch[35][urch] perished. The world remained behind without (14) [c]hu[r]ch. Like a tree

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*[4] Or 'carved': ⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲕ lit. 'make knife'. See also 218.6 Kasser 1964:50 suggests 'prendre soin de'; but in this context it may indeed mean to separate the righteous Christians from the falsifiers. The switch to plural has been taken by most commentators to mean that the first righteous man (e.g. Marcion) agreed with (ϯⲙⲉⲧⲉ, here translated as 'reinforced') a second (e.g. Bardaisan) who together ⲣ̄ⲧⲁⲕ the church. However, as E. Smagina (1992:365) points out, the lacuna could easily be filled by such a term as 'his disciples'.

will be plucked, and the fr/uits on it taken away. And it remains behind without fruit. /

[Wh]e[n] the church of the saviour was raised to the heights, my apo/stolate began, which you asked me about! From that time on [5] was sent the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth; the one who has / co[me] to you in this last generation. Just like the saviour sa/id: When I go, I will send to you the Paraclete. / [Whe]n the Paraclete comes, he can upbraid the world concerni[ng / sin, and] he can speak with you on behalf of right[eou]sness, and [10] [about] judgement, concerning the sinners who believe / [me not; ...*5 he] can speak with you [... / ... / ... / ... [15] ...] he can s[p]eak with you and preach [... / ...] that [...], the one who will honour me and [... / ...] and he gives to you. /

[...] preach on behalf of the Paraclete of truth, that he / [...] he came to manifest the one whom he had known [... [20] ...] the appointed time of all these years, as they [... / ... from] Jesus until now [... / ... / ...] until he [... / ...] and he makes them free. Yet, when the church as[25]sumed the flesh, the season arrived to redeem the souls; like / [the mont]h of Parmuthi that cereal shall ripen i[n], / to be harvested.

At that same season he [...] / my image, I assuming it in the years of Arta[b]anus / the [ki]ng of Parthia. Then, in the years of Ard[ashir], the ki[30]n[g] of Persia, I was tended and grew tall and attained the ful[lne]ss of the sea/[so]n. In that same year, when Ard[ashi]r the ki/[ng was c]rowned, the living Paraclete came down t[o me. He sp]o(**15**)ke with me. He unveiled to me the hidden mystery, / the one that is hidden from the worlds and the generations, the myster[y] of the dep[ths] / and the heights. He unveiled to me the mystery of the light / and the darkness; the mystery of the calamity of conflict, and the w[ar], [5] and the great [...] the battle that the darkness spread about. Aft[erwards], / he unveiled to me also: How the light [...] / the darkness, through their mingling this universe was set up [...] / H[e o]pened my eyes also to the way that the ships were constructed; [to enable the / go]ds of light to be in them, to purify the li[ght from] [10] creation. Conversely, the dregs and the eff[lue]nt [... to the] / abyss. The

*5 Jn. 16:7–9 +ff.

mystery of the fashioning of Adam, the fir[st ma]/n. He also informed me about the mystery of the tree of knowledge, [wh]/ich Adam ate from; his eyes saw. [Also], the myste/ry of the apostles who were sent to the wor[ld, to enable them] [15] to choose the churches. The mystery of the elect, [with their] / commandments*[6]. / [The] mystery of the catechumens their helpers, with [their] / commandments. The mystery of the sinners with their deeds; / and the punishing that lies hidden for them.

This is how everything th[at] has ha[pp][20]ened and that will happen was unveiled to me by the Paraclete; [...] / everything the eye shall see, and the ear hear, and the th/ought think, a[n]d the [...] I have understood by him e/verything. I have seen the totality through him! I have become a single body, / with a single Spirit!

In the last years of Ardash[ir] [25] the king I came out to preach. I crossed to the country of the Indians. [I] / preached to them the hope of life. I chose in that place / a good election.

Yet, also, in the year [that Ar/da]shir the king died Shapur his son became king. He [...] / I crossed from the country of the Indians to the land of the Persians. Also, from [30] the land of Persia I came [to] the land of Babylon, Mesen[e] / and Susiana. I a[pp]eared before Shapur the king. He rece/i[v]ed me with great ho[nou]r. He gave me permission to journey in [... / ... pr]eaching the word of life. I even spent some year[s / ...] him in the retinue; many years in (**16**) Pers[i]a, in the country of the Parthians, up to Adiabene, and / the bor[de]rs of the provinces of the kingdom of the Romans. /

[I have chosen] you (pl.), the good election, the [h]oly chur/c[h] that I was sent to from the Father. I have [5] [sown] the seed of life. I have [...] them [... / ... fr]om east to west. As you yourselves are seeing, / [my] hope has gone toward the sunrise of the world, and / [every] inhabited part; to the clime of the north, and the [... / ...] Not one among the apostles did ever do these things [... [10] ...]; because all the apostles who were sent / [... / ...] they preached [... / ...] the world [... / ...] (my hope) will remain in the world until

*6 [[the mystery of the sinners with their de[eds]]]

[(Jesus) ... [15] ...] his throne in it, and he will make [...] in / [...] church, which is the righ[t] side, / [...] which belongs to the left. /

[...] about which you questioned me. S/[ince the] Spirit is of the Paraclete, the one who was sent to me from [20] [the greatness; what has] happened and what will happen [has been] / unveiled to me. For you I have written about it, in full, in my / books already. Today you have again questioned me. Behold, now I have repeated / the lesson to you in brief!

Then, w[he]n his / disciples heard all these things from him, they rejoiced greatly. [25] Their mind was enlightened. They say to him in their joy: We th/ank you, our master! For while you have written about your advent in the / [scri]ptures, how it came to be, and we have received it and believed in it; / still, you have repeated it to us in this place, in a condensed form. And / we, for our parts, have received it in full. We have also believed that you are the [30] Paraclete, this one from the Father, the unveiler of all these hi/dden things!

••• 2 •••

(16,32 - 23,13)

/ The Second, concerning / the Parable of the Tree.

The use of Jesus' parable about the two trees as a proof-text for dualism was already a key feature of Marcion's exegesis (e.g. Tertullian *adv. Marc.* 1.2.1; 4.17), from which it must be traced to Mani, and is thence found throughout Manichaean texts (e.g. PsBk2. 56.21 136.20-21. Augustine *c.Adim.* XXVI).

In this kephalaion Mani begins by discussing sectarian interpretations of the parable. Unfortunately this section is very fragmentary, but it seems to be concerned with the mixture between the two principles that occurs during time and in the cosmos, so that no person or thing of composite nature can be singularly good or evil (17.16 - 19.28).

Mani then presents his own definitive revelation. The limbs of the good tree are the five intellectual qualities through which the soul ascends to the Father and the aeons of glory (20.21 - 31). This equation of the internal mental process of salvation with the eschatological journey through the heavens indicates a living spirituality in Mani's teaching that is often missed by commentators. The fruit of the good tree is Jesus the Splendour, that is Jesus as the universal redeemer and incarnation of divine Intellect, and thus the 'father of all the apostles'. Consequently, its taste is the community of the church.

As an exact negative of this the evil tree is also made up of five intellectual qualities. However, in this case the mental process is directed towards sin and darkness; and the corresponding eschatological journey takes this soul to the ultimate death where it is compounded with the final 'lump' beyond all hope of redemption (21.27 – 22.20). The text does not preserve the fruit of the evil tree; but its taste is the sects that always oppose the true churches.

The chapter ends with an important semi-creedal assertion of belief in absolute dualism (22.35 – 23.13).

35 The first parable that they asked him about! They besought [*him* to ex]/plain it for them.

This is the [occ]asion that [... (**17**) ...]; for his discip[les, who sat] / before him, questioned him. They say to him: We beseech y[o]u, our / master, that you may re[coun]t and explain t[o] us about these / two [tr]ees [that Jesus pre]ached to his disciples. As it is written in 5 [the] Gosp[el, he says]: The good tree shall give / [good fr]ui[t]; also [the] bad [tr]ee shall give b[ad] fruit / [... There is no] good [tree] that shall give bad fruit; / [nor a bad tree that] shall give [g]ood fruit. [One / kn]ows [each tree by] its fruits*7.

10 Now, [we] entreat you, that you may [...] / two trees, [an]d explain them [... / ...] as they grow u[pon the] earth; because it is written [...] / scriptures [...] them [... / ...] saying [... 15 ...] mystery by mystery. /

While there are some among the sects who explain about these [tw]o tr[ees], / as they reckon them, that a good tree [... remai]/ns behind, on this composite earth; another [...] / to them, comparing them with [...] 20 in a single explanation. /

Then speaks our master Manichaios, the apostle [of gre]/atness, to his disciples. Great is [...] 26 by his own mouth [...] bad / [...] The sec[ts ... / ... / ...] 30 Yet, [th]is that they [expla]in about the two trees, as they reckon the[m, / ...] the trees [...] in an explanation [... / ...] because [... / ...] tree, as it grows on this composite ea[rth, / ...] date palm, because [... 35 ...], for not absolutely every part of the date palm is used! (**18**) [...] their child, as it strikes [... / ...] while first one [...] in them / [...] at the end there is one [...] it

*7 Lk. 6:43–44

occurs / in its fibres and its branches [...] [5] There is a bad dust in them [...] / date palm [...] before the tree that [...] bad; / because they give the decision [... / ... / ...] the one that they name [... [10] ...] the type [... / ...] name it: tree [... / ...] is sweet [... [17] ...] writing [... / ... / ...] they shall establi[sh ... [20] ...] man [... / ...] it is sweet [... / ...] seed of the [...] and it is us[ed] / for their nourishment [... [31] ...] will explain [... / ...] may not join to the [... / ...] mankin[d], as they are named [... / ...]

[35] [... / ... / ...] for as they [... apo(**19**)s]tle. They counted him in the number of [the twelve]. Yet, [at] / the end, it is written about him that Sata[n entered him]*[8]. / He gave the saviour into the hands of the Jews; they [...] / upon the wood.

Now, Judas Iscar[iot], first [they] [5] called him a good man; [(but) ... / ...] and traitor and murderer [... It is written about] / Paul, that first he was acting persecutor [... chur]/ch of God*[9], he persecuting [... / ... [10] ...] / a great rev[elat]ion. He [...] / the church [of m]y master. He [... / ...] bad first [... / ...] explain [... [15] ...] their explanation [... / ...] good man, upright [... / ...] completely bad; because [...] / they were fashioned through the mingling of the [...] / they all standing firm in [...] [20] they gave likeness to them, they established them in the [...] / which is mingled in all things.

Behold, [... the ex]/planation of the sects [... / ...] listen and I will revea[l] to you concerning the [... th/at the] saviour preached in the [parable] about the good tree and [25] the bad tree [...] / they know not, for what are [...] and their inner p[ar]ts / [...] know, they being like [...] in their explanation [... / ...] what are th[ese t]wo tre[es]?

[...] / how I will reveal to you [...] the expound[er ...] [30] the trees [...] the Father [... / ...] all of them, as he [...] in the [... / ...] world [... / ...] this g[o]od tree, the [... / ...] the light of this good tree [... [35] ...] the [P]illar [... (**20**) ...] the intellectuals that are cloaked upon its body [... / ...] this good tree. They are the light elements / that are mingled, being compounded in the totality. The fruits / of the

*[8] Lk. 22:3
*[9] I Cor. 15:9

good tree are glorious Jesus the Splendour, the father [of] all [the apo]st[l]es. Yet, the taste of the fruits of the [good] tree / [is the] holy [c]hurch, in her teachers and her / [...] the c[atech]umens. Behold, this is the [good] tree / [... / ... ... bad [f]ruit / [... r]evea[l] to you [... / ...] it has five limbs. / [They are consideration, counsel, insight, tho/ught, mind. I]ts consideration is the ho[ly] church. [Its counsel] is [the Pil]lar of Glory, the Perfe[ct] Man. [Its insight / is the Fir]st Man who dwells in the ship of [living] wat[ers]. / Its thought is the Third Ambassador / [who dwells in] the ship of living fire, that shines in / [... A]lso, the min[d] is the Father who dwells in great[ness, who is perfe]ct in [the] aeons of light. /

[...] this one, for the souls that ascend and attain / [h]oly [...]; together even with the alms that the cate/[chumen]s give, as they are purified in the [holy] church; / [...] everything. It is consideration that shall [... ...] they shall be raised up [...] is counsel; / [they sh]all be raised up to insight, which is the First Man / [who d]wells in the ship of the night; fr[om] insight they shall ris[e / u]p to thought, which is the Ambass[ad]or who dwells in / [the sh]ip of the day. And he too, great glor[ious] thought, [shall bring] them in to mind; which is the Father, the Go/[d] of truth, the great Mind of all the [ae]ons of glory. /

[Th]is is the good tree that shall give [good] fru[it, ... / ...] is [the] entire life and light for ever [... / ...] occurs [...] ever, it is bles[sed ... ...] goo[d ...] bad [... (**21**) ...] happen in [... / ...] from [... / ...] also [... / ...] the way that it i[s ... ...] the good tree [... / ...] of the fire [... / ...] they are the rul[ing-power ... ...] heaven and the wheel [... / ...] they are the five fleshes that walk [... / ...] fruit [... / ... te]aching as of error, the mystery that [... wh]/ich Satan appointed in the world.

However, the [taste of these] bad fruits is these evil people, the sects [... wh]/ich are bound in law after law, they and their teachers [... / the l]aw of death; they taking taste for it, they being thirsty fo[r it / ...] the soul[s] of death.

This is the tree that [shall / give g]ood [fruit]; the one that our master called [the good tree that shall] give good fruit. He [...] / in the scriptures [...] all [the] sects know it. /

[... I will] reveal to you and you [... / ... The] bad [tree] has five limbs. / Th[ey are consid]eration, counsel, insight, thought, [mind]. [30] [It]s c[onsideration is] the law of de[at]h from which the sect[s] / take instruction. I[t]s counsel is [t]ransmigration [...] / in typ[e after type]. Also, its insight is the furnaces of [fire / ... ge]henna; which is full of [s]moke. Thought [... / ... ve]ssel. Its mind is the [... [35] ...] the lump, the last b[o]nd, the [... / ...], they that Satan ca[st away. (**22**) ... [11] ...] the great [... / ...] and they fall [... / ...] the darkness [... / ...] all [...] and they take away [... [15] ... are swall]owed i[n] to the lump, and they are bound [... / ...] the fruit of darkness, the one that they [... / ...] for ever and ev[er / ...] his face [... / ...] will arrive at that place; and they have no [20] repentance therein. /

[...] this is the e[x]planation of the bad tree, as I have e[xpla/ined ...] to you, which you [...] to it [... / ...] good fruit [... / ...] its fruit bad [... [25] ... i]n it, in its existent days [... / ...] in it.

Concerning this [... / ...] and my be[loved on]es [... / ...] them in truth, it being changed from [... / ... [30] ...] which lies in its go[o]d earth [... / ... life] and light; as death and darkness do not ex[ist ... / ...] Also, [the] bad tree is Matter [... / ... i]t, I understand it alone among the [... / ... wh]ich occurs in its bad earth [... [35] ... darkness] and death.

Blessed is [every one (**23**) ...] these [t]wo trees, and separates them on[e] from [an]other. / He understands that they did not arise out of one another, nor did [th]ey come / from one another. They did not come from one! The person / who can separate them out may go up to the aeon of light. [5] [... as *I* have] revealed it to you. And he sees / [...] bad fruit di[d n]ot arise from / it [...]; but whoever will not separate out [... / ...] from [o]ne another, he falls to the land [of / darkness ...] until he arrives at the [... [10] ... / ...]

Ble[s]sed is whoever can believe! He [... / ...] darkness; which grows out of the [... / ... for e]ver and ever.

••• 3 •••

(23,14 – 25,6)

15 *The Interpretation of Happiness, / Wisdom and Power; what they signify.* /

Mani contrasts true happiness, wisdom and power to their perceived meaning in the world. In a schema that will be repeated throughout the *Kephalaia,* these principles are successively identified with the various levels of divinity (here five) as it descends into time and the universe.

Thus the archetypes are the great Gods in the eternal kingdom, untouched by the conflict with darkness; reflected then in the first evoked gods who have entered into time for the purpose of redemption, and who inhabit the two ships (the sun and moon), which can be regarded as the gateways to eternity for the purified light; then the divine elements and subsidiary gods who have descended into the mixed universe; and finally the human members of the church.

[Once aga]in the enlightener speaks to his disciples, whil[e / he si]ts in the assembly of the church: [What] are these thr/[ee things] that in the world are called 'happine[ss', 20 'wisdom]', and 'power'? People boa[s]t of th[em / ...] the happiness of the world [... / ...] in the world it has a [... / ...] of the world shall pass by. /

[People boa]st of them. They praise [... 25 ...] Now, [the] thing is revealed in a [... / ...] as I have told you. /

[I will t]each you of another happiness [... / and another wi]sdom [...] and together another power [...] / So, now, listen that I may reveal to you 30 [how] it is [with] these three: [ha/ppiness], wisdom and power. /

[The happin]ess of the glorious one is the Father, the God of / [truth, who] is established in the great land of [light]. (**24**) His glorious wis[d]om is his Great Spirit that [... / ...] below, which flows through all his aeons, / and t[h]ey float therein. His great power is all the / gods, the rich ones and the angels who were 5 summoned from him as they [...] t/hey that are called aeons [... / ... /

... / which is called] the sun [... 10 the ship of] living fire, [... the Third / Amba]ssador, the second greatne[ss ... The] / glorious

[happiness] is the [Living] Spirit, [... / ..., the wisdom] is the Mother of Lif[e ... / ... and great power] is [all] the gods, [the rich o]nes and the angels who are within the ship. /

Again, [h]appiness, wisdom and power exist in the s[hip of liv/ing waters ...] the happiness [... / ...] the Mind of the Father. / Also, wisdom [is the Vir/gi]n of [Li]ght. And the power that is [i]n the ship is [all] the go[ds], the [ri]ch ones and the angels who are established i[n it].

Again, these three exist in the elements: happiness, wis/d[o]m and power. The happiness is [the Pillar of Glory], / the Perfect Man. Wisdom is the [five sons of the] / Living Spirit; and great powe[r is ... the fi]ve sons of the First Man [... who are encl]/osed and compounded in the totality, that [...] / while he supports the totality. /

Now, moreover, happiness, wis[dom and power ex/ist] in the holy church. Great, glorious, [happines]s is the Apostle of Light [who has been s]/ent from the Father. Wisdom [is the leaders / and] the teachers who travel in the [holy] church, [proclaiming] / wisdom and truth. Great [power is ... (**25**) ...] all [the] elect, the virgins and the c[ontinent; / together with the] catechumens who are in the [holy] church. /

[...] five happinesses, the five wisdoms, [a]nd five powers [... / ...] in the five chur[ches]. Blessed, [therefore], is every one who will know them, for he may [... / ...] the kingdom forever.

••• 4 •••

(25,7 – 27,31)

/ Concerning the Four great Days / th[at have] come forth from one another; together with the Four Nights. /

The concept of the four days and four nights is temporal in the sense that, as each unravels from the last, it represents a descent / ascent from the polarity (the Father / the land of darkness) into the human sphere, where the choice between the two is met (the true church / the sects as representations of the new and the old man).

The schematic elaboration of days and hours is somewhat artificial. Certainly, as a systematisation, it is secondary to other doctrinal taxonomies. The purpose seems to be to enable Mani to link together a number of details around the theme of 'twelve'; and thus to strengthen the coherence of the revelation as a whole.

The twelve aeons or rich gods of the land of light are met elsewhere (see PsBk2. 1.13). Also, the twelve virgins of the Ambassador are known as a variant or elaboration upon the Virgin of Light, his feminine identity. Since Jesus is really the Ambassador's doublet, and the Virgin is sophia, this explains the twelve wisdoms of the fourth day. The summons and the obedience are the vocalisation of the salvific process, the archetype of which is the rescue of the First Man by the Living Spirit. The pairing of these divinities with the respective sets of Five Sons is used variously to elaborate doctrinal details (compare 43.2 – 4).

The necessary sets of twelve hours for the nights appear mostly artificial, since Manichaean doctrine regarding the land of darkness and the worlds of flesh is dominated by pentads. Nevertheless, the link between the sects and the zodiacal signs is found elsewhere (see 48.34 – 5); and the idea that false religions are determined by the planets and the stars is a mainstay of gnostic systems and Mandaeism. The emphasis upon the First Man as a snare is a recurrent feature of Mani's knowledge, and indicates the Christological basis for this doctrinal complex.

Once again the enlightener speaks: Four great days have come / [forth from one another; they] were evoked [out] of one another! The first / [great day] is the Father, the God of truth, the fir[st ... / ... m]idst the aeons of his greatness, in his [l]iving [ki[15]ngdom]. The twelve hours of this great day / [are the] twelve great rich Gods of great[ness. / These], who are the first evocations that he evoked (to mirror) / [h]is greatness, he spread out to the four climes, three b/y three before his face.

[20] The second day is the Third Ambassador, the one w/ho dwells in the light ship. His twelve ho[urs] are / [the] twelv[e v]irgins that he evoked in his greatness. /

[The third day is the Pillar of Glory, the great po/rter that is greater than] all [the po]rters; the one that supports all [...], [25] those above and those below. Its twelve hours are / the five sons [of the F]irst Man; the five sons of the Living Sp[ir]it, / who support all the weights of the uni/[v]erse; together with the summons and the obedience, which are counted to their ten / brethren. These are the twelve light hours of the th[30]ird da[y].

The fourth day is Jesus / the Splendour who [dwells in] his

church. His twelve / [h]ours are the twelve wisdoms, which are his / [light] h[o]u[rs].

These are the four great days that have come / [forth from one another, wh]ich were evoked out of one another. They [... Blessed is] every [o]ne who will know them, and / [...] the light!

(**26**) [...]: For just as four day[s ex]/ist, s[o] too four nights exist. / The first nigh[t] is the land of darkness. It has t[w]e/[l]v[e] black [shadows] therein, which are its dark h[o]ur[s]. The twelve shadows of the f[irst ni]/ght a[re] the five elements of the land of darkness, [which] / poured [fo]rth from its five sense organs; and [...] / which [...] in its [fi]ve elements and its five [...] / the five [sp]irits that dwell in its elements [...] These a[re] the twelve shadows and spirits of the fi[rst] ni[ght]. /

The second night is Matter, the sculptress [... / ...] who has sc[ulpted ... / a]nd the entire [ru]ling-power that is in the worl[ds of darkness]. / She has fashioned it in five sense organs, five [male] and five female, two per world; together with the fire and [the lu]/st [that] dwell in men and women, inflaming [them] / inward to one another. These are the twelve spirits of this [sec]/ond night. Indeed she, this Matter, the thought of death, / ga[ve] the King of the realms of Darkness and his powers strength for the w[20]ar and the fight, against the aeons of greatness. Yet, / he was caught! They laid a snare for him through the Fi[rst M]an. [He] was ta[ken] / t[o ...] through the powers [... He] was brought [u]/p from the land of death and s[et ... ab]/ove and below in the [whole] universe; in the five par[t[25]s] in the heavens above, as well as the five [parts] / in the earths below; together with the heat [and the] cold that / are the father and the mother, their fire and their l[u]st. /

This is the second night that is begotten [fr]om the first ni/ght. They laid a snare for her through the First M[a]n. She was brought u[p] by the hand of the Living Spirit, and set in this composite univers[e ...] / he[r], above and below. The [upper side is the sense] / organs of males; the lower side [...] / fe[mal]es.

The thir[d night is the five] / worlds of flesh [... five (**27**) mal]e, and five female; that were begotten from the powers / [abo]ve.

They have fallen upon the earth, being displayed in wh/[at is d]ry and what is moist; together with the fire and the lust / [that d]we[ll] in them, which drives them inward to one another. [Mat]te[r] herself, the thought of death, is the / [mother] of them all; as among them she is named 'the night'. / [The worlds] of male and female fleshes, together with the fire and the l/[ust], shall [...] twelve hours of [... / ...] night. Again, [it] too, the third night that is in [the] worlds of fl[e]sh, was begotten from the sec[o]nd / [ni]ght; which the Living [Spir]it crucified in the uni/[verse ..., ab]ove and below in heaven [... /...]

The fourth night is the law of [si/n, which] is the dark spirit who speaks in the twelv[e spirits], the twelve sects. They are the nakedne/[sses], the twelve zodiacal signs of Matter. They / [are] her thrones; she who is made public, as she sculpts and is dis/[p]layed in the old man. And, also, the hours of this four[t/h] night that is the old man, who reigns in the sects, are the [tw]elve e[vi]l spirits; the [...] of the old man, which / [are ... / ... / ... / ... di]fferentiate the day and night [... ... of] death. This is the fourth ni/[ght ...] that have come forth of one another. One has [... / ...] just like the days of lig[ht / ...] they manifested one another. So als[o / ...] they did arise out of one another.

[Bl]essed is he [who wi]ll know them, and separate them, and / [... for] ever! (28)

••• 5 •••

(28,1 - 30,11)

/ Concerning Four Hunters of / Light and Four of Darkness. /

The parallel reverse imagery evident in this kephalaion is typical of Manichaean doctrine. In this instance the powers of light and darkness are compared to hunters trawling various seas from ships and with nets. The teaching is structured in terms of the cosmic history, presupposing a prior knowledge of the entire cycle from the descent of the First Man to the ascent of the Last Statue and the everlasting death of sinners. Thus, the redeeming work of the Third Ambassador, achieved by the revelation of his image in the heavens, is prior to that of Jesus, whose net is the wisdom cast from the church.

Once again the apostle speaks to his discipl[es]: [5] There are four hunters who were sent from [the li]/ght to fulfill the will of the greatness. /

The first hunter is the First Man who was sen[t] / from the greatness. He threw himself down to the five storehouses / [of] d[ar]kn[ess, h]e caught and siezed the enmity [... [10] ...] his net also [... / ...] out over all the children of darkness [... / ...] His ship is his four sons who are swathed / over his body. The sea is the la[nd of darkness ... / ...] his net is [...] [15] and his powers.

The second [hunter is the Th]/ird Ambassador. This one, for by his [lig]ht image, / which he revealed to the depths be[low], / he hunted after the entire light that is in al[l] things; [as it is establ/i]shed in them. His net is his light image, [20] [...] the whole universe and took it prisoner, / to this likeness [... His] / ship is his light ship. [The sea] is the universe [...] / which were hunted after by his n[et ... / ... [25] ...] his [glorious] image. /

The third hunter is Je[sus the Splendour, who came from the] great/[ness], who hunts after the light and lif[e; and he ...] it / to the heights. His net is his wisdom, [the] lig[ht wisdom] / with which he hunts the souls, catching them in the n[et]. [30] His ship is his holy church [... The sea is / the] error of the universe, the law o[f sin ...] / the souls that are drowning in it [...] He catch[es] / them in his net. They are the souls [... / th]em by his light wisdom.

[The fourth] [35] hunter is the great counsel that [...] / that lives in the circuit [...] (**29**) entire universe in it today. Yet, at the end, in the dissoluti/[on] of the universe, this very counsel of life / [will] gather itself in and sculpt its soul in the / Last [St]atue. Its net is its Living Spirit*[10], becau[5][se] with its Spirit it can hunt after the light and the life that is in / all [t]hings; and build it upon its body. Its ship, in which it / [is est]ablished, is this light cloud whereby it itself trav/[els] in the five elements [... / the] great fire that will burn all the buildings of [... [10] ...] in its net is the light and the [life. It can] / rescue and free it from all bonds and fetters. /

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*10 See 54.22

Blessed is ev[ery] o[n]e who will be perfect in his deeds, so that / at his end [he may escap]e the great fire that is prepared for the uni/verse at [the end of] its time!

O[nc]e again he [s]peaks: As I have revealed to you the four / living hunters of light who belong to the greatness, / [I will] also [t]each you about four other evil hunters who ca/me from the darkness.

The first hunter is the King / of they who belong to the darkness, who hunted after the living soul with his net at the beginning of the worlds. His net is his fi/re and his lust that he has put upon the living soul, / with which he has entangled it [...], through all his powers. /

[The] sec[ond] h[unter i]s the evil counsel that lives in / [...] that hunts after [the] light [...] and [...] / up from [...] the earths to heaven. It binds them with / its powers, which b[ring] them to the heavenly worlds above. / [I]ts net is [...] whereby they are drawn up / [fr]om the abyss [to the heig]hts.

The third hunter is lust [...] walks in every power of the flesh that wa/[lks ...] in the [...] the living souls [... / ... t]hem in its bodies, which [... / ... / ...]

The fourth [hunter is the spirit] of darkness, the law of sin and (**30**) death, that rules in every sect. It hunts after the so[ul]/s of people and entangles them with this erroneo[us] teaching. / Then it drives them to eternal punishment. It[s] / net, whereby it hunts souls to death, is its erroneous teaching full of guile and villainy / and wicked turns. It imprisons foolish people wi[th] / its teaching, subduing them under its net and co[mpelling them to] eternal punishment.

Blessed is e[very] one [w]/ho will recognise these evil hunters through know[ledge, and it will s]ave and free them from their bond and fetter [for ever] and ever!

••• 6 •••

(30,12 – 34,12)

/ Concerning the Five Storehouses that have po[ured f]orth / from the Land of Darkness since the [Beginning]; [15] *the Five Rulers, the Five Spiri[ts], / the Five Bodies, the Five Tastes. /*

Elaborate and highly schematic descriptions of the kingdom of darkness, and its powers, are a feature of Manichaean (and anti-Manichaean) writings that must derive from canonical sources. The overall conception, with its delight in pentads, and a certain attention to what can be termed the psychosymbolism of evil, has a stamp that is unmistakably Mani's. Specific features such as the 'five trees' appear in other gnostic writings, and may serve to indicate Manichaean influence, rather than vice-versa.

Kephalaion 6 (and compare also 27) evidences some textual development; and probably some corruption in the tradition. The redactor appears unsure about the relationship of the supreme King of Darkness (30.33 – 33.1) to his five warring rulers in the various sub-kingdoms; but tends toward identifying him with the King of Smoke (33.2 – 4). He is thus to be distinguished from the ruler or King of the sub-world of Darkness (33.33 – 34.5). Manichaean writings are also unclear about the relationship of the supreme King to personified Matter, who here appears to be prior to him as his fashioner (31.8 – 16). These points have been discussed by H. -Ch. Puech (1948); who also shows that the parallel passage in the Mandaean *Right Ginza* XII, 6 (278 – 282) is secondary to the *Kephalaia*

Once again the enlightener speaks to his disciples: Five s[to]/rehouses have arisen since the beginning in the land of darkne[ss! The] fiv[e] / elements poured out of them. Also, from the five e[le][20]ments were fashioned the five trees! Again, from the five tre[es] / were fashioned the five genera of creatures in each wor/ld, male and female. And the five worlds thems[el]ves [ha]/ve five kings therein, and five spiri[ts, five] bodies, five [tastes]; / in each world, they n[ot] resembling [one another]!

[25] The King of the world of Smoke [...] / who came up from the depth of [darkness; this is he who is] / the head of all wickedness, and [all] mal[ignity]. The beginning of / the spread of the war occured [thr]ough him; all the battl[es], / fights, quarrelling, dan[ger]s, destructions, f[i][30]ghts, wrestling-contests! That is the o[ne who fir]st [made] arise [dan]/ger and war, with his worl[ds and his] powers. Af[te]/rwards, also, he waged war with the light. H[e pitched] a battle wi[th] / the exalted kingdom.

Now, regar[ding the King] of Darkness, / there are five shapes on him! His head [is lion-faced; his] hands and feet are demo[n- and devil]-faced; [his] / shoulders are eagle-faced; while h[is] belly [is dragon-faced]; (**31**) his tail is fish-faced. These five shapes, the marks of his / [fi]v[e] worlds, exist on the King of the realms of Darkness! /

Now, [th]ere are five other properties*11 in him. The first is his / [dark]ness. The second is his putridity. The third is h[i]s ugliness. The fourth is his bitterness, his own soul. / The fifth is his burning, which burns like an / iron {}*12 as if poured out from fire. /

[There are] also th[r]ee oth[ers] in him! The first, that hi[s body / is ha]rd and very tough, even as she has formed him [...] cru[el-hear]ted; namely Matter, who is the though[t] of death, / [the o]ne w[ho] sculpted him from the nature of the land of dark/ness. T[his] is the manner [of] the body of the ruler of Sm[oke]. He is h/[ar]der than every [ir]on, copper and steel and / [lea]d; as there is no cleaver at all, nor any iron implement, can [...] him and cut him. For Matter, his fashioner, has formed him / [...] strong and hard.

The second, that he wounds / [an]d kills by the word of his magic arts. His recitation and / hearing, all his foolish instruction, make magic / and invocations for him. When it pleases him, he can make an invocation [o]ver himself, and by his magic arts be hidden from his compan/[ions]. Again, when it [plea]ses him, he can be manifested over his powers / [and] appear to [them]; so that these enchantments nowadays, which peo/[ple] utilise (?) [...] this world, are the mysteries / [of] the King of Da[rkness]. Concerning this, I command you (pl.) all the [ti]me: K[ee]p away from the magic arts and enchantments / [of] darkness! For any person who will be taught them, / and who [d]oes and accompl[ishes them]; at the last, in the place wh[ere] will be bound the King / [of] the realms of Darkness with his powers, there they will bind t/[ha]t one also, [the s]oul of whoever has lived freely among them and [wal]ked in the

*11 Read ⲥϧⲏⲙⲁ (W.- P. Funk).
*12 ⲡⲉⲓⲱ

[magic ar]ts of error. Whether it is a man or a / [woman, this is] the sentence given, cut / [... f]rom God's judgement, that whoever will / [...] with their King.

(**32**) The third, that the King of the realms of Darkness knows the [co]/nverse and language of his five worlds. He understands / every thing he hears from their mouths, as they address one / another; each one of them in his language. [Every] design [5] they will consider against him, every snare they d/ebate with one another to bring upon him, he knows them! / He can also understand the gesturing they signal / between one another. Yet, his powers and his rulers, / who are s[ub]ject to him, can not understand his wordy converse. While all these things [10] are unveiled to him; still, their heart is not manifested to him. He k[n]/ows not their mind nor their thought; he can not ponder their / beginning and their end. Rather, he only knows and ap/prehends what is before his eyes. /

Also, another different thing is found in the King of [the] realms of Darkness! [15] For when it pleases him to move, he spreads all his limbs / out and walks. When it comes to mind, he with[draws] / his limbs and takes them in, and is rolled (?) to / his companions; and he falls to the ground like a grape and a / great iron ball! He terrifies by his cry, [20] he is frightful. He frightens his powers with his [s]ound; bec[a]/use when he speaks, being like thunder / in the clouds, he resembles the [...] of the rocks [...] / When he cries out and [...] and calls [...] / over his powers, they shall tremble and to[tter a]nd fall under f[oot]; [25] even as some birds would be [...] the bird [... / ...] and they fall down to the earth. Still, [thi]s thing only: / he knows not what is far from him, he sees not w[ho is at] / a distance, nor does he hear him. Rat[her], whoever is befo[re] / his face he sees, hea[ri]ng him and [30] knowing him.

These sign[s a]nd these evil mar/ks are found in the chief of the d[e]mons and / fiends, the King of all the mountains of Darkne[ss ... the one] to [whom] / the land of darkness has given birth, be[gotten in its cru]/elty, in its wickedness and its wrath [...] (**33**) more than all his fellow rulers, who are in all his worlds. /

Gold is the body of the King of the realms of Darkness. / The

body of all the powers who belong to the world of Sm/oke is gold. And also, the taste of its fruits is s[5]alty. The spirit of the King, of the realms of Darkness, is this one who reigns / today in the principalities and authorities of the earth and the entire un/iverse. I mean these who reign over the entire creation, / humiliating mankind with tyranny, according to their heart's desire. /

In contrast, the King of the worlds of Fire is lion-faced, the fore[10]most of all the beasts. Copper is his bo[dy]. Again, [the bo]/dy of all the rulers who belong to Fire is copper. / Their taste is the sour taste that is in every form. / Also, the spirit of the King, of they that belong to the world of Fire, is this one / who reigns i[n the] greater ones and the leaders; who are under [15] the command of the principalities and authorities and the kings of the wo/rld. Also a spirit of his is found in these sects / that worship [fi]re, as their sacrifices are offered to fire. /

Again, the King of the wor[l]d[s] of Wind is eagle-face. His / body is iron. Also, the body of all they who belong to [20] the Wind is iron. Their taste is the sharp taste th/at is in every form. His spirit is the one of idolat/ry to the spirits of error who are in every temple, the sit[es] of ido/[l]s, the sites of statue- and image-worship, the shrines o/[f the] error of the world.

[25] For his part, [the K]ing of the w[o]rld of Water is fish-face. His / body is silv[er]. All the other rulers who belong to Water, / silver is their body. Also, the taste of their fruit is / [the] sweetness of water, the sweet taste that is in every (form). / Again, the spirit of the King, of the rulers of Water, is this one who r[30]eigns today in the sects of error; these that / [d]ip the baptism of the waters, (setting) their hope / [and] their tru[st] in the baptism of the waters. /

Again, [the Kin]g of the [wor]ld of Darkness is a dragon. His / [body is lead] and tin. All the other rulers [35] [who belong to the world of] Darkness, their body is lead and (**34**) tin. And also, the taste of their fruits is bitt/erness. Again, the spirit who reigns in them is the spirit / who speaks till today in the soothsayers, giving oracl[es]; / in the givers of portents, every typ[e]; in they who are poss[5]essed; and the other spirits that give oracles, every type. /

Concerning this I tell you, my [bret]hren and my li/mbs, the perfect faithful, the holy elect: / Hold your heart close to you, and you stay away from the / five enslavements of the five dark spirits. Put [10] behind you the service of their five bodies. Li/ve not in them, that you may break loose their chain / and their chastening for ever!

••• 7 •••

(34,13 - 36,26)

/ The Seventh, concerning [15] the Five Fathers. /

This is one of the best known of the kephalaia, due to its full and ordered account of the evocation of various Manichaean divinities. However, it is important to note that the schema of the 'five fathers' is not an archetypal classification prior to all the other theological taxonomies evident throughout the texts; but, rather, only a partial and conditioned representation of the overall system. Thus, temporally, the Third Ambassador is the principal divinity of the third evocation (redemption). In the first evocation (descent) the Father summons the Mother of Life, who then calls forth the First Man and his five sons. In the second (creation) it is the Beloved of the Lights, and then the Living Spirit and his five sons. Kephalaion 7 is concerned with the sequence from the Father through the Ambassador; and its purpose is, therefore, the emanation of the divinities from the aspect of redemption.

Once again the enlightener, our father [the] apostle of / truth, is sitting in the midst of his disciples and pr/eaching to them of the greatnesses of God. Again, he speaks t/o them like this, in his revelation: Five fathers [20] exist, they were summoned forth one of one. [Also], one did come / out of another!

The first Father is the Father of Grea/tness, the blessed one of glory, the [on]e who has no measure to his gr[ea]/tness; who also is the first o[n]ly begotten, the f[i]/rst eternal; who exists with fiv[e fa]thers for ever; [25] the one who exists before every thing that has existed, and th/at will exist.

Now he, the glorious Father, summon[ed] from him / three emanations. The [fi]rst is the Gre[at] / Spirit, the first Mother, who came out of the Father. She app/eared first.

The seco[nd i]s the Belo[ved of] [30] the Lights, the great glori[ous] Beloved, [the one w]ho is honour[ed; w]/ho came out of the Father. [He ma]nifested ou[t of h]im. /

The third father*[13] is the Thir[d Ambassador], / the eldest of [al]l the counsell[ors; who came out of] (**35**) the first Father. He appeared.

This is the first Father, / the first power, the one from whom the three great powers came out, / This is the first Father, the first eternal, the root / of all the lights; from whom the three emanations came out. [5] They have humiliated the darkness. They have brought its heart's desire to naught. They have / given themselves the victory. They have also given the victory to their aeons. /

The second father, who came out of the first Father, is the Th/ird Ambassador, the model of the King of lights. / And again, he too summoned and sent out of him thr[10]ee powers.

One is the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man; / the one who bears up under all things; the great Pillar / of blessing; the great porter, who is greater than all the po/rters.

The second is glorious Jesus the Splendour; / [the] one through whom shall be given life eternal.

The th[15]ird is the Virgin of Light, the glorious wisd[o]m; the on/e who takes away the heart of the [rul]ers and the powers by her image, as she fulfi/lls the pleas[u]re of the greatness. /

The third father, who came out of the second father; h/e is glorious Jesus the Splendour. And, again, he too summoned [20] three evocations after the pattern of the second father. /

The first power whom he summoned is the Light Min[d], / the father of all the apostles, the eldest of [a]ll the [ch]urches; / the one whom Jesus has appointed corresponding to our pattern in the holy chur/ch.

The second power whom Jesus summo[25][n]ed is the gre[at

*[13] Textual error: the Ambassador is the second father, but the third emanation of the first Father.

Jud]ge, who gives judgement on all the souls / [of] mankind, [his] dwelling being established in the atmosphere under [... / ...] wheel [...] stars.

The third power is / [the Y]outh, the gre[at ...] light in his two pers/ons, in [...], I am speaking about that which has been established [30] [i]n the summons [and] the obedience. [He] too [stood] with his fa[ther / the] king [...] the savio[ur ...] seen, as he tells / [...] I, what I have seen with my Father, / [I tell to] you. For yourselves, what you have seen / [with your fath]er, do that*[14].

(**36**) The fourth father is the Light Mind, the one who chooses all the / churches. And, again, he too summoned three / powers after the pattern of Jesus.

The first power is the Apostle / of Light; the one who shall on occasion come and assume the chur[5]ch of the flesh, of humanity; and he becomes inner leader of ri/ghteousness.

The second is the counterpart, who shall come to the apo/stle and appear to him, becoming companion to him, / sticking close to him everywhere; and providing help to him all the time, from / all afflictions and dangers.

The third [10] is the Light Form; the one whom the elect and the ca/techumens shall receive, should they renounce the world. /

And also the fifth father is this Light Form; the one who / shall appear to everyone who will g[o] out from his bo/dy, corresponding to the pattern of the image to the apostle; and the thr[ee] [15] great glorious angels who are come with her.

One (angel) ho[ld]/s the prize in his hand. The second bears the light garment. / The third is the one who possesses the diadem / and the wreath and the crown of light. These are the thr/ee angels of light, the ones who shall come with this Light Form; [20] and they appear with her to the elect and the / catechumens.

These are the five fathers who have come out / of one another. They have appeared and man[ifes]ted through one ano/ther!

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*[14] Jn. 8:38

Blessed is he who will know and understand th[em]! / For he may find life eternal; and receive these light garments [25] that shall be given to the righteous, [the faithful], the givers of peace, / and the doers of good things.

••• 8 •••

(36,27 - 37,27)

/ Concerning the Fourteen Vehicles / that Jesus has boarded. /

The fourteen vehicles correspond to the stations through which Jesus passes as he descends deeper into matter for the purpose of salvation; and to the divine elements that he assumes and thus sanctifies in this descent. The listing of the ten 'carriages in the zone' reverses an order most familiar in accounts of the ascent of the light elements, the qualities of the living soul, as they pass through the redemptive process of summons and obedience, and finally ascend perfected from the Pillar to the moon and thence to the sun (see 71).

[30] Once again, the light-man speaks to the congregati[on that] is sitting in front of / him: When Jesus the son of greatness [came] to these world[s], / at the time that he unveiled the greatness, [he boarded ten] / vehicles! He journeyed in the universe [by them]. /

The first vehicle is the ligh[t] ship, [since] [35] he received instructions from the Ambassador [there].

(37) The second carriage is the ship of the First Man, sin/ce his dwelling is established there. /

The third is the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man, sin/ce he shone forth there. He came below, he appeared in the wo[5]rld.

The fourth is the summons that he clothed / upon his body. The fifth is the obedience that he swathed / upon the summons.

The sixth is the living air, and since / he assumed it too, he received anointment there. / The seventh is the living wind that blows. The eighth [10] is the light that illuminates. The ninth is the living w/ater. The tenth is the living fire that is above them all. /

He was journeying in these ten carriages among all the orders and / all the [...], those above and those below. /

After he had assumed these ten, he came and manifested in the [15] flesh. He chose the holy church in four vehic/les. One is all the holy brothers. The second is the / pure sisters. The third is all the catechumens, / the sons of the faith. The fourth is the catechu/-mens, the daughters of the light and truth.

These ten carria[20]ges that he boarded in the zone, and the other four that are in the flesh, / they complete and make fourteen carriages! He has done in them / the pleasure of his Father. He has made alive, has redeemed, and given the victory to / [th]ese who are his. Conversely, [h]e has killed, bound, and destroyed / they who are strangers to him. He has given glory to the Father who sent him, [25] and the entire kingdom of life. Blessed is he who will k/now these mysteries; for he will count to the portion of Jesus, / the son of greatness.

••• 9 •••

(37,28 - 42,23)

/ The Explanation of the Peace, what it is; [30] the Ri[gh]t Hand; the Kiss; the Salutation. /

The ritual actions that occur in human society, and which Mani has instituted in his church, are presented as reenactments of divine archetypes. Mani's lesson is carefully structured, and provides many important details and insights into Manichaean doctrine and church practice.

38.13 – 39.9 The descent of the First Man from the land of light was a favourite theme. Full of the pathos of loss and estrangement, it is in a very real sense the story of each soul. Thus, this text makes much of the familial love and care within the divine household.

39.10 – 40.19 Once the sacrifice of the First Man has been achieved, he is saved by the Living Spirit and returns to the kingdom. This establishes and sanctifies the process of redemption; and, while it occurs at the beginning of the history, it also anticipates the triumphant return at the end of time of the collectivity of the divine, with the First Man at their head, to enter the new aeon.

40.24 – 41.10 Now that the primordial archetypes have been established, Mani immediately relates them to the individual's experience and the practice of the church.

41.11 – 25 Mani then utilises the symbols to focus on the glorious hope offered to the victorious soul, when it meets the Light Form and receives its prizes.

41.26 – 42.23 The lesson ends with the injunction to its hearers to honour and practice this divine teaching.

[O]nce again the disciples questioned the apostle, saying / [to him]: This peace and this greeting that occur in the world, / [from w]hom [did they come fo]rth? Or likewise, the right hand that occurs in / [the world, it being h]onoured by mankind, of whom is it? Or the my[35][stery of the ki]ss that they embrace one another with, / [...]? Or who is the one that reveals this (**38**) salutation with which they make obeisance to one another? Or this laying on of h/ands, which an immensely great one bequeaths upon his inferior, / giving him an honour and making him great; of / whom is this laying on of hands?

Then he says to his disciples: [5] You have questioned me about these five lessons. Now, they are display/ed in the world as miniatures, being made little; / and yet indeed they are great and honoured. I am the one who can reveal to y/ou their mystery! So, these five signs / are the mystery of the First Man. He came forth wit[10]h them from the aeon of light. Also, when he finished / his contest, he went up with these good signs. / They received him into the aeons of light. /

The first peace is the one that the gods and the [an]gels in the land / of light gave to the First Man; when he comes [15] out against the enemy. The gods and the angels / were walking with him; escorting him, giving to him their peace and / power, and their blessing and fortification. This is the first / peace that the gods and the angels gave to the First / Man; as he comes forth from the aeon of light.

[20] The first right hand is the one that the Mother of Life gave to the First Ma/n; when he comes out to the contest. /

The first kiss is this one with which the Moth[er] of Life embrac/ed the First Man; as he separates from her, coming / down to the contest. Even all the gods and the [an][25]gels who are in the aeons of light were making to em[br]ace him! [...] / all of them also, and the church tutelaries (?), and the kinsf[olk w]/ho

belong to the household of his people. They were making to embrace him as [he] / separates from them, accompanying him out, em[bracing] / him with the kiss of affection and love.

30 The first salutation is the salutation with which the F[ir]st Ma[n] / made obeisance; when he comes ou[t to the depths] / below. He was bending his kn[ees, making obeisance] / to the God of truth, and all the aeons [of light] (**39**) who belong to the household of his people; entreating them for a power to / escort him*15, as he comes forth. /

The first laying on of hands is the one that the Mother of Life bequeathed upon / the head of the First Man. She armed him and made him 5 mighty. She laid hands on him, and sent him to the battle. He des/cended. He completed his struggle with the great powers and the en/mity.

By the[se] five signs and these five myst[e]ri/es the First Man came forth from the aeons of light / against the enemy. He humbled him. He was victorious against him by [th]em.

10 Also, when he ascended from the w[a]r, he came i[n] / to the kingdom of the household of his people by these five mysteri/es!

The peace with which h[e ascen]ded is the peace that the / summons gave to him, [w]hen it was sent forth from the [Fa]ther of L/ife. It gave him the peace in the world of darkness. 15 Also, that peace with which he descended is th/[e sam]e as the one with which he ascended from the struggle! Therefore, appropriate to the my/[s]tery of that peace, which the summons gave / the First Man, did this peace here and now come about. / It was named and heard among the powers of the Father.

Again, this 20 second right hand is the one that the Living Spirit gave the First / Man, when he [brou]ght him upward out from the struggle. Appropriate to / [the] mystery [of t]hat right hand this right hand has come about; / the one that occurs in the [midst of] mankind, as they give it to their companions, / [it b]eing honoured and [...]

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*15 Perhaps the angel Nahashbat referred to in the account of Theodore bar Konai *Lib Schol.* XI.

Also, this second ki[25][s]s is the one with which the [Father o]f Life and the Mother of the living / embraced the F[irst] Man, when he ascended / from the struggle. Again, this kiss occurs among / mankind, as they make to embrace their companions with it; whether then [they] / go away from home and be far from their friends, or else [30] [if] they approach one another, according to the mystery of (the First Man). /

[The] second [s]alutation with which the First Man made obeisance / [... this] time to the God of truth and / [...] the blessed aeons and al[l] the aeons / [... the] whole [land] of light, whe[n] (**40**) the Father of Life and the Mother of the living brought / the Man upward from the abyss of the struggle. Appropriate to the myste/ry of the second salutation this salutation has come about; this one / that occurs today in the midst of mankind, as they make obeisance to one [5] another, doing an honour to their companions.

The second / laying on of hands is this: When the Living Spirit brought the First / Man upward from the war, he saved him from / all the surging waves. He brought him upward, he gave him ease in the great / aeons of light, which belong to the household of his people. [10] He set [him] firmly before the Father, the Lord of the totality. / Now, when he went up before the great Father of the / lights, a voice came forth to him from the heights, saying: / Make my son, my first-born, to sit at my right hand side, until I / set all his enemies for a footstool under his feet.*[16] [15] He received this great laying on of hands that he may become leader / of his brethren in the new aeon. Again, appropriate to the myster/y of the second laying on of hands, this laying on of hands has come / about; the one that occurs in the midst of mankind as they lay hands on one / another, the great giving authority to the lesser.

These five myste[20]ries and these five signs came about first in the divi/ne. They were proclaimed in this world by an [a]postle. Ma[nk]/ind has been taught them; and they have instituted them in their mids[t ... but] these myster[ies] wer[e] / not at the beginning amongst the / powers of darkness.

The Light Mind al[so], who co[mes] [25] to the world, shall come

*[16] Mk. 12:36

with these several mark[s]. With these five / lessons he shall choose his church.

First, before / everything else, he chooses his church with peace. / And he gives the peace first to mankind; so that the person receives / the peace, and becomes a child of peace. Afterwards he is elected [30] to the faith. Now, when he may receive the peace, he shall receive [the rig]/ht hand and count to the right hand. Then, whe[n he receives] the right hand, / the Light Mind s[h]all draw him to him, and cause [him] to app[roach the ch]/urch.

With the right hand he receives the k[iss of lo]/ve and becomes a child of the c[hurch ...] (**41**) With the kiss he shall receive salutation, and make obeisance to the God / of truth. Also, he makes obeisance to the holy church [...] / the hope of the faith, good works.

When they / will receive the peace and the right hand, the kiss and the salutation, [5] the last of these things shall be bequeathed upon them from the right hand of charity. They / too [receive] the laying on of hands, which will be bequeathed upon them. A/nd they are conformed and built up in the truth, and made strong in it for eve/r. They shall come in to the Light Mind with these good signs; / and become fulfilled people. They make obeisance and [10] [give] glory to the God of truth. /

[On]ce again: At the time of their coming forth, the Light Form / shall come forth before them; and she redeems them from the darkness to the li/ght [...] This Light Form calms the per/son, with the kiss and her quiet, from fear of the [15] demons w[ho de]-stroy his body. By her asp[ec]t and her im/age [the] heart of the elect one, who is come forth from his bo/[d]y, shal[l] be calm for [him]. Afterwards, the angel who h[o]lds the victo/ry prize extends to him the right hand. And it draws him out of / the abyss of his body, and accepts him in with the [k]iss [20] and love. That soul shall make obeisan[ce] to its red/eemer, who is this Light Form. And also, at the inst[ant / when ...] he shall be perfected and increased according to [... / ...] in the household of the living ones, with the go/[ds] and the angel[s] and all the apostles and the chosen. [25] [An]d he receives the crown [...] glory in the life for ever. /

[Concern]ing this I tell you, my brethren and my limbs: / [L]et you (sg.) find these fi[ve signs] in your hands, honoured before / [ea]ch one of [yo]u. They are: the peace; the right hand; the k/[i]ss; the sa[luta]tion; and the laying on of hands. I have brought this [30] [to] you from the household of the living, out from the Father who / [se]nt me.

[Hap]pen you know, that a great myster/[y ...] him, by these five signs that I have brought / [...] you may part from the world, beca/[use ...] you have understood about the first (**42**) peace and the first right hand and the first kiss / [and] the first salutation and the first laying on of hands.

Therefore, le/t them find this laying on of hands being esteemed in your presence; as you give / honour, and make obeisance to the teachers and the deacons and the presby[5]ters, they whom I have laid hands on. I have bequeathed upon them the great / laying on of hands; because they are set in a great myste/[r]y, the laying on of hands of the divine, which is bequeathed upon the h/ead of the teacher. Now, whoever will reject and dis[da]in i/t, and it is made nothing by him: he commits sin subject to God, with gre[at] [10] sin; and also against me too. /

Still, you, my beloved ones, hasten in to these five / [...] you, and you [... / ...] fulfill at these occasions [... / ...] wishes he may answer you [... [15] ...] as he told y[ou ... / ... / ...] that are in the storehouses of [... / ...] your (pl.) heart [...] them, for he [... / ...] which is set right by you [...] each [one [20] ...] listen to him. He knows [ev]ery deed that you d/o, all of them, [...] with your companions [...] this [... / ...] he turns to you [...] and he [...] / from you the afflictions of [...]

••• 10 •••

(42,24 – 43,21)

[25] *Concerning the Interpretation of the Fourteen [great A]eons, / about which Sethel has spoken in [his P]rayer. /*

Mani regarded Seth as the first in the line of true apostles (12.9 – 11); and the various references to him in Manichaean texts show some dependence

upon prior gnostic traditions. The *Cologne Mani-Codex* quotes from an unknown apocalypse of Seth (pp. 50 – 52). The question about the prayer of Seth in this kephalaion may well indicate such a tradition.

However, Mani provides his own interpretation consistent with his revealed teaching. The fourteen great aeons of light are: the five elements or sons of the First Man; the call and the hearing; the five sons of the Living Spirit; the two respective fathers. The fragmentary final section (43.10 - 21) seems to indicate that these fourteen underpin the visible universe; and that the Ambassador, as the principal god of redemption, has become their leader and king after the image of the first eternal Father.

Once again the disciples question the apostle. They sa[y] to him: We be[seech] / you, our master, that you may enlighten us a[bou]t this lesson that is wr[itten / in] the prayer of Sethel, the first-born son of [Ad]am. As he says: [30] 'You are glorious, you fourteen great [ae]ons of [lig]/ht'. Tell us, our master, what are the [f]ourteen grea[t / a]eons of light?

Then the enlighte[ner speaks / to the]m: I am the one who will interpret for you [the fourteen] / great aeons of light abou[t] which he has spoken!

[35] Happen you know this, that the [... (**43**) ...] below abide in fourteen [great aeons /...] the five elements, the sons of the First / Man, together with the call and the hearing. They anoint them, / living in them. These shall make seven, five plus two. [5] [... the] f[ive s]ons of the Living Spirit who / [support] all [the wei]ght of the universe; together with the [Li]vi[ng] Spirit / [and the Fir]st Man, their fathers. These are the fourt/een p[raises that he has] proclaimed, the praise that is made of fourteen / pra[yers], by which the universe is established.

[10] [There are fourt]een aeons of light [...] / of Seth[el ...] about them in his prayer, for they are expl[ai]ned / [... the la]nd that is not revealed. This land [... /... is estab]lished. They bore up under the enemy [... / ... equa]ls them. The hidden plenitude that [... [15] ...] the Ambassador who came from the Father, the [... / ...] He came and stood firm in the midst of these [...] / he is called the good father of [all] the ae[ons and gods] / who are holy and conjoined. He has become leader and a / great king after the likeness of the first Father, the lord of all these cou[nse[20]ls]. This universe is held together by their will / [...] to the end of all things. /

••• 11 •••

(43,22 – 44,18)

/ [Concerning the Interpretation of] all [the] Fathers of / [Light], who are distinguished from one another.

Summary of the characteristics of principal divinities; perhaps for catechetical instruction.

25 [O]nc]e again [the enlig]htener speaks: Happen you know, / [m]y beloved ones, that [the beginn]ing of every good grace is the / [gr]eat Father of the [ligh]ts; since [a]ll [graces] are given by his hand. /

The beginning of each blessing and every prayer / is the Mother of [L]ife, the first Holy Spirit.

30 Also, [the] beginning [of] every good [co]unsel is the T[h/i]rd Am[bassad]or, the king of the glorious realm that lies in this / [wo]rld, [...] of the King of the lights.

The beginning of / [... and] each [hono]ur (?) is the Beloved of the Lights, who is honour/[ed.

The beginning of a]ll [the trappers] and hunters is the First 35 [Man.

... of] all fighters is (44) [the] Living [Spirit], the Father of Life, who has distribu[ted about] / his five sons from place to place.

The beginning of all the archit[e]/cts and builders is the Great Builder, who is glo/rious.

Also, the first of all the porters of the gr[e]^{5}a[tness is the Pillar of Glory ... / ...]

The beginning of [all] the deliverers [is Jesus the Splendour]; / or the one who delivers, as he frees whoever belongs [...] / from his words.

The beginning of every wisdom of / truth is the Virgin of Light, [.]

[10] [The beginning of] all [the great]est honoured ones [...] / is the Light Mind; who is the awakene[r of they] / who sleep, the gatherer in of the ones who are sc[att]ered. /

Blessed is he who shall lodge this treasure within hi[m, and] fasten [the knowledge] / of these fathers in his heart! For they a[re] the [root (?) of] [15] all the lights, and such as belong to all life; as [...] / of all souls beside them.

Blessed is he who wi[ll kn]/ow them, and continue in their belief, that he may inh/erit with them eternal life for ever.

••• 12 •••

(44,19 – 45,15)

[20] *Concerning the Interpretation of the Five Words that are / proclaimed {} *17 / in the Univer[se]. /*

These five words appear to be the divine names used by other sects. Mani explains their significance by equating them with the appropriate Manichaean divinities. Mani was himself brought up in an Elchasaite community; and the *Kephalaia* makes a number of references to contemporary groups such as Baptists, Nazoreans, and Purified Ones (Catharioi). However, the exact identity of and relationship between these diverse Jewish-Christian sects remains unclear. The First and the Second Life are characteristic Mandaean terms.

Once again the disciples [questioned the apostle. They say to] / him: Recount to us, our master, of these five words that are procl[aim][25]ed in the sect of the Baptis[ts ... they] / occur in other sects. [Also, thei]r name is proclaimed by they [w]/ho are called 'Purified Ones', as they say this '[First] / Life' and the 'Second Life' [... / ...] make a heart together with the mind [...] and the l[aw [30] ... /

... / ...] / call it by this name is the Father, the l[ife ...] / this unnameable, whom no one [... [35] ...] his name.

The second [word is the Thi(**45**)r]d Ambassador [...] / of life, whom they also call the father of [... / ... / ...] [5] the first Father.

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*17 ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲟⲥⲓⲥ

The law [...] / living [...] law of the good and the evil ones. / For it, it was given victory by the aeons of lig[ht against the en]/mity. It humbled the rebels [... / ... their] [10] essence and their universe. It overcame*[18] th[em ... t]/hem in th[is b]order until the end time.

[... / ...] the powers [...] the universe is established [... / ... al]l of them are a single living body / [... [15] ...] against one another.

••• 13 •••

(45,16 – 46,12)

/ Concer[ning] the Five Saviours, the Resurrectors / of they who are Dead; together with the Five Resurrections. /

Chapter 12 has begun a series of kephalaia connected only by their pentadic structure.

[O]nce again [the] enlightener speaks: [...

[24] ... i][25]t therein [...] /

[The] sec[ond resurrector is ... / ...] /

And [the] third resurrector is the father, the first [... / ... b]ecause by his word shall a[ll] lives [30] [...] gather in and go to him, and they receive / [...] and re[s]t. /

[The fourth res]urrector is the Light Mind, becau/[se ... (**46**) ... / ...]

The fifth resurrector to the good [... / ...] is the Father, the first [es]tablis[he]d on[e / ...] all the powers, and [he] stands fir[m [5] ...] he shall unveil the [...] over them / [...] and he draws them to him [... / ...] his will [...] and he / [...] them, and he stands them u/[p ...] there, and they remain until [10] [...]

Bl[es]sed is every one who / [...] day of / [...] complete [...] for ever. /

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*[18] Reading ϲωτ‹π›

••• 14 •••

(46,13 – 47,21)

/ The Interpretation [of] the S[i]lence, the Fast, [the Peace], [15] *the Day, [and] the Rest; [what] they are. /*

Mani provides cosmological archetypes for the ritual practices of the church.

[O]nc]e again the discipl[es] questioned the enli[gh]tener. They say to h[im: Re/coun]t to us of the five [le]sso[ns] that [a]re proclaimed in the [wo/r]ld, [one] being cal[le]d [...] 'the peace', another called '[the] / silence', [...] another 'the day', ano[ther [20] ... We implore you, our] father, that you may p[/roclaim ...

[28] ...] the gatherer in [... / ...] then he shall cau[se] the body [...] [30] all the lusts of the world [... / ...] of the body in righteousness [... / ...] is the Pill[a]r of Gl[or]y [... / ...] because [... (**47**) ... / ...] up to the [... / ...]

The one they call [...] it is the / [Fi]rst [M]an who dwel[ls i]n the ship of living waters [5] [... li]ght [...] he is c[alled / ... / ... / ...] that they have [... / ...] glorious [...

[10] ...] the enlighten[er ... / ... cal]l it 'day' [... / ... uni]verse as they shall [... / ... / ...] in the great aeon [... [15] ...] are spread in the universe, it is [... / ...] established in the [... / ...] and the so[uls ... / ...] /

Blessed is he [who ...] gives joy by [...] for ever. [20] The great [...] remains for ever and e[ver] / and ever.

••• 15 •••

(47,22 – 49,9)

/ [Concerning the ... / ...] Five [Parts ...] [25] *Worlds of [...] /*

The disciples ask Mani why the realm of darkness became active and death streamed forth against the light. Mani explains that the driving force is fire and lust, charged by the doubling of the evil pentad (five elements,

worlds, categories of creation or flesh) into male and female. Thus there are twelve parts (5 x 2 + fire and lust) ; corresponding to the zodiacal signs and the spirits of the evil sects.

[O nce again, the enlighten]er is sitting in the midst of his discipl[es, / explaining to them about] the great and secret matters of Go[d / ... the] two ess[e]nces. His disciples say / [to him ...]: Did death ari[se] and stand firm [30] [...] up? Or else did it turn itself from [... / ...] its armo[ur ...] in its [... / ...] but it finished [...] the tw[o / ... /

...[35] ... (**48**) ...] it moved it and [... / ...] they that are in the [... of] the earth of dark[ness /...] first part. /

Yet, after a long time, as there was not [... [5] ...] / it gushed and streamed u[p ... the five eleme]/nts of death that gushed [... / ...] which are [smoke, fire, / wind, wa]ter and dar[kness ... [10] ...] the second time [... / ... / ...] they were sculpted [...] / those in which death was established [... /

The] fourth part is the ev[il] fruits [... [15] ...] in the five trees that are in the five [worlds of] / the land of darkness. /

The fifth time it spread itself out to its creatures that exist [in the five] / worlds; the ones that were formed and generated from the fi[ve] / fruits of death. They are the five worlds of fl[20]esh, the five creations of darkness in which death has been established. It / spread itself out to ten parts, five male parts and five fem/[ale ... / ...] /

Now, like the land of darkness, in that its spirit and i[ts ...] [25] they nourished the five elements [...]; / this is also [how] the ten parts that are in [male and / fe]male, the fire and lust of the flesh[es ...] / them, as they yoke them with one another [... they were est]/ab[li]shed against the First Man. This is [... [30] ...] of the darkness, / it was condemned for ever.

Alongside the mystery of these twe/lve parts that came about in the darkness [...] / against the First Man. The twel[ve ...] / the twelve spirits of error that [came] [35] about from the twelve signs of the zodiac [... (**49**) ...] They are estab[lished agai]nst the second living man, w/ho dwells in the [h]oly chur[ch]. They pursue

him the way t/hat they pursued [... at] the beginning of the First Man in the land / of darkness.

As the First Man humiliated the darkness [5] [... / ... the li]ght th[at] dwells in the church / [...] the twelve sects. /

[...] his holy father for ever and / [ever].

••• 16 •••

(49,10 – 55,15)

/ [Concerning the Five] Greatnesses who / [went forth] against the Darkness. /

49.15 – 31 Four of the 'greatnesses' are the Father himself and the standard three series of emanations (corresponding to descent, creation, and ascent). Interestingly, Jesus the Splendour (and his powers) is given a separate place as the fifth greatness, which may be a later development of Manichaean doctrine that attempts to regulate the increasingly dominant role of this god.

49.31 – 50.6 The text remarks on the characteristic pentads of the doctrine; and then notes, in an undoubtedly forced calculation, that together with the summons and the obedience twelve major gods (not counting the series of five sons) can be counted.

50.7 – 55.15 The major part of the chapter is in effect a separate and unrelated kephalaion concerned with the advent of five divinities. The role of each is given a useful summary, and Mani develops similes to aid his hearers' understanding.

[O]nce again the enlightene]r [speaks] to his disciples: / [... the] darkness, it was defeated by five greatnesses.

[15] [The first gre]atness is the Father of Greatness who [exi/sts] in c]alm and hiddeness; as he is established in his [light] / earth, in his own essence.

Four greatnesses were mani/[feste]d and came forth of him. They were appointed to ten parts, and estab/lished in total twelve.

The second gr[20]eatness poured out and was manifested. It was revealed from the first / greatness. It is the Mother of Life, the Great Spirit. Together with / the First Man [and his] five sons; [these are the second / great]ness.

The third [greatness is the Bel/oved of the L]ights, the Great Builder, the Living Spirit, and the five [s]o[25][ns] of the Living Spirit. These are the third greatness. /

[The fou]rth greatness is the Third Ambassador, and / [the P]illar of Glory, and all the light powers who were revealed / [from him. These are the] fourth greatness. /

[The fi]fth greatne[ss] who came from the Father is Jesus the Splendour, and [30] all [h]is powers whom he summoned, his emanations who were [... / They] poured out and were manifested from him.

This is, so that they were [spre]ad out and / [...] five[s]: these five sons of the First Ma/[n ...] the entire building; another five are the five / [sons of the Living Spirit] who are spread out to five places, supporting [35] [...]

[...] total in tw(**50**)elve parts that [... There are] another two [ad]/ded to them who are the summons and [the obedien]ce. They are the father and the mother whom Jesus the Sp[lendour] by his advent has [appointed] / as successors to his place [...] the great earth [5] and the [... / ...] in them. /

[The advent ...] / of the First Man who came [... / ... [10] ...] belonging to [...] / ex[isting i]n a kingdom [...] / esteem [befo]re they who belong to his [household ... / ... / ...] his enemies [...] [15] and suffering by their wickedness; and they take from him [...] / and a richness; and they imprison [him in] / captivity and take from him their companies (?). Yet, h[e ...] / by his humility; and he takes heart and restrains his en[emy / ...] in silence.

Just as with this man, this noble [20] son whose enemies surround him; this also / is how the advent of the First Man happened, / [... rul]ers, the enemies of [the l]ight. /

In contrast, the advent of the Living Spirit and the [comman]dment that he received, / whereby [he] came upon all the rulers; it differs from that of the [25] First Man. His adv[ent ...] the advent of the F[irst] / M[an].

The advent of the Living Spirit is lik[e] / this, when he was sent

from the greatness that he might br[ing] / up the First Man. He resembles a [ju]/dge the king would send to overturn the violence to [30] that man, the noble son against whom his enem[ies] / sinned. And he, this [judge, ...] / hard and cruel [... / ...] and he gives the means [... by his right] (**51**)eousness and his st[rengt]h; and he also judges all who / are condemned according to their rebellious heart, and re/pays each according to his deserts. They who are worthy of / blows he strikes with hard leather whips. Again, these [5] who are worthy of cutting off their limbs, or indeed their / [...] and he repays them accordingly. / [...] and he binds and fetters them, and hangs by / [...] and thus he does to them with a / [righteous] judgement. And he kills them to flay their skin [10] [...] so that they will be killed by a death / [...] until they die. Again, [they for] whom it is fitting / [...] to banish from their dwellings he may / [remove according to] a righteous judgement; just as they had faulted / [and sinned against] the noble son. Also, the associates in the mystery [15] [and the assis]tants of this judge, these who belong to / [him in] great strength; in an instant and / [h]aste they shall do the will of their master. /

Now, just as this genuine judge, who was sent f/rom the king to overturn the violence to this man, the [20] noble s[o]n; this is also the case with the Living Spirit. / He also was sent from the King of the lights / [to] over[turn] the vengeance [a]nd violence to the First Man, / against whom the King of the realms of Darkness had sinned. He faulted / [and] sinned against him, and also his rebellious powers. [Therefo]re, when (the Living Spirit) came, [25] he bore up the First Man.

Also, a[l]l the rulers, / the powers of sin who had faulted and sinned against the sons / [of] the First Man, he has judged them according to a right[e]ous judgement. / He has bound them in heaven and earth. He put each one / to the place fitting for him, he weighed each of them [30] [acco]rding to his c[ru]elty and oppression. [While] some [of] the[m] he enclosed in / [the prison, ot]hers he hung head down. Som/[e ...] are crucified, others are (**52**) sat down all the time. Some among them are fixed be/neath their associates, restricted by a strong chain; / others he made the holders of authority over their companions / beneath, so that they may do their pleas[5]ure amongst these below them. /

Happen you know this [...] that w[h]e[n] / the Father of Life established the judgements [...] / He was revealed to all the powers o[f darkness. He] / judged them as a [true] giver of judgement [... [10] ... / This] is the first judgement that the [Living] Spirit [gave] / the rulers [in respect of the] First Man. [Indeed, he] gave victory to the [First Man] / corresponding to his victory; [but] he condemned the [King of the realms of Darkness] / corresponding to that [by] which he had erred.

[... [15] ...] this chain, of this sort, became [...] / the earth till the en[d] time when the [universe] will be dissolved; / and it perishes in the great fire and is separated. While [the li]/ght goes to its country, the darkness remains in / [the chain] and fetter for ever.

[20] The advent also of the Third Ambassador, when he came / [to inspect] they who are imprisoned in the zone. He is / like a great king who comes and inspects cra[f/tsmen ...] and [...] and [... / ...] Also, they who are good, of the craftsmen and archi[te][25]cts and artisans whom he has there in ea[ch] / place; he shall see that [th]ey have worked well, / and have fallen to his works in their fashion. He shall rejoice with / [great joy ...] He shall thank the artisans / who have constructed his works [and completed] his orders.

[30] Now, just as this great king w[ho c]omes and insp[e]/cts his works and fortific[ation]s; so a[lso] / is the advent of the Third Amb[assa]dor. [F]o/r, when he too came, he saw [his works] / established and prepared and [...] (**53**) series of the rulers prepared and established there; / above and below, outside and w/ithin, in the great pattern that his brothers had made. / They had come before him to the contest, they who had fixed and cre[5]ated the universe before he came. He saw the gods and the / a[ng]els est[abl]ished and controlling the fortifi/[cations ...] guarding the [ent]ire ruling-power [... / ...] which his first powe[rs] had done. / [They are the F]irst Man and the [Living Spirit]; [10] a[nd the] Great [Spirit, the M]other of Life.

Therefore, when h[e s]aw / them, that they had [created] everything [with] great wisdom; / [...] as they looked he plundered (?) [... / ...] in h[is adve]nt, by which he came, he was

un[veil]ed / to [them]. He says to the Living Spirit: 'The judgement that [you] have [... 15 ...] good, what you utt[ered ...] / you [gave to] them correspondingly; so that they were moved and raised up to that of w/h[ich t]hey were not worthy'. /

[The] advent also of Jesus the Splendour, the time when he came to [a]ll [...] / being just like a man if he is [se20n]t to pull out a [... / b]urn a difficult f[ig]-garden with fire. Therefore, [aga]in, / when he has [fi]rst cu[t] the bad trees with his a/[x]e and has pulled out [... / ...] and their body with his fire; so that they should not return to sprout 25 [from] this time, no[r] bear fruit bad to eat / [...] Afterwards, [he] also planted [good] plants; [the / t]ree of lif[e] that will make good fruit. /

Again, this is [like] this simile of the advent of Jesus the Splendour. / [It] happened l[ike this]; because he too set out 30 [... h]is power and his wisdom, in his / [...]-ness [... a] king and a saviour / [...] in his glorious wisdom (**54**) he destroyed them. He bound and crushed them like / the fire that shall burn and destroy trees. This is also how / he performed his will in the zone, / among the many powers; until he reached the form 5 of the flesh of Adam and Eve, the first humans. [He perfected] / his will in Eve, he [... He a]lso [gave / h]ope to Adam, and the g[ood] news [...] / glorious [...] He went up to [the heights ... / ... of li]ght.

T[hen the summons and the obed]10ience, the great counsel that came [to] the el[emen]ts, / which are set in conjunction. It [mixed w]ith them, i[t was es]tabl/ished [i]n silence. It bears u[p ...] un[til the end t]i/me when it can arise and stand f[ir]m in the g[reat] fi/re. It will gather to it its own soul, and sc[ul]p15t it in the Last Sta[t]ue. You will a[ls]o find it / sweeps out and casts from it the polluti[on] / that is foreign to it. However, the life and the li[gh]t / that are in all things it gathers in to it, and builds / upon its body. The time when this Last Statue 20 will be perfect in all its limbs, then it can become free / and ascend from that great struggle thr[ough] / the Living Spirit its father, the one who comes and brings a [... l]/imb. He brings it up from within this gathering(?), the melting do[wn] / and destruction of all things.

Now, th[is co]25unsel, tha[t] summons <and> obedience, resembles / thus cooled butter. If a pers[o]n will take an[d s/e]t it in

hot milk, it melts [dow]n and soak[s] / in with this hot milk. It m[elts] in another [time / i]n silence and quiet to the mids[t ...] yet also, of the power and the taste of this m[ilk ...] / is drawn to (the butter), and (the milk) sets and becomes [cold ...] / in [...] and the [... this mi](55)lk it shall clarify and discard. However, the oil and the grea/se and the 'beauty' of the [m]ilk it shall gather in to it. /

Again, this too is what the advent of / that thought is like; the counsel of life, which is the summons and [o]bedience that came to the el[e]ments. / This is the one that at the end c[an a]rise and stand firm, and will gather / [i]n to it all [the] lives, a[nd] the light that has / [remai]ned behind [in] everything. It can bui[ld] them upon / [it]s body, it will [gath]er them in to it [... ... ...] in its im[ag]e for ever and ever [... / ...] from this time.

B[l]essed is / every one w[ho will be]lieve in these five advents and [b]e confir[med / in the] knowledge. [He will come to] the heights and be saved [... / ...] and not be counted [... ...]

••• 17 •••

(55,16 – 57,32)

/ The Chapter of the / Thr[ee] Seasons. /

Manichaeism designated itself as the religion 'of the two principles and the three times (or seasons)'. The two principles are light and darkness; and the three times are the beginning, the middle and the end.

In Manichaean tradition there are two primary ways of delineating the three times. Often the whole of history, the time of mixture, is encapsulated in the middle period between the twin eternities before and after its events. Alternatively, as in this kephalaion, the history itself is separated into three: descent, creation, redemption.

It is notable that the primeval events when the First Man is in the land of darkness, before the construction of the universe, cover the longest span. In contrast, the entirety of human history, from the fashioning of Adam and Eve 'after the image of God (the Ambassador)' to the final redemption, occurs in the third period. Thus, it is all eschatological.

O[n]ce again the apostle speaks to his disciples: Fr[om] the time when the light came forth and was crucified in the dark-

ness; / [t]o the season when the Statue will ascend an[d] / the entire light, w[hic]h was conjoined with the darkness, will be puri[fied] and c[lean/sed]. He [s]ays: [Fr]om that time on, [from tha]t time / to the season of the end totals three seasons.

[25] [Thre]e season[s from] the time when the First Man / [went] down to the abyss, and waged the war and the struggle / [against] the King of the realms of [Dark]ness and his other powers. He was victorious, / [whi]le h[is sons remain behi]nd with them in the worlds [... / ...] in the [...] until he shall catch all of them [30] [... he bou]nd them all up, so that not one o[f / them escaped] his hand. He won a great victory [... / ... The First] Man spent human lifetimes and / [generations in the land] of darkness, until he prevailed / [...] (**56**) he fulfilled the will of the greatness that was [commanded] / of him.

Then they sent the Living Spirit, the Father [o]f / Life. He brought the First Man up from the struggle, he / [brought him up to the] land of light. This is the first [5] peri[o]d, from the descen[t] of the First Man / to his ascent. /

The second seas[o]n is from the time [when the F]irst [Ma]/n ascen[d]ed. The Living Spirit came, an[d the] Mother of [Life. / They set in order the th]ings o[f] the univer[se, they] set u[p [10] ... the Father of] / Life [an]d the Mother of the living set in order [... / ...] the u[n]iverse, up to the moment when they go out / [...] it was reckoned to the second season. /

[...] the universe [... [15] ...] the Third Ambassador spread [... / ...] that is in the [...] living; he [... / he separated] beauty from all the powers and scooped [it up] / to the heights, he swept the waste to the abyss, and he [... / ...] Now, from the moment when the Ambassador revealed [20] his image he purified the light. Sin spur[ted] / up towards him. He hid his image. Sin came / [...] from [the dark]ness. It sculpted the trees and the abortion[s fe/l]l down. Afterwards they sculpted Adam a[nd Eve] / in the flesh. Until the moment when Jesus wa[s se]nt and he [... [25] ...] as he performed there h[is w]ill. He gave the [hop]/e to Adam, and ascended to the heig[hts]. /

Now, from the time when the Ambassador [displayed] his

ima[ge] / until the season when [the Sta]tue will [as]/cend at the end, shall be reckoned to the t[hird sea]son.

30 T[hen] the disciples asked the apost[le ... / ...] / with each other in the ligh[t] earth [... / ...

The apost]/le says to them [... (**57**) ... / ...] lasts long in the time t[hat the] First [Man spent in the wo]/rld of darkness. It is a very great count [of t]ime [more] / than the (other) two seasons!

His discipl[e]s say to h[im: The] 5 first season, wh[ic]h the First Man spent in the [world of] dark/ness, is how mu[ch] longer than the time that this univer[se has been? While it is / es]tablished?

[He replies to them]: If you should say th[at ... / ...] it is small, if y[ou] sho[uld ... / ...] to him [...] and [y]ou consult [... 10 ...] you will tel[l] him: Twe[nty times]! / [It is grea]ter again in this other one that you will c[onsult]. / Th[ir]ty times! Less also is this other o[ne ... / ...] people will receive the {}*19 of the trees [... / ...] the years and the generations [... 15...] earth to the heights. This is [...

This / is] the third period, from the time w[hen the Ambassa/d]or revealed his image until the [S]tatue will asc/end from the lump. It again, th[at] time, is / greater than the intermediate; but it does not come equal to the ti20[me of the Firs]t Man. For this intermediate season, / in [which] the Father of Life and the Mother of Life [constructed the un/ivers]e with its orders, is shorter than that of the First / [Ma]n.

Gr[ea]t [i]s the period of the First Ma/[n]! It lasts longer than the season in which the Ambassador disp25[l]ayed his image, until the dissolution of / [the] world and [the S]tatue ascends. [From the time / to]o when the Ambassador displayed his image, until / [the dis]solution of the universe [... / ... 30 ...] when the Father of Life and the / [Mother of Life s]haped the universe.

These are the / [... thre]e periods of time that o[ccur]. (**58**)

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*19 ⲁⲥⲗⲉ

••• 18 •••

(58,1 – 60,12)

/ [Concerning the Five] War[s that the] Sons / of [Li]ght waged wi[th the Sons] of Darkness. /

Five major cosmological events in the history are, in sequence, presented as wars in which principal divinities have vanquished the powers of darkness.

58.7 – 19 The descent of the First Man who sacrifices his five sons, the living soul. While this is sometimes presented as a primal tragedy, like the crucifixion it is the bait that ensures the defeat of death.

58.20 – 59.2 The creative activity of the Living Spirit who imprisons the rulers in the universe.

59.3 – 18 The displaying of the divine image by the Third Ambassador who seduces the demons chained in the heavens, thereby drawing out of them their light. Mani develops a short parable to explain this crucial moment.

59.19 – 28 The descent of Jesus the Splendour who subdues a rebellion by evil (see 93.29 – 94.11) and imparts knowledge to Adam.

59.29 – 60.8? Perhaps the eschatological work of the counsel of life that sculpts the Last Statue upon itself, achieving the final victory and redemption (see 81.1 – 6)?

[T]hen] the enlightener [s]peak[s]: The sons of light waged five [war]s against the sons of darkness. The sons of light / [humiliated the s]ons of darkness in them all. /

[The first w]ar is that of the First living [M]an, which [he / waged against the] King of the realms of Darkness, an[d] all the rule[r]s that had come / [forth from] the five worlds of [...] He hunte[d them with] his net, which is [the] living soul. He [... / ...] in the snare and [...] the face of the [... / ... h]is virgin, the living fire [... / they did not find] how to escape h[is n]et [... / ... h]e caught them like fish [... ...] the five counsels of the five elem[ents ... / ...] He cut and dug out the root of [the fi]ve [tr/ees, ...] r[o]ot of the evil tree, like an ax[e. / As] the saviour has said: Behold, the axe is put to the roo[t / of] the evil tree, so that from this time it can not bear evil fruit*[20].

The second war is that of the Liv[ing] Spirit [... / ... h]e has

*[20] Mt. 3:10

constructed the things and the worlds of l[ight; / he spre]ad out the rulers and chained them in the middle [of ... / ...] the stars in [...] the earths [... / ...] them in the three vessels. For the rulers [25] rebelled and were set [a]gainst the Living Spirit. They wished to [... / ...] since they knew and realised that he might bind [and] / fetter them with a strong chain. Yet he, the L[ivin]g Spirit, / (appeared to them) with many aspects, with numerous [...], with m[a]/ny hands and great cruelties. [He was revea]led to them, [30] he imprisoned them with mu[ch] skill. Not one [of] / them was able to save (himself), and he {}*[21] [... / ...] Now, since he [... / ...] he trapped them [... (**59**) ... / ...] /

[The third war] is that of the Third A[mbas]sa/[dor who has display]ed his image [... [5] ...] what is below [... sc]ooped / [...] all [l]ight and the property [... / ...] the ones that are consumed [... / ... the] entire [r]uling-power [... / ...] pride of the li[ght ... [10] ...] extending it [... / ... a] person comes, who is powerful [... / ...] he takes his riches [... / ...] silver [... / ... his] pride and wantonness.

[15] This i[s what] the ruling-[power] is like [...] / all riches [...] as they travel [... / ...] light / [... he] cleansed and purifi[ed] i[t]. /

[The] four[th] war is this that Jesus the gl[orious] one waged against [20] all [the re]bels who had rebelled above and be[lo]w. / [W]hen the light was purified from them by the imag[e of the] Th[i/rd] Am[b]assad[or], their chains loosened [... / ...] the glorious one in the fourth war; he came and brought [... / ... a] rebellion of the entire ruling-power. He girded [himself ... [25] ... a]ll of it another time. [H]e constructed the whole structure and he made [... / ...] a great contest; [h]e humiliated therein. / [...] he fulfilled the will of the greatness, [he / gave the] hope to Ad[am ...] to his light ship. /

[The fifth war is this] that the [co]unsel of li[30][fe ... wh]ich is the summons and the obedience [... / ...] great [... / ...] and it placed [...] upon the [... / ...] and the [... (**60**) ... / ...] of death, which [... / ...] with it. And it was victorious over [...] / for [eve]r, and it gave the kingdo[m ... [5] ...] great wa[rs ... / ...] with the sons of darkne[ss

*[21] ⲥⲁϩⲙⲉ Smagina 1990:116 suggests 'get out' (from ⲥⲱϩⲙ); Vycichl 1983:206 'se libérer'.

... / ...] the good are victorious over the [wicked ... / ...] for ever and eve[r ... /

Blessed is] every [el]ect one who will [... [10] ... li]ves therein and is victorious over it [... / ...] after the likeness of these five [... / ...] receives the victory without [...]

••• 19 •••

(60,13 – 63,18)

/ Concerning the Five Re[le]as[es; [15] what] they [are]. /

These five 'releases', or moments and processes in the redemption of the light, correspond to the five wars in the previous chapter.

[Once again] our father [s]peaks: [There are] five [releases / by] which the light is saved f[rom] / all [the rulers and] powers of darkness! /

[The first loo]sening and saving is that of [the] First Ma[20]n, since when the First M[a]n was freed fro[m / the prison of] the rulers by the Living Spirit, who had come [... / ...] / of the First Man, much light and [much] power was / saved from the entire ruling-power. They ascend[ed] [25] with the First Man to the aeons [of] greatn[ess]. This [is the first] / release. /

The second saving is that of the Liv[ing] Spirit, since whe[n] / the Father of Life and [the] Mother of [Li]fe constructed [the ... / ...] and [w]orlds [... wo][30]rlds, the earths and their [rulers; im]measurable light / was saved f[r]om them [... the First] / Man, who w[a]s devoured [...] lig[ht ... (**61**) ... / ... th]ree wars [... / ...] to the time when he [... / ...] above [... [5] ...] them upon the [... / ...] universe. /

[The third red]emption is that of the Thi[rd / Ambassador ... he] displayed [his / image ...] he [... [10] ... the r]uling-power; he [... / ... / ... / ...] from them [... / ...] So this is [how] the [... [15] ... his] image that [... in the Th/ir]d Ambassador. /

[Th]e fourth s[av]ing is that of Jesus [the Splendour, since whe/n

he was] re[ve]aled in the zone he displayed [his im]/age in front of the firmaments and purified [the light] [20] that is above. He established the first righteous o[ne*[22] ... / ...] all the churches. He took the likeness*[23] [... / ...] he made himself like the angels in [...] un/til he travelled and descended to the form of flesh. He set in order / [t]he earths and all the fastenings. He also loosen[ed [25] ...] light without measure in the entire structure. He gave / [the s]ummons and the obedience to the elements, he formed / [J]esus the Youth. He as[ce]n[d]ed and rested himself in the / light [land].

The fifth release / a[nd s]aving is that of the great counsel, w[30][hich is the s]umm[ons an]d the obedience, since it also / [... the] soul from the [land] of greatness (**62**) [... [5] ... the] Living Spirit [... [9] ...] as he gave [... [10] ... the r]elease [... /...]

The first [... / ... he] ascended and he [... / ...] as he [... / ...] wisdom [... [15] ... / ...]

The fourth [... / ...] its wisdom / [...]

And also, the fifth [... / ...] in to it, and it sets it in order [...] its [20] light image in this Last Statue.

These five grea[t] / powe[rs ...] were revealed. They came to a profit [... / ...] they were established upon [... / ...] First Man [...] when he came to/ward [...] from the struggle. He set in order and constru[25]cted [...] universe [... / ...] the First M[an / ...] his advent.

In / t[his way ...] they st[an]d with [... (**63**) ...] because of the light [th]at had rushed from [... / ...] the Amba[s]sa[d]or.

The counse[l of] / life, which is the [s]ummons and the obedience, will make [... / ...] seal the commandment and the [... [5] of] all [the] apostles. In this last season they [... / the] life of the S[t]at[ue and] he judges the sou[ls / ... he] can send [... /

...] powers, they [...] from the [... / ...] it is alive [...] of the will [of the ...] [10] Father, the establ[ished one ...] / powerful; they g[o ...]

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*[22] Read ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲁⲣⲭ[ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ] after P. Kell. Copt. 2 line 139 and PsBk2. 88.15 139.43

*[23] Phil. 2:7

enemy, they [...] / all of them [...] conquer this land that they have [... / ...] in it for ever [... / ... t]hey came fr[om h]im in the beginning, as t[hey will r]eturn [15] again to the light. They [as]cend to him at the la[st]. /

Blessed is every person [who can] understand these mysteries! [... / ...] up [...] from the first to [...] / it [...]

••• 20 •••

(63,19 – 64,12)

[20] *The Chapter of / the Name of the Fathers.* /

The name 'father', as the Father of Greatness, supremely designates the ultimate God and source of all divinity. However, it can also properly be used of the derived gods in their own realms of greatness. Compare chapters 7 and 25.

[On]ce again the enlightener speaks to his disciples: The [Father / of] Greatness, as he is named; due to what reason is he given the name 'the Father / [of] Greatness'?

His disci[25][p]les say to him: We beseech you, our master, that you may enlighte/n us about this [g]reatness; for who is it that is named / 'the Father o[f G]reatness'?

Then he speaks / [to] his disciples: Now, the Father, who is the first esta/[b]lished thing, [shall be cal]led 'the Father of Greatness'. [30] His greatn[ess is the gr]eat earth where he lives, he being established / [i]n it [...] the essence of the light that swathes / all the [r]ich go[d]s and the angels and the dwellings / [...] is set over it. /

[Furthermore, they shall c]all the Third Ambassador [35] ['father'. His greatness i]s the light ship of living fire (64) [wherein he lives], he being established in it. /

[Once again, J]esus the Splendour shall himself also be called 'father'. / His [greatn]ess is the ship of living waters where he lives, / [he being established in it].

[5] [They shall] also [call] the Pillar of Glor[y] 'father'. It[s] gre[atness / ...] the five gods of hol[y ...] which [li/ve and are establ]ished in them. They [... / ...]

Again, [the] Li[ght] Mind shall be / [called] 'father'. His gre[atness] is the [holy] church; [10] becaus[e] he lives [and is established i]n it. It also / [...] in it [...] alone. They / [... li]ght.

••• 21 •••

(64,13 – 65,13)

/ [C]oncerning the Father of Gr[eat]ness: [15] [ho]w he is established and / determined. /

The kingdom of light is a manifestation of the Father himself, which he pervades by his qualities or limbs. The kingdom is variously described in the texts, which have difficulty reconciling the sets of five and twelve that structure Mani's system.

Once [again] the apostle [speaks] to h[is d]isciples: Hear / [this lesson t]hat I will recount to you. Very great is / [land of] light*[24] in the presence of they who will hear and kno[20]w it, due to the first Father of Greatness. How he ex/[ists and is] established in his five light limbs, which are / [... the store]houses that have neither limit nor measure to the[m / ...] mind, thought, insight, counsel and [consid/eration ...] his twelve light limbs that [25] are his twelve wisdoms. Now, there are five great light lim[bs] / in each one [...] five grea[t] / springs of praise gush for[th ...] five great / [...] lig[ht ...] /

The first is his light that enlig[htens ...] it gushed [30] forth from him and pour[ed ...] a[ll] aeons. /

The second is the perfume of the [...] / and pervades all the aeons of greatness. /

The third is his living voice of [... / ...] all his aeons [...]

[35]The fourth is his [...]-ness [... (**65**) ... gus]hes forth from him [... o]ut [...] /

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*[24] Suggested reading: ⲡⲕⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ

The fif[th] is his great glorio[us ...] that [..., w]/hich [has been ma]nifested all the tim[e], whi[ch contin]ues [...] / all of them. It was sculpted in them [...] [5] se[a]led in the[m ...] sea[led ...] / as they send [...] in [... / ...] they too receive nourishment [...] immediately [... his] / living voi[ce ...] joy [...] / set up anew. It shall gush forth from it [...] [10] they shall [...] and become rich in the [...] / too is beautiful [...] portray[al ...] / adornment [...] and they live [... / ...] for ev[e]r. /

••• 22 •••

(65,14 – 66,27)

[15] *[... / ...] the Land of Light. /*

The theme of the previous kephalaion is here continued with a description of the land of light.

[...] in the great land of greatness / [... a]s I will reveal to you [... [22] ...] above. /

[... f]ace is [... / ... [25] ...] living / [... / fr]om [... / ...] upon him. /

[...] light and [30] [... / ...] face / [... (**66**) ...] out; he has [... f]ace of the [...] / in the [...] now fi[ve ...] of prais[e ... / ...] in the [...] living [am]bros[i]a [...] / five [...] compound [...] they become an image [5] [...] the li[v]ing air [...] also living. [As] / those five shall [...] from all the contests of the greatness / [...] and a beautiful [...] to the limbs of their body / [... w]hich exists [...] the land of light; their / [... l]ife. Just as all the gods and the rich ones and the [10] [angels w]ho were summoned came from the Father, so also / all [the moun]tains [...] springs and trees / [...] gush forth [...] great is / a [...] every thing that you [... / ...] neither water nor [...]

[15] These ar[e ...] which [... / ...] /

The [...]-th [...] great light, the living air [... / ... in which the aeons of grea]tness dwell, being established therein. [... / ... ang]el[s] that [... [22] ...] and the [... / ...] the gi[fts] of the great Father [... / ... [25] ...] in the [...] /

Blessed is whoever will k[now ... / ...]

••• 23 •••

(66,28 – 70,7)

/ [...] [30] which [...] /

Mani begins by telling his disciples that no one can explain the ultimate origin of the two eternal kingdoms, for no prior power has been revealed (66.31 – 67.20). However, the apostle can preach about the time from when the darkness first stirred against the light, to attack it. Thus begins the history of war and conflict (67.20 – 30).

The essence of darkness stirred into the thought of death, and spread and generated the hideous warring powers through its five elemental worlds. These are the five trees that bear evil fruit (67.31 – 68.28). The chief ruler then took charge of his powers; and, noticing the light, conspired to attack (68.29 – 32 and ff.).

The Father of Greatness knows that death can not be allowed to intrude into the eternal land of light; and thus must emanate the gods to take the conflict to the darkness and into the arena of mixture. The plan that will ensure ultimate victory is entrusted to the living soul (the five sons of the First Man), for it will destroy evil from within, using that uncontollable lust that is at the heart of death. Therefore, the First Man puts on his sons as garments, or as armour in preparation for the war (68.33 – 70.7).

O[nc]e again it happened [... / ... / ... / ...] essence in [... [35] a]s I have told y[ou ... / ...] is the land of [... (**67**) ... / ...] and [...] / their last.

What the essence of [...] / no person could re[cou]nt or unveil [or say how it] [5] exists [... f]or ever [...] / all [...] and [...] unve[i]l / [...] etern[ity ...] great [...] / again and the [...] tend [...] / the beginning of eter[nity] and the end [...] [10] set th[at one] down. /

Now, my [...] the land of d[eath ... / ... nat]ure of the essence [... / ...] which exists [... for e]/ver and ever [...] [15] in [...] / with one another.

As for the eternity of [... / ...] which exists from ever, no person is able to / [understand] how they exist. For no other power / [is manifes]ted to them, in that it might speak or recount about their [origin*[25]], [20] how [they e]xist. However, from the time w/[hen

*[25] Perhaps read ἀρχή

it] stirred itself and rose up against the light [... / ...] it might come and rule over the land of the living. /

[The Fi]rst Man came forth against it and prevented it, [he k/ept] it apart from the house of the living. He prevented i[25][t]. From that time, when the light was mixed with / [the] darkness, and life [wi]th death, there was a measure of approval and an ability / [for the] first-born [and the a]postle[s] to teach about it. They spe/[a]k and unveil how the reproach and the fight did hap/[pen], [how] the light [was] entwined with the darkness, which they [30][...] life in death. /

[... after it] stirred itself in its essence, its th/[ought ...] in its own land. It [... / ...] the entire land of darkness in its [... / ...] of light in the abyss. For (**68**) [...] essence in [i]t [... / ...] because a [...] they reckoned [... / ...] on its side [...] this first nature / [...] it, bec[ause i]ts body is made strong [5] [... more] than the Adamant [...] every [...] as it exists / [in the univer]se.

[...] of death [... / ...] envy, which [...] the land of [darkness / ... consi]deration in [...] wickedness / [...] for as it [...] the wounds [...] against this land [10] [...]

Then he will run [... f]rom the land / [...] darkness. It drew [...] his members / [...] is deep [... / ... / ...] in them.

[15] [...] every [...] It spread itself o[ut. It] generated itself / [of the five dark elements]; which [are] sm/oke, fire, wind, water and darkness. [... / ...] sprouted trees. It came up [... / ...] it formed its own self in the [... [20] ...] it generated its own self with its birth [in] / numerous [emana]tions, not resembling each other; [in] / the storehouses of its abyss, many [dark] creatures / [...] destroyers and dragons an[d] evil [beas/ts]. It was established and {}*[26] and grew strong [... [25] ...] in the ugly forms of those in the darkness [...] / dark, and by the [...] impetuosity, by their wickedness an[d] / hatred they slaughter [...] / each other as they war with one another. /

Then the counsel of their ruler humbled [it]s world an[d] [30] its

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*[26] ϱϵϝ Vycichl 1983:286 suggests 'apparaître, fleurir'.

powers. It sensed the essence of the [light ... / ...] It conspired to wage a war [...] / with the exalted kingdom and the [...] /

However, he, the Father of Great[ness ... (**69**) ...] / it also knew [... w]/ar, to disturb the [land of] light [...] / in the wisdom of his [...]-ness [...] [5] he transformed himself against it [... / ...] against it. /

Indeed, at t[hat t]ime [... / ... / ... [10] ...] / go agains[t ...] God [...] /

[... fr]om its [... p]/oured it out [... i]n the elemen[ts]: in the smoke, / the fi<re>, the win[d], the water and the darkness. It came up from the [great] [15] d[epth], it being set in the trees [... / ...] against it.

Also, at the time when it generated itself / [...] it formed the fruits, it still being set in t/hem. They summoned the five garments, the sons of the Fir[st] / Man.

And at the time when it generated its own self [20] [f]rom the fruits through its offspring, they fell upon the earth and [...] / strength from the elements and were nourished by them. [... / ...] wickedness, together with cruelty [...] / in the ruler, the leader of all the demons. He hum[bled] / his worlds and his powers; he gathered them all in [to [25] hi]m. He made himself ready for the battle; he set himself [to / the] war with that light earth, and the great / King who dwells in it.

At that very moment / the First Man approached his garments, the gods / [who sh]ine forth. He spoke with them, that he might entrust to them a [... [30] ...] he [reve]aled to them and taught them about everything that [... / ...] them. He assumed them. He arranged them [... / ... He] draped them over one another upon his li[mbs ... (**70**) ... / ... d]anger, it [... / ...] the heights of the earth [... / ...] with all its powers [5] [... beg]inning, it being immeasurable / [... / ...]

••• 24 •••

(70,8 – 76,14)

10 *[... / ...] /*

This chapter is concerned with the measurement of time and eternity; and consequently with the question of why apostles can speak of certain episodes in the history, but not of those others that are eternal. In this it is linked to the opening question of the previous kephalaion. Chapter 24 appears also to be composite, with series of textual material loosely strung together on these related themes.

70.12 – 72.27 The duration and process of emanating the Great Spirit, the First Man, and his five sons; from the Father. It is notable that the Mother of Life is in part distinguished here from the Great Spirit (71.25) who comes into existence prior as the female archetype of the divine.

72.28 – 73.3 The other gods were also emanated at the same time.

73.4 – 74.9 Apostles can speak of the middle time, the history of descent and ascent; because it is temporal in contrast to the twin eternities of the beginning and the end.

74.9 – 75.10 The parallel process of evil emanation from Matter.

75.11 – 76.3 A list of six related points; but the exact context is unclear.

76.4 – 14 Reiteration of the theme about time and eternity.

[...] a great ju[d/ge ...] now also a ti[me ...] that they sculpt/[ed ... he was revea]led in the Father, the first est[ab]lished thing.

W[he15n ...] the two summonses that he called [... / ...] the Mother of Life [... / ...] a long duration in the first Father [... / ...]

For someone, if he might set a measure and rule / [...] the earth {particles}*27 and the {pebbles}*28 of the mountains and 20 [... of the] s[e]a and the body of the firmaments. Should they be po[ured / ...] the body of the four mountains and the three ve[s]/sels that [s]urround the universe; if they shall al[l] be poured out / [...] these fine {granules}*29. /

Happen you know that the grains of the earth {particles} are measurable, [and those of] 25 the [entire] uni[verse]. It is possible to count the {particles} of the earth eac[h] / ye[a]r [...] the sand

*27 ⲕⲁⲏⲁ Cf Vycichl 1983:76 – 77.
*28 ⲁⲁⲟⲗⲉ
*29 ⲙⲉⲥⲁⲏⲥ

grains of the entire universe; / but the duration of the time that the Great Spirit spent in the Father, [the] / first established thing, one will not be able to make a count of it!

He first / sculpted her like this. He established her in his inner storehous[es] [30] in quiet and silen[c]e. When [they had] / need of her she was called and came forth of the Father [of Greatness]. / She looked at all her aeons of lig[ht]!

Once again, from the time when she was called to [...] (**71**) go to [...] she gave [...] / upon his [bod]y [...] al[l] the aeons [...]; / she also [...] all of them. This [is also the case] / with the First Man.

This is how the Man [5] spent a long time being anointed in the Mother, set fast in her / inner storehouses [...] the extent of time that I have rec[ounted] / to you; from when the First Man went d[own to] / the contest, till the time when the [Statue (?) co]mes i[n ...] / this time [... [10] ...] he appeared [... / ...]

Ag[ain], from when he was / [c]alled and came forth, till the time when he [himse]lf call[ed / the five] shining [gods] who are his sons; they / themsel[ves also spent a long] time existing in their father! [15] I[t is the ti]me that occured from the coming down of the Fi/[rst Man] till the going up of the Last Statue. The f/[ive god]s spent this much duration being anointed in the First Man. / Yet, [at the] t[i]me when they were awaited, they were called and came [f]orth. /

Listen also to this, how I would teach you it. At the [20] time when the Mother of Life was called from the Father of Greatness, / when she expelled herself and came down by her [o]wn [wish], / from the heights of the Father to the earth, [she would spend / thousands of] years and many ten thousands until she reached the earth. / [Fo]r there is no measure nor rule to the heights of the Father. Rather, [just as] [25] he had called her in his Great Spirit, so he set her upon / [the] land of greatness thr[ou]gh one of these three that are counted to the twe/[lv]e hidden ones withi[n] the light veil, the ones / [esta]blished after the [...] region of the south. /

[The] matter of the Mother [of L]ife is like this. When [30] [the Fath]er called her he established her in the place he pleased, /

[to] establish her there as the instruction of the people that / [...] many [...]; and she examined everywhere that / [...] a blink of an eye, or like a (**72**) [...] bir[d ... / ...] This also is lik[e / ... the] Mother of Life in [...] whenever / [...] cast her out [... u]pon her to the place [... 5 ...] him. He perfected her in his Great Spirit and set her in / [the place he pl]eased, according to [his wi]ll. /

[Th]is [also is how] they called the [five g]ods from the [Fi/rst Man. They were se]t befo[re him], as he wished that [... / ... 10 ... / ... / ... / ...]-ness [...] / down, that they would rule in them [...] 15 one another. He ordered and distributed them [... / ...] the son. He stripped himself of them [...] and he [... / ...] he girt and bound himself to [...] / in a [...] of silence upon the border of the earth [... A]/gain, he too, the First Man, spent a long period and [time] 20 until he gave power to his sons; until he assu[m]/ed them. After he came to wear them he stood fast in the hei/ghts between the borders. Again, he spent a duration and ti/[me] like this, corresponding to such amount and measure as the rain/drops and dew and falls of mist that come down in 25 the universe. This is how he spent this duration also, [stand]/ing between the borders, until the hour when he cast himself [d]/own to the contest! /

Whenever the Father of Greatn[e]ss [calle]d the Great Spir[it] / and the First Man and the gods [of] the glorious one, who are provide[d to] 30 enable them to reveal him; at that ve[ry ti]me [he] / sculpted the Great Builder in the [land of] light, [and] / the Living Spirit with the might[y] and active gods who came [from] / him. Also, at that time, he sculpted the [Amb]/assador, with Jesus the Splendour and the Vi[r]gi[n] of Lig[ht] 35 and the Pillar of Glory, and the gods who [came from them. (**73**) All these the Father of Greatness sculpted at] / a single time. They came for[th of] one another, one after on/e; the time when [...] and the work./

[...] to recount it to you [...] 5 from the time when the da[rkness] raised itself up to / [...] essence of the light / [...] these three emanations / [...] from the [w]ill of the Father against the enemy [... / ...] he has [... 10 ...] darkness [... / ...] according to the will [... / ... / ... / ...] the universe [... 15 ...] in it [...] separate out [... / ...] rest him in which way, and he rejoices [... / ... i]n his kingdom; until [the time when / the face] of the Father will be unveiled over

[all] the gods / of glory, and all the rich ones of [... the em]anations who came forth against the enemy. /

[From] that time when he sculpted these three [... / ...] till the time when the Father would unveil his face, / [and they g]o in to his hidden storehouses, and he calls them / [...] establishes each one of them to [his place. There is no measure nor ru]le to this period until that time.

It is po[ss]ible / [for] all [the teachers] and saviours and apostles of / greatness, that they can speak and reveal about what has / [ha]ppened and what will happen; but before [... / ...] they are sculpted in heaven there is no possibility for any apost[le] a[nd teacher] to proclaim about this beginning, because / [...] for ever. Nor also is it possible for [al]l the apo/[stles] and teachers to be able to speak and revea[l / ...] the time when all the fathers (**74**) [of lig]ht [go in to the hid]den (places) of the Father, and [dw]/ell [...] power in them to i[t]s / [...] of God [...]; because it exists for e/ver. It is continuous till the a[e]ons. It has no time to the end; but their establishme[nt ...] et/ernal is their life [... gener]ation by generation. /

[If] a person [s]hall ask [...] an/d about th[a]t etern[a]l end [...] in the devastation / [...]

However, [... ...] to enable him to recoun[t ... / ...] who asks him [... / ...] of the disciples [... / ...] because [... / ...] and he gives [... ...] about this Matter, this though[t of death ... / ...] which I have told you; for [this] is the way that [... / ...] came up to its storehouses. It has [... / ...] in its five elements. Again, it also [... / ...] the period and the time that it spent, until it rev[eal]ed itself to its elements, before it came to the trees. It spent / a great period and a long time established [... / ...] before it came up to the trees. It was [...] / in the trees. It spent a long time and duration [...] / existing in them, before it sculpted the fru[its ... ...] and sculpted the fruits. Again, it spent a long [time] / in the fruits. Not little is the period and the tim[e that it / spent] existing in the fruits, before it sculpted [... / ...] after a long time [...] the d[emon]s / of its five worlds in various forms [can not (?)] be measured [...] in p[erfec]tion of the fruits in the de[mons] / and fiends. They fell upon their earth and [...] / were nourished. Not little is the period

that they [spent in the wo]/rlds, until they were nourished [a]mong[st ... (**75**) ...] to make [... / ...] t[h]at [l]and which shin/[es], and the great [King] who dwells there.

[Y]/ou know that [...] that in [... 5 ...] at the time when he / [... i]ts essence. It assumed / [... Mat]ter [...] to the war [... / ...] the Perfect Man. / [From the time] when the [wa]r occured [... 10 ...] /

[The first is ... h]e came to be in some [... / ...] when they ensnared a [...] /

[The second is ...] that h[e] built [... / ... the] universe was established. The zone [... 15 ...] down until the time when it will be / [dissolved].

The third is the [... / ...] the things and the universe will [... / from the] time when they were established there, till the time [when] / their end will be complete and their existence ceases [...]

20 [The f]ourth is the dissolution when they will dissolve the universe / [th]ere, and all things are destroyed. Obliteration / [reaches] them in that great fire, [which wi]ll burn them for fourteen / [hundred] and sixty-eight years. /

[The fift]h is the way that the Last Statue will be sculpted 25 [from] the remnant of all th[in]gs. The light separates / [ou]t to its place, and goes up and rules in its kingdom. / However, [the da]rkness [...] and they take it in to the tomb [... / ... and t]hey are bound with it in an et[ernal] chain. / Now, from [the tim]e when this first war 30 occured, till the [ti]me of this chain [...] these five things [... / ...] li[g]ht. /

[The six]th: From the time when it stirred and raised itself / [up in its] land, till the time of its chaining, it is possible / [for the apostles and the] chosen and the teachers to speak and recount (**76**) about it. However, before [...] / from it out of the powers [... / ...] and measure it; because it is eternal. /

[From the time] when it will be taken in to the chaining and bound 5 [in] the lump [...] / to give to it. No pe[rson] is able [...] /

the apostle and the teacher is enabled to [...] / chaining is eternal [in the] lum[p ... / ...] {}*30. From the time when [... 10 ...] with one anothe[r, till] the t[ime ... / one] another; and eac[h one ... / ...] fetter [... / ...] and they proclaim about the [...] / time and period.

••• 25 •••

(76,15 – 76,25)

/ [Concerning the Advent of Five Fathers / from the Five Limbs of the Father]. /

Once again the apostle speaks concerning [the advent of five fathers / fro]m the Father, one after another. [He] speaks t[hu]s: 20 [The Ambas]sador [came] from his mind; the Beloved of the Lights / [from his thought]; the Mother of Life from his insight; [Jesus] / the Beloved from his counsel; the Virgin of Lig[ht f]/rom his consideration.

So in this way were summone[d these five] / fathers. These five advents came from the five limbs [of the Father]. 25 One came from another and was manifested in its season.

••• 26 •••

(76,26 – 77,21)

/ Concerning the First Man and the Ambassa/dor and the Ship; what they resemble. /

Mani frequently used parables and similes in his teaching. However, the miscellaneous set of five in this kephalaion have little coherence beyond the concept of redemption. Their collection here evidences that the original contexts have been lost during a period of textual transmission.

76.29 – 34 The First Man rescues his treasure, his sons (the living soul), from the powers of darkness.

76.34 – 77.3 The significance of the two sons (usually five) and the two powers is unclear.

77.4 – 7 The Great Spirit has its throne in the sun (see 82.30 – 31); and its role is to beautify and to set matters in order (see 79.29 – 30 102.27).

*30 ⲧⲘⲏⲧⲉ

77.8 – 10 The Living Spirit redeems the First Man.
77.11 – 16 The Third Ambassador is the principal god of redemption. The living soul is continually reborn in the material forms in which it is imprisoned.

Once again he speaks: The First [Man] is like a grea[t] distinguished man wh[ose treasu]re has been taken away from him. H[e came] / to pursue his treasure. This [is] how the [First] / Man too came after his sons [f]rom the heights, [so that he] / might redeem*[31] them and retrieve his treasure, which had been scattered among[st] / his enemies.

Once again, [he is like a man] whose two sons were taken away from him by [... He] / came out toward them to redeem them. [Again, this is how (**77**) the F]irst Man [...] shines in the heights because of h[is] / two sons, who were separa[t]ed from him. They are his / living soul that exist in two powers, which makes four. /

[Once] again, the ship [of the day] is like a great spear [... ... The Grea]t Spirit too, which is in it, / is like a wise [crafts]man who might beautify and / set aright [all] the armou[r] for war. /

Once again, the Living Spirit is like a combatant / who might go towards a king's [so]n who has been taken prisone[r of war], and he redeems him [from the] hands of his enemies. /

[The Amba]ssador to[o] is like a great man / [...] because of the treasure / [...] hand of his priso[ners / ...] these light powers [... ... the] sons and their soul, so that they would [... / ... (the soul) might] be brought forth in the land [wherein it] was imprisoned. /

Again he turned, and he says to his discip/[les]: You yourselves must be purifiers and re[dee]/mers of your soul, which is established in every place, so that y[ou may be counted] to the [c]ompany of the fathers of light [... / ...] of the kingdom in the new aeon, in the place of joy.

*31 Reading: ⲥⲱⲧⲟⲩ for ⲥⲱⲧϥⲟⲩ: 'purify them'.

••• 27 •••

(77,22 – 79,12)

/ Concerning the Five Forms that exist / in the Rulers of Darkness.

Compare chapter 6.

25 [Once agai]n, the apos[tle] is sitting among the congregation. He says [to] / his disciples: Cons[id]er the ruler, the leader of all the powers / [of dark]ness. Now, f[ive forms] exist in his body, corresponding to / (the archetype)*32 [of the five] creations that exist in the five / [wo]rlds of darkness.

Indeed, his head is lion-faced, wh30[ich] came about from [the] world of fire. His wings and his / [shoulders] are eagle-faced, after the likeness of the children of the wind. / [His hands] and [h]is feet are daemons, after the likeness / [of the children] of the [w]orld of smoke. His belly is [dragon]-faced, / [after the likeness of the] world of darkness. His tail [is the] (78) form of the fish , which belongs to [the world of the ch]ildren of water. These [five] / shapes are in him, and [they came] from the five [creations] / of the five worlds of darkness.

[S]hould he wish, h[e shall walk / on] his two feet [...] world of [sm5oke]. Also, when he wants, he shall [... f]our [...] / on his hands and feet [...] like [the] children of f[ire]. / Sh[ou]ld he wish, he shall rise up on h[is] wings, like the children of / the [wind]. Also, should he wish, he shall [plun]ge down to the waters / [like the] children of water. Again, shoul[d he w]ish, he shall crawl on 10 his [bell]y like the children of dark[ness. These] five shapes are / i[n hi]m.

Also, there are three other (qualities) in h[im.

The first]t: / [...] his powers [...] /

The second: Shall a [...] / his magic arts. When he [wishes, he shall make an invocation over 15 himself], and hide from his

*32 Lit. '[the appearance] of the seal'.

powers*33. [When he wants], / he shall show himself to them and strike a [death]-blow [by his] / magic arts. Any word he might utter at that moment, he shall [wreak magic] / by it.

The third: His body is strong, a[l]l [...] / nails and claws of his powers are not able to penetra[te it]. [20] No iron nor copper body will equal hi[m ...] / they will not be able to destroy him, because he was formed and fash[ion]ed / from the hard hearted counsel of Matter, the mother of d[emons and] / fiends.

Again, there are three others in him.

Wh[en he wants], / his fire shall {blaze}*34, and his entire body be made like the [... of] [25] fire.

Also, when he wishes, he shall send out / frost, and his entire body freezes like a [... of] / snow.

The third: Whenever his powe[rs are sto]/od before him, he shall look at them and understand; for [whatever ex]/ists in their heart he shall understand, what is in th[eir heart] [30] and their face so long as they are stood before him. W[hen] / they retreat before him and distance themselves from him, [he shall not und]/erstand what is in their heart. There is no life [in him] / whatsoever, but his 'life' is the bile of [anger] that is app[arent] / on his face and in his fear. Shall a [... (**79**) ...] destruction that is establ[ished be]fore him.

Behold, do not [lay up/on] yourselves, my beloved ones, the shapes of this ruler, the ro/ot of [all] piercing evils and the camp / of every ugliness. Hold yourselves secure [5] from his midst and [h]is wicked teachings that dwell in your / body; so that they may not agree with you and ruin your sweet/ness, nor transform your truths to a lie. /

Rather, do you become zealous and perfect / in the presence of the Mind of truth that has been manifested to you, [so] [10] that you may [...] and they draw you [... u]/p to the he[ights. And you inhe]rit [li]fe for [ever / and] ever.

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*33 Cf 31.30 which has the same phrase. The powers are subsidiary demons.

*34 ⲙⲉⲕⲣⲉ

••• 28 •••

(79,13 – 81,20)

/ [Concerning the T]welve [15] *Judges [of] the Father. /*

While the Father of Greatness is the transcendent and eternal Judge, twelve of the emanated gods act as judges as they take their roles during the course of the history. Mani instructs his followers similarly to walk in the path of righteousness.

[O]nce again] he s[peaks] to his disciples: Twelve jud[ges / ex]ist; the great mighty givers of judgement! They were sen[t and / came] from the [ex]alted greatness to this place. They were assigned to different wo[rk]s / according to the command that the Judge, who belongs to the great[ness], [20] [en]trusted to all these judges. Now he, [the gr]ea[t / Ju]dge, he who transcends all the judges, who exists and [/ is e]stablished in the aeons of greatness; [he] is the Father of [Greatness]. /

[The fir]st judge is the First Ma[n, he w]ho humiliated [the ruler / of Darkness in the] beginning. He judged him ac[cording to a ju]dgement of righteousn[25][ess]; for he had exalted himself [against a kingdom] that [was not] his own. /

[The se]cond judge is the Living Spirit, he who came and bore / up the Man. [He t]oo [made] a judgement on a[ll] the powers [of] /darkness; which had woun[ded] the garments of the First Man./

[The th]ird judge [is the] Mother of Life, the Great Spirit, [she who [30] beauti]fied and set up [the] heavenly part of [the un]iverse, [according to / her] pleasure; which [...] her. She j[udged] the rulers / [abov]e; she f[ettered] and set them firmly in the place / [that is fitting for them.

The fo]urth [judge] is the Great Bu/[ilder, he who built the] new aeon of joy. He [35] [judged, according to a judgement of righte]ousness, the [storeho]uses of the [enemy]; (**80**) that death may not well up from this time on. He has constructed a prison for the / enemy. Also, upo[n] the crown [of the] building he has constructed a / throne for the First Man and all the fathers of

light; / they who engaged the struggle with the evil one and were victorious over him.

The [fif]th [j]udge is the great King of Honour, he who dwells / and is established in the seventh firmament. He is the jud/ge of all the firmaments who gives a true judgement, according to / [a] judgement of righteousness, upon all the powers and all the [king]doms / [of the] firmaments.

The sixth judge is [the Th]ird Ambassador, he who came and displayed / [his image]. He purified the light [...] which his own / [...] also of the enemy, he has [... /

The seventh judge is ... /...] the worlds [... as he gives the victory to] they who are steadfast; but he condemns the on[es who are convicted ... / ...] he shall become for them the steps of the way (?) [...]; / but the convicted he sweeps and ca[sts out / to the] depths.

The eighth judge is Jesus the [Spl/endour], the father of all the apostles; because after [the Am]bassador had displayed his image and the l[i]gh[t] was taken / [...] a mass of rulers rose up from abov[e] / and below. Then they sent Jesus the Splendour. He came [... / ...] he descended and made a judgement in the / [firmaments. He separated] the steadfast [from] the convicted.

The ninth judge i[s the Vir]/gin of Light, [she who took the heart] of the powers by [her] / image, gathering her own ones in to her. She mak[es] / a judgement on the ruler of the moist, and the ru[ler] / of the dry.

The tenth judge is [the Jud]ge who dwells in the atmosphere, judging all mankind. He [ma]/kes a separation between they who are good and they who are evil, setting [apart] / the righteous from the sinners. /

The eleventh judge is the Light Mind, he w[ho shall] / come and appear in the world. And he [choos]es the holy c[hur]ch, and he unveils [...] / and separates light from [darkness, and sets the truth apart from] (**81**) lawlessness.

The twelfth judge is the great / counsel, which is the summons and the obedience, which is appointed in / the elements. It is the

one that makes a separation between / the good and the evil ones. At the end also it can gather itself together [5] and sculpt its own self in the Last St/atue. And it separates [light] from [darkness]. /

These are the twelve great and mighty judges who / were sent. They came from the great Judge, he who transcends / all the judges. He is the Father that is hidden and [immeasurable], [10] the one who exists; who is established in the aeons of gre[atn]ess [upon] / the great throne of honour, which is the King of Ho[nour / ...] in his kingdom. /

[I am telling] you [about this], my beloved ones, so that you / [yourselves may w]alk in true heart on this path o[f [15] righteous-n]ess that I have revealed to you. Judge, / according to a true judgement, as judges of righteousness! / May a brother speak with his brother in truth; so that / when you depart (the body) you can receive the victory from these / twelve great judges, and go to rest [20] in this place of rest for ever.

••• 29 •••

(81,21 - 83,16)

/ Concerning the Eighteen great / Thrones of all the Fathers. /

There are nine thrones established for the great gods in the eternal realm. Another nine are appointed in this universe, the arena of conflict, and thus of loss and redemption. The last of these thrones is that upon which the apostle of a particular time sits; and Mani illustrates to his audience that he is now occupying it.

[On]ce again he speaks to his disciples: Eighteen [25] [great thrones for all the fathers] exist and are appointed, which are es/[ta]blished in eighteen places! While there are nine among them / [appointed in] the outer aeons, they ex[is]t / [i]n all the worlds of the damage. /

[The fir]st throne is the throne of the Father, the God of [30] [trut]h, the King of the aeons of greatness, the one who exists; who is esta/[blished ...] he alone, in his own essen[c]e, / [... he ap]art. This is the first throne / [...] the one that surpasses all the thrones.

(**82**) The second throne is that of the [gl]orious Mother of Life. / She is the origin of all the emanations that have come / to this world.

The third throne is / constructed for the father, the First Man. He is the one who [5] humiliated the entire first enmity, which existed in the / worlds of darkness.

The fourth throne is / that of the Beloved of the Lights, the great honoured Beloved o/f the aeons of greatness.

The fifth throne / is that of the glorious Great Builder; the great architect [10] who built the new aeon for a newn[ess], for [a ...] / for [the] fathers of light; also for a place of binding [and] a pri/son for the enemy and his powers.

[The sixth thro]n[e] / is that of the Living Spirit, the [glorious] mighty one, he who bore / up the First Man out from the [land of darkness]; [15] who also set in order and constructed the world[s ...] / both for a cleansing of the light, [and] for a binding [of the] / powers of the enmity.

The seventh th[rone is] / that of the Third Ambassador, the king of the zone, also the / master of all advices.

[20] The eighth throne is that of Jesus the Splendour, who [is] / the releaser and redeemer [of] all souls. /

The ninth throne is the throne of the great M[ind, he to whom] / all the churches shall gather; and all the [life] / that will be purified from the world returns to him.

[25] These are the nine thrones of ho[no]u[r] appointed in the outer aeo[ns], <which are established> / for the fathers of the glorious realm; [in the kingdom of the King of] / Honour, for ever and ever, amen. /

In contrast, these are the other nine thrones that are appointed in this world o[f] / the zone.

Three thrones in the ship of [the d][30]ay: one is that of the Ambassador, the second i[s that of] / the Great Spirit, the third is that of the Living Spirit. /

Once again, there are another three in the ship that [belongs to the night]: / the first is the throne of Jesus the Splendour, [the second is that of] / the First Man, the third is tha[t of the Virgin of] (**83**) Light. These six thrones are established in the two ships. /

Also, the seventh throne is established in the sev/enth firmament. The great King of Honour si/ts upon it.

The eighth throne is establis[5]hed in the atmosphere. The Judge of truth sits upon it, / he who judges all mankind. Three paths shall / be distinguished be[f]ore him: one to death, one to life, on[e] to / the mingling.

The ninth throne appointed and established is / for the [a]postle in the holy church. The apo[10]stle who has come to you at this time sits up[on it]; / thus, [as jud]ge of righteousn[ess]. They shall proclaim [true] judgem[ent] / every t[ime]!

Th[ese] are the [nin]e great [th]ro/[nes ...] that are established in this world of / [...] of the glorious realm, the one that the [... [15] ...] honour them [... / ...] and the [...]

••• 30 •••

(83,17 – 84,4)

/ Concerning the Three Garments. /

As the creator the Living Spirit establishes wind, fire and water across the entire universe. These are three garments that he carries with him; and which have to be divested and stretched over the zone from the bottom edges to the topmost point.

[On]c[e again] he speaks to his disciples: Happen you know this, [20] my beloved ones, that when the Living Spirit / came he brought the three garments; that of wind, that of fire, and / that of water. He assumed them from [...] he has / [...] in them in th[ose] three garments / [...] he established [them] for all the things of [this [25] univers]e, both above and below. He arranged them in the [... / he was displ]ayed. After[wards ...] his works / [...] the [... h]e stripped them off before / [the ri]ghteous ones.

Now, when he was about to loose[n them, / ... he] divested himself of them from their {clasp}*35 and he {}*36 and 30 [... i]n them, and thus these three g[arme]nts are arranged / [...] from below the edges of the zone as they clothe i[/t al]l [...] up [...] above [... / ... u]p [...] above them (**84**) strips them of the zone from that place at its topmost point; / and it is placed below them and ra[ised u]p to the hei/ghts above, from which it had been sent o[u]t at / their beginning.

••• 31 •••

(84,5 – 85,18)

/ Concerning the Summons, / in which Limb / of the Soul it descended to the First Man. /

This chapter discusses the relationship between the First Man, who was saved from the abyss by the Living Spirit; and his limbs or sons, the living soul that is scattered throughout the material universe. The summons is the call to salvation, and together with the answer or obedience it forms the counsel of life. This is the active will for redemption that drives the soul (see 178.1 – 5).

Mani shows that the First Man is the head upon which the soul depends for its life. Although hidden in this time and space, his presence is still with us in his image and love which is the virginal soul. The Man gathers in the soul, and builds it up, so that as his trunk it eschatologically ascends back to the land of light. This trunk is the Pillar of Glory which reunites with the First Man at its head. At the end of time it is the Last Statue.

Once again one of the teachers questioned the enlightener. He says to h[im]: 10 In which limb of [the liv]i[ng] sou[l] did [the] summons descend / [to] the Man, who exists in the [a]eon? F[o]r it is written in / the [s]criptures about the Man that he spread himself through the [...] / aeon as to a wooden house.

The [enli]ghtener speaks: / Indeed, the First Man dispersed himself and he [...] 15 limb o[f] the living soul as I have written f[or you ...] / of the living soul; he has [...] he did not know [... / ...] but the blessed, glorious Man c[a]me [in] / secret; in his

*35 ⲧⲟϯⲥⲱⲡⲉ

*36 ⲥⲁϩⲙⲉ Smagina 1990:116 suggests 'pulled off', (from ⲥⲱϩⲙ); Vycichl 1983:206 'se libérer'.

image; in his shape; in h[i]s lo/ve; in his holy virgin, she who is the v[ir]g[20]in of light, the soul of the father. /

After the fashion of this fleshly body: as the root of / all the lim[bs] hang upon the head, so that should one of / the person's limbs be cut off, while the head exists he has hope for [...] / but if his head should be cut off, the entir[e] body [w]ill d[ie] [25] and he is lost.

This is also the case for the Firs[ţ] Ma[n]. / He is the head, while his sons attach to it the l[i]mbs [of] / his soul. Or, conversely, like the l[i]ving air, on [w]/hich all flesh entirely lives as it breathes an[d ...] / therein. His head is placed on the body of the Pill[ar of Gl][30]ory in the heights of the universe.

[This i]s also the case [for] / the father, the blessed Man; as he is like the he[ad that is upon the] / body and the air that upon the Pillar is set i[n ...] / being made strong by his l[ight] virgin, [she] who is / his soul that he clothes [...] (**85**) t[h]ose [...]: the mind, thought, insight, counsel and / c[on]sideration that he produced and sent forth from / hi[m to] do his will. He sprang and travelled behind them. / [...] of his living soul, which is entwined among the rebel[5]s; as they are like the limbs of its body, and / [...] universe.

And when they were sent, / at [that ti]m[e] he was found with the Virgin of [Lig/ht an]d [he] stood up, asking and entreating for a p[o]wer*[37]. / [... he] gave him peace and a ki[ss [10] ...] he [gave] him goo[d] tidings / [... M]an. The Man him[s]elf gave [his / ... h]is limbs and gathered his soul i[n / ...] he built it in its place like this to[w]er*[38] / [...] shaped it and beautified it skillfully [... [15] ... f]or[m ...] the voices that he se[n]t / [... he] might sink in and [q]uench [... / ...] so[u]l that was crushed by the enemy. They were gathered in. They came, / [s]et firm onc[e] more, in the image of their father.

*[37] See 38.30 – 39.2
*[38] See PsBk2. 198.5 - 6

••• 32 •••

(85,19 – 86,17)

20 *Concerning the Seven Works / of the Living Spirit. /*

The Living Spirit is the principal god of the second emanation (creation), whose tasks connect the first (descent) and the third (redemption). Therefore, he saves the First Man, defeats the demons who have devoured the living soul, and constructs the universe with the use of their bodies in which there is now both light and darkness. The universe is then held in place by the five sons of the Living Spirit and a multitude of other divine powers.

It is the Living Spirit who first called out the summons to redemption that, joined with the obedience of the First Man, becomes the active will to salvation. Thus it is mixed with the five sons of the Man, the soul.

[O]nce] again the enlightener speaks: The Living Spirit has done seven / [wo]rks with his strength.

[The fi/rst]: He brought the First Man up from the contest, the way 25 a pearl is [brought] up from the sea. /

[The s]econd: He spread about the one who had rebelled, he crucified / [h]im in every body.

The third: He / [tr]ampled, piled up, and pierced the essences of death. /

[The f]ourth: He constructed the ships of light.

The fi30[ft]h: He evoked his five sons, and distributed them about. They / [took] possession of the zone, they bore up under all the uni/[vers]e's weight. Also, he evoked three living words. He set / [them] upon the th[re]e vessels, another one upon the giant. / [Again, he evoked the] summons, that it might be mixed with the five shining 35 men.

(**86**) The sixth: When he had constructed the zone he aro[se] and s[e]/nt forth a multitude of powers and many [angel]s; / so that they would bound the circuit of the z[o]ne on every si[de], / un[t]il he finished [co]nstructing the works. And at the end [of] all the [wor]5ks he to[ok s]ome of them in to his storehouses, / and he appointed others at the watch-posts. /

The [sev]enth: A[t the] time when the Ambass[ador dis]-pl/[aye]d his glorious imag[e], the L[iving] Spirit [established] / many [go]ds and angels. They [...] [10] Th[ey to]ok hold of it, that the entire building [...] not [... / ...] one another against [the] light, which he had [...] /

Also another gr[ea]t and glorious work he will enact at the e[nd] is [the] Last [Statue], / which he will bring up to the aeons of [light]; / and he [...] in, and [he ta]kes hold, and he smites [...], [15] and [he] builds, and he [...], and he [... t]hem.

[Bless/ed is he] who kn[ows] him i[n the] new [aeon], and [dwells in] that [ae]/on of glory and joy!

••• 33 •••

(86,18 – 86,30)

/ Concerning the Five Things that he [20] *constructed with the hard Bodies / of the Rulers. /*

This brief chapter follows the previous, for it discusses intricate details of the work of the Living Spirit in the construction of the universe, utilising parts of the demons that he has destoyed.

Once again the enlightener speaks: The Living Spirit constru[cted five] / great things from veins and skull[s in the] hard [bodies]. /

The first is the disc that is placed upon [the sh][25]oulder of the Porter.

The se[con]d are the arches of [the] / pillar that is before him.

[The th]ird is the [mou]/ld of the fo[r]m for the gehennas.

The fourth are the [seven (?)] / pillars that he has erected in the great sea, in [the] / seven parts of the universe.

The fifth are the four [30] walls that surround the vessels.

••• 34 •••

(86,31 – 87,13)

/ Concerning the Ten Things that the Am[bassa]/d[or] began by his Ad[vent]. /

While the Living Spirit had constructed the universe as a vast and complex machine for purification of the light, it is the advent of the Third Ambassador that begins the cycle of redemption. Now time begins, and the sun and moon revolve through the heavens; the different cosmic cogs start to move; and the various events occur that will lead to life on earth, and thus ultimately to the salvation of the soul.

Once again the enlightener speaks: The Am[bassador performed ten] [35] works by his advent.

[The first: (**87**) The] Great Builder came forth to build the new aeon. /

[The second]: The ships moved through the heights in the heavens. /

[The th]ird: The wheels begin to s[e]nd the lif[e / to] earth and the upper worlds.

The fourth: [...]

[5] [The fifth i]s the d[o]ors of the ships, that they were opened up / [...

The] sixth is the doors too [... / ... that they were opene]d to receive the waste.

The seven[th i]s / [the sin], which he had separated from the rulers by cause [of the Th/ird Amb]assa[do]r; it fell upon the earth.

[10] [The eig]hth: [Ni]ght and day were separated [... / ...]

The ninth: The abortio[ns fe]ll / [to the g]round.

[The] tenth: Transmigrations [came ab]out / [i]n [the] zone.

••• 35 •••

(87,14 – 87,29)

15 *Concerning the Four Works / of the Ambassador. /*

The displaying of the image of the Ambassador to the rulers of darkness is a crucial moment in the history of salvation, and achieves a first purification of the light that is bound up in the rulers. This leads to the establishment of the heavenly bodies; to the beginnings of life on earth; and ultimately to the completion of the salvific process in the ascent of souls to the sun and the return to the kingdom.

[O n]ce again the enlightener speaks: At the time when the Amba[s]sa/[d]or displaye[d] his image, four great wor[ks] were re/[v]ealed that are very excellent and outstanding.

20 [The f]irst is his image that he displayed in [a] / glorious [image].

The second is all the doors of the f[irm]a/[ments] that were opened at that time. They ope[n / ...] and shut behind him. /

[The t]hird is the light [a]nd the releasing that was purified by 25 his image. That lig[ht] is more than the li/[g]ht that he shall [...] /

[The f]ourth: He has [made appar]ent, by the perfection of people, his / light [s]hip. He has [...] the living soul that sho/[ne forth in] perfection and fullness over the worlds of enmity.

••• 36 •••

(87,30 – 88,33)

/ Concerning the Wheel that exists / i[n fron]t of the King of Honour. /

The King of Honour is enthroned in the seventh firmament from where he is able to control and judge all the evil powers fettered in the heavens. The wheel is here presented as a divination device by which he can know the plans and tricks of these demons as they seek to escape; but also the location of the five shining men, that is the soul mixed throughout the material universe.

[Agai]n the [apostl]e speaks about the wheel that exists in front / [of the King of Honour who dwells in] the seventh firma[35][ment ...] the root of the rulers above and (**88**) below in a great and cruel fetter; as the entire will / of the great King of Honour is placed in [it]. / Also, their entire enmity, which is in the firmaments, is [...] / and ensnared in it. It exists in a blaze of splendour [with] [5] ornamentation and great beauty. Now, there are twelve / seals in it. The seal between i[s] every [fi]/r[ma]ment and the rulers who are there [... / ...] are in it; for should one of them wish to escape, he will be bound / [...] if he should wish to cause a trick in his bond [... [10] ... will be] apparent and known in [that] wheel / [...] the spheres and stars and [the] l[ea]der of all the powers / exist there, and can be known by it; / i[n f]ront of the King of Honour. /

The twelf[t]h seal that is in it is its five [15] shining men that are conjoined and enmeshed through the entire zone; becau/se every place where they are cramped, and every place where they have s/p[ac]e, is displayed by that wheel. / For the root of all the firmaments above and be[l]/ow, and that of their rulers, is ensnared and fixed in it. The observation [20] [...] is set right at all times opposite the great King o/[f Honour ...] so that fear, wh/ich [...] will assume all the powers of mixture [... / ...] their root affixed there, so that they can not make an esc[a]pe / from the fetter of their bond. That wheel rese[m][25]bles, in this respect, a chain in front of the chief gu/ard, for when [...] in th[ose / ...] in the [... cha]in*[39].

This is / also the case for all the rulers who are in the firmaments, and every power / of the zone: If they should wish to escape, they shall be [30] recognised and revealed by that wheel. / [As] the wheel is like a great mirror, for [the di]/scrimination of all things [... is] / in it. (**89**)

*[39] Reading [ⲉⲛⲁⲧ]ⲥⲓⲥ

••• 37 •••

(89,1 – 89,17)

/ Concerning the Three Zones. /

The three 'zones' are those of the five powers of darkness, both male and female; the five sons of the First Man; and the five sons of the Living Spirit. The universe is so constructed that the first must depend upon the second, and the second upon the third. Thus the material powers are placed in the most vulnerable position, being 'hung' from soul; and the sons of the Living Spirit are in the strongest, holding the universe in place. Of these the King of Honour in the seventh firmament has a key role.

[O]nce agai]n the enlightener speaks about the Living Spirit: W/hen he built and constructed the worlds, he suspended the zones [5] on their zones, and within another zone also. The first zo/[n]e is the five powers of darkness, males and females. / This is why he hung one zone on a zone! He hung the five / powers of darkness on the five shining men, the sons of the M/[a]n; because all the enmity is entwined and bound in them. [10] Also, within the zone are the five sons of the / [Living] S[pirit; b]ecause the entire edifice is suspended from them, it being [... / ... he]ard (?) him too, the oth[ers ... / ...] after them. And this is the one who came to [... / ... the fi]rmaments above [... [15] ...] which is in one zone, is the great [King of Honour] / who e[xists ...] within the [... / ...] of the universe.

••• 38 •••

(89,18 – 102,12)

/ Concerning the Light Mind and [20] the Apostles and the Saints. /

This long and complex chapter demonstrates the correlation between the macrocosmos and the microcosmos of the human body. The prodigious gods and demonic beings who inhabit Mani's worlds are here integrated with the more accessible workings of religious psychology. These insights into the life of the community aid an understanding of the appeal and success of Manichaeism.

89.21 – 90.14 A disciple asks Mani a series of questions about the Light Mind, the god who enters into the believer and transforms the old man

into the new man. How can this happen, and why does the old man continue to rebel? He also asks Mani about his apostolate.

90.15 – 92.8 Mani begins his discussion with the macrocosmos. The universe is constructed in the form of a human. Its life and soul are the five sons of the First Man. The five sons of the Living Spirit are the intellectual qualities, who act as sleepless guardians, each firmly established in its place. The summons and the obedience, that is the active will to salvation personified in Jesus the Youth, become the sixth sons of each. The Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man, is the Mind in the universe.

92.9 – 94.16 The five sons of the Living Spirit each have their appointed watch-districts. Yet, demonic rebellions have occured in each during the course of cosmic history; and have had to be dealt with by various gods.

94.17 – 95.1 Similarly the Light Mind dwells in the human body, and needs to deal with the treachery of sin manifested by the old man who still lies bound within. Mani assures his listeners that despite the recurrence of evil the powers of light know the final victory; and thus always act for the good.

95.2 – 10 Mani briefly answers the disciple's question as to how the mighty Light Mind can live in this small fleshly body.

95.10 – 97.24 Sin constructed the human body from evil matter. Yet, its soul is divine, being taken from the five sons of the First Man. The five intellectual qualities were bound in the body and overlaid by corresponding evil qualities. This led the soul into error and forgetfulness of its true origin. When the Light Mind comes it frees the divine qualities, binds the evil ones, and imprisons sin. Thus the believer is transformed into a new man.

97.24 – 99.17 Nevertheless, sin can rebel and cloud the intellectual qualities, leading the believer once again into error. Mani explains the process by which such a person may gradually come to turn against the true faith, despite the love and support of church leaders and friends.

99.18 – 100.17 Mani emphasises to his disciple that he has now explained the workings of the Light Mind in the body, whose role corresponds to that of the watch-keepers in the macrocosmos. By purifying the spiritual intellect the elect can ascend in their hearts to God the Father, and know everything.

100.19 – 102.3 Mani now turns to the disciple's final question about his apostolate; and explains how he, although a solitary man against the world, has been victorious over all the kings and earthly powers. Thus he has achieved more than all previous apostles, excepting only Jesus.

102.4 – 12 The disciples thank Mani and promise to be strong in their faith.

[O]nce again, at one of the times, a disciple questioned the [apostle] / saying to him: You have told us that the / Light Mi[nd] is this one who shall come and assume the saints. [You sai/d] it to us like this: He too is one among the gods [... [25] ...] many gods are with him. You have also told / us: [W]hen he enters withi[n the body / of] the flesh and binds the ol[d ma]n with his five counsels, he / [set]s his five [couns]els upon him in the five limbs / [of his] body.

[So], no[w], where is he? In that the old man is chained in the bo[30]dy! For I see how rebellions arise there despite / his bondage, from ti[me] to time.

Also, secondly, I a/[s]k you: If then he is a great God, unchanging and im/measurable, how could he come and appear in the smallness of the bo/[dy]?

The third thing I want you to recount to [35][me ...] a holy one is the Mind, and he is pure; / [...] the defilement of this body?

(**90**) Fourthly: If truly the Light Mind exists in [the s]/aints, why is his likeness not displayed to us, the way th/at he is?

The fifth thing I want, for / you to tell me and explain about your apostola[te]. [5] Look, it is not clear to me! For they oppress / and persecute you in the world. /

I entreat you: Can you persuade me about these things that I have asked you? /

T[hen] he speaks to that disciple: My en[tire] revelati[on], / which I have unveiled, I have declared to my chu[r][10]c[h]. In your presence! This one alone among [... / ...] him.

This disciple says [to the apost]/l[e]: All that you have unveiled you have [...] / in our presence. Yet, I wanted to kno[w ... the] / L[igh]t Mind, the way that he is.

[15] Then the apostle says to him: If I shall repeat [... / ...] to you about these things that you are so set upon, and they become true [f]/o[r] you after you are so set upon them, will you understand what you [... / ...]? On your account I will give vision to they who see! I will / make the living fountain overflow for the thirsty, that they may drink and [l]iv[e].

[20] Then speaks the apostle to him: All the error, when the / en[e]my of the lights constructed it, he constructed after the likeness of / a man. The head of the universe is the beginning of the garments. / [H]is neck is the nape of the garm[ents]. His stomach [is / the] five unfolded ones (?), which a[re ...] of the garm[e]nts. [25] His ribs are all the firmament[s]. His navel [is the] / sphere of the stars and the signs of the zodiac. And, also, [the

par]ts [that] / come from his navel to his hip are [... / ...] that come from the sphere t[o the corne]rs of the four / worlds. His loins are the th[ree eart]hs that are below [... u][30]pon the head of the Porter. His [...] from the [...] / to the earth upon which the Porter [is stood] firm. / His shins and his feet a[re ... / ...] and the entire zone that belongs [...] (**91**) His heart is mankind. His liver is the four-footed / animals. His lung is the race of birds that [fly in] / the air. His spleen is the race of fish that swim in the wat/ers. His kidneys are the world of reptiles that creep [up][5]on the earth. His outer skin is the wall that [... which] / surrounds the piercing and the great fire. His [...] / the vessels of the great fire. His [...] / of darkness. His gall is the [... His] / great intestine is the breadth of the great [... [10] ...] of the worlds. His veins [...] all [the spri]/ngs and wells. His e[yes (?) ... / ...] His feet are his [... / ...] /

This is how each of the worlds h[ave been ha]rmonised (?)*40 . [15] F[iv]e g[od]s are fastened in him. [...] / they are his soul and his life [... / m]an is a sinner [... / ...] the Living Spirit and the Ambassador [... / the] five sleepless guardians.

He has [...] [20] the Keeper of Splendour, the mind that is [... in the wo/r]ld of the mind that is above. He has [... who]le [...] / of the powers of hea[ven that] are in [... / of] the great King of Honour, [who is the thought that exists / i]n the seventh firmament. He has humbled [... [25] ...] also of the Adamant of Lig[h]t, who is the insight [... / f]rom {}*41 he has given [...] because of lust [... He has] / also appointed the King of Glory, who is the coun[sel ...] / patience over the three images; that of wind, that of / fire, and that of water. He has handed over to him the [... [30] ...] do evilness. / [...] the Porter, who is the consideration [... / the wi]sdom in the [...] which is below. He has made him [... / ...] the foundation [below ...]

(**92**) Furthermore: The Ambassador refined from them five / intellectuals of life. Also, the summons / and the obedience were situated there. Now, they made six sons of the Living Spirit, / together with the six sons of the First Man!

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*40 Reading ⲉⲧⲁ[ⲟⲩ]ⲙⲏⲧⲉ as ⲧ]ⲙⲉⲧⲉ

*41 ϩⲛ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ Also 93.6

5 Further: The Ambassador placed in them the great Mind; / who is the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man. /

Furthermore: Jesus the Youth was set there; who is the / image of the living word, of the utterance and the obedience. /

He has made strong these camps, those above and those below 10 [...] each one of them will be secure in the circuit of his [watch-]district, / so that neither uprising nor treachery are made in his watch-district. /

And look, see! The Keeper of Splendour is set firm in the / great mind, in the camp above the pris/on of the bound ones, for he brings to nothing [a]ll the gloo[m] of de[ath]. 15 An[d a] treachery came about, and an uprising! The sin abor[te]d, [it / tangled i]n with the soul. It became mixed with this light that it / expelled toward the image of the Ambassador. It went [... / ... in the] third firmament that is above the watch-t[ower / ...] the Keeper of Splendour. From that place also it tang20led in with the light. It was detached and came down / to that which is dry and that which is moist. It [fashio]ned the trees [up/on] the dry (land); but in the sea it immediat[ely] took form and / made a great uprising in the sea. /

Again, look, see! The great King of Honour, who is 25 the thought, he is in the thi[r]d firmament*42. He is made [...] / with wrath. And an uprising [came about]! A treachery and a[n] / anger happened in his camp. The watchers / of heaven, who came down to the earth in his watch-district, / they did all the deeds of treachery. They have revealed crafts 30 in the world and have unveiled to people the mysteries [of] / heaven. An uprising came about, and a destruction, on the earth [... / ...] to it.

The Adamant [...] / the fulfillment. He is set firm upo[n ...] (**93**) and a treachery came about in his camp; the occasion / when the abortions fell to the earth. They formed Adam / and Eve. They begat them so as to reign through them in the world. / They fashioned every object of lust upon 5 the earth. The entire world was filled by their lust. / Also, {} they persecute the churches.

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*42 Probably an error for the seventh firmament.

They kill the / apostles and the righteous in the watch-district of the Adam[ant] / of Light, time after time, and from generation to generation. /

Once again: In the watch of the great King of Glory, wh[o] is the great counsel, he who exercises authority over the thre[e] / wheels. A [dis]turbance came about, and an affliction, for [they were ...] / pained and oppressed in the three earths. After the Ambassa/dor displayed his image, the paths closed to their / [... th]eir ascent was impeded by them [...] the w[ind], the water, and the fire ascend on them. /

[O]nce again: In the watch of the Porter, he who humiliates [... / upr]ising of the abysses below [... / ...] bent, the fastenings underneath were loosened [...] / in the foundation below.

[On] account of the earthquake that happened in the watch of the Keeper of Splen/[dour], the Pillar of Glory came forth; as it [... / ...] helper of the Keeper of Splendour. It bore up under all [burden]s. /

Conversely, because of the treachery and the uprising that / happened in the watch of the great King of Honour, which is the wat[25]chers who came down to earth from the heavens; / four angels were called upon about them. They bound the watche/[r]s with an eternal chain, in the prison of the blackened ones (?). / [Th]ey obliterated their children from upon the earth. /

[Th]en, again, the abortions descended in the watch of the Adamant [and] begat Adam and Eve; because of that great treachery wh/[ich] happened, and the mystery of wickedness, he sent Jesus / [...] the prayer of the five sons. He assumed them / [...] the abortions. He fastened them beneath the / [... the] mind of Adam.

(**94**) Also, because of the earthquake that happened in these three / earths, and in that the paths were hindered and the springs of / wind and water and fire were impeded, Jesus cast himself down. He / assumed Eve; and he straightened the tracks of the [win]d, the water, and the fire. He opened the springs for them, and he set [in ord]er the path / of their ascent.

Once [again]: Since the / earth beneath the Porter was loose[ned from] the fastenings that / [...] because of this too Jesus went down, assuming / [Ev]e until he reached tha[t] place. [H]e set in [or]der and stre[10]ngth[ened] the fastenings beneath. He returned, [he came] up to his / [...] rest.

Then speaks the a[po]stl[e] to him: / Look at all these watches of the zon[e], the ones in which these / great gods are master, w[atch]ing over them [...] / Uprisings have happened, and treachery, in them. The [... [15] ...] in them from time to time; with a great hum[iliati]on, / until they humbled the powers of the enmity. /

So also is this body! A mighty power lives / here, even if it is small in its stature. Nevertheless, s/in dwells within, and the old man who is lodged in it. Certainly he is cruel, [20] with great cunning; until the Lig/ht Mind finds how to humble this body, and drive it [according to] / his pleasure.

Just so, in the w[atch-]districts / of his great outer brothers, they who are masters in the zone. / In them, in the great body: the earthquake and treachery happened [25] from time to time. So, also, is the watch-district of the / Mind, which is the body of the flesh. Sin raises [up], / from time to time, its agitations in the body. /

Now you (pl.), understand thus, that the powers of light / are good. The beginning and the end are unveiled to them. [30] All that they do is being done with correct judgement. / Indeed, because of this they may permit the enmity / to initiate error, and do its pleasure [for] / a moment. Then they seize [... (**95**) ...] they have acted first with a righteous judgement. /

And [with resp]ect to this other (question) that you have put forward: How may the Light / Mind come, this great and honoured mighty one, and assume this little / body of the flesh? Again, look, see! These gods, in that [5] [... are] great and mighty ones. And each one of them is enclosed and hard pr/[essed] i[n this pl]ace wherein he is set; like trees / [hol]ding to their taproot. So also this is how each / [o]ne of them has 'held to his taproot' in the world, according to / [the] k[ind] of place in which he is set, bearing up till [10] [...]

Now, also, happen you know / [...] the world is set firm, being ordered [... / the five sons of the] Living Spirit in all its members / [...] sin took this body out from [the] la/[nd (?) ... co]nstructed it in its members. It took its [bod]y [15] [from the five b]odies of darkness. (Sin) constructed the body. Yet, its / [sou]l i[t] took from the five shining gods. / [(Sin) bou]nd (the soul) in the five members of the body. It bound the mind / in bone; the thought in sinew; the insight in vein; the cou/nsel in flesh; the consideration in ski[n].

(Sin) set f[20][ast] its five powers: its mind upon the mind of the soul; / [its] thought upon the thought of the soul; its insight upon the insight / [of] the [s]oul; its counsel upon the counsel of the soul; its consider/[atio]n upon the consideration of the soul. It placed its five / [an]gels and authorities upon the five members [25] [of the] soul, which it had brought in and bound in the flesh. They / [...], pronouncing to the soul and continually leading it on to / every evil thi[n]g, to all the sins of lust, to the / [wor]ship of idols, to erroneous opinions, to humili/[ation]; in the humiliation of slavery! As it is set fast, wors[30][hipping] the things that [...] will not remain; making obeisance / [...] idols of wood and gold and silver. / [...] worshipping beasts (**96**) that are unclean and polluted! They are ugly in their appearances and their / forms.

(The soul) assumed error and forgetfulness. It for/got its essence and its race and its kindred; kn[o]/wing not the door of the place to pray to him, nor call up [5] to him. It became hostile to its father [... / ...] itself, being wicked [... / ...] its own light [...

The] Light / [Mind] comes and finds the soul [... / ...] it assuming it in the [... [10] ...] its wisdom [... / ...] he shall become for it [... / ...] the bonds [...] / members in the body. He shall loosen the m[ind of the soul and relea/se] it from the bone. He shall release the th[ought of the soul] [15] from the sinew; and s[o] bind the thought [of the sin in] the sinew. He shall release the insight of the soul from the vei[n]; / and so bind the insight of the sin in the vein. [He sh]all / loosen the counsel of the soul, and release it from the flesh; / and so bind the counsel of the sin in the flesh. He shall [20] release the consideration of the soul from the skin; and bin[d] / the consideration of the sin in the skin. /

This is how he shall release the members of the soul, / and make them free from the five members of sin. / Conversely, these five members of sin, which were loose; [25] he shall bind them. He shall set right the members of the soul; form / and purify them, and construct a new man of them, a child [o]/f righteousness. [And] when [he] fashions and const[r]/ucts and purifies the new man; then he shall bring forth five / great living members out from the five great memb[ers]. [30] And he places them in the members of the new man. He shall place his m[ind], / which is love, in the mind of the new man. Also, the th[oug]/ht, which is faith, he shall pl[ace in] the thought [of the] / new [man]; whom he shall purify. His insight, which [is perfection, he shall place] (**97**) in the insight of the new man. His counsel, which [is] / patience, he shall place in his counsel. Also, [w]is/dom, which is his consideration, in the consideration of the new m/an. He shall make the image of the word pure from the word of [5] sin; and he adds to it his word, so that his / [... be]comes nourisher and strengthener [... / ...]

Now, when he shall perf[ect / ... the tw]elve members. This [is how / ...] and his wisdom. His [... [10] ...] becomes righteous, as he perf[ects ... / ...] While formerly he was running [... / ...] but instead of this, now he runs [... / ...] his road and his path and his [...] / also [he mounts up] to the heights, to the great aeons [... [15] ...] thus the old man is bound in the [... / ...] and his lust, his [...] his / foolishness in these five members of the bo[dy ...] / the dark spirit is imprisoned with them in a bond and in / severe misery.

Also, the new man reigns [20] [b]y his love, by hi[s] faith, by his perfection, [b]y his / [p]atience, and by his wisdom. Yet, his king [... / the] Light [Min]d, he w[ho is] king over the totality. He re[igns] o[ver it / according to] his pleasure. While the members [...], / thus sin is imprisoned. Still, the Light Mind [25] [is] king, and an affliction may arise in the body from t/[im]e to time.

There are occasions when sin shall mount / [u]p with its foolishness; and it disturbs the consideration, and it clouds / the wisdom and the understanding of the person. It causes truth to be s/[pl]it into doubt in him, and he utters some foo[li]sh words [30] and some [... W]hen the manner of his foo/[lishn]ess will come to the [...] in the church, the teachers and / [the ...] and the [...] and the

presbyters shall gather / [...] helper. And they put straight his wisdo/[m ...] His consideration has been set right (**98**) [about] this. His wisdom has been set in its right place and ordered [... / ...] well.

Now, if he shall not accept the rebuke / and the edification of his brethren and his helpers; then shall / sin mount up again, another time, from the consideration to 5 the counsel. It takes his patience f[rom him], and bestows upon him / faint-heartedness and hurt. And the [si]n is displ/[ayed] in the midst of his brethren. His [...] for / every [thing] that he shall do [...] / advice of his brethren, and he becomes [...] 10 the [fo]olishness. A battle and a war shall arise / (between) the Light Mind and the sin in the counsel [... / they sh]all group together and become [... / ... the]re, and they cause him to cease from the [... / ...] and they put him straight in his place another ti[me ...] his 15 compa[nio]ns in his struggle.

If again the [...] / to that place, then again sin shall rise [... / ...] and clothe him with lust and vanity and / pride. He separates from his teacher and his brethren. / [He sh]all always [w]ant to go in and to come out alone. 20 He shall want to eat and to drink alone, a solitary man. [He sh]all / always want to walk alone. Indeed, this is the [si]/gn that the familiarity of his brethren does not act on him.

Should he again not [...] / his heart from lust; again sin shall mount / up, the thought of death, to his thought. He shall [...] 25 a vanity; and causes his f[ai]th and his truth to le[a]/ve him. When the sign of his foolishness will be [dis]/played, and his reputation spreads in the church, the [wis]/e ones of the church shall gather to him; so [that] they may set right his [heart], / and encourage it with God's edification. If now he took [the adv]30ice of his brethren, and listened to [...] / and set himself apart from his wrath and [...] (**99**) It is possible he could live and be victorious over the sin, and all its wars. /

Yet, if he shall not make this watch secure, (sin) shall rise up / and assume his mind; and disturb his mind, which formerly was calm. / It shall disrupt his love, away from his teacher and his 5 instructor. It shall take from his heart love of the churc/h,

and fill it full of hatred. And all his brethren become hateful / before him. H[i]s brethren and his loved ones and his friends / who love him; they shall be like enemies before him. / Now, that person is disturbed like this, and he lets his [10] love and his will turn from him. That person shall / [himse]lf become a vessel of loss, and he separates fr[om] / the church, and his end comes down to the world. / The Mind, who was in him, sh[a]ll disperse from him and go / to the apos[t]le who sent him. He shall be filled by evil spirits; [15] and they deal with [him], dragging [hi]m hither and thither. And he himself becomes like / wordl[y] me[n]. [He] will change and become as if a b/[i]rd, were its feathers plucked out. He becomes an earthly man. /

[T]hen, have I taught you, and opened your (sg.) [eyes], as to how / confusion shall arise in the zo[ne]; in the camps of [20] these great mig[hty] gods? Again, this is how / disturbance shall come about, from ti[me] to time, in the [...] of the / [Li]ght [M]ind. So al[so] these watch-keepers, for they are set [... / f]i[rm in] the zone, (but) they are not visible. Again, this too is the way / of the Light Mind, [for he is] not visible in the body.

[25] Also, [corr]esponding to th[ese] outer [watch-keepers]; in that while they are great, / [y]et have they contorted themselves. They have [...], they have become small, to the measure of the task / [th]at is apportioned to each o[n]e [of t]hem. Again, this too is like / [the] Mind, himse[lf] a great one, and exalted; but he is bent over / and [has] become small, to this little worthless [bo]dy.

[30] [Even so] the gods [in the] outer [z]one: they are transcendent / and purified, they are set [f]a[st in] the mingling of the totality, (but) are not defiled. / [This too is like the] Light [Mind]. While he is placed in hi[s / ...]

(**100**) Again, behold the mightiness and the activity of the Light / Mind: how vast he is over all the watch-districts of / the body! He stays fast at his camp. He shuts off / all deliberations of the body from the beguilements of sin. [5] He limits them and distributes them out. He sets them down / at his pleasure.

Also, he does another work, surpassing and ex/ceeding (these). He bestows a great spirit upon the ele/ct one. Indeed, now may

you find him, as he stands on the earth, / [r]ising up in his heart and ascending to the Father, the [10] G[o]d of truth. He who exists and is established above / all the things of loss. [Onc]e again, he may push dow/n [i]n his insight and his consideration, and descend to / the land of darkness, from where the darkness has poured forth. / His heart shall run and touch everything, as it [...]

[15] Then he says to [th]at discip[le: I have taught you] / the deeds of the [Light] Mind! Whoever has / an open and percept[ive] eye, [he can] appear to him. Whoever / has not that eye, he can not appear to him. /

And, also, as to my work that [is] not [manife]st nor revealed to you, [20] the deeds that I have done; I will teach you about t/hem, and open your eyes [to] this wonder [...] / and of my leadership. /

Observe from this! That I, a single Manichaios, I have come to the wo/rld alone. And the races [and] kindreds of the body, [25] and the gold and silver and [br]ass [...] copper, and the / many gifts and breast[plates and] armour of [the] / multitude, and [*m*]uch humani[ty], submit to me. / Many types of gods and idols from / smelting furnaces! You (pl.) have beheld the k[ingdom] of the world. For, despite great effort, [ev][30]en with many benefits and [gif]ts, with a / breastplate and a violent war; they have not subdued [the ci]/ties nor conquered the countries. [Yet, I, I have conquered] / without breastplate and without [armour] (**101**) distant [cities] by the word of God, and distant countries. / And they bless my name, and it is glorified in all countries. /

[Und]erstand also another thing that I will teach you. The k/in[g]s have striven with me, and the nobles and [offi][5]cials and their powers, so that they might bring to nothing this truth. T/hey did not have the strength for this against me. Now, if I am alone, / why did they not have power against me? Namely, all these who have [striv]/en with me.

The third thing: [No on]/e in the world has given freedom to his children [a]nd [10] his brothers and his kin, and made them fr[ee] f/rom the variance of all things, the way I have. [I who have made] / all my children free from every toil and every [... / ...]

The fourth thing: I have [cover]ed them / with the breastplate [of

wis]dom; so that you will not find a single one among man[15]-[kind ...] and he is victorious over them. For as no single per/son is able to be victorious over me in the entire world; so it [i]s also like this for my children. No person will be able to be victorious over them! /

[The fi]fth thing: I have chosen with my power this entire great elect/ion. I have given my children my emblems of authority [... [20] a]nd the great springs of wisdom, so that [...] / apostle [...] of the church [... / ...] I have made it mine. I have made my church strong, and appointed in it / all [goo]d things that are beneficial to it in every matter. / [I have pl]anted the good, I have sown the truth in every land, f[25]ar and near. Apostles and ambassa/[d]ors I have sent to all countries. Therefore, the former apo/[st]les who came before them did not do as I have do[ne / in] this hard generation; apart from Jesus only, the son of / greatness, who is the father of all the apostles. [30] [S]o, all of the apostles have not done as [I, / I have] done! Look again, and see now: How great is my / [power] and my activity? For not one among the former apo/[stles, ... i]n the flesh has reached my like in the / [...] through me. For this great (**102**) door has been opened, opened by me, to the gods and the angels and / mankind, and all the spirits and the living souls, who are prep/ared for life and eternal rest. /

Then, after his disciples had heard all these sayings, which he [5] proclaimed, his disciples answered. They say to him: Gre[at] / and mighty are all these things that you have uttered to us; which / [you] have [do]ne by your power, and the power of the one who sent you. Who / could fully recompense you for the grace that you have d/one [u]s, except this one who sent you? Still, the on[l]y gift [10] available to us, to repay you, is this: that we will make ourselves strong in / y[our] faith; and persevere in your commandments; and / also be per[s]uaded of your word, which you have proclaimed to us.

••• 39 •••

(102,13 – 104,20)

/ Concerning the Three Da[15]*ys and the Two Deaths. /*

Patterns of temporal and sequential classification were of great importance to Mani, who used them to structure his system, to teach, and to evangelise. Compare chapters 4 and 17. The particular focus and interest in this kephalaion is the eschatological detail. Life in this time and world is but a precursor to the reign of the saints in the new age and the new earth. There the First Man, the victorious son, will be king (H. 41.11-20). However, this too comes to an end; when the hidden Father at lasts reveals his image, and receives the souls and gods back into the heart of the eternal kingdom, from where they have been barred since the beginning of the conflict. In contrast to this glorious hope, sinners are warned of a second death, eternally separated from life and the divine.

Once again the apostle speaks to his disciples: Hap/pen you know, my beloved ones, that there exist three great / mighty days in all; and also two great / and bitter deaths.

When his disciples hea[20]rd they say to him: Tell us our father, what are th[ese] / three great days? Or again, what are these two de[aths] / that are bitter?

He speaks to them. / The first day is our father, the Man. From the ti[me] / when the First Man went down to the abyss of darkness [25] and drowned in it; and the Living Spirit was sent, who w[ent] / and bore him up. After the Man had ascended, the Father o/f Life and the Great Spirit set things in order, and the wo/rlds above and below.

Furthermore, the glorious [Am]/bassador came and dwelt in the ship of the day. [30] He displayed his glorious image, and he purified [the li]/ght out of all things. He walked in the heights of the [hea]/vens. Till the time when the world will be dissolved, / all things destroyed, the great [fire] released, / and the Last Statue ascends. [35] These three deeds were be[gun] on this first [day, when they sent] / the First Man with his five [sons].

In contrast, [the first death] (**103**) is the darkness that mixed with the five sons / of the First Man.

The second day / is the time when the fathers of light, who were victorious in the struggle, / will sit on their thrones in the new aeon and dw[5]ell on the new earth. And they reign in the new [aeon] / till the Father unveils his image / above them.

The {length of the sojourn}*[43] in the [ne]w aeon / equals the measure of the first day spent [in affli]/ction. They will reign like this and rejoice in [the n]ew [aeon].

[10] The great third day [is the time] / when the Father will unveil over them his [image ... / ...] and he raises them up [...] / and he receives them in to his hidden treasur[y ...] / and he gives [...] his soul. He can pour out upon th[em ...] [15] his ambrosia and his sweet perfume, which ta[kes away] / all affliction that they have seen with their eyes. [...] / fullness and a joy eternal! When his / [g]race would sate them, he gives to them his [...] a/[nd t]hey are made anew in them. Also, he can summon them once more [in] peace [20] and silence, and perfect their stature in sa[m]e measure / as his first aeons. And he sets each power / [i]n its aeon, in its dwelling-place. They will dwell in the [n]ew aeon / in their aeons! Now, when they dwell in / their aeons, they will become rich beyond measure, [25] for ever, beyond time.

From then on they will not count / that season amongst them; nor the number / [o]f the days, nor the hours, generation after generation, for / [e]ver and ever. The Father will not be hidden from them, from / [this] tim[e] on. Rather, he has accomplished (his) unveiling to them [...] he being revealed [30] [to them] forever.

These are the three great days, / [which the Fath]er o[f Gre]atness has given number to in the reck/[oning].

In contrast, the two deaths that I have pro/[claimed to you a]re [these].

(**104**) The first death is from the time when the light fell to / the

*[43] ⲡⲉϩⲁ ⲁⲡⲧⲟϯⲱϩ Smagina 1990:118–9 translates as the 'winnowing of the chaff', treating it as an agricultural image for purification.

darkness, and was mixed in with [the] rulers of darkness; un/til the time when the light will become pure, and be separated from the dark/ness in that great fire. The remainder left be[5]hind there can build and add to that Last / Statue.

Now, the second death is the death in which / the s[ou]ls of sinful men shall die; when / [they will] be stripped of the shining light that illuminates / the world. And also they are separated from the living air, from which they receive [10] [livin]g bre[ath]; and they are deprived of this living soul, which / [...] in the world; and they are separated and swept / away from this Last Statue [... / ...] and bound on [... / ...] the female will become [...] [15] their torture and their affliction; for their deeds [...] / those three places; because they have blasphemed and despised the / Holy Spirit since [ev]ery generation of the world.

These are the / two deaths. The first death is temporal; [but] the sec/ond death is eternal. It is the sec[20]o[nd deat]h!

••• 40 •••

(104,21 – 105,14)

/ Concerning the Three Things that / were established by the Light. /

This chapter continues the eschatological theme of the previous. Since the enemy had attacked the light in the beginning, three results became inevitable that would alter the relationship between the two principles in their future eternal separation: the new earth is built over this universe; it will imprison the darkness as in a coffin (?); and the souls of sinners will be condemned and crucified on the enemy.

This doctrine of the final lump, the literal mass of the damned, was an essential part of Mani's system. The tragic loss of some of the light soul, too deeply enmeshed in darkness and sin to be saved, was accepted as an inevitable consequence of the power of evil. In order to ensure that the darkness could never again multiply and rebel against the light, its powers (especially the males and females) are separated so as to sterilise it, and to prevent it planning an attack.

Once again he speaks to his disciples, these who are not associates in the my[stery*44] [25] of his knowledge: Three things

*44 Technical term, see note ch. 52.

would be fashioned / by the light through necessity! For there can be no other way / nor other result, to allow them to stay without coming about. For / the darkness, the enemy, mu[st] be bound by them; he who stood up again[st] / the light from the beginning. Due to this, these things have no (other) res[ult], [30] to allow them to stay without coming about. /

Now, the first thing is the new luminous earth, w[h]/ich was set and built on top of this earth [...] / it, namely that alien body [...] built upo[n it]. /

The second thing is this: They will [...] and they [...] [35] the new earth, the coffin [...] (**105**) of the dark fire, the companion of the enemy.

The thi/rd thing is the souls of all the sinners who have been con/demned by their deeds. They were [...] over them woe; they have been / condemned according to the wicked deeds they had committed, and due to this they will be crucif[5]ied on the enemy, he who had raised himself up against the greatness.

They will / seal up*[45] this final lump when / all the likenesses and images of every shape will be nailed in it. Also, those will be bo[und] / by this last fetter for eternity, and be [plac]ed / as a footstool and a mat*[46] and a rag for this coffin [...] [10] which is the prison of the enemy. It will be placed, being a [bound]ary-/marker and a great void between the two, between the [darkne]ss / and the enemy, so that they can not reach one another, nor can they [h]ea/r their voices; rather they will become sterile as they are separated from each other / for [eve]r and [e]ver.

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*[45] ⲥⲉⲗⲥⲉ Cf ⲥⲱⲗⲥ (Crum 333b), citing Ep. 253 and 549, vessels sealed with clay sealings. Smagina 1990:116–7 suggests that the souls 'will make the cover of ...'

*[46] Cf H. 5.4 and 76.23 where it has the meaning 'trample'. Smagina 1990:117–8 translates 'they will be laid as a foundation, and a base, and a cover of this Ark'.

••• 41 •••

(105,15 – 106,21)

/ Concerning the Three Blows that / befell the Enemy because of the Light. /

The eschatological focus continues with further details on the final binding of the darkness, and the separation of male and female respectively in a lump (βῶλος) and a tomb (τάφος). Mani uses the description of the fate of sinners to exhort the faithful to remain firm despite persecution.

The sequence of content in chapters 39 – 41 provides a good example of how Mani's lessons have undergone some rudimentary redaction in the construction of the *Kephalaia*.

[O]nce again he t[u]rned, and says: The darkness itself, the enemy, / has received three bad blows with three wars; and 20 worse dangers from the light in those three wars. /

The first: (The enemy) was brought out to the middle and separated / from his dark earth, whence he had departed. He was vanquished / in that first war, caught and / [bo]und by the living soul.

The second blow 25 is the time when he will be dissolved and melted, and he perishes in / this great fire. He is destroyed and overthrown, from the images / that are all by which he exists. And he will be gathered in / [to the] fetter corresponding to his archetype, and be made like he w/[a]s from the first beginning.

30 [The t]hird blow that will befall the enemy is the 'rolling back' / [at the] end when everything will be separated, and male will be divided / [from] female. Now, the male will be bound in the lump, [b]ut the fem/[ale] w[ill be thrown] i[n] to the tomb. For it will be divided / [... by a great] stone in their midst, for generat35[ion upon generation, for ever and] ever.

(**106**) This is the way that the binding of the enemy will come about, in a fet/ter that is burdensome and strong, one from which there is never escape; / because [they have achieved] his binding and bound him for ever. / And they have achieved his being set apart, and he has been set apart for ever.

[5] Due to this I say to my beloved ones: Hear my words / that I proclaim to you! Gird yourselves for the things o/[f li]fe. Endure the persecutions and trials th/at wi[ll come] to you. Be you strong in these commandments that I have give/n [y]ou, so that you may escape those two deaths [10] and be free from this final bond [i]n which there is no hope of / lif[e]. And you will escape the terrible end of the de/niers and blasphemers who have seen truth with their own eyes, and have turne/d back from it. They will go to the place of punishm[en]t [where]in / there is no day of life. For the enlightening light will be hidden fr[om t]he[m], [15] and they will be unable to see it from this moment. / Air and wind will be drawn from them, and they will not receive life breath / in them from this moment. Waters and moisture will be taken from them, / and they will not taste them again. /

Blessed is every one who will escape the end of sin[20]ners and deniers, and be free from the ruin that lies hidden for ever!

••• 42 •••

(106,21 – 111,17)

/ Concerning the Three / Vessels. /

This kephalaion begins a sequence of three complex chapters wherein Mani seeks to justify the actions of the Living Spirit in his construction of the universe; and in particular his management of the three vessels of dark elements (water, darkness and fire) by means of the three vessels or garments of light elements (wind, water and fire). Essentially, the Living Spirit discharges down to earth the dark elements from the rulers who are bound in the heavens; and then 'sweeps' them out to the edge of the universe into pits that have been prepared for them. The light elements ascend up through the universe to purity and rest. Since this process must result in some contamination on earth, Mani is at pains to explain that it has been done in the best possible manner.

106.32 – 107.26 The Living Spirit is like a good doctor who discharges sickness and poison (the dark elements) by means of healing drugs (the light elements).

107.26 – 108.16 The light elements cause the dark to be discharged as a child is from its mother.

108.16 – 36 The processes by which the dark elements are poured upon the earth and then swept out to the edge of the universe are carefully managed, so that each occurs at the appropriate time.

109.1 – 111.17 These actions have brought twelve advantages. In the first of these Mani explains that the timing by which each evil vessel is discharged is such as to keep the contamination to a minimum. The other advantages relate to details about the purification of the heavenly realms, and the containment of evil.

Once again the disciples questioned the enlightener, saying t[o h]i[m]: [25] Tell us, our master, and instruct us about these / three vessels that [...] and were discharged fr[om] / above, and how they were discharged and separated from / all [the] rulers who are arranged in the [heaven]s. For it is a ne[ce]/ssity for us to know [the manne]r in which [30] the three vessels have been discharged, while the rulers were [flour]/ishing in their body. /

Then the enlightener speaks to his disciples: [Hap]pen you [kn]/ow, my beloved ones, that when these v[es]/sels [were dis]ch[arged], they were discharged in [...] [35] slaughter, but those [...] these [ves](**107**)sels from them.

They are like the for[m] / of a man who has fallen into a purulent sickness. Other wounds / and diseases are in his body, and even bile and other po[*i*]/sons are in his inner limbs. [*H*]e achieves good [5] health by a wise doctor, who gives him one remedy to drink that causes hi[s] / purulent sickness to break out above, and gives him another medicine to drink / that causes his sickness to discharge below, [and he gives him] / yet another medicine [to drink] that cures his wounds for him [...] / calmly and silently. Through the skill of a [10] wis[e] d[oc]tor, with his effective medicines to consume that t[ake awa]y / all sicknesses [in t]his manner and dissolve all magic, the d[oc]tors shall / [...] they work cures through the aroma of the medicine, other wounds / [...] what is hidden, they at last tear them out from / [...] manifested above and below [15] [... throug]h the aroma of edible medicines that were placed upon them. /

This is also [w]hat these vessels / of water, of darkness an[d o]f fire are like, which are hidden in the body / of all the rulers above; while the Living Spirit is li/ke the wise doctor. These three healing d[20]rugs are the three garments that the Living Spirit assumes / upon his body: of wind, of water, and of fire. / Through them he has set in order the things below. For by those th/ree garments he has been displayed to the rulers who are / [ab]ove,

with hard-heartedness, with shaking and fear, with [25] derangement; from them he discharged the three ve/ssels, those of water, of darkness and of fire.

The case / of these vessels is just [lik]e a / [ch]ild who is in his mother's [wo]mb and is swathed by sev/[e]n garments. The first [is] the marrow, the second is the bones, [30] [the] third is the [tendons], the fourth is the flesh, the fi/[fth] the veins, the [sixt]h the blood, the seventh / [the sk]i[n of] the bo[dy th]at covers him. The other garment also [... / ... in the wo]mb of his mother. His mother also / [is] ju[st] like] this child. The marrow [35] [and the bones, the sinews and fl]esh, the veins and blood and [sk](**108**)in, together with the garment that she wears and the linen that swa/thes her, total nine. Together wi[th] the nine of the child, these and the / others, they shall complete and make eighteen garments. Now, you shall find the / soul of this child is entwined within all these. [5] And look see: When the smell of / the action of the demon, which brings about the stench of birth, wi[ll rev]eal the child; immediately [...] shall / [...] all [these things] and it emerges from a crack that has becom/e visible, while no tear nor wound occurs in the body of [10] the [chi]ld. In the same way as this child [opens up] / the w[om]b of his mother, so is it also with / these vessels of water, of dar[kness] and [of] / fire. The actions *that open up his* [mother]*[47] / to the child, and she shakes him out and reveals [him; these] [15] are the three living garments that the [Living] Spirit [assumed on / his]*[48] body.

For by the aspect of the garment of water [... / ...] from the rulers; he moved / [...] they are the poison and / [d]eath with which their veins and entrails are filled.

[20] By the aspect of the garment of wind, in [which] he was revealed / [...] he has swept away and erased the entire destructive shadow / and dirt, discharged it down to the earth. Afterwards / he swept it out and confined it in the vessel of darkness that / surrounds the universe.

Also, by the garment of living fire, [25] through its splendour and

*47 Restoring ⲁⲧϥ[ⲙⲉⲧ]
*48 Restoring [ⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲉ / ⲁⲥ̄ⲛ ⲡ]ⲥⲱⲙⲁ

vigour, he discharged the fire of the dark[ness f]/rom all the rulers and t[hrew] it down upon this earth. He swept [it] / another time from the earth and confined it in the vessel that surrou/nds all the worlds, and they call [i]t the wall of grea[t] / fire. Now, those three garm[ents], through which he [estab][30]lished these three things, he did not peel t/hem off all at once; but h[e strip]ped them off one by one / at the appropriate time [...] down [to the] e/arth [...] /

In this way the universe of the [... [35] ...] his vessels [...] / these vessels like [...]

(**109**) Furthermore, he continued. He says to his disciples: The us/e of the matter, and the management of these vessels that were swept o/ut and discharged from above to [eart]h, have brought an advantage and benefit of / twelve great deeds. Afterwards, they were swept from the ear[th] [5] and pushed outside to the edges of the worlds and to the {extremity}*[49] / of the zone.

The first deed is this: So that evil-doin/g does not increase in the universe, neither in the creations nor in the tree/[s ... it has set i]tself up in three things.

The [first is / ...]

The second is error [... [10] ...] Indeed, about this I have spoken to [you] as I / [...] For, if it were so, if [the ves/sel of water] had not been [swept] down from above, but rather the wat[ers / existing up t]ill now in the rulers above [... / ... the] torrents that would flow [...] and the droplets that would [15] [...] down, so lust would have sprouted / [... i]n the trees and in the fruits as well as all flesh / [...] down [... / t]oday [...] / you could [not] find a single person [...] in the [... [20] ...] a saint does [...] is master of [...] / Not only this, but if the vess/el of darkness had not been swept out and thrown down to the earth, nor swept from / the earth and cast outside the region of the worlds / into this pit; again the drops of darkness, which will drip down from it, and the torrents [25] that will continue to flow down from above to the earth and assume / [the] trees and [a]l[l] flesh, would have multiplied, and the

*[49] ΤΚΑΙΟ

forget/fulness that is in a thousand people today you would have found in / [just] one person. There is not one among mankind [...] him / [...] the thought and the knowledge of the [...] /

[30] [Further]more, if the fire were in the rulers of the worlds of the heavens until / today, and had not been swept out and cast d/[o]w[n] to the earth, and swept from the earth and shut up i/[nside] the vess[el] of fire that surrounds the worlds; / [...] this fire [... [35] ...] abo[ve] through the torrent / [... the tor]ren[t ...] below; (**110**) and the dark fire wo[ul]d have multiplied in the tree and in fruit / and in all flesh. The power of the fire that is now in a thousand / people, you would have found it occurring in a single person / today. You would not have found a single person embracing [5] the fast in the universe.

Behold, I have taught you about / this single evil that w[as] purified by three archetypes [... / ...] /

The second deed: Al[l] the heavens [... / ...] of the sed[im]ent and the pollution [... [10] ...] so that [... / ...] surpasses in [th]em [...] /

[The third]: The heavens and the firma[ments ... / ... b]urden [...] relieved from the weight-ca[rriers*[50] ... / ...] and it ceased being heavy. This rich one [... [15] ...] above.

The fourth: Th[at they might pur]/ify and cleans[e] their dwelling places [... / ...] /

The fifth: Because the great[ness and the rich]ness that dwells in / thes[e shi]ps, as it [...] you might find them [20] [living i]n these ships, purified and holy. /

The sixth: That you might find the mixed, incomple[te], / and unconfined temples above at res[t a]nd purified; since / rest will reach [them] and pass through them and purify th[em]. /

The seventh: [...] nature alone of the vessels, which will [25] advance and extend to their places and sites [... / ...] in [...] /

The eighth: That great enclosures and walls would be made, and / confine everything. /

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*[50] Read ⲉⲥⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲃⲁⲓⲉ [ⲧⲡⲱ See 115.5 – 10

The ninth: When the apostles [...] them, they [30] shall return to the universe and give a sign of [...] / the dissolution of the universe. /

The tenth deed: That they would become releasers and purifier[s of / every]thing at the end of the universe like the fir[e ... / ...] burns [...]

[35] [The] elevent[h d]eed: [...] will make a crossin[g ...] / and the entire rul[ing]-power [...] (**111**) to the outer land, for they were not envious of this [...] / a man who is richer than them; because the aeons of lig/ht are outside [...] the place [...] of / peace, the place of honour and grace, the place where the j[5]oy of the householders who dwell in it shall never pass away nor / recede.

The twelfth: That you might find all the deeds / of loss hidden from the aeons of light, / because of the wall of fire that surrounds the entire building; and / these [un]clean things are displayed (only)*[51] in its [...] /

[10] There was [a] need for these twelve great deeds b[ecau]se the / vessels that were discharged and swept out from [the firmaments] / to the earth, and were also swept from the earth to the {extr[emity]*[52]... / ...] the three words of life watch over them that [... / ... ar]e set over them in great power [15] [...] that they might watch over t[hem] at the last time; because / of this, they are firmly se[t t]hus i[n t]hese fetters, in the way that I have told / you.

••• 43 •••

(111,18 – 113,25)

/ Concerning the Vessels.

Following the previous chapter this kephalaion provides further details about the vessels, and the creative activity of the Living Spirit in the construction of the universe. The demiurge is termed the Father of Life, an epithet that may provide evidence of a particular stage in the development of Mani's thought. The term is often used in the *Kephalaia* when this god is paired with the Mother of Life; see chapter 9.

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*51 ⲥⲱⲣ Probably a scribal error.
*52 ⲧⲏⲁⲓⲟ Also 109.5

111.26 – 112.18 The Living Spirit poured out the vessels of water, darkness and fire (dark elements) upon this earth; and then scooped them up by means of his three garments of wind, water and fire (light elements). The dark were finally poured into three pits that he had constructed. However, a remnant of each remains upon earth, dark qualities that mar the light.

112.24 – 113.19 The Living Spirit had a particular reason for this process, even though it has some negative results. The dark elements that he poured down from above drew towards them those on the earths below; and thus all this waste could be swept out together into the pits that had been prepared.

113.19 – 25 Now that the levels of the universe have been purified, the light elements are able to ascend through them.

[O n]ce again the disciples questioned him, saying to him: Wh[en] / the Father of Life discharged these three vessels from / above, they of water and of darkness and of fire, did he perhaps / discharge them to their pits at the edge of the firmament? Or did h/e discharge them first to this earth, and then he swept them from the earth [a]nd threw them to their p[lace]s? /

[Th]en the apostle says to them: As for what you have asked me a/[bo]ut the vessel[s], you must understand this, that when the Father / [of] Life was about to di[sc]harge these three vessels he / [p]oured the three upon this earth, one by one at its (appointed) hour and season. He discharged them and cast them down to the earth. /

[Th]en he bailed and scooped them from this earth in these thr/[ee] garments, they of wind and of water and of fire, which swathed / his body. He poured and made them flow into the three pits / [... w]hich he had [es]tablished during the construc[tio]n of the worlds [...] they [...] something remained (**112**) behind on the face of the earth from these three [v]ess[e]/ls, so that you can find their mark and type display/ed in the universe.

The e[le]m[e]nt that is left in water is / the pungency and the salinity of this salty inner sea that surrounds the worlds.

And the remnant that is left from the darkness / is this black mountain that exists in the s[urroundings] of the sunrise. / For when the sun would shine over the world no / sunlight is visible there, because the darkness that gushes / fr[om i]t manifests above it.

And [the re]mnant [10] that remains behind from the fire, upon the earth, are all the mountains / and islands from where fumes*[53] of fire gush up / [an]d are visible. For these things are the remnant of the great ve/ssel, the vestige that was conjoined with this fire that comes up / from the earth; together with the mountains and hills [...] [15] place[s] where no fruit sprouts on the tr[e]es [...] / greater than that place from the limb and [... / ...] the trees shall not bear / fruit in that place. /

Once again his disciples speak to him: We ask you, our master, [20] to [make clear] and instruct us about the vessels that / surround the universe, and why they were not discharged from above into the / ditches prepared for them (straightaway); but were firstly poured / upon the earth, and afterwards were swept from the earth and cast dow/n into their pits?

Then the enlightener speaks to his discip[25]les: Happen you know this! When the Father o/f Life discharged these vessels from above upon the earth, he poured them out / for this reason: so that also the water and the darkness and the fire that / exist in these three earths would be drawn a[nd] ascend towards they / that had come down from above, and the earths [would be] purified and c[l][30]eansed. Due to this he poured these vessels down to the eart[h], / of water and of darkness and of fire, so that also / the water and darkness and fire that exist in the earths would be drawn up [tow]/ards they that had descended from above.

Now, first o[f] / all, [h]e discharged the water, the waste, [the p]oison of the rule[rs] [35] who are above. He c[leans]ed the firmaments of the [water ...] / he poured do[wn] the [da]rk waters. [Just as the] (**113**) waters fell from heaven to earth, so also the wat/ers below in the earths were drawn and came u/p from below towards the waters that had come from above to the earths. / The waters [were] purified of the dark poison that exists in them. [5] Then he swept them outside and made them a great ve/ssel and a wall of sea that surrounds the universe, / and on w[hi]ch the ships sail.

After the water, he / discharged the darkness. He purified the

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*[53] ⲥⲁⲗⲙⲉ Perhaps from ⲥⲱⲗⲙ Cf Crum 330b.

firmaments and dried from t/hem the darkness with which they are weighed down. He discharged it down to the earth. [10] Just as he had purified the firmaments, so also he puri[f]ied th/e earths. The darkness that is in the earths was drawn up towards the darkness [t]hat had been / [discharged] from above. He swept them both out and s[hut them] i/[n] that [...] of darkness [... / ...] the water.

And he discharged the fire from heaven to earth, [15] [... at] that time again the fire that was shut / [in] the earth below was drawn and came up towards its kind. / Fire was added to fire. Afterwards, he swept it out and cast it / into the outer underworld, which [he had constructed fo]r them outside the uni/verse.

In the same way that he purified the firmaments above as a place [20] for the light-givers to journey [... / ...] so also he purified the earths below and sw/ept from them the fire and the darkness and the water [...] / He has purified them for the ascent of these three powers, they of the wind and the water / and the fire, which ascend before the Porter and [25] traverse the earths.

••• 44 •••

(113,26 – 115,31)

/ Concerning the Sea / Giant. /

113.29 – 114.3 The Living Spirit causes his son the King of Glory to turn the three wheels of wind, water and fire. Thus these good elements are set free. However, the waste of the evil elements (water, darkness and fire) that have been poured onto the earth from the three vessels; this he deposits in the sea. Therefore, its water is salty and bitter.

114.3 – 115.4 Also in the sea is the monstrous giant that takes form from the fire and lust, the active evil 'thought', in the waste matter that the Living Spirit has swept down from the sphere (also 136.23 – 26). Consequently, the sea giant has sealed upon him the aspects of the stars and the signs of the zodiac.

115.5 – 31 The divine plan has three purposes: to purify the sphere of the evil elements; to use the sea giant as a fetter to prevent the evil astral powers ascending or descending; to gather in the sea all the good and evil elements that are washed into it. *All* the good life that comes into the sea will be purified.

[O]n]ce again the e[nlightene]r speaks to his disciples: After the [30] Livin[g S]pirit constructed things and the worlds, he came up and / [s]et himself upon this earth. He gave a sign to the King of Glory, who / [t]urned the three wheels and caused the wheels that are found [...] / up above all the mountains; he spread forth the wind to / [the]m, he breathed on them, he stirred them up, he washed the earth with the water[35]s. And the waste and the accretion of the three vessels, they of / [water and of] darkness [and] of fire, which had been discharged upon (the earth), he gathered them / [and deposited them in the]*[54] sea that is within the walls (**114**) and the vessels; because of this sea waters are salty. / For they have received salt and bitterness from the washing out and cle/ansing of the three vessels.

When the Father / of Life came, rising in his ascent to the heights, he dischar[5]ged the wheel of the stars; he washed it out and loosened / all the [sedi]ment that was in it. He cast it down to this great / inner sea like [...] of the mountain. And t[ha]t waste, / the sediment of the washing out of the wheel, he cast it do/wn and mixed it in with the sea waters. Its own th[10]ought collected it together; and (the thought) gathered (the waste) together in / this w[a]y. It made it fa[s]t and fixed it [...] / The sea giant had stamped upon him the seal of the seconds a[nd the hours], / the seal of the days [and months and] / years, the impression of the stars and the signs of the zodiac*[55] [...] [15] He came into existence from them and was discharged from their power / and cast into the sea. The images and the seals and aspects and / doctrines and counsels of [...] were sealed upon the body / of that giant, because he is the residue of them all. Consequently, / each star that will shine, and each sign of the zodiac that will tu[20]rn: of one he shall be its inducement, and of another its confirmation. H/e was discharged into the sea like this, the way a cloud / might discharge rainwater into the midst of the sea. They compelled / him totally through the action of the power and the helms[man]/ship of the angels. He was swept down to the mill, the pla[ce w][25]here he was constructed in the [sett]ing up of the universe; and the / sea also conceived him [...] for its part [...] / it being his chief

*54 Restoring e.g. ⲁϥⲥⲁϩⲟϭ / [ⲁϥⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϭ ⲉⲓⲍⲛ̄ ⲧ]ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ

*55 See 157. 24 – 25

sculptor and chief cra[ftsma]n. It sculp[ted h]/im in a likeness, he being changed more than the other residue of the sea / bodies.

This matter is comparable with [a] craftsman who might take the stamped impressions of many co[i]/ns and cast them on the fire, and mould them [to a sin]gle image. / These thousands of impressions and thousands [of sha]pes [are perfected] / and make a single body [...] /

(**115**) This is also the case with the sea giant, who too was moulded / and sculpted by the power of the lust inside him / from many doctrines and counsels th/at belong to the residue of the wheel of the sphere.

The archety[pe] of the giant was constructed for three things.

The first: / That the sphere would be [re]lieved and purified of the burden pres/e[nt in] it. In the same way that the ten firmaments were purified and [re]li/eved [of] the burden of the three vessels; so / was it also done to the sphere, that it too might be relieved [and] puri[10]fi[ed] of the burden and the waste inside it. /

The second: That he might add a {fetter}*[56] and a prison to the wheel / and the signs of the zodiac that are bound to it, so that when / they wish to go up above, you can find the s[e]a / giant dragging them back as by an [i]ron {fetter}, [15] and they are unable to go up; and when the powers / of the wheel would take a decision on a guileful thing, and it enters their / mind to come down to the earth, they are not able to descend because / of this stake that is nailed to the wheel upon the {}*[57] / of the firmaments. This is one. However, this other one, because of its [20] sleepless watchers that are set over it, it is turned all the time. /

[The t]hird thing: That the [wind] and the water and the fire that gush from / [the] c[ircui]t of the sea, [and the r]ivers that flow upon the face of / [the ear]th discharging into the se[a], and the rainwaters that come to gr/[ound], and the wast[e] and rebirth that come [25] [dow]n to it; that sea will be a hostel / [and g]athering place for all of these.

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*56 ⲟⲧⲱⲱⲛⲏⲧⲟ Also 115.14
*57 ⲕⲁⲣ.ⲍ

As for all the power and the li/[fe] that comes down to the sea, and in the breath that the / sea gi[ant] will breathe and draw it into him that he might disturb the sea / [... a] fullness and a [...] becomes between his movement [30] [...] purify; but the sea / [...] (**116**)

••• 45 •••

(116,1 - 117,9)

/ Concerning the Vessels. /

The point of this chapter is the foreknowledge of the powers of light that has enabled them to prepare places to hold and contain various evil forces that arise during cosmic history, until their final imprisonment with the dissolution of the universe. Thus: three ditches for the evil vessels; the sea for the sea-giant; a place for another monster that arises from the sea, and which the Adamant vanquishes (also 136.27 – 137.4); gehennas for the waste of the darkness; 'hostels' for various evil powers who rebel; places (?) for the abortions; a prison for the watchers; cities for the giants of old.

Understand also this other (matter): Before these / vessels were discharged and swept down from heaven, fi[5]rst three ditches were fashioned and constructed for them, / in which they would be bound and fettered. /

Before the sea giant was discharged from the s/phere, the Father of Life constructed a place for [him i]n / this great sea that is within the walls, whereon the [10] ships sail, and where the fullness shall [... / ...]

Also, before the [...] / was displayed to the worlds [...] the earth [... / ... f]ell to the sea and its thought shaped / it, the Father of Life constructed a place for it in [the ... [15] ...] below the four mountains, above / the mountains of the heavens above [...] / that [...] a great plain it di/gs in Matter in the midst of the worlds. When / the Adamant of Light was sent to it, he hastened after it to [20] that place, smote it and threw it between mountains in / the place made ready for it [...] is set fast / upon it till the end of the universe.

Before / the waste and dirt of the darkness were swept out from / creation, [ge]hennas were constructed [i][25]n which the waste might be cov[er]ed till the dissol[ution] of the universe. /

Before the rebels r[ose u]p, they whose co[rps] rebelled / in the ruling-power abov/e and below, they [...] / outside, and also the tyrants in [wh]ose heart it lay [to ty][30]rannise amongst the murk and [the clo]uds and win[ds and] / spirits and storms; for them were constructed in the great outer [s]/ea seven host[e]ls, places whence / they are thrown into the depths and the da[rkness ...] /

Also, before the abortions [fell ... [35] ...] to the earth, there was set apart [...] (**117**) they are gathered in and dwell therein.

Again, before the / watchers rebelled and came down from heaven, / a prison was fashioned and constructed for them in the depths / of the earth, below the mountains.

[5] Before the children of the giants were born, they who had [no] knowledge / of righteousness in them nor divinity, / thirty-six cities were assigned and co[nstructed] for them wherein the children / of [the giants would] live; they who would come to beget from each / othe[r, they w]ho shall spend ten hundred years alive.

••• 46 •••

(117,10 – 118,12)

/ Concerning the Ambassador. /

The point of this chapter, which connects it to the last, is again the foreknowledge of the light. Although entitled *Concerning the Ambassador*, his advent is actually only one of a number of discrete moments in the overall plan of the light chosen to illustrate the idea of determinism.

(1) The Third Ambassador is evoked before the beginning of time, and thus prior to the start of the process of salvation, which is his principal purpose in the drama.

(2) The sun and the moon are prepared for their tasks in the salvific process.

(3) The Judge is emanated.

(4) Christ is ordained in advance of the sects coming into existence, to render them harmless.

(5) The stars and the signs of the Zodiac determine the fates of mankind.

(6) The gods of destruction are made ready to dissolve the universe.

(7) The first architect, the Great Builder, and his angels are summoned to construct the new aeon.

Once again, hear this other lesson that I would teach you! /

Know that before night and day / were differentiated in the universe, the Third [Am]bassador was summoned. And, afterwards, he was sent to this void / and outer waste that he might purify the light, / and separate night and day from each other. /

[B]efore the light was released and freed and ascended / through this zone, the Father of Life made beautiful for it the ships of light. He constructed them so that it might be purified in them, / and be sculpted and fashioned in good order. /

[Bef]ore sin had multiplied and had made a kingdom in the flesh, before / the acquitted and the condemn[ed] were set apart from each other, / the Judge [w]as sent forth and revealed. His throne was created and placed [i]n the living atmosphere, so that he would be / [a] just Judge, so that / there the righteous and the sinners would be set apart and tested / [a]nd separated from each other.

Also, befo/[r]e the error and offence of the sects were disp[l]ayed in the universe, the blessed Chr/ist was ordained and brought forth against them, that he might render their error harmless. /

Again, [befo]re mankind had been engendered, some were named / ['rich' and] others 'poor' on earth / [...] upon them. Before they die, (**118**) they who will die are marked out by the stars and the signs of the zo[di]/ac in the sphere. They are appointed for them; in the[m] are their births. / And their root*58 is bound up with their zodiacal signs; and they are compe/lled by them and brought to an equal judgement in accordance with their deeds and their sins. /

Again, before the universe is dissolved, [and the] entire earth, / the destroyers were appointed and instructed for its di/ssolution.

And before the ne[w] aeon was [built and] / made be[auti]ful and marked out [the] Great Builder [w]as summoned, the first architect and the / angels who are with him, who would build and make beautiful the / new aeon.

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*58 I.e people's fate.

••• 47 •••

(118,13 - 120,20)

/ Concerning the Four [15] *great Things. /*

The entire 'ruling-power', the collectivity of evil cosmic forces, is apportioned into the four parts of the universe. Three of these are: the ten firmaments; the eight earths; and the surrounding walls and vessels. The fourth is the wheel of the stars, and here are bound the leaders of all these evil rulers, the seven planets (although Mani's system demands the introduction of two ascendants instead of the divine sun and the moon, see 168.7 - 16) and the twelve signs of the zodiac.

Mani explains that this had to be very carefully arranged by the Father and Mother of Life, when they constructed the universe, so as to balance the leaders against their powers. He develops an extended analogy to show that a king is only equal to his retinue, who in turn are equal to the kingdom. Thus, the gods are able to keep control of the evil forces in the universe, although the stars determine the entire created order.

Once again the enlightener speaks: The wheel of the stars, whi/ch is displayed to you, is a great mighty thing! Also, it is one / among the four great things; since the whole ruli[n]/g-power is assigned to four parts.

[20] The first part is the powers who occur in the ten firmame/nts that exist above the wheel, and the rulin/g-power that is bound in them, as it is imprisoned within them in the heaven/s that are above.

The second part is / the eight earths that are below; the four that are composite, [25] and the four places of darkness. The second part / extends from this earth, upon which mankind walks, towards / the underside.

The third part is the [wa]/lls and the vessels that surround the worlds. / They are the four mountains and the three vessels; [30] with what is in them, and the ruling-power that is trapped within them, / and the powers who are masters over them.

The fourt[h] / part is the sphere of the stars that [is appointed] with [gr]ea[t] / diligence, as it is ordered in a [... m]any [...]; / that of the Father of [L]ife, [and that of the Mother of] (**119**) the

living. Its [...] very [...] with diligence, / because of the great and cruel powers, and the titanic figures, [who are] / in it; they being suspended from it. So, all the first-born and the / leaders of all the rulers, they who were existing in the th[5]ree parts, these were garnered. They were collected together, seized, / bound and assigned on this wheel. Each was apportioned / by these three parts. They were distributed, en[twin]ed, / and weighted against their companions of the same size.

Still, for its part, the w[he]el / is equal to them in its strength; the po[wers] of [10] the enmity who are bound on it. [Ind]eed, they were suspended on [the] circling [w]he/el because of their cruelty; so that, d[u]e to / the wind and the motion in which they go round, they comp/rehend not the place wherein they are set. For if / they had been bound in the heavens, the heavens would not have had the strength [15] to support them. Again, if they had been assigned on the earths, on the / fixtures that are below, they also would not have had the strength to support them. / Rather, they were suspended from the wheel of the circling stars; so that / the power and the light that should come up from b/elow can be received, and given to the heavenly ones ab[2]ove them. Conversely, whatever will fall from above, / whether cold or hot, the wheel / of the sphere will also take it and cast it out / [u]pon the entire earth, upon all the wood.

Behold, the ordinance / of the wheel is in this form. For the powers who are entwined on the [25] wheel are like this: a king mastering his / kingdom by this mighty legionary force of all the lea/ders of the kingdom; and with all the armour / [o]f the soldiery that is collected together for him; and also with / [the] mass of the pro[perty] of the kingdom; and the beautiful lustful aspect [30] of the [wo]men who are collected together for him; together with / [...] property [...] and those cattle / [...] that have been distributed about among his r(**120**)etinue. Yet, if you ask about that king, he is matched / with all his retinue. His retinue, for its part, / is matched against his entire kingdom. Judgement shall come forth fr/om him, vindication and condemnation, to his entire kingdom; [5] by his wisdom, skill and strength. /

Now, just as for this king, who is matched against the measure of his entire ki/ngdom by his wisdom, skill and st/rength; so also is

it for the / powers [w]ho are bound on the sphere as compared to the ruling-power, and the [10] powers who exist in the entire zone. Like the king towards his r/etinue; so too is it that this totality is gathered / to the sphere, to seven leaders, to twelve sig/ns of the zodiac. As all the cities are gathered to the king, again they gather / to the leaders of the universe. All that is done [15] in the universe above and below: the battles / and the disorders and the captivity and the hunger and the l/ust and the property; so shall they increase and diminish through / these leaders. They are the motivaters of the whol[e] created order; / the totality being gathered in to them the way that I have to[20]ld you. I have opened your eyes!

••• 48 •••

(120,21 – 124,32)

/ Concerning the Conduits. /

This long and detailed chapter is amongst the most difficult in the *Kephalaia;* not least because the decisive term ⲗⲓϩⲙⲉ (lihme)*[59] used in the title and throughout is unknown. Here I translate the term as 'conduit'. The import of the term ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲛⲉ ('root'), which seems to be closely related to it, is also unclear. However, the essential idea is that heavenly bodies are inextricably attached to the earthly; and that the three lihme are conduits through which the divine life can be drawn to ascend and be purified, while the demonic waste is poured down through them. In the next chapter, 49, Mani explains that these conduits are spiritual; and thus can never be entangled nor cut by the astral bodies as they turn though the heavens. The significance of the roots is deterministic; and they must also be spiritual. In chapter 46 Mani explains that mankind's 'root' is bound up with their zodiacal signs (118.3); so this could be translated as 'fate'.

120.25 – 121.12 The first conduit is the root of the powers in the heavens; and stretches from them to their bodies and carcasses that were stripped off by the Living Spirit and cast down to the earths. Therefore, the upper worlds are psychic and pneumatic (soul and spirit); while the worlds below are somatic and ptomatic (body and carcass). Life is drawn up through the conduit to be purified in the heavens; but any waste is poured back down through descending conduits.

121.13 – 17 The second conduit stretches from the heavenly cities to the five kinds of trees. For Mani vegetation was particularly rich in divine life.

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*59 See the discussion in Smagina 1990:121–2; and Vycichl 1983:102.

121.17 – 32 The third conduit stretches from the evil heavenly powers to the five kinds of flesh.

121.33 – 122.4 The roots of the wheel of the stars stretch not to earth, but to the heavenly worlds. From these it receives its life.

122.5 – 15 The disciples question Mani. If the stars are not connected to earth, how do they control the fates of mankind and other life on earth?

122.16 – 123.15 Mani explains that when the Living Spirit constructed the universe, he correctly did not bind the stars to earth; although they are bound to the sea giant (see chapter 44). However, when the Ambassador displayed his image to the demons in the heavens and they ejaculated, the sperm fell down on the wheel, the earth and the sea. Subsequently all life on earth developed; and thus the stars control its destiny.

123.15 – 28 The disciples understand, and ask why one conduit is greater than another.

123.29 – 124.22 The first conduit is greatest, because it is bound in all the earths. Then the second, because much life is drawn from vegetation, the Cross of Light, which covers the whole earth. The least is that connected to mankind and other fleshly creatures, because these only cover a small part of the world in the south.

124.22 – 32 Mani's concluding comments.

Once again the enlightener speaks: There are three conduits that e[x]/ist through the entire zone, from the abyss to its heights.

[25] The first conduit is the root of all the powers a[b]/ove, they that exist in all the heavens. They are cast off / and fettered on the earths below; because the earth [be]/low is the 'stripping off', the garment and the body of the powers [th]/at are above the heavens.

For when the Father of Li[fe] [30] constructed the heavenly worlds, he di[vested th]em of their bodies, [he] / threw them to the earths below.

So, the up[per] worlds / are of the soul and the spirit; b[ut the worlds] / below are of the body and the carca[ss ...] (**121**) Now as for this, he [...] the powers of heaven; he se/aled it on their bodies and their carcasses that are on the earths, so that / when life comes up from the fullness of these earths, / it can be entirely drawn up to the heights in the roots of what is heavenly, th[5]at are fastened in their bodies. And also, all life can be purified in that place. / However, the waste that will be swept from the puri/fied one who ascends to the heights will be let fall to the ground / through the conduits of these conduits, and will be poured down [...] a/nd thrown to the underside. This is the first conduit, wh[10]ich comes from the powers of the heavens to their bodies and

their / carcasses that are upon the earth; also, from their bodies and [their] c/arcasses that are on the earths to the powers of the heavens. /

The second conduit is the one that comes from the temples and dw/ellings and cities that exist in the heavens down to the ground, to [15] the five shapes of tree that grow upon the earth. The life comes / up from the trees to the temples and cities. Life*[60] to/o, and the residue of the heavenly ones, comes down to the trees in a / conduit.

And the third conduit is all the / powers and householders who dwell in all the firmaments, [20] whose roots come down from them to the five wo/rlds of flesh that creep upon the earth, being fixed to one another. / Now, the power and the life that shall be gathered in from the worlds / of flesh are dispersed among them in various shapes. The / powers above shall draw them to the upper side through conduits. [25] [The was]te too, and the l[u]st and the evil-doing and the anger th/[at] will be greater in the powers of [heave]n, shall be poured to the ground thr[ough] / their various conduits. They shall be discharged upon mankind / [and] the other remaining animals. When what is heavenly will wash / the waste and the stench and the poison down on the creations [30] of the flesh below, in their turn the creations shall be greate/r [i]n lust and anger and evil-doing against each other / [throug]h the action of their fathers who are on high. /

The apostle [say]s: [St]ill, look at the wheel of the stars! It has no / [root in this earth], but its roots are bound in the to[35]tality. The wheel of stars], then, receives life through the power (**122**) and the life that asce[nd fr]om the earths through conduits / and the firmaments above. It (also) takes life from those conduits / that receive up to the firmaments and the heavenly worlds / above it, it takes life out from that place.

[5] Then the disciples questioned the enlightener. They say to him: Look, / in that the wheel has no root in this earth, from where did the stars / and signs of the zodiac find this authority? They became masters over these five / fleshes and five trees. Even though

*[60] Probably a scribal error from 121.15

you have told us that / the wheel has no root there! For you said to us that every [10] thing, if it can be reduced from the earth, the heavenly powers above / draw it through a conduit. Also, we see / that every thing that a person will attain, whether it be weal/th that comes into his possession or poverty that will / accrue to him, or his sickness and health; he attains it thro[15]ugh the signs of the zodiac and the star under which he shall be born*61. /

Then he says to his disciples: Nevertheless, what I proclaimed to / you, namely that the wheel has no root therein, I have recounted to / you properly. It is set aright in its position. For when / the Living Spirit, the Father of Life, constructed the heavens and [20] the firmaments above, he bound their roots in / to the earths below; in their carcasses that he had stripped / from them. Yet, when he constructed the wheel, [he] did not / bind its root in to the e[arths], but he bound the ro/ot of the wheel by the s[e]a gian[t].

And when [the] [25] Ambassador came, he displa[yed] his image / and purified and brought the light o[ut from] all [the] heavens. M[a]/tter, however, which is present in all the rulers, spurted o[ut] / against the image of the Ambassador. It went u[p] / in order to reach it, but reached it not. It dropped back and fell to the [under][30]side. Now, when it had fallen from above, it / separated out into three parts.

The first part / fell to the wheel; anoth[er part fell to the earth; an(**123**)o]ther part fell to the se[a. By means] of the part that fell to / the sphere, [the r]oot was bound in the trees and flesh. / Therefore, because of this, they received au[thor]ity and became masters in the five / worlds of the flesh and the five worlds of the tree. Through [5] the nat[ure] that came dow[n upo]n the wheel / the root was bound in the trees. Also, by means of the abortions / that came to the ground, another root was bound in the fleshes. Therefore, because / of this, the st[a]rs and signs of the zodiac received authority over the trees / and the fleshes: through the root of sin that fell do[10]wn; and [the ro]ot of the abortions that were aborted there, they fell / to the ground. However, the[se] other conduits that [the] Living Spirit has bo/und in the e[a]rths, they that the soul of the elements c[o]mes u/[p thro]ugh to the

*61 Cf 117. 32 ff. for more on Manichaean concepts of astral determinism.

heavens; tho[se] (conduits) are not bound to the whe/el. Rather, they are [pl]undered from them by the [p]owers on the wheel, [15] that hang from it.

The disciples of the enlightener say: / We beseech you, our master, that just as you have in/structed us and put together this lesson on [...] / you have told us about the prototype of the conduits. / The first is the one that comes from the firmaments to the earths, and [20] the one that comes from the wheel to the sea giant. / That is only one. So, the other root is the one that comes / [fr]om [the temples] to the trees. The third is bound / by means of the abortions in the f[leshes]; also in the fleshes the fathers of the abort/[ions] who are in the heavens [...] are bound and twined, and the[y] that [25] [...]

We entreat you, our master, that you might in/[str]uct us [... about] the conduits, the one that is greater than its / [partn]er [...] as more life and soul is drawn / [...] than its partner. /

The enlightener [says] to his disciples: You have inquired about a [30] [...] and y[o]u have asked about this lesson in superiority*62, great / [... the ea]rth from which much life ascends / [...] the Father of Life has drawn them. (**124**) He has fastened them from the powers [...] he has bound them in / the earths. (These conduits) are the ro/ots of the ent[ire] ruling-power that the life of the living so/ul is drawn up t[hrou]gh, it coming up f[5]rom the whole earth, from all the mountains, fiel/ds and islands. After that first great root / is the root of the trees, which is bound to the temples / and the buildings above. For there also is much great life / coming up from the tree and the entire Cross, [10] being drawn up from them to the uppe[r si]de like / a gr[eat] ho[s]t. What, however, is lesser [...] of / their conduit [...] he takes up [...] / the roots [...] the earths, they [...] the whole ea/rth in all the worlds. Again, these of the trees are present in [15] the whole earth, whether small or great; but the root of / mankind [...] is not present / in the whole earth, other than only this world of the / south. Therefore, even now these fleshes do not make [...] in the entire wo/rld of the south [...] there is a small [20] part of them in

*62 I.e. the lesson is about the superiority of one conduit over the other.

[...] of the upper side / of the world of the south in [...] / in number than the [...]

I have ins[tr]/ucted you about the roots [...] them, [I] / have taught you that they are bound by their [roots ...] i[25]n with one another. They stir one [anoth]er, they draw / life from one another through the action of the [powers] a[b]/ove, which stirs the nature that dwells in th[em] all. / Now, when the Matter that is in t[hem] will be crushed and [de]/spoiled, then t[h]at Matter too shall [...] [30] its members and overturn them and [...] / each other [...] stir [... / ...] (**125**)

••• 49 •••

(125,1 – 125,24)

/ Concerning the Wh[eel and the Conduits]. /

The conduits are spiritual (pneumatic). Therefore, they can neither be cut by, nor entangled in, the wheel of the stars as it circles in the heavens.

His disciples say to him: Convince us, our master, ab/out this other thing. How does the wheel circle over the conduits, [5] which extend from the heavens to the earths, and it not cut them? Or why / shall the conduits not get entangled in with the wheel / as it circles and drives [... through the u]niverse? /

The enlightener says to them: The reason that the conduits shall not be cut, / for they are not cut, is because they are spiritual. Thus [10] the conduits are like the waters through which ships / sail. You shall find the prow that is in position in the / front part of the ship divides the waters, casting t[h]em back / and forth. So, when it parts the wat[ers] / and that ship opens up the water with its c[leaving] pro[w], [15] immediately and without delay the wat/ers [min]gle with each other again behind the ship; and the pa/th of the ship shall not be discernible in the midst of the waters. /

Just as when a bird flies up in the air, for its / path is not visible in the air,*[63] ++ and in the way of mankind, [20] in the sun within the

*63 The text seems to be corrupt here: perhaps a line has dropped out

conduits. They also shall not be tangled up / in them, and neither shall you find their path through the air known. /

This is also the case with the wheel. It turns through the conduits and / the air. The wheel shall not cut the conduits, nor / are the conduits them[selves] entangled in the wheel.

••• 50 •••

(125,25 – 126,29)

/ Concerning these Na[mes]: God, Rich One, / and Ange[l]; who they are. /

The many divine emanations in the Manichaean system exist at various levels, depending upon their function in the overall history, and on the directness of their evocation from the supreme Father. In this kephalaion Mani distinguishes the three categories of 'god', 'rich one' and 'angel'.

He then applies these to three distinct moments: the archetypes in the eternal land of light; the emanations who have entered into time and the cosmos; and those who belong to the households of the Great Spirit, the Beloved of the Lights, and the Ambassador. This last sequence is probably intended eschatologically, these being principal figures in the three series of emanations: descent, creation and redemption.

[O]nc]e again the enlightener speaks: This one, a name is given to him in / the world. For people pronounce it with their mouths: 'go[30][d', 'ri]ch one', and 'angel'. Who are they? Who are the gods? Or / [who] are the rich ones? Or who are the angels? Who are these / [three] archetypes?

His disciples asked him. They say: T/[ell] us, our master, who they are! /

[The a]postle [speaks] to them: There are these three archetypes [35] [in the land of light, and there is no measure to] them!

[So], the ones who are call[ed] (**126**) 'god', are the gods whom the Father has summoned / from himself. He has establ[ished them] after the likeness / of his greatness.

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which finished the analogy of the bird's flight and introduced another analogy about mankind.

Conversely, these who are named / 'rich [...]', are the evocations of the first ri[ch] go[5]ds [of] the Father; because, when the Father had summoned (the first), / they themselves summoned evocations. They called them / 'rich'.

They too, the rich ones, have summoned their / evocations. They call them 'angel'.

These are the three / [archety]pes who occur in the land of light. There is no measure to apply to [10] them!

Once again, listen! Other persons / who are named 'god' are the emanations who have / come f[r]om the Father; the evocations of the Father whom he summoned forth. / They came out to the contest and humiliated the enmity. /

Conversely, the 'rich ones' are [the ev]ocations of these first living words. [15] They too, the rich ones, have come and performed and fulfilled the plea/sure of the greatness; [in the] worlds that are above and / below.

On the other hand, the ones who are named the 'ange/ls' are the evocations of the rich ones; who had come from the three / living words. They have been sent in an embassy and [20] an apostolate to this building. They have come to the entire divinity, / which is established in silence and in hiddenness. [An]/d, also, they have come to all the souls who have been entangled in the en[emy]. / They have brought them hope and confidence.

On[ce again] / the enlightener speaks: Again, they are called 'go[d]', [25] all the gods who belong to the household of the Great Spirit. /

Conversely, the ones who are called 'angel', are al[l] the angels / who belong to the household of the Beloved of the Lights.

The ones who are called / 'rich', are all the rich ones who belong to the house[hold of the] glorious [Amb]/assador.

••• 51 •••

(126,30 – 127,23)

/ Concerning the First Man. /

The First Man descends for battle with his armour of the five light elements. These are his garments or sons, the living soul that becomes mixed with the darkness, and which ensures the final victory.

Once again our light father speaks: When the [First] / Man came forth [agai]nst the ene[my ... (**127**) ...] garment [...] the darkness with the garment / [of] living fire. With that garment he withered / the tumescence (?) of the enemy; he brought down i[t]s foolery / and its vanity. Now, this one alone was sufficient [5] for them. [Y]et, si[n]ce the living fire was weakened, because of this / he added [to it another fou]r garments: that of the wind, that of the water, that of the li/ght, and that of the a[i]r. And this, (why) has he given the four? / He gave them s[o] th[a]t they would be helpe[r]s to t[h]at god, / wh[ich i]s the living fire; so that [...] not [10] with[in] the living f[ire], and penetrate it; and [the po]ison / and the [enmi]ty cut it off.

While the fire received / a bl[ow and] a wound in its body; yet still, / [...] all the powers of da[rk]ness because of it [...] It / [...] necessity [...] brothers, to cause them [15] to receive a blow and a woun[d to]o. The power of the en/emy mixed in with them. Rath[er, ex]cept [the air]. The darkness did not / mix in with it, nor was the burning of the enemy able to penet/rate it. Nevertheless, even the one that remained behind without / the wound, which is the air, it stripped off garment and [20] power. It gave it to its [fo]ur brothers in its place; so that by / that [ga]rment of the living air they would become strong, and / [...] profit, and endure, namely its other four brothers. And it / [be]came for them [...] life.

••• 52 •••

(127,24 – 129,4)

25 *Conce[rning] the [...]* *64 *of the Light. /*

The harmony and common purpose of the divine has enabled the light to overcome, and ultimately to condemn to eternal imprisonment, the evil forces of darkness who rebelled against it. They were disunited in their attack, and thus failed; just as happens between kingdoms in this world. Mani uses this lesson to exhort harmony in truth amongst his followers.

[Onc]e again the en[li]ght[ener] speaks to his disciples: [Now as to what affects the] / light, behold, at the beginning the darkness was strong against it / [...] no disunity [...] exists in the light. /

[...] how far [... the lig]ht that came forth from [... 30 ...] in that place in a / [...] alone / [...] (**128**) the greatness of the light with one another for ever, / and nor did one of them transgress the command and or/der that his brother had entrusted to him forever.

However, the da/rkness, the enemy, was doomed and overcome; because 5 of the arising of disharmony it was divided within itself. Even the kin/gdom was divided within itself; [and] ev[en] the [powers, who had] left / their abyss behind and come up fo[llowing] it, were do/omed because of the disunity that was present in all of them. / The darkness was destroyed, and its other powers were humiliated, because 10 the p[ower] of that first light functions in the same way / as the kingdom of this world. As long as its [associates in the m]yste/ry*65 are in agreement with it, th[at] kingdom [...] and / they marvel at it and it receives glory, the one that [...] and it sur/passes and is even more exalted than this other kingdom, which is about [to burst out] against [it].

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*64 It would be tempting to restore ϯ[ⲙⲉ]ⲧⲉ 'harmony', since the theme of the chapter is the concord of the light as opposed to the disunity among the powers of darkness: see K 128.19. The four-letter lacuna, however (if correctly transcribed) would seem to be too long for ϯ[ⲙⲉ]ⲧⲉ, and it would also be surprising to find no definite article following ⲉⲧⲃⲉ

*65 Cf PsBkl. 164.29? (Psalm 121) ⲛⲱⲃⲣⲙⲛⲥⲧⲏ[ⲣⲟ]ⲛ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲟⲟⲩⲉ and 51.14 104.24 128.11 15

15 Still, the kingdom, [the one that] its associates in the mystery [are in agreement]*66 / upon, is compelled to condemn that (other) kingdom; and the[y] / are humiliated and come under the hand of this kingdom that is set up against it. /

In exactly the same way, you yourselves, when you are decid/ed and all agreed with one another, and at a single mom[ent] 20 when you are of one mind about this living truth that is / unveiled to you, then it is possible for you all from y[o]/ur least to your greatest to conquer the sin that is set u[p ag]/ainst you. Should you be divided i[n] / this truth that is unveiled to you – may it not happen! – the [conse]25quence of its happening is that you will be condemned by it a[nd] / also humiliated under [the ha]nd of [s]in, and you / [...] under all its other powers that are set up / [... / ... 30 ... / ... (**129**) ...]

Neither be di[v]ide[d ... a]t your beginning nor / [a]t your end, and you will conquer those above and / those below; and bring under your feet every thing / [t]hat is and that will be!

••• 53 •••

(129,5 – 131,9)

/ Concerning the First Man. /

This chapter discusses the way that the kingdom of darkness and its powers were doomed from the time of the descent of the First Man. He snared the evil forces by his garment of living fire (see further chapter 51); and thus drew them out of their storehouses. The Living Spirit then constructed the universe out of them; and the storehouses were left barren, like a marsh when all the birds and fish have been netted.

Mani develops further analogies: this is like the human body, where the limbs depend upon the head (see also 84.21 – 25). If a limb is cut off the person remains alive; but he dies without the head. Thus, once deprived of Matter and the evil powers, the storehouses were devastated like headless limbs. Similarly, this is like a dead body, once the soul leaves it.

Once again the enlightener speaks: At the time when the First Man was sent / to the war in the first garment of / [living fire],

*66 Restoring [ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲉ] instead of [ⲡⲁⲣⲁ] of the ed. pr. For ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲉϩⲉⲛ see Crum, 189b.

which he gave to the first nature that ex[10][ists ...] in t[h]at single garment. / [...] he hunted Matter, the tho[ug]ht / [of death, ...] and all its other powers.

[W]hen / [the First M]an came up from the [abys]s, / [... the] Living [S]pirit brought the rulers whom he had [hun]ted [15] [...] element, that [...] of [the land of] dark/ne[ss, that] he might construct from them this universe and fashion / everything appropriate for the greatness. From that time on, / the place of the storehouses of the elements [...] / he destroyed and laid waste the [...] [20] all that were in it.

Just like a marsh, / of which the fish and birds are snared in a net, a/nd only the waters are left behind and the reeds and / the plants that grow in it, this is also the case with the store/[houses of] death. The [First] Man snared their counsels and [25] [their k]in that were [in them], and the storehouses were left b/ehind in their [dwelli]ng place.

So then, the case / [of] the land of darkness is like this, as is that of the storehouses / [t]hat were in it.

[J]ust as the body of man / has [ma]ny lim[bs] in it, [30] [the land of darkness] has [storehouses from] its beginning / [...] all [the limbs] that (**130**) hang from the great head of the [body]. A si[ngle] root / is the root of them all, because they all hang from / the great head that is on top of the body. Should a limb be cut / from the tip of [the]se small [h]eads, [5] the great head that is on top of them [al]l stays in / its place the way that it is [...]*67/ you find this person alive. Al[l] these sm[all h]eads / are firmly set in it [...] / Wh[en] they will cut from them [... [10] ...] all of them, these little [heads] shall [... / ...] the corpses, because they might see [... / ...] be firmly set [...] / in the body, which they joined wi[th it ...] /

In exactly this way, it is also the case [that] [15] the storehouses of darkness are the same, the things from which the [darkness gushed] / forth.

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*67 For the notion that the head is the root of the limbs, and its relationship to the extremities, see also 84.21 – 24 and 280.26 – 29

Also, while that Matter / and all its other powers are present in the depths of the / store[ho]uses, they too are alive. Firmly set / were their kin in them, to do whatever they wished [20] in their storehouses. However, from the time when they took the [po]/ison of this nature, they were deprived of (Matter) and it was separated from them, / and all its powers. Those [store]houses and e[le]/-ments became inactive and were devastated, [no en]ergy wa[s in th]/em to do anything.

Just like a bod[y: When] [25] the soul shall come forth f[rom it no] energy shall be found i[n] it, / nor anything ste[ady] at all, because [the] / soul that was in it leaves and has come forth. For [i]t, the ene[r/g]y*[68], does everything [...] /

This is also the case [with ... [30] ... (**131**) ...] / when [...] in them [...] / every thing that pleases them in those storehouses [... / ...] the elements that are in them; but when they [took] [5] from [th]eir midst death, which is Matter, a division*[69] [... / ...] storehouses and elements [... / ... a] body that is dead [... / ...] land without life as it has no [... / ... i]n it.

••• 54 •••

(131,10 – 133,3)

/ [ConcernJing the Quality of the Garments. /

The Living Spirit constructs the universe out of the mixture of darkness and light resulting from the deliberate sacrifice of the five garments or sons of the First Man. This is then held in place by his own five sons. Mani compares the Living Spirit to an architect who builds a palace for a king. This metaphor is then extended: the Father of Life (i.e. the Living Spirit) as a perfect carpenter, and the Ambassador as king in this universe.

[Once again] the enlightener [speaks]: At the time when the F[ir]st / [Man ...] he gave the leadership to his five [sons / ... the] Living [S]pirit and the Mother of Life [...] [15] as the entire ruling-power is entwined and crucified [... / ...] they were poured out

*68 Reading ⲧⲉⲛⲉ[ⲣⲧ]ⲁϣ for ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲉ[...].ⲁϣ of the ed. pr.

*69 ⲡⲁⲣⲍ. Only here in the chapter as a noun; the root is the same as ⲡⲣⲁⲍ in the previous chapter.

and mixed with each othe[r], / the light with the darkness and the darkness with the li[ght]. /

At that time the Living Spirit called one of [h]is / sons, one rich with power. He gave to him the le[adership] [20] of the garments. Now, he himself [...] of [... / he] hung them and set [them up ... / o]f the Father of [Life ...] he set up / all things [... / ...] he opened [...] ten firmaments [... [25] ...] the wheel of the stars [... / ...] them and the [... / ...]

The Living Spirit is l[ike] / this: Just as [...] and an archite[c/t] who might bu[ild a dwell]ing for the king, and divide it up into [30] separate houses and [separate ... / ...] everything that is requ[ir]ed (**132**) for beauty [... / ...] and he cleans them. And also the stones [... / ...] them for beauty and {loveliness}*[70], and he a[r]/ranges them and makes them so that should the king come and i[n]habit [5] that [palace], he might glorify him. /

[F]urther[mo]re, the Father of Lif[e resembles a] / wise and skilled ca[rpent]er [... / ...] before [it] was worked [... befo]/re it w[a]s established and made beautiful and [... c]arpenter [10] [...] works in it, but [... / ...] in him in his [...] / in his understanding, and he brings the sa[w ... and] / the a[d]ze, and cuts it into separate piec[es ... / ...] it and he pulls the [...] [15] it with the {plane}*[71] and he smooths it. He shall make many [... / ...] wooden implements, arranging them shape by shap[e]; / he cuts and produces wooden implements from it, / wooden [implements] of different kinds, (such as) dishes, bowls. This wood, that [... / ...] since previously it had not been worked before it was sealed [20] by [the ski]ll and wisdom of this dextrous carpenter. / He [cut] it up into different sorts of implements usefu[l / to hi]s master.

So [is it] also with the Father of Lif[e. / In his] wisdom he has [...] in limbs [... / ...] palace [... [25] ...] in it or in a [... us]eful [... / ... th]e ships of light [... / ...] all [the] other works [...] in the [... / ...] so that when the great king comes, h[e] who / is the Third Am[bassador], who [...] [30] he mig[ht] dwell in this universe [...]

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*[70] ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲟⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ Cf 162.3 and 206.14 for the same phrase.
*[71] ϭⲁⲡ

live. The li[ght], / however, that is in it [... (**133**) ...] wise, and he takes it up / [to the] land; but the waste and the darkness / [will be] gathered and thrown down to the abyss.

••• 55 •••

(133,4 – 137,11)

5 *Concerning the Fashion/ing of Adam.* /

133.7 – 135.26 Since Adam and Eve were fashioned by the evil rulers, after the image of the Ambassador displayed in the heavens, some of the disciples believe that the human figure must have divine approval. Mani explains that this is not the case. The Ambassador displayed his image so as to free the living soul from Matter in which it was entangled. The human image is merely a copy of the divine, fashioned in lust, and very imperfect. Mani develops a parable about a beautiful and noble woman who is forced to come out from her honourable seclusion, and display herself to the lust of every man, in order to help her beloved brother.

135.27 – 136.20 In a similar way not only mankind, but also many other powers in the universe, have received the stamp of the divine image. This image could not have originated from the worlds of darkness.

136.20 – 137.11 Not all forms of life have been generated from sexual intercourse. Mani gives three examples: the sea giant; a second monster that rises from the sea and is overpowered by the Adamant; vegetation. Like mankind, these also were not brought by the King of Darkness into the universe. Instead, they are composite forms of life that come into being during the history, and thus are not solely the products of either good or evil.

[Once more his] disciples questioned the glorious one. They say to [him: / There are some amo]ng us telling us that / we [know (?) ...] that the (Ambassador) consents about [10] [tha]t f[igure] of flesh; he who shall be fashi[oned / ...] at another time. And next, he says: / [The Ambassa]dor displayed his image in / the un[iverse. The] rulers and the powers of the universe saw / h[is image], and they formed their shapes after his [15] likeness, who are Adam and Eve. Behold, you (pl.) see that / g[o]d con[sen]ts to its happening; because of this, he has dis/played his image to the rulers; and they constructed [... / ...] If he was not consenting to humankind, he would not have / uncovered his image, nor they fashioned [20] mankind after his likeness! /

[The]n speaks the glorious one to his disciples: Regarding the Amb/assador, the occasion when he came displaying his image, / he [d]id not come so th[a]t he might reveal his image to the ru/[l]ers in the universe. Rather, he came and displayed [25] to the universe be[cause of h]is soul and his son, who is / [...] every [...], that he might enable him to live [... / an]d make for him a release; and to free (the soul) from / every bond and all the fetters, in which it is entangled and bound. /

Still, you, look and see! The ru[30]lers and the authorities, in that they had no form in / [...] him, they lusted for his (**134**) image. They reflected upon themselves, that [they] had no [one] / like him in their creation. They sealed hi[s im]a[g]e / in their heart, within their soul. Afterward[s, they] / built it according to his likeness; they formed Adam and [Ev]e. [5] They sealed the image of the exalted one in their [soul]. So, they / [co]pied with an imitation; but they have not [copied i]n / truth! Rather, just as [... / ...] it is made as these, for [i]t came [...] / but it is not l[ik]e him in truth. [Again, so too] [10] is this figure of ma[nkind. They copi]/ed it against the image of the exalted one [...] /

Similarly the [t]ree, for while it is like the [... it is] not [copi]/ed in truth.

This matt[er is comparable to] / this: As a great, fre[e] woman [... [15] ...] within her [... / ...] rich in wealth [...] po[ss]essions; / she is also beautiful in her beauty, and is virtuous in her / modesty. She walks in a free and reputable position. / The fame of her beauty has spread in every c[i][20]ty. She sur[passes ...] Behold h[er] / chamber [...] one who is mad, because [of] / the nobles and the great ones. Al[so], they lust / for her beautiful face. They did not [...] her, because / she is hidden in her palace [... [25] ...] within in a [...] / meet that woman [...] his so[n]; / or rather the head [... t]hat garment. / This free woman shall [...] leave the cha[mber] / behind her and come to the street [...] her head [...] [30] and she reveals her [face and her beauty ... (**135**) ...] because of her beloved broth[er]. This wom/an, on whom no man ever looked, nor did they ever see / her fa[ce], as she neither desires nor rejoices [... / ...] leave her chamber behind her, and come in the midst of [5] mankind [...] and everyone view her. The / hones[t] men and the nobles, even the servants too, and the / [... l]ook at her.

In accord with this simile: Again, [this] too [is] how / [...] the Ambassador becomes [... / ...] as this free woman [... not] according to wantonness, in pride, nor / [... she co]nsented to the outer world, she [... / ...], she revealed her face and her [beau]ty / [...] but only due to the constraint of grief / [about] her [bel]ov[ed one].

Now, this too is the way of the Third Ambassador, when he came / and display[ed his] image with a show towards all the powers. / [He did] not [co]me so that all the rulers and the author/[it]ies would sculpt a form [after h]is likeness. R[ather], / he came because of his son being crucified in the totality; [fo]r he would release him, free him, and rescue him from / oppression. Yet, when the rulers looked o[n] him, / [th]ey lusted for his image. They fashioned after his / [like]ness Adam and Eve, without the consent of the gre/[at]ness.

Now, behold, I have e[nl]ightened you [about the answe]r to this question, for which you asked; that y/[ou may] happen to commit it to memory. /

[Understa]nd also this other (matter) that I will teach you. For, [a]s / with Adam and Eve, whom the rulers fashioned and / [se]aled after the image of the exalted one, so too this [i]s how a manifold divinity and many powers / [and] angels [... received] the stamp of that image, (**136**) which was displayed to them. For, in the majesty of the l[ig]/ht and (the image's) love, they glowed with their desire and they were undone. / Th[ey] were eager for their lust; like a m[an who looks] / to the majesty of a lusted after face, and [...] and he is eager for the {}*72 of the desire.

This is [als]o the case / with those powers, when they looked on that majestic / and beautiful [imag]e, they {} [...] / a first image. They received the stamp of th[at image], / which was displayed to them. They copied [... wh]ich th[ey co]pied out in a likeness, it being made [... / ...] the ones that they had put forth, which had received a [stamp of this im]/age; but inward even to the rocks [... / ...] which occur from place to place. The {} of that image, /

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*72 𐤔𐤓𐤒 Also 136.7.13 Smagina 1990:120 relates the word to 𐤔𐤅𐤓 'dig deep'.

which was displayed in the universe [...] [15] they received a stamp, it being revealed there, and an impress. / Now, this new birth that they begot in a new [...] in / the world, is Adam and Eve. [There is not a] form / in their world since the beginning like it; because that / [im]age [occ]urs not in the worlds b[20]elow.

Not all the figures that have been fashioned / were fashioned by birth from displayed intercourse. / Rather, there are other figures fashioned / [...]

One of them is the sea / [gi]ant, the 'sweeping' from the sphere, which the [Father] [25] of Life discharged into the sea. Its own fire / and thought fashioned it [in] / a figure.

The second figure is the one / [that] fell to the earth. It made the sea its womb. Its own l/ust became its sculptor. It alone fashio[30]ned it to a nature, which is the root of / death. Yet, when it came up from the sea, it [...] / that it might destroy the works [...] (**137**) of Life. They immediately sent against it the Adamant / of Light, the great 'instruction of vigour'. He humbled it / in the districts of the north. He has trampled underfoot and set h/imself upon it, until the end of the world.

[5] [The] third figure is the nature that fell on wh/[at] is dr[y. It fash]ioned the tree and set itself there. / [... the] new figure that was fashioned / [... d]isplays.

So, in accord with the essence they / [... the dark]ness; but yet th[ey] did not come with the King of [10] Dark[ness to the wo]rld. Rather, their fashioning [came] about / [...] they are composite and have been displayed in the world.

••• 56 •••

(137,12 – 144,12)

/ [Concern]ing Saklas and his Powers. /

137.15 – 138.19 Consequent to the previous chapter this kephalaion begins with the question as to how Adam and Eve received the seal of the image of the Ambassador, even though they who fashioned them (led by Saklas and

his consort as in other accounts) had not themselves directly seen this image. Mani explains that sinful Matter, which had originally seen the image during the seduction episode, led directly through its subsequent generation to those who shaped Adam and Eve. Thus the seal of the image was retained.

138.20 – 141.14 The next section is essentially a separate kephalaion, loosely linked to the previous passage. In repetitive style Mani explains how the various human senses take in, retain, and can then produce from memory ('storage facilities') earlier perceptions. In an excursus (140.22 – 141.1) he comments that the heart governs the senses, and develops two brief similes.

141.14 – 142.11 Spiritual entities guard the gates of the senses (the orifices of the body) like watchmen at a camp. This understanding of the body as the micro-cosmos full of powers is characteristic of Manichaeism.

142.12 – 143.32 When the Light Mind enters the body, transforming the old man into the new (see ch. 38) it takes over the control of the senses, oppressing the old guard that were directed by sin. Now the senses close to the perceptions of lust, and are open to righteousness. In the final part of this section (143.24 – 32) the rule of the Light Mind is referred to as that of the Holy Spirit, an unusual and interesting shift in terminology.

144.1 – 12 Mani concludes by exhorting his hearers always to guard their senses, secure in righteousness, so as to attain the rest or peace that is eternal salvation.

[O]nc[e again the di]sciples questioned the e[n]lightener. They say to him: 15 All [these a]bortions, am[o]ngst them are Saklas and his / consort and the ones whom they have served [...], they are the ones that shap/ed Adam and Eve. How did they find this beautiful image / laid over their shape, even though when it was / displayed to their fathers they were not in existence? They never saw 20 the image of the Ambassador! And how did they take / the seal of the image of the Ambassador? They added it to / [the] shape of Adam and Eve. /

The enlightener [speak]s to them thus: The sin that spur/ted out from the rulers, which is Matter, shot up 25 [tow]ards the image of the Ambassador. It was cut off from [tha]t place / and came down to the earth, for they did not accept / [it wi]thin the firmaments. When it came do/[wn to] the earth, it formed the tree. It was established / within the wood and formed the fruits. And when 30 [the] abortions fell [to] the ground, to the earth, at the [second] time / [... / ...] (**138**) fruits, it assumed the[m] and spoke in the ruler, / their leader. He says to his companions: Come! Give me yo/ur light, and I will construct for you an image aft[er] / the

likeness of the exalted one. What he said, they did: they gave [5] it to him, and he constructed [...] /

Again the enlightener says: The sin that s[purted out ... / ...] which is the Matter that saw the im[age of the Ambassa]/dor and that formed the tre[e and was established i]/n [i]t; afterwards it came up in the [fruits ...] [10] It went in to the rulers [...] they / formed Adam and Eve after the [likeness of the] exalt[ed one]. / Through the energy of the sin that had s[een the image of the] / Ambassador, it went into the (rulers) [through the fruits. It] / assumed them and they [t]oo sculp[ted ... they] [15] begat each of them according to his destiny [...]; / one he resembles, one he does not resemble.

Behold, I have taught y/ou this lesson, how the rulers shaped Adam and / Eve by the action of the sin that went into the[m] / through the fruits, and he was ordained after the image of the exalted one.

[20] Once again the enlightener speaks: The moulder placed in the / form of Adam and Eve limbs, outside and wi/thin, for perception and activity. He*[73] was apportioned / house by house*[74]. For everything that his perceptions and / elements will receive externally there are internal storehouses [25] and repositories and caviti[es; and] / what is received in to them is stored in them. [When]/ever they will be questioned about what is deposited in their internal store/houses, they bring out what they have received within a/nd give it to the questioner who requested it of them.

[30] In this way his faculty*[75] [...] / outer [limbs] to look at [...] / every type with[in ...] also [the fa](**139**)culty of the eyes [has] houses and caviti/es and repositories and stores within, so that every image / it might see, whether good or evil, whether / loveable or detestable or lu[5]stful, it can receive into its storehouses and / repositories. Also, when the faculty of the / eyes is pleased to send out the image that it saw / and took in, it can go in to its storehouses [at the] / time and think and seek [...] [10] and it brings

*[73] I.e. Adam or the human form.
*[74] I.e. the physical and mental senses are distributed in the appropriate places throughout the body.
*[75] Lit. 'thought'.

it out [and] gives it to the questioner who requested it / and the one who wan[t]ed it. Whether it be something from / lu[st*76 ... or a]n image of love [or ... / ... something] hateful. And thus shall that faculty (of the eyes) / produce and do what it does in each category.

15 The faculty of the ears has its own storehouses / also. Every sound it might receive, whether good or evil, / shall be taken in and placed in its houses and inner repositor/ies, and it is guarded in its [...] for a / thousand days. After a thousand days, if someone comes and 20 asks that faculty about the sound that it heard / [at] this time and took into its storehouses, immediately / it [sh]all g[o] into its repositories and seek and review / and search after this word, and send it out from where it / was first put, the place in which it was kept.

25 [In] like order, the faculty of scent / [s]hall function just as that of the eyes and that of the auditory organs. / Every [o]dour it shall smell it shall take in [to it] and / [d]eposit in its inner storehouses. Every time it will be / [a]sked by a questioner, it shall go in 30 [...] and [...] storehouse and remember / [...] (**140**) only these things.

However, even the mouth and the tongue within it, / and the taste organ, have a faculty dwelling in them. / Again, that faculty too, o/f taste, has thus cavities and repositories 5 set apart for it. It too receives these tastes and gathers them / in. A[nd] at any moment when someone will ask of a taste, if / [...] it shall send it out and remember tha[t] taste. / It shall snare and give even the mar[k of] th[a]t taste; / give its memory to the qu[est]ioner who asks for it.

10 Again, the fac[ul]ty of touch by the hands is also s[o]: / When it might touch, touch shall [receive i]ts memory. / And it [takes] it in to its inner repository [until] / som[eo]ne will ask this faculty for the memory. [Immediately], / it shall go in again and bring out the memory of this tou15ch that it made, and give it to whoever asks for it. /

And the faculty of the heart that rules over them all is much / the most like this. Every thing that these five fac/ulties will receive

*76 Reading ⲉⲡ[ⲓⲟⲧⲙⲓⲁ

and put in store for / the faculty of the heart it shall receive and guard. [20] Any time that they will ask for their deposit it shall send out / and give every thing that they gave to it. /

For the counsel of the heart is like the king. / All the ad[v]isers*[77] of his city and the leaders of his a[r]/my are placed with him. Any time if his genera[ls] [25] will entreat him for whatever they wish, he shall give them the ad[v]/ice and opinion by which they move. /

Furthermore, it is like a cellarman: [Eve]ry thing that / will be entrusted to it by them, and given to it, it shall receive / and put in separate vessels and places. Any time [30] [... / ... / ...] (**141**) in the place that it put it.

This also is the way of / the faculty of the body. The vision that the eyes will se/e and give to it, and it receives it in, it shall bring out again / from the storehouses wherein it had placed it; and give it to whoever asks for it.

[5] Again, [the] sound that the ears will hear and give to it, / and it receives it from them. At any time when someone will ask it for that so/und, it shall bring out and give the sound of the ear[s] / to whoever has asked it for that sound. It shall bring out and / give the sound of the ears to whoever has asked.

[10] Again, [the] faculty of smell in this same pattern; and that of taste / i[s] of the same [ty]pe. The touch by the han[ds ... / ...] they shall bring it out in to [... / ...] And whenever they will as[k it] for it, it shall bring it out / and gi[ve it].

Once again the enlightener speaks: [15] Indeed, watchmen are a[t] these doors guarding them, / and bolts are fastened on the doors at the hands of the gu/ards that guard them!

Just like watchmen guarding a c/amp with towers and watch-posts. As the holding rooms come*[78] / out from there and the bolts are upon the gates, the guar[20]ds control the bolts of the gates while they sit at the entrance / [of] the watchposts. So, someone who

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*[77] Lit. advices.

*[78] Reading ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲓ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ for ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲓ.ⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ of the ed. princ.

belongs to their city as a fellow / [cit]izen of them, belonging to their country, for him they shall open / [the ga]te and receive him in by their will. However, the foreigner / who comes they shall prevent, and leave him stand[25][i]ng at the gate. They shall not yield to let him enter. / Again, another one whom they will receive in, with great trouble before / [they] take him in, you shall find many holding rooms [... / ...] that [...] there are a mass [... / ...] them. The number of d[oor] bolts [30] [...] are [...] Whenever someone will wish / [...] the bolts at his hand, opens (**142**) the gate and brings out whoever is hidden within. /

The enlightener says: This body too is like the mighty c/amp. And the gates of the camp with / their guards are like the orifices and organs [5] of the body. Now, the orifices of the body are of sight, / hearing and smell; and they that send o/ut words. There are many sentinels and a ma/ss of guards placed over the limbs of the body, guarding / their orifices. And the faculty in it is the di[10]rective of the body, the queen of the entire camp; so that / whenever it wishes it can open, or when it wishes it can shut. /

However, if and wh[en] the Light Mind comes, it shall tu[rn i]n / to the orifices of the body. The rulers, who [a]re the door gua[rds], / shall h[in]der and restrain it from en[ter]ing. [15] They shall bind the circu[it] of the body so that the foreign[er] can not / enter it.

Nevertheless, the Light Mind / by its wisdom and awe and diligence shall hum/ble the guards who are set at the body's orifices. / When it finishes humbling them it shall take fr[o]m them bolts [20] to all the orifices of the body. Now, the orifices that had been ope/ned before to the parades of lust, to receive i/n the sights of pleasure, to transfer the [wor]/ds of the practice of li[f]e's concerns, to receive in the t[astes] / of the different foods and unclean meals together [25] with the sin therein; whoever stops receiving th[is] in, / his heart and mind shall follow after.

So, now, bec[ause] / the b[olt]s to the body of the righteous person are in the hands of / the Light M[in]d within, he is open [to receive] / i[n] all that is pleasing to God. He is op[en to take] i[n] [30] by his eyes the visions of lov[e ...] and / righteousness. Indeed, due to this, the si[ghts and] the [ad]ornme[nt of the gar] (**143**)

ments of kings, which are woven with gold; and the garments of silken wom/en, which are woven with gold and pearls, / made beautiful for the shape of lust; first they were lovable / before the eyes of the chosen person. Yet, now, by the 5 power of the Light Mind that has suffused him and / lived in the body he has humbled lust, the goddess of the bo/dy. The parades of lust have become loathsome in the presence of the righteous pers/on. However, the aspects of divinity a[nd] / righteousness and humility and scorned clothes are pleasing to him.

10 Again, [these] ears were first opening to empty sounds an/d to the melodies of lust, to the secrecies of [wic]kedn/ess. All these were pleasing at first, at the time when he / he[a]rd them. Yet, now, by the power of the Light Mind, / the sounds of lust and the words o15f magic and evil mysteries have become loathsome in his presence; / as he is not pleased to hear them from this time on. Rather, he likes all the time / to listen to the sounds of the lessons of righteousness, the / words of the psalms and of the prayers, the praise of the hy/mns and the lessons of truth, and the knowledge of charity. 20 [S]imply, all orifices in similar fashion were opening / at one time to wickedness, but now have opened / to the good. Sin was ruling in the body / this time, doing anything it liked, having none in command. /

Yet, [n]ow, authority has been taken from the sin in the org25ans of the body. The Living Spirit*79 has become lord over all its / limbs. It has bound them with a chain of peace, and se/aled them with the seal of truth. It has opened the orifices of the / body to the good, and because of this the good enter/s them through the ears and the eyes. It dwells in the heart. The H[o]ly Spirit 30 reigns. It does all that it pleases. It annuls / [the] will of [s]in, the beginning and the end. [In contrast], the will / of the [Hol]y Spir[it] comes about, and the purpose of the Light Mind.

(**144**) The enlightener speaks: About this I tell you my / brothers, my loved ones and my limbs. With wisdom / and skill make yourselves secure at the circuit of the body's orifices, so that the sin that dwells in the body has no power 5 over you. Nor does it take from you your light, nor / scatter it from place to place, nor

*79 Perhaps a scribal error for 'Holy Spirit'.

(drive)*80 it from / site to site in various forms. Now, / let this not happen to you, but be watchful people, / secure in your truth. Be you prepared from 10 totality till totality, so that as your rest will come / about and your end subject to this, you guard its mark and / its hope!

••• 57 •••

(144,13 – 147,20)

/ Concerning the Generation of Adam.

The structure of this chapter evidences yet again how Mani, as a good teacher and preacher, is able to turn an explanation of the details of his intricate system into a more immediate lesson for his audience.

144.15 – 146.8 Mani explains to a Babylonian catechumen that Adam and the people of the first human generations were greater in size, and longer-lived, because of the stars under which they were born.

146.8 – 147.17 Mani introduces a second and more compelling theme. In these last days the quality and span of people's lives has come down to almost nothing. This is because the divine life and light in the world has grown less and less.

15 Once again, a Babylonian catechumen questioned the en-l/ightener, saying to him: Speak with me my master, and in-s/truct me about Adam, the first man. When / he was fashioned, how did they sculpt him? / Or, how did they beget him? [Rath]er, is his beget20ting like the begetting that is brought forth today, amongst hum/ankind; or not? Does a distinction exist between his bir/th and the one that they bring forth today?

Now, no[te] that A/dam is mighty in his stature, and great is his / size. Even his years are many! He spent many years 25 living in the world. And he is not the only one / we have found to be mighty; but all the others who were / begotten in his generation, many are their years too. Still, these / people who are born today, their st[a]tu/re has been diminished in po[w]er; even their years are lessened. Also, [wh]30y is the birth today, of [the]y who are born, / altered compared with that of these first [...] (**145**) place to place? See, even the stars and signs of the zodiac continue / in

*80 ⲡⲁⲧ/

their positions. Why now have the age and / the years of these last ones diminished, and he has also become smaller, / compared to these ancient ones who belong to these first generations?

[5] And for his part our enlightener, in his deep wisdom / and his great understanding, speaks to this catechu/men who had questioned him: They increased, have turned, and diminished; / because there are five types of authorities and / leaders appointed in the sphere of zodiacal signs, and the hea[10]vens above it. They have names they are ca[lled] / by: the first name is the year; the sec/[on]d is the month; the third is the day; the fou/[rth] is the hour; the fifth is the moment. Now, these five / positions, and these five houses, exist in the sphere and [15] the heavens. These places have five powers, and they are made masters o/ver them. The master of the year exists; the master of the month exists; / the master of the day exists; the master of the hour exists; / the master of the moment exists. In turn one is above his / companion; and in turn the one above is made the master over the one below [20] him.

So, mankind is begotten, and [the ani]/mals. They are born in these powers. And, thus, these powers / have received authority since the beginning of creation till the end of the wo/rld. Now, in the beginning of the generations the powers who were masters / over the years reigned. Therefore, because of this, the offspring [25] [b]orn in their generations and their lifetime: their ye/ars were found to be greater. They attain a long life span in the generation of Adam, and / [tha]t of Sethel his son, and that of the ones who came after him.

Af/ter they ceased to reign, namely the powers who are masters over the ye/ars; the powers who are masters over the months themselves reigned. Like [30] the months, for they are less than the years; again this [is] also the case / with the offspring w[ho were] born in them. Their life span is less / [than the life span of the ones born] in the generation of the powers who master (**146**) the years!

When the authority of the powers who / master the months was completed; the powers of the days received authority af/ter them. Therefore, like the days, for they are less than the months, / this

also is the case with the offspring who were born in them. Their life span [5] is less than the life span of the ones born in the powers who are masters / over the months. Again, even so the offspring who were born in the ho/urs, and of the moments. Their {conduit}*81 is less than that of the m/onths and the days.

Our enlightener speaks to that Babylonian cate/chumen: Do you see, how near the en[10]d [of] the world approaches? The life span of the pe[o]/ple has drawn in to nothing. Their days have diminished. Their ye[ars] have / become less; because the life and the ligh[t that] / was in the world in these first generations was more than that of to/day. Indeed, because of this have they diminished in their stature. Their lif[15]e span has become less for them.

Once again speaks this Baby[l]onian cate/chumen to our enlightener: I entreat / you, my master! How you have instructed and persuaded / me in respect of the years! Why the ye/ars of these ancients increased; or again why [20] these last ones have lessened. You also told me that they have diminished even in their / stature. You say that all these diminished becau/se of the life and the light that was taken from the world.

Now, can y/ou recount to me this other (matter): By what sort of birth was / the entire offspring of mankind made from one man and one [25] woman, Adam and Eve?

The enlightener speaks to that ca/techumen: While well do you ask for this les/son, so yet know and understand it! For the manner of these / first generations is that they are richer in their light and pu/rer in stature. Even their years are greater. Thus, again, [30] even their offspring is much more than the offspring of this tim[e]. / They were spending a longer time [...] in [the w]/omb of their mother. Afterwards, they [...] (**147**) a number in a single womb. There are times five were brought forth / from a single womb, and times six were brought forth from [a] single w/omb! There are some lesser than this; again, some / greater than this. Indeed, because of this the offspring of Eve multipl[5]ied, and of her children. The earth was filled by reason of them alone; b/ecause

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*81 ⲁⲣⲉⲙⲉ See ch.48. It is difficult to maintain the translation as 'conduit' here.

the offspring from the generation of the people of old, who they / bore into the world, differ greatly from those of today. / Their conception and their birth is not like latter births, / brought forth nowadays from the wo[ma]n's uterus.

[10] For, they whom they beget today, in these la[st] generations, they / stand diminished and maimed. And, indeed, one by one do they bri[ng t]/hem [forth] from a single womb. Hardly two, or [l]es/s or more. They are even made ugly in their aspect, being diminished in / their size, and feeble in their limbs. Their teachings and [their] [15] considerations are full of wickedness, they are evil. They are drowning, / and they end their life span suffering. Even death catches them / in haste.

When that catechumen had [lis]/tened to these lessons, he paid homage and gave glory. He says to the enlightener: / I thank you, my master, for you have satisfied my heart, and [pers][20]ua-ded me by an exhortation, about these things for which I questioned you.

••• 58 •••

(147,21 – 148,20)

/ The Four Powers that grieve. /

Characteristic of Manichaeism is its emphasis upon the real suffering of the divine, occasioned by the assault of evil. In this it differs markedly from the docetic tendencies of many gnostic systems. Indeed, Manichaeism universalised the degradation and crucifixion throughout Matter of the 'son of God' (*the living soul*) to an extent that seemed shocking to its Christian commentators.

In this chapter Mani relates the grief of the Mother of Life, the First Man, and himself as apostle, for their children according to their respective levels of concern. He also comments that he grieves not only for the sufferings of his church; but even for those souls who have not received the truth, and who will be damned for ever.

Contrary to the title the text seems only to deal with three powers, although there are four sources of grief.

[O]nce again the enlightener speaks to his disciples: I am one / of they that grieve, amongst these three powers that are heart-broken, [25] who have come from the Father.

The first who grieves is the first M/other of Life. She is sad because of her children who are s/et in affliction, for they were conjoined with the darkness and the / [poi]son. They have been bound with the entire ruling-power. For what was she grieving, / [wa]tching over them taking these afflictions? Whenever she might [30] [s]ee them and how suffering is brought upon them, she shall grieve and be unhap[py] on account of them. /

[The s]econd one who is troubled [of] heart is the First Man, whose / [great]ness and kingdom is established in the li[ght] ship / [...] And he too is troubled of heart because of (**148**) his five sons who are set in the midst of dan/ger. For any time he may see that they are given trouble / {}*82 always he might hear the sound of their / weeping as they cry out because of the blows and wo[5]unds of the enemy who assaults them daily; and as he sees them / like this constantly, he shall g[ri]eve and mourn on account of his / [s]o[n]s.

The third one who grieves am I. / For since the time when I came into the world there has been no joy / for me therein, on account of the holy church that I [10] chose in the name of my Father. I have freed it from the / slavery of the authoritarians, and placed in it / the Light Mind. Always, as I see i[t i]n / tribulation and persecution and being afflicted by its enem[ies], / I will be sad on its behalf. I have also another grief [15] apart from this: for the souls who have refused hope / and have not made themselves strong in this certainty and firmness of / [tru]th. They will come forth and be lost and go to ge/henna for ever. Indeed, due to this I grieve for them in that they have / not accepted repentance, nor have they been reconciled with the right hand o[20]f peace and mercy that I brought from the Father.

*82 ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ

••• 59 •••

(148,21 – 151,4)

/ The Chapter of the Ele/ments that wept. /

This chapter continues from the last the theme of the suffering of the divine. The five garments or sons of the First Man, that is the light elements, must weep and feel the pain of loss four times during the course of their necessary task. That is, to mix with Matter, and to overcome its assault on the light.

148.29 – 149.3 When they first caught sight of the darkness, and understood the task that they would have to undertake.

149.4 – 13 When the First Man their father ascended from the abyss, and left them behind in mixture.

149.14 – 28 When the Living Spirit stripped off the three garments of activity (wind, water and fire, see chapter 30) in the depths of the cosmos, and they realised that they would have to rise up through all the levels of the universe before purification and salvation could be achieved.

148.29 – 151.1 When the Last Statue will ascend, and they weep for those souls who are eternally lost and bound in the darkness. This moment is much the worst, because it is final. Some of the divine itself can never be redeemed. It is for this reason, to preach the truth and thus to minimise everlasting loss, that all the apostles and divine powers surrender themselves to every affliction in the world.

Mani concludes with a final admonition about the utmost gravity of this matter.

Once again he speaks to his disciples: The garments, [25] the sons of the First Man, wept bitterly three times. / Then they were silent. There is a fourth time of weeping, / for they will weep at the end. And then their crying can stop, / and they will never again weep from this time on. /

Now, the first time of their weeping*[83] is [30] when they had seen the darkness, the enemy being about to burst out against them. / They understood everything that would happen to them. They were aware of / the one that would rise and come upon them, [b]/ut by necessity they hastened to h[i]m and [fought] (**149**) with him. They mastered him, they detained him. [They / bou]nd him with their body and their limbs, they o[ver/ca]me his death and his fire and his dark[ness]. /

*83 Lit: the first weeping in which they wept.

[The] second time that they wept is [w5hen the]ir father, the First Man, [ascend]ed from the [abyss] / of darkness and left them behind; that is the time when he stripped [them off] / and left them below. Indeed, when th[ey] / s[aw] how the First Man had risen out of the abyss / and [l]eft them behind, and that they were abandoned in the enmit[y, th]ey 10 wept and were sore of heart. Still, what could they do, wishing [... / ...] their heart to every affliction. They [remained b]e/hind and grew [s]ick under the pressure of the weighty burden of all the / works, until the end time. /

[The] third time that they wept is when the Living Spirit 15 stripped off the three garments of activity, / placing them beneath all things. He gave / them a sign to lift their heads and rise to the / heights from that place; and to pass and journey / through all the earths until they should reach the land of tranquilli[t]y 20 and peace, the place of rest prepared for them. So, when / they had seen him, that he had separated himself from them, while they themselves / remained behind after him and had not ascended; at that mom/ent when they stayed behind these three garments wept. / After their crying, they turned their 25 [hear]t to all the heights that were concealed from them, and were of one mind. For / [they would] soar up and come to the heights; and pass over / all [th]ings until the time that was ordained for them all / [...] at the end of the worlds. /

[The f]ourth time when they will weep is when the 30 [S]tatue will be taken up on the last day, and they will weep / [for] the souls of the liars and blasphemers; for they may give / [...] because their limbs have been severed / [...] of the darkness. And also [th]ose souls, (**150**) when the Statue will go [up / and th]ey are left alo[n]e, they will weep in that they will rema[in] b/[eh]ind in affliction for ever. For they wi[ll be cut / off] and separated from the Last Statue. An[d it is] 5 a necessity to take these souls who are ready for loss / [a]s retribution for the deeds that they have done. They go i[n to] this / [darkne]ss and are bound with the darkness; just as they desired it / an[d] loved it, and placed [t]heir treasure with it. At that very moment, / when the Last Statue rises u[p], 10 the[y wi]ll weep. And then they will scream out loud because they will / be severed from the company

of this great Statue. And they / remain behind for ever. This great weeping [...] / is terrible, it occurs in front of the souls and [...] / who are ready for loss in accordance with their deeds. And they [will] weep [15] with that crying, they will never be silent; / because they will not attain rest from this time on. /

So, they too are the garments of these elements. This fou/rth time of weeping is heart-rending for them. It is much w/orse for them than these other three times of weeping before. This f[ou[20]rt]h time the weeping is not for themselves. Rather they weep and are heartsore for these soul[s] / who will be cut off from peace, because rest will / not come about for them, to allow them to rest from torment for / ever.

Therefore, due to the result of the erring of so/uls, all the apostles and the fathers, the reve[25]alers of the good and the true prophets, surrender [themselves] / to every labour and every aweful necessity. So that the (souls) might be / saved from the second death. Not a single one of all the a/postles wished to receive his reward on eart[h]; / but spent all their time in affliction, [30] suffering and being crucified in their body, so that they might r[e]/deem their souls from that loss [and] / ascend to this eternal rest [... in the] new [ae](**151**)on.

It is not prop[er ...] the wi/se person must constantly be attentive to this lesson, becau/se (this matter) is heartrending and grief for the gods and / the apostles.

••• 60 •••

(151,5 – 152,20)

/ [Concernin]g the Four Fathers; / what they are like. /

Mani uses the analogy of the corporeal body to show that some of the divine teachings are visible in the universe, but others are hidden; like organs and faculties that can or can not be seen. Thus, the Father is like the directive faculty (ϲϐⲱ) of the body, hidden in his own kingdom. However, the two light ships of the sun and the moon are the eyes of the body, seen and seeing. The living soul, despite its apparent silence, is like the body; for it can be grasped and struck and wounded. Jesus the Splendour is the tongue,

because he can speak about and explain everything, whether it is visible like the ships, or hidden like the eternal kingdom. Therefore, it is Jesus who makes visible the suffering and the healing of the soul.

Once again the apostle [s]peaks to his disciples: / J[u]st as [the] corporeal body has limbs [10] that are hidden, so it also has others that are visi[b]le. [They] / ca[n be seen] upon it, they can be grasped and receive blows and woun/[d]s, whilst [ot]hers can neithe[r] be grasped no[r / receive] blows. So it is also with this entire greatness, as we resemble it. / Some of it is hidden, [15] whilst some of it is visible; [so]me of it is fa/r away from the blows and suffering, whilst some of it / receives blows and wounds.

Now, thus the directive of the bo/dy that lives within, hidden in the storehouses inside / the body and unseen. So it i[20]s also how the Father, the God o/f truth, exists; as he too is hidden in his kingdom, not display/ed before this outer desolation.

Thus, too, / the body has two eyes that are visible and see/n, and are even the body's source of illumination; so there are also [25] these two light ships that shine and are see/n in the entire universe and the whole of creation. / The light has never been hidden, just like the two eyes of the bo/dy.

The living soul too is like this, / it is established in apparent silence. In [30] its apparent [s]ilence it is grasped and receives b/lows from these five fleshes, which destroy (the soul) and str/[ike it. It can] be likened to the mystery of the [corporeal] body, / as it can be grasped and mastered, (**152**) can receive blows and wounds.

Also, thus / this tongue that speaks, proclaims, reprimands and reveals / about everything happening in this body, in<side and outside, also the considerations [a]nd bod[ily] knowledges>. / The tongue, which is outside, makes it manifest. It also proclaims about [5] the honour and shame of the body. And it speaks, / unveiling the pain of the body [th]at is [s]ick [from] / its sores.

This is also what [Jesus] the Splend[our] / is l[i]ke, who shall be sent fr[o]m the greatness. / He manifests and reveals about everything, both the external and [10] the internal, both what is above and

what is [bel]o[w]. / Be it about the outer aeons that are hidden and [not disp]l[ayed], / or about the ships of light that are se[e]n. H[e is the on]/e who unveils about them. He is also the one who reveals [about the]ir glo/ry, and the greatness that dwells in them. And regarding this beating [15] and wounding of the living so[ul], Jesus is the one who reveals it. / He also preaches ab[o]ut (the soul) and its peace. He revea/ls about its cleansing and healing.

Behold, I have shown / to you the power of revelation of these four fathers, and how / each one of them has his appointed work, whether in [20] secret or visible.

••• 61 •••

(152,21 – 155,5)

/ Concerning the Garment of the Waters: / how great is its Measure. /

The value of this chapter lies in its historical reference; and in the way it enables the reader to penetrate the rather dense cosmological language used in the *Kephalaia* about the elemental garments.

Mani and three of his disciples were stood upon the bank of the Tigris while in flood. One disciple asks the apostle about the source of these vast and powerful waters. Mani then explains that the First Man assumed the elemental garments, including that of water, and used them to combat the immeasurable demonic army that had assembled to assault the light. The evil powers were overcome and bound within the universe; which itself will be destroyed at the end time. As a portion of that flood of water poured into the demons the Tigris is next to nothing. Therefore, the disciples should marvel and be secure in the power and greatness of God.

Once again, at one of the times when the apostle entered [in] [25] to the presence of King Shapur. He gave him a greet[ing], / turned, and went away from before King Shapur.

He st[o]/od on a quayside that was built upon the bank of the mighty river / Tigris. At that time it was the month of Ph[ar]/-mouthi. The river Tigris was engorged with many waters; [30] it had {surged up}*84 and swelled and {burst forth}*85 beneath the

*84 ϐωϱτ=
*85 cωρє ⲁϐⲁⲗ

great / force of the flood, so that the waters flowed do[wn ... and] / poured into the gates of the city, they [...] (**153**) only, but the waters flowed into the {}*86 of / the city until they submerged the market place of the city. [...] / are few and the city goes [under ... comes to] / be fear of its wind. Even his kingdom was in great terror because of the enormous size of the flood of these waters. /

So, the apostle was standing there on the quay, w/ith also three disciples standing by him, [le]/aders of his church. They were watching the river engorged / with these many waters. They saw that the waters rose up against the city walls, and the flood was even inside / the walls.

One of his disciples then spoke. He says to the apos/tle: H[o]w great is the power of the garment of the wat/er[s]? How far shall [it extend]? That it should enter with the roar of its flood and / fill th[is] river Tigris in its vastness like the mighty [s]ea! It has carried waves from river bank to bank, and run from / wall to wall. The source from which a[l]l these waters burst forth, / how great will it be? For they come and come each year at their [ap]poin/ted season!

Then the apostle says to him: / Why are you astonished at the vastness of the Tigris waters, and why are you amazed by its flood? Still, listen t/o what I am about to tell you, and be truly astonished about th[e r]iv[er] / that came into being during the first time. /

[At] the time when the First Man assumed the elements, and stood / [fi]rm against the first enmity that had come about in the darkness, he defied these great and powerful rulers. They / are immeasurable, greater than the extent or size / of thousands and ten thousands of {parasangs}*87. At the start, when he spread the fight a/[ga]inst them, he gave them fire and wind; and afterwards he gave / [the] garment of the waters to the rulers of death. So they, the rulers, drank in and consumed those waters; / [the way that I told] you in the *Great Gospel.* / Many [waters] poured forth from the garment of waters / [...] the rivers flow. The mouth

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*86 ⲱⲧⲏ

*87 ⲱⲃⲱⲱⲥ Measure of length: see Crum 611a (ⲱⲫⲱ); and K (Dub). 274.2.5

of the rulers / [...] those [...], the warriors of destruction [35] [... l]aboured and brought them forth. There were seven (rivers), (**154**) like the great river Tigris [that you] see, / flowing in to the mouth of each one of them, as they shall not / [...] to a single stomach, to their fill; because / in turn the descent to its stomach shall burn them with its [5] fire and heat. Those rulers were like / the {}*88 of [...] they were not emptied; rain and / [...] their existent days. /

The apostle s[peaks] to t[hat] elect one: The measure / [of th]at river was expanded seven times, as they flow [10] [...] of the body of the [... / ...] waters [...] now. Marvel at / [...] as you say: Grea[t is] its [... / ...] indeed prolonged, for a bearer [... b]ut [...] / you marvel at this. Marvel first [...] [15] that [...] is the first [...] which came into being i[n] this / [...] is how great a struggle, since it has / [...] these creatures of destruction, the mighty giants. Beho/ld, they are entwined, bound, {}*89 and {}*90 in every place. / They are hidden, not revealed before the eyes of every flesh that [20] exists on the land of death [...] these rulers / [...] revealed. The entire universe of flesh will be destroyed / and dissolved [...] all pass away [... / ...] they will be destroyed with their angry voice, / which is mightier than the thunder. Now, as this small stream is reckoned [...] [25] before the vastness of these waters of which I have recounted to you. / For only one river from thousands of rivers of water, from the secrets / that are not revealed, is the river Tigris upon the eart[h]. /

See [...] and be amazed at the measure of the elements of the wa/ters. Marvel at the stature of the Man who bore t[30]hem. And understand how great is t[hat] god, / active in power, the one whom these waters [... t]/han the stature of the First Man who [assumed] (**155**) this garment of such size; and how much was made.

Then his / disciples say to him: We revere you, our master, and w[e] give / thanks that moreover you have opened our eyes to all [the g]re/atnesses that are hidden from every person. Yet, to us you have [5] manifested them!

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*88 ⲥⲁⲓⲱⲉ

*89 ⲕⲙⲕⲁⲙ̄ⲧ

*90 ⲧⲁⲙⲥ` Smagina 1990:116 suggests 'hidden' from ⲧⲱⲙⲥ ('bury').

••• 62 •••

(155,6-29)

/ Concerning the Three Rocks. /

Mani uses the term 'rock' to describe three modes of absolute stability established by the divine in the universe.

Once again he speaks to his disciples: Three great / rocks, which exist, were appointed by the greatness. They were set in [10] these outer w[or]lds.

So, the first rock is the / [Pillar] of Glory, the Perfect Man, which was summoned / [by the] glorious Ambassador. He set it in this zone / [... he] brought forth its base (?) from the earth to heaven. It bore up under the [en]tire uni/[verse], and became first of all the weight-carriers in [15] [it]s powers. In its firmness it has been set upright, and has made fast / every [t]hing above and below. /

[The] second great and glorious rock is the new earth of / light, which was set upon the earth of darkness. It has squashed / the fastenings of the five storehouses of death. It has established [20] firmness, with great firmness, over and beyond the earth of darkness. / It has flattened, crushed and fixed the root of death. /

[The] third rock is the great thought, which was summoned / from Jesus, the glorious one. He set it in the holy church. / The church gathered in upon it, and has lived in [25] [it]. It has stood firm, with a true fixity, for ever. /

[These] are the three great rocks, they that have come forth in great / confidence, in three great and honoured places. They were appointed / and distributed in three great places of these [self]same worlds. / They were made fast according to the will of the greatness.

••• 63 •••

(155,30 - 156,34)

/ Concerning Love. /

Mani reveals the divine nature of love, which is manifested in the world in the church. In contrast, hate is the nature of the darkness; but it too is present in this time of mixture.

[O]nce again he speaks [to] his disciples: What is love? / [...] each [...], calling it 'love'.

(**156**) [Lo]ve is the Father of Greatness, who dwells in his / glorious land. The entirety of the divine has been revealed / [there]in! These two are a single living body, the Father / [a]nd his love; because he has given himself for every thing, as he exists in his aeons. Indeed, due to this, they called the Fa/ther, the Lord of the totality, 'love'. For he gave the victory to / his aeons and his limbs.

Again, the beginning of / all the righteousness and the divine that dwells in / the holy church; they have also called it 'love'. As indeed the church is made strong therein! [These] two, / the Mind and the church, a single body is also their likeness; / because, again, the apostle too shall gi[ve] his [own] / self for his church. [And, again], due to th[is], / the church too calls him 'love'. [So] is it written: There is no love greater than this, for someone [to give himself] / to death for his friend*91. Likewise, too, the beginning of ri[ght]/eousness is made of love for the church, according both to body and to / spirit. While in the body, in the church here; so in the / spirit, in the heights above.

Once again he speaks: What, conversely, is hate? Hate / is the first death that welled up. It revealed the land / of darkness. This one called 'hate', because / it has ruined all its perdition's offspring; it sinned even against / a power foreign to it, and ruined it. Due to this they shall call it 'hated'; for it has caused destruction, both wounding in / flesh, and what is not its own.

*91 Jn. 15:13

Today again it causes wo[unding] / and destruction in all flesh. It kills them all with / diverse deaths; these that are displayed today in every/thing, in every type. Even the Cross of Light, the 30 living [so]ul, likewise too it ruins and kills them; / as it did at the start. Indeed, due to this have they called i[t] / 'hated', this one from the hated; the envy from / the envy; the devil from the devil; the b[a]/d that came about from the bad. (**157**)

••• 64 •••

(157,1 – 158,23)

/ [Concerning] Adam. /

Mani explains that since Adam was fashioned by the evil powers after the image of the divine Ambassador, he was preeminent over all other mixed creations in three ways: his image was more beautiful; his soul fitted the correct distribution of the elements, and thus he had superior intelligence; the powers of the entire universe were sealed in him, and thus mankind became the key to the direction of future history.

This final point leads Mani to explain that the creation of Adam was a deliberate act by the rulers, the focus of their plan to control everything, and to capture the kingdom of light. He summarises their evil purpose in seven further points.

Once again he speaks to his disciples, who listen to his / words: Three great things that are distinct were reveal/ed in Ad[am] the first human. Indeed, due to this, he was found 5 to be better and more outstanding than the conjoined powers that are in heaven / and on earth.

The first: / The image of the exalted one was placed upon him. The creators / and moulders of his body sealed him after the shining form / of the image that had been displayed to them above. 10 Indeed, due to this, the image of Adam was found to be surpassingly beautiful / beyond any conjoined power above and below. /

The second thing: Adam was shaped in his structure / throug[h the li]ght of the first-born of heaven and / [earth ...] the five sons. Indeed, due to this, his 15 struct[ure] was found to differ from the structure of even the other creations; / [sin]ce the form of all

creations is different. As for Adam, / the formation of his soul fits over the / correct distribution of the elements. Therefore, he has / intelligence surpassing that of the other creations and [20] beasts.

The third are the teaching/s and counsels and the seal of all the powers above and / below. The creators, who set him in order, gathered them and se/aled them in him. (Adam) and his consort Eve became a dwelling and home / for the signs of the zodiac and the stars; and the months, the days and the ye[25]ars. For the seal of the entire universe is stamped upon / Adam. Indeed, due to this, heaven and earth moved because of him; / trouble and disorder arose on his account between they that are g/ood and they that are evil. So, the good induce him to life / because of their image and shape placed upon him; while the [30] [wi]cked were drawing him to death, so that they would have po/[w]er through him and they would conceive the kingdom, and through him humiliate / the entire universe.

Furthermore, understand that / [the ru]lers determined and formed Adam so that they would be masters t/[hrough him a]nd c[onceiv]e the kingdom because of seven things.

(**158**) The first: He became the enlightener in their creati[o]n; instead of the li/ght of the image of the Ambassador wh[o] had displayed himself to them / above. For they all desi[re]d / the likeness of the image of the Ambassador. Their heart [5] was drawn after it.

The second: So that they would scoop up / the light through him and restrain and obstruct it / from its ascent to the heights. /

The third: So that because of the image of the Ambassa/dor that is placed upon him the entirety of the divine [10] that is above and below would be humiliated; on account of the likeness of the splendour, of / the beauty of his superiority. For he is superior in his appearance t/o all creatures.

The fourth: [He] is a / seal-ring and a new impression, so [that] / all births who will be begotten might be brought forth after his s[eal].

[15] The fifth: That might be displayed through him all the skil[ls]

/ of the powers, they above and below, secret and / manifest; and that they might determine through him the totality, and / every thing be revealed in him. /

The sixth: That there would come to be a great protection for them 20 through the image of the exalted one that was placed upon him; for as the heavenly would / [...] even rulers; and no evil thing would be done to them on account of Adam. /

The seventh: That he might become chief and king and master over all creatures; / and they might conceive the kingdom through him.

••• 65 •••

(158,24 – 164,8)

25 *Concerning the Sun.* /

This chapter presents a series of teachings about the divine nature of the sun, and the life-giving qualities of its light, compared with the evils of darkness and the night. It may have been redacted from separate sources. D. McBride (1988) has argued that it evidences heliolatry native to Egyptian Manichaeism; but that would be difficult to prove without a parallel non-Coptic text.

158.26 – 161.30 Mani reveals the greatness of the sun, which so many people and the false sects have not understood. The Old Testament God, here termed Satan, has attempted to obstruct the worship of the light in his law. Mani outlines seven benefits of the sun, contrasted with seven evils of the night.

161.31 -- 162.20 Five archetypes or qualities presented by the sun.

162.21 – 163.8 Three further qualities that correspond to the mystery of the Father.

163.9 – 164.8 Mani's concluding comments and admonitions to his disciples. He quotes a saying of Jesus from the *Gospel of Thomas*.

Once again, the apostle is sitting down among the congreg/ation of his disciples, one time, and the sun shone forth. He beg/an to recount to his disciples about the greatness of the su[n] / and its divinity. How was it fashioned after the [li]ke30ness of the first greatness? He was revealing to them.

He [say]/s, it is the gate of life and the vessel of [p]/eace, to this

great aeon of l[ight ...] (**159**) However, since Satan knows that it is the gate of the / souls' departure, he placed an exclusionary judgement / in his law that no one worship it, saying: / Whoever will worship it can die*92. He has otherwise called it: 5 The light that will be nullified. He has hindered the souls from / themselves turning their faces towards the light. He has caused them to deny / the light of their being.

Now, people are blind abou/t everything! They have not understood the greatness of this great light-giver. / They have denied the grace of this great light that shines upon them. 10 They have not perceived its greatness and its divinity. / No[r], also, have they understood the good things that it does for them, / even today, as they are entrenched in their body; when it / comes to th[is] world and shines. Behold: How many are the ch/arit[ies] that it does for mankind! Yet they, for their part, de15ny its graces, which they know not. Every day, wo/uld this great light-giver shine its light, it shall do seven / good things for them. Shall they not see them? /

[The] first good thing that it does for them is its light, which it / shines upon them. It opens the eyes of all mankind. 20 They see underfoot as they walk by it. It takes away / the blindness of the night, which made them blind with its darkness. /

[The] second: When (the sun) is come to the world, with its coming / it shall bring calm and peace to the entire world. With its / coming it shall also take away from them all the fear and t25rembling, which their heart is filled with the whole night; for it shall / ta[ke] away the darkness present by its light, and sweep it out. / Also, this is how it extinguishes fear by its calm. /

The third is its vigil; because when (the sun) comes to the wo/rld all sleeping mankind shall arise 30 and awake. And the watchmen too shall cease from / watching. The guards who sit at the gates of camps, they / [bre]ak vigil at the watchposts, because of its light that has shone / [upon them in the w]orld.

(**160**) The fourth: It shall nourish, and give strength, taste and

*92 Deut. 17:2–5

scent; / to the trees and fruits and vegetables, and all the herbs, / and the flowers and grasses, which are upon the entire earth. /

The fifth: When (the sun) shines in all the world, [5] the evil reptile and the sharp-toothed beasts that are filled of / wickedness, they shall flee to hiding in their dens. /

The sixth: When it shines its light, the wou/nd of any person is eased from pain. Its light shall me/lt away the evil arts of every doer of wickedness.

[10] The seventh: (The sun) shall display and manifest to the wo/rld the sign of the splendour of the aeons of ligh[t], from which it has / come out; it here in this world being their sign. It / brings light to the whole of creation.

Behold: How gre[at i]s the fo/olishness that has befallen the sects of error! [15] Not only that they have not perceived the mystery of [the div]/inity of this great light-giver; but also, even all the benefits / that it does for them. They forget them. They do not perceive t/hem.

Now, just as I have shown you the sun, / which does seven good things in the world, hear al[20]so what I teach you about the night, for it has all wickednes/ses therein. Every occasion, would the night fall, it sha/ll do seven evils in the world. /

The first wickedness that the night shall do in the world / is the darkness, with which it shall fill the entire world; beca[25]use when the sun sinks from the world and dra/ws to it its rays, at that instant the shadow / of the night shall spread out over the whole world. The eye[s] / of the people fill with blackness. They neither see nor wonder / with their eyes, because of the darkness of the night which shall fill the whole wor[30]ld.

The second evil thing that / the night shall do is its fear; because when its / shadow looms forth, its fear and its trembling shall possess all of mankind. The entire world shall fil[l] / of the night.

The third: W[hen the night] (**161**) falls, all creatures take up revolt. / They rebel in their heart, to do wickedness and perdition. /

The fourth: The heaviness of sleep shall lay upon them, and they

/ fall asleep; they slumber and doze, and they are like [5] these corpses in the night.

The fifth is its / ugliness; again, when the night would fall, the form / of the people shall be hidden in the darkness and the ugliness of the night. / The beauty and the form of men and women shall not be displ/ayed before one another, because of its darkness and its ugliness; [10] which it shall spread out over all their forms. /

[The] sixth occasion is when the night would fall on / the world. At that instant evil people shall come / out to do wickedness; the adulterers, and the robbers and pois/one[r]s. The evil beasts shall come out, and all the reptiles [15] that are filled with wickedness, from their dens. And they sta/lk in the night. Also, the demons and fiends find power / to do wickedness in the night. Again, the blows and buffets and / wounds and discharges shall torment people in / the night; because in it the whole of evil shall find strength.

[20] The seventh: The night shall display the sign / of the darkness, its father. It has arisen out of its essence; / because this night that came out of this first darkness has / been displayed in the world. Note this night, the shadow / of this first darkness, the one that is entwined and bound in all things [25] above and below.

Behold, I have tau/ght you about these seven wickednesses of the black night; / the ones that it shall do daily in the world, in the ni/ght. The sects have not seen this black night: / what it is; nor from whence is its essence. That all these evils [30] find strength in it! /

[On]ce again he ramified. He says to his disciples: / [There are] five archetypes occur in the sun, it making them / [...] as it finds the world.

(**162**) The first is its light; for it illumines by its light / the world, and all the creatures who exist in it. /

The second is its beauty; because when it shines, it shall / flood beauty and loveliness upon all creatures [5] and everything. /

The third is its peace; for, again, when the sun would / shine on the world, all people shall receive affect/ion through it, and give peace to one another. /

The fourth is the life of the living soul, which it shall release from all the bonds and fetters of heaven and earth. /

The fifth: It gives a strength to the elements; and also it gives a / scent and a taste to the entire Cross of the Light.

So, / you yourselves see that its light illumines / more than all lights that occur in the world. Also, its beauty [i]s more beautiful than all the beauties of mankind. Again, its pea/ce is more surpassing than all the powers and guards who ex/ist in the world. Its releasing action, by which it releases / the living soul, is a full day ahead of / all releasing actions! The strength that it gives to its li[20]mbs is a great strength, being mightier than all strengths! /

Once again, there are another three archetypes made apparent by the sun, in res/pect of the mystery of the first greatness. /

The first is the filling up of the disk of its ship; because / its ship has filled up every season, and shall not wane at all, the way that the ship of the moon wanes. This continuous filli[ng], / by which it is filled, displays the my/stery of the Father, the great greatness; from whom all the powers / and the gods have come forth. He shall never wane, / nor shall lack ever exist in him!

[30] The second: (The sun's) light surpasses the light of / all the stars, and all the lights that occur in the [universe]; / corresponding to the mystery of the light of the Father; for his l[ight sur]/passes and is greater than the light of his a[eons].

(**163**) The third: This sun is very high above / all else. It surpasses the height of all the mountains and / hills that exist upon the entire earth, corresponding to the mystery of / the Father of Greatness; for he is high above all the household of his light-earth. Also, because the Father himself / is high above all the heights and the mountains of his / light-earth. He is 'filled up' in his image [all] the time / and every hour from eternity to eternity! /

[Beho]ld the two mysteries I have taught you, O my b[e]lov[10]ed ones! The mystery of the night and that of the day, which daily come / forth in the world. Now, the mystery of the li/[g]ht and the mystery of the darkness are displayed dai/[ly] in the created order. The sects have not seen them in their / [error]! The mystery of the first great light is [15] [the] sun, which is this second light-giver, the one that comes dai/ly to the world. It displays all [the] marks o/f its graces, displaying and signifying on its own behalf / that it is good, out of the essence of the good. / It came from the good Father and appeared in [20] this world.

In contrast, this night that is made of fe/ar exists after the mystery of the darkness. Behold too the myster/y of its essence! It displays it in the wo/rld in all these wickednesses. It displays this my/stery daily in the world, but the sects kno[25][w] it not in their error. They do not distinguish the my/[st]ery of the light from that of the darkness. Indeed, concerning this myste/[r]y that is hidden from the sects, the saviour cast an allusion / [to] his disciples: Understand what is before / [y]our face, and then what is hidden from you will be unveiled to you*93.

[30] [Once] again the apostle speaks: You are the children of the d/[ay and] the children of the light. However, you <[...] the character of the darkness> are the children / [of the night a]nd the children of the darkness.

(**164**) Yet, blessed are you, my beloved ones! Blessed are your / souls, for you have known the mystery of the day and / that of the night. You have understood, that the day exists after the myste/ry of the light, but the night after the mystery of the dark[5]ness. They have not arisen from one another. Blessed is he / who can know this mystery and distinguish these two esse/nces, that of the light and that of the darkness, the ones that have not arisen / from one another; so that he can inherit life eternal!

*93 Ev. Thom. log. 5

••• 66 •••

(164,9 – 165,24)

/ Concerning the Ambassador. /

The solar theme is continued from the previous chapter to this one, entitled after the Ambassador as the principal god who dwells in the sun. Mani compares sunrise and sunset to the first and last moments of the history: when the First Man came and shone over the darkness; and when the Last Statue will ascend, leaving behind him eternal death. The entire 'second time' of the cosmos and of mixture is thus the daytime for the creatures of flesh and darkness, between eternal nights both before and afterwards. Mani uses this lesson to exhort his disciples to preach the truth, whilst there is still time for repentance.

Once again he speaks to his disciples: Pay attention, look / [and] understand in the way that I show you. / Two great mysteries are apparent in this shining sun, / at its rising and setting. Now, at the moment / when it rises and is visible in the universe, all creatures of flesh shall lift up their heads fr[om their sleep] / towards the splendour of the sun, <and open their doors*94>. While at evening / time, when the sun sinks from the universe, / all people from every place and even all beasts / shall go in to their dark hiding places. The popula tion of the entire universe shuts their doors*95 and dark night / overcomes them. They go inside and stay within the dark nig/ht in their hiding places. /

Very great is this mystery revealed by the sun! / For when the sun rises and [be]come[s] visible at the beg inning of the day all people open their doors, and / all of humanity and every creature emerges onto the ear[th] / to destroy this Light Cross that is established i[n] / silence.

This pertains to the mystery of the First / Man, because when he came out from the grea[t] ness he shone forth over all the children of darkness. At that mome[nt] / all the children of darkness came forth from their stor[e]/houses, its powers and its armies, abandoni[ng] their cav[es] / and their black abyss. They

*94 Or 'mouths'.
*95 Or 'is silent'.

destroyed the [outer] body / of his five sons, who were swathed over hi[s b]o[dy, in (**165**) t]hat first struggle.

Again, when / the sun sinks from the universe and sets, / and all people go in to their hiding places and / houses and conceal themselves; this also pertains to the mystery / of the end, as it presages the consummation of the universe. For, / when all the light will be purified and redeemed i[n] / the universe at the last, the collector of all things, / the Last Statue, will gather in and sculpt it/self. It is the last hour of the day, the time / when the Last Statue will go up to the aeo[n of] / light. The enemy too, death, will go in to / bondage; to the prison of the souls of the de[ni]iers / and blasphemers who loved the darkness. They will go in / with it to bondage and the dark night overcomes th[em]; / and thenceforth this name 'light' will not shine upon them.

Behold / the two mysteries made visible daily in the sun, / which is this splendrous light-giver. /

Now, [b]ecause of this I say to you, my brothers and loved ones: / Take trouble and train yourselves, and preach to the so/uls that they might seize the moment, while alive, for their / repentance. As long as there is time to do the good, / before the door is shut and the souls are kept back, stopped / at the gate of life; and they become part of the treasure of the enemy. /

[Wh]en his disciples heard this, they were frightened and alarmed and disturbed <[saying: We ...] in great agitation [...] for we would be saved from death [to dwell in the] imperishable [aeon] for ever>.

••• 67 •••

(165,25 – 166,16)

/ Concerning the Light-Giver. /

This chapter is again based upon an analogy about the sun. This time Mani plays on the title 'enlightener', used both of the sun and of himself. The believers are compared to the sun's rays extending across the entire earth; and Mani promises to draw them all after him to the eternal kingdom of light.

Once again he speaks to his disciples, while he sits / in the midst of the congregation: Note how the sun, the great / light-giver, comes with its splendour when it 30 shines over the universe, and its rays shall extend over / the entire earth. Again, when it is about to set, its ra/ys shall [disappea]r and sink. It does not leave [behind] a single ray / [on the earth].

Again, this is also what I am like! (**166**) In the image of flesh, wherein I have been set, I have been displ/ayed in the universe. Also, all my children, / the righteous elect who are mine in every / country, are like the sun's rays. At the moment, when I will 5 come forth from the universe and go to the household of my people, / I will gather toge[ther] all the elect who have believed in me / to that place. I will draw them to me, each one of them at / the time of his coming forth; I will not leave any one of them / in the darkness.

Now, because of this I say to you: 10 Every one of you who loves me, let him love all my children, the / blessed elect, for I am with them. I / alone. How so? For my wisdom anoints th[em] / all. The great glorious one lives in all of them, and every / one who will love them and mix with them in his charity 15 may live and be victorious with them; and be saved from the black / universe.

••• 68 •••

(166,17 – 30)

/ Concerning Fire. /

Fire is one of the five light elements. Nevertheless, this brief chapter also evidences Mani's delight in classifying all aspects of the world, to establish a totally integrated system.

Once more he speaks: This fire, which burns and is apparent to-20day in the world, it does five works. /

The first work that it does is this: It incinerates / and burns wood, and everything that shall be placed upon it. /

The second: It separates four aspects of the wood, which / are these: fire and light, ash and sm[25]oke.

The third: It gives a taste and an {aroma}*[96] to / whatever will be cooked on it. It also gives heat and ch/eer to whoever will be close to it.

The fourth work that [it] / does: All craftsmen shall work the / utensils that they will fabricate in it.

The fifth: [30] It sh[all] display light, and the people see by [it].

••• 69 •••

(166,31 – 169,22)

/ Concerning the Twelve Signs of the Zodi/ac and the Five Stars. /

Mani is asked to explain the distribution of the twelve signs of the zodiac and the planetary stars. Since he subscribes to the astral fatalism found throughout gnostic and esoteric systems in late antiquity, he identifies them as evil rulers from the worlds of darkness. However, it is noticeable that this causes a variety of structural problems for his system, all of which are apparent in this chapter.

In Manichaeism the demiurge is one of the light gods, the Living Spirit, unlike the case with many of the other dualistic traditions. Thus, it is constantly necessary to explain why evil powers are given a place and a role in the universe.

The characteristic pentads of Mani's system, here the five worlds of darkness from which the evil powers originate, can not be made to fit the distribution of the twelve zodiacal signs.

Perhaps of most interest, Mani is clearly aware that the ruling powers are commonly understood to be the seven and the twelve (as in Mandaeism). However, since for him the sun and moon are divine vessels, he must develop his teaching about the two ascendants (the two lunar nodes when the moon crosses the ecliptic of the sun). In this chapter there are two obvious attempts to reconcile this matter.

Once more, during one of the times, the apostle [is sitting down] (**167**) among the congregation. A disciple stood before him and question/ed him. He says to him: We entreat you, our master, that you may recount / to us and explain about the twelve signs of the zodiac / that are set in the sphere. How are they determined?

*96 ⲛⲃⲟ

Or to what place do they belong, [5] according to their essence? Or else again, these five stars that circle / in them, from whence are they? Or why has the demiurge appointed them / as the authorities and leaders? He is the great construc/tor who has appointed the entire creation; and he has bound and fix/ed them on the sphere. Now, we entreat you, our [10] master, that you may satisfy us about these things that are hidden from all mankind. /

[Th]en he speaks to that disciple who had questioned him: Whether / these twelve signs of the zodiac that are fixed on the sphere, or these fi/ve stars that circle upon them; those and these are rulers, all of them, / according to their essence. They are all enemies and rivals to [15] each other <one oppresses another, they threaten each other>. They plunder one another by the action of the great / craftsman who has formed all the worlds. He has gathered / [them] and bound them on the sphere above, which circles const/antly. Now, while it circles and tumbles them, so they shall do every/thing that they desire, above and below, according to their plea[20]sure. Nevertheless, a guardian is over them, a debt-collector a/bove them; compelling, extorting, and taking what is theirs / away from them!

Now, this is how it can rightly be understood. They were / [s]eized from the five worlds of darkness, and bound on the s/[ph]ere. Two zodiacal signs were taken per world. Gemini [25] [an]d Sagittarius belong to the world of smoke, which / is the mind. In contrast, Aries and Leo belong to the wo/rld of fire. Taurus, Aquarius and Libra be/[long] to the world of wind. Cancer and Virgo / [an]d [P]isces belong to the world of water. Capricorn [30] [an]d Scorpio belong to the world of darkness. These are / [the] twelve rulers of depravity, the ones that wicked/[ness] shall not [...] For they cause all the evil and / [... in the wo]rld, whether in tree or in flesh.

(**168**) And understand also about these five stars, the leaders: from where were they / formed? The star of Zeus (Jupiter) was generated from / the world of smoke, which is the mind. In contrast, Aphro/dite (Venus) came about from the world of fire. [5] And then Ares (Mars) belongs to the world of wind. Hermes (Mercury) / belongs to the world of water. Cronos (Saturn) belongs to the world / [of] darkness.

And also, the two ascendants are counted to / fire and desire, the dry and the / moist. They are the father and the mother of all these.

An[d al]so, the sun and the moon, which are counted in with them as a / rule <[counte]d to their kind, but why did they count them in with them?> so that they would reign over them. You will discover they subjugate them at / every moment.

These seven we have named, the five stars and the / two ascendants: They are the doers of wickedness that do every wi/cked and bad act in every land, the whole of it, abo[15]ve and below, in every creature, in the dry / and the moist, in tree and flesh.

Once more I reveal to you about these signs of the zodiac: [They] are / distributed, appointed on four sides, three per angle in / these four places. And they are fixed to this revolving sphere. Ari[es], [20] Leo and Sagittarius, they three belong to a single side*[97]. / In contrast, Taurus, Capricorn and Virg[o], / these other three belong to another side. And then, Gemini, / Libra and Aquarius belong to another side. Scorp[i]/o, Pisces and Cancer belong to another corner. Now, th[ey] [25] are placed like this, appointed to these four parts, and distribute[d] / on the sphere.

So, when the side of A[ri]/es, Leo and Sagittarius will be plundered by the guard/ian who is over it, who extorts from it and the leaders [w]/ho move upon it; at that instant shall affliction st[r][30]ike all the four-footed creatures below. / However, when [the side] of Tau[rus], / Virgo and Capricorn will be plundered; [affliction] sh[all] (**169**) at once befall the herbs, together with the vegetables and / all the fruits of the trees. Yet again, when / the side of Scorpio, Pisces and Cancer will be plundered; / scarcity shall befall the waters upon the earth, [5] and drought be from place to place. / Conversely, should the side of Gemini, Libra and Aq/uarius be plundered; deformity and stuntedness shall befall / the form of mankind from place to place. /

Behold now, I have explained to you about these tw[el]ve [10] signs

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*[97] The circle of the zodiac is quartered, with each set of three houses grouped as by an equilateral triangle. Thus Aries, Leo and Sagittarius are not consecutive signs; but rather the first, fifth, and ninth houses.

of the zodiac: They were fashioned from the five / worlds of darkness, and bound on the sphere.

Also, I have taught / you about the other five, the stars: They too came about / from the five worlds of the land of darkness.

I have recounted / to you also about the [t]wo ascendants: They are se[15]t to the mystery of fire and desire. They / are the dry and the moist, the father and the mother. /

Again, I have revealed to you about the sun and the moon: They / are strangers to them. Still, because of the constraint of the arrangeme/nt, in that the thing receives light, and as they belong and plunder them; [20] because of this they were counted in with them in relation to the calculation of / the number. For, the sun and the moon are from out of the greatness, / not belonging to the stars and the signs of the zodiac.

••• 70 •••

(169,23 – 175,24)

/ Concerning the Body: It was [25] constructed after the Pattern of the Uni/verse. /

Astrology connects this chapter to the last. However, the basic theme here is the correspondence between the micro- and macro-cosmos. The chapter appears to be redacted from a number of separate sources or Manichaean lessons.

170.1 – 20 The structure of the human body and its organs accords to that of the universe.

170.21 – 172.29 The events that occur in the watch-districts of the five sons of the Living Spirit, the conflicts between evil powers and the gods, correlate to those within the individual as the new man struggles with the old. Compare 92.9 – 94.16.

172.29 – 173.20 Demonic rulers exist in the organs of the four worlds of the human body.

173.21 – 174.10 The zodiacal signs correspond to parts of the body vertically from the head to the feet.

174.10 – 175.4 In a second schema the signs are arranged in a circle from the right temple of the head round to the genitals, and returning up the left side of the body.

175.5 – 24 Thousands of evil rulers exist in the human body. They cause illness within, or suppurations on the surface.

[Aga]in, on one of the occasions, the apostle is sitting do/[w]n among the church in the midst of the congregation. He says to his / disciples: This whole universe, above and 30 below, [re]flects the pattern of the hum[an] body; / [as the f]ormation of this body of flesh ac(**170**)cords to the pattern of the universe.

Its head is like / the first-fruits of the five garments. And, from its neck / down to the site of its heart, it resembles the pattern / of the ten firmaments. And again, the heart accords to 5 the wheel of the rotating sphere. And, from its heart / down to its intestines (?), is like this atmosphere / that extends from the sphere down to the earth. The [male] part / of the body corresponds to this great earth. And also, from its / intestines (?) down to its loins is 10 like the three earths. And also, its shinbones to the pa/ttern of the space in which the Porter stands. / Its footsoles to the great earth upon which the Po/rter is stood; and the four fastenings that are under his / feet. Its liver to the vessel of fire. 15 Its flesh to the vessel of darkness. Its b/lood to the vessel of water.

Now, this is how / the small body corresponds to the macro- / cosmos in its firmaments, in its orderings, in its / mountains, its walls and its vessels. As I have 20 made clear to you!

Once more, I reveal to you: / There exist five great camps in this / great outer zone, of which the five sons of the Living / Spirit are masters.

So, in the first watch-station / above, of which the Keeper of Splendour is master, 25 on the battlement of all the works, is found his authority / over the three heavens. Then the ones below him [... / ...] the great King of Honour. /

The second watch, of which the great King of Honour / is master, his own authority (extends) over the seven 30 firmaments beneath him.

The thi[rd] / watch, of which the Adamant [is master, his authority] (**171**) rei[g]ns from the firmament down below to the [earth]. / [And he] invigorates, according to his authority, the sphere and the [wo]/rlds of the atmosphere; and the other four worlds that are appointed on / this earth.

The fourth watch, over which the King of [5] Glory has power, is the three wheels. And his / [auth]ority lies over the three earths upon the hea[d] / of the Porter.

The fifth watch is the wat/ch over which the Porter is authoritative. Again, he is / master, according to his authority, over this great earth [10] he stands upon, and the four fastenings under / his feet.

Affliction has come about in these five watches from ti/me to time.

So, in the watch of the Keeper of Splendour, / s[in] desired to spurt up towards the image / of the Ambassador. Yet, they barred it from that place, [15] and it fell back down in shame. /

Again, an earthquake and treachery occured in the watch of the great / King of Honour, which the watchers who had arisen / at the time and had [...] they who were sent came down, / until they were humbled.

Also, in the watch [20] of the Adamant, the abortions came to the earth and fashioned [the] / figure of flesh.

Again, in the watch of the King of Glory, / a commotion happened in these three earths abo/ve the Porter. The pathway was obstructed for / [the] ascent of these three wheels; that of wind, that of [25] water, and that of fire.

Also, in the watch of the Po/[r]ter, the fastenings beneath were laid bare and strained their / [ch]ains. A great [ear]thquake befell that place. /

[Like] these five watch-[stations], which exist in this great / [... these fi]ve camps, which I have recounted (**172**) [to] you. This is also the case with this body that the e[l/e]ct wear. There are another five camp[s] / there, and the Light Mind is watching over them, and the new / man who is with him.

The elect person who will con[5]trol and subdue the configuration of his face, which is above his bo/dy, and guide it towards the good; he resembles / the mystery of the Keeper of Splendour, who rules o/ver the watch above the zone.

Whoever will become master / [over] his heart and subdue it; he is the sign of the great [10] King of Honour, who subdues the seven heavens.

Wh/oever will become master to his genitals and subdue his lust; he is / the mystery of the Adamant of Light, the one who / subdues Matter.

Whoever will subdue the stomach and / become master to the fire that is in him, and also purify [15] the nourishment that comes in to him; he resembles the likeness / of the King of Glory, the one who turns the wheels, sending / the life above.

Whoever will become master over the ruling-po/wer that is beneath in his feet, and bind it with the / chain of peace; he is like the Porter, the one who subdu[20]es with his footsoles the abysses below.

Also, the teaching / of wisdom, which circulates in that body: to / the likeness of the Virgin of Light, who goes up and / comes down in this zone, above and be/low.

Also, love and joy, faith [25] and truth, in which the person should l[iv]e: they are / to the likeness of these two light ships. For, the living s[o]/ul should go up in them and become free through them; / and it ascends from the abysses below and arrives at [the] / heights above.

Once more, understand this other (truth): [30] There exist four worlds i[n th]is body of the f[lesh], / and there exist countless times seven rulers [in the b]ody [of the four] / worlds!

So, the first w[orld is from its] (**173**) neck up; and also the seven rulers who are / in this upper world are these: the two organs of sigh[t], / and the two of hearing, and the two of smell. / The other one is the mouth, which is the organ of taste.

[5] [The] second world is from its neck down to / its entire upper torso. And also, the seven rulers w[ho] / are in this second world are: its [two] arms / that accord to the pattern of its two ears, which [oc]/cur in its first world above; and i[t]s [10] two breasts that are to the pattern of its organs of smell; / and the two eyes of its heart;

and the gullet of the stoma/ch between the two breasts, which in the che/st is the pattern of the mouth.

Once more, there exist seven / rulers in the third world of the body, [15] which are these: the fat, the lung, the sple[en], the liv[e]r, the gall, / and its two kidneys.

Also, the fourt[h wo]rld b/elow. There are another seven there of this same kind: its / two buttocks (?), and its two testicles, and its two loins; / and the member out of which the seed comes, that begets [20] all the forms. /

[O]nce more the enlightener speaks to his hearers: Ari/es and Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, / Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Ca/pricorn, Aquarius and Pisces; these are the twe[25]lve signs of the zodiac that occur in the worlds above, on / the sphere. They are interlocked and bound on this turning wheel, the one in whi/ch they are [...], fixed, and planted. And, regarding [a]ll these twelve / signs of the zodiac, this is how they were appointed and made leaders / [...] on the sphere beneath the heaven that is the wheel of the [30] [stars]. Now, they are appointed *like* this, they are thus, so that you can find the head of / [...] and you find the tail too [... / ...]

Again, they occur like this, (**174**) these that we have recited, one after another in this body. They are counted / by order and number from the head to the / feet. Its head is Aries. Its neck and its shoul/ders are Taurus. Its two arms Gemini. [5] Its upper torso is Cancer. Its stomach is / Leo. Its belly is Virgo. The v[er]tical spine / and its intestines (?) are Libra. Its genitals / [S]corpio. Its loins are Sagittarius. Its knees ar[e / Capri]corn. Its shinbones are Aquarius. [10] The soles of its feet are Pisces.

Behold, these / are also distributed one after another. They exist in this body, / as if turned to the side and bent to the pattern of the twelve signs of the zodiac. / They too are thus, arranged one against another, head / to tail, a[s] they occur on the wheel [15] [...] up.

Also, they are counted by / order and number of the body and all its members. / So, we have proclaimed that these are turned to the side, bent, and spread / out; because from its head down to its / hip

shall count six to its left, and another six to its right. [20] The six that are down its right are these that I / will recount: the right temple is Aries; its right shoul/der is Taurus; its right arm is / Gemini; its right rib-cage is Cancer; / its stomach is Leo; the right side of its reproductive organs [25] are Virgo. Conversely, the other s[ix] about which we have spoken, / which are to its left, in contrast they come / from its hip to its head: its left [...] / is Libra; its left rib-cage is Scorpi[o]; / its left breast and left kidney [is Sag][30]ittarius; its [left] elbow [is Capric](175)orn; its left shoulder is Aquariu[s]; / its left temple is Pisces. This is how / the creator of the body himself has appointed them. He has [set] / them in order and arranged them, one against its companion, head to [tail].

[5] Once more he speaks: Listen to this other lesson that I will pr[ocla]/im to you. Understand that there exist many powers / in this body. They are the house-dwellers who are made the leade[rs] / in it. There are eight hundred and forty times ten thousand [ru]/lers made chiefs in the human b[o]dy! They are distributed and [10] set firm, quartered according to house. The count and / number of their houses is two hundred and ten times ten thousand. /

When all these rulers come creeping and [m]ov/[ing with]in the body, they will meet one another; and they shall / beset and destroy one another, and [...] [15] in them there. When [... t/il]l they shall erupt from the body of the person who [will] / die; and make putrid boils and sores and [bur]ning wounds / in the body. Either they might have made hi[m] sick with[in]; / or else they might come forth upon his outer side. Those woun[20]ds shall first be squeezed and discharge their liquid, / and empty out their pus, until they are squeezed [... / ...] and the suppuration forced out from the wound. Afterwards, / their scars [shal]l close over; and they are healed and obtain relief f/rom the places that came out upon them.

•••71 •••

(175,25 – 176,8)

/ Concerning the Gathering in / of the [E]lements. /

This chapter discusses the sequence by which the light elements will be gathered in and ascend up to the eternal kingdom at the end of time, the destruction of the universe. This corresponds to the eschatological path taken by each soul: to answer the summons of salvation, to become one with the Light Mind, to ascend up the Pillar to the moon (the First Man), then to the sun (the Ambassador), and thus to the aeons.

[O]nc]e more the enlightener speaks: In what way shall / [the] elements be gathered in, from one to another?

The l[30][igh]t shall be gathered in [to] the fire, and the fire itself gathered / [in to the water, and the wa]ter gathered in to the wind, and the (**176**) [win]d gathered to the air, and the air gathered to the answer, / [an]d the answer gathered to the summons. Also, the summons / [to the] purified Mind, which is the intellectual. The intellectual to / [the P]illar of Glory, [the P]illar of Glory to the First [5] [M]an, the Man to the Ambassador, the Ambassador / [to] the aeons of greatness.

They are gathered in like this; / but, [they] will be gathered on one occasion only, and go up a/[b]ove to the place of rest for ever and ever.

••• 72 •••

(176,9 – 178,23)

[10] *Concerning the worn / and torn apart Garments, or the tattered Clothes, / or the Elements, the C/ross, and the rest too. /*

The divine light soul (or elements) that descended at the beginning of the history with the First Man was devoured by the evil demonic forces of matter. During the course of the history it has experienced different forms of degradation, and of salvation, depending upon its position and role in the conflict. Since it was the armour (or the five sons) that the First Man had

assumed at his descent, it frequently receives various names that are variants on the concept of a garment. In this chapter Mani explains the different terms and roles during the history; but emphasises that they will all return to a single form and a single name at the final victory.

Once more the apostle is sitting in the congregation of his 15 disciples. He says to [hi]s disciples: What is this lesson / [that] is written in [the scriptures]? It proclaims the name the 'great garm/ents', but what then are these 'great garments'? Or again, this / you sometimes call the 'rags', what are those / 'rags'? Or the 'worn and torn apart'? Or what are 20 the 'images and the tattered clothes'? Or what is this name: / 'light element'? Or conversely, what is the 'Cro/ss of Light'? Or why named otherwise: the 'couns/el of life'? Or what is the 'soul that is slain'; being killed, / oppressed, and murdered in the enemy? What are all these names? 25 Look, they are written and sealed, according to memory, / by a multitude of scriptures. Now then I ask you, / so that you may tell me: What are they? Or how have they changed / with all these names and become set in altered forms, / namely all these?

His disciples say to him: 30 You, our father, are the source [of] all wisdoms. [Th]/erefore, we entreat you that you may open o[ur e]/yes about all these things. Te[ach us these wisdoms], / since you are the fount of [all wisdoms]!

(**177**) Then speaks the apostle to them: It is proper for [yo/u] to understand this. The garments that are named / 'great garment' are the five intellectuals that [make per]/fect the body of the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man. 5 They were purified by the coming of the Ambassador. /

In contrast, the ones named 'rag': the rags are the devoured enlightening power. / It is compounded and entangled in [the bo]/dy of the universe in the rulers who are above, who / exist in all the firmaments. Also, its shine is t10hat which lights up and is displayed in the stars of the chain and the powers / [of the] course. And likewise, these rags that are entangled in / these [thre]e [ear]ths below, above the head of the Port/[er ...] on the earth that is under the Porter. These are / [named] the 'rags', because [...] set [... 15 ...]

However, the 'great worn and torn apart garments', / which we have proclaimed, is this entangled living power. / It is reaped, cut, and devoured. / It is overpowered by the five worlds of the flesh, wh/ich creep as they move from place to place.

20 On the other hand, [these] we have termed the 'images and the great / tattered clothes' [...] are the three great garments / of the wind, the fire, and the water. These the Living Spirit / cloaked upon his body. With them he set in order thing/s in the universe. With them also he emptied the vess25els. He swept them out and laid them bare in front of the Por/[t]er at the foundation of all things. /

Conversely, '[the ele]ments', we have called them this name, are this / [pow]er that remains in all things below. It rises up / [in] the wombs of all the earths, gathering together, and pouring 30 f[ort]h upon [a]ll thin[gs].

And then, the '[Light] Cross' / [we have termed] this bound 'light power'. It / [...] all [...] upon the earth, in (**178**) the dry and the moist.

Also, the one name[d] / the 'counsel of life' is the summons and the / [obed]ience. It moves in all these powers that we have named. / It awakens them, gives them ease, and drives them 5 to their movement.

The one named 'the soul [that is s/l]ain', which is killed, oppressed and murdered; it is / this power of fruit, vegetables and seeds. They shall be th/[r]eshed, plucked and cut down; and they / give nourishment to the worlds of the flesh. Further: the wood should it be dr10y, and the garment should it become ragged, will perish. Again, it is [a pa/]rt of this entire soul that is slain and killed; s/ince also even this whole part of it they kill / [...]

For all these names [... / ...] are a single [...] since the beginning, it [...] 15 as it enlightens; but they separated into all these parts / in this first contest. They became set in all these altered / forms, and these many names. Of course, / if now all these var[iet]ies are laid bare, and stripped / of all these appearances, [and] parted from all 20 these names; they will gather together [and] make a single form, / and a single name, unaltered and unchangeable

for ever in the / land of their first essence, from which they were sent forth / against the enemy.

••• 73 •••

(178,24 – 180,26)

[25]*Concerning the Envy of Matter.* /

178.26 – 179.16 Mani begins by outlining four crucial moments in the history when Matter (hyle), the driving force of the darkness, has displayed the envy that is the essence of its nature. It envied: the First Man; the image of the Ambassador; Adam; Christ and the apostles.

179.16 – 28 Furthermore, it has caused envy for Mani himself, and his church. The apostle turns the discussion into a warning to his listeners that sin will never be content to leave them secure in their faith.

179.28 – 180.19 Mani illustrates the point by recounting the typical actions of an envious person against the faithful, in every church since the beginning.

180.19 – 26 Final admonitions to be steadfast in the faith.

Once again the apostle speaks to his disciples: [The] / entirety of envy is this first nature that occu[red] / in the worlds of darkness.

In this envy that [...] / in it, the First Man [...] its poiso[n ...] [30] its evil-doing. His garment[s] were [...] / it cut them and drew them; [...]

(**179**) It envied the first image of the Ambassad[or], / which he displayed to it in the heights abov[e], / i[n] his form that it saw. It established the seal and the i[m]/age of flesh, and put the impression of t[h]at image [5] on flesh, its very own birth. /

[The th]ird time it envied Adam, the fir[st / hum]an. It seized a power from him, and bore it forth from a / [rib of] of Adam's [flesh].

The fourth time / [it en]vi[ed] all the firs[t-bo]rn and the first f[a[10]thers; an]d the blessed Christ who is the father of / all the [apostles]. Again, he too, it envied his / [endurance upon] the wood of the cross. It envied [the] fa/[thers of r]ighteousness. It was jealous of the [... / ...] all congregations of [... th]eir love over

him, [15] [which] is among them, by the desire of its wickedness. It has [...] t/hem.

Furthermore, I myself was sent now, in this / last generation. It has envied me. For it wishes now, at the end, to be / god in its old land. After it had caused envy for me and / fulfilled its jealousy there, it also envied all my righteous[20]ness and my entire church and the whole assembly / [of] my catechumens. It could not bear to see a / single wise and true person, upright and stead/[fa]st in his deeds. Rather, it shall envy you with / [i]ts jealousy and wickedness; every one, whether [25] [a] great person or a disciple, a man o/r a woman, a male catechumen or a / female catechumen. They who are in truth, being perfect in / [the] faith. These of this kind sin shall not be content to [... /

...] cho[o]sing a single day. He was strong [30] [...] they are of it, but he has separ/[ated himself. He] spoke with them so that he might do (**180**) [a]mong them his will, whether outside or within. / While [in]side, he wounds them by his envy, with / [s]icknesses and pains and physical afflictions; and outside / with false reports and lying accusations [5] that he spreads as rumours after them. He makes [t/he]m hated and stinking among mankind, more and / [m]ore. He shall return to burst against the teacher and the righteous e[lec/t] person. He who preaches, manifestin[g / the] mystery in the revel[at]ion of [... [10] sa]ve by him his lamb[s ... / ...] in his hands. More and more it shall envy [... / ...] speaking after him with [...] words [...] / Now, these who are lesser in power, they [... / ...] negligent and confused i[n their] contorte[d] faith [...] [15] they fall from the faith. This is the desire [of Mat]/ter, the thought of death. This is the envy of its wi[cke]/dness, that it casts upon the entire kindred of life / from the very beginning until my time, from m/e too to my church.

Therefore, it is appropriate [20] for the wise person that he be steadfast and strong, / and stay with his truth and hope. And he not be / defeated nor cowed, nor give himself to the en[vy] / and hatred of dark Matter. Rather, he will stand firm [... / ...] in God and be strong and stay [with] [25] his hope and his [faith]; and he overcomes [...] / Whatever would cover me comes before him.

••• 74 •••

(180,27 – 181,31)

/ Concerning the living Fire: / It is present in Eight Places.

The living fire is one of the five light elements, and its origin is the eternal kingdom. However, the First Man also swathed it upon his body at his descent; and so it is present in this universe, from whence it is purified. It equates to the consideration amongst the five intellectual qualities.

30 Once again the apostle speaks: The [holy] living f[ire] / is present i[n] eight places. /

The first place wherein it is, is this [light] land [where it is present and] / exists. It is established beneath [it ... (**181**) ut]terly beyond the totality. It is the foundatio[n and / ba]sis of that great earth, and the consideratio[n / th]at is beneath them all.

The second pla[ce / whe]rein it is, is the Father, the God of truth; because 5 [the Fathe]r is established in his great, mighty consideration. / So, [firs]t in the Father. The other powers that came from him / were revealed through him, and (the fire) too came w[i]/th them [and was revea]led by them.

The third / [place wherein it is], is the First Man, h[e] wh[o ... 10 ...] armour. Again, it is this fire [... / ...] on the body of the Perfect Man. /

[The fourth is this fir]e that was purified from all the [light] powers, / [which is i]n the outer wall, in the ship of the day. /

[The fifth i]s this fire that is in the light-giver of the night 15 [...] within the water. /

[The] sixth is this f[i]re that is purified from the totality. The Living [Spirit] / swathed it upon his body, over the summons and / the obedience. He has established many things by it. He / went down and stripped himself of it before the Por20ter.

The seventh is this living fire that is of / the new earth, and is the consideration. For it is the first / foundation in the new earth, it

they built anew [... / ...] the first course, that is a crown for the entire earth. T[hey] / are below the totality, over the entire earth of da[rkne]ss [25] [...] in it, in the [...] whole [...] /

[The] eigh[th] is the fire that shall be revealed in this [... / ...] person, and it signifies fear and war. Furthermore it / [...] it displays and manifests its sign in / [its ter]ror. It shall be r[ev]ealed in these two light ships.

[30] This i[s the way] that the holy living fire exists in these / [eight places].

••• 75 •••

(181,31 – 183,9)

/ [Concerning the Letter (?)] /

In this kephalaion the summons and the obedience are considered to be letters, a motif also found in the Hymn of the Pearl in the *Acta Thomae*. These two are the essence of redemption, the call to knowledge and the answer of knowledge, otherwise jointly termed the counsel of life. In Manichaeism the prototypical moment is the salvation of the First Man by the Living Spirit; and the call and answer are themselves divinised as, respectively, the sixth sons of each of these two great gods (92.1 – 4).

However, the point of this chapter is that the letters contain all knowledge of what has happened and what will happen; and thus it emphasises the divine foreknowledge and consequent control of events. As usual Mani connects the primordial event to the present, and makes it relevant to his audience. The Light Mind, which is the call to salvation within the church, is also an all-knowing letter. Similarly, the response of the people in their good works is also a letter; and so Mani can assure his listeners that everything they have done and need is known to Christ.

[O]nce again he speaks to h]is disciples, preaching the wo(**182**)[r]d of life. And thus he speaks to them about the su[mm/o]ns and the obedience: Consider the summons, which was sen[t f]/rom the Living Spirit in the beginning. He sent it [to the First] / Man. It is a peace letter and greet[ing] [5] that he wrote and sent to his brother, in which all the [tid]/ings are written down, together with everything it will / [bring ab]out and establish by [th]at summons. That / [summ]ons, the First Ma[n ... / is o]rdained to happen.

The an[swer that was sent from [10] the] First Man came to the heigh[ts, to the Living Spirit]. / That is also [a] letter, [which was sent from] / the First Man to the Living Spirit, [in which] all [the tidings] / are written down; and [every] w[ar] / and the struggles that he had waged. It did [...] [15] in the answer that the First Man [... / ...] everything that had happened and everything [that would happen], / all [t]hat had been done and whatever is made ready to be done by him. / The Living Spirit knew a[ll] the wars and the dang/ers and the contests that the rulers had waged against the First Ma[20]n.

The Light Mind also, which came from the beloved Chris/t and was sent to the holy church, is a / letter of peace too; in which all the reve[la]/tions and wisdom are written down [...] / all [...] in the light and everything that had happened [... [25] ...] it was prior to all mankind, and all that [...] / to happen at the last in it, as the holy church / shall understand all things.

This creation also [...] / this light product, that shall be generated from the holy church / and go to [...] is [a letter] [30] too; since all the [g]ood works tha[t the] holy ch/urch performs are written down in i[t. Every / thing] that it may entreat its father for, so that [... e]/ase in the world. And at the last [... r]/est before him. They are present in [... fa(**183**)s]ting and prayers and good works that [... / ...] them. It shall go up and be rev[eal]ed b/efore the blessed Christ. He shall answer it [... / ...] he [gives] power and makes it at ease [... [5] ...]

Indeed, [d]ue to this, I say to you: / [...] each [...] and entreaty, since a [... / ...] prayer. Everything that you will ask [for / ...] will be given you*[98], if [... / ...] perfect.

*[98] Mt. 21:22 Jn 15:7 16:24

••• 76 •••

(183,10 – 188,29)

/ [Conce]rning Lord Manichaios: / how he journeyed. /

This important chapter has clear historical context and content. Mani is so busy answering the calls of King Shapur, (who does seem to have given him and his teaching some real protection), that a disciple wishes that there could be two Manis! The apostle replies that the world has scarcely been able to accept him alone. With authentic frankness he recounts the trials of his missionary journeys and the opposition of the authorities in various lands.

[F]urther, it] ha[pp]ened one time while our master Manichaios, / [our] light [enl]ightener, was staying in the [ci[15]ty] of Ktesiphon. Shapur, the king, enquired / after and summoned him. Our master stood / up and went to Shapur the king. Afterwards / [he] returned and came back to his congregation. When he had been a / [sh]ort while sitting down, before delay elapsed, King Sha[20][p]ur enquired af[te]r him another time. He sent, he called f/[o]r him. Again (Mani) returned, he retraced and went to King Shapur. / He spoke with him and proclaimed to him the word of Go/[d]. Again he retu[r]ned and came to the congregation. Also, a third / occasion, King Sh[ap]ur enquired after and called for him; [25] and [he] returned to him once more. /

[T]hen one of his disci[pl]es made a retort, Aurades by name, / [the] son of [Kap]elos. He says to our enlightener: Please, / our master [Manich]aios, give to us two Manis resembling you; / [pass]ing for you! Good, peaceful, and [30] compassionate [...] disciples in righteousness [like] you / [...] one Mani will remain with us as you; / [and the other go to] King [Sha]pur, his [mind] at ease, / [and proclaiming it] to him.

(**184**) W[h]en our enlightener heard these words from that [dis]/ciple, he shook his head. He says to him: Now be[ho/ld], I, a single Mani, came to the worl[d to / p]roclaim in it the word of [God]; and [do] [5] therein the good will that had been ent[rusted to me]. /

Then look, I, one Mani alone, have not been permitted [to] / speak

freely in the world; I [...] / that I find room to fulfill [the good will] / that has been entrusted to me. Ye[t], I have done [the will of the mys[10]ter]y, which I preach in the [living] tru[th]. /

[Fo]r the world loves the darkness; [but] it h[ates / the lig]ht, because its works are evil*[99]. [Still, I, I have travelled] / so that I would do the will of the l[ight, and spr]/ead the truth far and wide, in accord with what the[y entrusted to [15] me]. And, behold, the world bears down on me with [... / ...] upon me with its sects. They give me no place [to prea/ch] therein, and besides I am a single Mani. / I came to the world, and they have not given me time to pre/ach according to my will. They have not accepted me. [20] On the other hand, if we do as [...] as you have spoken / [to us], what might we do then? How were [... / ...]? Rather, this [... / ...] to you, and recount it to [you].

At the time when I sail[ed] / the sea in the ship, I went [...] [25] I found it necessary [...] / the life that is with me in the world [... / ...] I stirred the whole land of India [... / ...] all the people who dwell in it [... / ...] all of them to me, so that they might bear [30] two to three times [...] / in their land according to their heart [... / ...] and the wise man [...] / they {}*[100] [... (**185**) se]t them against me. At that moment I ceased finding l[i]/ght, I ceased speaking freely with the voice that is / of truth, which is entrusted to me.

Now behold, [... / ...] in India. It may act against me in its [... [5] ... and] accept the greater ones and the counsellor[s / and the] satraps and the governors who are found there [... / ... I was] difficult [for] it, it stirred not [... / ...] because they belong to it [... / ...] from all the sinners [... [10] ...] to me. I was more difficult for it than [all] these / [... did not acce]pt me, and it persisted to [... / ...] it. For the world loves [the] dark/ness; [bu]t [it hates] the light, because its wo[rk]s / [are evil.

I crossed] the seas another time. I took [... [15] ...] India. I went up to the land of Pe[rsia. / I le]apt from the sea and went [... / ...] the land of Persia and its ci[ties ...] / in this living truth that is wi[th me ...] to the [li]ght of [... / ...] proclaim [... the] powers and the

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*99 Jn. 3:19 Also 185.12 – 13

*100 ⲥⲱⲱⲛⲉ

[au]thorities [... [20] ... / ...] and the holders of authority [... / en]lightener [...] in the land of Persia [... / b]ody [...] because of this truth that I proclaimed, si/[tt]ing in their midst [...] to one another. S[ee [25] n]ow, [... / ...] in their land [...] to me the power. The Father [... / ...] livi[ng ...] all occasions. The one who [... / to] it [... / ... [30] ... / ...] in the land [... / ...] (**186**) how strong is it? (The land) tolerates the kings and accepts [the / s]atraps and the governors who are ther[e. It] / stirred [amon]g them, it was not defeated in their midst [... / ...] it was not able to accept [the truth that I pro[5]claimed] there. It did not [...

I] / came [out] from the land of Pers[ia]. I went up / [to Me]sene, the city that [... / ...] in this truth that is in me, in [... I / proc]laimed this knowledge; I separated [the light from the darkness and] [10] d[iscriminat]ed life from death, what is go[od from] / what is evil, the righteous person from the sin[ner. I proc]/la[imed] the path of life and the command[ments ... / ...] Yet, when they had heard the voice [of truth and life], / the [rulin]g-power and the swarm of demons [... [15] ...] and the race of mankind [... / ...] under wickedness and hatred, they [... / ... they did not] allow me, [nor] did they / [permit me] to preach [the tr]uth in [tranquill]ity, the way that it / i[s]. See: In [...] [20] for they tolerate the kings, they acce[pt ...] and the / caesars and the satraps a[nd the governors who] are f[ound] / among them. Yet, the truth that I proc[laimed] among [them], / they did not accept it; and [... they did not listen] / to the voice of life that I cried out [among them].

[25] Again, [fr]om that place I came to the land of Babylon, the [ci]/ty of the Assyrians, and walked in [it]. I went in [to] / the [other] cities, and spoke in this truth [of the life that is with] me. I / proclaimed there the word of [truth and li]fe. / With [the voi]ce of the proclamation I se[parated the light from the dark][30]ness there, what is good from [what is evil ... / ...] the powers who are master [over ...] (**187**) their envy to the heart of the kings and the leaders / there. They and the sects of that place, they / [were s]et against me. Even as you yourselves see, they have w[aged] / some great wars [wit]h me. The lawle[ss] judges [5] [took] me, they watched. They and their rulers and the[ir / lea]ders took me in the midst of their land. If as / [...] to me the protection of the

Father, who does [not] hel[p / the lawless]. Yet I, he helps me at [all] times / against his [enemy]. Still, they would not permit me in B[a[10]bylon] a single day to journey in their land. /

S[ee no]w: How great is the land of the Assyrians? / [It is abl]e to tolerate the kings and accept the eparchs / [and the gen]erals and the caesars and the governors / [... i]n it. It did not stir, nor was it [defe]ated before [them [15] ...] but, on the other hand, to me, it stirred and was disquieted [... / ...] It waged against me a multitude of struggles. [Therefore, I] le[ft be/hind me] the Assyrians.

I went to the land of the Medes and Par/thians. At that place I played the harp of wisdom; [I] / spoke in this living truth [th]at is with me. The [whole] land [20] [of] the Medes and the Parthians stirred, it shook [... / ...], to accept the hope of the life that I [proclaimed]. Yet see: How great / is the land of the Medes and the Parthians? Many / [ci]ties are found there. It was able to accept the kings / [an]d the leaders who were there; but, on the other hand, it was not able to acc[25][e]pt the power of my truth. It stirred, it all shook just as / [...]

Then the apostle speaks to that disciple: / Indeed I, a single Mani, came to the world. / All the cities [of the] world stirred, they shook. (The world) did not wi/[sh to] acce[pt m]e; unless I humbled its rebelliousness [30] [...] I have subdued its powers and brought / [...] all that were there. I have planted in it / [...] I have sown this [s]eed of life. I chose (**188**) a few from among the multitude [... / I], one Mani alone, came to the world; and [... / ...] all the powers of the world stirred. A turmoil ar[ose] / before me. And thus, if tw[o] Manis had [come] [5] to the world, what place would be able to tolerate them, or [what land] would / [be able] to accept them?

I, a singl[e] Mani, [d/id] come, and walking on tip-toes [... / ... no] pl[ace] was found for me wherein I could stand [fast ... / ...] on the fullness of my feet, [and walk on [10] the] earth like everyone, and do there [... / ... / ...] all of you, pray to God that he might [... / ... fe]et henceforth, this single Mani, who is [among you / on that d]ay, that [...] will happen [... [15] ...] he might do the will of the living ones [in the] / holy [ch]u[rch]. However, you, blessed are you i[f] / you make yourselves strong in this truth that I have

given to you; so that you may be / [confirmed] in it, in the life which continues for ever and ever. /

Then, [whe]n that disciple had heard these things, he says to [20] the apostle: Blessed am I my master! [I], and all my other brothers / who hear these great things from you, we know that w[e] / all are among the living. And we are alive by your advent t[o] / us! We have found the truth more than all people who are in the wo/rld. Who of us will be able fully to repay you for the good[25]ness that you have done us, our father? Only the Father who se/nt you is sufficient fully to repay you for this / toil. For the recompense that you desire of him, the God who has / sent you, is this: every prayer you entreat of the Father, / may he grant you your prayer and your co[nsolation].

••• 77 •••

(188,30 – 190,10)

/ The Chapter of the Four K[ingdoms]. /

In this lesson Mani takes as his text a saying of Jesus, and develops his own teaching from an analysis of the terminology used by the saviour. To share not only with the righteous elect, but even with catechumens, is a deed beyond any achieved by the greatest kingdoms of this world. It will bring an eternal reward.

It is noteable that this kephalaion speaks of the indwelling Holy Spirit, rather than the to be expected Light Mind (and see 143.24 – 32).

Once again the apostle speaks: There are f[our great kingdoms] / in the world.

[The first is the kingdom (**189**) of] the land of Ba[by]lon and of Persia.

The s[ec/o]nd is the kingdom of the Romans.

The thir[d / is the k]ingdom of the Axumites.

The fourth is the kin/[g]dom of Silis.

These four great kingdoms e[x[5]i]st in the world; there is none that surpasses them. /

Yet, I, I say to you in truth that whoever [will give] / bread and a cup of water*101 to one of my disciples on [account of / the name of G]od, on account of this truth that I have m[an]if[est]/ed; [t]hat one is great before God. [He s]ur10passes these four great kingdoms, which are so g[reat]! / He does more than their armies, because t/hey did not listen to God's truth, nor did they h[el]p / r[ighte]ousness.

Not only this, but whoever will [give] bread / and a cup of water to a catechumen of the [truth, on acc]ount of the 15 name of God and on account of the truth [that is manifest]; / that one is brought near to the [truth. Hi]s end will t[u]/rn to rest for ever.

[Just as the saying] that the [g]ood savi[our] / uttered: W[hoever will give bread and a cup of water] / to one of these least [of the faithfu]l who believe me, on account of the name 20 of a disciple [...] /

Now, [the] savi[our] is callin[g] these saints 'least of the faithful'. / So, I, behold I have proclaimed of the catechumens / [th]at whoever will fellowship with catechumens who are / with the knowledge, and helps them, he surpasses these [ki25n]gdoms that I have counted for you; because all these kingdoms / know not the truth of God. For they {}*102 / the lust of the world and care about livelihood. /

Indeed, due to this, I tell you that these two persons / whom I have named, [the] faithful catechumen and the faithful ri30[ghteous one, are the] ones in wh[om] the Holy Spirit dwells. / [...] he sees [...] Indeed, because of this (**190**) [he] will give them alms and fellowship with them. / [He] gives it for the Holy Spirit that dwells in them. / The Holy Spirit too will give his thanks be[fore] / his true father. And the true father will repa[y] 5 his reward at the last day because of / the Holy Spirit that dwells in these saints./

How great is this truth that I have unveiled for you, / {}*103. Due to this I have told y[ou]: Bless/[ed] are these who will hear and believe [it, and] set their 10 [h]eart upon it with a single mind [...]

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*101 See Mt. 10:42 Also 189.13 – 14.18 – 19
*102 ϐϵϡн
*103 ⲁϯ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ

••• 78 •••

(190,11 - 191,8)

/ Concerning the Four Things over which Peo/ple kill each other. /

The four obsessions of mankind are food, sex, riches, and strife for glory. Unlike faith and truth, all these are mortal.

On[ce aga]in he speaks to his disciples: Th[ere are] f[ou]r major [15] [things] in the world over which a[ll people / on earth kill] each other. /

T[he firs]t thing is [the obsession] of people; in that they would eat / [for the swell]ing of their body [...] /

The [sec]ond is [sexual inter]course; [...] fornication [20] [...] fornication [... men] and wo/men {}*104 in it with each other.

The third / thing is w[ealth; and ...] the useless riches in [which] / they shall pride themselves without [...] from it. /

The fourth is war; and the d[ispu]tes, the {}*105 [25] and the trials that they instigate against each other. / Someone is victor [o]ver another, [wi]th each o[ther] / in tyranny, so that they have received a name in the world. /

All people, they who side with these four major things that [a]/re on every tongue [in the] world [...] [30] they struggle so that they might generate them [... a]/mong them.

However, I say to yo[u ... (**191**) whoever wi]ll accept faith and invite it in together with this ph[ysi]/cian whom I have brought, and he separates the light from the darkness, / the good from the wicked; he remains in [... / ...] in only-begottenness, in godliness and o[b][5]edience. That one surpasses a[ll] people / who run after these four worldly things [...] / For they will not remain with them for ete[rni]/ty; rather they shall leave them behind and die.

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*104 ϐϵϡϦ
*105 ϡϵϭ.ϵ

••• 79 •••

(191,9 – 192,3)

10 *Concerning the Fasting of the Saints.* /

Once more the enlightener speaks to his disciples: The fa/sting that the saints fast by is profit[able] / for [four] great works.

The first work: S[hall] / the holy man punish his body by fasting, [he sub]15dues the entire ruling-power that exists in him. /

The second: This soul that comes in [to] him in the adm[ini]/stration of his food, day by day; it shall be made holy, [cl]/eansed, purified, and w[ash]ed from the adulteration [of] / the darkness that is mixed in with it.

The third: 20 Th[at] person shall make every deed a holy one; / the mystery of [the children] of light [i]n whom there is neither corruption / nor [...] the food, nor wound it. / [Rat]her, they are holy, [there is nothing] in them that defiles, as they li/[ve] in peace.

The fourth: They make a [... 25 ...] the Cross, they restrain their hands from the hand / [... not] destroy the living soul. /

[The] fasting is profitable to the saints for these four great / [wo]rks should they persist; that is if they are constant in th/[em] daily, and cause the body to make all its 30 [memb]ers to fast [with a] holy [fa]st. /

[...] faith. They who have not strength / [to fast d]aily should make their fast (**192**) [on] the lord's day. They too make a contribution [to the wor/ks] and the fasting of the saints by their faith and their / alms.

••• 80 •••

(192,3 – 193,22)

/ The Chapter of the Command [5] *ments of Righteousness. /*

Summary of essential precepts held by the elect and the catechumens; arranged in two sets of two (by three).

The first righteousness of the elect has three parts: to refrain from all sexual activity; to take great care not to harm the light soul trapped everywhere in matter and especially vegetation (the Cross of Light), for instance by plucking fruit; and not to consume meat or alcohol (192.8 – 13). These correspond to the three seals of mouth, hands and breast discussed by Augustine (signacula oris, manuum et sinus, *mor. Manich.* VII, 10; IX, 18); and also referred to in eastern Manichaean texts.

The second: to multiply wisdom, faith and grace.

The first righteousness of the catechumenate: fasting, prayer and almsgiving. The catechumens had to support the elect who could do no labour, farming or cooking.

The second: to give someone to the church; to share in their good works; to construct something. The catechumens were allowed to marry and procreate, but were expected to compensate in this way.

[O]nce more] the enlightener speaks to his disciples: Know [and] / understand that the first righteousness a per[son] / will do to make truly righteous is this: he can embra/[ce] continence and purity. And he can also acquire 'the rest [10] [of the] hands', so that he will keep his hand still before the Cross of Li[gh/t]. The third is purity of the mouth, so that he will / keep his mouth pure of all flesh and blood; and not take any taste / at all of the 'wine' name, nor fermented drink. This is the fir/[st] righteousness. If a person will do it in his bo[15][dy], he is pronounced righteous by all mankind. /

Then, the second righteousness that he should do is this: / He can add to it [...] wisdom and faith so that / [...] from his wisdom he can give wisdom, to every person who will he/ar it from him. And also from his faith he can give faith, [20] [to th]ese who belong to the faith. From hi[s grace] he can give freely / of love, shower it upon them, that he might join them to him. / For, when that one acquires a great riches [...] / in righteousness. By this second godliness / he may cause others to be sent, resembling him in [righteous][25]ness.

Just as this righteous one should fulfill the se/cond and become a perfect elect; so too, / if the catechumen shall be a catechu/men of the faith, he is perfected in two stages. /

The first work of the catechumenate that he [30] does is fasting, prayer, and almsgiving. Now, the fa[stin]/g b[y] which he can fast is [th]is: / he can fast on the [lord]'s day [and rest from the] / deeds of the world. [And] the pra[yer is this]: (**193**) he can pray to the sun and the moon, the great li[ght-givers. The alms]/giving also is this: he can place it [...] / in the holy one, and give it to them in righteous[ness ...] /

[The] second work of the catechumena[te that he] [5] does is this: A person will give a child to the [ch]/urch for the (sake of) righteousness, or his relative [or member] / of the household; or he can rescue someone beset by troub[le; or] / buy a slave, and give him for righteousness. Accordingly, every [go]/od he might do, namely this one whom he gave as a gift [for righ][10]teousness; that catechumen [...] / will share in with them. Thirdly: / A person will build a dwelling or construct some pl[ace]; / so they can become for him a portion of alms in the holy ch[urch]. /

If the catechumen shall ful[fill] [15] these three great works, these three great alm[s that he] / gives as a gift for the h[oly] church [...] / which these alms will achieve. Also, that cate[chu]men / himself, who gave them, he can [... / ...] as he shares in them. The catechumens who will give [...] [20] have great lo[ve ther]ein, and a share of eve[ry] grace / and good in the holy church. They will find many / graces.

••• 81 •••

(193,23 - 196,31)

/ The Chapter of Fasting, for [25] *it engenders a Host of Angels. /*

For the Manichaeans the human body and its digestive processes worked in a very literal way so as to purify the divine light, and thus to discard the evil waste matter. Consequently, as Augustine comments, they believed that they 'breathed forth angels (*Conf.* III.18, IV.1)'.

In this kephalaion one of Mani's disciples, an archegos (leader), recounts how he had joyfully counted the number of angels engendered by the

fasting of the elect in his church. However, for some reason (the relevant passage is fragmentary) he had had a change of heart; and now he asks Mani to release him from this responsibility. He seems to be fearful that he might inadvertently sin. However, Mani encourages him, and points out that this kind of responsible position in the church is very necessary. It brings much more good than the actions of people who are only concerned with their own spiritual edification. Mani charges him to use his abilities for the growth of the church.

[O]nc]e again, it happened one time while the apostle is sitting do[wn] / among the congregation. One of his disciples stood up in front of [him]. / He says to him: I have heard you, my master, saying: / 'Seven angels shall be engendered by the fasting of eac[h 30 on]e of the elect; and not only the elect bu[t / the] catechumens engender them on the lord's d[ay'.

The / work] of fasting is this in summary. Now, I, I have [... / ... have p]assed since I became leader. Fif[ty / elect were with m]e in the church over which I became the head. (**194**) [They stood befo]re me while they fasted every day. / Now, I [took account of the fast]ing that a person performs at these thr/[ee lord's da]ys singly, and I found that each one of these [el/ect] had engendered seven angels by their fasting. So, I 5 [counted the] fasting of the[se] fifty people at the three lo/[rd's da]ys: they totalled three hundred and fifty angels, as seven / [an]gels are reckoned to each one of the elect, who engender / [th]em daily through total fasting. I counted these thr[ee] / lord's days when these fifty people fasted, and [I 10 multi]plied by three. I found: the number of angels en/gendered by them totalled one thousand and fifty, and I / [was grateful] on account of the great profit and go[od] that I had achieved / [on these three] lord's days.

However, I was made to change and beca[me tr]oubled of / [heart]; I had supported [...] this person had committed a sin because of the words [... 15 ...] because of a church, to build [it / ...] to construct it, or because of another necessity / [...] he has sin therein, in these / [...] do I myself sin, I pray, because I command [... / ...] to construct them [...] I shall question myself in my heart 20 [...], saying [...] t[h]u[s / ...] he alone, and he [...] and he [... / ...] and he takes [...] and he [... / ...] them [... / ...] in the presence of God, who will [...] him alone and he supports [.... 25 ...] it is more than [...] my words [...] / the ordinance of their church.

Now I entreat you, my m[aster], / in th[at ...] the worthy thing [...] {obligates}*[106] to restrict me to my own [s/e]lf. Consent and [acquie]sce with *me*, that I may withdraw to pray[er. / ...] that I may walk in the midst of my brothers lik[e] the elders. Perform this grace for me and re[le]ase me from this power / [of] protection of the gods and an[gels]. /

Then, when the apostle had heard [this word of] that [dis]-(**195**)ciple, recounting a[bout ..., he] / performed him this grace.

The apos[tle says to the disciple]: / The saying that you uttered, in th[at ... / ...] by your own mouth! 'I k[n]ow that t[his] is a [go]od thing that is achieved by virtue of these fasts, in which these [h]oly peo[ple] / have fasted on the lord's day'; as i[f] / knowing that this thing is entirely beneficial. Then why do they [ask ex/empt]ion from it? For in these words that you have uttered in my presence / you make [...] as if you had not known anything true; because if you had understood the truth and known [the / be]nefit, your heart would not have come after you to ask exemption from [the go/o]d. If you are [e]ager.

You were not ill to make us say it, nor do you [...] / many times. Truly, if you did know the [tru]e benefit / and found your body ailing, sic[k and] troubled, and you having pain many times, then [... And you] / do not cease from doing the work with which you have been entrusted / the whole time you spend [set] firm in the [body / ...]; as you will go to this great l[and] of rest wi[th the] / children of the living. [And you ent]er with glory and [victory to] what you had set your heart upon. You confirm yourself upon them. Indeed, it [will be / to]ld to you: 'A divine work has come about, [your bo]/dy has been found safe for you [...] there being no blemish nor de[str/uction] nor pain for you'. And after all these things, I wi[ll / ...] you, so that you wish [...] to complete the good, together with that which I have assigned to you.

Now, if you can ask exemption from this matt[er] / and this divine work, are there also others like you / to decline it? Then indeed, all this sort of benefit and / every divine [wo]rk: whoever will do it? For wise people [... / ...] who know the truth, who are

*106 ⲧⲙⲧⲁϩ

like you, shall not att[30]ain the benef}it [...] that you have given them. They will commit this sin [... / ... so]ul. However, I, this is how I have (**196**) [...] elders / [...] you in it, and you do the work that I have proclaimed / [to y]ou [and assig]ned to you, and a benefit co[mes about / i]n your life. Even if others should {strive}*[107] [5] [to] ask exemption [...] do not {strive} / [to a]sk exemption from it. And also, [si]nce thus I am telling / you in truth [...] that greater is the {gl/ory a]nd the victory and the goo[d] of the one who preaches, building / [the] church; than that of the brother who turns [h]is heart in[10]w[ard] and keeps himself to himself, and edifies only himself. /

Ne[vertheless, o]n the matter of the word that [you have] uttered: 'Suppose I have si/[n] at the time when I shall proclaim some word by my [mou/th] concerning building a church or alms' [... / ...] your heart is pained [...] or you are afraid because the person [15] [...] concerning the church's work and the helping of they who / [... as] he commands he edifies by his word, and has no sin / {ther]ein.

However, the person who speaks, commanding / [...] some thing [...] his own need, just as / [...] his [f]lesh [... fo]urteen; or he hastens [20] [...] works that are defil[ed ... / ...] themselves to take his o[wn] care. Therefore, the one who speaks / [...] of this matter, is set utterly in sin. / [...] he is silent and does not proclaim [... / an]y word.

In contrast, you, I assign to you this a[25][lo]ne: Have you power to preach and to build the chu/r[c]h of God, for your toil will be reckoned to your benefit. /

W[he]n that disciple heard these things from the apos[t]/le, he paid homage to him. He says to him: My mast[er], I have received / the word that you have proclaimed to me. I will preach and bu[ild] [30] the church. Only, may your power and glory / aid me! (**197**)

*[107] ⲉⲃⲁⲗⲯⲃⲉⲗ Also 196.5

••• 82 •••

(197,1 - 200, 8)

/ The Chapter of / Righteous [Judgement]. /

A disciple, one of the teachers, asks Mani as to whether righteous anger is a sin or can be justified. The apostle asserts that anger in the service of righteous judgement can be constructive; and he distinguishes it from other kinds of anger that are unacceptable. A strong reprimand can lead to repentance.

Mani uses the analogy of a wise doctor who will on occasion use a cool remedy, and at other times a hot one. These correspond to the two aspects of love and fear; and Mani points out that both of these are revealed in the heavenly sun and the moon. Thus they are able to purify the divine soul that passes through the totality. Therefore, the disciple too is right to use both aspects, in his dealings with the brothers and sisters.

[Onc]e again one among the disciples who [...] [5] apostle. He says to him: I beseech you [that / y]ou may convince me about this lesson, if I may ask you. For [you have to/ld] us that [...] and you give [...] is / [...] their brothers [...] the judgement [... / ...] in accordance with right[eousness ... [10] ...] is [...] a brother or a s[ister]; / and you find, while I speak with them in humility and quietne[ss, t/h]ey themselves [are o]bdurate and do not listen as they r[ush / i]n [...] headlong and reach the end and are lost. / [T]hrough anger, then, I will [...] before [him]. That pe[rson] [15] shall wither and be subdued instantly and come to the place [...] / with righteous judgement.

So, now I b[eseech] / you, my master, that you may instruct me about whether there is [si/n] for me in this anger with which I shall be ang[ry]? W[hy] / do I have sin therein [...] for his benefi[t and I [20] am] in no way ashamed nor am I [...] muzzled [... and / n]ot at all sure about the judgement [...] And because I do not / know if this anger [... with] which I shall be angry, / whether it [...] why what will happen [... / i]t.

Then the apostle speaks [to] [25] that teacher with [words] of sweetness [... / ...] this anger [with] which you shall be angry, you are making in it [a / j]udgement of righteousness [...] difficul[t] people / [...] repentance. Their anger and wickedness and evil-

doing [... / ...] is only a scare and a rebuke; because [... [30] ...] For the anger alone <is> the scare, and when [... / ...] you would censure and upbraid that brother with words [th]at / [sc]are, you are shaming him to good use, so that you might strip him of / [the] obdura[cy ...] in this [... / ... [35] ...] h[i]s heart [... (**198**) ...]

However, you have heard [... / ...] the anger. For this is the anger that lets you find o[cca/sion to] lust after an evil thing with sin [in it. / ...] liste[n] to him [...] and he is ang[ry with [5] a]n anger [...] look at him [... / ...] and he is violent [...] he does not utter constructive [wo/rd]s [...] compose[d] anger; [he is] / angry in his pride and boastful/[n]ess. <They> speak ill in that they would [...] him*[108]. And they do not honour him [as [10] he] is angry and abuses and curses, and wishes to humilia[te / the m]eek, in retaliation and violence against / [h]is ill-treated brothers. He engenders the things that [...] / or else if someone will falter and commit sin [...] / and does not accept judgement. He is angry or he walks in his own [... [15] ...] not of the opinion of his brothers. / [Th]ey reprimand him about it, and he assumes anger and commits an / evil de[e]d in h[i]s anger. This is the evil anger [... / ...] and zeal.

[... c]all it anger. / [...] Whenever you may produce evil or [... [20] ...] two or one [...] becomes obdurate and [not] / listen to you. You see him [...] he humiliates himself, ass[u/m]ing up to now a [...] You understand that they [... / ...] harshness to you [...] them with ha[r]d words, / in cruelty and harshness. And they will not be able to name [i][25]t anger; rather its name is the strong reprimand / that leads to repentance.

For you are lik[e] / a wise doctor, whose hand is sensitive in [... / ...] the wounds that he shall heal are severe [... / ...] sometimes he shall place [on the] wound [a] remedy that is [hot], [30] sometimes a r[emedy that is cool ... (**199**) ...] after the blow. Corresponding to the simi[le ... / ...] this too is how it happens [... / ...] There are some, if he shall take the reb[uke*[109] ... / ...]

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*[108] Perhaps read ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲟϯⲡ(ⲟϯ) [ⲟ]ϯⲱⲡ ⲣ̄ⲫⲗⲁϯⲣⲟⲥ ⲍⲉ ⲉϯⲛⲁ[ ] ⲁⲣⲁϥ, with the last two letters of ⲡⲟϯⲡⲟϯ being assimilated into the beginning of ⲟϯⲱⲡ by homoiteleuton. Cf 202.6 where the scribe wrote ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲟϯⲱ for ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲟϯⲟϯⲱϩ

*[109] Reading ⲉⲡⲁϥⲥⲁ ⲧⲉⲙⲓ[ⲧⲏⲙⲓⲁ] Cf line 6 below, ⲉⲙⲓⲧⲏⲙⲓ[which

Through the hard word [... 5 ... the] blow that shall be cured by the remedy [... / ... of] people if he shall [take the] rebu[ke*110 ... / ...] with the humbling word, just as this [... / ... he]aled by the cool remedy [... / ... the wi]se person is like this underst[anding] doctor [... 10 ... s]peaks to hi[m] as he is subdued corresponding to error [... / ...] in humility. Also, this one who will speak to him [... / ...] he spoke [...] so that [... / ...] they of g[o]dly opinion. And [... / ...] so that he might [... 15 ...] the brother in two aspects [... / ...] love, but the other one with fea[r ... / ...] obduracy in one of his bro[thers / ...] foolishness. He may speak with [tho]se ones with [great] / fear [...] of evil-doing and hate. Fe[ar], however, 20 leads to repenta[nce ...] Yet, this one [... / ...] as even he is [...] he reckons words and what is [...] / in the aspect [...] and he upbraids th[at] brother / until he brings him to re[pentan]ce.

For the light-give[rs that are] / in the heavens shall be revealed with these [two] aspects, 25 in the aspect of love and the aspe[ct of / f]ear. They display these t[wo] aspects / of the powers above that are in the heavens, because of their soul that p[asses] / through the totality. For in these two appearances, the aspect / of love that is beauty and sublimity, together with the other asp30[ect of] confrontation that is in them, they shall purify / [in th]em the powers above.

Also, you too, wheneve[r / you st]and fir[m] in these two aspects, so long as / [...] the truth and the watchful teaching, you [... (**200**) ...] through yourself. They will question you stealthily [about these / an]d other matters, nor will their anger [... / ...] but wherever your heart and your [...] / your treasure will also be for you in th[at] place*111.

[Wh5e]n that teacher heard that lesson, h[e sa]id: / This is truly told, my master [... / ...] told me. I know that he who will reprimand [... / ... tr]uly he has a victory therein.

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should also conceal the same.

*110 See note above.

*111 Mt. 6:21

••• 83 •••

(200,9 - 204,23)

10 *Concerning the Man who is ug[l]y / in his Body, [but] beautiful / [in his Soul]. /*

This chapter begins with a touching story about how Mani publicly embraces one of the elect, despite his deformity, in front of the assembled congregation who are laughing at his ugliness. It is the inner new man, formed by the Light Mind and religious practice, that is of lasting value.

This then leads Mani to develop an extended parable about pearls in their shells (the living soul in the physical body), pearl divers (the apostles), and traders (the sun and the moon). Mani like Jesus frequently used parables for effective teaching, and this motif of the pearl without price has an obvious heritage stemming from the Gospels through early Syriac Christian literature.

However, one distinctive feature of Mani's teaching was his desire to combine religious truths with total scientific knowledge, in order to establish a complete and integrated understanding of the world. Thus this parable begins with a lengthy discourse on the formation of pearls and their shells. While such features are of great historical interest for modern scholars, they did make Manichaeism a rather static religion, its teachings too easily undercut by advances in science.

[Once] again it happened one time, while the apost[l]e is [sitting among / a] great gathering, as some [... be]fore 15 [the] teachers and elders [... / ...] by the leaders and first citi[zens]. Now, he / [is s]itting down in their midst. All of a su[dden] one / of the elect came in to his presence, but no[t ... / ... he] is an elect [... 20 ...] his commandments. He is an ugly [man] in his / [bod]y, having {}*112 [... / ...]*113 in his midriff; but he is perfec[t in] his [h]oly righteousnes[s]. / He is a man who is upright in his truthfulnes[s. /

W]hen he came in, he spread himself on the ground and paid hom[age 25 b]efore the apostle in love. The mass[es o/f] well-born men and free women cast their [ey/e]s about and saw that elect crying o/ut in his joy, exulting loudly and giving praise. When [they] / looked and saw him, ugly of body, havin[g] 30 {}, they

*112 ⲕⲁⲕϩⲁⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲟⲩⲥⲉ Also 200.30
*113 Smagina 1990:122 restores κυρτός 'bent'.

[a]ll mocked him and [sc/of]fed at him. They were speaking to one another a[bout him] / with laughter and scorn [... but the laugh]/ter did not trouble [that] ele[ct. (**201**) He was paying hom]age all the time, giving praise [... / ...] the glorious one stood u[p / from the ju]dgement seat; where he is s[itt]ing. He drew and gathered him [in / to him], and hugged him to his body, kiss[ing] [5] that elect. He sat do[wn / ...]

And [when] he had sat upon his judgement seat [... / ...] with the entire congregation of well-born men a[nd] / free women sitting before him. He says to them: W[h]/y do you laugh at this man, in whom the [Lig]ht Mind [10] and belief dwell? For what reason a[re you / g]aping at a person who is ugly of body [... / ...] in front of you because of the flesh [... / ...] outwardly; yet within great is [... / ...] is like a great [... [15] ...] if he has no worth by his deeds, by [his / p]rayer and fasting and humility. He is like [a] / sharp [k]nife that might devour its [... / ...] its humiliations [...] that you see [... / ...] he destroys [...] and [... [20] ...] while the [o]ld man [... / ...] you [...] he sculpts [... / ...] he is perfect in his limbs [... / ...] a young royal child, who is beautif[ul ... / ...] shape, as the beauty and loveliness is despoiled [... [25] ...] the image that is fixed outwardly [... / ...] and is displayed and unveiled to you. / Its heart would not bear you to laugh at this old man [... / ...] because whoever will laugh at him possess a g[reat / sin] be[f]ore God. For the [saviour] says: [30] [He who sha]res something with these least of the faithful, who [... / ...] their angel sees the face of the Father daily*[114].

(**202**) [...] all heard these words [that the apost/le] uttered about this elect [... / ...] they gazed at him, he [... / ...] and he was in their presence like the [... [5] ...] truth, when its worth is perfected*[115] [... / ...] upon him. When they were settled, they sat [... / w]hile his disciples stand.

They [paid homage, saying] / to him: Tell us, our master, [... / ...] how (pearls) came about and were formed in [the s]e[a [10] ...]

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*[114] Mt. 18:10

*[115] This phrase recurs at 203.16 (see also 201.15), and links the two halves of the kephalaion. Presumably, the ugly elect is compared to a perfect pearl, which then leads the disciples to their question about how such are formed.

+The enlightener says to them:*116+ Pearls shall ar/[ise not] in every place in the sea, nor be formed / [in the s]ea as a whole. Rather, in various places that are in this s/[ea], pearls are formed in them [... / ...] that [sea, in whic]h the [pearls] shall be formed [15] [...] this [... / ...] what the sea shall [... / ...] its fire {blazes}*117 above and comes [down ... / ...] and it makes foam like the drop of water that flows / [...] down in rainwater [... [20] ...] is the water [... / ... d]own first [... / ...] foam and comes down [... / ...] the sweet waters [... / ...] the waters. This drop of water shall [... [25] d]own to the sweet waters and [...] / and they absorbed them and were combined with the [... They did not / d]escend to the depths of the sea, but they [... / ...] it floated on the surface of the waters [... / ...] to it. The foam and the pearl-shell shall be formed [... [30] ...] this wholesome drop [... / ...] it, and it becomes a pe[arl ...] / that makes a drop of rainwater [...] / waters [...] (**203**) it not being whole. It breaks and separates out into [m]any droplets, / and it has time to become a drop of sweet water [...] / and comes up in the sea of [...] rain / [a]nd sweet water; and it is accomodated in the shell, which [5] at first is foam. They shall be joined with each other at [this] / time, and are shaped and become a great pea[rl], / a great and valued kind. When, however, a / drop of rainwater falls, and that drop / breaks into many droplets and various {particles of water}*118, [10] they shall be formed into and be confined in [n]umerous pearls; / in the shell and the pearl-shell. One might [for]/m two pearls, another may form three, / others may form five; some mould more than t/hese, so[me] fewer.

Now, when you might [find a] [15] whole drop, and the shell receives it, it shall become a great and valued [pe]/arl as its worth is perfected. [However], if / these two droplets will have time (to adhere) to one another / before any {water particle} escapes, and they mix with e[ach / o]ther, and the shell [...] before they break into [... [20] ...] within [...] in a great kind [... / ...] the drop of rain, which [... / ...] another one, that [... / ...] the [w]aters form them in [... and] / in a great, valued commodity.

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*116 Corrupt text reads ⲡⲁ]ⲥⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲧ ⲥⲉ

*117 ⲃⲱⲣⲧ

*118 ⲥⲗⲁⲩⲥⲗⲁⲩ unknown word, presumably a reduplicated synonym for ⲧⲗϯⲗⲉ 'droplets'. Also occurs as ⲥⲗⲁⲩ in line 18 below.

Behold, [I, [25] I have] taught you how / sea-pearls shall be formed. I have told you that as a pe/[a]rl shall come into existence by means of rainwater that has [ti]/me to become foam, the pearl-shell shall come into existence by means of the foam, a/nd the foam itself comes into being by means of the transformation*[119] and the [...] [30] of the sea.

Then immediately at the time when [... / ...] the pearl divers know it, they shall [...] and they / [... d]own to those places [and t]hey bring pea(**204**)rls up from the depths of the sea, and / each pearl diver finds according to the fortune that is / [ordai]ned for him. The pearl divers shall [gi]ve them to the traders, and the t/[ra]ders give them to the kings and the nobles.

[5] This is also what the holy church is like. / It shall be gathered in from the living soul, / gathered up and brought to the heights, raised from the s/ea and placed in the flesh of mankind; while the flesh / of mankind itself is like the shell and the pearl-shell.

[10] [The] booty that shall be seized is like the dr[op of / r]ainwater, while the apostles are like the divers. / The traders are the light-givers of the heavens; the kings and no/b[le]s are the aeons of greatness.

[F]o[r a]ll the souls / that ascend in the flesh of [ma]nk[ind] and [15] are freed shall be brought back to the great aeons of light. / A place of rest comes about for them, at that place in the ae/ons of greatness.

You to[o, my] / b[elo]ved ones, struggle in every way so that you will become good pea/rls and be accounted to heaven by the light diver. [20] He will come to you and bring [you] back to [... the] great / chief merchant, and you will rest in the life for e/[ve]r. You have [... / ...] and the light.

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*119 ⲥⲱⲃⲉ

••• 84 •••

(204,24 – 208,10)

[25] *Concerning Wisdom; it is far superior when on the Tongue / than in the Heart of the Person. /*

Mani uses the analogies of a child who is born, and of fire that blazes from wood, to explain why wisdom is superior when it is proclaimed to when it lies silent in the heart.

However, wisdom is not always listened to, nor well-received. In a second speech Mani extends the same two analogies, showing that strangers may reject a child, and the blind can not see the fire.

Once again, on one occasion, one of the disciples sto/od up before the apostle. He questioned him, saying: / I entreat you, my master, that you might instruct me. [30] Behold, when a person will be taught wise wisdom / in his heart, and he seals it in his doctrine, so sh[al]l you find / him rejoicing greatly about it. However, [sh]all his [... / ...] to him, more th[an] when he may proc[laim ...] (**205**) and utter it. He shall be enlightened by it, and [t]hat [wisdom] / shall shine forth the more in him. It is unveil[ed be]/fore him, and through it he assumes power and truth. /

That disciple speaks further before the a[po][5]stle: I understand [...] / that this word I have uttered is correct. I know that the w[i]s/-dom I have been taught is spread through my heart and perfected in [m]y / soul. (However), it is not found like the splendour in me, so that I regard it / [ad]vanced, except when I shall proclaim it [10] by my mouth and utter it to others. Indeed, when / I proclaim it, I am giving it to the ears [of] / others to hear. Would I do these same things, even if I had never heard it / in [my] days of being? Would I desire greatly and [m]y / [h]eart be drawn to the wisdom I now proclaim? [I entreat [15] y]ou, my master, that you might instruct me as to [w/hy] this wisdom becomes more advanced when I / [p]roclaim it, than when it is sealed in my heart.

Then / the apostle [s]peaks to that disciple: Well / [do] you ask! And great is this lesson for which you have sought, [that is] w[20]hence comes my great joy, on account of this wis/dom that I

utter? [...] it is superior in my mouth when / [I] proclaim it than when it is set in m[y heart]. / [Y]ou yourself rejoice in it; and the other one who / [h]ears it from you, he shall rejoice in it, and be enlightened [25] [by] it and receive thereby permanent strength. /

For like this matter, just so a small b/[o]y who is conceived in the belly of his mother. He / [... he] turns in his mother's womb, filling her womb. / [The m]other knows and understands that this child she conceives [30] is alive within her. She rejoices over him until / [the tim]e when she gives birth. And he comes from her alive with his / [limbs whole] and perfect in beauty, without defect, (**206**) [in] the living open air that is more sp/[ac]ious than the first air he was in. / [He] fills his eyes with the light and speaks with his livi[ng] voice / in the way of they who are born.

Now, the time w[5][h]en this woman conceives the child in her belly, / her joy at conceiving him in her womb is not so [ve]ry great as / when she gives birth and sees him; and is full of his / [be]auty and stature in the space of a single moment. / [T]he love and joy over him shall be a hundred [10] [t]imes greater than it was, now that she has given birth and seen him.

For / the first time when she conceived him in her belly, / [h]is beauty and the sight of his eyes was hidden from his m[o/th]er; but when she gave birth to him she saw his beauty. His / s[t]ature and his loveliness came before the e[ye]s of his f[15]athe[r a]nd his mother and all his relatives. They shall rejoic[e] / over him more and more when they look upon him / face to face and see his beauty and delightfulness. /

Just as in this simile, the wisdom that is present [in] / the heart of the person is like the living child who is co[nceived] [20] in the belly of his mother. And when he / is taught and seals it in his heart, it becomes like / the child who shall be born, and they see his beauty. /

So, in this way, the wisdom that the person proclaims, speak[ng] / it from his heart, shall be advanced more and mor[e]. [25] Its enhancement and glory shall double from the time when the bea/-uty and splendour of the saying will be displayed before the eyes [of / t]hey who hear it, and it shall also advance for you [... / ...] your hearing, and you are astonished at what you proclai[m]. /

Once again, the wisdom is like this, while it is hidden in the heart of the person. [Bef]/ore he has uttered it, it is just like [the blaze] / of fire that is hidden in wood. An[d] that wood is [set aflame] / by the blaze of the fire, but the garment of fir[e that exists in] / the wood is not apparent. Indeed, you can see [...] (**207**) wood and they put them in a single house. It is impossible to [put li]/ght to that house as long as the light within [...] / until the time when they are added to the fire, and the light [comes f]/orth from them. It is possible for that entire house [to be] lit by the light of a single piece of wood. /

This is also the case with the wisdom that is in the heart of the person. [It] / is like the fire that is hidden in the wood, as its light is / not [d]isplayed. For its part, the wisdom is like this: its li/ght is hidden and its glory is hidden in the heart; but when the person will proclaim it, its glory shall be displayed be/fore the eyes and the ears of a multitude.

Once / again, for a second time this disciple speaks to the apostle: / So, if the wisdom is like the paradigms / you have taught me, why are there some people who shall hear the word of wisdom and rejoice in it and give glory / to it; when others shall listen to it and neither rejoice / [i]n it nor receive glory amongst them? /

[Beh]old, the apostle speaks to him: I will persuade you and / satisfy you about this belief, so that I teach you with clarity of vision.

For in this respect the wisdom is / like this child about whom I have told you, the one who / [was] born from the woman. Now, when he will be born, / his father and mother and family circle shall / [r]ejoice over him. However, you find others grieving by reason of him, [s]ince they are strangers to him. These are not reckoned among his family. / [They do n]ot rejoice over him, because he is not of their race. /

This is also [the case] with the wisdom. When / it is proclaimed by the mouth of the teacher, these who / are [a]kin to it shall receive it to them and rejoice in it; but [those] who are strangers to it neither rejoice in it / [...] nor receive it to them. /

Just like the light of / [the fire, which I] proclaim[ed] to you, that

shall come from the wood / [and be apparent o]utside before the eyes of every one. (**208**) So, [wh]oever looks shall see the light that has [come / fro]m the wood; but whoever is blind does not see the / [fir]e.

This is also the case with the wisdom, / when it will be proclaimed. The person, in whom is the [5] [Mi]nd, of him is the wisdom. Whenever he may hear it, / he shall receive it in to him; but the one who has no Mind in him is a / stranger to it. He neither receives it in to him, nor shall he listen to [it]. /

When that disciple heard these things, he rejoiced gre/atly. He was persuaded in his heart about what had been proclaimed to him. He made obeisanc[e] [10] and sat down.

••• 85 •••

(208,11 – 213,20)

/ Concerning the Cross of Light: / [...] trample / upon it.

The divine light that is crucified in matter throughout the cosmos, (a universalisation of the christological themes of incarnation and atonement), is symbolised and even personified in a number of figures. The Cross refers principally to that most rich source of light: vegetation and all plant life, where the divine hangs on every tree or bush or herb.

In consequence the elect, who hoped to be saved in this one life rather than suffer reincarnation, were at great pains never to harm the Cross; excepting the necessary pain involved in its liberation through the digestive system of the elect themselves.

In this chapter a disciple is concerned about the inadvertent harm he might do in such situations as when sent on a mission journey, or when himself requested to ask for alms. The elect had to take great care wherever they trod, and it was the catechumens who prepared their diet, offering it as alms to them. Mani is anxious to assert that any tasks undertaken for the building up of the church, and thus for the ultimate salvation of the light, even where short-term pain is inflicted on the living soul, can cause no sin. He was very practical in his role as an apostle, and clearly aware that the divine teaching must not lead to self-defeating passivity in the face of the world. Here he uses the analogy of a good doctor who must first cause pain before healing can be achieved.

[15] Onc[e] again another disciple questioned the apostle, saying / to him: I have heard you, my master, say in the congregation / of

the church, that it is proper for the person to watch / his step while he walks on a path; lest he trample the Cro/ss of Light with his foot, and destroy vegetation. Also, it counts firs[t] [20] for any creeping creature, lest he trample upon it and kill it with his foot. /

However, on occasion the superior, [who commands me], may send me to some foreign coun/t[ry] about a godly matter [...] of the church. / Sometimes, also, a teacher [of the] church where I am, or / some of the foreign brethren, may [ask me] about a portion of al[m][25]s, concerning some food that they need. I know / that what I do is good, as I am obeying the one who commands [me], / who sends me on the road to a foreign country. Again, if I [take] / up the alms and it is brought to the church, the br[others] / and the sisters can take their sufficiency of it. I know and perce[30]ive that I have therein a great success, by this matter. [Never]/theless, I am also afraid lest in any way I commit a sin when [I wa]/lk on the path, as I trample upon the earth, [tre]ading on [the Cro]/ss of Light, and make [...] (**209**) without force in my sole on the path, as I walk o[n it].

[W]/hen the apostle heard these words from that [dis]/ciple, he says to him: You have recounted the lesson [like] / this, and it is well composed. Still, listen, and I may well per[suade] [5] you about it! Now, when you walk on [your] / way about some godly matter, as your command[ing] superior / sends you, you do no sin therein. For y[ou are] not [wa]/lking there about some lustful matter, nor concerning [... / ...] of advantage, wherein is sin; but you make y[our] [10] walkway due to the work of God, as you hasten [... not] / because of your own desire. /

[I]ndeed, I, I tell you (pl.) with a great voice: / Every elect and righteous person who walks on a path / due to the work of God, and though w[al]king upon the ear[th] and though [15] treading with the soles of his feet on the Cross of Light, / he does no sin therein. Rather, a crown and palm-branch is his entire path; / because he walks not by his own desire, / nor hastens about an acquisition a[nd] worthless things, / as he tramples upon the earth and the Cross of Light.

[20] [H]owever, the other person who hastens on the path because of his own lu/st and [...] of his body, as he [...] / his own about an

acquisition and [...] things [...] / a total sin is the walkway of that person, / walking on the path of sin and error.

[...] behold, I have told you (pl.): Any one who, if his teacher will send him, / goes on a path about some godly matter, a total victory / is his path. Still, you (sg.) also recounted this: 'I trample u/[p]on the earth and the Cross of Light, I oppress with my / [sole]'. As you say: 'Perhaps I have therein sin because of [the de]ed'.

Again, do not be afraid even with this; because the / liv[ing soul] is like this. As a person, (**210**) if a disease will take hold of his limbs, and his heart / [is sl]ow, his soul distressed, and he has pain in his di[se/a]se. He seeks after a doctor to cure him, to make him strong of heart. / And he cures, attends to, and gives him health [from] the disease that has risen up against him. So he thinks about this. /

[And] a wise person comes, knowing the formulas proper to a skilled / doctor. If he shall achieve a healing of the one whom he [... / ...] it, he recites over him the formulas that he knows, / and he even tramples with his foot upon all his limbs! That [pe]r-son, who is ill, knows that this person / is trampling upon him so that he might achieve a healing; rather, not do/ing this to him out of some enmity he had / against him beforehand. Instead, all that he does, / he does to hi[m that] he might make a healing of his body. And he expels [the] disease and the pain, trampling upon him / to occasion this benefit. That person, who is ill, he can / bear no anger nor hatred against this doctor, who tramp[les] / upon him. He can not hate him out of enmity, because he kn/ows that he does this to him to his benefit.

However, should someone come and trample upon him in enmity; he may / hate, prevent and not permit him! For he kno/ws that he tramples upon him in enmity; and as he strikes / out of a wanton whim, he piles another illness upon his di[se]/ase.

Again, this too is the case with the living soul; whether in the earth, or in the Cross of Light. Should you walk a[long] / upon it on the path, should you trample the Cross, it may take no reckon[ing] / against you in anger nor wrath. For it knows that

[you] / walk upon it for relief and healing, to proclaim on its behalf. [You] / walk because of it, to reveal its mysteries. Also, the di[str][30]ess of the bones, which you have oppressed, befits not si[n], / but is set towards the victory. As the savi[our] has said: [Where] / your heart is, your treasure also will come to [be there]*[120]. (**211**) Again, because of this nothing will be lost for you du[e to] / the distress of the bones and your toil; rather, it all accumul[ates] / to the relief (of the soul).

Also, as to this other (case) that you have [rec]/ounted: 'The occasion when a teacher would come up to me, or some foreign brethren, [5] and I speak about the alms; perhaps that word / will lead to a wound, and hurt the [Li]ght Cross?' / Again, do not be afraid even in this; because there is a dist/inction between words! For this is not any saying. Rather, the wo/rd that wounds is this: should a person utter a sayi[ng] [10] for the sake of the murder of a person, or the murder of animals, or for [the sake of] / the murder of trees and the Cross of Light, the ly/ing word and the wrathful and the bitter, or a word of en/vy and [...] only, or a word of accusation, which some/one will spread against his brother; this is the [wor]d that wounds [...] [15] Should the person utter it, it befits [si]n; because [he has br]ought forth / from it the demons [...] concerning this / [...] the righteous person, or [...] / all of them, which I have proclaimed, in order that [...] his word to the fet/ter; because anyone who would [...] his word to the [fet]ter. [20] And again, he [...] his coming forth, they will bind him in / the place wherein he has bound his [...]

Nevertheless, so far as [... / ...] word for the [...] not go [...] / nor will they write it [...] wound [...] / word for the release of the soul [...] for the mystery [25] [of its] healing; because the righteous person, who speaks to the nee/[d of the] alms, speaks to its healing and its gathering in. /

[He is li]ke this, a wise doctor who might turn back [... / ...] his disease. As a wound is in his body, he cuts / [...] this person who is ill, in his wisdom, [... [30] ...] he [...] this wound, and he cuts it. After these things / [...] and he places the soluble drugs upon it, so that / [they will be able to diss]olve. He might incise it with the

*[120] Mt. 6:21

iron, and he casts it out (**212**) [f]rom him, with the soluble drugs. And the wound is purified / [fr]om the fever. After these events, he shall place the soothing drugs / [...] and it heals up. That person, who is ill, he shall give / [...] but he shall not [... 5 ...] he [shall not] generate anger in his heart against him; beca/use he knows that he is making the aspect of his benefit and his / heal[ing]. After the cut that he may make, and the cauterizing that he may / do there, he shall even give rewards to the doctor! He gives / his thanks and is a friend to him his whole life through.

10 Again, this is [how] he is like the doctor, namely the elect / person who encourages the alms-giving and gathers it / in, bringing it to the church. Also, the alms / is like the person who is [ill], because the power of the ene/my is mixed in with it [...] it is gathered 15 [...] to the c[h]urch. It will be purified in the image / of the saints. That [alms-giv]ing will not be able to be saved / without toil and pain, because they [... / ...] which they che[w], / as they eat it [...] and other pain. 20 However, there is no other mode for the alms than this, because he / is its gateway to come forth [...] from the world / in affliction.

Similarly, the holy church / that the apostle shall establish in the world. For with/out toil and pain the elect shall not find strength to become free f25rom the world. Rather, only by the consideration of [...] / and that of prayer, and of self-control, and of [...] / and of only-begottenness, and of withdrawal, wo[unds] / and lashings, the discipline of the chains, the [... / ...] At first these things [... 30 ...] and these pains [...] they inherit [...] / for ever and ever. Whoever [...] / he has not rest therein, in the land of the living ones. Again, this / is [also the case] with this living alms-giving. It shall suff[er] (**213**) pain for a while, and an eternal rest [co]/mes to it from the saints.

However, this I command / you, my brothers and my limbs: Let no pers[on] / unleash his hand and strike this living Cross [...] 5 wantonness and gluttony. Rather, be a leader [fo]r (the alms-giving) / by word to the catechumens. For even the word, see, / we utter it as you utter it. Thus (the alms) exist / in great distress, and you should be mindful to eat it. Do / not eat it in wantonness nor dissipation nor revelry 10 nor gluttony. Rather, eat it in great

hunger, and / drink it in great thirst, and take care of your b[o]/dy with it.

Then speaks the apostle to that di/sciple: Behold, you have heard what I have proclaimed to you / about your own longing. You have no s[i]n therein.

15 [W]hen this disciple heard these things, he was persuaded and rejoiced greatly. / He says to him: I give thanks to you my master, for you persuade / us, as to occasion, about everything. You give ease to our heart with / loving-kindness from now [...] by the ears [...] / living will live [...] by your lessons of life 20 [th]at we have heard from you.

••• 86 •••

(213,21 – 216,30)

*/ The Chapter of the Man / who asks: Why [am] I / sometimes at peace, and trou*25 *bled at other times? /*

Mani explains to a disciple that the Light Mind cleanses the soul and makes it a new man, at peace and untroubled. Nevertheless, even such a person still remains prey to disturbances and emotions caused by his star signs. Also, food and drink, being a mixture of light and darkness, can lead either to peace or disturbance depending upon the level of its purity. The positive and living balance of the nourishment becomes greater on account of justified souls who have come into it through transmigration; and thus these ally easily with the light within the person, and he is at peace.

Mani remarks (216.4 - 6) that such justified souls are those who have perfected their deeds, and 'their dues have ceased (ⲁ ⲛⲟⲧⲱⲃϯⲁⲟⲧⲉ ⲱⲥⲛⲉ)'. This sounds very like the Buddhist doctrine of karmic consequences, and may provide important evidence that Mani was substantially rather than just superficially influenced by Indian teachings.

On the problematic question of the 'roots' and 'conduits (ⲁⲓⲣⲙⲉ)' see chapter 48.

[On]ce again a disciple speaks to our enlightener: I beseech you, / [m]y master, that you might explain to me this lesson I would ask you. /

Sometimes [I] am peaceful in my heart, as my consideration / [is constructive], and all my doctrines are ordered and in place. I conduct 30 [...] my wor[k]s, as I utter my words to all people /

[with swe]etness. I am peaceful of heart in the gladness of the Mind. (**214**) Even my body is carefree, and my soul / [rejo]ices in wisdom and true knowledge.

There are also times / when I shall be troubled. My doctrines are confused. Gloom increa/ses with them, and grief and anger and envy and lu[5]st. I am troubled, struggling with all my might that I would sub/due them; not finding the strength of mind to subdue them at that hour nor / day when they surged up in me. And all these evil teachings / and wicked considerations come forth. They have tormented / me. I do not comprehend, because there is no single shape in all these cou[ns][10]els that have entered me. Are they revealed to me, or / ind[eed did] they enter me from outside and have been shaken in to me? I / do not know if they have wakened within me alone, have / re[belled] inside me and set themselves up against me. I do not know / about [th]at. Howe[ver, th]is only I understand: that [15] I shall be ver[y] badly confused in all my doctrines. I shall / do [...] in my [work]s, and you find my word is worthless in / my mouth. I shall not find how [...], and I become a source of trouble and confus[ion] / for my brothers. Even my body rises up against me, and sick[ens] / for that entire day.

Again, there are other times [y][20]ou shall find my heart carefree, as I rejoice and am glad. My wisd[om] / is sweet for me, and the preaching. My heart is drawn to the fas/ting with which I fast. I shall not wish to stop p[raying]. / You find all my doctrines tranquil, while my other thoughts are j[oyful], / my body being carefree. I shall not slacken as I recite psalm[s, and [25] not] stop saying prayers. I am right indulgent [to] / my brothers, because I am governed by the / constructive state.

So now I beseech you, my master, / that you might persuade me about these two matters. I have tested them [in] / my own body, but not comprehending the ma[nner] [30] by which [they] come in to me. /

Then the apostle speaks [thus] to t[he di]sci[ple]: / Well do you ask about this lesson. B[ehold], I [will explain] it [to you]! (**215**) Understand this: The soul that assumes the body, / [w]hen the Light Mind will come to it, shall be purified by the power o[f] /

wisdom and obedience, and it is cleansed and ma[de] / a new man. There is no trouble in (the soul), nor confusion nor [dist][5]urbance.

However, when a disturbance will arise for [him] / and he will be troubled, this disturbance shall go in to him in [...], / first through his birth-signs and his difficult stars that [...] / they turn over him and stir him and trouble him with / lust and anger and depression and grief, as he wi[10]lls. Also, as he wills, the powers of heaven shall trouble him through the[ir] / roots, to which he is attached.

Again, there are times you shall find the [powers / of] heaven are peaceful and tranquil for him, and it comes to [... / a] difficult part comes into him by the nourishment that he has eaten, / or else indeed in some [...] or in the water that they have drunk. [15] Again, trouble and confusion and anger [will] increase in him, a[nd / l]ust multiplies upon him together with depression and grief; becau/se of the nourishment of the bread he has eaten and the water he has drunk, / which are full of bothersome parts, a vengeful counsel. They shall / enter his body, [mixed in] with these foods, and they [20] even become joined in with the wicked parts of the body and / the sin that is in him; transferring the anger and the lust and / the depression and the grief, these wicked thoughts of the body. /

Now, [beh]old, I have explained to you that should you be troubled [... / ...] them through the c[ondui]ts and the r[oot]s of they above [... [25] ... the f]ood that comes in to you.

There are times, however, / [if] you shall find that the nourishment that comes into you is pure [... / ...], so it is greater in light and life w[hile the / wast]e is less in it, and the evil-doing is diminished [f/rom it]. Even the atmosphere above is still, being purified through the [... [30] ...] also the image is calmed from [... / ...] increases in you through (**216**) [th]ose good parts of the food that come i/[n] to you. And they find you at ease and tranquil, as you are / well gover[n]ed in your abodes because of / [the] living [p]art, which is greater on account of the light of these [ju]stified souls [5] that are in it. The ones that have perfected their deed/[s]. Their dues have ceased, while their soul is carefree / [...] they have been allied with these living souls that / [are p]resent in

you. Due to this you shall find them in you, / [c]alm in tranquillity, and they come from you without tro[1]•[uble; a]nd you are found flourishing of body. Even your de/[eds] are determined, being well constructed after their manner, and your doct/[rines are in] order, as your words [...] your soul is ca[re]/free within you, ascending like a bird. /

Behol[d, I have] explained to you the determination of this lesson for which you [15] asked: Whe[nce] come [th]ese bad counsels and considerations / in to you, these vengeful thoughts that trou[bl]/e; and also whence come in to you these good counsels / and sweet doctrines, when your Mind is cal/med for you. I have told you that when [your bo]dy*[121] is troubled, you [20] shall be troubled by the conduits of they below, the difficult parts / that come in to you by fo[od and the] act of eating. Aga[in], when / the conduits above are calmed from you, even your fo/od that has come in to you is clear and pure. Your heart shall be found / ordered in its place, your counsels at peace from disturb[ance].

[25] Then, when that disciple had heard these things, he glorified [... / ...] the apostle. He says to him: You are glorious and bless[ed]! / The living [...] that came from you have been added to us. We [... / ... b]elieve you. For everything that we ask of you, you [per/suade] us about it with sweetness; you [... [30]• ... the so]uls.

••• 87 •••

(216,31 – 218,32)

/ Concerning the Alms, that [...] / life in the Church. /

Although all the sects of the world may make offerings of alms in the name of God, it is only the holy church of the elect that can purify the light. Thus the elect are the only means for its release; and they themselves depend wholly upon the catechumens, who give the alms.

Mani compares the catechumens to good earth in which the good tree of the elect can grow. Similarly, the living soul can only ascend to rest through the sun and the moon, and again these light-givers will only rest in the land of light. So, too, both the elect and the catechumens will finally find rest in the land of light.

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*121 Reading ⲡⲥⲁⲗ [ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱ]ⲙⲁ

Once [again, it] h[appened one time. The enlightener sat] (**217**) in the midst of the congregation. He says to his disciples: / All these alms are donated in the world because of the / name of God; that is every sect overall (uses) his name. / Their catechumens give them in the name of [5] God. Everywhere these alms will be received for him they are accompanied / by sorrow and affliction and wickedness. [There is no] / rest nor open door that they can come out by and find an / opportunity to go to the God in whose name they were given; ex/[ce]pt only the holy church wherein the com[m][10]andments of alms are established, thro[ugh which] they fulfil / the will of the exalted one.

Now, the holy church / exists in two forms: in the brothers and / the sisters. Indeed, when these alms reach the holy / c[h]urch, they shall be [redee]med through it and purified and r[15]est therein. They shall come from it and [go] to the / God of truth in whose name they were given. / Thus it is this holy church itself that is the place of re[st] / for all those alms that shall rest therein; / and it becomes a doorway for them and a conveyance to that land [20] of rest. Also, the holy church / has no place of rest in this entire world exce/pt for through the catechumens who listen to it, as [...] / only with the catechumens who give it rest. For / [it]s honour is with the catechumens, through whom it shall be pass[25][ed on].

What does the assembly of catechu/[me]ns resemble? It is like good earth / [...] in which the gardener shall plant a good tree. [Beho]ld, / [th]at good tree transforms the power and the [... / ...] of all earth, and it produces good fruit. [30] [Th]at [gardener] sets at ease the tree of life, and he r/[ests himself].

This too is the case with the [holy] chu/[rch]. It is like a good tree. (**218**) The assembly of the catechumens is li/ke this good earth that shall receive the good seed. / See how large is the assembly of the cate/chumens! For it is like good earth, since i[5]t also shall receive to it the holy church. / It shall provide for it, and give it rest from all its deeds / and sufferings. It shall become a place of rest for it, / [s]ince (the church) rests in it everywhere. The place wher[e]/in there are no catechumens does not have the ho[ly] church [10] resting there.

Likewise this [liv]ing sou[l] / that today is set in mixture; for it wishes / to [as]cend and go to the house of its people, but it kn/ow[s a]nd understands that it has no open door in all the powers / of heaven and earth. For they are its oppression that [...] it everywhere. Indeed, it has no open door / except the sun and the moon themselves, the light-givers of the heavens [... / ...] they become the place of rest for it. And they become a door that opens for it / [in] the coming forth, and (the soul) comes out through them to the country of the household of i[ts] / people. Again, further in, also the light-givers of the heavens have no place of rest amongst all the powers of heaven; except for the lan[d] / of light, that has indeed been theirs for ever.

So, thus / the living soul is purified of all afflictions; / and they provide a rest for it, and open a door that opens to the house [of] / its people.

Also, it is the case that the land of lig[25]ht will become the final receiver for the light-givers of [the] / heavens, and they will rest themselves therein and rule in it [for] / ever.

Again, this is how the [ho]ly church / shall become the place of rest for the alms of the cat[e]/chumens; and the catechumens themselves become the [30] place of rest for the holy church. Nevertheless, both the former and the [latter], / the place of rest wherein they will be at peace [is the land] / of light. (**219**)

••• 88 •••

(219,1 – 221,17)

/ Concerning the Catechumen who found / fault with the Elect: why he is angry. /

Mani castigates a catechumen for finding fault with the elect, though they are sometimes angry, and do not always behave righteously. He compares the elect to a sweet scented and spice-bearing tree. Certainly, its branches may give off acrid smoke when burnt. Nevertheless, the tree is not cut down; but rather, it is carefully cultivated for the good things it produces. Similarly, the elect are placed in an evil material body; and this may cause them to be angry. The catechumen should know about the mystery of the two essences. Mani points out that the elect do not blame him for his frailty, for

living in the world. Rather, they love him, and seek always to help him. So, too, this catechumen should always look to what is constructive.

Once again, it happened one time. A catechumen stood before my master, the apostle. He says to him: / If when I see a righteous one being angry and resentful as he quar/rels with his friend, turning his anger on him a[nd utterin]/g ugly words, not giving in to him; [at that] / moment when I see them arguing with each other [... ...] it is obvious that they are not righteous, / [...] and it is obvious that they are not established in the truth / of [...] condemn them. Directly I shall find fault, s[a]ying: / If these are righteous, why are they / angry? For what reason do they quarrel with each other? Why would one abuse another, as if they had nothing in the un/iverse on which they stand firm? /

Then our enlightener spea[ks] to tha[t] catechumen: / The [saying] that you have uttered is not a constructive saying. You [do] not re/peat it well. Do not be [in]structed by foolishness [...] that it comes to be in you. Rather, know and understand / what you see [...] is clear to you, that these / [...] it shall produce oil [...]-plants. Its aro/ma, and the spices that [shall come] from it, is made use of / by kings and [...] Just as this tree that produces sc[ente]d oil: If a person plucks a bough / and cuts a branch off it and puts it on the fire, / it shall give off abundant smoke / [...] separate from it; but no person [... / ...] this scented oil that has come from it should give perfume to the smoke and ash, and they take an axe / [...] and destroy the entire tree! Rather, they shall make the other / [...] the cultivator of that tree and they nurture it b/[ecause of the s]c[en]t that shall come from it. /

This [is also the case] with the elect. [They are] gods (**220**) as they stand firm in the image of the gods. The divinity / that is planted in them came to them from the heights and / [dw]elt in them. They have done the will of the greatness. /

F[urther], when they will be troubled and angry and resentful, [they] curse each other. However, do not you be troubled in yo/ur heart. You know, once and for all, they are established in a bo/dy that is not their own, hating the flesh of sin that makes the oth[er] / dwell in a foreign land. Due to this they shall be angry, / and say and utter hard words to each others' faces. Still, when you

might see them / angry and wrathful, do not doubly criticise them; do not / speak against them; do not reject them in your heart; / and do not distance yourself from them. Do not ask why th/ey are angry or why quarrelling would aris[e] [15] be[tw]een them. For you have known the mystery of the t[w]o essences, / you have understood that [wha]t is good and what is evil dwell in / every person. You have also understood that the saints bear a great bur/den on their shoulders. So, inasmuch as you have known / all these things, it [is n]ot constructive [to] utter words like this about [20] the saint. For you [your]self have unde[rstood] that they carry / a great burden, they are establis[hed in] the body that is not the/ir own.

Understand also this other [point]: You st/and in sin constantly! You spend your lifetime in eat/ing and drinking, in lusting after women, gold [and] [25] silver. Your hands are always free to beat the Cro/ss of Light. Behold, you are stuck in all these sins. / The saints watch you as you commit them. Neverthe[less], / they neither mock you nor hate you. Nor are they distant / to you. Nor shall they say, 'Inasmuch as he sins like this, I [30] will not be his teacher'. Rather, they shall accept [you] / in love and sweetness; they shall speak wit[h you] / in the wisdom of God, teaching you as you [... / ...] your dissipations and your deeds [...] (**221**) that are sins, and they perform for you all these charities. / They say to you: 'You are our brother. You / are one of our congregation, a companion who will journey with us to the land / of light'.

Behold now, you see how great is the love [5] that they have for you! They bear with you as a friend. / For your part, this is told to you so that you may love / and honour them. Do not speak against them when / you may see something disgraceful among them, being wrathful / with each other.

Then, when the apostle had utt[10]ered these words to that catechumen, he was persuaded / in his heart. He says to him, weeping: Forgive me / my sins, for I have truly understood, my master, about all these things / that you have taught me. For when quarr/elling will arise among the saints [... [15] ...] because the old man too dwells in their [b]ody; / and due to this they shall take offence [... and] / they {dispute}*[122] with one another.

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*[122] ⲗⲉⲥⲗⲉⲥ

••• 89 •••

(221,18 – 223,16)

/ The Chapter of the Nazo[20]rean who questions the Teacher. /

A member of one of the Jewish-Christian sects seeks to trap Mani by asking him whether his God is good or evil. Presumably he was expected to answer along the lines of Marcionite dualism, with its rather naive division of moral attributes, wherein the good God is wholly loving and merciful without any judgemental qualities. However, in marked contrast, Mani replies that God is a judge. He then explains that while a judge is responsible for the administration of justice, any harm that befalls a sinner he brings upon his own head. Equally the righteous have nothing to fear, for they will receive their reward.

Once again, it happened one time, a Nazorean came before / the apostle. He says to him, I will ask you one wo/rd! You, for your part, persuade me with a single word; / but not many words.

The apostle speaks to him: [25] So, [if] you are able to utter to me a single word, then I / [my]self will also utter to you a single word. However, if / you may ask many, then again I too will proclaim to you / a multitude!

That Nazorean says to the a/postle: Your God, to whom you pray, as you believe in him, [30] is he good or evil?

Then says the apo/[stle] to that Nazorean: So, pay attention, / [see you have] not [asked] a single word; but you have asked a / [mass of words! Then] the apostle says to him: A (**222**) [ju]dge is my God.

And then also that Nazo/rean says to him: Yet I see that there is no city / judge not wont to do evil! For everywhere that a ju/[d]ge is, there are lashes, should he strike people [5] with them. There are racks, should he punish them o/n them. There are neck chains at his disposal, should he cast them upon them. / Also the sword, that he should put them to death by it. The judge shall / do all these things in the city, but all of them are wickednesses. / Look now, you see that the judge is an evil-doer!

[10] The apostle, in turn, speaks to him: The judge is / not a man of

wickedness, but rather the work counteracts wickednes[s], / limiting the evil. Nevertheless, what you have recounted is that the jud/ge shall go and punish, kill and slay. He acts / like this that he might annul the evil and impede [15] the wickedness in the pe[rs]on; and lay it upon the head of the sinn/er.

At any rate, pay attention to this: You shall find a great / many people, free and good, are before the / judge's seat; and he shall not sin against them, [n]or shall he / ruffle their clothing! Also, he shall not cause them reason to fear [so] [20] l[o]ng as they have not sinned. For his part, he shall not err against these / among them. However, the occasion when, if someone will do some wicked/ness, and the ones whom he has sinned against catch him, and they seize and bring [him] / before the judge; he shall indeed bring his sin and his wi[ck]edn[ess] / upon his own head. Now look and see: [25] The evil shall not come about from the judge, nor shall they call / him 'sinner'; rather the one who does the wickedness, [he] shall / set his wickedness upon his own head. Al[so], he who has done / what is right and beneficial; again, he shall be paid recomp[en]/se for the goodness that he has done.

Again, th[is] also [i]s the way [30] of God. And he too is a judge of souls. [Should they] / obey the devil and do this that is evi[l; should they not be won] / over to the truth and the knowledge that are in [...] (**223**) wickedness [...] and he condemns them by their works. / He shall not accept them at their last, rather they shall be made a portion of the d[ev]/il whom they have loved. Even as the saviour has said: [Whe]/re your (pl.) heart is, your treasure will co[me to be] [5] there*[123]. Thus these souls too, according to [their heart] / and according to their treasure, which they have placed before the dev[il, they will] / count to his portion. Nevertheless, God has not done anything that is ev[il to] them, / rather they to themselves. It is their own deeds th/at shall condemn them and cast them in the gehenna of burning. [10] On the other hand, these who are people of good deeds acc/ord to their goodness. He shall recompense them the goodness, / and give to them the kingdom of lig/h[t], and make them heirs in life eter[n]al. /

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*[123] Mt. 6:21

Beh[o]ld now, you see God, that [he] too [is a jud]ge. [15] He shall not do what is evil; but rather as he limits the evil, he takes / it away.

••• 90 •••

(223,17 – 228,4)

/ Concerning the Fifteen Paths; and whether the Ca/techumen would have avoided causing his [20] Wealth to go on the Three Paths to Gehenna. /

In Manichaean teaching each soul, at death, is faced with three possible futures (e.g. see chapter 92): eternal salvation for the elect; eternal damnation for hardened sinners; or rebirth for the catechumens. In this chapter further intricacies become apparent, for there are in fact fifteen possible pathways: four to life; three to hell; and eight to transmigration.

The kephalaion is concerned with a question posed by one of the elect. Given that each soul follows the direction or the pathways of a person's actions in life (their 'wealth'), how can catechumens avoid the damnation caused by their deeds prior to conversion?

Mani's answer evidences a firmly deterministic view of salvation. Each apostle elects his entire church before becoming incarnated in the world, freeing the heavenly forms of each member before they are even born (see also chapter 1). Thus the catechumens are marked out before conversion, and angels waylay their deeds that would otherwise have drawn them to hell, so as to purify them through transmigration. When then the catechumen later converts, these deeds have been cleansed and are ready to travel to the moon, and thus along the path to life, together with the first good deeds resulting from conversion. This is an especial grace (226.10).

In the final section (226.28 – 227.26) Mani uses an extended analogy to show that a persons deeds may precede, accompany, or even follow after an individual soul's own ascent to salvation. As in chapter 86 these teachings appear to be influenced by the Buddhist doctrine of karmic consequences, although thoroughly integrated into Mani's system.

The following chapters are also concerned with transmigration, again evidencing a redaction history to the *Kephalaia*.

Once again, an elect stood up before the apost/le. He says to him: I beseech you, my master, that you might instru/ct me and persuade my heart about this lesson I would require of you. / For we have heard thus from you: 'Fifteen pat[25]hs are drawn out in the zone. Four paths are pure and belong / [to the] light, leading up to life. Eight other paths are / [mixed], leading above from that place. The light shall go / [u]p and become free through them; be

purified and go in / [to the] ships. However, the waste is separated and thrown [30] [dow]n to transmigr[a]tion and the other three paths of / [waste ...] discharged to the gehennas'.

You have explained / [that the three] paths that belong to waste, the ones that are drawn to the gehennas, (**224**) [a]re drawn from the fleshes. O[n]e of them is the appetite for / [lawl]essness, that of people and of all flesh. The second is the / [...] all bodies, which is slaughter, [with] which / all flesh is consumed. The third is the damaging action*[124], which [5] [...] the Cross of Light and every body; together with the / r[est] of the error and the blasphemy that wounds the gods. /

Th[ese th]ree paths have you taught us, that they lead to the gehennas. / And you have also [told] us that every person shall follow after hi[s] / de[e]ds, whether to life or indeed to death.

Now, I beseech [10] y[ou], my master, that you might speak with me and explain / the lesson of the catechumen. How does his end come o/ut? For from the first, before / he rec[eives] the faith of God, these three paths draw him / on. [The a]ppetite in h[is] bones; the appetite of his fornication; and [15] the damaging action that comes from the wounding. So then, is his / richness drawn (to gehenna)?

From the first, before he becomes a ca/techumen, do these three paths lead to transmig/ration, they of the gehennas? If indeed they are drawn to gehenna. Then, / does he entirely go following after his limbs to bondage? [20] If indeed this will happen thus, as according to me, it is very difficult / for him to live. For there are a multitude of catechume/ns set in the world, walking in err/or and derangement, before they receive the faith of / God. To where will their end come?

[25] Then the apostle speaks to that elect: You have [ask]/ed well for a great lesson! I am the one who will en[li]/ghten you and reveal to you how (it) [is]. /

Now, this is how it is for you to understand (about) the souls of the [ele]/ct and the catechumens that shall receive the hop[e of] [30]

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*124 Lit. 'word'. Also 224.15

God and enter the land of the living. / So that their forms could be chosen in the heights: before / he is born in this human flesh and befo[re the a]/postle is manifested in the flesh, still abid[ing ...] (**225**) he shall choose the forms of his entire church and make th[em] / free, whether of the elect or of the catechume[ns]. / Now, when he chooses the forms of the elect and [the] / catechumens, and makes them free from abov[e], [5] afterwards he shall come down immediately and choose them. /

Now, when he comes and finds them amongst various sects [and] / heresies, he shall choose them by his light word. / And when he chooses them and makes them free from the error of / the sects, even all their deeds that occur in madness [10] come to him through transmigration. The angels shall / guide them to the places wherein they will be purified; becau/se, each catechumen, none of his de[ed]s shall / go to the gehennas, on account of the seal of the faith and the k/nowledge that is stamped to his soul.

Like a royal horse, [15] stamped with the seal of the king, that some person will stealthily muzzle / and take in to his house on account of the mark that is / upon it!

This is also the case with the catechumen, / stamped with the mark of the faith and its / seal of truth. The deeds that he was doing from the [20] first times, none of them went to the gehennas on account of / his form that was chosen from the start, being established a/bove in the heights. For it too, his form, / shall have pity upon him. It shall not leave his deeds to their error. / Just like his latter works that he shall do, for they shall not go [25] [to] the gehennas, on account of his faith. Just so is it also with these / former works that he did, as his form is / first chosen in the heights. They too shall not be lost. /

[Rat]her, they shall be drawn only to the transmigrations and suffering. / [Afterw]ards they come into the h[an]ds of the angels and are purified. [30] [...] you know this, that when they only shall [... / ... p]erson in to the truth, and he receives the knowledge and (**226**) [the] faith; and he begins to fast and he prays and he does g/[oo]d. At that moment, these new deeds that he has done, / [the] fasting by which he has fasted and the prayer he has prayed / and the alms he has given to the saints, all

these shall [...] and nullifier of his first deeds in e[very] place / wherein they will be found. /

Happen you know that from the first day when he left the former / error behind, wherein he was, and he received the right hand / of [p]eace and trusted and became established in the rank of the true catechumenate; at that moment he can receive this grace / and so believe! These first fasts that he has made / sha[ll g]o up [and] be received in, in the light ship / of the night. An indication sha[ll be given] there. Immediately all his / first deeds, that he did before he received the knowledge, shall be freed from every place wherein they are / [bou]nd and snared. They shall loosen their bond and asce/n[d] from heaven and earth, from the trees and the fleshes. / They are loosened from every place wherein they are and go / to the heights with this first fasting and this first prayer; the principal of all his deeds. For it is / the holy sign of his liberation, and cause for / the departure of all his deeds; the former and the latter. /

For his deeds shall not continue outside, awaiting him in e[a]/ch place, until he comes out from the body and frees them al[l] and sends them to the heights. That catechume/n has the ability to free all his deeds / by his own hand, while being in his body. /

Now this matter is like this, the way [som]eone / might dwell at a city, while his enti[re] following [is present] in the cities and the dwellings and the villages [of the country]. (**227**) As long as, overall, the king is living in t[hat] place, / you shall find his entire host living in those [dwelli]ngs / that surround it. Also, whenever he may [give ... / ...] the sign for departure to the country, when he wishes [...] to it, an indication is given by him to his entire follow[ing] / so that he might set out on the road and depart [...] / each [pl]ace wherein it is. And he goes to the place where it i[s]. /

So, there are some among his expedition who shall travel before / him and be prior to him. And there are others am[ong t]hem who shall wait for him and travel with him. They depart [at] / his departure. Also, there are others among them who / shall come after him, travelling behind him. They continue / [very] many days and months travelling until they arrive. /

His entire following shall not depart a[t] a [15] single time; but someone shall go first / and another after him, while others shall d/epart with him.

This is also what the ca/techumen is like, with his deeds. / There are some among his limbs and his deeds shall be puri[20]fied while he is set in the body. They are cleansed in / [the] firmaments of the heavens and go before him. / [Th]ere are some also among his*[125] limbs shall be freed wi/[t]h him, at the time when he comes out from / [h]is body. There are others shall be freed [25] [af]ter him from the bonds of the earth and that of the creatures. / [They] go and reach him in the land of the living. /

[Behold], I have instructed you about the catechumen / [and ab]out his l[im]bs, about his other deeds that [... / ... b]y him. Nor also will one be lost, (**228**) [as] the angels hasten [...] He is healed, so that / he [will be ga]thered in, all of him, and go up to the land of the living. / [He] goes and rests himself upon his hope; upon his / good [deed]s that he has done.

••• 91 •••

(228,5 – 234,23)

/ Also concerning the Catechumen; / shall he be saved in a single Body? /

This chapter is concerned with the religious practices and sins of the catechumens. Normally, catechumens would expect to be reborn, on account of their sins, before they could be saved. As the Manichaean laity they lived within the world, marrying and working; but hoping to accumulate enough merit from their fasts and prayers, and service of the elect through almsgiving, to perhaps become an elect themselves in their next life and thus be saved.

228.8 – 230.30 Mani begins the chapter by explaining that it is possible for catechumens not to need to be reborn; essentially by practising perfection and whole hearted devotion to the church, almost as if they were one of the elect. Such catechumens will receive their final purification during their ascent through the heavens; just as the light in the fruit or vegetables offered to the elect is finally cleansed through their digestive systems.

231.12 – 233.1 Mani then turns to the question of prior sins. Those that believers have committed before entering the church are totally forgiven, so

*125 Read ⲛⲉϥ for ⲛⲉⲧ

long as they persist in the faith. However, if they return to error they will be punished in respect of all their sins, both from before and afterwards.

233.1 – 234.20 As regards the life of a catechumen: Mani explains that if they carefully observe all their due practices over the religious year, the merit from these will be equal to the sin committed during the remainder of a normal catechumen's year. Furthermore, the catechumen will be absolved of four fifths of the sin by the protection of the church, and by their own faith and gnosis. Nevertheless, they will need to be punished and purified for the remainder. Mani finishes with encouragement for the rewards of the catechumenate; tempered by warnings against back-sliding.

Once again that elect speaks to this apostle: I / heard you, my master, saying that there is a catechum[10]e[n who] shall not enter a body other than this one alone; but wh/e[n] he comes out from his body, his s[oul] shall [... / ...] in the firmaments above, and he travels to the place / of r[es]t.

Now I beseech you, my master, that you might / instruct me about the works of that catechumen [15] who does not enter another body. What are or is / his archetype? Or what is his sign, so that I will und/erstand it and can instruct my other brothers. For they would proclaim i/t to the catechumens, in order that they would be exalted by / that, and ascend in peace to the good.

[20] Then the apostle says to him: I am the one who will instr[u]/ct you about the deeds of those catechumens o/f the faith who do not enter (another) body. The sign of that perfect ca/techumen is this: You shall find the / woman in the house with him, and beside him she is like these strange[rs]. [25] His house, in his reckoning, shall be like these lodg[ing] houses. / He says: I am living in a house for rent by da/ys and months. His brothers and his relativ[es] / shall be, in his reckoning, necessary as foreign people who take up with hi[m], / while travelling on the road with him. He [...] [30] they will separate from him, and each on[e ...] may [...] / the gold and the silver and the utensils of the [...] (**229**) house. To him, they shall be like borrowed vessels; [he] / takes them, is served by them, and afterwards gives th[em to] / their owner. He does not set his trust on them, nor his tre[asu]re*[126]. / He has withdrawn his consideration from the world and set his [5] he[art] on the holy church. Always his conside[ration] / is placed with God.

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*[126] Mt. 6:21 Also 234.9

Whoever transcends all these things, / in [wh]om there is solicitude and concern and love for the saints, / c[are]s about the church as for h[is] house. / Directly, even more than his house. He has placed all his treasure in the e[l][10]ect men and women. For this is what [the] saviour / put in the mouth of his apostle: From today / on, let these who have wives be like they who do not have them; / these who buy be as if they do not buy; these who rejoice be as if they do not rejoice; / these who weep be as if they do not weep; these who [make] a profit in this world [15] be not in wantonness*[127].

These things that [...] / proclaimed were proclaimed about these perfect catechumens / who shall be released from this one body and go / to the heights. They are like the elect in their constitution. / This is the sign of those catechumens who [20] shall not enter (another) body.

Again, there are others who master / self-control and have even [kept the flesh] of every animal away from / their mouths. They are eager for fasting and prayer each / day; helping the church with what has come into their hands / [i]n alms. The potential for evil-doing is dead within them. [25] [...] that is to say, they set foot in the church more than in / their [ho]use. Their heart is with it at all times. Their sitting down and / [s]ta[nd]ing up is like that of the elect. They have stripped / [a]ll / worldly th[i]n[gs] from their heart. [Now, th]at person, / the Mind that is in the holy church [30] [...] at every [m]oment, and its gifts and / [its ...] and its honours and graces that benefit (**230**) [h]is life. It steers them to the holy church, / also to these who sh[all] come in to the church, whether / h[i]s children or his wife, or a relative / of his. He shall rejoice over those the more; and love [5] th[em, as] he shall set all his treasure upon them. /

Beho[ld], this is the sign and the archetype of these catechume/ns who shall not enter (another) body. Just like the good pearl, / about which I have written for you in the *Treasure of Life* / and which is beyond price. This is also how [10] these catechumens are, these catechum/ens who shall not enter (another) body. /

When, however, they come f/orth from their body, they travel on

*[127] 1 Cor. 7:29 – 31

their way and pass by / in the place above, and go in to the life. / They shall be [pu]rified in the heavens, and they are plucked just as a fruit [15] that ripens is plucked from the tree. In just the same way, this al/ms-offering that passes over to the elect is given likeness / in many forms. It is purified and goes in / to the land of the living. Similarly, the soul/s of the catechumens who shall not enter (another) body resemble (the alms).

[20] However, as for the rest of all the catechume/ns, I have written down in the *Treasure of Life* / how they shall be released and purified; each one of t/hem in accordance with his deeds and his contribution to the chur/ch. This is also how his ascent contribut[es] [25] to him his healing and cleansing. /

Therefore, because of this, it is right for the catechumen to pray at / all times for repentance and the forgiveness of sins from Go/d and the holy church; due to his sins, the [first] / and the last. For his deeds will be collected tog[ether, the] [30] first and the last, and be added to his account.

(**231**) [Th]en, when his disciples had heard these lessons fro[m him], / they praised him and gave glory to him with great blessings. They / [sa]y to him: Blessed are you, our father, and you are glorious! Bless[ed] / is the hope that awaits us through you, for great is th[is th][5]ing that you have bestowed the souls. Indeed, you have rev[ealed] / to the e[lect] the works and the commandments of the e[lec]t state, / in which they will live. Further, the catechumens / were not abandoned by you. Rather, you have taught them every / step and stair and rung so that they would climb u[10]p by them to the good. Each one of them in accordance with his [potential], and / they attain the country of the living. /

Now, again, we beseech you, our master, that you might continue a/nd recount to us about this lesson that [...] him; and instru/ct us concerning the person who shall [...] [15] and come into the church [...] are elect [and] / catechumens. The first sins that they have committed [in] the wo/rld, before they became disciples, what happens to them? For / some of them worship idols first, making obeisance / and holding in reverence [...] also others among them were firmly [20] set in the teaching of the sects, blaspheming God. / They even profaned the light-givers that are in the

heavens. Again, som[e] / of them have committed other sins [... / ... m]urder or a sin committing adultery or [... / a]nd a sin of magic or a [...] of fal[se] witness. [25] [The] other one [...] these in the evil deeds of the wo[rl]d, / if a perso[n] ha[s walked] in them first. Now, when / [someone he]a[rs the w]ord of God, will he be absolved fr[om] / the former [s]ins, or will he [not] be absolved? / There[fore, I entrea]t [you, o]ur master, that you might instruct us [30] [...] and set our heart at rest.

(**232**) Th[en] the apostle [sa]ys to them: Very great is this less/[o]n [that] you have asked me. I am the one who can reveal it to you / [...] thus. Every person who has received the hope / [and the fa]ith and has separated the light from the darkness, and has perceiv[5]e[d the] mysteries of the living soul, he has received the right hand of pe/a[ce] from the Light Mind who dwells in the holy / church. And he begs forgiveness from the Light Mind. /

Understand this: All his first sins / that he committed from the day that he was born until the [10] [da]y when he received the hope of God, and took his heart a/way from all the sects and idols of error, he / shall be absolved of them all. He shall not be questioned about them from this time, / nor receive retribution on their account. If, this is, he may persist in / his belief and [live. If] he [shall not] sin from this time by these fi[15]rst [s]ins that he committed. Afterwards, he has been taken f/rom [...] he was absolved and he will be made / [...] from this time in respect of all his first sins. /

Should, however, he return to repeat his first deed/s, and sin by them once again, then he will be accounted [20] for all his sins, the former and the latter. He shall receive / retribution for them all, because God had given repentanc/[e] to him and forgiveness for his foolishnesses; but / nevertheless he was not steadfast in this repentance that God had / given him. So, if he had been steadfast in the cate[chu][25]menate, in his faith, and had left behind all his former deed[s], / then he would have been absolved from [all] his sins. / Whether, indeed, an elect in his el[ect state / or] a catechumen in his [cat]ech[ume]/nate. Now, this one who [i]s a catechumen may [stand f][30]irm in the catechumenate. The other si[ns that he] / committed, a multitude [of th]em will be / absolved because of his fasting and h[is prayer and his a](**233**)lms.

So, listen how I make clear to you / the works of the faithful catechumens. The cat[echu]/men who truly believes performs fifty fasts, wherein [he] / fasts on the fifty lord's days of the y[ear]. [5] Also, he masters their purification, controlling himself [from] / lust for his wife, purifying his bedroom through / self-control on all these lord's days. He shall [...] / in his eating. He shall not defile his nourishment with the [...] / of fish and all the pollution of flesh and blood. H[e shall not e]a[10]t any unclean thing on these lord's days, and [he] also restrains / his hands from wounding and inflicting pain on the living [so]ul. / He keeps to the hours of prayer; he obse[rv]es t/hem and comes daily to prayer. Hour by ho[ur] and / day by day, all these hours of [pra]yer will [...] [15] his fasting, and his alm[s that he] gives o[n] every da/y of the year. [The a]lms wi[ll be coun]ted [...] to / his good, and the fasting that he has performed, and the g[ar]ment that he has put / upon the saints. A daily communion! And they fell/owship with them in their fasting and their g[oo]d. [20] These shall be counted with these other ones, and half of his wo[r]k is done / for the good, the other half for sins.

Still, the sins t/hat he shall commit half the year shall be se/parated into five parts. He shall be absolved from four of them by / [the] protection of the holy church, by the faith [25] [and the] love of the elect. On the one hand because of this, [and] on the othe/[r b]ecause he knows the knowledge and has separated the li/[ght f]rom the darkness, and has offered a hymn and a prayer to / [the l]ight-giver of the heights. Even the quiet that he has m/[ade ...] Now, by cause of these good things t[30][hat he has done, he shall be absolv]ed of four parts, four / [... si]ns that he has committed (**234**) from the day that he became a catechumen.

As for the rest, / he shall be questioned about a singl[e p]art; and receive / bl[o]ws for (those sins) and retribution. Afterwards he is puri/[fi]ed, whether indeed above or below. He shall be [5] purified according to the worth of h[is] deeds, and clean/sed and washed and adorned. After/[wards], he is sculpted a light image; / and [he glid]es up and reaches the land of rest, so th/at [the pl]ace where his heart is, his treasure also will b[10]e [th]ere. This is, if he shall be steadfast in his catechu/m[en]ate he can receive recompense for his good things like this. /

If, however, he sh[al]l speak a lie and turn from the truth, then / will be [cou]nted all his sin[s] again, the former and / the l[a]tter. The judgement [that con]demns his sins will be poured upon hi[m].

15 Still, i[f he] shall be steadfast in his faith and / bo[l]d in it, then there will be a destiny for him. He asc/ends another time and is made righteous and is released. And he saves / his life in the life for ever and ever. At the time / of h[i]s coming forth, he can go and rest in the life 20 for ever.

When these disciples had heard t/hese lessons of wisdom, they gave glory to their teacher and thought a/bout the first light, the one that brings understanding through the Mind and [the] / riches of its knowledge.

••• 92 •••

(234,24 – 236,6)

25 *The Apostle is asked: Why when / you drew every thing in the Picture (-Book), did you not / draw the Purification of the Catechumens / who shall be cleansed by Transmigration? /*

Mani was renowned as a painter, and in his *Picture-Book* he depicted details of his complex system. Unfortunately, no trace of this work survives. In this chapter a catechumen asks Mani why he has painted the fate of sinners who will be thrown into hell, and of the righteous elect who will ascend to the land of light; but he has not painted the middle way of the catechumens who must pass through transmigration before being saved.

Mani explains that it is because this middle way is various, with the soul of the catechumen passing through all sorts of possible bodies before it is purified. However, he assures the catechumen that the final ascent is the same as that for the elect, which is painted in the *Picture-Book*.

Once again, at one of the occasions, a cate[chum]e[n ...] 30 stood up. He says to our enlightene[r ...] / Why have you marked every thing [... that ex(**235**)ists], and what is provided to happen, in the great *Picture (-Book)*?

You have made / clear in that great *Picture (-Book)*; you have depic[t]ed / the righteous one, how he shall be released and

[brou]ght / before the Judge and attain the land of li[ght. You have] [5] also drawn the sinner, how he shall die. [He] shall be [... / s]et before the Judge and tried [...] / the dispenser of justice. And he is thrown into gehenna, where he shall wander / for eternity. Now, both of these have been depicted by you in the [grea]t / *Picture (-Book)*; but why did you not depict [the ca]te[10]chumen? How he shall be released from his bo[dy], and / how he shall be brought before the Judge and [...] reach / the place ordained for him and [...] that he can rest in the / place of rest f[or ever]. For if we can see [...] the path / of the catechumen, and know [...] [15] so have we recognised him with knowledge. If we can also see him / face to face in this *Picture (-Book)* [...] in the / sighting of him! /

Then speaks the enlightener to t[hat] catechumen. It is not / possible to depict the catechum[e]n in the *Picture (-Book)*, b[20]ecause many [...] world[s] and [...] be/[f]ore him from place to place [...] there are / others existing [...] because [... / to de]pict it, since [... / a]lone in a single place [...] you know [25] [...] that the end of the catechumen [...] / his path comes to be with the elect [...] of the e/[l]ect. Look, he is drawn in the *Picture (-Book)* [...] as the e/[lec]t will [...] the catechumen will go / [...] the path of the elect [... [30] ... will] not [g]o in to the land of life / [... of the] elect and the catechumen (**236**) is a single one. However, it is not possible to depict the middle way of the puri/[fication]ion of the catechumen, / because he shall not be purified in a single place; nor / [clean]sed and washed there.

When that [5] catechumen had heard these things he was persuaded and / [agreed] and kept silent.

••• 93 •••

(236,7 – 239,2)

/ A Catechumen asked the Apo/stle: When I would give an Offer[10]ing to the Saints, shall I inflict a Wound on the Alms? /

This chapter returns to a serious problem for the Manichaeans, the harm and pain caused to the living soul by the very process of saving it. This is the theme of a number of the questions addressed to Mani throughout the

Kephalaia; and the apostle is repeatedly concerned to warn against the consequent tendency to quietism (e.g. see ch. 85)

In this kephalaion the problem concerns the task of providing alms-offerings for the elect, as undertaken by the catechumens. Probably it is the preparation of food that is a principal worry: the plucking of fruit, the baking of bread and so on.

In his answer Mani embarks on a complicated analogy concerning a fight, and then he turns it in to his common theme of the wise doctor who must hurt to heal. While the exact relevance of all players in the analogy is unclear due to the fragmentary text, the basic point is certain. The catechumen must not be afraid of causing sin in the task of preparing and offering alms, for this is an unavoidable process that might cause temporary pain, but will certainly lead to eternal rest and life for the soul trapped in matter. The offering of alms is also a means for the salvation of the catechumen.

Once again, another catechumen questioned the apostle. He tells / him: I know that each time I would provide an alms/-offering for the elect, I know and sense that [...] remainder / [...] of the living soul. A sore and a wound is [15] [...] I awake pain for it in various / form[s ...] / nourishment and their management. Indeed, due to this my heart trembles. / I become very afraid.

I will venture to this place to speak / befo[re] you. Perhaps the good I perform will [20] not repay the sin I am doing to the living soul? /

When the apostl[e] heard these things from / that catechumen, he spoke. He says to him: / Do not be frightened of the sin you will commit that day / to the alms! For al[l] that you do [to] [25] this alms on that day you do to [cause it] / to be healed. You are bringing this alms-offering that you have made to life and r/est.

For this matter is like to two people, if / a personal enemy and an opponent of theirs will hit o/ne first and make a sore and a wound [on] [30] his body. Afterwards he smi[tes him] again and [...] / and he hits over his blows and [...] / blows that have made sores on him and [...] (**237**) strikes him these two times [...] accuses his [ene]/my who has struck him. And this judge questions him to his face about the [...] / of the sores that he has left as marks on his body. And they [...] / on him as if he had split his head. And he is led to judgement and [sent][5]ence, and is punished before the judge of the worl[d. He] / makes retribution for a sore in the sore place, and adds / to him the wound that he had left on this person

who had [not yet s]/inned against him. He shall not omit the retaliation of the opponent, [as] he / is judged [...] according to enmity.

[10] After the end, this enemy is condemned for the retaliation [...] / sin against him. Afterwards, the other one is sick [...] / the one whom this enemy has struck, and a wound comes out [o]n him / [...] and he becomes a sick person by cause of his illness, / and he [...] He calls the doctor and shows him his [15] w[oun]d. However, that doctor has no [...] nor / [...] and he takes the knife to him and cuts this wound. Never[th]eless, / when he cuts i[t] the blood shall pou[r o]ut / of his wound. That person shall be pained, but / he accepts those and these things. This doctor has not retaliated [20] nor was harm imposed on him; because he did this thing / to him for healing his wound. All that he did / to him was done for the good; and not directly for e[v]il. /

After the completion, he cuts this wound and lets blood / [f]rom it and heals it. He shall even make [... [25] ...] gifts and compliments. That illness / [and the] healing become a pride for this doctor, and he is given / [honour].

This is also how this matter of [... / ...] before this living soul. When you make / [an] alms-offering [you] are like this understanding doctor who has [30] [...] he shall heal this ill/[ness ...] strike this alms. At the time (**238**) [...] it [...] you have struck / [...] it is well and [...] ea/[se] shall [e]xist for it. It is healed by the elect, by the psalms / [and] prayers and ble[ssings]. A glory comes about for this [5] [...] healing [...] it exists [...] it is painful [... / ...] for they shall [t]hank you [...] you. /

Also, [this] is the other person [who] struck the comrade of the [... / ...] sick with his [...] he struck in / [...] he being cruel according to [... [10] ... / ...] living soul [...] upon it [... / ...] that [...] accusation / of [... /

...] [15] like [...] the catechum[en]s / [...] / bec[ome ... / ...] in to the church [...] its / heal[ing], you are wearied [... [20] ... / ... / ...] strips off [a ma]/ss of sins for you [...] only, what you [... / ...] to this alms, the ones that you shall be absolved of [... [25] ...] rather you shall be absolved of other sins that y[ou] / commit through the

cleansing and purification [...] / it sh[all] become an intercessor for you and cause yo[u] to be absolved / of a mass of impediments.

Then, when the / catechumen [...] [30] like [...] to the apostle [...] / al[l the] catechumens [... (**239**) ...] and they perform [...] and make res[t] / and healing for the living soul.

••• 94 •••

(239,3 – 240,12)

/ *Concerning the Purification of these Four Elem*[5]*ents [that have been place]d in the Flesh.* /

Four of the five light elements that descended with the First Man were mixed with darkness and matter. That is: fire, wind, water and light; but not air (see chapter 51). In this kephalaion Mani explains that it is these elements (the living soul), entering by means of food, which are purified in the bodies of the elect. Thus they will attain the land of light. If they do not enter the elect they must continue through transmigration.

However, Mani warns that the pollutions that have been joined to the elements cause dangers for the body. Here he attempts to classify these in four sets of three, linking each of the elements to parts of the body, emotions and states of mind. Thus fire discharges blood, anger, and the humours. Unfortunately, the text for the fourth set is fragmentary, and probably corrupt. The reference to the tree (239.25 ⲡⲱⲏⲛ) is unclear; but the fourth element must be that of wind.

[O]nce again, on one of [the occasions], the apostle is sitting [among the] / congregation. He speaks thus: The four elements [are what is] purified. / From the beginning they are holy ones, living ones, and / enlighteners. However, when they undertood [...] [10] in that first struggle. The waste was [mixed] i/n with them, and the darkness of the enemy was mixed wit/h them. And when they were come in to the body, stri/pping off these polluted garments, they set them in the flesh. / Their pollutions, which they have stripped off, shall be displa[15]yed in a [...] and become a danger to the bo/dy.

The discharge of this pollution, that [the fir]e / shall disgorge and place in the body, is [blo]od. / The discharge of the blood is anger. The discharge of anger is the / humours.

Also, the emissions that the waters discharge [20] from them are lust. The discharge of l/ust is bitterness. The emission of bitterness is f/[e]ver.

The emission that light shall disgorge / is flesh. The emission of flesh is gloom. / [The] emission of gloom is obstinacy.

The emissions [25] that the tree shall disgorge, they are the voices*[128] / of the winds of shame. The emission of winds of shame / [is ...]

The emission of the / [tear] is the [...]*[129] of these twelve emissions. /

[...] these four elements shall [30] [...] what are gathered in (**240**) are [f]ound by the management of this soul food / [that] enters the body. When they enter / the body, they are cleansed and purified and established / [i]n their living image, which is the new man. They shall live [5] [...] and receive the Light Mind and be purified / in their image; and they come forth, being cleansed and holy. They / attain their first rest.

So, when they shall reach / the elect, this is how they shall be cleansed and go / u[p to] the land of the living ones; but these that come to [10] [...] the sinners and pass through them and [... / ...] in sins. Their end will occur in trans/migration and spirit*[130].

••• 95 •••

(240,13 – 244,20)

/ The Apostle asks his [15] Disciples: What is Cloud? /

Mani distinguishes five types of cloud, each rising up from and corresponding to one of the five light elements.

However, in typical fashion he integrates this natural science aspect of

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*[128] Reading ϩρωϭ

*[129] The text has ⲡⲥⲉ[....], with the probable meaning of: "the tear is the [collectivity] of these twelve emissions.'

*[130] The reference here to πνεῦμα indicates a tripartite system of pneumatics, psychics and hylics; where transmigration is the middle way between salvation and damnation.

his teaching with the fantastical element of divine and demonic beings populating every corner of the universe. Thus each type of cloud is inhabited by evil rulers that take the relevant opportunity of hail storms or whatever in order to damage the created order. Still, angels are commanded by the Virgin of Light to rush after and seize those rulers, and thus stop them. They are then cast into the seven outer ditches prepared by the light as holding places for the evil forces (see also 116.26 – 33), preparatory to the final destruction of the cosmos.

Mani is thus attempting to explain the constant recurrence of evil in the world, while at the same time asserting the ever-present concern of the light powers and their watchfulness.

In this kephalaion the prominence of the Virgin of Light as having authority over the zone (244.12) is noticeable, for this role is elsewhere taken by her masculine doublet the Third Ambassador (e.g. 82.18).

Once again, the apostle is sitting in the congregation of his d[i]/sciples. The heavens were cloudy that day. / He brought his eyes up and saw the cloud that day. / He says to his disciples: This cloud that is app[20]arent to you, which you see; I will reveal / and teach you about it, how it ascended! /

Happen you know that it shall be released fr[om] / five places and ascend over this great earth and [...] / and it is revealed and seen in the atmosphere between.

[25] So, the cloud shall ascend from fire [to] / the heavens towards the likeness of the Virgin of Lig[ht] tha[t] / she shall display to it. Its sign is the flas[hes that] / occur with lightning storms [... i]ts exchan[ge ...] / And they shall be purified by her towards [...] [30] the light that she shall reveal [... (**241**) ...] the rulers shall be released by the lightning storms and they are f[re]/ed and sent.

However, [these] angels shall immediately be summoned to them. / So that they will seize them, because they kn[ow] / that they shall never do good. Every place they will tou[ch] [5] they shall make dead and a loss. Whenever / the angels will make towards them and come beside [...] / they shall flee in their constraint before them. They go i[n to] / whatever they will meet upon and assume it. Like [a] ro/bber being abandoned and fleeing before one stronger than hi[m], as he [10] runs after him to arrest him.

Now, those rulers / that shall be freed from these clouds and assume wh/atever they will meet upon [...] in to the [... / ...] that

they did not [...] will seize / this thing, whether indeed a [tr]ee to [which] they have found the way or animals or people. Si/mply, every place that they will assume they shall burn a/nd destroy by the fire of their body. Namely, the rulers, [the] chil/dren of fire, they that shall be stripped of the fire. /

In contrast, [the] cloud that shall be raised up from water, and comes above towards the Virgin of Li/ght; its sign is the thunder storms and the booms that / shall come in the atmosphere in various forms and are he[ar]d. / [...] Again, there are times if the rulers that belong / [to t]hem, which exist in the cloud, shall on occasion be constrained [in a] water [clou]d. And they flee from it and aband[on] it. /

Now, [they] too are so, in that every place th[ey wi]ll / [reach], they shall make frost and hail and s[no]w. / [They rui]n the seed-corn and the fruits and the plants; and they / [...] every [pl]ace [that] they will reach.

Again, [ang]els shall be summoned to them who seize them. Still, while the angels (**242**) [ru]sh after them in order to seize them, they shall make this destruction. /

Also, [the cl]oud that will be raised up from wind / ascends to the atmosphere between, towards the likeness of the Vi[r/g]in that she shall display to it. Its sign is [the s]torm wind that shall blow with bitterness. /

So, i[n] those winds and tempests shall the lives / be p[ur]ified. Again, the rulers will be stripped of the clo/ud of wind and they descend from it, safe in / the[ir] image. All the rivers and the seas that they will reach and arrive at, they shall make waves in them a/nd raise [...] and they [...] the ships. They / wreak destruct[ion ...] and they seize / and bring them [...] /

Also the cloud, the one of light, immediately they will be strip[ped] of it [... / ...] the Virgin. She shall / display its sign too [...] And its sign is / this, in that you shall find it sailing in stillness and calm. / The lives in it shall be clea[nsed] in stillness and calm. Again, the rulers that will be stripped of it [...] / that will come forth [...] they shall put [...] and they take [... / ...] there [...] the [a]nge[ls] / seize them.

Again, the cloud that shall be raised [up] / fro[m] the mingled air comes above towards [the image] [25] of the Virgin. Its sign is this, in that [...] / are pur[if]ied in it in stillness and [rest ... these rulers] / that will be stripped of that cloud and [co]me f/rom it; every place that they will find [...] / they shall make it {}*131 [...] [30] one of [...] unt[i]l [... (**243**) th]ey are seized and taken to their midst.

Their stri[p/p]ings, that they shall leave behind them in various places / they will have reached, whether the produce of the trees or the offspring [of] / the fleshes, they shall be taken midst [...] wither away. [5] They shall inflict great dangers, but agai[n] / those rulers also the angels shall s[e]/nd to their midst. They bring the light from them and / cast the demons down to these seven o[ut]er ditches / of the great sea; which i[s] the vessel of [10] the waters that are outside the wo[rl]d. /

Then his disciples say to him: Instruct us, / our master. To what place do those seven ditches go / down?

[The apostle] says [to t]hem: / Those ditches and the [...] unt[15]il they reach the earths below [...] fe/et of the Porter.

Hear also [...] / for sometimes these angels shall be sent to them, / to seize the rulers. Whenever the rulers [... / ...] for the angels rush after them. They beseech them [...] [20] they that are given the command. However, [t]hose [rul]ers / shall be freed from them alone and ass[um]e / [...] and [the fle]sh. They are consumed by this offspring [... / ...] tree and that of flesh. The angels shall set a / [... ov]er them, that they might guard them until the hour when [25] [those r]ulers will be stripped of tree and / [flesh; a]nd they go [u]p above. They shall be gathered / [...] above, and they are poured out / [...] in their first for/[ms ... im]ages in which they first were. (**244**) They take the light from them, which had remained behind in [t/h]em. And they too are cast down to these seve[n] / outer [path]s that are in the great sea; the place to where these former ones [were c/as]t. They shall reach their mids[t [5] ...] and the light that is in them is taken. /

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*131 ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩ(ⲟⲩ)

Beh[old] n[o]w, I have instructed you about this cloud: How / it shall ascend above, and the lives that are in it / are purified. I have also taught you of the rulers that are in it: how / they shall make these {rebellions}*132 and how they shall be {caught}*133. 10 And they are cast to the outer prison by the angels, / when the command is given to them through the power of the Virgin / of Light. She has authority over the entire zone, [and cl]ean/ses [the] life that is in it.

Then, when his disciples / hea[rd these lessons] they glorified him. They say to him: 15 [Y]ou have [instructed us] in all the secrets, the giv/er of [...] of all revelations! We give tha/n[k]s to you, our father, with great confessions. For you have / inst[r]ucted us about every thing. You have given to us great / [...] of the knowledge; so that through them we may give judgem20ent about these things to which we listen.

••• 96 •••

(244,21 - 246,6)

/ The Three Earths that ex/ist, they bear Fruit. /

Mani uses the example of human farmers upon the earth to describe the work of the sun and moon in cultivating the field of the living soul, and the Light Mind toiling over the holy church, to bring them to harvest. He then calls upon his audience to be active in the faith, to do the farming of righteousness, and thus to bring forth fruit.

On[ce] again he speaks to his disciples: Thr[ee earths] 25 exist in the universe, and are being toiled over. At first they [... / ...] the farmer in them. Afterwards they bear [good] fruit / to they who toil over them.

One of them is this great ea[rt]h [th]at / people are living upon. They are ploughing in it [...] / it with iron hoes, th[ey cu]ltivate, [making] 30 the furrows, turning it over [... After]/wards they harvest fruit from [it ...

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*132 ⲥⲗⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ
*133 ⲉⲱⲣⲧ

(**245**) The] second field is the living soul, the ho[ly] one. / It is mixed in the entire zone, above and be[l]/ow. The farmers who toil over it are these two great [ligh]/t-givers, which journey through the heavens. They are toiling and cultivating [5] it, so that they will draw it towards their aspect. And i[t lea]/ps up and comes to the heights. It goes upwards, ou[t] / from every place wherein it is, and it adds to them. /

[The] third earth is this holy church with i[t]s / elect and its catechumens. The farmer who toi[10]ls over i[t] is this Light Mind. He has freed it, / rescued it, and gathered it in from every place. He has made it for [him] / a throne, a dwelling-place to the glory of his gr[ea]tness. / He made it a good field that it might bear good fruit[s]. / In them it can make its appearance beautiful, be victorious, and ascend to [15] the heights. And it goes u[p] on the ladder of the [Li]ght Mind, / [the] good farmer who cultivates it at all times. /

Now, [ju]st as these farmers toil over these three earths, after/wards [they] receive from them the fruits that are valuable [to] them. / You yourelves be good farmers! Do the fa[20][rm]ing of righteousness. Preach and enlighten every soul! / Open the eyes of the people and reveal to them / [li]fe and death; so that you [like]wise may [become / r]ich by your preaching. Whoever will [... / ...] will make rich and enter into the citizenship o[f [25] ...] If you are silent and you / [do not p]reach to the people, you have no strength to bear fruit. / [...] this one, to find a per/[son ...] enlighten [... / ...] but bear him and he awakens not, and he [... [30] ...] in to repentance. These s[o/uls ...] they go to the perdit[ion] (**246**) that is prepared for them there. Since he is able / [to] do the good [...] you now; this has no power to / strike you and make you weak in the spirit. Rat/he[r, to]il! As you cultivate the good earth, [5] reap f[rom it] the good fruits, that you may / l[i]ve o[f them for] ever and ever.

••• 97 •••

(246,7 - 248,10)

/ Concerning the Three Creations of the Flesh: the ones / that were brought forth [...]; and the ones [10] *that were begotten by the Abortions; and the ones / that were formed of themselves. /*

This chapter shows again how Mani presented his teaching as an integrated science for understanding the entire world. Life arises from the mixed light and dross that fell to earth at the time when the Ambassador displayed his image in the heavens, and the demonic powers ejaculated or aborted in their lust. This matter or sin contained the 'thought' (ἐνθύμησις) or driving force that causes reproduction. Here Mani attempts to classify the different forms of plant life according to various means of propagation.

On[ce again] our enlightener speaks to his disciples: All these / animals that you see, and also the rest of the [crea]/tur[es ...] of the earth, confirm them in three [15] likeness[es ...] them from [... / ...] abortions. Others, / [however, for]m their own selves in their shape [... / ...] Also, their nourishment is thre[e / ... li]ght in them, if they shall wish [... [20] ... / ...] they eat see[ds and] fr[uit / ...] they eat seeds and fruit. / The [...] it entirely, and they [... / ...] the three archetyp[es] from their nature and the [... [25] ...] the time when they are on the ea[rth ... / ... th]ey are seized [...] / in their [... / ...] the Ambassador [... / ...] all powers [... [30] ... / ...] / i[n] it [... / ...] first [...] (**247**) plant them [g]enerally to this name: shoots and grass. It formed / the bad, bitter tre[es], the reeds and the thorns and the [...] / and these others that are like them.

For that th[oug]/ht belongs to the flesh-eating rulers. [St]ill, these [that were] [5] planted (belong to) grass and gourds, since they are in their essence. Nevertheless, [this t]/ho[ugh]t that came down from the rulers, [a]/s they are i[n] fruit and grass first and shall not be planted / in flesh and blood, it formed the trees that shall give nourishing [fru]/it as their gourds are sweet.

Again, this thou[ght] [10] that came down from the powers that eat m[ea]t / and also eat grass and gourds, it has formed the trees / that shall not produce any nourishment. Their / fruits belong neither to good nor evil. /

Behold, I have taught you the growth of the tree. For it was [15] planted from the sin that came down from the [powe]rs of / [...] according to the counsel and teaching of the [...] / them due to them. It grew the tree on the earth and gave fr/u[its] there of different kinds and shapes. /

Furthermore, I also reveal to you another thing about these trees [20] that shall be cut and grow again upon their roo/t; and they produce fruit. There are also others that if they are cut / shall neither grow nor produce fruit. And there are others / if their branches shall be [cu]t they are planted. There are some / [...] and they make fruit and come up and make a tre[e]. And it [25] [produces a bra]nch.

Now these (trees) that shall be cut from / [their] root and flourish and blossom an[ew and / produce] fruit, [t]heir thought is in [their / reproductive pa]rt*[134] and the[ir ro]ot. Again, due to this they shall [... / ...] a firmness exists [... [30] ...]

Howev[er], the other trees [that (**248**) shall be] cut and not grow by their root and repro[ductive / part], their thought that sculpts them / [i]s (in their) twigs. And these others too, from which / branches shall be taken and planted and they sprout, their th[5]ought that sculpts them is in their body / [and subs]tance, as their thought exists in buds [th]at a/[re] in their branches. Also, these others, which shall grow from / the [fr]uits and the seed, their counsel is in their / [fr]uit. Due to this they shall be formed and grow from their [10] [fr]uit.

••• 98 •••

(248,10 – 249,30)

/ What is Virginal; or, / otherwise, what is Continent? /

Mani applies these two terms at five successive levels of the light's descent into matter. The archetypal distinction is between the light that remains in the eternal kingdom, which is virginal; compared to that which has entered into time and mixture. Then, at descending levels, the other pairs are as follows: the gods in time who do not enter mixture compared with

*134 [ⲕⲟⲩⲟⲩ]ⲛ̄ⲩ̄

the light that does; the light first purified through the episode when the Ambassador displayed his image, and the light that had to continue through transmigration; the Light Mind and the new man; a human virgin and a person who renounces sex.

Once more, the apostle is sitting down one time among / the congregation of his church. He says to his disciples: 15 W[h]at is the virgin that is named 'virginal'? / Or the [one that] is called 'continent', what is it? Or by what category is / the [vi]rgin called 'virginal'? Or [the co]/ntinent, which is given this name, by what category is it / named '[c]ontinent'?

20 His disciples say to him: Proclaim to us, my master, of these / [t]wo lessons; since all good gifts are given to us through you. /

Then speaks our enlightener to them: / What is called 'virginal' is assigned to the myster/y of the aeons of greatness. And they called it 'virgi25n[a]l' by the category of all the light that did not [taste] / of death, nor come to the enemy's war. / However, what is called 'continent' oc[curs to / the m]ystery of the light that came and was mixe[d with the / dark]ness. It was defiled in bodies [... 30 ...] and went up to the light. [They] called [it 'co/ntine]nt'.

Furthermore, the holy vir[gin]als [... / ...] should they come out against the en[emy ... / ... not] taste death, nor [...] (**249**) On the other hand, what is called 'continent' [is this li]/ght that mixed with the darkness, was purif[ie]d, came [up f]/rom all the creatures, and was confirmed in the great[ness]. / They called it 'continent' since it tasted [of the l]5ust; but afterwards was cleansed from it and [become an] / holy one.

Furthermore, what is called / ['vi]rginal' is this light that was purified by the ima[ge] of / the [A]mbassador. It wen[t up and] attained [the] he[ights. It was] / confirmed in the image of the gods. Again, what is [called] 10 'continent' is the remainder of this light th[at] / remained behind, from what was cleansed. It goes up [and comes] / down in transmigration. Al[so], there is a part [of] i/t that shall come and attain the form of [hum]an [fl]esh. / Again, that one too shall be chosen in the flesh, [accept] the ho15pe, and become an holy one. And they name it 'continent'. /

Furthermore, what is named 'virginal' is the Light Mind, / should he come and assume the images [of] the ele/ct. However, on the other hand, what is called 'contin[ent]' is / the new man, should it be purified from this old man. And it [20] is cleansed and strips off the sin that is compounded with it, and it becomes / a continent one.

And also, what is called 'virgi/nal' in the flesh, is a man if he has [ne]ver joined himself to woman, / has not been defiled by intercourse. However, [i]n contrast, what is called / 'continent', is the man who has a wom[25]an in the world. Afterwards, he cleanses himself from her / [and] renounces her. And because of this he [...] and he becomes an holy / contin[en]t one.

Behold, I have taught you the categories / [of] the v[ir]ginal and the continent in a great many / [as]pects. For what is virginal, or otherwise what is [30] [con]tinent, is in many forms.

••• 99 •••

(249,31 – 251,25)

/ Concerning Transmigration. /

Mani explains that although both sinners and catechumens must pass into transmigration, the fate of these two categories differs. He compares this to the educative punishment that must on occasion be meted out to erring children, contrasted with that imposed on wicked servants. Thus the catechumens will in the end attain to the light and the life, while sinners will be imprisoned and suffer eternal death.

[O]nce again o]ne of the catechumens questioned the apost/[le. He says] to him: We have heard a lesson from you, my master. (**250**) You [have] recount[ed it] fo[r] us and written it down in the books, as you [... / ...] people who come out from their body / [are d]riven into transmigration and wandering, and / [ea]ch one is weighed [according to] his actions. Whether the sinners, you [5] [proclaimed] to us that they are driven into transmigration / [... or] they who have received the faith and have / [...] in the [... dr]iven also into tr/[ansmigrat]ion [... / ...] the catechumens surpass the sinn[10] [er]s [...] and again he too is driven into transmig/ration and t[ak]es hope. /

Then the lord [spea]ks. He told them about these two lessons. [... / ...] one concerning the transmigration of the sin/n[er]; he speaks to them about the transmigration of the cate[15]chumen.

Now, listen to this lesson that I will recount to / y[o]u, how this education I will proclaim to you shall be / given to the catechumens during transmigration. /

The [...] education occurs in the world, / by which people shall educate their children, when [20] [...] foolishness. So, they shall hit / [them], but their education is not equivalent with the education / that they give to their servants when they shall sin. / For the striking of children differs from the striking of servants; / b[eca]use when the child transgresses, he should be rebu[25]ked by word and harsh lessons are proclaimed t[o sca/re] him. And if he [...] he is struck [... /

...] educate him. And if [he is in / a p]rison then he is bound by a chain. Similarly, [bl] / ows and fetters [...] and kill him. He will neither [be] [30] killed nor be h[i]t [... / ... / ...] For [...] (**251**) his [thro]ne in the light, which [... w]/hich he had also uttered [...] / When that one will be muzzled, they shall [... / ... [5] ...] cut limb [...] / there is [s]till a [... / ...] / just as you have [...] according to the edu/cat[io]n of the catechumens [... [10] ...] the education of [...] / cat[e]chumen [... / the]ir souls [...] / they are troubled of heart [... / ...] they are mixed [... [15]...] until they attain [... / ...] the sinners [... / ...] they shall be still [... / ...] they are cruel; they shall bind him [... / ... [20] ...] from them [... / ...] to the great fire from the [...] /

This is the end of [... / y]ou: Blessed are you catechumens [... / y]ou are chosen and ordained [...] [25] their end is loss [...]

••• 100 •••

(251,26 – 253,24)

/ Concerning the Dragon with Fourte[en] He[ads]; / what it is and [...] /

Many Manichaean texts describe the human body as a microcosmos full of warring demons. Interestingly, here Mani asserts that this is a spiritual but not a physical truth. He proceeds to relate the fourteen headed dragon in the body, with its five refuges, to different parts of the anatomy. The dragon is really the driving force or 'thought' of the body that the righteous person must overcome, so as to receive the victory.

[Once again], one of h[is] disciples asked the [apostle ... [30] ...] is distributed [... / ... / ... (**252**) the] laws of the Magi. They say that there is / [a d]ragon with fourteen heads, and it is gathered / [i]n and [...] den with five refuges. Now, I beseech / [y]ou, my master, that you may instruct me about this lesson. [5] [Wh]at really is a corporeal dragon wi[th] / fourteen heads? Or is it another spiritual lesson? /

Then the apostle says t[o] him: / [The]re is [n]ever a dragon [i]n the f[l]esh with fourtee[n] hea[ds], / as the Magi say! Rather, this is a [spiri[10]tual les]son. It was uttered in virgini[ty / ...] the Magi did not understand [... / ...] all their words that are written [... / ... spiri]tual (?).

Again, this is how this earth / [...] to it, as it is accounted a co[rp]ore[al] drag[on [15] ...] I will instruct you / [...] the dragon is this doctrine [... / ...] of the flesh [... / ...] also the f[ou]rtee[n] heads that are distributed ove[r] / the d[ragon] are these.

The seven sense organs [o][20]n [the h]ead of the body are the two of sight by whi[ch one] / se[es; the] two of sound b[y] which one hears; / [the] two of scent by which one smells; also the to[ng/ue ...] by [which] one selects, receiving / [th]ere the different tastes that occur in every form.

[25] [These ar]e the seven heads of the dragon, the seven sen/[se] organs that are on the upper part of the person; [... / ...] below. The seven of the [tor/so] are these: two [...]; the two [... / ...] ruler [... [30]

... / ... the se]ven [heads that are (**253**) a]bove; so with the ones below they total and make fou[rteen] / heads of the dragon.

Conversely, the five dens about which they have [spo/k]en, where the dragon is congregated and protrudes, / are these: the first is the tong[ue]; [5] the second is the lungs; the third is the h[eart]; / the fourth is the spleen; the fifth is the b[lood that] / dwells in them. Again, if it shall look out from them [and / r]eveal its likeness and its observation a[bo/v]e and below, it wages war [by [10] i]ts fourteen heads.

Whoever will recognise them [wi]th / the dragon, which is the thought of [the b]o/dy, and struggles with it and is victorious and ki[lls] i/[t] in them [... he is called] / the holy righteous one, elect, good person. [15] He receives the victory without suffering on the day [of h]is com/[in]g forth.

So, behold, I have taught you of the dragon that / [exi]sts with its fourteen heads and five dens, / [wh]erein it is concealed and hidden. It does through them [... / its des]ire all the time.

Then th[a]t disciple says [20] to him: My heart has been persuaded, my master, by what [you have r]e/[count]ed to me. You have taught me of the dragon with the fourteen / [he]ads. Blessed is every one who will slay and kill it; / [and it suffers] loss! He will live for ever and be a person victori[ous / i]n all his deeds.

••• 101 •••

(253,25 – 255,21)

/ [Concer]ning why, if the Person shall look down / into Water, [...] /

This chapter illustrates again Mani's fascination with all aspects of the natural world; and his attempt to create a totally integrated science.

254.1 – 24 Reflection in water is explained as a spiritual mystery signifying the descent of the divine call to the First Man in the abyss, and the corresponding ascent of the answer to the Living Spirit.

254.24 – 255.7 Reflection in water is explained as a physical mystery indicating how humans and other life on earth are inextricably tied to the stars and zodiacal signs (their 'fathers').

255.7 – 11 Reflection also indicates that a child is born head first.

255.12 – 21 Shadows show how the body is fastened to the earth.

This series of loosely grouped teachings may evidence textual development. Also the distinction between spiritual and physical truths, occuring also in the previous kephalaion, may be the link used by the redactor in attempting to order the chapters.

[Once again, one of his d]isciples asked the apostle / [... ... in(**254**)stru]ct me about this lesson: When / the person is above water and looking down [into / the wat]ers, if he shall see his face reflected why sh/all you find his head turned upside down and a[l]so his fee[t] upwards? Yet, when he stares down into the wa[te/rs], his face shall not be visible, nor can he see i[t / th]ere? Then the apostle says to him: Ha[p/pen] you know this, that this universe is established / [of m]ystery, and is entirely full of mystery. [And] this: The face of people and the shape of trees shall app[ear] / turned upside down in the water as this is signifi[ed] / in [the] mystery of the summons, when it was sent do[wn] / to the [wo]rlds of darkness towards the First Man. Sin[ce / ...] in this way it cast itself down [...] like a person [who] plunges headlo[ng] into water; / so it is also with the summons. It cast itse[lf] / headlong to the worlds below, with streng[th] / and diligence.

And this too: Shall the pe[rs]/on lift his head up from the water, his face shall not be visibl[e] to him, being bent below. This characterises the m[yste]/ry of the obedience that ascended from below, / from with the First Man his father to the [Liv]ing Spirit. / This is a spiritual mystery that I have [revea]/led to you so that you would understand it.

I[f] you [w]ish to understand another cor[pore]al mystery / on this subject, listen and I may teach you to under[stand it]. / The face of people and of animals [and / of] trees is visible in the water, hangi[ng upside down]. / This occurs to the mystery of the [stars] and the zodiac, which hang upside down and are vis[ible in] / the great sea. For [the face of people a](**255**)nd beasts and all trees hang on the ro[ot] / of the stars and the zodiac, being begotten from them. / Just as their fathers, who are spread out above, [hang] / upside down; so it is also that the m[yste]ry of their fathers is being revealed to them whenever th[ey sta]re down into the water. This is, that you shall find their [shapes] / inverted.

Not only this, but [the] child / who is born; as the ho[ur] approaches for him to be born*[135], he hangs upside down and is born [he]ad first. [10] Indeed, due to this, his mystery shall be revealed / in these waters people [s]tare down [int]o. /

Furthermore, I reveal something else to you: Behold, you will find the shadow of the person who walks along is joined to the earth / all the time. If the person is troubled [...] [15] his shadow up upon the earth [...] / above. It is impossible for him to do [... / ...] on the earth. See, this mystery is [a] great / sign, signifying that the entire body came / from the earth and had ascended from the abyss. Again, d[u]e to this, [20] its shadow is joined on the earth, turned downwar[ds], / and hanging from above.

••• 102 •••

(255,22 – 257,7)

/ Concerning the Light Mind, why / it does not exercise Forekno[25]wledge for the Saint as for the Apostle? /

Mani is asked why the Light Mind does not cause the elect to have perfect and prior knowledge, such as the apostles have, when it indwells them all. He gives five practical reasons why such knowledge could lead to abuse and dissension; but promises that it will be given to them when they ascend from their bodies in perfection.

[O]nc]e again one of the elect questioned the apostle, saying / to him: The Light Mind that shall come and be reve/[aled] of the holy church, and assumes the faithful / [and the ele]ct; why shall it not entrust forekno[w[30]ledge] to them [as for] the apostle? In my opinion, it ought to be unve/[iled] to them in a revelation. Just as / [all things are revea]led for the apostle, so also / [ought they] to be unveiled for the elect and they become 'fore/-[knowers]'; so that they will attain them, be they easy or (**256**) difficult. You ought to find them, knowing each other's heart; / because the child of the apostle is the Mind. For whoever / [und]erstands i[t] is able to unveil all things from it, / [just a]s with the apostle!

*135 Lit: he is about to be born and his hour comes.

Then the apostle says to [5] [him]: You have recounted this well. I am the one who will te/[ach y]ou about it. Happen you know that the Light M[ind], / who dwells in the elect, has the power to perform all these / w[onders] among the faithful, all these signs that you have re/co[unted] to me; but the elect are not able to persist in [10] the great[ness] that may be unveiled to them.

Not only this, but / [firs]t of all: If it unveiled something to / the [ele]ct and they exercised foreknowledge, they would have become an apostle / and none be humble to his comrade.

Second: / [If t]hey were knowing each other's heart, they would have despised [15] one another. If their counsel and consideration / is unveiled from one [to] another, and the shames of th[eir] / body are revealed to each other, not one among them / [...] the other.

Third: They would have made enemies of / one another because of the counsels and evil considerations t[20]hat they shall ponder over together; due to the flesh that / they assume and the sin that dwells in them. An[d] when / each one of them will understand the evi[l] counsel / that his comrade ponders over, he may become an enemy / to him immediately; and they are set firm against one another [25] in disputation.

Fourth: When / he may exercise foreknowledge, they will understand the lifespan [... / ... of] a body and will not await a gr[eat many] / years in righteousness, but [...] / down to the world. And when they will [...] [30] attain the one found be enlightened [...] / up to righteousness.

Fifth: [If] / everything is unveiled to them, th[ey would have] unveiled it [to the ma](**257**)gicians in the world and these fortune-tellers, and go arou[nd fr]/om place to place taking money to create for them wealth and worldly [ri]/ches.

Now this is why (the Light Mind) shall not give a reve[la]/tion to the elect. It does not add it to them due to these five [thin]gs; [5] but the matter is hidden from them only until the time when [they will come] / forth from their body.

Then every thing that has oc[curred] / and that will occur is unveiled to them!

••• 103 •••

(257,8 – 258,3)

/ Concerning the Five Wonders [10] *that the Light Mind shall / display in the Elect. /*

There are five qualities proclaimed and enacted by the elect person who is indwelt by the Light Mind, and who has thus become a new man.

Once again the apostle speaks: The Light Mind shall / enact five light signs in the elect.

The first si/[gn] is the wisdom that the elect shall preach [15] and proclaim in all its shapes and forms / and manners.

The second is the fai/[th]; since after his preaching of the wisdom, that he / proclaims, the others who hear it be[lieve] it. /

The third is [...] [20] in his preaching [...] peace / of heart for the assembly of his brethren [...] /

[The] fourth is love, for he shall love wisdom [...] the / brothers and sisters who are seated [before] him. /

[The] fifth is the fear of legal excommunication that shall ex[25][clude him amo]ngst these who did not receive the hope of God. Also other iniquit/[ous] people who shall be found in the church; it excludes / them with a legal excommunication, on account of their foolishness. /

[The] Light [Mind] puts these five signs in the new man, / [whom he has] purified, cleansed, supported [and [30] cho]sen [...]

Blessed is every one / [who ...] the [M]ind and is diligent in his wis/[dom ...]

The [other] one: These five sig(**258**)[n]s will be [es]tablished in him and perfected in him, so that / [he] will become a faultless vessel and a pearl with/out [pr]ice for ever at all!

••• 104 •••

(258,4 – 258,25)

[5] *Concerning Food: It shall be allocated to / Five Products of the human Body. /*

Food engenders five productions from the human body. These five may all be understood as physical, if the text is read as euphemistic. For instance: spiritual heat; spittle; sweat; semen and sexual juices; children.

[O]nc]e again he speaks to his disciples: This sustenance / of various kinds that people gather in / and eat, and enters the body; it shall be distributed [10] to five productions.

The first product is this that shall / issue from the person in rapture and rises up in / the Mind, and it comes out from all his limbs, and is immeasurable. /

The second is this that shall issue from the per/son in voice and word.

The third is this th[15]at shall spring from them in strength and activity. /

The fourth is what is engendered by the pleasure of lu[s]/t in men and women.

The fifth is this / that shall be formed and sculpted in the flesh, a/nd be engendered and come from them. It is this cor[20]poreal creature; only its parents / can recognise this creature that they beget. They are attentive to its desire and its / th[oug]ht and its [lo]ve every day, / all the time. However, these other four forms they neither notice / nor are concerned about; because [25] they are not displayed.

••• 105 •••

(258,26 – 259,23)

/ Concerning the Three Things that are great with / Mankind, as they are running all the time, in that they [...] /

Mani recounts how Christians use the name of Christ in invocations, personal names and oaths. He then asserts the success of his own apostolate, evidencing the same use of his name.

Once again he speaks: Chris[tia]n people [...] [30] sow in the universe for t[h]ree [things ...] /

The first: If the person will spe[ak the name of Christ] (**259**) on every thing he may lay his hand to to construct.

The [sec]/ond: They will call people who love him by hi[s name]; / and bestow his name upon their*[136] children and children's [child]/ren.

The third saying: They will swear by hi[s fo][5]rtune and his surety; namely all these who are under hi[s a]/uthority.

And I, Manichaios, who sits before you, / I have sown these three graces; by the grace that was [re/war]ded to me from the Father. For, by the wisdom that I [have manif]est/ed, by the truth that I have revealed and by the truth and [sw][10]eetness wherein I have taught people, I have received a [se]/ed and a good sowing*[137] with they who are counted to me. Also, by my good and useful tea[ch]ings / that I have revealed; s[e]e, / people who love me are c[a]lled of my name! Also, by the aposto/[la]te of my father, who sent me to the world, they w[ho] [15] are mine accept me for themselves.

Behold, they swear by m[y fort]une / [i]n every place and every city! Who is as great as I in / the universe? Or who was active in this creation / the way I myself have been active, other than my brothers the apo/stles who were before me? For indeed those t[20]oo

*136 Reading ⲛⲉϫ for ⲛⲉⲩ
*137 Or read ⲥϯⲛⲟϫⲩⲉ 'perfume'.

were active and laid foundations in the world. / Indeed, due to this, every one who will believe in me and also be persuaded / to my word can become with me inheritors in the new / aeon.

••• 106 •••

(259,24 – 260,27)

25 *There is no Joy that shall remain / in the World till the End. /*

Although they are not themselves oppressed, the sun and the moon (here personified) can never be completely joyful during the time of mixture. This is firstly because they see the rule of the enemy in the universe; and secondly they see the oppression of the living soul everywhere before it reaches them and is finally cleansed.

[O nce agai]n he speaks to his disciples: There is not [o]ne person / [existing in] the world, standing firm [i]n mixture, for whom / [j]oy remains to the end.

Not only peo[30][ple], even the sun and the moon, the light-givers of the heavens / [...] nor are they oppressed, they know not / [... s]et firm in a summons and an (**260**) [obe]dience. Nevertheless, they too, they do not rejoice comple/[tel]y.

So, one: Their eyes stare at their enemy, they / [perceiv]e him and also look at his ugly shapes. / [They s]ee him, that he is alive and established and is king ab[5][ov]e and below, in secret and manif[e]/st. He does every thing that he wants according to his wil[l]. /

[The s]econd: They perceive the living soul, they see [i]/t and that it is ensnared and set in a great [fetter] a/bove and below, in the tree and in the flesh*138, [10] [...] with every oppression. It is being pressed, drawn near t/o [and] sliced and eaten as it comes up / and down; from above below and from below ab/ove. It [is] despoiled and moved from / body to body.

Now, because of their living soul that is [15] love[d] by them and honoured of them, when they see it in op[pr]/ession th[ey can] not [re]joice completely.

*138 Reading ⲥⲁⲣⲍ for ⲥⲁⲣⲧ 'wool'.

So, one about the soul; / and one about their enemy whom they see ruling [in] / what is not his own. He is proud and satisfied with / a wealth that is not his own. Indeed, due to this, they do not rejoice in [20] total; but bear up and swallow their heart unt/il they cleanse the living soul and take it from the enemy's hands. / Then they obliterate the death that is their enemy and they g/ather it in [and fetter it in the lump] for ever and / ever.

When they will chain their enemy in the bond at the [las][25]t, then they will rejoice and no longer grieve from this t[ime]. / Also, they become the very same as they were from the [start] / for ever!

••• 107 •••

(260,28 – 261,13)

/ Concerning the Form of the Word, that [... [30] ...] /

The process of forming a word is compared to the production of a coin.

Once again he speaks about the production of the word t[hat comes] / from the mouth and is heard by the [ears]. / He says [... (**261**) ...] and the throat draws it up and the tongue / spreads it out and the teeth cut it and the lips g[at]/her it! The word shall come forth through the power of th[ese five] / members and be heard outside.

Simila[rly] [5] the coin: One shall pour it out and an[othe]/r beat it and another trim it as it is turned, and a[nother] / put the stamp on it and another wipe it in the sieve (?). [Behold], / these five craftsmen shall shape and beautify [their] / coin, and it comes amongst mankind. It becomes a posse[ssion] [10] to be received and given.

This is also the case with the [wor]d, / as it is formed and embellished by five [member]s. / It comes forth and is heard by the ears [of] / others.

••• 108 •••

(261,14 – 262,9)

15 *Concerning the Seed Grain that shall be / formed by the Elements, [a]/nd also be destroyed by them. /*

The meaning of this chapter is not entirely clear. Perhaps the theme is that there is a cycle of growth and blight, and that one must inevitably lead to the other in this world of mixture. As the light elements are saved, so what is left must be increasingly stricken.

Once again [the] apostle, the builder of the church, spea[ks] to his disciples: / This seed grain and this barley grain 20 that you see shall be formed and [...] a/nd beautified by the five elements. [N]ow, the w[ar]mth / and the cold nourish the seed grain and the / entire [t]ree. So, just as these things nourish it [... / ...] it is destroyed [...] throu[g]h 25 [... / ...] hunger.

In this way also righteousness / [gathe]rs the five to it. So, it shall be chosen by the teachers / [and the ele]ct; and they gather it in and ornament i/[t ... and] it is well established 30 [...] Now, [ju]st as they that shall enlight/[en ...] In this way too, a (**262**) lack and a shortfall shall occur from place to place through / [t]hem; and they who have chosen it have gathered it in and beaut/[ified] and attained it, while an affliction shall arise for it th/[ro]ugh those.

People also shall be caused [to 5 st]umble on their account, through the energy of Matter / [that d]wells in them. It has poured / [its] shadow over them, just as it shall also pour its / [shado]w over the elements and destroy the fruits / [of] all the trees.

••• 109 •••

(262,10 - 264,19)

/ Concerning the Fifty Lord's Days; / to what Mysteries do they correspond? Or the / Second (Fifty)[*139]*; to whose Sign (are they)? /*

Mani is asked to explain the significance of the fifty fasts undertaken by the catechumens, that is once weekly on each lord's day; and also of a further fifty held by the elect. He engages in some rather convoluted calculations to reach these totals.

The first fifty correspond to the mystery of the First Man: five powers for each of his five sons or garments equals twenty-five limbs of the living soul. This divine son/s of the Man (note the deliberate Christological reference) has abstained from the food of life in a world of mixture. The doubling of the twenty-five seems (263.4 – 9?) to be calculated with reference to the ascent of the First Man; and then the ascent of the call and answer, which are the counsel of life or means of salvation for the soul.

The second fifty correspond to the mystery of Jesus as the second man: forty days fasting in the desert, seven days in the house of Simon the leper, and three in the tomb.

Once [again] a disciple stood up. He questions the apo[15]stl[e], saying to him: I beseech you, my m[a]/ster, t[o] recount to us about the fifty lord's days during wh/ich the catechumens fast. For what do they fast, or / for whose mystery do they fa[s]t? Or these seco[20]nd (fifty) that is set between the elect, / to whose mystery were they set [a]mongst them? Proclaim t[hi]s also to / [us] and persuade us about it, because [... / ...] you [...]

Then [he] say[s to] / his questioner and they with him: [25] Happen you know that [in eac]h one of these five garments that the [First] / Man summonsed there are five powers. / They shall be counted to the [... each] / other, these five, and five times [...] / their number. However, at the time [...] (**263**) the summons went down. The answer wis[h]/ed to ascend with it. And the summons with the obedien[ce constitute] twenty-five characteristics in their twenty-five limbs, [which] / are the sons of the Man. The summons and [the obed][5]ience were raised to the heights through them.

[*139] Smagina 1990:122 suggests that the term δευτέρα stands for Monday, i.e. the second day of the week upon which the elect fasted.

Just as their fa[ther] / the living Man raised himself up through them, by th[ese] / these other ones have set up all things a[bov]e / and below. Indeed, these are what are called p[ente]/cost, the fifty great days that are the [archetypes of [10] the] holy [d]ays. They fasted from their [foo]d, / [w]hich is their own. So, from that time until [the time] of / [the adv]ent of Jesus the Splendour, the glorious one who came [... / ... t]heir food which is the [...] of sou[l, w]hich is / the summons and the obedience [...] [15] that spiritual food. They rele[ased ...] / all these fifty days, which [...] this living food / suffices for all of them. It filled them all with power and rich/ness and life. Light [...] / this living food that [... [20] ...] became rich.

They ceased being fifty days. [They] have gone. / They became the one hundred holy days that are the fifty [d]ay/[s ...] fast [... / ...] that they have joined them wit[h them / ... [25] ... / ... / ...] these mysteries of these first fif[ty / ... these s]econd (fifty) also [in] which the elect / [fast] correspond to the sign of the fifty [... [30] ... the] sum[m]ons and the obedience set them in their (**264**) splendrous [places] at the coming of Jesus. Now, behold, these are the / [great] days of the fifty lord's days that I have revealed / [for the] catechumens.

Behold, these are the fifty da/[ys of] the second (group) that I have revealed for the elec[5][t ...] You enquire about these mysteries. They also occur in / [the teachin]gs of the sects. They have fifty days in which they / f[as]t. They call them penteco/[st, b]ecause the apostles themselves fasted for / t[hese fif]ty days, they revealed them to their disciples.

[10] Also, {Chr]ist himself revealed these fifty days to [them] / on [the d]ay, fasting on the mountain, at the time when the [de]/vi[l] tempted him*[140]. He spent another seven days g[oing i]/n [to] the house [of Simon] the leper*[141], together with the three other [days t]/hat he [spent] in the sepulchre among the dead*[142].

[15] Yet, [... in these f]ifty days. And I, I have b[estowed them] / on the entire church with these fifty days in which / the ca[te]chu-

*140 See Mt. 4:2
*141 See Mt. 26:6
*142 See Lk. 24:46

m[e]ns fast, after the myster/y of the First Man. And the other fifty, after the sign of / the s[ec]ond man who was revealed in the church.

••• 110 •••

(264,20 – 265,8)

/ Concerning the Nourishment of the Person, / for there are Powers in it [... / ...] /

The human body images the macrocosmos as a machine for purifying the light from the darkness. As food is absorbed and passes through the digestive system the light is cleansed and exhaled, while the material dregs and their powers are expelled.

[Once again] sp[ea]ks [... [25] ...] exis[t ...] / d[a]ily to the body of the person [...] / there are two hundred and fifty thousand seals in it [...] / there are ano[ther] two hundred and fifty thousand rule[rs ...] / they are cleansed and purified and enter [...] (**265**) by the voice, by the word, and by the [... / ...] quiet with the silence at the time when his heart [... / ...] of God the Father. Also, the twelve [... / ...] rulers that belong to the darkness shall be swept o[ut [5] ...] outside in wandering and in tran[s/mi]gration [... / ...] some of them [... through] this tr[ansmigra]/tion, and others among them shall be brought bac[k].

••• 111 •••

(265,9 – 266,2)

[10] *Concerning the Four Archetypes that occur / in the Eye, and the Fifth that is hidden / in them; to whom do they belong? /*

Too fragmentary to derive the overall sense.

[On]ce again he speaks: There are four a[s]pects among / mankind that perceive, as they perceive [... [15] with]out*[143] these four that are hidden in them [...] they belong [... / ...] So, [the ...]

*[143] Reading [χω]ρις

that is in the [... / ...] belongs to the fire. The darkness belongs to the ab[yss]; / but the light that perceives what is hidden in a[ll] these things, / being clear, is the living air.

[20] [Once] again he speaks: How shall the pupil of the eye [per]ce/[ive]? While [it percei]ves by day, yet come the nigh[t] it [shall not / perceive]. What myster[y] does this matter signify? / [Look], I am the one who will [explain to you what y]ou do not know [... / ...] the pupil of the eye shall not [... [25] ...] the mystery of the [... / ...] is the door [... / ...] below [... / ...] the other four cardinal points. F[o]r in the [... / ...] above. He has [... [30] ...] great [... / ...] they came do[wn ... / ...] living [... (**266**) the F]irst M[a]n came forth from it and kne[w] / all things.

••• 112 •••

(266,3 - 268,27)

/ The Human is less than all the Things [5] of the Universe, and he is rebellious beyond them all. /

This kephalaion seems to begin with a clear historical reminiscence. In the latter part there are two typical catechetical lists that appear to have been added to the text.

266.6 – 267.18 Mani stands in a dry river-bed and points to a great mountain, in order to illustrate his theme. The sense of his comments seems to be that if all of mankind (or perhaps all life forms?) were gathered together they would not equal in size this one mountain, and similarly they would be engulfed (?) in a single sea. And the earth has many mountains and seas existing in silence and peace. Nevertheless, it is humanity that blasphemes against God in all his power, saying that God is the one who created the demonic beings.

267.18 – 268.2 A disciple interprets this attack upon monotheism (correctly) as an assertion that humanity does not belong to God. He therefore asks why Jesus the son of God came into the world, and had to suffer torment and persecution. Mani replies that Jesus did not come to save mankind alone. He had various tasks in the divine plan, including a cosmological role (e.g. 94.1 – 11) and his revelation to Adam and Eve.

268.3 – 18 Jesus sent the apostles and revealed five great things.

268.19 – 27 The faithful shall live by three mighty things.

[F]urthermor]e, it happened one time as the apostle is travelling / [on the] road. He came across a great river marked deep in it[s / be]d. That river was dry. When he had le[apt o]/ut, he stood in its

midst and filled [his] eyes [10] [with its brea]dth and length and deep bed [... / ...] he lifted his eyes up and saw a great mo[untain] / beyond that river.

After he had stood / [in] that place in the midst of the river, he shook his [head]. / He [sa]ys: If one of all these five wo[rlds [15] of the f]lesh [...] today on the surfaces of the earth [... / ...] out from [...] which is deep. They will make it like / [...] and they set them in order [... / with o]ne another, one [wi]th one upon the earth. They all [... / ...] up to the heights against the elevation of this mountain [... [20] ... corresponding to] its height; they will neither come to breadth corresponding to / [its] breadth, nor to width corresponding to its width, [nor / to] depth corresponding to its depth.

Not only this, b[ut e/ach] one, all of them from their smallest to their g[reatest / ...] a single sea [... [25] ...] single [...] but [...] / that [s]ea and they are swallowed an[d ... / ...] is in it [... / ...] they are in [...] earth [... / ...] many [m]ountains [... [30] ...] sea in it, they [... / ...] are very [gre]at in their fa[shion ... / ... t]hey did not guard against him [... / ...] the silence and they [... (**267**) ...] blasphemed hi[m] not, neither against his l[i/gh]t that is displayed, no[r] do they utter {}*[144] blasphemies / [a]gainst his power that supports the totality, nor against the / [e]ssence that is displayed indicating the totality, [5] [nor] against the good works of righteousness. [They / re]count no cause of evil after Go/[d].

However, [the i]dol of ill-fated human[it]y [... / ...] the one that will be unlike anything, that is equal [... / ...] great works; and it was found evil [by] [10] God, the Lord of all. It even blasphemed again[st the] / power that supports the totality, against its hol[y] light; [and / it] profaned its glorious wisdom, bringing forth / the cause of every sin. They say that / every disgraceful wickedness and defilement, the rulers and the [15] demons and the fiends and the satans, they say that they have co/me from God, that he is the one who [es]tablished them [... / ...] they came not from him, and they give false testimony / about him.

Then, when he had recounted this, / at that instant one of his

*144 ⲉⲁⲣⲡⲥ̀

disciples speaks [20] to him from amongst these who are standing before him: T[e]ll / [u]s, our master, and instruct us about this lesso[n]. /

Now, [i]f this idol of humanity does not belong [t]o / God, according to what you have said about it, why did Jesus come to / [the] world, the son of the Living God? He has been reve[al[25]e]d therein! He suffered tribulation and persecution. They hung h/[im] on the cross, and his enemies perpetrated against him the tor/[ment] and shame of their evil-doing. /

[The ap]ostle [says] to him: Jesus did not come and s[a/ve the] world because of mankind alone, but [30] [... he] came and revealed on earth / [...] was strong outside in / [...] And [whe]n he had finished doing his (**268**) [t]ask outside [i]n the great u[ni]verse, he came [... / he wen]t further with Adam and Eve and revealed [to them]. / Even so, he sent the apostles to the good, / [g]eneration by generation, and revealed to them five great thin[gs].

[5] [Firs]t: He told them that they belong to the race of ligh[t. /

Se]cond: He unveiled to them about the aeons [of the gre/atness], how they occur; and he taught them about [the / manner of] the darkness, how it t[o]o exists. /

[The th]ird time: He proclaimed to them about the [l]ight great-[ness], [10] how it has been active against the pow[er / of] darkness and conquered it. /

Fourth: He taught them that he came to the province of death [... / ...] that is flesh, until he should find profit and bring / them from the gate of the underworld below, for [they had] been swa[ll][15]owed into it.

Fifth: He explained to us / that the rebels shall be bound in a great fetter, they who / shall [r]ebel against the g[o]od and against the righteousness t/hat is proclaimed by the apostle. /

Once [again] the apostle speaks: All the faithful who believe [20] this tr[u]th shall live by three great mighty things. /

The first: They have been counted to the race of faith and truth, this / living one that enlightens.

The second: They have received the right hand and / the peace that came to them from above. They have believed the [a]/postle who has been manifested.

The third: They a[ct] [25] with restraint and charity to the Cross of Light, which g[rie]/ves in the totality, being present in what is visible and what is / not vis[ib]le.

••• 113 •••

(268,27 – 269,13)

/ The Chapter on whether any [Lig]/ht comes from the Three Vessels.

Mani taught that the universe was layered, with eight earths and ten heavens, and carefully constructed for the purification of the light. The term 'vessel (ⲙⲁⲛⲍⲓⲟⲣⲉ)' is variously used in this complex cosmology. However, the reference to such surrounding the universe would seem to indicate the three vessels of water and darkness and fire that the Living Spirit first poured down from the heavens, and that he then swept out to ditches prepared for them at the edge of the universe. See chapters 42 – 45, especially 112.20 – 24. In any case, this kephalaion explains the mechanism by which light may be further refined, even from these vessels.

[30] Once again the disciples questioned our enlightener. They say: [Preac]/h about this bit of life and light that comes from [these three] / vessels that surround the universe [...] / life comes up [...] /

The apostle s[a]ys to them: [... (**269**) ...] b[u]t should the [...] ascend [... / ...] light of the rays that [...] which are received, which shine a[n/d] go in through these great open gates, through these doo[rs] / firmament by firmament. For four [gates [5] o]pen in each world, distributed at the four points of the comp[ass, / op]ening downwards to the vessels. So, due to this, the [light / of the] rays shall go in through these openings and it shines on [that] pla[ce], / and pulls through them the light and the little pi[llar (?) / that ex]ists there. From that place [it] shall be poured [out [10] to the] firmaments. It shall also be clarified in these firmaments [... / ...] a part there is cleansed and it is [all] taken u[p wi/t]h the living ones. However, its other part [...] shall all [be cast] d/[o]wn.

••• 114 •••

(269,14 – 270,24)

15 *Concerning the Three Images that / are in the righteous Person. /*

The elect have three 'images (εἰκών)' in them: the corporeal; the psychic; and the spiritual, which is the new man formed by the Light Mind. The living soul that enters the elect through food is cleansed as it rises up through these three, being stripped of all the corporeal and then the psychic accretions brought by mixture. In the spiritual image the light virgin perfects it.

This latter term is used variously in Manichaean texts. Here she is described as a guide, just as is the eschatological Light Form who comes to greet the departing soul with her three angels carrying the victory prizes. However, in this context she represents the perfection of the elect soul. Essentially the virgin is the manifestation of the soul in all her chastity and power.

Once again our enlightener speaks to his disciples: Thr/[ee] images occur in the elect person. /

[The fi]rst is the [s]piritual image, which is the new man, wh20ich the Light Mind shall form in him; and it goes [i]n / to him and dwells in him.

The second image is [the] rem/nant and remainder of the new man, which is the py[ch]ic image / that is bound in the flesh, as the old man [... si]nce the / times of this psychic image.

The other one is the [corp]oreal image 25 [that is] added to them all.

These three images / [...] entirely. When it will [... / ...] through the nourishment of food. If it shall sink [... / ...] down to the corporeal image. [And] the corporeal, / [that] is in it, shall divest itself of it and place it in the [...] image. 30 [...] again it rises up and falls to the [...] image; / it [sh]all divest itself of the psychical of the enemies, which [... / ...] anger. The lust [... / ... / ...] with it.

Then sh[all] a [light] vir35[gin come and] reveal [the] spiritual image (**270**) that is [there], which [is] the n[ew m]an. / T[h]at virgin acts as a guide. [She g]/oes on before and it is extended to

the heights abo[ve, / and] received in to this spiritual image. And she scu[lpt[5]s] it and adorns it with the new man [wi]t/[hi]n. It is sealed with all the limbs of this light vir/[gin] who is present and dwells in the new man. /

So, this is [h]ow this living limb shall be [puri/fied] and live, the one that comes in to the body of [10] [the ri]ghteous one from without through the administration of food of various ki/[nds], like this. The living soul shall be clea/n[sed] entirely every [d]ay and traverse these three [im]/a[ges]*[145].

So, it shall divest itself of the body, which is not its own, / in the corporeal. It shall also divest itself of the souls [15] that are not its own, these that are mixed with it in the psychical [... / ...] anger and desire and [...]-ness / and foolishness and envy and strife; and these other / wicked teachings that are not its own.

However, in [the] / spiritual image itsel[f] it shall live and be joined with [lo][20]ng-sufferingness, the perfection of faith and love / that reigns over them all. It is the virgin of / light who robes the new man and who shall be cal[l]/ed 'the hour of life'. S[he] is the f[irst], / but s[h]e is also the last.

••• 115 •••

(27●,25 – 28●,19)

/ The Catechumen asks / the Apostle: will Rest / come about for Someone who has come out of the Body, i/f the Saints pray [over] [30] and make an Alms-offering [for him]? /

In this extensive chapter the question concerns the effectiveness of prayer for the dead; and how to reconcile such intercession with the doctrine of retribution for one's sins (the familiar theme of grace versus deeds). Whilst this second problem is not clearly answered in the readable portions of the text, the chapter is of particular interest for evidencing (albeit only implicitly) Manichaean practices as regarding the dead; and the role of the elect or the saints within believing communities.

270.31 – 271.12 Framing sequence and statement of the catechumen's question.

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*145 Reading ⲛ[ⲉⲓ]/ⲕ[ⲱⲛ]

271.13 – 26 Mani replies that supplications made by the elect in faith will be granted; for such petitions have been made by the gods since the beginning, and the right has been passed on to the church.

271.26 – 273.9 Mani explains the archetypal supplication whereby the Mother of Life besought the Father for a helper, on behalf of the First Man; and was granted the Living Spirit that saved him from the abyss.

273.9 – 14 Reiteration: the saints will similarly be granted their prayers.

273.15 – 20 Mani begins to recount a second archetypal episode with a brief description of the constituent parts of the universe.

273.20 – 274.21 The great gods of the first and second emanations beseech the Father for a leader to undertake the process of salvation, the mechanisms for which they have put in place. They are granted the Third Ambassador.

274.22 – 29 Reiteration: the faithful elect and catechumens will similarly be granted their requests

274.30 – 277.3 (and see 274.16 – 19) Highly fragmented account of a third supplication regarding the liberation of the living soul; and perhaps further episodes concerning Jesus Splendour et al.

277.4 – 278.23 List of four victories achieved by prayer for the dead; with reiteration. Here perhaps might also be found Mani's answer concerning the problem of retribution for past sins.

278.23 – 280.1 Analogy of the process of intercession, and explanation.

280.1 – 19 Mani charges the catechumens with their mission, and receives the thanks of his original questioner (framing sequence).

Once again, it happened one time wh[ile our enlightener is sitting] / in the midst of the co[ngreg]ation. A cate[chu]me[n ...] / stood u[p] in front of him and sp[oke, questioni(**271**)ng] him. He says to hi[m: I be]seech you, my master, [that you / may] recount to me of this lesson; if I ask you it! [About / the] entreaty that the person makes in his pr[ayer, / if he] beseeches charity for someone who has been released from h[is [5] bo]dy.

Tell me: The entreaty and the prayer by which / [the] saints pray, beseeching for [someone; do they / h]elp him any? How is it benef[icial] for him; or el[se does it / he]lp him not? For we have heard from you [just so, th]at / each one shall receive retribution according to his deeds.

[10] So [n]ow, I beseech you my master, that you may instr[uc]t me / about this lesson for which I have asked you; whether [it is] tru[e]? / [F]or it is very great and honoured amongst pe[opl]e. /

[Then] the apostle speaks to him: As to the qu[esti]on / for [which] you ask me, the entreaty occurs and the true pra[yer] [15]

occurs! For every elect [Manich]aean*[146] person, / [if he] beseeches charity in total faith, he is [claimi]ng a / [re]quest from our compassionate Father. So, if he is beseec[hing] over him/[sel]f alone, he shall be favoured his entreaty; [bu]t i[f] again he is / [be]seeching on behalf of someone else, he shall be granted [hi]s r[20][eq]uest.

For this entreaty has been since the beginning [... / ...] the gods first made entreaty of their Father. They were granted / their entreaty and their request. For its part, the [h]oly church / that assumes the flesh is established in [pray/er, and] entreaty above [a]ll, and the pure request [...] [25] him and the son, the Christ. They shall give him it, na/[mely] these first ones that are prior to him.

I will inst/[ruct y]ou how it is that they shall / [beseech] their entreaty from the first ones; or in what form / [they shall en]treat [their req]uest, they who have asked for it [30] [...] every thing. The Great Spirit, the Mother / [of Life, she claimed and pra]yed and besought and glorified and praised (**272**) the first established on[e; who] is the Father. She [beso/ught] him an entreaty. She claimed of him a request. [She / received] a great gift; she and the many powers / [wi]th her.

She besought an entreaty on behalf of the First Man, [bec[5]ause of h]ow he had come forth and thrown himself dow[n. / He became] distant from the Mother of Life. He separated from her and g[ave / him]self; in great affliction. He joined war on [earth / with] the destruction and the grief and the weakness; in the worlds [of / dark]ness; in the abysses made of fear; in the midst [10] of the demons' d[i]t[ch]; amongst the powers of the dev[il]! /

Indeed, h[e is l]ike a king standing in the mids[t of] / h[is] enemies. And when the Mother of Life petitioned and prayed and [gl]/or[ified] and praised the Father, the [f]/irst established one, she did petition him that he might send [15] a po[wer]; a protector and redeemer and helper for the s/on of God who is set in affliction.

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*[146] The reconstruction in the ed. princ. of ⲙ[ⲙⲛ̄ⲭ]ⲁⲓⲟⲥ should be treated with caution. This form of self-designation does not occur elsewhere in the

No[w], just as / [she] had [beso]ught and interceded, so likewise was her pray[er] / fulfilled and received in to the presence of the Father of Gre[at]/n[ess]. He turned and gave to her her entreaty: the great [power], 20 the Living Spirit, the giver of ease. The Mother of Life and the Living Spirit came with / gr[ea]t power to the [bo]/rders of the territory. They brought the First Man up fro[m] / that war and struggle, wherein he is se[t]. /

He gave himself as a grace for the Mo[th]er of Life. [He] 25 became estranged and far from her, the one whom his enemi[es] (place) / in great affliction, the one who is in the land of [darkness] / since he [became] weak.

The Living Spirit gr[asp]ed and t[ook him i]/n. He freed him. He set him r[ight and gave] / him [e]ase in the land of res[t ...] 30 the Living Spirit, the first giver of e[ase ...] / the will of these three. The w[el]comer [...] / find with the welcomer that [...

(**273**) ...] a great power [...] of the loved one [...] / the First Man who had been f[a]r away. He had become dista[nt]. / She [had] besought on his behalf. He was set fast in affliction. (The Living Spirit) [went] / to the place of destruction and weakness, the one that freed 5 and redeemed him and gave him ease from the affliction. He se[t him] / right with rest and joy. He has himself become rested, [wi]/th him for ever.

See [no]w, I have taught you [the fi]/rst entreaty that the Mother of Life besought by [her] / prayer. They granted her her entreaty.

Thi[s] also is the case [with the prayer] 10 that the faithful saints [... o]/ver the one who has been released from his body. They shall be granted their / entreaty just as the Mother of Life was given the entreaty th[at sh]e / besought on behalf of the First Man. She was given the First Man / by the entreaty for which she besought the Father.

15 [...] a/nd they built the universe and completed it with its firmaments, / with its wheels, with the ships of light that are in the heights, / with its fastenings, with its earths and its walls, with its / vessels. They completed the universe and set it right 20 by the fathers of light.

Then, the Great / Spirit stood with the Beloved of the Lights, the Great / Builder with the Living Spirit and the First Man. These / five stood to prayer; they glorified and praised the Father, / the first established one. They besought of him an entreaty. They [25] [clai]med of him a request, that he might give them the power / [...] the leader, a guide to all the things / [of] activity that they had constructed. That he might come and purify / [the] living [so]ul that is set in affliction. /

[They prayed and be]sought their Father, and he received from them their pr[30][ayer ...] he gave them their entreaty and their re/[quest ...] he summoned from him / [...] which is the Third / [Ambassador. H]e, he came from the power of his (**274**) [g]reatness. He saw the entire [soul], how it is entangled [in / a] chain and set fast. [It] sees the things of ac[t]/ivity that his brothers have constructed, that have come from [the hei/ghts]. Again, he saw the living soul, that it is entangled and set [fa[5]st] in a great torture. It is oppressed in the stink of the abys/[s that] is joined with it.

And therefore, he, the Ambassa[dor / ...] in his charity. [S]o, he revealed his way, / before this underworld that is dug deep down, / [to f]ree the living soul. He redeemed it from all the fleshes [10] of death wherein it is pained. He gave it ease. / H[e] set it right in the place of rest and joy.

And / again, he too, the Ambassador, he fulfilled the will / of these three; the will of his brothers who had besought / the Father for him. They claimed of him a request, together with [15] the [...] of the Father, the one that [...] he gave the entrea[ty / that they had besought] of him.

The third is the transferral / of the living [soul] that he had fre[ed]. He released it and / gave it ease from the affliction. He became king and first to / the entire b[o]dy.

Behold, I have instructed you as to [20] the second entreaty by which they [first] besought the Father. / They were given the Third Ambassador. /

Now, happen you know this lesson: Each perfect elect / and every catechumen who believes, being / in the truth and set firm to prayer in faith, if he bese[25]eches and [inter]cedes with faith,

[wheth]er indeed for himself [or] / else for another who has been freed from his [bo]/dy; his entr[eaty] and his request [that he ask]/ed for shall [be] granted for him. Just as the entreaty of his fathers was granted [...] / they who besought the Father for the Ambassador.

30 Again, let us come to the third entreaty wh[en they besought h]/im the third time [...] / display[ed] his image [...] / he hid his image from the [... (**275**) ...] he stood firm [... / ...] they revea[led ... / ... / ...] the light [... 5 ... the F]irst Man [... / ...] mock [...] to him in [... / ...] which is exalted [... / ...] garment [...] they were fr[e/e]d [... 10 ... / ... / ...] to him [... / ...] their voice [...] the bod[y ... / ... p]rayer [... 15 ...] it [...] beseech [...] the bo[dy ... / ... / ... / ...] beseech [... / ...] she besought [...] in [... 20 ...] be free [... / ... / ... / ...] Ambass[ador ... 27 ...] and also [...] (**276**) with the living ones and [... fo]r ever [... / ...] the firs[t ...] from the [... / ...] he gave him the hope [...] /

Also, [Jes]us the Splendour perfec[ted] the will [... 5 ...] the will [... / ...] they found the li[gh]t [...] the wil[l] of the [... / ...] that he had [...] he gave them the power [th]at / is Jesus the Splendour. H[e granted] the will of the elements. / [... 10 ... / ...] for ever. This first [... / ...] he was humbled, he was made free [...] / the [...]-ness is displayed [to] his enemies. He received the hope [... / re]veal [...] Jesus the Splendour, the light power [... 15 ...] and [the] entreaty of the [...] of lig[ht ... / ...]

Now, just as this entreaty [... / ... / ...] the fig[ure ... / ...] that they have [... this] is also how [... 20 ...] the figure of [...] you are set fir[m ... / ...] Happen you know this: Every one [... / ... k]nows, he has perceived [... / ...] all the things [... / ... 25 ...] out from [... / ...] within him [... 29 ...] upon him [... (**277**) ...] will fre[e] him, [an]d they give him ease [... / ...] in it, and they [give h]im rest and [... / ...] and the petition of the hol[y] church. /

[Happen] you k[no]w: That per[son] who enacted the 5 [alm]s and the remembrance for the person who had come ou[t from the b]o/[dy]; he made this peace. He besought an entreaty [...] / his four great victories th[erein].

The first: [... / ...] of the living soul that is entangled and bound

i[n the] entire [uni]/verse. For it shall be freed and clea[nsed] [10] and purifi[ed] and redeemed by cause of him.

The seco[nd]: / He shall make rest for the holy church, b[y the al]/ms that he enacts for the person who has been fr[eed] / from his body. The [...] children of the [chu]r/ch rest upon it. The [...] that living [so]ul, [15] the one that was [...] in the [ho]pe / [...] it shall surpass and be purified [...]

The th/[i]rd victory is [... / ...] the Father [... / ...

The fourth (?) ... [20] ...] who had come out from his body, they [...] him, as he had [...] / alms on his behalf and a remembrance for his br[other; / whether] his father or his mother or his s[o]n / [o]r else [his] daughter or his relative [who / sha]ll come out from his body. He has made alms for [his [25] ... f]rom him. He did not lack his ho[pe / ...] but he enacted for him a remembrance [... / ...] of the church.

The catechumen [... / ...] this alms for a person if he has come out [fr]om / [his body]; as his limb [...] these four [... [30] ... / ...] the sins from the one who has [... / ... / ... (**278**) ... / ...] a brother [...] a relativ[e ... / ...] sick [...] his [... / ...] sin [... [5] ...] from the affliction [... / ...] the way [...] catechumen [... / ...] in his [...] /

So, [...] reward for it [...] the other five [... / ...] he did not remember [...] the catechumen [... [10] ...] He redeemed the living [person] who is entangled [... / ...] entirely. He has [...] his father, the first [... / ...] he made redemption for the s[oul / ...] that he had fre[ed / ...] the light has pity [15] [...] the way als[o ...] a request [...] Cross [... / ... a]ffliction. Again, just as he has [... / ...] of the light [... / ...] give ea[s]e for his [... / ...] grant the entreaty and the re[quest [20] of] this catechumen. He besought for the soul / [...] him, that had come forth from the world. They shall make [... / ... e]ase. It shall be freed from affliction and come forth [... / ...] for ever.

D[u]e to this whole matter [... / ...] like a person [...] a relative [25] [...] if he had sinned he was hung and bound [... / ...] he did it. Afterwards, a comrade [... / ...] or his father or his brother rises and goes [... / ...] for he who was bound a promi[se ... / ...] it shall be determined [... [30] the mast]er whom he had bound [... / ...] before [the chi]e[f ... / ... (**279**) ...] and he petitions [...]

(Mani) says: You have [asked me / about the s]in of his relat[iv]e who is boun[d ... / ...] and the intercession that his [kin/sma]n shall make there before this per[son], [5] who had bound him, [for these other] masters.

Now, by cause of the [re/l]ative of this bound person who beseeches / [that] they might free him, and with the help of they whom he pe[titi]oned / to give something so as to aid either h[e o]r / these others; this person shall fill these other master[s] [10] with charity. And he frees his kinsma[n a]nd achi/eves for him rest.

Again, this too is what / the matter of this person is like, the one who was f[r]ee[d] / from his body. Afterwards a male / and or female catechumen, or a household member of his, [expresses] his [15] love towards him. And he performs a remembrance in the church / on his behalf; and the saints beseech for him a [s]in-entreaty / through the entreaty and the remembrance that they shall perform [on] his behalf / in the holy church. They shall release that soul / and it comes forth from this affliction to ease.

Indeed, this living soul [20] that was freed by cause of this other soul; it / [t]oo, that living soul, it shall be redeemed in the name / [of] that person. It is redeemed*[147] and purified and at[tains] / its first essence. Also, it shall become h[is co-]/helper and beseeches for the soul of the one who has been freed [25] [from h]is body. He shall petition charity for it and forgiveness / [of sins] from the powers of light.

Just as eas/[e has come about] for the living soul by cause of this soul, / [this is how] this soul [sha]ll find ease and escape / [tha]t [body]. It goes in to the land of [30] [light ...] soul that was redeemed because of it / [...] comes about for it; and it (**280**) [goes] to the land of [li]fe and rest [...] /

[Then] speaks the apostl[e to t]hat catechu[men]: / I, I have entrusted you al[l; these cat]e/[chu]mens of the faith. For, so long [5] [...] make alms-offerings and remembrances and [... / for these] souls that have come out from their body [... / ...] So long as they are set fast in distress becaus[e / ...] of the alms that you give him, and the cup of wat[er / ...] the saints by it. [What] you are doing

*147 Perhaps read ⲥⲱⲧϥ 'cleansed'.

[is] a great good [10] for this living soul that is set / [...] in transmigration [... / ...] you will perform for it a remembrance as you redeem / i[t] from thousands of afflictions and ten thousands of transmigr/ati[on]s; and you bring it to this brother.

Then, when [15] that catechumen heard these things he prai/sed [and] made obeisance and glorified. He says to him: I am grate/-ful to you my master, with great confessions. For / you, [you have] (opened)*[148] for us every thing. You have instructed us / entirely; with your [wisdom].

••• 116 •••

(280,20 – 282,6)

/ Concerning why if a [Nail] is cut / the Person shall not be sick; but if a Limb is c/ut he shall immediately be pained. /

Mani compares the different responses of parts of the body to the growth patterns of tree varieties.

Once again one of the disciples questioned the apostle. He s[a][25]ys to him: Tell me, my master, why / when limbs are cut from the body / of the person he shall be pained? While if the hair / on the head of the person's body should be shaved, and [the nai/ls o]f his hands and feet be cut, he does not notice it [...] [30] Some of these even now shall grow an[d ...] / again. Just as the na[ils*[149] ...] / so the hair shall grow and [...] / cut a finger, he in [...] / on the limbs of the [bod]y that you [... (**281**) ...] him [...] since this time to the [... / ...] the body ag[a]in.

So, [I besee/ch you], my maste[r], that you might instruct me of the m[atter] / for [which I have ask]ed you.

Then the a[po[5]stle] speaks to him: I am the one who will instruct you [about the / less]on for which you have asked me! Happen you know th[at / the] body is like the earth, wh[ile these] limbs als[o ... / ...] of it are like the trees. There are varieties [...] / of tree

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*[148] ⲡⲱⲣⲡ
*[149] Reading ⲛⲓⲉ[ⲉⲃⲉ]

you shall find growing on the earth. They ar[is]e [10] and grow again and stand firm. They have not [... / ...] Again, there are others that if they are cut shall not [grow / ... / ...] and they grow, as they are li[ke / ...] which shall be cut and grow [...] and [15] [...] they too that occur [...] / they shall be cut and not grow, resembling [... / ... neither] grow nor shall they [... [23] ...] it [sh]all please him on [...] and grows [... / ...] in impurity [... [25] ... / ... / ...] from him. This flesh that is corrupt / [... (**282**) ... / ...] in the liv[in]g flesh and they [... / ...] are somewhat sick.

Behold, [I have tau/ght you] about this lesson for which you have asked me [... the] [5] disciple heard this homily [... / ...] he sat down.

••• 117 •••

(282, 7 – ?)

/ Concerning why Some shall delay to come / forth from the Body, and Oth[10] *ers die in an instant. /*

The fragmentary kephalaion may have continued on to the next leaf, 283, of which virtually nothing survives. Since it is impossible to tell where chapter 117 finished, the few legible words from that leaf are transcribed under the next chapter heading.

Onc[e] again the disciples questioned the apostle, say[ing] / to [him]: We beseech you, our master, th[at you might] / instruct us about these people who shall [... / ...] and their soul is released from [their body ... [15] ...] if he shall fall upon [...] /

The [sec]ond*[150] [...] if he shall fall [... / ...] one [... / ...] one hour [... / ...] [20] others who shall [... / ...] and they remain. They shall delay until they [... / ...] he is freed, and they delay to come toward [... / ...]

So, now, we bes[eech / you, our mast]er, that you might [...] and say [... [25] ...] which names shall be freed, as they [... / ...] release them.

Then he says to the [... / ... the] matter that [...]

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*150 Reading ⲡⲙⲁϩ[ⲥⲛⲧⲉ]

••• 118 •••

(283 – 284)

[...]

The mostly destroyed leaves 283-284 perhaps contained the end of chapter 117, certainly the whole of chapter 118, and the beginning of chapter 119. Only a few words may be read, and no overall sense of the contents is achievable.

(**283**) [... [10] ...] upon [... / ... / ...] from [... / ...] thus [... (**284**) ... [5] ... a]ll of them [... [11] ...] that they shall [... [14] ...] seven people [... [15] ...] Again, he too, this per[son ...] the time when [... / ...] of the light [... [19] ...] the universe [... [20] ...] is revealed [... / ...] take to the light [... / ... utt]erly, the way that he exists [... [25] ...] from [... / ...] these other three [...]

••• 119 •••

(284,? – 286,23)

[...]

Mani describes the First Man in distinctly Christological terms as the only begotten and first righteous one, who was approved and sent forth against the enemy. The point of the lesson or sermon is that the disciples should model themselves after the steadfastness of the son of God, to whom they belong.

(**285**) [...] and the [righte]o[usness ...] is more than [the / ...] the voice through them.

The a[postle] speaks / [to] them about these four [... / ...] people; because they had recounted to him from [the hour] [5] and time.

This one, whom they called 'approved' [... / ...] they approved him in the midst of the ae[ons of] / light. These numerous multitudes set him a[part], / and he came forth against the enemy. They gave this name [... / ...] this matter [... [10] ...] who are

numerous, that are in the aeons of light and who [are without]*151 / measure or number.

This one, [whom they called] / 'righteous', because he is the first righteous one who / had no sin amongst all of the aeons that belong to the light / and the thought [... 15 ...] they knew him, so that [... becau]/se he is the first catechumen [wh]o obe/yed his Father, who had sent him with five sons [...] / perdition.

This one also [whom they called] / 'only begotten', because he was established [...] 20 pour [...] enemy.

So now, I / tell you, my brothers and my limbs, that these / [whom] they have called 'approved', they [... / ...] after the likeness of the First Man; they called [... / ...] to yo[u ... 25 ...] two in ten thousand after the likeness of the First Man [... / ...] 'righteous' after the likeness of the First / [M]an. For, just as he was without sin among the [... / ...] Man. He gave victo[ry] to them [... / ...] you and they who are unyield[ing 30 ...] are without sin among the souls of the / [...] to them the word of life, that / [...] hope of life. They are establishe[d / ...] in love and friendship [... (**286**) ... cate]chumen [...] the cate[chume/ns ... / ...] the rebel[s]. / Again, just as the only begotten ones from your [onl5y] begotten race and you [...] according to flesh [... / ... o]nly begotten also from gold and silver and / all the [...] of the universe.

Just as your father, [the / F]irst Man, himself stood firm in the / [midst] of all the worlds of darkness. He did not love [the] 10 worlds of darkness, nor did he lust for them! Rather, / h[is] thought and love for the household of his people is / in h[i]m. Anything else that the enemy [...] with his / violent de[e]ds. Behold, (the First Man) toils and struggles; so that (the enemy) would be separat/e [from] them and be cast out from them. And he purifies them and ma[ke]s them 15 f[r]ee, and makes them as they were from the beginning. /

You too, so long as you stand firm in this / bo[dy ...] and all its lusts after the likeness of yo/ur [liv]ing father [...] the worlds of darkness. /

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*151 Reading ⲛⲉ[ⲧⲟ ⲛⲁⲧ]/ⲱⲓ Cf 153.26

[...] may they discover the remembrance of the household of his [20] peo[ple], as he remains in this [place ni]ght and day. /

When his disciples heard these lesso[ns], they rejoiced and gave [g]/lory. They praised their father and made obeisance to their teacher. H[e] / sat down and they rejoiced and were glad and [...]

••• 120 •••

(286,24 – 288,18)

[25] *Concerning the Two Essences.* /

In this chapter Mani makes a forceful attack upon monotheism. The initial context is unclear, but possibly he is preaching directly to Christians. If there was nothing apart from God at the beginning, then where did all the evils in the world come from? He scornfully asks his listeners why they reject evil deeds, surely they should perform them if everything comes from God! Indeed, by not doing so they are committing the double crime against their God of rejecting his deeds, and then forgiving the sins of those who fall into them.

Alternatively, if evil did not come from God, the Manichaean position, his listeners have lied against God who will judge them. Mani asserts that Jesus, like all the true apostles, taught dualism. Here Mani develops the favourite proof-text about the good and evil trees, in its five-fold version (see 30.20 48.14 – 19 and kephalaion 2). He ends by warning that at the last judgement his listeners will receive their condemnation.

Once again, when our father looked, he saw a [...] / person [...] before him. [He] says [... the] / two essences that are present at the beginning [...] the [lig]/ht and the darkness, that which is good and that which is evi[l, life and] [30] death.

You, however, the creatures of the [... / i]s a single essence that exist[s ...] / every thing, [from] which everything came abou[t ... / ...] it, the evil and the [... (**287**) ...] God. Now, therefore, if the [... / ...] among you that only one essence exist[s ... / ... a]nd they say that there is nothing else [apart / from] God.

So, tell me that lying, fal[se] [5] testimony, slander and accusation, sorceries [for] / sake of adultery, theft, the worshipping of id[ols], / robbery, the consuming fire, [...] {}*[152] that i[s / i]n the body of a

*152 TCJT

person like a moth, the lustful[ness] / and fornication in which people revel, the [... 10 ...] struggling with his breath as he shall not be quiet a si[ngl]e hour, / the insatiability of Mammon that the pers[on] shall [...] / as he shall not be satisfied for his lifetime, all these idola[tries], / the evil spirits that are like the night [... / ...] what they are or who cast them in the heart of peop[l]e so 15 [that] they both would die by them, and be tortured / [on their] account.

If they came about from [the] G/[od o]f truth*153, then why do you annul [... / ...] them not. If they are his, you do them! [...] / will receive two woes: one, that you did not do them; the other [...] woe 20 [...] received it, because you annul them and [... / ...] them. You forgive their sins upon the [... / ...]

For if God has hi[mself] created them, / the one who does them [h]as [no] sin therein! If they did not come / [about] from him, nor did he command them to be d[on]e, 25 [y]ou are the one who will speak a lie against God, saying / [that] all [these e]vil things come about from him [... / ... f]rom him, and you may bring two woes to the place. / [...] God (brings) a judgement against you, for while it / [...] through his beloved son in the 30 [manner of] all [the apos]tles, he proclaimed l[ik]e ess/[ence ...] do these evil things, he set a [... / ...] saying that these evil things are / [...] which is the wicked (**288**) [...] for in this way [... / the] bitter trees that give not fruit [... / ...] the hard earth.

Once again he says: [... / ...] the father plants it, they will [... 5 ... / be]loved [...] every fruit that is o/[n these] five tre[es ...] he and his belov[ed] son / [and hi]s holy spirit and the entire kingdom of they that [... / ...] they say th[at] 10 all the [wic]kednesses are his. They come about from / him. He is the one who established them because of this [... / ...] to separate the good from the darkness. / You will [be c]on[de]mned by this in the presence of God with a great [...]*154 / an[d be]fore his beloved son and his h[oly] spirit 15 at the last [da]y, at his advent.

You shall [come f]/rom your body and see these things that I have recou[nted to] / you; that they occur in truth before the Jud[ge] / of truth, the one who shall not favour anyone.

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*153 Read [ⲡ]ⲛⲟⲩ [ⲧⲉ ⲛ]ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ

*154 Perhaps read ϩⲉⲡ 'judgement'.

••• 121 •••

(288,19 – 290,28)

20 *Concerning the Sect of the Basket. /*

The interpretation of this chapter must remain speculative whilst the import of the crucial term ⲛⲟⲃⲉ ('basket'?), which is the description of the sect under discussion, remains unclear. From the context it may very tentatively be suggested that these were a sect of fruitarians, and that the basket (if this indeed is the meaning of the word) implies something like 'pickings' or even 'windfall'.

This could explain Mani's analogy about the universe, which leads on to the cosmological details in the latter and very fragmentary part of the kephalaion. Otherwise the relevance to the earlier discussion is uncertain.

Onc[e] again, on one of the occasions, as our enlightener is si[tting / ...] in the midst of the land of Babylon, a m[an came] / before him, a presbyter belonging to the [sect]*155 / of the basket. He is a worshipper of idols. He [... 25 ...] of the apostle. This presbyter [...] / who belongs to the sect of the basket.

Why [do they call / it] the sect of the 'basket'? For I see the [...] / when it hangs from the tree, they shall not [... / ... w]hen it will be picked in the [... 30 ...] they shall call it [...] in these ways [...] grapes [...] / grapes. It shall not be called [...] / will pick from the vine [... (**289**) ...] the basket [... / ...] their apples in various ways [... / ...] on their tree and they put them in the basket [... / ...] immediately [...]

The ap[ost]5le speaks to the presbyter of the sect of the basket: So, [the un/i]verse in which you stand i[s l/i]ke a tree; while you are [li]ke the frui[t that h/a]ngs from the tree. Now, if you [your]-self had been plucked from the univers[e] / with the basket, then well could you call yoursel[f] 10 the son of the basket! However, if up till n[ow] you are entangled in / the universe; how then do you call yourself the so[n of] the bas/ket, b[e]fore you are plucked from the universe like [a] fr/uit? For as long as it hangs from the tree, it shall not be call[ed] / 'alms'. And you too, as long as you

*155 Reading ϵϥⲏⲡ ⲁⲛ [ⲁⲟⲥⲙⲁ]

are entangled in [the] uni[15][verse] you [shall not be] w[ell] called the son of the [ba]sket. /

He raised his hand to his disciples: B[less]ed / [...] the children of the basket on account of their alms-giving, the ones that [...] / from the universe. He has released them and they [... / po]sses-sions*[156] from the houses, from the gold and silver, from [20] [...] and in [...] they shall be placed in the basket, w[h]ich / [is] the holy c[h]urch!

Then he says to him / [... / ... /...] The[n [25] ... / ... / ...] and the great [... / ...] and the great Mind that is [... / ...] this Youth that is with the [... [30] ...] thirty-six angels [... / ...] twenty-two angels [... / ...] but [...] of the twenty-two [... (**290**) ...] the seven pillars that stan[d ... / ...] the sea that surrounds the universe [... / ... f]our angels that are distributed to the [... the / un]iverse, supporting the mightiness [... [5] ...] below, which is the earth of al[l] the heavens / [...] these other five gods, the sons of the Man, they that [...] / the [un]iverse is stood firm [...] the summons / [and the] obedience [...] the splendour of the [... / ...] holy [ch]urch and the Adamant of Ligh[t [10] ...] they are become en/emie[s ...] they guide it.

The third also, [... / ...] below, there are twelve powers stan[ding f]/ir[m] there. However, the number of the twelve images [...] / the three great pillars of mightiness that [...] [15] pi[ll]ars supporting the disk [...] the other thr[ee / ...] they are the garments that the [Li]ving Spirit / [...] he put them at that time [... / ...] that threw them, together with [... / ...] which is displayed therein [...] this [... [20] ...] perfect before [... / ...] great Porter [... / ...] in his power [... / ... / ...] these are the three great [... [25] ...] against [... a]/re in the midst of people [... / ...] knows [... / ...] entrusts his soul to them [...]

*[156] Reading [ⲛⲭ]ⲣⲏⲙⲁ

••• 122 •••

(290,29 – 295,8)

[30] *Concerning the 'Assent' and the 'Amen'. /*

The edited and published text of the *Kephalaia* currently ends in the midst of this chapter at page 291 (Böhlig 1966); although page 292 has been made available in an article that discusses the liturgical context (ibid 1985). However, W. -P. Funk, who is now editing the remainder of the codex, has kindly provided me with his working text of the Coptic for the entire kephalaion. It is from this that the translation of chapter 122 has been completed.

291.4 – 292.8 The assent and the amen are convictions proclaimed by the community at prayer; as in Christian practice. In this chapter Mani asserts their divine archetypes in the summons and the obedience, the two gods that embody the will to redemption. Thus the First Man was redeemed from the abyss; and in the present time they are incarnate in the holy church. Therefore, the assent and the amen uttered by the congregation seal the redemption for which they ask.

292.9 – 25 The assent and the amen also bear forth a beautiful living image sculpted by the faith of the believers; and which ascends daily to the land of rest.

292.26 – 294.22 The assent and the amen are also a great power; for in prayer they bring help both to the sick and at times of temptation.

[O]nce again, one of the disciples [... / ...] to him: Tell me, my master, [... (**291**) ... the] name that we may utter over the blessing [... / ...] we bless, and also the prayer [by] which we pr[ay]. / Tell us: What is the 'assent' and the 'a[men']? /

Our enlightener [s]ays to him: The assent and the a[men] [5] have come about from these great ones of the powers. They were given the na[me] / as the assent belongs to the summons and the amen [belongs to] / the answer.

Just as the summon[s an]d the obedience [ar]e / the ones that opened the portals of mercy and entreaty / for the First Man, so they also became portal[s for the Mo]ther [10] [of Lif]e and the Father of the living. The Firs[t] Ma/n sought and found his redeemer. [An]d [also] the Mother / of Life and the Father of the living sought [...] / this runner, who came forth from them, who is the / First Man; but the summons and the obedience became the [15] portals for them.

Now, in this way they have become portal[s f]or the ae/ons of greatness towards the First Man, and the s[ou]l that was / [c]onjoined with death. They became helpers [...] of the / First Man during his ascent. They gave him [...] / the Father of Life and the Mother of Life [...] [20] They are purifiers of the living soul, be[ing] he/[lp]ers and bestowers of remembrance for it, be it either in [... / ...] in the tree or in the creation of flesh [... / ... the] holy [c]hurch [... / ...] the earth [... summ]ons and the obedience that [25] [...] the portals [...] in the holy church / [... he]lpers, bestowers of power and collectors / [...] teacher [... / ... / ...] purified for thei[r s]ake [... [30] ...] a letter [... / ... (**292**) that] it might be uttered over the psalm and over [the prayer, / with] the entreaty and the supplication. For, whenever o[ne will / b]less and respond to the assent and the a[men, / the] assent and the amen [shall] seal the blesser. Also, [when] [5] the congregation will beseech an entreaty wi[th / a questi]on, and they all answer and say 'verily an[d / ame]n', they shall seal the entreaty that the congregatio[n] has / as[ked] for and besought. /

Hap[pen] you know that the assent and the amen [are] a great per[so]n [10] [w]ho exists in [... / al]l of you, and you rejoice in him with great jo[y]; / be[caus]e he came to you profitably. He has agreed befo[re] / you to bring forth by him a new birth daily, / [v]ery go[od] and honoured in the presence of the living ones abov[e]. [15] [S]o, when grea[t cro]wds of people utter the assent and the amen, / happen you know that the sound / of all the people who respond shall collec[t] / and come together, and it fixes and sculpts [...] / it is [for]med and makes a good image, ver[y] beautiful [20] and honoured. It goes up to the land of tranquillity and / peac[e]. It receives all their grace, because [... / ...] it gathering what has ascended from [a]ll [these] / who responded. For it was uttered by th[em / a]ll. It separated and attained the land of tr[anquillity] [25] and peace by their joy and their alms. /

Happen you know that the assent and this amen are [a great] / power. Whenever one will be found in [... / ...] in bodily danger [...] / sick [...] they pray for it [... [30] f]or the [ass]ent and the amen; and [... / ...] in his sickness, and he improves [... / ...] with power, and they entreat [... (**293**) ...] utter over it [...] being sick [... / ...] one is found among you; while the hand of the pursu[ers / ... / ...

5 a] great [he]lp comes to him from the assent and [the amen / ...] over it.

Again, it happens [... / ...] among the elect [...] / awakens in us, and it is established [... / ...] in evil counsels, and he is set firm [and ...] 10 his [compani]ons, and he confesses his sin and [...] / as he will beseech for himself charity, so that if [G]od / will {spare}*157 him this temptation that [... / ...] his [... / ...] and they call over him the assent and the ame[n ...] 15 immediately there is a power come from the assent and [the] amen. / It annuls the lust and the temptatio[n t]hat he has carried [ar]ound / in him. And also, whenever a prayer will be be[so]ught / over that person [... the a]men / that [...] hi[m], as he utters it [...] 20 immediately there is a great power come to him ou[t] from / the assent and the amen. It helps him and [... / ...] in [...] / the assent and the amen go up to the ships, and they [... / ... 25 ...] upon him in the [... / ...] power [... / ...] in it, a[s] the [... / ...] at a place [... / ... 30 ...] Now, whenever he may see them [... / ... / ... (**294**) ... / ...] from him [... / ...] but [...] he [... / ...] his voice in [... 5 ...] and they who guide will [... / ...] he is saved [... / ... / ...] the voice of this person [... / ...] his enemies [...] they took his goods [... 10 ...] because [... / ...] on account of this judgement / [...] also [... / ... / ...] for [... 15 ...] evil [... / ...] they called over him [... / ...] who is master [... / ... / ...] to the heavens and the ships [... 20 ...] helps [... / ...] whenever [...] / the [assent] and the amen.

Behold, [... / ...] the assent and the [amen ... / ... 25 ...] him, your own cry / [... / ...] answer [... / ... / ...] 30 and the ame[n ... / ... / ... (**295**) ...] the pursuers [... / ...] him [... / ...] it might be uttered from God [... / ...] for it might be uttered [... 5 ...] they named it [...] from the apos[tles, / the] first fathers [...] fame, bu[t ... / ...] not.

Then, when the father [... / ...] like this, he glorified and he [...]

*157 ⲟⲩⲱⲥⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ

THE LIGHT AND THE DARKNESS

Adamant of Light ⲡⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 68.5 91.25 92.32 93.7.29 116.19 137.1 170.31 171.20 172.12 290.9

abortions ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲉ 56.22 87.11 93.2.29.33 116.34 123.6.10.23 137.15.30 171.20 246.10.16

aeons (and see: new aeon) ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ 3.20 24.2.6 35.6 39.33 64.30.34 71.2 84.13 86.13 103.23.24 156.5.7 (162.33) 285.13

aeon ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ 84.11 103.22 <(165.24)>

aeons of glory ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ 20.31

aeons of greatness ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛⲁⲥ 25.14 26.20 60.25 64.32 (66.18) 81.10.30 82.8 176.6 204.13.17 248.24 268.6 291.16

aeon of light ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 23.4 38.10.19 (158.32) 165.10

aeons of light ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 20.20 38.12.25 (ⲛⲉⲱⲛ).(33) 39.8 40.9 45.7 70.32 111.2.7 160.11 204.15 285.6.10

light aeons ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 4.16

blessed aeons ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ 39.33

first aeons ⲛⲯⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ 103.21

great aeon ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ 47.14

great aeons ⲛⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ 97.14

outer aeons ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲫⲃⲁⲗ 81.27 82.25 152.11

fourteen great aeons ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲉϥⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ Ch. X

angels ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ Ch. L and 24.4.15.20 38.13.15.18.25 41.24 53.a 61.a 63.32 (66.10.19) 86.(2).9 102.1 114.24 118.11 135.31 193.25.29 194.4.6.7.11.(31) 225.10.29 228.1 241.3.6.30 242.22 243.6.17.19.23 244.10

angel ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 41.17 201.31

three great glorious angels ⲡⲯⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ 36.14-21

four angels ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 93.26 290.3

five angels (see: five intellectuals of darkness)

twenty-two angels ⲡⲥⲟⲩⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 289.32.33

thirty-six angels ⲡⲙⲁⲃⲧⲉⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 289.30

Apostle of Light (divine principle) ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 24.30 36.3

apostle (human) ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ passim

Beloved of Lights ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 34.29 43.33 (49.24) 76.20 82.7 126.27 273.21

great glorious Beloved ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲙⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ 34.30

great honoured Beloved ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲙⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲁⲓⲧ 82.7

conduit ⲁⲓϩⲙⲉ Ch. XLVIII and Ch. XLIX and (215.24) 216.20.22

counsel of life (see: summons and obedience)

Cross of Light ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ Ch. LXXXV and 156.29 162.12 176.21 192.10 220.26 224.5 268.25

Cross ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ 124.9 176.12 177.30 191.25 278.15

Light Cross ⲡⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 164.27

dark fire ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲕⲉⲕⲉ 105.1

devil (see: enemy)

enemy ⲡⲁⲍⲁⲍⲉ 38.15 39.9 63.11 73.8.20 (79.35) 80.2.12 82.12 etc.

death ⲡⲙⲟⲩ passim

devil ⲡⲁⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ 156.33 222.31 223.2.6 264.11 272.10

enmity ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲍⲁⲍⲉ Ch. XXXVI and (4.8) 28.9 39.6 45.8 82.5.17 etc.

error ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ passim

evil one ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲁⲩ 80.4

ⲡⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ 12.29

evil counsel ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲛⲉ ⲃⲱⲱⲛ 29.23
counsel ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲛⲉ 68.29
Father (of Greatness) (see: King of Light)
Father of Life (see: Living Spirit)
fire and lust ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲫⲏⲇⲟⲛⲏ 26.15.27 27.3.7 168.8 169.15
ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ 29.21 48.27
First Man ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ (4.6) 20.16.26 26.21.29 28 7 37.1 38.9.14.18.20.23.30 39.4.8.18.20.26.31 40.6 43.7.(34) 47.4 48.29.33 49.3.4.22 50.8.21.25 26.28 51.22.25 52.12 53.9 55.25.(32) 56.3.5.7 57.(2).5.20.22.23 58 7 60.19.20.23.25.(32) 62.23.26 67.23 69.28 71.1.4.7.(16).17 72.(8).19.29 76.27.29.32 77.1 79.23 80.3 82.4.14.34 84.8.14.25 85.24 102.24.36 126.31 (32) 129.6.8.(13).24 (131.12) 147.31 149.5.8 153.23 154.32 164.28 176.4 178.29 181.9 182.(4).8.10.12.15.19 254.13.22 262.26 264.18 266.1 272.4.22 273.2.13.22 275.5 285.23.25.27.28 286.8 291.9.10.14.16.18
Man ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ 40.2 71.4 79.27 84.11.12 85.11 102.23.26 154.29 176.5
blessed Man ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ 84.17.31
living Man ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 263.6
approved ⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲟⲥ 285.5
father ⲡⲓⲱⲧ 82.4 84.20.31 85.18 102.23 149.5 286.7.18
first-born ⲡⲱⲁⲙⲓⲥⲉ 40.13
only-begotten ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ 285.19
first righteous one ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ 285.12
glorious one ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲧ 72.29
son ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ 40.13 72.16
son of God ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 272.16
first Righteous One ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ 61.20
first light ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 234.22
five (dark) elements (see also: land of darkness) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟ/ⲱⲛ 26.6.8.9 30.18.19 48.6.25 58.15 74.18 20
elements ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟ/ⲱⲛ 69.13.21 129.15.18 130.23 131.4.6
five (light) elements ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲱⲛ 29.8 43.2 261.21.27
elements ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ 54.10 55.5 61.26 81.3 123.12 148.22 150.17 153.23 157.18 162.11 175.27.29 176.12 177.27 261.16 262.8 276.8
light elements ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 20.2
light element ⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 176.21
four elements ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲉⲓⲟⲛ Ch. XCIV
living air / wind / light / water / fire ⲡⲁⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ / ⲡⲧⲏⲩ / ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ / ⲙⲙⲁⲩ / ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ 37.7-11 126.31 - 127.23 175.29 - 176.1
air ⲡⲁⲏⲣ 104.9 265.19
fire ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ Ch. LXXIV and 153.28
wind ⲡⲧⲏⲩ 153.28
garments (of First Man) 126.31 - 127.23 131.11.20 150.17
garment of fire ⲧϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ 129.(8).10 206.33
garment of waters ⲧϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲛⲙⲙⲟⲩⲓⲥⲉ Ch. LXI
five fathers (Father of Greatness / Third Ambassador / Jesus the Shining / Light Mind / Light Form) Ch. VII
(Ambassador / Beloved of Lights / Mother of life / Jesus the Beloved / Virgin of Light) Ch. XXV
five garments (see also: five elements / five intellectuals / five sons of First Man) ⲧϯ ⲛϩⲃⲥⲱ 170.2 262.25
(five intellectuals of darkness)
consideration / counsel / insight / thought / mind ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ / ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲛⲉ / ⲧⲥⲃⲱ / ⲡⲙⲉⲧⲉ / ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ 21.29-34 95.20-23 96.15-21
five angels ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 95.23

five counsels ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ 58.15
five members of sin ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲁϧⲉ 96.23.24
five intellectuals (of light) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲉⲣⲟⲛ 20.1 92.1 177.3
consideration / counsel / insight / thought / mind ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ / ⲡⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ / ⲧⲥϧⲱ / ⲡⲙⲉⲧⲉ / ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ 20.12-20.24-31 64.23 76.20-23 85 1-2 91.20-31 92.12 - 93.19 95.17-19.20-23 96.13-20.22 - 97.7.26 - 99.17 (100.12)
great garments ⲛⲁϬ ⲛϩⲃⲥⲱ/ϩⲃⲥⲁⲧⲉ 177.2-3
five members of soul ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ 95.24 96.22 - 97.7
five light members ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 64.21.25
storehouses ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ (64.22)
five members of body ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ 95.17 97.17
five sense organs (of darkness) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓⲥⲑⲏⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ 26.7.14
five sons of First Man ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ 24.25 25.26 43.2 49.22.32 51.26 (55.28) 69.18 71.13 72.20 76.32 84.26 102.36 103.1 (131.13) 148.1.(7).25 157 14 164.34 285.17
sons of Man ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ 89 8 263.4 290.6
garments of First Man (see also: five elements) ⲛϩⲃⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ 69.18.28 79.28 148.24 178.30
five gods ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ (71.17) (72.7) 290.6
five shining gods ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲣⲓⲱⲩ 69.28 (71.13) 95.16
gods ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 72.29
five shining men ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲙ ⲙⲡⲣⲓⲉ 85.34 88.15 89.8
two sons ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ 76.35 - 77.2
four sons ⲡⲩⲧⲁⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ 28.12
six sons ⲡⲥⲁⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ 92.4
five sons of Living Spirit (see: Adamant of Light / Keeper of Splendour / King of Glory / King of Honour / Porter) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 24.24 25.26 43.5 44.2 49.25.(34) 85.30 89.10 93.32 (95.12) 170.22
five gods ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 64.6 91.15
gods ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 72.32
five sleepless guardians ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲧⲛϧⲁⲧⲉ 91.19
lords in the zone ⲥⲁⲓⲥ ϩⲛ ⲧⲍⲱⲛⲏ 94.13 23
one of sons ⲟⲩⲉ ϩⲛ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ 131.18
six sons ⲥⲁⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ 92.3
five trees ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲛ 122.8 288.7
trees ⲛⲱⲏⲛ 123.22 124.7.9 14 226.17
five shapes of trees ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲱⲏⲛ 30.20 121.15
five worlds of tree ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛϧⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲱⲏⲛ 123.2-8
five unfolded ones (?) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲁⲗⲗⲱⲙⲁ 90.24
five worlds of flesh ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛϧⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ 26.34 27.(7).10 48.19 121.21.22 123 2-9 177.18 178.9 266.14
fleshes ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ 123.23 124.18 224.1 226.17
fleshes of death ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ 274.10
five fleshes ⲧϯⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ 21.16 122 8 151.31
five genera of creatures ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲥⲱⲛⲧ 30.21
mankind / four-footed animals / birds / fish / reptiles ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ / ⲛⲧϧⲛⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲩⲧⲟⲩϬⲣⲁ / ⲛϩⲁⲗⲉⲧⲉ / ⲛⲧϧⲧ / ⲛⲍⲉⲧⲩⲉ 91.1-5
creations of flesh ⲛⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ ⲛⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ 121.29.30 164.15
five powers of darkness ⲧϯⲉ ⲛϬⲁⲙ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 89.6.8
garments ⲛϩⲃⲥⲁⲧⲉ Ch. LXXII and passim
giants (see: watchers)
God (of truth) (see: King of Light)
gods of light ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 15.9
gods ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ Ch. L and 24.4.14.19 38.13.15.18.24 41.23 53.5 63.32 66.9

(86.9) 89.24.25 etc
gods of glory ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ 73.18
angels (see: angels)
children of living ones ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 195.19
divine ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 40.20 42.7 156.2.8
emanations ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲏ /ⲁⲩⲉ 34.27 35.4 73.20 82.2 126.11
evocations ⲛⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ Ch. L and 35.20
fathers ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲉ passim
lights ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 35.4.8 etc.
powers ⲛⲥⲁⲙ passim
rich ones ⲛⲣⲙⲙⲁⲁⲓ Ch. L and 24.4.(15).20 63.32 66.9 73.19 103.24
sons of light ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 58.2.4.5
Great Builder ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲧ 44.3 49.24 72.31 (79.33) 82.9 87.1 118.10 273.21
first architect ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲓⲧⲉⲕⲧⲱⲛ 118.10
glorious ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ 44.3 82.9
great fire ⲧⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲉ 29.9.13 52.17 54.13 75.22 (102.33) 104.4 105.26 251.21
Great Spirit (see: Mother of Life)
great thought ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲉ 155.22
holy spirit (Christian trinity) ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ 288.8.14
Holy Spirit (see: Light Mind / Mother of Life / Paraclete)
Jesus Splendour (and see: Jesus (apostle)) ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲡⲣⲓⲉ 20.4 25.30 28.26 35.13.19 49.29 50.3 53.18.28 61.17 64.2 72.34 80.(18).22 82.20.33 (152.7) 263.12 276.4.8.14
Jesus ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄/ⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩⲥ 35.23.24 36.3.29 37.26 59.19 93.31 94.3.8 152.15 155.23 264.1
Jesus Beloved ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ (76.21)
beloved Christ ⲡⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ 182.20
blessed Christ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ 179.10 183.3
deliverer / releaser ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲃⲱⲗ 44.6 82.21
father of all apostles ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 20.4 80.19
glorious ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ 20.4 35.13.19
glorious one ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲩ 59.19.23 155.23 263.12
redeemer ⲡⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉ 82.21
saviour ⲥ̄ⲏ̄ⲣ̄ 53.31
son of greatness ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲥ 36.31 37.27
Jesus Youth ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲗⲗⲟⲩ 61.27 92.7
Youth ⲡⲗⲗⲟⲩ 35.28 289.29
image of living word ⲧϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲥⲉⲍⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 92.8
Judge in atmosphere ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ϩⲙ ⲡⲁⲏⲣ 80.30
Judge ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ 117.24.26 235.4.6.11
Judge of truth ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ 83.5 288.17
great Judge ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ 35.25
Keeper of Splendour ⲡⲫⲉⲣⲣⲟⲕⲁⲧⲟⲭⲟⲥ 91.20 92.12.19 93.20.22 170.24 171.12 172.7
King of Darkness (see also: king of smoke / enemy / Satan) ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ (30.33) 31.24.(33) 137.9
King of realms of Darkness ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 26.19 29.19 31.2.28 32.1.14 33.2 51.23 (52.13) 55.27 58.8
King of mountains of Darkness ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲧⲟⲩⲓⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 32.32
chief ⲡⲁⲛⲍⲱⲍ 32.31 69.23 77.26
leader ⲡⲣⲉϥⲍⲁⲧⲙⲁⲓⲧ 88.12
ruler ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ 69.23 77.26 79.2
spirit of King of realms of Darkness ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 33.5
spirit of darkness ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 29.35

dark spirit ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛⲕⲉⲕⲉ 27.14
(great) King of Glory ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲧ 91.27 93.9 113.31 171.4.21 172.16
(great) King of Honour ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓⲟ 80.5 81.11 (82.26) 83.3 87.32.(34) 88.2.13.20 (89.15) 91.23 92.24 93.24 170.27.28 171.17 172.10
King of Light ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 5.18
Father ⲡⲓⲱⲧ (5.18) 12.28 16.4.30 19.30 20.19.30 23.32 25.13 34.28.31 43.15 49.29 63.10.28 66.10 70.14.17.27 71.22.24.(30) 73.8.18.22 74.1 76.(17).19 24 79.15 81.9 103.6.11.28 147 25 148.10.20 151.20 181.4.(5).6 259.8 265.3 271.17.21 272.1.13.14.23.29 274.14.15.20.29 277.18 285.17
Father of Greatness ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ 34.21 49 15 63.23.24.27.29 64 14.20 68.33 (70.31) 71.20 72.28 (73.1) (79.22) 103.31 156.1 163.4 272.18
Father of lights ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 40.11 43.27
first Father ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲓⲱⲧ Ch. VII and 43.19 64.20 70.17
glorious Father ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲁⲧ 34.26
great Father ⲡⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲓⲱⲧ 66.23
God ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 19.8 31.32 34.18 42.9 47.27 74.3 98.29 101.1 142.29 180.24 183.22 188 12.27 189.8.9.12.15. 194.24 196.26 201 29 209.10.14 217.3.5.8 221.29 222.1.30 223.7.14 224.13.24.30 229.6 230.27 231.20.27 232.10.21.23 265.3 267.6.10.16.23 287.1.4.22.25.28 288.13 293.11 295.3
God of truth ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ 20.30 23.32 25.13 38.33 39.32 41.1.10 81.29 100.10 151.20 181.4 217.16 (287.17)
single God ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ 5.16
greatness ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ passim
great greatness ⲧⲛⲁϭ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ 162.27
Judge ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ 79.19.21 81.8
King of aeons ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ 81.30
King of lights ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 35.8 43.32 51.21
great King ⲡⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ 69.27 (75.3)
Lord of all ⲡⲥⲁⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ 40.10 156.6 267.10
root of all lights ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 35.3
established one ⲡⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧϥ 63.10
first established one ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲧⲱⲕ ⲁⲣⲉⲧϥ 63.28 70.14.28 272.1.14 273.24
first eternal ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲱⲁⲁⲛϩⲉ 34.24 35.3
exalted one ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲥⲉ 217.11
first only begotten ⲡⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲟⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ 34.23
first power ⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛϭⲁⲙ 35.2
King of world of Smoke ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲡⲛⲟⲥ 30.25
ruler of Smoke ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲡⲛⲟⲥ (31.12)
King of world of Water ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲩ 33.25
spirit of King ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ 33.29
King of worlds of Wind ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲧⲏⲩ 33.18
spirit ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ 33.21.22
King of world of Darkness ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 33.33
spirit ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ 34.2.5
King of worlds of Fire ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ 33.9
spirit of King ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ 33.13.16
land of darkness ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 30.14 18 31.11 32.33 48.2.16.24 49.3 (55.33) 67.33 68.7 100.13 129.(15).27.(30) 155.18.20 156.21 169.13 181.24 (272.26)
world of darkness ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 39.14 57.3.5
worlds of darkness ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ (26.13) 82.6 178.28 254.13 272.8 285.9.10.18
dark earth ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲕⲉⲕⲉ 105.22
land of death ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲩ 26.23 (67.11) 154.20
root of death ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ 155.21

worlds of enmity ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲍⲁⲍⲉ 87.29
storehouses ⲛⲧⲁⲙ(ⲉ)ⲓⲟⲛ 74.17 129.18.23.25.27.(30) 130.15.18.20.(22) 131.3.6 164.31
storehouses of abyss ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ 68.22
five storehouses ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ 28.8 30.13.17 155.19
five bodies (gold / copper / iron / silver / lead and tin: Ch. VI) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ 30.16.23 34.10 (95.15)
five creations ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲱⲱⲛⲧ 77.28 78.2
five kings (see: kings of smoke / fire / wind / water / darkness) ϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ 30.23
five rulers ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ 30.15
five spirits (of principalities and authorities / sects of fire / idolatry / water / oracles: Ch. VI) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ 26.9) 30.15.23 34.9
five tastes (salty / sour / sharp / sweetness / bitterness: Ch. VI) ⲧϯⲉ ⲛϯⲡⲉ 30.16.(23)
five trees ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲛ 48.15 (58.16) 74.20.22.23
trees ⲛⲱⲏⲛ 69.15
five worlds and dark elements (smoke / fire / wind / water / darkness) ⲡϯⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ Ch. XXVII and 30.22 31.2 32.2 48.(8).15.18 58.9 68.17 69.14 74.29.(33) 167.22 - 168.7 169.10.13
land of light ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ (13.33) (69.3) 235.4 (279.29)
ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 38.13 (39.34) 56.4 65.16 66.9.(36) (72.31) 126.9 218.20.24.(32) 221 3
great land of light ⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 23.33
light land ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ (49.16) 56.32 (61.28) 69.26 (180.32)
worlds of light ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 58.21
land of first essence ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲧⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ 178.22
land of glory ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ 11.16
glorious land ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲩ 156.2
land of greatness ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲩ (61.31) 65.17 71.26
land of life ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ 235.30 280.1
land of living ones ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 67.22 212.32 224.30 227.26 228.2 230.18 231.11 240.9
land of rest ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲧⲁⲛ 195.18 217.19 234.8 272.29 280.1
land of tranquillity and peace ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲥⲟⲣϩⲧ ⲙⲛ ϯⲣⲏⲛⲏ 149.19 292.20.24
land that shines ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲧⲧⲣⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 75.2
house of living ones ⲡⲏⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 67.24
kingdom ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ (3.17) 13.31 30.33 39.11 etc.
kingdom of life ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ 37.25
kingdom of light ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 223.12
place of rest and joy ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲣⲉϣⲉ 274.11
Last Statue ⲡⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ ⲛϩⲁⲉ 29.4 54.15.19 62.20 71.16 75.24 81.6 (86.12) 102.34 104.5.12 150.4.9 165.8 10
Statue ⲡⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ 55.21 56.28 57.17.26 (63.6) (71.8) 149.30 150.1.11
Light Form ⲧⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 36.10.12.19 41.11.13.21
redeemer ⲡⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲉ 41.20
Light Mind ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 35.21 36.1 40.24.32 41.8 44.11 45.32 64.8 80.33 89.19.22 90.1.13 94.20 95.2 (96.8) 97.(22).24 98.11 99.22 24.(32) 100.1.16 142.12.16.28 143.5.13.32 148.12 172.3 182.20 201.9 215 2 232.6 7 240.5 245.10.15 249.16 255.23.27 256.6 257.10.(28) 269.20
Mind ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ 24.18 89.35 94.26 99.13.28 156.11 176.3 208.5 6 213.31 216.19 229.29 234.22 256.21 257.31 258.12 289.28
great Mind ⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲥ 82.22 92.5

Mind of truth ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ 79.9
Holy Spirit ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ 143.29.32 189.30 190.2.3 6
King over totality ⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲥⲙ ⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ 97.22
awakener ⲡⲣⲉϥⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ 44.11
father of all apostles ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 35.22
gatherer ⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧϩ 44.12
light image ⲟⲩϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 234.7
living soul (see: five sons of First Man) ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ Ch. LXXII and 29.19.21 77.3 84.10.15.16 85.4 87.28 104.10 105.24 124.4 151.28 152.15 156.30 162.9.18 172.26 191.16.26 204.6 (209.31) 210.24 211.24 218.10.22 232.5 233.11 236.14.20 237.28 238.11 239.2 245.1 260.7.14.21 270.11 273.28 274.4.9.17 277.8 14 279.19.21.27 280.10 291.20
soul ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ 84.8.27.34 85.12.17 260.16 (274.1)
living limb ⲡⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 270.8
Living Spirit ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ (4.17) 24.12 26.30 27.11 29.4 39.20 40.6 43.6 (44.1) 49.24 50.23.26 51.20 (52.11) 53.(9).14 54.22 56.2.8 58.20.25.27 60.21.27 62.5 72.32 77.8 79.26 82.13.31 83.20 85.21.22 86.8.22 89.3 91.18 102.25 107.18.20 108.15 113.30 122.19 123.11 129.14 131.14.18.27 143.25 149.14 177.22 (181.16) 182.3.(10).12.18 254.22 272.20.21.27.30 273.22
demiurge ⲡⲇⲏⲙⲓⲟⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ 167.6
Father of Life ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ 39.13.(25) 40.1 44.1 52.7 56.2 57.21.30 60.28 102.26 111.21 27 112.25 114.3 116.8.14 117.19 118.34 120.29 122.19 123 32 (131.22) 132.6.22 (136.25) 291.19
Father of living ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 291.10.12
great constructor ⲡⲛⲁϬ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ 167.7
great craftsman ⲡⲛⲁϬ ⲛⲧⲉⲭⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ 167.15
lump ⲡⲃⲱⲗⲟⲥ 21.35 22.15 57.18 76.5.8 105.6.32 (260.23)
tomb ⲡⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ 75.27 105.33
Matter ⲧϩⲩⲗⲏ 22.32 26.11.18 27.(5).16 31.10.15 74.15 75.7 78.22 116.18 122.26 124.28.29 129.11 130.16 131.5 137.24 138.7 172.13 178.25 180.(15) 23 262.5
mother ⲧⲙⲉⲧ (27.6) 78.22
sin ⲡⲛⲁⲃⲉ passim
thought of death ⲧⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲩ 26.18 27.5 31.10 (67.31) 74.15 98.24 (129.11) 180.16
Mind (see: Light Mind)
moon ⲡⲟⲟϩ 162.25 168.10 169.17.22 193.1 218.16 259.30
light-giver ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ 113.20 (193.1) 199.23 204.12 218.16.19.25 231.21 233.28 245.4 259.30
light-giver of night ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛⲧⲟⲩϣⲏ 181.14
light ship/s ⲡⲍⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 59.28 147.32 151.25 172.26 181.29 226.12
ships of light ⲛ(ⲉ)ⲍⲏⲩ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 117.19 132.26 152.12 273.17
ship of First Man ⲡⲍⲁⲓ ⲙⲡϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ 37.1
ship of night ⲡⲍⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩϣⲏ 20.27 82.32 226.13
ship of living waters ⲡⲍⲁⲓ ⲛⲙⲙⲟⲩⲓⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 20.16 (24.16) 47.4 64.3
ship/s ⲛⲉⲍⲉⲩ/ⲛⲉⲍⲏⲩ 15.8 24.19 83.1 85.29 87.2.5 110.(19).20 162.25 223.29 293.23 294.19
Mother of Life ⲧⲙⲟ/ⲙⲉⲧ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ 24.13 38.20.22 39.3 43.29 49.21 53 10 56.8 57.21.(31) 60.28 70.16 71.20.29 72.3 76.21 79.29 82.1 131.14 147.26 271.30 272.6.13.21.24 273.8.12 291.9.11.19
Mother ⲧⲙⲟ 71.5
Mother of living ⲧⲙⲟ/ⲙⲉⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 39.25 40.1 56.11 (118.34)
first Mother ⲧϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲙⲉⲧ 34.28
first Holy Spirit ⲡϣⲁⲣⲡ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ 43.29
glorious ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲧ 82.1

Great Spirit ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲇ̄ 24.1 34.27 49.21 (53.10) 70.27 71.25 72.5.28 77.5 79.29 82.31 102.27 126.25 271.30 273.20

new aeon ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲃⲣⲣⲉ 40.16 77.21 79.34 82.10 86.16 87.1 103.2-10.22 118.9.11 151.1 259.22

aeon of glory and joy ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲣⲉϣⲉ 86.17

new earth ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲃⲣⲣⲉ 103.2-10 104.31.35 155.17 181.21

new man ⲡⲣⲙ ⲛⲃⲣⲣⲉ 96.22 - 97.7.19 172.3 215.4 240.4 249.19 257.28 269.19.22 270.1.5.7.22

old man ⲡⲣⲙ ⲛⲉⲥ 27.18.19.20 89.27.29 94.19 97.15 201.20 221.15 249.19 269.23

Paraclete ⲡⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲕⲗⲧⲥ 14.5.7.8 15.20 16.19.30

Paraclete of truth ⲡⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲕⲗⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ 14.18

living Paraclete ⲡⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲕⲗⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 14.32

Spirit ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲇ̄ 16.19

Spirit of truth ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲇ̄ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲉ 14.5

Holy Spirit ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲇ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ 13.8 104.17

Perfect Man (see: Pillar of Glory)

Pillar of Glory ⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲁⲩ (19.35) 20.15 (24.22) (25.23) 35.10 37.3 (44.5) 46.32 49.27 64.5 72.35 84.29 92.6 93.21 155.11 176.4 177.40

Pillar ⲡⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ 84.32

great Pillar of blessing ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲙⲁⲙⲉ 35.11

great porter ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ (25.23) 35.12

first of porters ϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲛⲛⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ 44.4

first of weight-carriers ϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲛⲛⲃⲁⲓⲉⲧⲛⲱ 155.14

Perfect Man ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲕ 20.15 24.23 35.10 37.3 75.8 92.6 155.11 177.4 181.11

Porter ⲡⲱⲙⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ 86.25 90.30.31 91.31 93.16 94.7 113.24 170.11.12 171.7.8.23.25 172.19 177.12.13.25 181.19 243.16 290.21

rulers ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ 32.8 33.1.11.26.29.34 (35.16) etc

authorities ⲛⲉϩⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲥ passim

children of darkness ⲛϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 28.11 164.30.31

demons ⲛⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ 41.15 69.23 (74.28.30) 77.32 (78.22) 161.16 186.14 211.16 243.8 267.15 272.10

emanations ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲁⲗⲁⲧⲉ 68.21

fiends ⲛⲓϩ 32.32 74.31 78.23 161.16 267.15

powers ⲛⲑⲁⲙ 26.19.22 27.1 30.31 31.21.28 32.8.20.24 35.16 etc.

rebels ⲛⲃⲉϫⲉⲧⲉ 45.8 59.20 85.4 116.26 268.16 286.3

ruling-power ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧⲓⲕⲏ 26.13 53.7 59.8.15.24 60.24 61.10 110.36 116.27 118.18.21.30 120.9 124.3 131.15 147.28 172.17 186.14 191.15

satans ⲛⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ 267.15

sons of darkness ⲛϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ 58.3.5.6 60.6

evil spirits ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲇ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲧ 99.14 287.13

Saklas ⲥⲁⲕⲗⲁⲥ 137.13.15

ruler ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ 138.1

Satan ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ 12.30 19.2 21.19.36 159.1

sea giant ⲡⲥⲓⲥⲁⲥ ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ Ch. XLIV and 116.7 122.24 123.20 136.24

(seven planets)

seven leaders ⲥⲁϣⲩ ⲛⲣⲉⲩⲥⲁⲧⲙⲁⲓⲧ 120.12

stars (five) ⲡϯⲟⲧ ⲛⲥⲓⲟⲧ Ch. LXIX and 35.27 58.23 88.11 90.26 114.5.14.19 118.1.16.32 119.17 121.33.35 122.6.15 123.8 131.25 145.1 157.24 162.31 (173.30) 177.10 215.7 (254.29) 255.2

summons and obedience ⲡⲧⲱⲃⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ 25.28 35.30 37.5-7 43.3 50.2 54.(9).25 55.5 59.30 61.26.30 63.3 81.2 92.2-3 178.2 181.17 182.2 259.32 - 260.1 263.2.4.14.30 290.7-8 291.7.14.24

summons / answer ⲡⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ/ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃⲉ 176.1-2 291.6-7
utterance and obedience ⲡⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ 92.8
answer ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱⲃ 182.(9).15 263.1
obedience ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ 254.21
summons ⲡⲧⲱϩⲙⲉ 39.13.17 84.6.10 85.34 182.2.7.8 254.12.16 263.1
counsel ⲡⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ 54.25
counsel of life ⲡⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ 29.2 55.4 59.29 63.2 81.2 176.22 178.2
great counsel ⲡⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ 28.35 54.10 61.29
sun ⲡⲣⲏ Ch. LXV and Ch. LXVI and 4.15 24.9 112.7 125.20 165.28 166.4 168.9 169.17.20 193.1 218.16 259.30
light-giver ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ 113.20 159.8.16 160.16 163.15 165.17.26.29 (193.1) 199.23 204.12 218.16.19.25 231.21 233.28 245.4 259.30
ships of light ⲛⲉϩⲏⲧ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 117.19 132.26 152.12
light ship ⲡϩⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 25.21 28.22 36.34 63.35 87.28 151.25 172.26 181.29
ship of day ⲡϩⲁⲓ ⲙⲡϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ 20.29 77.4 82.29 102.29 181.13
ship of living fire ⲡϩⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 20.18 24.10 63.35
ship/s ⲛⲉϩⲉⲩ/ⲛⲉϩⲏⲧ 15.8 24.15 76.28 83.1 85.29 87.2.5 110.(19).20 162.23.24 223.29 293.23 294.19 293.23 294.19
Third Ambassador ⲡⲙⲁϩⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ 4.34 20.17 24.11 25.20 28.16 (34.32) 35.8 43.31 45.1 49.26 52.20.32 56.15 57.24.27 59.3.(22) 61.(8).16 63.34 76.27 77.11 80.10 82.18 (87.9) 117.15 (132.29) 135.15 273.32 274.21
Ambassador ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ 20.28 36.35 43.15 56.19.27 (57.16) 63.2 72.34 76.20 80.20 82.30 86.7.32.(34) 87.16.17 91.18 92.1.5.17 93.12 102.29 117.11 122.25.28 126.29 133.(12).21 135.8 137.20.21.25 138.(8).13 155.12 158.2.4.8 164.9 171.14 176.5 177.5 179.1 246.28 249.8 274.6.12.29 275.23
exalted one ⲡⲡⲉⲧϫⲁⲥⲉ 134.5.11 135.29 138.4.11.19 157.7 158.20
father of aeons ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ 43.17
glorious ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲁϥ 102.29 126.29 155.12
king ⲟϥⲣⲣⲟ 43.19
great king ⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ 132.28
king in this world ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ϩⲙ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ 43.31
king of zone ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲧϫⲱⲛⲏ 82.18
purifier ⲡⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧϥ 5.5
three images (corporeal, psychic and spiritual) ⲧϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ Ch. CXIV
three vessels (water, darkness and fire) ⲡϣⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲛϫⲓⲟⲣⲉ Chs. XLII, XLIII, CXIII and 58.24 113.35 114.3 115.8 116.2.4
vessels ⲙⲙⲁⲛϫⲓⲟⲣⲉ 86.30
three wheels ⲡϣⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ (see also: five (light) elements) Ch. XXX and 93.10 113.32 171.5.24 172.16
fire / water / wind ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ / ⲡⲙⲁϥ / ⲡⲧⲏϥ 83.21-22 91.28-29 93.15 94.3.4 107.21 111.32 113.23-24 115.21 171.24 177.22
three garments ⲧϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛϩⲃⲥⲱ Ch. XXX and 107.20.23 108.15.29 111.32 149.15.24 177.21 290.16
garment of water ⲧϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲙⲡⲙⲁϥ 106.16
garment of wind ⲧϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲙⲡⲧⲏϥ 108.20
garment of fire ⲧϩⲃⲥⲱ ⲛⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ 108.24
images and clothes ⲛϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛϣⲧⲏⲛ 176.20 177.20
three images ⲧϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ 91.28
three powers ⲧϯϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛϭⲁⲙ 113.23
wheels ⲛⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ 87.3
three words of life ⲡϣⲁⲙⲧ ⲛⲥⲉϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ 111.13
tomb (see: lump)
twelve great rich Gods ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϥⲥ ⲛⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲣⲙⲙⲁⲟ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 25.16

twelve virgins ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϣⲥⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ 25.22
twelve wisdoms ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϣⲥⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ 25.32 64.25
twelve light-limbs ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϣ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲟϣⲁⲓⲛⲉ 64.24
(twelve) zodiacal signs ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϣ ⲛϫⲱⲁⲓⲟⲛ Ch. LXIX and 27.16 48.35 90.26 114.14.19 115.12 118.1.3 120.12 122.7.15 123.8 145.1.9 157.24 173.20 - 175.4 215.7 254.30 255.2
twelve sects ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϣ ⲛⲁⲟⲓⲣⲙⲁ 27.15 49.7
twelve spirits ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲁϣ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ 27.14.20 48.34.35
Twin (see: Paraclete)
Counterpart ⲡⲥⲁⲗⲓⲱ 36.6
two ascendants ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲃⲓⲃⲁϫⲱⲛ ⲥⲛⲉⲩ 168.7.13 169.14
Virgin of Light ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟϣⲁⲓⲛⲉ (24.19) 35.15 44.9 72.34 76.22 80.26 (82.34) 84.19.20 172.22 240.26 241.20 244.11
Virgin ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ 242.3.16.25
glorious ⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲉⲁϥ 35.15
wisdom ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ 35.15 44.8
virgin of light (soul of First Man) ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟϣⲁⲓⲛⲉ 58.12 84.19 20 85.7
light virgin ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲟϣⲁⲓⲛⲉ 84.33
virgin of light (perfection of soul) ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲟϣⲁⲓⲛⲉ 270.21
light virgin ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟϣⲁⲓⲛⲉ 269.34 - 270.24
hour of life ⲧⲟϣⲛⲟϥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ 270.23
watchers ⲛⲉⲓⲣⲏⲅⲟⲣⲟⲥ 92.27 93.24 26 117.2 171.17
giants ⲛⲓⲅⲓⲁⲥ 117.5.(8)
wheel (of King of Honour) ⲡⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ Ch. XXXVI

APOSTLES

Adam ⲁⲇⲁⲙ Ch. LXIV and 12.11 15.11.13 42.29 54.5.7 56.23.26 (59.28) 93.2 30.34 133.6.15 134.4 135.23.28 136.17 137.17.22 138.11.17.21 144.14.17.23 145.26 146.25 179.6.8 268.2
enlightener ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ 158.1
Aurentes ⲁⲩⲣⲉⲛⲧⲏⲥ 12.15.17
Buddha ⲃⲟⲩⲇⲁⲁⲥ 7.34 8.6 12.15 17
disciples ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ passim
associates in the mystery ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ 51.14 104.24 128.11.15
Enoch ⲉⲛⲱϫ 12.12
Enosh ⲉⲛⲱⲩ 12.11
Eve ⲉⲩⲣⲁ 54.5.6 (56.23) 93.3.30 94.4.(9) 133.15 (134.4) 135.23 28 136.17 137.17.22 138.11.18.21 146.25 147.4 157.23 268.2
Jesus (see also: Jesus Splendour) ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ 7.(18).22 12.32 13.11 14.21 (17.4) 56.24 101.28 267.23.28
Jesus Christ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ 12.19.21
Christ ⲡⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ/ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ (258.31) 264.10 271.25
blessed Christ ⲡⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ 117.31
father 190.4
father of all apostles ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 101.29
(Mani's) father 259.14
second man ⲡⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ 264.19
master ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ (13.13)
my master ⲡⲁⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ 19.12
our master ⲡⲛⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ 12.21 13.32 21.24

saviour ⲡⲥ̄ⲱⲣ̄/ⲡⲥ̄ⲏⲣ̄ 13.22 14.3.6 19.3.24 35.31 58.18 163.27 189.17.20 (201.29) 210.31 223.3 229.10
son ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ 271.25
beloved son ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ 287.29 288.7.14
son of God ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 13.1
son of living God ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩ 267.24
son of greatness ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ 12.20 101.28
Mani ⲡⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲭⲥ̄ Ch. LXXVI and 17.21 259.6
single Mani ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛ̄ⲭⲥ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ Ch. LXXVI and 100.23
apostle ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ passim
apostle of greatness ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁϭ 17.21
apostle of truth ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲏⲉ 34.16
(our) enlightener ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ 23.17 25.11 30.17 34.16 42.32 43.25 45.19 46.16 47.26 (49.13) 58.4 63.22 84.9.13 85.22 86.22.34 87.17 89.3 106.24.32 112.24 (113.29) 118.16 120.23 122.5 123.16.29 125.8.28 126.24 (127.26) 129.7 131.12 137.14.23 138.6.20 141.14 142.2 144.1 144.15 145.5 146.8.16.25 147.18 23 173.21 175.28 183.27 184.1 191.11 192.6 202.10 213.26 (216.34) 219.17 234.30 235.18 246.12 248.22 268.30 269.17 (270.31) 288.21 291.4
our light enlightener ⲡⲛⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 183.14
our father ⲡⲛⲓⲱⲧ 34.16 46.20 60.16 102.20 176.30 188.25 231.3 244.17 286.26
our light father ⲡⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 126.32
their father ⲡⲟⲩⲓⲱⲧ 286.22
glorious one ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲉⲁⲧ 133.7.21 201.2
lord ⲕ̄ⲥ̄ 183.11 250.12
man of light ⲣⲙ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 36.30
my master ⲡⲁϩⲁⲓⲥ 144.16 146.17 147.19 188.20 (194.26) 196.28 197.17 200.6 204.29 205.15 208.16 213.16.27 214.27 219.5 221.12 223.22 224.10 228.9.13 248.20 249.34 252.4 253.20 262.15 271.1.10 280.17.25 281.3 290.32
our master ⲡⲛϩⲁⲓⲥ 16.26 17.3.21 42.28.31 44.24 112.19 123.16.25 125.3.33 155.2 167.2.10 183.13.16.28 201.8 231.12.29 243.12 267.21 282.12.(24)
Paraclete ⲡⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲕⲗⲏⲥ̄ 16.30
spirit ⲡⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ 16.19
single spirit ⲟⲩⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ 15.24
teacher ⲡⲥⲁϩ 221.20 234.21 286.22
Noah ⲛⲱϩⲉ (12.12)
Paul ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ 13.(19).26 19.7
apostle ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ 229.11
Sem ⲥⲏⲙ 12.12
Sethel ⲥⲏⲑⲏⲗ 12.10 42.26.29.(34) 43.11 145.27
Zarathustra ⲍⲁⲣⲁⲑⲏⲥ 7.31 12.17.19
enlightener ⲡⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ 7.27

PROPER NAMES

Adiabene ⲁⲇⲓⲃ 16.1
Ardashir ⲁⲣⲧⲁϫⲟⲟⲥ 14.29.31 15.24.(27)
Artabanus ⲁⲣⲧⲁⲃⲁⲛⲏⲥ 14.28
Assyrians ⲛⲁⲥⲥⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ 186.26 187.11.17
Aurades son of [Kap]elos ⲁⲩⲣⲁⲇⲏⲥ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ[ⲕⲁⲡ]ⲏⲗⲟⲥ 183.26-7
Axumites ⲉϫⲱⲙⲓⲧⲏⲥ 189.3
Babylon ⲧⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ 15.30 186.25 (187.9) 189.1 288.22
Babylonian ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ 144.15 146.9.16
Baptists ⲛⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ 44.25
Christians ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ 258.9
Hystaspes ϩⲩⲥⲧⲁⲥⲡⲏⲥ 7.28 12.18
India ⲡϩⲛⲧⲟⲩ 184.27 185.4.15
Indians ⲛϩⲛⲧⲟⲩ 15.25.29
Jews ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓⲟⲥ 12.27.30.32.34 19.3
Judas Iscariot ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲡⲓⲥⲕⲁⲣⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ 12.31 19.4
Ktesiphon ⲕⲧⲏⲥⲓⲫⲱⲛ 183.15
Magi ⲙⲙⲁⲥⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓⲟⲥ 252.1.9.11
Manichaeans ⲙⲙ̄ⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓⲟⲥ (271.15)
Medes ⲙⲙⲏⲇⲟⲥ 187.17.20.22
Mesene ⲧⲙⲁⲓⲥ/ϫⲁⲛⲟⲥ 15.30 186.7
Nazorean ⲡⲛⲁϫⲟⲣⲉⲩⲥ/ⲁⲓⲟⲥ Ch. LXXXIX
Parthia ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲓⲁ 14.29
Parthians ⲛⲓⲡⲁⲣⲑⲟⲥ 5.25 16.1 187.17.20.22
Persia ⲧⲡⲉⲣⲥⲓⲥ 7.28 30 12.18 14.30 15.30 16.1 185.(15).17.22 186.6 189.1
Persians ⲛⲓⲡⲉⲣⲥⲏⲥ 15.29
Purified ones ⲛⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ 44.27
Romans ⲛϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ 16.2 189.2
Shapur ⲥⲁⲡⲱⲣⲏⲥ 15.28.31 152.25.26 183.15.17.19.21.24.32
Silis ⲥⲓⲗⲉⲱⲥ 189.4
Simon the leper ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲡϣⲱⲓⲧ (264.13)
Susiana ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ/ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲟϫⲉⲟⲥ 15.31
Tigris ⲧⲓⲕⲣⲓⲥ 152.28.29 153.14.19 154.1.27

MANICHAEAN SCRIPTURES

(Great) Gospel ⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ 5.23 153.31
Kephalaia ⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ passim
Book of Mysteries ⲡⲧⲁ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲱⲛ 5.24
Picture (- *Book*) ϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ Ch. XCII
Prayer of Sethel Ch. X
Prayers ⲛϣⲁⲏⲗ 5.26
Psalms ⲙⲯⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ 5.26
Treasury of Life ⲡⲑⲏⲥⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ 5.23 230.8.21
Treatise ⲧⲡⲣⲁⲅⲙⲁⲧⲉⲓⲁ 5.24
Mani's *Epistles* ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ 5.25
Mani's *Writing* (for Parthians) ⲧⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ 5.25

CITATIONS

Deut. 17:2-5 (159.4)
Mt. 3:10 (58.18-19)
Mt. 6:21 (200.3-4 210.31-32 223.3-4 229.3 234.9)
Mt.10:42 (189.6-7.13-14.18-19)
Mt. 18:10 (201.30-31)
Mt. 21:22 (183.7-8)
Mk.12:36 (40.13-14)
Lk. 6:43-44 (17.5-9)
Lk. 22:3 (19.2)
Jn. 3:19 (184.11-12 185.12-13)
Jn. 8:38 (35.32-34)
Jn. 15:7 (183.7-8)
Jn. 15:13 (156.15-16)
Jn. 16:7-9 + ff (14.7-11)
Jn. 16:24 (183.7-8)
I Cor. 7:29-31 (229.10-15)
I Cor. 15:9 (19.7-8)
Phil. 2:7 (12.25 61.21)
Ev. Thom. log. 5 (163.28-29)

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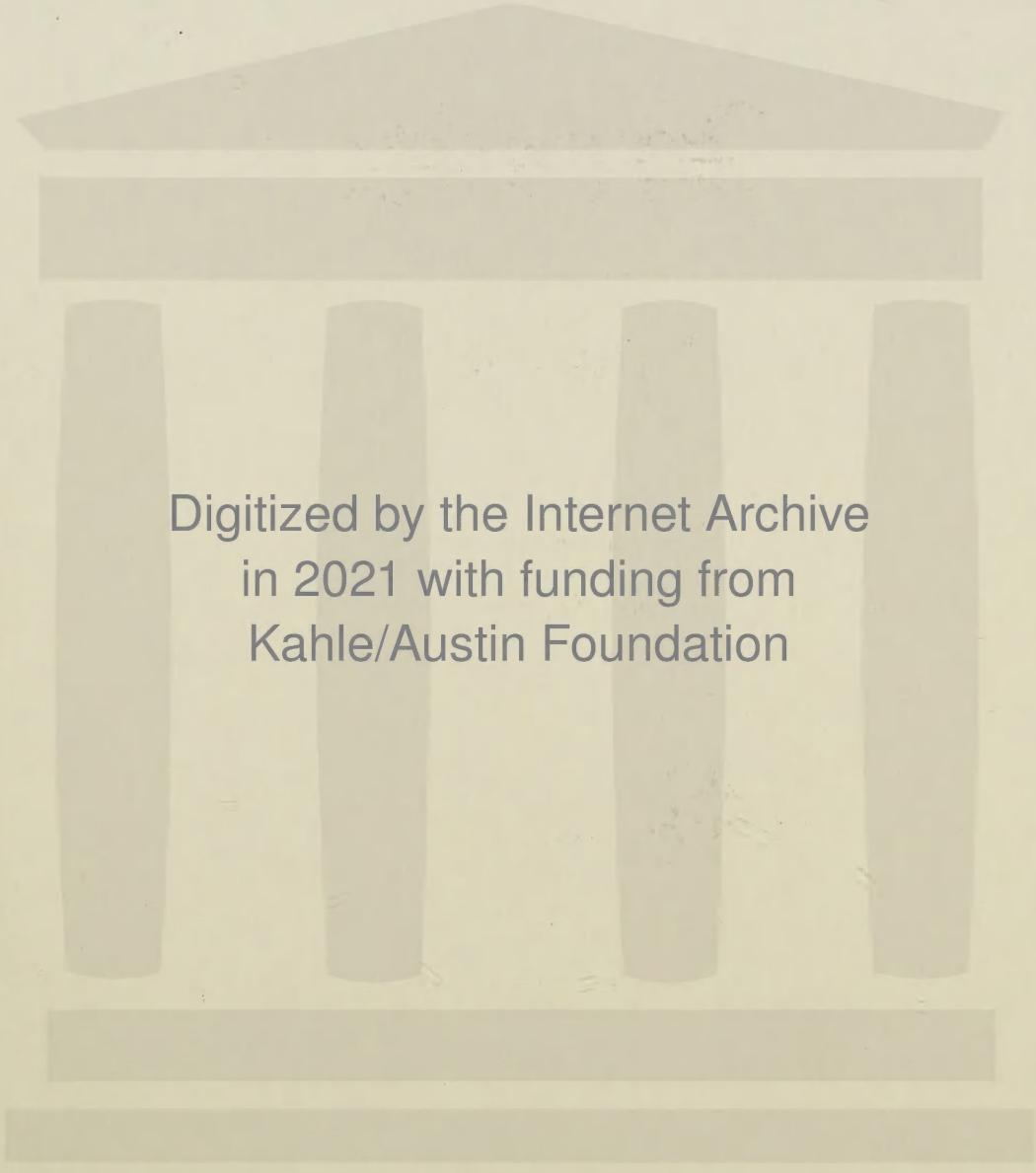
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CONTENTS

PREFACE VII

INTRODUCTION IX

PLATES 1-234

PREFACE

With the publication of this, the fourth volume of the Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library, I wish to express my cordial thanks to the director of "Cahiers d'Orientalisme", Mr Enzo Lucchesi, for including in the series these facsimile editions. I should also like to thank the publisher, Mr Patrick Cramer, for the high standard of quality of these books, in the photocomposition, photographic reproduction, printing and binding, and for creating the new typeface of Coptic characters which was used for the first time in Volume I. I am also grateful to Mrs Angela Dyer, who has taken care of my English.

S. G.

INTRODUCTION

Volume IV contains 234 facsimiles of that part of the Manichaean Coptic Psalm Book which was published in *Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection, Volume II: A Manichaean Psalm-Book,* Part II, edited by C. R. C. Allberry, M. A., Lady Wallis Budge Fellow, Christ's College, Cambridge, with a contribution by Hugo Ibscher. W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart 1938. XXIII pp. + 2 plates + 2 × 228 pages + 5 pages (229-233) + 2 × p. 234 (+ 1*-78* pp.).

In that volume the 228 pages and page 234 had the Coptic text and the English translation facing each other, and the five pages had the Coptic text only. The pages were numbered 1-5/6, 7-47, 49-113, 115-118, 120-124 and 126-234. This peculiar numeration was due to different circumstances. The very fragmentary papyrus sheet with p. 5 on the recto and p. 6 on the verso was printed on the same page which was numbered as 5/6. Pages 48, 114 and 125 were omitted because they are blank, and p. 119 was omitted because it was regarded as illegible, according to Allberry (1938 edition, p. 118).

In this facsimile edition p. 119 is included, and pp. 5 and 6 are published in full, each on its own facsimile page. The numbered blank pages, pp. 48, 114 and 125, are also included here. The facsimiles in this volume are all actual size and they are presented in the same order as the pages in the critical edition of 1938, the five pages omitted in the 1938 edition being inserted here in the right place.

When Hugo Ibscher restored the leaves of Part II, he found sheets which were blank on both sides, and these he did not number. They are first mentioned in C. R. C. Aliberry's two pilot books, called Mani Pilot No. 1 and Mani Pilot No. 2, which Allberry sent to Sir Herbert Thompson in 1936, and they are also referred to in the 1938 edition. The information on the unnumbered blank pages given in these three sources sometimes, but not always, coincides. Thus Mani Pilot No. 1, p. 84 (which became p. 114 of Mani Pilot No. 2) states: "No writing at all. Then follows a blank leaf = 2 sides." In Mani Pilot No. 2, p. 114 is written: "Blank. Then 2 blank sides." On p. 113b of the 1938 edition, however, Allberry informs us that "Page 114 is unwritten and is followed by a blank leaf." Likewise, Mani Pilot No. 1 informs us on p. 94 (later p. 124), "Then follow 2 blank leaves = 4 sides," and on p. 95 (later p. 125) is written: "No writing." Mani Pilot No. 2 has no equivalent information on pp. 124-125, but the 1938 edition states on p. 124a: "sequuntur quinque paginae vacuae." At the bottom of p. 176 (later p. 202) Mani Pilot No. 1 has: "Here follows a blank leaf = 2 sides." There is no observation on p. 202 of Mani Pilot No. 2, but in the 1938 edition, on p. 202a at the bottom, it says: "Sequitur folium vacuum."

Thus far we see that the information given in Mani Pilot No. 1 is only partly rendered in the Pilot No. 2, but always in the 1938 edition. One important piece of information in Mani Pilot No. 1 is, however, omitted from both Pilot No. 2 and the 1938 edition. This occurs on p. 202 (later p. 228) of Mani Pilot No. 1 where Allberry has written: "Large writing. After S 202 there were 3 empty leaves = 6 sides, & then the list of contents." This interpretation can be supported by the running of the fibres of the papyrus on pp. 227/228 and pp. 229/230, where I have noticed that the verso p. 228, which has horizontal fibres, is followed by the recto p. 229 with vertical fibres. This can be explained by the absence of at least 1 leaf (2 pages), but an attempt to reconstruct the quire indicates that in fact 3 leaves (6 pages) are lacking.

I have also found while attempting to reconstruct the quires around pp. 114, 125 and 202 that the information about unnumbered blank pages must be correct, although these are now missing. Thus we can conclude that Part II once included at least a further 2 + 4 + 2 + 6, in all 14, unnumbered blank pages. Of these, the 1938 edition mentions eight.

To the 234 numbered and the 14 unnumbered pages in Part II must probably be added some further pages which may not be missing but until now have not been accessible. In Mani Pilot No. 2 on p. 131

(p. 101 in Mani Pilot No. 1) the following note from Allberry is found: "131-132 = 101-106. These sides 131/132 (formerly 101/106) are stuck fast. Ibscher says there is an empty page between them, & this must be 103/104 (old numbering)." There is no reference to this in Mani Pilot No. 1, but in the 1938 edition Allberry writes on p. 131a: "Numeri 131/132 tria folia comprehendunt quae cum artissime cohaereant non potuit Ibscherus separare, medium tamen scriptura vacare existimat."

Detailed verification of Hugo Ibscher's information can only be given if the two pieces of glass between which the sheet of papyrus is mounted are removed, but at present it is not advisable to attempt this in view of the very fragile condition of the papyrus which may be stuck to both pieces of glass. A repeated and very close investigation of the papyrus, carried out with the help of different modern utensils has, however, confirmed the information that pp. 131/132 really consists of three sheets. This means that four pages are still to be added to the 248 pages found so far of Part II, which once consisted of at least 252 pages.

It is possible that pp. 233/234 – today the very last sheet of Part II – are in fact six pages, but this can only be proved if the papyrus is removed from its glass mount. As mentioned above, this is not advisable. It must be admitted that neither Hugo Ibscher nor C. R. C. Allberry apparently made any observations which support this hypothesis.

Of p. 115, lines 1-3, Allberry said (p. 115b in the 1938 edition): "Apparently the conclusion of a Psalm. But according to Ibscher fol. 113/4 was followed by a blank leaf and there is no sign of any writing between the end of p. 113 and the first line of p. 115. Either a leaf has been lost or these lines contained a heading or group-title." I think I have been able to decipher the very first letters of line 1 on p. 115 as: ⲛ̄ⲯⲁⲗ[, which as ⲛ̄ⲯⲁⲗ[ⲙⲟⲓ... can be read as the beginning of a group-title such as we have in Part I as ⲯⲁⲗⲙⲟⲓ ⲧⲏⲥ ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏⲥ ("Psalms for the Lord's day") or in the Kephalaia in the parallel form ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲭⲥ ("The Kephalaia of the Wisdom of my Lord Mani"). If this reading and the following conjecture are right, there is no reason why a leaf should be regarded as lost here.

According to Allberry, when the scribe had finished the present p. 118 he by mistake missed out its continuation (now found on the present p. 119) and continued with the text now found on p. 126. When he realized his mistake he crossed out the 22 lines he had written on the present p. 126 and took the double leaf, now pp. 119/120-125/126, and turned it round so that the lines written too early and then crossed out became upside-down on the lower part of the last page of this double leaf, now p. 126. Then he wrote the text he had neglected on the present p. 119 and copied for the second time the 22 lines on the present p. 120. He completed this text on the lower part of p. 120 and continued with the text on pp. 121-124 where this long hymn ends with the usual doxology. In order to avoid the following six-page-long hymn being interrupted by the 22 deleted lines on the present p. 126, he left blank the following five pages (the first four of which are unnumbered, the last being p. 125). He could then start the next hymn on p. 127. For the sake of convenience p. 126 is reproduced here the right way up.

In some cases a fragment is now stuck to a wrong leaf, concealing part of that particular page and also making the other side of the fragment inaccessible. Thus a fragment whose fibres are ↑ is found at the bottom left-hand corner of p. 135 which has → fibres. This fragment belongs to the equivalent part of p. 133 which is ↑, but now covers that part of p. 135 and hence its own verso (p. 134) is inaccessible. The ↑ fragment to the right on p. 158 which has → fibres belongs to p. 160 which also has ↑ fibres, but the fragment now covers the corresponding part of p. 158 and its verso (p. 159) is inaccessible. The → fragment at the right-hand corner at the bottom of p. 176 (↑) belongs to p. 178 which is →, hiding part of p. 176 and its own recto side (p. 177). A ↑ fragment at the top right-hand corner of p. 179 which is → belongs to p. 177 which is also ↑, covering part of p. 179 and its own verso (part of p. 178). The ↑ fragment to the right of the bottom of p. 182 which is → belongs in fact to p. 184 which is ↑, but the fragment covers the equivalent part of p. 182 and its own recto (part of p. 183) is inaccessible.

With regard to the fragment with the letters ⲣⲏⲛ on p. 153, line 8, Hugo Ibscher remarked on the photograph which was taken when he restored the page: "Das kleine Fragment gehört nicht dorthin, vielleicht zur vorhergehenden Seite?" C. R. C. Allberry, however, correctly placed the three letters on line 5 of p. 153 as part of ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ at the end of the line, just as he succeeded in placing the text of the other

fragments mentioned above in their right context. This was done after the papyrus had been mounted between glass with the fragments in the wrong position. A photographic rearrangement of the facsimiles would therefore in these instances give a false picture, because the fragments cover parts of the pages. Where this is not the case, it has been thought advisable to rearrange them. Some fragments have been rearranged photographically by Professor R. Kasser on the following facsimiles: pp. 25-26, 89-90, 95-96, 133-134, 155-156, 171-172 and 183-184.

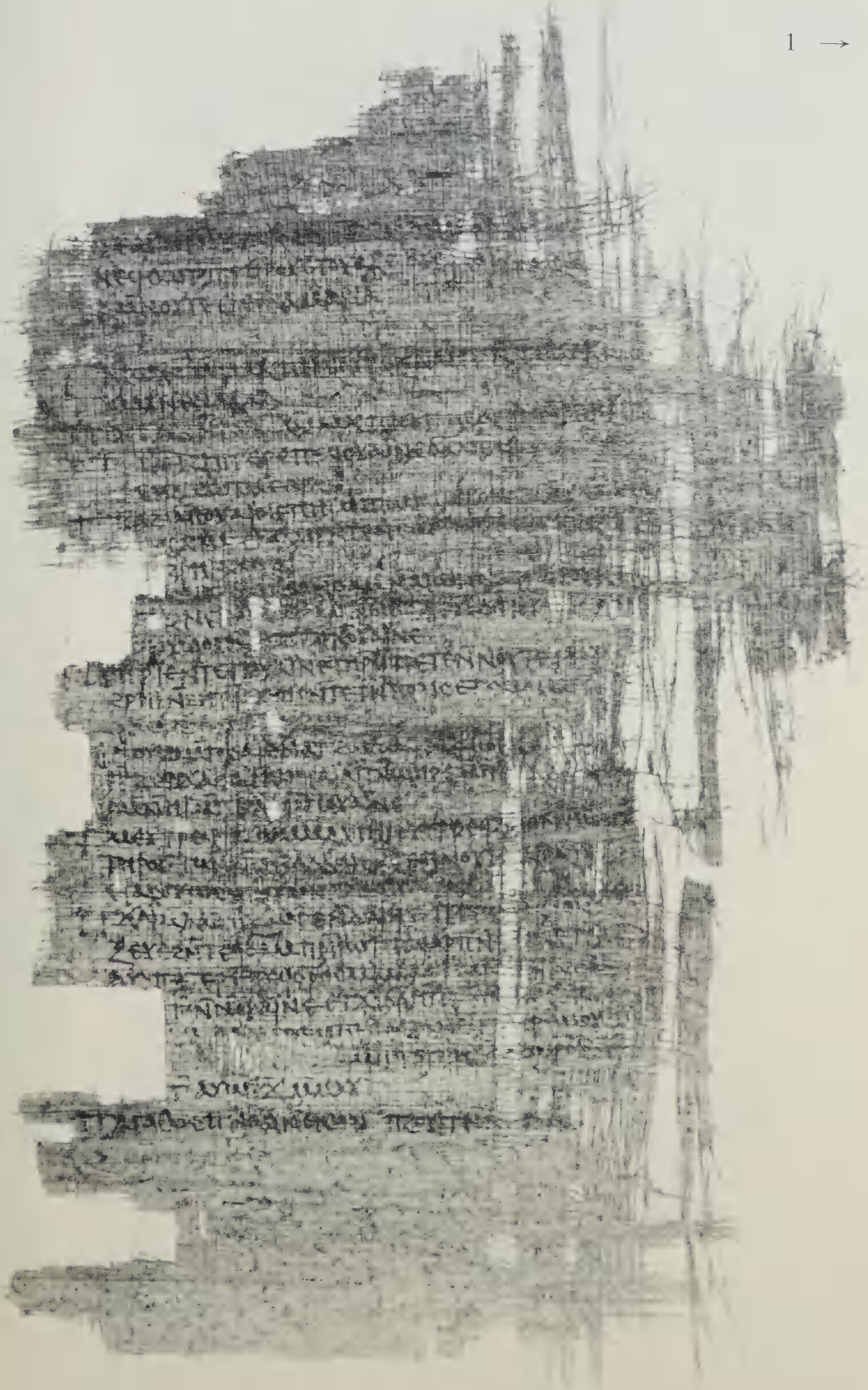
Some of the papyrus sheets are covered by cellophane within the two pieces of glass between which they are mounted. This is the case with the following pages of Psalm Book Part II reproduced in this volume: pp. 47-48, 49-50, 115-116, 117-118, 121-122, 133-134, 135-136, 149-150 and 169-170. The facsimiles are reproduced from photographs taken through the cellophane. This has not, however, affected the photographs, as can be seen when they are compared with the photographs taken in the 1930s when Hugo Ibscher restored the papyrus.

In the introduction to the 1938 edition Hugo Ibscher made some observations concerning the construction and size of the codex (see especially pp. XIII-XV, 1938 edition). Some of his conclusions are not quite clearly expressed, or even wrong. He writes, for example (p. XIV), that at the upper edge of a leaf he had discovered the two Coptic letters ⲕⲥ "rechts nahe am Rücken," and identifies this page as "die jetzige Seite 211 des vorliegenden Psalmenbuches." The fragment was perhaps indeed discovered thus to the right near the spine of the book, but it must be noted that p. 211 is in fact a recto page and the fragment is placed not near the spine but to the right near the fore-edge. Ibscher writes also that "einschliesslich eines leeren Blattes, das in der Publikation nicht mitgezählt wurde, befinden sich zwischen Seite 143 und 211 – 72 Seiten, die 3 Heftlagen ergeben würden." This empty leaf (i.e. 2 pages) was placed between the present pp. 202 and 203, but even when this is counted in the total is only 72 pages if it includes pp. 211-212, or two missing pages just before p. 143.

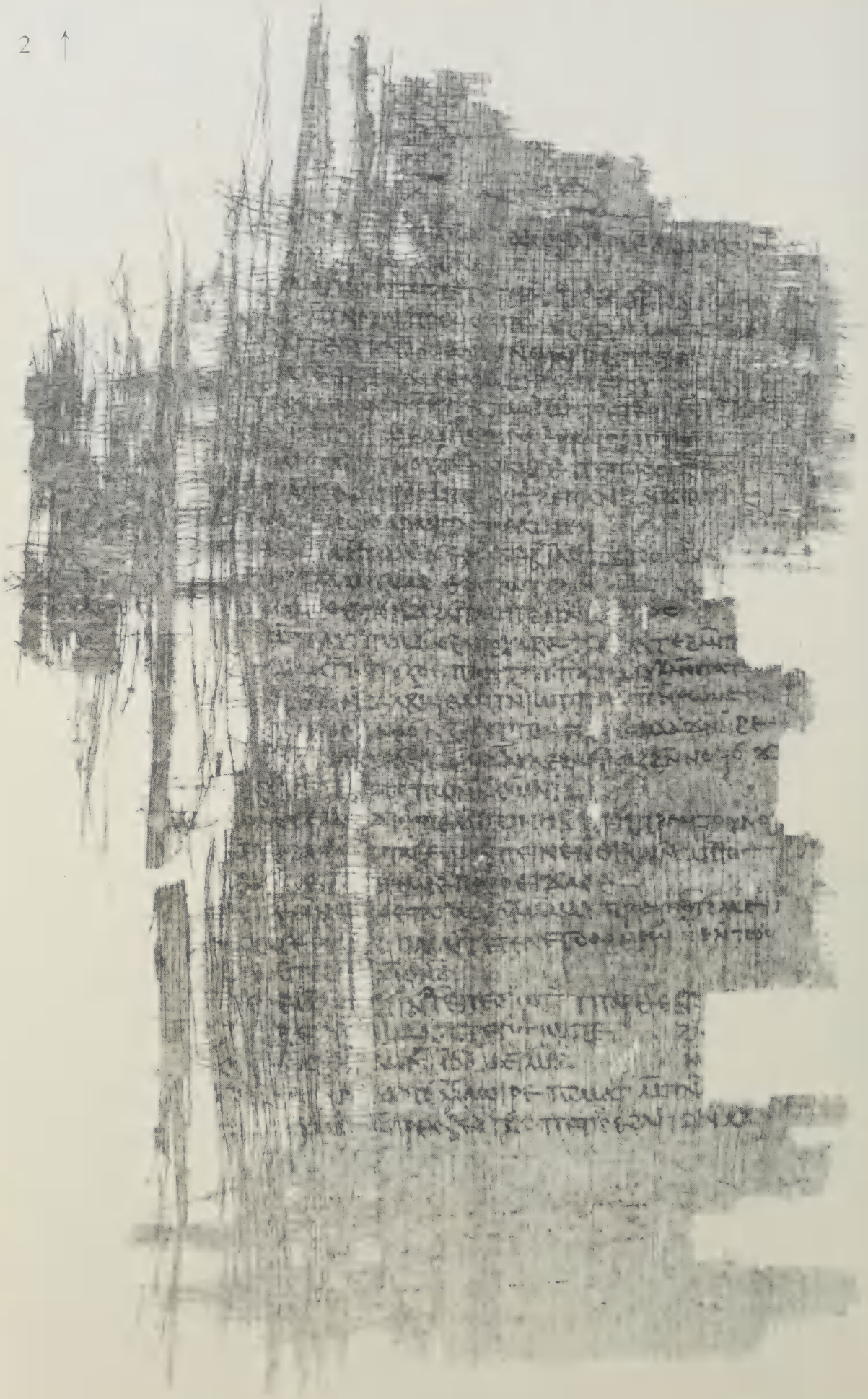
Ibscher noted that "Wie bei der Kephalaia, bilden auch beim Psalmenbuch 6 Dobbeltblätter eine Heftlage von 24 Seiten" (p. XIV). Here the Dublin Kephalaia – as I have shown in Volume I – differs from the Berlin Kephalaia and the Psalm Book, since the Dublin Kephalaia codex is built up of quires of four double leaves. I have not here attempted to reconstruct the single quires of Psalm Book Part II. This decision was partly due to lack of time, but also to lack of consistency in the information concerning the location of blank pages, as I have pointed out above. About the construction of the codex Ibscher writes (p. XV): "Bei der Herstellung des Buchblockes wurde streng darauf geachtet, dass die Faserrichtung der einzelnen Blätter miteinander harmonierte, so dass also immer die horizontalen Fasern der Blätter aufeinander lagen wie auch die vertikalen." The user of this facsimile edition will, however, observe that this system is not always adhered to. Different explanations for this are possible: for example, that the verso p. 114 with vertical fibres is followed by the recto p. 115 with horizontal fibres may be because of the missing leaf (see above). More strange is the fact that the verso p. 136 with vertical fibres is followed by the recto p. 137 with horizontal fibres. There is apparently a continuity between the text on p. 136 and that on p. 137. This is clearly the case between the text on p. 142 and the text on p. 143, but here the verso p. 142 has vertical fibres whereas the recto p. 143 has horizontal fibres. A possible explanation in both cases is that a leaf was either missing or removed when the scribe did his job.

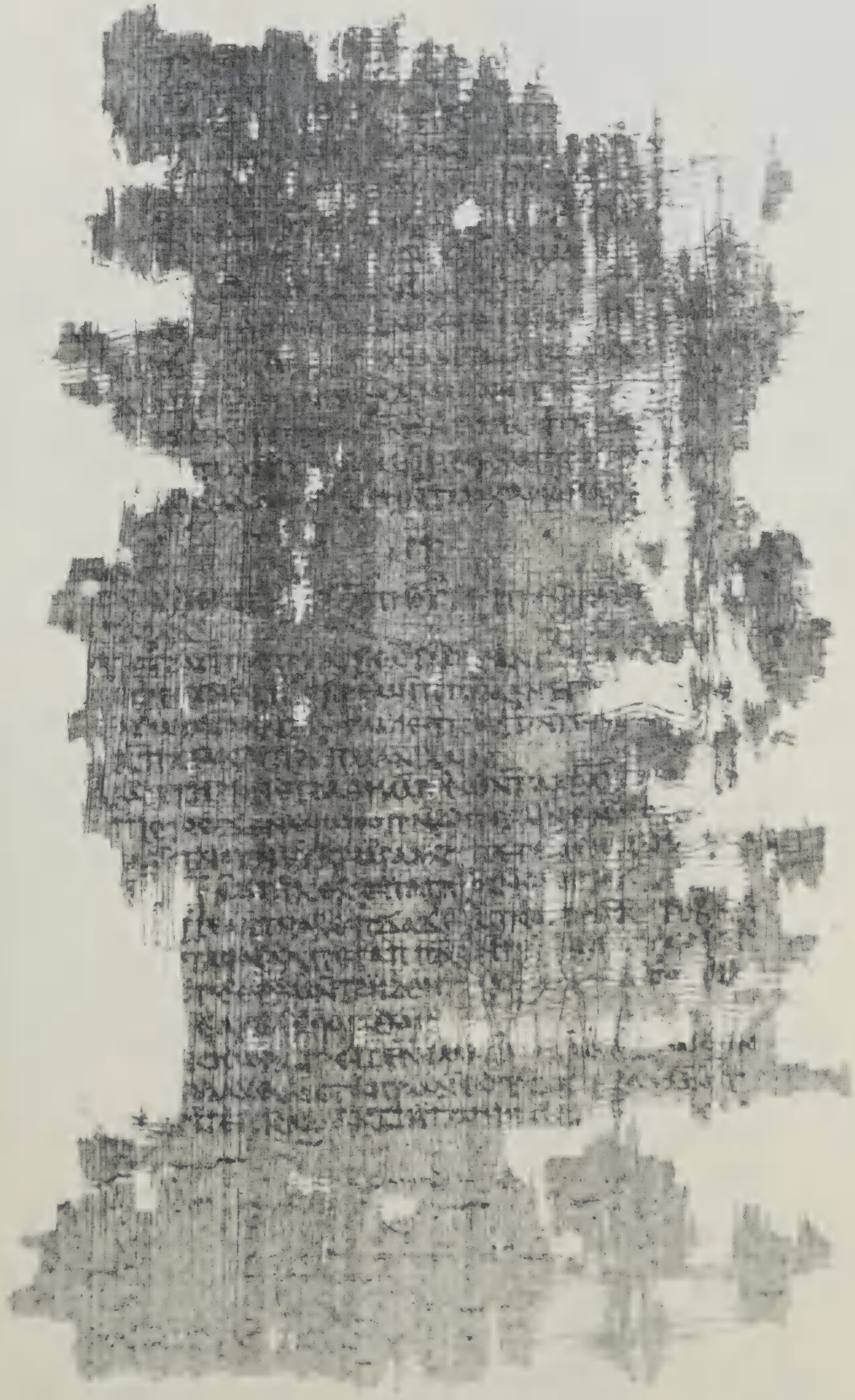
The closer and more profound study of the text as a whole which will be undertaken in the course of preparing a new critical edition of Part II will perhaps reveal gaps in the text. It is therefore sensible to wait until then before attempting to reconstruct the papyrus, quire by quire.

PLATES

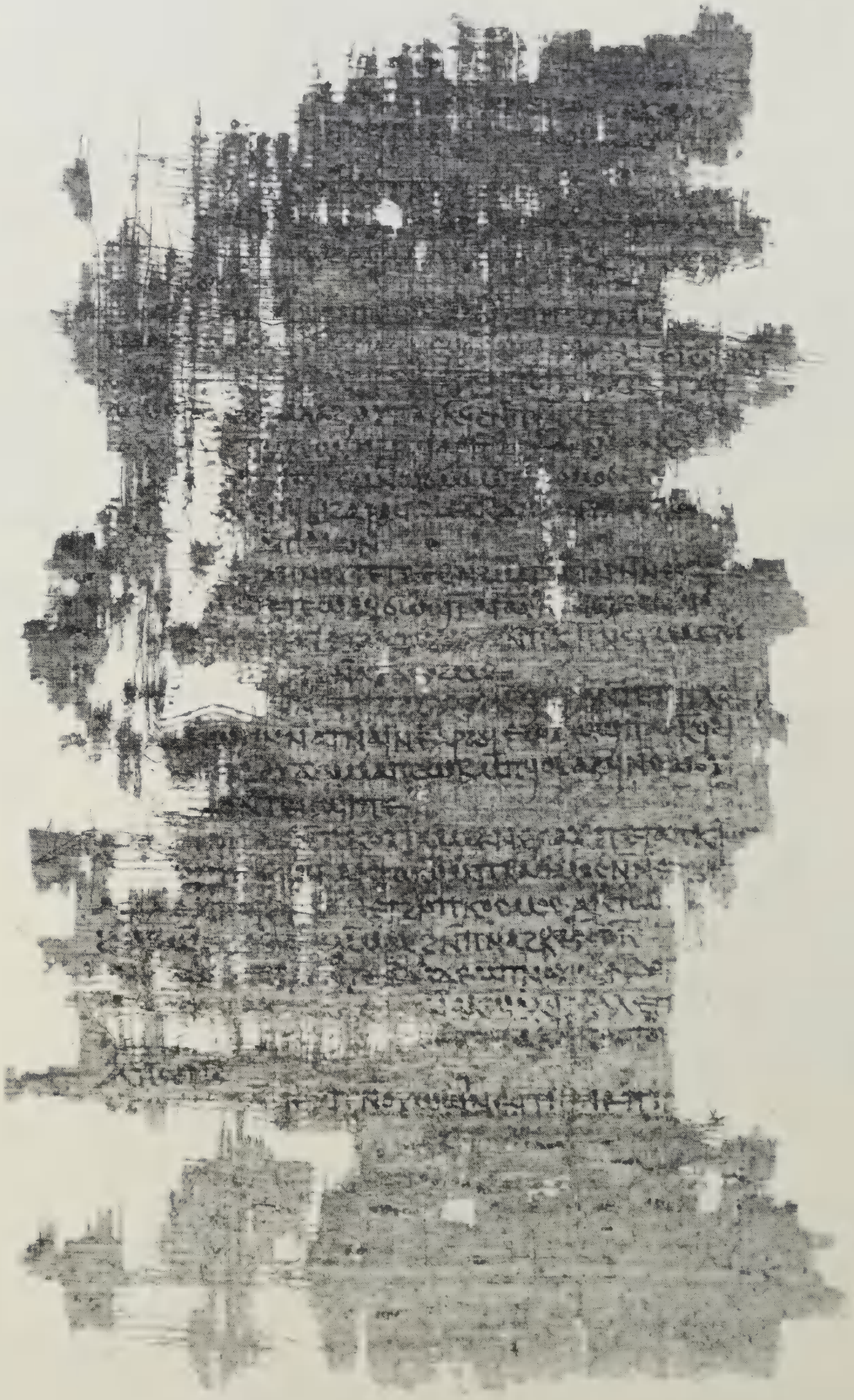


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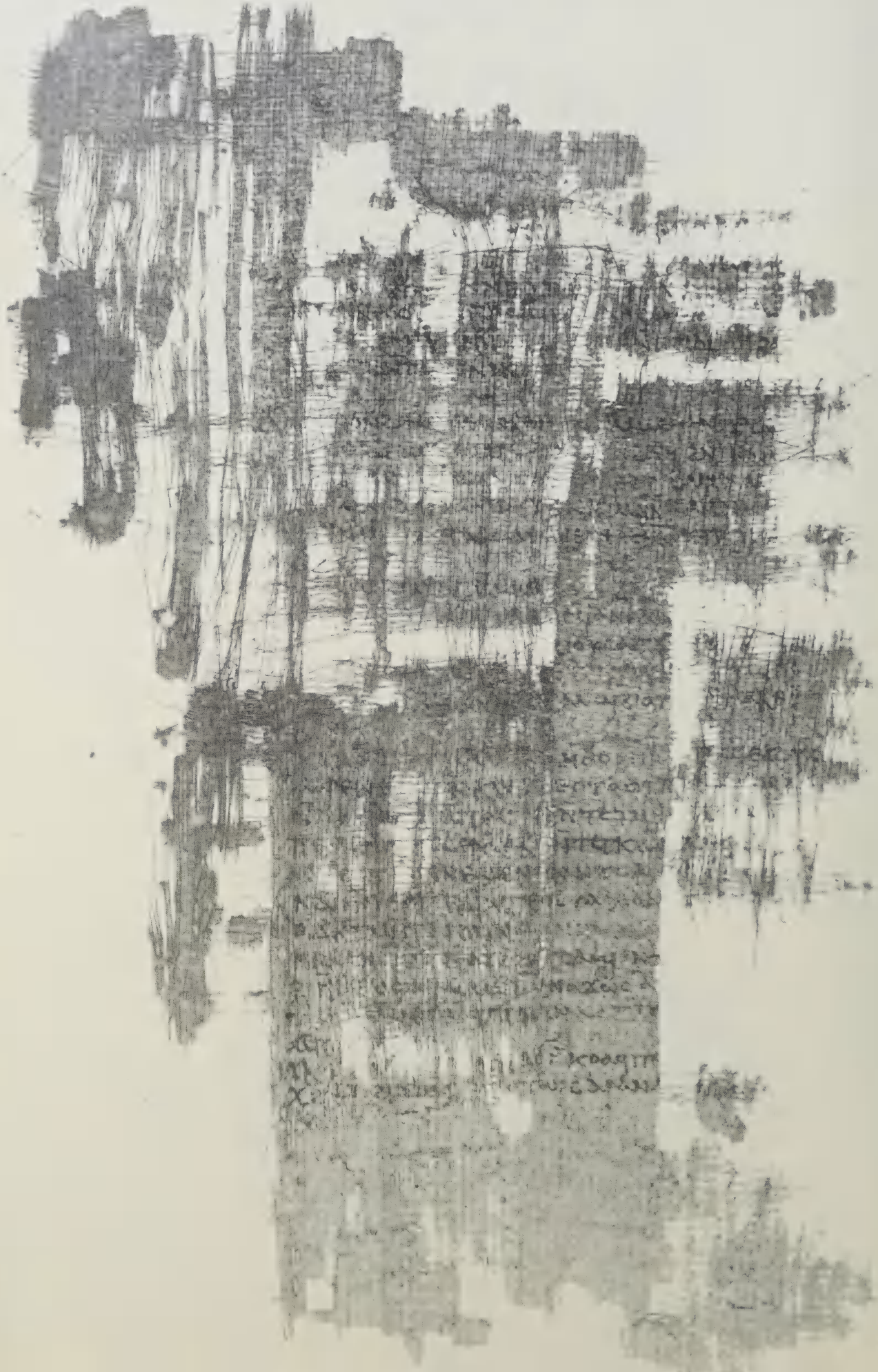


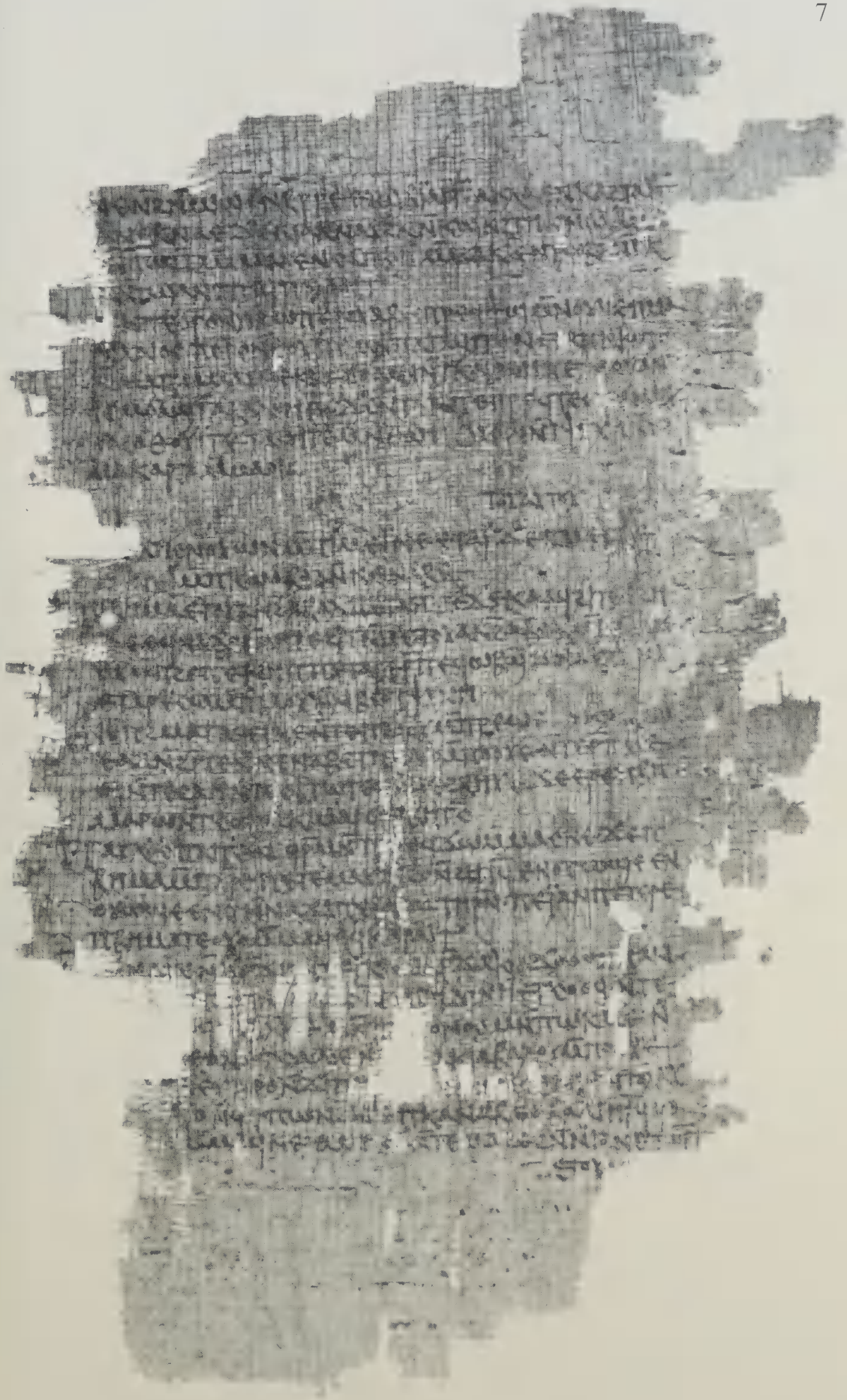


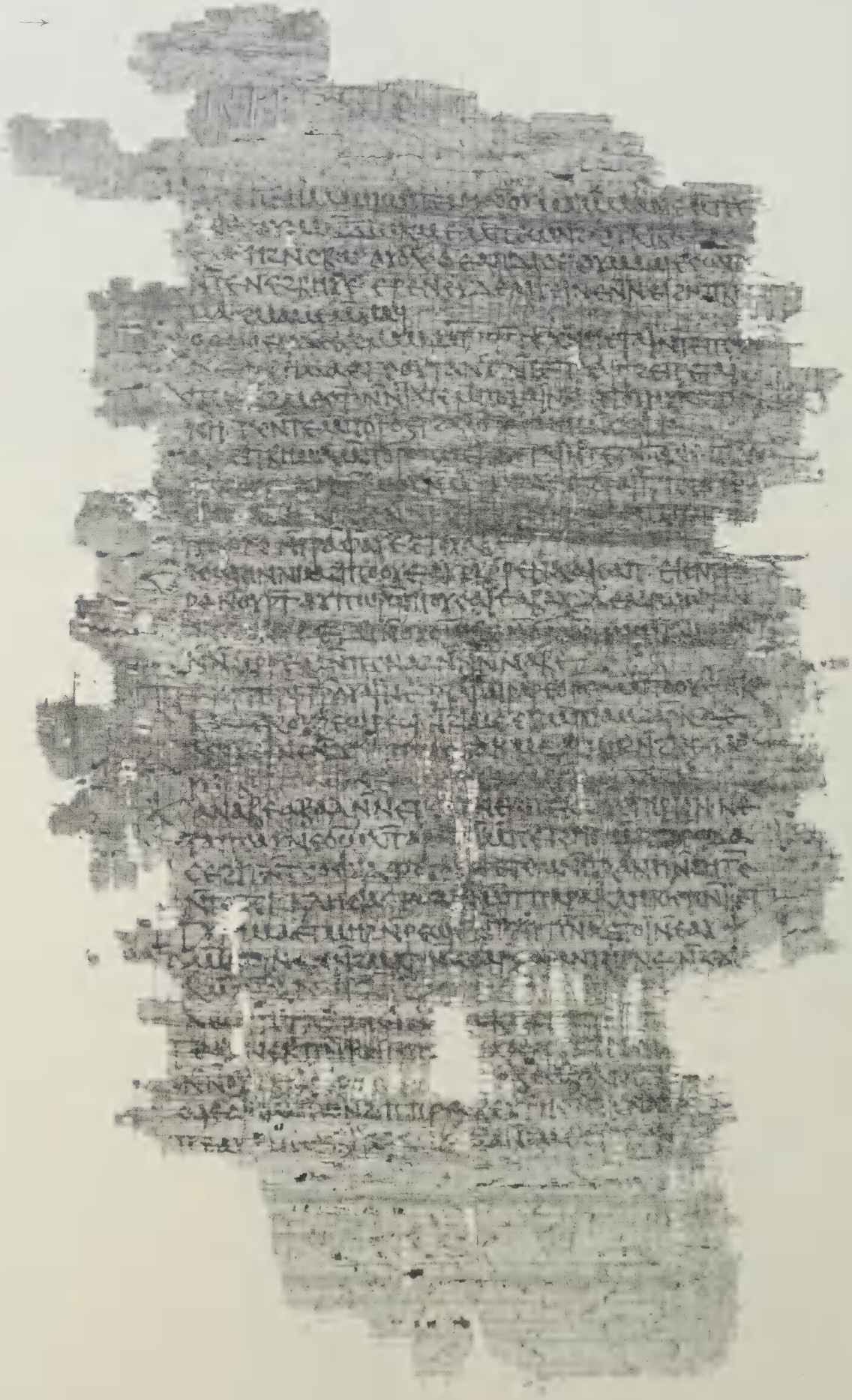
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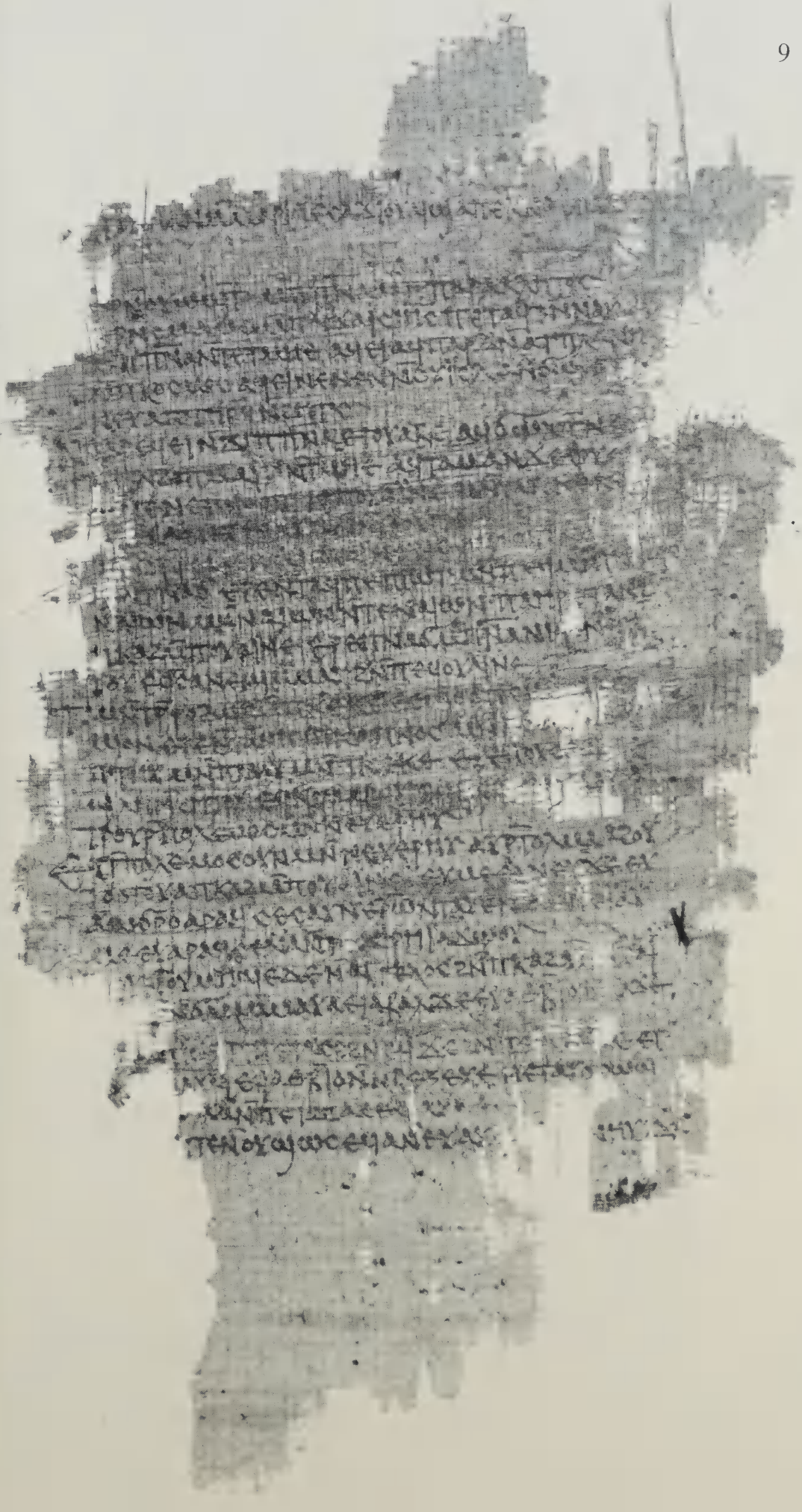


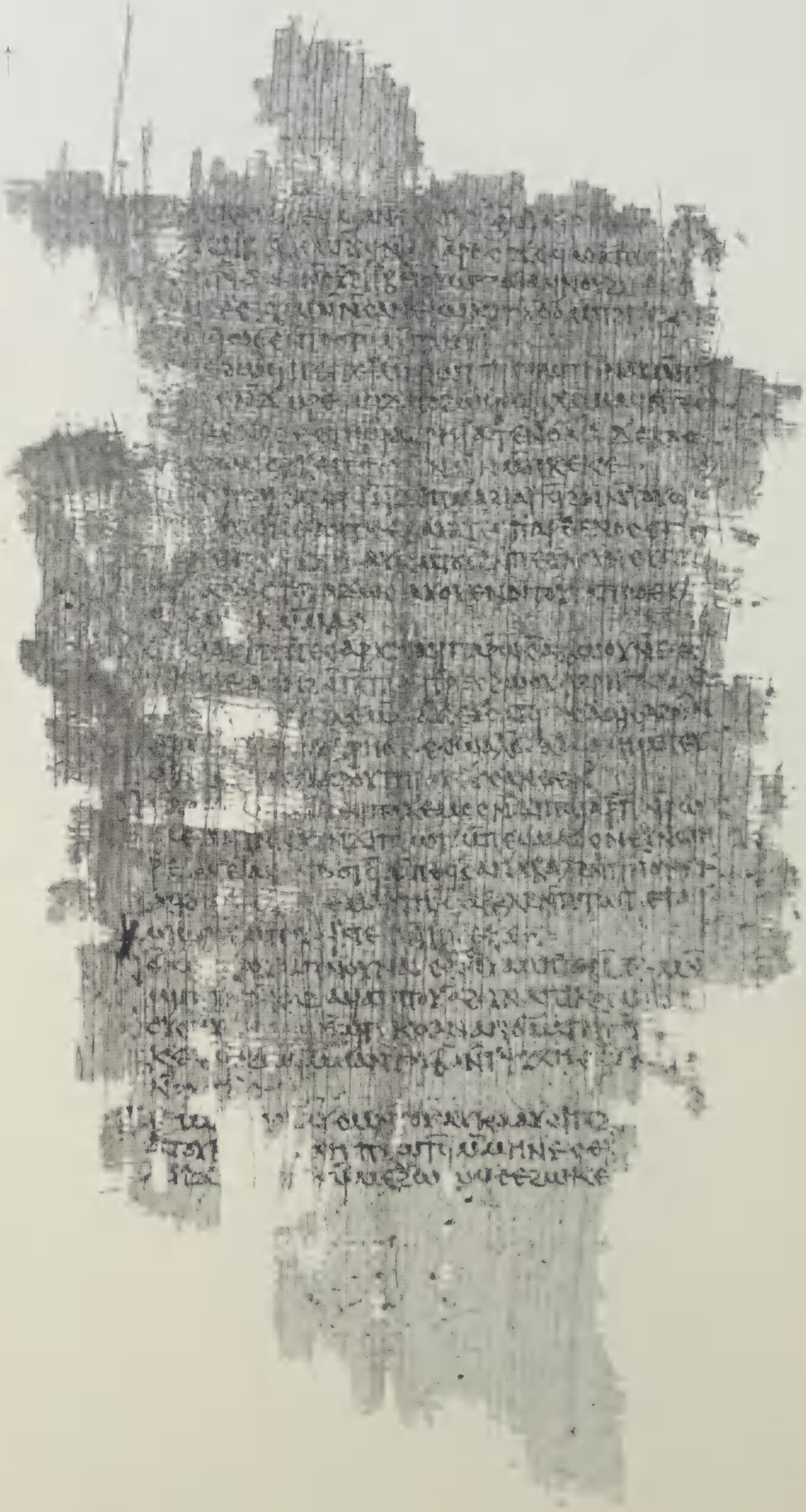


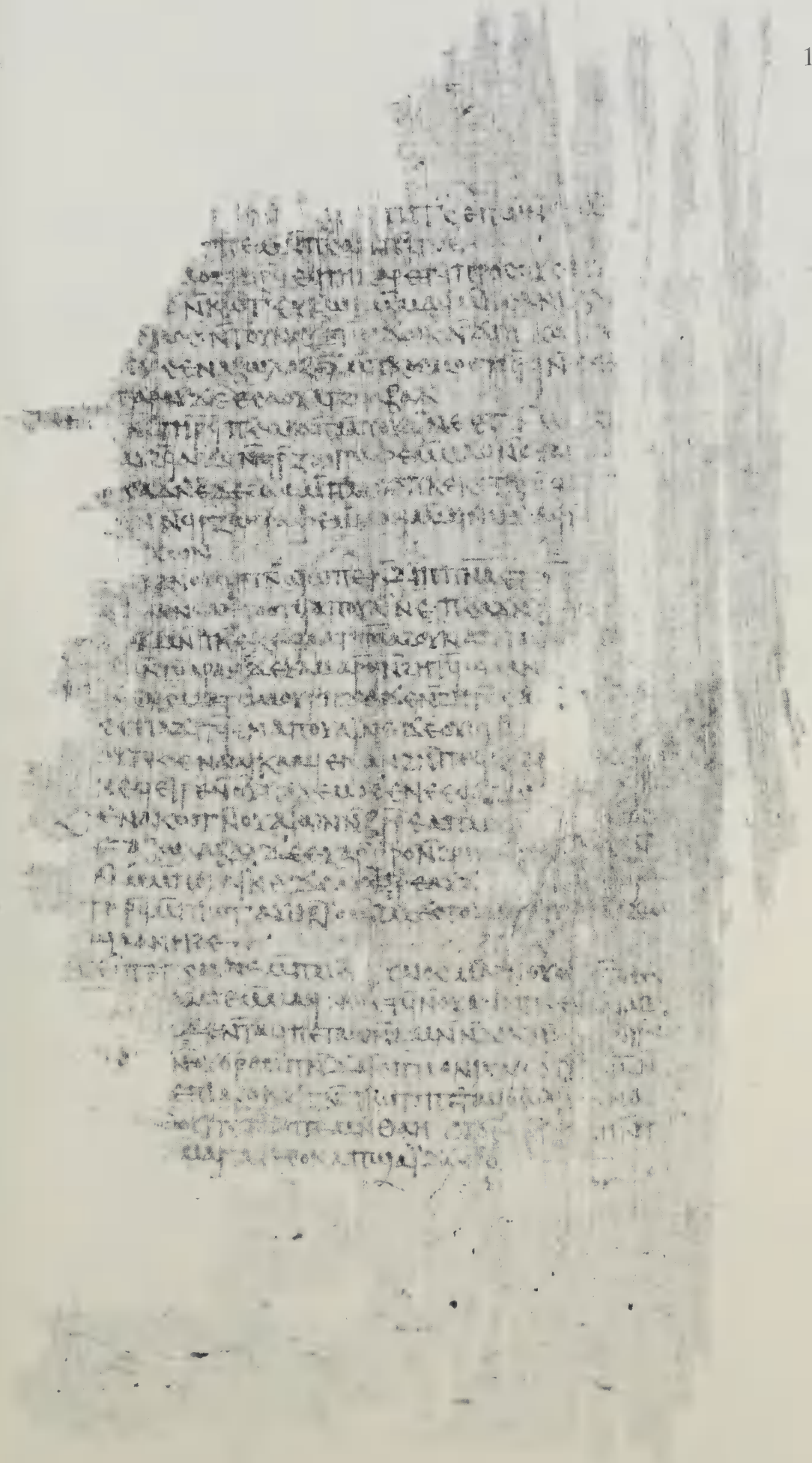


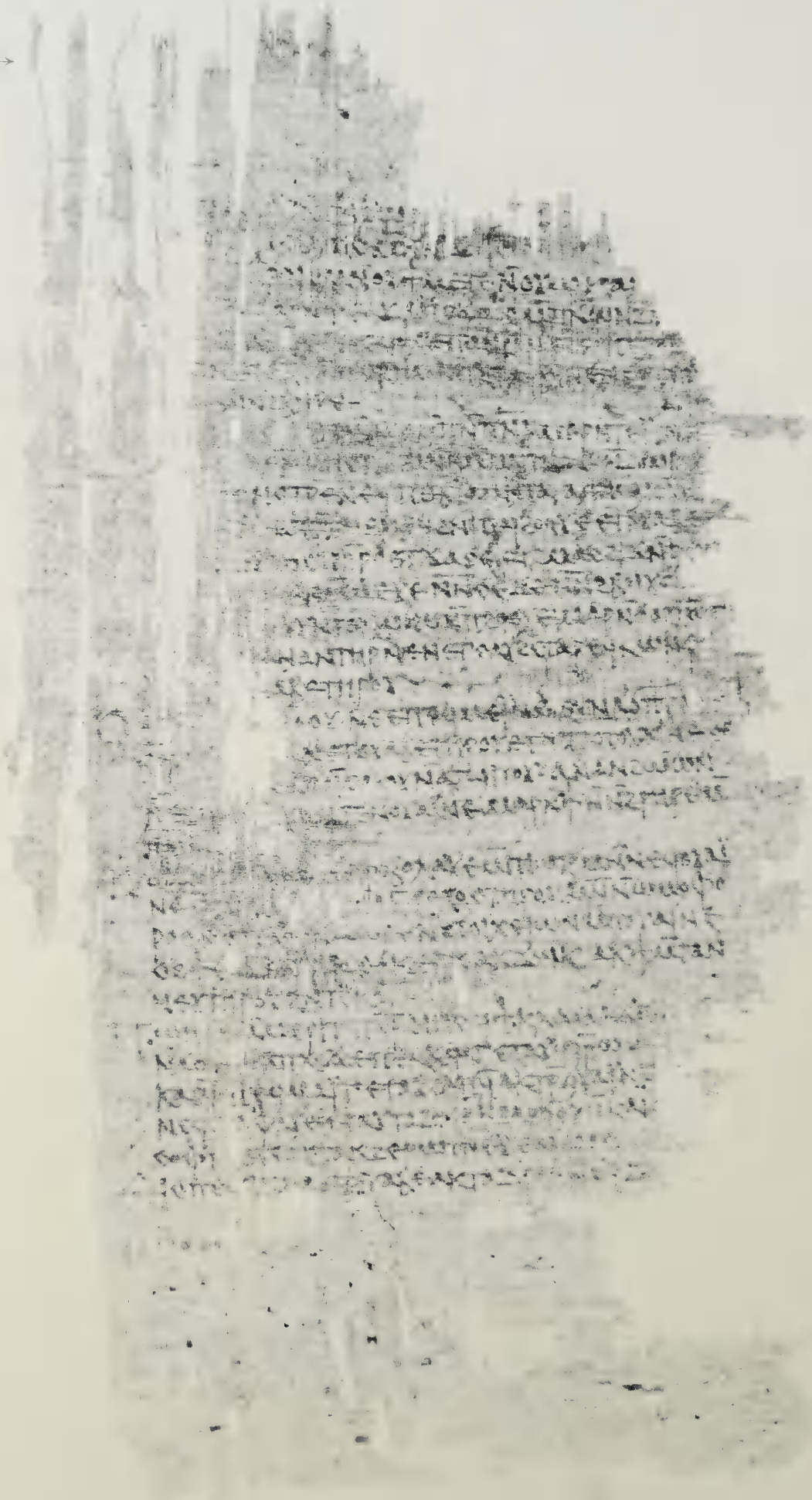


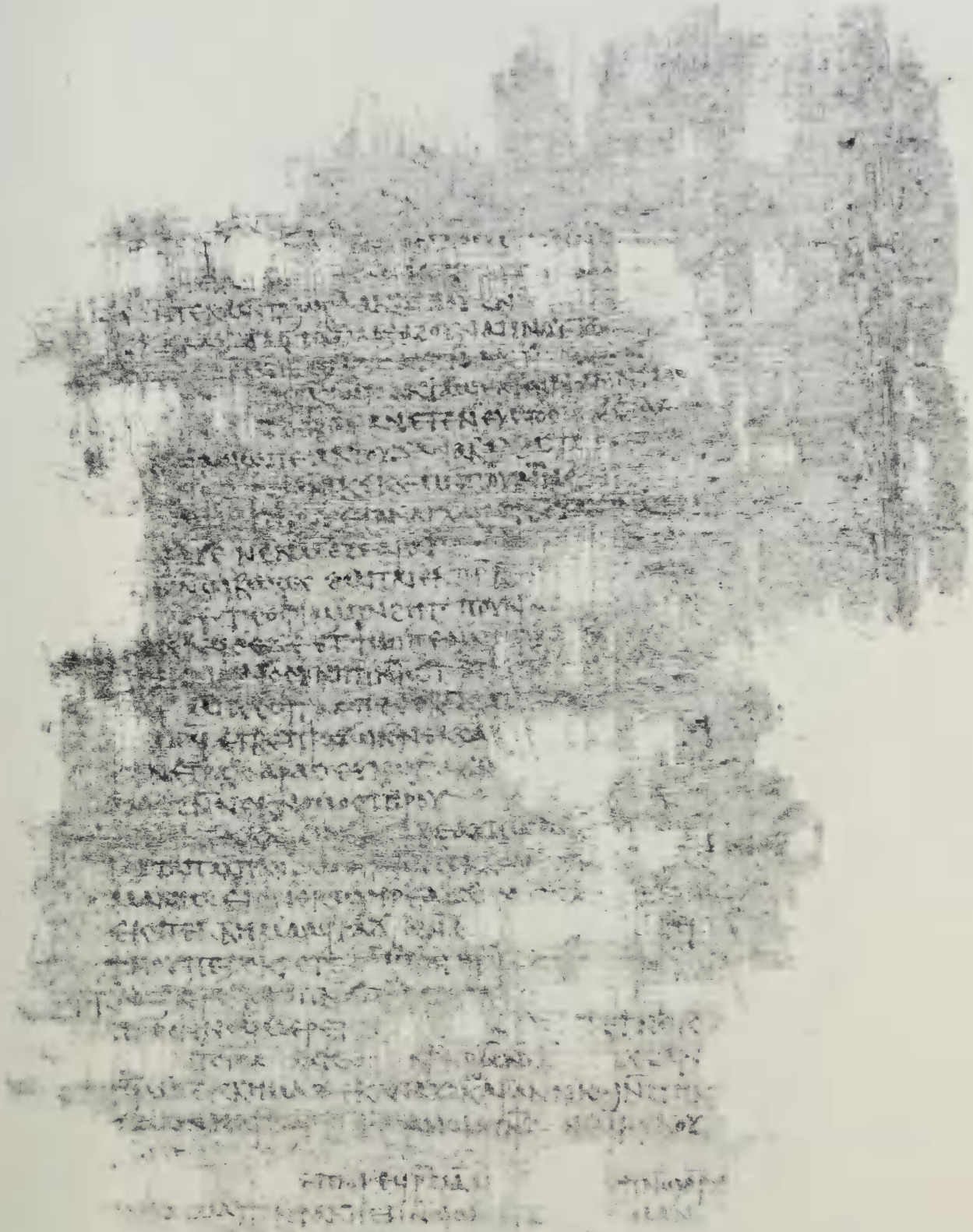


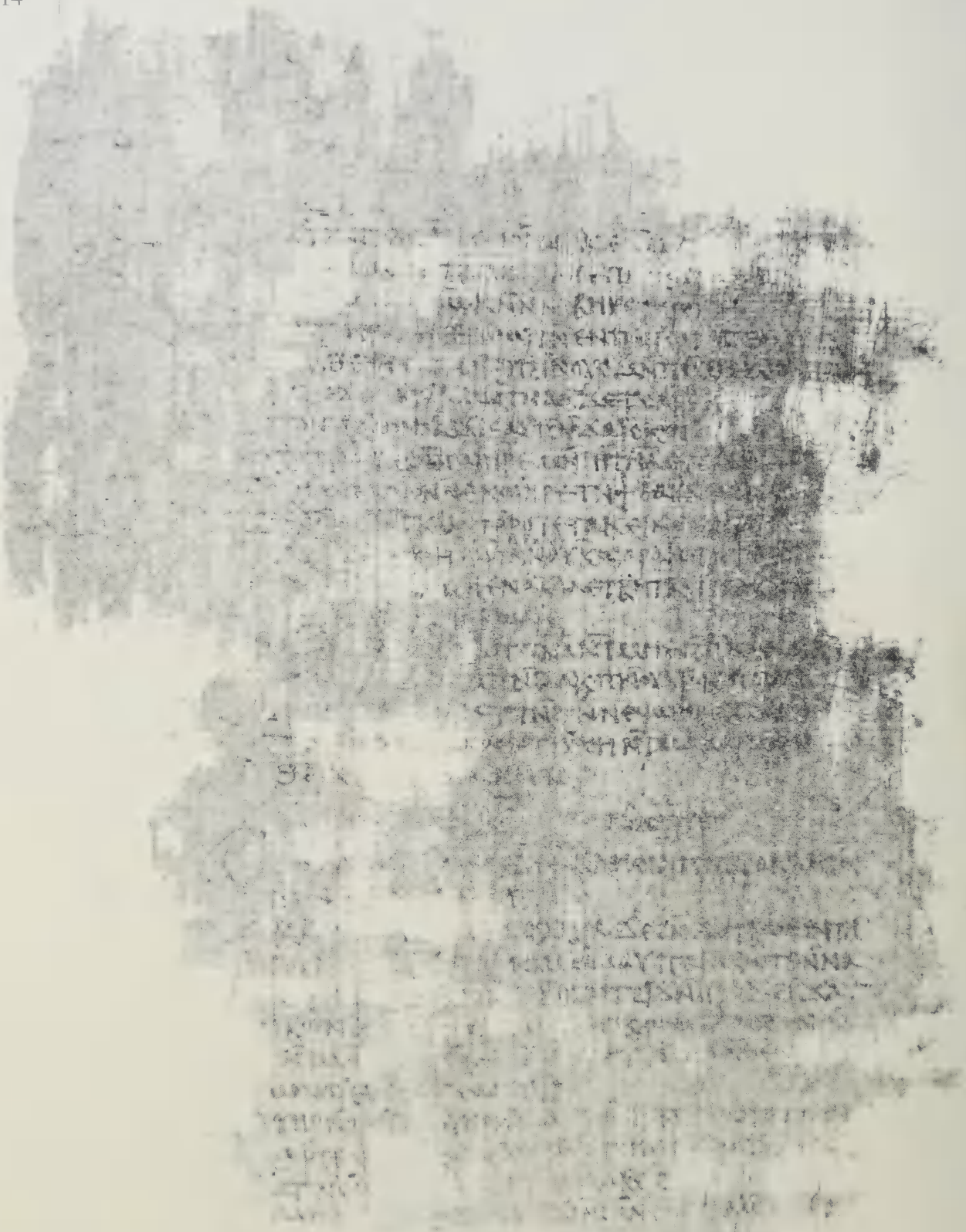


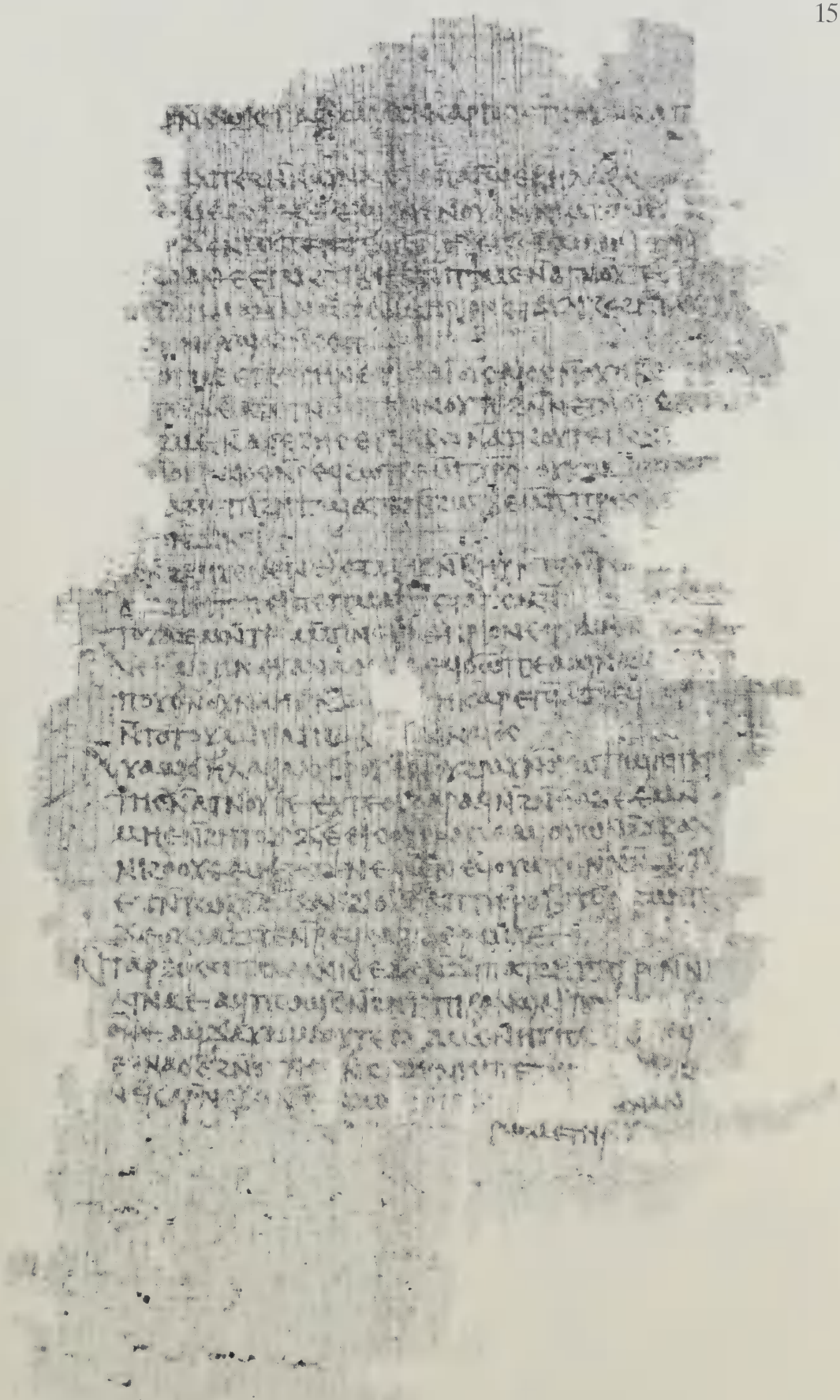


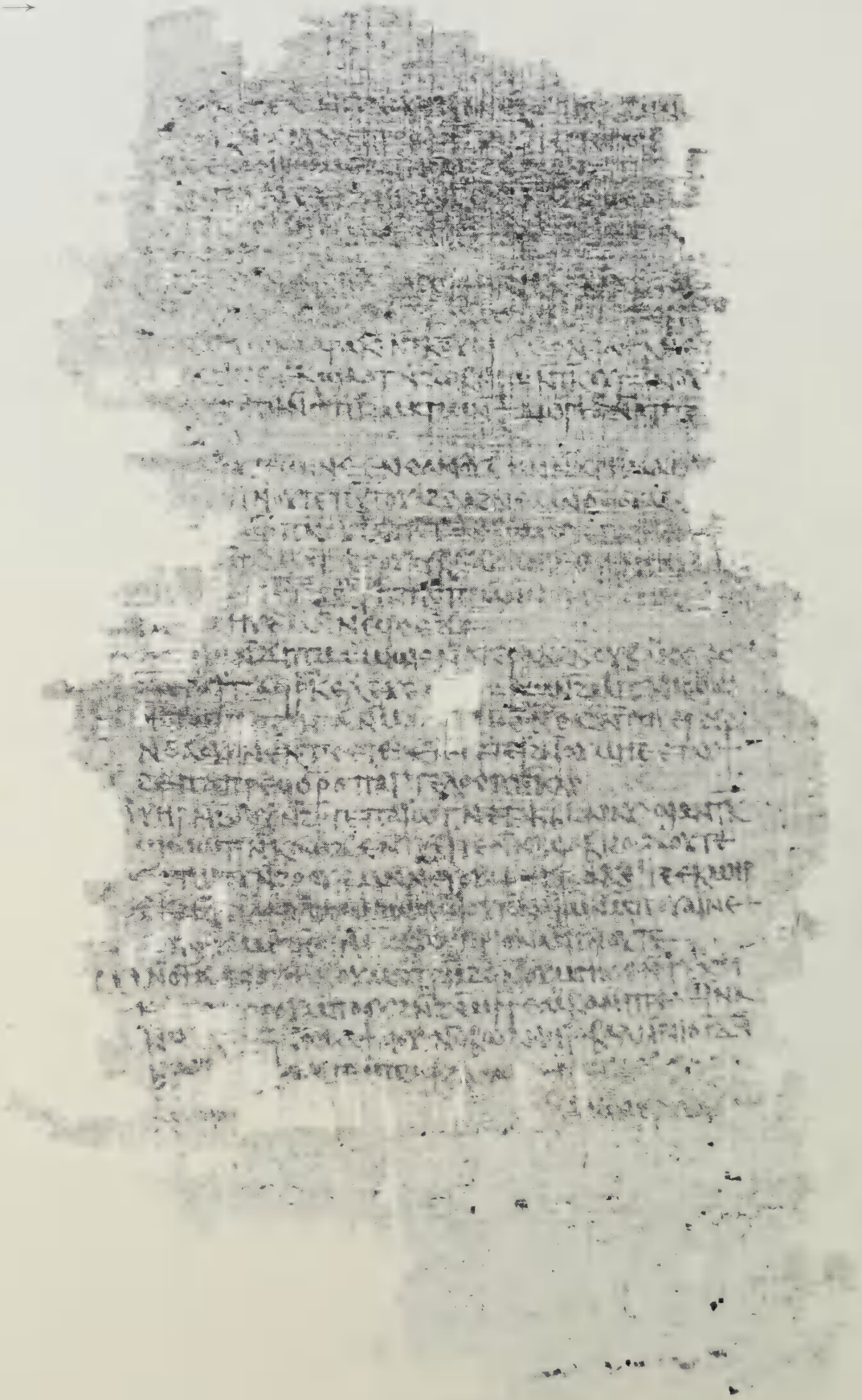


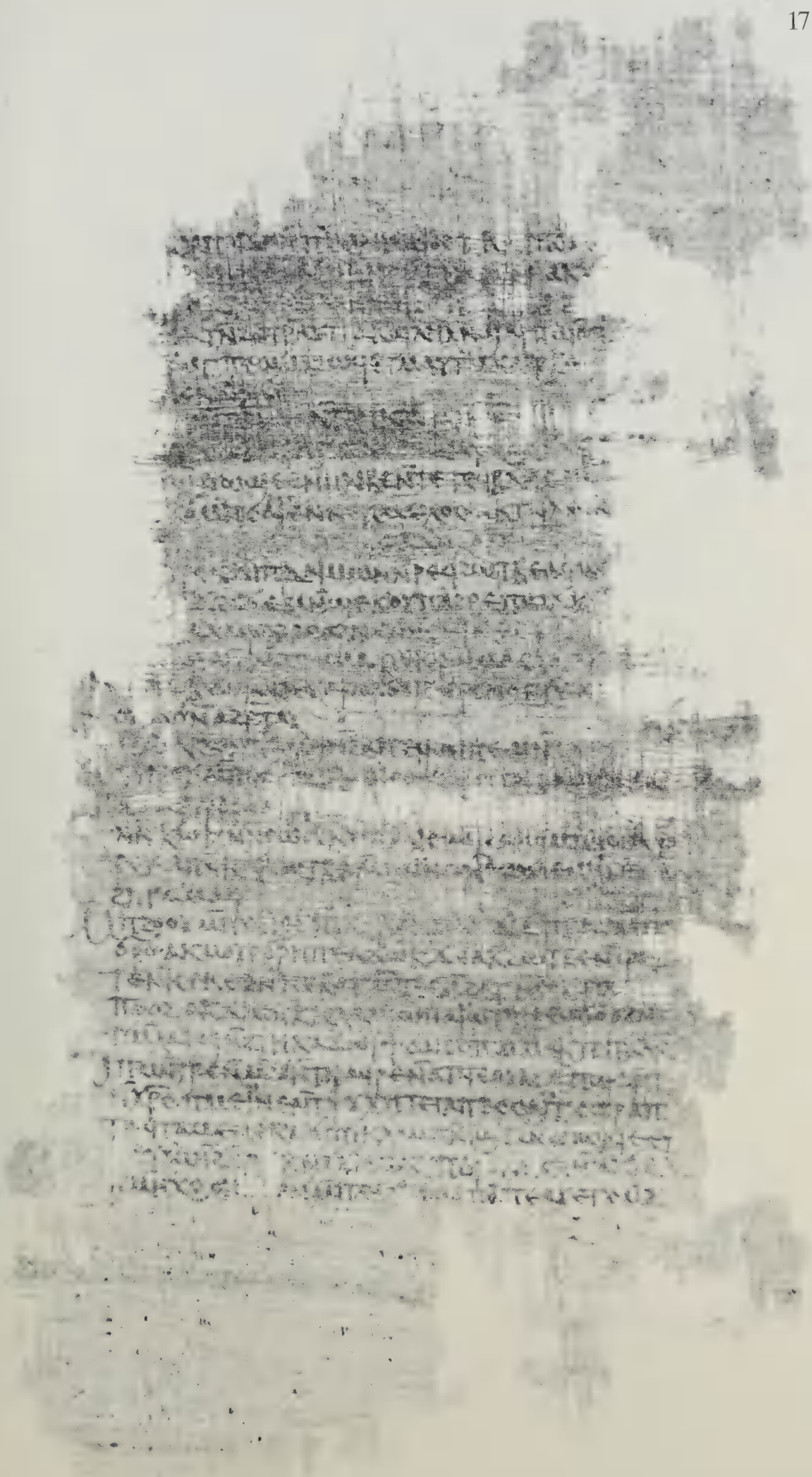




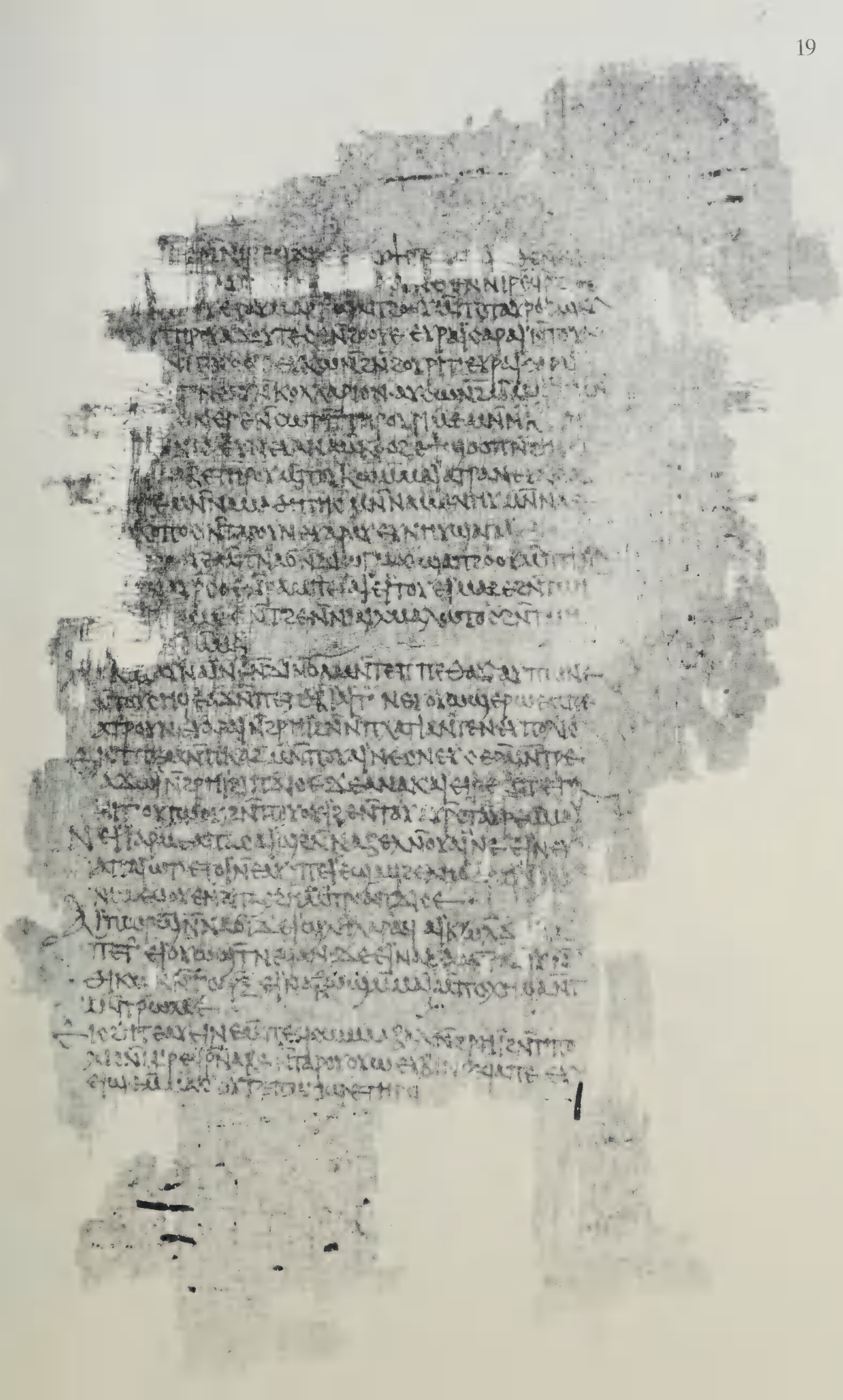


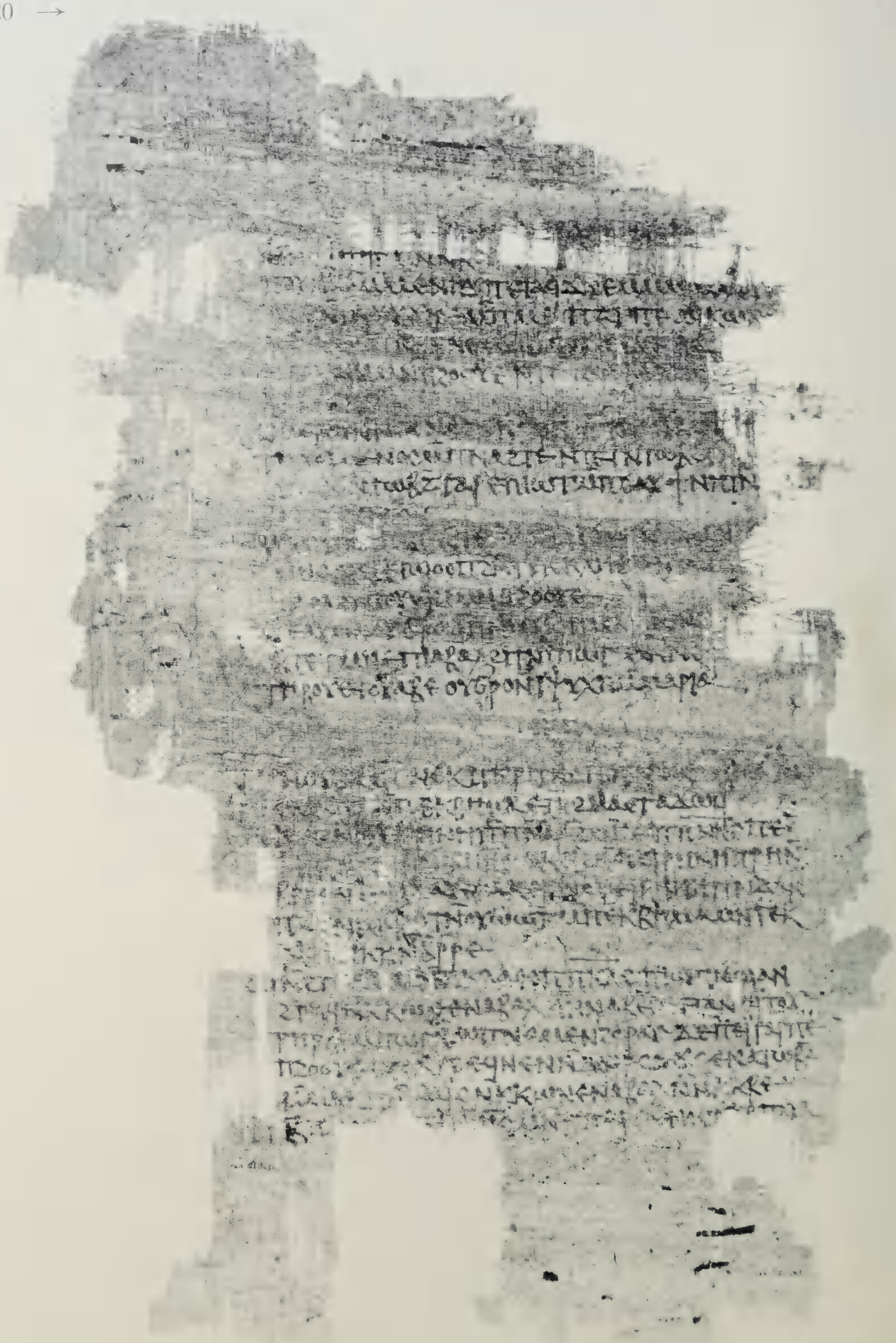


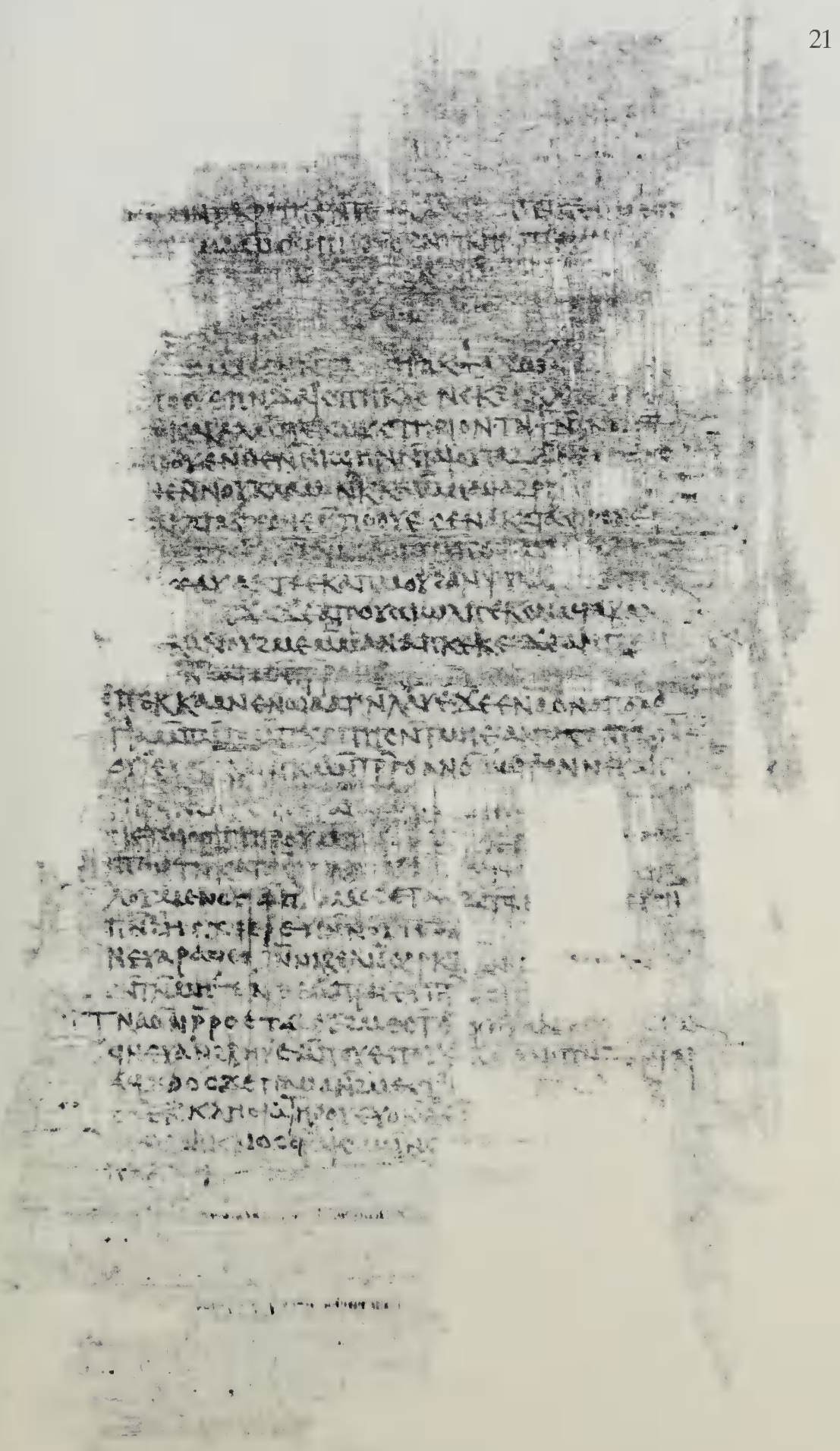


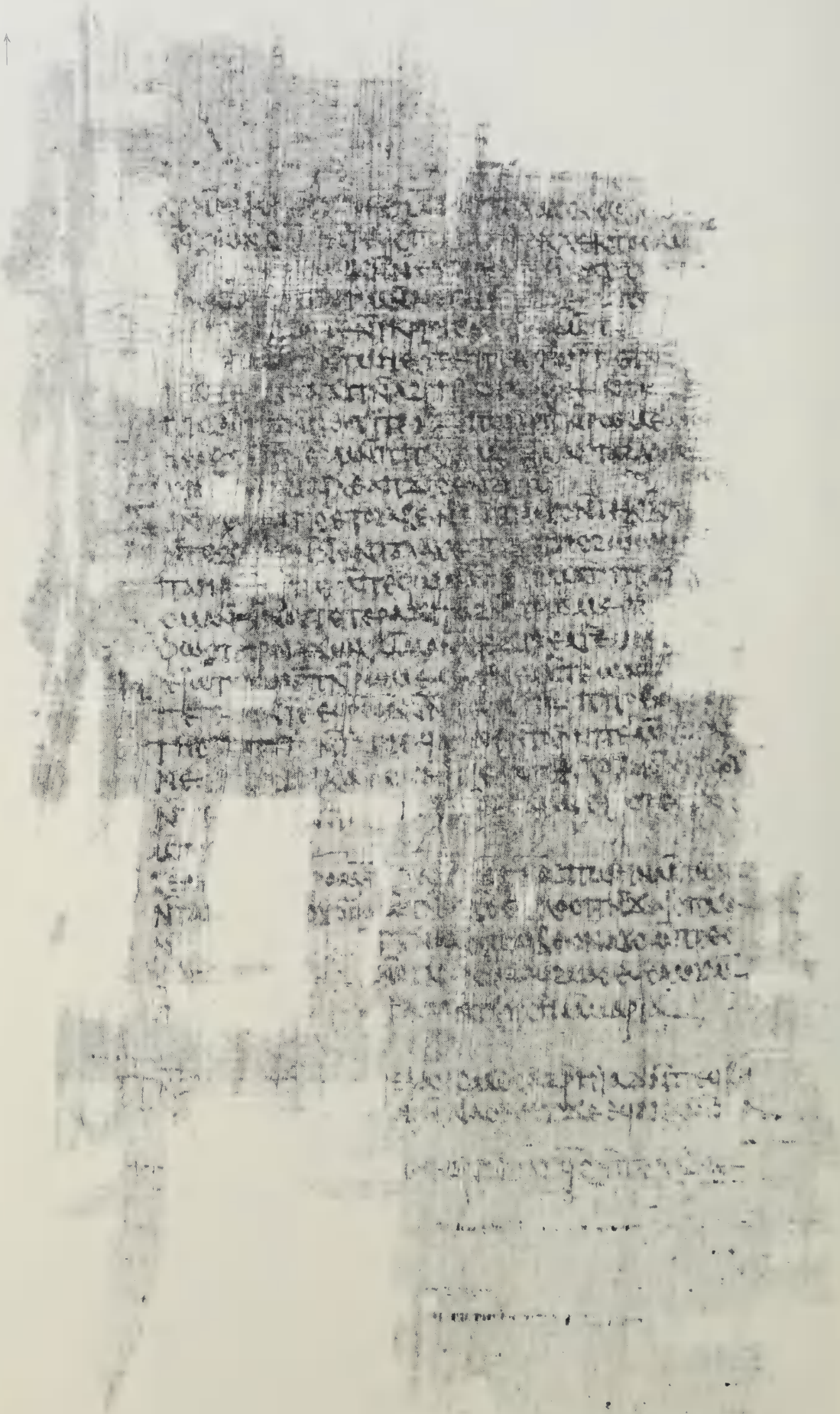


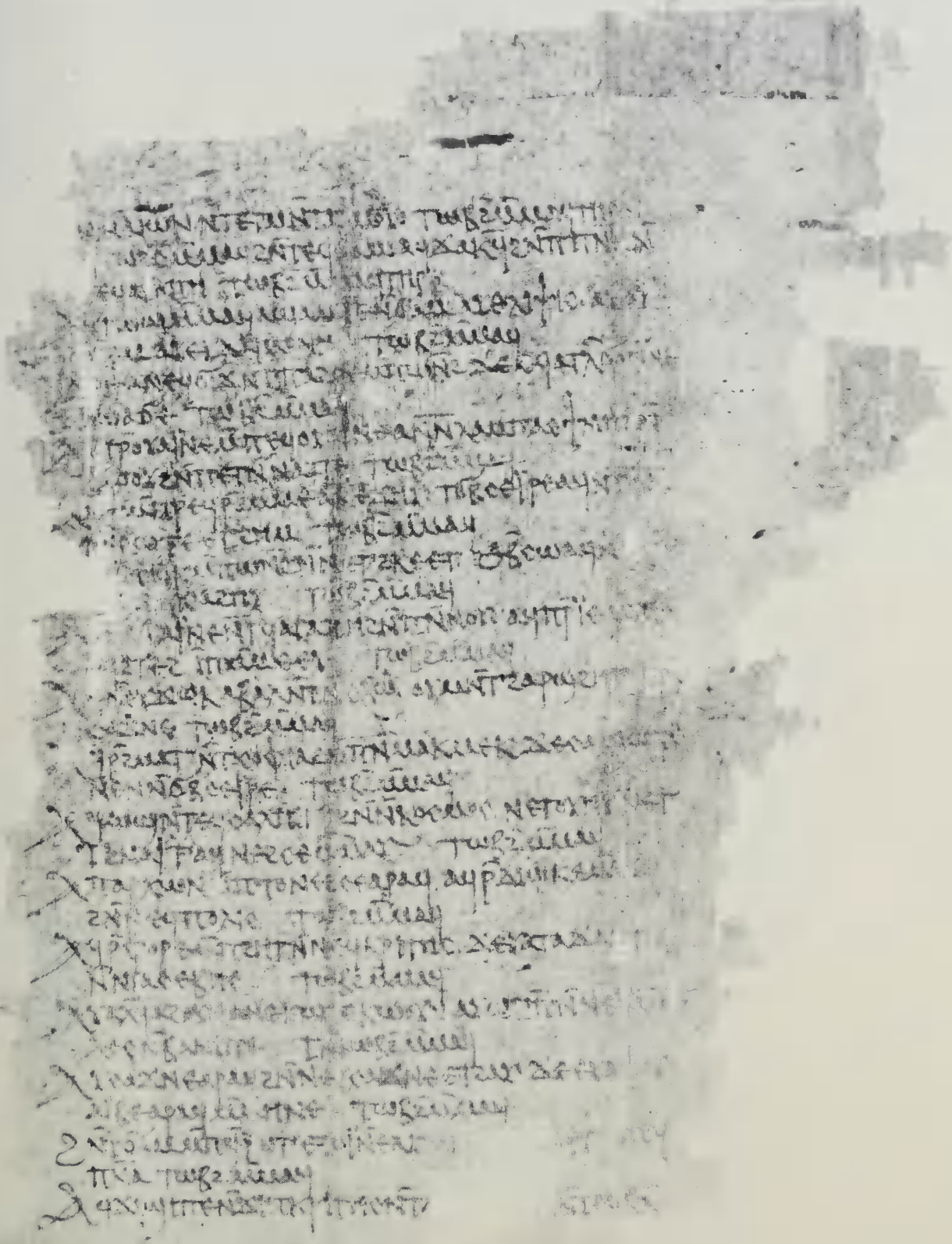


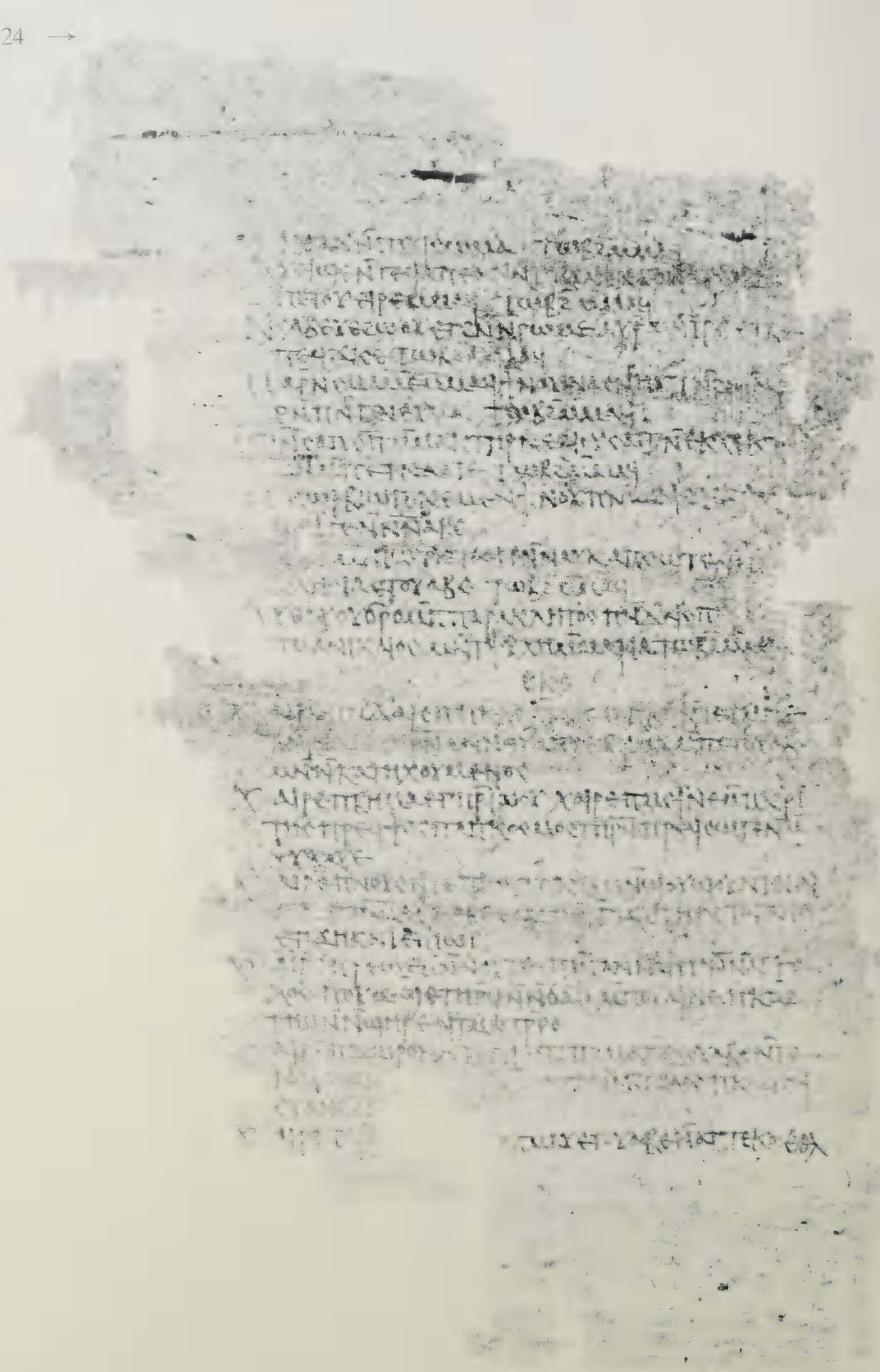


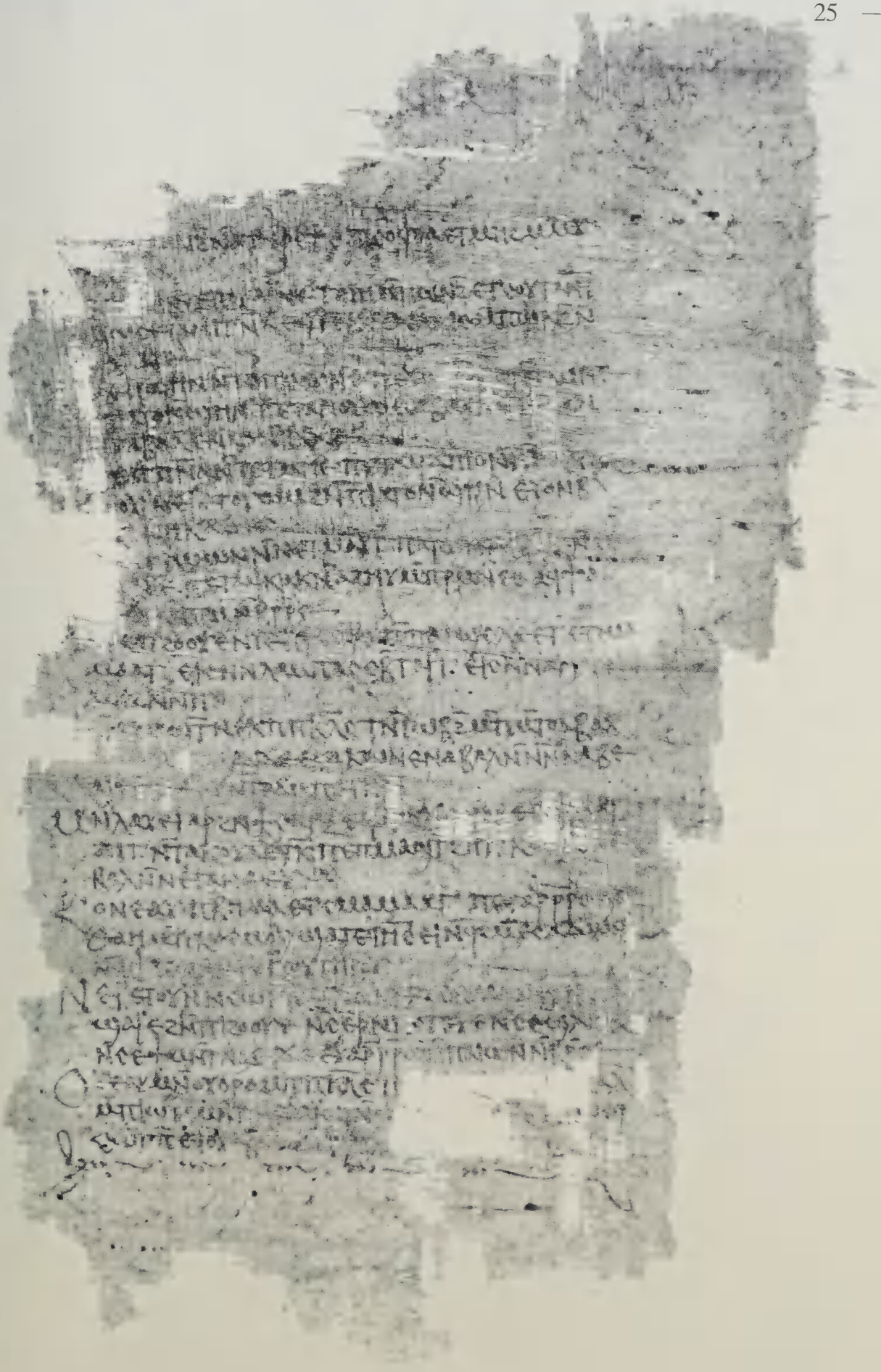




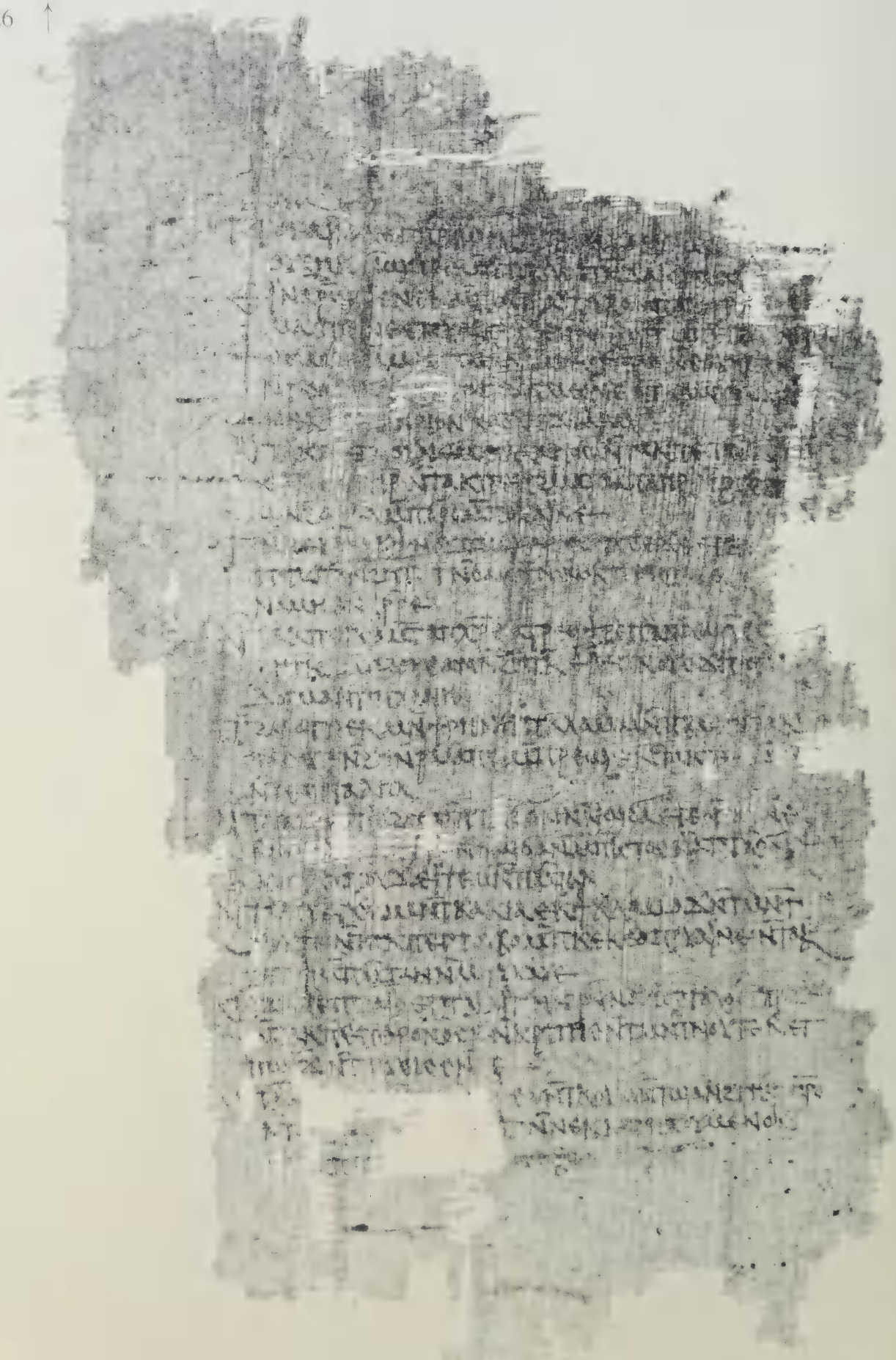


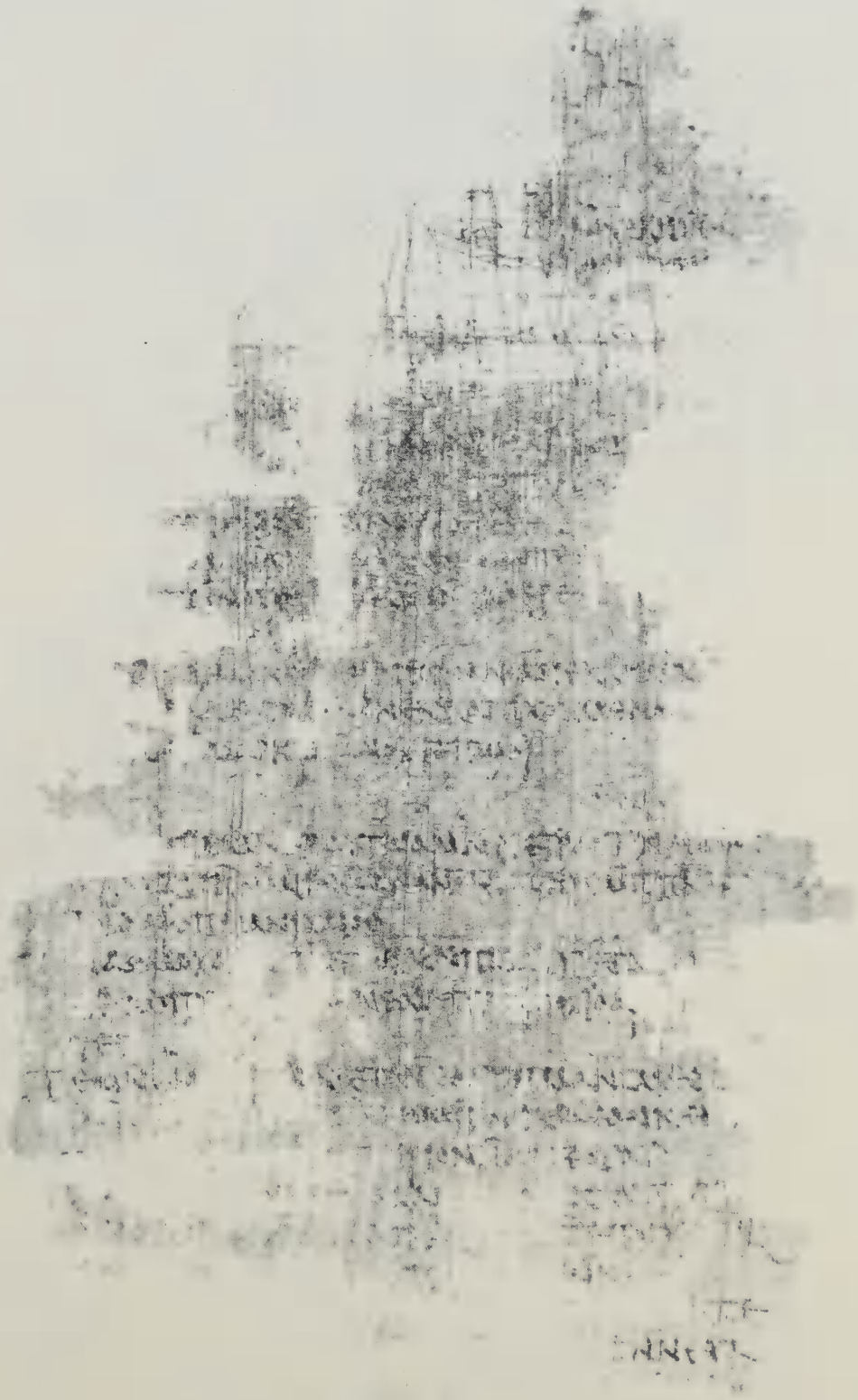


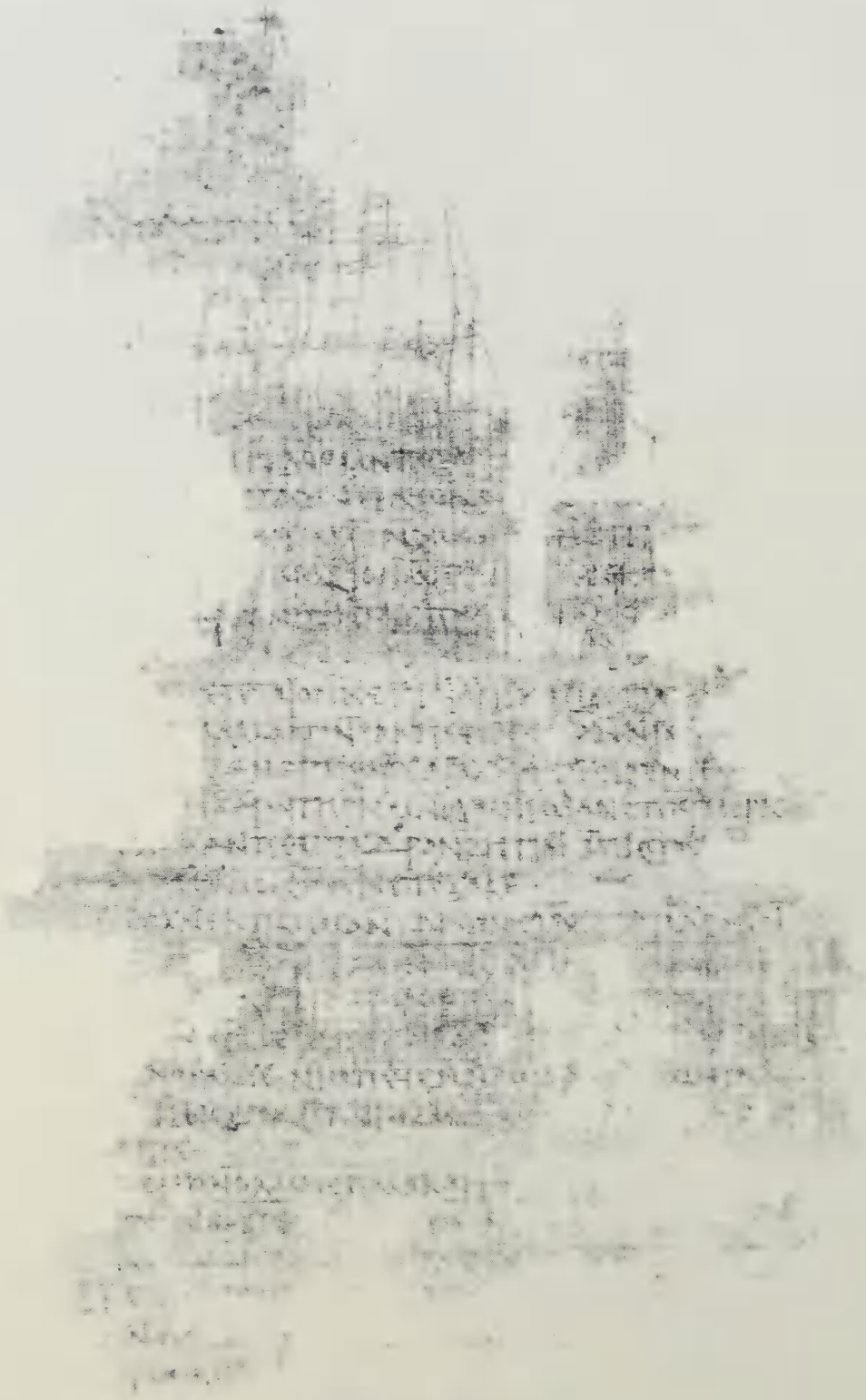


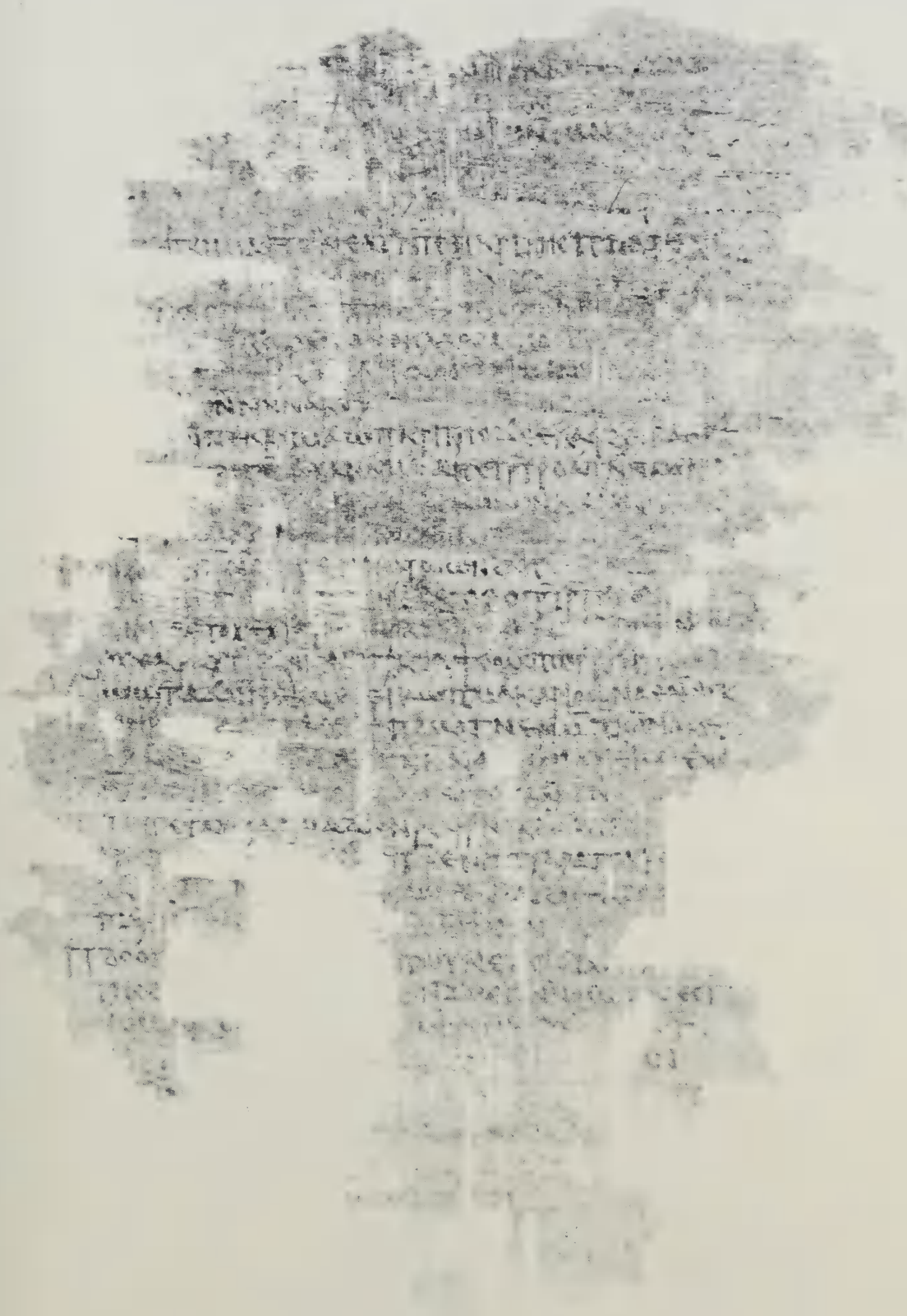


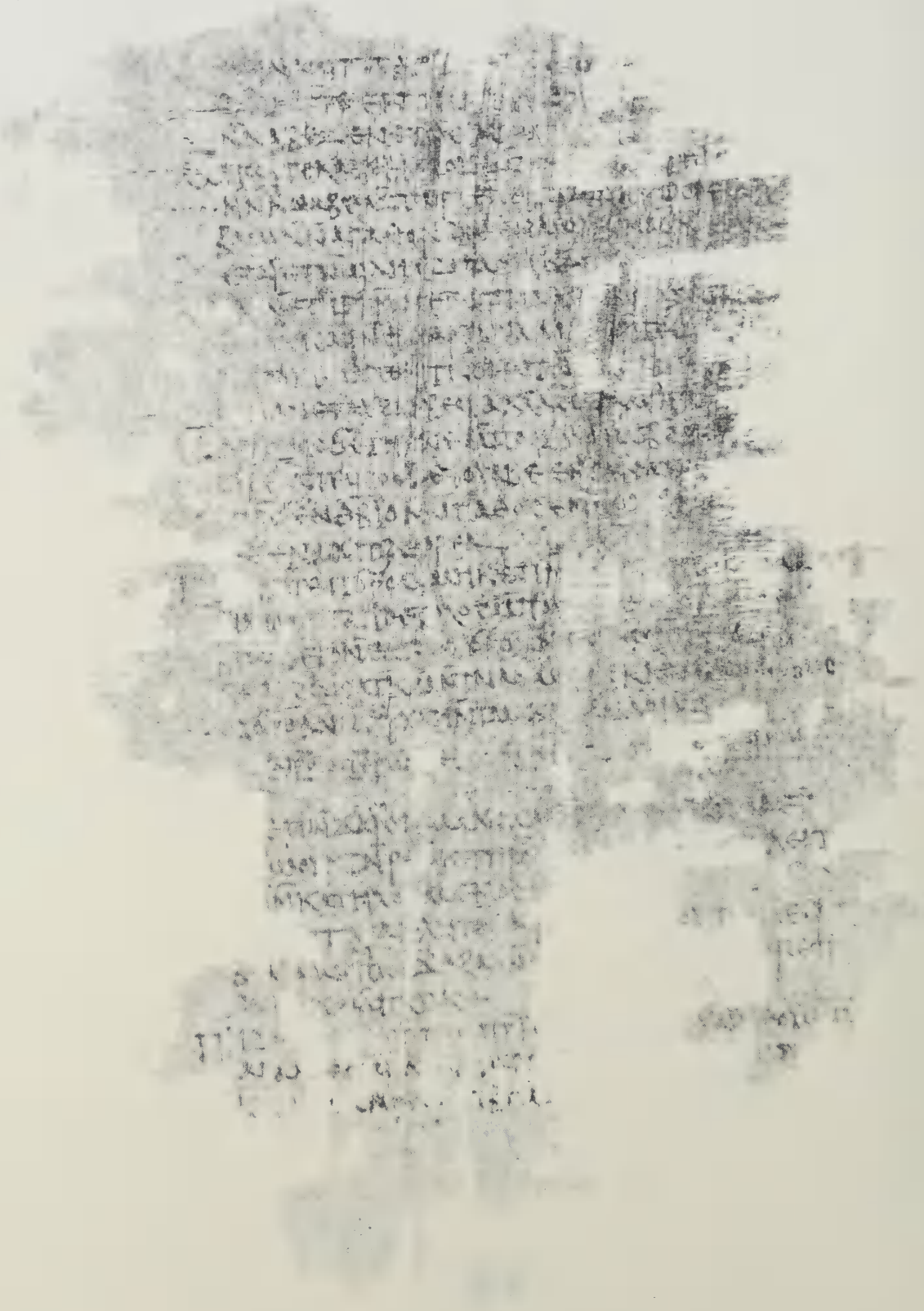
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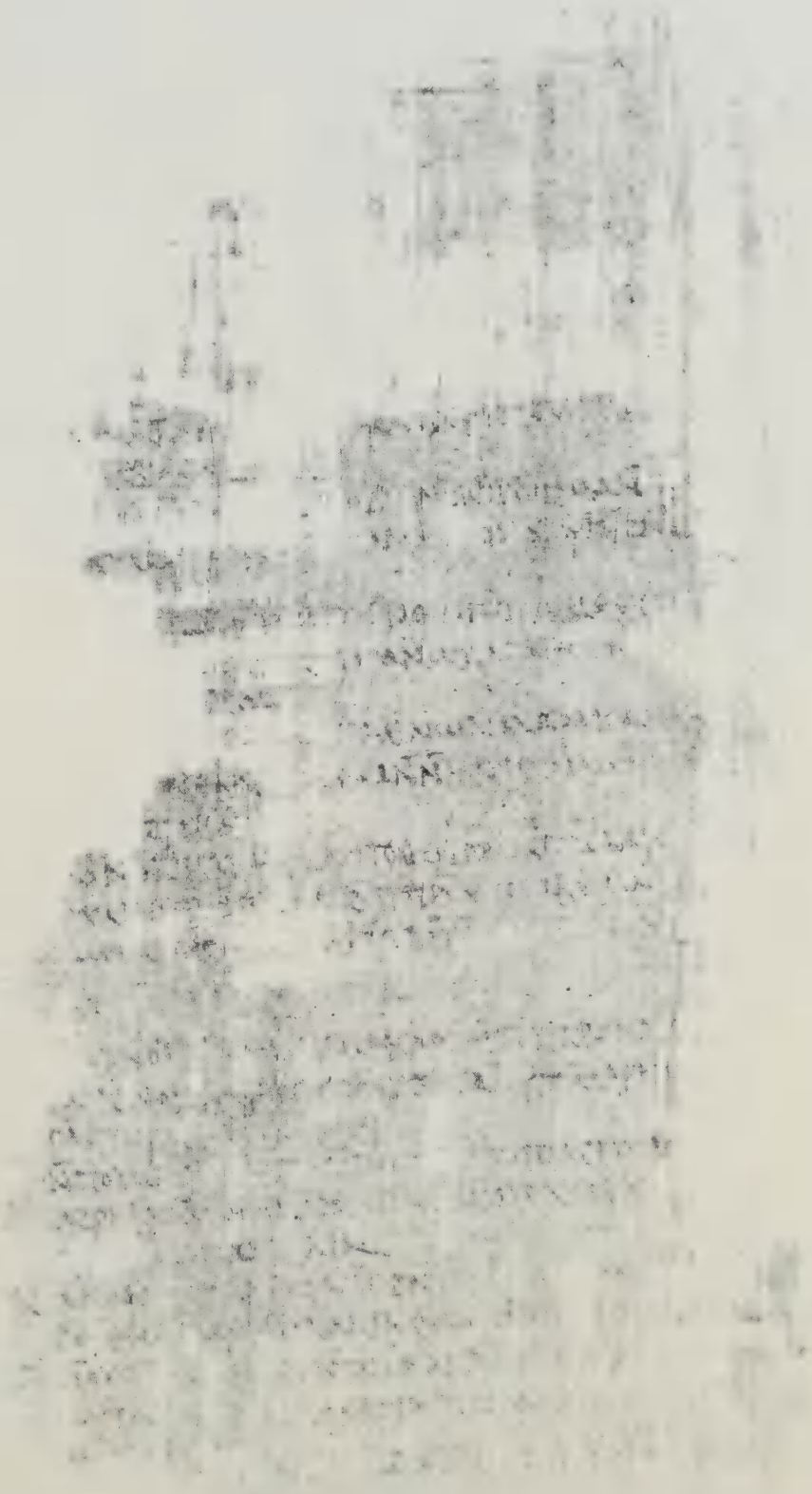


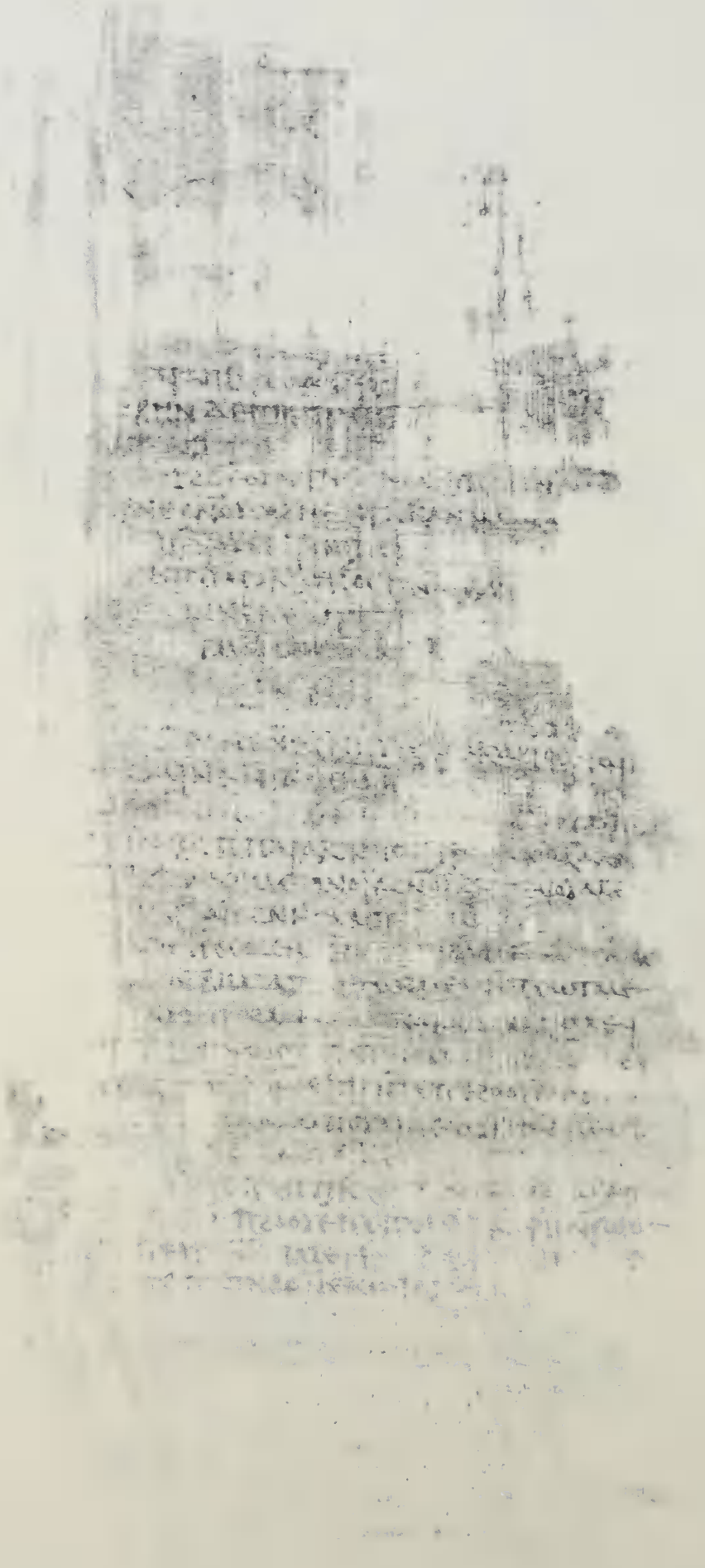


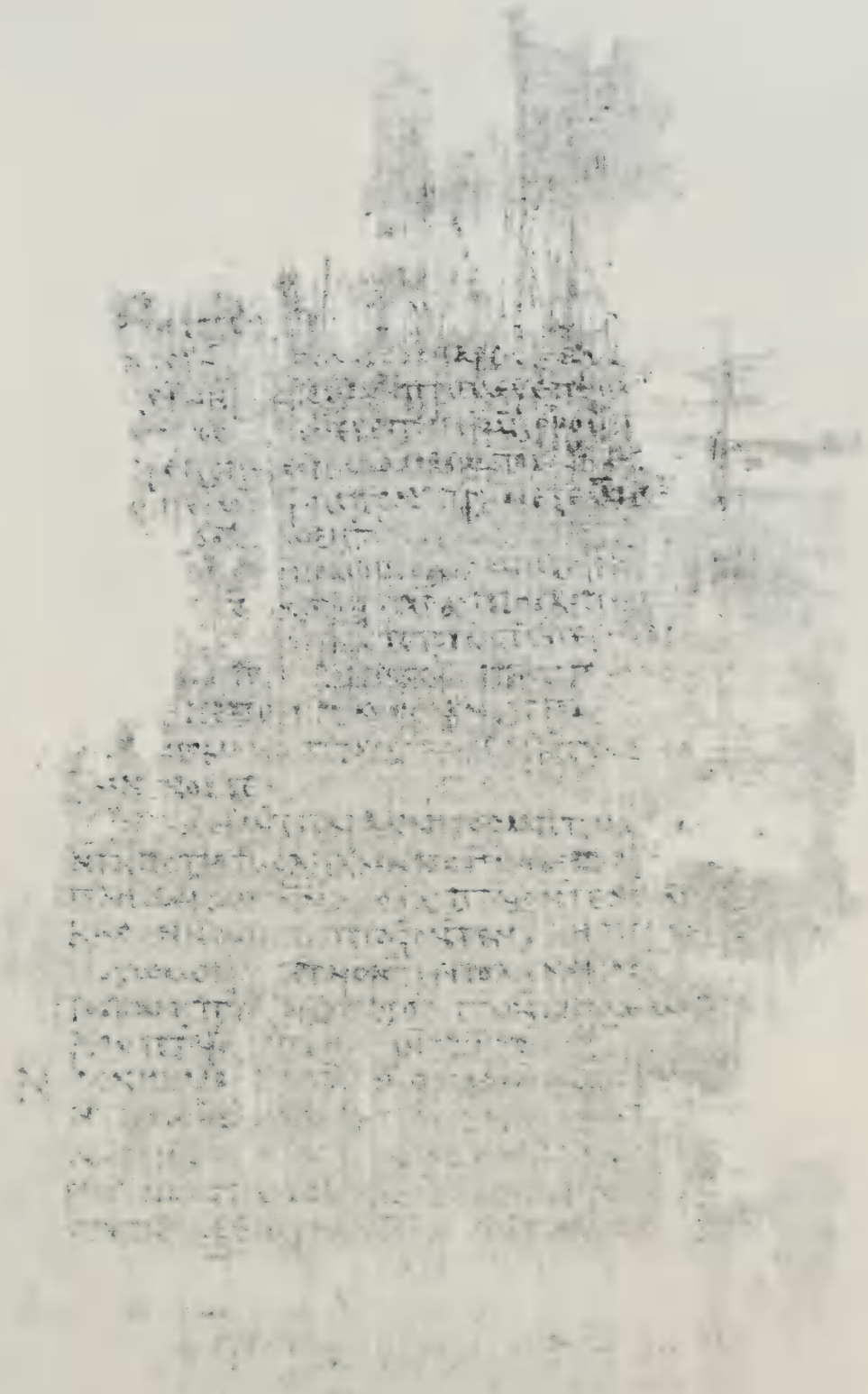


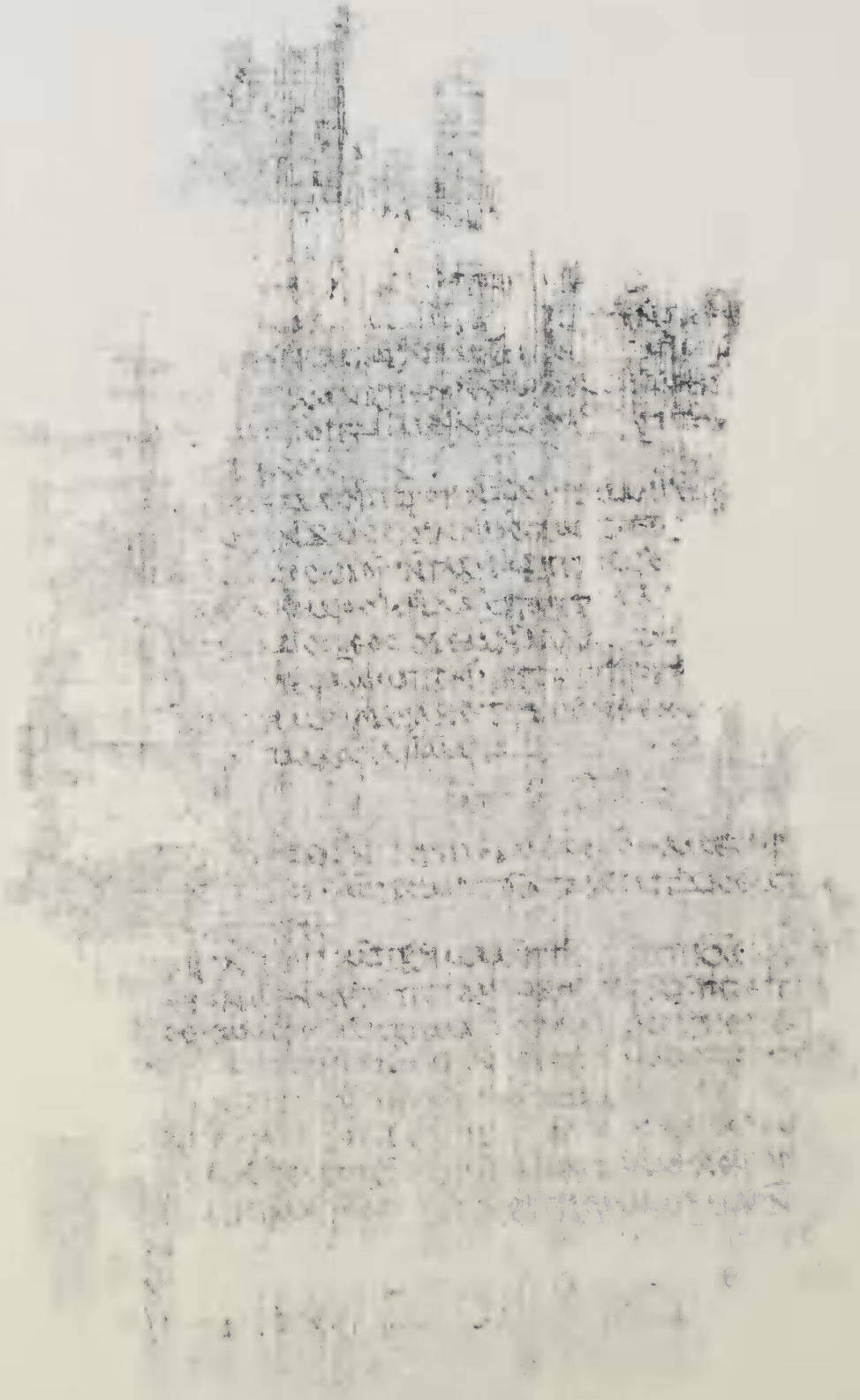


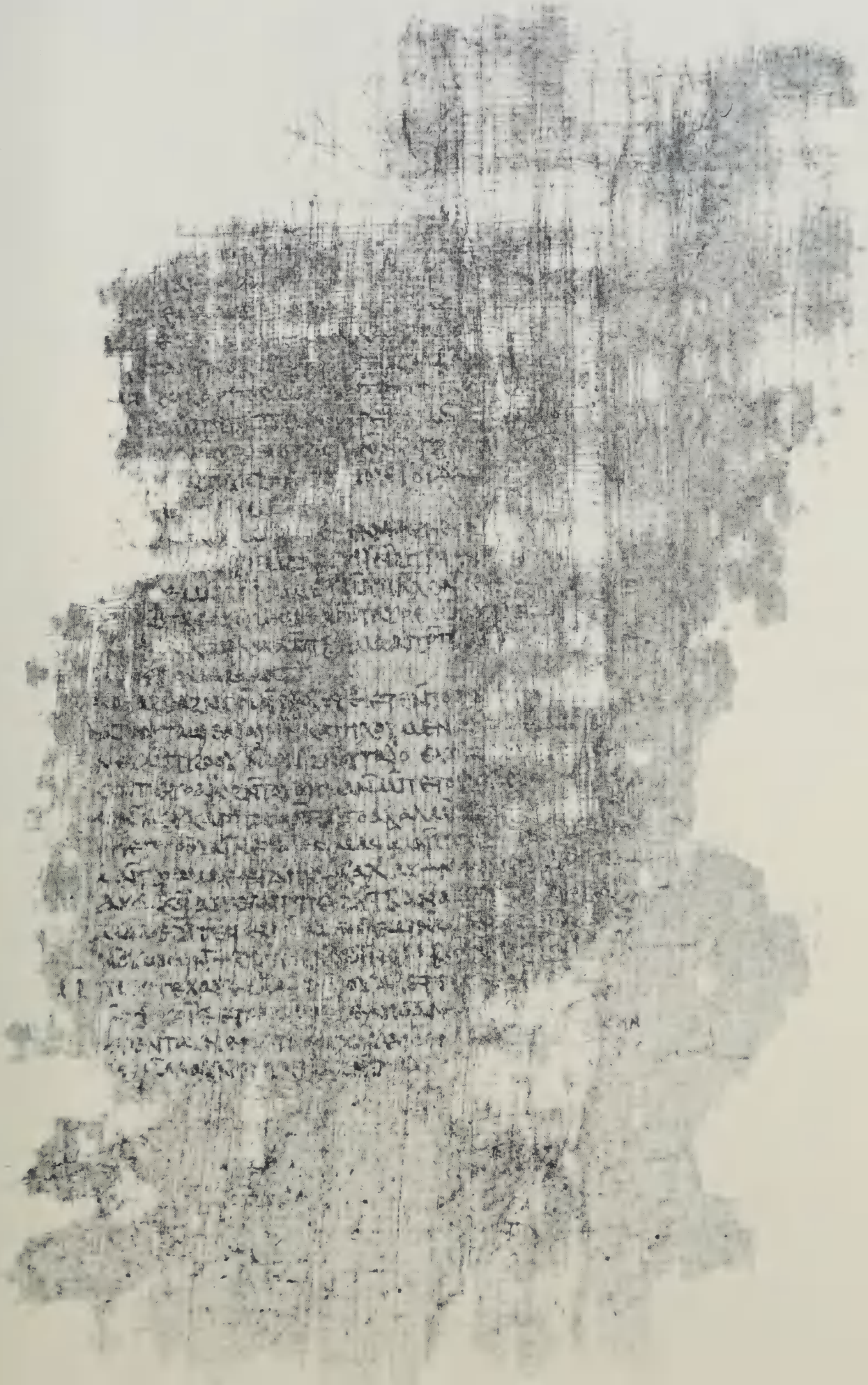


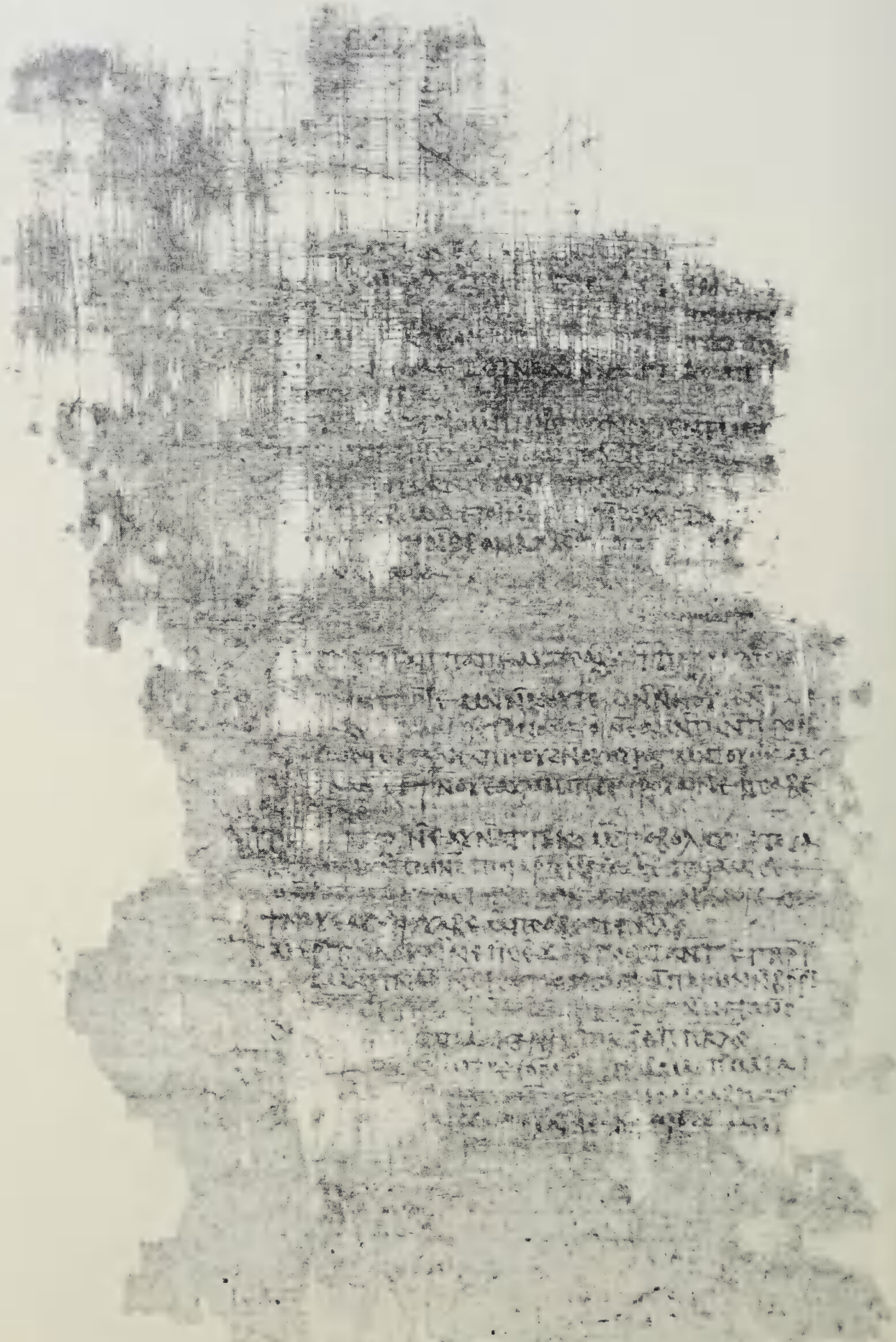


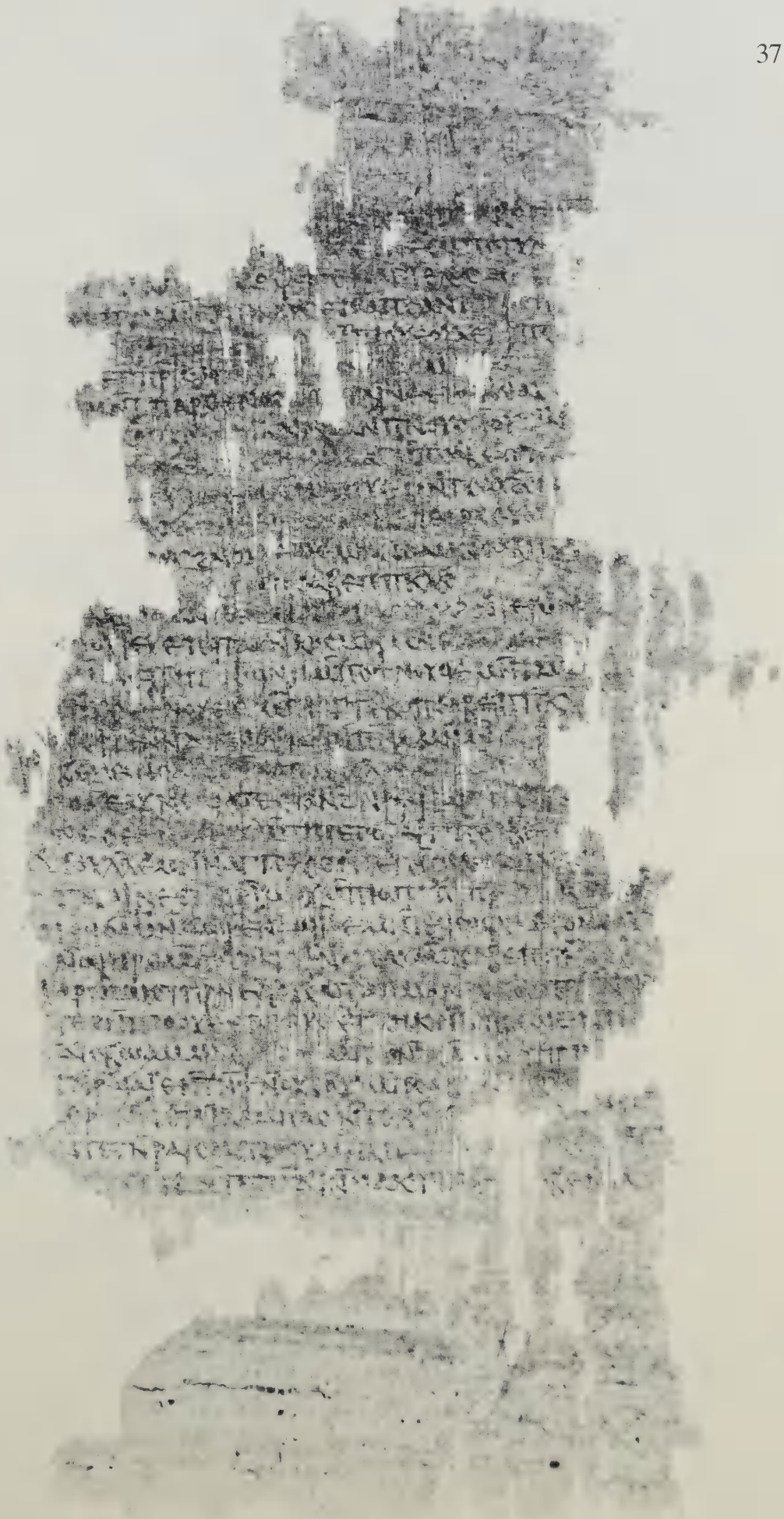


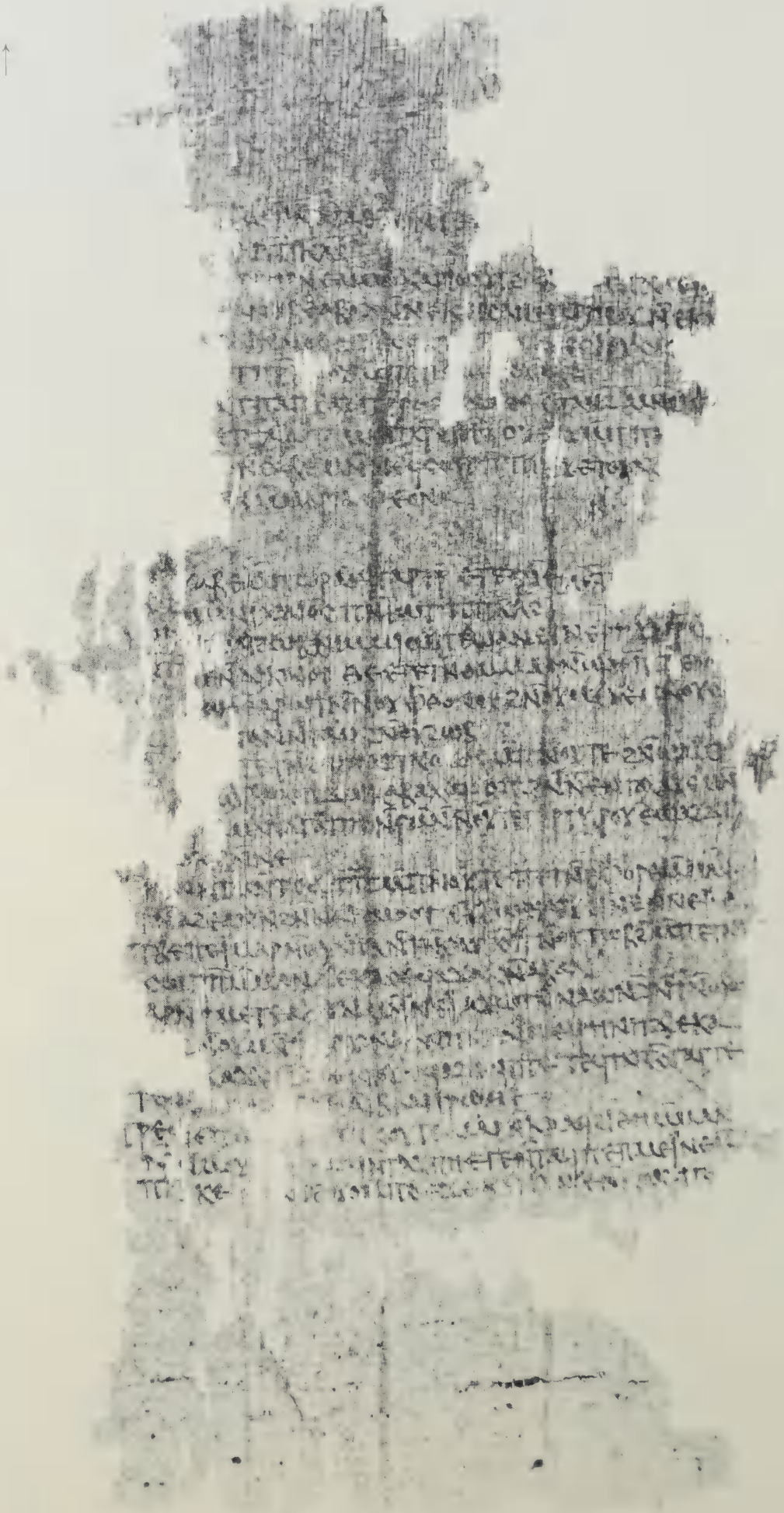


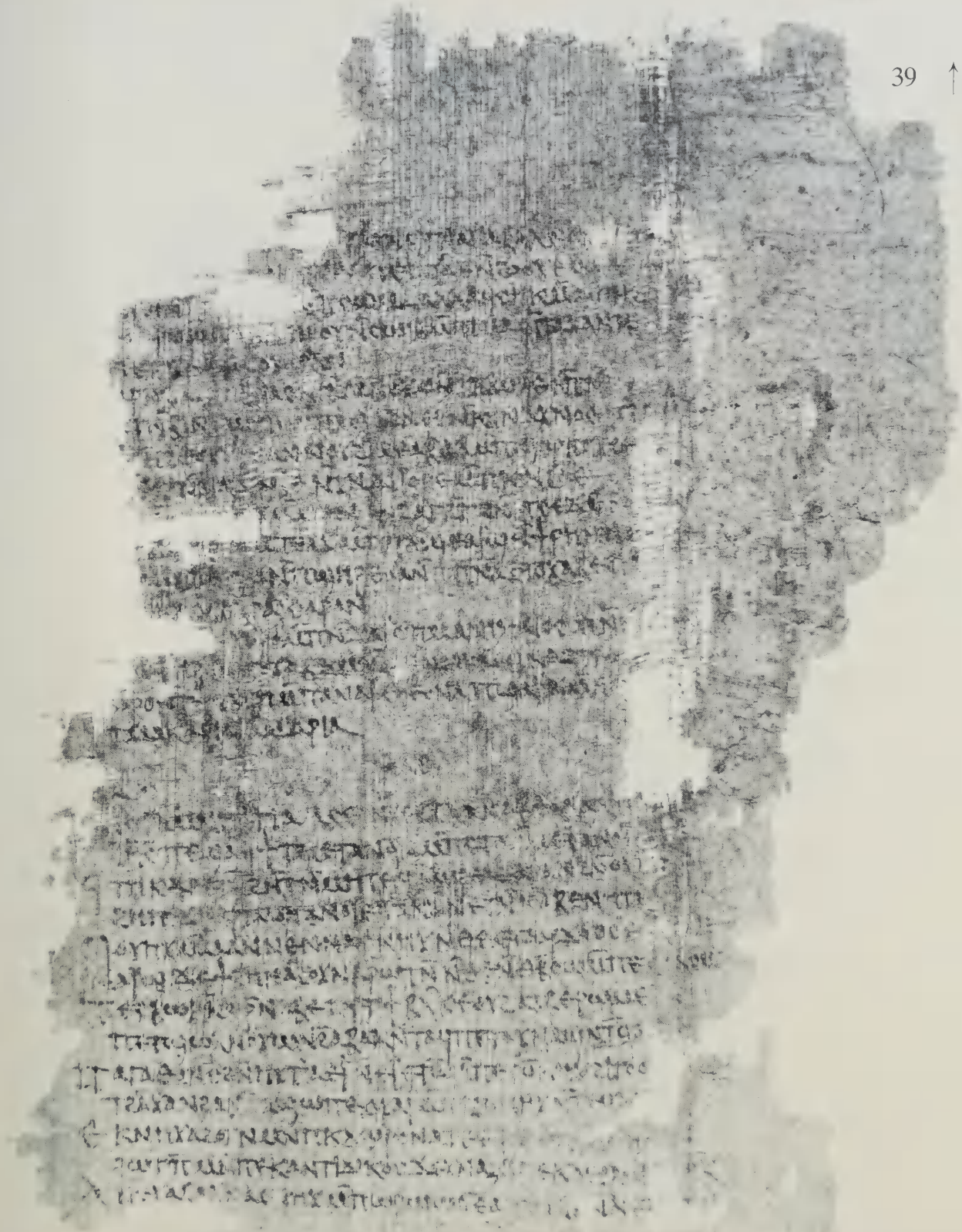


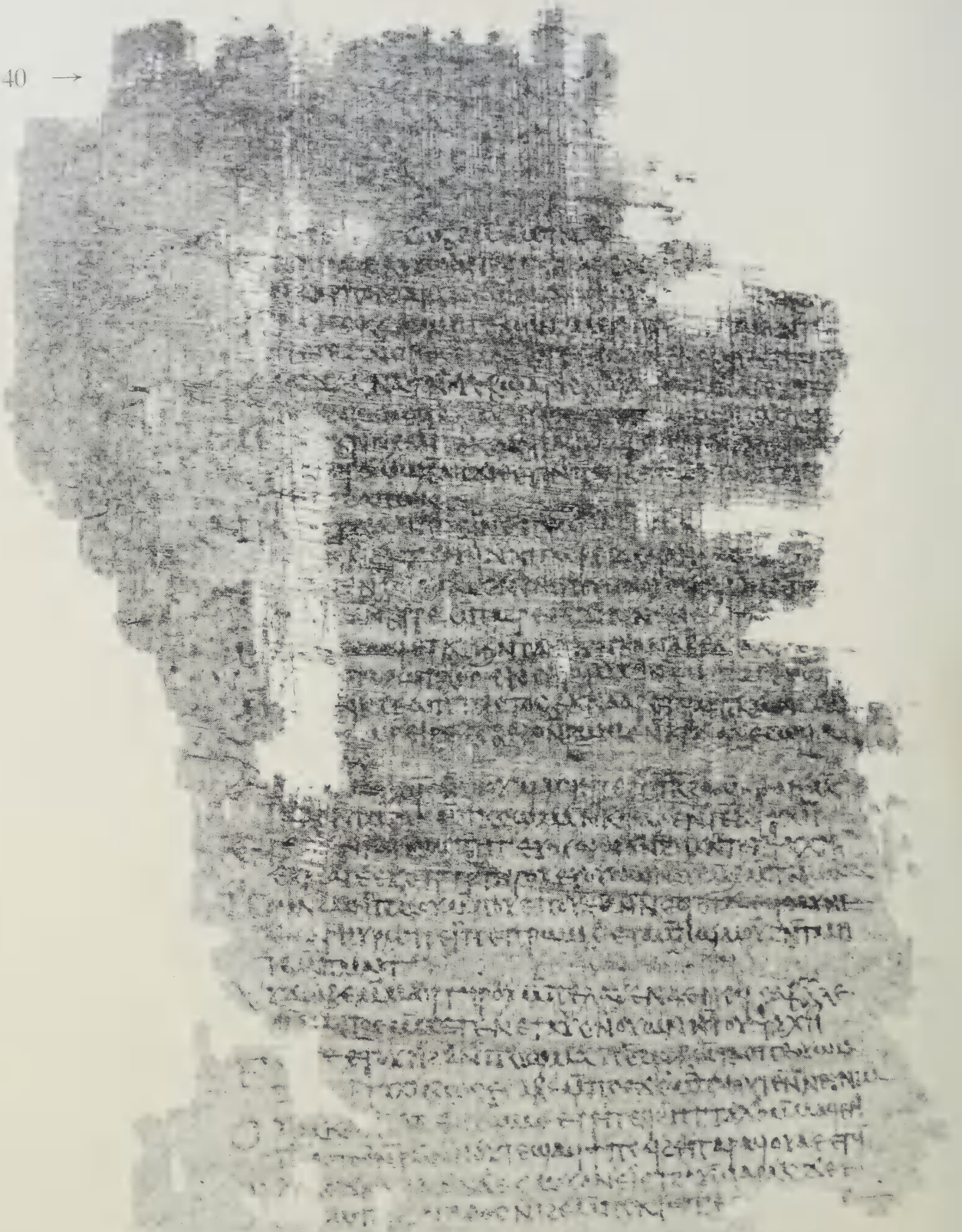


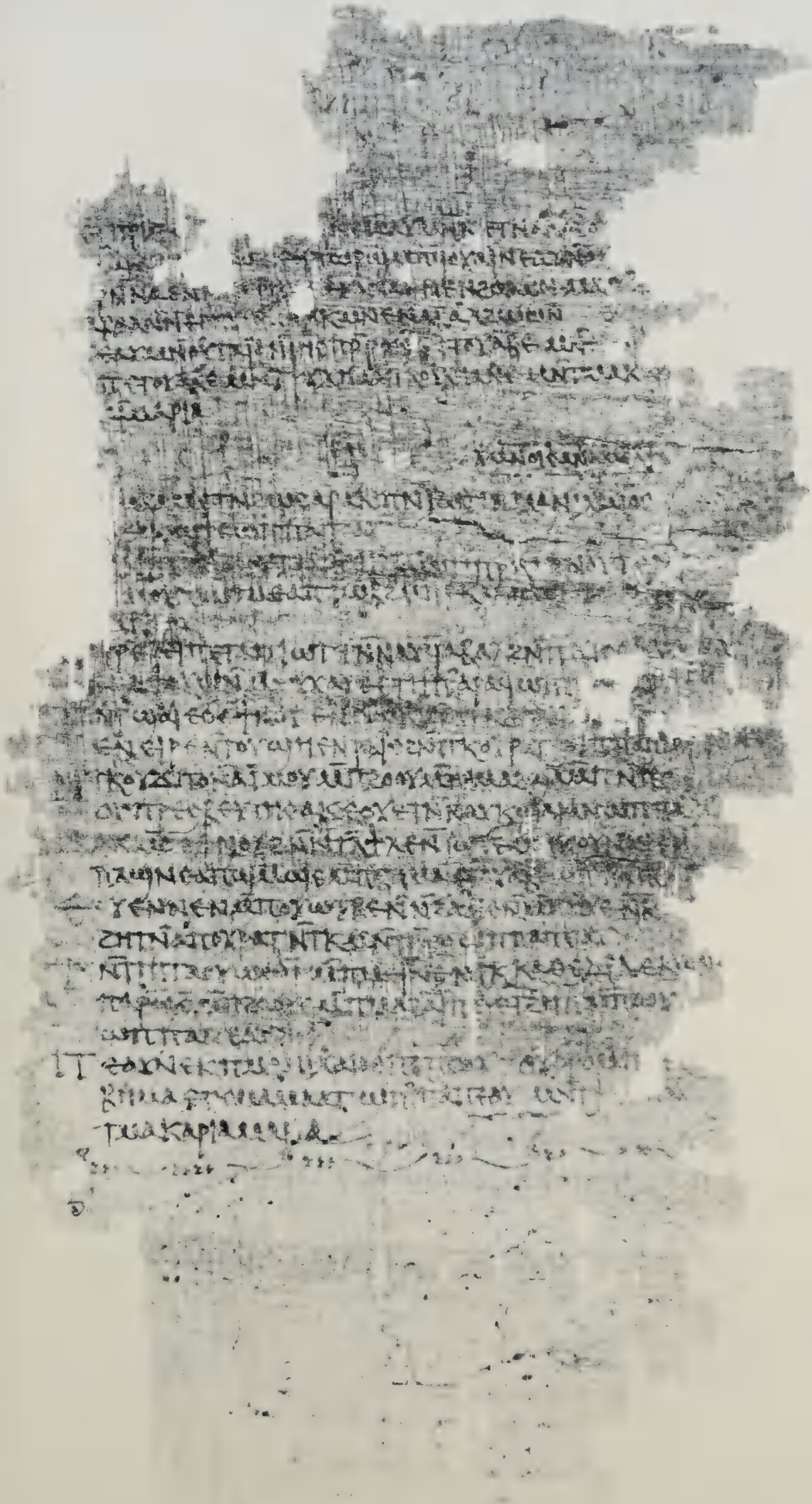


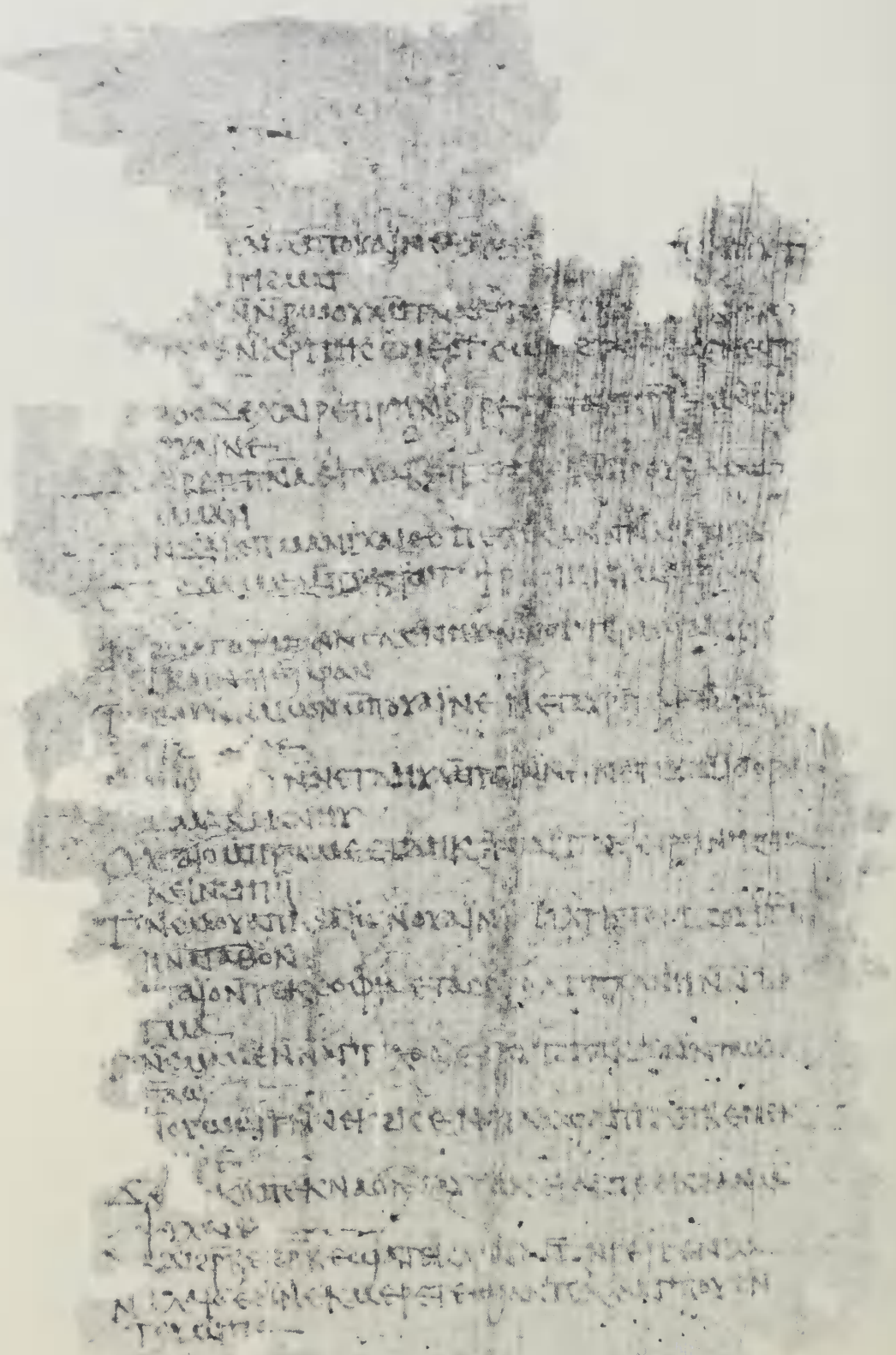


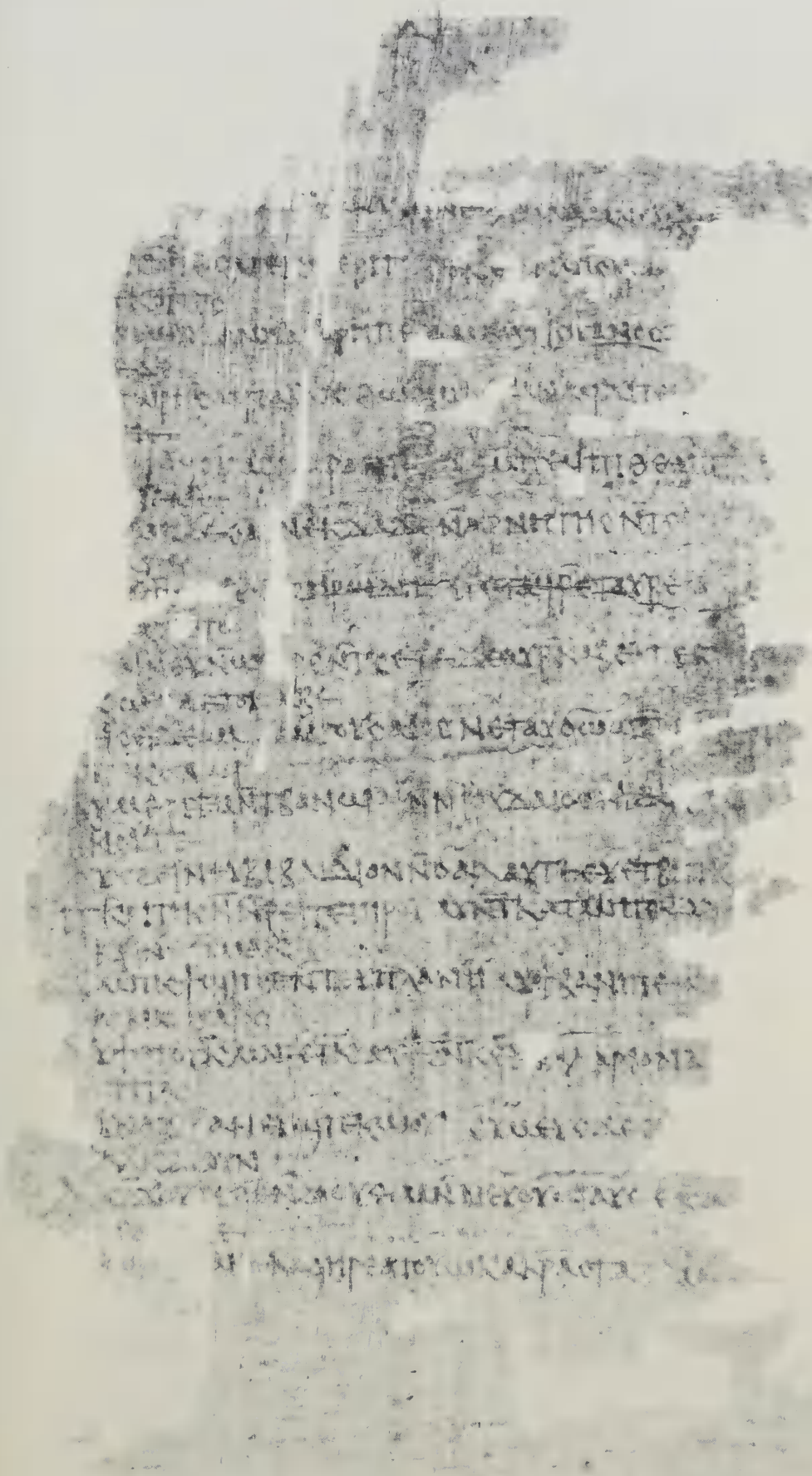


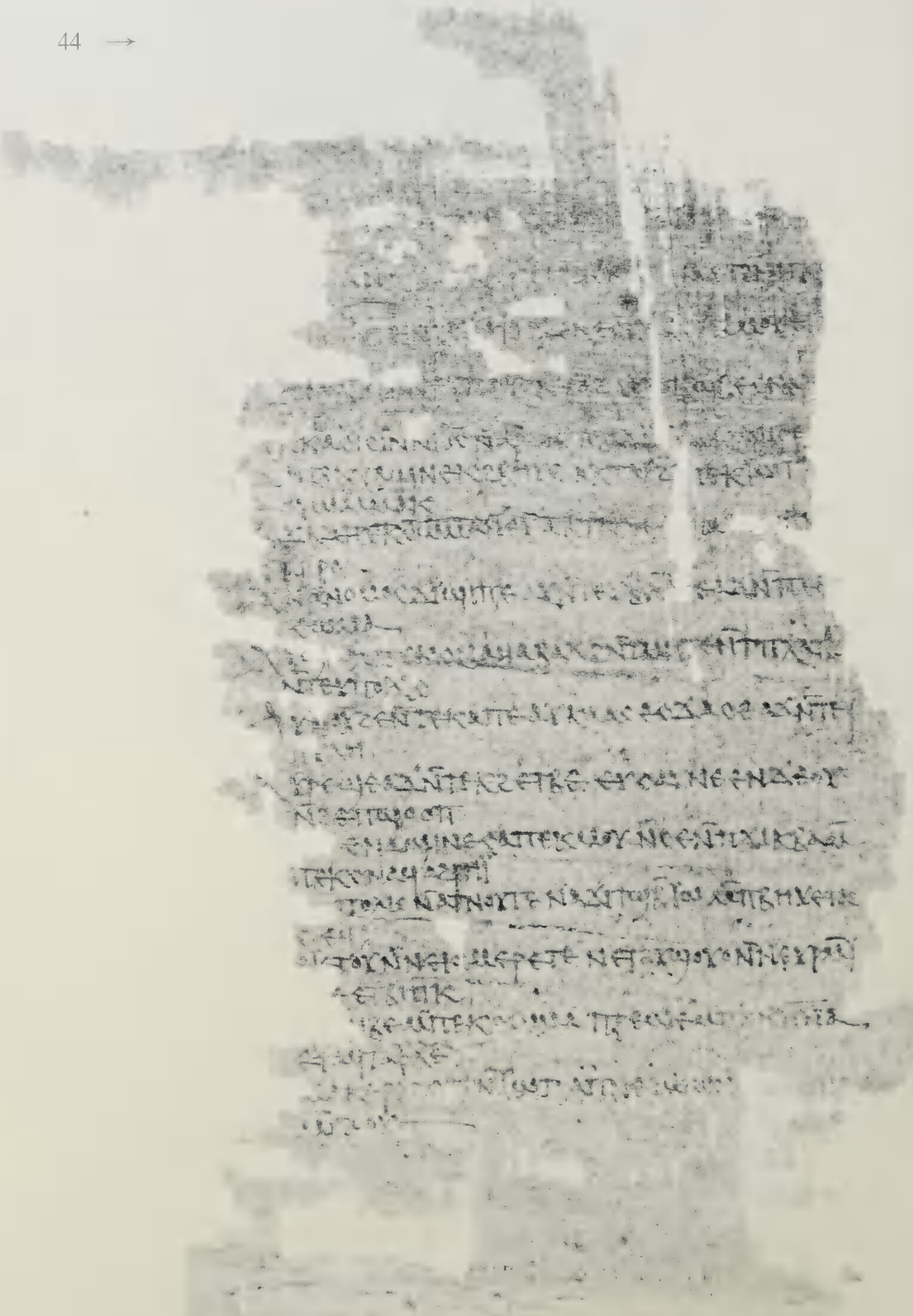


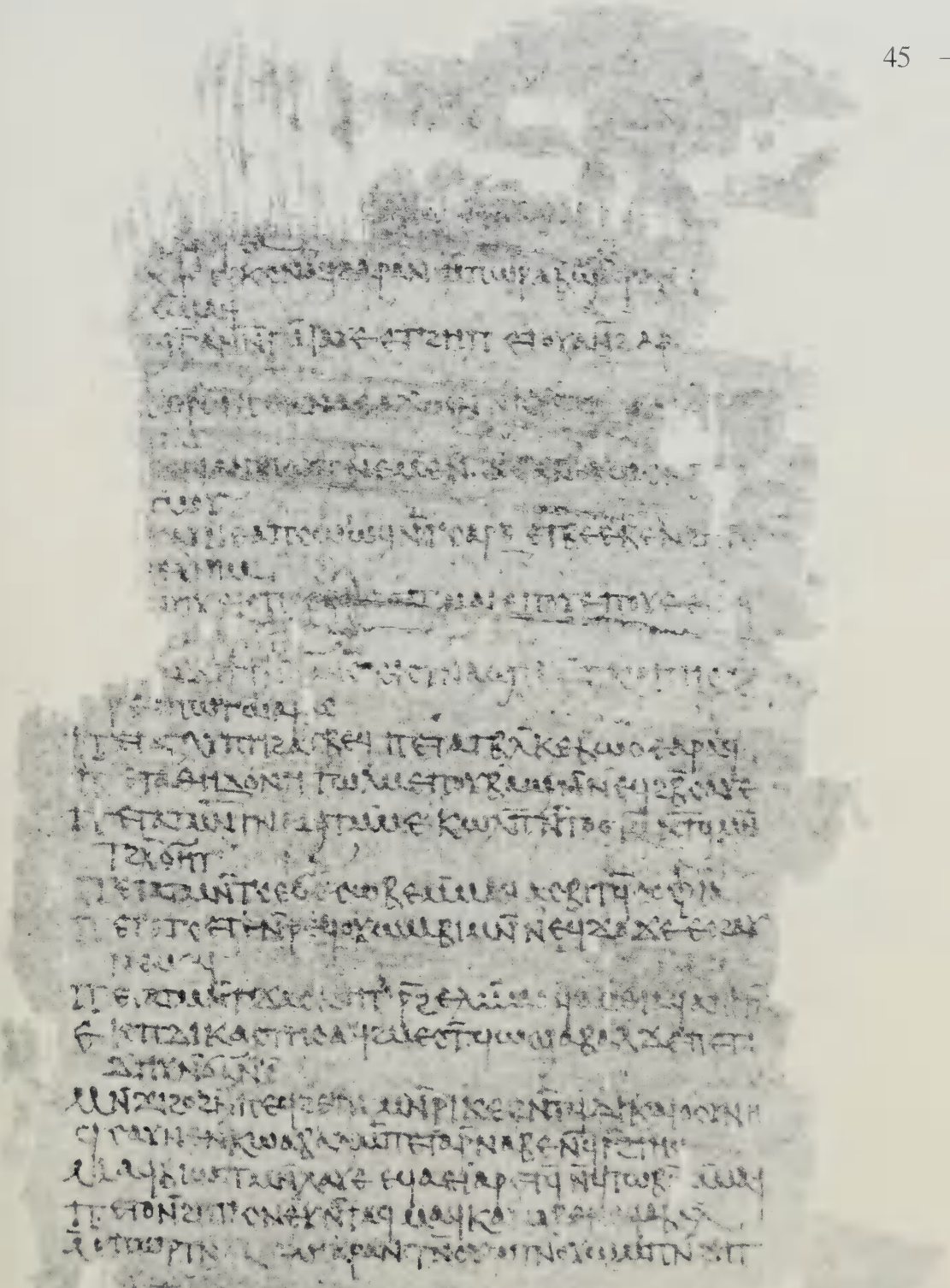


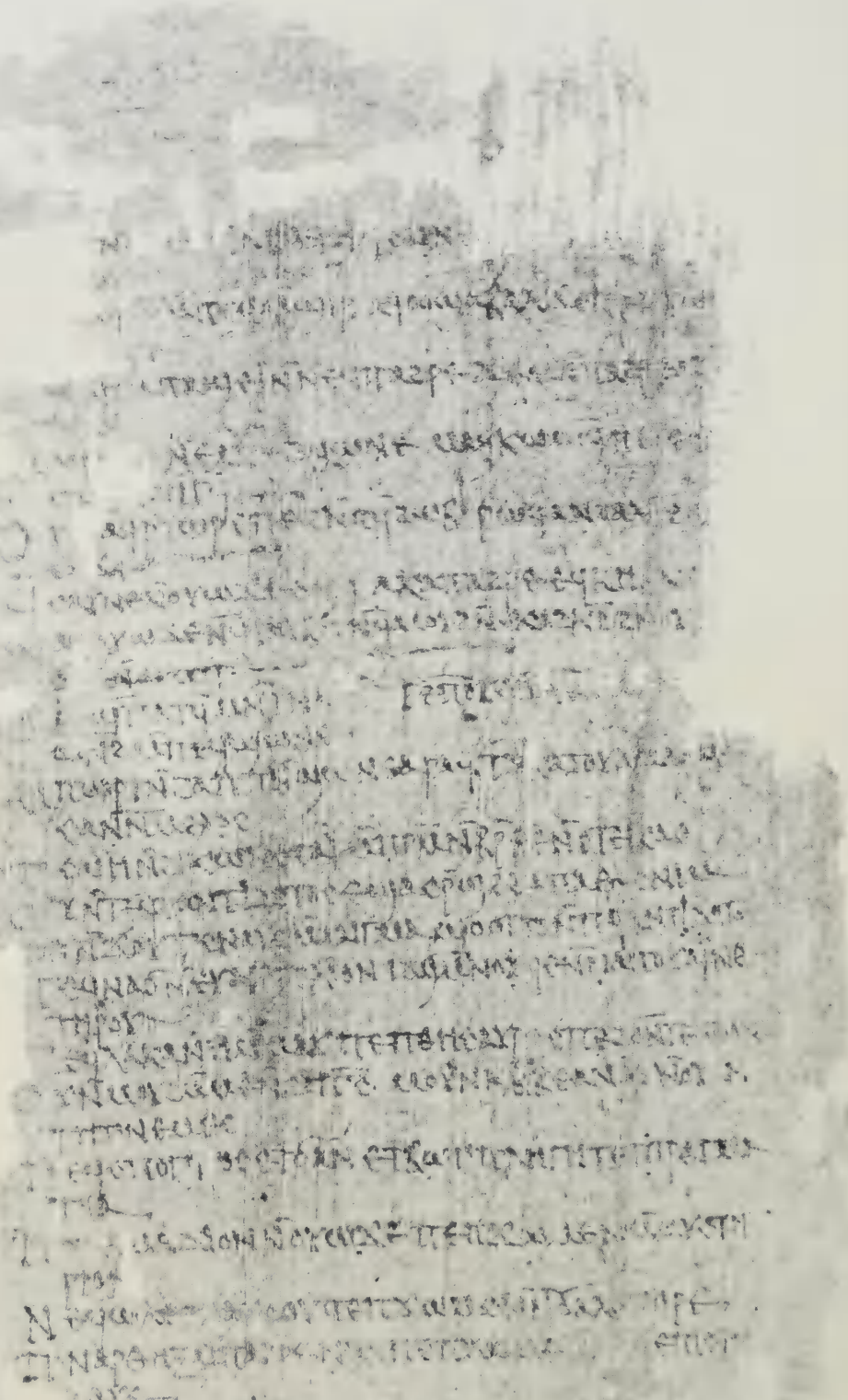


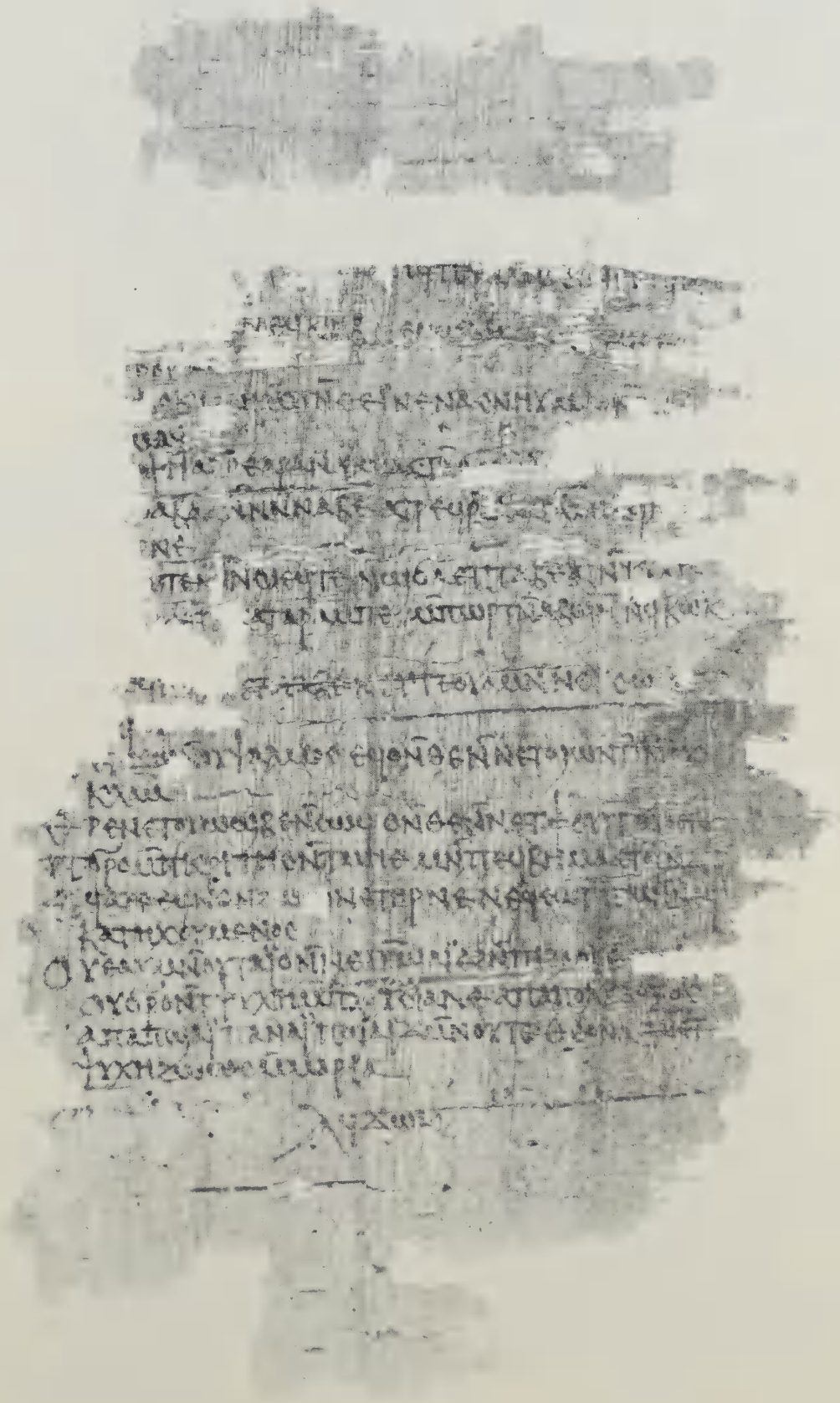


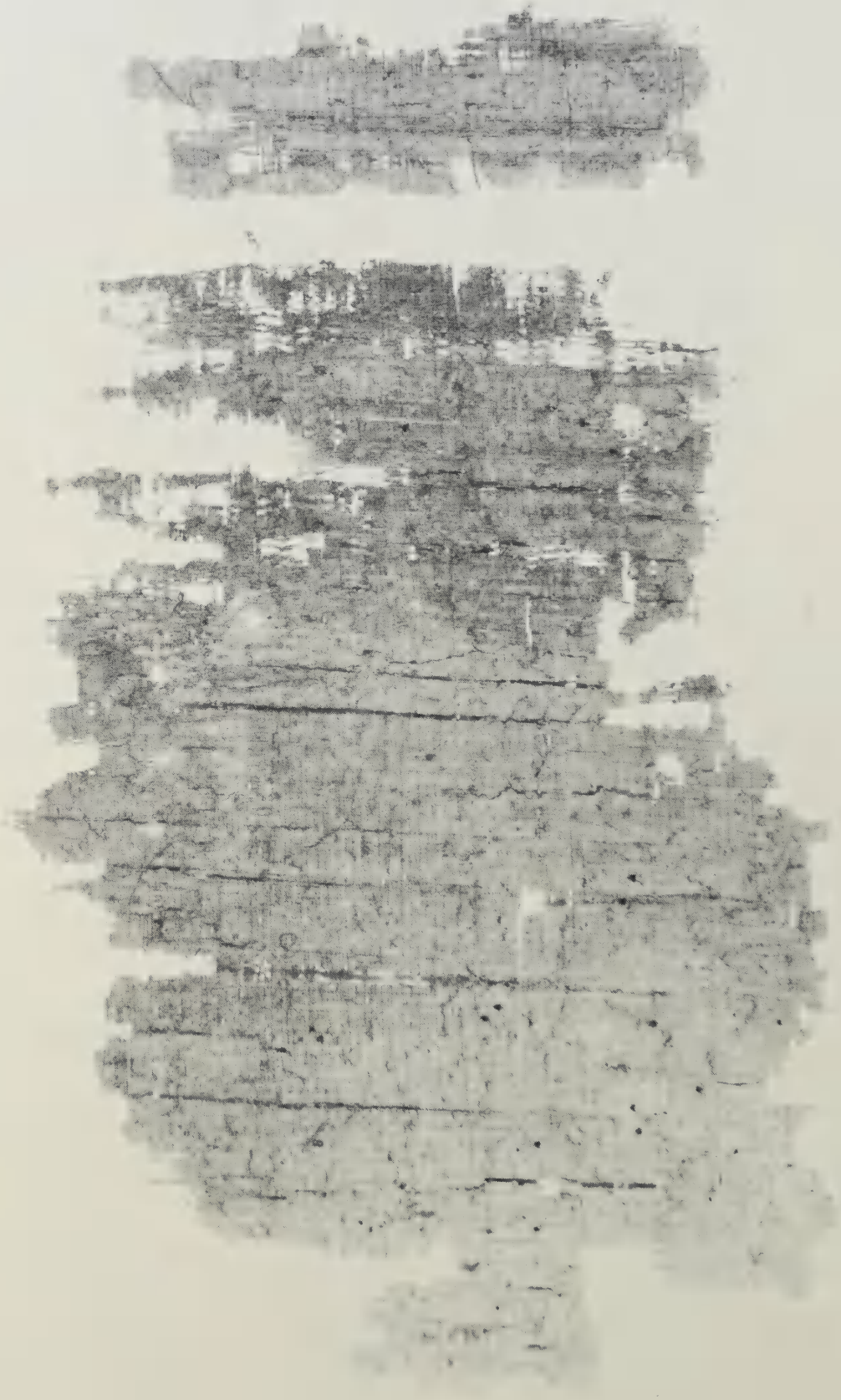




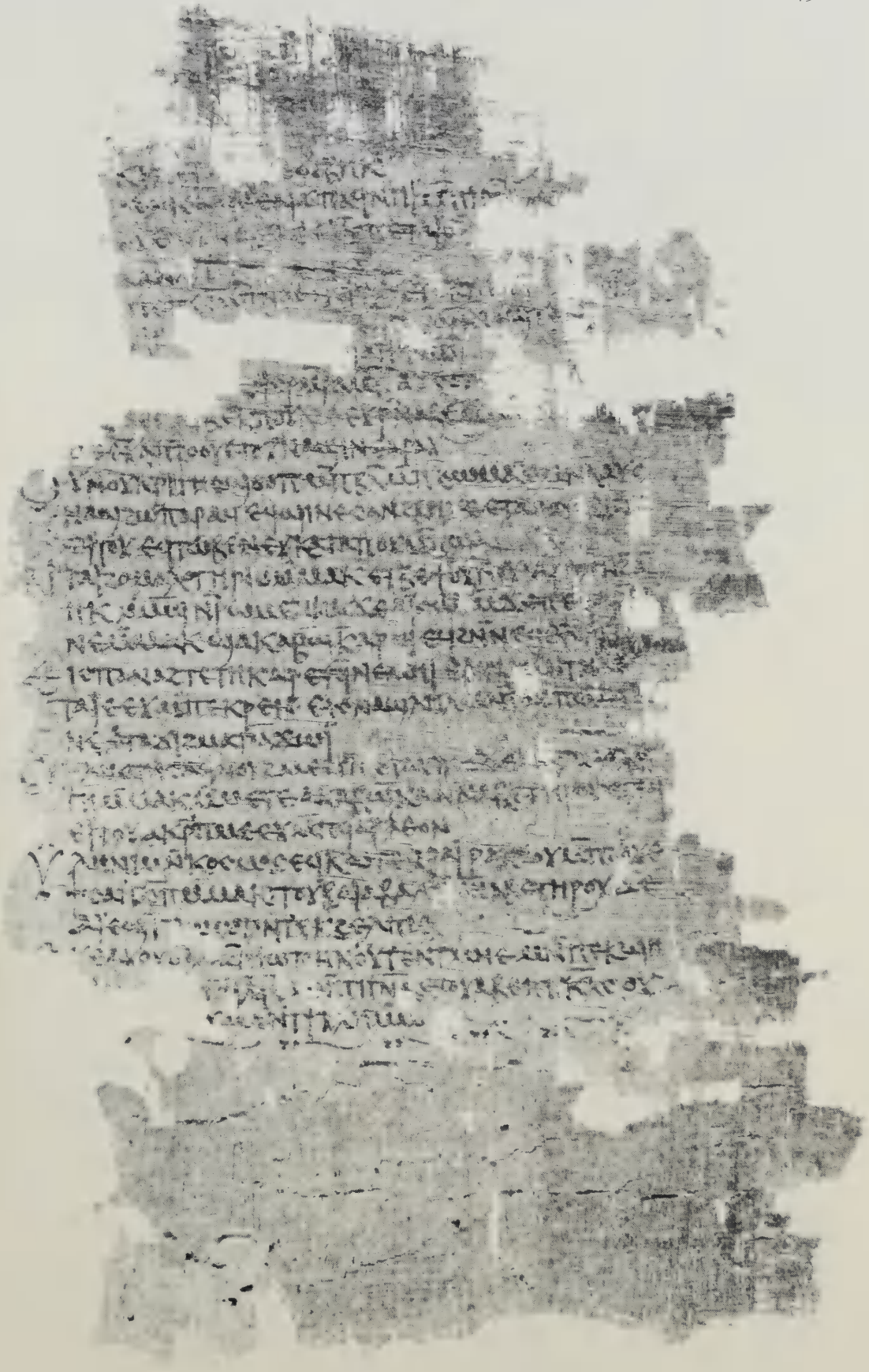


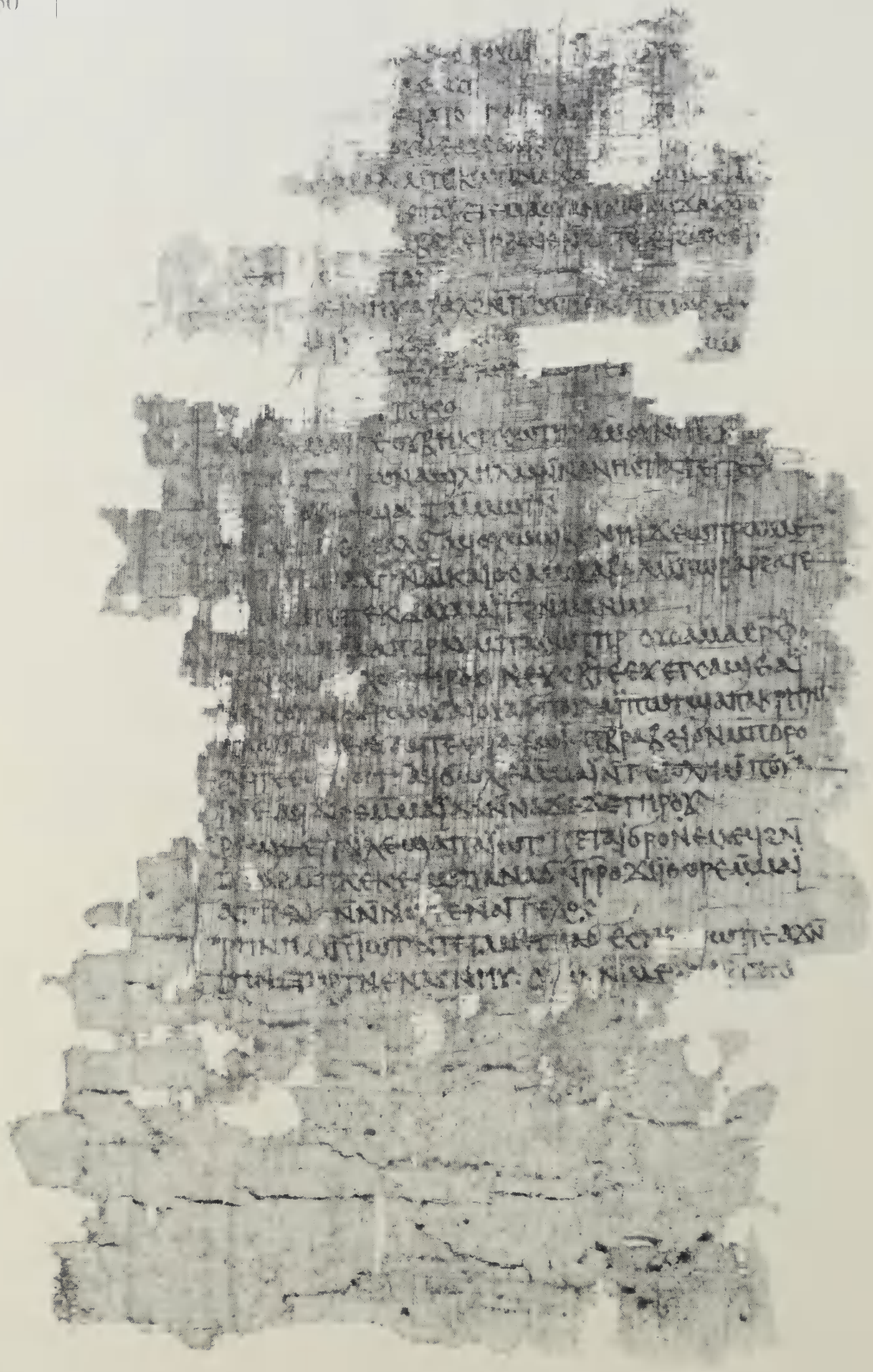


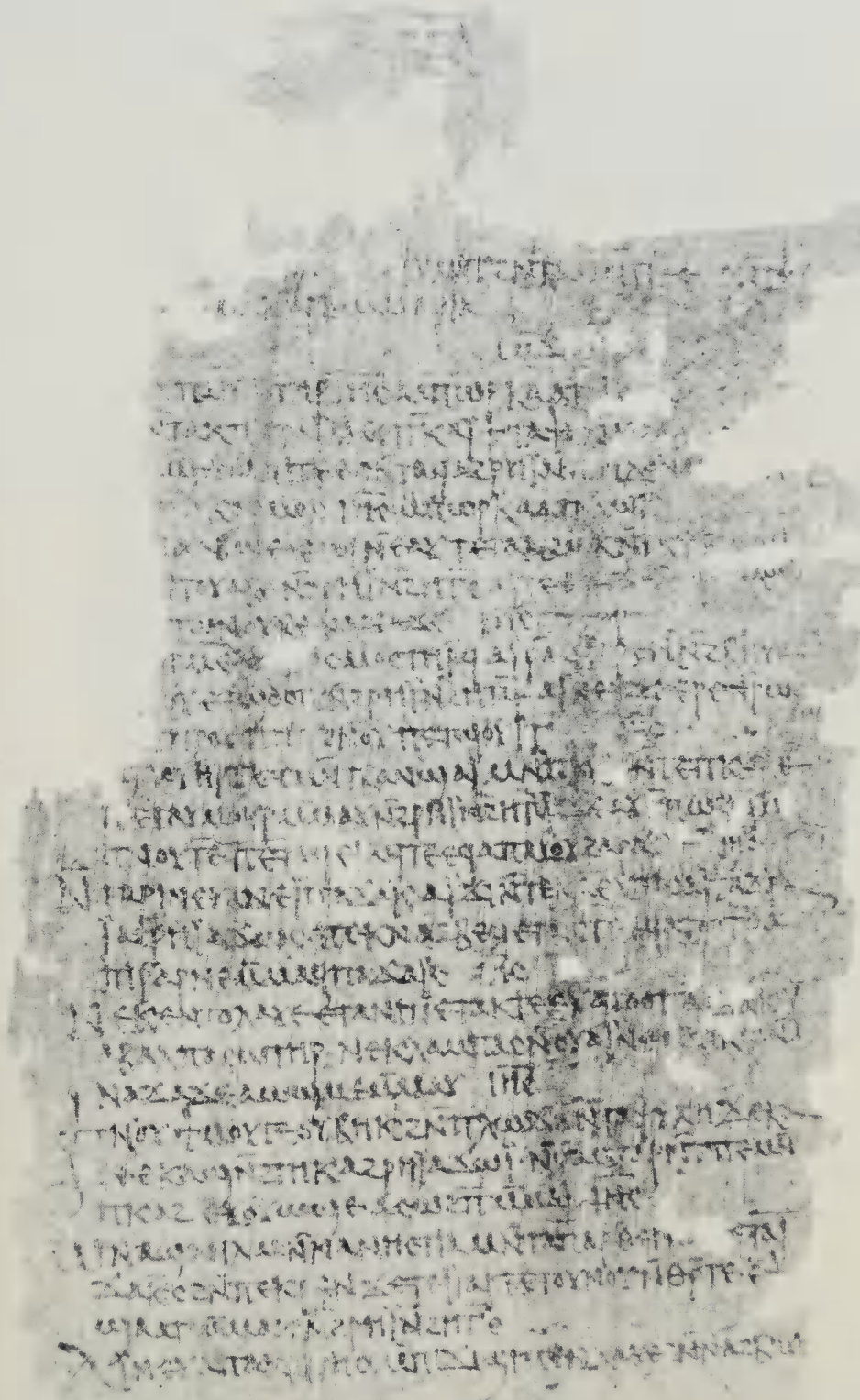


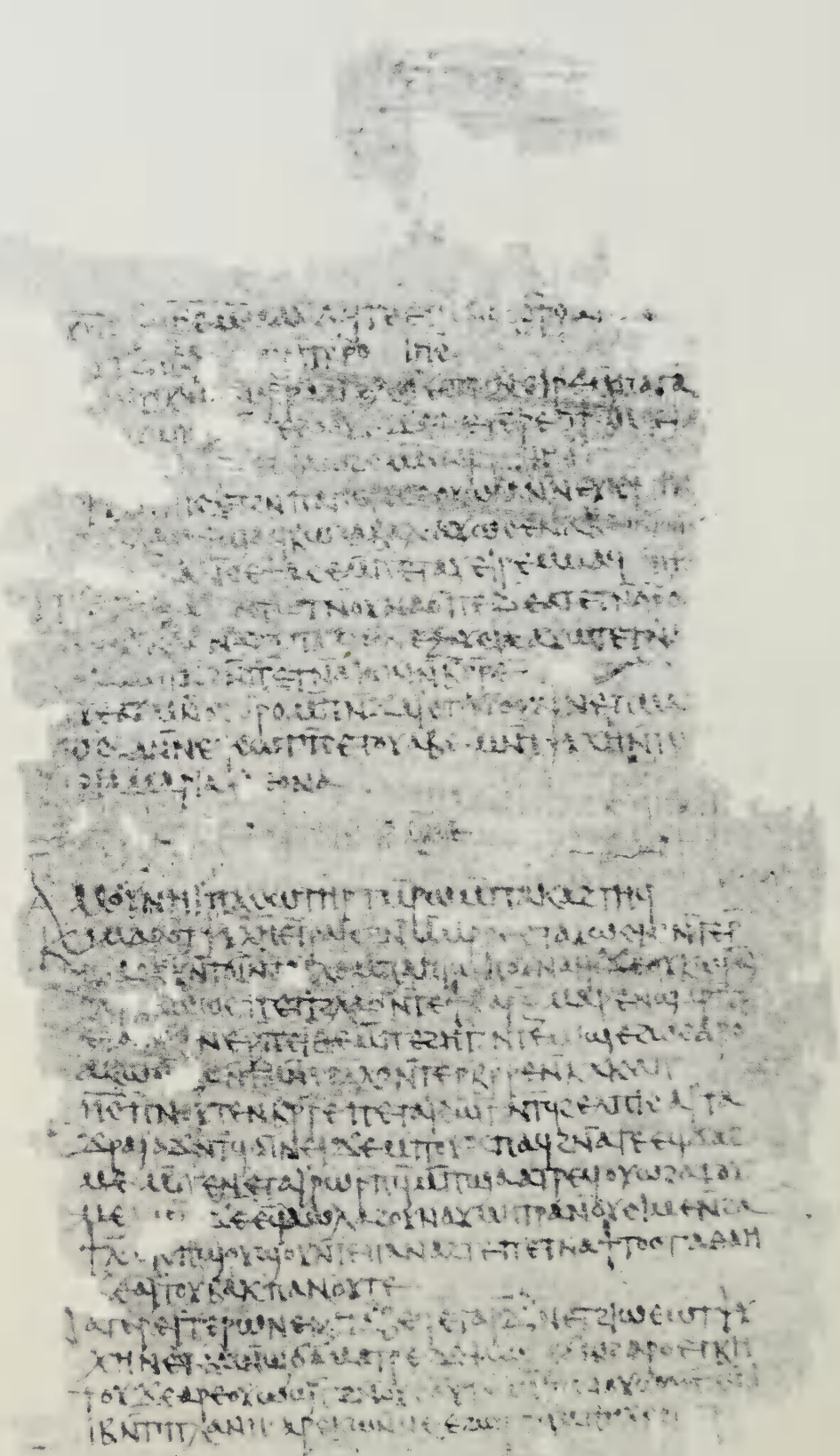


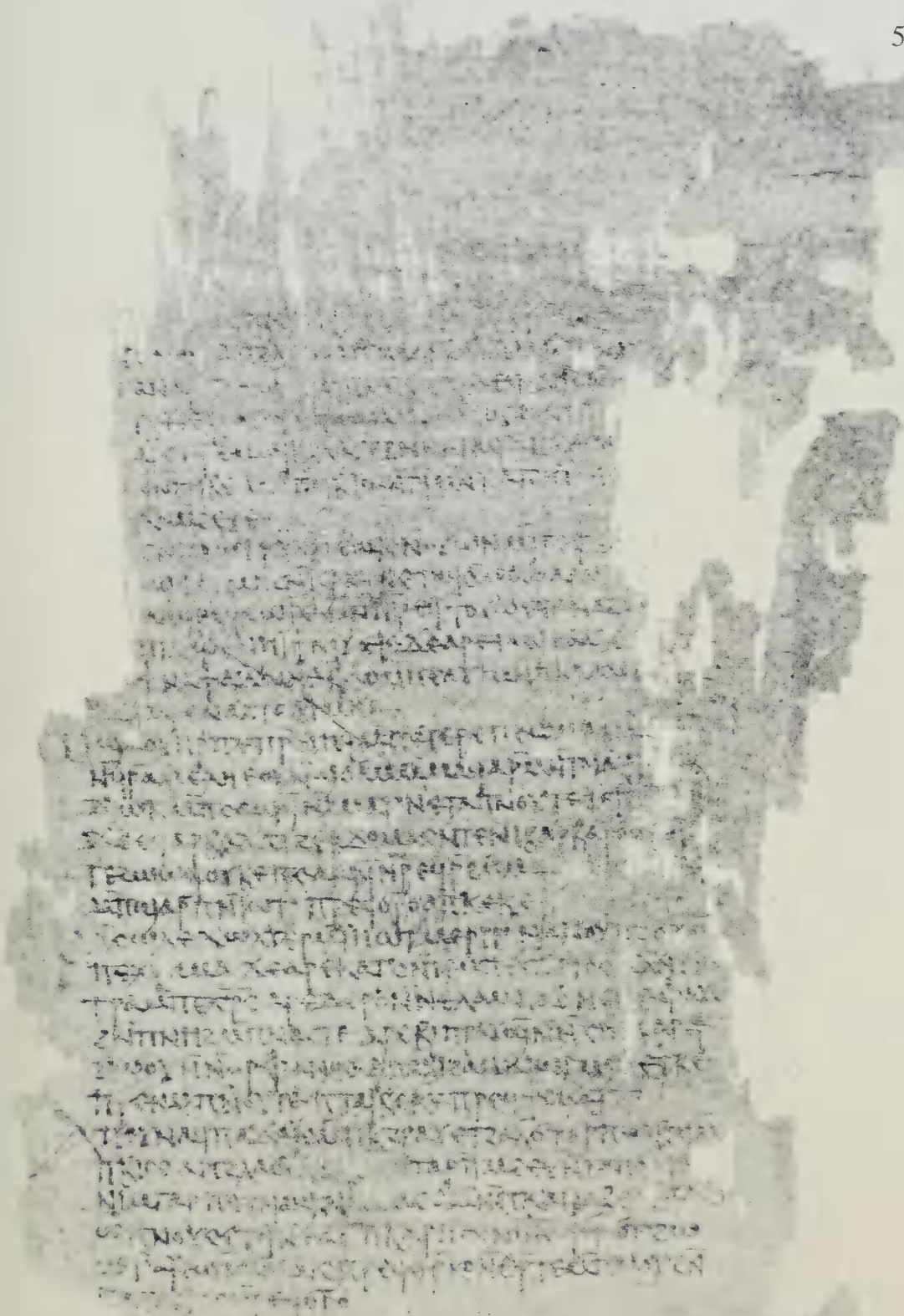
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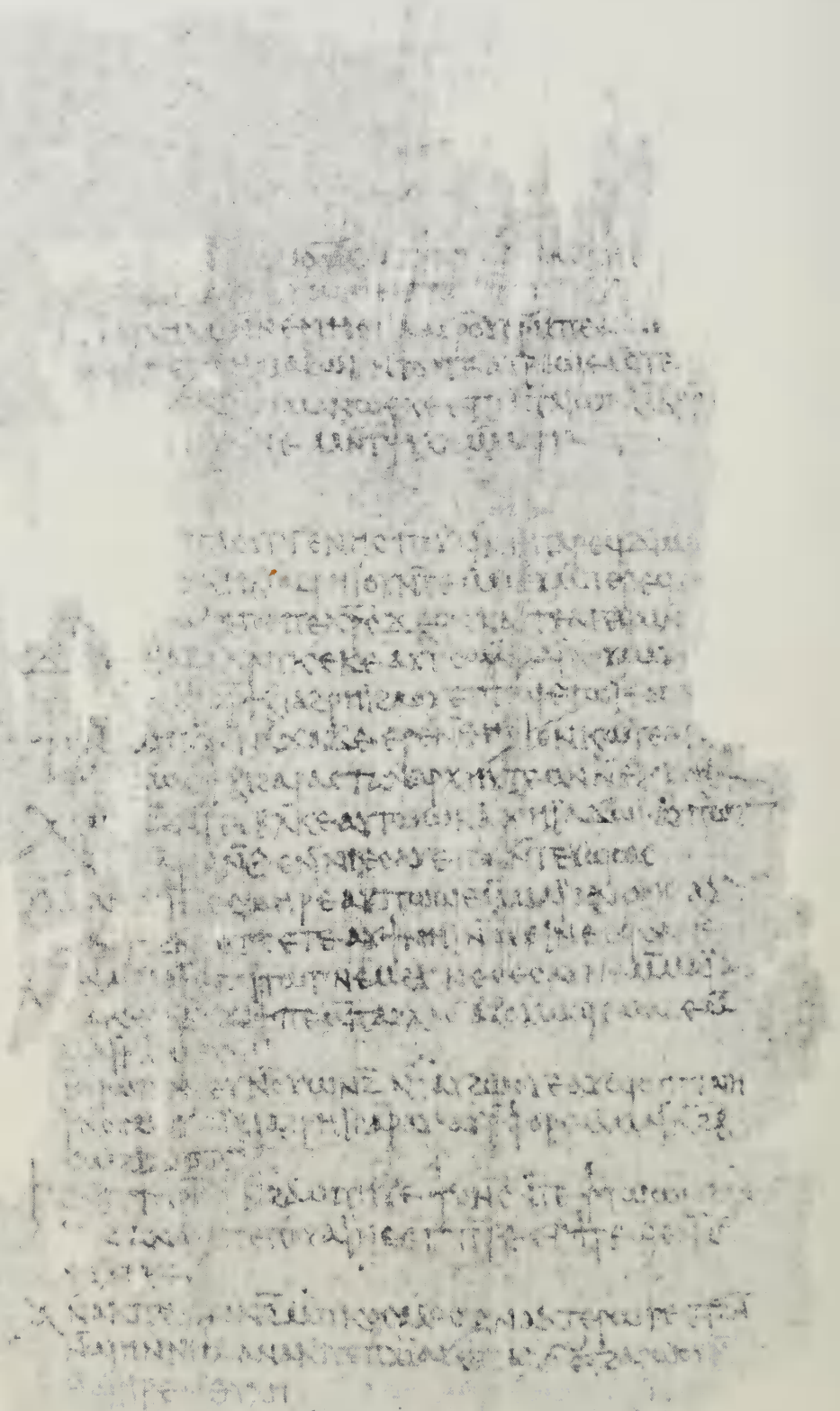


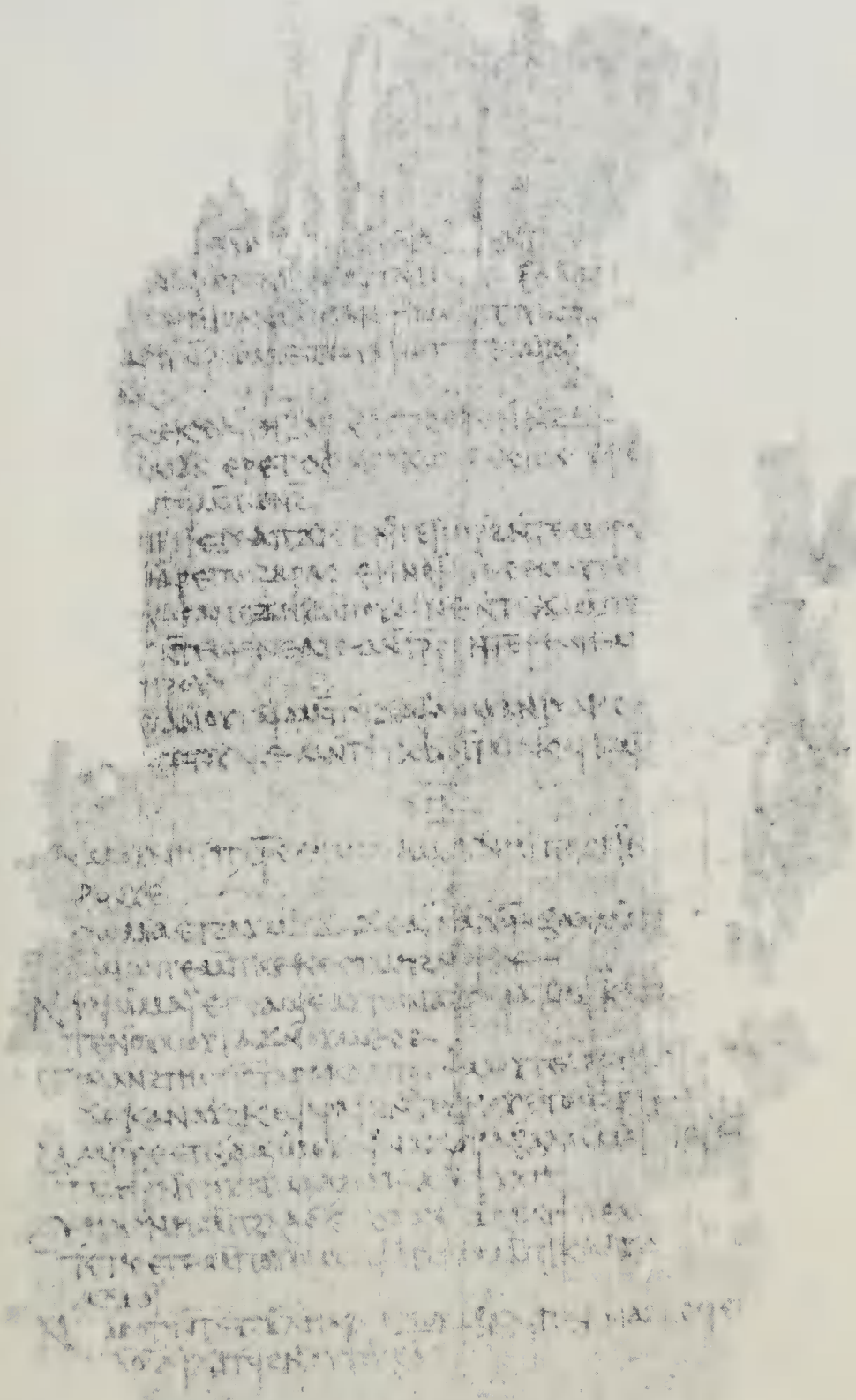


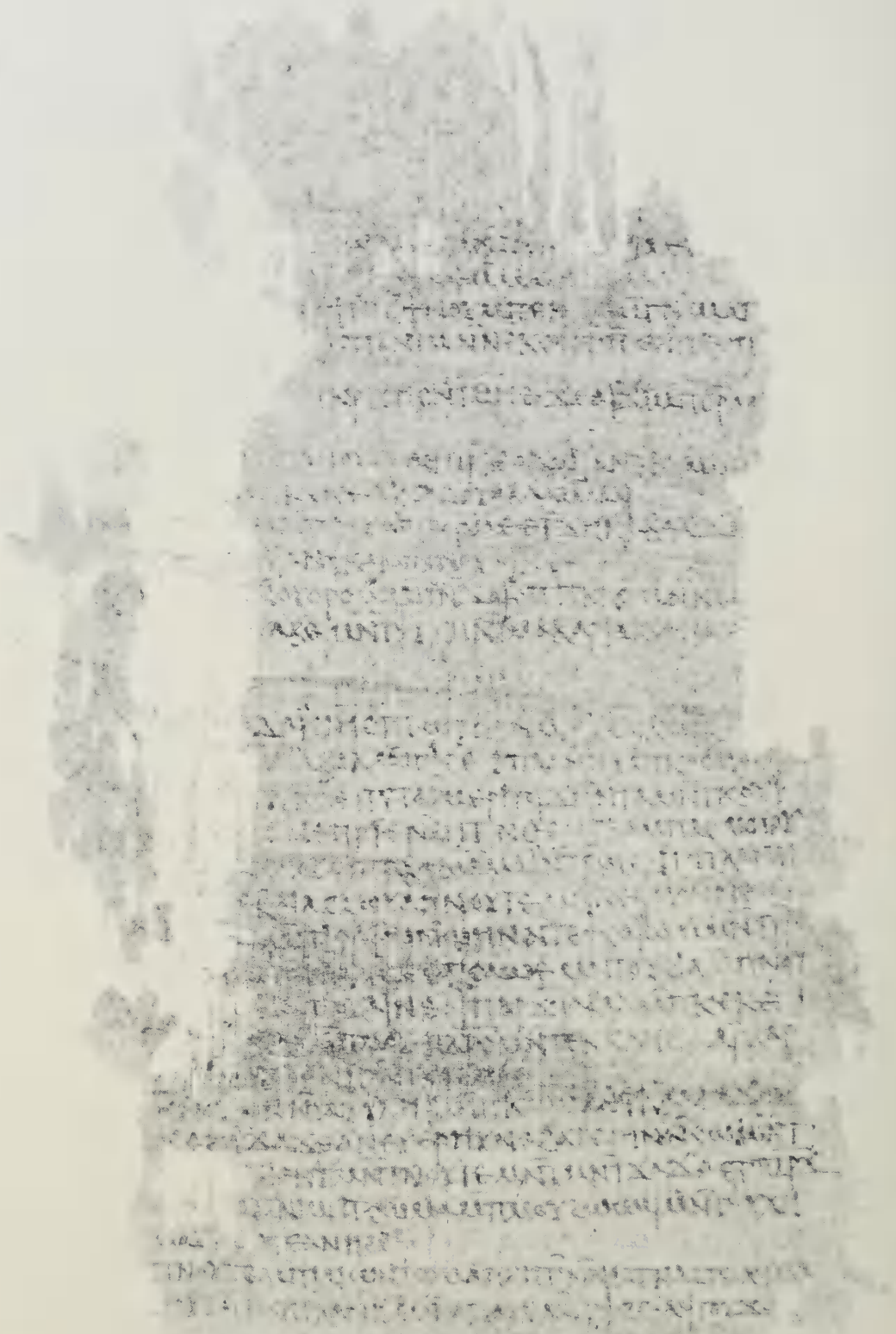


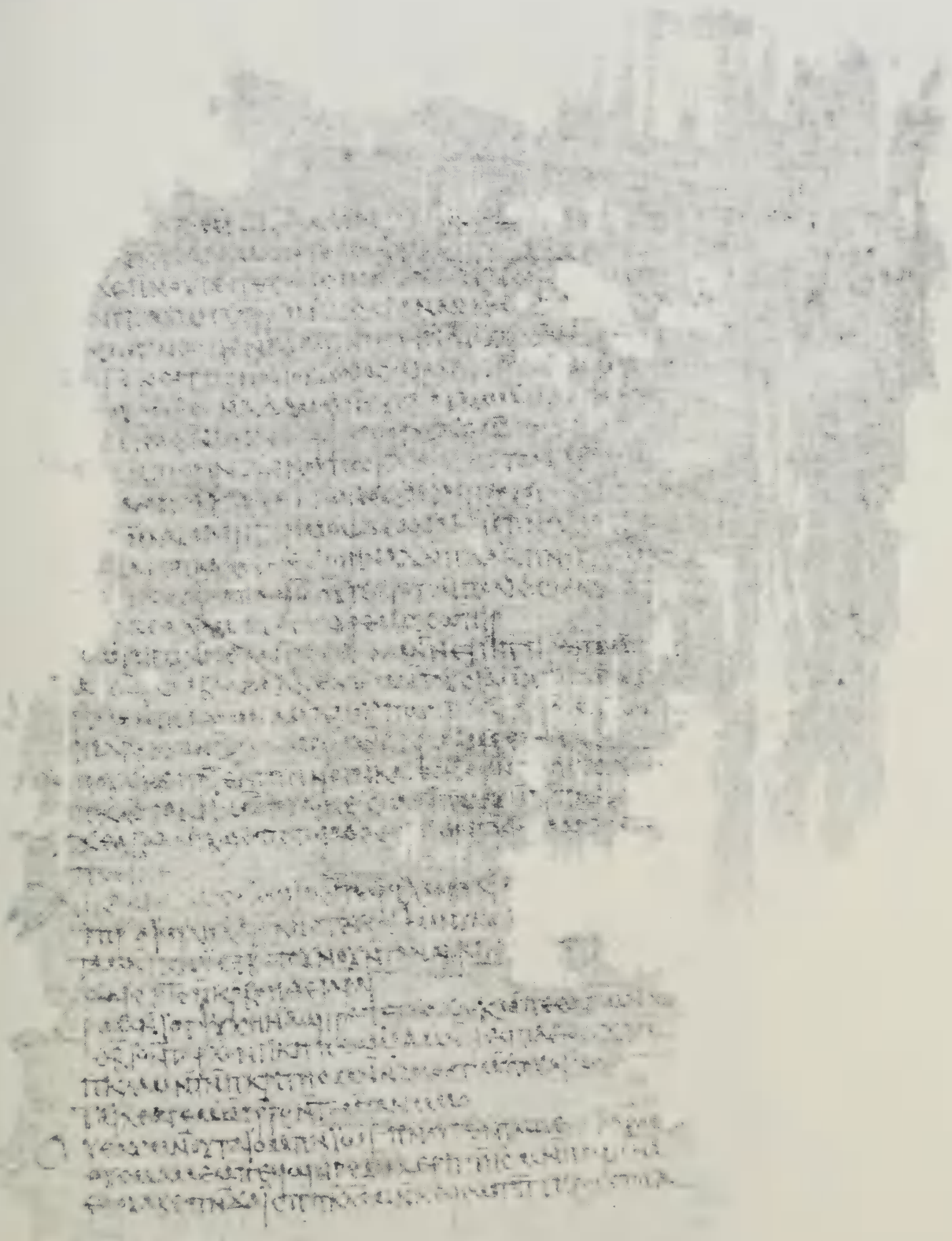


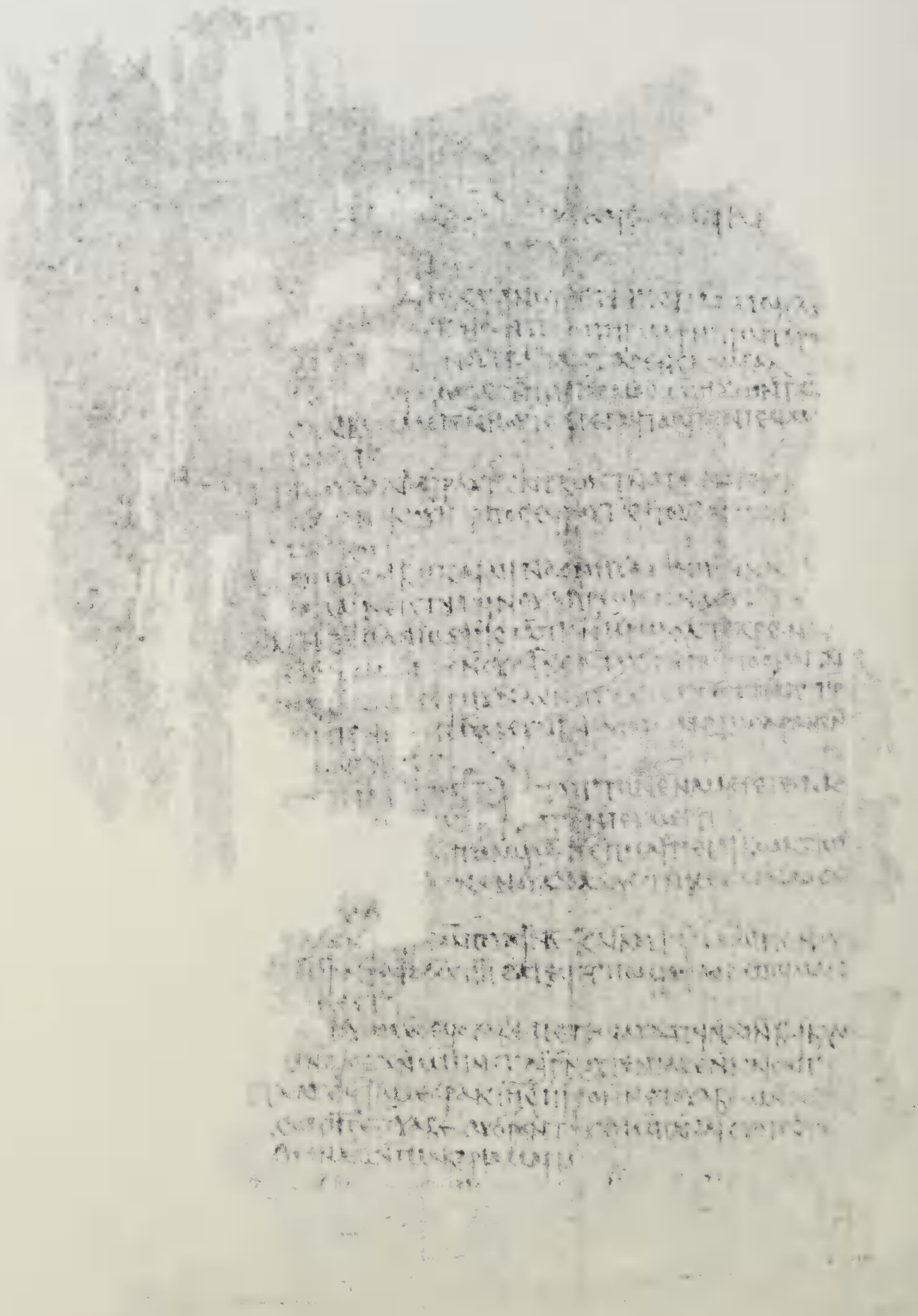


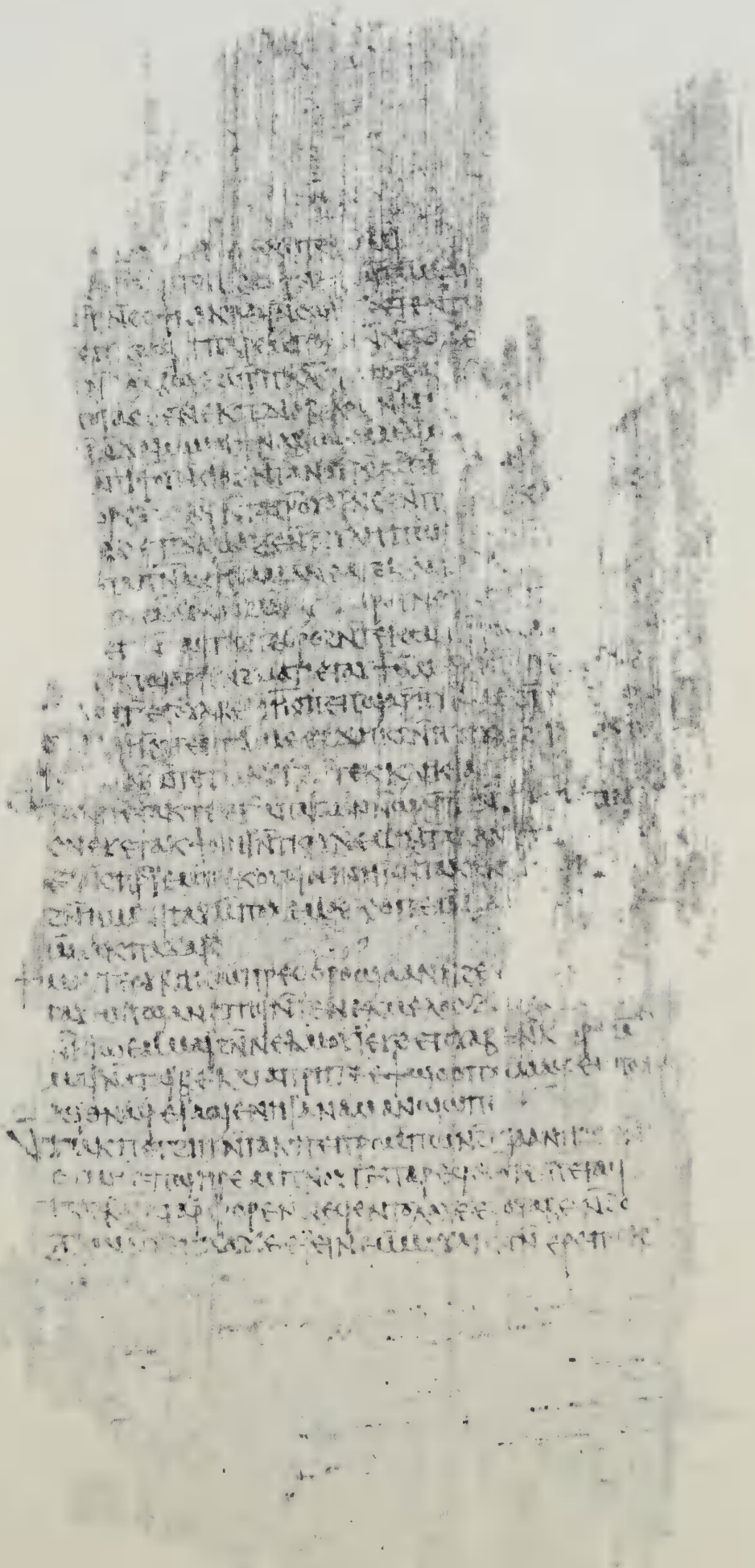


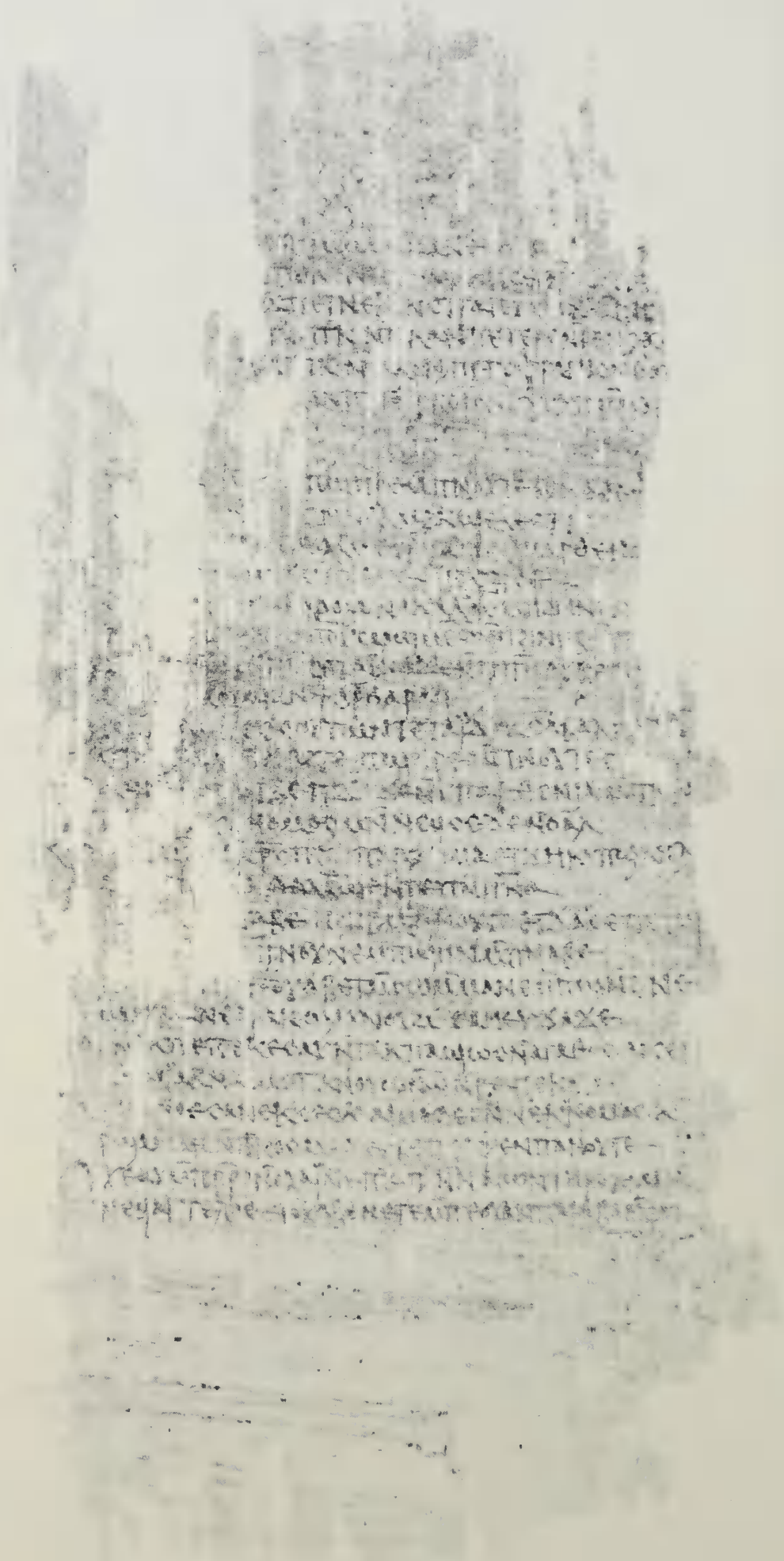


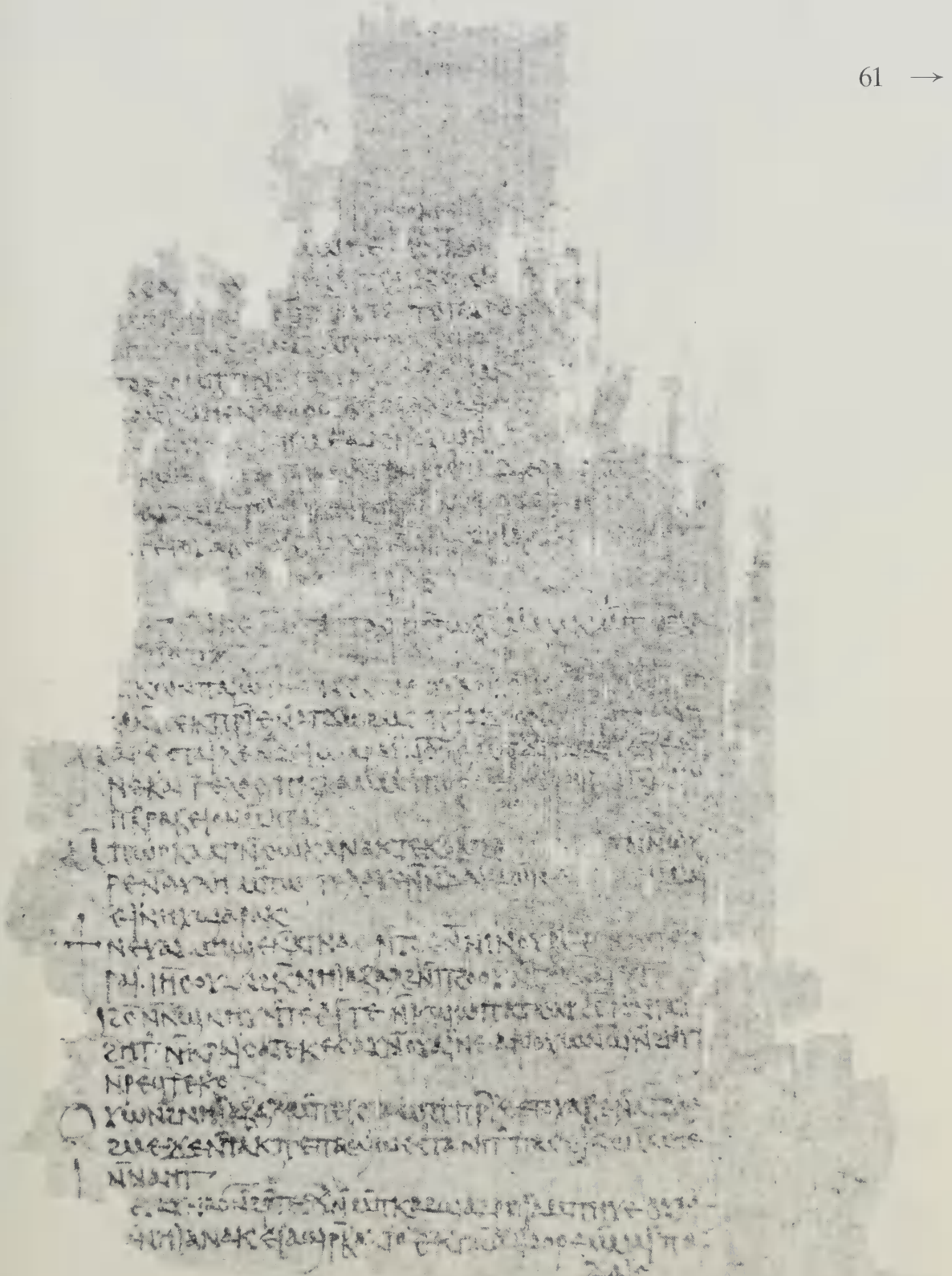


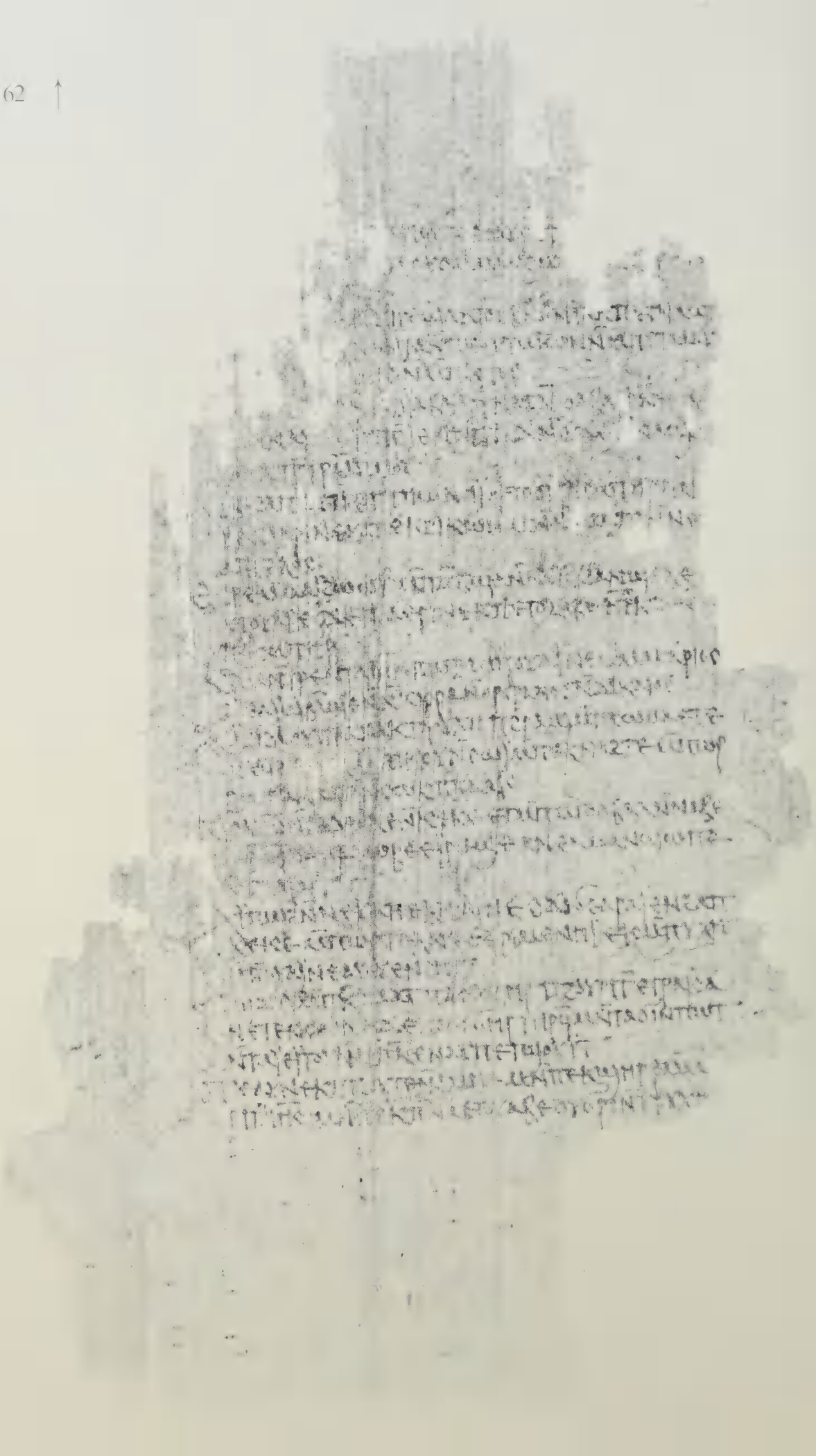


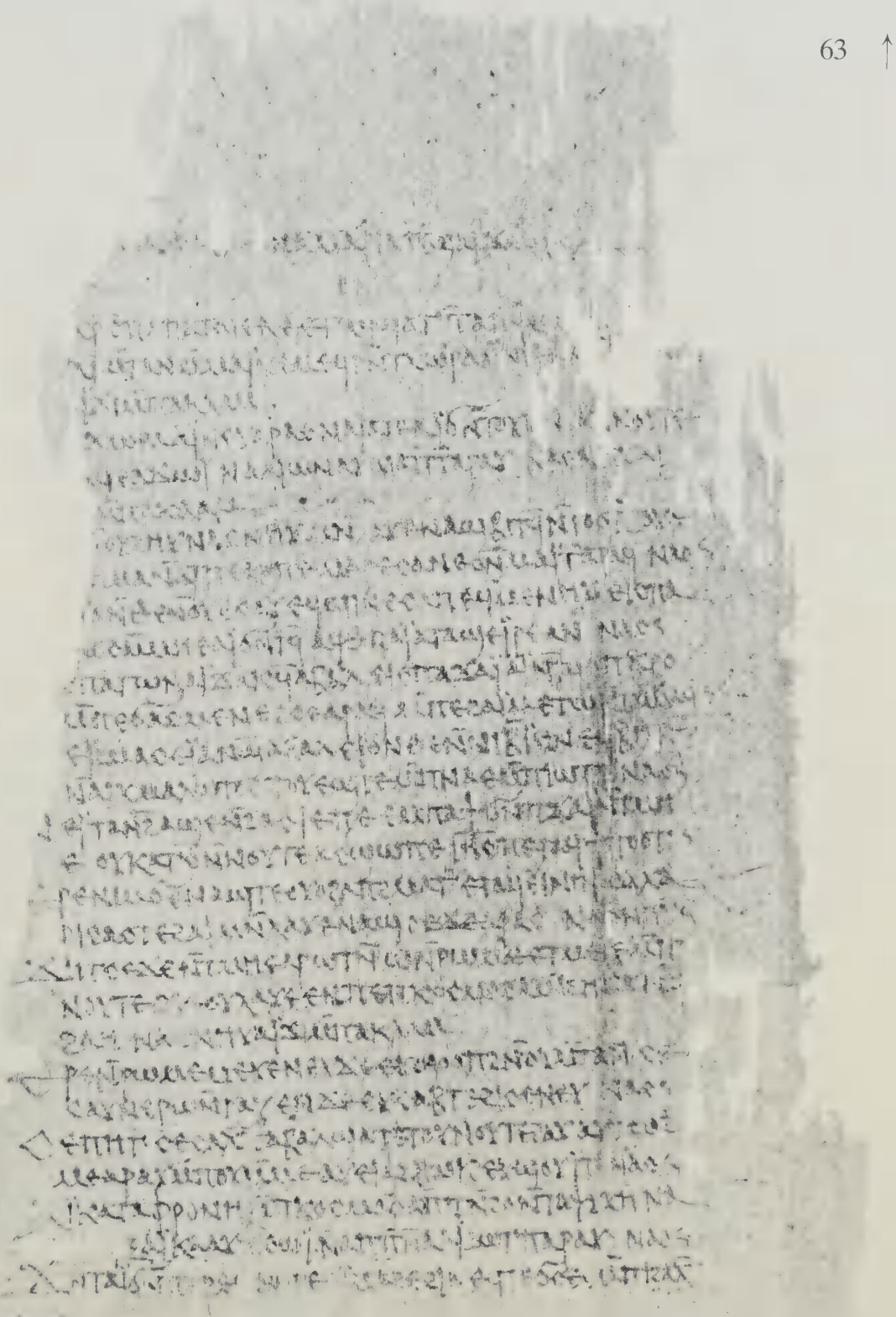


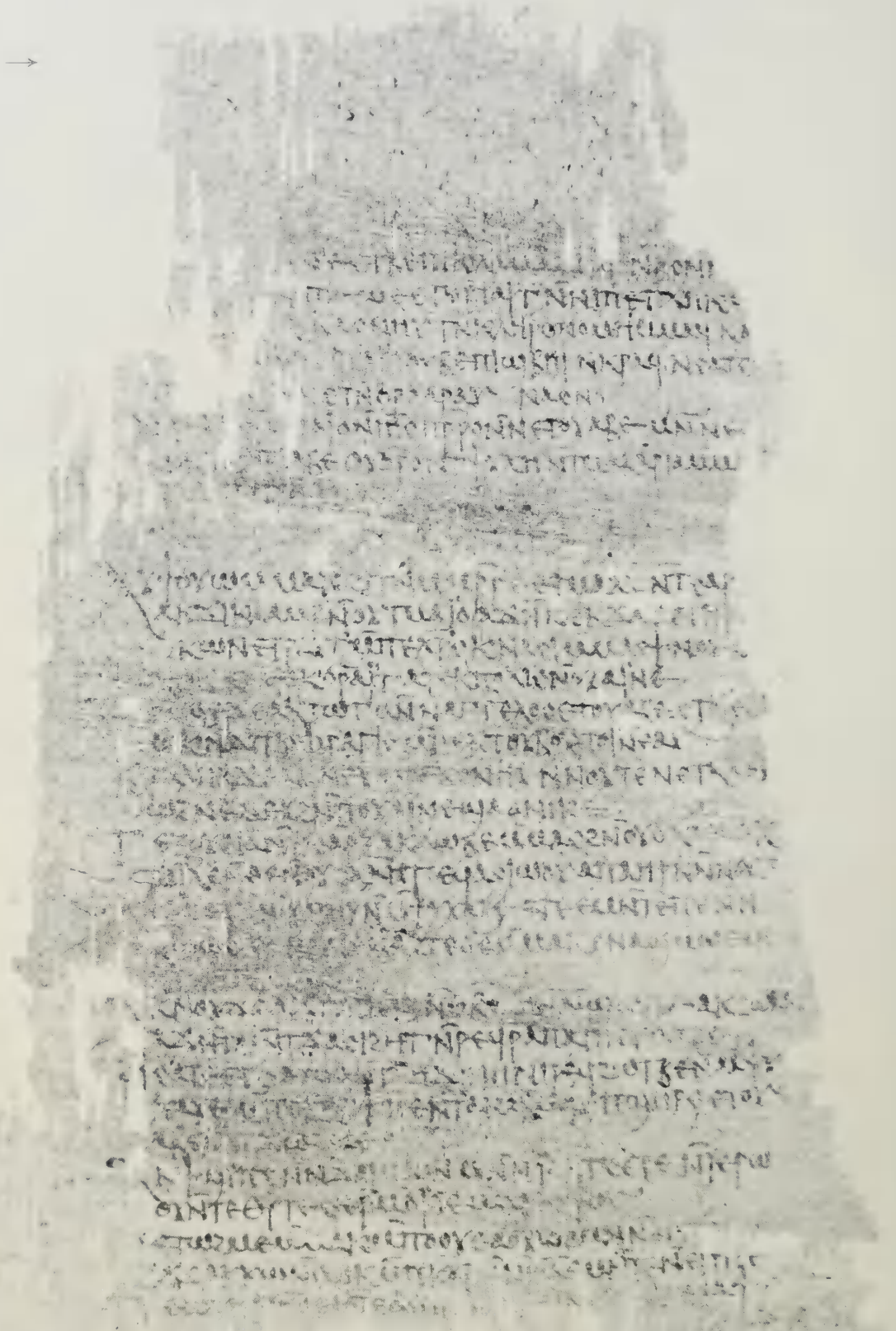




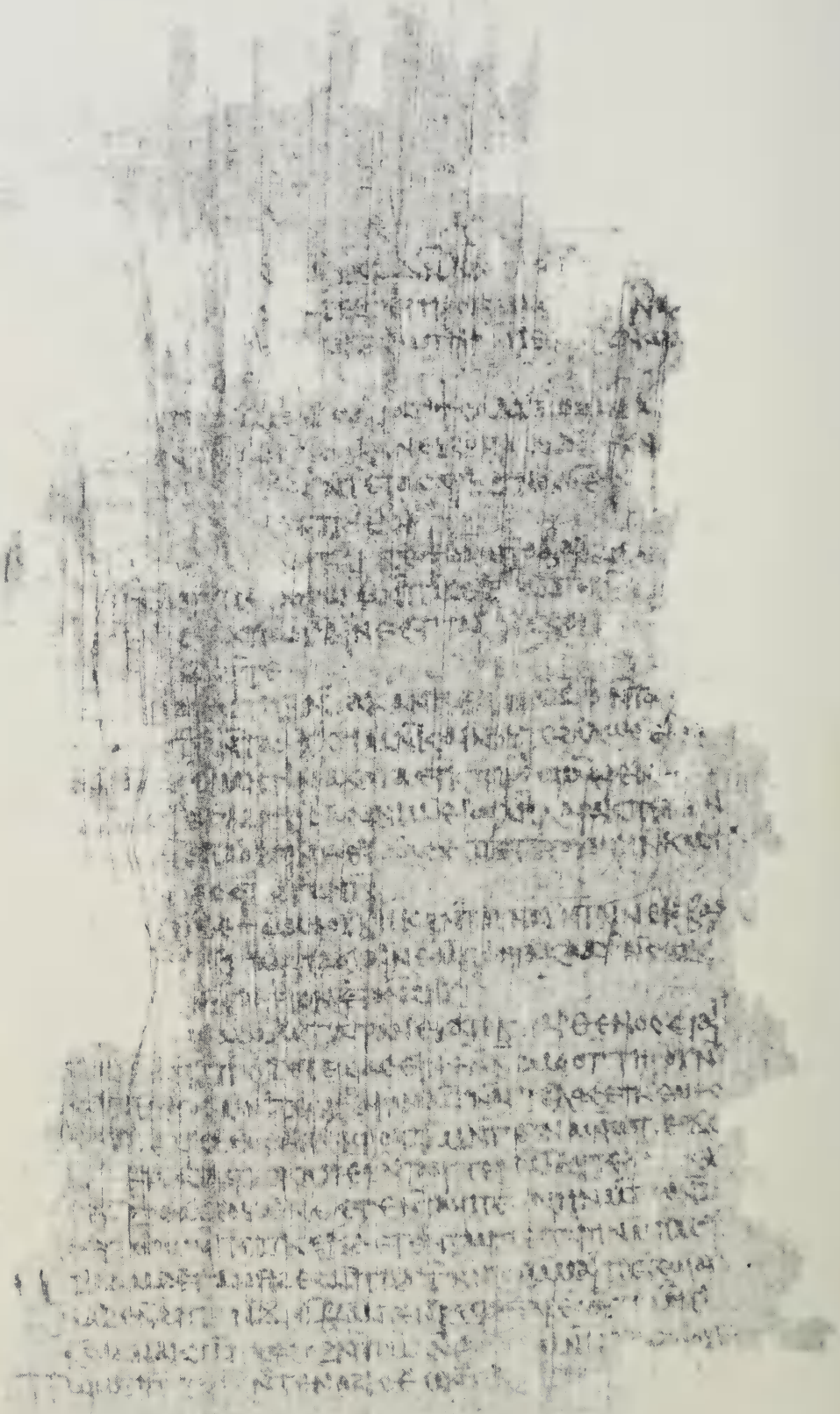


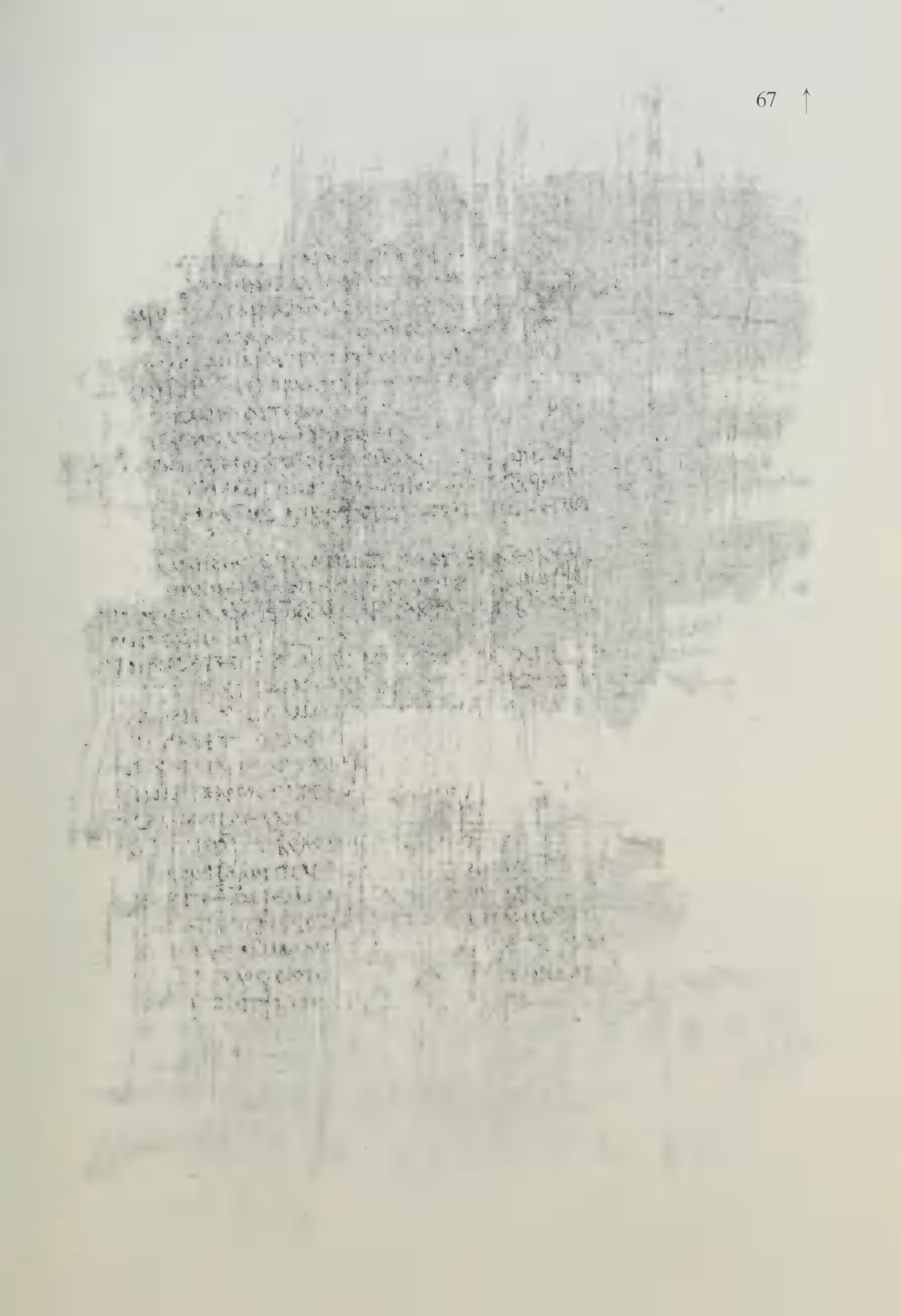


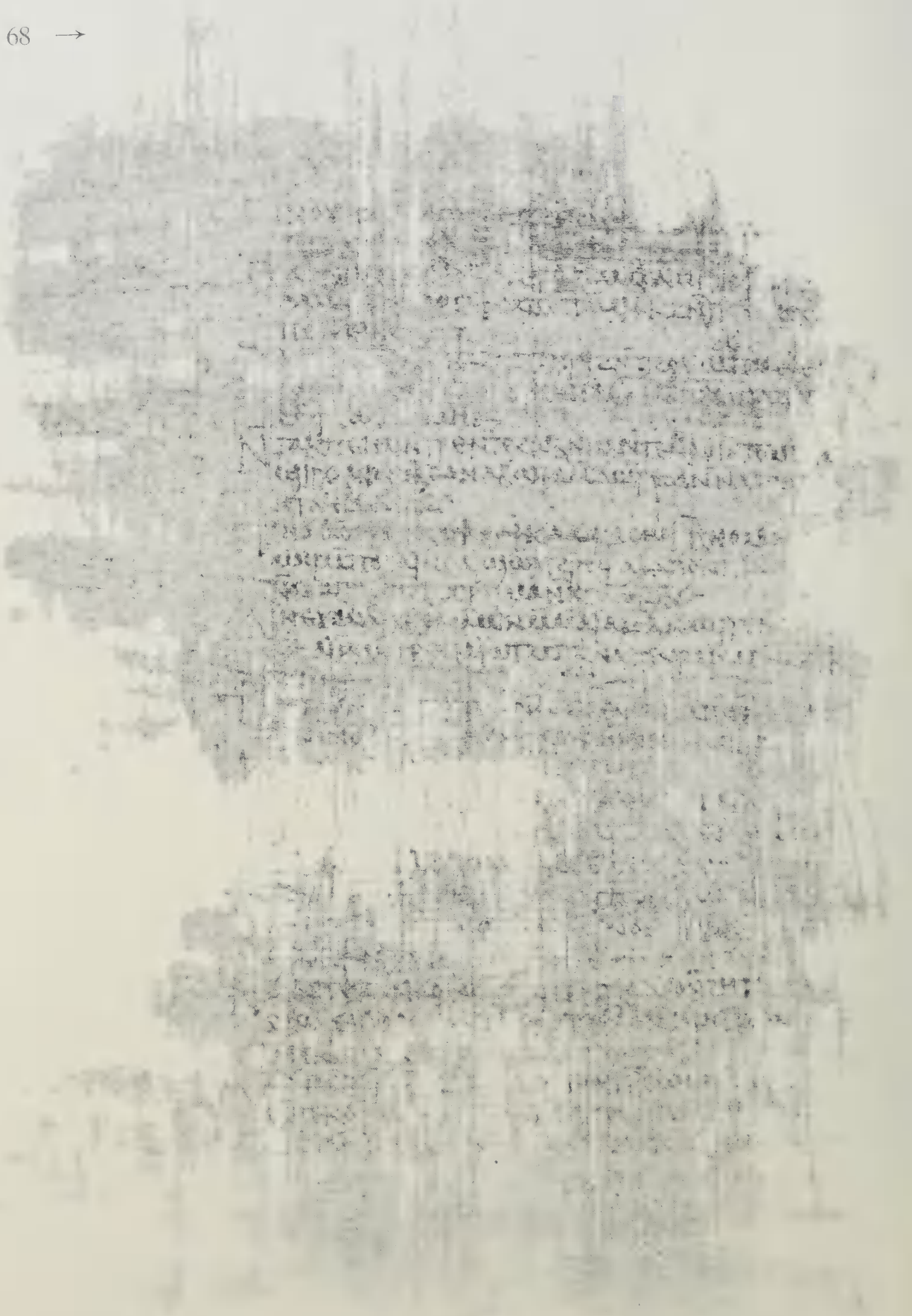


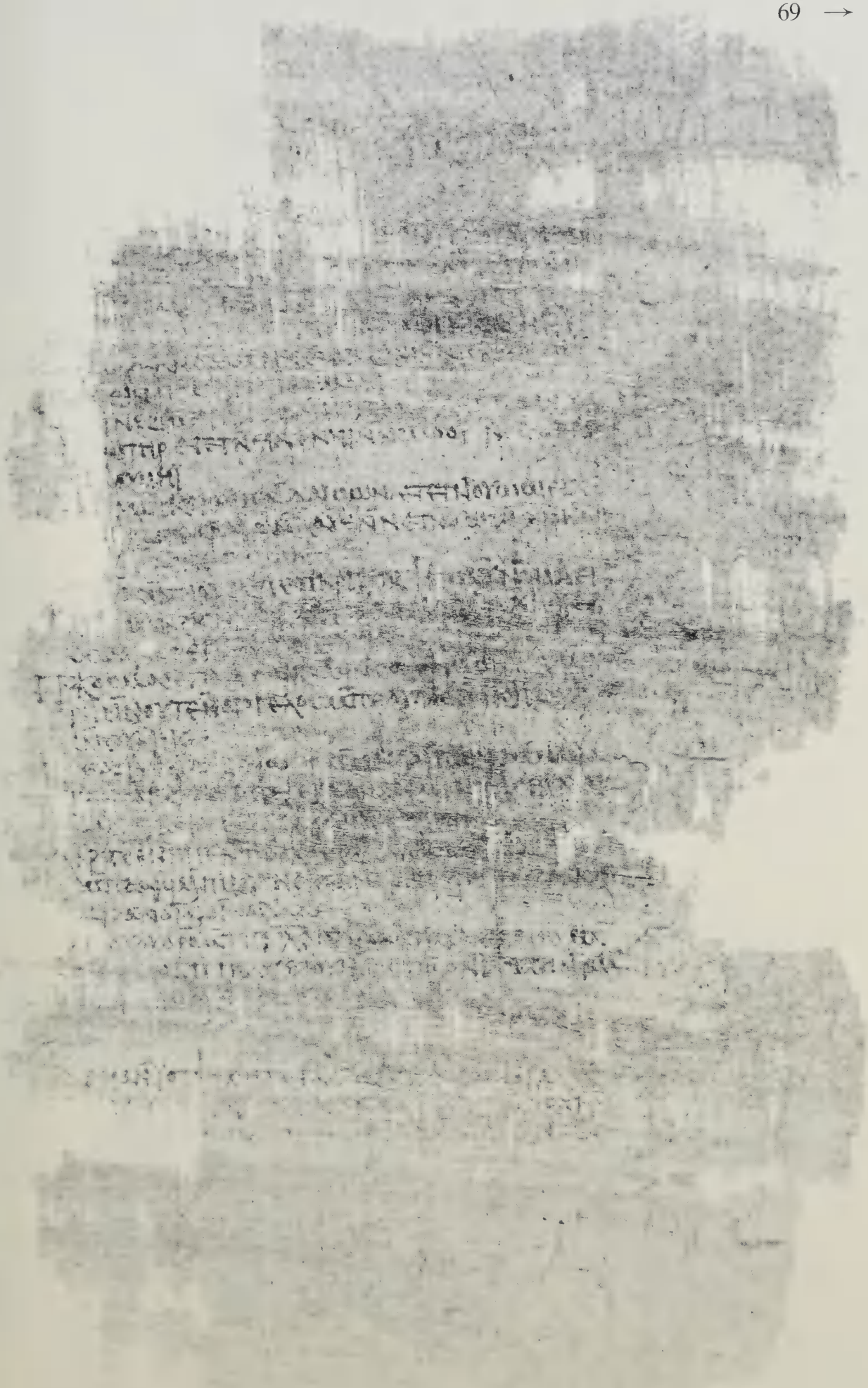


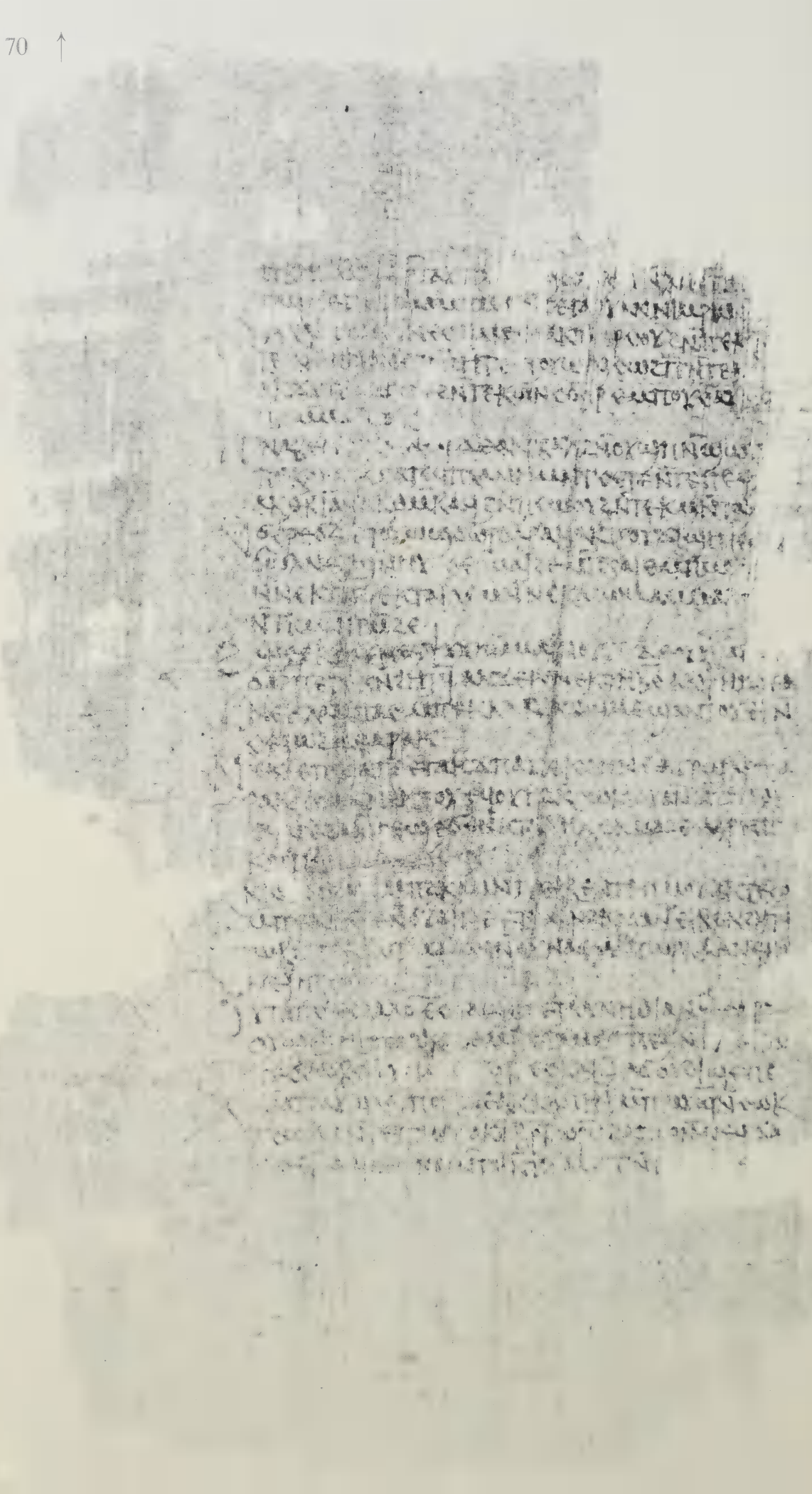


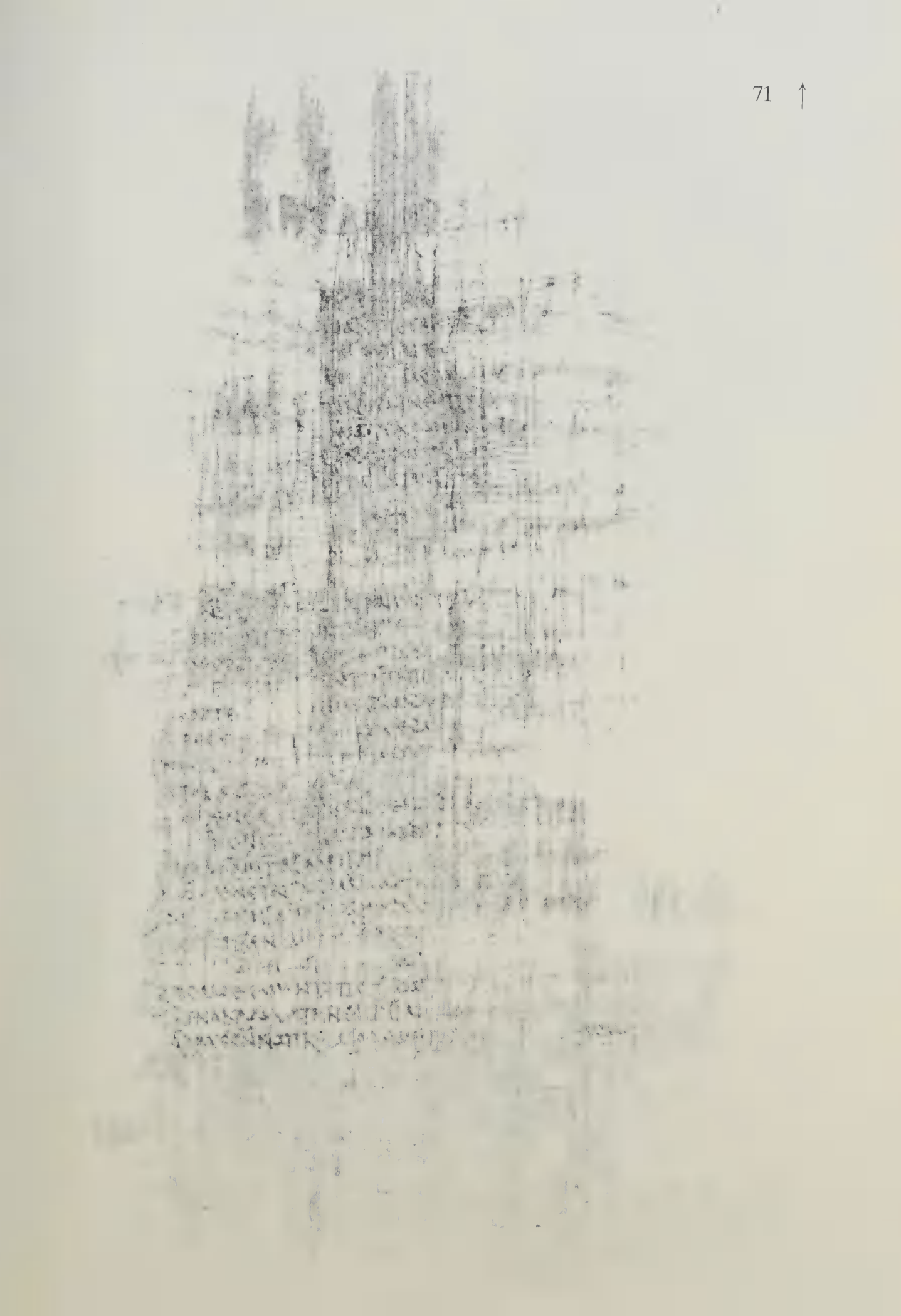


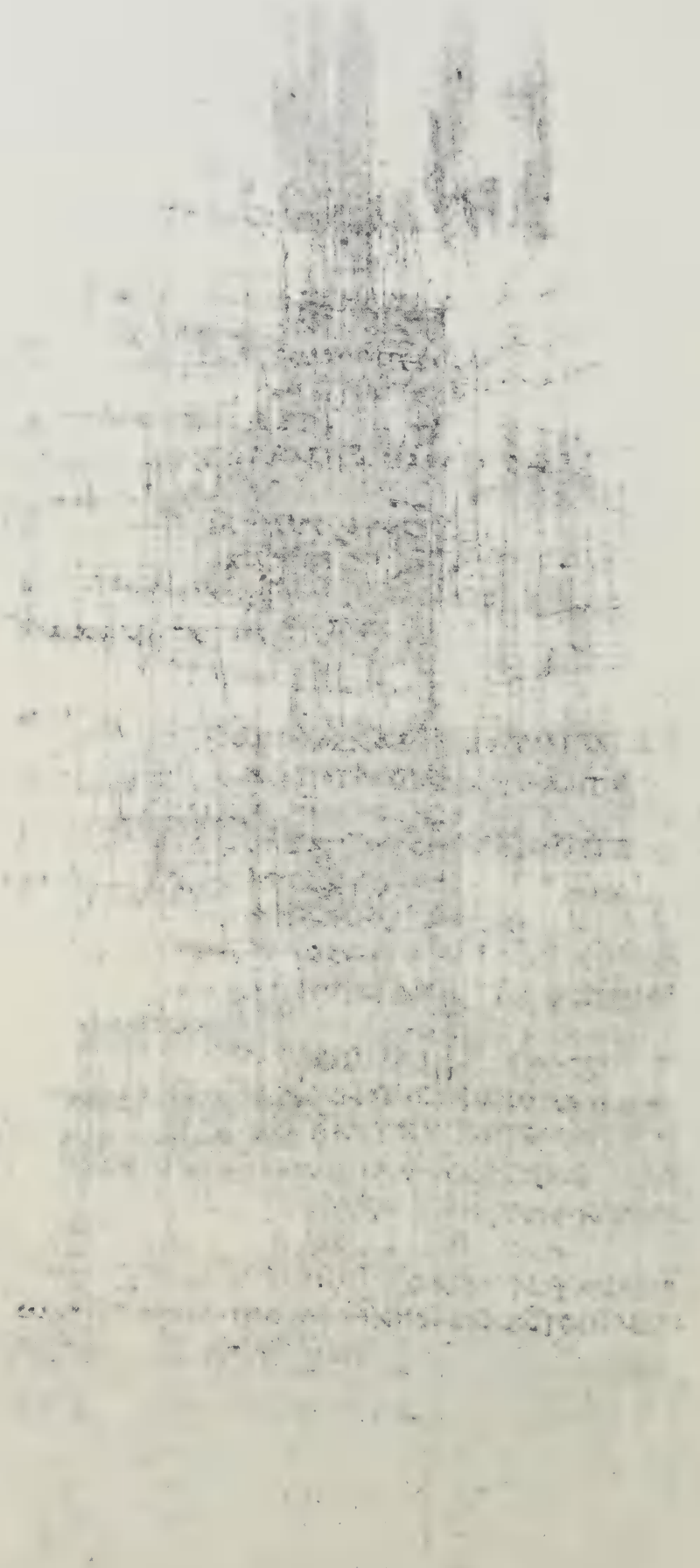


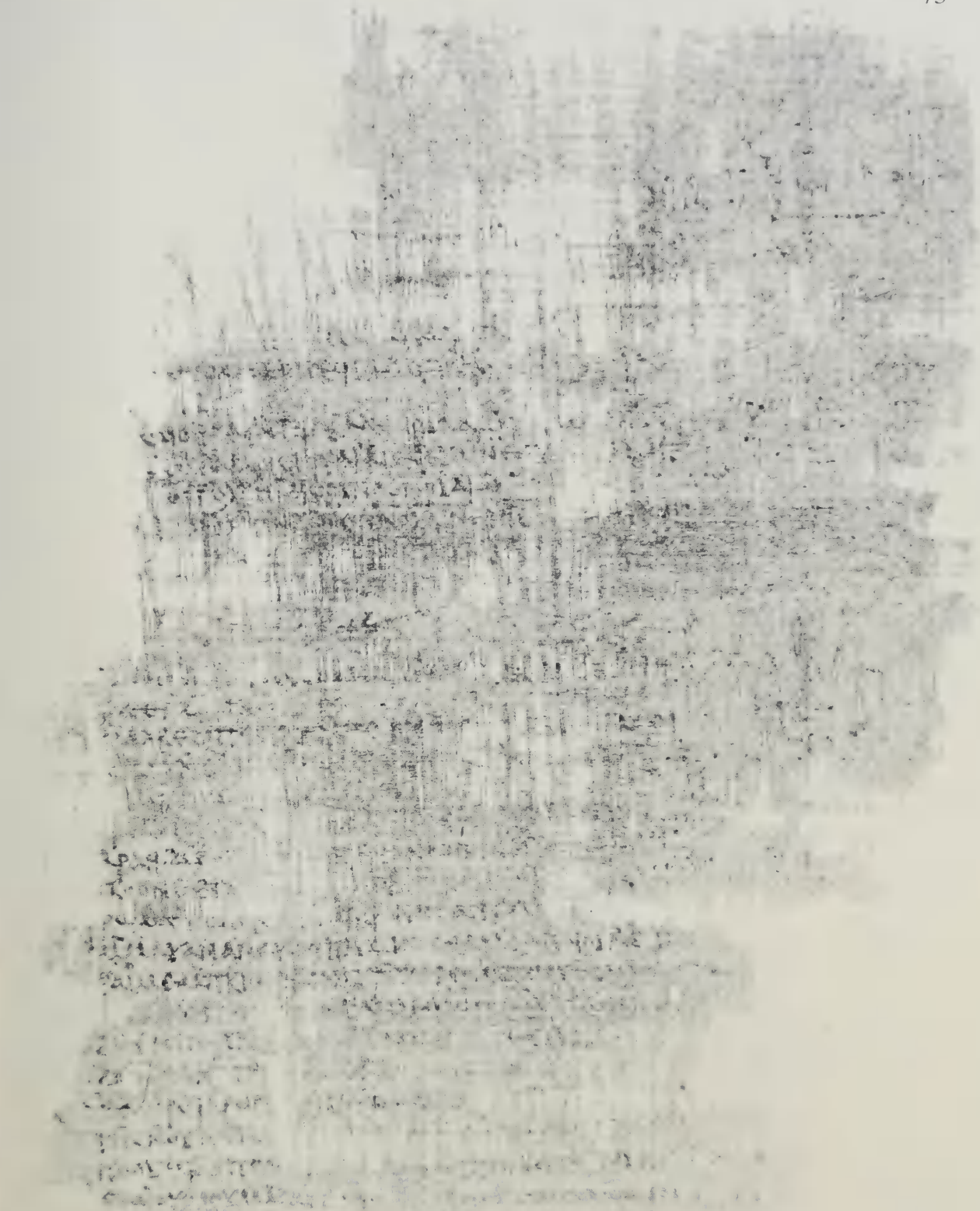


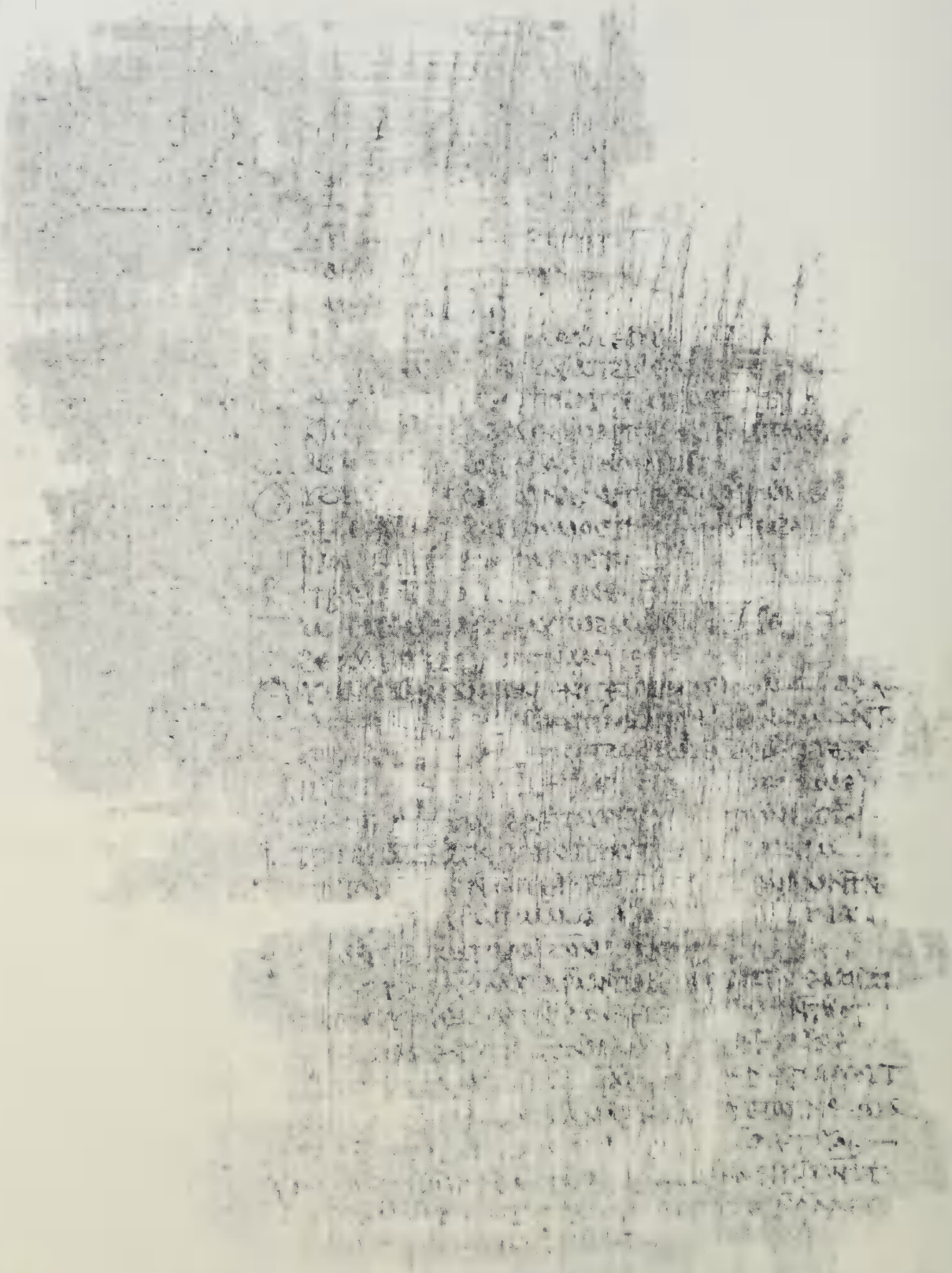


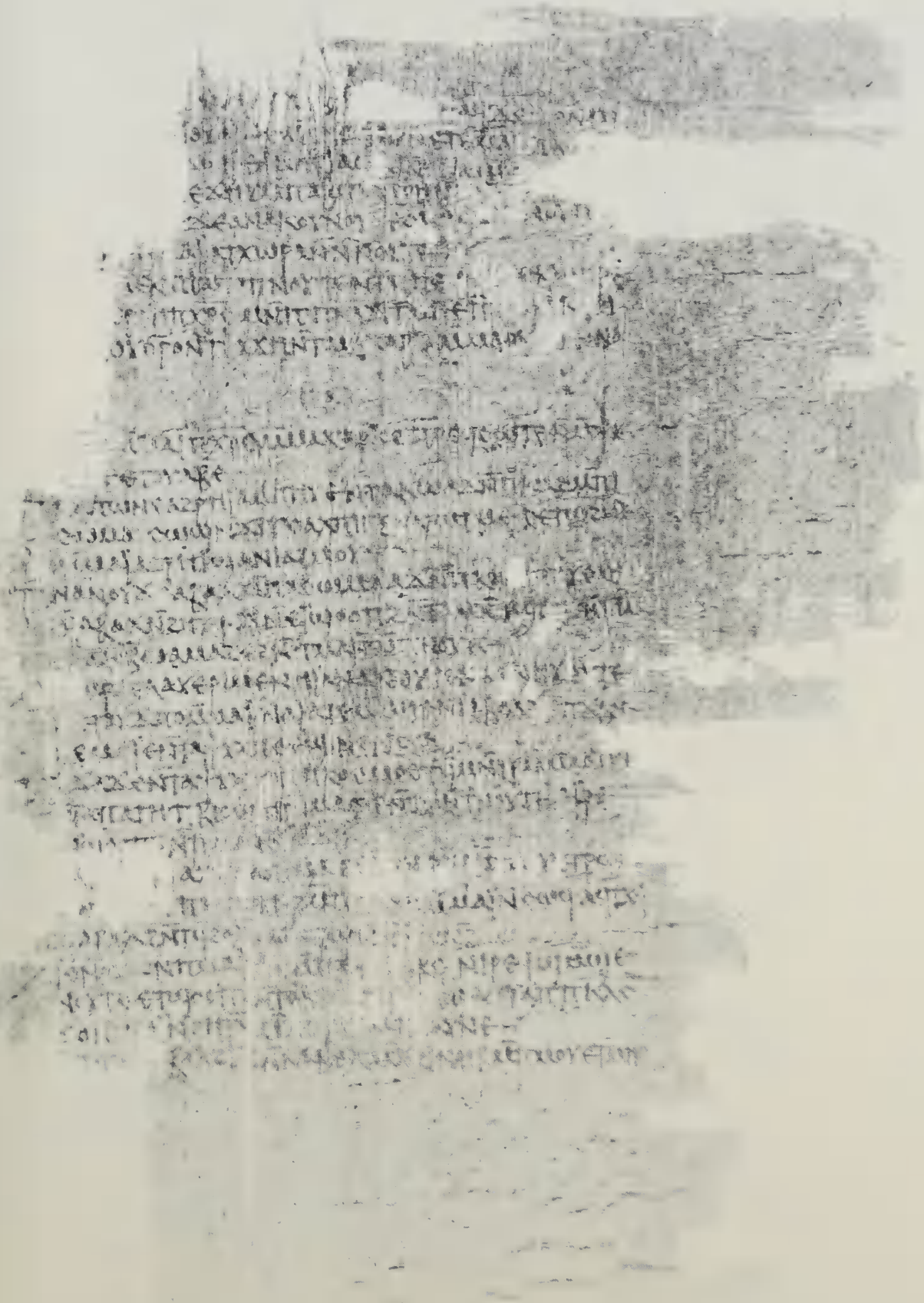


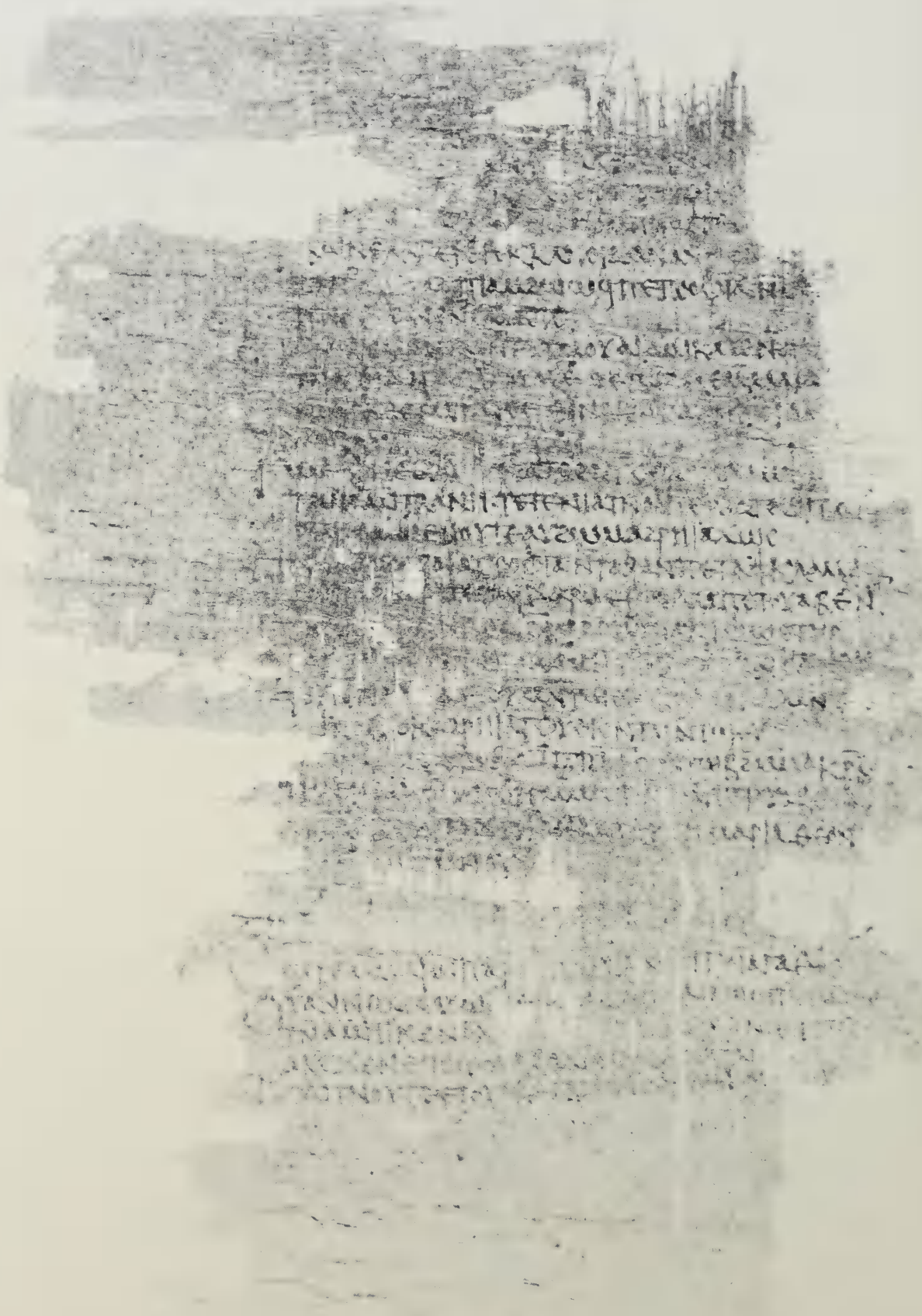


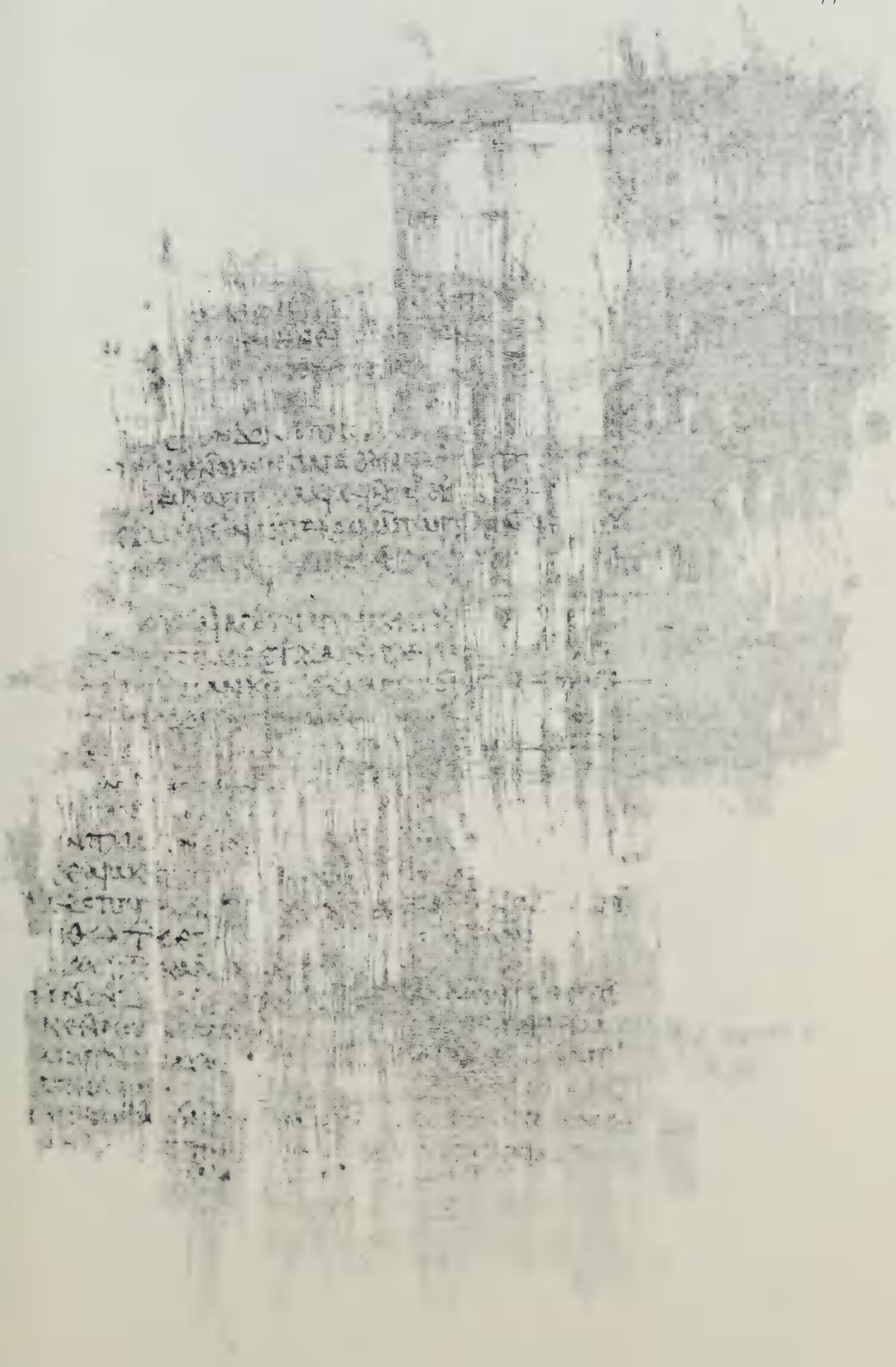


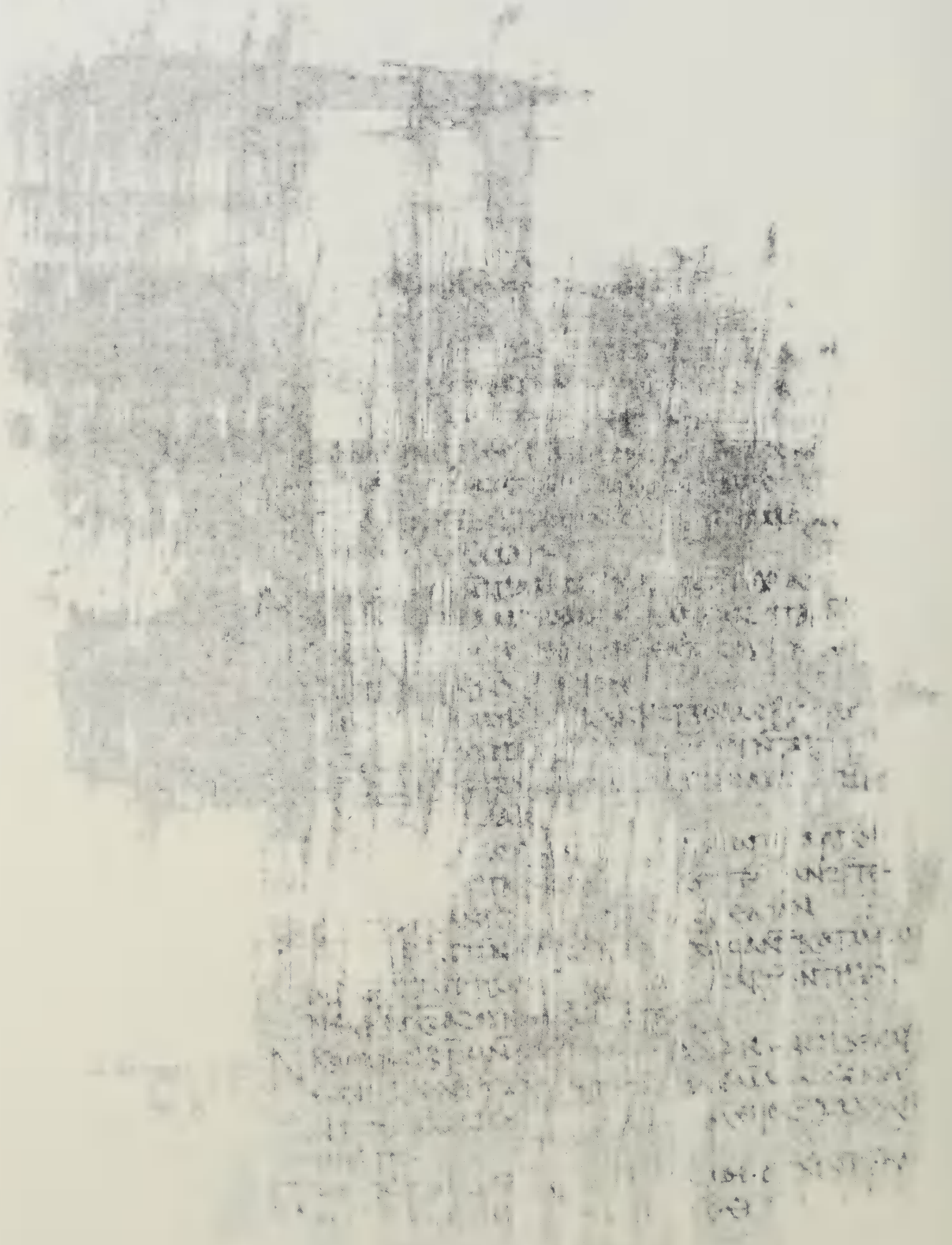


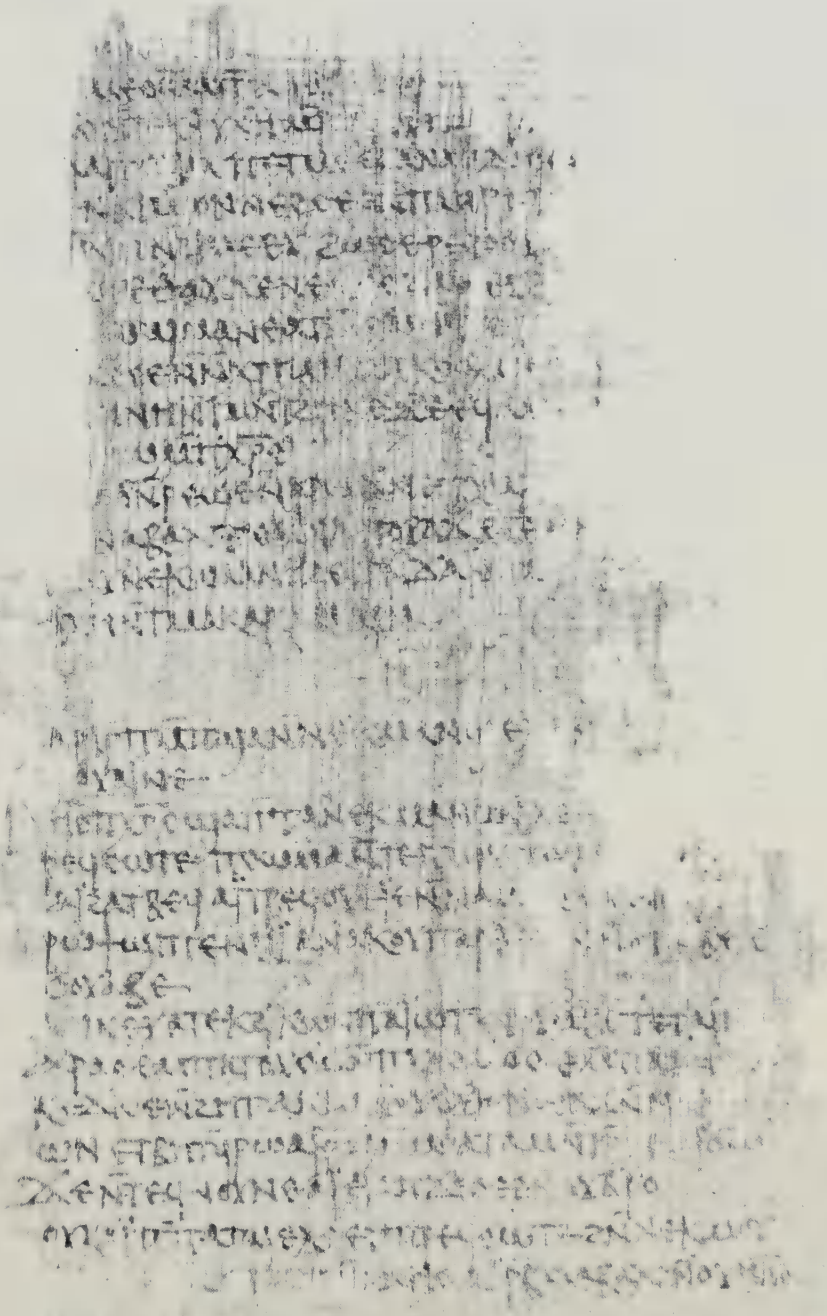


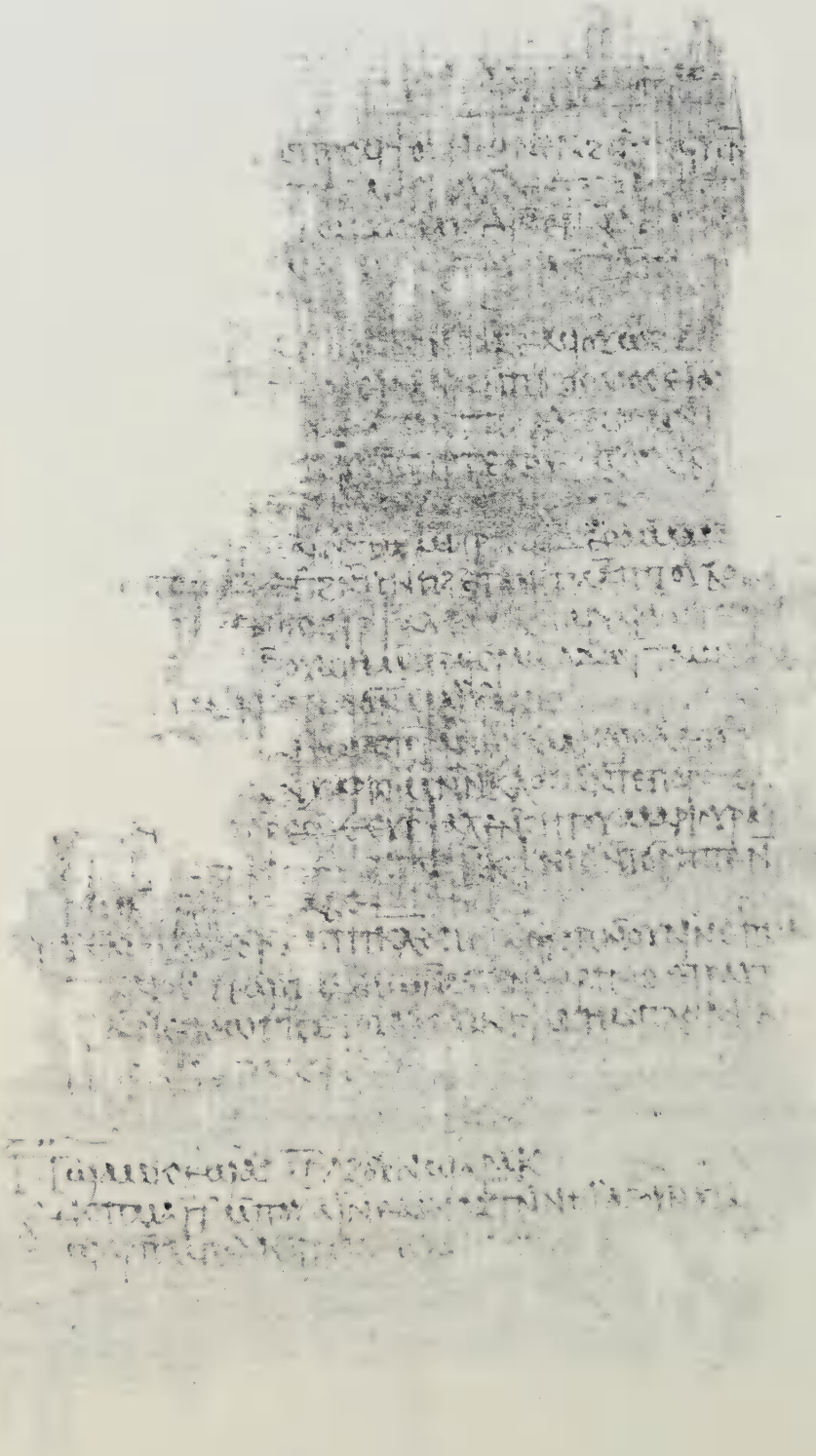


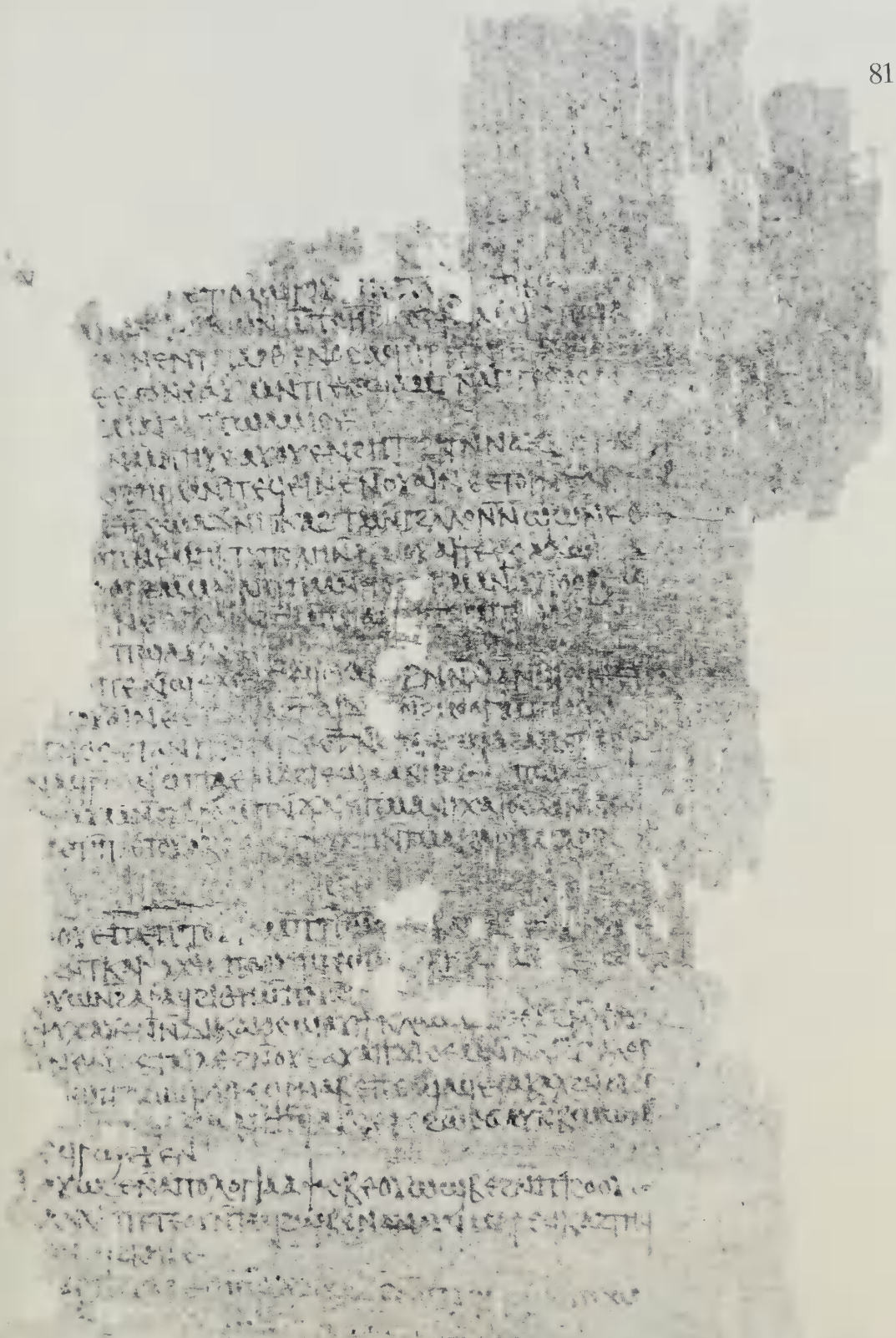


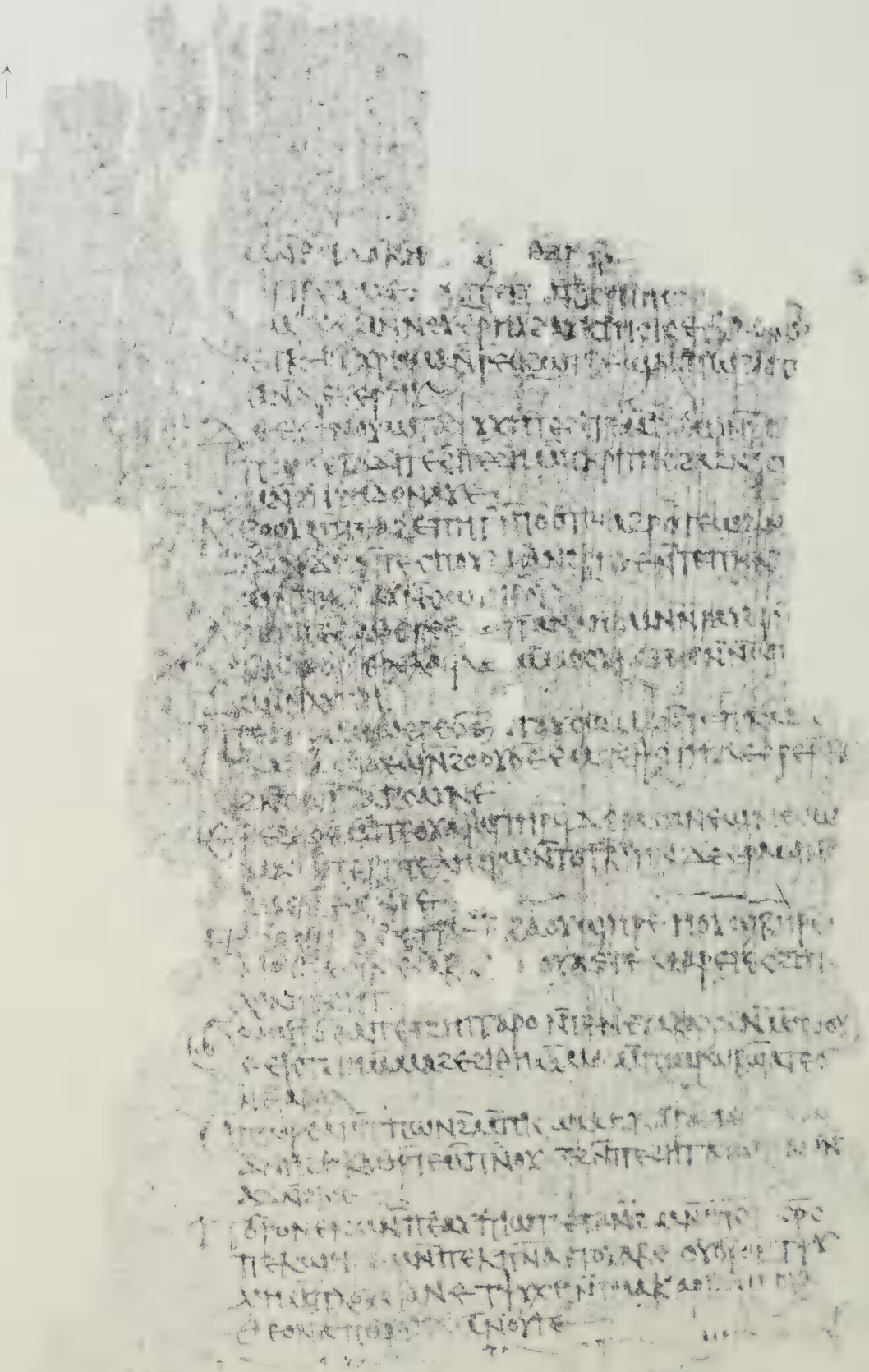


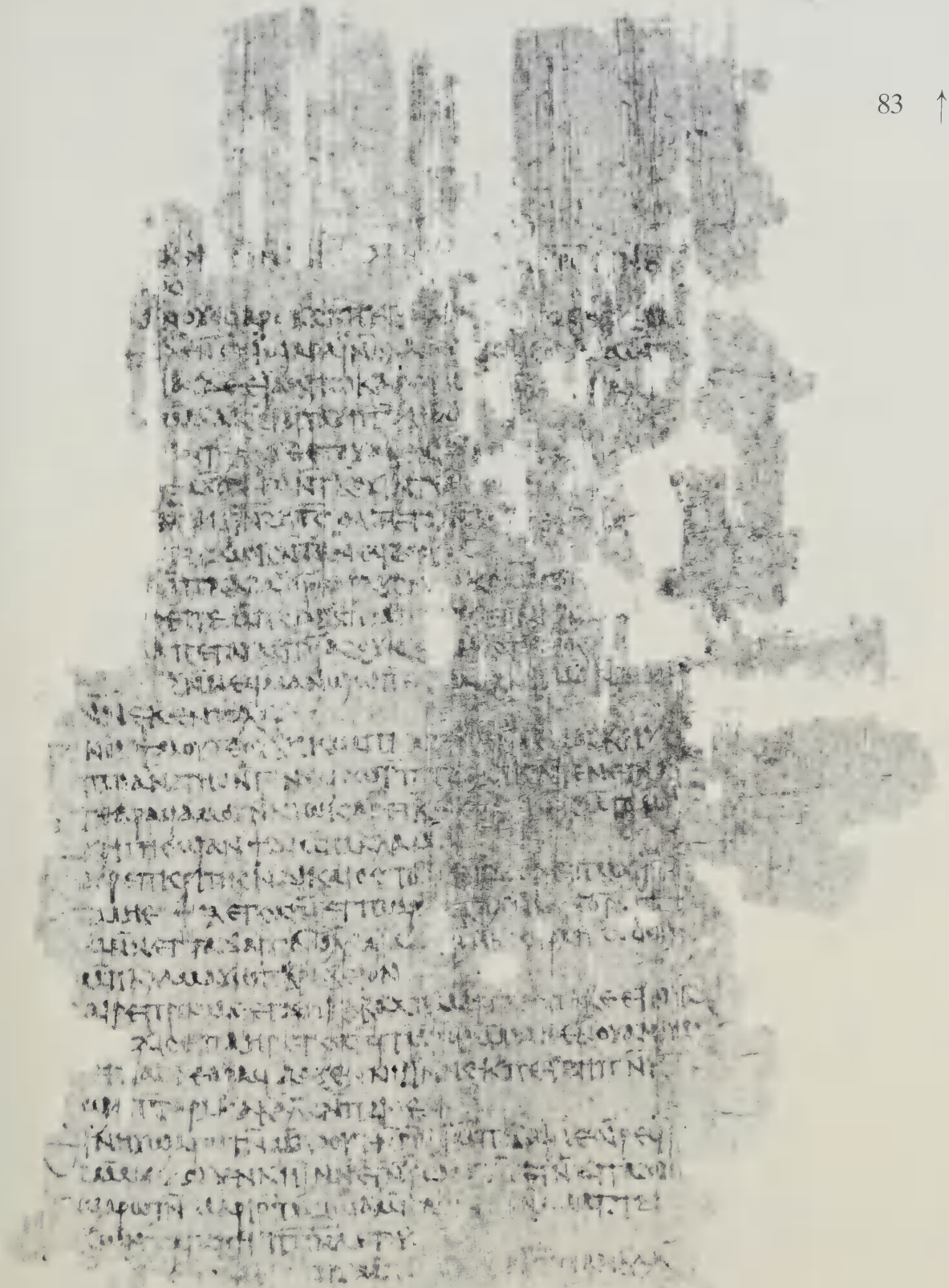


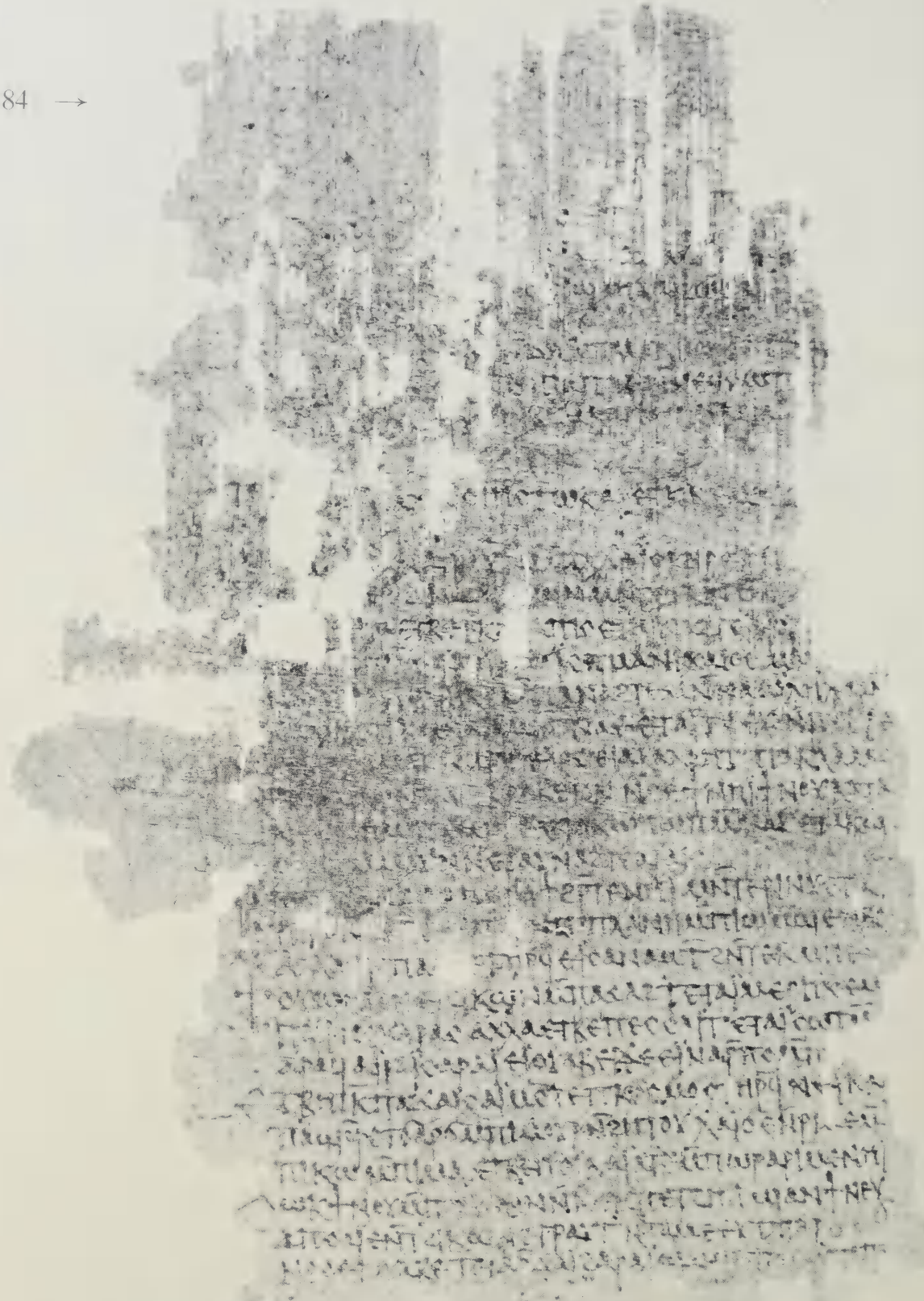


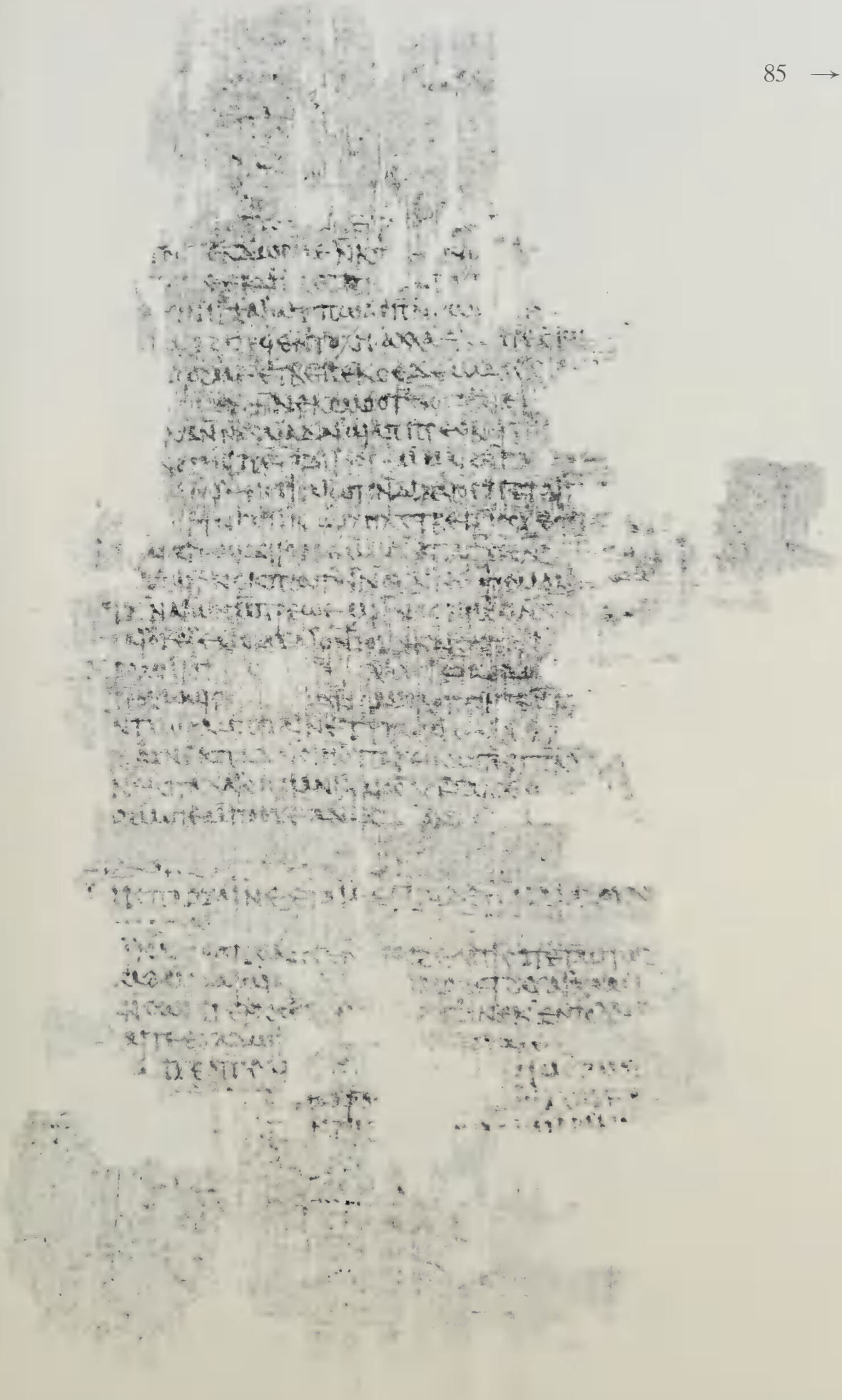


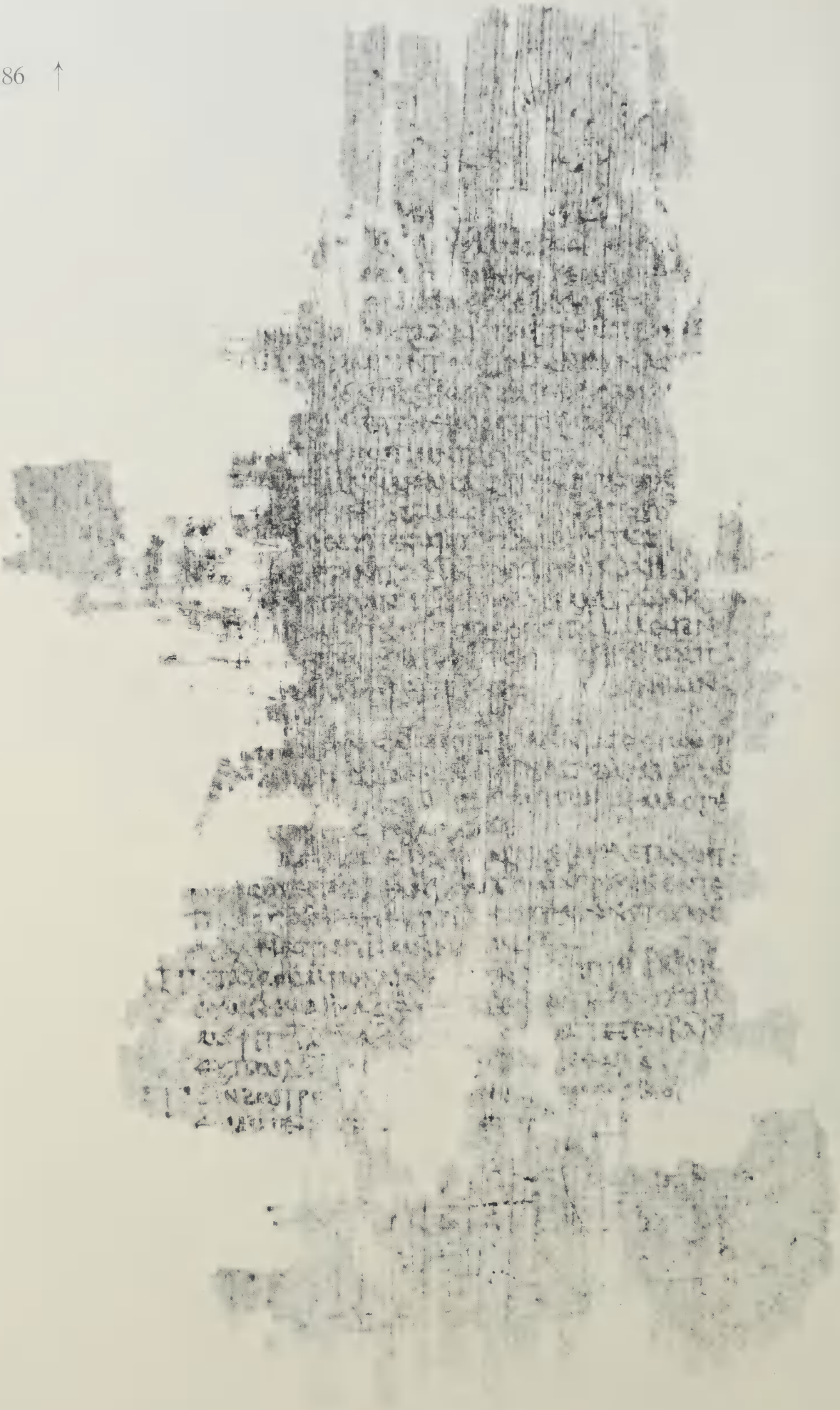


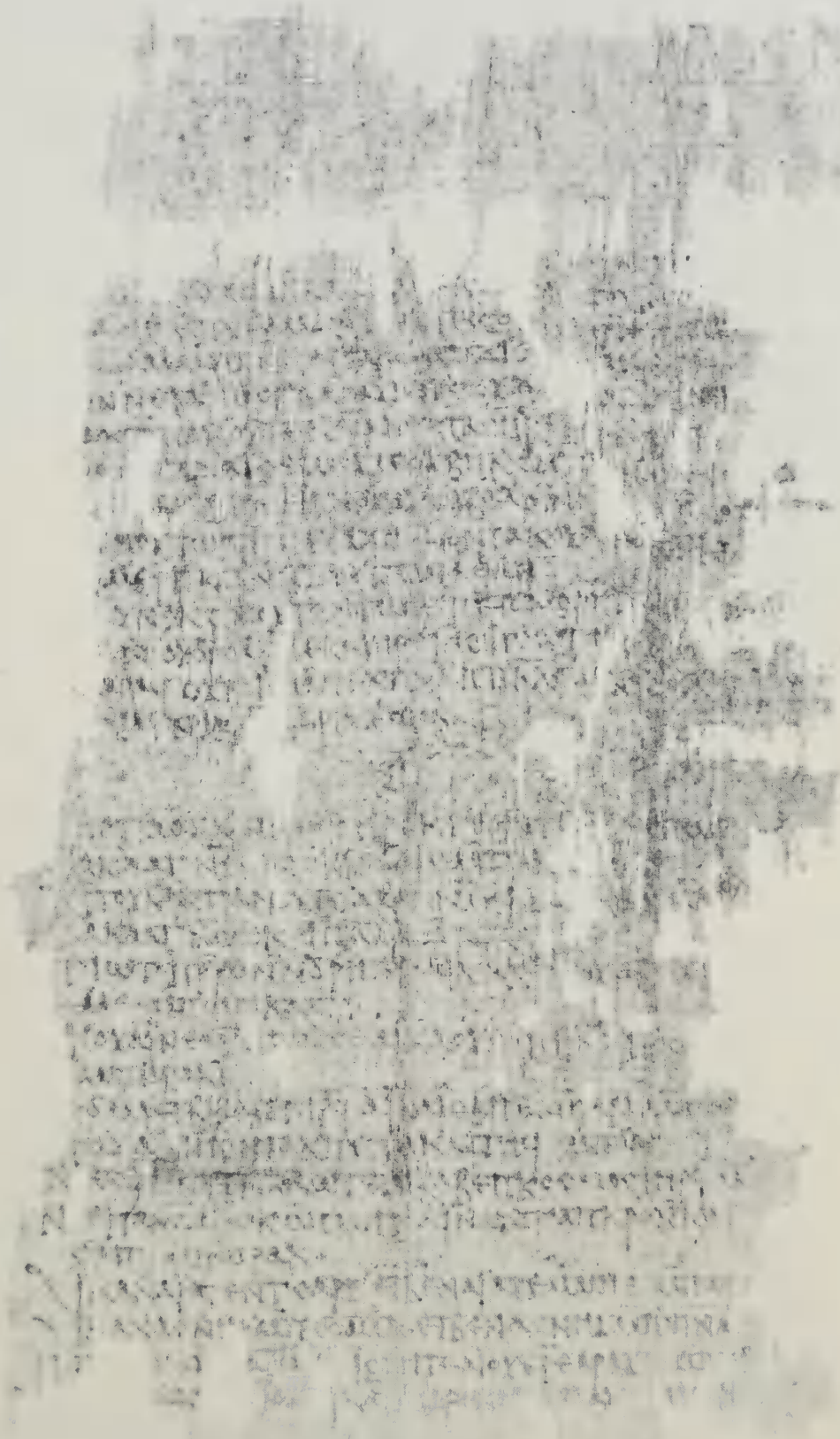


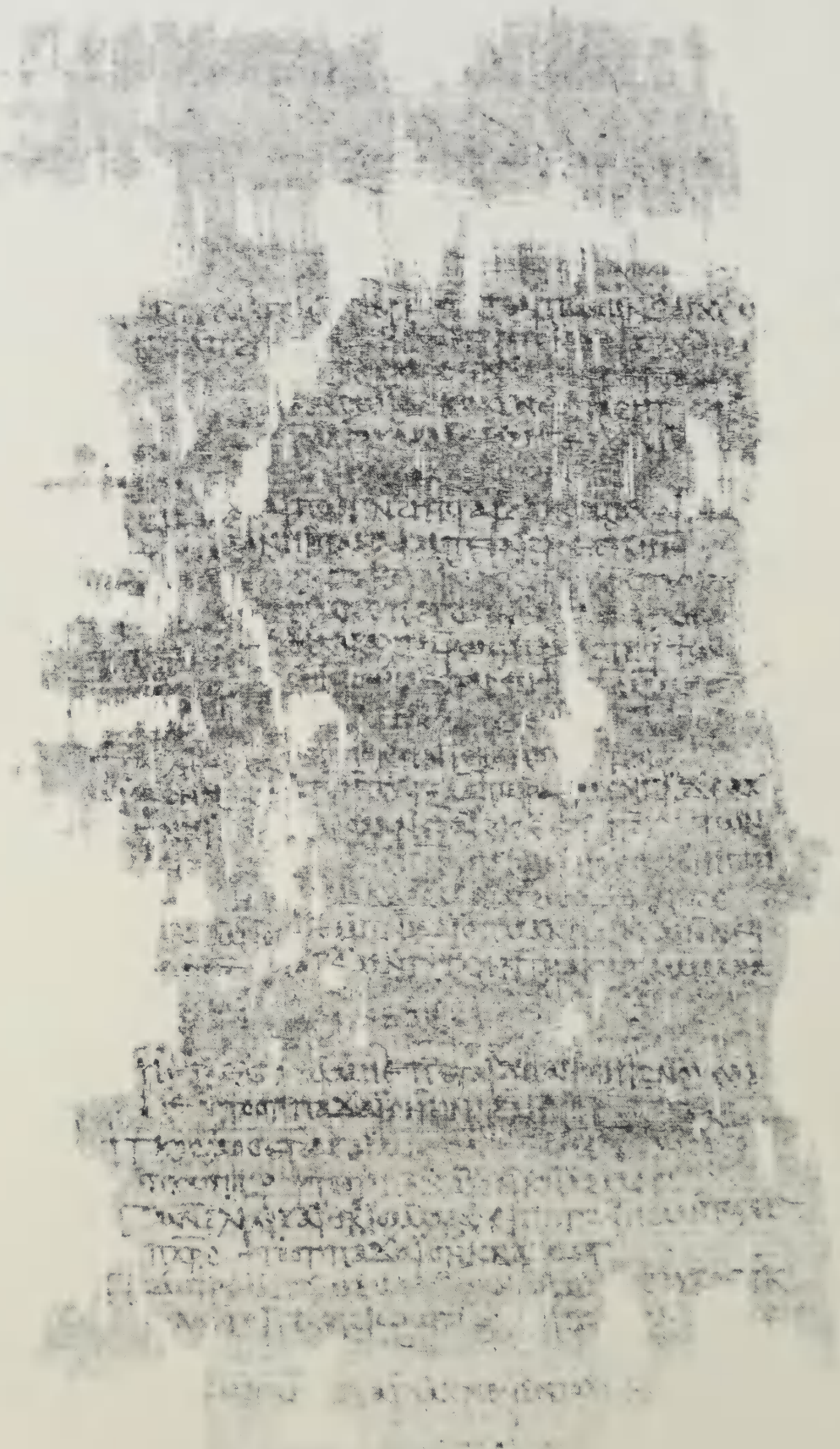


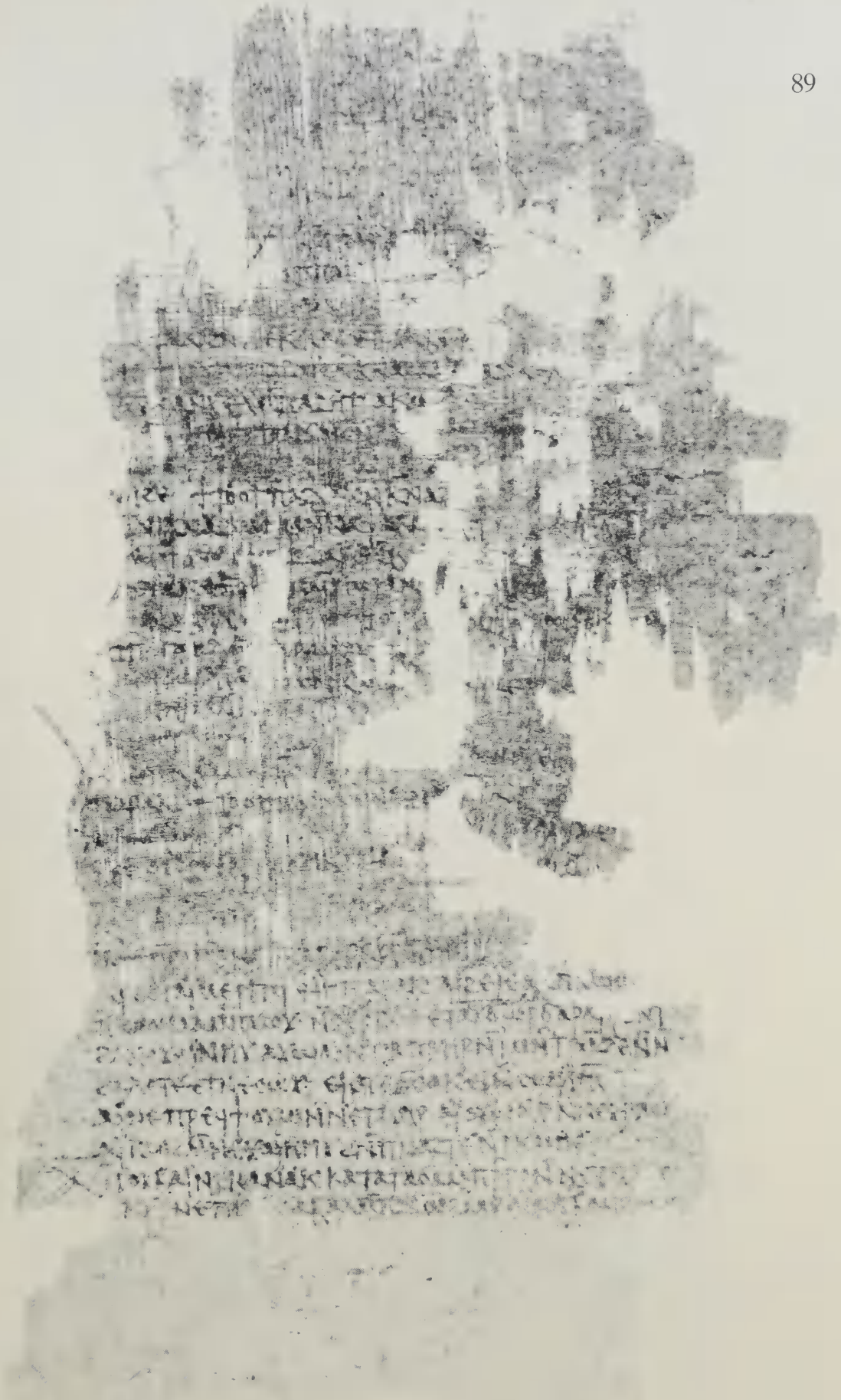




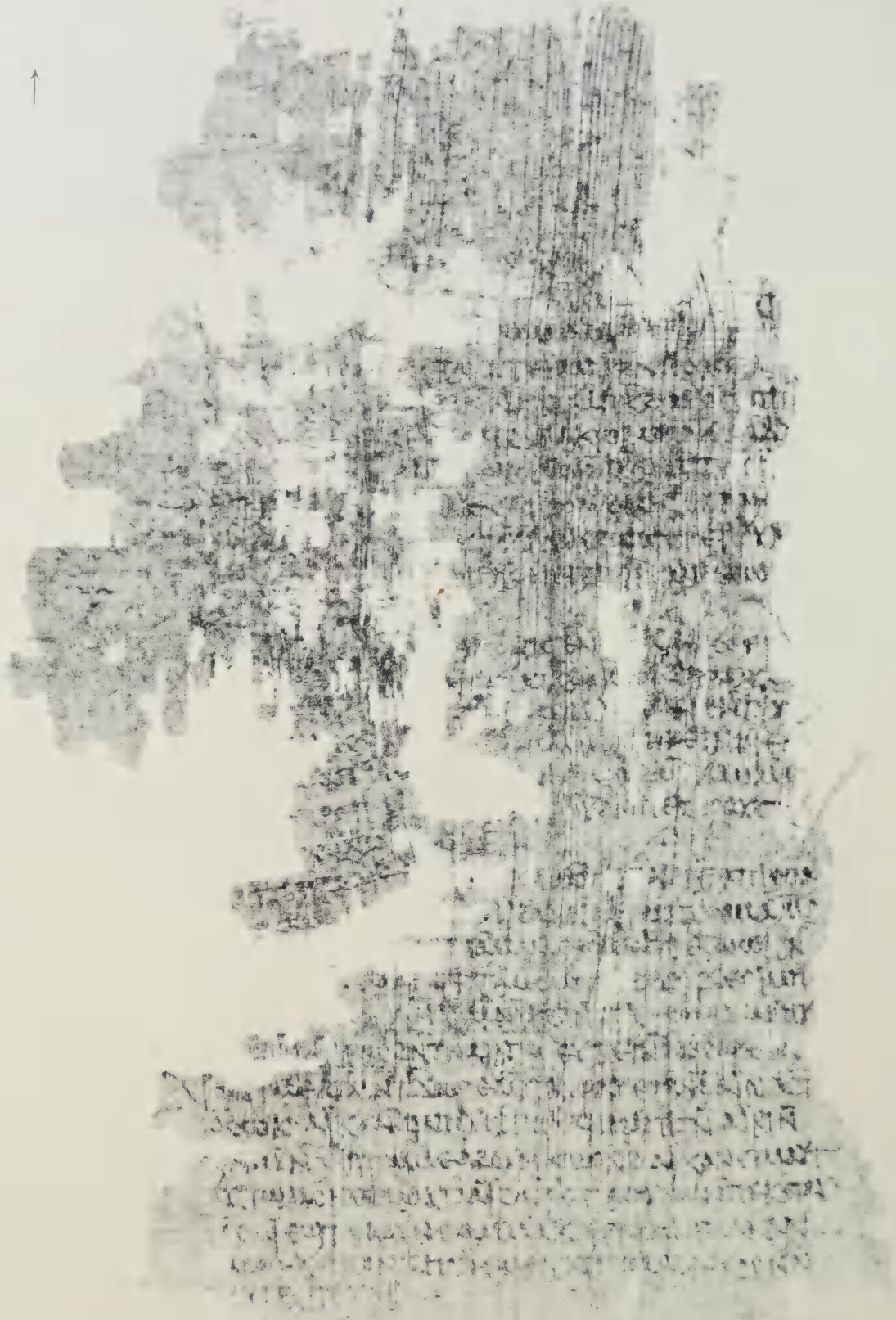


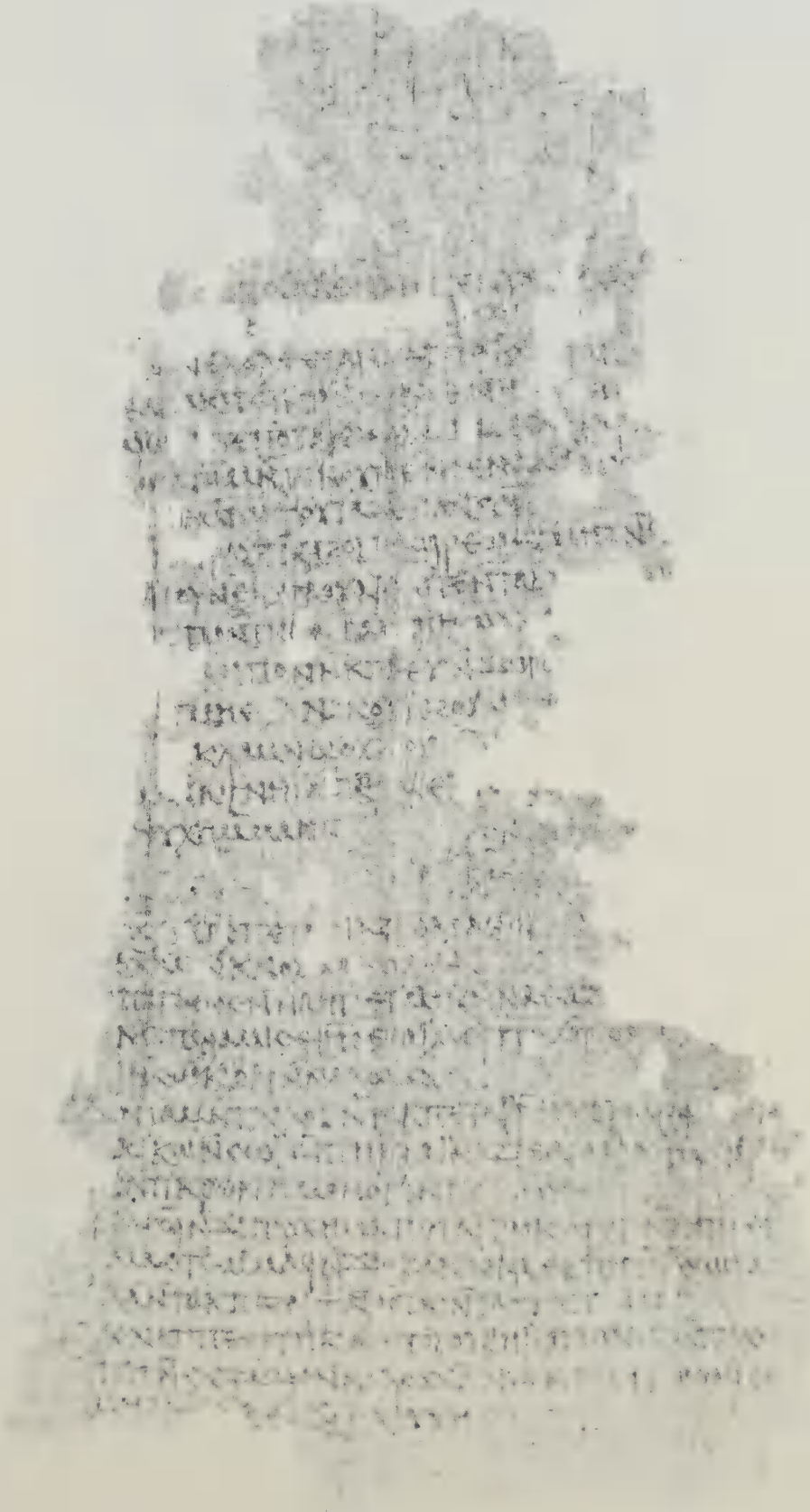


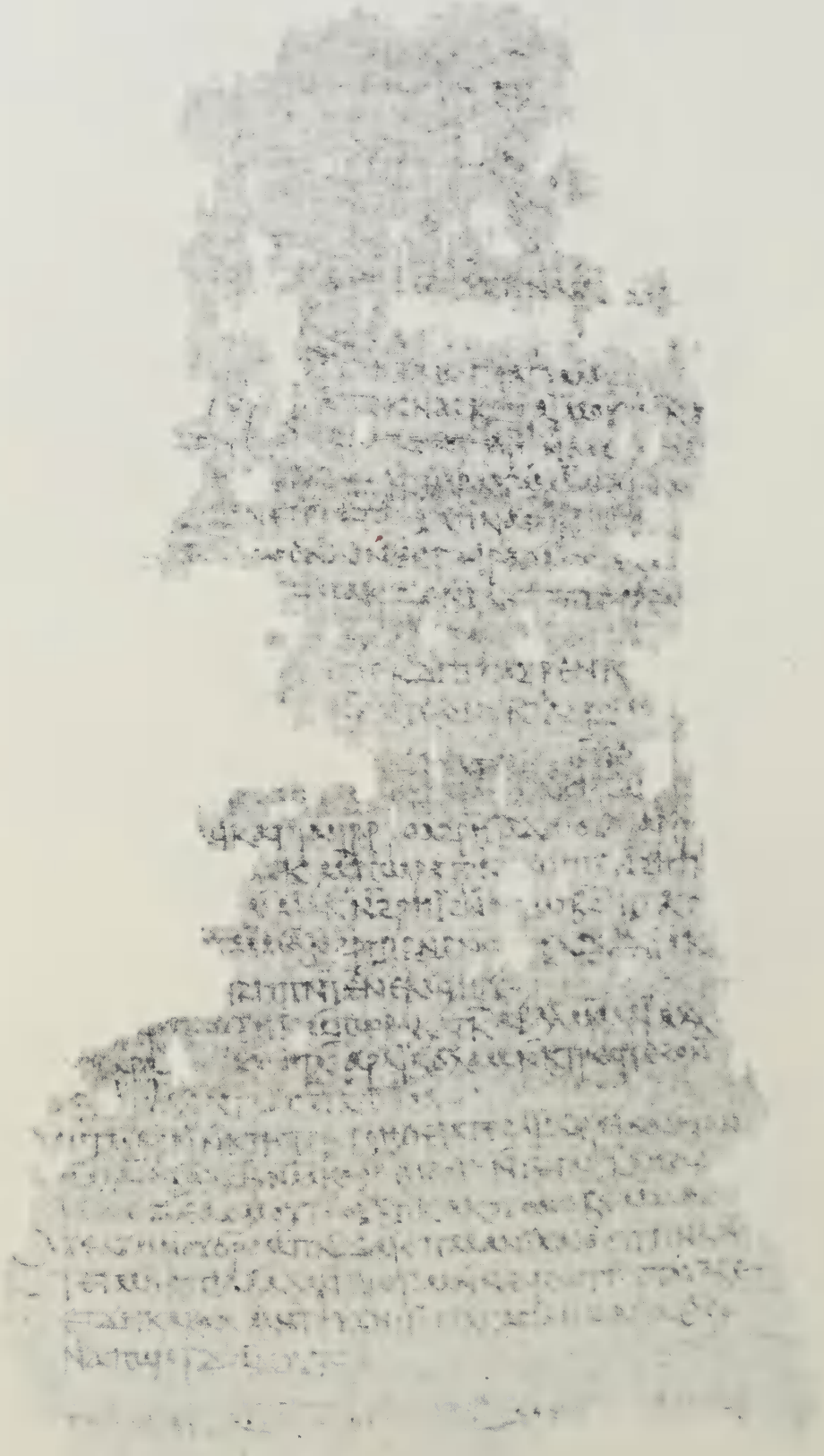


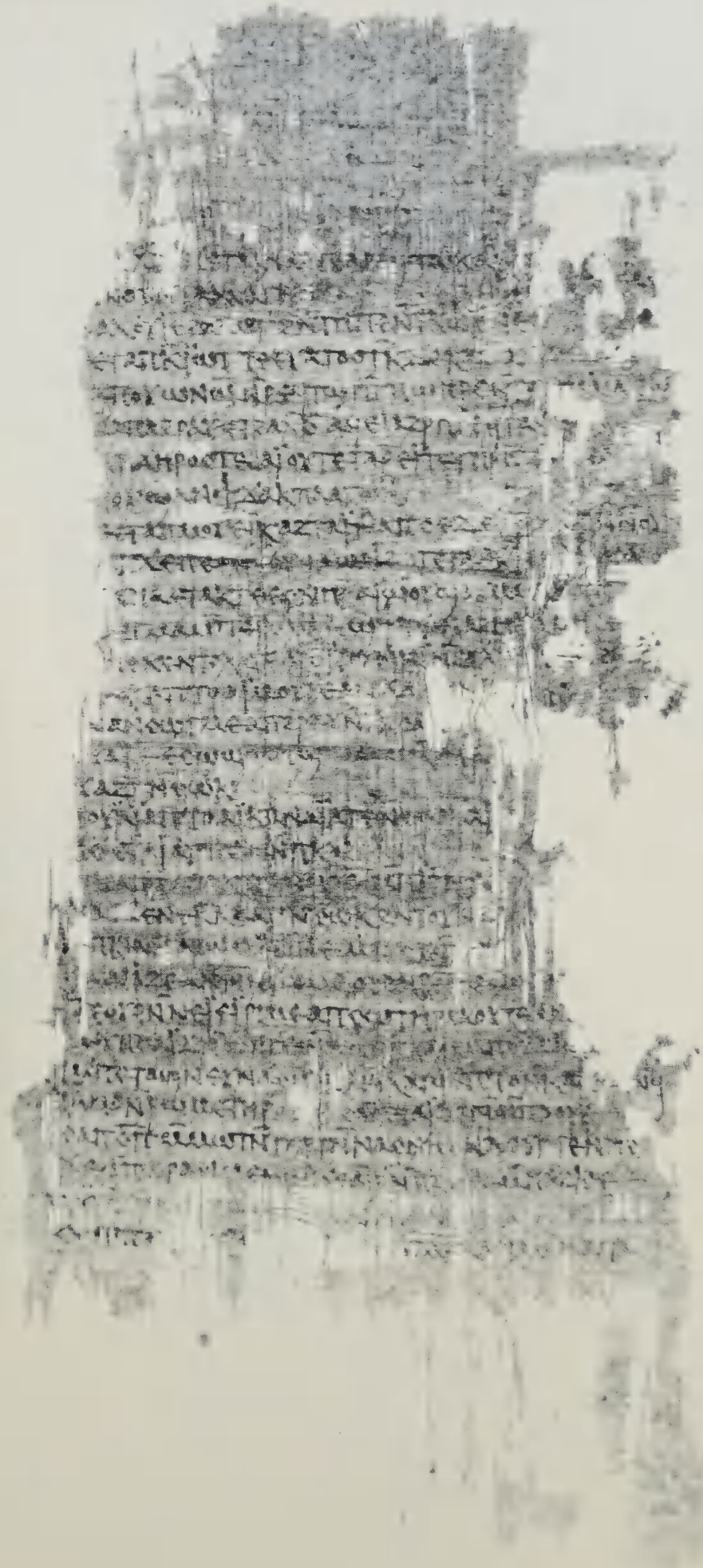


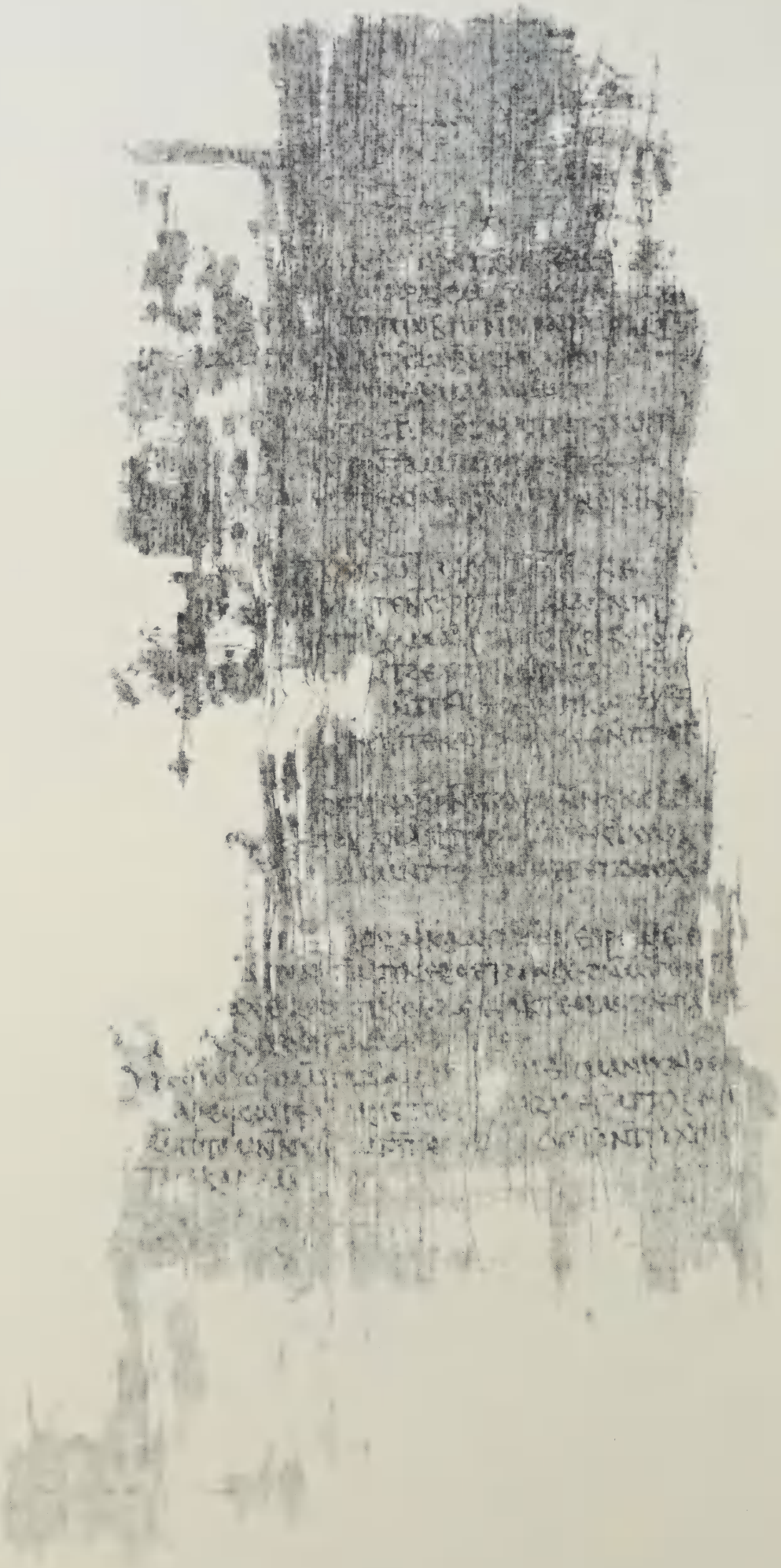
[Fragmenta quaedam ad p. 89-90 pertinentia R. Kasserus photographice restituit.]

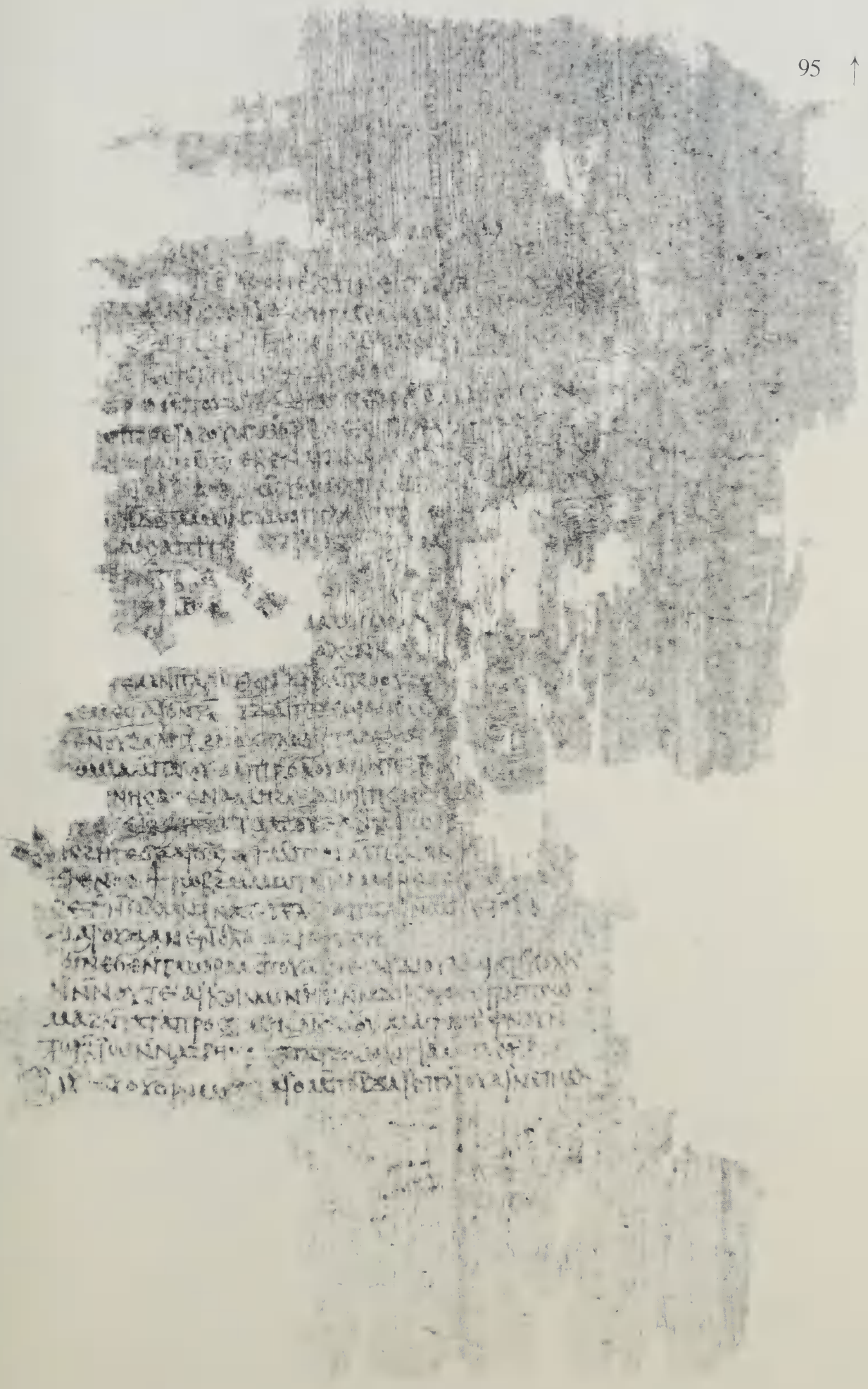




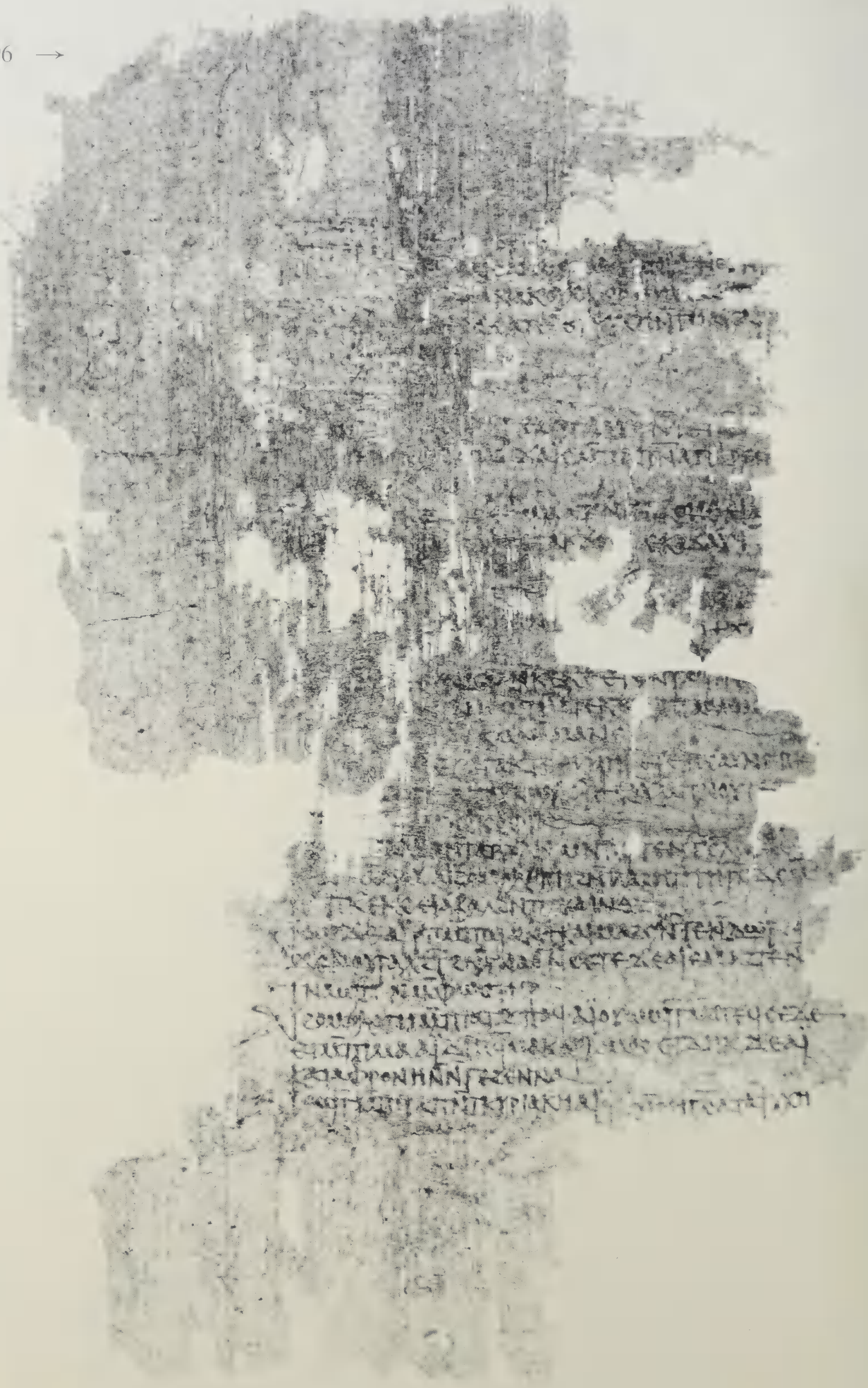


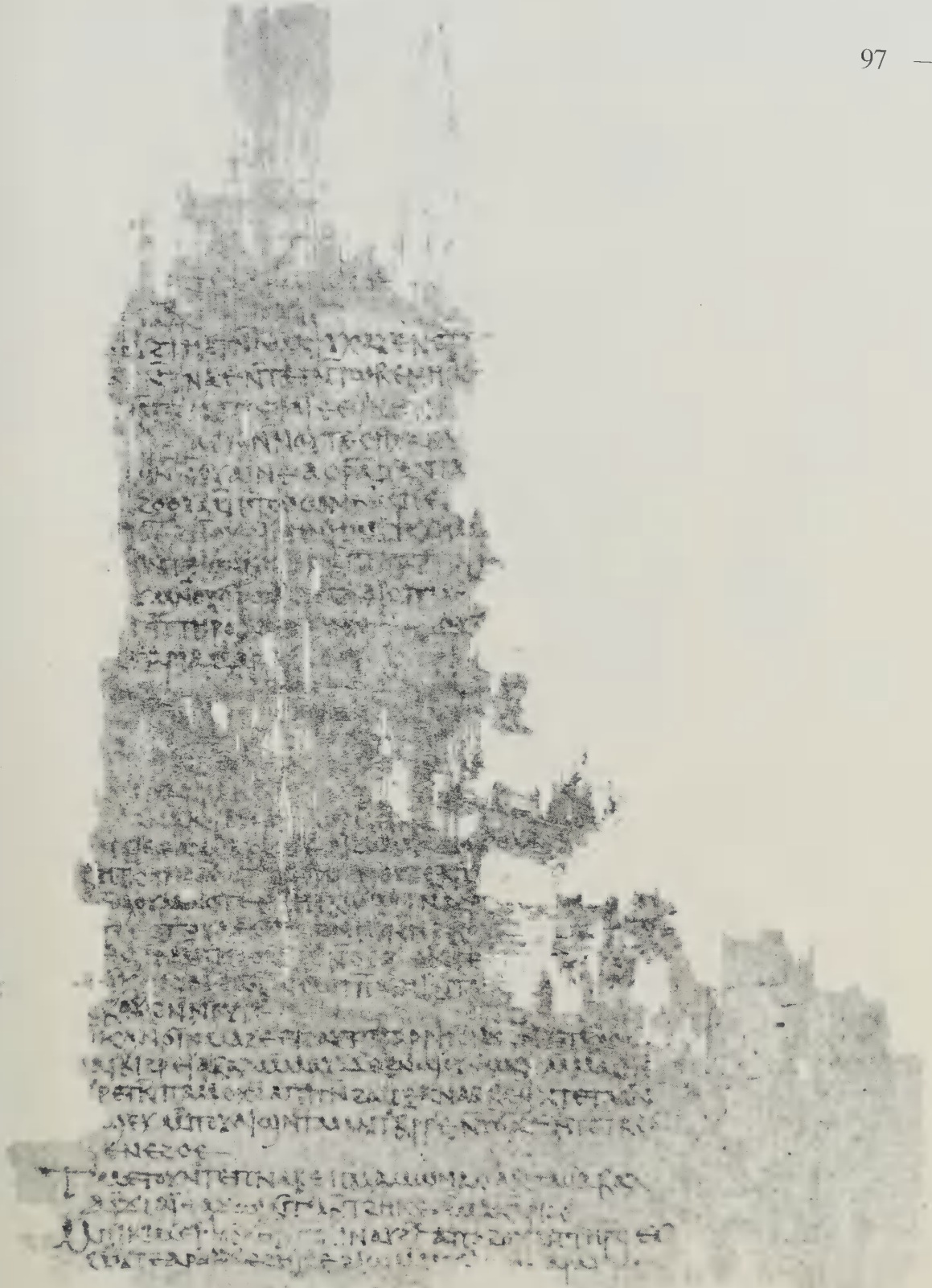


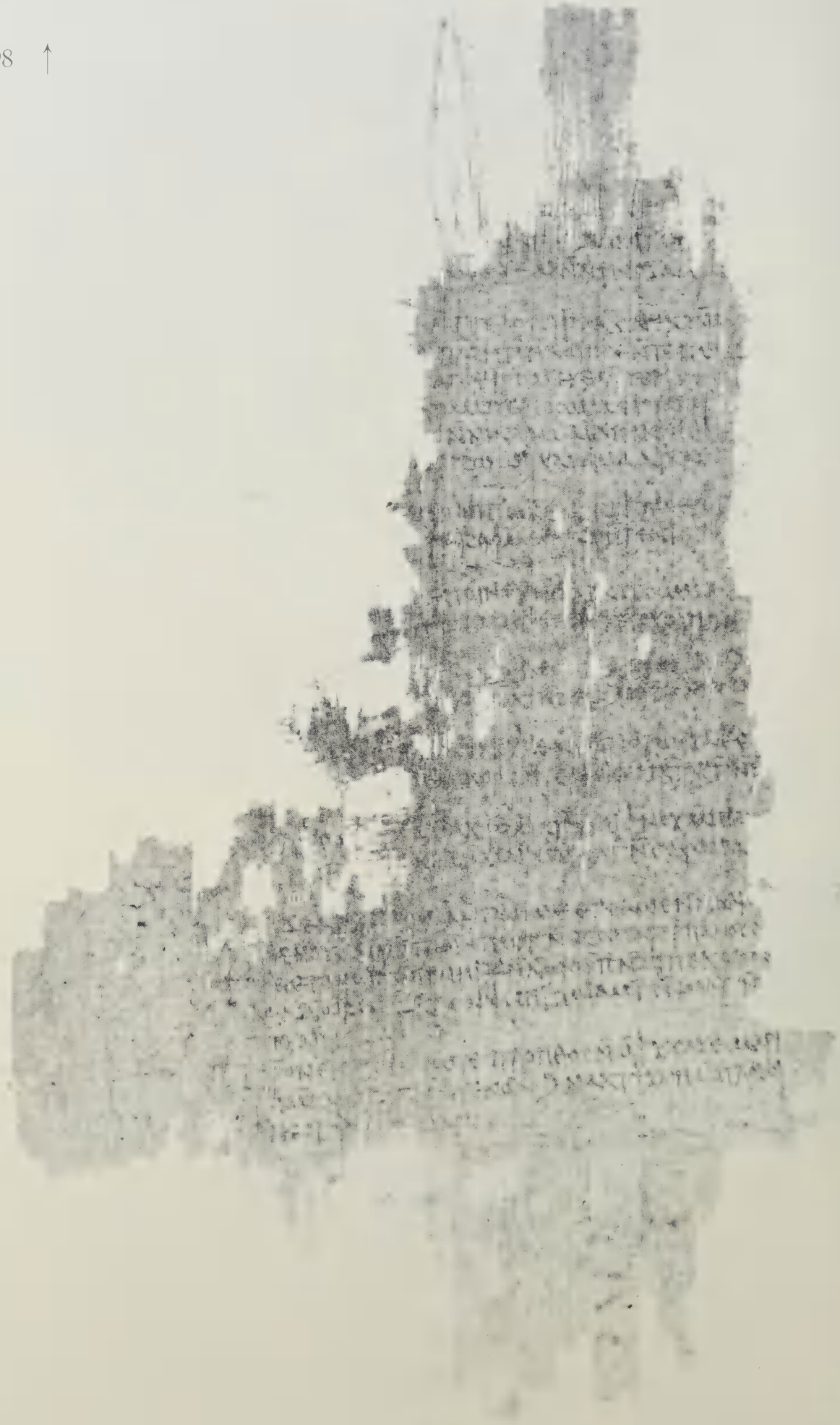


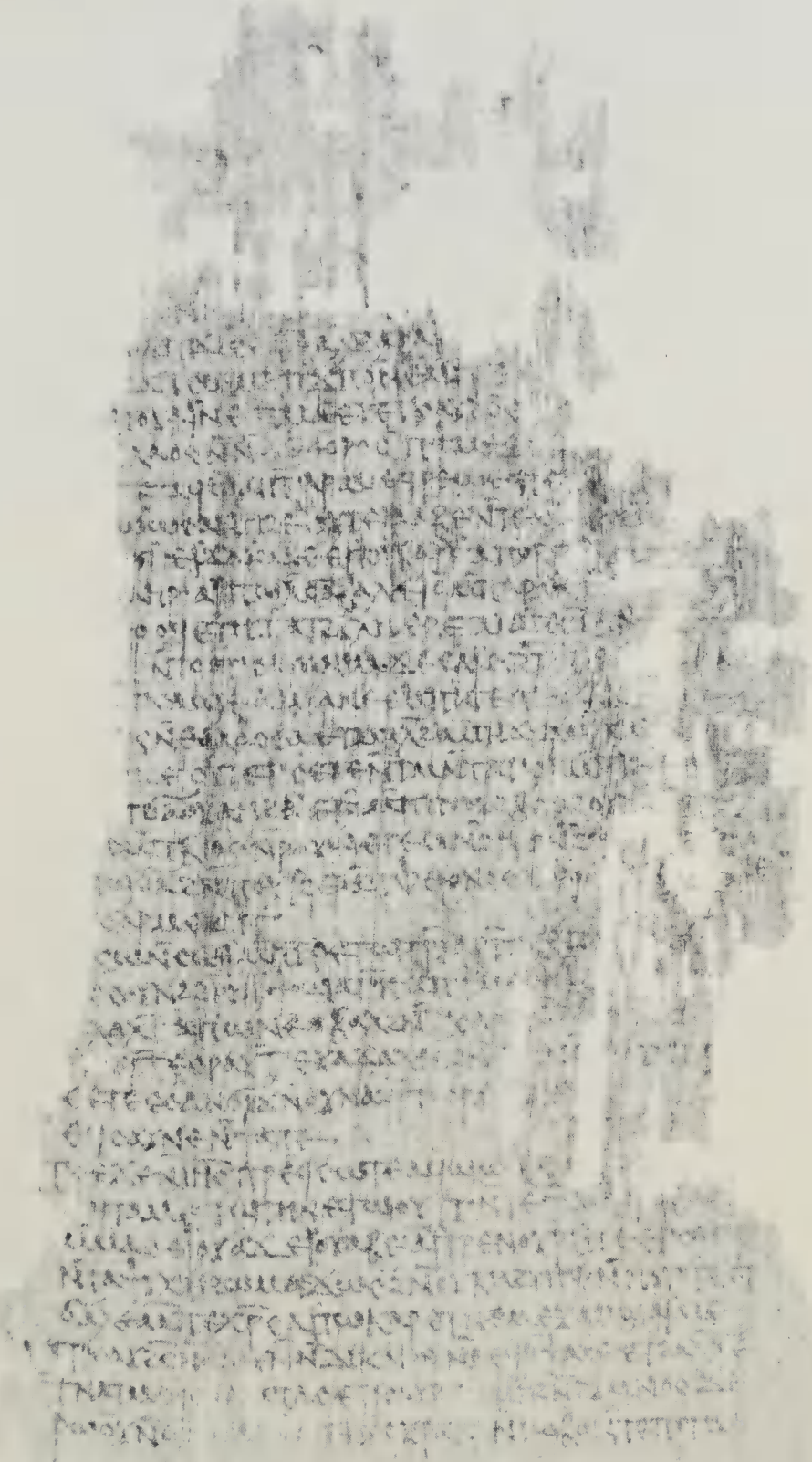


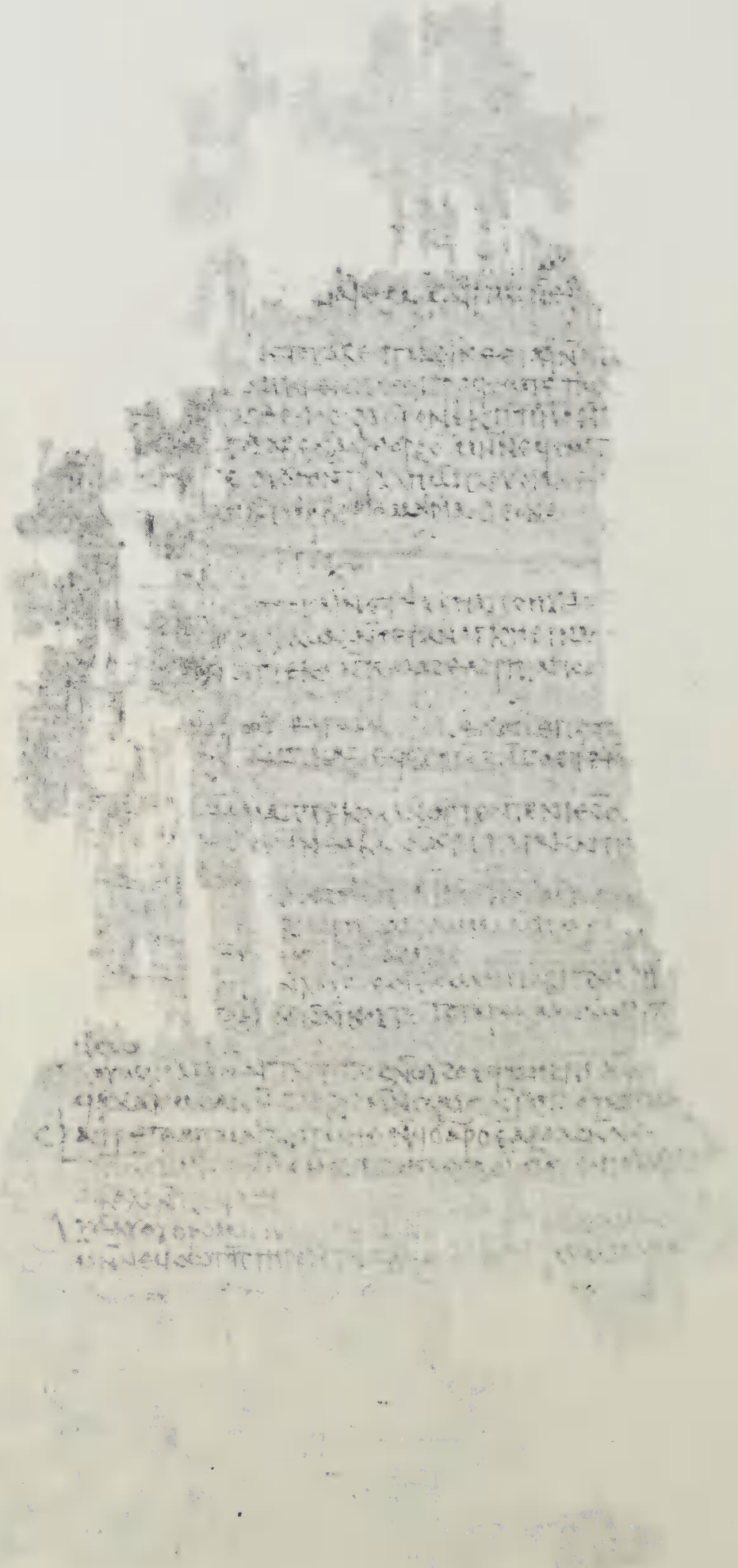
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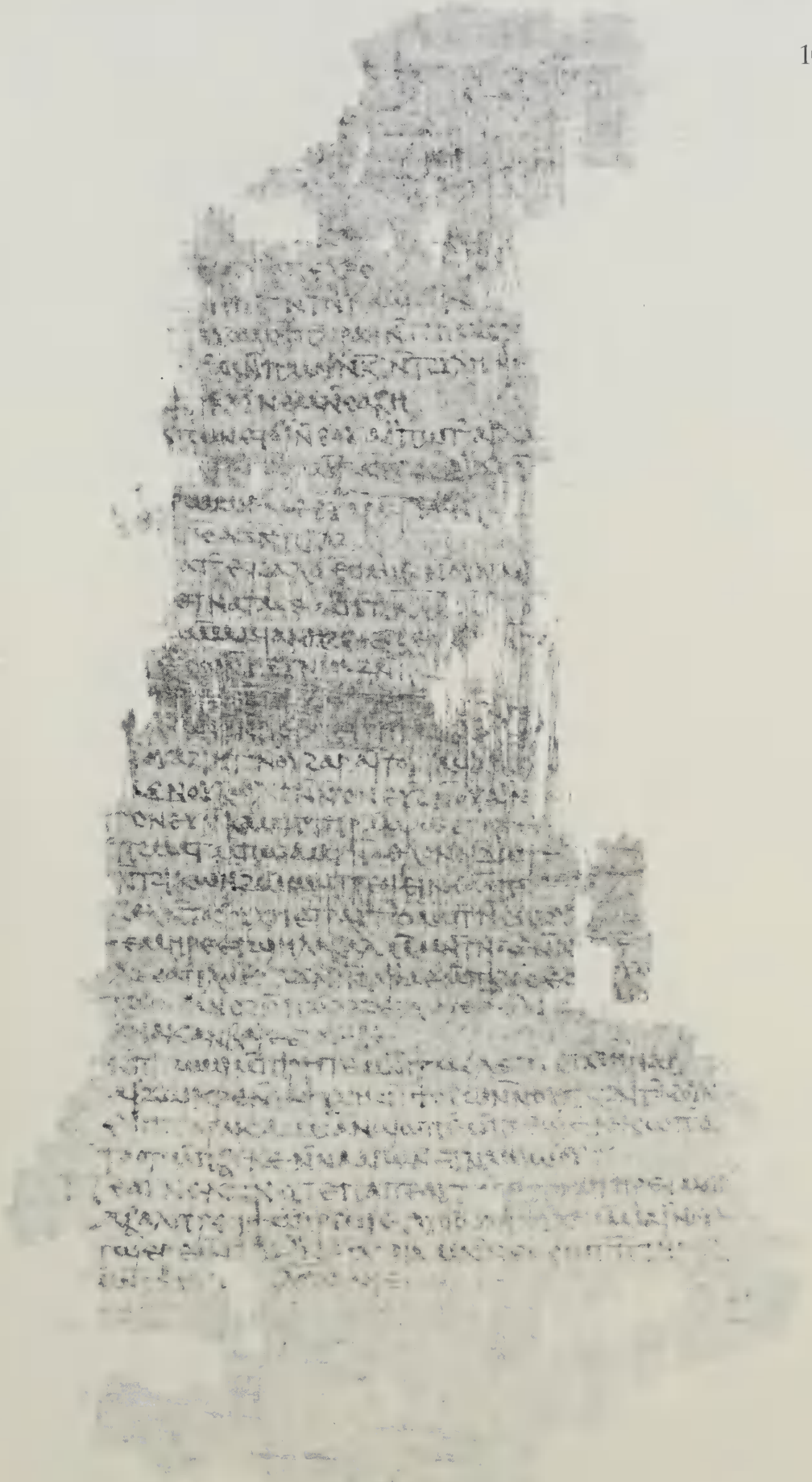


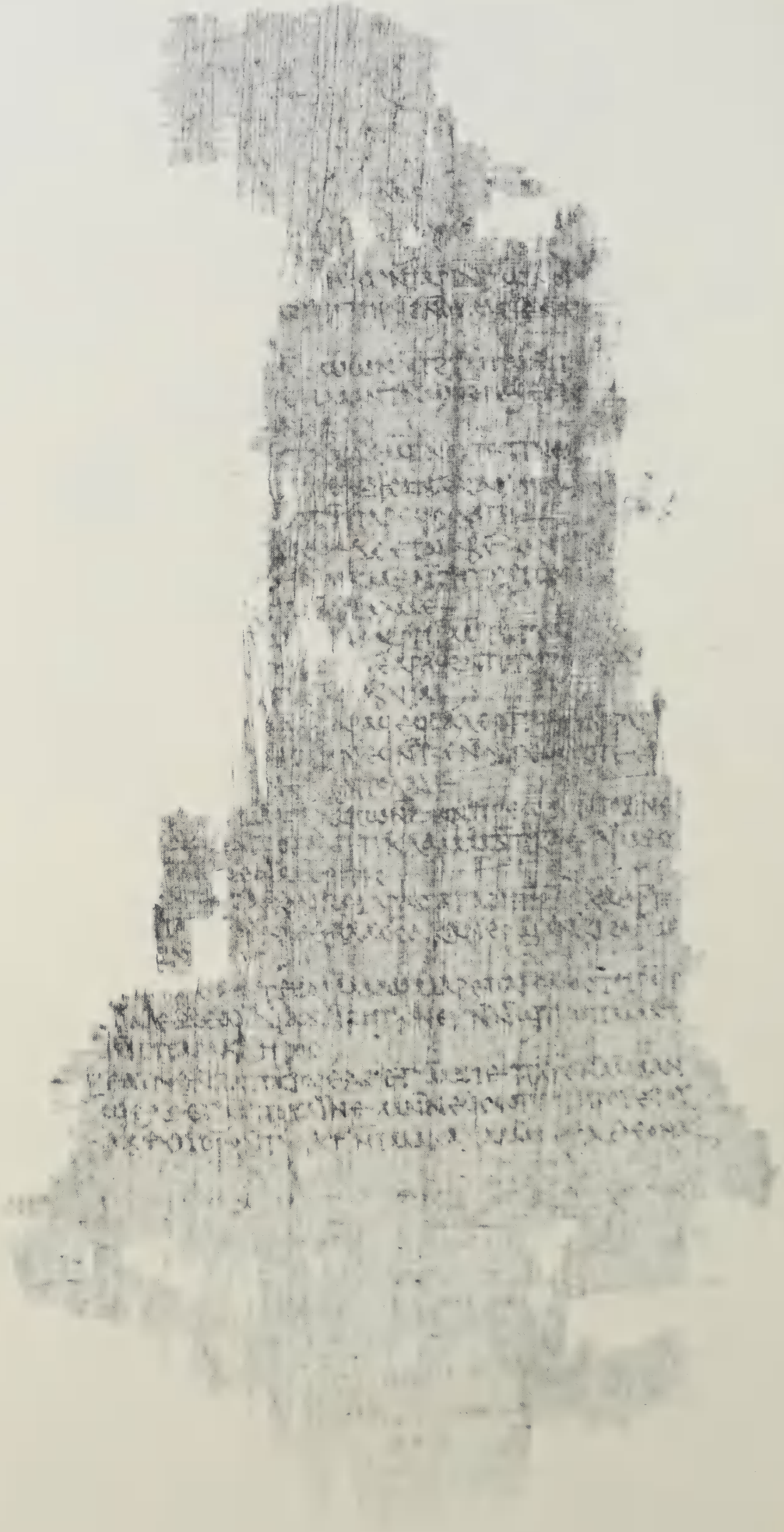


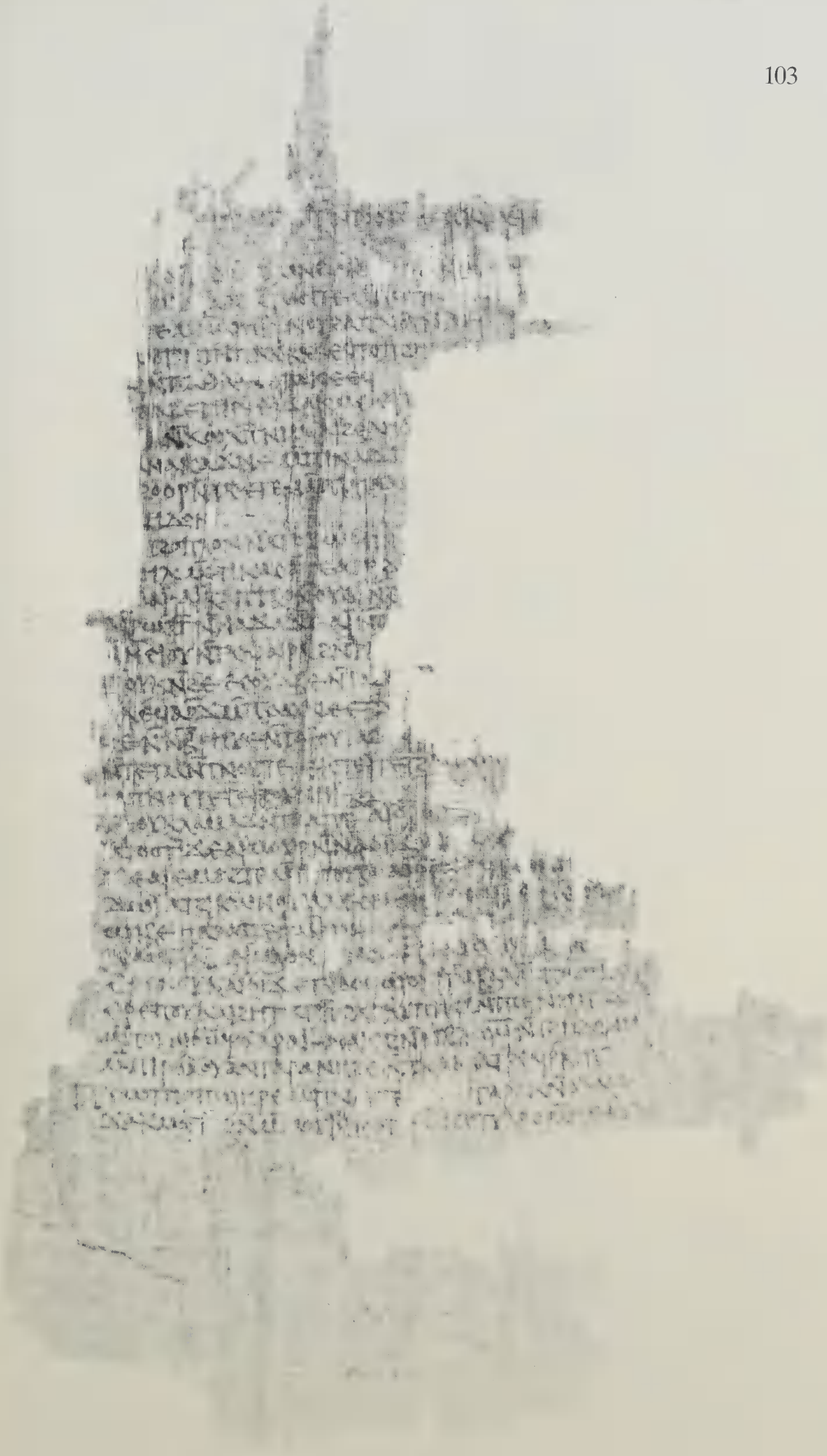


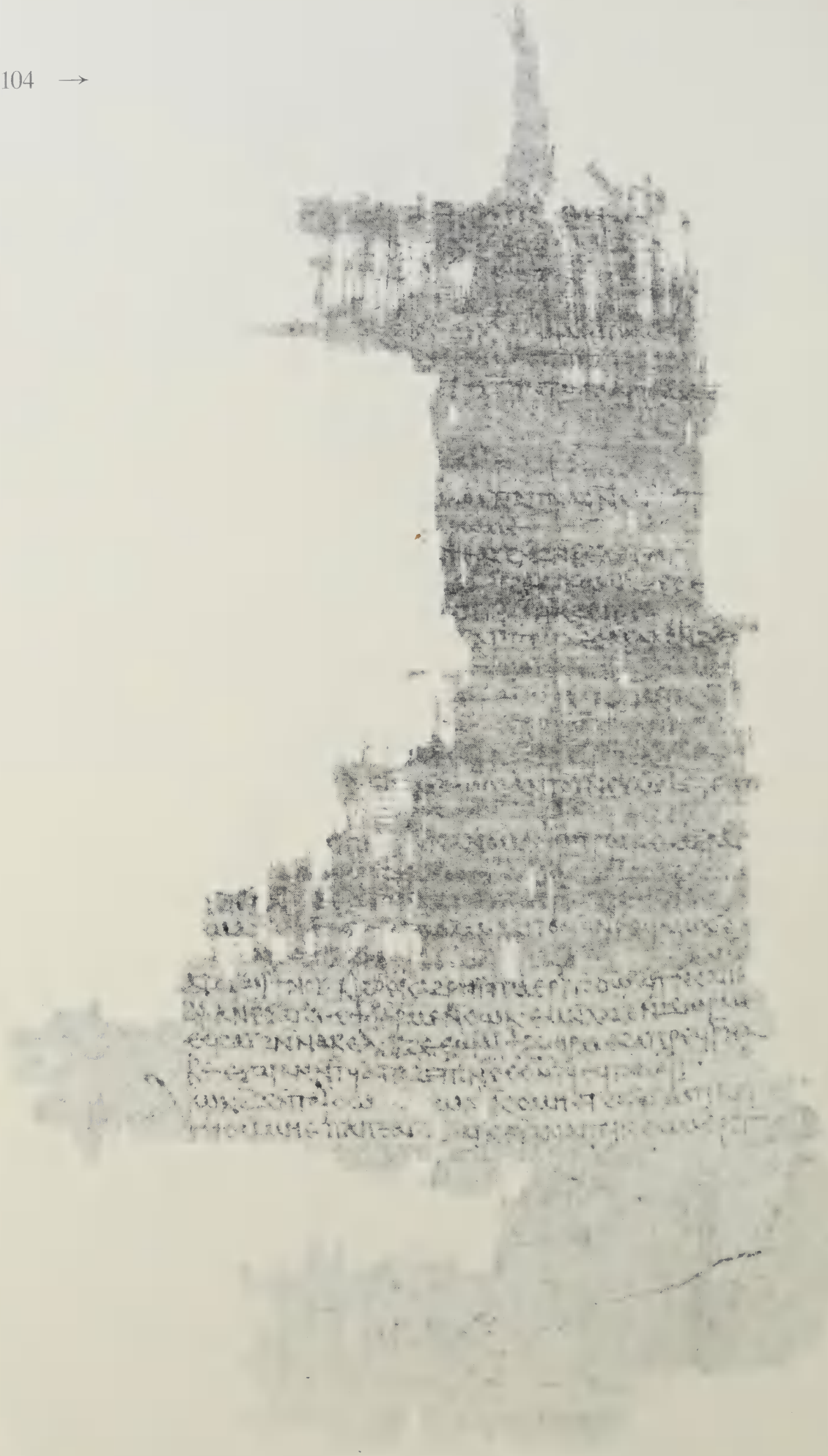


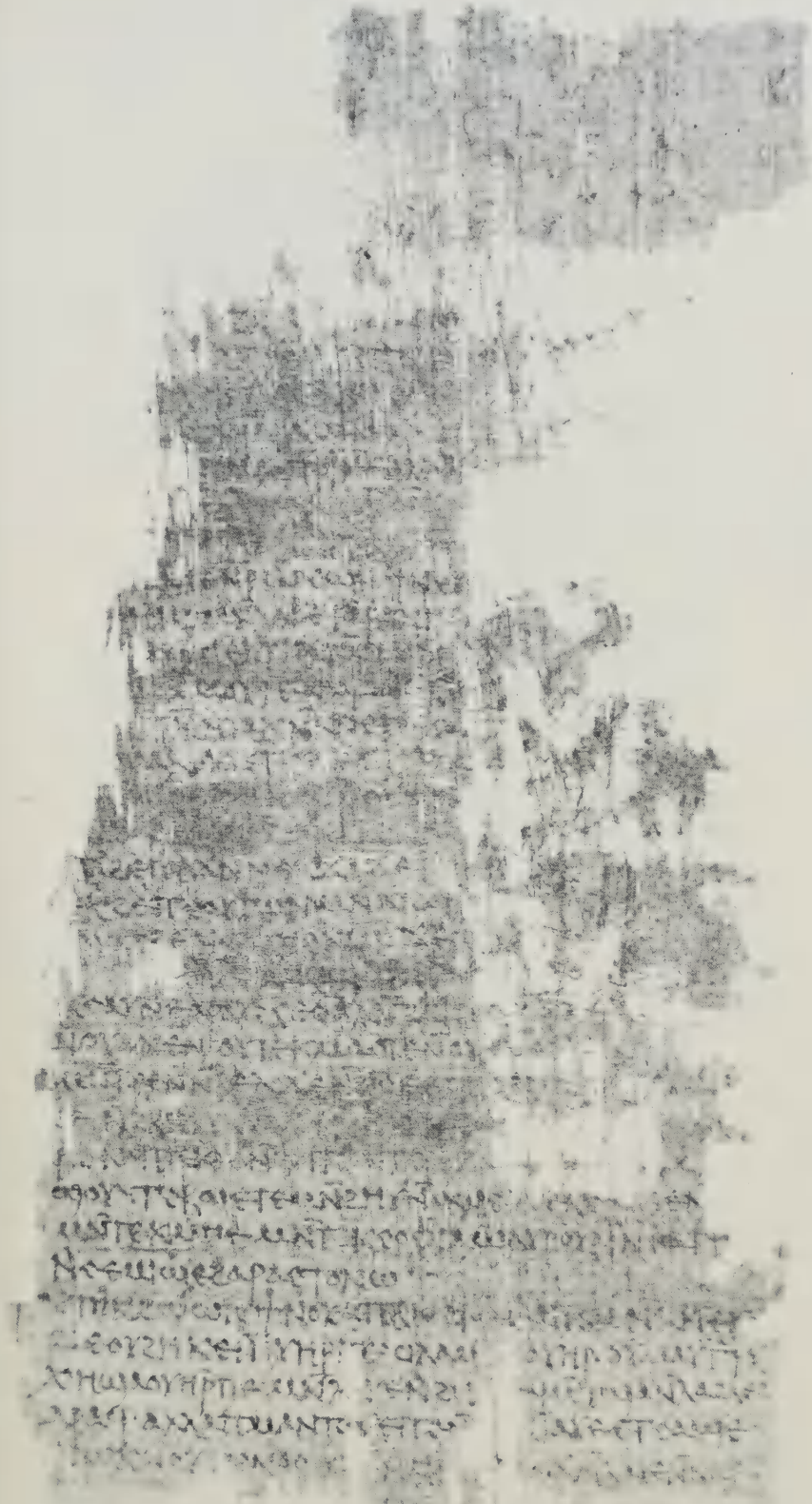


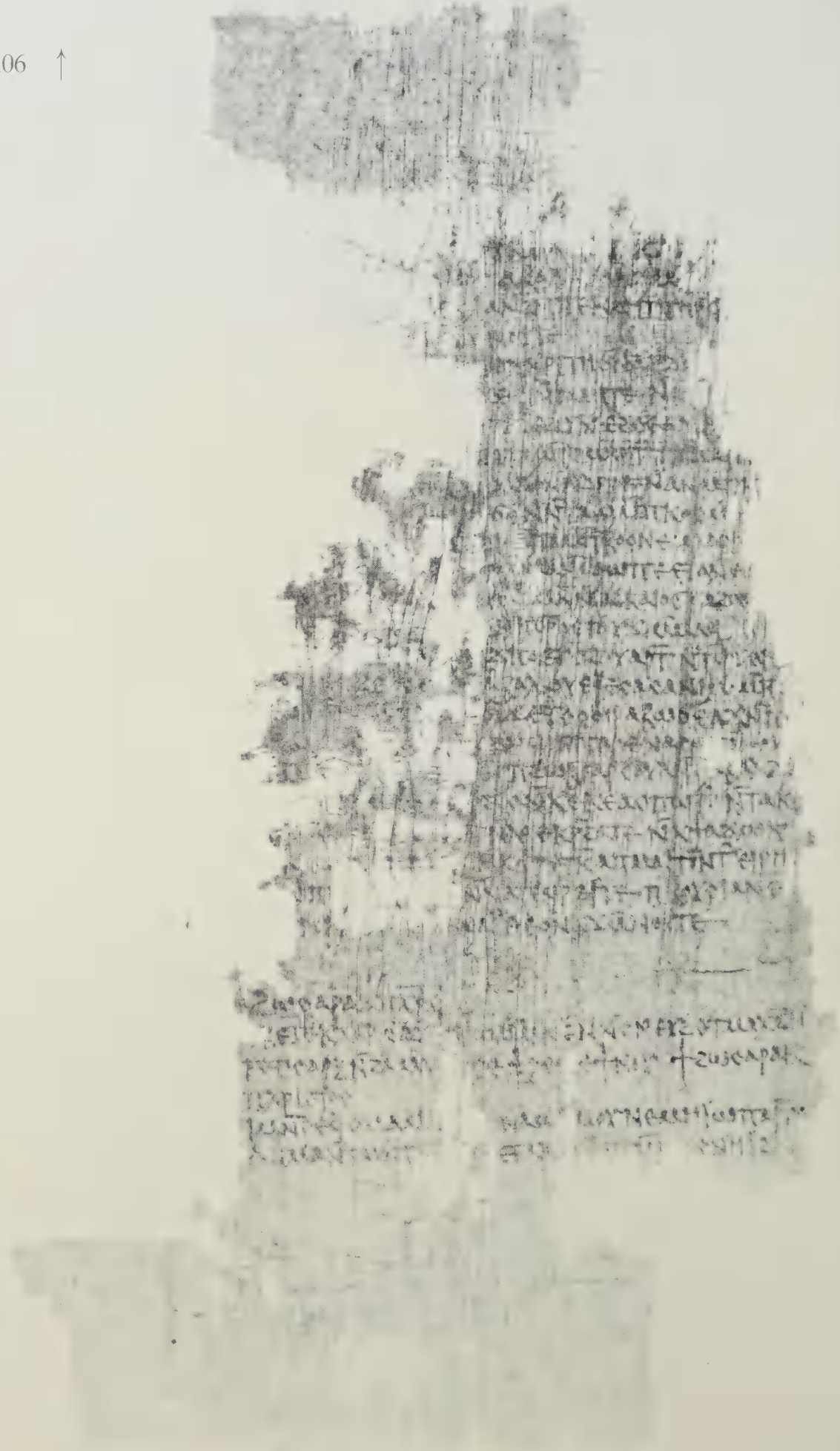


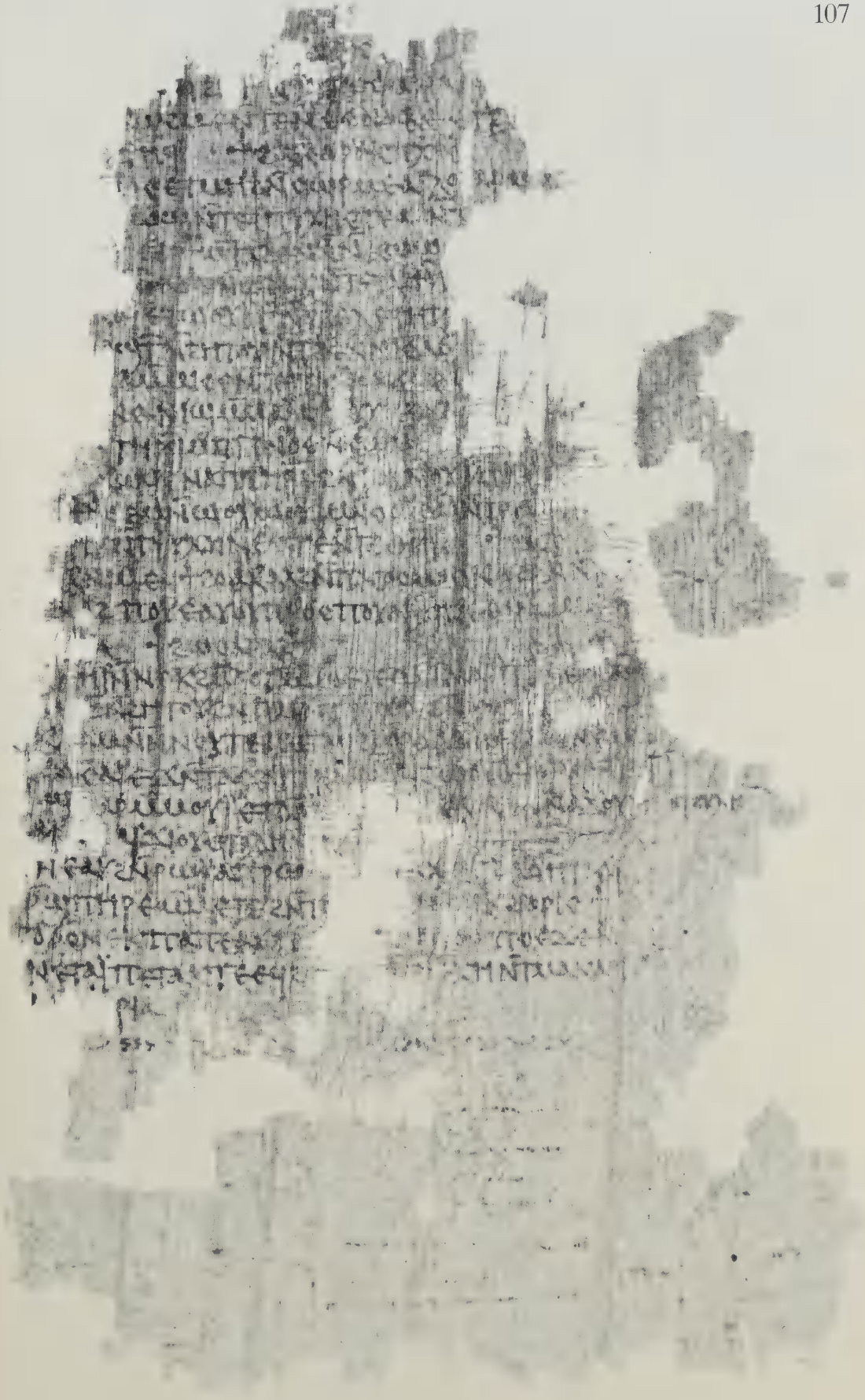


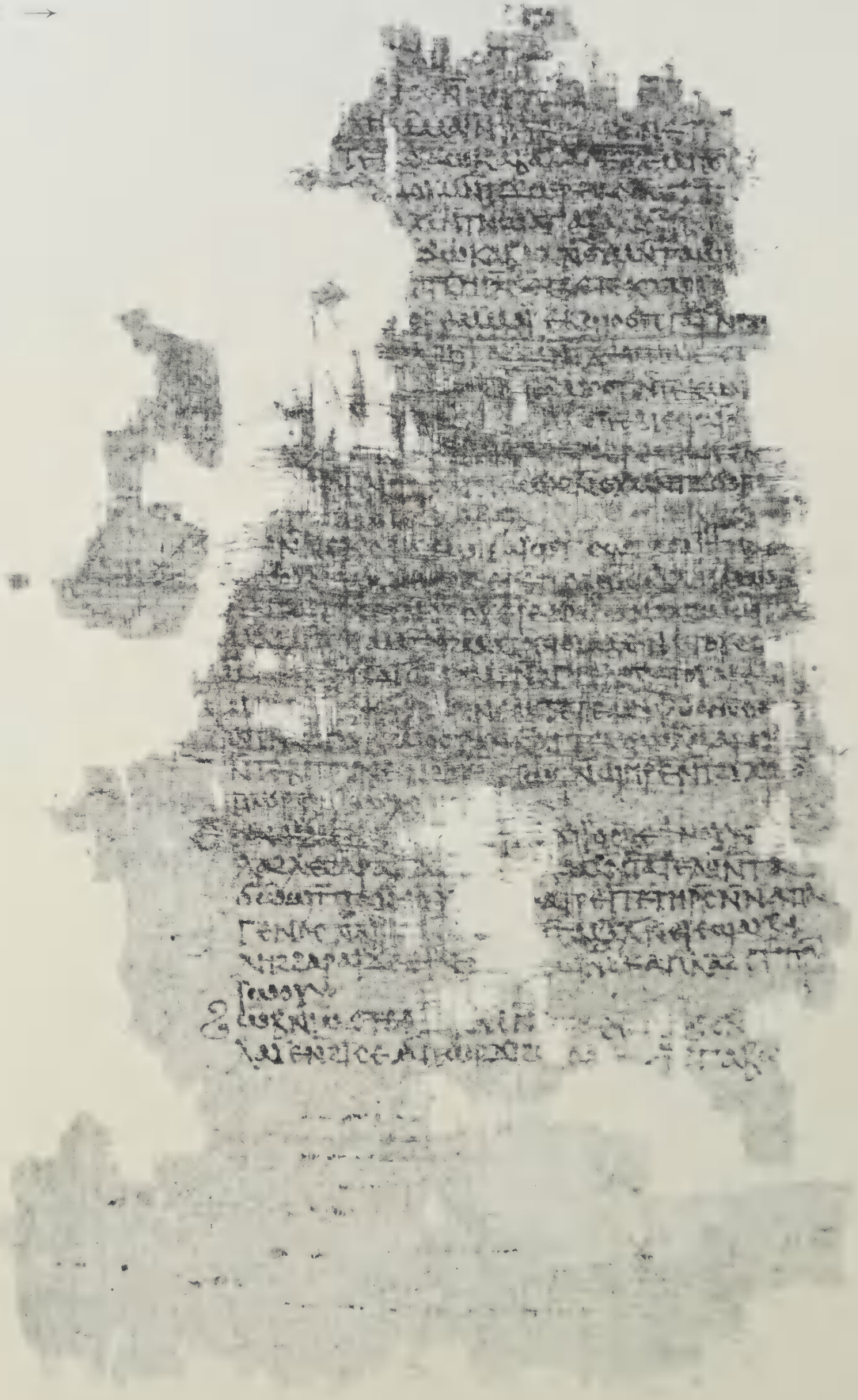


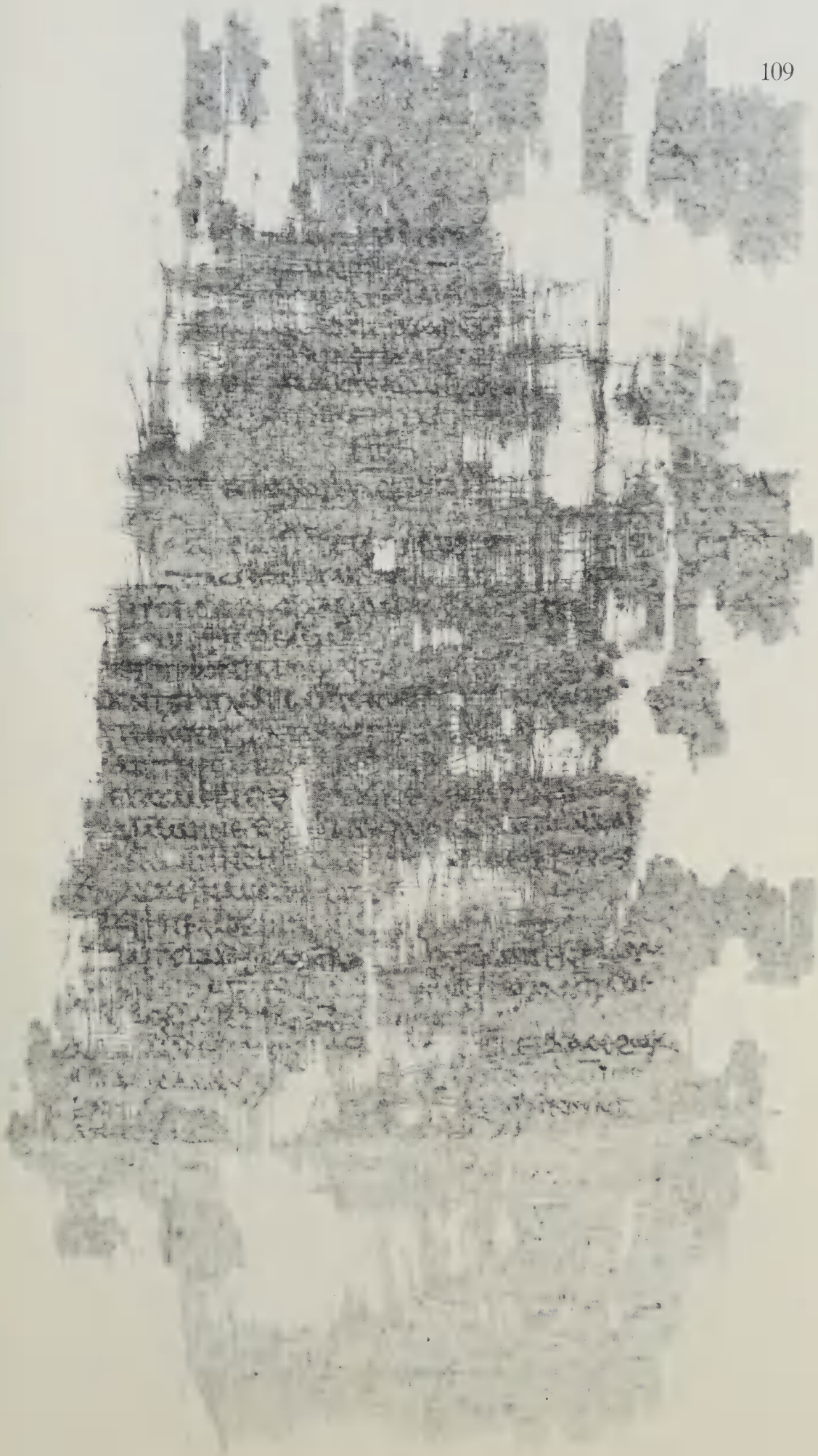


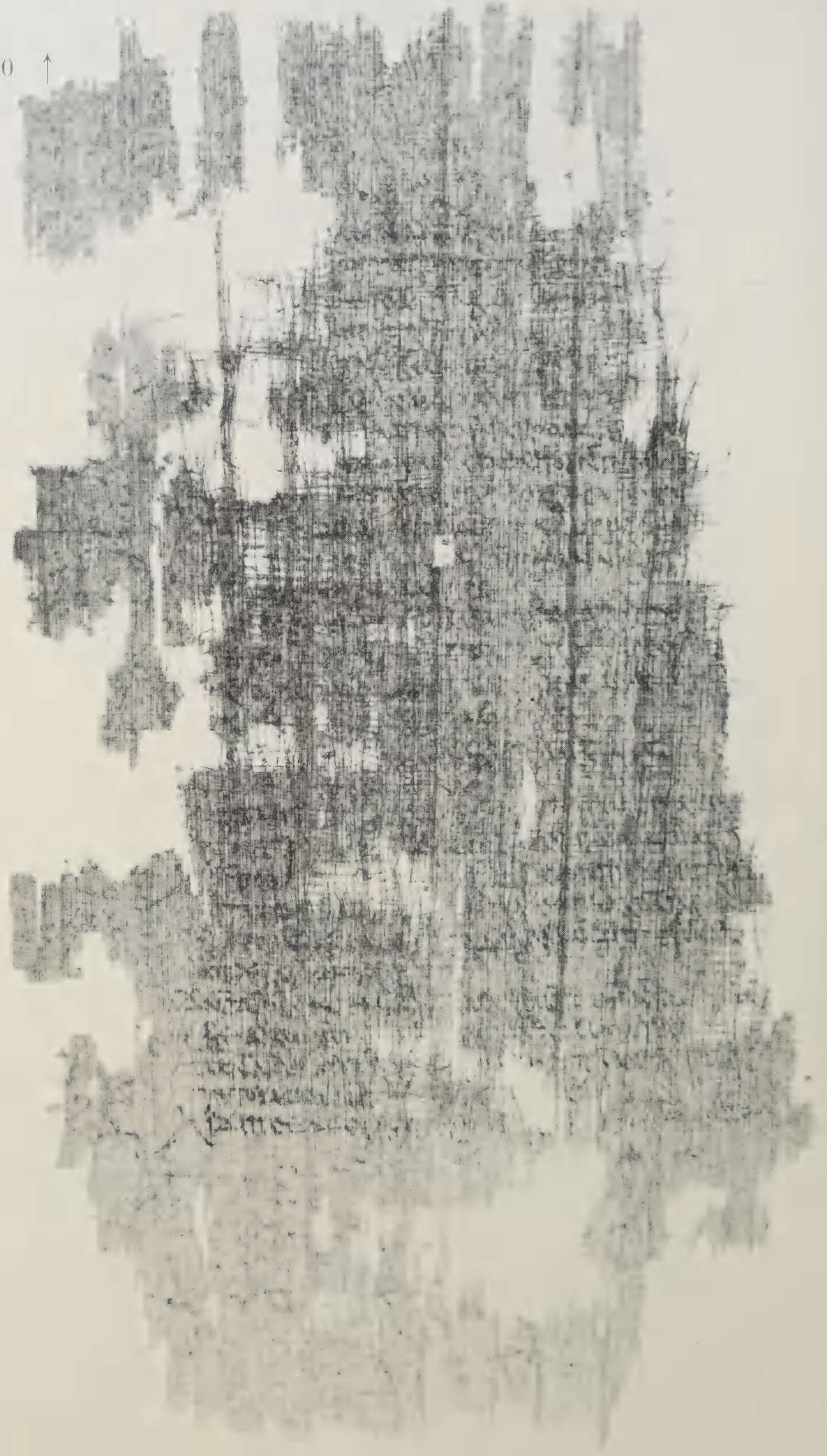


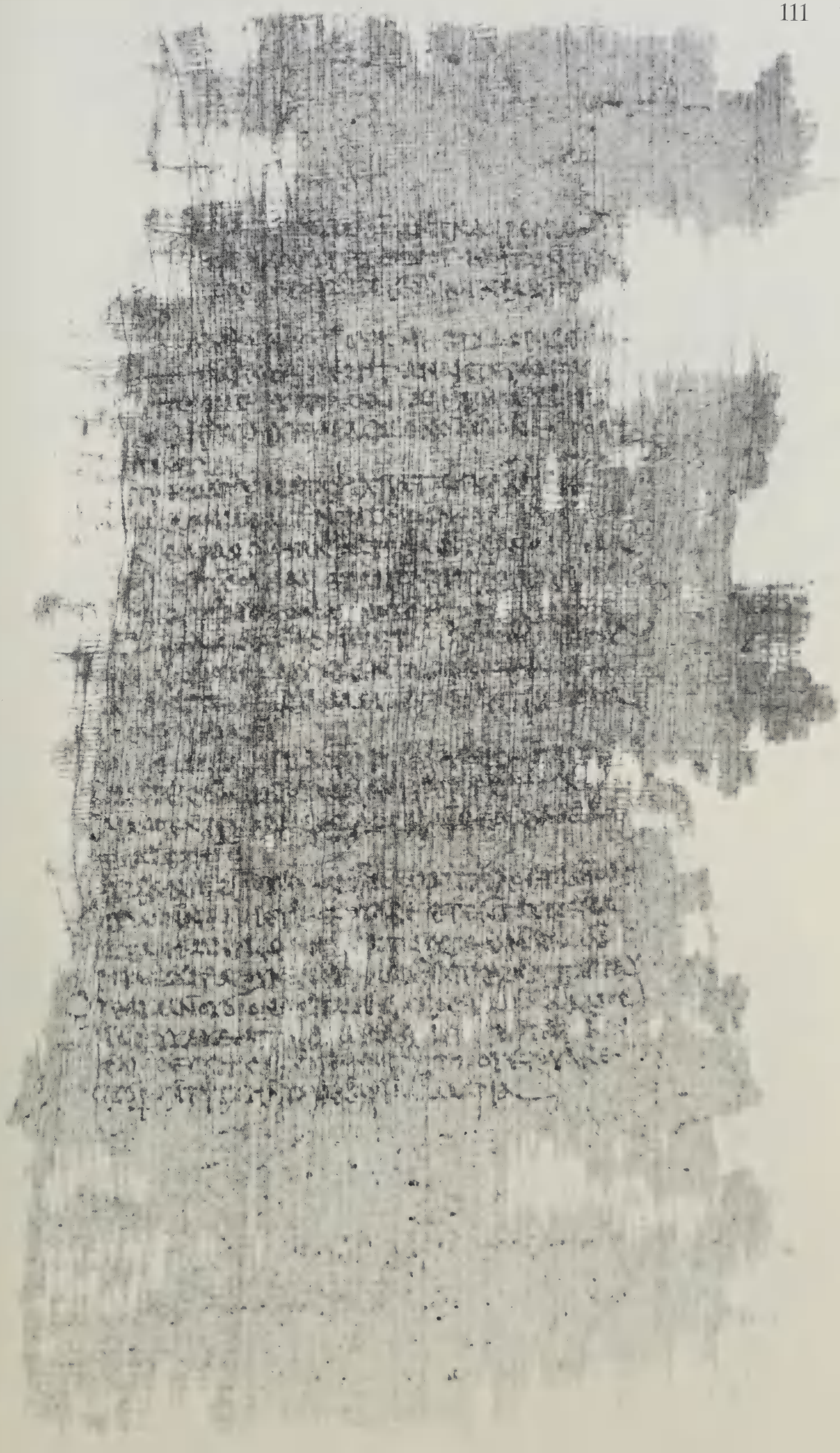


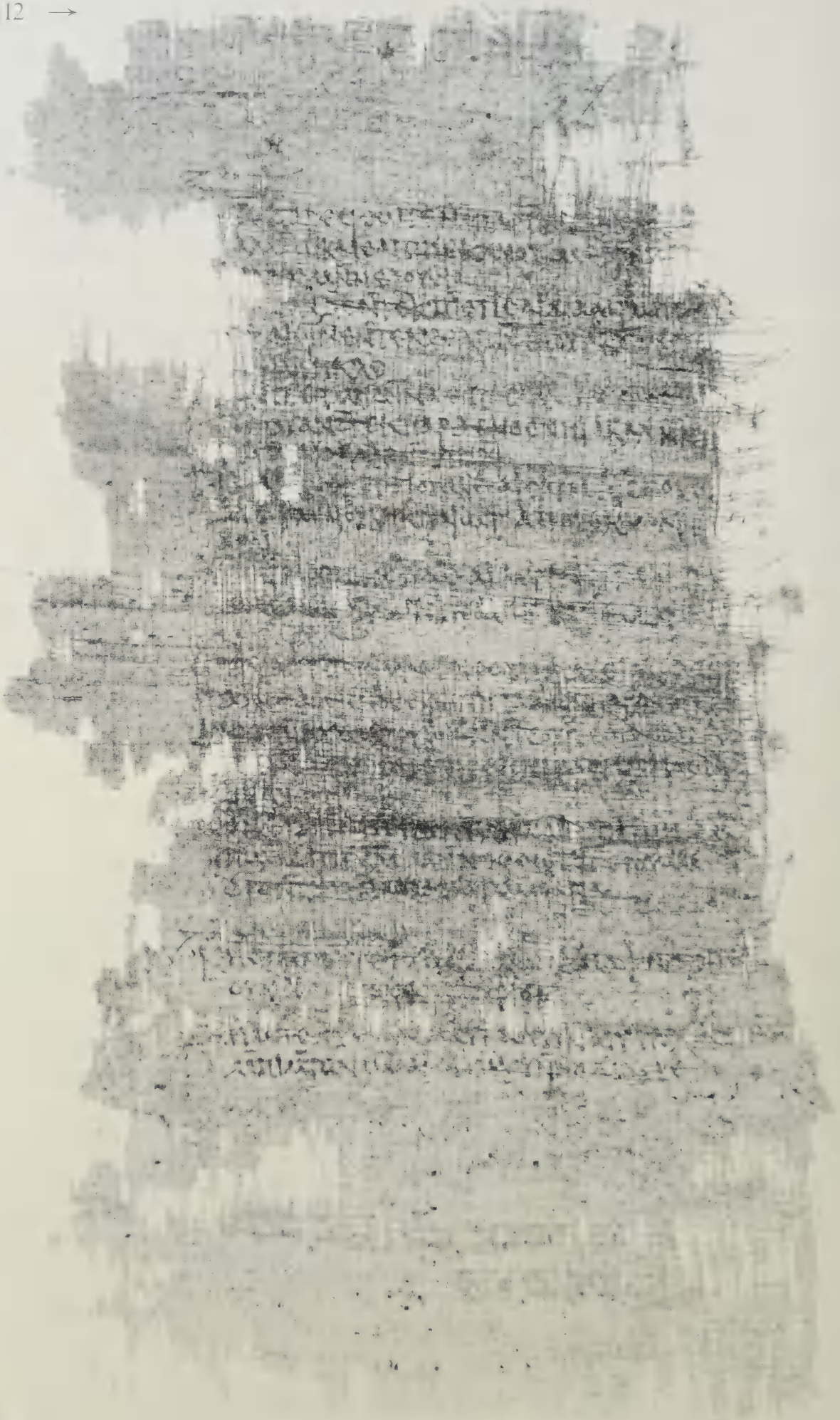


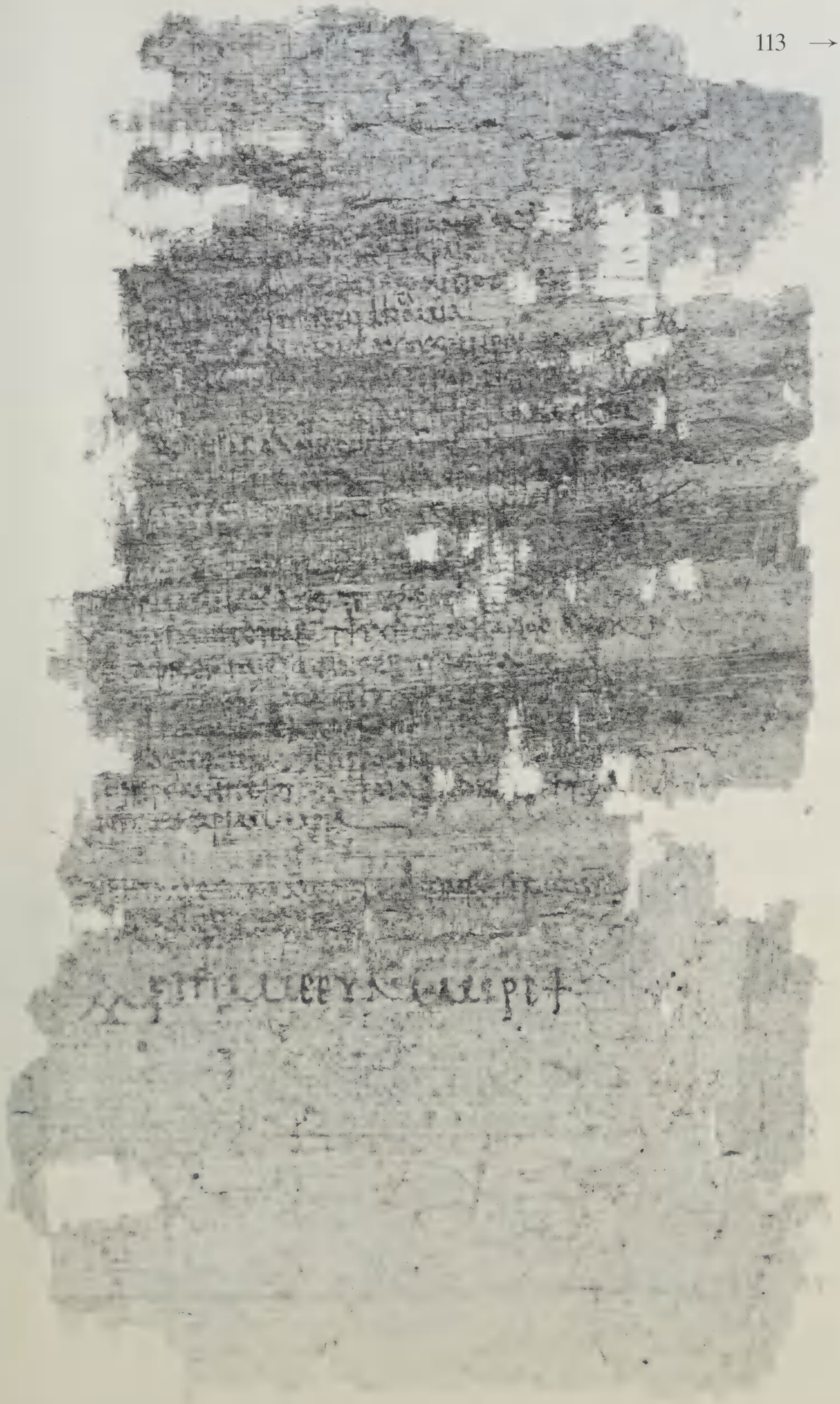


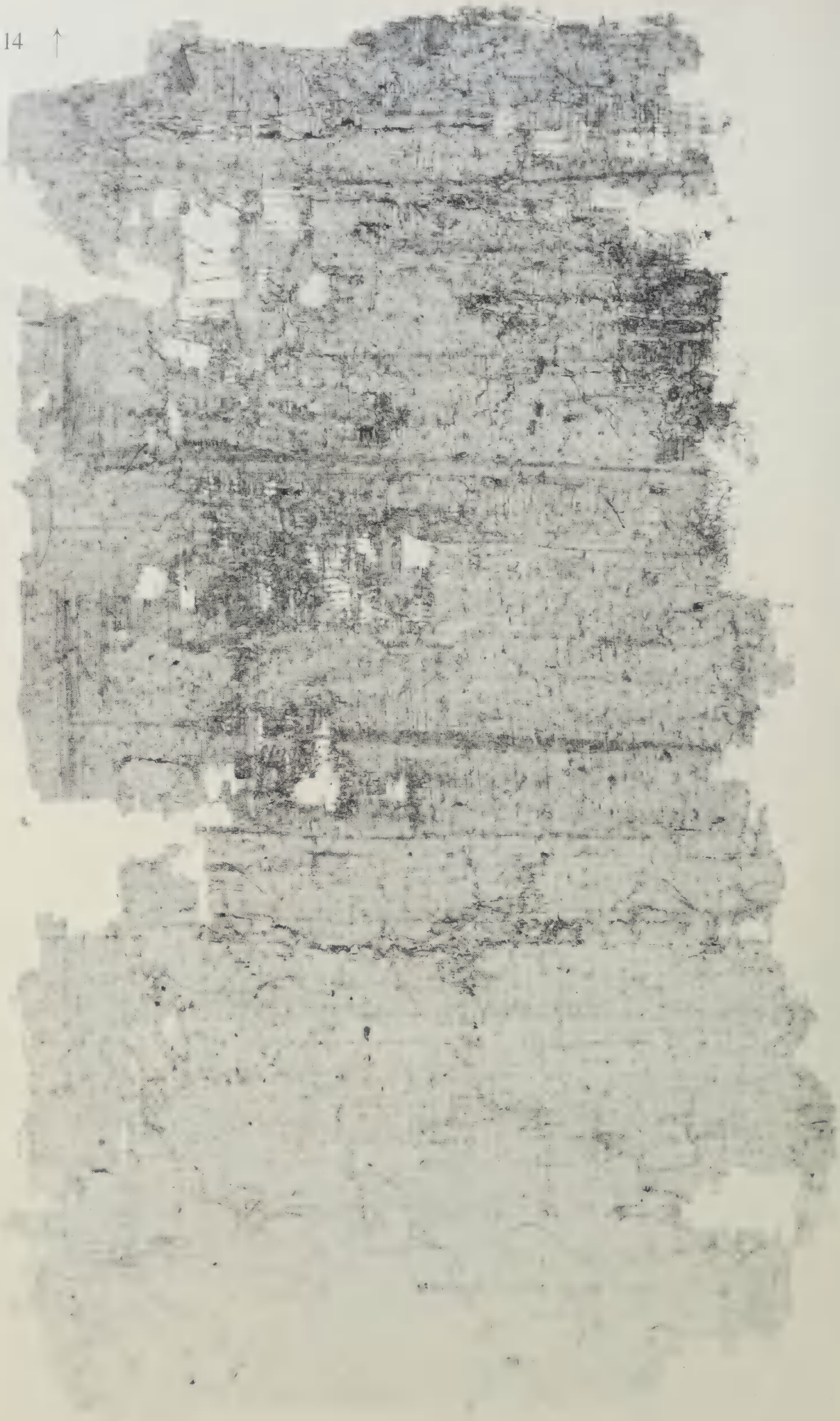




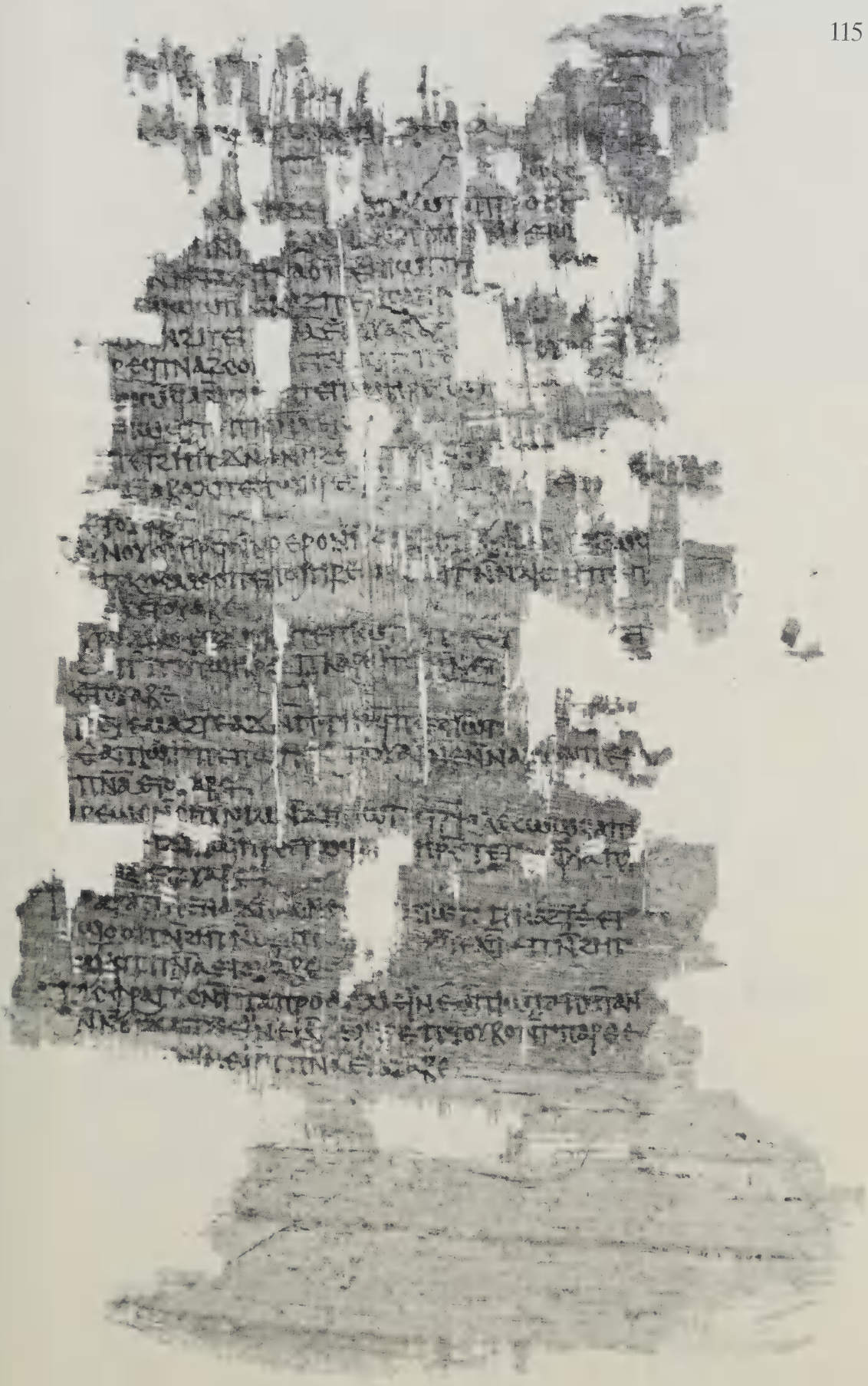


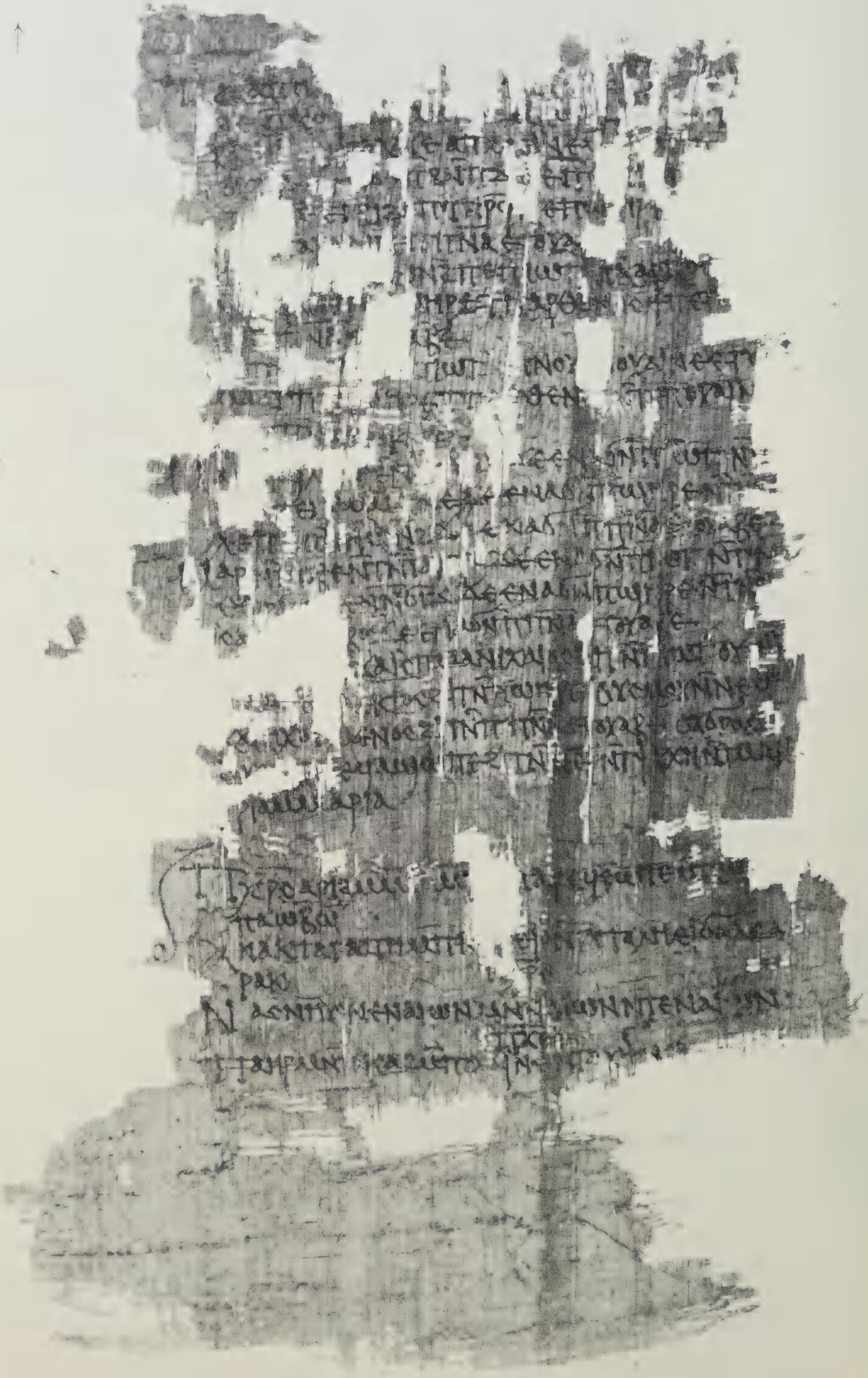


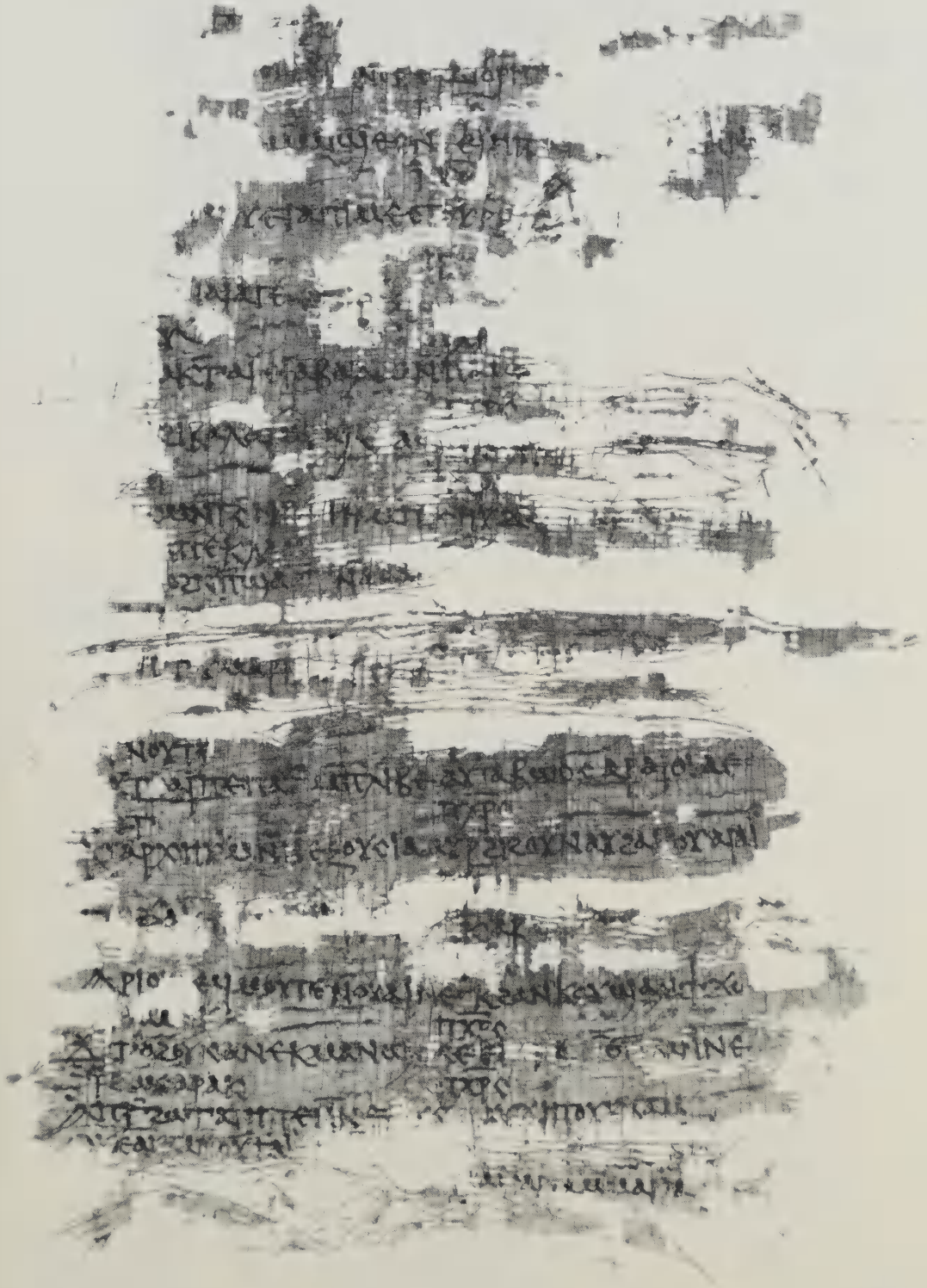




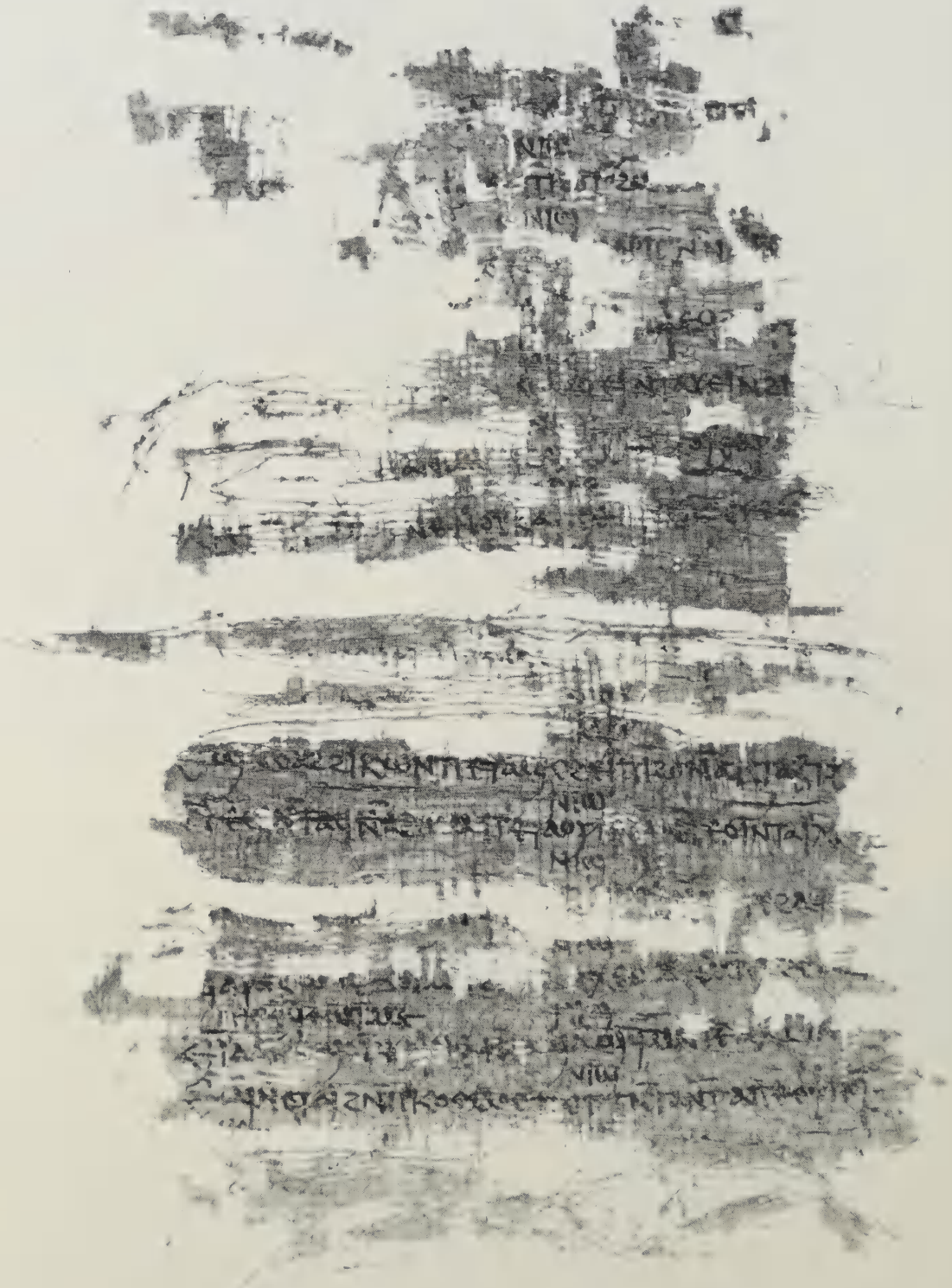
[Pagina omnino vacat. Subsequens folium, quod hodie deest, item vacuum fuisse testatur Allberrius.]

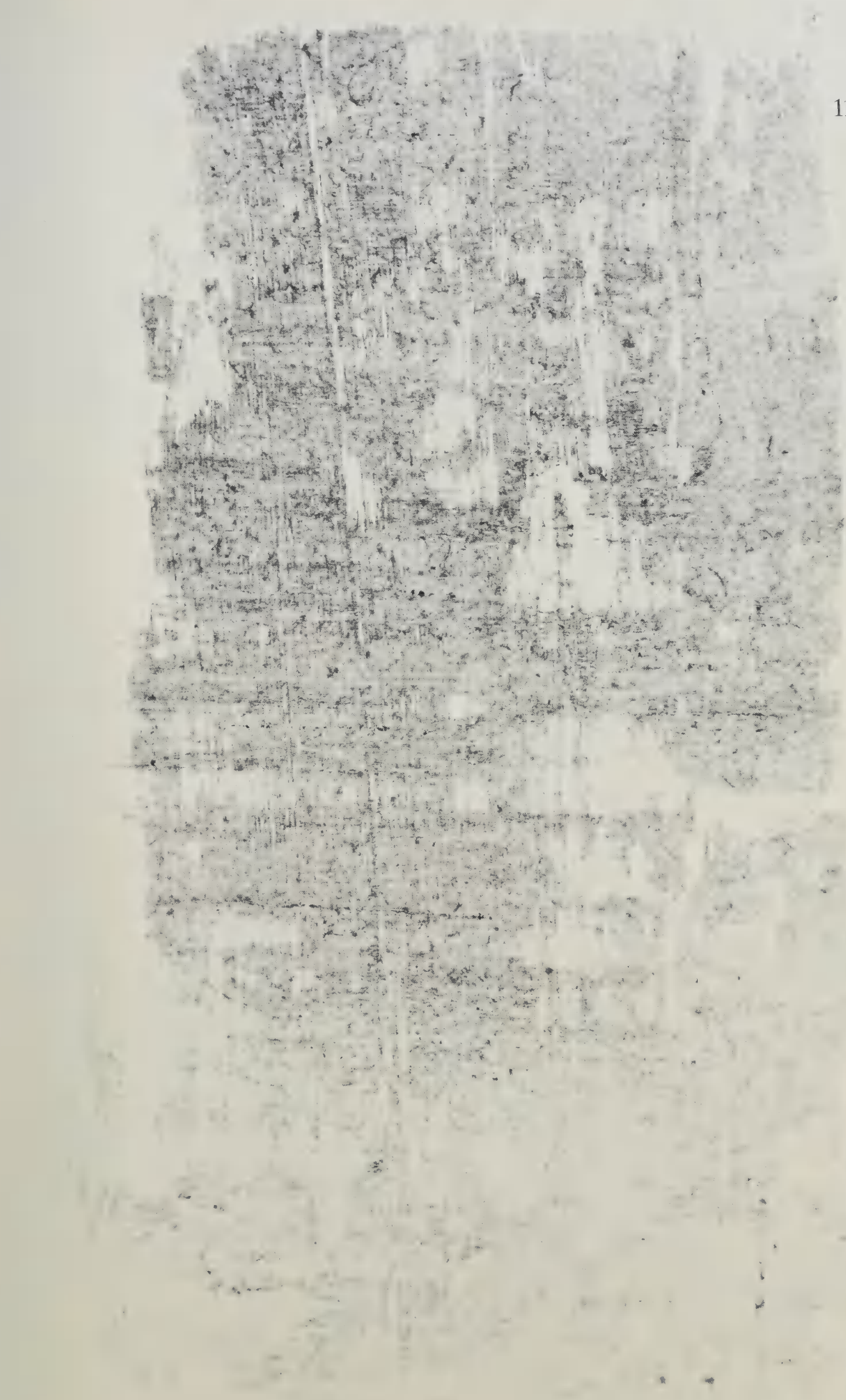






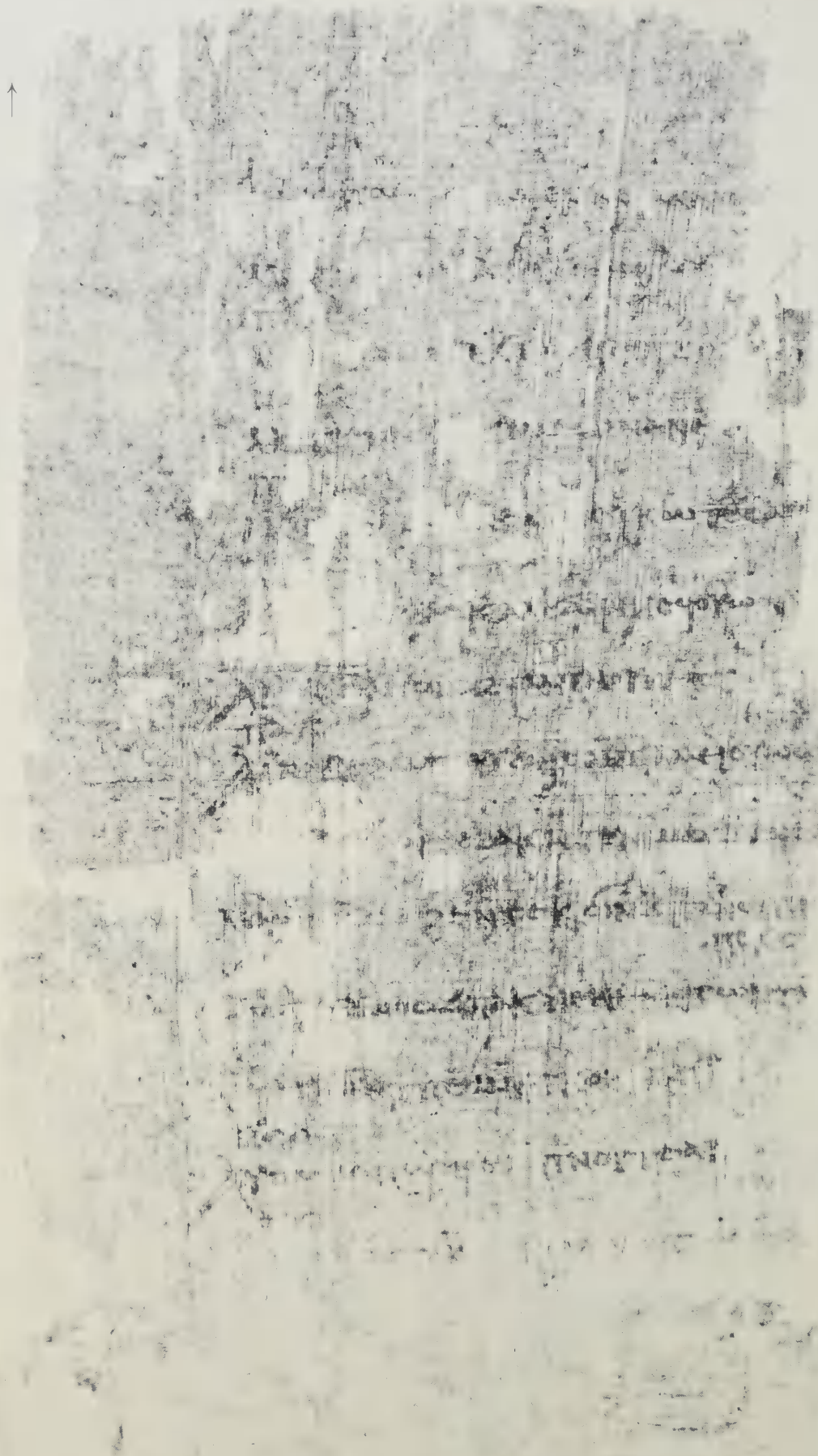
[In foliis separandis (A.D. MDCCCCXXXV) pars paginae periit. Superest quod vides.]

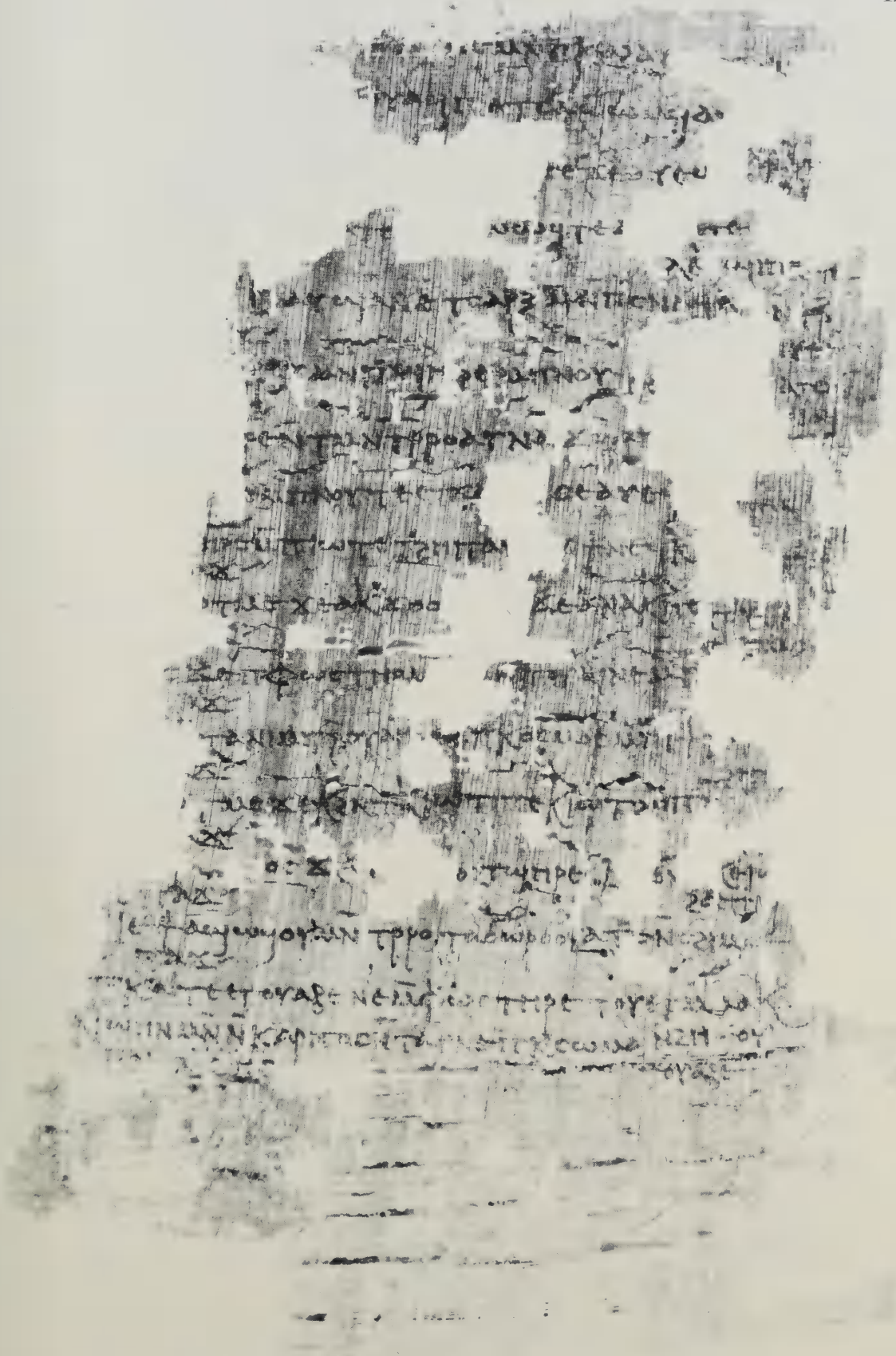


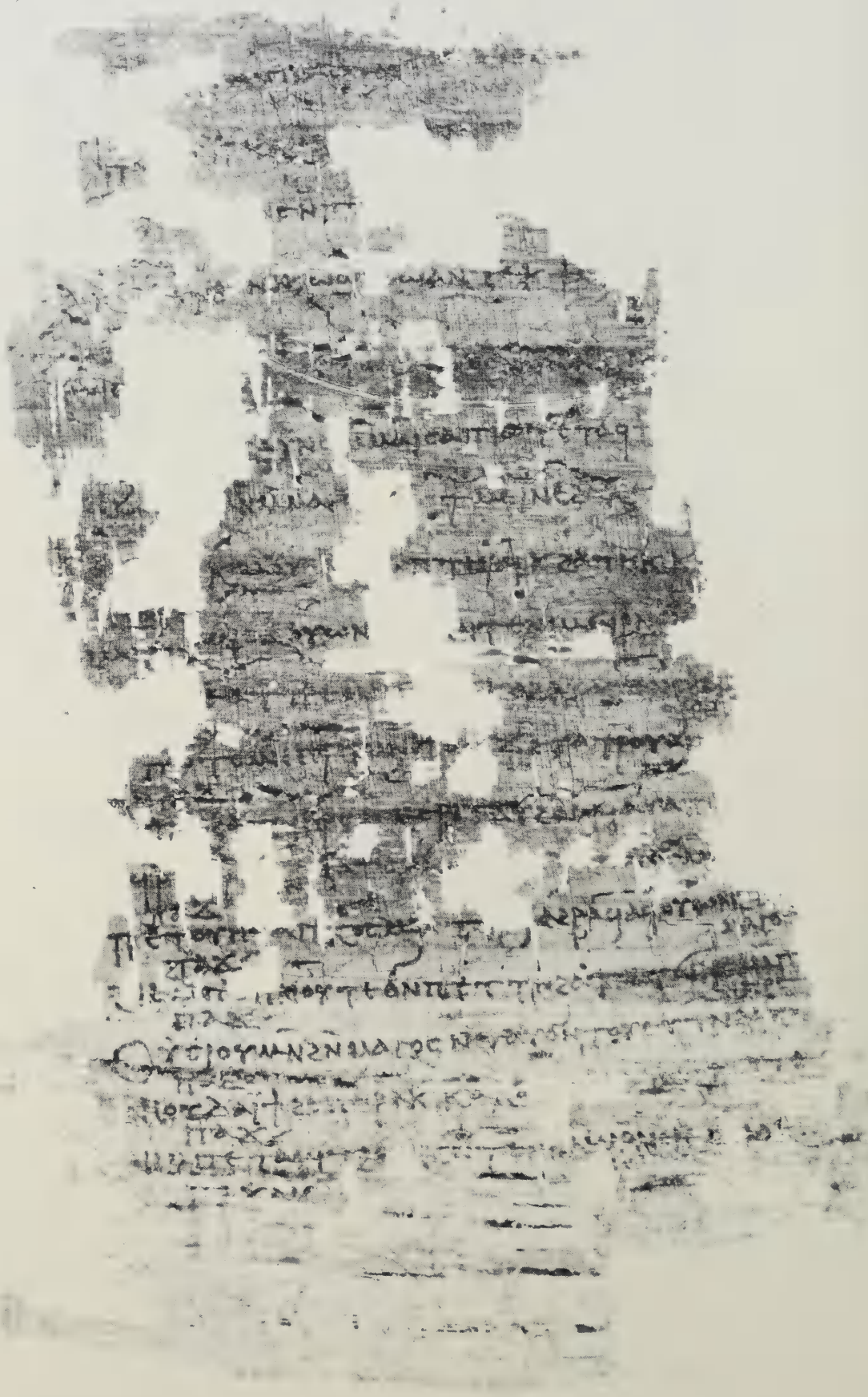


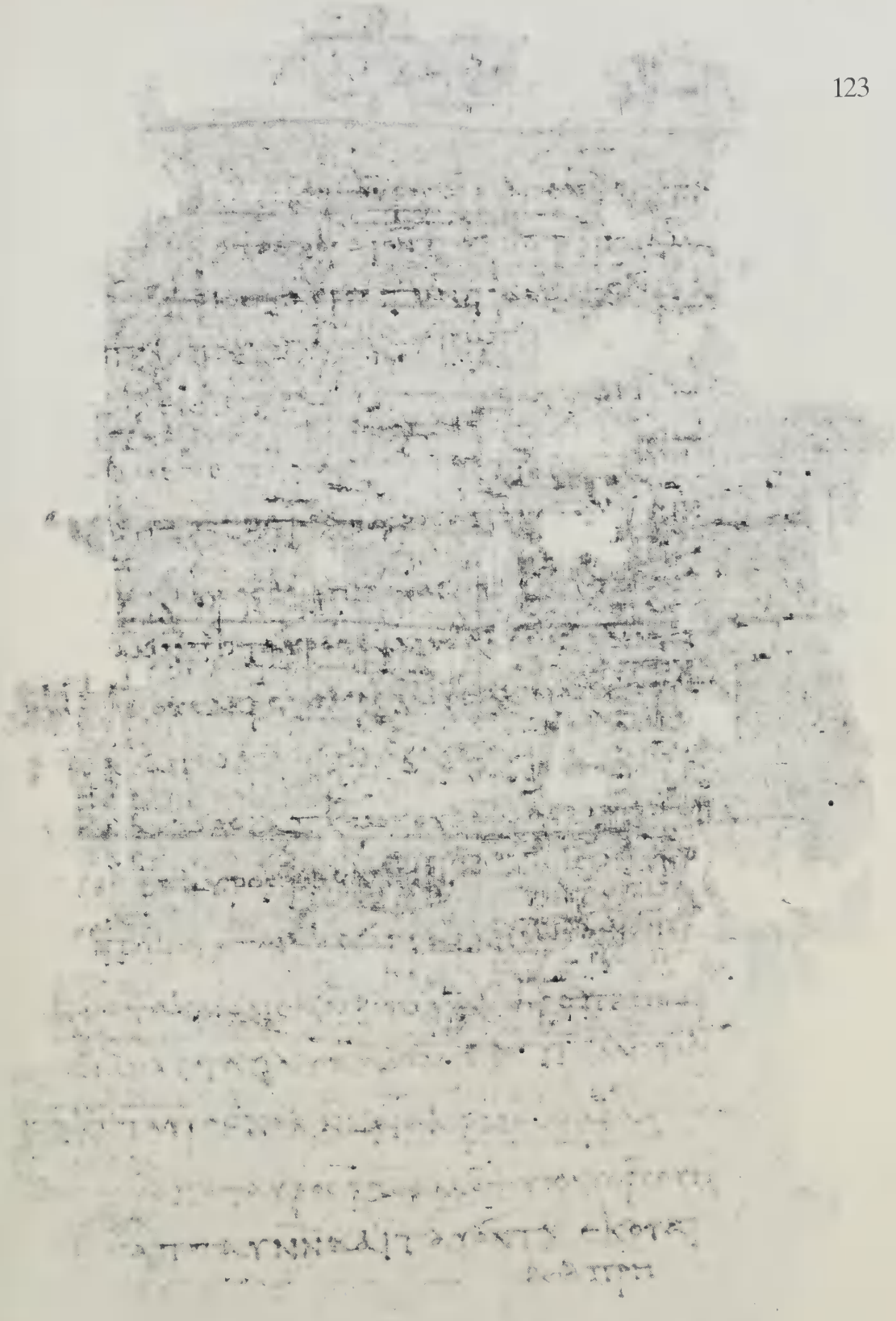
119 →

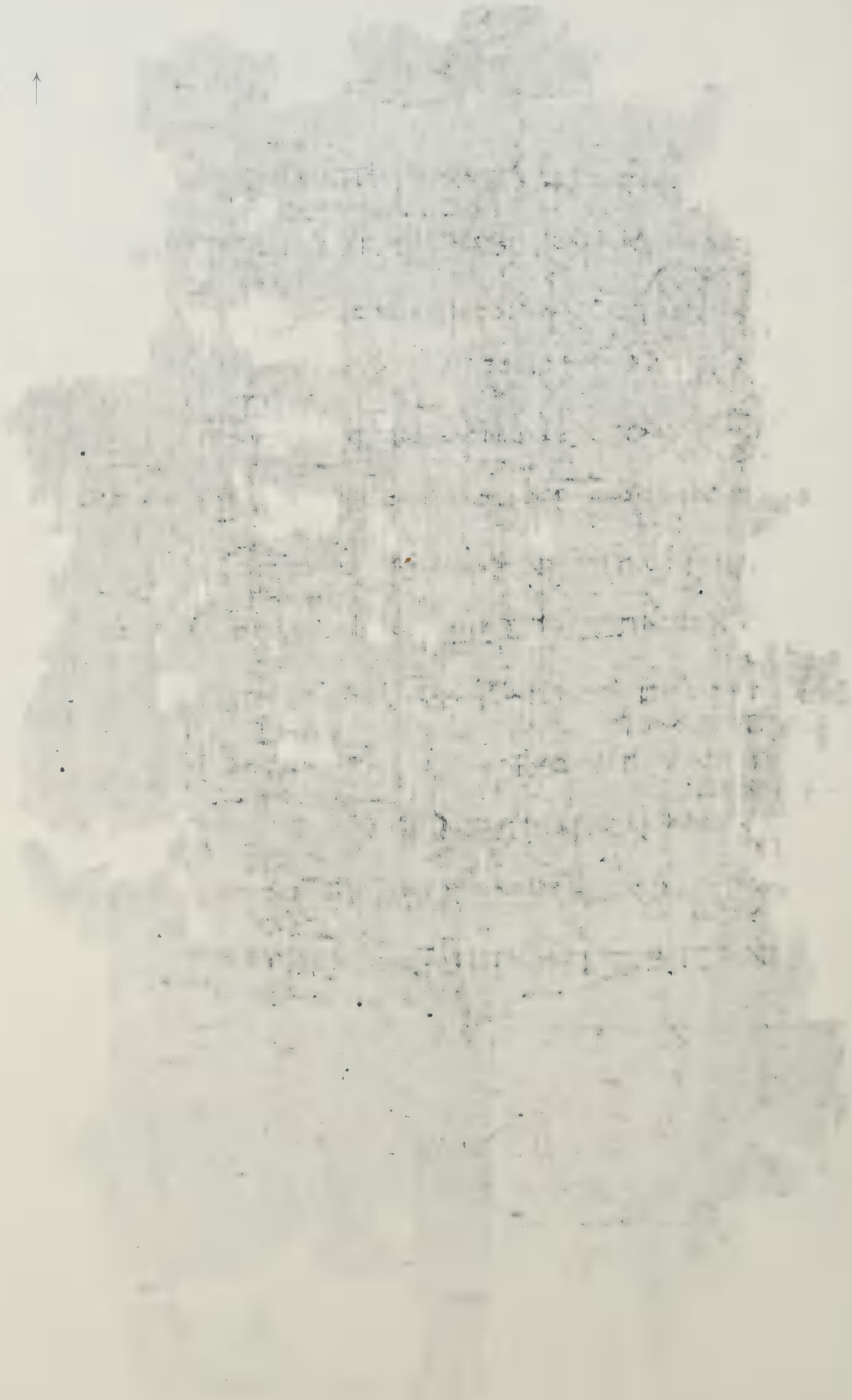
[Allberrius (p. 118 ipsius editionis) adnotavit: «P. 119 non legi potest», paginamque omisit.]



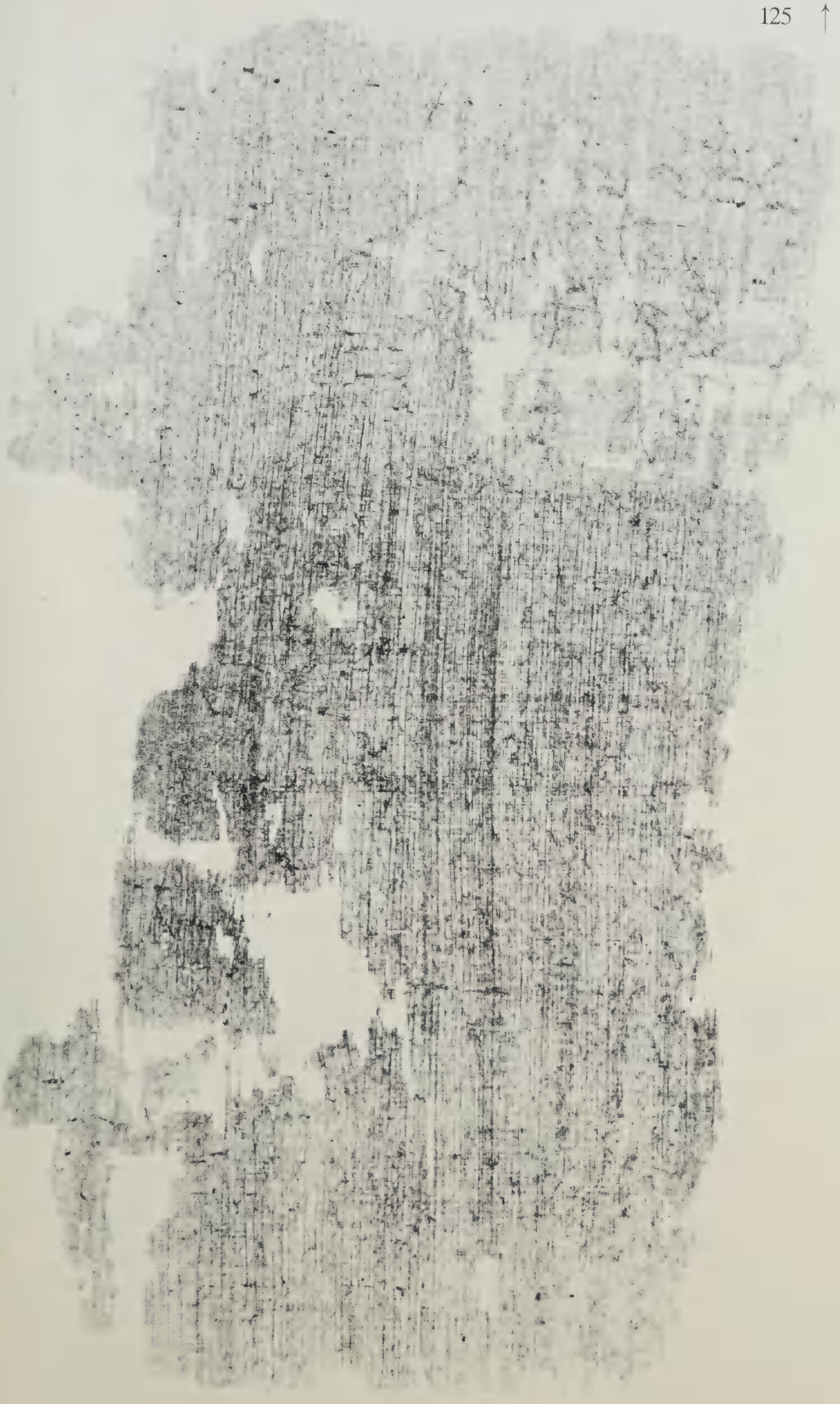




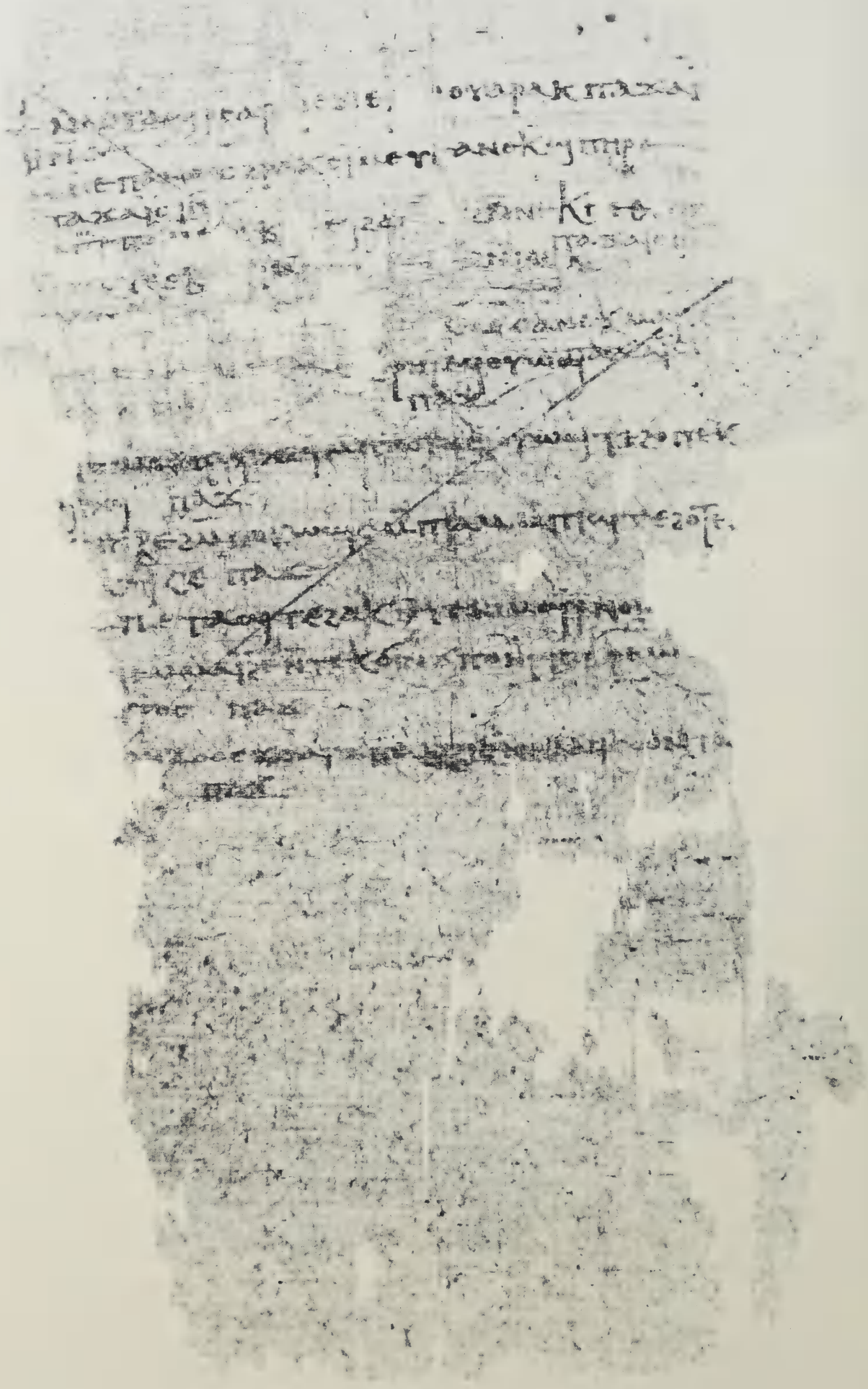




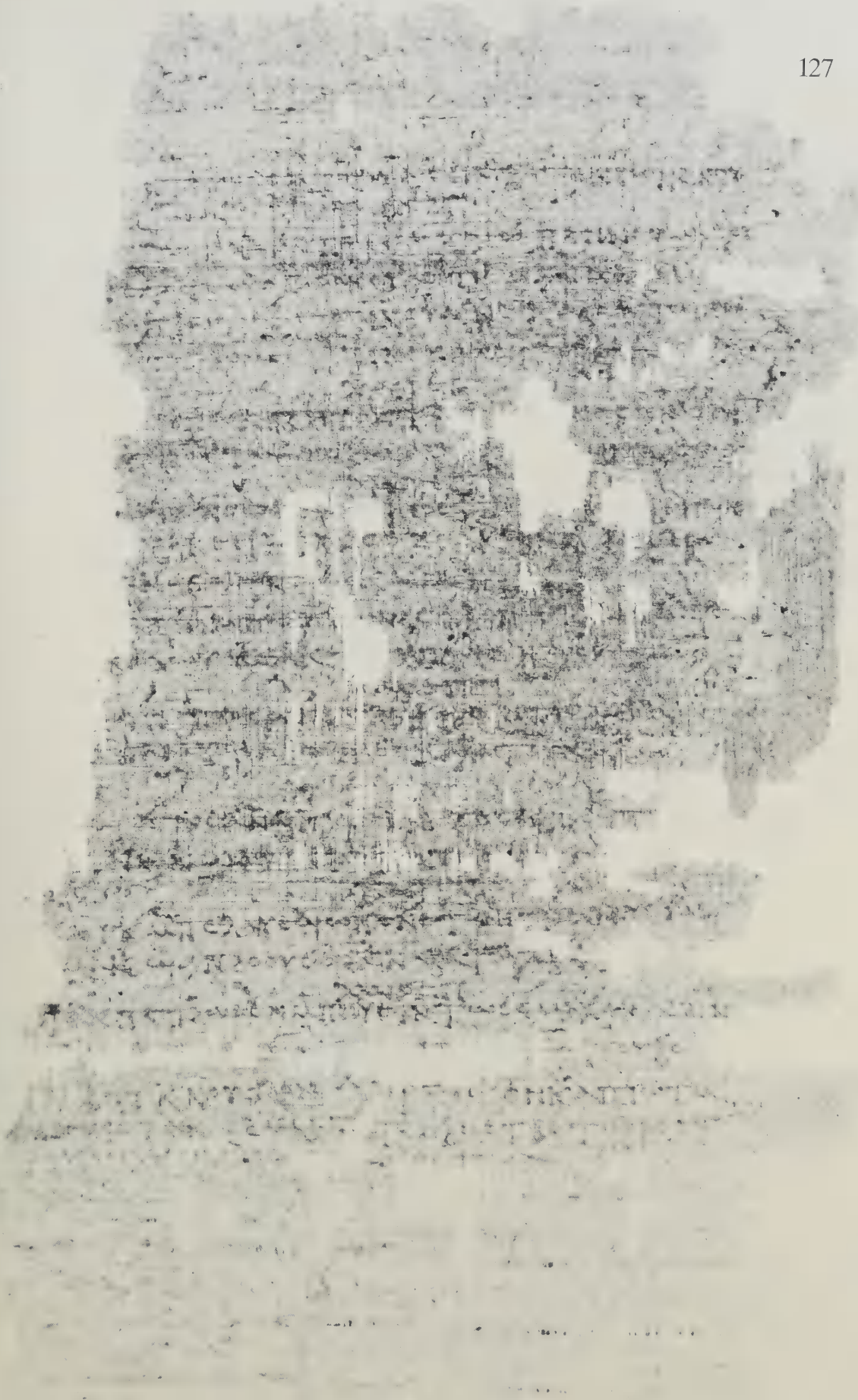
[Allberrius (op. l., p. 124) adnotavit: «Sequuntur quinque paginae vacuae», quarum quatuor deperditae sunt.]

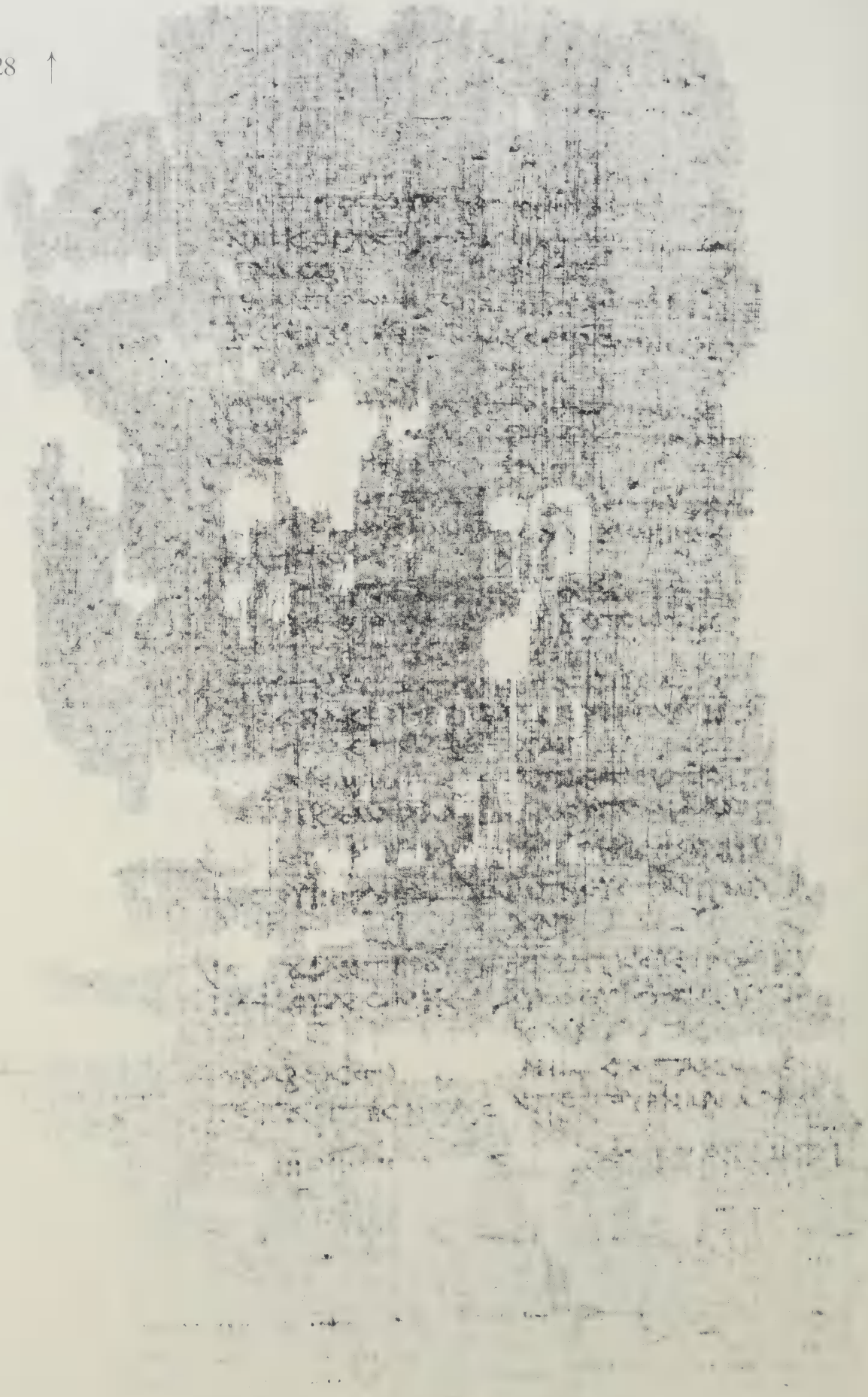


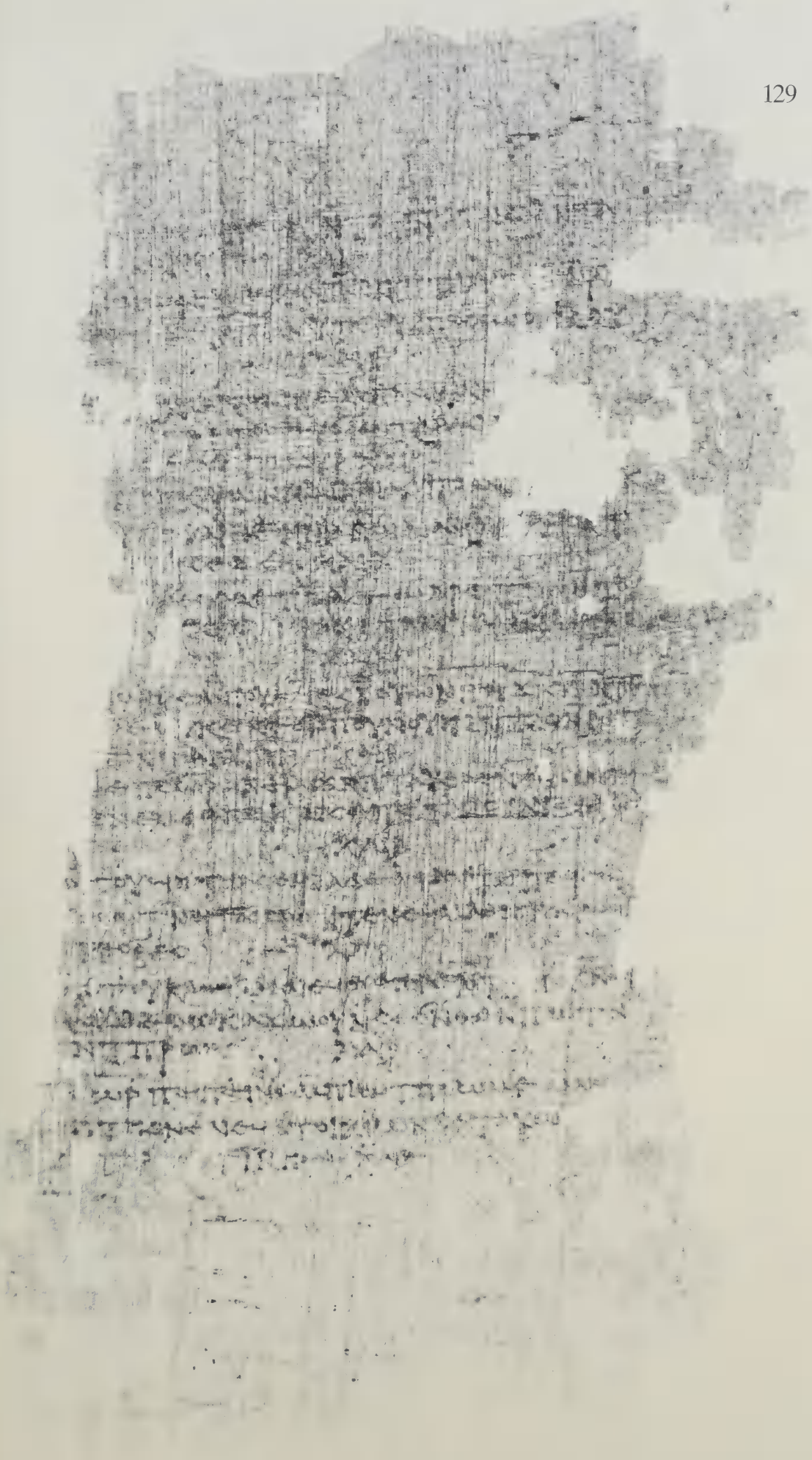
[Pagina omnino vacat.]

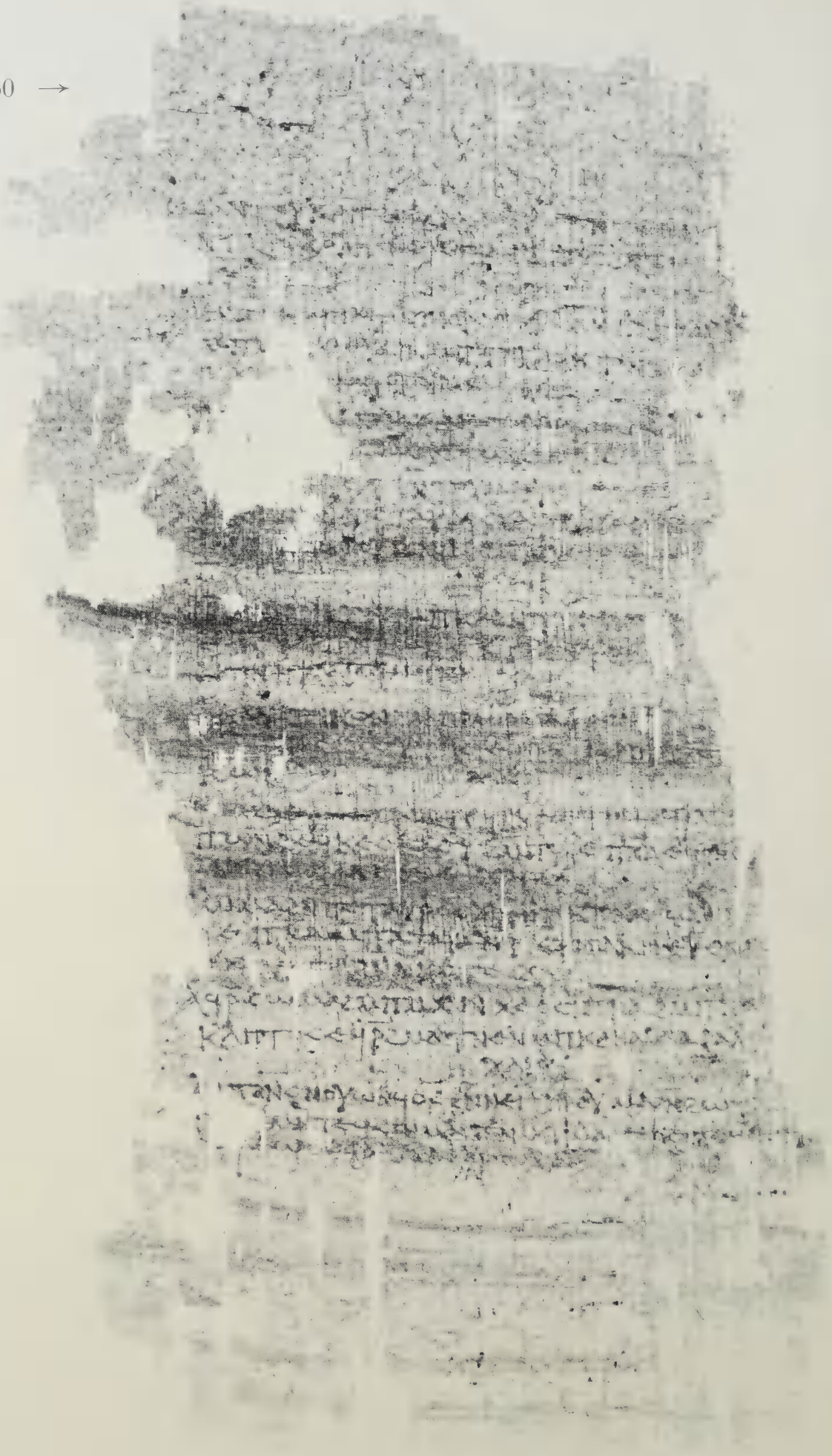


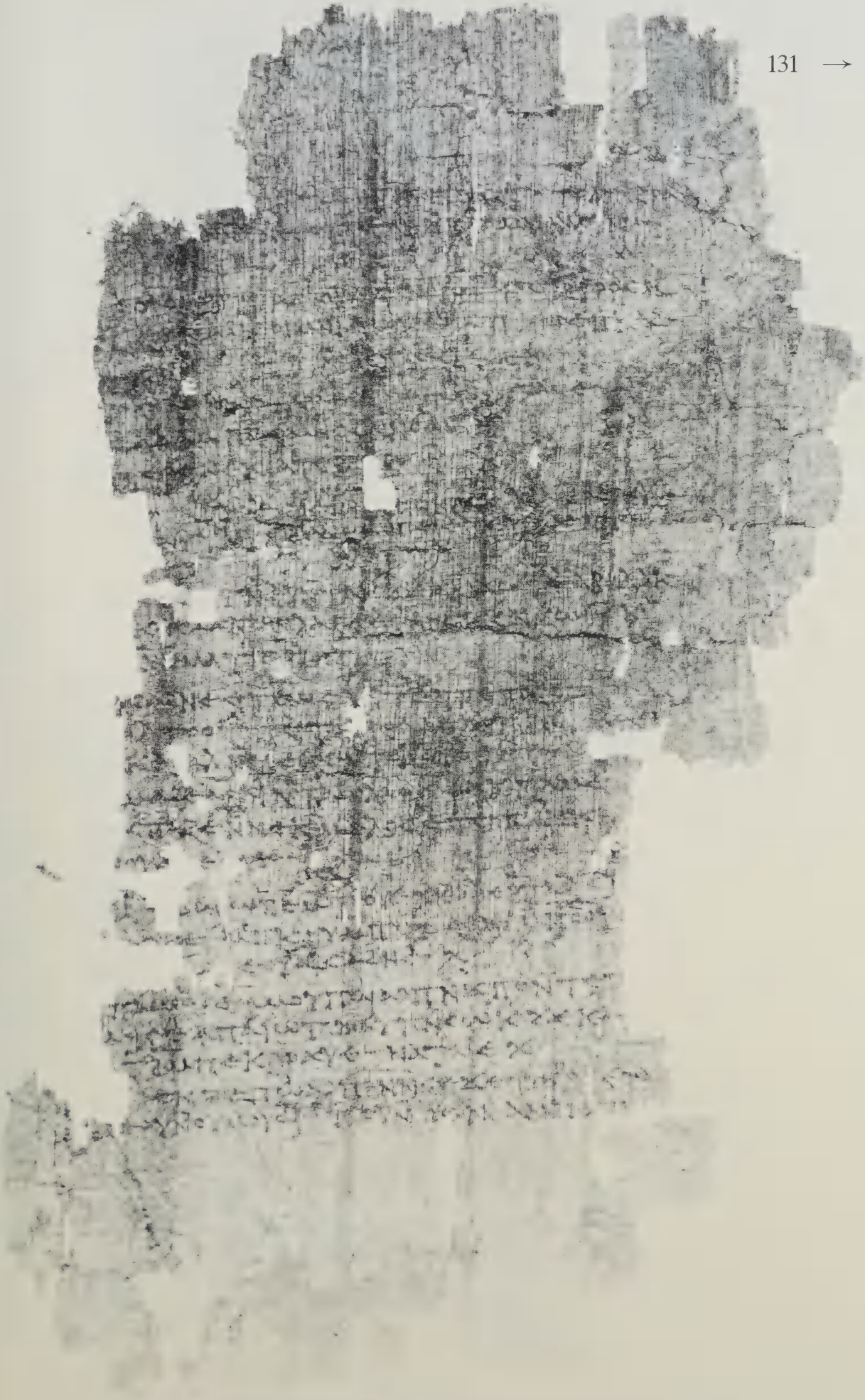
[Vide praefationem.]



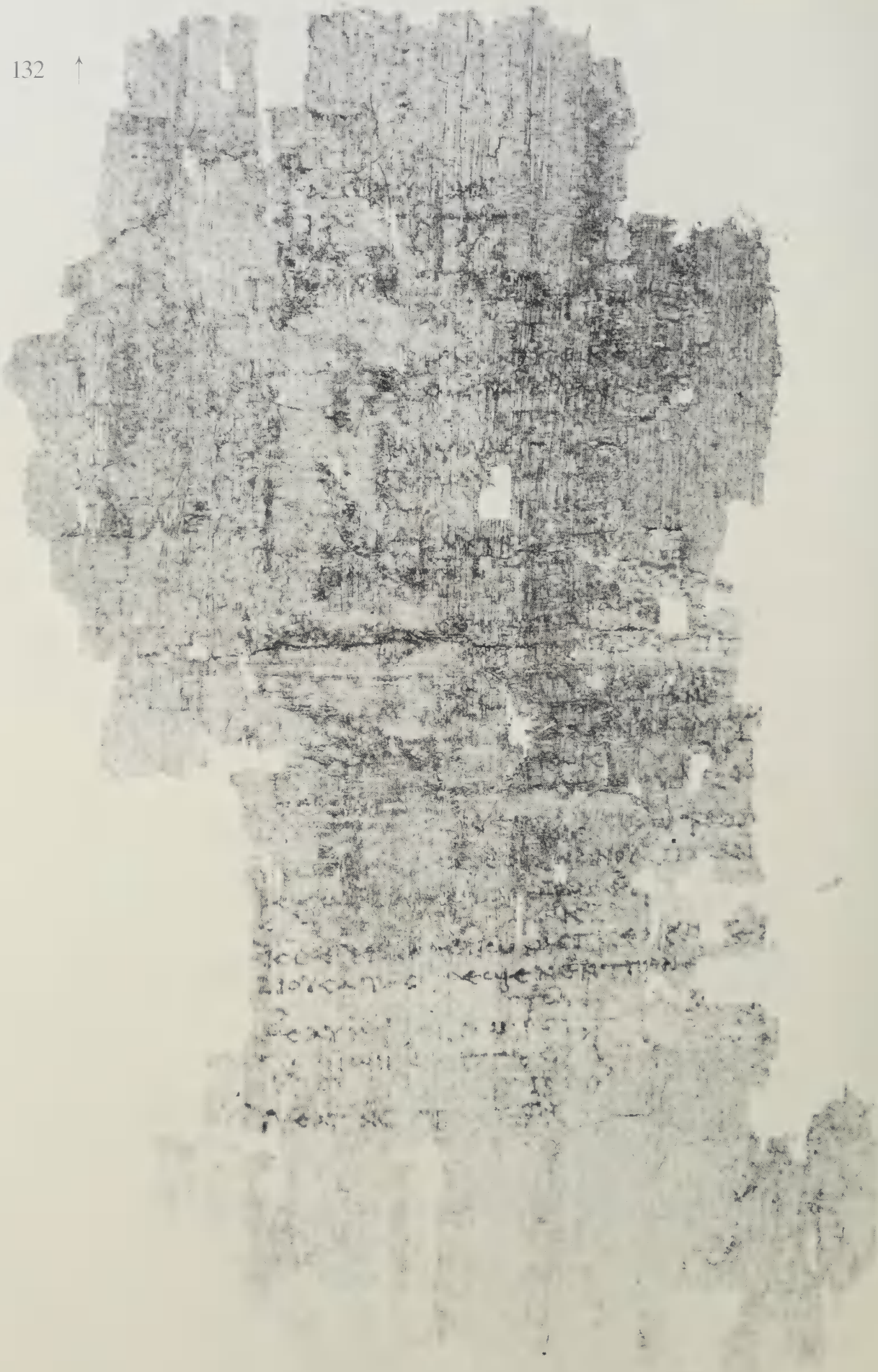




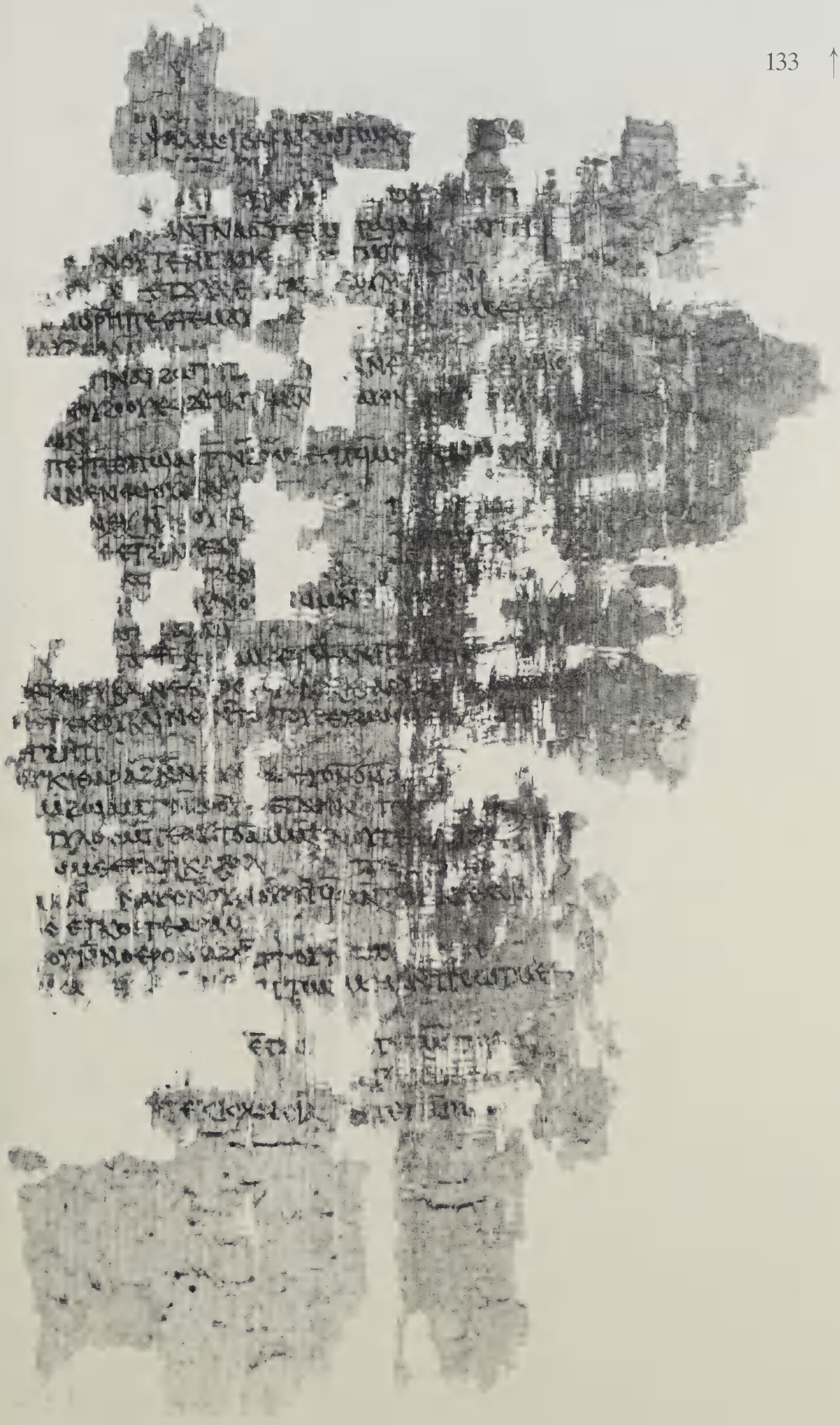




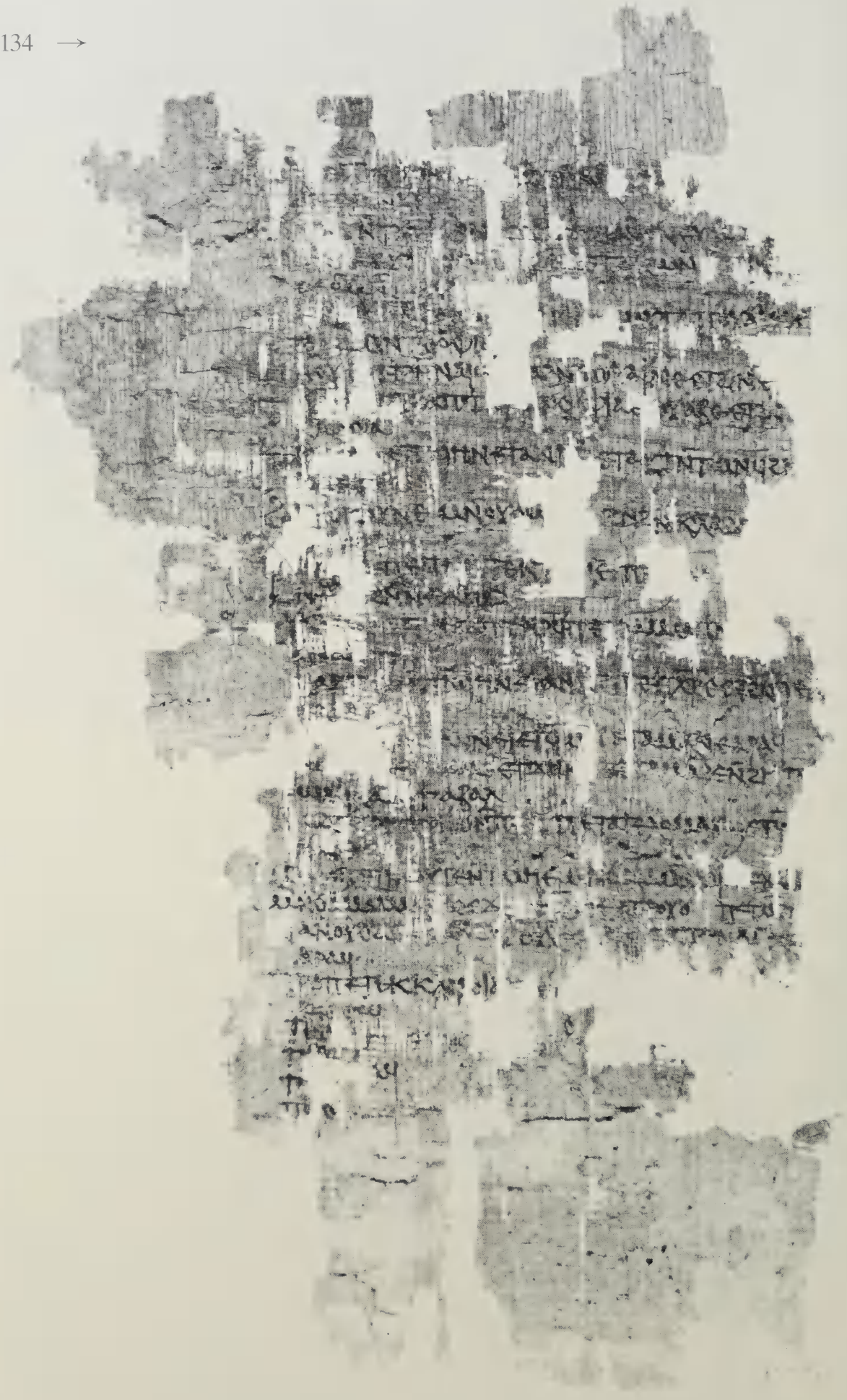
[Iuxta H. Ibscherum, num. 131-132 tria folia comprehendunt, medio scriptura vacante.]

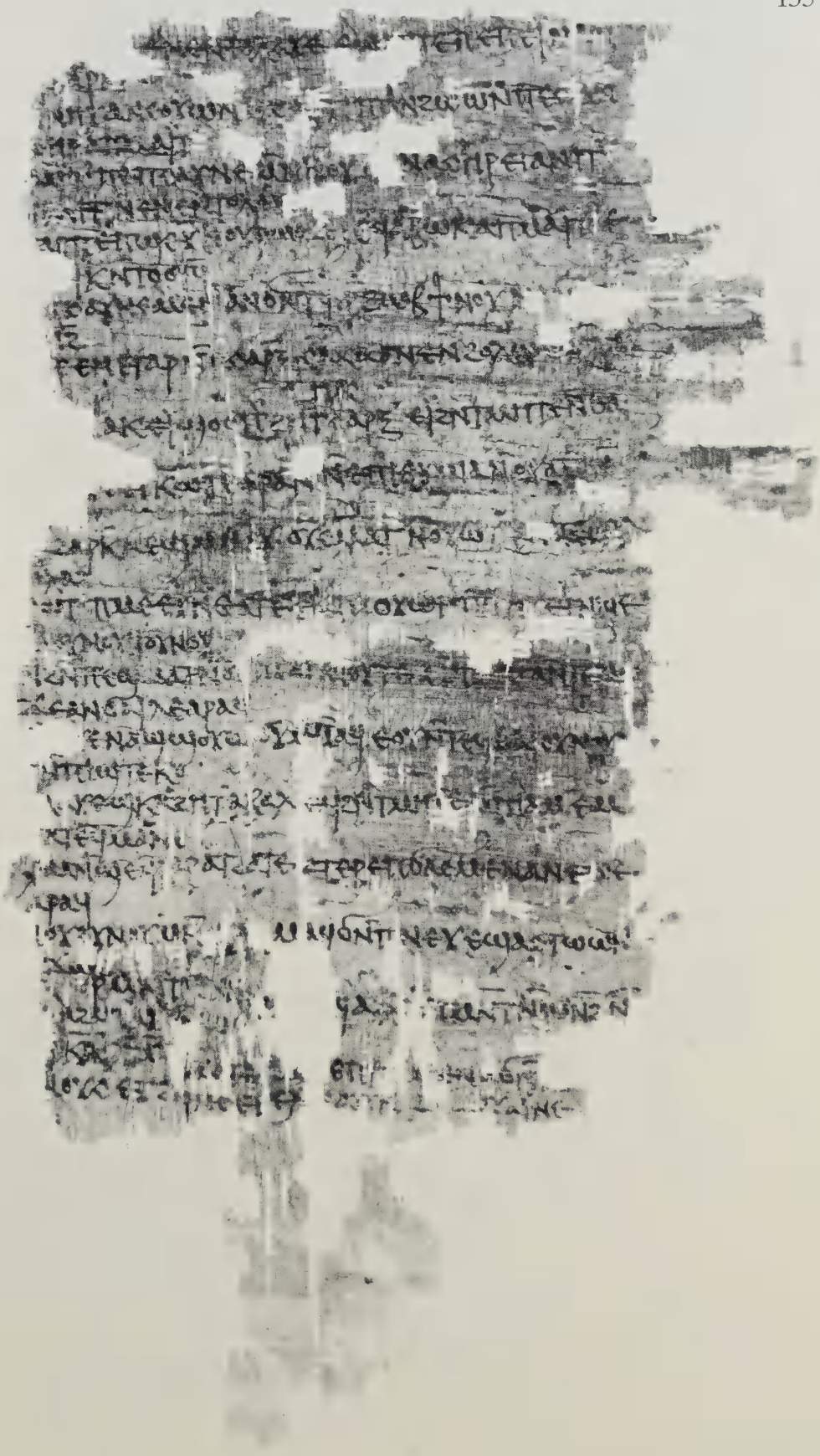


[Vide adnotationem ad paginam superiorem.]

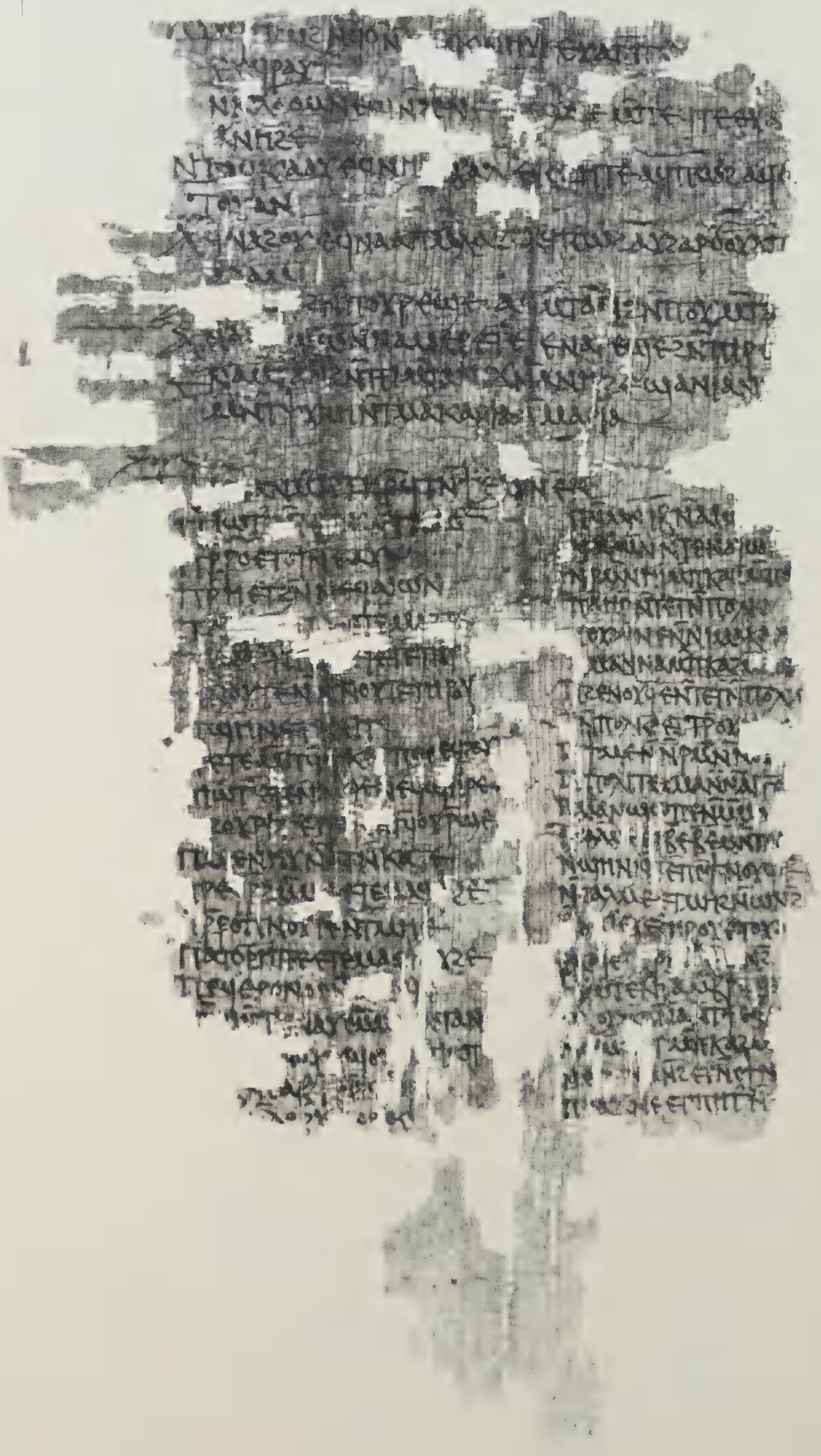


[In foliis separandis pars paginae periit, ad quam pertinet et fragmentum nunc paginae 135 perperam attributum.]

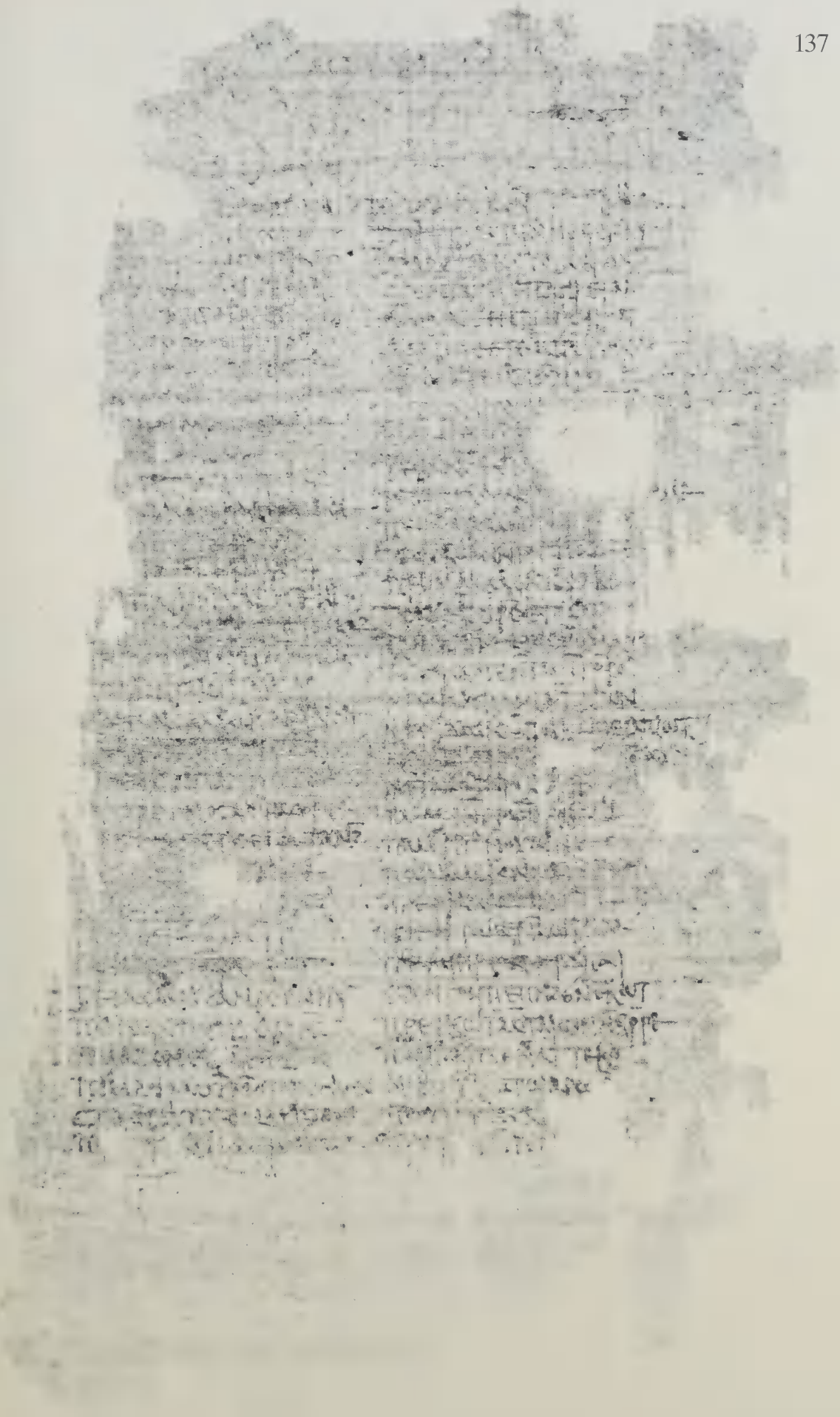


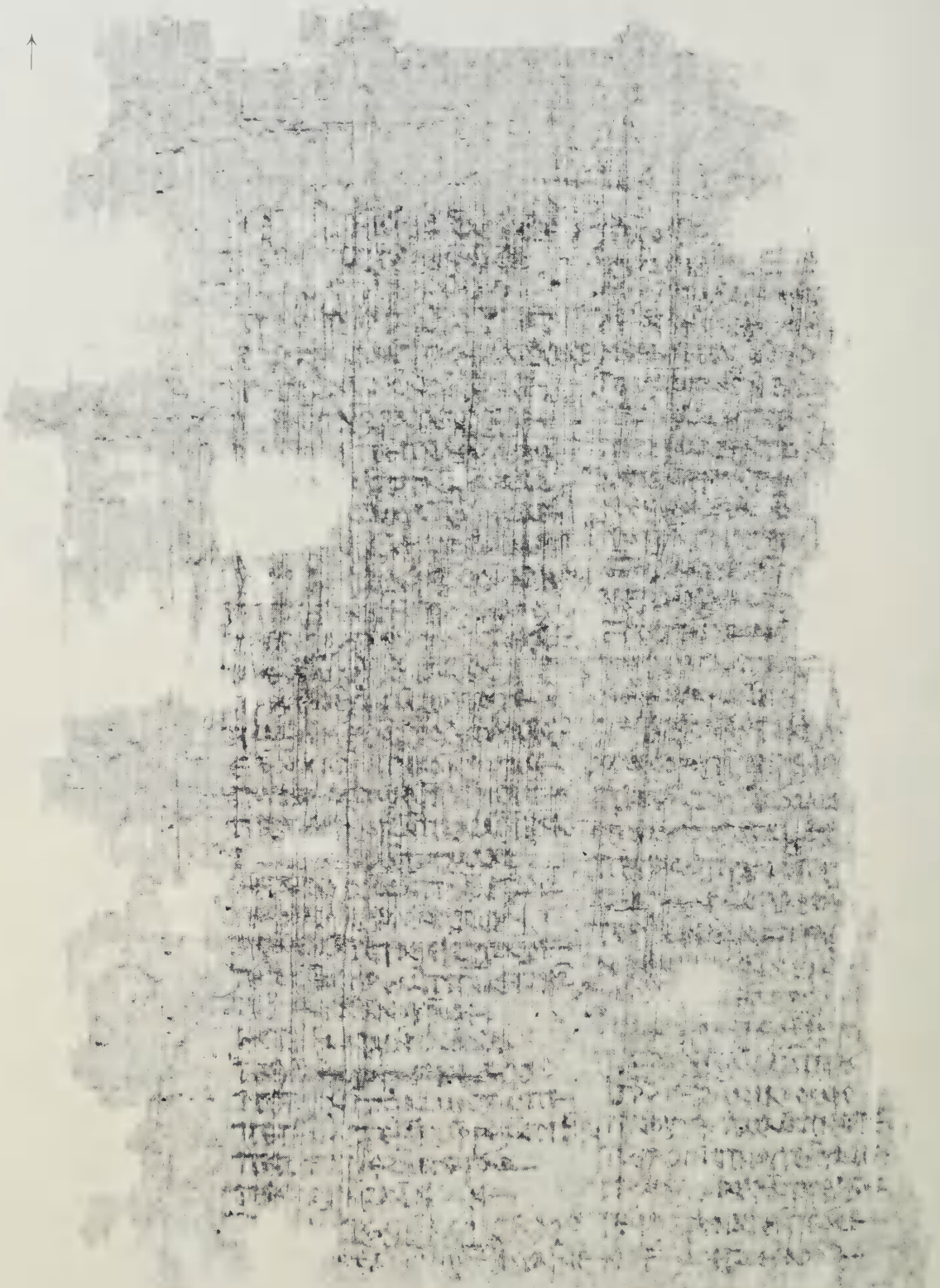


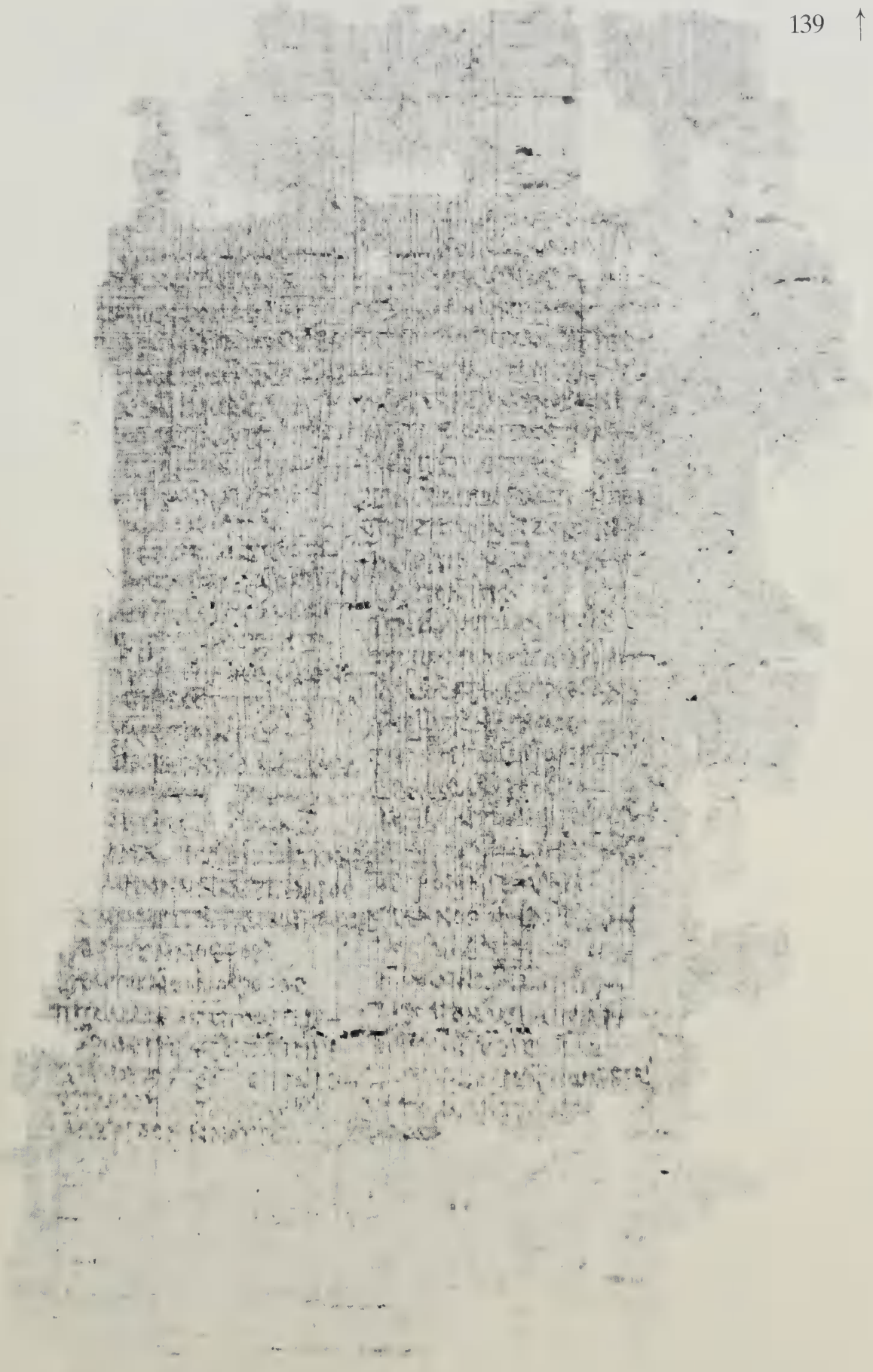
[Fragmentum in imo angulo interiore collocatum ad paginam 133 revera pertinet.]

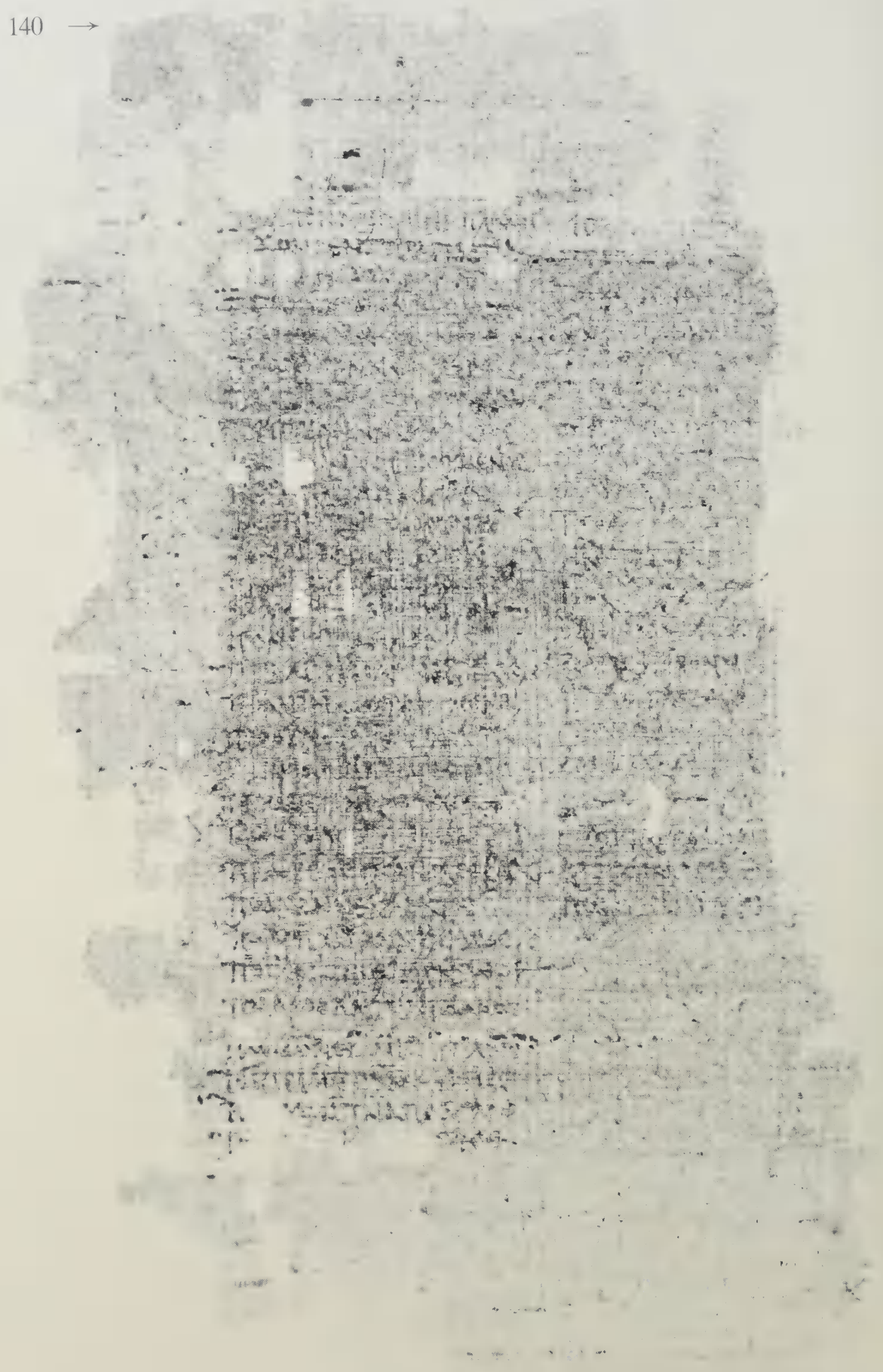


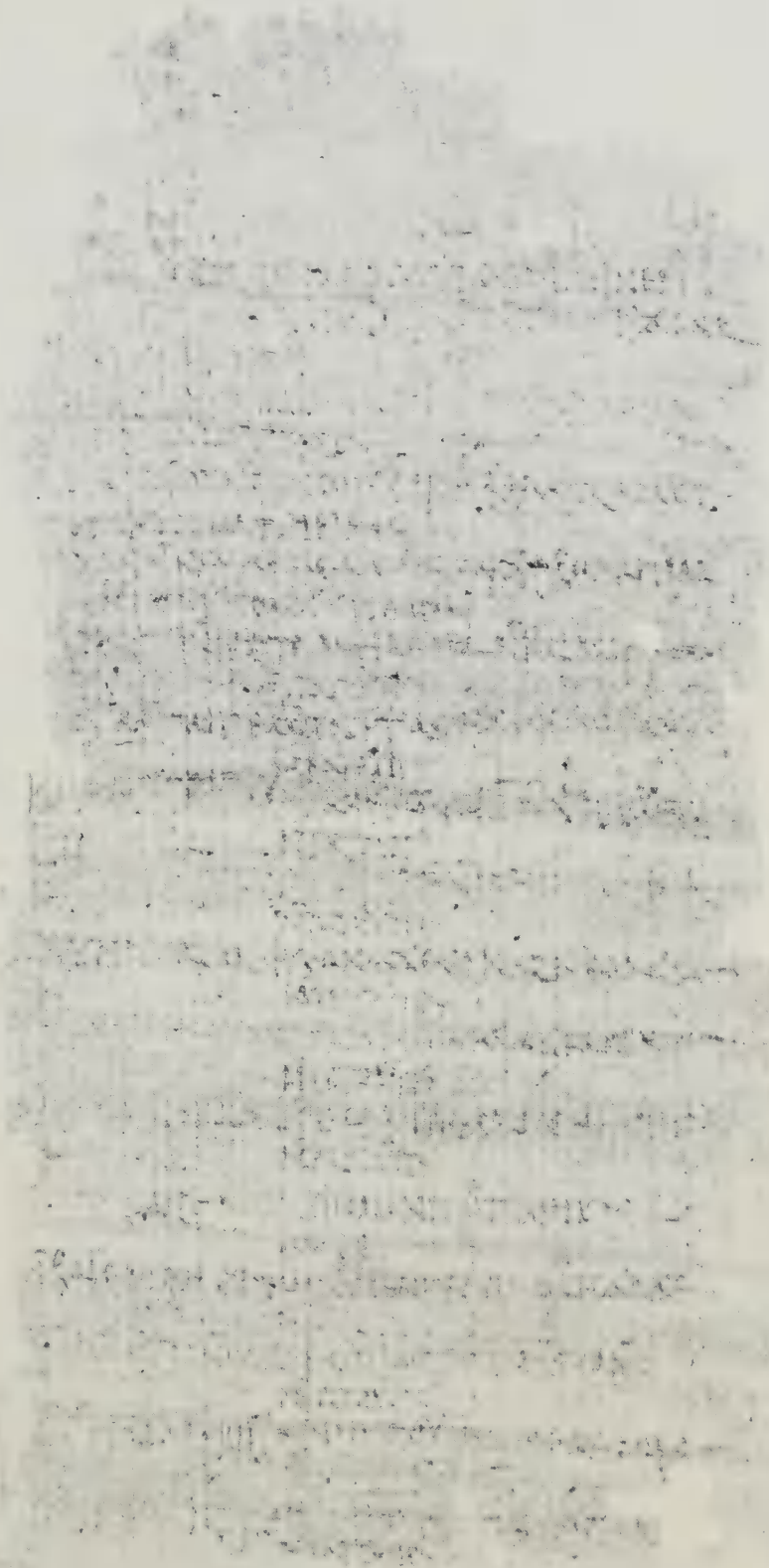
[In paginis 136 137 fibrarum vices praepostere alternantur. Post hanc paginam unum folium deficit. De quo vide praefationem.]

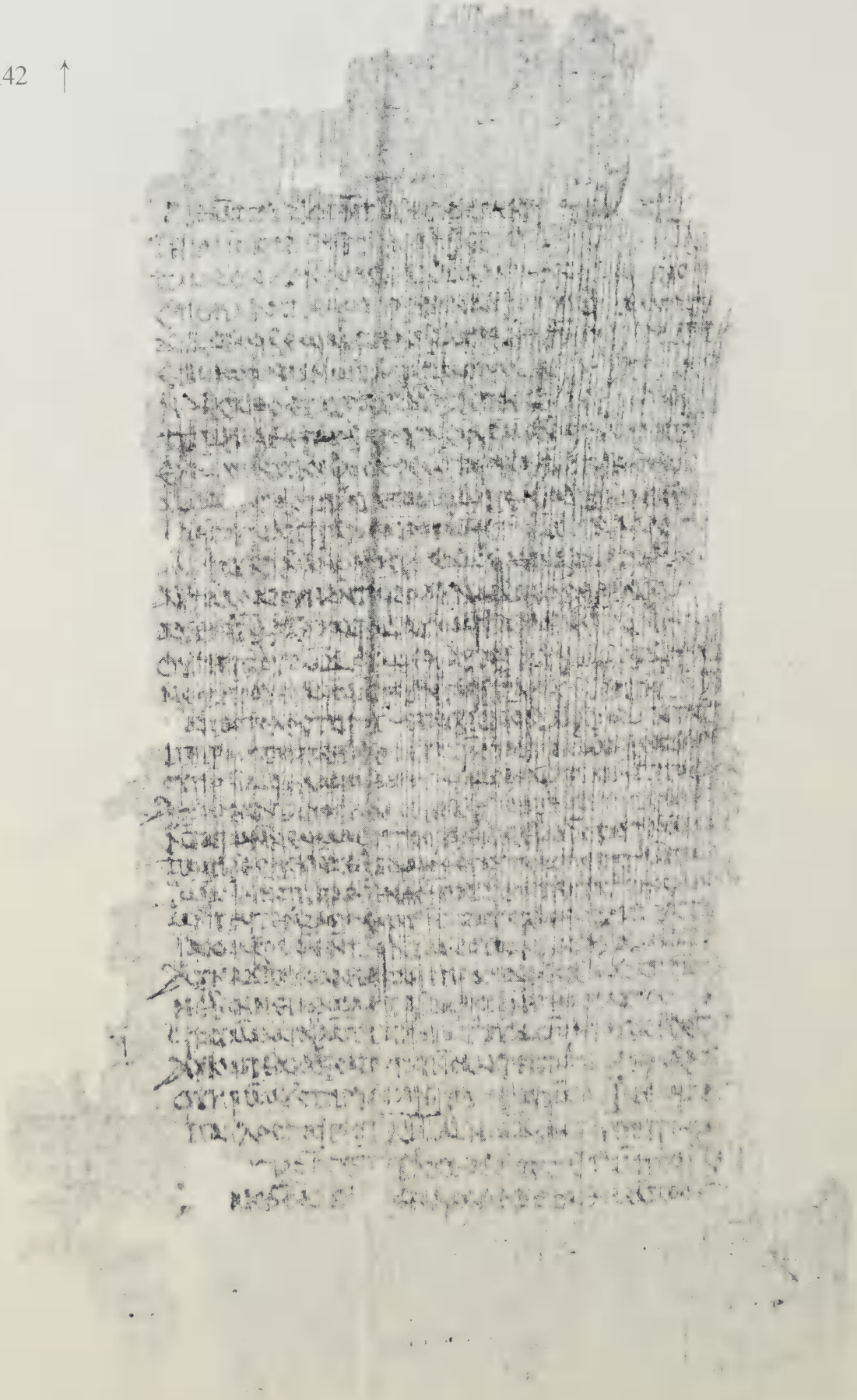




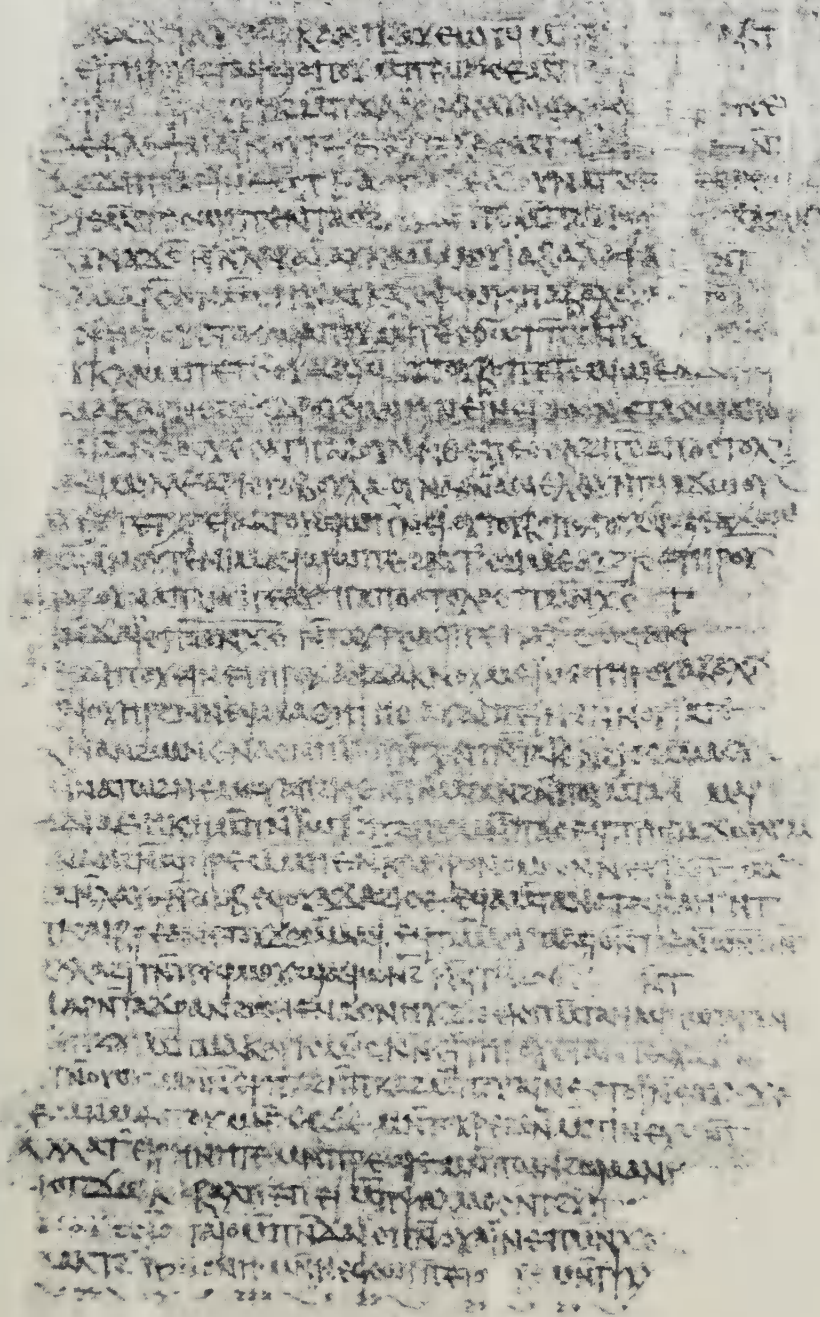


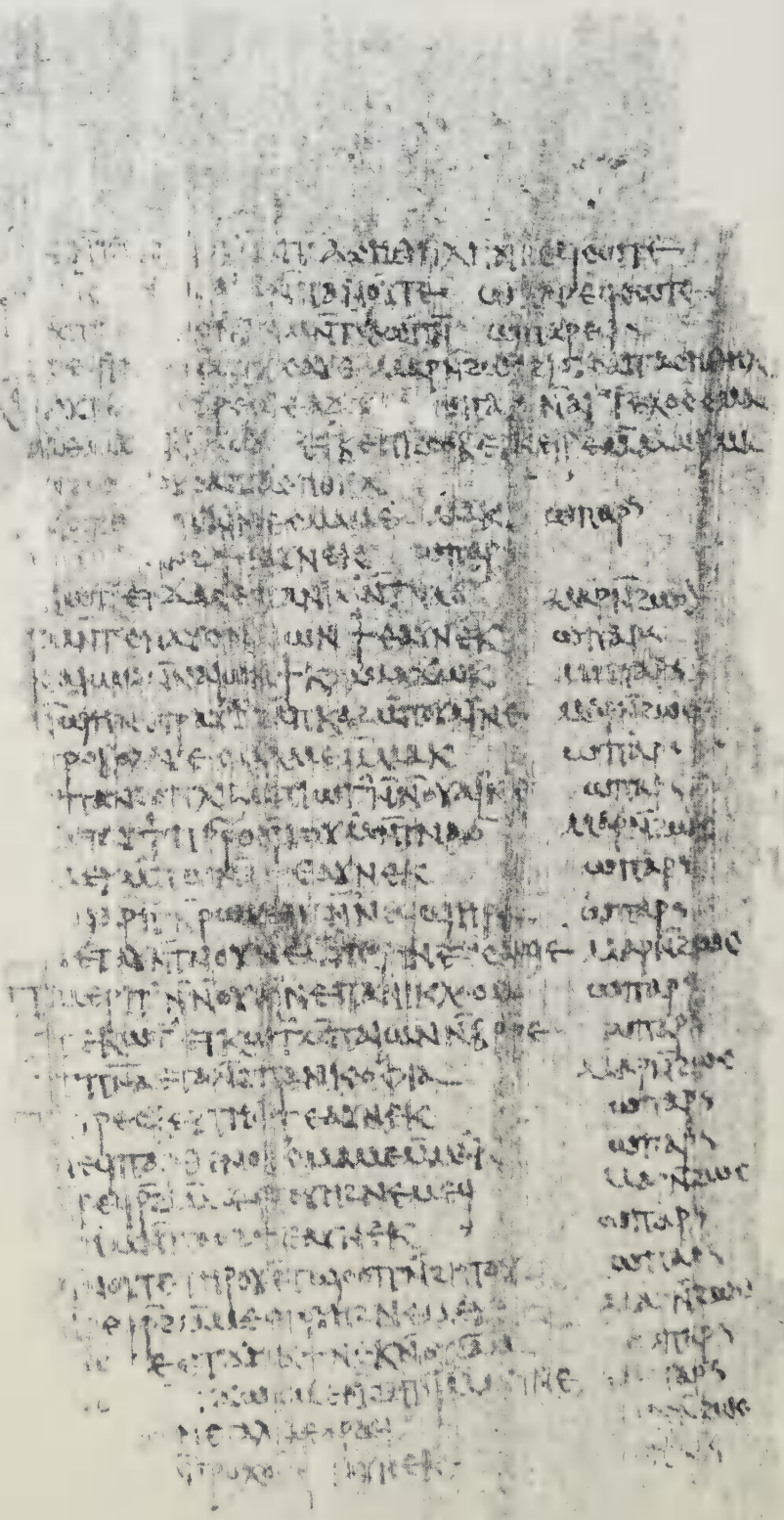


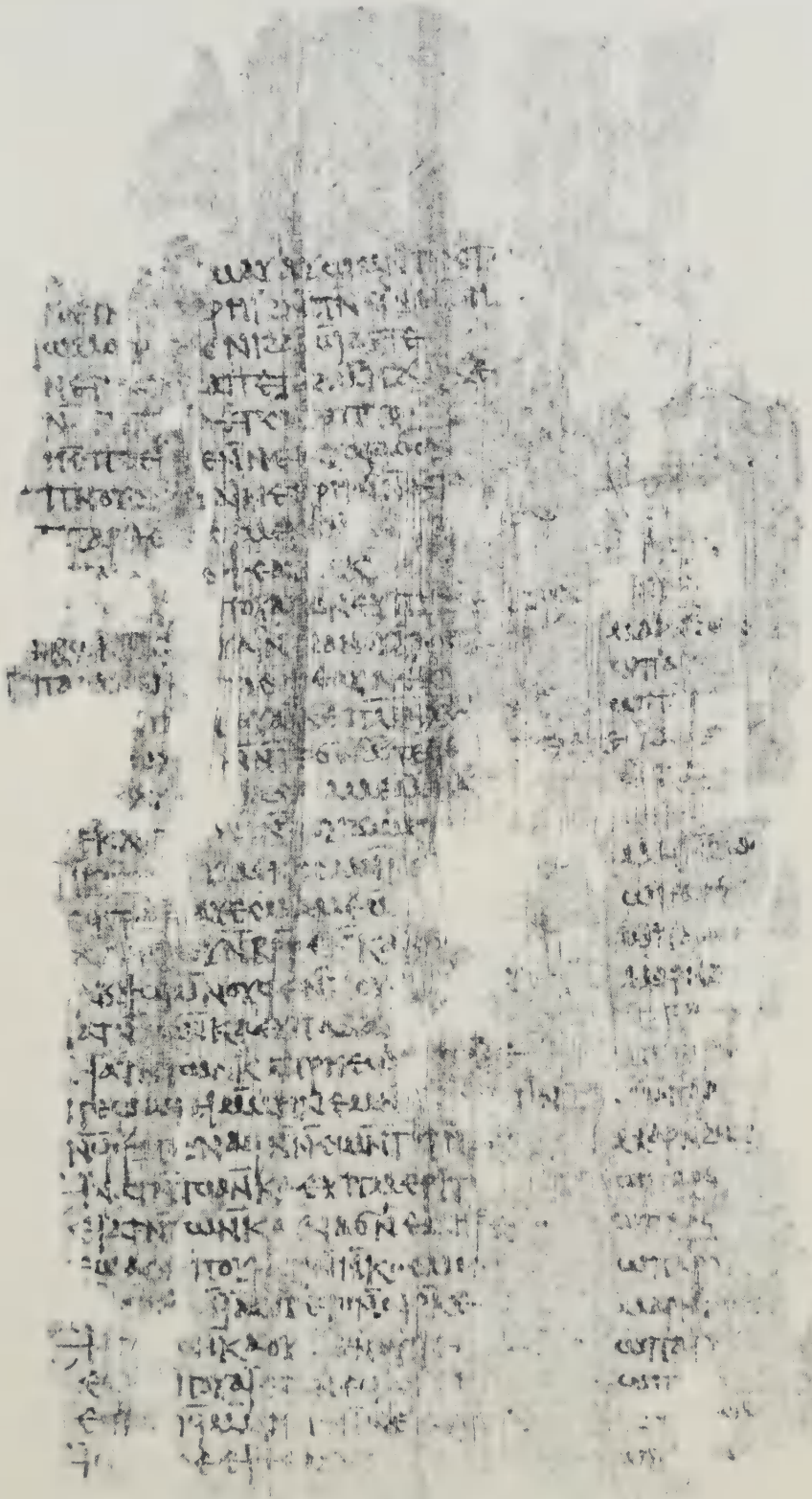


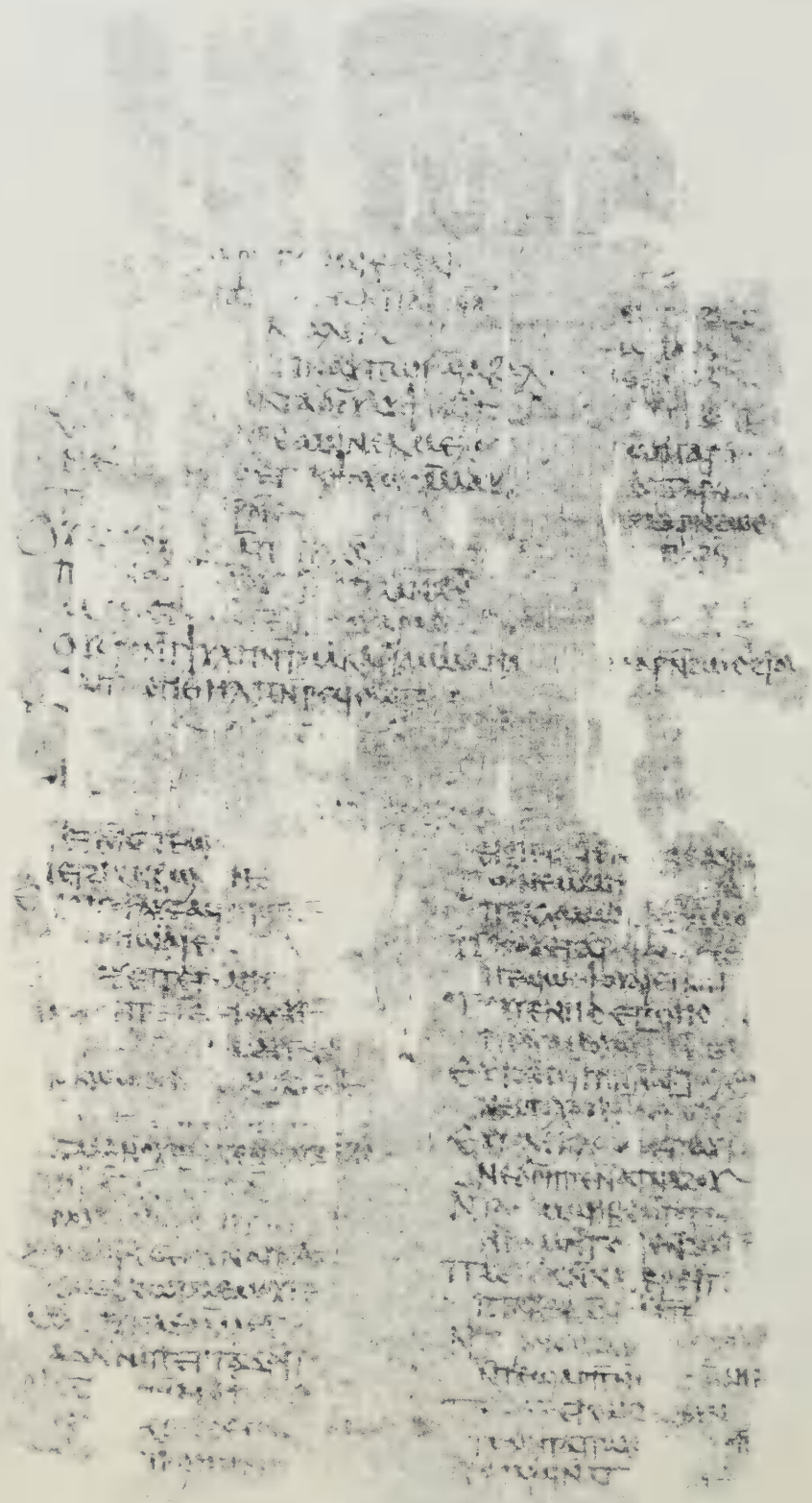


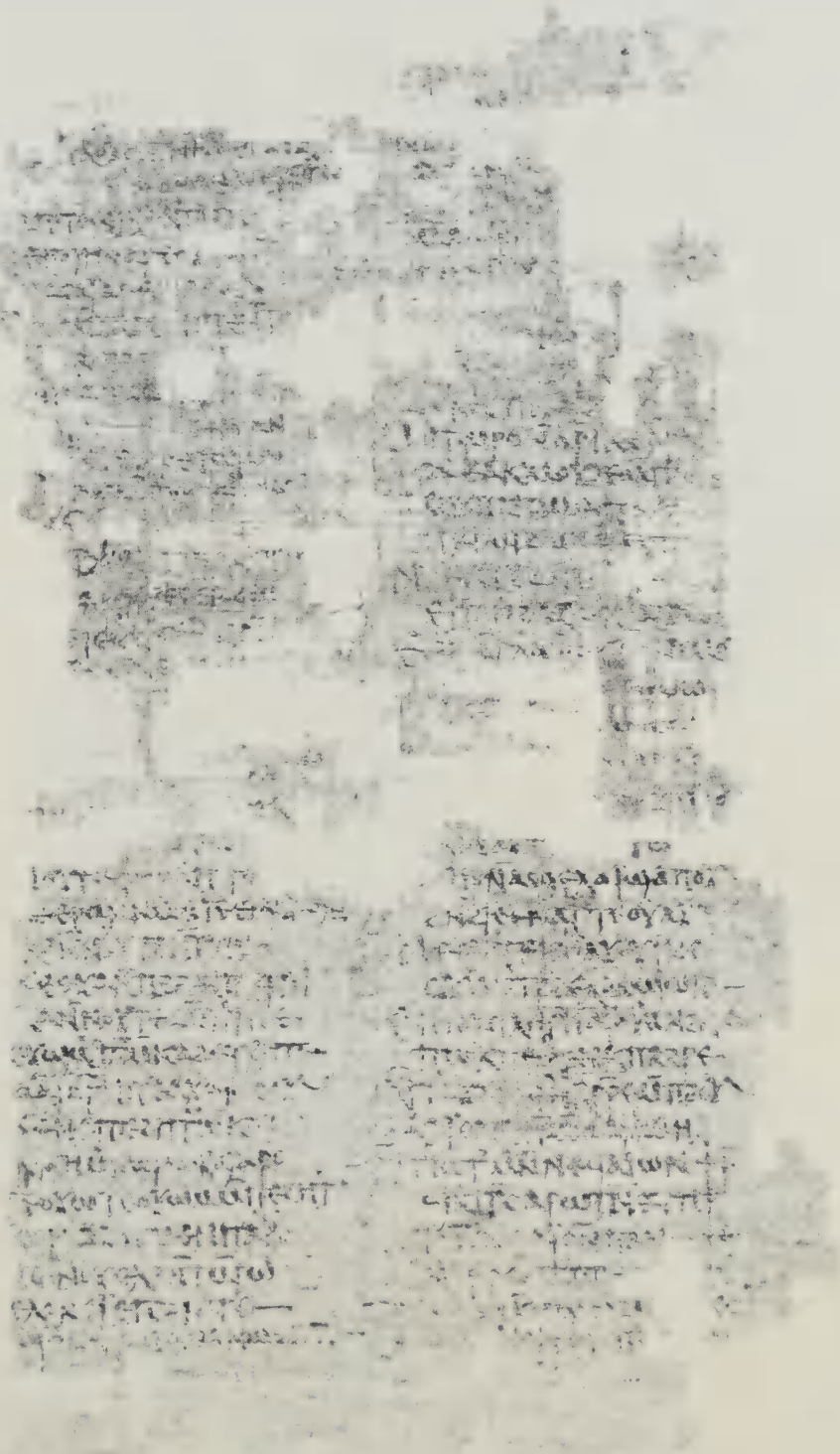
[In paginis 142-143 fibrarum vices praepostere alternantur. Forsitan unum folium vacuum deest. De quo vide praefationem.]

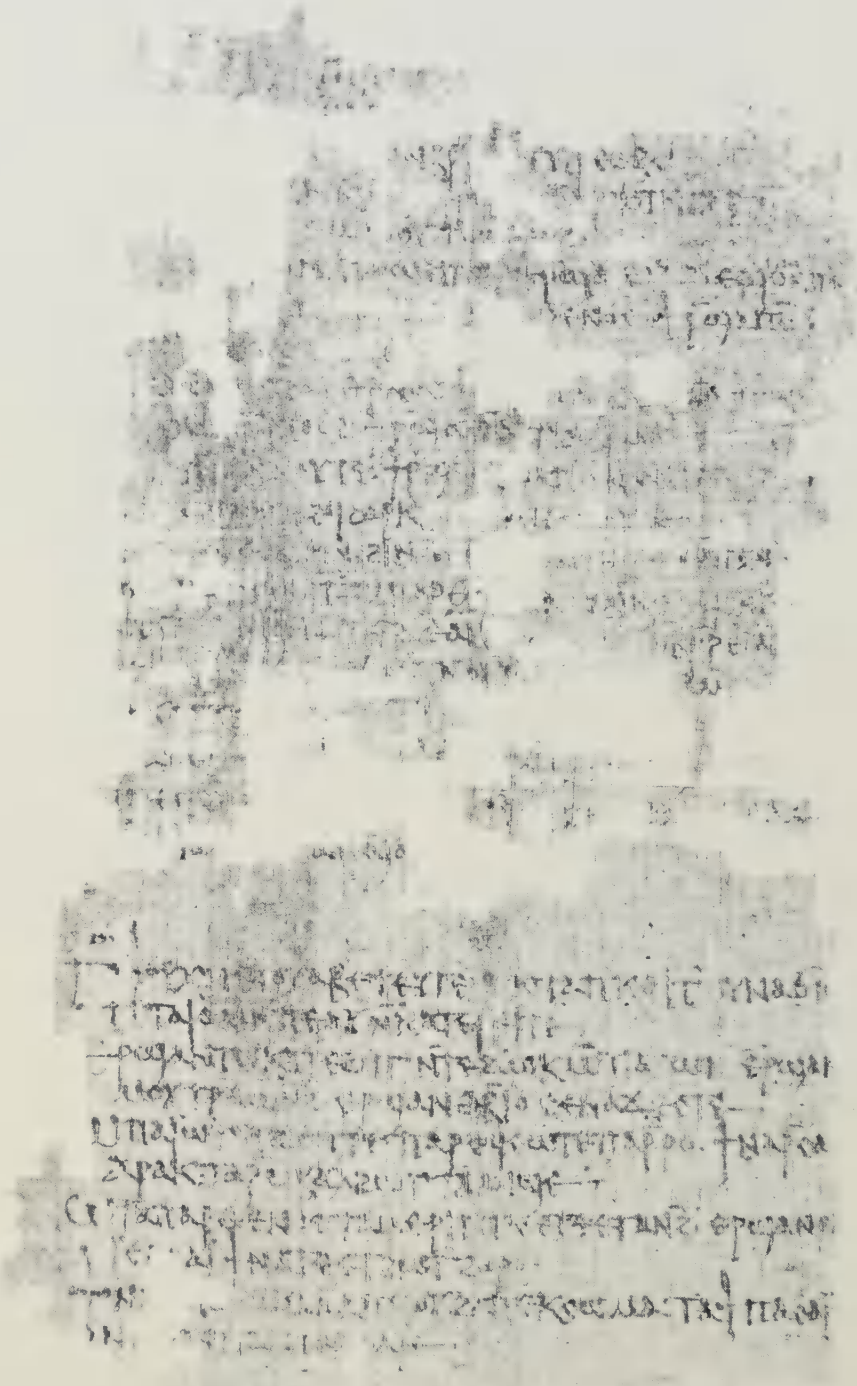






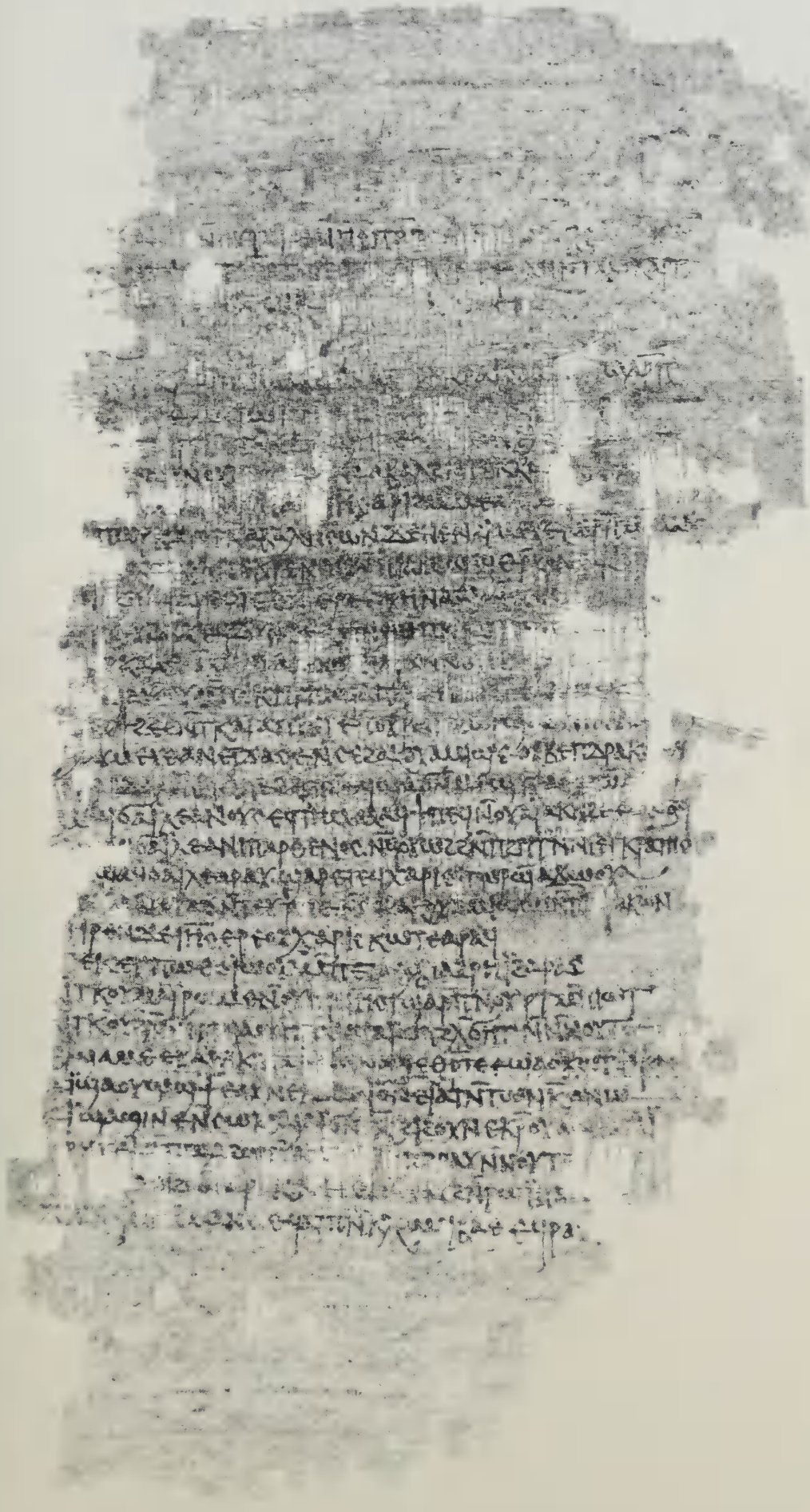


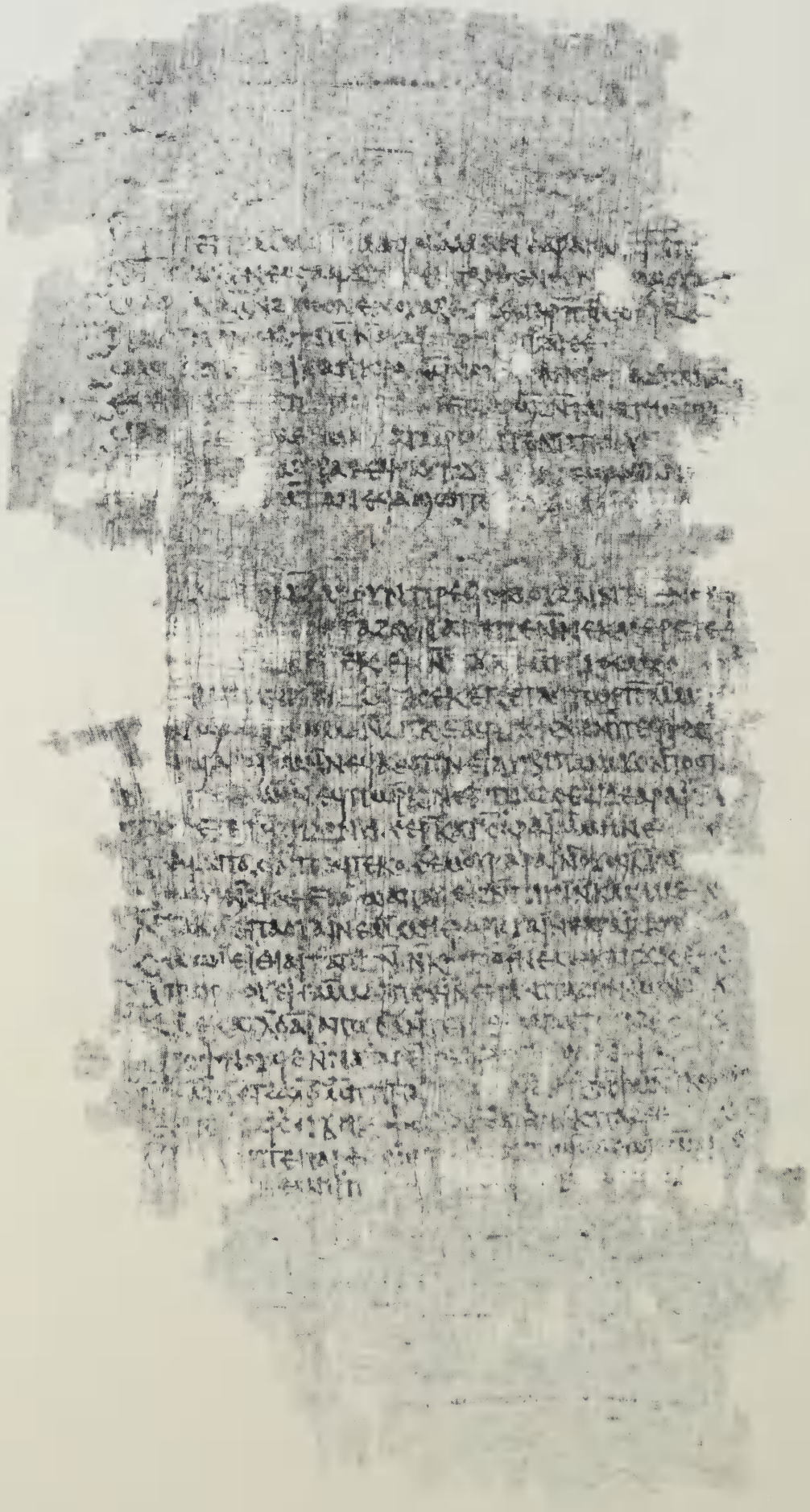


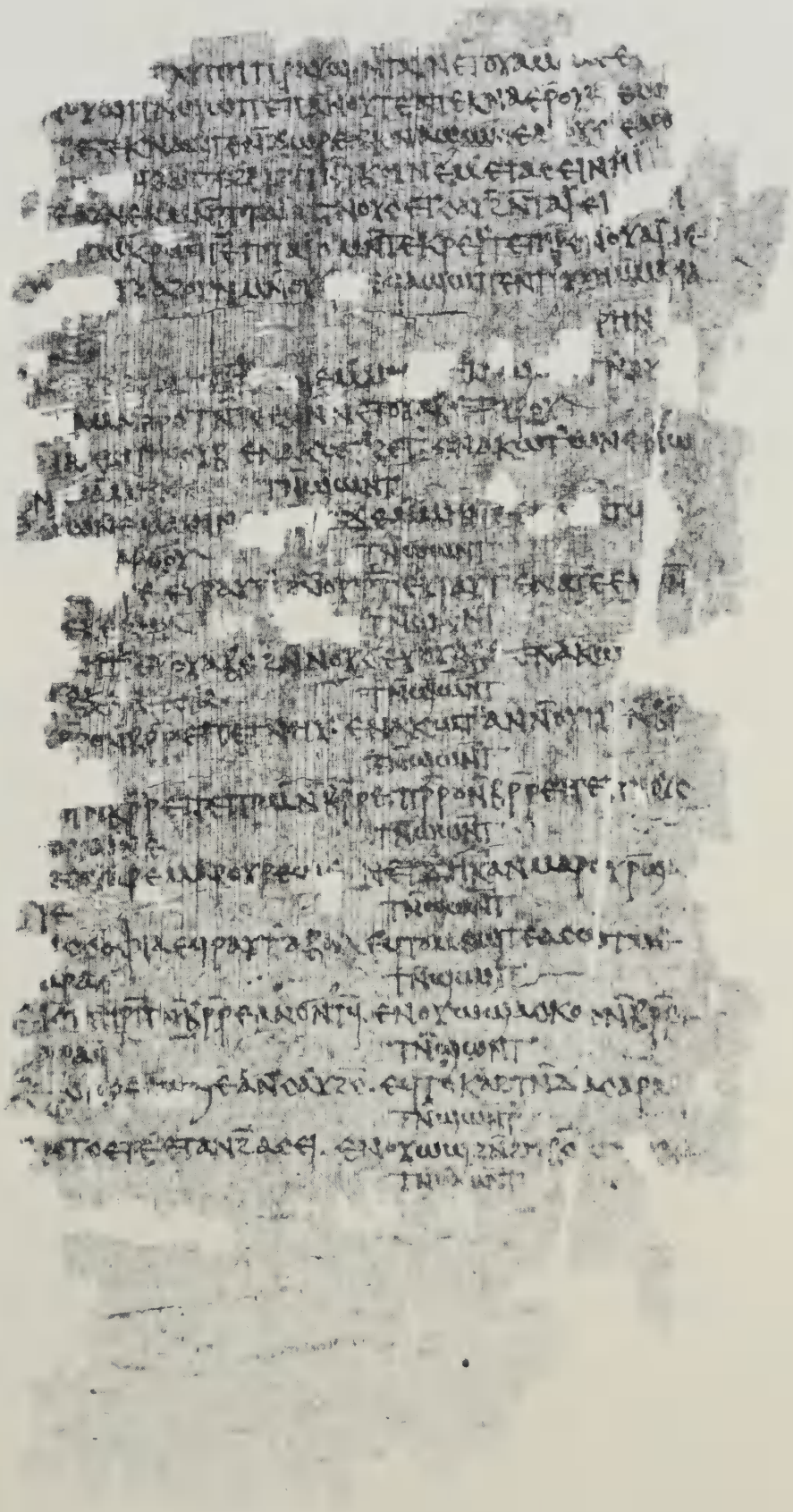




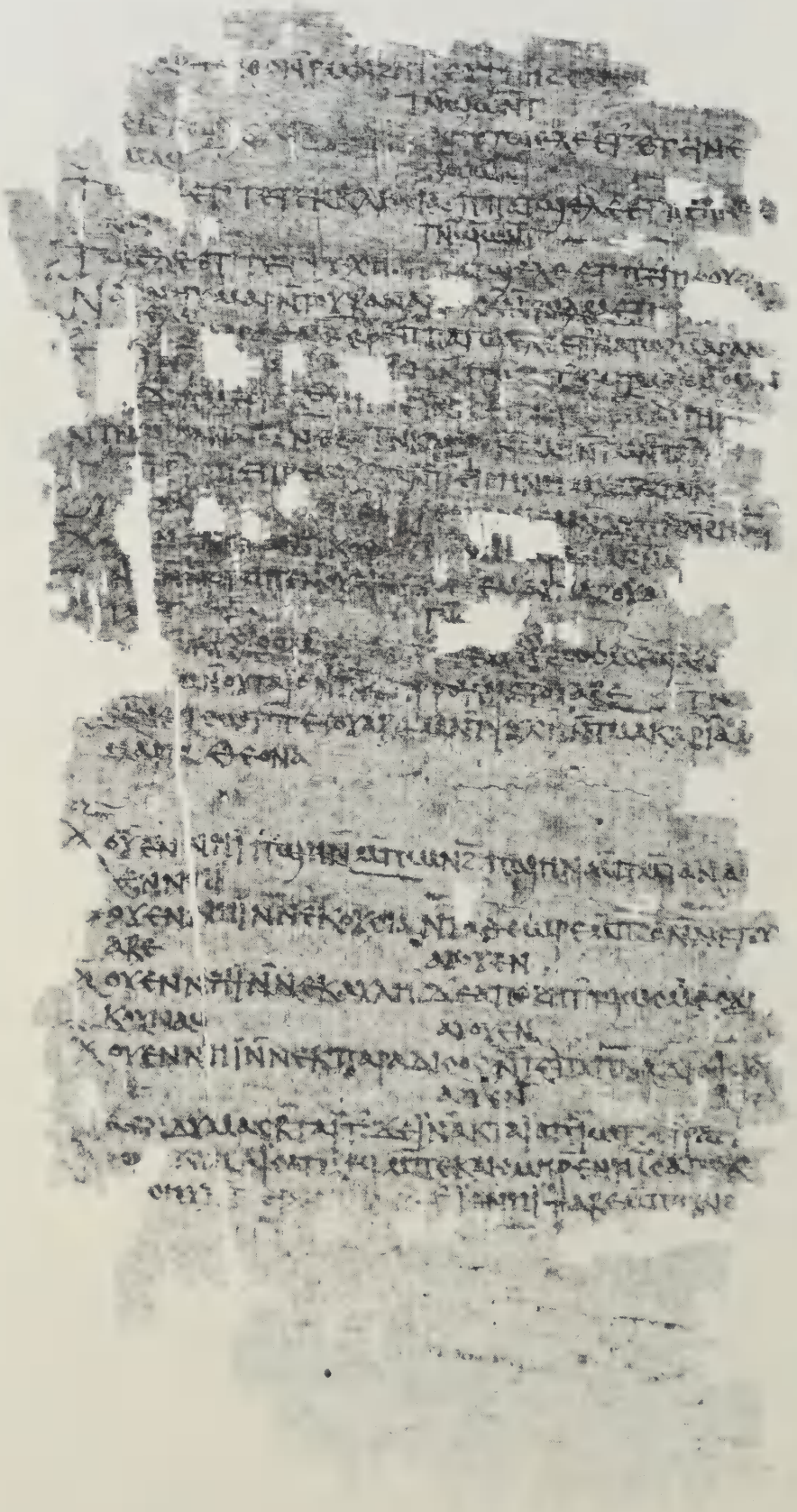


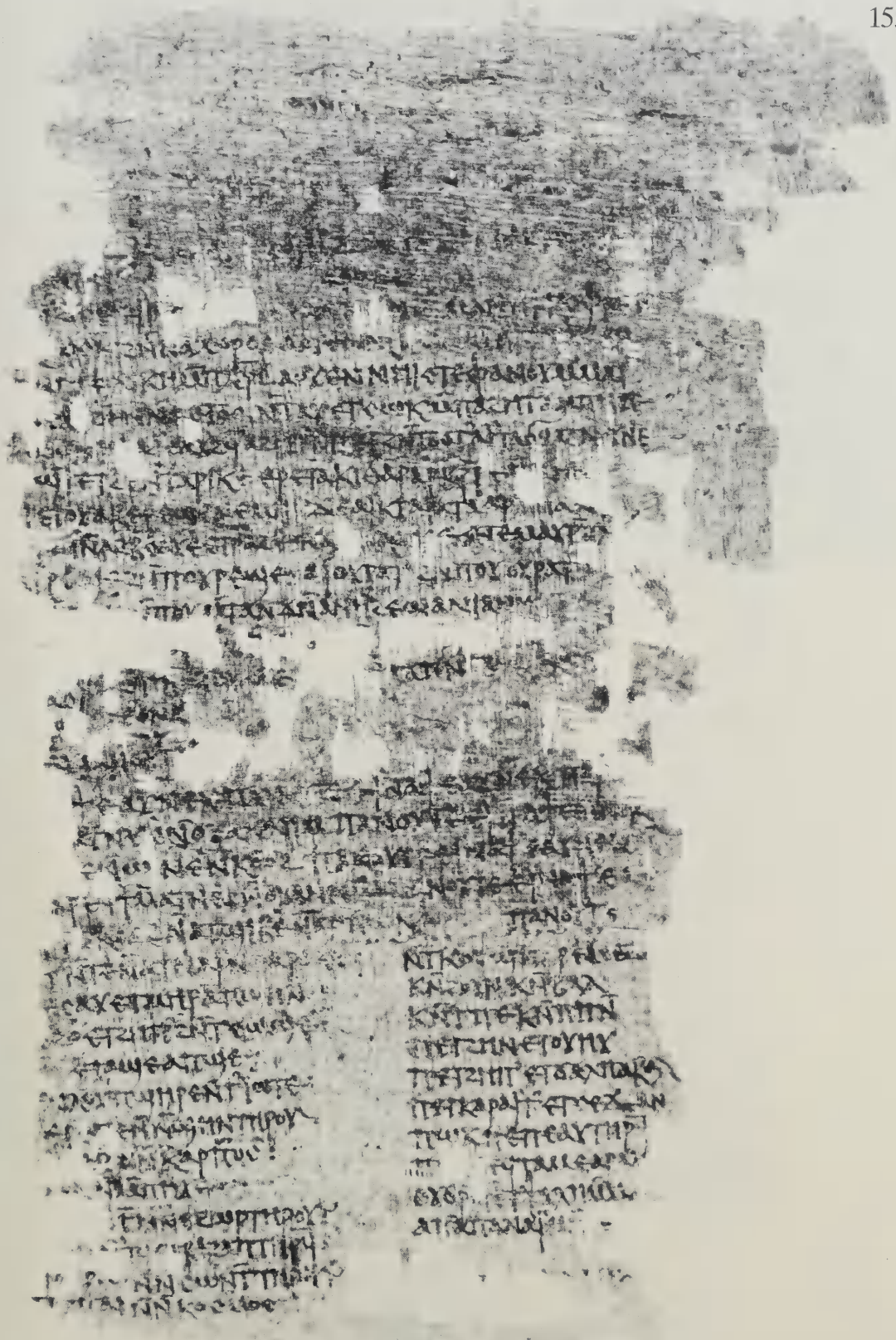




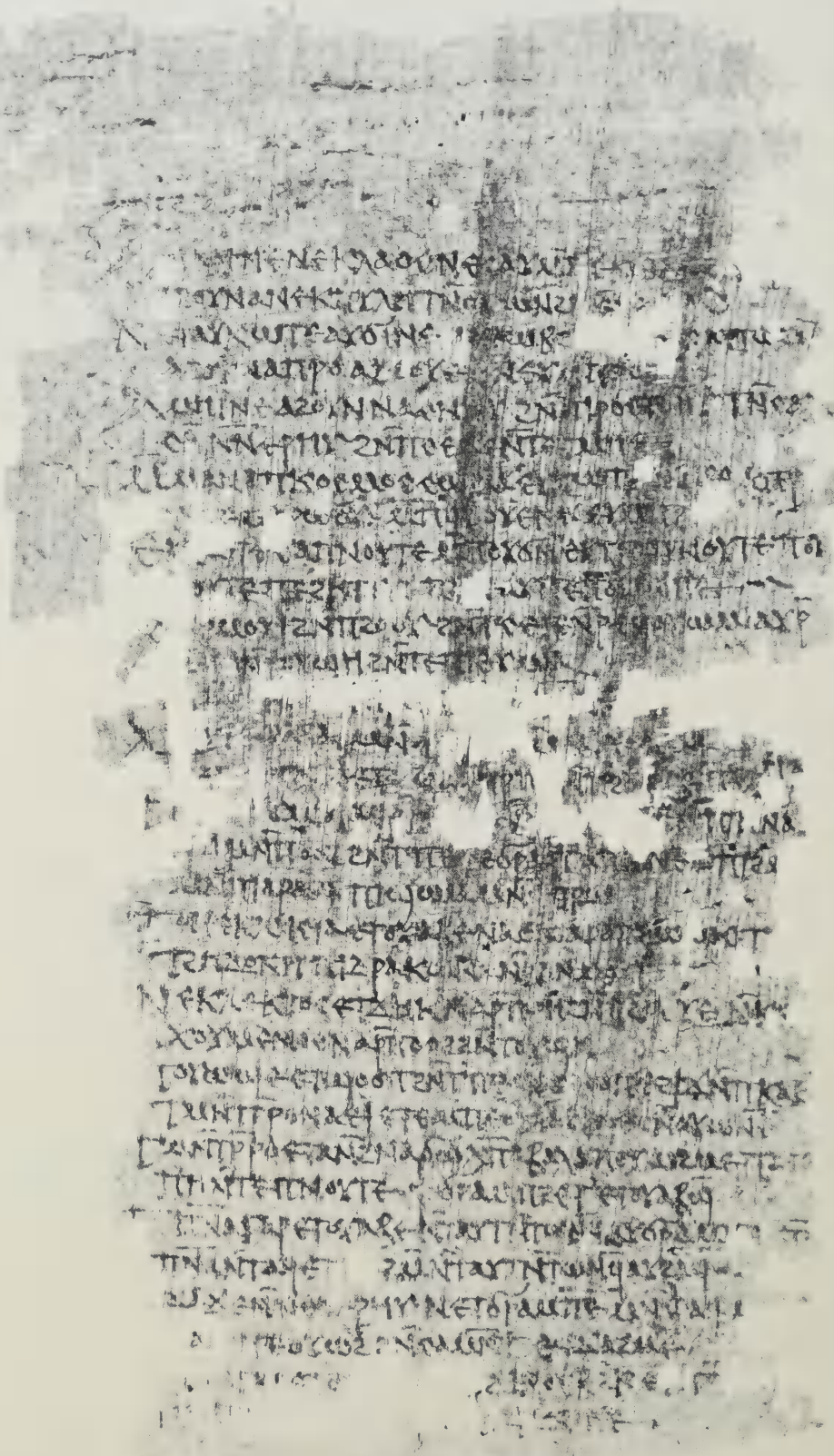


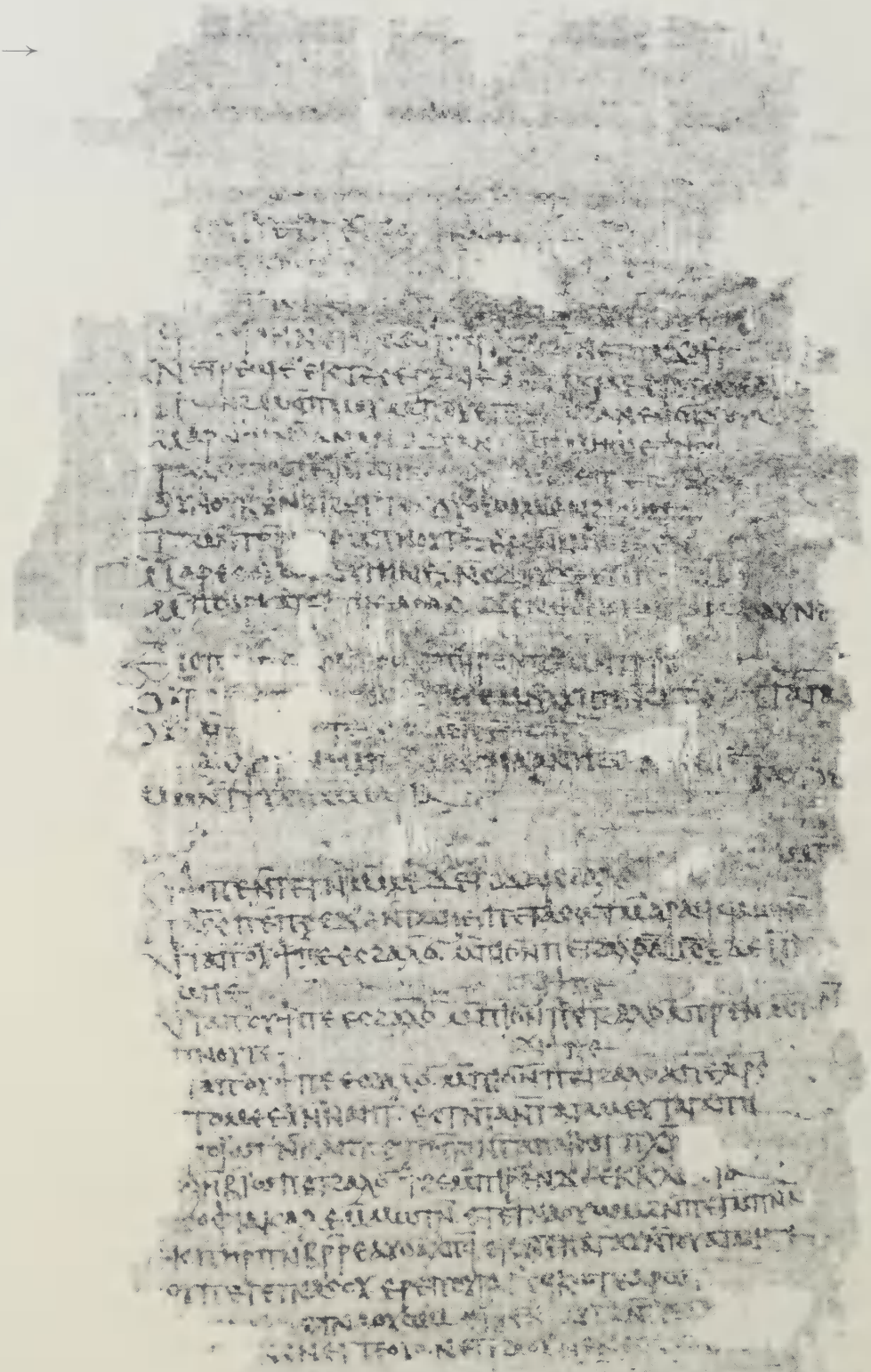
[Fragmentum litteras ϸHN exhibens, sub linea VII insertum, nunc vero ad finem lineae V referendum videtur.]



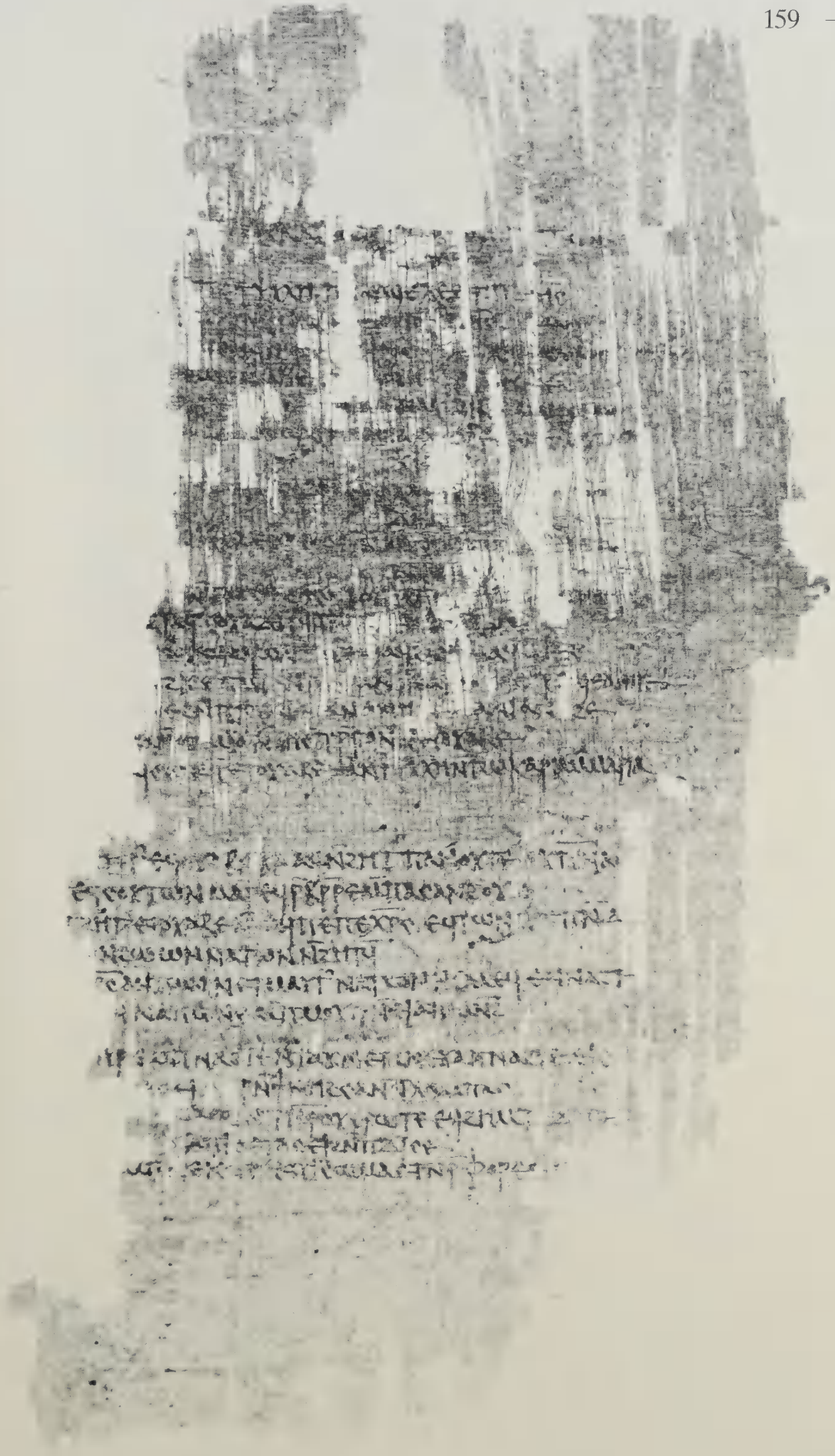


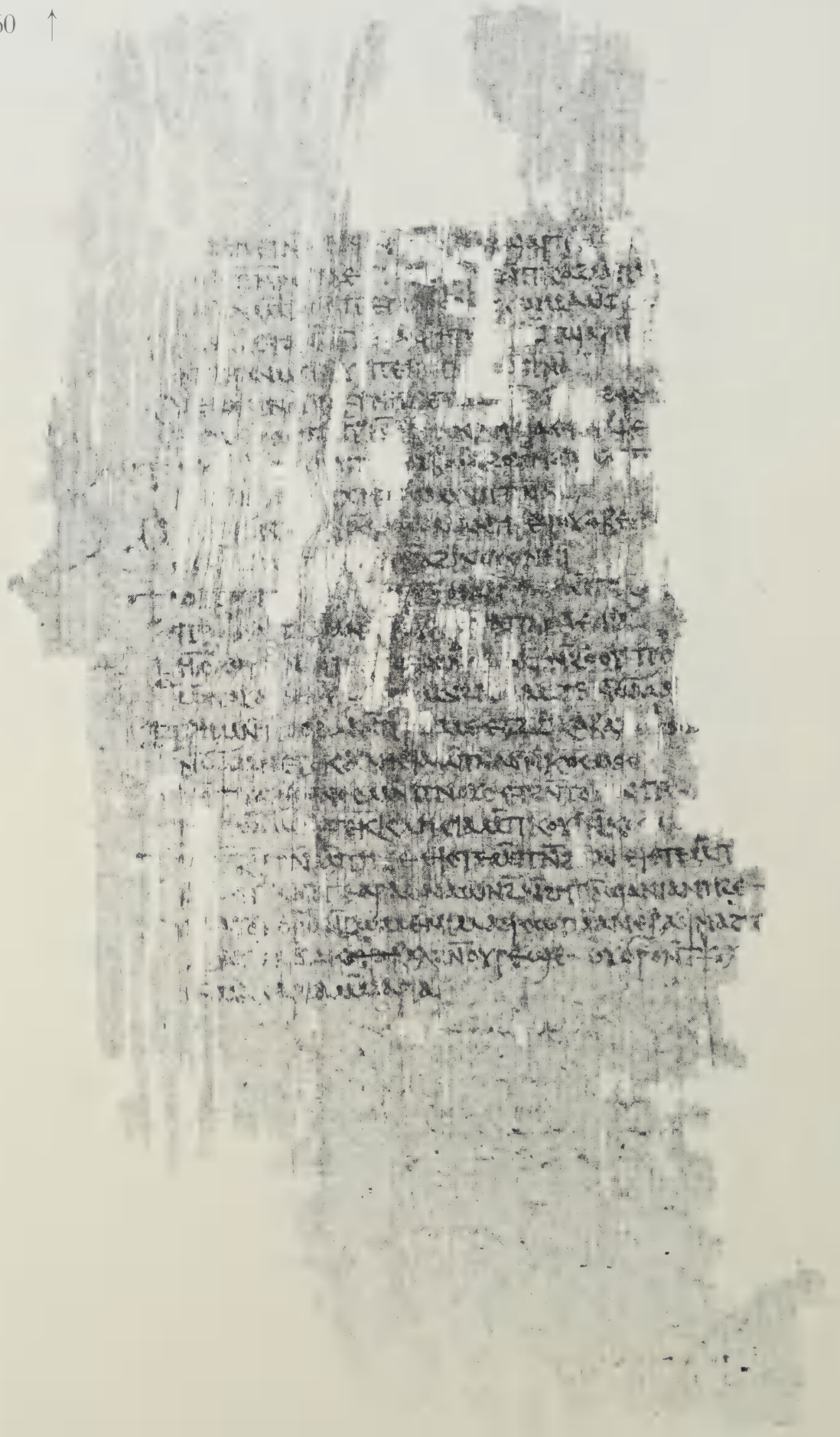
[Fragmenta quaedam ad p. 155-156 pertinentia Rodolphus Kasserus photographice restituit.]



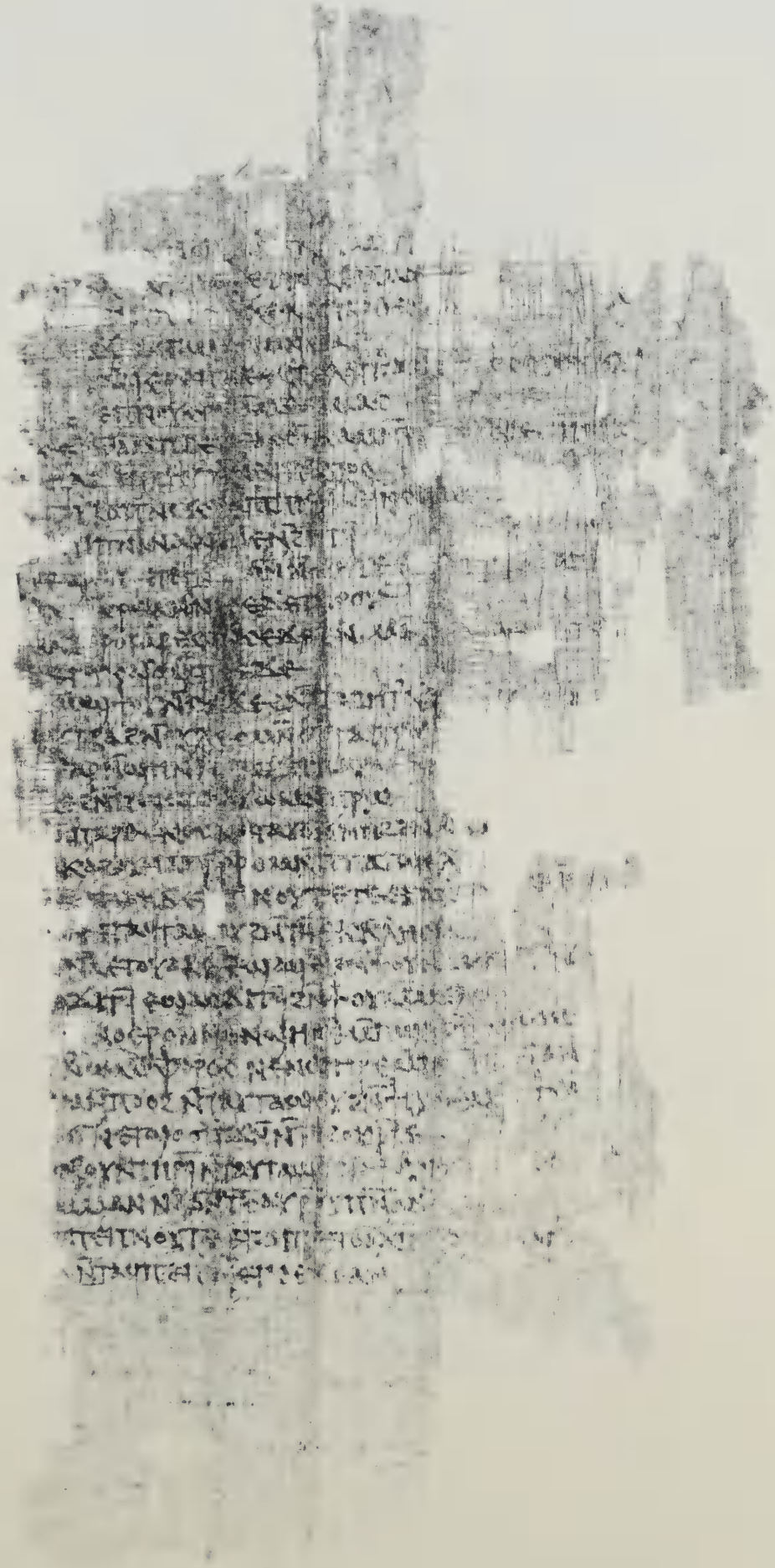


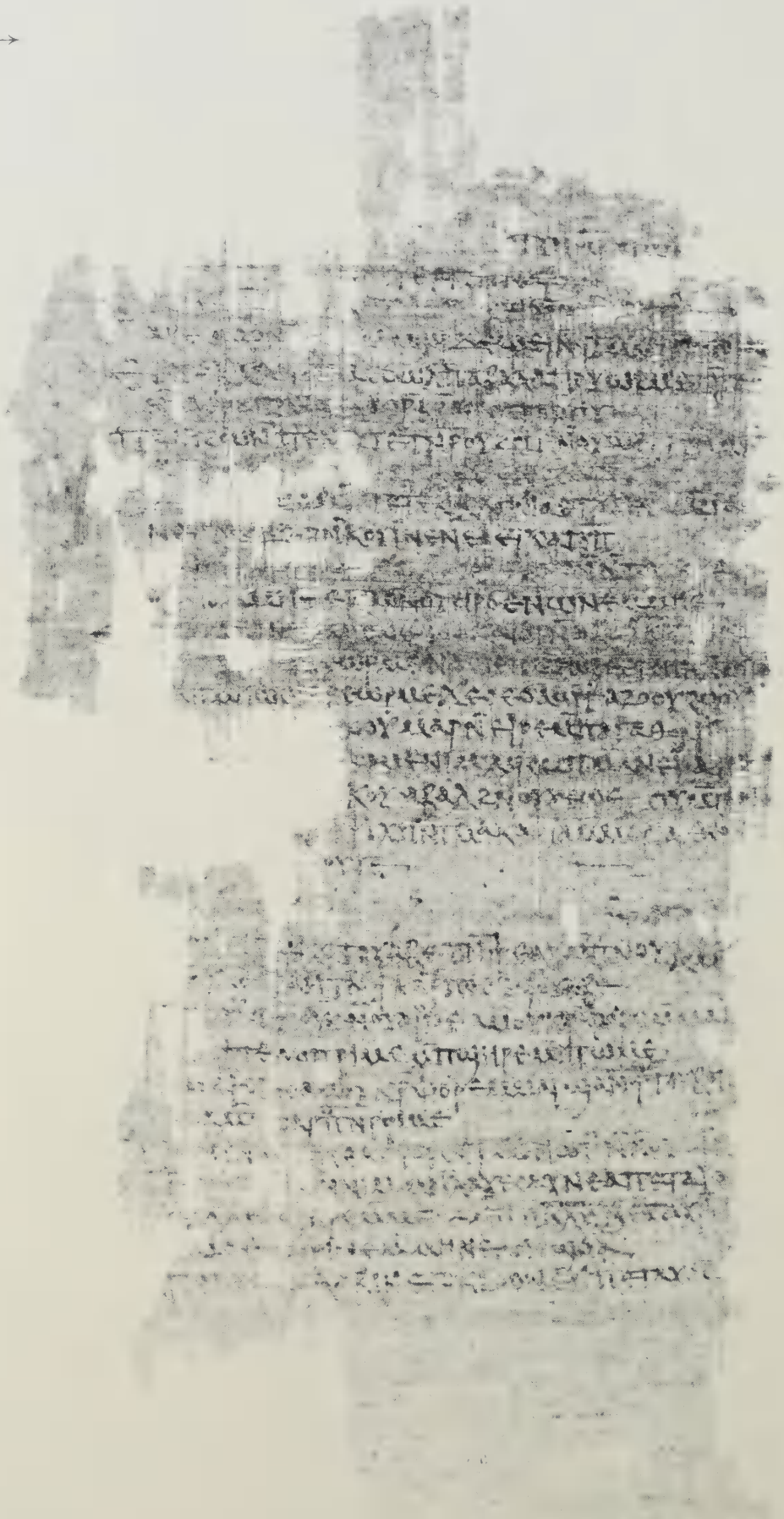
[Fragmentum a latere dextro collocatum nunc ad paginam 160 spectare comperitur.]

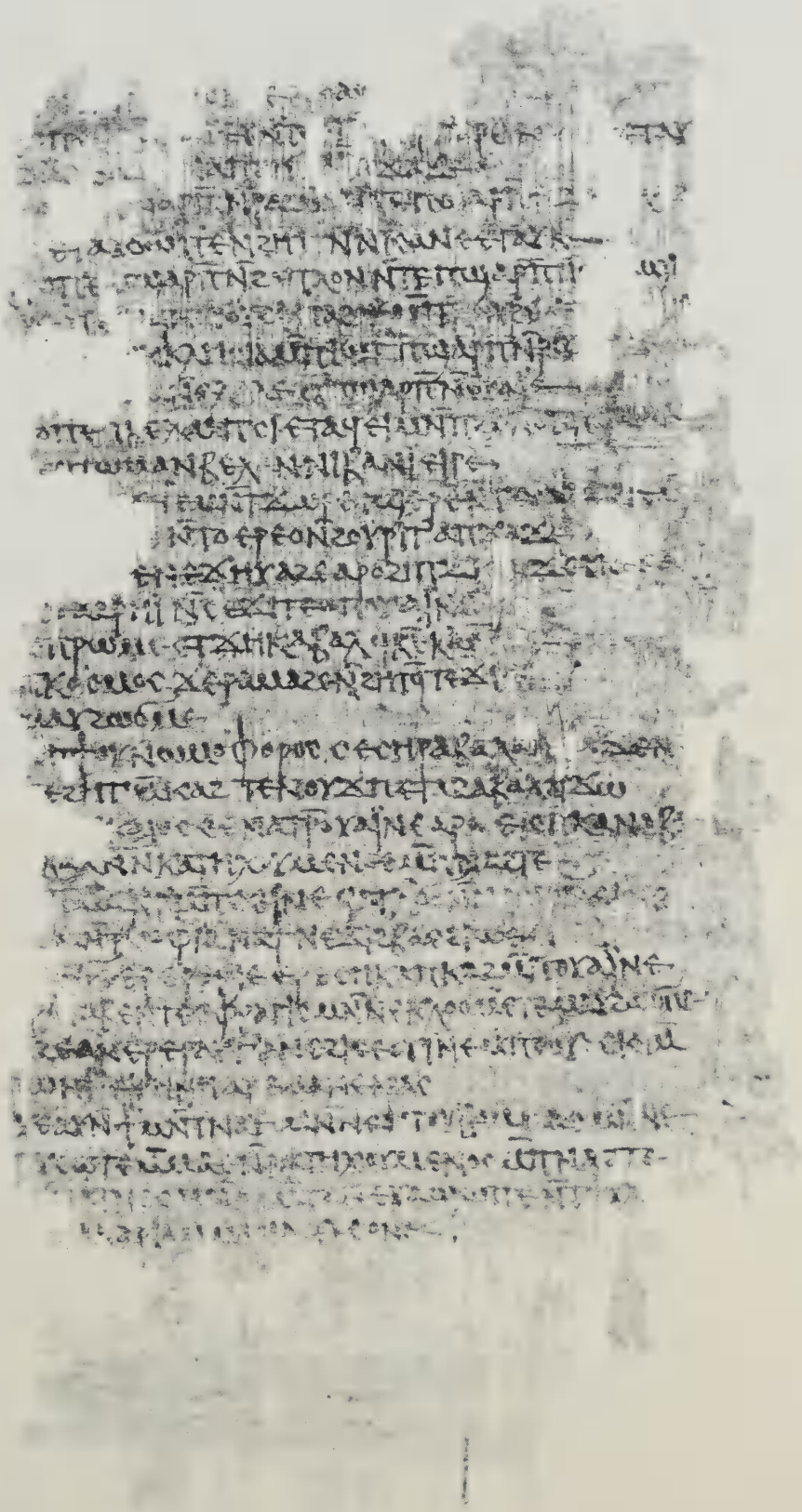


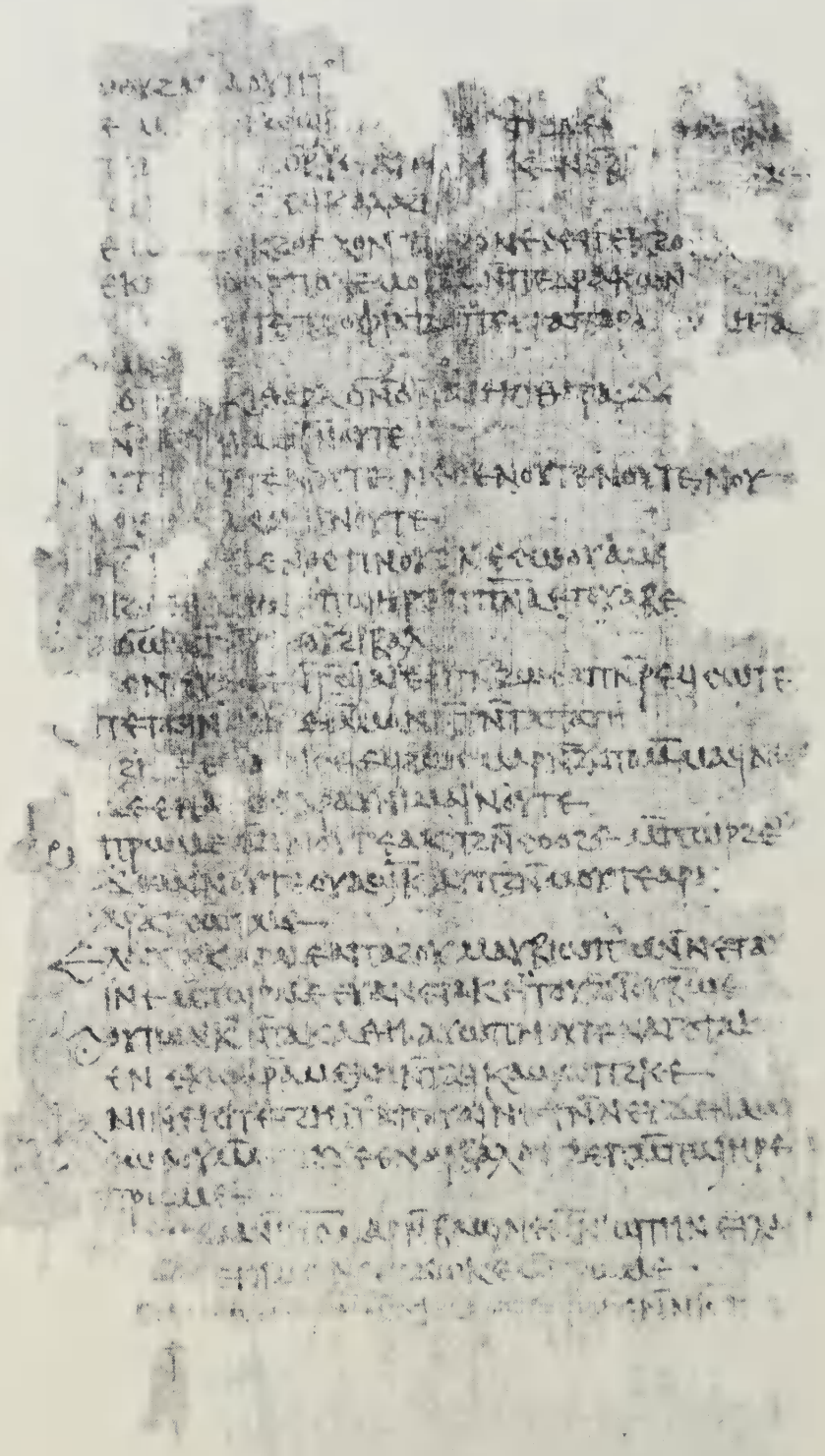


[Vide supra, adn. ad tab. 158.]

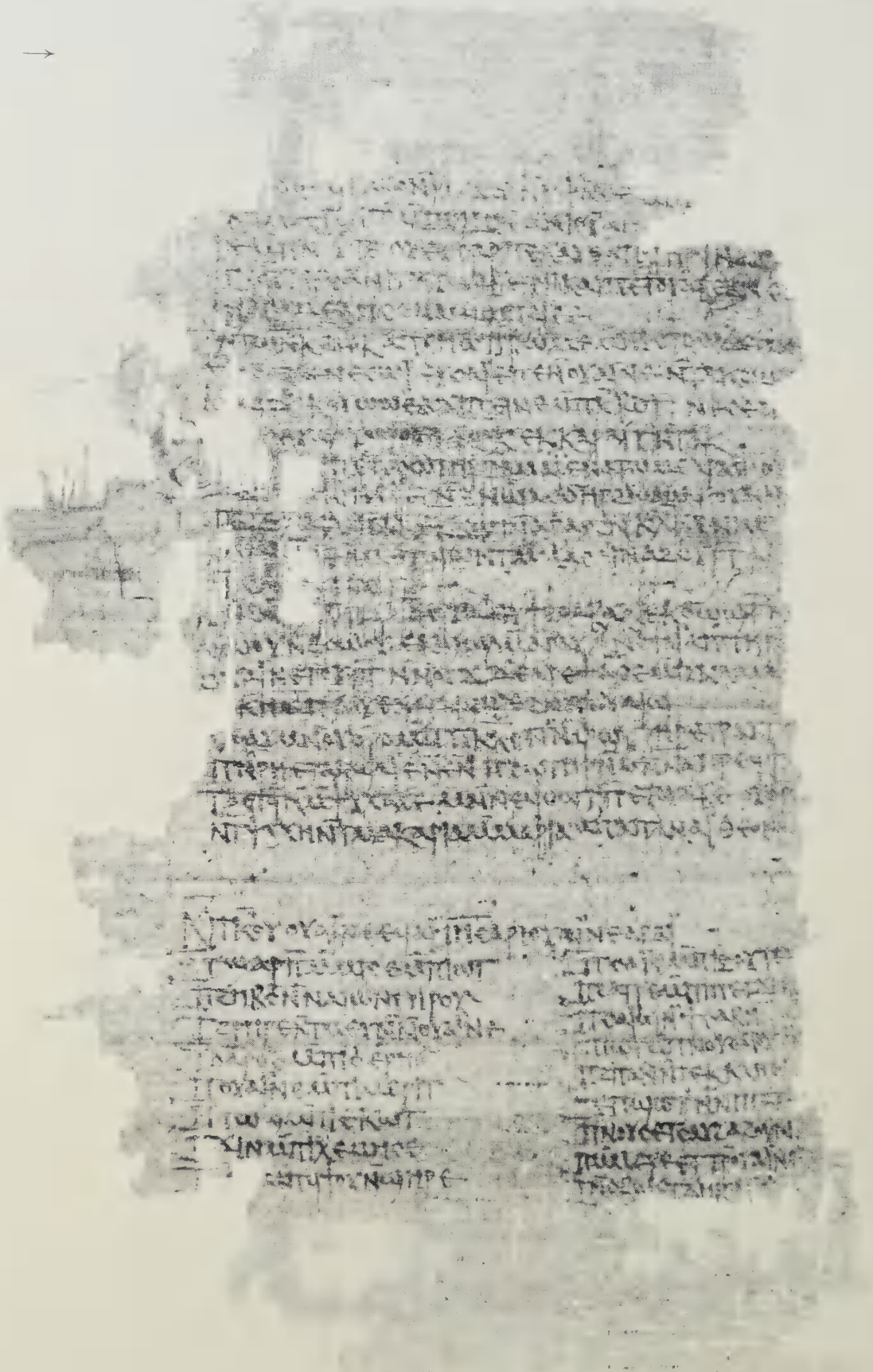


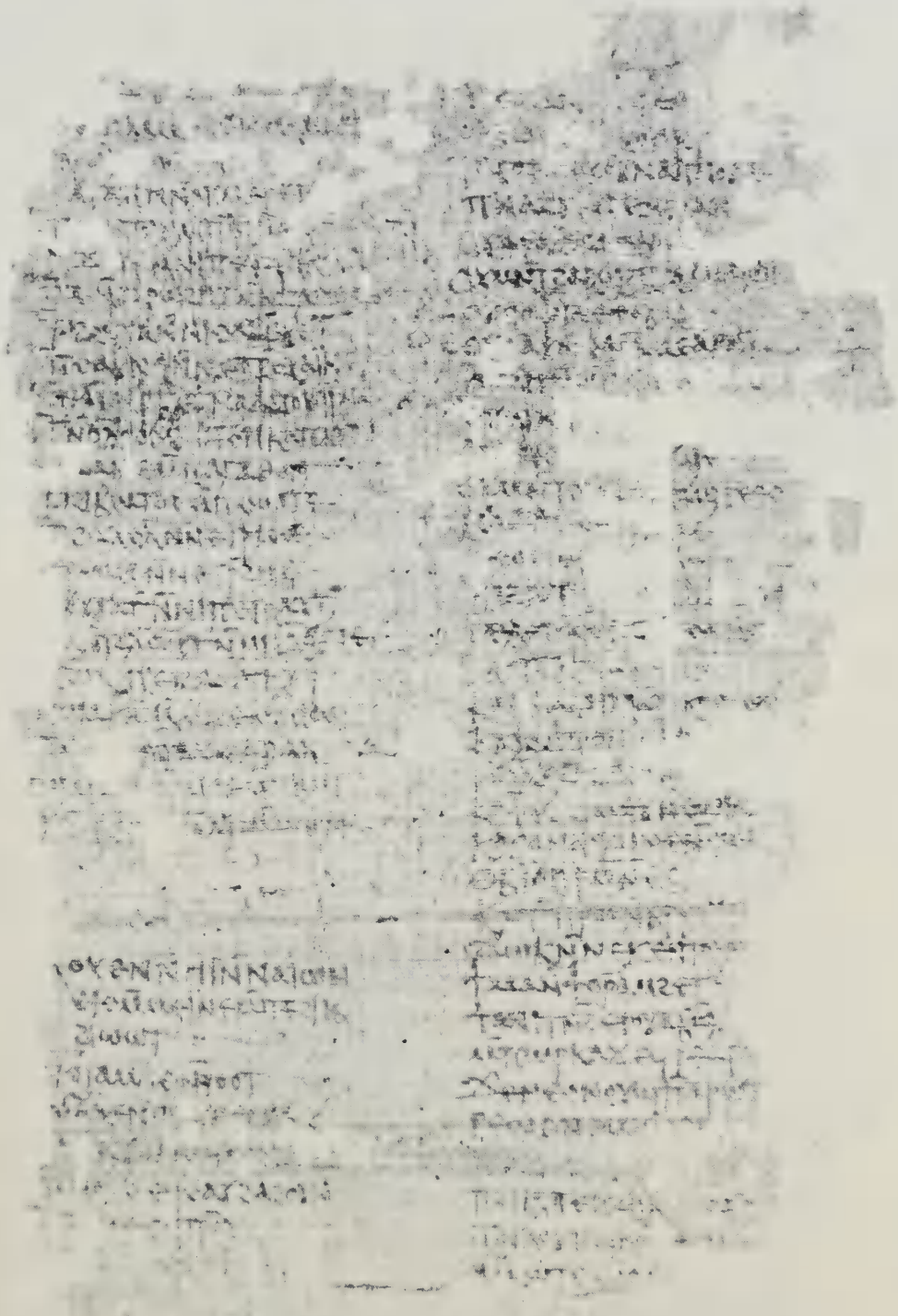


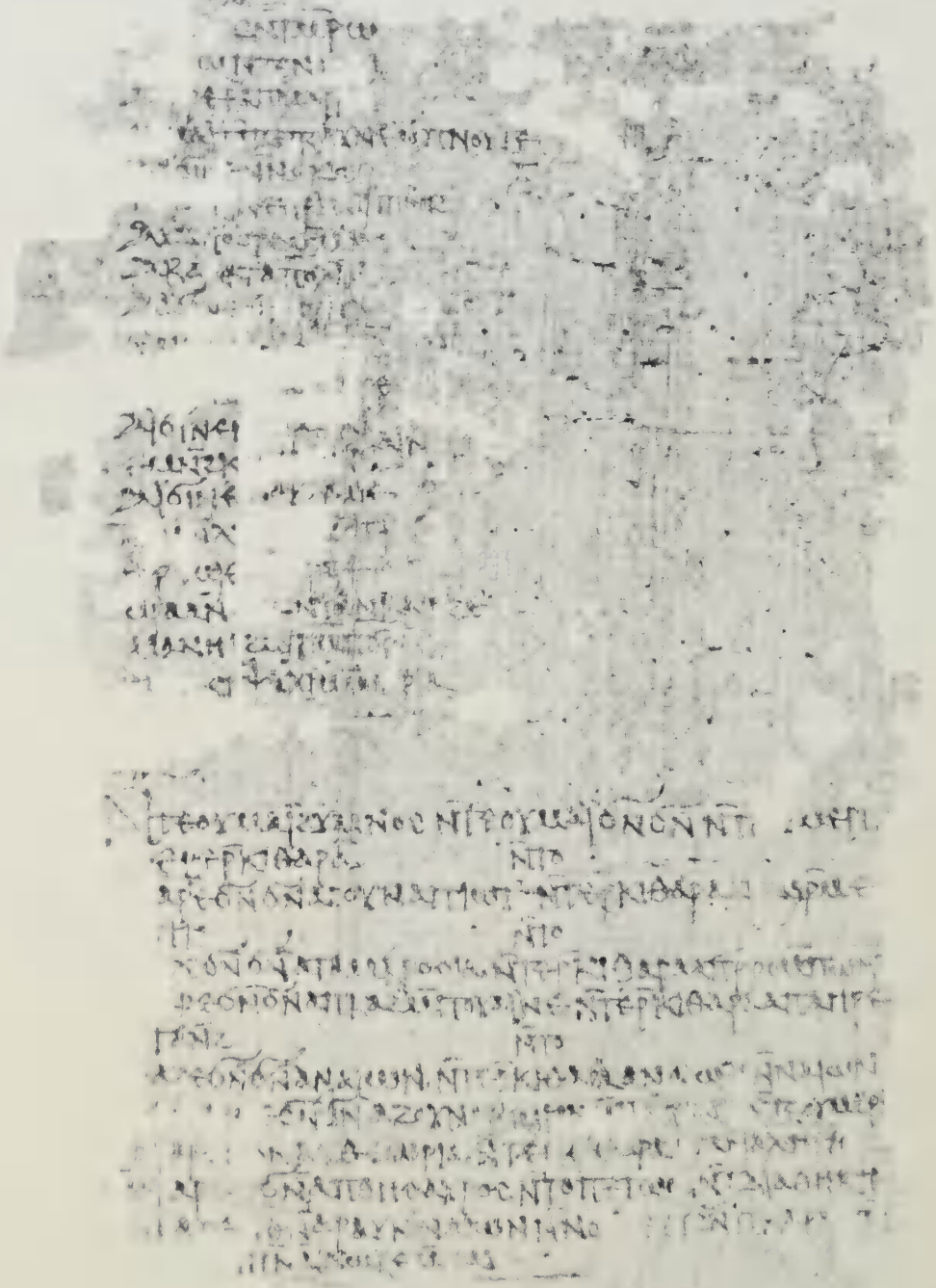


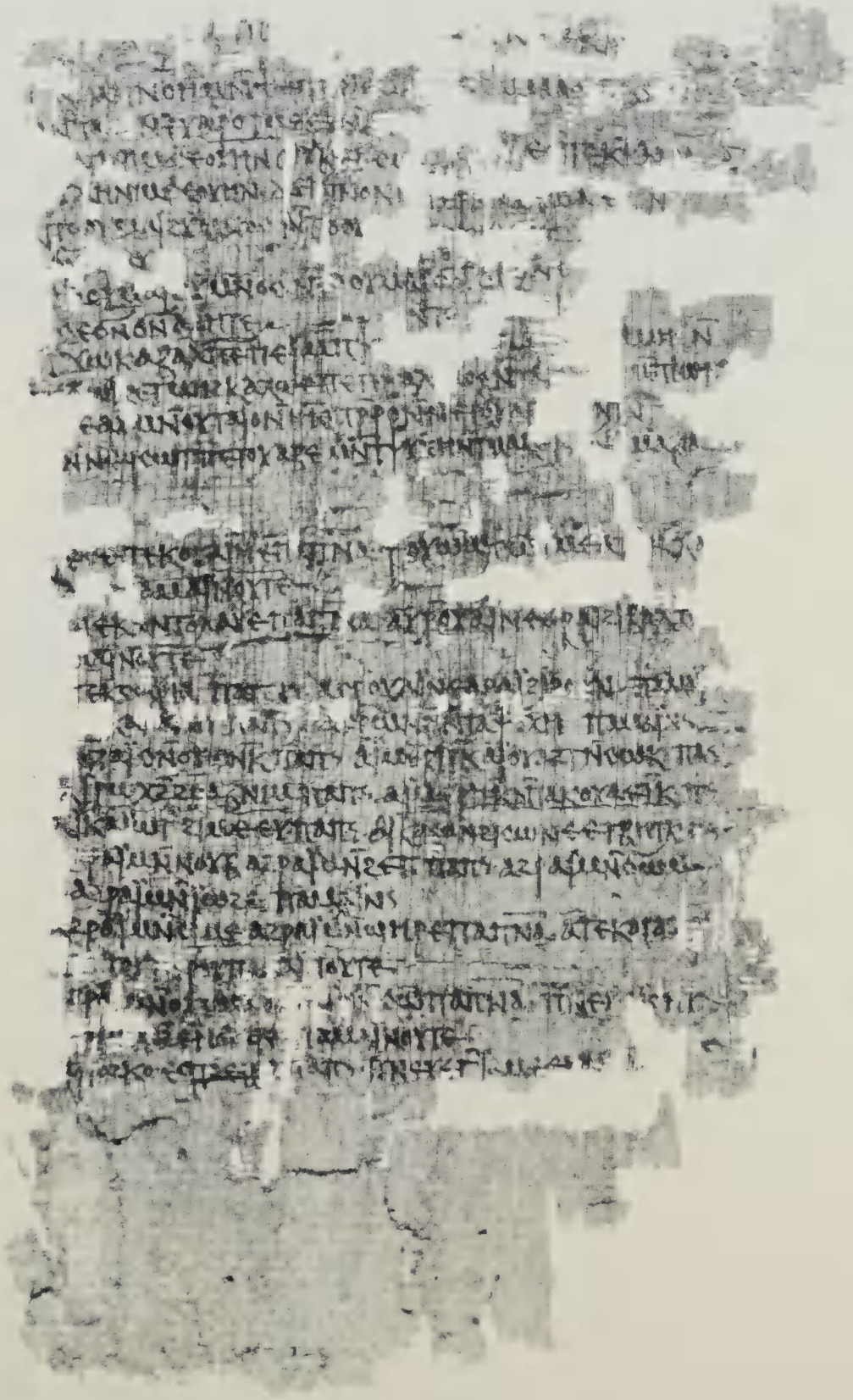


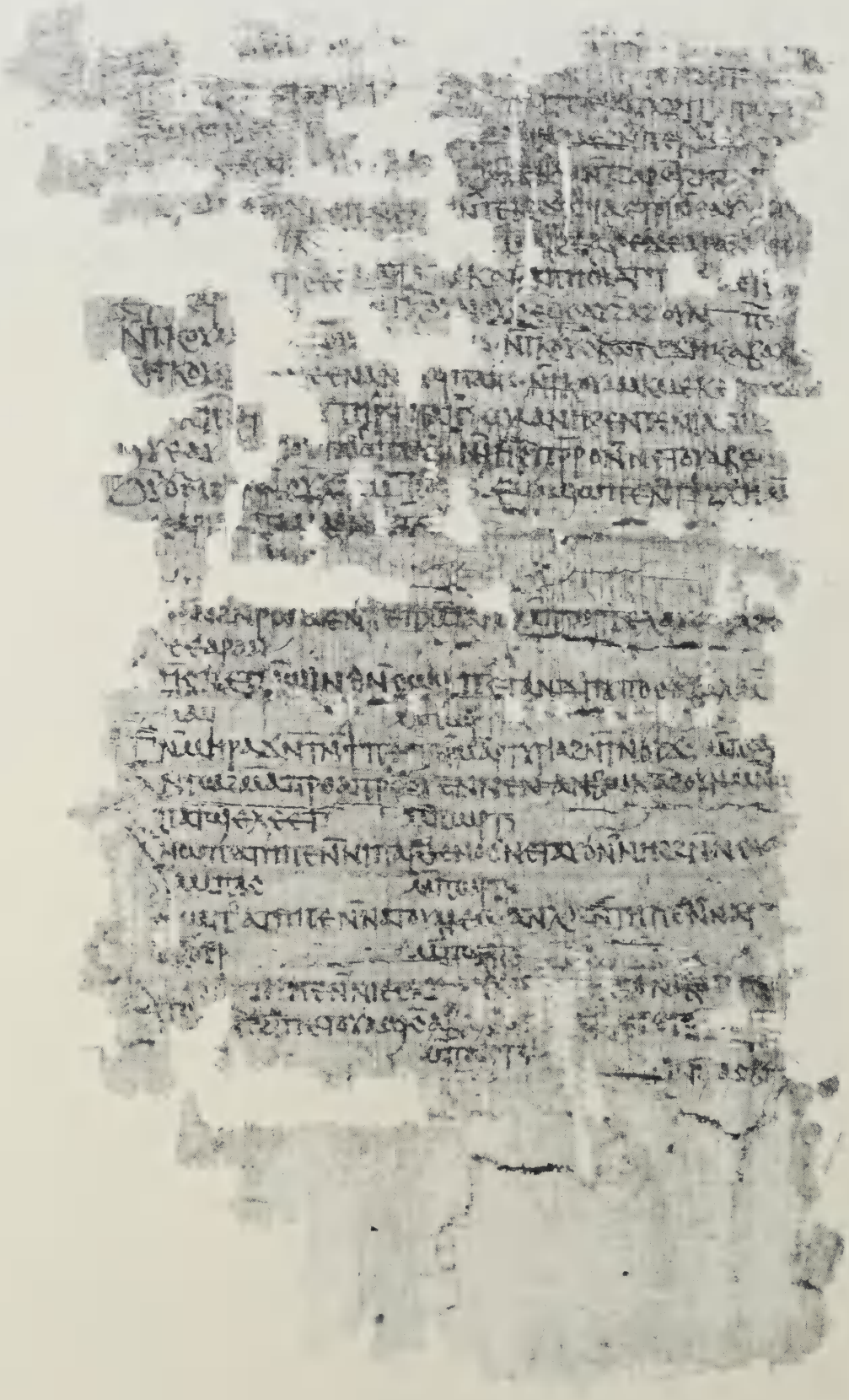


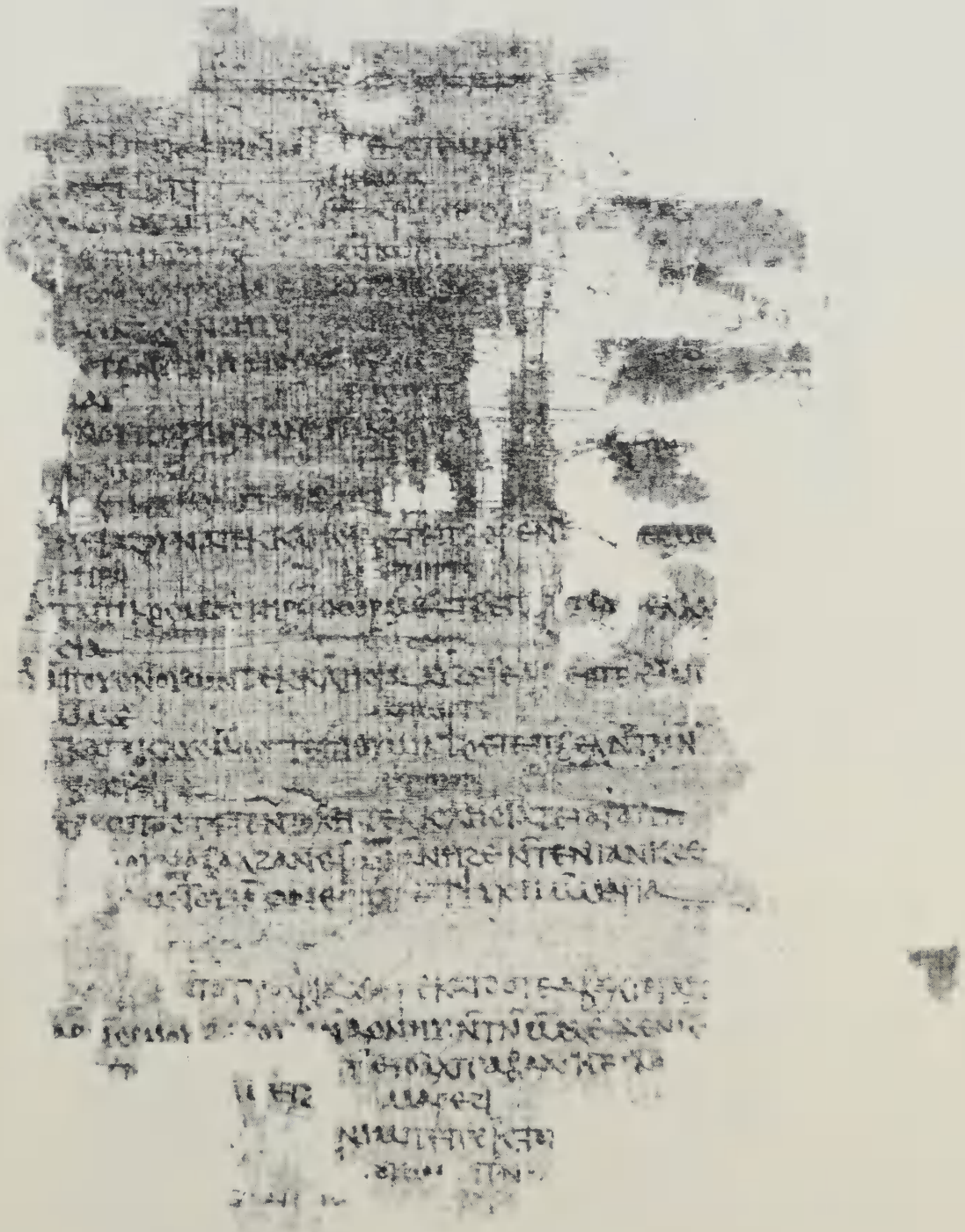




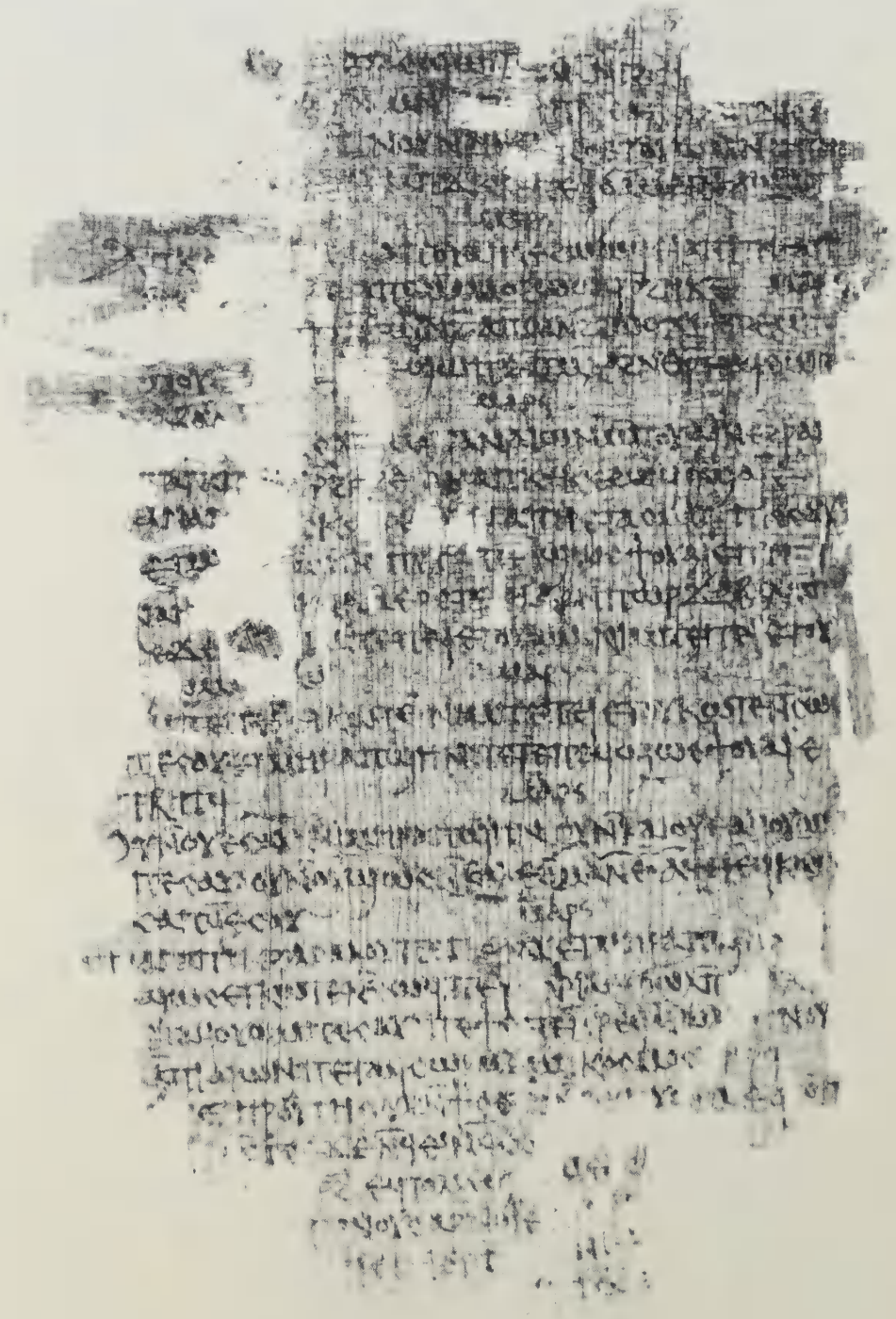


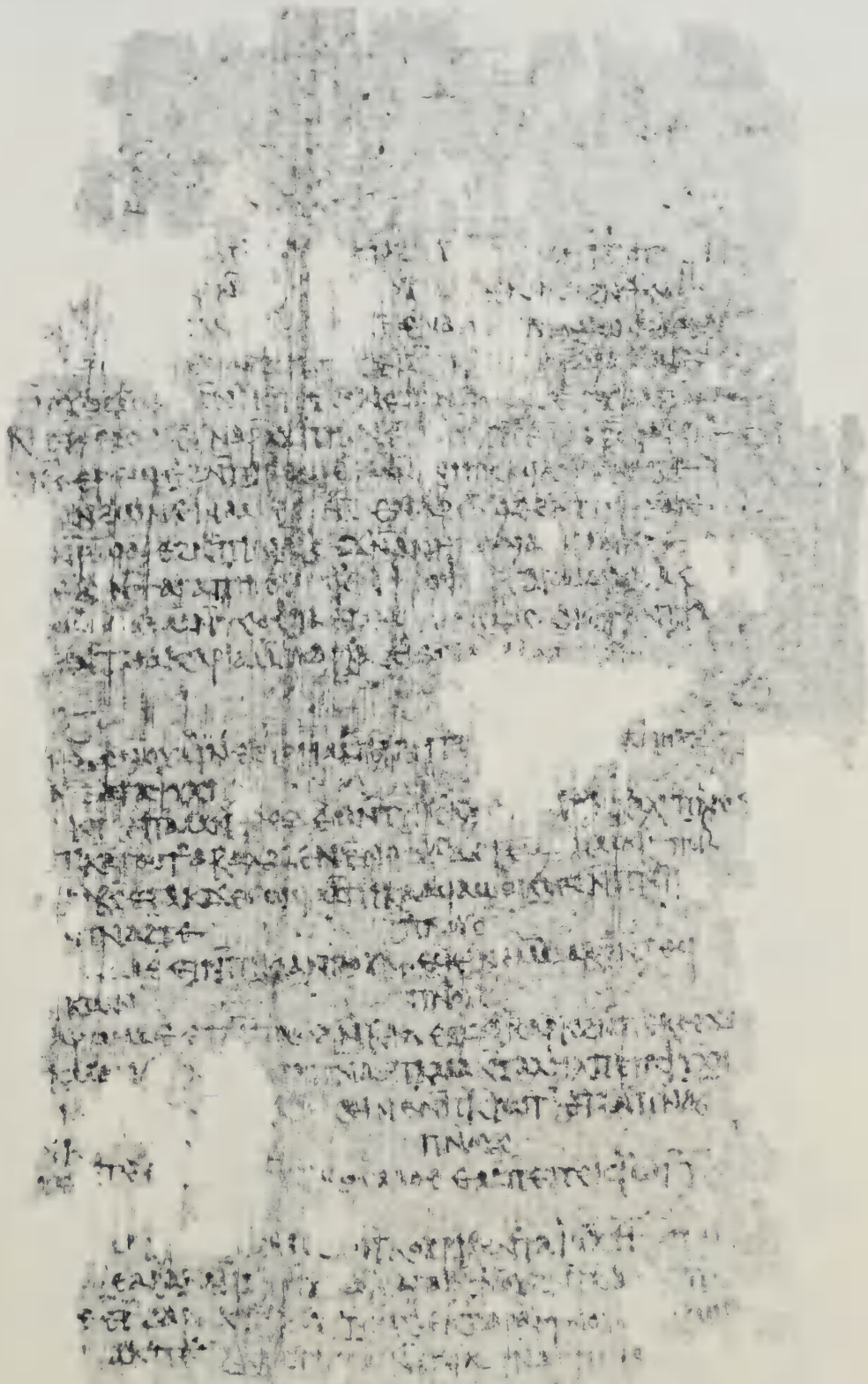


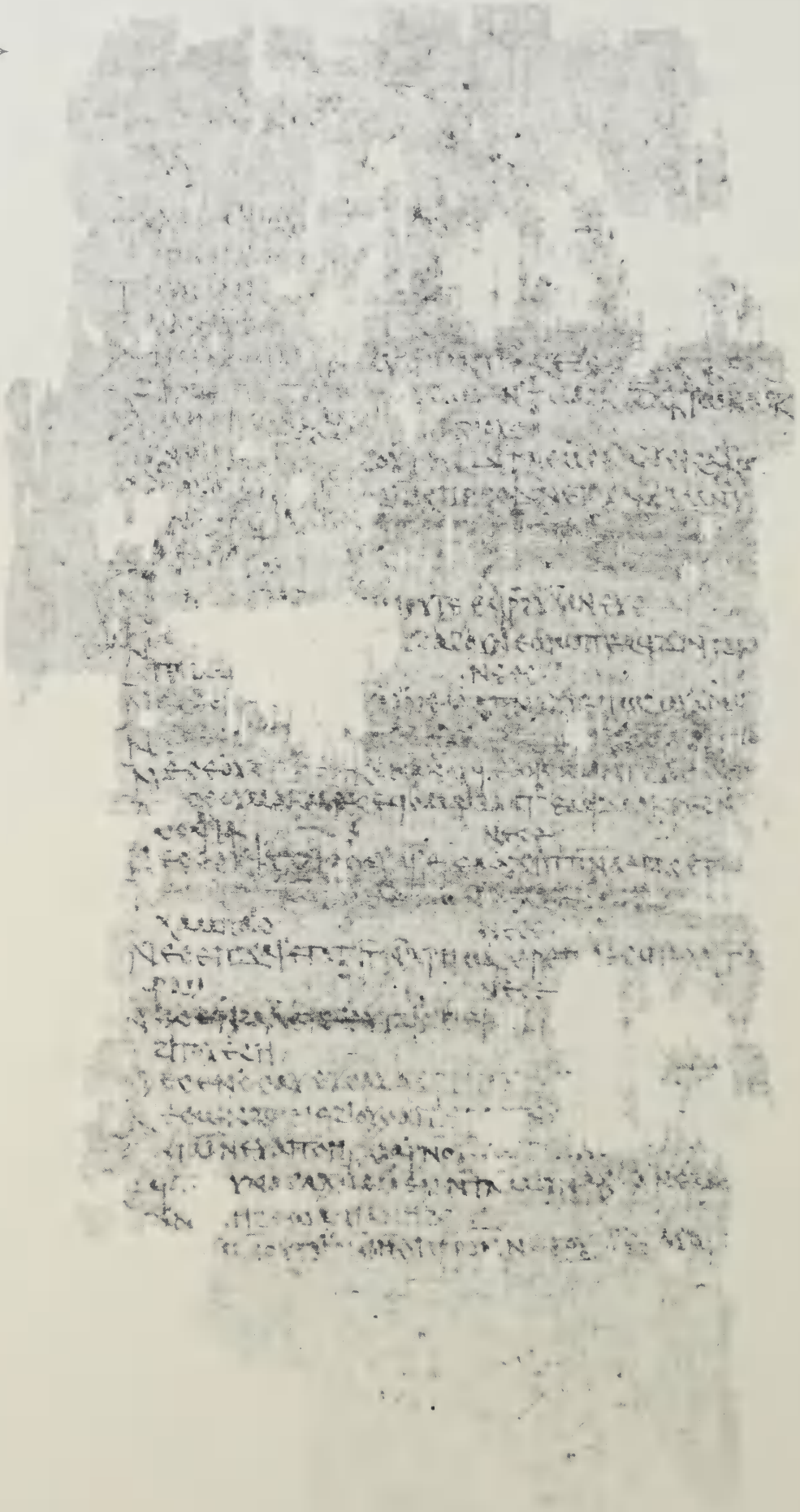


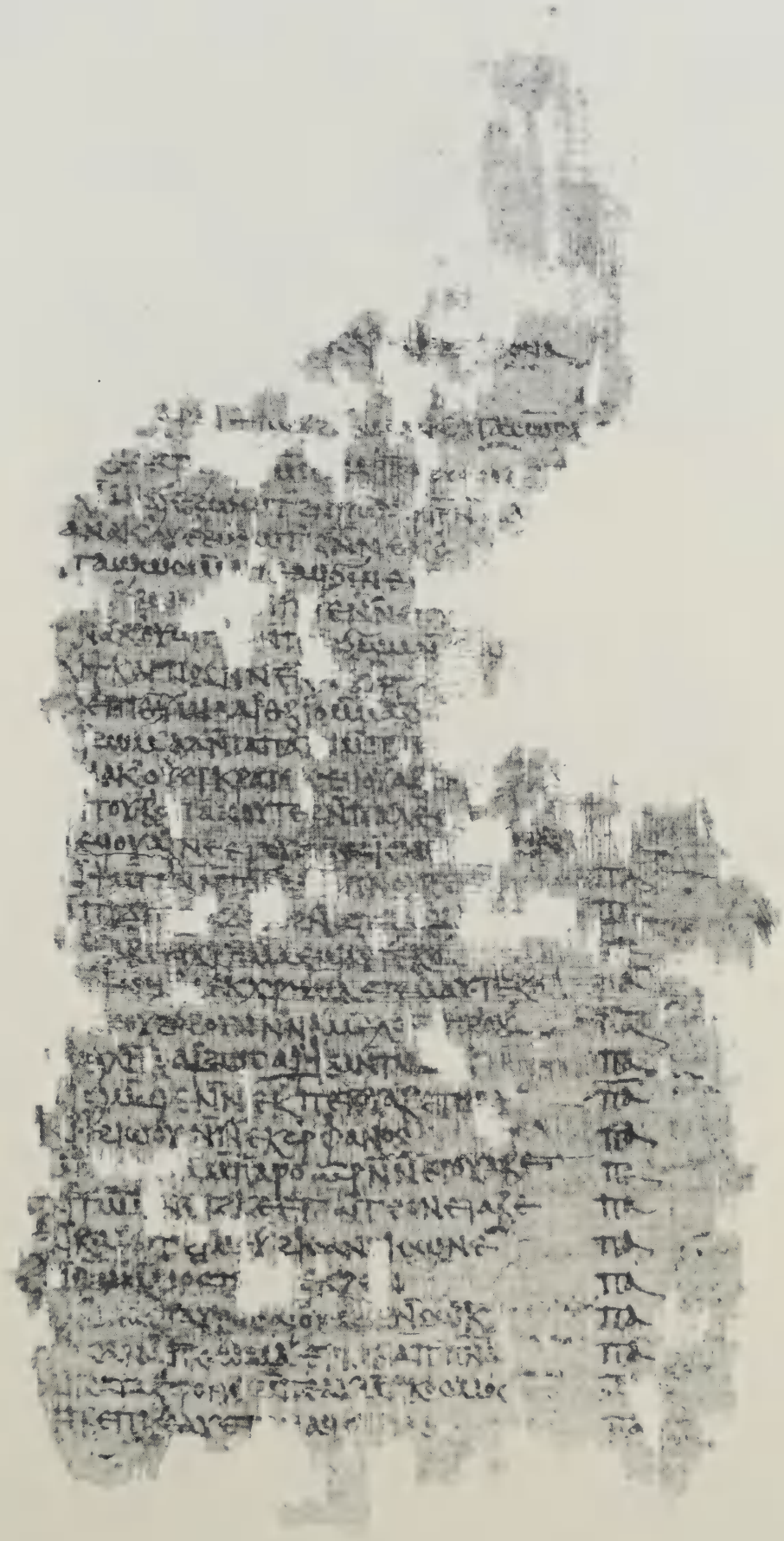


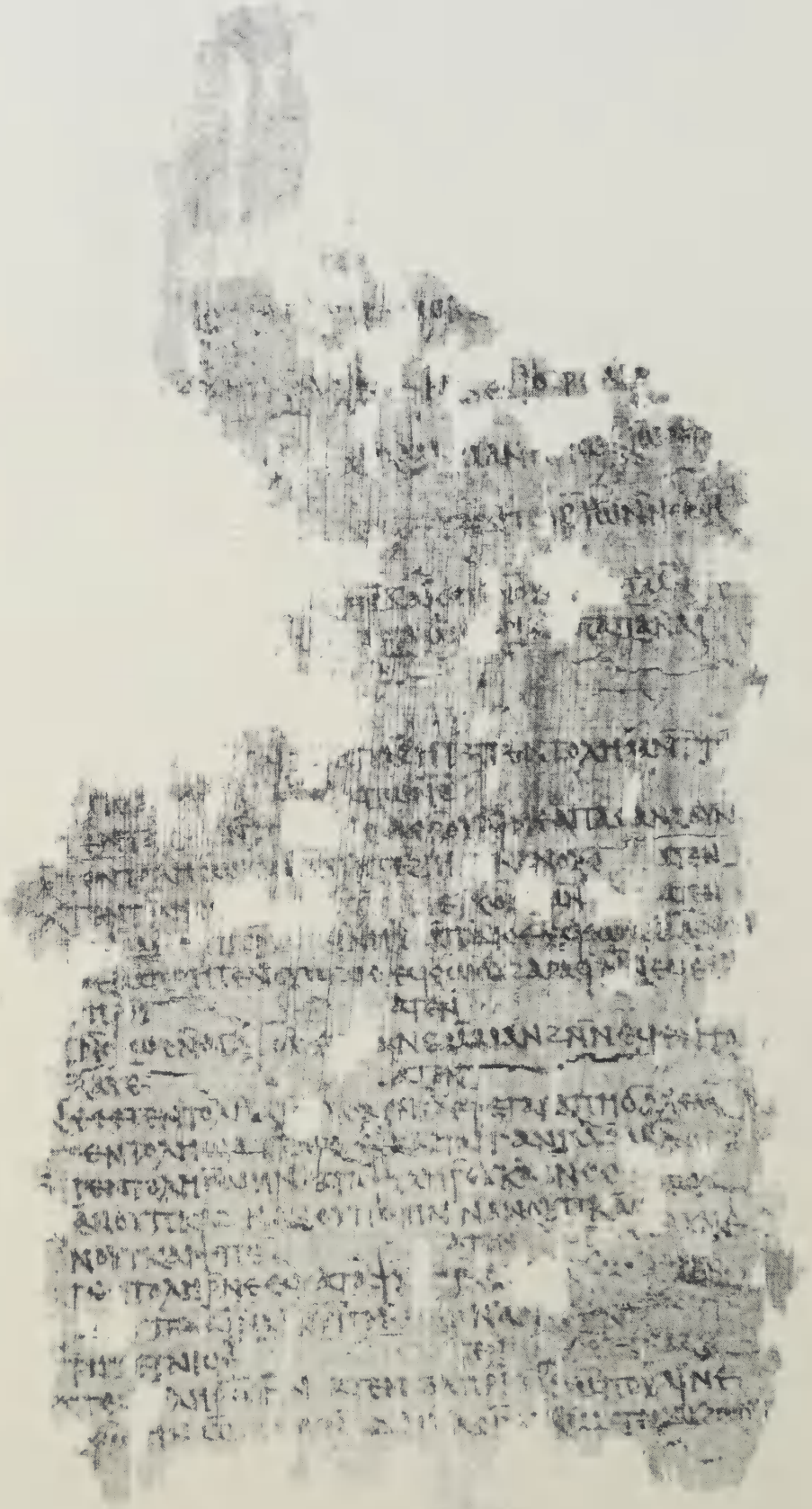
[Fragmenta quaedam ad p. 171-172 pertinentia R. Kasserus photographice restituit.]

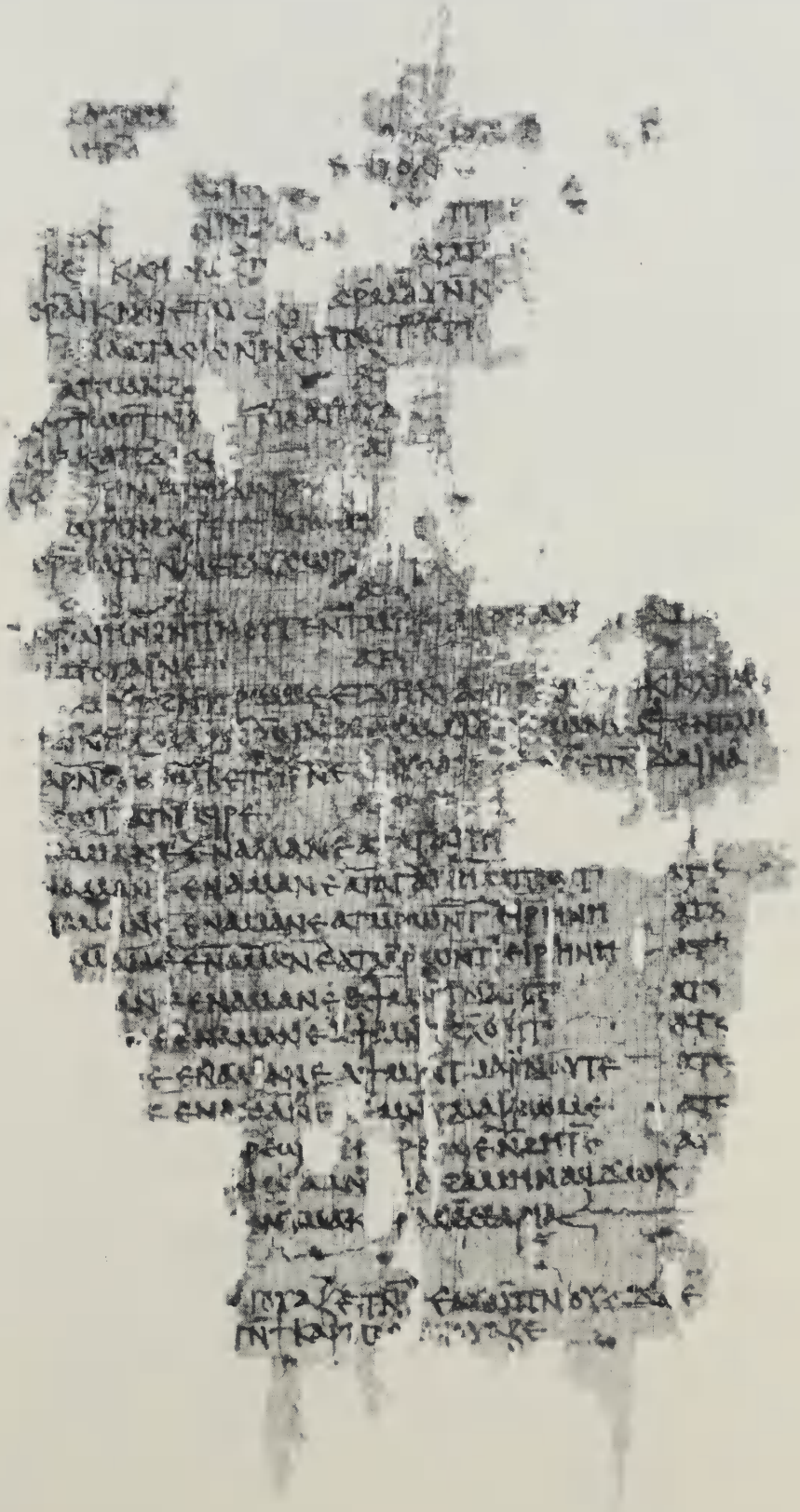


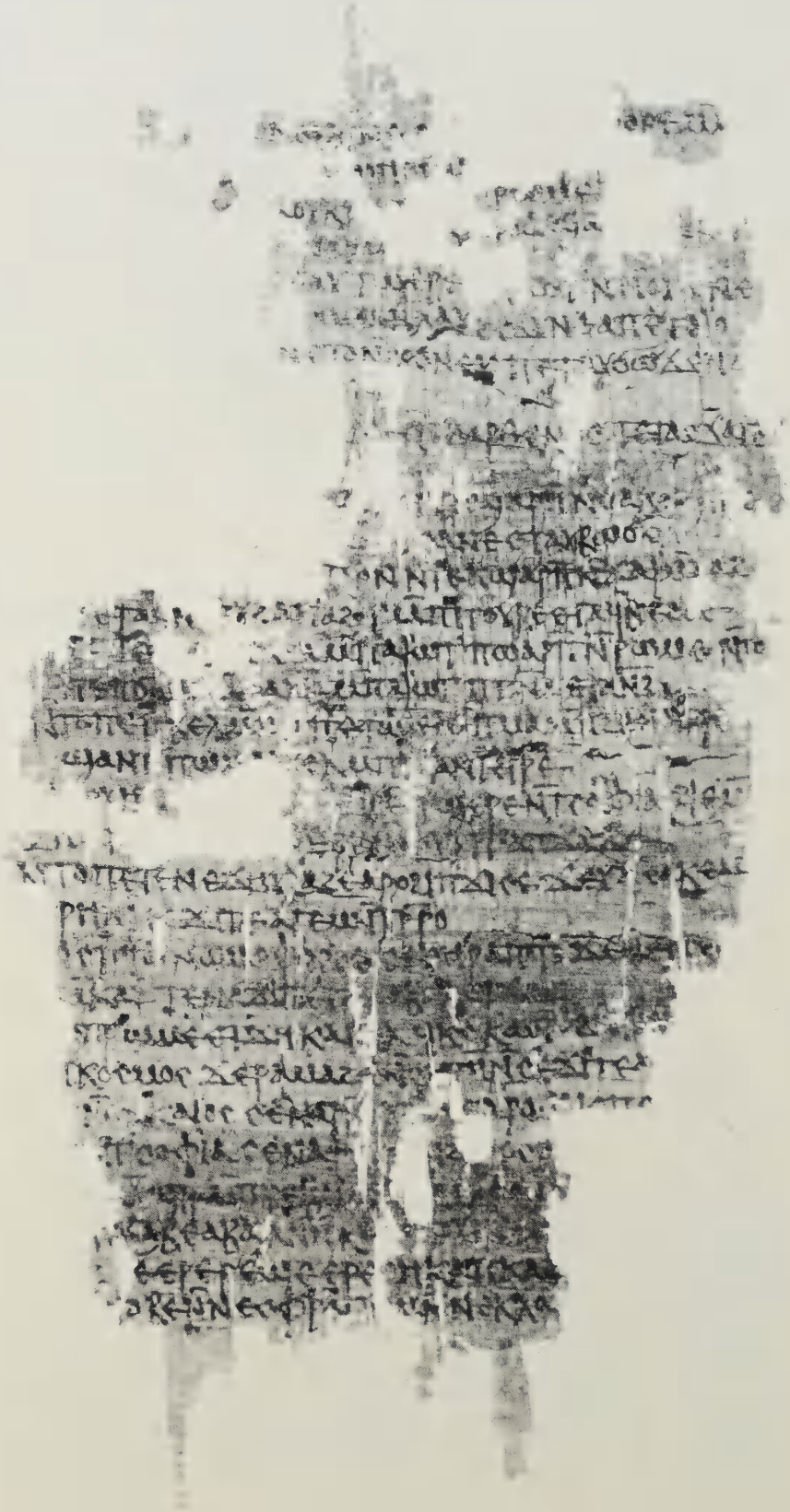


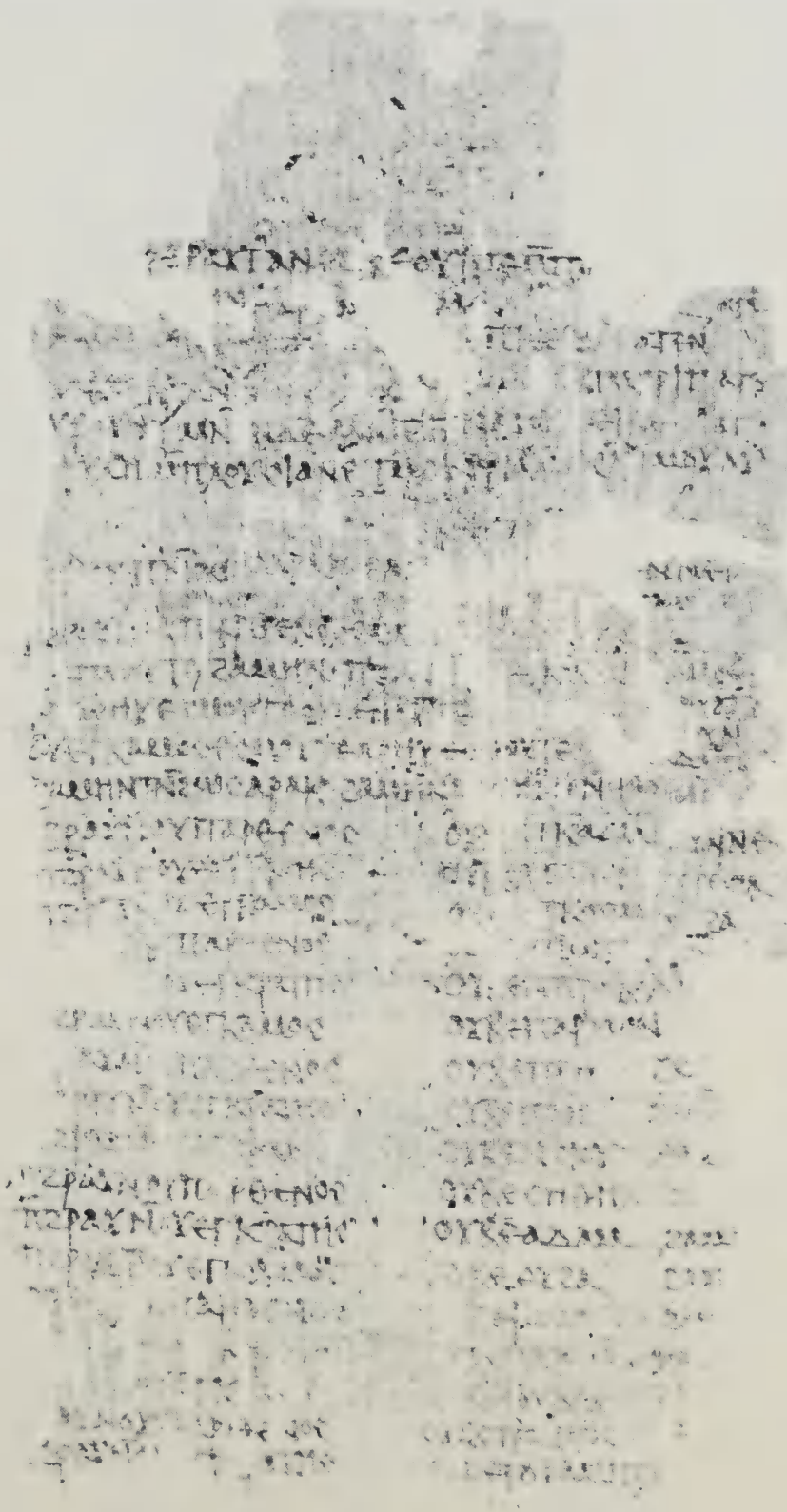


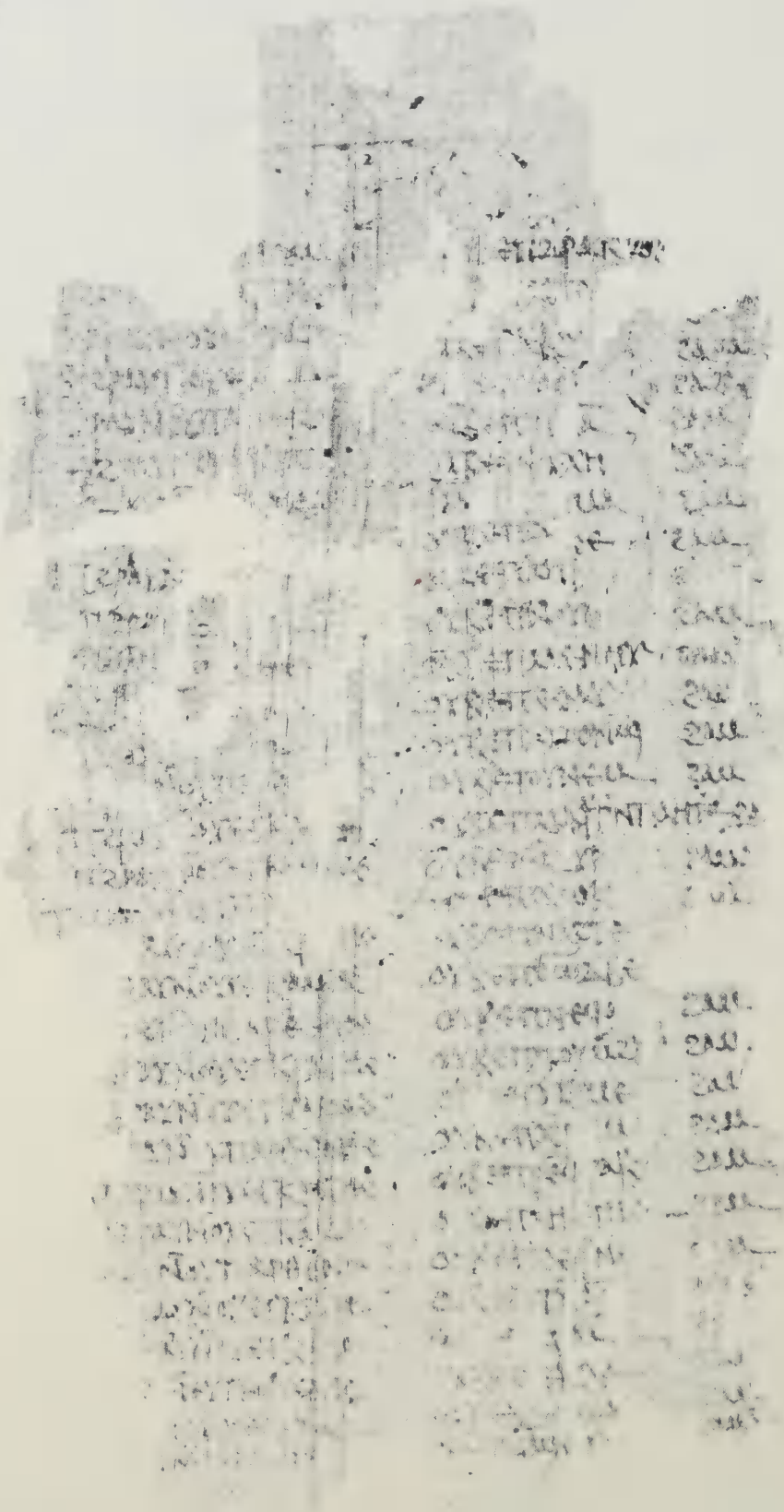


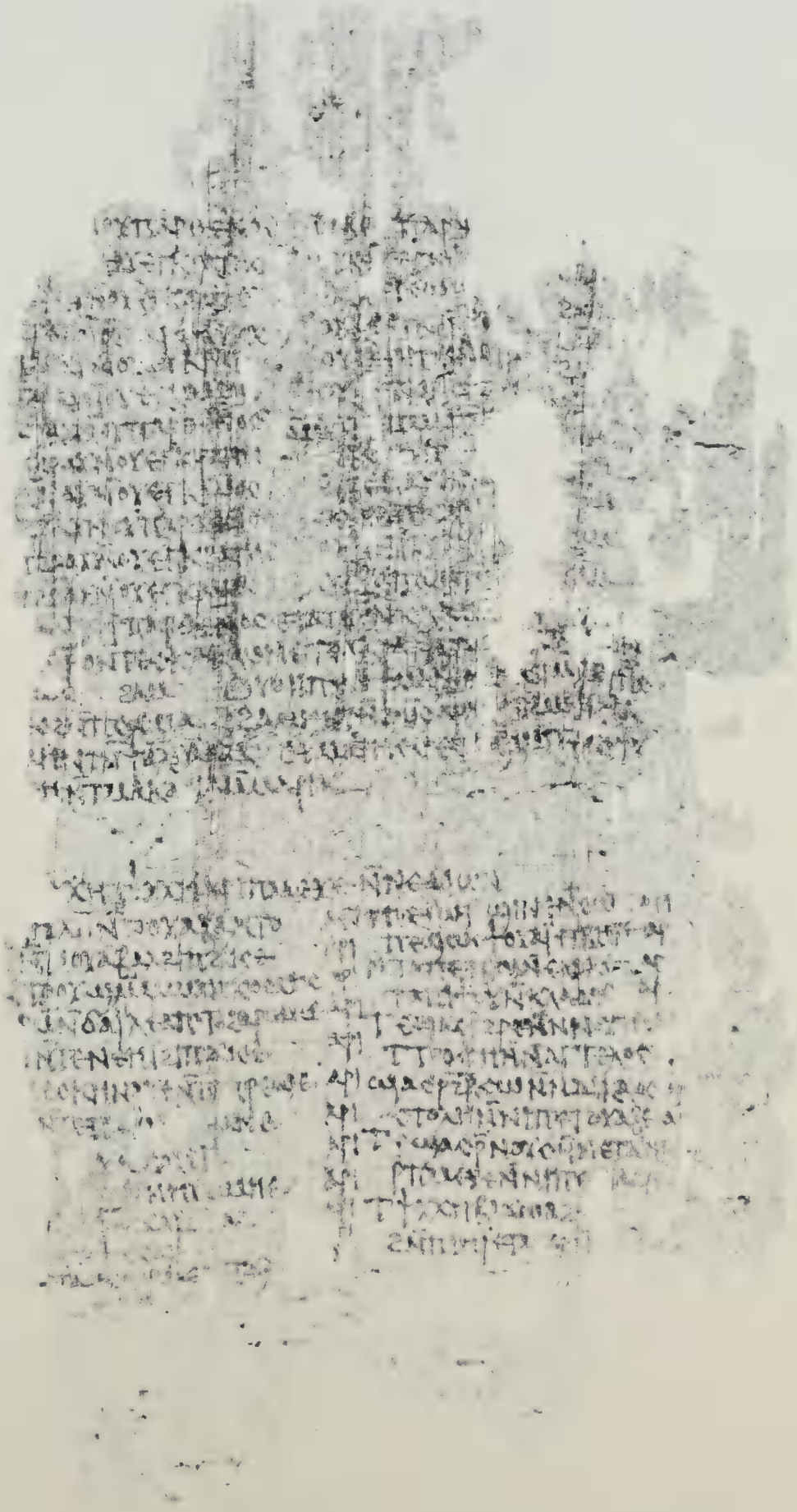


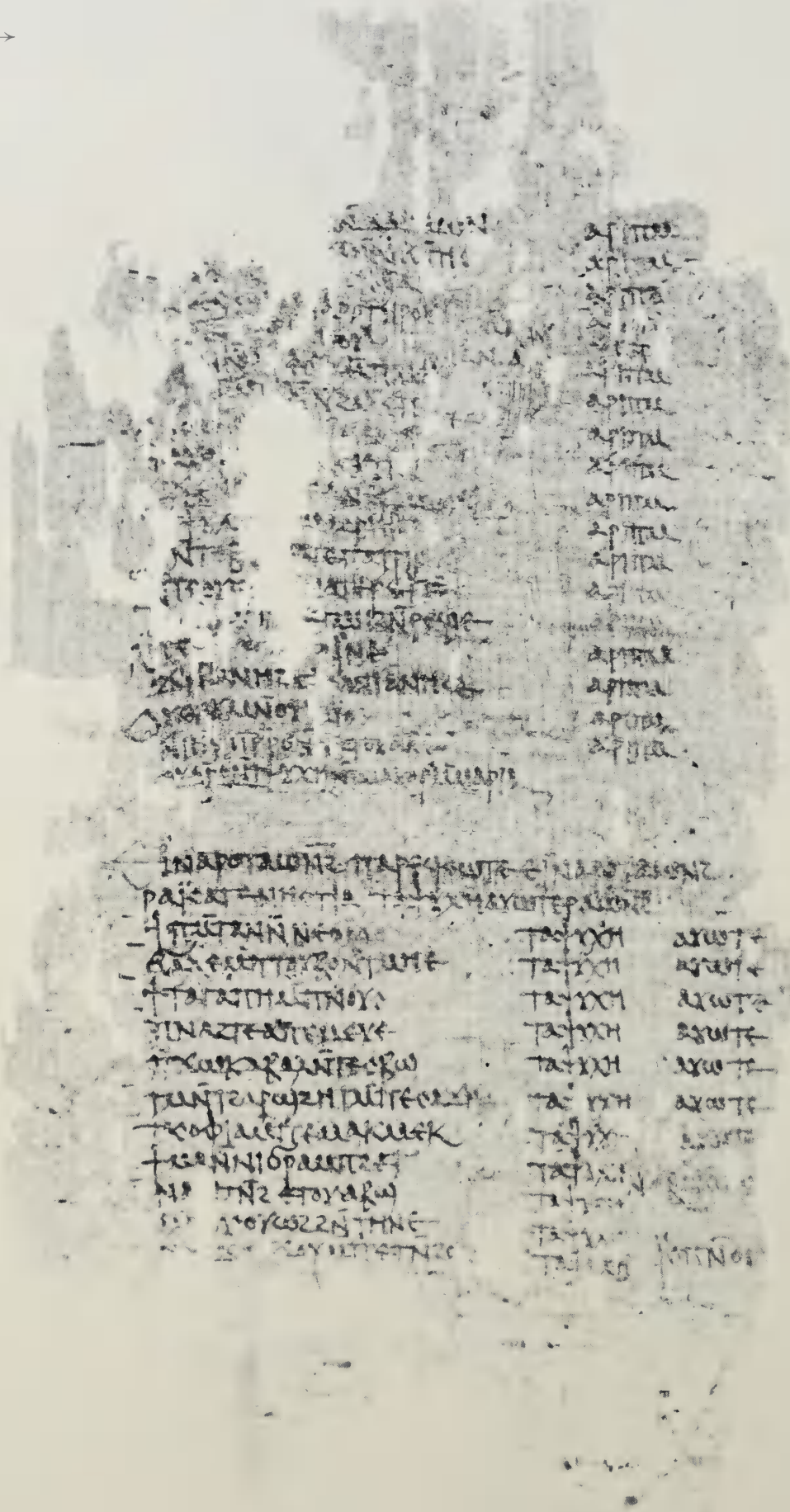


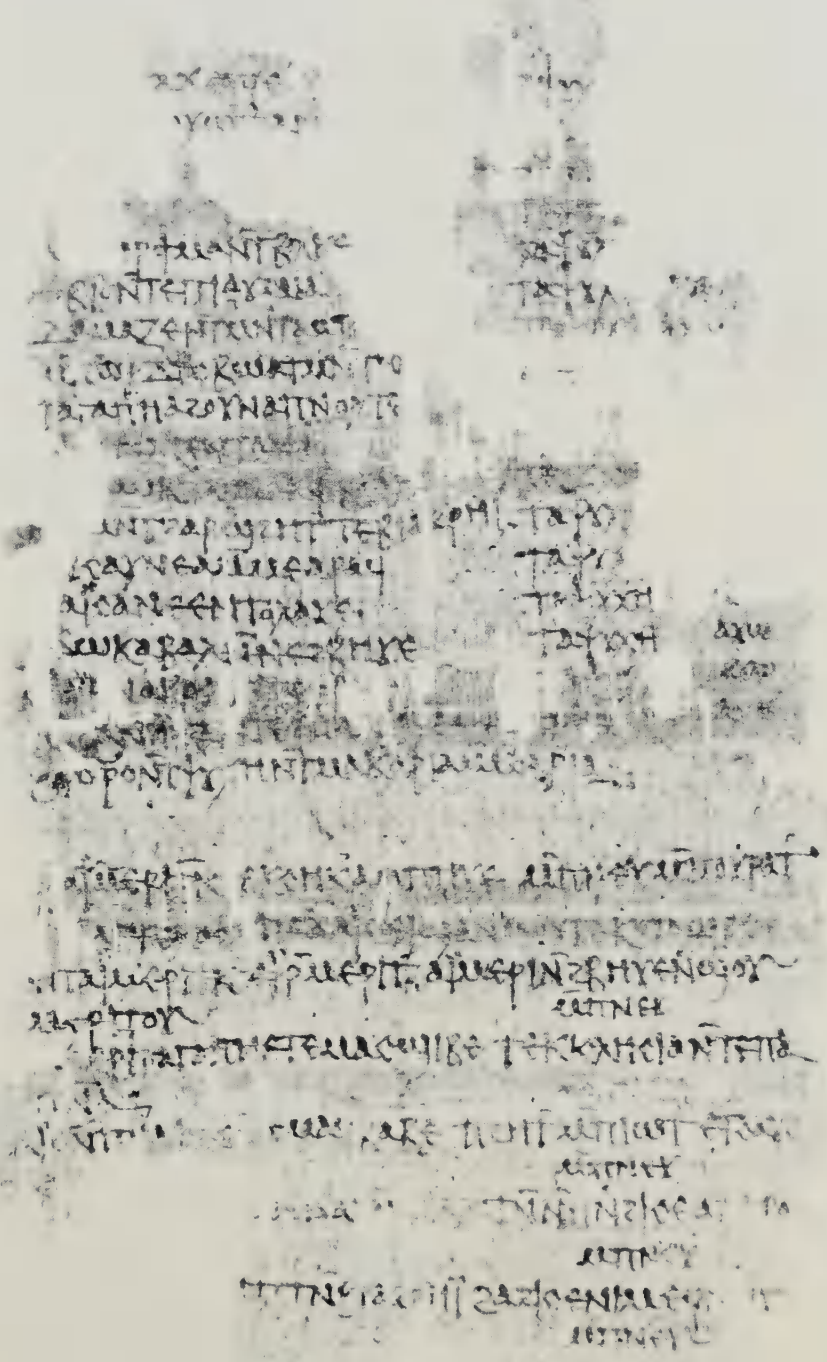




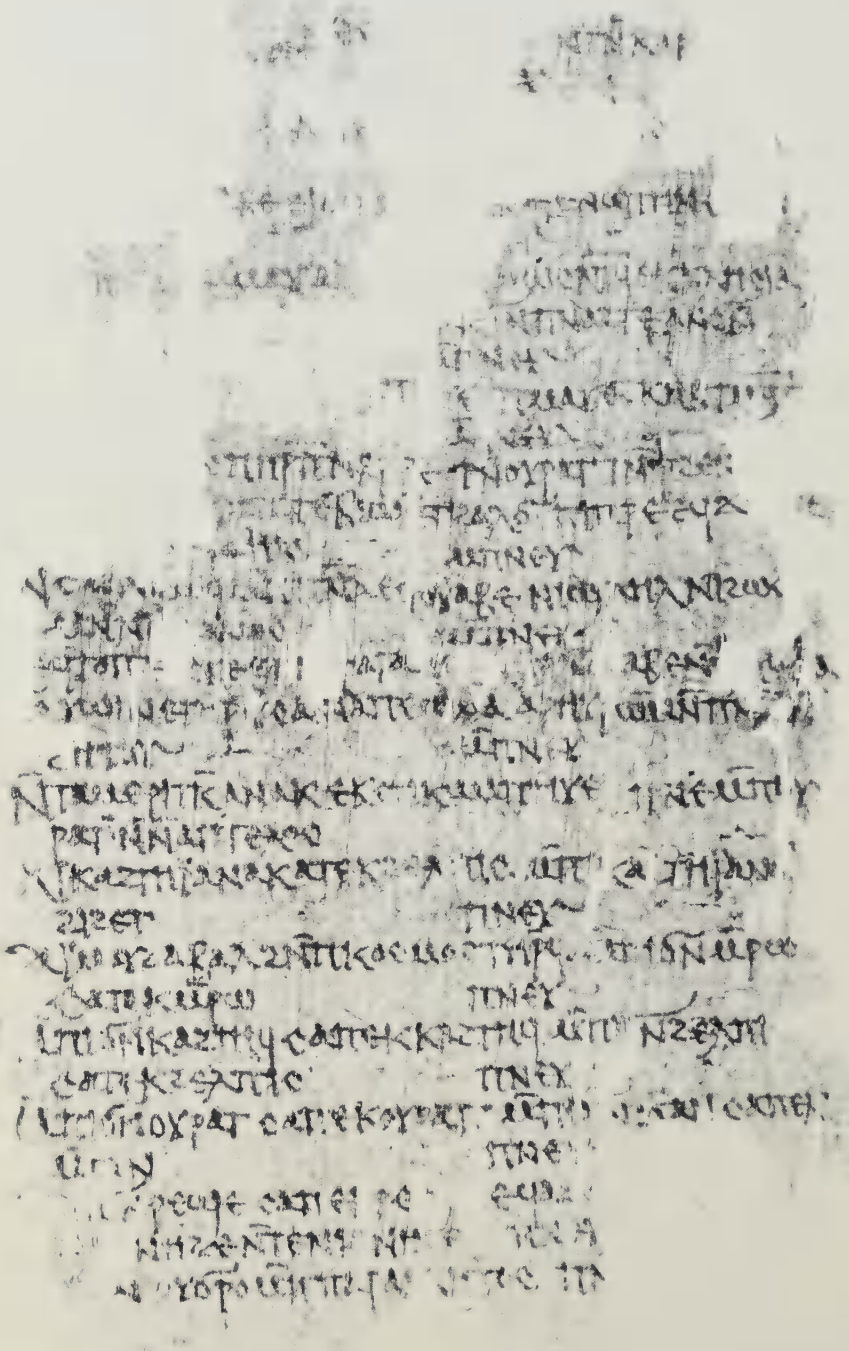


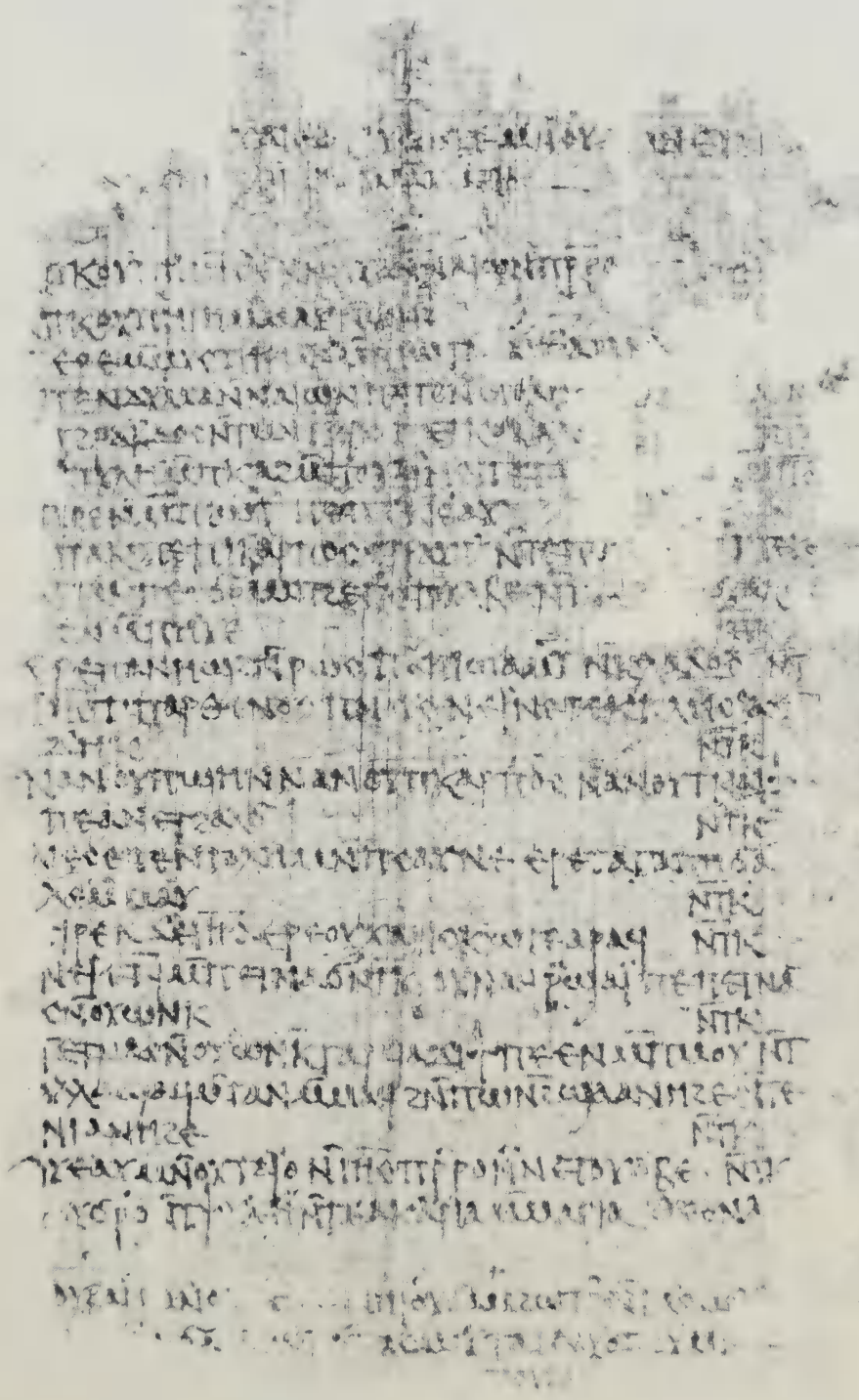


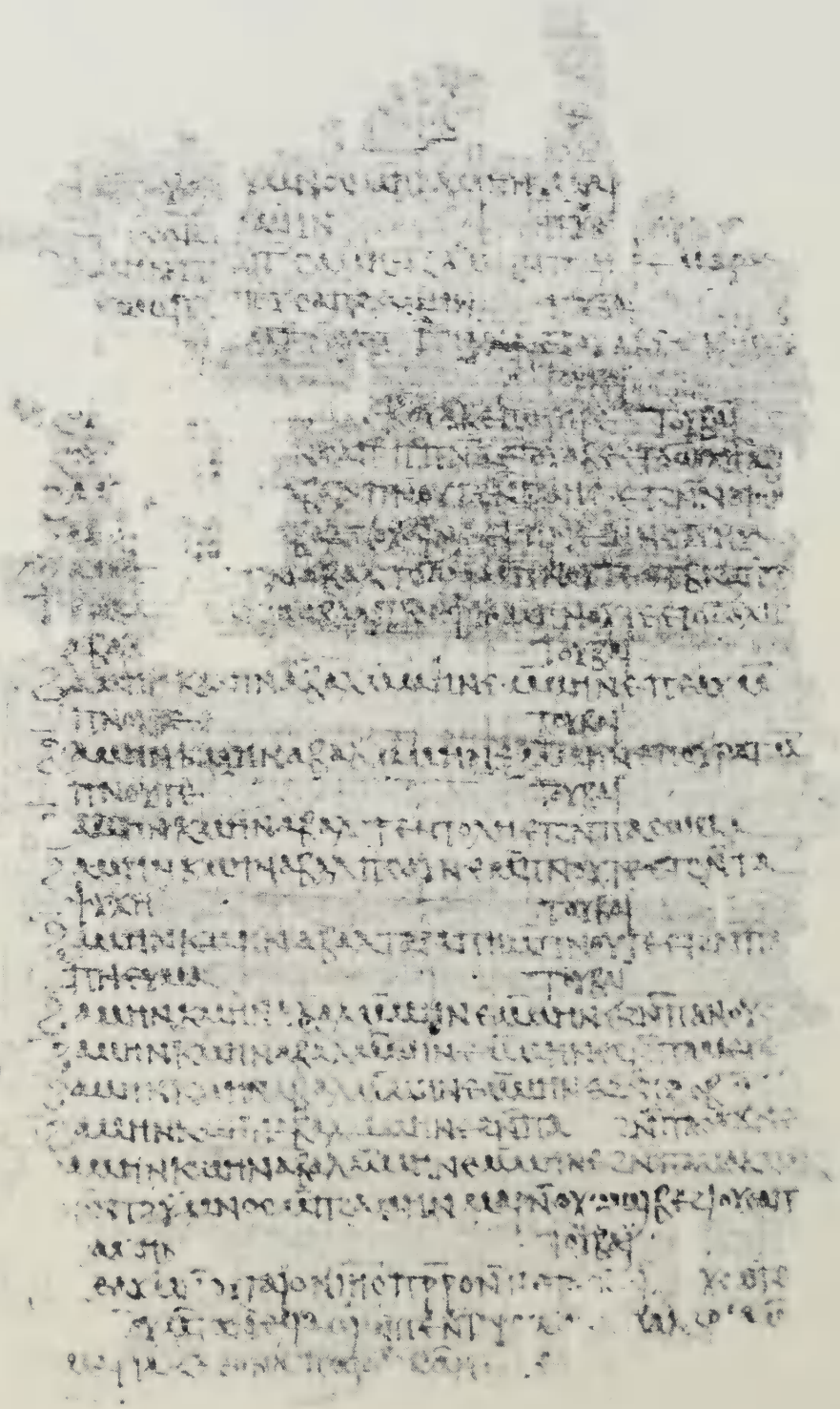


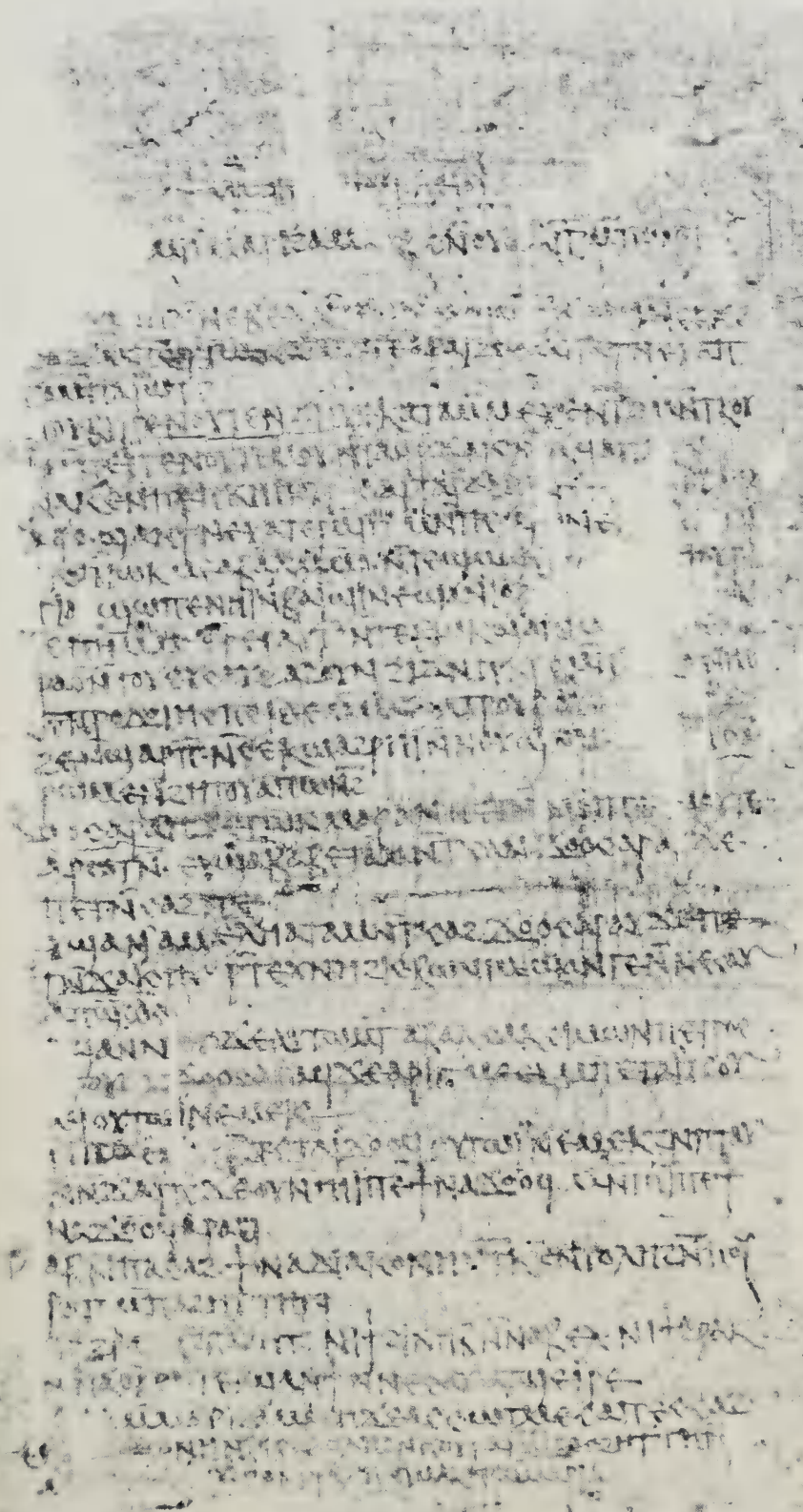


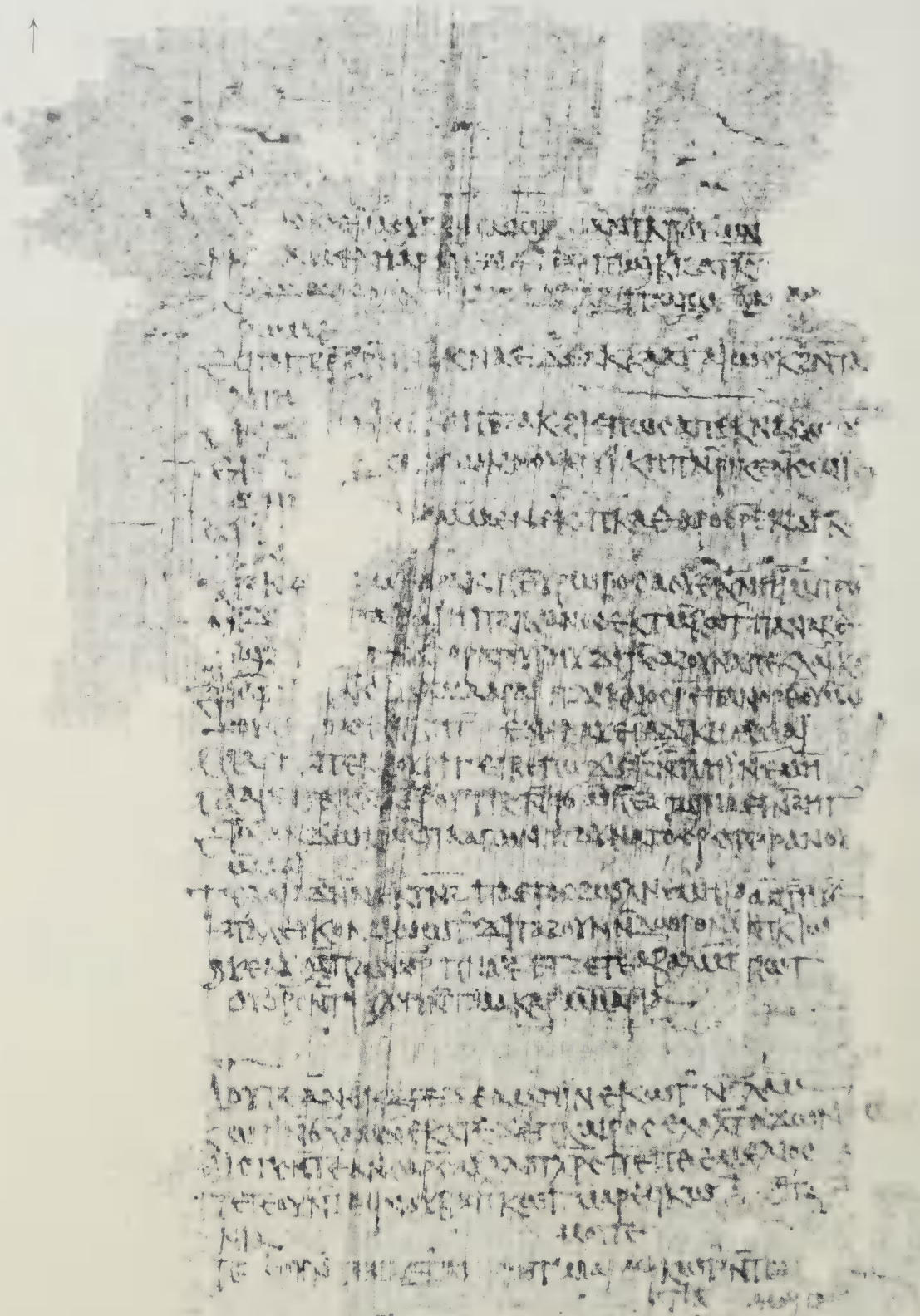
[Fragmenta quaedam ad p. 183-184 pertinentia R. Kasserus photographice restituit.]

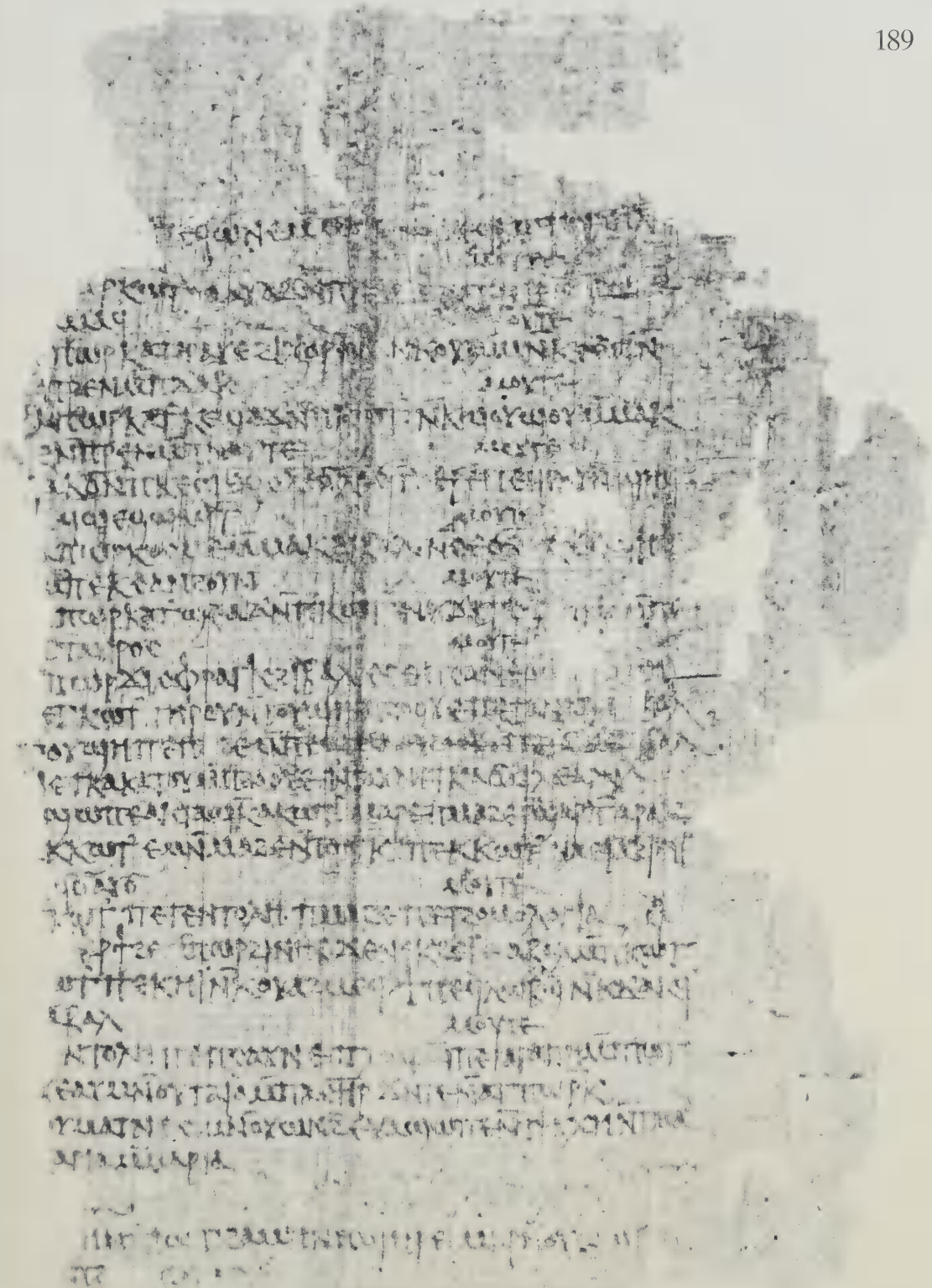


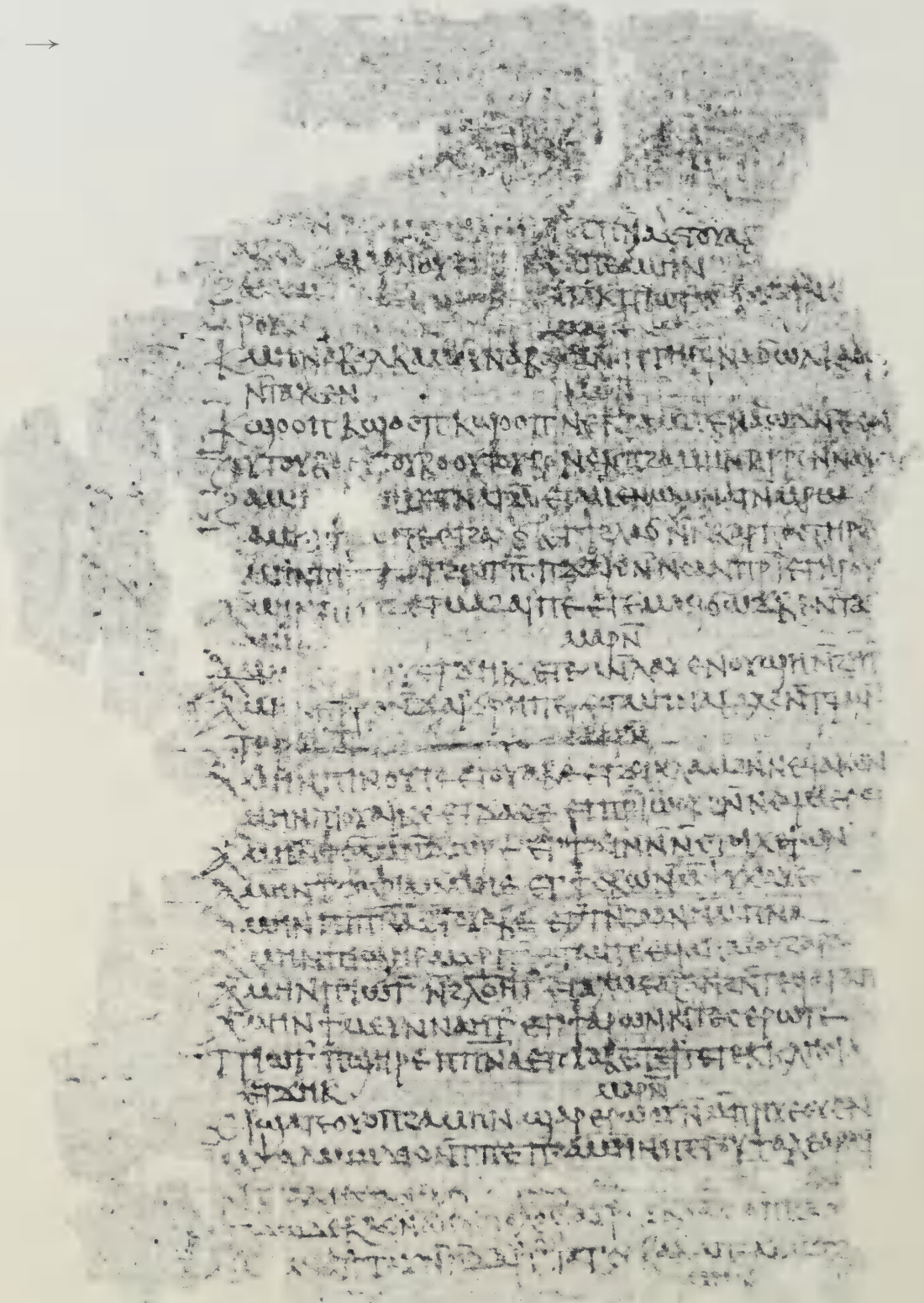


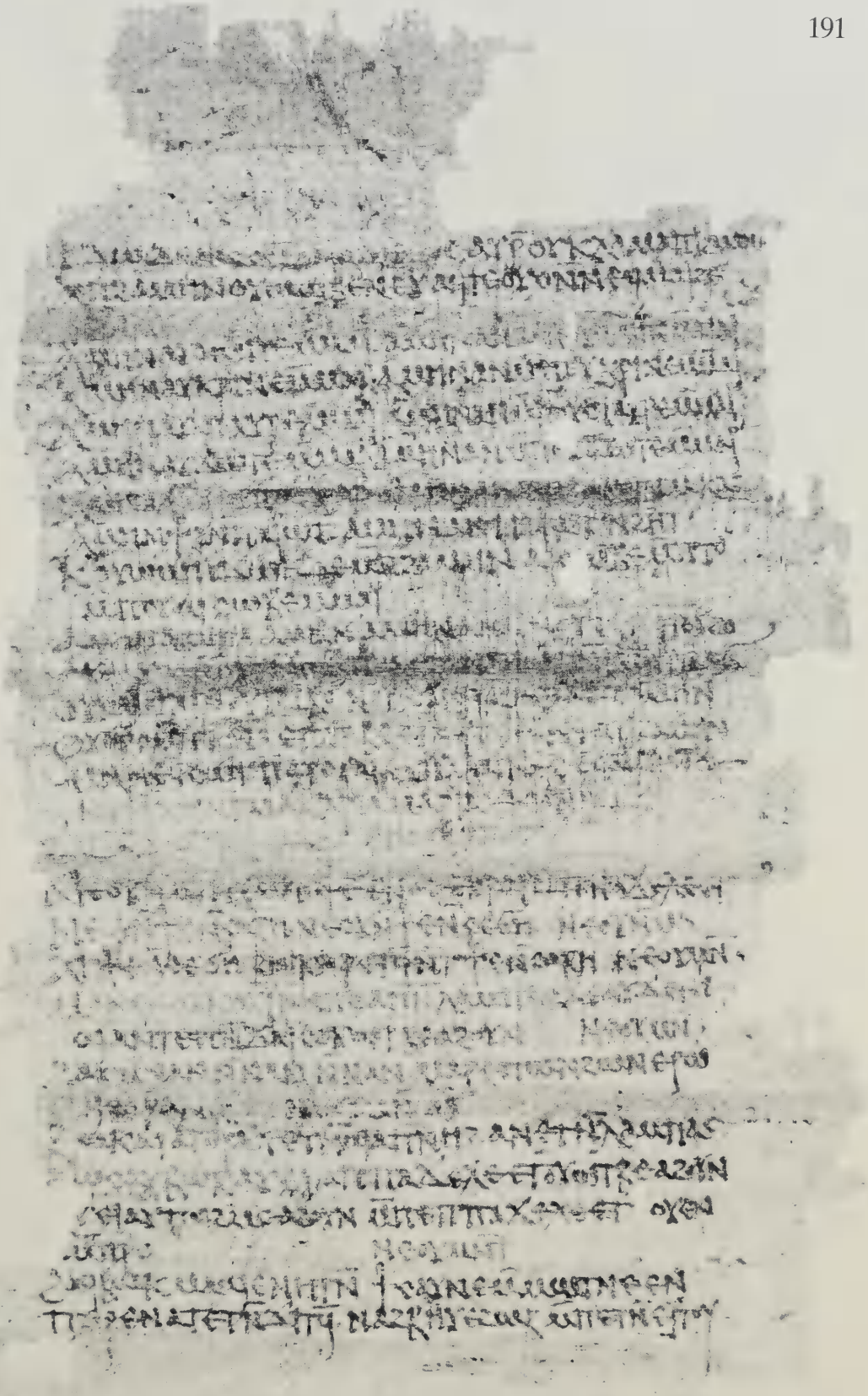


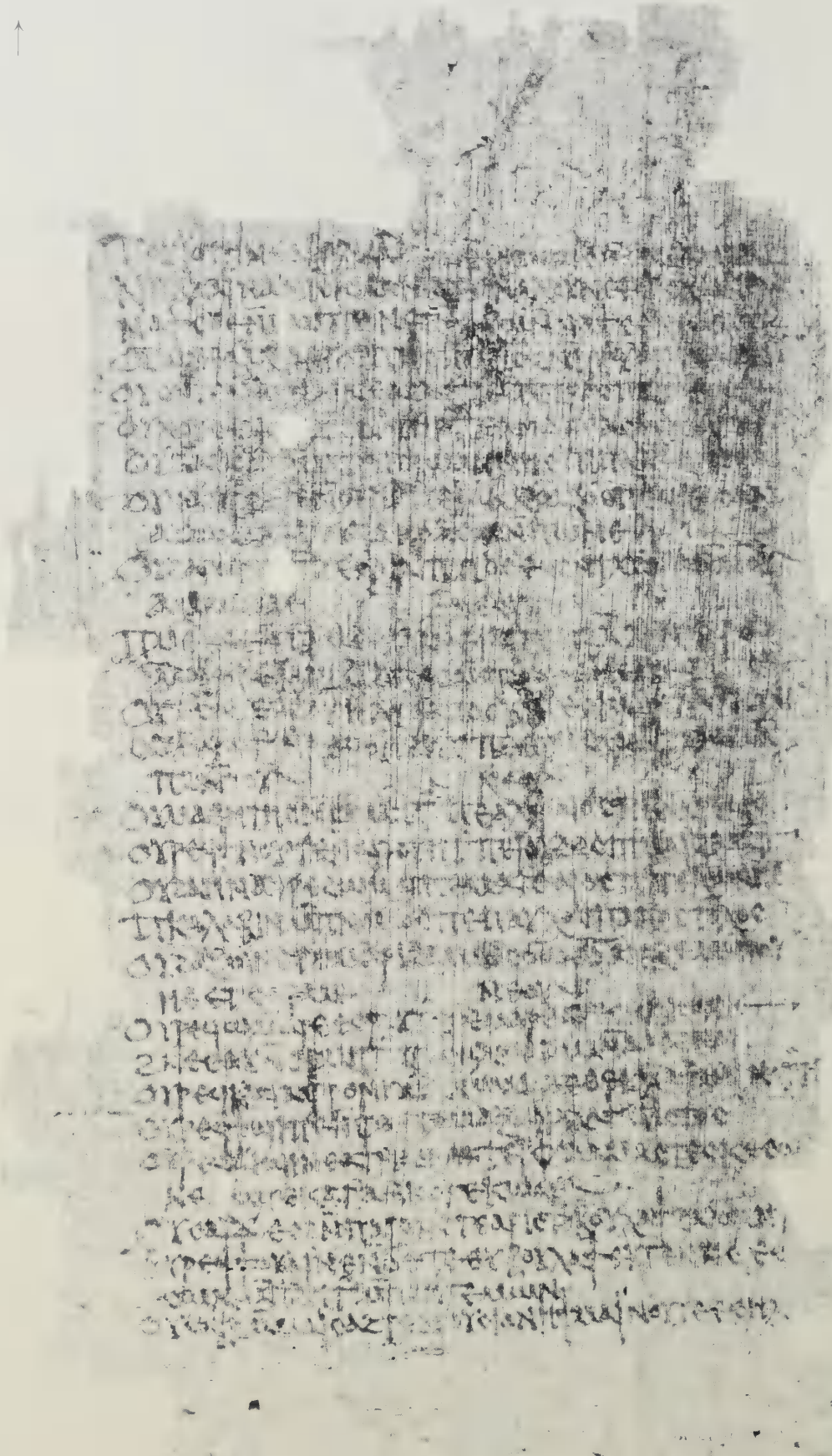


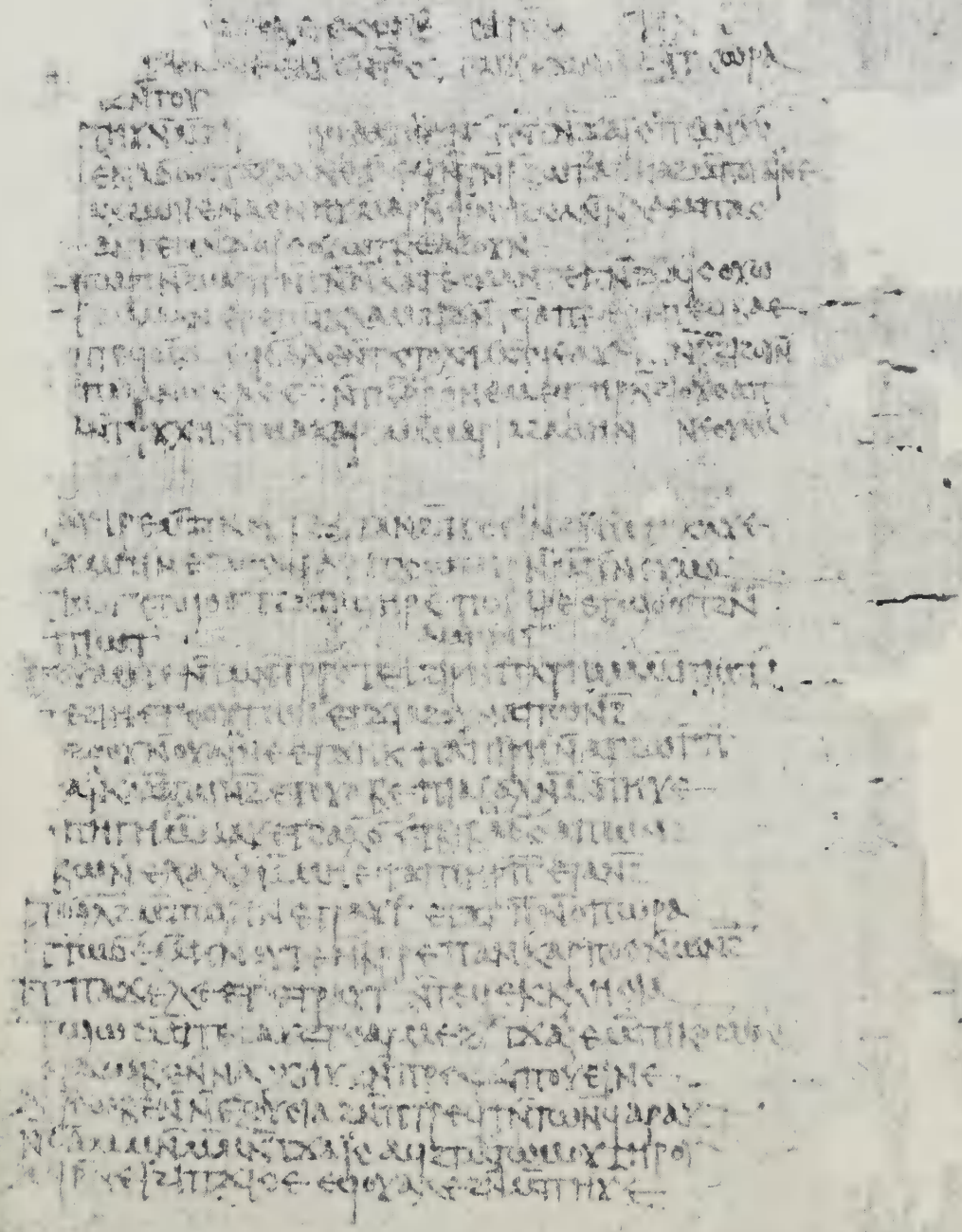


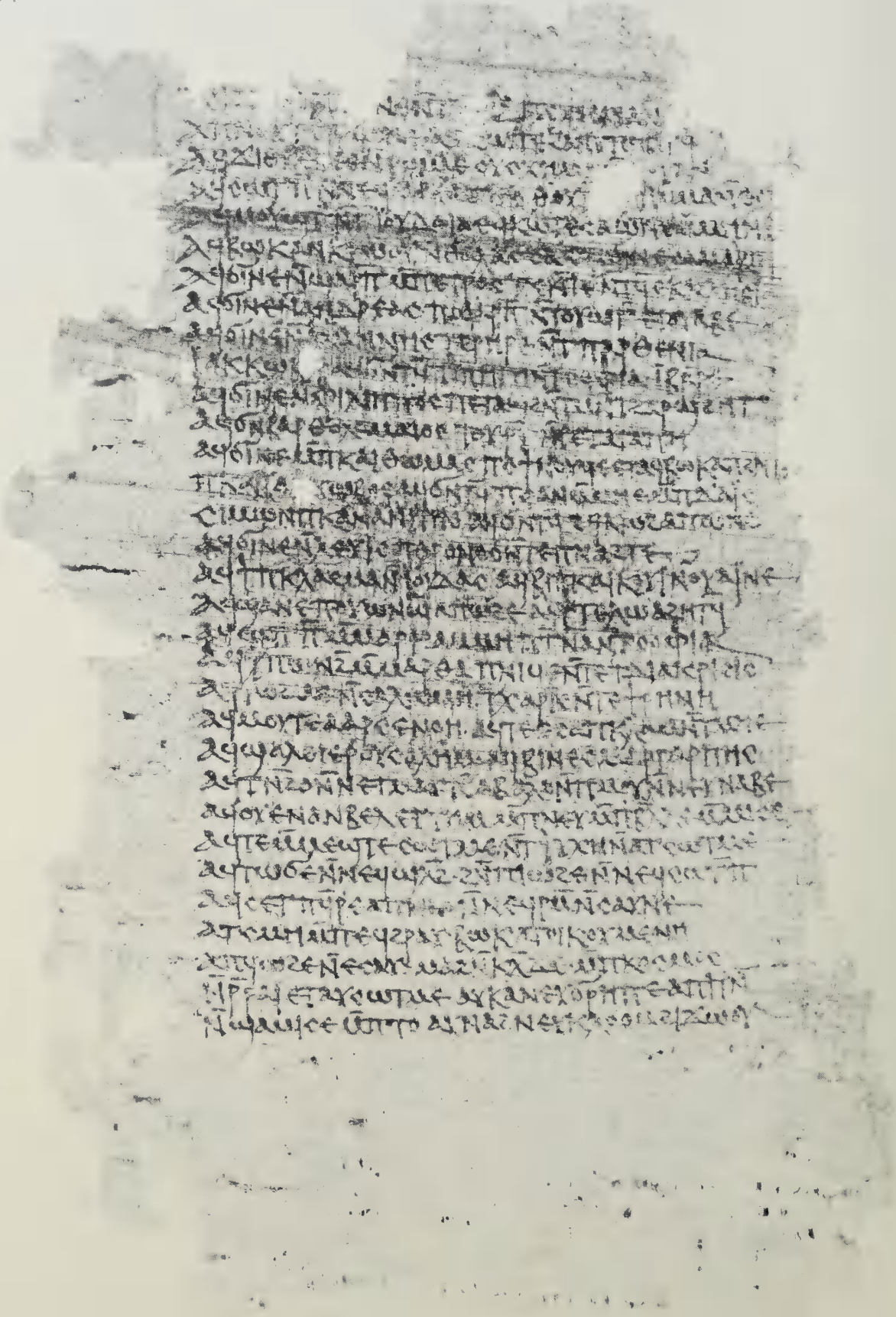


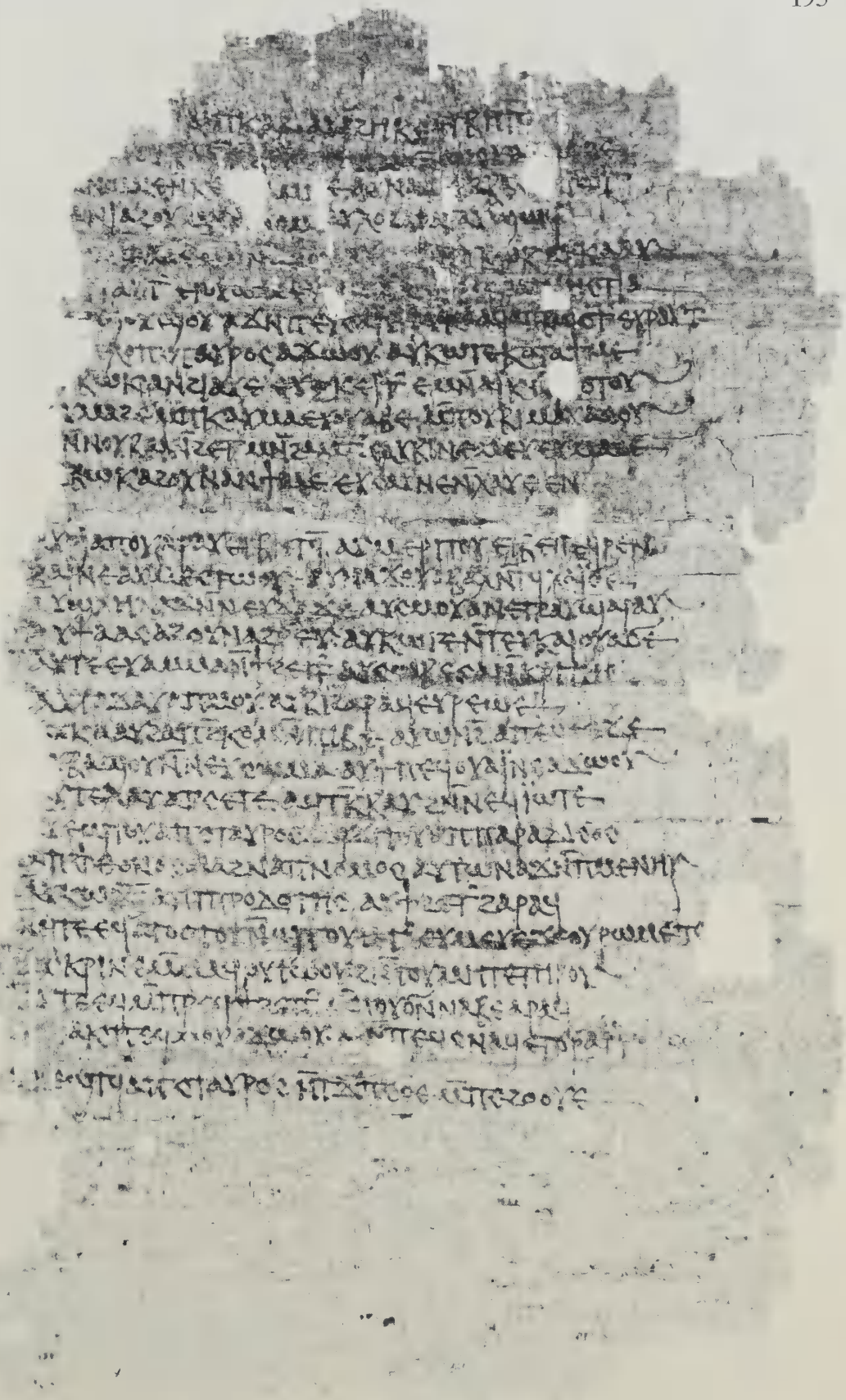


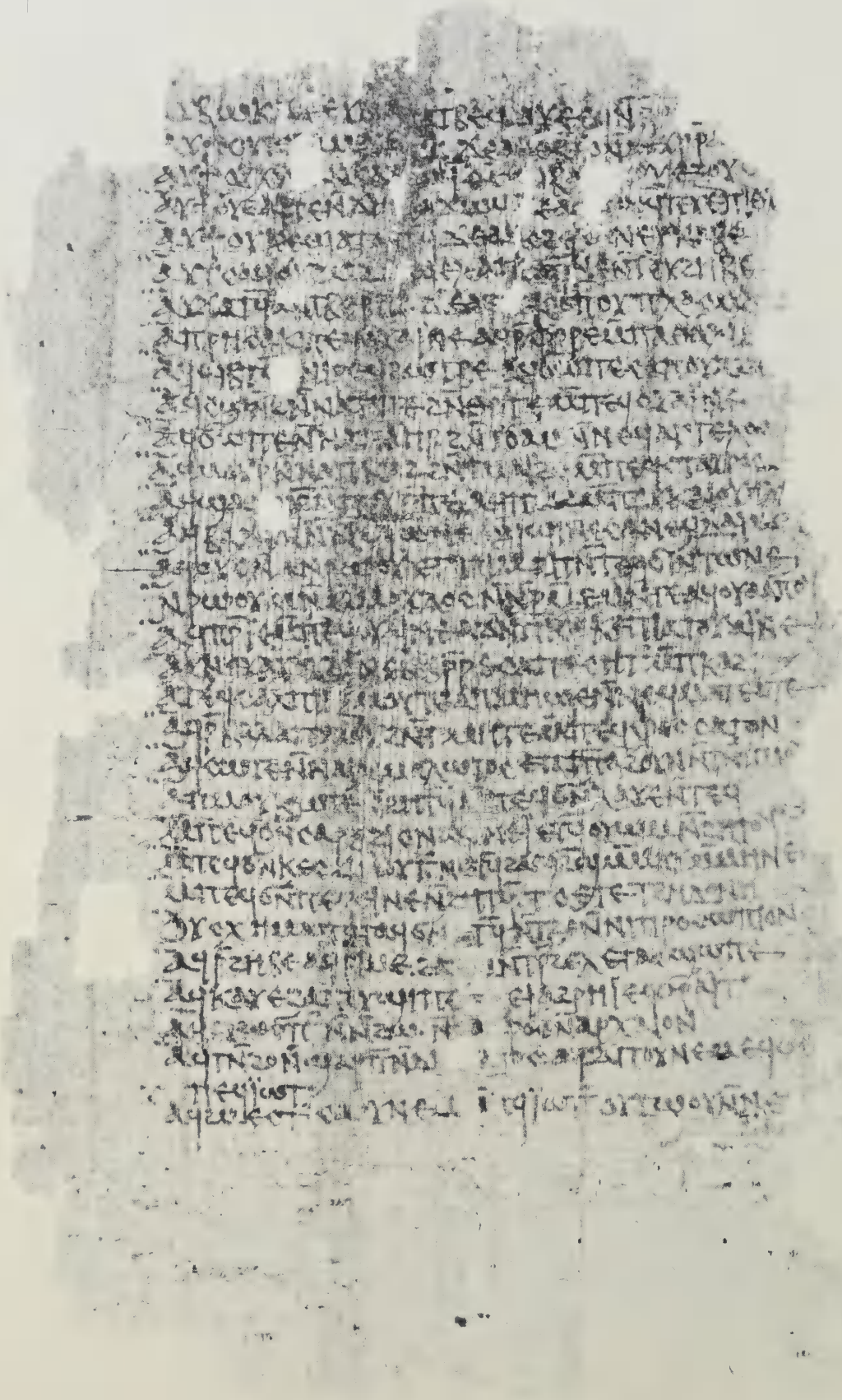


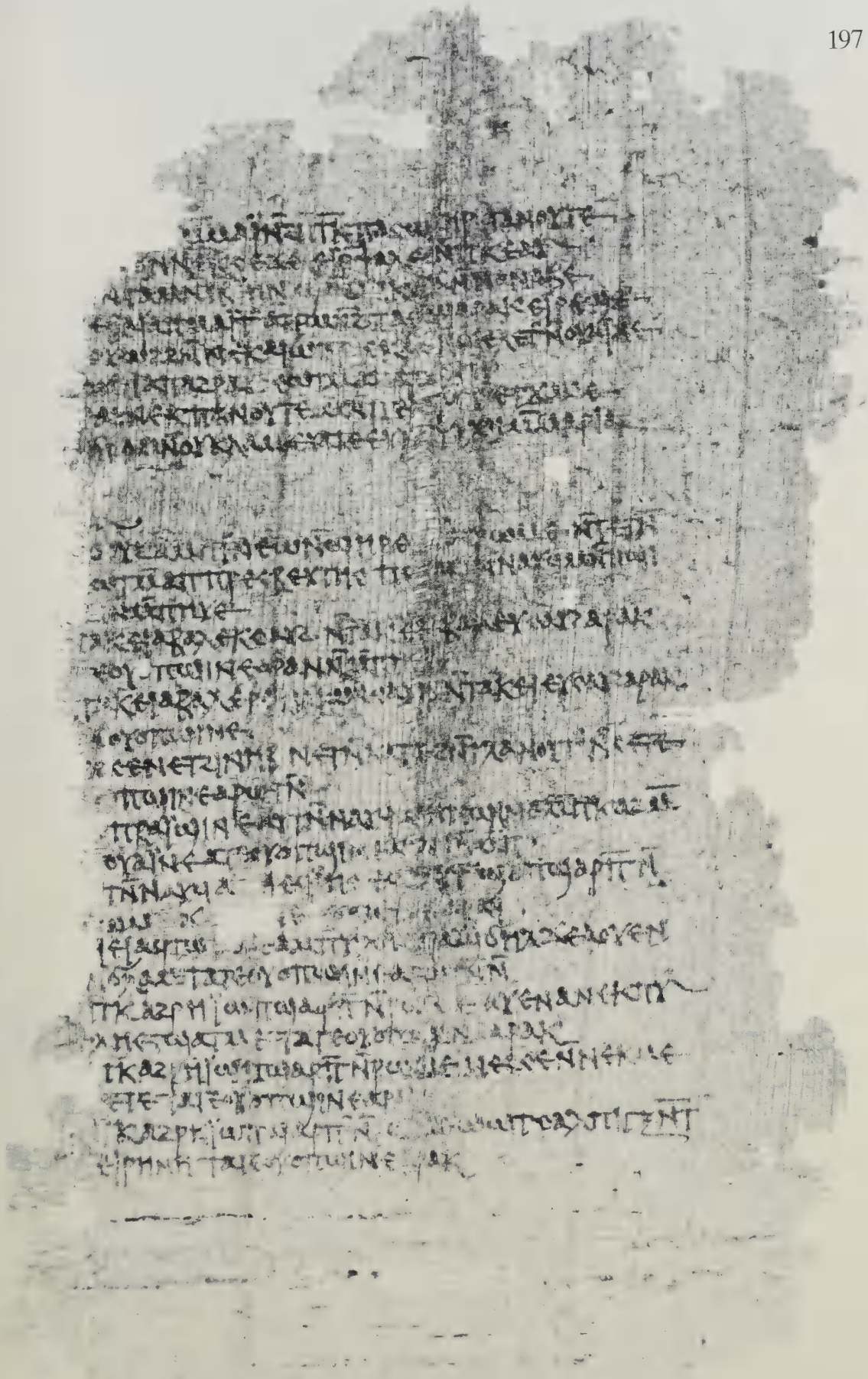


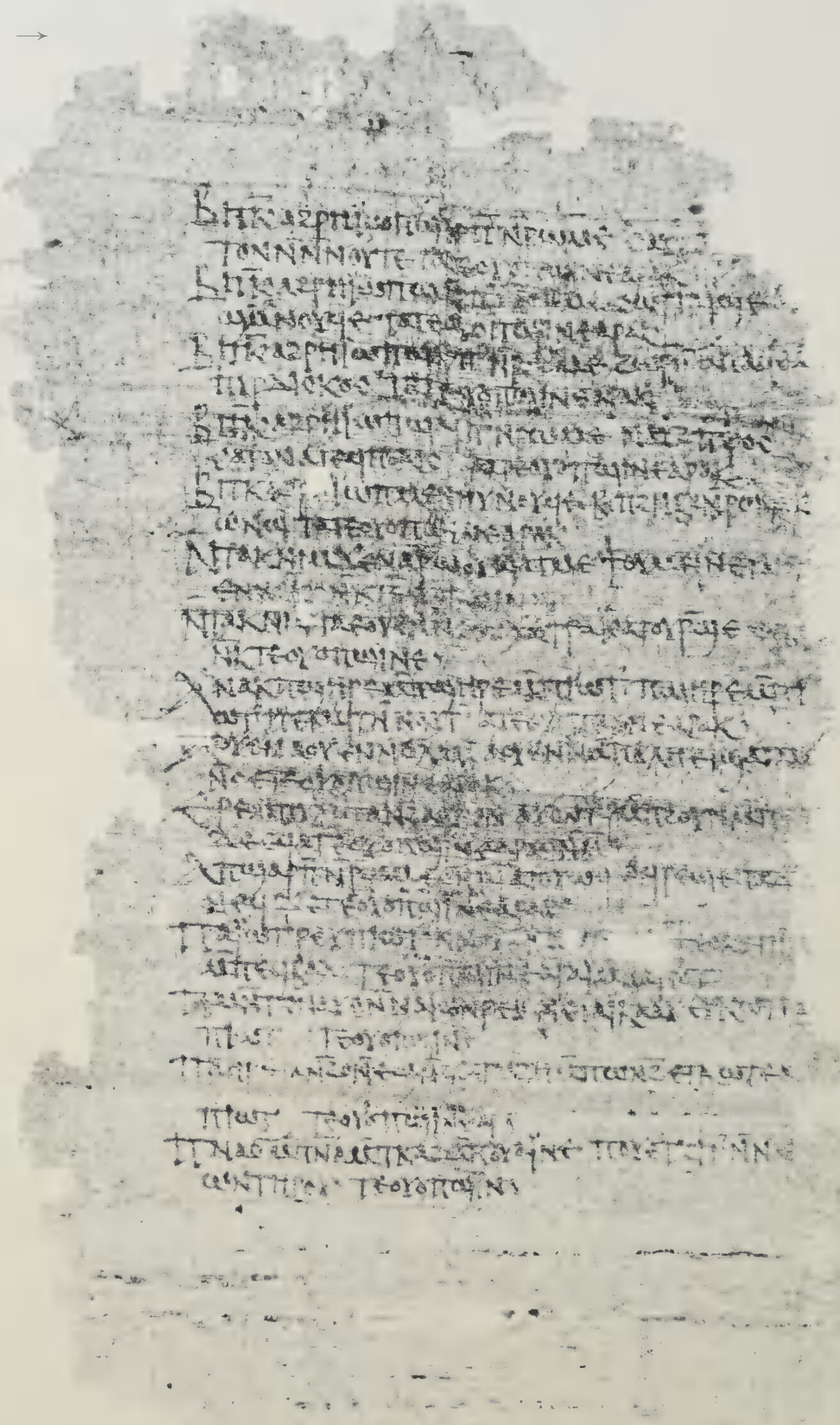


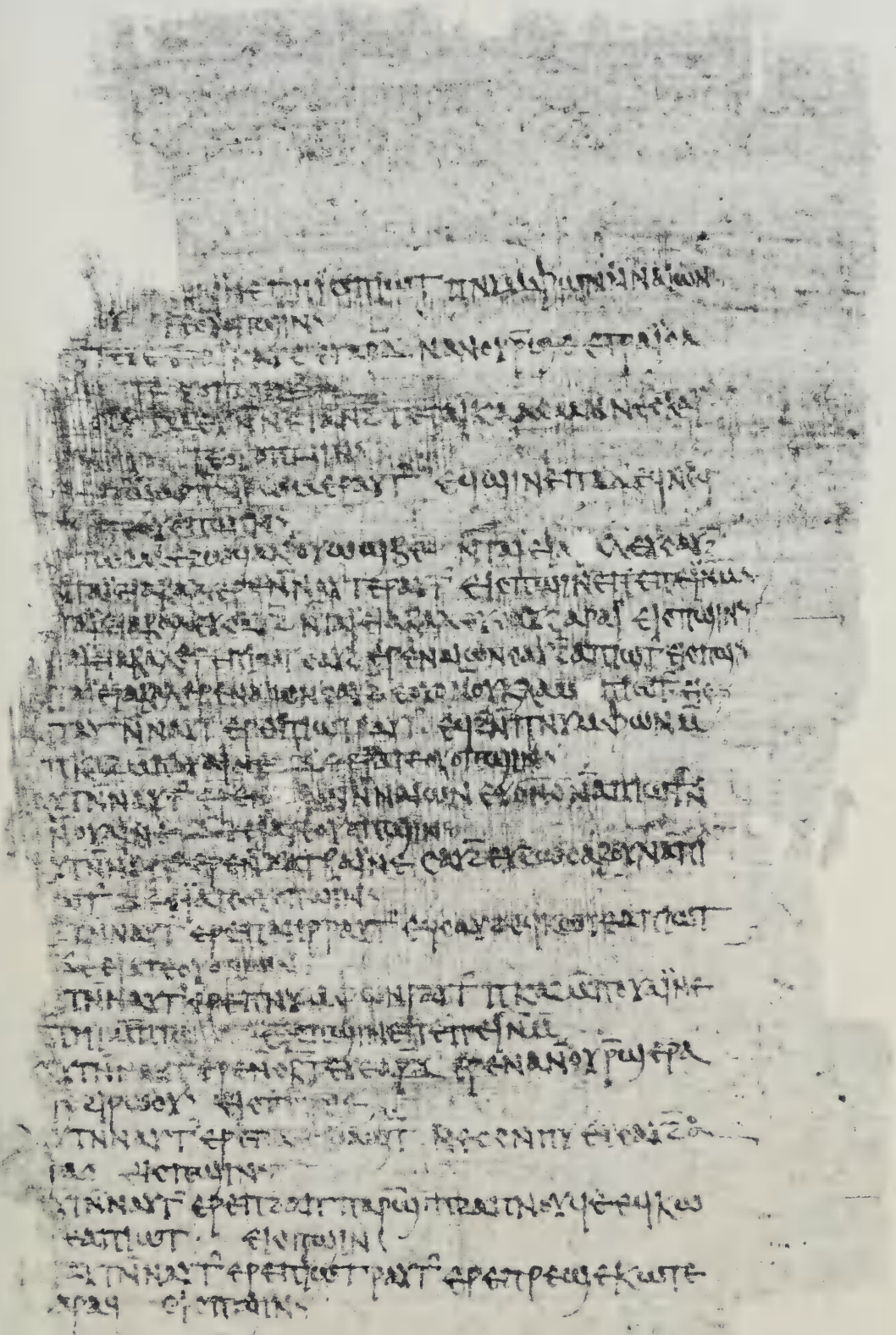


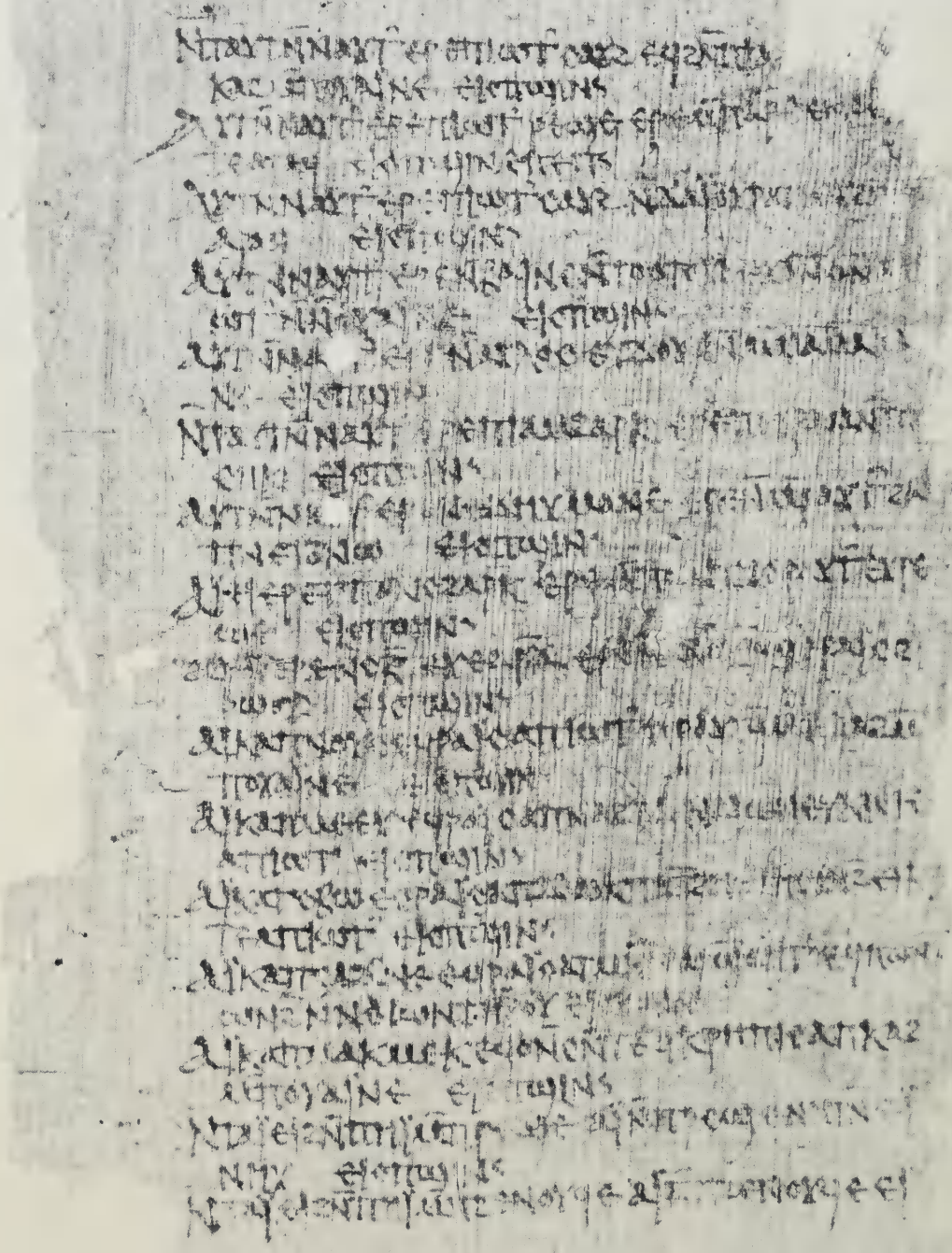


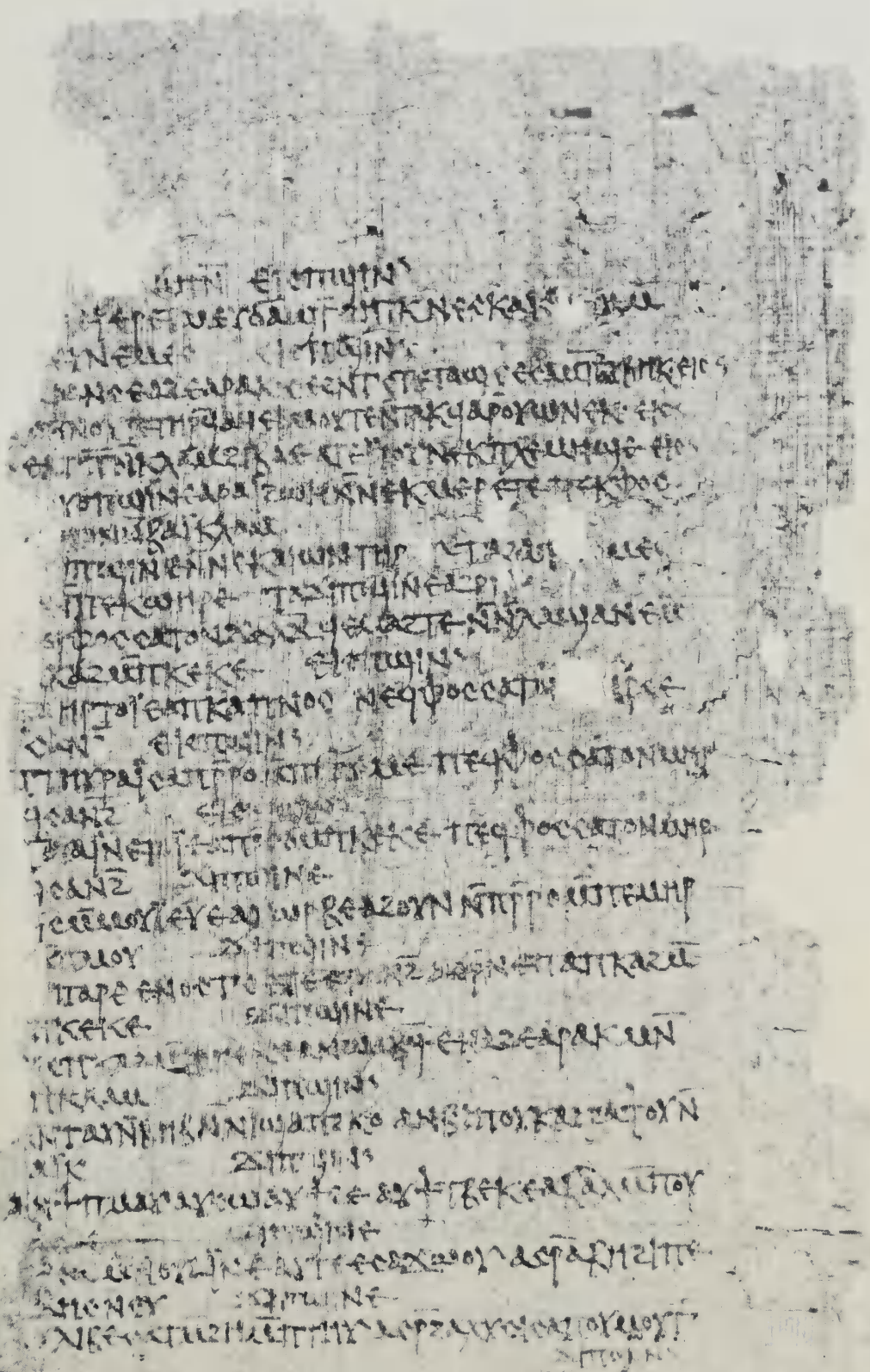


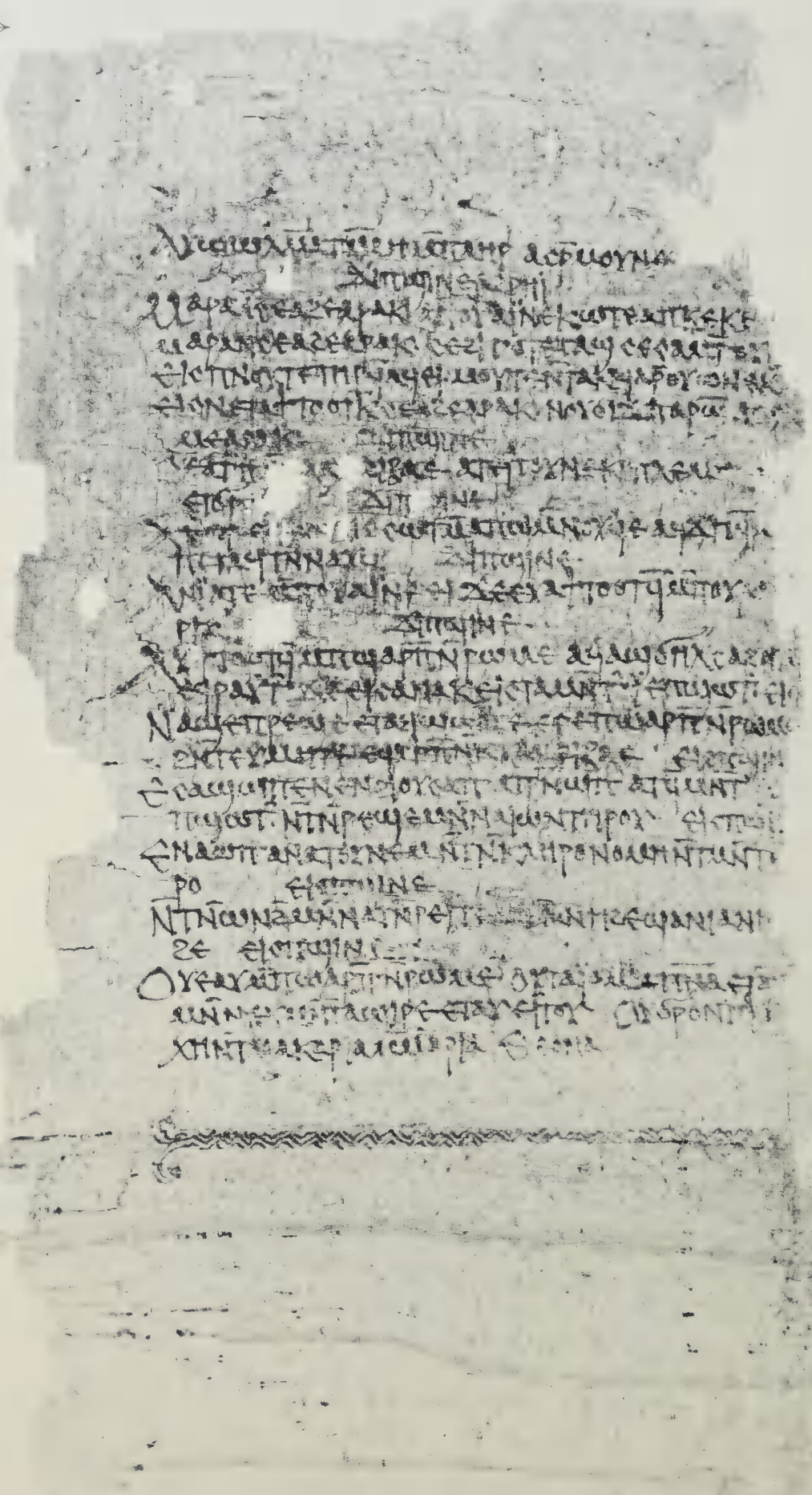




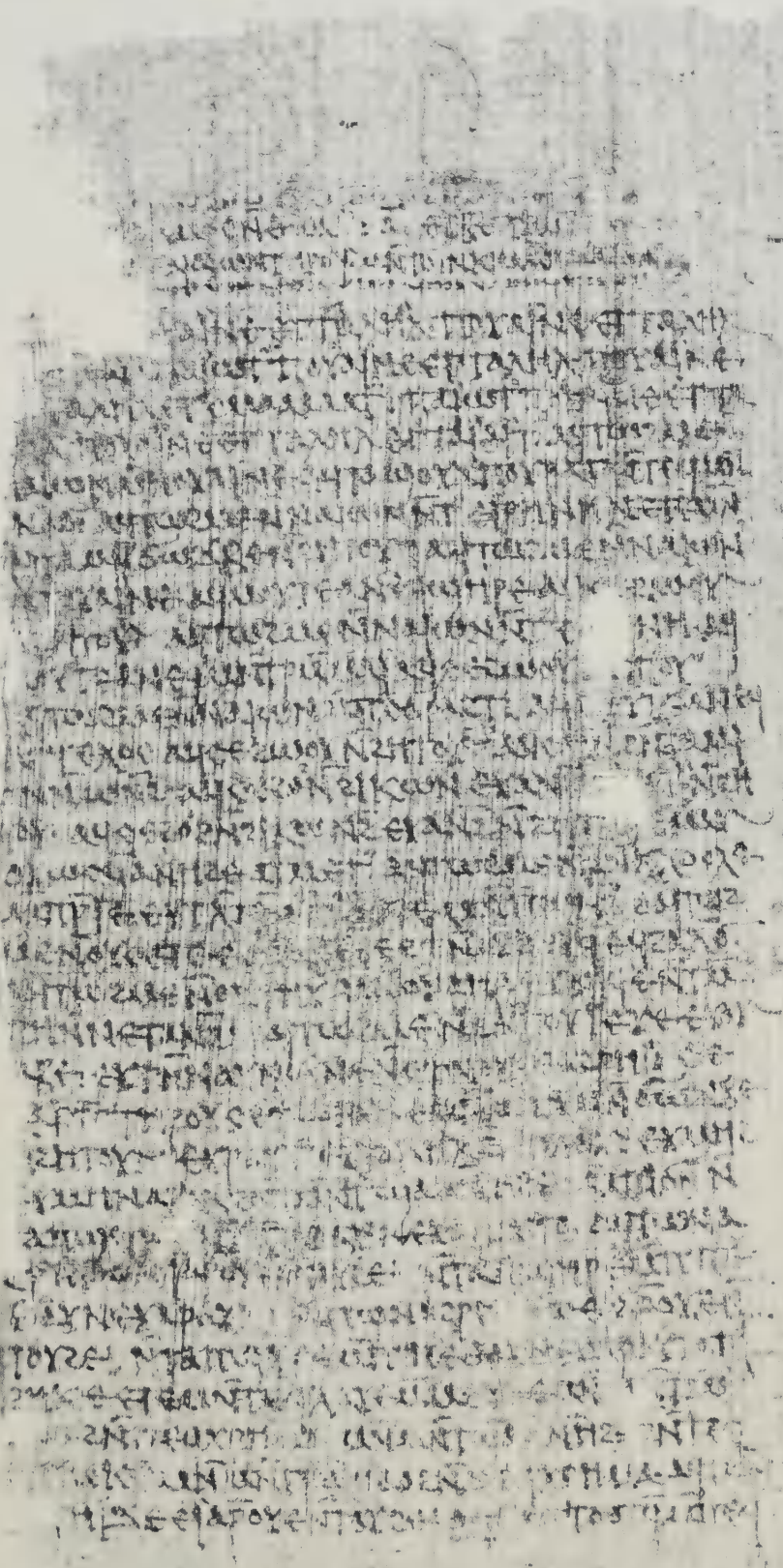


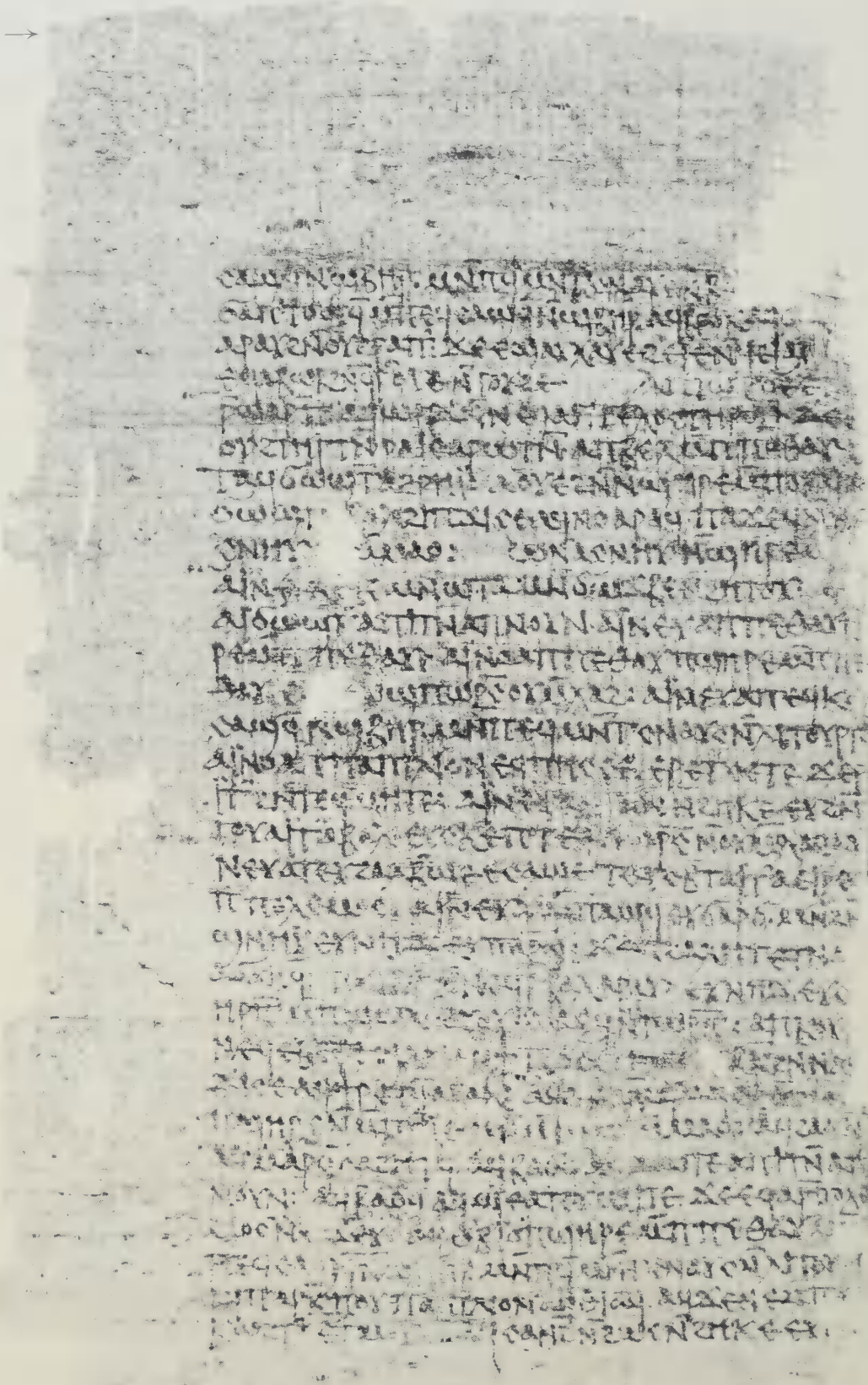


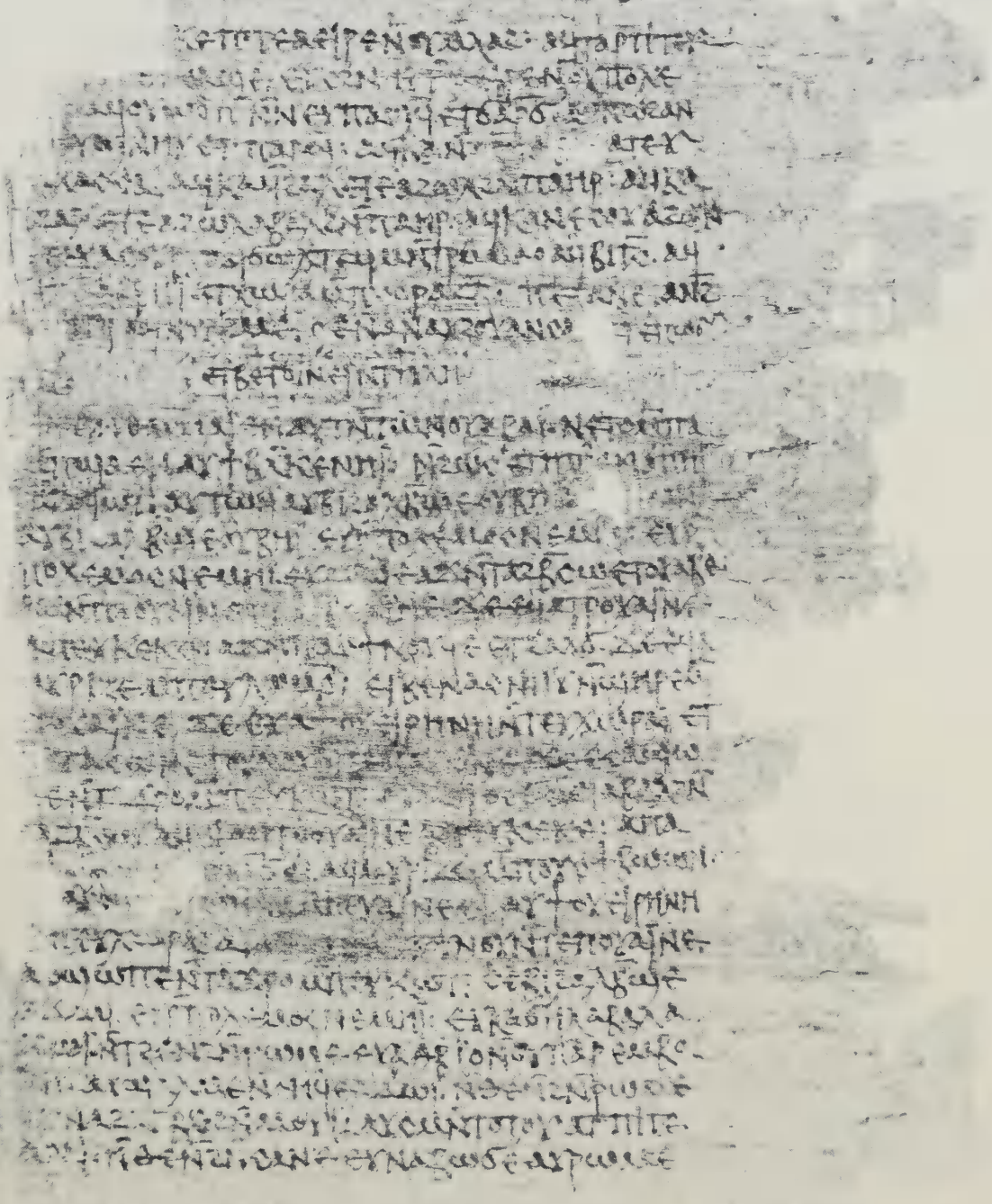


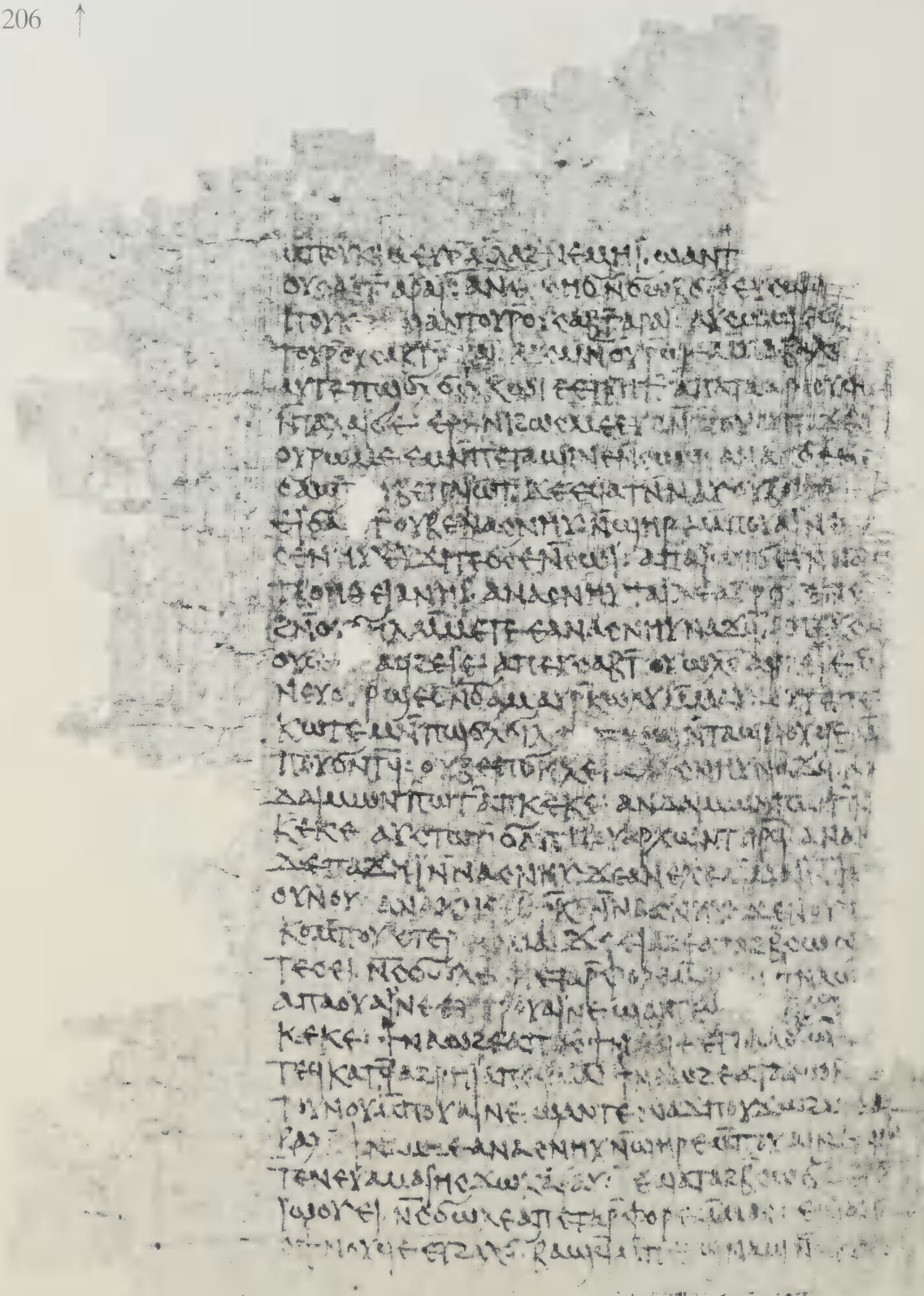


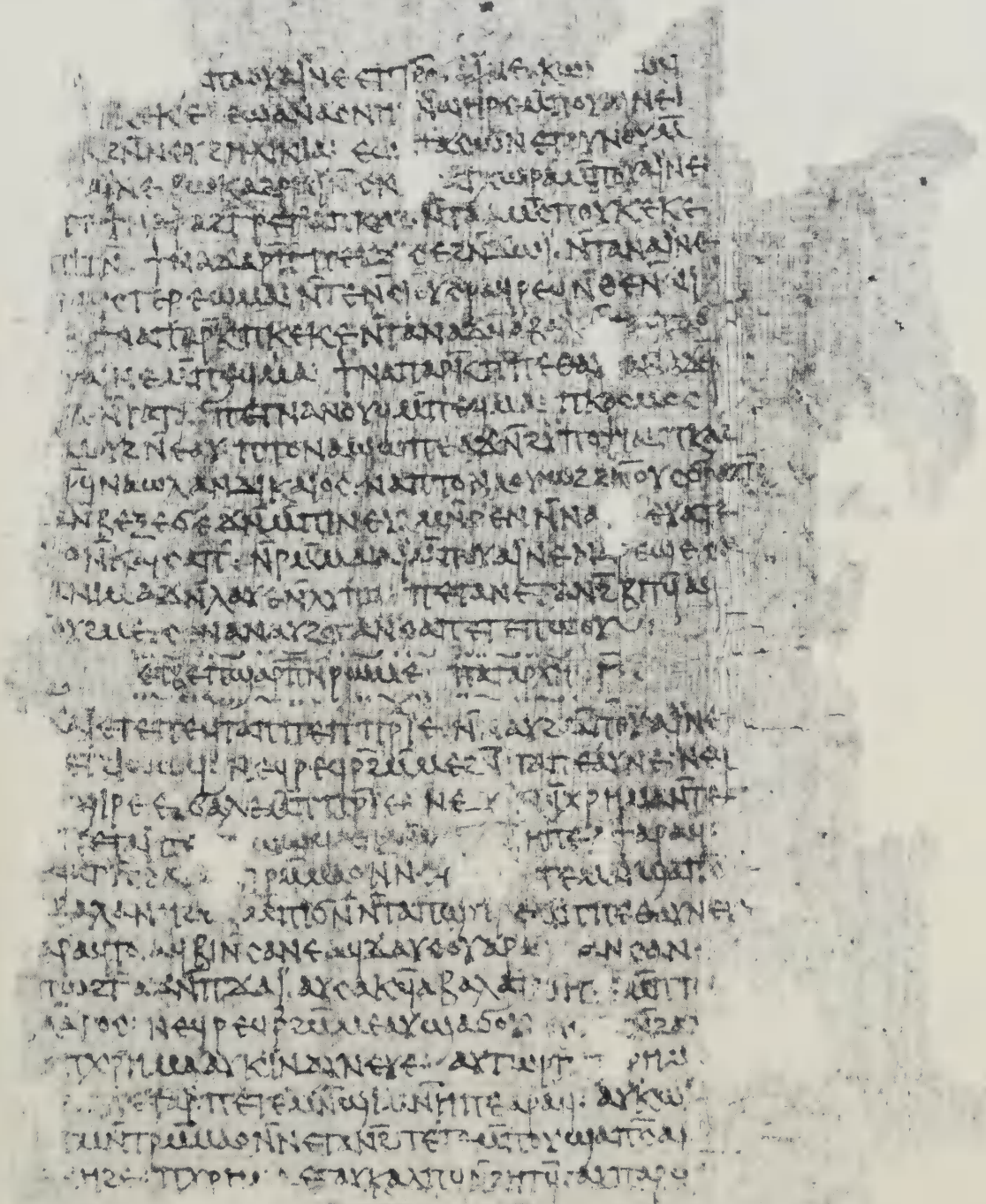
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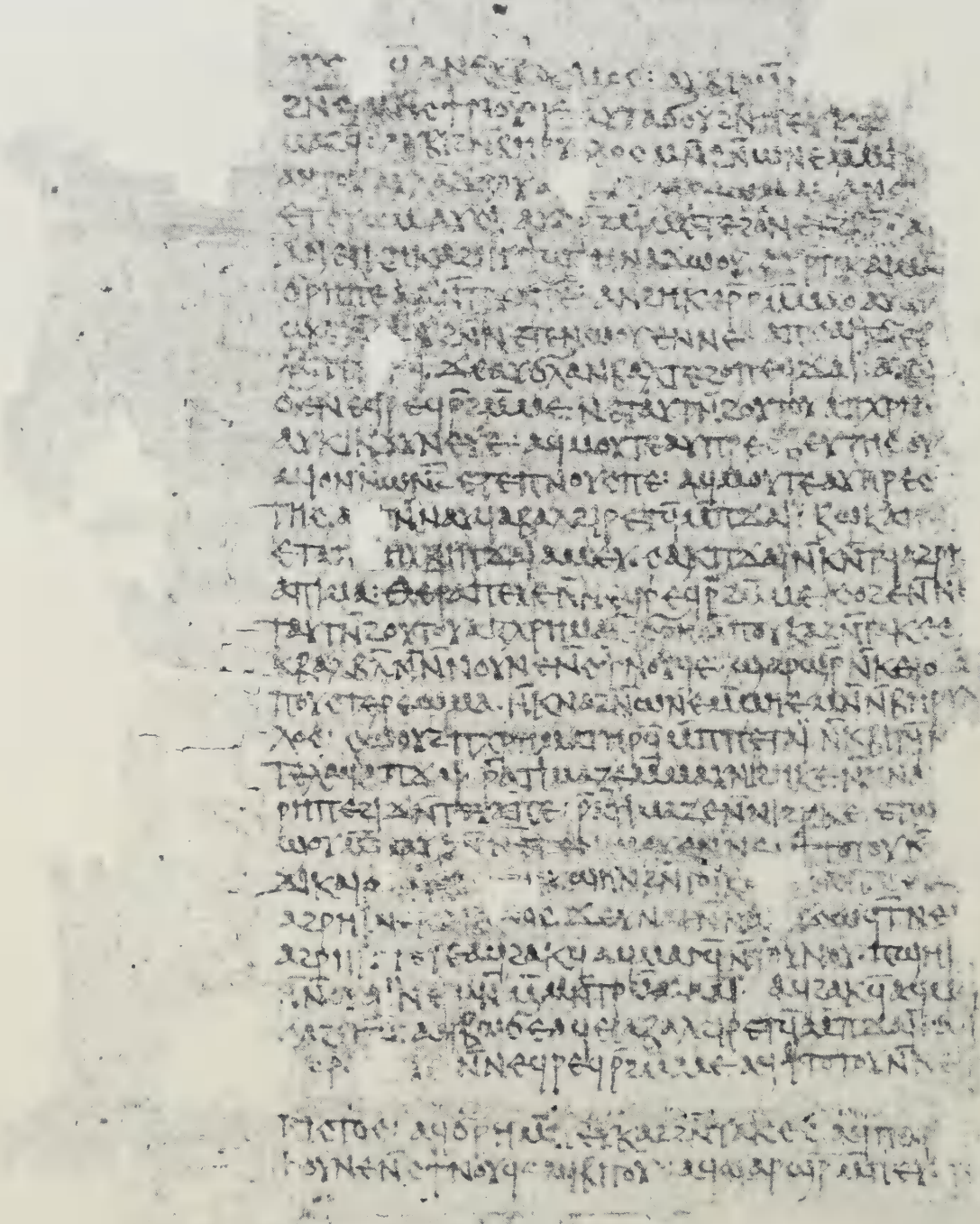


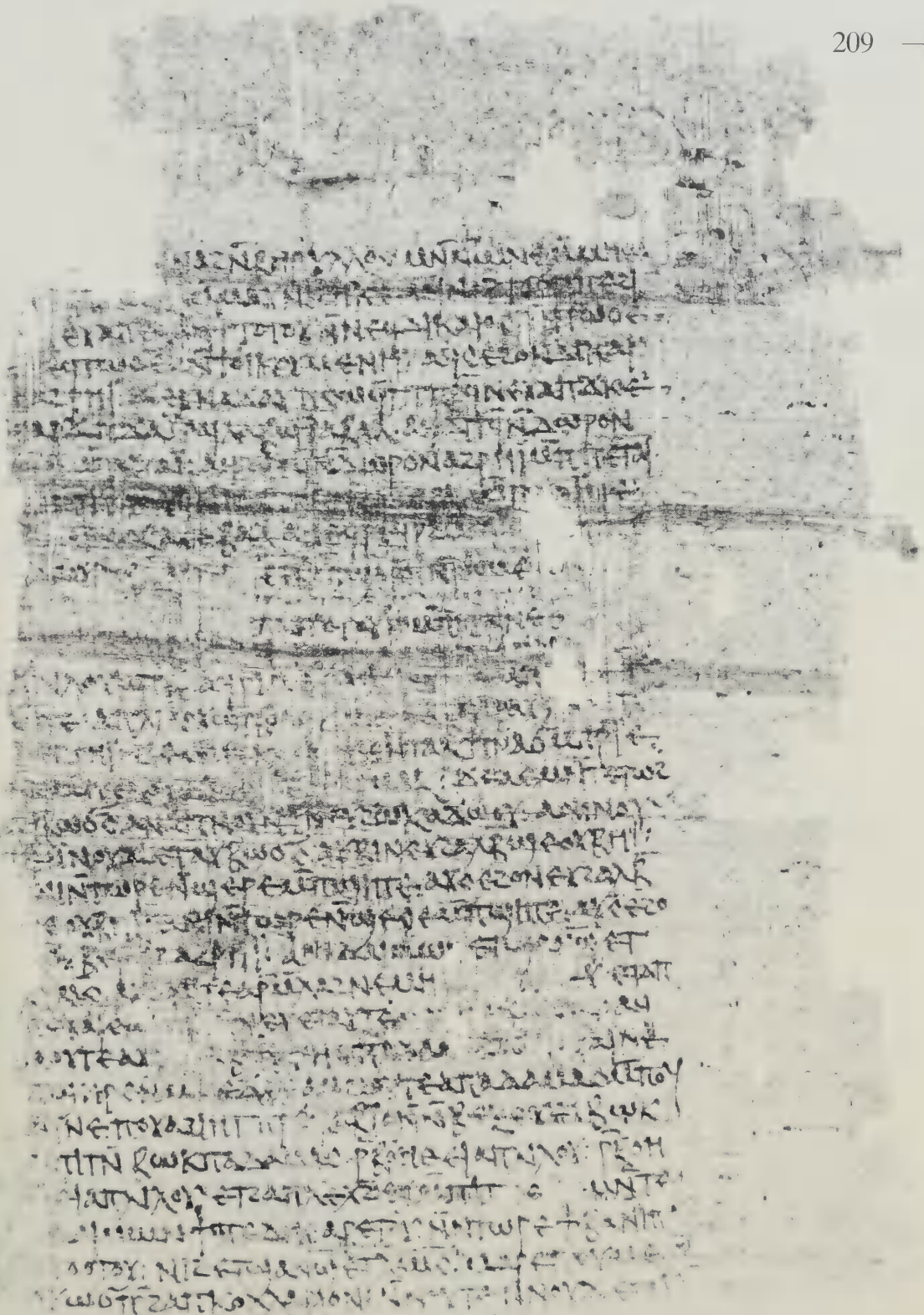


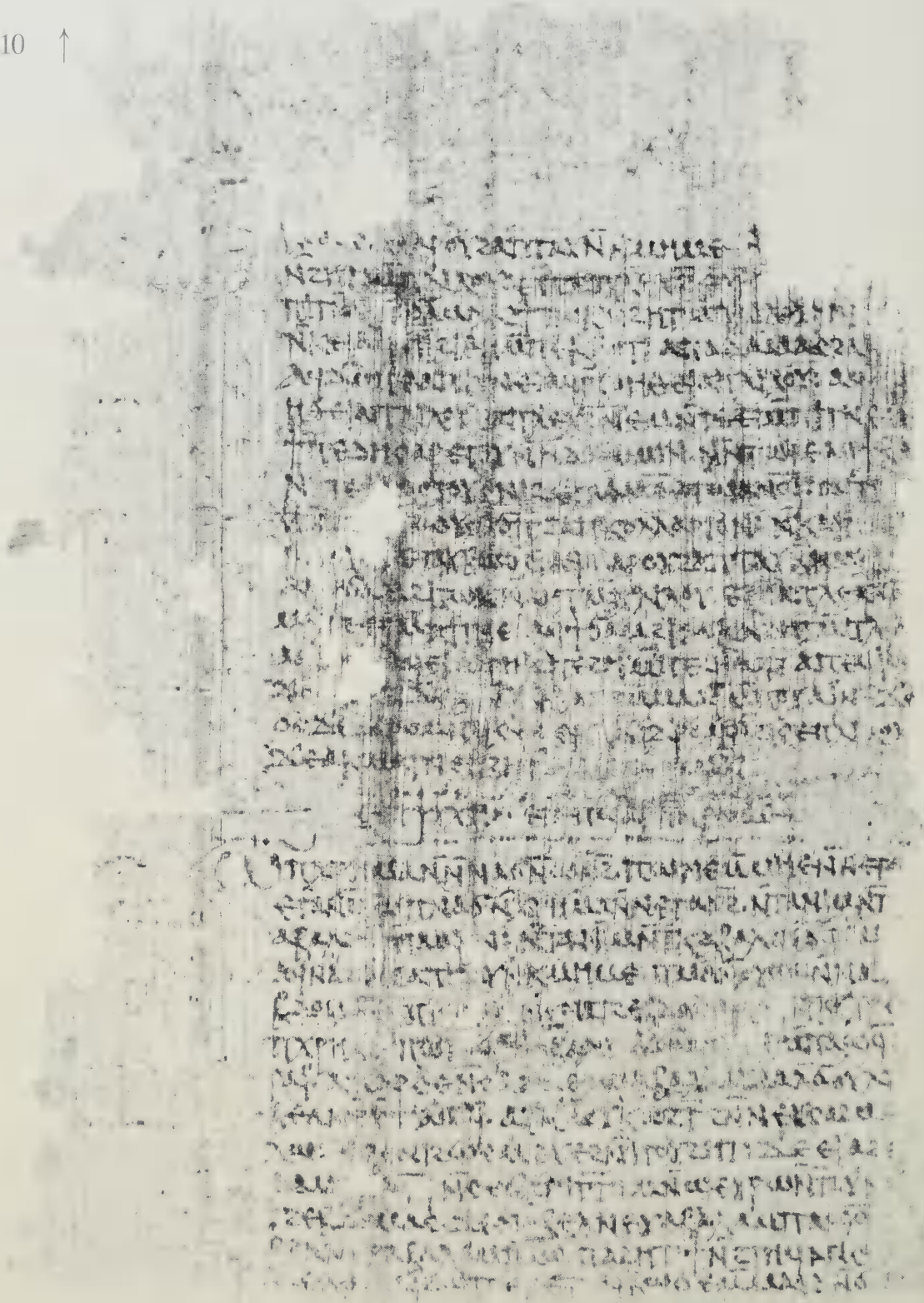


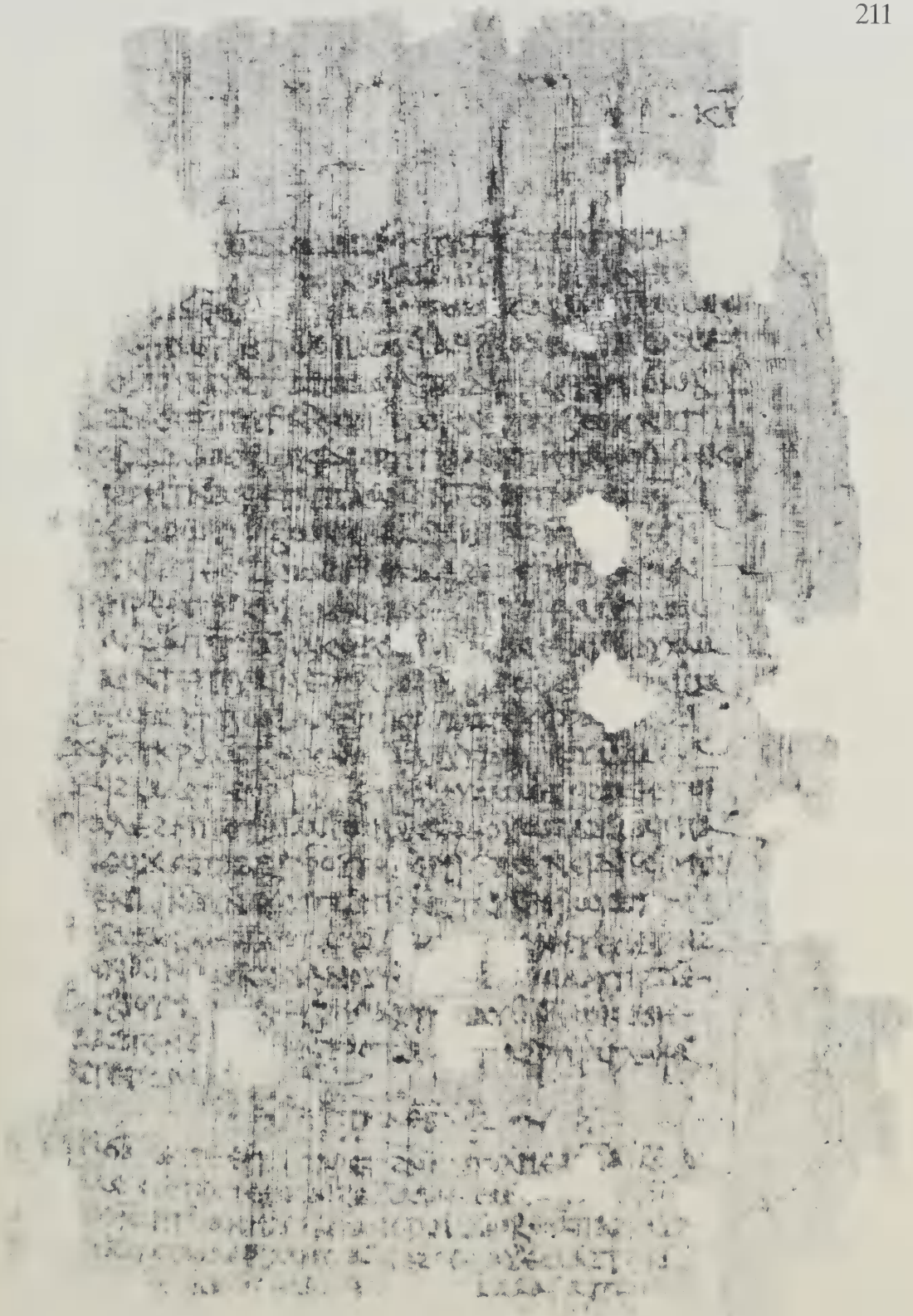


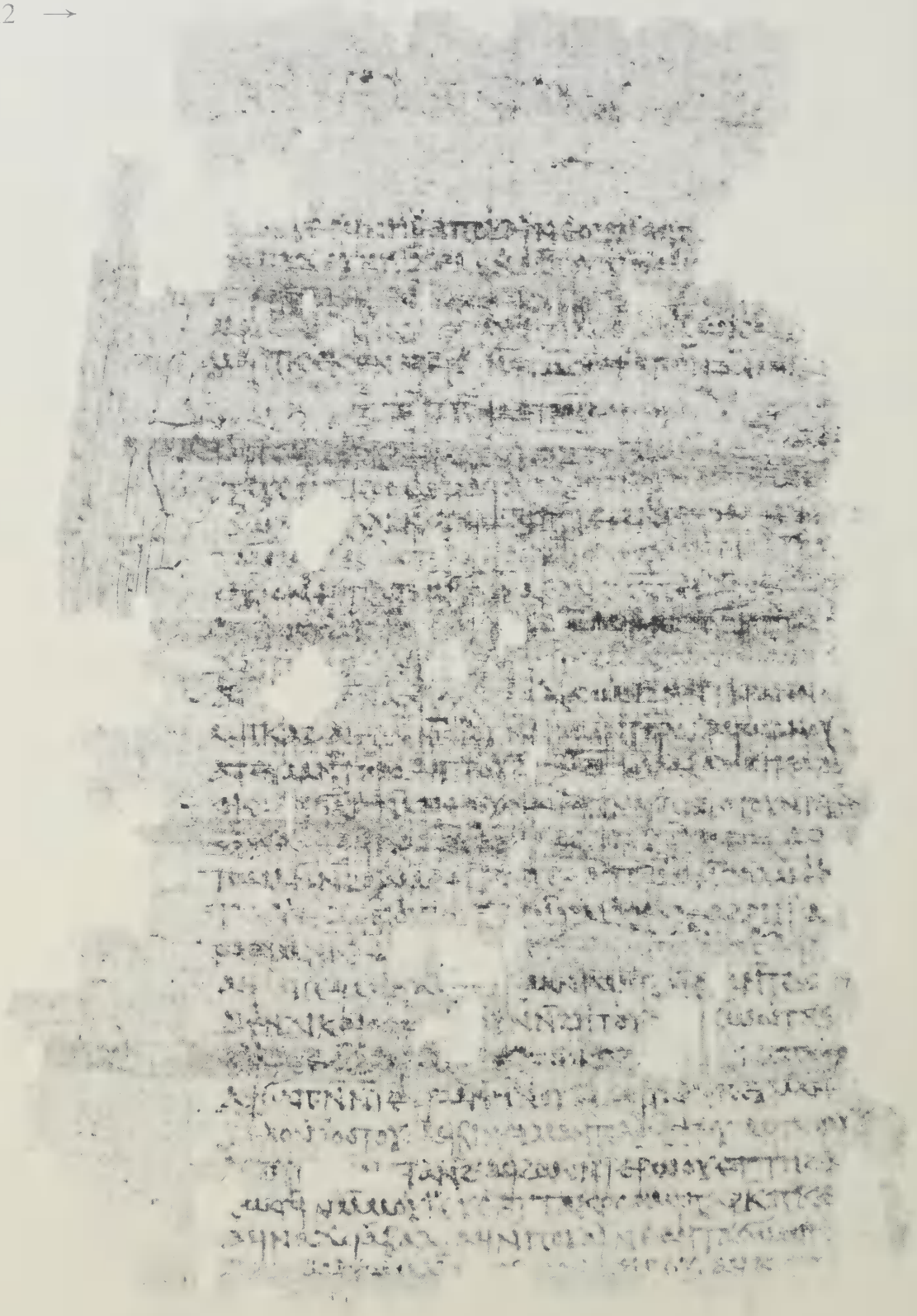


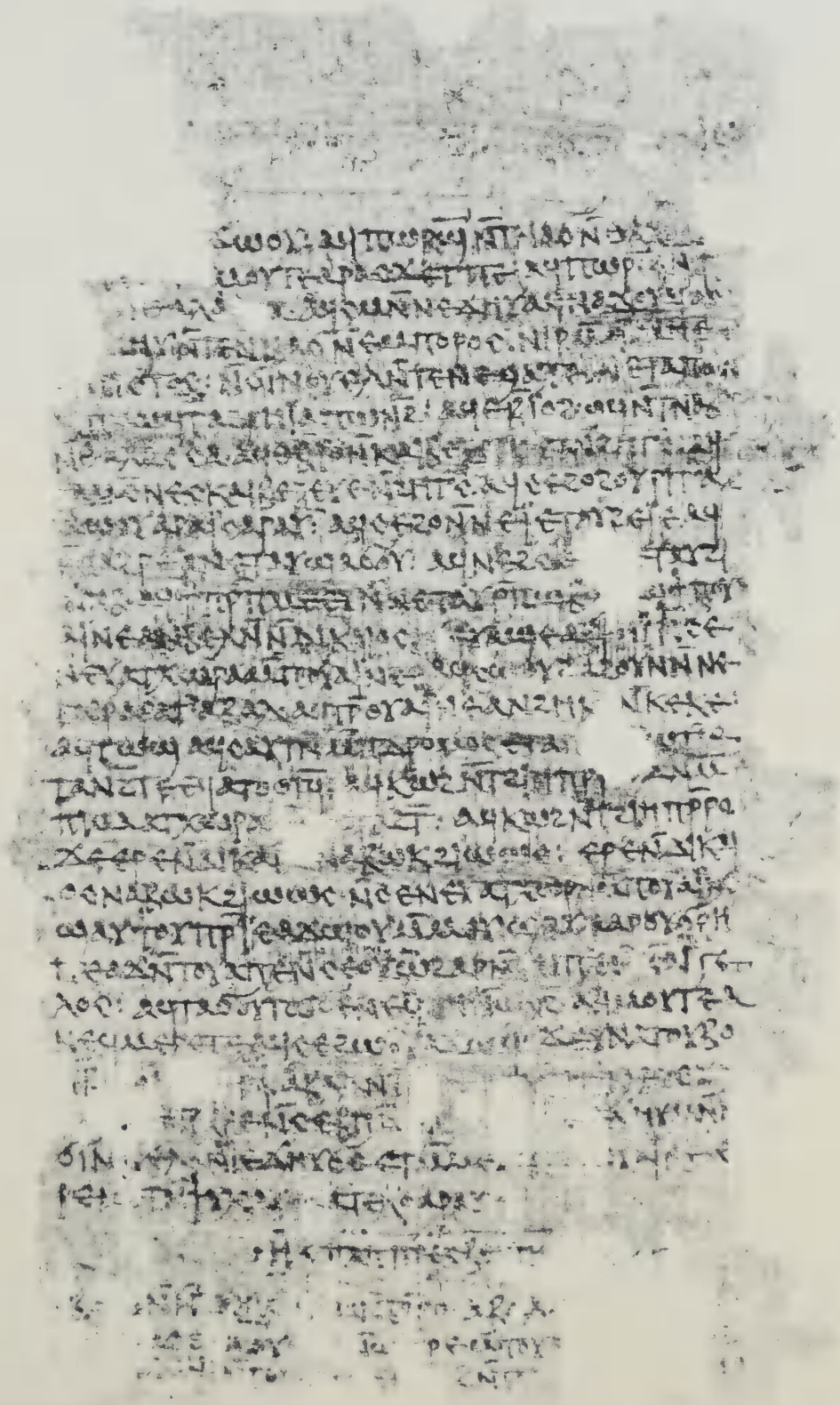


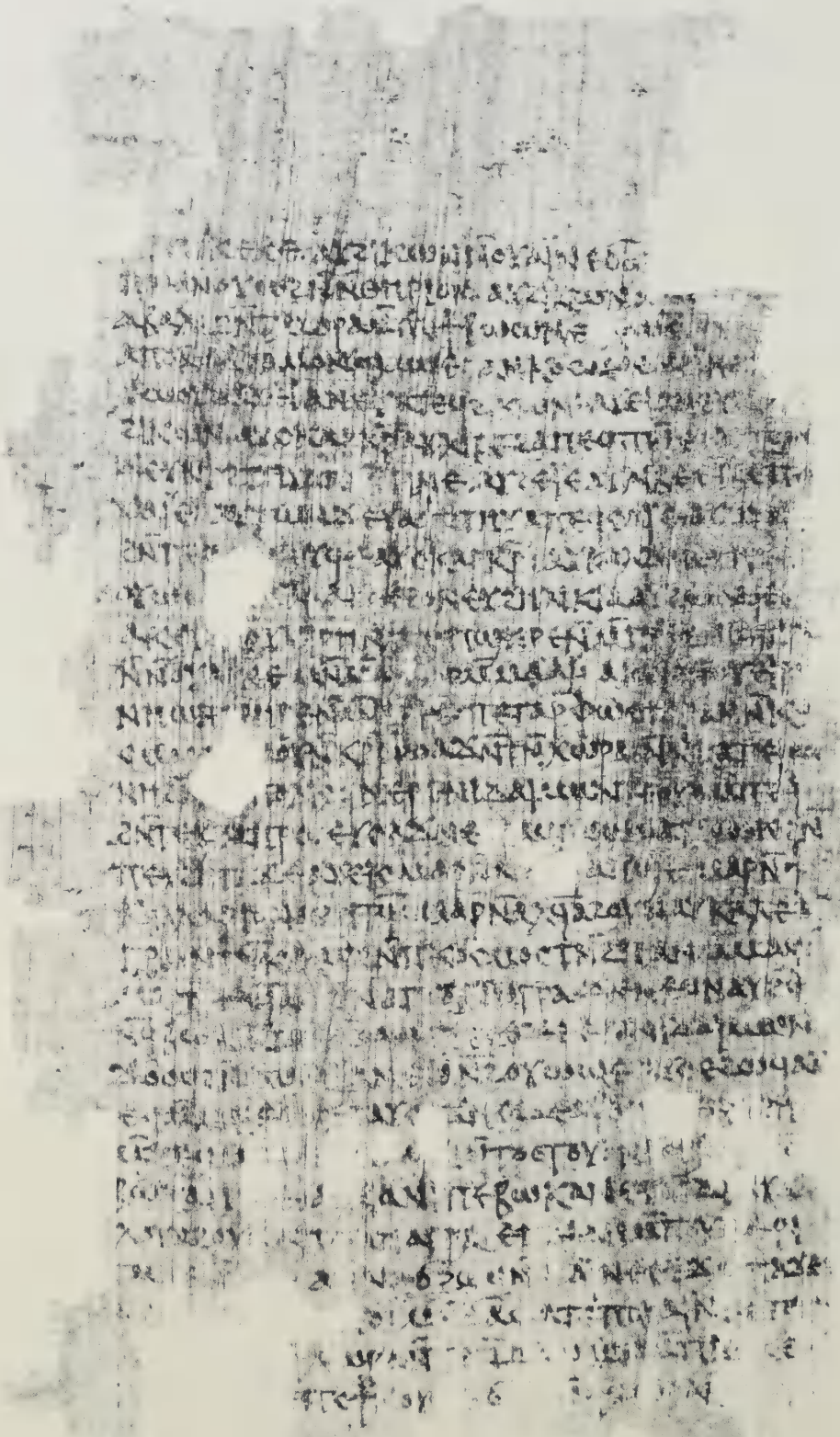


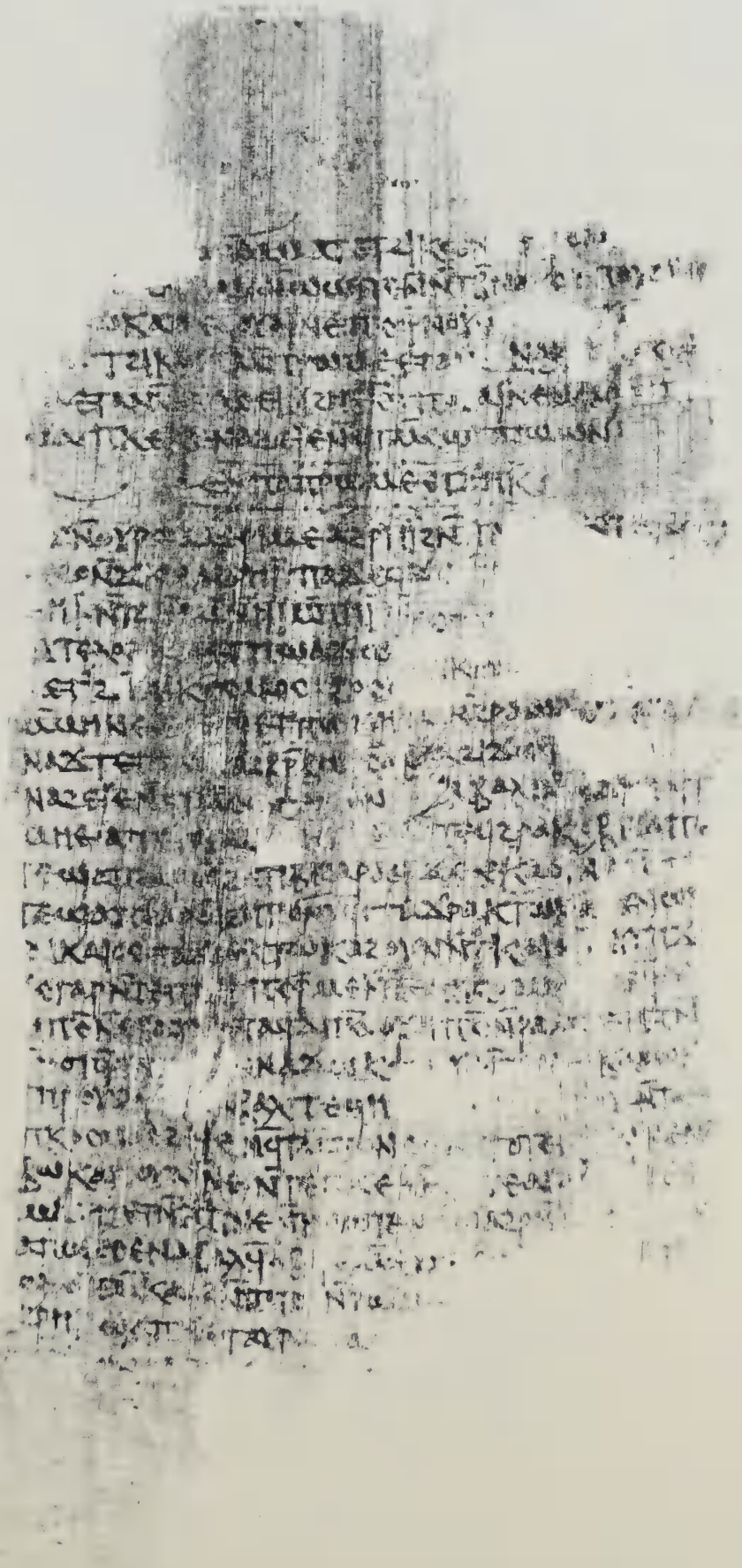


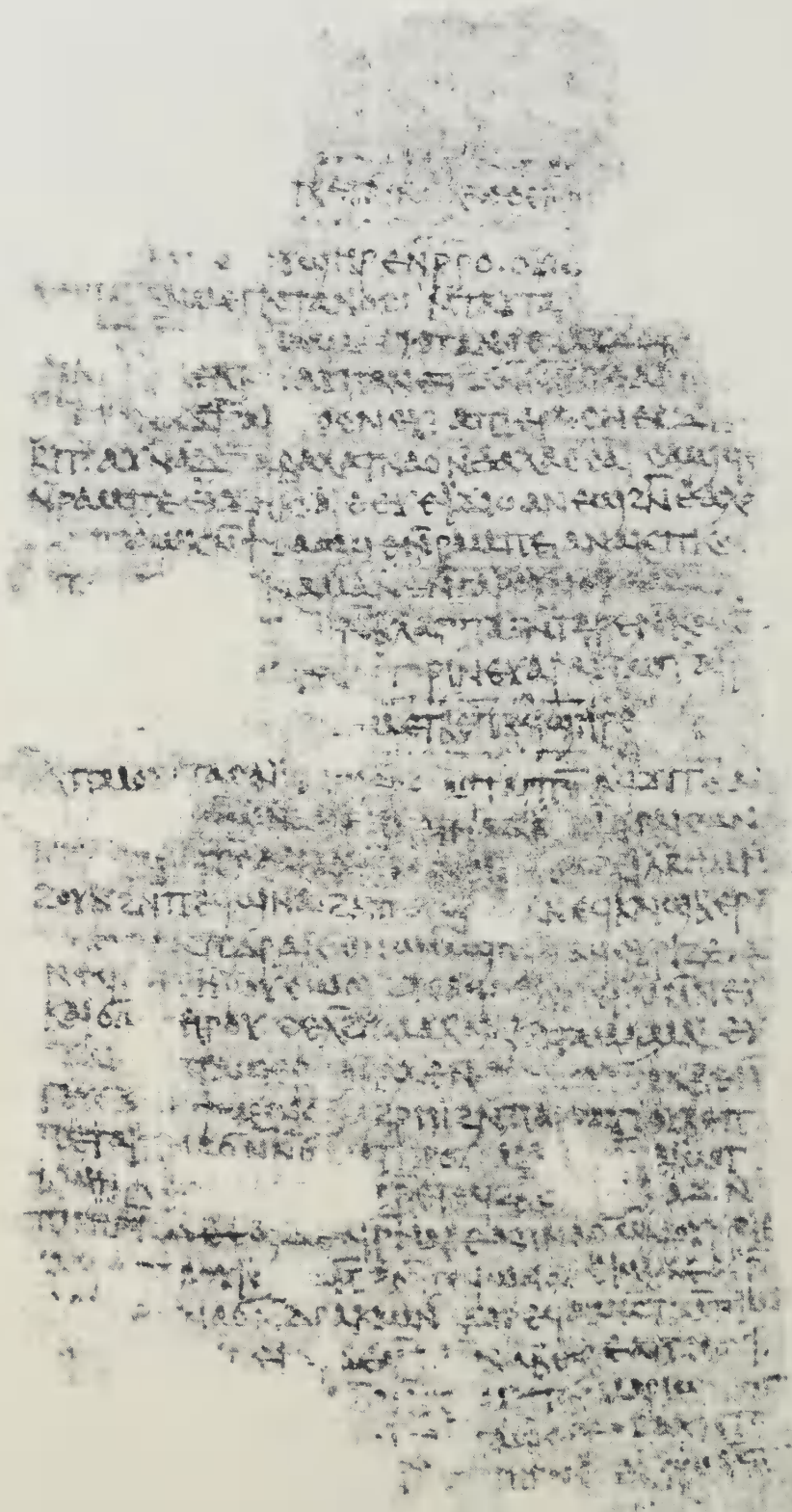


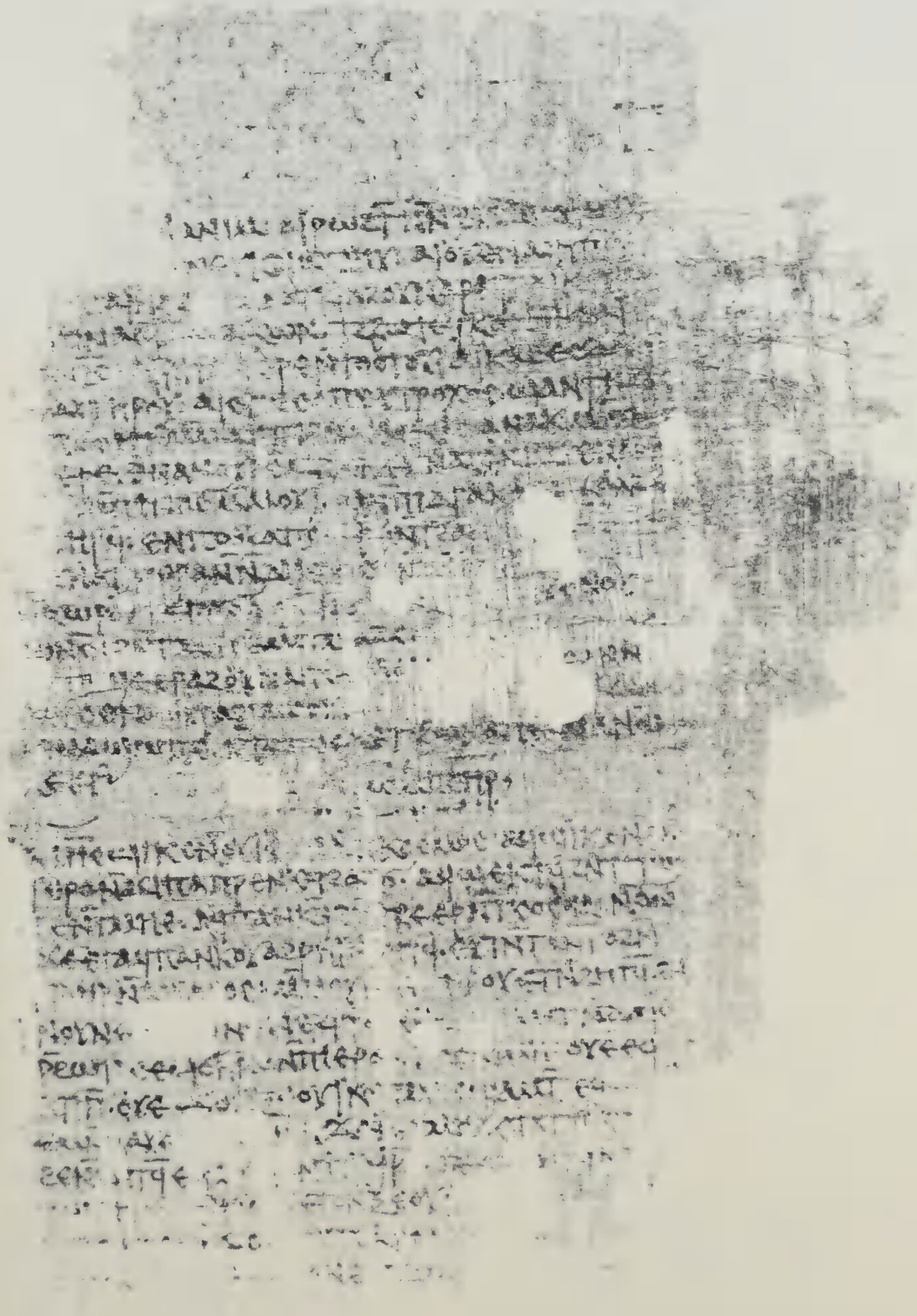


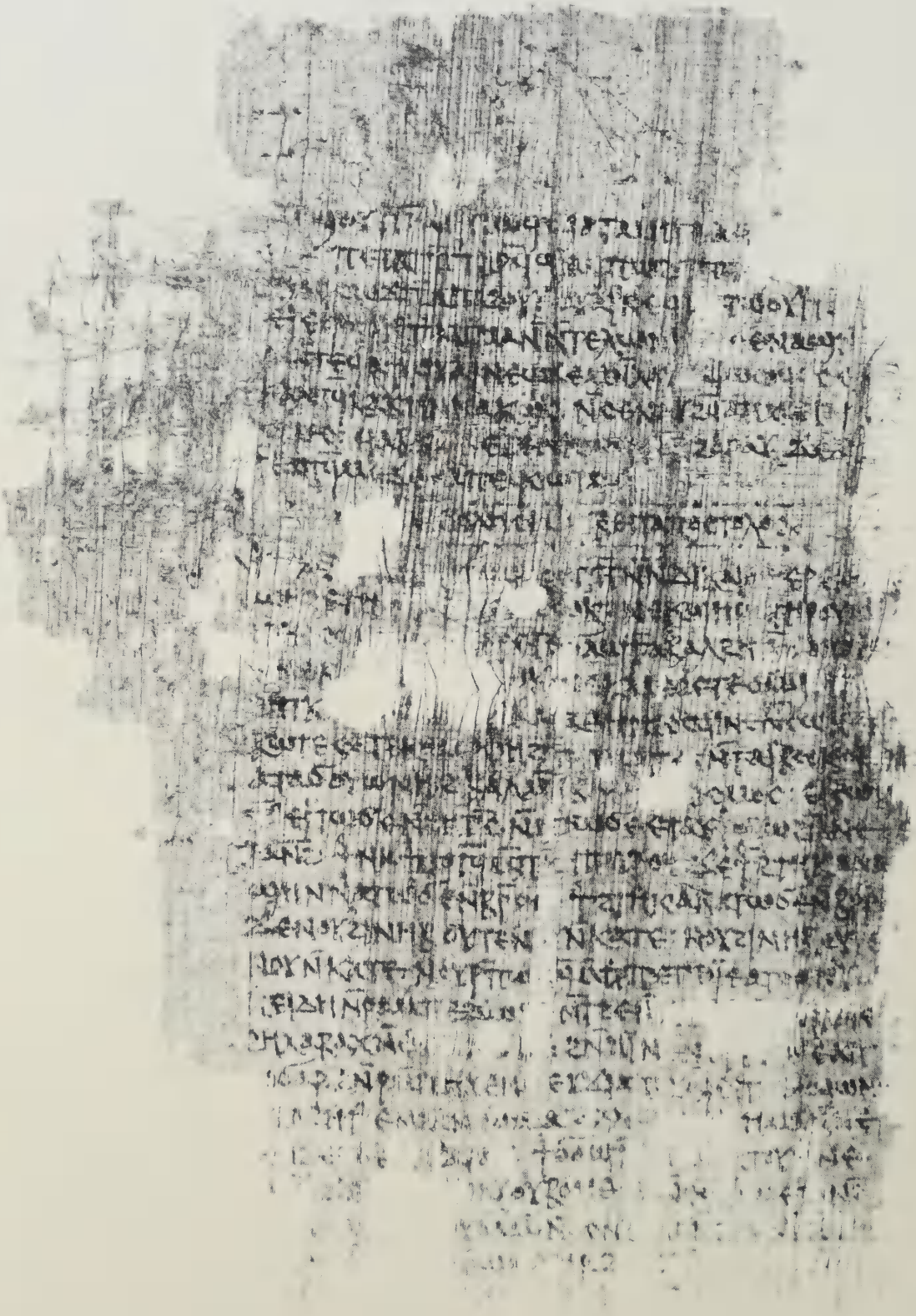


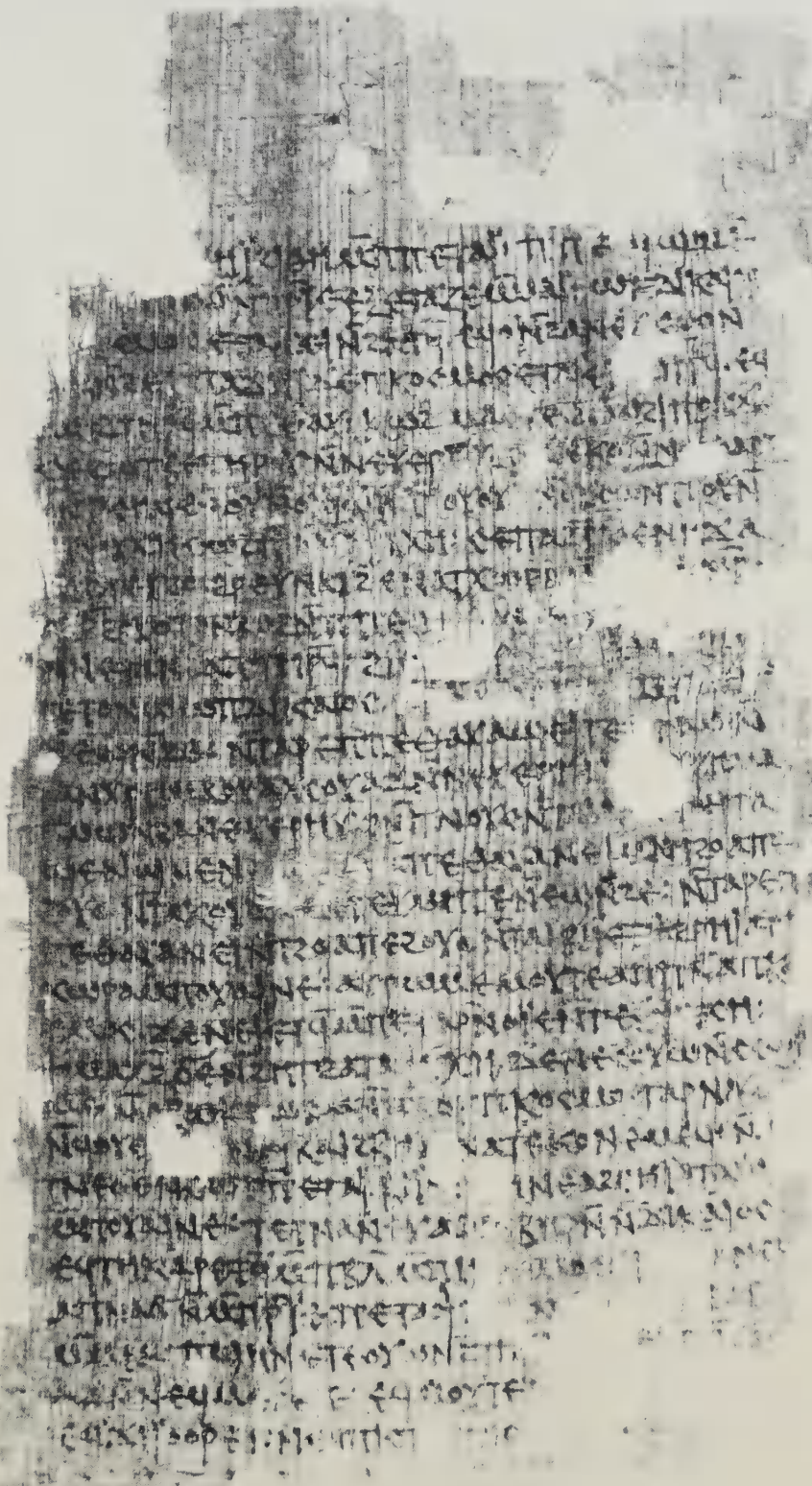


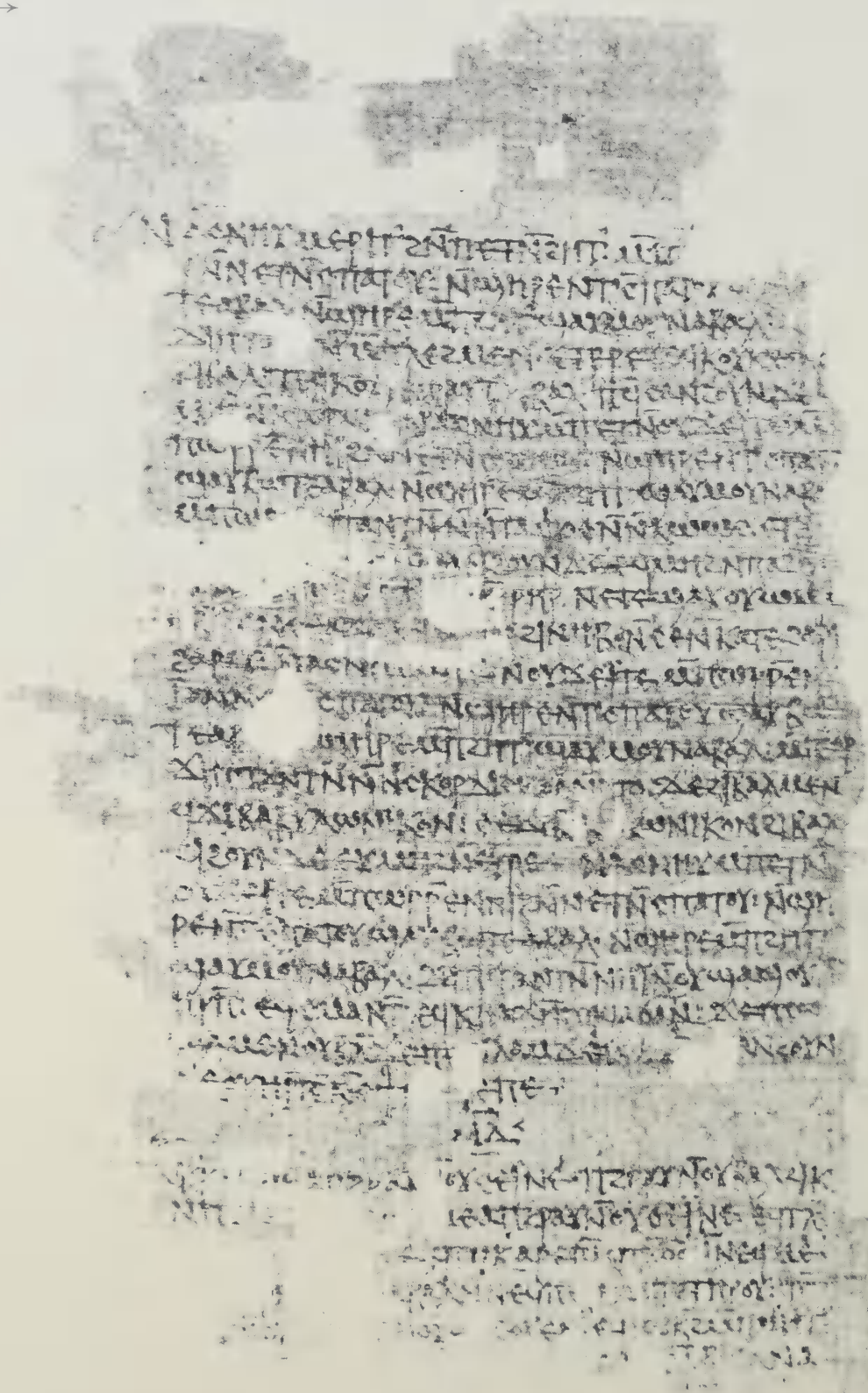


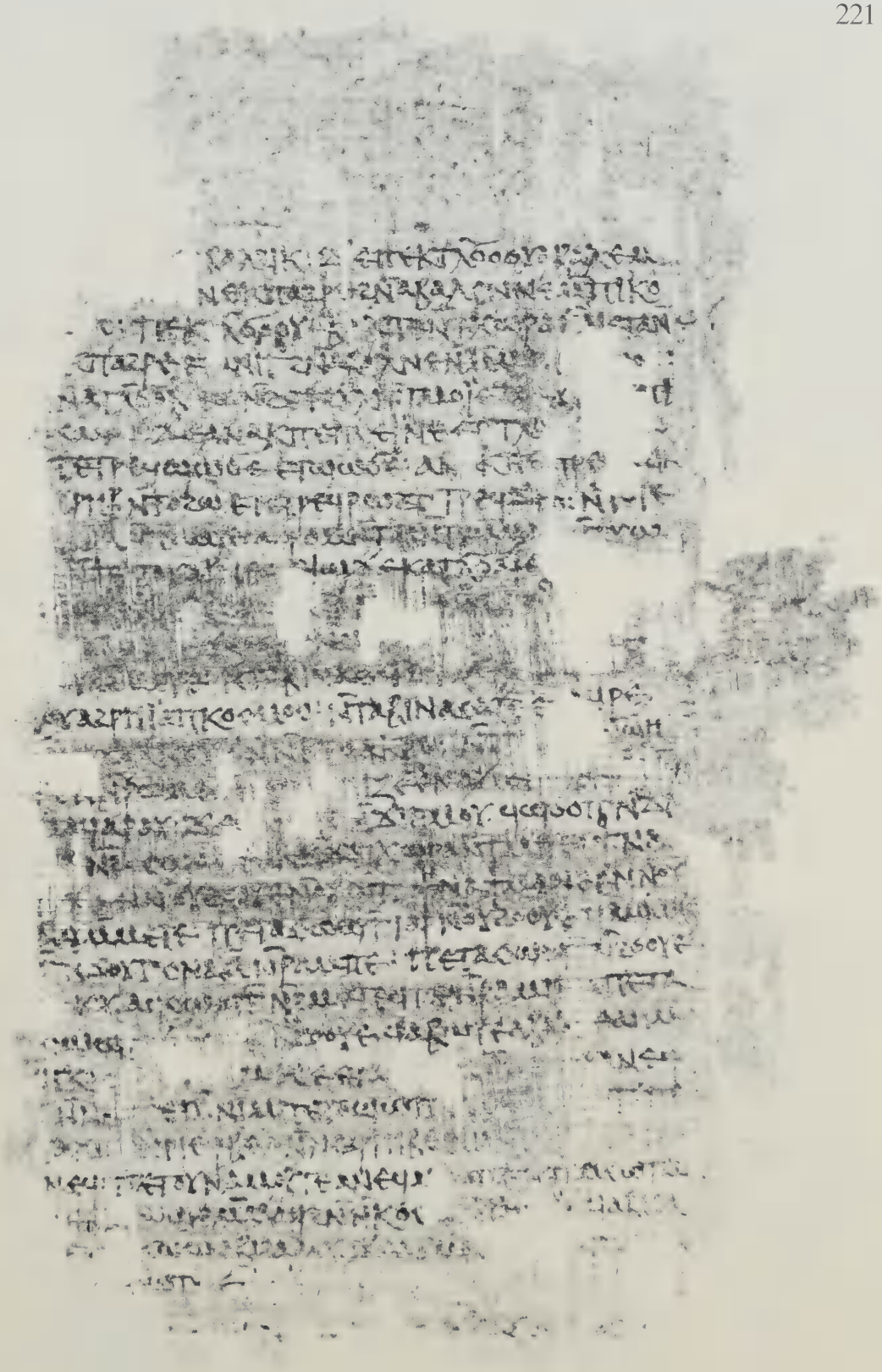


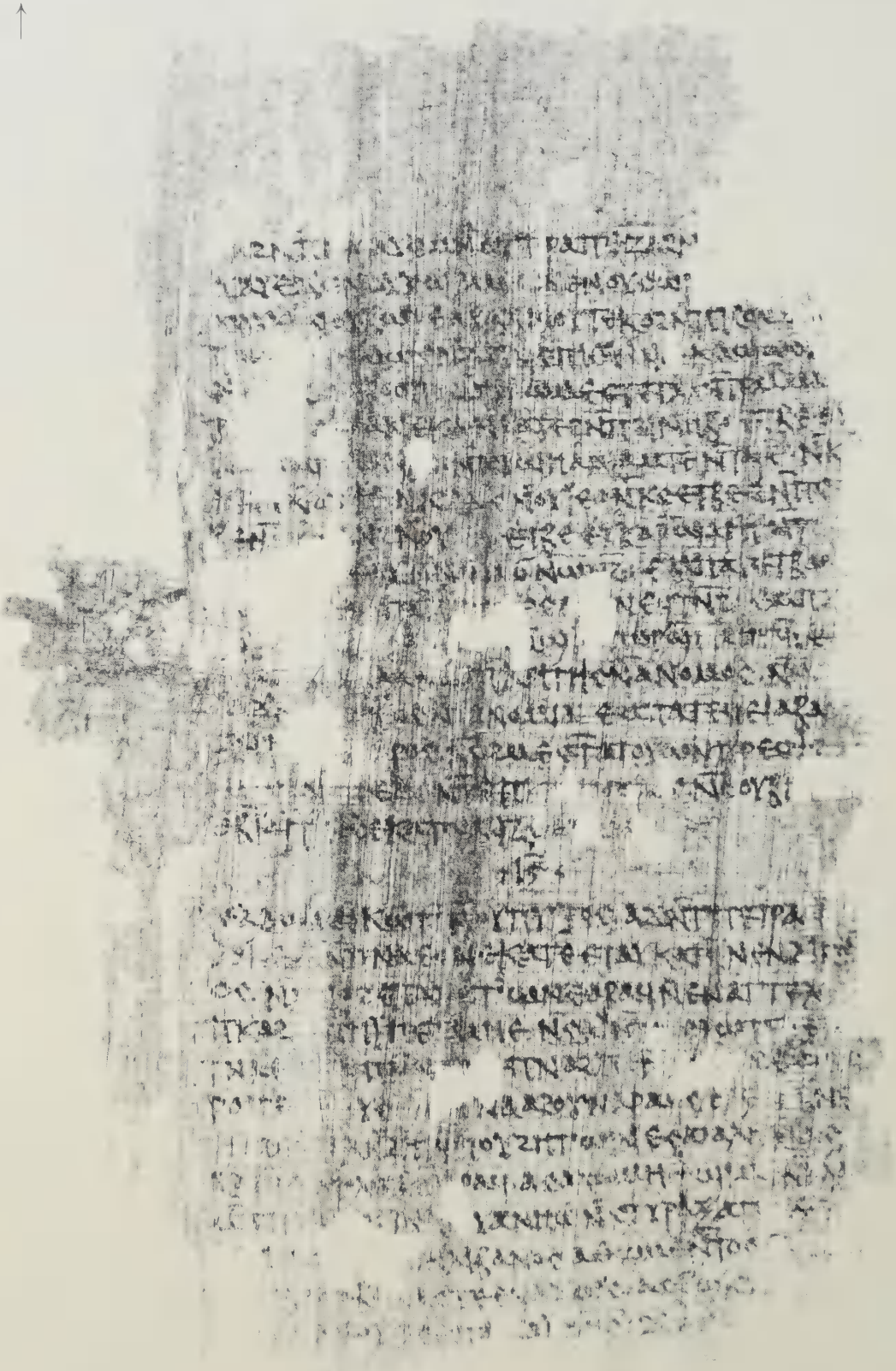


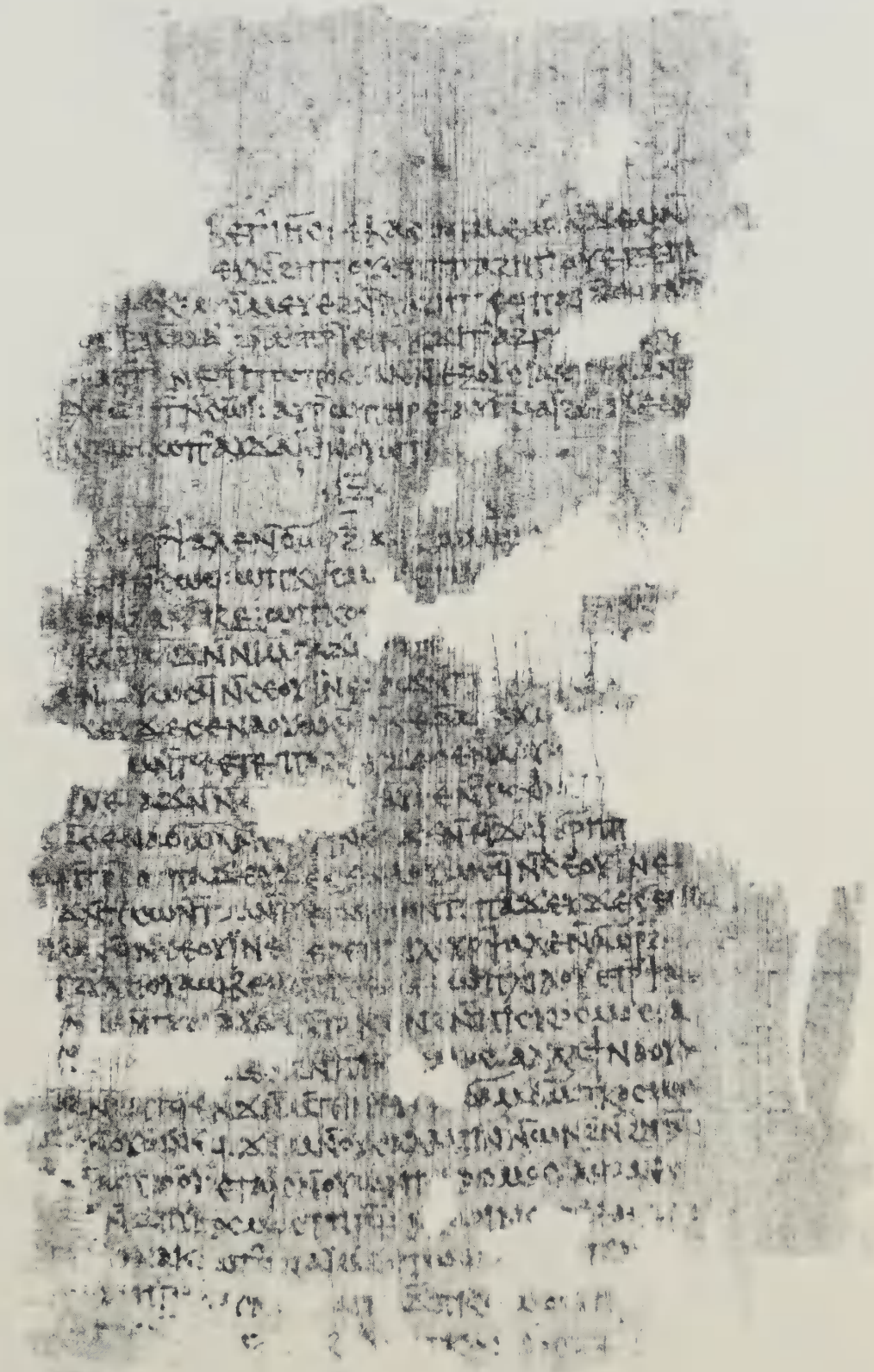


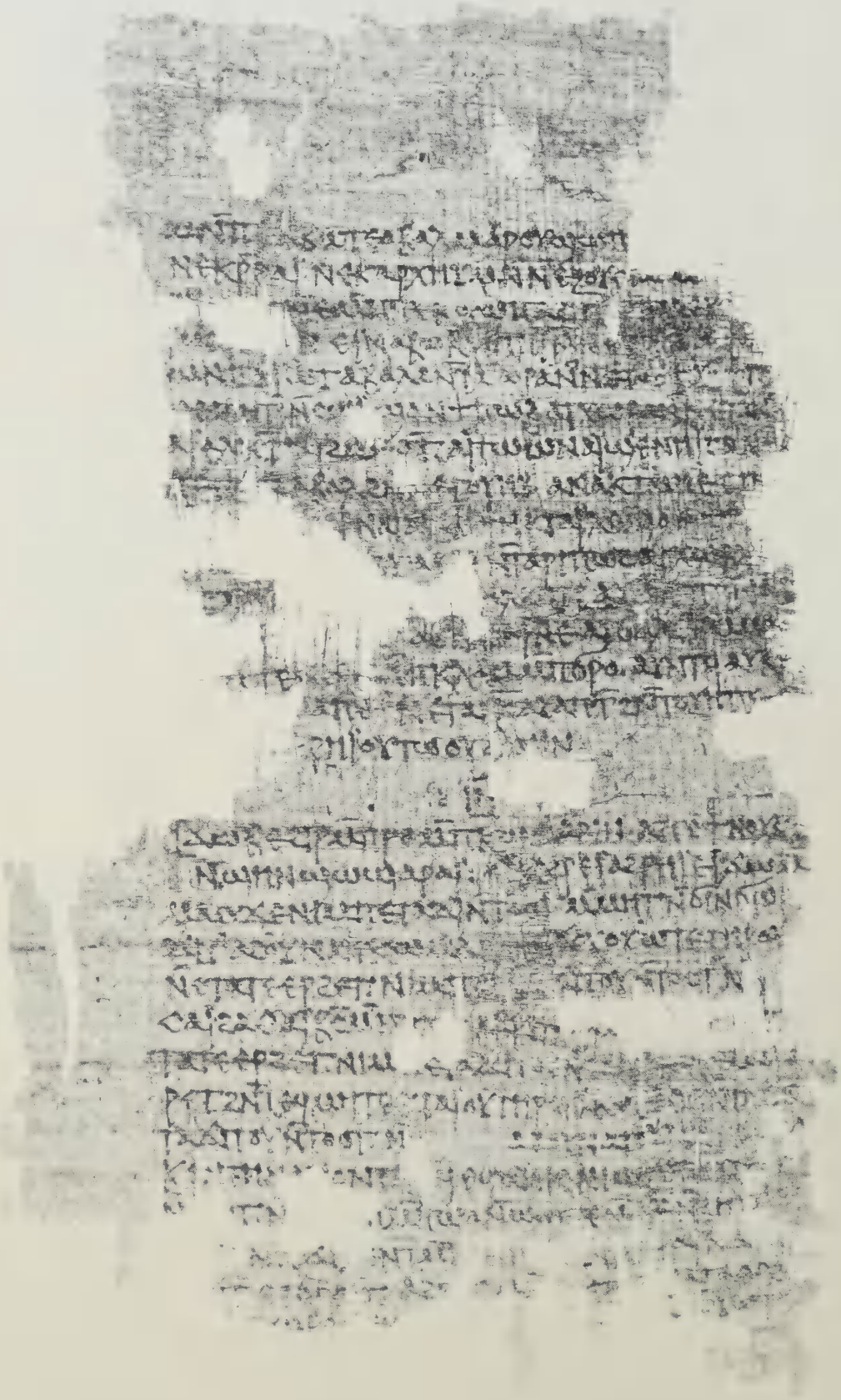


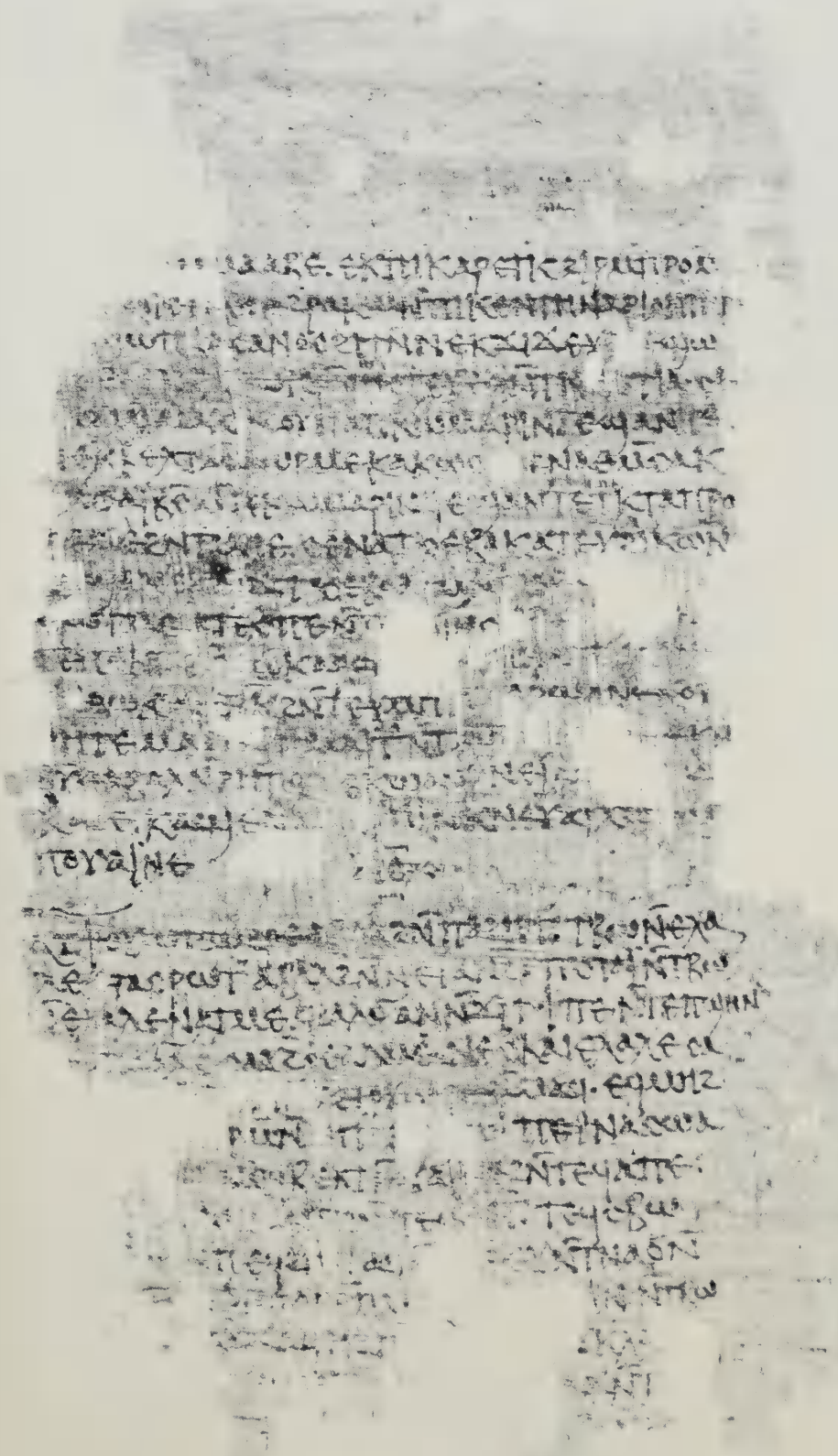


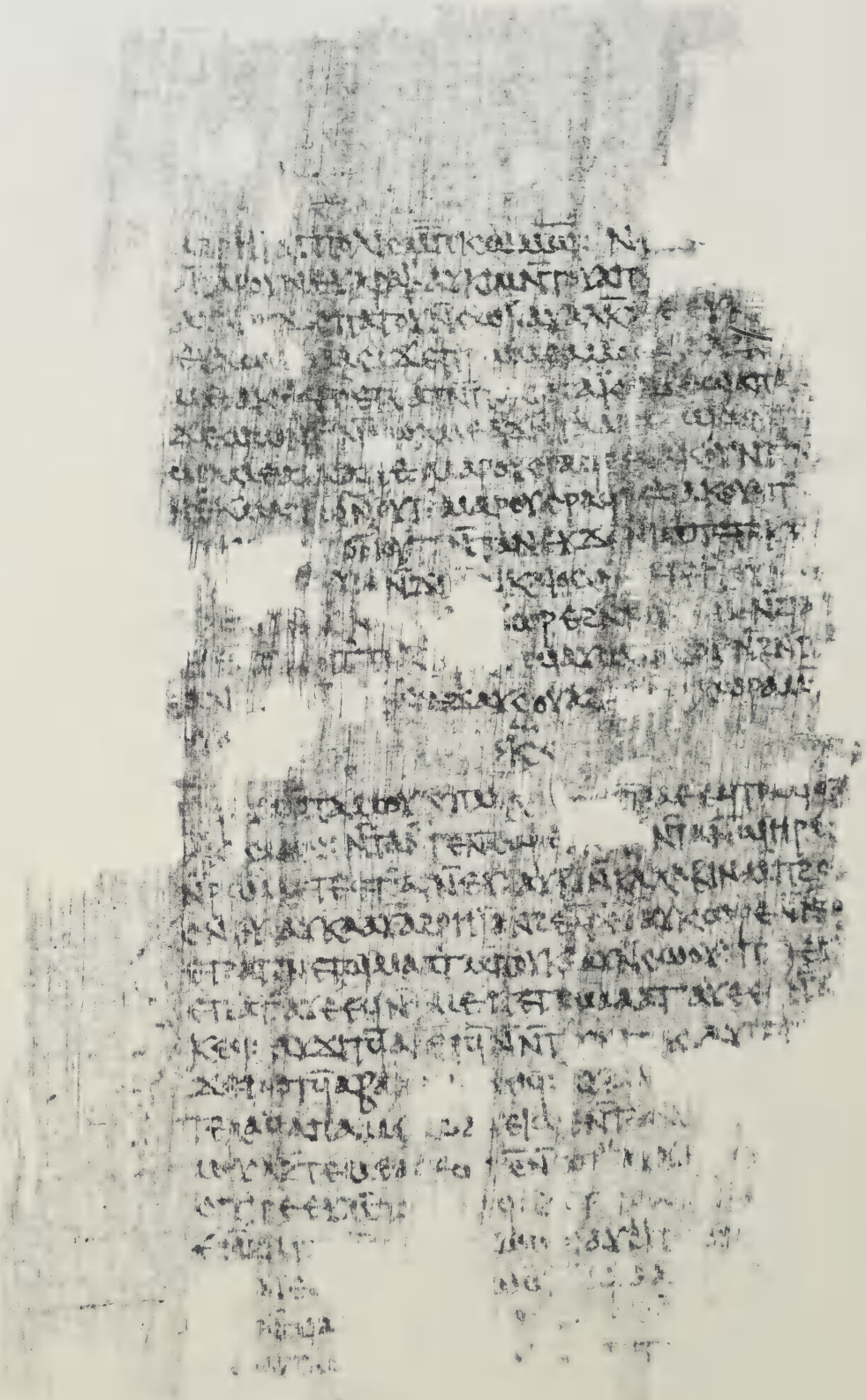


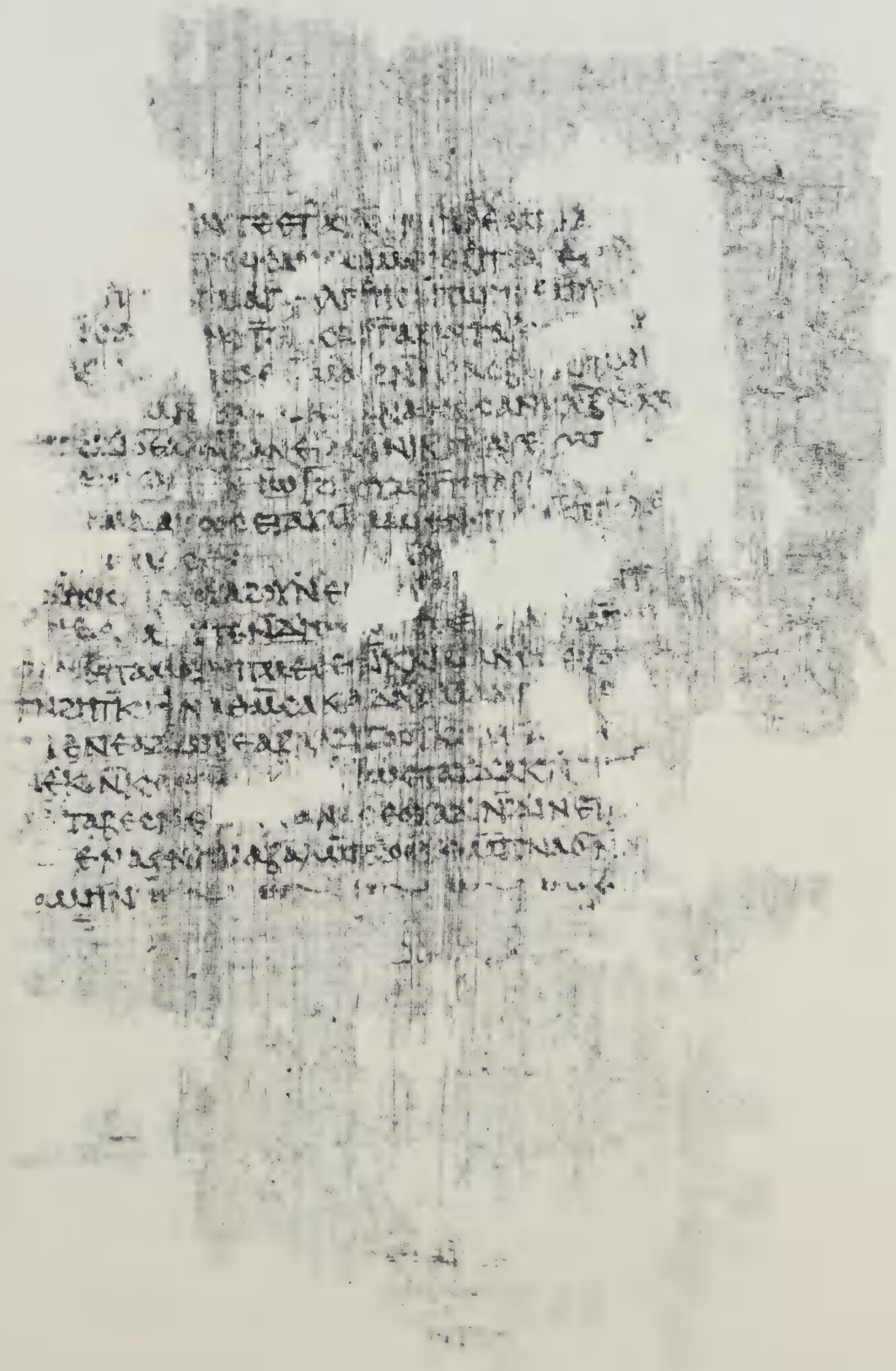


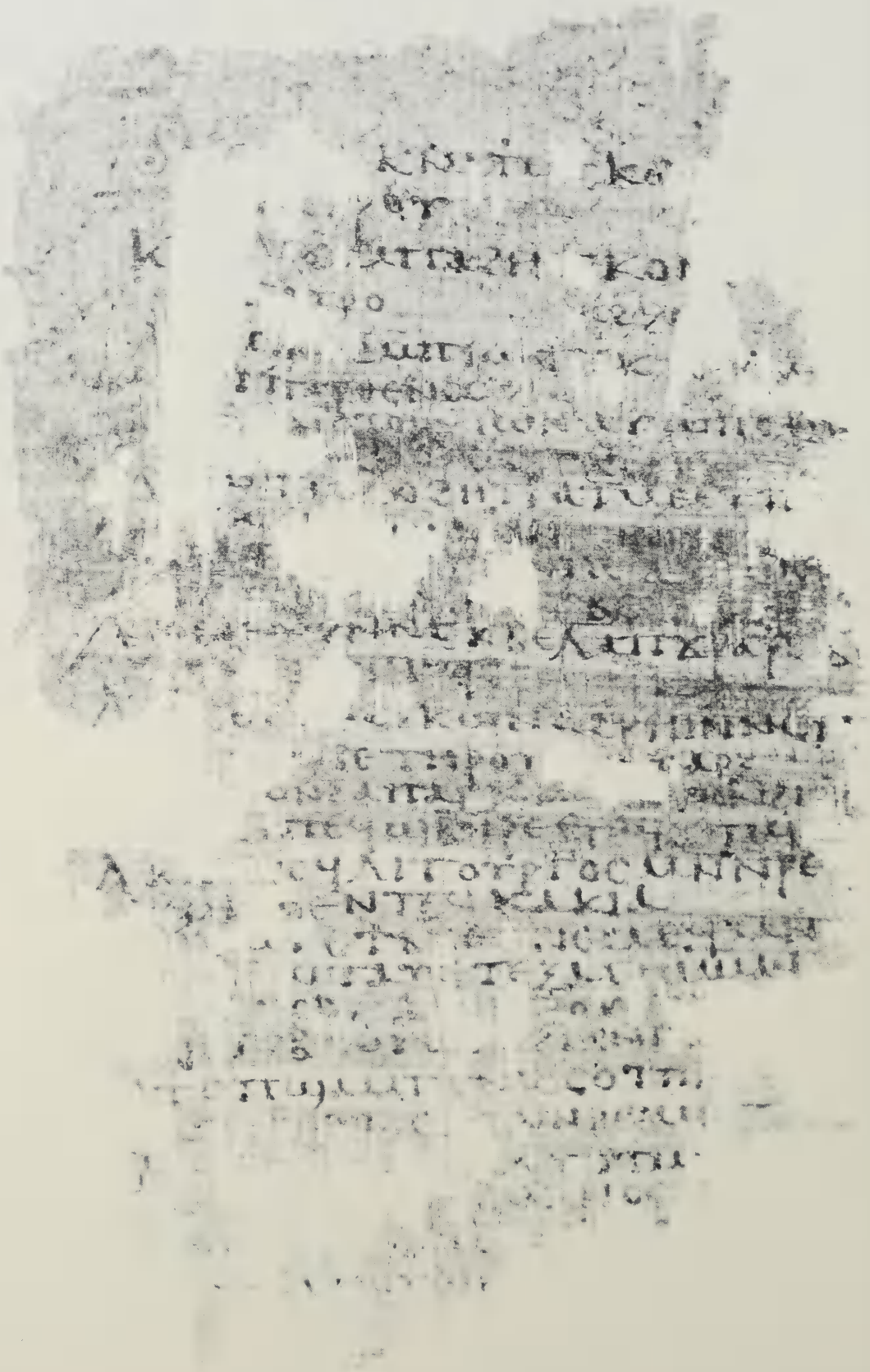




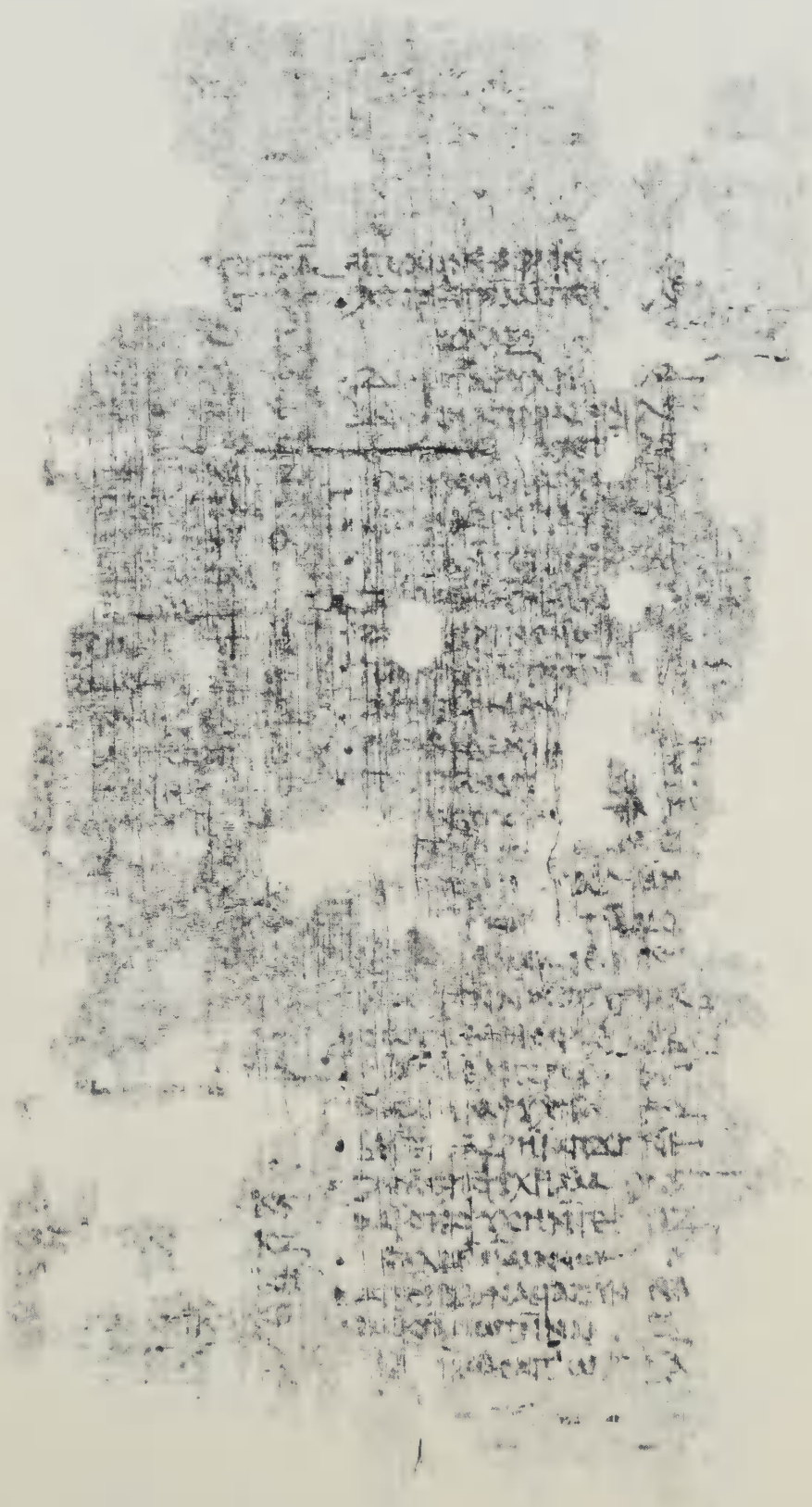


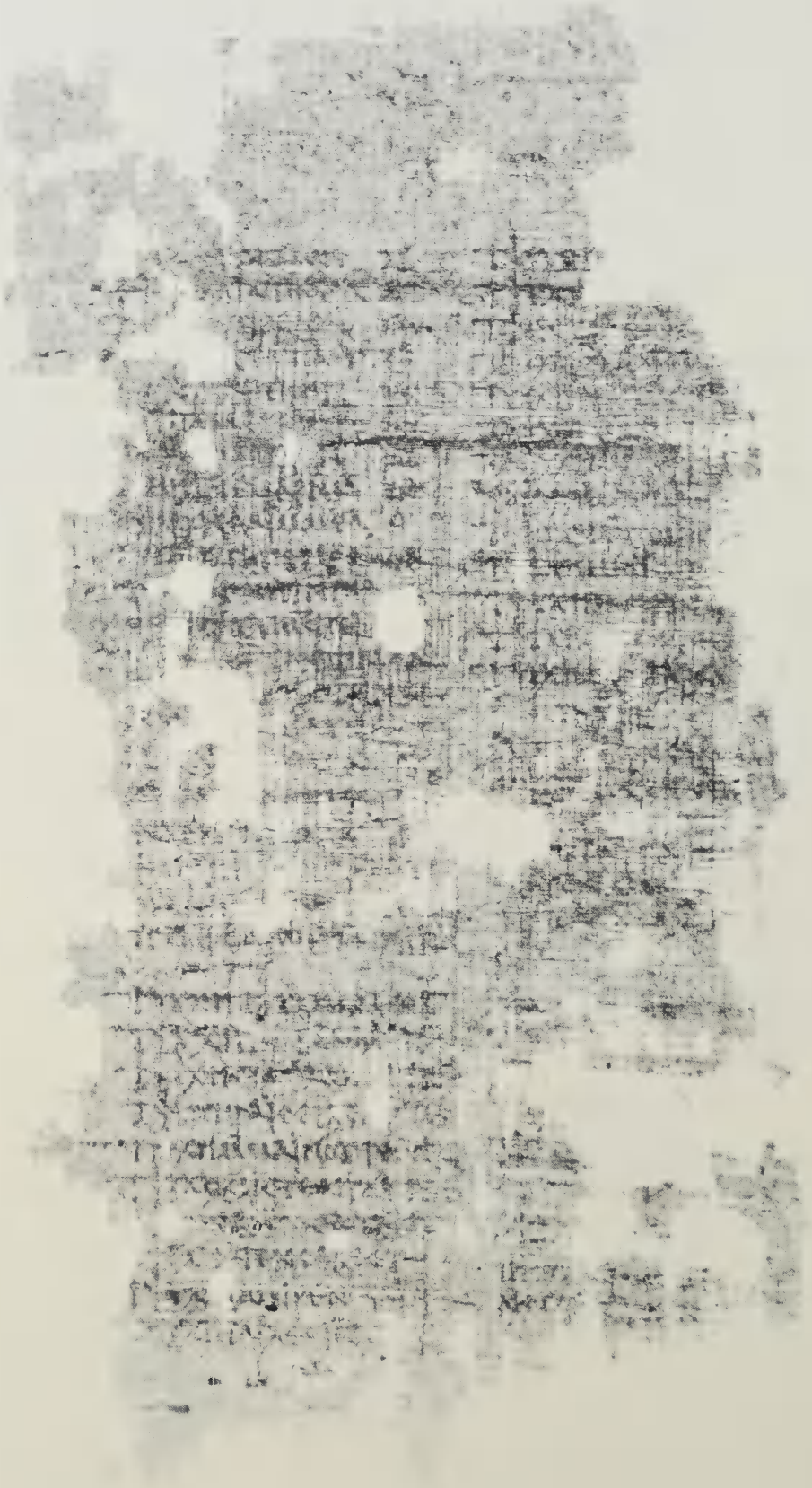


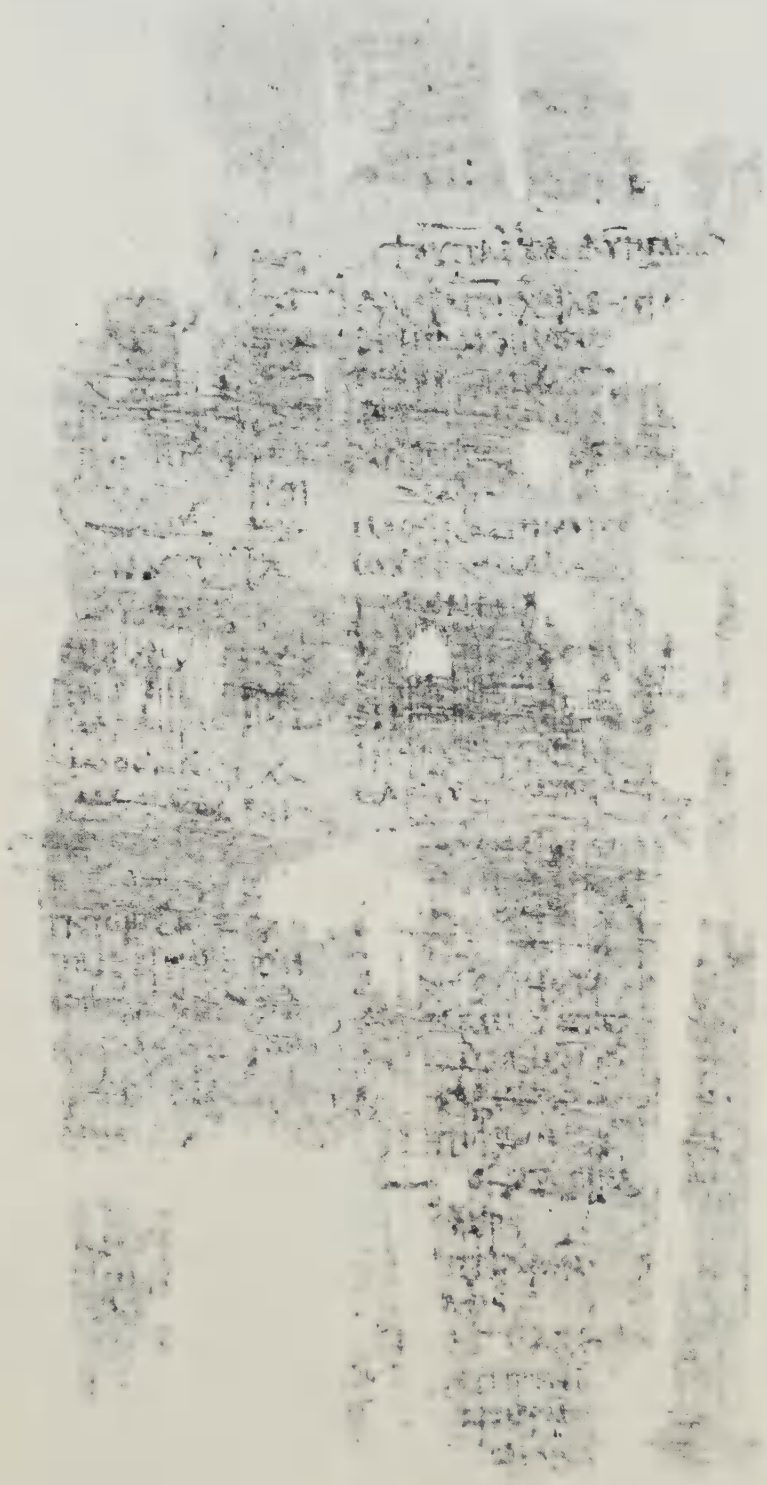


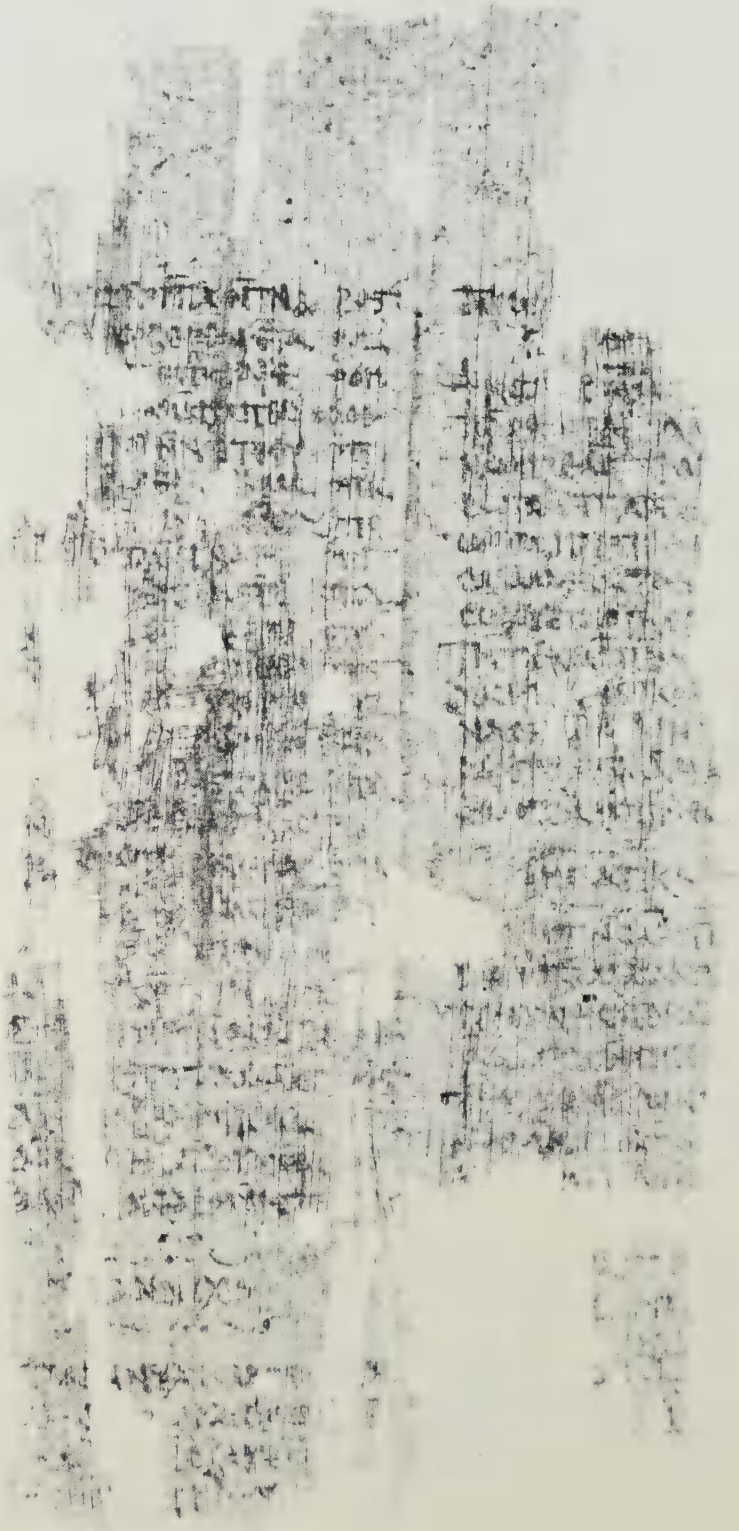


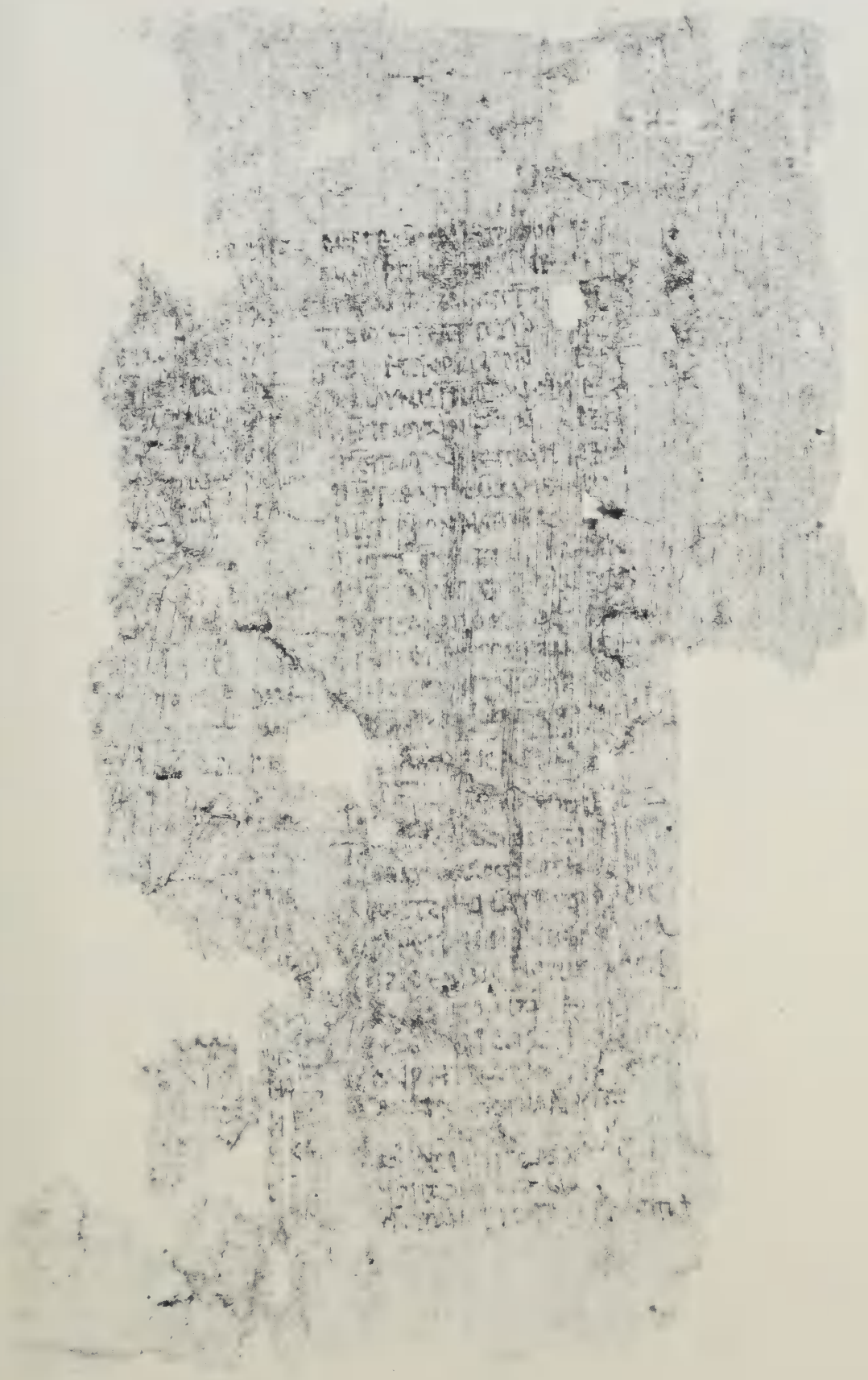
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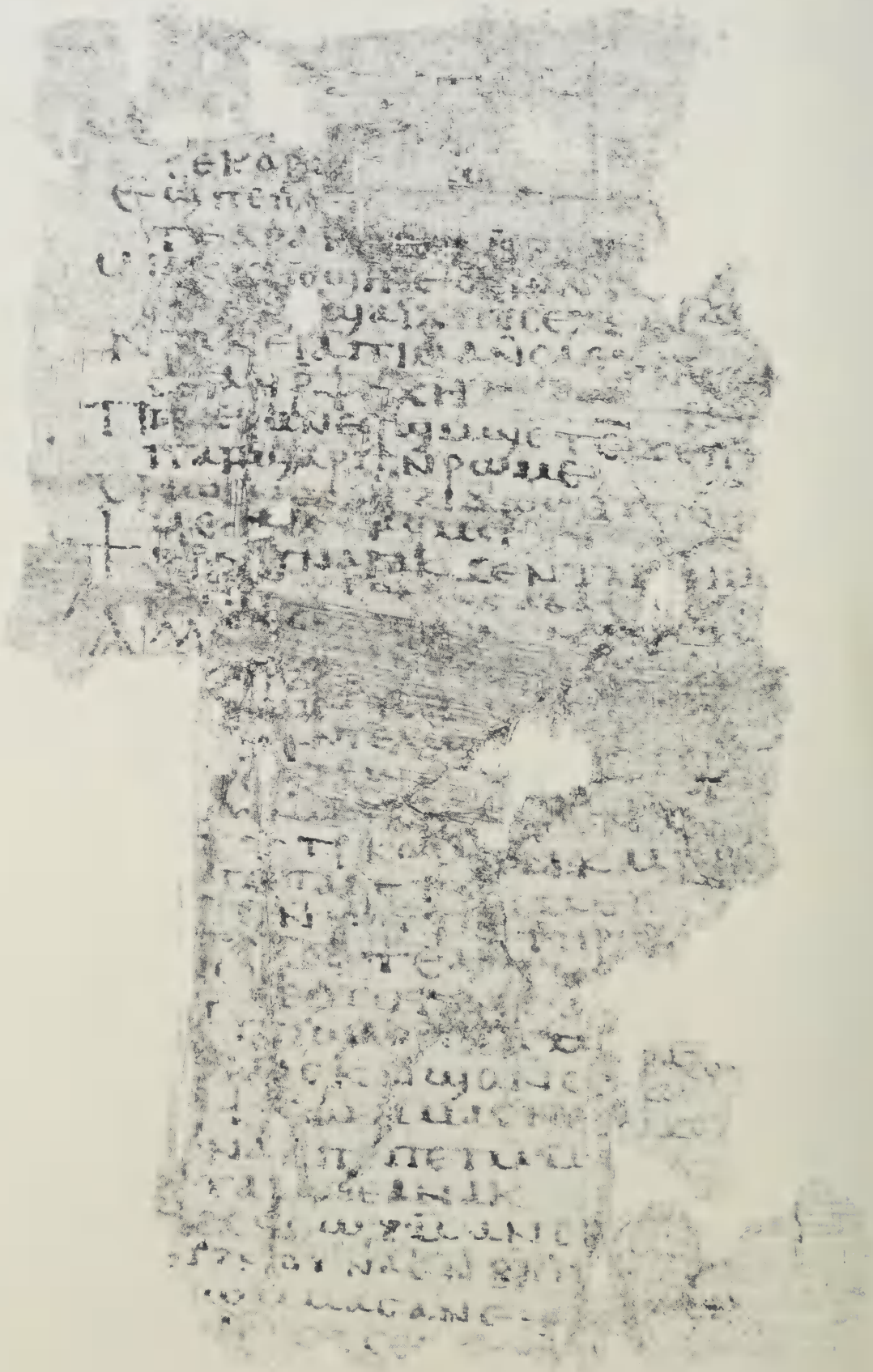








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CONTENTS

FOREWORD IX

BROLLACH X

PREFACE XI

INTRODUCTION XV

PLATES 1-354

FOREWORD

For many years the Chester Beatty Library has been in possession of a large collection of Manichaean Coptic papyri from Medinet Madi in Egypt. Although some of the texts have been published, many of them have not been easily accessible to scholars. For years the publication of most of the papyri seemed almost impossible due to the poor state of a great number of the folios. However, the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library are pleased that Professor Søren Giversen (Aarhus) has been able to engage in the study of the manuscripts and prepare them for publication. With the assistance of a committee consisting of Professor Rodolphe Kasser (Geneva) and Professor Martin Krause (Münster), Professor Giversen has organized the rapid publication of a facsimile edition to facilitate the availability of the texts to scholars and students of Coptic. To Professor Giversen and his colleagues we offer warm thanks and congratulations.

The Trustees wish to express their deep gratitude to the Carlsberg Foundation in Copenhagen, which has very generously provided the necessary funds for this facsimile edition, the publication of which will advance the progress of Coptic studies and contribute to the history of human thought.

Professor Kevin J. Cathcart
Chairman
Board of Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library

BROLLACH

Tá cnuasach mór paipírí Mainicíocha i gCoptais ó Medinet Madi san Éigipt i seilbh Leabharlann Chester Beatty le blianta fada. Cé gur foilsíodh cuid de na téacsanna, ní raibh scoláirí in ann teacht ar chuid mhaith acu go furasta. Bhí cosúlacht ar an scéal ar feadh blianta go raibh foilsiú na bpaipírí beagnach dodhéanta de dheasca drochstaid na mbileog. Cibé scéal é, tá áthas ar Iontaobhaithe Leabharlann Chester Beatty go raibh an tOllamh Søren Giversen (Aarhus) i gcumas na lámhscríbhinní a scrúdú agus iad a ullmhú le foilsiú. Le cúnamh ó choiste a raibh an tOllamh Rodolphe Kasser (Geneva) agus an tOllamh Martin Krause (Münster) air tá an tOllamh Giversen tar éis mearfhoilsiú d'eagrán macasamhlach a shocrú chun cabhrú le scoláirí agus mic léinn na Coptaise teacht ar an téacsanna. Gabhaimid buíochas ó chroí agus comhghairdeas leis an Ollamh Giversen agus a chomhghuallaithe.

Ba mhaith leis na hIontaobhaithe a mbuíochas mór a chur in iúl do Fhundúireacht Charlsberg i gCopenhagen a thug go fial an t-airgead i gcóir an eagráin mhacasamhlaigh seo – eagrán a chuirfidh léann na Coptaise chun cinn agus a mhéadóidh ar ár dtuiscint do stair smaointe an duine.

An tOllamh Kevin J. Cathcart
Cathaoirleach
Bord Iontaobhaithe Leabharlann Chester Beatty

PREFACE

The Manichaean Coptic papyri are among the many invaluable treasures in the Chester Beatty Library and Gallery of Oriental Art. They were discovered at Medinet Madi in Egypt more than fifty years ago, together with other codices which went to Berlin and some pages which went to Vienna. How the whole collection of these codices was divided and went into different libraries is a story not to be told here. These papyri – some unpublished leaves of which I saw for the first time during my studies in Munich in 1955 – have for years fascinated me and I know of many other interested persons who have been waiting for their publication. Their importance for the history of human thought, for Coptic philology and for Coptic palaeography is clear to everyone who is occupied with these subjects. But unfortunately only a small part of these texts has so far been published. Of the Chester Beatty Manichaean papyri only some 330 pages out of more than 1000 have been published, and of the Berlin collection even fewer than 300 of a great many more. From the Chester Beatty collection nothing has been published since 1938; the publication of the papyri located in Germany was stopped in 1940 when 243 pages had been edited, although a further 48 pages were published in 1966.

In discussions during the First International Congress of Coptic Studies in Cairo in 1976 I raised the question of the still unpublished Manichaean Coptic papyri from Medinet Madi and suggested that the initiative should be taken in preparing these papyri for publication. I had at that time already made some preliminary preparations and in the following years I continued these with research in the archives of the Chester Beatty Library and naturally with the study of the papyri themselves. During the first years I did not myself intend to publish the papyri in view of the extent of the task, but hoped that someone else who had attended the congress in Cairo would take up my suggestion. Dr Patrick Henchy, then Director and Librarian of the Chester Beatty Library, however, encouraged me to edit the texts, and at a conference on "Gnosticisme et monde hellénistique" in Louvain-la-Neuve in March 1980 I gave a paper entitled *Le Paraclet et la connaissance de Dieu* (in *Gnosticisme et monde hellénistique*, ed. J. Ries, Louvain-la-Neuve 1982, pp. 200-207).

During discussions at the conference Professors Julien Ries, Ugo Bianchi and Jean-Marie Sevrin also urged me to assume the editing of the papyri. In the course of further discussions with colleagues I drew up a plan for the publication of the papyri and asked the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library for permission to publish the texts. This was granted, and in a paper given to the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies in Rome in September 1980 I gave some information about the state of the papyri and the problems attached to publishing them, and presented the plan for their publication. A short account of this was given in my lecture at a conference in Rende (Cosenza) in September 1984, *The Inedited Chester Beatty Mani Texts* (in *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis. Atti del Simposio Internazionale*, a cura di Luigi Cirillo, Cosenza 1986, pp. 371-380), in which I said: "The plan is as soon as possible to publish a facsimile edition of the whole collection and not to let it be delayed by any preparations for a critical edition. The publication of the collection has waited long enough... A critical edition can wait until a facsimile edition has facilitated access to the texts for all ..." (p. 380).

It was evident from the state of the papyri that if they were to be published in the foreseeable future, it would be necessary initially to abandon all thought of perfection. What was needed was first to establish the correct order of the unpaginated sheets, so far as this was possible within a reasonable time, and then

to publish a facsimile edition without delay. Once this was published, every interested scholar would have plenty of time and opportunity to work on the texts. It was clear that a facsimile edition must also include the texts already published in 1934 and 1938 (*Homilies* and *Psalm Book*, Part 2), since there are still passages which could be read better, as well as some unpublished fragments. A facsimile edition is also needed for the sake of palaeography.

It is such a facsimile edition that I here present. It is published under the auspices of the Chester Beatty Library and under the responsibility of the International Committee for the Publication of the Manichaean Coptic Papyri Belonging to the Chester Beatty Library. This committee, which comprises Professor Rodolphe Kasser, Professor Martin Krause and myself, is recognized by the Board of Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, and is also responsible for the critical edition of the texts.

I wish to express my sincere thanks to the Board of Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library and Gallery of Oriental Art for permission to study these papyri and to publish them, and for allowing me to study letters and other documents in the archives of the Chester Beatty Library and to quote and publish such archive material. Access to the papyri was greatly facilitated for me when the Chester Beatty Library with great magnanimity deposited a large amount of the papyri on temporary loan in the Royal Library in Copenhagen; for this I am deeply grateful. I wish also to thank the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Professor Kevin J. Cathcart, for all possible support and for his continuous and active interest in the publication of the papyri. I am very grateful to Dr P. Henchy, Trustee and former Director of the library, and to the present Director, W. Lockwood, for the interest that they have always shown in my project. I thank also members of the staff and curators David James, Jan Chapman and Patricia Donlon for all their help and kindness over the years.

I am very much indebted to the Royal Library, Copenhagen, for the invaluable help given to this project as a result of its willingness to receive the Dublin papyri on temporary loan, and I wish to thank the head of the Royal Library, Chief Librarian Erland Kolding Nielsen, and the Keeper of Manuscripts, Dr Svend Gissel, for their part in this.

This edition has been made possible through the financial support of the Carlsberg Foundation, Copenhagen, which has also provided the project with the necessary funds for the photographing of all the pages, and with travel grants when required. I should like to thank the Carlsberg Foundation for its constant and generous support, and the Chairman of its board, Professor Kristof Glamann, for much encouragement over the years. The Danish Research Council for Humanities, the University of Aarhus Research Foundation and the Professor Arthur Christensen Endowment Fund also kindly provided travel grants. I am grateful to Aer Lingus which safely and without any charge transported nearly 200 kilograms of boxes containing the papyri from Dublin to Copenhagen. All formalities were easily and graciously carried out by the Irish and Danish governmental authorities. For a special interest in my work with the papyri I thank H. E. Liam Rigney, the Irish Ambassador to Denmark.

The photographs which comprise this facsimile edition were taken by Mr David Davison. Many photographic tests were necessary, and the cost of these tests and of the negatives and prints was borne by the Carlsberg Foundation. I thank Mr Davison for all his care. It has not been possible to remove the glass or perspex (plexiglass) in order to rearrange fragments, because the papyrus is very often stuck to both plates of glass and will break if the glass is removed. Some fragments have, however, been rearranged photographically. In this context, special mention should be made of Homilies 19-20, 25-26, 97-98 and Psalms II 25-26, 89-90, 93-98, 155-156, 171-172, 183-184; there are however many other places where, judging from the evidence of the photographs, small fragments should have been repositioned in the correct place, but where it seemed wiser to forgo this delicate operation – partly because it was not possible to be certain of the result, and partly because various technical difficulties would have made the work too hazardous. In these instances the reader must form his own judgement on the papyri, photographed in their actual state, and make the necessary adjustments according to his own theories.

The facsimiles are the same size as the originals except for some in Volume I, where the scale is indicated as 4:5. These have had to be reduced because of the size of the papyrus.

I should like to thank Professor A. Bülow Jacobsen for his willingness to give good advice on papyrological problems, and Mag. Art. Torben Holm Rasmussen and the Rev. Søren Hermansen for useful assistance.

For a warm and vivid interest in the project and for much valuable information and advice I have received at conferences, discussions or in letters I wish to thank Professors J. Bartlett, H. D. Betz, U. Bianchi, A. Böhlig, L. Cirillo, S. Freyne, W.-P. Funk, A. Guillaumont, A. Henrichs, L. Koenen, J. E. Ménard, P. Nagel, T. Orlandi, P.-H. Poirier, H. J. Polotsky, J. Ries, J.-M. Rosenstiehl, T. Säve-Söderbergh, H.-M. Schenke, J.-M. Sevrin, G. Stroumsa, W. Sundermann and D. Wasserstein.

My Danish colleagues and friends, Professors Jes P. Asmussen and Benedikt Otzen, have by word and deed supported me in the carrying out of this project.

To my two colleagues on the international committee, Professor Rodolphe Kasser and Professor Martin Krause, I wish to express my thanks for their active interest and willingness to promote the project.

The committee is very pleased that this publication could appear in the "Cahiers d'Orientalisme", and on behalf of the committee I wish cordially to thank its director, Mr Enzo Lucchesi, and its publisher, Mr Patrick Cramer.

To my Irish friends Professors Kevin Cathcart and George Eogan and their families I owe personal thanks for all their hospitality towards my family and myself.

I thank my children and my wife for much assistance and angelic patience.

Søren GIVERSEN

INTRODUCTION

The Manichaean Coptic papyri from Medinet Madi were found more than half a century ago under circumstances which are and probably will remain obscure. Discoveries of that kind, made not as a result of scientific work but by chance and without the presence of scholars or interested persons with a knowledge of science, can never be truly recorded or described in detail. In such cases it is necessary to restrict oneself to the objective facts, however meagre these may be, and not fall into the temptation of relying on what people many years later on may think that they remember, or perhaps are saying in order to please. It is safer here to build upon what can be regarded as solid foundations. A good example of this sober way of restricting oneself in such matters is Jean Doresse's report on the discovery of the Nag Hammadi manuscripts. This report was made as a result of his research on the site of the find in 1950, only a few years after the discovery but, it appears, just before any real recollection had faded away to the benefit of imagination.

The Manichaean Coptic papyri from Medinet Madi were also discovered by chance, not as a result of any archaeological excavation. The circumstances in which they were found were obscure even then and nobody has until now dared to try to solve the mystery of their discovery. It is therefore advisable, when looking at the facts about the discovery of these papyri, to refer to the short report which Carl Schmidt gave on his research on the spot, shortly after the appearance of the papyri on the antique dealers' market. As is nearly always the case when Coptic manuscripts have come to the learned world through antique dealers, very little or nothing is known about the discovery. It appears from Schmidt's report, however, that the manuscripts were discovered hidden in an old wooden box in the ruins of a house (Carl Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten...*, mit einem Beitrag von H. Ibscher, in *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1933, 1, Berlin 1933, pp. 7-10). Carl Schmidt's report was as follows:

> "Leider war ich bis dahin über den Fundort ganz im unklaren. Der im Text gebotene Dialekt wies nach Oberägypten, aber manche Anzeichen in Rücksicht auf die Händler sprachen für das Fajûm. Daher galt mein nächster Besuch in Begleitung von Hrn. Geheimrat Moritz einem dortigen alten Geschäftsfreunde. Und wiederum hatte ich mich nicht getäuscht, denn er zeigte mir einige unansehnliche Haufen, die ihre Zugehörigkeit zu dem Mani-Funde auf den ersten Blick verrieten. Hier war also die Quelle entdeckt, aus der Mr. Chester Beatty seine Erwerbung getätigt hatte. Und nun machte es keine Schwierigkeit mehr, aus dem Munde dieses sehr versierten Händlers über den ganzen Fund nähere Kunde zu erhalten. Zunächst war von Wichtigkeit die Mitteilung, daß drei Händler den Fund unter sich geteilt hätten, und zwar wären es acht Teile gewesen, davon er selbst drei Teile, der Händler in Kairo ebenfalls drei Teile und ein Provinzhändler zwei Teile erhalten hätten. Natürlich war es bei dieser ersten Teilung nicht geblieben, sondern jeder hatte weitere Teilungen vorgenommen, um möglichst viel Geld herauszuschlagen. Und was noch schlimmer, man hatte die oberen und unteren Papyruslagen, die unter den Einbanddecken in besonderem Maße gelitten hatten – eine Erscheinung, die wir bei fast allen Kodizes erleben –, abgehoben, um dem Ganzen ein besseres Aussehen zu geben. Wieviel bei dieser Manipulation zugrunde gegangen ist, entzieht sich jetzt der Beurteilung. So fand ich solche äußerlich unscheinbaren Reste, die ohne Zweifel zu den von Mr. Chester Beatty im Fajûm erworbenen Papyrusbüchern gehören, und habe sie der Vollständigkeit halber, um nicht das geringste verlorengehen zu lassen, für billiges Geld erworben, da der Händler seinen großen Verdienst bereits in der Tasche hatte[1]. Ich bereue

[1] Derartige Fetzen hat Prof. Grohmann, Prag, für die Papyrusabteilung der Wiener Staatsbibliothek von einem Händler aus Eschmunên erworben. Ibscher hat jüngst Fragmente von zwei Blättern aus diesem Müllhaufen gerettet. – Bei meiner letzten Reise im Frühjahr 1932 fand ich noch zwei weitere abgehobene Haufen vor und brachte sie nach Berlin.

meinen Entschluß nicht, denn bei der Konservierung konnten 31 Blätter in mehr oder weniger fragmentarischer Erhaltung unter Glas gebracht werden. Hatte der Fajûmer Antikenhändler seine Handschriften ausschließlich an Mr. Chester Beatty verkauft, so hatte der Kairener seinen Besitz zwischen Chester Beatty und mir geteilt und hatte, nachdem er diesen abgestoßen, die beiden Stücke des Provinzlers aufgekauft, um sie mir anzubieten. Aber was von höchster Wichtigkeit: Mein Gewährsmann konnte mir auch eine genaue Angabe über den Fundort machen, den wohl niemand hätte erraten können. Denn die Mani-Bücher sind im sogenannten sub-achmimischen Dialekt abgefaßt; die Übersetzung muß also ursprünglich in dem Gebiet stattgefunden haben, wo dieser Lokaldialekt heimisch war. Das war ein oberägyptischer Dialekt, der, wie wir noch näher erkennen werden, im Gebiete von Assiut gesprochen wurde. Den Mitteilungen zufolge war der Fundort das heutige Medînet Mâdi, ein selbst den Papyrologen wenig bekannter Ort. Die weit ausgedehnte Ruinenstätte liegt im Südwesten des Fajûm in der großen Senke des heutigen Gharak (vgl. Brown, The Fajum and Lake Moeris, London 1892) auf einem langgestreckten Höhenrücken, der aus zwei Koms besteht, die etwa 900 m voneinander entfernt liegen. Sie liegt zugleich nordwestlich von dem alten Kerkeosiris, das dem heutigen Gharak entspricht. Im Jahre 1900/01 hat Jouguet hier eine kleine Ausgrabung vorgenommen und einen Bericht in dem Bulletin Correspond. Hellen. 1901, S. 380 ff., veröffentlicht: Rapport sur les fouilles de Médinet Mâdi et Médinet Ghôran (vgl. die Beschreibung der Lage von Medînet Mâdi S. 382, Anmerkung).

Medînet Mâdi war eine Militärkolonie aus ptolemäischer Zeit und wird wohl mit Recht von Carl Wessely mit der κώμη Ἰβιὼν (τῶν) Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων identifiziert (s. seine Topographie des Fajûm in griechischer Zeit 1904, S. 75, und Grenfell-Hunt, Tebtunis Papyri II, 1907, S. 380). Die Stadt gehörte zum Polemon-Bezirk, da das Fajûm bekanntlich in drei große Bezirke geteilt war. Erhalten ist eine Reihe byzantinischer Urkunden aus dem 5. bis 8. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Ich selbst habe von Medînet el Fajûm aus in Begleitung von Dr. Schott, dem damaligen Assistenten des Ägyptologischen Instituts, einen Ausflug nach Medînet Mâdi per Auto gemacht und konnte feststellen, wie eifrig die Sebachin in den Ruinen der Häuser am Werke waren. Sie scheinen auf eigene Faust und in eigener Regie die Fruchterde herauszuheben und in die Ebene zu transportieren, da man überall Erdhaufen am Fuße des Ruinenfeldes liegen sah, um an die Fellachen verkauft zu werden. Medînet Mâdi muß in späterer Zeit eine rein koptische Niederlassung gewesen sein, da ich nirgendwo Scherben arabischer Provenienz entdeckt habe. Freilich konnte ich einige angeblich in Medînet Mâdi gefundene arabische Papyri erwerben, aber die Namen sind durchweg christlich bzw. koptisch. Unsere Mani-Bücher müssen von diesen Sebachin gefunden und sofort in Medînet el Fajûm an Antikenhändler verkauft worden sein. Den gesamten Fund muß mein Gewährsmann noch vor Augen gehabt haben, denn nach beiläufiger Mitteilung, die er mir jetzt beim Besuche im März 1932 machte, lagen die Papyrusbücher, jedes von kahlen Deckeln in Holz umgeben, in einer Holzkiste, die in einem früheren Wohnhause aufgefunden wurde. Die Holzkiste soll zerfallen gewesen sein, so daß eine Aufbewahrung sich nicht lohnte. Es hat den Anschein, als ob dem Antikenhändler im Fajûm der ganze Fund von den arabischen Findern angeboten wurde, dieser aber sich nicht getraute, sein Geld allein in diesen unansehnlichen Papyrusbüchern anzulegen, deshalb er den Fund mit anderen Händlern teilte. Damit wird auch eine Beobachtung von Dr. Ibscher bestätigt, daß die Mani-Handschriften infolge ihrer feuchten Lagerung in absehbarer Zeit dem Zerfall nahegebracht wären, also nicht in der trockenen Wüstenerde gelegen haben können. Denn die Keller der Häuser von Medînet Mâdi waren der Feuchtigkeit von oben und unten ausgesetzt, so daß die Papyri von Salzkristallen vollständig durchsetzt werden konnten. Die ganze Gegend ist Sumpfgebiet, wenn auch die alte Siedlung auf dem Hügelrücken angelegt war. Prof. Schubart und Prof. Zucker wollten im Frühjahr 1910 an dieser Stelle eine Papyrusgrabung vornehmen, wurden aber infolge Auftretens von Typhus unter den Arbeitern daran gehindert. – So war denn meine Mission in jeder Beziehung von Erfolg gekrönt, und ich konnte glücklich mit meinen manichäischen Schätzen heimkehren, um sie unserem Papyruskonservator zu übergeben."

The place and date of the discovery are one thing: quite another is the provenance of the manuscripts – that is, where they were written, and when. The dialect in which they are written, formally known as Sub-achmimic or Assioutic 2, now called Lycopolitan, belongs to a completely different part of Egypt, in fact to the whole area of Upper Egypt from the region of Thebes to that of Lycopolis, and perhaps even a little further north to the southern part of Middle Egypt. Once all the texts from the discovery at Medinet Madi are published, philologists will be able to say more about their provenance and origin. For this reason it is to be hoped that all the Manichaean Coptic texts from Medinet Madi will soon be accessible to scholars.

The actual manuscripts have been dated to different periods by various scholars. The first conservator of the manuscripts, the German Hugo Ibscher (1874-1943), said repeatedly that the manuscripts were from the fourth century A.D. In Carl Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten,* 1933, p. 84,

he wrote: "Da die Mani-Bücher dem 4. Jahrhundert angehören..." In the introduction to H. J. Polotsky's edition of the Homilies in the Chester Beatty Collection, Hugo Ibscher wrote (p. x) that this manuscript derived "vermutlich aus der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.". To this H. J. Polotsky remarked in a footnote on the same page: "Ich halte diese Ansetzung – cf. Schmidt Mani-Fund 35 – für zu früh; über das 5. Jh. möchte ich nicht hinaufgehen" (*Manichäische Homilien,* herausgegeben von Hans Jakob Polotsky mit einem Beitrag von Hugo Ibscher, Stuttgart 1934).

The Berlin manuscript with Kephalaia texts was dated thus by Hugo Ibscher: "Ich wende mich nun ausschliesslich dem Buchblock der 'Kephalaia' zu, der uns zeigt, auf welch hoher Stufe die Buchkunst bereits zu Beginn des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. stand" (Hugo Ibscher, in *Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften unter Leitung von Prof. Carl Schmidt,* Band I: *Kephalaia,* mit einem Beitrag von Hugo Ibscher, Stuttgart 1940, p. xi). Carl Schmidt said in his *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten* (p. 35) that he would plead for a dating in the second half of the fourth century, or ± 400 A.D.

The best work on Coptic palaeography is still Viktor Stegemann's *Koptische Paläographie,* 1-2, Heidelberg 1936. When preparing this very useful work, however, Stegemann probably had access to only two facsimiles of sheets from the discovery at Medinet Madi: p. 29 of the Homilies which was published at the beginning of H. J. Polotsky's edition in 1934, and the facsimile in Carl Schmidt's *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten* (Plate 1). Stegemann thought it safer (pp. 13b-14a and Plate 5) to place the date of the papyri at some time during the fifth century, adding (p. 14a): "[man könnte] wirklich die Frage erwägen, ob nicht die manichäische Hs., aber auch der saidische Psalter aus Wien noch im ausgehenden IV. Jahrhundert geschrieben sind."

The dating of the manuscripts has never been seriously studied, and those who would be able to contribute to such a study are very few. The reason is that only a very small selection of pages from this enormous amount of material has been published in a photographic edition. One of the aims of this edition is to provide scholars with material for further study, and I have therefore here deliberately refrained from any attempt to date the manuscripts through palaeographical observations. Such a study, however, will be a natural part of a critical edition of the texts (cf. for example my *Apocryphon Johannis,* Copenhagen 1963, pp. 34-40).

* * *

This volume contains 354 facsimiles of that part of the collection commonly called Codex C or the Kephalaia. With the Berlin Kephalaia in mind, this Dublin Kephalaia could be referred to as Kephalaia II, Keph. II or perhaps Keph. D. It is, however, advisable to withhold the designation until a critical edition or further investigation has thrown more light on the contents, since it could for example turn out to be two collections of Kephalaia.

The facsimiles are numbered consecutively from 1 to 354, missing pages not being counted. It is debatable whether the papyrus was ever provided with any kind of pagination. There is, however, on p. 222 in the top right-hand corner, a ⲕ. On the other hand, some of the sheets are in such good condition that if a number had ever existed it ought to be there. The ⲕ might perhaps be an indication of a quire number.

Both Hugo and Rolf Ibscher found the task of reconstructing the leaves and fragments in the right order extremely difficult, and as we are not in possession of all the observations made by the two conservators during their work, it is today perhaps impossible for us to so reconstruct them – or it will take a very long time and will probably necessitate the deciphering of the texts in some detail. According to the wishes of the committee, I have therefore chosen to publish the results of my work so far in the hope that these will be of use to scholars. Any improvement that they make will naturally be a pleasure to me.

It is obvious from the various notes of the two conservators who over the years have worked on these papyri that it was not easy to restore the papyrus. In fact Hugo Ibscher, who was able to restore the first four folios (eight pages) and later on, with difficulty, a further 30 folios (60 pages), more or less gave up.

In the manuscript (p. 7) of his paper to the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists (23 August 1954) Rolf Ibscher gives the following information about H. Ibscher's work on Codex C:

> "Am 22. August 1936 stellte er die Arbeit am Codex C ein, nachdem er 47 Blätter abheben konnte und schreibt dazu:
> 'Der Papyrus löste sich beim Abheben der einzelnen Blätter vollständig in seine Bestandteile auf und wurde nur in der ganzen Masse zusammengehalten. Bei weiterer Untersuchung des Buchblockes ergab sich, daß das Buch bereits im Altertum sehr zerstört war. An einer Stelle, die sich leicht löste, folgten zunächst 2 leere Blätter und dann sehr verblasster Text von anderer Hand, so daß es den Anschein hat, als wenn hier ein andres Werk begann. Allerdings glaube ich an einer Stelle eine Kapitelüberschrift gesehen zu haben. Jedenfalls lohnt es sich kaum, den Block von den leeren Blättern an zu bearbeiten, da die Schrift nur an wenigen Stellen zu entziffern sein wird.'"

The restoration of this codex was then halted for more than fifteen years. In 1948 A. Chester Beatty took the first steps in getting permission for Rolf Ibscher to go to London in order to complete his father's work, and from 1951 to 1956 Rolf Ibscher worked periodically in London and Dublin on the restoration of the Chester Beatty manuscripts. He also succeeded in restoring Codex C, using what he has described as a "slope" or "die verstellbare schiefe Ebene". He first used this method on the Psalm Book because the size of the folios in that codex is somewhat smaller, but when it appeared to be successful he continued to use it during the conservation of Codex C. Rolf Ibscher has described his method thus:

> "Als ich diese Arbeit 1951 in London auf Vorschlag von Sir Alan Gardiner, Sir Harold I. Bell und Professor Glanville bei Sir Chester Beatty fortsetzen mußte, wurde mir nach wenigen Blättern klar, daß ich kapitulieren müßte vor dieser Aufgabe, wenn es mir nicht gelänge, unwiderruflich einen eigenen Weg bei dieser Mammutaufgabe zu gehen. Die Praktik Hugo Ibschers war unwiederholbar, und so fand ich schließlich nach dem dritten Blatt meinen eigenen Weg des Abrollens der Blätter auf einer schiefen Ebene, auf der der Buchblock lag, über einer keine Adhäsionsbehinderung bietenden Pergaminpapierunterlage. Gewiß, ich gebe zu, dieser Ausweg aus dem Dilemma ist auf gut deutsch eine 'Eselsbrücke', aber sie erweist sich in den schwierigsten Fällen als bombensicher, und ohne sie wären auch die 136 abgelösten Blätter des Codex C von Sir Chester Beatty niemals der Wissenschaft gewonnen worden; denn mein Vater – und das ist die zweite Ausnahme, von der ich vorhin sprach – hatte diesen Codex nach dem 36. Blatt als fürderhin unkonservierbar aufgegeben" (Rolf Ibscher, *Wandlungen in der Methodik und Praxis der Papyruskonservierung,* in *Actes du Xe Congrès International de Papyrologues, Varsovie-Cracovie 3-9 septembre 1961,* Wrocław-Varsovie-Cracovie 1964, p. 253).

Ibscher's description in the manuscript (p. 8) of his lecture to the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists, quoted above, is even more detailed:

> "Mein Verfahren, die einzelnen Blätter von den Buchblöcken abzuheben, wird durch die verstellbare schiefe Ebene gekennzeichnet. Das Blatt wird genötigt, sich gleichsam durch sein eigenes Gewicht über ein sehr glattes der Papyrusfaser gar keinen Widerstand entgegensetzendes Pergaminpapier, das auf den Buchblock oben aufgelegt wird, abzuziehen. Mit Pinzette und dünnen Skalpells wird lediglich nachgeholfen, das Blatt vor ihnen her über die schiefe Ebene zu schieben und die durch Pressung und Salzkristalle verbackenen Fasern vorsichtig zu trennen. Ich möchte dieses Verfahren the extremely free w[h]eeling method bezeichnen."

The codex was called Codex C by Hugo Ibscher. In a letter to A. Chester Beatty dated 17 June 1934 Ibscher wrote: "Ich habe Ihre Mani-Handschriften mit A.B.C. bezeichnet, da sich aus dem Inhalt – mit Ausnahme des Hymnenbuches – zu wenig sagen lässt." From the same letter, which also contains accounts for the restoration of the papyri, it appears that four leaves from this codex had at that time been restored and placed between glass. Three years later, on 9 July 1937, Hugo Ibscher wrote to A. Chester Beatty:

> "Wenn Sie diesen Brief erhalten, befinden sich wieder 80 fertige Blätter Ihrer Manihandschriften in Cambridge. Mr. Allberry war so freundlich, diese nach England zu holen, da es noch nicht ganz sicher ist, ob ich im Oktober zu Mr. Alan H. Gardiner kommen kann. Es handelt sich um 46 Blätter der ersten Hälfte des Psalmen-

buches und 34 Blätter von dem Codex C Ihrer Manibücher, der einen weiteren Band der 'Kephalaia' enthält, von der sich der erste Band in Berlin befindet und jetzt veröffentlicht wird."

It is not clear what exactly is meant by the "34 leaves from Codex C", since Ibscher had already restored and returned the first four leaves. Rolf Ibscher later gives different figures for the number of leaves restored by his father. Sometimes he said that Hugo Ibscher had restored 34 leaves from Codex C, sometimes 36 and sometimes 47. In the manuscript of his lecture to the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists in 1954, Rolf Ibscher gives some details about his and his father's work on Codex C. In this the figure of 47 leaves is given. Rolf Ibscher perhaps added to the 34 leaves from Codex C the 13 leaves which Hugo Ibscher had already restored in 1934 and which are also mentioned in the letter quoted above as belonging to Codex B. This is borne out by the fact that on the frames of the glasses which contain these 13 leaves is written "Kephalaia. Codex B".

On the other hand Rolf Ibscher's indication of his own work seems too small. In the *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists,* Cambridge 21-28 August 1954, London 1958, p. 360, he wrote:

"Dank der Initiative von Sir Chester Beatty setzte ich seit 1951 in London die verwaiste Arbeit durch ein neues technisches Verfahren fort. Bis 1954 konnte ich alle Blätter des Chester Beatty-Anteils, Restlagen des Psalm book (49 und Fragmente von 12 Blättern) und die Hauptmasse des von meinem Vater als 'unauflösbar' bezeichneten Codex C mit Teilen der Fortsetzung der Kephalaia (139 Blätter) konservieren."

One of the problems attached to Codex C is the question of the integrity of the codex. In the article mentioned above, *Wandlungen in der Methodik...,* Rolf Ibscher wrote (p. 253): "Codex C ist eine Fortsetzung des Berliner Kephalaiatextes und birgt in sich als eine auffüllende Einlage der Händler einen noch unbekannten Text." Elsewhere, Rolf Ibscher mentions that the codex was already damaged in ancient times.

This information raises several questions. How is the so-called Codex C to be regarded – as one codex with some extra leaves, or as the remnants of two manuscripts? And in what sense is it to be understood as "a continuation of the Berlin Kephalaia text"? Without saying too much about its contents before a critical edition has been published, it seems reasonable to point out a clear difference between the two Kephalaia texts, that of Berlin and that of the Chester Beatty Library. The Berlin text appears more or less directly to present the opinions of Mani about the different questions raised, whereas (as already pointed out by C. R. C. Allberry in his famous article in the *Eranos-Jahrbuch*) the headlines of the Chester Beatty Kephalaia texts clearly indicate that the texts are produced by a disciple of Mani (C. R. C. Allberry, *Symbole von Tod und Wiedergeburt im Manichäismus,* in *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 1939, Zürich 1940, p. 120). The titles in the Berlin Kephalaia texts are always "The Kephalaia of the Teacher", while the headlines in the Chester Beatty texts are consistently: ⲛ̄ⲕⲉϥⲁⲗⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟϥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲭⲥ "The Kephalaia of the Wisdom of my Lord Mani".

As may be seen from the information above, Codex C was restored at three different times. Hugo Ibscher first restored four sheets and later on some 30 sheets, and Rolf Ibscher restored the rest. From a note in Rolf Ibscher's hand it is possible to gain an impression of his father's work on the 34 leaves, and Rolf Ibscher has left a short indication on the perspex which covers each sheet.

The sheets restored by Hugo Ibscher were marked 1a-4b and 1-60, and Rolf Ibscher has arranged them into quires. The sheets which Rolf Ibscher restored are marked first according to codex with a C, then according to section (quire), so that indications are as follows: C.1-C.8, C.0^{I}, C.I-C.X. To this a number is added, so that the sheets are numbered from 1 to 140. This last numbering was presumably given when Rolf Ibscher succeeded in rescuing the sheets, and as he sometimes had to work on the papyri from different ends this numbering does not always follow the order of the sheets in the codex. To this must be added the fact that the codex was in some disarray when it reached the conservators' laboratory. There is yet another numbering system to be mentioned. This may have been given when the sheets were photographed, or to indicate which of the papyri were restored by Rolf Ibscher. This system, however practical

it may have been for its special purpose, is now useless and possibly confusing for anyone who is not aware of its meaning, since it does not give any information about the reconstruction of the codex or the real order of the sheets. In my attempt to arrange the order of all the sheets in the collection which is called Codex C I have therefore not used this numbering at all.

Today it is possible to arrange these sheets only to a certain degree and with some reservations. The papyrus is badly damaged, the part which Rolf Ibscher believed to belong to another text, placed in Codex C, being especially badly affected. The handwriting is very faint, and Rolf Ibscher in one of his later articles blames this on the chemical treatment given to that part of the manuscript by one of his colleagues (R. Ibscher, *Über den Stand der Umkonservierung der Manipapyri,* in *Koptologische Studien in der DDR,* Halle 1965, p. 51). Whether or not this is true, it is now very difficult to read that part of the papyrus, and also difficult to say with any certainty where it came from. This has, naturally, not made a difficult job any easier.

However, having decided to attempt to put the sheets in some order, the idea was not to reconstruct the original codex (there are too many lacunae for this to be possible) but, in bringing the material together according to its content, to allow further study of the text. My arrangement of the sheets has been based on observation either of the papyrus itself or of what can immediately be understood from its appearance, i.e. direction of fibres, profile, colours and so on, supported by whatever evidence can be gleaned from the texts. To this must also be added the many notes made by Rolf Ibscher, written on labels placed on the perspex. Unfortunately some of these observations are either wrong or possibly now wrongly positioned. Indications of the vertical or horizontal side of a sheet are sometimes misleading, perhaps because the label was put on in a hurry, or has since fallen off and then been replaced on the wrong side by someone who did not know its meaning, so that Ibscher's indication for horizontal fibres has been placed on a side with vertical fibres, and so on.

I have, so far as it is possible, tried to reconstruct the order within each quire. Concerning the integrity of the codex some possibilities still have to be considered. The colour of the papyri and the character of the handwriting provide us with some criteria. But it is still possible that the codex was built up of different material, either when it was first put together or perhaps later. This has been seen before: according to one of its editors, M. Testuz, one of the Bodmer papyri (containing, in this order, the texts named respectively P. Bodmer V, X, XI, VII, XIII, XII, XX, IX and VIII) was created in ancient times by a bookbinder who bound different manuscripts together (M. Testuz, *Papyrus Bodmer VII-IX. VII: L'Epître de Jude; VIII: Les deux Epîtres de Pierre; IX: Les Psaumes 33 et 34,* Cologny-Genève 1959, Introduction générale, pp. 8-9). It is also possible that the two parts were gathered at a much later period, more or less haphazardly – and it could even have been, as Rolf Ibscher suggested, when the papyrus was in the hands of the antique dealers. It seems, however, that the contents of the text throughout, where it is possible to read the headlines, are indicated as:

ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ	"The Kephalaia of the Wisdom
ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲭⲥ	of my Lord Mani".

The first line occurs regularly on the top of the left-hand pages, the second on top of the right-hand pages. This I have observed to be so on all the pages from 128 to 338 where there is enough of the papyrus for these headlines or parts of them to be read. Before that, where the pages are very damaged, it is only possible to trace this headline in the few cases where the papyrus has retained part of its upper margin, e.g. pp. 119-120. It can, however, be traced as early as p. 42, and no other headline is to be found. The best preserved pages offer not only the number of the Kephalaion in question, but also its incipit. Very easily read examples of this are found, e.g. p. 230 $\overline{\text{ⲧⲕⲇ}}$ = 324, p. 238 $\overline{\text{ⲧⲕⲍ}}$ = 326 and p. 245 $\overline{\text{ⲧⲗ}}$ = 330. On these pages the headlines over the columns as mentioned above also occur, but beneath the number of the Kephalaion there is regularly found a short presentation of the contents of the Kephalaion. This is the case for example on p. 255, where Kephalaion $\overline{\text{ⲧⲗⲅ}}$ = 333 is introduced thus:

ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ ϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ
ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉϥⲧⲣⲉⲛⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉ

On studying these presentations I have found that some of their recurring characteristics can also be traced on several pages of that part of the papyrus on which the headlines have been lost. On p. 19, for example, we read:

ϹΚϵ
ϵρϵπικϵφαλαιον...

The same expression can also be found on other pages, e.g. p. 76. This has led me to the conclusion that whatever the genesis of the papyri might be, the text appears to be a Kephalaia text throughout, and therefore it is reasonable to take this observation into account in any attempt to arrange the order of the sheets.

The lowest number of Kephalaia found in the part restored by Rolf Ibscher was 221 on p. 17, and the lowest number, completely preserved, on the part restored by Hugo Ibscher was 324, on p. 230; but traces of a number, probably 321, can be found as early as p. 217. It seems sensible to arrange the papyrus sheets as far as possible according to these numbers, taking into account the indications of Rolf Ibscher. Beginning with the very damaged parts, the order of the sections can be arranged thus: C.1-C.8, C.0[1], C.I-C.V. The numbering of some Kephalaia as ϹϥΓ = 293 occurs on p. 197 and ϹϥΔ = 294 occurs on p. 198, both in quire C.V. It is however clear that a continuous numbering system can be traced from ṪΚΔ = 321, found in quire C.B, and traced through C.C, C.D, C.E and C.F through C.X to C.IX, where the numbers ṪΜΓ = 343 and ṪΜΔ = 344 occur on pp. 292 and 303. How far this numbering goes is very difficult to assess accurately today, but there are some faint traces of numbers which could indicate the continuation of the number 344 shown above. Certainly in C.VIII there occurs ṪΝΗ = 358 (p. 321) and in C.VII ṫ[ ] on p. 332. It seems fair to conclude from these observations that C.VIII and C.VII bear a text in continuation of C.IX, whereas it is very difficult to place C.VI. Taking into account different points of view, it has been decided to place it as the continuation of C.V, since the text tends to point in that direction. The sheets therefore are arranged so that C.1-C.8, C.0[1] and C.I.-C.VI are followed by C.B-C.F, C.X-C.VII. This means that the Kephalaia which begin with ± 221 on p. 17 run – with some possible interruptions – to ± 294 on p. 197 in C.V. Presumably a little further on they continue in the Kephalaia from ± 321 found on p. 217 in C.B and through the pages and quires mentioned above to C.VII. The pages have been arranged accordingly. It must however be emphasized that the continuous numbering does not show the many lacunae which occur in the quires, and little can be said about the loss of perhaps one or more quires, for example between C.VI and C.B.

This introduction will, I hope, provide some background information until a much more detailed account is made available as a result of this facsimile edition.

The arrangement of each single quire or section has been made as follows:

C.1

verso			*recto*
(missing)		→	C.1, 8a = 13
C.1, 5b = 2	↑	↑	C.1, 23b = 11
C.1, 7a = 4	→	→	C.1, 21a = 9
C.1, 2b = 6	↑	↑	C.1, 22b = 7

In this case one sheet is assumed to be missing. The schema indicates in the usual manner how the quire was composed, pages 6-7 being the middle of the quire, which was made of four double leaves. The numbering on the right of the columns gives the numbers of existing pages only, the verso pages being on the left, the recto on the right. The reconstruction of this quire is conjectural.

C.2

verso		*recto*
C.2, 4a = 16	→	→ C.2, 12a = 29
C.2, 1b = 18	↑	↑ C.2, 11b = 27
C.2, 6a = 20	→	→ C.2, 10a = 25
C.2, 3b = 22	↑	↑ C.2, 9b = 23

This reconstruction is also conjectural.

C.3

verso		*recto*
C.3, 13a = 32	→	→ C.3, 20a = 45
C.3, 14b = 34	↑	↑ C.3, 19b = 43
C.3, 15a = 36	→	→ C.3, 18a = 41
C.3, 16b = 38	↑	↑ C.3, 17b = 39

The colour and the structure of the fibres match.

C.4

verso		*recto*
C.4, 26a = 48	→	→ C.4, 32a = 59
C.4, 27b = 50	↑	↑ C.4, 31b = 57
(missing)		→ C.4, 30a = 55
C.4, 28b = 52	↑	↑ C.4, 29b = 53

The fibres match. The reconstruction presupposes one missing sheet.

C.5

verso		*recto*
C.5, 33a = 62	→	→ C.5, 38a = 71
C.5, 35b = 64	↑	↑ C.5, 37b = 69
C.5, 34a = 66	→	→ C.5, 36a = 67
(missing)		(missing)

This reconstruction presupposes two missing sheets, either the double leaf in the middle of the quire or possibly the third and sixth sheet. Other reconstructions, however, are also possible.

C.6

verso		*recto*
C.6, 39a = 74	→	→ C.6, 44a = 83
(missing)		↑ C.6, 43b = 81
C.6, 40a = 76	→	(missing)
C.6, 42b = 78	↑	↑ C.6, 41b = 79

The reconstruction presupposes that two sheets are lost.

C.7

verso		*recto*
C.7, 45a = 86	→	→ C.7, 51a = 97
(missing)		↑ C.7, 50b = 95
C.7, 46a = 88	→	→ C.7, 49a = 93
C.7, 47b = 90	↑	↑ C.7, 48b = 91

The reconstruction presupposes that one sheet is missing. The structure of the fibres matches.

C.8

verso		*recto*
C.8, 52a = 100	→	→ C.8, 57a = 109
(missing)		(missing)
C.8, 53a = 102	→	→ C.8, 55a = 107
C.8, 54b = 104	↑	↑ C.8, 56b = 105

The reconstruction of the quire assumes that one double leaf is lost.

C.0[I]

verso		*recto*
C.0[I], 58a = 112	→	→ C.0[I], 62a = 125
C.0[I], 59b = 114	↑	↑ C.0[I], 63b = 123
C.0[I], 61a = 116	→	→ C.0[I], 105a = 121
C.0[I], 60b = 118	↑	↑ C.0[I], 104b = 119

This papyrus is very damaged, but the structure of the fibres indicates the reconstruction, which follows that of Rolf Ibscher.

C.I

verso		*recto*
C.I, 64a = 128	→	→ C.I, 71a = 141
C.I, 65b = 130	↑	↑ C.I, 70b = 139
C.I, 66a = 132	→	→ C.I, 69a = 137
C.I, 67b = 134	↑	↑ C.I, 68b = 135

The structure of the fibres as well as the colours of the papyrus support this reconstruction.

C.II

verso		*recto*
C.II, 72a = 144	→	→ C.II, 78a = 157
C.II, 73b = 146	↑	↑ C.II, 79b = 155
C.II, 74a = 148	→	→ C.II, 76a = 153
C.II, 75b = 150	↑	↑ C.II, 77b = 151

The structure of the fibres supports this reconstruction.

C.III

verso		*recto*
C.III, 80a = 160	→	→ C.III, 87a = 173
C.III, 82b = 162	↑	↑ C.III, 86b = 171
C.III, 81a = 164	→	→ C.III, 85a = 169
C.III, 83b = 166	↑	↑ C.III, 84b = 167

The fibres match, but only very little remains of p. 166.

C.IV

verso		*recto*
C.IV, 88a = 176	→	(missing)
C.IV, 89b = 178	↑	(missing)
C.IV, 90a = 180	→	→ C.IV, 95a = 185
C.IV, 93b = 182	↑	↑ C.IV, 94b = 183

The reconstruction of this quire presupposes that two sheets are lost.

C.V

verso		*recto*
C.V, 97b = 188	→	→ C.V, 102a = 201
C.V, 97a = 190	↑	↑ C.V, 103b = 199
C.V, 98a = 192	→	→ C.V, 101a = 197
C.V, 99b = 194	↑	↑ C.V, 100b = 195

The reconstruction is supported by the structure of the fibres which match.

C.VI

verso		*recto*
C.VI, 106a = 204	→	→ C.VI, 111Aa = 215
C.VI, 107b = 206	↑	↑ C.VI, 111Bb = 213
(missing)		→ C.VI, 110a = 211
C.VI, 108b = 208	↑	↑ C.VI, 109b = 209

The fibres on p. 204 are very weak, but seem to match with those of p. 215; the fibres of pp. 206 and 213 are also very weak, whereas the fibres of pp. 208 and 209 match together positively.

The reconstruction of that part of the papyrus which the indication of the numbers of the Kephalaia now follows is mainly built upon information from Rolf Ibscher, which he left in a note in the Chester Beatty Library. According to this the sheets numbered by Hugo Ibscher as C.1-4 should be a quire, A, which: "sehr wahrscheinlich zum 'unbekannten Text' der Londoner Buchlagen von Codex C gehört." The other quires were designated by Rolf Ibscher as B-F, although F was to be regarded as an incomplete quire. Although I have had some doubts about the details of Rolf Ibscher's reconstruction here, I have in the end decided to follow it. My misgivings are caused by the fact that Rolf Ibscher has changed the numbering system of these sheets, although that did not always seem to be necessary, and as a result of this change quires reconstructed

will begin with a page with horizontal fibres on a recto instead of with vertical fibres as is the case with all the other quires in the collection.

The reconstruction of these quires appears as follows (the numbers on the left of the column are Ibscher's):

	verso	*recto*
C.B	C.B, 4 = 218 ↑	(missing)
	C.B, 6 = 220 →	(missing)
	C.B, 8 = 222 ↑	(missing)
	C.B, 2 = 224 →	→ C.B, 9 = 225
C.C	C.C, 12 = 228 ↑	↑ C.C, 25 = 241
	C.C, 14 = 230 →	→ C.C, 23 = 239
	C.C, 16 = 232 ↑	↑ C.C, 21 = 237
	C.C, 18 = 234 →	→ C.C, 19 = 235
C.D	C.D, 30 = 244 ↑	↑ C.D, 41 = 257
	C.D, 27 = 246 →	→ C.D, 39 = 255
	C.D, 32 = 248 ↑	↑ C.D, 37 = 253
	C.D, 34 = 250 →	→ C.D, 35 = 251
C.E	C.E, 44 = 260 ↑	↑ C.E, 57 = 273
	C.E, 46 = 262 →	→ C.E, 55 = 271
	C.E, 48 = 264 ↑	↑ C.E, 53 = 269
	C.E, 50 = 266 →	→ C.E, 51 = 267
C.F	C.F, 60 = 276 ↑	(missing)

Rolf Ibscher regarded the last sheet as belonging to an incomplete quire. It is possible to place it in the following quire, but as the evidence is not absolutely convincing it has been preferred not to do this.

The following quires can be reconstructed thus:

C.X

verso	*recto*
C.X, 137a = 278 →	(missing)
C.X, 138b = 280 ↑	↑ C. no. 129b = 289
C.X, 139a = 282 →	→ C. no. 2a = 287
C.X, 140b = 284 ↑	↑ C. no. 1b = 285

It must be noted that the three sheets placed here on the recto do not bear any indication of a quire number. Their numbering indicates that two of them were restored as the first sheets during Rolf Ibscher's work, but they were not at that time placed in any quire.

C.IX

verso		*recto*
C.IX, 128a = 292 →		→ C.IX, 136a = 305
C.IX, 130b = 294 ↑		↑ C.IX, 135b = 303
C.IX, 131a = 296 →		→ C.IX, 134a = 301
C.IX, 132b = 298 ↑		↑ C.IX, 133b = 299

The reconstruction is supported by the structure of the fibres as well as by the numbering of the Kephalaia in the text.

C.VIII

verso		*recto*
C.VIII, 120a = 308 →		→ C.VIII, 127a = 321
C.VIII, 121b = 310 ↑		↑ C.VIII, 126b = 319
C.VIII, 122a = 312 →		→ C.VIII, 125a = 317
C.VIII, 123b = 314 ↑		↑ C.VIII, 124b = 315

In this case too the reconstruction is supported both by the structure of the fibres and by the numbering of the Kephalaia.

C.VII

verso		*recto*
C.VII, 112a = 324 →		→ C.VII, 119a = 337
C.VII, 114b = 326 ↑		↑ C.VII, 118b = 335
C.VII, 113a = 328 →		→ C.VII, 117a = 333
C.VII, 115b = 330 ↑		↑ C.VII, 116b = 331

The rest of the collection has to be regarded as more dubious. The quire which Rolf Ibscher called A, C.1-4 may perhaps be placed at the beginning. A critical edition of the text should make identification possible since the sheets are in fairly good condition. It has been preferred here, however, to include them as "unplaced pages" with the rest of the section, where they are numbered 339-346.

The following pages or fragments are in such poor condition that it will be very difficult to locate their original position. They have been numbered as follows, with the indications in Rolf Ibscher's hand in parenthesis: 347 (C. Nr. 20), 348 (a-c ?), 349 (C. Nr. 24), 350 (C. Nr. 24), 351 (C. Nr. 25), 352 (C. Nr. 25), 353 (C. Nr. 96) and 354 (C. Nr. 96).

ERRATA

Pl. 162 → read 162 ↑
Pl. 170 → read 170 ↑
Pl. 234 ↑ read 234 →

PLATES

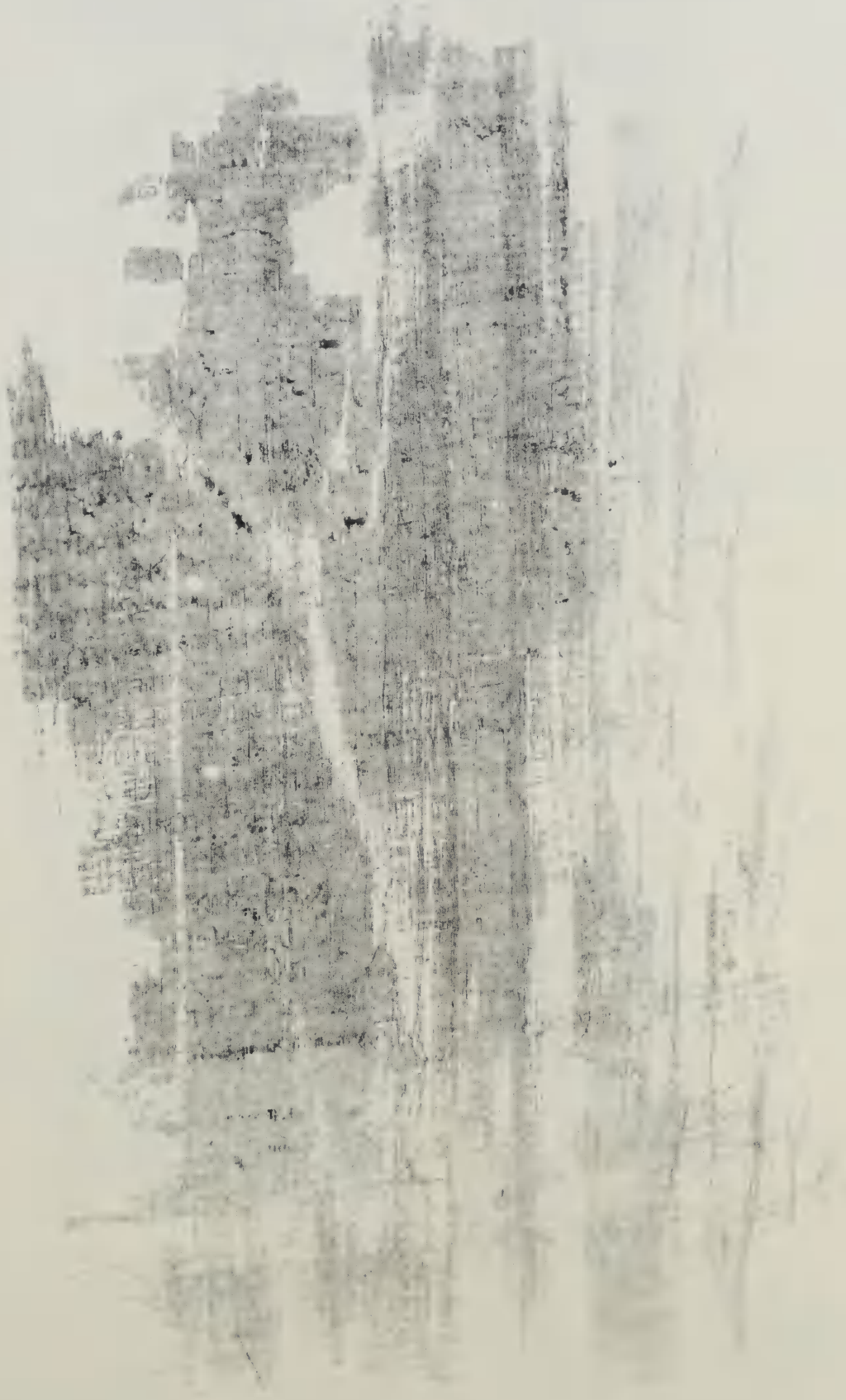


4:5

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2 ↑



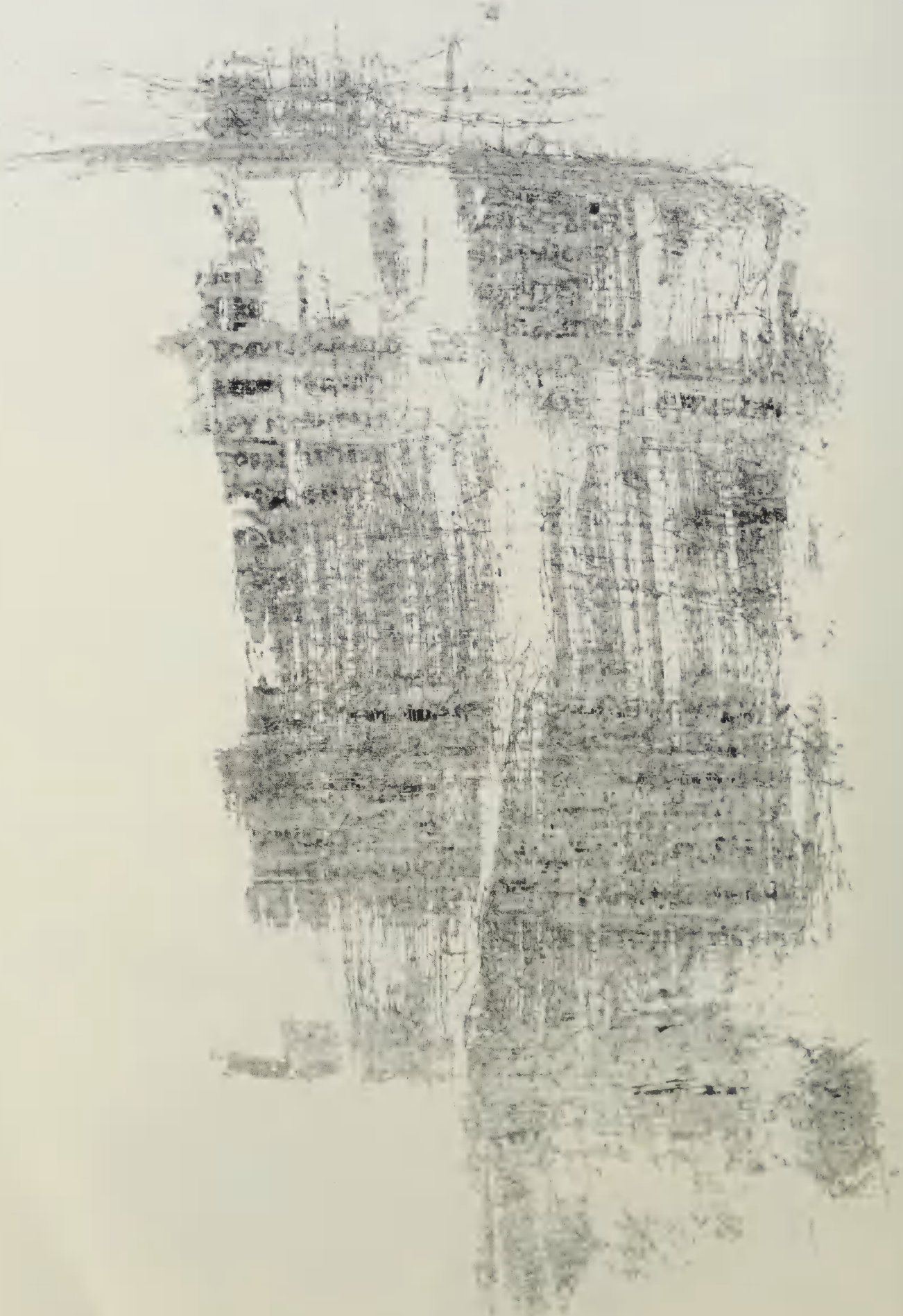






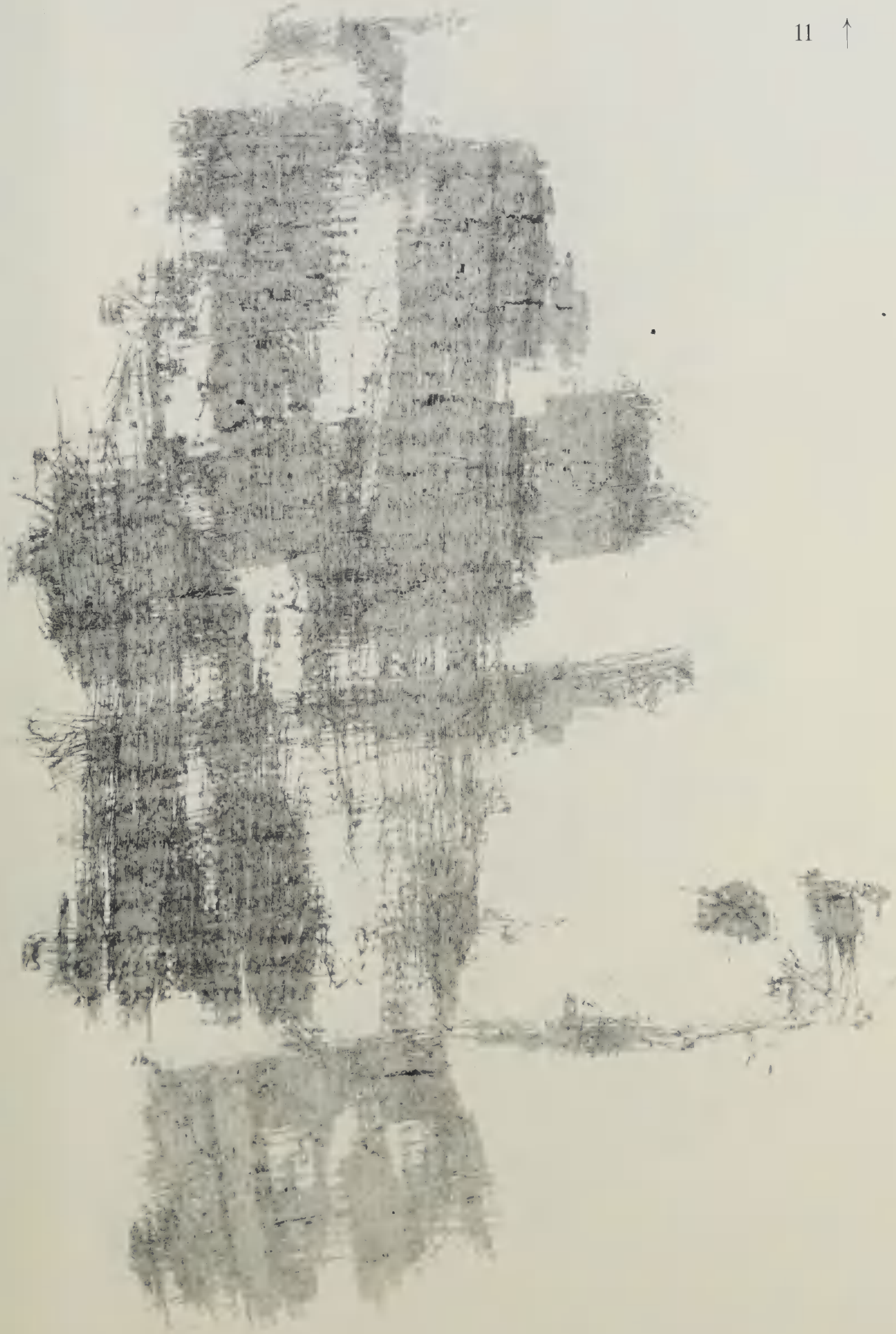








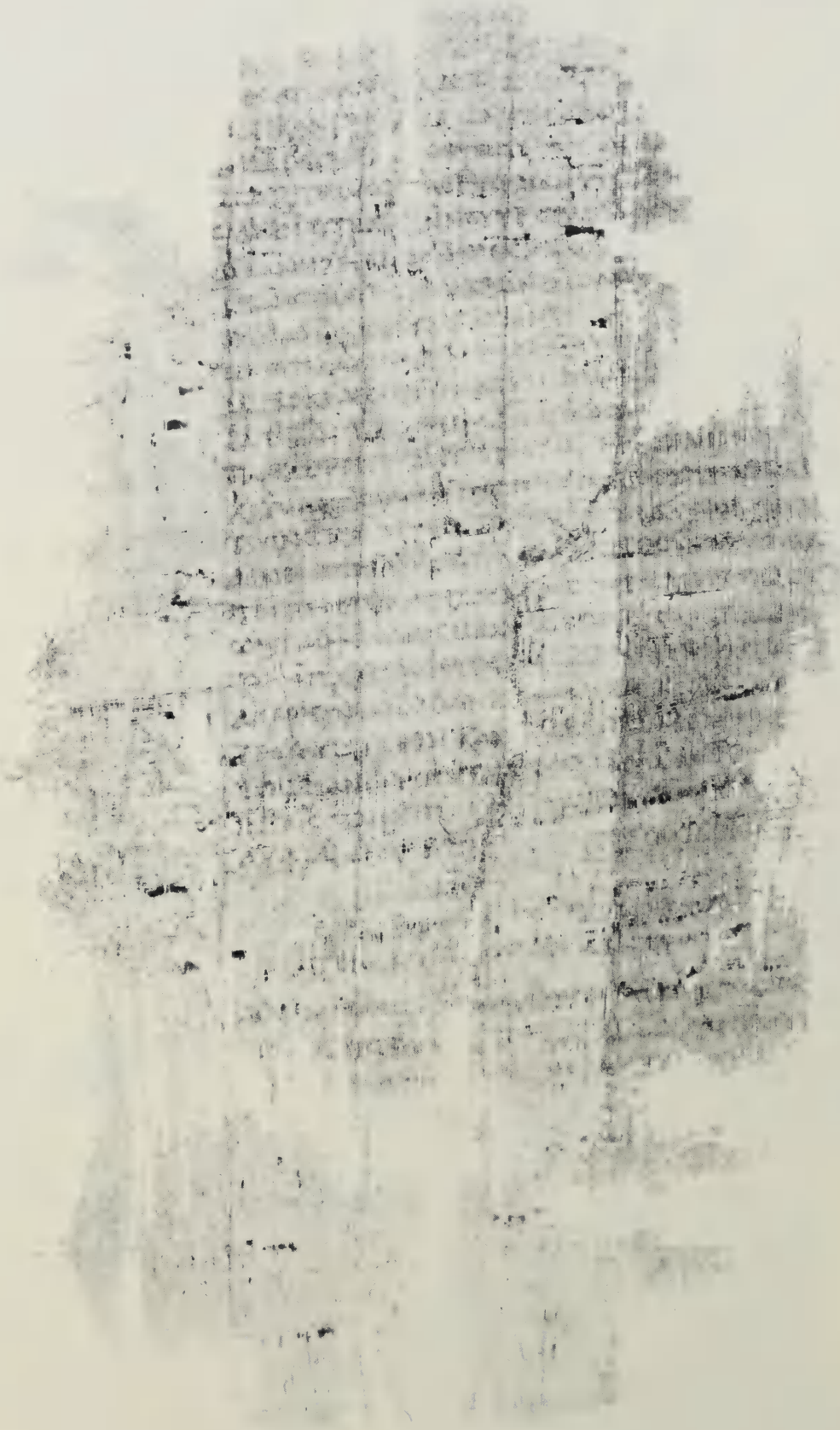




12 →



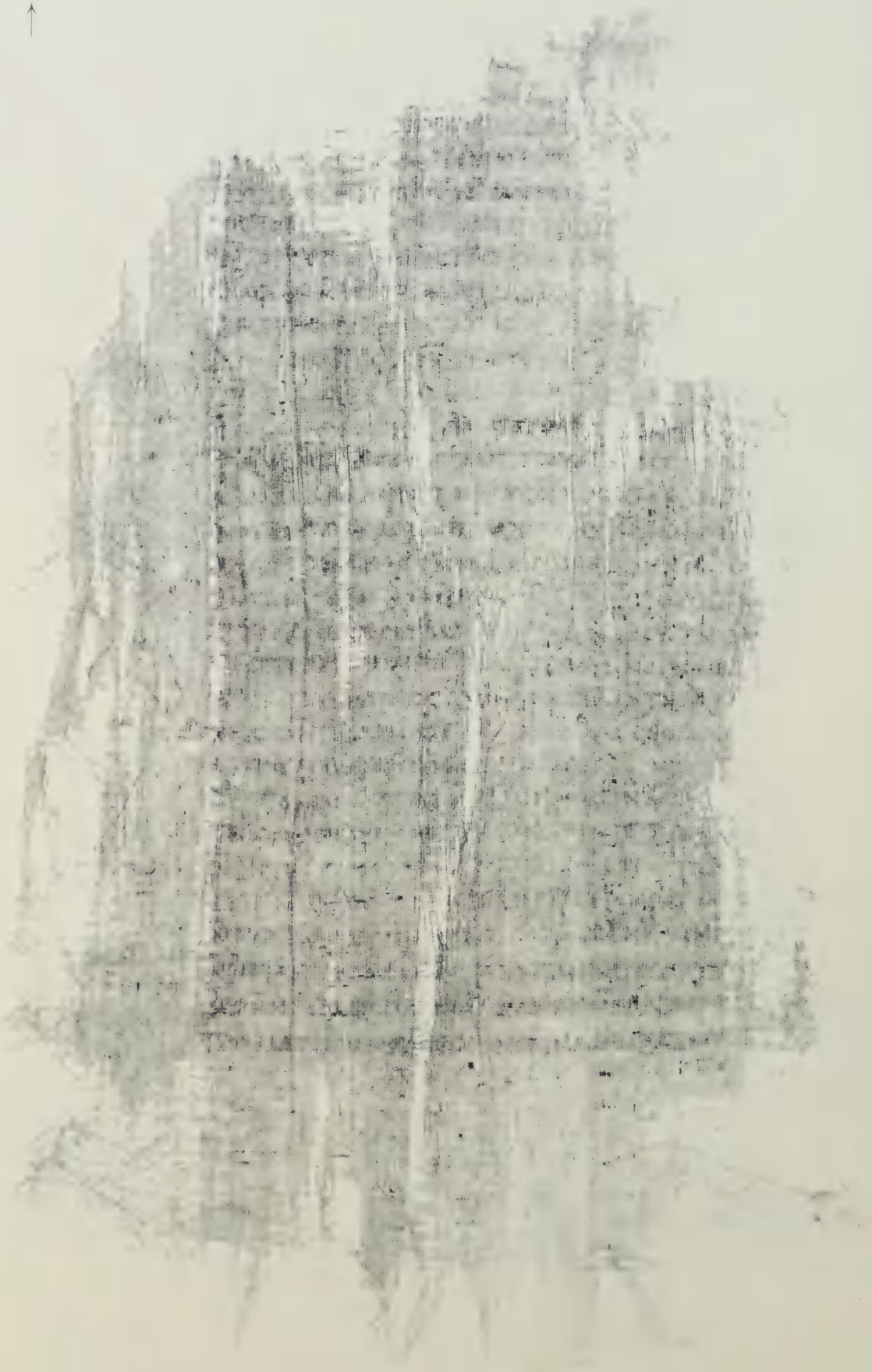


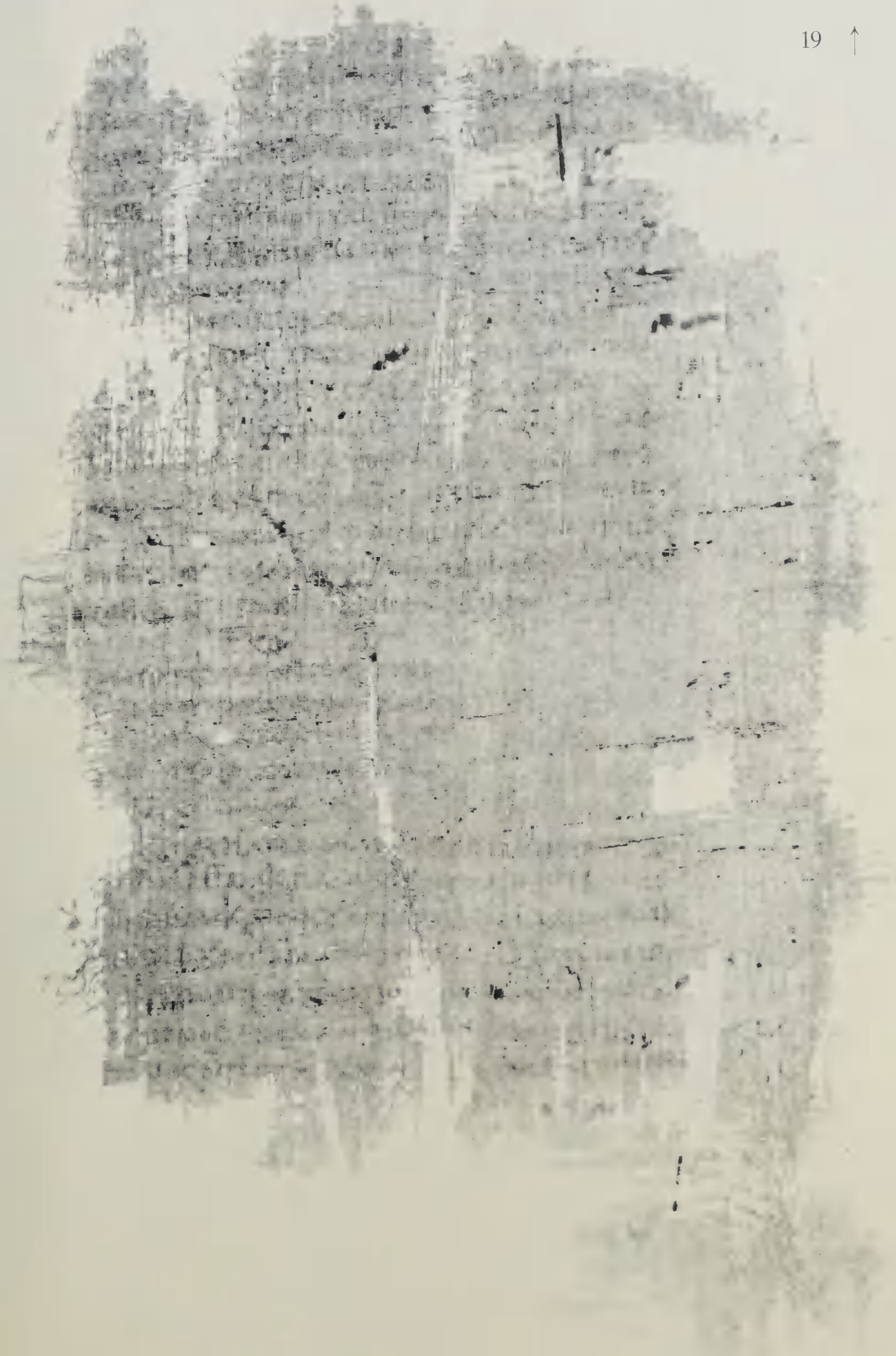


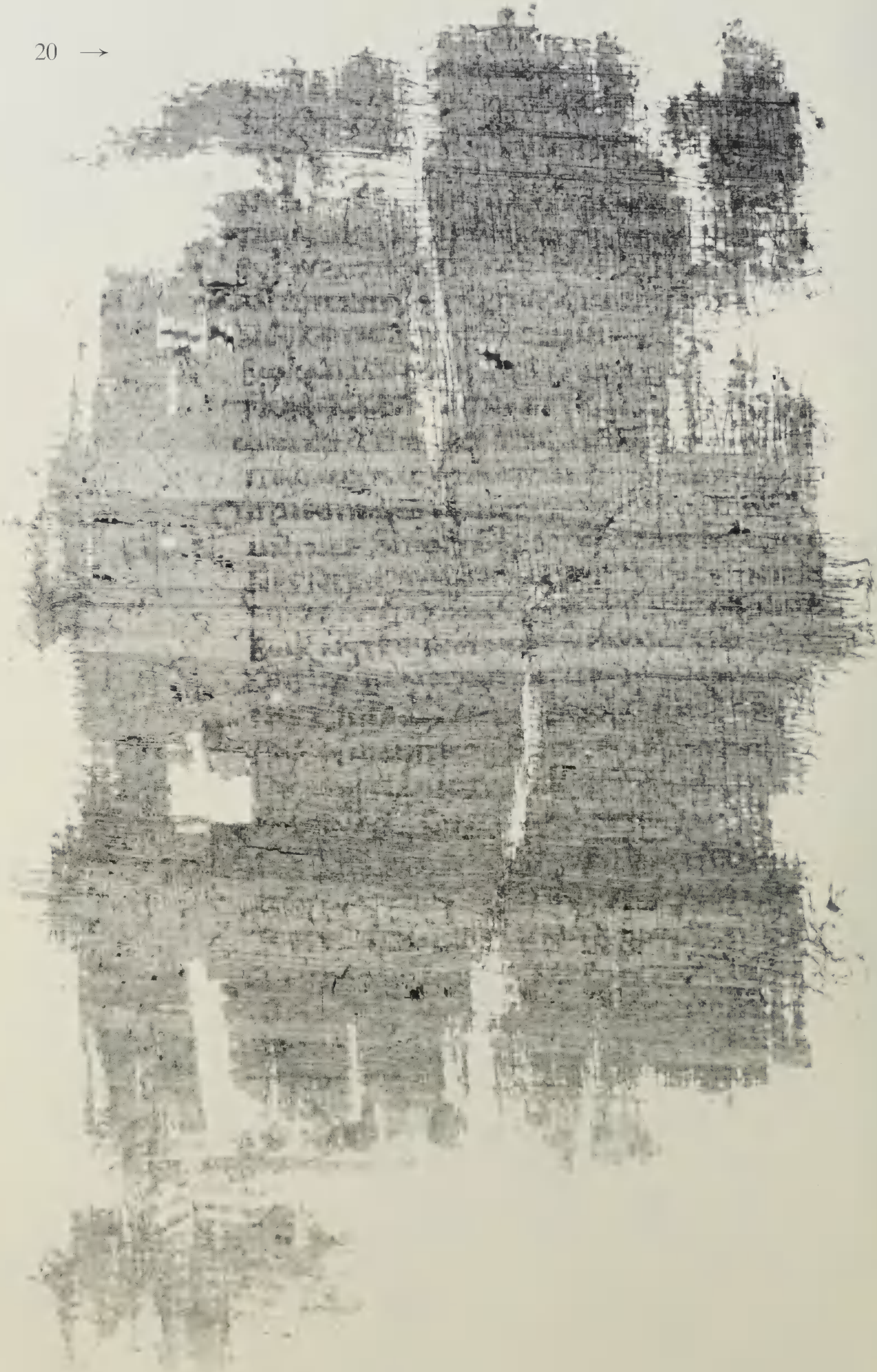


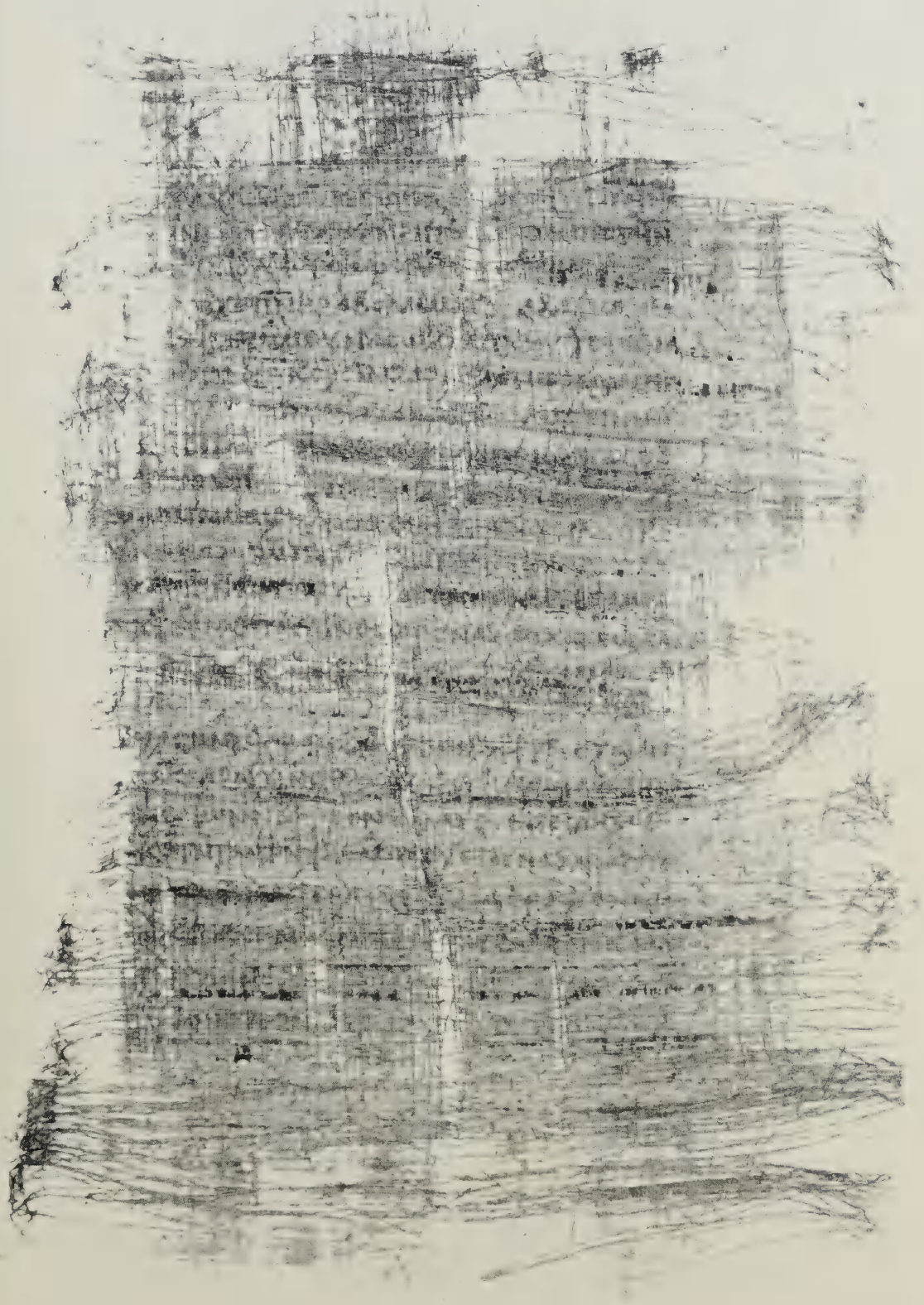


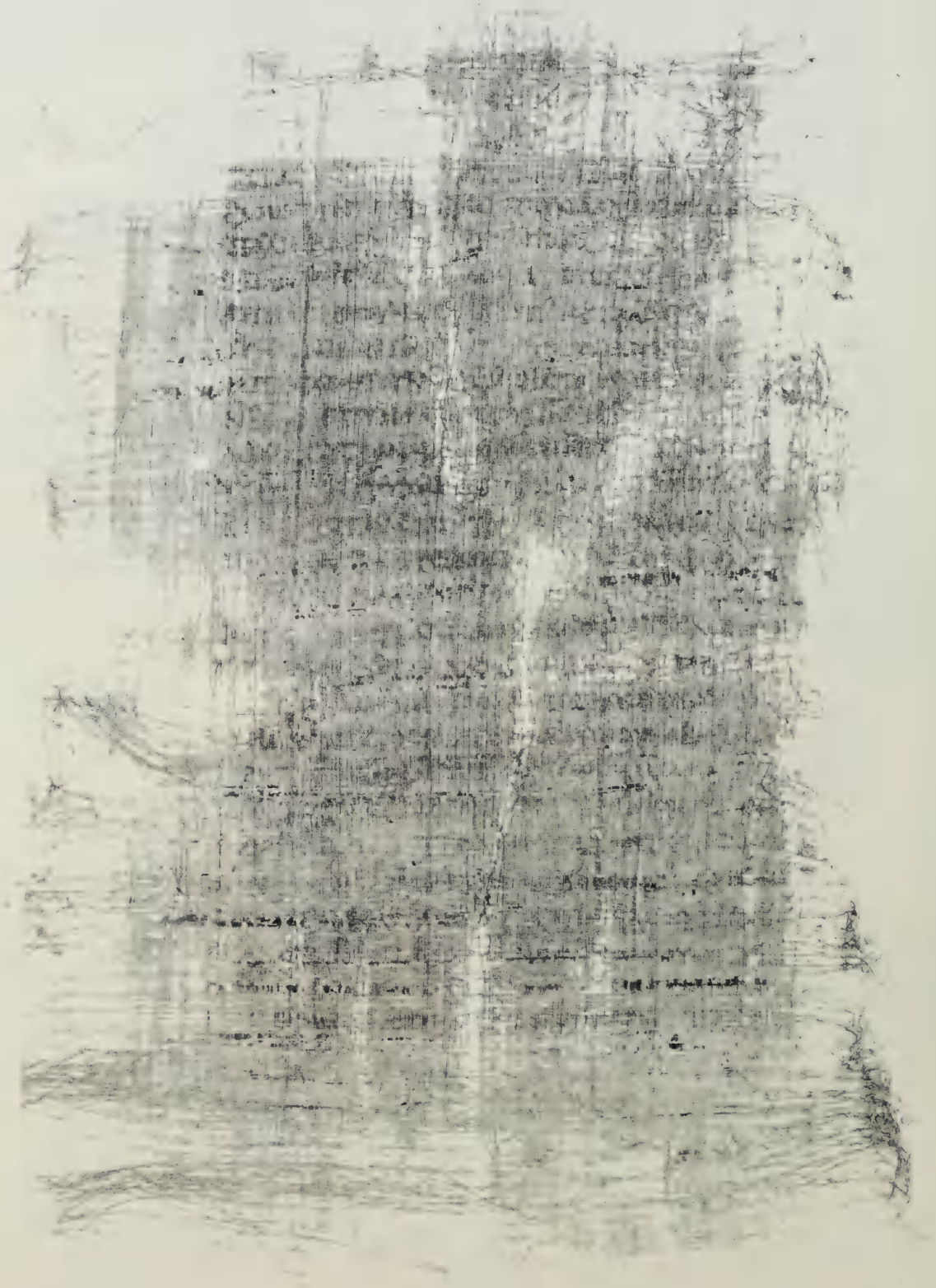




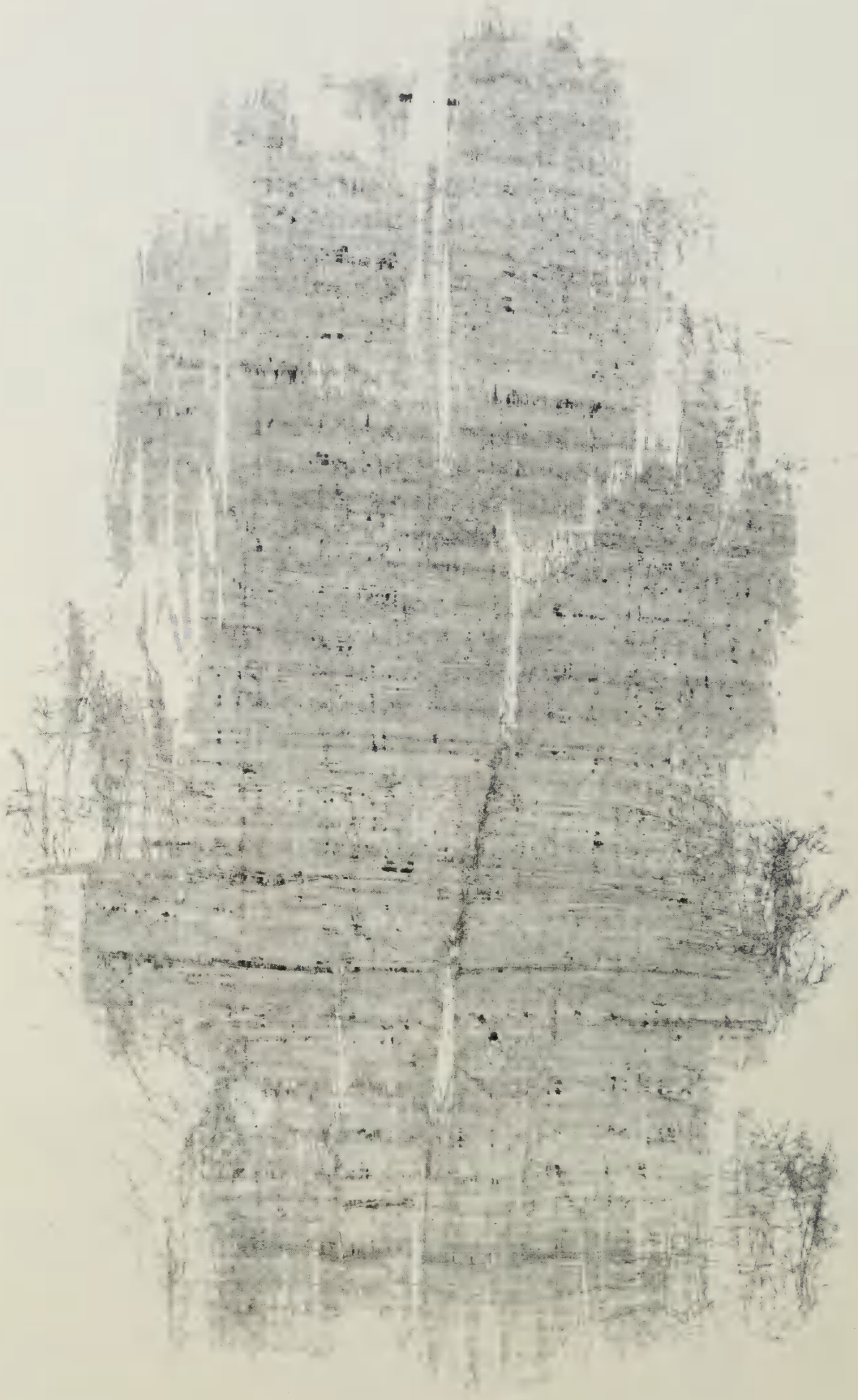




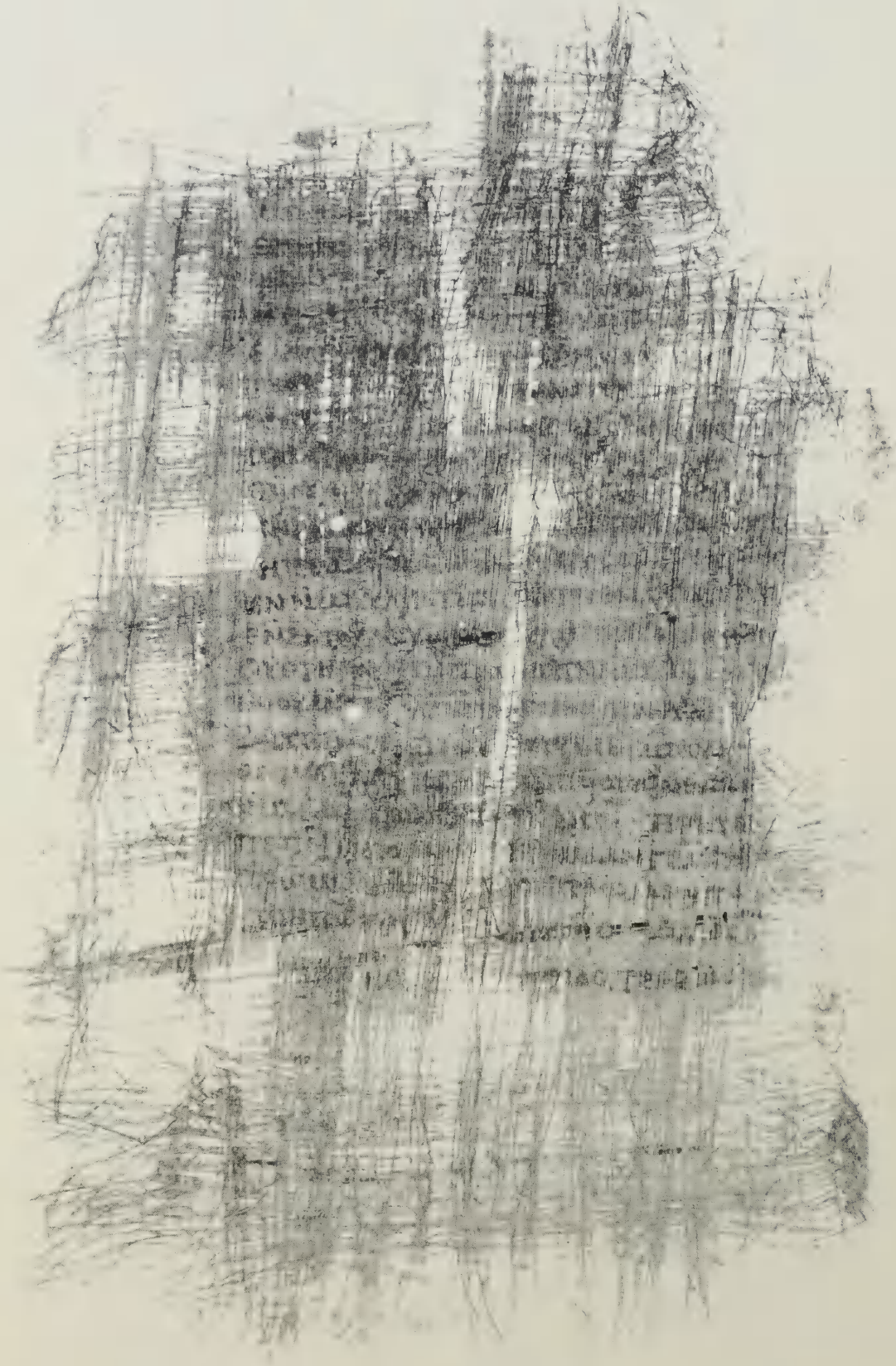


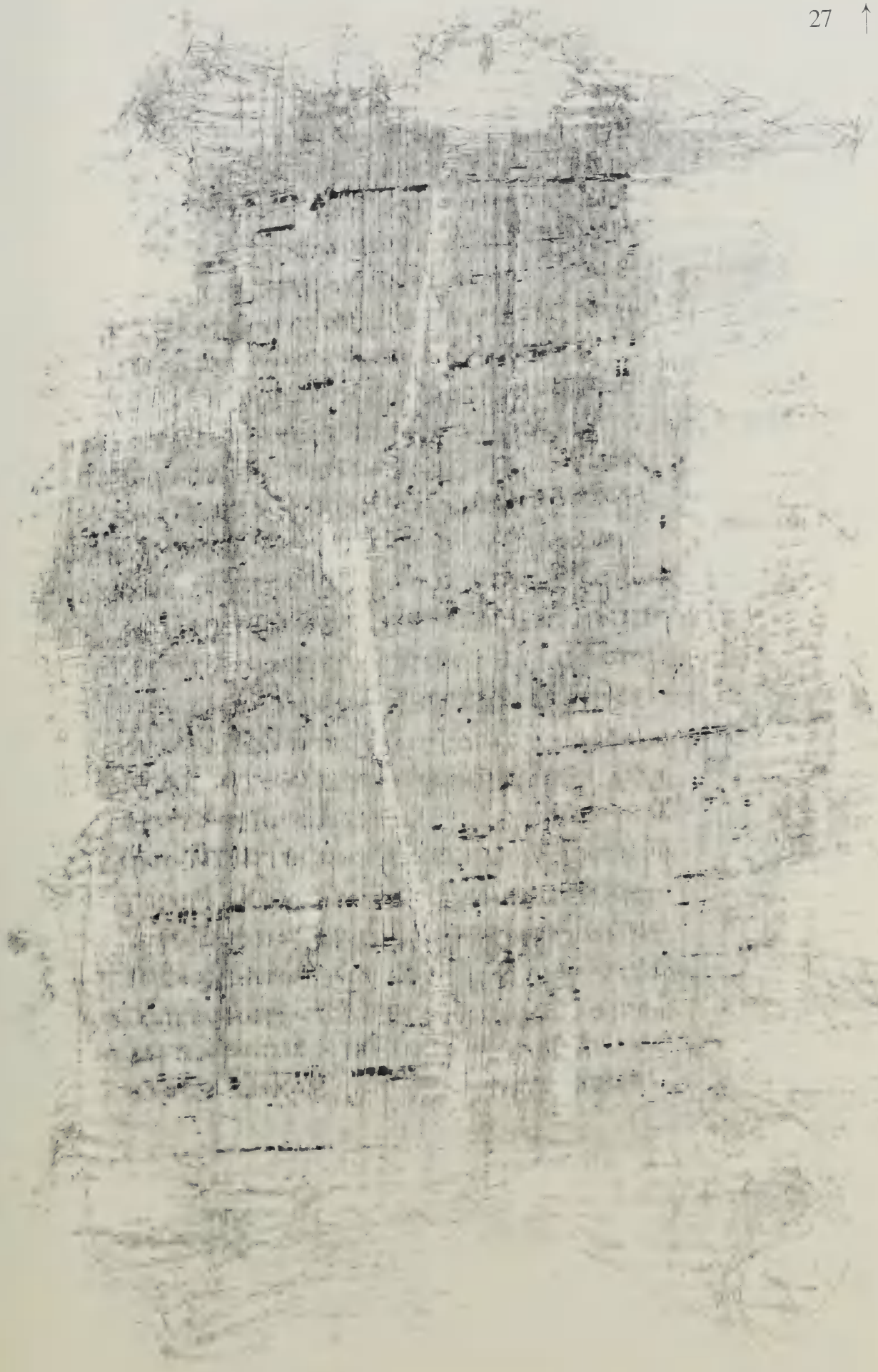






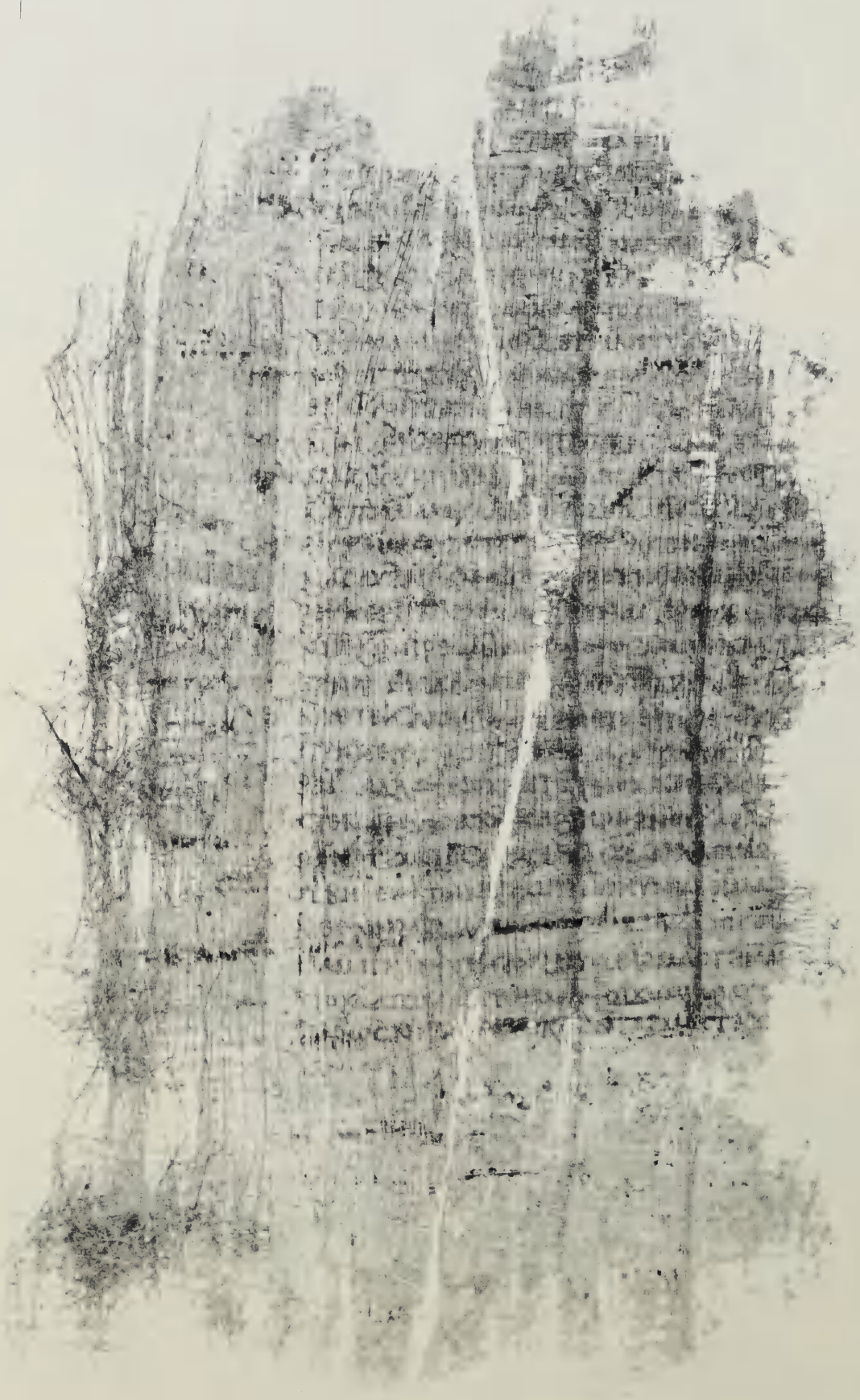










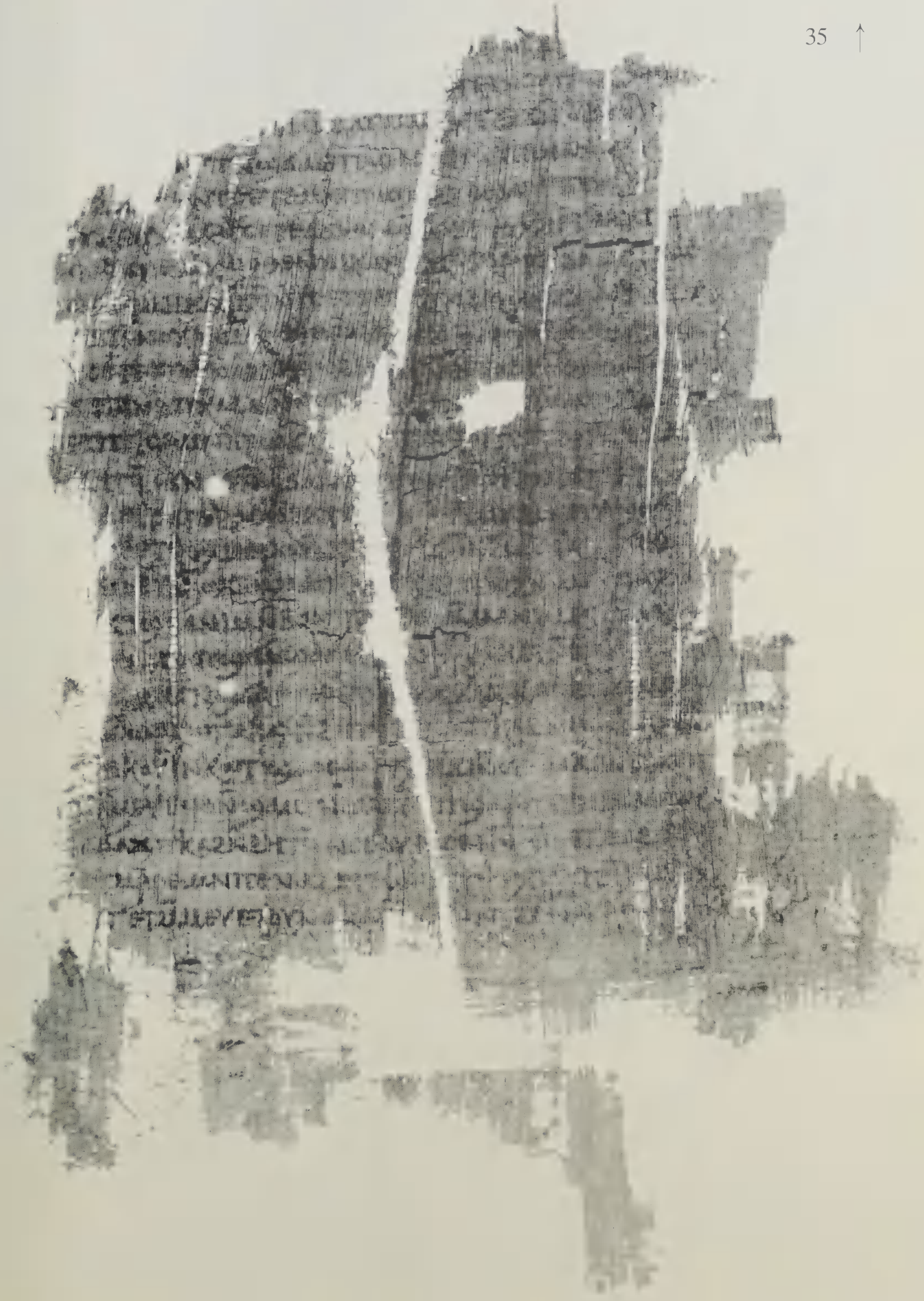


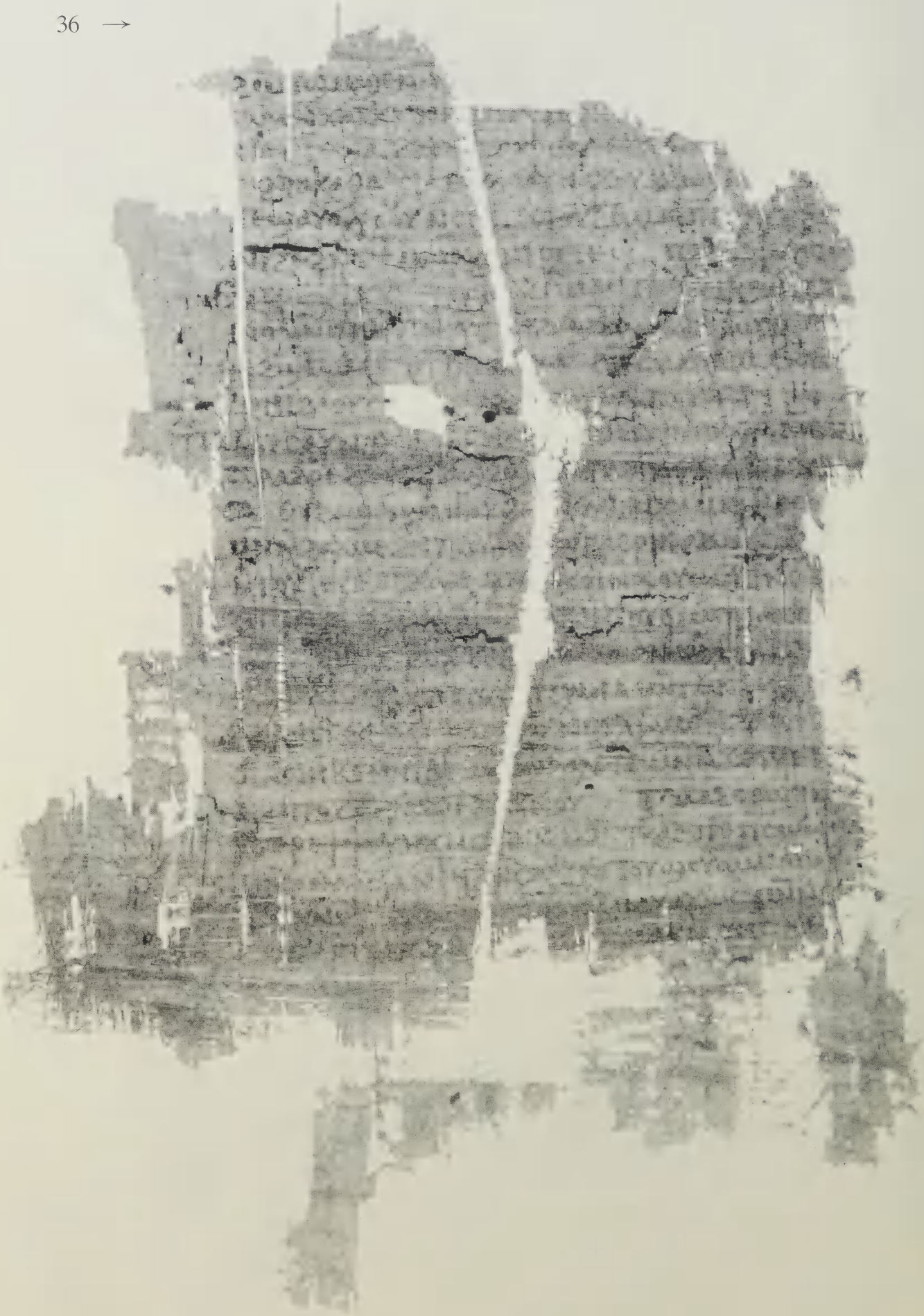




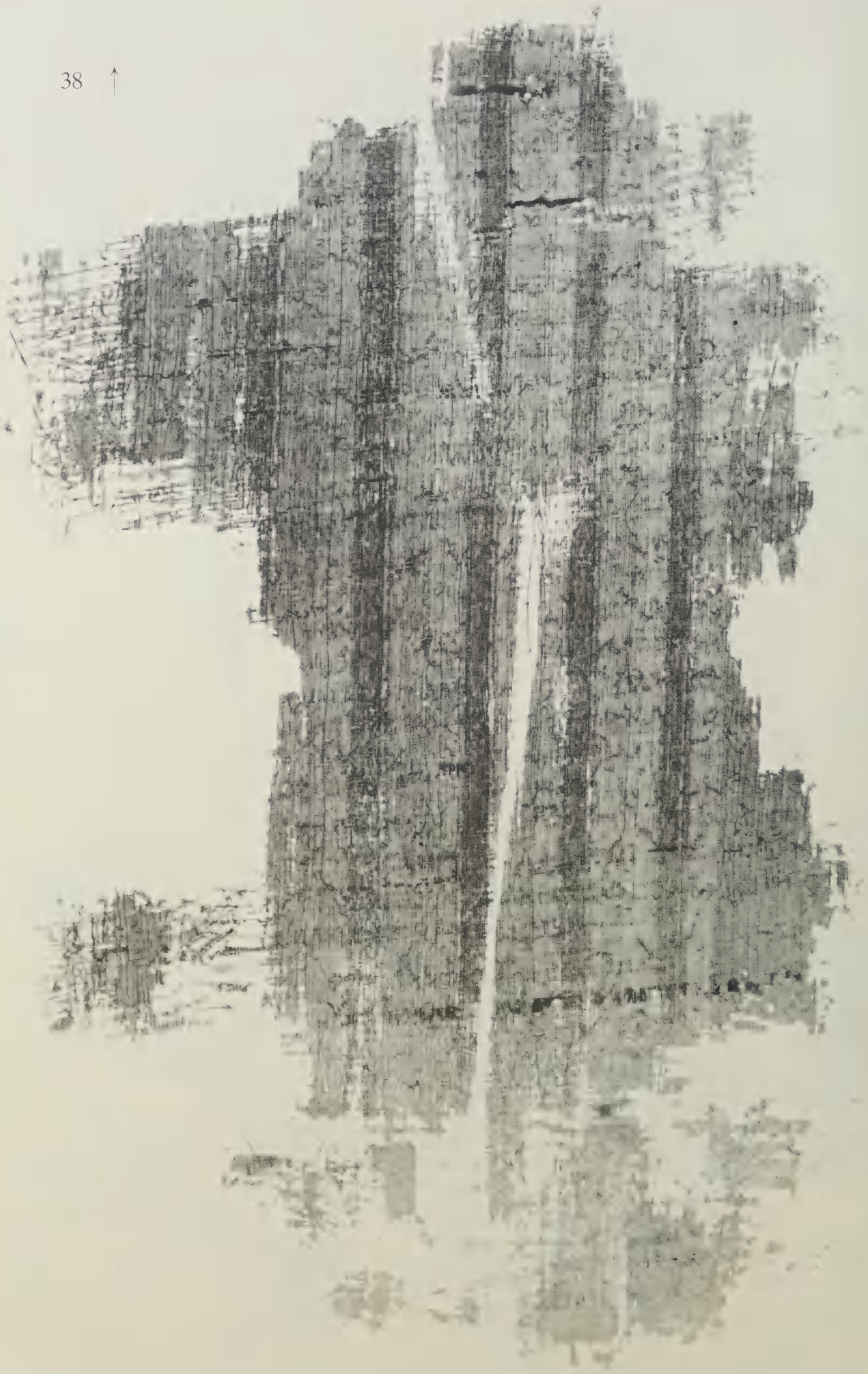


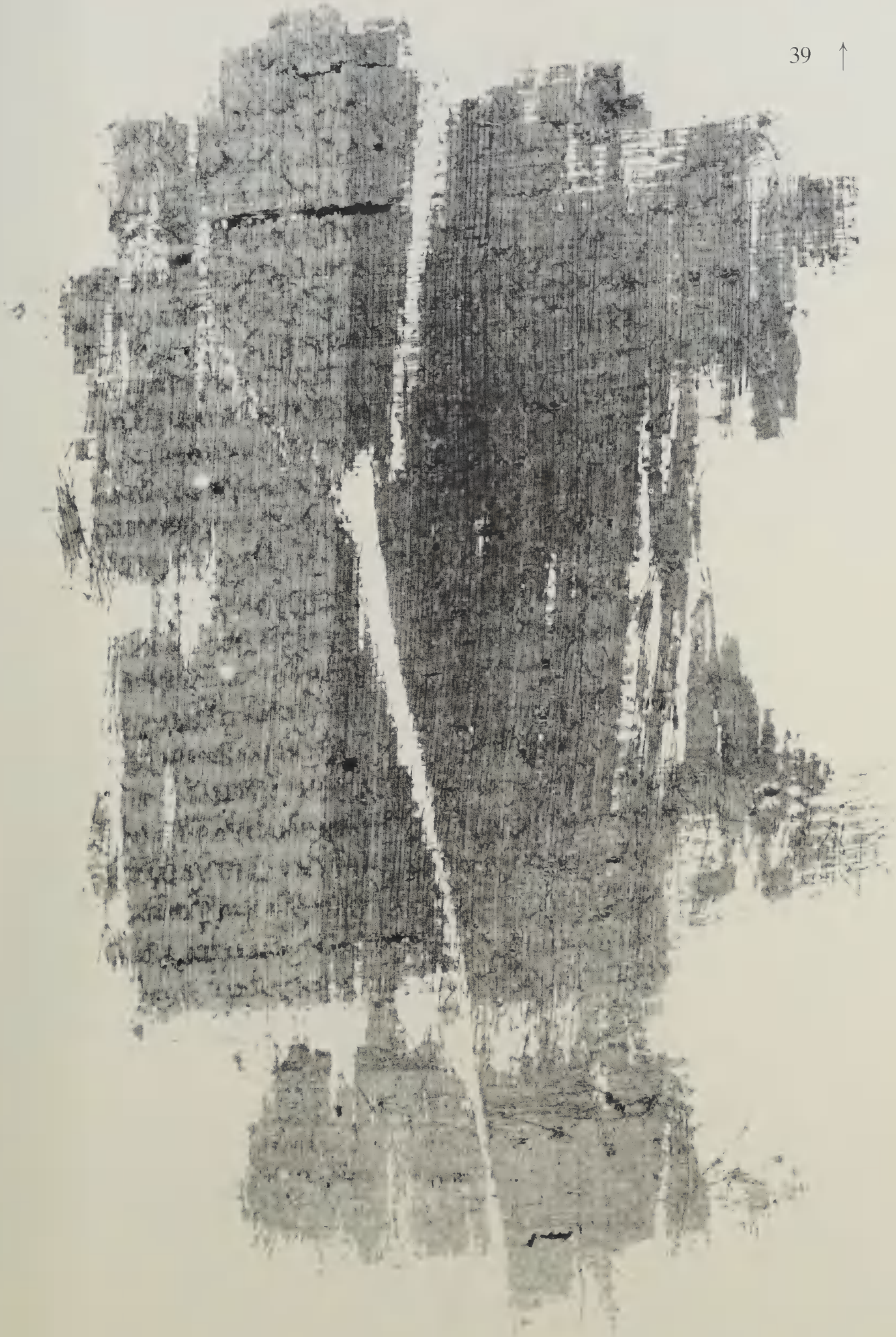




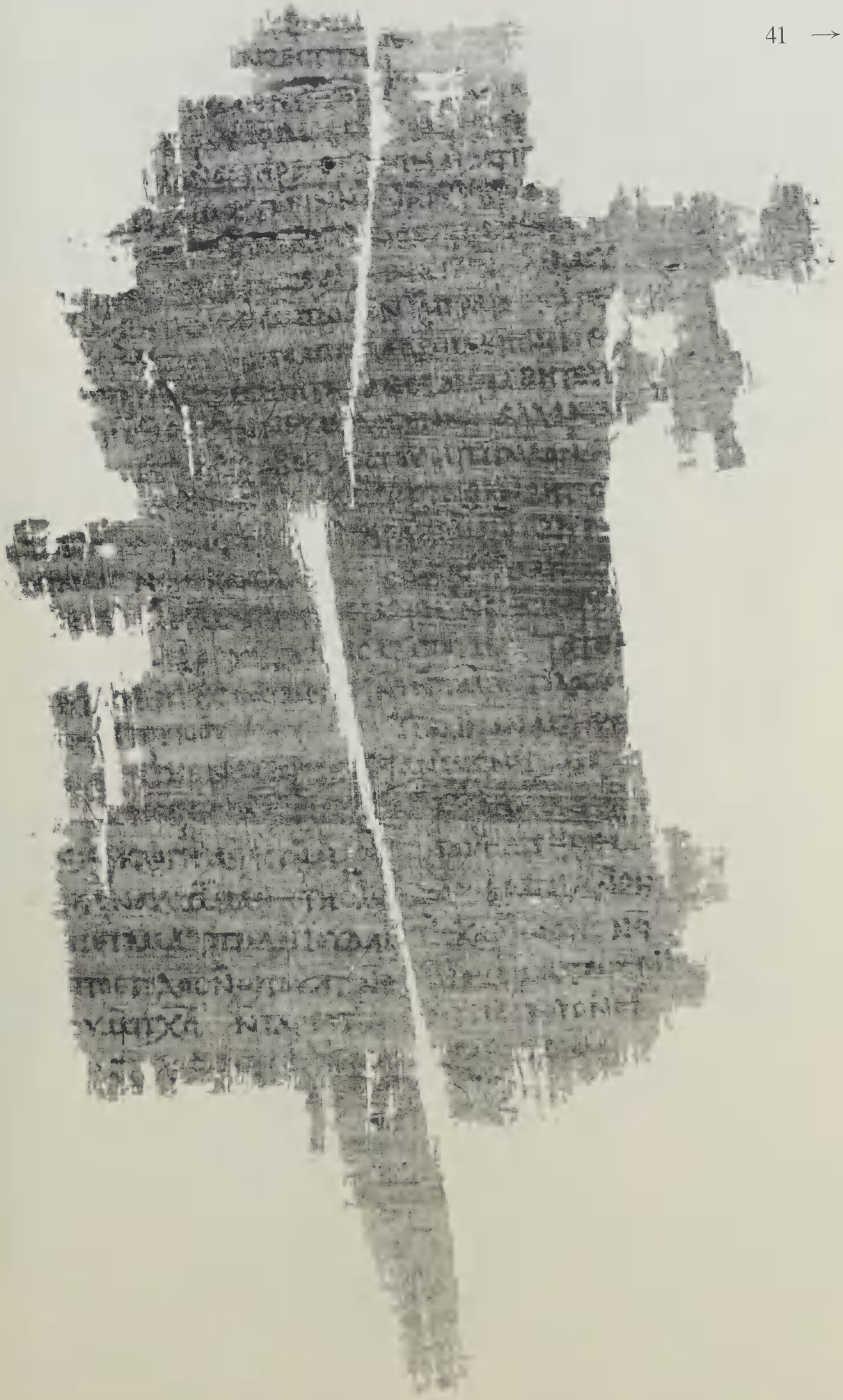


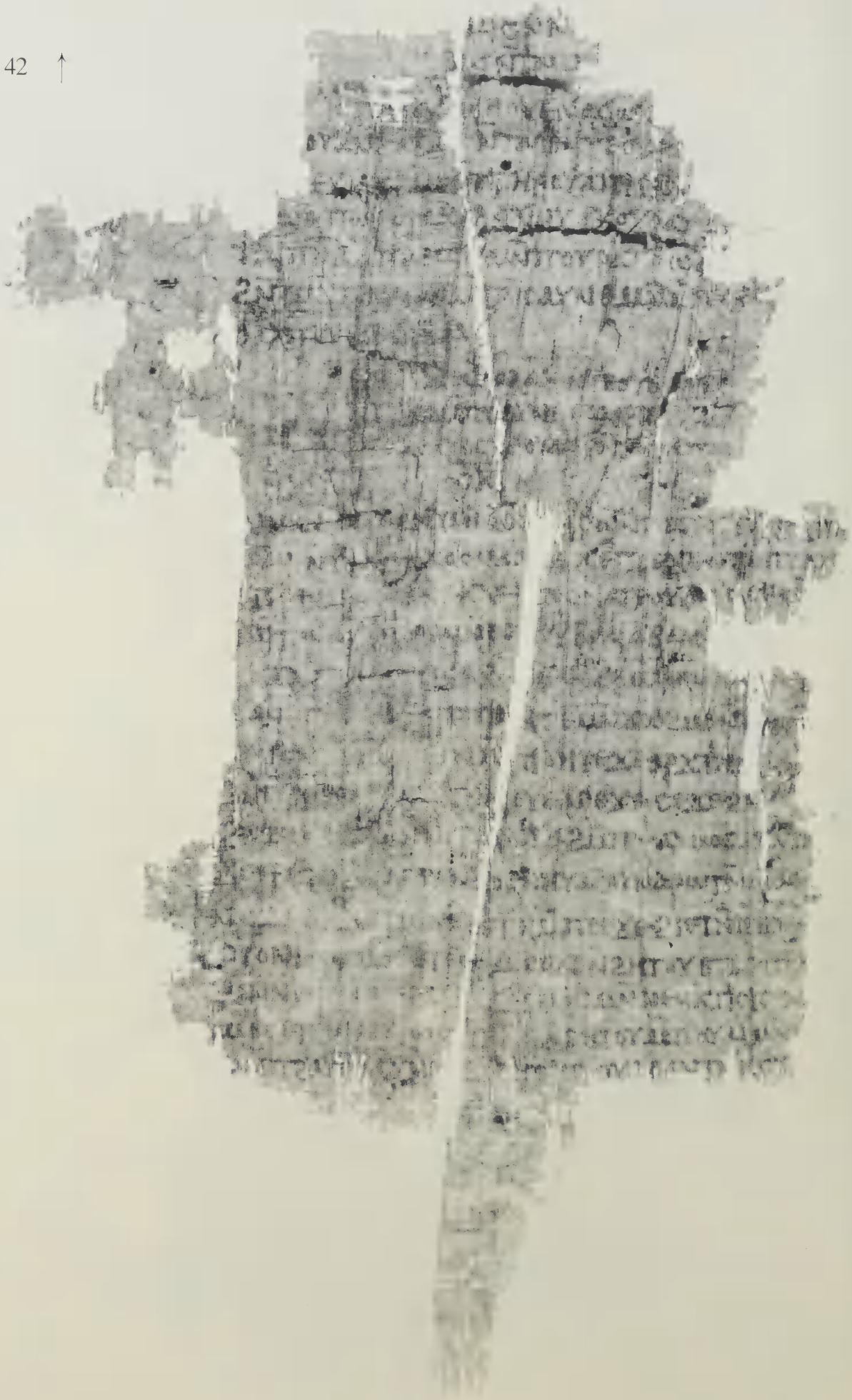


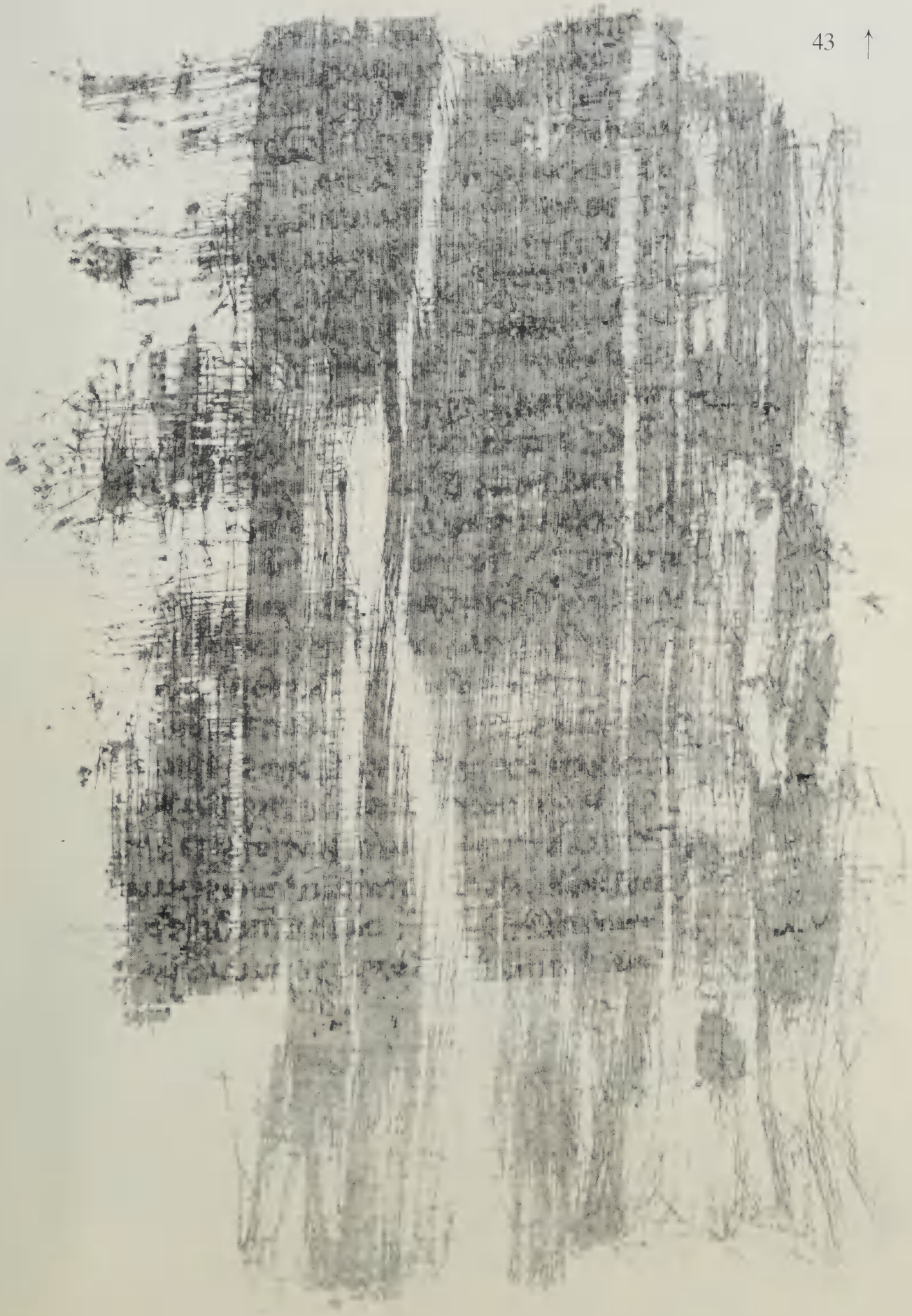


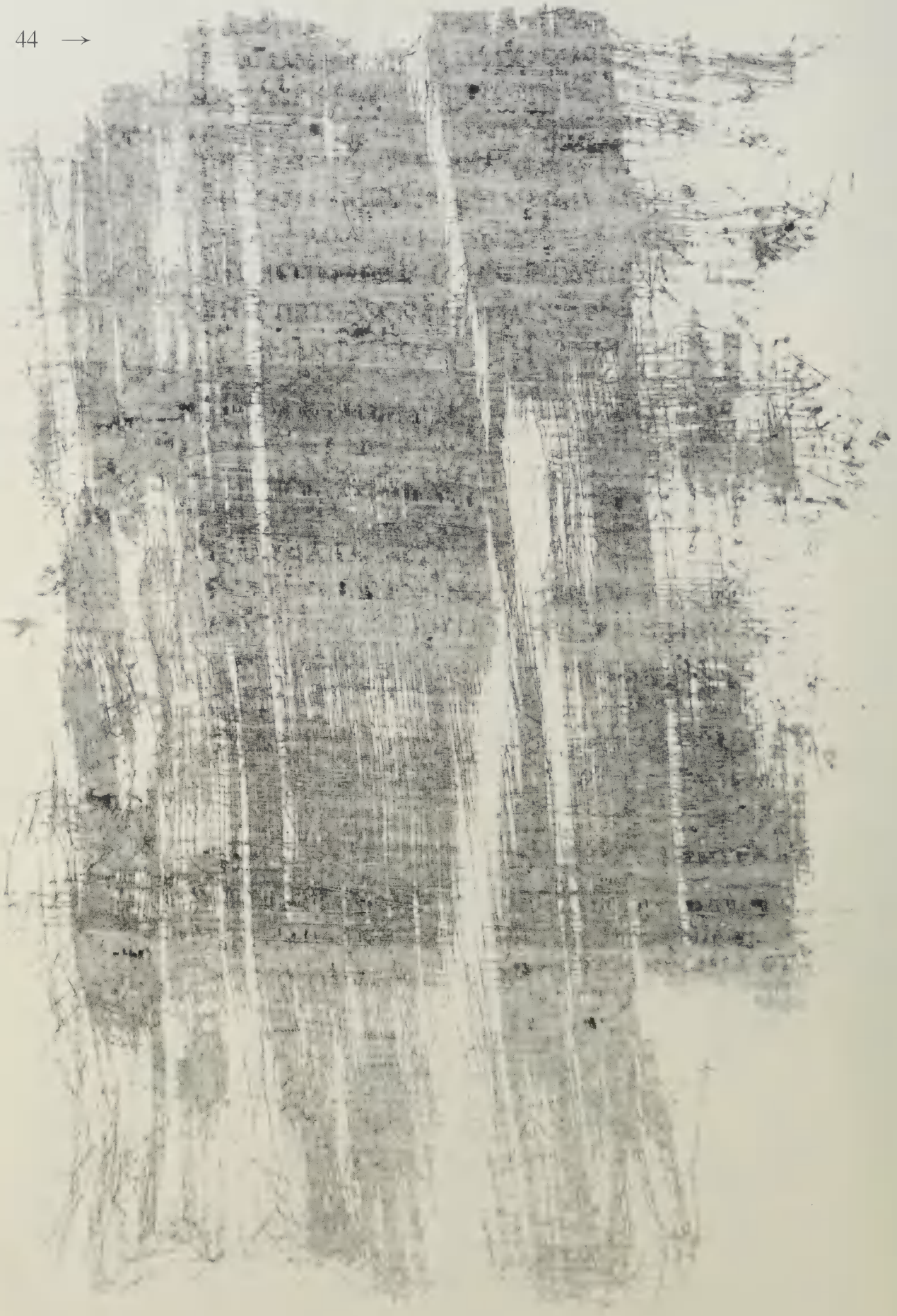




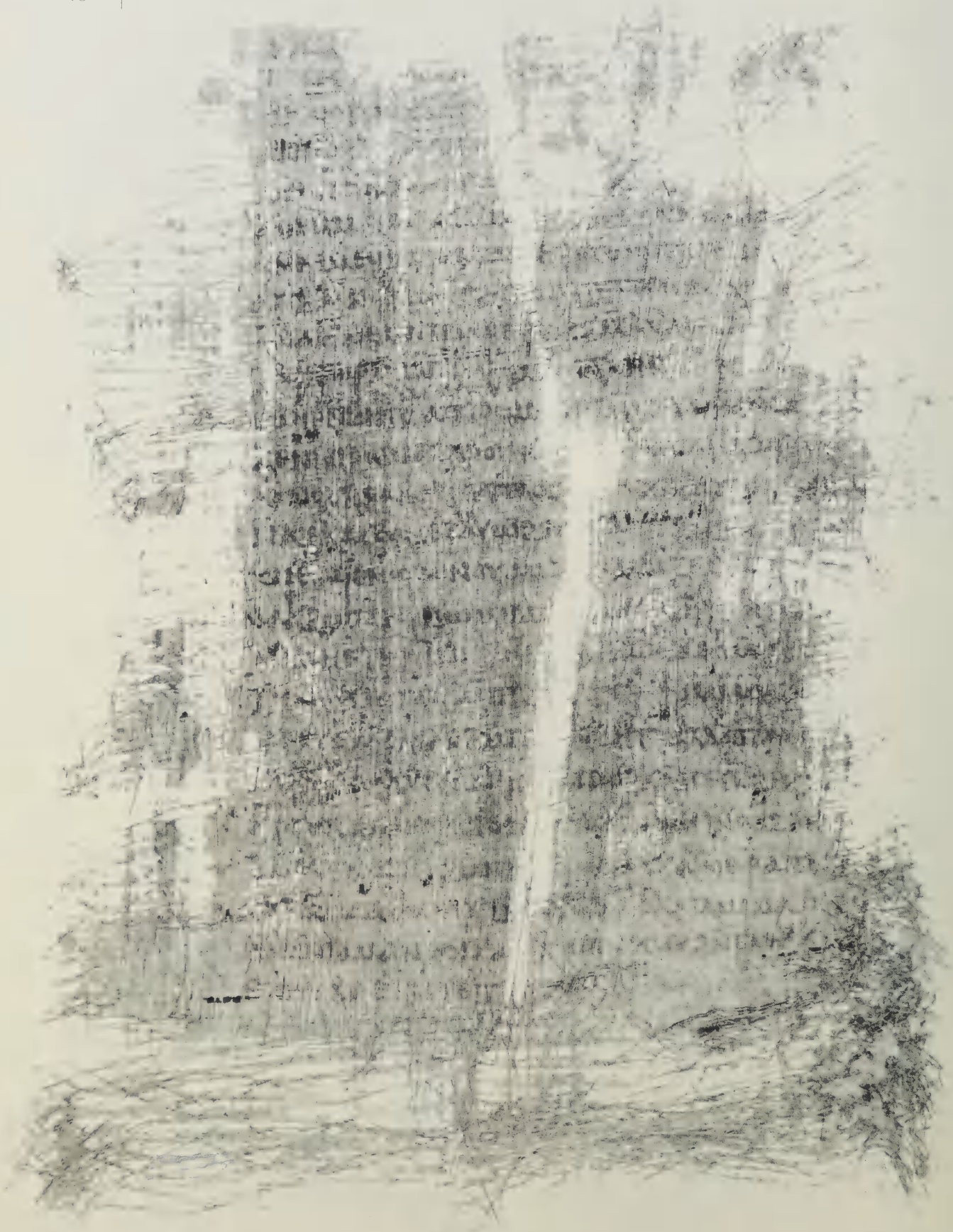




















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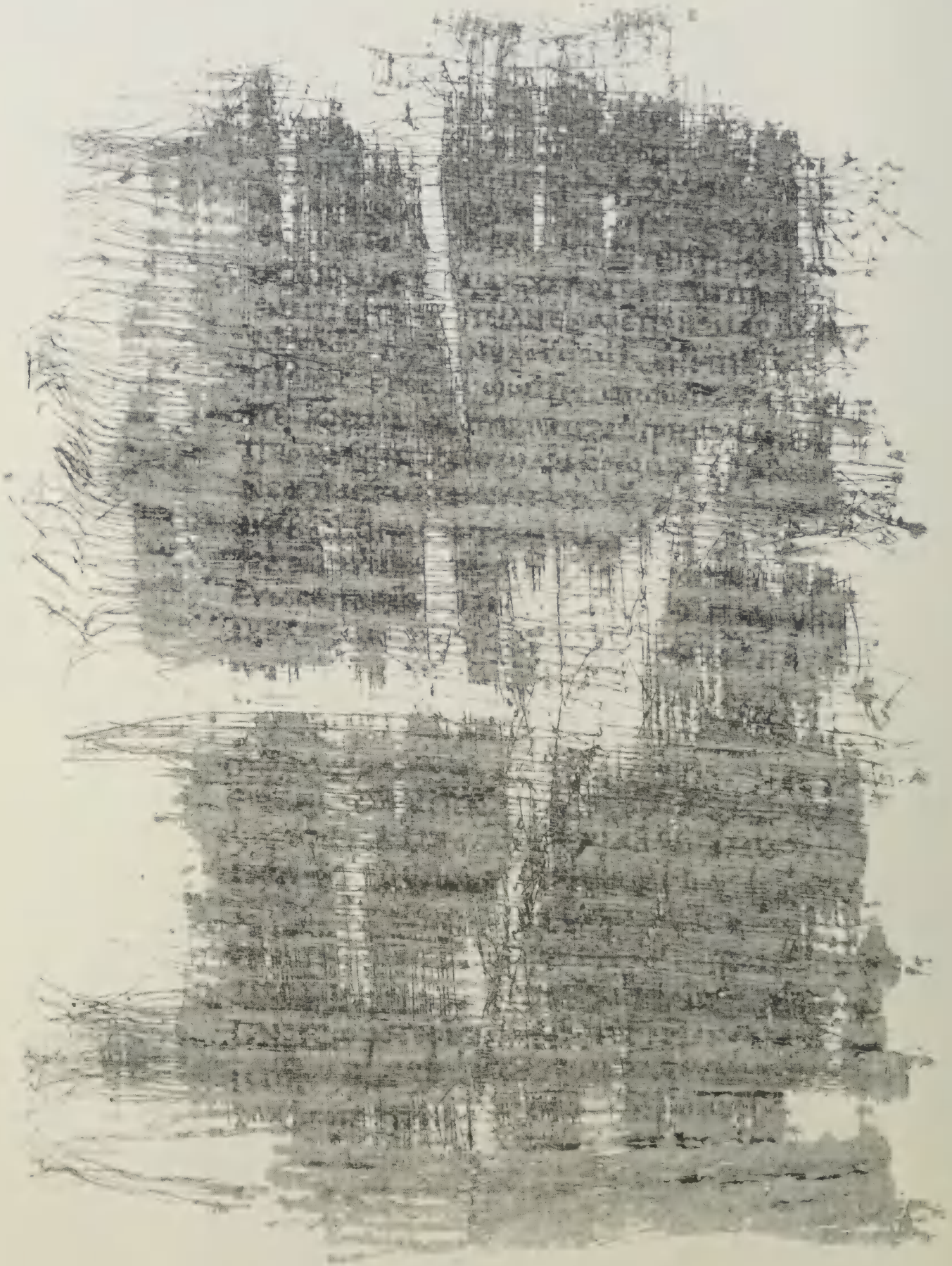


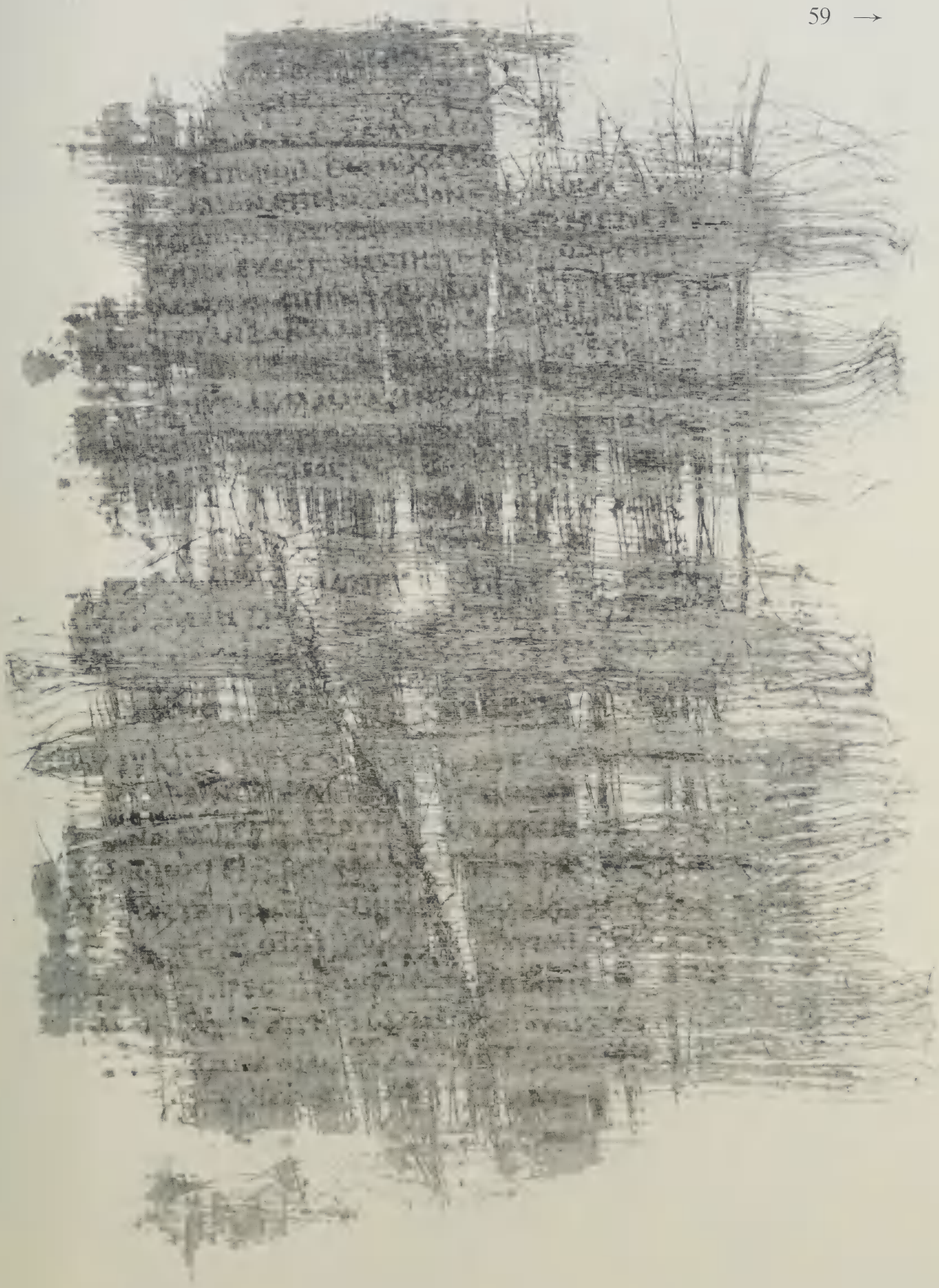




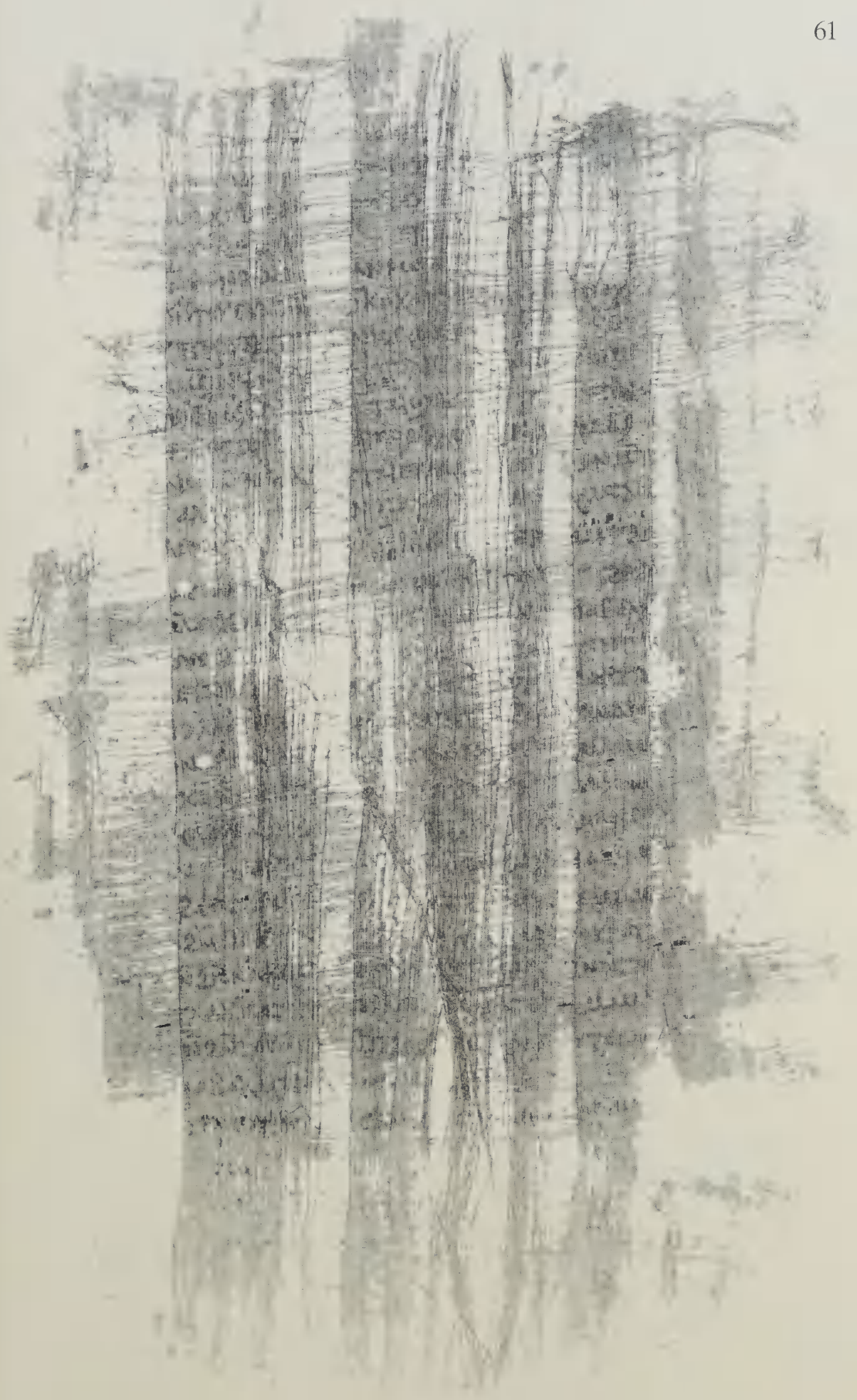






















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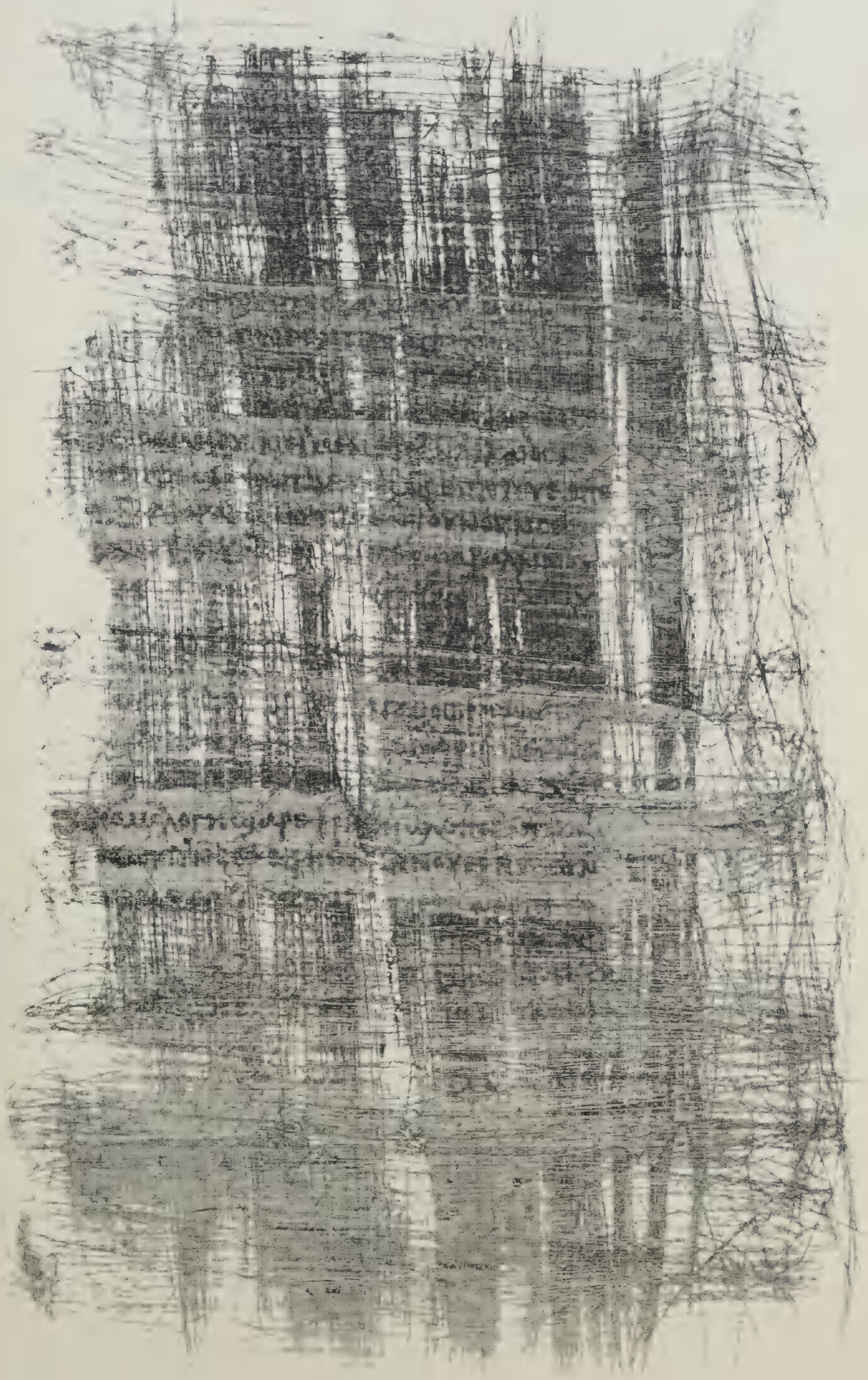




[Post hanc tabulam duae paginae desunt.]







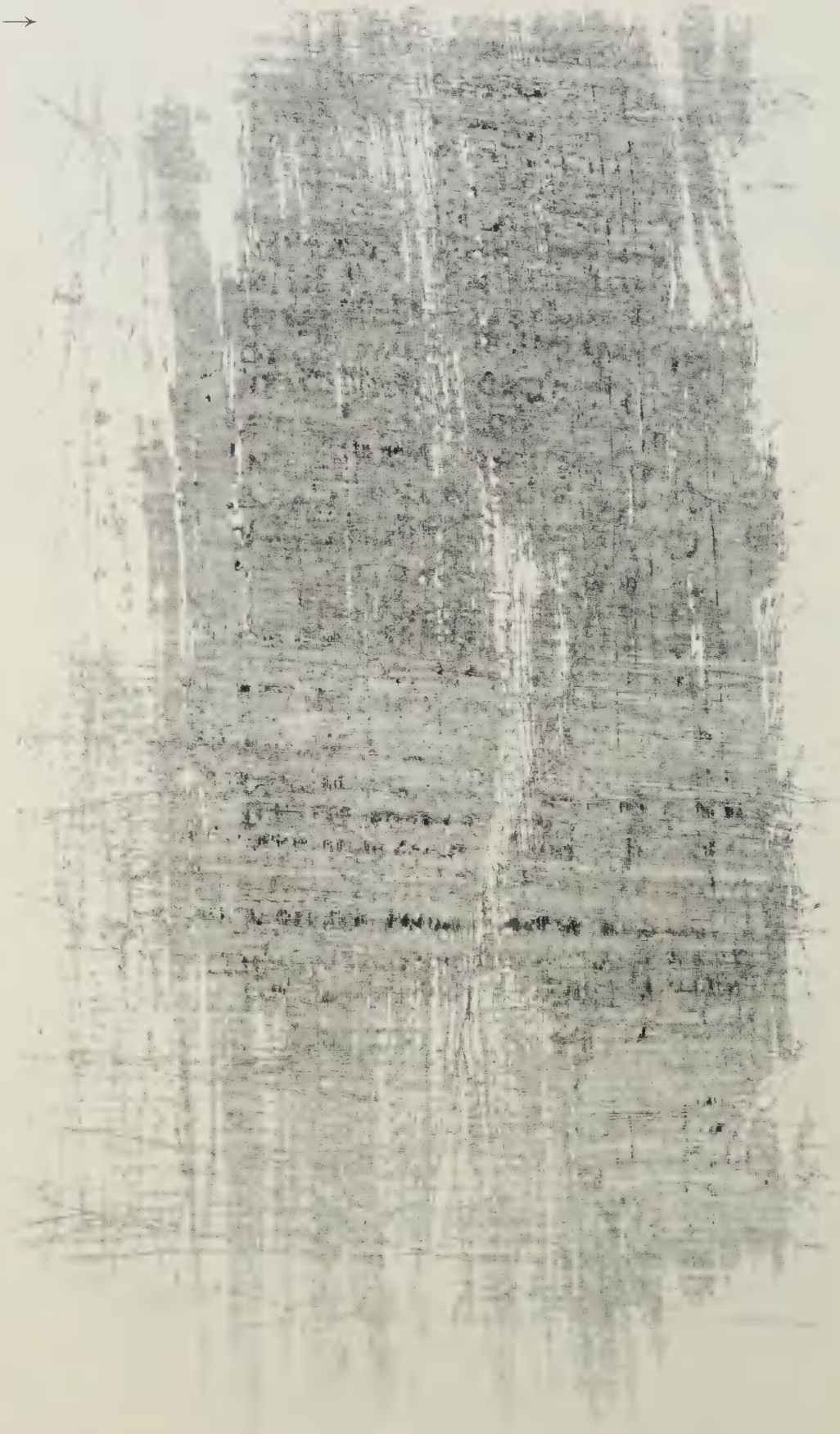






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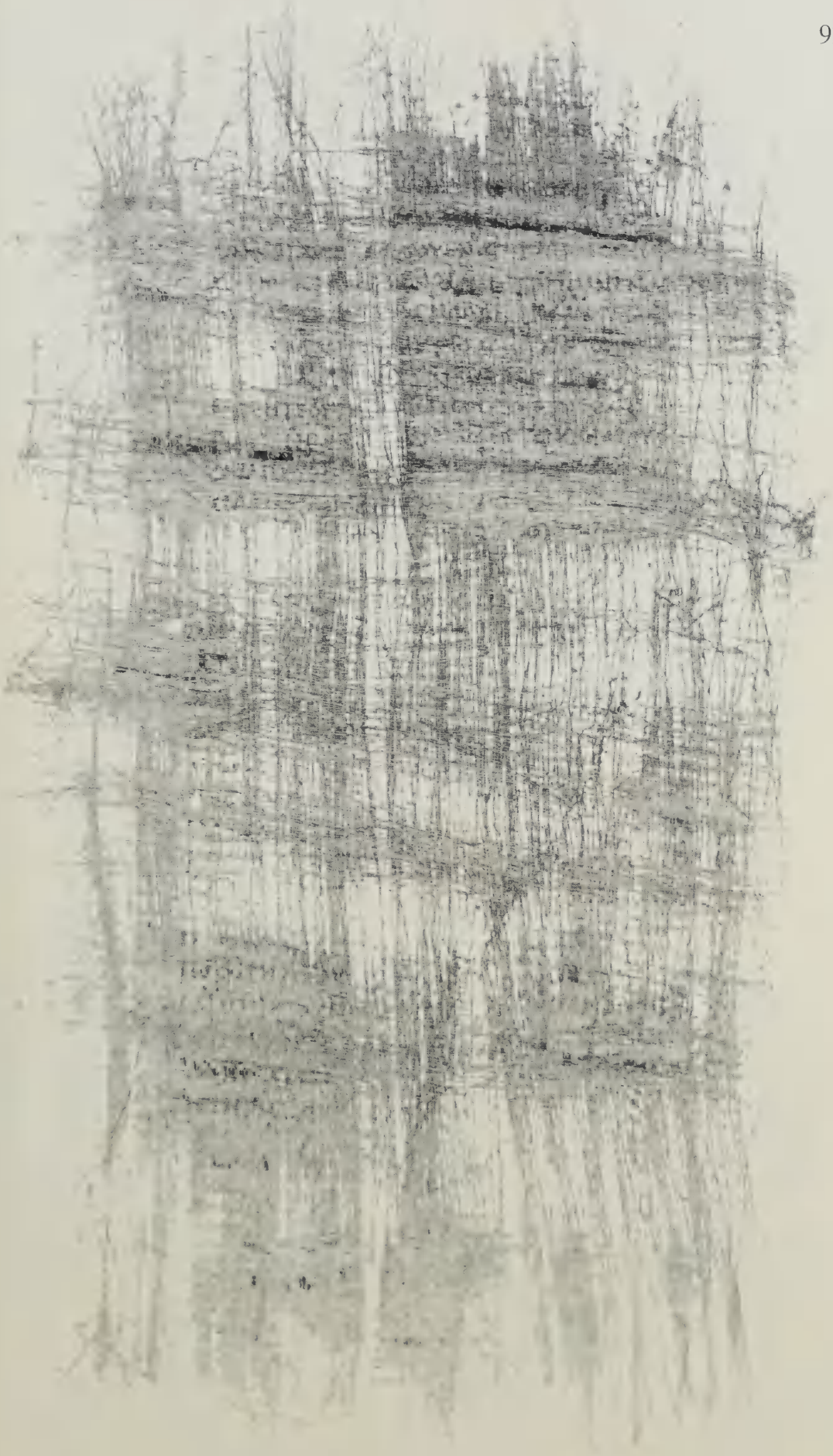
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[Post hanc tabulam duae paginae desunt.]















4:5



[Post hanc tabulam duae paginae desunt.]

4:5











4:5



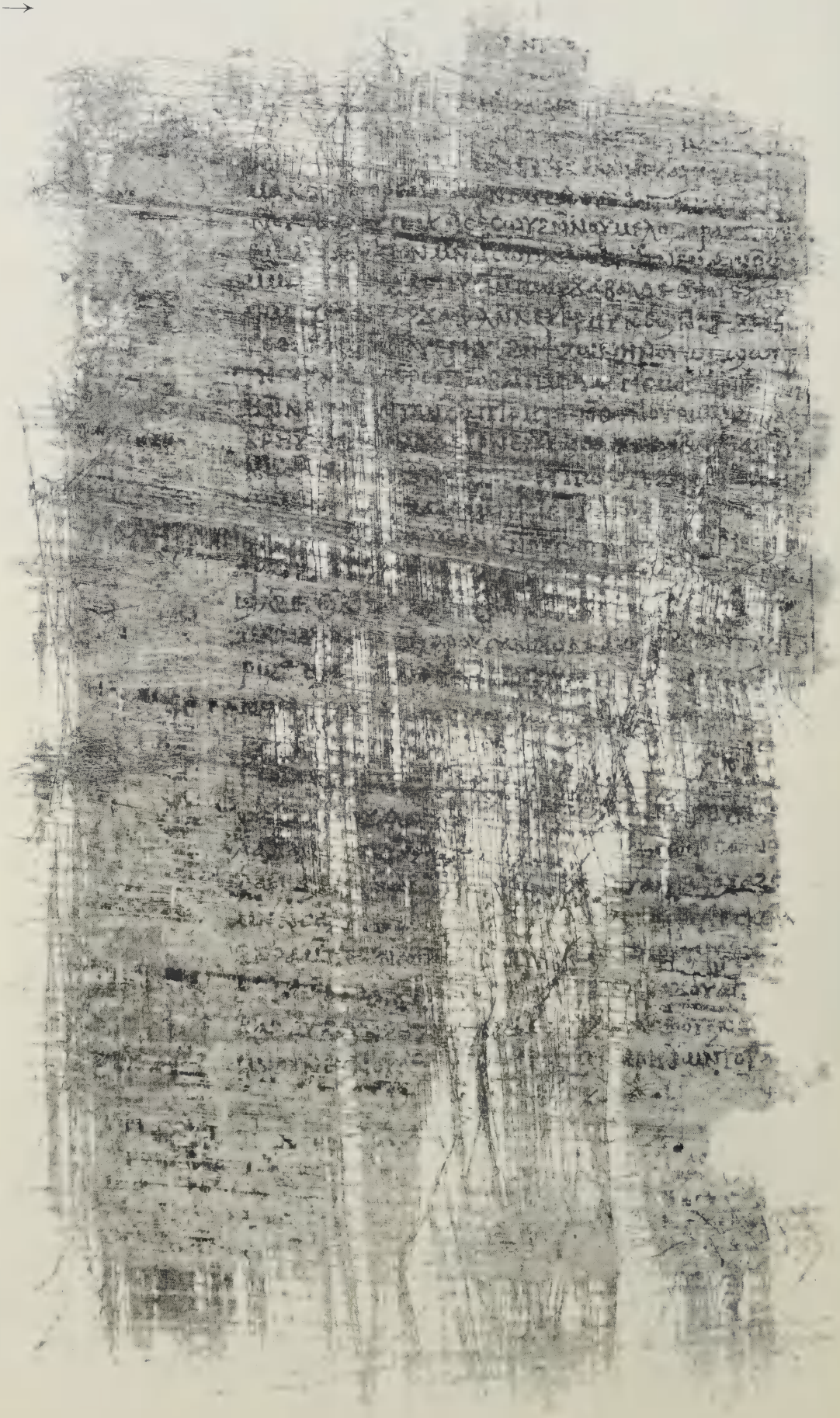


















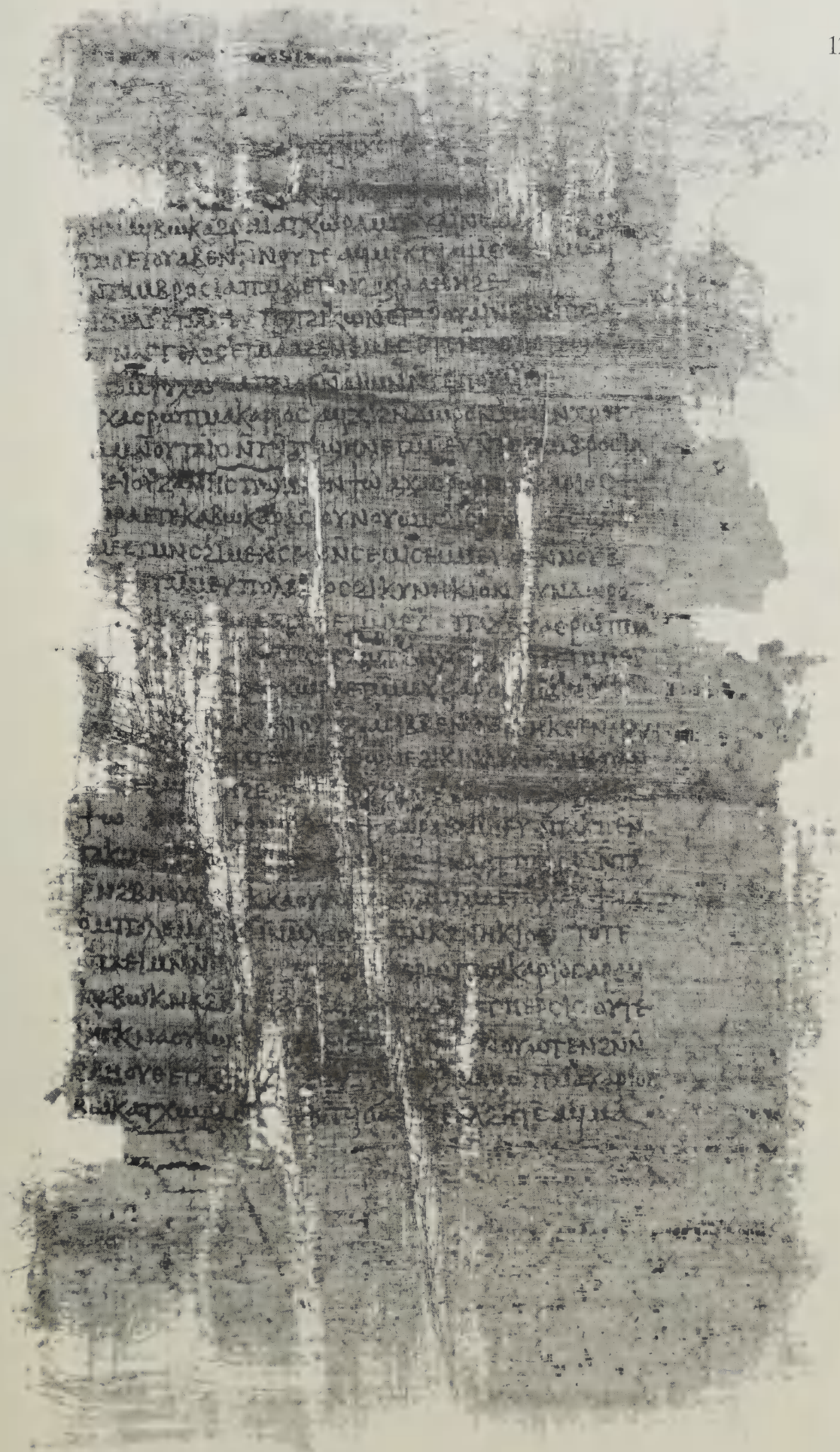


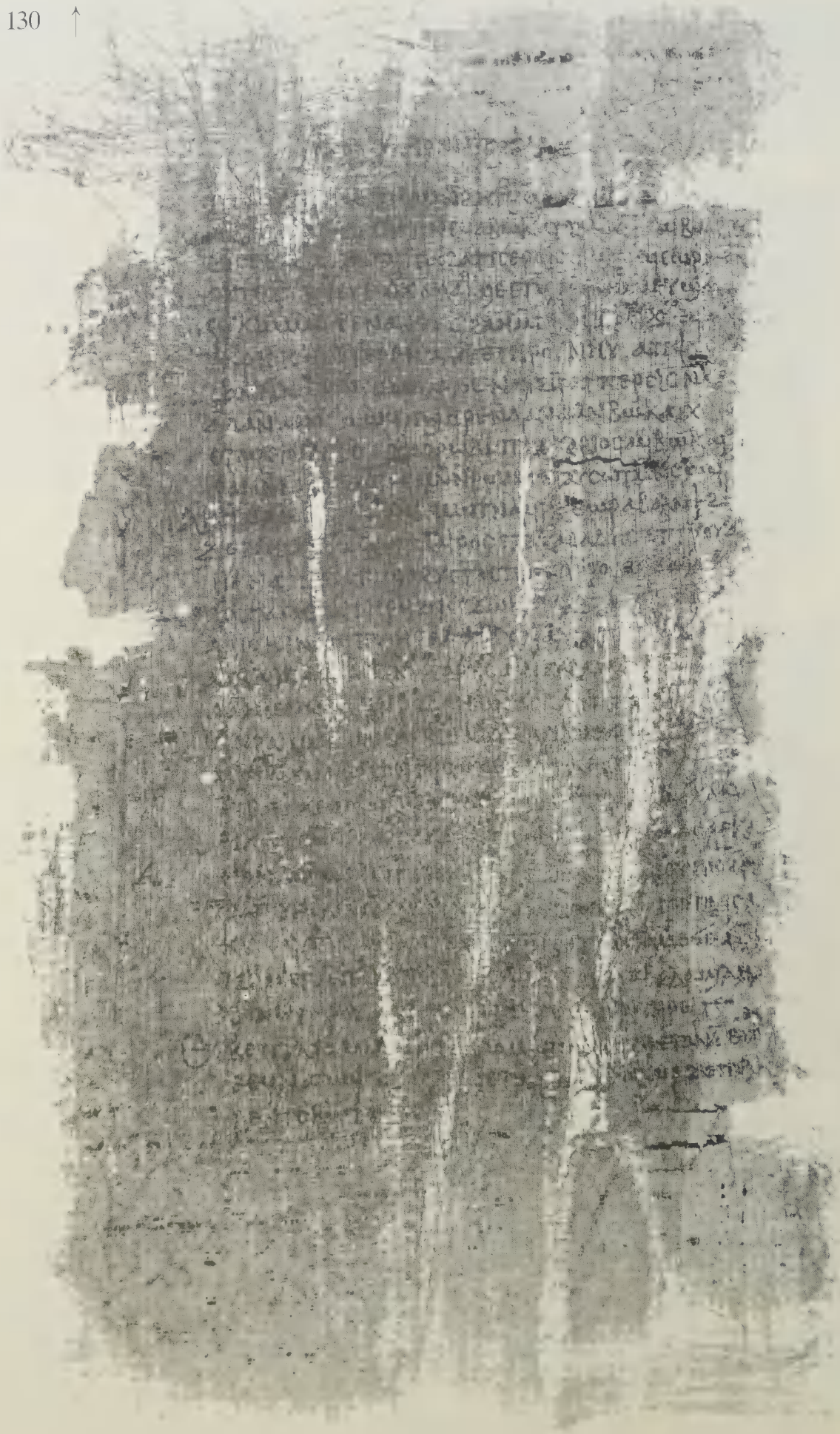


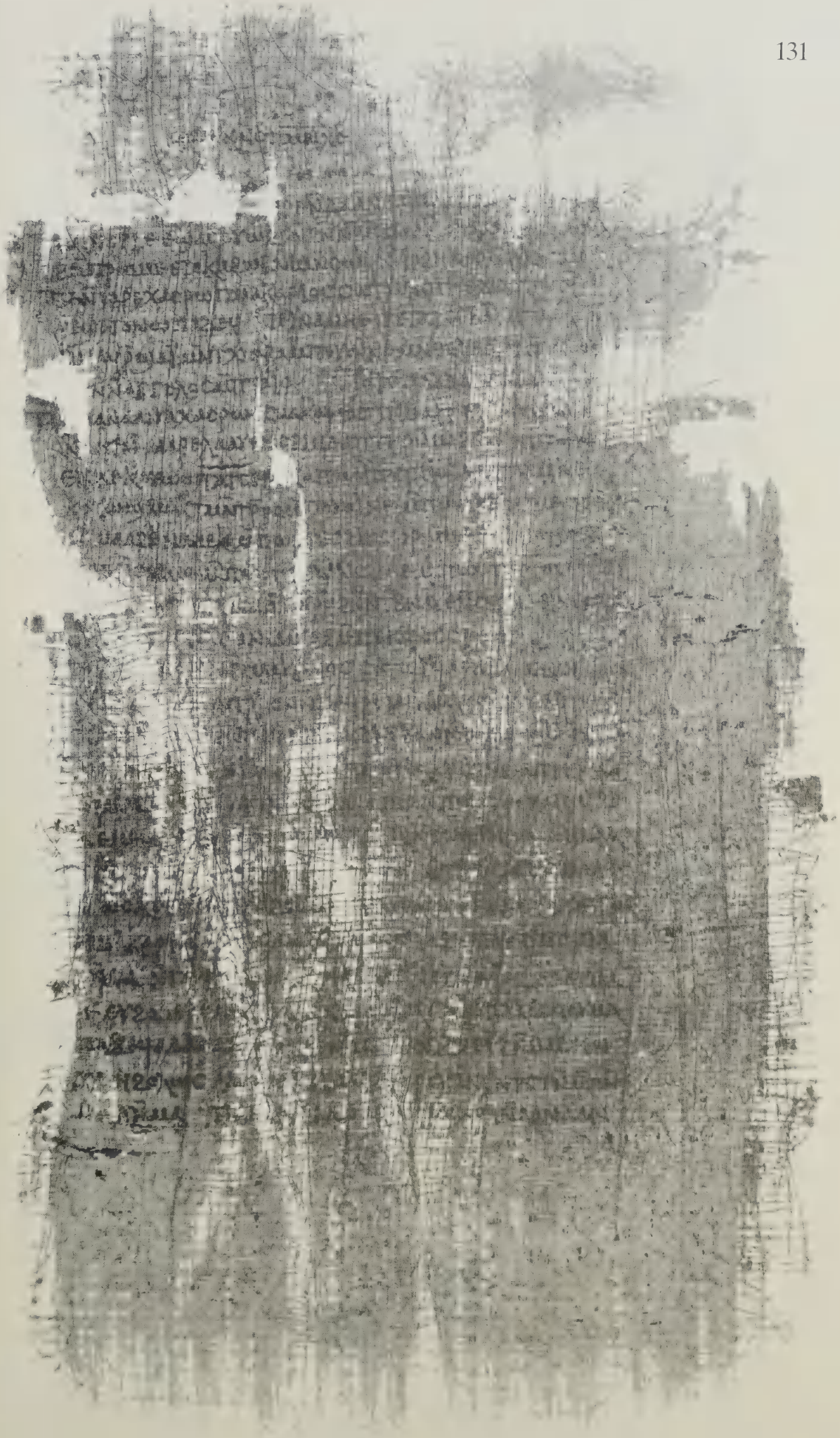


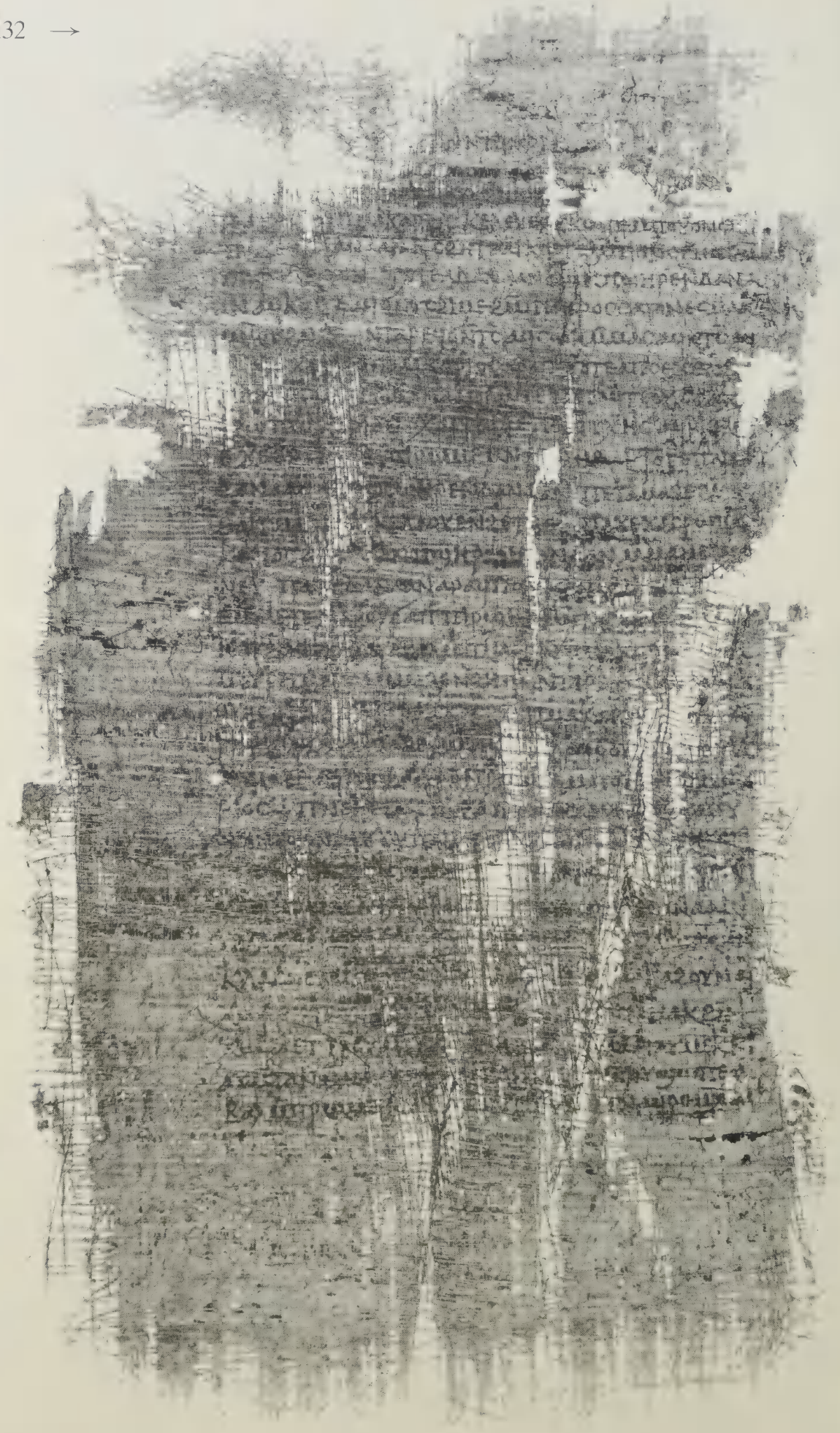




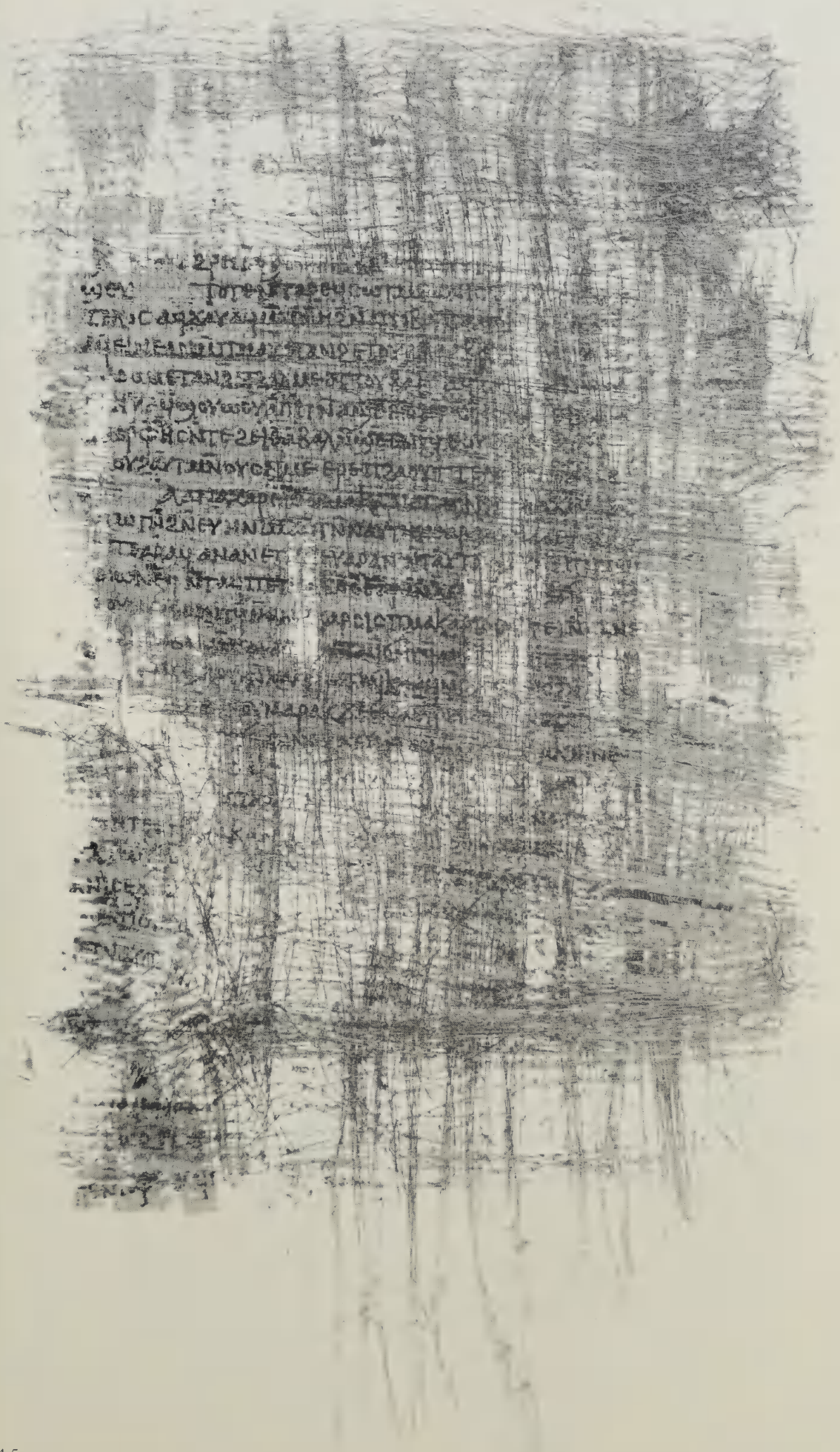




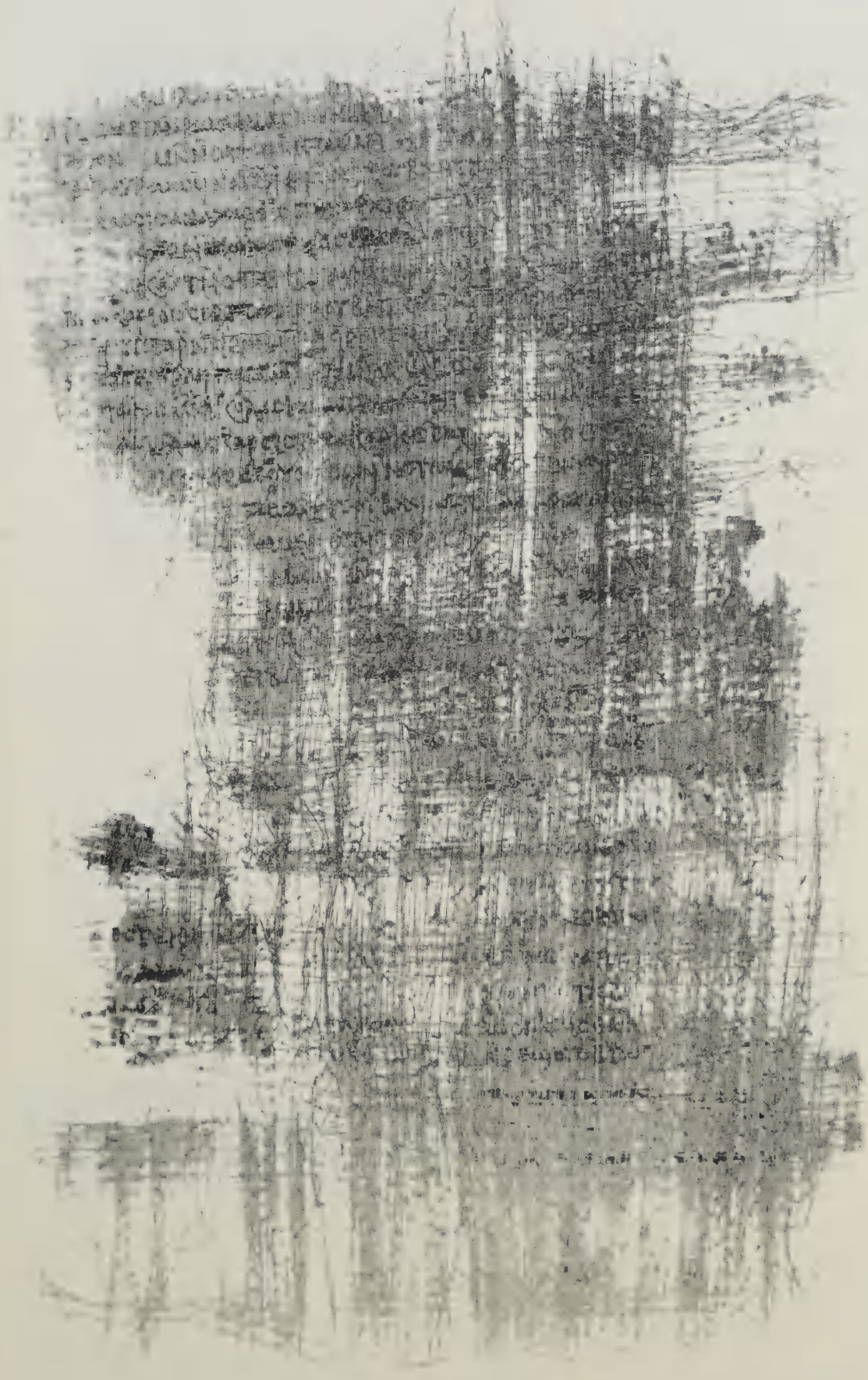


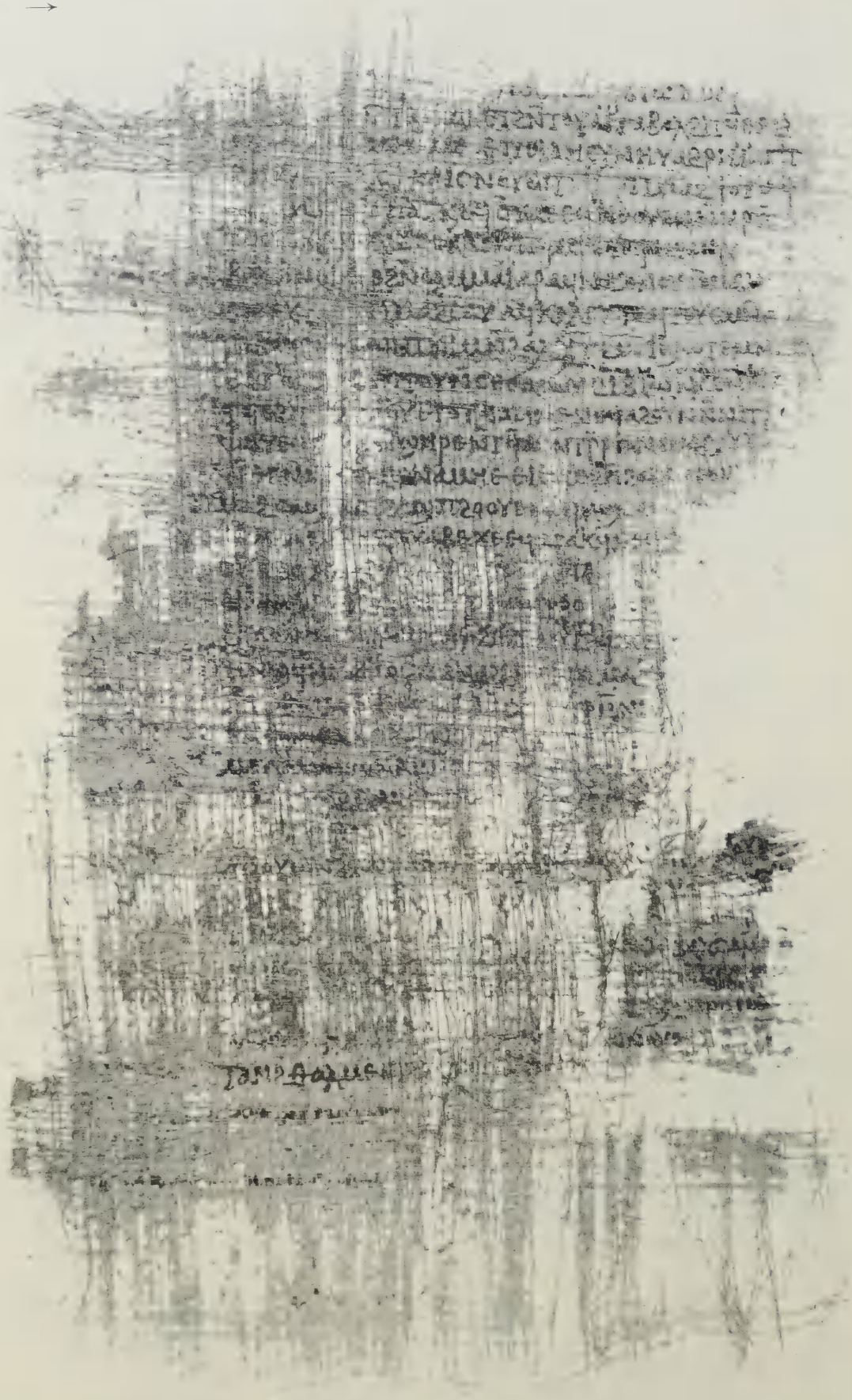


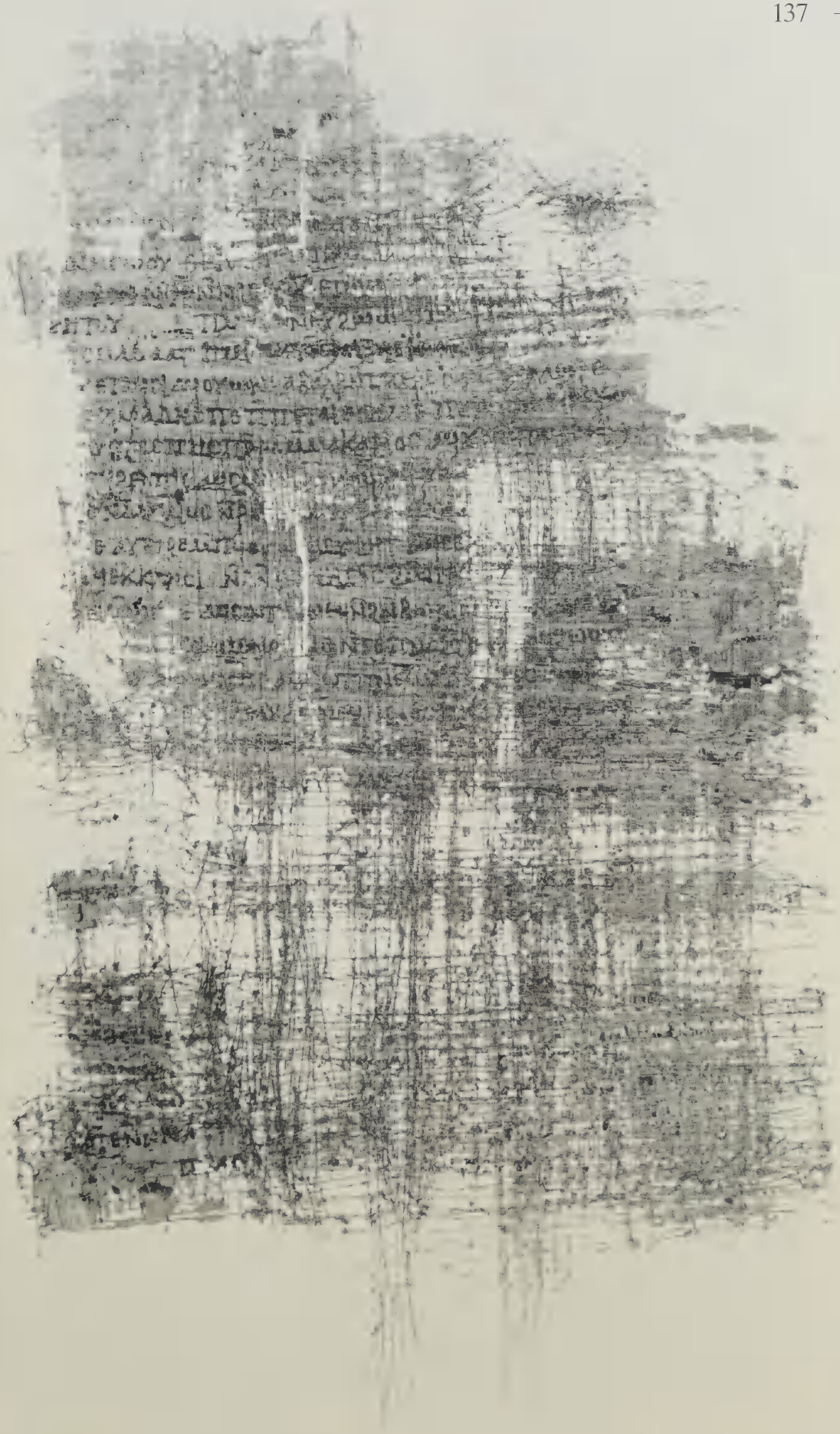
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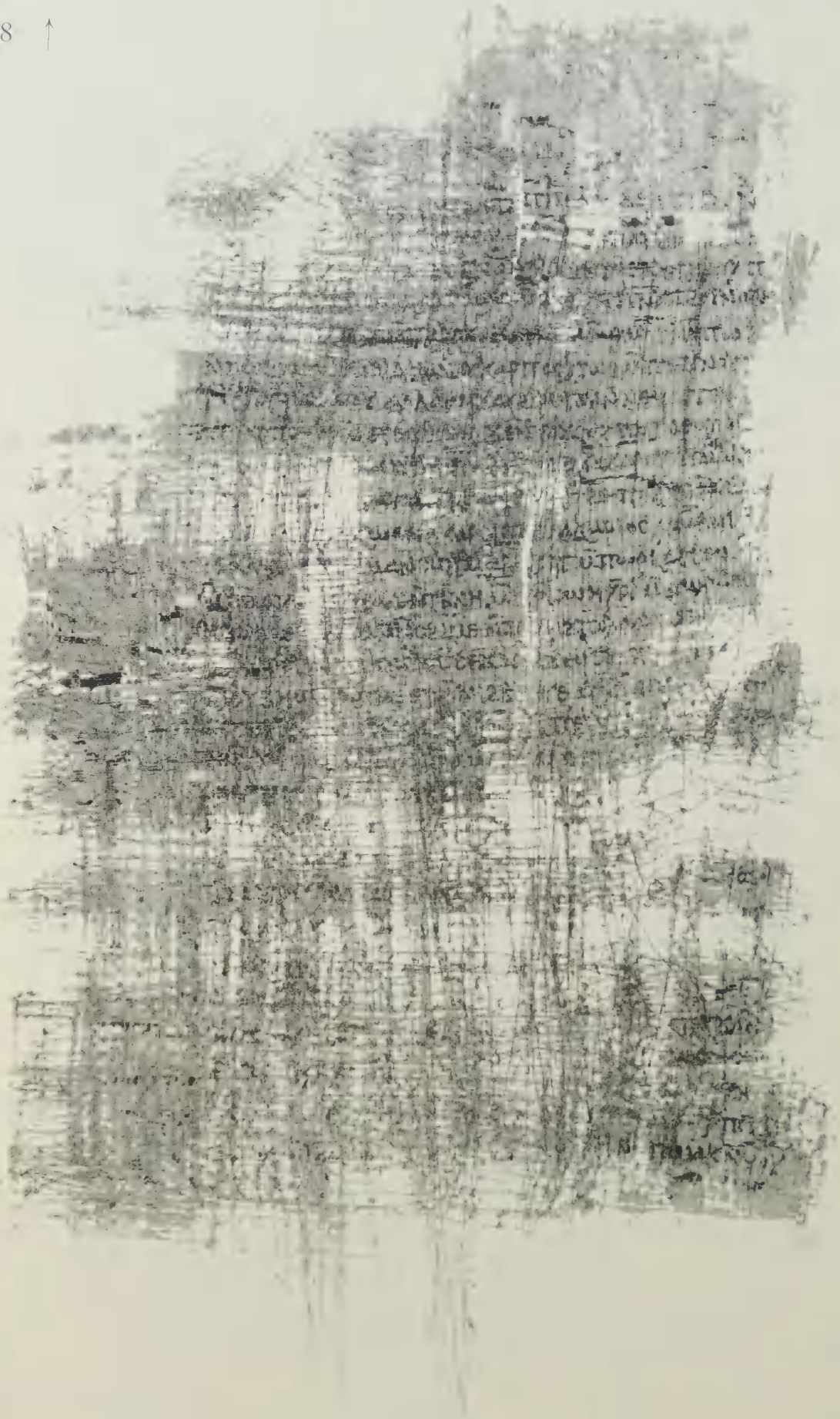


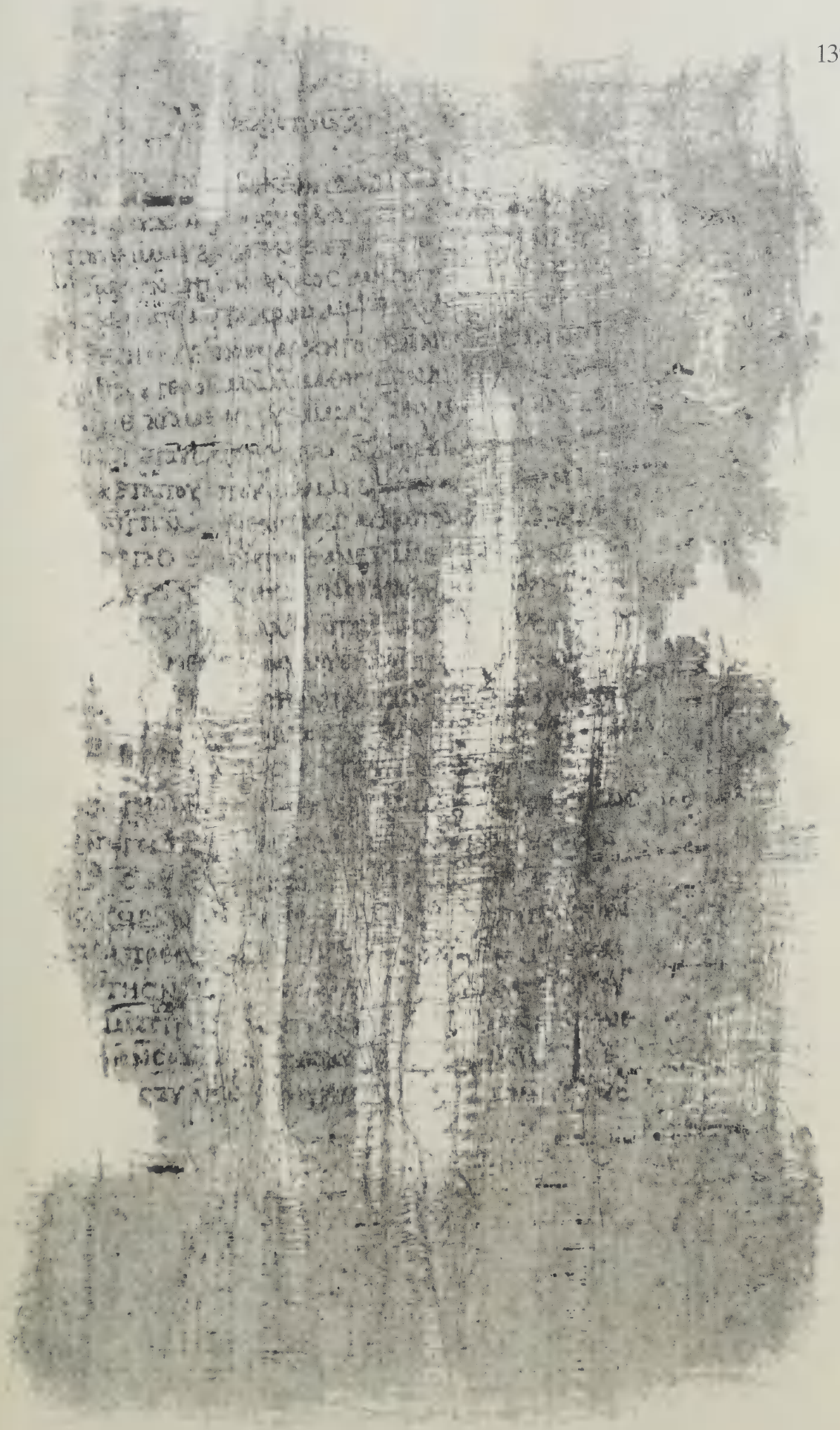


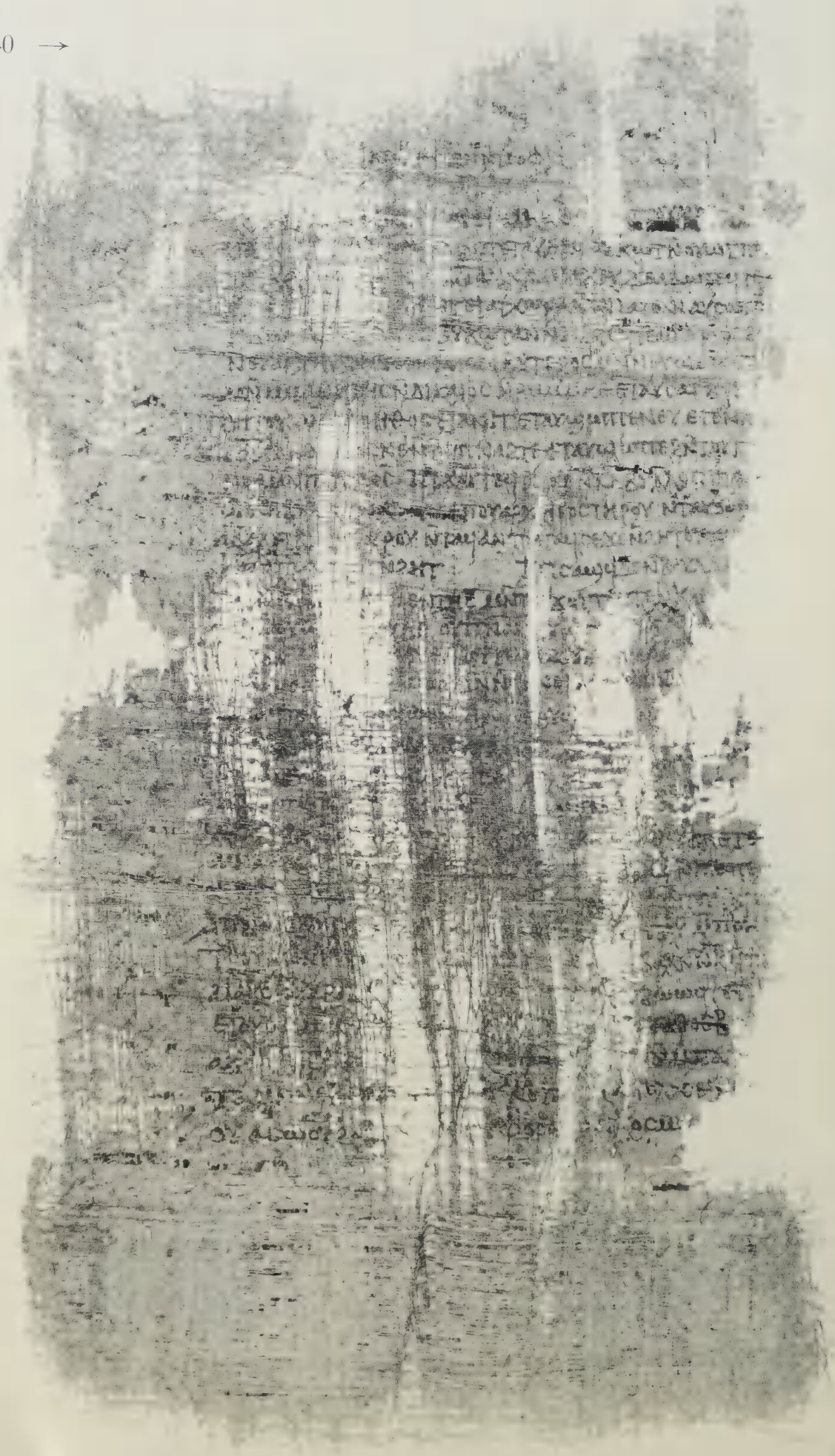










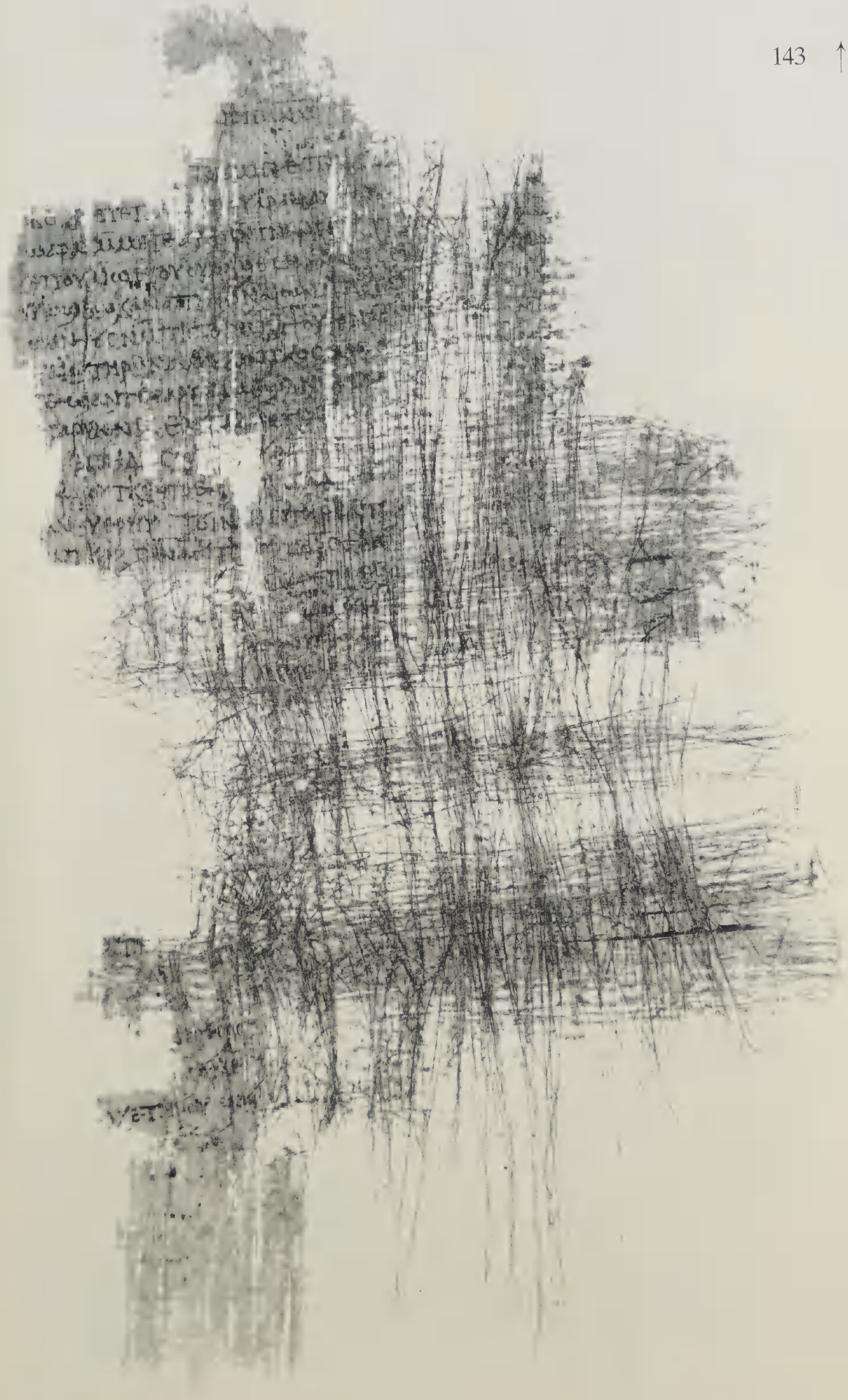


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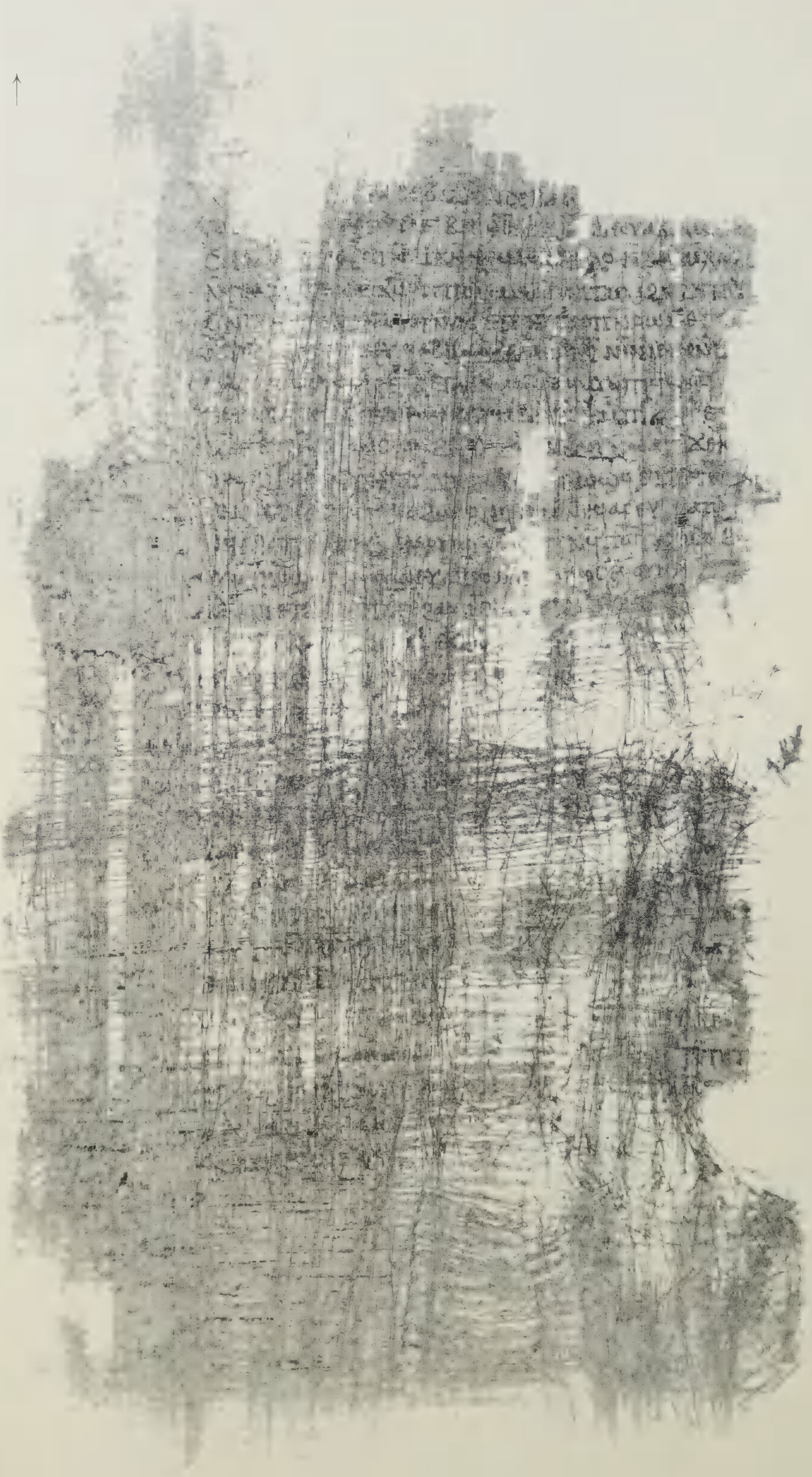


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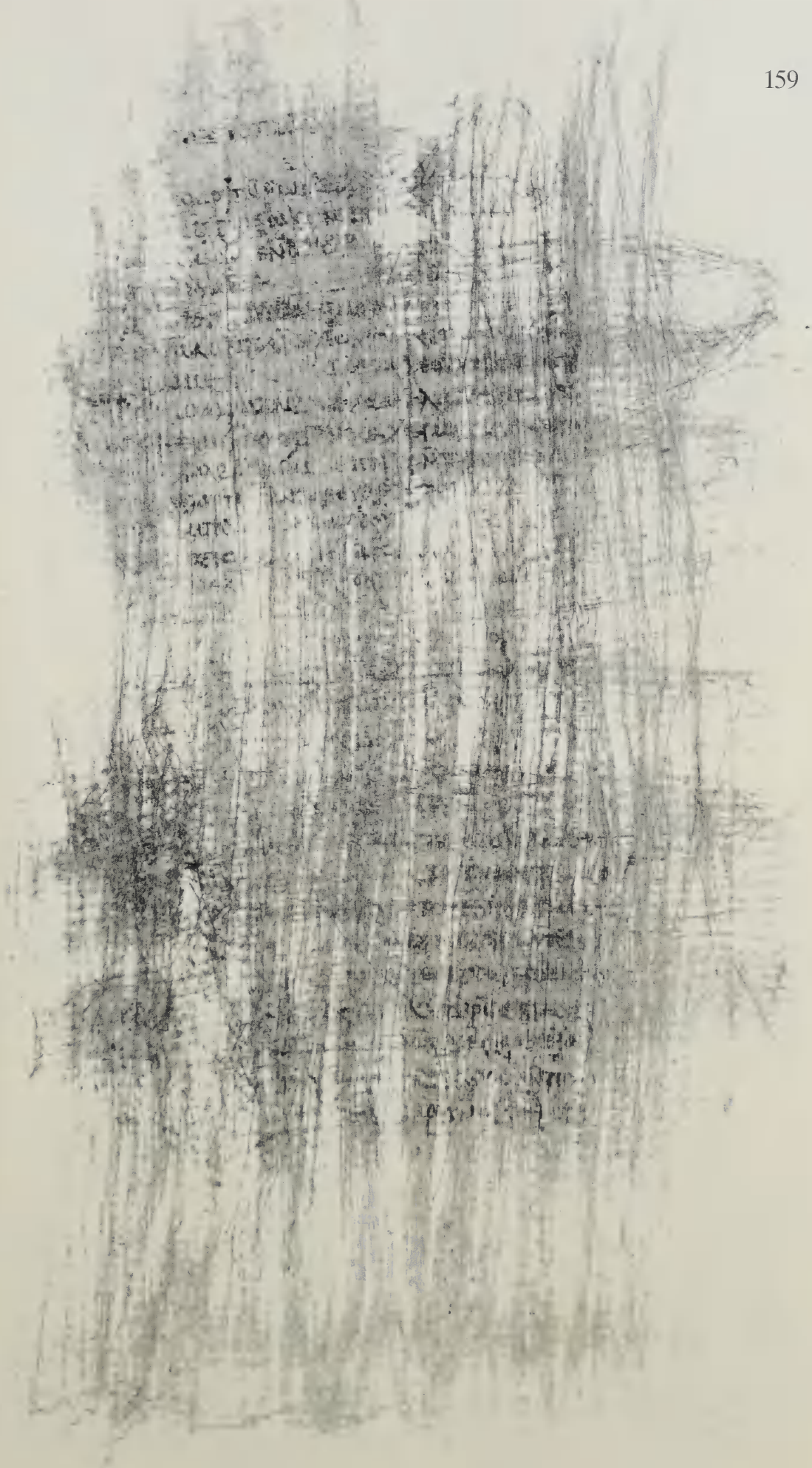


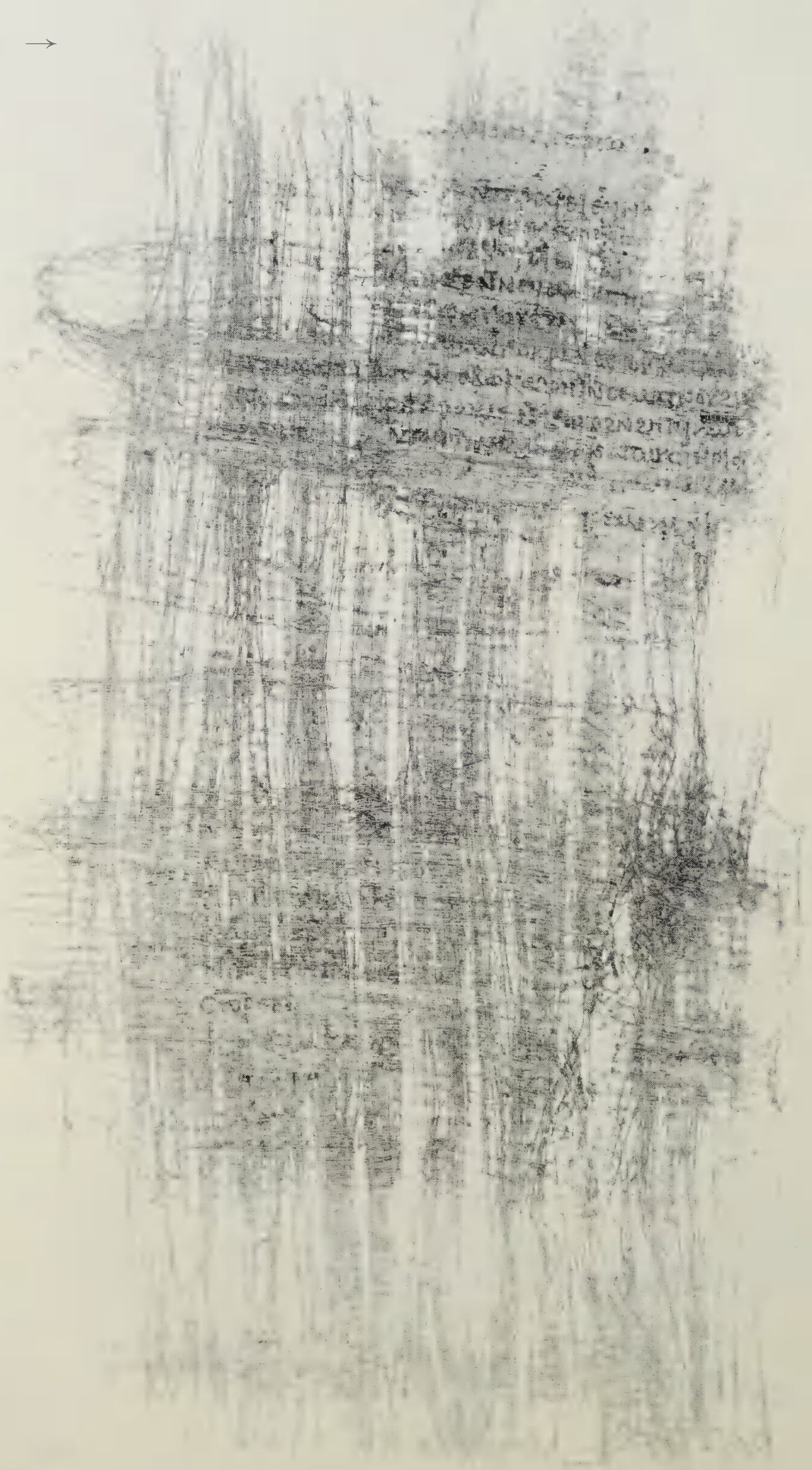


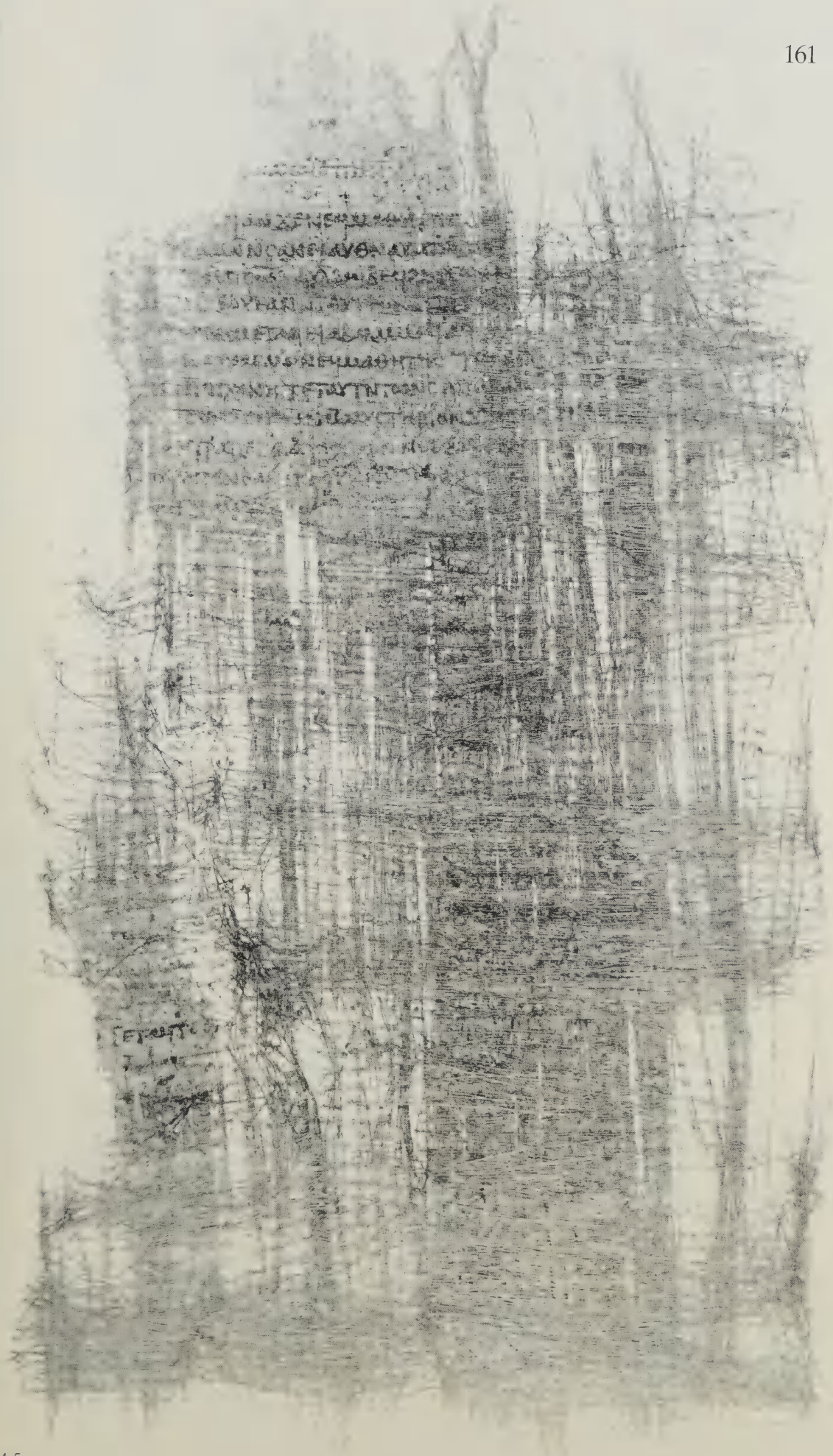
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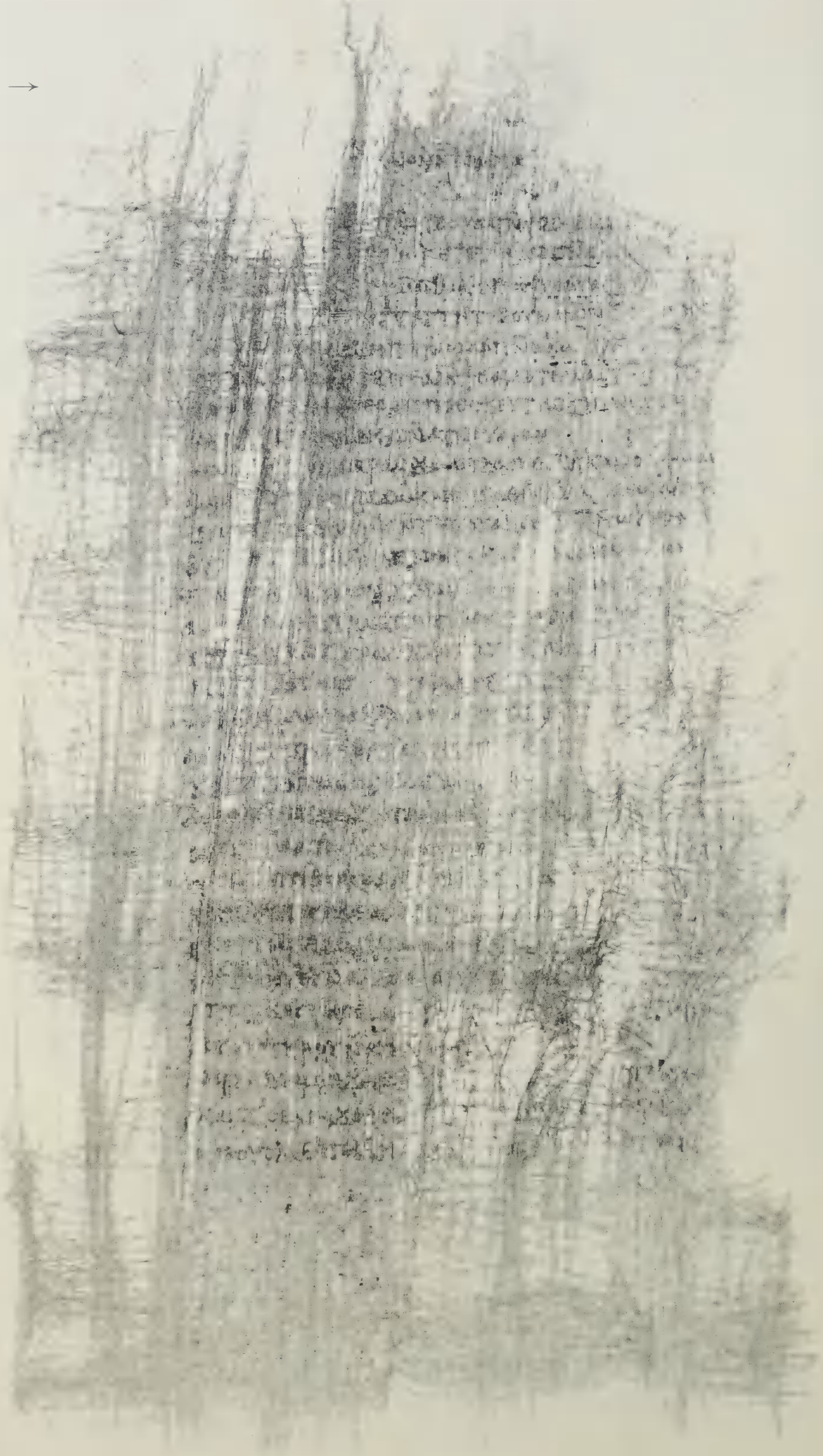
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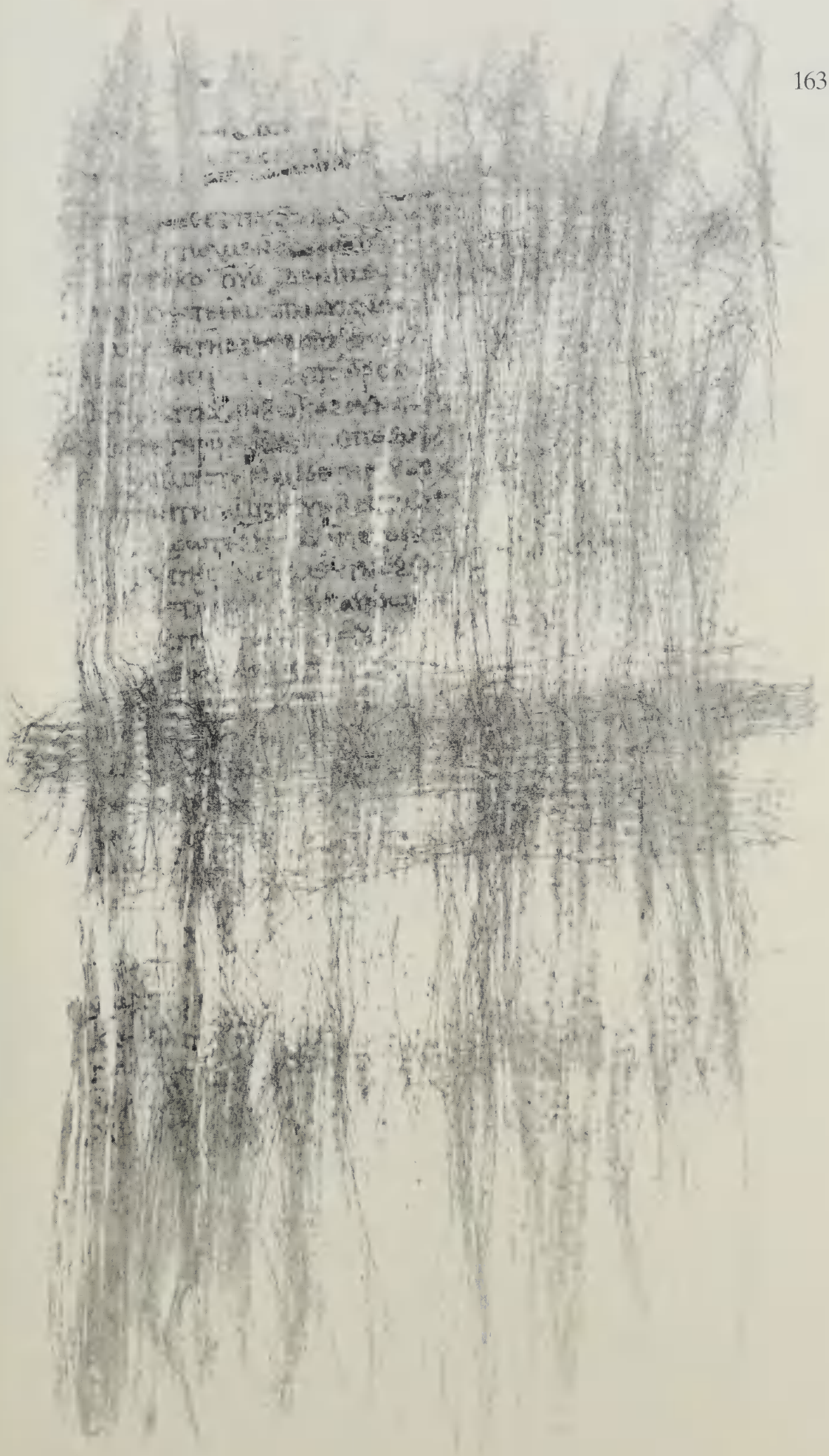






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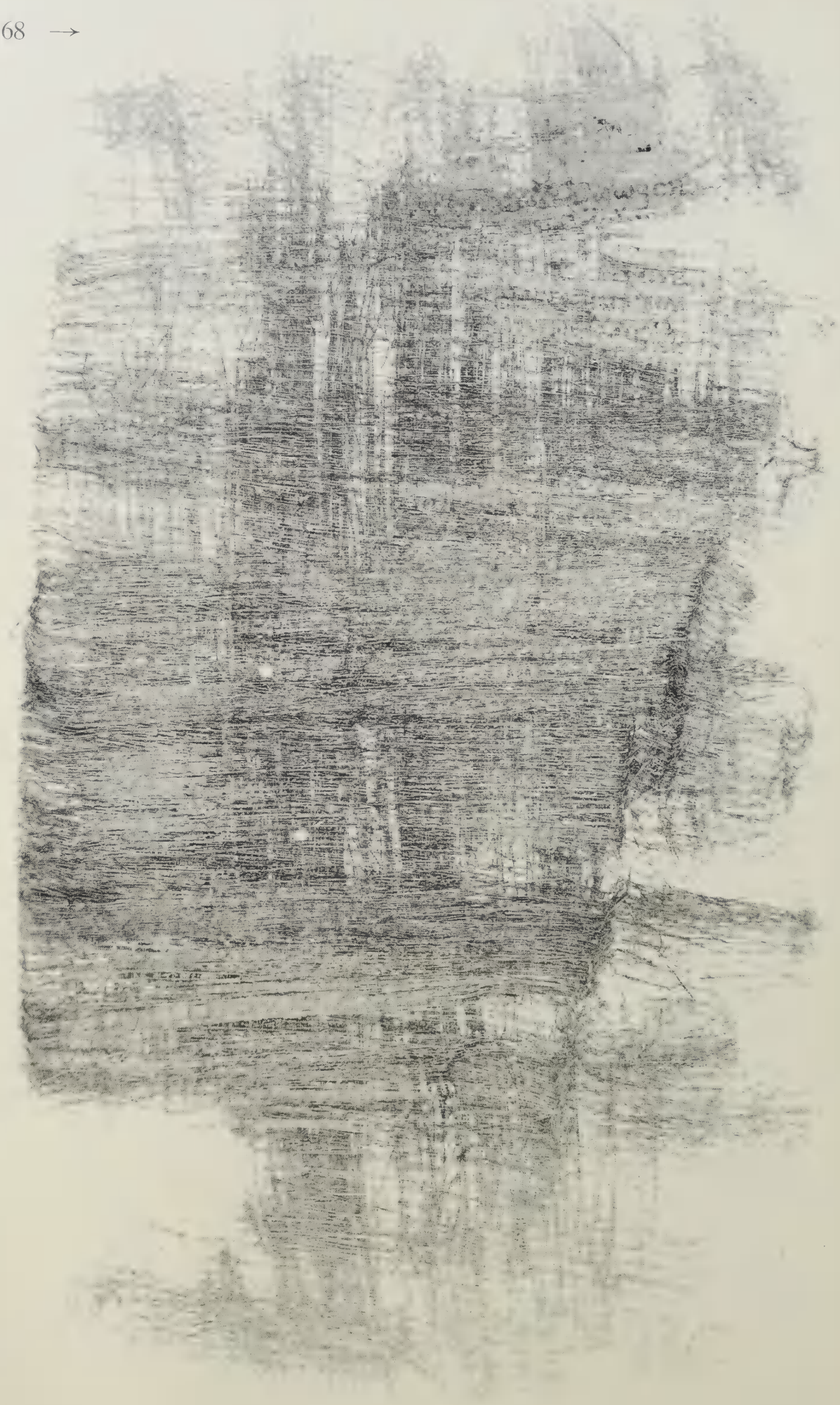






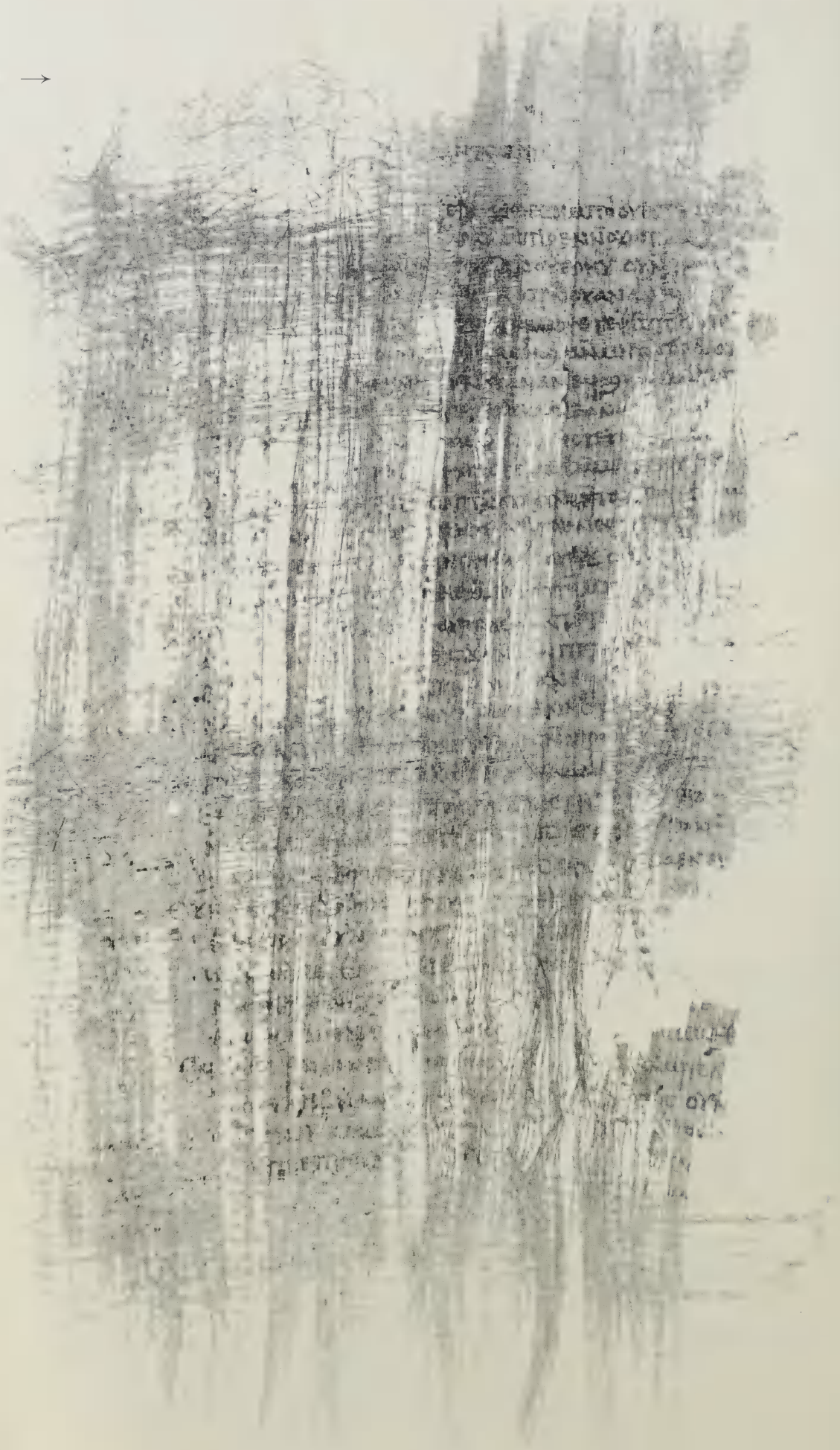


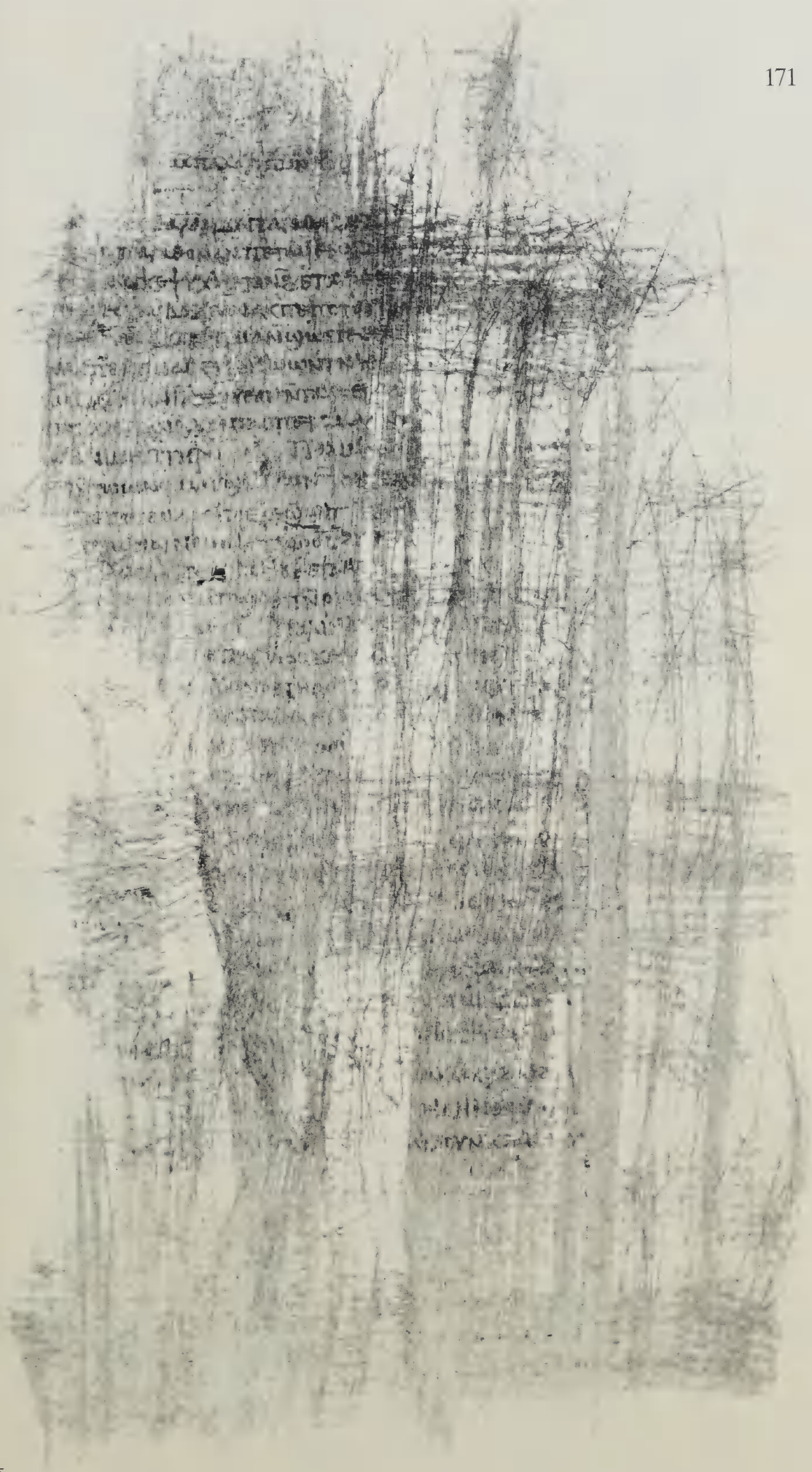






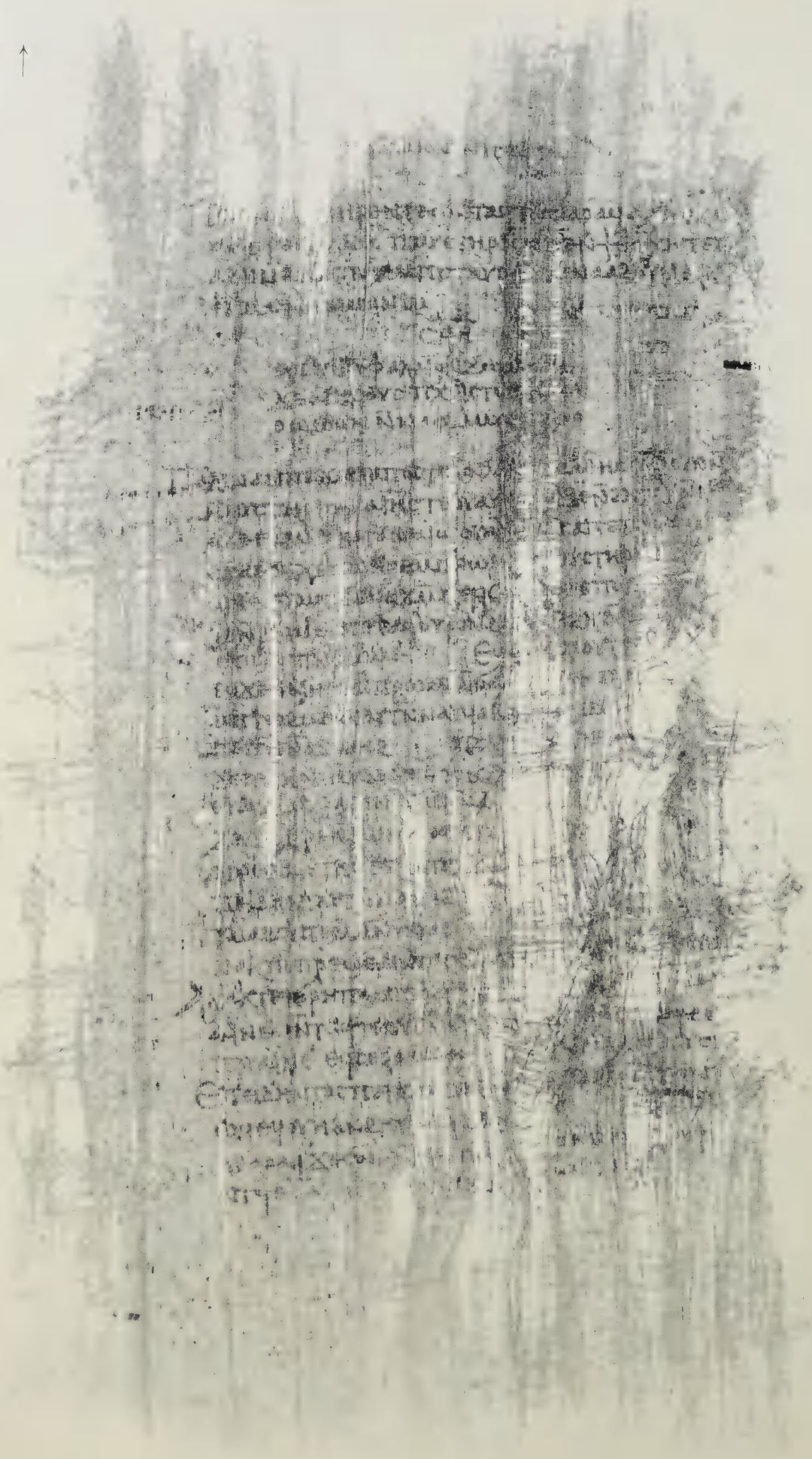
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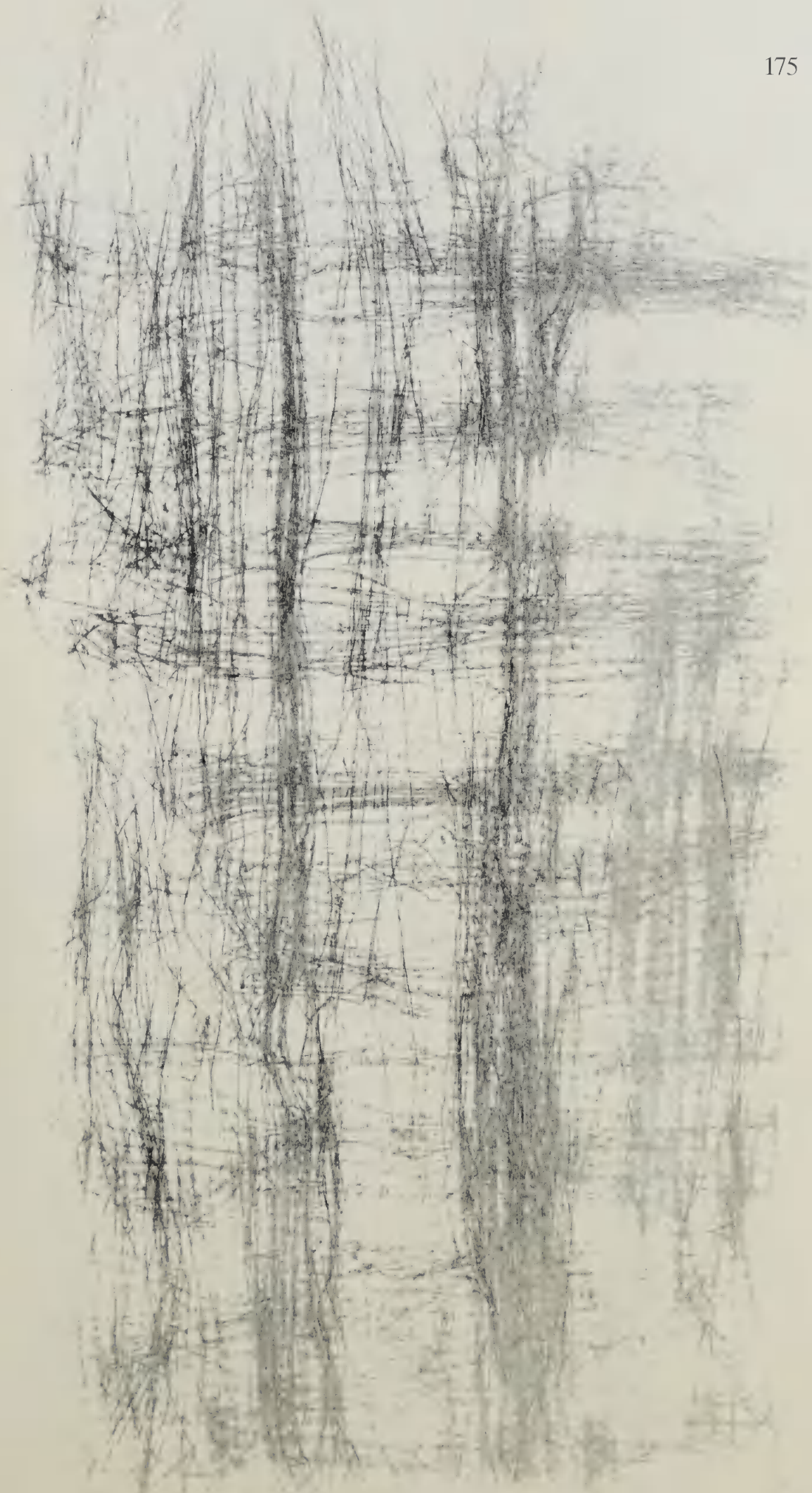






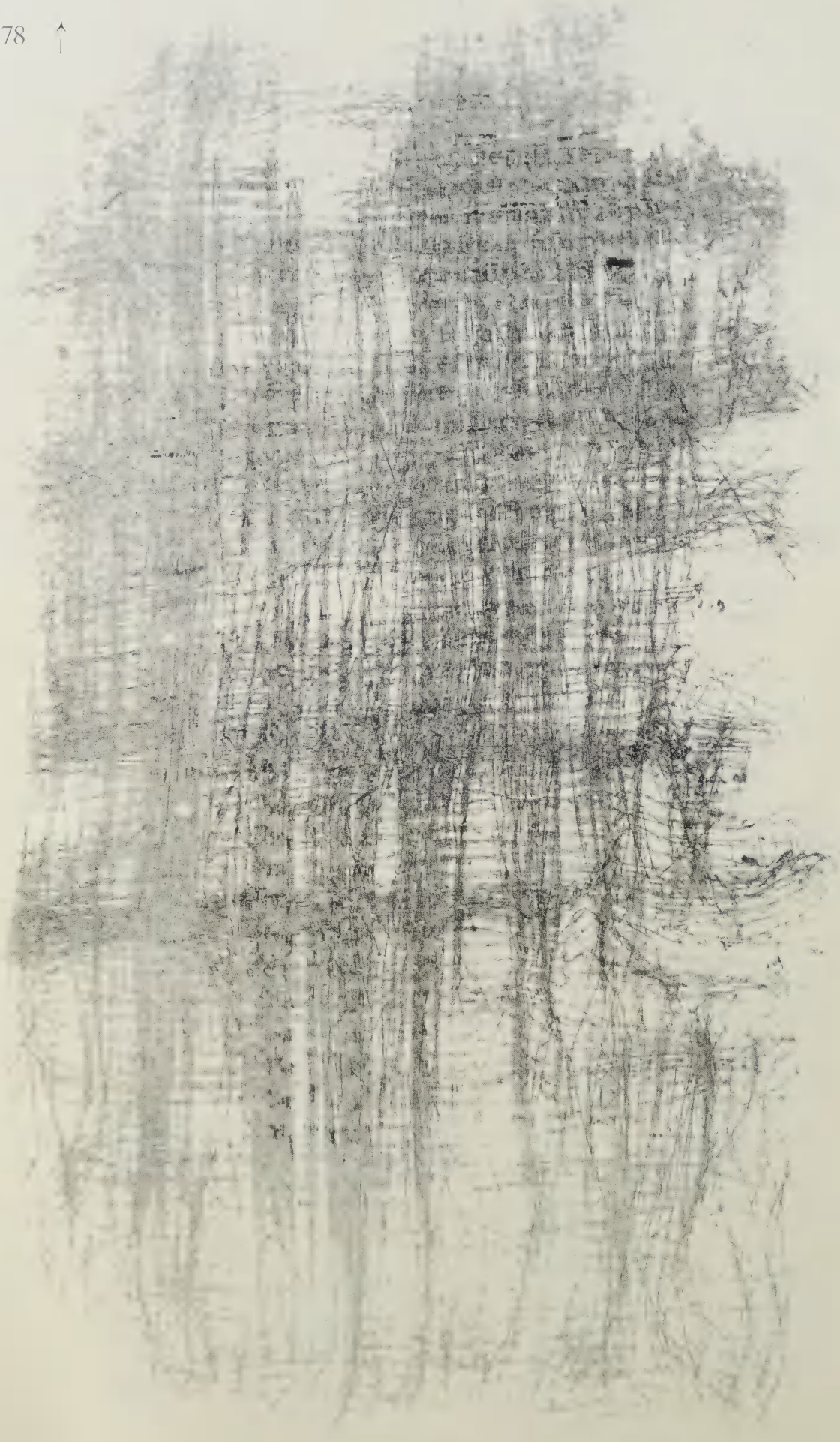








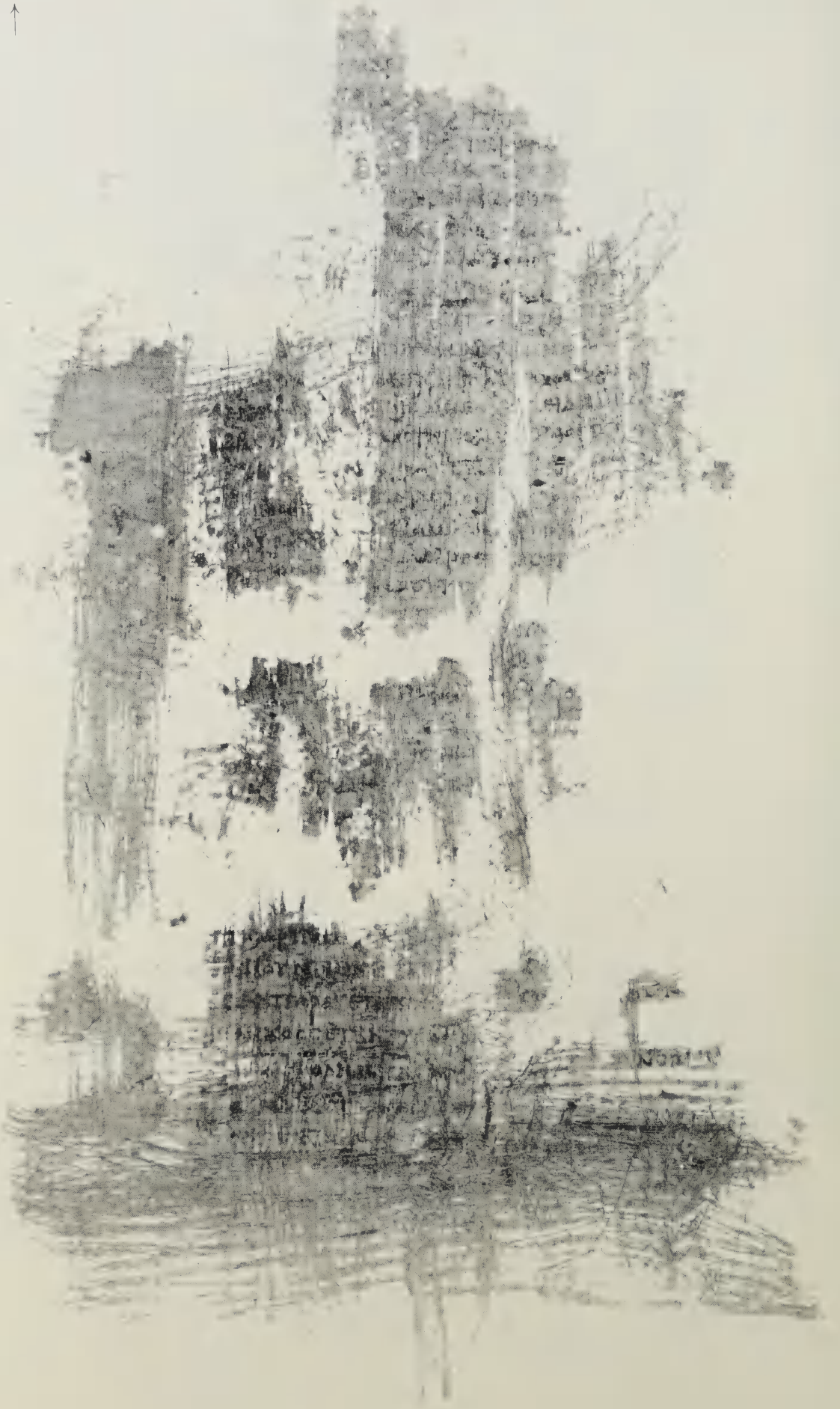




















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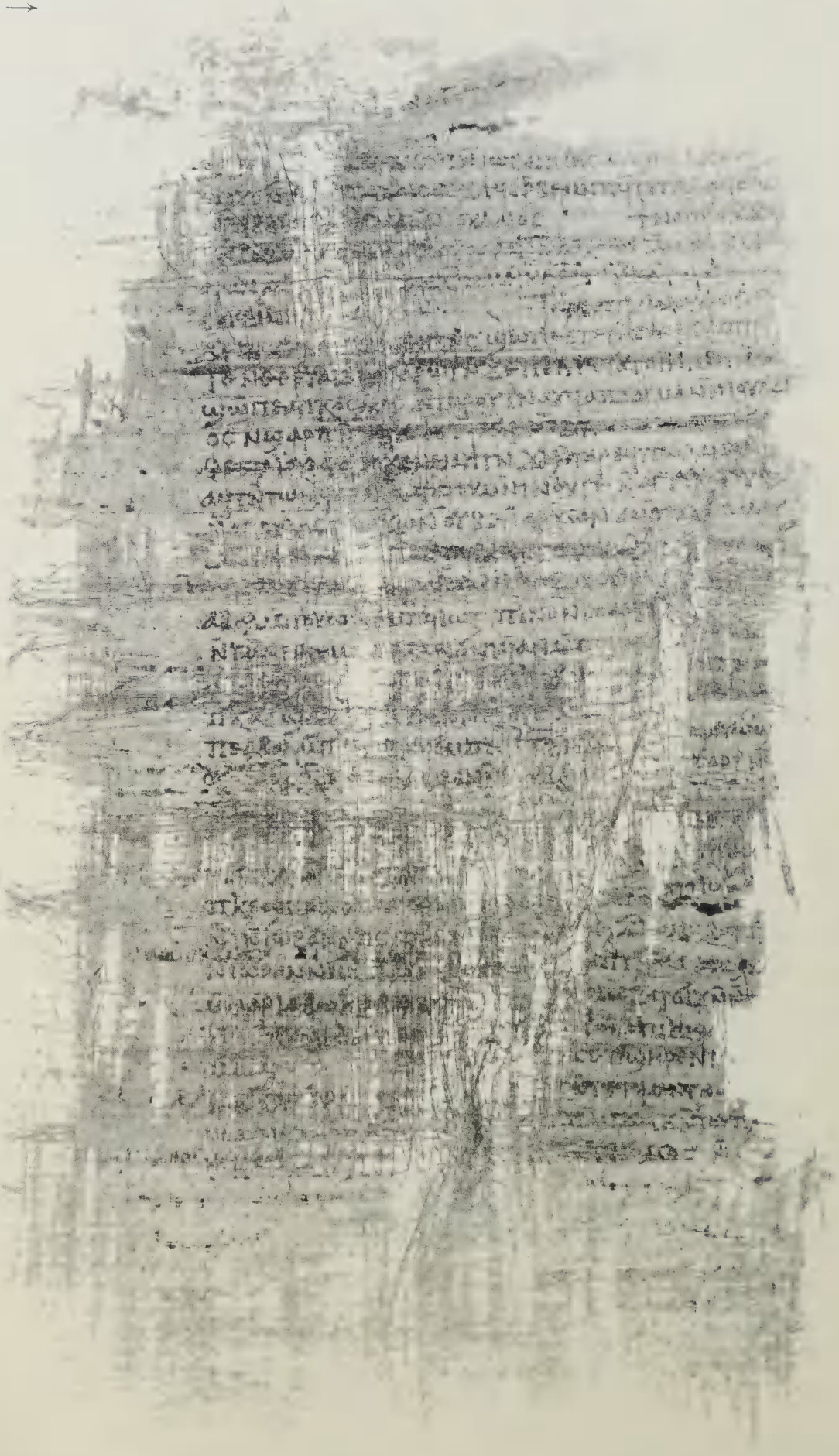


















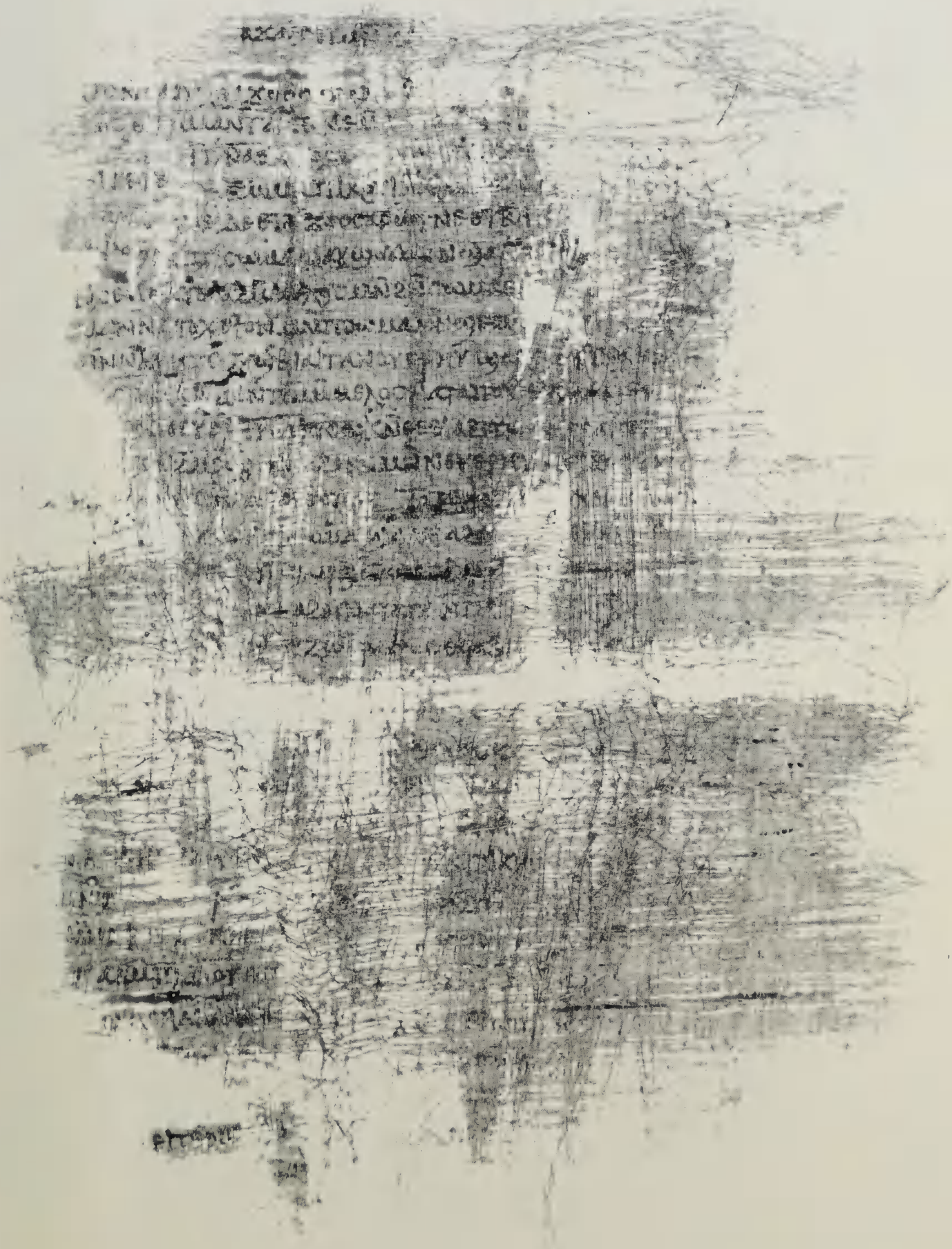




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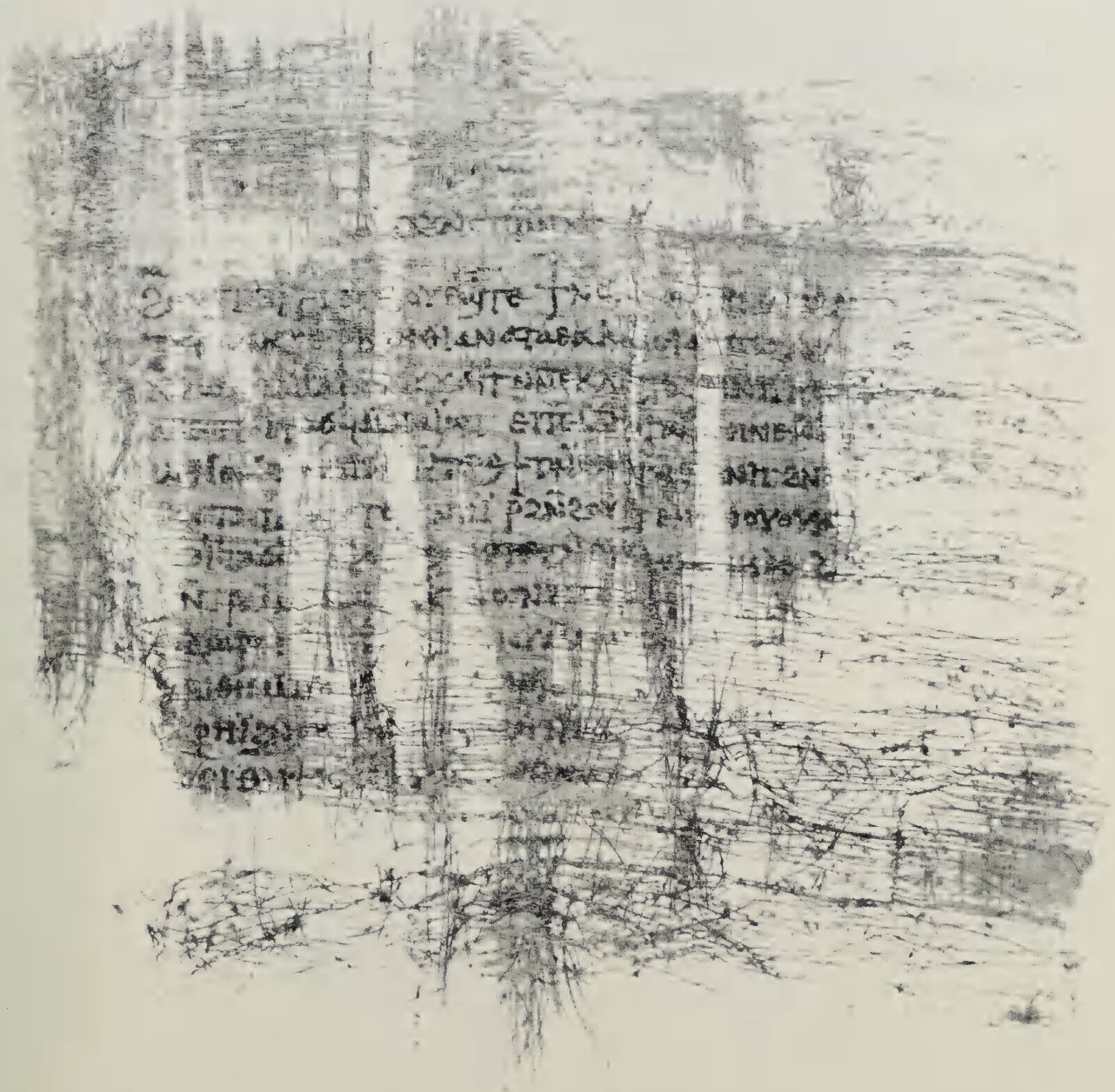








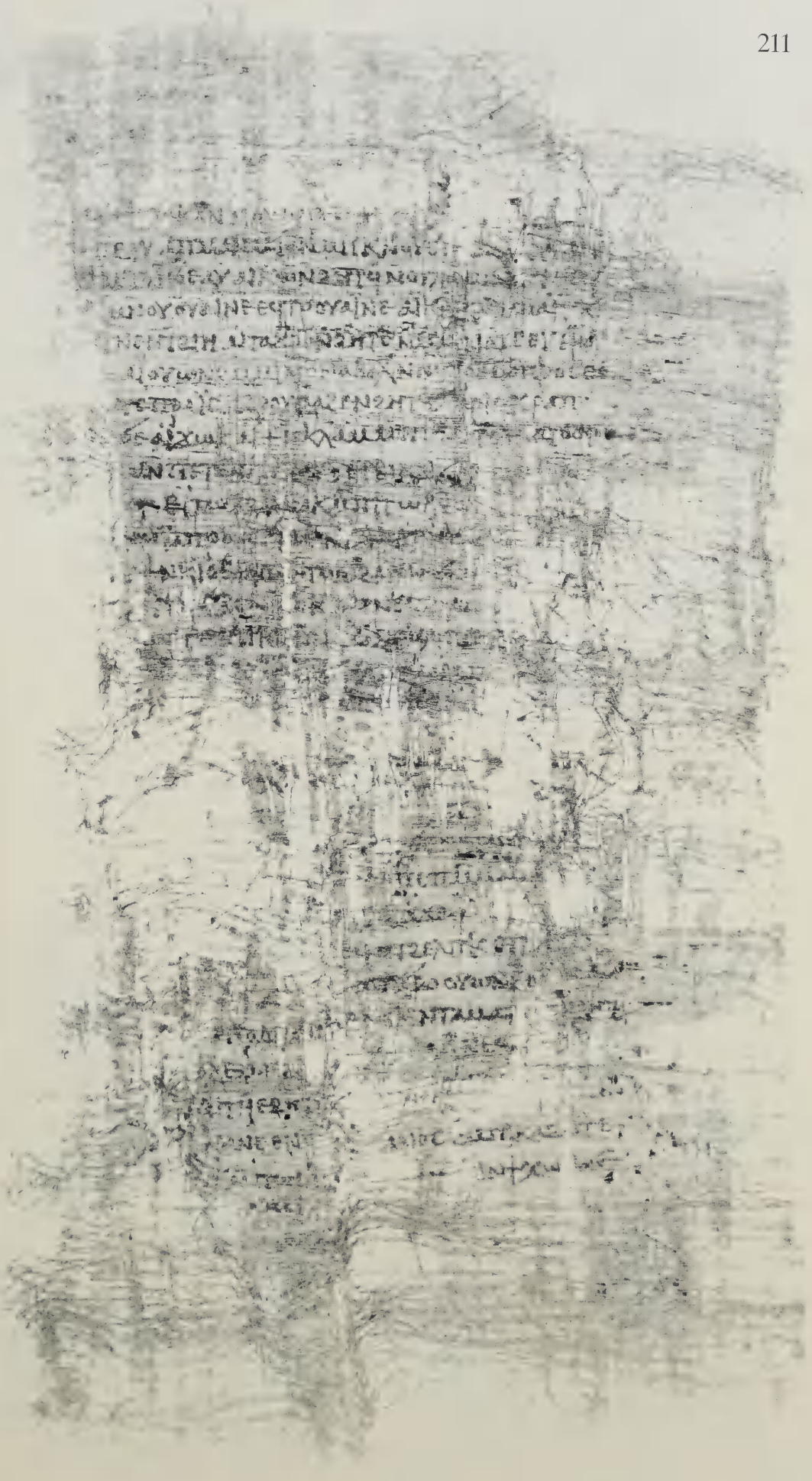


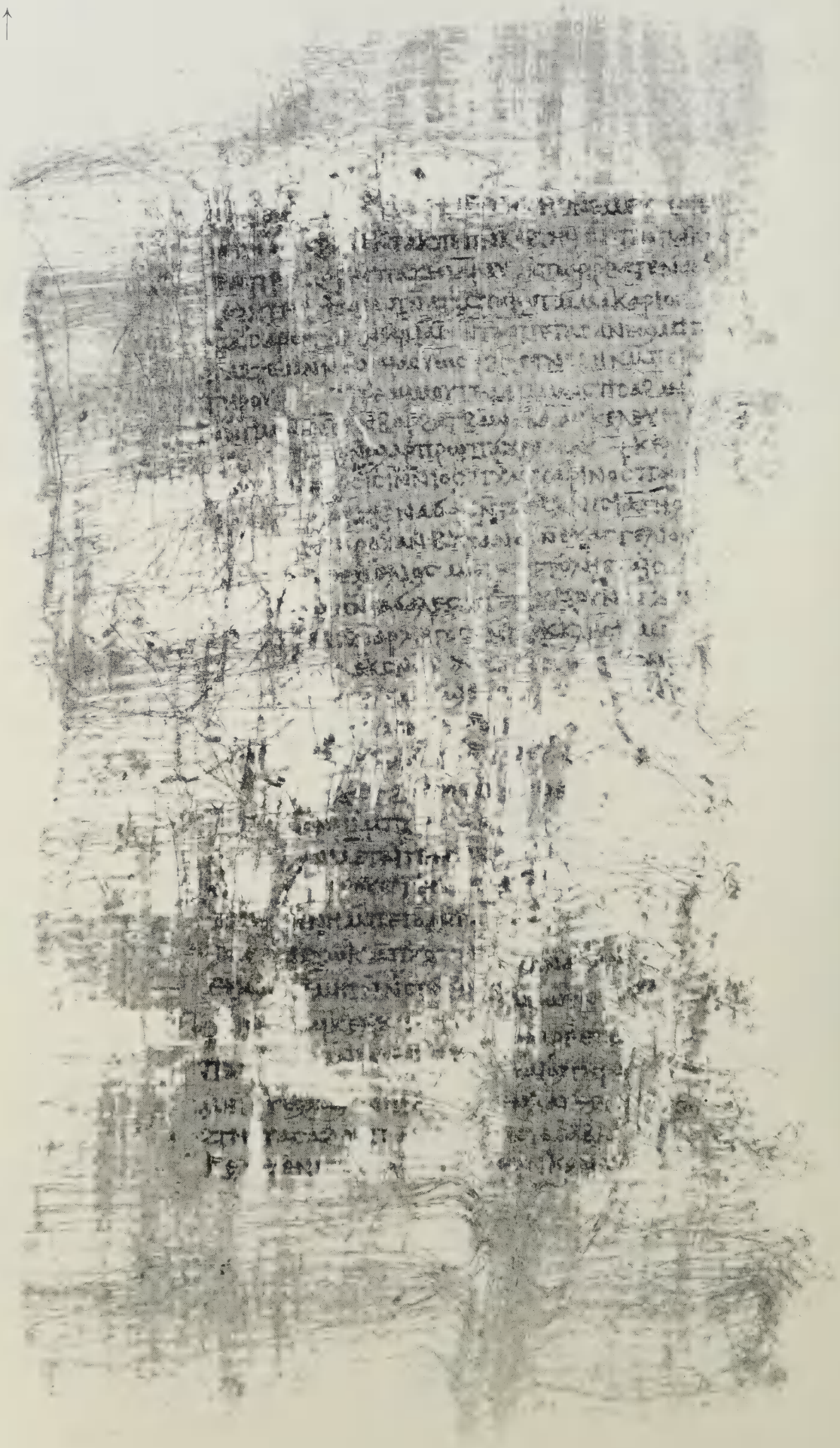








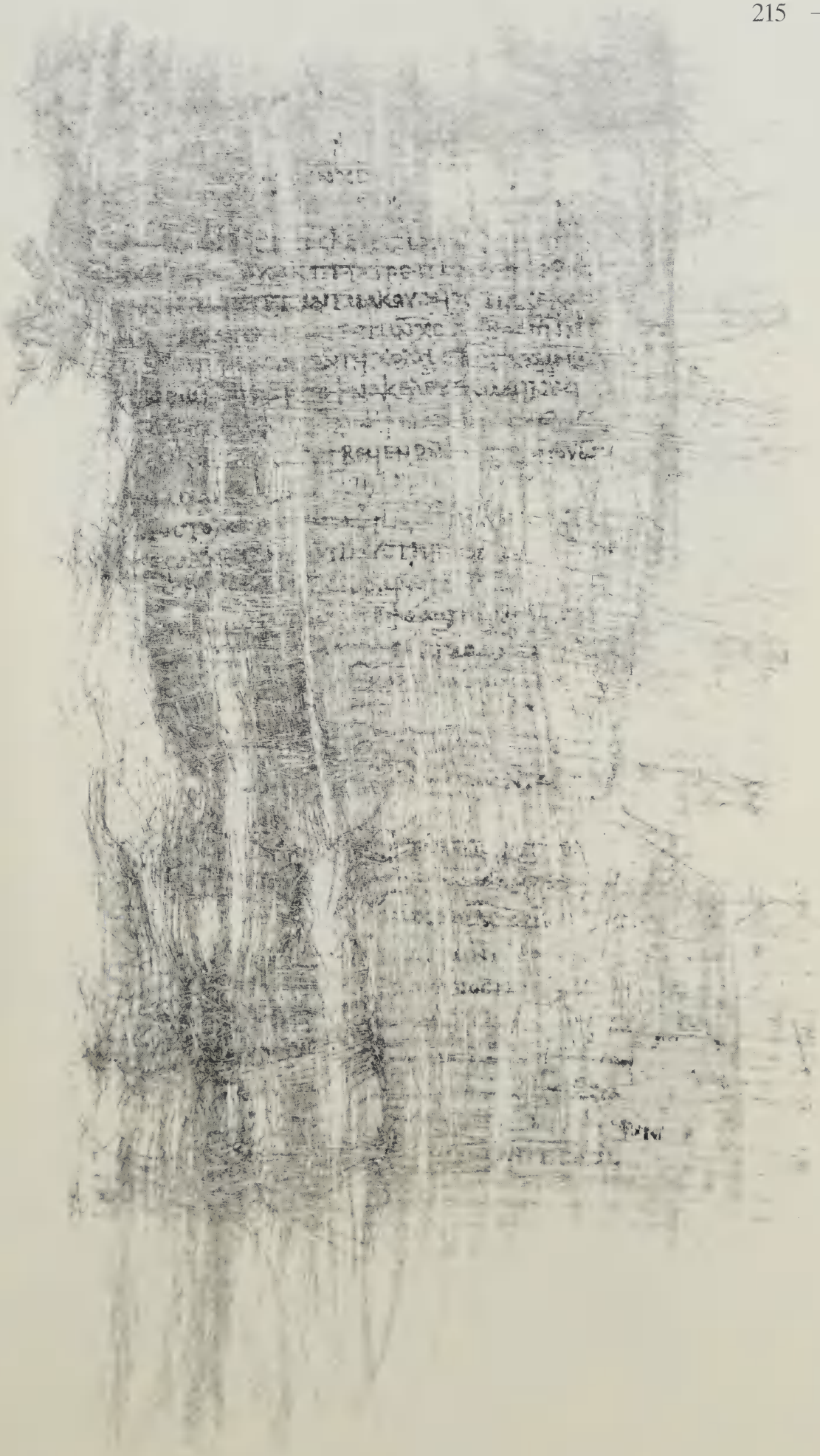


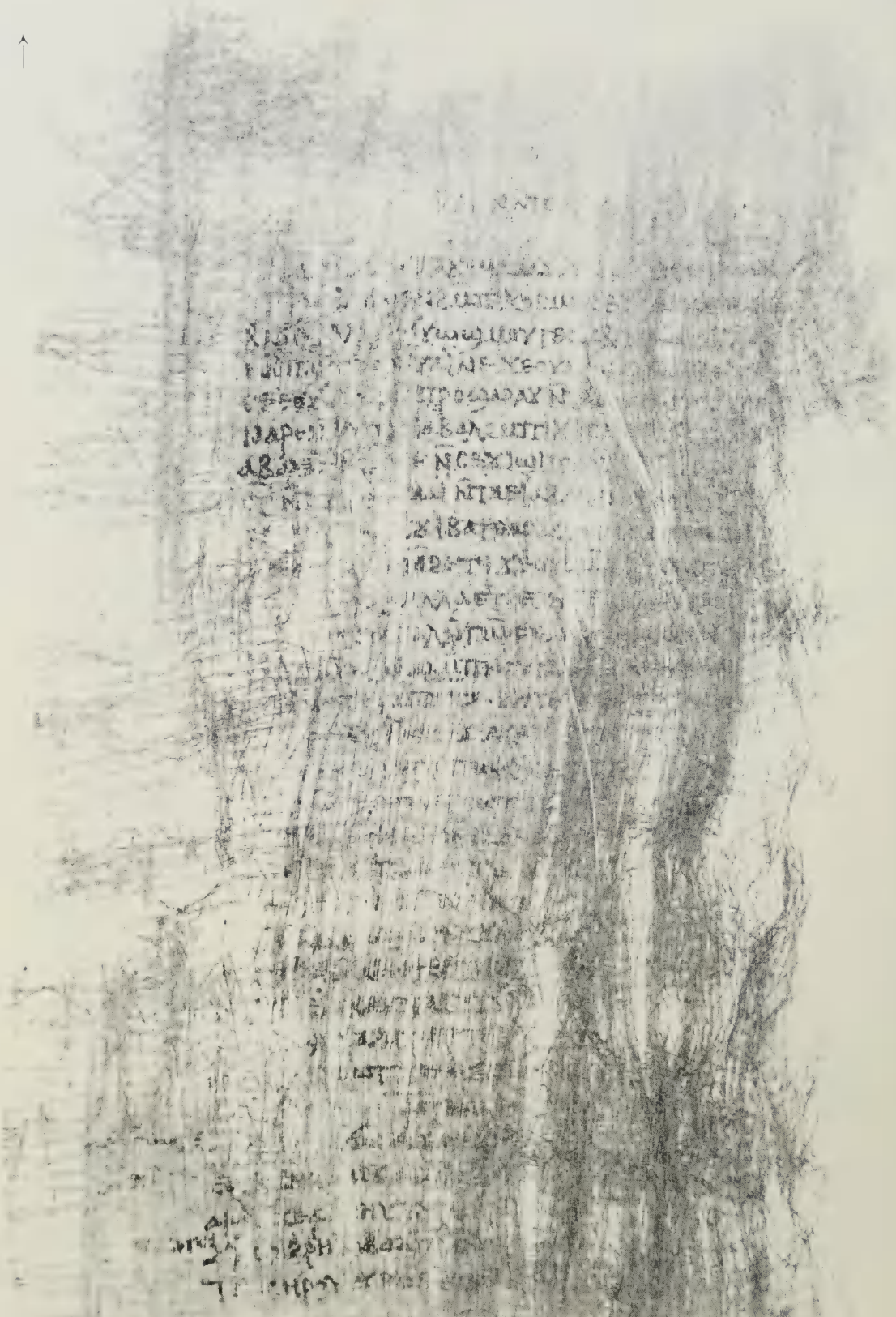


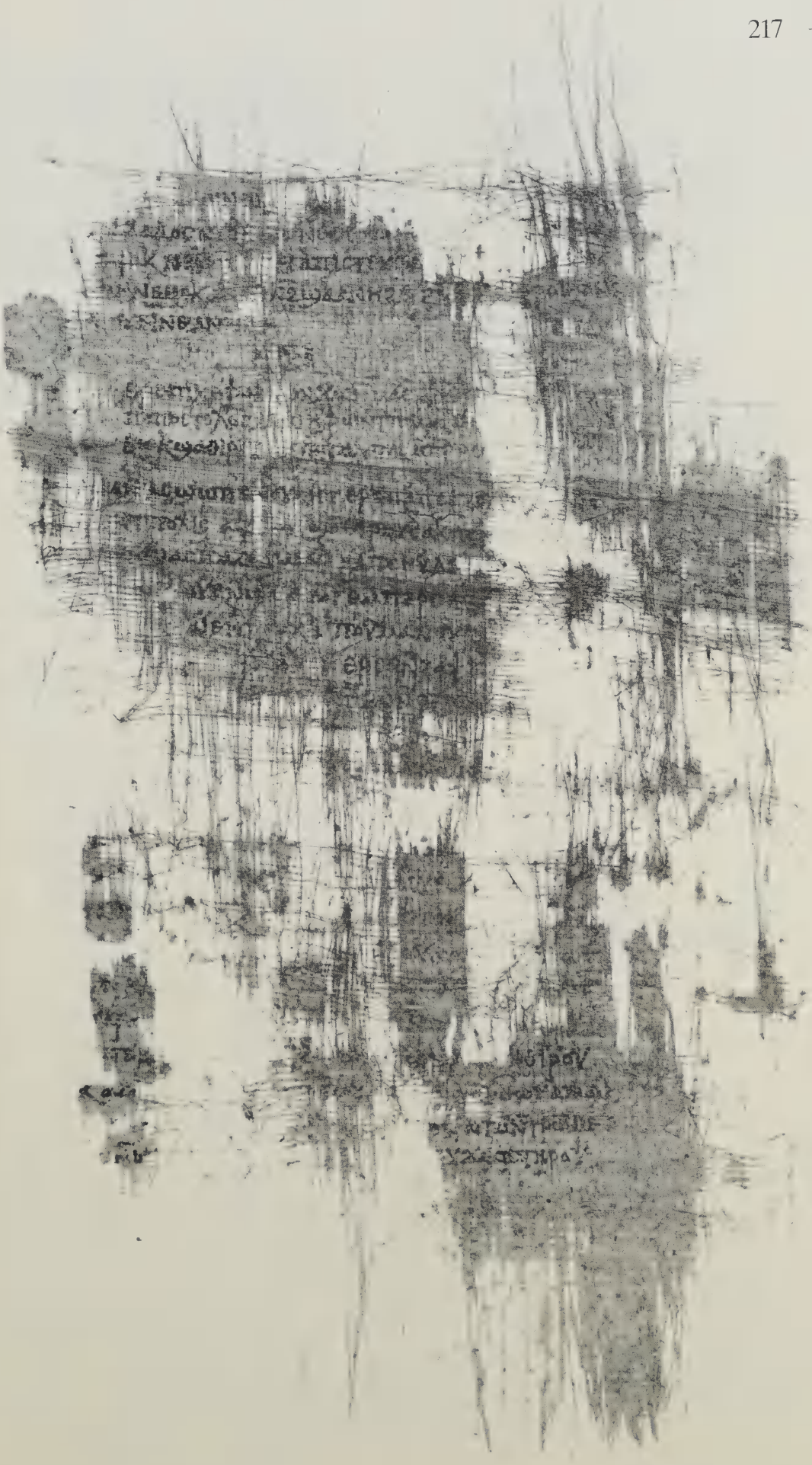
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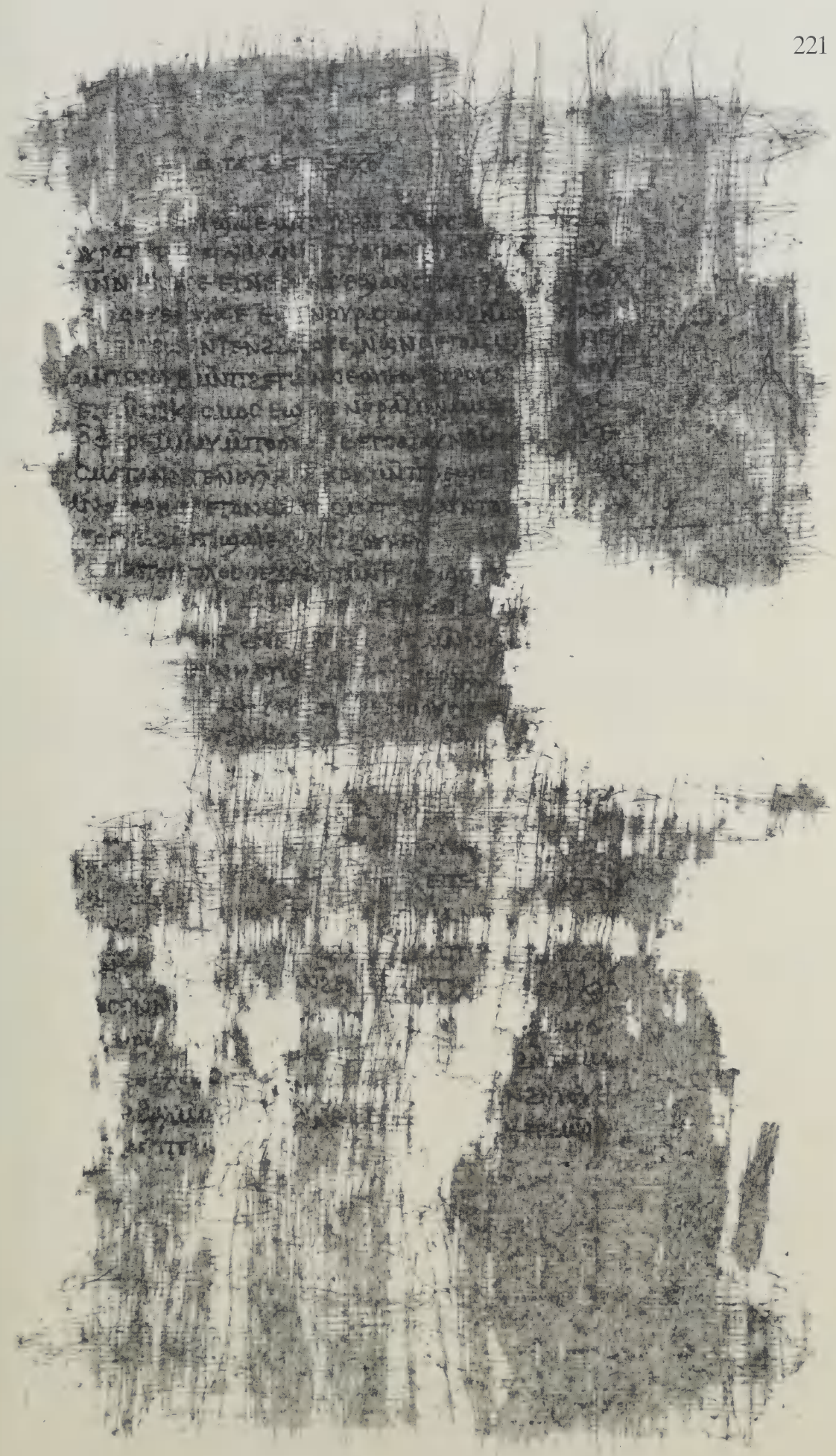




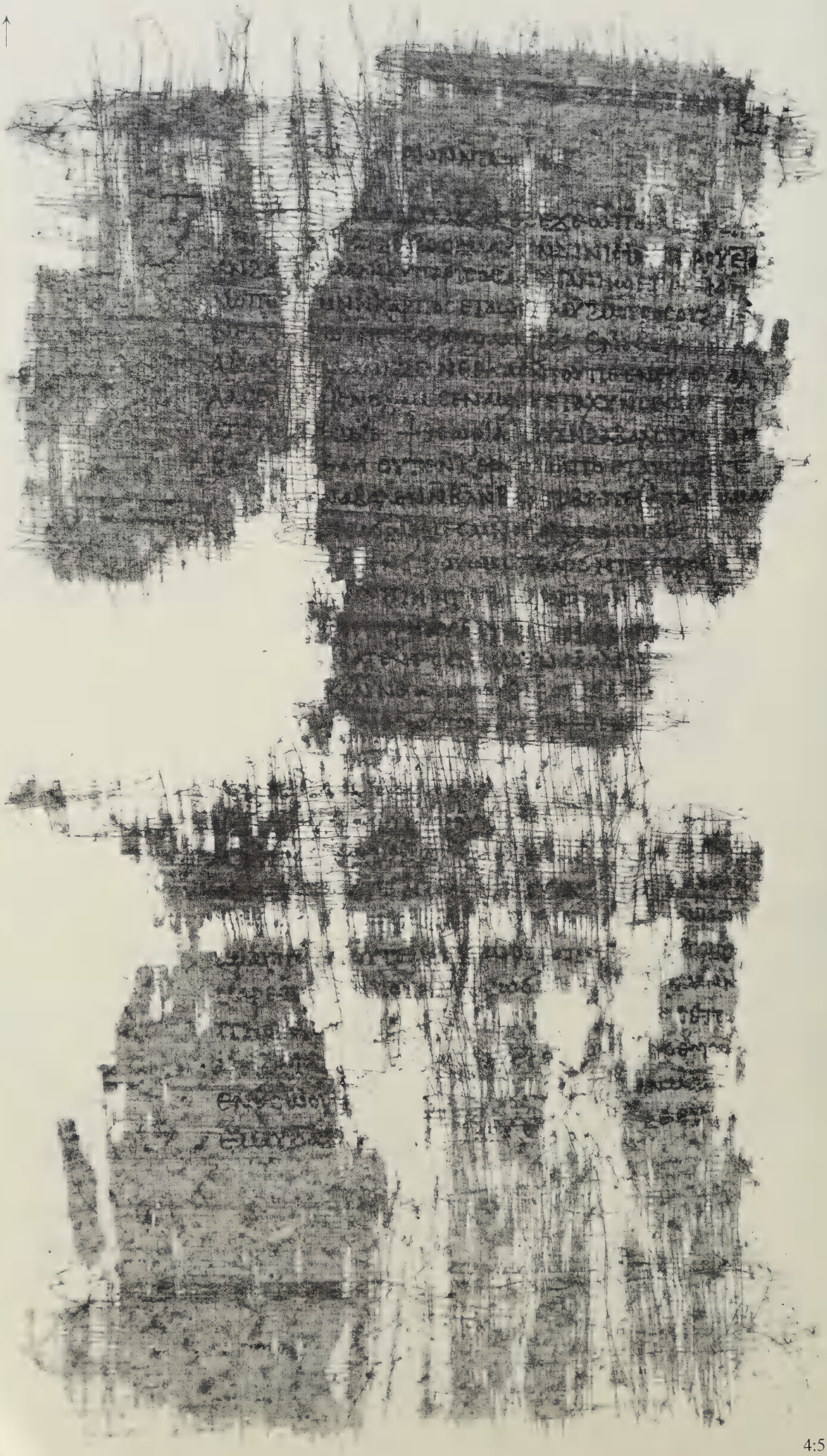
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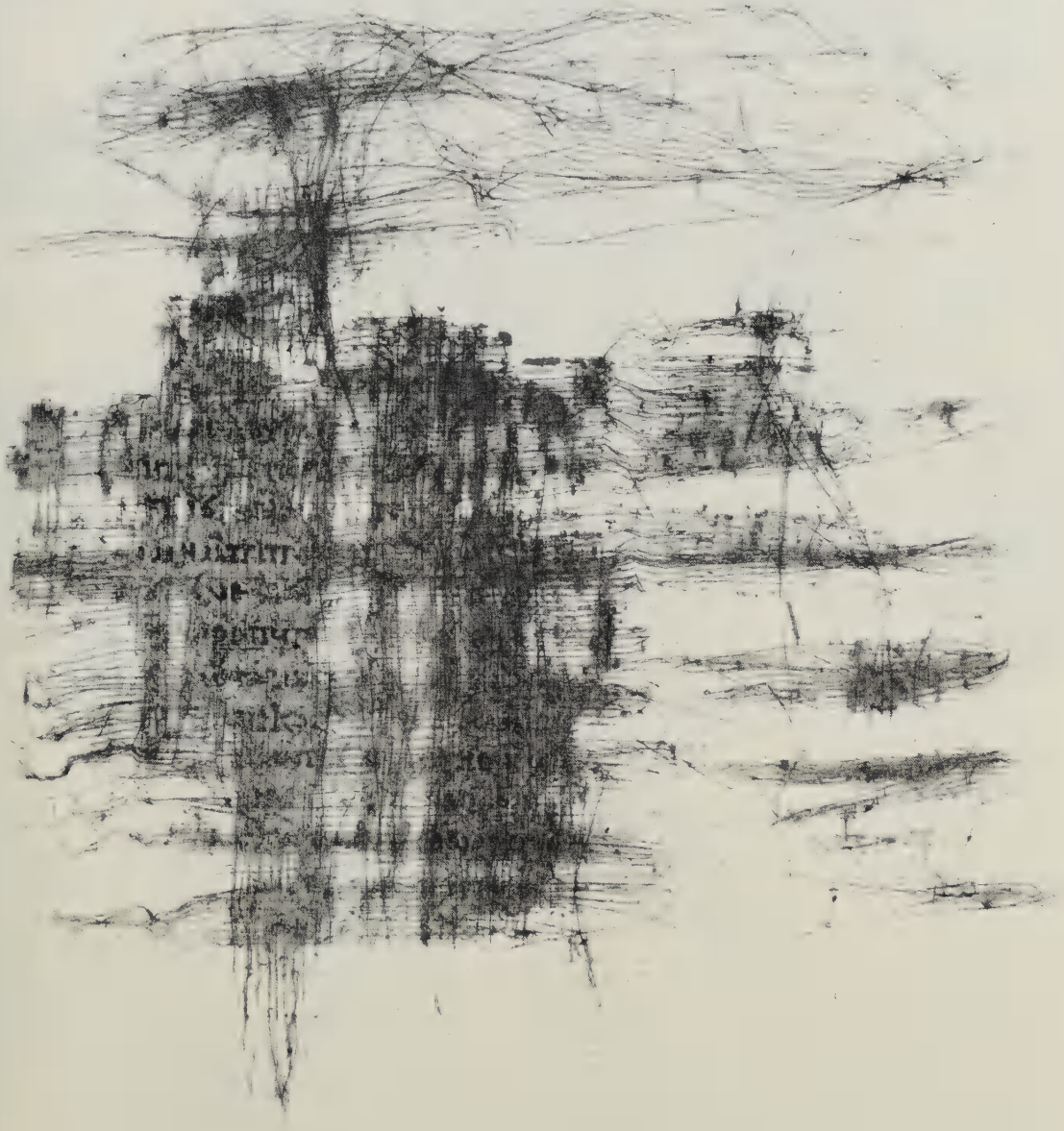
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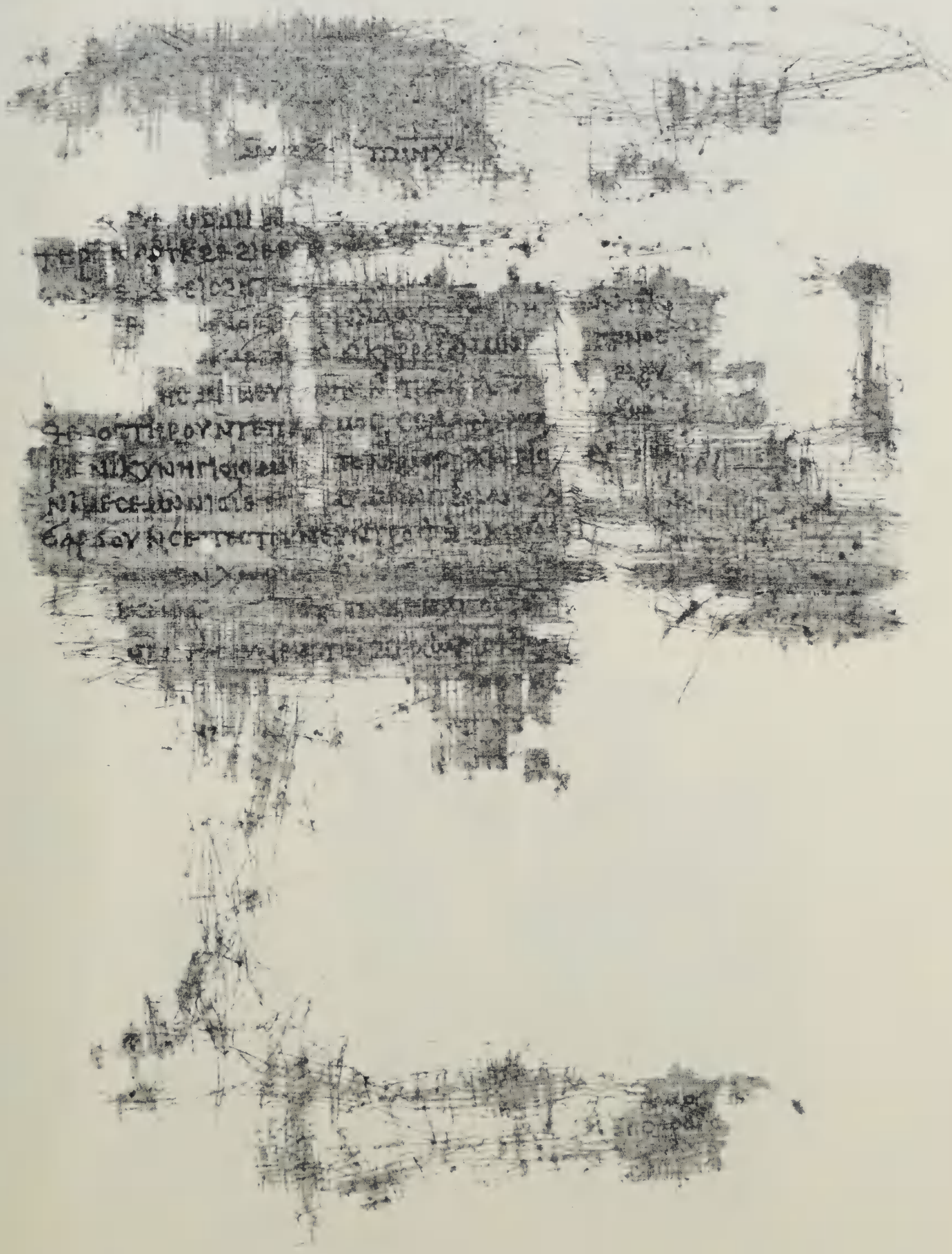
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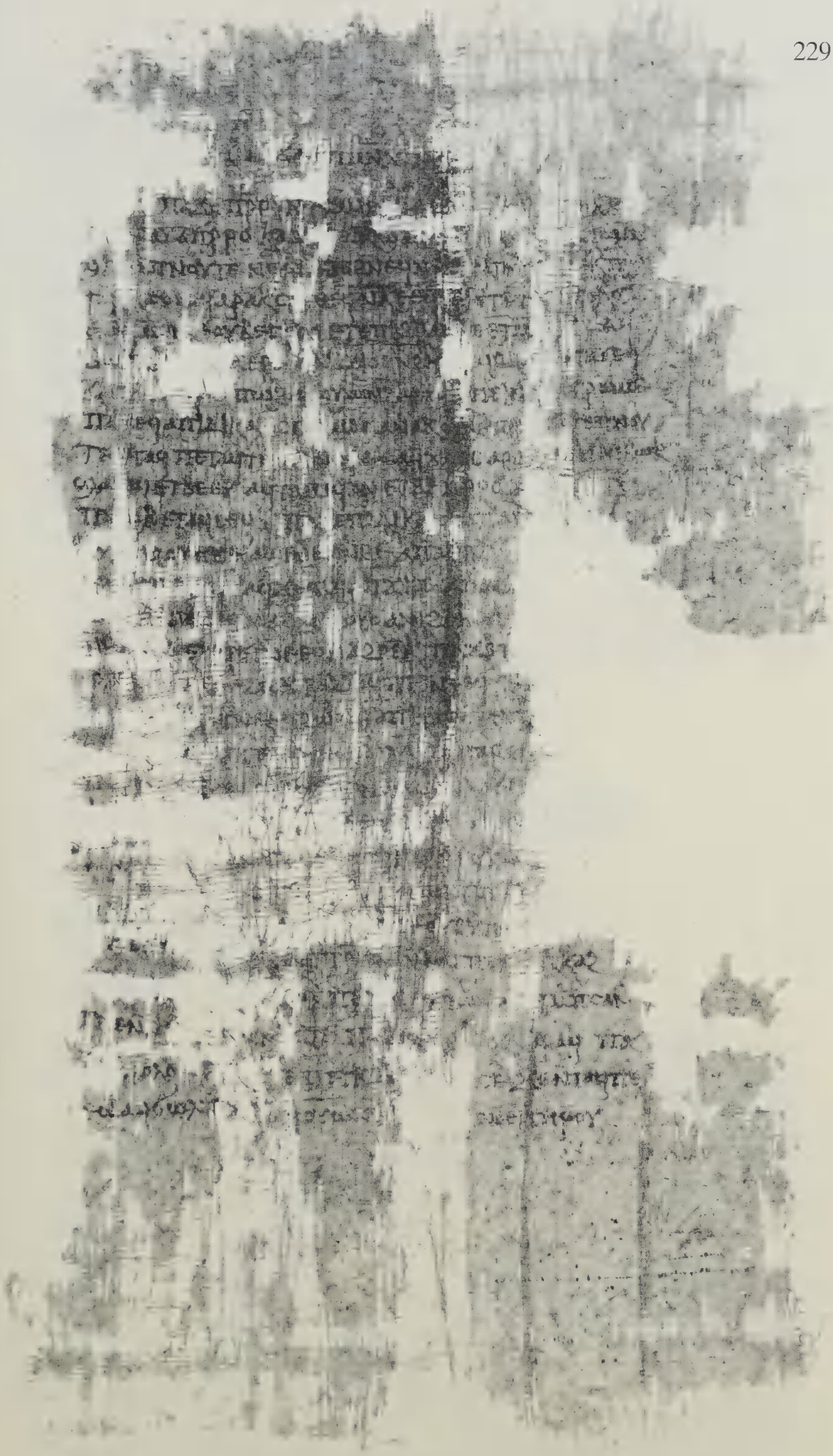


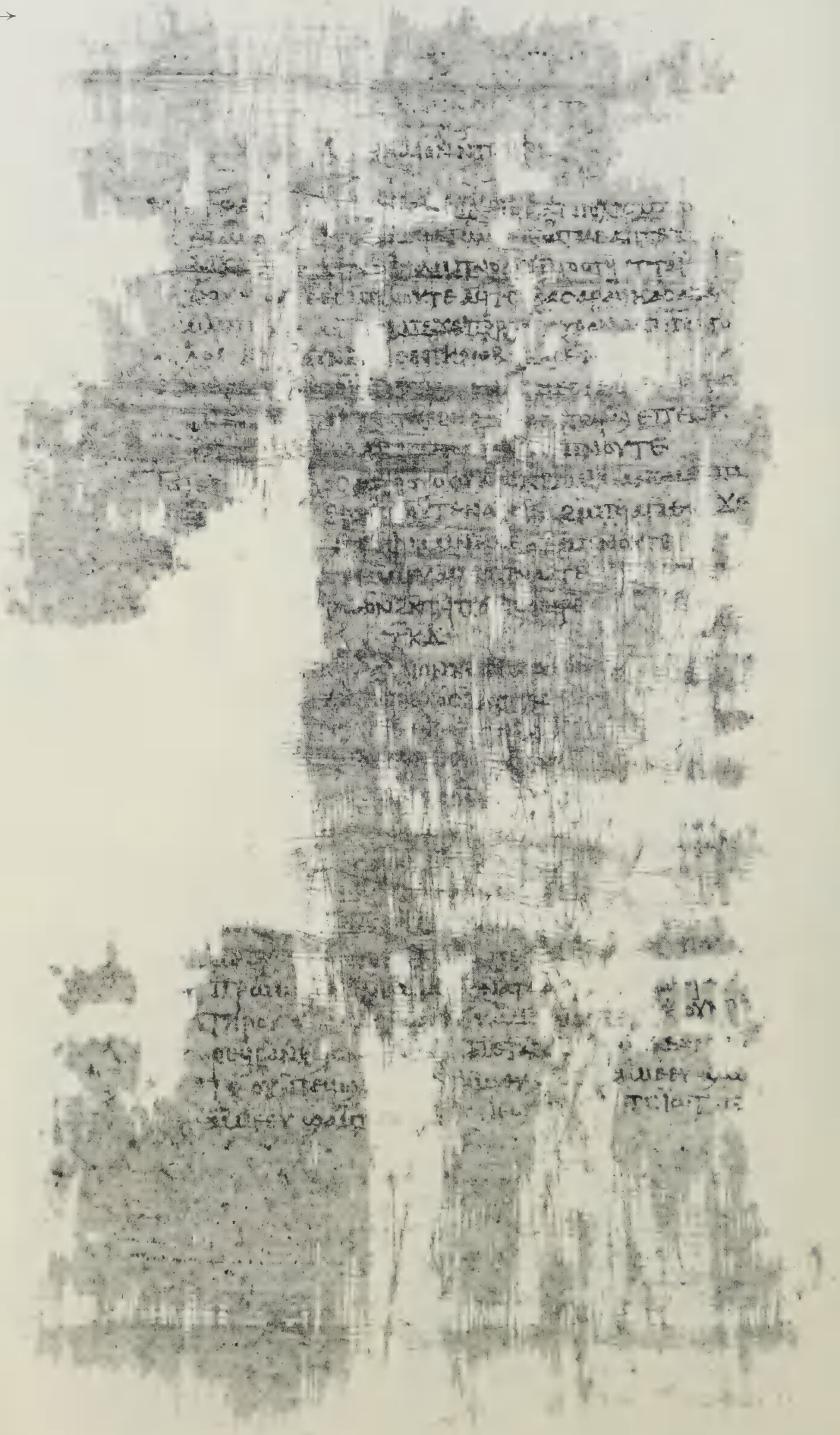
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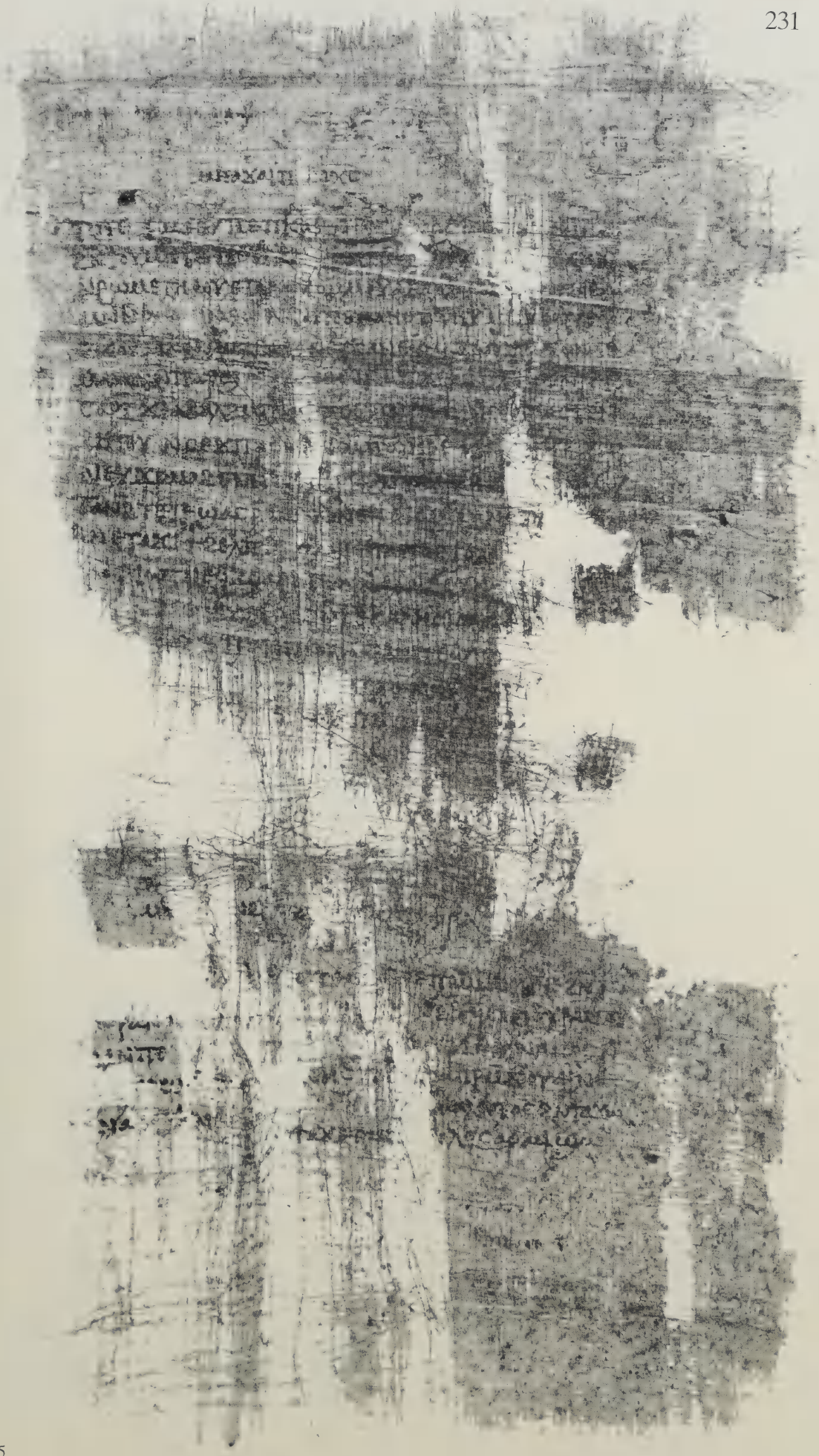


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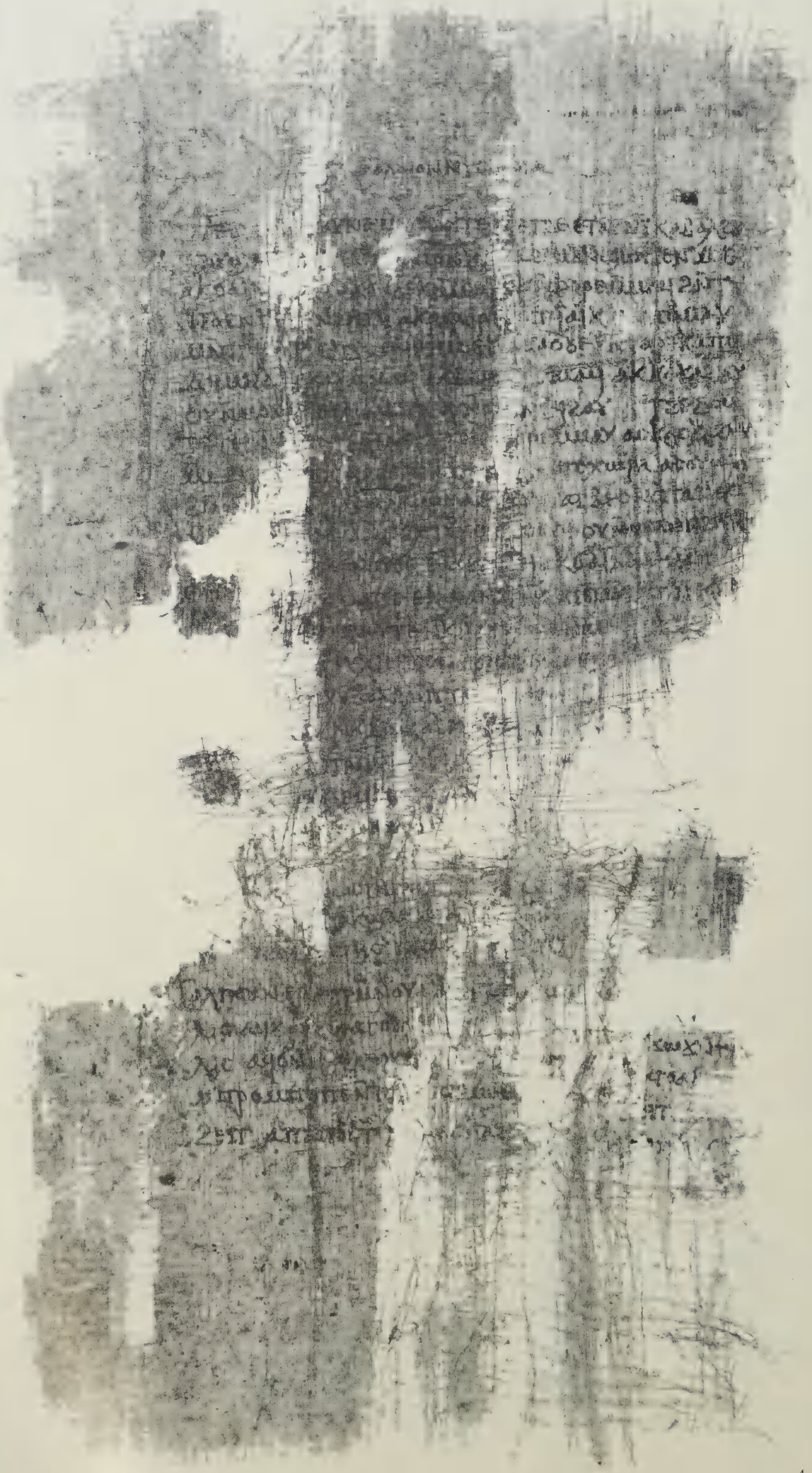


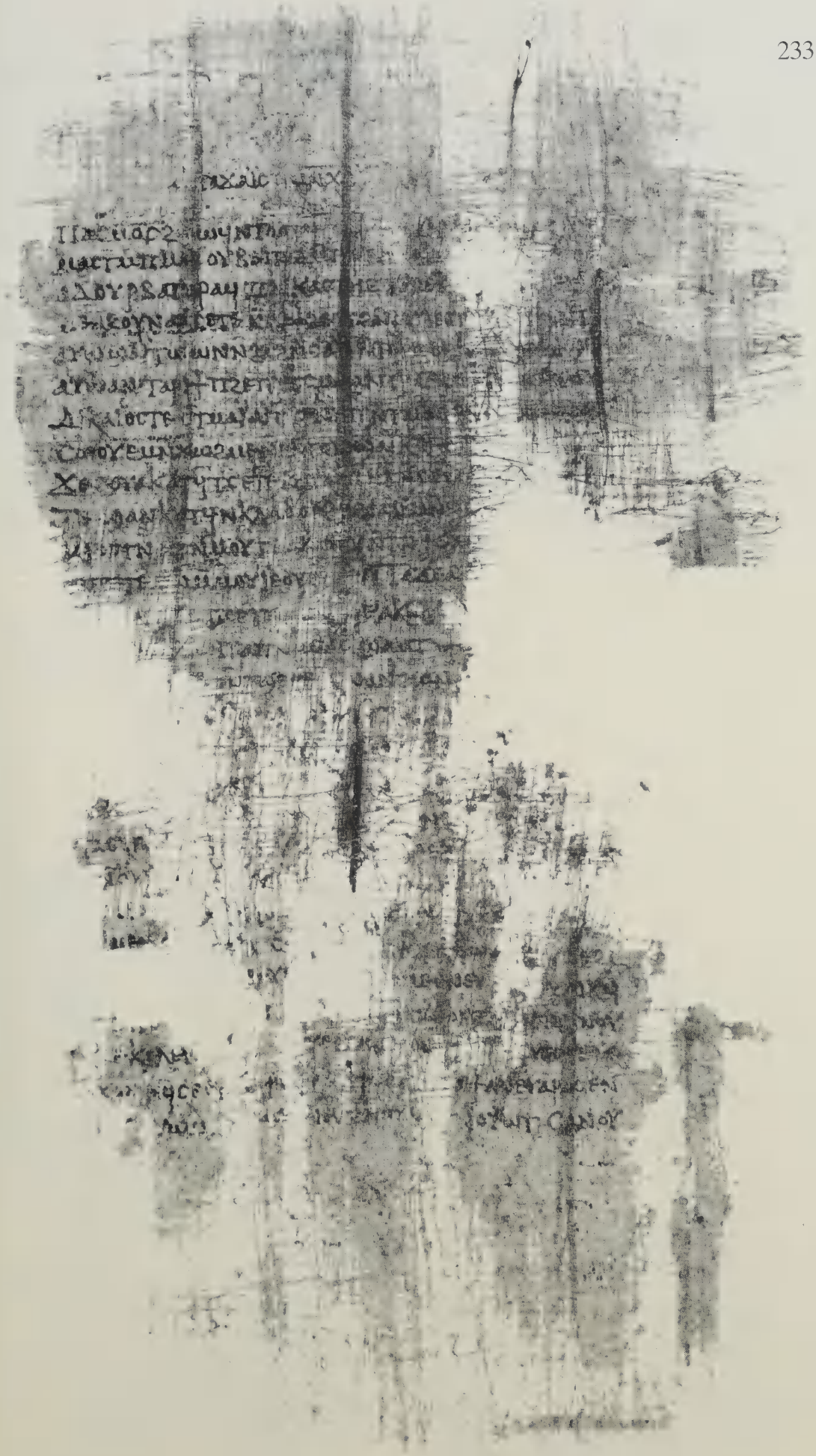




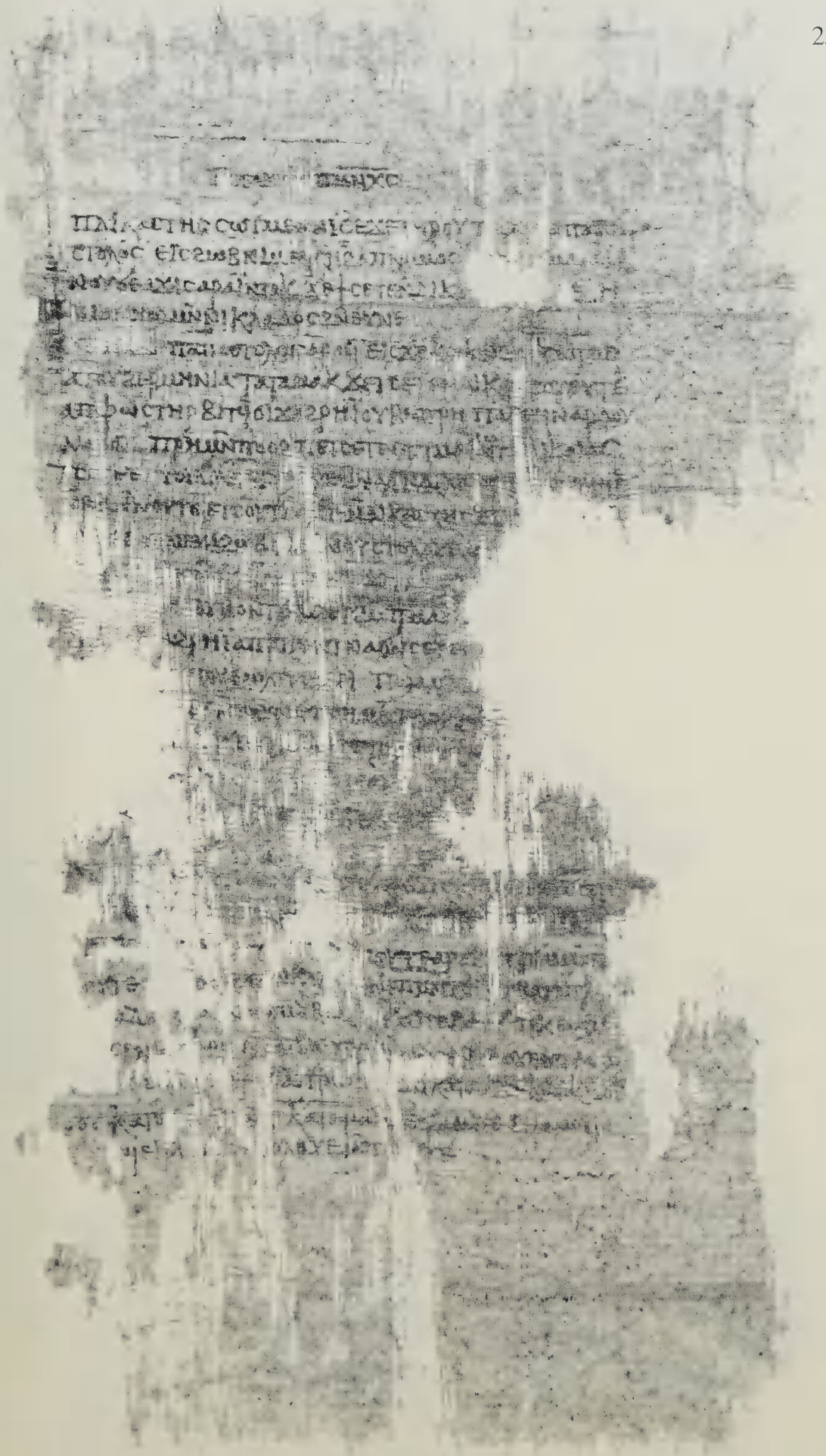


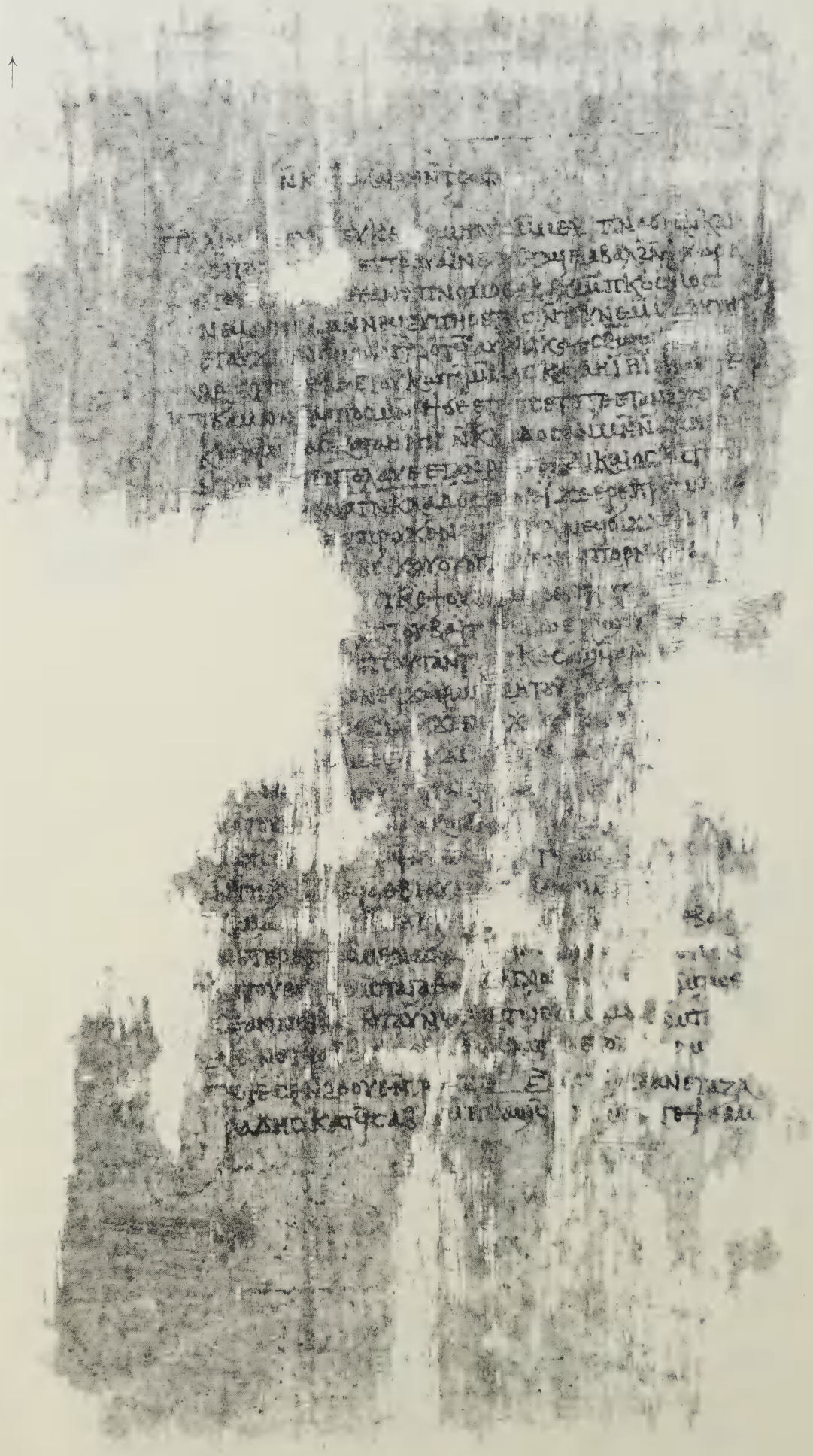
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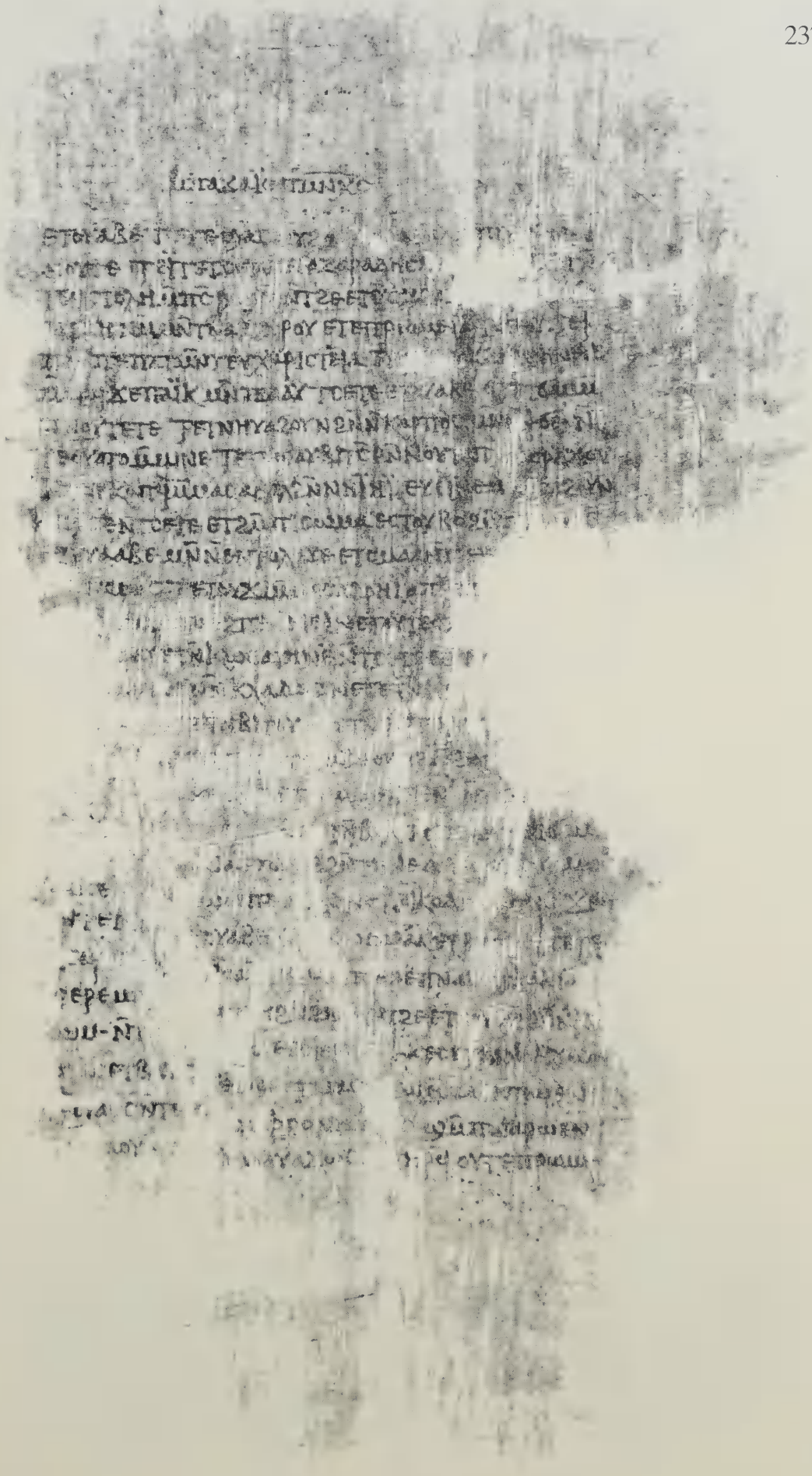


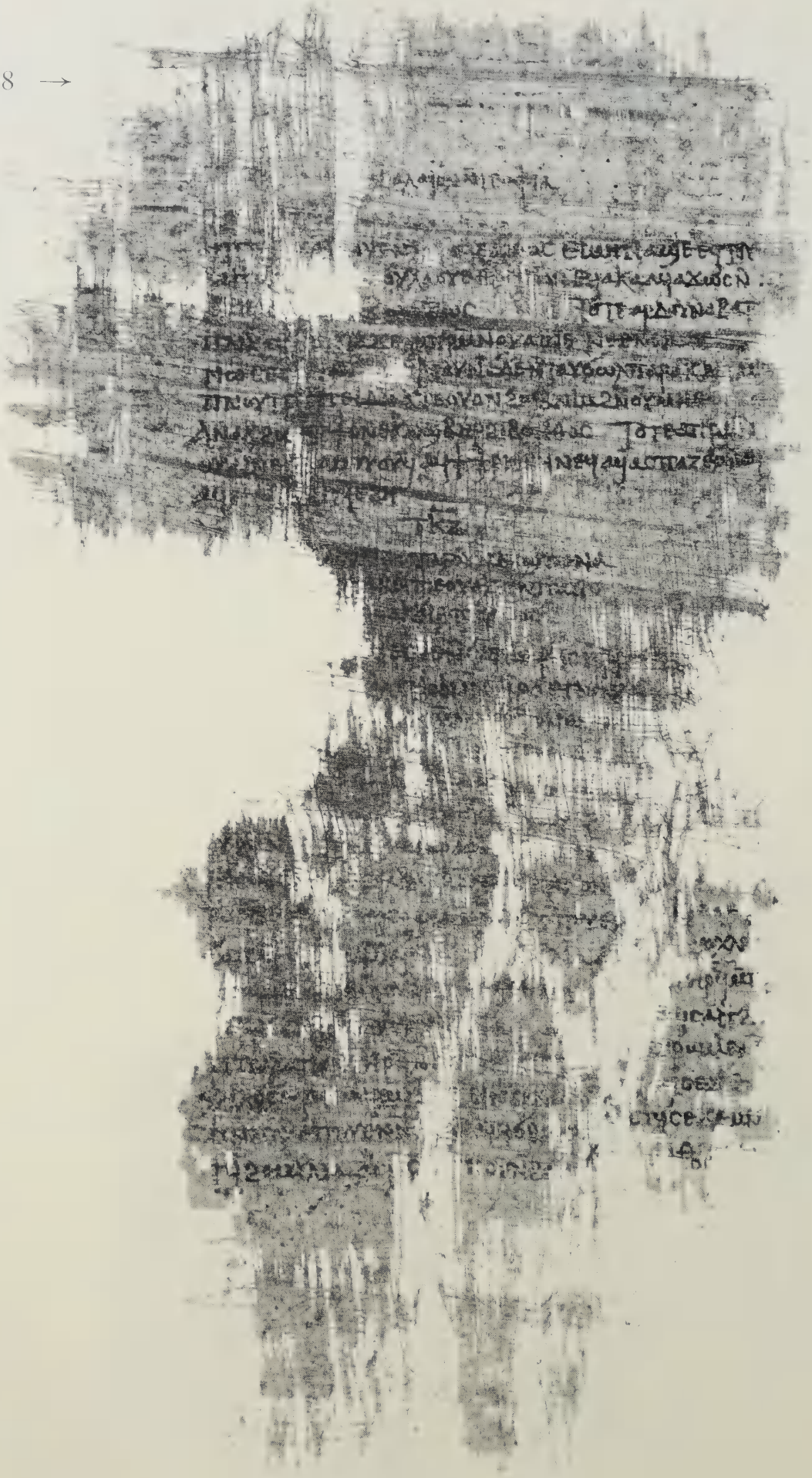


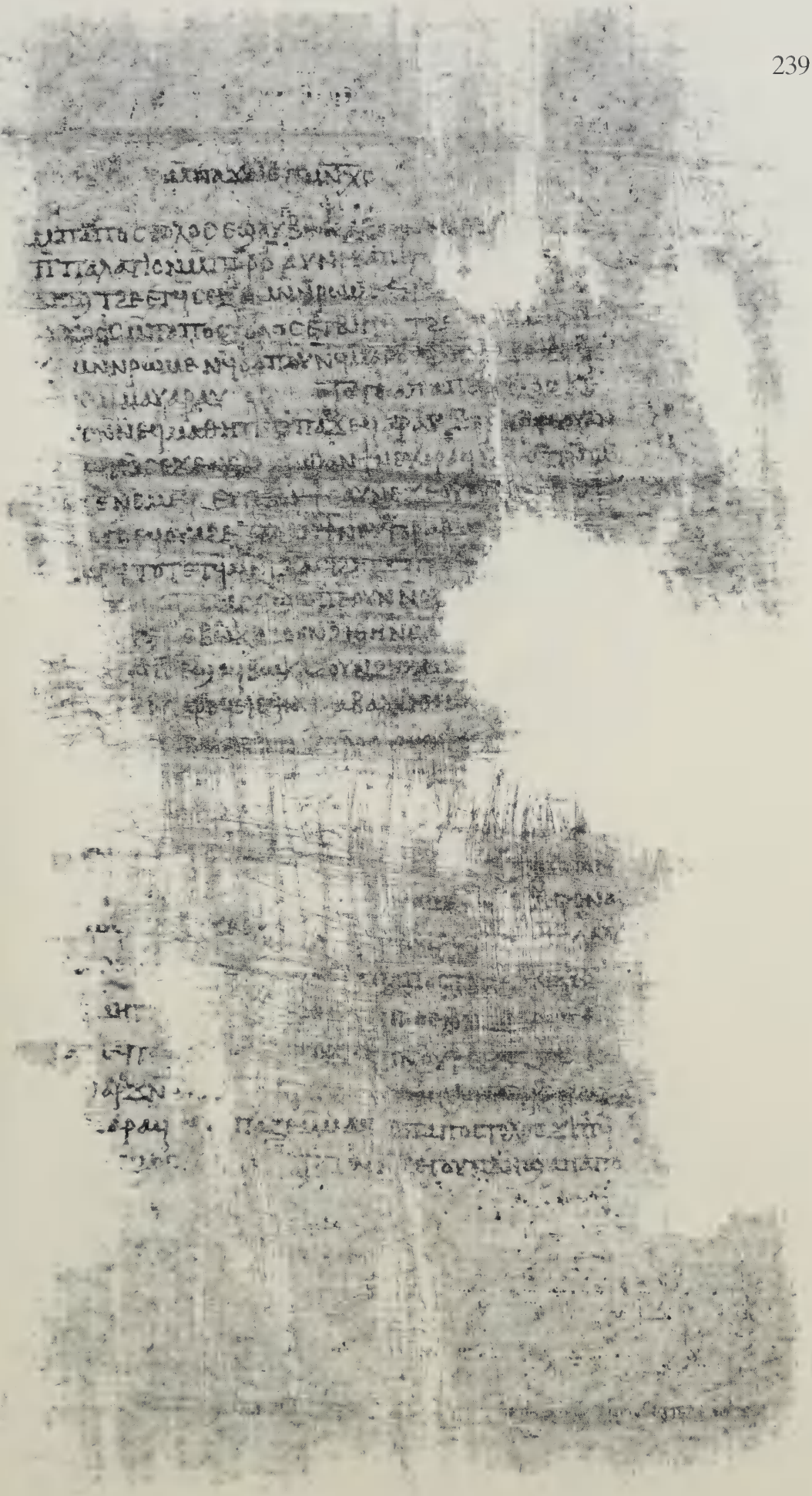


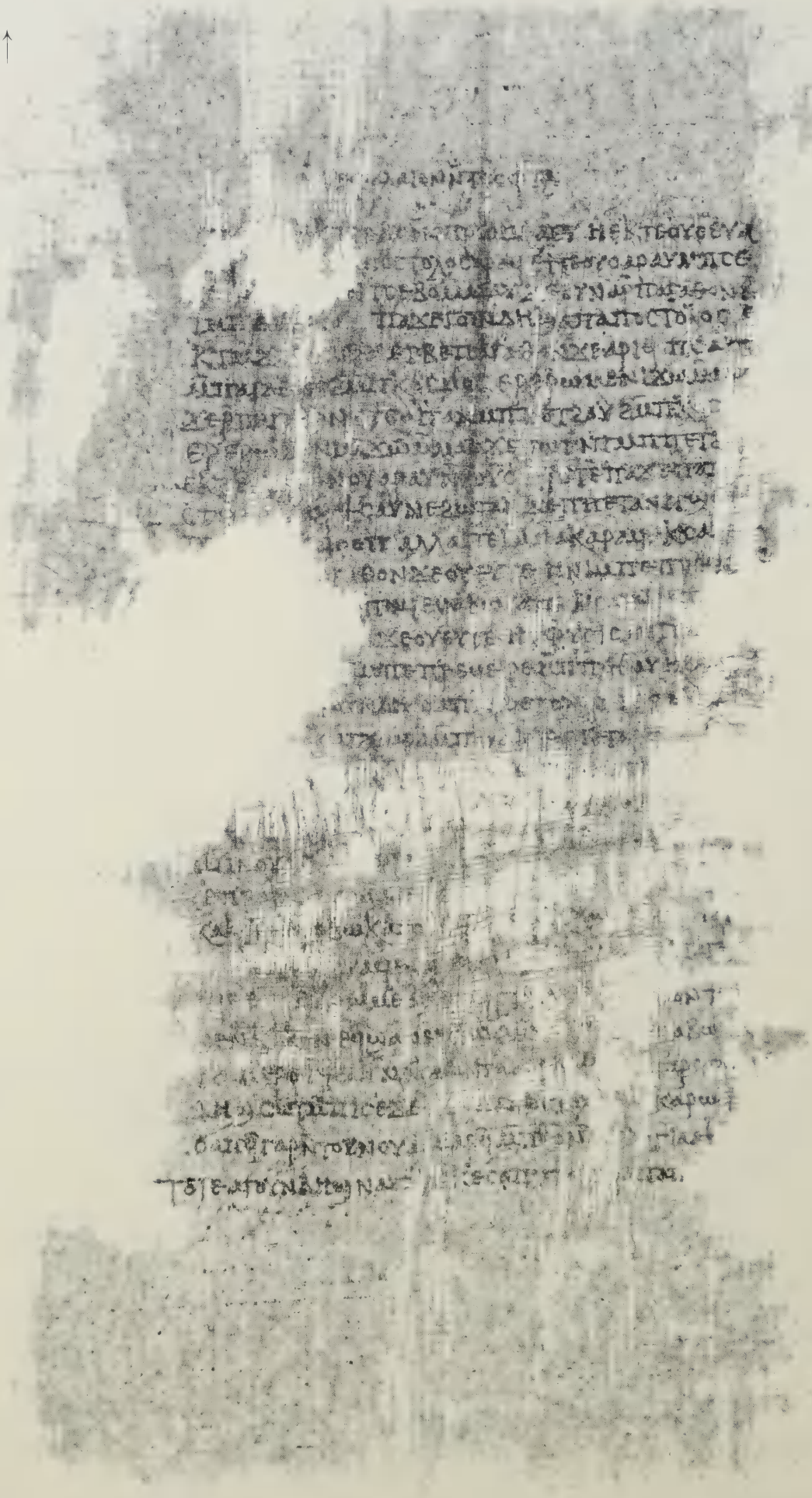


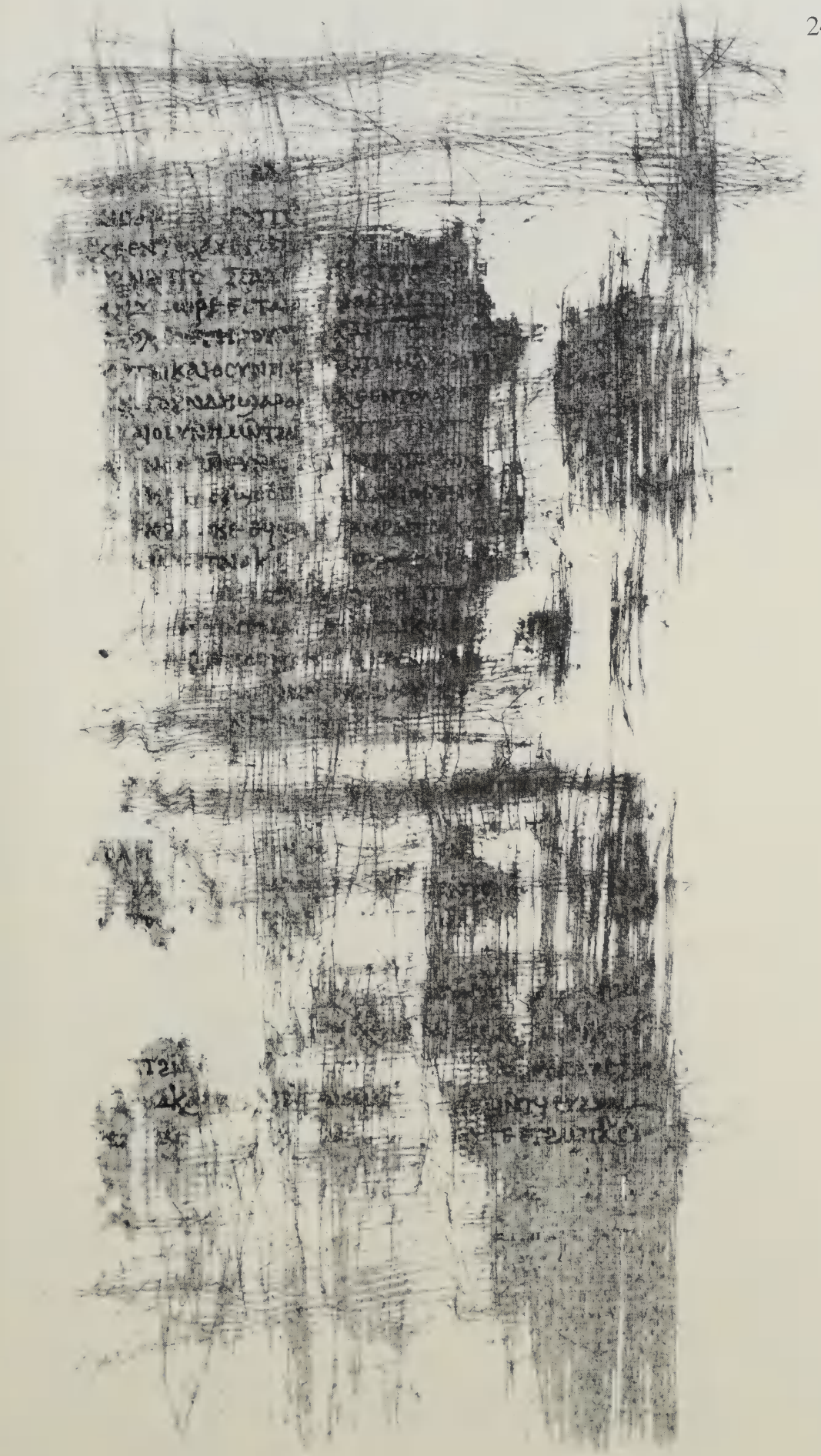


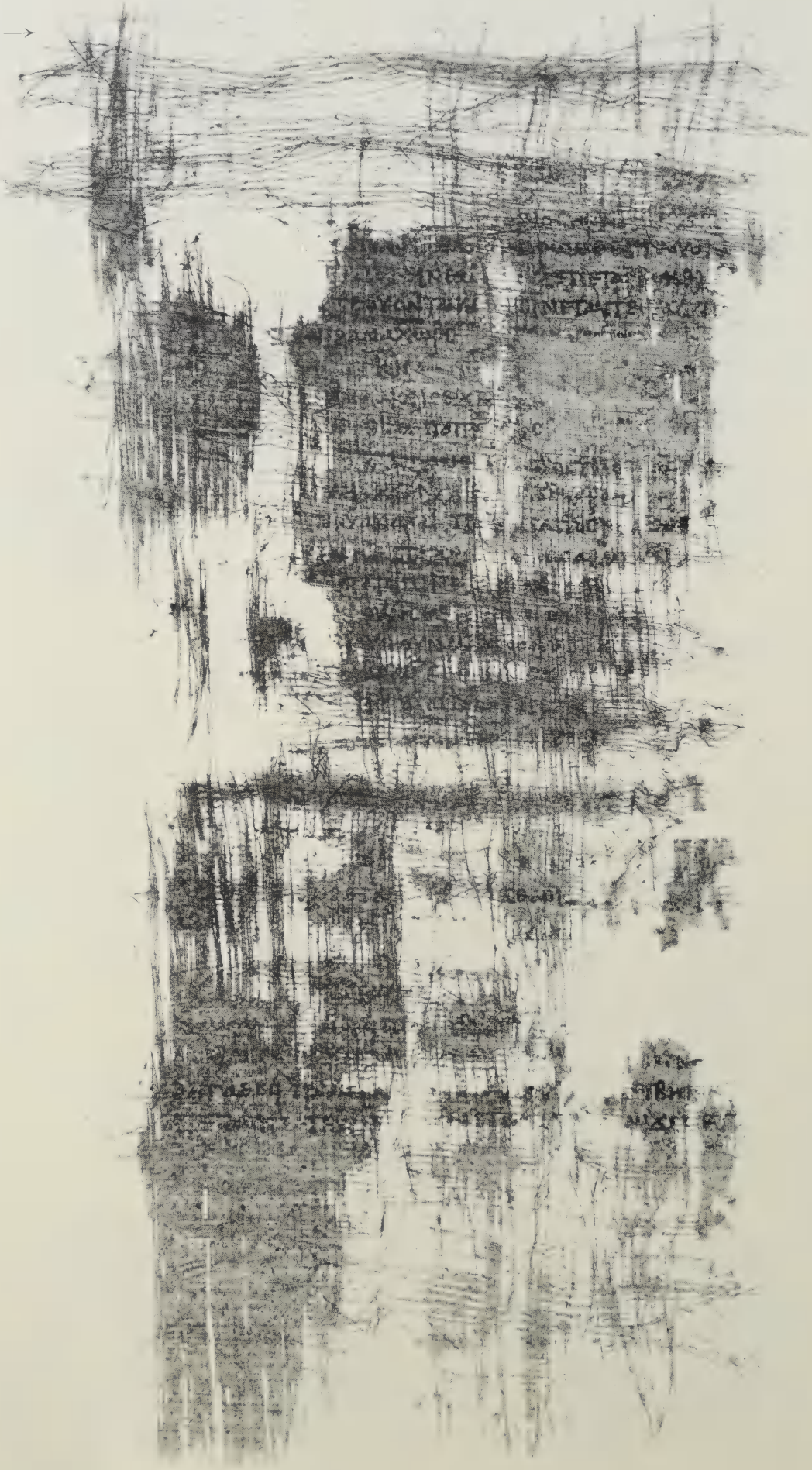


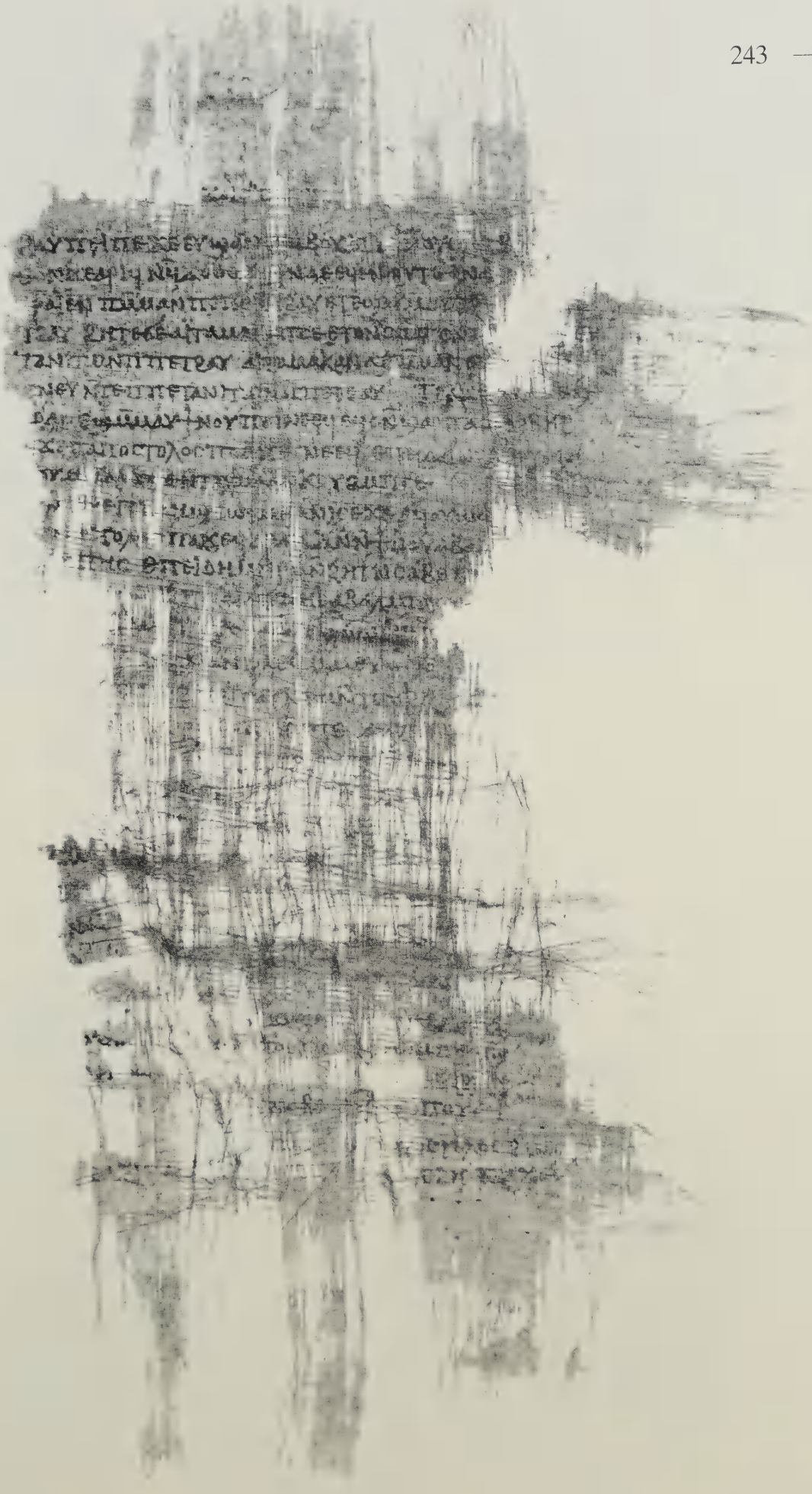


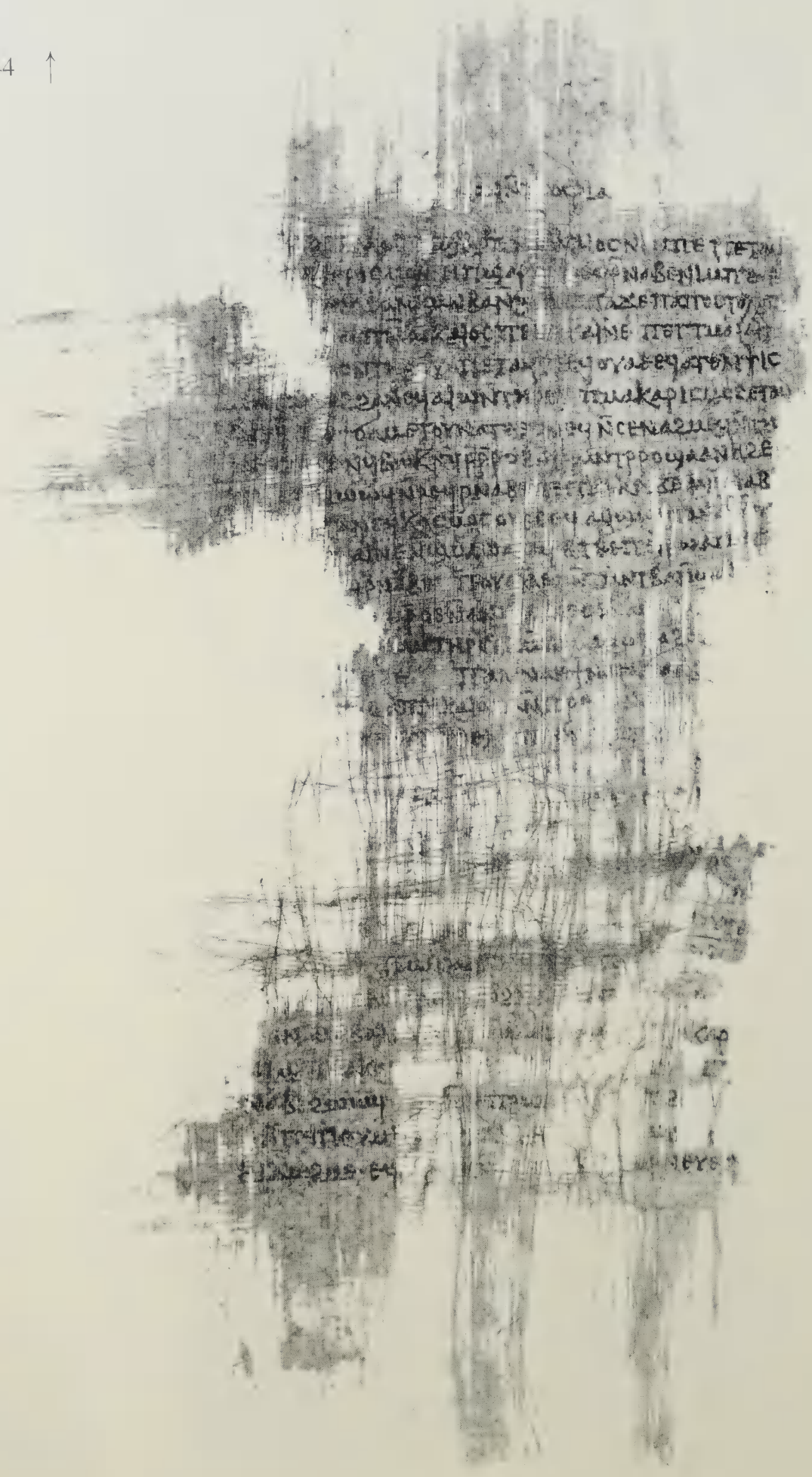








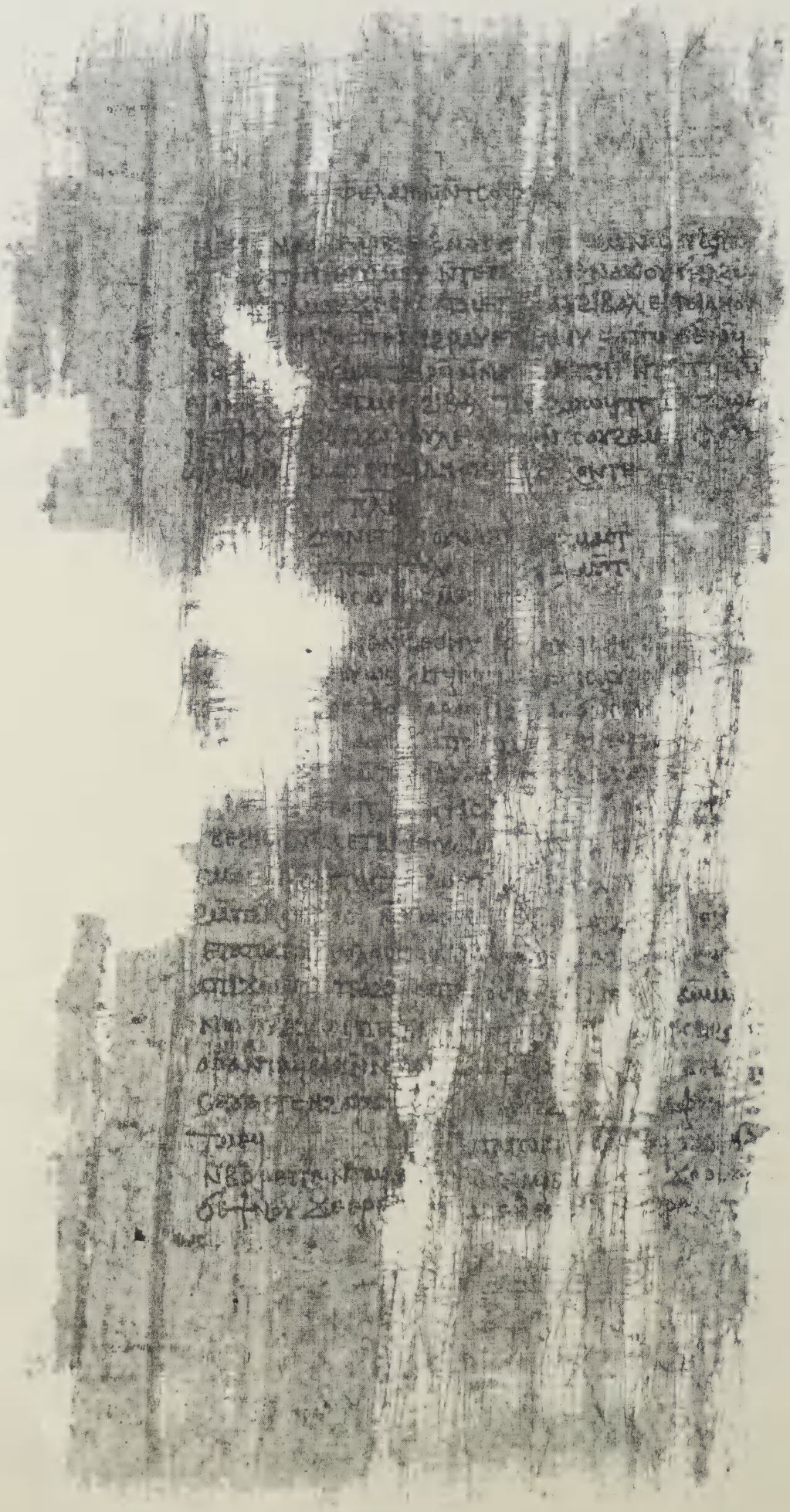


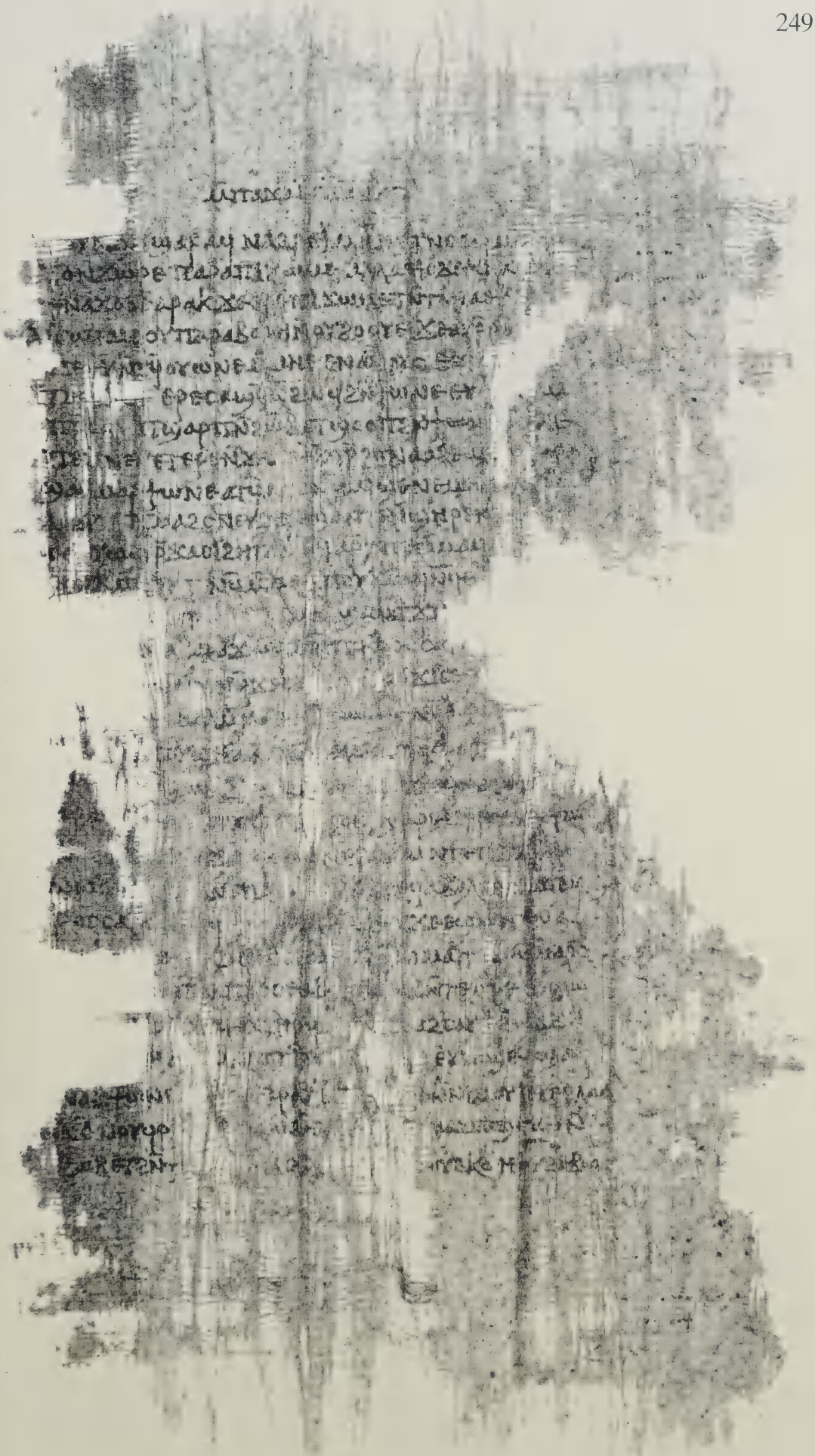


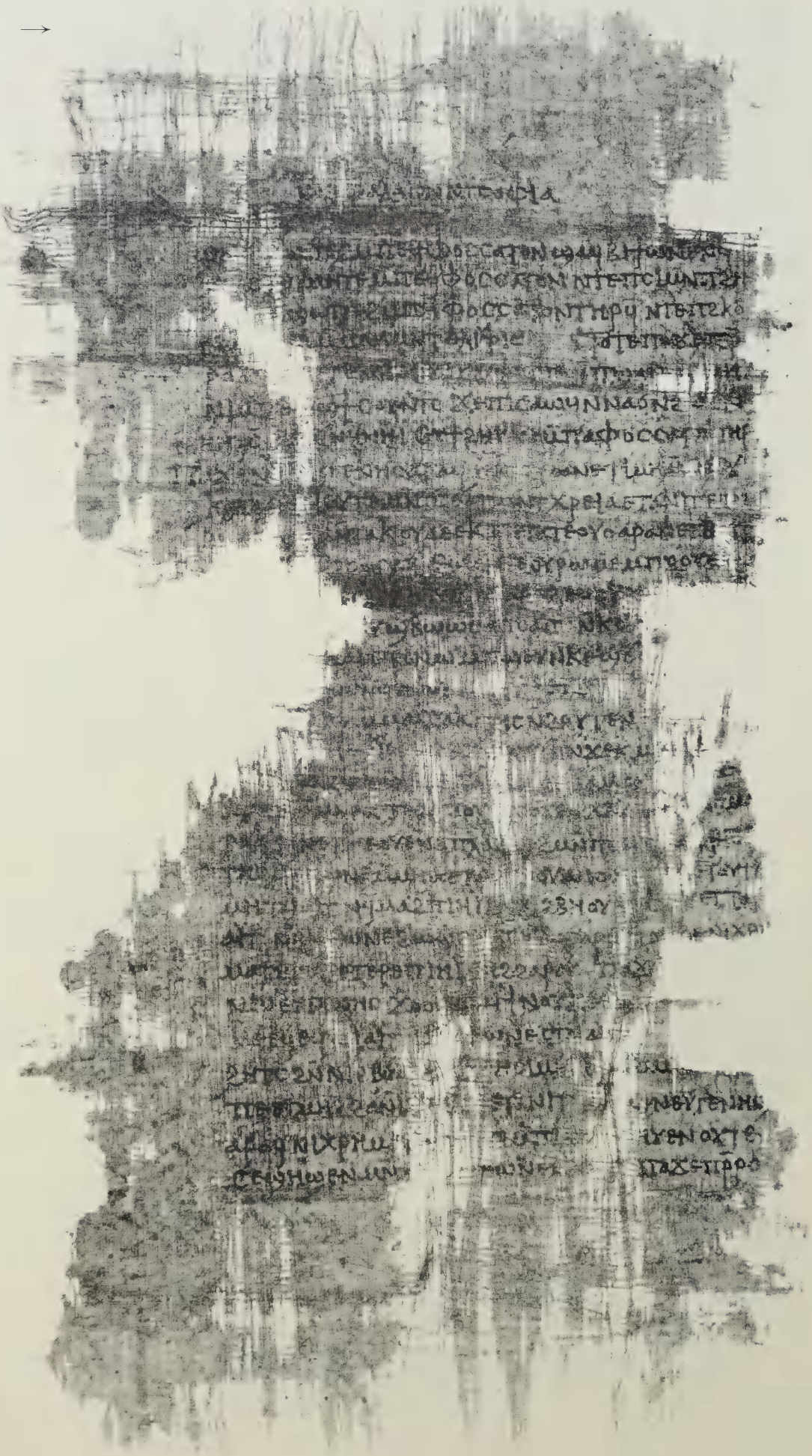


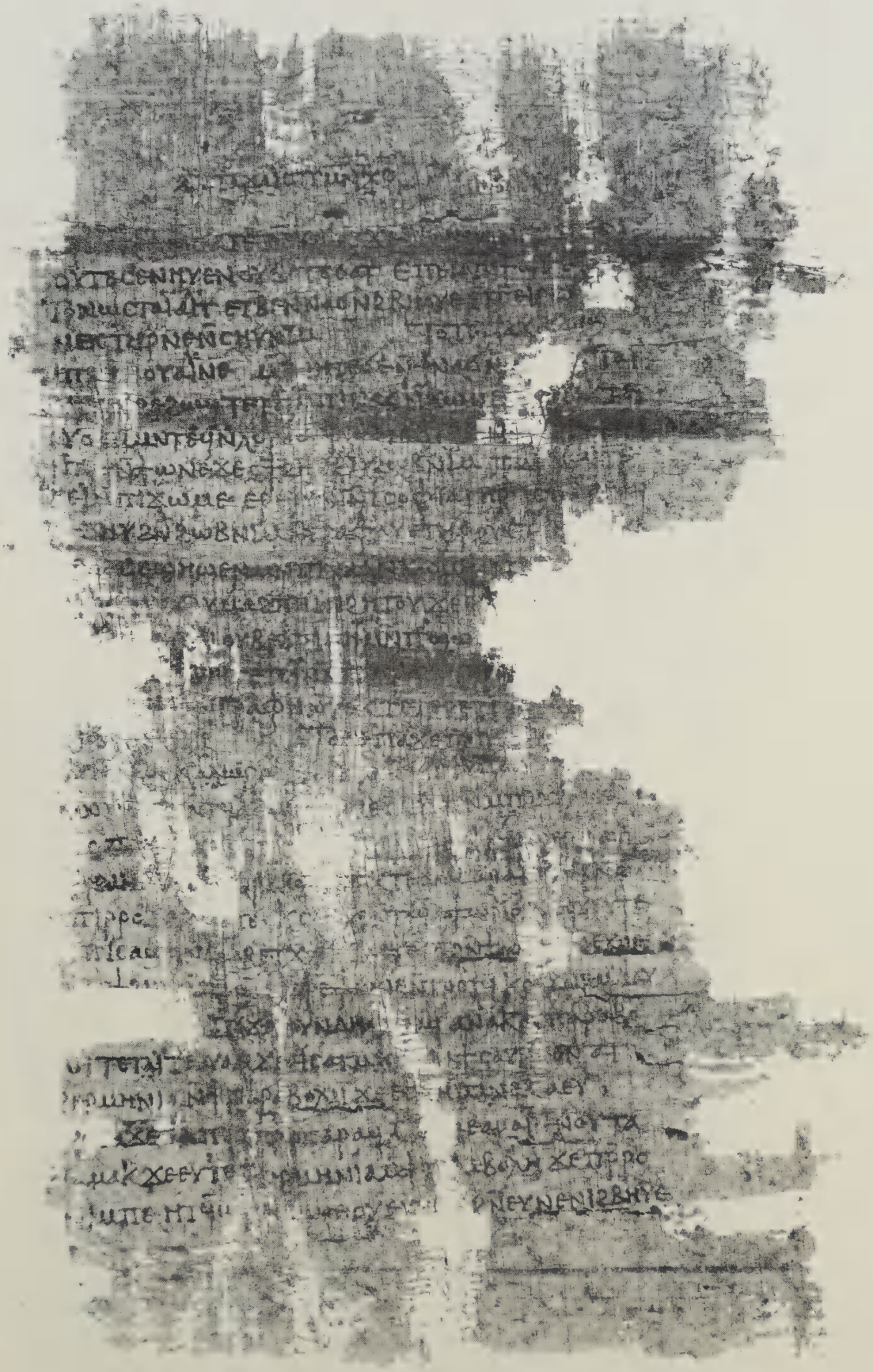


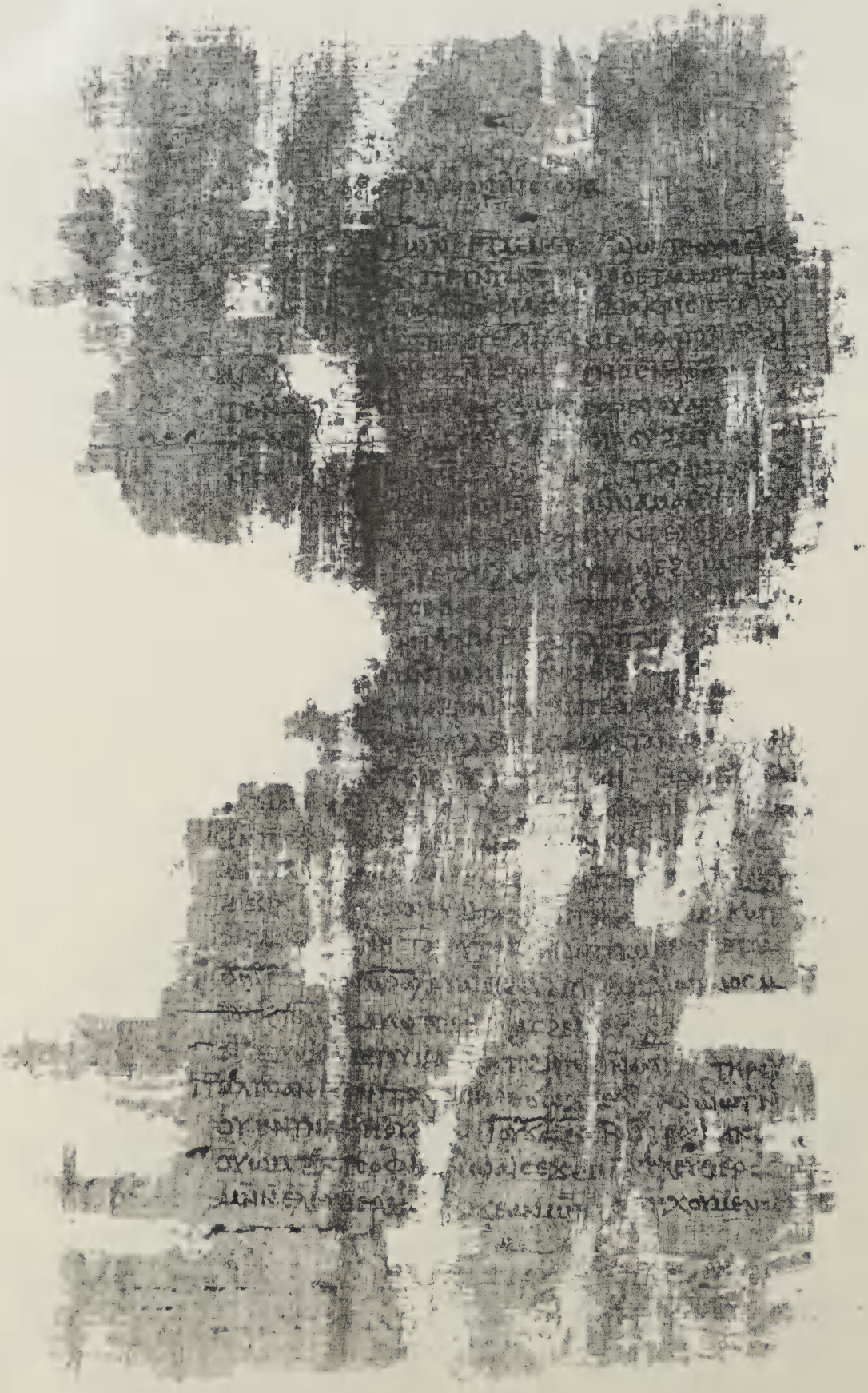


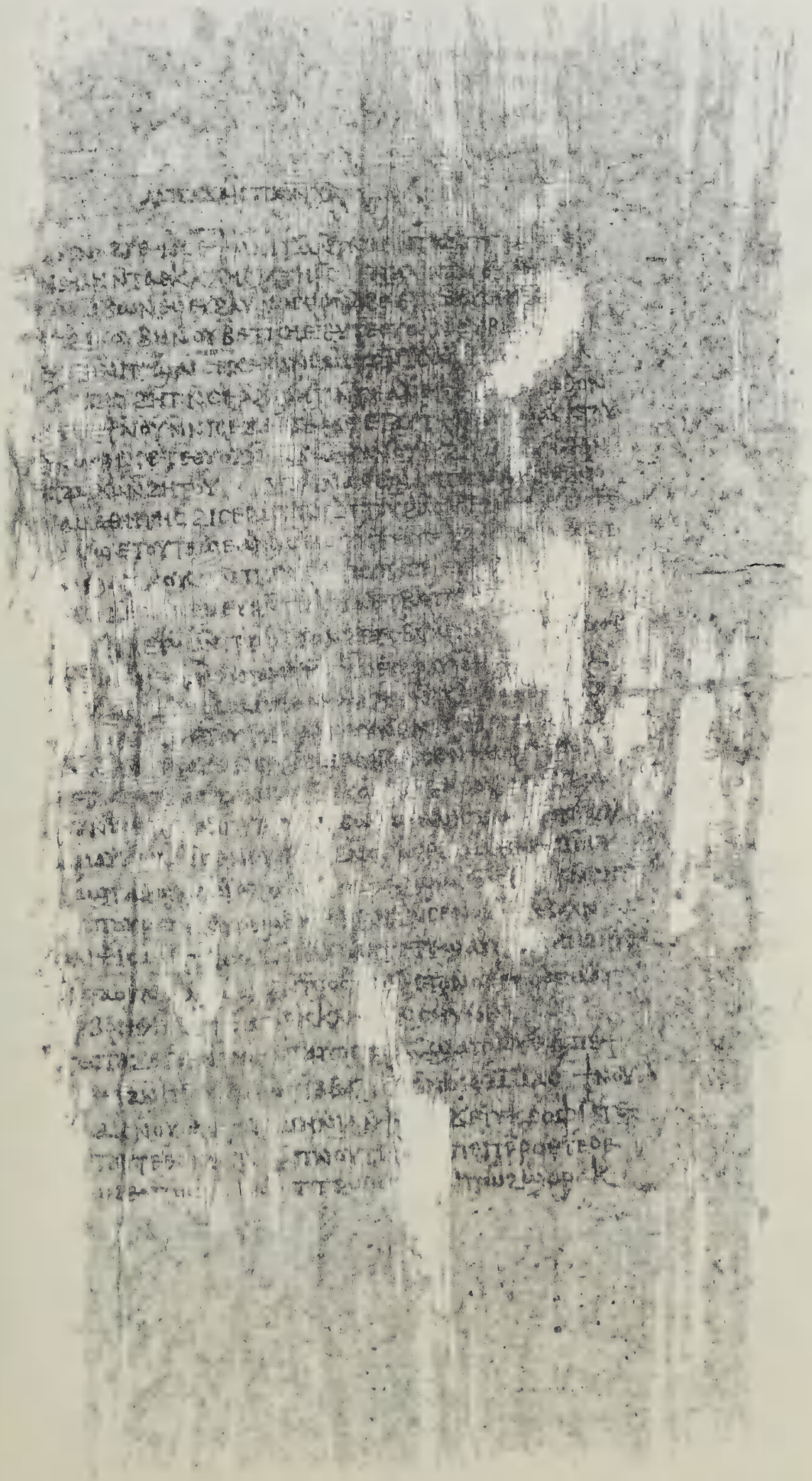


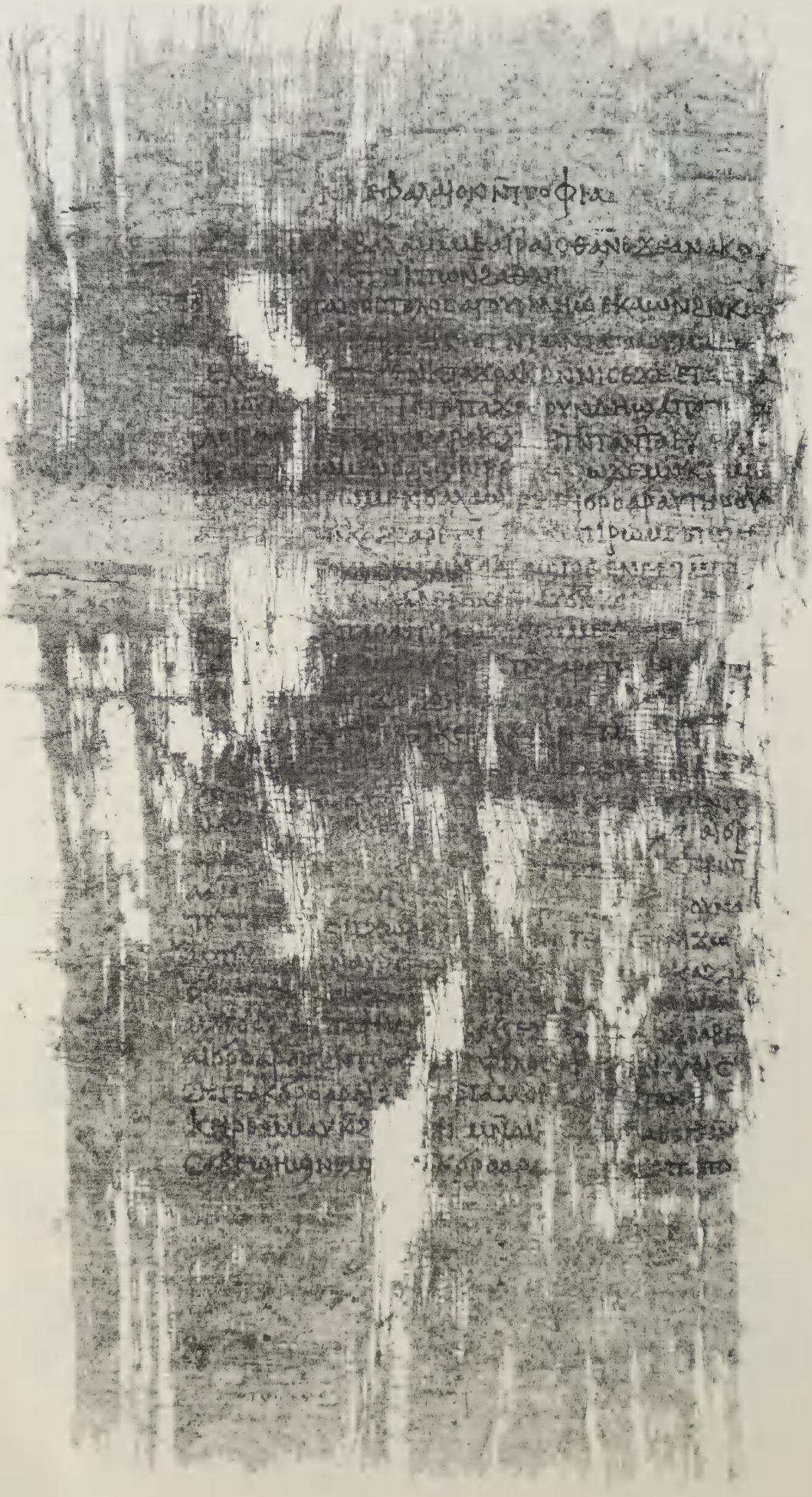


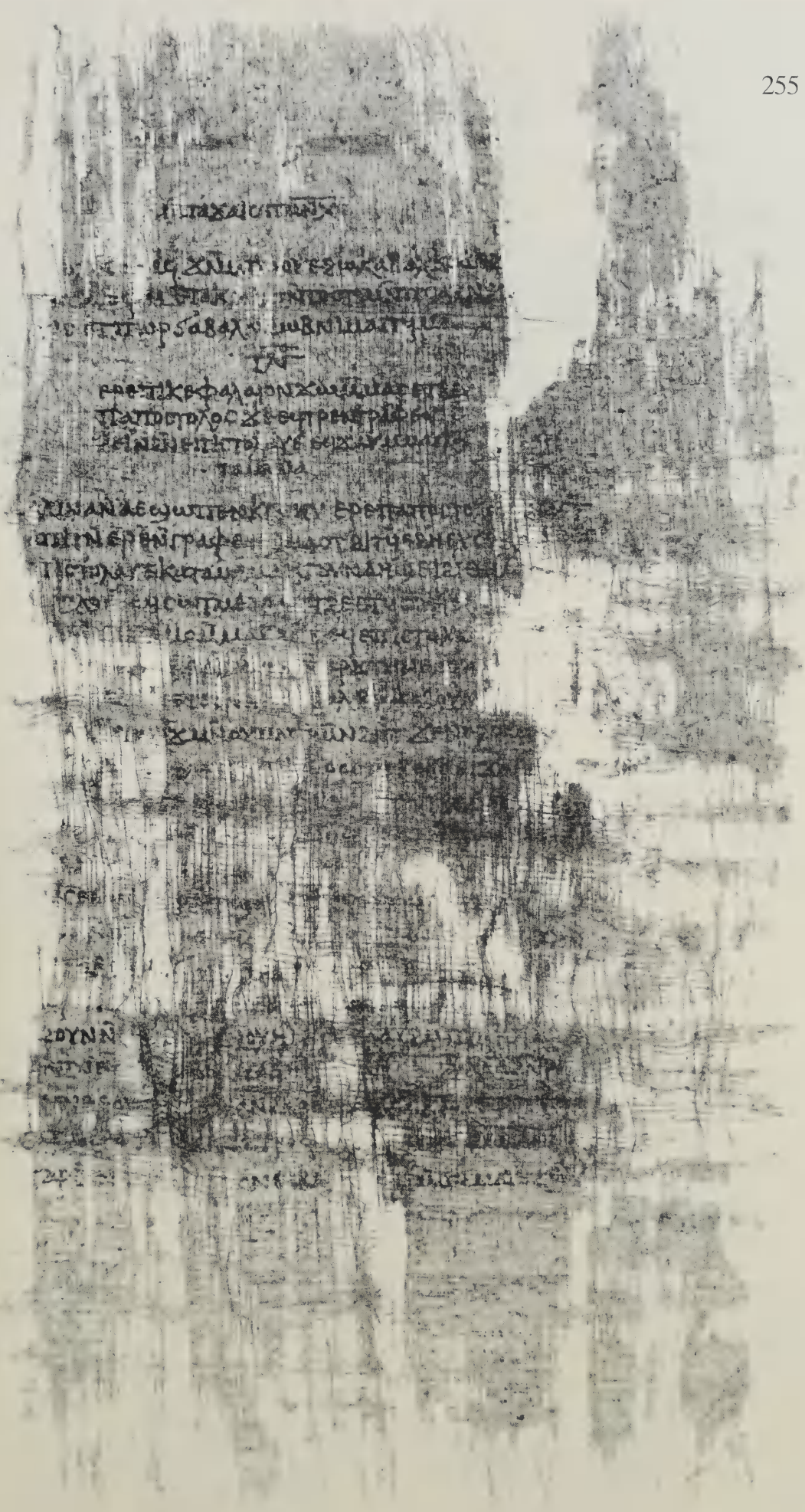


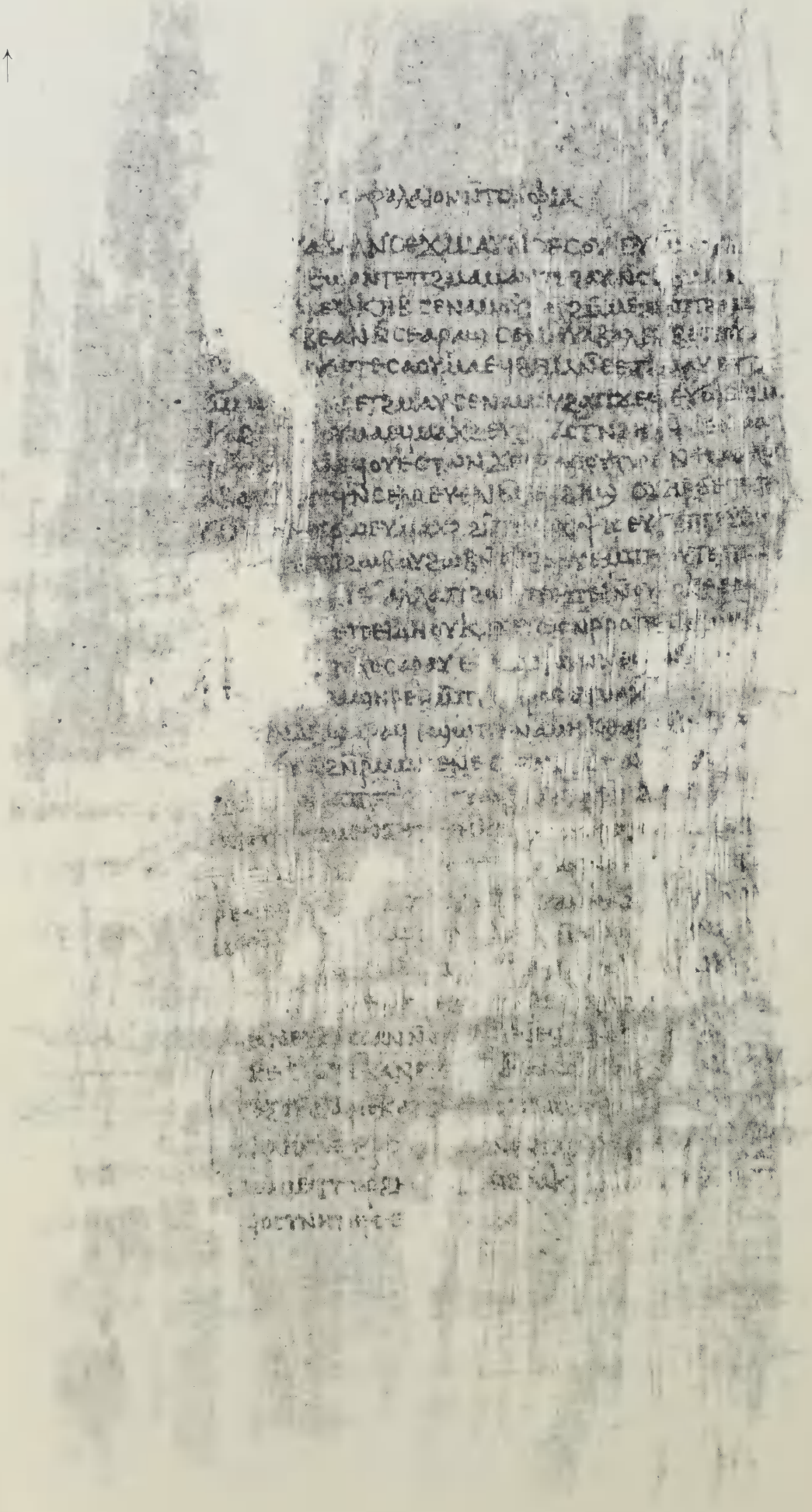




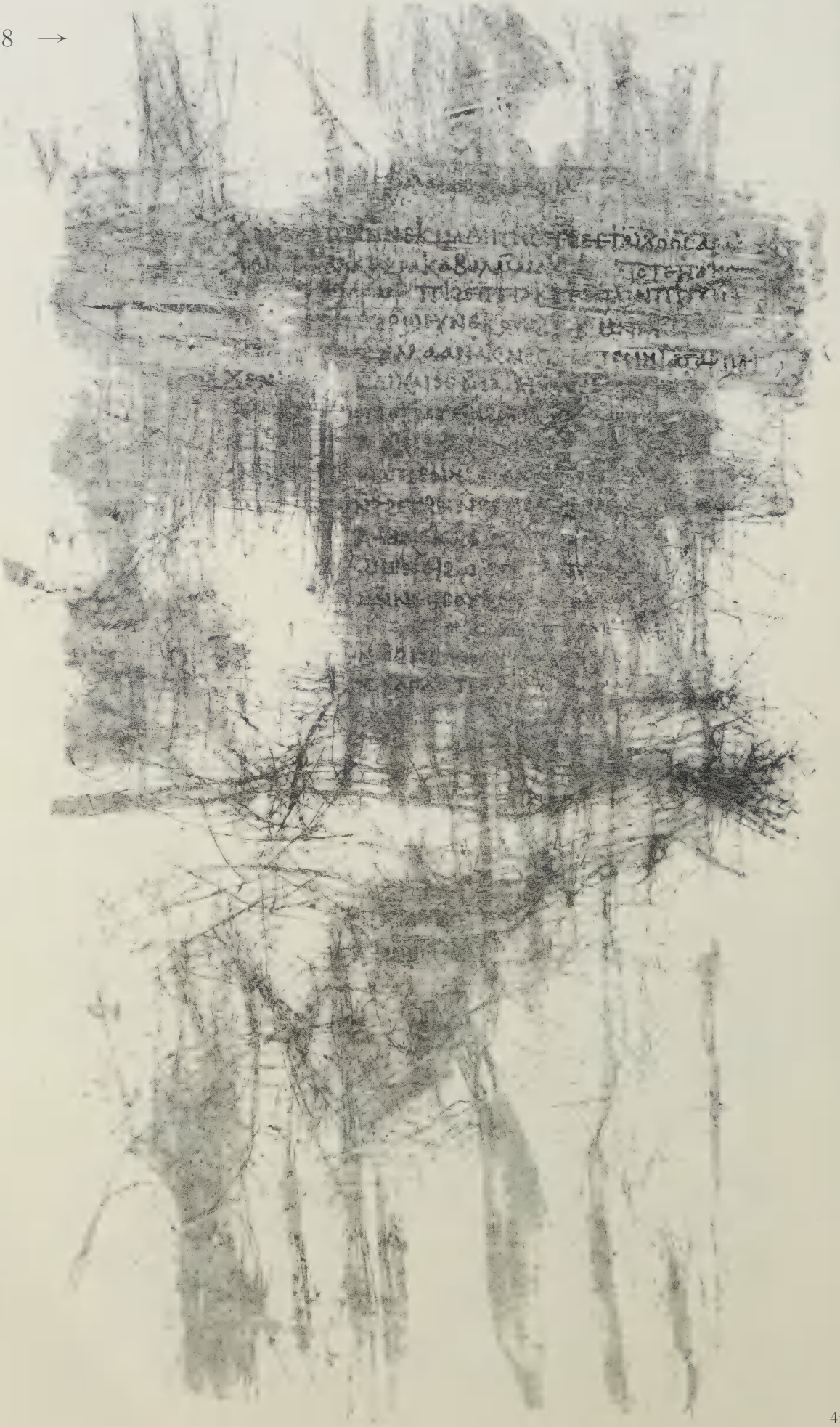


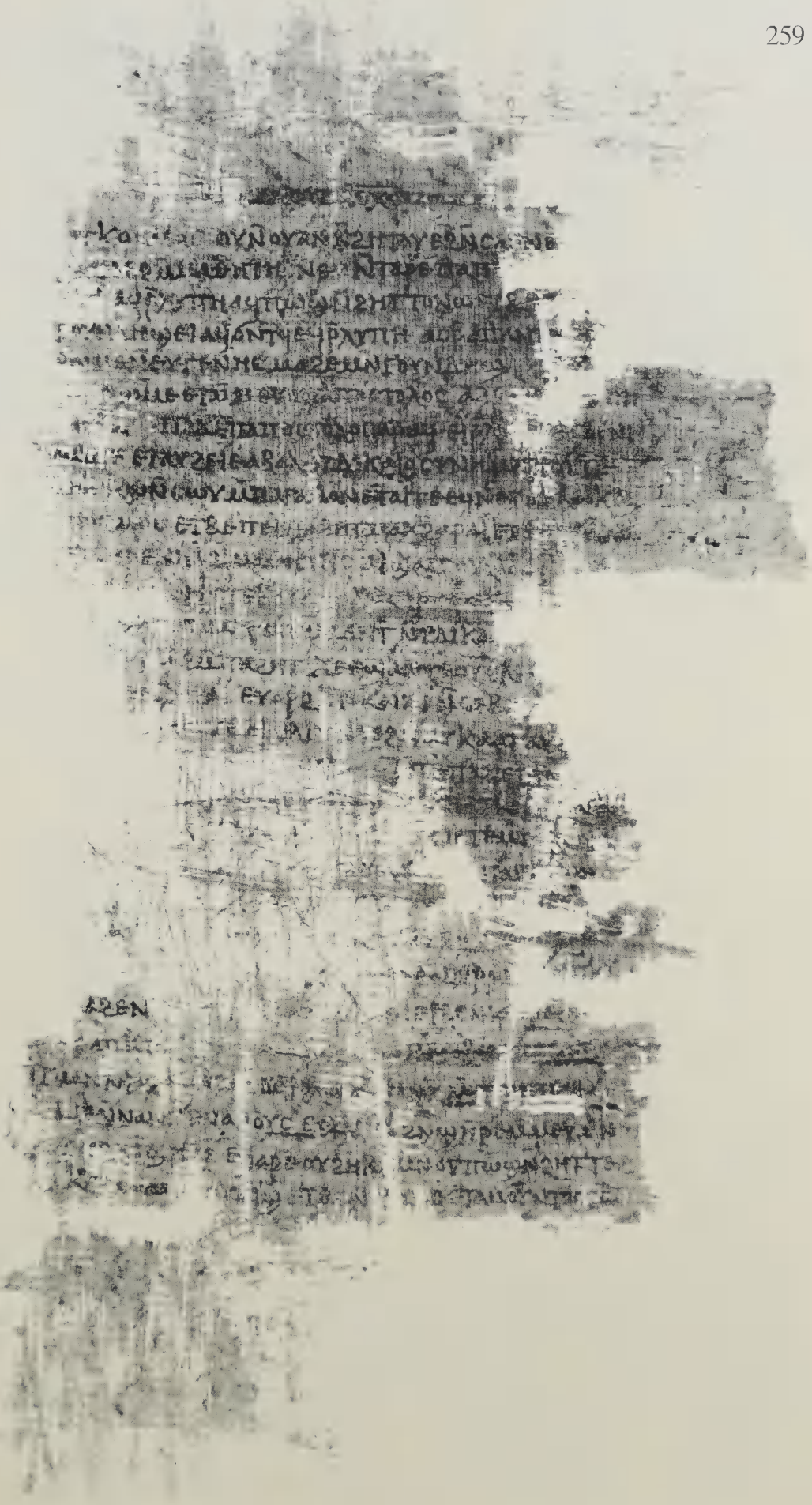


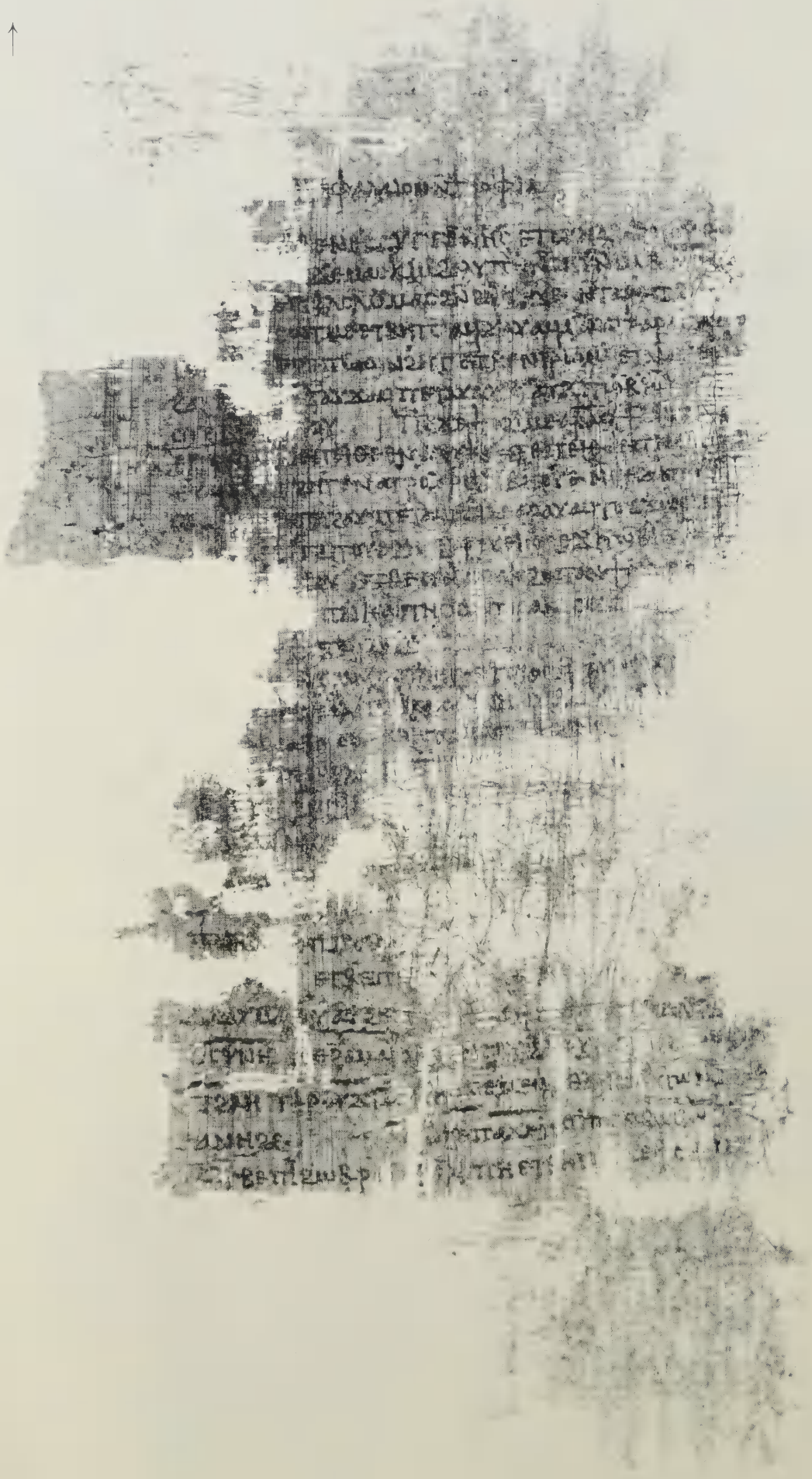






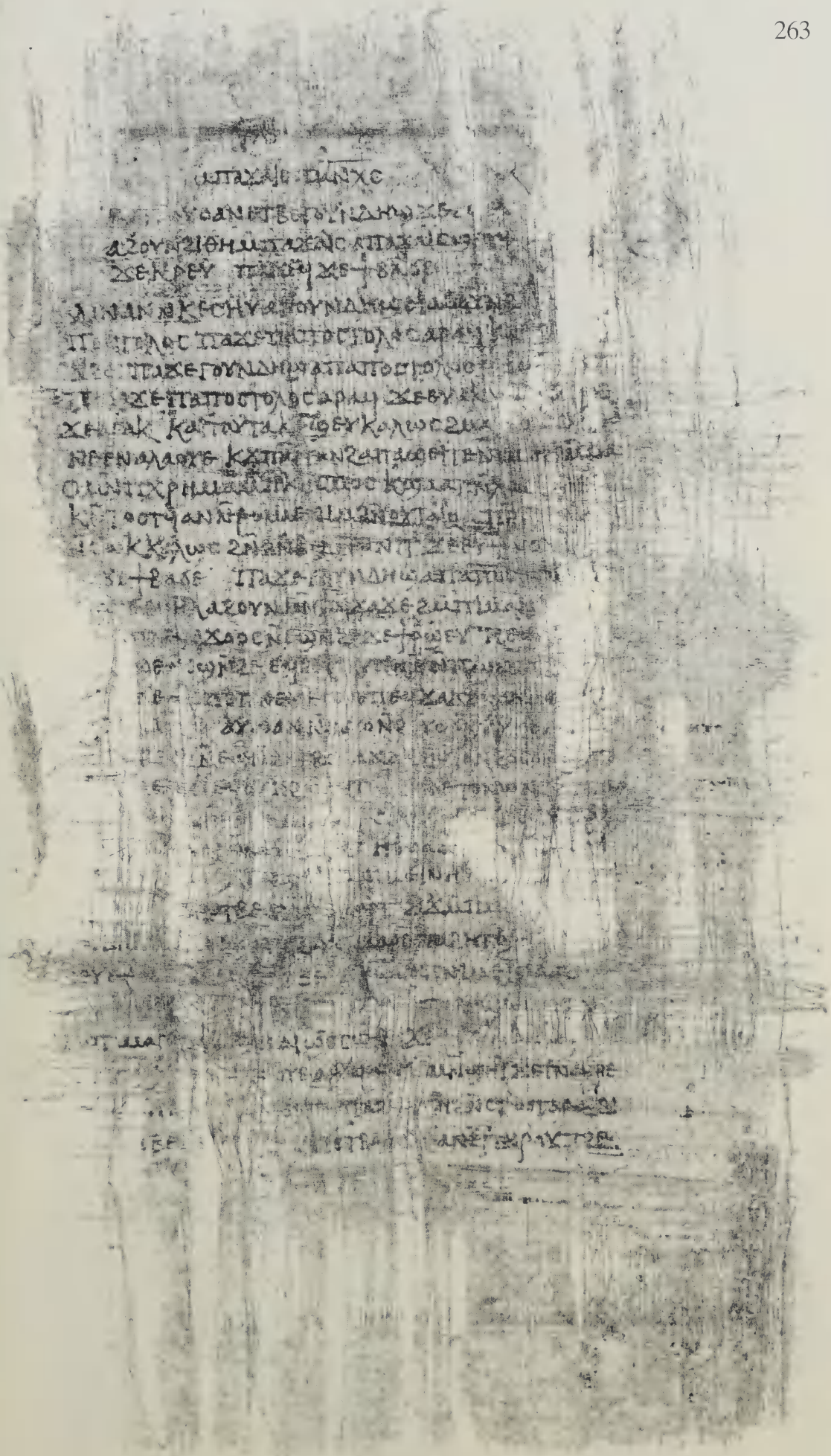


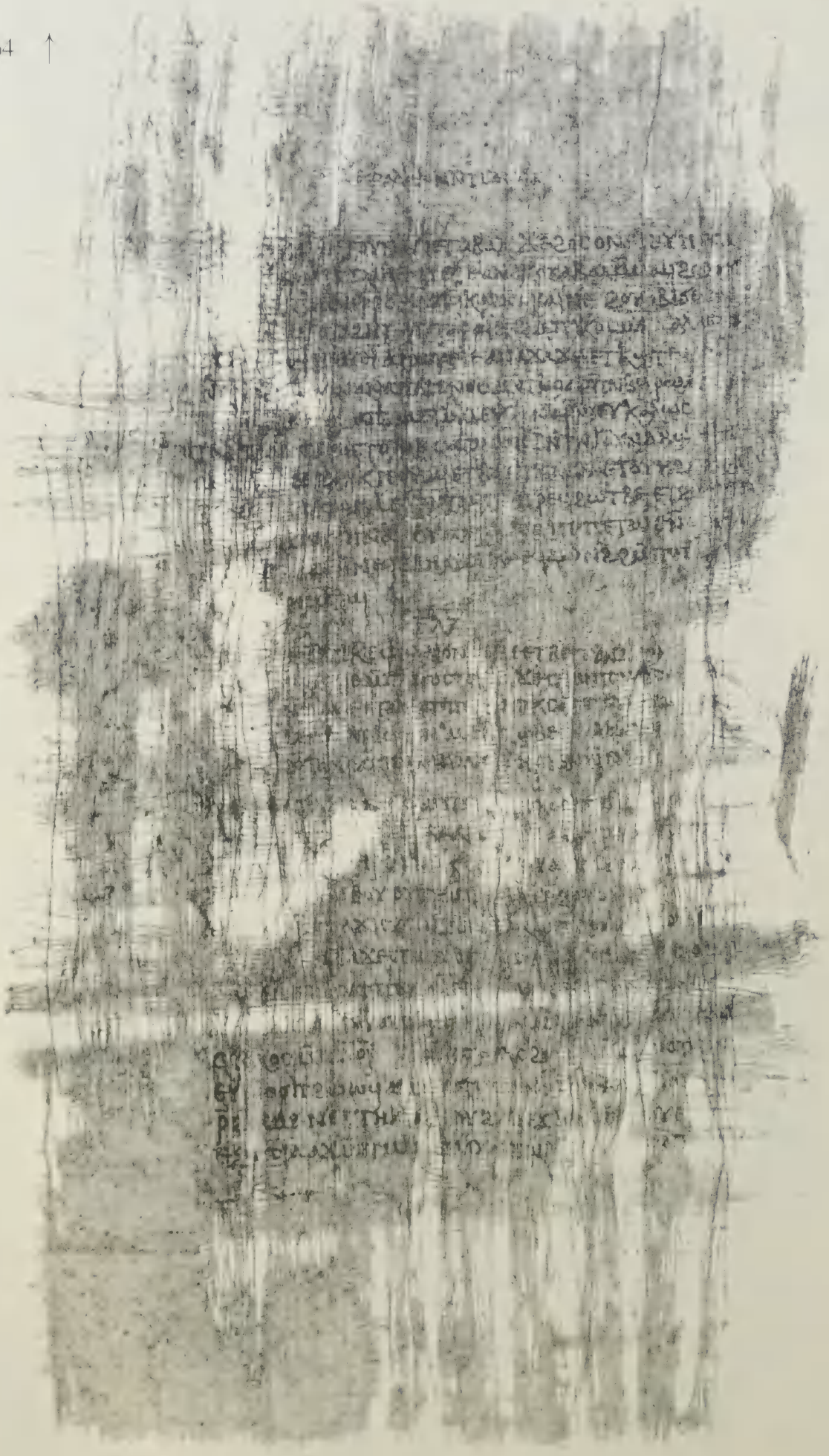


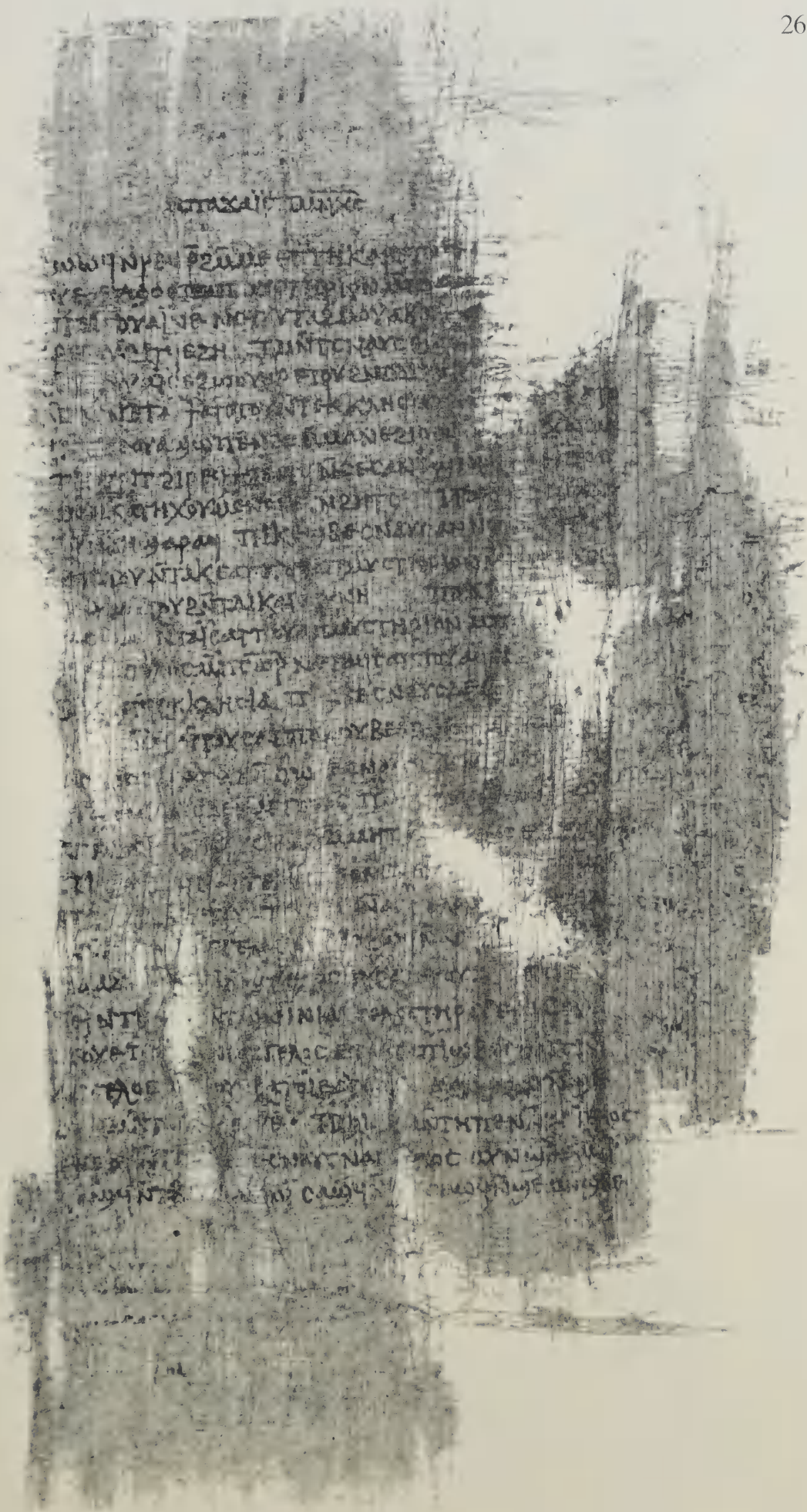








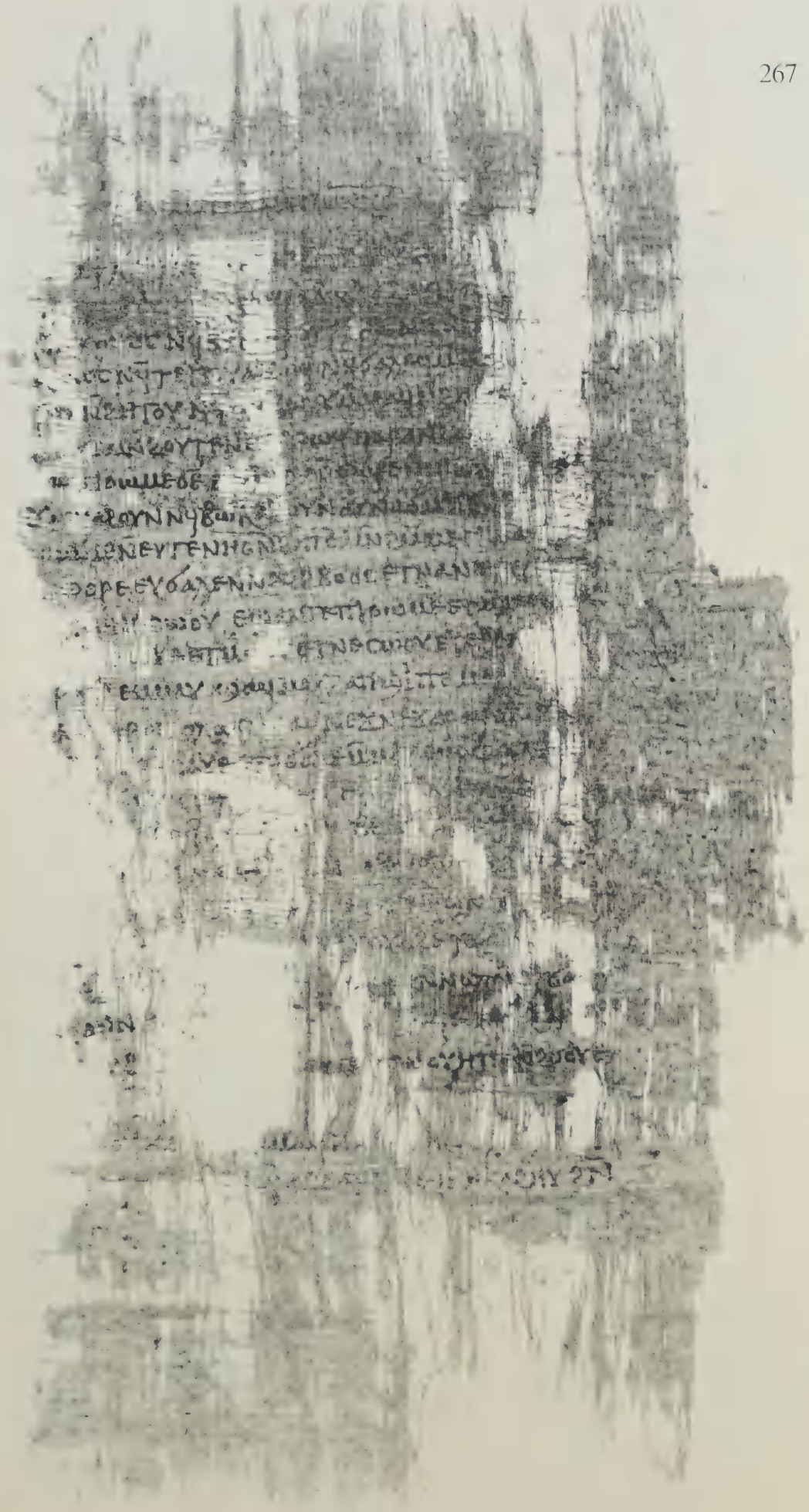


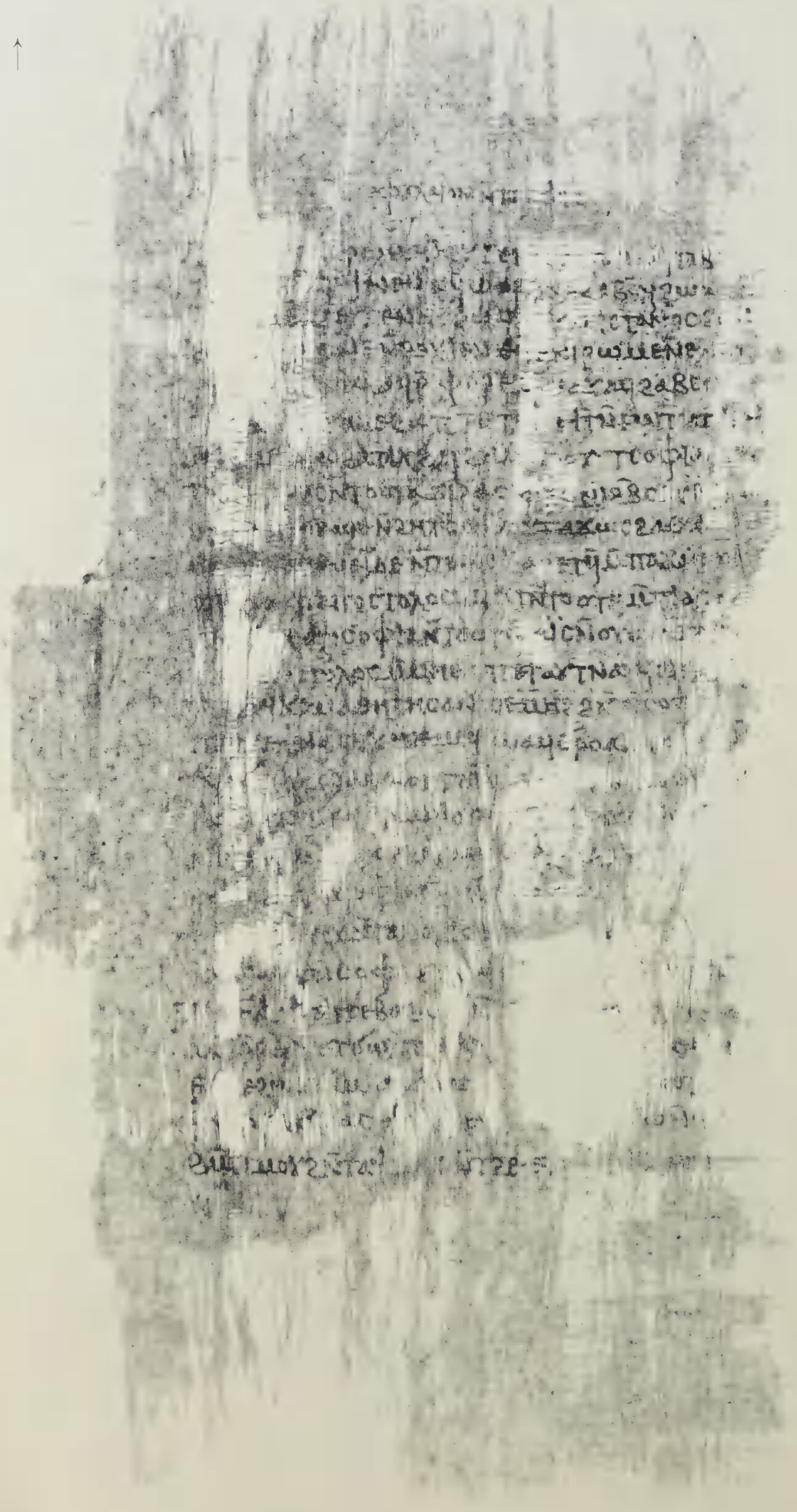


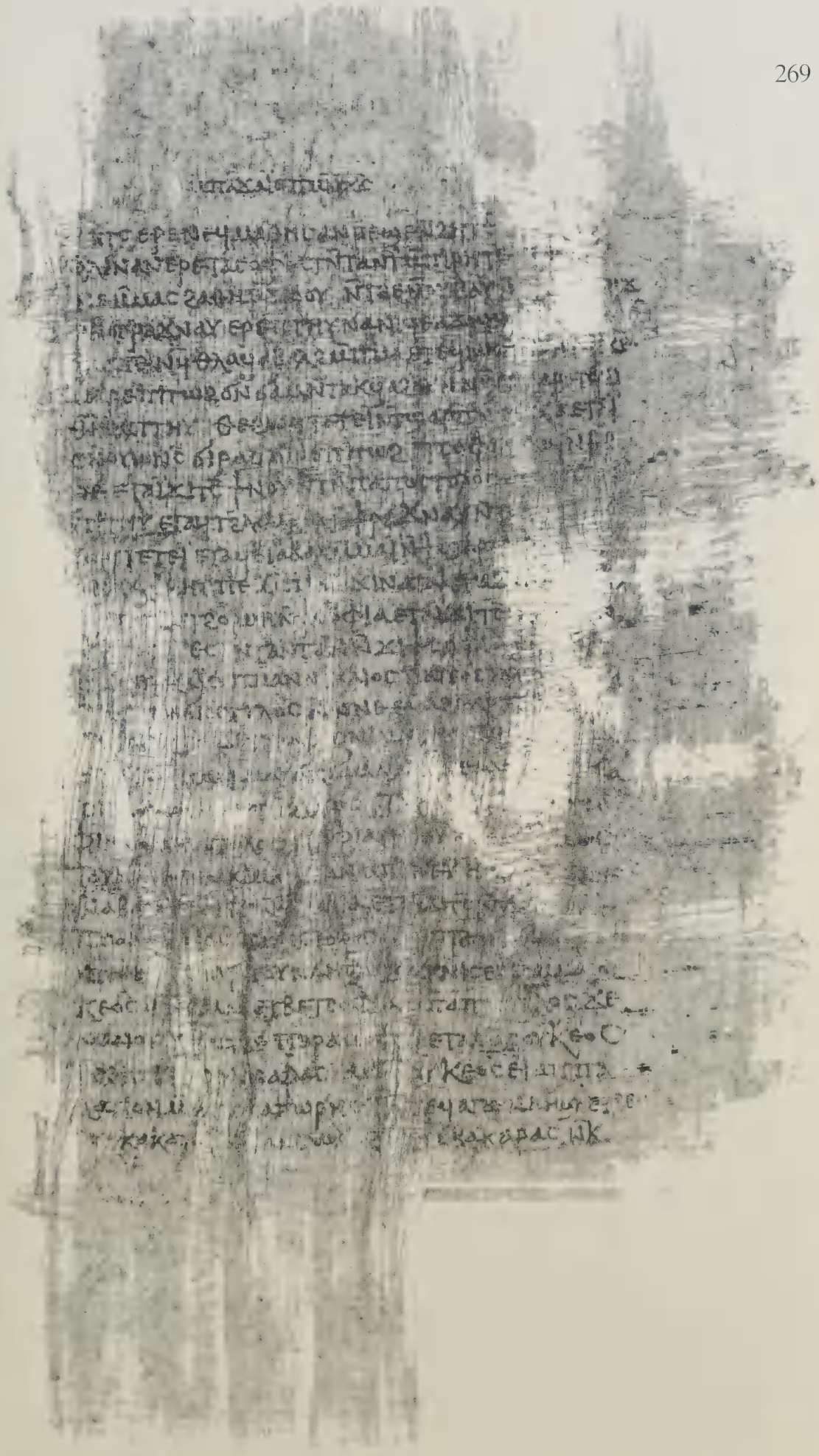
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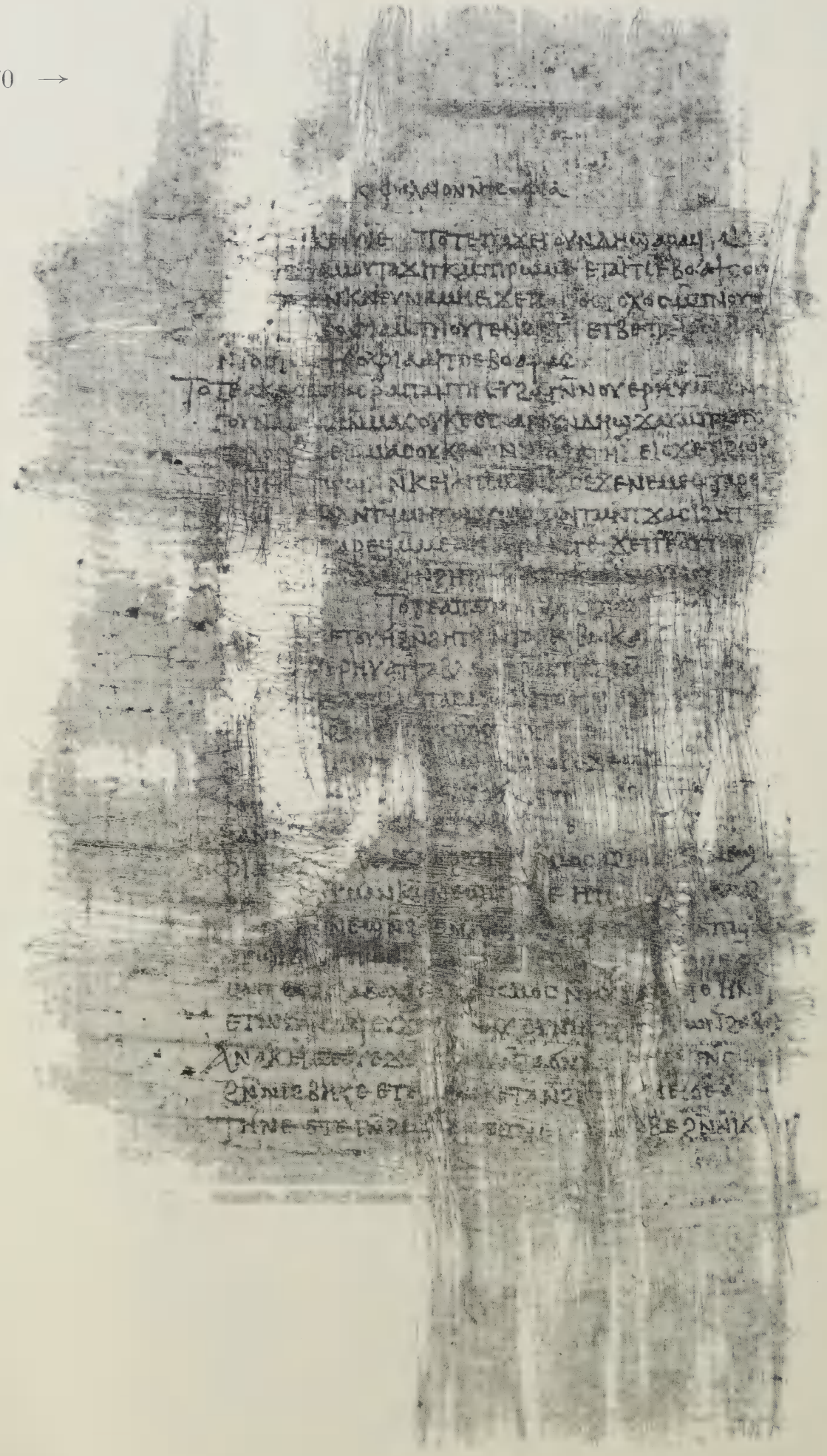


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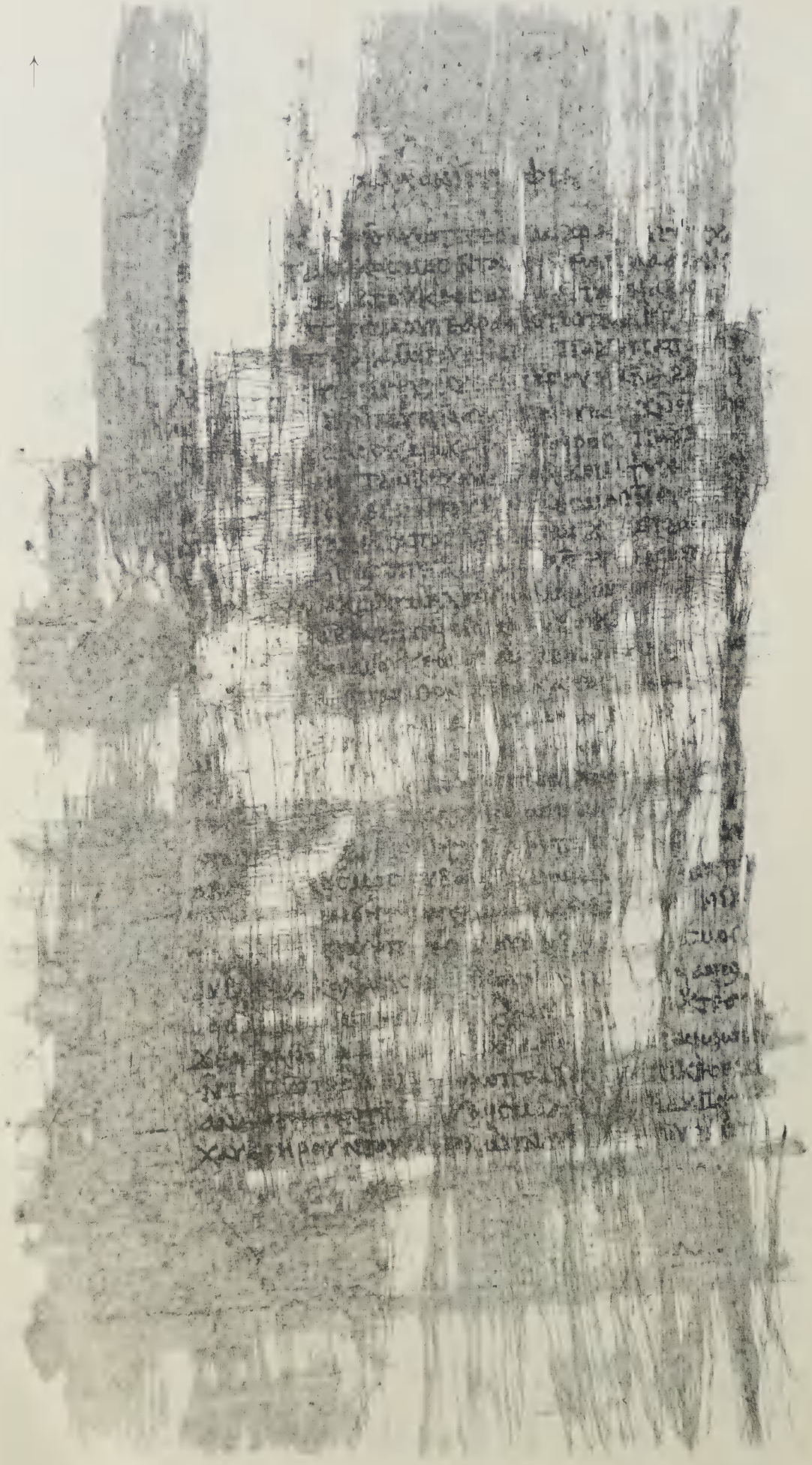


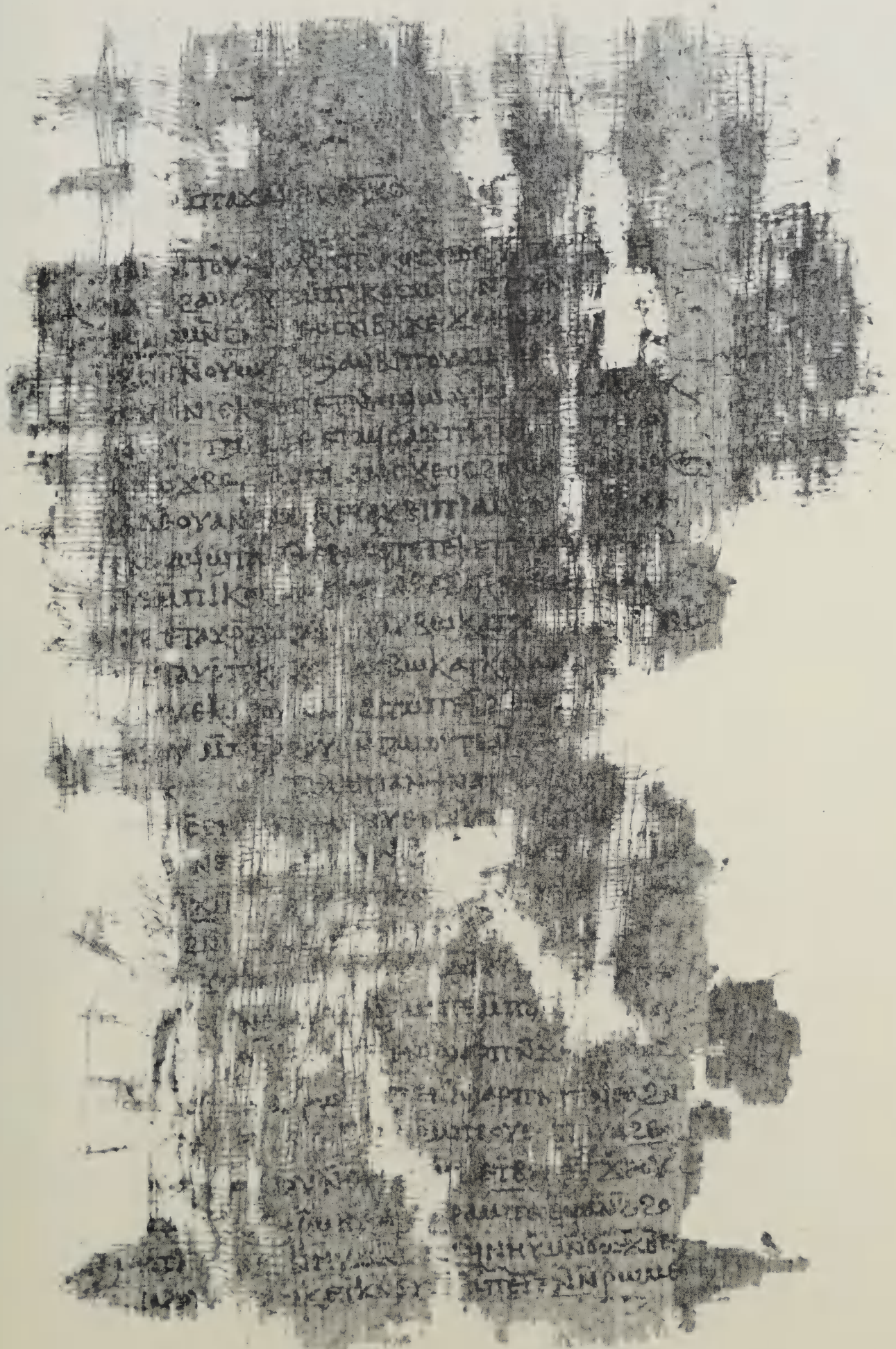


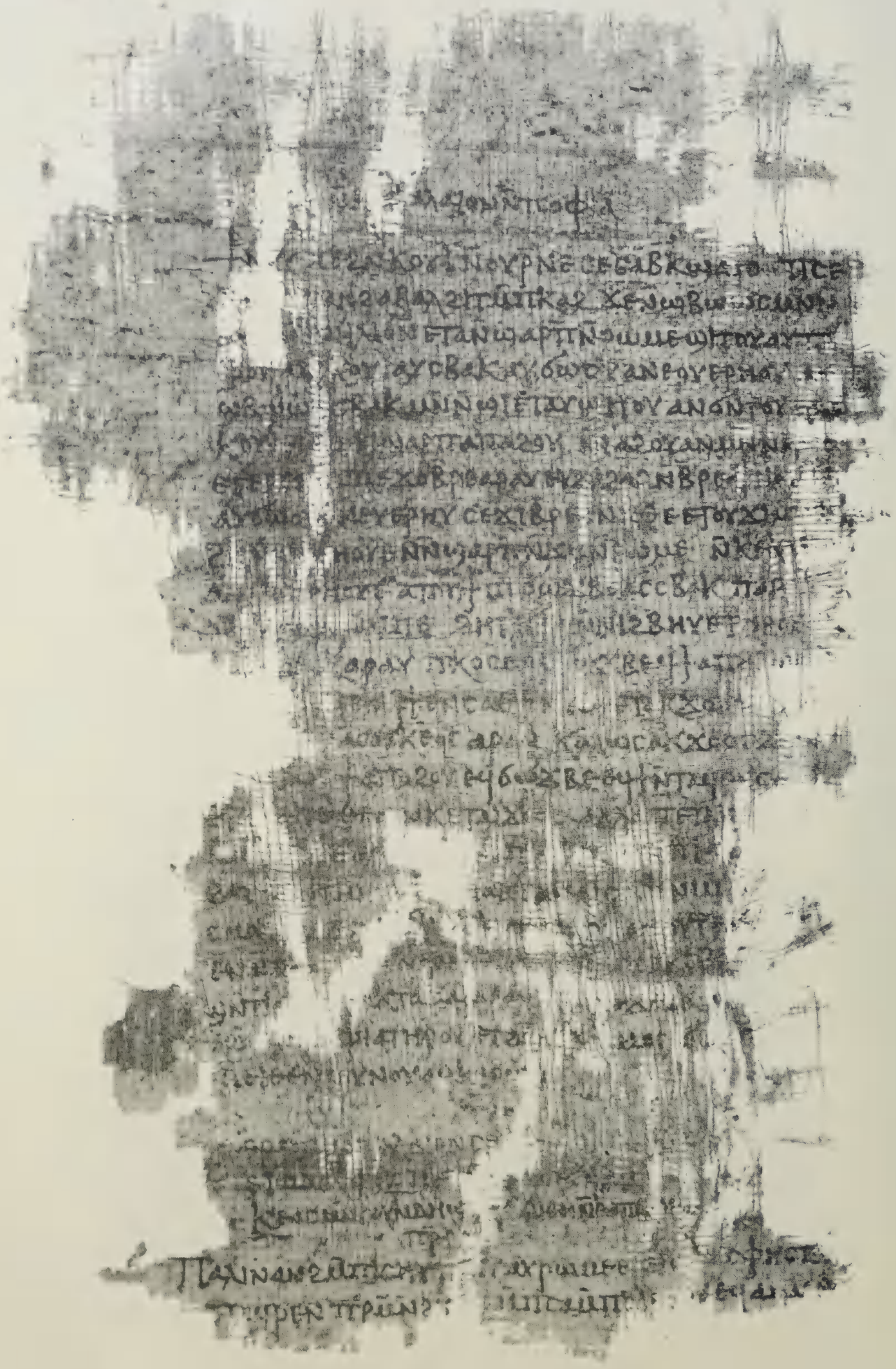


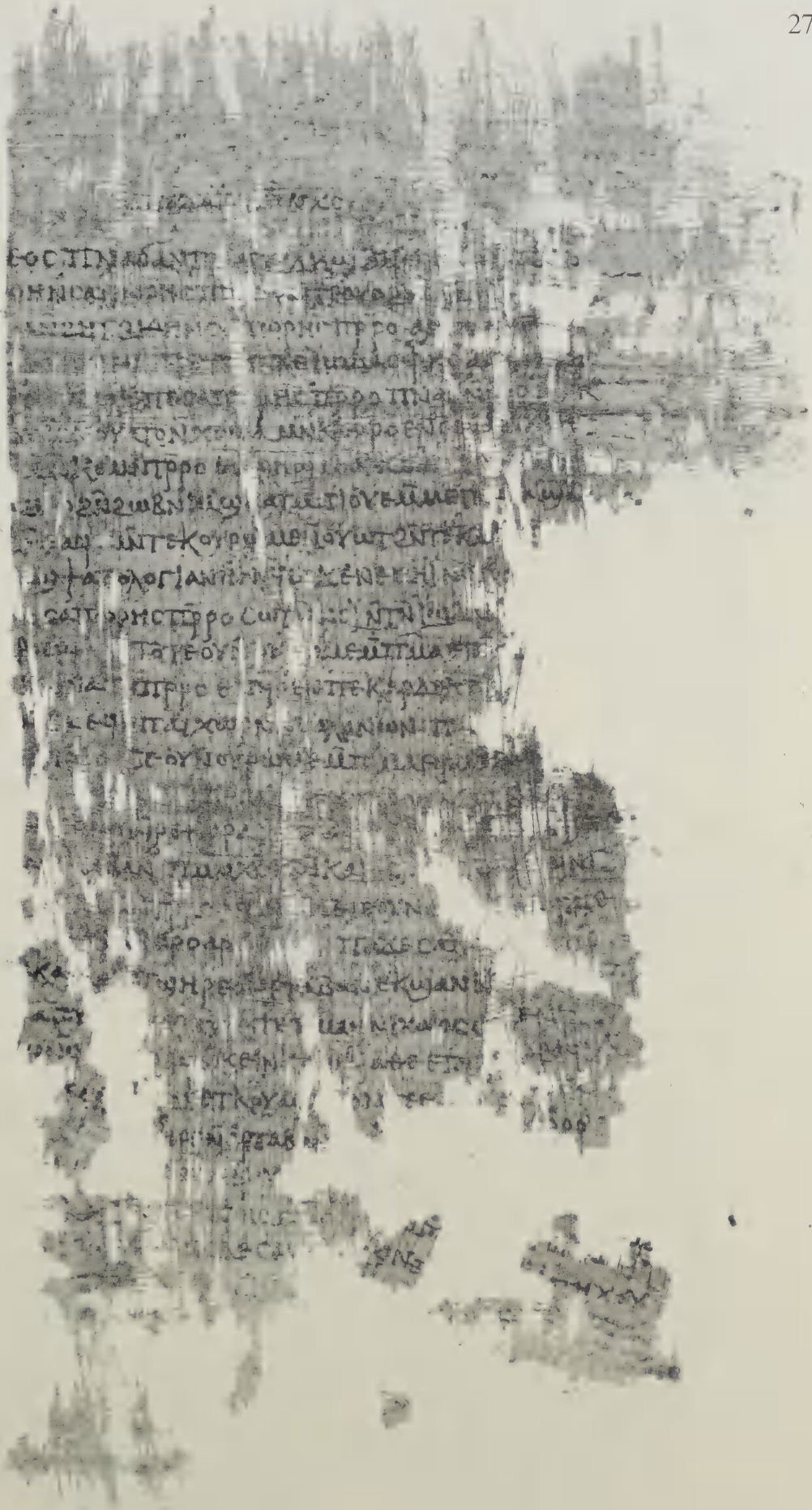


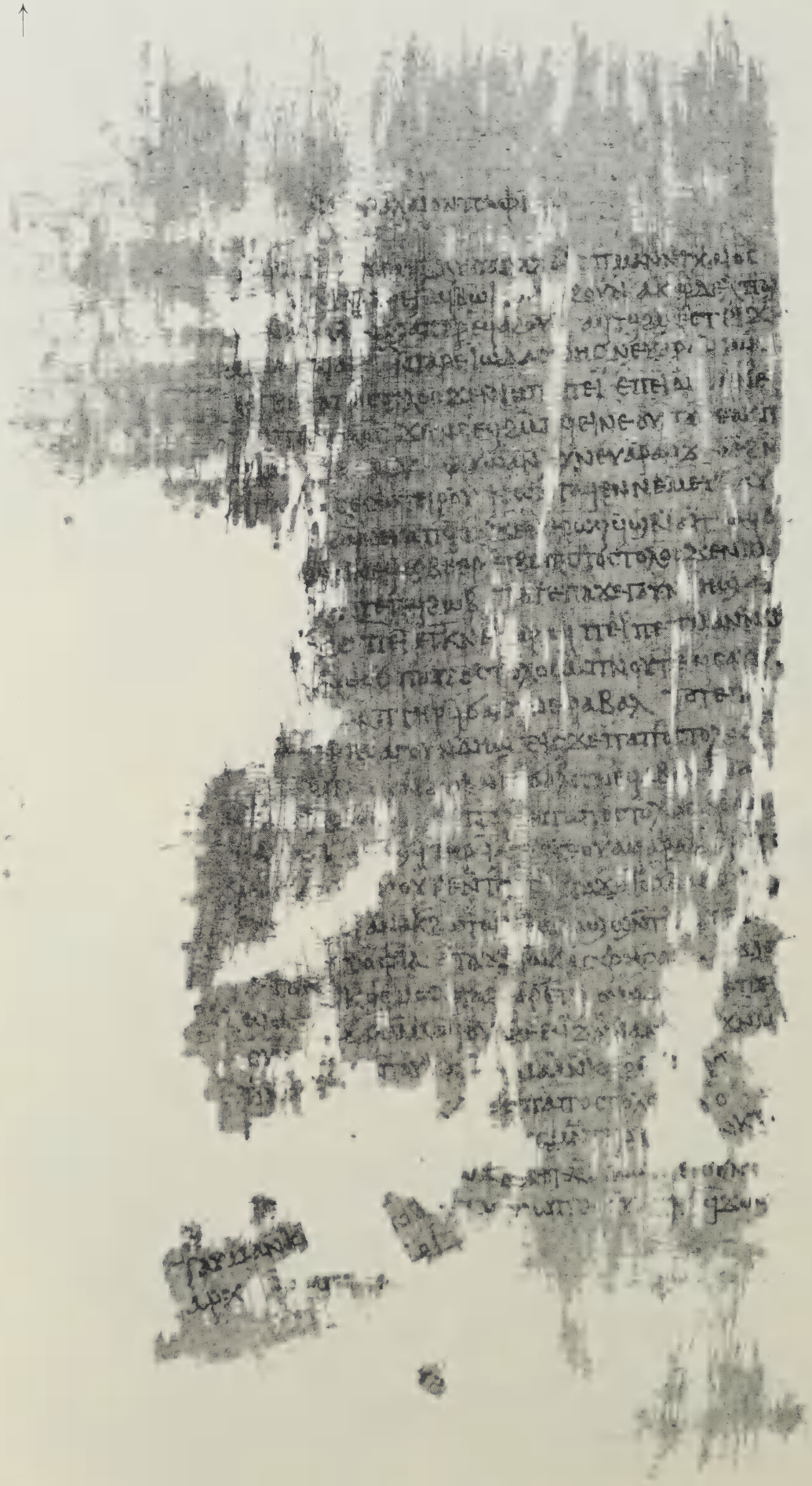




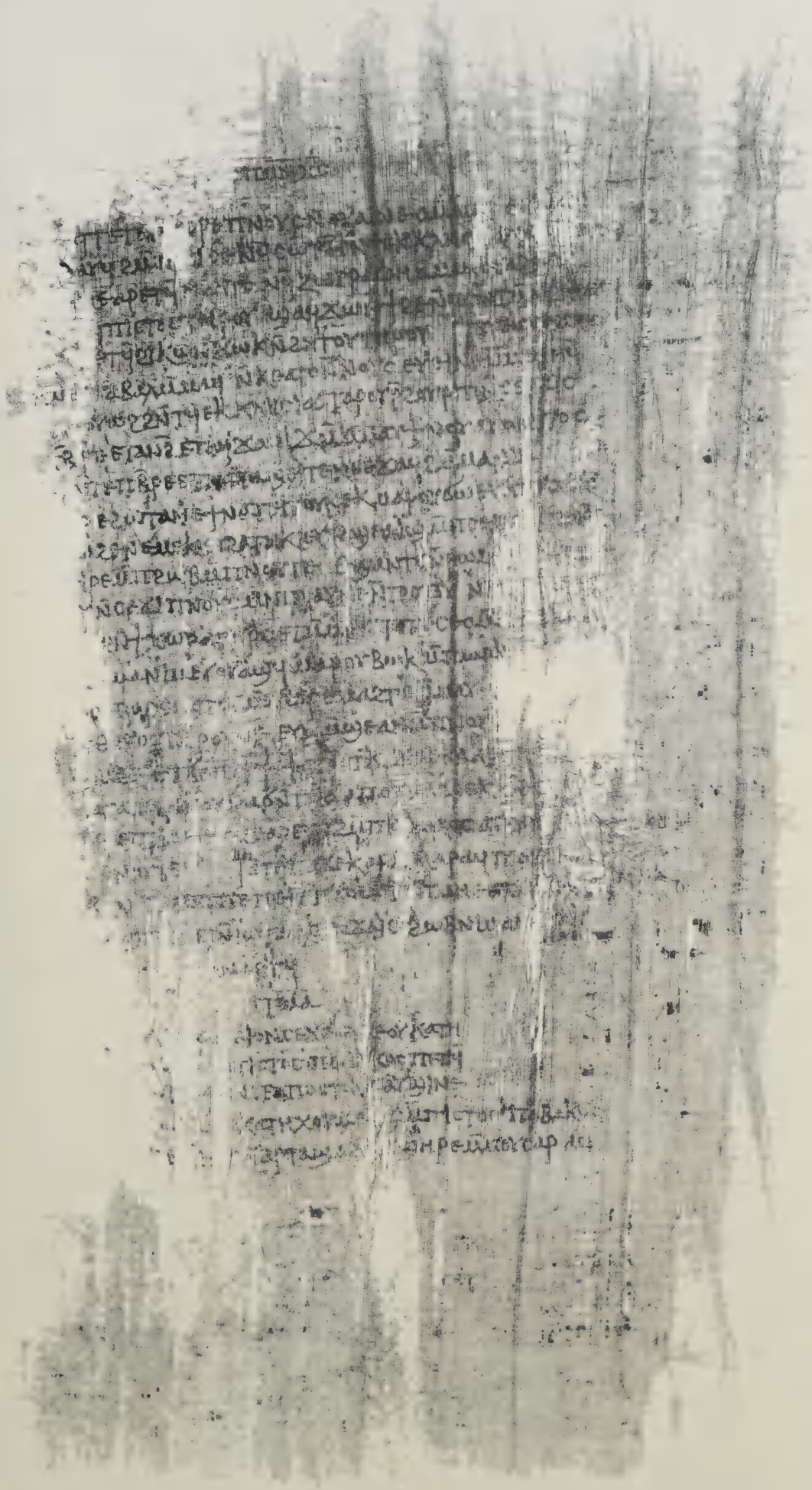


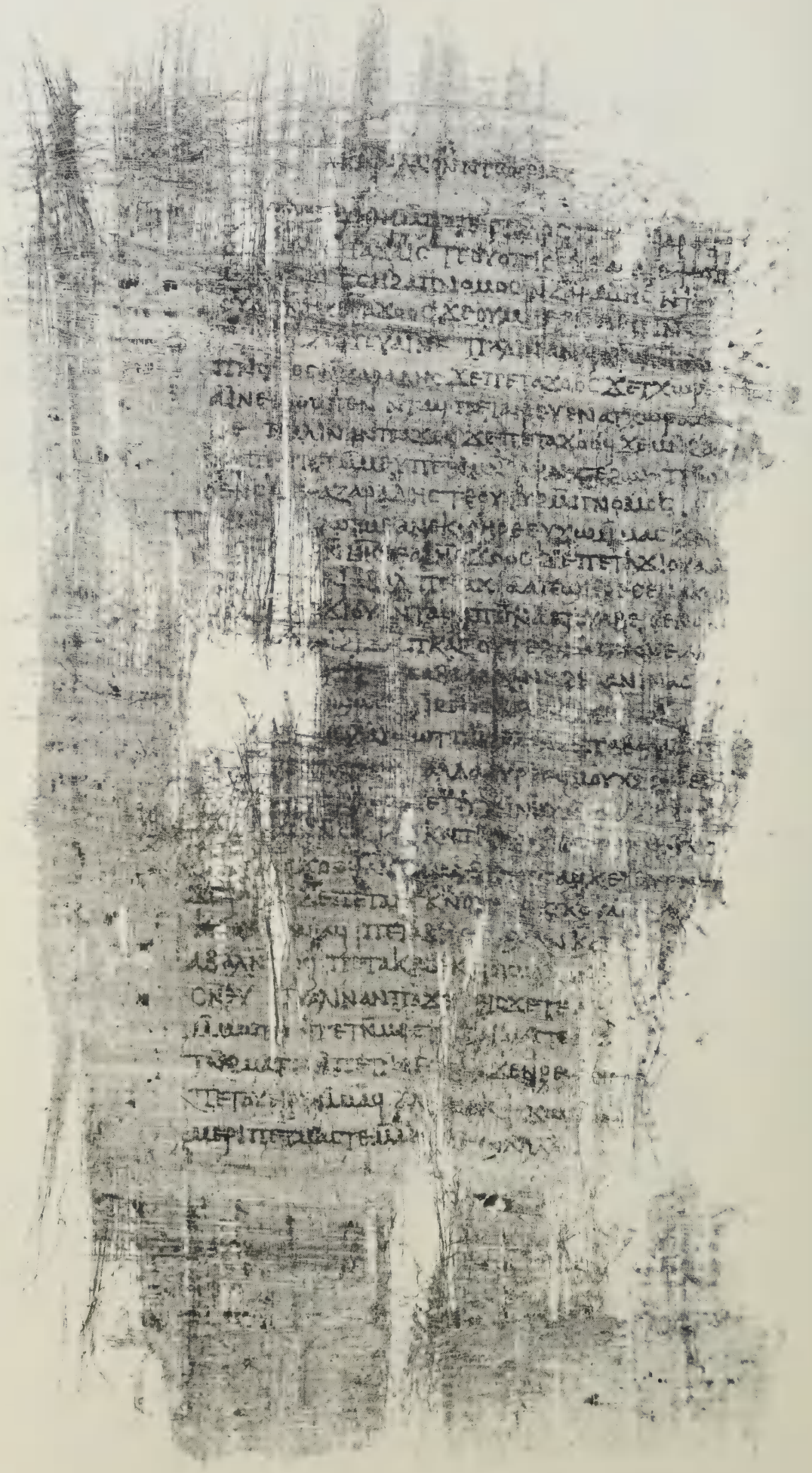






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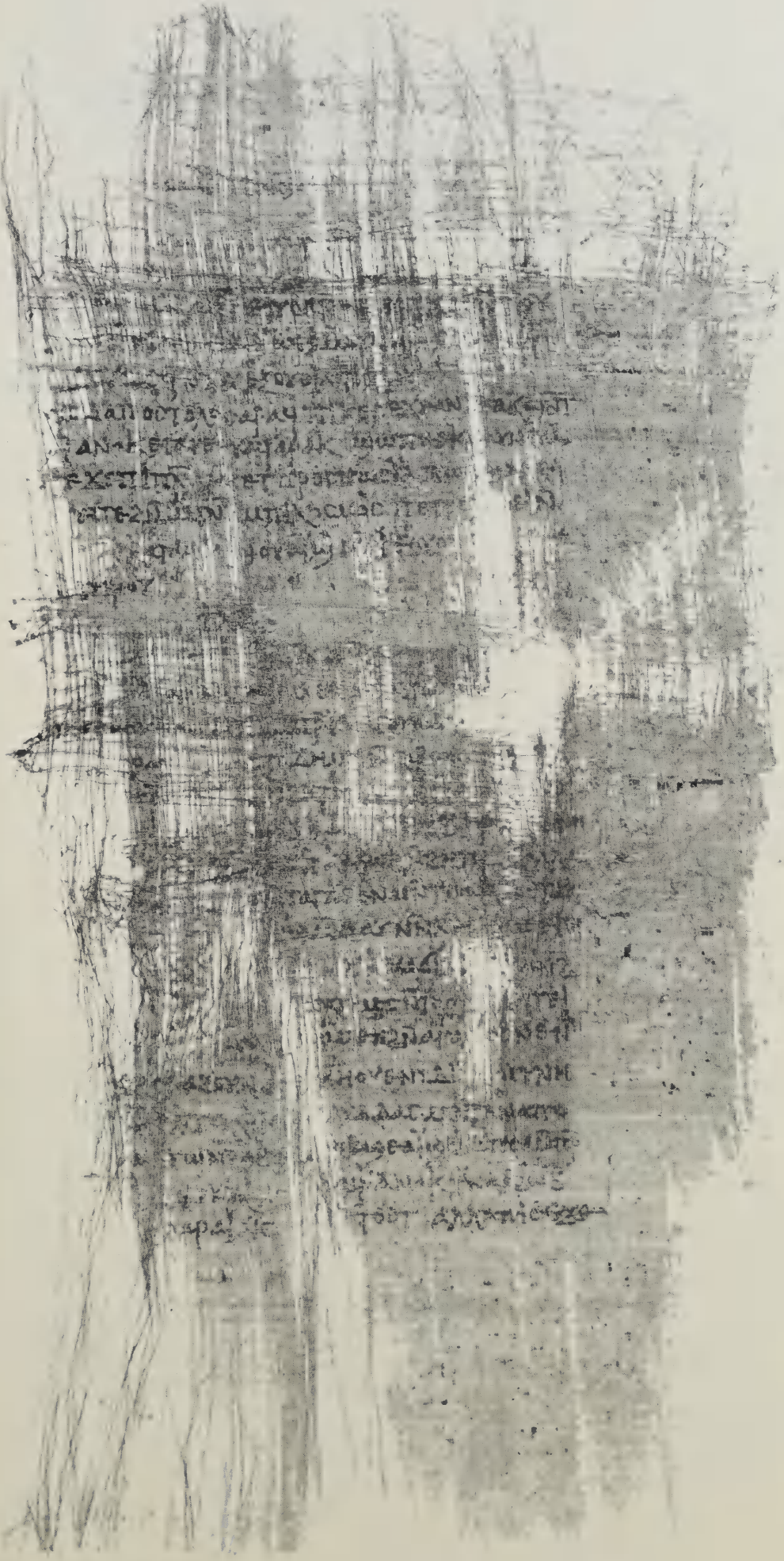


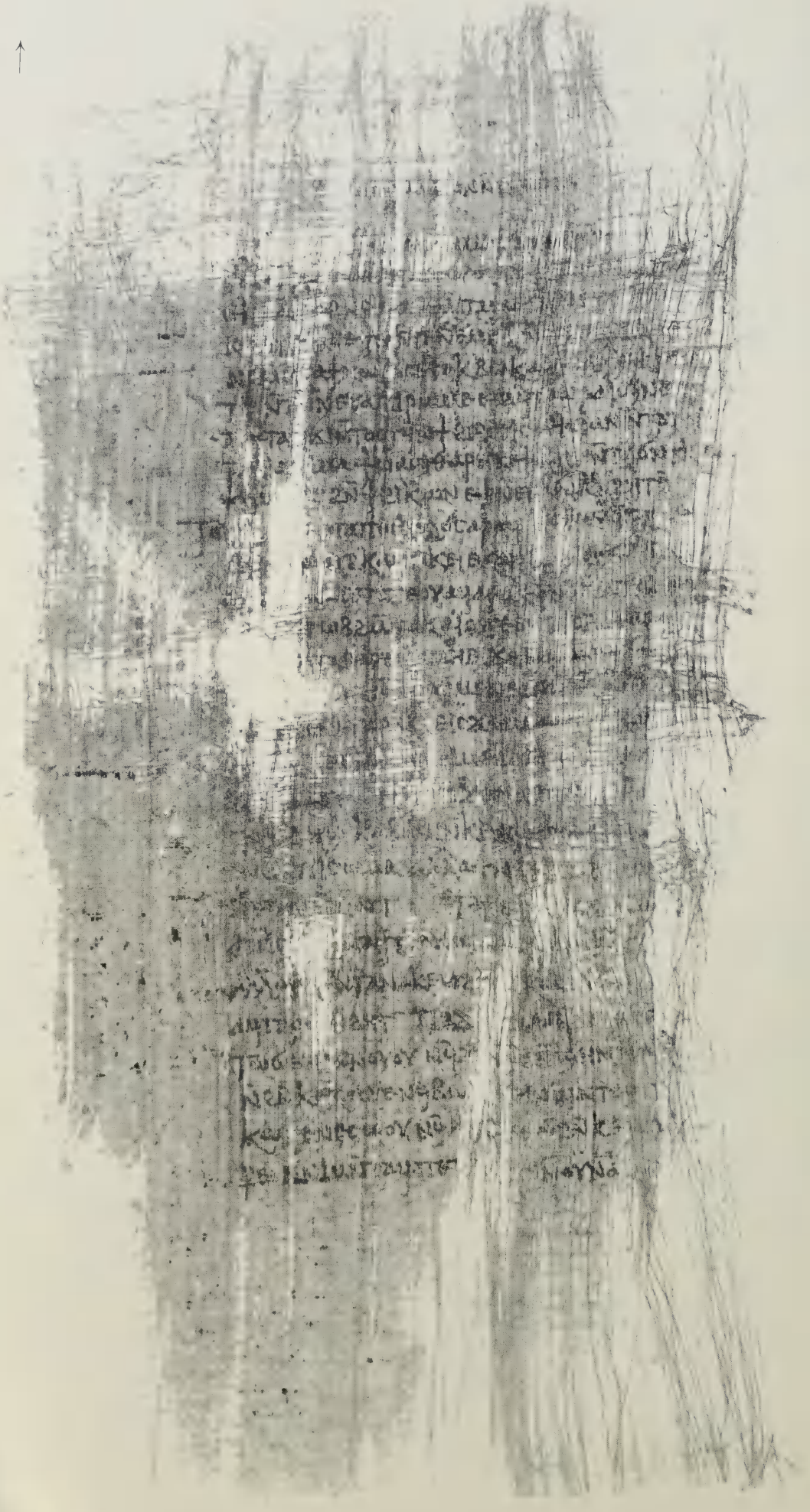
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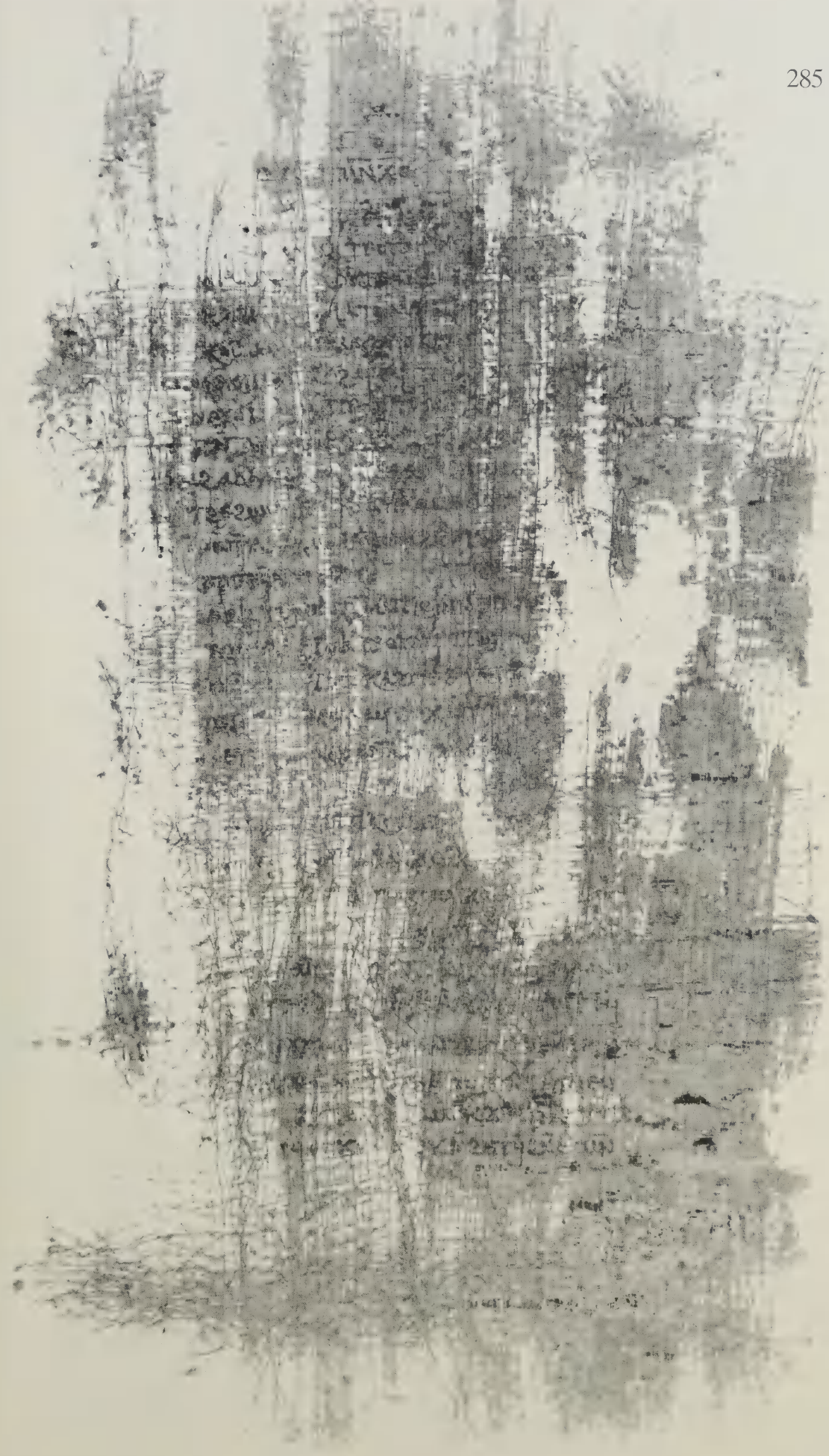


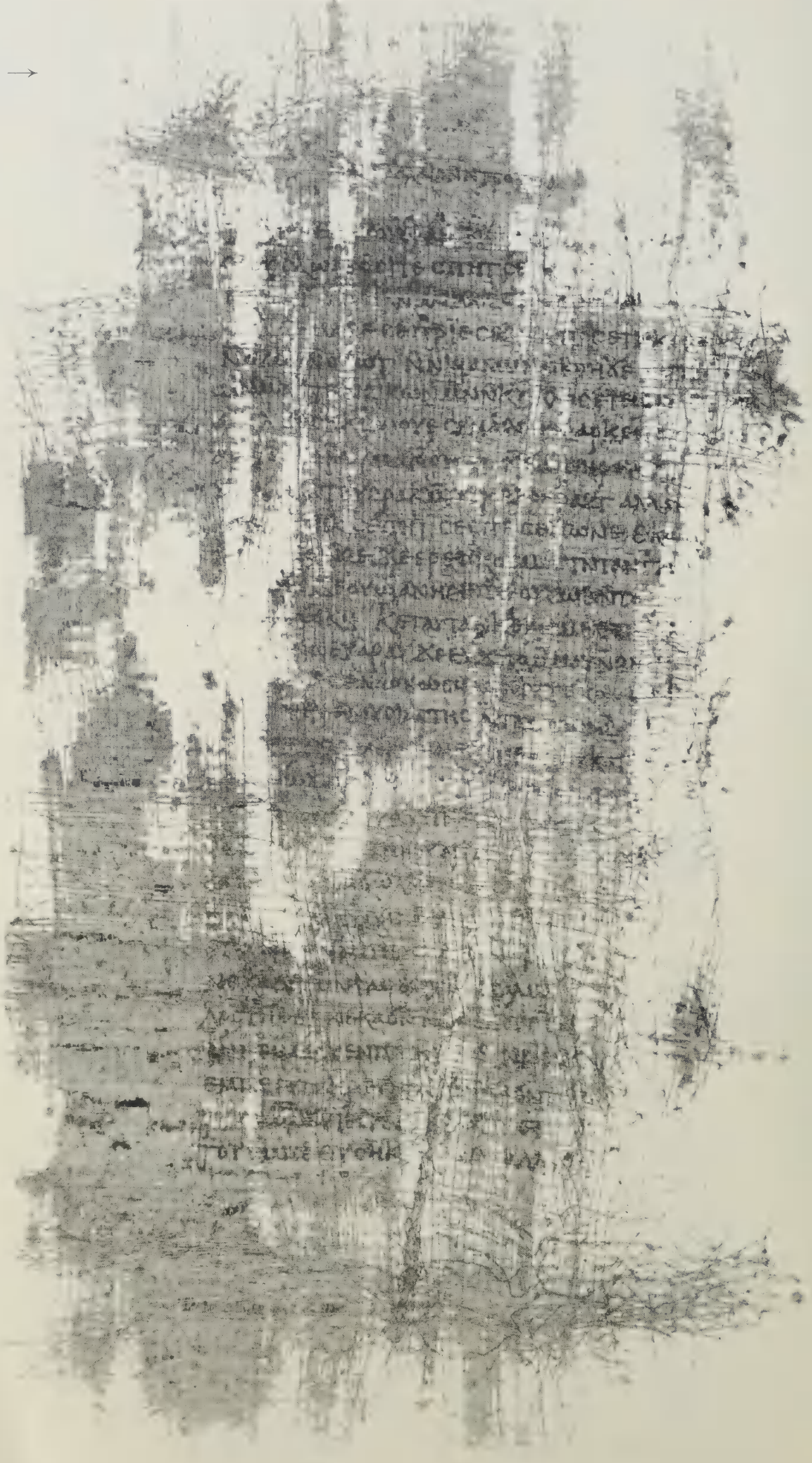












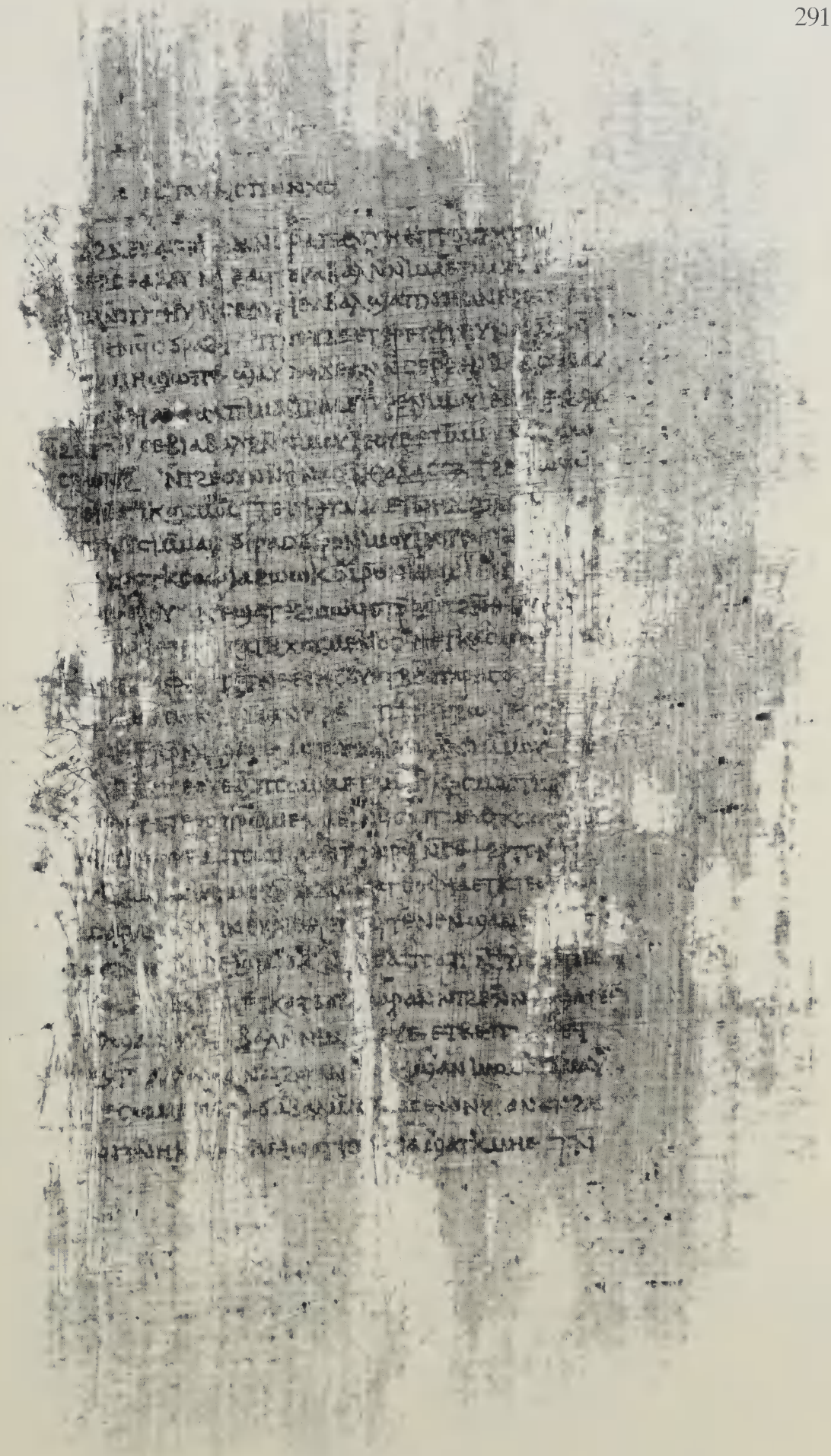


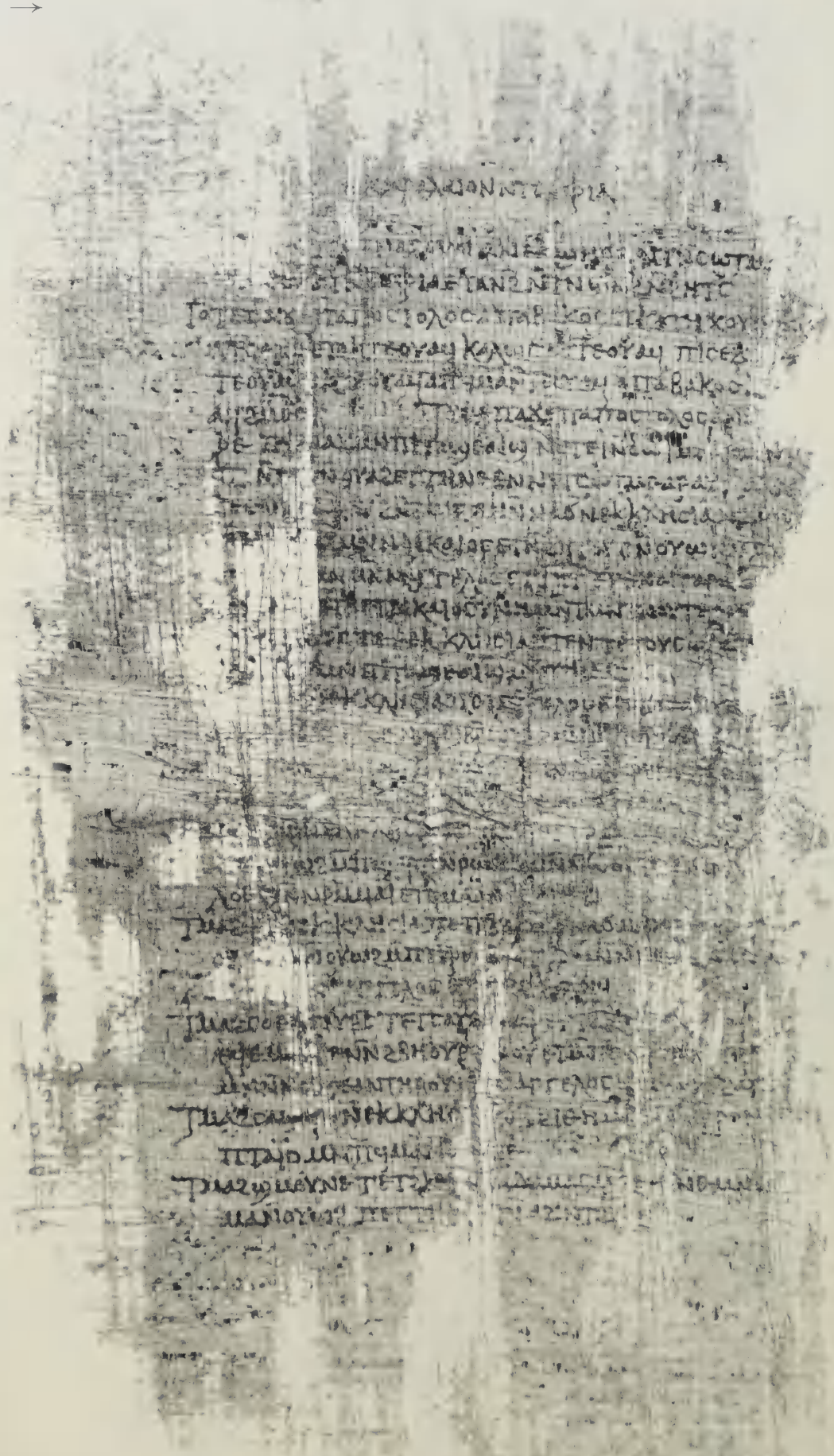


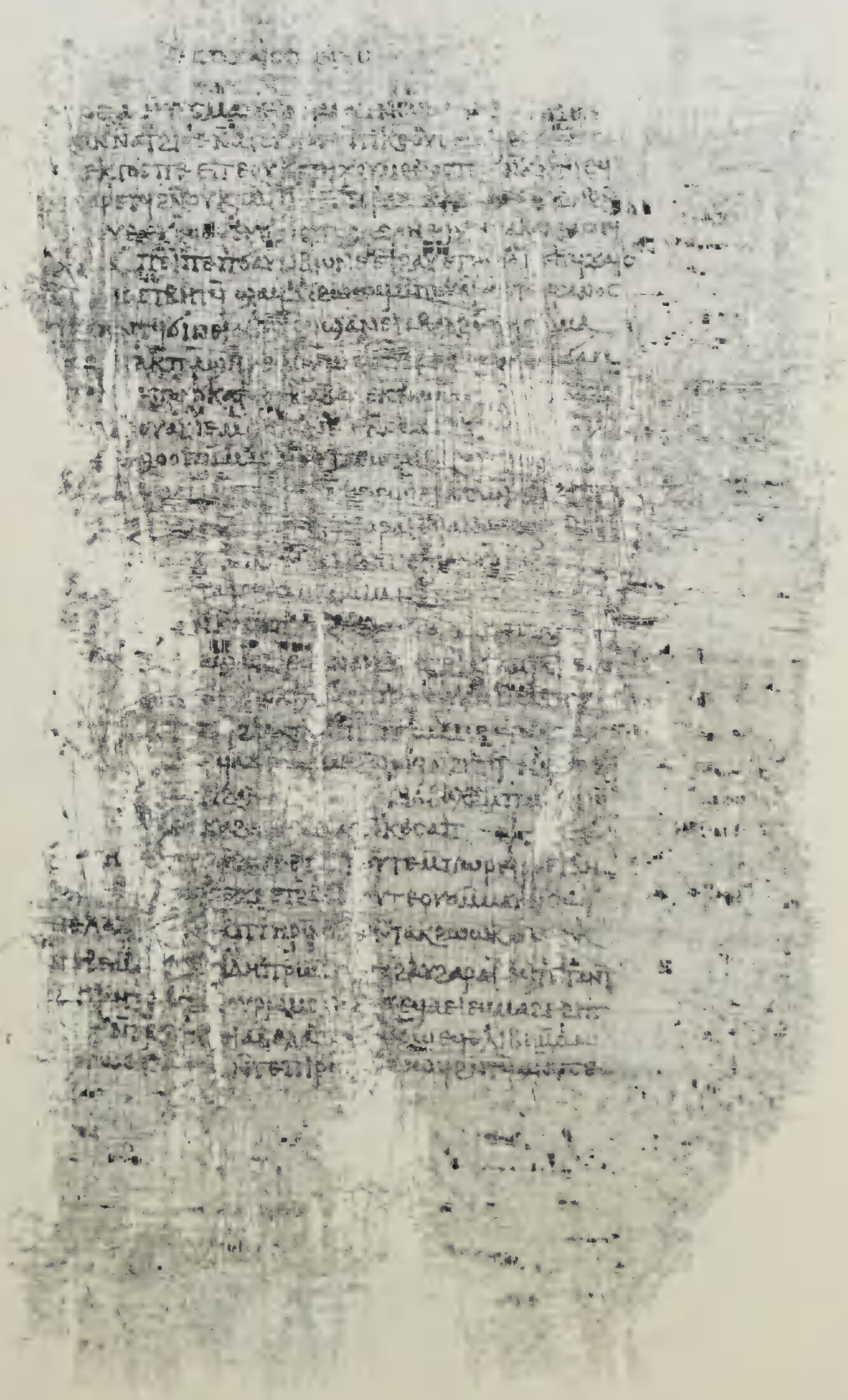


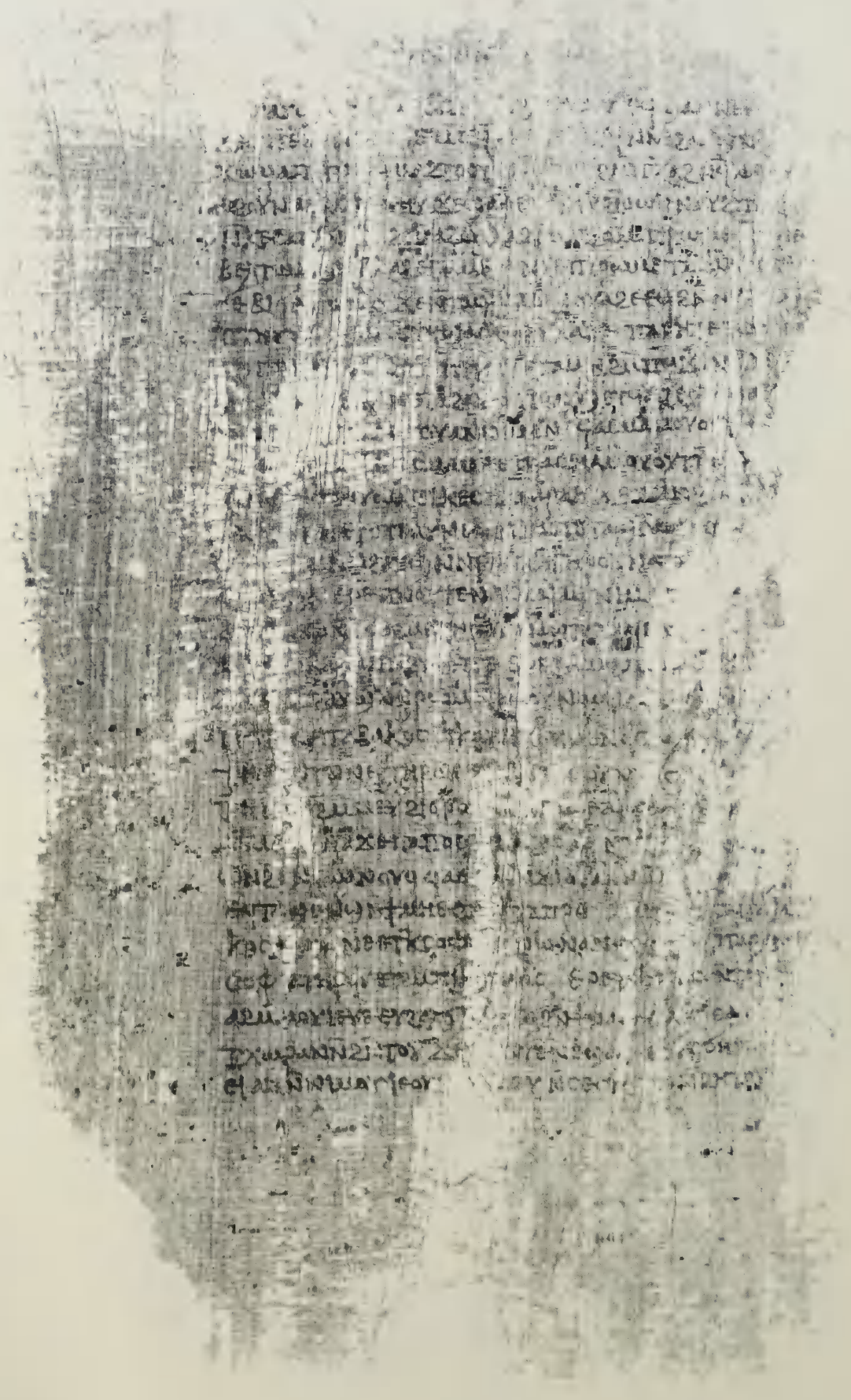


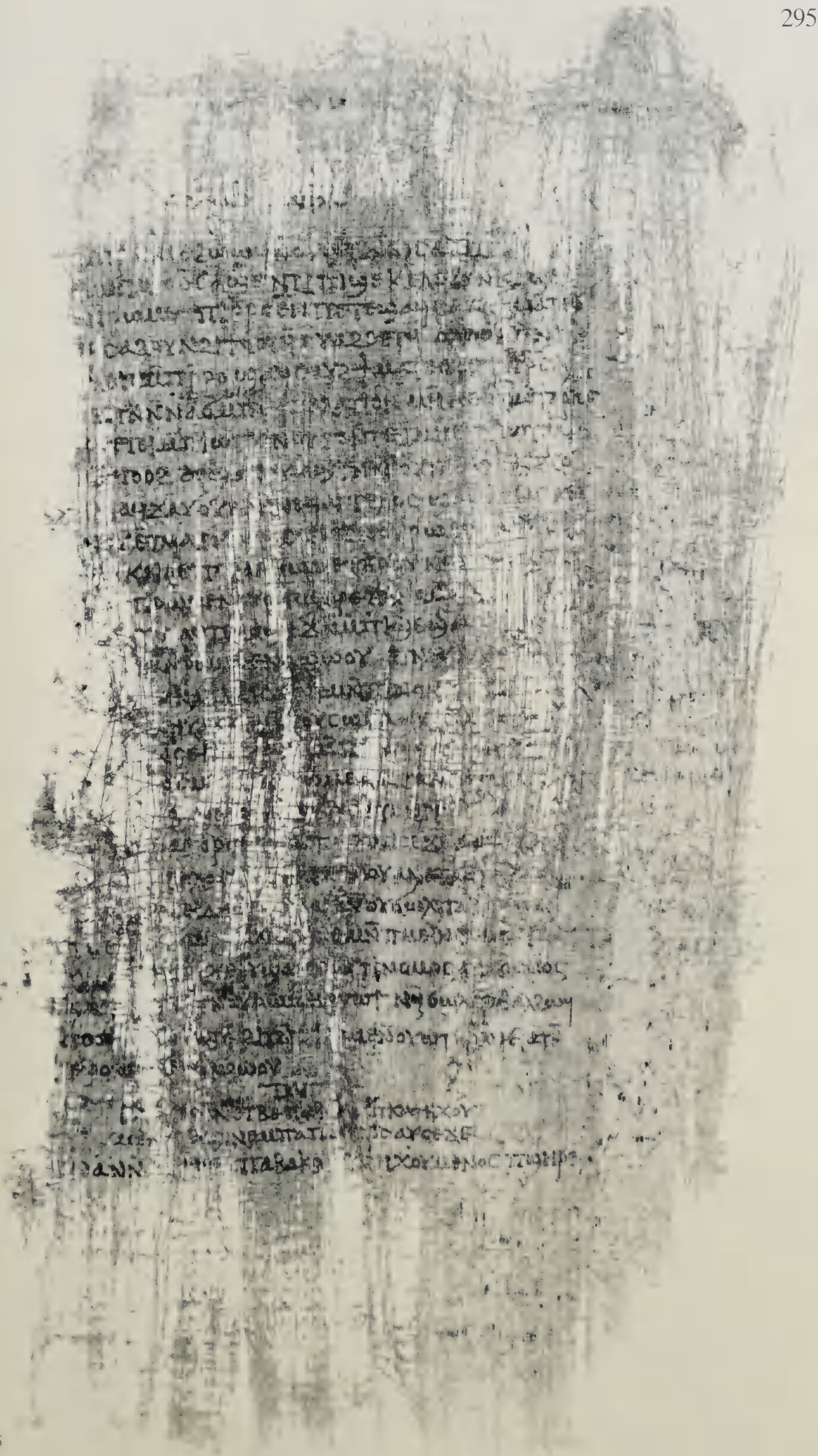
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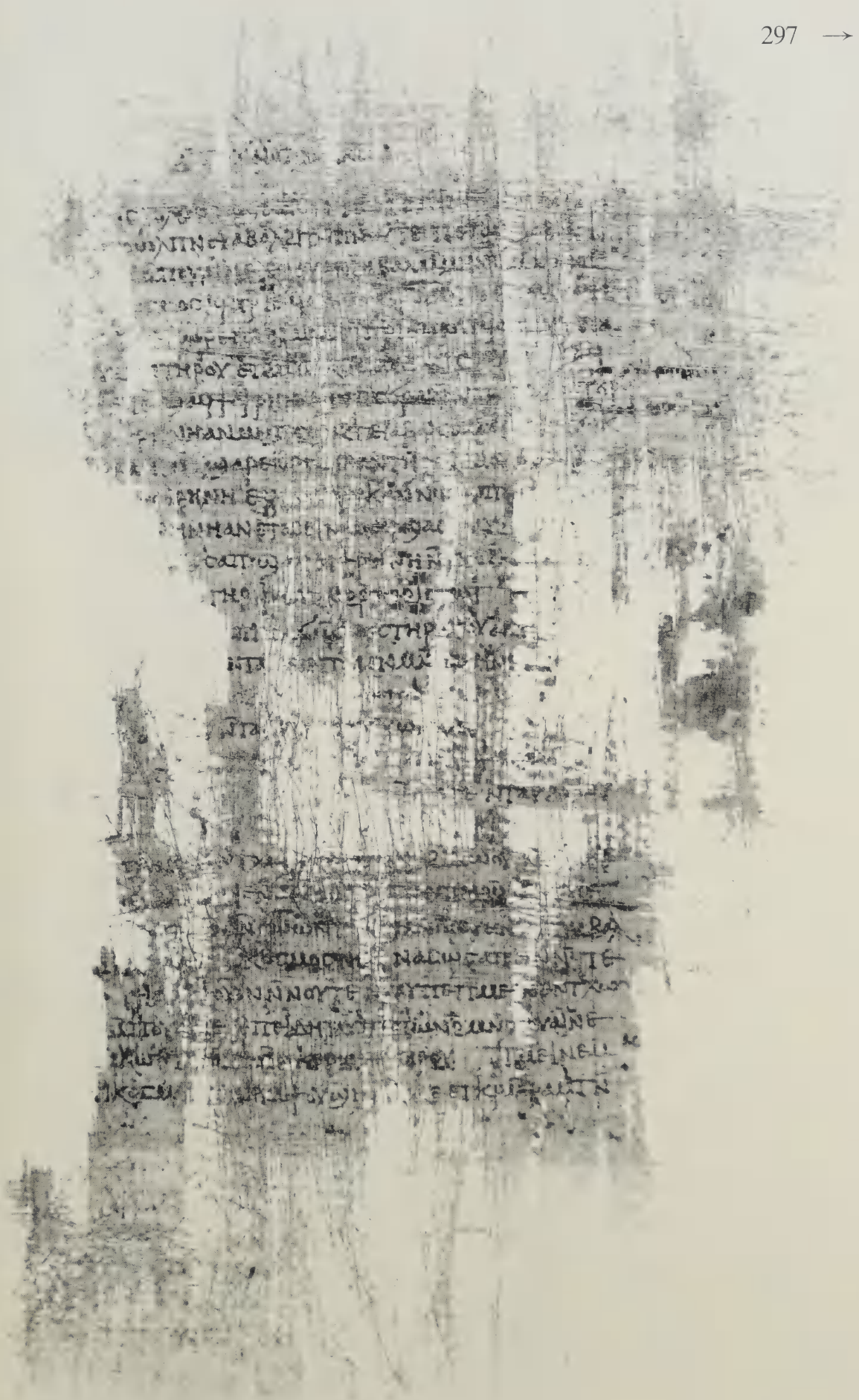


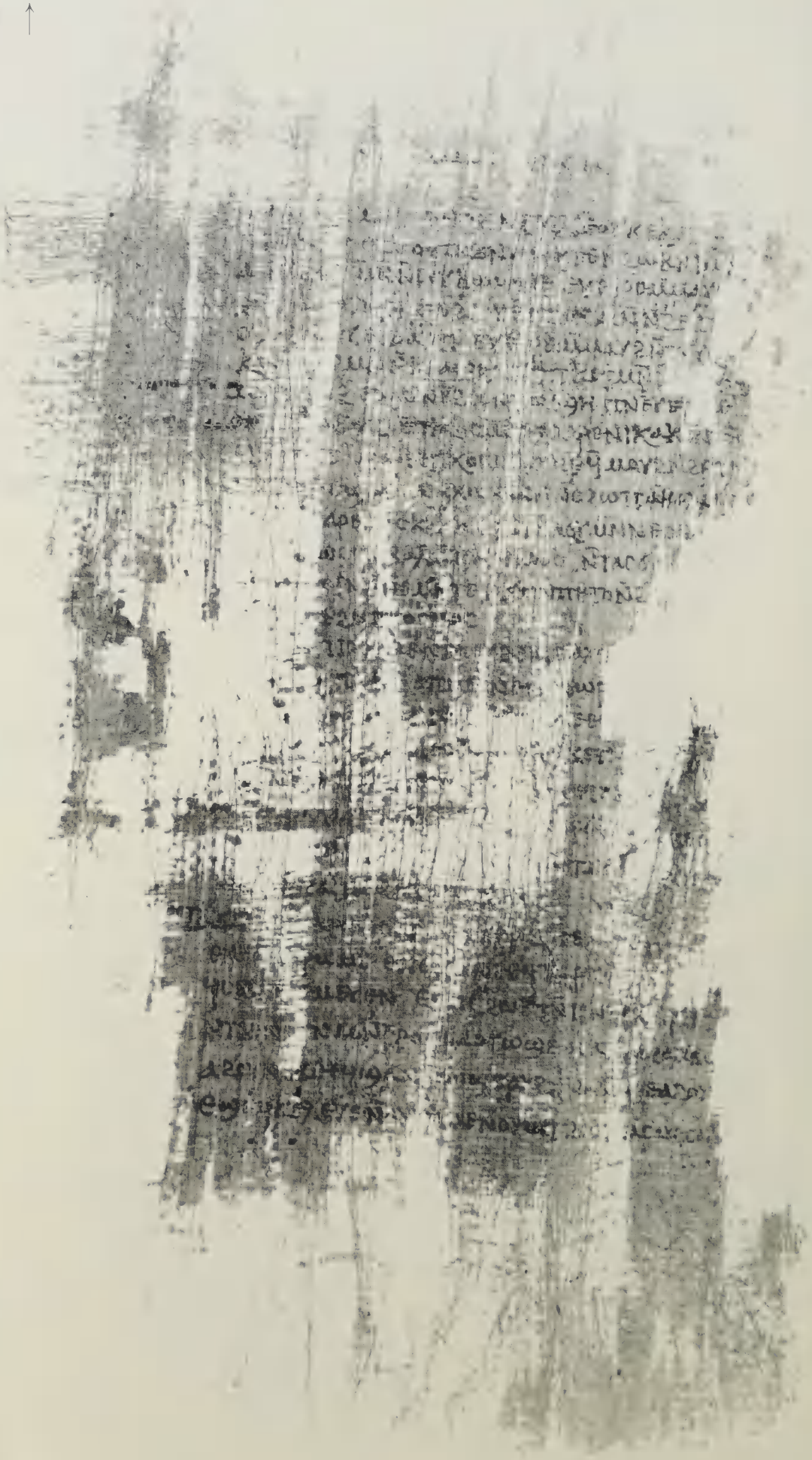


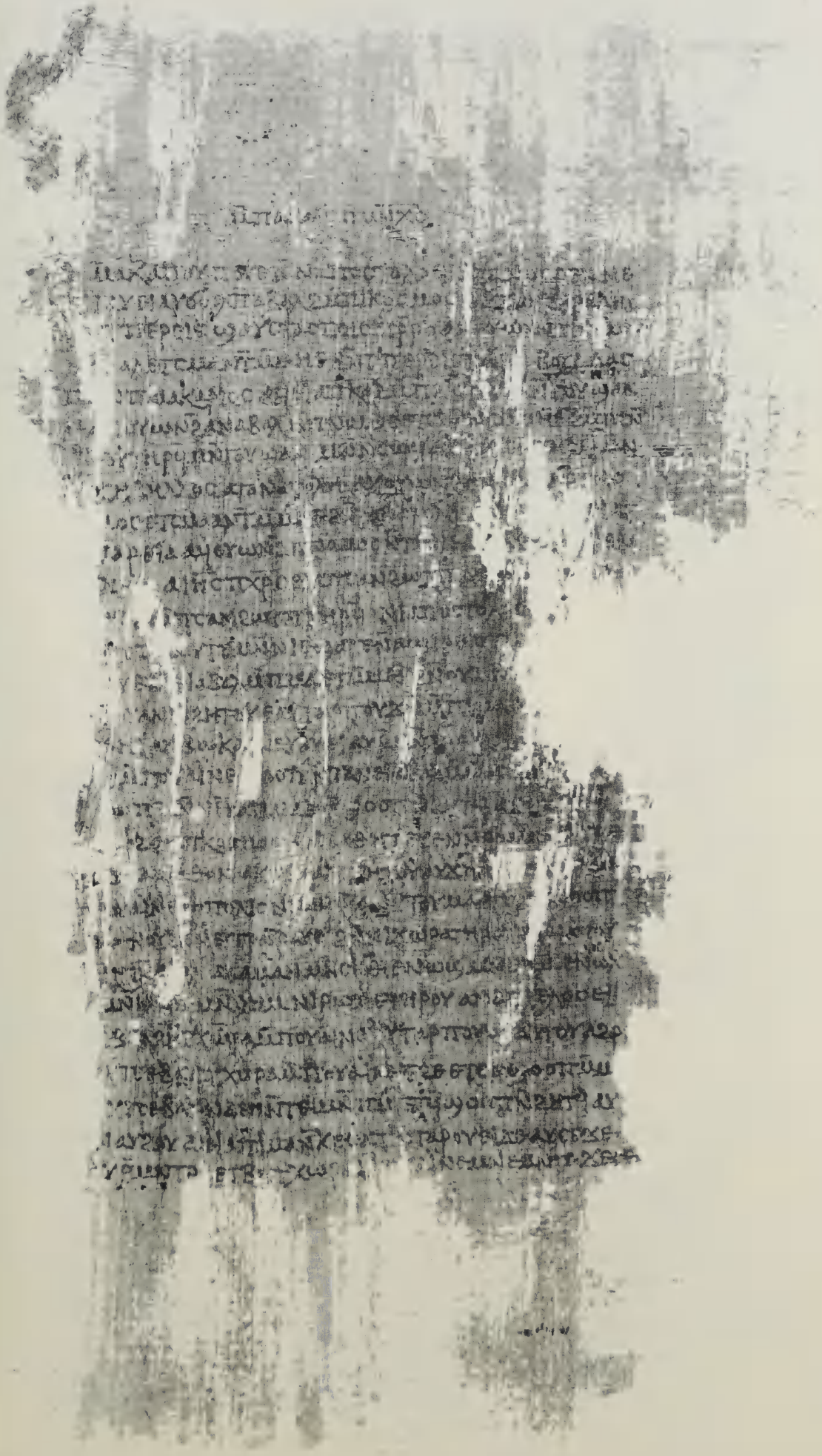


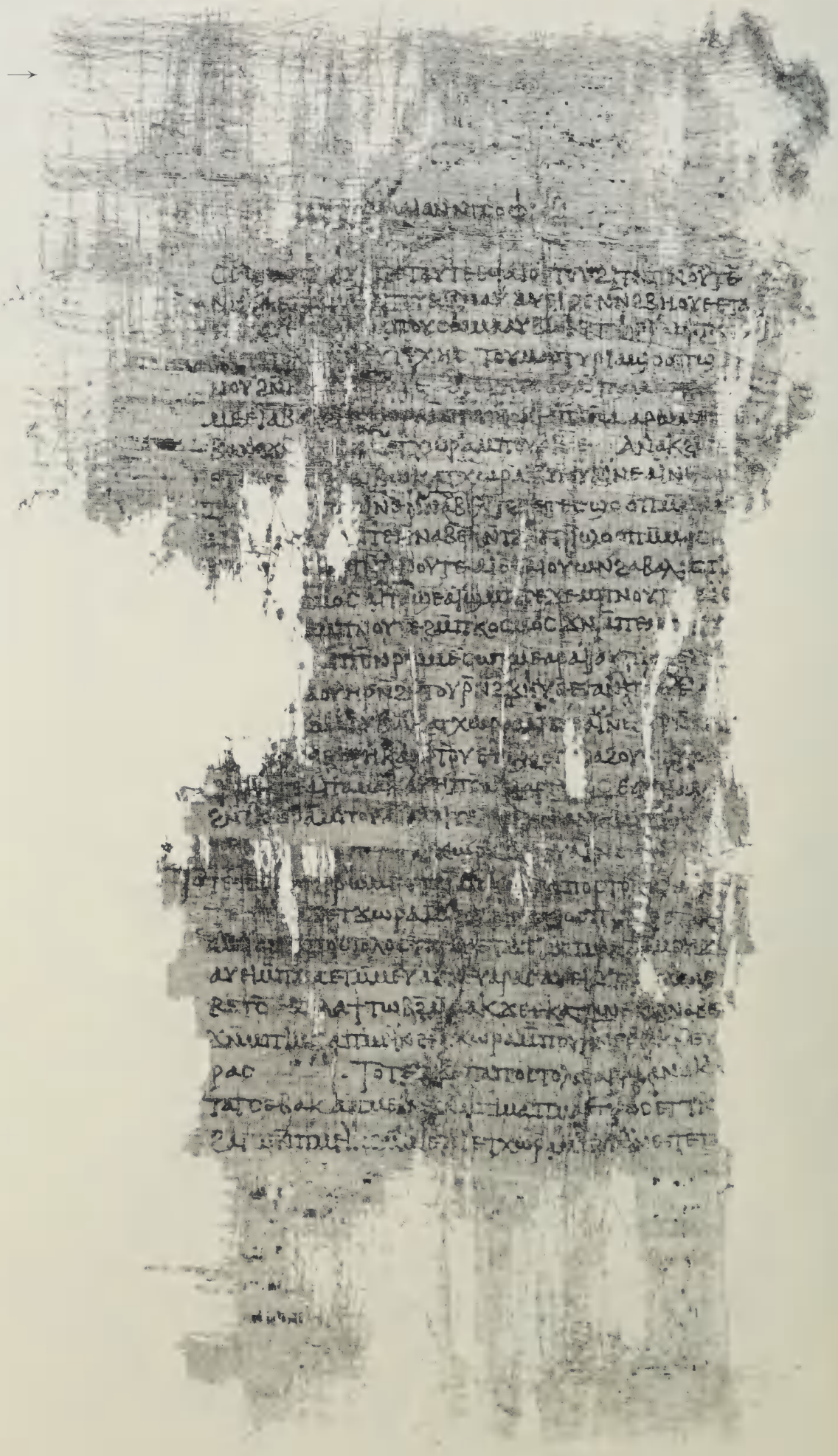
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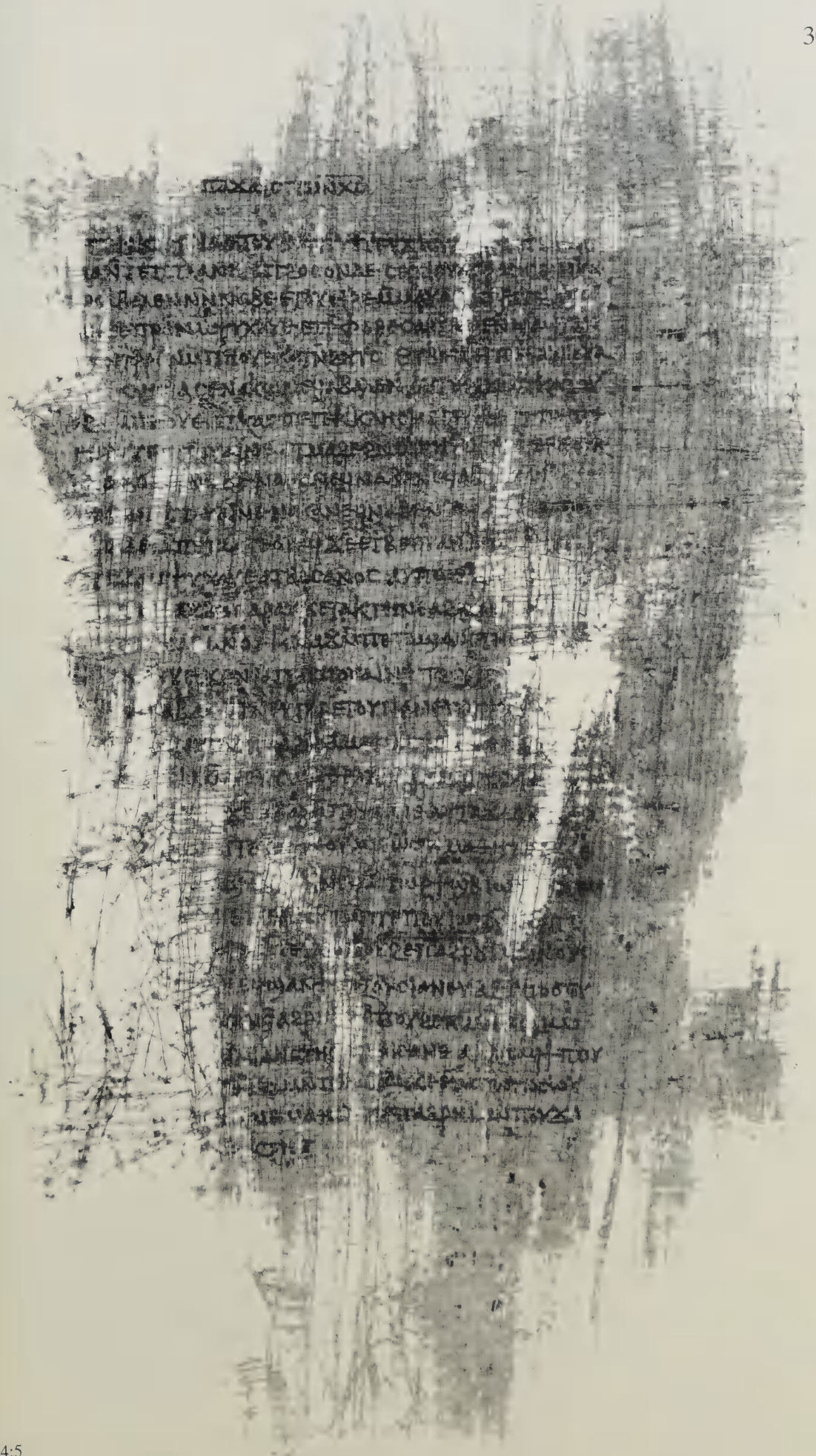






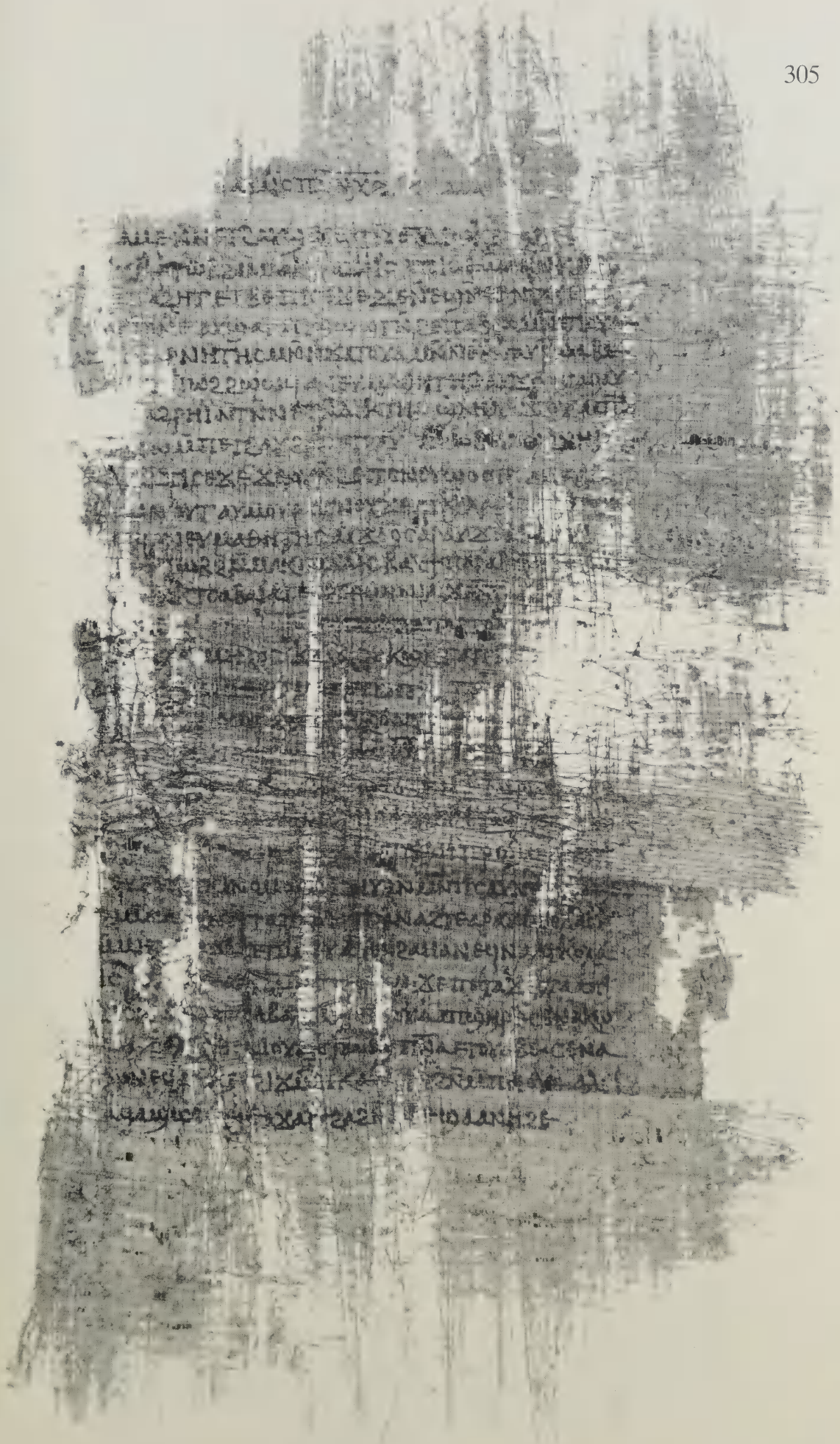


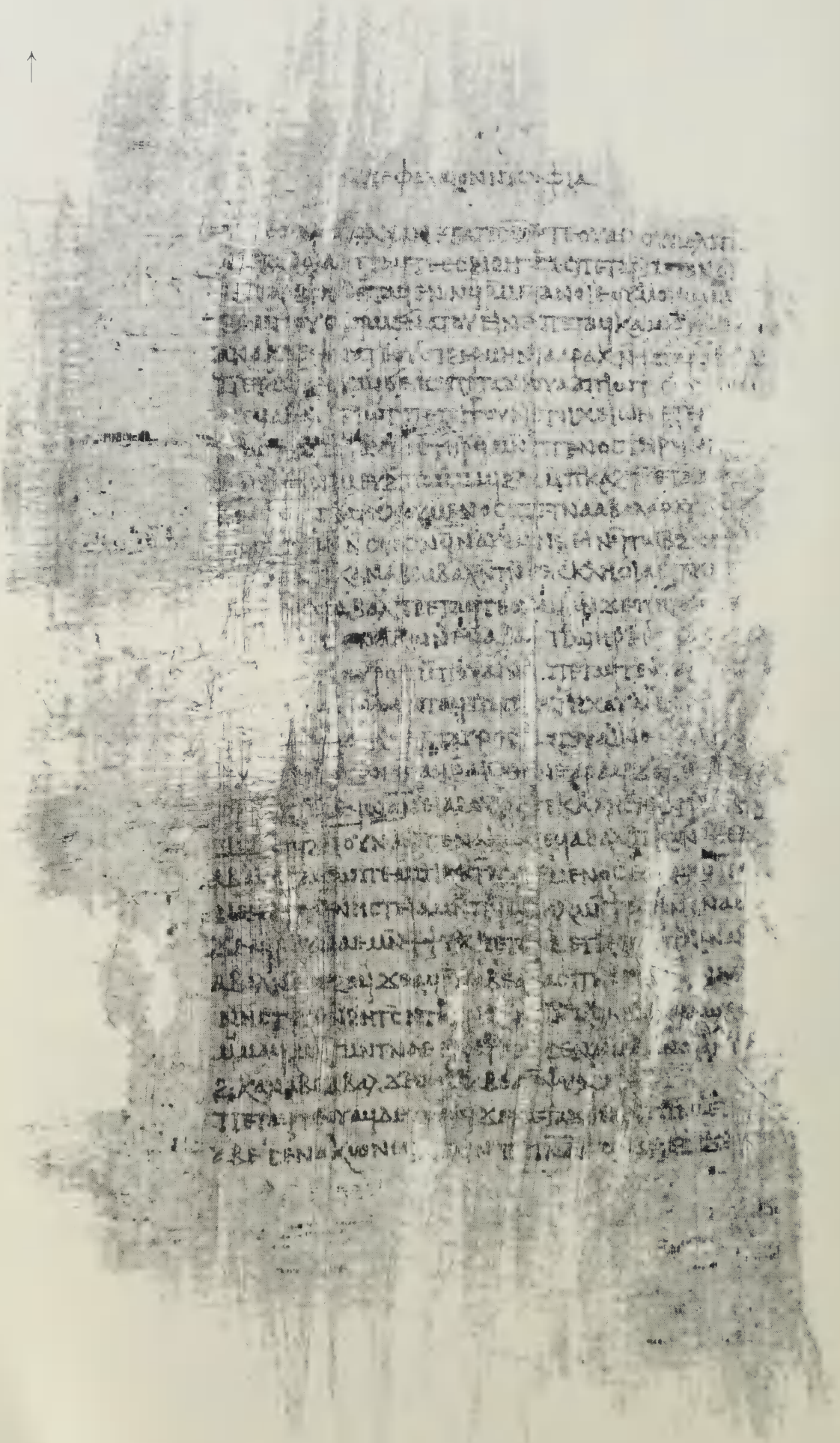


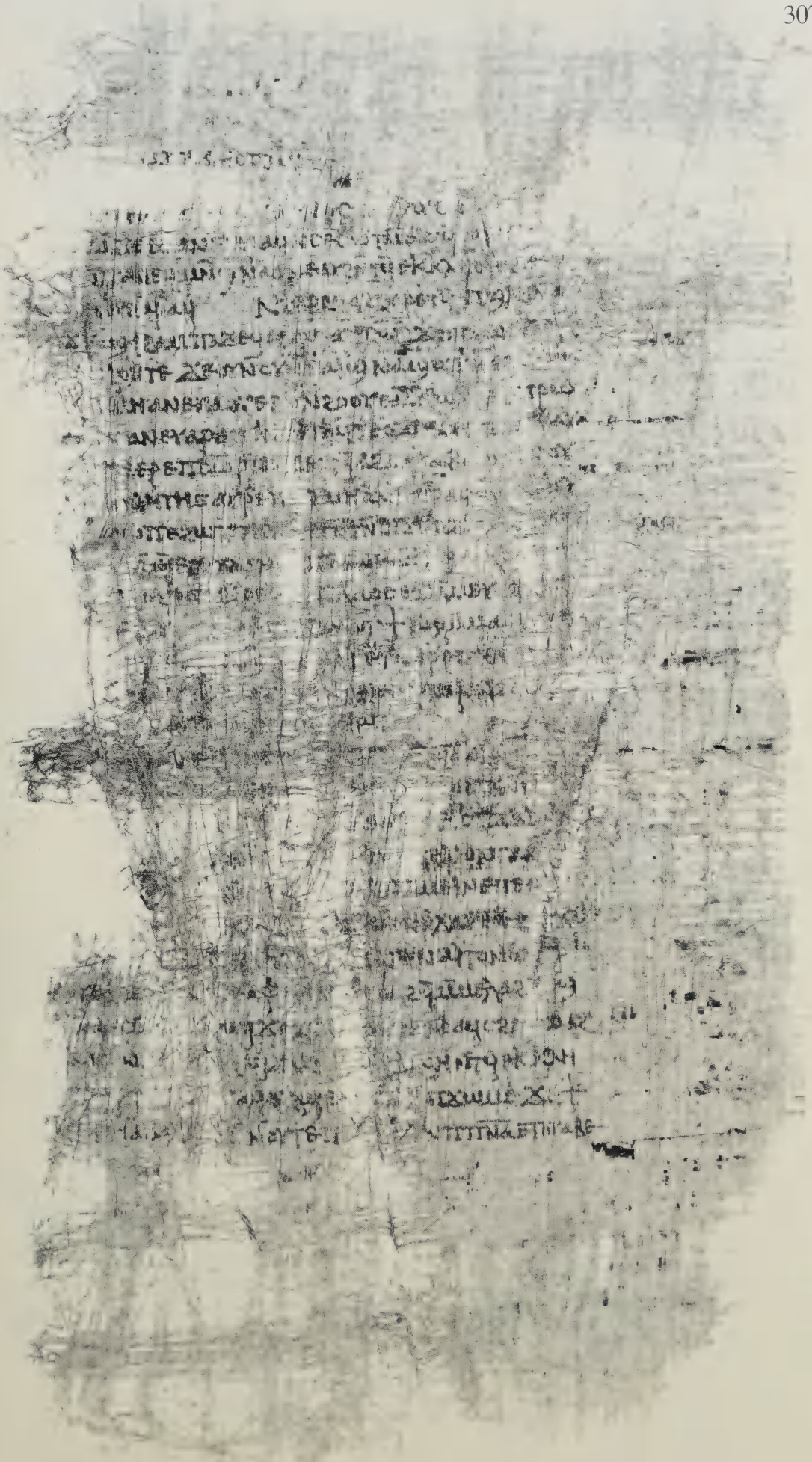


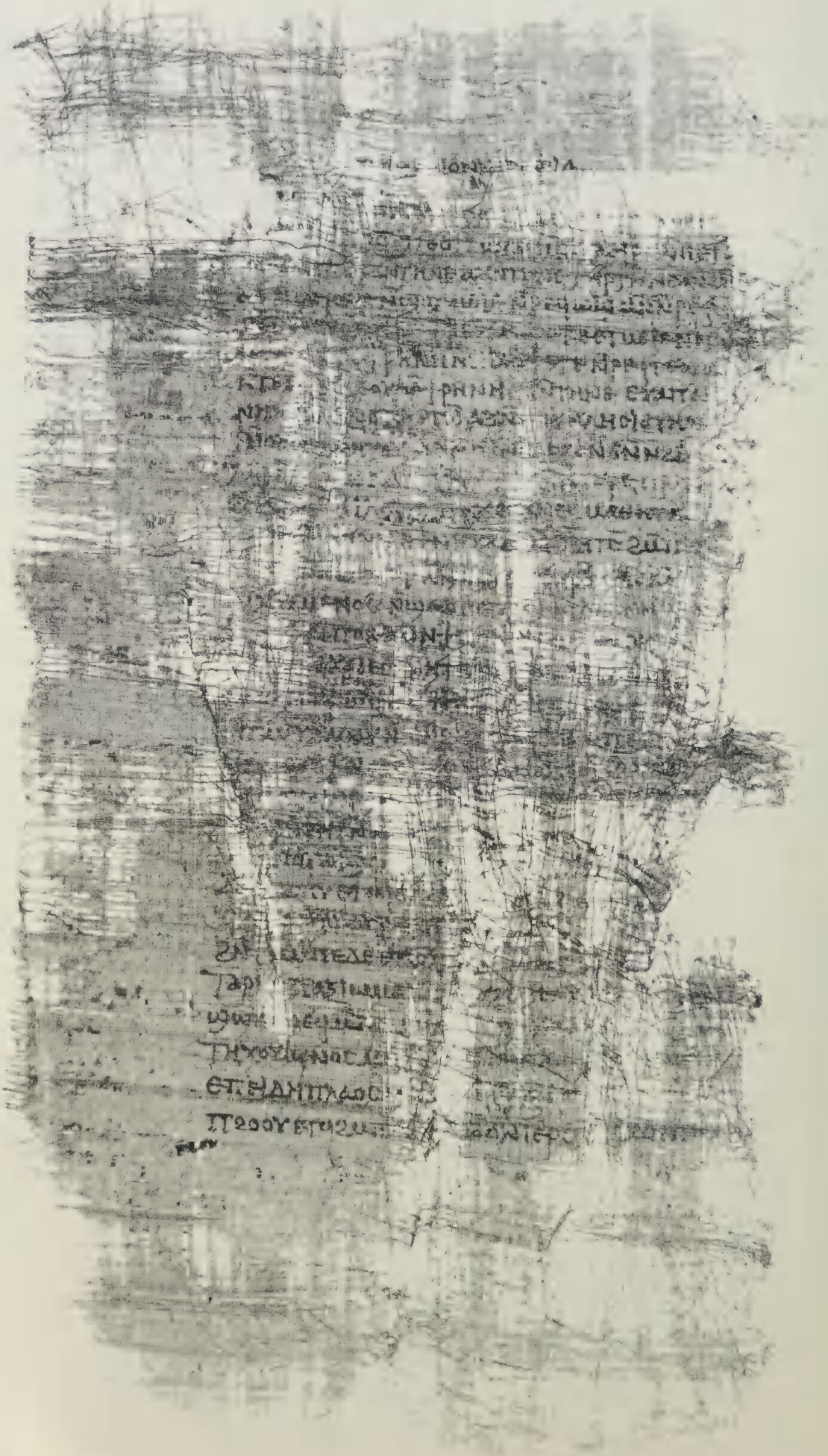
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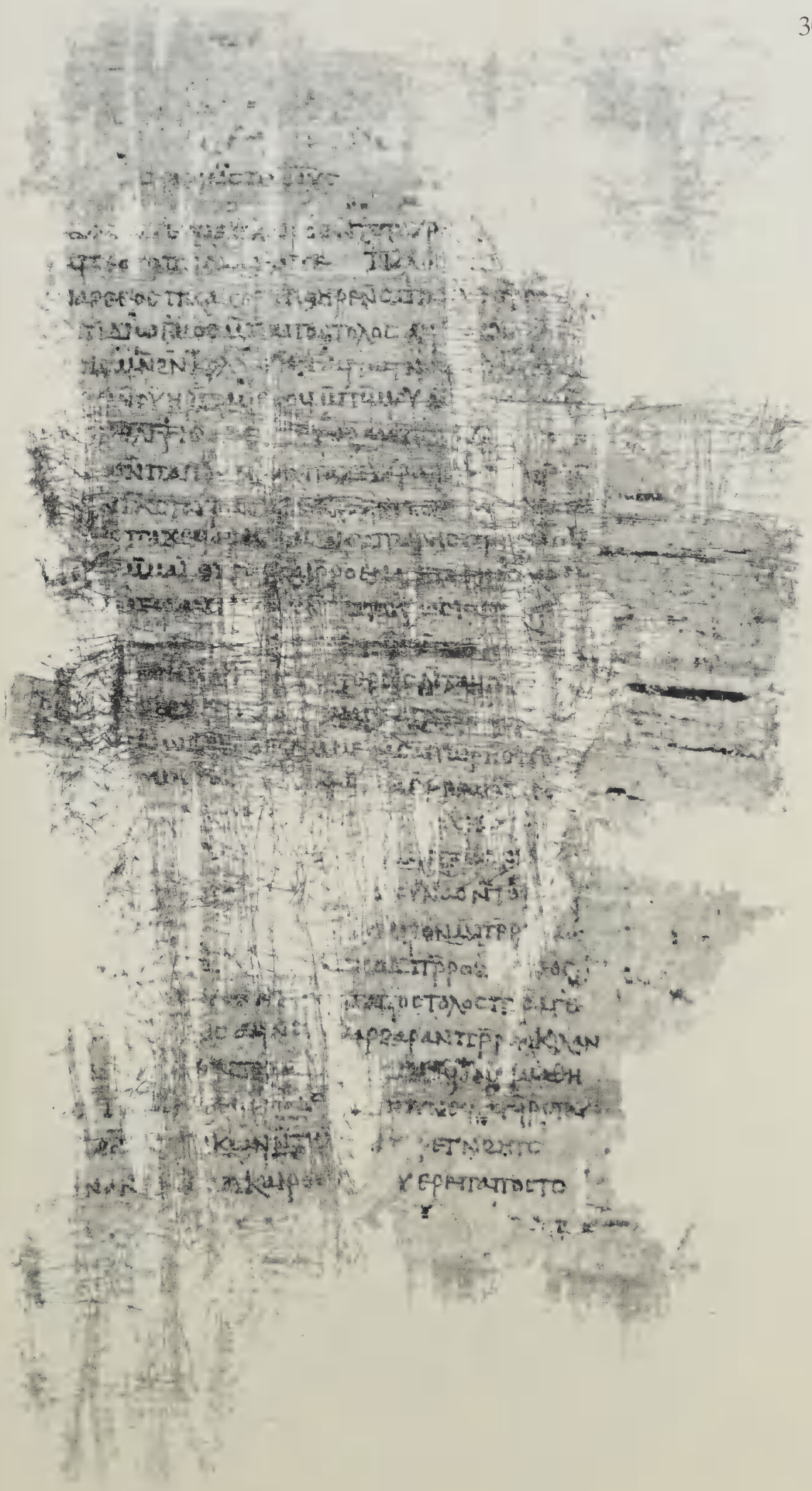


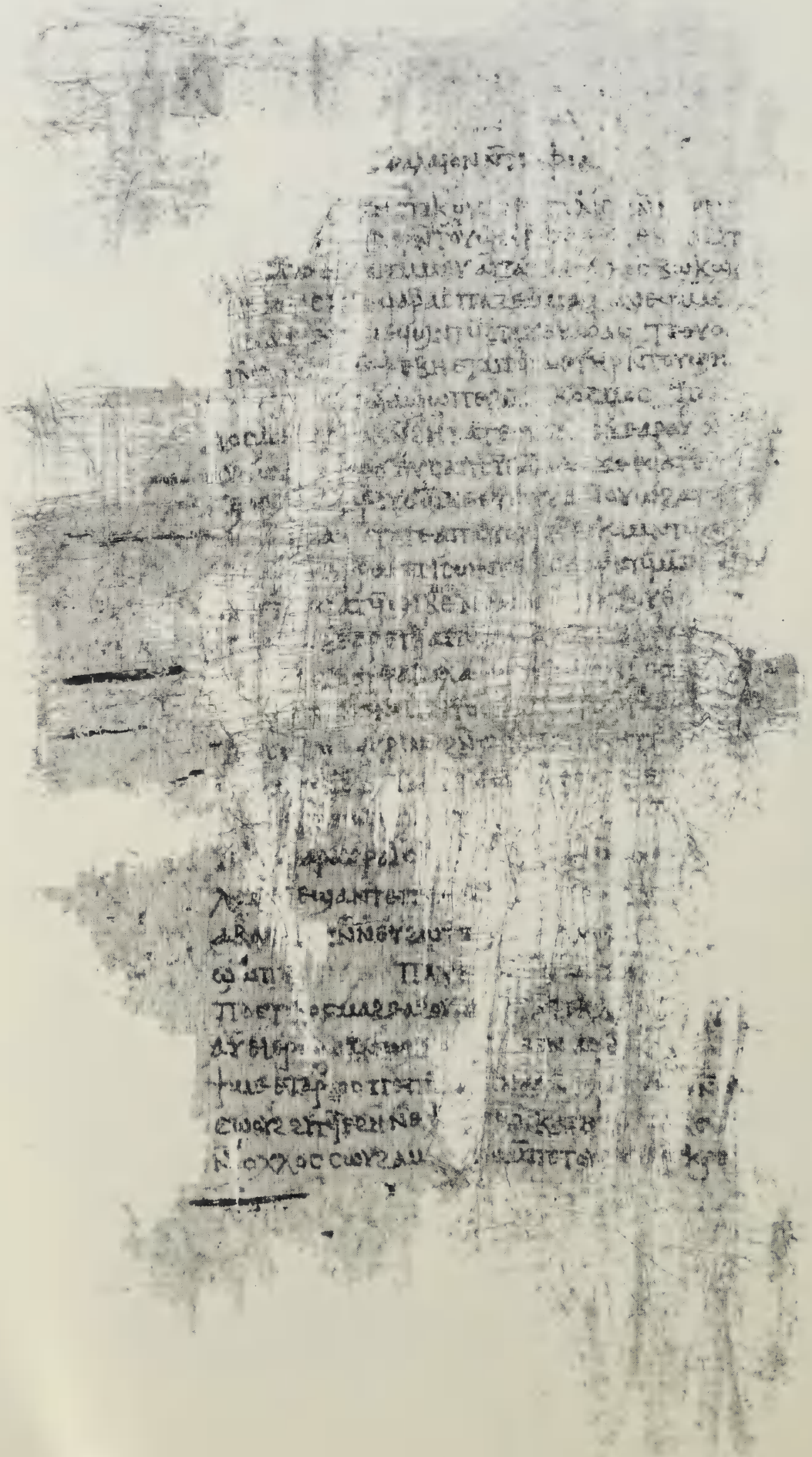


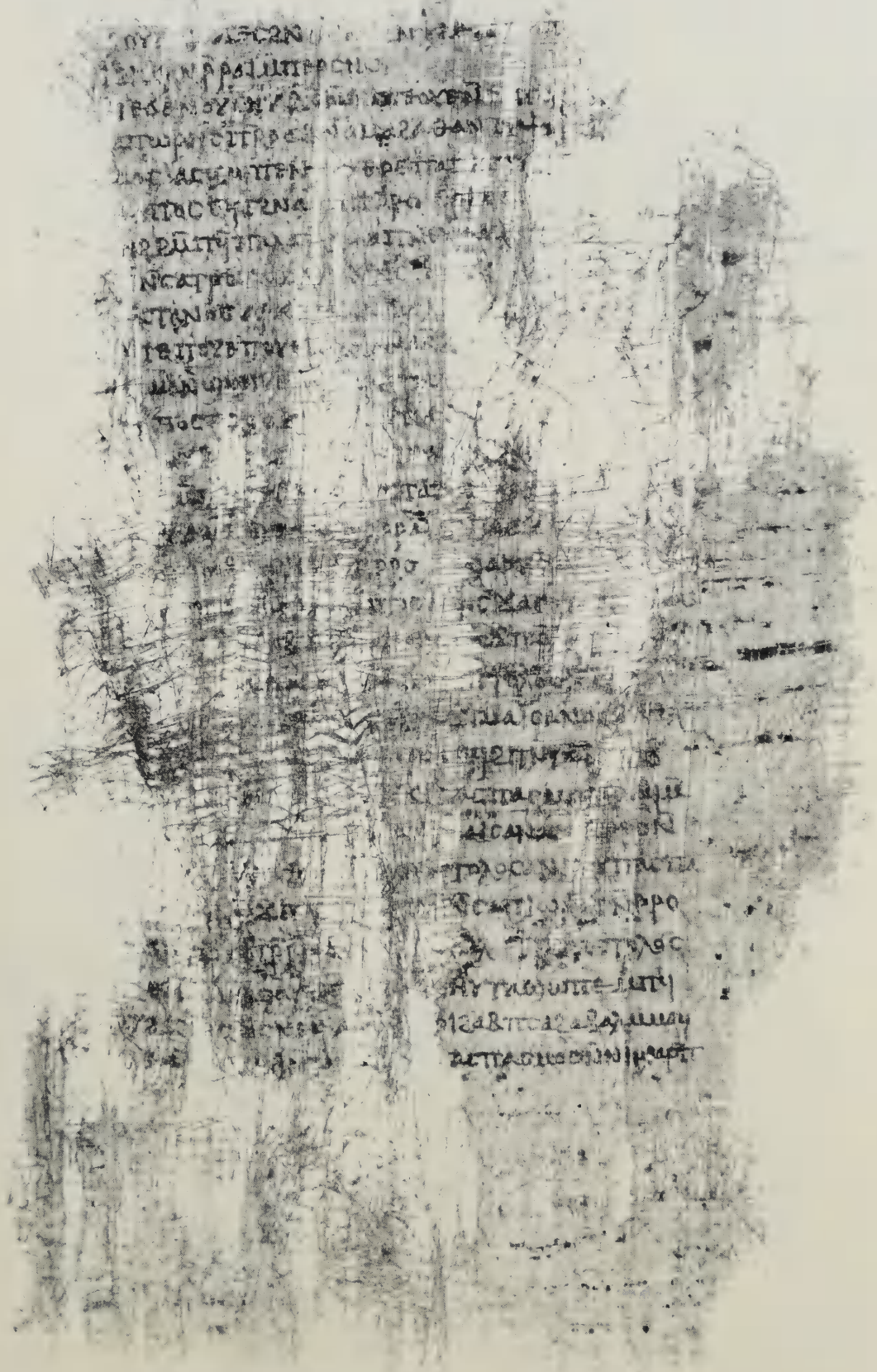








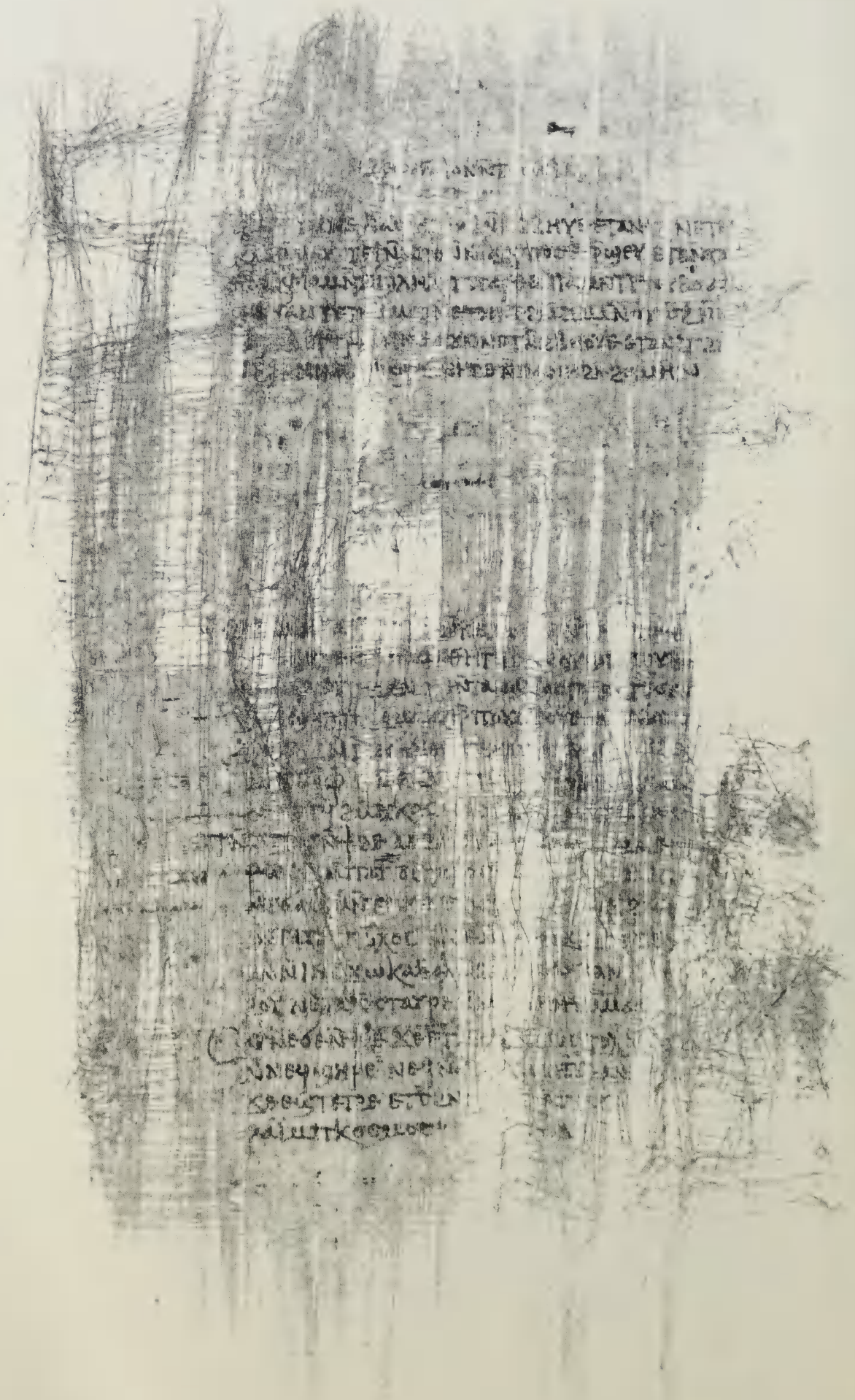






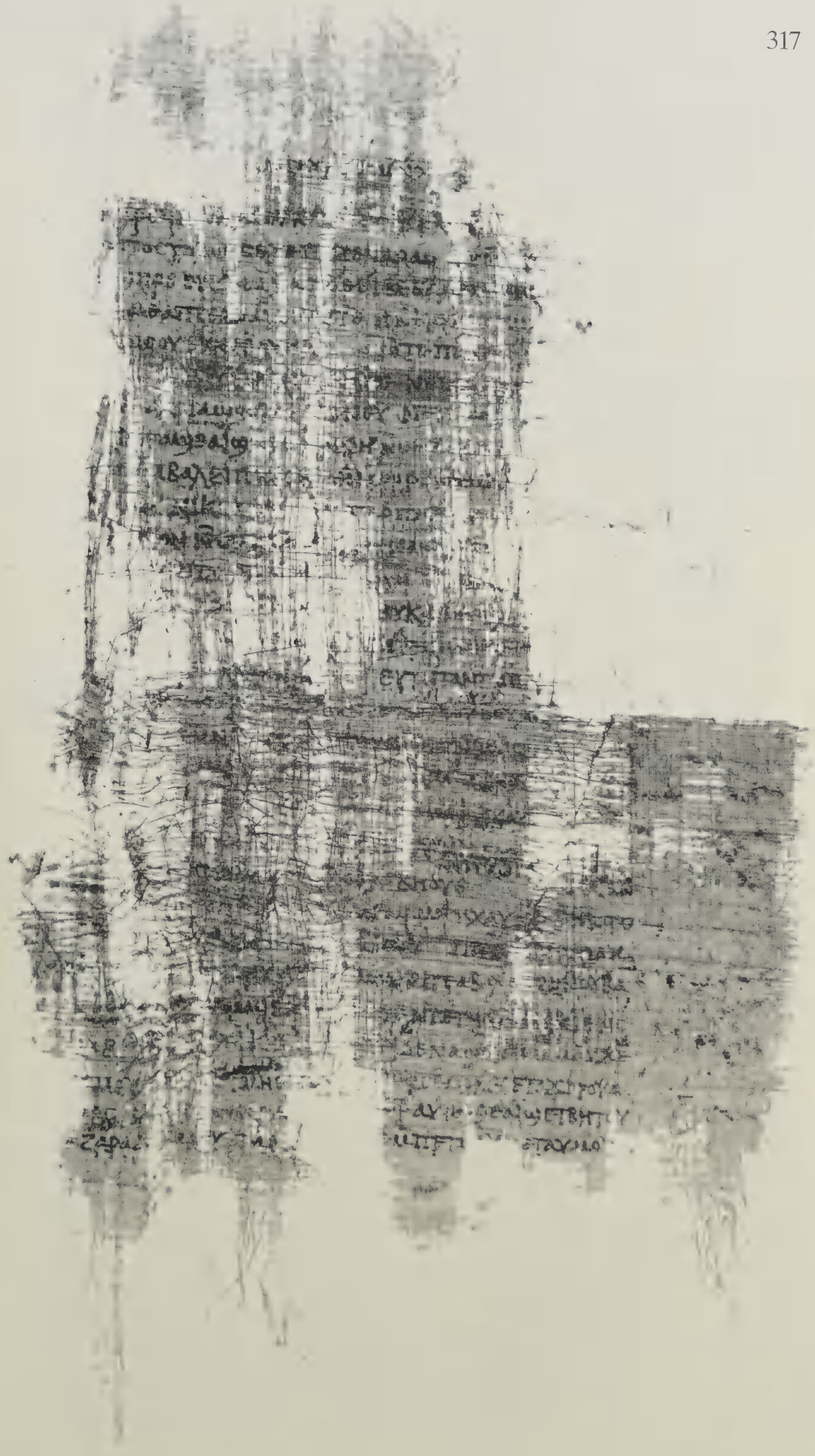


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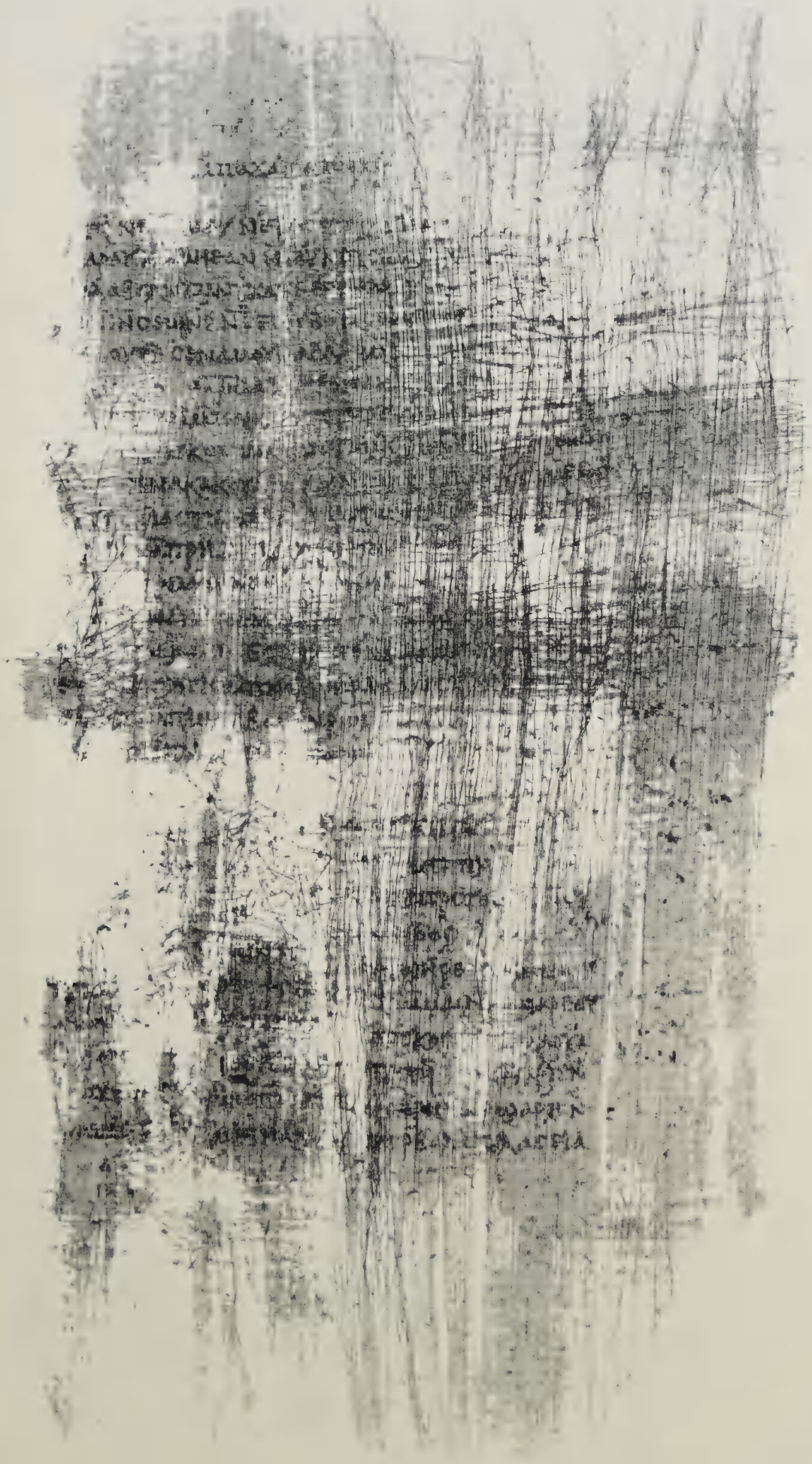






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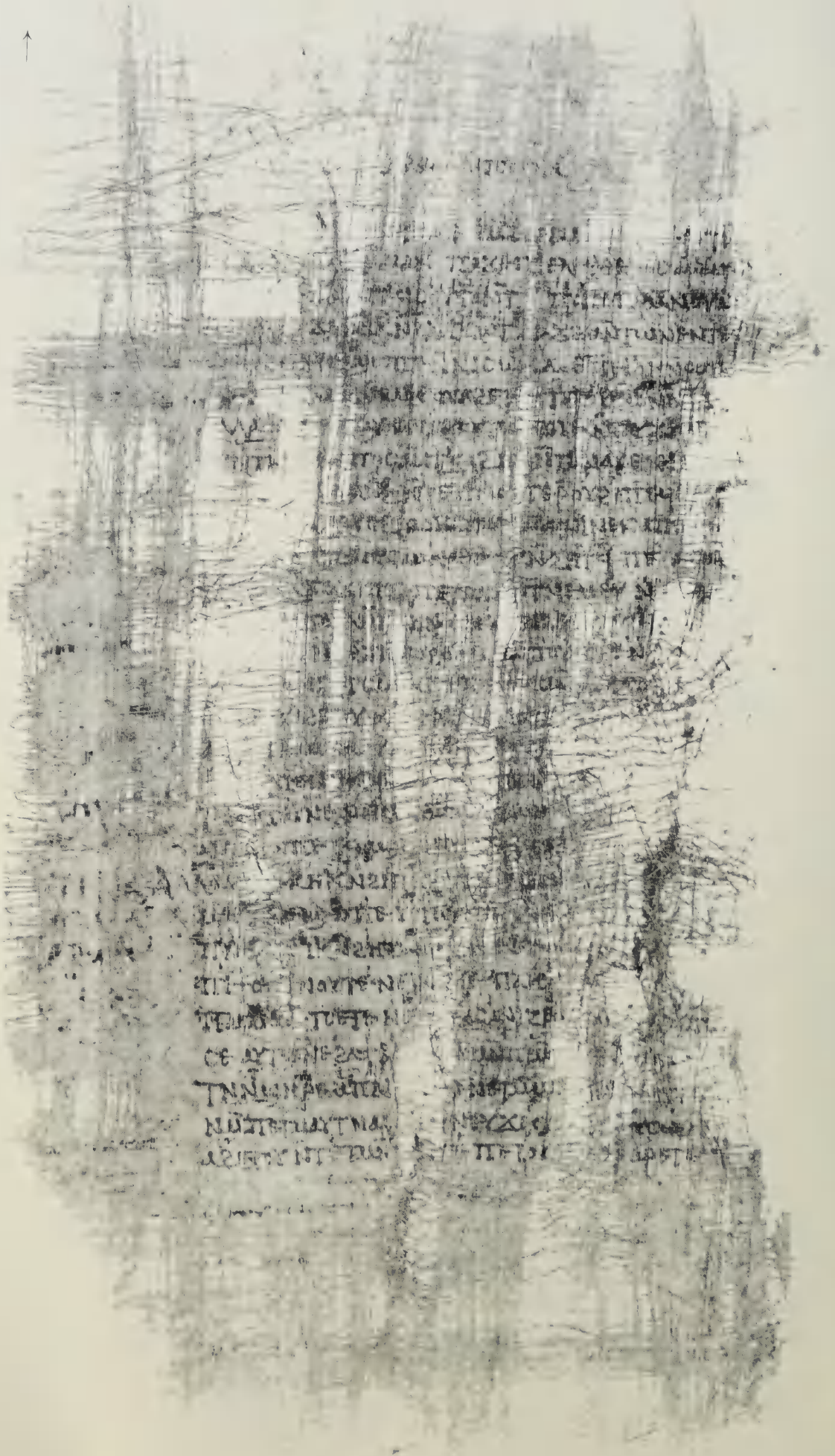


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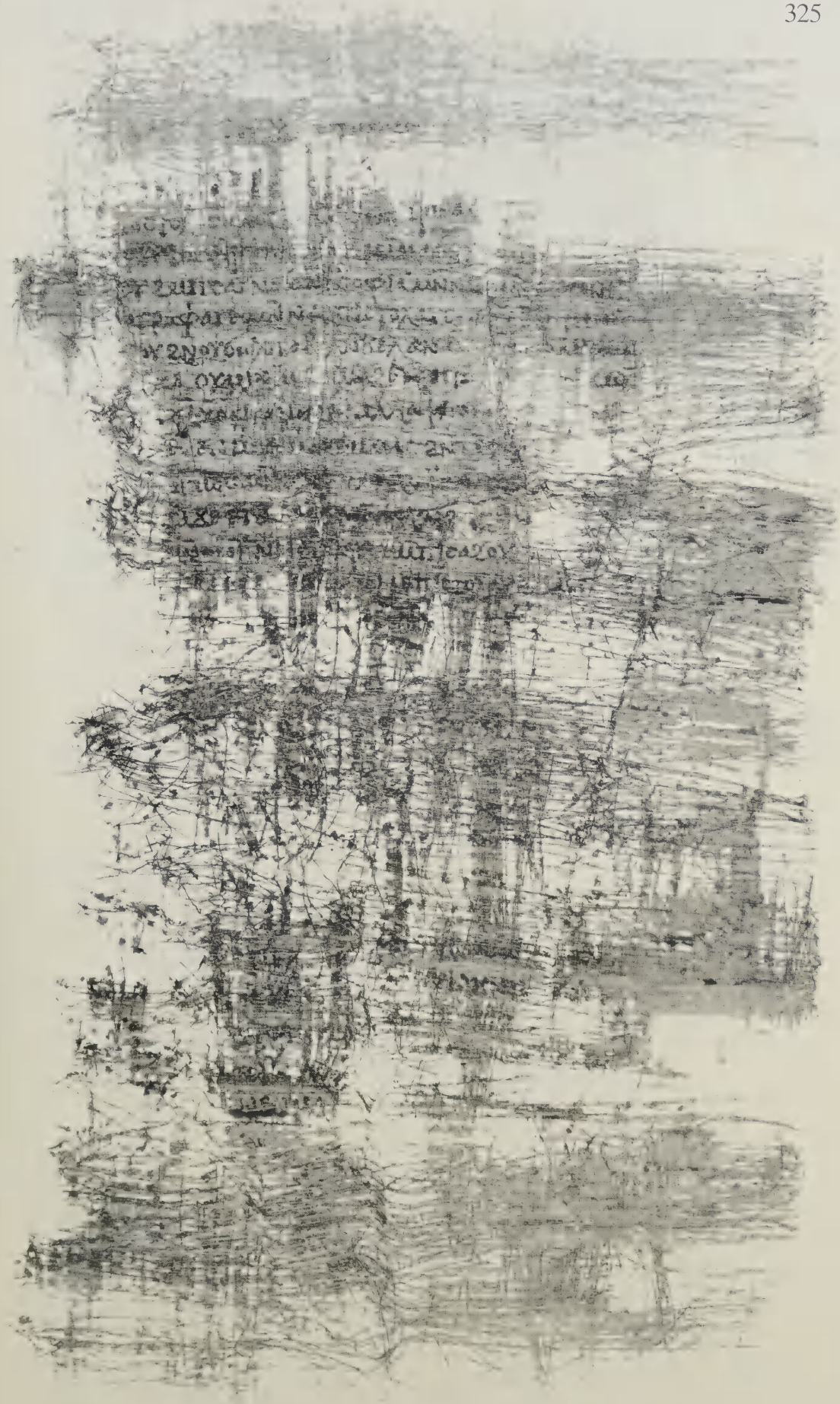


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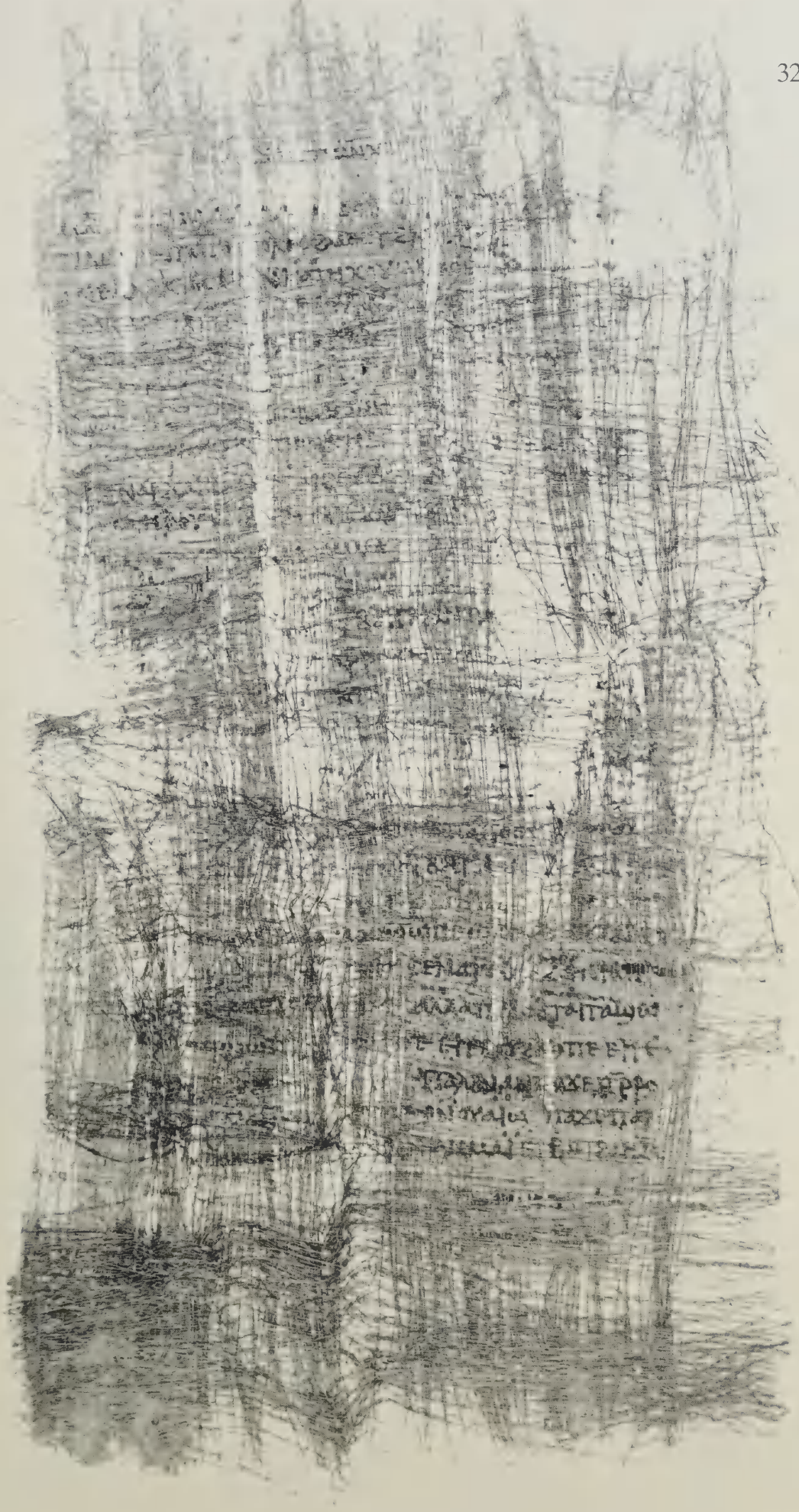


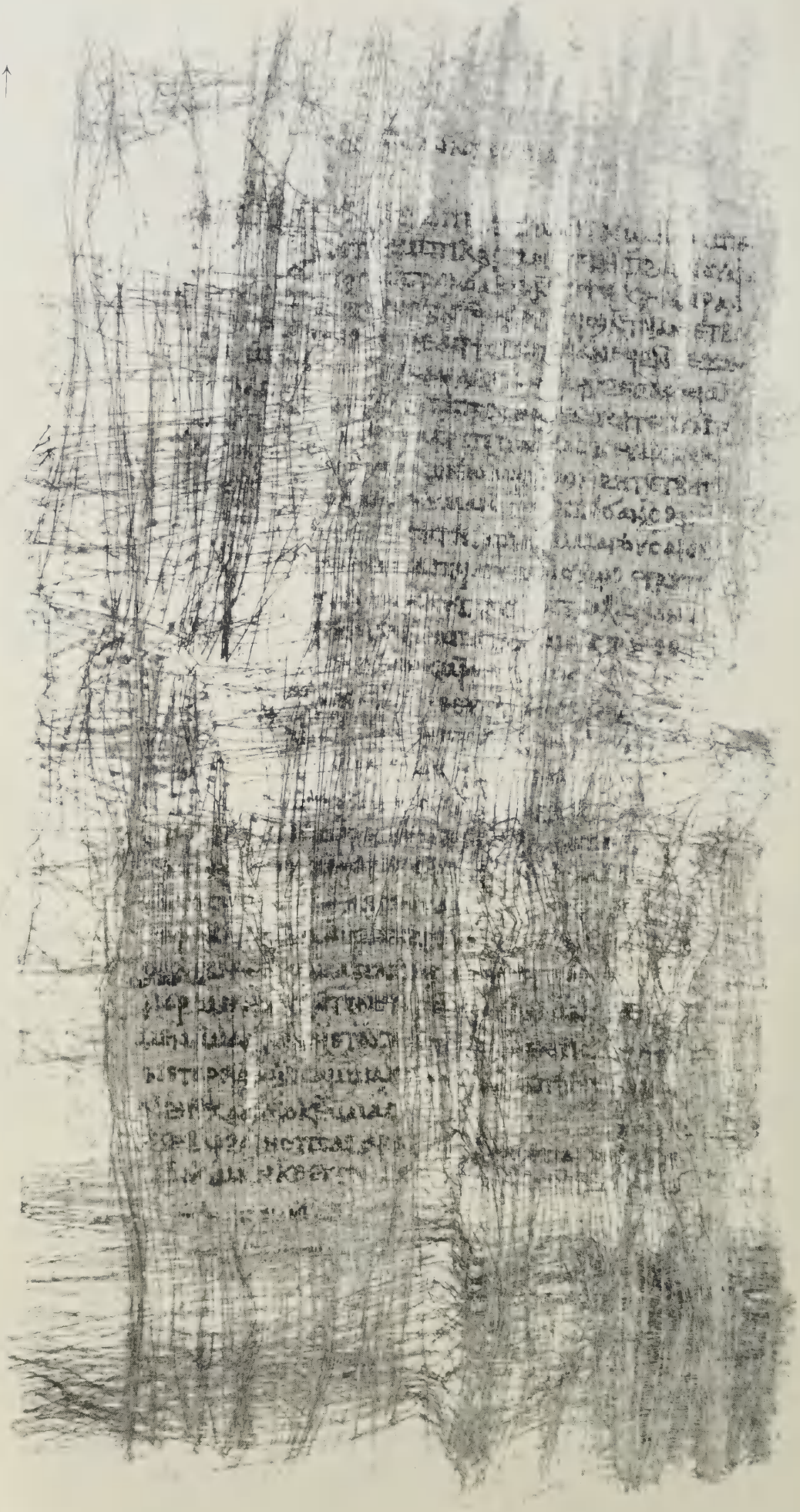


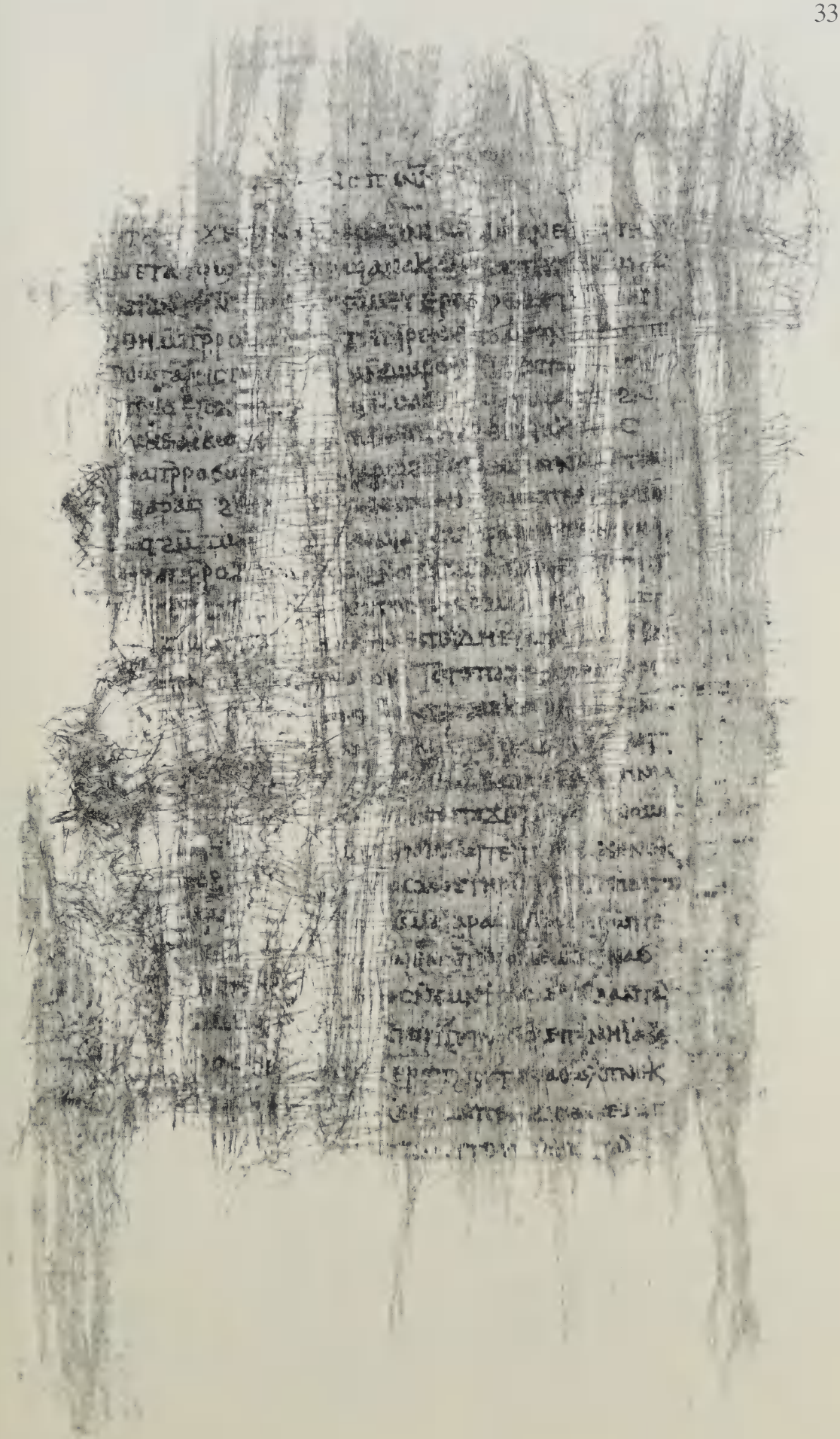


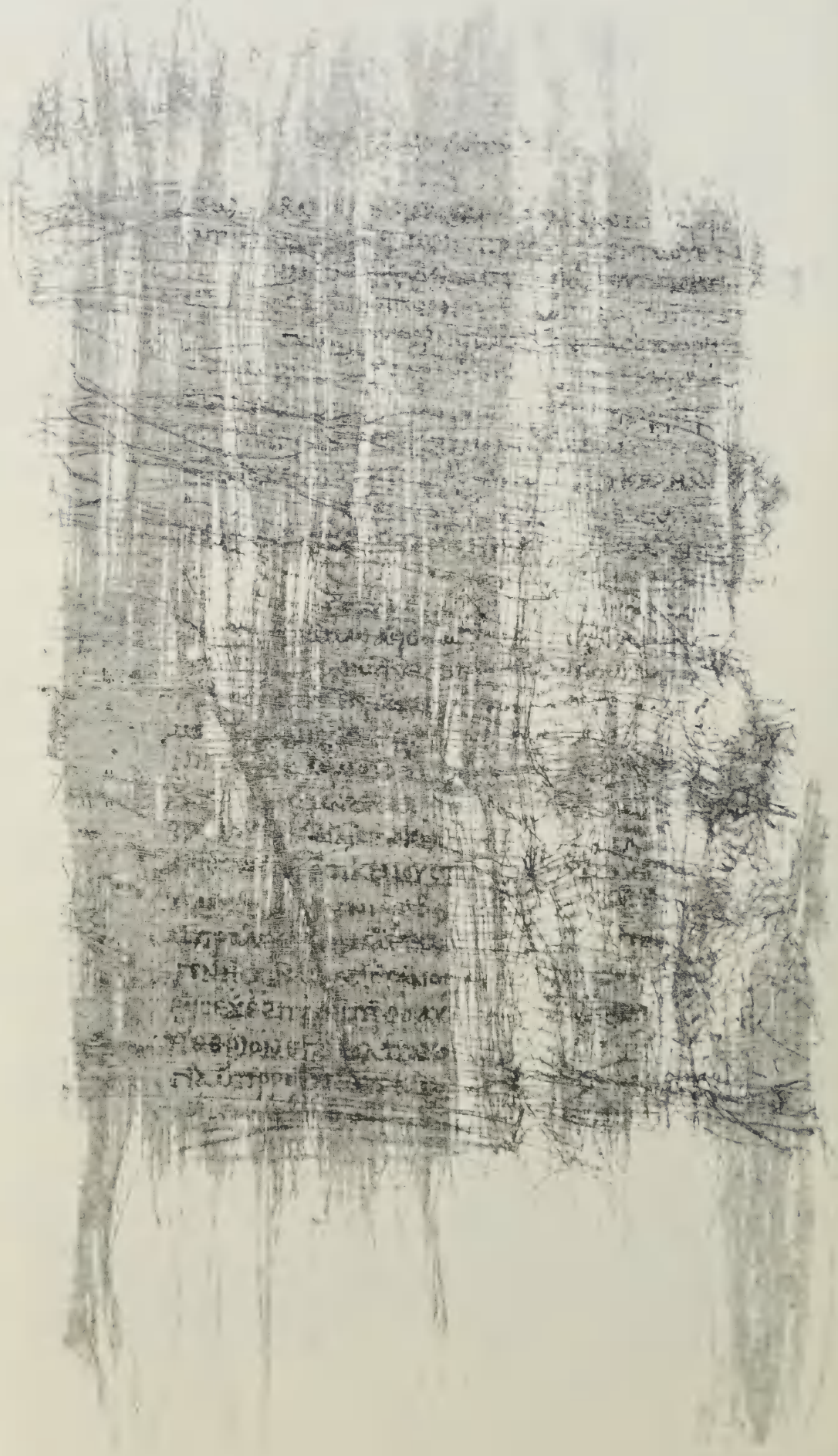




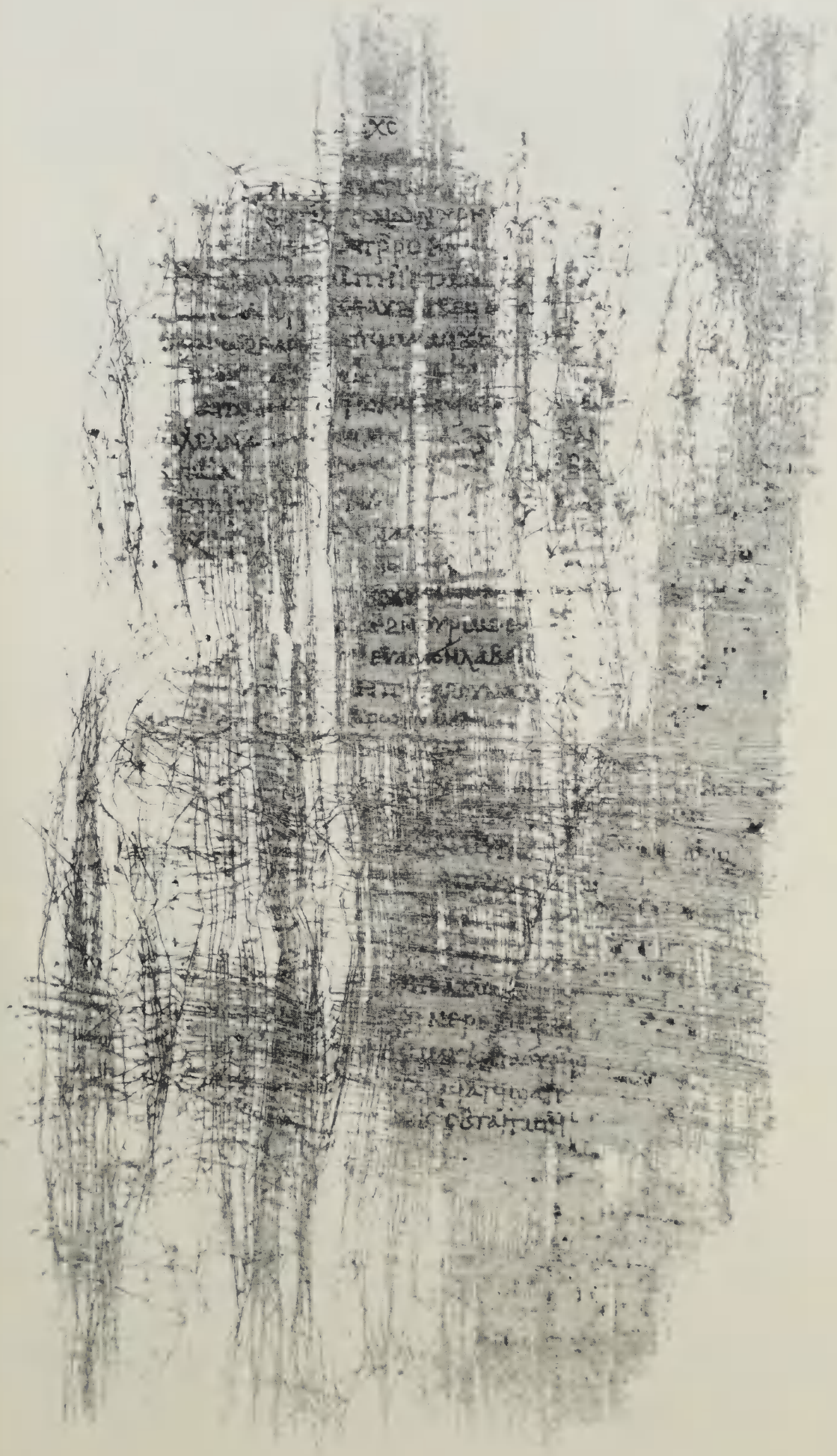


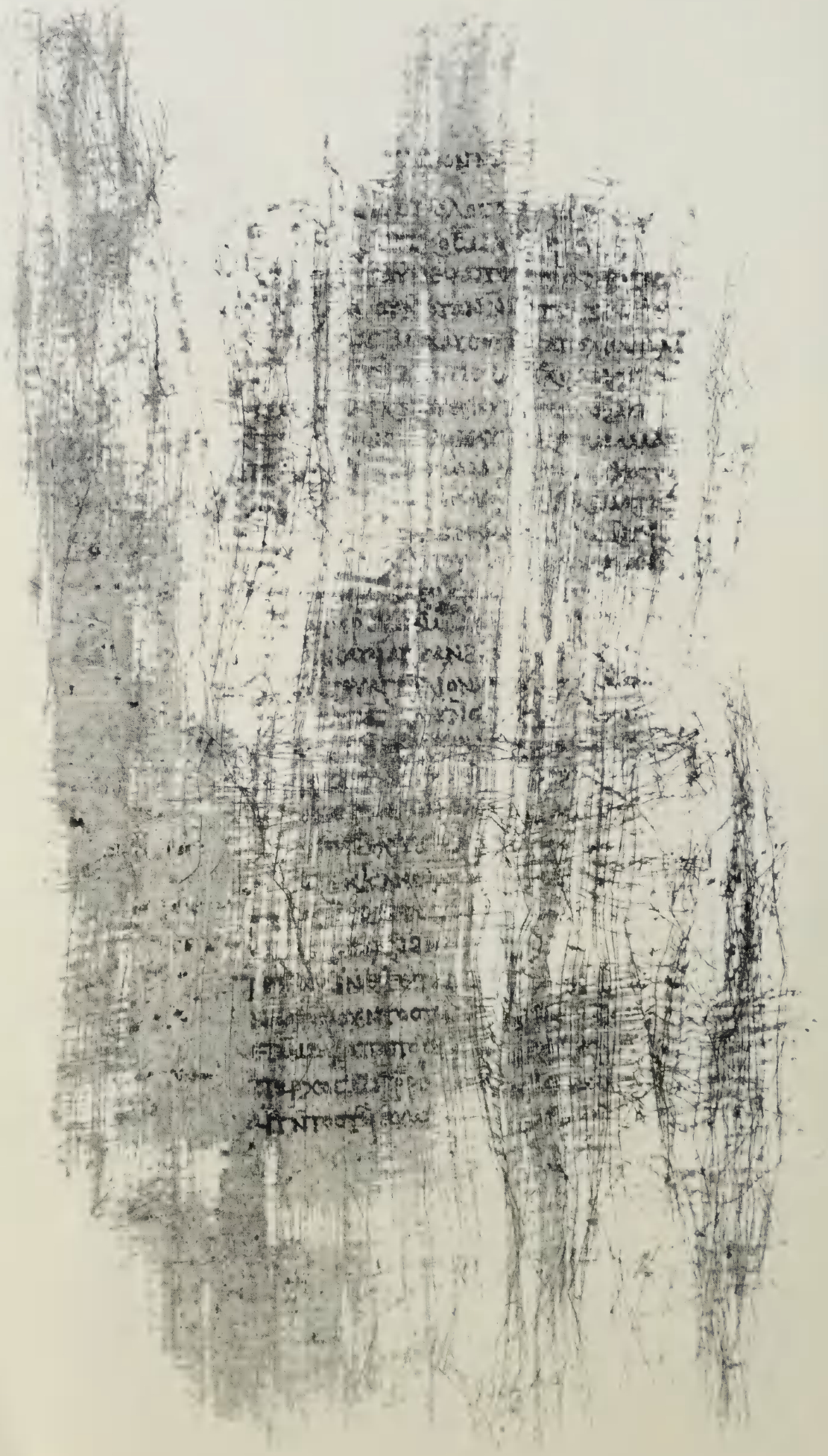






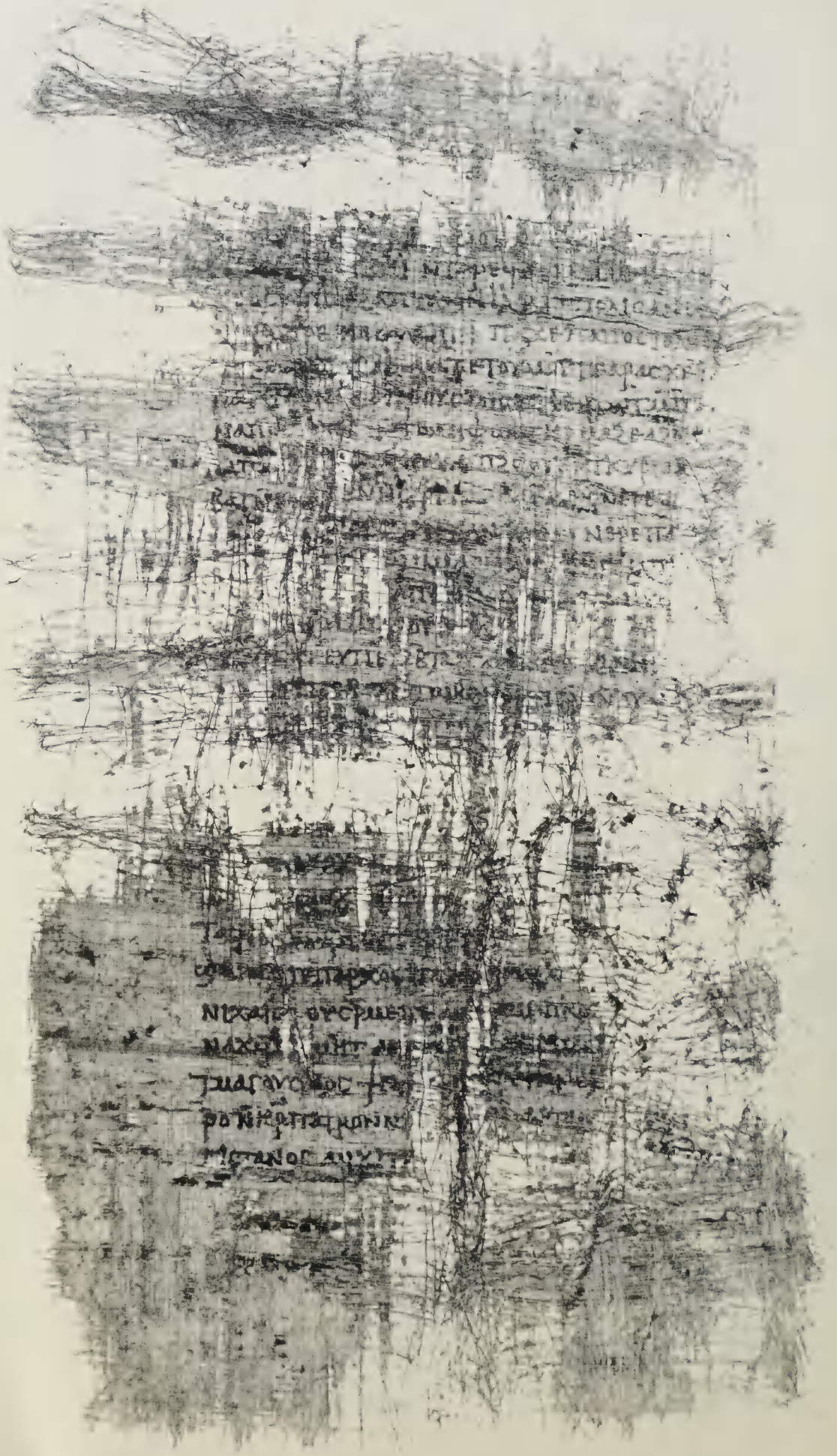
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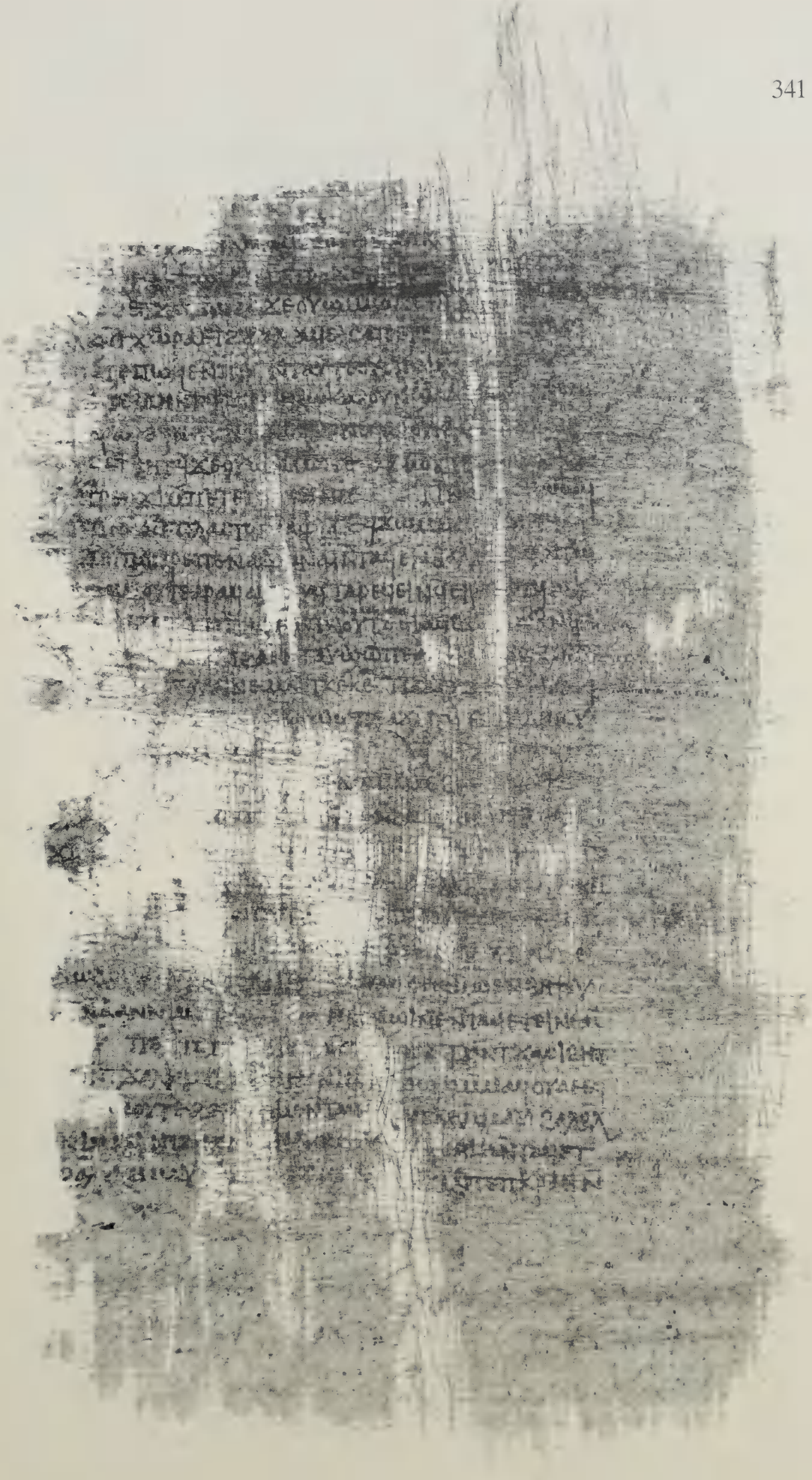


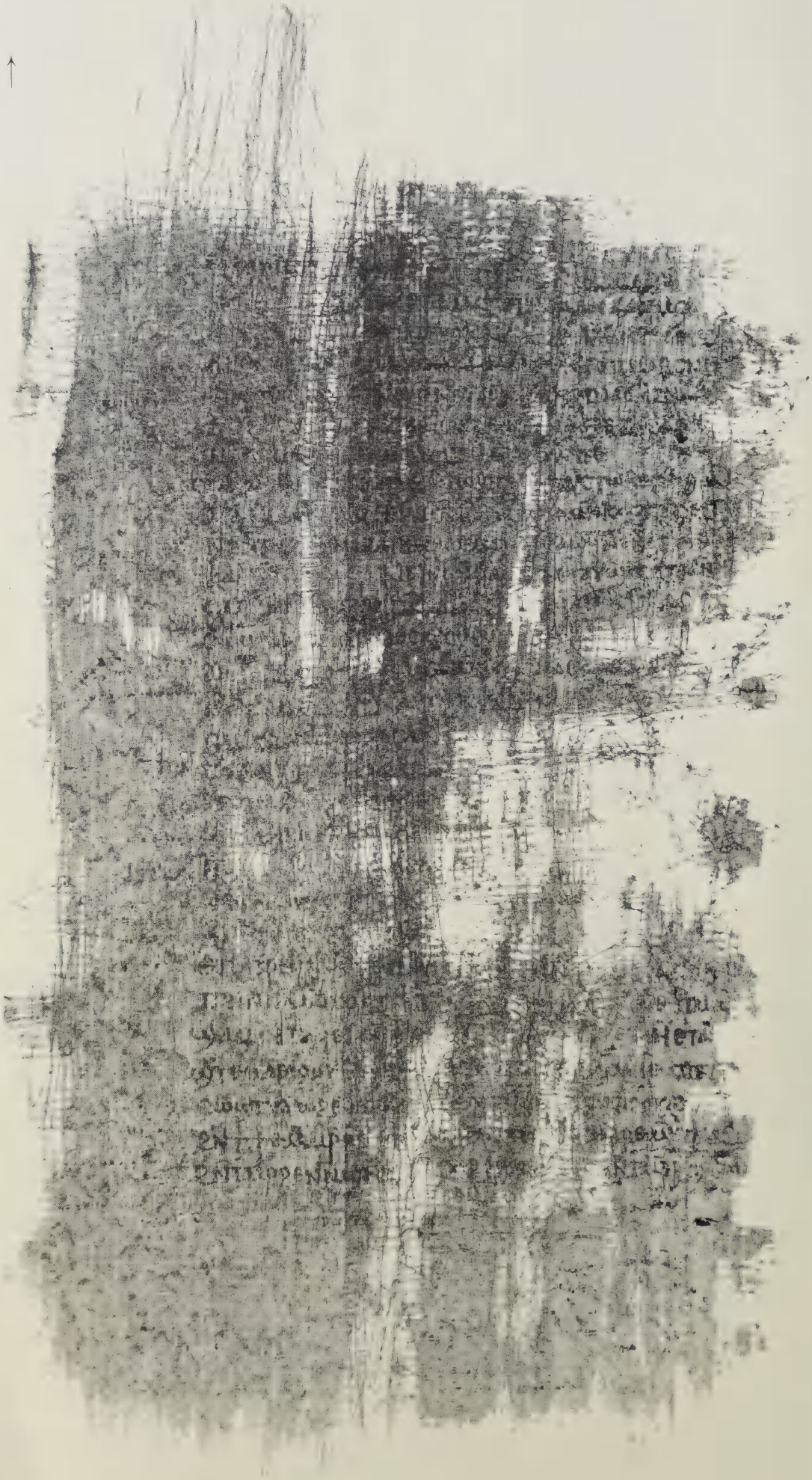


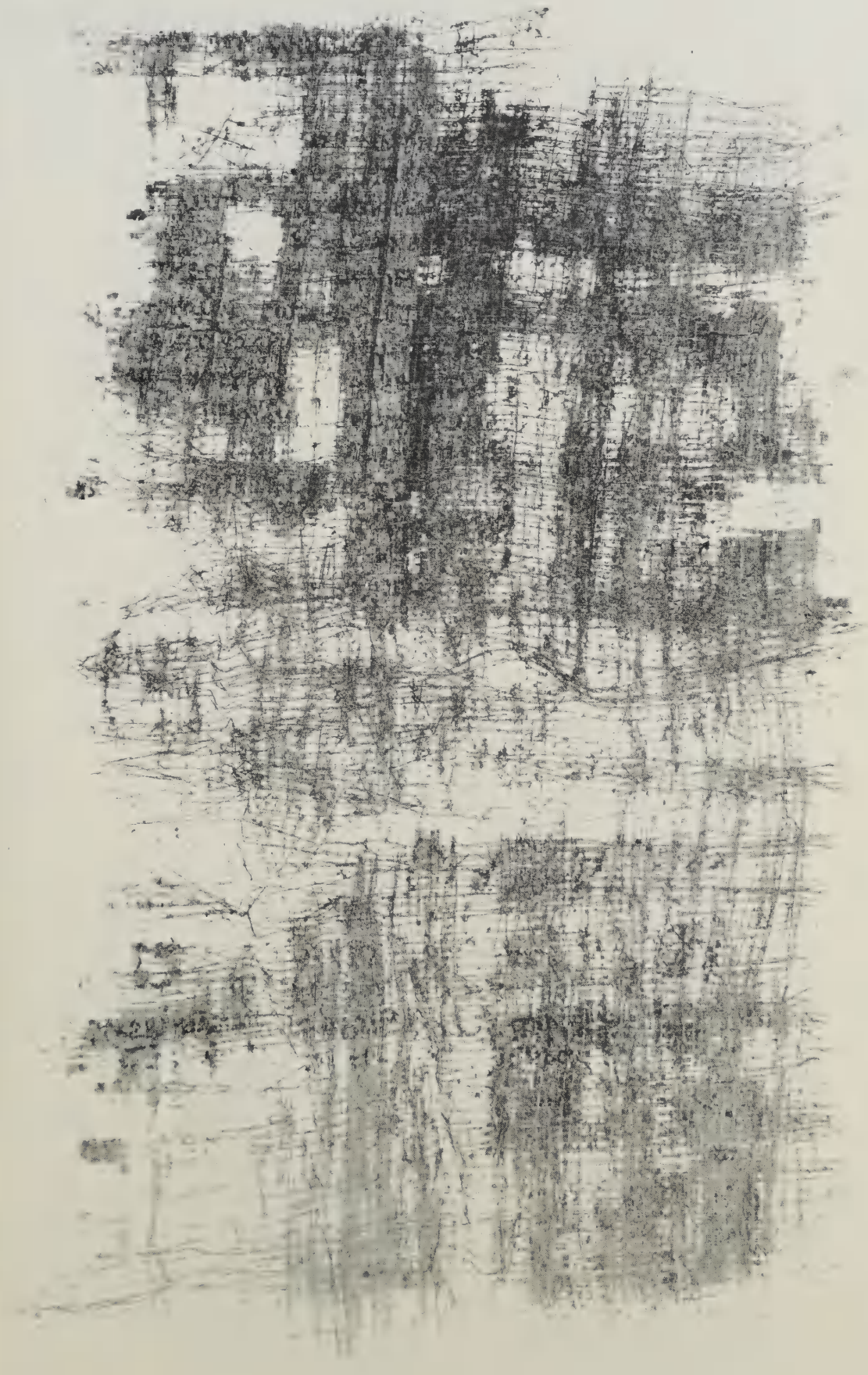


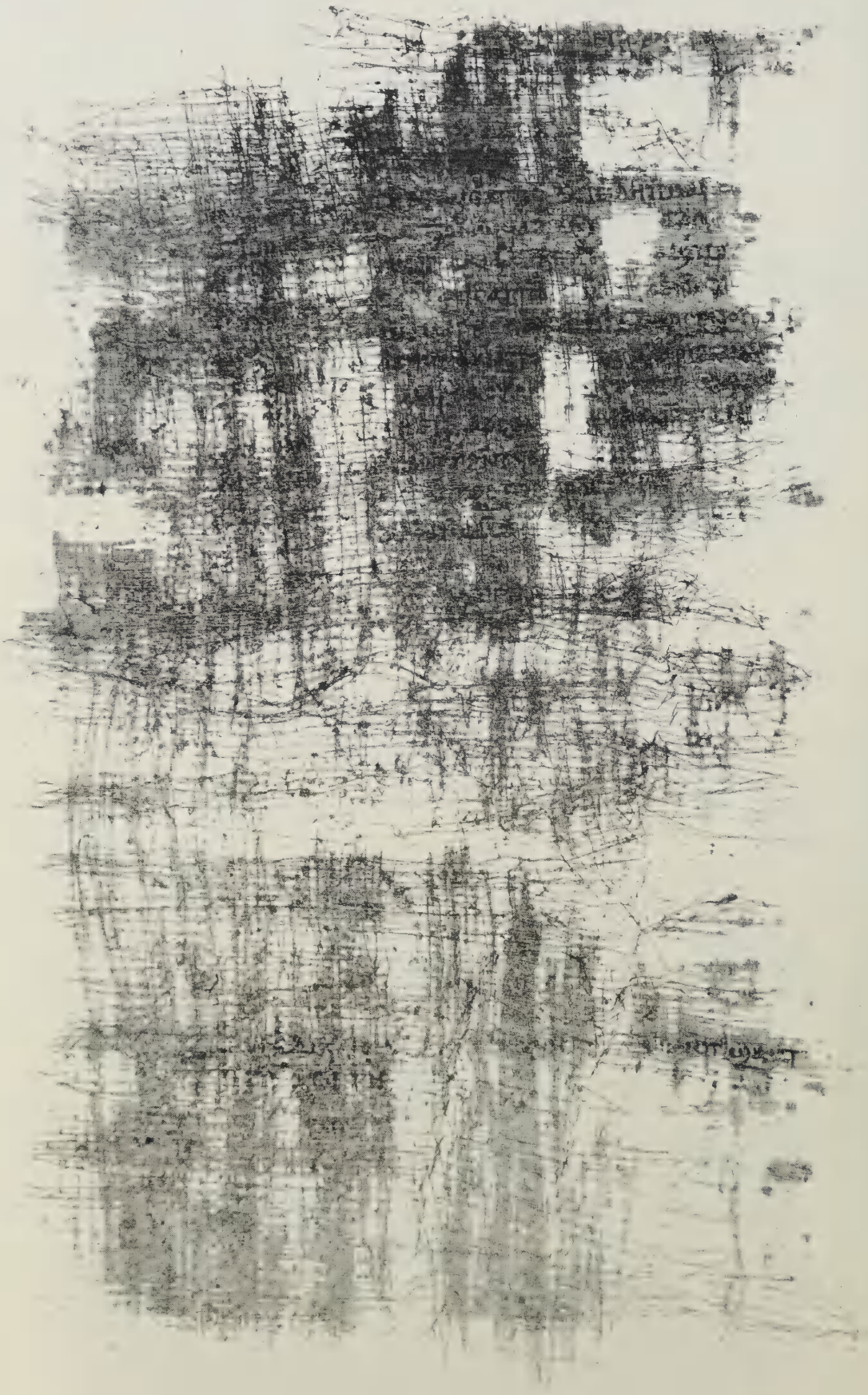
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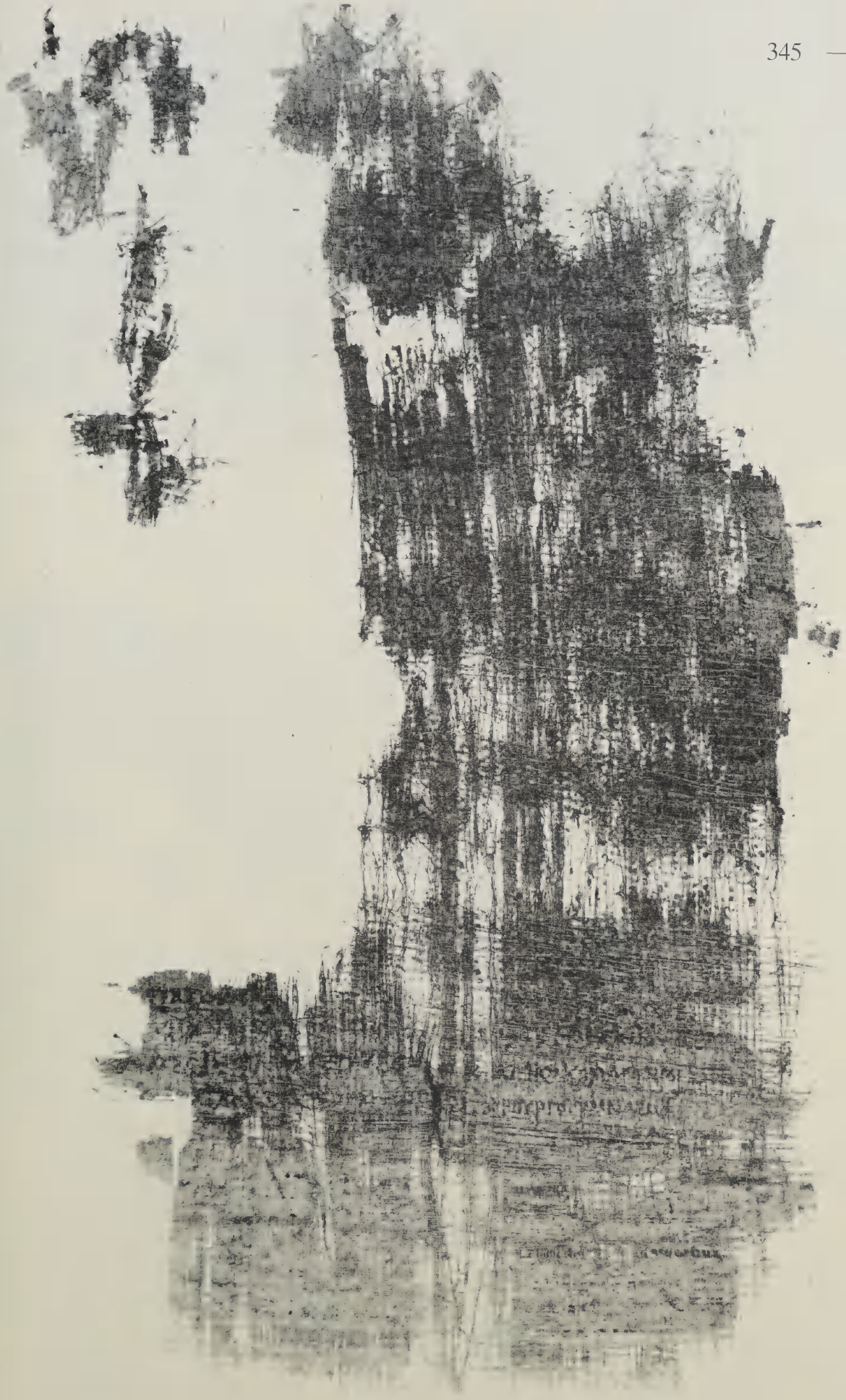








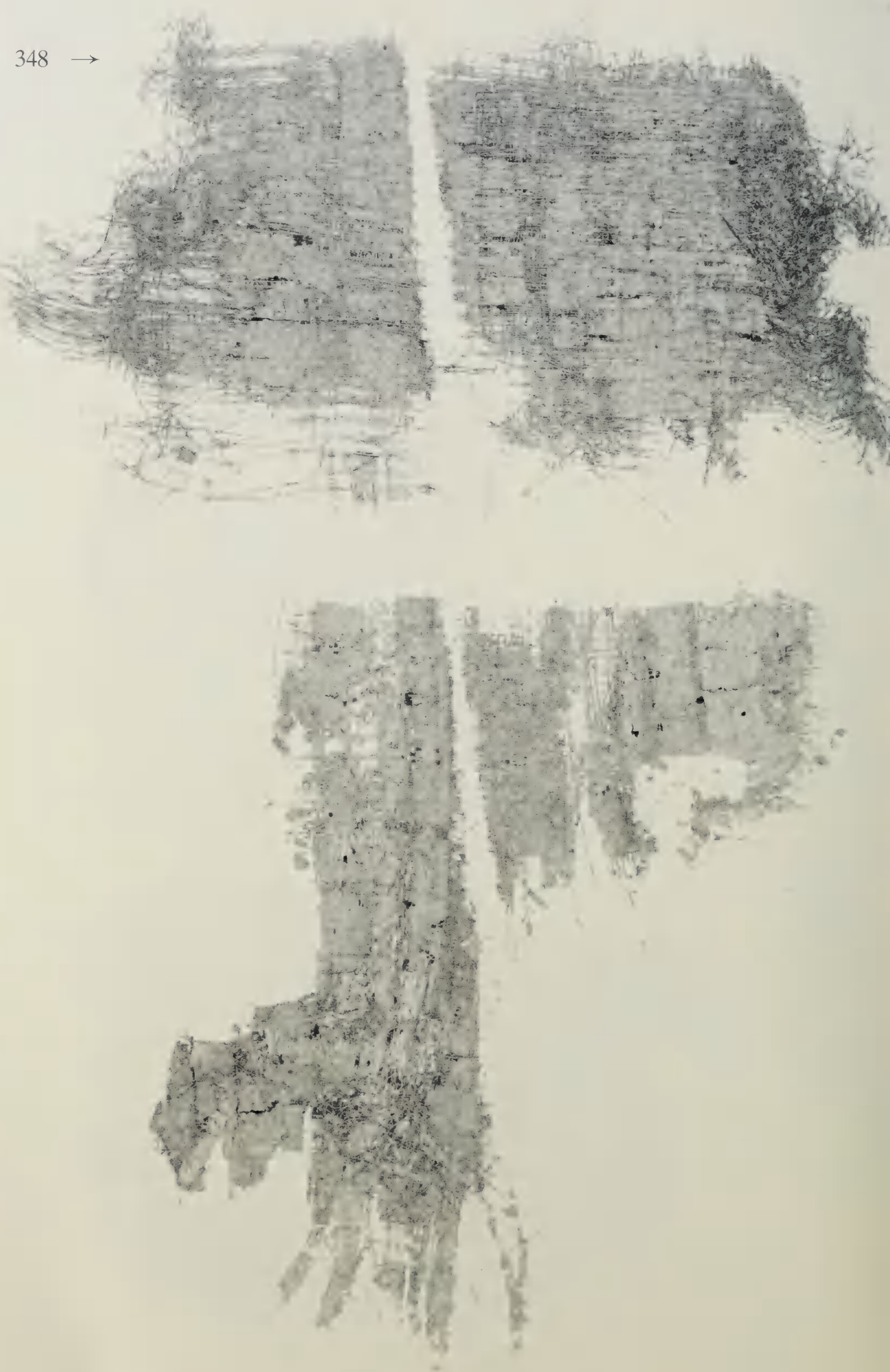










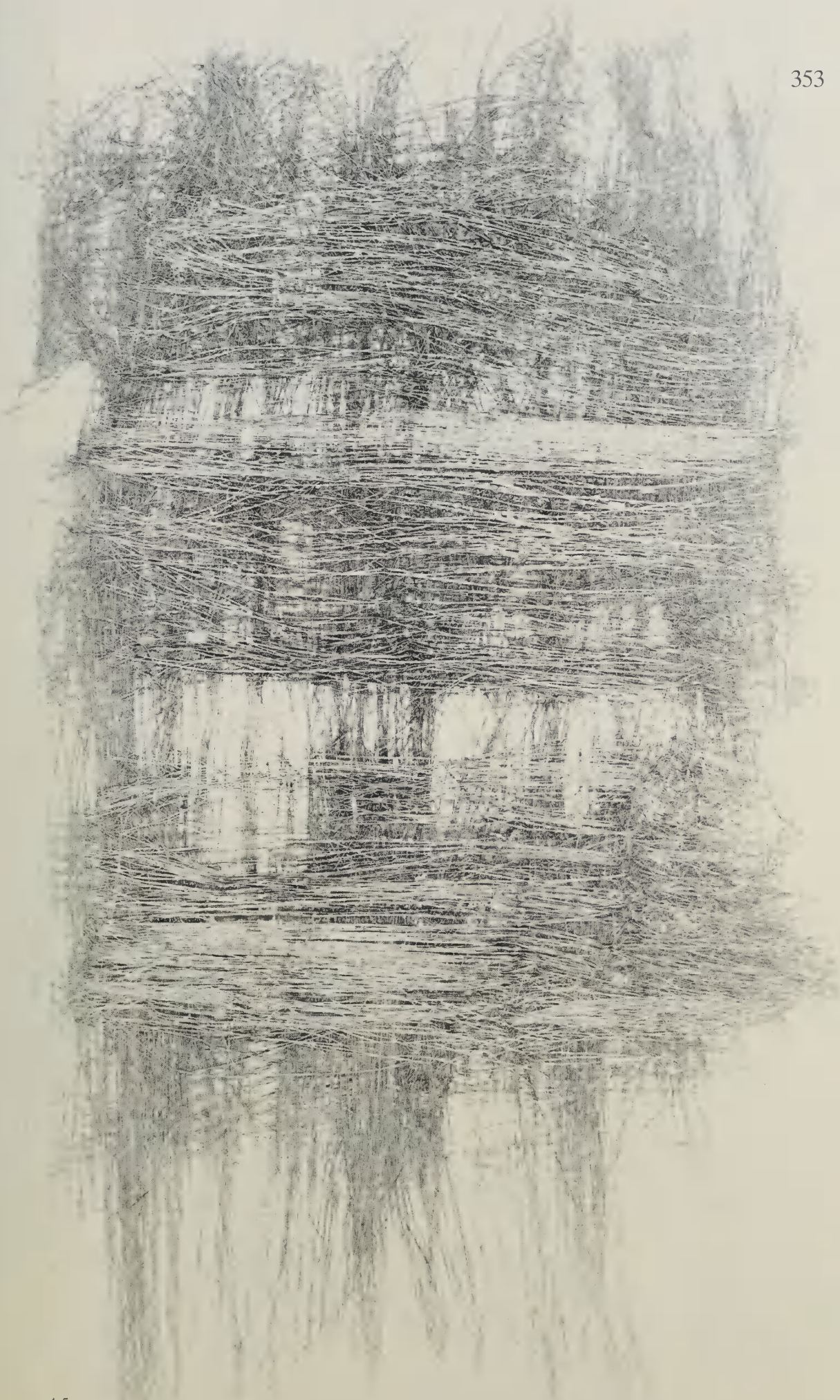














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Un nouvel alphabet typographique copte

En parcourant l'Introduction, le lecteur aura sans doute remarqué que de nouveaux caractères coptes sont ici utilisés pour la première fois. Ce qui donne lieu à un mot d'explication.

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Manichaeism - New Historical and Philological Studies **Open Access**

Research Article

Gábor Kósa

The Manichaean Attitude to Natural Phenomena as Reflected in the Berlin *Kephalaia*

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Abstract: The relationship between religion and science is a hotly debated issue, which has triggered new approaches and redefinitions of fundamental notions worldwide. This paper presents a preliminary sketch of the Manichaean attitude towards natural phenomena, thus exploring the question of the relation of religion to science—even if these notions are not necessarily applicable for early, non-European phenomena—in a historical context. In my survey, I use the Coptic Kephalaia, a fourth-century Manichaean text from Egypt, to highlight some instances (the Sun and the Moon, clouds, vegetation and animals, the salty sea, shadow, and earthquake) that characteristically reflect the unique, early Manichaean attitude to the physical world.

Keywords: Manichaeism, Coptic, *Kephalaia*, science and religion

Introduction

Augustine (354–430 AD), who was a Manichaean auditor for at least nine years, was partly attracted to Manichaeism because of its rational methods of inquiry and various "scientific" explanations of natural phenomena.[1] As convincingly shown by Leo C. Ferrari, Augustine was immersed in the art of astrology during his youth, and this fascination of his was in particular responsible for his attraction to Mānī's (216–ca. 277 AD) religion. As he says in the *Confessions* (4.3.5): "I was an eager student of those who make horoscopes."[2] However, Ferrari continues, his increasing knowledge of the astronomers' ("philosophers") art induced several doubts and questions in him pertaining to the Manichaean myth which was replete with astronomical details.[3] Consequently, his disillusionment with Manichaeism can, partly at least, be attributed to his decisive encounter in 382/383 AD with the then famous Manichaean bishop Faustus, who did not wish or simply was not able to give satisfactory answers to his inquiries.[4]

> "I had been waiting with a kind of boundless longing for the coming of this man Faustus. (...) The books of the Manichees are indeed full of lengthy fables about the heaven and the stars and the sun and the moon, and I now thought that he could not give me a reasoned answer to what I wanted to know, which was whether, after comparing all this with the calculations I had read of elsewhere, the facts were as stated in the books of Manes, or if, at any rate, some explanation equally good could be discovered in these books."[5]

1 Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 177–179, BeDuhn, *Augustine's Manichaean Dilemma*, 29–31, also see the further references on p. 307 n.35.
2 Ferrari, "Astronomy," 268.
3 BeDuhn, *Augustine's Manichaean Dilemma*, 98.
4 Ferrari, "Astronomy," 275–276, BeDuhn, *Augustine's Manichaean Dilemma*, 106, 108, 124.
5 *Confessions* 5.6.10 (Ferrari, "Astronomy," 275), 5.7.12 (Ferrari, "Astronomy," 269).

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Astronomical notions, as well as other natural phenomena, indeed play a pivotal role in both the fundamental Manichaean myth(s) and its/their various subsequent elaborations.

In the following, I will focus on some of these phenomena to show how they were integrated into Mānī's unique religious system. In presenting the Manichaeans' attitude towards various natural phenomena, I will basically rely on the fourth-century Coptic *Kephalaia* (1Keph), now preserved in Berlin.[6]

The Berlin *Kephalaia* (P. 15 996, entitled 'The Kephalaia of the Teacher', abbreviated as 1Ke to distinguish it from the Dublin *Kephalaia* [2Ke]), despite its *lacunae*, is a major continuous Manichaean text—originally more than 500 pages—that provides a plethora of information on a great number of important subjects.[7] Together with other Manichaean codices like the *Psalm-Book* and the *Homilies*, it was probably found in Medinet Madi (Middle Egypt) in 1929, purchased by Carl Schmidt from a Cairo dealer in 1930, and conserved by Hugo Ibscher in the subsequent years. The *Kephalaia* is a fourth-century Coptic—more precisely, Lycopolitan [L4]—translation or compilation of Greek or perhaps ultimately Syriac originals.[8] The greatest part of this paginated codex is housed in Berlin, while some pages are held in Vienna and Warsaw.

According to Funk, the compiler-author of the *Kephalaia* was a high-ranking Manichaean.[9] These second or third generation Manichaeans were evidently cognizant of Mānī's original writings.[10] The popularity of the genre *kephalaia* among Manichaeans can be inferred based on works of similar types in Middle Persian and Chinese.[11] The Coptic *Homilies* (18.16) has Mānī himself exclaim: 'I am weeping for the *Kephalaia*.'[12] Even if such an attribution seems to be very unlikely, the fourth-century *Acta Archelai* (62) also seems to refer to it under the rubric *Capitula*, thus making it probable that the *Kephalaia* circulated as a Manichaean collection by the 340s.[13]

Unlike the *Psalm-Book*, the *Kephalaia* is discursive and presents its contents in a relatively well ordered form, frequently classifying content by numerical taxonomies.[14] T. Pettipiece, just like others before him—e.g. A. Böhlig, W.-P. Funk, and I. Gardner— emphasized that the *Kephalaia* is not Mānī's *ipsissima verba* (as C. Schmidt supposed), nor a kind of *summa theologiae manichaicae* (as L. Koenen viewed it), but instead a section of 'addenda and corrigenda' to Mānī's canonical works.[15] I. Gardner sees the work as a series of commentaries to the revelation, i.e. the canonical scriptures.[16]

Gardner already stressed the catechetical and mnemonic purposes of the numerical sequencing,[17] while Pettipiece analyzed the overwhelming presence of consciously constructed pentads in the work,[18] as well as the connection of the *Kephalaia* to *Capitaliteratur* and *erōtapokrisis* literature.[19]

In this paper, I intend to explore the Manichaean view of certain natural phenomena, especially concentrating on how the Manichaeans tried to offer a mythological interpretation of their activities.

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7 On the *Kephalaia* generally see Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, xvii–xxiv, Funk, "The Reconstruction," Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 6–15. The Coptic text was edited by Polotsky and Böhlig, *Kephalaia*, Böhlig, *Kephalaia*, and Funk, *Kephalaia*. I usually quote Gardner's translation (*The Kephalaia of the Teacher*), unless Pettipiece (*Pentadic Redaction*) has also translated the same chapter, since the latter author could also incorporate W.-P. Funk's *addenda et corrigenda* (see Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 93).

8 For a possible reconstruction of the process, see Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 12.

9 Funk, "The Reconstruction," 154.

10 Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, xxii.

11 Sundermann, "Iranische Kephalaiatexte?"; BeDuhn, "Parallels".

12 Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 152 n.1.

13 Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, xix.

14 Cf. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, xx.

15 Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 8–9; idem, "Coptic Answers," 52.

16 Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, xxii.

17 Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, xxii–xxiii.

18 Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*.

19 Pettipiece, "Coptic Answers." The indebtedness of various types of scriptures to this genre was proposed by Kurt Rudolph (1968); furthermore, Paul Dilley has recently suggested that Bardaisan's *Book of the Laws of Countries* might have had an even more direct influence on Mānī (Dilley, "Mani's Wisdom," 19–20).

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Before turning to the concrete examples, the general mythical[20] context must be outlined for those who are not students of Manichaeism. The Manichaean sources basically unanimously narrate that after the Kingdom of Darkness had approached the Realm of Light, the king of the latter, the Father of Greatness, devised a far-seeing plan to counter their potential attack. As a first step of his preventive countermeasures, he sent the Primal Man, an emanation of his, with the Five Light Elements into the midst of Darkness, which, to its detriment, greedily "swallowed" the Primal Man and his Light Elements, the latter variously described as the sons or weaponry of the former. After a basically victorious battle, the Primal Man was ushered back up to the Realm of Light by other emanations, but his Five Light Elements became mixed with the elements of the dark principle. From this point on, the entire Manichaean myth concentrates on the rescue of these elements held in mixture.

After various further emanations, it will be the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life who establish the cosmos with a double goal in mind: they design it to serve as a gigantic prison that holds the captured demons, and, at the same time, to function as a colossal hospital to heal the wounded, i.e. mixed, light particles. These two purposes are explicitly and pronouncedly mentioned together in such temporally and geographically distant sources as the Coptic and the Chinese ones.

> "He [the Living Spirit, GK] spread out all the powers of the abyss to ten heavens and eight earths, he shut them up into this world once, he made it a prison (ⲫⲧⲉⲕⲟ) too for all the powers of Darkness, it is also a place of purification (ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ) for the Soul that was swallowed (?) in them."[21]

> "[The sixth thro]n[e] is that of the Living Spirit, the [glorious] mighty one, he who bore up the First Man out from the [land of darkness]; who also set in order and constructed the world[s ...] both for a cleansing of the light (ⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ), [and] for a binding [of the] powers of enmity (ⲁⲩⲱⲣ̄ⲣⲉ[ϫⲉ ⲛⲛ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧϫⲁϫⲉ)."[22]

> "Therefore, by uniting the two powers of the five types of demons and the five light bodies, the Light Envoy of the Pure Wind established the ten firmaments and the eight earths of the cosmos. Thus the cosmos became a hospital (*yaotang* 藥堂) where the light bodies were recovering (*yiliao* 醫療) and a prison (*laoyu* 牢獄) where the dark demons were bound (*jinxi* 禁繫)."[23]

As is clear from the passages above, the Manichaeans imagined a cosmos with ten firmaments and eight earths, with a vast atmosphere and the human world between them. The boundaries of this created universe now hold all the mixed light elements and the dark ones confined, therefore the carefully designed plan to separate and thus rescue the light elements can start within a relatively precisely defined space. The healing function of the cosmos requires skillfully constructed mechanisms that aid the process of separating the light and dark elements. The basic reason why such a separation is needed is that the light elements, collectively called the Living Soul, suffer immensely in their being attached to the dark ones. This suffering is described in detail in various Manichaean texts.[24]

What is important for us here is the presence of the light elements in nature, even if the various parts of nature contain varying amount of light. The Sun and the Moon, for example, are constructed entirely from already separated and rescued light elements, and so their components do not need to be rescued. Vegetation contains a high proportion of light mixed with dark elements, while the animals, as we will see, contain much less light.

The Manichaeans thus viewed the macrocosmos not only as the creation of divine emanations like the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life, but also considered it vivified and beautified by the "built-in"

20 I will use the words 'myth' and 'mythical' throughout to denote the Manichaean narrative of cosmogony, cf. Stroumsa and Stroumsa, "Aspects," 40: "Manichaeism represented the last significant outburst of mythological thought in the world of antiquity."

21 *Psalm-Book* 10.23–29 (trans. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, 10).

22 1Ke 82.12–17 (trans. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 84). The Berlin *Kephalaia* mentions the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life several times as creators of the cosmos and jailers of the demons, see 1Ke 4.15–33, 56.7–13, 58.20–33, 60.27–61.6, 79.29–33.

23 *Traité* 11–13 (my translation).

24 Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, 43–54, Durkin-Meisterenst, *The Hymns to the Living Soul*, Sundermann, *Die Rede der Lebendigen Seele*.

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light elements. This Manichaean fascination with the beauty of the cosmos is expressed in various works.[25]

After this general introduction, I will now focus on some specific phenomena (the Sun and the Moon, clouds, vegetation and animals, the salty sea, shadow, and earthquake) to explore the Manichean view of them as reflected in the *Kephalaia*. The range of topics is not exhaustive. Due to spatial constraints, I will leave out such complicated topics as, for example, the Manichaean concepts of the astral sphere or of the human body.

The Sun and the Moon

Since their function is to transmit liberated light to the Realm of Light, the Sun and the Moon both play a crucial role in the cosmic rescue process. Manichaean imagination populated these two celestial bodies with divine beings, three gods in each luminary.[26] Moreover, the Sun and the Moon have twelve and fourteen doors, respectively, to accept the light and a group of five light-gatherers to facilitate this process. The Moon and the Sun were conceived as palaces or ships, and the latter notion explains the presence of seven and twelve ship-masters in them, respectively.[27]

The Sun and the Moon were frequently visualized as ships, more specifically as ferries carrying the cargo of light.[28] Here I would like to concentrate on an evidently widely held Manichaean notion, closely related to the concept of luminaries as ships, which is supposed to account for the waxing and waning phases of the moon. The liberation of light from the worldly sphere was conceived as a continuous process, in which both the cosmic mechanisms and the Manichaean elect actively participated. The purified light ascending from the world back to the Realm of Light was helped in its ascension by the so-called Column of Glory (or Column of Praise), the Moon, and the Sun. The Moon and the Sun continuously loaded and unloaded cargoes of liberated light. As attested in several sources, the changing shape of the Moon was explained by the Manichaeans as due to its receiving the light for fourteen days, and then transmitting it to the Sun for another fourteen days. The following first two passages from Arabic sources give a detailed description of the process, while the second passage from the *Kephalaia* offers a short argument why the Sun does not change in the same way that the Moon does.

> "He (i.e., Mānī) says that what aids the purification and the separation and the ascension of the particles of Light are (the chanting of hymns of) glorification, (invocations of) sanctification, proper speech, and pious deeds, and that by this (behavior) the particles of Light are lifted in a Column of Radiance to the orbit of the moon. The moon constantly receives this (i.e., the flow of particles) from the first of the month to the middle (of the month); then it is full and becomes the full moon. Then (the moon) conveys (it) to the sun until the end of the month, and the sun propels it onward to the Light that is above it, and it circulates in this world until it rejoins the uppermost, pure Light."[29]
>
> "All of this rises and flows through the Column of Praise to the sphere of the moon: the Column of Praise is that (instrument) through which the particles of Light ascend to the sphere of the moon. The moon constantly receives this (Light) from the first of the month until the full moon appears. Then—since it is full—it conveys it to the sun. The waxing of the moon is due to its reception over the course of the first day to the fourteenth night of the month of what is released and has ascended from the particles of Light (that were bound) in the earth, vegetation, water, and other things, as the pure portions of the Light of the world and the praises. Its waning from the time of the appearance of the full moon to the end of the month and to the time when the new moon appears is due to its propulsion of that (Light) to the sun. And the sun propels it to the Light which is above it in the World of Praise, and it travels through that World up to the pure supernal Light. By means of their activity this (purification) will not cease until there remains from the Light only a compressed thing which the sun and the moon are unable to render pure."[30]

25 On this concept, see Gershevitch, "Beauty as the Living Soul."

26 1Ke 20.15–18, 26–29; 24.9–20. Also see Kósa, "The Sun, the Moon and Paradise."

27 On the Coptic material about the two luminaries, see van Lindt, *The Names*, 119–132.

28 E.g. *Psalm-Book* 75.4, 134.25, 139.29–30 (trans. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, 75, 134, 139); 1Ke 151.24–28; St. Ephrem Syrus: *Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan* 26.29–31 (Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 248); *Acta Archelai* 8.5–7. Also see Kósa, "Ships and Ferries."

29 Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa-n-niḥal*, 243 (trans. Reeves, *Prolegomena*, 204).

30 Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *Kitāb al-mu'tamad*, 564–65 (trans. Reeves, *Prolegomena*, 202–203).

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> "The first is the filling up of the disk of its ship (of the Sun); because its ship has filled up every season, and shall not wane at all the way that the ship of the Moon wanes. This continuous fill[ing] by which it is filled displays the mystery of the Father, the great Greatness."[31]

This natural process, discernible to everybody, served as evidence for the believers that the basic notion of the mixed light being constantly purified via the elect, the Column of Glory, the Moon, and the Sun was correct and that the meaning and relevance of the believers' life was conspicuously verifiable in the sky. To cite J. J. Buckley's summary: "Waxing and waning, the moon demonstrates the effect of the Elects' activities: the moon regularly fills up with ascending light elements and just as regularly empties these into the sun, whose task is to further propel the particles upward. Consoled by this visible salvation process, the Hearers might retain confidence in the effect of their service to the Elect and see their own lives as adjacent to theirs, if not fully coequal."[32]

The sixty-fifth *kephalaion* lists various characteristics to highlight the importance of the Sun, a central object of veneration for the Manichaeans.[33] This *kephalaion* details the numerous benefits this pure light grants (1Ke 162.1–12): "it illuminates by its light the world," "it floods beauty and loveliness upon all creatures," it grants peace to people, it releases the Living Soul from the "bonds and fetters of heaven and earth," "it gives strength to the elements," and "a scent and a taste to the entire Cross of the Light". The text then proceeds to praise the superiority of the Sun with regard to all these aspects (1Ke 162.12–20). It is evident from the description that the unique status the Sun enjoys is attributable to its being replete with pure light particles. Thus all its visible, physical manifestations (its brilliance, or granting beauty and peace to the world) are the results of its invisible, non-physical characteristics. As the *Kephalaia* (1Ke 163.16–18) itself puts it: "It (i.e. the Sun) displays all [the] marks of its graces, displaying and signifying on its own behalf that it is good, out of the essence of the good."

As mentioned in the introductory passages, the more Augustine became acquainted with astronomical *realia,* the more he became disillusioned with Manichaean teachings about them. Augustine alludes to his fascination with the astronomers' precision in calculating eclipses. Even if Manichaeans probably did not make such calculations, they probably had a general view about the cause of eclipses; at least, this seems to be reflected in the critique of the sixth-century *In Epictetum Encheiridion* of Simplicius:

> "They [sc. the Manichaeans] mention some pillars, but they do not take them to mean [those] 'which hold heaven and earth together,' as they do not think it right to understand any of the things they say allegorically, but those which are made of solid stone and carved, as one of their wise men informed me. (They also mention) twelve doors and one of them opens each hour. They also show a marvelous excess of ingenuity in explaining the cause of eclipses. They say that when the evil (archons) who were chained in creation create upheaval and disorder by their own movements, their light particles inside them throw up some sort of veil so as not to share in their excitement. Eclipses are therefore caused by the interposition of this veil .... Why do I quote their views at length? For they fabricate certain marvels which are not worthy to be called myths. However, they do not use them as myths nor do they think that they have any other meaning but believe that all the things which they say are true."[34]

The details in this description (enchained and rebellious demons containing swallowed light particles) seem to corroborate that a genuine Manichaean explanation of eclipses has been preserved here.

Atmosphere and Clouds

The region below the ten firmaments and the zodiac is that of the atmosphere, the habitat of the Righteous Judge and the Virgin of Light. The latter's name is associated with lightning in Uighur (*yašın t(ä)ŋri kny rwšn t(ä)ŋri* – "Lightning god, Light Virgin god") and Chinese (*Dianguangming* 電光明) sources, but not in other language traditions, where she is almost invariably called the Virgin of Light (Syriac *btūlat nūhrā*,

31 1Ke 162.23–27.

32 Buckley, "Tools and tasks," 409.

33 See e.g. BeDuhn, *Augustine's Manichaean Dilemma*, 56–57.

34 Simplicius, *In Epict. ench.* chap. 27, p.71,44–72,15; Lieu, "Some Themes," 451–52.

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Coptic ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ, Latin *Virgo lucis*, Greek ἡ παρθένος τοῦ φωτός, Middle Persian and Parthian *knygrwšn* or *qnyg*, Sogdian *qnygrwšn*).[35] Although her name does not suggest a direct link to lightning in the Coptic *Kephalaia*, in fact her activity, through the agency of her angels, involves tackling lightning and thunderbolts created by the demons of the dark elements. It is worth stressing that the scene described in the ninety-fifth *kephalaion* ("The Apostle asks his disciples: What does cloud mean?") is set on a cloudy day, and according to the narrative in the *Kephalaia*, this natural circumstance triggers Mānī's lengthy teaching on the subject, which deserves here an equally lengthy quotation:

> "Again, as the Apostle sat in the assembly of his disciples, the sky was cloudy that day, (so) he raised his eyes and looked at this cloud (and) said to his disciples: This cloud, which appears before you, as you look at it, I will reveal to you and teach you how it ascended. Know that it is stripped from Five Places, ascends above this Great Earth, is then revealed and is visible in the middle-air.
> So, the cloud shall ascend from the upper fire towards the image of the Virgin of Light, which she makes visible to it, its sign are the sights found in lightning-bolts . . . passing away . . . But it is purified towards [the image of the Virgin of] Light [to whom] it becomes visible ….. the Archons are stripped off of the lightning-bolts. They go out and separate, but these angels are sent to them immediately so that they might seize them. Knowing that they never do good, (and that) every place that they touch they cause death and ruin, when the angels make for them and come beside (?) … they flee in their distress before them and come [to] what(ever) they meet and assume it. Like a thief, (when he) is caught (and) flees from a man stronger than him who pursues him in order to overtake him. Now, these Archons that shall be freed from this cloud,[36] they bear that which they meet … in … it, which they do not … will seize this little bit, whether a tree [that] they found in the way or beasts or people. In short, every place that they assume they burn and destroy with the fire of their bodies—that is the Archons, the sons of fire, those who are stripped of the fire.
> The cloud, however, that rises up from the water and ascends to the Virgin of Light, its sign(s) are this thunder and this noise which is in the air in various forms and (which people) hear …. when the Archons who belong to those found in the cloud find time, they strip themselves of this cloud, flee from it and leave it behind [them. But their sign] is this: that in every place which [they destroy] they make frost and hail and snow, and they lay waste to seeds and fruit and plants, and they … every place [that] they destroy ….
> [The] cloud, however, which rises up from the wind comes up to the middle-air, towards the image of the Virgin who makes it visible—its sign is [the] dark wind that blows bitterly …. All these rivers and seas which they reach and attain, they make waves in them and raise … and they … the ships and they cause destruction … [similar, but more fragmentary descriptions of the clouds of Light and Mixed Air follow].
> Behold, then, I have opened your eyes concerning this cloud, how it ascends to the height and (how) the living beings that are purified in it. I have also taught you (about) the Archons that are in it, how they cause these adversities and how they are seized and thrown into the prison below by the angels who were given the command by the power of the Virgin of Light, she who has authority over the entire zone to purify the living beings that are in it."[37]

A Middle Persian fragment also links the motif of the Virgin [or Maiden] of Light with the clouds and the demons, although in a much more succinct way:

> "The cloud that arises from the dark demons (…) Rain and lightning arise from the water-demons (and) the fire-demons. The angels, (however,) bind the demons. Wherever they get, they cause damage to the trees and the animals. The Virgin of Light …"[38]

The ascension of the five types of clouds and the subsequent events follow the same basic pattern: a cloud belonging to a certain element and containing certain types of demonic forces (archons) due to the mixture ascends towards the Virgin of Light. She forces the demons to leave the cloud and then sends her angels to chase the demonic forces. While the demons flee, they cause various damaging events via certain natural phenomena. Although the *kephalaion* has several lacunae, the following chart may still be instructive:

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35 See Kósa, "The Virgin of Light."

36 I follow Gardner's (*The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 247) translation of the phrase ⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ (cf. Polotsky and Böhlig, *Kephalaia*, 241.11) instead of 'escape to this cloud'.

37 1Ke 240.16–241.29; 242.2–5, 9–12; 244.6–13 (trans. Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 193–94, 196 [slightly modified according to W.-P. Funk's suggestion to the present author of 'sights' instead of 'flash' in 240.27]). For a slightly different translation, see Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 247–48, 250.

38 M292/R/I/9–10; M292/R/II/4–9 (trans. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische,* 47).

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ELEMENT	SIGHT	DAMAGE CAUSED BY ITS DEMONS
Fire	lightning-bolts	burning and destroying trees, beasts, people
Water	thunder	frost and hail and snow
Wind	dark, bitter wind	waves on the rivers and sea, destruction of ships
Light	–––	(taking of lives)
Mixed Air	––	begetting of trees and flesh

Through the frequent use of Coptic aorist[39] (e.g. 240,25: ⲩⲁⲥⲉⲓ; 240,27, 242,4: ⲩⲁⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛϩⲏ; 241,19: ⲩⲁⲥϫⲉⲥⲧⲥ), regularity and habitual occurrence is implied in these descriptions. An explicit and fitting description of the continuous nature of the process is referred to in a Sogdian source: "The third Resurrection: the Maiden of Light performs it from rains and clouds, ceaselessly, winter and summer, spring and autumn."[40] The continuous task of the Virgin of Light to purify the atmosphere by removing the demons present in the various types of clouds and thus liberating the light particles from them in fact serves as a general explanation for various phenomena (lightning-bolts, thunder, wind, frost, hail, snow, huge waves) related to the atmosphere. According to the narrative, Mānī in fact explains the relevance of clouds from his perspective and expounds their various types after observing some actual clouds in the sky. This setting therefore reinforces that all the natural phenomena mentioned in the subsequent description must be taken literally and their ultimate cause must be ascribed to the continuously on-going process of purification, one which is supervised by the Virgin of Light. This *kephalaion* thus becomes an excellent witness to the inextricable relationship between natural phenomena and their explanation via the Manichaean myth.[41]

Vegetation and Animals

A unique feature of the Manichaean system is its markedly dissimilar evaluation of the spheres of vegetation and animals. While vegetation is considered to contain a great amount of light, animals only have as much light as the vegetation they eat. Consequently, Manichaean elects did not eat meat since there was hardly any light element in them that awaited liberation and even that small amount was thought to escape when the animal was slain;[42] auditors (hearers), however, were allowed to eat meat.[43] This difference between the spheres of vegetation and animals is described in the *Kephalaia* in connection with the 'conduits' (ⲗⲓϩⲙⲉ) that link the worldly regions with the celestial ones.

> "The second conduit is the one that runs from the temples and the dwellings and the cities in heaven down to the *Five Kinds of Trees* that grow upon the earth. Life comes up from the Trees to the temples and the cities. But, the Life and the Fire of the heavenly ones comes down to the Trees in their conduits.
> The third conduit, however, is all the powers and the companions who dwell in all the firmaments, those whose roots run down from them to the *Five Worlds of Flesh* that creep upon the earth, fixed to one another. While Power and Life gather together in the *Worlds of Flesh* and go out from them in various forms, the powers of heaven draw it to them upwards

39 On the Sahidic (and not L4) aorist, see, e.g., Layton, *A Coptic Grammar*, 261–63.

40 M140/R (trans. Sundermann, "A Manichaean View," 191.

41 An explanation for rain, another natural phenomenon closely related to cloud, is also linked to the figure of the Virgin of Light in some non-Coptic sources. This is most typically attested in the *Acta Archelai* 27.1–3 [IX]: "A lovely, decorated and very attractive maiden tries to rob the rulers, who were brought up and crucified in the firmament by the Living Spirit, by appearing to the male rulers as a beautiful woman, to the female ones as a good-looking and desirable youth. When the rulers see how beautiful she is, they are stung by a love-charm; since they cannot grasp her however, they become terribly enflamed and erotic desire deprives them of all reason. Now when the maiden becomes invisible before their advance, the great ruler produces clouds from out of himself, to darken the world in his anger, and if he strains much, like a man he sweats and grows tired, and his sweat is the rain" (Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 184).

42 Augustine, *De haeresibus* 46.11 (trans. Fox, Sheldon and Lieu, *Greek and Latin Sources*, 89): "Yet they do not eat meat either, on the grounds that the divine substance has fled from the dead or slain bodies, and what little remains there is of such quality and quantity that it does not merit being purified in the stomachs of the elect."

43 Augustine, *Epistle* 236.2 (Parsons' translation cited in Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 244): "Those who are called hearers among them eat flesh and meat, till the soil, and, if they wish, have wives; but those called elect do none of these thing." On the differences between auditors and elects, see BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body*, 25–68.

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> through the conduits. [The] dregs, however, and the desires and the evils and the wraths, which abound in the powers [of] heaven, they are poured their various conduits. They are poured into human beings [and] the rest of the beasts. When the heavenly cause the dregs, the stink, and the poison to flow down to the creations of flesh below, the creations abound in desire, in wrath, (and) in evil [through] the energy of their fathers on high."[44]

A Uighur Manichaean fragment furthermore appears to offer an explanation for the different presence of light particles in vegetation and animals: "In the five kinds of trees and plants they [i.e., the five light elements] are living (...) they [i.e, the five light elements] become mindless, dead (things) in the bodies of the five kinds of so-called 'living' creatures."[45]

It must be noted that the 'powers' (Coptic ϭⲁⲙ) mentioned in the *Kephalaia* passage above seem to refer to the defeated demons who were imprisoned in the firmaments. Presumably the same connection is alluded to in Augustine's summary: "They caution their same hearers, furthermore, when they eat meat, not to kill the animals, to avoid offending the princes of darkness who are bound in the celestials. From them, they claim, all flesh has its origin."[46]

The assessment of animals as essentially belonging to the Kingdom of Darkness is tellingly reflected in the description of its king who is a composite creature containing only animal features.

> "But, as for [the King] of Darkness, there are *Five Forms* in him: his head [is lion-faced, his] hands and feet are demon- [and devil-]faced, [his] shoulders are eagle-faced, while his belly [is dragon-faced,] (and) his tail is fish-faced. These *Five Forms*, the imprints of his [*Five*] *Worlds*, are found in the King of (those belonging to) Darkness."[47]

> "As for the Archon, the leader of all the powers [of Darkness], there are [*Five Forms*] in his body, according to [the form] of the seal [of the *Five*] *Creations* which exist in the *Five Worlds of Darkness*. His head has the face of a lion and originated from [the] World of Fire. His wings and his [shoulders] have the face of an eagle, according to the form of the Sons of Wind. [His hands] and [his feet] are demons, according to the form [of the Sons] of the World of Smoke. His belly has the face of [a dragon, according to the form of the] World of Darkness. His tail [has] the form of the fish, which belongs to [the World of the] Sons of Water. These *Five Forms* are found in him; they [have come] from the *Five* [*Creations*] of the *Five Worlds of Darkness*."[48]

The Salty Sea and the Reflection in the Water

Seas and oceans as metaphors and similes frequently occur in Manichaean scriptures;[49] here I will first focus on a single physical feature of the sea, its saltiness. Manichaean sources emphasize that the saline nature of the sea is the vestige of a primordial mythological event, the outpouring of the Three Vessels of dark elements from the firmaments to the earths. The first quotation from the *Kephalaia* is a brief reference to this association, while the second passage from the same source lists three consequences of this mythological event, all being natural phenomena.

> "And the waste and the accretion of the three vessels, they of [water and of] darkness [and] of fire, which had been discharged upon (the earth), he gathered them [and deposited them in the] sea that is within the walls and the vessels; because of this sea waters are salty. For they have received salt and bitterness from the washing out and cleansing of the three vessels."[50]

44 1Ke 121.13–32 (trans. Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 169–70).

45 Ch/U 6814[=T/II/T/509].V.2–5; Zieme, *Manichäisch-türkische Texte*, 34 [German]; BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body*, 84 [English].

46 Augustine, *De haeresibus* 46.12 (trans. Fox, Sheldon and Lieu, *Greek and Latin Sources*, 88–89): *Monent etiam eosdem Auditores suos ut, si uescuntur carnibus, animalia non occidant, ne offendant principes tenebrarum in caelestibus colligatos, a quibus omnem carnem dicunt originem ducere*. The Latin 'principes' is equivalent with the Greek ἄρχων, which is often used in the Coptic Manichaean texts (ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ), especially the *Kephalaia* (Clackson, "Manichaean texts," 63).

47 1Ke 30.33–31.2 (trans. Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 108). A subsequent part of the same *kephalaion* provides a more detailed description of the kings of the five dark elements (1Ke 33.2–34.4).

48 1Ke 77.26–78.3 (trans. Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 150).

49 E.g., Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache*, 68–70; Kósa, "The Sea of Fire."

50 1Ke 113.35–114.3 (trans. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 120).

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> "... something remained behind on the face of the earth from these three [v]ess[e]ls, so that you can find their mark and type displayed in the universe. The e[le]m[e]nt that is left in water is the pungency and salinity of this salty inner sea that surrounds the worlds. And the remnant that is left from the darkness is this black mountain that exists in the s[urroundings] of the sunrise. (...) And [the re]mnant that remains behind from the fire, upon the earth, are all the mountains and islands from where fumes of fire gush up [an]d are visible."[51]

To mention another motif related to water, Mānī gives a mythological explanation of the reflections in the water in the one hundred and first *kephalaion* (1Ke 253.25–255.21). When the disciples ask him why one sees his reflection in the water upside down, he replies:

> "The face of people and the shape of trees shall app[ear] turned upside down in the water as this is signifi[ed] in [the] mystery of the summons, when it was sent do[wn] to the worlds of darkness towards the First Man. Sin[ce ...] in this way it cast itself down [...] like a person [who] plunges headlo[ng] into water; so it is also with the summons."[52]

In a subsequent passage of the same chapter, Mānī recalls a further meaning of the same natural phenomenon:

> "I[f] you wish to understand another cor[pore]al mystery (ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲉⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲥⲱⲙ[ⲁⲧⲓ|ⲕⲟⲛ) on this subject, listen and I may teach you to unders[stand it]. The face of people and of animals [and of] trees is visible in the water, hangi[ng upside down]. This occurs to the mystery of the [stars] and the zodiac, which hang upside down and are vis[ible in] the great sea. For [the face of people a]nd beasts and all trees hang on the ro[ot] of the stars and the zodiac, being begotten from them. Just as their fathers, who are spread out above, [hang] upside down; so it is also that the m[yste]ry of their fathers is being revealed to them whenever th[ey sta]re down into the water. This is, that you shall find their [shapes] inverted."[53]

From the two quotations above, one can realize a more refined connection between these natural phenomena and the "mythological"—for Mānī, of course, primeval and real—events: here Mānī does not postulate a causal relationship between them, but instead he emphasizes that physical appearance can transmit a message hinting at an otherwise hidden "mythological" truth.[54] He basically claims that the reflection in the water, for example, is a reminder of at least two otherwise separate "mythological" events. The whole explanation is in fact introduced by the following general statement: "Ha[ppen] you know this, that this universe is established [of m]ystery, and is entirely full of mystery."[55]

In this context, the term *mysterion* seems "to designate individual sections of the Manichaean myth"[56] that his Twin revealed to Mānī,[57] who in turn explicated it to his disciples. The revelations Mānī received through his Twin are secrets or mysteries in various senses of the word: he had to keep them secret during his years at the Jewish-Christian community where he was brought up; later on, he imparted them orally and in writing basically only to his disciples; and, even more importantly, they are secrets that the Father of Greatness shares only with some chosen people.[58] The fact that the *Kephalaia* frequently calls the individual sections of the entire truth a mystery might well be related to the "bio-/hagiographical" detail of the *Cologne Mani-Codex* that Mānī received these revelations in small portions, thus at a certain time he was initiated into only a certain act or scene of the cosmic drama.[59]

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51 1Ke 111.34–112.18 (trans. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 117–18).

52 1Ke 254.7–16 (trans. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 259).

53 1Ke 254.24–255.7 (trans. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 259).

54 In connection with the same passage, K. von Stuckrad ("Manichäische Astrologie," 739) notes: "Mani gefällt es, die theosophischen Überlegungen zur Erklärung auch alltäglicher Dinge heranzuziehen."

55 1Ke 254.7–9 (trans. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 259).

56 Pedersen, "The Term mystêrion," 136.

57 See Stroumsa, "Esotericism" on the use of this word in the *CMC* and its background, e.g.: "When, then, that all-glorious and all-blessed one (i.e. the Twin) disclosed to me these exceedingly great secrets, he began to say to me: 'This mystery I have revealed to you [. . .] to reveal . . .'" (*Cologne Mani-Codex* 26.7–15, *apud* Stroumsa, "Esotericism," 64).

58 1Ke 15.1–3: "He (the Twin) unveiled to me the hidden mystery, the one that is hidden from the worlds and the generations, the myster[y] of the dep[ths] and the heights" (trans. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 20).

59 *Cologne Mani-Codex* 3.34 (trans. Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 48): "I was protected through the might of the angels and of the powers of holiness which were entrusted with my protection. They also brought me up by means of the visions and signs they showed me, which were short and very brief such as I could bear."

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The cosmos being full of mysteries here means that the natural phenomena, equally individual and suitably diverse sections of the natural order, are mute narrators of "mythological" truths which are hidden from the ordinary people who are not familiar with the Manichaean teachings, and which can be understood only with the help of Mānī's explanations, which are in turn based on the revelations he received in his youth. In this sense, nature itself functions as a reminder about the revelations for all those who know the latter, and can be read only by those cognizant of the truths preached by Mānī.[60] Since due to the revelations Mānī is the only one who has access to the totality of the secret truths with all their minute details,[61] he is equally the only one who is authorized to give a complete explanation of all the details of nature.

Shadow

A similar type of explanation appears at the end of the one hundred and first *kephalaion,* where Mānī complements his earlier teachings with a new mythological explanation of another everyday phenomenon, the shadow:

> "Furthermore, I reveal something else to you: Behold, you will find the shadow of the person who walks along is joined to the earth all the time. (...) See, the mystery (ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲉⲣⲓⲟⲛ) is [a] great sign (ⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ), signifying (ⲥⲛⲁⲁⲛⲉ) that the entire body came from the earth and had ascended from the abyss. Again, d[u]e to this, its shadow is joined on the earth, turned downwar[ds], and hanging from above."[62]

It is worth pointing out that a special word used in this passage—ⲥⲛⲁⲁⲛⲉ—is hardly used in the Coptic Manichaica. There seem to be merely two further occurrences, both in the *Kephalaia*.[63] One of them is in this same chapter, where the non-visibility of the reflection in a certain position is explained by the "mystery of the obedience that ascended from below" (1Ke 254.18–24). The other locus is in the one hundred and eleventh *kephalaion*, where a rather fragmentary explanation can be found about how the pupil of the eye works during daylight. It is introduced by the question 'What myster[y] does this matter signify?' and concluded by a mythological explanation (1Ke 265.20–266.2).

Earthquake

According to the Manichaean imagination, the eight earths are divided into two sets of three and five earths. Two sons of the Living Spirit dwell on the fifth earth from below: the King of Glory, whose authority extends to the three upper earths, and Atlas (Ὠμοφόρος, the 'Porter'), who has authority over the five lower earths. The *Kephalaia* mentions an earthquake in connection with the figure of "Atlas" (= "the Porter"), who is credited with holding the three upper earths, even if he has no authority over them, and the same passage also mentions another accident happening in the earths below him. In both cases, Jesus descends to repair the consequences of the earthquakes, in the first case to remove the obstacles that blocked the way of the ascending light elements, propelled by the Three Wheels.

> "Also, because of the earthquake (ⲕⲁ̄ⲧⲟ) which occurred in these Three Earths, and because the roads ended (and) the fountains of wind, water, and fire ceased, Jesus descended (and) bore Eve. He made straight the paths of the wind, the water, and the fire, opened to them the fountains, (and) constructed for them the paths of ascent. Again, since the earth

60 There is a further instance in the *Kephalaia* where another aquatic phenomenon inspires Mānī to expound certain parts of his mythological system. In the sixty-first *kephalaion* (1Ke 152.21–155.5) he observes the flooding of the Tigris river and explains how the Primal Man defeated the rulers of darkness with the help of the light-element of water. In this case, Mānī only seizes the opportunity to recount this narrative and does not trace the actual flood to the primordial waters.

61 Cf. Pedersen, "The Term mystêrion," 137: "So the mystery revealed to Mani is the totality of the myth, which also explains that every single part of it is a mystery."

62 1Ke 255.12–21 (trans. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 260).

63 Clackson, "Manichaean texts," 81.

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> which is below the Porter (was) stripped [of the] fixtures which . . . indeed, because of this, Jesus came down to bear [Eve.] Before he reached that place, he ordered (and) strengthened the fixtures which are below, (then) returned (and) went back up to his resting-[place](?)."[64]

Another passage in the *Kephalaia* basically recounts the same kind of twofold event, without mentioning the solution.

> "Also, in the watch-tower of the King of Glory, there was movement in these Three Earths, which are above the Porter. The route and the ascent of these Three Wheels—(the wheel) of wind, of water, and of fire—were blocked. Also, in the watch-tower of the Porter, the lower fixtures were stripped off (and) their bonds levelled. A great earthquake occurred in that place."[65]

The first quotation mentions an earthquake in the three upper earths, the second one in the five lower earths. Since a previous passage in the same *kephalaion* (1Ke 93.20) and another further passage (1Ke 171.16) mentions 'earthquakes' (ⲕⲱⲧⲟ) above the firmaments and in the seventh firmament, respectively, where an earthquake is difficult to be interpreted literally, the above-quoted passages theoretically could also be simply metaphorical images. However, an evidently analogous description in the *Acta Archelai*, an anti-Manichaean scripture that however preserves surprisingly reliable pieces of information about the Manichaean cosmogony, makes it probable that instead of the possible metaphorical meaning a rather literal one is implied.

> "Then the Living Spirit created the lights, which are the remnants of the soul, and made them circle round the firmament. Furthermore he created the earth in eight forms. The Porter down below carries it, and when he becomes weary of carrying, he trembles and causes an earthquake (*terraemotus*, σεισμός), outside the determined time. For this reason the good Father sent his son from his bosom into the heart of the earth and into its lowest parts, to bring upon him a suitable punishment.[66] For every time the earth quakes, he is either trembling with weariness, or transferring the earth onto his other shoulder."[67]

In his *Panarion*, Epiphanius even gives a precise number of years for the frequency of the earthquakes. Here I also cite the first part of the passage, because this also contains relevant information about the origin of storms.

> "When, in the divine goodness, storms are sent by the mercy of God, Mani is not ashamed to say blasphemously that storms do not come from God, but from the effluent of the archons. But who could fail to laugh out loud to say the rest, since the tales of Philistion probably carry more conviction than Mani's mimes? He teaches about a mythical porter who supports the whole world, and says that every thirty years the porter's shoulder gets tired, and he shifts the world to the other shoulder, and < this is why > there are earthquakes."[68]

Summary

The selected natural phenomena briefly presented above allow us a preliminary classification of the early Manichaean view of them. The first type, which I label as "residue-type," explains a certain part or feature of nature as a consequence of a single primeval event. The worlds of vegetation and animal life exist due to a certain event in the primeval past; the saltiness of the sea is also attributable to a former "mythological" event. The second type of the phenomena can be viewed as "witness-type for on-going events," which are continuous witnesses and pieces of evidence for the Manichaean interpretation of the cosmos. The waxing

64 1Ke 94.1–11 (trans. Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 158).
65 1Ke 171.21–27 (trans. Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 183).
66 'Punishment' is very strange here; probably something else is meant. The Latin version has *coherceret* (translated by Vermes as 'to restrain'), which might in fact also refer to 'holding together' the basement of the cosmic edifice.
67 *Acta Archelai* 26.1–2 (= VIII), Greek version (trans. Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 183). *Acta Archelai* 27.4–5 [IX] offers another explanation for the earthquake that is related to the Virgin of Light (see Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 184).
68 Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66.21.8–22.2 (trans. Williams, *The Panarion*, 249). In his footnote (n.109), Williams also adds that "[o]utside of Epiphanius, the shifting of the porter's pole is found only at Timothy Presbyter PG 86, 21A."

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and waning moon, just like the various phenomena related to the atmosphere and sea (clouds, lightning-bolts, thunder, wind, frost, hail, snow, huge waves) and earthquakes all attest to the existence of certain members of the Manichaean pantheon (the Virgin of Light or Atlas) and their proper functioning. The third category is what I label as the "reminder-type." Here various physical features like reflections in the water or shadows are not the residue of a single former event; nevertheless, they do have the function to remind the initiated of that.

In Mānī's system natural phenomena reflect a "supernatural" level of mythic events, and thus often carry an evidentiary value for his teachings. And even more than that: the various elements of the invisible truth which were revealed to him in his predominantly visual experiences are in fact legitimated by his expert opinion on visible things. Invisible and visible unite for a moment, the visible is understood via the invisible, while the invisible is legitimated via the visible. Every single natural phenomenon thus carries a meaning that points beyond itself: the entire cosmos "is full of mysteries." The demarcation lines between what the modern West calls 'religion' and 'science'[69] are not simply blurred, but disappear, or even more probably never existed where we would be inclined to assume them.[70] What we currently see as two distinct and rarely overlapping territories, Manichaeans viewed as vast realms continuously infusing and legitimating each other.

Endowed with supernatural visions, Mānī appears as an expert on the interpretation of natural phenomena. Thus the *Kephalaia* seems to refer to the "book of scripture [revelation]" and the "book of nature."[71] Ultimately both derive from the same source, the Father of Greatness, and are mediated through Mānī's Twin and the Living Spirit, respectively. Revealed knowledge about the origin, structure, and purpose of the universe is a secret revelation first only imparted to a single person, Mānī—now ignoring the former revelations which became distorted according to the Manichaean view—and then subsequently to a limited circle of people, the chosen ones.

By contrast, nature, created by the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life, is observable by everyone. Thus theoretically anybody could become aware of the Manichaean mysteries by inspecting, e.g., the waxing and waning moon, the saltiness of the sea, the reflections on water, or the shadows, since they are witnesses to primeval secrets. Nevertheless, in reality, only those equipped with the first type of secrets, i.e., those mediated by revelation, are capable of understanding the signs of nature. Thus for Mānī and his disciples, the entire created world becomes a realm full of mysteries that can potentially be explained on the basis of the truth revealed to the founder and later on to the chosen ones. Natural phenomena are remnants, pieces of evidence, witnesses, and everyday reminders of the primeval past, even if the majority of the people are not aware of this. In the *Kephalaia*, Mānī is presented as a teacher comparing and expounding the sophisticated relationships between two complex systems: nature visible to everyone, and the revelations visible only to him.

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69 On these two notions as originating in modern Europe and a critical evaluation of their supposed conflict, see, e.g., Harrison, *The Territories* (and his former works).

70 Cf. BeDuhn, "A Regimen for Salvation."

71 On this Western European distinction, see, e.g., Harrison, *The Territories*, 55–93, with further references on p. 222 n.5.

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Manichaeism - New Historical and Philological Studies **Open Access**

Research Article

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The Manichaean Attitude to Natural Phenomena as Reflected in the Berlin *Kephalaia*

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Abstract: The relationship between religion and science is a hotly debated issue, which has triggered new approaches and redefinitions of fundamental notions worldwide. This paper presents a preliminary sketch of the Manichaean attitude towards natural phenomena, thus exploring the question of the relation of religion to science—even if these notions are not necessarily applicable for early, non-European phenomena—in a historical context. In my survey, I use the Coptic Kephalaia, a fourth-century Manichaean text from Egypt, to highlight some instances (the Sun and the Moon, clouds, vegetation and animals, the salty sea, shadow, and earthquake) that characteristically reflect the unique, early Manichaean attitude to the physical world.

Keywords: Manichaeism, Coptic, *Kephalaia*, science and religion

Introduction

Augustine (354–430 AD), who was a Manichaean auditor for at least nine years, was partly attracted to Manichaeism because of its rational methods of inquiry and various "scientific" explanations of natural phenomena.[1] As convincingly shown by Leo C. Ferrari, Augustine was immersed in the art of astrology during his youth, and this fascination of his was in particular responsible for his attraction to Mānī's (216–ca. 277 AD) religion. As he says in the *Confessions* (4.3.5): "I was an eager student of those who make horoscopes."[2] However, Ferrari continues, his increasing knowledge of the astronomers' ("philosophers") art induced several doubts and questions in him pertaining to the Manichaean myth which was replete with astronomical details.[3] Consequently, his disillusionment with Manichaeism can, partly at least, be attributed to his decisive encounter in 382/383 AD with the then famous Manichaean bishop Faustus, who did not wish or simply was not able to give satisfactory answers to his inquiries.[4]

> "I had been waiting with a kind of boundless longing for the coming of this man Faustus. (...) The books of the Manichees are indeed full of lengthy fables about the heaven and the stars and the sun and the moon, and I now thought that he could not give me a reasoned answer to what I wanted to know, which was whether, after comparing all this with the calculations I had read of elsewhere, the facts were as stated in the books of Manes, or if, at any rate, some explanation equally good could be discovered in these books."[5]

1 Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 177–179, BeDuhn, *Augustine's Manichaean Dilemma*, 29–31, also see the further references on p. 307 n.35.
2 Ferrari, "Astronomy," 268.
3 BeDuhn, *Augustine's Manichaean Dilemma*, 98.
4 Ferrari, "Astronomy," 275–276, BeDuhn, *Augustine's Manichaean Dilemma*, 106, 108, 124.
5 *Confessions* 5.6.10 (Ferrari, "Astronomy," 275), 5.7.12 (Ferrari, "Astronomy," 269).

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Astronomical notions, as well as other natural phenomena, indeed play a pivotal role in both the fundamental Manichaean myth(s) and its/their various subsequent elaborations.

In the following, I will focus on some of these phenomena to show how they were integrated into Mānī's unique religious system. In presenting the Manichaeans' attitude towards various natural phenomena, I will basically rely on the fourth-century Coptic *Kephalaia* (1Keph), now preserved in Berlin.[6]

The Berlin *Kephalaia* (P. 15 996, entitled 'The Kephalaia of the Teacher', abbreviated as 1Ke to distinguish it from the Dublin *Kephalaia* [2Ke]), despite its *lacunae*, is a major continuous Manichaean text—originally more than 500 pages—that provides a plethora of information on a great number of important subjects.[7] Together with other Manichaean codices like the *Psalm-Book* and the *Homilies*, it was probably found in Medinet Madi (Middle Egypt) in 1929, purchased by Carl Schmidt from a Cairo dealer in 1930, and conserved by Hugo Ibscher in the subsequent years. The *Kephalaia* is a fourth-century Coptic—more precisely, Lycopolitan [L4]—translation or compilation of Greek or perhaps ultimately Syriac originals.[8] The greatest part of this paginated codex is housed in Berlin, while some pages are held in Vienna and Warsaw.

According to Funk, the compiler-author of the *Kephalaia* was a high-ranking Manichaean.[9] These second or third generation Manichaeans were evidently cognizant of Mānī's original writings.[10] The popularity of the genre *kephalaia* among Manichaeans can be inferred based on works of similar types in Middle Persian and Chinese.[11] The Coptic *Homilies* (18.16) has Mānī himself exclaim: 'I am weeping for the *Kephalaia*.'[12] Even if such an attribution seems to be very unlikely, the fourth-century *Acta Archelai* (62) also seems to refer to it under the rubric *Capitula*, thus making it probable that the *Kephalaia* circulated as a Manichaean collection by the 340s.[13]

Unlike the *Psalm-Book*, the *Kephalaia* is discursive and presents its contents in a relatively well ordered form, frequently classifying content by numerical taxonomies.[14] T. Pettipiece, just like others before him—e.g. A. Böhlig, W.-P. Funk, and I. Gardner— emphasized that the *Kephalaia* is not Mānī's *ipsissima verba* (as C. Schmidt supposed), nor a kind of *summa theologiae manichaicae* (as L. Koenen viewed it), but instead a section of 'addenda and corrigenda' to Mānī's canonical works.[15] I. Gardner sees the work as a series of commentaries to the revelation, i.e. the canonical scriptures.[16]

Gardner already stressed the catechetical and mnemonic purposes of the numerical sequencing,[17] while Pettipiece analyzed the overwhelming presence of consciously constructed pentads in the work,[18] as well as the connection of the *Kephalaia* to *Capitaliteratur* and *erōtapokrisis* literature.[19]

In this paper, I intend to explore the Manichaean view of certain natural phenomena, especially concentrating on how the Manichaeans tried to offer a mythological interpretation of their activities.

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7 On the *Kephalaia* generally see Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, xvii–xxiv, Funk, "The Reconstruction," Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 6–15. The Coptic text was edited by Polotsky and Böhlig, *Kephalaia*, Böhlig, *Kephalaia*, and Funk, *Kephalaia*. I usually quote Gardner's translation (*The Kephalaia of the Teacher*), unless Pettipiece (*Pentadic Redaction*) has also translated the same chapter, since the latter author could also incorporate W.-P. Funk's *addenda et corrigenda* (see Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 93).

8 For a possible reconstruction of the process, see Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 12.

9 Funk, "The Reconstruction," 154.

10 Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, xxii.

11 Sundermann, "Iranische Kephalaiatexte?"; BeDuhn, "Parallels".

12 Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 152 n.1.

13 Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, xix.

14 Cf. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, xx.

15 Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 8–9; idem, "Coptic Answers," 52.

16 Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, xxii.

17 Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, xxii–xxiii.

18 Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*.

19 Pettipiece, "Coptic Answers." The indebtedness of various types of scriptures to this genre was proposed by Kurt Rudolph (1968); furthermore, Paul Dilley has recently suggested that Bardaisan's *Book of the Laws of Countries* might have had an even more direct influence on Mānī (Dilley, "Mani's Wisdom," 19–20).

Before turning to the concrete examples, the general mythical[20] context must be outlined for those who are not students of Manichaeism. The Manichaean sources basically unanimously narrate that after the Kingdom of Darkness had approached the Realm of Light, the king of the latter, the Father of Greatness, devised a far-seeing plan to counter their potential attack. As a first step of his preventive countermeasures, he sent the Primal Man, an emanation of his, with the Five Light Elements into the midst of Darkness, which, to its detriment, greedily "swallowed" the Primal Man and his Light Elements, the latter variously described as the sons or weaponry of the former. After a basically victorious battle, the Primal Man was ushered back up to the Realm of Light by other emanations, but his Five Light Elements became mixed with the elements of the dark principle. From this point on, the entire Manichaean myth concentrates on the rescue of these elements held in mixture.

After various further emanations, it will be the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life who establish the cosmos with a double goal in mind: they design it to serve as a gigantic prison that holds the captured demons, and, at the same time, to function as a colossal hospital to heal the wounded, i.e. mixed, light particles. These two purposes are explicitly and pronouncedly mentioned together in such temporally and geographically distant sources as the Coptic and the Chinese ones.

> "He [the Living Spirit, GK] spread out all the powers of the abyss to ten heavens and eight earths, he shut them up into this world once, he made it a prison (ⲯⲧⲉⲕⲟ) too for all the powers of Darkness, it is also a place of purification (ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ) for the Soul that was swallowed (?) in them."[21]

> "[The sixth thro]n[e] is that of the Living Spirit, the [glorious] mighty one, he who bore up the First Man out from the [land of darkness]; who also set in order and constructed the world[s ...] both for a cleansing of the light (ⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ), [and] for a binding [of the] powers of enmity (ⲁⲩⲱⲣ̄ⲣⲉ[ⲍⲉ ⲛⲛ]ⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲍⲁⲍⲉ)."[22]

> "Therefore, by uniting the two powers of the five types of demons and the five light bodies, the Light Envoy of the Pure Wind established the ten firmaments and the eight earths of the cosmos. Thus the cosmos became a hospital (*yaotang* 藥堂) where the light bodies were recovering (*yiliao* 醫療) and a prison (*laoyu* 牢獄) where the dark demons were bound (*jinxi* 禁繫)."[23]

As is clear from the passages above, the Manichaeans imagined a cosmos with ten firmaments and eight earths, with a vast atmosphere and the human world between them. The boundaries of this created universe now hold all the mixed light elements and the dark ones confined, therefore the carefully designed plan to separate and thus rescue the light elements can start within a relatively precisely defined space. The healing function of the cosmos requires skillfully constructed mechanisms that aid the process of separating the light and dark elements. The basic reason why such a separation is needed is that the light elements, collectively called the Living Soul, suffer immensely in their being attached to the dark ones. This suffering is described in detail in various Manichaean texts.[24]

What is important for us here is the presence of the light elements in nature, even if the various parts of nature contain varying amount of light. The Sun and the Moon, for example, are constructed entirely from already separated and rescued light elements, and so their components do not need to be rescued. Vegetation contains a high proportion of light mixed with dark elements, while the animals, as we will see, contain much less light.

The Manichaeans thus viewed the macrocosmos not only as the creation of divine emanations like the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life, but also considered it vivified and beautified by the "built-in"

20 I will use the words 'myth' and 'mythical' throughout to denote the Manichaean narrative of cosmogony, cf. Stroumsa and Stroumsa, "Aspects," 40: "Manichaeism represented the last significant outburst of mythological thought in the world of antiquity."

21 *Psalm-Book* 10.23–29 (trans. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, 10).

22 1Ke 82.12–17 (trans. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 84). The Berlin *Kephalaia* mentions the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life several times as creators of the cosmos and jailers of the demons, see 1Ke 4.15–33, 56.7–13, 58.20–33, 60.27–61.6, 79.29–33.

23 *Traité* 11–13 (my translation).

24 Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, 43–54, Durkin-Meisterenst, *The Hymns to the Living Soul*, Sundermann, *Die Rede der Lebendigen Seele*.

light elements. This Manichaean fascination with the beauty of the cosmos is expressed in various works.[25]

After this general introduction, I will now focus on some specific phenomena (the Sun and the Moon, clouds, vegetation and animals, the salty sea, shadow, and earthquake) to explore the Manichean view of them as reflected in the *Kephalaia*. The range of topics is not exhaustive. Due to spatial constraints, I will leave out such complicated topics as, for example, the Manichaean concepts of the astral sphere or of the human body.

The Sun and the Moon

Since their function is to transmit liberated light to the Realm of Light, the Sun and the Moon both play a crucial role in the cosmic rescue process. Manichaean imagination populated these two celestial bodies with divine beings, three gods in each luminary.[26] Moreover, the Sun and the Moon have twelve and fourteen doors, respectively, to accept the light and a group of five light-gatherers to facilitate this process. The Moon and the Sun were conceived as palaces or ships, and the latter notion explains the presence of seven and twelve ship-masters in them, respectively.[27]

The Sun and the Moon were frequently visualized as ships, more specifically as ferries carrying the cargo of light.[28] Here I would like to concentrate on an evidently widely held Manichaean notion, closely related to the concept of luminaries as ships, which is supposed to account for the waxing and waning phases of the moon. The liberation of light from the worldly sphere was conceived as a continuous process, in which both the cosmic mechanisms and the Manichaean elect actively participated. The purified light ascending from the world back to the Realm of Light was helped in its ascension by the so-called Column of Glory (or Column of Praise), the Moon, and the Sun. The Moon and the Sun continuously loaded and unloaded cargoes of liberated light. As attested in several sources, the changing shape of the Moon was explained by the Manichaeans as due to its receiving the light for fourteen days, and then transmitting it to the Sun for another fourteen days. The following first two passages from Arabic sources give a detailed description of the process, while the second passage from the *Kephalaia* offers a short argument why the Sun does not change in the same way that the Moon does.

> "He (i.e., Mānī) says that what aids the purification and the separation and the ascension of the particles of Light are (the chanting of hymns of) glorification, (invocations of) sanctification, proper speech, and pious deeds, and that by this (behavior) the particles of Light are lifted in a Column of Radiance to the orbit of the moon. The moon constantly receives this (i.e., the flow of particles) from the first of the month to the middle (of the month); then it is full and becomes the full moon. Then (the moon) conveys (it) to the sun until the end of the month, and the sun propels it onward to the Light that is above it, and it circulates in this world until it rejoins the uppermost, pure Light."[29]
>
> "All of this rises and flows through the Column of Praise to the sphere of the moon: the Column of Praise is that (instrument) through which the particles of Light ascend to the sphere of the moon. The moon constantly receives this (Light) from the first of the month until the full moon appears. Then—since it is full—it conveys it to the sun. The waxing of the moon is due to its reception over the course of the first day to the fourteenth night of the month of what is released and has ascended from the particles of Light (that were bound) in the earth, vegetation, water, and other things, as the pure portions of the Light of the world and the praises. Its waning from the time of the appearance of the full moon to the end of the month and to the time when the new moon appears is due to its propulsion of that (Light) to the sun. And the sun propels it to the Light which is above it in the World of Praise, and it travels through that World up to the pure supernal Light. By means of their activity this (purification) will not cease until there remains from the Light only a compressed thing which the sun and the moon are unable to render pure."[30]

25 On this concept, see Gershevitch, "Beauty as the Living Soul."

26 1Ke 20.15–18, 26–29; 24.9–20. Also see Kósa, "The Sun, the Moon and Paradise."

27 On the Coptic material about the two luminaries, see van Lindt, *The Names*, 119–132.

28 E.g. *Psalm-Book* 75.4, 134.25, 139.29–30 (trans. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, 75, 134, 139); 1Ke 151.24–28; St. Ephrem Syrus: *Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan* 26.29–31 (Reeves, "Manichaean Citations," 248); *Acta Archelai* 8.5–7. Also see Kósa, "Ships and Ferries."

29 Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa-n-niḥal*, 243 (trans. Reeves, *Prolegomena*, 204).

30 Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *Kitāb al-mu'tamad*, 564–65 (trans. Reeves, *Prolegomena*, 202–203).

> "The first is the filling up of the disk of its ship (of the Sun); because its ship has filled up every season, and shall not wane at all the way that the ship of the Moon wanes. This continuous fill[ing] by which it is filled displays the mystery of the Father, the great Greatness."[31]

This natural process, discernible to everybody, served as evidence for the believers that the basic notion of the mixed light being constantly purified via the elect, the Column of Glory, the Moon, and the Sun was correct and that the meaning and relevance of the believers' life was conspicuously verifiable in the sky. To cite J. J. Buckley's summary: "Waxing and waning, the moon demonstrates the effect of the Elects' activities: the moon regularly fills up with ascending light elements and just as regularly empties these into the sun, whose task is to further propel the particles upward. Consoled by this visible salvation process, the Hearers might retain confidence in the effect of their service to the Elect and see their own lives as adjacent to theirs, if not fully coequal."[32]

The sixty-fifth *kephalaion* lists various characteristics to highlight the importance of the Sun, a central object of veneration for the Manichaeans.[33] This *kephalaion* details the numerous benefits this pure light grants (1Ke 162.1–12): "it illuminates by its light the world," "it floods beauty and loveliness upon all creatures," it grants peace to people, it releases the Living Soul from the "bonds and fetters of heaven and earth," "it gives strength to the elements," and "a scent and a taste to the entire Cross of the Light". The text then proceeds to praise the superiority of the Sun with regard to all these aspects (1Ke 162.12–20). It is evident from the description that the unique status the Sun enjoys is attributable to its being replete with pure light particles. Thus all its visible, physical manifestations (its brilliance, or granting beauty and peace to the world) are the results of its invisible, non-physical characteristics. As the *Kephalaia* (1Ke 163.16–18) itself puts it: "It (i.e. the Sun) displays all [the] marks of its graces, displaying and signifying on its own behalf that it is good, out of the essence of the good."

As mentioned in the introductory passages, the more Augustine became acquainted with astronomical *realia,* the more he became disillusioned with Manichaean teachings about them. Augustine alludes to his fascination with the astronomers' precision in calculating eclipses. Even if Manichaeans probably did not make such calculations, they probably had a general view about the cause of eclipses; at least, this seems to be reflected in the critique of the sixth-century *In Epictetum Encheiridion* of Simplicius:

> "They [sc. the Manichaeans] mention some pillars, but they do not take them to mean [those] 'which hold heaven and earth together,' as they do not think it right to understand any of the things they say allegorically, but those which are made of solid stone and carved, as one of their wise men informed me. (They also mention) twelve doors and one of them opens each hour. They also show a marvelous excess of ingenuity in explaining the cause of eclipses. They say that when the evil (archons) who were chained in creation create upheaval and disorder by their own movements, their light particles inside them throw up some sort of veil so as not to share in their excitement. Eclipses are therefore caused by the interposition of this veil .... Why do I quote their views at length? For they fabricate certain marvels which are not worthy to be called myths. However, they do not use them as myths nor do they think that they have any other meaning but believe that all the things which they say are true."[34]

The details in this description (enchained and rebellious demons containing swallowed light particles) seem to corroborate that a genuine Manichaean explanation of eclipses has been preserved here.

Atmosphere and Clouds

The region below the ten firmaments and the zodiac is that of the atmosphere, the habitat of the Righteous Judge and the Virgin of Light. The latter's name is associated with lightning in Uighur (*yašın t(ä)ŋri kny rwšn t(ä)ŋri* – "Lightning god, Light Virgin god") and Chinese (*Dianguangming* 電光明) sources, but not in other language traditions, where she is almost invariably called the Virgin of Light (Syriac *btūlat nūhrā*,

31 1Ke 162.23–27.

32 Buckley, "Tools and tasks," 409.

33 See e.g. BeDuhn, *Augustine's Manichaean Dilemma*, 56–57.

34 Simplicius, *In Epict. ench.* chap. 27, p.71,44–72,15; Lieu, "Some Themes," 451–52.

Coptic ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ, Latin *Virgo lucis*, Greek ἡ παρθένος τοῦ φωτός, Middle Persian and Parthian *knygrwšn* or *qnyg*, Sogdian *qnygrwšn*).[35] Although her name does not suggest a direct link to lightning in the Coptic *Kephalaia*, in fact her activity, through the agency of her angels, involves tackling lightning and thunderbolts created by the demons of the dark elements. It is worth stressing that the scene described in the ninety-fifth *kephalaion* ("The Apostle asks his disciples: What does cloud mean?") is set on a cloudy day, and according to the narrative in the *Kephalaia*, this natural circumstance triggers Mānī's lengthy teaching on the subject, which deserves here an equally lengthy quotation:

> "Again, as the Apostle sat in the assembly of his disciples, the sky was cloudy that day, (so) he raised his eyes and looked at this cloud (and) said to his disciples: This cloud, which appears before you, as you look at it, I will reveal to you and teach you how it ascended. Know that it is stripped from Five Places, ascends above this Great Earth, is then revealed and is visible in the middle-air.
> So, the cloud shall ascend from the upper fire towards the image of the Virgin of Light, which she makes visible to it, its sign are the sights found in lightning-bolts . . . passing away . . . But it is purified towards [the image of the Virgin of] Light [to whom] it becomes visible ….. the Archons are stripped off of the lightning-bolts. They go out and separate, but these angels are sent to them immediately so that they might seize them. Knowing that they never do good, (and that) every place that they touch they cause death and ruin, when the angels make for them and come beside (?) … they flee in their distress before them and come [to] what(ever) they meet and assume it. Like a thief, (when he) is caught (and) flees from a man stronger than him who pursues him in order to overtake him. Now, these Archons that shall be freed from this cloud,[36] they bear that which they meet … in … it, which they do not … will seize this little bit, whether a tree [that] they found in the way or beasts or people. In short, every place that they assume they burn and destroy with the fire of their bodies—that is the Archons, the sons of fire, those who are stripped of the fire.
> The cloud, however, that rises up from the water and ascends to the Virgin of Light, its sign(s) are this thunder and this noise which is in the air in various forms and (which people) hear ….. when the Archons who belong to those found in the cloud find time, they strip themselves of this cloud, flee from it and leave it behind [them. But their sign] is this: that in every place which [they destroy] they make frost and hail and snow, and they lay waste to seeds and fruit and plants, and they … every place [that] they destroy ….
> [The] cloud, however, which rises up from the wind comes up to the middle-air, towards the image of the Virgin who makes it visible—its sign is [the] dark wind that blows bitterly ….. All these rivers and seas which they reach and attain, they make waves in them and raise … and they … the ships and they cause destruction … [similar, but more fragmentary descriptions of the clouds of Light and Mixed Air follow].
> Behold, then, I have opened your eyes concerning this cloud, how it ascends to the height and (how) the living beings that are purified in it. I have also taught you (about) the Archons that are in it, how they cause these adversities and how they are seized and thrown into the prison below by the angels who were given the command by the power of the Virgin of Light, she who has authority over the entire zone to purify the living beings that are in it."[37]

A Middle Persian fragment also links the motif of the Virgin [or Maiden] of Light with the clouds and the demons, although in a much more succinct way:

> "The cloud that arises from the dark demons (…) Rain and lightning arise from the water-demons (and) the fire-demons. The angels, (however,) bind the demons. Wherever they get, they cause damage to the trees and the animals. The Virgin of Light …"[38]

The ascension of the five types of clouds and the subsequent events follow the same basic pattern: a cloud belonging to a certain element and containing certain types of demonic forces (archons) due to the mixture ascends towards the Virgin of Light. She forces the demons to leave the cloud and then sends her angels to chase the demonic forces. While the demons flee, they cause various damaging events via certain natural phenomena. Although the *kephalaion* has several lacunae, the following chart may still be instructive:

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35 See Kósa, "The Virgin of Light."

36 I follow Gardner's (*The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 247) translation of the phrase ⲃⲱⲗ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ (cf. Polotsky and Böhlig, *Kephalaia*, 241.11) instead of 'escape to this cloud'.

37 1Ke 240.16–241.29; 242.2–5, 9–12; 244.6–13 (trans. Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 193–94, 196 [slightly modified according to W.-P. Funk's suggestion to the present author of 'sights' instead of 'flash' in 240.27]). For a slightly different translation, see Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 247–48, 250.

38 M292/R/I/9–10; M292/R/II/4–9 (trans. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische,* 47).

ELEMENT	SIGHT	DAMAGE CAUSED BY ITS DEMONS
Fire	lightning-bolts	burning and destroying trees, beasts, people
Water	thunder	frost and hail and snow
Wind	dark, bitter wind	waves on the rivers and sea, destruction of ships
Light	–––	(taking of lives)
Mixed Air	––	begetting of trees and flesh

Through the frequent use of Coptic aorist[39] (e.g. 240,25: ⲩⲁⲥⲉⲓ; 240,27, 242,4: ⲩⲁⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛϩⲏ; 241,19: ⲩⲁⲥϫⲉⲥⲧⲥ), regularity and habitual occurrence is implied in these descriptions. An explicit and fitting description of the continuous nature of the process is referred to in a Sogdian source: "The third Resurrection: the Maiden of Light performs it from rains and clouds, ceaselessly, winter and summer, spring and autumn."[40] The continuous task of the Virgin of Light to purify the atmosphere by removing the demons present in the various types of clouds and thus liberating the light particles from them in fact serves as a general explanation for various phenomena (lightning-bolts, thunder, wind, frost, hail, snow, huge waves) related to the atmosphere. According to the narrative, Mānī in fact explains the relevance of clouds from his perspective and expounds their various types after observing some actual clouds in the sky. This setting therefore reinforces that all the natural phenomena mentioned in the subsequent description must be taken literally and their ultimate cause must be ascribed to the continuously on-going process of purification, one which is supervised by the Virgin of Light. This *kephalaion* thus becomes an excellent witness to the inextricable relationship between natural phenomena and their explanation via the Manichaean myth.[41]

Vegetation and Animals

A unique feature of the Manichaean system is its markedly dissimilar evaluation of the spheres of vegetation and animals. While vegetation is considered to contain a great amount of light, animals only have as much light as the vegetation they eat. Consequently, Manichaean elects did not eat meat since there was hardly any light element in them that awaited liberation and even that small amount was thought to escape when the animal was slain;[42] auditors (hearers), however, were allowed to eat meat.[43] This difference between the spheres of vegetation and animals is described in the *Kephalaia* in connection with the 'conduits' (ⲗⲓϩⲙⲉ) that link the worldly regions with the celestial ones.

> "The second conduit is the one that runs from the temples and the dwellings and the cities in heaven down to the *Five Kinds of Trees* that grow upon the earth. Life comes up from the Trees to the temples and the cities. But, the Life and the Fire of the heavenly ones comes down to the Trees in their conduits.
> The third conduit, however, is all the powers and the companions who dwell in all the firmaments, those whose roots run down from them to the *Five Worlds of Flesh* that creep upon the earth, fixed to one another. While Power and Life gather together in the *Worlds of Flesh* and go out from them in various forms, the powers of heaven draw it to them upwards

39 On the Sahidic (and not L4) aorist, see, e.g., Layton, *A Coptic Grammar*, 261–63.

40 M140/R (trans. Sundermann, "A Manichaean View," 191.

41 An explanation for rain, another natural phenomenon closely related to cloud, is also linked to the figure of the Virgin of Light in some non-Coptic sources. This is most typically attested in the *Acta Archelai* 27.1–3 [IX]: "A lovely, decorated and very attractive maiden tries to rob the rulers, who were brought up and crucified in the firmament by the Living Spirit, by appearing to the male rulers as a beautiful woman, to the female ones as a good-looking and desirable youth. When the rulers see how beautiful she is, they are stung by a love-charm; since they cannot grasp her however, they become terribly enflamed and erotic desire deprives them of all reason. Now when the maiden becomes invisible before their advance, the great ruler produces clouds from out of himself, to darken the world in his anger, and if he strains much, like a man he sweats and grows tired, and his sweat is the rain" (Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 184).

42 Augustine, *De haeresibus* 46.11 (trans. Fox, Sheldon and Lieu, *Greek and Latin Sources*, 89): "Yet they do not eat meat either, on the grounds that the divine substance has fled from the dead or slain bodies, and what little remains there is of such quality and quantity that it does not merit being purified in the stomachs of the elect."

43 Augustine, *Epistle* 236.2 (Parsons' translation cited in Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 244): "Those who are called hearers among them eat flesh and meat, till the soil, and, if they wish, have wives; but those called elect do none of these thing." On the differences between auditors and elects, see BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body*, 25–68.

> through the conduits. [The] dregs, however, and the desires and the evils and the wraths, which abound in the powers [of] heaven, they are poured their various conduits. They are poured into human beings [and] the rest of the beasts. When the heavenly cause the dregs, the stink, and the poison to flow down to the creations of flesh below, the creations abound in desire, in wrath, (and) in evil [through] the energy of their fathers on high."[44]

A Uighur Manichaean fragment furthermore appears to offer an explanation for the different presence of light particles in vegetation and animals: "In the five kinds of trees and plants they [i.e., the five light elements] are living (...) they [i.e, the five light elements] become mindless, dead (things) in the bodies of the five kinds of so-called 'living' creatures."[45]

It must be noted that the 'powers' (Coptic ϭⲁⲙ) mentioned in the *Kephalaia* passage above seem to refer to the defeated demons who were imprisoned in the firmaments. Presumably the same connection is alluded to in Augustine's summary: "They caution their same hearers, furthermore, when they eat meat, not to kill the animals, to avoid offending the princes of darkness who are bound in the celestials. From them, they claim, all flesh has its origin."[46]

The assessment of animals as essentially belonging to the Kingdom of Darkness is tellingly reflected in the description of its king who is a composite creature containing only animal features.

> "But, as for [the King] of Darkness, there are *Five Forms* in him: his head [is lion-faced, his] hands and feet are demon- [and devil-]faced, [his] shoulders are eagle-faced, while his belly [is dragon-faced,] (and) his tail is fish-faced. These *Five Forms*, the imprints of his [*Five*] *Worlds*, are found in the King of (those belonging to) Darkness."[47]

> "As for the Archon, the leader of all the powers [of Darkness], there are [*Five Forms*] in his body, according to [the form] of the seal [of the *Five*] *Creations* which exist in the *Five Worlds of Darkness*. His head has the face of a lion and originated from [the] World of Fire. His wings and his [shoulders] have the face of an eagle, according to the form of the Sons of Wind. [His hands] and [his feet] are demons, according to the form [of the Sons] of the World of Smoke. His belly has the face of [a dragon, according to the form of the] World of Darkness. His tail [has] the form of the fish, which belongs to [the World of the] Sons of Water. These *Five Forms* are found in him; they [have come] from the *Five* [*Creations*] of the *Five Worlds of Darkness*."[48]

The Salty Sea and the Reflection in the Water

Seas and oceans as metaphors and similes frequently occur in Manichaean scriptures;[49] here I will first focus on a single physical feature of the sea, its saltiness. Manichaean sources emphasize that the saline nature of the sea is the vestige of a primordial mythological event, the outpouring of the Three Vessels of dark elements from the firmaments to the earths. The first quotation from the *Kephalaia* is a brief reference to this association, while the second passage from the same source lists three consequences of this mythological event, all being natural phenomena.

> "And the waste and the accretion of the three vessels, they of [water and of] darkness [and] of fire, which had been discharged upon (the earth), he gathered them [and deposited them in the] sea that is within the walls and the vessels; because of this sea waters are salty. For they have received salt and bitterness from the washing out and cleansing of the three vessels."[50]

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44 1Ke 121.13–32 (trans. Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 169–70).

45 Ch/U 6814[=T/II/T/509].V.2–5; Zieme, *Manichäisch-türkische Texte*, 34 [German]; BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body*, 84 [English].

46 Augustine, *De haeresibus* 46.12 (trans. Fox, Sheldon and Lieu, *Greek and Latin Sources*, 88–89): *Monent etiam eosdem Auditores suos ut, si uescuntur carnibus, animalia non occidant, ne offendant principes tenebrarum in caelestibus colligatos, a quibus omnem carnem dicunt originem ducere*. The Latin 'principes' is equivalent with the Greek ἄρχων, which is often used in the Coptic Manichaean texts (ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ), especially the *Kephalaia* (Clackson, "Manichaean texts," 63).

47 1Ke 30.33–31.2 (trans. Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 108). A subsequent part of the same *kephalaion* provides a more detailed description of the kings of the five dark elements (1Ke 33.2–34.4).

48 1Ke 77.26–78.3 (trans. Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 150).

49 E.g., Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache*, 68–70; Kósa, "The Sea of Fire."

50 1Ke 113.35–114.3 (trans. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 120).

> "... something remained behind on the face of the earth from these three [v]ess[e]ls, so that you can find their mark and type displayed in the universe. The e[le]m[e]nt that is left in water is the pungency and salinity of this salty inner sea that surrounds the worlds. And the remnant that is left from the darkness is this black mountain that exists in the s[urroundings] of the sunrise. (...) And [the re]mnant that remains behind from the fire, upon the earth, are all the mountains and islands from where fumes of fire gush up [an]d are visible."[51]

To mention another motif related to water, Mānī gives a mythological explanation of the reflections in the water in the one hundred and first *kephalaion* (1Ke 253.25–255.21). When the disciples ask him why one sees his reflection in the water upside down, he replies:

> "The face of people and the shape of trees shall app[ear] turned upside down in the water as this is signifi[ed] in [the] mystery of the summons, when it was sent do[wn] to the worlds of darkness towards the First Man. Sin[ce ...] in this way it cast itself down [...] like a person [who] plunges headlo[ng] into water; so it is also with the summons."[52]

In a subsequent passage of the same chapter, Mānī recalls a further meaning of the same natural phenomenon:

> "I[f] you wish to understand another cor[pore]al mystery (ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲉⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲥⲱⲙ[ⲁⲧⲓ|ⲕⲟⲛ) on this subject, listen and I may teach you to unders[stand it]. The face of people and of animals [and of] trees is visible in the water, hangi[ng upside down]. This occurs to the mystery of the [stars] and the zodiac, which hang upside down and are vis[ible in] the great sea. For [the face of people a]nd beasts and all trees hang on the ro[ot] of the stars and the zodiac, being begotten from them. Just as their fathers, who are spread out above, [hang] upside down; so it is also that the m[yste]ry of their fathers is being revealed to them whenever th[ey sta]re down into the water. This is, that you shall find their [shapes] inverted."[53]

From the two quotations above, one can realize a more refined connection between these natural phenomena and the "mythological"—for Mānī, of course, primeval and real—events: here Mānī does not postulate a causal relationship between them, but instead he emphasizes that physical appearance can transmit a message hinting at an otherwise hidden "mythological" truth.[54] He basically claims that the reflection in the water, for example, is a reminder of at least two otherwise separate "mythological" events. The whole explanation is in fact introduced by the following general statement: "Ha[ppen] you know this, that this universe is established [of m]ystery, and is entirely full of mystery."[55]

In this context, the term *mysterion* seems "to designate individual sections of the Manichaean myth"[56] that his Twin revealed to Mānī,[57] who in turn explicated it to his disciples. The revelations Mānī received through his Twin are secrets or mysteries in various senses of the word: he had to keep them secret during his years at the Jewish-Christian community where he was brought up; later on, he imparted them orally and in writing basically only to his disciples; and, even more importantly, they are secrets that the Father of Greatness shares only with some chosen people.[58] The fact that the *Kephalaia* frequently calls the individual sections of the entire truth a mystery might well be related to the "bio-/hagiographical" detail of the *Cologne Mani-Codex* that Mānī received these revelations in small portions, thus at a certain time he was initiated into only a certain act or scene of the cosmic drama.[59]

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51 1Ke 111.34–112.18 (trans. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 117–18).

52 1Ke 254.7–16 (trans. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 259).

53 1Ke 254.24–255.7 (trans. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 259).

54 In connection with the same passage, K. von Stuckrad ("Manichäische Astrologie," 739) notes: "Mani gefällt es, die theosophischen Überlegungen zur Erklärung auch alltäglicher Dinge heranzuziehen."

55 1Ke 254.7–9 (trans. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 259).

56 Pedersen, "The Term mystêrion," 136.

57 See Stroumsa, "Esotericism" on the use of this word in the *CMC* and its background, e.g.: "When, then, that all-glorious and all-blessed one (i.e. the Twin) disclosed to me these exceedingly great secrets, he began to say to me: 'This mystery I have revealed to you [. . .] to reveal . . .'" (*Cologne Mani-Codex* 26.7–15, *apud* Stroumsa, "Esotericism," 64).

58 1Ke 15.1–3: "He (the Twin) unveiled to me the hidden mystery, the one that is hidden from the worlds and the generations, the myster[y] of the dep[ths] and the heights" (trans. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 20).

59 *Cologne Mani-Codex* 3.34 (trans. Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 48): "I was protected through the might of the angels and of the powers of holiness which were entrusted with my protection. They also brought me up by means of the visions and signs they showed me, which were short and very brief such as I could bear."

The cosmos being full of mysteries here means that the natural phenomena, equally individual and suitably diverse sections of the natural order, are mute narrators of "mythological" truths which are hidden from the ordinary people who are not familiar with the Manichaean teachings, and which can be understood only with the help of Mānī's explanations, which are in turn based on the revelations he received in his youth. In this sense, nature itself functions as a reminder about the revelations for all those who know the latter, and can be read only by those cognizant of the truths preached by Mānī.[60] Since due to the revelations Mānī is the only one who has access to the totality of the secret truths with all their minute details,[61] he is equally the only one who is authorized to give a complete explanation of all the details of nature.

Shadow

A similar type of explanation appears at the end of the one hundred and first *kephalaion,* where Mānī complements his earlier teachings with a new mythological explanation of another everyday phenomenon, the shadow:

> "Furthermore, I reveal something else to you: Behold, you will find the shadow of the person who walks along is joined to the earth all the time. (...) See, the mystery (ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲉⲣⲓⲟⲛ) is [a] great sign (ⲙⲉⲓⲛⲉ), signifying (ⲥⲏⲙⲁⲛⲉ) that the entire body came from the earth and had ascended from the abyss. Again, d[u]e to this, its shadow is joined on the earth, turned downwar[ds], and hanging from above."[62]

It is worth pointing out that a special word used in this passage—ⲥⲏⲙⲁⲛⲉ—is hardly used in the Coptic Manichaica. There seem to be merely two further occurrences, both in the *Kephalaia*.[63] One of them is in this same chapter, where the non-visibility of the reflection in a certain position is explained by the "mystery of the obedience that ascended from below" (1Ke 254.18–24). The other locus is in the one hundred and eleventh *kephalaion*, where a rather fragmentary explanation can be found about how the pupil of the eye works during daylight. It is introduced by the question 'What myster[y] does this matter signify?' and concluded by a mythological explanation (1Ke 265.20–266.2).

Earthquake

According to the Manichaean imagination, the eight earths are divided into two sets of three and five earths. Two sons of the Living Spirit dwell on the fifth earth from below: the King of Glory, whose authority extends to the three upper earths, and Atlas (Ὠμοφόρος, the 'Porter'), who has authority over the five lower earths. The *Kephalaia* mentions an earthquake in connection with the figure of "Atlas" (= "the Porter"), who is credited with holding the three upper earths, even if he has no authority over them, and the same passage also mentions another accident happening in the earths below him. In both cases, Jesus descends to repair the consequences of the earthquakes, in the first case to remove the obstacles that blocked the way of the ascending light elements, propelled by the Three Wheels.

> "Also, because of the earthquake (ⲕⲁ̄ⲧⲟ) which occurred in these Three Earths, and because the roads ended (and) the fountains of wind, water, and fire ceased, Jesus descended (and) bore Eve. He made straight the paths of the wind, the water, and the fire, opened to them the fountains, (and) constructed for them the paths of ascent. Again, since the earth

60 There is a further instance in the *Kephalaia* where another aquatic phenomenon inspires Mānī to expound certain parts of his mythological system. In the sixty-first *kephalaion* (1Ke 152.21–155.5) he observes the flooding of the Tigris river and explains how the Primal Man defeated the rulers of darkness with the help of the light-element of water. In this case, Mānī only seizes the opportunity to recount this narrative and does not trace the actual flood to the primordial waters.

61 Cf. Pedersen, "The Term mystêrion," 137: "So the mystery revealed to Mani is the totality of the myth, which also explains that every single part of it is a mystery."

62 1Ke 255.12–21 (trans. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 260).

63 Clackson, "Manichaean texts," 81.

> which is below the Porter (was) stripped [of the] fixtures which . . . indeed, because of this, Jesus came down to bear [Eve.] Before he reached that place, he ordered (and) strengthened the fixtures which are below, (then) returned (and) went back up to his resting-[place](?)."[64]

Another passage in the *Kephalaia* basically recounts the same kind of twofold event, without mentioning the solution.

> "Also, in the watch-tower of the King of Glory, there was movement in these Three Earths, which are above the Porter. The route and the ascent of these Three Wheels—(the wheel) of wind, of water, and of fire—were blocked. Also, in the watch-tower of the Porter, the lower fixtures were stripped off (and) their bonds levelled. A great earthquake occurred in that place."[65]

The first quotation mentions an earthquake in the three upper earths, the second one in the five lower earths. Since a previous passage in the same *kephalaion* (1Ke 93.20) and another further passage (1Ke 171.16) mentions 'earthquakes' (ⲕⲱⲧⲟ) above the firmaments and in the seventh firmament, respectively, where an earthquake is difficult to be interpreted literally, the above-quoted passages theoretically could also be simply metaphorical images. However, an evidently analogous description in the *Acta Archelai*, an anti-Manichaean scripture that however preserves surprisingly reliable pieces of information about the Manichaean cosmogony, makes it probable that instead of the possible metaphorical meaning a rather literal one is implied.

> "Then the Living Spirit created the lights, which are the remnants of the soul, and made them circle round the firmament. Furthermore he created the earth in eight forms. The Porter down below carries it, and when he becomes weary of carrying, he trembles and causes an earthquake (*terraemotus*, σεισμός), outside the determined time. For this reason the good Father sent his son from his bosom into the heart of the earth and into its lowest parts, to bring upon him a suitable punishment.[66] For every time the earth quakes, he is either trembling with weariness, or transferring the earth onto his other shoulder."[67]

In his *Panarion*, Epiphanius even gives a precise number of years for the frequency of the earthquakes. Here I also cite the first part of the passage, because this also contains relevant information about the origin of storms.

> "When, in the divine goodness, storms are sent by the mercy of God, Mani is not ashamed to say blasphemously that storms do not come from God, but from the effluent of the archons. But who could fail to laugh out loud to say the rest, since the tales of Philistion probably carry more conviction than Mani's mimes? He teaches about a mythical porter who supports the whole world, and says that every thirty years the porter's shoulder gets tired, and he shifts the world to the other shoulder, and < this is why > there are earthquakes."[68]

Summary

The selected natural phenomena briefly presented above allow us a preliminary classification of the early Manichaean view of them. The first type, which I label as "residue-type," explains a certain part or feature of nature as a consequence of a single primeval event. The worlds of vegetation and animal life exist due to a certain event in the primeval past; the saltiness of the sea is also attributable to a former "mythological" event. The second type of the phenomena can be viewed as "witness-type for on-going events," which are continuous witnesses and pieces of evidence for the Manichaean interpretation of the cosmos. The waxing

64 1Ke 94.1–11 (trans. Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 158).
65 1Ke 171.21–27 (trans. Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction*, 183).
66 'Punishment' is very strange here; probably something else is meant. The Latin version has *coherceret* (translated by Vermes as 'to restrain'), which might in fact also refer to 'holding together' the basement of the cosmic edifice.
67 *Acta Archelai* 26.1–2 (= VIII), Greek version (trans. Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 183). *Acta Archelai* 27.4–5 [IX] offers another explanation for the earthquake that is related to the Virgin of Light (see Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 184).
68 Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66.21.8–22.2 (trans. Williams, *The Panarion*, 249). In his footnote (n.109), Williams also adds that "[o]utside of Epiphanius, the shifting of the porter's pole is found only at Timothy Presbyter PG 86, 21A."

and waning moon, just like the various phenomena related to the atmosphere and sea (clouds, lightning-bolts, thunder, wind, frost, hail, snow, huge waves) and earthquakes all attest to the existence of certain members of the Manichaean pantheon (the Virgin of Light or Atlas) and their proper functioning. The third category is what I label as the "reminder-type." Here various physical features like reflections in the water or shadows are not the residue of a single former event; nevertheless, they do have the function to remind the initiated of that.

In Mānī's system natural phenomena reflect a "supernatural" level of mythic events, and thus often carry an evidentiary value for his teachings. And even more than that: the various elements of the invisible truth which were revealed to him in his predominantly visual experiences are in fact legitimated by his expert opinion on visible things. Invisible and visible unite for a moment, the visible is understood via the invisible, while the invisible is legitimated via the visible. Every single natural phenomenon thus carries a meaning that points beyond itself: the entire cosmos "is full of mysteries." The demarcation lines between what the modern West calls 'religion' and 'science'[69] are not simply blurred, but disappear, or even more probably never existed where we would be inclined to assume them.[70] What we currently see as two distinct and rarely overlapping territories, Manichaeans viewed as vast realms continuously infusing and legitimating each other.

Endowed with supernatural visions, Mānī appears as an expert on the interpretation of natural phenomena. Thus the *Kephalaia* seems to refer to the "book of scripture [revelation]" and the "book of nature."[71] Ultimately both derive from the same source, the Father of Greatness, and are mediated through Mānī's Twin and the Living Spirit, respectively. Revealed knowledge about the origin, structure, and purpose of the universe is a secret revelation first only imparted to a single person, Mānī—now ignoring the former revelations which became distorted according to the Manichaean view—and then subsequently to a limited circle of people, the chosen ones.

By contrast, nature, created by the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life, is observable by everyone. Thus theoretically anybody could become aware of the Manichaean mysteries by inspecting, e.g., the waxing and waning moon, the saltiness of the sea, the reflections on water, or the shadows, since they are witnesses to primeval secrets. Nevertheless, in reality, only those equipped with the first type of secrets, i.e., those mediated by revelation, are capable of understanding the signs of nature. Thus for Mānī and his disciples, the entire created world becomes a realm full of mysteries that can potentially be explained on the basis of the truth revealed to the founder and later on to the chosen ones. Natural phenomena are remnants, pieces of evidence, witnesses, and everyday reminders of the primeval past, even if the majority of the people are not aware of this. In the *Kephalaia*, Mānī is presented as a teacher comparing and expounding the sophisticated relationships between two complex systems: nature visible to everyone, and the revelations visible only to him.

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69 On these two notions as originating in modern Europe and a critical evaluation of their supposed conflict, see, e.g., Harrison, *The Territories* (and his former works).

70 Cf. BeDuhn, "A Regimen for Salvation."

71 On this Western European distinction, see, e.g., Harrison, *The Territories*, 55–93, with further references on p. 222 n.5.

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